The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME I

General Introduction and From the Creation to the Flood

TRANSLATED BY FRANZ ROSENTHAL

General Introduction
and
From the Creation to the Flood
Volume I
Translated by Franz Rosenthal

Volume I of the thirty-eight volume translation of Ṭabarī's great *History* begins with the creation of the world and ends with the time of Noah and the Flood. It not only brings a vast amount of speculation about the early history of mankind into sharp Muslim focus, but it also synchronizes ancient Iranian ideas about the prehistory of mankind with those inspired by the Qur'an and the Bible. The volume is thus an excellent guide to the cosmological views of many of Ṭabarī's contemporaries. The translator, Franz Rosenthal, one of the world's foremost scholars of Arabic, has also written an extensive introduction to the volume that presents all the facts known about Ṭabarī's personal and professional life. Professor Rosenthal's meticulous and original scholarship has yielded a valuable bibliography and chronology of Ṭabarī's writings, both those preserved in manuscript and those alluded to by other authors. The introduction and first volume of the translation of the *History* form a ground-breaking contribution to Islamic historiography in English and will prove to be an invaluable source of information for those who are interested in Middle Eastern history but are unable to read the basic works in Arabic.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME I

General Introduction

and

From the Creation to the Flood

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME I

General Introduction
and
From the Creation to the Flood

translated and annotated
by

Franz Rosenthal

Yale University

State University of New York Press

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General Editor's Preface

The History of Prophets and Kings (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), rendered in the present work as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915.

In 1971, I proposed that UNESCO include a complete translation of Ṭabarī's History in its Collection of Representative Works. At a meeting chaired by the late Roger Caillois, UNESCO agreed; but the Commission in charge of Arabic works favored other priorities, mostly of a literary kind. At the time I was in charge of UNESCO's Collection of Persian Representative Works, a program which was managed within the framework of the activities of the Iranian Institute of Translation and Publication (*Bungāh-i Tarjama wa Nashr-i Kitāb*). Failing to enlist the support of the Arab Commission, I persuaded the Institute to undertake the task.

My interest in the translation of Ṭabarī's history derived not only from the desire to see an outstanding historical work made available to non-Arabists, but also from the fact that Ṭabarī is

the most important source for Iranian history from the rise of the Sasanian dynasty in the third century to the year 915. By rights, the task should have been undertaken by a scholar of Islamic history and classical Arabic, in neither of which fields can I claim any expertise; but I thought it a pity to let the rare opportunity presented by the sponsors of the project to be lost. Fully aware of my limitations and convinced of the importance of the participation of specialists in the project, I enlisted the assistance of a number of excellent scholars in the field.

Preliminary work on the project began in 1974 and I invited Professor Franz Rosenthal of Yale University to bring the benefit of his scholarship and experience to this venture. An Editorial Board originally consisting of Professors Rosenthal, Ihsan Abbas of the American University in Beirut, and myself was envisaged. I later invited Professors C.E. Bosworth of the University of Manchester and Jacob Lassner of Wayne State University to cooperate as members of the Board of Editors. We then began a steady search for able and willing scholars to take part in the project. Ideally we were looking for historians of medieval Islam with a command of classical Arabic.

The Leiden edition was the obvious text on which to base the translation of the History as it is thus far the only critical and scholarly edition. It was prepared by a number of competent scholars in the last quarter of the nineteenth century under the able direction of the Dutch scholar M.J. de Goeje, and published by E.J. Brill of Leiden, Holland, in fourteen volumes with an index volume and a supplementary volume, between 1879 and 1901.*

One of our first tasks was to divide the text into manageable sections to be assigned for translation and annotation. The text was divided arbitrarily into 38 sections of about 200 pages each, but in a manner that allowed each section, as far as possible, to be used independently. The general size of the sections was dictated by the desire to leave adequate space for annotation, and to make it possible for the best and busiest scholars in the field to participate. Each section was given a separate title as a short guide to its contents.

It was obvious that in a project of this size, given the differ-

*See pp. 141 ff. of Professor Rosenthal's introduction to the present volume for more details on this edition and the merits of the Cairo edition.

ent viewpoints on translation among scholars and their different styles of rendering Arabic into English, we needed clear guidelines to ensure an essential modicum of consistency. It was necessary to make the translation of some frequently used phrases and expressions uniform. For instance, Amīr al-mu'minīn, the title of the caliphs, can be, and has been, translated in different ways. It was important that we used a single rendering of the term ("Commander of the Faithful"). Furthermore, we had to insist on uniformity in the spelling of place-names. To accommodate these concerns, we established a series of guidelines which addressed the questions of format, rubrics, annotation, bibliography, and indexing. According to the guidelines, which were communicated to participating scholars, the project aimed at a translation both faithful and idiomatic—an ideal which we realized was nevertheless far from easy to accomplish. Concern for consistency required that the volumes be carefully edited by an Arabic scholar thoroughly familiar with the guidelines established by the Editorial Board.

This task was originally entrusted to Professor Lassner, but as the number of manuscripts claimed more of his time than he could devote to editing, Professor Bosworth's assistance, too, was enlisted; Professor Rosenthal has also been generously giving of his time for editorial purposes. Naturally this does not mean that all the volumes of Ṭabarī follow the same style or that all Arabic terms have been translated in exactly the same way. Variations do occur, but every effort has been made to ensure not only accuracy and readability, but also consistency.

The system of romanization commonly employed by present-day Arabists and Islamicists in the English-speaking world was chosen. Although the system is not universally accepted in all its details, it is hoped that it meets the requirements of accurate transliteration.

Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chains of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by the individual links in the chain separated by a dash (—). Thus, "according to the Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle variations in the original Arabic have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place-names, such as Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place-names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as imām and dirham, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place-names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful. Initially, each volume was to have a brief, general introduction; however, after the first few volumes, it was deemed useful to expand the scope of the introductions so that they would include a discussion of the historical context of the volumes and Ṭabarī's method of relating the events. Again, it was left to the translators to decide what was pertinent and helpful to say in their introductions. Translators were also encouraged to provide maps and genealogical tables.

Rather than give further detail of the editorial policy and principles, I reproduce here, for those who may be interested, the Guidelines set forth by the Editorial Board.

Guidelines for Translation, Annotation, and Indexing

I. Translation

1. The purpose of the translation is to provide an accurate but literate text.

2. Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, Medina and the

like retain their accepted English forms. Less well-known place names are to be romanized accurately.

3. Amīr al-mu'minīn should be rendered "Commander of the Faithful". The English spelling "Caliph" is retained.

4. *Bāya'a, bay'ah* should be consistently translated as "to give/render the oath of allegiance".

5. Familiar technical terms, when reasonably accurate English equivalents are available, should be translated; thus, vizier *(wazīr)*, judge *(qāḍī)*, cubit *(dhirā')*. Other technical terms should be retained in transliteration without italics, e.g., muftī, imām, ṣūfī, dirham (drachma), dīnār (denarius), shaikh. In general, Arabic terms should be avoided as much as possible.

When a less familiar term like dihqān is left untranslated, an explanatory footnote with reference to the secondary literature (usually *EI*) may be called for. Unfamiliar and untranslatable technical terms, e.g., *raṭl* or *dāniq*, should be rendered in italics and footnoted.

6. Referents should be supplied for pronouns as required by English usage.

7. It is unnecessary to translate the common terms of blessing after God, the Prophet, etc., except when the formula has some special import.

8. It is not always obligatory to follow the exact sequence of Arabic syntax or literary style; this should be determined by the text and idiomatic English usage. Occasionally, it may be useful to turn direct Arabic speech into indirect speech in the translation to enable the English text to flow smoothly. However, direct speech adds to the liveliness of the translation and preserves the flavor of the original text; thus it should be retained unless other considerations prevail.

II. Annotation

1. Annotations are meant to provide a better understanding of the text. Proper names as well as technical terms unfamiliar to the non-specialist require annotation.

2. A search should be made for relevant parallel sources, and these should be cited when deemed necessary.

3. Philological and stylistic comments are for the benefit of the Arabist. They should be limited to explicating the text where it presents problems.

4. Major geographical areas, e.g., Ḥijāz, Khurāsān, Sind require no comment. Less well-known places should be identified by referring to the secondary literature, such as *EI*, *EIr*, Le Strange, Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, or Schwartz's *Iran*. Fuller comments are necessary only when identification of a particular place is critical to understanding the sense of the text.

5. In rare cases when the explication of the text requires more extensive treatment, this should take the form of an excursus at the end of the translation.

6. Maximum space allowed for the annotation of each volume, including excursuses, should not exceed about one-third of the text.

7. Authors should be cited by name only, except in those cases where the same author has written other works likely to be cited. Thus, Ṭabarī III/I, 250 but Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh* (Leiden), I, 250 or Ya'qūbī, *Buldān* (BGA, VIII), 250.

8. Titles should be abbreviated and follow the format of *EI*[2] and *EIr* (but with the romanization used in this series).

9. References should generally be to standard editions. Where several editions exist, the translators should indicate their choice.

10. Passages that pose textual problems should be romanized and reproduced in footnotes.

III. Editions of the Arabic Text

The Leiden edition should serve as the basis of the translation (see above, p. x). The Cairo edition should, however, be consulted and, if the Topkapı Sarayı manuscripts used in this edition differ significantly from the Leiden edition, the difference should be taken into account and footnoted.

IV. Format and Style

A. General

1. The pagination of the Leiden edition is to be indicated in the margin in square brackets.

2. Hijrah dates are always given with corresponding Western dates; the two are separated by a /, e.g., 145/762.

3. Chains of transmission *(isnād)* should be introduced by "according to" followed by the names of the transmitters in sequence, separated by a —, with a colon after the last name; e.g., "According to Abū Ja'far—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ."

4. *Kunyah* and *nisbah* are always romanized and not translated, e.g., Abū al-Ḥasan al-Khayyāṭ (not "Father of al-Ḥasan the Tailor").

5. Translations are followed by a bibliography giving full publication details for all works cited.

6. The translation of a *bayt* consisting of two hemistichs should be typed as two lines. The first line should begin with a capital letter and be indented; the second line should be further indented and begin with a lower case (small) letter, unless the first line ends with a period, in which case the second line should begin with a capital letter. If any of the hemistichs exceeds one line, the remainder is placed on the next line and is similarly indented. *Bayts* should be separated by an extra space.

B. Rubrics

1. Reigns of Caliphs should be capitalized, e.g.

THE CALIPHATE OF MARWĀN B. MUḤAMMAD

2. The year should be capitalized and beneath it the equivalent Western date should be given parentheses, e.g.,

THE YEAR 280
(March 23, 893—March 12, 894)

When indicated in the text add:

The Events of This Year

3. Other rubrics should be rendered as English titles and underlined, e.g.,

The Reason for...

4. Rubrics may often be cumbersome and difficult to translate, particularly when introduced by "mention of" or the like. In the interest of brevity, one may omit this element of the formula, e.g., instead of:

Mention of the Accounts Concerning the Death of...

translate:

The Death of...

5. The form for rubrics that merge with the text is:

The Reason for this was the killing of...

C. Pre-Islamic Names and Letters

Ancient Iranian names should be romanized according to their Arabic spelling. For biblical names, the standard English forms (see *The Westminster Bible Dictionary)* should be used. Classical names are to be rendered according to standard English practice.

In the case of titles, it will at times be desirable to put the original forms in brackets after the translation, e.g., "general" *(iṣbahbadh).*

D. Paragraphs

Translators may exercise considerable license in paragraphing; however, the introduction of an *isnād* as a rule calls for a new paragraph.

Occasionally, transmitters insert lengthy addresses, sermons, doc-

uments, etc. into the text. These should be set off in special paragraphs in quotation marks. Key short passages of this kind need not be set off.

V. The Index

A. Contents

1. There is to be only one index.

2. It should be as complete as possible (too much is better than too little).

3. It should contain:

a. All personal proper names in Ṭabarī's text.

b. All geographical names (cities, countries, rivers, etc.) in Ṭabarī's text.

c. All personal and geographical names in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval context. For instance, if a note states that M.b.A. al-Baghdādī is not identical with the M.b.A. al-Kūfī mentioned by Ṭabarī, M.b.A. al-Baghdādī requires a separate entry in the index.

References to medieval sources are also to be included. Thus, if Miskawayh is cited in the note, "Miskawayh" will appear in the index.

However, proper names of modern scholars are not to be included. With respect to the notes, some selective judgment will be needed; however, if in doubt, add!

B. Form

1. Place a capital A, B, etc. at the head of each new letter of the alphabet.

2. The definite article is to be disregarded for purposes of alphabetization. al-Ṭabarī thus appears under Ṭ, but "al-" is retained.

3. If an entry under Ibn is needed, it should appear under I. Thus: Ibn M. (The same applies to Bint).

4. Abū M. appears under A. (Also Akhū; Umm under U).

5. The main entry of a name with page references is listed under the forms of the name considered to be most characteristic. Of course, the "most characteristic" form is not always obvious; one's choice may be arbitrary at times. If different forms of an individual's name appear in the text, all must be listed separately, with cross references to the main entry. For instance, assuming that Ṭabarī appears in the text or the notes under the various components of his name, the following entries are needed:

Abū Ja'far, see al-Ṭabarī
Ibn Jarīr, see al-Ṭabarī
Muḥammad b. Jarīr, see al-Ṭabarī
al-Ṭabarī (Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr), 35, 46, 109 (n.83), 72

In the main entry, the other forms of the name should be repeated; however, it is not necessary to supply them where they do not occur. Thus "Miskawayh" is sufficient; his given names need not be supplied.

VI. General

1. The translators are expected to provide a substantial introduction that places the volume in historical perspective. The introduction may contain not only a summary of the volume's contents, but also comments on the significance of the events, an evaluation of Ṭabarī's reporting, and a discussion of parallel sources.

2. Maps and genealogical tables are helpful, in fact, welcome, provided the translator is able to furnish them.

E.Y.

Acknowledgments

My foremost thanks to the National Endowment for the Humanities and its Division of Research Programs for their continued support and encouragement.

I also wish to thank sincerely the participating scholars, who have made the realization of this project possible; the Board of Editors for their valuable assistance; Professor Franz Rosenthal for his many helpful suggestions in the formulation and application of the editorial policy; Professors C.E. Bosworth and Jacob Lassner for their painstaking and meticulous editing; Professor Michael Morony of the University of California at Los Angeles for undertaking the task of dividing the text into volume portions; and Dr. Susan Mango, formerly of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and her successor, Dr. Martha Chomiak, for their genuine interest in the project and their advocacy of it.

I am grateful to the State University of New York Press for volunteering to undertake the publication of the series; to its Director, Mr. William D. Eastman, for showing himself earnestly committed to the project; and to Professor Said Arjomand, the editor of the Middle Eastern Series of SUNY Press, for bringing the project to the attention of the Board of the Press.

Special thanks are due to Dina Amin, who as Executive Secretary has managed with great care the administrative aspects of the project, and to Mrs. Patsy King of Columbia University's Office of Projects and Grants for her patient handling of the bureaucratic matters pertaining to the project. I trust that the completion of

the project and the publication of the index volume will provide me with a second opportunity to express my gratitude to others who have assisted the project.

E.Y.

General Introduction

Translator's Foreword

This volume contains the first part of the Ṭabarī translation, a biographical sketch, and a discussion of what can be said at present about Ṭabarī's literary output, as well as some remarks on the English translation of the History. Much work remains to be done before all the data are clarified and Ṭabarī's works and his intellectual position in his environment have been fully studied. Although considerable effort has been expended to this end in recent years, it can truly be said that the task has just begun.

It has been deemed advisable that the General Introduction and the translation of Volume I be kept as separate as possible, even if they appear under the same cover. However, continuous pagination has been adopted, and entries for the Bibliography and for the Index have been combined. On the other hand, the numbering of footnotes starts afresh in the Translation. Therefore, in the General Introduction, cross-references to footnotes in the Translation are prefaced by "translation." Inversely, in the Translation, cross-references to footnotes in the General Introduction are marked accordingly. In view of the different character of this volume as compared to the other volumes of this series, the Index should, perhaps, have been considerably modified, but this has been done only to a very small degree, as stated in the note at the head of the Index.

Some of Ṭabarī's works still in manuscript have remained inaccessible to me. I am grateful to the Escorial Library for having provided me with a microfilm of the manuscript of *Tabṣīr* and to

the Beinecke Library of Yale University for making me a copy of the Ṭabarī biography from the Landberg manuscript of Ibn ʿAsākir. I have discussed the "praiseworthy position" (below, 71 ff.) with a number of colleagues—foremost among them Josef van Ess to whom I am indebted for essential references. Gerhard Böwering helped me out with a xerox from his copy of the biography of Ṭabarī in Dhahabī's *Nubalāʾ*. My former student, Dr. Elise Crosby, was instrumental in obtaining for me a copy of the *Ḥadīth al-himyān*. Yale University Library and its former Near East librarian Dr. Jonathan Rodgers have been as helpful to me in connection with this work as the library staff has always been during the past thirty years.

Franz Rosenthal

The Life and Works of al-Ṭabarī

A Remark on the Sources

The information we have on Ṭabarī's life and works is unusually instructive in a number of ways, but it leaves many large gaps in our knowledge. Important questions have to be asked for which no definite answers are available. In writing his biography, it is also necessary, and has been attempted here, to distinguish as clearly as possible between securely known data and what appears to be valid information but in fact remains the result of unverifiable speculation.[1]

Ṭabarī shows himself very reluctant to talk about his personal life, at least in the preserved works, which constitute only part of his large literary production. Although it is by no means certain, he may have revealed more about his personal situation in some of his lost writings, for instance, the original *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* in which he discussed his teachers.[2] He does provide his biographer with the names of numerous scholars with whom he had personal contact. There can be no doubt that the "I was told" and "we were told" at the opening of the chains of transmitters [3] have as a rule to be taken literally as indicating direct personal contact or contact within the setting of public lectures and instruction. In most cases, however, it is unfortunately not clear how close such

1. Biographical notices such as the one by R. Paret in the first edition of *EI*, s. v. al-Ṭabarī (see also *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 556 f.), contain the elementary data and may serve for quick information.

2. See below, 89 f. For the *Ḥadīth al-himyān*, see below, 98 ff.; whatever one may think about its genuineness, it does not qualify as a "work by" Ṭabarī.

3 See below, 147.

contact may have been. Knowledge of the circle of individuals among whom Ṭabarī moved is invaluable for understanding the events of his life. It has been imperative therefore to try to learn as much as possible about his authorities, colleagues, students, and acquaintances, and to establish their relations with him. Conversely, where it proved impossible to identify an individual, we are left in the dark with respect to potentially important, even crucial, nexuses.

As a scholar convinced of the preeminence of the material with which he dealt, Ṭabarī was not inclined to waste time and space on such mundane matters as when and where he had contact with his authorities. Occasionally, he might very well have indicated such data, for it was the custom to keep notes including the name of a teacher and the time of attendance at his classes. In fact, Ṭabarī did so as a young student; he may have continued the custom later in his life, but for his own information and not for publication.[4] It must also be assumed that he often referred to someone with whom he undoubtedly had some personal contact; but later, he used the source that was transmitted to him by that individual in its written (published) form and quoted from it while pretending all the time to rely upon oral transmission. This was no doubt the manner in which he handled quotations in *Tafsīr* from earlier Qur'ān commentaries. It also seems very likely that he relied on written (but presumably unpublished) "books" when transmitting information that had been preserved as the heirloom of a particular family such as that of Muhammad b. Sa'd.[5] In certain cases, the function of Ṭabarī's direct informant seems to have been hardly more than to legitimize the use of a recension of a work in its written form, as in those of Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī as the transmitter of Abū Ma'shar,[6] or of al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā as a transmitter of Sayf b. 'Umar.[7] Al-Sarī, it should be noted, transmitted Sayf's historical information to Ṭabarī by written communication; under the circumstances, it is rather doubtful whether there was indeed personal contact between him and Ṭabarī where

4. See *Irshād*, VI, 431, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 51, and below, 21.
5. See below, translation, n. 337.
6. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 292; Ṭabarī, *History*, I, 1141 and frequently. It seems uncertain whether Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī is identical with the person listed in Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I,1, 44; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, I, 143, as suggested in Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 796.
7. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 311 f.

the formula "he told me/us" is used.[8]

In sum, we are faced with the fact that Ṭabarī's own works, as far as they are preserved, are a very limited source of hard biographical data. They do provide us with many important leads, and they are of the greatest value to us because they reveal his scholarly personality and attitude.

No biographies of any length appear to have been written during Ṭabarī's lifetime, but there were a number of men who had known him personally and who wrote on his life and works.

Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Kāmil (260–350/873[4]–961),[9] who had a distinguished career as a judge and productive scholar, was on familiar terms with him. He was among those present when Ṭabarī died. An early follower of Ṭabarī's legal school, he seems to have veered away from it later in his life.[10] His monograph became a prime source for Ṭabarī biographers.

While Ibn Kāmil's prominence earned him obituary notices in a number of reference works, another individual who wrote a biography and seems to have been close to Ṭabarī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, remains obscure. We can place neither him nor his supposed monograph.[11]

Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Ja'far al-Farghānī (282–362/895[6]–972[3]),[12] prepared an edition of Ṭabarī's *History* and wrote a continuation *(Ṣilah)* to it. He had personal contact with Ṭabarī as a student, but it is difficult for us to say how extensive this contact may have been. He devoted a long obituary notice to Ṭabarī in his *Ṣilah*, which served as an important source

8. As, for instance, Ṭabarī, *History*, I, 1845, 1848, 1851, etc., as against the use of the verb "to write" in I, 1749, 1921, etc. Written information from a certain 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭjlī is mentioned in Ṭabarī, *History*, I, 1311. See also, in particular, the reference to Ziyād b. Ayyūb in I, 3159, below, n. 210. See also below, n. 455, on al-Mas'ūdī's relationship with Ṭabarī.

9. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 523 f. We cannot pinpoint the exact location of Ibn Kāmil's East Baghdad residence on Shāri' 'Abd al-Ṣamad in Suwayqat Abī 'Ubaydallāh (see *TB*, IV, 357, l. 11; Miskawayh, in *Eclipse*, II, 184; Lassner, *Topography*, 78–80). It was probably closer to Ṭabarī's mosque in Sūq al-'Aṭash than to his home. Miskawayh, who made very extensive use of *History*, studied the work with Ibn Kāmil. He read some of it to him and received his permission *(ijāzah)* to use the rest, see *Eclipse*, II, 184. Cf. J. Kraemer, *Humanism*, 223.

10. See below, nn. 251 and 301.

11. His work, as that of Ibn Kāmil, is specifically stated by Yāqūt to have been a monograph; see *Irshād*, VI, 462, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 94.

12. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 337, and *History*, translation, Vol. XXXVIII, xv, n. 7.

of biographical information. Another valuable document from al-Farghānī's hand is an *ijāzah* giving permission to a certain 'Alī b. 'Imrān and (?) a certain Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad to teach a number of Ṭabarī's works which al-Farghānī himself had studied with Ṭabarī. It was originally affixed to a volume of *Tafsīr*, no doubt the one used by the mentioned student(s), and dated from Sha'bān 336/February–March 948.[13]

Another follower of Ṭabarī's legal school inserted much information on Ṭabarī in his historical work that depended on (continued?) Ṭabarī's work. We know not much more about him than his name, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb al-Saqaṭī al-Ṭabarī. He can be assumed to have lived while Ṭabarī was still alive.[14]

Among those who were born during Ṭabarī's lifetime but had no personal contact with him, the Egyptian historian Abū Sa'īd b. Yūnus (281–347/894–958) may be mentioned. It was natural for him to include a notice on Ṭabarī in his work on "Strangers in Egypt," because Ṭabarī had visited Egypt for purposes of study.[15] Others in his generation who wrote biographical works would certainly not have overlooked a man of Ṭabarī's stature. However, as far as our information goes, another biography in monograph form was not written for about three hundred years, at which time the Egyptian scholar al-Qifṭī (568–646/1172–1248) compiled a Ṭabarī biography, entitled *al-Taḥrīr fī akhbār Muḥammad b. Jarīr*.[16] Al-Qifṭī was a great admirer of Ṭabarī, for he not only wrote this monograph but took the opportunity to list Ṭabarī in other works of his, such as his dictionaries of grammarians and of poets named Muḥammad; neither work, especially the latter, necessarily required mention of Ṭabarī.

None of the early biographies, including al-Qifṭī's monographs, has come down to us. We have to rely on excerpts preserved by later scholars. These excerpts give us some idea of the contents of those biographies, and they furnish the most reliable information at our disposal. Among the biographical sources that are

13. The text of the *ijāzah* is quoted in *Irshād*, VI, 426 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 44 f. Two recipients of the *ijāzah* seem to be mentioned, but a singular pronoun is used to refer to them.

14. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 235, l. 24.

15. Ibn Yūnus is referred to in connection with Ṭabarī by Ibn 'Asākir, LXXII, and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, IV, 192. For Ibn Yūnus, see *EI*², III, 969b, s. v.

16. See Qifṭī, *Inbāh*, III, 90, and *Muḥammadūn*, 264.

preserved, the oldest is the *History of Baghdad* by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (392–463/1002–71), cited here as *TB*.[17] The Khaṭīb's biographical notice was quoted by practically all later biographers. Since Ṭabarī spent some time in Damascus on his western journey, Ibn 'Asākir (499–571/1105–76) devoted to him a long and informative entry in his *History of Damascus*. He went beyond *TB* and added much information from the old sources.[18] By far the most extensive coverage of Ṭabarī's life and works is the one we owe to the great geographer and biographer Yāqūt. He was a contemporary and long-term associate of al-Qifṭī, whose enthusiasm for Ṭabarī he apparently shared. Yāqūt's article on Ṭabarī in his *Dictionary of learned men and litterateurs*, cited here as *Irshād*, reproduces long excerpts from the old sources. It seems that he quotes them quite literally. The available text is not free from mistakes. In all likelihood, however, they do not affect anything essential.[19]

Ṭabarī's fame was such that no biographer in subsequent centuries who touched on Ṭabarī's age and fields of scholarly activity could afford not to mention him. Biographical notices are numerous, if often quite perfunctory. Some provide valuable bits of additional information not found elsewhere, but that is rare.[20] As a rule, they do not offer noteworthy biographical data beyond what is found in the works of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn 'Asākir, and Yāqūt. Among the longer notices, reference may be made here, without prejudice, to those in the *Muntaẓam* (VI,

17. See *TB*, II, 162–9.

18. Attention to Ibn 'Asākir's biography of Ṭabarī was first drawn by Goldziher, "Die literarische Thätigkeit." In a letter to T. Nöldeke, he mentions that this edition was a difficult task, see Róbert Simon, *Ignác Goldziher*, 197. Goldziher published only the part dealing with Ṭabarī's works. The manuscript he used is now in the Yale University Library, Ms. L-312 (Cat. Nemoy 1182), fols. 109a–117b. On the basis of the same manuscript, the complete text was published in Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, LXIX–XCVI, with comparison with and additions from other biographies, in particular, those of Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, and al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, also Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, as well as brief passages from al-Dhahabī and al-Nawawī. (Al-Dhahabī's source is now available, see Mu'āfā, *Jalīs*, I, 472, quoted in *TB*, X, 98 f., in the biography of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, see below, n. 464).

19. See *Irshād*, VI, 423–62, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 40–94. Rifā'ī offers some suggestions and corrections. For Yāqūt's sources, see Bergsträsser, "Quellen," 201 f. For his biography, see Sellheim, "Neue Materialien," 87–118, and *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, I, 226–31.

20. See, for instance, below, n. 123.

170–2) of Ibn al-Jawzī (507–97/1126–1200), the *Nubalā'* (XIV, 267–82) of al-Dhahabī (673–748/1274–1348),[21] and the large *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah* (III, 120–8) of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (727–71/1327–70). Other works have, of course, been mentioned here wherever indicated.[22]

Not surprisingly, the critical evaluation of the available material presents difficult problems. The reports we have are expectedly partial to Ṭabarī. In fact, they can be suspected of an attempt to idealize him. Since Ṭabarī expressed views on nearly every aspect of religion, law, and society, he inevitably made many enemies. They left no biographical notices known to us, and their views are rarely heard.[23] We may question whether the anecdotes told about him actually occurred and whether he did in fact do all the things and make all the remarks attributed to him. Furthermore, there was, and is, the temptation to suppose that a famous person had contact with any other famous person in his time and place. Thus, there is occasionally some doubt as to whether the individuals named in anecdotes, on which we must rely for reconstructing some of the data of Ṭabarī's life, were accurately reported.[24] In view of these and other difficulties, the only sound procedure is the one followed here: Unless there is irrefutable proof to the contrary, we must assume that the reports reflect reality, and that idealizing descriptions depict, if not reality, then something equally or more important, namely, the perception of contemporaries. In either case, they provide legitimate material for the biographer, to be used, it is true, with appropriate caution.

His Early Life

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī was born in Āmul, the principal capital city of Ṭabaristān, located in the lowlands of the

21. Al-Dhahabī had occasion to come back to Ṭabarī in other works. His *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* presumably contained a lengthy obituary notice. It was not available to me.

22. For instance, the biographies in Ibn Khallikān and al-Nawawī were already edited and translated by Hamaker, *Specimen*, 21–32. For Ḥājjī Khalīfah and d'Herbelot, see, in particular, below, 138.

23. Some hostile Ḥanbalite information seems to have entered the biographical mainstream; see below, 73 f.

24. The often crucial dates for individuals connected with Ṭabarī are unfortunately not always as certain as we might wish; see below, translation, v f.

region at a distance of about twenty kilometers from the southern shore of the Caspian.[25] It was sometime during the winter of A.D. 839, when al-Mu'taṣim ruled as caliph in Baghdad. Ṭabarī himself was not quite sure whether his birth fell near the end of the hijrah year 224 or in the beginning of 225. According to local memory, it coincided with some noteworthy happening, but those whom he asked at some later time in his life were uncertain what that happening had been. Ṭabaristān certainly went through an eventful time at this period of its history, though the political circumstances may not have been responsible for the particular happening by which Ṭabarī's birth was remembered. In the years 224 and 225, the governor of the region, Māziyār b. Qārin, a recent convert to Islam and a member of the Bāwandid dynasty who were still non-Muslims,[26] rebelled against control by the Ṭāhirid dynasty of governors and thus against the central authorities of the caliphate. In the course of the rebellion, heavy taxes were placed upon the landowners of Āmul, and the city itself was laid waste. We do not know in which way and to what degree these events affected Ṭabarī's family. It is possible that the attempt to levy new taxes on farms and real estate had a temporary unsettling effect on it. With the victory of the Ṭāhirids, Āmul seems to have entered upon a prosperous phase of its history.

Ṭabarī retained close ties to his hometown throughout his life. At some later date, he wrote an essay detailing his religious principles, and addressed it to the people of Ṭabaristān. He felt that erroneous doctrines, such as those propounded by Mu'tazilites and Khārijites, were spreading there.[27] Shī'ah influence also was strong. 'Alids and their supporters achieved political hegemony when the Zaydī dynasty came into power in 250/864. Probably about 290/903, on his second (and, apparently, last) of his recorded visits home, his outspoken defense of the virtues of the first two caliphs against Shī'ah attacks caused him much trouble. Reportedly, he had to leave the region in a great hurry. An old man who had given him timely warning of the danger awaiting him was severely beaten by the authorities; cognizant of his indebtedness

25. See "Āmol" in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, I, 980 f.

26. See "Bāwand" in *EI*², I, 1110. On the Ṭāhirids, see, for instance, C.E. Bosworth, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, IV, 90 ff.

27. On *Tabṣir*, below, 126 f.

to him, Ṭabarī had him brought to Baghdad where he treated him hospitably.[28] There may be no special significance to the fact that men from Ṭabaristān were rather numerous in the historian's circle of acquaintances and that *History* pays a good deal of attention to events in Ṭabaristān, but it could be another indication of Ṭabarī's attachment to the land of his birth.

Information on the more remote history of Ṭabarī's family is restricted to the names of his ancestors on his father's side. Yazīd is reasonably well-established as the name of his grandfather. It is mentioned regularly, and it also occurs in Ṭabarī's own works, though rarely and with somewhat doubtful authenticity.[29] Beyond Yazīd, the names of Ṭabarī's great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather appear as Kathīr b. Ghālib in one tradition, while another less common one knows only of a great-grandfather named Khālid.[30] These are all good Arabic Muslim names and as such contain no hint at ancient non-Muslim roots on his father's side. They would lead into the mid-second/eighth century before Ṭabaristān came, in a way, fully under Muslim control. It is thus not entirely excluded, if far from certain, that Ṭabarī's paternal forebears were Muslim colonists who migrated to Āmul and settled there at some date. Ṭabarī himself discouraged speculation about his ancestry. When he was asked by a certain Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Jumhūr[31] about his ancestry, he replied by quoting a verse of Ru'bah b. al-ʿAjjāj, in which the famous Umayyad poet deprecated pride in one's pedigree.

(My father) al-ʿAjjāj has established my reputation,[32] so call me

28. See *Irshād*, VI, 456, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 85 f.

29. We can never be sure whether "b. Yazīd" goes back to Ṭabarī's own text or was added in the course of the manuscript transmission. See *Tafsīr*, III, 107, 1. 14 (beginning of sūrah 3). The subscription of the ancient manuscript of *Ikhtilāf*, ed. Schacht, x, refers to Yazīd, but the text later on (p. 242) does not have it. It is, however, frequent in Kern's edition of *Ikhtilāf*.

30. Thus Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 234, 1. 9. His source was al-Muʿāfā, who might have had reliable information; still, the majority opinion seems to be correct. See also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, IV, 191.

31. He cannot be further identified. He appears to have been a follower of Ṭabarī's school. His name is given only in Ibn ʿAsākir, LXXIII f., who indicates that his information goes back to al-Muʿāfā.

32. Cf. Qur. 94:4. Ru'bah's *Dīwān* does not have "my." A reading *dhikrā*, and not *dhikrī*, has nothing to recommend itself.

by my name (alone)! When long pedigrees are given
(for others), it suffices me.[33]

Perhaps, Ṭabarī wished to express disdain for the view that merit was based upon ancestry rather than individual accomplishment (even if Ru'bah's verse is not a good example for it). This was a topic hotly debated in Islam at all times. On the other hand, it could merely mean that Ṭabarī did not have memorable ancestors whom he knew about or cared for.

A strange family relationship was claimed for Ṭabarī on the basis of a couple of verses ascribed to the well-known poet Abū Bakr (Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās) al-Khuwārizmī, whose death is placed about 383/993 or a decade later.[34] The verses speak about the poet's relationship to the "Jarīr family (*banū Jarīr*)." He states that he was born in Āmul and boasts that the Banū Jarīr were 'Alid extremists *(rāfiḍī)* through the female lineage *('an kalālah)*, while he himself was a *rāfiḍī* by paternal inheritance.[35] The relationship was supposed to be as close as that of nephew and uncle (?), which would be chronologically impossible. The little we know about Ṭabarī's family does not support such a relationship or the existence of an extended "Jarīr family." As suggested by Yāqūt, the connection of the verses with the historian may have been the work of hostile Ḥanbalites who wished to brand him as a Shī'ite. But we also hear from a Shī'ite source that the other Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, whose grandfather's name was Rustam and who was the likely author of *al-Mustarshid* (see below, 118 f.), applied the verses to himself, with the difference that he claimed maternal relationship while someone else claimed paternal lineage for their Shī'ah loyalties.[36] At any rate, the story can be safely disregarded as absurd and unhistorical, as far as Ṭabarī is concerned.

His father, Jarīr, was a man of property, although he was not

33. See Ru'bah, *Dīwān*, 160, no. 57, ll. 8 f., translation, 215; Ibn 'Asākir (above, n. 31); *Irshād*, VI, 428, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 47.

34. See Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 635 f. Abū Bakr al-Khuwārizmī was also called al-Ṭabarkhazī, because his father came from Khuwārizm and his mother from Ṭabaristān; see Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, IX, 37 f.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, IV, 400; and Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 191. See further *EI*², IV, 1069, s.v. al-Khᵂārazmī.

35. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 68. Yāqūt rejects the story as malicious Ḥanbalite slander picked up by the Shī'ah poet, but it appears to have been accepted by scholars such as Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, IV, 192, and Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 284, III, 192.

36. See Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, I, 301.

rich. As long as he lived, he provided his son with an income, and Ṭabarī inherited (his share of) the estate after his father's death, the date of which is not known to us. According to an anecdote placed in the time of the wazirate of Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Khāqān, who became wazīr in 299/912, even at that late period of Ṭabarī's life, the pilgrim caravan brought the proceeds from his lands *(ḍay'ah)* in Ṭabaristān to Baghdad—as usual, it seems, in the form of merchandise rather than cash. It was Ṭabarī's custom to use the occasion to make gifts to friends and acquaintances to whom he was obligated. This time, he selected[37] a sable estimated to be worth fifty dīnārs, wrapped it up in a large parcel, and had it conveyed to the wazīr, who was surprised when the parcel was opened in his presence and he saw the valuable gift. He accepted it, but he indicated that he did not want Ṭabarī to give any more such presents to him in the future. On his part, Ṭabarī had intended the precious fur as a countergift for one the wazīr had offered him, and it was to serve as a hint that as a matter of principle, he felt he could not accept any large gifts from the wazīr or anybody else.[38]

The modest degree of financial independence which Ṭabarī enjoyed throughout his life enabled him as a student to travel, and it gave him some freedom to follow his scholarly and moral ideals when he was an established scholar and other potential sources of income were readily at his disposal. Living and traveling at rather large distances from his source of income, it could happen that his father's stipend did not reach him on time, and he experienced some temporary inconvenience. Once, he was forced to sell some of his garments, such as the long sleeves characteristic of the scholar's robe.[39] In Egypt, he and his friends even had to go

37. Yāqūt is not very clear as to whether Ṭabarī bought the fur from the proceeds or whether it was part of the merchandise he had received. There is good reason to assume the latter. It could conceivably suggest that the total value of the merchandise was substantial.

38. See *Irshād*, VI, 457 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 88 f. The informants here, Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. al-Shā'ir and Sulaymān b. al-Khāqānī (if these are the correct forms of their names), cannot be identified. Ṭabarī's attitude toward gifts will come up repeatedly here, as it is a recurrent motif in his biography. The exchange of gifts played an important role in Muslim society and found much attention among jurists (see, for instance *EI*², III, 342-40, s. v. **hiba**). For Ṭabarī's views on the acceptance of gifts from non-Muslims—a subject that had major political implications—one may compare his discussion in *Tahdhīb, Musnad 'Alī*, 207–21.

39. See below, n. 69. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taqdimah*, 363 f., reports a similar experi-

hungry until a local dignitary miraculously came to their rescue and sent them a large amount of money.[40]

At a young age, Ṭabarī displayed his precociousness, which was remarkable even in a world where precociousness was not unusual and was carefully nurtured by parents and teachers. As an old man probably in his seventies, he recalled that he knew the Qur'ān by heart when he was seven, served as prayer leader when he was eight, and studied (lit., "wrote down") traditions of the Prophet when he was nine. This remark may sound a little boastful, but there is no reason to doubt it. The words appear to be those actually used when he wanted to convince the father of a nine-year-old boy, the young son of his future biographer Ibn Kāmil, that it was not too early for Ibn Kāmil to have the boy study with him and that he should not use the boy's tender years and lack of preparation *(qillat al-adab)* as an excuse for not doing so. In order to stress his point, he told Ibn Kāmil of a dream which his own father had once had about his young son. "My father," Ṭabarī reminisced, "had a dream concerning me. He saw me standing before the Prophet with a bag filled with stones, and I was spreading some of them in front of him. A dream interpreter told my father that the dream signified that I would be a good Muslim as an adult and a strong defender of the religious law of the Prophet. As a consequence, my father was ready to support my studies ('my quest of knowledge' *ṭalab al-'ilm)* when I was still a small boy."[41]

Whether it was an actual dream or a literary fiction does not really matter. Dreams commonly served as a means to express basic convictions. In this case, the dream mirrored the desire of Ṭabarī's father to further his son's education, although he himself most likely had no specialized scholarly training. He encouraged him to leave home "in quest of knowledge," when he reached puberty *(tara'ra'a).* We are told reliably that young Ṭabarī left home

ence of his father.

40. See below, n. 109. It was, of course, nothing rare for students and many other young men to live on paternal bounty. Thus, Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, II, 179, tells about a Khurāsānian who every year received his annual allowance through the pilgrim caravan. Unable, or unwilling, to stretch it to last the entire year, he compiled debts to be paid off when next year's caravan arrived, only to get into a very tight situation when the caravan did not bring anything for him one year because his father had been seriously ill.

41. See *Irshād*, 429 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 49. On Ṭabarī's good-humored banter with the boy's names on this occasion, see below, n. 163.

in 236/850–1, when he was only twelve.[42] It often was a wrenching decision, especially for a mother, to send a child off to college, for this is what "traveling in quest of knowledge" really meant in cases of young boys such as Ṭabarī. The situation was aggravated by the fact that there were no organized "colleges" in his day (as there were in later centuries) which could have provided institutional support. Providing for proper living arrangements for the youngsters was left to individuals, family connections, or, preferably, teachers. We know nothing about Ṭabarī's mother, not even if she was still alive when he left home. If she was, she might have felt like the mother of Ibn Bashshār, one of Ṭabarī's influential teachers, when her son was faced with the decision of going away to study. She did not want him to leave, and he heeded his mother's advice and stayed, at least for the time being. Later, he felt that it was on account of this act of filial piety that he was blessed with a successful career.[43]

Young Ṭabarī left to receive his further schooling in the nearest metropolis, al-Rayy, on the site of present-day Teheran. The teachers in Āmul whom his father had engaged for him naturally did not measure up in prestige to those in al-Rayy. It was there that, during a stay of apparently close to five years, Ṭabarī received the intellectual formation that made him the scholar he was to become. There is no record of his having visited other scholarly centers before leaving for Baghdad, where he arrived "shortly after the death of Ibn Ḥanbal" in the latter half of 241, that is, late in 855 or early in the following year.[44] "Traveling in quest of knowledge" could mean brief visits to famous authorities. Frequently, however, and no doubt in the case of very young students such as Ṭabarī, it entailed an extended stay and the systematic attendance at regular courses rather than occasional lectures. A teacher would quiz his students in the evening on the material they had taken down during the day. When the students happened to take a course with a teacher who lived outside the city limits, they had to run back "like mad *(ka-al-majānīn)*" in order to be on time for

42. The source for the precise date is Maslamah b. al-Qāsim, as quoted by Ibn Ḥajar. See below, n. 123.

43. See *TB*, II, 102, ll. 3 f.

44. See *Irshād*, 430, l. 18, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 50.

another class.[45]

Most prominent among his teachers in al-Rayy was Ibn Ḥumayd. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Rāzi[46] was in his seventies at the time, and he died a decade later, in 248/862. He became one of Ṭabarī's most frequently cited authorities. Ibn Ḥumayd had lectured in Baghad and had been welcomed there by Ibn Ḥanbal, who is even said to have transmitted traditions on his authority. If it is correct that Ibn Ḥanbal's son ʿAbdallāh (213–90/828[9]–903)[47] had studied with him, his stay in Baghdad cannot have been very much in the past, unless, of course, ʿAbdallāh was a small child when he attended his lectures, which is quite possible. In Ṭabarī's time, Ibn Ḥumayd had apparently retired to his native city. We have no information that he returned to Baghdad during his remaining years, in which case Ṭabarī could have continued his studies with him there. Thus, the material he quoted on Ibn Ḥumayd's authority was acquired by him in al-Rayy. No doubt he filled his notebooks with it for future reference, but he can also be assumed to have checked it all against the books upon which Ibn Ḥumayd had based his teaching, and supplemented it from them.

Another teacher from Ṭabarī's days in al-Rayy was al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm, whose *nisbah* was al-Āmulī (rather than al-Ubullī as found in *Irshād*).[48] Practically nothing more is known about him, but he also served as an important source of information for Ṭabarī's writings. Another, even less-known teacher of Ṭabarī was a certain Aḥmad b. Ḥammād al-Dawlābī. His main claim to distinction was that he had been a student of the reputable Sufyān (b. ʿUyaynah).[49] It must be said that our lack of knowledge about these men does not mean that their standing in the world of contemporary scholarship was low in any respect.

It is significant that the instruction which Ṭabarī received from Ibn Ḥumayd in al-Rayy extended to the historical works of Ibn

45. See *Irshād*, 430, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 49 f.

46. For Ibn Ḥumayd, see below, translation, n. 26. *Irshād*, VI, 424, l. 2. ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 41, l. 2, had Aḥmad for Muḥammad by mistake (misprint ?).

47. See below, 70. For Ibn Ḥumayd's connection with Ibn Ḥanbal and the latter's son ʿAbdallāh, see *TB*, II, 259, ll. 4 f., 12, and 260, ll. 4 f.

48. See below, translation, n. 179.

49. See *History*, below, I, 1806; *Tafsīr*, VI, 3, l. 21 (*ad* Qur. 4:148), XI, 94, l. 21 (*ad* Qur. 10:64), XVIII, 60, l. 8 (*ad* Qur. 24:5).

Isḥāq, famous above all as the author of the life of Muḥammad *(al-Sīrah)*. He thus learned about pre-Islamic and early Islamic history. Knowledge of it was needed by religious scholars in general. In Ṭabarī's case, more importantly, it would seem that in the process, the seeds were planted for his wider interest in history which later culminated in the writing of his great *History*. According to Yāqūt, Ibn Kāmil is supposed to have reported that it was under the guidance of the just-mentioned Aḥmad b. Ḥammād al-Dawlābī on the authority of Salamah[50] that Ṭabarī studied Ibn Isḥāq's *Mubtada'* and *Maghāzī* and thus laid the groundwork for *History*.[51] However, in *History* itself, the *isnād* is always Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq. The reference to Ibn Ḥammād in this connection is no doubt a mistake, which, however, could hardly have occurred in Ibn Kāmil's original text but must have crept in during the course of transmission.[52] Ṭabarī later on continued his study of Ibn Isḥāq. In al-Kūfah, both Hannād b. al-Sarī and Abū Kurayb transmitted to him information from Ibn Isḥāq according to another recension, that of Yūnus b Bukayr (d. 199/814[5]).[53] At that time, Ṭabarī probably did not receive instruction in special courses devoted entirely to Ibn Isḥāq. It was rather through incidental reference that he learned more about him there.

Ibn Ḥumayd's status as an authorized transmitter of Ibn Isḥāq's *Maghāzī* through Salamah was attacked by an otherwise unknown 'Alī b. Mihrān. Ibn Mihrān claimed plagiarism on the part of Ibn Ḥumayd. According to him, Ibn Ḥumayd did not receive the material directly from Salamah but through him. Therefore, he contended, a certain Isḥāq b. Manṣūr (possibly the bearer of the name who died in 251/865?), who had studied with Ibn Ḥumayd just like Ṭabarī, was right when he classified Ibn Ḥumayd as

50. For Salamah b. al-Faḍl, judge of al-Rayy, see below, translation, n. 49.

51. See *Irshād*, VI, 430, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 50.

52. It is possible that both Ibn Ḥammād and Ibn Ḥumayd (who also taught Qur'ān commentary) lectured on the same material from Salamah from Ibn Isḥāq in al-Rayy at the same time, but it does not seem very likely.

53. For Hannād (below, translation, n. 71), see *History*, I, 970, and for Abū Kurayb (below, translation, n. 77), see *History*, II, 311, III, 52. For Ibn Bukayr's recension, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 289, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 434 f., where Hannād and Abū Kurayb are listed among Ibn Bukayr's transmitters.

a "liar."[54] Quarrels of this kind were not uncommon, but even if there was some truth to the accusation directed against Ibn Ḥumayd, it would in no way reflect upon Ibn Ḥumayd's decisive role in Ṭabarī's development as a scholar.

A continuation of his studies in the center of the Muslim world, the capital city of Baghdad, was a natural choice for Ṭabarī, who by then was not yet seventeen years old. Baghdad not only counted many of the greatest representatives of Muslim scholarship among its residents, but scholars as well as litterateurs also came to lecture there for longer or shorter periods. Many stopped over on their way to or, more commonly, from the pilgrimage to Mecca, offering students the opportunity to add to their store of knowledge. In fact, if we can believe the *Story of the Belt* (below, p. 99), Ṭabarī himself went on the pilgrimage in 240/855, possibly before his first arrival in Baghdad (and not in the time between his arrival in Baghdad and his study trip to southern Iraq). The date of Ṭabarī's arrival in Baghdad is fixed by the statement that what attracted him to Baghdad was the expectation to study with Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (164–241/780–855), but Ibn Ḥanbal died shortly before his arrival.[55] It cannot be entirely ruled out that this report was invented to defuse later Ḥanbalite animosity against Ṭabarī. There is, however, nothing inherently impossible in it, even though Ibn Ḥanbal was no longer fully active at the time. Ibn Ḥumayd might very well have suggested to his bright young student that it was advisable for him to profit from contact with the great traditionist, no matter how slight such contact would be.

Rather soon,[56] Ṭabarī left Baghdad in order to continue his study and research in the great towns south of Baghdad, al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, including Wāsiṭ on the way. A number of famous authorities, mostly men already at least in their seventies, lived and taught there. It would have been possible for Ṭabarī to make repeated trips while spending some time in between in Baghdad, but a student was hardly likely to do this; thus, it can be confidently

54. See *TB*, II, 262 f.

55. See above, n. 44.

56. The assumption of Hūfī, 35, that Ṭabarī left Baghdad right away seems unlikely. *Irshād*, VI, 430, ll. 19 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 50, states that he began to study in Baghdad and then left for al-Basrah. His tutorship, which has been assigned by me to a later date (see below, 21 f.), could conceivably fall into this time, but this would seem improbable.

assumed he undertook just one extended journey. The date when it started can be established with reasonable accuracy. Some of the authorities with whom he studied, such as the Baṣrans Ḥumayd b. Mas'adah, who is often quoted in *Tafsīr*, and Bishr b. Mu'ādh al-'Aqadī,[57] died at the latest in 245/859–60; but one of the Kūfan scholars, Hannād b. al-Sarī, who also provided him with much information for *Tafsīr*, is said to have died already in 243/857 as a man in his nineties.[58] Assuming that this date is correct, Ṭabarī's first stay in Baghdad lasted hardly more than a year, and he had gone south already in 242/856–7.

Scholars in al-Baṣrah whom Ṭabarī met during his visit there included men quoted again and again in his works. Among them were Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 245/859[60]),[59] Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ḥarashī (d. 248/862),[60] and Abū al-Ash'ath Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām (d. 253/867).[61] Others, such as Abū al-Jawzā' Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān (d. 246/860), are cited less frequently.[62]

In al-Kūfah, he encountered, among others, Ismā'īl b. Mūsā al-Fazārī (d. 245/859), whom Ṭabarī considered to be a grandson of al-Suddī,[63] and Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād al-Ṭalḥī (d. 252/866), an expert in Qur'ān reading who showed himself willing to test Ṭabarī's knowledge and qualifications in the field.[64]

The two men from whom he profited most in those years were Muḥammad b. Bashshār, known as Bundār (167–252/783[4]–866),[65] in al-Baṣrah, and Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-'Alā' (d. in his

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57. For Ḥumayd b. Mas'adah, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 49. He is often quoted in *Tafsīr* as well as *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad 'Alī*, index, 429. For Bishr, see below, translation, n. 196.

58. See above, n. 53.

59. See below, translation, n. 101.

60. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 482, no. 778.

61. See below, translation, n. 970.

62. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV 206 f. He is mentioned in *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1051, and *History*, I, 1147.

63. For al-Fazārī, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 335 f. His relationship to al-Suddī (below, translation, n. 276) was disputed.

64. For Sulaymān al-Ṭalḥī, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 206 f.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, II, 107, and I, 314, ll. 13 f. ['*araḍa 'alayh al-imām Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī*]. Ibn al-Jazarī, like al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* (Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, XCVI), depends on al-Dānī. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 285, l. 5, and Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 121, also mention that Ṭabarī studied Qur'ān reading with him. It is not certain that he met him in al-Kūfah. Al-Ṭalḥī is mentioned in *Tafsīr*, XVI, 61, l. 3 (*ad* Qur. 19:31).

65. See below, translation, n. 44.

eighties in 247 or 248/861–2)[66] in al-Kūfah. As appears from the innumerable times that they are cited as transmitters, both Ibn Bashshār and Abū Kurayb exercised a great influence on him. Abū Kurayb was a difficult person, but Ṭabarī did not fail to mollify him from the start of their acquaintance by his extraordinary ability. When he came to his house together with other *ḥadīth* students clamoring for admission, he found the great scholar looking out of a window and asking for those who could recite from memory the traditions they had written down on his dictation. The assembled students looked at each other and then pointed to Ṭabarī as the one who would be able to do that. Abū Kurayb examined him and found him able to recite every tradition he was asked, with the exact day on which Abū Kurayb had taught it.[67]

Ṭabarī probably spent less than two years traveling in southern Iraq and may have returned to Baghdad about 244/858–9. It was not until eight years later that he undertook his next major research trip that took him to Syria and Egypt. During that interval between journeys, we should possibly date his first attested gainful employment. He accepted a position as tutor to a son of the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān.[68] The boy was called Abū Yaḥyā. As the story suggests, he probably was the wazīr's son by a slave girl. Since Ibn Khāqān was out of office and in exile between 248 and 253, Ṭabarī would have held his tutorial position sometime between 244/858–9 and 248/962. The report we have is introduced by the words "when Ṭabarī entered Baghdad" and could refer to his first arrival in the capital. However, a rather high salary is involved, which seems more than could have been commanded by a very young and unknown student such as Ṭabarī was when he first came to Baghdad. Moreover, the story shows Ṭabarī already firmly committed to legal ethics, which is hardly in keeping with someone seventeen years of age. Ṭabarī, we are told, had merchandise to provide for his living expenses (sent, no doubt, by his father). It was stolen, and he was in dire straights,

66. See below, translation, n. 77.

67. See *Irshād*, VI, 431, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 51. "Difficult person" renders *sharis al-khuluq*. This characterization, which fitted other scholars as well, is also used for the grammarian Thaʿlab (*Irshād*, VI, 438, l. 7, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 60).

68. See *EI*², III, 824a, s. v. Ibn Khāḳān (2). The future wazīr was a student of Ibn Ḥanbal; see Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 204. On another son, the wazīr al-Khāqānī, see below, n. 129.

so much so that he had to sell part of his clothing.[69] A friend of his knew that the wazīr was looking for a tutor for his son, and the friend asked Ṭabarī whether he was willing to accept the position if it was offered to him. Ṭabarī agreed, no doubt eagerly. The friend was able to arrange matters. After first providing him with the proper clothes, he introduced him to the wazīr. Ibn Khāqān gained a good impression of him. He offered him the position and agreed to pay ten dīnārs per month. In addition, he had a contract drawn up specifying the time Ṭabarī[70] was allowed to devote to study, prayer, eating, and resting, and even gave him upon his request a one-month advance. A well-equipped classroom *(ḥujrat al-ta'dīb)* for the boy was assigned to Ṭabarī. He instructed him in writing, and his pupil appears to have quickly learned how to write. The writing tablet that demonstrated the boy's newly acquired skill was taken by servants to his mother and the other slave girls who had borne children to their master *(ummahāt al-walad)* as proof of the good news. The overjoyed ladies filled a tray with dirhams and dīnārs and sent it with the servants back to Ṭabarī. He, however, refused to accept the money. He had, he said, a contract with the wazīr to be paid a certain sum and was not entitled to any further compensation. The matter was submitted to the wazīr who summoned him and told him that he was wrong to reject the well-meant gift of the women and had offended them by not accepting it. Ṭabarī argued that the women were slaves and legally owned no property of their own. He obviously implied that it was really the wazīr who was the source of the money and who therefore was paying more than had been agreed upon in the contract. Ṭabarī learned a lesson from this occurrence. Later on, when friends would bring him a gift of food, it was his established custom *(sunnah)* to accept it as being, in contrast to money, merely a token gift; but, prompted by his socially proper attitude *(muruwwah)*, he would make an appropriate return gift. This taught

69. The manuscript of Ibn 'Asākir has *k-s-y qamīṣ-h*, which was emended to *kummay*... "the long sleeves of his shirt" in Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, LXXV. The correction is confirmed by Dhahabī's quotation in *Nubalā'*, XIV, 271 f. In a brief statement reported by Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 125, Ṭabarī is quoted by al-Farghānī as having said, "My father's allowance for my living expenses did not arrive on time, so that I was forced to cut off the sleeves of my shirt and sell them." Al-Subkī no doubt refers to the same event.

70. The Arabic pronoun clearly refers to Ṭabarī, and not to his young pupil.

his friends that it would be inadvisable to press gifts on him.[71]

Being in his late twenties, Ṭabarī was an acknowledged scholar—a "recent Ph.D." in our parlance—when he left Baghdad for further study in the West, that is, in the countries located to the west of Iraq. His goal was Egypt, but his journey included visits to Syria and Palestine both on the way to Egypt and on a sidetrip from Egypt before his eventual return to Baghdad. Beirut was an especially important stop because it gave him the opportunity to study with al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd b. Mazyad al-ʿUdhrī al-Bayrūtī (ca. 169–270/785[6]–883[4]).[72] Al-ʿAbbās instructed him in the variant readings *(ḥurūf)* of the Qurʾān according to the Syrian school. Moreover, he was instrumental in conveying to him through his father al-Walīd the legal views of al-Awzāʿī, Syria's most prominent jurist who had died in Beirut about a century earlier.[73]

Ṭabarī's precise itinerary in Syria and Palestine is not known to us. Some of the places he visited can be deduced from the names of the authorities cited in his works. The scholars named Ḥimṣī, Ramlī, or ʿAsqalānī could, of course, have been in Iraq or in Egypt when Ṭabarī studied with them. However, even if it is not expressly attested that a given scholar resided in his native town at

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71. See Ibn ʿAsākir, LXXV f., and Dhahabī, *Nubalāʾ* (above, n. 69).

72. See Ibn ʿAsākir, LXIX and LXXII; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, I, 355, II, 107; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* (Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, XCVI). For al-ʿAbbās and his father (who was also always the source of his traditions in *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad Ibn ʿAbbās*, index, 1061), see below, translation, n. 98. Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd's authority is said to be Khallād b. Khālid (d. 220/835; see Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, I, 274 f.). Ṭabarī, according to *Irshād*, VI, 427, ll. 9–12, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 45, taught Qurʾān reading—which he supposedly did rarely, and only to selected individuals—according to the tradition of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bakkār al-Kalāʿī. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was also a teacher of Qurʾān readings (*ḥurūf*) to al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 109; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, 355, 360. No contradiction is involved here, inasmuch as al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd transmitted material from both authorities to Ṭabarī.

In his second passage, Ibn ʿAsākir quotes a work entitled *Talkhīṣ qirāʾāt al-Shaʿmiyyīn* by a certain Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣbahānī. Regrettably, the quotation is out of context: "Abū Jaʿfar, that is, Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, stayed in Beirut several days, spending seven nights in the main mosque until he finished the Qurʾān according to this (!) transmission, reciting it to al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd. Then, after the reading, he listened to the Book being read by al-ʿAbbās. He informed him that he had thus read the Qurʾān to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bakkār twice, and so on."

73. For al-Awzāʿī, see below, translation, n. 95. The *isnād* "al-ʿAbbās b al-Walīd—his father—al-Awzāʿī" occurs, for instance, in *Ikhtilāf*, ed. Kern, 20, l. 4, etc., ed. Schacht, 148.

about the time Ṭabarī visited there, there are additional indications for their places of residence, such as, for instance, their permanent close ties to a given town, their having been visited there by contemporary students such as Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (ca. 240–327/854[5]–939) and his father Abū Ḥātim (195–277/810[1]–90[1]), their interconnections with other scholars of the region, their failure to be listed in *TB*, and the like.[74]

Ḥimṣ (Ḥomṣ, Emesa) was famous for its special tradition of *ḥadīth* transmission. Among the Ḥimṣīs who were Ṭabarī's authorities, mention may be made of 'Imrān b. Bakkār al-Kalā'ī,[75] Abū al-Jamāhir Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān,[76] a certain Abū Shuraḥbīl,[77] Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ma'dīkarib al-Ru'aynī,[78] Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Waṣṣābī,[79] Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān al-Tanūkhī,[80] and the outstanding representative of the Syrian *ḥadīth* school at the time, Muḥammad b. 'Awf al-Ṭā'ī.[81] Another Ḥimṣī, Sa'īd b.

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74. Another father-and-son team traveling in quest of knowledge among Ṭabarī's contemporaries was Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd (see below, n. 229) and his father Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath; see *TB*, IX, 464.

In connection with these pages, it is particularly regrettable that most of Ibn 'Asākir's *History of Damascus* was unavailable to me.

75. 'Imrān b. Bakkār died in 270/883–4; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 124. His family had old roots in Ḥimṣ. Ṭabarī refers to him frequently, for instance, *History*, I, 210; *Dhayl*, III, 2425, ed. Cairo, XI, 591; *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1066, *Musnad 'Alī*, index, 435 f.; *Tafsīr*, II, 353, l. 8 (*ad* Qur. 2:238), V, 163 f. (*ad* Qur. 4:11), on *ṣalāt al-khawf*, etc. In *Aghānī*, VIII, 161 (= *Agh.*[3] ,, IX, 273), Ṭabarī is quoted as reporting an Umayyad family tradition through him.

76. See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, III,2, 327, where Ibn Abī Ḥātim says that he studied with him in Ḥimṣ; *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1054; *Tafsīr*, XIV, 15, l. 28 (*ad* Qur. 15:22). His authority in the *Tafsīr* passage, Abū Rawḥ 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mūsā, was also a Ḥimṣī. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī studied with Abū Rawḥ in Salamyah, see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II,2, 397.

77. See *History*, I, 1140; *Tafsīr*, XIV, 32, l. 11 (*ad* Qur. 15:75), XXI, 56, l. 27 (*ad* Qur. 31:34); *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad 'Alī*, index, 432.

78. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 217; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II,1, 140 f.: "he died before I came to Ḥimṣ." In *Tafsīr*, XX, 53, l. 8 (*ad* Qur. 28:48), his authority is another Ḥimṣī, al-Baqiyyah b. al-Walīd.

79. See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, III,2, 237. He is cited in *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1071; *Tafsīr*, XXVII, 108, ll. 29 f. (*ad* Qur. 56:37).

80. See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II,1, 47. He is cited in *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index 1058, *Musnad 'Alī*, index, 431; *Tafsīr*, XVI, 80, l. 7 (*ad* Qur. 19:65); *Dhayl*, III, 2501, 2512, ed. Cairo, XI, 646, 655.

81. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Awf al-Ḥimṣī died in 272–3/885–6; see below, translation, n. 56; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV,1, 52 f.; Laoust, in *Mélanges Massignon*, III, 13. He appears also, for instance, in *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1074, *Musnad 'Alī*, index, 440 f.; *Tafsīr*, VI, 184, l. 4 (*ad* Qur. 5:54), XXIII, 17, l. 17 (*ad*

'Amr al-Sakūnī,[82] is almost always cited by Ṭabarī together with the Ḥimṣī Baqiyyah b. al-Walīd[83] as his authority; it is most likely that Ṭabarī's contact with him took place somewhere in Syria or Palestine, if not directly in Ḥimṣ. The same applies to Abū 'Utbah Aḥmad b. al-Faraj, although he is known to have been a frequent visitor to Baghdad.[84]

Ramlīs, from al-Ramlah in Palestine and presumably visited there by Ṭabarī, included Mūsā b. Sahl,[85] 'Alī b. Sahl,[86] 'Īsā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Īsā,[87] Ismā'īl b. Isrā'īl al-Sallāl,[88] al-Ḥasan b. Bilāl (who had moved from al-Baṣrah to take up residence in al-Ramlah),[89] and 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Yaḥyā.[90] Ayyūb b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm lived and

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Qur.36:65), XXVII, 130, ll. 7 f. (*ad* Qur. 57:14); *Dhayl* III, 2397, 2414, 2422 f., ed. Cairo, XI, 569, 582, 588 f.

82. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 67 f. Cited in *Tahdhīb, Musnad 'Alī*, index, 431; *Tafsīr*, III, 104, l. 31 (*ad* Qur. 2:286), etc.; *Dhayl*, III, 2391. ed. Cairo, XI, 565.

83. For Baqiyyah (115–97[8]/733–813), see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 473–8.

84. Aḥmad b. al-Faraj died in Ḥimṣ in 271/884–5; see *TB*, IV, 339–41; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 67–9. See, for instance, *Tahdhīb, Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1051, *Musnad 'Alī*, index, 424; *Tafsīr*, IX, 80, l. 29 (*ad* Qur. 7:172), X, 15, l. 1 (*ad* Qur. 8:50), XV, 98, l. 26 (*ad* Qur. 17:79, on *maqāman maḥmūdan*), XXII, 23, l. 14 (*ad* Qur. 35:36 f.), XXVII, 4, l. 16 (*ad* Qur. 51:41).

85. See below, translation, n. 232; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV,1, 146. Cited in *Tahdhīb, Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1076; *Tafsīr*, V, 120, l. 9 (*ad* Qur. 4:86), XIII, 114, l. 30 (*ad* Qur. 13:39), XVI, 142, l. 22 (*ad* Qur. 20:73); *Ṣarīḥ*, 195 f.

86. See below, translation, n. 45. Cited in *Tahdhīb, Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1064, *Musnad 'Alī*, index, 434; *Tafsīr*, XVI, 29, ll. 22 f. (*ad* Qur. 18:107), XVIII, 54, l. 13 (*ad* Qur. 24:2), XXVII, 142, l. 2 (*ad* Qur. 57:28); *Ikhtilāf*, ed. Schacht, 146; *Ṣarīḥ*, 198; *Dhayl*, III, 2369, 2490, 2492, ed. Cairo, XI, 549, 638 f. Although he was a Ramlī and transmitted from Ramlīs, it is not certain that Ṭabarī met him in his hometown.

87. According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 220, 'Īsā b. 'Uthmān died in 251/865. The date, if correct (which may not be the case), would mean that Ṭabarī could not have met him in al-Ramlah but presumably met him earlier in Baghdad. 'Īsā b. 'Uthmān's chief authority, his uncle Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā (d. 201/816[7], was a well-known Ramlī. See, for instance, *Tahdhīb, Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1066, *Musnad 'Alī*, index, 436; *Tafsīr*, II, 84, l. 31 (*ad* Qur. 2:184), VI, 87, l. 15 (*ad* Qur. 5:6), VII, 168, l. 11 (*ad* Qur. 6:82), VIII, 71, l. 17 (*ad* Qur. 6:158), X, 51, l. 4 (*ad* Qur. 9:3), XIV, 42, l. 25 (*ad* Qur. 15:90 f.), XVII, 80, l. 33, 82, l. 7 (*ad* Qur. 21:105), XIX, 26, l. 28 (*ad* Qur. 25:68), XX, 51, l. 21 (*ad* Qur. 28:46), XXI, 43, l. 23 (*ad* Qur. 31:12), XXVII, 50, l. 28 (*ad* Qur. 54:1).

88. See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I,1, 158. Ibn Abī Ḥātim has al-Sallāl, whereas *Tafsīr* has al-La''āl (?); see VII, 63, l. 6 (*ad* Qur. 5:105), XXVII, 78, l. 33 (*ad* Qur. 55:29). A Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Isrā'īl al-Dallāl occurs *Tafsīr*, V, 144, ll. 25 f. (*ad* Qur. 4:97). Read Abū Muḥammad Ismā'īl... (?).

89. See below, translation, n. 601.

90. See *Tafsīr*, IV, 8, l. 16 (*ad* Qur. 3:96), XIII, 65, l. 7, 68, l. 14 (*ad* Qur. 13:4), XVIII, 3, l. 18 (*ad* Qur. 23:1 f.), XX, 24, l. 5 (*ad* Qur. 28:10). His authority was Ḍamrah b.

taught in Baghdad and Egypt in addition to al-Ramlah, and he died in Baghdad in the 250s or 260s (ca. 865–82); thus, we cannot be quite sure where Ṭabarī studied with him.[91]

'Asqalānīs are represented by Muḥammad b. Khalaf,[92] 'Ubayd b. Ādam b. Abī Iyās,[93] and 'Iṣām b. Rawwād b. al-Jarrāḥ.[94] It may have been in Jerusalem that Ṭabarī met 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad al-Firyābī.[95] Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Jūzajānī died between 256/870 and 259/872–3 in Syria, probably in Damascus, and Ṭabarī may have studied with him there a few years earlier. He is described as the leader of the anti-'Alid faction in Syria. In the course of time, he was mistakenly identified as a follower of Ṭabarī's legal school, as his *nisbah* Ḥarīzī was misread Jarīrī; this error caused later Muslim historians to exercise their critical acumen.[96]

The individuals mentioned, numerous as they are, do not exhaust the list of those who were Ṭabarī's informants during his stay in Syria and Palestine. In many cases, we know quite little about them, but they all enjoyed great esteem as scholars in their time. Their number is a good illustration of the intensity with which scholars such as Ṭabarī (but, of course, not only he)

Rabī'ah al-Filasṭīnī al-Ramlī (see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 460).

91. See *TB*, VII, 9 f. Cited in *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1052, *Musnad 'Alī*, index, 426; *Tafsīr*, X, 128, l. 11 (*ad* Qur. 9:74).

92. See below, translation, n. 621; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, III,2, 245. Cited in *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1071, *Musnad 'Alī*, index, 439; *Tafsīr*, V, 80, l. 23 (*ad* Qur. 4:48) and elsewhere; *Dhayl*, III, 2379, 2414, 2515, ed. Cairo, XI, 557, 582, 657.

93. 'Ubayd b. Ādam died in 258/872; see below, translation, n. 221. His father, a prominent scholar of Marwan origin, was born in Baghdad and died in 'Asqalān; see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I,1, 268. Cited in *Tafsīr*, XXI, 39, l. 14 (*ad* Qur. 31:6); *Dhayl*, III, 2424, ed. Cairo, XI, 590.

94. See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, III,2, 26; and, for his father Rawwād, I,2, 524. Cited in *Tafsīr*, III, 54, l 29, 55, l. 26, 56, ll. 24 ff. (*ad* Qur. 2:267), XVII, 69, l. 17 (*ad* Qur. 21:96), XVIII, 20, l. 13 (*ad* Qur. 23:50), XX, II, l. 5 (*ad* Qur. 27.82), XXII, 72, l. 23 (*ad* Qur. 34:51).

95. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II,2, 335, states that al-Firyābī resided in Jerusalem and that his father studied with him. One of his authorities was Ḍamrah b. Rabī'ah (above, n. 90). Al-Firyābī appears in *Tafsīr*, VII, 193, l. 3 (*ad* Qur. 6:98), IX, 143, l. 9 (*ad* Qur.8:24), XV, 148, l. 14 (*ad* Qur. 18:19), XXI, 20, l. 1 (*ad* Qur. 30:15); *Ṣarīḥ*, 196.

96. See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I,1, 148 f.; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 75 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 181-3; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 149 f.; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*², 278. He is cited in *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1050, *Musnad 'Alī*, index, 424; *Tafsīr*, XII, 24, l. 3 (*ad* Qur. 11:38), XIV, 197, l. 25 (*ad* Qur. 16:88), XVI, 161, l. 4 (*ad* Qur. 20:115). He may be meant in *Ṣarīḥ*, 196, where Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Jūzajānī is mentioned (?).

pursued their "quest of knowledge."

The year Ṭabarī came to Egypt is indicated in one passage as 253/867, and in another as 256/870.[97] It is tempting to consider the former date as referring to his first arrival in the country, and the second as the date of his return after the excursion to Syria and Palestine. This may have been so, in particular, since both dates appear to go back to one authority, Ibn Kāmil. The context in which the dates are embedded seems to confirm the first date as quite certain. It depicts Ṭabarī as comparatively unknown when he reached Egypt, and willing to have his scholarly competence tested by someone about his own age, a certain Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sirāj. In this connection, Ibn Sirāj is rather strangely described as a sort of arbiter of the Egyptian intellectual establishment whose word was taken as the ultimate endorsement of someone's standing as a scholar and man of general culture.[98] The second date, 256/870, is connected with an anecdote that shows Ṭabarī as a newcomer unfamiliar with life in Egypt and indicates a great scholar as his host. Taking all these small indicia into account, it seems that while the year 253 can be taken as correctly dating his first arrival in Egypt, the date of 256 for his return visit to the country is much less certain.

Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā (170–264/787–877)[99] was Egypt's leading scholar in the fields of *ḥadīth* and Qurʾān reading. Ṭabarī profited from Ibn ʿAbd al-Aʿlā's knowledge in these disciplines, as he certainly did from other competent Egyptian scholars. But no doubt the greatest boon which Ṭabarī reaped from his sojourn in Egypt was an increased understanding of the legal systems of Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī. His host, al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān (174-270/790[1]-884),[100] who welcomed him to Egypt and who made a living as muezzin of

97. See *Irshād*, VI, 432, l. 7, and 434, l. 4, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 52 and 55. Ibn ʿAsākir, LXXII, quoting Ibn Yūnus, *Ghurabāʾ*, has 263. This is no doubt a mistake (in the Ibn ʿAsākir manuscript?) and should be corrected to 253.

98. Since Ibn Sirāj is supposed to have died in 308/920, shortly before Ṭabarī's death, he could at best have been ten years older. See *TB*, XI, 431–3 (where he is described as a resident of Baghdad); Dhahabī, *Nubalāʾ*, XIV, 283; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, II, 252. The wrong date of death (358/968[9]) appears in Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 131, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, IV, 320 f. The information we have about him does not support the role he is assigned in connection with Ṭabarī's stay in Egypt.

99. See, for instance, below, translation, n. 220; *Dhayl*, III, 2372, ed. Cairo, XI, 551, and elsewhere; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, II, 406 f.; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 170–80.

100. See below, translation, n. 736.

the Mosque of 'Amr, had been connected with al-Shāfi'ī and was a transmitter of his works. It is very likely that Ṭabarī also met the other leading exponent of Shāfi'ism, al-Muzanī (175-264/791[2]-878), and discussed with him matters such as general consensus *(ijmā')*, which came to constitute an important element in Ṭabarī's legal thought; his biographers, however, do not seem to have been quite clear about whether there was a meeting and what was discussed at it.[101]

Among his many contacts in Egypt, the most important was probably the one with the eminent Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam family.[102] Its members had been intimately connected with the imām al-Shāfi'ī, next to whose grave they found their final resting places.[103] They also were outstanding representatives of Mālik's legal school. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam, who headed the family in those years,[104] attracted scholars from all over the world to come and study with him. He had the distinction of being both a student of al-Shāfi'ī and a Mālikite jurist, and he possessed the reputation of being the outstanding expert on law and *ḥadīth* among contemporary Egyptians.[105] Years before, he had traveled to Baghdad in connection with the infamous inquisition concerning the createdness or uncreatedness of the Qur'ān. Like Ibn Ḥanbal, he had shown himself to be a stout defender of its uncreatedness. We do not know whether he ever went back to Baghdad in his later years, but this is highly unlikely. His brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān is best known as a historian. He contributed information to the *History* as well as *Tahdhīb* and *Tafsīr*.[106] A third brother, Sa'd, did not do much, if any, publishing. He is known to have taught in Mecca for some time, presumably in connection with his pilgrimage, but this seems to have been a brief interlude

101. See *Irshād*, VI, 432, l. 16, 433, ll. 15, 17, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 53 f., and below, 67 f. For al-Muzanī, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 492 f. Ṭabarī's friend Ibn Khuzaymah, who was in Egypt at the same time, studied with al-Muzanī, see Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 93.

102. See *EI*², III, 674 f., s. v. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam.

103. See *Irshād*, VI, 395, ed. Rifā'ī, XVII, 323, in the biography of al-Shāfi'ī.

104. See below, translation, n. 93. He is mentioned often (I have noted more than twenty-five references) in *Tafsīr*, where his authorities are his father and other Egyptian scholars. See also *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1072.

105. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 44.

106. See below, translation, n. 712. As he was to die in 257/871, Ṭabarī may have still been in Egypt at the time of his death.

in his teaching career in Egypt.[107] It was no doubt in Egypt that Ṭabarī received from him the information which he incorporated in *Tafsīr* and *Tahdhīb*.[108]

We hear little about Ṭabarī's contemporaries who were his friends rather than merely colleagues or teachers. This makes an anecdote concerning his experiences in Egypts valuable as a source of information, even if it is of doubtful historicity. Four scholars, all named Muḥammad, were together in Egypt when they ran out of money and had to go hungry. The four Muḥammads were, in addition to Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rūyānī (from Ṭabaristān), and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Khuzaymah al-Nīsābūrī—all, it may be noted, men of Persian origin. They cast lots in order to determine who would go out and beg for food. Ibn Khuzaymah was chosen, but before he could leave, a messenger from the governor (? *wālī*) of al-Fusṭāṭ came with fifty dīnārs for each of the four. The governor was sending them the money because he had just had a dream about hungry Muḥammads and, pious as he was, wished to alleviate their plight.[109] There is much

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107. See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II,1, 92.

108. His transmission in *Tafsīr* (and, with one exception, in *Tahdhīb*) is always on the authority of Ḥafs b. 'Umar or Abū Zur'ah Wahballāh b. Rāshid. See *Dhayl*, III, 2391, ed. Cairo, XI, 565, and elsewhere; *Tahdhīb*, *Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, index, 1058; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 24, l. 14; *Tafsīr*, VIII, 102, l. 25 (*ad* Qur. 7:17), XII, 79, l. 30, 86, l. 34 (*ad* Qur. 11:114, 118), XV, 166, l. 4 (*ad* Qur. 18:46), XVIII, 96, l. 29 (*ad* Qur. 24:31), XX, 16, l. 12 (*ad* Qur. 27:90), XXII, 38, l. 6 (*ad* Qur. 33:70 f.), XXIV, 60, l. 16 (*ad* Qur. 41:6 f.).

The reference to a certain Yūnus b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam in *Tafsīr*, VII, 199, l. 18 (*ad* Qur. 6:103) is apparently a mistake. The source of Yūnus there, Khālid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, is listed as an authority of Muḥammad and Sa'd (b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 103.

109. See *TB*, II, 164 f.; Ibn 'Asākir, LXXIV f.; *Irshād*, VI, 427 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 46 f.; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 250 f. Yāqūt states that he did not use *TB* for this story, but the work of al-Sam'ānī; however, Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, IX, 40 ff., does not contain it. For al-Marwazī (202–94/817[8]–906[7]), see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 494; for al-Rūyānī (d. 307/919[20]), see *GAS*, I, 171; and for Ibn Khuzaymah, see *GAS*, I, 601. In a different context, Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 102, speaks of "four Muḥammads." Al-Rūyānī is replaced by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Nīsābūrī, who, according to Subkī, died in 309 or 310/921–2, but possibly a few years later; see Sezgin, *GAS*, I 495 f. The existence of a motif of "four Muḥammads"casts further doubt on the historicity of the story. The large amount of money involved and the premise of extreme financial hardship experienced by scholars as well-connected and welcomed to Egypt as Ṭabarī is described as having been make it appear a legend. It was, however, a common occurrence for traveling students to run out of money,

in the story that hardly permits it to be taken literally. Its basic assumption, however, appears to be factual. The four had come to Egypt on research trips and knew each other and probably roomed together. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī was about twenty years older than the other three and was clearly an established scholar and jurist in his fifties. Although already esteemed as scholars, the others fell hardly into the same category, being in their late twenties or early thirties. Among them, Ibn Khuzaymah, born a year earlier than Ṭabarī and outliving him by one year, qualified well as a personal friend. His path may have crossed with that of Ṭabarī before, as he had studied with the same teachers, such as Ibn Bashshār and Bishr b. Mu'ādh in al-Baṣrah and Abū Kurayb and Ismā'īl b. Mūsā al-Fazārī in al-Kūfah.[110] Ibn Khuzaymah became a very productive scholar in the same fields as Ṭabarī. He spent his life in his hometown of Nīsābūr; but he showed lasting loyalty to his former fellow student. On every possible occasion, he strongly defended Ṭabarī against Ḥanbalite attacks, and he missed no opportunity to praise his scholarship. A student returning from Baghdad who reported that he had not dared to study with Ṭabarī because of a Ḥanbalite boycott was told by Ibn Khuzaymah that he would have profited more from attending a lecture of Ṭabarī than he did from all his study with the other teachers in Baghdad.[111] And when Ibn Khuzaymah found out that a certain Ibn Bālawayh had written down the entire *Tafsīr* on Ṭabarī's dictation between 283/896 and 290/903, he asked him to lend him his copy. He returned it after a long time [112] with the comment: "I perused it from beginning to end. I know of nobody upon the face of the earth who is more learned than Muḥammad b. Jarīr. He has been wronged by the Ḥanbalites."[113] This is as much in-

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even if, as in the case of Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd, they were sons of prominent scholars; see *TB*, IX, 466 f.

110. Ibn Khuzaymah also studied with Aḥmad b. Manī' in Baghdad. Ibn Manī' was an authority of Ṭabarī in *Tafsīr* and *Tahdhīb*. As he died in his eighties in 244/859 (see *TB*, V, 160 f.), Ṭabarī might have met Ibn Khuzaymah in his early period in Baghdad. Ibn Khuzaymah further studied with Ṭulayq b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī in al-Baṣrah (see Ibn Khuzaymah, 179). Ṭulayq also occurs in *Tafsīr* and *Tahdhīb*, but his date of death is not known.

111. See *TB*, V, 164; Ibn 'Asākir, LXXVIII; Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 272.

112. The proposed reading "two years" in Ibn 'Asākir, as against the attested "several years," may or may not be correct.

113. See above, n. 111, and *Irshād*, VI, 425, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 42 f. Ibn Khuzay-

formation about a lifelong friendship between fellow students as we can expect to gather from sources that usually tended to disregard personal aspects of scholarship.

His Fifty Years of Scholarly Activity in Baghdad

The person

It is not known how much time Ṭabarī spent in Egypt after 256/870 before returning to Baghdad.[113a] It is tempting to assume that during his western journey, and before his return, he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, either during his sidetrip to Syria and Palestine or on the way back to Baghdad. The date of 256/870, which appears in the *Story of the Belt* (see below, 99), seems to be more than just a lucky guess and may well have preserved a true fact from Ṭabarī's biography. Scholarly pilgrims often remained in the Sacred Territory for considerable periods of time. However, since nothing is known about his having studied with resident scholars in the Ḥijāz,[114] any time he might have spent there for the performance of the pilgrimage would not have been very long.

With his return to Baghdad, his formal education was completed and his student days were over. The time had come for him to devote himself entirely to teaching and publication. The tremen-

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mah shared Ṭabarī's negative view of Ibn Ḥanbal as a jurist. A young scholar, who later became famous, Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl (291–365/ 903[4]–975[6], see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 497 f.), visited Ibn Khuzaymah and told him that he was on his way to study with a Ḥanbalite jurist, whereupon Ibn Khuzaymah exclaimed: "Say, a Shāfi'ite, for Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was just one of al-Shāfi'ī's young men." See *Irshād*, VI, 379, ed. Rifā'ī, XVII, 298, in the biography of al-Shāfi'ī. Al-Qaffāl is said to have studied with Ṭabarī, see Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, IV, 112, l. 16; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 201, l. 1. This must have been in the last years of the lives of Ṭabarī and Ibn Khuzaymah, when al-Qaffāl was still in his teens.

Only the last two sentences of Ibn Khuzaymah's statement appear in Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, IX, 42; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 16 f.

113a. Ferré, "Vie de Jesus," 8, is convinced that Ṭabarī returned in 258/871[2].

114. The statement of Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, IX, 41, l. 1, that Ṭabarī's travels took him to the Ḥijāz, seems to be offhand and cannot be relied on. A reference to the various nationalities of his teachers makes no mention of the Ḥijāz; see *TB*, II, 165, ll. 5 f., quoted in Ibn 'Asākir, LXXIII, l. 3; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 170, l. 21. I have so far not succeeded in identifying any authority of Ṭabarī whom he could have met only in Mecca and Medina. See also below, n. 344a.

dous volume of work he accomplished evoked the admiration of his contemporaries as well as later generations. Some attempts at quantification were undertaken. Necessarily they were crude. In his continuation of Ṭabarī's *History*, al-Farghānī stated that some unnamed disciples of Ṭabarī had figured out that if one took the number of folios of his works and divided it by the number of days from his puberty to his death at the age of eighty-six, one would find that he wrote fourteen (!) folios every single day (which would amount to roughly 350,000 folios).[115] And the grammarian ʿAlī b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Simsimī (d. 415/1024) told his student, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, that Ṭabarī used to write forty (!) folios each day for forty years (which rather shortens the time of his publishing career for the sake of round figures).[116] Such statistics were of course not needed to convince anyone that Ṭabarī was unusually prolific in an age that boasted of many prolific authors.

Productivity on such a scale required not only a rarely gifted type of personality but also the existence of material conditions that were conducive to sustained work. Before discussing Ṭabarī's scholarship, it might be well to pause and review what is known of his life as a mature individual in the complex and sophisticated society of a large Muslim city.

Apparently soon after his return to Baghdad, although the only date we have indicates that it was after 290/903, he took up residence in East Baghdad's Shammāsiyyah district to live there until he died.[117] It was, we are told, a neighborhood which had been home to many grammarians in the past.[118] His house was located at the Baradān Bridge.[119] It presumably was identical with the house in Yaʿqūb Square, in which he is said to have died and which is described as being in the neighborhood of the Khurāsān Gate—not, of course, the Khurāsān Gate in the Round City but the one through which the Khurāsān Road leaves al-Shammāsiyyah

115. See *Irshād*, VI, 426, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 44.

116. See *TB*, II, 163, quoted by Ibn ʿAsākir, LXXVII. For al-Simsimī, see Sezgin, *GAS*, IX, 184.

117. See *Irshād*, VI, 435, ll. 3 f., 438, ll. 11 f., ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 56, 60 f.

118. For the grammarians mentioned in this connection, see below, 107.

119. Marked no. 53 on map V in Le Strange, *Baghdad*. The map is reproduced in Lassner, *Topography*, 203.

and the city.[120] Ya'qūb Square is not listed in the topographical descriptions of Baghdad, but Baradān Bridge and Khurāsān Road might easily have been used for indicating the same location. Ṭabarī's mosque—that is, the neighborhood mosque where he regularly worshiped—was situated at some distance from his house in Sūq al-'Aṭash (presumably, "Thirst Bazaar") of the adjacent Mukharrim district. It is mentioned in a report by Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūmārī.[121] One night during the last third of the month of Ramaḍān, al-Ṭūmārī served as lantern *(qindīl)* bearer for Abū Bakr b. Mujāhid when he headed toward his mosque for the nightly services (*tarāwīḥ*). Ibn Mujāhid passed his mosque and went on to the mosque in Sūq al-'Aṭash, where Ṭabarī could be heard reciting sūrah 55 (al-Raḥmān). To the question of the astonished al-Ṭūmārī of why he was keeping the people in his mosque waiting for him while he listened to the Qur'ān recitation of someone else in another mosque, Ibn Mujāhid replied that he did not think that there was any other human being in the world who could read the Qur'ān as well as Ṭabarī.[122] House and mosque no doubt circumscribed much of Ṭabarī's daily life. At home, he did his research and writing. He taught, it seems, mainly in his mosque.

Ṭabarī appears never to have married. A Spanish scholar, Maslamah b. (al-)Qāsim al-Qurṭubī (d. 353/964) traveled in the Near East in the decade after Ṭabarī's death, when he was in his twenties. Probably in his *Ṣilah*, a biographical dictionary, he has the following information, evidently obtained from someone who knew Ṭabarī: "He was celibate *(ḥaṣūr)* and did not know women.

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120. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 172; Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 282. The Khurāsān Gate is marked no. 58 on map V, and no. 17 on Le Strange's map VIII. See also Lassner, *Topography*, 263, n. 13. A Ya'qūb Road (*darb*) is mentioned in the biography of Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Ibn) al-Bādā (see below, 100) in *TB*, IV, 322.

121. Abū 'Alī 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Aḥmad al-Ṭūmārī was born in 262/875 and died in 360/970, see *TB*, XI, 176 f. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. al-'Abbās b. Mujāhid, the great authority on Qur'ān reading, was born in 245/859 and died in 324/936. He was born and buried in Sūq al-'Aṭash, more precisely, near al-Khursī (al-Ḥarashī) Square (*TB*, V, 145, l. 7). See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 31; *TB* V, 144–8; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 14; Shawqī Ḍayf's introduction to his edition of Ibn Mujāhid's *Sab'ah*; and also below, 67 and nn. 293, 337.

122. See *TB*, II, 164, quoted by Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXV.

The approximate location of Sūq al-'Aṭash is marked no. 66 on map V of Le Strange.

Ṭabarī's reputation for excellence in Qur'ān reading and recitation was well-attested; see below, n. 337.

In (2)36, when he was twelve, he left his town to travel in quest of knowledge. He never ceased to pursue knowledge eagerly until he died."[123] There is no reason to doubt this information, even if there is little to either confirm or refute it. He was not married when he went to Egypt. This we learn from one of those innocent dialect jokes, so greatly enjoyed by Egyptians, that was played on him when he came there. He was looking for furniture for his domicile and was told to buy certain necessary items, including, among other puzzling objects, something as strange as "two donkeys." He replied that not only had he no use for two donkeys and the other things mentioned to him, but his stipend did not allow such heavy expenditures and should not be wasted on something that was of no value for his studies. It turned out that the entire purchase did not cost more than two and one-third dirhams, a very affordable small sum. The "two donkeys" in reality referred to a wooden bed frame, with a mattress of woven palm leaves *(suddah)*. The raised bed was needed for protection against vermin which bothered those who had to sleep on the ground; fleas in the clothes, in particular, were a terrible plague, and clothes had to be hung up before going to bed. The Egyptians had mentioned a *zīr* as a needed item. To Ṭabarī, *zīr* recalled something connected with music, and piety forbade him to have anything to do with it. In fact, it meant a receptacle for water. And the *qaṣriyyah* which they considered indispensable was a bread bowl. Ṭabarī apparently had understood *qaṣriyyah* in its ordinary meaning of (chamber) pot, and possibly he thought of small children whom he did not have or expected, for he indignantly exclaimed that he "had not let down his pants for either a forbidden or a permitted (sexual activity)."[124] It was not unusual for an ambitious young scholar under thirty to stay unmarried for a while. Ibn Ḥanbal, for instance, got married only after he had passed forty.[125] Thus, the one apparently true element in the amusing story—that is, that Ṭabarī was not married during his visit to Egypt—gives no indication of what was the situation later in his life.

There is, however, a possible reference to a son of his from his

123. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, V, 102. For Maslamah, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI, 35 f.; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*[2], 437, n. 2.

124. See *Irshād*, VI, 434, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 55 f.

125. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib*, 373.

old age. It is an incidental remark in another anecdote illustrating Ṭabarī's scrupulousness with respect to gifts. A certain Abū al-Faraj b. Abī al-ʿAbbās al-Iṣfahānī al-Kātib was studying ("reading") Ṭabarī's works with him. He found out that Ṭabarī was interested in a mat for a small sofa,[126] so he went and took the measurements of the sofa and had a mat made that fitted it. He thought that a small gift of the sort would endear him to his revered teacher. He put it in its place and presented it to him, but "when he left, he called his son and gave him four dīnārs"—quite a large sum—"but he did not want to take them and Ṭabarī wanted to accept the mat only if (his countergift of four dīnārs was accepted)."[127] This intentionally literal translation seems to imply that it was Ṭabarī's son to whom his father gave the money to act as messenger, but this

126. For *ṣuffah*, see, for instance, Sadan, *Mobilier*, 124 n.

127. See *Irshād*, VI, 457, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 87. It seems an open question whether this Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī can be identified with the famous author of *Aghānī*. The latter was born in 284/897 and began his scholarly studies at an early age. If the year of his birth is correctly stated, he could have had a child old enough near the end of Ṭabarī's life to play the role indicated in the story. Abū al-Faraj often mentions Ṭabarī as his authority for historical information in *Aghānī* as well as *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*. He indicates that Ṭabarī "told" him a certain story or that he "read" it in his presence. Once he states that Ṭabarī told him a story "from memory" (*Aghānī*, IV, 138, *Agh.*^{3}, V, 28) Some of his Ṭabarī quotations cannot be traced in *History*. He may not have derived all of them from Ṭabarī *viva voce* or may not accurately have remembered what he had learned; and, on occasion, he may have used Ṭabarī's published work in order to supplement his information. However, the basic fact that he studied with Ṭabarī cannot be denied. His contact with Ṭabarī may have fallen any time after 299/911–2 when Ṭabarī can be assumed to have lectured on his *History* in preparation for its forthcoming publication.

In his magisterial biography of Abū al-Faraj, 108, Muḥammad A. Khalafallāh mentions the story but does not comment on the identity of the Abū al-Faraj mentioned in it, evidently, because he ruled out the possibility that he could be the author of *Aghānī*. In fact, the patronymic of his father (here Abū al-ʿAbbās) is, it seems, not attested anywhere. In contrast to other family members of the famous litterateur, his father remained completely in the shadows; he may have died young and left no record of any noteworthy activities. Still, our lack of knowledge about his *kunyah* is no decisive argument against the identification. For the lively discussion about the dates of birth and death of the author of *Aghānī*, see Khalafallāh's work and the introduction by Ṣalāḥ al-dīn al-Munajjid of his edition of Abū al-Faraj's *Adab al-ghurabā'*. On p. 88 of the edition, Abū al-Faraj indicates that he was still alive in 362; this year gives a *terminus post quem* for his death. To add to the confusion, a story placed by him in the time of his youth is dated in the late 350s. While this may seem to cast doubt on the indicated date of his birth, it would seem that he cannot have been born much later and could have had a son able to walk in Ṭabarī's lifetime. See also *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, I, 282 f., s. v. Abu'l-Faraj Eṣfahāni.

is not certain. It could be the donor's son to whom Ṭabarī gave the money for handing over to his father, who then refused acceptance. Thus, the evidence for a son of Ṭabarī (possibly the son of a slave girl) remains inconclusive. His *kunyah* Abū Ja'far, of course, does not require the existence of a son called Ja'far. If he had surviving children, our sources might very well have had occasion to mention them. As it is, the evidence clearly favors the assumption that Ṭabarī never married throughout his life.

His financial status was no impediment to founding a family. Scholars less fortunately situated often saw having many children as detrimental to their scholarly activities. Ṭabarī, as we have seen, had a private income, and all the opportunities for a religious scholar with the right connections to earn money were open to him. He had no difficulty in his youth finding a position as tutor to the son of a high official.[128] But he apparently never accepted a position in the government or, as would have been natural for him, in the judiciary. There is an anecdote that reflects his attitude toward official employment. It fits Ṭabarī's personal situation; therefore, it is presumably not just another illustration of the common motif that scholars ought to be reluctant to enter public service. When al-Khāqānī, the son of his former employer just referred to, was appointed to the wazirate in 299/312,[129] he sent him a large sum of money as a gift. Ṭabarī refused to accept it. The new wazīr then offered him a judgeship, only to meet with another refusal, and then a third refusal when he offered to appoint him to the *maẓālim* jurisdiction.[130] His friends and students urged him to accept the *maẓālim* position, since it was in need of the prestige of a renowned jurist at the head of it. He angrily rebuked them and said that they more than anybody else should not encourage him to accept the position but rather discourage him from accepting it.[131] The determining element in his attitude was not, it seems, a general objection to service in government and the judiciary but his total immersion in scholarly activity. The students

128. See above, 16 ff.

129. See *EI*², III, 824, s. v. Ibn Khāḳān (3). We have no information on his personal relations with his (half-)brother Abū Yaḥyā.

130. The *maẓālim* court dealt with cases outside the competence of the qāḍīs of the sharī'ah jurisdiction.

131. See Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXV; Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 275. The source was al-Farghānī.

should have recognized the importance for themselves of having him available for teaching unencumbered by official duties. The thought of an office as a sinecure would, of course, not have occurred to someone like Ṭabarī.

Teaching could have been a source of income for him. He hardly belonged to those who refused compensation for all teaching as a matter of unbending principle. The number of students who attended his lectures seems to have varied greatly. There were very many at certain times, and a few carefully selected ones at others. The former was probably the rule. Especially in his later years, young students flocked to him to hear the famous man and to be able to say that they had studied with him.[132] He probably neither wanted nor needed to derive any appreciable income from his students. Another potential source of income was legal advice of some kind or other. The only reported instance of such activity, solicited by the government of al-Muktafī, tells of a gift in lieu of a fee and rather relates to the stories of stipends and gifts which in his later years appear to have been showered upon him and which frequently involved substantial sums. As stated before, those stories were meant to be illustrative of Ṭabarī's attitude toward the giving of gifts and the legal and moral propriety of accepting them.[133]

In the case of al-Muktafī, protocol required that the Caliph deal not personally with Ṭabarī. Al-Muktafī told his wazīr, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan,[134] that he wished to hear Ṭabarī's views on a planned endowment, so that it would be set up in a way that could not be contested. A meeting was arranged to be conducted by two officials,

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132. See, for instance, al-Qaffāl, above, n. 113. Many who claimed to have studied with Ṭabarī are known to have died in the second half of the fourth century and thus were probably born not much before 290. Yāqūt mentions ʿAlī (b. Muḥammad) b. ʿAllān al-Ḥarrānī, who died in 355/966 (*Muʿjam*, II, 232), Sahl (Suhayl) b. Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rīwandī, who died as early as 350/961–2 (*Muʿjam*, II, 891), and Abū Bakr Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim b. Yūsuf al-Mayānajī, who supposedly died as late as 375/end of 985 (*Muʿjam*, IV, 708). Like Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Mīmadhī (*Muʿjam*, IV, 718), for whom no dates are available, all these men are rarely mentioned in the sources, and nothing is known about their relationship, if any, to Ṭabarī.

133. See above, n. 38.

134. Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan was al-Muktafī's wazīr from 291/904 to the caliph's death four years later; see below, translation, Vol. XXXVIII, 149, 189. On his sponsorship of Ṭabarī's *Khafīf*, see below, 112.

Ṣāfī al-Ḥuramī (d. 298/911) and Ibn al-Ḥawārī (d. 311/923).[135] The Caliph listened from behind the curtain to Ṭabarī's lengthy disquisition on the subject at hand, and when Ṭabarī was on the point of leaving, he had a splendid gift brought out and presented to him. Ṭabarī did not want to accept it, but the two officials warned him that this was unseemly behavior. A caliphal gift was not to be rejected. It was customary to reward those who had rendered a service to a caliph with presents or the fulfilment of a wish expressed by them. The idea of expressing a wish appealed to Ṭabarī since, presumably depending on the nature of the wish, it was unobjectionable. Ṭabarī's wish was that the police be ordered to see to it that petitioners not be admitted to the prayer enclosure *(maqṣūrah)* in the mosque until the Friday sermon was finished, so that there was no disturbance and interruption of it. The wish was fulfilled, and Ṭabarī gained great admiration all around.[136] For Ṭabarī, the acceptance of a gift was conditioned upon the recipient's making, or at least having the ability to make, a countergift of equivalent or greater value. As an aspiring politician, Abū al-Hayjā', the founder of the Ḥamdānid dynasty, sent Ṭabarī a gift of three thousand dīnārs. Ṭabarī refused to accept the magnificent present on the ground that he could not afford a return gift of similar value. He was confronted with the argument that no countergift was required in this case, since Abū al-Hayjā' meant his gift to be a good deed that was pleasing to God and would secure for him a heavenly reward *(al-taqarrub ilā allāh)*. It proved of no avail.[137] We cannot help feeling that under the circumstances, the gift may have had some political purpose, such as obligating Ṭabarī to the donor and assuring support for him in the legal community and civilian administration. Ṭabarī may have sensed that and, therefore, shied away from a gift which could become embarrassing at some time in the future.

The same Khāqānī who had offered Ṭabarī a high position in the judiciary made Ṭabarī a present of pomegranates at some other time. Ṭabarī accepted the pomegranates and distributed them

135. For Ṣāfī, see below, translation, Vol. XXXVIII, 103, n. 516. For Ibn al-Ḥawārī, see 'Arīb, 113; Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 42; Miskawayh, in *Eclipse*, index; Bowen, index, s. v. Ibn al-Ḥawwārī

136. See Ibn 'Asākir, LXXVI; Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 270, from al-Farghānī.

137. See *Irshād*, VI, 457, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 87, For Abū al-Hayjā', see *EI*², III, 126 f., s. v. Ḥamdānids.

among his neighbors. Hearing about it, al-Khāqānī, either because he was touched by Ṭabarī's generous spirit or because he thought that his gift was considered too insignificant, sent Ṭabarī a basket with a purse which was filled with ten thousand dirhams. An accompanying note asked Ṭabarī either to accept the money for himself or distribute it among deserving friends, as he had done with the pomegranates. The messenger was probably unaware of the contents of al-Khāqānī's note, but as it came from a high-ranking personality, he thought that it was important, and he insisted upon being admitted into Ṭabarī's house. He was not aware or did not care that he was disturbing Ṭabarī during hours that he was reserving for writing and during which he had given strict orders that nobody was to bother him. Ṭabarī read the note and told the messenger that it was alright to accept the gift of pomegranates, but he could not accept the money. When it was pointed out to him that he was given the option of distributing the money among his needy friends *(aṣḥāb)*, he remained unpersuaded and replied that the wazīr himself should distribute the money since he knew better who needed money and could make the best use of it.[138] A very similar remark is ascribed to Ṭabarī on another occasion.[139]

Ṭabarī had good relations with humbler folks in the neighborhood, where he was certainly looked up to as one of its most distinguished residents. When a neighbor called Abū al-Muḥassin al-Muḥarrir (thus, presumably, a professional scribe) made him a present of two chickens, he gave him a garment in return, something obviously more expensive,[140] thereby following the principles that governed his attitude toward gifts. In spite of his eminence, Ṭabarī was in general easy for his neighbors, be they scholars or ordinary people, to get along with. He went with them on picnics[141] and gave them advice for their children.[142]

Certain remarkable traits and attitudes that guided his daily life apart from his scholarly pursuits were fortunately recorded for posterity. His physical appearance showed a darkish brown

138. See *Irshād*, VI, 457 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 87 f. For al-Khaqānī, see above, nn. 128 and 129.

139. In connection with the composition of *Khafīf*, see below, 112.

140. See *Irshād*, VI, 457, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 87.

141. See below, 41.

142. See below, 50.

complexion and large eyes, as well as a long beard—hardly very characteristic features. Equally commonplace was the statement that he was well-spoken and eloquent. It was more noteworthy that his hair and beard stayed quite black until he was in his eighties. He was tall and lean.[143] His leanness may have contributed to his vigor and good health throughout his long life. As far as our knowledge goes, he was seriously ill only during his last ten years when he suffered from attacks by an illness diagnosed as pleurisy *(dhāt al-janb)*.[144] It may have been illness or old age that caused him to stop lecturing some time before his death.[145]

His leanness may not exclusively have been an accident of heredity. He was very diet-conscious. The noteworthy feature of the diet favored by him is that it was one that would find qualified approval among today's dietitians.[146] He avoided fat and ate red meat plainly prepared *(al-ṣirf)*, cooked with nothing but raisins (raisin juice *zabīb)*. He ate only white bread *(samīdh)*, because it was baked with refined wheat flour *(ghasl al-qamḥ)*.[147] He liked *rāziqī* grapes, *wazīrī* figs,[148] fresh dates *(ruṭab)*, and *ḥiṣrim* ("unripe fruit")[149] in season to go with his meals. He counseled

143. See *TB*, II, 166, quoted by *Irshād*, VI, 423, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 40; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 170; Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 282. Ibn 'Asākir, XCI, considered the little-changed hair color noteworthy.

144. See *Irshād*, VI, 461, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 94. "Pleurisy" is a conventional translation. It is impossible to guess what illness was really meant according to modern terminology.

145. See below, 83 and 120.

146. All the information on Ṭabarī's diet discussed here appears in *Irshād*, VI, 459 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 90 ff.

147. *Samīdh*, an ancient Semitic word, is connected with Greek *semidalis* and, possibly, also with semolina. See Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, 32, and, for instance, Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*[2], 479b, and von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, (II), 1018a. For the suggested relation of Latin *simila* (from which semolina is derived) with the Semitic word, see, for instance, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1763a.

148. For the *rāziqī* grape, see Lane, 1077a; Heine, *Weinstudien*, 121; and, for instance, Ibn al-Rūmī, *Dīwān*, III, 987 f.; Ibn Abī 'Awn, *al-Ajwibah al-muskitah*, 166. The *wazīrī* fig remains to be identified. Both the *wazīrī* fig and the *rāziqī* grape are mentioned as noteworthy 'Irāqī products by Abū Bakr al-Khuwārizmī, *Rasā'il*, 49. Cf. also Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, VIII, 8; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Jam'*, 291 (Cairo 1372/1953).

149. *Ḥiṣrim* is mentioned, for instance, by Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, XX, 300, XXIII,1, 44. For a potion *(sharāb)* made from it, see *Ḥāwī*, XXI, 1, 118; it is possibly identical with the thickened juice *(rubb)* of *ḥiṣrim* mentioned by Ṭabarī, *Firdaws*, 483. For the dish called *ḥiṣrimiyyah*, see Rosenthal, "Hidden illness," 59, n. 89. The reference to *ḥiṣrim* is continued with the remark that "in the summer, he often did not go without *ḥays* (date meal mixed with butter and curd), basil, and nenuphar."

against the consumption of sesame, honey, and dried dates *(tamr)*, to which he ascribed unpleasant side effects, such as overloading *(l-ṭ-kh*, lit. soiling) the stomach, weakening one's eyesight, and ruining the teeth;[150] and in the case of sesame and honey, also causing bad mouth odor. His favorite food was a special milk dish cooked until the milk was condensed, with bread crumbs added, and then eaten cold with milk, seasoned with marjoram/thyme *(ṣ/sa'tar)*, *ḥabb al-sawdā'*,[151] and olive oil. He also enjoyed *isfīdhbāj* and *zīrbāj*, kinds of pies made with meat or chicken and gruel.[152] When he overindulged occasionally, as he had to in order to be good company during a picnic with his neighbors in the countryside, and ate too much of a bean dish,[153] he later treated himself at home with a variety of medicines including electuaries.[154]

His diet was clearly based upon the views and practices of contemporary medicine, in which he considered himself well-versed. It owed little, if anything, to the delight in high cuisine widespread among the upper crust of society and the intellectuals moving among them, or the squeamishness affected by the *ẓurafā'*, the refined dandies.[155] On the other hand, his insistence on good table manners, while certainly in keeping with prevailing fashions, derived mainly from the religious law which paid much attention to the subject. His appearance projected the cleanliness demanded by religion and society, just as it reflected his inner purity.[156] He

150. See below, n. 237.

151. Unidentified.

152. *Zīrbāj(ah)*, approximately "underlaid gruel," appears, for instance, in Ṭabarī, *Firdaws* 476; *Arabian Nights*, ed. Mahdi, 304; Dozy, I, 618b; Steingass, 633b *(zīrbā)*; Rodinson, "Recherchess," 134, n. 3, 137, 149 ("poulet en gelée"). *Isfīdhbāj* "white gruel " is listed in Dozy, I, 22b; Steingass, 58b; *Ṭabīkh*, ed. al-Bārūdī, 31 f., trans. Arberry, "A Baghdad cookery book," 46. Dishes in Ṭabarī's time commonly had Persian names; Ṭabarī's Persian origin had nothing to do with their use by him.

153. *Qarāḥ al-bāqillā*, approximately "clear bean broth," may be identical with *mā' al-baqillā* described in *Ṭabīkh*, ed. al-Bārūdī, 33, trans. Arberry, "A Baghdad cookery book," 47.

154. "Electuaries *(juwārishnāt)*" have a long chapter in Ṭabarī, *Firdaws*, 474–81. See also *Wörterbuch, K*, 365b, s. v. *kammūnī*; Steingass, 1100b *(guwārish, guwārisht* [!]).

155. For the social stratum of *ẓurafā'*, see, for instance, Washshā', *Muwashshā*, 129 ff.; Ghazi, "Raffinés," 39 ff. In connection with Ṭabarī's leanness mentioned before, see *Muwashshā*, 50, where the Arab ideal of leanness is discussed.

156. See *Irshād*, VI, 456, l. 18, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 86.

would put his hand into the bowl and take a morsel, then, when coming back for a second time, he would wipe clean the part of the bowl that had become besmeared the first time, so that only one side of the bowl would be soiled.[157] He took a bite of food with his right hand as was proper, but he simultaneously also covered his beard with his left, lest it be soiled by dripping sauce or the like. He daintily used his napkin to wipe his mouth, and he did not spit in public. Such spitting was hardly less of a social sin than was frequently swearing by God. He studiously avoided both.[158]

Less commendable, it seems to us, was his attitude toward another guest at a banquet who noticed how longingly a waiter looked at one of the dishes and sneaked him a morsel from it. Ṭabarī shamed the man by asking pointedly who had given him permission to do that.[159] And again, his general fastidiousness provoked him to gossipy criticism of a great scholar, Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī. He told others that he had seen Abū Ḥātim applying stibium *(kuḥl)* to his eyes so clumsily that some of it ran down on his beard and from there on his clothes in front. In a way, for Ṭabarī, that seemed to disqualify Abū Ḥātim from being considered a respectable scholar.[160]

All these small details are no doubt to be taken as factual. It is hard to imagine that anyone would have bothered to invent them. It was more perfunctory to describe Ṭabarī as living the true religious life, as someone who was abstemious and observed the religious law punctiliously. Even if it was perfunctory, it is not difficult to believe that it described him accurately. His daily routine is also described in an interesting manner. As customary, it began with the preceding night. He slept in (a room cooled with dampened?) felt in a short-sleeved shirt perfumed with sandal oil and rose water.[161] He rose early for the morning prayer at home, then did research and writing until afternoon. He prayed the afternoon

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157. Ibn Kāmil has the following introductory remark: "I have never seen anyone eat in a more refined manner (*azraf aklan*)."

158. See *Irshād*, VI, 459, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 90, from Ibn Kāmil. For the use of the napkin, see the forthcoming article "mandīl" in *EI*[2].

159. See *Irshād*, VI, 458 f., ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 89.

160. See Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 101, from Ibn Kāmil. Zubaydī, 65, seems to quote the year of Ṭabarī's death from al-Farghānī.

161. For the manifold uses of *ṣandal* and *māʾ al-ward* in perfumes, see, for instance, Kindī (pseudo-), *Kīmiyāʾ*, 342, ff., 268 f.

prayer in public, presumably in his mosque in Sūq al-ʿAṭash. He recited the Qur'ān and taught Qur'ān reading there until evening. Finally, before returning home, he taught jurisprudence and studied (having students study jurisprudence and other subjects) until the time of the late night prayer.[162] The details here appear a bit schematic and hardly characteristic of Ṭabarī as an individual. But the description of his daily routine makes the obvious point that he led a highly disciplined life.

Urbanity and wit combined in Ṭabarī with a sense of humor. Along with the ability to write occasional verse with reflections on man and society—for Ṭabarī's poetical efforts, see below, 48—all this was very much part of the picture of the good Muslim. Meeting the nine-year-old son of Ibn Kāmil, he would playfully comment on his names and their auspicious omen.[163] A witty remark might express his strong conviction that religious scholarship deserved precedence over political prominence. A person whose turn had come to read the Qur'ān hesitated when he noticed that the great wazīr al-Faḍl b. Jaʿfar b. al-Furāt had just entered the room. "Your turn is now," Ṭabarī told him, "so don't be disturbed by either the Tigris or the Euphrates *(Furāt)*!"[164] A conversation with Abū al-Faraj b. al-Thallāj[165] was on a less elevated level. It was about cooking and involved the preparation of a dish called *ṭabāhajah*. Abū al-Faraj pronounced it *ṭabāhaqah* and defended his pronunciation with the (quite correct) observation that Persian *g* appeared in Arabic as either *j* or *q*. Ṭabarī rejoined that in this case, his name should be Abū al-Faraq b. al-Thallāq. This was meant as light banter and not in any way as indicative of Ṭabarī as a stickler for philological accuracy.[166] In fact, he was not above making fun, as philologians were wont to do, of the pedantry of many of their colleagues. He complained that a certain Abū Bakr b. al-Jawālīqī overdid things to the point of nausea *(bughḍah* "ha-

162. See *Irshād*, VI, 460, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 92.

163. See above, 15.

164. See Ibn ʿAsākir, LXXXVI, ll. 13 f. For the Ibn al-Furāt family of officials, see *EI*², III, 767 f., s. v.

165. See below, n. 195.

166. See *Irshād*, VI, 461, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 93. For *ṭabāhajah*, see *Ṭabīkh*, ed. al-Bārūdī, 16 f., trans. Arberry, "A Baghdad cookery book," 37. Ṭabarī cannot have been ignorant of the equivalence of *j* and *q* in Arabicized Persian words. The well-known sweet dish *fālūdhaj* was no doubt known to him in this form, but he writes *fālūdhaq* in *Ikhtilāf*, ed. Kern, I, 105.

tred"). The unfortunate fellow became known as Baghīḍ al-Ṭabarī, approximately "Ṭabarī's pet hatred."[167] Yet, Ṭabarī's friendly joking in company was never permitted by him to degenerate into conflicting with the seriousness required of scholars.[168]

Ṭabarī's life as a human being is presented as that of an individual living up to the best ideals of his society. Major flaws, if there were any,[169] are not indicated in our biographical sources. The picture before our eyes may indeed have been composed of real, historically true fragments from the life of an exceptional man.

The scholar

Even as a child, Ṭabarī used to say in later life, he had wanted to write a Qur'ān commentary along the lines of his great *Tafsīr*.[170] His scholarly productivity, indeed, constituted an uninterrupted continuum from his early youth to his death. Publication of his principal legal works came first and never stopped, followed by that of his Qur'ān Commentary and, finally, the *History*. His primary focus was jurisprudence. Like other scholars of the time,[171] he specialized in three fields, which had to be mastered by every legal scholar to some degree: legal theory as such and as it applied to legal practice, Qur'ānic science, and history in the restricted sense of a few dates of the lives of individuals. An understanding of the science of *ḥadīth* was basic to all three subjects. Ṭabarī's contribution to all of them was gigantic. It was his particular merit that he eventually went beyond the religious and legal interest of his colleagues in biographical data and expanded it into a historical work that dealt with the entire sweep of history known to him.[172]

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167. See *Irshād*, VI, 461, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 93 f. The source (Ibn Kāmil ?) continues with an anecdote about the foolishness of the man.

168. See *Irshād*, VI, 456 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 86.

169. On questionable character traits, see below, 58 f. They are rare and doubtful.

170. See *Irshād*, VI, 429, ll. 11 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 62.

171. The works of Ibn Ḥanbal, who was averse to publishing, included a *Tafsīr* and a *Ta'rīkh* (at least according to his biographer Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib*, 248 f.) Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 229, makes no mention of a *Ta'rīkh*.

172. Earlier or contemporary histories that were written by jurists are apparently not preserved.

The central position of the law in Muslim society required its theoreticians and practitioners to possess a certain familiarity with most aspects of Muslim civilization. As a genius whose accomplishments allowed viewing him as the perfect scholar, Ṭabarī was credited with exceptional learning in a variety of disciplines. It could easily be deduced from his *Tafsīr* that he was well-versed in grammar and lexicography.[173] Excellence was claimed for him also in other fields of philology classified among the Arab linguistic sciences. His personal contacts with philologists of all descriptions were quite numerous, if much less so than his contacts with traditionists and legal scholars. For instance, he visited the philologist Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, possibly in those early years when he studied in al-Baṣrah. He appears to have been repelled by his disregard for cleanliness,[174] and, in addition to a few *ḥadīth*s, he did not learn much more from him than a far-fetched etymology for his native Ṭabaristān as derived from "land of the axe (Persian *tabar=ṭabar)*" so named because the early Muslim settlers there were forced to clear the woods with axes.[175]

His interest in foreign languages deserves notice, in particular, because it is connected with his attitude toward the intensely debated question of the occurrence of non-Arabic words in the Qur'ān. He naturally knew Persian, even if sporadic quotation of Persian verses does not mean very much in this respect.[176] In *Tafsīr*, he discussed the relationship of Persian and Arabic (I, 7) and the Ethiopic loan words (I, 6–8). From al-Farrā', he learned that *fātiḥ* or *fattāḥ* apparently meant "judge" in the language of 'Umān (IX, 3, l. 12, *ad* Qur. 8:89), clearly a South Arabian (South Semitic) term. Mūsā could be derived from Coptic "water" and "tree" (*moou* and *sei* [?])[176a] (I, 222, l. 2, *ad* Qur. 2:51).

173. See *Irshād*, VI, 437, l. 14, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 60. *Tahdhīb* is mentioned there as providing additional evidence, as, in fact, it does by its regular sections on strange words in the traditions under discussion.

174. See above, n. 160.

175. See *Irshād*, VI, 429, ll. 5–11, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 48. The etymology is repeated with some modifications by Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 39, and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 503.

176. See *History*, text below, II, 193, 1494, 1602, f., and von Grünebaum, "Bemerkung," 224; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*[2], 135, n. 1.

176a. Bentley Layton calls my attention to *šēn* as the common Coptic word for "tree," and to *še/ē/i*, meaning "wood." The word meant here may, in fact, be *šēn*. It would render the second part of the name of Moses according to its Hebrew/Aramaic form and point to a Jewish or, more likely, Christian origin of the

He was aware of the fanciful suggestion that *ṭāhā* is "O man" in Nabataean/Syriac (XVI, 102 f., *ad* Qur. 20:2), but he apparently rejected the (Byzantine) Greek derivation of *firdaws* (XVI, 29, l. 22, *ad* Qur. 18:107). All this is traditional material long at home in Qur'ān commentaries,[177] yet, it underlines Ṭabarī's concern with language.

He is said to have studied poetry with the great philologist Tha'lab (200–91/815[6]–904) and to have been one of his early students. Tha'lab had a reputation for severity in his judgment of other scholars and was considered to be a difficult person to deal with, but he called Ṭabarī one of the most sagacious Kūfan (grammarians). He lived to see him achieve great fame with his *Tafsīr*.[178] Ṭabarī was also acquainted with Tha'lab's disciple, Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid, known as Ghulām Tha'lab (261–345/874[5]–957), who praised the *Tafsīr*'s accuracy in grammar and language.[179] While still in his youth, Ṭabarī acquired an expert knowledge of Arabic poetry. It stood him in good stead in Egypt when Ibn Sirāj asked him about the seventh-century poet al-Ṭirimmāḥ, whose poetry was no longer known in Egypt. Ṭabarī knew al-Ṭirimmāḥ's poems by heart and was able to recite and explain them in public.[180]

Another anecdote, however, tries to belittle Ṭabarī's knowledge of poetry and related subjects. The Ḥanafite judge and litterateur Aḥmad b. Isḥāq b. al-Buhlūl (231–317 or 318/845–929 or 930) entered into an animated conversation on many subjects with a person he did not recognize who was sitting next to him at a funeral. Ibn al-Buhlūl's son, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad (d. 348/959), told him that his conversation partner was the famous Ṭabarī. Then, on an-

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etymology taken over by the Qur'ān commentators. The neglect of the final *n* of *šēn* may have been triggered originally by thinking of the accusative ending of the name in Greek. See Crum, 317a *(sei)*, 568b *(šēn)*, and 546a *(še/ē/i)*.

177. As are phonetic observations such as the exchangeability of *th* and *f* (*Tafsīr*, I, 247, l. 9, *ad* Qur. 2:61 XXX, 47, l. 7, *ad* Qur. 81:11), *s* and *z* (VIII, 157, ll. 8 f., *ad* Qur. 7:71), and *k* and *q* (XXX, 47, l. 5, *ad* Qur. 81:11).

178. See *Irshād*, VI, 438, ll. 1–6, 439, l. 6, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 60, 62, l. 4. For Tha'lab, see Sezgin, *GAS*, IX, 140–2. Since Tha'lab had finished his studies already in 225/240 and was by then a popular teacher (see *TB*, V, 205, l. 6, 209, l. 21), it seems rather implausible that Ṭabarī studied with him before he had many students.

179. See *Irshād*, VI, 439, ll. 12–15, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 62. For Ghulām Tha'lab, see Sezgin, *GAS*, IX, 147 f.

180. See *Irshād*, VI, 432, ll. 14–16, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 53. *Tahdhīb* repeatedly quotes his poetry.

other similar occassion, he engaged Ṭabarī in reciting poetry and biographical data *(siyar,* connected with poetry). Ṭabarī frequently faltered, but Ibn al-Buhlūl was able to recite all the verses without a hitch and give all the answers.[180a]

The theory of versification as embodied in the science of prosody *('arūḍ)* was known to Ṭabarī. How solid his knowledge was, is another question. He was asked about prosody in Egypt and supposedly learned all there was to know about it overnight from a borrowed copy of al-Khalīl's fundamental work on the subject.[181] Someone of his intellectual caliber could probably become proficient in any subject by just reading one book about it.

Ṭabarī seems to have enjoyed discussing evidential verses in *Tafsīr* and, especially, in *Tahdhīb* for the explanation of rare words in traditions. He inserted poetical quotations in *History* when they served to enliven the narrative or to support the historical argument, whether he chose the verses himself or, which is much more likely in most cases, quoted them from the sources used by him. He was fond of reciting verses and composing some of his own, and he engaged in occasional poetic exchanges with friends and acquaintances; this, of course, was the custom of all educated persons in medieval Islam.[182]

He often recited verses that al-Awzā'ī had earlier been fond of; they dealt with the advisability of decent persons remaining aloof and keeping concealed what they knew and could do, when conditions in the world were topsy-turvy and stupidity and meanness prevailed.[183] He is credited with verses extolling *ḥadīth* and *ḥadīth* scholars. For him, they represented all that is of true value for Muslims; he incidentally used the opportunity to excoriate any interest in "innovations" *(bida').*[184]

The verses most generally ascribed to him speak of his con-

180a. See *TB,* IV, 32 f.; 'Abd al-Qādir al-Qurashī, I, 58 f.

181. See *Irshād,* VI, 434 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 56. Another reference to Ṭabarī's competence in prosody is found in *Irshād,* VI, 427, l. 6, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 45, l. 9, in a quotation from *al-Iqnā' fī iḥdā 'ashrata qirā'ah* by al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ahwāzī (362–446/972[3]–1054; see Brockelmann, *GAL,* Suppl. I, 720).

182. See above, 43.

183. See Mu'āfā, *Jalīs,* I, 168 f.

184. See Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXVI f. Although the verses are introduced as "by" Ṭabarī, he may have merely quoted them. This is even more likely with four verses addressed to Mayyās, which are a satire on an irrelevant (person?); see Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXVIII. On Ṭabarī's attitude toward "innovations," see below, 61.

tempt for worldly riches and the negative qualities commonly associated with wealth and poverty:

When I am in financial difficulties, my companion won't know it.
When I am wealthy, my friend will be wealthy.

My sense of shame preserves me my decency
as well as my gentility *(rifqī)* in making demands on my companion *(rafīqī)*.

Were I willing to squander my decency,
it would be easy for me to become rich.

Perhaps they also reflect the middle-class circumstances in which he grew up and spent his entire life:

I do not like two character qualities and what they represent:
the arrogance of wealth and the humility of poverty.

When you get wealthy, don't get arrogant,
and when you get poor, show your disrespect for fate![185]

To a high ranking 'Alid who had written him complaining about the difficulty of finding reliable friends and distinguishing between good and bad ones, Ṭabarī—apparently assuming that the writer could possibly have meant him by "someone," although he eagerly desired to be esteemed by him—replied:

My amīr has a bad opinion of someone seriously concerned.
Would there were a way to obtain his good opinion!

(Re)consider, my amīr, what you have thought and said,
for a good opinion from you is something beautiful.[186]

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185. These verses are found in all major biographical notices, all of which depend on *TB*, II, 165, so that the occasional variant readings they contain are of no significance. The exception is Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, who does not mention the verses. In this context, it may be meaningful that the Prophetic tradition quoted by Ṭabarī to the author of *Aghānī* (see above, n. 75) condemns the arrogant treatment of others as inferiors by expecting them to rise (for the *ḥadīth*, see Ibn Ḥanbal, IV, 91, 95).

186. See *TB*, II, 166, quoted by Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXVIII; *Irshād*, VI, 426, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 43. The circumstances of the poetical exchange were apparently unknown to the author of *TB*. The writer, Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-'Alawī, remains unidentified. Others named Aḥmad b. 'Īsā, such as the one who died in 323/935 (*TB*, IV, 280 f.)

All these verses are pleasant enough, but they are nothing out of the ordinary. Al-Qifṭī exaggerated more than a little when he described Ṭabarī's poetry as "above the poetry of scholars,"[187] even if scholarly poetry, it must be said, never enjoyed any critical acclaim to begin with. The last word on Ṭabarī as a poet or critic of poetry belonged to the prominent litterateur al-Ṣūlī. He moved in court circles and may well have caught at least occasional glimpses of Ṭabarī in his old age. Confronted with a variant reading in a verse as quoted in *History* (text below, I, 759), he ruled out the possibility that Ṭabarī's text might be correct. He remarked tartly that Ṭabarī was not as great an authority on rare words in poetry as he was on other subjects.[188]

Ṭabarī's acquaintance with the exact sciences such as arithmetic and algebra was hardly intimate. He can be assumed to have had some knowledge, such as was needed by jurists.[189] A mastery of logic, dialectics, and, indeed, *falsafah* ("Greek philosophy")[190] was attributed to him. Contemporary speculative theology was saturated with philosophical thought, and Ṭabarī had to know and make use of the various techniques of philosophy as tools for the refutation of sectarian (Mu'tazilah) views and the defense of his beliefs.

Medicine was one of his great interests. As many other learned men were accustomed to do, he sometimes dabbled in the practice of it. A fellow Ṭabarī, 'Alī b. Rabban, was the author of an important medical encyclopaedia entitled *Firdaws al-ḥikmah.* This work became Ṭabarī's medical bible. Ibn Rabban, we hear, considered the study of medicine (as well as some knowledge of moral philosophy) indispensable for a maturing boy of fourteen.[191] Little is known about his biography, except that he was a government

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or the one mentioned below, n. 352, are no doubt not the same person. The place where he wrote to Ṭabarī may be identical with al-Balad near Mosul.

187. See Qifṭī, *Muḥammadūn*, 264.

188. See Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa-al-Muttaqī*, 39, trans. Canard, I, 84; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*[2], 53.

189. See *Irshād*, VI, 438 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 61.

190. For logic and dialectics, see *Irshād, loc. cit.* (n. 189), and, for dialectics, *Irshād*, VI, 437, ll. 15 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 60. According to Ibn 'Asākir, XC, Ṭabarī studied "the theories of the philosophers and physicists."

191. See Ṭabarī, *Firdaws*, 99. It may be noted that Ṭabarī was well aware of al-Shāfi'ī's position with regard to (Greek) books on medicine taken as booty; see *Ikhtilāf*, ed. Schacht, 179; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*[2], 75, n. 5.

official in his native country in earlier years and that he remained a Christian for much of his life before he converted to Islam during the reign of al-Mutawakkil.[192] Ṭabarī may in fact have known him personally, possibly during his early years in Baghdad, not long before Ibn Rabban's death. The *Firdaws* had been completed a few years before. There is a report, which cannot be verified, that Ṭabarī studied with him the entire work and wrote it down. According to Ibn Kāmil, he had a copy of it in six parts in his possession. He even kept it under his prayer carpet.[193]

Ṭabarī occasionally gave medical advice to his friends and students when one of their children became sick. When Abū al-Faraj b. al-Thallāj, who later was a jurist of Ṭabarī's legal school, fell ill, Ṭabarī suggested a cure to his father Abū al-ʿAbbās. The worried father was only too willing to give it a try, for he reasoned that coming from a man like Ṭabarī, it no doubt enjoyed divine blessing. Ṭabarī described his suggested remedy and the way it was to be applied in these words: "Shave his head and prepare very greasy cakes smothered in (chicken) fat.[194] Let him eat them until he is full, then take the rest and put it on his pate and let him sleep in this condition. If God wills, he will be all right."[195] The remedy proved effective—and certainly could not have done any harm—and Abū al-Faraj recovered, but Ṭabarī outlived him, and Abū al-Faraj died a short while before him. Ṭabarī also treated himself when he was ill. He described to a Christian physician sent to him by the wazīr ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā what he had done to cure himself. The physician had to admit that he himself could not have done better. With rather heavy flattery, he added that if Ṭabarī were a Christian, his coreligionists would consider him one of the apostles.[196]

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192. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 119–22; Sezgin, *GAS*, III, 236–40.

193. See *Irshād*, VI, 429, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 48.

194. For *jūdhābah* (Persian *gūdhāb*), see, for instance, *Ṭabīkh*, ed. al-Bārūdī, 71 f. (ch. 8), trans. Arberry, "A Baghdad cookery book," 208 f. and 28 f. where Arberry translates a couple of poems on *jūdhābah*. See also Rodinson, "Recherches," 103, 133.

195. See *Irshād*, VI, 460, f., ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 93. On Ibn al-Thallāj, see above, n. 165.

196. See *Irshād*, VI, 461 f., ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 94. On Ṭabarī's illness, see above, n. 144. The story is remarkable for showing Ṭabarī in direct contact with a non-Muslim. It is hard to say how much other contact with Christians and, perhaps, Jews he might have had. His familiarity with Jewish and Christian historical/religious material does not imply any sort of personal acquaintance. For this

There was a religious side to Ṭabarī's concern with medicine. A quotation from *al-Ādāb al-ḥamīdah* (see *Ādāb al-nufūs*, below, 82) recommends the effectiveness of a procedure for relief in unpleasant situations. It had been suggested by an early Muslim and consisted of reciting sūrahs 91 and 92, each seven times, and asking God for help. Relief would come in the first, third, fifth, or, maybe, seventh night. The recipe was tried by someone who felt great pain and did not know what to do about it. He said the prescribed prayer before going to bed. Falling asleep, he immediately dreamed that two men came and sat down, one at his head and the other at his feet. The one told the other to feel his body. When he came to a certain place of his head, he ordered him not to shave the spot but wash it with *khaṭmiyyah* and then draw blood there by means of cupping, with the added suggestion that he ought also to recite sūrah 95. In the morning, he tried to find out why he was told to use *khaṭmiyya*, and he was told that it was for stopping the flow of blood from the wound caused by the bloodletting.[197]

As a man of general education, Ṭabarī was thus interested in numerous aspects of contemporary intellectual life. Even those aspects which were viewed with growing suspicion by the legal and religious scholarship, of which Ṭabarī was a foremost representative, were not excluded. He did not contribute actively to them but restricted his serious scholarly efforts to his prime concerns, law and *ḥadīth*, Qur'ānic science, and history. He was conscious of the fact that each of these large fields had its own vocabulary and technique of exposition, but it can be observed that his treatment of them always shows the same general traits characteristic of his approach to scholarship.

His large literary output required considerable discipline in his daily routine and scholarly habits.[198] He paid attention to such comparatively minor details as the best way of reading books in connection with his research. As reported by one of his students,

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material, see *History*, translation, Vols. I and II, and Abdalmajid Charfi, "Christianisme."

197. See Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, I, 19, f. For *khaṭmī (khiṭmī)* "marshmallow," see, for instance, Lane, 768a; Rosenthal, "Hippocratic Oath," 68 ff.; and, in particular, Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, XX, 398–401. *Khaṭmiyyah* is presumably the salve for wounds made from it alone or a concoction with honey water *(melikraton)* mentioned by al-Rāzī in the first place, quoting Dioscurides, III, 146, 1, ed. Wellmann, II, 155, ll. 4 f.

198. See above, 39 and 42 f.

Ibn al-Mughallis, he would systematically go twice through the works he wished to consult, carrying them from one corner of his house to another and then, when he had finished with them, returning them to their original place.[199] He appears to have done all his research by himself without assistants. Only once do we hear that he asked for help in his research. It was near the end of his life that he requested from a bookseller named Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥubaysh that he assemble for him the available titles on *qiyās*. They were more than thirty books. When he returned them to the bookseller, it was discovered that he had marked them with red ink,[200] apparently his way of locating suitable references to be used by him at some later date.[201] His lecturing, when a large audience was present, required the customary use of repetitors *(mustamlī)*, but the name of only one of them is preserved, Abū Sa'īd 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Dīnawarī.[202]

Like other students and scholars, Ṭabarī kept his notebooks and occasionally made reference to them. Quoting an interpretation of Qur. 79:3 by Mujāhid, he indicates that he found it "in my book," presumably a notebook dating back to the time when he studied with Abū Kurayb.[203] A reference to his notebooks is also found in connection with information derived from al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ.[204] When there was a question whether 'Abdallah b. 'Umar or 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr (b. al-'Āṣ) was meant, he called attention to

199. See *Irshād*, VI, 444, ll. 1–6, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 68 f. For a translation of the passage in context, see below, 110. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mughallis died in 324/936. He was a follower of the school of the Ẓāhirite Dāwūd b. 'Alī, for whose relations with Ṭabarī see below, 132. For Ibn al-Mughallis, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 218, ll. 4–9; Dhahabī, *'Ibar*, II, 201. He provided Ibn Kāmil with much information.

200. See *Irshād*, VI, 453, ll. 5–8, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 81, and the translation of the passage below, 120. Booksellers customarily served as lending libraries.

201. Possibly, the statement might refer to annotations made by Ṭabarī.

202. He was the transmitter of *Ṣarīḥ*, see text, 193, trans., 186. He is the Abū Sa'īd al-Dīnawarī who is said to be Ṭabarī's *mustamlī* in Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 280, and *'Uluww*, 150. It does not seem impossible that he is identical with Abū Sa'īd 'Umar b. Aḥmad al-Dīnawarī who played an unhappy role in connection with *Ādāb al-nufūs*; see below, n. 308. Another Dīnawarī, Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad, who reported the anecdote involving Ibn al-Furāt (above, n. 164), is certainly a different person.

203. See *Tafsīr*, XXX, 20, ll. 6 f. The published recension of Mujāhid's commentary does not mention the quotation.

204. See *Tafsīr*, XV, 166, ll. 31 f. (*ad* Qur. 18:46). Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣabbāḥ died in 249/863; see *TB*, VII, 330–2; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 289 f.

the fact that it was Ibn 'Umar that was found "in my book."[205]

Ṭabarī derived the materials for his major publications almost exclusively from written works, despite the pretense of oral transmission which obscures the picture to some degree by preventing more specific reference. In *History*, the written sources used by him are usually transparent, even though they are not preserved,[206] but it is very rare indeed that title and author are expressly mentioned, as in the case of the *History of the Baṣrans (Kitāb Akhbār ahl al-Baṣrah)* by 'Umar b. Shabbah.[207] It was also unusual for him to quote his prime source, in this case, Sayf b. 'Umar, with express reference to "his book."[208] He was, of course, aware of the intermediate written stages through which his material reached him, but he only exceptionally mentioned them in the way he did with a book of Abū Qilābah which Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī said he had read.[209] The "books" of contemporaries he made use of naturally remained mostly unmentioned, but he tells us how he received information from Ziyād b. Ayyūb. Dallawayh, as Ziyād was called, was a very old man when Ṭabarī met him in Baghdad. He produced for him *(akhraja ilayya)* "a book containing traditions on the authority of several shaykhs who, he said, had been his direct authorities. Some of it he taught me *viva voce*, some he did not. The latter (material) I copied from it (or him, *katabtuhū minhu)*."[210] A prophetical *ḥadīth* transmitted through Sufyān al-Thawrī described the coming of the Sufyānī at the end of time. It had found much attention in Syria, and Ṭabarī, who obviously did not like it, discussed it there with Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-'Asqalānī. In this connection, Ṭabarī mentions that he also saw

205. See *Dhayl*, III, 2490, ed. Cairo, XI, 638.

206. Ṭabarī's use of them helps to reconstruct them. For recent works on the Ṭabarī sources Abū Mikhnaf and al-Madā'inī, with a thorough discussion of the problems involved, see U. Sezgin, *Abū Mikhnaf*, and Rotter, "Überlieferung." Noth, "Charakter," takes issue (principally on Sayf b. 'Umar) with J. Wellhausen who is reputed to have been among the first to deal with Ṭabarī's sources.

207. See *History*, text below, II, 168.

208. See *History*, text below, I, 2391.

209. See *Tafsīr*, XXX, 174, l. 2 (*ad* Qur. 99:7); Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 68. See also U. Sezgin, *Abū Mikhnaf*, 83, in connection with *History*, II, 881 f.

210. See *History*, text below, I, 3159. Ziyād b Ayyūb, who was born in 166/782[3], had begun already his serious study of *ḥadīth* at the age of fifteen. He died in 252/866. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 1, 315; *TB*, VIII, 479–81; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 355.

it in "the book of al-Ṣudā'ī."[211] As in the case of Ziyād b. Ayyūb, al-Ṣudā'ī's book appears to have been an unpublished notebook.

Since quotations make up the bulk of the contents of Ṭabarī's major works, the question of his accuracy in quoting arises constantly. It cannot be satisfactorily answered in a general way, since most of his sources are not preserved. Even where they are, it is always possible that Ṭabarī used another text or recension than the one preserved. Small changes in the wording or carefully chosen omissions or the deliberate failure to take account of all available sources can make a big difference and even alter the entire picture, particularly in the interpretation of historical data. It is a safe assumption that Ṭabarī used such procedures on occasion intentionally (and, presumably, most frequently when contemporary 'Abbāsid interests were involved), or it just happened to him without his being fully aware of the consequences. Modern historians, for whom this is a crucial question, have mostly restricted themselves to raising it in connection with certain points of historical information. This is probably the most that can be done at present.[212] The assumption that Ṭabarī's quotations can in general be relied upon as being accurate has not been disproved and, as matters stand, remains valid.

At the core, his honest and solid attitude toward scholarship is indisputable. His reverence for scholarship, often stressed by his biographers, is obvious, and so is his desire to present what he considered factual information, hard facts, to his students and to contemporary and future readers. He wished to be concise and to disregard irrelevant data. A cherished anecdote tells of his initial concept of the size of *History* and *Tafsīr*. It was to produce much larger works than he finally did. But when he asked his students whether they possessed the energy to study such enormous works, he found to his dismay that they thought they would not be able to read them in a lifetime. He concluded that their attitude showed a general lack of noble ambition. So he cut the size of the works

211. See *Tafsīr*, XXII, 72 f. (*ad* Qur. 34:51). On al-'Asqalānī, see above, n. 92, and on al-Ṣudā'ī, see below, translation, n. 168. Ṭabarī's attitude toward the belief in the expected Sufyānī is attested, for instance, below, translation, Vol. XXXVIII, 181. On notebooks, see also above, 17 and 21.

212. For individual studies, see above, n. 206, and, for a general judgment, see Cahen, "L'historiographie arabe," 149 and 160.

down to what it eventually became.[213] The anecdote is almost certain to be an invention without any basis in fact, but it shows a true understanding not only of Ṭabarī's tremendous capacity but also of his concern with the essentials in all his publications. He continually stressed that he wanted to be brief or that he did not want to repeat himself.[214] Statements of this sort take the place of accurate cross-referencing, for which there existed no practical methods in the manuscript age.[215] Their frequency also reveals his realization of the need for economy in dealing effectively with a body of knowledge which already in his time had grown to almost unmanageable proportions.

The most remarkable aspect of Ṭabarī's approach is his constant and courageous expression of "independent judgment *(iǰtihād)*." After having quoted his sources and the views represented by them, he states what he considered the most acceptable view. With respect to legal and dogmatic differences, Ṭabarī is not reluctant to make his preference known, as is clear from *Ṭabṣīr* and the preserved parts of *Ikhtilāf* and *Tahdhīb*. Expectedly, this feature is much more prominent in *Tafsīr* than it is in *History*. His own views are consistently introduced by "Abū Ja'far says". He carefully argues and documents what he believes to be the "most likely" report or opinion.[216] His conclusions, it may be added, usu-

213. See *TB*, II, 163, quoted by Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXVIII; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, IX, 42; *Irshād*, VI, 424 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 42; Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 274 f.; and *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, II, 252.

214. All of Ṭabarī's major works, but particularly *Tafsīr*, state more frequently that there is no need for repetition *(i'ādah)* than that making the work unnecessarily long is to be avoided *(iṭālah)*. For *History*, see text below, I, 251, (translation, Vol. II, 46), and I, 671.

215. Such cross-referencing as there is was not very convenient even for learned Qur'ān scholars. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 29, l. 21 (*ad* Qur. 4:175), referring back to the verse on inheritance (Qur. 4:12) earlier in sūrah 4, or *Tafsīr*, XIII, 155, l. 1 (*ad* Qur. 14:37), referring back to sūrah 2 (verses 125 ff.).

216. In *Tafsīr*, the most commonly used term is "the correct view *(al-ṣawāb)* in my/our opinion." Elsewhere, the expression "the truth in my opinion *(al-ḥaqq 'indī)*" is also found. *Tabṣīr* uses both indiscriminately. The situation in *Ikhtilāf* is slightly puzzling. In Schacht's text, Ṭabarī does not explicitly indicate his preferences. Kern's text, on the other hand, has at first a number of instances of *al-ḥaqq 'indī* (I, 13, 19, 22, 24, 29); later, it is quite regularly *al-ṣawāb 'indī* (over twenty-five occurrences) or simply "our opinion." There are two possible explanations: The books of *Ikhtilāf* were written at different times or what is preserved represents different (perhaps also abridged) recensions. Either explanation is applicable, it would seem, according to the various parts of the preserved text.

ally deserve respect to this day. It is, of course, clear that he was a "compiler," in the sense that he reported the evidence derived from his sources without immediate comment or basic distortion. Most scholarly works in Muslim civilization followed this highly recommendable method. It was, however, an unfortunate misjudgment on the part of Brockelmann (*GAL*, I, 142, *GAL*,[2] I, 148) to speak of him as unoriginal ("kein selbständiger Kopf"), when he was undeniably concerned above all with seeing things his way, that is, being original and independent in his approach.

His own views often leaned toward moderation and compromise. He stated innumerable times that two of the suggested readings of a Qur'ānic passage were both possible and can be accepted and used as correct.[217] It was not only readings but also interpretations that challenged his tendency toward compromise. Two examples may be mentioned.

A particularly knotty problem presented itself in Qur. 5:6, the verse which somehow gave rise to one of the famous distinctions between Shī'ites and Sunnīs—the Shī'ah practice of "wiping" (the boots, although neither *khuffayn* nor any other footgear is mentioned in the Qur'ān) as against the sunnī practice of "washing" the feet in the ritual ablution before prayer.[218] It hinges on whether one reads the word "feet" as either a genitive or an accusative. Both readings, Ṭabarī argues, yield the same meaning as far as the legal requirement is concerned. However, he gives preference to the genitive on the basis of his interpretation of the meaning of "wiping" in the verse and for syntactic reasons. The philological

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While the occurrences in *Tafsīr* are legion, there are fewer occasions for them in *History*; but they are not entirely absent, if in rather different forms. Thus *History*, text below, I, 416, speaks of one statement as more likely true *(ashbah bi-al-ḥaqq)* than another. Or Ṭabarī's opinion is given conditionally: "If this version is correct, then the first statement is wrong" (*History*, text below, I, 1367). *Wa-al-ṣawāb 'indī* appears in *History*, III, 1436.

217. On the expression of preference with respect to Qur'ān readings *(ikhtiyār)*, see Nöldeke-Schwally-Bergsträsser-Pretzl, III, 132 ff. There may be more than two readings involved, as, for instance, *Tafsīr*, XXVII, 16, ll. 27 f. (*ad* Qur. 52:21). Occasionally, Ṭabarī expressly states his own preference for one reading as the only one that is acceptable to him as correct, as, for instance, *Tafsīr*, V, 209, ll. 13 f. (*ad* Qur. 4:135 end).

218. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 81, l. 3–87, l. 22. Ṭabarī's conclusion appears on pp. 83, l. 19–84, l. 13. For a concise exposition of the problem in relation to Qur'ānic data, see Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, 115 f. See also Nöldeke-Schwally-Bergsträsser-Pretzl, III, 141.

point he makes in favor of the genitive is absolutely correct. Yet, the accusative became the Kūfī reading adopted in the canonic text, so as to leave no doubt about the "washing" of the feet. Ṭabarī's interpretation of "wiping" amounts to wiping the feet in their entirety *with water* (not mentioned in the Qur'ānic verse but somehow deducible from the sand ablution *[tayammum]* in Qur. 4:43) by using one's hand or its equivalent; thus wiping *and* washing are one process (which makes for more problems, such as whether washing without wiping is in compliance with the law). The discussion of this legal point of ritual is extraordinarily long, given Ṭabarī's concept of what his Qur'ān commentary should legitimately deal with.[219] He takes great pains to weaken or reinterpret traditions that would favor the Shī'ah practice, and pleads for the correctness of the sunnī view. His plea fell on deaf ears in certain circles prejudiced against him. He was accused of sympathy with the Shī'ah on this point. His expressed preference for the genitive reading could easily be seen as tilting toward the Shī'ah, no matter how consistently he argued for the sunnī practice, which he clearly accepted as the proper one.[220] The balancing feat he performs gives the impression of being a compromise between his scholarly instincts and the religious practices which he felt it necessary to uphold at all costs.

Another similar example is the way in which he argues both sides of a sensitive issue of a dogmatic nature that had arisen in

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219. The subject of *aḥkām*, the legal data furnished by the Qur'ān, was a well-established subdiscipline of Qur'ānic science by the time of Ṭabarī. It was treated apart from general commentaries. Ṭabarī considered legal excursuses not appropriate in *Tafsīr*. Thus, he declared a detailed discussion of unintentional *(khaṭa')* killing to be out of place, since "our intention in this work *(Tafsīr)* is the explanation of the Revelation, and *khaṭa'* is not mentioned in it." He referred the reader to *Laṭīf* instead. See *Tafsīr*, VII, 28, ll. 30 ff. (*ad* Qur. 5:95); similarly, VII, 203, ll. 9 ff. (*ad* Qur. 6:103). Nevertheless, Ṭabarī was inevitably drawn into legal discussions on subjects such as retaliation *(qiṣāṣ)* (II, 60, *ad* Qur. 2:178), inheritance law (II, 74, *ad* Qur. 2:182), fasting (II, 103, *ad* Qur. 2:187), pilgrimage (II, 153, *ad* Qur. 2:193), divorce (II, 270 ff., *ad* Qur. 2:228 f.), prayer (II, 352, *ad* Qur. 2:238), abrogation (III, 12, *ad* Qur. 2:256, and elsewhere), entering the shops of merchants (XVIII, 90 f., *ad* Qur. 24:29). See also the preceding note and the discussion of *Laṭīf*, below, 113 ff.

220. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 172. Ibn al-Jawzī seems to express here his own view (see also below, n. 233). Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, V, 103, makes the hardly plausible suggestion that the statement that Ṭabarī was satisfied with wiping the feet in the ritual ablution might refer to the Shī'ite Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (see below, 118 f.).

connection with *maqāman maḥmūdan* in Qur. 17:79.[221] While the ablution problem concerned the entire Muslim community, his compromise in the case of *maqāman maḥmūdan* was dictated by the need to defend himself against personal attacks. Compromise by Ṭabarī, however, must never be confused with an absence of firm conviction.

The preoccupation with legal issues and the religious problems inextricably connected with them dominated the course of his life as a scholar. His stance was moderate to some degree, at least in minor matters. He might use the harsh word "obtuse" for someone who, he thought, did not understand him correctly;[222] but he also expressed himself in speaking about other scholars with a certain politeness ("I fear that shaykh erred").[223] On occasion, he was ready with sharp remarks, such as the observation that he had seen al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī so intoxicated that "the walls were hitting him".[224] On his part, his reputation protected him from criticism in later centuries, but not entirely. His alleged attacks on Ibn ʿĀmir, one of the seven early Qurʾān readers, were criticized.[225] The historian Ibn al-Athīr would frankly object to some aspect of Ṭabarī's appproach to history,[226] and there is an intriguing statement that "various criticisms were made of him (*takallamū fīh bi-anwāʿ*)," which originated in circles with strong ties to Ṣūfism.[227] These criticisms may very well have been of an

221. See below, 71 ff. and Appendix B.

222. See *Tafsīr*, II, 269, l. 5 (*ad* Qur. 2:227).

223. See *Tafsīr*, II, 91, l. 5 (*ad* Qur. 2:185).

224. See *TB*, XII, 145, ll. 12–14, from Ibn Kāmil. Al-Dūrī (185–271/801–84) is mentioned quite frequently as an authority of Ṭabarī. It may be noted that he was an authority of Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī (see *TB*, V, 256, l. 2). He was also one of those who supported the authenticity of the attribution to Mujāhid of the disputed interpretation of *maqāman maḥmūdan*, and was repeatedly cited in this connection by Khallāl, *Musnad*; see also Dhahabī, *ʿUluww*, 143. For Ṭabarī on Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, see above, n. 160, and on Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd, below, n. 229.

225. See Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, I, 424, ll. 19 f.

226. See below, translation, introduction, n. 3.

227. See Ibn ʿAsākir, LXXVIII f. Ibn ʿAsākir had the remark from Abū al-Muẓaffar ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushayrī (445–532/1053–1137[8]), a son of the author of the *Risālah*, the famous handbook on Ṣūfism. It went back to al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) who collected Ṣūfī biographies in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya*. Not much is known so far about Ṭabarī's attitude toward Ṣūfism. He used Ṣūfī material in *Ādāb al-nufūs*; see below, 82. He certainly was opposed to the ecstatic mysticism which spread rapidly during his lifetime; see *History*, text below, III,

objective nature, but already his contemporaries felt that he was the innocent target of harmful and malicious slander "by enviers, ignoramuses, and heretics."[228]

Some fragments of a bitter controversy tell us of an occasion where Ṭabarī had to defend himself against such harmful and malicious backbiting. He was denounced by Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd[229] to the influential chamberlain of al-Muqtadir, Naṣr al-Qushūrī. He was accused of Jahmite inclinations[230] and extremist pro-'Alid views and was forced to issue a denial.

> Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd had sent a memorandum *(qiṣṣah)* concerning Ṭabarī to Naṣr, the Chamberlain. It contained several things, which he (Ṭabarī) denied. Thus he attributed to him Jahmite opinions in interpreting Qur. 5:64 ("and His two hands are both stretched out"), in that he gave to "His two hands" the (metaphoric meaning) of "His two favors *(ni'matāh)*." (Ṭabarī) denied that and said, "I did not say that."[231] Another of those things was that (according to

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2289, translation, Vol. XXXVIII, 199 f. It must be left an open question whether the Ṣūfīs' religious and ethical outlook appealed to him. It might very well have impressed him favorably to a certain degree. For a possible personal Ṣūfī contact, see below, n. 298.

228. See Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXII.

229. Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd, 'Abdallāh b. Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath, lived from 230/844[5] to 316/929 and thus was about six years older than Ṭabarī and survived him by six years. See *TB*, IX, 464 ff., in particular, 467 f. On him and his father, see also above, n. 74. He competed with Ṭabarī in writing a Qur'ān commentary; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 232, l. 28 (see below, 110).

TB, loc. cit., has a statement which is interesting in connection with the history of the composition of *Faḍā'il* (below, 91). Abū Bakr is said to have always stressed that he was willing to forgive every critic except one who accused him of hatred for 'Alī (using the same expression as was used by Ṭabarī with respect to *bid'ah*; see below, n. 237). The reason for his remark was his awareness of being suspected of a well-concealed but deep aversion for 'Alī and his partisans. Ṭabarī shared this suspicion. When he learned that Abū Bakr was lecturing on the virtues *(faḍā'il)* of 'Alī, he made the snide remark: "Praise of God (a call to prayer) from a watchman *(takbīrah min ḥāris)*!" This would seem to be a proverbial statement for someone who does not practice what he preaches. *Ḥāris* might mean here "thief" (see Lane, 546b).

The first appearance in *History* of Naṣr al-Qushūrī is text below, III, 2144, translation, Vol. XXXVIII, 20, n. 114.

230. On Jahm and the Jahmiyyah, see *EI*², II, 388, s.v. Djahm, Djahmiyya.

231. Ṭabarī refers to this interpretation in *Tafsīr*, VI, 194, l. 25, mentioning no names but including it among interpretations of the dialecticians (*ahl al-jadal*, see below, n. 416). His long discussion suggests that he does not accept it. The decisive

Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd, Ṭabarī) transmitted the statement that the spirit of the messenger of God, when it left (him at death?), flowed into the palm of 'Alī who then covered (slowly swallowed?)[232] it. He (Ṭabarī, or rather Abū Bakr?) said that the *ḥadīth* says only that he wiped his face with it, and does not contain "covered (slowly swallowed?) it".

This author[233] said: This is also absurd. However, Ibn Jarīr (Ṭabarī) wrote in reply to Naṣr, the Chamberlain: "There is no group in Islam like that contemptible group."[234] This is an ugly remark for him to make. For while it is necessary for him to counter an adversary, it is ugly in the extreme to blame his entire sect *(ṭā'ifah)* when he knew[235] who deserved to be blamed.[236]

The report is, unfortunately, not as clear and detailed as one might wish, but it illustrates Ṭabarī's dogmatic difficulties better than the general accusations of dogmatic heresy and extremist Shī'ah sympathies which we hear about mainly in connection with quarrels with the Ḥanbalites (who, in this case, presumably

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element for Ṭabarī apparently was the use of the dual in "two hands," as against the immediately preceding "hand of God" in the singular. God's benefactions are innumerable, and this could be expressed by either the singular or the plural of *ni'mah*, but not by the dual. In *Tabṣīr*, fol. 88b, Ṭabarī explains the two hands as "stretched out with favors *(bi-al-ni'am)* for the creation, not withdrawn from the good."

232. The word is *ḥ-s-w* in the Hyderabad edition of Ibn al-Jawzī and *j-'-y*, according to the introduction of *Ikhtilāf*, ed. Kern, I, 10, nn. 3 and 4; see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, XCIX. The lexicographers, who tried hard to establish the meaning of *j-'-y*, thought of "to conceal" as the principal meaning of the root; see, for instance, Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 132 f.; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XVIII, 138 f. They apparently do not list the tradition. De Goeje gives the impression that they did; he may have had a reference to it. Until it is located elsewhere, it will be difficult to decide what is really involved here.

233. The historian Thābit b. Sinān, who continued Ṭabarī's *History* to a few years before his death in 365/976, is mentioned by Ibn al-Jawzī in the context; but the speaker here may rather be Ibn al-Jawzī himself. However, the criticism of Ṭabarī's unfairness in blaming the entire group for the error of one of its members is difficult to ascribe to Ibn al-Jawzī. Only the rejection of the tradition as "absurd" may go back to Ibn al-Jawzī, while the rest comes from his unidentified source(?).

234. The "group *('iṣābah)*" is not named. Possibly, the students and sympathizers of Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd are meant(?).

235. Thus the Hyderabad edition of Ibn al-Jawzī. The text in Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, has "did not know," which is hardly correct.

236. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 172. The text in Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, XCVIII f., is taken from the Paris manuscript of the *Muntaẓam*.

cannot be held responsible).

There is every reason to assume that his dogmatic beliefs were basically those of the mainstream of "orthodox" Islam, as it was conceived, for instance, in the environment of Ibn Ḥanbal. Nothing to the contrary can be observed in his preserved dogmatic writings such as *Ṣarīḥ* and *Tabṣīr*. He appears as an implacable foe of "innovations *(bidʿah*, pl. *bidaʿ)*." When he was close to death and Ibn Kāmil asked him to pardon his enemies, he supposedly said that he would forgive them all except one individual who had accused him of "innovation". The person who had run afoul of him was his colleague Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṣawwāf (d. 310/December 925). He had objected to the praise which Ṭabarī showered on Abū Ḥanīfah, when he lectured on *Dhayl*.[237] In general, Ṭabarī is described as unswerving in his faithful adherence to the orthodox views of the ancient Muslim scholars in "most of his dogmatic views (*jull madhāhibihī*)." The qualifying "most" implies that there were exceptions. Regrettably, they are not mentioned. Only the fundamental points of dogma championed by the Muʿtazilah, with which Ṭabarī firmly disagreed, are enumerated in this connection.[238]

The politically most explosive aspect of Muslim dogmatics always was the imāmate, the leadership of the Muslim state and community. In the time of Ṭabarī, the focus was on the claims made for ʿAlī, his descendants, and the Shīʿah as the legitimate rulers of Islam.[239] It is a moot question whether or not Shīʿism was numerically the majority party in the Muslim world at the time. It was the party that was out of power in most regions and, as far as the central government in Baghdad was concerned, it constituted a threat of subversion that had to be kept under control. Thus, the accusation of pro-Shīʿah sympathies was an easy

237. See *Irshād*, VI, 455, ll. 1–8, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 84. For al-Ṣawwāf, see *TB*, VII, 297 f. He was the one who boasted that he had been eating dried dates all his life, when Ṭabarī expounded upon their harmfulness (above, n. 150). Ṭabarī was vindicated when al-Ṣawwāf's teeth fell out, and he lost much weight; see *Irshād*, VI, 459 f., ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 91.

238. See *Irshād*, VI, 453 f., ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 81 f.

239. Other sectarians, such as Khārijites and the pro-Umayyad Shīʿah, played a less important role, although they were by no means insignificant; see, for instance, below, translation, Vol. XXXVIII, 48 ff., for the pro-Umayyads, and passim for the Khārijites.

weapon against personal adversaries. Its effects probably varied greatly according to prevailing circumstances in each individual case. Sometimes, it could do permanent damage to the reputation of the accused. One of Ṭabarī's students, for example, Ibn Ayyūb (Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Qaṭṭān) was described to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī as a sound transmitter of material from Ṭabarī but also as an extremist Shīʿite who held highly objectionable views. The Khaṭīb discussed the matter with another of his authorities who had studied with Ibn Ayyūb and was told by that person that he had never heard Ibn Ayyūb make unacceptable statements with pro-Shīʿah bias. His only crime was that he expressed himself in favor of recognizing ʿAlī superior position *(tafḍīl ʿAlī)*.[240] This shows that Shīʿite tendencies could be deduced from open admiration of Alī. They could also be invented as malicious slender. In most cases, it is not possible for us to determine reasons and motivations. Old Ṭabarī appears to have been the victim of a campaign of slander by certain Ḥanbalites. They propagated the idea that he was a Shīʿah extremist and, ultimately, a heretic.[241] How successful they were, it is hard to say; quite a few people no doubt believed what they were told, although their numbers seem to have been inflated by rumor and tendentious reports. At any rate, there is not the slightest evidence for Ṭabarī's alleged Shīʿism. His roots in Ṭabaristān seem to have been in no way intertwined with local Shīʿism. His family rather belonged to the opposite camp.[242] If by any chance he harbored a deep down, secret animus against the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, he concealed it from his contemporaries as well as posterity. His works certainly do not support the accusation of Shīʿism or worse, though it must admitted that Ṭabarī would have avoided to mention things that might give reason to believe that the accusation was justified, even if it was. Opinions of his, such as the one ex-

240. See *TB*, V, 465. The Khaṭīb's informant on Ibn Ayyūb's alleged Shīʿism was his frequently cited authority Abū al-Qāsim al-Azharī (see Lassner, *Topography*, 234, n. 12, and index). The lenient view was taken by Judge Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Dāwūdī (353–429/964–1038; see *TB*, III, 38).

241. As Miskawayh (see *Eclipse*, I, 84) states, this was the belief of the Ḥanbalite crowd *(al-ʿāmmah)* who caused the riot at the time of this death. Strangely, he makes no comment on the matter. See also *Irshād*, VI, 423, l. 17, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 40, ll. 11 f. (see below, n. 292).

242. See also above, 13.

pressed in connection with wiping and washing in the ritual ablution, required considerable twisting in order to provide minimal support for it.[243]

The biographical sources depict him as a stout defender of the preeminence of all the first four caliphs. He felt compelled to defend 'Alī against attacks and took every opportunity to profess his veneration of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. In a discussion with a certain Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-A'lam about 'Alī, Ṭabarī asked him what he thought about those who claimed that Abū Bakr and 'Umar were not legitimate caliphs *(imāmā hudā)*. Al-A'lam replied that such claim was an "innovation." Considering Ṭabarī's rejection of any thought of *bid'ah*, that should perhaps have pleased him, but he was outraged by the reply and empathically insisted that it was not strong enough. Anyone who did not acknowledge the exalted status of the first two caliphs ought to be killed.[244] Reports of this sort could have been invented as a reaction to Ḥanbalite attacks, but Ṭabarī's orthodoxy with respect to the imāmate and Shī'ah beliefs seems to be beyond doubt.

Ṭabarī's struggle with the Ḥanbalites might be seen as a consequence of his independent judgment in matters of law. Just as pronouncements on points of Qur'ān interpretation must have made enemies for him among those who differed from his conclusions—and the competition was strong, as there were numerous Qur'ān scholars around and numerous laymen who had their own opinions on everything connected with the Qur'ān—anyone who insisted upon his own juridical and dogmatic views could expect to encounter determined hostility. Two such hostile encounters, the vicious Ḥanbalite attacks and the less grave conflict with the Ẓāhirites, will be discussed later in some detail.

Ṭabarī at first considered himself a Shāfi'ite, and many later Shāfi'ites were proud to claim him as one of their own.[245] For a

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243. See above, 56 f.

244. See Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXVI, quoted in a slightly shortened form by Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 275. Dhahabī's dependence on Ibn 'Asākir can hardly be doubted, but it remains to be explained why he replaced Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥāfiẓ in the *isnād* by the equally correct form Abū al-Fatḥ b. Abī al-Fawāris (see *TB*, I, 352 f.). Dhahabī might have used an intermediate source, unless our text of Ibn 'Asākir is faulty(?).

245. See Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 251. The opinions of al-Rāfi'ī and Abū 'Āṣim al-'Abbādī on Ṭabarī's position among Shāfi'ites were reported by Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*,

period of ten years, he functioned as a Shāfi'ite.[246] This may have been after his return from Egypt, and thus in the decade that ended about 267/880(1). By then, his own legal production had became extensive. His *Laṭīf* was a comprehensive exposition of both the basic principles *(uṣūl)* and the case law *(furū')* of presumably the entire sharī'ah; at least parts of the work were then already in existence. Given his *ijtihād*, the legal views expressed in it must have included many which, not by themselves but in the aggregate, set Ṭabarī's legal thought apart from the other legal schools of his time. It was therefore a natural development for him and his circle of students to constitute themselves into a special legal school, the "Jarīrī *madhhab*." The phrase "our *madhhab*"used in *Ikhtilāf*[247] in one place apparently does not understand *madhhab* as the view under discussion but refers to his "school"; however, because of the uncertainties connected with the dating of *Ikhtilāf*, the passage does not provide us with a *terminus ante quem* for the formal birth of the Jarīrī *madhhab*. Naming a sect or school after the father of the founder was a common practice. With respect to "Jarīrī", it is clear that neither Ṭabarī's given name nor the name of his country of origin would have made a distinctive designation for the school. It is not known, however, when the name "Jarīrī" was introduced, nor is there any precise information as to when the outside world began to look at Ṭabarī as the founder of his *madhhab*.

During his later years, his students were considered Jarīrīs or considered themselves as followers of Ṭabarī's legal views. Some wrote works on the Jarīrī *madhhab* or in defense of it. One of these Jarīrīs was considerably older than Ṭabarī, which is a testimony to Ṭabarī's reputation and, perhaps, his personal magnetism. He was Abū Muslim al-Kajjī, who was born in 200/815[6] and died in 292/904[5]. An authority on Qur'ān interpretation, he was an extraordinarily successful teacher. He had large numbers of students and is said to have employed no less than seven *mustamlī*s. Many of the students were standing with their inkpots in their hands during his lectures, because they could not be accommodated in

I, 70. See 'Abbādī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 52. Al-'Abbādī has even less biographical information than Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 76.

246. See Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXIV, from al-Farghānī.

247. Ed. Kern, II, 61.

the normal manner.[248] It probably was important for Ṭabarī to have a man of this stature as a follower of his *madhhab*. Others identifiable as belonging to the early core of Jarīrīs during their master's lifetime were the government official *(kātib)* Ibn Abī al-Thalj (238-322/852[3]-934)[249] and Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr, who died in the early seventies in the year 327/938[9]. He was a member of the Ibn Munajjim family, and his pedigree clarifies his position in it. The Ibn Munajjims had produced several generations of courtiers and litterateurs. Some were also well-known as speculative theologians. Abū al-Ḥasan wrote *An Introduction to and support of Ṭabarī's school* as well as other works on his *madhhab*.[250]

Aḥmad b. Kāmil, Ṭabarī's biographer, also belonged to the original group of Jarīrīs. As a judge in al-Kūfah under the jurisdiction of the chief judge in Baghdad, Ibn Kāmil was in the position to promote the legal school to which he belonged. It seems, however, that he was a somewhat self-important and difficult personality. His juridical views were said to have been eclectic and in a way probably produced yet another legal school.[251]

The best known Jarīrī of the next generation who no longer had personal contact with Ṭabarī was al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyyā' al-Nahrawānī, also referred to as Ibn Ṭarrār al-Jarīrī. Among other works, al-Mu'āfā wrote a large commentary on the Qur'ān; but his fame among posterity derived mainly from a literary work,

248. Also Kashshī or Kachchī, Abū Muslim Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. Muslim has an entry in *TB*, VI, 120–4. He appears as Ṭabarī's authority in *Tafsīr*, II, 152 f., 233, l. 22, and 234, l. 6 (*ad* Qur. 2:197, 233); IV, 15, l. 12 (*ad* Qur. 3:97). Another scholar older than Ṭabarī but a transmitter of material from him was Abū Shu'ayb 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan (206–95/821[2]–907[8]). See Ibn 'Asākir, LXIX f.; *TB*, IX, 435–7. However, he does not appear to have been a Jarīrī.

249. See *TB*, I, 338.

250. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 143 f.; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VIII, 246 f.; Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. I, 164; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 439; Stern, "Abū 'Īsā," 438. Ibn al-Nadīm also listed him among the Mu'tazilah; see Fück, "Neue Materialien," 307, and Dodge's translation of the *Fihrist*, I, 428 f.

One wonders whether Ṭabarī's interest in "time" (see below, translation, 159 and 169 ff.) was in any way connected with the *Kitāb al-Awqāt* written by Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Munajjim or with the *Kitāb al-Zamān* of Ibn Kāmil (see *Irshād*, II, 17, ed. Rifā'ī, IV, 105. *Irshād* cites *Fihrist*, where, however, this title and some other titles of Ibn Kāmil's publications do not appear on p. 32).

251. For Ibn Kāmil as a Jarīrī, see also below, 67. For another old Jarīrī, see above, n. 14.

entitled *al-Jalīs al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfī wa-al-anīs al-nāṣiḥ al-shāfī* (cited here as Mu'āfā, *Jalīs*). He served as judge for Bāb al-Ṭāq, a section of Baghdad which enjoyed long-standing fame as a center of literary and scholarly activity. In Yāqūt's words, al-Mu'āfā attempted to promote the Jarīrī *madhhab* by supporting (as Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Munajjim had done), calling attention to, and defending it.[252]

The Jarīrī *madhhab* never gained a foothold strong enough to guarantee its survival in the harshly competitive world of politics dominated by the large and powerful legal sector of society. As Ibn Kāmil's career exemplifies, there were many persons practicing *ijtihād* and acting as potential founders of schools. Understandably, the competition was particularly brutal in the capital of the Empire, but even a powerful provincial base, such as had been enjoyed by al-Awzā'ī, often failed to ensure success. From all we know, it appears that Jarīrism was not distinctive enough to make it on purely intellectual grounds, and its followers were not sufficiently aggressive, or lacked political opportunity, to infiltrate the judiciary on a large scale so as to acquire the momentum necessary for gaining and perpetuating power,

By the time of Ṭabarī, certain legal schools, such as the Ḥanafites, Mālikites, and Shāfi'ites, had become firmly entrenched and, as history was to show, could no longer be displaced. Wherever there was acute rivalry for political control through the judiciary, the atmosphere was easily poisoned, and often lasting division resulted that affected even personal relations.[253] Normally, however, a certain harmony appears at least outwardly to have been prevalent. A debate about whether the formula "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate *(basmalah)*" was

252. On al-Mu'āfā, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 236; *Irshād*, VII, 162–4, ed. Rifā'ī, XIX, 151–4; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 522 f.

Makhlad b. Ja'far al-Bāqarjī (d. 370/981) supposedly studied with Ṭabarī and, at the end of his life, claimed the right to (the transmission of?) Ṭabarī's *History*. Nothing is said about his having been a Jarīrī, but his son Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm (325–410/937–1020) was so described. See *TB*, XIII, 176 f., and VI, 189–91, in particular, 190, l. 3. For their role in the transmission of *al-Radd 'alā al-Ḥurqūṣiyyah*, see below, 123 f. Further Jarīrīs mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm, 135, cannot be traced elsewhere. Lists of Jarīrīs compiled by modern scholars may be found, for instance, in the introduction to the edition of Mu'āfā, *Jalīs*, I, 44.

253. An example on the large scale is the apparent gradual development of bad relations between Ḥanafites and Shāfi'ites in Nīsābūr during the fourth/tenth century, see Bulliet, *Patricians*, 31 ff.

to be counted as part of the first sūrah of the Qur'ān that took place not long after Ṭabarī's death, is a good illustration of the generally peaceful state of affairs.

Abū Bakr b. Kāmil said: One night, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. al-'Abbās b. Mujāhid came to us, while we were studying with him the large work on the Qur'ān reading of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā'.[254] He found us engaged in a debate with some Shāfi'ite colleagues as to whether the *basmalah* belonged to the Book or did not belong to it. The meeting room was crowded with Shāfi'ites, Mālikites, Ḥanafites, and our colleagues (that is, Jarīrīs). Because of my studying (Qur'ān reading) with him, Ibn Mujāhid occasionally called me Kisā'ī.[255] So now he said to me: What is it that all of you here are engaged in? I told him, and he said: To which juridical school do you belong? I replied: That of Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī. He said: May God show mercy to (the late) Abū Ja'far! He told us the *ḥadīth* of Nūḥ b. Abī Bilāl—Sa'īd al-Maqburī—Abū Hurayrah about the *basmalah*.[256]

Abū Bakr b. Mujāhid then started to praise Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī. He said: We have heard that he met with al-Muzanī, but don't ask how he bested him with all those Shāfi'ites present who were listening to him! (Ibn Mujāhid) did not mention anything that happened between the two.

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254. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', one of the seven Qur'ān readers, lived roughly from the 60s/684–9 to about 154/770. See, for instance, *EI*², I, 105 f., s. v.; Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. I, 158; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 5 f., 17; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, I, 288–92. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 31, Ibn Mujāhid (see above, n. 121) wrote a large and a small work on Qur'ān reading, as well as a work on the Qur'ān reading of Abū 'Amr. This work is probably the one meant here. The scene described is a meeting of some of those who were students of Ibn Mujāhid in Qur'ān reading, at which Ibn Mujāhid dropped in. He should have known, however, that Ibn Kāmil was a Jarīrī without having to ask him on that particular occasion. Perhaps the plural is meant, so that the question was about others in the gathering.

255. Ibn Mujāhid, who was known for his friendly banter *(mudā'abah)*, is comparing his gifted student Ibn Kāmil with the famous second/eighth-century Qur'ān reader and philologist, see *EI*², V, 174 f., s. v. al-Kisā'ī. Ibn Mujāhid's authority Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā known as the younger Kisā'ī (see Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, II, 279) is hardly meant.

256. For Ṭabarī on the *basmalah*, see *Tafsīr*, I, 37, where he refers back to *Laṭīf* and promises an exhaustive treatment for a later major work; see below, 113. The Prophet's *ḥadīth* on the various names of the first sūrah (*Tafsīr*, I, 36, ll. 22 ff.) may not be the one meant here.

> Abū Bakr b. Kāmil said: I (had earlier?) asked Abū Ja'far about the problem he had debated with al-Muzanī, but he did not mention it. He was not the person to boast about having gained the better of an adversary [257] in a discussion. Abū Ja'far used to stress al-Muzanī's excellence; he praised him and always said what a good Muslim he was.[258]

Ṭabarī's altercation with Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. 'Alī (255–97/869–910), the son of the founder of the Ẓāhirite school, was potentially troublesome, but ended peaceably. Basically, it reflects an amicable environment in which scholars of different outlooks in the fields of law and *ḥadīth* lived and worked together. Dāwūd b. 'Alī (200[2]–70/815[8]–84) did not, we are told, measure up to Ṭabarī's all encompassing scholarship. He was an excellent, highly skilled debater. He also tended toward exhibiting a certain playfulness. Ṭabarī found it totally out of place whenever serious scholarly problems were under discussion. He studied with Dāwūd for some time and copied many of his works and lectures. After his death, as many as eighty fascicles of Dāwūd's treatises were found, written in Ṭabarī's fine hand.[259] Among them was a discussion of a subject that continued to be hotly debated, that of the createdness or uncreatedness of the Qur'ān. It had taken place between Dāwūd and the Muṭazilite Abū Mujālid al-Ḍarīr in the time of al-Muwaffaq, that is, in the last decade of Dāwūd's life.[260] Once, apparently near the end of Dāwūd's life, Ṭabarī got the better of him in a debate held in the presence of Dāwūd's followers. One of them, provoked by seeing his master being defeated, made some acerbic remarks against Ṭabarī who left in a huff and wrote a treatise against Dāwūd. Dāwūd's son Abū Bakr came to his father's aid, apparently shortly after the latter's death. Like Ṭabarī,

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257. Following the emendation in *Irshād*, ed. Rifā'ī.

258. See *Irshād*, VI, 433, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 53 f. See also above, n. 101.

259. It is conceivable, as suggested by the paragraphing of the text in *Irshād*, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 78, that the reference is to Dāwūd and his library and fine hand, but this seems unlikely.

260. Abū Mujālid Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, an active Mu'tazilite and a client of the caliph al-Mu'taṣim, died in 268/862, according to Ibn Kāmil, rather than in the following year. See *TB*, IV, 95 f.; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VI, 33 (where 270 is indicated as the date of death); 'Abd al-Jabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsah*, 294 (with further references). For Ṭabarī's views on the subject, see, in particular, *Tabṣīr*, fols. 101a–102a, and *Ṣarīḥ*, passim.

Abū Bakr had been a precocious child. At the age of sixteen, he took over his deceased father's teaching *(ḥalqah)* and issued legal opinions *(fatwā)*.[261] He often seems to have done so in the same lighthearted spirit which led to the composition of his most famous work, an anthology of love poetry entitled *Kitāb al-Zahrah*. It is possible that his *Kitāb al-Intiṣār ʿalā Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī* was the work in defense of his father.[262] Abū Bakr also attacked Ṭabarī in a work of his on the principles of jurisprudence *(al-Wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat al-uṣūl)*. The issue was the interpretation of consensus (*ijmāʿ*). In *Ikhtilāf*, he alleged, Ṭabarī defined consensus as the agreement only of those legal authorities whose views he discussed in that work. Abū Bakr, insisting on *ijmāʿ* as the consensus of all legal authorities, seems to have taken this definition as Ṭabarī's general view on *ijmāʿ* beyond that particular work.[263] The controversy went on for a long time. Then one day, when Abū Bakr by chance visited a common acquaintance named Abū Bakr b. Abī Ḥāmid, Ṭabarī happened to be there, too. He was Abū Bakr b. Dāwūd's elder by thirty years, but he treated him with the greatest courtesy and remembered his father with high praise. This put an end to their hostility.[264]

Ṭabarī's relationship with the Ḥanbalites was of a totally different character. It is pictured as having had an important and disturbing impact on his life. This seems, in fact, to have been the case in some respect. The reports we have about it are all close to his time, but they are confused and contradictory. Their historicity has been denied.[265] However, while they reflect propaganda and appear to have been put into circulation by Ṭabarī's Ḥanbalite opponents, there is no good reason to go quite that far.

What caused the enmity of contemporary Ḥanbalites toward

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261. See *TB*, V, 256, l. 13.

262. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 255, ed. Pellat, V, 196; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 217, l. 28. The suggestion, made *ad* Ibn ʿAsākir, LXXVII, n. g, that the author of *Intiṣār* was Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd is unsupportable.

263. The Ẓāhirite view of *ijmāʿ* is discussed in Goldziher, *Ẓāhiriten*, 32 ff.

264. For a translation of the report on the episode, see below, 121 ff. It may be noted that there was bitter animosity between Ibn Ḥanbal and Dāwūd which was started by the former, see *TB*, VIII, 373 f., quoted by Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, IX, 130; Goldziher, *Ẓāhiriten*, 134.

265. See Kern's introduction to his edition of *Ikhtilāf*, 8 f. Kern's biographical sketch of Ṭabarī there and in his article on *Ikhtilāf* was an astonishing accomplishment in its time.

Ṭabarī? He was originally attracted to Baghdad by the fame of Ibn Ḥanbal,[266] and he continued to express the greatest respect for him.[267] His authorities and older contemporaries were students of Ibn Ḥanbal. Ibn Ḥanbal's younger son 'Abdallāh (213–90/828[9]–903),[268] who was the chief transmitter of his father's large collection of traditions, was only ten years older than Ṭabarī, and there was a constant overlap between 'Abdallāh's and Ṭabarī's teachers. Direct contact between Ṭabarī and Ibn Ḥanbal's family appears not to be attested, but they must have known one another. The final break between him and the Ḥanbalites is likely to have occurred with the publication of *Ikhtilāf*, which completely disregards Ibn Ḥanbal.[269] Ṭabarī is alleged to have expressed the opinion that he did not think of Ibn Ḥanbal as a jurist whose work in the field of jurisprudence compared with that of other great authorities but rather as an important *ḥadīth* scholar.[270] This observation is quite accurate and was endorsed by posterity as well as shared by some Ḥanbalites. It is, however, understandable that it could have led to riots if it was ever expressed *ex cathedra*. Another statement to the effect that he had not seen anyone transmitting legal opinions from Ibn Ḥanbal or any followers of his that were considered authoritative[271] was a slap in the face of contemporary Ḥanbalites. Ṭabarī may not have been so imprudent as to make these remarks in public in the form in which they are preserved; they may have surfaced in Ḥanbalite attacks against him and reflect Ḥanbalite suspicion as to how he felt about their school.

Another, and possibly decisive, factor was the situation in

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266. See above, n. 44.

267. See *Ṣarīḥ*, text, 198, trans., 191. For the strange report on an apology full of praise for Ibn Ḥanbal and his school, see below, 104.

268. One of the authorities for the dates of 'Abdallāh's birth and death was al-Ṣawwāf, on whom see above, n. 237. Like Ibn Kāmil, al-Ṣawwāf was a student of 'Abdallāh. See *TB*, IX, 376, ll. 14 f.

269. The only reference to Ibn Ḥanbal ("Abū 'Abdallāh") traced so far in *Ikhtilāf* is an indirect one; see ed. Schacht, 139, l. 14, and Schacht's introduction, XV.

270. Since the basic sources do not seem to mention this remark, its historicity is slightly suspect. According to Kern, "Ṭabarī's Ihtilāf," 66, l. 1, the authorities mentioning it are Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*; Abū al-Fidā', *Annales*; Ibn al-Shiḥnah (in the margin of Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Būlāq, 1290, VIII, 110), all under the year 310, and Ḥājjī Khalīfah, ed. Yaltkaya, I, 33. When it came to enumerate the fields in which Ibn Ḥanbal was a leading authority, mention of him as *imām al-ḥadīth* came first; see Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 5.

271. See *Irshād*, VI, 436, ll. 5 f., ed Rifā'ī, XVIII, 58.

which Ḥanbalism found itself in Ṭabarī's time. It was the latest of the then prominent and active legal schools[272] and was still struggling to become securely established when Ṭabarī, along with others, was a potential rival. The Ḥanbalites, moreover, counted in their ranks fighters determined to the point of fanaticism to promote themselves and their *madhhab*. Their readiness to use violence was effective as a deterrent to many scholars; they may have been less courageous than Ṭabarī, who refused to be intimidated.[273]

The Ḥanbalite struggle for ultimate success required a rallying point in the form of a slogan that could serve as a touchstone for true belief. A strange interpretation of the "praiseworthy position *(maqāman maḥmūdan)*" promised to the Prophet in Qur. 17:79 was chosen. It should be remembered that in Ibn Ḥanbal's life, the issue of the createdness or uncreatedness of the Holy Book had played a similar role. That issue was, of course, vastly more important, but it may not be quite as farfetched as it seems that his followers unconsciously felt that they, too, needed a dramatic issue to make themselves heard in the rough-and-tumble of religio-legal politics.

Qur'ān 17:79 was generally explained as eschatological[274] and the "praiseworthy position" as referring to Muḥammad's role as intercessor with the Deity on the Last Day. There was, however, a tradition reported from Mujāhid (but not found in the preserved recension of his commentary on Qur. 17:79) which reached Ṭabarī by way of 'Abbād b. Ya'qūb al-Asadī—Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl—Layth b. Abī Sulaym. It states that the "praiseworthy position" means that Muḥammad will be seated by God on his divine Throne.[275] Ḥanbalite championship of the tradi-

272. The latest authority frequently quoted in *Ikhtilāf* is the Shāfi'ite Abū Thawr (Ibrāhīm b. Khālid), who died in 240/854, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 491.

273. A number of contemporaries who did not want to tangle with Mujāhid's tradition are named in Dhahabī, *'Uluww*, 124–6; see also 75, 94, 99. It seems they did not offer resistance as Ṭabarī did eventually, even if, as was his nature, he too compromised on the issue for some time. The father of Abū Bakr, Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, is mentioned as an advocate of the permissibility of transmitting Mujāhid's tradition in Khallāl, *Musnad*, and Qurṭubī, *Jāmi'*, X, 311.

274. In fact, the eschatological meaning of the verse does not seem certain and appears to be based solely on the use of the root *b-'-th*.

275. For the transmitters, see below, translation, nn. 1139, 239, and 54. Al-Layth is described as the son of Abū Sulaym in Khallāl, *Musnad*, and Dhahabī, *'Uluww*,

tion produced vehement outpourings of hatred against those who opposed it, allegedly with equal immoderation. They were called by every conceivable epithet; they were branded as innovators, liars, ignoramuses, heretics *(zindīq)*, and unbelievers. Above all, they were seen as Jahmīs, that is, speculative theologians (Mu'tazilites). Their nefarious intent—or, at any rate, the result of their attitude—was to deny a singular distinction to the Prophet, and, in the process, they defamed the exemplary Muslim that was Mujāhid. Already Ibn Ḥanbal's principal successor as spokesman for his legal school, Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī (d. 275/888),[276] was strongly partial to Mujāhid's tradition and appears to have employed the "praiseworthy position" question as a sort of shibboleth. Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī's student and successor as the principal Ḥanbalite scholar of his time, Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923), took up the subject. He reproduced his teacher's arguments at length and thus preserved them for posterity.[277] His younger contemporary, al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941),[278] then made the most of it. He missed no opportunity to proclaim Qur. 17:79 as referring to the Prophet's being seated on the divine Throne. Although al-Barbahārī's name is not mentioned in connection with Ṭabarī's Ḥanbalite trouble, he probably must be seen as the person behind much of it.

125, l. 3. He was a transmitter of Mujāhid; the better-known al-Layth b. Sa'd was born too late for that.

This interpretation is, of course, not incompatible with Muḥammad's position as chief intercessor. See Khallāl, *Musnad*, 83.

276. For Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Marrūdhī, see Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 56–63; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, XII, 201 f.; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 506, s. v. Marw al-Rūdh. According to Dhahabī, *'Uluww*, 125, l. 2, he wrote in defense of Mujāhid's tradition (see below, n. 277). Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt*, 60, states that al-Marrūdhī was asked about the Jahmiyyah's rejection of the "story of the Throne." This may refer to alleged Mu'tazilah views on the location of the Throne, rather than, specifically, to the tradition of Mujāhid.

277. For Abū Bakr al-Khallāl, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 511 f. I wish to thank J. van Ess for providing me with a xerox copy of Khallāl, *Musnad*, 75–99.

278. For al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Khalaf al-Barbahārī, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 512; Laoust, in *Mélanges Massignon*, III, 22–5. Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 18–45, gives a good picture of his generally extremist positions. "Whenever al-Barbahārī attended a meeting, he would mention that God seats Muḥammad with Himself on the Throne." In 323/935, he was in hiding and his followers were strictly forbidden to assemble. One of them was accused of having set a disastrous fire in al-Karkh, see Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 79 f., ed. Cairo, XI, 294–6. See further Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. I, 344, and the indexes of *Eclipse* and Massignon, *Passion*[2], as well as Allard, *Attributs*, 103 f.

The actual course of the events affecting Ṭabarī can be reconstructed only with difficulty, because supporters on both sides apparently circulated conflicting reports. Matters appear to have come to a head after the year 290/903. In that year, Ṭabarī returned to his home town in Ṭabaristān on a second, and apparently last, visit. He no doubt used the Khurāsān Road that took him through such large cities as Dīnawar and Hamadhān. In Dīnawar, he stopped to meet with scholars there and to give lectures; he may very well have done the same in other towns along the road, thus making his journey profitable intellectually and, possibly, economically. On his return to Baghdad, three Ḥanbalites, who do not seem further identifiable,[279] asked Ṭabarī about his views on Mujāhid's tradition. Ṭabarī is said to have declared bluntly that it was absurd. Moreover, he added a flippant jingle ridiculing it:

Praised be the One Who has no confidant
and has no one to sit on His Throne.

Enraged Ḥanbalites thereupon stoned his residence and caused a serious disturbance which had to be subdued by force.

Trouble with the Ḥanbalites that took a similar form is also reported at the time of Ṭabarī's death. In connection with it, Nāzūk is mentioned as chief of police. He was appointed to this position only in 310/922[3], the year Ṭabarī died, but he appears to have held high positions in the police before and may already have been in charge of Ṭabarī's protection against potential Ḥanbalite violence. In 309/921[2], the wazīr 'Alī b. 'Īsā had offered Ṭabarī the opportunity to debate the matter with the Ḥanbalites in his residence. Ṭabarī agreed, but the Ḥanbalites did not show up.[280] However, shortly before his death, Ḥanbalite rioters supposedly

279. The three were Abū 'Abdallāh al-Jaṣṣāṣ, Ja'far b. 'Arafah, and al-Bayāḍī. The identification of al-Bayāḍī with Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Bayāḍī was proposed by the editor of *Irshād*, VI, 436, n. 1, but requires confirmation. This individual, whose family claimed 'Abbāsid descent, wrote on Qur'ān reading. He was killed by the Qarmaṭians in 294/906 on his return from the pilgrimage, see *TB*, II, 401; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 384.

On the incident, see also Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 158 (II, 168, of the original German). Goldziher's reference was to Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr*, 161, whose source scurrilously attributes this information to a storyteller in the streets of Baghdad.

280. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 159, also Ṭabarī, Introductio etc., XCVIII; Bowen, 187 f.

pelted his house with stones so numerous that they formed a large wall in front of it. The verse just quoted was discovered written on the wall of Ṭabarī's house. After the riot subsided, someone wrote underneath it:

Aḥmad[281] will no doubt have a high position
when he comes to the Merciful One,

Who will draw him near and seat him nobly
to spite an(y) envier,

Upon a throne enveloping him[282] with perfume
to make livid an(y) obnoxious liar.

(He has) truly this unique position *(al-maqām)*.
This has been transmitted by Layth from Mujāhid.

Inscriptions in verse or prose on the walls of houses are a standard device of the Arabic literary imagination. It seems most unlikely that a man in Ṭabarī's position and at his advanced age would have been so childish as to write inflammatory verses on the walls of his house. Someone else might have done it in order to provoke the Ḥanbalite mob. Presumably, however, the mural poetry was a literary embellishment invented by Ḥanbalites which crept into the vague reports about the event.[283] The fact that historians report another bloody incident about *maqāman maḥmūdan* involving followers of the late Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī for the year 317/929[284] neither confirms nor invalidates the historicity of the

281. "Aḥmad" apparently is meant to refer to the Prophet, but Ibn Ḥanbal's name was also Aḥmad. The undetermined singular of envier and liar in the following verses might be a veiled reference to a specific person, namely, Ṭabarī.

282. The translation "upon a throne enveloped with perfume" is possible, but the text in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, I, 656, ll. 4 f. (Beirut, 1963) = III, 224, ll. 15 f. (Cairo, 1379/1959), speaks against it.

283. The entire preceding account is not in *TB* and Ibn 'Asākir. It appears in *Irshād*, VI, 436, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 57-9, and (quoted by?) Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 286 f. See also Kern's introduction to his edition of *Ikhtilāf*, 8 f.

284. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VIII, 157 f., and, with only minor differences, a Berlin manuscript described as al-Birzālī's *History* and quoted in the introduction of *Ikhtilāf*, ed. Kern, 9. The incident is, however, unreported in the other sources consulted by me. Schreiner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 436 f (= *ZDMG* 52 [1898], 535 f.), refers to a ninth/fifteenth-century author.

event involving Ṭabarī.

The circumstances surrounding the debate about the "praiseworthy position" deserve some more clarification. In his *Musnad*, Ibn Ḥanbal includes no traditions that support the interpretation of the phrase as referring to the Prophet's being seated on the divine Throne.[285] One might argue that the very fact that Ibn Ḥanbal has nothing to say about the impossibility of Mujāhid's interpretation could indicate that it could not be ruled out, using a type of argument employed by Ṭabarī in his discussion of the matter. This, however, is very unlikely. Ibn Ḥanbal may have simply disregarded Mujāhid's tradition as irrelevant or objectionable. After all, it had no *isnād* going back to more ancient authorities or the Prophet, while there were traditions having the Prophet's seal of approval that referred to intercession. Clearly, this made it necessary to invent an appropriate Prophetical tradition for Muḥammad's place on the divine Throne, and this was done. Ibn Battah (d. 387/997) listed one such tradition with the *isnād* Nāfi'— 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar—the Prophet.[286] He is certain not to have invented it himself. When it made its first appearance is hard to say; evidently, Abū Bakr al-Khallāl in the early years of the century did not yet know it.

In *Tafsīr*, Ṭabarī has a long and interesting discussion of the "praiseworthy position."[287] It again shows him to be the great compromiser. He admits that intercession is the interpretation that is solidly documented and which therefore has the best claim to being correct. However, he says, the other interpretation cannot entirely be ruled out. As the composition of *Tafsīr* antedates

285. See Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, 375 f., 398 f., III, 354, for traditions on intercession. For the tradition of Gabriel sitting "on a footstool" or "on the throne," presumably the divine Throne, between heaven and earth, see Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, III, 306: Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, X, 305.

286. See Laoust, *Profession de foi d'Ibn Batta*, text, 61, trans., 112 f., especially note 1. In addition to Mujāhid, al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075) refers to a tradition of Ibn Mas'ūd, see Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXI, 32. He may have the same tradition in mind, mixing up, as it sometimes happens, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and 'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd. A tradition of 'Ā'ishah on the subject is discussed in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Daf'*, 81, *ḥadīth* no. 39.

287. See *Tafsīr*, XV, 97, l. 10–100, l. 22. See the translation below, Appendix A, below, pp. 149–51. For another partial translation, see Andrae, *Person*, 270–2. For Ṭabarī's real feelings about Mujāhid and his tradition, it may be indicative that he rejects a view expressed by him with unusual harshness in connection with his commentary on the same verse of the Qur'ān, see *Tafsīr*, XV, 96, ll. 26–31.

the events described, it might be argued that Ṭabarī interpolated the discussion in *Tafsīr* after publication when Ḥanbalite hostility took such a truly ugly turn.[288] This cannot be proved. It might be assumed that he took at first a conciliatory attitude such as is displayed in *Tafsīr* and renounced it at some later date when he got disgusted with Ḥanbalite violence. This seems more likely, but again there is no hard evidence for it. Whatever it was, the view expressed in *Tafsīr* did nothing to assuage Ḥanbalite opposition to him which appears to have had deeper roots than merely disagreement about a catchy slogan.

The arguments marshalled by Ṭabarī for the purpose of making Mujāhid's tradition admissible were derived from speculative theology and show him adept in its ways of thinking and debating. The basic issue, as he sees it, is the problem of contiguity *(mumāssah)*. It had its proper place in physics but was transferred to theology by religious thinkers.[289] Al-Ash'arī (ca 260–324/873[4]–935[6]), who lived most of his life in al-Baṣrah and was but a generation removed from Ṭabarī, considered the matter important enough to refer to it in his discussion of anthropomorphism *(tajsīm)*. God is not upon the Throne, except in the sense that He is above it but does not touch it. According to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, God's location is in one specific place *(fī makān dūn makān)*. His place is the Throne, and He is in touch with it. The Throne encompasses and delimits Him. Another view holds that the Creator fills the Throne and is in touch with it. At this point, al-Ash'arī adds that some *ḥadīth* scholars hold that the Throne is not filled by Him and that He (is thus able to) seat His Prophet with Himself on the Throne.[290] Ṭabarī considers the problem of God completely filling the Throne. He remarks on His contiguity and finds that only three possibilities apply to it. For him, however, the crucial point that must be made is that God's seating of Muḥammad on the Throne, with or without Himself, does not imply divinity ("lordship" *rubūbiyyah)* for the Prophet or deny his status as a human being ("servantship" *'ubūdiyyah)*. In fact,

288. The information that he went even a step farther and apologized to the Ḥanbalites is suspect, see below, 104 f.

289. See Pines, *Atomenlehre*, 8 f., and, for instance, Juwaynī, *Shāmil*, 455 ff.

290. See Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, 210 f., and, in different connections, 35, 155, 221, 301–4.

the implied hint at Muḥammadan divinity would appear to be the most objectionable feature of Mujāhid's tradition. In touching upon this aspect, Ṭabarī comes close to the possible reason why Mujāhid might have made this seemingly un-Islamic statement. Christianity speaks of the Son not only as sitting on a throne but also of some mysterious being as sitting together with the Father in His Throne (Rev. 3:21). Even in remote Mecca, Mujāhid could have heard about these views or seen one of the many representations of the Trinity or the enthroned Christ.[291] He may very well have felt that Muḥammad should be similarly distinguished as was the prophet of Christianity.

The Ḥanbalites were probably to be blamed for occasional difficulties Ṭabarī experienced in scheduling his lectures and for deterring a few out-of-town students from attending them or otherwise receiving instruction from him. Those who knew Ṭabarī best always played down the inconveniences he suffered from the Ḥanbalites. Considerable uncertainty attaches to the reports of what went on at the time of his death. Ṭabarī is said to have been virtually prevented from leaving his house. When he died, some questionable sources report that it was necessary to bury him "at night"[292] in his courtyard, apparently in order to forestall any untoward incidents at the funeral. It was not unusual for individuals to be buried in their houses,[293] but it would not have been done ordinarily under the cover of darkness. If there was in-

291. Not much can be made in this connection of the allegation that Mujāhid used material provided by Christians and Jews in his Qur'ān commentary. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 344, l. 7, and the remark transmitted through Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh (below, translation, n. 72) in Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 439; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 43; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 29. As one would expect, Dhahabī refers to Mujāhid's view of *maqāman maḥmūdan* with disapproval.

On Mujāhid and the vibrating of the divine Throne, see Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 108 f.

A similar but different idea was already expressed in Khallāl, *Musnad*, 82. The Muslims would be the laughing stock of Christians if they denied to Muḥammad the honor of sitting on the divine Throne, while granting semidivine status to Jesus.

292. This key element appears in Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, I, 84; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 172; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VIII, 98; *Irshād*, VI, 423, l. 17, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 40, ll. 11 f. Yāqūt remarks that he had this information from an unspecified source. The principal sources agree that Ṭabarī was buried on the morning after his death.

293. For instance, Abū Bakr b. Mujāhid was buried in a *turbah* in the harem of his house in Sūq al-'Aṭash. See above, n. 121.

deed noisy picketing of his home by Ḥanbalites which posed a threat of violence, it would have been taken care of expeditiously, and "tens of thousands soldiers" (used figuratively for enormously many) would hardly have been required. It is virtually unthinkable that someone of Ṭabarī's prominence and social standing would have been left without a well-attended funeral, unless he himself wanted it that way, and that anyone could have stopped such a funeral from taking place. Half a century earlier, something seemingly similar had happened, possibly also as the result of Ḥanbalite machinations. The great mystical writer al-Muḥāsibī was prevented from teaching, and, when he died, only four persons dared to attend his funeral.[294] There is no proof that the events supposedly surrounding Ṭabarī's death and funeral were merely a calque on what was believed to have happened earlier to al-Muḥāsibī. At any rate, the latter was not as important a public figure as was Ṭabarī, whose death reverberated through all the leading and influential circles in Baghdad. It is more likely that if there were not very many people present when he was buried, it was because he himself had expressed the wish that it should be that way. The role of Ḥanbalite hostility, though real, seems to have been exaggerated in connection with his death as it was in his life.

His Death

Death came to Ṭabarī on Monday, Shawwāl 27, 310/February 17, 923.[295] He was buried in his house the following morning. People prayed at his grave night and day for some time after his

294. See van Ess, *Gedankenwelt*, 10 f.

295. The complete dates found in *TB*, II, 166, were the only ones known to later biographers. The slight divergences between them can be interpreted in favor of the Monday date accepted here. Ibn Kāmil, who was present when Ṭabarī died, has Sunday evening, at two nights remaining of the month of Shawwāl. Converting the date to Shawwāl 27, this would be Monday, February 17. Another of Ṭabarī's students, who presumably was also there at the time, was ʿĪsā b. Ḥāmid b. Bishr al-qāḍī (d. 368/979; see *TB*, XI, 178 f.). He has Saturday evening, at four nights remaining. This would be Shawwāl 25, corresponding to Saturday, February 15. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 284 f., understands this date to refer to Shawwāl 26, which, however, would correspond to Sunday, February 16. The decisive factor in favor of the Monday date is the incidental reference by al-Farghānī to the fact that Ṭabarī died on a Monday. See below, n. 300.

death.[296] As was customary, many eulogies were composed. One by the famous philologist Ibn Durayd, with whom Ṭabarī was acquainted,[297] is preserved in its entirety. A few verses are quoted of the eulogy of Abū Sa'īd b. al-A'rābī, apparently the mystic Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād.[298]

Legends, as they were commonly invented to glorify the last moments of life of great men, were also reported about Ṭabarī. He was told in his dying hours about a particular prayer unknown to him. He called for ink and paper to record it. Asked why he did that in his hopeless condition, he replied: "Everybody should use any opportunity to acquire new knowledge until he is dead."[299] On the Monday on which he died, al-Farghānī reports, he asked for water to make the ablution for the noon prayer. When it was suggested to him that, weak as he was, he should combine the noon prayer with the afternoon prayer, he refused.[300]

He had a last word for his assembled students and friends, among them Ibn Kāmil, who asked for advice that would be beneficial for them to achieve salvation. His answer was worthy of the single-minded scholar he had been all his life: "My advice for you is to follow my religious practice and to act in accordance with what I have explained in my books—or something like it," the reporter rather lamely adds. "Then he repeated the confession of faith and mentioned God many times. He wiped his face with his hand and used it to close his eyes. When he let go, his spirit had left his body."[301]

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296. This fact is always stressed, apparently on the authority of Ibn Kāmil. See *TB*, II, 166, l. 19.

297. On Ibn Durayd (223–321/838–933), see *EI*[2] III, 757 f., s. v. He reported Ṭabarī's remark on Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī; see above, n. 160.

298. See *TB*, II, 166–9; Ibn 'Asākir, XCI–XCVI, and the other biographers for his and Ibn Durayd's eulogies. For Ibn al-A'rābī (246–341/860–953), see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 660 f. The addition of "Abū Sa'īd" in Ibn 'Asākir and Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 282, makes the identification virtually certain. It would seem unexpected to find a writer on mystical topics among the mourners of Ṭabarī (see above, n. 227). Moreover, as far as we know, Ibn al-A'rābī had no ties to Baghdad. Ibn 'Asākir, XCII, further quotes verses by a certain Muḥammad b. al-Rūmī, apparently a *mawlā* of the Ṭāhirid family.

299. See Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXIV. The transmission of the report involved al-Mu'āfā and a member of the Ibn al-Furāt family.

300. See Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXVIII f. Al-Farghānī had the information from Abū Bakr (b. Sahl) al-Dīnawarī

301. See Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXIX, continuing the preceding report. For another

There were always dreams conveying messages from the other world. Ṭabarī, too, had his message for a dreamer. Everything that had happened to him, and which others would have to face when they died, was really and truly good, he insisted. The dreamer then asked him whether he had been welcomed by God and would be willing to remember him to God. Ṭabarī took his wrist into his hand and pressed it to his breast, exclaiming: "You ask *me* to remember you to God, when we are taking you to the Messenger of God to give you his support?"[302] The Prophet, he meant to say, was more effective than he could be, and entry to the Prophet was assured to someone like him who had devoted more than seventy years to Islam with his immortal labors as a jurist and expert in traditions, Qur'ān interpreter, and historian.

His Works

The major works of Ṭabarī were first "dictated" in lectures. He worked on them at various times throughout his life. Their subject matter allowed for separate treatment of parts dealing with self-contained subjects. There is a considerable difference between the dates of final publication and the earlier dates when substantial portions of a given work got into circulation. This is the main reason why what seem to be the same works are referred to under different titles and what seem to be different titles are really books forming part of the final publication of one and the same work.

Ṭabarī's method of citing his own works is not uniform and raises at times some doubt as to whether the same work is meant. He prefers reference to subject matter. Formal titles were usually disregarded by him, if, in fact, they ever existed. Some works are described as having been incomplete at the time of his death. In his eighties, he had many incompleted large-scale projects; he must have worked on them for a long time and presumably used them in his lecturing. Their titles were naturally never fixed.

Another complicating factor affecting earlier bibliographers as

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deathbed story involving Ibn Kāmil, see above, n. 237.

302. See Ibn 'Asākir, XCVI. The dreamer was a Hāshimite, al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. He was in charge of public prayers *(ṣāḥib al-ṣalāh)* at the mosque of al-Ruṣāfah, and he died seventy-five years old in 333/945. See *TB*, VI, 339.

well as us is the loss of the lists of Ṭabarī's works in their original forms. Those who preserved extracts from the bibliographies also had no longer any knowledge of many of the works listed. They also could not check the fate of supposedly unfinished books.

We have a certain amount of external and internal evidence for the order of his works as to the time of composition or publication. Our information is, however, incomplete. Thus, it is not advisable to arrange the following bibliography chronologically. The safe procedure chosen here is to follow an alphabetical arrangement according to the first words of known or presumptive titles and to provide ample cross-references.

Listings in square brackets are to titles which appear to be parts of other works, or to works wrongly attributed to Ṭabarī. The alphabetization disregards *kitāb*, *risālah*, and the preposition *fī*. For an attempt to present the works according to chronological order and to subject matter, see Appendix B, below, pp. 152–54.

[Al-Ādāb al-ḥamīdah wa-al-akhlāq al-nafīsah and slightly different forms: See *Ādāb al-nufūs]*

[Ādāb al-ḥukkām "The proper ways of procedure for judges": See *Basīṭ]*

Ādāb al-manāsik "The proper ways of performing the ritual of the pilgrimage"

Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXI f.[303]:

> *Kitāb Ādāb al-manāsik*. The work deals with what a pilgrim needs from the day he leaves (for the pilgrimage) and what he should choose to take care of[304] for the beginning of his journey, what he should say and what prayers he should say upon mounting and descending, and the noteworthy sacred places *(al-manāzil wa-al-mashāhid)* he should see, and so on, during his entire pilgrimage.

Irshād VI, 453, l. 1, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 81, l. 3, mentions only

303. Ibn 'Asākir seems to have been quoted by Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*.

304. This translates *al-ıtmām*, but the reading is dubious. De Goeje's correction to *al-ayyām* "the days he should select" may be preferable.

the title which he states to be *Mukhtaṣar manāsik al-ḥajj*. Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, l. 4, shortens Ibn 'Asākir's title to *Kitāb al-Manāsik*.[305]

Ādāb al-nufūs "The proper ways of spiritual behavior"

The work is quoted under the title of *Kitāb al-Ādāb al-ḥamīdah wa-al-akhlāq al-nafīsah* by al-Tanūkhī (see above, n. 197) and *Kitāb al-Ādāb al-nafīsah wa-al-akhlāq al-ḥamīdah* by Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 277, ll. 12 f. There are other variants, but there can be no doubt as to their referring to *Ādāb al-nufūs*. The use of the title in quotations may indicate that manuscripts bearing it were in circulation. The former title also appears in Ḥājjī Khalīfah, ed. Yaltkaya, I, 42, from which it was derived by d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque*, 52b.

Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXI:

> He started on the *Ādāb al-nufūs*. It is another of his precious works. He structured in it man's religious duties according to all parts of the human body beginning with the heart, the tongue, the eyes, the ears, and so on. It includes the traditions on the subject from the Prophet, the Companions, the Followers, and all those who can be used as evidence. In the work, he also mentions and refers to as evidence the discussions of Ṣūfīs and pious men, including their reported deeds and all that is clearly correct there. He did not complete the work.

Irshād, VI, 449, l. 18–450, l. 14, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 76, l. 14–77, l. 15:

> One of his fine works is the one entitled *Adab*[306] *al-nufūs al-jayyidah wa-al-akhlāq al-nafīsah*, often called by him *Adab al-nafs al-sharīfah wa-al-akhlāq al-ḥamīdah*. In its introduction *(tarjamah)*, he went into great detail with respect to the religious sciences, excellence, asceticism, sincere de-

305. A passage in Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf*, V, 352, l. 1, cites Ṭabarī as reporting *fī al-manāsik* a tradition from Mujāhid's Qur'ān commentary. It may refer to this work, but the subject matter dealt with has no explicit connection to the pilgrimage and the reference could be to any of Ṭabarī's legal works.

306. The singular *adab* is used in the passage, instead of the usual plural *ādāb*.

votion, gratitude, and the discussion of hypocrisy, haughtiness, submissiveness, humility, and patience[307] as well as the command to do good and the prohibition to do evil. He began with a discussion of Satanic inspiration *(waswasah)* and psychologically motivated human actions *(a'māl al-qulūb)*. Then he mentioned a good deal about prayer *(du'ā')*, the excellence of the Qur'ān, and the moments and indications as to when prayer is heard. He included the traditions on the subject transmitted from the Prophet's practice *(sunan)* and the statements of the Companions and the Followers. He discontinued lecturing (on the work, *imlā')* at some point in the discussion of the command to do good and the prohibition to do evil. About five hundred folios were made public by him.

He had done four parts which had not yet been made public in lectures. (Those four parts) were in the hands of the copyist/bookseller *(al-warrāq)* Abū Sa'īd 'Umar b. Aḥmad al-Dīnawarī[308] when (the latter) left for Syria with them. He was waylaid on the road. Only two parts remained in his possession. They contained the discussion of man's duties to God in connection with his senses of seeing and hearing. He had begun (those four parts) in 310/922. He died a short while after having discontinued lecturing. He used to say: "If this book is made public, it will be a beauty." For after the discussion of man's rights and duties, he wanted to continue it to (indicating) the protection thereby offered against the dangers of the Day of Resurrection and the conditions governing it and the circumstances and happenings in the other world and mention Paradise and the Fire.

Irshād, VI, 437, ll. 16–18, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 60, ll. 4–6, and similarly VI, 456, ll. 14 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 86, ll. 5–7, refers to *Ādāb al-nufūs* as indicative of Ṭabarī's asceticism, abstinence, humility, integrity, purity of action, sincerity of intent, and propriety in whatever he died.

The title *Ādāb al-nufūs* appears again in Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 286, l. 4, with no further information.

Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 274, ll. 2 f., was confused by Ibn

307. It may be noted that all these topics were treated in Ṣūfī handbooks.
308. See above, n. 202.

'Asākir's text, on which he drew, and considered *Tartīb al-'ulamā'* mentioned immediately before as an independent work, while it is presumably a part of *Basīṭ*. This results in his stating that "the *Tartīb al-'ulamā'* is one of his precious works. He started out in it with the *Ādāb al-nufūs* and Ṣūfī statements. He did not complete the work."

For al-Tanūkhī's quotation from the work, see above, n. 197. The passage preserved in Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, 277, was quoted as an example of Ṭabarī's stylistic elegance. It reflects the pietistic tone of the work. It consists of a chapter heading and the beginning words of the chapter, apparently taken from the work's opening pages:

The explanation of [the state] which makes it necessary[309]
for a human being to check his state with respect
to his psychologically motivated activity
for God

There is no state of the believer where his enemy (Satan) who is in charge of him does not try to entice him to his own way and to lie in wait for him, so as to block his (progress along) the straight roads of his Lord. Thus Satan said to his Lord, as he was made by Him one of those hoping for "postponement": "I shall lie (in wait) for them along Your straight path. Then I shall approach them from in front and from behind."[310] He was hoping to make his hostile expectation come true, as expressed in what he said to his Lord: "If You grant me postponement to the Day of Resurrection, I shall indeed take over control of (Adam's) progeny with few exceptions."[311] It is therefore every intelligent person's duty to train himself strenuously to make (Satan's) expectations not come true, to frustrate his hope, and to make every effort to humiliate him. Nothing in human activity is more detested by Satan than man's obedience to his Lord and disobedience to his own (Satan's) command, and nothing gives him greater joy than (man's) disobedience to his Lord and his

309. Read *yūjibu* for *yajibu*.
310. Qur. 7:14–17.
311. Qur. 17:62.

following his own (Satan's) command.

[Ādāb al-quḍāh or *Adab al-qāḍī* "The proper ways of procedure for judges": See *Basīṭ]*

Al-Ādar (?) *fī al-uṣūl* "? on the principles"

Irshād, VI, 453, l. 4, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 81, ll. 6 f.:

> He promised the *Kitāb al-'-d-r fī al-uṣūl* but made nothing of it public.

The "principles" are presumably those of jurisprudence, here to be treated in monograph form. Neither editor of *Irshād* indicates what *'-l-'-d-r* could possibly mean. Assuming some slight corruption in the text, *fī al-uṣūl* may not be part of a title, and something totally different may be concealed under the reading *'-l-'-d-r*.

[Aḥkām sharā'i' al-Islām "The laws of the Muslim religion"

This was the working title for a comprehensive exposition of the sharī'ah that Ṭabarī had apparently planned but never executed as intended. See *Tafsīr*, I, 37 (translated below, 113), and II, 352, l. 16 (*ad* Qur. 2:238).]

[Fī ahl al-baghy "On wrongdoers (rebels)": See *Laṭīf]*

[Risālat al-Akhlāq "On moral behavior": See *Mūjaz]*

[Amthilat al-'udūl "Forms for attorneys"

This is said to be the title of a book on document forms *(shurūṭ)*, a part of *Laṭīf.]*

[al-'Aqīdah "(Ṭabarī's) Creed": See *Ṣarīḥ*

Listed as a separate title in Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 328, no. 8, the "Creed" is identical with *Ṣarīḥ*. A quotation from it in Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 280, and *'Uluww*, 150, corresponds to *Ṣarīḥ*, text,

198, trans., 192.]

[Al-Aṭʿimah "Dietary laws": See *Laṭīf]*

[Al-Baṣīr fī maʿālim al-dīn: See *Tabṣīr]*

Basīṭ al-qawl fī aḥkām sharāʾiʿ al-Islām "A plain and simple exposition of the laws of the Muslim religion"

This title was used by Ṭabarī in *History*, I, 1455. He says there with reference to divergent statements as to how the Prophet performed the "prayer of fear" upon meeting with potential enemies during the raid of Dhāt al-riqāʿ: "God willing, I shall mention the different statements in our book entitled *Basīṭ al-qawl fī aḥkām sharāʾiʿ al-Islām* in the book on the prayer of fear."[312]

Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 234, ll. 22–24:

> *Kitāb al-Basīṭ fī al-fiqh.* He did not complete it. The following books of it have been made public: The large book on document forms *(shurūṭ)*, records and documents *(al-maḥāḍir wa-al-siǰillāt)*, last wills *(al-waṣāyā)*, the procedure for judges *(adab al-qāḍī)*, ritual purity, prayer, and charity taxes.

Ibn ʿAsākir, LXXXI:

> He started on his book *al-Basīṭ*. He made public its book on ritual purity in something like 1,500 folios. (The size was that large) because in each chapter, he mentioned the disagreements of the Companions, the Followers, and others according to their ways of transmission (that is, the various recensions in which their statements were transmitted). He also mentioned their reasons for the views chosen by them

312. *History*, I, 1453 ff., places the raid of Dhāt al-riqāʿ in the year 4/626. The circumstances were very much debated, and no agreement appears to have been achieved about the date of the raid and about the prayer of fear *(ṣalāt al-khawf)* connected with it. See the long exposition in Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, VIII, 420–33. See also, for instance, Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 661 ff., trans. Guillaume, 445–57. Ibn Ḥajar, 426 f., refers to the passage in *History*, I, 1455, in a rather unclear manner; his reference to *Tafsīr* may refer to *Tafsīr*, VI, 94 (*ad* Qur. 5:11).

as their *madhhab* and added his own preference and the arguments for it at the end of each chapter. He made public most of the *Basīṭ's* book on prayer and the entire *Ādāb al-ḥukkām*,[313] as well as the book on records and documents and the classification of scholars *(Tartīb al-'ulamā')*.[314]

Irshād, VI, 448, l. 18–449, l. 17, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 75, l. 7–76, l. 13:

One of his excellent works is the one entitled *Basīṭ al-qawl fī aḥkām sharā'i' al-Islām*. He prefaced it with an interesting book entitled *Marātib al-'ulamā'*.[315] He included in it the invocation *(khuṭbah)* of the work and urged the reader to acquire religious and legal knowledge. He strongly criticized those of his colleagues[316] who restricted themselves to transmitting it without using its contents in their juridical activities. Then he mentioned the scholars among the Companions of the Messenger of God who held legal views like himself *(tafaqqaha 'alā madhhabihī)*,[317] and the jurists of the major centers of the following four (generations) who successively transmitted that material. He started with Medina as the place to which the Prophet emigrated as well as his successors Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān, and those after them.[318] (He continued with) Mecca, the Noble Sanctuary, followed by the two Iraqs al-Kufāh and al-Baṣrah, and then Syria and Khurāsān. After discussing ritual purity, he worked on the book on prayer. In this work (that is, the entire *Basīṭ*), he mentioned the disagreements and agreements among scholars exhaustively with clear explanations of (the views expressed by them) and the indication of who held a particular view, and then he stated what was correct (in his

313. The correct reading *al-ḥukkām*, as against the text's *al-aḥkām*, is attested by Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, and Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*. The work is identical with *Adab al-qāḍī/Ādāb al-quḍāh*.

314. Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 273, l. 21–274, l. 2, has an abridged version, as does Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 122. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 286, l. 4, merely has *Basīṭ al-qawl*.

315. *Tartīb al-'ulamā'*.

316. The pronominal suffix refers to his own colleagues and students (see also n. 317). His criticism was no doubt held in general terms without naming names.

317. The pronominal suffix does not refer to the Prophet but to his own legal school.

318. Note that 'Alī is not mentioned.

opinion in each case).[319] He made public about two thousand folios.

He (also) published the *Basīṭ*'s *Kitāb Ādāb al-quḍāh*, an outstanding accomplishment that is highly esteemed among his (publications, *al-ma'dūdah lahū)* because, after the invocation *(khuṭbah)*, he mentioned in it the praiseworthy character of judges and their secretaries. (He discussed) how judges must act after being appointed, what they must accept and what they must look at critically and then reverse earlier legal judgments. (He also included) a discussion of records *(siijillāt)*, legal testimony (by experts, *shahādāt)*, claims (of litigants, *da'āwī)*, and evidence *(bayyināt)*.[320] It was to include a discussion of all the legal knowledge needed by judges *(al-ḥākim)*, until he would finally be through with it. It is one thousand folios.

Ṭabarī used to recommend to his colleagues and students to devote serious study to *Basīṭ* and *Tahdhīb* in preference to any other of his works.

[Al-Bayān fī uṣūl al-aḥkām "A clear exposition of the legal principles": See *Laṭīf]*

[Al-Dalālah 'alā nubuwwat (Rasūl Allāh) "Evidence for the Prophethood of the Messenger of God"

Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl., I, 218, lists this title with reference to *History*, I, 1146:

> Abū Ja'far says: Reports on the Prophethood (of Muḥammad) are innumerable. Therefore, if God wills, a monograph should by devoted to them.

Such a monograph may actually have been written by Ṭabarī and become part of one of his other publications, or he may have intended to write one and never did, but *al-Dalālah*... was cer-

319. See above, n. 216.

320. These are the ordinary elements of court proceedings. If the rest of the paragraph is correctly translated, it means that the entire work was to include much more legal material of interest to jurists and judges, but only a thousand folios were so far available of the chapter on judges.

tainly never meant to be an actual title and was merely a description of the contents.]

Dhayl al-Mudhayyal "The Appendix (with historical information on religious scholars, needed in connection with *History*)"

The public presentation of *Dhayl* started after 300/912–3; see below.

The skimpy selection *(muntakhab)* from the work that is preserved and was published with *History*, III, 2295–2561, ed. Cairo, XI, 492–705, repeatedly refers to *"al-Mudhayyal"* as if this were another work (and *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* a supplement to it), but presumably, the complete text of the work, now lost, entitled *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*, was meant.[321]

Al-Farghānī's *Ijāzah* refers to *"Kitāb Ta'rīkh al-rijāl* 'History of personalities (= religious scholars)', entitled *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*."[322] In fact, the work is often listed as *Ta'rīkh al-rijāl*; see Ibn 'Asākir (below); Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 273, ll. 8–10; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 285, ll. 20 f.; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 121, l. 9.

Ibn 'Asākir, LXXIX:

> Also complete is *Ta'rīkh al-rijāl*, dealing with the Companions, the Followers, and their successors down to his own authorities from whom he wrote down *(kataba)* information.

Irshād, VI, 445, ll. 6–17, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 70, l. 9–71, l. 3:

> His book entitled *Kitāb Dhayl al-mudhayyal*. It includes the history (dates, *ta'rīkh)* of the Companions of the Messenger of God who were killed or died during his life or after his death, in order of their relative closeness to him and to the Quraysh with respect to tribal affiliation. He then mentioned (the dates of) death of the Followers and the ancient Muslims after them, then their successors and down to his own teachers with whom he studied *(sami'a)*. He in-

321. For the references, see *Dhayl*, III, 2321, 2335, 2358, 2476, ed. Cairo, XI, 512, 523, 540, 628.

322. See *Irshād*, VI, 426, l. 18, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 44, l. 18.

cluded a number *(jumalan)* of their traditions and opinions *(akhbārihim wa-madhāhibihim)*, speaking up in defense of the outstanding scholars among them who were accused of holding opinions they did not, as, for instance, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Qatādah, 'Ikrimah,[323] and others. (On the other hand,) he also mentioned the weakness[324] and softness of transmitters who were considered weak and soft. At the end, the work contains fine chapters on those whose brothers transmitted traditions from them, fathers and sons (who transmitted from one another), and those who were not known by their names but by their patronymics, and vice versa. It is a truly excellent work which *ḥadīth* students and historians are eager to have. He made it public in lectures after the year 300/912–3. It is about one thousand folios.

In another context, *Irshād*, VI, 454, l. 15, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 83, l. 10, adds that the beginning of *Dhayl* dealt with objectionable sectarian views, presumably, if the statement is correct, those falsely ascribed to early Muslims (?). In its lecture form, the work contained high praise for Abū Ḥanīfah; see above, n. 237.

Al-Faḍā'il "The virtues (and remarkable accomplishments and statements of certain ancient Muslims)"

Ṭabarī worked at different times on a project to collect comprehensive information on the "virtues" of the first four caliphs[325] as well as al-'Abbās, the ancestor of the ruling 'Abbāsids. The formal titles of these works, if there were any, are in doubt.

The *Faḍā'il Abī Bakr wa-'Umar* are listed as an unfinished work in *Irshād*, VI, 452, l. 18, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 80 f. According to *Irshād*, VI, 455 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 85, ll. 5 f., Ṭabarī wrote his work in response to extremist Shī'ah slander of the Prophet's Companions and began with Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The *Faḍā'il al-'Abbās* are

323. For these ancient Muslims, see below, translation, nn. 642, 64, and 161. The preserved excerpt of *Dhayl* appears to contain the accusations leveled against 'Ikrimah, see III, 2483–85, ed. Cairo, XI, 633–5.

324. *Irshād*, ed. Rifā'ī, has a meaningless *ṣirf* for *ḍa'f*.

325. 'Uthmān is only mentioned in Ibn 'Asākir in a rather perfunctory fashion. It is impossible to be sure, but he may have been intentionally excluded from the *Faḍā'il* series, despite Ṭabarī's ordinary view of the first four caliphs.

listed in the immediately following lines. In the second passage, *Irshād* adds: "He began with a fine invocation *(khuṭbah)* and lectured on some of it. He discontinued all lecturing before his death, because he considered it too bothersome a task." It is not entirely clear whether this refers to the *Faḍā'il* of Abū Bakr and 'Umar or those of al-'Abbās, or both. Most likely it refers to all of Ṭabarī's lecturing activity.

The *Faḍā'il 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, which also remained incomplete, constitute a special case, as intimated in the sources.

Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXII, used by Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 274, ll. 6–9:

> When Ṭabarī learned that Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī[326] spoke critically about the tradition of Ghadīr Khumm,[327] he composed the *Kitāb al-Faḍā'il.* He started with the virtues of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī and critically discussed and argued in favor of the soundness of the tradition of Ghadīr Khumm. His work came to an end with what he mentioned of the virtues of the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī.

Irshād, VI, 452, ll. 16 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 80, ll. 15–17, briefly states that "in the beginning of the *Kitāb Faḍā'il 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, he critically (and favorably) discussed the soundness of the traditions *(akhbār)* on Ghadīr Khumm and had this discussion followed by the virtues (of 'Alī). He did not finish the work."

Ibn Kāmil's report as reproduced in *Irshād*, VI, 455, l. 11–456, l. 1, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 84, l. 13–85, l. 7, is more detailed:

> One of the scholars in Baghdad[328] had declared the Ghadīr Khumm (episode) to be untrue because, he said, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was in the Yemen at the time when the Messenger of God was at Ghadīr Khumm. In a *muzdawwij* poem contain-

326. See above, n. 229.

327. On the celebrated and controversial designation by Muḥammad of 'Alī as his putative successor at the Pool of Khumm, see *EI*², II, 993 f., s. v. Ghadīr Khumm.

328. His identity as indicated in Ibn 'Asākir is no doubt correct. It would be interesting to know whether the omission of the name was due to Ibn Kāmil and, if so, why he might have omitted it.

ing descriptions of each place and station (in Arabia, connected with the Prophet's biography [?]), that man inserted the following lines alluding to the significance of the tradition of Ghadīr Khumm:

> Then we passed by Ghadīr Khumm,
> Subject to a large number of fraudulent statements
> About ʿAlī and the illiterate Prophet *(al-umm[i])*.

When Abū Jaʿfar learned about it, he started on a discussion of the virtues of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and mentioned the various recensions of the tradition of Khumm. Many people flocked to listen to (his lectures on) the subject.

Some extremist Shīʿites, who unseemingly slandered the Companions, came together. So Ṭabarī started (to write) on the virtues of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Then the ʿAbbāsids asked him about the *faḍā'il* of al-ʿAbbās. He began.... (see above)."

In view of the importance of the subject for Shīʿah history, notice was occasionally taken of Ṭabarī's work among Shīʿites. The Shīʿah bibliographer al-Ṭūsī commented on it as follows:

> The historian Ṭabarī, not (his) Shīʿah (namesake), composed a *Kitāb Ghadīr Khumm*, commenting on the subject. We were informed about it by Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūn—Abū Bakr al-Dūrī—Ibn Kāmil—Ṭabarī.[329]

Later sunnī discomfort with Ṭabarī's effort was expressed by the fourteenth-century Ibn Kathīr.

> (Ṭabarī) concerned himself with the tradition of Ghadīr Khumm and composed two volumes[330] on the subject. In those volumes, he reported the various recensions as they were transmitted and by whom. His discussion is a mixed bag of valuable and worthless, sound and unsound information. This is in keeping with the custom of many *ḥadīth*

329. See Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 178. The only individual in the *isnād* not commonly connected with Ṭabarī is Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūn. He is said to have been known as Ibn Ḥāshir; see the editor's introduction of Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 11.

330. See Kern's introduction of his edition of *Ikhtilāf*, 12, where the manuscript said to contain the history of al-Birzālī is quoted as referring to two substantial volumes.

scholars who (merely) report the information they have on a subject and make no distinction between what is sound and what is weak.[331]

The tentative conclusion which we may draw from all these statements would seem to be as follows: Ṭabarī occasionally lectured on the "virtues" (as he did on the traditions; see *Tahdhīb)* of some of the famous Companions. When an attack on the reliability of the report on the famous Shī'ah episode of Ghadīr Khumm was published, he felt impelled to discuss the subject and could not avoid continuing with a substantial account of 'Alī's "virtues." The caliphal court then naturally suggested that equal time be given to their side and the virtues of al-'Abbās be properly extolled. Much politics of some sort or other was clearly involved in Ṭabarī's dealing with all those matters important alike to the Shī'ah, the sunnī orthodoxy, and the government authorities. While Ṭabarī's personal identification with "orthodox" attitudes cannot be doubted, he appears to have tried to be even-handed in an objective scholarly manner, much to the embarrassment of later sunnī authors. He may have thought of putting all his lectures together in one major work on the "virtues" of the leading early Muslims. If he did, he did not live long enough to execute the project. Individual installments circulated for a while. It apparently did not take very long for them to become generally unavailable. Religio-political rancor and rivalry no doubt again played a role in their gradual disappearance.

[*Kitāb al-Fatwā* "On legal decisions": See below, n. 343]

Al-Faṣl bayn al-qirā'ah "The (schools of) variant readings of the Qur'ān presented in separate detail"

This seems to be an approximately correct rendering of the rather strange title. In this form, it occurs only in *Irshād.* It appears to have figured in Ibn Kāmil's bibliography. Everywhere else,

331. See Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* V, 208. Ibn Kathīr continues with a reference to Ibn 'Asākir who, he says, also reported many recensions of the Prophet's speech at Ghadīr Khumm. The entire statement may go back to an older source, perhaps Ibn 'Asākir. It is rather unlikely that Ibn Kathīr would have known Ṭabarī's work.

the work is simply described as dealing with the variant readings of the Qur'ān *(Kitāb fī al-qirā'āt)*.

For a manuscript of the work preserved in al-Azhar, which has not yet been published, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 328, no. 9, and Gilliot, "Les sept lectures."

Al-Jāmi' is also mentioned as a title. Quoting al-Dānī, Ibn al-Jazarī states that Ṭabarī's "fine work on *qirā'āt*" was entitled *al-Jāmi'*.[332] Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, who also relied on al-Dānī, does not mention the title. It may derive from a confusion with *Jāmi' al-bayān*, the title of *Tafsīr* which, of course, was concerned with variant readings. In fact, Ḥājjī Khalīfah, ed. Yaltkaya, 1319a, lists Ṭabarī's *Jāmi' al-bayān* (!) among works on *qirā'āt*, although elsewhere (see n. 332), he has *al-Jāmi'* on *qirā'ah*. From the sources available to him, Pretzl also concluded that *al-Jāmi'* was not a different work.[333] It is, however, not entirely impossible, if unlikely, that a monograph on variant readings entitled *al-Jāmi'*, as distinct from the work on *qirā'āt*, was produced by Ṭabarī, perhaps based on *Tafsīr*, or circulated under his name.

Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 235, 1. 4, has *Kitāb al-Qirā'āt* and lists no further title on Qur'ān readings.

Among Ṭabarī's completed works, Ibn 'Asākir, LXXIX, mentions *Kitāb al-Qirā'āt wa-al-tanzīl wa-al-'adad*, apparently one and the same work. This means that it also dealt with subjects such as the dates of the revelation of various sūrahs and statistical data such as the number of their verses.[334]

Irshād, VI, 441, l. 17–443, l. 17, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 65, l. 13–68, l. 7, has much detail. Most of it derives from Ibn Kāmil. It is however, unclear what was found in his bibliography or went back to some other Ibn Kāmil tradition unconnected with the discus-

332. See Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, II, 107, ll. 5 f.; also idem, *Nashr*, I, 33: "a very substantial book containing over twenty (schools of) variants readings." The passage from *Nashr* was reproduced (directly or from a common source) by Ḥājjī Khalīfah, ed. Yaltkaya, I, 576, under *al-Jāmi' fī al-qirā'āt al-'ashr*.

333. See Nöldeke-Schwally-Bergsträsser-Pretzl, 208, n. 7. From their work, Brockelmann, *GAL*², I, 149, derived the title *Jāmi' al-qirā'āt min al-mashhūr wa-al-shawādhdh wa-'ilal dhālika wa-sharḥuhū*.

334. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 285, ll. 5 f., states that Ṭabarī "wrote a work on *qirā'āt*" and lists it on 285, l. 20, as *al-Qirā'āt wa-al-'adad wa-al-tanzīl wa-ikhtilāf al-'ulamā'*. He apparently understood *ikhtilāf al-'ulamā'* as referring to differences with respect to Qur'ān readings, and not as a reference to *Ikhtilāf*.

sion of the work on Qur'ān readings. An obvious intrusion is a quotation from al-Farghānī. The repeated reference to Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām also speaks for different sources. With the exception of the Farghānī passage, the following translation renders the entire text of *Irshād*, which is instructive in many important respects:

> *Kitāb al-Faṣl bayn al-qirā'ah.* He mentioned in it the differences of the Qur'ān readers with respect to the variant readings *(ḥurūf)* of the Qur'ān. It is a very good work. He specified in it the names of the Qur'ān readers in Medina, Mecca, al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, Syria, and elsewhere. He gives separate details on each reading. He mentions it as is *(wajh)*, its interpretation *(ta'wīl)*, [335] the views expressed on it by each reader, and his own preference for what is correct on the basis of clear proof for the soundness of his preferred reading. It clearly shows his ability to interpret *(tafsīr)* and establish the correct linguistic form *(i'rāb)*, an ability which nobody would deny is unmatched by other Qur'ān readers, even though they were excellent scholars and enjoyed priority. He introduced the work with an appropriate invocation *(khuṭbah)*. Such was his custom in his books. He started a given work with an invocation outlining its topic *(ma'nā)* and then constructed its contents in accordance with (the outline presented in) the invocation.[336]
>
> Abū Ja'far was famous for his Qur'ān recitation. Qur'ān readers from afar and other people came to pray behind him in order to hear him read and recite the Qur'ān.[337]
>
> When Abū Bakr b. Mujāhid, says Ibn Kāmil, mentioned Ṭabarī, he praised him highly: "Nothing like his book on the subject (of *qirā'āt*) has ever been written," and he said to us: "I have never heard anyone who was a better Qur'ān reader in the prayer niche *(miḥrāb)* than Abū Ja'far," or words to this effect.

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335. In *Tafsīr*, Ṭabarī refers to Qur'ān interpreters commonly as *ahl al-ta'wīl*, and much less frequently as *ahl al-tafsīr*.

336. A good example is the *khuṭbah* "invocation/introduction" of *History*. See below, n. 445, and translation, n. 6.

337. The proximity to the mention of Abū Bakr b. Mujāhid (see above, n. 121) in the following paragraph makes it likely that this paragraph also goes back to him.

Ibn Kāmil continued: Abū Ja'far originally followed the Qur'ān reading of Ḥamzah,[338] before he settled on his own reading.

(A more detailed description of the development of Ṭabarī's work in the field of Qur'ān reading is inserted here following al-Farghānī.)

Ibn Kāmil continued quoting Abū Bakr b. Mujāhid: After having highly praised his work on variant readings *(kitābahū fī al-qirā'āt)*, (Ibn Mujāhid) said: But I have found an error in it. He mentioned it to me, and I was astonished, since Ṭabarī followed the reading and recitation of Ḥamzah. It was because Ṭabarī based his work upon that of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām.[339] Abū 'Ubayd had neglected that particular variant reading, and Ṭabarī copied it that way.

Ibn Kāmil continued: Abū Ja'far told us the following: I heard about a Qur'ān reader in Sūq Yaḥyā.[340] I went and read the Qur'ān to him from the beginning to Qur. 2:26: "God is not ashamed *(yastaḥyī)* to coin a simile." I repeatedly tried to make it clear to him that there were two *yā*'s (in *yastaḥyī*). He objected, and eventually I said: Do you want still more of an explanation for the two *yā*'s with an *i* vowel after the first?[341] He did not know what I was talking about. So I got up and never went back to him.

He continued: Ṭabarī had in his possession the recension of Warsh—Nāfi' as transmitted to him by Yūnus b. 'Abd al-

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338. Ḥamzah, one of the seven Qur'ān readers, lived during the first three-quarters of the second/eighth century. See *EI*², III, 155, s. v. Ḥamzah b. Ḥabīb.

339. The remark is repeated at the end of the quotation. For the important author Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, see Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. I, 166 f. (many of his works have meanwhile been published). Ṭabarī often cites him in *Tafsīr* as an indirect source ("I was told on the authority of . . ."). Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tha'labī (d. 273/886, see *TB*, V, 218 f.), mentioned below, appears repeatedly as the intermediate transmitter. His *nisbah* is also given, probably incorrectly, as Taghlibī.

340. The Yaḥyā Bazaar was located in al-Shammāsiyyah near the Tigris Bridge, according to Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 199 ff. and Map V (marked no. 45); Lassner, *Topography*, index.

341. The Egyptian edition of the Qur'ān spells *yastaḥyī* with one *yā'* and indicates that the following *i* vowel is to be read as a long *ī* (thus avoiding the implication that the alternate form *yastaḥī* may be meant). This appears to be the situation which Ṭabarī wished to explain to the man who proved to be inordinately obtuse.

A'lā from Warsh.[342] (Students) came to Ṭabarī on account of it. As I was told, Abū Bakr b. Mujāhid wanted to have private instruction in that recension from Ṭabarī. Although (Ibn Mujāhid) was a recognized scholar and esteemed by Ṭabarī, the latter refused. (He told him) that he would teach it only, if others were present together with him. This did not sit well with Abū Bakr (b. Mujāhid). Ṭabarī's reasons for the refusal was that he disliked to let anyone have any knowledge that he did not (equally) impart also to others. This was his moral stance. When a number of students studied a book with him, and one of them was unable to be present, he would not permit only some (of the students in class to continue) to study. And if someone wanted to study a book (with him) in absentia, he would not teach him the book until he presented himself in person. An exception was the book on legal decisions *(Kitāb al-Fatwā)*.[343]

His work on variant readings comprises the work of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām. It was in his possession as transmitted by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tha'labī on Abū 'Ubayd's authority. He based his own work on it.

Irshād, VI, 427, ll. 6–9, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 45, ll. 10–14, quotes from a work on Qur'ān reading entitled *al-Iqnā'* by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ahwāzī (d. 446/1054[5]):

> (Ṭabarī's work) on *qirā'āt*, a truly great work (or a massive, large work?). The copy I have seen was in eighteen volumes, albeit written in a large script. He mentioned in it all the readings, both those generally accepted *(mashhūr)* and those that are unusual, with the reasons for each reading and comments on it. He did not diverge from what was generally known with respect to any reading he preferred (as being acceptable to him).

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342. For 'Uthman b. Sa'īd, nicknamed Warsh (110–97/728[9]–812[3]), see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 11; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, I, 502 f. Nāfi' b. ('Abd al-Raḥmān b.) Abī Nu'aym, one of the seven Qur'ān readers, lived in and beyond the first half of the second/eighth century, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 9 f. Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā has been mentioned above, n. 99, as one of Ṭabarī's authorities during his visit to Egypt.

343. No such title is mentioned among Ṭabarī's works. It could be part of one of his other legal works, or it may not be a specific work but a file of legal decisions kept by him, in case he was asked to render a decision on a problem.

[Ghadīr Khumm: See *Faḍā 'il]*

[*Ḥadīth al-himyān*: "The story of the Khurāsānian whose belt was lost in Mecca"

In the biography of Ibn al-Maḥāmilī (368-415/978[9]-1024), a Shāfi'ite jurist and an early teacher of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, this item is mentioned as a report *(khabar)* of Ṭabarī.[344] It was, the Khaṭīb says, the only bit of information he was ever able to elicit from Ibn al-Maḥāmilī. Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 49, merely quotes *TB* without adding anything to it. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 328, no. 10, refers to a manuscript of the treatise in Cairo. Through the good services of Dr. Elise Crosby, I am in the possession of a microfilm enlargement of the text (Ms. 1558 [ḥadīth], pp. 439-45, dating from the ninth/sixteenth century). It turns out not to be a work by Ṭabarī, but it presents itself as a reminiscence from Ṭabarī's younger years told by him to Abū Khāzim al-Mu'allā b. Sa'īd al-Baghdādī al-Bazzār, who died about 353/964 (see *TB*, XIII, 190 f.). It was in Egypt in 346/964 that al-Mu'allā reported that he had heard Ṭabarī tell him the story in 300/912[3]. The gist of the story is as follows:

Ṭabarī was in Mecca in 240/855 (the pilgrimage in that year took place around the end of April). There he heard a Khurāsānian advertise the loss of a belt containing one thousand dīnārs. As we learn later, these thousand dīnārs were one-third of the amount of money his father had left him with the admonition that he give them to the most worthy person he might encounter on the pilgrimage. An old man, whose name was Abū Ghiyāth al-Ja'farī (being a client of Ja'far b. Muḥammad, apparently the sixth imām of the Shī'ah, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq), approached the Khurāsānian and suggested that a reward of ten percent be given to the finder if he came forward. When the Khurāsānian refused, he came down in the following two days to, at first, one percent and, then, a single dīnār. Ṭabarī suspected that the old man himself was the finder of the belt. He followed him to his house the first time, but he stayed at home the next day, as he was occupied with copying the famous work on Qurashite genealogy *(Kitāb al-Nasab)* by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870).[344a] Ṭabarī had been right. The old man had

344. See *TB*, IV, 372 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 328, no. 10.

344a. I have no decisive information that Ṭabarī studied personally with al-

the belt. His wife asked him to keep it, but he did not want to bring disgrace upon himself in his old age, no matter how grinding the poverty in which he lived together with his household consisting of his wife, his mother-in-law, two sisters, and four daughters. Thus, on the third day, when the Khurāsānian again refused to offer a monetary reward, he took him to his house, with the two of them being followed by Ṭabarī. The Khurāsānian identified the belt and its contents as his and was about to leave with it when he remembered his father's deathbed admonition. He realized that the honest old man was, among all the people he had met on his journey, the one most deserving of the money. So he gave the money to him and left. Ṭabarī also wanted to leave but was called back by the old man, who then distributed the money coin by coin to his family of nine, including Ṭabarī as the tenth person to receive a share of a hundred dīnārs. Ṭabarī lived on the money for a number of years and used it to defray all his study expenses. When he was in Mecca again after 256/870, he learned that the old man had died a few months after the episode with the belt. The four daughters and her husbands and offspring were still alive, but, as Ṭabarī was told, they were all gone in 290/903.

In the biography of al-Muʿallā, Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 148, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI, 63 (both quoted in the margin of the Cairo manuscript), expressed themselves convinced that the story was invented by al-Muʿallā but gave no proof except claiming that al-Muʿallā was an untrustworthy transmitter. They may have a point. The story is of the type of the "four Muḥammads" (above, 29 f.) and even more unbelievable. The way in which Ṭabarī came into the possession of his share seems fanciful and hardly reflects credit on him. There are pro-Shīʿah overtones, which may point to Ḥanbalite propaganda directed against him. On the other hand, it might just be possible that the two visits to Mecca, the one in 240 when Ṭabarī was about sixteen, and the other after 256, during or after his stay in Egypt, have a basis in fact and supply us with an otherwise missing bit of biographical information. There is, of course, nothing unusual with a young student undertaking

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Zubayr b. Bakkār. In *History*, he is mostly introduced as an indirect, possibly written, source. *Ḥaddathanā*, in I, 1314 and 3072, may reflect a misuse of the term. On the other hand, Ṭabarī may very well have met al-Zubayr in Baghdad or in Mecca where, however, he became judge only in 242 (according to Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 317).

the pilgrimage, perhaps in the company of fellow students and teachers.

According to the sources, the story came into circulation during the fourth/tenth century. Beyond al-Mu'allā, the chain of transmitters, as indicated in the manuscript, is flawless: Ṭabarī—al-Mu'allā—Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Shādhān al-Bazzār (298-383/910-93, see *TB*, IV, 18-20)—Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Ibn) al-Bādā (d. 420/1029, see *TB*, IV, 322; he taught the story in Rabī' II, 417/May-June 1026. Al-Bādā, of uncertain origin, looks rather like al-Bārā in the manuscript)—Abū Muḥammad Rizqallāh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Tamīmī *al-wā'iẓ* (d., eighty-eight years old, in 488/1095, see Dhahabī, *'Ibar*, III, 320 f.)—Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad (467-550/1074[5]-1155, see Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*[2], 524, n. 2; Eche, *Les Bibliothèques arabes*, 180 f.), who received permission to transmit the story from Rizqallāh but also copied it from a manuscript by a certain Abū al-Ḥasan al-...[344b] —Ibn al-Jawzī, the famous Ḥanbalite scholar and historian (510-97/1116[7]-1201)—Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥarrānī (587-672/1191-1273, see Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, V, 336)—Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Maydūmī (664-754/1266-1353, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, IV, 157 f.)—Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (745-836/1344[5]-1433, see Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, II, 106 f.). Some of the individuals mentioned were very young when they received permission to transmit the story. This agrees with its edifying moral character which was thought particularly suitable for young children.]

'Ibārat al-ru'yā "On dream interpretation"

Irshād, VI, 452 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 81, ll. 2 f., states that Ṭabarī worked on "a book on dream interpretation containing traditions

344b. The manuscript has al-..ādhānī, which I have so far been unable to identify. There was an Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baradānī who died in 469/1077 (and was possibly born in 388/998, if 308 in the *Muntaẓam* is to be corrected to 388). See Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, II, 144, and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VIII, 311. However, the correction of Barādhānī to Baradānī is not self-evident, and the first two consonants can be read in a large variety of ways.

(on the subject) but died before he could produce it." It was another of those projects on which Ṭabarī was still working at the time of his death. As indicated, it was a work on *ḥadīth.*

Ikhtilāf 'ulamā' al-amṣār fī aḥkām sharā'i' al-Islām "The disagreements of the scholars in the major centers with respect to the laws of the Muslim religion"

This is the full title of the celebrated work, which is partly preserved (see below). It is often referred to in an abridged form, such as *Ikhtilāf 'ulamā' al-amṣār,*[345] *Ikhtilāf al-'ulamā',*[346] or simply *al-Ikhtilāf.* The title *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'* is found, notably in Ibn al-Nadīm but also elsewhere.[347] It is the title used in the printed editions of the preserved parts of the work. See also Kern, "Ṭabarī's Ikhtilāf," 65.

A report in *Irshād* (see below, 85) apparently is of Ḥanbalite inspiration. It speaks of the publication of the work after Ṭabarī's death, if this is what the rather strange report really means. Probably, the reference to *Ikhtilāf* figured in it only by some sort of obfuscation. *Ikhtilāf* was also considered Ṭabarī's first literary production. In view of the fact that *Laṭīf* is cited in it and was considered by Ṭabarī in the choice of its contents,[348] this may also seem a strange statement. It is well possible, however, that parts of *Ikhtilāf* came out before the publication of any part of *Laṭīf* and that quotations from *Laṭīf* occurred only in later parts of *Ikhtilāf* or were subsequently added by Ṭabarī in those earlier parts already published. No absolute publication dates are mentioned in the sources.

As in the case of *Laṭīf,* Ṭabarī also wrote, or started on, an introductory *risālah* to *Ikhtilāf* dealing with the basic principles (see below, n. 356).

Irshād, VI, 445, l. 17–447, l. 18, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 71, l. 4–73, l. 5, presents a full discussion of the history of the work:

345. See al-Farghānī, *Ijāzah,* in *Irshād,* VI, 427, l. 2, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 45, ll. 4 f.; Ibn 'Asākir, LXXIX; Dhahabī, *Nubalā',* XIV, 273, l. 12; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* II, 286, l. 2.

346. See 'Abbādī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 52.

347. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist,* 235, l. 5; *Irshād* (see below); Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf* (see below, n. 361).

348. See below, 116.

His work famed for excellence in East and West entitled *Kitāb Ikhtilāf 'ulamā' al-amṣār fī aḥkām sharā'i' al-Islām.* His intention was to mention in it the statements of the following jurists: (1) Mālik b. Anas, the leading Medinese jurist, according to two recensions, (2) 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr al-Awzā'ī, the leading Syrian jurist, (3) the Kūfan Sufyān al-Thawrī, according to two recensions, (4) Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, according to the transmission of al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān[349] on al-Shāfi'ī's authority, the Kūfans (5) Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān b. Thābit, (6) Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, and (7) Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, a *mawlā* of the Shaybān, and (8) Abū Naṣr Ibrāhīm b. Khālid al-Kalbī.[350]

In his work, Ṭabarī had originally included one of the Mu'tazilites *(ahl al-naẓar),* namely, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Kaysān, because at the time when (Ṭabarī) was working on *(Ikhtilāf),* (Ibn Kaysān's) views were not used as the basis for a(n unacceptable) legal school.[351] After some time, however, (Ibn Kaysān's) colleagues and students expressed poorly informed legal views, and Ṭabarī excluded him from his work.

I heard Ṭabarī respond to a question (about the history of *Ikhtilāf)* he was asked by Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Rāzī.[352] He said that he had first undertaken to work on it in order to mention the views of those opposed to his (own views). The work then gained wider circulation, and he was asked by his colleagues and students (who were adherents of his school) to lecture on it.

When Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Iṣbahānī[353] published his book known under the title of *al-Wuṣūl ilā ma'rifat al-uṣūl,*

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349. Ṭabarī studied with him in Egypt; see above, n. 100.

350. He must be Abū Thawr, although Abū Thawr's *kunyah* was doubtful and is sometimes said to have been Abū 'Abdallāh, while Abū Thawr was a nickname; see Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* II, 74; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb,* I, 118. For Abū Thawr, see above, n. 272. The numbering has been added in the translation.

351. Possibly the famous Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Kaysān al-Aṣamm, who died long before Ṭabarī was born, is meant. See Sezgin, *GAS,* I, 624 f.; Ritter, in his edition of Ash'arī, *Maqālāt,* 617.

352. He is certainly not identical with the 'Alid mentioned above, n. 186, and remains unidentified. This is particularly regrettable, since knowing about him might have clarified who the speaker here was.

353. See above, 68 f.

he mentioned in the chapter on general consensus *(ijmāʿ)* as the view of Ṭabarī that *ijmāʿ* meant the consensus of the afore-mentioned eight jurists to the exclusion of everybody else. He based himself on Ṭabarī's statement: "They agreed *(ajmaʿū)*, and thereby agreement was reached on the point being argued." (Ṭabarī) then said in the introduction of the chapter on disagreement *(khilāf)*: "Then they disagreed. Mālik held one view, al-Awzāʿī another, and so-and-so still another." (Combining the two statements, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd concluded) that those for whom Ṭabarī reported consensus were identical with those for whom he reported disagreement.[354] This is an error on the part of Ibn Dāwūd. Had he considered what Ṭabarī had written in the *Risālah* of *Laṭīf* and the *Risālah* of *Ikhtilāf* (and) in many of his works, namely, that *ijmāʿ* is the uninterrupted transmission of traditions agreed upon by the Companions of the Messenger of God, and not something based on opinion or deduced by analogical reasoning, he would have realized that the view expressed by him (as to Ṭabarī's understanding of *ijmāʿ*) was a grievous error and obvious mistake.

Abū Jaʿfar thought highly of his *Ikhtilāf*, which was the first of his works (to be put in publishable form, *ṣunnifa*). He often said to me: "I have written two books that are indispensable for jurists, *Ikhtilāf* and *Laṭīf*."

Ikhtilāf is about three thousand folios. In order not to repeat himself, he did not deal in it with his own preferences (as to what he considered the correct view in each case),[355] because he had done a good job in this respect in *Laṭīf*.

He had written for *Ikhtilāf* an introductory *risālah*, which he later dropped.[356] In it, he discussed general consensus and traditions originating with single authorities of recognized probity *(al-āḥād al-ʿudūl)*, additions[357] not in *Laṭīf*, as

354. Ergo, the jurists considered in *Ikhtilāf* represented consensus in every sense.

355. But see above, n. 216.

356. Or: "which he later stopped lecturing on," which is the same thing. It does not mean: "which he separated (from *Ikhtilāf* and treated as a separate work)."

357. This translation seems possible and has therefore been preferred to the text in ed. Rifāʿī. Supplying the preposition *ʿinda*, it yields the rather different sense: "discussing consensus and traditions . . ., he mentioned additions not in *Laṭīf* . . ."

well as *marāsīl* traditions[358] and abrogation *(al-nāsikh wa-al-mansūkh).*

Irshād, VI, 437, ll. 1–6, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 59, ll. 2–8, also reports the following dubious statement in connection with the Ḥanbalite affair discussed above, 73 ff.:

> Ṭabarī secluded himself in his house and produced his well-known book containing his apology *(i'tidhār)* to the (Ḥanbalites). He mentioned his own legal views *(madhhab)* and dogmatic beliefs. He declared unreliable those who thought differently about him with respect to these matters. He lectured to them *(qara'a 'alā)* on the book. He extolled Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and mentioned his legal views *(madhhab)* and dogmatic beliefs as being correct. He continued to refer to him constantly until he died. His book on *ikhtilāf* was not made public by him before he died. It was buried in the ground and made public and copied *(n-s-kh,* by the Ḥanbalites) — I mean *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*. I heard this from a number of people, including my father.[359]

Ikhtilāf is listed in Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 143, Suppl. I, 218, and Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 328. For the editions of Kern and Schacht, see below, Bibliography, under *Ikhtilāf*. The reprints of Kern's edition mentioned by C. Gilliot, in *Studia Islamica*, 63 (1986): 189–92, were not available. The title of the manuscript published by Schacht is *Mukhtaṣar Ikhtilāf 'ulamā' al-amṣār* (see p. IX); there may be at least some truth to the statement that it was indeed an abridgment (see also above, n. 216).

In *Tabṣīr*, fol. 92b, Ṭabarī refers to his *Kitāb Ahl al-baghy* "On wrongdoers (rebels)." Since *Tabṣīr* is greatly concerned with differences of opinion and *Ikhtilāf* had a book on the subject (see ed. Schacht, X), it stands to reason that the reference is to *Ikhtilāf* and not to another of Ṭabarī's legal writings.

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358. A *mursal* tradition is one with an *isnād* that does not lead back all the way to the Prophet.

359. Perhaps, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Hārūn(?), mentioned *Irshād*, VI, 435, l. 5, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 56, l. 14, is meant as the son of Hārūn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz mentioned in *Irshād* a few lines later. Abū 'Alī Hārūn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz appears as a transmitter of information from Ṭabarī in Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXII, l. 17, and LXXXIV, l. 16 (see below, 106 f.). All this is more than uncertain. The suspicion remains that the narrator was perhaps an unidentified Ḥanbalite.

Irshād, VI, 435, ll. 12 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 57, l. 5, refers to the *Kitāb al-Janā'iz* "On funerals" of *Ikhtilāf*. A few possible cross-references to non-preserved parts of *Ikhtilāf* are listed by Kern, "Ṭabarī's Ikhtilāf," 65. In his edition, I, 50, Kern includes a reference to *Kitāb al-Aymān wa-al-nudhūr* "On oaths and vows."[360] He also reproduced (II, 123–5) the text of two quotations found in Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf*, dealing with Ṭabarī's discussion of masturbation and anal intercourse in *Ikhtilāf*.[361] Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī wrote this section of his large work in 1168/1755. Thus, as late as the middle of the twelfth/eighteenth century, Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf* was used, apparently directly. See further Muranyi, "*Kitāb al-Siyar*," 84 f.

[al-I'tidhār "Apology (to the Ḥanbalites)": See *Ikhtilāf*

This is obviously not a formal title. It was not a work published by Ṭabarī and may have existed only in Ḥanbalite wishful thinking.]

Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān "The complete clarification of the interpretation of the verses of the Qur'ān"

This official title of Ṭabarī's great Qur'ān commentary *(Tafsīr)* is mentioned in *History:* see below, text, I, 87, translation, n. 562. It never gained much popularity and was almost always replaced by the simple *Tafsīr*.[362] The work is mentioned in all Ṭabarī biographies, large and small, and usually praised very highly. During his lifetime, it probably was considered his outstanding scholarly achievement, even more so than his great works on law and *ḥadīth*. It has retained its outstanding importance to this day. It says much for the general esteem accorded to the work that the Christian philosopher and theologian Yaḥyā b. 'Adī, who died

360. Other similar references are believed by Kern to be derived from *Laṭīf* (see below, 116). He concluded, it seems, that this was so from the phrase "in our book, the book on . . .". In contrast, Ṭabarī here does not have "in our book" but only "*Kitāb al-Aymān* . . . ."

361. See Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf*, V, 306 and 375. He introduces the quotation as coming from *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*.

362. *Irshād* omits *āy* in one instance (misprint?). The work is quoted exceptionally as *al-Bayān* in Zarkashī, *Burhān*, I, 214.

in his eighties in 363/974, reportedly copied it twice for sale to provincial rulers.[363]

The work took many years to complete. In 270/883[4],[364] a substantial portion was made public by Ṭabarī in the form of public lectures. Between 283/896 and 290/903, if not earlier, the entire work was ready for publication.

Al-Farghānī's *ijāzah* was written on a volume of *Tafsīr*. He referred to the work as "*Kitāb al-Tafsīr*, entitled *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān*."[365] Al-Farghānī also provided the information to be found in Ibn ʿAsākir, LXXIX:[366]

> Among his completed works is his excellent *Kitāb Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*. He explained in it the legal data derived from the Qurʾān, its abrogating and abrogated verses, its difficult passages, and its rare words. (He also discussed) the disagreements between commentators and religious scholars with respect to the Qurʾān's legal data and its interpretation together with an indication of what he considered the correct view in each case, its proper vocalization *(iʿrāb ḥurūfihī)*, the condemnation of heretics in it, the (biblical and other) stories, the reports on the nations (of the world), the Resurrection, and other wise statements and marvelous matters. He did that word by word, verse by verse, from the beginning where the formula "I take refuge in God" is used, to the letters of the alphabet.[367] If a scholar claimed that he could write ten books based on it, of which each would deal with a special remarkable subject that is exhaustively presented, he could do it.

Al-Farghānī, at least in part through Hārūn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz,[368] also told the following anecdotes, as reported in Ibn ʿAsākir,

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363. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 264, ll. 9 f.

364. It is tempting to think of a mistake for 290, but this common error seems to be most unlikely in this case; see below, n. 371.

365. See *Irshād*, VI, 426, l. 16, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 44, ll. 15 f.

366. Dhahabī, *Nubalāʾ*, XIV, 373, ll. 6–8, depends on Ibn ʿAsākir.

For a succinct survey of the numerous publications on the various topics of Qurʾānic science, which existed in the fourth/tenth century, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*.

367. The formula *aʿūdhu bi-Allāh* used before the recitation of the Qurʾān is discussed in *Tafsīr*, I, 37 f. For the letters of "*abū jād*," see below, n. 379.

368. See above, n. 359.

LXXXII, ll. 17–9, and l. 19–LXXXIII, l. 2:

> For three years before I went to work on the *Kitāb al-Tafsīr*, I asked God for permission to produce the work and for His help in doing what I had in mind, and He did help me.
>
> Al-Farghānī (through Hārūn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ?) said: A chaste neighbor[369] of Abū Jaʿfar told me: I had a dream in which I saw myself in the classroom *(majlis)* of Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī when his *Tafsīr* was studied with him. I heard a voice coming from in between heaven and earth say: He who wants to study the Qurʾān as it was revealed should study this work.

Irshād, VI, 439, l. 3– 441, l. 17, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 61, l. 17–65, l. 13, is an obvious composite of sources, but most of the factual information appears to come from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī's monograph, through Ibn Kāmil:

> His book entitled *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*.[370] Abū Bakr b. Kāmil says: He dictated *(amlā)* to us one hundred and ninety verses of the *Kitāb al-Tafsīr*. Thereafter, he continued to the end of the Qurʾān and read (the entire work?) to us. This was in 270/883[4].[371] The work (soon) became very famous. Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Thaʿlab and Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad, the great authorities on grammar and semantics *(iʿrāb* and *maʿānī)*, were still alive at the time, as were other expert Arab grammarians such as Abū Jaʿfar al-Rustamī, Abū Ḥasan b. Kaysān, al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salamah, al-Jaʿd, and Abū Isḥāq al-Zajjāj.[372] The *Tafsīr* achieved wide distribution in East and West. All contemporary scholars read it, and all considered

369. This is the hardly credible meaning of the text. *Irshād*, VI, 439, ll. 17 f., ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 63, l. 2, has "a shaykh from the Bridge of Ibn ʿAfīf" (= "chaste"). To my knowledge, no such bridge occurs in the topographical works, but it it likely to be the correct reading. Ibn ʿAsākir may have miscopied the same source, or the corruption may have occurred in the textual tradition of his work. Though missing in *Irshād*, "neighbor" may be original, thus placing the man in al-Mukharrim or nearby in East Baghdad.

370. See above, n. 362.

371. While the preceding sentence seems to speak of the entire work, the date appears to be intended for those lectures on the first sūrah and part of the second sūrah.

372. All the authors named in this and the following paragraphs of the quotation

it truly excellent.

Abū Ja'far said: I felt the inner urge to write the work when I was still a child.

'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī quoted Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid[373] as saying: For a long time, I made my living collating books with people. (Once) I asked Abū Ja'far about the interpretation of a verse. He said: Collate *(qābil)* this work *(Tafsīr)* from beginning to end! (I did) and could not find a single wrong reading *(ḥarf)* with respect to grammar and lexicography.

Abū Ja'far said: (This and the next paragraph have been translated above from Ibn 'Asākir.)

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mujāhid said: I heard Abū Ja'far say: I wonder how anyone who reads the Qur'ān and does not know its interpretation can enjoy reading it.[374]

He started the *Kitāb al-Tafsīr* with an invocation *(khuṭbah)*. The introductory essay *(risālah)* of *Tafsīr* proves the eloquence, inimitability *(i'jāz)*, and clarity of expression *(faṣāḥah)*, not matched anywhere else, with which God has distinguished the Qur'ān. Among introductory topics *(muqaddamātin)*, he discussed commenting on *(tafsīr)* and ways of interpreting *(wujūh al-ta'wīl)* the Qur'ān, the interpretation *(ta'wīl)* of what is known[375] and what has been indicated as permitted to comment on *(tafsīr)* as well as what is forbidden (see *Tafsīr*, I, 25-27, 31 f.). He discussed the Prophet's statement that "the Qur'ān was revealed in seven letters" (see *Tafsīr*, I, 9–25),[376] further, in which tongues the

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are so well-known that it would be superfluous to comment on them. For chronological purposes, it is interesting to notice that Tha'lab died in 291/904 (above, n. 178), and al-Mubarrad in 285–6/898–9. For Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Rustam (d. about 310/922), see Sezgin, *GAS*, IX, 160 f.; for Abū (al-)Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Kaysān (d. about 299/911 or later?), see Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. I, 170, Sezgin, *GAS*, IX, 158–60; for al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salamah (d. about 290/903), see *GAL*, Suppl. I, 191, *GAS*, IX, 139 f.; for Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Ja'd (d. about 320/932), see *GAS*, IX, 163; and for Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarī al-Zajjāj (d. 310/922 or later), see *GAL*, Supp. I, 170; *GAS*, IX, 81 f.

373. See above, n. 179.

374. A rather similar remark is ascribed to Sa'īd b. Jubayr in *Tafsīr*, I, 28, ll. 12 f.: "He who reads the Qur'ān and then does not interpret it is like a blind man or a Bedouin." "Muḥammad" is a mistake for Aḥmad.

375. Or "can be known, is knowable" by human beings, and not only by God.

376. See *Concordance*, I, 448b, and Gilliot, "Les sept lectures."

Qur'ān was revealed, and he refuted those who said that it contains non-Arabic words (see *Tafsīr*, I, 6 ff.).[377] He mentioned the interpretation of the names of the Qur'ān and the sūrahs (see *Tafsīr*, I, 32-35), and other such introductory matters. He had this followed by the interpretation of the Qur'ān letter by letter. He mentioned the statements of the Companions, the Followers, and those who followed the Followers, the discussions of the Kūfan and Baṣran grammarians *(ahl al-i'rāb)*, and a number *(jumal)* of Qur'ān readings and the variant readings of (the schools of) Qur'ān reading concerning root forms *(maṣādir)*, lexicography/dialectology *(lughāt)*, plurals, and duals. He discussed the abrogating and abrogated verses of the Qur'ān, its legal data, and differences in this respect. He mentioned some of the statements of the speculative theologians *(ahl al-naẓar)*[378] as made by some innovators, and he refuted them according to the views *(madhāhib)* of the affirmers *(ahl al-ithbāt*, the "orthodox") and as required by the traditions *(sunan)*, all the way to the end of the Qur'ān. He had this followed by the interpretation of the alphabet and its letters, the different opinions of people concerning them, and how he himself preferred to interpret them.[379] Nobody could add anything to it, nor would he find the subject treated as completely by anybody else.

He used in it the (earlier) commentaries by Ibn 'Abbās in five recensions, Sa'īd b. Jubayr in two recensions, Mujāhid b. Jabr in three, and often more, recensions, Qatādah b. Di'āmah in three recensions, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in three recensions, 'Ikrimah in three recensions, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim in two recensions, and 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd in one recension. He further used the commentaries of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam, Ibn Jurayj, and Muqātil b. Ḥayyān. Moreover, *(Tafsīr)* contains well known traditions on the authority of the Qur'ān commentators and others. It includes all that is needed of traditions transmitted with an

377. See, however, above, 45 f.
378. See, for instance, Appendix A, below, 149–51.
379. The discussion of phonetics and orthography is not included in the introduction of *Tafsīr*. As indicated here, it supposedly appeared at the end of the entire work. The text as published does not contain it.

uninterrupted chain of transmitters mainly from the Prophet *(musnad al-ḥadīth).*

He paid no attention to unreliable (commentators). Thus, the work contains no (traditions) from the works of Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, Muqātil b. Ḥayyān, or Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, because he considered them suspect (as Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* scholars). But when he referred to history, biography, or Arab stories, he did include reports from Muḥammad b. Sā'ib al-Kalbī, his son Hishām, Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, and others, whatever was needed and could be found only in their works.[380]

In *Tafsīr,* he mentioned numerous discussions and suggested meanings *(ma'ānī)* from the books of 'Alī b. Ḥamzah al-Kisā'ī, Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Farrā', Abū al-Ḥasan al-Akhfash, Abū 'Alī Quṭrub, and others, whenever needed as required by the discussion. These (famous grammarians and lexicographers) were the ones who discussed the meanings and provided (explanations for Qur'ānic) meanings and grammar *(ma'ānī al-i'rāb).* When he quoted from them, he often did not mention them by name.

This work comprises ten thousand folios, or fewer, depending on the size of the script. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī said: I have seen a manuscript in Baghdad which comprised four thousand folios.

The task of commenting on *Tafsīr* and condensing it started early. A Mu'tazilite of Turkish origin, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Bayghjūr, known as Ibn al-Ikhshēd, who lived in Sūq al-'Aṭash and died in 326/938, wrote an abridgment.[381] A commentary written by Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī in competition with Ṭabarī was judged by history to have been a failure.[382] Among Abū Bakr's authorities, we find Ibn Bashshār and Ibn al-Muthannā who figure so prominently in Ṭabarī's works.

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380. The sharp distinction made by Ṭabarī between historians and specialists in other fields is noteworthy.

381. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist,* 173 (also 34, l. 14, and 235, l. 3); *TB,* IV, 309. *M-'-j-w-r,* as his ancestor's name is spelled in *Fihrist,* is an implausible form. The reading *B-y-gh-j-w-r* of *TB* is more likely as a Turkish-Persian name. See, for instance, Bakjūr (*Eclipse,* index, s. v. Bekjūr).

382. See above, n. 229.

See Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 143, Suppl., I, 218, and Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 327, for literature and editions. *Tafsīr* became known in Europe only about the time that the publication of *History* started.[383] It was first printed in Cairo 1321/1903 and 1323/1905, reprinted in Beirut, 1400/1980. The edition Cairo 1323 is considered the better of the two.[384] Modern printings, such as one edited by Maḥmūd M. Shākir and A. M. Shākir (Cairo, 1961), regrettably fail to indicate the paginations of the earlier editions.

An abridged French translation by Pierre Godé has been appearing in Paris since 1983. An English translation by J. Cooper has been announced for 1986. The first volumes of Godé's work have been seen by me.

[Al-Jāmiʿ fī al-qirā'āt "The complete collection of variant readings in the Qur'ān": See *Faṣl]*

[Al-Janā'iz "On funerals": See *Ikhtilāf]*

[Al-Jirāḥ "On wounds": See *Laṭīf]*

Al-Khafīf fī aḥkām sharā'iʿ al-Islām "The light work on the laws of the Muslim religion"

This full title of what was a condensed version of *Laṭīf* appears in Ibn ʿAsākir, LXXX, ll. 2 f.,[385] and *Irshād*; see below. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 235, l. 4, has *al-Khafīf fī al-fiqh*, followed somewhat incongruously by the word *laṭīf*. Ibn ʿAsākir similarly states that the work, which was completed by Ṭabarī, was "a slim abridgment *(mukhtaṣar laṭīf)*." A law book of four hundred folios could indeed be called "slender,"[386] but it is tempting to assume with Goldziher, "Die literarische Thätigkeit, " 364, n. 11, that in the *Fihrist* as well as Ibn ʿAsākir, the intended meaning was "an abridgment of *Laṭīf*." Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 121, ll. 10 f., describes the work merely as "a short work *(mukhtaṣar)* on jurisprudence." The reference to *Laṭīf* in Qifṭī, *Inbāh*, III, 90, is followed by one to

383. See Loth, "Ṭabarī's Korancommentar."
384. See Nöldeke-Schwally-Bergsträsser-Pretzl, III, 240.
385. Reproduced by Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 273, l. 13.
386. On the double meaning of *laṭīf*, see below, 113 and 115.

another work described as "a treatise *(maqālah)* on jurisprudence used by scholars (in their legal work)." *Khafīf* is presumably meant here.

The composition of *Khafīf* must be dated between 291/904 when al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan was appointed wazīr, and 296/908 when he lost his life. One might assume that al-ʿAbbās may not yet have been wazīr (and al-Muktafī not yet caliph) at the time Ṭabarī wrote *Khafīf*; this, however, seems unlikely. It should be noted that the *nisbah* al-ʿAzīzī indicated in *Irshād* is not attested elsewhere for the wazīr, nor is any other *nisbah*, as far as I know. On the other hand, the *kunyah* Abū Aḥmad seems confirmed by the existence of a son of his named Aḥmad.[387]

Following al-Farghānī, Ibn ʿAsākir, LXXXVI, l. 18–LXXVII, l. 2, combines the anecdote of Ṭabarī's refusal of al-Muktafī's gift (see above, 37 f.), in which the wazīr al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan played a role, with a similar anecdote involving the reason for the composition of *Khafīf*:

> Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan[388] sent a message to Ṭabarī telling him that he wished to study jurisprudence, and asked him to produce a short work *(mukhtaṣar)* according to his legal school for him. Ṭabarī wrote for him the *Kitāb al-Khafīf* and dispatched it to him. When al-ʿAbbās sent him a thousand dīnārs, he did not accept the money but returned it to him. He was told to use it for charity. He did not want to do that. He said: You (using the plural addressing al-ʿAbbās) know better how to use your money and to whom to give charity.

The fullest information is found in *Irshād*, VI, 448, ll. 8–12, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 74, ll. 11–18:

> One of his excellent works is the book entitled *Kitāb al-Khafīf fī aḥkām sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, an abridgment of the *Kitāb al-Laṭīf*. Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAzīzī wanted to look into some legal matters and corresponded with Ṭabarī concerning an abridgment of one of his works. Ṭabarī produced this book in order to facilitate the under-

387. See ʿArīb, 63.

388. In Dhahabī's very abridged quotation (*Nubalāʾ*, XIV, 270, ll. 14 f.), *al-wazīr* replaces the proper name. In the similar anecdote, above, 39, the wazīr is al-Khāqānī.

> standing of the subject. It is about four hundred folios. It is a book that makes the subject easy for the person who studies it. It contains (the discussion of) many problems which both scholars and beginning students would do well to memorize.

According to Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 235, l. 4, al-Muʿāfā wrote a commentary on *Khafīf*.

Al-Laṭīf fī aḥkām sharā'iʿ al-Islām "The slim[389] work on the laws of the Muslim religion" or, more commonly, *Laṭīf al-qawl....* "The slim discussion of ...".

The second form of the title appears *Ikhtilāf*, ed. Kern (II, 29, 79, 83, 90 f.) with the substitution of the synonymous *al-dīn* for *al-Islām*. The first form is found in the introduction of *Tafsīr* (I, 37, ll. 13 ff.):

> We have explained briefly what we considered the correct statement here in our book *al-Laṭīf fī aḥkām sharā'iʿ al-Islām*. God willing, we shall give an exhaustive explanation and report the statements of the Companions, the Followers, and ancient and recent scholars in our great work on the laws of the Muslim religion *(kitābunā al-akbar fī aḥkām sharā'iʿ al-Islām)*.[390]

In *Tafsīr*, the work is constantly cited under slightly different titles, such as *Laṭīf al-qawl fī sharā'iʿ al-Islām* (XVIII, 68, l. 12), or *...aḥkām sharā'iʿ al-dīn* (VIII, 16, l. 7) as in *Ikhtilāf*, or *Laṭīf al-qawl fī aḥkām al-sharā'iʿ* (VIII, 28, l. 31), or simply *al-Laṭīf* (II, 252, l. 17, 289, l. 11).[391] But the work is also referred to by the title or contents of its individual "books," with no reference to the overall designation.

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389. The source of *Irshād* (below, 115) claims that Ṭabarī himself did not intend *laṭīf* in its physical meaning but in its metaphorical meaning of "subtle." However, Ṭabarī, in fact, meant to imply that in comparison to the enormous mass of data to be discussed, *Laṭīf* was, in spite of its considerable size, a slim and concise work. The flattering interpretation was no doubt owing to a student and admirer.

390. See also above, under *Aḥkām sharā'iʿ al-Islām*.

391. *Tafsīr*, VI, 44, l. 16, has a dubious *al-Laṭīf (!) al-qawl fī al-aḥkām* (misprint?). Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 121, l. 10, lists *Laṭīf* as "*Kitāb Aḥkām sharā'iʿ al-Islām*, composed in accordance with the results of his independent judgment." The form of the title possibly results from a confusion with the larger planned work.

The title *al-Laṭīf min al-bayān 'an aḥkām sharā'i' al-Islām* (*Tafsīr*, II, 264, ll. 11 f.) includes *al-bayān*, which properly belongs to the title of the introductory *risālah* on legal principles (see II, 269, l. 10, where, in the same context, *uṣūl* is included). The *risālah* was no doubt at times published separately and then carried the title of *al-Bayān 'an uṣūl al-aḥkām* (I, 404, l. 4, II, 31, ll. 1 f., V, 7, l. 16, VI, 159, l. 19, XV, 59, l. 21, XVIII, 99, l. 15). Here the operative word is *uṣūl* "principles." It is also combined with *laṭīf* to yield such hybrids as *Laṭīf al-qawl min al-bayān 'an uṣūl al-aḥkām* (I, 276, l. 24, II, 269, l. 10, also *Tahdhīb, Musnad Ibn 'Abbās*, 770, where *fī* replaces *min*), or *Laṭīf al-bayān 'an uṣūl al-aḥkām* (III, 12, l. 14, VII, 200, ll. 15 f., X, 29, l. 27), or even *al-Laṭīf 'an uṣūl aḥkām* (VIII, 79, l. 11). The short title *al-Laṭīf min al-bayān* (II, 222, l. 15) clearly refers to the *risālah*.

The work is widely listed in Ṭabarī biographies. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, has two references. On p. 234, l. 24, we read: "*Kitāb al-Laṭīf* on jurisprudence. It comprises...," while ll. 20 f., states:

> *Kitāb al-Laṭīf* on jurisprudence. It comprises a number of books on the order of juridical works *fī al-mabsūṭ*.[392] The number of books of *Laṭīf* is....

The missing number is supplied by Ibn 'Asākir, LXXIX f., from al-Farghānī:

> Also complete is *Laṭīf al-qawl fī aḥkām sharā'i' al-Islām*. It represents his legal school with his own preferred views well presented[393] and argued. It consists of eighty-three books, including *Kitāb al-Bayān 'an uṣūl al-Islām*, which is the (general introductory) essay *(risālah)* of *Laṭīf*.

Al-Farghānī's *ijāzah*, as quoted in *Irshād*, VI, 429, ll. 19 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 43, ll. 1 f., has *Kitāb Laṭīf al-qawl wa-khafīfihī fī sharā'i' al-Islām*. This may possibly refer to *Laṭīf* and its condensation *Khafīf*. A translation "A slender and light discussion

392. In the context, this hardly refers to a specific work entitled *al-Mabsūṭ* (such as the one by the Ḥanafite al-Shaybānī). It is probably to be understood as a work on laws well-organized and easily understandable, such as was the case with works given *Mabsūṭ* as a title.

393. Read *jawwadahū*, as is found in Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 285 f., and Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 273, ll. 10 f., who both depend on Ibn 'Asākir.

of Muslim laws" makes little sense, even if *Irshād* in the passage to be quoted associates the two descriptive terms with the work.

Irshād, VI, 447, l. 11–448, l. 7, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 73, l. 8–74, l. 10, describes *Laṭīf* as follows:

> His book entitled *Kitāb Laṭīf al-qawl fī aḥkām sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*. It is the sum total of his legal school and is relied upon by all its followers. It is among the most valuable of his own books and those of other jurists as well, because it is the best and most instructive of any textbook of a legal school. God willing, this will be obvious to everybody who reads it carefully.
>
> Abū Bakr b. Rāmīk[394] used to say: No better book on a legal school has ever been produced than the *Laṭīf* of Abū Jaʿfar on his legal school.
>
> In the beginning of the work, Ṭabarī much apologized for its brevity. The books of *Laṭīf* exceed those of *Ikhtilāf* by (!) three, namely, *Kitāb al-Libās* "on clothing," *Kitāb Ummahāt al-awlād* "on slave girls giving birth to children by their masters," and *Kitāb al-Shurb* "on drink."[395] *Laṭīf* is one of the very best books. Ṭabarī is unique with respect to it. Nobody should think that by calling it *al-Laṭīf* ("slim" or "subtle"), he meant to imply that it was of small size and its content of light weight. He wished the title to be understood as referring to the subtlety of the ideas expressed in it and the numerous critical discussions *(naẓar)* and indications of reasons (for points of law) it contains. It is about 2,500 folios. It includes a good book on *shurūṭ* (document forms) entitled *Amthilat al-ʿudūl* from *Laṭīf*.[396] The work has

394. Ibn Rāmīk remains to be identified.

395. It is understandable that Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 286, ll. 3 f., thought of independent treatises.

396. See above, under *Amthilat al-ʿudūl*. Ḥājjī Khalīfah, ed. Yaltkaya, II, 1046, refers to Ṭabarī's "exhaustive treatment of *shurūṭ* in a book according to the legal principles of al-Shāfiʿī," which was "plagiarized" by Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭaḥāwī (see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 441) when he wrote on the subject. Al-Ṭaḥāwī outlived Ṭabarī by only a few years. Wakin, *Documents*, 23, n. 6, doubts the correctness of Ḥājjī Khalīfah's statement. It may be noted that Ibn Kāmil also wrote on *shurūṭ* (see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 32, l. 14). He would seem to be a more likely candidate for dependence on Ṭabarī. It was, of course, a common topic.

a *risālah* in which there are discussed the principles of jurisprudence, consensus *(ijmāʿ)*, traditions going back to only one transmitter *(āḥād)*,[397] *marāsīl* traditions,[398] abrogations as they affect the legal situation, and traditions *(akhbār)* and commands and prohibitions which are summary and require explanation *(mujmal)* and which are interpreted *(mufassar)*, the actions of the messengers, (passages with) general and specific (application, *al-khuṣūṣ wa-al-ʿumūm)*, and independent judgment, the invalidity of expressing unsupported legal opinions *(istiḥsān)*, and other debated matters.

Some information on *Laṭīf* is provided by cross-references in other works of Ṭabarī. It is, however, not always clear which section of *Laṭīf* is precisely aimed at. All the references in *Ikhtilāf* (ed. Kern, II, 29, 79, 83, 90 f., 103, 115) concern certain aspects of *kafālah* "surety bond, bail." This, however, need not mean that they all go back to the same book of *Laṭīf*. The discussion of surety bond in cases of contractual manumission *(mukātabah*, ed. Kern, II, 79, 83) may have had its place in that context. In fact, a *Kitāb al-Rahn* "On surety deposits" and a *Kitāb al-Ghuṣūb (?)* "On laws concerning robbery/rape by force" (ed. Kern, II, 103, 115) are indicated as sources in connection with problems of *kafālah*.[399] The situation with regard to the remaining citations is more ambiguous.

Tafsīr often refers to the introductory *risālah* of *Latīf* for problems of the general and specific (*al-khuṣūṣ wa-al-ʿumūm*),[400] abrogation (*al-nāsikh wa-al-mansūkh*),[401] command and prohibi-

397. See *Tahdhīb, Musnad Ibn ʿAbbās*, 770.

398. See above, n. 358.

399. See above, n. 360.

400. *Tafsīr*, I, 276, ll. 24 f., *ad* Qur. 2:69, expressly refers to the subject of *al-ʿumūm wa-al-khuṣūṣ*. Further references in *Tafsīr*, I, 404, l. 4. *ad* Qur. 2:116, II, 269, l. 10, *ad* Qur. 2:228, V, 7, l. 16, *ad* Qur. 4:24.

401. See *Tafsīr*, II, 222, l. 15, *ad* Qur. 2:221, III, 12, l. 14, *ad* Qur. 2:256 (possibly referring to *al-ʿumūm wa-al-khuṣūṣ*), VI, 159, l. 19, *ad* Qur. 5:142, VIII, 79, l. 11, *ad* Qur. 6:159. The passage *Tafsīr*, VII, 200, l. 15, *ad* Qur. 75:22 f., referring to the beatific vision, may also have to do with abrogation. Discussions of abrogation, such as, for instance, *Tafsīr*, IX, 135, l. 17, *ad* Qur. 8:16, or X, 58, l. 5, *ad* Qur. 9:6, are quite likely to belong to the introductory *risālah*, even though they occur unassigned.

tion *(al-amr wa-al-nahy)*,[402] and, possibly, consensus *(ijmāʿ)*[403] and analogical reasoning *(qiyās)*.[404] The reference in *Tahdhīb, Musnad Ibn ʿAbbās*, II, 770, concerns the permissibility of acting on the basis of a tradition transmitted from a single authority (see above, n. 397) and thus goes back to the *risālah*.

References to other parts of *Laṭīf* are usually more difficult to assign: *Tafsīr*, I, 37, ll. 13 f., on the "seven verses" of the first sūrah and the inclusion of the *basmalah* in the count (possibly from the *risālah* ?), II, 252, l. 17, *ad* Qur. 2:226, on oaths (or on intercourse), II, 264, ll. 11 f., 289, l. 11, *ad* Qur. 2:228 and 229, on divorce, [II, 352, l. 16, *ad* Qur. 2:238, on prayer, to be dealt with in the planned larger work, above, n. 390], V, 134, l. 13, *ad* Qur. 4:94, on blood money, VI, 44, l. 16, *ad* Qur. 5:3, on the meat of dead animals, VII, 28, l. 31, *ad* Qur. 5:95, on hunting (in the Sacred Territory), VIII, 16, l. 7, *ad* Qur. 6:121, on the meat of properly slaughtered animals (see above, n. 404), XIV, 93, l. 8, *ad* Qur. 16:67, on intoxication, thus probably from *Kitāb al-Shurb*, and XVIII, 68, l. 12, *ad* Qur. 24:9, mentioning *bāb al-liʿān* "the chapter on the *liʿān*[405] formula of divorce."

[Al-Libās "On clothing": See *Laṭīf]*

[Al-Maḥāḍir wa-al-sijillāt "On records and documents": See *Basīṭ]*

[Al-Manāsik "On the pilgrimage ritual": See *Ādāb al-manāsik]*

[Marātib al-ʿulamāʿ "On the classification of scholars": See *Basīṭ]*

Al-Mūjaz fī al-uṣūl "A concise treatment of the (legal) principles"

Irshād, VI, 453, l. 3, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 81, ll. 5 f.:

Kitāb al-Mūjaz fī al-uṣūl. He began it with a treatise on

402. See *Tafsīr*, X, 29, l. 27, *ad* Qur. 8:66, XVIII, 99, l. 15, *ad* Qur. 24:33 (dealing with contractual manumission). A connection with *al-ʿumūm wa-al-khuṣūṣ* may exist in *Tafsīr*, XV, 59, l. 21, *ad* Qur. 17:33.
403. See *Tafsīr*, II, 31, ll. 1 f., *ad* Qur. 2:158.
404. See *Tafsīr*, VIII, 16, l. 7, *ad* Qur. 6:121, listed in the following paragraph.
405. See *EI*², V, 730–2, s.v. liʿān.

moral behavior *(risālat al-akhlāq)*, but then discontinued (lecturing on it).

The title is also listed in Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 286, ll. 6 f. We do not know whether Ṭabarī stopped work on it because of old age or because he had other projects to which he gave priority. See also above, *al-Ādar (?) fī al-uṣūl.*

Mukhtaṣar al-farā'iḍ "A short work on the religious duties"

No more than the title is known about this presumptive monograph mentioned in *Irshād*, VI, 453, ll. 1 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 81, ll. 3 f.

[Mukhtaṣar Manāsik al-ḥajj "A short work (abridgment of the work ?) on the ritual of the pilgrimage": See *Ādāb al-Manāsik]*

[Mukhtaṣar Ta'rīkh ... "The short work on the history of...": See *Ta'rīkh]*

[Musnad Ibn 'Abbās "The Prophetical traditions transmitted by Ibn 'Abbās": See *Tahdhīb]*

[Al-Musnad al-mukharraj "The Prophetical traditions made public".

Ibn 'Asākir mentions *Tahdhīb* but also refers in another place (Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXII) to this title and describes the work as "unfinished and containing all the traditions, sound or unsound, transmitted by the Companions on the authority of the Messenger of God." It is, however, reasonable to assume that the work is identical with *Tahdhīb*, and the title derives from another bibliographical tradition.]

[Al-Mustarshid "The seeker of guidance"

Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 235, l. 4, has this title among the works of Ṭabarī. However, as discovered by Goldziher, "Die literarische Thätigkeit," 359, Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 187, states that the author of *Mustarshid* was, in fact, not the historian but a certain Abū Ja'far

Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Rustam al-Ṭabarī.[406]

Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 540, lists *Kitāb al-Mustarshid* on the imāmate of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as existing in manuscripts and having been printed in al-Najaf (not available to me). He further lists as works of the same Ibn Rustam two more titles, *Dalā'il al-imāmah* and *Bishārat al-Murtaḍā*. According to Sezgin, the author of all three works probably died in the first quarter of the fourth/tenth century. However, the published text of *Dalā'il al-imāmah* dealing with the twelve imāms (al-Najaf, 1369/1949) cites al-Muʿāfā among its authorities. This precludes a composition of the work in its present form before the end of the century at the earliest. On the other hand, the text also refers to its supposed author (?) Abū Jaʿfar as having, among his authorities, Sufyān b. Wakīʿ (d. 247/861)[407] — his father, an *isnād* much used by Ṭabarī. Our admittedly defective knowledge of *Dalā'il al-imāmah* suggests that it was a compilation of post-Ṭabarian date.

The situation with respect to *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā li-Shīʿat al-Murtaḍā* is equally uncertain. The title was listed erroneously by Brockelmann among Ṭabarī's works (see *GAL*, Suppl. I, 218, no. 7). Modern scholars ascribe its authorship to various unknown individuals. In the edition al-Najaf, 1383/1963, the name of Muḥammad b. Abī al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī is found. Ibrāhīm, in the introduction to his Ṭabarī edition (ed. Cairo, I, 20)(see also Ḥūfī, 253) refers to *al-Dharīʿah ilā muṣannafāt al-Shīʿah*, III, 117, for the information that the author's name was Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muslim al-Ṭabarī al-Āmulī. Aghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Shīʿah*, 242, names Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī ʿImād al-dīn al-Ṭabarī al-Āmulī. Only one thing is clear: Ṭabarī had nothing to do with the work.

Reference to the present title, *al-Mustarshid fī al-imāmah*, was also made by Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 266. Najāshī informs us that he received the *Mustarshid*, as well as other works by Ibn Rustam, through Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Nūḥ—al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamzah al-Ṭabarī, who died in 358/968[9].[408] This *isnād* would seem to confirm that

406. See above, 13.
407. See below, translation, n. 66.
408. See Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 48. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Nūḥ is mentioned in *Rijāl*, 63, but without a date.

Mustarshid was, in fact, written early in the fourth/tenth century. Ibn al-Nadīm might have seen the work and, perhaps, considered it a work of Ṭabarī, provided he had not read it or had mixed up his notes.[409]

See, further, the discussion of *al-Radd ʿalā al-Ḥurqūṣiyyah*, below.]

[Fī al-Qirāʾāt "On Qurʾān readings": See *Faṣl]*

[Al-Qiṭʿān "The two sections [of *History*, dealing with the dynasties of the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids]": See *Taʾrīkh]*

Fī al-Qiyās "On analogical reasoning"

This is not a title but a description of the contents of a work on the principle of analogical reasoning which Ṭabarī thought of writing but never did. See *Irshād*, VI, 453, ll. 4–8, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 81, ll. 7–13:

> He wanted to produce a book on analogical reasoning but did not do it. Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥubaysh, the copyist/bookseller *(al-warrāq)*, said: Abū Jaʿfar had asked me to collect for him scholarly works on analogical reasoning, and I collected some thirty books. They remained with him for a short while. As is known, he then discontinued lecturing on traditions, several months before his death. When he returned the books to me, I found red markings he had made in them.[410]

Al-Radd ʿalā dhī al-asfār "A refutation of the one with the tomes [?]"[411]

This is the work which Ṭabarī wrote against the founder of the

409. Old uncertainty as to the authenticity of the one or other title ascribed to Ṭabarī will come up in connection with *Ramy*, below.

410. See above, n. 200.

411. *Asfār* here means presumably "books," and not "travels". It is not clear whether this is an allusion to donkeys carrying books (Qur. 62:5), or what else may be behind it, except that it obviously refers to Dāwūd, perhaps, as the author of the many fascicles mentioned(?).

Ẓāhirite school, Dāwūd b. ʿAlī al-Iṣbahānī (see above, 68 f.). The only circumstantial report available is that preserved in *Irshād*, VI, 450, l. 16–452, l. 11, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 78, l. 1–80, l. 9.[412] It goes back, in part or in its entirety, to Ibn Kāmil:

> His book entitled *al-Radd ʿalā dhī al-asfār*, his refutation of Dāwūd b. ʿAlī al-Iṣbahānī. The reason why he wrote this book was as follows: Abū Jaʿfar had been in close contact with Dāwūd b. ʿAlī for a while and had written down many of his books. In his inheritance, we found eighty fascicles from his books in his[413] fine hand. (This material) included the problem debated between Dāwūd b. ʿAlī and the Muʿtazilite Abū Mujālid al-Ḍarīr in Wāsiṭ on going out to al-Muwaffaq when there was dissension about the createdness of the Qurʾān.[414]
>
> Dāwūd b. ʿAlī possessed some knowledge of speculative theology *(naẓar)*, traditions, disagreement (among jurists?), and (religious) laws (?, *sunan)* but not very much. He was eloquent and well-spoken and in full control of himself. He had colleagues and students who were strongly inclined to levity and developed a certain approach to employ in discussions *(naẓar)*, so as to cut off their adversaries. It sometimes happened that Dāwūd b. ʿAlī debated (with someone about) definite proofs for a legal problem. When he saw that (his adversary)[415] was deficient in traditions, he would steer (the discussion) to it. Or, when he would discuss traditions with him, he would steer him to jurisprudence. Or, when he saw that he was (not?) deficient in both (traditions and jurisprudence, he would steer him) to logical disputation *(jadal)*.[416] He himself was deficient in grammar and lexicography, even

412. The title is mentioned in Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 286, l. 5.

413. See above, n. 259. I understand the pronoun to refer to Ṭabarī, here and in connection with "his inheritance."

414. See above, n. 260. " Going out" could be "switching to the side of, " but this is hardly meant. Probably, on one of his frequent stays in Wāsiṭ, al-Muwaffaq convoked a disputation on the subject.

415. According to a footnote in Rifāʿī's edition, the meaning would be: "saw himself deficient." It seems, however, that Dāwūd was the one who cleverly did the switching to another subject when he noticed that his adversary had a weakness in it.

416. The science of *jadal* is Aristotle's topics.

though he had some acquaintance with these subjects. Abū Ja'far, on the other hand, was well informed in every discipline that came up in a debate. To his dying days, he disliked and refrained from behavior that was unbecoming for scholars. He preferred seriousness under all circumstances.

One day, a problem was discussed by Dāwūd b. 'Alī with Abū Ja'far, and the discussion stopped Dāwūd b. 'Alī (short, so that he was unable to make a retort). His colleagues and students were chagrined, and one of them made acerbic remarks to Abū Ja'far. The latter left the meeting and produced the book under discussion. He made public successive portions of it, amounting eventually to a fragment of about one hundred folios. He started with an invocation *(khuṭbah)*, which, however, he did not lecture on *(min ghayr imlā')*. It is among the best and most eloquent of Abū Ja'far's works, containing....[417]

After the death of Dāwūd b. 'Alī, he discontinued (working and lecturing on) the subject. Only as much of the work as was written down by his outstanding *(muqaddamūn)* colleagues and students got into the hands of his[418] colleagues and students, and (the material) was not passed on (to others). Among those who wrote down this book were Abū Isḥāq b. al-Faḍl b. Ḥayyān al-Ḥulwānī — Abū Bakr b. Kāmil said that we studied *(sami'nāh)* it with him —, Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Jurjānī, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣawwāf,[419] Abū al-Faḍl al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad (b.?) al-Muḥassin, and others. Al-Ru'āsī, one of Dāwūd b. 'Alī's outstanding colleagues, said that Dāwūd forbade that man who had made the (offensive) remarks to Abū Ja'far to participate in discussions for one year as a punishment for the incident he had caused.

Then, Dāwūd b. 'Alī's son Muḥammad undertook to respond to Abū Ja'far's refutation of his father. He did so in a particularly harsh manner with respect to three problems and took to slandering Abū Ja'far. This was the book of his

417. The text as printed defies grammar and sense and requires correction.

418. Possibly, the pronoun refers to (Abū Bakr b.) Dāwūd b. 'Alī's people, but it seems rather Ṭabarī who is meant.

419. With the exception of al-Ṣawwāf (se above, n. 237), the individuals mentioned still await identification.

addressed to the refutation of Abū Ja'far b. Jarīr.

Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Mughallis[420] said: Abū Bakr (Muḥammad) b. Dāwūd b. 'Alī said to me: Abū Ja'far's attack on my father was always on my mind. When I came one day to Abū Bakr b. Abī Ḥāmid,[421] Abū Ja'far was there, and Abū Bakr b. Abī Ḥāmid said to him: This is Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. 'Alī al-Iṣbahānī. Being aware of my position (in scholarship), Abū Ja'far welcomed me cordially when he saw me. He started to heap praise upon my father and complimented me in a manner that completely disarmed me.

[Al-Radd 'alā al-Ḥurqūṣiyyah "A refutation of the Ḥurqūṣiyyah"

This title was brought to the attention of scholars by L. Massignon in a particularly impenetrable footnote of his immortal *Passion*.[422] Massignon's source appears to have been *Tabṣirat al-'awāmm* of Abū Turāb Murtaḍā b. al-Dā'ī,[423] which unfortunately has remained inaccessible to me. Without further specifying his sources, Massignon assumed that Ḥurqūṣiyyah referred to a certain tribal group, Zuhayr b. Ḥurqūṣ, as ancestors of Ibn Ḥanbal. According to Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 328, n. 2, the prominent early Khārijite Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr[424] might be meant. Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. I, 218, furthered the discussion by adducing Najāshī, *Rijāl*.[425] There, it is stated expressly that a non-Shī'ah *('āmmī)* Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī was the author of *al-Radd 'alā al-Ḥurqūṣiyyah*, in which he mentioned the recensions (of the reports) on the Day of the Pool (= Ghadīr Khumm). Al-Najāshī's authorities were Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Makhlad (al-Bāqarjī) — his father (Makhlad b. Ja'far). Both belonged, it seems, to Ṭabarī's circle (see above, n. 252). Thus, the work could indeed have been by Ṭabarī. It may, however, be noted that Makhlad became "confused" in his later years. His son persuaded him to claim (being

420. See above, n. 199.
421. Unidentified.
422. See Massignon, *Passion*², III, 154, n. 5, English trans., III, 142 n. 140.
423. See Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. I, 711.
424. See *EI*², III, 582 f., s. v.
425. See Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 225 (= 246 in the later edition cited by Sezgin, I, 328, n.2).

an authorized transmitter of?) a number of works, among them Ṭabarī's *History*, while, in reality, he just relied upon purchased copies. This casts doubt also on his reliability with respect to *al-Radd ʿalā al-Ḥurqūṣiyyah* but not sufficiently so as to justify rejecting the attribution to Ṭabarī out of hand.

The connection with Ghadīr Khumm suggests that Ḥurqūṣiyyah could have served as a nickname for Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (above, nn. 229 and, especially, 326), but no evidence for this assumption is available. For the time being, it is not implausible to suggest that *al-Radd ʿalā al-Ḥurqūṣiyyah* was part of *Faḍā'il.]*

Fī al-Radd ʿalā Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam ʿalā Mālik "A refutation of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam('s statement on certain views of) Mālik"[426]

Irshād, VI, 453, ll. 2 f., ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 55, ll. 3–5, lists this title (which, however, was not a real title), adding that the work "did not reach his students and colleagues." *Irshād*, VI, 434, ll. 1–4, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 55, ll. 1–4, explains further, apparently relying on Ibn Kāmil:

> We have heard that he was asked in al-Fusṭāṭ to refute Mālik on some point, and he did so in connection with something that Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam had discussed. (Ṭabarī's) work has not come into our hands. Perhaps it was one of the things that the adversaries *(al-khuṣūm)* prevented from being circulated *(nashr)*.

It is not quite clear who the "adversaries" were and why there was opposition to the work. The Mālikites may have objected to it, even though Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam would not have attacked Mālik in an unseemly manner, and Ṭabarī himself is unlikely to have attacked Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (but may have been critical of Mālik).[427]

Since the work originated during Ṭabarī's stay in Egypt and presumably was made public at the time, it can claim to be his earliest publication of which we have notice, seeing that the earliest publication dates of *Laṭīf* and *Ikhtilāf* cannot be

426. The member of the Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam family meant here is no doubt Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh (above, n. 104).

427. The Ḥanbalites are certainly not meant in this context.

precisely established.

[Al-Ramy bi-al-nushshāb "On arrow shooting"

Irshād, VI, 453, ll. 8–11, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 81, ll. 14–18, declared the work to be supposititious:

> 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad said: A small book on arrow shooting has come into my possession. I know of nobody who studied it with him, nor of anybody to record and confirm his authorship or attribute it to him. I am afraid that it is wrongly ascribed to him.

If it was a legal treatise, Ṭabarī might have been the author, since the subject of shooting was of great concern to jurists.[428] However, Ṭabarī's biographer 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad knew the contents of the work, and we do not. Thus, we ought to accept his opinion. If it was a technical treatise on archery, Ṭabarī's authorship is indeed most unlikely. The assumption of a confusion with *Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ fī al-ramy bi-al-nushshāb* by a certain 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī seems farfetched, even if this author did not live in the seventh/thirteenth century but in or before the historian's time.[429]

[Ṣalāt al-khawf "The prayer of fear": See *Basīṭ]*

Ṣarīḥ al-sunnah "The essence of orthodox Muslim belief"

The work was also known as Ṭabarī's "Creed" *(al-'Aqīdah*, see above, 85) and, it seems mistakenly, as *Sharḥ al-sunnah* "Explanation of...." Ibn 'Asākir, LXXXII, refers to it as "a slender *(laṭīf)* book, in which Ṭabarī explained his (theological) views *(madhhabahū)* and religious theory and practice in the service of God

428. Among others, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al- Ḥakam wrote a book on (horse) racing and shooting; see Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībāj*, 232. Ṭabarī himself paid attention to the prowess in archery of some early Muslims; see *Dhayl*, III, 2301, 2312, 2362, ed. Cairo, XI, 497, 506, 543.

429. See Brockelmann, *GAL*^{2}, I, 149, no. 8, Suppl. I, 906. The work is preserved in a number of manuscripts. It was quoted extensively by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Furūsiyyah*, 110 ff.; its authorities, as quoted in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, cannot easily be identified for dating purposes.

(*wa-mā yadīnu Allāha bihī*)."[430] *Irshād*, VI, 452, ll. 14–16, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 80, ll. 13–15, echoes this description with only slight differences: "Also, his treatise known as *Kitāb Ṣarīḥ al-sunnah* in several folios. He mentioned in it his (theological) views, religious theory and practice, and beliefs."

See Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl. I, 218, no. 6, and Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 328, nos. 6 and 8. *Ṣarīḥ* was edited on the basis of an Istanbul manuscript and translated by D. Sourdel (see Bibliography, under *Ṣarīḥ*).

[*Al-Ṣalāh* "On prayer": See *Basīṭ*]

[*Al-Sariqah* "On theft": See *Laṭif*]

[*Sharḥ al-sunnah* "An explanation of orthodox Muslim belief": See *Ṣarīḥ*]

[*Al-Shudhūr* is a title listed by Ḥājjī Khalīfah, ed. Yaltkaya, 1429, who ascribed it to the historian whom he calls a Ḥanbalite (!), no doubt a meaningless misattribution]

[*Al-Shurb* "On drink": See *Laṭīf*]

[*Al-Shurūṭ* "On document forms": See *Basīṭ* and *Laṭīf* (above, n. 396)]

Tabṣīr ulī al-nuhā wa-maʿālim al-hudā "An instruction for the intelligent and directions toward right guidance"

This is the title as it appears in the Escorial manuscript, 1514, fols. 81a–104b. Elsewhere, it is plain *Tabṣīr*, at times enlarged with *fī uṣūl al-dīn* or *fī maʿālim al-dīn*.

Ibn ʿAsākir, LXXX, quotes al-Farghānī:

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430. "*Allāha*" also appears in the manuscript used for the edition of *Ṣarīḥ*, text, 199, n. 1. *Irshād* may have omitted it for simplification. Note further that Dhahabī, *Nubalāʾ*, XIV, 274, l. 4, reads *Sharḥ al-sunnah* following Ibn ʿAsākir. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 286, l. 6, has *Ṣarīḥ al-sunnah*.

> Also completed is his book entitled *al-Tabṣīr*, a treatise *(risālah)* addressed to the inhabitants of Āmul in Ṭabaristān. He comments in it on the principles of the religion of Islam *(uṣūl al-dīn)*, which he has been following *(yataqallad)*.[431]

Irshād, VI, 452, ll. 10–14, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 80, ll. 10–13, shows an obviously incorrect *al-Baṣīr*:

> Among Abū Ja'far's writings is his treatise entitled *al-Baṣīr fī ma'ālim al-dīn* addressed to the people of Ṭabaristān concerning the disagreement that had arisen among them on (matters such as the identity or non-identity of) name and thing named *(al-ism wa-al-musammā)*[432] and the doctrines *(madhāhib)* of innovators.[433] It is about thirty folios.

The work is partly preserved in the mentioned Escorial manuscript;[434] see Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 143, no. 2, Suppl. I, 218, no. 5, and Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 328, no. 5. Attention was first drawn to it in 1901 by Becker, "Ṭabarī's sogenannte Catechesis Mahometana." In the introduction, Ṭabarī says that the people of Ṭabaristān had asked him to write such a treatise because of the large number of confusing, sectarian, and divisive views that were causing trouble among them.

Without indicating a title, Ibn Ḥazm quotes *Tabṣīr*, fol. 85b, for

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431. *Yataqallad* is doing the opposite of what innovators do. Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 273, ll. 14 f., has a shortened version of Ibn 'Asākir. Both Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 286, l. 7, and Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 121, l. 11, list the title of the work as *Kitāb al-Tabṣīr fī usūl al-dīn*.

432. This intensively discussed problem of speculative theology was considered a sort of touchstone showing whether religious scholars had the correct attitude. They were strongly warned against paying attention to it. Ṭabarī's Egyptian authority Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā, for instance, is supposed to have said: "I heard al-Shāfi'ī say: When you hear someone say that the name is different from the thing named or the name is identical with the thing named, testify against him (and say) that he is a Mutakallim and has no religion ...." See Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 174. Ṭabarī himself refers to the *ism-musammā* problem in the introduction of *Tabṣīr* (fol. 82b) among the abominable indications of unbelief current at the time in Ṭabaristān. See also *Ṣarīḥ*, text, 198, trans., 192.

433. The "innovators" were mainly the speculative theologians, the Qadariyyah/Jahmiyyah. Their scandalous heretical views were gaining the upper hand in the region, which also suffered under the dominance of incompetent troublemakers (*tara"us al-ruwaybiḍah*, "dregs of the population" [see trans., Vol. XXXII, 55, n. 177], an allusion to the Shī'ite sectarian rulers?); see *Tabṣīr*, fol. 82b.

434. I wish to thank the authorities of the Biblioteca de El Escorial for providing me with a microfilm of the work.

the need of Muslims at an early age to know about names and attributes in order to avoid being branded as unbelievers.[435]

Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 279, l. 6–280, l. 4, and *'Uluww*, 150 f., has a somewhat shortened and mangled quotation from the chapter on divine attributes known through statements of the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth*. It appears on fol. 87b of the Escorial manuscript.

[*Al-Tafsīr* "Qur'ān commentary": See *Jāmi' al-bayān*]

[*Al-Ṭahārah* "On ritual purity ": See *Basīṭ*]

Tahdhīb al-āthār wa-tafṣīl ma'ānī al-thābit 'an Rasūl Allāh min al-akhbār"An improved treatment and detailed discussion of the traditions established as going back to the Messenger of God"

Ṭabarī's most ambitious work on traditions is more commonly referred to as *Tahdhīb al-āthār* or, simply, *al-Tahdhīb*.[436] It is mentioned by all Ṭabarī biographers. It remained unfinished but apparently began to circulate rather early in Ṭabarī's career. The fact that *Laṭīf* is quoted in it does not help very much to fix the time of the first appearance of parts of it.[437] *Tahdhīb* was possibly meant to rival Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*. In fact, though, it was much more than a mere collection of traditions. Its singular conception was to provide an exhaustive and penetrating analysis of the philological and legal implications of each *ḥadīth* mentioned and to discuss its meaning as well as its significance for religious practice and theory. Thus, it contains what amounts to monographs on a number of important topics.

Al-Farghānī's *ijāzah* as quoted in *Irshād*, VI, 426, l. 20–427, l. 1, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 45, ll. 2 f., mentions that he studied the Prophetical traditions transmitted *(musnad)* by the Ten[438] and by Ibn 'Abbās down to the traditions on the Prophet's heavenly journey *(mi'rāj)* from the *Kitāb al-Tahdhīb*.

It was presumably Ibn Kāmil who used the long title of the

435. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, IV, 35, as mentioned by van Ess, *Erkenntnislehre*, 49.
436. See also above, *al-Musnad al-mukharraj*.
437. See above, 117.
438. For the Blessed Ten, the ten old Muslims who were assured of Paradise, see *EI*², I, 693, s. v. al-'ashara al-mubashshara.

work. According to *Irshād*, VI, 448, ll. 12–18, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 74, l. 17–75, l. 6, he said:

> *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-āthār wa-tafṣīl al-thābit 'an Rasūl Allāh min al-akhbār.* It is a work, the like of which it would be difficult for any other scholar to produce and complete. Abū Bakr b. Kāmil said: After Abū Ja'far's death, I have not seen anyone who possessed more religious knowledge, knew more about the works of religious scholars and the disagreements of jurists, and had a greater command of all scholarly disciplines. (I know) because I tried hard to produce a work on the Prophetical traditions transmitted (*musnad*) by 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd in the way Abū Ja'far had done (with the *musnads*) of others. I was unable to do a good job, and it did not come out right.

Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 235, ll. 4 f., states his intention to mention the published parts of the unfinished *Tahdhīb*, but the text contains a blank space.

TB, II, 163, ll. 10 f., called Ṭabarī's unfinished work entitled *Tahdhīb al-āthār* unequaled in the treatment of its subject, as far as he knew. His remark was quoted by nearly all later biographers.[439]

Ibn 'Asākir, LXXX f., quotes al-Farghānī at length to bring out the importance of the work:

> He started on the composition of *Tahdhīb al-āthār.* It is one of his most remarkable works. He began with the traditions of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq that in his opinion[440] were transmitted with sound chains of transmitters. He discussed each one of them with their weaknesses *('ilal)*,[441] their recensions, and their contents as to law, the practice of the Prophet

439. For instance, Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, IX, 41; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 171; *Irshād*, VI, 424, l. 12, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 41, ll. 14 f.; Safadī, *Wāfī*, II, 285; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāya*, II, 107; Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 270, ll. 1 f.; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 22, ll. 9 f.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, XI, 145; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 205, ll. 13 f.

440. Read *'indahū*, as in the quotation from Ibn 'Asākir in Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 121, ll. 12–16.

441. As understood in *Tahdhīb*, *'ilal* are the illnesses, affecting practically exclusively the chains of transmitters, which are potential reasons for considering a given tradition as "sick (*saqīm*)."

> *(sunan)*, and the disagreements and arguments of scholars. (He also discussed) their contents with respect to meanings *(ma'ānī)* and their rare words, and (he reported) the attacks of heretics on them and refuted them and explained the corruptness of their attacks. He made public of the work the Prophetical traditions transmitted by the Blessed Ten, the people of the House, and the *mawlās* as well as a large fragment of Prophetical traditions transmitted by Ibn 'Abbās. It was his intention to report every last sound tradition of the Messenger of God and discuss them all in the way he had started, so that nobody would ever be able to attack any part of the knowledge of the Messenger of God. He also intended to report all that is needed by religious scholars, as he had done in *Tafsīr*. Thus, (if he had been able to complete the work), he would have dealt with the (entire) science of the religious law *(al-sharī'ah)* on the basis of the Qur'ān and the traditions and practice of the Prophet *(sunan)*. He died before the completion of the work. Thereafter, there was nobody to interpret and discuss a single one of those traditions the way he had done.

After repeating most of this information, Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 273, ll. 15–20, expressed what appears to be his personal opinion: "If the work had been completed as planned, it would have to come to a hundred volumes." This, of course, was an offhand guess, but it is hardly an exaggeration.

See Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 143, Suppl. I, 217 f., and Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 327. The preserved fragments of the *Musnads* of 'Alī and 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās were published in three volumes in 1982 by Maḥmūd M. Shākir. The *Musnad* of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb remains to be published.

Al-Ta'rīkh "The History"

Because of its fame, the work was commonly referred to simply as Ṭabarī's *History*. Its most authentic title is the one indicated by Ṭabarī himself in the colophon of one of the manuscripts. It is *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk wa-al-khulafā'* "The

short work on the history of messengers, kings, and caliphs."[442] Similarly, Ṭabarī refers to it as *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk.*[443] It seems that Ṭabarī had a predilection for "short work" as an expression of modesty and an indication that a subject required a much longer treatment than the one it was receiving from him.

We also find titles such as "History of the messengers, prophets, kings, and caliphs" (al-Farghānī) or "History of nations and kings" *(TB)*, as well as "History of the messengers and kings" expanded to "and their historical record and all those who lived in the time of each one of them" (Ibn Kāmil).[444] Scribes who copied the work for a patron presumably often preferred some impressive title to put on the title page, but the simple *Ta'rīkh* really needed no amplification. There could never be any doubt as to which work was meant.

According to *Irshād*, VI, 427, ll. 17 f., ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 44, ll. 16–18, al-Farghānī referred in his *ijāzah* to:

> *Kitāb al-Rusul wa-al-anbiyā' wa-al-mulūk wa-al-khulafā'* and the two sections *(al-qiṭ'ān,* on the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids) of the work. However, I did not study it (with Ṭabarī directly) but used it by (written) permission *(ijāzah).*

Ibn Kāmil's full and perceptive description of the work appears in *Irshād*, VI, 443, l. 17–445, l. 6, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 68, l. 6–70, l. 9:

> Among his works is his great *History* entitled *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk wa-akhbāruhum wa-man kān fī zaman kull wāḥid minhum.* He began with an invocation *(khuṭbah)* that (briefly) summarizes the significant aspects of its contents *(ma'ānī).*[445] He then discussed what time is and the du-

442. See translation below, Vol. XXXVIII, p. xvii.

443. See *Dhayl*, III, 2358, ed. Cairo, XI, 540.

444. A rather similar title appears in a Leiden manuscript and seemed to Kosegarten, the first editor of large portions of *History*, who used a Berlin manuscript, to be the authoritative title of the work: *Ta'rīkh al-mulūk wa-akhbāruhum* (Kosegarten: *a'māruhum!) wa-mawālid* (K. *wa-mawālīd) al-rusul wa-anbā'uhum wa-al-kā'in alladhī* (K. deest) *kān fī zaman kull wāḥid minhum.* See Hamaker, *Specimen*, 19, and Kosegarten, I, IV and 3.

445. See above, n. 336. The general accuracy of Ibn Kāmil's analysis of the con-

ration in time (of the world) according to the divergent opinions of the Companions and others and the nations opposed to our view on the subject. A chapter like this can be found only in his work.[446]

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mughallis, the jurist,[447] said: Of all the scholars we have ever seen, he possessed the best understanding and had the greatest concern for knowledge and research. Because of his concern with scholarly research, he had his books all laid out on one side of his residence,[448] then went through them for the first (time) one by one, in the process carrying them to the other side, until he was through with them; then he studied them again and returned them to their original place.[449] (Ibn al-Mughallis) said one day: Nobody has ever done what Abū Jaʿfar did with respect to writing and giving a full presentation of history *(taʾrīkh al-zamān)*. (Ibn Kāmil) continued: Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Mughallis said to me one day while we were talking about scholarship and the excellence of scholars: By God! I do think that Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī forgot as much of what he knew by heart till his death as so-and-so—naming an important scholar—ever knew by heart all his life.

Abū Jaʿfar continued in *History* with the discussion of the creation of time as days and nights and (argued) that God alone created them. He mentioned the first (thing) that was created, namely, the Pen, as well as everything (created) thereafter one by one according to the traditions *(āthār)* on the subject and the different opinions of scholars about it. He then mentioned Adam and Eve and the accursed Iblīs as well as Adam's descent (fall to earth). He continued with brief histories of each prophet, messenger, and king, down to

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tents of *History* can easily be verified by the reader of this translation.

446. The correct wording of the text cannot easily be established, but there is no doubt about its meaning.

447. On Ibn Mughallis, see above, n. 199. Although this paragraph refers to *History* only in the second of its three statements, it is obvious that all of it goes back to Ibn Kāmil and, presumably, his Ṭabarī bibliography.

448. Ed. Rifāʿī suggests to read *ḥāʾir* with the putative meaning of "quiet (corner)," but this seems dubious. *Ḥāratihī* in the text may have its ordinary meaning of "residential quarter of a town" (and hence, residence ?).

449. See above, n. 199.

(the time of) our Prophet, including also the history of minor successor kings *(mulūk al-ṭawā'if)* and the kings of the Persians and the Rūm. He then mentioned the birth of the Messenger of God, his genealogy, his male and female ancestors, his children, his wives, (the origin of) his Prophetical mission, his raids and expeditions, and the situation of his Companions. Then he mentioned the rightly guided caliphs after (the Prophet's death). He continued with the history of the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids in two sections, one devoted to the Umayyads, and the other to the 'Abbāsids, with the historical comments he made in *History (wa-mā sharaḥahū fī Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh).* This (portion of *History)* was made public by way of *ijāzah* down to the year 294/906[7]. He did not continue with the subsequent years, because the reign of al-Muqtadir (which extended throughout Ṭabarī's remaining years) fell into them. He had been asked to comment on the two sections (dealing with the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids), and he complied and called (this portion of *History*) the "two sections (*at-qiṭ'ān*)."

This work is of unique excellence and distinction in the world. It brings together many religious and worldly disciplines. It is about five thousand folios.

Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 234, l. 24–235, l. 2, adds information on continuations of *History* and ends with a remarkable statement on the necessary qualifications for writing history:

Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh, with the two sections (on the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids). He finished dictating it in 302/915 and stopped there.

A number of people have abridged the work and omitted the *isnāds*, among them a man known as Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī,[450] and another one, a secretary known as.... Among Mosulites, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Shimshāṭī al-Mu'allim[451] and a man known as al-Salīl b. Aḥmad.[452] A

450. Unidentified.

451. Possibly, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Adawī al-Shimshāṭī, a teacher of Nāṣir al-dawlah's son Abū Taghlib ? See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 154, ll. 22–28, and the index of Dodge's translation, II, 1099 f.

452. Possibly, the informant of the Ibn Jinnī mentioned in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II,

number of people have made additions covering the period from where it ends to our time. Their additions are not reliable, because (the men who wrote them) were not connected with the government *(dawlah)*, nor did they have knowledge.[453]

Since the work was so well known, many biographers felt no need to say much about it. *TB*, II, 163, l. 9, merely mentions Ṭabarī's famous work, *Ta'rīkh al-umam wa-al-mulūk*. As in the case of *Tahdhīb*, *TB* was quoted by most later biographers. This was also the title cited by Ḥājjī Khalīfah, ed. Yaltkaya, I, 297, and from there, it became known in seventeenth-century Europe through d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque*, 866b, s. v. Tarikh AlThabari; see below, 138 f.

Ibn 'Asākir, LXXIX, used as usual by Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XIV, 273, l. 8, merely mentions as completed his "*Ta'rīkh* that extends down to Ṭabarī's own age." And Qifṭī, *Inbāh*, III, 89, l. 6, described the *Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh* as the greatest work in its field. In another work, al-Qifṭī has a passage on the continuators of Ṭabarī. It was inserted in his biography of Thābit b. Sinān and was, perhaps, derived from al-Qifṭī's monograph on Ṭabarī.[454]

More information on *History* will be found in the following pages and, of course, in all the volumes of this translation.

[Ta'rīkh al-rijāl "The history of personalities": See *Dhayl]*

[Tartīb al-'ulamā' "The classification of scholars": See *Ādāb al-nufūs* and *Basīṭ]*

[Ummahāt al-awlād "On slave girls giving birth to children by their masters": See *Laṭīf]*

[Al-Waṣāyā "On last wills": See *Basīṭ]*

[Al-Zakāh "On charity taxes": See *Basīṭ]*

490, l. 3, as suggested in the index of Dodge's translation of *Fihrist*.

453. In other words, they were neither government officials nor scholars (of religion and law) and thus had no access to important historical information and no understanding of the processes of history. See also below, n. 455.

454. See Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*[2], 81–83.

The *History* and Its English Translation

The History *in Islam and the West*

The preceding long list of Ṭabarī's writings contains very few titles devoted predominantly to historical or biographical research, and a perusal of the biographical sketch presented here makes it quite clear that the outward course of his life was comparatively little influenced by his occupation with history. These are incontrovertible facts. Even the availability of more bibliographical information than we have is unlikely to refute them. Ṭabarī's importance as a scholar in his time and his role as a participant in contemporary affairs were the result of his scholarly activities in the legal and religious sphere. Yet, the outstanding significance of *History* was realized while he was still alive. It was welcomed by the students who heard Ṭabarī lecture on it or received his *ijāzah* to study and transmit it. They went on to use it in their own works, as was done, for instance, by the author of *Aghānī* (see above, n. 127). Its uniqueness was praised by a contemporary such as Ibn al-Mughallis (see above, p. 132). A writer on world history writing in a rather different tradition, al-Mas'ūdī, was acquainted with Ṭabarī as an important historian. About a generation after Ṭabarī's death, he spoke of *History* as "a work superior to all other historical works because of the abundant information it contains" and declared it "an extremely useful work," for, he reasoned, Ṭabarī's position as the leading jurist and religious scholar of his time made it possible for him to know all there was to know about history.[455]

455. See Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 15 f., ed. Pellat, I, 15; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*[2], 508. For government experience as a necessity for the historian, see

Ṭabarī became known primarily by his *History*. It was, as M. J. de Goeje put it, the great work "whose fame has never faded from his own day to ours."[456] His biographers would, of course, not fail to praise his other accomplishments, and they mention those in the field of history as merely one aspect of his work and not the first and foremost;[457] but for Muslims, he was the historian of Islam. When it was necessary to distinguish him from other Ṭabarīs, it was as Ṭabarī the historian.

As was already suggested by O. Loth,[458] the explanation for this development is not far to seek. Ṭabarī's works on jurisprudence and *ḥadīth* continued to be admired, and his Qur'ānic scholarship set an enduring and always respected standard of excellence. Yet, works on law and religion always were at the center of an enormous literary activity, and no matter how traditional much of it was or seemed to be, new tendencies and concerns constantly left their changing imprint on them. *History*, on the other hand, was, in accordance with the basic character of Muslim historiography, never really superseded. It remained the unique source for the period it covered, even when other sources for it were still available. Later historians constantly used Ṭabarī's work, at first directly, but then, in the course of time, usually indirectly through other histories such as the one of Ibn al-Athīr. The new works offered much of Ṭabarī's information in a shortened form and, naturally, added much subsequent history. Thus, they were easier to handle and had the advantage of being of greater interest for the ma-

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above, n. 453. Al-Mas'ūdī's relationship with Ṭabarī is problematic. He once mentioned Ṭabarī as his oral authority (Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 267). Thus, it would seem that he knew him personally(?). See also Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography*, 148. *Murūj* (IV, 145, ed. Pellat, II, 145) expressly refers to *History* and elsewhere mentions Ṭabarī as a source of historical information (*Murūj*, V, 8, 40, ed. Pellat, II, 184, 202). None of the references can, however, be traced to *History*. Could al-Mas'ūdī have quoted from memory what he had heard long ago in Ṭabarī's lectures?

456. See de Goeje in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XXIII, 3b (Edinburgh, 1888). I owe this reference to Muth's work.

457. *Irshād*, VI, 423, ed. Rifā'ī, XVIII, 40, introduces Ṭabarī as "a *ḥadīth* scholar, jurist, Qur'ān reader, and historian" (in this order). Dhahabī, *'Ibar*, II, 146, mentions *Tafsīr* first, and then *Ta'rīkh*. On the other hand, Qifṭī, *Muḥammadūn*, 263 f., speaks of "the author of the famous *History* and *Tafsīr*." Of course, not much can be made of this.

458. See Loth, "Ṭabarī's Korancommentar," 590. Loth says that (in contrast to *Tafsīr*), *History* had no competitors. This, however, rather oversimplifies the situation.

jority of readers who wanted to learn about events close to their own times. Some, if not many, later historians continued to use Ṭabarī and even seek out earlier sources, but manuscripts became increasingly difficult to find. Ibn Khaldūn copied a document at first from Ibn al-Athīr and was only later able to collate the text as it appears in Ṭabarī.[459] This was more like the exception that confirmed the general rule. Ṭabarī always remained the historian of Islam, but his original work receded from general view.

Early translations into Persian and Turkish languages further attest to the fame of *History*. They show, however, a similar tendency toward adaptations of the original text. According to our philological understanding of the term, they could hardly be called translations. A Turkish translation, incidentally, was published already in 1844 and served as a source for some studies by contemporary Western scholars.

The history of the European acquaintance with Ṭabarī's *History* in a way constituted a reversal of the chronological process. The Arabic and Muslim works which attracted the curiosity of early Orientalists were generally those of more recent dates and, in particular, those of current use in the Near East. The historians whose works were introduced in seventeenth-century Europe, such as the histories of al-Makīn and Abū al-Fidā', were acquainted with Ṭabarī's work as a rule only at second or third hand.[460] Only later did the search for the original text start. It was a slow process, and it began in earnest only at the end of the eighteenth century. After the publication of the Leiden edition in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the stage was reached where the later excerptors and adapters of Ṭabarī in Arabic as well as Persian and Turkish were disregarded by modern historians, except, of course, for whatever information not found in Ṭabarī they were able to contribute.

The name of Ṭabarī the historian had, however, been long familiar in the West. B. d'Herbelot (1625–95), whose *Bibliothèque Orientale* was published posthumously in 1697, featured a substantial article on "Thabari" (*Bibliothèque*, 1014). He started out by describing him as "the most famous of all Ṭabarīs on account

459. See Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, II, 139, n. 751.

460. For instance, L. Marracci knew *History* through al-Makīn. See Nallino, "Le fonti arabe," II, 96, n. 1. Marracci did not know *Tafsīr*, of course.

of the general *History* from the creation of the world to the time in which he lived that was published by him." The special article he devoted to *History* (*Bibliothèque*, 866 f.) gives as good a summary of the work's history as could be found in the West until more than a century had passed. It deserves to be quoted here in full on account of its historical interest. Practically all of its contents was derived by d'Herbelot from the great bibliographical work of Ḥājjī Khalīfah (1609–57), whose lifetime overlapped with his own.[461]

TARIKH AlThabari. C'est le titre d'une Histoire fort celebre, qui passe pour le fondement des autres Histoires Musulmannes. Elle a été composée par Abou Giafar Mohammed Ben Gioraïr, natif du Thabarestan, qui mourut l'an 310. de l'hegire. Elle commence à la Creation du Monde, & finit en l'an 300.[462] de l'hegire. Elle porte encore le titre particulier de ,Tarikh alomam v almolouk. Elle est aussi souvent citée sous le titre de ,Tarikh Giafari, & les Persans la nomment aussi ,Tarikh pesser Gioraïr, l'Histoire du fils de Gioraïr.

Ebn AlGiouzi écrit, que cette Histoire dans son Original contient plusieurs volumes, & que l'Edition que nous avons entre les mains n'en est qu'un Abbregé, & Ebn AlSobki rapporte dans ses Thabacat, que Thabari ayant demandé à ses amis, s'ils prendroient plaisir à lire une Histoire de tous ce qui étoit arrivé dans le Monde jusqu'à son temps, ils luy répondirent, qu'ils la liroient volontiers s'il étoit possible de la trouver, & que cet Auteur leur ayant dit, qu'il avoit compilé trente mille feüilles sur cette matière, ses amis luy repliquerent, que tout le temps de leur vie ne suffiroit pas pour les lire. Sur cecy, Thabari leur dit, qu'il l'abbregeroit autant qu'il pourroit, & c'est cet Abbregé, dit ,Sobki, qui nous est resté entre les mains.

Cet Abbregé a été traduit en Langue Persienne par Abou A'li Mohammed Allâli,[463] Vizir des Sultans Samanides, du

461. D'Herbelot used Galland's manuscript of Ḥājjī Khalīfah. See Laurens, *Barthélemi d'Herbelot*, 17. For his indirect use of Ṭabarī, see Laurens, 58. Ḥājjī Khalīfah's lengthiest Ṭabarī entry is in connection with *History*; that on *Tafsīr* is much briefer. See Ḥājjī Khalīfah, ed. Yaltkaya, 297 f.

462. Ḥājjī Khalīfah has 309 (for the latter date, see below, translation, Vol. XXXVIII, xv).

463. I. c., a misreading of al-Bal'amī.

temps de Mansour Ben Nouh, l'an 352. de l'hegire.

Cette même Histoire a été traduite en Langue Turquesque par un Auteur incertain, & c'est celle que l'on trouve communément entre les mains des Turcs.

Abou Mohammed A'bdallah Ben Mohammed AlFargani a fait la continuation de l'Histoire de Thabari, & l'a publiée sous le titre de ,Selat.

Abou Hassan Mohammed Ben A'bdalmalek AlHamadhani, mort l'an 521. de l'hegire, y a fait un autre Supplement.

In the nineteenth-century West, "history" was about to replace "philosophy" as the fundamental culture symbol of the age. With it came a long period of the avid study of everything that could be understood as "history." The occupation with Ṭabarī's historical work gained in intensity, as is chronicled in F.-C. Muth's very useful survey of Ṭabarī's *History* as mirrored in European scholarship published in 1983. Ṭabarī's other works meanwhile continued to be all but unknown to Western scholars. It was only near the end of the century that O. Loth called attention to *Tafsīr*, when a manuscript of the work had become known (see above, n. 383).

Not surprisingly, if quite inaccurately, Ṭabarī was described—shades of Herodotus!—as "Vater der arabischen Geschichte" by A. D. Mordtmann, who in 1848, relying on the recently published Turkish translation, collected *History*'s information on Ṭabaristān (see Bibliography, below, under Mordtmann). After the publication of the Leiden edition, the interest of scholars soon turned to the challenging task of disentangling the source situation in the original text of *History*. This was a promising undertaking, owing to the fact that Ṭabarī himself, in his way, was careful to hint at the sources employed by him throughout his work. The name of J. Wellhausen should be mentioned here as that of the highly regarded pioneer in this field (see above, n. 206). The work has been continued with a good measure of success, but much more remains to be done.

It was, and has remained, more difficult to gain an insight into the manner in which Ṭabarī used his sources. In other words, what was his approach to the writing of history and his view of history in general and the historical data he surveyed in his work? What

considerations determined his choice of a given source in preference to other sources that might have been available to him? What, if anything, did he omit, thereby altering trends and historical interpretation, be it consciously or unconsciously ? Beyond a general Baghdad-centrism that was indicated by his own residence in the capital and by the audience for which he was writing, what were his views on historical events and personalities? We hear, for example, that he predicted the failure of Ibn al-Mu'tazz's revolt as soon as it happened. When he was informed about it, he inquired about the new wazīr and chief judge. Hearing their names, he expressed the view that the choice of such accomplished men who were ahead of their times in a period of general retrogression was wrong and Ibn al-Mu'tazz would not last.[464] If this is the correct understanding of the reported remark, he seems to have meant that the course of historical events depended upon prevailing trends and the government must conform to the trends of the times in order to master them. Such express statements are rare in Ṭabarī's case. They are also often, as in the given example, of dubious historicity. The answers to the questions raised must be sought by means of internal evidence.

The present translation has as one of its purposes that of furthering this discussion. Whatever might come of it, the fact remains that Ṭabarī's *History* is our greatest single source of information for much of the early centuries of Muslim history. The existence of a standard work of this kind is apt to exercise a certain restrictive influence and to promote the tendency to rely on it unduly. Such was arguably the case with Ṭabarī's *History* for quite some time. It hardly is any longer. His *History* is now ready to take its proper place in Muslim historiography—not at the head, but at the very center.

464. The report goes back to al-Mu'āfā, with a suspiciously vague *isnād* connecting it to Ṭabarī. See Mu'āfā, *Jalīs*, I, 472, quoted in *TB*, X, 98 f. (above, n. 18). The name of the chief judge is al-Ḥasan b. al-Muthannā; he must be the same individual as Abū al-Muthannā Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb, mentioned below, translation, Vol. XXXVIII, 189–91. It may be noted that Ṭabarī figures among the transmitters of the story of 'Ā'ishah that promotes the idea of a steady deterioration in history; see Rosenthal, *"Sweeter than Hope,"* 25.

The Text

Scholars interested in the history of libraries in Islam usually cite the Egyptian historians al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn Abī Ṭayyi', who lived, respectively, around the turn of the fourth/tenth and sixth/twelfth centuries. Brief remarks from the works of these historians illustrate the large size of Muslim libraries in general as well as, in particular, the high esteem in which Ṭabarī's *History* was held. According to al-Musabbiḥī, the Fāṭimid caliph al-'Azīz, who reigned from 975 to 996, spent one hundred dīnārs for a copy of *History* that was offered to him. He then found out that his library already contained more than twenty copies of the work, including one in Ṭabarī's own hand. According to Ibn Abī Ṭayyi', 1,220 copies of *History* were in the library of the Fāṭimid palace complex when Saladin took over in 567/1171.[465] We are not told whether these were complete sets or individual volumes. Whatever it was, the figure of 1,220 seems to be a somewhat exaggerated guess. It is, however, quite possible that an autograph of Ṭabarī found its way into the possession of royal bibliophiles and that the Fāṭimid rulers, conscious of their position in history, collected as many volumes as they could of a work that reflected the past glory of Islam to which they themselves aspired in vain. At a much later date, the Ottoman sultans had the same abundant means and the same motivation for acquiring choice copies of *History*. It is thus not by chance that today, the best of the preserved manuscripts are found in Istanbul and complete sets can be reconstructed from the library holdings there. While Ṭabarī manuscripts are preserved in numerous European and Middle Eastern libraries, it is usually only individual volumes and not the entire work.

For modern scholars trained in the proper technique of text edition, it was natural to look especially to Istanbul for manuscripts to be used in the planned edition of *History*. In the second half of the nineteenth century, this was no simple task; but M. J. de Goeje and his co-workers succeeded admirably in obtain-

465. See Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 408 f., cited, for instance, by Mez, *Renaissance*, 164 f.; Pedersen, *Arabic Book*, 118 f. Al-Maqrīzī has 1,200 but the correct 1,220 is preserved in Abū Shāmah, *Rawḍatayn*, I, 200, l. 4, ed. Cairo, 1956, I, 507, l. 7, and Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, XII, 266, year 567. See Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*[2], 50. One may wonder whether 20 in 1,220 has something to do with the figure of "more than twenty" in al-Musabbiḥī.

ing the necessary manuscript material and preparing an edition which presented an accurate text with a full critical apparatus and a good deal of additional information. In addition to the chief mover of the project, de Goeje (1836–1909), the honor roll of famous Orientalists of the past century who participated in the enterprise included J. Barth (1851–1914), S. Fraenkel (1855–1909), I. Guidi (1844–1935), S. Guyard (1846–84), M. Th. Houtsma (1851–1943), P. De Jong (1832–1890), D. H. Müller (1846–1912), Th. Nöldeke (1836–1930), E. Prym (1843–1913), V. Rosen (1849–1908), and H. Thorbecke (1837–90).[466] The publisher was the great house of E. J. Brill, which accomplished the difficult task of printing between the years 1879 and 1901. All editorial material, such as the brief summaries of the contents accompanying the individual volumes, the introduction, the glossary of noteworthy terms, and the model index, was written in Latin, as was fitting at the time for an inter-European enterprise. The full Latin title of the edition, which chose *Kitāb Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk* for the Arabic title page (see above, 131), was *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed Ibn Djarir at-Tabari,* which led scholars often to refer to it as *Annales.*

The Leiden edition had practically nothing in the way of predecessors,[467] and it has as yet not been replaced. Manuscripts in the collections of the Topkapısarayı in Istanbul were not accessible at the time. As far as our present knowledge goes, they are the only significant manuscript material not used in the Leiden edition, although the chance of making new discoveries remains. It would seem that the oldest portion of a manuscript of *History* is a number of folios bound into Ms. Köprülü, I, 1047, covering the years 64–66.[468]

The Istanbul material was largely used by the editor of the Cairo edition, Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, who had made himself a respected name as the editor of many important texts. His edition began to appear in 1969 and was reprinted repeatedly. Ibrāhīm omitted the critical apparatus of the Leiden edition. He basically

466. See Fück, *Arabische Studien,* in particular, 212 ff.

467. See Muth, passim.

468. The Istanbul manuscripts have been studied by R. Stephen Humphreys, who presented a preliminary report on his findings at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in April 1985.

restricted himself to indicating the variant readings of the Topkapısarayı manuscripts, with the exception of Ms. Revanköşk, no. 1555 (Karatay, *Catalogue*, no. 5735, see below, translation, Vol. XXXVIII, xv f.). He also used some manuscript material from Egypt and India. It seems that he mainly listed variants he considered significant. He adopted the sound principle of showing the pagination of the standard Leiden edition in the margin of his text and thereby established the proper manner of reference for all who work on *History*. This procedure must be continued in any future edition, including the new scientific edition which it is hoped will some day be published and supersede the Leiden edition.

In connection with establishing the Arabic text, there was no pressing need to consult the Persian and Turkish versions. No case has as yet been made that these reworkings of the original could be of any real help, except, perhaps, with respect to additions not appearing in the available manuscripts. Even less useful are all the abridgments of the Arabic, the retranslations of the Persian version into Arabic, and the like. However, the difficult task of a bibliographical description of all this material remains to be undertaken, even if the results promise to be meager, at least as far as Ṭabarī's original text is concerned.

A work such as *History* allows the incorporation in the text of additions at certain stages of the manuscript tradition. Such additions might have entered the text during Ṭabarī's lifetime, coming from his own hand or that of others who might or might not have acted with his knowledge and approval. Later authors who used *History* show some such additions or corrections to the accepted text. There is a strong likelihood that they were not responsible for them but followed some manuscript authority. The chronological arrangement, in particular, facilitated insertions. Professional copyists would not normally have tampered with the text they copied, but scholarly readers might have made marginal additions which eventually entered the text. Usually, additions that came about in this manner cannot be expected to have left an express indication of their origin in the text; but *History*, II, 1368–72, contains what is specifically stated to be " an addition in the biography of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz *not from the work of Abū Jaʿfar*, to the beginning of the caliphate of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān." The situation is less clear in *History*, II, 835–43. The

passage which raised doubts already in the mind of its editor is poorly attested in the manuscript tradition. It is also not found in the Topkapısarayı manuscript. It is thus difficult to accept it as a Ṭabarian addition, although this is not entirely precluded; the passage may go back to notations which Ṭabarī had made for himself and which he had intended to insert in the appropriate places. In all the minor instances of additions or omissions, the decision as to whether they go back to Ṭabarī must be made in each case individually. Probably, very many can indeed be considered as somehow connected to Ṭabarī (see below, translation, Vol. XXXVIII, xvii ff.). Such small problems remain to be solved, before a definitive text of *History* is in our hands. Nothing of the sort, however, can be assumed to affect the understanding of the historical contents as Ṭabarī meant it to be understood.

Previous Translations

Arabists are fond of recalling that the various editors of *History* were supposed to provide translations of the volumes edited by them, but only Theodor Nöldeke took up the idea and published his justly celebrated *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1879, reprinted Graz, 1973). His translation covered *History*, I, 813–1067; he omitted some brief portions as having no immediate bearing upon Persian history (I, 890, l. 4–892, l. 13, 901, l. 1–917, l. 17, 966, l. 15–981, l. 2).[469] It is regrettable that the other editors did not follow Nöldeke's example. Their long and intimate occupation with the text uniquely qualified them for the task. Their translations, had they been published, would have been most helpful to subsequent translators and might have stimulated translations into other languages. Above all, the existence of *History* in translation would have constituted a strong incentive for historians who were not Near Eastern specialists to make use of it in their work.

Under the direction of G. E. von Grunebaum, Elma Marin trans-

469. When Nöldeke was urged to prepare a second edition of his Ṭabarī translation, he spoke of it as "perhaps the best I have ever done" (letter to Goldziher, dated September 11, 1910; see Róbert Simon, *Ignác Goldziher*, 340).

Ṭabarī's much less detailed and scattered treatment of ancient Iranian mythological history was translated by Christensen (see below, translation, n. 151).

lated Ṭabarī's treatment of the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim from *History*, II, 1164–1329. Her work was published by the American Oriental Society in New Haven in 1951. Individual passages of some lines to a number of pages in length have, of course, been translated in many publications, as was dictated by their particular subject matter.

It can be assumed that quite a few Arabists dreamed of preparing a complete translation, but their names went unrecorded, or, at least, are unknown to this writer.[470] J. A. Williams contemplated the task, and D. M. Dunlop tried to organize a collaborative effort while being a professor at Columbia University. A translation of the whole by one person has certain advantages. It makes for much greater uniformity in approach and execution. As it demands a total long-term immersion in the text, it holds the promise of yielding unexpected insights. However, the chances of bringing such a major enterprise to final fruition are small. Collaboration by a number of scholars offers a better chance for success. Upon the initiative of Ehsan Yarshater of Columbia University, such a collaborative effort was initiated in 1971. It proved possible for Michael G. Morony, a participant in the project, to arrange for a division of the entire text into portions of about two hundred pages each, distributed over thirty-eight volumes. Thus, the chore of finding capable and willing translators could begin. It was thought impractical to postpone publication until all volumes were completed. The first three volumes (XXVII, XXXV, and XXXVIII) appeared in 1985 under the aegis of the State University of New York Press, which, like E. J. Brill before, had voluntarily declared itself ready to undertake the difficult work of publication in the service of scholarship. The present hope is that the entire task will be completed by 1995.* As was the case with the Leiden edition, financial support had to be found. Strenuous efforts on the part of Ehsan Yarshater succeeded in surmounting this hurdle, but the search for funds has to continue in order to keep the enterprise going.

Toward the end of achieving a desirable degree of uniformity in presentation and format, some directions were deemed necessary

470. See also Muth, I.

*As of December 1987, nine volumes of the English translation have been published.

to be given to the translators. At the same time, it was realized that the quality of the work might be enhanced if each translator relied primarily on his own judgment and expertise. A generous allowance of space was set aside for annotation, but again, it was left to the individual translator to make the difficult choice of what required annotation and how much information the footnotes should contain. General introductory remarks for each volume were suggested in order to provide all the necessary observations to be made in connection with a given volume, while keeping in mind the quite different character of the various sections of *History*.

The system of transliteration employed in the translation follows by and large a practice that has by now become standard in the scholarly publications of Arabists and Islamicists. This writer wishes, however, to express disagreement with the choice of *-iyy- [-uww-]* for *-īy- [-ūw-]*. Under the influence of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, this transliteration is widely used. It is plainly wrong, and not just a simple matter of convention. For the rendering of names of localities, exact transliteration was recommended as the norm, except for a very few place names that have accepted English forms of long standing; thus al-Kūfah (with the retention of the definite article), but Mecca, and not Makkah. Doubts as to what constitutes an accepted form are many. With the growing Western familiarity with Near Eastern geography, these doubts have not diminished but rather have increased. Accurate transliteration thus seemed preferable. The definite article in the names of frequently mentioned and quoted authors has often been omitted, especially in bibliographical references, and it is (almost) always Ṭabarī, instead of al-Ṭabarī.

A special concern has been how to best serve those readers who might not know Arabic. In fact, it is hoped that specialists will find the translation useful; but a translation primarily addresses itself to those not fully familiar with the original language. This regard for non-Arabists has led, for instance, to the insistence upon an unambiguous rendering of dates and upon providing chapter headings. It has also influenced the choice of the secondary literature in the footnotes, with the understanding that Arabic and Islamic studies have not yet progressed to the state where the secondary literature is sufficiently developed to make possible reliance on it exclusively. For Qur'ān quotations, the translation of

A. J. Arberry was suggested with some hesitation, but again, it was left to the individual translator to decide upon the most suitable renditions.

There was never any doubt as to which edition should constitute the basis for the translation, as the Leiden text is the only scientific edition in existence. Translators were, however, aware of the Cairo edition and the need to consult it wherever it was thought to contain a superior text. No priority was assigned to consulting manuscripts. Translators who had the opportunity were encouraged to do so. The gain to be obtained from the consultation of manuscripts did not loom large as a rule, but it is undeniable that in any occupation with ancient texts, no matter how carefully edited, recourse to manuscripts is of value, if only for the purpose of ascertaining that the available printed editions are indeed reliable.

The hope was expressed that the translations should be accurate and faithful to the original and, at the same time, idiomatic and fluent in English. This great ideal, if constantly invoked, is rarely achieved anywhere. Editorial and stylistic help has been provided to the extent possible. The translator's individuality could never be entirely suppressed nor, indeed, should it be.

The only liberty that the translators were asked to take with the Arabic text affects the presentation of *isnāds*, the chains of transmitters that served Ṭabarī as an indication of his sources. A literal translation would typically run like this: "*A* told me that *B* told us: *C* told us on the authority of *D*, on the authority of *E* that *F* said...." A less clumsy rendering was chosen to take its place, to wit: "According to *A* — *B* — *C* — *D* — *E* — *F* ...." Occasional exceptions as required by the flow of the narrative were permitted. The simplification is fully justified in view of the less cluttered text page resulting from it and the amount of space saved. It conceals, however, the numerous variations in the form of the *isnāds* indicated by Ṭabarī. These variations are important for a more precise understanding of the source situation. Scholars concerned with source problems must have recourse to the Arabic text.

At this time, the halfway mark in the project is not far off. When the entire work is completed, a retrospective on its genesis and execution will improve and enlarge upon the present brief and preliminary remarks.

Appendix A

A Partial Translation of Tafsīr *on Qur. 17:79 (Above, pp. 75 f.)*

Tafsīr, XV, 99, l. 21–100, l. 22:

"Even though the traditions we have mentioned on the authority of the Prophet and his Companions and the Followers indicate the correct interpretation of *maqāman maḥmūdan* in Qur. 17:79 (as referring to Muḥammad's role as intercessor on the Day of Resurrection), Mujāhid's statement that God will seat Muḥammad on His Throne remains one whose soundness cannot be rejected either on the basis of tradition *(khabar)* or on the basis of speculation *(naẓar)*. This is so because there is no tradition from the Messenger of God or anyone of his Companions or the Followers that declares it to be impossible.

With respect to speculation, all adherents of Islam differ on the implication of (such seating) in only three ways:

One group *(firqah)* says: God is separate from His creation. He was so before He created the things. Then He created the things but was not contiguous with them. He Himself remained as He had always been, except that being not contiguous with the things He created, He is necessarily separate from them, since any maker of the things must be either contiguous with the material substances *(ajsām)* or separate from them. So they said. As this is so, and God is the maker *(fāʿil)* of the things and, according to their statement, He is not permitted to be described as being contiguous with the things, their line of thought makes it necessary to

assume that He is separate from them. According to their theory *(madhhab)*, it is the same whether he seats Muḥammad on His Throne or upon earth, since their statement implies that His separateness from His Throne and His separateness from His earth mean the same, since He is (equally) separate from both and is not contiguous with either.

A second group says: Before God created the things, there was no thing for Him to be contiguous with or separate from. Then He created the things. He set them up by His power, remaining Himself as He had always been before His creation of the things, not being contiguous with nor separate from any thing. According to their statement, too, it is the same whether He seats Muḥammad on His Throne or upon His earth, since according to their statement, His Throne and His earth are the same with respect to His being neither contiguous with nor separate from the one or the other.

A third group says: Before God created the things, there was no thing for him to be contiguous with or separate from. Then He created *(aḥdatha* and *khalaqa)* the things. He created for Himself a throne, upon which He sat straight and with which He became contiguous. Correspondingly, before He created the things, there was no thing for which He would provide sustenance or which He would deprive of it. Having created the things, He provided sustenance for one thing and deprived another of it, gave to one and withheld from another. So they said. Thus likewise, before He created the things, there was no thing for Him to be contiguous with or separate from. He created the things and then He was contiguous with the Throne by sitting on it but no other creature. He may be contiguous with or separate from any of His creatures He wants. According to their theory, too, it is the same whether He seated Muḥammad on His Throne or seated him on a pulpit of light, since their statement implies that God's sitting on His Throne is not by way of occupying the entire Throne, nor is seating Muḥammad (on it) necessitating the attribute of divinity (for Muḥammad) or depriving him of the attribute of humanity *(rubūbiyyah-ʿubūdiyyah)*, just like Muḥammad's being kept separate from the things he is kept separate from does not necessitate for him the attribute of divinity or deprive him of the attribute of humanity (merely) because he is described as being kept separate

from them as, according to those who make this statement, God is described as being separate from them. So they say. If the meaning of being separate *(mubāyin)* and being kept separate *(mubāyan)* does not necessitate for Muḥammad to be deprived of the attribute of humanity and to enter into the conceptual realm *(ma'nā)* of divinity, then his sitting on the Throne of the Merciful One does not necessitate that.

From what we have said, it has become clear that it is not impossible for an adherent of Islam to say what Mujāhid has said, namely, that God will seat Muḥammad on His Throne. If someone says: We do not disapprove of God's seating Muḥammad on His Throne (in view of the following tradition transmitted by) 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-'Aẓīm—Yaḥyā b. Kathīr—al-Jurayrī—Sayf al-Sadūsī—'Abdallāh b. Salām:[471] 'On the Day of Resurrection, Muḥammad will be on the Lord's footstool *(kursī)*,' but we disapprove of God's seating him *together with Him*, it should be said: Is it then permissible in your opinion that He seat him on it but not together with him? If he permits this, he is led to affirming that either he is together with Him, or God seats him (on the Throne) while being Himself either separate from it or neither contiguous with nor separate from it. Whatever alternative he chooses, he thereby enters into something that he disapproves. If he says that it is not permissible, he deviates from the statements of all the groups we have reported. This means diverging from the views of all adherents of Islam, since there is no other possible statement than those three, according to each of which Mujāhid's statement in this sense is not impossible."

471. (Al-)'Abbās b. 'Abd al-'Aẓīm al-'Anbarī died before 250/864 (see *TB*, XII, 127 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 121 f.). His authority, Yaḥyā b. Kathīr (al-'Anbarī), died after 200/816 (see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 266, no. 536). Yaḥyā's authority was Salm b. Ja'far (see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 127 f.), omitted in *Tafsīr*. Abū Mas'ūd Sa'īd b. Iyās al-Jurayrī died in 144/761[2] (see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 5–7). The unidentified Sayf al-Sadūsī and the famous 'Abdallāh b. Salām (see below, translation, n. 178) are suspect. The tradition appears in Khallāl, *Musnad*, 76, 86, 92 f.

Appendix B

A Classification and Chronology of Ṭabarī's Literary Production

The following classification of Ṭabarī's work according to subject matter is slightly uncertain where it deals with works that are not preserved.

Law:	*Ādāb al-manāsik*
	Al-Ādar (?) fī al-uṣūl
	Basīṭ
	Ikhtilāf
	Khafīf
	Laṭīf
	Mūjaz
	Radd ʿalā Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam
Qur'ān:	*Faṣl (fī al-qirā'āt)*
	Jāmiʿ al-bayān (Tafsīr)
Ḥadīth:	*ʿIbārat al-ru'yā*
	Tahdhīb
	See also *Faḍā'il*
Theology:	*Dalālah*
	Faḍā'il
	Radd ʿalā dhī al-asfār

	Ṣarīḥ
	Tabṣīr
Religious Ethics:	*Ādāb al-nufūs*
	See also *Faḍā'il* and *Mūjaz*
History:	*Dhayl*
	Ta'rīkh

Any attempt to establish a relative chronological order must reckon with the fact that Ṭabarī worked on his large works throughout his career. He also started on projects, worked and lectured on them sporadically, and maybe never published them. In a number of cases, no sufficient data are ascertainable.

Works that can be dated with reasonable certainty:

1. *Radd 'alā Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam* (about 255)
2. *Laṭīf* (quoted in *Tafsīr, Ikhtilāf, Tahdhīb)*
3. *Ikhtilāf*
4. *Radd 'alā dhī al-asfār* (before 270, left incomplete ?)
5. *Tafsīr* (270–90) (cited in *Ta'rīkh*)
6. *Tabṣīr* (about 290)
7. *Khafīf* (291–96)
8. *Ta'rīkh* (294, 302) (cited in *Dhayl*)
9. *Dhayl* (after 300)

Incomplete at the time of Ṭabarī's death:

Ādāb al-nufūs
Basīṭ (quoted in *History* as forthcoming, but presumably to be placed between 4 and 5 as regards its starting time)
Faḍā'il
Mūjaz
Radd 'alā dhī al-asfār (above 4)
Tahdhīb (to be placed between 2 and 3)

Projects that were not executed:

Al-Ādar (?) fī al-uṣūl
Aḥkām sharā'i' al-Islām
Dalālah (mentioned in *History*)
'Ibārat al-ru'yā
al-Qiyās (planned at the end of his life)

As yet unclassifiable:

Ādāb al-manāsik
Ādāb al-nufūs
Faṣl (fī al-qirā'āt) (after *Ta'rīkh* ?)
Ṣarīḥ (before or after 6 ?)

From the Creation to the Flood

Translator's Foreword

The monotheistic environment of the Near East provided a powerful model for the idea that history must be written as beginning with the creation of the world. In Islam, the tradition continued, and history was presented as a continuum stretching seamlessly from the six days of creation to contemporary times, although neither before nor after Ṭabarī were histories so commonly composed in this manner as is often assumed. The material for primeval pre-Islamic history which was abundantly available to Ṭabarī was determined by the Qur'ān. A vast explanatory mythology developed in connection with it at an early stage. Some of the legends that were inherited or invented were occasionally ascribed to the Prophet directly. Much more frequently, they were credited to certain early Muslim authorities. Qur'ān commentaries drawing on this information were composed in unpublished, and soon also in published, form at least since the early eighth century. Ṭabarī, as the author of what in all likelihood was the most voluminous Qur'ān commentary ever assembled down to his time, was thoroughly familiar with most, if not all, of these works.

His basic task in the first part of his *History* was to make historical sense out of the material collected by earlier scholars and largely taken over into his own commentary, to which he refers by its proper title (below, n. 562)—here it is referred to simply as *Tafsīr*. In rearranging and presenting the material as sequential history, he used throughout the same literary method as *Tafsīr*, providing first a summary of the topic to be discussed, then quot-

ing the sources, and, finally, wherever he considered it necessary, giving a critical evaluation of them (frequently an effort to reach a compromise between divergent views). He succeeded in his effort to historicize legend as well as was possible in his time and age. Later Muslim historians who used Ṭabarī's *History* were considerably more skeptical than he as to the compatibility of all that legendary material with what they had come to consider history. Miskawayh, for instance, dared to dismiss all antediluvian accounts as being too poorly documented for consideration by historians. Ibn al-Athīr criticized Ṭabarī for bad historical and literary judgement with respect to some of the material the latter had thought worthy of consideration.[1]

In keeping with the methods developed by the traditional religious science of his day, Ṭabarī rightly stressed the traditional nature of *all* historical knowledge. What happened in the past can be known only by reports originating with an eyewitness, or at least a contemporary, and handed down from one individual to another in successive stages. It was beyond his ken to realize that in dealing with what we call prehistorical happenings, "history" can be approached only by means of intellectual (or, nowadays, scientific) speculation. Ṭabarī did have a certain inkling of the problem involved. Repeatedly, he asserts that only traditional information can be counted on to prove the soundness of historical data and that the usefulness of intellectual speculation in this connection must be discounted. With respect to the former, his statement was apologetic; with respect to the latter, it was polemical. The stress on the supremacy of intellect and reason *('aql)* was the hallmark of the Mutakallimūn, the philosophical theologians of his age, who tried with considerable success at the time to assert themselves, and it is their introduction of *'aql* into the Muslim view of the world that Ṭabarī attempted to reject while defending the supremacy of tradition.

In one respect, however, he clearly shows how deeply he was influenced by the new thought system. It cannot be decided whether he himself fully realized it—this may indeed have been the case—but he admitted (text below, I, 6) that his historical research did include a small measure of rational argumentation. At the begin-

1. See below, n. 3 of the Foreword and nn. 436 and 1029 to the translation.

ning of the *History,* he raises the question of the nature and definition of time as being fundamental to all history. His answer remains traditional, but the question could be raised in this form only after the Aristotelian analysis of the physical world in which human history evolves had become familiar in Muslim civilization. Ṭabarī argues that all history is a function of time and that, therefore, a definition of time that clearly establishes its meaning is the crucial starting point for historical investigation. This was an important insight, and there appears to be a strong possibility that Ṭabarī was in fact the first to introduce it prominently into historiography (as apparently suggested by one of his early biographers, see above, General Intro., n. 446). It is unfortunately true that most of the Arabic historical literature that could serve for comparison is yet to be recovered. The *History* of al-Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897–98 or later) is incomplete in the beginning, where the same argument regarding time might have been made. A century earlier, Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ (d. 204/819–20) had begun his *History* with no more than a brief note on the term *ta'rīkh,* understood by him not as "history," but as the means for dating events—a note that is not at all informed by philosophical reflection.[2] Thus, Ṭabarī's approach to time in history may very well have been absent in earlier histories. It can be assumed, at any rate, to have developed at the earliest in the course of the third/ninth century. If it is indeed original with Ṭabarī, it is another truly remarkable testimony to his intellectual alertness. It may be added that Ibn al-Athīr was fully aware of the origin of Ṭabarī's speculation on the concept of time. It belonged, he states, in the discussion of the (theological) principles of the Mutakallimūn and had no place in a historical work.[3]

A particularly difficult challenge to the historian's critical acumen were views known in ninth-century Baghdad on the origin and early history of the world which competed and often were in conflict with the monotheistic tradition shared by Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. This had given pause to historians before Ṭabarī and had led to crude attempts at finding some common ground between the disparate traditions. Ṭabarī, like many of the leading scholars in Iraq, a man with ties to Iran, restricted himself to the

2. See also Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography,*[2] 287, *n* 4.
3. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil,* ed. Tornberg, I, 12.

Magian (Zoroastrian) material and inserted rather brief reports on it in what he felt were appropriate places. He gives the impression of doing that with some reluctance and an apparent unwillingness to take those alien beliefs too seriously. Indeed, the very existence of competing mythological histories may have severely tested Ṭabarī as an historian and as a faithful Muslim.

The basis for the following translation has been the Leiden text as edited by the Semitist Jakob Barth in Leiden, 1879–81. It is, however, obvious that the Istanbul manuscript Topkapısarayı Ahmet III 2929/1,[4] which was consulted by M. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm for the Cairo edition, has a text that, in general, is superior to that of the manuscripts used in Leiden. At the very beginning, Ms. Ahmet III provides the only reliable text, but its superiority is evident nearly everywhere. In most cases, its readings therefore have been adopted from the Cairo edition with no further comment. The reader of this translation should, however, rest assured that while noteworthy, the variants hold no substantive implications for the understanding of the text.

No manuscripts have been consulted directly for the present translation. There are passages here and there where the manuscript situation remains slightly uncertain, and a look at the manuscripts might have been helpful. A great merit of the Cairo edition that deserves to be mentioned is its occasional use of *Tafsīr*, from which Ṭabarī drew much of his material for this volume.

For all practical purposes, the following pages are a commentary on Genesis, chapters 1–10, from the creation of the world to Noah and the Flood—a mirror reflecting centuries of thought and a new Muslim way of looking at the ancient story. This being the case, the greatest selectivity in the number and kind of notes to be included was required. The scholarly literature deserving attention is nearly unlimited, and the problems are numerous. Much that could and should have been said has been passed over in silence. The following considerations have guided the choice of notes:

1. Qur'ānic quotations have, of course, been always noted. How-

4. See Karatay, *Catalogue*, III, 339 f., no. 5730.

ever, the artful weaving together of quotations from and allusions to the Qur'ān, which is evident to anyone reading the Arabic text, could not always be brought out in translation.

2. The chains of transmitters *(isnād)* are a most important key to the early history of Muslim historiogaphy. At least some information had to be provided for each individual occurring in them. All transmitters therefore have been briefly annotated at their first mention in the text. In order to facilitate their location through the Index, short forms of their names appearing in the text have often, but not consistently, been completed by additions in parentheses.

The identification of individual transmitters has been restricted here to basically two works, the *History of Baghdad (Ta'rīkh Baghdād,* cited as *TB)* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and Ibn Ḥajar's *Tahdhīb. TB* brings us quite close to Ṭabarī's time and environment. *Tahdhīb* was compiled in the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century and constitutes the culmination of the labors of *ḥadīth* scholars in the field of biography. The information it contains is a summary of all the earlier literature. The significant dates for the life and death of the transmitters are all faithfully reported. Where Ibn Ḥajar fails to indicate such dates, it is almost certain that none ever existed in any earlier source. As a matter of fact, early biographical collections were much more chary with dates than later ones. This is proof that scholarly research and speculation, as against direct attestation, were responsible for providing many of the dates. Scholarship is never infallible, and, in certain cases, the very identification of an individual may have depended upon a kind of circular reasoning that reconstructed relationships on the basis of the *isnād*s as found in the *ḥadīth* collections and the *tafsīr* literature. Ibn Ḥajar often leaves us with a number of alternative dates to choose from. Usually no decision has been made here as to which of the divergent dates may be correct, even where this could possibly have been done. When references to the one or other biographical work in addition to *TB* and *Tahdhīb* have been given, this has been done for some reason, which, however, has been left unstated.

The role of *isnād*s as indications of Ṭabarī's sources has been somewhat obscured by the schematic representation adopted here, in which simple dashes separate individual transmitters.

However convenient, this scheme removes valuable if ambiguous hints at the various stages of the process of written transmission.

The material quoted here by Ṭabarī from *Tafsīr* was no doubt taken from earlier Qur'ān commentaries, most of them still lost or imperfectly known. Recensions of some of those commentaries have recently been published, such as the works of Sufyān al-Thawrī, Mujāhid, and Muqātil.[5] It should be noted that the corresponding information provided by Ṭabarī in traditions with *isnāds* including these men can be only very rarely traced back to them. In view of the complex history of the compilation of those recensions, as discussed by G. Schoeler and others (below, n. 503), this is hardly surprising. It does not, however, cast doubt on the genuineness of the attribution.

Among the secondary literature on the transmitters, Fuat Sezgin's *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums (GAS)* has been cited as consistently as possible. It allows for checking the literary activities of a given scholar and, in particular, finding out whether he is known as the author of a Qur'ān commentary. The short article by Heribert Horst, "Zur Überlieferung im Korankommentar aṭ-Ṭabarīs," has been systematically referred to, not so much for its occasional additional information as for its concise discussion of the configurations of Ṭabarī's *isnāds*. The important study of G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition. Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), goes, as its title indicates, far beyond the elementary data of concern to us here.

3. Among the sources of the *History*, Ṭabarī's own *Tafsīr* has always been consulted and usually cited. Close parallels from earlier or contemporary works have occasionally been mentioned. As is the case with much of the earlier *ḥadīth* literature, his primary historical sources, such as the works of Ibn Isḥāq and the Kalbī family, are also lost. Little use has been made of the *ḥadīth* literature. Works by later authors have been referred to only in exceptional cases. This also includes the literature on the prophetical stories *(qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā')*. W. M. Brinner's forthcoming translation of the closely related work by al-Tha'labī and W. M. Thackston's translation of the very different *Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisā'ī*

5. For the situation with respect to the *Tafsīr* of Mujāhid, however, see the introduction of the *Tafsīr*'s editor, 25–27.

(Boston, 1978) show the difference between their approach and that of the historian.

4. With respect to the sources of Ṭabarī's sources—that is, the comparative data to be found in Christian, Jewish, and Middle-Persian literature (including the later Firdawsī)—only a few references have been given in the notes. The relationship of Ṭabarī's material to the Book of Genesis requires many more references and discussions than appear in the notes here. The Jewish midrashic literature and secondary works, such as Speyer's *Biblische Erzählungen*, should have been referred to more frequently than is actually the case. A detailed analysis, for instance, of the role of the *Schatzhöhle* tradition was, of course, not possible here.[6] The references given to non-Muslim sources can do no more than serve as a stimulus for further investigation.

In his review of E. Marin's translation of Ṭabarī's section dealing with the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim, Helmut Ritter remarked that translations of difficult Arabic texts such as Ṭabarī's *History* should preferably be undertaken as collaborative efforts of more than one translator, for, Ritter said, "someone who translates by himself falls all too easily into the unavoidable vicious traps waiting for translators from this harmfully deceptive ("heimtückisch") language. The collaboration of two or more scholars gives at least some protection against getting lost in the Arabian desert."[7] My own lifetime experience has convinced me more and more of the truth of Ritter's impishly phrased remark. True collaboration in Ritter's sense has not been possible here, and mistakes can probably be found with comparative ease. But I have at least enjoyed and profited from the help of fellow scholars. I may mention G. Böwering, who gave me access to printed editions and manuscripts of early Qur'ān commentaries in his pos-

6. A. Goetze discusses the influence of the work on the histories of al-Ya'qūbī and Ṭabarī in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 3 [1924] : 60–71, 153–55.

7. See *Oriens* 6 [1953] : 157.

session, and J. Lassner, whose editorial work has gone far beyond the ordinary duty of an editor. Infelicities of style that will be encountered are the result of my having occasionally failed to accept my editor's suggestions.[8]

Franz Rosenthal

8. I may mention the frequent "He continued (said)" interrupting the narrative. I have retained it, although it will no doubt puzzle the reader. It can mean that the preceding statement is completed or, more commonly, that it is being continued. It can also indicate that there is a break in the narrative as compared to the source from which the statement is quoted. Often no decision is possible, and I have refrained from speculating about its meaning in a given context, or from simply omitting it.

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

(Invocation)

PRAISED BE GOD, first before any first and last after any last, enduring without cease and persevering in everything without moving away, Creator of His creation from no original or model! He is singular and unique without number. He remains after everyone infinitely without term. His are glory and greatness, splendor and might, authority and power. He is above having a partner in His authority, or in His uniqueness having one like Him, or in His administration an aid or helper, or having a child or spouse or "any equal."[1] He cannot be fully imagined and encompassed by the regions[2] and "reached by the eyes while He reaches them. He is subtle and knowledgeable."[3] [I, 1]

I praise Him for His benefits and am grateful to Him for His favors in the manner befitting one who singles Him out for praise and who hopes to receive more (favors) from Him for having been grateful. I ask Him to grant me to say and do what will bring me close to Him and please Him. I believe in Him as one who declares oneness belonging exclusively to Him and who reserves glorification for Him alone. [2]

I confess that there is no God but God, being one and having no partner. I confess that Muḥammad is His noble servant and His trustworthy Messenger whom He chose for transmitting His message and sent with His revelation to call His creation to worship Him. He manifested His command,[4] labored strenuously in His path, advised His nation *(ummah)*, and worshiped Him until death came to him from God, never flagging in his effort and never relaxing in his strenuous labor. May God bless him with the most excellent and purest prayer and give him peace!

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1. Qur. 112:4.
2. Cf. Qur. 55:33, referring to "regions of heaven and earth."
3. Qur. 6:103. Ms. Ahmet III supplies "while...them." Its omission in the Leiden edition may constitute Ṭabarī's more original text.
4. Cf. Qur. 15:94.

(Introduction)

And now: God—great is His majesty and His names are sanctified—created His creation without any necessity for Him to create them, and He brought them forth without any need for Him to bring them forth. Rather, He created those whom He singled out by His command and His prohibition and whom He tested by His worship, so that they would worship Him and He would in turn bestow generous favors upon them. They would thus praise Him for His favors and He in turn would give them more of His generosity and bounty and add to His superiority and power for their benefit, as He says: "I have created jinn and men only to worship me. I do not want any sustenance from them, and I do not want them to provide food for Me. God is the Sustainer, potent and firm."[5]

In creating them as He did, He did not increase His authority by as much as the weight of a speck of dust beyond what it had always been before He created them. Nor does His annihilating them and making them nonexistent diminish Him by as much as
[3] the weight of a hair. For circumstances do not change Him, fatigue does not affect Him, and (the passing of) days and nights does not diminish His authority because He is the Creator of all eternal and temporal time.[6]

In this fleeting world, His many manifestations of generosity and bounty include and encompass all human beings. He gave them ears, eyes, and hearts and singled them out for possessing reason which makes it possible for them to distinguish between truth and falsehood and to recognize what is useful and what is harmful. He made the earth for them a carpet, so that they would have there passable roads to walk on,[7] and "the heaven a well-guarded roof"[8] and a lofty construction. From it He brought down for them plentiful rain and sizable sustenance. He made the moon of the night and the sun of the day run constantly one after the

5. Qur. 51:56–58.

6. *Al-duhūr wa-al-azmān.* For the various aspects of "time," see text below. What follows here is the customary summary of the contents usually provided by the author of a medieval Muslim book.

7. Cf. Qur. 71:19 f., quoted literally except for the substitution of the third person for the second of the Qur'ānic text.

8. Qur. 21:32.

other for their welfare. He made for them "the night a garment" and "the day the time for a livelihood."[9] In His benevolent concern for them, He made an alternation between the moon of the night and the sun of the day, blotting out the sign of the night and making the sign of the day something to see by, as He—great is His majesty and His names are sanctified—says: "And We have made the night and the day two signs. We have blotted out the sign of the night, and We have made the sign of the day something to see by, so that you may seek bounty from your Lord and so that you may know the number of years and the reckoning. For everything, We have made clear distinctions."[10] And so that they may achieve knowledge of the times—the hours of night and day, the months and the years—when the religious duties God has imposed upon them are to be fulfilled, such as prayer, charity, pilgrimage, fasting, and their other religious duties, as well as the time for settling [4] their debts and their claims, as He says: "They will ask you about the new moons. Say: They are fixed times for mankind and the pilgrimage."[11] He further says: "He is the one who made the sun a luminosity and the moon a light, setting up fixed stations for it so that you may know the number of years and the reckoning. God created that only because it is right, distinguishing the signs for people who know. In the alternating of night and day and whatever God has created in the heavens and on earth, there are signs for people who fear God"[12]—all this being kindness shown by Him to His creation and an expression of His favor and concern for them.

A large number of His creatures were grateful to Him for the favors which He bestowed upon them. Thus, He gave many of them more benefits and gifts in addition to the generous favors He had bestowed upon them earlier, as God promised them, saying: "Your Lord announced: If your are grateful, We shall give you more, and if you are ungrateful, the punishment meted out by Me will be great."[13] He combined for them more (benefits) in this fleeting life of theirs with success in achieving bliss and eternal residence in blissful Paradise in their life to come in the other world. For many

9. Qur. 78:10 f.
10. Qur. 17:12.
11. Qur. 2:189.
12. Qur. 10:5 f.
13. Qur. 14:7.

of them, He postponed the promised increase to the time of their coming to Him, so as to show them more bounteous generosity on "the day when the innermost hearts are tested."[14] A large number of them were ungrateful for His favors, denying His benefits and worshiping someone else. Therefore He deprived many of them of the generous kindness He had shown them earlier. He unleashed upon them destructive vengeance in this fleeting world and stored up for them shameful punishment in the life to come in the other world. He let many of them enjoy His favors while they were alive by way of deception, thus making their load heavier so that they would be deserving of the punishment prepared by Him for them in the life to come in the other world.

[5] We take refuge in God against any activity that might bring (us) close to His wrath, and we ask Him for success with respect to everything that might lead (us) to His acceptance and love.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In this book of mine, I shall mention whatever information has reached us about kings throughout the ages from when our Lord began the creation of His creation to its annihilation. There were messengers sent by God, kings placed in authority, or caliphs established in the caliphal succession. God had early on bestowed His benefits and favors upon some of them. They were grateful for His favors, and He thus gave them more favors and bounty in addition to those bestowed by Him upon them in their fleeting life, or He postponed the increase and stored it up for them with Himself. There were others who were not grateful for His favors, and so He deprived them of the favors He had bestowed upon them early on and hastened for them His revenge. There were also others who were not grateful for His favors; He let them enjoy them until the time of their death and perdition. Every one of them whom I shall mention in this book of mine will be mentioned in conjunction with his time but (only) summaries of the events in his day and age will be added, since an exhaustive treatment is not possible in a lifetime and makes books too

14. Qur. 86:9.

long.[15] This will be combined with references to the length of their natural life and the time of their death.

First, however, I shall begin with what for us comes properly and logically first, namely, the explanation of

> What is time?
> How long is its total extent?
> Its first beginning and final end.
> Whether before God's creation of (time) there was anything else.
> Whether it will suffer annihilation and whether after its annihilation there will be something other than the face *(wajh)* of the Highly praised, the Exalted Creator.[16]
> What was it that was before God's creation of time and what will be after its final annihilation?
> How did God's creation of it begin and how will its annihilation take place?
> Proof that there is nothing eternal *(a parte ante)* except God unique and powerful, to Whom belongs the kingdom of the heavens and the earth and what is between them and what is underneath the soil.[17] [6]

This must be done briefly and concisely, for in this book of ours we do not intend to present the arguments concerning time but rather the dates of past kings mentioned by us and summaries of their history, the times of the messengers and prophets and how long they lived, the days of the early[18] caliphs and some of their biographical data, and the extent of the territories under their control,[19] as well as the events that took place in their age. There-

15. The conventional fear of long-windedness is expressed repeatedly by Ṭabarī, even in connection with his massive *Tafsīr*. See above, General Introduction, n. 214.

16. *Wajh* ("face") with reference to God in the Qur'ān is *pars pro toto* and means "person." The translation "face" has been retained here, because the word was a theological issue in the Muslim debate of anthropomorphism.

17. Cf. Qur. 20:6, combined with 3:189, 5:18, etc.

18. *Sālif* refers here to the early caliphs, presumably the first four. It should be noted that this introduction makes no reference to Umayyad or 'Abbāsid history. It is concerned only with the companions of the Prophet, the Followers, and later transmitters as in the works on personality criticism of *ḥadīth* scholars. It would appear to have been written before Ṭabarī himself was clear about the form his work would eventually take.

19. Or, perhaps: "the extent of time of their holding office" ?

fore, if God wills and gives me strength through help and power from Him, I shall continue and mention the companions of our Prophet, their names, their patronymics, the extent of their pedigrees, and how long they lived and when and where they died. I shall then mention those who followed them doing good, in accordance with the conditions we have set down for mentioning them. Then, in addition to them, I shall likewise mention those who came after them, giving additional data about them. I do this for the purpose of clarifying whose transmission (of traditions) is praised and whose information is accepted,[20] whose transmission is rejected and whose transmission is disregarded, and whose tradition is considered feeble and whose information is considered weak. In addition, I give the reason why someone's information is disregarded and the cause for someone's tradition being considered feeble.

I wish to God that He may help me in my intentions and aims and give me success in my purposes and desires, for He possesses might and strength. May God pray for His Prophet Muḥammad and give him peace!

The reader should know that with respect to all I have mentioned and made it a condition to set down in this book of ours, I rely upon traditions and reports[21] which I have transmitted and which I attribute to their transmitters. I rely only very exceptionally upon what is learned through rational arguments and produced by internal thought processes. For no knowledge of the history of men of the past and of recent men and events is attain-
[7] able by those who were not able to observe them and did not live in their time, except through information and transmission provided by informants and transmitters. This knowledge cannot be brought out by reason or produced by internal thought processes. This book of mine may (be found to) contain some information,

20. Leiden: "is transmitted."

21. *Akhbār* and *āthār*, it seems, is used throughout with no clearcut distinction in meaning.

For this passage, see text below, I, 56. Cf. also the colophon of the entire *History*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. xvii.

mentioned by us on the authority of certain men of the past, which the reader may disapprove of and the listener may find detestable, because he can find nothing sound and no real meaning in it. In such cases, he should know that it is not our fault that such information comes to him, but the fault of someone who transmitted it to us. We have merely reported it as it was reported to us.

What Is Time?

(Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī) says: Time[22] is the hours of night and day. This may be said of both long and short extents of time.

The Arabs say: "I came to you at the time— *zamāna* or *zamana* —of al-Ḥajjāj[23] (being) amīr." By this, they mean: during the period when *(idh)* al-Ḥajjāj (was) amīr.

They say: "I came to you in the time– *zamāna* or *zamana* –of cutting off (the dates from the palms)." By this, they mean: at the moment *(waqt)* of cutting (them) off.

They also say: "I came to you in the times—using the plural *azmān* —of al-Ḥajjāj (being) amīr." They intend thereby to make each moment *(waqt)* of his amīrate a certain period of time *(zamān)*. Thus the *rajaz* poet says:

Winter has come, and my shirt is worn out,
tatters, being laughed at by al-Tawwāq.[24]

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22. Arabic possesses a number of words expressing the concept of time. Ṭabarī here distinguishes between the two most important of them, *zamān/zaman* and *waqt*, the former indicating extended time and the latter indicating moment of time. This basic distinction is made in the theoretical discussion of the concept of time. It is very often disregarded in actual linguistic usage. In this translation, the translation "moment" for *waqt* has often been used. It should be noted that *waqt* occurs in the Qur'ān, but *z-m-n* does not. In "night and day," the Arabic word for "daytime" *(nahār)* is used here. *Yawm* ("day") technically indicates the twenty-hour period, but in Ṭabarī as elsewhere it is also commonly used for daytime.

23. The famous Umayyad governor (d. 85/704). Cf. *EI*[2], III, 39-43, s. v. al-Ḥadjdjādj.

24. For this verse in the *rajaz* meter, see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XI, 315, 376, XV, 215, where al-Tawwāq is said to be the name of the son of (the poet ?). The form of the name appears to be uncertain; it is also read al-Nawwāq. The verse is ascribed to some unnamed bedouin in Dīnawarī, *Nabāt*, 239 f. The reading there is *minhā* (referring to the tatters as being laughed at) for *minhu* (referring, in general, to shirt) or *minnī* (referring to the poet). Attention to the passage in al-Dīnawarī has been called by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, I, 114. The verse is quoted in

The poet uses here the plural of "worn out" in connection with "shirt." He intends thereby to describe each piece of the shirt as being worn out. Similarly, one says: "a vast barren (pl. *sabāsib)* land, "and the like.

For the use of *zaman* for *zamān*, there is the verse of al-A'shā of the Banū Maymūn b. Qays:

For a time *(zamanan)*, I was a man in the Iraq
modest in (my) camping place, long in contentedly doing
[8] without.[25]

By *zamanan* he intends *zamānan.*

Thus, as mentioned by me and as I have described and explained it, *zamān* is a noun designating the hours of night and day.

How Long Is the Total Extent of Time from Beginning to End, First to Last?

The early scholars before us differed in this respect. Some said that the total extent of time is seven thousand years.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd[26] —Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ[27] —Yaḥyā b.

Tafsīr, XIX, 47 *(ad* Qur. 26:53-56).

25. See al-A'shā, *Dīwān*, 22, no. 2, verse 77. The difficult last word appears in various forms. *Al-taghann*, for *al-taghannī*, as in the edition of al-A'shā and the Cairo edition of Ṭabarī, is explained as *istighnā'* in Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XIX, 373.

26. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Rāzī, died in 248/862, apparently more than eighty years old. See *TB*, II, 259-64; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127-31; Horst, 296, n. 3. He was one of Ṭabarī's most important authorities, in particular as a second-generation transmitter from the historian Ibn Isḥāq. Ibn Isḥāq's work on the *Beginnings (al-Mubtada'*, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 289) can be assumed to be the source of much of the material reported by Ṭabarī. On Ibn Ḥumayd in connection with *isnāds* in Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* and *History*, see also Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 29 f., 79, 242, 253. Relevant information on Ibn Isḥāq's *Mubtada'* can be expected from G. D. Newby, see *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 7 (1986) : 123. See also above, General Introduction, 17f.

27. No dates are provided in either *TB*, XIV, 126–28, or *Tahdhīb*, XI, 293 f.

Ya'qūb[28] —Ḥammād[29] —Sa'īd b. Jubayr[30] —Ibn 'Abbās[31] : This world is one of the weeks of the other world—seven thousand years. Six thousand two hundred[32] years have already passed. (The world) will surely experience hundreds of years, during which there will be no believer in the oneness of God there.

Others said that the total extent of time is six thousand years.

Those who said this

According to Abū Hishām[33] —Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām[34] —Sufyān[35] —al-A'mash[36] —Abū Ṣāliḥ[37] —Ka'b[38] : This world is six thousand years.

According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Askar[39] —Ismā'īl b. 'Abd

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28. Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. Ya'qūb appears as an authority of Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ in text below, I, 1284, as well as Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, IV, 2, 312. His pedigree is given as Yaḥyā b. Ya'qūb b. Mudrik b. Sa'd b. Habtah (Khaythamah) al-Anṣārī. He is listed in Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI, 282 f. There, as in Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 415, he is said to have been the maternal uncle of the famous Ḥanafite judge Abū Yūsuf, whose great-grandfather was Sa'd b. Habtah. Habtah was the name of Sa'd's mother.

29. Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān Muslim died in 119 or 120/737–38. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 1–18; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, XIV, 136.

30. Ibn Jubayr died about fifty years old in 95/714. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 11–14; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 28 f.; Horst, 303, n. 8.

31. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, the Prophet's cousin and reputedly the greatest early authority on Qur'ān interpretation, died in 68/687[8]. See *EI*², I, 40 f., s. v. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.

32. Ed. Leiden: six thousand and (several) hundred years. Quoting Ṭabarī, Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, XIV, 136, has 6,100.

33. Abū Hishām al-Rifā'ī, Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Kathīr b. Rifā'ah, died in 248/862. He was a judge in al-Madā'in and wrote on Qur'ān reading. See *TB*, III, 375–77; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 256, f.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, II, 280 f.

34. Died 204 or 205/819–20. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 218 f., where he is described as a transmitter from Sufyān al-Thawrī.

35. Sufyān al-Thawrī, ca. 96/714[5] to 161/778. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 111–15; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 518 f.; Horst, 296, n. 20. He and his younger contemporary and namesake Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah (below, n. 67) shared the same authorities and students and are often listed as "the two Sufyāns." Thus, it is sometimes difficult to know which "Sufyān" is meant.

36. Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A'mash lived from ca. 60 or 61/679–80 to ca. 148/765. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 222-26; *EI*², I, 431, s. v. al-A'mash.

37. Presumably, Abū Ṣāliḥ Dhakwān al-Sammān who died in 101/719[20]. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 219 f. Another of the many Abū Ṣāliḥs, Bādhām/Bādhān, a *mawlā* of 'Alī's sister Umm Hāni', was an authority of al-A'mash. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 416 f.

38. For the legendary transmitter Ka'b al-aḥbār, who is said to have died between 32 and 35/652–56, see *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 438–40; *EI*², IV, 316 f., s. v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 304f.

39. Died 251/865. See *TB*, V, 313 f.; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 207.

al-Karīm[40] —'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Ma'qil[41] 1 —Wahb[42] : Five thousand six hundred years of this world have elapsed. I do not know which kings and prophets lived in every period *(zaman)* of those years. I asked Wahb b. Munabbih: How long is (the total duration of) this world? He replied: Six thousand years.

[9] Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: The correct statement here is the one whose soundness is proved by information having come down from the Messenger of God.[43] It is what we were told by Muḥammad b. Bashshār[44] and 'Alī b. Sahl[45] —Mu'ammal[46] —Sufyān—'Abdallāh b. Dīnār[47] —Ibn 'Umar[48] : I heard the Messenger of God say: As compared to the term of those before you, your term is (like the time) from afternoon prayer to sunset.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah[49] —Muḥammad b. Isḥāq[50] —Nāfi'[51] —Ibn 'Umar: I heard the Prophet say: As compared to the term of the nations of the past, your term is just like (the time)

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40. For Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ma'qil b. Munabbih b. Kāmil, see *Tahdhīb*, I, 315 f. He was a nephew of 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Ma'qil and a grandnephew of Wahb b. Munabbih.

41. A nephew of Wahb b. Munabbih, 'Abd al-Ṣamad died in the first decade of the eighth century. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 328.

42. The celebrated Wahb b. Munabbih lived from ca. 655 to around 750, see, for instance, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 166–68; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 305–7; Horst, 303, n. 7.

43. Ṭabarī often argues in the same manner in his *Tafsīr*.

44. Ibn Bashshār lived from 167/783[4] to 252/866. See *TB*, II, 101–5; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 70–73; Horst, 296, n. 4.

45. 'Alī b. Sahl al-Ramlī often occurs as an authority in *Tafsīr*, but he apparently is not listed in either *TB* or *Tahdhīb*. He is mentioned as a student of Mu'ammal in *Tahdhīb*, X, 380. He apparently was the author of a letter in strong support of the Mujāhid tradition (see above, General Introduction, 71 ff.) quoted in Khallāl, *Musnad*, 91 f.

46. Mu'ammal b. Ismā'īl died in 205 or 206/820–21. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 380 f. He has both Sufyāns as his authorities, and both of them are listed as students of 'Abdallāh b. Dīnār.

47. Died in 127/744[5]. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 201–3.

48. 'Abdallāh, a son of the caliph 'Umar, died in 73/692[3]. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 228 f.; *EI*², I, 53 f., s. v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar.

49. Abū 'Abdallāh Salamah b. al-Faḍl al-Azraq died after 190/805[6], suppposedly 110 years old. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 153 f.; Horst, 303, n. 3. He was entrusted with *(ṣāḥib)* Ibn Isḥāq's *Maghāzī* and transmitted both the *Maghāzī* and the *Mubtada'*.

50. The famous historian, author of the biography *(Sīrah)* of the Prophet and other historical works, was born ca. 85/704 and died in 150/767 or shortly thereafter. See *TB*, I, 214–34; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 38-46; *EI*², III, 810 f., s. v. Ibn Isḥāḳ; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 288–90; Horst, 303, n. 4.

51. Apparently, Nāfi', the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar, who died in 119 or 120/737–38. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 412–15.

between the afternoon prayer to sunset.

According to al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafah[52] —Abū al-Yaqẓān ʿAmmār b. Muḥammad, a son of the sister of Sufyān al-Thawrī[53] —Layth b. Abī Sulaym[54] —Mughīrah b. Ḥakīm[55] —ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar: The Messenger of God said: Only as much of this world remains for my nation as the extent (of time that remains) for the sun when the afternoon prayer has been performed.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAwf[56] —Abū Nuʿaym[57] —Sharīk[58] —Salamah b. Kuhayl[59] —Mujāhid[60] —Ibn ʿUmar: We were sitting together with the Prophet when the sun was over Quʿayqiʿān[61] after the afternoon prayer. He said to us: As compared to the lives of those who have passed, your lives are like what remains of this day as compared to what has passed of it.

According to Ibn Bashshār and Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā[62] —Khalaf b. Mūsā[63] —his father—Qatādah[64] —Anas b. Mālik[65] : One

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52. He was supposedly 100 or 110 years old when he died in Sāmarrā in 257/870[1]. See *TB*, VII, 394–96; *Tahdhīb*, II, 293.

53. Died 182/798. See *TB*, XII, 252 f.; *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 305.

54. Layth supposedly died in 143/760–61 or 148/765. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 465–68; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, II, 34. For his role in the transmission of the Mujāhid tradition, see above, General Introduction, n. 275.

55. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 258.

56. Died 272 or 273/885–86. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 383 f.

57. Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn lived from 130/747[8] to 219/834. See *TB*, XII, 346–57; *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 270–76; *EI*², I, 143, s. v. Abū Nuʿaym; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 101.

58. Sharīk b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nakhaʿī was born in 95/713[4] and died in 177 or 178/793–94. See *TB*, IX, 279–95; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 333–37.

59. Died 122 or 123/739–41. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 155–57.

60. Abū al-Ḥajjāj Mujāhid b. Jabr was born in 21/642. He died in 104/722[3] or possibly four years earlier. He was the author of a Qurʾān commentary much used by Ṭabarī. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 42–44; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 29; Horst, 295, n. 9. See above, General Introduction, 71.

61. A mountain about twelve *mīl* (24 km) south of Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 146.

62. Ibn al-Muthannā, Abū Mūsā al-Zamin, lived from 167/783[4] to between 250 and 252/864–66. See *TB*, III, 283–86; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 425–27. The Arabic text makes the following distinction: Ibn Bashshār said: *I* was told by Khalaf, whereas Ibn al-Muthannā said: *We* were told....

63. Khalaf b. Mūsā b. Khalaf al-ʿAmmī died between 220 and 222/835–37. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 155. His father Mūsā b. Khalaf is listed in *Tahdhīb*, X, 341 f.

64. Qatādah b. Diʿāmah lived from ca. 60/680 to 117/735. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 351–56; *EI*², IV, 748, s. v. Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma; Sezgin, I, 31 f.; Horst, 300, n. 6. An edition of his *Kitāb al-Nāsikh* appears to have been published in Beirut, 1984 (not seen).

65. The famous transmitter from the Prophet died very old, between 710 and 715. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 376–79; *EI*², 482, s. v. Anas b. Mālik.

day the Messenger of God addressed his companions when the sun had almost set and only a small sliver of it remained visible. He
[10] said: By the One Who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand! As compared to what remains of our (life in this) world, that which has passed is like what remains of this day as compared to what has passed of it, and you will see only a little (more) of the sun.

According to Ibn Wakī'[66] —Ibn 'Uyaynah[67] —'Alī b. Zayd[68] —Abū Naḍrah[69] —Abū Sa'īd[70] : The Prophet said at sunset: What remains of this world as compared to what has passed of it is just like the rest of this day as compared to what has passed of it.

According to Hannād b. al-Sarī[71] and Abū Hishām al-Rifā'ī—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh[72] —Abū Ḥaṣīn[73] —Abū Ṣāliḥ[74] —Abū Hurayrah[75] : The Messenger of God said: When I was sent (to transmit the divine message), I and the Hour were like these two, pointing at his index and middle fingers.[76]

We were told about the same by Abū Kurayb[77] —Yaḥyā b.

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66. Sufyān b. Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ appears to have been very old when he died in 247/861. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 123–25; Horst, 296, n. 7.

67. Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah lived from 107/725 to 196/812. See *TB*, IX, 174–84; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 117–22; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 96. See above, n. 35.

68. 'Alī b. Zayd b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Mulaykah Zuhayr b. Jud'ān died between 129 and 131/746–49. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 322–24.

69. Abū Naḍrah al-Mundhir b. Mālik al-'Abdī al-'Awqī died before al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, presumably in 108 or 109/726–28. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 302 f.

70. I am not sure which of the many companions of the Prophet called Abū Sa'īd may be meant here. The *Tahdhīb* reference to him in connection with Abū Naḍrah (n. 69) also has no further qualification.

71. Hannād b. al-Sarī b. Muṣ'ab b. Abī Bakr lived from 152/769 to 243/857. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 70 f.

72. For Ibn 'Ayyāsh (b. 95–96/713–15, d. 193–94/808–10), see *Tahdhīb*, XII, 34–37; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, I, 325–27.

73. Abū Ḥaṣīn 'Uthmān b. 'Āṣim died between 127 and 132/744–50. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 126–28.

74. He is to be identified with Dhakwān (above, n. 37). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, XIV, 137, reporting the tradition from Ṭabarī and others with the same *isnād* to Ibn 'Ayyāsh.

75. Abū Hurayrah's death is placed in 58–59/677–79. See *Tahdhīb*, XII, 262-67; *EI*[2], I, 129, s. v.; H. Hemgesberg, *Abu Huraira* (Diss. Frankfurt am Main, 1965).

76. See *Concordance*, III, 29b47–53. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, XIV, 134–38, which is largely a commentary on Ṭabarī with much additional information and various interpretations. It would seem obvious that the original meaning is the closeness of the index and middle fingers for pointing (in contrast to any other combination of two fingers). However, there is another interpretation, see below, n. 88.

77. Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-'Alā', one of Ṭabarī's most frequently quoted immediate authorities here as well as in the *Tafsīr*, died in 248/862 or the year

Ādam[78] —Abū Bakr—Abū Ḥaṣīn—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet.

According to Hannād—Abū al-Aḥwaṣ[79] and Abū Muʿāwiyah[80] —al-Aʿmash—Abū Khālid al-Wālibī[81] —Jābir b. Samurah[82] : The Messenger of God said: When I was sent, I and the Hour were like these two.

According to Abū Kūrayb—ʿAththām b. ʿAlī[83] —al-Aʿmash — Abū Khālid al-Wālibī—Jābir b. Samurah: (I feel) as if I were looking at the two fingers of the Messenger of God—pointing to the forefinger and the one next to it—while he was saying: When I was sent, I and the Hour were like this one is in relation to that one.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ—Fiṭr[84] —Abū Khālid al-Wālibī—Jābir b. Samurah: The Messenger of God said: When I was sent, I and the Hour were like these two—holding his index and middle fingers together.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar[85] — [11]
Shuʿbah[86] —Qatādah—Anas b. Mālik: The Messenger of God said: When I was sent, I and the Hour were like these two. Shuʿbah said: I heard Qatādah say in his stories *(qiṣaṣihī?)*:[87] like the excess length of the one over the other.[88] (Shuʿbah) added: I do not know whether (Qatādah) mentioned it on the authority of Anas or reported it on his own.

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before, at the age of eighty-seven. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 385 f.

78. A Qur'ān reader who studied with Ibn ʿAyyāsh for three years, he died in 203/818. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 175 f.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, II, 363 f.

79. Not identified.

80. Abū Muʿāwiyah Muḥammad b. Khāzim al-Ḍarīr was born in 113 or 114/731–32. He died in 195/810[1]. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 137–39.

81. Died 100/718[9]. See *Tahdhīb*, XII, 83 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, IV, 2, 251; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV, 2, 120 f. See below, n. 577.

82. Died in the middle forties/692–95. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 39 f.

83. ʿAththām died in 195/810[1] or the year before. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 105 f.

84. Fiṭr b. Khalīfah died between 153 and 155/770–72. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 300–2.

85. Apparently, Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar Ghundar who died between 192–94/807–10 at the age of ninety-three. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 96–98.

86. The famous scholarly authority Shuʿbah b. al-Ḥajjāj lived from 82 or 83/701–2 to 160/776[7]. See *TB*, IX, 255–66; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 338–46.

87. This might be the title of a work, or part of a work, by Qatādah (?).

88. Here we have one of the traditions that understand the reference to the two fingers not as indicating closeness *(mujāwarah* in Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, see above, n. 76) but as indicating length *(ṭūl)*. The length of the time remaining was indicated by the difference in length between the two fingers. See below, 181 f.

According to Khallād b. Aslam[89] —al-Naḍr b. Shumayl[90] — Shu'bah—Qatādah—Anas b. Mālik: The Messenger of God said: When I was sent, I and the Hour were like these two.

We were told the same by Mujāhid b. Mūsa[91] —Yazīd[92] — Shu'bah—Qatādah—Anas b. Mālik—the Prophet, with the addition in his *ḥadīth*: and he pointed with the middle and index fingers.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam[93] — Ayyūb b. Suwayd[94] —al-Awzā'ī[95] —Ismā'īl b. 'Ubaydallāh[96] : When Anas b. Mālik came to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik,[97] al-Walīd asked him: What have you heard the Messenger of God mention about the Hour? Anas replied: I heard the Messenger of God say: You (pl.) and the Hour are like these two—pointing with his two fingers.

According to al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd[98] —his father—al-Awzā'ī— Ismā'īl b. 'Ubaydallāh: When Anas b. Mālik came to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walīd asked him: What have you heard the Messenger of God mention about the Hour? Anas replied: I heard the

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89. Khallād died ca. 249/863 in Sāmarrā. See *TB*, VIII, 342 f.; *Tahdhīb*, III, 171 f.

90. Died 203 or 204/818–20. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 437 f.; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, VII, 123 ff., ed. Rifā'ī, XIX, 238–43; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 102, *Suppl.*, I, 161; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 262.

91. Mujāhid b. Mūsā lived from 158/775 to 244/858. See *TB*, XIII, 265 f.; *Tahdhīb*, X, 44 f.

92. Yazīd b. Hārūn b. Zādī b. Thābit was born in 118/736 or the year before. He died in 206/821. See *TB*, XIV, 337–47; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 366–69.

93. A member of the well-known Egyptian family of traditionists and historians, the source also of many traditions in Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, he lived from 182/799 to 268 or 269/882–83. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 260–62; *EI*^{2} , III, 674 f., s. v. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 474.; above, General Introduction, 28 f.

94. The dates of death indicated in *Tahdhīb*, I, 405 f., are hard to reconcile with this chain of transmitters. If Ayyūb b. Suwayd drowned in 193/808[9], Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam would then have been only ten or eleven years old. 201 or 202/816–18 also seems unlikely. However, as a transmitter from al-Awzā'ī, he probably could not have died much later.

95. The jurist and founder of a short-lived legal school, al-Awzā'ī died in 157/773[4] at the age of seventy, according to Ṭabarī, *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal*, ed. Leiden, III, 2514, ed. Cairo, XI, 656. Slightly different dates appear in *Tahdhīb*, VI, 238–42. See also *EI*^{2} , I, 772 f., s. v.

96. Born in 61/680[1], Ismā'īl b. 'Ubaydallāh died in 131 or 132/748–50. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 317 f.

97. The two Umayyad caliphs reigned, respectively, in 685–705 and 705–15.

98. Al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd b. Mazyad lived from around 169/785[6] to 270/883[4]. Ṭabarī studied with him in Bayrūt. According to al-'Abbās, his father died in 203/818[9] at the age of seventy-seven. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 131–133, XI, 150 f.; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 272; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 658.

Messenger of God say: All of you and the Hour are like these two.

According to Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Barqī[99] —'Amr b. Abī Salamah[100] —al-Awzā'ī—Ismā'īl b. 'Ubaydallāh: When Anas b. Mālik came to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, and so on.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-A'lā[101] —al-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān[102] —his father—Ma'bad[103] —Anas: The Messenger of God said: When I was sent, I and the Hour were like these two. He added: With his two fingers, thus! [12]

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Wahb b. Jarīr[104] —Shu'bah—Abū al-Tayyāḥ[105] —Anas: The Messenger of God said: When I was sent, I and the Hour were like these two—the index and middle fingers. Said Abū Mūsā (Ibn al-Muthannā): Wahb pointed with the index and middle fingers.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ziyād[106] —Wahb b. Jarīr—Shu'bah—Abū al-Tayyāḥ and Qatādah—Anas: The Messenger of God said: When I was sent, I and the Hour were like these two—joining his two fingers.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Bazī'[107] —al-Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān[108] —Abū Ḥāzim[109] —Sahl b. Sa'd[110] : I saw the Messenger of God, holding his two fingers, the middle finger and the one

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99. The two brothers Aḥmad and Muḥammad, the sons of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, are often referred to as (Ibn) al-Barqī and can then not be distinguished. Aḥmad is listed in Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I,1, 61, Muḥammad in III,2, 301. The latter supposedly died in 249/863. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 263.

100. 'Amr b. Abī Salamah, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Tinnīsī, died between 212 and 214/827–29. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 43 f.

101. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Ṣan'ānī died in 245/859[60] in al-Baṣrah. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 289; Horst, 296, n. 1. Al-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān is named as his authority in Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II,1, 174; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*[2], 395.

102. Born in or before 100/718[9]. al-Mu'tamir died in 187/802[3]. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 227 f. For his father Abū al-Mu'tamir Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān (ca. 46–143/666–760), see *Tahdhīb*, IV, 201–3; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 285 f.

103. For Ma'bad b. Hilāl, see *Tahdhīb*, X, 225.

104. Wahb b. Jarīr died in 206 or 207/821–23. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 161 f.

105. Abū al-Tayyāḥ Yazīd b. Ḥumayd died between 128 and 130/745–48. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 320 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, XIV, 134.

106. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ziyād al-Ḥakam al-Qaṭawānī died in 255/869. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 190.

107. Ibn Bazī' died in 247/861[2]. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 248 f.

108. Died around the middle of the 180s/799–802. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 291 f.

109. Abū Ḥāzim Salamah b. Dīnār died between 130 and 140/747–57. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 143 f.

110. Sahl b. Sa'd al-Sā'idī was supposedly born in 617 and may have lived until 88/707 or even longer. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 252 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, 664 f.

next to the thumb, thus! He said: When I was sent, I and the Hour were like these two.

According to Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Adamī[111] —Abū Ḍamrah[112] —Abū Ḥāzim—Sahl b. Sa'd al-Sā'idī: The Messenger of God said: I was sent with the Hour like these two—pressing the middle finger and the one next to the thumb together. He said: I and the Hour are just like two race horses (in a closely contested race).[113] Then he said: I and the Hour are just like a man sent by people in advance as a scout. When he is afraid that he will be overtaken, he signals with his cloth: They have reached you! They have reached you! It is me! It is me!

According to Abū Kurayb—Khālid[114] —Muḥammad b. Ja'far—Abū Ḥāzim—Sahl b. Sa'd: The Messenger of God said: When I was sent, I and the Hour were like these two—holding his two fingers together.

[13] According to Abū Kurayb—Khālid—Sulaymān b. Bilāl[115] —Abū Ḥāzim[116] —Sahl b. Sa'd: The Messenger of God said: When I was sent, I and the Hour were thus—joining his two fingers, the middle finger and the one next to the thumb.

According to Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Barqī—Ibn Abī Maryam[117] —Muḥammad b. Ja'far—Abū Ḥāzim—Sahl b. Sa'd: The Messenger of God said: When I was sent, I and the Hour were like these two—holding his two fingers together.

According to Abū Kurayb—Abū Nu'aym—Bashīr b. al-Muhājir[118] —'Abdallāh b. Buraydah[119] —his father: I heard the Messenger of God say: I and the Hour were sent together. It almost preceded me.

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111. Died 245/860. See *TB*, III, 374; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 530.

112. Abū Ḍamrah Anas b. 'Iyāḍ was born around 104/722[3] and died in 200/815. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 375.

113. Cf. Rosenthal, *Gambling*, 117.

114. Khālid b. Makhlad died in the early 210s/825–30. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 116–18.

115. Died in the 170s/ca. 788–93 in Medina. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 175 f.

116. Abū Sālim in the Leiden edition seems a simple mistake.

117. Sa'īd b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī Maryam lived from 144/761[2] to 224/838[9]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 17 f.

118. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 468 f.

119. Supposedly born in 637, 'Abdallāh b. Buraydah b. al-Ḥuṣayb al-Aslamī died as judge of Marw, possibly as late as 115/733 (?). His father died between 60 and 64/679–84. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 157 f., and I, 432 f.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Hayyāj[120] —Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān[121] —'Ubaydah b. al-Aswad[122] —Mujālid[123] —Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim[124] —al-Mustawrid b. Shaddād al-Fihrī[125] : The Prophet said: I was sent immediately before the coming of the Hour. I preceded it like this one preceding that one—(referring) to his two fingers, the index finger and the middle finger. Abū 'Abdallāh[126] described (it) to us by holding the two fingers together.

According to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb[127] —Abū Naṣr[128] —al-Mas'ūdī[129] —Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid[130] —al-Sha'bī[131] —Abū Jabīrah:[132] The Messenger of God said: I was sent together with the Hour like these two—pointing with his two fingers, the middle finger and the index finger—like the excess length of this one over that one.

According to Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir[133] —Yazīd (b. Hārūn)—Ismā'īl (b. Abī Khālid)—Shubayl b. 'Awf[134] —Abū Jabīrah—some elders of the Anṣār: We heard the Messenger of God say: When I [14] came, I and the Hour were thus! Al-Ṭabarī says: Tamīm demonstrated it to us. He pressed the index finger and the middle finger

120. Died 255/869. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 362 f.

121. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 250.

122. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 86.

123. Mujālid b. Sa'īd b. 'Umayr died in 144/762. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 39–41.

124. Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim seems to have died in the late 90s/712–17. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 386–89.

125. Al-Mustawrid died in 45/665[6] in Alexandria. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 106 f.

126. According to *Tahdhīb*, only Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, among those mentioned in the chain of transmitters, had the patronymic Abū 'Abdallāh. Ibn Hayyāj's patronymic supposedly was Abū 'Ubaydallāh.

127. Unidentified. His *nisbah* was al-Ṭūsī. See below, n. 226.

128. Unidentified. See below, n. 551.

129. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh al-Mas'ūdī died in 165/781[2]. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 210–12. His descendant Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī 'Ubaydah b. Ma'n (see *Tahdhīb*, XI, 174 f.) provided Ṭabarī with information through a family *isnād*. See, for instance, *Tafsīr*, V, 81, VII, 57, XIV, 20, XXIII, 91, XXVI, 17, XXVII, 117.

130. Died 146/763[4]. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 291 f.

131. The famous 'Amr b. Sharaḥīl al-Sha'bī was born in 640 and died sometime during the third decade of the eighth century. See *TB*, XII, 227–34; *Tahdhīb*, V, 65–69; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 277.

132. See *Tahdhīb*, XII, 52 f. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, IV, 1619, three companions of the Prophet bore the patronymic Abū Jabīrah.

133. Born in 169/785[6] or later, Tamīm died in 244/858[9], according to his grandson Baḥshal, the author of the *History of Wāsiṭ*, 233 f. See also *Tahdhīb*, I, 514 f.

134. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 311; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 2, 259.

together and said to us: Yazīd pointed with his two fingers, the index finger and the middle finger, pressing them together. He continued. I preceded the Hour like this one precedes that one, immediately before the coming of the Hour, using the expression *nafas min al-sāʿah* or *nafas al-sāʿah.*

Thus, (the evidence permitting) a conclusion is as follows: The beginning of the day is the rise of dawn, and its end is the setting of the sun. Further, the reported tradition on the authority of the Prophet is sound. As we have mentioned earlier, he said after having prayed the afternoon prayer: What remains of this world as compared to what has passed of it is just like what remains of this day as compared to what has passed of it. He also said: When I was sent, I and the Hour were like these two—holding index finger and middle finger together; I preceded it to the same extent as this one—meaning the middle finger—preceded that one—meaning the index finger. Further, the extent (of time) between the mean time of the afternoon prayer—that is, when the shadow of every thing is twice its size, according to the best assumption *(ʿalā al-taḥarrī)* —(to sunset) is the extent of time of one-half of one-seventh of the day, give or take a little. Likewise, the excess of the length of the middle finger over that of the index finger is something about that or close to it.[135] There is also a sound tradition on the authority of the Messenger of God, as I was told by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb[136] —his paternal uncle ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb[137] —Muʿāwiyah b. Ṣāliḥ[138] —ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr b. Nufayr[139] —his father Jubayr b. Nufayr—the companion of the Prophet, Abū Thaʿlabah al-Khushanī[140] : The Messenger of

135. Rough measuring of my middle and index fingers shows the proportion to be about 9 cm to 8.3 cm. Seven-tenths is slightly more than one-fourteenth of nine. The time of the afternoon prayer is mostly defined as beginning when an object's shadow is one-third of its size (in addition to what it was at noon), and extending to the time of the sunset prayer. One-fourteenth of a day apparently refers to one-fourteenth of a twenty-four hour period.

136. Died 264/877. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 54–56.

137. Born in 125/742[3], he died in 197/813. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 71–74; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 466; Horst, 305, n. 2.

138. Muʿāwiyah b. Ṣāliḥ died in the 170s/around 790, or in the 150s/around 770 (?). See *Tahdhīb*, X, 209–12; Horst, 293, n. 4.

139. He died in 118/736, and his father, who was born in pre-Islamic times, died ca. 80/699. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 154, and II, 64 f.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 234.

140. Abū Thaʿlabah died in or before 75/694. See *Tahdhīb*, XII, 49-51; Ibn ʿAbd

God said: Indeed, God will not make this nation incapable of (lasting) half a day—referring to the day of a thousand years. [15]

All these facts taken together make it clear that of the two statements I have mentioned concerning the total extent of time, the one from Ibn 'Abbās, and the other from Ka'b,[141] the one more likely to be correct in accordance with the information coming from the Messenger of God is that of Ibn 'Abbās transmitted here by us on his authority: The world is one of the weeks of the other world—seven thousand years.[142]

Consequently, because this is so and the report on the authority of the Messenger of God is sound—namely, that he reported that what remained of the time of this world during his life was half a day, or five hundred years, since five hundred years are half a day of the days, of which one is a thousand years—the conclusion is that the time of this world that had elapsed to the moment of the Prophet's statement corresponds to what we have transmitted on the authority of Abū Tha'labah al-Khushanī from the Prophet, and is 6,500 years or approximately 6,500 years. God knows best!

Our statement about the duration of the periods *(azmān)* of this world from its very beginning to its very end is the most firmly established of all the statements we have, on account of the testimony to its soundness as explained by us. Information has (also) been transmitted on the authority of the Messenger of God to prove the soundness of the statement that all of this world is six thousand years. If its chain of transmitters were sound, we would have to go no further. It is Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Qazzāz[143] —'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith[144] —Zabbān[145] —'Āṣim[146] —

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al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, IV, 1618.

141. See text above, I, 8.

142. According to the Prophet, five hundred years remain, and they are one-fourteenth of the total duration of the world.

143. Muḥammad b. Sinān died in 271/884[5] at an advanced age, since some of his authorities died in the early years of the second century. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 206 f.

144. Died 206 or 207/821–22. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 327 f. His son 'Abd al-Wārith (d. 252/866) transmitted information to Ṭabarī, see, for instance, *Tafsīr*, II, 28.

145. If Zabbān is correct, he would be Zabbān b. Fā'id (text below, I, 318), who died in 155/771[2]. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 308. But note that *Tahdhīb*, VI, 327, lists Abān (below, n. 823) as one of the authorities of 'Abd al-Ṣamad.

146. 'Āṣim b. Bahdalah, the great Kūfan Qur'ān reader, is said to have died in 127 or 128/744–46, although earlier dates in the 120s were also suggested. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 38–40; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, 346–49; *EI*², I, 706 f., s. v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 7. The

Abū Ṣāliḥ—Abū Hurayrah: The Messenger of God said: *Al-ḥuqb* is eighty years. The day of them is one-sixth of this world.[147] According to this tradition, it is clear that all of this world is six thousand years. That is because, if one day of the other world equals one
[16] thousand years and a single such day is one-sixth of this world, the conclusion would be that the total is six of the days of the other world, and that is six thousand years.

The Jews assume that they can consider the total (age of the world) from God's creation of Adam to the time of the hijrah as firmly established at 4,642 years according to what is clearly stated in their Torah—the one they possess today.[148] They have made a detailed count by indicating the birth and death of each man and prophet from the time of Adam to the hijrah of our prophet Muḥammad. I hope to mention those details and other detailed counts made by scholars from among the people of the Scriptures and other scholars expert in biography and history when I get to it, if God wills.

The Greek Christians assume that the Jewish claim in this re-

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identification of 'Āṣim with 'Āṣim (b. Bahdalah) b. Abī al-Najjūd is indicated in *Tafsīr* (see the following note).

147. *Ḥuqb*, pl. *aḥqāb*, occurs in Qur. 18:60 and 78:23. The meaning appears to be something like "long time." In his *Tafsīr*, Ṭabarī is very detailed in connection with Qur. 78:23 (*Tafsīr*, XXX, 8 f.). The tradition there, with the *isnād* from Abū Hurayrah to 'Āṣim, defines *ḥuqb* as being eighty years of 360 days, of which each day is a thousand years. Most of the other traditions cited are similar, but none of them speaks of the duration of the world, as is the case here. In "(The day of) them," the antecedent of "them" could only be "years." Unless the text was corrupt already in Ṭabarī's original, his reasoning might be: Each day of those eighty years is like a thousand years, and a thousand years is one-sixth of the duration of this world. However, in the context, this seems to explain nothing.

148. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, I, 11, has 4,343. This is closer to the figure of 4,381–82 which is given by Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Annales*, 85 (cf. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, text, 14 f., trans., 17 f.) and which corresponds to traditional Jewish usage. The figure 4,042 in Ḥamzah, 11, appears to be a simple mistake, with the three (six ?) hundred missing (?).

The Christian figure of 5,992 is close to that of 5,990 in Ḥamzah and that of 5,969 of the Antiochian era, to which Ginzel, III, 288, refers. Bīrūnī has 6,122–3.

The Persian figure of 3,139 years seems to have no counterpart elsewhere. It is always much higher, such as 4,182 or 4,409 in Ḥamzah, 11 and 29, and 4,287–8 in Bīrūnī. It is somewhat closer to the 3,725 or 3,735 years from the Flood to Yazdjard mentioned in the *zīj*es. However, if the number of years from Adam to the Flood is added to that figure, the difference between the resulting figure and 3,139 is even greater. See Pingree, *Thousands*, 39 f., 130; Hāshimī, *'Ilal*, 246.

The source for Ṭabarī's precise figures remains to be found. See also text, below, I, 1068 ff., and, for instance, Stern, "Abū 'Īsā."

spect is false. According to their view of the sequence in the Torah that they possess, the duration of the days of this world from the creation of Adam to the time of the hijrah of our Prophet Muḥammad is properly stated at 5,992 years and some months. They have made a detailed count to support their claim by indicating the birth and death of each prophet and ruler from the age of Adam to the hijrah of the Messenger of God. They assume that the smaller number of years in the Jewish chronology as against that of the Christians results from the fact that the Jews rejected the prophethood of Jesus, the son of Mary, since (for them) his description and the time of his being sent (as a prophet) are firmly established in the Torah.[149] They say: The time that is fixed for us in the Torah for the person whose description is that of Jesus has not yet come. They believe that they are waiting for his appear- [17]
ance and his time.

I think that the person whom they are waiting for, claiming that his description is firmly established in the Torah, is the Antichrist *(al-Dajjāl)*, whom the Messenger of God has described to his nation. He mentioned to them that most of the Antichrist's followers will be Jews. If the Antichrist is ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣayyād,[150] he is a person of Jewish origin.

The Magians[151] assume that the duration of time from King Jayūmart to the time of the hijrah of our Prophet is 3,139 years. They do not combine that with a known genealogy beyond Jayūmart, assuming that Jayūmart is Adam, the father of mankind–May God pray for and give peace to him and all the prophets and messengers of God![152] Historians continue to hold

149. According to Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, text, 15, trans., 18, the shorter chronology of the Jews resulted from their desire to have the appearance of Jesus occur in the fourth millennium, in the middle of the seven thousand years corresponding to their expectation for the world's duration.

150. For the legendary Ibn Ṣayyād, who is supposed to have contact with the Prophet and to have died in 63/682–83, see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 103b; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, I, 205; D. J. Halperin, "The Ibn Ṣayyād traditions."

151. See *EI*^{2}, V, 1110–18, s. v. Madjūs. The Zoroastrian mythology covered by Ṭabarī in this volume extends from Gayōmart to Jamshēd. It has been treated in considerable detail by A. Christensen in the two volumes of *Les types du Premier Homme et du Premier Roi*. Christensen includes translations of the relevant material from Ṭabarī and the later Muslim literature. The translation of the above passage appears in Christensen, I, 66 f.

152. See, further, text below, I, 147 f.

different opinions about him. Some say the same as the Magians. Others say that he took the name of Adam after he became ruler of the seven climes, and that he was none other than Gomer b. Japheth b. Noah.[153] He was pious, kind, and affectionate to Noah and attached to his service. Because of his piety and service to him, Noah prayed for him and his progeny to God to give him a long life, to have him firmly settled in the land, to grant him victory over those who opposed him and them, and to provide for him and his progeny royal authority that would last uninterruptedly. His prayer was heard. Jayūmart and his children were granted all of that. He is the father of the Persians. He and his children continued to rule until their royal authority came to an end when the Muslims entered Madā'in Kisrā[154] and took it away from them. Others say others things. We hope to mention the statements that have reached us, when we mention the chronology of the (Persian) rulers, how long they lived, their genealogy and the circumstances
[18] of[155] their royal authority.

The Proofs for the Origination of Momentary and Extended Time and Night and Day

We have said earlier that time is but a noun designating the hours of night and day.[156] The hours of night and day are but measurements indicated by the running of the sun and the moon in the sphere, as God says: "And a sign for them is the night. We strip the day from it. So they are in darkness. And the sun: It runs to a place where it is to reside (at night). This is decreed by the One Mighty and Knowing. And the moon: We have decreed for it stations, until it becomes again (slender) and curved) like an ancient raceme of a palm tree (which has been left on the tree stripped of the dates). The sun must not reach the moon, nor does night precede day. All swim in a sphere."[157]

Since time has to do with the hours of night and day as we have

153. Gomer (see Genesis 10:2), whose name evoked that of Gayōmart, appears as Jāmir in Arabic. See also text below, I, 216, etc.

154. "The cities of Khusraw (Chosroes)" refers to ancient Ctesiphon. See *EI*², V, 945 f., s. v. al-Madā'in.

155. This may be meant rather than "the reasons for."

156. See text above, I, 8.

157. Qur. 36:37–40.

mentioned, and the hours of night and day are but the traversal by the sun and the moon of the degrees of the sphere, the conclusion is certain that time as well as night and day are originated and that the One Who originated that is God Who alone by Himself originated His entire creation. "He is the One Who created night and day, the sun and the moon. All swim in a sphere."[158] Even one not knowing that that originates from God's creation can indeed not be ignorant of the difference in the conditions of night and day, namely that one of them—the night—brings down blackness and darkness upon creation, and the other—the day—brings down light and luminosity upon them and the removal of the night's blackness and darkness.

Now if this so, and it is impossible that the two with their different conditions come together at any one moment anywhere, the certain conclusion is that one of them must be before the other, and whichever is before its companion has the other no doubt come after it. This is explanation and proof for their origination [19] and for their being creatures of their Creator.

A further proof for the origination of days and nights is that each day comes after a day that was before it, and before a day that will come after it. Now, it is known that what was not and came into being was originated and created and has a creator and originator. Still another proof is that days and nights are countable. Anything that can be counted must have either an even or an odd number. If it is an even number, it begins with two. This shows the soundness of the statement that it has a beginning and a start. If it is an odd number, then it starts with one. This proves that it has a beginning and a start. Now, whatever has a beginning must have one who begins (it), and that is its creator.

Whether God, before He Created Time and Night and Day, Created Any Other of the Created Things

We have stated before that time is but the hours of night and day and that the hours are but the traversal by the sun and the moon of the degrees of the sphere.

Now then, this being so, there is (also) a sound tradition from

158. Qur. 21:33.

the Messenger of God told us by Hannād b. al-Sarī, who also said that he read all of the *ḥadīth* (to Abū Bakr)[159] —Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh—Abū Saʿd al-Baqqāl[160] —ʿIkrimah[161] —Ibn ʿAbbās: The Jews came to the Prophet and asked him about the creation of the heavens and the earth. He said: God created the earth on Sunday and Monday. He created the mountains and the uses they possess on Tuesday. On Wednesday, He created trees, water, cities and the cultivated and barren land. These are four (days). He continued (citing the Qur'ān): "Say: Do you really not believe in the One Who created the earth in two days, and set up others like Him?
[20] That is the Lord of the worlds. He made in it firmly anchored (mountains) above it and blessed it and decreed that it contain the amount of food it provides, (all) in four days, equally for those asking"[162] —for those who ask.[163] He continued: On Thursday, He created heaven. On Friday, He created the stars, the sun, the moon, and the angels, until three hours remained. In the first of these three hours, He created the terms (of human life), who would live and who would die. In the second, He cast harm upon everything that is useful for mankind. And in the third, (He created) Adam and had him dwell in Paradise. He commanded Iblīs to prostrate himself before Adam,[164] and He drove Adam out of Paradise at the end of the hour. When the Jews asked: What then, Muḥammad? he said: "Then He sat straight upon the Throne."[165] The Jews said: You would be right, if you had finished, they said, with: Then He rested. Whereupon the Prophet got very angry, and it was revealed: "We have created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days, and fatigue did not touch Us. Thus be patient with what you say!"[166]

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159. The clarifying "to Abū Bakr" appears only in *Tafsīr*, XXIV, 61, as stated in the Cairo edition, but not in Ṭabarī's text here or below, I, 42 and 54.

160. Died in the 140s/757–66. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 79 f.

161. Ikrimah, a *mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās and one of the most distinguished transmitters, is supposed to have died around 104–7/722–25 at the age of eighty. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 263–73; *EI*², III, 1081 f., s. v. Ikrima; Horst, 295, n. 6.

162. Qur. 41:9 f.

163. For this paraphrase, see *Tafsīr*, XXIV, 61, l. 12; text below, I, 51.

164. See *EI*², III, 668 f., s. v. For a more detailed study of the controversial Iblīs figure in Islam, see Awn, *Satan's Tragedy and Redemption*.

165. Qur. 7:54, etc.

166. Qur. 50:38 f. For the entire tradition, see *Tafsīr*, XXVI, 61.

According to al-Qāsim b. Bishr b. Ma'rūf[167] and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Ṣudā'ī[168] —Ḥajjāj[169] —Ibn Jurayj[170] —Ismā'īl b. Umayyah[171] —Ayyūb b. Khālid[172] —'Abdallāh b. Rāfi', the *mawlā* of Umm Salamah[173] —Abū Hurayrah: The Messenger of God took me by the hand. Then he said: God created the soil on Saturday. Upon it, He created the mountains on Sunday. He created the trees on Monday. He created evil[174] on Tuesday. He created light on Wednesday. He scattered the animals on the earth on Thursday, and He created Adam as the last of His creatures after (the time of) the afternoon prayer in the last hour of Friday, in the time between the afternoon prayer and night(fall).[175]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Bazī'—al-Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān—Muḥammad b. Zayd[176] —Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al- [21]
Raḥmān b. 'Awf[177] —Ibn Salām[178] and Abū Hurayrah who men-

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167. Al-Qāsim b. Bishr b. Aḥmad (or Aḥmad b. Bishr) b. Ma'rūf appears to be the individual meant here. See *TB*, XII, 427; *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 308. For the common *isnād* starting with al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn, see below, nn. 185 and 186. This is, in fact, the form in which the *isnād* appears in connection with the tradition in *Tafsīr*, XII, 3 (*ad* Qur. 11:7).

168. Al-Ṣudā'ī died in 246 or 248/860–62. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 359; Sam 'ānī, *Ansāb*, VIII, 283.

169. Ḥajjāj (or al-Ḥajjāj) b. Muḥammad, the transmitter of Ibn Jurayj's Qur'ān commentary, died in 206/821[2]. See *TB*, VIII, 236–39; *Tahdhīb*, II, 205 f.; Horst, 295, n. 3. The same chain of transmitters is found in connection with the *ḥadīth* in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 640; Ibn Ḥanbal, II, 327; *Concordance*, I, 268a23, VI, 5b42.

170. Ibn Jurayj, 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, died seventy years old between 149 and 151/766–68. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 402–6; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 91; Horst, 295, n. 4.

171. Ismā'īl b. Umayyah died between 139 and 144/756–61. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 283 f.

172. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 401, no. 739; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1, 413 f., where reference is made to the *ḥadīth* above.

173. For this *mawlā* of the Prophet's wife Umm Salamah, see *Tahdhīb*, V, 206.

174. *Al-makrūh* is explained as "evil," because it is considered as contrasting with the following "light," which is good. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāyah*, IV, 18. *Wörterbuch*, letter K, 158a, refers further to a late work translated by Rescher, *Orientalische Miszellen*, I, 173, which characterizes the days of the week and states that Tuesday is the most unlucky day of all. See also below, n. 369. However, the "evil" contrasted with "light" could conceivably be darkness. "Darkness" does appear, if rarely, as a separate creation, see text below, I, 36.

175. See *Tafsīr*, XII, 3 (*ad* Qur. 11:7).

176. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. al-Muhājir b. Qunfudh is stated to have lived a hundred years. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 173 f.

177. For this son of the powerful member of the electoral council at the death of the caliph 'Umar, see *Tahdhīb*, XII, 115–18.

178. 'Abdallāh b. Salām supposedly died in 43/663[4] in Medīna. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 249; *EI*^{2}, 52, s. v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 304.

tioned the hour (of Adam's creation) on Friday on the authority of the Prophet as he stated it. 'Abdallāh b. Salām said: I know which hour it is. God began the creation of the heavens and the earth on Sunday, and He finished in the last hour of Friday. Thus, it is the last hour of Friday (in which Adam was created).

According to al-Muthannā[179] —al-Ḥajjāj—Ḥammād[180] —'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib[181] —'Ikrimah: The Jews asked the Prophet: What about Sunday? The Messenger of God replied: On it, God created the earth and spread it out. They asked about Monday, and he replied: On it, He created Adam. They asked about Tuesday, and he replied: On it, He created the mountains, water, and so on. They asked about Wednesday, and he replied: Food. They asked about Thursday, and he replied: He created the heavens. They asked about Friday, and he replied: God created night and day. Then, when they asked about Saturday and mentioned God's rest(ing on it), he exclaimed: God be praised! God then revealed: "We have created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days, and fatigue did not touch Us."[182]

The two reports transmitted by us from the Messenger of God have made it clear that the sun and the moon were created after God had created many things of His creation. That is because the *ḥadīth* of Ibn 'Abbās on the authority of the Messenger of God indicates that God created the sun and the moon on Friday. If this is so, earth and heaven and what is in them, except the angels and Adam, had been created before God created the sun and the moon. All this (thus) existed while there was no light and no day, since night and day are but nouns designating hours known through the traversal by the sun and the moon of the course of
[22] the sphere. Now, if it is correct that the earth and the heaven and what is between them, except what we have mentioned, were in existence when there was no sun and no moon, the conclusion is that all that existed when there was no night and no day. The

179. For Ṭabarī's compatriot and early teacher al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm al-Āmulī, one of his most often quoted authorities in the *Tafsīr*, see Horst, 293, n. 2; above, General Introduction, n. 48. For al-Ḥajjāj, see below, n. 319.

180. Since 'Aṭā' had both Ḥammāds as his students, the one here could be either Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān (above, n. 29) or Ḥammād b. Salamah b. Dīnār. The latter died in 167/784. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 11–16. See also *TB*, III, 284, l. 16.

181. 'Aṭā' died in the 130s/750–55. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 203–7.

182. Qur. 50:38.

same (conclusion results from) the following *ḥadīth* of Abū Hurayrah reported on the authority of the Messenger of God: God created light on Wednesday—meaning by "light" the sun, if God wills.

Someone might ask: You have assumed that "day" is just a noun designating a period of time (*mīqāt*) between the rising of dawn and the setting of the sun, and now, you assume that God created the sun and the moon days after He began creating the things He did. Thus, you have established periods of time and called them "days" while there was no sun and no moon. If you have no proof for the soundness of this, it is a contradictory statement.

The answer is: God called what I have mentioned "days." Thus, I have used for them the same designation He did. The use of "days" when there was no sun and no moon may be compared to (the use of "morning" and "evening" in) God's word: "They have their sustenance in (Paradise) in the morning and in the evening"[183] —(using "morning" and "evening" in spite of the fact that) there is no morning or evening there, because there is no night in the other world and no sun and no moon, as God says: "Those who do not believe are in doubt about it, until the Hour comes upon them suddenly, or the punishment of a barren day comes upon them."[184] God called the Day of Resurrection a "barren day", because it is a day with no night after its coming. Speaking of the "days" before the creation of the sun and the moon was intended to refer to a period of a thousand of the years of this world, each of which has twelve of the months of the people of this world. Their hours and days are counted by the traversal by the sun and the moon of the course of the spheres. Likewise, "morning" and "evening" in connection with the sustenance provided for the inhabitants of Paradise were used for a period of duration with which they were familiar in this connection as "time" in this world. That is, "time" as indicated by the sun and its running in the sphere, although, for the inhabitants of Paradise, there is no [23] sun and no night.

Similar statements have been made by early scholars, such as, for instance

183. Qur. 19:62.

184. Qur. 22:55. "Barren" is "childless," because the Day of Resurrection produces no night to follow upon it.

According to al-Qāsim[185] —al-Ḥusayn[186] —Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Mujāhid: God entrusts the management of everything to the angels for a thousand years, and then again until another thousand years have elapsed, repeating the process forever. He said: "(In) a day whose measure is a thousand years".[187] "Day" is His saying to what He entrusts to the angels for a thousand years: "Be! And it is."[188] But He called it "day", calling it just as He pleased. All this is on the authority of Mujāhid. He continued. God's word: "A day with your Lord is like a thousand years of your counting,"[189] is entirely the same thing.[190]

Reports similar to the one that has come down on the Prophet's authority, namely, that God created the sun and the moon after His creation of the heavens and the earth and other things, have come down from a number of early (scholars), as follows:

According to Abū Hishām al-Rifāʿī—Ibn Yamān[191] —Sufyān—Ibn Jurayj—Sulaymān b. Mūsā[192] —Mujāhid—Ibn ʿAbbās, commenting on: "And He said to (the heaven) and the earth: Come willingly or unwillingly! They said: We come willingly,"[193] as follows: God said to the heavens: Cause My sun and My moon to rise and cause My stars to rise, and to the earth He said: Split your rivers[194] and bring forth your fruit. Both replied: "We come willingly."[195]

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185. Al-Qāsim always appears in Ṭabarī as the transmitter from al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd. Horst, 295, n. 1, identifies him with al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Yazīd al-Hamadhānī, who died in 272/885. See *TB*, XII, 432. *TB* mentions as one of his authorities Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl al-Tabūdhakī who, like al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd, died in the 220s (see below, n. 270).

186. Al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd, who died in 226/840[1] was known as Sunayd. He studied Ibn Jurayj's collection of traditions, entitled *al-Jāmiʿ*, with Ḥajjāj. See *TB*, 42–44; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 244 f.; Horst, 295, n. 2.

187. Qur. 32:5.

188. Qur. 2:117, etc.

189. Qur. 22:47.

190. See *Tafsīr*, XXI, 59.

191. Yahyā b. Yamān transmitted from Sufyān al-Thawrī and died in 188–89/803–5. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 306 f.

192. Died between 109 and 115/727–33. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 226 f.

193. Qur. 41:11.

194. That is, splitting the surface of the earth so as to create river beds. For the association of "river" with "splitting," cf. Ethiopic *falag* ("river").

195. For the comment of Ibn ʿAbbās, see also *Tafsīr*, XXIV, 64.

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh[196] —Yazīd[197] —Sa'īd[198] — Qatādah, commenting on: "And He revealed in every heaven its command"[199] : He created in it its sun, its moon, and its stars, and what is good for it .[200] [24]

These reports, mentioned by us on the authority of the Messenger of God and those who mentioned them on his authority, have made it clear that God created the heavens and the earth before He created time, day and night, and the sun and the moon. God knows best!

Explaining the Annihilation of Time and Night and Day and That Nothing Remains Except God

Proof of the soundness of this statement is the words of God: "Everyone on it is annihilated, but the face of your Lord, Majestic and Venerable, remains,"[201] and: "There is no God but He. Everything perishes but His face."[202]

If everything perishes but His face, as God says, and night and day are darkness and light created by Him for the well-being of His creation, there can be no doubt that they will perish and be annihilated. Thus, God informs (us) and says: "When the sun shall be rolled up,"[203] meaning that it shall be obscured, so that its light will be gone. That will take place at the Coming of the Hour. No further elaboration is needed, since it is acknowledged by all those who confess God's oneness, the Muslims, the people of the Torah and the Gospel, and the Magians. It is denied only by others who do not confess the oneness of God. We do not intend to explain the erroneousness of their statements in this book. All those whom

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196. Bishr died in or before 245/859. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 458; Horst, 301, n. 16.

197. Abū Mu'āwiyah Yazīd b. Zuray' lived from 101/719[20] to ca. 798. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 325–28; Horst, 301, n. 17.

198. Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūbah was "confused" for a number of years before his death in the 150s/ca. 772. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 63–66; Horst, 301, n. 18.

199. Qur. 41:12. The meaning of "its command" is debatable. It seems to be "what was going to happen there" (R. Paret) or "what God commanded to happen there."

200. The suffix in *wa-ṣalāḥahā* could hardly be intended to mean "them (their well-being)." For the tradition, see *Tafsīr*, XXIV, 64.

201. Qur. 55:26 f.

202. Qur. 28:88. See above, n. 16.

203. Qur. 81:1.

we have mentioned as acknowledging the annihilation of the entire world until there remains only the One Eternal and Unique,
[25] acknowledge that God revives and resurrects them after they have perished, except idol worshipers, for they acknowledge annihilation but do not acknowledge resurrection.

The Proof for God Being Eternal and First before Everything and for His Originating Everything by His Power

The proof for this statement (is as follows): There is nothing in this world that is observable except a body or something subsisting in a body.[204] There is no body that is not either separate or connected. There is no separate body that cannot be imagined as becoming joined to some other like forms, and there is no connected body that cannot be imagined as becoming separated. When one of the two is deprived of existence, so, too, is the other. If two parts of it become connected after having been separate, one concludes that the connection of the two originated in them after it did not exist, and if separation originates in them after connection, one concludes that the separation in them originated after it did not exist.

Now, this is so with everything in the world. What is not observable is to be judged as being of the same kind[205] as what we do observe in the sense of body or subsisting in a body. What cannot be free from having origination is no doubt originated through composition by someone composing it if it is connected, or through separation by someone separating it if it is separated; the conclusion is that the one who connects it if it is connected, and separates it if it is separated, is someone not similar to it and for whom being connected or being separated is not permissible. This is the One Unique and Powerful, the One Who establishes connections between different things, the One to Whom nothing is similar. He "has power over everything."[206]

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204. On *jism* "body, material substance," see *EI*², II, 553–55, s. v. djism.

205. Read *mim-mā*, as in two manuscripts. *Jins* "kind, genus," is hardly the proper term here. Ṭabarī means that there is no other way to observe the supernatural (which cannot really be done) except by analogy with the physical world which we can observe by means of the senses.

206. Qur. 2:20, etc.

Thus, our description has made it clear that the Creator and [26]
Originator of all things was before everything, that night and day and time and hours are originated, and that their Originator Who administers and manages them exists before them, since it is impossible for something to originate something unless its originator exists before it. (It is also clear that) God's word: "Don't (the unbelievers) look at the camels (and reflect) how they were created, and at the heaven how it was raised, and at the mountains how they were set up, and at the earth how it was spread out flat?"[207] contains the most eloquent evidence and the most effective proofs for those who use reason to reflect and the mind to be instructed, that the Creator of all those things is eternal and that everything of their kind is originated and has a Creator that is not similar to them. That is because everything mentioned by our Lord in this verse, the mountains, the earth, the camels, is dealt with and administered by man, who may move it around and manage it, who may dig, cut, and tear down, none of which he is prevented from doing. Yet, beyond that, man is not able to bring anything of that into existence without a basis (to work from). The conclusion is that the one who is incapable of originating those things could not have originated himself and that the one who is not prevented from managing and organizing whatever he wishes could not have been brought into existence by someone like himself and he did not bring himself into existence. Further, the One Who brought (man) up and gave him substantial *('ayn)* existence is the One Who is not incapable of (doing) anything He wishes, and He is not prevented from originating anything He wants. He is "God Unique and Forceful."[208]

Someone might ask: Why should it be disapprovable to assume that the things you have mentioned result from the action of two eternal (beings)?[209] The reply would be: We disapprove of that because we find that the administration is continuous and the creation perfect. We say: If the administrators were two, they would necessarily either agree or disagree. If they agree, the two would conceptually be one, and the one would be made two merely by [27]

207. Qur. 88:17–20.
208. Qur. 12:39, etc.
209. Dualism was probably very much on Ṭabarī's mind, but what is meant here is not dualism as such but polytheism.

positing two. If they differ, it would be impossible to find the existence of the creation perfect and (its) administration continuous. For each one of two who differ does what is different from what his fellow does. If one gives life, the other causes death. If one of them produces existence, the other produces annihilation. It would thus be impossible for anything in creation to exist in the perfection and continuity it does. God's words: "If there were other gods except God in (heaven and earth), both would be ruined. Praised be God, Lord of the Throne, (who is above) what they describe";[210] and: "God has not taken to Himself a child, and there has been no god together with Him. Otherwise, each god would have gone off with what he created and risen over the others. Praised be God (who is above) what they describe. He knows what is unseen and what is observable, and He is exalted above their associating (other gods with Him)"[211] —these words of God are the most eloquent evidence and the most concise explanation as well as the most effective proof for the falsehood of those falsehood-mongers who associate (other gods) with God. That is because, if there were another god except God in the heavens and the earth, the condition of the two as to agreement and disagreement would necessarily be the one I have described. Saying that there may be agreement implies that saying they are two is wrong. It confirms the oneness of God and is an absurd statement in as much as the one who makes it calls the one two. Saying that there may be disagreement indicates ruin for the heavens and the earth, as our Lord says: "If there were other gods except God in them, both would be ruined."[212] For if one originates and creates something, it would be the other's business to put it out of existence and invalidate it. That is because the actions of two who differ are different, just as fire that warms and snow that cools what fire has warmed.

Another argument (would be this): If it were (true) as those who
[28] associate other gods with God say, each one of the two whom they consider as eternal would necessarily be either strong or incapable. If both were incapable, each one, being incapable, would be defeatable and not be a god. If both were strong, each one of them, by virtue of being incapable of subduing the other, would

210. Qur. 21:22.
211. Qur. 23:91 f.
212. Qur. 21:22.

be incapable and being incapable would not be a god. If each one of them were strong enough to subdue the other, he, by virtue of the strength of the other to subdue him in turn, would be incapable. God is above the association of other gods with Him!

It has thus become clear that the Eternal One, the Creator and Maker of all things is the One Who existed before everything and Who will be after everything, the First before everything and the Last after everything. He existed when there was no momentary and extended time, no night and no day, no darkness and no light except the light of His noble face, no heaven and no earth, no sun and no moon and no stars. Everything but He is originated, administered and made. He alone by Himself created everything without an associate, helper, and assistant. Praised be He as powerful and forceful!

According to 'Alī b. Sahl al-Ramlī—Zayd b. Abī al-Zarqā'[213] —Ja'far[214] —Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm[215] —Abū Hurayrah: The Prophet said: After my death, you all will be asked about everything, to the extent that someone might even say: God there created everything, but who created Him?[216]

According to 'Alī—Zayd—Ja'far—Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm—Najabah b. Ṣabīgh[217] : I was with Abū Hurayrah when he was asked about that. He exclaimed: God is great!, and said: My friend did not tell me anything unless I saw him and was looking at him.[218] Ja'far said: I have also heard that (Abū Hurayrah) said: If people ask you

213. He resided for some time in al-Ramlah and died there in 140/757[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 413 f.

214. Ja'far b. Burqān died before or in 154/771. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 84–86; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2, 186.

215. Yazīd b. al-Aṣamm died seventy-three years old between 101 and 104/719–23. His maternal aunt was Maymūnah, a wife of the Prophet. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 313 f.

216. The tradition appears with the same chain of transmitters (Ja'far b. Burqān to Abū Hurayrah) in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 97. See *Concordance*, II, 71a34 f.–b2.

217. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, IV, 2, 133, no. 2462.

218. That is, Abū Hurayrah claims that his contact with the Prophet was always strictly personal and direct, implying that he never heard the Prophet make such an awful statement, which is usually considered to go back to the machinations of Satan. A close version in Ibn Ḥanbal, II, 539, seems to confirm the reading *wa-anā* of the Leiden text against *aw anā* of the Cairo edition. A connection is made with the Jahmiyyah in Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, IV, 319.

about that, say: God "is the Creator of everything."[219] God is the One Who was before everything, and God will be after everything.
[29] Thus, the conclusion is that the Creator of all things existed while there was nothing but He. He originated all things and then administered them. He had created various kinds of beings before the creation of extended and momentary times and before the creation of the sun and the moon which He causes to run in their spheres. It is through them that moments and hours are known, eras are established, and night is separated from day.

Let us now discuss what that prior creation was and what was created first.

The Beginning of Creation: What Was Created First?

Sound indeed is the following report on the authority of the Messenger of God which I have received from Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā[220] —(ʿAbdallāh) b. Wahb (and also from ʿUbayd b. Ādam b. Abī Iyās al-ʿAsqalānī[221] —his father—al-Layth b. Saʿd[222])—Muʿāwiyah b. Ṣāliḥ—Ayyūb b. Ziyād[223] —ʿUbādah b. al-Walīd b. ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit[224] —his father: My father ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit said: My dear son! I heard the Messenger of God say: The first (thing) created by God is the Pen. God said to it: Write!, and it proceeded at that very hour to (write) whatever is going to be.[225]

According to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb[226] —ʿAlī b.

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219. Qur. 6:102, etc.

220. Born in 170/787, Yūnus died in 264/877. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 440 f.; Horst, 305, n. 1.

221. ʿUbayd died in 258/872. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 58. His father Ādam died in 220 or 221/835–36 at the age of eighty-eight or ninety. See *TB*, VII, 27-30; *Tahdhīb*, I, 196.

222. Al-Layth was born in 93 or 94/711–13. He died in 175/December, 791. See *TB*, XIII, 3-14; *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 459-65; *EI*², V, 711, s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 520.

223. See Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1, 414 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, I, 481.

224. For ʿUbādah, see *Tahdhīb*, V, 114. For his father, al-Walīd, who died during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik, see *Tahdhīb*, XI, 137. And for his famous grandfather, ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit, who was present at Badr and died, seventy-two years old, in 34/654–5 in al-Ramlah, or perhaps later during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah (?), and was buried in Jerusalem, see *Tahdhīb*, V, 111 f.

225. In *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 11 f., the tradition quoted here does not seem to have been accorded the prominence it has here. Much of the information quoted above also appears in *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 10–12.

226. See above, n. 127. The quotation of the tradition in *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 11, replaces

al-Ḥasan b. Shaqīq[227] —'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak[228] —Rabāḥ b. Zayd[229] —'Umar b. Ḥabīb[230] —al-Qāsim b. Abī Bazzah[231] —Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās who used to tell that the Messenger of God said: The first thing created by God is the Pen. God commanded it to write everything.

I was told the same by Mūsā b. Sahl al-Ramlī[232] —Nu'aym b. Ḥammād[233] —Ibn al-Mubārak—Rabāḥ b. Zayd—'Umar b. Ḥabīb—al-Qāsim b. Abī Bazzah—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās—the Messenger of God. [30]

According to Muḥammad b. Mu'āwiyah al-Anmāṭī[234] —'Abbād b. al-'Awwām[235] —'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaym[236] —'Aṭā'[237] : I asked al-Walīd b. 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit: What was your father's last exhortation to you when he was at the point of death? Al-Walīd replied: He called me and said: My dear son! Fear God, knowing that you shall not truly fear God and attain (religious) knowledge until you believe in God Unique and in predestination both good and bad. I heard the Messenger of God say: The first (thing) created by God was the Pen. God said to it: Write! The Pen asked: What shall I write? God replied: Write what is predestined *(al-qadar)* ! He con-

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him with a certain Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭūsī who also appears unidentifiable.

227. Born in 137/754[5], Ibn Shaqīq died in the first half of the 210s/826–30. See *TB*, XI, 370–72; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 298 f. His son Muḥammad (below, n. 758) was a direct informant of Ṭabarī.

228. Ibn al-Mubārak lived from 118 or 119/736–37 to 181/797. See *TB*, X, 152-69; *Tahdhīb*, V, 382-87; *EI*^{2} , III, 879, s. v. Ibn al-Mubārak; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 95.

229. Rabāḥ b. Zayd, as read correctly in the Cairo edition, died in 187/803 at the age of eighty-one. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 233 f.

230. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 431.

231. Ibn Abī Bazzah died around 120/737[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 310.

232. Died in 260 or 261/874–75. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 347; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 347.

233. Nu'aym b. Ḥammād died in 228/843, or, perhaps. in 227 or 229. See *TB*, XIII, 306–14; *Tahdhīb*, X, 458–63; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 104 f. A Tübingen dissertation of 1979 by Jorge Aguade deals with one of his works (not seen).

234. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 463 f. *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 11, has Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, presumably by mistake.

235. 'Abbād lived from 118/736 to ca. 185/801. See *TB*, XI, 104–6; *Tahdhīb*, V, 99 f.

236. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 435 f.

237. Presumably, 'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib (above, n. 181).

The two versions in Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 317, make it abundantly clear that the thrust of the tradition is directed toward the inclusiveness of divine predestination with respect to both good and evil. See L. Gardet, in *EI*^{2} , IV, 365b, s. v. al-Ḳaḍā' wa 'l-ḳadar.

tinued: And the Pen proceeded at that very hour to (write) whatever was and whatever is going to be for all times.

The early (scholars) before us differed in this matter. We shall mention their statements and have that then followed by the (correct) explanation of it, if God wills.

Some of them said about the same as what has been transmitted on the authority of the Messenger of God.

Those who said this

According to Wāṣil b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Asadī[238] —Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl[239] —al-Aʿmash—Abū Ẓabyān[240] —Ibn ʿAbbās: The first thing created by God is the Pen. God said to it: Write!, whereupon the Pen asked: What shall I write, my Lord? God replied: Write what is predestined! He continued. And the Pen proceeded to (write) whatever is predestined and going to be to the Coming of the Hour. Then, (God) lifted up the water vapor and split the heavens off from it.[241]

We were told about the same by Wāṣil b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Wakīʿ[242] —al-Aʿmash—Abū Ẓabyān—Ibn ʿAbbās.

[31] According to Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī ʿAdī[243] —Shuʿbah—Sulaymān[244] —Abū Ẓabyān—Ibn ʿAbbās: The first thing created by God is the Pen. It proceeded to (write) whatever is going to be.

We were told about the same by Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir—Isḥāq[245] —Sharīk—al-Aʿmash—Abū Ẓabyān or Mujāhid—Ibn ʿAbbās.

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238. Died in 244/858[9]. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 104.

239. Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān died in 194–95/809–11. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 405 f.

240. Abū Ẓabyān Ḥusayn b. Jundub died in 89 or 90/707–9. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 379 f.

241. Text below, I, 48, has an expanded text, which appears also in *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 10.

242. Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ b. Malīḥ, who was born in 128–29/745–47, died in 197/812[3] or the following year on the return from the pilgrimage. See *TB*, XIII, 496–512; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 123–31; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 96 f.

243. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī ʿAdī al-Qasmalī died between 192 and 194/807–10. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 12 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʿrīkh*, I, 1, 23.

244. Al-Aʿ mash?

245. Isḥāq b. Yūsuf al-Azraq died in 194 or 195/809–11 during the caliphate of al-Amīn. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 2, 62; Bukhārī, *Taʿrīkh*, I, 1, 406; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 1, 238. He is named among the authorities of Tamīm and among the transmitters from Sharīk *(Tahdhīb)*, IV, 334), but one of his authorities is also said to be al-Aʿmash, and not Sharīk, who was an authority of Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā b. al-Ṭabbāʿ (d. 214–15/829–30).

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Ibn Thawr[246] —Maʿmar[247] —al-Aʿmash—Ibn ʿAbbās: The first thing created is the Pen.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr[248] —ʿAṭāʾ—Abū al-Ḍuḥā Muslim b. Ṣubayḥ[249] —Ibn ʿAbbās: The first thing created by my Lord is the Pen. God said to it: Write!, and it wrote whatever is going to be to the Coming of the Hour.[250]

Others said: Rather, the first of the created things created by God is light and darkness.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Ibn Isḥāq: The first (thing) created by God was light and darkness. He then distinguished between the two and made the darkness a night that is black and dark (so that one cannot see) and the light a day that illuminates and enables one to see.[251]

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: In my opinion, of the two statements the one most likely to be correct is that of Ibn ʿAbbās. That is because of the report, mentioned by me earlier, from the Messenger of God who said: The first thing created by God is the Pen.

Someone might say: You say that of the two statements—the one that the first of the created things created by God is the Pen, and the other that it is light and darkness—the statement most likely to be correct is: The first of the created things created by God is the Pen. What, then, is the patent meaning of the tradition transmitted from Ibn ʿAbbās which you were told [32]
by Ibn Bashshār—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[252] —Sufyān—Abū Hāshim[253] —Mujāhid: I said to Ibn ʿAbbās: There are people who consider

246. Muḥammad b. Thawr al-Ṣanʿānī died around 190/805[6]. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 87; Horst, 296, n. 10. See also *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 10.

247. The important early historian Maʿmar b. Rāshid lived from ca. 96/714[5] to between 152 and 154/769–71. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 243–46; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 290 f.; Horst, 296, n. 19.

248. Born in 107/725[6], Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (b. Jarīr) b. Qurṭ al-Rāzī died in 188/804. See *TB*, VII, 253–61; *Tahdhīb*, II, 75–77.

249. Abū al-Ḍuḥā died ca. 100/718[9] during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 132 f.

250. See *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 10.

251. See *Tafsīr*, I, 151 (*ad* Qur. 2:29).

252. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī lived from 135/752[3] to 198/814. See *TB*, X, 240–48; *Tahdhīb*, VI, 279–81; Horst, 296, n. 13.

253. The Cairo edition identifies him with Abū Hāshim Ismāʿīl b. Kathīr. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 326.

predestination untrue? He said: (Then), they consider the Book of God untrue! I shall seize one of them by the hair and shake him up. God was on His Throne before He created anything. The first (thing) created by God was the Pen. It proceeded to (write) whatever is going to be to the Day of Resurrection. People will proceed merely in accordance with what is a foregone conclusion (decided by predestination and written down by the Pen). And (what then is the meaning of the tradition reported) on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq and transmitted to all of you by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq? He continued (quoting) God's word: "It is He Who created the heavens and the earth in six days, while His Throne was upon the water."[254] It was as He describes Himself. There was nothing except the water upon which was the Throne, and upon the Throne was God, Majestic and Venerable. And the first (thing) created by God was light and darkness.

The answer would be: The statement of Ibn ʿAbbās that God was on His Throne upon the water before He created anything, and the first (thing) created by God was the Pen—if it is a sound (report) on his authority that he actually said that—would provide information that God created the Pen after He created His Throne. Shuʿbah transmitted this report on the authority of Abū Hāshim but did not say what Sufyān said, namely, that God was on His Throne, and the first (thing) created by Him was the Pen. Rather, he transmitted this (report) as did all the other transmitters on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās mentioned by us, namely, that Ibn ʿAbbās said: The first (thing) created by God is the Pen.

Those who said this

[33] According to al-Muthannā—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad—Shuʿbah—Abū Hāshim—Mujāhid[255] —ʿAbdallāh (whether Ibn ʿUmar or Ibn ʿAbbās is not known): The first (thing) created by God is the Pen. God said to it: Proceed (to write)!, and the Pen proceeded to (write) whatever is going to be. People today merely carry out what is a foregone conclusion.

The same applies to the statement of Ibn Isḥāq mentioned by us which implies that God created light and darkness after He created His Throne and the water upon which the Throne was.

254. Qur. 11:7. *Tafsīr*, XII, 3–5, deals with much of the traditional material on creation.

255. See Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, I, 687, which, however, is rather different.

The statement of the Messenger of God on the subject which we have transmitted from him is the one most likely to be correct, because he was most knowledgeable of the truth and soundness of any statement he would make on the subject. We have transmitted on the Prophet's authority that he said: The first thing created by God is the Pen—making no exception for anything whose creation might have preceded God's creation of the Pen. Rather, the Prophet's statement: The first thing created by God is the Pen, includes generally everything and indicates that the Pen was created before everything without making any exception for the Throne or water or anything else.

The tradition we have transmitted on the authority of Abū Ẓabyān and Abū al-Ḍuḥā—Ibn ʿAbbās, is more likely to be sound on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās than the report of Mujāhid on (the latter's) authority which Abū Hāshim transmitted, since Shuʿbah and Sufyān differed with respect to this transmission on (Ibn ʿAbbās') authority, as I have already mentioned.

Ibn Isḥāq's statement indicates no authority from whom he transmitted it.

Here we have one of the things that cannot be known except through information from God or from the Messenger of God. I have already mentioned the tradition(s) with respect to this subject on the authority of the Messenger of God.

Those Who Put the Creation of the Pen in Second Place

After the Pen, and after God had commanded it to write whatever is going to be to the Coming of the Hour, God created fine clouds *(saḥāb)*. It is the *ghamām* which God mentions in the unambiguous parts of His Book, saying: "Do they have (anything) to look for but that God will come to them under a cover of clouds *(al-ghamām)* ?"[256] That was before He created His Throne. This appears in reports from the Messenger of God: [34]

According to Ibn Wakīʿ and Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Qaṭṭān[257]

256. Qur. 2:210. "Unambiguous" *(muḥkam)*, in contrast to *mutashābih*, refers to Qur'ānic passages assumed to be not susceptible to divergent interpretations.

257. He is further called al-Rāziqī (?) in *Tafsīr*, XII, 4, 1. 14, but apparently cannot be identified with any certainty. He is hardly identical with Abū Nashīṭ Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Bazzāz who died ca. 258/872. See *TB*, III, 352 f.; *Tahdhīb*,

—Yazīd b. Hārūn—Ḥammād b. Salamah—Ya'lā b. 'Aṭā'[258] —Wakī' b. Ḥudus[259] —his paternal uncle Abū Razīn[260] : I asked the Messenger of God: Where was our Lord before He created His creation? The Prophet replied: He was in a cloud *('amā')* with no air underneath or above it. Then He created His Throne upon the water.[261]

According to al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—al-Ḥajjāj—Ḥammād—Ya'lā b. 'Aṭā'—Wakī' b. Ḥudus—his paternal uncle Abū Razīn al-'Aqīlī: I asked the Messenger of God: Where was our Lord before He created the heavens and the earth? The Prophet replied: In a cloud with air above and underneath it.[262] Then He created His Throne upon the water.

According to Khallād b. Aslam—al-Naḍr b. Shumayl—al-Mas'ūdī—Jāmi' b. Shaddād[263] —Ṣafwān b. Muḥriz[264] —Ibn Ḥuṣayn,[265] one of the companions of the Messenger of God: Some people came to the Messenger of God. They entered into his presence, and he began to give them glad tidings,[266] while they kept saying: Give us (gifts)! This continued until it annoyed the Messenger of God. Then they left. Some other people came in and said: We have come to greet the Messenger of God and become knowledgeable about the religion and ask about the beginning of this matter (the world). He said: So, accept the glad tidings, since
[35] those who have (just) left did not accept them. They said: We have done so. Whereupon the Messenger of God said: God existed while there was nothing else. His Throne was upon the water, and (all

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IX, 493 f.

258. According to *Tahdhīb*, XI, 403 f., Ya'lā b. 'Aṭā' died in 120/737[8] in Wāsiṭ.

259. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 131. His father's name is also given as 'Udu/as.

260. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 456 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, IV, 1657. Abū Razīn's name supposedly was Laqīṭ. For the vocalization 'Aqīlī, instead of 'Uqaylī, see *Tahdhīb*, XI, 131 (editor's footnote).

261. See *Concordance*, IV, 388a11–13, and *Tafsīr*, XII, 4 *(ad* Qur. 11:7).

262. This statement is hardly correct. In *Tafsīr*, XII, 4, the negations are found as in the preceding tradition. In this case, the only difference between this and the preceding tradition is the two links of the chain of transmitters between Ṭabarī and Ḥammād b. Salamah.

263. Died, apparently, in the 120s/738–747. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 56 f.

264. Ṣafwān died in 74/693[4]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 430 f.

265. 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn died in 52 or 53/672–73 in al-Baṣrah. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 125 f.

266. According to *Tafsīr*, XII, 4, the glad tidings are that Muslims would not stay in Hell eternally. A mixture of the two traditions mentioned here is to be found in Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, VII, 96 ff., and XVII, 179 ff.

that was going to be) was written on the memorial (Tablet) before anything (else was created).[267] Then God created seven heavens. Just then, someone came to me (Ibn Ḥuṣayn) and said: That camel of yours is gone. I went out (and found that) she was out of sight. I surely wish that I would have let her go (so that I would not have missed the rest of the Prophet's remarks).[268]

According to Abū Kurayb—Abū Muʿāwiyah—al-Aʿmash—Jāmiʿ b. Shaddād—Ṣafwān b. Muḥriz—ʿImrān b. al-Ḥuṣayn: The Messenger of God said: Accept the glad tidings, Banū Tamīm! They replied: You gave the glad tidings to us. So now give us (gifts)! The Prophet said: Accept the glad tidings, Yemenites! They said: We did so. Now inform us how that matter was! Whereupon the Messenger of God said: God was upon the Throne. He was before everything, and He wrote everything that was going to be on the Tablet. (ʿImrān) continued: Someone came to me and said: ʿImrān, that camel of yours has become untethered. I got up and found that she was out of sight. Therefore, I do not know what took place afterwards.

Then, there were differences about what God created after the cloud. Some said: Thereafter He created His Throne.[269]

Those who said this

According to Muḥammad b. Sinān—Abū Salamah[270] —Ḥayyān b. ʿUbaydallāh[271] —al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim[272] —Ibn ʿAbbās: God created the Throne as the first thing He created. Then He sat straight on it.

Others said: God created the water before the Throne. Then He created His Throne and placed it upon the water.

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267. The construction is simplified in Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* where the preposition "before" is omitted.

268. See *Tafsīr*, XII, 4.

269. On the preexistent divine throne, see, for instance, Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen*, 21 ff.

270. He may be identical with Abū Salamah Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl al-Minqarī al-Tabūdhakī who died in 223/838. He appears elsewhere as an authority of Muḥammad b. Sinān. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 333–35.

271. Not Ḥayyān—ʿUbaydallāh, as in the Leiden edition. The correct text is found in the Cairo edition. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, II, 370; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 2, 246.

272. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk died between 102 and 106/720–25. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 453 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 29 f.; Horst, 304, n. 10.

Those who said this

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī[273]—'Amr b. Ḥammād[274]
[36] —Asbāṭ b. Naṣr[275] —al-Suddī[276] —Abū Mālik[277] and Abū Ṣāliḥ[278] —Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī[279] —'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd[280] and some (other) companions of the Messenger of God: God's Throne was upon the water. He had created nothing except that which He created before the water.[281]

According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Askar—Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Karīm—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Ma'qil—Wahb b. Munabbih: Before He created the heavens and the earth, the Throne was upon the water. When He wanted to create the heavens and the earth, He grabbed a fistful of small rocks[282] in the water. He then opened the fist (with the rocks), and they rose in (the form of) smoke. Then he fashioned (the heavens into) seven heavens[283] and extended[284] the earth in two days. He finished the creation on the seventh day.

According to another statement, it was the Footstool *(kursī)* that our Lord created after the Pen. After the Footstool, He created the Throne. Thereafter He created the air and darkness. He then created the water and placed His Throne upon it.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In my opinion, of the two statements the one most likely to be correct is that God created the water before the Throne, because of the soundness of the report mentioned by me earlier from Abū Razīn al-'Aqīlī: When the Messenger of God was asked: Where was our Lord before He created His cre-

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273. He appears to be unidentifiable; see Horst, 302, n. 3.

274. Died in 222/837. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 22 f.; Horst, 302, n. 6.

275. For Asbāṭ, see *Tahdhīb*, I, 211 f.; Horst, 302, n. 7.

276. Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī died in 127/744[5]. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 313 f.; Horst, 302, n. 8.

277. For Abū Mālik Ghazwān al-Ghifārī, see *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 254 f.; Horst, 302, n. 10.

278. For Abū Ṣāliḥ Bādhām/n, known as *mawlā* of Umm Hāni', see *Tahdhīb*, I, 416; Horst, 302, n. 9.

279. Murrah b. Sharaḥīl died in 76/695[6] or after the battle of Dayr al-Jamājim (82/701). See *Tahdhīb*, X, 88 f.; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV, 1, 366; Horst, 302, n. 11.

280. The famous Qur'ān reader Ibn Mas'ūd died in 32/652[3]. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 27 f.; *EI*², III, 873–75, s. v. Ibn Mas'ūd; Horst, 202, n. 13.

281. For the full text of the tradition, see text below, I, 49, and *Tafsīr*, I, 152 *(ad* Qur. 2:29).

282. The plural seems indicated here, but see also text below, I, 50.

283. Cf. Qur. 41:12.

284. Cf. Qur. 79:30.

ation? he said: He was in a cloud with no air underneath or above it. Then He created His Throne upon the water. Thus, the Messenger of God reported that God created His Throne upon the water. It is impossible to assume that, seeing that He created it upon the water, He would have done so upon something nonexistent either before or simultaneously with it. If this is so, the Throne must [37] necessarily have been created either after God created the water or simultaneously with it. That its creation should have been before the creation of the water cannot possibly be sound according to the tradition transmitted on the authority of Abū Razīn—the Prophet.

It has been said that the water was upon the back of the wind when God created His Throne upon it. If this is so, the water and the wind were created before the Throne.

Those who say that the water was upon the back of the wind

According to Ibn Wakī'—his father—Sufyān—al-A'mash—al-Minhāl b. 'Amr[285] —Sa'īd b. Jubayr: When Ibn 'Abbās was asked in connection with God's word: "His Throne was upon the water":[286] Upon what was the water? he replied: Upon the back of the wind.[287]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Muḥammad b. Thawr—Ma'mar—al-A'mash—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: When Ibn 'Abbās was asked in connection with God's word: "His Throne was upon the water": Upon what was the water? he replied: Upon the back of the wind.

We were told the same by al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās.

He said[288] : The heavens and the earth and everything in them are encompassed by the oceans, and all of that is encompassed by the *haykal*,[289] and the *haykal* reportedly is encompassed by the Footstool.

Those who said this

According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Askar—Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al- [38]

285. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 319–21.
286. Qur. 11:7.
287. For this and the two following traditions, see *Tafsīr*, XII, 4.
288. The subject is hardly Ṭabarī, but it seems not clear who might be meant.
289. The meaning of *haykal* assumed here cannot easily be explained from the ordinary meanings of the word (anything stout, body, temple). It could be "gigantic body."

Karīm—'Abd al-Ṣamad—Wahb, mentioning some of His majesty (as being describable as follows): The heavens and the earth and the oceans are in the *haykal*, and the *haykal* is in the Footstool. God's feet are upon the Footstool. He carries the Footstool. It became like a sandal on His feet. When Wahb was asked: What is the *haykal*? he replied: Something on the heavens' extremities that surrounds the earth and the oceans like the ropes that are used to fasten a tent. And when Wahb was asked how the earths are (constituted), he replied: They are seven earths that are flat and islands. Between each two earths, there is an ocean. All that is surrounded by the (surrounding) ocean,[290] and the *haykal* is behind the ocean.

It has been said that there are a thousand years between God's creation of the Pen and His creation of all the rest.

Those who said this

According to al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd—Mubashshir al-Ḥalabī[291] —Arṭāh b. al-Mundhir[292] —Ḍamrah[293] : God created the Pen and then wrote down with it whatever He was creating and all His creation that was going to be. This writing then praised and glorified God for a thousand years before He created anything else in His creation. Then, when God wanted to create the heavens and the earth, He reportedly created six days and called everyone of them by a different name. The name of one of those days reportedly is *a-b-j-d*, that of another *h-w-z*, that of the third *ḥ-ṭ-y*, that of the fourth *k-l-m-n*, that of the fifth *s-'-f-ṣ*, and that of the sixth *q-r-sh-t*.[294]

Those who said this

According to al-Ḥaḍramī[295] —Muṣarrif b. 'Amr al-Yāmī[296] —

290. "Surrounding" *(muḥīṭ)* is the name of the ocean that surrounds the earth in the world view of medieval Muslim geographers.

291. Mubashshir b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥalabī died in 200/815[6]. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 31 f.

292. Arṭāh died in 162 or 163/778–80. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 198.

293. Ḍamrah b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥimṣī died in 130/747[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 459 f.

294. That is, the letters of the alphabet as they are arranged in the old Jewish/Christian order. The last two sentences do not appear in the quotation of this tradition in *Tafsīr*, XII, 4.

295. Unidentified.

296. Muṣarrif al-Yāmī died in 240/854[5]. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 158.

Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth[297] —al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Musayyab[298] —a man from the Kindah—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim: God created the heavens and the earth in six days. There is no day that does not have a name: *a-b-j-z, h-w-z, ḥ-ṭ-y, k-l-m-n, s-ʿ-f-ṣ,* and *q-r-sh-t.* [39]

According to [al-Ḥaḍramī], omitting Muṣarrif—Ḥafṣ—al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Musayyab—a shaykh of the Kindah—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim—Zayd b. Arqam[299] : God created the heavens and the earth in six days. Each day has a name: *a-b-j-d, h-w-z, ḥ-ṭ-y, k-l-m-n, s-ʿ-f-ṣ,* and *q-r-sh-t.*

Others say: Rather, God created one (day) and called it "Sunday," a second and called it "Monday," a third and called it "Tuesday," a fourth and called it "Wednesday," and a fifth and called it "Thursday."[300]

Those who said this

According to Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir—Isḥāq (b. Yūsuf)—Sharīk (b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nakhaʿī)—Ghālib b. Ghallāb[301] —ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ[302] —Ibn ʿAbbās: God created one day and called it "Sunday." Then He created a second and called it "Monday." Then He created a third and called it "Tuesday." Then He created a fourth and called it "Wednesday." Then He created a fifth and called it "Thursday."[303]

These two statements are not contradictory, since it is possible that the names of those days were in the language of the Arabs as stated by ʿAṭāʾ, and in the language of others as stated by al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim.

It has been said that the days were seven, not six.

Those who said this

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297. Born in 117/735, Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth died between 194 and 196/809–12. See *TB*, VIII, 188–200; *Tahdhīb*, II, 415–18.

298. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 192 f.

299. Zayd b. Arqam died in the second half of the sixties/684–88. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 394 f.

300. The inventor of this idea played on the fact that the days of the week from Sunday to Thursday are expressed in Arabic, as well as in Aramaic, by special numerals for one to five. This places Friday and Saturday in a category apart, since they are not expressed numerically.

301. Apparently not identifiable.

302. Born in the second year of the caliphate of ʿUthmān or in 27/647[8], ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ died ca. 115/733. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 199-203; *EI*^{2} , I, 730, s. v.; Horst, 295, n. 8.

303. See *Tafsīr*, XXIV, 61.

According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Askar—Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-
[40] Karīm—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Ma'qil—Wahb b. Munabbih: The days are seven.

Both statements—the one, transmitted by us from al-Ḍaḥḥāk and 'Aṭā', that God created six days, and the other from Wahb b. Munabbih that the days are seven—are sound and can be combined and are not contradictory. That is because the statement here by 'Aṭā' and al-Ḍaḥḥāk means that the days on which God created the creation from the time *(ḥīn)* He began the creation of heaven and earth and everything in them until He finished are six days, as God says: "It is He Who created the heavens and the earth in six days."[304] The statement of Wahb b. Munabbih, on the other hand, means that the number of days constituting a week is seven, not six.

The early (scholars) differed with respect to the day on which God created the heavens and the earth. Some of them said: He began with it on Sunday.

Those who said this

According to Isḥāq b. Shāhīn[305] —Khālid b. 'Abdallāh[306] —al-Shaybānī[307] —'Awn b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah[308] —his brother 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah[309] —'Abdallāh b. Salām: God began the creation by creating the earth on Sunday and Monday.

According to al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ[310] —Abū Ma'shar[311] —Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd[312] —'Abdallāh b. Salām: God

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304. Qur. 11:7.

305. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 236 f.

306. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭaḥḥān lived from about 110/728[9] (or 115/733[4]) to about 179–82/795–98. See *TB*, VIII, 294 f.; *Tahdhīb*, III, 100 f.

307. Abū Isḥāq Sulaymān b. Abī Sulaymān al-Shaybānī died ca. 140/757[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 197 f.

308. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 171–73.

309. Died in the nineties/708–18. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 23 f. *Tahdhīb* quotes Ṭabarī's highly favorable opinion of him.

310. Presumably, Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ, the secretary of al-Layth, who was born in 137 or 139/754–56 and died in 222 or 223/836–38. See *TB*, IX, 478–91; *Tahdhīb*, V, 256–61; Horst, 293, n. 3.

311. The author of a work on *maghāzī* ("raids"), Abū Ma'shar Najīḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān died in 170/787. See *TB*, XIII, 457–62; *Tahdhīb*, X, 419–22; *EI*[2], I, 140, s. v. Abū Ma'shar; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 191 f. Ṭabarī still knew his son Muḥammad who died, ninety-nine years old, in 244 or 247/858–62. See *Tafsīr*, II, 182 *(ad* Qur. 2:204); *TB*, III, 326 f.; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 487 f.

312. Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd al-Maqburī appears to have died in the 120s/740–44. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 38–40.

began the creation by creating the earth on Sunday and Monday.[313]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr (b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd)—al- [41]
Aʿmash—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Kaʿb: God began with the creation of the heavens and the earth on Sunday and Monday.

According to Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr al-Āmulī[314] —ʿAlī b. al-Haytham[315] —al-Musayyab b. Sharīk[316] —Abū Rawq[317] —al-Ḍaḥḥāk, commenting on God's word: "It is He Who created the heavens and the earth in six days"[318] —of the other world where the extent of each day is a thousand years. He began the creation on Sunday.

According to al-Muthannā—al-Ḥajjāj[319] —Abū ʿAwānah[320] —Abū Bishr[321] —Mujāhid: He began the creation on Sunday.

Others said: The day on which God began with the creation is Saturday.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: The people of the Torah say: God began the creation on Sunday, while the people of the Gospel say: God began the creation on Monday. We Muslims say, in accordance with what has come down to us from the Messenger of God: God began the creation on Saturday.

The statements of each of these two groups—the one saying that God began the creation on Sunday, and the other that God began the creation on Saturday—have been transmitted on the authority of the Messenger of God. We have mentioned both reports before

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313. For the complete text of the tradition, see text below, I, 44, and *Tafsīr*, I, 153 (*ad* Qur. 2:29).

314. Unidentified.

315. None of the ʿAlī b. al-Haytham listed in *TB*, XII, 118 f. and *Tahdhīb*, VII, 394, can be identified as the one meant here.

316. Al-Musayyab b. Sharīk died during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in 185 or 186/801–2. See *TB*, XIII, 137–41; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI, 38 f.

317. For Abū Rawq ʿAṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith, see *Tahdhīb*, VII, 224.

318. Qur. 11:7.

319. This is al-Ḥajjāj b. (al-)Minhāl who died in 216 or 217/831–32. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 206 f. He occurs, for instance, in *Tafsīr*, I, 168, l. 29, and XIV, 62, ll. 15 f. (*ad* Qur. 2:30 and 16:15).

320. Abū ʿAwānah al-Waḍḍāḥ died in 176/792. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 116-20; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, IV, 2, 181.

321. Abū Bishr Jaʿfar b. Iyās died in the 120s/740–48. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 83 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 2, 186.

but shall repeat here some of the proofs for the soundness of the statements made by each of the two groups.

The report on the Prophet's authority verifying the statement
[42] that the beginning of creation was on Sunday is what we were told by Hannād b. al-Sarī, who also said that he read all the *ḥadīth*[322] — Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh—Abū Saʿd al-Baqqāl—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Jews came to the Prophet and asked him about the creation of the heavens and the earth. He replied: God created the earth on Sunday and Monday.

The report on the Prophet's authority verifying the statement that the beginning of God's creation was on Saturday, is what I was told by al-Qāsim b. Bishr b. Maʿrūf and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṣudāʾī—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Ismāʿīl b. Umayyah—Ayyūb b. Khālid—ʿAbdallāh b. Rāfiʿ, the *mawlā* of Umm Salamah—Abū Hurayrah: The Messenger of God took me by the hand and said: God created the soil on Saturday. He created the mountains on Sunday.[323]

In my opinion, the statement here most likely to be correct is: The day on which God began the creation of the heavens and the earth is Sunday, because the early Muslim scholars agree on it.

In his statement, Ibn Isḥāq argued that it is as (he states, namely, that God began the creation on Saturday), on the basis of the assumption that God finished all His creation on Friday. It is the seventh day; on it, He sat straight on the Throne, and He made this day a festival for the Muslims. But as reported by us from him, Ibn Isḥāq's proof by which, he assumed, he argued for the soundness of his statement, proves precisely that he made a mistake here. That is because God informed His servants in more than one passage of His revelation[324] that He created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days. He says: "It is God Who created the heavens and the earth and what is between
[43] them in six days. Then He sat straight on the Throne. You have no friend or intercessor apart from Him. Will you not be mindful?"[325] God also says: "Say: Do you really not believe in the One Who created the earth in two days, and set up others like him? That is the

322. See text above, I, 19, n. 159.
323. See text above, I, 20.
324. The Cairo edition reads: the unambiguous parts of His revelation.
325. Qur. 32:4.

Lord of the worlds. He made in it firmly anchored (mountains) above it and blessed it and decreed that it contain the amount of food it provides, (all) in four days, equally for those asking. Then He stretched out straight toward heaven, which was smoke, and said to it and to the earth: Come willingly or unwillingly! They said: We come willingly. He fashioned (heaven into) seven heavens in two days and revealed (in every heaven its command.[326] We adorned the lower heaven with lamps, and for guarding. This is the decree of the One Mighty and Knowing.)"[327]

There is no difference of opinion among all the scholars that the two days mentioned in God's word, "He fashioned it (into) seven heavens in two days," are included in the six days mentioned by Him before. Now then, God created the heavens and the earths and what is in them in six days. In addition, the reports on the authority of the Messenger of God that Adam was created last in God's creation and that He created him on Friday, clearly support each other. The conclusion is that Friday, on which God finished His creation, is included in the six days in which, God informs (us), He created His creation, for, if it were not included in the six days, He would have created His creation in seven days, and not in six. This is contrary to what is found in the divine revelation. Thus, since the matter is as we have described it, it is clear that the first day on which God began the creation of the heavens and the earth and what is in them was Sunday, since the last day was Friday. This makes six days as our Lord says. [44]

The reports coming down from the Messenger of God and his companions that the creation was finished on Friday will be mentioned by us in their proper places, if God wills.

What God Created on Each of the Six Days on Which, as He Mentions in His Book, He Created the Heavens and the Earth and What Is between Them

The early Muslim scholars differed in this respect. Some of them say, as I was told by al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ—Abū Ma'shar—Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd—'Abdallāh b. Salām: God began

326. See above, n. 199. The text enclosed in parentheses is supplied in the Cairo edition.

327. Qur. 41:9–12.

with the creation on Sunday. He created the earths on Sunday and Monday. He created food and the firmly anchored (mountains) on Tuesday and Wednesday. He created the heavens on Thursday and Friday, and He finished in the last hour of Friday, in which He created Adam in haste.[328] That is the hour in which the Hour will come.[329]

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Masʿūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: He—meaning our Lord—made seven earths in two days, Sunday and Monday. He made on them "firmly anchored (mountains), lest (the earth) shake you up."[330] He created the mountains on the earth and the food to provide for its inhabitants and its trees and whatever is required for it, on two days, Tuesday and Wednesday. "Then He stretched out straight toward heaven, which was smoke,"[331] and made it into one heaven. Then He split (this one heaven) up into seven heavens on two days, Thursday and Friday.

[45] According to Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir—Isḥāq (b. Yūsuf)—Sharīk (b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nakhaʿī)—Ghālib b. Ghallāb—ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās: God created the earth on two days, Sunday and Monday.

According to these statements, the earth was created before heaven, because, in their opinion, it was created on Sunday and Monday.

Others said: God created the earth with the food it provides before heaven, without spreading it out. "Then He stretched out straight toward heaven and fashioned it into seven heavens."[332] Thereafter, He spread out the earth.

Those who said this

According to ʿAlī b. Dāwūd[333] —Abū Ṣāliḥ (ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ)—

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328. Cf. Qur. 21:37. See below, n. 607.
329. See text above, I, 40, and *Tafsīr*, I, 153 *(ad* Qur. 2:29).
330. Qur. 16:15 and 31:10.
331. Qur. 41:11.
332. Qur. 2:29. The use of the same word "fashioned" for *sawwāhunna* here and *qaḍāhunna* in Qur. 41:12 (above, n. 327, etc.) appears justified.
333. ʿAlī b. Dāwūd died in or before 272/885[6]. See *TB*, XI, 424 f.; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 317. In *Tafsīr*, I, 153 *(ad* Qur. 2:29), al-Muthannā takes his place in the *isnād*, but ʿAlī b. Dāwūd appears in *Tafsīr*, XXX, 29 *(ad* Qur. 79:29–32).

Mu'āwiyah (b. Ṣāliḥ)—'Alī b. Abī Ṭalḥah[334] —Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on God's word when He mentioned the creation of the earth before heaven and then mentioned heaven before earth: (It is explained by the fact that) He created the earth with the food it provides before heaven, without spreading it out. "Then He stretched out straight toward heaven and fashioned it into seven heavens."[335] Thereafter, He spread out the earth. This is (meant by) God's word: "And it was the earth that He spread out thereafter."[336]

According to Muḥammad b. Sa'd[337] —his father—his paternal uncle—his father—his father—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And it was the earth that He spread out thereafter. He brought forth from it its water and its pasture, and the mountains He anchored firmly."[338] It means that He created the heavens and the earth. When He had finished with heaven before creating food of the earth, He spread the food on it after creating heaven. And He firmly anchored the mountains. This is meant by "spreading it out." The food and the plants of the earth used to be good only on the night and the day.[339] This is (meant by) God's word: "And it was the earth that He spread out thereafter." Have you not heard that He continues: "He brought forth from it its water and its pasture"[340] ?

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334. According to Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 312, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalḥah died in 120/737[8]. According to the lost History of Ḥimṣ by Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā (see Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*², 467), he died in 143/760[1]. *Tahdhīb*, VII, 339–41, prefers the latter date, but also refers to Khalīfah. Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, III,2, 281 f., states that he visited the caliph Abū al-'Abbās (al-Saffāḥ), who died in 754. A plausible date for Ibn Abī Ṭalḥah's death would seemingly be ca. 750, if one also takes into account the surrounding authorities in the chain of transmitters. See also Horst, 293, n. 5.

335. Qur. 2:29.

336. Qur. 79:30. For the quotations in *Tafsīr*, see above, n. 333.

337. As indicated in *EI*² , III, 922b, s. v. Ibn Sa'd, with reference to Horst, 294, this is not the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*. It is Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Aṭiyyah b. Sa'd b. Junādah al-'Awfī, who died in 276/889 (*TB*, V, 322 f.). His father Sa'd b. Muḥammad is listed in *TB*, IX, 126. Sa'd's paternal uncle al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan died in 201 or 202/816–18 (*TB*, VIII, 29–32). Al-Ḥusayn's father al-Ḥasan b. 'Aṭiyyah died in 181/797 (*Tahdhīb*, II, 294), and 'Aṭiyyah b. Sa'd died in 111/729[30] (*Tahdhīb*, VII, 224–26). A family *isnād* as complete as this is most remarkable.

338. Qur. 79:30–32.

339. Only when the heaven and the sun and the moon were in existence could the food-producing plants really prosper.

340. Qur. 79:30 f. See *Tafsīr*, XXX, 29.

[46] Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] says: Regarding this, the correct statement, in our opinion, is the one of those who said: God created the earth on Sunday. He created the heaven on Thursday, and He created the stars and the sun and the moon on Friday. [We consider it correct] because of the soundness of the report mentioned by us earlier on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās from the Messenger of God. The tradition transmitted to us on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās is not impossible. It says that God created the earth but did not spread it out. Then He created the heavens "and fashioned them [into seven heavens],"[341] and thereafter "spread out" the earth. "He then brought forth from it its water and its pasture, and the mountains He anchored firmly." Indeed, in my opinion this is the correct statement. That is because the meaning of "spreading out" is different from that of "creating." God says: "Are you more difficult to create than the heaven He constructed? He raised high its roof and fashioned it. He darkened its night and brought forth its morning. And it was the earth He spread out thereafter. He brought forth from it its water and its pasture, and the mountains He anchored firmly."[342]

Someone might say: You realize that a number of interpreters have considered God's word: "And it was the earth that He spread out *thereafter,*" to mean: "He spread out *simultaneously*" [attributing to the preposition *ba'da* "after" the meaning of *ma'a* "together [simultaneous] with"]. Now, what is your evidence for the soundness of your statement that we have here the meaning of "after," the opposite of "before"? The reply would be: The meaning of "after" generally known in Arab speech, as we have said, is that of the opposite of "before," and not "simultaneous with." Now, word meanings considered applicable are those that are preponderant and generally known among speakers [of a language], and no others are.[343]

It has been said that God created the Ancient House [the Ka'bah] upon the water on four pillars. He did this two thousand years

341. Qur. 2:29.
342. Qur. 79:27–32.
343. See *Tafsīr,* XXX, 30 *(ad* Qur. 79:30). It is one of Ṭabarī's exegetical principles that, unless there are reasons to the contrary, the most common and best-known meanings of words as used by the Arabs are applicable to the speech of God. See, for instance, *Tafsīr,* XII, 25 *(ad* Qur. 11:40). See also text below, I, 56.

before He created this world, and the earth was then spread out underneath it. [47]

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ya'qūb al-Qummī[344] —Ja'far[345] —'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: The House was founded upon the water on four pillars two thousand years before (God) created this world. The earth was then spread out underneath the House.[346]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Mihrān[347] —Sufyān (al-Thawrī)—al-A'mash—Bukayr b. al-Akhnas[348] —Mujāhid—'Abdallāh b. 'Umar: God created the House two thousand years before the earth, and from it, the earth was spread out.

If this is so, the earth was created before the heavens were created, and the earth "spread out"—*d-ḥ-w* in the sense of *b-s-ṭ* — with its food, its pastures, and its plants after the creation of the heavens, as mentioned by us on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Mihrān—Abū Sinān[349] —Abū Bakr[350] : The Jews came to the Prophet and said: Muḥammad, inform us about the creation created by God in these six days! The Prophet replied: He created the earth on Sunday and Monday. He created the mountains on Tuesday. He created the cities, food, the rivers, and the cultivated and barren land on Wednesday. He created the heavens and the angels on Thursday continuing to the last three hours of Friday. In the first of these three hours, He created the terms (of human life), in the second, harm, and in the

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344. Ya'qūb b. 'Abdallāh al-Qummī died in 174/790–91. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 390 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, IV, 2, 391; Abū Nu'aym, *Akhbār Iṣbahān*, II, 351 f. Ya'qūb is mentioned as one of Ibn Ḥumayd's authorities in *TB*, II, 259, l. 3.

345. Ja'far b. Abī al-Mughīrah al-Qummī is listed *Tahdīb*, II, 108.

346. For this and the following tradition, see *Tafsīr*, XXX, 29 (*ad* Qur. 79:30–32). Cf. also *Tafsīr*, IV, 7 (*ad* Qur. 3:96).

347. For Abū 'Abdallāh Mihrān b. Abī 'Umar al-'Aṭṭār al-Rāzī, see *Tahdhīb*, X, 327; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, IV, 1, 429; Horst, 296, n. 12.

348. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 489 f.

349. Abū Sinān has the gentilic al-Shaybānī and is equated in the index of Ṭabarī with Abū Sinān Ḍirār b. Murrah al-Shaybānī, who died in 132/749[50]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 457; Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 165.

350. The available data seem consistent with the possible equation of this person with Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh, who was a transmitter of 'Ikrimah and Shahr b. Ḥawshab. See text below, I, 1006, and I, 245 f. Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh could possibly be the best-known bearer of the name, Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Maryam, who died in 156/773. See Bukhārī, *Kunā*, 9, no. 55; *Tahdhīb*, XII, 28–30, who has 256. He may, however, be just another unidentified individual.

third, Adam. The Jews said: You speak the truth, if you finish (the statement). The Prophet realized what they had in mind. He got angry, and God revealed: "And fatigue did not touch Us. So be
[48] patient with what they say."[351]

Someone might say: If it is as you have described, namely, that God created the earth before heaven, then what is the meaning of the statement of Ibn ʿAbbās told all of you by Wāṣil b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Asadī—Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl—al-Aʿmash—Abū Ẓabyān—Ibn ʿAbbās: The first thing created by God is the Pen. God then said to it: Write!, whereupon the Pen asked: What shall I write, my lord? God replied: Write what is predestined! He continued. And the Pen proceeded to (write) whatever is predestined and going to be to the Coming of the Hour. God then lifted up the water vapor and split the heavens off from it. Then God created the fish *(nūn)*, and the earth was spread out upon its back. The fish became agitated, with the result that the earth was shaken up. It was steadied by means of the mountains, for they indeed proudly (tower) over the earth.[352]

I was told about the same by Wāṣil—Wakīʿ—al-Aʿmash—Abū Ẓabyān—Ibn ʿAbbās.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī ʿAdī—Shuʿbah—Sulaymān (al-Aʿmash ?)—Abū Ẓabyān—Ibn ʿAbbās: The first (thing) created by God is the Pen. It proceeded to (write) whatever is going to be. (God) then lifted up the water vapor, and the heavens were created from it. Then He created the fish, and the earth was spread out on its back. The fish moved, with the result that the earth was shaken up. It was steadied by means of the mountains, for the mountains indeed proudly (tower) over the earth. So he said, and he recited: "*Nūn*. By the Pen and what they write."[353]

I was told the same by Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir—Isḥāq (b. Yūsuf)—Sharīk (b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nakhaʿī)—al-Aʿmash—Abū Ẓabyān or Mujāhid[354] —Ibn ʿAbbās, with the exception, however, that he

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351. Qur. 50:38 f. See also text above, I, 19 ff.

352. For the first half of this tradition, see text above, I, 30, and n. 241, referring to *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 10 *(ad* Qur. 68:1-3), where this tradition as well as the following *isnād* occurs.

353. Qur. 68:1; *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 9. See also text above, I, 30 f.

354. For "or " the Leiden edition has "on the authority of," which may not be impossible, but the evidence seems to be against it. See text above, I, 31, and *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 9.

said: And the heavens were split off from it (instead of: were created).

According to Ibn Bashshār—Yaḥyā[355] —Sufyān—Sulaymān (al-A'mash ?)—Abū Ẓabyān—Ibn 'Abbās: The first (thing) created by God is the Pen. God said: Write!, whereupon the Pen asked: What shall I write? God replied: Write what is predestined! He continued. And (the Pen) proceeded to (write) whatever is predestined and going to be from that day on to the Coming of the Hour. Then God created the fish. He lifted up the water vapor, and heaven was split off from it, and the earth was spread out upon the back of the fish. The fish became agitated, and as a result, the earth was shaken up. It was steadied by means of the mountains, he continued, for they proudly (tower) over the the earth. [49]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr (b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd)—'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib—Abū al-Ḍuḥā Muslim b. Ṣubayḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: The first thing created by God is the Pen. God said to it: Write!, and it wrote whatever is going to be until the Coming of the Hour. Then God created the fish upon the water. Then he heaped up the earth upon it.[356]

This reportedly is a sound tradition as transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās and on the authority of others in the sense commented upon and explained and does not contradict anything transmitted by us from him on this subject.

Should someone[357] ask: What comment on his authority and that of others proves the soundness of what you have transmitted to us in this sense on his authority? he should be referred to what I have been told by Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī and others—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ b. Naṣr—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Messenger of God (commenting on): "He is the One Who created for you all that is on earth. Then He stretched out straight toward the heaven and fashioned it into seven heavens."[358] God's Throne was upon the water. He had not created anything except what He created before

355. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Farrūkh al-Qaṭṭān was born at the beginning of the year 120/Dec. 737–Jan.738. He died in 198/313. See *TB*, XIV, 135-44; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 216–20.

356. See text above, I, 31.

357. Lit.,"he," possibly referring to a particular individual (?).

358. Qur. 2:29.

the water.[359] When He wanted to create the creation, He brought forth smoke from the water. The smoke rose above the water and
[50] hovered loftily over it. He therefore called it "heaven."[360] Then He dried out the water, and thus made it one earth. He split it and made it into seven earths on Sunday and Monday. He created the earth upon a (big) fish (*ḥūt*), that being the fish (*nūn*) mentioned by God in the Qur'ān: "*Nūn*. By the Pen."[361] The fish was in the water. The water was upon the back of a (small) rock. The rock was upon the back of an angel. The angel was upon a (big) rock. The (big) rock—the one mentioned by Luqmān[362] —was in the wind, neither in heaven nor on earth. The fish moved and became agitated. As a result, the earth quaked, whereupon He firmly, anchored the mountains on it, and it was stable. The mountains proudly (tower) over the earth. This is stated in God's word that He made for the earth "firmly anchored (mountains), lest it shake you up."[363]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: The statement of those mentioned by me that God brought forth smoke from the water when He wanted to create the heavens and earth; that the smoke hovered loftily over it, by which is meant that it was high over the water, since everything that is high above another thing is its "heaven"; that He then dried out the water and made it one earth, indicates that God created heaven unfashioned before the earth and then created the earth. If it is as they say, it is not impossible that God stirred up smoke from the water and raised it high over the water, so that it became a heaven for it. Then He dried out the water, and the smoke that hovered loftily over it became an earth. But God did not spread it out and did not decree that it contain the food it provides, nor did He bring forth from it its water and its pasture, until He stretched out straight toward the heaven which was the smoke stirring from the water and rising high above it,

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359. See text above, I, 36.

360. The verb *samā* means "to hover loftily," and the noun *samā'* means "heaven." If there is an etymological connection between them, it probably was in the opposite direction, that is, the verb was derived from the noun.

361. Qur. 68:1. *Ḥūt* appears in the Qur'ān also in connection with Jonah. There is no discernible distinction in meaning between *ḥūt* and *nūn*, the latter being the ancient Semitic word.

362. See Qur. 31:16 and *Tafsīr*, XXI, 46, on this verse.

363. Qur. 16:15. For the tradition in *Tafsīr*, see above, n. 281.

and He fashioned it into seven heavens. Then He spread out the earth which was water and dried the water out. Then He split the earth, making it into seven earths, and decreed that it contain the amount of food it provides and "brought forth from it its water [51] and its pasture, and the mountains He anchored firmly," as God says.[364] Thus, everything transmitted by us concerning this subject on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās has a sound meaning.

Monday: We have mentioned before the difference of opinion among scholars as to what He created on it and what has been transmitted concerning the subject on the authority of the Messenger of God.[365]

What God created on Tuesday and Wednesday: We have also mentioned some of the information that has been transmitted concerning this subject. Here we shall mention some information not mentioned by us before. In our opinion, the sound report in this connection is what I was told by Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Messenger of God: God created the mountains on it—meaning the earth—and the food it provides for its inhabitants and its trees and whatever else is required for it on two days, Tuesday and Wednesday. That is when God says: "Say: Do you really not believe in the One Who created the earth in two days, and set up others like Him ? That is the Lord of the worlds. He made in it firmly anchored (mountains) above it and blessed it and decreed that it contain the amount of food it provides, all in four days, equally for those asking"—that is, those who ask (will find that) it is so.[366] "Then He stretched out straight toward heaven, which was smoke"[367] —that smoke came from the water's breathing—and made it into one heaven. Then He split (this one heaven) up into seven heavens on two days, Thursday and Friday.

According to al-Muthannā—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Abū Ma'shar—Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd—'Abdallāh b. Salām: God created food and the firmly

364. Qur. 79:31 f.
365. The reference may be to text above, I, 47.
366. See above, n. 163.
367. Qur. 41:9–11.

anchored (mountains) on Tuesday and Wednesday.[368]

[52] According to Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir—Isḥāq (b. Yūsuf) —Sharīk (b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nakhaʿī)—Ghālib b. Ghallāb— ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās: God created the mountains on Tuesday. That is why people say: It is a heavy day.[369]

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: In our opinion, the sound statement concerning this subject is the tradition transmitted by us on the authority of the Prophet who said: God created the mountains and the uses they possess on Tuesday. On Wednesday, He created trees, water, cities, and the cultivated and barren land. We were told this by Hannād—Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh—Abū Saʿd al-Baqqāl—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās—the Prophet.[370]

It has been transmitted on the authority of the Prophet that God created the mountains on Sunday. He created the trees on Monday. He created evil on Tuesday. He created the light on Wednesday. I was told this by al-Qāsim b. Bishr b. Maʿrūf and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṣudāʾī—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Surayj—Ismāʿīl b. Umayyah—Ayyūb b. Khālid—ʿAbdallāh b. Rāfiʿ, the *mawlā* of Umm Salamah—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet.[371]

The first report[372] is sounder with respect to the source situation *(makhrajan)* and more likely to be true, because it is what most of the early (scholars) say.

Thursday: He created on it the heavens, which were compressed but then were split,[373] as I was told by Mūsā b. Hārūn—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet (commenting on): "Then He stretched out straight toward heaven, which was smoke"[374] —that smoke came from the water's breathing—
[53] and made it into one heaven. Then He split (this one heaven) into seven heavens on two days, Thursday and Friday.

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368. See text above, I, 44.

369. See *Tafsīr*, XXIV, 61, ll. 26 f. (*ad* Qur. 41:6), and above, n. 174. "Heavy" may not be intended to refer to the great weight of mountains but rather to the evil character of Tuesday.

370. See text above, I, 19.

371. See text above, I, 20.

372. That is, the one of Mūsā b. Hārūn; see text above, I, 51.

373. Cf. Qur. 21:30.

374. Qur. 41:11.

Friday—*yawm al-jum'ah* —is thus called because on it, God put together *(j-m-')* the creation of the heavens and the earth and "revealed in every heaven its command."[375] He continued: In every heaven, He created its (special) angels as well as its (special) oceans, the mountains with hail,[376] and what (man) does not know.[377] He then adorned the lower heaven with the stars and made them an ornament and guard to guard against the Satans.[378] When He completed creating whatever He pleased, He sat straight on the Throne. That is when He says: "He created the heavens and the earth in six days,"[379] and: "The two were compressed, and We split them apart."[380]

According to al-Muthannā—Abū Ṣāliḥ ('Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ) —Abū Ma'shar—Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd—'Abdallāh b. Salām: God created the heavens on Thursday and Friday, and He finished in the last hour of Friday, in which He created Adam in haste. This is the hour in which the Hour will come.[381]

According to Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir—Isḥāq (b. Yūsuf)—Sharīk (b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī)—Ghālib b. Ghallāb—'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: God created the places for rivers and trees on Wednesday. He created the birds, the wild animals, reptiles, and beasts of prey on Thursday, and He created man on Friday. He finished creating everything on Friday.

In our opinion, the sound view is represented by the statement of those mentioned by us that God created the heavens, the angels, and Adam on Thursday and Friday. That is because of the report told us by Hannād b. al-Sarī, who also said that he read all of the *ḥadīth*[382] —Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh—Abū Sa'īd (!) al-Baqqāl—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās—the Prophet: On Thursday He created [54]
heaven. On Friday He created the stars, the sun, the moon, and the angels, until three hours remained of it. In the first of these three hours, He created the terms (of human life), who would live

375. Qur. 41:12, see above, n. 199. For the etymology of "Friday" involved here, see text below, I, 113–15. Cf. also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 48.
376. Cf. Qur. 24:43.
377. Cf. Qur. 96:5.
378. Cf. Qur. 37:6 f. and 41:12.
379. Qur. 11:7.
380. Qur. 21:30.
381. See text above, I, 44.
382. See above, n. 159.

and who would die. In the second, He cast harm upon everything that is useful for mankind. And in the third, He (created) Adam and had him dwell in Paradise. He commanded Iblīs to prostrate himself (before Adam), and He drove Adam out of Paradise at the end of the hour.[383]

According to al-Qāsim b. Bishr and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṣudāʾī—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Ismāʿīl b. Umayyah—Ayyūb b. Khālid—ʿAbdallāh b. Rāfiʿ, the *mawlā* of Umm Salamah—Abū Hurayrah: The Messenger of God took me by the hand and said: He scattered on it—meaning the earth—the animals on Thursday, and He created Adam after (the time of) the afternoon prayer of Friday as the last of His creatures in the last hour of Friday, in the time between the afternoon prayer and night(fall).[384]

Now then, God created the creation in six days, from the beginning of the creation of the heavens and the earth to the time He finished creating all creatures. Each day of the six in which He created them corresponds to a thousand of the years of this world. Between His beginning His creation of (all) that and the creation of the Pen, which He commanded to write whatever is going to be to the Coming of the Hour, there are a thousand years—one of the days of the other world, each of which corresponds to a thousand years of this world. The conclusion is that the time elapsed from when our Lord first began creating His creatures to when He fin-
[55] ished the last of them is seven thousand years, give, if God wills, or take a little. That is according to the traditions and reports transmitted by us which we have mentioned.[385] We have omitted many of them, because we do not like the book to become too long by mentioning (all this information).

If this is so, and if it is sound that, as proved by us earlier with the help of evidential statements, there is a duration of seven thousand years, give or take a little, from (the time) when our Lord finished His creation of all His creatures to the moment of the annihilation of all of them, the conclusion must be drawn that the time elapsed from when God first created His creation to the Coming of the Hour and the annihilation of the entire world extends over fourteen thousand of the years of this world, or fourteen of

383. See text above, I, 19 f.
384. See text above, I, 20.
385. See text above, I, 8 ff.

the days of the other world. Seven of these days—that is, seven thousand of the years of this world—represent the time elapsed from when God first began creating His first creatures to when He finished the creation of the last of them—namely, Adam, the father of mankind. The other seven days—that is, seven thousand of the years of this world—represent the period from when God finished the creation of His last creature—that is, Adam—to the annihilation of all His creatures and the Coming of the Hour and the return of everything to the state in which it was before there was anyone except the Eternal One, the Creator, Whose "are the creation and the command,"[386] Who was before everything, and there was nothing before Him, and Who will be after everything, and nothing will remain except His noble face.

Someone might say: What proof do you have for stating that each of the six days in which God created His creation corresponds to a thousand of the years of this world, and none (of those days) is like the days of the inhabitants of this world commonly known among them (as "days")? God merely says: "The One Who created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six [56] days."[387] He gave us no information that it is as you say. Rather, He informed us that He created that in six days, and the days commonly known (as "days") among those addressed here are the days that begin with sunrise and last until sunset. You also say that whatever God says in addressing His servants in His revelation is meant to be understood according to its most common and preponderant meaning, but now you propose to understand the information given by God in His Book concerning the creation of the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days according to a meaning of "day" that is not commonly known. When God wants to bring something into being, His command is completely effective, and thus it cannot be said that He created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days whose measure is six thousand of the years of this world. When He wants something to be, He commands it to be by just saying: "Be! And it is."[388] This is as our Lord says: "And Our command is

386. Qur. 7:54.
387. Qur. 25:59.
388. Qur. 2:117, etc.

but one[389] like a glance of the eye."[390]

The reply would be: Earlier in this book of ours we said that with respect to most of what we set down in it, we rely upon the traditions and reports on the authority of our Prophet and that of the righteous early Muslims before us, and we do not use reason and thinking for producing (the book), for most of its contents is information about past matters and events that are going to be. Knowledge of this sort cannot be produced and obtained by the use of reason.[391]

Should he ask whether there is proof from reported information *(khabar)* for the soundness of (the equation of "day" with a thousand years), the answer would be: It is something that according to our knowledge has not been contradicted by any leading religious authority.

Should he ask whether there is information transmitted on the authority of one of the leading scholars, the answer would be:
[57] Knowledge of it among early Muslim scholars is too common to require transmission attributed to one individual among them personally. It has been transmitted on the authority of a number of them mentioned personally by name. If he then asks to mention some of them, the answer is:

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ḥakkām[392] —'Anbasah[393] —Simāk[394] —'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: God "created the heavens and the earth in six days"[395] —of which each day is like "one thousand years of your counting."[396]

According to Ibn Wakī'—his father—Isrā'īl[397] —Simāk—'Ikri-

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389. The feminine *wāḥidah* ("one") has no explicit referent, but it seems fairly certain that the referent is intended to be *lamḥah* ("glance") in the singular, anticipating the following collective *lamḥ*. Thus, it means: (as quick) as a single glance of the eye. *Tafsīr*, XXVII, 66 *(ad* Qur. 54:50) explains: "a single irrefutable utterance *(qawlah)* as quick and immediate (as a glance of the eye)." Among the modern translators of the Qur'ān, A. J. Arberry follows Ṭabarī and translates "one word." R. Paret has "one action," and R. Bell offers the preferable "one flash."

390. Qur. 54:50.

391. See text above, I, 6 ff.

392. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥakkām b. Salm al-Rāzī died after 190/805[6] in Mecca. See *TB*, VIII, 281 f.; *Tahdhīb*, II, 422, f.; Horst, 299, n. 7.

393. According to *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 155, he was 'Anbasah b. Sa'īd b. al-Ḍurays.

394. Simāk b. Ḥarb died in 123/740[1]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 232–34.

395. Qur. 11:7.

396. See *Tafsīr*, XXI, 58 *(ad* Qur. 32:5).

397. Born in 100/718[9], Isrā'īl b. Yūnus died in the early 160s/776–799. See *TB*, VII, 20–25; *Tahdhīb*, I, 261–63.

mah—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "In a day whose measure is a thousand years of your counting,"[398] as follows: The six days on which God created the heavens and the earth.

According to 'Abdah[399] —al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraj[400] —Abū Mu'ādh[401] —'Ubayd[402] —al-Ḍaḥḥāk concerning God's word: "In a day whose measure is a thousand years of your counting": He means the day of the six days in which God created the heavens and the earth and what is between them.

According to al-Muthannā—'Alī (b. al-Haytham)—al-Musayyab b. Sharīk—Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk, commenting on: "And He is the One Who created the heavens and the earth in six days"[403] —of the days of the other world. The measure of each day is a thousand years. He began with the creation on Sunday, and the creation was all together on Friday *(ijtama'a - jum'ah)*.[404]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr (b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd)—al-A'mash—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ka'b: God began the creation of the heavens and the earth on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He finished on Friday. He continued: God made each day equal to a thousand years.

According to al-Muthannā—al-Ḥajjāj—Abū 'Awānah—Abū Bishr—Mujāhid: One of the six days is "like a thousand years of your counting."[405] [58]

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398. Qur. 32:5. See *Tafsīr*, XXI, 58.

399. *Tafsīr*, XXI, 58 starts the *isnād* with: "I was told by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraj," as is commonly found in *Tafsīr*. Elsewhere, we find 'Abdān al-Marwazī instead of 'Abdah (see text below, I, 80); further 'Abdah al-Marwazī (I, 96), 'Abdān b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī (I, 117), and 'Abdān al-Marwazī (I, 312), apparently all referring to the same individual. However, he appears unidentifiable under any form of the name. *TB*, XI, 135 f., has a certain 'Abdān b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī (b. 220/835, d. 293/906), a transmitter of Muqātil's *Tafsīr*, but he belonged to the generation of Ṭabarī and was himself a student of Abū Kurayb and an authority of the Ṭabarī biographer Ibn Kāmil. He could hardly be meant here. See also Horst, 304.

400. Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraj does not seem to be safely identifiable with al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraj al-Khayyāṭ. See *TB*, VIII, 84–86; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 2, 62; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, II, 307; Horst, 304, n. 7.

401. As indicated by Horst, 304, n. 8, Abū Mu'ādh al-Faḍl b. Khālid (see text below, I, 80) died around 211/826[7]. See Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, II, 9; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, III, 2, 61.

402. 'Ubayd (wrongly, it seems, 'Ubaydallāh, see text below, I, 80) b. Sulaymān is briefly listed in *Tahdhīb*, VII, 67; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II, 2, 408; Horst, 304, n. 9.

403. Qur. 11:7.

404. *Tafsīr*, XII, 4 *(ad* Qur. 11:7) contains a version of the tradition whose *isnād* omits the first two links mentioned above.

405. Qur. 32:5.

So it is. There is no point to someone's asking: How can God be described as having created the heavens and the earth and what is between them in six days, seeing that when He wants something to be, He commands it to be just by saying: "Be! And it is." (The reason why such a question would be pointless is) because whatever can be imagined as covered by such a statement is also covered by a statement such as: He created all of that in six days whose duration corresponds to that of six days of this world, because when He wants something to be, He commands it to be just by saying: "Be! And it is."[406]

Night and Day: Which Was Created before the Other? The Beginning of the Creation of the Sun and the Moon and a Description of Them, as Time Is Known Through Them

Regarding God's creation, we have mentioned the things which He created before He created momentary and extended time. We have explained that momentary and created time is but the hours of night and day, and that is but the traversal by the sun and the moon of the degrees of the sphere.[407] Now, let us ask which came first, night or day? Differences of opinion exist among those who speculate on the subject. Some say that God created night before day, using as evidence for the truth of this statement that when the sun sets and its luminosity, which is identical with daytime, is gone, night comes suddenly with its darkness. It must be concluded that the luminosity (of the sun) is what descends upon the night and that, without the day descending upon the night and obliterating it, the night would be stable. This being the case with regard to night and day is proof that the night was created first and that the sun was created later. This is expressed in a state-
[59] ment transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās. According to

406. Qur. 2:117, etc. Ṭabarī argues here that the creation word of God is timeless and leaves open the question of how much time in human terms might be involved in any particular aspect of creation. Thus, if there is a tradition about "days" meaning thousands of years, it is not irreconcilable with God's immediacy of creation and is as acceptable as any other tradition or chronological framework may be.

407. See text above, I, 18.

Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Raḥmān (b. Mahdī)—Sufyān (al-Thawrī)—his father[408] —'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: Asked whether the night existed before the day, (Ibn 'Abbās?) replied: Don't you see! When the heavens and the earth were compressed,[409] was there anything but darkness between them? This is meant for you to realize that the night existed before the day.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā[410] —'Abd al-Razzāq[411] —(Sufyān) al-Thawrī—his father—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: The night is before the day. Then he said: "The two were compressed, and We then split them apart."[412]

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār—Wahb b. Jarīr—his father[413] —Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb[414] —Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb[415] —Marthad b. 'Abdallāh al-Yazanī[416] : Whenever 'Uqbah b. 'Āmir[417] saw the new moon, that is, the new moon of Ramaḍān, he did not spend that very night in prayer (but waited) until he had fasted the following day and thereafter spent the nights in prayer. When I mentioned this to Ibn Ḥujayrah,[418] he said: The night before the day or the day before the night?[419]

Others said: Day was before night. For the soundness of this statement of theirs they used as evidence (the argument) that God existed while there was neither night nor day and nothing at all except Him, and that it was His light with which He illuminated everything He created after having created it, until He created night.

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408. Sa'īd b. Masrūq died between 126 and 128/743–746. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 82.

409. Cf. Qur. 21:30. In commenting on this Qur'ānic passage, Ṭabarī decided in favor of another interpretation. See *Tafsīr*, XVII, 15.

410. Died in 263/877 in his eighties. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 324 f.; Horst, 296, n. 2.

411. 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām lived from 126/743[4] to 211/827. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 310–15; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 99; Horst, 296, n. 11.

412. Qur. 21:30. The tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, XVII, 15.

413. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim died in 175/791[2] in his eighties. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 69–72.

414. Died in 168/784 [5]. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 186-88.

415. Born in 53/672[3], Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb died in 128/745[6]. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 318 f.

416. Died in 90/708[9]. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 82.

417. 'Uqbah died at the end of Mu'āwiyah's caliphate in 58/677[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 242–44; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, III, 1073 f.

418. Apparently, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥujayrah, who died in the early eighties/699–702, rather than his son 'Abdallāh. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 160.

419. 'Uqbah's action with respect to the nightly prayers during Ramaḍān *(tarāwīḥ)* could be interpreted either way as to the question of precedence of night over day or vice versa.

Those who said this

According to ʿAlī b. Sahl—al-Ḥasan b. Bilāl[420] —Ḥammād b. Salamah —Abū ʿAbd al-Salām al-Zubayr[421] —Ayyūb b. ʿAbdallāh al-Fihrī[422] —Ibn Masʿūd: With your Lord there is neither night nor day. The light of the heavens comes from the light of His face. The measure of each of those days of yours is twelve hours with Him.

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: Of the two statements on this subject the one which, in my opinion, is most likely to be correct is that [60] night was before day. For day comes, as I have mentioned, from the luminosity of the sun, and God created the sun and made it run in the sphere only after He had spread the earth and laid it out, as He says: "Are you more difficult to create than the heaven He constructed? He raised high its roof and fashioned it. He darkened its night and brought forth its morning."[423] If the sun was created after the heaven was made a roof and its night darkened, it must be concluded that before the sun was created and before God brought forth morning from heaven, (the heaven) was dark and not luminous. Now, if our observation about night and day contains clear proof that day is what comes suddenly upon the night, because it is at night that the sun sets and its luminosity is gone,[424] so that the air becomes dark, then the day is what comes suddenly upon the night with its luminosity and light. God knows best!

The report(s) on the authority of the Messenger of God differ as to the moment when God's creation of the sun and the moon began. As transmitted on (Ibn ʿAbbās') authority, (the Prophet) said: God created the sun, the moon, the stars, and the angels on Friday, until three hours remained of it.[425] This we were told by Hannād b. al-Sarī—Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh—Abū Saʿd al-Baqqāl—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās—the Prophet.

As transmitted by Abū Hurayrah, the Prophet said: God cre-

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420. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 258, and below, n. 601.

421. In the sparse references to Abū ʿAbd al-Salām al-Zubayr, he is also connected with Ayyūb (b. ʿAbdallāh) b. Mu/ikraz. See Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 1, 378; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 2, 584. Also *Tahdhīb*, I, 407.

422. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 407 f.; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1, 419, no. 1343; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 1, 251, no. 898. It seems that he is nowhere given the gentilic al-Fihrī; *Tahdhīb* has al-ʿĀmirī.

423. Qur. 79:27–29.

424. The Cairo edition has: the sun sets and its luminosity is gone, be it at night or during the day.

425. See text above, I, 20.

ated light on Wednesday.[426] This I was told by al-Qāsim b. Bishr and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī—Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad—Ibn Jurayj—Ismāʿīl b. Umayyah—Ayyūb b. Khālid—ʿAbdallāh b. Rāfiʿ—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet: God created light on Wednesday. [61]

However this may be, God created many other creatures before He created (the sun and the moon). He then created them in consequence of His superior knowledge of what is beneficial for His creation. He gave them constant movement. Then He distinguished between the two, making one of them the sign of night and the other the sign of day. He blotted out the sign of night and made the sign of day something to see by.[427]

Concerning the reason for the difference between the conditions of the sign of night and the sign of day, there are reports transmitted on the authority of the Messenger of God. I shall mention some of these reports which I have, as well as similar reports transmitted on the authority of a number of early (scholars).

Among the traditions transmitted from the Messenger of God on this subject is what I have been told by Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr al-Āmulī—Khalaf b. Wāṣil[428] —Abū Nuʿaym ʿUmar b. Ṣubḥ al-Balkhī[429] —Muqātil b. Ḥayyān[430] —ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abzā[431] —Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī[432] : I walked hand in hand with the Prophet around evening when the sun was about to set. We did not stop looking at it until it had set. He continued. I asked the Messenger of God: Where does it set? He replied: It sets in the heaven and is then raised from heaven to heaven until it is raised to the highest, seventh heaven. Eventually, when it is underneath the Throne, it falls down and prostrates itself, and the angels who are in charge of it prostrate themselves together with it. The sun then says: My Lord, whence do You command me to rise, from where I set or from where I rise? He continued. This is

426. See text above, I, 20.
427. Cf. Qur. 17:12.
428. Unidentified. The *isnād* is considered dubious, see below, n. 436.
429. For ʿUmar b. (al-)Ṣubḥ, see *Tahdhīb*, VII, 463 f.
430. The Qur'ān commentator Muqātil b. Ḥayyān died ca. 150/767. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 277–79; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 36.
431. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 132 f.
432. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī died in 31 or 32/651–53. See *Tahdhīb*, XII, 90 f.; *EI*², I, 114, f., s. v.; A. J. Cameron, *Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī* (London, 1973). A very different brief version of the tradition in Abū Dharr's name is mentioned in *Tafsīr*, XXIII, 5.

(meant by) God's word: "And the sun: It runs to a place where it is to reside (at night)"—where it is held underneath the Throne—"That is decreed by One Mighty and Knowing"[433] —by "this" is meant the procedure of the "mighty" Lord in His royal authority, the Lord Who is "knowing" about His creation. He continued.
[62] Gabriel brings to the sun a garment of luminosity from the light of the Throne, according to the measure of the hours of the day. It is longer in the summer and shorter in the winter, and of intermediate length in autumn and spring. He continued. The sun puts on that garment, as one of you here puts on his garment. Then, it is set free to roam in the air of heaven until it rises whence it does. The Prophet said: It is as if it had been held for three nights. Then it will not be covered with luminosity and will be commanded to rise from where it sets. This is (meant by) God's word: "When the sun shall be rolled up."[434] He continued. The same course is followed by the moon in its rising, its running on the horizon of the heaven, its setting, its rising to the highest, seventh heaven, its being held underneath the Throne, its prostration, and its asking for permission. But Gabriel brings it a garment from the light of the Footstool. He continued. This is (meant by) God's word: "He made the sun a luminosity and the moon a light."[435] Abū Dharr concluded: Then I went away together with the Messenger of God, and we prayed the evening prayer. This report from the Messenger of God indicates that the only difference between the condition of the sun and that of the moon is that the luminosity of the sun comes from the wrap of the luminosity of the Throne with which the sun was covered, while the light of the moon comes from a wrap of the light of the Footstool with which the moon was covered.

The other report,[436] referring to a different concept, is what I was told by Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr—Khalaf b. Wāṣil—

433. Qur. 36:38.
434. Qur. 81:1.
435. Qur. 10:5.
436. This tradition of Ibn 'Abbās extends to text below, I, 74. The Cairo edition refers to the noteworthy criticism of Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, I, 17: The story contradicts reason, it is not a sound *ḥadīth*, and something of such importance should not be accepted into books if the *isnād* is so weak. It is, of course, understandable that writers on the stories of the prophets such as al-Tha'labī gave it prominent play.

Abū Nu'aym—Muqātil b. Ḥayyān—'Ikrimah: One day when Ibn 'Abbās was sitting (at home or in the mosque), a man came to him and said: Ibn 'Abbās, I heard Ka'b, the Rabbi, tell a marvelous story about the sun and the moon. He continued. Ibn 'Abbās who had been reclining sat up and asked what it was. The man said: He suggested that on the Day of Resurrection, the sun and the moon will be brought as if they were two hamstrung oxen, and flung into Hell. 'Ikrimah continued. Ibn 'Abbās became contorted [63] with anger and exclaimed three times: Ka'b is lying! Ka'b is lying! Ka'b is lying! This is something Jewish he wants to inject into Islam. God is too majestic and noble to mete out punishment where there is obedience to Him. Have you not heard God's word: "And He subjected to you the sun and the moon, being constant"[437] — referring to their constant obedience. How would He punish two servants that are praised for constant obedience? May God curse that rabbi and his rabbinate! How insolent is he toward God and what a tremendous fabrication has he told about those two servants that are obedient to God! He continued. Then he said several times: We return to God.[438] He took a little piece of wood from the ground and started to hit the ground with it. He did that for some time, then lifting his head he threw away the little piece of wood and said: You want me to tell you what I heard the Messenger of God say about the sun and the moon and the beginning of their creation and how things went with them? We said: We would, indeed, May God show mercy unto you. He said: When the Messenger of God was asked about that, he replied: When God was done with His creation and only Adam remained to be created, He created two suns from the light of His Throne. His foreknowledge told Him that He would leave here one sun,[439] so He created it as (large as) this world is from east to west. His foreknowledge also told Him that He would efface it and change it to a moon; so the moon is smaller in size than the sun. But both are seen as small because of the sun's altitude and remoteness from the earth.

He continued: If God had left the two suns as He created them

437. Qur. 14:33.

438. Cf. Qur. 2:156. The use of the phrase here characterizes the statement as a sin and misfortune.

439. That is, not two suns but a sun and a moon derived from it. Possibly, it should be the dual: ... leave the two of them one sun.

in the beginning, night would not have been distinguishable from day. A hired man then would not know until when he should la-
[64] bor and when he should receive his wages. A person fasting would not know until when he must fast. A woman would not know how to reckon the period of her impurity.[440] The Muslims would not know the time of the pilgrimage. Debtors would not know when their debts become due. People in general would not know when to work for a livelihood and when to stop for resting their bodies. The Lord was too concerned with His servants and too merciful to them (to do such a thing). He thus sent Gabriel to drag his wing three times over the face of the moon, which at the time was a sun. He effaced its luminosity and left the light in it. This is (meant by) God's word: "And We have made the night and the day two signs. We have blotted out the sign of the night, and We have made the sign of the day something to see by."[441] He continued. The blackness you can see as lines on the moon is a trace of the blotting. God then created for the sun a chariot with 360 handholds from the luminosity of the light of the Throne and entrusted 360 of the angels inhabiting the lower heaven with the sun and its chariot, each of them gripping one of those handholds. He entrusted 360 of the angels inhabiting (the lower?) heaven with the moon and its chariot, each of them gripping one of those handholds.

Then he said: For the sun and the moon, He created easts and wests (positions to rise and set) on the two sides of the earth and the two rims of heaven, 180 springs in the west of black clay—this is (meant by) God's word: "He found it setting in a muddy spring,"[442] meaning by "muddy *(ḥamiʾah)*" black clay—and 180 springs in the east likewise of black clay, bubbling and boiling like a pot when it boils furiously. He continued. Every day and night,
[65] the sun has a new place where it rises and a new place where it sets. The interval between them from beginning to end is longest for the day in summer and shortest in winter. This is (meant by) God's word: "The Lord of the two easts and the Lord of the two wests,"[443] meaning the last (position) of the sun here and the last

440. See *EI*², III, 1010–13, s. v. 'idda.

441. Qur. 17:12.

442. Qur. 18:86. See *Tafsīr*, XVI, 9 f., on this verse. Ṭabarī argues that either the interpretation of the adjective *ḥamiʾah* as "black clay" favored by Ibn 'Abbās or its interpretation as *ḥāmiyah* "hot" is possible.

443. Qur. 55:17. See *Tafsīr*, XXVIX, 74 f., on this verse for much comparable

there. He omitted the positions in the east and the west (for the rising and setting of the sun) in between them. Then He referred to east and west in the plural, saying: "(By) the Lord of the easts and the wests."[444] He mentioned the number of all those springs (as above).

He continued. God created an ocean three *farsakhs* (18 kilometers) removed from heaven. Waves contained,[445] it stands in the air by the command of God. No drop of it is spilled. All the oceans are motionless, but that ocean flows at the rate of the speed of an arrow. It is set free to move in the air evenly, as if it were a rope stretched out in the area between east and west. The sun, the moon, and the retrograde stars[446] run in its deep swell. This is (meant by) God's word: "Each swims in a sphere."[447] "The sphere" is the circulation of the chariot in the deep swell of that ocean. By Him Who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand! If the sun were to emerge from that ocean, it would burn everything on earth, including even rocks and stones, and if the moon were to emerge from it, it would afflict (by its heat)[448] the inhabitants of the earth to such an extent that they would worship gods other than God. The exception would be those of God's friends whom He would want to keep free from sin.

Ibn 'Abbās said that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said to the Messenger of God: You are like my father and my mother! You have mentioned the course of the retrograde stars *(al-khunnas)* by which God swears in the Qur'ān,[449] together with the sun and the moon, and the rest. Now, what are *al-khunnas*? The Prophet replied: 'Alī, they are five stars: Jupiter *(al-birjīs)*, Saturn *(zuḥal)*, Mercury *('uṭārid)*, Mars *(bahrām)*, and Venus *(al-zuhrah)*. These five stars [66]
rise and run like the sun and the moon and race[450] with them to-

material.

444. Qur. 70:40. *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 55, on this verse, refers to Ibn 'Abbās as reporting on the theory of 360 different "windows" *(kūwah)* for sunrises and sunsets.

445. *Saqfan maḥfūẓan* in Qur. 21:32 was explained by Qatādah as "waves contained" *(mawj makfūf)*, see *Tafsīr*, XVII, 17, on the verse. It is also used as an explanation of *falak* ("sphere").

446. For the problem of *al-khunnas* in Qur. 81:15, see below, n. 449.

447. Qur. 21:33 and 36:40. See *Tafsīr*, XVII, 16 ff., on the former verse.

448. For the transitive use of *f-t-n*, see Lane, 2334 f.

449. Qur. 81:15. For the various attempted explanations, see *Tafsīr*, XXX, 47 f., on the verse. Here, it is explained as referring to the five planets.

450. Cf. Qur. 100:1.

gether. All the other stars are suspended from heaven as lamps are from mosques, and circulate together with heaven praising and sanctifying God with prayer. The Prophet then said: If you wish to have this made clear, look to the circulation of the sphere alternately here and there. It is the circulation of heaven and the circulation of all the stars together with it except those five. Their[451] circulation today is what you see, and that is their prayer. Their circulation to the Day of Resurrection is as quick as the circulation of a mill[452] because of the dangers and tremors of the Day of Resurrection. This is (meant by) God's word: "On a day when the heaven sways to and fro and the mountains move. Woe on that day unto those who declare false (the Prophet's divine message)."[453]

He continued. When the sun rises, it rises upon its chariot from one of those springs accompanied by 360 angels with outspread wings. They draw it along the sphere, praising and sanctifying God with prayer, according to the extent of the hours of night and the hours of day, be it night or day. When God wishes to test the sun and the moon, showing His servants a sign and thereby asking them to stop disobeying Him and to start to obey, the sun tumbles from the chariot and falls into the deep of that ocean, which is the sphere. When God wants to increase the significance of the sign and frighten His servants severely, all of the sun falls, and nothing of it remains upon the chariot. That is a total eclipse of the sun, when the day darkens and the stars come out. When God wants
[67] to make a partial sign, half or a third or two-thirds of it fall into the water, while the rest remains upon the chariot, this being a partial eclipse. It is a misfortune for the sun or for the moon. It frightens His servants and constitutes a request from the Lord (for them to repent). However this may be, the angels entrusted with the chariot of the sun divide into two groups, one that goes to the sun and pulls it toward the chariot, and another that goes to the chariot and pulls it toward the sun, while at the same time they keep it steady in the sphere, praising and sanctifying God with prayer, according to the extent of the hours of day or the hours of night, be it night or day, summer or winter, autumn or spring

451. Referring, it seems, to heaven and the stars.

452. For a different combination of "mill" with "sphere," see *Tafsīr*, XVII, 17 f. (*ad* Qur. 21:33).

453. Qur. 52:9–11.

between summer and winter, lest the length of night and day be increased in any way. God has given them knowledge of that by inspiration and also the power for it. The gradual emergence of the sun or the moon from the deep of that ocean covering them which you observe after an eclipse (is accomplished by) all the angels together who, after having brought out all of it, carry it (back) and put it upon the chariot. They praise God that He gave them the power to do that. They grip the handholds of the chariot and draw it in the sphere, praising and sanctifying God with prayer. Finally, they bring the sun to the west. Having done so, they put it into the spring there, and the sun falls from the horizon of the sphere into the spring.

Then the Prophet said, expressing wonder at God's creation: How wonderful is the divine power with respect to something than which nothing more wonderful has ever been created![454] This is (meant by) what Gabriel said to Sarah: "Do you wonder about God's command?"[455] It is as follows: God created two cities, one in the east, and the other in the west. The inhabitants of the [68] city in the east belong to the remnants of the 'Ād and are descendants of those 'Ād who were believers, while the inhabitants of the city in the west belong to the remnants of the Thamūd and are descendants of those who believed in Ṣāliḥ.[456] The name of the city in the east is Marqīsīyā in Syriac and Jābalq in Arabic, and the name of the city in the west is Barjīsīyā in Syriac and Jābars in Arabic.[457] Each city has ten thousand gates, each a *farsakh* (6 kilometers) distant from the other. Ten thousand guards equipped with weapons alternate each day as guards for each of these gates; after that (one day, those guards) will have no (more) guard duty until the day the Trumpet will be blown.[458] By Him Who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand! Were those people not so many

454. The Cairo edition has: we have never seen anything more wonderful.

455. Qur. 11:73. The names of Gabriel and Sarah are not mentioned in the Qur'ān in this connection.

456. On the pre-Islamic peoples of 'Ād and the historically more tangible Thamūd mentioned in the Qur'ān as having been in conflict with the prophets Hūd and Ṣāliḥ, see, for instance, *EI*², I, 169, s.v. 'Ād.

457. The Arabic names of the legendary cities are listed in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 2 f. A historic Jābalq near Iṣfahān occurs in Ṭabarī, text below, III, 6. The Aramaic names appear to admit of no plausible Aramaic explanation, except for the final -ā imitating the Aramaic definite article.

458. Cf. Qur. 6:73, etc.

and so noisy, all the inhabitants of this world would hear the loud crash made by the sun falling when it rises and when it sets. Behind them are three nations, Mansak, Tāfīl, and Tārīs, and before them are Yājūj and Mājūj.[459] Gabriel took me to them during my night journey from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque.[460] I called on Yājūj and Mājūj to worship God, but they refused to listen to me. Gabriel then took me to the inhabitants of the two cities. I called on them to follow the religion of God and to worship Him. They agreed and repented. They are our brothers in the (true) religion. Those of them who do good are together with those of you who do good, and those of them who do evil are together with those of you who do evil. Gabriel then took me to the three nations. I called on them to follow the religion of God and to wor-
[69] ship Him. They disapproved of my doing so. They did not believe in God and considered His messengers liars. They are in the Fire together with Yājūj and Mājūj and all those who were disobedient to God. Whenever the sun sets, it is raised from heaven to heaven by the angels' fast flight, until it is brought to the highest, seventh heaven, and eventually is underneath the Throne. It falls down in prostration, and the angels entrusted with it prostrate themselves together with it. Then it is brought down from heaven to heaven. When it reaches this heaven, dawn breaks. When it comes down from one of those springs, morning becomes luminous. And when it reaches this face of heaven, the day becomes luminous.

He continued. In the east, God places a veil of darkness on the seventh ocean according to the number of nights from the day God created this world until the day when this world will be cut off. At sunset, an angel entrusted with the night comes and grabs a handful of the veil's darkness. He then moves toward the west, all the time gradually releasing some of the darkness through the

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459. While the role of Gog and Magog and their famous dam is derived from the Qur'ān and is well defined in the Islamic geographical view of the world, the "three nations" appear to be an insignificant embellishment, and the forms of their names are anything but certain. As indicated here, the two cities are located behind Gog and Magog, and the three nations behind the two cities. "Mansak" and "Tārīs" appear among the Japhetite successor nations, that is, seven brothers that also include the Turks, Khazars, Slavs, Kamārā, and Chinese. See Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 4; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 53. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 304, describes Kamārā as a village near Bukhārā.

460. Cf. Qur. 17:1.

interstices of his fingers, watching out for the twilight. When the twilight has disappeared, the angel releases all the darkness. He then spreads out his two wings. They reach the two sides of the earth and the two rims of heaven and pass outside in the air as far as God wishes. The angel drives the darkness of the night with his wings, praising and sanctifying God with prayer, until he reaches the west. When he has reached the west, morning dawns from the east. The angel puts together his wings, then puts together the parts of the darkness one by one in his palms, then grabs in one palm as much of the darkness as he had taken from the veil (of darkness) in the east, and places it in the west on the seventh ocean. From there comes the darkness of the night.

When the veil is transported (completely) from east to west, [70] the Trumpet is blown, and this world comes to its end. The luminosity of the day comes from the east, and the darkness of the night comes from that veil. The sun and the moon always continue this way from rising to setting, and on to their being raised to the highest, seventh heaven and their being held underneath the Throne. They will continue so until the moment comes that was fixed by God for the repentance of His servants. Sins will become more numerous on earth. Goodness will be gone, and nobody will command it (be done). That which is disapproved will spread, and nobody will prohibit it.

When this takes place, the sun will be held underneath the Throne for one night. Whenever it prostrates itself and asks for permission (to proceed to) whence it should rise, it is given no answer until the moon joins it and prostrates itself together with the sun and asks for permission (to proceed to) whence it should rise. The moon, too, is not given an answer. Finally, (the angel?) will hold the sun for three nights and the moon for two nights. The length of that night is known only to those who pray during the night while on earth. They will be a small group found in every Muslim locality. They are held in contempt by others while feeling humble themselves. Any (individual belonging to this select group) will sleep that night as he slept the nights before. He then will rise, perform the ritual ablutions, enter his place of prayer, and say his special prayer *(wird)* just as before. Then he will go outside but will not see the morning. He will dislike that and feel that something bad is about to happen. He will say: Perhaps I have

shortened my recitation (of the Qur'ān) too much, or cut short my prayer, or got up before my time. He continued. Then, during the second night, he will again say his *wird* prayer as before. Again, he will go outside but will not see the morning. This will add to his annoyance, which will become mixed with fear. Feeling that something bad is about to happen, he will say: Perhaps I have shortened my recitation, or cut short my prayer, or got up at the beginning of the night. Afraid and apprehensive of what he [71] anticipates might be the terror of the third night, he will again say his *wird* prayer as before. Then he will go outside and lo and behold! there is the night (still) in its place, while the stars had completed their revolution and reached their place at the beginning of the night. At that, he will become very apprehensive and fearful in the knowledge of the anticipated terror of that night. Fear will close in on him, and he will cry and become flustered.

The people of the localities who were spending the nights in prayer used to know each other before and were in contact with one another. Now they will call out to one another. They will all come together in one of the mosques and implore God with tears and loud wailing for the rest of the night, while the negligent remain neglectful. Finally, when three nights are completed for the sun and two for the moon, Gabriel will go to the sun and the moon and say: The Lord commands you to return to your (positions in the) west and to rise there. We have no luminosity or light for you. He continued. At that, the sun and the moon will cry so loudly that the inhabitants of seven heavens below them and the inhabitants of the awnings of the Throne and the carriers of the Throne above them will hear it. They will cry because the sun and the moon are crying but also because they are pervaded by fear of death and fear of the Day of Resurrection.

He continued. While the people are waiting for the sun and the moon to rise from the east, they will notice that they had already risen from the west behind their necks, black and rolled up like sacks,[461] with the sun having no luminosity and the moon no light, as in the case of eclipses in earlier times. The inhabitants of this world will cry out loudly to one another. Mothers will neglect their children, and lovers the fruit of their hearts. Every soul will

461. "Two ravens" according to the Leiden edition.

be preoccupied with what is happening to it. He continued. The righteous and the pious will benefit from their crying on that day. It will be written down for them as an act of divine worship. The wicked and the immoral, on the other hand, will not benefit from their crying on that day. It will be written down against them as a loss. He continued. The sun and the moon will rise like two camels joined together.[462] Each of the two will compete and try to outrace the other. Eventually, when they have reached the navel—that is, the middle—of heaven, Gabriel will go to them and take hold of their horns and return them to the west. He will not permit them to set in those springs in the west where they used to set but [72] will let them set in the Gate of Repentance.

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said (at this point): I and my family are your ransom,[463] O Messenger of God, but may I ask what is the Gate of Repentance? The Prophet replied: 'Umar, God created a gate for repentance behind the west with two doorleaves of gold encrusted with pearls and jewels, set apart a distance requiring a speeding rider forty years to traverse. That gate has been open since God created His creation (and will stay open) to the morning of that night when the sun and the moon rise from their (positions in the) west. The repentance of any human being that has repented sincerely, from Adam to the morning of that night, enters that gate and is then lifted up to God.

Mu'ādh b. Jabal[464] now said: You are like my father and my mother, O Messenger of God, but may I ask what is sincere repentance? The Prophet replied: It means that the sinner repents the sin he committed and apologizes to God and then never returns to it, just as milk does not return to the udder.

He continued. Gabriel will then put back the doorleaves and close them so tightly as if there had never been a cleft between them. Once the Gate of Repentance is closed, no repentance will

462. Cf. Ka'b's "two oxen," text above, I, 62 f. Here, racing animals are meant, and "camel" appears to be most likely as the intended meaning of *ba'īr*. No connection of "joined together" *(qarīn)* with the following "horns" *(qurūn)* needs to be assumed.

463. The formulas expressing devotion here and later have the purpose of mitigating the impertinence inherent in daring to address a question to the Prophet.

464. Among the young assistants of the Prophet the one closest to him, Mu'ādh b. Jabal was born around 600 and died in 18/639. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 186–88; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, III, 1402–7.

be accepted. If some Muslim does a good deed, he will no longer benefit from it, unless he used to do good deeds before, for all will receive the same credits and debits as before. He continued. This is (meant by) God's word: "On the day when one of the signs of your Lord comes, belief will not benefit a soul that did not believe before or acquired some good in his belief."[465]

Ubayy b. Ka'b[466] now said: Your are like my father and my mother, O Messenger of God, but may I ask how will it be thereafter with the sun and the moon, and how will it be with mankind and this world? The Prophet replied: Ubayy, the sun and the moon will thereafter be covered with light and luminosity. [73] They will rise and set over mankind as before. As for mankind, having looked at the awesomeness of the sign as they did, they will beset this world so hard that they will cause rivers to flow, plant trees, and build buildings. As to this world, if a man had produced a colt in it, he would not be able to mount it from the time the sun rises from its (position in the) west to the day the Trumpet is blown.[467]

Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān[468] now said: I and my family are your ransom, O Messenger of God, but may I ask how will they be when the Trumpet is blown? The Prophet replied: Ḥudhayfah! By Him Who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand! Surely, the Hour will come and the Trumpet be blown while a man who just treated his water basin with clay will not (have time to) draw water from it. Surely, the Hour will come while two men holding a garment between them will not (have time to) fold it or sell it to one another. Surely, the Hour will come while a man, having lifted a morsel to his mouth, will not (have time to) eat it. Surely, the Hour will come while a man who leaves with the milk just

465. Qur. 6:158.

466. The early transmitter of a recension of the Qur'ān. Indications of Ubayy's date of death vary considerably, from the time of the caliphate of 'Umar to the later years of the caliphate of 'Uthmān, or even after 'Uthmān's death. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 187 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, I, 65–70; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, I, 31 f.; Jeffery, *Materials*, 114 ff.

467. The end of the world will come suddenly, and human beings, noticing its approach, will rush to do something.

468. Ḥudhayfah died in 36/656. He is known as a special confidant of the Prophet, although his early history as a Muslim appears somewhat clouded. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 219 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, 334–36.

drawn from his camel will not (have time to) drink it. The Prophet then recited this verse of the Qur'ān: "Surely, it will come upon them suddenly when they are unaware."[469]

When the Trumpet is blown and the Hour comes and God distinguishes between the inhabitants of Paradise and the inhabitants of the Fire, who had not yet entered either, He will call for the sun and the moon. They are brought, black and rolled up, having fallen into quaking and confusion and being terribly afraid because of the terror of that day and their fear of the Merciful One. Finally, when they are around the Throne, they will fall down and prostrate themselves before God, saying: Our God! You know our obedience and our continuous worship of You. You know how quickly we executed Your command in the days of this world. Thus, do not punish us because the polytheists worshiped us. We did not call on them to worship us, nor did we neglect to worhip You. The Lord will say: You have spoken the truth. Now I have taken it upon Myself to begin and to restore.[470] I am restoring you to where I had you begin, Thus, return to what you were created from! The sun and the moon said: Our God, what did You create us from? God said: I cre- [74]
ated you from the light of My Throne. Thus, return to it! He continued. There will come forth from each of the two a flash of lightning so brilliant that it almost blinds the eye with its light. It will mingle with the light of the Throne. This is (meant by) God's word: "He begins and He restores."[471]

'Ikrimah said: I got up with the individuals who were told the story, and we went to Ka'b and informed him about Ibn 'Abbās' emotional outburst at (hearing) his story and about the story Ibn 'Abbās had reported on the authority of the Messenger of God. Ka'b got up with us, and we went to Ibn 'Abbās. Ka'b said: I have learned about your emotional outburst at my story. I am asking God for forgiveness and I repent. I have told the story on the basis of a well-worn book that has passed through many hands. I do not

469. Qur. 29:53.
470. Cf. Qur. 85:13, see the following note.
471. *Tafsīr*, XXX, 88 (*ad* Qur. 85:13), shows Ṭabarī as expressing himself in favor of Ibn 'Abbās' interpretation that God originates and repeats punishment. Others refer the verse to God's creation and recreation of life in the other world.

know what alterations made by the Jews it may have contained. Now you have told a story on the basis of a new book recently revealed by the Merciful One and on the authority of the lord and best of the prophets. I would like you to tell it to me so that I can retain it in my memory as told on your authority. When I have been told it, it will replace my original story.

'Ikrimah said: Ibn 'Abbās repeated the story to Ka'b, while I followed it in my heart paragraph by paragraph. He neither added nor omitted anything, nor did he change the sequence in any way. This added to my desire (to learn from) Ibn 'Abbās and to retain the story in my memory.[472]

A tradition on the subject transmitted by the early (scholars) is what we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr (b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd)—'Abd al-'Azīz b. Rufay'[473] —Abū al-Ṭufayl:[474] Ibn al-Kawwā'[475] asked 'Alī: O Commander of the Faithful! What is that smudge in the moon? 'Alī replied: Don't you read the Qur'ān? (It says): "We have blotted out the sign of the night."[476] That smudge is (a trace of) the blotting.[477]

According to Abū Kurayb—Ṭalq[478] —Zā'idah[479] —'Āṣim (b. Bahdalah)—'Alī b. Rabī'ah[480] : Ibn al-Kawwā' asked what that blackness in the moon was, and 'Alī replied: "We have blotted
[75] out the sign of the night, and We have made the sign of the day something to see by." That blackness is (a trace of) the blotting.

According to Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Raḥmān (b. Mahdī)—

472. The phrase translated "to retain ...memory" could mean but hardly does in the context: "to become a *ḥadīth* expert."

473. 'Abd al-'Azīz, the son of Abū Kathīrah Rufay' (below, n. 484), died around 130/747[8] in his nineties. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 337 f.

474. Abū al-Ṭufayl 'Āmir b. Wāthilah was born in 622–23. He died as the last of the Prophet's companions in the first decade of the second century/719–28. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 82–84; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, 798 f.

475. Text below, II, 67 f. (ed. Cairo, V, 212) gives the full name of Ibn al-Kawwā' as 'Abdallāh b. Abī Awfā, who died in 86 or 87/705[6] in al-Kūfah. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 151; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, III, 870 f. Neither author refers to 'Abdallāh b. Abī Awfā as Ibn al-Kawwā'.

476. Qur. 17:12.

477. All the following traditions appear in the same order in *Tafsīr*, XV, 38 (*ad* Qur. 17:12).

478. Ṭalq b. Ghannām died in 211/826. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 33 f.

479. Zā'idah b. Qudāmah died around 160 or 161/776–78. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 306 f.

480. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 320 f.

Isrā'īl—Abū Isḥāq[481] —'Ubayd b. 'Umayr:[482] I was with 'Alī when Ibn al-Kawwā' asked him about the blackness in the moon. 'Alī replied: That is the sign of the night blotted out.

According to Ibn Abī al-Shawārib[483] —Yazīd b. Zuray'—'Imrān b. Ḥudayr[483a] —Abū Kathīrah Rufay':[484] When 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib told them to ask whatever they wished, Ibn al-Kawwā' got up and said: What is the darkness in the moon? 'Alī replied: Damn you! Why did you not ask about something concerning your religion and your (life in the) other world? But then he said: It is (a trace of) the blotting out of the night.

According to Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā b. Abān al-Miṣrī[485] —Ibn 'Ufayr[486] —Ibn Lahī'ah[487] —Ḥuyayy b. 'Abdallāh[488] —Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān[489] —'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ[490] : A man asked 'Alī what the blackness in the moon was. 'Alī replied: God says: "And We have made the night and the day two signs. We have blotted out the sign of the night, and We have made the sign of the day something to see by."[491]

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481. Abū Isḥāq 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh al-Hamdānī, the grandfather of Isrā'īl b. Yūnus (above, n. 397), died between 126 and 129/743–47 at the age of ninety-six. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 261–63.

482. Died in 68/687[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 71. In *Tafsīr*, XV, 38, he is replaced by 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar.

483. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī al-Shawārib died in 244/858 in al-Baṣrah. See *TB*, II, 344 f.; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 316 f. For his son 'Alī, see text below, III, 2159.

483a. 'Imrān b. Ḥudayr died in 149/766. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 125.

484. For Rufay', the father of 'Abd al-'Azīz (above, n. 473), see *Tahdhīb*, III, 286; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II,1, 298 f.; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I,2, 510 f.

485. Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā is not identifiable among his numerous namesakes. Since he was an Egyptian and the entire chain of transmitters concerns Egyptians, Ṭabarī may have received this information in Egypt.

486. The historian of Egypt Sa'īd b. Kathīr b. 'Ufayr lived from 146/763[4] to 226/840[1]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 174 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 361.

487. 'Abdallāh b. Lahī'ah lived from ca. 96/714[5] to 174/709[1]. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 373-79; *EI*², III, 853 f., s. v. Ibn Lahī'a; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 94. The *isnād* of Ibn Lahī'ah is found in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 257 f.

488. For Ḥuyyay, see *Tahdhīb*, III, 72.

489. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Ma'āfirī al-Ḥubulī was sent by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz to Tunisia where he died and was buried in Tunis. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 81 f.; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, IV, 52–54.

490. A son of the conqueror of Egypt, 'Abdallāh appears to have died in the later sixties/685–90. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 337 f. Like the other links in this chain of transmitters, he frequently occurs as a transmitter in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr*, see, especially, 253 f.

491. Qur. 17:12.

According to Muḥammad b. Sa'd—his father—his paternal uncle—his father—his father—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And We have made the night and the day two signs. We have blotted out the sign of the night": It is the blackness in the night.

According to al-Qāsim[492] —al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Ibn 'Abbās: The moon used to give luminosity just as the sun does, with the moon being the sign of the night and the sun being the sign of the day. "We have blotted out the sign of the night." (That is) the blackness in the moon.

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Abī Zā'idah[493] —Ibn Jurayj—
[76] Mujāhid, commenting on God's word: "And We have made the night and the day two signs": The sun is the sign of the day, and the moon is the sign of the night. "We have blotted out the sign of the night": (That is) the blackness in the moon. Thus God created it.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Mujāhid, commenting on: "And We have made the night and the day two signs": The night and the day. Thus God created the two. (Also) Ibn Jurayj—'Abdallāh b. Kathīr,[494] commenting on: "We have blotted out the sign of the night, and We have made the day something to see by": The darkness of the night and the brightness *(sadaf)*[495] of the day.

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'īd (b. Abī 'Arūbah)—Qatādah, commenting on God's word: "And We have made the night and the day two signs. We have blotted out the sign of the night": We used to be told[496] that the blotting of the sign of the night is the blackness that is in the moon. "And We have made the sign of the day something to see by": Giving light. God created the sun having more light and being larger than the moon.

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492. For this *isnād*, see text above, I, 23.

493. Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā' Ibn Abī Zā'idah died between 182 and 184/798–800 at the age of sixty-three. See *TB*, XIV, 114–19; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 208–10.

494. The Qur'ān reader Ibn Kathīr lived from 45/665[6] to 120/738. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 367 f.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyah*, II, 443-45; *EI*[2] , III, 817b, s. v. Ibn Kathīr; Horst, 295, n. 11.

495. The lexicographers ascribe to *sadaf* the meanings "darkness of night" or something like "early twilight," but also "luminosity" and, in particular, "whiteness (light) of day." See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XI, 48, l. 6.

496. These words are not in *Tafsīr*, XV, 38.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr[497] —Abū 'Āṣim[498] —'Īsā[499] —Ibn Abī Najīḥ[500] —Mujāhid (commenting on): "And We have made the night and the day two signs": The night and the day. Thus, God created the two. Also (al-Ṭabarī)—al-Ḥārith[501] —al-Ḥasan[502] —Warqā'[503] —Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In our opinion, the correct statement on this subject is that God created the sun of the day and the moon of the night as two signs, then made the sign of the day, which is the sun, something to see by and blotted out the sign of the night, which is the moon, through the blackness in it.

It is permissible (to say) that God created them as two suns from the light of His Throne and then blotted out the light of the moon in the night, as stated by some we have mentioned. This was the reason for the difference of the condition of the sun and the moon. It is (also) permissible (to say) that the sun receives its luminosity [77] through the wrap of luminosity of the Throne, with which it is covered, and the moon receives its light from the wrap of light of the Footstool, with which it is covered.[504]

If the chain of transmitters of one of the two reports I have mentioned were sound, we would adopt that report, but the chains of transmitters of both reports are disputed. Thus, we have not con-

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497. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-'Abbās al-Bāhilī died in 249/863. See *TB*, III, 127; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 20, 29, 79; Horst, 297, n. 2.

498. Abū 'Āṣim al-Nabīl, whose name was al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhlad and who lived from 122/740 to between 212 and 214/827–29, see *Tahdhīb*, IV, 450-53; *EI*², *Suppl.*, I, 17 f., s. v. Abū 'Āṣim al-Nabīl; Horst, 297, n. 4.

499. 'Īsā b. Maymūn died around 170/786. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 235 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, 820b (index); Horst, 297, n. 6.

500. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ died in 131 or 132/748–50. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 54 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, III,1, 233; Horst, 297, n. 8.

501. Al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad b. Abī Usāmah lived from 180/end of 796 to 282/end of 895. See *TB*, VIII, 218 f.; Horst, 294, n. 4.

502. Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Ashyab died between 208 and 210/823–26. See *TB*, VII, 426–29; *Tahdhīb*, II, 323; Horst, 297, n. 5.

503. Warqā' b. 'Umar b. Kulayb, reputedly the author of a Qur'ān commentary and, in any case, an important link in the transmission of Mujāhid's commentary, died ca. 160/776. See *TB*, III, 515–18; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 113–15; Horst, 297, n. 7. In the published recension of Mujāhid's *Tafsīr*, Warqā' to Mujāhid is the last three links of the six-link chain there, but the text contains no comment on Qur. 17:12. Cf. F. Leemhuis, "Ms. 1075 Tafsīr"; G. Schoeler, Überlieferung der Wissenschaften," 202, 210, referring to G. Stauth's dissertation on Mujāhid (1969) and further literature.

504. See text above, I, 61 f.

sidered it permissible to decide on the soundness of the contents of the reports as regards the difference of condition between the sun and the moon. We know for certain, however, that God differentiated between their capacities for giving light because He knew through His superior knowledge that the difference was best for the well-being of His creation. Thus, He made a distinction between them and made the one something that gives light to see by, and the other something that has its luminosity blotted out.

In this book, we have refrained from mentioning (too) many reports and things about the sun and the moon, as we have also done in describing the beginning of God's creation of the heavens and the earth and by omitting all the many other things connected with God's creation. We have mentioned as much as we have in this book of ours only because it is our intention to fulfil the condition laid down by us in its beginning that we would mention time[505] and the history of kings, prophets, and messengers. Dates and times are fixed as to their (precise) moments by the measurements of the hours indicated by the sun and the moon running in their spheres, as we have mentioned in the reports transmitted by us on the authority of the Messenger of God. Whatever took place before God created the sun and the moon, took place outside of moments and hours and night and day.

We have explained with testimony adduced by us from traditions and reports the duration, expressed in years and time periods, of this world from the first beginning of God's production of what He wanted to produce to the time He finished producing all His creatures. For the period of time extending from God's [78] completion of all creation to the annihilation of all of it, we have brought proofs from reports, used by us to prove the soundness of our statements, coming from the Messenger of God, his companions, and other scholars of the Muslim nation. The stated purpose of this book of ours is to mention the history of kings and tyrants, those who disobeyed their Lord and those who were obedient to Him, as well as the times of the prophets and messengers. We have discussed how chronological dates can be soundly established and how information about moments and hours can be ascertained. (Moments and hours are established by) the sun and the moon.

505. *Al-azminah* "the times" here may refer to Ṭabarī's discussion of the concept of time or to time periods, as it does in the following sentence.

One makes it possible to learn about the hours and moments of the night, and the other, the hours and moments of the day.

(The Story of Iblīs)

Now, let us speak about the one who was the first to be given royal authority and was shown favor by God but was ungrateful for it. Having denied God's divine Lordship, he was proud and overbearing toward his Lord and was therefore deprived by God of His divine favor and shamed and humiliated. We shall continue and mention those who adopted his ways and followed in his footsteps and were therefore subjected by God to His divine revenge. Counted among the partisans of Iblīs, they were made to share in his shame and humiliation. There were also their counterparts and successors[506] among kings and messengers and prophets who obeyed their Lord and left praiseworthy memories. God willing, we shall mention them, too.

First among the Ungrateful is Iblīs, Their Guide (Imām), *Their Leader, and Their Chief— May God Curse Him!*

God had created Iblīs beautiful. He had ennobled and honored him and reportedly made him ruler over the lower heaven and the earth. In addition, He had made him one of the keepers of Paradise. But he became overbearing toward his Lord and claimed divine lordship for himself and reportedly called on those under his control to worship him. Therefore, God transformed him into a stoned Satan.[507] He deformed him and deprived him of the benefits He had granted him. He cursed him and drove him out of His heavens in the fleeting present world and then gave to him and his [79] followers and partisans the Fire of Hell as their place of residence in the other world. We take refuge in God for protection against His divine wrath and against whatever action brings a person close to His wrath and against getting into trouble.[508]

506. Hardly: his (Satan's) opponents and those after him.
507. Cf. Qur. 3:36 and 19:98.
508. The derivation of the idiom *al-ḥawr ba'd al-kawr* ("twisting after untwisting [?]") is debated by the lexicographers. The meaning adopted here is the most likely one, though it is by no means certain. It means approximately getting into a

We shall begin with a summary of the reports that have come down to us from the early (scholars) about the honors given Iblīs by God before he became overbearing toward Him and claimed what was not his to claim. We hope to continue with mentioning the events in the days of his rule and royal authority until all of that ceased to be his, and to mention the reason why the earlier favors and beautiful benefits and other things God had bestowed on him ceased to be his—all of this in an abridged form.

The Received Reports about the Control and Rule of Iblīs over the Lower Heaven and the Earth and All in Between

According to al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Ibn 'Abbās: Iblīs was one of the noblest angels and belonged to the most honored tribe among them. He was a keeper of Paradise. He had the authority to rule over the lower heaven as well as the earth.[509]

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Ṣāliḥ, the *mawlā* of al-Taw'amah[510] and Sharīk b. Abī Namir,[511] either one or both of them—Ibn 'Abbās: There was an angelic tribe of jinn, and Iblīs belonged to it. He governed all in between the heaven and the earth.[512]

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī —Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other)
[80] companions of the Prophet: Iblīs was made ruler over the lower heaven. He belonged to a tribe of angels called jinn. They were called jinn because they were the keepers of Paradise *(al-jannah)*.

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tight spot after having had it easy. See Lane, 665c, and the references in *Wörterbuch*, letter K, 428b.

509. See *Tafsīr*, I, 178 *(ad* Qur. 2:34), and XV, 169 f. *(ad* Qur. 18:50).

510. Ṣāliḥ b. Nabhān died around 125/791[2]. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 405–7. Taw'amah ("Twin") was the daughter of Umayyah b. Khalaf, one of the Meccans killed at Badr.

511. Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Namir died ca. 140/757. His grandfather participated in the battle of Badr on the side of the Meccans. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 337 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 2, 237 f.

512. This tradition, as well as the one at the end of this section, is part of a longer tradition quoted in *Tafsīr*, XV, 169 *(ad* Qur 18:50). Cf. also *Tafsīr*, I, 178 f. *(ad* Qur. 2:34).

In addition to being ruler, Iblīs was a keeper (of Paradise).[513]

According to ʿAbdān al-Marwazī[514] —al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraj—Abū Muʿādh al-Faḍl b. Khālid—ʿUbaydallāh[515] b. Sulaymān—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim, commenting on God's word: "They prostrated themselves, except Iblīs. He was one of the jinn"[516] : Ibn ʿAbbās used to say: Iblīs was one of the noblest angels and belonged to their most honored tribe. He was a keeper of Paradise, and his was the rule over the lower heaven as well as the earth.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Abū al-Azhar al-Mubārak b. Mujāhid[517] —Sharīk b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Namir—Ṣāliḥ, the *mawlā* of al-Taw'amah—Ibn ʿAbbās: There is an angelic tribe called jinn. Iblīs belonged to them. He used to rule all in between heaven and earth. Then he became disobedient, and God therefore transformed him into a stoned Satan.[518]

The Ingratitude of the Enemy of God for His Lord's Favor, His Overbearance Toward God, and His Claiming Divine Lordship

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj, commenting on: "And whoever among them says: I am a god besides Him"[519]: Whichever angel says: "I am a god besides Him" calls to worship of himself, and only Iblīs said that. Thus, this verse was revealed with reference to Iblīs.

According to Bishr b. Muʿādh—Yazīd (b. Zurayʿ)—Saʿīd (b. Abī ʿArūbah)—Qatādah, commenting on: "And whoever among them says: I am a god besides Him, will have Hell as his recompense from Us. So do We recompense the wrongdoers."[519] This verse [81]
(was revealed) specifically for Iblīs, the enemy of God, when he said what he said, may God curse him and have him stoned! He thus continued: "will have Hell as his recompense from Us. So do We recompense the wrongdoers."

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513. See *Tafsīr*, I, 160 and 178 (*ad* Qur. 2:30 and 34).
514. See above, n. 399. In *Tafsīr*, I, 178, his name is omitted.
515. *Tafsīr*, I, 178, has ʿUbayd. See above, n. 402.
516. Qur. 18:50.
517. Died a year or two before al-Thawrī, thus in 776[7]. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, IV,1, 427; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV,1, 340 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, V, 12.
518. See above, n. 512.
519. Qur. 21:29.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Muḥammad b. Thawr—Maʿmar—Qatādah, commenting on: "And whoever among them says: I am a god besides Him, will have Hell as his recompense from Us." This verse (was revealed) specifically for Iblīs.[520]

The Events That Took Place During the Days of the Royal Authority and Rule of the Accursed Iblīs and the Reason Why He claimed Divine Authority and Perished

One of the events that took place during the rule of the enemy of God while he was (still) obedient to God is what was mentioned to us on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās in a report told us by Abū Kurayb—ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd[521] —Bishr b. ʿUmārah[522] —Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk—Ibn ʿAbbās: Iblīs belonged to a tribal group of angels called jinn. Among the angels it was they who were created from the fire of the simoom.[523] He continued. His name was al-Ḥārith.[524] He continued. He was one of the keepers of Paradise. He continued. All the angels except this tribal group were created from light. He continued. The jinn mentioned in the Qur'ān were created "from a bright flame *(mārij)* of fire"—*(mārij* being) a tongue of fire blazing on its side(s and top).[525] He continued. And He created man from clay. The first to dwell on earth were the jinn. They caused corruption on it and shed blood[526] and killed each other. He continued. God sent Iblīs to them with an army

520. The entire section consists of material from *Tafsīr*, XVII, 13 *(ad* Qur. 21:29).

521. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, III,1, 152, no. 832, lists a certain ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Zayyāt as a transmitter from Bishr b. ʿUmārah and an authority of Abū Kurayb. He would seem to be the individual meant here. *Tahdhīb*, VII, 119, no. 255, indicates only that he is an authority of Abū Kurayb. A certain ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Murrī appears in *Tahdhīb*, VII, 119, no. 256, and Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, III,2, 224, also as an authority of Abū Kurayb.

522. Bishr b. ʿUmārah appears to have been known mainly as a transmitter from Abū Rawq. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 455; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, I,2, 81; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I,1, 362.

523. The wind known as simoom presumably received its name from the Qur'ānic usage of *samūm* in connection with fire in Qur. 15:27. The passage appears in *Tafsīr*, XIV, 21, on this verse.

524. The preceding three sentences in *Tafsīr*, I, 178 *(ad* Qur. 2:34).

525. Qur. 55:15. The sentence appears in *Tafsīr*, XXVII, 74, on this verse. The tradition to this point is quoted in *Tafsīr*, I, 178.

526. Cf. Qur. 2:30.

of angels. They were that tribal group called jinn. Iblīs and those with him caused a bloodbath[527] among them and eventually banished them to the islands in the oceans and the mountainsides.[528] His success went to his head, and he said: I have done something nobody has ever done before. He continued. God was aware of how Iblīs felt, but the angels who were with him were not.[529] [82]

According to al-Muthannā—Isḥāq b. al-Ḥajjāj[530] —'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far[531] —his father—al-Rabī' b. Anas[532] : God created the angels on Wednesday. He created the jinn on Thursday, and He created Adam on Friday. He continued. Some jinn disbelieved, and the angels went down to them on earth to fight them. Thus, bloodshed and corruption came into being on earth.

The Reason Why the Enemy of God Was Enticed to be Overbearing Toward His Lord and Thereby Perished

The early (scholars) among the Companions and Followers differed on this subject. We just mentioned one of the statements transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās by al-Ḍaḥḥāk, namely, that when Iblīs caused a bloodbath among the jinn who disobeyed God and caused corruption on earth, and expelled them, he was pleased with himself and on account of it considered himself more excellent than anybody else.

The second statement on the subject transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās is that Iblīs was the ruler and governor of the lower heaven as well as the governor of all in between the lower heaven and the earth and the keeper of Paradise and also zealously worshiped God, but then he became pleased with himself and therefore thought that he was superior. So he became over-

527. According to the reading suggested in the Cairo edition.

528. From "The first to dwell" to this point in *Tafsīr*, I, 156 f. (*ad* Qur. 2:30).

529. The entire text of the tradition is to be found in *Tafsīr*, I, 155, where it continues commenting on Qur. 2:30.

530. He is mentioned as a transmitter of 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far in Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I,1, 217. His *nisbah* being al-Ṭāḥūnī, he is listed in Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, IX, 2 f. See also Horst, 298, n.6.

531. For 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far 'Īsā b. Māhān, see *Tahdhīb*, V, 176 f., and for his father, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 56 f. See also Horst, 298, n. 7, and 299, n. 11.

532. Al-Rabī' b. Anas died in 139 or 140/756–58 during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr, See *Tahdhīb*, III, 238 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 34; Horst, 299, n. 12. For the tradition, see *Tafsīr*, I, 157 and 163 (*ad* Qur. 2:30).

bearing toward his Lord.

The transmission of the report on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-
[83] Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: When God finished with the creation of whatever He liked, He sat straight upon the Throne. He made Iblīs ruler over the lower heaven. Iblīs belonged to a tribe of angels called jinn. They were called jinn because they were the keepers of Paradise. In addition to being ruler (of the lower heaven), Iblīs was a keeper (of Paradise). Then haughtiness affected him, and he said: God gave all that to me only because of some distinctive quality. So I was told by Mūsā b. Hārūn. I was (also) told this by Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythamah[533] —'Amr b. Ḥammād who commented: because of some distinctive quality of mine making me superior to the angels. When that haughtiness affected him, God was aware of it. He said to the angels: "I am placing on earth a vicegerent."[534]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Ibn Isḥāq—Khallād b. 'Aṭā'[535] —Ṭāwūs[536] —Ibn 'Abbās: Before committing disobedience, Iblīs was one of the angels. His name was 'Azāzīl. He was one of the dwellers on earth. He was one of the most zealous and knowledgeable of the angels. That led him to haughtiness. He belonged to a tribal group called jinn.[537]

Ibn Ḥumayd gave us about the same account again, reporting from Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Khallād b. 'Aṭā'—Ṭāwūs or Abū al-Ḥajjāj Mujāhid—Ibn 'Abbās, and others. However, he said: (Iblīs) was an angel named 'Azāzīl. He was one of the dwellers and cultivators on earth. The dwellers on earth from among the angels used to be called jinn.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Shaybān[538] —Sallām b. Mis-

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533. The historian Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythamah died ninety-four years old in 279/872. See *EI*², III, 687, s.v. Ibn Abī Khaythama; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 319 f.

534. Qur. 2:30. The tradition is quoted in *Tafsīr*, I, 160, on this verse.

535. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 1, 170 f.; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 2, 366. *Tafsīr*, I, 178, has the apparent mistake Khallād — 'Aṭā'.

536. Died about 106/724[5]. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 8–10.

537. This and the following tradition are quoted in *Tafsīr*, I, 178 (*ad* Qur. 2:34).

538. Apparently, Shaybān b. Farrūkh b. Abī Shaybah who lived from ca. 140/757[8] to 235 or 236/849–51. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 374 f.

kīn[539] —Qatādah—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab[540] : Iblīs was the chief of the angels of the lower heaven.[541]

The third statement transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās is that he used to say: The reason for (what happened) is that [84] Iblīs belonged to a remnant of creatures created by God. He commanded them to do something, but they refused to be obedient to Him.

The transmission of the report on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās

According to Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Qazzāz—Abū 'Āṣim (al-Nabīl)—Shabīb[542] —'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: God created some creatures and said: "Prostrate yourselves before Adam!"[543] They replied: We shall not do that. He continued. He sent a fire to consume them. He then created other creatures and said: "I am creating a human being from clay,"[544] so prostrate yourselves before Adam! They refused, and God sent a fire to consume them. Then He created these and said: Will you not prostrate yourselves before Adam? They replied: Yes! Iblīs belonged to those who refused to prostrate themselves before Adam.

Others said: Rather, the reason is that he belonged to the remnant of the jinn who were on earth. They shed blood and caused corruption on it. They were disobedient to their Lord. Therefore, the angels fought against them.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ—Abū Sa'īd al-Yaḥmadī Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm[545] —Sawwār b. al-Ja'd al-Yaḥmadī[546] —Shahr b. Ḥawshab,[547] commenting on God's word: "He was one of the jinn"[548] : Iblīs was one of the jinn whom the angels drove

539. Died between 164 and 167/780–84. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 286 f.

540. Depending on the age he is said to have reached, Ibn al-Musayyab was born between 634 and 639. He died about 93 or 94/711–13. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 84-88; Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 244; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 1, 467 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 276.

541. See *Tafsīr*, I, 178 (*ad* Qur. 2:34).

542. For Shabīb b. Bishr, see *Tahdhīb*, IV, 306. *Tafsīr*, I, 180 (*ad* Qur. 2:34), has Sharīk(!)—someone—'Ikrimah.

543. Qur. 2:34, etc. The entire tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, I, 180.

544. Qur. 38:71.

545. *Tafsīr*, I, 179, has an unlikely Abū Sa'īd al-Yaḥmadī—Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm. However, no identification seems possible.

546. Briefly listed in Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 2, 170; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II, 1, 270, without al-Yaḥmadī.

547. Died early in the second century/ca. 719–29. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 369–72.

548. Qur. 18:50.

away. One of the angels captured him and took him to heaven.[549]

According to 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan[550] —Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khallāl[551] —Sunayd b. Dāwūd—Hushaym[552] —'Abd al-
[85] Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā[553] —Mūsā b. Numayr and 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd b. Kāmil[554] —Sa'd b. Mas'ūd[555] : The angels used to fight the jinn, and Iblīs was taken captive. He was young and used to worship together with the angels. When they were commanded to prostrate themselves before Adam and Iblīs refused, God said: "Except Iblīs. He was one of the jinn."[556]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In my opinion, the statement most likely to be correct is one that agrees with God's word: "We said to the angels: Prostrate yourselves before Adam!, and they did, except Iblīs. He was one of the jinn. He wickedly disobeyed the command of his Lord."[557] It is possible that his wickedness in disobeying the command of his Lord resulted from his being one of the jinn. It is (further) possible that it resulted from his being pleased with himself because he worshiped his Lord so zealously, possessed great knowledge, and had been entrusted with the rule over the lower heaven and the earth as well as the post of keeper of Paradise. (But) it is (also) possible that there was some other reason. Knowledge of this subject can be attained only through a report that provides valid proof, but we have no such report, and the differences with respect to the matter are as indicated by the reports transmitted by us.

It was (also) said that the reason why Iblīs perished was that before Adam, the jinn were on earth. God sent Iblīs to act among

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549. See *Tafsīr*, I, 179 (*ad* Qur. 2:34).

550. His identity seems to be established by the fact that Muslim al-Jarmī is one of his authorities (see below, n. 632), and 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdawayh al-Khazzāz appears among Muslim al-Jarmī's transmitters in *TB*, XIII, 100. According to *TB*, XI, 374 f., that 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan died in 277/987[8]. *Tafsīr*, I, 179, has 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

551. He could possibly be identical with the Abū Naṣr mentioned above, n. 128.

552. Born in 104 or 105/722–24, Hushaym b. Bashīr died in 183/799. See *TB*, XIV, 85–94; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 59–64; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 38.

553. It is doubtful whether he could be identified with the individual listed in *Tahdhīb*, IV, 294.

554. Both Mūsā and 'Uthmān are unidentified.

555. He may possibly be the obscure Sa'd b. Mas'ūd briefly listed as a transmitter from Ibn 'Abbās. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 2, 64; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II,1, 94.

556. Qur. 18:50. The tradition is quoted in *Tafsīr*, I, 179 (*ad* Qur. 2:34).

557. Qur. 18:50.

them as judge. He did so conscientiously *(bi-al-ḥaqq)* for a thousand years, so that he eventually was called "arbiter" *(ḥakam)*. God called him thus and revealed to him his name. At that, he became filled with haughtiness. He became self-important and caused terror, hostility, and hatred among those to whom God had sent him as arbiter. This is assumed to have caused them to fight so bitterly on earth for two thousand years that their horses waded in the blood of (those killed). They continued. This is (meant by) God's word: "Were We wearied by the first creation? No! Rather they are in uncertainty about a new creation (at the end of the [86] world)," [558] and (by) the statement of the angels: "Will You place on (earth) one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood?" [559] At that, God sent a fire that consumed them. They continued. When Iblīs saw the punishment that had descended upon his people, he ascended to heaven. He stayed with the angels worshiping God in heaven as zealously as did no other creature. He continued to do so, until God created Adam and that well-known episode of Iblīs' disobedience to his Lord occurred.

(The Story of Adam)

One of the events that took place in the days of the rule and royal authority of Iblīs was God's creation of our father Adam, the father of mankind. That was as follows: As the angels did not know about Iblīs' involvement with haughtiness, God wanted to make them aware of it and to show them what had gone wrong with Iblīs when he was about to be ruined and lose his royal authority and rule. In this connection, God said to the angels: "I am placing on earth a vicegerent." They replied: "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood?" [560] It has been transmitted on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās that the angels said exactly that, noticing what the jinn, who were dwellers on earth before, were doing. When their Lord said to the angels: "I am placing on earth a vicegerent," they asked: Will You place on it one who will behave like the jinn who, when on earth, shed blood there and caused corruption and were disobedient to You, "whereas we

558. Qur. 50:15.
559. Qur. 2:30.
560. Qur. 2:30.

praise and sanctify You"? The Lord now said to them: "I know what you do not know."[561] He (means to) say: I know about Iblīs' involvement with overbearance which you do not know. I know that he intends to oppose my command and that he has been enticed to wrongdoing and futile self-deception. I am going to show
[87] you this attitude of his, so that you can see it with your own eyes.

Many statements have been made on this subject. We have reported a number of them in our book entitled *The Complete Clarification of the Interpretation of the Verses of the Qur'ān.* [562] We hate to add to the length of our book by mentioning (all of) that here.

When God wanted to create Adam, He commanded that the soil from which Adam was to be made be taken from the earth, as we were told by Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—Bishr b. 'Umārah—Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk—Ibn 'Abbās: He—meaning the Lord—then commanded to lift up Adam's soil. God created Adam "from sticky *(lāzib)* clay"[563] —*lāzib* ("sticky") meaning viscous and sweet smelling— "from *masnūn* slime"[564] —*masnūn* being "stinking." He continued. It became stinking slime after (having been compact) soil.[565] He continued. God created Adam with His own hand.[566]

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet, commenting on the angels saying: "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood, whereas we praise and sanctify You ? and (God) replied: I know what you do not know"[567] —that is, of the affair of Iblīs. God then sent Gabriel to the earth to bring Him some of its clay. The earth said: I take refuge in God against your taking something away

561. Qur. 2:30.

562. This is the formal title of Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr,* which is the source for the material used here.

563. Qur. 17:11.

564. Qur. 15:26, 28, and 33.

565. The suggestion of the Leiden edition, here and text below, I, 90, l. 2, to read *iltizāb* "after having become sticky," for "after ... soil," is hardly possible, as one would expect the definite article and *l-z-b* VIII is not listed in the dictionaries. "After ... soil" is also the reading of *Tafsīr.*

566. See *Tafsīr,* I, 158 f. *(ad* Qur. 2:34).

567. Qur. 2:30.

from me and mutilating me. So Gabriel returned without having taken (any clay) and said: My Lord, the earth took refuge in You, and I granted it its wish. God then sent Michael, and exactly the same thing happened. Then He sent the angel of death. When the earth took refuge in God against him, he said: I take refuge in God against returning without having executed His command. So he took (some soil) from the face of the earth and made a mixture. [88] He did not take the soil from a single place but took red, white, and black soil.[568] Therefore, the children of Adam came out different. He went up with the soil, then moistened it so it would become "sticky clay"—*lāzib* ("sticky") means something that adheres *(l-z-q)* to something else. Then (the moistened soil) was left to change and become stinking *(muntin)*. That is where God says: "From *masnūn* slime." He commented: stinking.[569]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ya'qūb al-Qummī—Ja'far b. Abī al-Mughīrah—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: The Lord Almighty sent Iblīs[570] to take some skin *(adīm)* from the earth, both sweet and salty, and God created Adam from it. For this reason he was named Adam—that is, because he was created from the skin *(adīm)* of the earth. For the same reason Iblīs asked: "Shall I prostrate myself before one whom You have created from clay?"[571] —that is, that clay brought by myself.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Abū Dāwūd[572] —Shu'bah—Abū Ḥaṣīn—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: He was named Adam just because he was created from the skin *(adīm)* of the earth.[573]

According to Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Ahwāzī[574] —Abū Aḥmad[575] —

568. Cf. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan *ad* Genesis 2:7, and, without reference to color, Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin, 38a-b. See also *Tafsīr*, I, 169 *(ad* Qur. 2:31).

569. The tradition is found in *Tafsīr*, I, 160, and, in part, I,169 *(ad* Qur. 2:29 and 31).

570. *Tafsīr*, I, 169, has "angel of death." According to the tradition's concluding words, this cannot be meant here.

571. Qur. 17:61.

572. Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Tayālisī lived from 133/750[1] to 203 or 204/818–20. See *TB*, IX, 24-29; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 182–87; Brockelmann, *GAL*, *Suppl.*, I, 257; Speight, in *The Muslim World*, 63 (1973), 249–68.

573. This, and the following two traditions, appear in reverse order in *Tafsīr*, I, 169 *(ad* Qur. 2:31).

574. Died in 250/864. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 14 f.

575. Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Zubayrī died in 203/818. See *TB*, V, 402–4; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 254–56.

Mis'ar[576] —Abū Ḥaṣīn—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: Adam was created from the skin *(adīm)* of the earth and therefore called Adam.

According to Aḥmad b. Isḥāq—Abū Aḥmad—'Amr b. Thābit[577] —his father—his grandfather—'Alī: Adam was created from the skin *(adīm)* of the earth, containing something pleasant *(ṭayyib)* and something good and something bad. All this can be seen in Adam's children, (who are) good and bad.

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm[578] —Ibn 'Ulayyah[579] —'Awf.[580] Also Muḥammad b. Bashshār and 'Umar b. Shabbah[581] —Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd—'Awf. Also Ibn Bashshār—Ibn Abī 'Adī and Muḥammad
[89] b. Ja'far (Ghundar) and 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī[582] —'Awf. Also Muḥammad b. 'Umārah al-Asadī[583] —Ismā'īl b. Abān[584] —'Anbasah[585] —'Awf al-A'rābī— Qasāmah b. Zuhayr[586] —Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī[587] —the Messenger of God: God created Adam from a handful (of soil) which He took from the entire earth. Thus, the children of Adam came to correspond to the earth in being red, black, white, or (colors) in between, and in being plain or rugged, unpleasant or pleasant.[588] The clay from which Adam was made

576. Mis'ar b. Kidām died between 153 and 155/770–72. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 113–15.

577. 'Amr b. Thābit b. Abī Khālid Hurmuz al-Wālibī died in 172/788[9]; his father is listed in *Tahdhīb*. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 9 f., and II, 16 f. For his grandfather Hurmuz, who is said to have transmitted from 'Alī indirectly, see above, n. 81.

578. Born in 166/782[3], Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Kathīr al-Dawraqī died in 252/866. See *TB*, XIV, 277–80; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 381 f. For his brother Aḥmad, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 112.

579. Ibn 'Ulayyah Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Miqsam lived from 110/728[9] to 193 or 194/808–10. See *TB*, VI, 229–40; *Tahdhīb*, I, 275–79; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*[2], 366, n. 4.

580. 'Awf b. Abī Jamīlah al-A'rābī lived from 59/678[9] to 146 or 147/763–64. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 166 f.

581. The historian Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah was born in 173/789 and died in 262/876. See *TB*, XI, 208–10; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 460; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 345.

582. Born about 108–10/726–29, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Thaqafī died in 194/809–10. See *TB*, XI, 18-21; *Tahdhīb*, VI, 449 f.

583. He occurs frequently in *History* and *Tafsīr* as well as *Ikhtilāf*, ed. Schacht, 227.

584. He may be either al-Warrāq (d. 216/831) or al-Ghanawī (d. 210/825[6]) who are both mentioned in *Tahdhīb*, I, 269–71.

585. He is probably identical with 'Anbasah, mentioned above, n. 393.

586. Died around 700. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 378.

587. The famous Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī supposedly died at the age of sixty-three between 42 and 53/662–73. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 362 f.; *EI*[2], I, 695 f., s. v. al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā.

588. The tradition is quoted to this point in *Tafsīr*, I, 169 f. *(ad* Qur. 2:31). Ibn Khuzaymah, 64, refers to Adam's creation from clay of various colors.

was moistened until it became "sticky clay," then was left to become stinking slime, and then *ṣalṣāl* ("dry clay" or "potter's clay"), as God says: "We created man from dry clay from stinking slime."[589]

According to Ibn Bashshār—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Sufyān—al-A'mash—Muslim al-Baṭīn[590] —Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam was created from three (kinds of clay): dry clay *(ṣalṣāl)*, slime *(ḥama')*, and sticky clay. The "sticky" clay *(lāzib)* is the good clay. *Ḥama'* is *ḥami'ah*,[591] and *ṣalṣāl* is finely pounded soil. God means by "from *ṣalṣāl*" : from dry clay which has *ṣalṣalah*, that is, makes sounds.[592]

It has been mentioned that God caused Adam's clay to ferment. He left it lying around as a body *(jasad)* for forty nights, or, according to another statement, forty years.

Those who said this

According to Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—Bishr b. 'Umārah —Abū Rawq—Ḍaḥḥāk—Ibn 'Abbās: God commanded to lift up [90]
the soil from which Adam was to be made. He created Adam from sticky clay from stinking slime. He continued. It became stinking slime only after (having been compact) soil.[593] He continued. He created Adam from it with His own hand. He continued. It remained lying around as a body *(jasad)* for forty nights. Iblīs used to come to it and kick it with his foot, whereupon it made sounds. He continued. This is (meant by) God's word: "From *ṣalṣāl* like potter's clay."[594] He means: like something separated that is not compact. He continued. Then (Iblīs) entered Adam's mouth and left from his posterior, and he entered his posterior and left from his mouth. Then he said: You are not something for making sounds *(ṣalṣalah)*. What, then, were you created for? If I am given authority over you, I shall ruin you, and if you are given authority over

589. Qur. 15:26, etc.

590. For Muslim b. (Abī) 'Imrān al-Baṭīn, see *Tahdhīb*, X, 134.

591. The reading in *Tafsīr* (see n. 592) of *ḥam'ah* makes it even clearer that the Qur'ānic word is considered by Ibn 'Abbās as belonging to the root *ḥ-m-'* and not, as suggested by others, to the root *ḥ-m-y*.

592. See the slightly different versions in *Tafsīr*, XIV, 19 *(ad* Qur. 15:26), and XXIV, 73 *(ad* Qur. 55:14–16).

593. See above, n. 565.

594. Qur. 15:26, etc.

me, I shall disobey you.[595]

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: God said to the angels: "I am creating a human being from clay. When I have fashioned him and blown some of My spirit into him, fall down in prostration before him!"[596] God created him with His own hands, lest Iblīs become overbearing toward (Adam), so that (God) could say to (Iblīs): You are overbearing toward something I have made with My own hand(s), which I Myself was not too haughty to make!? So God created Adam as a human being. He was a body of clay for forty years the extent of Friday(?).[597] When the angels passed by him, they were frightened by what they saw. The angel most frightened was Iblīs. He would pass by him, kick him, and thus make the body produce a sound as potter's clay does. That is (meant) where God says: "From *ṣalṣāl*
[91] like potter's clay."[598] Then he would say: What were you created for? He entered his mouth and left from his posterior. Then he said to the angels: Don't be afraid of that one, for your Lord is solid, whereas this one is hollow.[599] When I am given authority over him, I shall ruin him.[600]

We were told on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. Bilāl[601] —Ḥammād b. Salamah—Sulaymān al-Taymī[602] —Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī[603] —Salmān al-Fārisī[604] : God caused Adam's clay to ferment for forty

595. The tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, I, 158 f. (*ad* Qur. 2:30) and, in part, XXIV, 73 (*ad* Qur. 55:14–16).

596. Qur. 38:71 f.

597. That is, the forty years were no longer than the hour on Friday during which Adam was created?

598. Qur. 15:26, etc.

599. This refers to an interpretation given *al-ṣamad* in Qur. 112:2, which, incidentally, is not the one preferred by Ṭabarī in *Tafsīr*, XXX, 224, on this verse.

600. See *Tafsīr*, I, 160.

601. See *Tahdhīb* II, 258. Elsewhere, 'Alī b. Sahl is mentioned as the transmitter between al-Ḥasan b. Bilāl and Ṭabarī. Both 'Alī and al-Ḥasan were from al-Ramlah.

602. See above, n. 102.

603. One of the legendary longevous men of early Islamic times who was said to have lived 130 or 140 years, Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī supposedly died in 95/713[4] or, using a round figure suggesting a mere guess, in 100/718[9]. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 277 f.; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, XIII, 217; Rosenthal, *Sweeter than Hope*, 82.

604. A famous legendary figure of early Islam, Salmān al-Fārisī may have died

days and then put him together with His own hands. His pleasant part came out in God's right hand, and his unpleasant part in God's left. God then wiped His hands one with the other and so mixed both (pleasant and unpleasant). That is why pleasant comes forth from unpleasant, and unpleasant from pleasant (in man's constitution).

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Reportedly—God knows best!—God created Adam, then put him down and looked at him for forty days before blowing the spirit into him, until he became *ṣalṣāl* like potter's clay untouched by fire. He continued. When, after that period during which Adam was *ṣalṣāl* like potter's clay, God wanted to blow the spirit into him, He went to the angels and said to them: "When I ... have blown some of My spirit into him, fall down in prostration before him!"[605]

When God blew the spirit into him, the spirit came to Adam by way of his head, as the early (scholars) are reported to have said.

Those who said this

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī —Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: At the time God wanted to blow the spirit into Adam, He said to the angels: When I blow some of My spirit into him, prostrate yourselves before him! Now, when He blew the spirit [92] into him and the spirit entered his head, Adam sneezed. The angels said: Say: "Praise be to God!,"[606] and he did. Whereupon God said to him: May your Lord show mercy into you! When the spirit entered his eyes, he looked at the fruits of Paradise, and when it entered his belly, he craved food. So he jumped up, before the spirit reached his feet, in his haste to get at the fruits of Paradise. This is (meant) where God says: "Man was created of haste."[607] So all the angels together prostrated themselves, "except Iblīs. He refused to be with those prostrating themselves."[608] "He refused and was

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in the thirties/650s. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 137–39; Massignon, *Salmān Pāk*.

605. Qur. 38:72.

606. Qur. 1:1.

607. Qur. 21:37. "*Of* haste" is one of the interpretations given by the commentators. See also the following tradition. "*In* haste" is also recognized as possible.

608. Qur. 15:30 f.

overbearing, being one of the unbelievers."[609] When God said to Iblīs: "What prevented you from prostrating yourself, as I commanded you?"—before what I have created with My own hands—"(Iblīs) said: I am better than he."[610] I am not one to prostrate myself before a human being You have created from clay. Whereupon God said to him: "Fall down[611] from (Paradise)! It is not yours to—meaning, you must not—be overbearing in it. So leave! You are one of the mean beings."[612] "Meanness" is humility.

According to Abū Kurayb—ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd—Bishr b. ʿUmārah—Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk—Ibn ʿAbbās: When God blew some of His spirit into him—meaning into Adam—it was by way of his head. Wherever something of God's spirit began to move in Adam's body, it became flesh and blood. When the blown spirit reached his navel, he looked at his body and was pleased to see its beauty. He attempted to get up but could not. This is (meant by) God's word: "Man was created of haste."[613] He commented (on "of haste"): Distressed, with no patience for either fortunate or unfortunate (events). He continued. When the blown spirit had completely pervaded his body, he sneezed and said, by divine inspiration: "Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds!"[614] God said: May God show mercy unto you, Adam! Then He said to the par-
[93] ticular angels who were with Iblīs, not those who were in the heavens: Prostrate yourselves before Adam, and all of them did, "except Iblīs who refused and was overbearing,"[615] because of the haughtiness and self-importance inspired by his soul. Iblīs said: I shall not prostrate myself, as I am older and better than he is as well as physically stronger. "You created me from fire, and You created him from clay,"[616] meaning that fire is stronger than clay. He continued. When Iblīs refused to prostrate himself, God "be-

609. Qur. 2:34.
610. Qur. 7:12.
611. The Leiden edition has "Leave" as against the Qur'ānic text which may have been restored by the editor of the Cairo edition or some earlier copyist.
612. Qur. 7:13. The tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, I, 160 (*ad* Qur. 2:30), and also in part in *Tafsīr*, XVII, 19 (*ad* Qur. 21:37).
613. Qur. 21:37.
614. Qur. 1:1.
615. Qur. 2:34. This and the two following sentences are quoted in *Tafsīr*, VIII, 98 (*ad* Qur. 7:12).
616. Qur. 7:12 and 38:76.

deviled" him *(ablasahū)*,[617] that is, He eliminated any hope for him to attain some good and made him a stoned Satan as punishment for his disobedience.[618]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: Reportedly–God knows best!—when the spirit reached his head, he sneezed. Then he said: "Praise be to God!"[619] He continued. The Lord then said to him: May your Lord show mercy unto you! When Adam straightened up, the angels fell down in prostration before him, in order to live up to the agreement God had made with them and to indicate obedience to the command He had given them. But Iblīs, the enemy of God, remained standing (alone) among them and did not prostrate himself out of haughtiness, self-importance, iniquity, and envy. God said to him: "Iblīs, what prevented you from prostrating yourself before what I have created with My own hands?" to:"I shall certainly fill Hell with you and all those of them who follow you."[620] He continued. When God was finished with censuring Iblīs, and Iblīs persisted in disobedience, God hurled a curse at him and drove him out of Paradise.

According to Muḥammad b. Khalaf[621] —Adam b. Abī Iyās—Abū Khālid Sulaymān b. Ḥayyān[622] —Muḥammad b. ʿAmr—Abū Salamah—Abū Hurayrah— the Prophet. Also Abū Khālid—al-Aʿmash—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet.[623] Also Abū Khālid—Dāwūd b. Abī Hind[624] —al-Shaʿbī—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet. Also Abū Khālid—Ibn Abī Dhubāb al-Dawsī[625] —

617. Arab scholars naturally combined Iblīs with the root *b-l-s*. The meaning of *ablasa* is indicated to be "to make someone despair, to eliminate one's hope." See *Tafsīr*, I, 180 (*ad* Qur. 2:34). This root meaning may be genuine, but it could have originated from etymological speculation on the name Iblīs, cf. "bedevil." See also text below, I, 151.

618. The complete text is to be found in *Tafsīr*, I, 159 (*ad* Qur. 2:30). For the last sentence, see also *Tafsīr*, I, 180 (*ad* Qur 2:34).

619. Qur. 1:1.

620. Qur. 38:75–85.

621. Died in 260/873–74. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 149.

622. Born in 114/732[3], Sulaymān b. Ḥayyān died in 189 or 190/804–6. See *TB*, IX, 21–24; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 181 f.

623. This *isnād* is found only in the Cairo edition.

624. Died between 139 and 141/757–59. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 204 f.

625. Al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Dhubāb al-Dawsī died in 146/763[4]. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 369 f.

[94] Sa'īd al-Maqburī and Yazīd b. Hurmuz[626] —Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet: God created Adam with His own hand and blew some of His spirit into him. He commanded the multitude of angels to prostrate themselves before Adam, and they did. Adam sat down, then sneezed and said: "Praise be to God!" His Lord said to him: May your Lord show mercy unto you! Go to that multitude of angels and say to them: Peace be upon you! He went and said to them: Peace be upon you! and they responded: And upon you be peace and the mercy of God! Adam then returned to his Lord Who said to him: This is your greeting and the greeting for your progeny to use among themselves. When Iblīs showed the haughtiness and disobedience to his Lord which he had kept concealed in his soul—(as indicated in the Qur'ān) when the angels asked their Lord Who told them: "I am placing on earth a vicegerent": "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood, whereas we praise and sanctify You?" and the Lord replied: "I know what you do not know"[627] —the angels became fully aware of what had been concealed to them (about Iblīs), and they realized that among them there was one who was disobedient to God and opposed to His command.

(Adam Is Taught All the Names)

God then "taught Adam all the names."[628] The early Muslim scholars before us differed with respect to the names that He taught Adam, whether it was some specific names he was taught or the names in general. Some said: He was taught the name of everything.

Those who said this[629]

According to Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—Bishr b. 'Umārah —Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk—Ibn 'Abbās: "God taught Adam all the names." They are the names commonly known and used among
[95] men, (such as) man, animal, earth, plain, ocean, mountain, donkey, and similarly (the names of) nations and others.

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626. Yazīd b. Hurmuz died during the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 369 f.

627. Qur. 2:30.

628. Qur. 2:31.

629. All the following traditions are included in *Tafsīr*, I, 170 f. *(ad* Qur. 2:31).

According to Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Ahwāzī—Abū Aḥmad—Sharīk (b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī)—'Āṣim b. Kulayb[630] —al-Ḥasan b. Sa'd[631] —Ibn 'Abbās,commenting on: "And He taught Adam all the names," as follows: He taught him the name of everything, down to fart and little fart.

According to 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan—Muslim al-Jarmī[632] —Muḥammad b. Mus'ab[633]—Qays b. al-Rabī'[634]—'Āṣim b. Kulayb—Sa'īd b. Ma'bad[635] —Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on God's word: "And He taught Adam all the names," as follows: He taught him the name of everything, down to bit and little bit, fart and wind.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū 'Aṣim (al-Nabīl)—'Īsā b. Maymūn—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid, commenting on God's word: "And He taught Adam all the names," as follows: (The names of) all that God has created.[636]

According to Ibn Wakī'—Sufyān—Khaṣīf[637] —Mujāhid, commenting on: "And He taught Adam all the names," as follows: He taught him the names of everything.

According to Sufyān (b. Wakī')—his father—Sharīk (b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī)—Sālim al-Afṭas[638]—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: God taught him the name of everything down to camel *(ba'īr)*, cow, and sheep.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Ma'mar— [96]
Qatādah, commenting on God's word: "And He taught Adam all the names," as follows: He taught him the name of everything

630. Died in 137/754[5]. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 53 f.

631. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 279 f.

632. Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jarmī died in 240/855 in Tarsus. See *TB*, XIII, 100. Cf. also above, n. 550.

633. Muḥammad b. Muṣ'ab al-Qirqisānī apparently is the individual meant here. He is listed in *TB*, III, 276–79; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 458–60. The date of death indicated in *TB* and presumably copied from *TB* in *Tahdhīb* (280/893[4] or 288/901) is preposterous in view of his authorities. A date of 188/804 would fit into the chain of transmitters in text below, I, 2754.

634. Qays b. al-Rabī' died in the second half of the 160s/781–85. See *TB*, XII, 456–62; *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 391–95.

635. Sa'īd b. Ma'bad appears to be the individual briefly listed in Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 1, 468, and Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II, 1, 63, as having been in contact with Ibn 'Abbās.

636. *Tafsīr*, I, 170, has two slightly different traditions with different *isnāds* which seem to have been combined here.

637. Khaṣīf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān died between 136 and 138/753–56. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 143 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 1, 208; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 2, 403 f.; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 653 f. Khuṣayf seems to be the more commonly used vocalization, see, in particular, the footnote in the cited entry of *Tahdhīb*.

638. Sālim b. 'Ajlān al-Afṭas died in 132/749[50]. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 441 f.

(saying): This is a mountain, this is such-and-such, and that is such-and-such. "Then he presented" those names[639] "to the angels and said: Tell me the names of these, if you speak the truth!"

According to Bishr b. Muʿādh—Yazīd b. Zurayʿ—Saʿīd (b. Abī ʿArūbah)—Qatādah, quoting God's word: "And He taught Adam all the names" to "You are knowing and wise,"[640] and commenting: "Adam, tell them their names!" And Adam told each kind of creature about its name and referred it to its genus.

According to al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd—Ḥajjāj—Jarīr b. Hāzim and Mubārak[641] —al-Ḥasan.[642] And (Ḥajjāj)—Abū Bakr[643] —al-Ḥasan and Qatādah: He taught him the name of everything (saying): These are horses, these are mules, and camels, jinn, wild animals. And he began to call everything by its name.

Others said: Rather, he was taught some specific names. They said: What God taught him was the names of the angels.

Those who said this

According to ʿAbdah al-Marwazī—ʿAmmār b. al-Ḥasan[644] —ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar—his father—al-Rabīʿ (b. Anas), commenting on God's word: "He taught Adam all the names," as follows: The names of the angels.

Others said something similar, that the names He taught Adam were those for specific things. They said, however, that what he was taught was (not the names of the angels but) the names of his
[97] progeny.

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639. Qur. 2:31 has "them," and this wording is reestablished in the editions of Ṭabarī. *Tafsīr*, I, 171, has "those names" (and also, incorrectly, "those things"). The pronoun "them" referring to persons caused problems for the commentators. Ṭabarī, in the *Tafsīr*, I, 171, expressed preference for the specific interpretation of "them" as angels or progeny.

640. Qur. 2:31 f. and 33.

641. Al-Mubārak b. Faḍālah, a transmitter from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, died between 164 and 166/780–83. See *TB*, XIII, 211–16; *Tahdhīb*, X, 28–31.

642. The great al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī lived from ca. 21/642 to 110/728[9]. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 263–70; *EI*[2] , III, 247 f., s. v. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 591–94; Horst, 301, n. 13.

643. The same *isnād* occurs in text below, I, 101, and appears to have to be understood as indicated. Ḥajjāj is mentioned elsewhere as an authority of Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh, for whom see above, n. 350. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Maryam is, however, not listed as a transmitter from either al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī or Qatādah.

644. ʿAmmār b. al-Ḥasan lived from 159/775[6] to 242/856[7]. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 399; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 34, 79, 243; Horst, 299, n. 5. *Tafsīr*, I, 171, has the *isnād* start: I was told by ʿAmmār... For ʿabdah al-Marwazī, see above, n. 399.

Those who said this

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Zayd,[645] commenting on God's word: "And He taught Adam all the names," as follows: The names of his progeny.[646]

When God taught Adam all the names, God presented those bearing names to the angels and said to them: "Tell Me the names of these, if you speak the truth." As mentioned, God said this to the angels only because, when He said to them: "I am placing on earth a vicegerent," they had said: "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood, whereas we praise and sanctify You?" Thus, after having created Adam and having blown the spirit into him and having taught him the names of everything He had created, he presented (them) to the angels and said to them: "Tell Me the names of these, if you speak the truth," (which is) that if I place one of you as My vicegerent on earth, you will obey, praise, and sanctify Me and not be disobedient. If I place someone not belonging to you (as My vicegerent on earth), he will cause corruption and shed blood. Now, if you do not know their names, although you can observe and see them with your own eyes, it is more likely that you will not know what will happen with you, if I place one of you as My vicegerent on earth, or with others, if I place one of them as My vicegerent on earth, when they are out of your sight and you do not see them with your own eyes, and you have not been informed what you or they will do.

This is what a number of early Muslims have said, as transmitted on their authority. Some of them are [98]

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī —'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet commenting on: "If you speak the truth": The children of Adam will cause corruption on earth and shed blood.[647]

According to Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—Bishr b. 'Umārah —Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "If you

645. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam died in 182/798. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 177-79; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 38; Horst, 305, n. 3.

646. *Tafsīr*, I, 171 (*ad* Qur. 2:31), adds: all of them.

647. *Tafsīr*, I, 172 f. (*ad* Qur. 2:31).

speak the truth": If you know why I place on earth a vicegerent.[648]

It has also been said that God said that to the angels, because when He began to create Adam, they said among themselves: Let God create whatever He wants to, but whatever creature He may create, we are more knowledgeable and more honored by God than that creature. Thus, when God created Adam and taught him the names of everything, He presented the things whose names He had taught Adam to the angels and said to them: "Tell Me the names of these, if you speak the truth" in your claim that whatever creature God has created (before), you were more knowledgeable and more honored by God than that creature.

Those who said this

According to Bishr b. Muʿādh—Yazīd b. Zurayʿ—Saʿīd—Qatādah, commenting on God's word: "And when your Lord said to the angels: I am placing on earth a vicegerent"[649]: He thus asked the angels for advice concerning the creation of Adam, and they said: "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood?" The angels knew from the knowledge of God (given to them) that nothing was more detestable to God than shedding
[99] blood and causing corruption on earth. "Whereas we praise and sanctify You. God said: I know what you do not know." It was in God's knowledge that from that vicegerent, there would come forth prophets, messengers, righteous people, and the inhabitants of Paradise. He continued. It has been mentioned to us that Ibn ʿAbbās used to say: When God began to create Adam, the angels said: God would not create a creature more honored by Him and more knowledgeable than we are. They were tested by the creation of Adam, just as were the heavens and the earth through obedience, when God said: "Come willingly or unwillingly! They said: We come willingly."[650]

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd—Ḥajjāj—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim and Mubārak—al-Ḥasan. Also (Ḥajjāj)—Abū Bakr—al-Ḥasan and Qatādah:[651] God said to the angles: "I am placing on earth a vicegerent," (meaning that) He said to them: I am

648. *Tafsīr*, I, 172 (*ad* Qur. 2:31).
649. Qur. 2:30.
650. Qur. 41:11. See text above, I, 23.
651. See above, n. 643.

making ...[652] But they came forward with their opinion (as to the propriety of God's impending action). He had taught them some knowledge and withheld other knowledge that He knew but they did not. On the strength of the knowledge He had taught them, they asked: "Will you place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood?" From the knowledge of God (given to them), the angels knew that no sin was greater in God's eyes than shedding blood. (Because of the knowledge they did not have, they continued:) "Whereas we praise and sanctify You. God said: I know what you do not know." Now, when God started to create Adam, the angels murmured among themselves saying: Let our Lord create whatever He wants, but whatever He may create, we are more knowledgeable and more honored by God than that creature. So when God created Adam and blew some of His spirit into him, He commanded the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam because of what they had said. He thus preferred Adam to them, and they realized that they were not better than he was. They then said: If we are not better than he is, we are (at least) more knowledgeable, because we existed before him, and the nations were created before him. When they thus boasted about their knowledge, they were tested. "God taught Adam all the names. Then He presented them to the angels and said: Tell Me the names of these, if you speak the truth"[653] (in saying) that you are more knowledgeable than whatever else I have created. Thus, inform Me about the names of these, if you speak the truth! They[654] continued. The angels hurriedly sought repentance, as is done by every believer. "They said: Glory be to You! We have no knowledge but what You have taught us. You are knowing and wise. He said: Adam, tell them their names! When he did, God said: Did I not say to you that I know the secret (things) of the heavens and the earth and that I know what you reveal and what you keep concealed."[655] (God said that) because they had said: Let our Lord create whatever He wants, but He shall not create a creature more honored by Him and more knowledgeable than we. He continued. He taught [100]

652. One of the interpretations of *jā'ilun* in Qur. 2:30 is, as here, *fā'ilun*, see *Tafsīr*, I, 156, l. 10. The use of *fā'ilun*, it seems, was felt to convey God's determination to go through with the creation of Adam.

653. This and the following sentence occur in *Tafsīr*, I, 173 (*ad* Qur. 2:31).

654. The dual referring to al-Ḥasan and Qatādah is found in the Cairo edition.

655. Qur. 2:32 f.

him the names of everything (saying): These are horses, these are mules, and camels, jinn, wild animals. And he began to call everything by its name, and nation after nation was presented to Him. God says: "Did I not say to you that I know the secret (things) of the heavens and the earth and that I know what you reveal and what you keep concealed?" He continued. (The knowledge) they revealed (refers to) their saying: "Will you place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood?" (The knowledge) they kept concealed (refers to) their saying to one another: We are better and more knowledgeable than he.[656]

We[657] were told on the authority of ʿAmmār b. al-Ḥasan—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar—his father—al-Rabīʿ b. Anas, commenting on: "Then He presented them to the angels and said: Tell Me the names of these, if you speak the truth" to "You are knowing and wise."[658] That was when they said: "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood" to "sanctify You."[659] He continued. When they realized that He was placing on earth a
[101] vicegerent, they said among themselves: Whatever God may create, we are more knowledgeable and more honored by God than that creature. Now, God wanted to inform them that He preferred Adam to them. He taught him all the names and said to the angels: "Tell Me the names of these, if you speak the truth" to: "I know what you reveal and what you keep concealed."[660] (The knowledge) they revealed (refers to) their saying: "Will You place on it one who will cause corruption on it and shed blood?" The knowledge they kept concealed among themselves (refers to): Whatever God may create, we are more knowledgeable and honored than that creature. (Yet,) they realized that God preferred Adam to them with respect to knowledge and honor.[661]

When Iblīs' haughtiness and opposition to the command of his Lord which had been concealed from the angels became apparent to them, and[662] the Lord censured Iblīs for the disobedience he

656. For the entire tradition, see *Tafsīr*, I, 162 f. (*ad* Qur. 2:30).
657. *Tafsīr*, I, 163: I was told.
658. Qur. 2:31 f.
659. Qur. 2:30.
660. Qur. 2:31–33.
661. See *Tafsīr* I, 163 (*ad* Qur. 2:30).
662. The omission of "and" in the Cairo edition, which greatly changes the text, seems a mistake.

had shown to Him by not prostrating himself before Adam, but Iblīs persisted in his disobedience and continued in his error and perversion, God cursed him and expelled him from Paradise. He deprived him of the rule that had been his over the lower heaven and the earth, and deposed him from his post as keeper of Paradise. God said to him: "Leave it!"—meaning Paradise—"for you are stoned. The curse will be upon you to the Day of Judgement."[663] (God said this to Iblīs) while he was still in heaven and had not (yet) fallen to earth.

At the time, God had Adam dwell in His Paradise, as I was told by Mūsā b. Hārūn—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Masʿūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: Iblīs was driven out of Paradise when he was cursed, [102] and Adam was settled in Paradise. Adam used to go about there all alone, not having a spouse to dwell with.[664] He fell asleep, and when he woke up, he found sitting at his head a woman who had been created by God from his rib. He asked her what she was, and she replied: A woman. He asked for what purpose she had been created, and she replied: For you to dwell with me. The angels, looking (to find out) the extent of Adam's knowledge, asked him her name. He replied: Eve (Ḥawwāʾ). When the angels asked why she was called Eve, he replied: Because she was created from a living *(ḥayy)* thing. God said: "Adam, dwell you and your spouse in Paradise! Eat freely of its plenty wherever you wish!"[665]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When God finished with censuring Iblīs, He went to Adam, whom He had taught all the names, and said: "Adam, tell their names" to: "You are knowing and wise."[666] He continued. He then cast slumber upon Adam, as we have heard from the people of the Torah among the people of the Book and other scholars on the authority of ʿAbd-

663. Qur. 15:34 f.

664. Cf. Qur. 7:189 (also 30:21). It should be kept in mind that *sakana ilā* is commonly used metaphorically, thus, in the Qur'ānic context, "supply his needs, be a comfort to him." See *sakan* in the following tradition.

665. *Tafsīr*, I, 182 *(ad* Qur. 2:35).

666. The mistake here, referring to Qur. 2:33–32 (!), may go back to Ṭabarī. The Leiden edition has "mighty" for "knowing." This compounds the error, as the combination "mighty and wise" first occurs in Qur. 2:129. *Tafsīr*, I, 182, has "knowing." The Cairo edition simply restores the text of Qur. 2:33.

allāh b. 'Abbās and others. Then He took one of Adam's ribs from his left side and replaced it with flesh, while Adam was asleep and did not stir, until God had created his spouse Eve from that rib of his. He fashioned her to be a woman for him to dwell with. When slumber was lifted from him and he woke, he saw her at his side. It has been assumed—God knows best!—that Adam said: My flesh and blood and spouse, and he dwelled with her. When God gave him a spouse and made for him a comfort *(sakan)* from his own person, He said to him face to face[667] : Adam, dwell you and your spouse in Paradise! Eat freely of its plenty wherever you wish, but
[103] do not go near this tree, or you will be wrongdoers."[668]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū 'Āṣim (al-Nabīl)—'Īsā (b. Maymūn)—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid,[669] commenting on God's word: "And He created from him his spouse,"[670] as follows: Eve from Adam's lowest rib *(quṣayrā')*, while he was asleep. Then Adam woke up and said: *Attā!*, which is "woman" in Nabataean.[671]

We were told the same by al-Muthannā—Abū Ḥudhayfah[672] —Shibl[673] —Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid.

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'īd (b. Abī 'Arūbah)—Qatādah, commenting on: "And He created from him his spouse": Meaning Eve who was created from one of Adam's ribs.

(God's Testing of Adam)

Now we shall discuss how God tested the obedience of our father

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667. *Tafsīr*, I, 182, apparently incorrectly reads *fa-talā* "and recited." See again text below, I, 134, n. 841.

668. *Tafsīr*, I, 182 *(ad* Qur. 2:35).

669. See Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, I, 143.

670. Qur. 4:1.

671. The aspirated *th* indicated in the Ṭabarī text seems unlikely, as the Eastern Aramaic pronunciation of the word for "woman" was *'attā ('ntt')*. However, the local origin of the Arabic tradition is, of course, uncertain. Modern Mandaic has *eththā*.

This and the following two traditions are to be found in *Tafsīr*, IV, 150 *(ad* Qur. 4:1).

672. Abū Ḥudhayfah Mūsā b. Mas'ūd died in 220 or 221/835–36 at the age of ninety-two. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 370 f.; Horst, 296, n. 14.

673. Shibl b. 'Abbād ('Ubād ?) died in 148/765. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 370 f.; Horst, 296, n. 21 (where the wrong year is indicated).

Adam and afflicted him (for failing the test), how Adam was disobedient to his Lord after God had given him honor and high rank with Him and enabled him to enjoy wholesome plenty in God's Paradise, and how he lost all of that and went from the luxury and pleasurable and plentiful way of life in Paradise to the miserable way of life of the inhabitants of the earth: tilling, hoeing, and planting the soil.

When God settled Adam and his spouse in His Paradise, He permitted them to eat of whatever fruit they wished, except the fruit of one tree. This was to afflict them and have God's judgement on them and their progeny come to pass, as God says: "And (we said): Adam, dwell you and your spouse in Paradise! Eat freely of [104] its plenty wherever you wish, but do not go near this tree, or you will be wrongdoers."[674] Satan whispered to them and eventually succeeded in making it appear good and desirable for them to eat of the fruit of the tree which their Lord had forbidden them to eat and thus to disobey God. They ate from it, and as a result, their secret parts that had been concealed from them became apparent to them.

How Iblīs, the enemy of God, managed to entice them to (eat of the fruit of the tree) is mentioned in the report I was told by Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Prophet: When God said to Adam: "Dwell you and your spouse in Paradise! Eat freely of its plenty wherever you wish, but do not go near this tree, or you will be wrongdoers," Iblīs wanted to go and meet them in Paradise, but the keepers (of Paradise) prevented him from entering. He went to the snake, an animal with four feet as if it were a camel—it seemed like one of the most beautiful of animals. Iblīs talked to it (trying to persuade it) to let him enter its mouth and take him in to Adam. The snake let him do it, passed by the keepers, and entered without their knowledge, because that was God's plan. Now, Iblīs talked to Adam from the mouth of the snake, but Adam paid no attention to what he said. So Iblīs went out to him and said: "Adam, may I lead you to the tree of eternity

674. Qur. 2:35. The addition from the Qur'ānic text of "And we said" in the Cairo edition is unjustified. The Leiden edition has "and" before "Adam" from the parallel text Qur. 7:19.

and a rule that never decays?"[675] —meaning: May I lead you to a tree which, if you eat from it, you will be a ruler like God, or both you and (Eve) will have eternal life and will never die? Iblīs swore to them by God: "I am one of those who give you good advice."[676]
[105] But by tearing their clothes, Iblīs wanted to show them their secret parts, which had been concealed from them. From his reading of the books of the angels, he knew, what Adam did not, that they had secret parts. Their clothes were *al-ẓufr.*[677] Adam refused to eat from the tree, but Eve came forward and ate. Then she said: Eat, Adam! For I have, and it has done me no harm. But when Adam ate, "their secret parts became apparent to them, and they started to cover themselves with leaves of Paradise stitched together."[678]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Layth b. Abī Sulaym—Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī—Ibn 'Abbās: Iblīs, the enemy of God, proposed to the animals on earth that they[679] should take him into Paradise, so that he could speak with Adam and his spouse, but every animal refused. Finally, he spoke to the snake and said to it: If you take me into Paradise, I shall shield you from the descendants of Adam, and you will be under my protection. The snake put him between two of its fangs and took him in. Iblīs talked to Adam and his spouse from the snake's mouth. The snake was dressed and walking on four feet, but God then undressed it and made it walk on its belly. He continued. Ibn 'Abbās says: Kill it wherever you find it, and break the (covenant of) protection

675. Qur. 20:120. The following portion of the tradition is found in part in *Tafsīr*, XVI, 162, on this verse.

676. Qur. 7:21.

677. That is, fingernails. This is explained by reference to Jewish literature. *Berēshīt Rabbā*, 196 *(ad* Genesis 3:21) refers in this connection to clothing "smooth as a fingernail, beautiful as a pearl." Targum Pseudo-Jonathan *(ad* Genesis 3:7 and 21) describes Adam and Eve as created with clothing of fingernails *(ṭuprā)*, and says that "their fingernails *(ṭuprayhōn)*" were later replaced. Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 32, describes Adam's original skin as being like fingernails. The use of the word in the tradition is explained by Muslim scholars as referring to the whiteness, sheerness *(ṣafā')*, and thickness *(kathāfah)* of fingernails. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāyah*, III, 61, cited in Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, VI, 192; Ṭabarī, *Introduction etc.*, CCCXLVI. The description of the clothing of Adam and Eve in Paradise as a film of light or the like, which appears elsewhere in the Muslim sources, is also found in the quoted passages of the midrash.

678. Qur. 7:22. The entire tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, I, 187 *(ad* Qur. 2:36).

679. *Annahā*, according to *Tafsīr*, I, 188 (*ad* Qur. 2:36) and, it seems, some Ṭabarī manuscripts. The more difficult *ayyuhā* of the Ṭabarī editions would mean: ...made a proposition...and asked which one would....

granted it by the enemy of God![680]

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muhrib[681] —Wahb b. Munabbih: When God settled Adam and his spouse in Paradise, He forbade him that tree. The tree's branches were intertwined, and it bore fruit which the [106] angels ate to live eternally. That was the fruit which God forbade Adam and his spouse to eat. Now, when Iblīs wanted to cause their downfall, he entered inside the snake. The snake had four feet as if it were a Bactrian camel and was one of the most beautiful animals created by God. When the snake had entered Paradise, Iblīs went out from inside of it. He picked some of (the fruit of) the tree which God had forbidden Adam and his spouse to eat, took it to Eve, and said: Look at this tree! How sweet does it smell! How good does it taste! How beautiful is its color! Eve took and ate of the (fruit offered to her). Then she went with it to Adam and said: Look at this tree! How sweet does it smell! How good does it taste! How beautiful is its color! Thus, Adam ate of it, and their secret parts became apparent to them. Adam went inside the tree (to hide). His Lord called out to him: Adam, where are you? Adam replied: I am here,[682] my Lord. God said: Will you not come out? Adam replied: I feel shame before You, my Lord. God said: Cursed is the earth from which you were created, with a curse which will change its fruits to thorns. He continued. Neither in Paradise nor on earth was there a tree more excellent than the acacia *(ṭalḥ)* and the lote-tree *(sidr)*.[683] Then God said: Eve, you are the one who inveigled My servant (Adam). Pregnancy will be difficult[684] for you, and when you want to give birth to what is in your womb, you will often be in mortal danger. To the snake He said: You are the one who let the accursed Iblīs enter your belly, so that he was able to inveigle My servant. You are cursed with a curse that will have

680. *Tafsīr*, I, 188 *(ad* Qur. 2:36).

681. The name is given in its correct form in the Cairo edition. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 2, 173; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, III, 1, 121.

682. Lit., I am it.

683. *Ṭalḥ* and *sidr* are two kinds of tree mentioned in Qur. 56:28 f. The reference to them here appears to identify them as the original "tree" of Paradise. There was much speculation as to what that tree was. Already before Islam, it was identified with wheat, the vine, etc. For corresponding Jewish identifications, see Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen*, 65. On *sidr*, see also below, n. 969.

684. The meaning of *kurhan* is determined as usual by its opposite, which here is "easy" (text below, I, 109). But it also suggests unwillingness or disgust.

the effect that your feet will be retracted into your belly, and only the soil will be your sustenance. You will be the enemy of the children of Adam, and they will be your enemies. Wherever you encounter one of them, you will hold on to his heel, and wherever he encounters you, he will crush your head. Wahb was asked: And what did the angels use to eat? He replied: God does whatever He
[107] wants.[685]

According to al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd—Ḥajjāj—Abū Ma'shar—Muḥammad b. Qays[686]: God forbade Adam and Eve to eat from one tree in Paradise, but (otherwise) they could freely eat of its plenty wherever they wished. Satan came and entered inside the snake. He spoke to Eve and whispered to Adam. He said: "Your Lord has only forbidden you this tree, lest you become angels or live eternally. And (Iblīs) assured them with an oath: I am one of those who give you good advice."[687] He continued. Eve cut[688] the tree, and it bled. The feathers[689] that covered Adam and Eve dropped off, "and they started to cover themselves with leaves of Paradise stitched together. Their Lord called out to them: Did I not forbid you this tree, and did I not tell you that Satan is for you a clear enemy?"[690] Why did you eat of it, when I have forbidden it to you? Adam said: My Lord, Eve made me eat of it. When God asked Eve: Why did you make him eat of it? she replied: The snake commanded me to do it. So God asked the snake: Why did you command Eve to do it? and the snake replied: Iblīs commanded me to do it. God said: Cursed and banished (is Iblīs).[691] Now, you, Eve, as you caused the tree to bleed, you will bleed every new moon, and you, snake, I shall cut off your feet and you will walk slithering on your face. Whoever encounters you, will crush your head with stones. "Fall down being one another's

685. Cf. Qur. 3:40 or 22:18. *Tafsīr*, I, 186 f. *(ad* Qur. 2:36*)*, has the entire tradition.

686. Muḥammad b. Qays supposedly died during the turbulent reign of al-Walīd b. Yazīd (743–44). See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 414; Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 259. In Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV,1, 63 (no. 282), and 64 (no. 286), he appears to have been split into two individuals; this might be correct.

687. Qur. 7:20 f.

688. *Tafsīr*, I, 189, 1, 3, reads "bit."

689. Cf. Qur. 7:26.

690. Qur. 7:22.

691. Cf. Qur. 7:18.

enemy!"[692]

According to 'Ammār b. al-Ḥasan—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī' (b. Anas): Someone told me that Satan entered Paradise in the form of an animal with feet, thought to be a camel. He continued. He was cursed. As a result, his feet fell off, and he became a snake.[693]

I was told on the authority of 'Ammār—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī' (b. Anas)—Abū al-'Āliyah [694]: Some camels were originally jinn. He continued. All of Paradise was allowed to him—meaning Adam—except the tree. He and Eve were told: "Do not go near this tree, or you will be wrongdoers."[695] He continued. Satan went to Eve to start with her. He said: Have you two been forbidden anything? Eve replied: Yes, this tree. Whereupon Satan said: "Your Lord has only forbidden you this tree, lest you become angels or live eternally."[696] He continued. Eve ate first[697] from the tree. She then commanded Adam to eat from it. He continued. It was a tree which made whoever ate from it defecate. He continued. But there must be no faeces in Paradise. He continued. "And Satan caused them to slip from Paradise and drove both of them out of what they were in."[698] He continued. So he drove Adam out of Paradise.[699] [108]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—some scholar(s): When Adam entered Paradise and saw the generous plenty there and the share of it given to him by God, he said: Would we could live eternally! When Satan heard him say that, he recognized it as Adam's weak spot, and he approached him by means of (the issue of) eternal life.[700]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: I was told that

692. Qur. 2:36 and 7:24. The entire tradition in *Tafsīr*, I, 188 f. (*ad* Qur. 2:36).
693. *Tafsīr*, I, 187 (*ad* Qur. 2:36).
694. Abū al-'Āliyah Rufay' b. Mihrān died, according to Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, VII, 1, 81–85, in 90/709, according to Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II,1, 298, in 93/712, and according to *Tahdhīb*, III, 284–86, in or before or later than any one of these years. See also Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 34; Horst, 299, n. 13.
695. Qur. 2:35.
696. Qur. 7:20.
697. Following the reading *bada'at* of *Tafsīr*, I, 188, l. 1 (*ad* Qur. 2:36). The Ṭabarī editions have "came forth to eat"(?).
698. Qur. 2:36.
699. *Tafsīr*, I, 187 f.
700. *Tafsīr*, I, 188.

Satan made his first attempt to trick Adam and Eve by mourning for them in a way that saddened them when they heard it. When they asked him what it was that made him cry, he replied: I am crying for you. You will die and be forced to give up the luxury and generous plenty you are enjoying. This remark made a deep impression on them. Next, he went to them and whispered, saying: "Adam, may I lead you to the tree of eternity and a rule that never decays?"[701] He (also) said: "Your Lord has only forbidden
[109] you this tree, lest you become angels or live eternally. And (Iblīs) assured them with an oath: I am one of those who give you good advice."[702] That is, you may become angels or live eternally, and that (alternative) means: If you do not become angels in the luxury of Paradise, you will (at least) not die. God says: "And he thus hooked them with deceit."[703]

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Zayd (commenting on God's word: "And he whispered"[704]): Satan whispered to Eve about the tree and succeeded in taking her to it; then he made it seem good to Adam. He continued. When Adam felt a need for her and called her, she said: No! unless you go there. When he went, she said again: No! unless you eat from this tree. He continued. They both ate from it, and their secret parts became apparent to them. He continued. Adam then went about in Paradise in flight. His Lord called out to him: Adam, is it from Me that you are fleeing? Adam replied: No, my Lord, but I feel shame before You. When God asked what had caused his trouble, he replied: Eve, my Lord. Whereupon God said: Now it is My obligation to make her bleed once every month, as she made this tree bleed. I also must make her stupid, although I created her intelligent *(ḥalīmah)*, and must make her suffer pregnancy and birth with difficulty, although I made it easy for her to be pregnant and give birth. Ibn Zayd continued: Were it not for the affliction that af-

701. Qur. 20:120.
702. Qur. 7:20 f.
703. Qur. 7:22. The entire tradition is found in *Tafsīr*, I, 188 *(ad* Qur. 2:36).
704. This lemma from Qur. 7:20 and 20:120 is missing in some Ṭabarī manuscripts and *Tafsīr*, I, 188. It was no doubt supplied for the sake of clarity somewhere along the line of the textual tradition of the *History*.

fected Eve, the women of this world would not menstruate, and they would be intelligent and, when pregnant, give birth easily.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Qusayṭ[705] —Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab: I heard him swear by God unequivocally[706] : As long as Adam was in his right mind, he did not eat from the tree. Eve, however, gave him wine to drink, and when he was drunk, she led him to the tree, and he [110] ate from it.[707]

When Adam and Eve committed the sin (of eating from the forbidden tree), God drove them out of Paradise and deprived them of the luxury and generous plenty they had enjoyed. He threw them, their enemy Iblīs, and the snake down to earth. The Lord said to them: "Fall down being one another's enemy!"[708]

What we have stated about the subject was also stated by the early Muslim scholars

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Isrā'īl—Ismā'īl al-Suddī—someone who heard Ibn 'Abbās say commenting on: "Fall down being one another's enemy!" as follows: Adam, Eve, Iblīs, and the snake.[709]

According to Sufyān b. Wakī' and Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī[710] —Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Messenger of God (in connection with): "Fall down being one another's enemy!": And He cursed the snake, cut off its legs, left it to walk upon its belly, and made the soil its sustenance. He threw Adam, Eve, Iblīs, and the snake down.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū 'Āṣim (al-Nabīl)—'Īsā b. Maymūn—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid, commenting on God's word: "Fall down being one another's enemy!": Adam, Eve, Iblīs, and the snake.[711]

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705. Died in 122/740 at the age of ninety. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 342 f.
706. Lit., without making allowance for an exception by saying, "if God wills."
707. *Tafsīr*, I, 188.
708. Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, I, 73, mentions only Iblīs and Adam in this connection.
709. *Tafsīr*, I, 191 (*ad* Qur. 2:36).
710. *Tafsīr*, I, 190 f., and VIII, 107 (*ad* Qur. 7:24), omits the rest of the *isnād*.
711. *Tafsīr*, I, 191, omits Eve.

The Duration of Adam's Stay in Paradise. The Moment He Was Created by God and That of His Fall from Heaven to Earth Caused by God

Various reports on the authority of the Messenger of God have
[111] confirmed that it was on Friday that God created Adam, and on Friday that he drove him out of Paradise and cast him down to earth. On Friday, too, God accepted his repentance, and on Friday, he let him die.

The reports on the authority of the Messenger of God on this (subject)

According to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam[712] —ʿAlī b. Maʿbad[713] —ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAmr[714] —ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl[715] —ʿAmr b. Shuraḥbīl b. Saʿīd b. Saʿd b. ʿUbādah[716] —Saʿd b. ʿUbādah[717] —the Messenger of God: There are five distinctions to Friday. On it, Adam was created, cast down to earth, and taken up by God. Also, there is an hour on Friday[718] during which God will give a human being everything he asks for, unless it be a crime or a severing (of family ties). And on Friday, the Hour will come. Every angel close to God, every heaven, mountain, earth, and wind—all are in awe of Friday.

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār and Muḥammad b. Maʿmar[719]—AbūʿĀmir[720]—Zuhayr b. Muḥammad[721]—ʿAbdallāh

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712. The Egyptian historian, who lived from ca. 182/798[9] to 257/871. Their contact goes back to Ṭabarī's visit to Egypt. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 208; *EI*², III, 674 f., s. v. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 355 f.

713. ʿAlī b. Maʿbad died in 218/833. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 384 f. He appears as a transmitter from ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAmr in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 231, 282, 293.

714. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAmr died in his late seventies in 180/796[7] in al-Raqqah. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 42 f.

715. Died in the first half of the 140s/757-62 in Medina. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 13–15.

716. For ʿAmr, his father Shuraḥbīl, and his grandfather Saʿīd, see *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 46, IV, 322, and IV, 37. As in text below, I, 112, both his father and his grandfather should probably figure in the chain of transmitters.

717. Saʿd b. ʿUbādah is said to have died in the 630s. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 475 f.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 594–99.

718. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 474 f., devotes a chapter to this special hour.

719. Muḥammad b. Maʿmar died after 250/864. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 466 f.

720. Abū ʿĀmir ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAmr al-ʿAqadī died in 204 or 205/819–21. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 409 f.

721. Died in or before 162/778. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 348–50.

b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī[722] —Abū Lubābah b. 'Abd al-Mundhir[723] —the Prophet: The lord of the days (of the week) is Friday. It is the greatest of days and more [112] revered in the eyes of God than the Day of Breaking the Fast and the Day of Slaughtering.[724] There are five distinctions to Friday. On it, God created Adam, cast him down to earth, and took him up. Moreover, there is an hour on Friday during which God will give a human being everything he asks for, unless it be something forbidden. And on Friday, the Hour will come. All angels close to God, every heaven and earth, all mountains and winds, and every ocean—all are in awe of Friday, expecting the Hour to come on it. The wording is that of Ibn Bashshār.[725]

According to Muḥammad b. Ma'mar—Abū 'Āmir—Zuhayr b. Muḥammad—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl—'Amr b. Shuraḥbīl b. Sa'īd b. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah—his father—his grandfather—Sa'd b. 'Ubādah: A man came to the Prophet and said: O Messenger of God, tell us what good happened on Friday. The Prophet replied: On it, Adam was created, cast down, and taken up by God. Moreover, there is an hour on Friday during which God gives a human being everything he asks for, unless it be something criminal or a severing (of family ties). On it, too, the Hour will come. Every angel close to God, every heaven and earth, all mountains, every wind—all are in awe of Friday.[726]

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam—Abū Zur'ah[727] —Yūnus[728] —Ibn Shihāb[729] —'Abd al-Raḥmān (b. Hurmuz) al-A'raj[730] —Abū Hurayrah—the Messenger of God: The best day ever to see the sun rise is Friday. On it, Adam was created, brought into Paradise, and driven out of it.[731]

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722. Died between 93 and 98/711–17. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 298 f.
723. See *Tahdhīb*, XII, 214; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, IV, 1740–42.
724. Shawwāl 1 and Dhū al-Ḥijjah 10.
725. For the tradition, see Ibn Mājah, I, 344; Ibn Ḥanbal, III, 430.
726. See Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 284.
727. Listed repeatedly as an authority in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr*, Abū Zur'ah Wahballāh b. Rāshid died in 211/826. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI, 235.
728. Yūnus b. Yazīd died in 159/775[6]. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 450–52.
729. The prominent early historian Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī died between 123 and 125/740–43. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 445–51; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 280–83; Horst, 301, n. 12.
730. Died between 110 and 117/728–35 in Alexandria. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 290 f.
731. See the chapter on the excellence of Friday in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 475, where

[113] According to Baḥr b. Naṣr[732] —Ibn Wahb—Ibn Abī al-Zinād[733] —his father—Mūsā b. Abī 'Uthmān[734] —Abū Hurayrah—the Messenger of God: The lord of the days is Friday. On it, Adam was created, brought into Paradise, and driven out of it. And the Hour will come precisely on Friday.[735]

According to al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān[736] —Shu'ayb b. al-Layth[737] —al-Layth b. Sa'd—Ja'far b. Rabī'ah[738] —'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz (al-A'raj)—Abū Hurayrah—the Messenger of God: The sun has never risen over a day like Friday. On it, Adam was created, driven out of Paradise, and reestablished in it.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr (b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd)—Manṣūr[739] and Mughīrah[740] —Abū Ma'shar Ziyād b. Kulayb[741] —Ibrāhīm[742] —al-Qartha' al-Ḍabbī, one of the first Qur'ān readers[743] —Salmān: The Messenger of God said to me: Salmān, do you know about Friday? I said: God and His messenger know better. (The Prophet) repeated (the question) three times: Salmān, do you know about Friday? (and always received the same answer. Then, he answered his own question): On it, your (sg.)—or your (pl.)—father was put together.[744]

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the tradition is quoted.

732. Baḥr b. Naṣr lived from 180 or 181/796–97 to 267/881. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 420 f.

733. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Zinād 'Abdallāh b. Dhakwān died in 174/790[1] at the age of seventy-four. See *TB*, X, 228–30; *Tahdhīb*, VI, 170–73. His father died sixty-six years old between 130 and 132/747–50. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 203–5.

734. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 360; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, IV,1, 290, no. 1237 or 1238; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV,1, 153, no. 689 or 690.

735. The tradition appears with a partly different *isnād* in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 475.

736. Al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Jabbār was born in 174/790[1] and died in 270/884. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 245 f.; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 132–39.

737. The son of al-Layth b. Sa'd (above, n. 222) lived from 135/752[3] to 199/814. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 355 f.

738. Died in 136/753[4]. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 90.

739. Manṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir died at the end of 132 or in 133/750–51. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 312–15; Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 164; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 235.

740. (al-)Mughīrah b. Miqsam died between 132 and 136/749–54. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 269–71.

741. Died in 119 or 120/737–38. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 182.

742. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Nakha'ī lived between 50/670 (?) and 96/714. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 177–79.

743. For al-Qartha', see *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 367 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, IV,1, 199 f.

744. For the intended meaning of *jumi'a* (hardly *jummi 'a*), see above, n. 375; also Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CLXVIII and DLXXVI. The ordinary meaning of *jamma'a* "to set up the Friday service" or the like, could hardly be interpreted in such a way that it would apply here.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umārah al-Asadī—'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā[745] —Shaybān[746] —Yaḥyā[747] —Abū Salamah[748] —Abū Hurayrah—Ka'b: The best day ever too see the sun rise is Friday. On it, Adam was created, entered Paradise, and was driven out of it. Moreover, the Hour will come on it. [114]

According to al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd al-Adamī[749] —Rawḥ b. 'Ubādah[750] —Zakariyyā' b. Isḥāq[751] —'Amr b. Dīnār[752] —'Ubayd b. 'Umayr: The first day on which the sun rose is Friday. It is the most excellent of the days. On it, God created Adam in His likeness. When he finished, Adam sneezed. God inspired him to use (the formula of) praise, and then responded: May your Lord show mercy unto you![753]

According to Abū Kurayb—Isḥāq b. Manṣūr[754] —Abū Kudaynah[755] —Mughīrah—Ziyād—Ibrāhīm—'Alqamah[756] —al-Qartha'—Salmān: The Messenger of God said: Do you know about Friday? It is a day on which your (sg.)—or your (pl.)—father Adam was put together.

According to Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—Abū al-Aḥwaṣ—Mughīrah—Ibrāhīm—'Alqamah—Salmān: The Messenger of God

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745. 'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā b. Bādhām/Bādhān was born in 128/745[6] and died in 213 or 214/828–29. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 50–53.

746. Shaybān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Naḥwī died in 164/780[1]. See *TB*, IX, 271–74; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 373 f.

747. Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr died between 129 and 132/746–50. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 268–70.

748. The son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf (above, n. 177)?

749. The form of the name is uncertain. He could be identical with al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd al-Sabī'ī who is mentioned as an authority of Ṭabarī in *Tafsīr*, II, 91, l. 2. Al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī al-Qaṭṭān, who died in 244/Dec. 858–Jan. 859 (Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 2, 67; *Tahdhīb*, II, 376) would fit chronologically, but the identity is not certain. Al-Qaṭṭān is often mentioned in *Tafsīr*, as well as text below, I, 290.

750. Rawḥ b. 'Ubādah died between 205 and 207/820–23. See *TB*, VIII, 401-6; *Tahdhīb*, III, 293–96; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 39 f.

751. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 328 f.

752. 'Amr b. Dīnār died in 125 or 126/742–44. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 28-30; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 353 f.

753. See text above, I, 92 and 94.

754. Died in 204 or 205/819–21. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 250 f.

755. For Abū Kudaynah Yaḥyā b. al-Muhallab, see *Tahdhīb*, XI, 289.

756. 'Alqamah b. Qays al-Nakha'ī, an uncle of Ibrāhīm, was supposedly ninety years old when he died sometime between 61 and 63/680–83, although dates of death a decade later are also given. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 276–78; Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 147 f. Note that 'Alqamah does not appear in the almost identical *isnād* three traditions before.

said to me: Salmān, do you know about Friday? (repeating the question) two or three times (and then answering it himself): It is the day on which your (pl.) father Adam—or (simply) your (pl.) father—was put together.

According to Abū Kurayb—Ḥasan b. 'Aṭiyyah[757]—Qays (b. al-Rabī')—Al-A'mash—Ibrāhīm—al-Qartha'—Salmān: The Messenger of God said: Do you know about Friday? or something like that. On it, your (pl.) father Adam was put together.

[115] According to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Shaqīq[758] —his father—Abū Ḥamzah[759] —Manṣūr—Ibrāhīm—al-Qartha'—Salmān: The Messenger of God said to me: Do you know about Friday? I said: No, whereupon he said: On it, your (sg.) father was put together.

The Moment on Friday When God Created Adam and the One When Adam Was Cast Down to Earth

There are different opinions on this subject. A tradition transmitted on the authority of 'Abdallāh b. Salām and others is the following which we were told by Abū Kurayb—Ibn Idrīs[760] —Muḥammad b. 'Amr[761] —Abū Salamah—Abū Hurayrah—the Messenger of God: The best day ever to see the sun rise is Friday. On it, Adam was created, settled in Paradise, and cast down. On it, the Hour will come.[762] Moreover, on Friday there is an hour—indicating (by a gesture with his hand) that it would be a short one[763] —during which God will give a Muslim who happens (to

757. Died around 211/826[7]. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 294, no. 525.

758. Ibn Shaqīq died in 250 or 251/864–65. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 349 f. For this father, see above, n. 227.

759. Abū Ḥamzah Muḥammad b. Maymūn al-Sukkarī died between 166 and 168/782–85. See *TB*, III, 266–69; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 486 f.

760. 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs, judge of al-Kūfah, lived from ca. 115/733 to 192/807[8]. See *TB*, IX, 415–21; *Tahdhīb*, V, 144–46. This Ibn Idrīs is not to be confused with 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Idrīs, a descendant of Wahb b. Munabbih and transmitter of his work, whose reputation for reliability was poor and who died ninety years old or older in 228/843, see *TB*, XI, 131–34; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, IV, 73 f.

761. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. 'Alqamah died in 144 or 145/761–63. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 375–77.

762. For the preceding portion of the tradition, see text above, I, 112 f. For the remainder, see *Tafsīr*, XVII, 21 *(ad* Qur. 21:37).

763. *Yuqalliluhā* appears to belong to Ṭabarī's original text and is not a later adjustment to the text as found in the *ḥadīth* collections and in *Tafsīr*. For the

pray) on it everything good he asks for. 'Abdallāh b. Salām said: I know which hour it is. It is the last hour of daytime on Friday. God says: "Man was created of haste. I shall show you My signs, but do not ask Me to make haste."[764]

We were told about the same, including the approximate wording of 'Abdallāh b. Salām, by Abū Kurayb—al-Muḥāribī,[765] —'Abdah b. Sulaymān,[766] and Asad b. 'Amr[767] —Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū Salamah—Abū Hurayrah.[768]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr (al-Bāhilī)—Abū 'Āṣim (al-Nabīl)—'Īsā (b. Maymūn)—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid,[769] commenting on God's word: "Man was created of haste," as follows: (This refers to) Adam's statement when he was created after everything else at the end of daytime on the day of creation.[770] When the spirit gave life to his eyes, his tongue, and his head, but had not yet [116] reached the lower part of his body, he said: O my Lord, make haste with my creation before sunset!

I was told the same by al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad b. Usāmah)—al-Ḥasan (b. Mūsā al-Ashyab)—Warqā'—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid.[771]

According to al-Qāsim (b. al-Ḥasan)—al-Ḥusayn (b. Dāwūd)—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Mujāhid, commenting on: "Man was created of haste," as follows: (This refers to) Adam when he was created after everything else. Then he mentioned about the same but said in his tradition: Make haste with my creation! The sun is already in the West.

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Zayd, commenting on God's word: "Man was created *of* haste," as follows: *In* haste. God created Adam at the end of that day of those two days—meaning Friday—and He created him hastily and made him hasty.

Some have assumed that God made Adam and his spouse dwell

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explanation of the word, cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, III, 67–74.

764. Qur. 21:37.

765. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Muḥāribī died in 195/810[1]. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 265 f.

766. Died in 187 or 188/803–4. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 458 f.

767. He is very possibly Asad b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir who died between 188 and 190/804–6. See *TB*, VII, 16-19; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I, 1, 337 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, I, 383–85.

768. See *Tafsīr*, XVII, 21 (*ad* Qur. 21:37).

769. See Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, I, 410.

770. The addition of "Friday" in some manuscripts is not justified and is not found in *Tafsīr*, XVII, 20.

771. This and the following two paragraphs appear in *Tafsīr*, XVII, 20.

in Paradise after two hours had passed of Friday. It has also been said: After three hours. He cast him down to earth after seven hours had passed of that day. Thus, the duration of Adam and Eve's stay in Paradise was five hours of that day. It has also been said: Three hours.

Some said: Adam was driven out from Paradise in the ninth or tenth hour.

[117] *Those who said this*

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: Reading to him, I studied (this report)[772] with 'Abdān b. Muḥammad al-Marwazī—'Ammār b. al-Ḥasan—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī' b. Anas[773] — Abū al-'Āliyah: Adam was driven out of Paradise in the ninth or tenth hour. Then ('Abdān) said to me: Yes, after five days had passed of Nīsān.[774]

If someone making this statement means that God made Adam and his spouse dwell in Paradise after two hours of daytime had passed on Friday of the days of the inhabitants of this world, which are such that they constitute the (entire) day,[775] his statement in this respect is not far off the mark. Reports have come down on the authority of the early Muslim scholars to the effect that Adam was created in the last hour of the sixth day of the days of which each measures a thousand of our years. The conclusion is that a single hour of the hours of that day was eighty-three of our years.[776]

Now we have mentioned[777] that after our Lord caused Adam's clay to ferment, Adam remained forty years before God blew the spirit into him. "Of *our* years" is no doubt meant here. Then, the extent (of time) after the spirit was blown into him, until the entire process (of inspiriting) was completed and he was settled in Paradise and cast down to earth, can easily be assumed to have
[118] been thirty-five of our years. If, however, he means that Adam

772. Ṭabarī apparently studied with his authority the commentary of al-Rabī' b. Anas containing this tradition.

773. Al-Rabī' transmitted from both Anas b. Mālik and Abū al-'Āliyah, but the *isnād* is no doubt correct as given above, as against the Ṭabarī editions (see, however, Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DLXXVI).

774. This would be the sixth of April, a Friday, assuming that the first of the month was a Sunday.

775. The omission of *hiya*, as suggested in the Leiden edition, is unnecessary. The simpler translation: such as they are today, is unlikely.

776. In fact, eighty-three years and four months, as correctly stated below.

777. Text above, I, 89 ff.

was settled in Paradise after two hours of daytime had passed on Friday of the days of which a single day measures a thousand years of our years, then the statement he has made is not true. That is because all the preserved statements of scholars say that the spirit was blown into Adam at the end of daytime on Friday before sunset. Then, various reports on the authority of the Messenger of God have confirmed that God had Adam dwell in Paradise on Friday and cast him down to earth on it. If this is sound, the conclusion is that the last hour of daytime on one of the days of the other world and of the days each of which measures a thousand years of our years is an hour (remaining) after eleven hours have passed; thus, one of twelve hours equivalent to eighty-three years and four months of our years. Now, if this is so, Adam was created after eleven daytime hours had passed on Friday of the days each of which is a thousand years of our years. He then remained a body left lying around for forty of our years without having the spirit blown into him. Then the spirit was blown into him. His stay in heaven afterwards and his sojourn in Paradise, until he committed the sin (of eating from the forbidden tree) and was cast down to earth, was forty-three of our years and four months, this (together with the forty years of Adam's inanimate state) being one of the hours of one of the six days on which God created the creation.[778]

778. Ṭabarī is confronted here with contradictory data. They can, of course, not be reconciled, but he tries anyway. He assumes that Adam was created on Friday in the last of the twelve hours of daytime. Now, since Adam's entire existence until his expulsion from Paradise took place on the same Friday, it could at best have covered only one entire hour of Friday. According to the traditions that equate an otherworldly day (of twelve hours) with one thousand ordinary years, Adam's one-hour existence until his expulsion equaled eighty-three years and four months. Now, in his inanimate state, Adam lived forty years. Thus, forty-three years and four months remain to his expulsion. Assuming, as Ṭabarī had just stated, that Adam's stay in Paradise covered a number of hours on Friday, those hours could not be full-fledged years of eighty-three years and four months but had to be adjusted (as suggested in a footnote in the Leiden edition) to hours of a complete twelve-hour day constituting those eighty-three years and four months. Taking the number of five hours, as mentioned, this would lead to eighty-three (or eighty-three and one-third) divided by twelve and multiplied by five, that is, 34.588 (or 34.722), which is very close to the number thirty-five given in the text. Adding the forty years of Adam's inanimate existence, we obtain seventy-five years, which may have seemed to Ṭabarī to be reasonably close to eighty-three years and four months. The discussion of the second alternative, which is rejected by Ṭabarī, fails to make clear its point. The hours mentioned could not be full otherworldly hours,

[119] According to al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Sa'd[779] —Hishām b. Muḥammad[780] —his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam left Paradise (during the time) between two prayers, the noon prayer and the afternoon prayer. He was brought down to earth. His stay in Paradise was half a day of the days of the other world—that is, five hundred years—of a day that measures twelve hours and a thousand years as counted by the inhabitants of this world. This, too, is a statement contradicting what has been reported on the authority of the Messenger of God and our early scholars.

The Place on Earth to Which Adam and Eve Came When They Were Cast Down

Then, before sunset of the day—Friday—on which God had created Adam, He cast him down from heaven together with his spouse. According to the early scholars of our Prophet's nation, He brought him down in India.

This has been stated by some scholars, such as, for instance

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Ma'mar—
[120] Qatādah: God cast Adam down to earth. The place where he fell down was the land of India.

According to 'Amr b. 'Alī[781] —'Imrān b. 'Uyaynah[782] —'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: When God first cast Adam down, it was in Dahnā(')[783] of the land of India.

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because, at best, forty-three years and four months were available. It could, however, be that Ṭabarī in fact intended to argue that if seven or eight hours, as in the tradition quoted, were involved, the scheme would not work.

779. The author of the *Tabaqāt*, Ibn Sa'd, died in 230/845 at the age of sixty-two. See *TB*, V, 321 f.; *Tahdhīb*, IX, 182 f.; *EI*², III, 922 f., s. v. Ibn Sa'd; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 300 f.

780. The famous historian Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī lived from ca. 120/738 to between 204 and 206/819–22. See *TB*, XIV, 45 f.; *EI*² , IV, 495, s. v. al-Kalbī; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 268–71. His equally important father, who was a historian but also the author of a Qur'ān commentary, died eighty-years old in 146/763–64. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 178–81; *EI*² , loc. cit.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 34.

781. 'Amr b. 'Alī b. Baḥr al-Fallās died in 249/January 864. See *TB*, XII, 207–12; *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 80–82.

782. For this brother of Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah, see *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 136 f.

783. Dahnā(') is apparently meant to be understood as identical with Dahnaj mentioned text below, I, 121. It seems to be intended here as a proper name; however, the Arabian desert Dahnā' might suggest the general sense of desert. In the

I was told on the authority of 'Ammār (b. al-Ḥasan)—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī' b. Anas—Abū al-'Āliyah: Adam was cast down in India.

According to Ibn Sinān—al-Ḥajjāj—Ḥammād b. Salamah—'Alī b. Zayd—Yūsuf b. Mihrān[784] —Ibn 'Abbās—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: The land with the sweetest smell on earth is the land of India. When Adam was cast down there, some of the smell of Paradise clung to India's trees.[785]

According to al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam was cast down in India, and Eve in Juddah.[786] He went in search of her, and eventually they were united. Eve drew near *(z-l-f)* him, hence al-Muzdalifah. They recognized *('-r-f)* each other, hence 'Arafāt. And they were united *(j-m-')* in Jam', hence Jam'.[787] He continued. Adam was cast down upon a mountain in India called Nūdh.[788]

According to Abū Hammām[789] —his father—Ziyād b. Khaytha-

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fanciful geography of these traditions, a relationship with Daḥnā (see below, n. 858) is not entirely excluded in spite of the different consonant *(h/ḥ)*. In fact, in connection with the *Tafsīr's* commentary on Qur. 7:172 (*Tafsīr*, IX, 76, l.7), Daḥnā is described as a land in India.

784. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 424 f.; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, IV, 2, 375 f.

785. See text below, I, 126. The above translation seems preferable to "and he made...cling."

786. The preferred vocalization today is Jiddah.

787. Like al-Muzdalifah and 'Arafāt, Jam' refers to some locality near Mecca connected with the pilgrimage. It is also sometimes considered as just another name for al-Muzdalifah.

788. The reference to the *mountain* of Nod on the eastern limits of Japheth's territory in *Schatzhöhle*, text, 136 f., trans., 30, a work which stands out among Ṭabarī's indirect sources, tips the scales in favor of reading the first letter *N*. Genesis 4:16 speaks of "the *land* of Nod, east of Eden." That Muslim scholars also often thought of Nūdh with *N*, is of no real consequence in this case. The Ṭabarī editions prefer Būdh/Bawdh. This sounds vaguely Indian because of the seeming resemblance to Buddha. Echoes of the mysterious Meru Mountain may come into play here, but they do not help with the form of the name. The mountain in Ceylon, mentioned later on in connection with Adam's habitat, appears as al-Ruhūn in Arabic literature. See Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 60; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 194.

789. Abū Hammām (Humām?) al-Walīd b. Shujā' b. al-Walīd al-Sakūnī died presumably in 243/857, but the preceding year and even 239/853[4] are also mentioned as the year of his death. See *TB*, XIII, 473–76; *Tahdhīb*, XI, 135 f. His father Shujā' died between 203 and 205/818–21. See *TB*, IX, 247–50; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 313 f.

mah[790] —Abū Yaḥyā Bā'i' al-Qatt[791] —Mujāhid: We were told by Ibn 'Abbās that when Adam came down, it was in India.

[121] According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The people of the Torah on their part said: Adam was cast down in India upon a mountain called Wāsim on a river (valley) called Buhayl between two places in the land of India, al-Dahnaj and al-Mandal.[792] They continued. Eve was cast down in Juddah of the land of Mecca.

Others said: Rather, Adam was cast down in Sarandīb (Ceylon) upon a mountain called Nūdh, Eve in Juddah of the land of Mecca, Iblīs in Maysān,[793] and the snake in Iṣbahān. It has also been said that the snake was cast down in the desert *(al-barriyyah)*, and Iblīs on the shore of the sea of al-Ubullah.

The soundness of this can be established only by a report serving as (conclusive) proof, but no such report on this subject is known to have been transmitted, except the report of Adam having been cast down in India. Its soundness is rejected neither by the Muslim scholars nor by the people of the Torah and the Gospel. Proof is firmly established by reports from some of them.

It has been mentioned that the summit of the mountain upon which Adam was cast down is one of those closest to heaven among the mountains of the earth and that, when Adam was cast down upon it, his feet were upon it while his head was in heaven and he heard the prayer and praise-giving of the angels. Adam became (too) familiar with that, and the angels were in awe of him. Therefore, Adam's size was reduced.

Those who said this

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Hishām b.

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790. According to Abū Hammām as reported by al-Bukhārī, Ziyād b. Khaythamah died two years before al-A'mash, which would be around 146/763. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 364, no. 668; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II,1, 321; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II,1, 530.

791. Probably, "the fodder seller," and identical with Abū Yaḥyā al-Qattāt, listed in *Tahdhīb*, XII, 277 f., but cf. Abū 'Ubayd, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, I, 339 (Hyd. 1384–87).

792. The entry Wāsim in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 891, is obviously derived from this Ṭabarī passage. Neither it nor Buhayl (the form is totally uncertain) can be identified. For Dahnaj, see above, n. 783. Al-Mandal is too general a term to allow identification, see *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 87 and 240. The entry Wāshim in Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1364, refers to Ibn Isḥāq, but may not have been taken from Ṭabarī. Bakrī, II, 539, has a separate entry Dahnaj, which is derived from the entry Wāshim.

793. Mesene, or Charakene, a province in southernmost Babylonia is slandered here as is Iṣbahān. In the case of Mesene, it certainly was because of its unhealthy climate. Al-Ubullah was the principal town of Maysān in Antiquity.

Ḥassān[794] —Sawwār, the son-in-law *(khatan)* of ʿAṭā'[795] —ʿAṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ: When God cast Adam down from Paradise, Adam's feet were upon earth, while his head was in heaven and he heard [122] the speech and prayers of the inhabitants of heaven. He became (too) familiar with them, and the angels were in awe of him so much so that they eventually complained to God in their various prayers (*duʿā' and ṣalāh*). God, therefore, lowered Adam down to earth. Adam missed what he used to hear from the angels and felt lonely so much so that he eventually complained about it to God in his various prayers. He was therefore sent to Mecca. (On the way, every) place where he set foot became a village, and (the interval between) his steps became a desert, until he reached Mecca. God sent down a jewel *(yāqūt* ["ruby"]) of Paradise where the House is located today. (Adam) continued to circumambulate it, until God sent down the Flood. That jewel was lifted up, until God sent His friend Abraham to (re)build the House (in its later form). This is (meant by) God's word: "And We established for Abraham the place of the House as residence."[796]

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-Razzāq—Maʿmar—Qatādah: God founded the House together with Adam. Adam's head was in heaven, while his feet were upon earth. The angels were in awe of him. So his size was reduced to sixty cubits (30 meters). Adam was sad because he missed the voices and praise-giving of the angels. He complained about it to God, and God said: Adam, I have cast down a house for you to circumambulate, as one circumambulates My Throne, and to pray at it as one prays at My Throne. Adam left and went off. His steps were lengthened, and the interval between each (two) step(s) became a desert. These deserts continued to exist afterwards. Adam came to the House, and he and the prophets after him circumambulated it.[797]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās: When Adam's size was lowered to sixty cubits, he started to say: My lord! I was Your protege *(jār)*

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794. Died between 146 and 148/763–65. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 34–37; Bukhārī, *Taʿrīkh*, IV,2, 197 f.

795. For Sawwār b. Abī Ḥukaym, see Bukhārī, *Taʿrīkh*, II,2, 169.

796. Qur. 22:26. The tradition occurs in *Tafsīr*, I, 428 f. *(ad* Qur. 2:127). See text below, I, 131 and 193.

797. See *Tafsīr*, I, 429 *(ad* Qur. 2:127).

[123] in Your house,[798] having no Lord but You and no one to watch out for me except You. There I had plenty to eat and could dwell wherever I wanted. But then You cast me down to this holy mountain. (There,) I used to hear the voices of the angels and see them crowd around Your Throne and to enjoy the sweet smell of Paradise. Then You cast me down to earth and reduced me to sixty cubits. I was cut off from the voices and the sight (of the angels), and the smell of Paradise left me. God replied: Because of your disobedience have I done this to you, Adam. Then, when God saw the nakedness of Adam and Eve, He commanded Adam to slaughter a ram from the eight couples of small cattle He had sent down from Paradise. Adam took the ram and slaughtered it. Then he took its wool, and Eve spun it. He and Eve wove it. Adam made a coat for himself, and a shift and veil for Eve. They put on that clothing. Then God revealed to Adam: I have a sacred territory around My Throne. Go and build a house for Me there! Then crowd around it, as you have seen My angels crowd around My Throne. There I shall respond to you and all your children who are obedient to Me. Adam said: My Lord! How could I do that? I do not have the strength to do it and do not know how. So God chose an angel to assist him, and he went with him toward Mecca. Whenever Adam passed by a meadow or place that he liked, he would say to the angel: Let us stop here! and the angel would say to him: Please do! This went on until they reached Mecca. Every place where he stopped became cultivated land. and every place he bypassed became a desolate desert. He built the House with (materials from) five mountains: Mount Sinai, the Mount of Olives, (Mount) Lebanon, and al-Jūdī,[799] and he constructed its foundations with (materials from Mount) Ḥirā' (near Mecca). When he finished with its construction, the angel went out with him to 'Arafāt. He showed him all the rites (connected with the pilgrimage) that people perform today. Then he went with him to Mecca, and (Adam) circumambulated the House for a week. Returning to

798. *Dār* "mansion" is used because of the rhyming effect, and the entire phrase *jāruka fī dārika (jārak fī dārak)* may be understood as being under someone's protection without any specific reference to housing. If "house" is indeed intended, it might refer in the context to Paradise rather than the Ka'bah.

799. Al-Jūdī is the mountain where Noah's ark came to rest and which in later tradition was identified with Mount Ararat (see below, n. 1137). See *Tafsīr*, I, 428 (*ad* Qur. 2:127), and *EI*², II, 573 f., s. v. al-Djūdī.

the land of India, he died upon (Mount) Nūdh. [124]

According to Abū Hammām—his father—Ziyād b. Khaythamah —Abū Yaḥyā Bā'i' al-Qatt—Mujāhid—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: When Adam came down, it was in India. From there, he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca on foot forty times. I (Abū Yaḥyā) said: Abū al-Ḥajjāj,[800] could he not have ridden instead ? He replied: What could have carried him? Indeed, each of his steps covered the distance of a journey of three days, and his head reached heaven. (It led to) the angels complaining about his pride.[801] The Merciful One faulted him for that, and he was in a state of humbleness for forty years.

According to Abū Ma'mar Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥarb, the *mawlā* of the Hāshimites[802] —Thumāmah b. 'Abīdah ('Ubaydah) al-Sulamī[803] — Abū al-Zabīr[804] —Nāfi' (the *mawla* of Ibn 'Umar)—Ibn 'Umar: While Adam was in India, God revealed to him that he should perform the pilgrimage to this House. So Adam left India to go on the pilgrimage. Wherever he put down his foot on a place, that place became a village. Every interval between his steps became a desert. Eventually he reached the House. He circumambulated it and performed all the rites (of the pilgrimage). Then he wanted to return to India and went off. When he reached the two mountain passes of 'Arafāt, the angels met him and said: You have performed the pilgrimage faultlessly. This surprised him. When the angels noticed his surprise, they said: Adam! We have performed the pilgrimage to this House two thousand years before you were created.[805] He continued. And Adam felt properly chastised.

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800. Mujāhid's patronymic.

801. In view of the idiom translated below "felt properly chastised" *(taqāṣarat ilā Ādam nafsuhū)*, *nafsahū*, and not *nafasahū* ("his breath"), understood metaphorically, should be read also here.

802. See *TB*, IX, 316 f., where Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥarb is described as a *mawlā* of Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.

803. This Thumāmah was considered a "weak" transmitter. See Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, I,2, 178; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, II, 94. Neither source mentions the *nisbah* al-Sulamī.

804. Abū al-Zabīr Muḥammad b. Muslim died in 126/743[4]. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 440–43.

805. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 3.

(Perfumes, Fruits, and Other Things Adam Brought from Paradise)

It has been mentioned that when Adam was cast down to earth, he had upon his head a wreath made from (leaves of) the trees of Paradise. When he reached the earth and the wreath became dry,
[125] its leaves scattered, and the various kinds of perfume grew from them.

Some(one) said: Rather, this is what God has told about Adam and Eve, that they started to cover themselves with leaves of Paradise stitched together,[806] and when those leaves became dry, they scattered, and the various kinds of perfume grew from those leaves. God knows best!

Others said: Rather, when Adam realized that God would cast him down to earth, he started taking a branch of every tree he passed in Paradise and when he fell down to earth, those branches were with him. When the leaves on them became dry, they scattered. This was the origin of perfume.

Those who said this

According to Abū Hammām—his father—Ziyād b. Khaythamah—Abū Yaḥyā Bā'i' al-Qatt—Mujāhid—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: When Adam was leaving Paradise, he toyed with everything he passed. The angels were told: Let him do it! Let him take along whatever provisions from Paradise he wants to! When he came down, it was in India. The perfumes brought from India come from what Adam took out from Paradise.

Those who said: When Adam was cast down from Paradise, a wreath from the trees of Paradise was upon his head:

I was told on the authority of 'Ammār b. al-Ḥasan—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī' b. Anas—Abū al-'Āliyah: Adam left Paradise, and when he did, he had with him a staff from the trees of Paradise, and upon his head there was a crown or wreath made from the trees of Paradise. He continued. He was cast down to India. From (that crown or wreath) comes every perfume in India.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Adam fell
[126] down upon it—meaning upon that mountain—having with him leaves of Paradise. He scattered them on that mountain. This was

806. Cf. Qur. 7:22.

the origin of all perfumes and fruits that are found only in India.

Other said: Rather, God provided him with some of the fruits of Paradise. Those fruits of ours come from them.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Bashshār—Ibn Abī 'Adī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, and Muḥammad b. Ja'far—'Awf—Qasāmah b. Zuhayr—(Abū Mūsā) al-Ash'arī: When God drove Adam out of Paradise, He provided him with some of the fruits there and taught him how to make everything. Those fruits of ours come from the fruits of Paradise, except that they change while the fruits of Paradise do not.

Others said: Adam's sweet smell clung to the trees of India.

Those who said: Perfume is found in India because, when Adam was cast down there, his sweet smell stuck to its trees

According to al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammmad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: When Adam came down, the smell of Paradise was with him. It clung to India's trees and river valleys, and everything there was filled with perfume. Therefore, perfume with the smell of Paradise is brought from there.

As it was said that some of the perfume of Paradise was brought down with Adam, so it was said that the Black Stone, which was (originally) whiter than snow, was brought down with him, as well as the staff of Moses made from the myrtle of Paradise, which, like Moses, was ten cubits (five meters) tall, and also myrrh and incense. Then, anvils, mallets, and tongs were revealed to him. When Adam was cast down upon the mountain, he looked at an [127] iron rod growing on the mountain and said: This comes from that, and he began to break up trees that had grown old and dry with the mallet and heated that (iron) branch until it melted. The first thing (of iron) he hammered was a long knife, which he used for work. Then he hammered the oven, the one which Noah inherited and that boiled with the punishment in India.[807]

When Adam fell down, his head brushed against heaven. As a result, he became bald, and he passed on baldness to his children. Because he was so tall, the animals of the field fled (from him) and became wild animals from that day on. While Adam was standing

807. Cf. Qur. 11:40 and 23:27 and text below, I, 186 and 193 ff. In *Tafsīr*, XII, 25 (*ad* Qur. 11:40), Ṭabarī refers rather unenthusiastically to this interpretation of "the oven that boiled." See also Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen*, 103.

on that mountain, he heard the voices of the angels and enjoyed the smell of Paradise. His size was (therefore) reduced to sixty cubits, which was his size until he died. All of Adam's beauty combined was not found in any of his children except Joseph.[807a]

It has been said that when Adam was cast down to earth, God provided him with thirty kinds of fruit—ten with shells, ten with stones, and ten with neither shells nor stones. The fruits with shells include walnuts, almonds, pistachio nuts, hazelnuts, poppy, acorns, chestnuts, coconuts, pomegranates, and bananas. Those with stones include peaches, apricots, plums, dates, sorbs, lotus fruit, medlar, jujubes, the fruit of the doom palm,[808] and *shahlūj* plums.[809] Those with neither shells nor stones include apples, quinces, pears, grapes, mulberries, figs, citrus fruit, breadfruit, ginger, and melon.[810]

It has been said that among the things Adam took out from Paradise, there was a bag with grains of wheat, but, according to another statement, Gabriel brought wheat to Adam when he became hungry and asked his Lord for food, whereupon God sent him seven grains of wheat with Gabriel. When Gabriel put
[128] them in Adam's hand, Adam asked him what it was, and Gabriel said to him: This is what drove you out of Paradise.[811] Each of those grains weighed 100,800 dirhams. When Adam asked Gabriel what he should do with them, Gabriel told him to spread them in the soil, and Adam did, whereupon God immediately made them grow. Thus, putting seeds into the soil became the custom among Adam's children. Then God commanded him to harvest the wheat, collect and husk it by hand, and winnow it. Then (Gabriel) brought two stones to him, and he placed one upon the other and ground the wheat. Then God commanded him to knead it and bake bread in the ashes. Gabriel gave Adam stones and iron, and (Adam) struck them together, producing fire. He was the first to bake bread in the ashes.

807a. The paragon of beauty in Islam.

808. For *muql*, see, for instance, Bīrūnī, *Ṣaydanah*, text, 350 f., trans., 307 f. See also Lane, 937b, s. v. *dawm*.

809. See Bīrūnī, *Ṣaydanah*, text, 24 f. and 388, trans., 17 f. and 347.

810. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 61 f., has *quththā'* "cucumber" instead of "melon."

811. Because it is the fruit of the "tree" from which Adam and Eve had been forbidden to eat and which became such a nuisance for them on earth when they had to work hard to grow the wheat they needed for sustenance.

This statement just reported on the authority of the one who made it, contradicts transmissions on the authority of the early (scholars) of the nation of our Prophet. This is so in view of the report of al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—Isḥāq (b. al-Ḥajjāj)—ʿAbd al-Razzāq—Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah and Ibn al-Mubārak—al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmārah[812] —al-Minhāl b. ʿAmr[813] —Saʿīd b. Jubayr—Ibn ʿAbbās: The tree which God forbade Adam and his spouse to eat from was wheat.[814] When they ate from it, their secret parts became apparent to them. It was their (cover of) fingernails[815] that had kept their secret parts concealed from them. Now, they started to cover themselves with leaves of Paradise stitched together—fig leaves which they stuck together. Adam wandered about hiding in Paradise. A tree there took hold of his head. God called out to him: Adam, is it from Me that you are fleeing? Adam said: No, but I am ashamed of you, my Lord. God said: Was all that I granted and allowed you (to enjoy) in Paradise not enough to keep you from what I had forbidden? Adam replied: No, my Lord, but by Your [129] might!, I did not think that anyone would swear by You falsely (as was done by Iblīs). He continued. This is (meant by) God's word: "And (Iblīs) assured them with an oath: I am one of those who give you good advice."[816] God said: By My might! I shall cast you down to earth, and it will be only by toil that you will earn your living. He continued. Adam was cast down from Paradise, where both of them had freely eaten of its plenty, to where there was no longer plentiful food and drink. He was taught how to work iron, and he was commanded to plow. So he plowed, sowed,, and irrigated, and when (the crop) ripened, he harvested, thrashed, winnowed, ground, kneaded, baked bread, and ate. Adam did not learn about (all these matters) until all that God wanted to ripen did.[817]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaʿqūb (al-Qummī)—Jaʿfar (b. Abī al-Mughīrah)—Saʿīd (b. Jubayr): A red ox was cast down for Adam to use for plow-

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812. Died in 153/752[3]. See *Tahdhīb* II, 304–8.

813. The following "and" *(wa-ʿan)* seems to be a misprint in the Ṭabarī editions. It makes no sense and does not appear in *Tafsīr*, VIII, 105 f. *(ad* Qur. 7:22).

814. *Sunbulah* "ear of corn." See above, n. 683.

815. See above, n. 677.

816. Qur. 7:21.

817. Two different meanings of *balagha* appear to be involved here. Reading *b-l-ʿ* in the first occurrence ("Adam did not eat...") simplifies matters but is hardly correct. For the tradition, see *Tafsīr*, VIII, 105 f. *(ad* Qur. 7:22).

ing while wiping the sweat from his brow. This is (meant by) God's word: "So let (Iblīs) not drive both of you out of Paradise, so that you will be miserable!"[818] That was Adam's misery.[819]

The statement made by these men is more likely to be correct and conforms more (than the earlier one) with the indications of the Book of our Lord. For, when God approached Adam and his spouse Eve and forbade them to obey their enemy, He said to Adam: "Adam! This (Iblīs) is an enemy to you and your spouse. So let him not drive both of you out of Paradise, so that you will be miserable! You do not have to go hungry or be naked in it, nor to be thirsty there or suffer from heat."[820] The conclusion is that the misery which God informed Adam would result from being obedient to his enemy Iblīs is the difficulty for him to obtain what would remove his hunger and his nakedness. It refers to the means by which his children obtain food, such as plowing, sowing, cultivating, irrigating and other such difficult and painful tasks. If
[130] Gabriel had brought him the food which he obtains by sowing without any more trouble, there would not be much to the misery here with which his Lord threatened him for obeying Satan and disobeying the Merciful One. But it was—God knows best!—as (reported in the tradition) we transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās and others.

It has been said that anvils, tongs, mallets, and hammers came down together with Adam.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ—al-Ḥusayn[821] —'Ilbā' b. Aḥmar[822] —'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: Three things came down together with Adam: Anvils, tongs, mallets and hammers.

Then, as has been mentioned, God had Adam descend to the foot of the mountain upon which He had cast him, and made him ruler of all the earth and of all the jinn, dumb animals, beasts of burden, wild animals, birds and other (beings) upon it. Descending from the top of that mountain, Adam missed the speech of the

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818. Qur. 20:117.
819. See *Tafsīr*, XVI, 161 (*ad* Qur. 20:117).
820. Qur. 20:117–19.
821. This is (al-) Ḥusayn b. Wāqid al-Marwazī, who died in 157 or 159/773–76. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 373 f.
822. For 'Ilbā', see *Tahdhīb* VII, 273 f.

inhabitants of heaven, and he could no longer hear the voices of the angels. He looked at the vastness and expanse of the earth and saw no one but himself. He felt lonely and said: My Lord! Does this earth of Yours have no one but me to live there and praise You? The reply he received is what I was told by al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—Isḥāq b. al-Ḥajjāj—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil—Wahb: When Adam was cast down to earth and saw its vastness but did not see anyone but himself, he said: My Lord! Does this earth of Yours have no one but me to live there and praise and sanctify You? God said: I shall have some of your [131] children praise and sanctify Me on it. I shall have houses raised for mentioning Me on it, houses in which My creatures will give praise and mention My name. I shall have one of those houses singled out for my generosity and distinguish it from all others by My name and call it My House. I shall have it proclaim My greatness, and it is upon it that I have placed My majesty. Then, in addition, I, being in everything and together with everything, shall make that House a safe sanctuary whose sacredness will extend to those around, those underneath, and those above it. He who makes it sacred with My sacredness obligates Me to be generous to him. He who frightens its inhabitants there forfeits My protection and violates My sacredness. I shall have it be the first house to be founded as a blessing for mankind in the valley of Mecca. They will come to it disheveled and covered with dust upon all (kinds of) emaciated mounts from every deep ravine, shouting emotionally: At Your service *(labbayka)!* shedding copious tears and noisily proclaiming *Allāhu akbaru!* He whose exclusive intention it is to go there and nowhere else comes to Me as My visitor and becomes My guest. It befits a noble person to show generosity to those who come to him and are his guests, and to take care of everybody's need. You shall dwell there, Adam, as long as you live. Then the nations, generations, amd prophets of your children shall live there, one nation after the other, one generation after the other.

Then, as has been mentioned, He commanded Adam to go to the Sacred House which was cast down to earth for him, and to circumambulate it, just as he used to see the angels circumambulate God's Throne. (The Sacred House) was a single jewel (ruby) or pearl, as I was told by al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-Razzāq—Maʿmar—

Abān[823] : The House was cast down being a single jewel (ruby) or pearl. Eventually, when God drowned the people of Noah, He lifted it up, but its foundation remained. God established it as a residence for Abraham, who (re)built it (in its later form). I have mentioned earlier the reports that have come down on that subject.[824]
[132]

It has been mentioned that Adam wept bitterly because of his sin and repented it. He asked God to accept his repentance and forgive his sin. In asking God, Adam said, as we were told by Abū Kurayb—Ibn 'Aṭiyyah—Qays—Ibn Abī Laylā[825] —al-Minhāl —Sa'īd b. al-Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on "And Adam received words from his Lord, and (God) forgave him"[826] : My Lord! Did you not create me with Your own hand? God replied: Yes. Adam said: My Lord! Did You not blow some of Your spirit into me? God replied: Yes. Adam said: My Lord! Did You not have me dwell in Your Paradise? God said: Yes. Adam said: My Lord! Did Your mercy not come before[827] Your wrath? God said: Yes. Adam said: Don't You think that, if I repent and improve, You might let me return to Paradise? God said: Yes. He continued. This is (meant by) God's word: "And Adam received words from his Lord."[828]

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'īd (b. Abī 'Arūbah)—Qatādah, commenting on: "And Adam received words from his Lord," as follows: My Lord! Don't You think, if I repent and improve, (everything will be all right)? God said: Then I shall let you return to Paradise. He continued. al-Ḥasan[829] said: "They (Adam and Eve) said: Our Lord! We have wronged ourselves, and if You do not forgive us and show mercy unto us, we shall be losers."[830]

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823. This Abān is identified in the index of the Ṭabarī editions as Abān b. Ṣāliḥ, who, however, is mainly known as an authority of Ibn Isḥāq. He lived from 60/679[80] to the 110s/728–737. *Tahdhīb*, I, 97–101, lists Abān b. Abī 'Ayyāsh Fīrūz (died in or after 127/744[5]) as an authority of Ma'mar. He may be meant here, or, at least, Ibn Ḥajar thought so.

824. Text above, I, 122 (and below, I, 193). The tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, I, 429 (*ad* Qur. 2:127).

825. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā died in 148/765. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 301–3.

826. Qur. 2:37.

827. Probably not "precede," but "come in before" (in a race).

828. See *Tafsīr*, I, 193 f. (*ad* Qur. 2:37).

829. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī?

830. Qur. 7:23.

According to Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Ahwāzī—Abū Aḥmad—Sufyān and Qays—Khaṣīf—Mujāhid, commenting on God's word: "And Adam received words from his Lord": This refers to "Our Lord! We have wronged ourselves, and if You do not forgive us and show mercy unto us, we shall be losers."

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: When Adam was cast down from Paradise, he brought down with him the Black Stone, which was (originally) whiter than snow. Adam and Eve mourned for what [133] they had lost—that is, the luxury of Paradise—for two hundred years. They neither ate nor drank for forty days. Then they ate and drank, being at that time on (Mount) Nūdh, the mountain upon which Adam was cast down. He did not approach Eve for a hundred years.

According to Abū Hammām—his father—Ziyād b. Khaythamah—Abū Yaḥyā Bā'i' al-Qatt: When we were sitting in the mosque, Mujāhid said to me: Do you see this? I replied: Abū al-Ḥajjāj, (you mean) the Stone? He said: You call it a stone? I said: Is it not a stone? He said: Indeed, I was told by 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās that it was a white jewel that Adam took out of Paradise and used to wipe his tears, for after he left Paradise, his tears did not stop for two thousand years, until he returned to it and Iblīs was no (longer) able to do anything to him. I said to him: Abū al-Ḥajjāj, why and how did it turn black? He replied: Menstruating women were touching it in the Jāhiliyyah.[831]

Adam left India for the House to which God had commanded him to go. When he finally came to it, he circumambulated it and performed the rites (of the pilgrimage). It has been mentioned that he and Eve met at 'Arafāt, where they recognized each other *('-r-f)*, and he drew near her *(z-l-f)* at al-Muzdalifah.[832] Then he returned with her to India. They took a cave as their shelter, repairing to it night and day.[833] God sent an angel to them to teach them what to wear and use for covering themselves. Supposedly, it was the skins of small cattle, (large) cattle, and beasts of prey. Some(one) said:

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831. That is, the dark age before Islam.

832. See above, n. 787.

833. This cave somehow reflects the Cave of Treasure which plays such a large role in the *Book of Adam and Eve* as their residence, unless there is a connection here with the special cave of *Schatzhohle*.

It was only their children who wore that. Adam and Eve themselves used to wear leaves of Paradise stitched together to cover themselves.[834]

Then God rubbed Adam's back at Na'mān[835] of 'Arafah and
[134] brought forth his progeny *(dhurriyyah)*. He scattered them in front of him like tiny ants *(dharr)*.[836] He made covenants with them and "had them testify against[837] themselves: Am I not your Lord? and they said: Yes," as God says: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny and had them testify against themselves: Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes."[838]

According to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī—al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad[839] —Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Kulthūm b. Jabr[840] —Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās—the Prophet: God took the covenant from Adam's back at Na'mān—meaning 'Arafah. He brought forth from his loin (his) progeny *(dhurriyyah)*, which He multiplied *(dh-r-')*. He scattered them in front of him like tiny ants *(dharr)*. Then He talked to them face to face[841] saying: "Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes. We (so) testify," to "for what those who were in the wrong did."[842]

According to 'Imrān b. Mūsā al-Qazzāz[843] —'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd[844] —Kulthūm b. Jabr—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on God's word: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny and had them testify against themselves: Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes," as follows: He

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834. Cf. Qur. 7:22 and 20:121.

835. Na'mān was the name of the valley between 'Arafah and Minā. See Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1316. It is here also identified with 'Arafah itself. *Tafsīr*, IX, 76,1. 30 *(ad* Qur 7:172), describes Na'mān as a valley beside 'Arafah.

836. *Dharr* refers to very small objects, specks of dust, (in modern Arabic) atom, but Ṭabarī decides in favor of "tiny ants" in *Tafsīr*, XI, 90, 1.29 *(ad* Qur. 10:61).

837. The translation "against" follows that of R. Paret in his translation of the Qur'ān.

838. Qur. 7:172.

839. Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Bahrām died between 213 and 215/828–30. See *TB*, VIII, 88-90; *Tahdhīb*, II, 366 f.

840. For Kulthūm, see *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 442.

841. See above, n. 667.

842. Qur. 7:172 f. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 75, on this verse; Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 272.

843. Died after 240/854[5]. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 141.

844. Died in 179 or 180/795–96 at the age of seventy-eight. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 441–43.

rubbed Adam's back, and every living being to be created by God to the Day of Resurection came forth at Na'mān here—pointing with his hand. He took their covenants and "had them testify against themselves: Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes."[845]

According to Ibn Wakī' and Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm, the wording being that of the latter—Ibn 'Ulayyah—Kulthūm b. Jabr—Sa'īd b. Jubayr —Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on God's word: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny and had them testify against themselves: Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes." He rubbed Adam's back, and every living being to be [135] created by God to the Day of Resurrection came forth at Na'mān here which is behind 'Arafah. He took their covenant: "Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes. We (so) testify."[846]

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Imrān b. 'Uyaynah—'Aṭā' (b. al-Sā'ib)—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam was cast down as it happened, and God then rubbed his back and brought forth from it every living being to be created by Him to the Day of Resurrection. Then He said: "Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes." Then he recited: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny." And the Pen was dry with what is going to be from that day on to the Day of Resurrection.[847]

According to Abū Kurayb—Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā[848] —al-A'mash—Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit[849] —Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny," as follows: When God created Adam, He took his progeny from his back like tiny ants. He took two handfuls and said to those on the right: Enter Paradise in peace! And He said to the others: Enter the Fire! I do not care.[850]

According to Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī[851] —Rawḥ b. 'Ubādah

845. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 75 (*ad* Qur. 7:172).
846. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 75 f.
847. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 76.
848. Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā appears to be the individual listed in *Tahdhīb*, XI, 262 f., as having died about 201/816–17.
849. Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit Qays (or Dīnār) died in 119/773. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 178–80; Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 159.
850. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 76 (*ad* Qur. 7:172).
851. Originally from Ṭabaristān, Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī died ca. 250/864. See *TB*, VI, 93-96; *Tahdhīb*, I, 123–25.

and Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ja'far[852] —Mālik b. Anas[853] —Zayd b. Abī Unaysah[854] —'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb[855] —Muslim b. Yasār al-Juhanī[856] : When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was asked about this verse: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny," he said: I heard the Messenger of God say: God created Adam, then rubbed his back with His right hand and brought forth from it (his) progeny. Then He said: I have created these for Paradise, and they will act
[136] as the inhabitants of Paradise. Then He rubbed his back with His left hand and said: I have created those for the Fire, and they will act as the inhabitants of the Fire. A man asked: O Messenger of God, how is that? Muḥammad replied: When God creates a human being for Paradise, He employs him to act as the inhabitants of Paradise, and he will enter Paradise. And when God creates a human being for the Fire, He will employ him to act as the inhabitants of the Fire, and will thus make him enter the Fire.[857]

It has also been said that God took Adam's progeny out of his back at Daḥnā.[858]

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ḥakkām—'Amr b. Abī Qays[859] —'Aṭā' (b. al-Sā'ib)—Sa'īd (b. Jubayr)—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny," as follows: When God created Adam, He rubbed his back at Daḥnā and brought forth from his back every living being to be created by Him to the Day of Resurrection. He said: "Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes." He continued: They will see. On that day, the Pen was dry with what is going to be to the Day of Resurrection.[860]

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852. Died in 219/834. See *TB*, IX, 124–26; *Tahdhīb*, III, 477.

853. The author of the *Muwaṭṭa'* was born between 711 and 715. He died in 179/795[6]. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 5–9; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 457–64.

854. Zayd b. Abī Unaysah died thirty-six years old between 119 and 125/737–43. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 397 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 87.

855. This grandson of a brother of the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb died during the caliphate of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 119.

856. In his entry in *Tahdhīb*, X, 142, reference is made to this tradition.

857. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 77 *(ad* Qur. 7:172); Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 44 f.

858. See above, n. 783. Daḥnā is supposedly located near al-Ṭā'if. See text below, I, 1675, and the related entry in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 557.

859. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 93 f.

860. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 76 *(ad* Qur. 7:172). The translation "they will see" is not

Some(one) said: God brought forth Adam's progeny from his loin in heaven before He cast him down to earth but after He had driven him out of Paradise.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī, commenting on: "And the Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny and had them testify against themselves: Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes," as follows: God drove Adam out of Paradise but did not cast him down from heaven. Then He rubbed the right side of Adam's back and somehow [137] brought forth from it progeny in the shape of tiny ants, white like pearls. He said to them: Enter Paradise by means of My mercy! Then He rubbed the left side of Adam's back and brought forth from it something in the shape of tiny black ants. He said to them: Enter the Fire! I do not care. This is meant where God speaks of "companions of the right" and "companions of the left."[861] Then He took the covenant and said: "Am I not your Lord? They said: Yes." And (God) gave (Adam) a willing group and a(n unwilling) group pretending piety *('alā wajh al-taqiyyah?)*.[862]

The Events That Took Place in Adam's Time after He Was Cast Down to Earth

The first of these events was the killing by Cain (Qābīl) b. Adam of his brother Abel (Hābīl).

Scholars disagree on the name of Qābīl. Some say that he was Qayn b. Adam. Others say that it was Qābīn[863] b. Adam. Others again say that it was Qāyin, and still others that it was Qābīl.

They also disagreed on the reason why he killed him:

On this subject, some say as I was told by Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās. Also (al-Suddī)—Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn

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entirely certain.

861. Qur. 56:27 and 41.

862. One of the versions of the tradition in *Tafsīr*, IX, 80 *(ad* Qur. 7:172) supplies the bracketed *kārihīn*. Cf. Qur. 41:11.

863. Possibly, a careful study of the manuscript evidence might tell us how Ṭabarī himself read these various forms. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, XV, 210, expressly states that there was a form Qābin with a short *i* and *n* for *l* (like the following Qāyin). The Cairo edition has Qāyin instead of Qābīn.

Mas'ūd and some (other) companions of the Messenger of God: Every boy born to Adam was born together with a girl. Adam used to marry the boy of one pregnancy to the girl of another, and vice versa.[864] Eventually, two boys, called Cain and Abel, were born to him. Cain was a farmer and Abel a herdsman. Cain was the older of the two. He had a sister who was more beautiful than
[138] Abel's sister. Abel sought to marry Cain's sister, but Cain refused and said: She is my sister born together with me, and she is more beautiful than your sister. I deserve to marry her more (than you do). His father ordered Cain to marry her to Abel. However, he refused.

Cain and Abel offered a sacrifice to God (to find out) who was more deserving of the girl. On that day, Adam was absent, as he had gone to have a look at Mecca. God had said to Adam: Adam, do you know that I have a House on earth? Adam replied: Indeed, I do not. God said: I have a House in Mecca. So go there! Adam said to heaven: Guard my two children safely! But heaven refused. He addressed the earth (with the same request), but the earth refused. He addressed the mountains, and they also refused. He then spoke to Cain, who said: Yes! You shall go, and when you return, you will be happy with the state in which you will find your family. When Adam had left, Cain and Abel offered a sacrifice. Cain had always boasted of being better than Abel, saying: I am more deserving of her, because she is my sister, I am older than you, and I am the legatee *(waṣī)* of my father. For their sacrifices, Abel offered a fat young sheep, and Cain a sheaf of ears of corn. Finding a large ear, Cain husked and ate it. A fire came down from heaven. It consumed Abel's offering and left that of Cain. Whereupon Cain got angry and said: I shall kill you to prevent you from marrying my sister. Abel said: "God accepts only from those who fear Him. If you stretch out your hand to kill me, I shall not stretch out my hand to kill you" to: "And his soul suggested to him that he kill his brother."[865]

Cain now sought Abel in order to kill him, and young Abel tried

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864. The "vice versa" statement is not found in the Leiden edition. The Cairo edition does not make it clear whether it derived it from *Tafsīr*, XXII, 40 *(ad* Qur. 33:72) or found it in the manuscripts of the *History*. The entire tradition appears in the cited passage of *Tafsīr*.

865. Qur. 5:27–30.

to escape from him on the mountain tops. But one day, Cain came upon him while he was herding his small cattle on a mountain and was asleep. He lifted a big rock and crushed Abel's head with it. So he died. Cain let him lie naked, not knowing about burials. God then sent two ravens that were brothers, and they fought with one another. When the one killed the other, it dug a hole for it and covered it with soil. When Cain saw that, he said: "Woe to me! Am I incapable of being like that raven, so as to conceal the secret parts of my brother?"[866] This is (meant by) God's word: "And God sent a raven to scratch a hole in the earth in order to show him how to conceal the secret parts of his brother...."[867] When Adam returned, he found that his son had killed his brother. [139]

This story is (to be considered the explanation of) God's word where He says: "We have offered the (task of) safekeeping to the heavens and the earth and the mountains" to the end of the verse: "(Man) is unjust and ignorant"—meaning Cain when he took on the (task of) safekeeping for Adam and then did not guard his family.[868]

Others said: The reason for (Cain killing Abel) was that Eve bore two children to Adam in each pregnancy, one male and one female. When the male child reached puberty, Adam married him to the female child that had been born together with a brother of his in an earlier or later pregnancy. Cain, however, desired his twin sister and did not want Abel to have her, as I was told by al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn (b. Dāwūd)—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym[869] : I went with Saʿīd b. Jubayr to do the (ritual) throwing of pebbles (at Minā). He was veiled and leaning on my arm. When we faced the mansion of Samurah al-Ṣawwāf[870] , he stopped and told me on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās: A woman was forbidden to marry her twin brother, and another

866. Qur. 5:31. The English translators of the Qur'ān paraphrase "secret (privy) parts" as vile body or naked corpse.

867. This precedes the just quoted statement of Qur. 5:31.

868. Qur. 33:72. The entire tradition appears in *Tafsīr*, XXII, 40 f., in connection with this verse. See above, n. 864, and *Tafsīr*, VI, 121 f. and 126 (*ad* Qur. 5:27 and 30).

869. The entry on ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, who is supposed to have died about 754, in *Tahdhīb*, V, 314 f., is a particularly instructive example of the way in which dates of death were reconstructed through scholarly reasoning.

870. There may be a link between him and the Banū Ṣūfah mentioned in connection with Thabīr in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 918(?).

of her brothers used to marry her. In each pregnancy, a man and a woman used to be born. (It happened that) a handsome woman was born, and an ugly woman was born. The brother of the ugly woman said (to the brother of the beautiful woman): Let me marry your sister, and I shall marry my sister to you. (The other brother) said: No! I am more deserving of my sister. So they offered a sacrifice. That of the one with the ram was accepted, while that of the farmer was not. So (the latter) killed (the former). That ram remained in custody with God until He let it go as Isaac's ransom. He slaughtered it upon this rock on Thabīr[871] at the mansion of Samurah al-Ṣawwāf, which is at your right hand when you throw the pebbles.[872]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—
[140] some scholar(s) from the people of the first Book: Adam had intercourse with Eve before he committed the sin (of eating from the forbidden tree). She bore him his son Cain and Cain's twin sister. She had no craving or illness (when she was pregnant) with them nor pain in giving birth to them. She also saw no blood in connection with them because of the purity of Paradise. When, after committing disobedience by eating from the tree, Adam and Eve fell down to earth and felt secure there, Adam had intercourse with Eve, and she became pregnant with Abel and his twin sister. She had cravings and illness when she was pregnant with them, and pain in giving birth to them, and she saw blood in connection with them. Eve reportedly used to carry only twins, one male and one female, and in twenty pregnancies, she bore from Adam's loin forty children, male and female. Each man among them would marry any sister of his that he wanted, except his own twin sister that was born together with him; she was not permitted to marry him. Men could marry sisters at that time, because there were no women except their sisters and their mother, Eve.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—some scholar(s) knowledgeable in the first Book[873] : Adam ordered his son Cain to marry his twin sister to Abel, and he ordered Abel

871. One of the hills of Mecca near Minā. For the rites associated with it, see *EI*^{2}, III, 32b, s. v. ḥadjdj.

872. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 126 *(ad* Qur. 5:30).

873. This follows the reading *bi-al-kitāb* adopted in the Cairo edition from *Tafsīr* (see n. 874). The reading of the manuscripts *('an)* means: some scholar(s) on the authority of the first Book.

to marry his twin sister to Cain. Abel was pleased and agreed, but Cain refused, disliking (the idea), because he considered himself too good for Abel's sister. He desired his (own) sister and did not want Abel to have her. He said: We were born in Paradise, and they were born on earth. I am more deserving of my sister—Some scholar(s) of the people of the first Book say(s): Rather, the sister of Cain was one of the most beautiful human beings, and Cain begrudged her to his brother and wanted her for himself. God knows best what it was!—His father now said to him: Son, she is not permitted to you. Cain, however, refused to accept his father's word. So his father said to him: Then, son, offer a sacrifice, and let your [141] brother Abel offer one! The one whose offering is accepted by God deserves her the most. Cain was in charge of sowing, and Abel was in charge of shepherding. Cain therefore offered flour, while Abel offered some first-born sheep—Some say: He offered a cow—God sent down a white fire which consumed Abel's offering, leaving that of Cain.[874]

In this way, the acceptance of an offering to God used to be indicated. When God accepted Abel's offering, indicating the decision that Cain's sister was meant for Abel, Cain became angry. Haughtiness got the better of him, and Satan gained mastery over him. He followed his brother Abel who was with his herd, and killed him. The story of Cain and Abel was told by God to Muḥammad in the Qur'ān, saying: "And recite to them"—meaning the people of the Book—"the story of the two sons of Adam truthfully! They offered a sacrifice, and it was accepted for one of them" to the end of the story.[875]

He continued: When Cain had killed Abel, he was perplexed as he did not know how to conceal him, for this supposedly was the first killing among the children of Adam. "And God sent a raven to scratch a hole in the earth in order to show him how to conceal the secret parts of his brother. He said: Woe to me! Am I incapable of being like that raven, so as to conceal the secret parts of my brother?" to: "then many of them thereafter commit excesses on earth".[876]

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874. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 121 *(ad* Qur. 5:27). For Cain's desire to marry his own twin sister, see *Schatzhöhle*, text, 34, trans., 8.

875. Qur. 5:27.

876. Qur. 5:31 f.

He continued: The people of the Torah[877] suppose that when Cain killed his brother Abel, God said to him: Where is your brother Abel? Cain replied: I do not know. I was not his keeper.[878] Whereupon God said to him: The voice of the blood of your brother calls out to Me from the earth. Now you are cursed from the earth which opened its mouth to accept the blood of your
[142] brother from your hand. If you work the earth, it will not again give you its produce,[879] and eventually, you will be an errant fugitive[880] on earth. Cain said: My sin is too great for You to forgive. Today, You have driven me from the face of the earth (and I shall keep concealed)[881] from before You and be an errant fugitive on earth. Everybody who meets me will kill me. God said: This is not so.[882] He who kills someone shall not be requited sevenfold, but he who kills Cain will be requited seven(fold). God put a sign upon Cain so that those who found him would not kill him, and Cain left from before God (and settled)[883] east of the Garden of Eden.[884]

Others have said concerning this subject: The one of them killed his brother because God commanded them to offer a sacrifice. The offering of one of them was accepted, but that of the other was not.

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877. What follows is one of the rare instances of a quite literal translation from the Bible (Genesis 4:9–16). It is based not on the Hebrew Bible but on one of the early translations, most likely one into Aramaic/Syriac.

878. It would be possible to translate "am," but it was apparently understood to have reference to the time of the killing. The Biblical question is turned into a statement. This may be the result of an Aramaic original.

879. Arabic *ḥarth*. Hebrew "strength" was naturally understood this way, see, for instance, Targum Neofiti, I, 22 f. or Targum Pseudo-Jonathan *ad* Genesis 4:12. This explanation was so self-evident that it usually was not commented on.

880. *Fazi' tā'ih*. The first word includes the connotations of anxiety and flight.

881. The omission of the words in parentheses makes no sense and appears to be an oversight on the part of Ṭabarī. As mentioned in the Cairo edition, *Tafsīr*, VI, 128, has the correct text.

882. Hebrew *lkn* ("therefore") was interpreted in the relevant translations as *lō kēn* ("not so") (See also Speiser, *Genesis, ad* 4:15). This was taken to mean that the sevenfold vengeance applied only to the case of Cain. According to Aphrem, only Cain will be requited (and tortured) sevenfold, whereas later killers will be killed right away. See *Ephraem Syri in Genesim*, text, 51, trans., 39. Cf. also Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Commentaire sur la Genèse*, text, 43, trans., 41. In the quoted edition of *Tafsīr*, the text is corrupt.

883. The omission of the verb, resulting in placing this scene east of the Garden of Eden, also occurs in *Tafsīr* and no doubt always existed in the Arabic translation of Genesis 4:16. See also the tradition in text below, I, 161.

884. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 128 (*ad* Qur. 5:31).

The latter loathed the other and killed him.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Bashshār—Muḥammad b. Ja'far—'Awf—Abū al-Mughīrah[885]—'Abdallāh b. 'Amr: Of the two sons of Adam who offered a sacrifice to God, of which one was accepted but not the other, one was a farmer, and the other the owner of small cattle. Both were commanded to offer a sacrifice. The owner of small cattle offered the noblest, fattest, and best of his small cattle, which he was fond of, while the farmer offered the worst of his agricultural produce, weeds and tares which he did not like. God accepted the sacrifice of the owner of small cattle but did not accept the sacrifice of the farmer. Their story has been told by God in His Book, saying: By God! The one killed was the stronger of the two, but the desire to avoid sin prevented him from proceeding[886] against [143] his brother.

Others said what I was told by Muḥammad b. Sa'd—his father—his paternal uncle—his father—his father—Ibn 'Abbās: In connection with the affair of Cain and Abel, (it should be kept in mind that) there were no indigents to be given charity (from the sacrifice). Sacrifices were simply offered. While the sons of Adam were sitting (at leisure some day), they said: We should offer a sacrifice. When someone offered a sacrifice pleasing to God, God sent a fire to consume it. If it was not pleasing to Him, the fire went out. So they offered a sacrifice. One of them was a shepherd, and the other a farmer. The shepherd offered the best and fattest of his animals, while the other offered some of[887] his agricultural produce. The fire came down and consumed the sheep but left the agricultural produce. Adam's (one) son said to his brother: Should you (be allowed to) walk among men who have come to know that you offered a sacrifice that was accepted, while my sacrifice was rejected? Indeed not! The people must not look at me and at you (and think of) you as being better than I. And he said: "I shall kill you." His brother countered: What is my sin? "God accepts only

885. This Abū al-Mughīrah is listed in Bukhārī, *Kunā*, 70, no. 652, with no more information than provided by the chain of transmitters here.

886. The text in *Tafsīr*, VI, 120 (*ad* Qur. 5:27) has "stretching out his hand." This may be the meaning intended here.

887. *Tafsīr*, in quoting this tradition, has "the most odious of" *(abghaḍ)*. A pejorative adjective is needed and commonly found in other versions, but one or two also do not qualify the agricultural produce offered by Cain.

from those who fear Him."[888]

Others said: The story of those two men did not take place in Adam's time, and the sacrifice was not offered in his age. They said: The two belonged to the children of Israel. They added: The first person to die on earth was Adam. No one died before him.[889]

Those who said this

According to Sufyān b. Wakī'—Sahl b. Yūsuf[890] —'Amr—al-Ḥasan: The two men mentioned in God's word in the Qur'ān: "And recite to them the story of the two sons of Adam truthfully!"[891] belonged to the children of Israel. They were not sons from the loin of Adam. The sacrifice took place among the
[144] children of Israel. Adam was the first man to die.[892]

Some of them said: Adam had sexual intercourse with Eve one hundred years after their fall to earth. She bore him Cain and his twin sister Qalīmā[893] in one pregnancy, and then Abel and his sister in another. When they reached early manhood, Adam wanted to marry Cain's twin sister to Abel, but Cain refused. For this reason, the two offered a sacrifice. Abel's sacrifice was accepted, while that of Cain was not. Cain thus envied Abel and killed him on the mountain slope of Ḥirā'. He then descended from the mountain holding his sister Qalīmā by the hand and fled with her to 'Adan in the Yemen.[894]

According to al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: When Cain killed his brother Abel, he took his sister by the hand and brought her down to the

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888. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 120 (*ad* Qur. 5:27).

889. See *Schatzhöhle*, text, 40, trans., 9. This helps to explain why Ṭabarī rejected the report later on (text below, I, 145 and 151) quite vehemently.

890. The index of the Ṭabarī editions appears to assume that he is identical with Sahl b. Yūsuf al-Sulamī who, however, was an authority of Sayf b. 'Umar. Thus at least two links in the chain would be missing between Sufyān and Sahl. If there is such an omission, 'Amr could be 'Amr b. Shu'ayb (d. 118/736), and al-Ḥasan, of course, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. On the other hand, there was a Sahl b. Yūsuf al-Anmāṭī, who is supposed to have died in or after 190/805[6] (*Tahdhīb*, IV, 259 f.) and who might have been an authority of Sufyān b. Wakī'. In any case, the *isnād* would seem faulty.

891. Qur. 5:27.

892. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 122 (*ad* Qur. 5:27).

893. The name also appears in the form Iqlīmā. In *Schatzhöhle*, text, 34, trans., 8, it is Qlīmath. See also below, n. 903.

894. The name of the town of Aden in South Arabia and the identical Biblical Eden suggested the Yemenite location here.

foot of Mount Nūdh. Adam said to Cain: Go away! You will always be afraid and not safe from anyone you see. Everyone of (Cain's) children who passed by him shot at him. A blind son of Cain's came accompanied by one of his sons, who said to him: This is your father Cain. The blind man shot at his father Cain and killed him. The son of the blind man exclaimed: Oh, father! You have killed your father, whereupon the blind man raised his hand and slapped his son, and the son died. The blind man exclaimed: I have killed my father with a shot, and my son with a slap (of my hand).[895]

It has been mentioned in the Torah that Abel was twenty years old when he was killed, and Cain twenty-five when he killed Abel.

In our opinion, the sound statement is that the one of the two sons of Adam mentioned by God in His Book as having killed his brother is a son of Adam's loin, because proof has been transmitted that this is so:

According to Hannād b. al-Sarī—both Abū Mu'āwiyah and Wakī'—al-A'mash—'Abdallāh b. Murrah[896] —Masrūq[897] —'Abdallāh (b. Mas'ūd)—the Prophet. Also Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr (—al-A'mash, etc.). Also Ibn Wakī'—Jarīr and Abū Mu'āwiyah—al-A'mash (etc.): Adam's first son shares in the responsibility for every soul that is wrongfully killed. That is because he was the first to institute killing.[898] [145]

We were told about the same by Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Sufyān—al-A'mash—'Abdallāh b. Murrah—Masrūq—'Abdallāh (b. Mas'ūd)—the Prophet. Also Ibn Wakī'—his father (etc.)

This report from the Messenger of God makes clear the soundness of the statement that the two sons of Adam, whose story is told by God in His Book, were children of Adam's loin, because

895. In *Schatzhöhle*, text, 48–50, trans., 11 f., it is Lamech, the descendant of Cain (Genesis 4:18), who is the killer. The legend explains Lamech's verses in Genesis 4:28. For a comparison of the version in the *Schatzhöhle* with one of Aphrem, see Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature*, 69 and 73 f.

896. Died during the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in 99 or 100/717–19. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 24 f.

897. Masrūq b. al-Ajda' died in 62 or 63/681–83, at the age of sixty-three. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 109–11.

898. For this and the following paragraphs, see *Tafsīr*, VI, 125 (*ad* Qur. 5:29). See also *Concordance*, IV, 83b59–62, VI, 45a7–9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, XV, 209 f. (where Ṭabarī is quoted), III, 394, VII, 179, and XVII, 65 f.

there can be no doubt that if they had been children of Israel, as transmitted on the authority of al-Ḥasan, the one of them described as having killed his brother would not have been the first to institute killing, since killing took place among the children of Adam before Israel and his children existed.

Someone might say: What is your proof that the two were children of Adam's loin and were not children of Israel? The reply would be: There is no disagreement about this among the early scholars of our nation, since the statement that they were children of Israel is corrupt (and thus can be disregarded).

It has been mentioned that when Cain killed his brother Abel, Adam mourned Abel, as we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ghiyāth b. Ibrāhīm[899] —Abū Isḥāq ('Amr b. 'Abdallāh) al-Hamdānī—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, may God ennoble his face!: When
[146] Adam's son killed his brother, Adam mourned the latter, saying:

The land and those upon it have changed.
    The face of the earth is now ugly and dusty.
Everything tasty and colorful has changed.
    The cheerfulness of a handsome face has become rare.

He continued. Adam received this reply:

Father of Abel! Both have been killed.
    The one alive has become like the one slaughtered and dead.[900]
He brought evil of which he was
    afraid. He brought it shouting.[901]

It has been mentioned that Eve bore Adam children in one hundred and twenty pregnancies. The first children were Cain and his twin sister Qalīmā, and the last 'Abd al-Mughīth and his twin sister Amat al-Mughīth.

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899. Ghiyāth, whose reliability as a transmitter was greatly suspect, lived during the caliphate of al-Mahdī. See *TB*, XII, 323–27; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, IV,1, 109; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, III,2, 57; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, IV, 422. *Tafsīr*, VI, 122 *(ad* Qur. 5:27) does not give the name (at least in the edition used here).

900. Another reading is *bi-al-mawt/mayt:* "become through that death (dead one) the one slaughtered."

901. See *Tafsīr*, VI, 122 *(ad* Qur. 5:27). For the first three verses. cf. Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, I, 65 (I, 39 Pellat); Rosenthal, *Sweeter than Hope*, 29, n. 121. The reply is supposed to have come from Iblīs.

As far as Ibn Isḥāq is concerned, it has been mentioned on his authority, as I have mentioned earlier,[902] that the total number of children born to Adam by Eve was forty; that is, male and female children born in twenty pregnancies. He added: We have the names of some of them, but not of others.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: We have the names of fifteen men and four women, among them Cain and his twin sister, Abel, (Abel's twin sister) Labūdhā,[903] Adam's daughter Ashūth[904] and her twin brother, Seth and his twin sister,[905] Ḥazūrah and her twin brother, (born) when (Adam) was one hundred and thirty years old, Adam's son Ayād and his twin sister, Adam's son Bālagh and his twin sister, Adam's son Athātī and his twin sister, Adam's son Tawbah and his twin sister, Adam's son Banān and his twin sister, Adam's son Shabūbah and his twin sister, Adam's son Ḥayān and his twin sister, Adam's son Ḍarābīs and his twin sister, Adam's son Hadaz and his twin sister, Adam's son Yaḥūd and his twin sister, Adam's son Sandal and his twin [147] sister, and Adam's son Bāraq and his twin sister—every male of them born together with a female as twins.

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902. Text above, I, 140.

903. Labūdhā is the form of the name as it appears in *Schatzhöhle*, text, 34, trans., 8, We have no way of knowing whether Ṭabarī himself thought it was Labūdhā or Layūdhā. For this name and some of the non-Biblical names mentioned later, reference was made to *Schatzhöhle* and Jubilees by Lidzbarski, *De propheticis...legendis*, 11 f. See also N. A. Stillman, "The Story of Cain and Abel," in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 19 [1974]: 231–39.

Counting the name of Cain's sister not mentioned presumably because it was well known (above, n. 893), we have here indeed four females mentioned by name and fifteen males. The passage was no doubt quoted by Ṭabarī from Ibn Isḥāq's *Mubtada'*. Other authors were apparently suspicious and did not quote it. There were other lists, as, for instance, in Ibn Hishām, *Tījān*, 15. See also text below, I, 149.

In Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 4, Lūbadhā is the twin sister of Cain, and Iqlīmā that of Abel. See also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 62; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 43.

All these names whose vocalization is not known to us have been vocalized here simply by supplying the vowel a. This has been done even where the names look suspiciously like Arabic names.

904. Said to be Cain's wife in text below, I, 167.

905. See text below, I, 152 f., where it is said first that Seth was born without a twin, and then that his twin was named 'Azūrā or Ḥazūrā, identical, no doubt, with Ḥazūrah mentioned here. It is also stated that it was Seth who was born when Adam had reached the age of one hundred and thirty (see also text below, I, 164). In the apocryphal literature, Seth's sister is repeatedly called 'Azūrā/Ḥazūrā. See Jubilees, IV, 8, and p. 30, note to IV, 1, in Charles' translation.

Most Persian scholars assume that Jayūmart is Adam.[906] Some assume that Jayūmart is the son of Adam's loins by Eve. Others have made many (diverse) statements on Jayūmart. It would make this book of ours too long to mention them (all). We have omitted reference to them, since our intention here is to mention the kings and their days and what we have made it a condition to mention in this book of ours.[907] The discussion of the different views on the pedigree of a given king is not the kind of subject for which we have undertaken the composition of the book. If we do mention something of the sort, it is to identify someone mentioned by us for those unacquainted with him. (I repeat:) The discussion of differing opinions on (a person's) pedigree is not something intended in this book of ours.

The statements of the Persian scholars on this subject have been disputed by other, non-Persian scholars who assume that he is (not ?) Adam. They agree with the Persian scholars as to his name but disagree with them[908] as to his personal identity *('ayn)* and description. They assume that the Jayūmart whom the Persians assume to be Adam is Gomer b. Japheth b. Noah.[909] He was a long-lived lord who settled on the mountain of Dunbāwand[910] of the Ṭabaristān mountains in the East and ruled there and in Fārs. His power grew, and he commanded his children to take control of Bābil. For various (brief) periods, they ruled over all the zones (of the earth). Jayūmart protected all the places to which he got (?). He built for himself cities and castles and populated them and made them prosperous. He also assembled weapons and established a cavalry. At the end of his life, he became a tyrant. He took the name of Adam and said: If someone calls me by any
[148] other name, I shall cut off his hand. He married thirty women who

906. See text above, I, 17 f., and below, I, 154. This and the following paragraphs were translated by Christensen, I, 67 f.

907. See text above, I, 6 f.

908. Read *khālafahum* or *khālafahā*. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DLXXVII.

909. See above, n. 153.

910. See *EI*^{2}, II, 106 f., s. v. Damāwand; Eilers, "Der Name Demawend." The vowel *u* in the first syllable is that prescribed by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 606, but Ṭabarī might have used Danbāwand.

gave him many offspring. His son Mārī and daughter Māriyānah[911] were among those born at the end of his life. He liked them and promoted them, so that the (later) kings were their offspring. His realm expanded greatly.

I mention this information about Jayūmart in this place only because none of the scholars of the (various) nations disputes that Jayūmart is the father of the non-Arab Persians. They differ with respect to him only as to whether he is Adam, the father of mankind, as stated by those mentioned by us, or somebody else. In addition, (I refer to Jayūmart) because his rule and that of his children continued in the East and the mountains there uninterrupted in an orderly fashion, until Yazdjard b. Shahriyār, one of his descendants—May God curse him!—was killed in Marw in the days of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.[912] The history (or chronology) of the world's bygone years is more easily explained and more clearly seen based upon the lives of the Persian kings than upon those of the kings of any other nation. For no nation but theirs among those leading their pedigree back to Adam is known whose realm lasted and whose rule was continuous. No other nation had kings ruling all (their subjects) and chiefs protecting them against their adversaries, helping them to obtain the upper hand over their competitors, defending those wronged among them against those who did them wrong, and creating for them fortunate conditions that were continuous, lasting, and orderly, inherited by later generations from earlier ones. Thus, a history based upon the lives of the Persian kings has the soundest sources and the best and clearest data.

God willing, and there is no might and strength except in Him, I shall mention the information we have received about the lives of Adam and his descendants after him who succeeded him in prophethood and royal authority, both according to those who oppose the statement of the Persians who assume that he is [149] Jayūmart,and according to those who say that he is Jayūmart, the father of the Persians. And I shall discuss the history of the (Per-

911. These names are explainable as linguistic variants of those given in text below, I, 154. See Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 198 f. (under Maschyo); Christensen, I, 9 f.

912. On the death of the last Sassanian emperor Yazdjard in 31/651[2], see text below, I, 2872 ff.

sian kings), from differences expressed to unanimity achieved that someone who they agree ruled at a specific time was indeed the ruler at that time. I shall then continue in this manner down to this time of ours.

Let us now return (to our narrative) and provide further clarification concerning the error of those who said that the first to die on earth was Adam, and who denied that the two whose story is told by God in His word: "And recite to them the story of the two sons of Adam truthfully! They offered a sacrifice, "[913] came, as shown by this verse, from Adam's loin.

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith—'Umar b. Ibrāhīm[914] —Qatādah—al-Ḥasan—Samurah b. Jundub[915] —the Prophet: None of Eve's children survived. Therefore, she vowed that if one of her children were to survive, she would call him 'Abd al-Ḥārith.[916] When a child of hers survived, she called him 'Abd al-Ḥārith. That was due to Satan's inspiration.[917]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn[918] —'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: Eve would give birth to Adam's children and make them worship God, calling them 'Abdallāh, 'Ubaydallāh ("Servant, or little Servant of God"), and the like. But then they would die. Now, Iblīs came to her and to Adam and said: Were you to give them other names, they would survive. So, when she gave birth to a male child for Adam, they called him 'Abd al-Ḥārith. In this connection, God revealed His word: "It is

913. Qur. 5:27.

914. See *Tahdhīb*, VII, 425 f.

915. For Samurah b. Jundub, who died in 58 or 59/677–79, see *Tahdhīb*, IV, 236 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, 653–55.

916. Al-Ḥārith, as explained in these traditions, was the original name of Iblīs. By naming the child "Servant of al-Ḥārith (Iblīs)," instead of "Servant of God," Adam and Eve associated Satan with God; they were thus exposed to the accusation of having introduced polytheism. Satan's opportunity came because during her first pregnancy, Eve was totally ignorant of the process of human reproduction and feared that she might produce a nonhuman animal. It was God's doing that the child was born without any defects, even if Satan tried to claim credit for it.

917. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 99 (*ad* Qur. 7:190).

918. Died in 135/752[3]. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 181 f.

He Who created you from a single soul" to "the two set up for Him associates in connection with what He had given them" to the end of the verse.[919]

According to Ibn Wakī' —Ibn Fuḍayl—Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣah[920] [150]
—Sa'īd b. Jubayr, commenting on (the same verse): "When she became heavy (with child), they called on God, their Lord" to "And God is above your associating (others with Him)," as follows: When Eve became heavy with her first pregnancy, Satan came to her before she gave birth, and said: Eve, what is that in your womb? She said: I do not know. He asked: Where will it come out, from your nose, your eye, or your ear? She again replied: I do not know. He said: Don't you think, if it comes out healthy, you should obey me in whatever I command you? When she said: Yes, he said: Call him 'Abd al-Ḥārith! Iblīs—May God curse him!—was called al-Ḥārith. She agreed. Afterwards, she said to Adam: Someone came to me in my sleep and told me such-and such. Adam said: That is Satan. Beware of him, for he is our enemy who drove us out of Paradise. Then Iblīs—May God curse him!—came to her again and repeated what he had said before, and she agreed. When she gave birth to the child, God brought him out healthy. Yet, she called him 'Abd al-Ḥārith. This is (meant by) God's word: "They set up for Him associates in connection with what he had given them" to "And God is above your associating (others with Him)."[921]

According to Ibn Wakī'—Jarīr and Ibn Fuḍayl—'Abd al-Malik[922]
—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: When (Sa'īd) was asked whether Adam associated (others with God), he replied: God forbid that I should assume Adam did that! However, when Eve was heavy with child, Iblīs came and said to her: Where will this one come out, from your nose, your eye, or your mouth? He thereby caused her to despair (because she did not know and was afraid of what was going to happen). Then he said: Don't you think that, when it comes out perfectly formed—Ibn Wakī' said that Ibn Fuḍayl added: without harming or killing you—you should obey me? When she agreed, he said: Call him 'Abd al-Ḥārith, and she did. Jarīr added: So Adam's

919. Qur. 7:189 f. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 99 (*ad* Qur. 7:190).
920. Died about 140/757[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 433 f.
921. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 100 (*ad* Qur. 7:190).
922. 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Sulaymān died in 145/763. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 396–98.

associating (others with God) was only in the name.[923]

[151] According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: So she—meaning Eve—gave birth to a boy. Iblīs came to her and said: Call (pl.) him my servant *('abdī)*! If you don't, I shall kill him. Adam said to him: I obeyed you (once before), and you caused me to be driven out of Paradise. So he refused to obey him and called the child 'Abd al-Raḥmān "Servant of the Merciful One." Satan—May God curse him!—gained power over the boy and killed him. Eve bore another child, and when she gave birth to it, Satan said: Call him my servant! If you don't, I shall kill him. Adam said to him (again): I obeyed you (once before), and you caused me to be driven out of Paradise. So he refused and called the boy Ṣāliḥ,[924] and Satan killed him. The third time around, Iblīs said to Adam and Eve: If you (pl., want to) overcome me, call him 'Abd al-Ḥārith! Iblīs' name was al-Ḥārith. He was called Iblīs when he was bedeviled *(ublisa)*—became confused.[925] This (is meant by God's word) where He says: "They set up for him associates in connection with what He had given them"—meaning in connection with the names.[926]

Those who, as I have mentioned, have transmitted (reports) that some children of Adam and Eve died before them, and the even more numerous transmitters and statements not mentioned by us, contradict the statement of al-Ḥasan transmitted on his authority that the first person to die was Adam.[927]

In addition to giving Adam royal authority and rulership on earth, God made him a prophet and a messenger to his children. He revealed to Adam twenty-one scrolls. Adam was taught them by Gabriel and wrote them down with his own hand.

According to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb—his paternal uncle[928] —al-Māḍī b. Muḥammad[929] —Abū Sulaymān[930] —al-

923. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 100 *(ad* Qur. 7:190).

924. The choice of the name results from the use of the adjective *ṣāliḥan* in Qur. 7:190.

925. See above, n. 617.

926. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 100 *(ad* Qur. 7:190). *Tafsīr* reads "giving a name."

927. See above, n. 889.

928. See above, nn. 136 and 137.

929. Al-Māḍī died in 183/799. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 2 f.

930. For 'Alī b. Sulaymān (?), see *Tahdhīb*, 328 f. The *kunyah* Abū Sulaymān does not appear in *Tahdhīb*, but the chain of transmitters is identical.

Qāsim b. Muḥammad[931] —Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī[932] —Abū Dharr [152]
al-Ghifārī: I entered the mosque and found the Messenger of God sitting there by himself. When I joined him, he said to me: Abū Dharr, there is a greeting for a mosque. It consists of praying two *rak'ah*s. So, get up and perform them! When I had done so, I sat with him and said: O Messenger of God! You have commanded me to pray. But what is prayer? He replied: The best of subjects, whether there is much or little of it. Then (Abū Dharr) mentioned a long story in which he said: I asked the Messenger of God how many prophets there are. He replied: 124,000. He continued: I asked him how many of those were messengers. He replied: Three hundred and thirteen, a large crowd (*jamman ghafīran*)—meaning a good many. He continued. I asked the Messenger of God who the first of them was, and he replied: Adam. He continued. I asked him whether Adam was a prophet sent as a messenger. He replied: Yes, God created him with His own hand and blew some of His spirit into him. Then He immediately fashioned him in perfect shape.[933]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq —Ja'far b. al-Zubayr[934] —al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān[935] —Abū Umāmah[936] —Abū Dharr: I said: O Prophet of God! Was Adam

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931. On the basis of this chain of transmitters, he is given a separate, questionable entry in *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 336 f.

932. Born supposedly in 8/630, Abū Idrīs died in 80/699. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 85-87; *EI*², IV, 1135, s. v. al-Khawlānī.

933. *Qubulan* "in perfect shape" is usually translated "face to face" (above, n. 667, and the next tradition). See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CDXI. For a related tradition of Abū Dharr with a different chain of transmitters, see Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 178, 179, and 266. On the number of messengers (315), see Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, on Qur. 42:51.

934. *Tahdhīb*, II, 90–92, mentions a certain Ja'far b. al-Zubayr as a transmitter of al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, but he died in the 140s/757–67 and thus was a contemporary of Ibn Isḥāq. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām (*Tahdhīb*, II, 92), the youngest brother of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, would fit chronologically. However, his son Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, who died in the 110s/728–37 (*Tahdhīb*, IX, 93; Horst, 303, n. 6), usually appears as the authority of Ibn Isḥāq. He was a contemporary of al-Qāsim who here appears as his authority.

935. Al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān died in the 110s/730–36. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 322–24.

936. The identification with the companion of the Prophet, Abū Umāmah Ṣudayy b. 'Ajlān al-Bāhilī, seems supported by the addition of the *nisbah* al-Bāhilī in text below, I, 2108, which has, however, a different *isnād*. It does not seem certain that he is meant here. He died in 81 or 86/700–5 at the age of ninety-one. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 420 f.; Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 46 and 303; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, II,2, 327 f.; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, 736.

a prophet? He replied: Yes, he was, and God spoke to him face to face.

Among the things God reportedly revealed to Adam was the prohibition against eating dead animals, blood, and pork. He also revealed to him the letters of the alphabet on twenty-one leaves.

Eve Giving Birth to Seth

When one hundred and thirty years of Adam's life had passed—that is, five years after Cain had killed Abel—Eve gave birth to Adam's son Seth. The people of the Torah have mentioned that Seth was born without a twin. They explain Seth as "Gift of God," meaning that he was a replacement[937] for Abel.

[153] According to al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Eve bore Adam Seth and his sister 'Azūrah.[938] He was called "Gift of God," (a name) derived from Abel.[939] When Eve gave birth to him, Gabriel said to her: This is God's gift in place of Abel. (Seth's name) is Shith[940] in Arabic, Shāth in Syriac, and Shīth in Hebrew. He was Adam's legatee. On the day Seth was born to him, Adam was one hundred and thirty years old.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: Reportedly—God knows best!—when Adam was about to die, he called his son Seth and appointed him his heir. He taught him the hours of night and day and indicated to him how the creatures should worship in each hour. He informed him that each hour had its special kind of creatures to worship in it. Then he said to him: Son, the Flood will be on earth and last seven years. He wrote his last will addressed to him. Seth reportedly was the legatee of his father Adam, so after Adam's death, political leadership fell to him. According to a tradition on the authority of the Messenger

937. The similarity of the word *khalaf* in the meaning of "replacement" to Aramaic *ḥlāp̄* translating Hebrew *taḥat* (Genesis 4:25) is hardly coincidental. For data on Seth in Arabic literature. cf. the unpublished Yale dissertation (1968) of Theodore Gluck, *The Arabic legend of Seth, the Father of Mankind.*

938. See above, n. 905.

939. Hebrew Hebel "Abel" is etymologized as composed of the Aramaic root *(y)-h-b* "to give" and *el* "God."

940. With a short vowel. The short vowel may represent the Hebrew *e*. Long *ā* in Shāth may indicate long *ē*. Long *ī* in the "Hebrew" form (which, in fact, is the accepted Arabic form of the name) could represent *ay* to *ē* (?).

of God, God revealed fifty scrolls to Seth.

According to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb—his paternal uncle—al-Māḍī b. Muḥammad—Abū Sulaymān—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī—Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: I said: O Messenger of God! How many books did God reveal? He replied: One hundred and four. God revealed fifty scrolls to Seth.

All the children of Adam today trace their pedigree back to Seth. That is because the offspring of all the other children of Adam except those of Seth have completely disappeared, and not one of [154] them remains. Thus, the pedigrees of all people today go back to Seth.

The Persians who say that Jayūmart is Adam say: Born to Jayūmart was his son Mashī, who married his sister Mashyānah.[941] She bore him his son Siyāmak and his daughter Siyāmī. Born to Siyāmak b. Mashī b. Jayūmart were his sons Afrawāk, Dīs, Barāsb, Ajwab (Ajrab), and Awrāsh, and his daughters Afrī, Dadhī, Barī, and Awrāshī. The mother of all of them was Siyāmī, the daughter of Mashī, their father's sister.

The Persians mention that the entire earth consists of seven climes. The land of Bābil and the regions reachable by people who go there by land or sea constitute a single clime. Its inhabitants are the offspring of the children of Afrawāk b. Siyāmak and their descendants. The remaining six climes not reachable today by land or sea are (inhabited by) the offspring of all the other sons and daughters of Siyāmak.

Siyāmak's daughter Afrī bore her brother Afrawāk King

941. The first three paragraphs are translated in Christensen, I, 116, and the rest of the chapter in Christensen, I, 147 f. The forms Mashī and Mashyānah may be the ones intended by Ṭabarī. The text of the Cairo edition has Mīshī (Mīshā) and Mīshānah. Among Iranian scholars, we find Mashia and Mashiana (Justi), Mashyaγ and Mashyānaγ (Christensen, II, 167), or Masya and Masyani (Anklesaria). For the variant forms Mārī and Māriyānah, see above, n. 911. For Fravāk as the son of Siyāmak, see *Bundahishn*, ed. Justi, ch. 32, and ed. Anklesaria, ch. 14, pp. 132 f., and ch. 35, pp. 292 f. The vocalization and etymology of the other names is quite uncertain. See the listings in Justi. Christensen, I, 116 and 121, attempts no explanation for the names which are attested only in Ṭabarī. For Afrī as an element in nomenclature, one may tentatively compare Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets*, 146 ff.

Hōshank Pēshdādh. It was he who succeeded his grandfather Jayūmart as ruler, and he was the first to rule over all the climes. God willing, we shall mention his history when we get to it.[942] It is assumed by some(one) that this Ōshahanj was the son of Adam's loin by Eve.

Hishām al-Kalbī, on his part said, as I was told on his authority: We have heard—God knows best!—that the first king to rule the earth was Ōshahanj b. Eber b. Shelah b. Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah.[943] He continued. The Persians claim him and assume that he lived two hundred years after Adam's death. He continued. As we have heard, this king lived two hundred years after Noah, but the people of Fārs had him living two hundred years after Adam, [155] with no indication of what was before Noah.

Hishām's statement deserves no consideration, because among the experts in Persian genealogy, King Hōshank is more famous than al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf is among the Muslims.[944] Every people is more familiar than others with their own forefathers, pedigrees, and accomplishments. With respect to every complex matter, one must have reference to those people who were (directly) involved.

Some Persian genealogist(s) assume(s) that this King Ōshahanj Pēshdād is Mahalalel, that his father, Frawāk, is Mahalalel's father Kenan, that Siyāmak is Kenan's father Enosh, that Mashī is Enosh's father Seth, and that Jayūmart is Adam.[945] If this is so, there can be no doubt that Ōshahanj was a man in the time of Adam. This is because, as mentioned in the first Book,[946] Mahalalel's mother Dīnah, the daughter of Barākīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam,[947] gave birth to him after 395 years of Adam's life had passed. Thus, when Adam died, Mahalalel was 605 years old,

942. Ṭabarī seems to refer to text below, I, 170 ff., unless he has a more general reference in mind (perhaps, to text below, I, 201 ff.).

943. See Genesis 10:21–24 and 11:10–14.

944. The reference to the famous Umayyad governor (see *EI*[2], III, 39–43, s. v. al-Ḥadjdjāj b. Yūsuf) seems a bit strange until one realizes that it would have been unsuitable in the context to compare a secular and rather tyrannical ruler with the ancient rulers of Islam.

945. For the Biblical figures, see Genesis 5:1–12.

946. If the sg. "Book" as in the Cairo edition has the proper support in the manuscript tradition, it may be preferable to the pl. "Books" (Scriptures) found in the Leiden text.

947. See Genesis 4:17 f. Dīnah and Barākīl are, of course, not found in Genesis, but they appear as, respectively, wife and father-in-law of Kenan's son Mahalalel in Jubilees 4:15. See text below, I, 165.

since according to a tradition on the authority of the Messenger of God concerning Adam's life, Adam lived a thousand years.

The Persian scholars have assumed that the rule of this Ōshahanj lasted forty years. If the genealogists' statement concerning this king just mentioned by us is as indicated, it is not impossible to say that he became ruler two hundred years after Adam's death.

Adam's Death

There are differences of opinion as to the duration of Adam's life and how old he was when God took him unto Himself.

The received reports on the authority of the Messenger of God indicate what I was told by Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-ʿAsqalānī—Ādam b. Abī Iyās—Abū Khālid Sulaymān b. [156] Ḥayyān—Muḥammad b. ʿAmr—Abū Salamah—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet. Also Abū Khālid—al-Aʿmash—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet. Also Abū Khālid—Dāwūd b. Abī Hind—al-Shaʿbī—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet. Also Abū Khālid—Ibn Abī Dhubāb al-Dawsī—Saʿīd al-Maqburī and Yazīd b. Hurmuz—Abū Hurayrah—the Prophet: God created Adam with His own hand and blew some of His spirit into him. He commanded the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam, and they did. Adam sat down, then sneezed and said: Praise be to God! His Lord said to him: May your Lord show mercy unto you! Go to that multitude of angels and say to them: Peace be upon you! He went and said to them: Peace be upon you! and they responded: And upon you be peace and the mercy of God! Adam then returned to his Lord who said to him: This is your greeting and the greeting for your progeny to use among themselves.[948]

Then God closed His hand and said to Adam: Pick and choose! Adam said: I choose the right of my Lord. Both His hands are right hands. God opened His hand for him, and behold, there was the picture of Adam and all his progeny, and there was the term of each man written down with God. For Adam, a life of a thousand years had been written down. There were people there crowned by light. When Adam asked his Lord who they were, God replied:

948. The same tradition appears up to this point in text above, I, 93 f.

They are the prophets and messengers whom I shall send to My servants. Among them, there is a man who is the most luminous of them. However, a life of only forty years was written down for him. Adam asked: O my Lord! Why is a life of only forty years written down for this most luminous man among them? God said: That is what was written down for him. So Adam said: O my Lord! Shorten my life by sixty years for him! Now, the Messenger of God
[157] said: When God had settled Adam in Paradise and then had cast him down to earth, Adam used to count his days. So, when the Angel of Death came to seize him, Adam said to him: You have come too early, Angel of Death. The Angel of Death replied: I did not. Adam said: Sixty years of my life still remain. The Angel of Death replied: Nothing remains of your life. You asked your Lord to write (those sixty years) down for your son David. Adam replied: I did not. The Messenger of God continued: Adam forgot, and so did his progeny. Adam denied it, and so did his progeny. On that day, God established written documents and commanded (the use of) witnesses.[949]

According to Ibn Sinān—Mūsā b. Ismā'īl—Ḥammād b. Salamah—'Alī b. Zayd—Yūsuf b. Mihrān—Ibn 'Abbās: When the verse of the debt[950] was revealed, the Messenger of God said: The first to deny (an obligation) three times was Adam. When God created him, he rubbed his back and brought forth from it whatever He was going to multiply *(dh-r-y/dh-r-')*[951] to the Day of Resurrection. When He started to present them to Adam, Adam saw among them a man who shone. He said: O my Lord! Which prophet is this? God replied: This is your son David. Adam said: O my Lord! How long is his life? God replied: Sixty years, whereupon Adam said: O my Lord! Give him a longer life! God said: No, unless you take some years of your life and add them to his. Now, Adam's life was one thousand years, and he gave David forty of it. God wrote this down in a document and had the angels witness it. When Adam was about to die and the angels came to him to seize his spirit, he said: Forty years of my life still remain. The angels said:

949. This story argues the need in legal matters for agreements made in writing and duly witnessed because of human forgetfulness and the human propensity to renege on obligations.

950. That is, Qur. 2:282.

951. See text above, I, 134.

You gave them to your son David. Adam said: No, I did not give him anything. Whereupon God had the document brought down and had the angels produced as witnesses against him. Adam lived a full thousand years (despite the years he had given away), and David lived a full hundred years.[952]

According to Muḥammad b. Sa'd—his father—his paternal uncle—his father—his father—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny" to "They said: Yes. We (so) testify,"[953] as follows: When God created Adam, he rubbed his back and brought forth all his progeny in the shape of tiny ants. He gave them speech, and they talked. "He had them testify against themselves."[954] He had light shine forth from one of them. He said to Adam: They are your progeny with whom the covenant has been made that I am their Lord, lest they associate something with Me, and I am obligated to provide for their sustenance. Adam said: Who is the one with the light? and God replied: David. Adam said: O my Lord! How long a term have You written down for him? God replied: Sixty years. Adam said: How long a life have You written down for me? and God replied: One thousand years. For every one of your progeny, I have written down how long he will live. Adam said: O my Lord! Give David a longer life! God said: The book here is all done, but, if you wish, give him some years from your own life! Adam agreed, although the Pen was dry for all the other of Adam's children. Thus, (God) wrote down for David (an additional) forty years for Adam's sake. so that David's term was a hundred years. When Adam had lived 960 years, the Angel of Death came to him. When Adam saw him, he said: Why (have you come)? He replied: You have completed your term. Adam said: I have lived 960 years. Forty still remain. When he said this to the Angel, the Angel replied: I have the information from my Lord. Adam now said: Then go back to your Lord and ask Him! The Angel went back to his Lord, who asked him why (he had come back). The Angel said: O my Lord! I have come back to You because I know You hold Adam in such high esteem. God said: Go back and in- [158]

952. See Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 251 f., 298 f., 371.
953. Qur. 7:172.
954. Qur. 7:172.

form him that he gave forty years to his son David.[955]

According to Ibn Bashshār—Muḥammad b. Ja'far—Shu'bah—Abū Bishr—Sa'īd b. Jubayr, commenting on this verse: "And God took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny and
[159] had them testify against themselves: Am I not your Lord?"[956] as follows: He brought them forth from Adam's back and gave Adam a life of one thousand years. He continued. When Adam's progeny was presented to him, he saw among them one endowed with light. He wondered about him and asked who he was. God replied: He is David. His life has been set at sixty years. Adam thereupon made over to him forty years of his own life. When Adam was about to die, he started to argue with (the angels) about the forty years. He was told that he had given them to David. (A variant reading) is: *and* he started to argue with (the angels about the forty years, he was told...).[957]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ya'qūb (al-Qummī)—Ja'far (b. Abī al-Mughīrah)—Sa'īd (b. Jubayr), commenting on God's word: "And your Lord took from the backs of the children of Adam their progeny," as follows: He brought forth his progeny from his back looking like tiny ants and presented them to Adam with their names and those of their fathers and their terms. He continued. He presented to Adam the spirit of David in a sparkling light, and Adam asked who he was. God replied: He is one of your progeny, a prophet I have created. Adam said: How long is his life? and God replied: Sixty years. Adam said: Add forty years of my life to his! He continued. (That was when) the pens were still moist and proceeding to write. The (additional) forty were thus set down for David. Adam's life was one thousand years. When he completed them except for the forty years, the Angel of Death was sent to him. He said: Adam, I have been commanded to seize you, whereupon Adam said: Do I not have forty more years to live? He continued. The Angel of Death thereupon went back to his Lord and said: Adam claims he has forty (more) years to live, and God said: Inform him that he made them over to his son David, while the pens were still moist, so they were set down for David.[958]

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955. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 78 *(ad* Qur. 7:172).
956. Qur. 7:172.
957. See *Tafsīr*, IX, 79 *(ad* Qur. 7:172); Ibn Khuzaymah, 67.
958. This tradition as well as the following *isnād* is found in *Tafsīr*, IX, 79 *(ad*

We were told about the same by Ibn Wakī'—Abū Dāwūd—Ya'qūb—Ja'far—Sa'īd.

It has been mentioned that Adam was ill for eleven days before his death. He made his son Seth his legatee and wrote his last will. Then he handed the document containing his last will to [160] Seth and commanded him to keep it concealed from Cain and his children, because Cain had killed Abel out of envy. That was when Adam singled Abel out for (receiving God's) knowledge. Seth and his children kept concealed the knowledge they possessed, and Cain and his children did not have any knowledge they could use.

The people of the Torah assume that Adam lived 930 years.[959]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam lived 936 years.[960] God knows best!

The reports received on the authority of the Messenger of God and our early scholars are as I have mentioned. The Messenger of God is the human being who knows best about it.

The reports received on his authority mention him as saying: Adam lived one thousand years, even after he made over those additional years from his own life to his son David. For God gave Adam the full number of years He had (originally) given him, before Adam gave David those (forty years). Perhaps, the years that Adam made over to David were not included in Adam's life in the Torah. So it was said that he lived 930 years.

Someone might say: Even if this so (that the Torah did not count those years), and Adam made over forty years of his life to his son David, it should be 960 years in the Torah, in order to be in agreement with the reports received on the authority of the Messenger of God. The reply would be: In connection with this subject, we have the tradition of the Messenger of God transmitted by us that it was sixty years of his own life that Adam made over to his son David—this is according to Abū Hurayrah's tradition on the Prophet's authority mentioned by us earlier.[961] If this is so, the [161] assumption made in the Torah about the duration of Adam's life

Qur. 7:172).

959. See Genesis 5:5.

960. Following Wahb b. Munabbih, Ibn Hishām, *Tījān*, 19, mentions 930 years in the text, but the manuscripts seem to have 937 (927).

961. See text above, I, 156 f. The discussion indicates serious concern with a Biblical statement, even if it does not quite work out.

agrees with what we have transmitted in this connection on the authority of the Messenger of God.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: After writing his last will, Adam died. The angels assembled at his (place), because he was the chosen friend *(ṣafī)* of the Merciful One, and buried him. Seth and his brothers were in the regions east of Paradise at a village that was the first on earth. The sun and the moon were in eclipse for seven days and nights. When the angels assembled for (Adam's burial), and Seth collected the last will, he placed it upon a ladder (like that used for the ascent and descent of angels and souls)[962] in the company of the generation that our father Adam had brought out from Paradise, so that there would be no neglect with respect to mentioning God.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād[963] —his father: I (Yaḥyā) heard him ('Abbād) say: I have heard that when Adam died, God sent him his shroud and embalming materials from Paradise. The angels then took charge of his grave and burial and hid him (from sight).

According to 'Alī b. Ḥarb[964] —Rawḥ b. Aslam[965] —Ḥammād b. Salamah—Thābit al-Bunānī[966] —al-Ḥasan[967] —the Prophet: When Adam died, the angels washed him separately (several times) with water and prepared a burial site for him. They said: This (shall be) Adam's custom among his children.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. Dhakwān[968] —al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī)—Ubayy b. Ka'b—the Messenger of God: Your father Adam was as tall as a very tall palm, that is, sixty cubits (30 meters). He had much hair,
[162] and his privy parts *('awrah)* were concealed. When he committed

962. Doubts about the reading and interpretation of *mi'rāj* are, however, expressed in Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCCLV.

963. For Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād and his father 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, see *Tahdhib*, XI, 234 f. and V, 98.

964. Born in 175/December 791, 'Alī b. Ḥarb died in 265/879. See *TB*, XI, 418–20; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 294–96.

965. Rawḥ b. Aslam is supposed to have died in the first decade of the third century/815–25. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 291 f.

966. Thābit b. Aslam al-Bunānī died eighty-six years old between 123 and 127/740–45. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 2-4; Khalīfah, *Ṭabaqāt*, 214; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, II, 330.

967. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī did not transmit directly from the Prophet.

968. See *Tahdhīb*, III, 276 f.

the sin (of eating from the forbidden tree), his secret parts became apparent to him. He fled about in Paradise, but a tree encountered him and seized him by his forelock. His Lord called out to him: (Are you) in flight from Me, Adam? Adam replied: No, by God, O my Lord, but I feel shame before You because of the crime I have committed. God cast him down to earth. When he was about to die, God sent him his embalming materials and shroud from Paradise. When Eve saw the angels, she went in to Adam in order to prevent them from entering *(dūnahum)*. Adam said: Leave me and the messengers of my Lord alone! It was you who caused the experience I suffered, and it was in connection with you that the misfortune befell me. When Adam was dead, the angels washed him separately (several times) with *sidr* and water and dressed him in separate layers of shrouds.[969] Then they prepared a grave and buried him. They then said: This (shall be) the custom of the children of Adam after him.

According to Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām[970] —al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān—his father, or supposedly Qatādah—a colleague of his—Ubayy b. Kaʿb—the Messenger of God: Adam was a man as tall as a very tall palm.

According to al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Ibn Saʿd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās: When Adam died, Seth said to Gabriel: Pray for Adam! Gabriel replied: You go and pray for your father and say *Allāhu akbaru* for him thirty times, five as (part of the prescribed) prayer and the other twenty-five as a special honor for Adam!

There are differences of opinion about the location of Adam's grave. What Ibn Isḥāq said, has already been mentioned.[971] Someone else said: He was buried in Mecca in the cave of Abū Qubays. It is a cave called Treasure Cave.[972]

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969. *Sidr* is said to be crushed lotus leaves mixed with water to serve as a perfuming agent. The proper procedures of washing a corpse successively with water, *sidr*, and camphor and the use of several garments as shrouds are discussed at length in the Prophetic traditions. See also *EI*^{2}, II, 441 f., s. v. djanāza.

970. Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām died in 253/867. See *TB*, V, 162–66; *Tahdhīb*, I, 81 f. As is clear from the dates of his authorities, he lived into his nineties. He himself is credited with the statement that he was born two years before the death of Abū Jaʿfar, apparently the caliph al-Manṣūr, thus in 773.

971. See text above, I, 161?

972. Abū Qubays is one of the Meccan hills, see *EI*^{2}, I, 136, s. v. Abū Ḳubays. The Treasure Cave in Abū Qubays is mentioned in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 769, s. v.

On this subject, there is a report transmitted on the authority
[163] of Ibn 'Abbās that I was told by al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: When Noah left the ark,[973] he (re)buried Adam in Jerusalem.

Adam's death took place on Friday. We have mentioned the relevant traditions earlier and would not like to repeat them here.[974]

On this subject, we have the following report transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās which I was told by al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam died upon (Mount) Nūdh—Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: This refers to the mountain upon which he was cast down.[975]

It has been mentioned that Eve lived one year after Adam's death. Then she died. She was buried together with her spouse in the mentioned cave. That place remained the grave of Adam and Eve until the Flood. Noah then took them out, placed them in a coffin, and carried them along in the ark. When the earth had soaked up the water, he returned them to the place where they had been before the Flood. As mentioned, Eve spun, wove, kneaded, baked, and did all kinds of women's work.

(From Seth to Mahalalel)

We have mentioned the history of Adam and his enemy Iblīs and what God did with Iblīs when he became tyrannical and overbearing and rebelled against his Lord, then insolently spurned the favor shown him by God, persisted in his ignorance and perversity and asked his Lord for postponement, and He granted him postponement "to the day of the known moment."[976] (We have also mentioned) what God did with Adam, how He hastened His punishment of him for his sin and for having forgotten God's covenant,

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ghār, as a place where Adam deposited his books. For the Treasure Cave of the holy mountain as the burial place of Adam and Eve and his early descendants, see *Schatzhöhle*, text, 38–42, trans., 9 f. In Ya'qūbī's *Ta'rīkh*, I, 3–14, it plays a large role, as does the subsequent fate of Adam's corpse, presumably following some recension of the *Schatzhöhle* literature.

973. While "ark" is a special term which has been associated in our usage with Noah's ark, Arabic uses ordinary words for ship or boat. See below, n. 1071.

974. See text above, I, 111.

975. See above, n. 788.

976. Qur. 15:38 and 38:81 and the context of the verses.

and then covered him with His outstanding mercy, since Adam repented his slip, and forgave and guided him and saved him from error and perdition. Let us now return to the history of Cain and [164] the history of his children and that of Seth and his children. God willing, we shall mention both the followers of Adam's way and the party of Iblīs and imitators of his errors who proceeded along the path of either Adam or Iblīs, and (we shall mention) what God did with each group.

We already mentioned some matters pertaining to Seth, such as that he was the legatee of his father Adam among those left behind by Adam after his passing. We mentioned as well that a number of scrolls was revealed to him by God.[977]

Seth reportedly stayed in Mecca performing the pilgrimage *(ḥajj)* and the lesser pilgrimage *(ʿumrah)* until he died. He added the scrolls revealed by God to him to those of his father Adam and acted in accordance with their contents. He built the Kaʿbah with stones and clay.

Our early scholars, however, have said that the dome that God made for Adam where the House is located remained (as it was) to the days of the Flood. God lifted it up when He sent the Flood.[978]

When Seth fell ill, he reportedly appointed his son Enosh as his legatee. He then died and was buried together with his parents in the cave of Abū Qubays. He was born after 235 years of Adam's life had passed,[979] and he died at the age of 912 years.[980] As is assumed by the people of the Torah, Enosh was born to Seth after 605 years of his life had passed.[981]

Ibn Isḥāq, in turn, said as we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—(Ibn Isḥāq): Adam's son Seth married his sister, Adam's daughter Ḥazūrah.[982] She bore him his son Yānish and his daughter Naʿmah.[983] Seth was 105 years old at the time.

977. See text above, I, 153.
978. See text above, I, 122. "Dome" (*qubbah*) is also "dome shaped tent."
979. As in the Bible, the figure is usually 130 years. See text above, I, 153.
980. Genesis 5:8.
981. Genesis 5:6 has 105, as in the next tradition; LXX has 205. The reference of "his" cannot be to Adam.
982. See above, n. 905.
983. In Jubilees 4:13, her name is Noam. See Fraade, *Enosh*, 18. Naamah appears as the name of Tubal-cain's sister in Genesis 4:22. Yānish for Enosh is unusual and possibly results from some misunderstood Aramaic spelling (the letter ʿ spelled *y* in Christian Palestinian Aramaic?).

[165] After the birth of Yānish, he lived another 807 years.[984]

After the passing of his father Seth, Enosh took over the political administration of the realm and the guidance of the subjects under his control in place of his father Seth. He reportedly continued his father's ways with no noticeable changes. As mentioned by the people of the Torah, Enosh lived altogether 905 years.[985]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Seth begot Enosh and numerous other children. Enosh was Seth's legatee. Kenan was then born to Enosh b. Seth b. Adam by his sister, Seth's daughter Na'mah, after ninety years of the life of Enosh and 325 years of that of Adam had passed.[986]

Ibn Isḥāq, in turn, said as we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Seth's son Yānish married his sister, Seth's daughter Na'mah. When he was ninety years old, she bore him Kenan. After Kenan's birth, Yānish lived another 815 years. (Several) sons and daughters were born to him. The total length of Yānish's life was 905 years. At the age of seventy, Yānish's son Kenan married Dīnah, the daughter of Barākīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam.[987] She bore him his son Mahalalel. After the birth of Mahalalel, Kenan lived another 840 years. Thus the total length of Kenan's life was 910 years.[988]

[166] According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Enosh begot Kenan and numerous other children. Kenan was his legatee. He begot Mahalalel and other children in addition. Mahalalel was his legatee. He begot Jared (Yarid)—that is, al-Yārid—and other children in addition. Jared was his legatee. He begot Enoch—that is, the prophet Idrīs[989]—and other children in addition. Enoch begot Methuselah and other children in addition. Methuselah was his legatee. He begot Lamech and other children in addition. Lamech was his legatee.[990]

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984. Genesis 5:7.

985. Genesis 5:11.

986. Genesis 5:9. The figure of 325 agrees with the Biblical data.

987. See above, n. 947.

988. Genesis 5:13 f.

989. The Qur'ānic Idrīs was commonly identified with Enoch, probably on the basis of etymological speculation *(ḥ-n-k* and *d-r-s)*, which may, or may not, be grounded in fact. See *EI*², III, 1030 f., s. v. Idrīs.

990. The statement on Lamech that is found in a manuscript used in the Cairo edition no doubt belonged to the original text. For the succession of "legatees," cf. the "commandments" *(p-q-d)* of *Schatzhöhle*, text, 112–14, trans., 27.

In the Torah, according to the people of the Book, it is mentioned that Mahalalel's birth took place after 395 years of Adam's life and seventy years of that of Kenan had passed.[991]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When Mahalalel b. Kenan was sixty-five years old, he married his maternal aunt Sim'an, the daughter of Barākīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam.[992] She bore him his son Jared. After Jared's birth, Mahalalel lived another 830 years. (Several other) sons and daughters were born to him. The total length of Mahalalel's life was 895 years.[993] Then he died.

According to the Torah, Jared reportedly was born to Mahalalel after 460 years of Adam's life had passed.[994] He followed the ways of his father Kenan, but (certain) events happened in his time.

The Events That Took Place in the Days of the Children of Adam from the Rule of Adam's Son to the Days of Jared[995]

It has been mentioned that when Cain killed Abel and fled from his father to the Yemen,[996] Iblīs came and said to him: Abel's offering was accepted and consumed by fire only because he used to serve and worship fire. So, you, too, set up a fire for yourself and your descendants! Cain thus built a fire temple. He was the first to set up and worship fire. [167]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Cain married Adam's daughter Ashūt.[997] She bore him a male and a female, his son Enoch and his daughter 'Adan.[998] Cain's son Enoch married his

991. Genesis 5:12.

992. Sim'an (vocalization?), who is mentioned again in text below, I, 172, thus was a sister of Dīnah (above, nn. 947 and 987). According to Jubilees, it was Dīnah who was married to Mahalalel.

993. Genesis 5:17.

994. Because Mahalalel was sixty-five when Jared was born (Genesis 5:15).

995. The chapter, in fact, extends to Noah. Jared's assumed crucial role in world history derives from the fact, stressed in *Schatzhöhle*, that the first millennium of the world came to an end during his lifetime.

996. See above, n. 894.

997. See above, n. 904.

998. The Ṭabarī manuscripts seem to have final *b*, but *n* is assured by Enoch 85:3. See also Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 42. In Jubilees 4:20, Ednī is Methuselah's mother; in 4:27, Ednā is the name of the wife of Methuselah. See below, nn. 1031 and 1035.

sister, Cain's daughter 'Adan. She bore him three male children and one female, his sons Irad, Mehujael, and Abūshīl[999] and his daughter Mūlīth.[1000] Enoch's son Abūshīl married Enoch's daughter Mūlīth. She bore Abūshīl a male named Lamech. Lamech married two women, one named Adah and the other Zillah. Adah bore him Tūlīn (Jabal), who was the first to dwell in tents and to acquire property, and Tūbīsh (Jubal),[1001] who was the first to play string instruments and cymbals.[1002] Zillah bore him a male called Tubalcain, who was the first to work copper and iron.[1003] Their children were godless tyrants (*jabābirah* and *farā'inah* ["Pharaohs"]). They were given a large stature, supposedly thirty cubits (15 meters) tall. He continued. The children of Cain then disappeared, having left only a few descendants. Knowledge of the pedigrees of all the progeny of Adam was lost, and they no longer had offspring, except among the descendants of Adam's son Seth. They produced offspring, and the pedigrees of all men today go back to
[168] Seth rather than his father Adam, who is the father of mankind, except those children of his father and his brothers who left no (further) descendants.

He continued. The people of the Torah say: Rather, Cain married Ashūt. She bore him Enoch. To Enoch was born Irad, to Irad Mehujael, to Mehujael Abūshīl, and to Abūshīl Lamech. Lamech married Adah and Zillah, who bore him those mentioned by me.[1004] God knows best!

Ibn Isḥāq mentioned only what I have reported about Cain and his descendants.

Someone else knowledgeable in the Torah mentioned that the descendant of Cain who invented musical instruments was a man

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999. Instead of b, it probably was originally (before Ṭabarī?) th, as the name apparently represents Methushael of Genesis 4:18. There Methushael is the son of Mehujael, who, in turn, is the son of Irad. A reading Anūshīl, an angelic name consisting of Enosh plus *il/el*, seems unlikely.

1000. Mūlīth no doubt corresponds to Mualeleth in Jubilees 4:14, where it is the name of Kenan's wife.

1001. The initial *t* in Tūlīn and Tūbīsh should probably be read *y*, since Jabal and Jubal of Genesis 4:20 f. are meant here.

1002. For *ṣanj* ("cymbal"), the meaning of some kind of string instrument is probably more common, so that Ṭabarī may have understood the instruments as representing two different string instruments.

1003. Genesis 4:19–22.

1004. This genealogy is, of course, more in line with Genesis 4:17.

called Tūbāl (Jubal). He invented musical instruments such as flutes, drums, lutes, pandores, and lyres in the time of Mahalalel b. Kenan. As a result, the descendants of Cain became very much engaged in amusement.[1005] Information about them reached the descendants of Seth in the mountain, and a hundred of them thought of going down to them, acting contrary to the exhortations of their forefathers. When Jared learned about it, he admonished them and forbade them (to go down), but they simply insisted and went down to the descendants of Cain. They liked what they saw there. When they wanted to go back, they were prevented by a previous call *(da'wah)* [1006] of their forefathers. When they tarried where they were, some misguided people in the mountain thought that they remained (down there) because they were happy there. They therefore slipped away and went down from the mountain. When they saw the amusement taking place there, they, too, liked it. They reached an accommodation with female descendants of Cain who rushed to them, and they stayed with them. They became very much engaged in iniquity. Wickedness and wine drinking spread.[1007]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: This statement is not far from the truth. That is so because about the same information has been transmitted on the authority of a number of the early scholars from the nation of our Prophet, even if they did not clearly indicate the time of the person during whose rule this event took [169] place but mentioned only that it was in the period between Adam and Noah.

Those on whose authority this story has been transmitted

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr[1008] —Mūsā b. Ismā'īl—Dāwūd, meaning Ibn Abī al-Furāt[1009] —'Ilbā' b. Aḥmar—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās, reciting this verse of the Qur'ān (addressing women): "And do not display your finery as in the first Jāhiliyyah!"[1010] and

1005. *Lahw* "amusement" seems to be used here in this wider meaning; it is not merely musical entertainment.

1006. *Schatzhöhle* speaks of an "oath." The Arabic may be understood as prayer or curse.

1007. See *Schatzhöhle*, text, 64–68, trans., 15 f. This and the following story expand on Genesis 6:1–4.

1008. That is, the historian Ibn Abī Khaythamah (above, n. 533).

1009. According to *Tahdhīb*, III, 197, Dāwūd b. Abī al-Furāt died in 167/783–84, but this may not be correct.

1010. Qur. 33:33.

commenting on it as follows: It was the period between Noah and Idrīs(!) and it was a thousand years. There were two tribes *(baṭn)* of Adam's descendants. One of them dwelled in the plain, and the other in the mountain. The mountain men were handsome, and the mountain women ugly, while the women of the plain were beautiful, and the men ugly. Iblīs came to one of the inhabitants of the plain in the form of a young man and hired himself out as his servant. Iblīs invented something like the flutes used by shepherds but produced with it a sound, the likes of which people had not heard before. When those around them heard about it, they took turns going to them and listening to it. They established a yearly festival where they assembled, arranging for the women to display their finery to the men—he continued—and for the men to come down to them. One of the mountain people intruded upon them during that festival of theirs. He saw the beauty of the women and, going back to his companions, told them about it. They moved down to live with the women, with the result that wickedness appeared among the women. This is (meant by) God's word: "And do not display your finery as in the first Jāhiliyyah!"

[170] According to Ibn Wakī'—Ibn Abī Ghaniyyah[1011] —his father—al-Ḥakam,[1012] commenting on: "And do not display your finery as in the first Jāhiliyyah," as follows: There were eight hundred years between Adam and Noah. Their women were as ugly as could be, and their men were handsome. A woman always wanted a man for herself. Therefore, this verse was revealed: "And do not display your finery as in the first Jāhiliyyah!"

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Adam did not die before the number of his children on (Mount) Nūdh had reached forty thousand.

Adam noticed adultery, wine drinking, and corruption among them. He exhorted the children of Seth not to marry the children of Cain. The children of Seth placed Adam in a cave and appointed a guardian for him, so that none of the children of Cain would get near him. Those who came to him and for whom he

1011. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd b. Abī Ghaniyyah died between 186 and 188/802–4. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 252. His father is listed in *Tahdhīb*, VI, 392 f.

1012. Al-Ḥakam b. 'Utaybah lived from around 47–50/667–70 to about 113–15/731–33. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 432 f.; Khalīfa, *Ṭabaqāt*, 162; Bukhārī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2 330 ff.

would ask for forgiveness belonged to the children of Seth. One hundred handsome children of Seth said: Would that we could look at what our cousins—meaning the children of Cain—are doing. So the hundred went down to the beautiful female children of Cain. The women detained the men, and they remained for a while. Then, another hundred said: Would that we could look at what our brothers are doing. They went down from the mountain, and the women detained them. Then all the children of Seth went down. The result was the coming of sin. They intermarried and mingled, and the children of Cain grew in numbers until they filled[1013] the earth. They are the ones who drowned in the days of Noah.[1014]

I have already mentioned what the Persian genealogists have said about Mahalalel b. Kenan. He was Ōshahanj who ruled over the seven climes. I have explained the statements of the Arab genealogists who oppose their (views).[1015]

If it was as stated by the Persian genealogists, I, in turn, was told on the authority of Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib that (Ōshahanj) was the first to cut trees and build buildings and the [171] first to produce minerals and make people understand their use. He commanded the people of his time to use mosques. He built two cities, the first to be built on earth. They are the city of Bābil in the southern region *(sawād)* of al-Kūfah and the city of al-Sūs (Susa). He ruled forty years.

Someone else said: It was during Ōshahanj's rule that iron was first produced. He made it into tools for the crafts. He assessed the available water in localities with a stagnant water supply.[1016] He urged people to till the soil, sow, harvest, and engage in all (kinds of agricultural) activity. He commanded people to kill beasts of prey and use clothing made from their skins as well as mats and to

1013. The Leiden edition has "ruled."

1014. The figure of one hundred occurs also in *Schatzhöhle*, see above, n. 1007. See also the version in Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 8.

1015. See text above, I, 154 f. The section is translated in Christensen, I, 148 f. (comments on I, 156 ff.).

1016. Christensen: Et il aménagea les eaux où elles étaient utiles.

slaughter cows, small cattle, and wild animals and eat their meat. He ruled forty years. He built the city of al-Rayy. Reportedly, it was the first city built after the city that was Jayūmart's residence, in Dunbāwand of Ṭabaristān.[1017]

The Persians say that this Ōshahanj was born a king. His way of life and the way he administered his subjects were outstandingly praiseworthy. That gave rise to his surname Fēshdādh, which in Persian means "the first to judge in justice," for *fāsh (pēsh)* means "first," and *dādh (dād)* means "justice and legal decision." They further mention that he went down to India and moved about in many places. When his situation was straightened out and his rule firmly established, he placed a crown *(tāj)* upon his head and gave an address in which he said that he had inherited the realm from his grandfather Jayūmart and that he meant (to inflict) punishment and revenge upon rebellious human beings and Satans. Again, they mention that he subdued Iblīs and his armies and forbade them to mix with human beings. Writing a document on a white sheet *(ṭirs)*, he imposed covenants upon them enjoining
[172] them not to confront any human being. He threatened them in case they did. He killed the rebels among them and a number of ghūls. Fearing him they fled into deserts, mountains, and (river) valleys. Ōshahanj ruled over all the climes. There were 236 years between the death of Jayūmart and the birth and rule of Ōshajanj. They further mention that Iblīs and his armies rejoiced at the death of Ōshahanj. That was because his death enabled them to enter the dwellings of the children of Adam and go down to them from the mountains and (river) valleys.

Let us now return to Jared (Yarid), also said to be Yārid. After 460 years of Adam's life had passed, Jared was born to Mahalalel and his maternal aunt Sim'an, the daughter of Barākīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain.[1018] He was the legatee and successor of his father, according to what his father Mahalalel had set down in his last will addressed to him when he made him his successor after

1017. See text above, I, 147.
1018. See above, n. 992.

his death. His mother reportedly gave birth to him after sixty-five years of Mahalalel's life had passed. After his father perished, he acted in accordance with the last will of his ancestors and his forefathers, as they had done during the days of their lives.

As we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, when Jared was 162 years old, he married Baraknā, the daughter of al-Darmasīl[1019] b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam. She bore him his son Enoch, who is the prophet Idrīs. He was the first of Adam's children to be given prophecy—as Ibn Isḥāq assumed—and the first to write with a pen. Jared lived 800 years after Enoch's birth. (Several) sons and daughters were born to him. The total length of Jared's life was 962 years. Then he died. [173]

Someone else among the people of the Torah said: Enoch—that is, Idrīs—was born to Jared. God granted him the gift of prophecy after 622 years of Adam's life had passed. He revealed thirty scrolls to him. He was the first after Adam to write and to exert himself in the path of God,[1020] as well as the first to cut and sew clothes. He also was the first to lead some of Cain's descendants into captivity and to enslave them. He was the legatee of his father Jared and exhorted to act in accordance with what his forefathers had stated in their last wills addressed to him and to each other. All this he did during Adam's lifetime.

He continued. Adam died after 308 years of the life of Enoch had passed, thus completing the 930 years we have mentioned as being the length of Adam's life.[1021] Enoch summoned his people and admonished them. He commanded them to be obedient to God and disobey Satan and not to mix with the descendants of Cain. However, they did not follow his command. Group after group of the descendants of Seth used to go down to the descendants of Cain.[1022]

He continued. It is (written) in the Torah that after 365 years of Idrīs' life and 527 years of the life of his father had passed, God raised up Idrīs. Thereafter, his father lived another 435 years to complete 962 years, as this was the length of Jared's life. Enoch

1019. The names in Jubilees 4:16 are Bāraka, the daughter of Rāsūyāl. Baraknā might originally have been Barakt(h)ā (?). The tradition reflects Genesis 5:18–20 quite literally.

1020. "Undertook the *jihād*." See also below, n. 1033.

1021. See text above, I, 160.

1022. See text above, I, 170.

was born after 162 years of Jared's life had passed.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ —Ibn 'Abbās: It was in Jared's time that idols were made,
[174] and some turned away from *islām*.

According to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb—his paternal uncle—al-Māḍī b. Muḥammad—Abū Sulaymān—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī—Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: The Messenger of God said to me: Abū Dharr! Four—that is, messengers—were Syrians: Adam, Seth, Noah, and Enoch who was the first to write with a pen. God revealed thirty scrolls to him.

Some(one) assumed that God sent Idrīs to all the people of the earth living in his time. He gave to him the combined knowledge of the men of the past, adding to it thirty scrolls. This is (meant by) God's word: "This is in the first scrolls, the scrolls of Abraham and Moses."[1023] He continued: By "first scrolls" are meant the scrolls that were revealed to Adam's son Hibat Allāh (Seth) and to Idrīs.

(Persian Kings after Ōshahanj: Ṭahmūrath)

Some(one) said: Bēwarāsb[1024] ruled in the time of Idrīs. Some of Adam's speeches had happened to reach him, and he used them to perform magic. Bēwarāsb practiced that magic.[1025] When he wanted something from anywhere in his realm, or when he liked a mount or a woman, he blew into a golden reed (pipe) he had, and everything he wished for would come to him. This is the origin of (the custom of) the Jews to blow (the shofar).

The Persians say: After Ōshahanj, Ṭahmūrath b. Wēwanjihān b.
[175] Khūbāndādh b. Khuyāydār b. Ōshahanj became ruler.[1026]

1023. Qur. 87:18 f.

1024. Bēwarāsb (meaning, as explained in Firdawsī, "ten thousand horses") is another name for al-Ḍaḥḥāk (Aždahāk). See *Bundahishn*, ed. Anklesaria, ch. 29, pp. 244 f., and ch. 34, pp. 282 f.; Firdawsī, *Shāhnāmah, Jamshīd*, verse 95 Mohl, verse 84 of the Russian ed.; text below, I, 181 and 201. See also Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 60 f., and Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 6.

1025. See also Dīnawarī, *loc. cit.*

1026. Translated in Christensen, I, 193. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, I, 43, thought of *bih* and *jihān* "the best of the people of the earth" as a possible etymology of Wēwanjihān, but he is certainly wrong. The name of the father of Wēwanjihān is given as Vivangah in *Bundahishn*, ed. Anklesaria, ch. 35, pp. 292 f.

There are differences of opinion concerning the pedigree from Ṭahmūrath to Ōshahanj. Some give the pedigree just mentioned by me. Another Persian genealogist says, however, that it is Ṭahmūrath b. Ēwankihān b. Ankhad b. Askhad b. Ōshahanj.[1027]

As I was told on his authority, Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī said: Scholars have mentioned that the first ruler of Bābil was Ṭahmūrath. He continued. We have heard—God knows best!—that God gave him so much power that Iblīs and his Satans were submissive to him. He was obedient to God. He ruled forty years.

The Persians, in turn, assume that Ṭahmūrath ruled over all the climes. He placed a crown *(tāj)* upon his head and, on the day he became ruler, he said: With God's help, we shall remove the corrupt rebels from God's creation. His rule was praiseworthy, and [176] he was kind to his subjects. He built Sābūr in Fārs[1028] and resided there. He moved about in (various) countries. He jumped on Iblīs, mounted him, and rode around on him in the regions of the earth near and far.[1029] He frightened Iblīs and his rebellious companions until they scattered and dispersed. He was the first to use wool and hair for clothing and carpeting, and the first to use the horses, mules, and donkeys that are part of royal pomp. He ordered people to use dogs to guard and protect cattle from wild beasts and (to use) birds of prey *(jawāriḥ)* for hunting. He wrote in Persian. Bēwarāsb appeared in the first year of his rule and made propaganda for the religion of the Sabians.[1030]

We now return to Enoch—that is, Idrīs. As we were told by

Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 4, has Īrān as his father. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 374a, mentions Ayanhad as his father.

1027. For the genealogies, see Christensen, II, 110 ff.

1028. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 5 f. For Ṭahmūrath's inventions, cf. Fırdawsī.

1029. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, I, 44, comments: "(The sources) must bear the responsibility (for this information). We have only reported what they have stated."

1030. Bēwarāsb is mentioned again in connection with the Sabians in text below, I, 184. There, the editor of the Leiden text indicates in a footnote that he withdraws his earlier suggestion that Būdāsb (Bodhisattva, see *EI*^{2}, I, 1215 f., s. v. Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf) might have been intended here. Ṭabarī almost certainly thought of Bēwarāsb, although Christensen, I, 206, strongly supports Būdāsb. See also Mas'ūdī, Murūj, II, 111.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, when Jared's son Enoch was sixty-five years old, he married Hadānah, or Adānah, the daughter of Bāwīl[1031] b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam. She bore him his son Methuselah. He lived for 300 years after the birth of Methuselah. (Several) sons and daughters were born to him. The total length of Enoch's life was 365 years. Then he died.

Some(one) else among the people of the Torah said, referring to the authority of the Torah[1032]: Methuselah was born to Enoch after
[177] 687 years of Adam's life had elapsed. Enoch appointed him his successor to do God's command *('alā amr Allāh)*. Before Enoch was raised up (to God), he addressed his last will to Methuselah and his family, informing them that God would punish the descendants of Cain and those who mixed with them and were sympathetic to them, and he forbade them to mix with them. It has been mentioned that he was the first to ride horses, because he followed his father's prescribed practice with respect to the *jihād*.[1033] In his days, he went in the path of his forefathers and acted in obedience to God. Enoch had lived for 365 years when he was raised up (to God). Methuselah was born to him after sixty-five years of his life had passed.

As I was told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, when Enoch's son Methuselah was 137 years old,[1034] he married 'Adnā (Ednā),[1035] the daughter of 'Azrā'īl b. Abūshīl b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam. She bore him his son Lamech. Methuselah lived 700 years after the birth of Lamech. (Several) sons and daughters were born

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1031. Notwithstanding the difference in the initial consonant, Hadānah/Adānah is no doubt originally identical with Ednā/Ednī (see also above, n. 998) in Jubilees 4:20. She is there the daughter of Dānēl who appears to be identical with Bāwīl, although the relationship of the forms Dānēl and Bāwīl is difficult to explain.

1032. The reading of the Cairo edition may be preferable to what is found in the Leiden edition: "as mentioned by the people of the Torah.

1033. See above, n. 1020.

1034. In the Old Testament tradition, the figures diverge more than usual in this case. The Hebrew text, for instance, has 187 (Genesis 5:25). The LXX has 167, and Targum Neofiti has 180. If the text is correct, the indicated 919 years of Methuselah's life would require that there was an interval of eighty-two years between his marriage and the birth of Lamech. Now, the Old Testament has 969, not 919, and so on.

1035. Jubilees 4:27 has Ednā, the daughter of Azrī'āl. Following Lidzbarski (above, n. 903), Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DLXXVI, suggests reading 'Adnā for 'Arbā and accordingly also corrects Qīnūsh (below, n. 1036) and 'Amzūrah (below, n. 1037). For Abūshīl, see above, n. 999.

to him. The total length of Methuselah's life was 919 years. Then he died. When Lamech b. Methuselah b. Enoch was 187 years old, he married Batanūs(h),[1036] the daughter of Barākīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam. She bore him Noah, the prophet—may God pray for him and give him peace! After Noah's birth, Lamech lived another 595 years. (Several) sons and daughters were born to him. The total length of his life was 780 years. Then he died. When Lamech's son Noah was 500 years old, he married 'Amzūrah,[1037] the daughter of Barākīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam. She bore him his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth. They were Noah's [178] children.[1038]

The people of the Torah say: Lamech was born to Methuselah after Adam had lived 874 years. He maintained his forefathers' obedience to God and their faithfulness to the agreements with Him. They continued. When Methuselah was about to die, he appointed Lamech as his successor and exhorted him in his last will addressed to him in the same way his forefathers had done. They continued. Lamech admonished his people and forbade them to go down to the descendants of Cain, but they did not allow themselves to be admonished, and eventually all those in the mountain went down to the descendants of Cain. Methuselah reportedly had another son besides Lamech, who was Ṣābi'. The Sabians are said to have been named Sabians after him. Methuselah was 960 old; Lamech was born after 187 years of his life had passed. Lamech then begot Noah, 126 years after the death of Adam, that is, after 1,056 years had elapsed from the day Adam was cast down by God to Noah's birth. When Noah reached maturity, Lamech said to him: You know that no one but us has remained in this place, but do not feel lonely and do not follow after the sinful nation! Noah would pray to his Lord and admonish his people, but they made light of him. God revealed to him that he had given his people a respite (from punishment) and would grant them a postponement for a certain period, so that they might retract (what they

1036. For Lamech's wife Bath Anōsh, see *Genesis Apocryphon*, col. II; Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 42 ff., 74, 77. Fitzmyer argues for the vocalization Bitenosh. Jubilees 4:28 has Bētēnōs. Ṭabarī's Qīnūsh is found in Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 54. It is not quite clear whether the initial *b* in the Cairo edition is based upon manuscript evidence.

1037. Jubilees 4:33 has 'Emzārā, the daughter of Rākē'ēl.

1038. Genesis 5:32.

had done) and repent. That period, however, passed before they had expressed regret and repented.

Others than those whose statement(s) I have mentioned said: Noah lived in the time of Bēwarāsb. His people (worshiped idols).[1039] For 950 years,[1040] he called them to God. Whenever one generation passed away, another followed in this same religion of unbelief, until God sent (His) punishment down upon them and annihilated them.

[179] According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Methuselah begot Lamech and a number of other children in addition. Lamech was his legatee. He begot Noah. When Noah was born, Lamech was eighty-two years old.[1041] In that time, nobody was there to forbid evil. Therefore, God sent Noah to them—he was then 480 years old. Noah called them (to God) during his prophethood for 120 years. Then God commanded Noah to build the ark, and Noah did. He boarded it at the age of 600 years. All those people drowned. After (the building of) the ark, Noah lived on for another 350 years.

(Persian Kings from Ṭahmūrath to Jamshēd and al-Ḍaḥḥāk)

The Persian scholars, in turn, say[1042] : After Ṭahmūrath, Jam al-shīd (Jamshēd) became ruler. In their opinion, *al-shīdh* means "ray". He was supposedly given this nickname because of his beauty. He is Jam b. Wēwanjihān, a brother of Ṭahmūrath.[1043] He is said to have ruled over all the seven climes. He subjugated the jinn and humans living in them. He placed the crown *(tāj)* upon his head. When he was (securely) settled in his realm, he said: God has given us perfect splendor[1044] and great support. We shall

1039. It is not quite clear whether the restoration of the text as indicated in the Cairo edition is derived from a manuscript.

1040. See Qur. 29:14.

1041. The Hebrew text of Genesis 5:28 has 128 years, the LXX, 188 years. Lamech is said to have married Noah's mother at the age of 187 (text above, I, 177). This would indicate agreement with the LXX.

1042. Christensen, II, 85–88, contains a translation of this section.

1043. See above, n. 1026.

1044. No doubt, the *xvarᵉnah*, the eternal divine light of royalty, is meant here. See also below, n. 1054. The "golden crown" is expressly mentioned in the beginning of Firdawsī's chapter on Jamshēd.

do much good to our subjects. He originated the manufacture of swords and weaponry. He also showed (people) how to make brocade, silk, and other textile threads. He ordered garments woven and dyed and saddles with pommels carved to make the mounts more manageable.

As mentioned by some(one), he went into hiding after 616 years and six months of his rule had passed, and the country was without him for a year.[1045] After the first year to year five[1046] of his rule, he ordered the production of swords, coats of mail, *bīḍ* swords,[1047] and other kinds of weapons as well as iron tool(s) for craftsmen. From the year 50 to the year 100 of his rule, he ordered the spinning and weaving of brocade, silk, cotton, linen, and every other textile thread, the dyeing of material in various colors, cutting it [180] into various patterns, and wearing it. From the year 100 to the year 150, he grouped people in four classes: warriors, jurists, government functionaries, craftsmen and farmers, and he reserved one class for himself as his servants.[1048] He ordered each class to do the work he had made obligatory for them. From the year 150 to the year 250, he fought the Satans and jinn, causing great slaughter among them and humiliating them. They were subjected (to doing forced labor) for him and had to follow his orders. From the year 250 to the year 316, he charged the Satans with cutting stones and rocks from the mountains and making marble, gypsum, and chalk. They also were directed to build buildings and baths with (these materials) and with clay. He also charged them with producing depilatories and with transporting, from the oceans, mountains, mines, and deserts, everything useful for mankind, such as gold, silver, and all other meltable precious metals, as well as differ-

1045. In the *Bundahishn*, trans. Justi, ch. 34, p. 46; ed. Anklesaria, ch. 36, pp. 306 f., the figures are 616 years and six months, plus one hundred years of hiding. For a flight of one hundred years, see Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Annales*, 25, and Firdawsī, *Shāhnāmah, Jamshīd*, verse 203 Mohl, verse 179 of the Russian edition; text below, I, 181 and 183.

1046. The Leiden edition suggests a correction to "fifty."

1047. There seems to be no way of telling what distinguished "white" swords from others swords. The word is commonly used simply for "sword."

1048. Ṭabarī seems to suggest that the fourth of the four classes was that of the royal servants. However, the fourth class might rather be the craftsmen and farmers. They could hardly have been lumped together in the same class with civilian officials. Cf. the fourfold division in Tha'ālibī, *Ghurar*, 12. Tha'ālibī often relies on Ṭabarī, but apparently not in this instance.

ent kinds of perfumes and medicines. They carried out all those orders of his. Jamshēd then ordered the manufacture of a glass chariot.[1049] He harnessed[1050] the Satans to it, mounted it, and went on it through the air from his place, Dunbāwand, to Bābil in one day. That was the day Hurmuzrōz of Fawardīn Māh.[1051] Because of the miracle people saw him perform on that occasion, they established the day as New Year's Day *(nawrōz)*. He ordered them to establish this day and the following five days as a festival and to celebrate it joyously. On the sixth day, Khurdādhrōz, he wrote to the people informing them that he had led a way of life pleasing to God among them. Part of God's reward to him for it was that God had removed from them (excessive) heat and cold, diseases,
[181] old age decay, and envy. For 300 years following the 316 years that had elapsed of his rule, people remained unaffected by any of the misfortunes that God had reportedly removed from them.[1052]

Thereafter, Jam became ungrateful for the favor shown him by God. He gathered the jinn and humans and informed them that he was in complete charge *(walī and mālik)* of them and that it was he who by his power was keeping diseases, old age decay, and death away from them. Denying God's benefactions to him, he persisted in his perversity, and nobody attending him (dared to) answer him.[1053] Immediately, he lost his splendor and might,[1054] and the angels whom God had commanded to administer his affairs withdrew from him. Bēwarāsb, who is called al-Ḍaḥḥāk, became aware of that.[1055] He hurried to Jam to chew him up, but Jam fled. Bēwarāsb got hold of him afterwards. He tore out his innards and swallowed them and sawed him apart with a saw.

Some Persian scholars say that Jam continued with his praiseworthy way of life until the last one hundred years of his rule. Then he became mentally confused and claimed divinity. Thereby

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1049. Tha'ālibī, *Ghurar*, speaks of a coach made of ivory and teakwood (*al-'āj wa-l-sāj*), not glass (*zujāj*).

1050. Read *ṣafada* with the Cairo edition.

1051. That is, the first day of the month Fawardīn. See Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, text, 216, trans., 200.

1052. See Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, text, 217 f., trans., 202.

1053. See Firdawsī, *Shāhnāmah, Jamshīd*, verse 76 Mohl, verse 69 of the Russian edition.

1054. See above, n. 1044. For Jam's history as providing the prototype for being deprived of the *xvarᵉnah*, see *Yasht*, No. 19, in Lommel's translation.

1055. Namely, the fact that the *xvarᵉnah* had departed from Jam.

he and his government got into trouble. His brother Isfitūr (Spityura)[1056] attacked him and searched for him in order to kill him. Jam hid from him. During that period of hiding, he was an itinerant ruler. Bēwarāsb then went out against him, deprived him of his realm, and sawed him apart with a saw.

It is assumed by some(one) that Jam ruled 716 years, four months, and twenty days.

A story similar to that of King Jamshād[1057] has been mentioned on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih from one of the kings of the past. If the chronology of that king did not differ from that of Jam, I would say that it is the story of Jam. This is what I was told by Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil—Wahb b. Munabbih: A man became a [182] ruler as a young man. He said: I have a taste for ruling and find it pleasurable. I do not know whether all men (would find) it so, or I am alone among them in this respect. When told that ruling was like that, he asked: What will enable me (to remain a ruler a long time)? He was told: Obeying God rather than disobeying Him. So he summoned some of the best men in his realm and said to them: Attend to me at court, and whatever you think is an act of obedience to God, order me to do it, and whatever you think is an act of disobedience to God, warn me away, and I shall stay away from it! Both he and they did that. On account of it, his realm was in good shape for four hundred years, during which time he obeyed God. Then Iblīs got wind of it. He said: I have let a man who worships God be a ruler for four hundred years! He entered into the ruler's presence in the shape of a man, but the ruler was frightened of him and asked him who he was. Iblīs replied: There is no reason for you to be afraid. But inform me who you are! The ruler said: I am one of the children of Adam. Iblīs said to him: If you were one of Adam's children, you would have died as they do. Don't you see how many human beings have died and how many generations have passed ? If you were one of them, you would have died as they did. No, you are a god! Thus, summon the peo-

1056. Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DLXXVIII, refers to R. von Stackelberg as having made the identification in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 12 [1898]: 246. Spityura, considered a brother of Jamshēd, joined al-Ḍaḥḥāk in sawing him apart, see *Yasht*, trans. Lommel, 180, and *Bundahishn*, trans. Justi, ch. 2, p. 44; ed. Anklesaria, ch. 35, pp. 292 f.

1057. That is, Jamshēd.

ple to worship you! This idea entered the ruler's heart. He then ascended the pulpit and addressed the people saying: I have concealed something. Now, it has become clear to me that I should reveal it to you. You know that I have ruled you for four hundred years. Now, if I were one of the children of Adam, I would have died as they did. But I am a god! Therefore worship me! Immediately, he was seized by trembling. God revealed to one of those who were with the ruler: Inform him that I have been straightforward with him as long as he was straightforward with Me. Now that he has turned from obedience to Me to disobedience and is
[183] no (longer) straightforward with Me, I swear by My might that I shall give Bukht Nāṣir[1058] power over him. He shall cut off his head and seize all that is in his treasuries. At that time, whenever God was angry with someone, He gave Bukht Nāṣir power over him. The ruler did not stop saying, what he had been saying, and eventually, God gave Bukht Nāṣir power over him. Bukht Nāṣir cut off his head and loaded seventy ships with gold from his treasuries.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: However, there is a long time gap between Bukht Nāṣir and Jam, but al-Ḍaḥḥāk might have been called Bukht Nāṣir at that time.

Hishām b. al-Kalbī, as I was told on his authority, said: Jam became ruler after Ṭahmūrath. He had the most handsome face and the largest body among his contemporaries. He continued. It has been mentioned that Jam spent 619 years being obedient to God with his government flourishing and the country being securely his. Then he became an unjust tyrant. God therefore gave al-Ḍaḥḥāk power over him. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk marched against him with 200,000 men, and Jam kept fleeing from him for a hundred years. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk then got hold of him and sawed him apart with a saw. He continued. The total length of Jam's rule, from the time he became ruler to his death, was 719 years.

According to a report transmitted on the authority of a number of early (scholars), there were ten generations between Adam and

1058. Or, as in some manuscripts, Bukht Naṣṣar. See *EI*[2], I, 1297, s. v. Bukht-Naṣ(ṣ)ar.

Noah, all of them followers of the true religion. Unbelief originated only in the generation to whom Noah was sent. Reportedly Noah was the first prophet to be sent by God as a messenger to a people to warn them and call them to the recognition of the oneness of God.

Those who said this

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār—Abū Dāwūd—Hammām[1059] —Qatādah—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: There were ten generations between Noah and Adam, all of them followers of a true religious law. Then they had disagreements "and God sent [184] prophets as bringers of good tidings and warners."[1060] He continued. According to the reading of 'Abdallāh,[1061] (the Qur'ānic verse reads): "Mankind was one nation. Then they had disagreements."

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Ma'mar—Qatādah, commenting on God's word: "Mankind was one nation," as follows: All of them were rightly guided. Then they had disagreements, "and God sent prophets as bringers of good tidings and warners." The first prophet to be sent was Noah.

1059. Hammām b. Yaḥyā died between 163 and 165/779–82. See *Tahdhīb*, XI, 67–70. *Tafsīr*, II, 194 (*ad* Qur. 2:213), has Hammām b. Munabbih (see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 86) for Hammām—Qatādah, seemingly a mistake.

1060. Qur. 2:213. The verse is broken up here in nonconsecutive portions. This as well as the following tradition appear in *Tafsīr*, II, 194, on this verse.

1061. The addition of *fa-khtlafū* in the verse at this point is the reading of 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd. See Jeffery, *Materials*, 30.

The Events That Took Place in Noah's Time

We have already mentioned the disagreements in the religious outlook of the people to whom Noah was sent. Some say that Noah's people had agreed to do what God disapproves, committing wickedness, drinking wine, and letting their preoccupation with musical instruments divert them from obedience to God. Others say that they were people obedient to Bēwarāsb, who was the first to promulgate the views of the Sabians.[1062] His followers in this respect were those to whom Noah was sent. God willing, I shall mention the story of Bēwarāsb afterwards.[1063]

The Book of God reports that they had idols, for God says speaking about Noah: "Noah said: My Lord! They have been disobedient to me and have followed one whose property and children only add to his loss. They have devised a major plot and have said: Don't give up your gods! Don't give up Wadd, Suwāʿ, Yaghūth, Yaʿūq, and Nasr. They have led many astray."[1064] God sent Noah to them to make them afraid of His awesome power and to warn them of His assault. Noah was to call upon them to repent, to return to the
[185] truth, and to act in accordance with the commands given by God to His messengers and revealed by Him in the scrolls of Adam, Seth, and Enoch. When God sent Noah to them as a prophet, he reportedly was fifty years old.

1062. See above, n. 1030.
1063. Text below, I, 201, dealing with al-Ḍaḥḥāk/Aždahāk.
1064. Qur. 71:21-24.

Another (different) statement is what we were told by Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahḍamī[1065] —Nūḥ b. Qays[1066] —ʿAwn b. Abī Shaddād:[1067] God sent Noah to his people when he was 350 years old. He stayed among them 950 years.[1068] Thereafter he lived for another 350 years.[1069]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ —Ibn ʿAbbās: God sent Noah to them when he was 480 years old. He then called them (to God) during his prophethood for 120 years. When he was 600 years old, he boarded the ark. He lived thereafter for another 350 years.

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: As God says, Noah stayed among them 950 years, calling them to God secretly and openly. Generation after generation passed, and they did not respond to him, until three generations had passed with both him and them being in that condition. When God wanted to ruin them, Noah cursed them, saying: "My Lord! They have been disobedient to me and have followed one whose property and children only add to his loss."[1070] God commanded him to plant a tree, and he did. The tree grew and spread in all directions. Forty years after Noah had planted it, God commanded him to cut it down and use it for (building) an ark, as God says: "And make the boat under Our eyes and with Our inspiration!"[1071] Thus, he cut down the tree and began to work on it.

According to Ṣāliḥ b. Mismār al-Marwazī[1072] and al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm —Ibn Abī Maryam—Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb[1073] —Fāʿid, the [186]
mawlā of ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī Rāfiʿ[1074] —Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Rabīʿah[1075] : ʿĀʾishah, the wife of the Prophet, told

1065. Naṣr al-Jahḍamī died in 250/864. See *TB*, XIII, 287–89; *Tahdhīb*, X, 430 f.
1066. Died in 183 or 184/800–1. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 485 f.
1067. See *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 171.
1068. See Qur. 29:14. *Tafsīr*, XX, 87, in the commentary on this verse, contains this tradition.
1069. See again text below, I, 198.
1070. Qur. 71:21.
1071. Qur. 11:37. In order to distinguish between Arabic *safīnah* used for "ark" and *fulk*, the translation "boat" has been used here for the latter.
1072. Ṣāliḥ b. Mismār died between 246 and 250/860–64. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 403.
1073. See *Tahdhīb*, X, 378 f.
1074. For Fāʿid, see *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 256 f. For ʿUbaydallāh, see *Tahdhīb*, VII, 37 f. His grandfather Abū Rāfiʿ was a *mawlā* of the Prophet, see Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 1656 f.
1075. See *Tahdhīb*, I, 138; Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1, 296 f.

(Ibn Abī Rabī'ah) that the Messenger of God had said: If God had shown mercy to anyone among Noah's people, it would have been the mother of the small child. The Messenger of God continued: Noah had stayed among his people for 950 years calling them to God. Then at the end of this time, he planted a tree which grew and spread in all directions. He then cut it down and began to build an ark. People who were passing by asked him (what he was doing). He replied: I am building an ark from (the tree). They made fun of him and said: You are building an ark on dry land!? How will it float? He replied: You will see. When he finished it "and the oven boiled,"[1076] and there was more and more water in the streets, the mother who loved her small child very much became fearful. She went out to the mountain and climbed one-third of it. When the water reached her there, she climbed two-thirds (on the way up). When the water reached her again, she went up to the summit. When the water was up to her neck, she lifted her child up with her hand[1077] until the water swept it away. If God had shown mercy to anyone of them, it would have been the mother of the small child.

According to (Muḥammad) b. Abī Manṣūr—'Alī b. al-Haytham—al-Musayyab b. Sharīk—Abū Rawq—al-Ḍaḥḥāk—Salmān al-Fārisī: Noah worked on the ark for four hundred years. He had let the teak tree grow for forty years until it grew to be 300 cubits tall—the cubit (being the length of the arm) to the shoulder.[1078]

[187] Noah worked on the ark with God's inspiration and under His instruction. Thus, God willing, it(s dimensions) were[1079] as we were told by Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'īd—Qatādah: It has been mentioned to us that the ark was 300 cubits long and fifty cubits wide, and its height in the sky was thirty cubits. Its entrance was on the wide side.[1080]

According to al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)—'Abd al-'Azīz[1081] —

1076. Qur. 11:40 and 23:27. See above, n. 807.

1077. The story in *Tafsīr*, XII, 21 f. *(ad* Qur. 11:37-39) has "in front of her" *(bayn yadayhā)*. Another version appears in Ibn Hishām, *Tījān*, 24.

1078. Apparently, another cubit than the ordinary one of 0.50 m is intended here. See below, n. 1088.

1079. Hardly, "it came into being."

1080. See Genesis 6:15 f. This, as well as the following tradition, appears in *Tafsīr*, XII, 22 *(ad* Qur. 11:37–39).

1081. On the basis of text below, I, 1721, he has been identified with 'Abd al-'Azīz

Mubārak (b. Faḍālah)—al-Ḥasan: The length of Noah's ark was 1,200 cubits, and its width was 600 cubits.

According to al-Qāsim (b. al-Ḥasan)—al-Ḥusayn (b. Dāwūd)—Ḥajjāj—Mufaḍḍal b. Faḍālah[1082] —ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Judʿān—Yūsuf b. Mihrān—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Apostles said to Jesus, the son of Mary: Would that you send us a man who saw the ark and could tell us about it. He went with them and came to an earthen hillock. There, he took a handful of the earth in his palm and asked: Do you know what this is? They replied: God and His prophet know best! Jesus said: This is the grave[1083] of Noah's son Ham. He continued. He struck the hill with his staff and said: Rise with God's permission! And behold there was Ham, with grey hair, shaking the earth from his head. Jesus asked him whether he had perished in that state (with grey hair). Ham replied: No, when I died, I was a young man, but I thought the Hour had come, and my hair turned grey. (Jesus) said: Tell us about Noah's ark! He said: It was 1,200 cubits long and 600 cubits wide. It had three stories, one for domestic and wild animals, another for human beings, and a third for birds. When the dung of the animals became excessive, God inspired Noah to tickle the elephant's tail. He did, and a male and a female hog fell down and attacked the dung. When the rat fell down into the seams (of the planks) of the ark and gnawed at them, God inspired Noah to strike the lion between its eyes, and a male [188] and a female cat came out from its nose and attacked the rat. Jesus asked Ham: How did Noah learn that (all) the places had been under water (but were no longer)? He replied: He sent the raven to bring him information, but it found a corpse and pounced upon it,[1084] whereupon (Noah) cursed the raven that it should be fearful; therefore, the raven does not like houses. He continued. He then sent the dove. It came with an olive leaf in its beak and clay on its feet. Noah thus knew that (all) places had been under water (but were no longer). He continued. Therefore, the dove's necklace[1085] is the greyish-greenness on its neck. Noah blessed the dove that

b. Abān, who died in 207/822. See *TB*, X, 442–47; *Tahdhīb*, VI, 329–31.

1082. For this brother of Mubārak mentioned in the preceding *isnād*, see *Tahdhīb*, X, 273.

1083. *Tafsīr*, XII, 22 (*ad* Qur. 11:37–39), has *ka'b* "ankle-bone."

1084. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 12.

1085. The "necklace" is the ruff of feathers of the ring-dove which is said here to have originated under the circumstances indicated.

it should be tame and safe; therefore, the dove likes houses. He continued. The Apostles said: O Messenger of God, why do you not bring him to our people, so that he can sit down and talk with us? Jesus replied: How could one who has no sustenance follow you? He continued. Then Jesus said to Ham: Go back with God's permission! And Ham turned to dust again.[1086]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ —Ibn 'Abbās: Noah used carpentry to build the ark on Mount Nūdh,[1087] where the Flood made its appearance. He continued. The ark was 300 cubits long—the cubit being that of the grandfather of Noah's father[1088] —and it was fifty cubits wide. Its height in the sky was thirty cubits, six of which were above the water. It had a number of stories.[1089] He made three entrances for it, one beneath the other.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—someone who is not suspect—'Ubayd b. 'Umayr al-Laythī who used to tell that he had heard that they—Noah's people—used to grab him—Noah—and choke him until he became unconscious. When he regained consciousness, he said: O God! Forgive my people for they do not know![1090] Ibn Isḥāq continued. They persisted in their disobedience (to God) and committed grave sins on earth. Noah had much trouble with them and they with him, and they
[189] caused him great tribulations. He waited for offspring after offspring, but each generation turned out worse than the one before, and eventually, the latest would say: That (Noah) was as crazy with our fathers and grandfathers who would accept nothing he said.[1091] Finally, Noah complained to God about their behavior and said, as told to us by God in His Book: "My Lord! I have called my people night and day, but my calling has only made them shun (me) more"[1092] to the part of the story where he finally says: "My Lord! Let no unbeliever stay on earth! If You do, they will lead Your servants astray and give birth only to wicked unbelievers,"

1086. The story appears in *Tafsīr*, see above, n. 1083.
1087. See above, n. 788.
1088. Apparently, Enoch.
1089. Genesis 6:16.
1090. This statement, with another chain of transmitters, is also found in *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 64 (*ad* Qur. 71:26–28). See Luke 23:34.
1091. Cf. Qur. 54:9.
1092. Qur. 71:5 f.

and on to the end of the story.[1093] When Noah thus complained about them to God and asked Him for help against them, God revealed to him: "And make the boat under Our eyes and with Our inspiration, and do not talk to Me about those who have done wrong. They will drown."[1094] Noah now proceeded to build the boat, because he feared[1095] his people. He began to cut wood and forge iron and prepared the materials for the boat, such as pitch and other material which only he knew to prepare well. While he was engaged in this work, his people who passed by made fun of him and scoffed at him. He would say: "If you make fun of us, we shall make fun of you, just as you do. In the end you will know to whom humiliating punishment will come and upon whom lasting punishment will descend."[1096] He continued. As I have heard it, they would say: Noah, you were a prophet, and now you have become a carpenter! He continued. God made women's wombs infertile, and no children were born to them.

He continued. The people of the Torah assume that God commanded Noah to build the boat from teak wood. He was to make it slanting, to cover it with pitch inside and out, and to make it [190] eighty cubits long and fifty cubits wide, and its height in the sky thirty cubits. (God commanded him) to build it with three stories, a low, middle, and upper one, and to make windows in it. Noah did as he was commanded by God. Finally, he finished it. God had charged him as follows: "When Our command comes and the oven boils, then[1097] put on board a pair, two of each kind, and your family, except those against whom the decision has already been stated, also those who believed, but only few believed with him."[1098] He made the oven a sign between Himself and Noah and said: "When Our command comes and the oven boils," take in a pair, two of each kind, and board (the ark yourself)! When the oven boiled, Noah put on board those whom God had com-

1093. *Tafsīr*, XII, 22 f. (*ad* Qur. 71:26-28), adds here, and after "wrong" in the following Qur'ānic quotation, "that is, after today."

1094. Qur. 11:37.

1095. *Tafsīr*, XII, 22 f., reads, no doubt wrongly, *w-l-h-y* for *walahan*, yielding the quite plausible meaning: "and he gave up on his people."

1096. Qur. 11:38 f.

1097. The following "We said" of the Qur'ānic text has been restored in the Cairo edition, but it is also missing in *Tafsīr*, XII, 22 f.

1098. Qur. 11:40.

manded him (to take)—they were few, as God says—and a pair, two of each kind, of any inspirited creature and tree(!), male and female. He brought in his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and their wives, as well as six people who believed in him, thus altogether ten individuals, Noah, his sons, and their wives.[1099] Then he brought in the animals, as God had ordered him. His son Yām, who was an unbeliever, remained behind.[1100]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār[1101] —ʿAlī b. Zayd—Yūsuf b. Mihrān—Ibn ʿAbbās: I (Yūsuf b. Mihrān) heard him (Ibn ʿAbbās) say: The first animal to be put aboard was the ant, and the last the donkey. When Noah brought the donkey in and its front half was inside, Iblīs—may God curse him!—attached himself to its tail, so that it could not lift its legs. Noah started to say: Woe to you! Go in! The donkey rose but was unable (to proceed). Eventually, Noah said: Woe to you! Go in,
[191] even if Satan is with you! It was a slip of the tongue, but when Noah said it, Satan let the donkey proceed. It went in, and Satan went in with it. Noah said to him: How did you get in here with me, enemy of God? Satan replied: Did you not say: Go in, even if Satan is with you!? Noah said: Get out and leave me, enemy of God! Satan replied: You cannot escape from having me on board. Supposedly, Satan stayed in the rear *(ẓahr)* of the boat.

Now, Noah quietly settled down in the boat, having brought in all those who believed in him. That was on the seventeenth of the month[1102] of the year in which Noah entered (the ark) at the age of six hundred. When he, as well as all those brought aboard by him, had entered, the fountains of the great deep *(ghawṭ)* were set in motion and the gates of heaven opened,[1103] as God says to His prophet: "And We opened the gates of heaven for water to pour out and split the earth for springs (to gush forth). The water (from above and below) met for a matter (pre)determined."[1104] Noah and

1099. At first glance, the arithmetic here seems strange, but, as explained in text below, I, 195, the figure ten was reached by not counting the women.

1100. Yām is the name given by tradition to the unnamed son of Noah mentioned in Qur. 11:42 f.. See text below, I, 191. See *Tafsīr*, XII, 22 f. *(ad* Qur. 11:37-39).

1101. See *Tahdhīb*, II, 275 f.

1102. Genesis 7:11: "second month."

1103. See Genesis 7:11.

1104. Qur. 54:11 f. The meaning of the meeting of the waters is explained in text below, I, 192.

those with him entered inside the boat, which sheltered him and those with him on one (of the covered) stories. The time between God's sending down the water and the boat floating upon it was forty days and forty nights. As is assumed by the people of the Torah, the boat floated upon the water which kept rising higher and higher. God says to His Prophet Muḥammad: "And We carried him aboard (a ship) with planks and *dusur*"—meaning nails, iron nails—"which floated under Our eyes, as a reward for one who had been treated with ingratitude."[1105] The boat began to float with him and those with him "on mountainous waves."[1106] When Noah thus saw that the threat of his Lord had come true, "he called out to his son, who was standing apart," and who then perished with all the others: "Son, come aboard with us, and do not be [192] with the unbelievers!" He was an unfortunate person who had secretly been an unbeliever. (But he now) "said: I shall withdraw to a mountain which will protect me from the water." He had often taken refuge in the mountains from the rains that fell, and he thought that this would be so again.[1107] Noah "said: There is no one today to give protection against God's command, except for those to whom He shows mercy. Then the waves came between them, and he was among those drowned."[1108]

The water increased wildly and, as is assumed by the people of the Torah, rose fifteen cubits over the mountain tops.[1109] All creatures on the face of the earth, every inspirited being or tree, disappeared. No creature remained except Noah and those with him in the boat, as well as Og b. Anak,[1110] as is assumed by the people of the Book. The time between God's sending the Flood and the receding of the water was six months and ten nights.[1111]

1105. Qur. 54:13 f.

1106. Qur. 11:42.

1107. *Tafsīr*, XII, 23, l. 27 (*ad* Qur. 11:38), has *ya'had* for *yakūn*, with little change in meaning.

1108. Qur. 11:42 f.

1109. Genesis 7:20.

1110. The names are a combination of the Biblical giant king Og of Bashan and the giant Anakim, sons of Anak. Ṭabarī says that Og's height was 800 cubits, see text below, I, 501; according to *Tafsīr*, VI, 119 (*ad* Qur. 5:26), scholars of ancient history agreed that Og was killed by Moses. See, for instance, Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, I, 357 f. and II, 240.

1111. *Tafsīr*, XII, 23 (*ad* Qur. 11:37–39), contains the entire tradition beginning above, I, 190.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ —Ibn 'Abbās: God sent rain for forty days and forty nights. When the rain hit them, the wild animals, the (domestic) animals, and the birds all went to Noah and were subjected (to labor) for him. As commanded by God, he carried along "pair(s), two of each kind."[1112] He also carried along Adam's corpse, making it a barrier between the women and men.[1113] They boarded the ark on the tenth of Rajab, and they left it on the 'Āshūrā Day, (the tenth day) of al-Muḥarram; therefore, all those people fast on the 'Āshūrā Day.[1114] The water was brought forth in two equal parts. This is (meant by) God's word: "And We opened the gates of heaven for water *munhamirin*"—that is, *munṣabbin* pouring—"and We *fajjarnā*"— that is, *shaqqaqnā* split—"the earth for springs (to gush forth). The water (from above and below) met for a matter (pre)determined."[1115] Thus, (because of the word "meeting" that is used in the verse, it appears that) the water came in two equal
[193] parts, one from heaven, and the other from the earth. It rose fifteen cubits above the highest mountain on earth. The ark carried them around the entire earth in six months. It did not come to rest anywhere until it came to the Sacred Territory (of Mecca and Medina). However, it did not enter the Sacred Territory but circled around for a week. The House built by Adam was lifted up—lifted up, so as not to be submerged—"the inhabited House"[1116] with the Black Stone—on Abū Qubays. After the ark had circled around the Sacred Territory, it traveled with (those aboard) over the earth and eventually reached al-Jūdī—a mountain whose foot is in the land of Mosul—where it came to rest after six months at the completion of seven (nights), or, according to another statement, after

1112. Qur. 11:40.

1113. See text above, I, 163, and *Schatzhöhle*, text, 92, trans., 22; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 10.

1114. See *EI*^{2}, I, 705, s. v. 'Āshūrā.

1115. Qur. 54:11 f.

1116. "The inhabited House" of Qur. 52:4 is usually explained as a heavenly counterpart of the Ka'bah. See *Tafsīr*, XXVII, 10 f., on that verse. For the raising of the Ka'bah, see text above, I, 122 and 131.

the six months[1117] —"a curse upon the wrongdoers!"[1118] When it had come to rest upon al-Jūdī, "it was said: Earth, swallow your water!"—meaning, absorb your water that came forth from you—"and Heaven, hold back!"—meaning, restrain your water—"and the water disappeared in the ground"—that is, the earth absorbed it. The water that had come down from heaven became the oceans that are seen on earth today. The last remnant of the Flood on earth was some water at Ḥismā.[1119] It remained on earth for forty years after the Deluge and then disappeared.

The "oven" with the water boiling that God made a sign between Himself and Noah was an oven of stone that belonged to Eve and came into Noah's possession.[1120]

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Hushaym—Abū Muḥammad[1121] —al-Ḥasan: It was an oven of stone that belonged to Eve and eventually came into Noah's possession. He continued. Noah was told: When you see the water boil forth from the oven, go aboard, you and your companions!

There are differences of opinion concerning the location of the [194]
oven and the boiling water which was made by God a sign of what was between Himself and Noah.

Some said: It was in India.

1117. The difference seems to be that on the one hand, there was a period of sixth months and seven (nights, *li-tamām al-sab'*) and, on the other, a period of exactly six months. In the latter case, the Cairo edition reads "seven" (months) without indicating any manuscript evidence. *Li-tamām al-sab'* could hardly refer to the seven circumnavigations of the Ka'bah, see text below, I,197. The correction to *al-sab'ah* suggested in Ṭabarī, *Introductio ect.*, DLXXVIII: "to the completion of seven months," while not impossible, is unlikely.

1118. Qur. 11:44, also the source of the following quotations.

1119. The location of Ḥismā has been sought in far northern Arabia, and even in Ḥarrān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 367 f.

1120. See above, n. 807.

The following traditions on the provenience and location of the "oven" and the number of people in the ark can all be found in *Tafsīr*, XII, 25 f. *(ad* Qur. 11:40), except for the last tradition below, I, 195, by Hishām al-Kalbī referring to eighty persons.

1121. There are many Abū Muḥammads listed in the biographical dictionaries. The one mentioned as an authority of Hushaym may be meant here. See Bukhārī, *Kunā*, 67, no. 621; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV,2, 434, no. 2163; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI, 432, no.1079. See also Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DLXXVIII.

Those who said this

According to Abū Kurayb—'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥimmānī[1122] —Abū 'Amr al-Naḍr al-Khazzāz[1123] —'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on: "And the oven boiled," as follows: It boiled in India.

Others said: It was in the region of al-Kūfah.

Those who said this

According to al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)—al-Ḥasan[1124] —Khalaf b. Khalīfah[1125] —Layth (b. Abī Sulaym)—Mujāhid: The water gushed forth in the oven. Noah's wife noticed it and told him about it. He continued. This was in the region of al-Kūfah.

According to al-Ḥārith—al-Qāsim[1126] —'Alī b. Thābit[1127] —al-Sarī b. Ismā'īl[1128] : Al-Sha'bī used to swear by God that the oven did not boil anywhere but around al-Kūfah.

There were differences of opinion about the number of the children of Adam who boarded the boat. Some said: They were eighty souls.

Those who said this

According to Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Masrūqī[1129] —Zayd b.
[195] al-Ḥubāb[1130] —Ḥusayn b. Wāqid al-Khurāsānī—Abū Nahīk[1131] : I heard Ibn 'Abbās say: In Noah's ark there were eighty men. One of them was Jurhum.[1132]

According to al-Qāsim (b. al-Ḥasan)—al-Ḥusayn (b. Dāwūd)—

1122. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥimmānī died in 202/817[8]. See *Tahdhīb*, VI, 120; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, IV, 236 (with much information on his son Yaḥyā, who is listed in *TB*, XIV, 167–77).

1123. For al-Naḍr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, see *Tahdhīb*, X, 441 f.

1124. Presumably, al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafah (above, n. 52), listed as a transmitter from Khalaf b. Khalīfah. The reading "al-Qāsim" may have resulted from a mixup with al-Qāsim in the following tradition (n. 1126).

1125. Khalaf b. Khalīfah died at an advanced age ca. 180/796[7]. See *TB*, VIII, 318–20; *Tahdhīb*, III, 150–52.

1126. He is the well-known author Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām who died about 224/838[9] at the age of sixty-seven. See *TB*, XII, 403-16; *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 315–18; Brockelmann, *GAL*, Suppl., I, 166 f., *EI*^{2} , I, 157, s. v. Abū 'Ubayd.

1127. For 'Alī b. Thābit al- Jazarī, see *TB*, XI, 356–58; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 288 f.

1128. For this nephew of al-Sha'bī, see *Tahdhīb*, III, 459 f.

1129. For al-Masrūqī, who died in 258/871[2], see *Tahdhīb*, X, 355 f.

1130. Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb died in 203/818[9]. See *TB*, VIII, 442–44; *Tahdhīb*, III, 402–4.

1131. For Abū Nahīk 'Uthmān b. Nahīk, see *Tahdīb*, XII, 259.

1132. Jurhum was the supposed ancestor of an ancient Arabian tribe. See *EI*^{2} , II, 603 f., s. v. Djurhum. In the Biblical genealogies of Arabic tribes, the Jurhum figure among the descendants of Arpachshad.

Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Ibn ʿAbbās: Noah carried eighty persons aboard the ark.

According to al-Ḥārith—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (b. Abān)—Sufyān: Some(one) used to say: They were eighty, referring to "the few" in God's word: "But only a few believed with him."[1133]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās: Noah carried in the ark his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and his daughters-in-law, the wives of those sons of his, as well as seventy-three of the children of Seth who believed in him. Thus, there were eighty in the ark.

Some said: Rather, they were eight souls.

Those who said this

According to Bishr b. Muʿādh—Yazīd b. Zurayʿ—Saʿīd—Qatādah: It was mentioned to us that only Noah, his wife, his three sons, and their wives, a total of eight, were all together in the ark.

According to Ibn Wakīʿ and al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafah—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī Ghaniyyah—his father—al-Ḥakam, commenting on: "But only a few believed with him," as follows: Noah, his three sons, and his four daughters-in-law.[1134]

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj: I was told that Noah carried along his three sons and three wives of his sons and his own wife; the men with their spouses thus numbered eight. The names of his sons were Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Ham [196] attacked his wife (sexually) in the ark, so Noah prayed that his seed be altered, and he produced the blacks.[1135]

Others said: Rather, they were seven souls.

Those who said this

According to al-Ḥārith—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (b. Abān)—Sufyān—al-Aʿmash, commenting on: "And only a few believed with him," as follows: They were seven: Noah, three daughters-in-law, and three sons of his.

Others said: They were ten, not counting their wives.

1133. Qur. 11:40.

1134. Presumably, his three daughters-in-law and his wife, *kanā'in* here being understood as female relations through marriage.

1135. Ham's disregard of the prohibition of intercourse in the ark is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud. See Sanhedrin 108b; Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen*, 106; Lewis, *A study of the interpretation of Noah*, 144. See also above, n. 1113, and text below, I, 198.

Those who said this

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: He carried along his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and their wives, as well as six men of those who believed in him. Thus, they were ten individuals, counting Noah, his sons, and (but not counting) their spouses.[1136]

As mentioned by the scholars among the people of the Book and others, God sent the Flood, after 600 years of Noah's life had passed and 2,256 years had elapsed since Adam was cast down to earth.

God reportedly sent the Flood on the 13th of Āb (August). Noah remained in the boat until the water had disappeared into the ground. The boat settled on Mount al-Jūdī in Qardā[1137] on the seventeenth day of the sixth month. Upon leaving the ark, Noah chose a place in the region of Qardā in the Jazīrah and built himself a village there which he called Thamānīn ("Eighty") because he had built a house there for each of the men who were with him; they were eighty. To this day, the village is called Sūq
[197] Thamānīn.[1138]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Noah came down at a village, and each one of them built a house. Therefore, the village was called Sūq Thamānīn. All the children of Cain drowned. All the forefa-

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1136. See above, n. 1099.

1137. Qardū (Qardō) is the targumic and Syriac rendering of Ararat in Genesis 8:4. See also *Schatzhöhle*, text, 98, trans., 23. The date there is given as the seventeenth day of the seventh month equated with Teshrīn I (October).

For the relationship of Qardō with Gordyaia, Gordyene, Kardouchoi, and Kurds, see *EI*^{2}, V, 447-49, s. v. Kurds, Kurdistān. For the Greek forms, see Pauly-Wissowa, especially, the entry Kardouchoi. For further Jewish and Christian references, see Kronholm, *Motifs*, 200 f.

For the Arabic form Qardā, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 56, and the brief entry Ḳardā and Bāzabdā in *EI*^{2}, IV, 639a. The form Bāqardā (as well as al(!)-Thamanīn and 'Ayn Wardah (below, n. 1142)) appears already in Muqātil b. Sulaymān's *Tafsīr* in the commentary on Qur. 11:40.

The form al-Jūdī could very well have originated from a conflation of *Gurdī (Gordy-), slightly misread in its Syriac form, with some mountain in Arabia.

For al-Jazīrah, see *EI*^{2}, II, 523 f., s. v. al-Djazīra.

1138. For the Market of Thamānīn, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 934, and IV, 56; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, III, 149; Canard, *Ḥamdanides*, I, 112. *Schatzhöhle*, text, 102, trans., 24, states that eight persons left the ark and built the city called Thamānōn. See also Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 12; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 75. [Thamānōn is hardly intended to be an Arabic form.]

thers between Noah and Adam were in the state of *islām*.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: (Noah) and his family became (muslims), whereupon God revealed to him that he would never bring another Flood to the earth.

According to 'Abbād b. Ya'qūb al-Asadī[1139] —al-Muḥāribī—'Uthmān b. Maṭar[1140] —'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr[1141] —his father—the Messenger of God: Noah boarded the ark on the first day of Rajab. He and all those with him fasted. The ark floated with them for six months—thus, until al-Muḥarram. The ark anchored upon al-Jūdī on the 'Āshūrā Day, and Noah fasted and ordered all the wild and (domestic) animals with him to fast in gratitude to God.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj: The upper story of the ark was occupied by the birds, the one in the middle by the human beings, and the lowest by the wild beasts. Its height in the sky was thirty cubits. The ark took off from 'Ayn Wardah[1142] on Friday, Rajab 10th. It anchored upon al-Jūdī on the 'Āshūrā Day. It passed by the House, which had been lifted up by God so it would not be submerged, and circumnavigated it seven times. It then went to the Yemen, and then returned.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Abū Ja'far ('Īsā b. Māhān) al-Rāzī—Qatādah: When Noah went down from the ark on the tenth day of al-Muḥarram, he said to those with him: Those of you who have been fasting should complete their fast, and those of you who had been breaking the fast should fast. [198]

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd (b. Zuray')—Sa'īd (b. Abī 'Arūbah)—Qatādah: It has been mentioned to us that it—meaning the boat—departed with them on the tenth of Rajab. It was in the water for 150 days and came to rest upon al-Jūdī for a month. They were brought down on the tenth of al-Muḥarram, the 'Āshūrā Day.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Abū Ma'shar—Muḥammad b. Qays: In the time of Noah, every span of land on earth was claimed by some human being.

1139. 'Abbād b. Ya'qūb died in 250/end of 864. See *Tahdhīb*, V, 109 f.

1140. For 'Uthmān b. Maṭar, see *TB*, XI, 277–79; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 154 f.

1141. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, III, 1, 55, lists an Abū al-Ṣabāḥ 'Abd al-Ghafūr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Wāsiṭī, who may have been a son of the individual mentioned here.

1142. See *EI*², I, 789a, s. v. 'Ayn al-Warda; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 764; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1376, where it is described as the location of the "oven," as it is in Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, on Qur. 23:27.

As I was told by Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahḍamī—Nūḥ b. Qays—ʿAwn b. Abī Shaddād: After the Flood, Noah lived another 350 years—that is, after the 950 years he had spent among his people.[1143]

Ibn Isḥāq, in turn, as we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah (—Ibn Isḥāq), said: It is assumed by the people of the Torah that Noah lived for 348 years[1144] after coming down from the boat. He continued. The total length of Noah's life was 950 years. God then took him unto Himself.

Shem was reportedly born to Noah ninety-eight years before the Flood.[1145] Some of the people of the Torah say: There was no begetting (in the ark). (Additional) children were born to Noah only after the Flood and after he had left the boat.

They said: Those who were with him in the boat were people who believed in him and followed him. However, they disappeared and perished, and no descendants of theirs survived. In this world today, the children of Adam are the direct offspring of Noah and of no other descendants of Adam, as God says: "And We
[199] made his offspring the survivors."[1146]

Before the Flood, two sons were reportedly born to Noah who both perished. One of them was called Canaan. He continued. He was the one who drowned in the Flood. The other was called Eber. He died before the Flood.[1147]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ —Ibn ʿAbbās: Born to Noah were Shem, whose descendants were reddish-white; Ham, whose descendants were black with hardly any whiteness; and Japheth, whose descendants were reddish-brown. Canaan—the one who drowned—was called Yām by the Arabs. He occurs in the saying: Our paternal uncle Yām —he was balmy.[1148] They all had the same mother.

1143. See above, n. 1069.

1144. Since Genesis 8:13 says that Noah was 601 years old when he left the ark, 349 would have been a slightly more exact figure.

1145. According to *Schatzhöhle*, text, 76, trans., 18, Lamech died forty years before the Flood, and Shem was then in his sixty-eighth year. Thus, the birth of Shem took place 108 years before the Flood.

1146. Qur. 37:77.

1147. This statement appears to have been meant originally to indicate that the later Canaan (Genesis 10:6) and Eber (Genesis 10:21) had predeceased uncles after whom they were named. On the earlier Canaan, see Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, on Qur. 11:40.

1148. This, perhaps, is the approximate meaning of the ditty *Innamā hām*—

The Magians have no knowledge of the Flood.[1149] They say: Our rule continued uninterrupted since the age of Jayūmart—who they say is identical with Adam. It was inherited by consecutive rulers to the time of Fērōz b. Yazdjard b. Shahriyār.[1150] They (also) say: If (the story of the Flood) were sound, the pedigrees of the people would have been disrupted and their rule dissolved. Some of them acknowledge the Flood and assume that it took place in the clime of Bābil and nearby regions, whereas the descendants of Jayūmart had their dwellings in the East, and the Flood did not reach them.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: The information given by God concerning the Flood contradicts their statement, and what He says is the truth: "Noah called upon Us—and surely, good are those who respond![1151] We delivered him and his family from the great distress and made his offspring the survivors."[1152] God thus indicates that Noah's offspring are the survivors, and nobody else.

I have already mentioned the disagreement among people concerning Jayūmart. Some contradicted the Persians with respect to his identity and traced his pedigree to Noah.[1153]

According to Ibn Bashshār—Ibn 'Athmah[1154]—Sa'īd b. Bashīr[1155]
—Qatādah—al-Ḥasan—Samurah b. Jundub—the Prophet, in con- [200]
nection with commenting on God's word: "And We made his offspring the survivors": Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

According to Bishr (b. Mu'ādh)—Yazīd (b. Zuray')—Sa'īd (b. Abī

'ammunā Yām.

1149. See Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 105 f. For references to a limited flood allegedly from Persian tradition, see Pingree, *Thousands*, 5 ff., 39 f.

1150. See text above, I, 147 f. The insertion here of a son of Yazdjard III called Pērōz is probably not explainable.

1151. This is taken to refer to God as the One Who hears prayers.

1152. Qur. 37:75–77.

1153. See text above, I, 17 and 147.

1154. For Muḥammad b. Khālid, who was called Ibn 'Athmah after his mother 'Athmah, see *Tahdhīb*, IX, 142 f.

1155. Sa'īd b. Bashīr died eighty-nine years old between 168 and 170/784–87. See *Tahdhīb*, IV, 8–10.

'Arūbah)—Qatādah, commenting on God's word: "And We made his offspring the survivors," as follows: All human beings are the offspring of Noah.

According to 'Alī b. Dāwūd[1156] —Abū Ṣāliḥ ('Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ)—Mu'āwiyah (b. Ṣāliḥ)—'Alī (b. Abī Ṭalḥah)—Ibn 'Abbās, commenting on God's word: "And We made his offspring the survivors," as follows: Only the offspring of Noah remained.[1157]

The Use of Eras

The following report of al-Zuhrī and al-Sha'bī has been transmitted from 'Alī b. Mujāhid[1158] —Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī. Also (Ibn Isḥāq—) Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ[1159] —al-Sha'bī: When Adam fell down from Paradise and his descendants spread out, Adam's children established an era starting with his fall. This era continued, until God sent Noah. Then an era starting with Noah's mission (as prophet) was used, until the Drowning occurred and all those on the face of the earth perished. When Noah, his offspring, and all those in the ark came down to earth, he divided the earth among his sons into three parts.[1160] To Shem, he gave the middle of the earth where Jerusalem, the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Sayḥān,[1161] the Jayḥān (Gihon), and the Fayshān (Pishon) are located. It extends from the Pishon to east of the Nile and from the region from where the southwind blows to the region from where the northwind blows. To Ham, he gave the part (of the earth) west of the Nile and regions beyond to the region from where the westwind blows. The part he gave to Japheth was located at the Pishon

1156. Died in 272/886. See *TB*, XI, 424 f.; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 317 (with probable misprints in the dates of death); Horst, 293, n. 1. See above, n. 333.

1157. The preceding three traditions appear in *Tafsīr*, XXIII, 43 (*ad* Qur. 37:77). They are out of place here and probably were inserted by Ṭabarī as an afterthought when he remembered them from his commentary on the Qur'ānic passage.

1158. 'Alī b. Mujāhid died in or about 182/798. See *TB*, XII, 106 f.; *Tahdhīb*, VII, 377 f.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 312.

1159. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Dīnār, an expert in the history of the Raids (*maghāzī*), died in 168/784–85. See *Tahdhīb*, IX, 225 f.

1160. The division of the earth in Jubilees is understandably different.

1161. In Muslim times, the names of Sayḥān and Jayḥān were given to two rivers in Cilicia. See *EI*^{2}, II, 502 f., s. v. Djayḥān. Sayḥān has no known Biblical or other literary antecedent. The reference here no doubt originated in the by then familiar pairing of Jayḥān with Sayḥān. A connection with Sihon, the king of the Amorites, is unlikely but not entirely impossible in the context.

and regions beyond to the region from where the eastwind blows.

The eras (thereafter) were: from the Flood to the fire of Abraham;[1162] (from the fire of Abraham) to the mission of Joseph; from the mission of Joseph to the mission of Moses; from the mission of Moses to the reign of Solomon; from the reign of Solomon to the mission of Jesus, the son of Mary; and from the mission of Jesus, the son of Mary, to when the Messenger of God was sent. [201]

These eras mentioned by al-Sha'bī must be those used by the Jews, for the Muslims started the (use of an) era only with the hijrah. Before it, they had no era, except that the Quraysh reportedly used the Year the Elephant for dating, while all the other Arabs used their well-known (battle) days, such as the Day of Jabalah, the First Kulāb, and the Second Kulāb.[1163]

The Christians used the period of Alexander Dhū al-Qarnayn (as the beginning of their era. I think they still use that era today.[1164]

The Persians used (the reigns of) their rulers for dating. As far as I know, they now (use) the period of Yazdjard b. Shahriyār, because he was the last of their kings to rule Bābil and the East.

1162. Cf. Qur. 21:69. See Speyer, *Biblische Erzählungen*, 142–44; Schützinger, 106 ff.

1163. For the famous pre-Islamic battle days see, for instance, Egbert Meyer, *Der historische Gehalt der Aiyām al-'Arab* (Wiesbaden, 1970). See also *EI*^{2}, II, 895, s. v. al-fīl, for the Year of the Elephant, and II, 353 f., s. v. Djabala, for the Day of Jabalah.

1164. Note Ṭabarī's hesitancy with regard to the use of the Seleucid era and the era of Yazdjard in his time.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME II

Prophets and Patriarchs

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM M. BRINNER

Volume II

Translated by William M. Brinner

This volume records the lives and efforts of some of the prophets preceeding the birth of Mohammad. It devotes most of its message to two towering figures—Abraham, the Friend of God, and his great-grandson, Joseph. The story is not, however simply a repetition of Biblical tales in a slightly altered form, for Ṭabarī sees the ancient pre-Islamic Near East as an area in which the histories of three different peoples are acted out, occasionally meeting and intertwining. Thus ancient Iran, Israel, and Arabia serve as the stages on which actors such as Biwarasb, the semi-legendary Iranian king, Noah and his progeny, and the otherwise unknown Arabian prophets Hud and Salih appear and act.

In the pages of this volume we read of the miraculous birth and early life of Abraham, and of his struggle against his father's idolatry. God grants him sons—Ishmael from Hagar and Isaac from Sarah—and the conflicts between the two mothers, the subsequent expulsion of Hagar, and her settling in the vicinity of Mecca, all lead to the story of Abraham's being commanded to build God's sanctuary there. Abraham is tested by God, both by being commanded to sacrifice his son (and here Ṭabarī shows his fairness by presenting the arguments of Muslim scholars as to whether that son was Ishmael or Isaac) and by being given commandments to follow both in personal behavior and in ritual practice. The account of Abraham is interlaced with tales of the cruel tyrant Nimrod, who tried in vain both to burn Abraham in fire and to reach the heavens to fight with God. The story of Abraham's nephew Lot and the wicked people of Sodom also appears here, with the scholars once again arguing—this time over what the exact crimes were for which the Sodomites were destroyed.

Before proceeding to the story of Joseph, which is recounted in great detail, we linger over the accounts of two figures associated with ancient Arabia in Muslim tradition: the Biblical Job, who despite his trials and sufferings does not rail against God, and Shuʿayb, usually associated with the Biblical Jethro, the priest of Midian and father-in-law of Moses. Finally we meet Joseph, whose handsome appearance, paternal preference, and subsequent boasting to his brothers lead to his being cast into a pit and ending up as a slave in Egypt. His career is traced in some detail: the attempted seduction by Potiphar's wife, his imprisonment and eventual release after becoming able to interpret dreams, and his rise to power as ruler of Egypt. The volume ends with the moving story of Joseph's reunion with his brothers, the tragi-comic story of how he reveals himself to them, and the final reunion with his aged father who is brought to Egypt to see his son's power and glory.

This is proto-history told in fascinating detail, of us in different contexts, as well as of others completely unknown to Western readers.

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME II

Prophets and Patriarchs

The History of Al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME II

Prophets and Patriarchs

translated and annotated
by

William M. Brinner
University of California, Berkeley

State University of New York Press

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In 1971 the General Editor proposed to the UNESCO to include a translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* in its Collection of Representative Works. UNESCO agreed, but the Commission in charge of Arabic works favored other priorities. Deeming the project worthy, the Iranian Institute of Translation and Publication, which collaborated with UNESCO, agreed to undertake the task. After the upheavals of 1979, assistance was sought from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The invaluable encouragement and support of the Endowment is here gratefully acknowledged.

The General Editor wishes to thank sincerely also the participating scholars, who have made the realization of this project possible; the Board of Editors for their selfless assistance; Professor Franz Rosenthal for his many helpful suggestions in the formulation and application of the editorial policy; Professor Jacob Lasner for his painstaking and meticulous editing; and Dr. Susan Mango of the National Endowment for the Humanities for her genuine interest in the project and her advocacy of it.

Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain.

Thus, According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place-names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place-names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as qāḍī and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place-names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been translated.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

Like almost all other medieval Muslim historians and chroniclers, Ṭabarī begins his history with the creation of the world and the story of Adam. As he proceeds to follow the descendants of Adam, his point of view becomes clear. The two great civilizations to which the Arabs—and hence Islam—were heirs were the civilization of the ancient Israelites, as recorded in the Qur'ān and in Muslim tradition, and the civilization of ancient Irān. These two civilizations, in turn, must be connected with each other, must be shown as two strands which intertwine, genealogically and historically, and give rise to pre-Islamic civilization which was to be transformed by the coming of Islam.

This volume treats one part of that early history. Based on Qur'ān, on Muslim tradition of the Israelite past, and on a version of Iranian history very close to that found in the *Shāhnāmeh*, the national epic of Iran, it unfolds the stories of Noah, Abraham, the Arabian prophets—Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Job and Shu'ayb—Lot, and Joseph. These tales form part of the literary genre of *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* or tales of the prophets, namely stories of biblical figures regarded as prophets by Muslims. Unlike most such collections, these fascinating tales are treated by Ṭabarī with a certain scholarly detachment, making clear his own acceptance of or doubts about certain traditions such as which of his sons Abraham was commanded to sacrifice, Isaac or Ishmael, or exactly which sins of Lot's people brought about the destruction of Sodom. Together with this comes the interweaving of Iranian tradition as in the case of Bīwarasb—a legendary ruler—and

Noah, or of Nimrod, the persecutor of Abraham, and his role in Iranian history.

This is proto-history presented in fascinating detail and with the meticulous scholarship which Ṭabarī displays when he deals with more recent or contemporary history in later volumes.

The translator's thanks go to Dr. Mahmoud Omidsalar for his assistance with the Old Persian material; to Dr. Maurice Salib for reviewing the translation; and to Mr. Jeffrey Deboo for his assistance with the final revision and typing.

William Brinner
University of California, Berkeley

An Account of Bīwarasb, that is, al-Azdahāq[1]

The Arabs call him al-Ḍaḥḥāk, for they take the sound between the letters *s* and *z* in Persian to be a *ḍ*, the *h* to be *ḥ*, and the *q* to be *k*.[2] He is the one whom Ḥabīb b. Aws[3] had in mind when he said, "He did not accomplish merely what Pharaoh had accomplished in this world, nor Haman, nor Korah;[4] rather, he was like al-Ḍaḥḥāk in the greatness of his power over the world, and you are Afarīdhūn."[5] He was the one about whom al-Ḥasan b. Hāni'[6] boasted by claiming that al-Ḍaḥḥāk was from his people:

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1. New Persian Bēwar.asp, another name for Zahhāk (al-Ḍaḥḥāk) in the *Shāhnāmeh*. A compound from *bēwar* "myriad, ten thousand" and *asp/asb* "horse", i.e., "master of ten thousand horses." See *Shāhnāmeh*, 44, verses 83–85. Al-Azdahāq, from Avestan *ažī.dahāka-* who was a three-headed dragon king. This Avestan form was later Arabicized into al-Azdahāq and finally al-Ḍaḥḥāk (Zahhāk in New Persian). For a full discussion see Omidsalar, n. 9.

2. This is Ṭabarī's effort to explain the phonetic shift from what he considered a Persian form, Azdahāq (which, as we have seen above, is already Arabicized), to al-Ḍaḥḥāk.

3. Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Ṭā'ī (808–842). This is found in his *Dīwān*, III, 321. There the name of the hero is Ifrīdhūn.

4. Fir'awn, Hāmān, Qārūn; in the Qur'an, 40:23–25, Moses was sent to these three with "our revelation and clear warrant," but they disbelieved and ordered the slaying of the sons of believers. The three became symbolic figures representing disbelief and tyranny in Islamic literature.

5. The name occurs as Farēdūn, Ferīdūn, Afrīdūn, and Āfarīdūn in New Persian. The hero who defeated Zahhāk and imprisoned him in Mount Damavand. (See below).

6. Muḥammad b. Hāni' b. Muḥammad b. Sa'dūn al-Azdī al-Andalusī, Abū al-Qāsim (326–362(938–973)). See *al-A'lām*, VII, 354.

One of us was al-Ḍaḥḥāk whom
the madmen and jinns worshipped in their river beds.

[202] The Yemenites have claimed him as one of themselves. I have transmitted the following account from Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib regarding this al-Ḍaḥḥāk: The Persians claim al-Ḍaḥḥāk, asserting that Jam[7] gave his sister in marriage to one of the nobles of his family and made him ruler over the Yemen, whereupon she bore him al-Ḍaḥḥāk. But the Yemenites claim him, asserting that he was one of them. They say that he was al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Alwān b. 'Ubayd b. 'Uwayj, and that he appointed his brother Sinān b. 'Alwān b. 'Ubayd b. 'Uwayj as ruler over Egypt. The latter was the first Pharaoh and was ruler of Egypt when Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful, came there.

As for the Persians, they attribute to this al-Azdahāq a Yemenite genealogy different from the one given by Hishām. They say that he was Bīwarasb b. Arwandasb b. Zīnkāw b. Wīraw-
[203] shak b. Tāz b. Farwāk b. Sayāmak b. Mashā b. Jayūmart.[8] There are others who attribute this genealogy to him, but pronounce the names of his forefathers differently. They say that he is al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Anduramasb b. Ranḥadār b. Wandarisaḥ b. Tāj b. Faryāk b. Sāhimak b. Mādhī b. Jayūmart. The Magians[9] assert that this Tāj was the ancestor of the Arabs, and they also claim that al-Ḍaḥḥāk's mother was Wadak bt. Wīwanjahān.[10] Also, they claim that he killed his father to curry favor with

---

7. Or Jamshīd; Avestan, Yima-. Fourth of the mythical kings of Iran, he appears as both Jam and Jamshīd in the *Shāhnāmeh*. He was overthrown and killed by Zahhāk after a reign of some seven hundred years. *Shāhnāmeh*, I, 49, verses 165–183, and I, 50, verses 184–186.

8. The genealogy as given in the *Bundahishn*, 293, is Ḍaḥḥāk son of Khrutāsp son of Zaingāw son of Avirashyang son of Tāj son of Farvāk son of Siyāmak [son of Mashya son of Gayōmart (Jayūmart), op. cit., line 1]. Ṭabarī is thus in general agreement with this early genealogy, although the individual names appear in greatly differing forms in various manuscripts. The next genealogy given below may be explained, in part at least, as being due to confusion of Arabic letters *r* for *z*, or substitution of *y* and *w*.

9. Al-Majūs, i.e., the Zoroastrians. See *Shorter Encyc.*, 298.

10. Not mentioned in the *Shāhnāmeh*, her name and genealogy are given in the *Bundahishn*, 293, as Uṭa (misreading by editor for Vadak) daughter of Tambayak of Ōwōikhm of Pairiurvo of Urvaēsm of Gadwithw of Drujaskān of Ganā Mīnūy.

the devils. He often lived in Babylon, and he had two sons, one of them named Sarnafiwār and the other Nafawār.[11]

Al-Sha'bī[12] used to say that he (al-Ḍaḥḥāk) was Qarishat, whom God had transformed into Azdahāq.

The Account of That Tale

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Yaḥyā b. al-'Alā'—al-Qāsim b. Salmān—al-Sha'bī: Abjad, Hawwiz, Ḥuṭṭi, Kaliman, Sa'faṣ, and Qarishat[13] were tyrannical rulers. One day Qarishat became engrossed in thought and said, "Blessed [204] be God, the best of Creators," so God transformed him into Ajdahāq. He had seven heads and was the one who lived in Danbawand.[14] All the historians, both Arab and Persian, claim that he ruled over every clime and that he was a wicked sorcerer.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad: Al-Ḍaḥḥāk reportedly reigned for one thousand years after Jam—but God knows better. Settling in the Sawād in a town called Nars[15] near the Kūfah Road, he ruled over all the earth, displaying tyranny and oppression. He killed excessively and was the first to enact (the punishments of) crucifixion and mutilation. He was also the first to levy tithes and to mint dirhams, and the first to sing and be sung to. It is said that there were two ganglia growing out of his shoulders, which caused pain to him. The pain be-

---

11. Not mentioned in any of the sources.

12. Abū 'Amr 'Āmir b. Sharāḥīl (640–721). An early traditionist, legal and literary scholar. See *GAS*, I, 277[5].

13. These names are actually combinations of the letters of the alphabet in the traditional order of the Semitic alphabet (*ḥurūf al-abjad*), combined in groups of four, three, three, four, and four from *aleph* to *taw*.

14. The highest summit of the Elburz Mountains in Iran. While the early Persian manuscripts show the spelling Danbavand, the word is today pronounced Damavand. The *nb* cluster > to *mb* and finally > *m*.

15. Nars, on the canal of the same name, which took its name from the Sassanian king Narses who came to the throne in A.D. 292 (LeStrange, *Lands*, 74) to the east of al-Kūfah. The latter was founded immediately after the Muslim conquest of Mesopotamia, about 17(636) during the caliphate of 'Umar. On the Arab, or desert, side of the Euphrates, it became 'Alī's capital city. (LeStrange, op.cit., 74–75).

came so intense for him that he would anoint them with the brains of human beings. For this purpose he killed two men each day and anointed his ganglia with their brains. When he did this, the pain would abate.

A man of the common people of Babylon rebelled against him; he set up a banner and many people rallied to him. When al-Ḍaḥḥāk learned of this he was alarmed and sent (the following message) to him, "What is the matter? What do you want?" The man replied, "Do you not claim that you are the ruler of the world, and that the world belongs to you?" Al-Ḍaḥḥāk replied, "Certainly." Whereupon the rebellious man said, "Then let your thirst be for all the world and not only for us, for you kill us alone of all the people." Al-Ḍaḥḥāk agreed with him
[205] about this and ordered that the two men whom he would slay each day should be divided among all the people and should not be taken specifically from one place rather than another.[16]

We have been told that the people of Iṣbahān[17] are descendants of that man who raised the banner, and that this banner is still preserved by the kings of Fārs[18] in their treasure-houses. According to what we have been told, it was the skin of a lion, which the kings of Fārs covered with gold and brocade and from which they drew good auguries.

Hishām continued: We have been told that al-Ḍaḥḥāk was Nimrod[19] and that Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful, was born during his era, and that al-Ḍaḥḥāk was Abraham's master who wanted to burn him. We have been told that Afarīdhūn (who was of the stock of Jam, the king before al-Ḍaḥḥāk—some claim that he was the ninth among his children and that

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16. ee the Persian translation of the text by al-Bal'amī, which adds many details.

17. See LeStrange, *Lands* 202–207. Today generally known as Iṣfahān, the usual Arabic name was as given in the text. Located in the southwestern corner of the Jibāl province of Iran. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 292–98.

18. The province of Fārs (southwestern Iran) was the home of the Achaemenian dynasty and the center of their government. Its name, Hellenized as Persia, became a common European name for the whole country. Shīrāz, founded by the Arabs after the conquest, became its capital. LeStrange, *Lands*, 248–298; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 835–838, s.v. Fāris.

19. Namrūd, Namrūdh, Nimrūd. As in Jewish aggadic literature, though not in the Bible or explicitly in the Qur'ān, associated with the childhood of Abra-

his birthplace was Danbawand) went forth until he reached the residence of al-Ḍaḥḥāk while the latter was away in India. Afarīdhūn then took possession of the residence and of everything in it. News of this reached al-Ḍaḥḥāk, and he came back. But God deprived him of his power, and his rule was ended. Afarīdhūn attacked him, tied him fast, and led him to the mountains of Danbawand. The Persians claim that he is there to this day, fettered with iron, and still being punished.

Someone other than Hishām mentioned that al-Ḍaḥḥāk was not away from his residence, but that Afarīdhūn b. Athfiyān came to a dwelling of his in a fortress called Zaranj[20] (during the month of) Māh Mihr, (on the day of) Rūz Mihr[21] and married two of his women, one called Arwanāz and the other Sanwār. Bīwarasb was frightened when he discovered this, and fell down speechless and uncomprehending. Afarīdhūn struck [206] his head with an iron mace—he had one with a curved top[22]—and Bīwarasb became more terrified and confused. At this, Afarīdhūn made off with him to Mount Danbawand where he tied him up securely. He ordered the populace to adopt Mihr Māh, Mihr Rūz, the day on which Bīwarasb was tied up, as a holiday (*ʿīd*)—it is today called al-Mihrjān.[23] Then

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ham. The Muslim tales hinge on the verses in *sūrah* 2, which are attributed to Nimrod's speech although he is not mentioned by name. Muslim legend derives the name from *tamarrada* "he who rebelled" (against God). See *Shorter Encyc.*, 437–438. See also n. 52 below.

20. Zaranj/Zarang. The capital of Sijistān/Sistān (present-day Zahedan) on the Afghan frontier in eastern Iran, destroyed by Timur. LeStrange, *Lands*, 335; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 926.

21. Lit. "the month of Mihr, the day of Mihr," here in its Arabic form. In the Sassanian calendar each month had thirty days, each one named after a deity, as were the months. When the name of the day coincided with the name of the month in which it fell, there was a festival. The 16th day of every month was called *Mihr Rūz* (or Rōz), "day of Mihr" (Old Iranian, Mithra-), the god of contracts and protector of the Iranian peoples. The name of the seventh month was also Mihr. Thus the 16th day of the seventh month, when the day-name and the month-name coincided, was called Mihrgān (Arabic, Mihrjān/Mahrjān) and was an important festival. It fell on the autumnal equinox, and was the harvest festival.

22. *Jurz*, for Persian *gurz*, club or mace . After preparing to attack Zahhāk, Fereydun ordered a great mace topped with a bull's head to be made for him. See *Shāhnāmeh*, I, 75, verse 429, and 66, verses 261–265.

23. See n. 21, above.

Afarīdhūn ascended the throne. It is mentioned that when al-Ḍaḥḥāk reigned and the crown was set upon him, he said, "We are rulers of this world, possessors of all therein." The Persians claim that rule will belong only to the clan from which Awshhanj, Jam, and Ṭahmurat came,[24] and that al-Ḍaḥḥāk had been a rebel who had seized the people of the land with witchcraft and deceit and had completely terrified them with the two serpents which had been on his shoulders. They also said that he had built a city in the land of Babylon and named it Ḥawb,[25] and that he made the Nabateans[26] his companions and courtiers. The people were subjected to every kind of pressure by him, and he slew the young boys.

Many of those who are learned in books say that the things on his shoulders were two long, swollen pieces of flesh, each of which looked like the head of a serpent, and that in his wickedness and cunning he hid them with his clothing. In order to cause terror he let it be known that they were two snakes which demanded food from him and moved under his garment when he was hungry, just as the organ of a person moves when he burns with hunger or anger. However, there are some people who say that they really were two snakes. I have mentioned what is related on the authority of al-Sha'bī regarding that, but God knows better concerning its truthfulness and accuracy.[27]

According to some authorities on the genealogies of the Per-
[207] sians and their affairs: People went on suffering greatly from this Bīwarasb until God decided to destroy him. At that time a

24. Awshhanj, for Persian Hūshang, the second mythical king of the *Shāhnāmeh* and the father of Jam and Ṭahmūrath (here, Ṭahmūrat; Avestan, Taxmū.urupi-), the third of the mythical kings.

25. *Bundahishn* XXXII:4. "One is that which Zahhāk erected in Babylon which they call Kvirinta Duzita." If this is the same as Ḥawb, the latter was probably spelled *khawb/khub/kh^{w}ab*.

26. Nabateans: in the early Arab chronicles, usually applied to peoples who inhabited areas of Iraq; later applied to people of mixed stock (i.e., Arab and non-Arab) and the lowest level of society—probably because of their being distinguished for agriculture. See Lane, VIII:2759–60, s.v . nbṭ.

27. Some variations on this story occur in the Persian version by al-Bal'amī, who records that these actions of al-Ḍaḥḥāk the Arab went on for two hundred years and almost caused the world to be depopulated. See al-Bal'amī, 144.

common man of Iṣbahān, named Kābī,[28] attacked him. He did this because two of his sons had been seized by Bīwarasb's messengers for the two serpents on his shoulders. It is said that when grief for his sons overtook this Kābī, he took a staff which he had and hung a leather bag on its end. He set this up as his banner and called upon the people to come out against Bīwarasb and engage him in combat, since they shared his great distress and felt oppressed as he did. When Kābī was victorious, the people looked upon the banner as a good omen. They bestowed more and more honor upon it until it became the greatest banner of the kings of Persia. They sought blessing through it and named it Darafsh Kābiyān.[29] They brought it out for travel only in the most important campaigns, and raised it only for princes who were being sent on important missions.

From the account of Kābī we learn that he left Iṣbahān with his original followers and with those who joined him on his way. When he drew near to al-Ḍaḥḥāk and looked over his position, al-Ḍaḥḥāk became terrified and fled from his encampments, abandoning his place to the Persians who were able to capture whatever they wanted from him. They gathered round Kābī and argued. Kābī told them that he did not want to be king because he was not of royal lineage. He ordered them to take one of the sons of Jam as king because Jam was the son of the great king Awshhanq b. Farwāk,[30] who had been the first to design the institution of kingship and had preceded all others in carrying it out.

Afarīdhūn b. Athfiyān,[31] who was off in some other region [208]
hiding from al-Ḍaḥḥāk, appeared before Kābī and those who were with him. The people took his arrival to be a good omen because, according to a tradition of theirs, Afarīdhūn was a

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28. Kābī is an Arabic rendering of the New Persian, Kāva; Middle Persian, Kāvag. Not mentioned in Avestan material, he figures prominently in the Classical Persian sources.

29. Lit. "banner of Kābī."

30. Jam, son of Hūshang, was the first king to sit on a throne, and he began many important institutions of kingship, according to Iranian tradition. See *Shāhnāmeh*, I, 41, verses 48–49 , and 42, verses 50–52.

31. Athfiyān. (Middle Persian, Aspyān) was Ferēydūn's father. See *Bundahishn* XXXV, line 8. In the *Shāhnāmeh* his name appears as Ātbīn or Ābtīn; see *Shāhnāmeh*, I, 57, verse 117.

candidate for rule. They then made him king, and Kābī and the notables became aides to Afarīdhūn in his affairs. Afarīdhūn assumed control and did everything necessary to consolidate his rule. Having also taken possession of al-Ḍaḥḥāk's dwellings, he pursued him and made him a prisoner in the Danbawand mountains. Some Magians claim that he took al-Ḍaḥḥāk captive and imprisoned him in those mountains, putting a group of jinn in charge of him; others assert that he killed him.

They assert that only one thing that could be considered good was ever said of al-Ḍaḥḥāk. When his affliction became great, his tyranny prolonged, and his days lengthened, the people felt that they were suffering so badly under his rule that their notables discussed the situation and agreed to travel to al-Ḍaḥḥāk's gate. When the notables and powerful men from various districts and regions reached his gate, they argued among themselves about coming into his presence and complaining to him and achieving reconciliation with him. They agreed that Kābī al-Iṣbahānī would approach him to speak on their behalf. When they were traveling toward al-Ḍaḥḥāk's gate, al-Ḍaḥḥāk was told that they were coming and permitted them to enter, which they did, with Kābī leading them. The latter appeared before al-Ḍaḥḥāk but refrained from greeting him. He said, "O king! What greeting should one give you? The greeting for one who rules all these climes or the greeting for one who rules only this clime—meaning Babylon?" Al-Ḍaḥḥāk replied, "Nay, but the greeting for one who rules all these climes, for I am king of the earth." Then al-Iṣbahānī said [209] to him, "If you rule all the climes and your sway extends to all of them, why then have we in particular been assigned the burden of you, your intolerance, and your misdeeds out of all the peoples of the climes? Why then do you not divide such-and-such a matter between us and the other regions?" Speaking the truth boldly, he addressed the issue and enumerated to al-Ḍaḥḥāk the ways in which the latter would be able to lighten their burdens. His words pierced al-Ḍaḥḥāk's heart, and he kept working on him in that way until the king ended by admitting his wrongdoing. He talked intimately with the people and promised them what they wanted. Then he commanded them to leave so that they might go to their camps and remain

calm. They were to return to him to fulfill their needs before going back to their towns.

They claim that his mother Wadak was worse than he, and more wicked, and that while the people were remonstrating with him she was nearby, following what they were saying to him. When the people left she entered, burning with anger. Disapproving of al-Ḍaḥḥāk's patience with the people, she said to him, "I have been told of everything that happened and of these people's boldness toward you, that they frightened you in such-and-such ways and reviled you in such-and-such ways. Would you not destroy them and unleash your wrath on them or cut off their hands?" When this became too much for al-Ḍaḥḥāk he said to her, in spite of his haughtiness, "O you! You have not thought of anything that I had not thought of before, but the people surprised me with the truth and frightened [210] me with it. When I was about to assail them harshly and attack them, the truth presented itself and appeared between me and them like a mountain. So I was unable to do anything against them." Thus he silenced her and sent her away. Then, after some days, he held audience for the people of the provinces and fulfilled his promises to them. He thus warded them off, having become gentle with them, and met most of their needs. This was the only good deed which is said to have been done by al-Ḍaḥḥāk.

The lifespan of this al-Ajdahāq was reportedly a thousand years. He actually ruled for six hundred years, while during the rest of his life he was like a king because of his power and the authority of his command. Some have said that he ruled for one thousand years and lived for one thousand one hundred years, until Afarīdhūn rebelled against him and overthrew and killed him. Some of the Persian sages have said, "We do not know of anyone who lived longer, whose name was not mentioned in the Torah, than this al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Gomer b. Japheth b. Noah,[32] the father of the Persians—for it is [also] said that Gomer's lifespan was one thousand years."

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32. Gomer: Jāmir, Jāmar, in the text, and Jawmar or Jūmar, Ṭabarī, I, 211. (The Arabic text by De Goeje is meant whenever Ṭabarī is cited, as here.) According to Gen 10:2–3, I Chron 1:5–6, the first-born son of Japheth and the fa-

We have only mentioned the story of Bīwarasb at this point because some people claim that Noah lived during his reign and was, in fact, sent to him and to those people in his kingdom who gave him allegiance and followed him in spite of his insolence and insubordination towards God.[33] We have mentioned God's kindness and helpfulness to Noah. This was because of Noah's obedience to God and his steadfastness in the face of all the injury and unpleasantness which befell him in this world. God thus saved him and those of his people who believed with him and followed him. God peopled the world with his descendants and made his name a name to be praised for-
[211] ever, and stored up for him a life of everlasting pleasure and ease in the hereafter. All others He slew, because they had disobeyed Him and rebelled against Him, contradicting His command. He deprived them of the comforts they had and made an example of them for all those who came after them, along with the painful punishment He had stored up for them in the hereafter with Him.

Now let us return to Noah and the tales about him and his progeny, for they—as God has mentioned—are those who are alive today. The others to whom Noah was sent, save his children and descendants, perished as did their offspring; none of them or their descendants remained. We have mentioned earlier that God's messenger, referring to God's word, "And we made his seed the survivors,"[34] said that they (his seed) are Shem, Ham, and Japheth.[35]

According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd

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ther of Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah. Also, in Ezek 38:6, the name of a nation, today associated with the Assyrian, Gi-mir-ra-a; Greek, Kimmerioi. See *Encyc. Judaica*, VII:768.

33. Illustrative of the effort by early Islamic chroniclers to connect the two ancient histories known to them, i.e., those of the Jews and the Persians, to serve as a unified history of revelation culminating in the final revelation to Muḥammad.

34. Qur'ān 37:77.

35. In the text, Sām, Ḥām, and Yāfith (rarely, Yāfit; see Ṭabarī, I, 222). Though alluded to in the Qur'ān, they are not mentioned by name there. According to Qur'ān 40:42–47, one son of Noah drowned in the deluge and three survived. Hence a fourth son is posited, sometimes (but not here) associated with Canaan, who in the Bible is a son of Ham. See *Shorter Encyc.*, 128, s.v. Ḥām; *EI²*, s.v. Ham.

al-Karīm—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil—Wahb b. Munabbiḥ: Shem b. Noah was the father of the Arabs, the Persians, and the Greeks; Ham was the father of the Blacks; and Japheth was the father of the Turks and of Gog and Magog[36] who are cousins of the Turks. It is said that the wife of Japheth was Arbasīsah bt. Marāzīl b. al-Darmasīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam, and that she bore him seven sons and a daughter. One of the sons she bore him was Gomer b. Japheth, who was the father of Gog and Magog as told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq. The other sons she bore him were Mariḥu b. Japheth, Wāʾil b. Japheth, Ḥawwān b. Japheth, Tubal b. Japheth, Hawshil b. Japheth, and Tiras b. Japheth. Their daughter was Shabokah bt. Japheth. They also claim that among the sons of Japheth were Gog and Magog, the Slavs and the Turks. [212]
The wife of Ham b. Noah was Naḥlab bt. Mārib b. al-Darmasīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. Cain b. Adam. She bore him three offspring: Cush b. Ham b. Noah, Put[37] b. Ham, and Canaan b. Ham.[38] Cush b. Ham b. Noah married Qarnabīl, the daughter of Batāwīl b. Tiras b. Japheth, and it is asserted that she bore him the Abyssinians, Sindis and Indians. Put b. Ham b. Noah married Bakht, another daughter of Batāwīl b. Tiras b. Japheth b. Noah, and it is said that she bore him the Copts—that is, the Copts of Egypt. Canaan b. Ham b. Noah married Arsal, another daughter of Batāwīl b. Tiras b. Japheth b. Noah, and she bore him the Blacks, Nubians, Fezzan, Zanj, Zaghāwah, and all the peoples of the Sudan.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq in the ḥadīth: The people of the Torah claim that this was only because of an invocation of Noah against his son Ham. This was because while Noah slept his genitals were exposed, and Ham saw them but did not cover them. Shem and Japheth, on the other hand, saw them and the two of them threw a garment

36. Yājūj, Mājūj (also Yaʾjūj, Maʾjūj); Gen 10:2, Qurʾān 21:96. Two peoples who belong to the outstanding figures of Jewish and Muslim eschatology. Connected with the peoples of the Northeast of the ancient world, the dwelling place of peoples who are to burst forth from their isolation in the last days, devastating the world southwards. *Shorter Encyc.*, 637.

37. Qūṭ throughout the Arabic text.

38. Kanʿān. See n. 35 above, as well as *Shorter Encyc.*, 216, s.v. Kanʿān.

over him and concealed his genitals. When he awoke from his sleep he knew what Ham had done as well as what Shem and Japheth had done. He said, "Cursed is Canaan b. Ham. Slaves will they be to his brothers!" Then he said, "May God my Lord bless Shem, and may Ham be a slave of his two brothers. May God requite Japheth and let him alight at the dwelling places of Shem, and may Ham be a slave to them."[39] The wife of Shem b. Noah was Ṣalīb bt. Batāwīl b. Mehujael b. Enoch b. [213] Cain b. Adam, who bore him several male offspring: Arpachshad b. Shem, Asshur[40] b. Shem, Lud[41] b. Shem, and Elam b. Shem. Shem also had Aram b. Shem. I (Ibn Isḥāq) do not know whether Aram was from the same mother as Arpachshad and his brothers or not.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: When Sūq Thamanīn became too confining for the children of Noah they moved to Babylon and built it. It is situated between the Euphrates and the Ṣarāt. It was twelve *farsakh*s (seventy-two km) by twelve *farsakh*s; its gate was situated in the place of today's Dūrān,[42] above the Kūfah Bridge to the left as you cross it. They multiplied there, and they had reached one hundred thousand when they became Muslims.

Returning to the account of Ibn Isḥāq: Lud b. Shem b. Noah married Shakbah bt. Japheth b. Noah, and she bore him Fāris, Jurjān, and the races (*ajnās*) of Fāris.[43] In addition to the Persians, Lud begat Ṭasm and 'Imlīq, but I do not know whether the latter was by the mother of the Persians or not. 'Imlīq was the progenitor of the Amalekites, who were dispersed throughout the land. The peoples of the East and those of 'Umān, of the Ḥijāz, of Syria, and of Egypt are all descended from him. From

39. Note the shift of the object of the curse from Canaan to Ham. For differing versions of this curse in Jewish and Muslim tradition, see *Encyc. Judaica*, 7:1216–17; *EI²*, s.v. Ham.

40. Ṭabarī, I, 213, has Ashūdh.

41. Ṭabarī, loc. cit., has Lāwudh.

42. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 615.

43. The significance of this genealogy is that the descendants of Shem and Japheth are here united—thus the two great peoples of Islam at the time of Ṭabarī, the Arabs and the Persians, may be of a common origin. Ṭabarī shows some doubts about this, however. See below, note 61.

them, too, came the giants in Syria who were called Canaanites, the Pharaohs of Egypt, and the people of Baḥrayn and 'Umān from whom a nation (*ummah*) called the Jāsim is descended. The inhabitants of al-Madīnah are descended from them—the Banū Huff, Sa'd b. Hizzān, the Banū Maṭar, and the Banū al-Azraq. The people of Najd—the Badīl, the Rāḥil, and the Ghafār—were of them, and the same is true of the people of Taymā'. The king of the Ḥijāz in Taymā' was one of them (his [214]
name was al-Arqam), but they were inhabitants of Najd nevertheless, while the inhabitants of al-Ṭā'if were the Banū 'Abd b. Ḍakhm, a clan of the first 'Abs.

The Banū Umaym b. Lud b. Shem b. Noah were the people of Wabār in the sandy land, the sands of 'Ālij.[44] They had increased and multiplied there when God's vengeance struck them down because they were openly disobedient. As a result, they were destroyed; only a remnant of them survived, which are the ones called the Nasnās.

Having increased and multiplied in al-Yamāmah[45] and its surroundings, the Ṭasm b. Lud inhabited that area as far as (the borders of) al-Baḥrayn. The Ṭasm, the Amalekites, the Umaym, and the Jāsim comprised an Arab people (*qawm*); their language, to which they were predisposed, was an Arabic dialect. Fāris was of the people of the East in the land of Persia (Fārs), where they spoke Persian (*fārisiyyah*).

Aram b. Shem b. Noah begat Uz b. Aram, Gether b. Aram, and Hul b. Aram. Then Uz b. Aram begat Gether b. Uz (and 'Ād
b. Uz) and 'Ubayl b. Uz. And Gether b. Aram begat Thamūd b. [215]
Gether, and Judays b. Gether; they were an Arab people speaking the Muḍarī tongue.[46] The Arabs would call these nations the *'āribah* Arabs because the Arabic language was their original language, whereas they called the children of Ishmael b.

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44. For an explanation of the origin of this name and its location in Arabia, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 591; Brice, *Atlas*, 15.

45. A region of eastern Arabia southwest of the area known as al-Baḥrayn in early Islamic times, roughly equivalent to the regions of al-Ḥasā and al-Kharj in the Eastern Province of today's Saudi Arabia. See Brice, *Atlas*, 19.

46. Namely descendants of Muḍar, the ancestor of most of the North Arabian tribes, as distinct from the descendants of Rabī'ah and Qaḥṭān. See Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, (1) Übersichts -Tabelle, and D.

Abraham the *muta'arribah* Arabs because they only spoke these peoples' languages after they had settled among them.[47] The 'Ād, the Thamūd, the Amalekites, the Umaym, the Jāsim, the Judays, and the Ṭasm are the real Arabs. The 'Ād dwelt in the sands all the way to Ḥaḍramawt and in the Yemen. The Thamūd occupied the rocky land between the Ḥijāz and Syria as far as the Wādī al-Qurā and its environs. The Judays followed the Ṭasm and lived with them in al-Yamāmah and its environs as far as Baḥrayn. The name of al-Yamāmah at that time was Jaww. The Jāsim inhabited 'Umān and thus came to be situated there.

Others besides Ibn Isḥāq have said that Noah prayed that prophets and apostles would be descended from Shem and that he prayed that kings would be among the descendants of Japheth. He began with the prayer for Japheth and, in so doing, gave him precedence over Shem. He prayed that Ham's color would be changed and that his descendants would be slaves to the children of Shem and Japheth.

It is mentioned in the books that Noah took a milder attitude toward Ham afterwards and prayed that he should be granted compassion by his brothers. He also prayed for some of his children's children—for Cush b. Ham and Gomer b. Japheth b. Noah. That was because some of the grandchildren matured while Noah grew old, and served him as the sons of
[216] his loins had done. As a result, he prayed for a number of them.

To Shem were born Eber, Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram. Shem's place was in Mecca. From the descendants of Arpachshad came the prophets and apostles and the Best of Mankind[48] and all the Arabs and the Pharaohs of Egypt. Descended from Japheth b. Noah were all the kings of the non-Arabs, such as the Turks, the Khazars, and others, as well as the Persians. The last to rule among them was Yazdajird b.

47. See below, Ṭabarī, I, 352, where Ṭabarī states that Ishmael was sent as a prophet to the Amalekites and the peoples of Yemen, i.e. the non-Muḍarī Arabs.

48. That is, Muḥammad the Prophet, who is often called by this epithet.

Shahriyār b. Abrawīz,[49] whose genealogy leads back to Jayūmart b. Japheth b. Noah.

It is said that a people descended from Lud b. Shem b. Noah, and others descended from his brothers, went off to this Gomer, and that Gomer took them under his favor and his rule. Among them was Maday (Mādhay)[50] b. Japheth, the one to whom *mādhiyyah* swords are attributed. Cyrus the Mede,[51] the slayer of Belshazzar b. Evilmerodach b. Nebuchadnezzar, was reportedly descended from this Maday. Among the descendants of Ham b. Noah are the Nubians, the Abyssinians, the Fezzanites, the Indians, the Sindis and the peoples of the coastlands in the East and the West. Among them was Nimrod, that is, Nimrod b. Cush b. Ham.[52]

To Arpachshad b. Shem was born his son Qaynān, who is not mentioned in the Torah. He was the one of whom it was said that he was not worthy of being mentioned in the revealed scriptures, because he was a magician and called himself a god. The genealogies in the Torah reach to Arpachshad b. Shem and then continue with Shelah b. Qaynān b. Arpachshad, without mentioning Qaynān. That is because of what has been said.

It is (thus) said about Shelah that he was Shelah b. Arpachshad, among those born to Qaynān. To Shelah was born Eber, and to Eber two sons were born. One of these was Peleg, which in Arabic means Qāsim (one who divides, distributes); he was called that only because it was during his era that the earth was [217] divided up into diverse regions and tongues became diversified. Eber's other son was named Joktan (Qaḥṭān), to whom were born Ya'rub and Yaqṭān—the two sons of Joktan b. Eber b. Shelah. They settled in the land of Yemen. Joktan was the first to rule the Yemen and the first to be greeted with the kingly salute, "May you disdain the curse."

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49. Yezdigrid III (r. 634–642), the last Sassanian ruler of Iran, was defeated by the Arabs at Qādisiyyah (637) and finally at Nehawend (642). He fled to Central Asia and was murdered in 651.

50. *Mādhī* in Arabic.

51. The text reads: Khayrash or Kīrash al-Mādhī.

52. See n. 19, above.

To Peleg b. Eber[53] was born Reu,[54] and to Reu Serug was born, and to Serug Nahor was born, and to Nahor was born Terah, whose name in Arabic is Āzar.[55] To Terah was born Abraham.

Arpachshad also had a son, Nimrod b. Arpachshad, whose dwelling was in the vicinity of al-Ḥijr. To Lud b. Shem were born Ṭasm and Judays, who dwelled in al-Yamāmah. Lud also begat 'Imlīq b. Lud whose dwelling place was the holy area (al-Ḥaram) and the outskirts of Mecca. Some of his descendants reached Syria; among these were the Amalekites, from whom the Pharaohs of Egypt came. To Lud too was born Umaym b. Lud b. Shem, who had many offspring. Some of these broke away to join Gomer b. Japheth in the East. To Aram b. Shem was born Uz b. Aram, whose home was al-Aḥqāf. To Uz was born 'Ād b. Uz.

As for Ham b. Noah, to him were born Cush and Mizrayim and Put and Canaan. One of the offspring of Cush was Nimrod, the one who ruled tyrannically in Babylon. He was Nimrod b. Cush b. Ham. The rest of Ham's offspring came to reside in the coastlands of the East and West, and in Nubia, Abyssinia, and Fezzan. It is said that Mizrayim begat the Copts and Berbers and that Put journeyed to the land of Sind and Hind,[56] where he settled; the inhabitants there are said to be his descendants.

[218] As for Japheth b. Noah, to him were born Gomer, Magog,[57] Maday, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. Among the descendants of Gomer were the kings of Persia; the descendants of Tiras included the Turks and Khazars. Among the offspring of Meshech are the Ashbān;[58] descended from Maday are Gog and Magog, who are in the eastern part of the land of the Turks

53. The text reads: Fāligh b. 'Abir.

54. The text reads: Arghū.

55. This name for Abraham's father occurs in Qur'ān 6:75. It has been suggested that it is based on the name of Abraham's servant Eliezer. See *Shorter Encyc.*, 49–50. Ṭabarī was aware of the problem; see below, Ṭabarī, I, 224.

56. That is, India, Sind being nearer India and Hind being further India.

57. Ṭabarī, I, 218 has Maw'a'/Mū'a'. Note that Ms. A has variant Mawghugh/Mūghugh.

58. Also Ishbān. According to Blachère, *Dictionnaire*, I, 126, an Iranian colony from Iṣfahān established in Syria, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain. Here, possibly Spain and the Spanish are meant.

and Khazars. Among the offspring of Javan are the Slavs and Burjān.[59] The Ashbān formerly lived in the land of the Byzantines before it was attacked by the descendants of Esau and others. Each of the three branches—Shem, Ham, and Japheth—set out for a land which it settled and from which it drove others away.

According to al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: God revealed to Moses, "You, O Moses, and your folk and the people of the island[60] and of the high lands are descendants of Shem b. Noah." Ibn 'Abbās continues: The Arabs, the Persians, the Nabateans, the Indians, and the Sindis are among the offspring of Shem b. Noah.[61]

According to al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father: The Indians and Sindis are children of Buqayin b. Yaqṭān b. Eber b. Shelah b. Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah, while Makran is the son of al-Band. Jurhum's name was Hadhram b. Eber b. Siba b. Joktan b. Eber b. Shelah b. [219] Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah. Hazarmavet was the son of Joktan b. Eber b. Shelah, and (this) Joktan was Qaḥṭān b. Eber b. Shelah b. Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah, according to the words of whoever ascribed him to someone other than Ishmael.

The Persians are descendants of Fāris b. Nabras b. Nāsūr b. Shem b. Noah, while the Nabateans are children of Nabit b. Mash b. Aram b. Shem b. Noah. The people of the island and of the highlands are the offspring of Mash b. Aram b. Shem b. Noah. 'Imlīq—who is 'Urayb—and Ṭasm and Umaym are sons of Lud b. Shem b. Noah. 'Imlīq is the father of the Amalekites, from whom came the Berbers, who are children of Thamīlā b. Mārib b. Fārān b. 'Amr b. 'Imlīq b. Lud b. Shem b. Noah, with the exception of Sinhajah and Kitāmah who are offspring of Furayqish b. Qays b. Ṣayfī b. Sibā'. It is said that 'Imlīq was the

59. Probably the Bulgars, who settled in the Balkans in 678. See Blachère, *Dictionnaire*, I, 501.

60. Al-Jazīrah, the Arabic name for the Arabian Peninsula.

61. An example of the effort to link the major peoples of the early Islamic Empire in their genealogy, even though this conflicts with other genealogies given earlier. The name of Ibn 'Abbās is often used to validate unusual and even forged traditions. See *Shorter Encyc.*, 171.

first to speak Arabic when they departed from Babylon. They and Jurhum were called the *'āribah* Arabs.

Thamūd and Judays were sons of Eber b. Aram b. Shem b. Noah, while 'Ād and Ubayl were sons of Uz b. Aram b. Shem b. Noah. The Byzantines are descendants of Lanṭā b. Javan b. Japheth b. Noah while Nimrod was the son of Cush b. Canaan b. Ham b. Noah. He was the lord of Babylon and of Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful.

[220] In that era 'Ād was called "'Ād of Iram," and when 'Ād was destroyed, Thamūd was called Iram. When Thamūd in turn was destroyed, the remaining sons of Iram were called Armān —they are Nabateans.[62] All of them were of Islam while they lived in Babylon, until Nimrod b. Cush b. Canaan b. Ham b. Noah ruled over them and called on them to worship idols, which they did. Whereas one evening their speech was Syriac, the next morning God had confused their tongues, and thus they became unable to understand each other. As a result, the descendants of Shem came to have eighteen languages. The descendants of Ham also came to have eighteen languages, while the descendants of Japheth had thirty-six languages.[63]

God made 'Ād, 'Ubayl, Thamūd, Judays, 'Imlīq, Ṭasm, Umaym, and the children of Joktan b. Eber b. Shelah b. Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah able to understand Arabic. The one who flew these peoples' banners over Babylon was Būnāẓir[64] b. Noah.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: Noah married a woman of the children of Cain and she bore him a son whom he named Būnāẓir.

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62. Iram occurs frequently in early Arabic literature as the name of a tribe or place, usually connected with 'Ād but also, as here, with Thamūd, Ḥimyar, etc. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥimyar. The name of the early Nabateans who inhabited Transjordan was connected, after the Arab conquest, with the people of Iraq.

63. Thus yielding 72, the supposed number of languages spoken in the world. The number 72 is also used for the number of sects of the children of Israel, while Islam was to be divided into 73 sects, 72 of which would be in Hell while one, that of the Prophet and his companions, would be the right one. See *Mishkat*, I, vi, 2.

64. A problematic reading. Possibly a variant on the name Nebuchadnezzar, which is usually Bukhtnaṣar in Arabic texts. Note that the story of this otherwise unknown son of Noah is again attributed to Ibn 'Abbās.

He begat him in a city in the East called Ma'lūn Shamsā.[65]

The descendants of Shem settled al-Majdal, the navel of the earth, which is situated between Satidamā[66] and the sea between the Yemen and Syria. God bequeathed them prophecy, scripture, and beauty, and gave them complexions that were brown and white.

The descendants of Ham settled along the course of the south and west wind—this region is called al-Dārūm[67]—and God gave them brown complexions, though a few were white. He populated their land and their sky. He made them free of plague, and he placed in their land the tamarisk, the thornbush, the asclepias, the sweet-fruited trees, and the date-palm. The sun and the moon move in their heavens. [221]

The descendants of Japheth settled in al-Ṣafūn,[68] along the course of the north and east wind. There are ruddy-complexioned and blond people among them. God emptied their land, intensified its cold, and emptied its skies—none of the seven planets moves above them, because they came to be under (the constellation of) Ursa (Major), the North Star, and the two bright stars of Ursa Minor. There they were afflicted with the plague. After this, 'Ād reached al-Shiḥr[69] and perished there in a valley called Mughīth.[70] Following that, Mahrah still reached them in al-Shiḥr. The 'Ubayl reached the site of Yathrib, while the Amalekites reached San'ā' before it had that name. Following that, some of them went to Yathrib and evicted 'Ubayl, who then settled in the site of al-Juḥfah. But a

65. Probably not an actual place but an Arabization of the Aramaic *Ma'alenei Shimsha* (Dt 11:30) "the [place of the] setting of the sun," i.e., the West, whereas here the city is in the East.

66. A name often mentioned in early Arabic poetry, referring either to a snow-covered mountain in India or to a place in the vicinity of Mosul in northern Iraq or in eastern Anatolia. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 6–8 argues that India is incorrect and that either of the other two is meant by these references. Here northern Iraq would seem more likely.

67. Hebrew *darōm* means "south."

68. Hebrew *ṣafōn* means "north."

69. On the Indian Ocean in southern Arabia. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 313–314.

70. Lit. "helper" when used with *ghayth*, as in *ghayth mughīth* meaning "a rain which brings help" or "general rain," hence—ironically here—the good omen. See Lane, VI, 2306, 2314.

flood came and swept them away, destroying them. For this reason the place was named "the sweeping place" (al-Juḥfah).

Thamūd entered al-Ḥijr and its environs and perished there. Ṭasm and Judays entered al-Yamāmah and perished, while Umaym entered the land of Abār[71] and perished there. It lies between al-Yamāmah and al-Shiḥr and no one goes there nowadays, for the jinns have taken possession of it. It was called Abār for Abār b. Umaym.

The descendants of Joktan b. Eber entered the Yemen. It was named the Yemen (south) as they moved southward into it. Some folk (*qawm*) descended from Canaan entered Syria, which was named al-Sha'm as they moved northward into it. Syria had been called the land of the Canaanites, but the children of Israel came and slew them there and drove them off. After that Syria belonged to the children of Israel until the Byzantines (Rūm) attacked and slew them, exiling all but a few of
[222] them to Iraq. Then the Arabs came and conquered Syria. It was Peleg—that is, Peleg b. Eber b. Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah—who divided the land among the descendants of Noah, as we have described.

The accounts received from the Messenger of God and from the scholars before us concerning the genealogies of the nations who are on the earth today, according to Aḥmad b. Bashīr b. Abī 'Abdallāh al-Warrāq—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'īd —Qatādah—al-Ḥasan—Samurah: The Messenger of God said, "Shem was the father of the Arabs, Japheth was the father of the Byzantines, and Ham was the father of the Abyssinians."

According to al-Qāsim b. Bishr b. Ma'rūf—Rawḥ—Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arubah—Qatādah—al-Ḥasan—Samurah b. Jundub: The Prophet said, "Noah begat three: Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Shem was the father of the Arabs, Ham was the father of the Blacks, and Japheth was the father of the Byzantines."

According to Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—'Abbād b. al-'Awwām—Sa'īd—Qatādah—al-Ḥasan—Samurah: The Messenger of God said, "Shem was the father of the Arabs, and Ja-

71. Also Ubār or Wabar, a place in the Yemen, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 71.

pheth was the father of the Byzantines, while Ham was the father of the Abyssinians."

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Ziyād—Rawḥ—Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūbah—Qatādah—al-Ḥasan—Samurah: The Prophet said, "Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth [Yāfith]." ʿAbdallāh continues: Rawḥ said, "Go, keep in your memory [the name] Yāfith." But I once heard it pronounced Yāfit. This tradition has been related on the authority of ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Saʿīd—Qatādah—al-Ḥasan—Samurah and ʿImrān b. Ḥaṣīn—the Prophet. [223]

According to ʿImrān b. Bakkār al-Kalaʿī—Abū al-Yamān-Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd: I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyīb saying, "Noah begat three, each one of whom begat three: Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Shem begat the Arabs, Persians, and Byzantines, in all of whom there is good. Japheth begat the Turks, Slavs, Gog, and Magog, in none of whom there is good. Ham begat the Copts, Sudanese, and Berbers."

It is related by Ḍamrah b. Rabīʿah—Ibn ʿAṭāʾ—his father: Ham begat all those who are black and curly-haired, while Japheth begat all those who are full-faced with small eyes, and Shem begat everyone who is handsome of face with beautiful hair. Noah prayed that the hair of Ham's descendants would not grow beyond their ears, and that wherever his descendants met the children of Shem, the latter would enslave them.

The people of the Torah claim that Shem was born to Noah when the latter was five hundred years old. Then Arpachshad was born to Shem when Shem was one hundred and two years old. According to what has been asserted, Shem lived for six hundred years altogether. Then Qaynān was born to Arpachshad, and Arpachshad lived four hundred and thirty-eight years. Qaynān was born to Arpachshad when he was past the age of thirty-five, and Shelah in turn was born to Qaynān after the latter was thirty-nine. The length of Qaynān's life is not [224] given in the books with the others, because of the reason we have mentioned.[72] Then Eber was born to Shelah after Shelah

72. The biblical Kenan (Qaynān) was the son of Enosh son of Seth son of Adam. See Gen 5 and I Chron 1. No other occurrence of the name is found in the Bible, as Ṭabarī states.

was thirty. Shelah lived four hundred and thirty-three years in all. Then Peleg was born to Eber, as was Peleg's brother Joktan. Peleg was born forty years after the flood.

When the people had become more numerous they planned, in spite of their recent experience with the flood, to build a city so large it would contain them all so that they would not have to disperse, or a tall edifice which would save them from drowning if the flood came again. Mighty and powerful God desired to weaken and disappoint them in order to teach them that power and strength were His. So He dispersed them and scattered their company and separated their languages.

Eber lived four hundred and seventy-four years. Then Reu was born to Peleg, and Peleg lived two hundred and thirty-nine years. When Reu was born to Peleg the latter was past thirty. Then Serug was born to Reu. Reu lived two hundred and thirty-nine years, and Serug was born to him after he had passed the age of thirty-two. Then Nahor was born to Serug, whose life spanned two hundred and thirty years, Nahor being born to him when he was thirty. Following that, Terah, the father of Abraham, was born to Nahor. This name was the one Terah's father had given him, but when Terah became Nimrod's custodian of the treasury of his gods, he named him Āzar. It has been said that Āzar was not the name of Abraham's father, but was rather the name of an idol; this latter tradition is related on the authority of Mujāhid.[73] It has also been said that the word *āzar* [225] means "crooked" and that he disgraced him with it. This was after twenty-seven years of Nahor's life had passed. Nahor lived two hundred and forty-eight years in all. Abraham was born to Terah. Between the Flood and Abraham's birth, one thousand and seventy-nine years elapsed. Some people of the book say that the period between the Flood and Abraham's birth was one thousand two hundred and sixty-three years, and that this was three thousand three hundred and thirty-seven years after the creation of Adam.

To Joktan the son of Eber was born Ya'rub and Ya'rub begat Yashjub b. Ya'rub and Yashjub begat Saba' b. Yashjub and Saba'

73. See above, n. 55.

begat Ḥimyar b. Saba' and Kahlān b. Saba' and 'Amr b. Saba' and al-Ash'ar b. Saba' and Anmār b. Saba' and Murr b. Saba' and 'Āmilah b. Saba'. 'Amr b. Saba' begat 'Adī b. 'Amr and 'Adī begat Lakhm b. 'Adī and Judhām b. 'Adī.

Some Persian genealogists claim that Noah was the same person as Afarīdhūn who overcame al-Azdahāq and deprived him of his rule, while others claim that Afarīdhūn was Dhū al-Qarnayn, the companion of Abraham[74] who achieved at Beersheba what God mentioned in His book. Others say that he was Solomon b. David. I mention Afarīdhūn here only because of the statement which I previously quoted about him—the statement to the effect that he was Noah. His story was similar to Noah's in that he, too, had three sons, was a just man, comported himself well, and was reportedly responsible for destroying al-Ḍaḥḥāk. It is said that Noah killed al-Ḍaḥḥāk when he was sent (on his mission). This is according to the statement of the one whom I mentioned. It is also said that Noah was sent only to his own people, and that this was the people of [226] al-Ḍaḥḥāk.

As for the Persians, they ascribe to him the genealogy I mention. That is to say, they claim that Afarīdhūn was a descendant of Jam Shādh, the king whom al-Azdahāq slew. We have already explained the story of Jam Shādh. Between Afarīdhūn and Jam were ten ancestors.[75]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib: We received word that Afarīdhūn—who was of the stock of Jam, the king before al-Ḍaḥḥāk, and asserted that he was the ninth of Jam's sons and that his birthplace was in Danbawand—went forth until he came to the dwelling of al-Ḍaḥḥāk, and he seized the latter, and bound him up, and ruled for two hundred years. He

74. Generally identified with Alexander of Macedonia, but Muslim commentators also hold him to have been a contemporary of Abraham—thus distinguishing an earlier and a later figure by this name. Thus the Dhū al-Qarnayn mentioned here is the earlier figure bearing this name, who is considered by some commentators to have been a prophet, by others merely a devout, believing ruler. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Iskandar; *Shorter Encyc.*, 175–6, s.v. al-Iskandar; ibid., 76, s.v. *Dhū'l-Ḳarnain*; Friedlander, *Die Chadhirlegende*, 294 ff.

75. So in Anklesaria, 295, where the entire genealogy of ten generations is given. Each figure in the genealogy lived for one hundred years, thus equaling the one thousand years of the evil reign of al-Ḍaḥḥāk.

turned back injustices and commanded the people to worship God and (to act with) equity and benevolence. He directed his attention to the lands and other things which al-Ḍaḥḥāk had seized from the people by force, and he returned them all to their owners except when the owner could not be found. When that happened he endowed the property for the poor and the common people. It is said that he was the first to name the food-animals, and the first to concern himself with medicine and with the stars, and that he had three sons. The eldest was named Sarm, the second Ṭūj, and the third Īraj.[76] Afarīdhūn feared that his sons would not agree with one another and would wrong each other, so he divided his kingdom into three parts among them. He indicated the division by means of arrows on which the names of the regions were written.[77] He
[227] then ordered each one of them to choose an arrow. Byzantium and the region to the west fell to Sarm; the Turks and Chinese to Ṭūj; while the third son, Īraj, received Iraq and India. Afarīdhūn handed over the crown and the throne to him and then died, whereupon Īraj's two brothers fell upon him and killed him. Between them they ruled the world for three hundred years.

The Persians assert that Afarīdhūn had ten forefathers, all of whom were named Athfiyān.[78] They reportedly did that out of fear of what al-Ḍaḥḥāk might do to their descendants. This was because they possessed a narrative prophesying that one of them would snatch al-Ḍaḥḥāk's rule from him, thereby avenging Jam. They were known and distinguished by the nicknames which they were given. One of them was called Athfiyān owner of the red cattle. Another was Athfiyān owner of variegated cattle. There was Athfiyān owner of such-and-such cattle. He was Afarīdhūn son of Athfiyān Burkāw,[79] the meaning of which is "owner of much cattle," son of Athfiyān

76. In Iranian tradition the three sons are called Salm (see n. 91, below), Tūj (Tūr), and Airaj (Īraj). See *Dīnkart* 8, IX, 2 8.

77. This division by means of arrows does not occur in the *Shāhnāmeh*, where Afarīdhūn simply divides the realm among his three sons.

78. See Anklesaria, loc. cit. The name, given here and in other Arabic texts as Athfiyān, is there Āspyān.

79. An Arabic rendering of Persian *purgāw*, "possessor of many cows."

Naykkāw,[80] meaning "owner of excellent cattle," son of Athfiyān Sīrkāw,[81] meaning "owner of big, fat cattle," son of Athfiyān Būrkāw,[82] meaning "owner of cattle which are the color of wild asses," son of Athfiyān Akhshīn Kāw,[83] meaning "owner of yellow cattle," son of Athfiyān Siyāhkāw,[84] meaning "owner of black cattle," son of Athfiyan Asbīdh Kāw,[85] meaning "owner of white cattle," son of Athfiyān Kabar- [228]
kāw,[86] meaning "owner of ash-grey cattle," son of Athfiyān Ramīn,[87] meaning "every variety of color and of herds," son of Athfiyān Banfarūsan son of Jam al-Shādh.

It is said that Afarīdhūn was the first to be named with *kay*,[88] for he was called Kay Afarīdhūn. *Kay* may be explained as meaning "pure, free from blemish," just as when *rūḥānī* is said, they mean by it that its subject is virtuous, pure, infallible, and related to spiritual things. It is also said that the meaning of *kay* is "anything seeking defect." Some assert that *kay* has to do with "splendor" and that splendor covered Afarīdhūn when he slew al-Ḍaḥḥāk. The Persians mention that he was a large, handsome, splendid, experienced man, and that most of his fighting was done with an iron mace topped with the head of an ox. They say also that the reign of his son Īraj over Iraq and its vicinity was during his lifetime, and that Īraj's days are thus included in Afarīdhūn's reign. He was the ruler of all the climes and he wandered through the lands. When he sat upon his throne on the day he took power, he said, "We are those who are victorious, by God's help and assistance, over al-Ḍaḥḥāk; those who subdue Satan and his minions." Then he exhorted the people and ordered them to deal equitably and to

80. Persian *nēkgāw*, "good cow."
81. Persian *sīrgāw*, "full, well-fed cow."
82. Persian *bōrgāw*, "bay, reddish-brown cow *Bundahishn*, 295: *bōrgāw*.
83. Meaning unclear.
84. *Siyahgāw* or *Siyāhgāw* in Persian; *Bundahishn*, 295: *siyā-gāw*.
85. *Asfīdgāw* or *Sefīdgāw* in Persian; *Bundahishn*, loc. cit: *spēd-gāw*.
86. Meaning unclear. Perhaps *gabz/kabz*, "big or grand of body;" op. cit.: *gēpr-gāw*.
87. Persian *ramakīn/ramagīn*, "one whose cattle are in herds;" ibid.: *ramagāw*.
88. *Kay*, New Persian, probably from Avestan *k avi*. A title used by the second dynasty of Persian kings, the Kayānids (Achaemenids). Afarīdhūn belonged to the first dynasty, the Pishwdādī kings or "primordial monarchs."

busy themselves with being just and spreading goodness
[229] among themselves. He urged them to be grateful and devoted to God. He appointed seven men to the rank of Qūhiyārī[89]—meaning "those who transform the mountains." Each of them was given a region in Danbawand and elsewhere as a sort of conveyance of property.

They say that when Afarīdhūn captured al-Ḍaḥḥāk, the latter said to him, "Do not kill me, by your grandfather Jam!" Afarīdhūn, disapproving of his words, said to him, "Your ambition became lofty and great within you, and you let it lead you on and coveted it for itself." He informed al-Ḍaḥḥāk that his father was too great a man to be compared with him (al-Ḍaḥḥāk). He told al-Ḍaḥḥāk that he would kill him with an ox which was in his grandfather's house.[90]

It is said that Afarīdhūn was the first to tame elephants and ride them, and to produce mules, and to use geese and pigeons. He was also the first to treat with theriac, to fight enemies and to kill and banish them. It is further reported that he divided the earth among his three sons Ṭūj, Salm,[91] and Īraj. He gave Ṭūj sovereignty over the lands of the Turks, Khazars, and Chinese, and this region was called Sīn Bughā.[92] He also attached to Sīn Bughā the regions adjoining it. To his second son Salm he assigned rule over the Byzantines, the Slavs, the Bulgars, and whatever was within their borders.

He apportioned the middle of the earth and its cultivated land—that is, the clime of Babylon which they called Khunārath[93]—to Īraj, his youngest son and the one most beloved to him. He did that after he had attached to that clime the areas contiguous with it—Sind, Hind, the Ḥijāz, and the like. For that reason the clime of Babylon was named Īrānshahr. In it,

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89. Persian *kūhyār* for *kūhzād* or *kūhdād*, one who is born or created in the mountain." Afarīdhūn was reared in the mountains as a child, where he was hidden from al-Ḍaḥḥāk.

90. That is, the ox-headed mace mentioned above.

91. As in the Persian sources. See n. 76, above.

92. The text reads Sīnbughaw. Probably Sīnbagh but written with an extra -āw, perhaps by analogy with the -gāw suffix of the names above.

93. Actually used as the name of Afarīdhūn's realm, it refers to Middle Persian Khwanirah (from Avestan, Khᵛaniratha), the "central, inhabited continent of the earth." See Nöldeke, *Nationalepos*.

too, enmity broke out between the descendants of Afarīdhūn [230]
and their children thereafter. The kings of Khunārath and the Turks and the Byzantines began to fight and to seek each other out over questions of spilled blood and inheritance.

It is said that when Ṭūj and Salm learned that their father had favored Īraj and given him precedence over them, they showed great hatred to him and grew more and more envious of him. Eventually they attacked their brother Īraj, and together they killed him. Ṭūj threw a lasso at him and strangled him. This is why the Turks have used the lasso ever since.[94]

Īraj had two sons, called Wandān and Isṭawanah, as well as a daughter named Khūzak, whose name some give as Khūshak.[95] Ṭūj and Salm slew Īraj's two sons with their father, but the daughter survived. It is said that the day Afarīdhūn overcame al-Ḍaḥḥāk was Rūz Mihr of Mihr-Māh, and the people adopted that day as a festival to celebrate the end of al-Ḍaḥḥāk's oppressive rule over them. They named it al-Mihrjān.[96]

It is said that Afarīdhūn was a just ruler, and also a giant; he was nine spear-lengths tall, each spear-length being three fathoms, his waist was three spear-lengths wide, and his chest was four spear-lengths wide. It is also said that he pursued the followers of Nimrod and the Nabateans who remained in the Sawād; he chased after them until he tracked their leaders down and wiped out the last trace of them. His rule lasted five hundred years.

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94. A reference to the struggle between the Iranians, descendants of Īraj, and the Turanians, descendants of Tūr (Tūj), which occupies the whole of the mythical portion of the *Shāhnāmeh*. Afarīdhūn lives to see his grandson Manūchihr avenge Īraj's death by killing both of his uncles, Salm/Sarm and Tūr/Tūj. According to the *Shāhnāmeh* Tūr slew Īraj with a dagger, not a lasso.

95. The text reads Khūzak. In Persian, Vānīdar and Anastōb are the sons, and Gūza(g) is the daughter. Ṭabarī's rendering Khūzak is probably due to a misreading of *kh* for *j* = *g*.

96. See n. 21, above.

[231]

An Account of The Events Which Took Place between Noah and Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful

We have previously mentioned what happened to Noah and his children, and how they divided the earth among themselves after Noah died, as well as which areas each inhabited and where in the world they lay. Some peoples became tyrannical and insolent against God and Noah. God sent a messenger to them, but they did not believe him, and they persevered in their error, so God destroyed them. These were two tribes descended from Aram b. Shem b. Noah. One of them was ʿĀd b. Uz b. Aram b. Shem b. Noah, also called ʿĀd the First, and the second was Thamūd b. Gether b. Aram b. Shem b. Noah. They were the *ʿāribah* Arabs.

As for ʿĀd:

God sent them Hūd[97] b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ribāḥ b. al-Khalūd b. ʿĀd b. Uz b. Aram b. Shem b. Noah. Some genealogists claim that Hūd was Eber b. Shelah b. Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah. The ʿĀd tribe had three idols which they worshipped, one of which

97. The prophet Hūd is the earliest of the five "Arab" prophets mentioned in the Qur'ān, where his story is repeated in several places. See *sūrahs* 7:65–72; 11:50–60; 26:123–40; 46:21; and *sūrah* 11, which is named for him. For a discussion of his genealogy and current theories of identification, see *EI*², s.v. Hūd. His story occurs in Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 53–57, and in Kisāʾī, 109–117.

they called Ṣadā, another Ṣamūd, and the third al-Habā'.[98] Hūd called upon them to recognize God's oneness and to worship only Him and none other, and to abandon the unjust treatment of people, but they did not believe him. They said, "Who is stronger than we?" And only a few of them believed in Hūd. When they persisted in their rebelliousness Hūd exhorted them, saying to them, "Do ye build on every high place a monument for vain delight? And do ye seek out strongholds, that haply ye may last for ever? And if ye seize by force, do ye seize as tyrants? Rather, do your duty to God and obey me. Keep your duty toward Him who has given you what you know, has given you cattle and sons and gardens and watersprings. I fear [232] for you when the retribution of an awful day comes."[99] Their answer to him was to say, "It is all one to us whether you preach or are not one of those who preach."[100] They said to him, "O Hūd! You have brought us no clear proof and we are not going to forsake our gods on your say-so. We do not believe in you. We believe only that one of our gods has possessed you in an evil way."[101]

As has been mentioned, God held back rain from them for three years, and they began to suffer because of this, and sent a delegation to pray for rain. Part of their story according to Abū Kurayb—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh—'Āṣim—Abū Wā'il—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān al-Bakrī: I was on my way to the Messenger of God when I passed by a woman in al-Rabdhah.[102] She said, "Will you carry me to the Messenger of God?" I said yes, and I carried her until I reached al-Madīnah. I entered the mosque and there was the Messenger of God on the platform. Bilāl[103] was there wearing a sword, and there were black banners. I said, "What is this?" They said, "'Amr b. al-'Āṣ has returned from his raid."

98. Both Tha'labī and Kisā'ī agree with Ṭabarī on two of these names, but have Hird instead of Ṣamūd.

99. Qur'ān, 16:124–135.

100. Ibid., 16:136.

101. Ibid., 11:53–54.

102. Or al-Rabadhah, a place in the vicinity of al-Madīnah on the way to Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 749.

103. Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, an early convert to Islam, of Abyssinian origin. He became a companion of the Prophet, serving as his "mace-bearer," steward, and personal servant, accompanying him on all military expeditions.

When the Messenger of God descended from the platform I went to him and asked his permission to speak. He granted it to me, and I said, "O Messenger of God! At the gate is a woman of the Banū Tamīm who asked me to carry her to you." He said, "O Bilāl! Give her leave." I entered and when I had sat down the Messenger of God said to me, "Was there any trouble between you [that is, your tribe] and Tamīm?" I said, "Yes, and luck turned against them. If you think that you should place the desert between us and them, then do so." The woman said, "And if someone harms you, who will avenge you, O Messenger of God?" I said, "I am like the scapegoat which carries wrongs. Did I carry you so that you should be an adversary to
[233] me? God forbid that I should be like the delegation of ʿĀd!" The Messenger of God said, "And what is the delegation of ʿĀd?" I said, "Because of the Omniscient One, you have forgotten that ʿĀd suffered drought and sent some people to pray for rain. In Mecca they passed by Bakr b. Muʿāwiyah, who gave them wine to drink, and whose two slave girls sang their praises for a month. then they sent a man from his place to the mountains of Mahrah,[104] where he prayed, and clouds appeared. And whenever the clouds appeared, he would say, "Go to so-and-so." Then one cloud appeared, and a voice proclaimed, "Take them [meaning the clouds] as fine and copious ashes; leave no one of ʿĀd alive." The man heard this but hid the news from them (that is, from ʿĀd) until the punishment befell them.

According to Abū Kurayb, Abū Bakr later said regarding the account of ʿĀd: The one who came to them set out, then he came to the mountains of Mahrah and ascended and said, "O God! I have not come to You for a captive whom I ask You to redeem, nor for a sick person whom I ask You to heal, but to ask You to give rain to ʿĀd as You used to." Then some clouds rose up before him from which a voice said, "Choose!" He said, "Go to Banū so-and-so." Then the last of them passed by, a black rain cloud, and the man said, "Go to ʿĀd." Then a voice proclaimed from it, "Take it as fine and copious ash, do not

104. An area of southern Arabia. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 700.

leave anyone from 'Ād!" He concealed what he had heard from 'Ād while the people were drinking with Bakr b. Mu'āwiyah. Bakr b. Mu'āwiyah did not want to tell them (of their tribe's destruction) because they were with him, eating his food, so he began to sing and thereby made them aware.

According to Abū Kurayb—Zayd b. Ḥubāb Salāām Abū al-Mundhir al-Naḥawī—'Āṣim—Abū Wā'il—al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd al-Bakrī: I went forth to complain about al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to the Messenger of God. I passed by al-Rabdhah and there was an old woman of the Banū Tamīm abandoned there. She said, "O 'Abdallāh! I need something from the Messenger of God. [234] Can you bring me to him?" So I carried her and we reached al-Madīnah. Abū Ja'far said, "I think that was I." I saw black banners, so I asked, "What is wrong with the people?" They replied, "They want him to send 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ somewhere." So I sat until he finished. Then he entered his house (or, in another version, his dwelling). I asked permission to speak and he granted it. I entered and sat down and the Messenger of God said, "Was there any trouble between you and Banū Tamīm?" I responded, "Yes, and fortune was against them. I passed by al-Rabdhah and saw one of their old women abandoned there. She asked me to carry her to you, and she is at the gate now." The Messenger of God granted her permission to come in, and she did so. I said, "O Messenger of God! Place al-Dahnā' between us and Banū Tamīm as a barrier!"[105] The old woman became furious and excited, and she said, "Where will you force the one who harmed you, O Messenger of God?" I said, "I am like the one whom people call 'a scapegoat bearing sins.' I carried this one and did not dream that she would be an adversary to me. I pray to God and His Messenger that I not be like the emissary of 'Ād!" He said, "And what is the emissary of 'Ād?" I said, "Because of the Omniscient One it slipped your mind." But he was making me relish the tale, so I said, "'Ād was suffering drought and sent Qayl as an emissary. He stopped with

105. An area west of al-Baḥrayn and north of al-Yamāmah. The Banū Tamīm were located to the west of this area, i.e., nearer to al-Madīnah. The wish expressed here is that they might be to the east of al-Dahnā'—a desert area. See Brice, *Atlas*, 19.

Bakr, who gave him wine to drink for a month, and two slave girls whom they called the 'two locusts' sang for him. Then he went out to the mountains of Mahrah and proclaimed, 'I did not come for a sick person, to cure him, nor for a captive, to redeem him, O God! Give rain to 'Ād as You used to give it!' And black rain clouds passed by him, and from them a voice proclaimed, 'Take them as fine and copious ash, let no one of 'Ād remain!' The woman was saying, 'Do not be like the emissary of 'Ād,' for I have heard that no more wind was sent against them, O Messenger of God, than the amount that would blow in my ring." Abū Wā'il also reports this story.

[235] As for Ibn Isḥāq, he said what Ibn Ḥumayd told us: Salamah heard from him that when the drought befell 'Ād, they prepared a delegation to Mecca from among themselves to ask for rain. So they sent Qayl b. 'Anz and Luqaym b. Huzāl b. Huzayl b. 'Utayl b. Ḍadd, the elder son of 'Ād, and Marthid b. Sa'd b. 'Ufayr, who was a Muslim but hid his conversion, and Jalhamah[106] b. al-Khaybarī, the maternal uncle of his mother's brother Mu'āwiyah b. Bakr. Then they sent Luqmān b. 'Ād b. so-and-so b. so-and-so b. Ḍadd b. 'Ād the Elder. Each of these men went forth accompanied by a group of his relatives, so that the entire delegation numbered seventy men.

When they arrived at Mecca they alighted at the home of Mu'āwiyah b. Bakr in the outskirts of Mecca, he having come out of the sanctuary. He sheltered them and honored them, since they were his maternal uncles and in-laws. Huzaylah bt. Bakr was the sister of Mu'āwiyah b. Bakr by both his father and his mother, just as Lahdah bt. al-Khaybarī was to Luqaym. She had borne him four sons: 'Ubayd b. Luqaym b. Huzāl, 'Amr b. Luqaym b. Huzāl, 'Āmir b. Luqaym b. Huzāl, and 'Umayr b. Luqaym b. Huzāl. They were with their maternal uncles in Mecca with the family of Mu'āwiyah b. Bakr—they were ultimately the only survivors from 'Ād.

When the 'Ād delegation alighted at the home of Mu'āwiyah
[236] b. Bakr they remained with him for a month, drinking wine while the "two locusts," two female singers of Mu'āwiyah b.

106. Kisā'ī, 113, has Jahlamah.

Bakr, sang to them. Their journey took a month, and their stay lasted a month. Muʿāwiyah saw how long they remained, while their people had sent them to seek aid against the tribulation which had befallen them. It distressed him, and he said, "My uncles and in-laws have perished while these are staying with me. But they are my guests, who have alighted at my home, and by God, I do not know what to do. I would be ashamed to order them to go away and do what they were sent to do, for then they would realize that they are exasperating me by staying with me while those of their people who stayed behind perish of trouble and thirst." He complained of this to his two female singers, the "locusts," and they said, "Compose a poem about this and we will sing it to them. They will not know who composed it, but it may make them leave." Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr accepted their suggestion and recited,

Woe unto you, O Qayl, woe! Arise and murmur softly
"perhaps God will water us with a light cloud

And He will water the land of ʿĀd." Indeed ʿĀd
have become unable to pronounce words

From the terrible thirst; both the old
and the young have lost hope

Their women were well off
but now their women are longing for milk

And wild beasts approach them openly
and fear no arrow from any member of ʿĀd

While you remain here with whatever you desire [237]
all day and all night long.

May God make ugly your delegation of a people
may they receive neither greeting nor peace!

When Muʿāwiyah had recited that song, the "two locusts" sang it to the delegation. When they heard it they said to each other, "Our people have sent us only to seek help through us

against this tribulation which has descended upon them, but we have delayed. Let us enter the sanctuary and seek rain for our people!"

Marthid b. Sa'd b. 'Ufayr said, "By God! You will not be sent rain through your prayers, but if you obey your prophet and return to him, then you will be given rain." In saying this, he revealed to them the fact that he had converted to Islam. When Jalhamah b. al-Khaybarī, the maternal uncle of Mu'āwiyah b. Bakr, heard these words and realized that Marthid b. Sa'd was a follower of Hūd, he said:

O Abū Sa'd, you are of a noble tribe
and your mother is of Thamūd

Whereas we will never obey you as long as we live,
nor will we do what you desire.

Do you ask us to abandon the religion of Rafd
and Raml and the family of Ḍadd and the 'Ubūd?

To abandon the religion of noble forefathers
who possessed ideas, and to follow the religion of Hūd?

Rafd, Raml, and Ḍadd were clans of 'Ād, as was al-'Ubūd. Jalhamah b. al-Khaybarī said to Mu'āwiyah b. Bakr and his father Bakr, "Restrain Marthid b. Sa'd from [going with] us. We will not let him go to Mecca with us, since he is a follower of the religion of Hūd and has abandoned our religion." Then they set out for Mecca to ask for rain for 'Ād there. After they had
[238] left, Marthid b. Sa'd went forth from the dwelling of Mu'āwiyah to follow them. He caught up with them in Mecca before they had prayed for anything. When he reached them he arose to pray to God while the delegation of 'Ād was gathered together praying. He said, "O my God! Grant me my request alone, and do not include me in anything for which the delegation of 'Ād asks."

Qayl b. 'Ānz was the chief of the delegation of 'Ād. The delegation of 'Ād prayed, "O God! Grant unto Qayl b. 'Ānz whatever he asks of you! And place our request together with his request."

Luqmān b. 'Ād, the master of 'Ād, remained apart from the

delegation. Then, when they had completed their prayer, he said, "O God! I have come to you with my own need, so grant me my request." Whereas when Qayl b. ʿĀnz prayed, he said, "O our God! If Hūd is telling the truth, give us rain, for we have acted wrongfully and we have perished." So God brought forth three clouds, one white, one red, and one black, and someone proclaimed to Qayl from the clouds, "O Qayl! Choose from among these clouds for yourself and your people." Qayl replied, "I choose the black cloud, for it is the cloud fullest of water." Thereupon a voice proclaimed to him:

You have chosen fine, copious ash,
which will not spare anyone of ʿĀd

It will leave neither parent nor child,
but it will make them all extinct

Except for Banū al-Lawdhiyyah,
the rightly-guided.

The Banū al-Lawdhiyyah were the children of Luqaym b. Huzāl b. Huzaylah, daughter of Bakr. They lived in Mecca together with their maternal uncles, and were not with the rest of the ʿĀd in their land, for they were the other ʿĀd. They were the only ʿĀd people who survived. God sent the black cloud, which Qayl b. ʿĀnz had chosen, with the vengeance it carried against ʿĀd. It came toward them from a valley of theirs called al-Mughīth.[107] When they saw it, they took it for a good omen [239] and said, "Here is a cloud bringing us rain." God said, "Nay, but it is that which ye did seek to hasten, a wind bearing painful torment, destroying all things by commandment of its Lord"[108]—that is to say, destroying everything which it was commanded to destroy. The first one to realize what was in it and to know that it was an ill wind was a woman of ʿĀd called Muhaddid.[109] When she discerned what was in it, she screamed and lost consciousness. When she awoke they said,

107. See n. 70, above.
108. Qur'ān, 46:24–25.
109. The name means "menacing, threatening," from the basic root meaning "to break, crush, demolish."

"What did you see, O Muhaddid?" She replied, "I saw a wind which had something like fire in it. There were men in front of it, leading it."

God "employed it against them for seven long nights and eight long days,[110] as God has said; *al-ḥusūm* means "lasting." It left no one alive of ʿĀd, whereas Hūd and those believers who were with him hid themselves in an enclosure. None of it struck him or those with him except what would be gentle to the skin and pleasant to the soul. It passed from ʿĀd, piercing everything between heaven and earth, marking everything with stones. The delegation of ʿĀd left Mecca and traveled until they passed by Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr and his father, and they stopped there. While they were with him, a man approached on a camel on a moonlit night, the third evening after the smiting of ʿĀd. He told them what had happened, and they asked, "And where did you part from Hūd and his companions?" He said, "I parted from them at the seacoast." And while they were doubting what he had told them, Bakr's daughter Huyzaylah said, "He is telling the truth, by the Lord of Mecca! And Muthawwib b. Yaghfur, son of my brother Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr is with them."

It has been said—and God knows best—that when Marthid
[240] b. Saʿd, Luqmān b. ʿĀd, and Qayl b. ʿĀnz prayed in Mecca, they were told, "You were granted your desire, so choose for yourselves, except that there is no path to eternal life; death is inevitable." And Marthid b. Saʿd said, "O Lord! Grant me righteousness and truth." And he was granted that. Luqmān b. ʿĀd said, "Grant me life!" But he was told, "There is no way to eternal life, so choose for yourself the length of existence of sheep droppings, or a boar on a mountain, or a rugged place on which only a trickle flows, or of seven eagles."[111] So Luqmān chose for himself the eagles, and it is asserted that he did indeed live the lifespan of seven eagles. He would take the fledgling as it emerged from its egg, keeping the male for its

110. Qur'ān, 69:7. In Arabic: *Sab'a layālin wa-thamāniyata ayyāmin ḥusūman.*

111. The eagle or vulture, *nasr*, was reputed to live one thousand years, and symbolizes long life in Arabic poetry. This story of Luqmān and the eagle occurs in Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 56–57, but not in Kisā'ī.

strength until, when it died, he would take another. He continued doing this until he reached the seventh. It is said that each eagle lived eighty years. When only the seventh remained, a brother's son said to Luqmān, "O uncle! Only this eagle's life span remains of the span of your life." And Luqmān said to him, "O nephew! This is Labad!" *Labad* in their language meant "time" or "fate." When death overtook Luqmān's eagle and his life ended, the (other) eagles flew in the morning from the mountaintop, but Labad did not rise with them. Those eagles of Luqmān's were always with him, and never left him. When Luqmān did not see Labad fly up with the other eagles, he rose to go to the mountain to see what Labad was doing. Luqmān found in himself a weakness which he had never felt before, and when he reached the mountain he saw his eagle Labad fallen from among the other eagles. He called, "Rise up, O Labad!" Labad tried to rise up, but was unable to do so, for his forefeathers had fallen out, and so they died together. [241]

When Qayl b. ʿĀnz heard what was said to him in the rain cloud, he was told, "Choose for yourself as your companion chose." He said, "I choose that what befell my people should befall me." He was told that that was destruction, and he said, "I do not care. There is no purpose in my surviving them." So the punishment which befell ʿĀd also befell him, and he perished. When Marthid b. Saʿd b. ʿUfayr heard the words of the rider who informed them of the destruction of ʿĀd, he said:

ʿĀd rebelled against their prophet and so became
thirsty; the heavens did not wet them.

Their deputies were sent out for a month to seek rain
but heavy clouds followed on thirst.

For their open denial of their Lord,
destruction wiped them out.

Indeed, God deprived ʿĀd of discernment
for their hearts were a wasteland, air,

From the clear account, that they heed it,
and neither good counsel nor misfortune is enough.

May my soul, my two daughters and the mother of my children
be ransom for the soul of our prophet Hūd;

He came to us when hearts were intent
upon tyranny, and the light had departed.

We have an idol who is called Ṣamūd,
facing him are a corpse and dust.

Those who were delegated to him, saw him
while misfortune overtook those who disbelieved.

As for me, I shall reach the people of Hūd
and his brothers when night falls.

It is said that their chief and greatest man at the time was al-Khuljān.

According to al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd—his father—Ismāʿīl b. [242] ʿAyyāsh—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: When the wind went forth against ʿĀd from the wādī, seven of them, one of whom was al-Khuljān, said, "Come, let us stand at the rim of the wādī and turn it back." But the wind went beneath each one of them and lifted him up, then dropped him and broke his neck. It left them, as God has said, "lying overthrown, as though they were hollow trunks of palm trees,"[112] until only al-Khuljān remained. He turned toward the mountain and took hold of one side of it and shook it, and it trembled in his hand. Whereupon he composed the following:

Only al-Khuljān alone remained.
o what a day, after the day which has struck me

With firm tread, mighty in its destructiveness.
had it not come to me, I would have come to it to find out about it.

Hūd said to him, "Woe unto you, O Khuljān! Surrender [to God] and you will be safe!" Al-Khuljān asked, "And what will I

112. Qur'ān, 69:7.

have with your Lord if I surrender?" Hūd replied, "Paradise." Al-Khuljān said, "And what are those I see in the clouds, as though they were Bactrian camels?" Hūd responded, "They are angels of my Lord." Al-Khuljān said, "And if I surrendered, would your Lord protect me from them?" Hūd replied, "Woe unto you! Have you ever seen a king protect someone from his own troops?" Al-Khuljān said, "Would that He might do as I wish." Then the wind came and took him and joined him with his companions.

Abū Ja'far said: God destroyed al-Khuljān and put an end to 'Ād, except for those few who remained. They perished, but God saved Hūd and those who believed in him. It is said that Hūd lived one hundred and fifty years.

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn—Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal—Asbāt—al-Suddī: And unto 'Ād (was sent) their brother [243]
Hūd, who said, "O my people! Serve God! You have no other god save Him!"[113] This means that Hūd came to 'Ād and admonished them, reminding them of what God had related in the Qur'ān, but they persisted in disbelieving him, and challenged him to punish them. So he said to them, "Knowledge is with God alone. I pass on to you that with which I have been sent."[114] When 'Ād were unbelievers, they were smitten with a drought so terrible that they became extremely exhausted. For Hūd prayed for their misfortune and God sent them the barren wind, that is, the wind that does not pollinate trees. When they saw it, they thought it was just a passing incident of the rainy season. But when it came near to them they saw camels and men which it was blowing around between heaven and earth. When they saw that, they rushed into their houses. When they entered their houses it came upon them and destroyed them there. Then it forced them out of their houses and brought them "a day of constant calamity."[115]

"Constant calamity" (*naḥs*) is lasting misfortune. The wind went on punishing them for "seven long nights and eight gruel-

113. Ibid., 11:50.
114. Ibid., 46:23.
115. Ibid., 54:19.

ing days."[116] It wiped out everything in its path. When it took them out of their houses, God said, "Sweeping men away [from their houses] as though they were uprooted trunks of palm trees"[117] uprooted from their foundations and "hollow"[118] —they became hollow and fell down.

And after God had destroyed them, He sent black birds to
[244] them which picked them up and carried them out to sea, and cast them into it. It is as He said, "And morning found them so that naught could be seen of them save their dwellings."[119] The wind blew normally except for that day when it blew against the treasure-house and overcame them. They could see no limit to its power, for it was as He said, "They were destroyed by a fierce roaring wind."[120] *Ṣarṣar* means that which has a powerful sound.

According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad—Wahb: When God punished ʿĀd with the wind which castigated them, it tore up huge trees by the roots, and smashed their houses down upon them. Whoever was not in a house was blown by the wind until it split the mountains with him, and thus all of them were destroyed.

As for Thamūd:

They were insolent toward their Lord, disbelieved in Him, and caused evil upon the earth. Because of this, God sent to them Ṣāliḥ[121] b. ʿUbayd b. Asif b. Māsikh b. ʿUbayd b. Khādir b. Thamūd b. Gether b. Aram b. Shem b. Noah as a messenger to call them to declare God's unity and to worship Him alone.

It is said that Ṣāliḥ was Ṣāliḥ b. Asif b. Kamāshij b. Iram b. Thamūd b. Gether b. Aram b. Shem b. Noah. One of their re-

116. Ibid., 69:7; see n. 110, above.
117. Ibid., 54:20.
118. Ibid., 69:7; lit. *munqaʿirīn*.
119. Ibid., 46:25.
120. Ibid., 69:6. In Arabic: *Fa-uhlikū bi-rīḥin ṣarṣarin ʿātiyatin*.
121. Another of the Arabian prophets mentioned in the Qur'ān, especially in *sūrahs*, 7, 11, 26, and 27. Unlike ʿĀd, Hūd's people, Thamūd is a historically well-attested tribe. See *Shorter Encyc.*, 499–500, s.v. Ṣāliḥ, and ibid., 591–92, s.v. Thamūd. The story of Ṣāliḥ is elaborated by Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 58–63; Kisāʾī, 117–128.

sponses to him was to say, "O Ṣāliḥ! You have hitherto been the one in whom our hope was placed. Do you ask us not to worship what our fathers worshipped? Verily we are in grave [245] doubt about that to which you call us."[122] God had made their lives long, and they inhabited al-Ḥijr as far as Wādī al-Qurā between al-Ḥijāz and Syria. Sāliḥ went on urging them to worship God in spite of their rebelliousness and tyranny. His calling them to God only strengthened their determination not to respond. When this had gone on for some time—as had Ṣaliḥ's efforts—they said to him, "If you are truthful, then bring us a sign."

What happened then regarding them and Ṣāliḥ was told by al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-Razzāq —Isrāʾīl—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rufayʿ—Abū al-Ṭufayl: Thamūd said to Ṣāliḥ, "Bring us a sign if you are indeed truthful." Ṣāliḥ said to them, "Go to an elevation on the land," and it shook violently as a woman in labor shakes, and it opened up, and from its midst a camel came forth. Ṣāliḥ said, "This is God's camel, a token unto you. Let her feed in God's land, and do not hurt her, lest a painful torment seize you.[123] She has the right to drink, and you have the right to drink, each on an appointed day."[124] But when they wearied of her, they hamstrung her,[125] and Ṣāliḥ said to them, "Enjoy life in your dwelling place for three days! This is a promise that will not be belied,"[126] (that is, you have only three days left to live).

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said: Another man related to me that Ṣāliḥ told them, "As a sign of punishment, tomorrow morning you will be red, then yellow the day after that, and on the third day black." Punishment came to them in the morning, and when they saw that, they embalmed themselves and prepared themselves for death.

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122. Qur'ān, 11:62.

123. Ibid., 7:73, also 11:64.

124. Ibid., 26:155.

125. *ʿAqarūhā*, i.e., they cut or hocked the leg tendons, an act which usually preceded the slaughtering of a camel. See Lane, V, 2107–08. This is the symbolic act for which Thamūd was punished. After having called upon Ṣāliḥ to provide a divine sign—the bringing forth of a pregnant camel from a rock—and being warned not to harm her, they carried out this act.

126. Qur'ān, 11:65.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj— Abū Bakr b.
[246] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Shahr b. Ḥawshab—ʿAmr b. Khārijah: We said to him, "Tell us the tale of Thamūd." He said, "I shall relate to you what the Messenger of God said about Thamūd."

(ʿAmr b. Khārijah's account runs as follows:) Thamūd were the people of Ṣāliḥ to whom almighty God had granted long life in this world, and He made their lives invulnerable. So much so, that once when one of them began to build a house out of dried mud and it collapsed on him, that man still survived. When they saw that, they used their skills to make houses out of the mountains. They hewed the mountains out, cut through them, and hollowed them out, and they lived in comfort therein. Then they said, "O Ṣāliḥ! Ask your Lord for us to bring forth a sign to let us know that you are the Messenger of God." So Ṣāliḥ prayed to his Lord and He brought forth the she-camel for them. Her drinking right was fixed on one day, theirs on another. When it was her drinking day, they would leave her alone with the water and then milk her so that her milk filled every vessel, container, and waterskin. But once when her drinking day came they kept her away from the water and did not let her drink any of it; and yet they still filled every vessel, container, and waterskin. So God told Ṣāliḥ, "Your people are hamstringing your she-camel." He told them that, and they replied, "Verily we have not done that." He said, "If you are not hamstringing her, a son is about to be born to you who will hamstring her." They said, "What is the sign of that son? By God, as soon as we find him we will kill him!" He said, "He is a boy with fair skin, blue eyes, reddish-brown hair, and a ruddy complexion."

In that city there were two mighty and invincible shaykhs. One of them had a son whom he did not want to let marry, and the other had a daughter for whom he could not find an equal match. A meeting was arranged between them and one of them said to the other, "What prevents you from marrying your son off?" He answered, "I cannot find an equal match for him."
[247] The other responded, "Verily my daughter is an equal match for him, and I will arrange a marriage with you." So he married her to him and from them that son was born.

In the city there were eight unrepentant evildoers. When Ṣā-

liḥ said to them, "Only a child among you will hamstring her," they chose eight women who were midwives from the town and ordered them to circulate through the town. If they found a woman in labor, they were to observe what she bore. If it was a boy they were to slay it, but if it was a girl they were to refrain from harming her. When they found that child, the women shouted and said, "This is the one whom God's messenger Ṣāliḥ meant." Their orders required them to take him, but his two grandfathers intervened to stop them and said, "If Ṣāliḥ wants him, we will slay him!"

He was the most evil of children and each day he grew as much as others grew in a week, each week he grew as much as others grew in a month, and each month as much as others grew in a year. One day the eight evildoers who never did good gathered togeher with the two shaykhs and said, "Make this boy our leader because of his status and the nobility of his grandfathers." So they became nine. Now Ṣāliḥ refused to sleep in the city with them, spending his nights instead in a prayer-place called the Mosque of Ṣāliḥ. In the morning he would come to them and admonish them, and when it was evening he would go back to his mosque and spend the night there.

According to Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj: When Ṣāliḥ told the eight evildoers that a boy would be born at whose hands they would be destroyed, they said, "What do you command us?" He said, "I command you to kill them" (that is, their male children). So they killed them except for one. When it reached the turn of [248] that boy they said, "If we had not killed our sons, each one of us would have had one like this. This is the doing of Ṣāliḥ!" So they plotted among themselves to slay him, saying, "Let us pretend to go forth on a journey and let the people see us doing so. Then we will come back on a certain night of a certain month, and lie in wait for him at his praying place and kill him. People will think only that we had gone off on a journey [and will not suspect us]." They went to a large rock and lay in wait for him underneath it. God made that rock fall down on them, and it crushed them to death. Some men who had learned of their plan went out to them and found them crushed, and they went back to the city shouting, "O servants of God! It was not enough for Ṣāliḥ to order them to kill their

children, so he killed them themselves." The people of the city then gathered to hamstring the camel, but could not make themselves do it, except for that son of the tenth one.

According to Abū Jaʿfar—the Messenger of God: They wanted to trick Ṣāliḥ so they went to a hole in the path of Ṣāliḥ and eight of them hid in it, saying, "When he comes out toward us we will kill him. Then we will come to his family and attack them by night." But God gave a command to the soil and the hole caved in on them. Then others gathered and went to the she-camel while she was standing at her water-tank and the culprit said to one of them, "Bring her and I will hamstring her." So they brought her to him, but he found the job too hard and refused to do it. So they sent another, but he also found it too difficult. Whoever the culprit sent considered the matter
[249] too difficult until he himself went to her, stretched himself up, and struck her tendons, and she fell as she ran.

One of the people came to Ṣāliḥ and said, "Hurry, go to your camel, it has been hamstrung." At this he went to them, and they came forth to meet him and sought his forgiveness, saying, "O prophet of God, only so-and-so hamstrung her, so it is not a sin of ours." He said, "See if you can overtake her young. If you overtake him, perhaps God will remove the punishment from you." So they went forth seeking him. But when the young camel saw his mother upset, he went to a low mountain called al-Qārah and ascended it. They went to seize him, but God gave a command to the mountain and it grew so tall in the sky that not even the birds could reach it. Ṣāliḥ entered the city, and when the young camel saw him, he wept until his tears flowed. Then he approached Ṣāliḥ and grumbled once, then again, then again. Ṣāliḥ said, "Each grumble is the term of one day. Enjoy yourselves in your homes for these three days. This is no false promise. The sign of the punishment is that on the first day your faces will become yellow in the morning, on the second day they will become red, and on the third day black."

When they awoke in the morning, their faces were yellow as if daubed with saffron—young and old, male and female. When evening came they all shouted togehter, "Woe! One day of the

term has passed and the punishment has come upon us." When the second day dawned, their faces were red as if dyed with blood. They shouted and clamored and wept, and knew that this was their punishment. When the evening came they all cried out together, "Two days of the term have passed and the punishment had befallen us." When they rose on the third morning, their faces were black as if painted with pitch. They all shouted, "Woe! The punishment has befallen us!" They [250] wrapped themselves in shrouds and embalmed themselves for the grave. Their embalming consisted of aloes and acid, while their shrouds were leather mats.[127] Then they threw themselves to the ground and began looking back and forth between heaven and earth, not knowing from whence their punishment would come to them—whether from above them in the heavens or from beneath their feet, from the ground, humbled and separated.

When they awoke on the fourth day, they heard a clamor from heaven which was as loud as every thunderbolt and the noise of everything on earth that makes a sound all together. Their hearts stopped in their breasts and they fell down prostrate in their homes.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj —Ibn Jurayj: I have been told that when the great clamor overcame them, God destroyed all of them between sunrise and sunset. He spared only one man who was at the sanctuary of God, whom the sanctuary preserved from God's punishment. The question was asked, "Who was he, O Messenger of God?" He (Muḥammad) replied, "Abū Righāl." When he came to the city of Thamūd, the Messenger of God said to his companions, "Let none of you enter the city nor drink of their water." And he showed them the place where the young camel had gone up to al-Qārah.

According to Ibn Jurayj—Mūsā b. 'Uqbah—'Abdallāh b. Dīnār—Ibn 'Imrān: When the Prophet came to the city of

127. *Al-anṭā'*, used as dining cloths, game boards, and—more significantly—in executions. See Lane, VIII:3034.

Thamūd he said, "Verily do not visit these punished ones unless you are weeping. If you are not weeping then do not go to them, lest what happened to them happen to you."

According to Ibn Jurayj—Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh: When the Prophet came to al-Ḥijr he praised and lauded God. After prais-
[251] ing God, etc., he said, "Do not ask your Messenger for signs. These people of Ṣāliḥ asked their messenger for a sign, and God sent the she-camel to them. She would return from this pass and go forth from this pass, and she drank their water on the day of her share."

According to Ismāʿīl b. al-Mutawwakil al-Ashjaʿī—Muḥammad b. Kathīr—ʿAbdallāh b. Wāqid—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān b. Kuthaym—Abū al-Ṭufayl: When the Messenger of God went on the expedition to raid Tabuk he camped at al-Ḥijr and said, "O people! Do not ask your Prophet for signs! These folk of Ṣāliḥ asked their prophet to send them a sign and God sent them the she-camel as a sign. On the day of her turn to drink she entered among them from this pass and drank their water. On the day when it was their turn they would be supplied with it (water) and would take as much milk from her as they had taken water previously. Then she would go forth from the pass. But they became disobedient to their Lord's command and hamstrung her, so God promised them punishment after three days. It was a promise from God and was not false. So God destroyed all of them, in the East and the West, except for one man who was at God's sanctuary. God's sanctuary protected him from God's punishment. They said, "And who was that man, O Messenger of God?" He said, "Abū Righāl."

The people of the Torah claim that there is no mention of ʿĀd and Thamūd, nor of Hūd and Ṣāliḥ, in the Torah; but their repute among the Arabs of the Jāhiliyyah and of Islam was like the repute of Abraham and his people.

Were it not for (my) dislike of making the book too long and
[252] getting off the subject, I would quote poetry by poets of the Jāhiliyyah which mentions some of what I have said about ʿĀd and Thamūd and their affairs. From this, those who do not admit how well-known they were would learn the truth about their fame.

Some sages claim that Ṣāliḥ died in Mecca when he was fifty-eight years old, and that he had remained among his people for twenty years.

As Abū Ja'far said, now let us return to the discussion of Abraham, the Friend of God.

Discussion of Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful[128]

And of those Persian kings who were contemporary with him, for we have mentioned the line of descendants leading to him from Noah as well as the history of the era before that. He was Abraham b. Terah b. Nahor b. Serug b. Reu b. Peleg b. Eber b. Shelah b. Qaynān b. Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah. There is disagreement about where he came from and where he was born. Some say his birthplace was al-Sūs[129] in the province of al-Ahwāz, while others say it was Babylon in the land of the Sawād, while still others say it was in the Sawād but in the region of Kūthā.[130] Others say that his birthplace was in al-

128. The patriarch Abraham, progenitor of both Jews and Arabs, is called "God's friend" in two passages of the Bible, Is 41:8 and II Chron 20:7. There are many parallels to these Muslim tales in Jewish aggadic literature, and considerable scholarly disagreement as to the direction of influence. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, V:209ff.; *Encyc. Judaica*, 2:111ff.

129. Biblical Shushan, for Susa, an ancient Elamite capital and later capital of the Achaemenid Empire. Known in Islam as the burial place of the prophet Daniel, in Judaism it is best known as the setting of the book of Esther. Located in the southwestern Iranian province of Khūzestān near the town of Ahwāz. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 188–90.

130. An area in southern Iraq between Kūfah and Baṣrah—or including Baṣrah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 274–75. A Talmudic passage uses this name for the birthplace of Abraham. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 211, n. 20.

Warkā'[131] in the region of al-Zawābī[132] on the borders of Kaskar[133] and that after his birth his father took him to where Nimrod lived in the region of Kūthā. Others say that he was born in Ḥarrān but that his father took him to the land of Babylon.[134] Most of the earlier sages have said that Abraham was [253] born during the era of Nimrod b. Cush, while most historians say that Nimrod was an official of al-Azdahāq. Some have asserted that Noah was sent to this Nimrod against the land of Babylon and its environs. One group of ancient sages says that there was a king over him, whose name was Zarhā b. Ṭahmāsfān.[135]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: According to what has been said to us—and God knows best—there was an inhabitant of Kūthā named Āzar from a town in the Sawād, in the environs of al-Kūfah.[136] At that time Nimrod the Sinner was the ruler of the East. He was called the Lion, and it is said that his rule encompassed the East and West of the earth, and that his capital was Babylon. His domain and that of his people was in the East before the rule of the Persians. It is said that there were only three kings (in all of history) who ruled over the entire earth and all its peo-

131. Biblical Erech, mentioned in Gen. 10:10 as a mainstay of the kingdom of Nimrod. Sumerian Unuq, Akkadian Uruk, it is in southern Iraq about 40 miles northwest of ancient Ur. See *Encyc. Judaica*, 6, 838 also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 922, where it is mentioned as the birthplace of Abraham.

132. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 953, this term refers to the four rivers named Zāb in Iraq, two of which lie above Baghdād and two below. Here, then, the term refers to the southern rivers of that name.

133. A place in the area of Babylon, the exact location of which is the subject of dispute. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 317–18.

134. Thus reversing the biblical account in Gen 11 of Abraham's birth in Ur and his father's taking him to Ḥarrān.

135. An unknown figure. Although the latter name is a Persian clan or a gentilic, it does not occur in the *Shāhnāmeh*. In Persian epic literature, Cush was a relative of Zahhāk (al-Ḍaḥḥāk) and was sent by king Fereydoun (Afarīdhūn) to pacify the realm of Māzandarān. Hence the further connection of Nimrod to the al-Ḍaḥḥāk story.

136. Lit. Sawād al-Kūfah. Although the Sawād generally was used synonymously with al-'Irāq as a name for the alluvial plain of southern Mesopotamia, in a secondary sense it came to mean a "district" around a city; hence this refers to the environs of al-Kūfah. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 24, n. 1.

ple: Nimrod b. Arghu,[137] Dhū al-Qarnayn, and Solomon b. David.

One source claims that Nimrod was al-Ḍaḥḥāk himself.

Hishām b. Muḥammad said: We have been told—though God knows best—that al-Ḍaḥḥāk was Nimrod, that Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful, was born during his days, and that Nimrod was his master who wanted to burn him.

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—
[254] Asbāt—al-Suddī—Abū Ṣāliḥ and Abū Mālik—Ibn 'Abbās and Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some of the companions of the Prophet: The first king who ruled over all the earth, east and west, was Nimrod b. Canaan b. Cush b. Shem b. Noah. There were four such kings who ruled all the earth: Nimrod, Solomon b. David, Dhū al-Qarnayn, and Nebuchadnezzar—two believers and two infidels.

According to Ibn Isḥāq—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: God desired to send Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful, as an argument against his people and as a messenger to His worshippers, since there had been no such messengers between Noah and Abraham except Hūd and Ṣāliḥ. As the time when God desired to do this drew near, the astrologers came to Nimrod and said to him, "Know that we have learned from our lore that a boy will be born in this city of yours who will be called Abraham. He will abandon your religion and break your idols in such and such a month of such and such a year." When the year which the astrologers described to Nimrod began, Nimrod had every pregnant woman in his city imprisoned except for Āzar's wife, the mother of Abraham, for he did not know she was pregnant. That was because she was a young maiden and her pregnancy was not very visible. During that month of the year, whenever a woman bore a boy, Nimrod commanded that he be killed. When the mother of Abraham found that she was in labor, she went out by night to a cave

137. Or biblical Reu, see n. 54, above. Nimrod is normally referred to as the son of Canaan b. Cush (see below), but note that he is also referred to as a son of Cush b. Ham (Ṭabarī, I, 217). In the version below, the number of kings is increased to four.

near her home and bore Abraham there. She took care of his [255]
needs as one does for a newborn, then shut the cave up on him and returned home. Later she went to look at him in the cave to see what he would do and found him alive, sucking his thumb. It is said—and God knows best—that God had placed Abraham's sustenance in it, and that is what came to him from his sucking.[138]

According to the story, Āzar asked Abraham's mother what had happened with her pregnancy and she said, "I gave birth to a boy and he died." He believed her and remained silent about it.

For Abraham, one day of growing up was like a month, and a month was like a year.[139] Abraham had been in the cave for only fifteen months when he said to his mother, "Take me out that I may look around." So she took him out one evening and he looked about and thought about the creation of the heavens and the earth and said, "Verily the One who created me and sustained me, who fed me and gave me drink, is my Lord—I have no god but Him." He looked out at the sky and saw a star, and said, "This is my Lord." Then he followed it with his eyes, watching it until it disappeared. When it had set he said, "I do not like things that set." Then he saw the moon rising and said, "This is my Lord." And he followed it with his eyes until it disappeared, and when it had set, he said, "If my Lord did not guide me, verily I would be one of those who go astray."[140]

When day came upon him and the sun rose, he saw the greatness of the sun and saw that here was something with more light than he had ever seen before. He said, "This is my Lord! This is greater!" And when it, too, set he exclaimed, "O my people! I am free from all the things which ye associate (with Him). I have turned my face toward Him that created the heav-

138. See the parallel aggadic tales in Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 188–89. According to V, 210, n. 14, there were two spouts, one yielding honey and the other milk. In Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 64, there were four, one yielding milk, another honey, another clarified butter, and the fourth water.

139. See the story of Ṣāliḥ for a similar account in Ṭabarī, I, 247, and again with Abraham, Ṭabarī, I, 257.

140. See Qur'ān, 6:77–78.

ens and the earth, as one upright by nature; I am not an idolator."[141]

[256] Then Abraham returned to his father Āzar, having seen the right course. He had recognized his Lord and he was free of the religion of his people, but he did not tell them that. He informed Āzar that he was his son, and the mother of Abraham agreed that it was true and told Āzar what she had done when Abraham was born. Āzar was happy about that and rejoiced greatly.

Āzar made his living by making the idols which his people worshipped, and he employed Abraham to sell them. It is said that Abraham would take them and would call out to people, "Who will buy what will harm him and be of no use to him?" So no one would buy them from him, and when they became unsellable, he would take them to the river and point their heads at it and say, "Drink!" mocking his people and their erroneous ways. At length his disrespect for them and his mocking of them spread about among his people and the inhabitants of his town, although Nimrod the king did not hear of it. Then, when the time seemed right to Abraham to reveal to his people the error of what they were doing, and to tell them of God's command and of how to pray to Him, he glanced up at the stars, and said, "I feel sick!"[142] God said, "And they turned their backs on him and left him."[143]

His saying "I am sick" meant he was attacked by illness. They fled from him when they heard it, but Abraham had only said it to make them go away so that he could do what he wanted with their idols. When they left him he went to the idols whom they worshipped instead of God, and he brought them food. He said, "Will you not eat? What is the matter? Why do you not speak?" reproaching their falsely elevated position and mocking them.

[257] On this same subject, scholars other than Ibn Isḥāq quoted

141. Ibid., 6:79–80. Although Kisā'ī lacks the tales of Abraham's miraculous growth and maturation, as well as of his finding God through the observation of nature, Tha'labi, *Qiṣaṣ*, 64–65, has similar accounts, as does the Jewish aggadic literature. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 210, nn. 15–16.

142. This is based on Qur'ān, 37:83–89.

143. Ibid., 37:90.

Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Ṣāliḥ and Abū Mālik—Ibn 'Abbās and Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some of the companions of the Prophet: Another story about Abraham is that a star arose over Nimrod so bright that it blotted out the light of the sun and the moon. He became very frightened about this and called upon the magicians and soothsayers, the prognosticators and physiognomists, to ask them about it. They said, "A man will arise in your domain whose destiny is to destroy you and your rule." At this time Nimrod lived in Babylon near al-Kūfah. He left his town and moved to another town, forcing all the men to leave with him but leaving the women. He ordered that any male child who was born should be slain, and he slew their children.[144]

Then, however, some task in Babylon came up for which he could trust only Āzar, the father of Abraham. He called Āzar and sent him to do the job, saying, "See that you do not have intercourse with your wife." Āzar said to him, "I am too tenacious in my religion for that." But when he entered Babylon he visited his wife and could not control himself; he had intercourse with her and fled with her to a town called Ur between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. He placed her in a cavern there, promising to bring her food and drink and whatever else she needed.[145]

As for the king, after a long time went by and nothing happened he decided the astrologers had been wrong and told everyone, "It was the speech of lying magicians; return to your lands!" So they returned. Soon Abraham was born. He grew so fast that each day that passed was like a week, and each week like a month, and each month like a year. Meanwhile the king had forgotten the whole incident. Abraham grew up without ever seeing that there was anyone in creation besides him, his father, and his mother. Abraham's father said to his compan-

144. See Kisā'ī, 136–37; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 63–64.

145. In Kisā'ī's account, the wife of Terah— foreshadowing the future fate of Abraham's wife Sarah—begins to menstruate after having ceased being fertile. The remainder of the account of the conception of Abraham is lacking there, however. Kisā'ī, 136. But see Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 64, for an account parallel to this one.

[258] ions, "I have a son whom I have hidden. Do you fear the king on his account if I bring him out?" They said, "No, bring him!" So he went and brought him forth. When the boy came forth from the cavern, he looked at the beasts and cattle and creatures and began asking his father what they were. So his father told him that "this is a camel," "this is a cow," and "this is a horse," and "this is a sheep." Then Abraham said, "These creatures must have a master."

When he came out of the cavern it was after sundown. He raised his head toward the sky and saw a star—it was Jupiter—and he said, "This is my Lord!" But presently it disappeared, and he said, "I do not like things that set."[146] That is to say, "I do not like a lord who disappears."

According to Ibn 'Abbās: He went forth from the cavern at the end of the month and for that reason he did not see the moon before he saw the stars. But when it was the end of the night he saw the moon rising and he said, "This is my Lord!" But when it set—he (Ibn 'Abbās) says "disappeared"—he said, "If my Lord does not guide me, I shall indeed be one of those who go astray." When dawn came and he saw the sun rising, he said, "This is my Lord! This is greater!"[147] But when it too disappeared, God said, "Surrender yourself!" And Abraham replied, "I have already surrendered myself to the Lord of the Worlds!" He went to his people and called out to them, saying, "O my people! I am free of all the false partners which you associate with Him. I have turned my face toward Him Who created the heavens and the earth, as one upright by nature"[148]—he (Ibn 'Abbās) says "one who is sincere." And he began to preach to his people and to warn them.

His father made his living by making idols, and he gave them to his sons to sell them. He would give them to Abraham, but when selling them Abraham would call out, "Who will buy that which will harm him and will not benefit him?" His brothers would come back having sold all their idols, while Abraham would come back with all of his still unsold. Then he

146. See Qur'ān, 6:77.
147. Ibid., 6:79.
148. Ibid., 6:79–80.

called upon his father, saying, "O my father! Why do you worship that which neither hears nor sees, nor can in any way help you?"[149] His father said, "Do you reject my gods, O Abraham? [259] If you do not cease this, I shall surely stone you. Leave me for a long while"[150]—he (Ibn ʿAbbās) said, "forever".

His father told him, "Abraham, we have a festival. If you go to it with us, you would learn to like our religion." The day of the festival came, and they went to it. Abraham also went along with them, but on the way he threw himself down and said, "I am sick"[151]—he (Ibn ʿAbbās) says, "My foot is in pain." They sat down by his feet while he was lying down. When they went away he called at the last of them—for two of the people had remained—"By God, I shall deal with your idols after you have gone away and turned your backs."[152] They heard him say it. Then Abraham went back to the house of the gods, which was in a great hall. Opposite the entrance to the hall was a great idol, and at his side a smaller one, and next to him a smaller one, and so on down to the entrance to the hall. The people had prepared food and placed it before the gods, saying, "When we come back the gods will have blessed our food, and we will eat." When Abraham saw them with the food in front of them, he said, "Will you not eat?" And when they did not answer him, he said, "What ails you that you do not speak?" Then he attacked them, stiking them with his right hand.[153] He took a piece of iron and cut off each idol's extremities, then suspended the axe from the neck of the largest idol and went out. When the people came to get their food and saw their gods in this state, they said, "Who has done this to our gods? It must be some evildoer." Those who had overheard Abraham's earlier remark said, "We heard a youth make mention of them, one called Abraham."[154]

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149. Ibid., 19:42.

150. Ibid., 19:46. This tale of Abraham selling idols for his father is paralleled in the aggadic accounts. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 195.

151. Ibid., 37:89. See nn. 132, 133, above. Both Kisāʾī, 146, and Thaʿlabi, *Qiṣaṣ*, 66, have this story of the festival. The former account places it in the city of Cuthah-Rabba (transliteration of Thackston).

152. Qurʾān, 21:57.

153. Ibid., 37:91–93.

154. Ibid., 21:59–60. See Kisāʾī, 146; Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 66.

[260] Abū Jaʿfar gives Ibn Isḥāq's version of the story as follows: Abraham approached them, "striking with his right hand," as God described it. Then he began breaking them up with an axe. When only the largest of the idols remained, he tied the axe to that idol's hand and left them. When his people returned they saw what he had done to their idols, and it frightened and distressed them. They said, "Who has done this to our gods? Surely it must be some evildoer."[155] Then they remembered and said, "We heard a youth make mention of them, one called Abraham."[156] They meant a youth who reviled, dishonored, and mocked them. "We have never heard anyone else say that, and we think he must be the one who did this to them."

Word of this reached Nimrod and the nobles of his people, and they said, "Then bring him before the people so that they may testify"[157]—that is, testify about what should be done to him.

Some interpreters of the text, among them Qatādah and al-Suddī, give this (phrase) as follows: That they may testify against him, for he was the one who had done it, and they (Nimrod and the nobles) said that they did not want to seize him without proof.

Returning to Ibn Isḥāq's account: When he was brought in with his people before their king Nimrod, they said, "Are you the one who did this to our gods, O Abraham?" He said, "But it was this one, their chief—that is, the biggest idol—who did it. So question them, if they can speak.[158] He became angry because you worshipped these little ones together with him while he is greater than they are, so he broke them." Then they left him alone and stopped telling each other that he had broken them. They said, "We have wronged him. We think it happened as he said." But then, knowing that the idols really could neither cause harm nor cause benefit nor commit physical violence, they demanded, "You know well that these do not speak"[159]—meaning, they do not utter sounds—"so tell us

155. Qur'ān, 21:59.
156. Ibid., 21:60.
157. Ibid., 21:61.
158. Ibid., 21:62–63.
159. Ibid., 21:65

who did this to them, for they do not strike with the hands. Then we will believe you."

Almighty God said, "Then they were utterly confounded [261]
[and they said], 'You know well that these do not speak.'"[160] The fact is that they exposed the wrongness of their own belief in these idols when they said these words against Abraham. And when the proof appeared against them in the form of their statement that the idols could not speak, Abraham said, "Then why do you worship things which can bring you no profit at all, nor harm you, instead of worshipping God? Fie on you and on all that you worship instead of God! Have you no sense?"[161]

His people then argued with him about God, asking him to describe Him and telling him that their gods were better than what he worshipped. He said, "Do you dispute with me concerning God when He has guided me?"[162] He used in his argument God's own words, "Which of the two factions has more right to safety? If you have knowledge, answer the question."[163] He told them proverbs and provided examples to make them see that God had more right to be feared and worshipped than anything else that they worshipped besides Him.

According to Abū Jaʿfar: Then Nimrod said to Abraham, "Have you seen this God Whom you worship and to Whose worship you call others, and of Whose power you speak, and Whom you glorify above any other? Who is He?" Abraham replied to him, "My Lord, Who gives life and causes death." And Nimrod said, "I, too, give life and cause death." Abraham asked, "How do you give life and death?" He replied, "I shall take two men—two were condemned to death by my order—and I'll kill one of them, so I will have caused him to die, and I'll pardon the other and free him, so I will have made him live." But upon hearing that, Abraham said to him, "God causes the sun to rise in the East, so can you make it rise in the West?"[164] Knowing that it was as Abraham said, "Thus was

160. Id.
161. Ibid., 21:66–67.
162. Ibid., 6:81.
163. Ibid., 6:82.
164. Ibid., 2:258.

. . . [Nimrod] abashed,"[165] and he gave no answer; he knew
[262] that he was not able to do that. God said, "Thus was the unbeliever abashed"—that is to say, the proof was against him.[166] Then Nimrod and his people joined against Abraham, saying, "Burn him and stand by your gods, if you will be doing."[167]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār—Layth b. Abī Sulaym—Mujāhid: I recited this verse before 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, and he said, "Do you know, O Mujāhid, who it was that advised burning Abraham in fire?" I answered, "No." He said, "One of the nomads of Persia." I said, "O 'Abd al-Raḥmān, do the Persians have nomads?" He answered, "Yes, the Kurds are the nomads of Persia, and it was one of them who advised burning Abraham in fire."

According to Ya'qūb—Ibn 'Ulayyah—Layth—Mujāhid: Regarding the order "Burn him and stand by your gods," it was a man from the nomads of Persia, meaning the Kurds, who gave it.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Wahb b. Sulaymān—Shu'ayb al-Jabā'ī: The name of the man who said "burn him" was Hayzan, and God caused the earth to swallow him up. He will be tossed around therein until the Day of Resurrection.

Returning to Ibn Isḥāq's account: Then Nimrod gave orders, and wood was gathered for him. They gathered hard wood of various kinds of trees, and it is said that whenever a woman from Abraham's town was determined to get something done, she would vow that if she got her way she would help gather wood for the fire of Abraham in repayment of her debt. When
[263] they wanted to cast him into the fire, they brought him and lit every corner of the heap of wood which they had gathered for him, until the fire flared up. And they assembled to push him into it. Then heaven and earth and all the creatures therein except humans and jinns shouted to God, "Our Lord! Abraham,

165. Id.

166. This argument about Nimrod's divine powers is found in Kisā'ī, 142–43, and Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 66.

167. Qur'ān, 21:68; that is, "if you want to act."

the only one on Your earth who worships you, is being burned in fire for Your sake. Permit us to help him!" It is said—and God knows best—that when they said that, God answered, "If he should ask for help from any of you, then you may help him, for I have given permission for that. But if he calls on no one but Me, I am his Friend; leave it between Me and him. I will protect him."[168] When they cast Abraham into the fire, God said, "O fire! Be coolness and peace for Abraham,"[169] and the fire did as God ordered.

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: They said, "Imprison him in a building and cast him into Hell." They imprisoned him in a house and went to gather wood for him. The job became so all-important that if a woman became ill, she would say, "If God heals me, I will gather wood for Abraham." When they had gathered it for him, and had got so much that a bird passing over it would have been burned by the force of its heat, they brought Abraham and set him on top of the pyre. Then Abraham raised his head to heaven, and heaven and earth and the mountains and the angels all said, "Our Lord, Abraham is burning for Your sake." And He said, "I am most knowledgeable about him. If he calls on you, help him." When he raised his head to heaven, Abraham said, "O God! You are alone in heaven and I am alone on earth—there is no one besides me who worships You. God is sufficient for me, and how goodly is He in Whom I trust." [264]
When they pushed Abraham into the fire, God called out to it saying, "O fire! Be coolness and peace for Abraham,"[170] and it was Gabriel who called out.[171]

Ibn 'Abbās said: "If its cold had not been followed by peace, Abraham would have died of the cold. Every fire on earth that

168. In Kisā'ī, 143–44, and the aggadic accounts. (See, Ginzberg, *Legends*, 198). Nimrod's order to burn Abraham is preceded by Abraham's imprisonment, during which the latter is sustained by angels.

169. Qur'ān, 21:69. This verse occurs in some Jewish accounts, undoubtedly translated from the Qur'ān. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 212, n. 33.

170. Id.

171. Jabrā'īl or Jibrīl, an angel and one of the divine messengers. It is his duty to bear God's orders to prophets and to reveal His mysteries to them. See *Shorter Encyc.*, 79–80.

day went out, thinking that it was the one that was meant."

When the fire was extinguished, they looked at Abraham and saw that there was another man with him, with Abraham's head in his lap. He was wiping the sweat from his face. It is mentioned that that man was the angel of shade.[172] God himself had sent down fire to mankind, which had benefitted from it (in general). They brought forth Abraham and took him to the king, though he had never previously come before him.

Returning to the story according to Ibn Isḥāq: God sent the angel of shade in the form of Abraham and he sat at his side in that form, comforting him.[173] For days Nimrod continued to believe that the fire had consumed Abraham and had finished him. Then one day he rode past it while it was burning all the wood that had been gathered for it, and he looked at it and saw Abraham sitting in it with a man resembling him at his side. Nimrod returned from that ride and said to his people, "I have seen Abraham alive in the fire, but perhaps it was only his image that appeared to me. Build me a tall structure from which I may look down upon the fire so that I can be sure." So they built him a tall structure from which he looked down into the fire. He saw Abraham sitting in it and saw the angel sitting by his side in a form similar to his. Nimrod called out to him, saying, "O Abraham! Great is your God Whose might and power
[265] even allow Him to prevent what I see from harming you. Will you be able to come out of it?" Abraham answered, "Yes!" Nimrod said, "Are you afraid that if you remain in it, it will harm you?" Abraham answered, "No." Then Nimrod said, "Arise, then, and come out of it!" So Abraham got up and walked through the fire until he had come out of it. When he came out to him, Nimrod said, "O Abraham! Who was the man whom I saw with you, like you in appearance, sitting at your side?" Abraham said, "That was the angel of shade whom my Lord sent to me to be with me in the fire, to comfort me. For me He made the fire coolness and peace." Then Nimrod

172. Lit. *ẓill*, shade, shadow, shelter, or protection.

173. Jewish accounts differ as to whether the angels Gabriel or Michael, or God alone, helped Abraham. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, loc. cit.

said, "O Abraham! I shall offer a sacrifice to your God because of His glory and power which I have seen, and because of what He did for you when you refused to worship or ascribe unity to any but Him. I shall offer up to Him four thousand cattle." Thereupon Abraham said to him, "God will not accept anything from you as long as you keep any vestige of this old religion of yours. You must leave it for my religion." Nimrod answered, "O Abraham! I cannot abandon my kingship, but I will slaughter the cattle for Him." And he slaughtered them. Then he left Abraham alone, and God held him back from him.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr—Mughīrah—al-Ḥārith—Abū Zurʿah—Abū Hurayrah: The best thing he said to Abraham was when he lifted up the cover from him when he was in the fire alone, his brow covered with sweat. And he said, "How excellent is the Lord, your Lord, O Abraham!"

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān al-Taymī—some of his companions: Gabriel came to Abraham while he was being tied up and shackled to be thrown into the fire, and he said, "O Abraham! Do you need anything?" [266] Abraham replied, "From you, no!"

According to Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām—al-Muʿtamir—his father—Qatādah—Abū Sulaymān: The fire burned nothing on Abraham except his fetters.

Abū Jaʿfar said the account returns to that of Ibn Isḥāq.

Some of Abraham's people became his followers when they saw what God did for him, though they were still afraid of Nimrod and of their community. Lot, the son of his brother, believed in him. He was Lot b. Haran b. Terah. Haran was Abraham's brother, and they had a third brother who was called Nahor b. Terah. Haran was the father of Lot, and Nahor was the father of Bethuel. Bethuel was the father of Laban. Rebecca, Bethuel's daughter, was the wife of Isaac b. Abraham and the mother of Jacob. Jacob's wives Leah and Rachel were both daughters of Laban. Sarah, the daughter of Abraham's paternal uncle, believed in him. Her father was Haran the Elder, Abraham's paternal uncle. She had a sister named Milcah, who was Nahor's wife.

Some claim that Sarah was the daughter of the king of Ḥarrān.

Discussion of Who Made That Claim

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: Abraham and Lot set out for Syria. On the way Abraham met Sarah, who was the daughter of the king of Ḥarrān. She had criticized her people about their religion, so he married her, since he would thus be able to have a believing wife with-
[267] out having to convert her. Abraham called on his father Āzar to join his religion, saying to him, "O my father! Why do you worship that which cannot hear nor see, and which you do not need at all?" His father, however, refused to respond to his call, whereupon Abraham and his companions who followed his command decided to leave their people. They said, "We are free from you and from those things other than God which you worship. We disbelieve in you, O you [idols] who are worshipped beside God! And eternal enmity and hatred have arisen between us, O worshippers [of them], until you believe in God alone!"

Then Abraham went forth, a fugitive for the sake of his Lord, and Lot went with him.[174] Abraham married Sarah, the daughter of his paternal uncle, and took her out with him when he fled for the sake of being able to practice his religion and worship his Lord in safety. He settled in Ḥarrān and stayed as long as God willed him to stay. Then he left as a fugitive and traveled to Egypt, which was then under the rule of one of the earliest Pharaohs.

It is said that Sarah was one of the best human beings that ever existed. She would not disobey Abraham in any way, for which God honored her. When her goodness and beauty were described to Pharaoh, he sent a message to Abraham asking, "Who is this woman who is with you?" He replied, "She is my sister." He feared that if Pharaoh learned that Sarah was his wife, he would kill him to possess her. Pharaoh said to Abraham, "Adorn her and send her to me so that I may look at her." Abraham went back to Sarah and ordered her to prepare herself, then sent her to Pharaoh. She went in and approached him. When she sat next to him, he reached out to her with his

174. Qur'ān, 29:26.

hand, but his arm suddenly became stiff all the way up to his chest. When he saw that, he looked at her with awe and said, "Pray to God to release me! By God, I shall not cast suspicion on you. I shall indeed be good to you." So she said, "My God, if he is being truthful, release his hand." And God released his hand and he sent her back to Abraham. Pharaoh also gave her [268] Hagar, a Coptic slave-girl of his.[175]

According to Abū Kurayb—Abū Usāmah—Hishām—Muḥammad—Abū Hurayrah—the Messenger of God: Abraham told only three lies in his life. Two of them were about God—his saying "I feel sick"[176] and his saying "But this, their chief, is the one who did it."[177] While he was traveling through the land of a certain tyrant, he stopped at a place, and a man went to the tyrant, saying: "There is in your land"—or "There is here—a man with a wife who is one of the most beautiful of mankind." So the tyrant sent for Abraham, and when he came, he asked him, "What [relation] is this woman to you?" Abraham replied, "She is my sister." The tyrant said, "Go and send her to me." Abraham went back to Sarah and said, "This tyrant asked me about you, and I told him that you are my sister. So do not give me the lie when you see him. You are my sister in God, for in all this land there are no Muslims except ourselves."

Abraham took her to the tyrant and stood up to pray. When she came into the tyrant's presence, he bent forward to touch her, but was suddenly seized by a powerful paralysis. He said, "Pray to God and I will not harm you." So she prayed for him, and he was set free. Then he reached out for her again, and again, he was seized by the paralysis. And he said, "Pray to God and I will not harm you." So she prayed for him and he was released. Then he did the same thing yet again, and again he was seized. And he asked Sarah to pray for him and was released. He called the lowest of his chamberlains and said, "You did not

175. See Tha'labī *Qiṣaṣ*, 69–70, and Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 222–223. In Kisā'ī, 150–151, the king is called Zadok and rules over Jordan. In both Kisā'ī and the aggadic accounts, Hagar is the daughter of the king or Pharaoh, who gives her to Sarah as a servant.

176. Qur'ān, 37:89.

177. Ibid., 21:63.

bring me a human being, you brought me a devil. Take her away and give Hagar to her." She was taken out and given Hagar, and she went away with her. When Abraham saw her com-
[269] ing back, he interrupted his prayer and said, "What is the matter?" She answered, "God has protected me from the unbelieving libertine and has given me Hagar as a servant."

According to Muḥammad b. Sīrīn: When Abū Hurayrah related this account, he would say, "This is your mother, O Arabs!"[178]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Abī al-Zinād—his father—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Aʿraj—Abū Hurayrah—the Messenger of God: Abraham said only three things that were not true. He said, "I am sick," when there was no sickness in him; he said, "But this, their chief, is the one who did it, so question them if they can speak;" and when Pharaoh asked him about Sarah, "Who is this woman with you?" he answered, "My sister." Abraham never said anything untrue except these things.

According to Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā al-Umawī—his father—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Abū al-Zinād—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Aʿraj—Abū Hurayrah: The Messenger of God said, "Abraham never lied except about three things." Then he mentioned the same.

According to Abū Kurayb—Abū Usāmah—Hishām—Muḥammad—Abū Hurayrah—the Messenger of God: Abraham lied only three times, twice about God—his saying, "I feel sick;" his saying, "But this, their chief, is the one who did it;" and his saying about Sarah, "She is my sister."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr—Mughīrah—al-Musayyib
[270] b. Rāfiʿ—Abū Hurayrah: Abraham told only three lies—his saying, "I feel sick;" his saying, "But this, their chief, is the one who did it," but this second lie was only by way of admonition; and his saying, "She is my sister," when the king asked him about his wife Sarah.

According to Yaʿqūb—Ibn ʿUlayyah—Ayyūb—Muḥammad: Abraham told only three lies, two about God and one about himself. The first two were his saying, "I feel sick," and his

178. In Arabic, *yā banī mā' al-samā'*, "O sons of the water of heaven."

saying, "But this, their chief, is the one who did it;" the other was his tale about Sarah. And Muḥammad related the story of her and the king.

Abū Ja'far said: The account returns to that of Ibn Isḥāq. Hagar was a servant-woman of good appearance and Sarah gave her to Abraham, saying, "I consider her a clean woman, so take her. Perhaps God will grant you a son from her." For Sarah was barren and had grown old without bearing a son for Abraham. Abraham had prayed to God to grant him a pious son, but the prayer was not answered until he had become old and Sarah barren. So he had intercourse with Hagar, and she bore him Ishmael.[179]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik al-Anṣārī—the Messenger of God: When you conquer Egypt, treat its people well, for they are kin (to you) and deserve protection.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: I asked al-Zuhrī, "What is their kinship that the Messenger of God mentioned?" Al-Zuhrī answered, "Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, was one of them." [271]

It is said—though God knows best—that when this happened Sarah grieved greatly because her own years of childbearing were over. Abraham had left Egypt for Syria, for he was afraid of the Egyptian king and anxious about his evil ways. He settled in Beersheba in the land of Palestine, which is the desert land of Syria. Lot had settled in al-Mu'tafikah,[180] less than one day-and-night's journey from Beersheba.[181] God sent Abraham as a prophet, and it is said that he stayed in Beersheba, dug a well there, and set up a place of worship there. That well provided pure water which flowed copiously up over the ground, and his flocks came to drink there. Then the people

179. See the Jewish account in Ginzberg, *Legends*, op. cit., 237. See also Kisā'ī, 151, and Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 70.

180. See Qur'ān, 53:53. The Arabic name for the "cities of the plain" overthrown and destroyed by God, from the root *'fk*, "to change a state or manner of being, to turn anything away or back." See Lane, I:69–70; LeStrange, *Palestine*, 510.

181. An obvious reference to the division of land between Abraham and Lot. See Gen 13, where Lot chose the Jordan plain, and Abram, as he was then known, chose the land of Canaan.

of Beersheba harmed him in some way, so he left there and went to another part of Palestine—a village called Qaṭṭ or Qiṭṭ[182] between al-Ramlah and Īliyā.[183] When he left Beersheba, the water sank back into the ground and vanished. So the people of Beersheba followed him until they overtook him, regretting what they had done. They said, "We have driven a pious man out of our community." They asked him to come back. He answered, "I will not come back to a place from which I was driven out." They said, "The water from which you used to drink, and we as well, has sunk back into the earth and disappeared." So he brought them seven goats from his flocks and said, "Take them with you. If you take them to drink from the well, the water will appear again as pure and flowing as it was before. Drink from it and do not let a menstruating woman dip water from it." They took the goats back with them; and when they stopped at the well the water reappeared for them, and they were able to drink from it. It re-
[272] mained thus until one day when a menstruating woman came to it and dipped water from it. Whereupon the water withdrew, and the well dried up again. It has remained dry to this day.[184]

Abraham used to give hospitality to whoever came to visit him, since God had made him prosperous and given him ample sustenance, wealth, and servants. When God wished to destroy the people of Lot, He sent His messengers to Abraham commanding him to leave their community. They had done vile deeds which no one in the two worlds had ever done before, disbelieving their prophets and rejecting the good counsel which Lot had brought them from their Lord. The messengers were ordered to visit Abraham and give him and Sarah tidings of the coming of Isaac and also of Jacob who was to come after

182. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 137 ; LeStrange, *Palestine*, 483, reads Katt. No further identification or location is given. Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 70, has Qaṭṭah.

183. That is, Jerusalem, from the Latin, Aelia Capitolina, the name given to the city by the Emperor Hadrian after the suppression of Jewish revolts in 117–18. See Baron, *Social*, II, 107; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 423ff.

184. Probably a jumbled reference to the story of the covenant of Beersheba between Abraham and Abimelech regarding a well dug by Abraham. The covenant is marked by the symbolic present of seven ewe-lambs by Abraham. See Gen 21; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, loc. cit.

him. When they came to Abraham he had had no guests for two weeks, and it was becoming unbearable to him to have no one visiting him or receiving hospitality from him. So when he saw the messengers he rejoiced.[185] He saw guests who had more goodness and beauty than any guests to whom he had given hospitality before, and he said, "No one but I myself will serve these people, with my own hands." So he went to his house servants and brought—as God says—a fatted calf[186] which he had roasted until it was well done. God says, "He brought forth a roasted calf."[187] He offered it to them, but they did not reach out to eat of it. When he saw this, Abraham mistrusted them and conceived a fear of them[188] since they did not eat his food. They said, "Do not be afraid! We are sent to the people of Lot."[189] Sarah was standing nearby, and when she heard of God's command she laughed, knowing what she knew of the people of Lot. Then they told her of the coming of Isaac and, after Isaac, of Jacob[190]—that is, they told her she [273] would have a son and grandson. She struck her face[191] (in surprise) and said, "Woe is me! How can I have a child when I am a barren old woman?"[192] the quote continuing until: "He is the Owner of Praise, Owner of Glory!"[193]

According to what some scholars have told me, Sarah was ninety years old at the time and Abraham was one hundred and twenty.[194] When Abraham lost his fear and heard the news

185. Abraham's need for guests to share his food so that he could enjoy it is mentioned in Kisā'ī, 155–6; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 70–71. Ginzberg *Legends*, I, 241–2 relates that this visit took place almost immediately after Abraham's circumcision by God's command. In spite of his pain, Abraham himself went out on the road to find some stranger to whom he could give hospitality. For the biblical account see Gen 18.

186. See Qur'ān, 51:26.

187. Ibid., 11:69.

188. Ibid., 11:70.

189. Id.

190. Ibid., 11:71.

191. Qur'ān, :51:29.

192. Ibid., 11:72.

193. Ibid., 11:73.

194. Note the discrepancies in the various ages attributed to Abraham and Sarah at the time of Isaac's birth as well as that of his sacrifice in the paragraph below.

about Isaac and Jacob and the descendants he was to have through Isaac, his fear evaporated and he felt safe. He said, "Praise be to God Who has granted me, despite my age, Ishmael and Isaac. Verily my Lord is One Who hears prayer!"

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Wahb b. Sulaymān—Shu'ayb al-Jabā'ī: Abraham was sixteen when he was thrown into the fire, and Isaac was seven when he was sacrificed, while Sarah was ninety when she bore him. The place of his sacrifice was about two miles from Bayt Īliyā. When Sarah learned what God wanted with Isaac, she fell ill for two days and died on the third. It is said that Sarah was one hundred and twenty-seven years old when she died.

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: God sent the angels to destroy the people of Lot. They approached in the form of young men and visited Abraham, seeking his hospitality. When Abraham saw them he honored them, went to his servants, and brought a fatted calf, which he slaughtered and then roasted on hot stones. This was roasted meat (*ḥanīdh*), and when he had roasted it he brought it to them. He sat with them while Sarah stood serving
[274] them. As God said, "And his wife, standing by"[195] while he was sitting—this according to Ibn Mas'ūd's version. When he brought it to them, he said, "Will you not eat?"[196] They said, "Verily, Abraham, we eat food only for a price." He said, "This has a price." They said, "What is its cost?" He said, "That you mention God's name at the beginning and praise him at the end." Gabriel looked at Michael and said, "This one is worthy of the Lord's having taken him as a friend." When he saw that their hands did not reach out for the meat, he said to himself, "They do not eat," and grew afraid of them. When Sarah looked at him, she saw that he had honored them and that she stood to serve them. She laughed[197] and said, "How strange these

195. Qur'ān, 21:71.

196. Ibid., 51:27.

197. Note this second mention of Sarah's laughter; the first (Ṭabarī, 272), was when she heard of the punishment of Lot's people, and not—as in the Bible—on hearing the promise of a son, Gen. 18:12. Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 71, inserts here the discussion of the scholars about what caused Sarah's laughter.

guests of ours are—we serve them by ourselves, honoring them, and they do not eat our food!"

Concerning the Command to Build the House[198]

After Ishmael and Isaac were born, God commanded Abraham to build a House for Him in which He would be worshipped and His name mentioned. Abraham did not know exactly where he was expected to build it, since God had not made this clear, and he felt uneasy about the matter. Some scholars say that God sent the Sakīnah[199] to him to show him where to build the House. The Sakīnah went with Abraham, who was also accompanied by his wife Hagar and his son Ishmael, who was a small baby.

Other scholars have said, rather, it was Gabriel whom God sent to him to show him where to build the House and what do do.

Concerning Those Who Said that God Sent the Sakīnah to Him for That [275]

According to Hannād b. al-Sirrī—Abū al-Aḥwaṣ—Simāk b. Ḥarb—Khālid b. ʿArʿarah: A man came to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and said, "Will you not tell me about the House? Was it the first House to be built on earth?" He replied, "No, but it was the first House built with the blessing of the standing-place of Abraham, and whoever enters it will be safe. If you wish, I will

198. That is, the Kaʿbah in Mecca. The roles of Abraham and Ishmael in building the House are central in Islamic belief and are thus placed here, interrupting the narrative of the fulfillment of the messengers' prophecies regarding the birth of Isaac and the destruction of the people of Lot. Kisāʾī, 154 deals with this account with great brevity. Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 71–79 on the other hand, devotes much space to the stories of Zamzam and of the Kaʿbah. See also the biblical account of Sarah sending Hagar and Ishmael away, Gen 21, and Ginzberg *Legends*, I, 263f.

199. Mentioned in the Qurʾān, 2:248. Obviously based on the Hebrew Shekhinah, "the presence of God" in a spiritual sense. Muslim exegetes give a jinn-like description of Sakīnah, which is what is meant here; see below. See *Shorter Encyc.*, 489.

tell you how it was built". God said to Abraham, 'Build Me a House on earth!' Abraham felt uneasy, so He sent the Sakīnah. The Sakīnah is a gale-force wind with two heads, and one head followed the other until they reached Mecca and coiled up at the site of the House, the way a snake coils. Abraham was commanded to build where the Sakīnah had rested. When Abraham had finished it except for one stone, the boy went away to build something else. But Abraham said, 'No, I still need one more stone, as I will order you.' So the boy went looking for a stone, and when he found one he brought it to Abraham. But he found that Abraham had already set the Black Stone in place. He said, 'O my father, who brought you this stone?' Abraham answered, 'Someone who did not rely on your building brought it to me. It was Gabriel who brought it to me from heaven.' Then the two of them finished it."

According to Ibn Bashshār and Ibn al-Muthannā—Mu'ammal—Sufyān—Abū Isḥāq—Ḥārithah b. Muḍarrib—'Alī: When Abraham was commanded to build the House, Ishmael [276] and Hagar went forth with him. When he approached Mecca he saw on his head, in the place of the House, the likeness of a muzzle which was the likeness of the head. Then God spoke to him, saying, "O Abraham! Build on My protection and My might, neither add nor subtract." When he had built, he went forth and left Hagar and Ishmael behind. Hagar said, "O Abraham! To whom are you entrusting us?" He replied, "To God." She said, "Then go! He will not lead us astray."

Ishmael became very thirsty. Hagar climbed al-Ṣafā to look (for water) but saw nothing. Then she went to al-Marwah, but the same thing happened. Then she returned to al-Ṣafā and looked around, but could not find Ishmael. After looking seven times[200] without success, she said, "O Ishmael! You have died where I cannot see you!" Then she found him, and he was scraping the ground with his foot from thirst. Gabriel called out to her saying, "Who are you?" She answered, "Hagar, mother of the son of Abraham." Gabriel said, "To whom did he entrust you?" She said, "He entrusted us to God." He an-

200. That is, prefiguring the rites of the Muslim pilgrimage.

swered, "He has entrusted you to One who is sufficient." The boy scraped the ground with his finger and the spring of Zamzam welled up. She began to dam up the water, but Gabriel said, "Leave it! It is sweet water."[201]

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: God gave Abraham and Ishmael the order, "Cleanse My House for those who walk around it," Abraham set out for Mecca. He and Ishmael took pickaxes, without knowing where the House was. So God sent a wind, the gale-force wind, which had two wings and a head like that of a snake. It swept the area around the Ka'bah clear for them to let them build the foundations of the original House. They followed it with pickaxes, digging until they had placed the foundations. That was when God said, "When We prepared for [277] Abraham the place of the House."[202]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. 'Umārah—Simāk b. Ḥarb—Khālid b. 'Ar'arah—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: When God commanded Abraham to build the House and to call on humanity to perform the pilgrimage, he left Syria with his son Ishmael and Ishmael's mother Hagar. With him God sent the Sakīnah, a wind which had the power of speech. Abraham followed it wherever it led him until it had led him to Mecca. When it came to the place of the House, it spun round and round and said to Abraham, "Build on me! Build on me! Build on me!" Abraham laid the foundations and raised the House, working with Ishmael, until they came to the cornerstone. Abraham said to Ishmael, "O my little son! Find me a stone which I can put here as a sign to the people." He brought a stone, but Abraham did not like it and said, "Look for another one." Ishmael went to look, but when he came back a cornerstone had already been brought and Abraham had put it in place. He asked, "O my father! Who brought you this stone?" Abraham replied, "One who did not entrust me to you, O my son!"

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201. In the Jewish aggadic sources Ishmael is saved because of his piety and his father's merits, while Hagar is portrayed as still praying to the idols of her youth. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 264–66.

202. Qur'ān, 22:26.

Others have said that the one who left Syria with Abraham to guide him to the place of the House was Gabriel, and that the reason he took Hagar and Ishmael to Mecca with him was that Sarah was jealous of Hagar's having borne Ishmael by him.[203]

Concerning Those Who Said That

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī (with a chain of authorities which we have already mentioned): Sarah said to Abraham, "You may take pleasure in Hagar, for I have permitted it." So he had intercourse with Hagar and she gave birth to Ishmael. Then he had intercourse with Sarah, and she gave birth to Isaac. When Isaac grew up, he and Ishmael fought. Sarah became angry and jealous toward Ishmael's mother and sent her away. Then she called her back and took her in. But later she became angry and sent her away again, and brought her back yet again. She swore to cut something off of her, and said to herself, "I shall cut off her nose, I shall cut off her ear—but no, that would deform her. I will circumcise her instead." So she did that, and Hagar took a piece of cloth to wipe the blood away. For that reason women have been circumcised and have taken pieces of cloth down to today.[204]

[278]

Sarah said, "She will not live in the same town with me." God told Abraham to go to Mecca, where there was no House at the time. He took Hagar and her son to Mecca and put them

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203. Kisā'ī, 151, implies that Sarah had not yet given birth to Isaac when she made Abraham send Hagar away; here (Ṭabarī, I 274), both Ishmael and Isaac were born when God told Abraham to build a house and when Abraham took Hagar and Ishmael to Mecca with him. Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 71ff., has differing accounts, but one, similar to Ṭabarī's account below, says that the expulsion of Hagar from the household was due to boyish conflicts between Ishmael and Isaac—which reflects the aggadic tales. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 263–64.

204. This strange tradition probably reflects the antiquity of the practice of circumcision (both male and female) among the Arabs, which antedates Islam. See *Shorter Encyc.*, 254–55, s.v. *khitan*. Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 71, mentions only that Sarah had Hagar's ears pierced, and gives that as the origin of this general practice.

there. Hagar said to him, "To whom have you left us here?" Then he told the story of her and her son.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid and other scholars: When God pointed out to Abraham the place of the House and told him how to build the Sanctuary, he set out to do the job and Gabriel went with him. It is said that whenever he passed a town he would ask, "Is this the town which God's command meant, O Gabriel?" And Gabriel would say, "Pass it by." At last they reached Mecca, which at that time was nothing but acacia trees, mimosa, and thorn trees, and there was a people called the Amalekites outside Mecca and its surroundings. The House at that time was but a hill of red clay. Abraham said to Gabriel, "Was it here that I was ordered to leave them?" Gabriel said, "Yes." Abraham directed Hagar and Ishmael to go to al-Ḥijr, and settled them down there. He commanded Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, to find shelter there. Then he said, "My Lord! I have settled some of my posterity in an uncultivable valley near Your Holy House . . ." with the quote continuing until ". . . that they may be thankful."[205] Then he journeyed back to his family in Syria, leaving the two of them at the House. [279]

Then Ishmael became very thirsty. His mother looked for water for him, but could not find any. She listened for sounds to help her find water for him. She heard a sound at al-Ṣafā and went there to look around, but found nothing. Then she heard a sound from the direction of al-Marwah. She went there and looked around, but found nothing.

Some also say that she stood on al-Ṣafā, praying to God for water for Ishmael, and then went to al-Marwah to do the same. Then she heard the sounds of beasts in the valley where she had left Ishmael. She ran to him and found him scraping the water from a spring which had burst forth beneath his hand, and drinking from it. Ishmael's mother came to it and made it swampy. Then she drew water from it into her waterskin to

205. Qur'ān, 14:37.

keep it for Ishmael. Had she not done that, the waters of Zamzam would have gone on flowing to the surface forever. According to Mujāhid's version, Gabriel dug out Zamzam with his heel for Ishmael when he was thirsty.

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm and al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad
[280] —Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm—Ayyūb—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: The first person to run between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah was the mother of Ishmael. And the first Arab woman who voided ordure and dragged the edges of her garment over it was the mother of Ishmael. When she fled from Sarah, she let her garment trail behind her to wipe her footprints out. Abraham took her and Ishmael until he reached the place of the House with them, and he left them there. Then he set off to go back to Syria. She followed him and said, "To what have you entrusted us? What will we eat? What will we drink?" At first he did not answer, but then she said: "Did God order you to do this?" He replied, "Yes." She said, "Then He will not let us go astray." So she went back, and Abraham kept going. When he reached a mountain pass full of large rocks and came upon the valley, he said, "My Lord! I have settled some of my posterity in an uncultivable valley near Your Holy House, etc. . . ."[206]

Hagar had a worn-out waterskin which contained some water, but it gave out and she became thirsty. Then her milk ceased and Ishmael became thirsty. So she looked for the lowest mountain in the area—it was al-Ṣafā—and climbed it. Then she listened, hoping to hear a voice or to see a friendly person. But she did not hear anything, so she climbed down. When she reached the valley she ran even though she did not want to run, as is sometimes the case with exhausted people. Then she looked for another low mountain and climbed al-Marwah to have another look around. Then she heard a faint voice. Being unsure that she had really heard it, she said "Hush!" to herself, until she was sure of it. Then she said, "You have made me hear Your voice, so give me water, for I am
[281] dying and so is the one with me."

The angel took her to the place of Zamzam. Then he

206. Id.

stamped his foot, and a spring gushed forth. Hagar hurried to fill her waterskin. The Messenger of God said, "May God have mercy on the mother of Ishmael! If she had not been in such a hurry, Zamzam would still be a free-flowing spring." The angel said to her, "Do not fear that the people of this town will go thirsty, for this is a spring made for God's guests to drink. The father of this boy will come, and they will build a House on this site."

A group of people from the tribe of Jurhum[207] passed by on the way to Syria. Seeing birds over the mountain, they asked each other, "That kind of bird only circles over water—do you know of any water in this valley?" None of them did. Then they went to a high place and saw Hagar. They came to her and asked whether they might stop with her, and she allowed it.

At length death came to Hagar as it comes to all people, and after she died Ishmael married a woman from the Jurhumite group. Later Abraham came, asking after Ishmael's dwelling. It was pointed out to him and he went there to visit his son. But Ishmael was out, and instead of him Abraham met his wife, churlish and rude. He said to her, "When your husband comes home, tell him that an old man of such-and-such description has come here, and that he says to you (that is, to Ishmael), 'I am not pleased with the threshold of your door.'" Then he left her and went away. When Ishmael came she told him, as Abraham had ordered, and he said, "That was my father, and you are the threshold of my door." So he divorced her and married another Jurhumite woman. Later Abraham came to visit again, and, as before, it was not Ishmael but his wife—this one compliant and generous—who was there when he came. He said to her, "Where did your husband go?" She said, "He went hunting." He said, "What food do you have?" She said, "Meat and water." He said, "My God! Bless their meat and water threefold." And he said to her, "When your husband comes back, [282]

207. This tribe and the Amelekites were mentioned (Ṭabarī, I, 219) as *al-'Arab al-'āribah* or "the authentic Arabs." Thus, when Ishmael marries a daughter of this tribe, it represents a blending of these "authentic" Arabs with the "Arabized" Arabs, that is, the descendants of Ishmael who settled among them; see Ṭabarī, I, 215.

tell him that an old man of such-and-such description has come here and says to you, 'I am satisfied with the threshold of your door, so hold firm to her.'" When Ishmael came home she told him this. Later Abraham came a third time and worked with Ishmael to raise the foundations of the House.[208]

According to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad—Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād—Ḥammād b. Salamah—'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: Abraham, the Prophet of God, brought Ishmael and Hagar and set them down in Mecca at the place of Zamzam. As he was leaving, Hagar called out to him, "O Abraham, I ask you three times, who commanded you to set me down in a land without grain, without cows' udders, without people, without water, and without provisions?" He said, "My Lord commanded me." She said, "Verily, He will never lead us astray." As Abraham was retracing his path (back to Syria) he said, "O Lord! You know both the sadness we hide and the sadness we reveal. Nothing on earth or in heaven is hidden from God."[209]

When Ishmael grew thirsty, he began to scuff at the ground with his heel. Hagar climbed the mountain of al-Ṣafā. At that time the valley was *lākh*, that is to say, deep, so when she
[283] climbed al-Ṣafā and looked down to see whether she could see anything, she saw nothing. So she came down and ran along the valley until she came to al-Marwah. She climbed it but could not see anything from there either. She did that seven times and then came down from al-Marwah to Ishmael, and she found him scuffing the ground with his heel. The spring Zamzam had begun to flow, and she began scraping the ground away from the water with her hand. Wherever some water collected on the ground she scooped it up in her cup and poured it into her waterskin.

The Prophet said, "May God have mercy on her! Had she let

208. This tale occurs in Kisā'ī, 153–54, and Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 72–73, the latter giving a more detailed account. A variation occurs in the Jewish aggada, with tent-pin instead of threshold as the key word; see Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 267–69.

209. Qur'ān, 14:38.

it be, it would have remained a flowing spring until the Day of Resurrection."

At that time there were Jurhum people in a valley near Mecca. Some birds had stayed in the valley because they saw the water, and when the Jurhumites saw the birds they said, "They would not be there unless there was water there." So they came to Hagar and said, "If you wish, we will stay with you and keep you company for as long as the water belongs to you." She replied, "Yes." So they stayed with her while Ishmael grew up. When Hagar died, Ishmael married a Jurhumite woman.

Abraham asked Sarah's leave to go to visit Hagar and Sarah permitted it, laying down the condition that he not settle down there. Hagar had already died when Abraham came to Ishmael's house. He said to Ishmael's wife, "Where is your master?" She said, "He is not here. He went hunting." Ishmael often left [284] the Sanctuary to go hunting. Abraham said, "Do you have any hospitality? Do you have any food or drink?" She said, "I have nothing, and there is no one with me." Abraham said, "When your husband comes, call out greeting to him and tell him that he should change the threshold of his door."

Abraham went, and when Ishmael came back he found the smell of his father. So he said to his wife, "Did anyone come to you?" She said, "An old man of such-and-such description came to me"—as though she were making light of him. Ishmael said, "What did he say to you?" She said, "He told me, 'Greet your husband with peace and tell him that he should change the threshold of his door.'" So he divorced her and married another.

Abraham stayed in Syria as long as God willed and then asked Sarah's leave to go to Mecca again to visit Ishmael. Once again she permitted him on the condition that he not settle down. Abraham came to Ishmael's door and said to his wife, "Where is your master?" She answered, "He has gone hunting, but he will soon come back, God willing, so stay, and may God be merciful to you!" He asked her, "Do you have any hospitality?" She said, "Yes." He said, "Do you have bread or wheat or barley or dates?" She brought milk and meat, and he prayed for

blessing for both of them. Had she brought bread or wheat or dates or barley, Mecca would have been the most plentifully supplied with those things of any place on God's earth. She said, "Stay so that I may wash your head." But he would not stay, so she brought him the standing-place[210] and put it at his right side. He set his foot on it and the trace of his foot remained on it. Then she washed the right side of his head, then turned the standing-place to his left and washed the left side. He said to her, "When your husband comes, greet him with peace and say to him, 'The threshold of your door has been put in order.'" When Ishmael came he sensed the smell of his fa-
[285] ther, so he said to his wife, "Did anyone come to you?" She answered, "Yes, an old man, the handsomest and best-smelling in the world. He said to me such-and-such and I answered such-and-such, and I washed his head, and this is the place of his feet on the standing-place." He said, "What did he say to you?" She replied, "He said to me, 'When your husband comes, greet him with peace and say to him: The threshold of your door has been put in order.'" Ishmael said, "That was Abraham."

Abraham stayed as long as God willed, and then God ordered him to build the House. So he and Ishmael built it. And when it was finished they were told, "And proclaim unto mankind the pilgrimage."[211] So Abraham began, whenever he passed people, to say, "O people! A House has been built for you, so go on pilgrimage to it." But everything that heard him—stones, trees, everything—said, "Here I am, my God, here I am."[212] Between the time when Abraham said, "Our Lord! I have settled some of my posterity in an uncultivable valley near Your Holy House,"[213] and the time when he said, "Praise be to God, who has given me Ishmael and Isaac in my old age,"[214] there passed a number of years which 'Aṭā' did not memorize.

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210. *Maqām*, today usually, means "shrine" or "place of martyrdom." In the precincts of the Ka'bah there is the *maqām* Ibrāhīm, which is the shrine of Abraham but harks back to the literal sense, as here, of his "standing place."

211. Qur'ān, 22:28.

212. Arabic *Labbayka allahumma labbayka*, the cry of the pilgrims as they perform the rites of the pilgrimage.

213. Qur'ān, 14:37.

214. Ibid., 14:39.

According to Muḥammad b. Sinān—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Majīd Abū 'Alī al-Ḥanafī ——— Ibrāhīm b. Nāfi' —Kathīr b. Kathīr—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: Abraham came and found Ishmael mending his arrows behind Zamzam and said to him, "O Ishmael! Your Lord has ordered me to build Him a House." [286] Ishmael said to him, "Then obey your Lord and do what He ordered you to do." Then Abraham said, "He has commanded that you assist me." Ishmael answered, "Then I will do it." They began together, Abraham doing the building while Ishmael handed him the stones, and both of them saying, "O Lord! Accept this from us. You and You alone are the Hearer, the Knower."[215]

When the building had become tall and old Abraham was too weak to lift the stones that high, Ishmael came upon a stone which was the standing-place of Abraham. He started to hand it over, while both of them were saying, "Accept this from us. You and You alone are the Hearer, the Knower."[216] When Abraham had finished building the House as God had ordered, God ordered him to proclaim the pilgrimage among mankind, saying to him, "And proclaim unto mankind the pilgrimage. They will come to you on foot and on every lean camel; they will come from every deep ravine."[217]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr—Qābūs b. Abī Ẓabyān —his father—Ibn 'Abbās: When Abraham completed the building of the House, he was ordered, "Proclaim to mankind the pilgrimage." He then said, "O Lord! What will my voice reach?"—(that is, Who will listen to me?). God answered, "Proclaim! The reaching is My responsibility." So Abraham proclaimed, "O people! Pilgrimage to the ancient House is prescribed for you." And everything between heaven and earth heard him—do you not see people coming from the ends of the earth, answering the call?

According to al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafah—Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān al-Ḍabbī—'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: When Abraham built the House, God inspired him to

215. Ibid., 2:127.
216. Id.
217. Ibid., 22:28.

"proclaim the pilgrimage to mankind." Abraham said, "Did not your Lord adopt a House and command you to go on pil- [28
grimage to it?" And everything that heard him— stones, trees, hills, dust, or anything else—answered him with, "Here I am, my God, here I am."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ—al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid—Abū al-Zubayr—Mujāhid— Ibn ʿAbbās: God's words are, "So proclaim the pilgrimage to mankind." Abraham, the friend of God, stood up on the stone and proclaimed, "O people! The pilgrimage is prescribed for you!" And his voice reached even those yet unborn in the loins of men and the wombs of women. All who believed among those of past generations in God's knowledge that they would perform the pilgrimage between then and the Day of Resurrection answered Abraham, "Here I am, my God, here I am."

According to Ibn Bashshār—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Sufyān —Salamah—Mujāhid: Abraham was told, "Proclaim the pilgrimage to mankind." And he said: "O Lord, how shall I say it?" God replied, "Say, 'Here I am, my God, here I am.'" This was the first *Labbayka*.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUrwah: ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr asked ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr al-Laythī, "Have you heard how it was that Abraham called mankind to the pilgrimage?" And ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr al-Laythī gave the following account:

When Abraham and Ishmael had raised the foundations of the House and had finished the work God wanted them to do on it, and the pilgrimage was at hand, Abraham faced to the south and called (mankind) to God and to pilgrimage to His House. And he was answered with "Here I am, my God, here I am." Then he faced to the east and called (mankind) to God and to pilgrimage to His House, and he was answered with "Here I am, my God, here I am." Then to the west he called [2
(mankind) to God and to pilgrimage to His House, and he was answered with "Here I am, my God, here I am." Then to the north he called (mankind) to God and to pilgrimage to His House and was answered with "Here I am, my God, here I am." Then he took Ishmael out and went with him on the day of

Tarwiyah[218] and stayed at Minā with him and with the Muslims who were with him, and he prayed with them the prayers of midday, afternoon, sunset, and late evening. Then he spent the night with them until they arose, and he prayed the dawn prayer with them. In the morning he went out with them to ʿArafah, and he spoke to them there until sunset drew near. Then he joined the two prayers, midday and afternoon, and then he went and stood with them at the thorn-bush which is the standing-place of ʿArafah, where the prayer-leader stood teaching him and demonstrating to him. When the sun had set, he urged on the prayer-leader and those who were with him until they came to al-Muzdalifah. There he joined the two prayers of sunset and late evening. Then he spent the night with him and those with him until, when the dawn broke, he prayed the morning prayer with them. Then he stood with them at Quzaḥ of al-Muzdalifah. This is the standing-place where the prayer-leader stands. When day came, he demonstrated and explained to them what to do, including the throwing of the great stone. He showed them the sacrifice-ground of Minā, then performed the sacrifice and shaved his head. From Minā he went into the crowd to show them how to perform the march around the Kaʿbah. Then he took them back to Minā to show them how to throw the stones, until he had compelted the pilgrimage and proclaimed it to mankind.[219]

According to Abū Jaʿfar—the Messenger of God and some of his companions: Gabriel was the one who showed Abraham the ritual acts when he made the pilgrimage.

Discussion of That Account on the Authority of the Messenger of God [289]

According to Abū Kurayb—ʿUbaydallāh b. Mūsā and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Aḥmasī—ʿUbaydallāh b. Mūsā —Ibn Abī

218. The eighth day of the pilgrimage. The name is interpreted as meaning either "satisfying thirst" (because camels are given drink) or, more likely, "paying attention," because Abraham gave attention (*rawwā*) to the vision which instructed him to sacrifice his son on this day.

219. All of the above are *manāsik al-ḥajj* or the ritual acts of the pilgrimage.

Laylā—Ibn Abī Mulaykah—'Abdallāh b. 'Amr—the Prophet: Gabriel came to Abraham on the day of Tarwiyah and went with him to Minā, praying with him the midday, afternoon, sunset, late evening, and dawn prayers in Minā. Then in the morning he took Abraham to Arafat and set him down at the thorn bush where people stay, and prayed with him the midday and afternoon prayers together. He stood with Abraham until he had prayed the sunset prayer very quickly, then rushed him into a crowd and prayed with him the sunset and evening prayers together. Then they remained and together they prayed the dawn prayer very quickly, and then very slowly. After that he rushed Abraham to Minā, threw the stones, performed the sacrifice, shaved his head, and finally hurried to the House. Then God ordered Muḥammad to "follow the religion of Abraham, as one upright by nature. He was not an idolator."[220]

According to Abū Kurayb—'Imrān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Laylā—his father—'Abdallāh b. Abī Mulaykah— 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr: The Messenger of God told a similar tale.

Then God Tested His Friend Abraham with the Sacrifice of His Son

[290] The earliest sages of our Prophet's nation disagree about which of Abraham's two sons it was that he was commanded to sacrifice. Some say it was Isaac, while others say it was Ishmael. Both views are supported by statements related on the authority of the Messenger of God. If both groups of statements were equally sound, then—since they both come from the Prophet —only the Qur'ān could serve as proof that the account naming Isaac is clearly the more truthful of the two.[221]

The account naming Isaac comes down to us through Abū Kurayb—Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb—al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār— 'Alī b. Zayd b. Jud'ān—al-Ḥasan—al-Aḥnaf b. Qays —al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib—the Prophet in a conversation in which he said,

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220. Qur'ān, 16:123.

221. Kisā'ī, 160–62, also sees Isaac as the sacrificial victim, although he mentions differing opinions as well. Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 80–82, presents the conflicting parties and the arguments on both sides, and then presents the story (82–83) in two versions with Isaac and Ishmael as victi ms.

"Then we ransomed him with a tremendous victim."[222] And he also said, "He is Isaac."

As for Who Said That:

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Yamān—Mubārak —al-Ḥasan—al-Aḥnaf b. Qays—al-Abbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib: The quote, "We ransomed him with a tremendous victim," refers to Isaac.

The account naming Ishmael has come down to us through Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār al-Rāzī—Ismāʿīl b. ʿUbayd b. Abī Karīmah—ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Khaṭṭābī —ʿAbdallah b. Muḥammad al-ʿUtbī, a descendant of ʿUtbah b. Abī Sufyān—his father—ʿAbdallah b. Saʿīd—al-Ṣunābiḥī: We were with Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and the subject of the victim, Ishmael or Isaac, came up. You have come to a person who knows the answer. We were with the Messenger of God when a man came to him and said, "O Messenger of God! Repeat to me the knowledge God has given you, O son of the two victims!" The Messenger of God laughed and they said to him, "Who are the two victims, O Messenger of God?" He said, "When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was ordered to dig Zamzam, he vowed that if God would make it easy for him, he would sacrifice one of his sons. The choice fell upon ʿAbdāllah, but his maternal uncles prevented it, saying, 'Ransom your son with one hundred camels.' So he did that, and Ishmael was the other victim." [291]

Now we will speak of those early authorities who said it was Isaac, and those who said it was Ishmael.

Concerning Those Who Said It Was Isaac:

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Yamān—Mubārak —al-Ḥasan—al-Aḥnaf b. Qays—al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib: The quote, "Then We ransomed him with a tremendous victim," refers to Isaac.

According to al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd al-Ṭaḥḥān—Ibn

222. Qur'ān, 37:107.

[292] Idrīs—Dāwūd b. Abī Hind—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: The one whom Abraham was ordered to sacrifice was Isaac.

According to Ya'qūb—Ibn 'Ulayyah—Dāwūd—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: The victim was Isaac.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī 'Adī—Dāwūd—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: The quote, "Then We ransomed him with a tremendous victim," refers to Isaac.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Muḥammad b. Ja'far—Shu'bah—Abū Isḥāq—Abū al-Aḥwaṣ: A certain man boasted to Ibn Mas'ūd, "I am so-and-so son of so-and-so, son of the noble elders." And 'Abdallāh said, "This is Joseph b. Jacob, son of Isaac the victim of God, son of Abraham the Friend of God."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ibrāhīm b. al-Mukhtār —Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr—al-Zuhrī—al-'Alā' b. Jāriyah al-Thaqafī —Abū Hurayrah—Ka'b: When God said, "Then We ransomed him with a tremendous victim," He was speaking of Abraham's son Isaac.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī—Abū Sufyān b. al-'Alā' b. Jāriyah al-Thaqafī, the confederate of Banū Zuhrah—Abū Hurayrah—Ka'b al-Aḥbār: The son whom Abraham was commanded to sacrifice was Isaac.

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Yūnus—Ibn Shi-
[293] hāb—'Amr b. Abī Sufyān b. Usayd b. Jāriyah al-Thaqafī: Ka'b said to Abū Hurayrah, "Should I tell you about Isaac, the son of the prophet Abraham?" Abū Hurayrah answered, "Certainly." So Ka'b gave the following account:

When Abraham was told to sacrifice Isaac, Satan said, "By God! If I cannot deceive the people of Abraham with this, I shall never be able to do it." So when Abraham went out with Isaac to sacrifice him, Satan visited Abraham's wife, Sarah, in the shape of a man whom Abraham's people knew, and asked her, "Where is Abraham going so early with Isaac?" She said, "He went off early on some errand." Satan said, "No, by God! That is not the reason he left so early." Sarah asked, "Then what is the reason?" He said, "He took him out early to sacrifice him." Sarah said, "There is no truth to that, he would not

sacrifice his own son." Satan said, "By God, it is true." Sarah said, "And why would he sacrifice him?" He replied, "He claims that his Lord ordered him to do it." Sarah said, "If his Lord ordered him to do that, it is best that he obey." Then Satan left Sarah and went to Isaac, who was walking with his father, and said, "Where is your father taking you so early?" Isaac answered, "He is taking me on some errand of his." Satan said, "No, by God, he is not taking you out on an errand. He is taking you out early to sacrifice you." Isaac said, "My father would not sacrifice me." Satan told him, "Certainly he would." Isaac asked, "Why?" Satan told him, "He claims that his Lord ordered him to do it." Isaac answered, "By God! If the Lord told my father to do that, he should certainly obey Him." So Satan left him and went on to Abraham, saying, "Why are [294] you taking your son out early?" Abraham said, "I am taking him on an errand." Satan answered, "By God, you took him out early only to sacrifice him." Abraham asked, "Why would I do that?" Satan said, "You claim that your Lord ordered you to do it." Abraham said, "By God, If my Lord orders me to do that, I will surely do it." When Abraham took Isaac to sacrifice him, God stayed his hand and ransomed him with a "tremendous victim." Abraham said to Isaac, "Arise, my little son, for God has released you." And God said to Isaac, "I will grant you any prayer you choose to make now." Isaac said, "My God! I pray to You that I be granted this, that You grant entry into paradise to any worshipper, past or present, who encounters You and does not make anything a partner with You." [Here Ka'b's account ends.]

According to 'Amr b. 'Alī—Abū 'Āṣim—Sufyān—Zayd b. Aslam—'Abdallāh b. 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr—his father: Moses said, "O Lord! Why are you addressed as 'O God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob?'" God answered, "Abraham never considered anything at all equal to Me, but put Me above all things; Isaac was generous to Me in the matter of the sacrifice and in other matters; and as for Jacob, the more tribulations I inflicted upon him the more good thoughts he thought about me."

According to Ibn Bashshār—Mu'ammal—Sufyān—Zayd b. Aslam—'Abdallāh b. 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr—his father: Moses

asked God, "O Lord! Why did you give Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob what you gave them?" And God's answer was the same (as that given above).

According to Abū Kūrayb—Ibn Yamān—Isrā'īl—Jābir—Ibn
[295] Sābiṭ: He was Isaac.

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Yamān—Sufyān—Abū Sinān al-Shaybānī—Ibn Abī al-Hudhayl: The victim was Isaac.

According to Abū Kurayb—Sufyān b. 'Uqbah—Ḥamzah al-Zayyāt—Abū Isḥāq—Abū Maysarah: Joseph told the king to his face, "You wish to eat with me when I, by God, am Joseph, son of Jacob the prophet of God, son of Isaac the victim of God, son of Abraham the friend of God."

According to Abū Kurayb—Wakī'—Sufyān—Abū Sinān—Ibn Abī al-Hudhayl: Joseph said to the king. . . . The (rest of the) account is roughly the same.

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī— Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ —Ibn 'Abbās and Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some of the companions of the Prophet: Abraham was instructed in a dream to "carry out your promise that if God granted you a son by Sarah you would sacrifice him."

According to Ya'qūb—Hushaym—Zakariyā' and Shu'bah —Abū Isḥāq—Masrūq: When God said, "Then we ransomed him with a tremendous victim," that was Isaac.

As for Those Who Said It Was Ishmael:

According to Abū Kurayb and Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb b. al-
[296] Shahīd—Yaḥyā b. Yamān—Isrā'īl—Thuwayr—Mujāhid—Ibn 'Amr: The victim was Ishmael.

According to Ibn Bashshār—Yaḥyā—Sufyān—Bayān —al-Sha 'bī—Ibn 'Abbās: The quote, "Then We ransomed him with a tremendous victim," refers to Ishmael.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ—Abū Ḥamzah Muḥammad b. Maymūn al-Sukkarī—'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: The one whom Abraham was commanded to sacrifice was Ishmael.

According to Ya'qūb—Hushaym—'Alī b. Zayd—'Ammār, the client of the Banū Hāshim, and Yūsuf b. Mihrān—Ibn

'Abbās: Ishmael was the one meant by the statement, "Then We ransomed him with a tremendous victim."

According to Ya'qūb—Ibn 'Ulayyah—Dāwūd ——— al-Sha' bī—Ibn 'Abbās: It was Ishmael.

On another occasion Ya'qūb—Ibn 'Ulayyah said: Someone asked Dāwūd b. Abī Hind, "Which of his two sons was Abraham ordered to sacrifice?" And Dāwūd quoted al-Sha'bī as having said, "Ibn 'Abbās said that it was Ishmael."

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Muḥammad b. Ja'far—Shu'bah—Bayān—al-Sha'bī—Ibn 'Abbās: As for the one whom God ransomed with a tremendous victim, it was Ishmael. [297]

According to Ya'qūb—Ibn 'Ulayyah—Layth— Mujāhid—Ibn 'Abbās: God's words, "Then We ransomed him with a tremendous victim," refer to Ishmael.

According to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Ibn Wahb ——— 'Umar b. Qays—'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: The ransomed one was Ishmael, but the Jews claimed it was Isaac. The Jews, however, are untruthful.

According to Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Qazzāz—Abū 'Āṣim —Mubārak— 'Alī b. Zayd—Yūsuf b. Mihrān—Ibn 'Abbās: The one whom God ransomed was Ishmael.

According to Muḥammad b. Sinān—Ḥajjāj—Ḥammād—Abū 'Āṣim al-Ghanawī—Abū al-Ṭufayl ——— Ibn 'Abbās: A similar statement.

According to Isḥāq b. Shāhīn—Khālid b. 'Abdallāh ——— Dāwūd—'Āmir: The one whom Abraham wanted to sacrifice was Ishmael.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-A'lā ——— Dāwūd —'Āmir: This verse, "Then We ransomed him with a tremendous victim," refers to Ishmael, and the two horns of the ram are hanging in the Ka'bah. [298]

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Yamān—Isrā'īl—Jābir—al-Sha'bī: The ransomed one was Ishmael.

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Yamān—Isrā'īl—Jābir—al-Sha'bī: I saw the ram's horns in the Ka'bah.

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Yamān—Mubārak b. Faḍālah—'Abī b. Zayd b. Jud'ān—Yūsuf b. Mihrān: It was Ishmael.

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Yamān—Sufyān—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: It was Ishmael.

According to Ya'qūb—Hushaym—'Awf—al-Ḥasan: The quote, "Then We ransomed him with a tremendous victim," refers to Ishmael.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: I heard Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī saying that the son whom God commanded Abraham to sacrifice was Ishmael. And if we look into the Book of God, in the story of Abraham and the sacrifice of his son, we find that it was indeed Ishmael. When God finished the story about the son of Abraham who was to be sacrificed, He said, "and We gave him tidings of the birth of Isaac, a prophet of the righteous."[223] And He said, "We gave her good tidings of Isaac, and after Isaac of Jacob."[224] He speaks here of a son and a grandson, which means that Isaac could not be the one whom God ordered Abraham to sacrifice, since he had a promise from God about his (Isaac's) future. Thus the one
[299] whom he was ordered to sacrifice was Ishmael.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Buraydah b. Sufyān b. Farwah al-Aslamī: Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī said that he asked the Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz about the matter when they were together in Syria, and 'Umar told him, "I have not looked into this matter, but I do not think it is as you say." Then he sent for a man whom he had with him in Syria, a former Jew who had converted to Islam and became a good Muslim. He was considered to be one of the great Jewish scholars, so 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz decided to get his view about the matter. He asked him, "Which of his two sons was Abraham commanded to sacrifice?" The man answered, "Ishmael, by God, O Prince of the Believers! The Jews know that, but they are envious of you, O Arabs, because it was your father who was named in God's command and to whom God ascribed such merit for his steadfastness in obeying God's command. They reject that and claim that it was Isaac because Isaac was their father."[225]

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223. Ibid., 37:112.
224. Ibid., 11:71.
225. This account appears in the Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 81.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār and ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd—al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: There is no doubt that the son Abraham was ordered to sacrifice was Ishmael.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: I heard Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī say the same thing often.

As for the above-mentioned proof from the Qur'ān that it really was Isaac, it is God's word which informs us about the [300] prayer of His friend Abraham when he left his people to migrate to Syria with Sarah. Abraham prayed, "I am going to my Lord Who will guide me. My Lord! Grant me a righteous child."[226] This was before he knew Hagar, who was to be the mother of Ishmael. After mentioning this prayer, God goes on to describe His response to the prayer and mentions that He foretold to Abraham that he would have a gentle son. God also mentions Abraham's vision of himself sacrificing that son when he was old enough to walk with him. The Book does not mention any tidings of a male child being given to Abraham except in the instance where it refers to Isaac, in which God said, "And his wife, standing by, laughed when We gave her tidings of Isaac, and after Isaac, of Jacob,"[227] and, "Then he became fearful of them. They said, 'Fear not!' and gave him tidings of a wise son. Then his wife approached, moaning, and smote her face, and cried, 'A barren old woman.'"[228] Thus, wherever the Qur'ān mentions God giving tidings of the birth of a son to Abraham, it refers to Sarah (and thus to Isaac) and the same must be true of God's words "So We gave him tidings of a gentle son,"[229] as it is true of all such references in the Qur'ān.

Some say that God would not have ordered Isaac sacrificed because God foretold his birth before it happened and that of Jacob afterwards, but this claim does not necessarily prove their view correct. God only commanded Abraham to sacrifice Isaac when he was able to walk, and it is conceivable that Jacob [301]

226. Qur'ān, 37:99–100.
227. Ibid., 11:71.
228. Ibid., 51:28–29.
229. Ibid., 37:101.

could have been born to him before his father was commanded to sacrifice him. Some also say that the ram's horn was seen hanging in the Ka'bah (which would suggest that the sacrifice took place near Mecca and must therefore have involved Ishmael, since Isaac was in Syria). This is not a sensible argument either, because the horn could possibly have been brought from Syria to the Ka'bah and hung up there.

There follows a discussion of the account about the act of Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful, about his son whom he was commanded to sacrifice, and about the nature of the command and the reason behind it:

The reason God commanded Abraham to sacrifice his son was that, when Abraham fled from Iraq and from his people and went to Syria for the sake of his religion and his Lord, he prayed that God would grant him a righteous male child by Sarah, saying, "My Lord! Grant me a righteous child"[230] and "I am going to my Lord Who will guide me. My lord, grant me a righteous child."[231] And when the angels who were sent to al-Mu'tafikah, the people of Lot, visited Abraham, they gave him tidings of a gentle son as God had commanded them to do. And when they did this, Abraham said, "Then he is a sacrificial victim for God." When the boy was born and had become old enough to walk, Abraham was told, "Fulfill the promise which you made to God."

As for Those Who Said That:

[302] According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās and Murrah al-Hamdānī—'Abdallāh and some of the companions of the Prophet: Gabriel told Sarah, "Know that [you will have] a son named Isaac, and that after him will come Jacob." And she smote her cheek in wonder, as God said, "She smote her face."[232] She said, "Shall I bear a child when I am an old woman and my husband is an old man? This is indeed a strange

230. Ibid., 37:100.
231. Ibid., 37:99–100.
232. Ibid., 51:29.

thing." They said, "Do you wonder at the commandment of God? May the mercy and blessing of God be upon you, O people of this house! He is the Praiseworthy One, the Glorious One."[233] Sarah said to Gabriel, "What is the sign of this matter?" So he took a dry piece of wood in his hand and bent it between his fingers, and it quivered and turned green. Then Abraham said, "He is therefore a sacrifice to God."

When Isaac grew up, Abraham had a dream in which he saw him and was told, "Fulfill your promise that if God granted you a son by Sarah you would sacrifice him." Then Abraham said to Isaac, "Let us go out and offer a sacrifice to God!" So he took a knife and a rope and set out with Isaac. When they reached the mountains Isaac asked him, "O my father, where is your victim?" Abraham replied, "O my son! I saw in my dream that I should sacrifice you. But consider the matter. What do you think?" Isaac told him, "O my father! Do as you have been commanded. God willing, you will find me steadfast in belief. Fasten my bonds so that I do not move about, and tie back your garments so that none of my blood splashes them, lest Sarah see it and be saddened. And move the knife quickly on my throat so that death comes easily for me. And when you come back to Sarah, greet her with peace." Abraham approached him [303] to kiss him after tying him up; both of them cried until the tears gathered in a pool beneath Isaac's side. Then he drew the knife across Isaac's throat, but the knife did not even scratch him, for God had placed a sheet of copper on Isaac's throat. When Abraham saw that, he turned him over and tried to cut him on the nape of his neck; as God has said, "Then, when they had both surrendered, and he had flung him down upon his face."[234] Then they turned the matter over to God, and God proclaimed, "O Abraham! You have carried out the dream in full. Turn around!" He turned around and saw a ram. He seized the ram and kissed his son, saying, "O my son! Today you have been given to me." This is the meaning of God's saying, "Then We ransomed him with a tremendous victim."[235]

233. Ibid., 11:72–73.
234. Ibid., 37:103.
235. Ibid., 37:107.

Then he went back to Sarah and told her the story, and Sarah became sad and said, "You wanted to sacrifice my son and did not tell me."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: It is said that when Abraham visited Hagar he was carried on al-Burāq, setting out early from Syria. He rested at midday in Mecca, then left Mecca and spent the night with his family in Syria. This was before Isaac was able to walk and take care of himself, at which point Abraham expected him to do his duty by worshipping his Lord and glorifying His sanctity. Then Abraham was shown in a dream that he had to sacrifice Isaac.

Ishmael

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq ——— certain scholars: When Abraham was ordered to sacrifice his son, he said to him, "O my son! Take the ropes and the knife and let us [304] go to this trail to gather firewood for your family there." He did not at this point mention anything about what he had been told to do. When he headed for the trail, Iblīs, the enemy of God, stood in his way in the form of a man in an attempt to dissuade him from carrying out God's command. He said, "Where are you going, old man?" Abraham answered, "I am heading for this trail for something I need in it." Iblīs said, "By God! I think that Satan has come to you in a dream and commanded you to sacrifice this little son of yours, so you are about to sacrifice him." But then Abraham recognized Iblīs and said to him, "Go away, O enemy of God! By God, I am obeying the command of my Lord in this matter."

Then Iblīs despaired of dissuading Abraham and appeared to Ishmael, who was walking behind Abraham carrying the ropes and the knife, and said to him, "O lad, do you know where your father is taking you?" Ishmael answered, "To get firewood for our family from this trail." Iblīs said, "By God! All he wants is to sacrifice you." Ishmael asked, "Why?" Iblīs said, "He claims that his Lord commanded him to do it." Ishmael said, "Then let him do what his Lord commanded; to hear is to obey."

When the boy refused to have anything to do with him, Iblīs

went to Ishmael's mother Hagar in her dwelling and said to her, "O mother of Ishmael! Do you know where Abraham has taken Ishmael?" She said, "He took him to gather wood for us on the trail." Iblīs said, "He took him only to sacrifice him." Hagar said, "Never! He is too merciful to him and loves him too much for that." Iblīs told her, "He claims that God commanded him to do it." She said, "If his Lord commanded him to do it, then one should surrender to the command of God."

So the enemy of God returned enraged, for he had not achieved anything with the family of Abraham. They had all refused to deal with him, by God's help, and they had agreed with God's command, saying, "To hear is to obey."

When Abraham was alone with his son on the trail—a trail on Mt. Thabīr,[236] it is said—he said to Ishmael, "O my son! I [305] saw in a dream that I was to sacrifice you. So consider, what do you think?" Ishmael told him, "O my father! Do as you were commanded. God willing, you will find me steadfast in faith."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—certain scholars: Ishmael said to him, "O my father! If you want to sacrifice me, tighten my bonds so that nothing of me will strike you and lessen my reward, for death is mighty and I am not sure that I will not move with it when I become aware of its touch. Sharpen your knife-blade so that it will finish me off quickly and give me rest. When you lay me down to sacrifice me, turn me with my face down; do not lay me on my side, for I fear that if you look at my face pity will overcome you and hold you back from carrying out God's command. If you think that taking my shirt back to my mother may console her for my loss, then do it."

Abraham said, "How well you help me, my son, in carrying out God's command!" Then he bound Ishmael as he had said, and made him fast, and sharpened his blade. Then he laid him down on his front to guard his gaze from his face. Then he plunged the blade into Ishmael's throat, but God turned it on its backside in his hand. When he pulled it back and forth to complete the act the words were proclaimed, "O Abraham!

236. A name given to several mountains in the vicinity of Mecca; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 917ff.

You have carried out the dream. This victim is yours as a ransom for your son, so sacrifice it instead of him." God said, "Then when they had both surrendered, and he had flung him down on his face;"[237] however, victims are flung on their sides. One of the things which confirms that Ishmael did indeed say "Turn me on my face," as the account says, is God's
[306] saying, ". . . and flung him down on his face, We called unto him, 'O Abraham! You have already fulfilled the dream.' Thus do We reward the good. That was indeed a clear test. Then We ransomed him with a tremendous victim."[238]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār—Qatādah b. Di'āmah —Ja'far b. Iyās—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: A ram came forth to him from the Garden in which it had been grazing for forty autumns, so Abraham released his son. The ram followed him and he took it to the first stoning-place and threw seven pebbles at it, then set it free there. Then he took it to the middle stoning-place and threw seven pebbles at it, then released it. He caught up with it at the great stoning-place and again threw seven pebbles at it. Finally he took it to the slaughtering-place of Minā and sacrificed it. By Him in Whose hand is the soul of Ibn 'Abbās! when Islam began, the ram's head and horns were hanging on the downspout of the Ka'bah, thereafter it became debased, that is, dried up.

According to Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Qazzāz—Ḥajjāj—Ḥammād—Abū 'Āṣim al-Ghanawī—Abū al-Ṭufayl—Ibn 'Abbās: When Abraham was commanded to perform all the rituals, Satan appeared to him at the running-place and raced him, but Abraham outran him. Then when Gabriel took Abraham to the stoning-place of al-'Aqabah, Satan appeared to him, but Abraham threw seven pebbles at him and he left. At the middle stoning-place he appeared to him again, and again Abraham threw seven pebbles at him and he left. Then he flung Ishmael on his face. Ishmael had on a white shirt, so he said to Abraham, "O my father! I have no garment in which you may
[307] bury me except this, so take it off me and then bury me in it."

237. Qur'ān, 37:103.
238. Ibid., 37:103–107.

Then Abraham turned and saw a horned, black-eyed, white ram, and he sacrificed it.

Ibn 'Abbās said: You have seen us studying this species of ram.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū 'Āṣim—'Īsa and al-Ḥārith—al-Ḥasan—Warqā', all of them—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: God's words, "and he flung him down on his face,"[239] mean "he put his face toward the earth." Ishmael said, "Do not sacrifice me while looking at my face, lest you have pity on me and do not finish me off. Tie my hand to my neck, then place my face to the ground."

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Yamān—Sufyān —Jābir—Abū al-Ṭufayl—'Alī: The victim mentioned in the quote, "We ransomed him with a tremendous victim,"[240] was a black-eyed, horned, white ram fastened to an acacia tree in Thabīr.

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb Ibn Jurayj—'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: The quote, "We ransomed him with a tremendous victim," refers to a ram. 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr said that it was slain on the spot, while Mujahid said that it was sacrificed at Minā at the sacrificing-place.

According to Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Raḥmān— Sufyān—Ibn Khuthaym—Sa'īd b. Jubayr— Ibn 'Abbās: The ram which Abraham sacrificed was the ram which the son of Adam had offered up, and it was accepted from him.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ya'qūb—Ja'far —Sa'īd b. Jubayr: As for the quote, "We ransomed him with a tremendous victim," the ram which Abraham sacrificed had grazed in the Garden for forty years. Its wool was mixed white and black, like red-dyed wool.

According to Abū Kurayb—Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām— [308]
Sufyān—a man—Abū Ṣāliḥ———Ibn 'Abbās: The quote, "We ransomed him with a tremendous victim," refers to a mountain goat.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq —'Amr b. 'Ubayd—al-Ḥasan: Ishmael was ransomed only by a mountain

239. Ibid., 37:103.
240. Ibid., 37:107.

goat, which was sent down to him from Thabīr. God's words, "We ransomed him with a tremendous victim," do not refer only to this sacrifice, but rather to the practice of slaughtering animals according to His religion, for that is the *sunnah* until the Day of Resurrection. Know that sacrifice wards off an evil death, so sacrifice, O servants of God![241]

In a poem about the reason for which Abraham was commanded to sacrifice his son, Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt[242] verifies the account of al-Suddī to the effect that the sacrifice was required of Abraham to fulfill a vow which he had made:

Abraham, the one who carries out the vow
to satisfaction, and the bearer of easy-burning firewood

For his firstborn, could not desist from him
or see himself in a company of enemies.

"O my son! I have consecrated you to God
as a slaughtered kid, but be steadfast; a ransom for you is ready.

Bind the fetters; I shall not turn from the knife
the head of the manacled captive."

For he has a knife which is quick in the flesh
a cutting edge curved like a crescent moon.

[309] While he was taking his garments from him
his Lord ransomed him with the best of rams.

"So take this and release your son; verily I
do not dislike what you two have done."

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241. Although nothing in the Qur'ān specifically connects the sacrifice performed on the tenth day of the pilgrimage to the sacrifice required of Abraham, later Muslim writers have made this connection.

242. Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt, a poet of Thaqīf at the time of the Prophet; *GAL*, I, 27–28.

A God-fearing father and the other, his offspring;
they fled from him on hearing, "Do it!"

People often are unhappy about a thing
which brings relief, like the untying of bonds.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ—al-Ḥusayn, meaning Ibn Wāqid—Zayd—'Ikrimah: God's words, "when they had both surrendered,"[243] refer to their surrender to God's command. The boy was satisfied to be the sacrifice, and the father was content to sacrifice him. The son said, "O my father! Throw me down on my face, lest you look at me and have pity on me, or I look at the knife and become anxious. Thrust the knife from beneath me and obey God's command." For it is as God said, "Then, when they had both surrendered, he flung him down on his face." When he had done that, "then We called unto him, 'O Abraham! You have already fulfilled the dream.' Thus do We reward the good."[244]

After God had put Abraham to the test—when Nimrod b. Cush tried to burn him in the fire, and when He commanded him to sacrifice his son after he had become old enough to walk and Abraham hoped for his help in coming closer to his Lord, and when He made him raise the foundations of the House and devote himself to its rituals—after all this, He put Abraham to the test with still further commands which He has mentioned, for He said, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands and he fulfilled them."[245]

The earliest scholars of the Islamic community (*ummah*) disagreed about the nature of these commandments with which God tested Abraham and which Abraham obeyed. Some [310] say that the commands were thirty portions, that is to say, the laws of Islam.[246]

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243. Qur'ān, 37:103.
244. See ibid., 37:103–105.
245. Ibid., 2:124.
246. Abraham is here instructed in the fulfillment of the basic duties of Islam which are looked upon as the duties of "natural religion" (*fiṭrah*). In the aggadic accounts, Abraham is shown the course of the history of his descendants and is told that if they study the Torah and maintain the Temple service they will avoid hellfire and alien rule; see Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 236.

Concerning Those Who Said That:

According to Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā—ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Dāwūd—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: Concerning God's words, "and when his Lord tried Abraham with commands," Abraham was the only man who was tried with this obligation and who fulfilled it correctly. God tested him with commands and he fulfilled them. God wrote his exemption for him when He said, "And Abraham who paid his debt."[247] Ten of the commands are in "al-Aḥzāb" (*sūrah* 33), ten in "Barā'ah" (*surah* 9), and ten in "al-Mu'minīn" (*surah* 23) and in "Sa'ala Sā'il" (*sūrah* 70). Thus Islam has thirty portions.

According to Isḥāq b. Shāhīn al-Wāsiṭī—Khālid al-Ṭaḥḥān—Dāwud—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbas: No one who was tested with this obligation stood up to it except for Abraham, who was tested with Islam (surrender) and fulfilled it all. Thereupon God wrote his immunity[248] for him, saying, "And Abraham who paid his debt." He mentioned ten (commands) in "Barā'ah": "Those who turn repentant; those who worship; those who praise;"[249] and ten in "al-Aḥzāb": "Men who surrender unto God, and women who surrender;"[250] ten in *sūrat* "al-Mu'minīn," up to where He says, "And who pay heed to their prayers;"[251] and ten in "Sa'ala Sā'il": "And those who are attentive at their worship."[252]

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwzaī—ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan—Khārijah b. Muṣʿab—Dāwūd b. Abī Hind—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: Islam consists of thirty parts, and no one ever tested with this obligation carried it out, except Abraham. God said, "And Abraham who paid his debt,"[253] granting him immunity from the fire.

Other scholars have said that the commands were ten practices of Islam, five being in the head and five in the body.

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247. Qur'ān, 53:37.
248. That is, from hellfire. See below.
249. Ibid., 9:112.
250. Ibid., 33:35.
251. Ibid., 23:1–9.
252. Ibid., 70:34.
253. Ibid., 53:37.

Concerning Those Who Said That:

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-Razzāq—Maʿmar—Ibn Ṭāwūs—his father—Ibn ʿAbbās: This quote, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands," means that God tested him with the acts of ritual purification, five in the head and five in the body. Those in the head are: trimming the mustache, rinsing the mouth, cleansing the nostrils with water, using the toothstick, and parting the hair (with the fingers). Those in the body are: paring the nails, shaving the pubic hair, circumcision, plucking the armpit, and washing off the traces of feces and urine with water.

According to al-Muthannā—Isḥāq—ʿAbd al-Razzāq—Maʿmar—al-Ḥakam b. Abān—al-Qāsim b. Abī Bazzah—Ibn ʿAbbās: A similar list, except that he did not mention traces of urine.

According to Ibn Bashshār—Sulaymān b. Ḥarb— Abū Hilāl—Qatādah: God's words, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands,"[254] mean that he tested him with circumcision, shaving the pubic hair, washing the fore-part and rear, using the toothstick, trimming the mustache, paring the nails, and plucking the armpit. Abū Hilāl notes that he forgot one characteristic.

According to ʿAbdān al-Marwazī—ʿAmmār b. al-Ḥasan— [312]
ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Jaʿfar—his father—Maṭar—Abū Khālid: Abraham was tested with ten Islamic practices: rinsing the mouth, cleansing the nostrils with water, trimming the mustache, using the toothstick, plucking the armpit, paring the nails, washing the finger-joints, circumcision, shaving the pubic hair, and washing the rear and the vulva.

Others have said the same, except that they said that six of the ten commands were to do with the body and four of them were to do with the cultic stations.

Concerning Those Who Said That:

According to al-Muthannā—Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ḥarb—Ibn Luhayʿah—Ibn Hubayrah—Ḥanash—Ibn ʿAbbās: As for His

254. Ibid., 2:124.

saying, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands and he fulfilled them,"[255] six of the commands are in the person and four are in the cultic stations. Those which are in the person are shaving the pubic hair, circumcision, plucking the armpit, paring the nails, trimming the mustache, and bathing on Friday. The four which are in the cultic stations are walking around the Ka'bah, running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah, stoning the pillars, and hurrying.

Others have said that the commands consisted of His saying, "I have appointed you a leader for mankind,"[256] and of the rituals of the pilgrimage.

Concerning Those Who Said That:

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Idrīs—Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid—Abū Ṣāliḥ: When God said, "And when his Lord tried
[313] Abraham with commands and he fulfiled them," the commands He meant include the words, "I have appointed you a leader for mankind," and the verses of the rituals.

According to Abū al-Sā'ib—Ibn Idrīs—Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid—Abū Ṣāliḥ, the client of Umm Hāni': When God said, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands," those commands included the words, "I have appointed you a leader for mankind," the verses of the rituals, and the words, "And when Abraham was raising the foundations of the House."[257]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū 'Āṣim— 'Īsa b. Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: Regarding His words, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands and he fulfilled them," God said to Abraham, "I am trying you with a command. What is it?" Abraham said, "You are appointing me a leader for mankind." God said, "Yes." Abraham asked, "And what of my offspring?" God said, "My covenant does not include wrongdoers."[258] Then Abraham said, "You will make this House a resort for mankind."[259] God said, "Yes." Abraham said, "And

255. Id.
256. Id.
257. Ibid., 2:127.
258. Ibid., 2:124.
259. Ibid., 2:125.

You will make this town a sanctuary." God said, "Yes." Abraham said, "You will make us submissive unto You, and will make of our offspring a nation submissive unto You." God said, "Yes." Abraham said, "You will show us our ways of worship, and You will relent toward us."[260] God said, "Yes." Abraham said, "And You will bestow fruits upon the people, upon those of them that believe."[261] God said, "Yes."

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Mujāhid: A similar story. Ibn Jurayj said: Both Mujāhid and 'Ikrimah agree on this.

According to Ibn Wakī'—his father—Sufyān—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: The quote, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands and he fulfilled them," means that Abraham was tested with the commands in the verses which come after that one. God said, "Verily I am appointing you a leader for mankind." Abraham asked, "And my offspring?" God said, "My covenant does not include wrongdoers."

According to al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hudhayfah—Shibl—Ibn Abī Najīḥ: 'Ikrimah told me this, and when I repeated it to Mujāhid he did not disapprove of it. [314]

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: Those commands with which Abraham was tested were: "Our Lord! Accept from us. You, only You, are the Hearer, the Knower. Our Lord! Make us submissive to You and make of our seed a nation submissive to You. And show us our ways of worship and relent toward us. You, only You, are the Relenting, the Merciful. Our Lord! Raise up in their midst a messenger."[262]

I relate the following according to 'Ammār b. al-Ḥasan—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī': Regarding God's word "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands," the commands were His word "I have appointed you a leader for mankind," and His Word "And when We made the House a resort for mankind and a sanctuary," and His word "Take as your place of worship where Abraham stood," and

260. Ibid., 2:128.
261. Ibid., 2:126.
262. Ibid., 2:127–129.

His word "We imposed a duty on Abraham and Ishmael, etc.," and His word "And when Abraham was raising the foundation of the House, etc." All of these were among the commands with which Abraham was tested.

According to Muḥammad b. Sa'd—his father—his paternal uncle—his father—his father—Ibn 'Abbās: Regarding God's word, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands," those commands included, the words "I have appointed you a leader for mankind," and "And when Abraham was raising the foundations of the House." They also included the verses regarding the acts of worship and the standing-place which He appointed for Abraham, and the sustenance which He provided for the dweller of the House. Muḥammad was sent among the seed of the two of them.

There are also those who have said that the commands specifically referred to the acts of the pilgrimage.

[315] *Concerning Those Who Said That:*

According to Ibn Bashshār—Salm b. Qutaybah—'Amr b. Nabhān—Qatādah—Ibn 'Abbās: Regarding God's word, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands," those commands were the acts of the pilgrimage.

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd—Sa'īd—Qatādah—Ibn 'Abbās: Regarding His word, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands," those were the ritual acts.

I relate (the following according to)—'Ammar b. al-Ḥasan—Ibn Abī Ja'far—his father—Ibn 'Abbās: The commands with which Abraham was tested were the ritual acts.

According to Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Ahwāzī—Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī—Isrā'īl—Abū Isḥaq—al-Tamīmī—Ibn 'Abbās: God's word, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands and he fulfilled them," refers to the acts of the pilgrimage.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—al-Himmānī—Sharīk—Abū Isḥāq—al-Tamīmī—Ibn 'Abbās: A similar version.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Ma'mar
[316] —Qatādah—Ibn 'Abbās: God tested him with the ritual acts.

Others, however, have denied this, saying that He tested him with other things including circumcision.

Concerning Those Who Said That:

According to Ibn Bashshār—Salm b. Qutaybah—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—al-Shaʿbī: In the quote, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands," those commands included circumcision.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—al-Shaʿbī: Something similar.

According to Aḥmad b. Isḥāq—Abū Aḥmad: When Abū Isḥāq asked al-Shaʿbī about God's word, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands," al-Shaʿbī said, "One of them is circumcision, O Abū Isḥāq!"

Others have said that the commands were six tests: the star, the moon, the sun, the fire, emigration, and circumcision, and that Abraham was tested with all of them and remained steadfast in faith through all of them.

Concerning Those Who Said That:

According to Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm—Ibn ʿUlayyah—Abū Rajāʾ: I asked al-Ḥasan about the quote, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands and he fulfilled them." Al-Ḥasan said, "He tested him with the star and was satisfied with him; He tested him with the moon and was satisfied with him; He tested him with the sun and was satisfied with him; He tested him with fire and was satisfied with him; He tested him with emigration; and He tested him with circumcision."

According to Bishr—Yazīd b. Zurayʿ—Saʿīd—Qatādah—al-Ḥasan: When God tested Abraham with a command, he was steadfast in obeying it. He tested him with the star, the sun, and the moon, and he did well with those and knew that his Lord is eternal and He will not cease. Then he turned his face to the One Who created the heavens and the earth, as one upright by nature; he was not one of those who attributed partners to God. Then He tested him with emigration, and he left [317]

his land and took his people to Syria, journeying to God. Before the emigration He tested him with fire and he was steadfast, and He tested him with the sacrifice of his son and with circumcision, and he was steadfast.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Ma'mar—someone—al-Ḥasan: His word, "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commmands," means He tested him with the star, the sun, and the moon.

According to Ibn Bashshār—Salm b. Qutaybah—Abū Hilāl—al-Ḥasan: The quote "And when his Lord tried Abraham with commands," means He tested him with the star, the sun, and the moon, and found him steadfast.

According to Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Mukhtār—Ghassān b. al-Rabī'—'Abdal-Raḥmān namely Ibn Thawbān—'Abdallāh b. al-Faḍl—'Abd al-Raḥmān al-A'raj—Abū Hurayrah—the Messenger of God: Abraham was circumcised after eighty years, in al-Qadūm.

Two accounts have come down to us from the Prophet on the subject of the commands with which Abraham was tested. One of them is according to Abū Kurayb—al-Ḥasan b. 'Aṭiy-
[318] yah—Isrā'īl—Ja'far b. al-Zubayr—al-Qāsim—Abū Umāmah—the Messenger of God: Do you know what debt was meant by the quote, "And Abraham who paid his debt?"[263] They said, "God and His Messenger knows best." He said, "He paid the duty of each day, four prostrations during the day."

The other one is according to Abū Kurayb—Rishdīn b. Sa'd—Zabbān b. Fā'id—Sahl b. Mu'ādh b. Anas—his father: The Messenger of God used to say, "Should I not tell you why God named Abraham His friend who paid his debt? It was because, whenever it was morning and whenever night came, he used to say, 'So glory be to God when you enter the night and when you enter the morning . . .' and so on to the end of the verse."[264]

When God realized Abraham's steadfastness of faith through all the tests He gave him, his fulfilling of all the duties which He laid upon him, and his preferring obedience to Him in ev-

263. Ibid., 53:37.
264. Ibid., 30:17–18.

erything over anything else, He took him as His friend and appointed him a leader for all those of His creatures who were to come after him. He chose him as messenger to His creation and appointed for his descendants prophecy, scripture, and mission. He singled them out with revealed scriptures and profound wisdom. He appointed from among them authorities and leaders, chiefs and sovereigns. Whenever one noble passed from among them, He would replace him with a lofty lord and preserved for them mention among the last. All the nations take Abraham as a friend, and extol him, and speak of his excellence as an honor to him from God in this world. The esteem which God has stored up for Abraham in the hereafter is more splendid and tremendous than anyone can describe.

Let us now return to the account of the enemy of God and of Abraham, who refused to believe in what Abraham had [319] brought from God and who rejected Abraham's counsel out of ignorance and error about God's indulgence with him.

Nimrod b. Cush[265]

b. Canaan b. Ham b. Noah, and what happened to him in this world when he rebelled against his Lord, even though God was forbearing with him and did not make haste to punish him for his unbelief in Him and for his attempt to burn His friend Abraham for calling upon him (Nimrod) to believe only in God and to abandon his gods and idols. Nimrod's arrogance and rebelliousness against his Lord went on for a long time—some say for four hundred years—in spite of God's forbearance with him. The proofs of Himself which God advanced to Nimrod and the examples which He showed him only made Nimrod persist in his transgression. As some have mentioned, God punished him in this world. This punishment, which extended over a span of time as long as that during which God had been forbearing with him, was carried out by means of the weakest of His creatures—a gnat to which God gave dominion over Nimrod.

265. The story of the children of Cush and Nimrod is given by Kisā'ī, 128–136; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 84–85, is closer to the account given here.

Accounts Which Have Reached Us about Him

Concerning what I have mentioned about his ignorance and the vengeance which God set in motion against him, according to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-Razzāq—Maʿmar—Zayd b. Aslam: The first tyrant on earth was Nimrod. People used to go to him seeking provisions of food. When they came to him he would ask them, "Who is your lord?" They would say, "You." When Abraham came to him, he asked him, "Who is your lord?" Abraham answered, "My Lord is He Who gives life and [320] causes death." Nimrod told him, "I give life and cause death." Abraham said, "God brings the sun from the East; so cause it to rise in the West." "Thus was the disbeliever abashed."[266] So he sent Abraham away without food.

Abraham went back to his family. On the way he passed a dust-colored sand dune and said to himself, "Let me take some of this and bring it to my family, to make them feel better when I come to them." So he took some of it to bring to his family. He put his baggage down and slept. His wife arose, went to his baggage and opened it, and found there the best food anyone had ever seen. So she prepared some of it and presented it to him. To his knowledge the family had no food, so he asked, "From where did this come?" She answered, "From the food which you brought." So he knew that God had supplied it to him, and he praised God.

Then God sent an angel to the tyrant, saying, "Believe in Me and I will leave you in your realm." Nimrod said, "Is there any lord besides me?" The angel came a second time and said the same, and again Nimrod refused. And he came a third time, and yet again Nimrod refused. So the angel said to him, "Gather your assembly in three days." The tyrant gathered his assembly, and God gave a command to the angel and he unleashed upon them a swarm of gnats. The sun was blotted out by their numbers. God sent the gnats against them, and they ate their flesh and drank their blood, and nothing but their bones was left.

266. Qur'ān, 2:258.

The king was as before, however; none of that befell him. But God sent to him a single gnat which entered his nostril and went on beating the inside of his head with hammers for four hundred years. The most merciful to him of his friends was he who bunched up his hands and beat Nimrod's head with them. He had been a tyrant for four hundred years and God punished him for four hundred years—just as long as he had reigned —and then He caused him to die. He was the one who built a tower to heaven, only to have God strike at its foundations—it was about this that God said, "So God struck at the foundations of their building."[267]

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammad—Asbāṭ— [321]
al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Sālih—Ibn 'Abbās and—
Murrah—Ibn Mas'ūd and—some of the companions of the Prophet: The one who argued with Abraham about his Lord gave orders that Abraham be sent out of the city, and he was sent out. He met Lot, the son of his brother, at the gate and called upon him, and he believed in him. Abraham said, "I am a fugitive unto my Lord."[268]

Nimrod had vowed to seek out Abraham's God. He took four eagle fledgelings and nurtured them on meat and wine so that they grew up tough and strong. Then he tied them to a chest and sat in that chest. He suspended a piece of meat over them, and they flew up trying to reach it. When they had risen high in the sky, Nimrod looked down and beheld the earth. He saw the mountains crawling below like creeping ants. When they had risen still higher he looked down again and saw the earth with a sea surrounding it, as though it were a sphere in water. After climbing still higher for a long time, he came into a region of darkness and could not see what was above him, nor what was below him. He became frightened and threw the meat down, and the eagles followed it, darting downwards. When the mountains saw them coming near, darting down, and heard their noise, they became afraid and almost moved from their places, but did not do so. As God says, "Verily they have plot-

267. Ibid., 16:26. See the building of the tower by Nimrod in the aggadic account, Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 178–181.
268. Qur'ān, 29:26.

ted their plot, and their plot is with God, even if their plot were one whereby the mountains should be moved."[269] The reading of Ibn Mas'ūd has it, "though their plot were almost one."
[322] They took off from Jerusalem and they fell down in the Mountain of Smoke.

When Nimrod saw that this method would accomplish nothing, he began building the tower. He built it taller and taller until, when it reached heaven, he went up to the top to look, in his pride, at the God of Abraham. Then he voided excrement though he had not done so. God seized his building by its foundations and the roof fell down upon them, "and doom came upon them whence they knew not"[270]—from their place of safety. And He took them from the foundations of the building, and it was demolished. Then it fell, and on that day the languages of mankind became confused from fright, and mankind came to speak seventy-three languages. Before that the only language had been Syriac. It was thus called Babel.

According to Ibn Wakī'—Abū Dāwūd al-Ḥafarī—Ya'qūb—Ḥafṣ b. Ḥumayd or Ja'far—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: "Even if their plot were one whereby the mountains should be moved."[271] Nimrod, master of the eagles, ordered a chest brought. He was placed in it, and placed another man in it with him. Then he commanded the eagles and they carried them aloft. When they had risen to a great height, Nimrod asked his companion, "What do you see?" He answered, "I see the water and the island"—meaning the world. After they had climbed higher, he again asked his companion, "What do you see?" He answered, "We are only growing farther from heaven." And Nimrod said, "Descend!"

Someone else has said: A voice proclaimed, "O tyrant, where do you want to go?" The mountains heard the rustling of the eagles and thought it was something from heaven, and would have moved, for that is His Word, "Even if their plot were one whereby the mountains should be moved."

According to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Abī

269. Ibid., 14:46.
270. Ibid., 16:26.
271. Ibid., 14:46. That is, it would still count for nothing against God.

'Adī—Shu'bah—Abū Isḥāq—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Dāniyal—'Alī: Regarding the verse "even if their plot were one whereby the mountains should be moved," the one who argued with Abraham about his Lord took two small eagles and raised them until they became tough, strong, and mature. Then he tied a foot of each one of them to a chest by a string. He starved them, and sat in the chest with another man. Then he raised a staff in the chest, with meat at its top end, and the eagles ascended. Nimrod began saying to his companion, "Look! What do you see?" He described what he saw, finally saying, "I see the world as though it were insects." Then he said "Aim!" And he aimed it and they descended. And this is His word, "even if their plot were one whereby the mountains should be moved." Abū Isḥaq said: Thus in the reading of 'Abdallāh, it is, "Though their plot were almost. . . ." [323]

This is what is mentioned of the story of Nimrod b. Cush b. Canaan.

Some say that this Nimrod b. Cush b. Canaan was the king of the entire earth, east and west. This is a statement which scholars familiar with the biographies of kings and with the accounts of the past reject. This is because they accept the fact that Abraham was born during the era of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Andarmāsb, (concerning whom we have given some accounts above), and that at that time this al-Ḍaḥḥāk was the king of all the earth. One of those who knew about the era of al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who was uncertain about the extent of Nimrod's power, said that he did not know the truth of the matter even though certain accounts had been related to him on the subject. These accounts said that there were four kings who ruled the whole world, two unbelievers and two believers. The unbelievers were Nimrod and Nechuchadnezzar, while the believers were Solomon b. David and Alexander. Those chroniclers who speak of the matter say that it was al-Ḍaḥḥāk who was king of the earth, east and west, during Abraham's time, and that Nimrod and al-Ḍaḥḥāk were the same person. Scholars expert in the accounts of the forebears and in knowledge of the affairs of the peoples of ancient times have a different view, because according to them it is well known that Nimrod was of Nabatean origin, whereas al-Ḍaḥḥāk was of Persian origin. On the other [324]

hand, scholars expert in the accounts of past generations and ancient nations have mentioned that al-Ḍaḥḥāk placed the Sawād and its surroundings to the right and the left under the rule of Nimrod, and made him and his descendants governors there. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk traveled around a great deal from country to country, but his homeland and that of his grandparents was Danbawand and the mountains of Ṭabaristān. It was there that Afarīdhūn shot at him when he overcame him and bound him in iron.

In the same way, Nebuchadnezzar was warlord of the lands[272] extending from al-Ahwāz to the land of the Byzantines lying west of the Tigris, before Luhrasb[273] ruled there. This was because Luhrasb was busied with fighting the Turks. He built Balkh[274] to keep them at bay, it is said, and he had to stay there for a long time to fight them.

Anyone who was not knowledgeable about the affairs of these people, or about how long they lived, and who was overconfident of his knowledge about the region— about, for example, who appointed whom—might very well think that they (Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar) were kings in their own right. But no one who is learned in the history of mankind and of ancient kings—as far as we know—would claim that any Nabatean was king in his own right over so much as a foot of ground, much less king of all the world. Scholars of scripture and men learned in the accounts of past generations assert, and anyone who has troubled to look at historical books must agree, that Nimrod's rule over the region of Babylon on behalf of al-Azdahāq Bīwarasb lasted four hundred years, and that his
[325] authority was passed on to a man of Nimrod's stock after he died. This man was named Nabaṭ b. Qa'ūd, and he ruled for one

272. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 298, Aṣbahbudhān was the generic title of the rulers of Ṭabaristān just as Kisrā was used for the rulers of Fārs and Qayṣar for those of Byzantium. It was also the name of a town in Daylam in which the ruler resided, two miles from the (Caspian) sea. Aṣbahbadh was a title meaning "lord of the army" (*sipāh* = army, *badh* = lord) or warlord.

273. Luhrasb/Luhrasp, the fourteenth king to rule over Iran in the *Shāhnāmeh*. He was the father of Gushtasp, during whose reign Zoroaster appeared; see Wolff, *Glossar*.

274. Balkh, a city in Khurāsān (today Afghanistan), built by Luhrasp, captured by the Arabs under the Caliph 'Uthmān; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 713f.

hundred years. After him rule over the region of Babylon passed to Dāwaṣ b. Nabaṭ, who ruled for eighty years; after him to Bālish b. Dāwaṣ, who ruled for one hundred and twenty years; and finally to Nimrod b. Bālish, who ruled for a year and a few months.[275] That makes seven hundred and one years and a few months—all during the reign of al-Ḍaḥḥāk. After Afarīdhūn overthrew al-Azdahāq and became the supreme ruler, he slew Nimrod b. Bālish and drove the Nabateans away into exile. He killed a great number of Nabateans because of their support for Bīwarasb and for the deeds of Nimrod and his sons. Some scholars claim that even before Bīwarasb died he had already become alienated from Nimrod's line and no longer looked upon them (with favor) as he had.

We will now return to the story of the events which took place during Abraham's days, including the story of

Lot b. Haran

b. Terah, son of Abraham's brother, and his people—the people of Sodom.[276] It is said that Lot traveled from the land of Babylon with his paternal uncle Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful, believing in him and following his religion. They went to Syria as fugitives, and with them went Sarah bt. Nahor, who some say was Sarah bt. Hanāl bt. Nahor. It is said that Abraham's father Terah went with them, still opposing Abraham's religion and remaining an unbeliever. When they reached Ḥarrān Terah died, still an unbeliever. Abraham, Lot, and Sarah went on to Syria and then to Egypt, which was then ruled by a Pharaoh. It is mentioned that this Pharaoh was Sinān b. ʿAlwān b. ʿUbayd b. ʿUwayj b. ʿImlāq b. Lud b. Shem b. Noah. It is also said that he was a brother of al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who had appointed him governor of Egypt. I have already given some of [326]

275. These names—not of Iranian origin—have not been identified.

276. The biblical story of Lot is found in Gen 18-19; see Kisāʾī, 155–59; Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 90–94. See also Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 245–57 for some aggadic accounts. In Islam, Lot is a prophet sent to the wicked people of Sodom, referred to in Muslim literature as "the folk of Lot."

the story of what happened between him and Abraham above.[277]

After this, Abraham, Lot, and Sarah went back to Syria. It is said that Abraham settled in Palestine and settled his nephew Lot in Jordan, and that God sent Lot to the people of Sodom. The people of Sodom were disbelievers in God, and were also immoral, as God has said, "You commit lewdness such as no creature has done before you. For do you not come into males, and do you not cut the roads, and do you not commit abominations in your assemblies?"[278] As has been said, "cutting the road" means that they committed lewdness with anyone who came into their town.

Concerning Those Who said That:

According to Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Zayd: As for God's statement, "you cut the roads," the road is the way of the traveler. When the traveler, the son of the road, passed by them, they would block the road and perform with him that ugly deed.

As for what they did in their assemblies, scholars disagree about what it was. Some say that they used to shorten whoever
[327] passed by them. Others say that they used to break wind in their assemblies, while some said that they used to have intercourse with each other there.[279]

Concerning those who said that they used to shorten whoever passed by them, Ibn Ḥumayd heard the following from—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ—ʿUmar b. Abī Zāʾidah—ʿIkrimah: Concerning His statement, "You commit abominations in

277. See Ṭabarī, I, 268–269.

278. Qur'ān, 29:28–29.

279. Kisāʾī gives only the Qur'ānic statement above while Thaʿlabī *Qiṣaṣ*, and Ṭabarī repeat different views as to what these sins of Lot's folk really were. The account in Ginzberg, *Legends*, loc. cit., lists "revolting orgies" and robbing wayfarers in a variety of ways, most of which involved some form of torture, including a procrustean bed which was either too short or too long. The hapless wayfarer was made to fit the bed by force, which often resulted in his death. It is this latter practice which is probably meant here by "they used to shorten whoever passed by them."

your assemblies," it means that they used to molest wayfarers, shortening those who passed by them.

According to Ibn Wakī'—his father—'Imrān b. Zayd—'Ikrimah: (It means) cutting (the road) off.

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās and Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some of the companions of the Messenger of God: The quote, "And you commit abominations in your assemblies," means they would shorten everyone who passed by them, and that was the abomination.

As for those who said they used to break wind in their assemblies, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad al-Ẓifārī heard the following from Muḥammad b. Rabī'ah—Rawḥ b. Ghuṭayf al-Thaqafī—'Amr b. al-Muṣ'ab—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—'Ā'ishah: About His statement, " And you commit abominations in your assemblies," the abomination was breaking wind.

As for those who said they had intercourse with each other in their assemblies,[280] Ibn Wakī' and Ibn Ḥumayd heard from Jarīr—Manṣūr—Mujāhid: Regarding His statement, "And you commit abominations in your assemblies," they used to have intercourse with each other in their assemblies. [328]

According to Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Jabbār—Thābit b. Muḥammad al-Laythī—Fuḍayl b. 'Iyād—Manṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir—Mujāhid: Concerning His statement, "And you commit abominations in your assemblies," they used to have sexual intercourse with one another in the assembly.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ḥakkām—'Amr—Manṣūr—Mujāhid: The same.

According to Ibn Wakī'—his father—Sufyān—Manṣūr—Mujāhid: They used to have intercourse with men in their assemblies.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū 'Āṣim—'Īsā and al-Ḥārith—al-Ḥasan—Warqā', together—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: In the quote, "And you commit abominations in

280. Thus giving rise to the use of the term *lūṭī* to mean sodomite, pederast, and *liwāṭ* for sodomy, pederasty. See Lane, VII, 2082; Wehr, 883.

your assemblies," the assemblies and the abominations were their intercourse with men.

According to Bishr—Yazīd—Sa'īd—Qatādah: God's statement, "And you commit abominations in your assemblies," means they used to commit lewdness in their meetings.

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Zayd: Concerning God's statement, "And you commit abominations in your meetings," their meetings were the assemblies, and the abomination was their disgusting act which they would per-
[329] form. They would accost a rider and seize him and mount him. Ibn Zayd quoted, "Will you commit lewdness while you are in misfortune?" and "Such as no one has done before you in both worlds."[281]

According to Ibn Wakī'—Ismā'īl b. 'Ulayyah—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—'Amr b. Dīnār: God's statement, "Such as no one did before you in both worlds," refers to the fact that no male jumped upon a male before the people of Lot.

Abū Ja'far spoke correctly about this matter, relaying the statement: By the abomination which they would commit in their meetings, God meant that in their assemblies they used to cut off anyone who passed them and mock him. The account of this comes from the Messenger of God, related by Abū Kurayb and Ibn Wakī'—Abū Usāmah—Ḥātim b. Abī Ṣaghīrah—Simāk b. Ḥarb—Abū Ṣāliḥ, the client of Umm Hāni'—Umm Hāni'—the Messenger of God: Regarding the statement, "And you commit abominations in your assemblies," they would cut off wayfarers and mock them, and that was the abomination they committed.

According to Aḥmad b. 'Abdah al-Dabbī— Sulaymān b. Ḥayyān—Abū Yūnus al-Qushayrī—Simāk b. Ḥarb—Abū
[330] Ṣāliḥ—Umm Hāni': I asked the Prophet about God's statement, "And you commit abominations in your assemblies." And he said, "They used to cut off wayfarers and mock them."

According to al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān—Asad b. Mūsā—Sa'īd b. Zayd—Ḥātim b. Abī Ṣaghīrah—Simāk b. Ḥarb—Bādhām Abī Ṣāliḥ, the client of Umm Hāni'—Umm Hāni': I

281. Qur'ān, 29:28.

asked the Prophet about this verse, "And they commit abominations in their assemblies." And he said, "They would sit on the road and cut off wayfarers and mock them."

Lot called on them to worship God. By God's command he tried to prohibit them from doing those things which God disliked such as brigandage, committing lewd acts, and entering males in the posteriors. Because they persisted in doing those things and refused to repent of them, he threatened them with painful doom. But his threats did not restrain them, and his admonitions only increased their perseverence, insolence, and provocation of punishment from God. They rejected his admonitions, saying to him, "Bring God's doom upon us, if you are telling the truth!"[282] At length Lot asked his Lord for help against them, since the matter was dragging on and on, as was their persistence in sinfulness. Then God—when he wanted to disgrace them and destroy them and help His messenger Lot against against them—sent Gabriel and two other angels. It has been said that the two other angels were Michael and Isrāfīl, and that they came in the form of young men.[283]

Concerning Those Who Said That: [331]

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās and Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Masʿūd and some of the companions of the Prophet: God sent the angels to destroy the people of Lot. They arrived, walking, in the shape of young men, and they alighted with Abraham and sought hospitality from him. We have already mentioned what happened between them and Abraham in the account of Abraham and Sarah. When his awe left Abraham and he heard the news (of Isaac's birth), the messengers told him why they had come to him, and told him that God had sent them to destroy the people of Lot. Abraham argued and disputed with them, as God has said, "And when the

282. Ibid., 29:29.

283. The Jewish accounts say that each angel had a task: Michael to bring the tidings of Isaac's birth, Gabriel to destroy the sinful cities, and Raphael (here, Isrāfīl) to save Lot. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, V:237, n.154.

awe departed from Abraham, and the glad news reached him, he pleaded with Us on behalf of the folk of Lot."[284]

About his arguing with them about that, we have heard from Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaʿqūb al-Qummī—Jaʿfar— Saʿīd: He pleaded with Us on behalf of the folk of Lot.

When Gabriel and those with him came to Abraham, they said to him, "We are about to destroy the people of that township, for its people are wrongdoers."[285] Abraham said to them, "Will you destroy a town in which there are four hundred believers?" They said, "No." He said, "Will you then destroy a town in which there are three hundred believers?" They said, "No." He said, "Then will you destroy a town in which there are two hundred believers?" They said, "No." He said, "Then will you destroy a town in which there are one hundred believers?" They said, "No." He said, "Then will you destroy a town in which there are forty believers?" They said, "No." He said,
[332] "Then will you destroy a town in which there are fourteen believers?" They said, "No." Abraham had counted fourteen believers in Sodom, including Lot's wife, so he left off the argument and felt reassured.[286]

According to Abū Kurayb—al-Ḥimmānī—al-Aʿmash—al-Minhāl—Saʿīd b. Jubayr—Ibn ʿAbbās: The angel said to Abraham that if there were five in the city who prayed, he would remove the punishment from them.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Muḥammad b. Thawr—Maʿmar—Qatādah: Concerning the statement, "He pleaded with us for the folk of Lot," it has reached us that he said to them on that day, "Do you think that there are fifty Muslims among the people of Sodom?" They said, "If there are fifty among them, we will not punish them." He said, "And forty?" They said, "Nor if there are forty." He said, "And thirty?" They said, "Nor if there are thirty." Until he reached ten, and they said, "And even if there are ten." He said, "There is no nation that does not have ten good people in it." When

284. Qur'ān, 11:74.
285. Ibid., 29:31.
286. For the aggadic rendering of Abraham's bargaining with God and the numbers agreed upon, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 251–52; V, 239, n. 164.

the messengers told Abraham about the condition of the people of Lot, he said to them, "Lot is there." (Ṭabarī: He said this out of concern for Lot's safety in case Sodom were destroyed.) And the messengers said, "We are best aware of who is there. We are to deliver him and his household, all but his wife, who is one of those who is to stay behind."[287] Then the messengers of God moved on toward Sodom, the town of the people of Lot. It is mentioned that when they reached it, they met Lot at a plot of his land where he was working, and that at the stream they met Lot's daughter who was drawing water.

Concerning Those Who Say They Met Lot

According to Bishr b. Muʿādh—Yazīd—Saʿīd—Qatādah—Ḥudhayfah: When the messengers came to Lot, they reached him while he was working on a plot of his land. They had been [333] told—but God knows best—"Do not destroy them until Lot bears witness against them." They went to Lot and said, "We seek hospitality from you tonight." So he took them with him. Presently, after they had been walking for an hour, he turned to them and said, "Do you not know what the people of this town do? By God! I do not know of any people on the face of the earth more wicked than they are." He went on with them, and later said the same thing to them once again. When an evil old woman, Lot's wife, saw the approaching messengers, she went off to give notice to the people of Sodom.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—al-Ḥakam b. Bashīr—ʿAmr b. Qays al-Mulāʾī —Saʿīd b. Bashīr— Qatādah: The angels came to Lot while he was in one of his fields, and God said to the angels, "If Lot bears witness against the people of Sodom four times, I give you leave to destroy them." So they said, "O Lot! We want your hospitality tonight." He said, "Have you not heard about them?" (That is, about the people of Sodom.) They asked, "What about them?" He said, "I bear witness by God, this is the worst town on earth in its deeds." He said that four times, thus bearing witness against them four times. Then the angels entered his dwelling with him.

287. Qur'ān, 29:32.

Concerning Those Who Said that the Messengers Met only Lot's Daughter

The first one they met when they neared Sodom was Lot's daughter, and Lot was not there.

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās and Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Masʿūd and some of the companions of the Prophet: After the angels left Abraham and headed for the town of Lot, they traveled for half a day. When they reached the river of Sodom, they met Lot's daughter drawing water for her family. Lot had two daughters, of which the elder was named Rīthā and the younger was named Raʿrabā. They said to her, "O girl! Is there a dwelling place near here?" She said, "Yes, but stay where you are, and do not come into the town until I come back to you." She was afraid of what her people might do to them, so she went to her father and said, "O my father! Some young men want you at the gate of the city. Never have I seen more handsome faces than theirs. Let your people not seize them and violate them." His people had forbidden Lot to show hospitality to anyone; they had said to him, "Leave them to us. We will give hospitality to the men." So he brought them to his house in secret, and no one but his family knew they were there. But Lot's wife went out to tell her people, saying, "In Lot's house there are men the likes of whom I have never seen, nor have I ever seen such handsome faces."[288] So the people came rushing to Lot's house.

[334]

When they came to him, Lot said, "O people! Fear God and do not humiliate my guests. Is there not an upright man among you? Here are my daughters. They are more chaste for you"[289]—that is, less immoral than what they wanted. They said, "Did we not forbid you to give men hospitality? You know well that we have no right to your daughters, and you

288. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 254, where Lot's wife borrows salt from a neighbor, saying, "We had enough salt, until guests came to us . . ." thus inadvertently betraying the secret. Salt being the cause of her sin, she is turned into salt. But ibid., V, 241, n. 176, exonerates her .

289. Qur'ān, 11:78.

certainly know what we want."[290] When they would not accept anything he offered them, he said, "If only I had strength [to resist] you, or had some strong support."[291] He meant he wished he had someone who would help him against them or a [335] clan that would intervene between them and him, to keep them from having what they sought from his guests.

According to al-Muthannā—Isḥāq b. al-Ḥajjāj—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil—Wahb: Lot said to them, "Would that I had strength against you or had some strong support." He found the messengers beside him, saying, "Verily your support is powerful!" When Lot had lost all hope that the townspeople would do anything he told them to do and could not bear the situation any longer, the angels said, "O Lot! We are messengers from your Lord; they shall not reach you. So leave with your family during the night, and let no one turn around to look back, save your wife. That which smites the townspeople will smite her too."[292]

When Lot realized that his guests were messengers of God and had been sent to destroy his people, he said, "Destroy them immediately!"

Concerning Those Scholars Who Claimed That Lot Said That:

According to Ibn Ḥumayd —Yaʿqūb—Jaʿfar—Saʿīd: The messengers went from Abraham to Lot, and when they reached Lot and the things that God has mentioned had happened to them, Gabriel said to Lot, "O Lot! We are going to destroy the people of this town, for truly its people are wrongdoers." Lot said to them, "Destroy them immediately!" And Gabriel said, "The time is fixed for the morning. Is not the morning near?"[293] And God commanded that Lot leave with his family during the night, and that not one of them should turn around and look back, except Lot's wife. So he left. And when the appointed [336]

290. Ibid., 11:79.
291. Ibid., 11:80.
292. Ibid., 11:81.
293. Id.

hour of destruction came, Gabriel picked up their land with his wing and turned it over. He lifted it so high that the inhabitants of heaven heard the crowing of the roosters and the barking of the dogs. "He turned them upside down and rained upon them stones of clay."[294] Lot's wife heard the crash and said, "O my people!" and a stone fell on her and killed her.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ya'qūb—Ḥafṣ b. Ḥumayd—Shimr b. 'Aṭiyyah: Lot had made his wife promise not to tell anyone about his secret guests. When Gabriel and those with him came into the house, and she saw men of such an appearance as she had never seen before, she went hurrying to her folk and came to the meeting to tell them that so-and-so was in her possession. They came hurrying, walking between a quick pace and a trot. When they reached Lot, he said to them what God has said in His book. Gabriel said, "O Lot, we are messengers of your Lord; they shall not reach you."[295] Lot said, "I am in His hands." So God obliterated their eyes, and they began feeling around the walls because they could not see.

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd—Sa'īd—Qatādah—Ḥudhayfah: When she saw the messengers, the evil old woman, Lot's wife, went to the people of Sodom and said, "Lot is giving hospitality to some people who are the handsomest I have ever seen, and the fairest-skinned and best-smelling." They came hurrying to Lot's house, as God has said, and Lot [337] slammed the door. They began trying to persuade him to let them in. Gabriel asked his Lord for permission to punish them, and He granted it. So Gabriel slapped them with his wing and left them blind, wandering to and fro; it was the worst night that had ever befallen them. Then the angels told Lot, "We are messengers of your Lord, so leave with your family for part of the night." It has been mentioned that Lot's wife was with them when they left the town, but when she heard the sound of its destruction she turned around, and God dropped a stone on her and destroyed her.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—al-Ḥakam b. Bashīr—'Amr b. Qays al-Mulā'ī—Sa'īd b. Bashīr—Qatādah: Lot's wife went out

294. See Qur'ān, 15:74.
295. Ibid., 11:81.

when she saw them—that is, when she saw the messengers—and went to her folk and said, "He is giving hospitality to some people tonight, and I have never seen people with handsomer faces or better smell." So they came hurrying, but Lot surprised them and blocked them off at the door. He said, "Here are my daughters, if you must do [something]."[296] They said, "Have we not forbidden you to [entertain] anyone?"[297] Then they went in to where the angels were, and the angels received them and slapped their eyes. Then they said, "O Lot! You have brought us sorcerers who have bewitched us as well as you until we awake in the morning." Then Gabriel lifted up the four towns of Lot, each of which held one hundred thousand people. He carried them up on his wing between heaven and earth until the inhabitants of the lowest heaven heard the sounds of their roosters. Then he turned them over and God set [338] them upside down.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Muḥammad b. Thawr and al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-Razzāq, all of them —Maʿmar—Qatādah—Ḥudhayfah: When the messengers came to Lot, his wife, the evil old woman, went out to her people and said, "Lot is giving hospitality to some people with the handsomest faces I have ever seen." Then they went hurrying to him. An angel arose and bolted the door. He blocked it, and then Gabriel asked permission to punish them and God granted it. So Gabriel slapped them and smote them with his wing, leaving them blind, and they spent the worst night they had ever spent. Then the angels said, "We are messengers of your Lord; they shall not reach you. Leave with your family during the night and let none of you turn around—save your wife."[298] She heard a noise and turned around, whereupon a rock struck her while she was apart from her people, her place being known.

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ —al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās and Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Masʿūd and some of the companions of the

296. Ibid., 15:71.
297. Ibid., 15:70.
298. Ibid., 11:81.

Prophet: When Lot said, "Would that I had strength (to resist) you, or some strong support,"[299] Gabriel spread his wings and gouged their eyes out. They left treading on each other's heels, blind, saying, "Help! Help! In Lot's house there are the best sorcerers in the world!" And that is God's word,
[339] "They asked him for his guests for an ill purpose. Then We blinded their eyes."[300] They said to Lot, "We are messengers of your Lord; they shall not reach you. So leave with your family during the night, and follow behind to make sure that none of you turns around"[301]—that is, travel with them and go where you are commanded. Then God took them out to Syria, and Lot said, "Destroy them immediately!" But they said, "We were commanded [to do it] only in the morning. Is not the morning near?" When dawn came Lot left, taking his family with him except for his wife, for that is God's statement, "Except the family of Lot, whom We rescued at dawn."[302]

According to al-Muthannā—Isḥāq—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad—Wahb b. Munabbih: The people of Sodom, among whom Lot lived, were an evil nation who dispensed with women by means of men. When God saw this, He sent His angels to punish them. They came to Abraham, and there took place between him and them that which God has mentioned in His book. When they had given Sarah tidings of a son, they arose and Abraham arose to walk with them. Then he said, "Tell me why you were sent and what your mission is." They answered, "We were sent to the people of Sodom to destroy them, for they are an evil nation who dispense with women by means of men." Abraham said, "Do you think there might be fifty righteous men among them?" They said, "If so, we would not punish them." He went on until he said, "A family?" They said, "If there is one righteous household among them"—that is, then they would not punish them. Abraham said, "Lot and his family." They said, "As for Lot's wife, her inclination is with that of her people." Abraham despaired, and

299. Id.
300. Ibid., 54:37.
301. Ibid., 11:81.
302. Ibid., 54:34.

they left him and went to Lot. When his wife saw them, their [340]
beauty and handsomeness pleased her and she sent word to the townspeople, "Some people have alighted with us, the handsomest and most beautiful folk we have ever seen." Word of this got around among them and they came to Lot's house from all directions, and they set up fences about it against them. Lot met them and said, "O people! Do not disgrace me with my guests. I will marry you with my daughters; they are purer for you." They said, "If we wanted your daughters, we already know where they are." He said, "If only I had strength to resist you, or had some strong support."[303] The angels became angry with him and said, "Verily your Support is powerful. A doom is coming to them which cannot be repelled."[304] One of them rubbed their eyes with his wing and wiped out their sight, and they said, "We have been bewitched! Let us go until we can return to him." Then that which God has already related in the Qur'an happened to them. Michael, the master of doom, thrust his wing into the earth under Sodom until he reached the lowest layer, and overturned it. Then stones descended from heaven and caught all those who were not in the town, wherever they were, and God destroyed them. But Lot and his family were saved, except his wife.

According to Abū Kurayb—Jābir b. Nūḥ—al-A'mash—Mujāhid: Gabriel seized the people of Lot from their flocks and houses, and lifted them up with their cattle and belongings until the inhabitants of heaven heard the barking of their dogs, then he turned them over.

According to Abū Kurayb—Mujāhid: Gabriel inserted his [341]
wing under the lowest earth of the folk of Lot, and then seized them with his right wing and took them from their flocks and cattle, then raised them up.

According to al-Muthannā—Abū Ḥudhayfah—Shibl—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: God has said, "So when Our commandment came to pass, We overthrew it."[305] When they arose in the morning, Gabriel had come to their town and had ripped it

303. Ibid., 11:80.
304. Ibid., 11:76.
305. Ibid., 11:82.

from its foundations, then he inserted his wing and carried it on the underside of his wing.

According to al-Muthannā—Abū Ḥudhayfah—Shibl—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr: Ibn Abī Najīḥ did not hear this from Mujāhid. He carried it on the underside of his wing with all that was in it, then he rose into the sky with it until the inhabitants of heaven heard the barking of their dogs. Then he overturned it, and the first to fall from it were its most noble people, for that is God's statement, "We have turned them upside down and We rained upon them stones of clay."[306]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Muḥammad b. Thawr—Maʿmar—Qatādah: It has reached us that Gabriel seized the middle point of the town, then snatched it up so near to heaven that the inhabitants of heaven could hear the [342] sound of their dogs. Then he turned them upside down, and then the stones rained upon them. According to Qatādah, there were four million of them.

According to Bishr b. Muʿādh—Yazīd—Saʿīd—Qatādah: It has been mentioned to us that Gabriel seized its girdle, then snatched it up so high into the sky that the angels could hear the noise of their dogs. Then he destroyed one after another, and threw rocks at the laggards one after another. There were three towns called Sodom. They lay between al-Madīnah and Syria. It has been mentioned to us that there were four million people in the town. And it was mentioned to us that Abraham looked down and said, "One day Sodom will perish."

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī, through a chain of transmitters which we have already mentioned: When the people of Lot rose in the morning, Gabriel came down and uprooted the earth from the seven earths, then bore it aloft until he brought it to the lowest heaven so that the inhabitants thereof heard the barking of their dogs and the noise of their roosters. Then he turned them over and killed them, as God said, "And al-Mu'tafikah He destroyed"[307]—al-Mu'tafikah being that which was overturned

306. Ibid., 15:74.
307. Ibid., 53:53.

when Gabriel rushed down to the earth and uprooted it with his wing. And as for those who did not die when the earth fell, God rained stones down upon them while they were under the earth, and upon those who were scattered around on the earth, as God says, "He turned them upside down and rained upon them stones of clay."[308] Then he overtook them in their towns. A man might be speaking and a stone would hit him and kill him, for that is God's word, "We rained upon them stones of clay."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī: It was related to me that God sent Gabriel to al-Mu'tafikah, the city of Lot's people, and he carried it upward on his wing until the inhabitants of the lowest heaven heard the barking of its dogs and the noise of its hens. Then he turned it over on its face, whereupon God pursued it with stones. God says, "We overturned it and rained upon it stones of clay."[309] And God destroyed it along with the surrounding Mu'tafikahs, which were five cities: Ṣabʿah, Ṣaʿrah, ʿAmarah, Dumā, and Sodom,[310] the latter being the largest city. And God saved Lot and those of his family who were with him, except his wife who perished with the rest. [343]

On the Death of Sarah bt. Haran and of Hagar, the Mother of Ishmael; and on Abraham's Wives and Children

We have already mentioned the life span of Sarah, the mother of Isaac. As for the place of her death, both Arab and Persian scholars agree that it was in Syria. It is said that she died in the city of the giants in the land of Canaan, in Hebron, and that she was buried in the field which Abraham bought.[311] It is said

308. Ibid., 15:74.
309. Ibid., 11:82.
310. In the Bible (Gen 18–19) the names are Ẕeboiim, Ẕoar, Gomorrah (Heb., ʿAmorah), Admah, and Sodom.
311. The aggadic accounts vary, but some have Satan visit Sarah in the guise of an old man to tell her that Isaac is dead, whereupon she dies; see Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 286, and ibid., V, 255–56, nn. 256–259.

that Hagar lived for a while after Sarah died. Differing accounts have also come down to us.

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī, with a chain of transmitters which we have [344] previously mentioned: Then Abraham longed for Ishmael and said to Sarah, "Permit me to go to my son so that I may look at him." She made him swear that when he went he would not stay, but would come back to her. He mounted al-Burāq and sent to see Ishmael. Ishmael's mother had died, and Ishmael had married a woman of the Jurhum tribe.[312]

Abraham had come to own more and more property and cattle, for the reasons which were related to us by way of Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī, with a chain of transmitters which we have previously mentioned: Abraham was in need. He had a friend who sometimes gave things to him, so Sarah said to Abraham, "If you went to your friend, you could get food for us from him." But when Abraham reached his friend's home, the friend was away, and Abraham was ashamed to go back home empty-handed. So when he passed by a dry stream-bed, he filled his saddlebag from it. Then he sent the donkey to his family. When the donkey arrived, the saddlebag was full of excellent wheat. Abraham slept, and when he awoke he went to his family. Sarah had already prepared food for him, and she said to him, "Won't you eat?" He said, "Is there anything?" She said, "Yes, some of the wheat which you brought from your friend." He said, "You are right. I brought it from my Friend"—meaning God. Abraham planted it, and it sprouted for him and the plants grew while the plants of the people around him died. That wheat was the source of his wealth, for people would come and ask him for it and he would say, "Whoever says, 'There is no god but God,' may come in and take." Some of them said it and came in to take wheat, while others refused and left empty-handed. That is God's word, "And among them were those who believed therein and those who disbelieved therein. Hell is enough to burn them."[313]

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312. See Ṭabarī, I, 283.
313. Qur'ān, 4:55.

As Abraham grew richer in wealth and cattle, he needed more room for dwelling and pasture. It is said that his dwelling place covered the land that lay between the desert of Midian [345] and the Ḥijāz, as far as the land of Syria. His nephew Lot was staying with him, so he divided his wealth and gave Lot half of it, or so they say. He let him choose another place in which to live and stay. Lot chose the region of Jordan and went there, while Abraham stayed in his place. It is said that this was why Abraham gave preference to Mecca and settled Ishmael there, though he often entered the cities of Syria.

According to the account of Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When Abraham's wife Sarah bt. Haran died, Abraham married a Canaanite woman, Qaṭūrah bt. Yaqṭān. She bore his six children: Yaqsān b. Abraham, Zamrān b. Abraham, Madyān b. Abraham, Yasbaq b. Abraham, Sūḥ b. Abraham, and Basar b. Abraham.[314] Abraham had eight sons altogether, including Ishmael and Isaac. Ishmael was his firstborn, the eldest of all his offspring.

Yaqsān b. Abraham married Ra'wah bt. Zamar b. Yaqṭān b. Lūdhān b. Jurhum b. Yaqṭān b. Eber, and she bore him the Berbers and their mixed groups. Zamrān b. Abraham gave birth to the pipers, who are not known. To Madyān were born the people of Midian, who were the folk of the prophet Shu'ayb b. Mīkā'īl—all of them were descended from Madyān, and God [346] sent Shu'ayb to them as a prophet.

According to al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad— Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib—his father: Abraham's father was a native of Ḥarrān, but a bad year befell him when he came to Hurmuzjird[315] in al-Ahwāz with his wife. This wife of his was Abraham's mother, and her name was Nūbā bt. Karītā b. Kūthā, of the sons of Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah.

According to al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad

314. For the biblical names see Gen. 25:1–4; see also Kisā'ī, 162, and Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 85. See also Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 264–265.

315. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 968, says only, "A region which was on the borders [*aṭrāf*] of Iraq, which the Muslims raided during the wars of the conquests."

b. 'Umar al-Aslamī—a number of scholars: Her name (Abraham's mother's name) was Anmūtā, one of the offspring of Afrāham b. Reu b. Peleg b. Eber b. Shelach b. Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah, while some say that her name was Anmatalā bt. Yakfūr.[316]

According to al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father: The river of Kūthā was dug by Karītā, Abraham's grandfather on his mother's side. His father was in charge of King Nimrod's idols. Abraham was born in Hurmuzjird, then moved to Kūthā in the land of Babylon. When Abraham grew up he rejected his people's beliefs and called upon them to worship God. This reached King Nimrod, [347] who imprisoned him for seven years. Then he built for Abraham an enclosure of plaster, and kindled thick firewood therein, and threw Abraham into it. Abraham said, "God suffices me; how excellent is He in Whom I trust." And he left the fire safe and unhurt.

According to al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: When Abraham fled from Kūthā and came out of the fire, his language was Syriac. But when he crossed the Euphrates from Ḥarrān, God changed his language and it was called Hebrew (*'Ibrānī*) because he had crossed (*'abara*) the Euphrates. Nimrod sent men to look for him, telling them, "If you find anyone who speaks Syriac, do not leave him, but bring him to me." They met Abraham, but left him because he spoke Hebrew and they did not understand his language.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām—his father: Abraham migrated from Babylon to Syria, and Sarah came to him and offered herself to him, so he married her and took her with him. At that time he was thirty-seven years old, and he came to Ḥarrān and stayed there for a while. Then he came to Jordan and stayed there for a while. Then he went to Egypt and stayed there for a while; then went back to Syria and settled in the land of Beersheba between Īliyā and Palestine. He dug a well and built a house of prayer, but then some of the people of

316. Her name is not mentioned in the Bible, but Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 286, gives it as Emtelai daughter of Karnabo. See also ibid., V, 208, n. b.

the land harmed him, so he left them and went to live between al-Ramlah and Īliyā. He dug a well there and stayed there, his wealth and servants already having become abundant. He was the first to show hospitality to guests, the first to crumble bread and soak it in broth, and the first to see white hair. The children born to Abraham were Ishmael, his eldest, whose mother was a Copt named Hagar; and Isaac, who was blind and whose mother was Sarah bt. Bethuel b. Nahor b. Serug b. Reu [348] b. Peleg b. Eber b. Shelach b. Arpachshad b. Shem b. Noah. His other children were Madan, Madyan, Yaqsān, Zamrān, Asbaq, and Sūḥ, whose mother was Qanṭūrā bt. Maṭṭūr of the *ʿāribah* Arabs. Yaqsān's sons reached Mecca, while Madan and Madyan remained in the land of Midian, which was named for the latter. The rest of them wandered from land to land, saying to Abraham, "O our father! You settled Ishmael and Isaac with you, but you ordered us to inhabit remote and wild lands." He answered, "I was thus commanded." Then he taught them one of the names of God, and they used to use it to ask for water and for help. Some of them settled in Khurāsān. Then the Khazars came, and they said, "The one who taught you must be the best of all the people of the earth, or the king of the earth." So they called their kings *khāqān*.[317]

Abū Jaʿfar said: Some pronounce Yasbaq as Yasbāq, and Sawaḥ/Sūḥ as Sāḥ. Some say that after Sarah's death Abraham married two Arab women. One of these was Qanṭūrā bt. Yaqṭān, who bore him six sons—(the ones we have mentioned) —while the other was Ḥajūr b. Arhīr, who bore him five sons—Kaysān, Shawarukh, Amīm, Lūṭān, and Nāfis.

Concerning the Death of Abraham, the Friend of God

When God wanted to take Abraham's soul, He sent the angel of [349] death to him in the form of a decrepit old man.[318]

317. A possible reflex of the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism, ca. 740.

318. See Kisāʾī, 163; Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 86, for essentially the same story. Jewish aggadic sources have the angel Michael sent by God as a reluctant messenger to announce his death to Abraham. See Ginzberg, *Legends* , I, 299ff.

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ —al-Suddī, with a chain of transmitters which I have already mentioned: Abraham had much food, and would feed people and offer them hospitality. One day while he was feeding the people, he saw an old man walking in the heat. So he sent a donkey to him to bring him back so that he could feed him. Whenever the old man picked up a morsel of food and tried to put it in his mouth, he would put it in his eye or his ear, and then in his mouth. When it entered his belly, it came out from his posterior. Abraham had asked his Lord not to take his soul until he himself asked Him for death. When he saw the old man's condition, he asked him, "What is the matter with you, O old man, that you do this?" He said, "O Abraham, it is old age." Abraham asked, "How old are you?" He was two years older than Abraham, so Abraham said, "There are only two years between you and me. When I reach that age, will I become like you?" He answered, "Yes." Abraham said, "My God! Take me to You before that." Then the old man arose and took his soul, for he was the angel of death. After Abraham died—at the age of two hundred, or some say one hundred and seventy-five—he was buried at Sarah's tomb in the field of Hebron.

It is said that the leaves which God revealed to Abraham were ten in number. I heard this from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥ-
[350] mān b. Wahb—his paternal uncle 'Abdallāh b. Wahb—al-Māḍī b. Muḥammad—Abū Sulaymān —al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī—Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: I asked, "O Messenger of God! How many books did God reveal?" He said, "One hundred and four books.[319] To Adam He revealed ten leaves, to Seth fifty leaves, and to Enoch thirty leaves. To Abraham he revealed ten leaves and also the Torah, the Injīl, the Zabūr, and the Furqān." I said, "O Messenger of God! What were the leaves of Abraham?" He answered, "They were all proverbs, such as, 'O dominated, afflicted, and deceived king! I did not send you to collect all the world, one part to another;

319. Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*., 88, has "one hundred leaves [*ṣaḥā'if*] and four books." This section is preceded by a long recitation of acts which Abraham was the first to perform, and of his special merit. See Ṭabarī, I, 347 for Ṭabarī's scant mention of these attributes.

rather I sent you [to act justly] so that I would not have to hear the cry of the oppressed, for I will not reject that cry even from an unbeliever.' And they included parables, 'The intelligent man, who is not overcome about his reason, must keep various hours—an hour in which he confides to his Lord, an hour in which he contemplates God's works, an hour in which he takes stock of his soul and of all the acts it has committed, an hour in which he is alone with the permitted food and drink which he needs. He must not depart from three things—providing for himself in the hereafter, seeing to his subsistence, and taking pleasure in what is not forbidden. The intelligent man must be careful with his time, attentive to his affairs, and careful of his tongue. When a man values his words as part of his deeds, his words are few except about what concerns him.'"

It is mentioned that Abraham had two brothers. One of them was called Haran, who was the father of Lot, and it is said that Haran was the one who built the city of Ḥarrān and that it was [351] named after him. The other brother was Nahor, the father of Bethuel, and Bethuel was the father of Laban and of Rebecca bt. Bethuel. This Rebecca, the wife of Isaac b. Abraham and the mother of Jacob, was the daughter of Bethuel while Leah and Rachel, Jacob's wives, were both daughters of Laban.

The Account of the Descendants of Ishmael b. Abraham, Friend of the Merciful

We have already mentioned the reasons for Abraham's journey to Mecca with his son Ishmael and Ishmael's mother Hagar, and why he settled them there. When Ishmael grew up he married a woman of the Jurhum tribe and later, as we have described, divorced her because his father Abraham ordered him to do so. Then he married another, who was named al-Sayyidah bt. Maḍāḍ b. 'Amr al-Jurhumī. She was the wife of Ishmael about whom Abraham, when he came to Mecca, said, "Tell your husband when he comes, 'I am pleased with the threshhold of your door.'"[320]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Ishmael had twelve sons by al-Sayyidah bt. Maḍāḍ b. 'Amr al-Jurhumī. They were Nābit b. Ishmael, Qaydar b. Ishmael, Adabīl b. Ishmael, Mabashā b. Ishmael, Masma' b. Ishmael, Dumā b. Ishmael, Mās b. Ishmael, Adad b. Ishmael, Waṭūr b. Ishmael,
[352] Nafīs b. Ishmael, Ṭumā b. Ishmael, and Qaydamān b. Ishmael. It is claimed that Ishmael lived one hundred and thirty years.[321] From Nābit and Qaydar God dispersed the Arabs. God made Ishmael a prophet and sent him to the Amalekites, so it is said, and to the tribes of the Yemen.

The names of Ishmael's sons are sometimes pronounced differently than the way I have given them according to Ibn Is-

320. See Ṭabarī, I, 283–285.
321. See Gen 25:12–18.

ḥāq. Some pronounce Qaydar as Qaydār, Adabīl as Adbāl, Mabashā as Mabashām, and Dumā as Dhūmā; the other names are sometimes given as Masā, Ḥaddād, Taym, Yaṭūr, Nāfis, and Qādaman. It is said that when death came to Ishmael, he made his brother Isaac his heir, and married his daughter to Isaac's son Esau. It is said that Ishmael lived one hundred and thirty-seven years, and that he was buried in al-Ḥijr near the tomb of his mother Hagar.

According to ʿAbadah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣaffār—Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī—Mubārak b. Ḥassān, the master of the saddle-cloths—ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: Ishmael complained to his Lord about the heat of Mecca, and God told him, "I am opening for you one of the Garden's gates, so that its breath will move over you until the Day of Resurrection, and in that place you will be buried."

We will now return to the discussion of Isaac b. Abraham [353] and of his wives and descendants, since after the Persians no nation except for them has a continuous, unbroken history. This is because the Persian kings continued in unbroken succession from the days of Jayumart, about whom I have already spoken, until they vanished with the coming of the best nation brought forth from humanity, the nation of our prophet Muḥammad. Prophecy and kingship continued in an unbroken succession in Syria and its environs among the children of Israel b. Isaac, until those things vanished from among them with the coming of the Persians and Byzantines after John b. Zacharias and after Jesus b. Mary. When we reach the story of John and Jesus, God willing, we will mention the reason for the vanishing of prophecy from among them. As for the rest of the nations, except for the Persians, it is impossible to attain knowledge of their history since they did not have continuous rule in ancient or modern times, and even when they did we cannot determine the sequence of events in their history, or the sequence of their rulers—save what we have mentioned about the descendants of Jacob until the time I have mentioned. Yet there—even though its span was interrupted during the time when it vanished from among them—we know the exact amount of time which passed between when it disappeared and the present. Yemen, on the other hand, had kings

who ruled, but there is no unbroken sequence; long intervals stretch between one king and the next, and scholars have not been able to work out the length of these intervals because they have not been meticulous about it, nor have they carefully worked out the life-spans of the kings, since they were
[354] not historically important. Whatever any of them did which was worth remembering, he only did because he was a governor over his territory for some higher ruler, rather than being a ruler in his own right. An example is the importance of the family of Naṣr b. Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. 'Amam b. Nimārah b. Lakhm.[322] They occupied a gap in the Arab-Persian frontier extending from al-Ḥīrah to the Yemeni border and as far as the border of Syria. They continued to occupy this position from the era of Ardashīr Bābakān until Kisrā Barwīz b. Hurmuz b. Anūshirwān killed al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir.[323] Then he transferred their authority over the Arab-Persian frontier to Iyās b. Qabīḍah al-Ṭā'ī.[324]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Isaac b. Abraham married Rebecca bt. Bethuel b. Ilyās, and she bore him Esau b. Isaac and Jacob b. Isaac. It is said that they were twins and that Esau was the elder of the two. Then Esau b. Isaac married the daughter of his paternal uncle, Basmah bt. Ishmael b. Abraham, and she bore him al-Rūm b. Esau. All the yellow people are from him.[325]

Some people claim that the Ashbān are among his descendants, but I do not know whether they are from the daughter of Ishmael or not. Jacob b. Isaac—who was Israel—married the daughter of his maternal uncle, Leah bt. Laban b. Bethuel b. Il-
[355] yās, and she bore him Reuben b. Jacob, who was the eldest of his descendants, and Simeon b. Jacob, Levi b. Jacob, Judah b. Jacob, Zebulon b. Jacob, Issachar b. Jacob, and a daughter named Dinah bt. Jacob. Some say that Issachar's name was Yashḥar.

Then Leah bt. Laban died, and Jacob replaced her with her

322. See Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen*, 5.

323. Al-Nu'mān III (ca. 580–602), son of al-Mundhir IV, the last of the Lakhmids.

324. Ruled 602–611, but with a Persian resident in actual control of the government.

325. The biblical account is in Gen 36.

sister Rachel bt. Laban b. Bethuel b. Ilyās. She bore him Joseph b. Jacob and Benjamin b. Jacob, who is called Shaddād in Arabic. He also had two concubines named Zilfah and Bilhah, and he had four sons from them: Dan b. Jacob, Naphtali b. Jacob, Gad b. Jacob, and Asher b. Jacob. Jacob had twelve sons in all.

Some of the people of the Torah have said that Isaac's wife Rebecca was the daughter of Nahor b. Āzar, Isaac's paternal uncle, and that she bore Esau and Jacob in one womb (that is, as twins). They also say that Isaac ordered his son Jacob not to marry a Canaanite woman, but instead to marry one of his maternal uncle Laban b. Nahor's daughters. They also say that when Jacob wanted to marry, he went to his maternal uncle Laban b. Nahor as a suitor. Night fell while he was still on the road, and he slept leaning on a stone. He had a dream in which he saw a ladder raised up from his head to one of the gates of heaven, with angels climbing up and down on it.[326] Later he went to his maternal uncle and asked for the hand of his daughter Rachel. Laban had two daughters, of whom Leah was [356] the elder and Rachel the younger. He asked Jacob, "Do you have any money for which I should marry her to you?" He answered, "No, but I will serve you as a hired laborer until your daughter's dowry is paid in full." Laban said, "Her dowry is that you serve me for the period of seven pilgrimages"—that is, for seven years. Jacob said, "Then betroth me to Rachel, for I specify her as what I want in the exchange, and for her I will serve you." And his maternal uncle agreed to that bargain.

So Jacob worked for him as a herder for seven years, and when he had completed his side of the bargain, Laban gave him his elder daughter Leah. He brought her to Jacob in the night, and when Jacob awoke he found that he had not been given the daughter he had specified. So he went to Laban while he was in his people's meeting-place, and said to him, "You have deceived and cheated me. You have unlawfully made use of my labor of seven years, and fraudulently imposed on me one who is not my wife," Laban said to him, "O my nephew! You wanted to impose disgrace and infamy on me, your maternal

326. See Gen 28:10ff. for Jacob's dream. For the following story of Jacob and his sons see Kisā'ī, 163–67; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 88–90.

uncle, and on your father. When have you ever seen anyone marry off the younger daughter before the older one? Serve me another seven years and I will betroth her sister to you." In those days people used to marry two sisters to the same husband, until Moses came and the Torah was revealed to him.

So Jacob served Laban another seven years, and Laban handed Rachel over to him. Leah bore him the four tribes of Reuben, Judah, Simeon, and Levi, while Rachel bore him Joseph and Benjamin and their sisters. When Laban gave his daughters to Jacob he had given each of them a maidservant, and they presented these maidservants to Jacob. Each of them bore him three groups of tribes. Jacob left his maternal uncle and went back to live with his brother Esau.

Some have said that Dan and Naphtali were born to Jacob
[357] from Rachel's maidservant Zilfah. Rachel had asked him to seek children from Zilfah, since Rachel herself had not yet had any. Then Leah, competing with Rachel, presented her maidservant Bilhah to Jacob and asked him to seek children from her. Bilhah bore him Gad and Asher. Then, after he had given up hope of having any children by Rachel, she bore him Joseph and Benjamin. Jacob set out with these two children of his and with his two wives to go to his father's dwelling-place in Palestine, because he was afraid of his brother Esau, though the latter had never done anything but good to him. It has been mentioned that Esau attached himself to his paternal uncle Ishmael and married Ishmael's daughter Basmah, whom he took to Syria and who bore him a number of children. They multiplied until they overcame the Canaanites in Syria. Then they journeyed to the sea and the area of Alexandria, and from there to Byzantium. It is said that Esau was called Edom[327] because of his ruddiness, and that his descendants were thus called the children of the yellow one.

Rebecca bt. Bethuel bore Isaac twin sons, Esau and Jacob, when Isaac was sixty years old. Esau was the first to emerge from his mother's womb. It is said that Isaac favored Esau while their mother Rebecca tended toward Jacob. They claim

327. The text reads Adum. See Gen 36:1.

that Jacob tricked Esau with a sacrifice which they both offered at Isaac's command when he was old and his sight had grown dim. Most of Isaac's prayers were for Jacob, and blessing turned toward him through his father Isaac's prayers for him. This infuriated Esau and he threatened to kill Jacob, so Jacob fled from him to his maternal uncle Laban in Babylon. Laban established a relationship with him and married his two daughters Leah [358] and Rachel to him. Jacob later left with Leah and Rachel, their two maidservants, his sons (the twelve tribes), and their sister Dinah, and went to Syria, the dwelling-place of his forefathers. He became united with his brother Esau, but later left Syria to him and moved to the coast. Then he went to Anatolia and took that as his homeland. According to the one who gives this account, the rulers of Anatolia—the Greeks—were of Jacob's descendants.

According to al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-ʿAbqarī —his father—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: Isaac married a woman and she became pregnant with twins. When she was about to give birth to them, the two boys struggled in her womb, Jacob wishing to emerge before Esau. Esau said, "By God! If you go forth before me, I will obstruct my mother's womb, and I will kill her." So Jacob delayed and Esau emerged before him, but Jacob seized Esau's heel. Esau was given that name because he refused, or resisted (*ʿaṣā*), and he emerged before his brother who was named Jacob because he emerged grasping the heel (*ʿaqb*) of Esau. Jacob was the larger of the two in the womb, but Esau emerged before him.

As the two boys grew up, Esau was more loved by his father while Jacob was more loved by his mother. Esau was a hunter, and when Isaac grew old and blind, he said to Esau, "O my son! Feed me some game, and draw near me so that I may invoke a prayer over you which my father did for me." Esau was a hairy man while Jacob was a hairless man. Esau went forth seeking game, and his mother, who had overheard the conversation, said to Jacob, "O my son! Go to the flocks and slaughter a sheep therefrom, then roast it and dress yourself in its skin. [359] Then go and present it to your father, and say you are Esau." Jacob did that, and when he came he said, "O my father, eat!" His father asked, "Who are you?" He said, "I am your son,

Esau." Isaac felt him and said, "The touch is that of Esau, but the smell is that of Jacob."[328] His mother said, "He is your son Esau, so pray for him." Isaac said, "Present your food." Jacob presented it and Isaac ate of it, then said, "Come closer." Jacob drew near him, and Isaac prayed that prophets and kings should be appointed from among his offspring. After Jacob left, Esau came and said, "I have brought the game as you ordered me to do." Isaac said, "O my son! Your brother Jacob has preceded you." Esau became angry and said, "By God! I shall surely kill him." Isaac said, "O my son, a prayer is left for you. Come here and I will invoke it for you." Then he prayed for Esau, saying, "May your offspring be as numerous as the dust and may no one rule them but themselves."

Jacob's mother told him, "Go to your maternal uncle and stay with him," because she was afraid Esau would kill him. So he went to his maternal uncle, traveling by night and hiding by day. For that reason he was called Israel, for he was high-ranking (*sariyy*) in the eyes of God.[329] He arrived at his maternal uncle, while Esau said, "You may have outdone me in the matter of the prayer, but you will not outdo me regarding the tomb; it is I who will be buried with my fathers Abraham and Isaac." He said, "If you do that, you will indeed be buried with him."

Jacob fell in love with the younger of his maternal uncle's two daughters. He asked her father for her hand in marriage, and her father betrothed her to him on condition that he tend his flocks for a specified period. When that period was finished, he gave her sister Leah to Jacob. Jacob said, "I wanted only Rachel." But his maternal uncle said, "Among our people we do not marry the younger one off before the elder one. Work for us as a herder again, and you can have Rachel."

So he did that, and when the period was complete he married
[360] Rachel as well. Jacob had both of them together, for that is

328. Compare with Gen 27:22, "The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau."

329. Compare the biblical etymology, Gen 32:29. See also the etymological discussions in Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 307, n. 253.

God's statement, "And [it is forbidden to you] that you should have two sisters together, except for what has already happened in the past."[330] Jacob had both Leah and Rachel. Leah became pregnant and bore Judah, Reuben, and Simeon, while Rachel bore Joseph and Benjamin. It is said that Rachel died in childbirth while delivering Benjamin. Jacob's maternal uncle set part of his flock aside for Jacob, because he wanted to return to Bayt al-Maqdis.[331] They had no source of support on the trip, so Jacob's wife said to Joseph, "Take one of my father's idols; perhaps we may seek money from him." So he took it while he and Benjamin were in Jacob's chambers.[332] Jacob loved them and felt sorry for them because they had lost their mother. The most beloved creature to him was Joseph. When they approached the land of Syria, Jacob said to one of the shepherds, "If someone comes to you and asks who you are, say, 'We belong to Jacob, the servant of Esau.'" Esau met them and asked, "Who are you?" They said, "We belong to Jacob, the servant of Esau." So Esau held back from harming Jacob, and Jacob settled in Syria. His greatest concern was for Joseph and Benjamin, so Joseph's brothers envied him because they saw how their father loved him. Joseph had a dream in which he saw eleven stars, the sun, and the moon all bowing down to him. He told his father about it, and his father said, "O my son, do not tell your brothers about this dream, lest they begin plotting against you. Satan is an open enemy of man."[333]

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330. Qur'ān, 4:23.

331. An Arabic name for Jerusalem. Probably Palestine is meant here.

332. Possibly a reference to the story of Rachel's taking her father's teraphim. Here Joseph is the culprit in order to justify the statement later made about Benjamin based on Qur'ān 12:77, "If he steals, a brother of his [i.e., Joseph] stole before."

333. Qur'ān, 12:5. This abrupt transition to the story of Joseph is not immediately followed up, but is interrupted by the stories of Job and Shu'ayb. In Kisā'ī, these lengthy accounts follow the story of Joseph (Job, pp. 192–204; Shu'ayb, pp. 204–208). Tha'labī interposes several other accounts between Joseph and the stories of Job and Shu'ayb. For the Islamic Job see *EI*², s.v. Ayyūb.

Job

[361] It has been said that one of Isaac's descendants was Job, the prophet of God.[334] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—someone who is not to be doubted—Wahb b. Munabbih: Job was a man of the Byzantines,[335] and his full name was Job b. Mawṣ b. Rāziḥ b. Esau b. Isaac b. Abraham. On the other hand, someone other than Ibn Isḥāq says that he was Job b. Mawṣ b. Raghwīl b. Esau b. Isaac, and someone also said that he was Job b. Mawaṣ b. Raghwīl. He says that his father was one of those who believed in Abraham on the day when Nimrod burned him. His wife, whom he was ordered to beat with a branch,[336] was a daughter of Jacob b. Isaac named Liyyā,[337] whom Jacob married to him.

According to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—his father—Ghiyāth b. Ibrāhīm: It is said—but God knows best—that God's enemy, Iblīs, met Job's wife and reminded her that she was Liyyā, the daughter of Jacob. He addressed her as "O Liyyā, daughter of the truthful one and sister of the truthful one!" For Job's mother was the daughter of Lot b. Haran.

It is said that his wife whom he was ordered to beat with the branch was Raḥmah bt. Ephraim b. Joseph b. Jacob. She owned
[362] all of al-Bathaniyyah[338] in Syria and all that it contained.

According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar al-Najjārī—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm Abū Hishām—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil—Wahb b. Munabbih: Iblīs, may God curse him, heard

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334. Jewish tradition differs as to Job's background, place of residence, and time. Most, but not all, traditions make him a pious Gentile—probably an Edomite—who lived at the time of Abraham or else in the days of the sons of Jacob, marrying the latter's daughter Dinah. The Talmudic tractate Baba Batra says that in the view of most scholars he was a Jew and endowed with prophecy. For the great range of views see Ginzberg *Legends*, X, 381, n. 3; *Encyc. Judaica*, 10:124–125. For a discussion of the book of Job see idem., 111–124.

335. That is, Rūm, which, as we have seen, was connected with Edom, the usual attribution of Job.

336. See Qur'ān, 38:45.

337. For Leah, mis-identified as a daughter of Jacob. As mentioned in n. 334, above, Jewish tradition has Job marry Dinah, the daughter of Jacob. *Encyc. Judaica*, 10:125; Ginzberg, *Legends*, II, 226.

338. A fertile area of Syria near Damascus; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 493–4.

the angels respond by blessing Job when God mentioned and praised him. Desire and envy overcame him, and he asked God to give him power over Job in order to seduce him away from his religion. God gave Iblīs mastery over Job's possessions, though not over his body or mind, and Iblīs assembled the most cunning and powerful devils. Job possessed all of al-Bathiniyyah in Syria and everything in it, east and west. He had a thousand sheep with their herdsmen, five hundred *feddan*s tended by five hundred servants, each of whom had a wife and children and possessions. There was a she-ass to carry the tools of each *feddan*, and each she-ass had offspring—two, three, four, five, or more. When Iblīs had gathered all the demons together he asked them, "What power and knowledge do you have? For I have been given mastery over the possessions of Job"—meaning the right to inflict disaster, and seduction which no man can withstand. And each demon who possessed some power of destruction told Iblīs what it was, and Iblīs sent them off and they destroyed all of Job's possessions. Job, meanwhile, was praising God, and nothing that happened to his possessions deterred him from his diligence in worshipping God [363] and thanking him for what he had given him, nor from the steadfastness for which God was testing him.

When the accursed Iblīs saw that, he asked God to give him mastery over Job's children. God gave him mastery over them, but still did not give him mastery over Job's body, heart, or mind. Iblīs then destroyed all of Job's children, and then came to Job pretending to be their teacher who was instructing them in wisdom. He played the role of being wounded and shattered, so that Job was moved and had pity for him and wept, and took a handful of dust and placed it on his head. Iblīs rejoiced at having gained that much from Job. But then Job repented and asked forgiveness, and his companions among the angels went up to God with his repentance, reaching God before Iblīs did. When the calamity which had befallen Job in the loss of his property and children did not deter him from worshipping his Lord, nor from diligence in obeying him, nor from patience toward what had happened to him, Iblīs asked God to give him mastery over Job's body. So God gave him mastery over Job's body except for his tongue, his heart, and his mind, over which

he did not appoint him ruler. Iblīs came to Job while he was bowing down, and blew into his nostrils a breath which set fire to his body and moved all over him until his body stank. The people of the town removed him from the town to a dung-heap outside the town, and no one but his wife would come near him—{I have already mentioned the differences of opinion on her name and genealogy.}

Returning to the account of Wahb b. Munabbih: His wife visited him frequently, bringing whatever he needed. There were three people who followed his religion; when they saw the misfortunes which had descended upon him, they abandoned him and doubted him, but without actually leaving his religion. One of them was called Bildad, another Alīfaz, and the
[364] third Ṣāfir.[339] They went to Job when he was in the depths of his sufferings and verbally attacked him. When Job heard their words he turned to his Lord, imploring Him for His help. So God had pity on him and removed his misfortunes, giving back to him his family and possessions and the like, and saying to him, "Strike the ground with your foot. There is a cool bath and refreshing drink."[340] Then Job bathed in it and regained the beauty and handsomeness which had been his before his tribulations.

According to Yaḥyā b. Ṭalḥah al-Yarbū'ī—Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ—Hishām—al-Ḥasan: Job was left out on a dung-heap of the children of Israel for seven years and some months, without asking God to do anything about his situation. There was no one on the face of the earth more honorable to God than Job. It is said that some people observed, "If this man's Lord had any use for him, he would not have done this to him." On hearing that, Job prayed.

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Ibn 'Ulayyah— Yūnus—al-Ḥasan: Job remained out on a dung-heap of the children of Israel for seven years and some months—the narrators differ about how many months it was.

This is all of the story of Job. The only reason we have told

339. Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite; see Job 2:11.

340. Qur'ān, 38:43.

his story before telling that of Joseph is the reason mentioned above, that is, that he was said to be a prophet at the time of Joseph's father Jacob. It is said that Job lived ninety-three years, and that when he died he appointed his son Ḥawmal his heir, and that after him God sent his son Bishr b. Job as a prophet, calling him Dhū al-Kifl.[341] He commanded Bishr to call mankind to the recognition of His oneness. Bishr stayed in Syria all his life, until he died at the age of seventy-five. Then he appointed his son ʿAbdān his heir. After him God sent Shuʿayb b. [365]
Ṣayfūn b. ʿAnqā b. Thābit b. Madyan b. Abraham to the people of Midian.[342] There is disagreement about Shuʿayb's genealogy. The people of the Torah give him the genealogy I have mentioned, while Ibn Isḥāq says, "He was Shuʿayb b. Mīkā'īl, one of the offspring of Madyan." This report was related by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq.

Some people say that Shuʿayb was not a descendant of Abraham, but rather of someone who believed in Abraham, followed his religion, and emigrated to Syria with him. It is even said that he was a son of Lot's daughter, or that Shuʿayb's grandmother was Lot's daughter.

The Story of Shuʿayb

It is said that Shuʿayb's name was Jethro. I have mentioned his genealogy and the disagreements of the genealogists about it. It has been mentioned that he was shortsighted.

According to ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Wāṣil al-Asadī—Usayd b. Zayd

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341. The Bible says that Job's second family consisted of seven sons—none of them named in the text—and three daughters, whose names are given (Job 42:13–14). The son called Dhū al-Kifl in Islamic tradition bears a name mentioned once in the Qur'ān, 21:85, as one like Ishmael and Idrīs who were steadfast. As a prophet he is mentioned only in passing, both here and in Kisā'ī, 204, but a fuller story of his life and mission is found in Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 145.

342. Identified by later commentators (without Qur'ānic basis) as the biblical Jethro of Midian, father-in-law of Moses. Mentioned in the Qur'ān, 9:89, as coming later than Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Lot, he was sent to the "people of the thicket [*al-aykah*]," see ibid., 26:176ff., and to the people of Midian in Qur'ān 7:85ff.; 11:84–95; 29:36–37. For aggadic material about Jethro see Ginzberg, *Legends*, II, 289–96. See also *Encyc. Judaica*, 10:18–20, s.v. Jethro.

al-Jaṣṣāṣ—Sharīk—Sālim—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: God's statement, "We do behold you weak among us,"[343] means that he was blind.

According to Aḥmad b. al-Walīd al-Ramlī—Ibrāhīm b. Ziyād
[366] and Isḥāq b. al-Mundhir and 'Abd al-Mālik b. Yazīd—Sharīk—Sālim—Sa'īd: The same.

According to Aḥmad b. al-Walīd—'Amr b. 'Awn and Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāḥ—Sharīk: When God said, "We see you weak among us," He meant that he was blind.

According to Aḥmad b. al-Walīd—Sa'dawayh —'Abbād—Sharīk—Sālim—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: The same.

According to al-Muthannā—al-Himmānī—'Abbād—Sharīk —Sālim—Sa'īd: The quote "We see you weak among us" means he was blind and could not see.

According to al-'Abbās b. Abī Ṭālib—Ibrāhīm b. Mahdī al-Miṣṣīṣī—Khalaf b. Khalīfah—Sufyān—Sālim—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: The quote, "We see you weak among us," means that he was weak-sighted.

According to al-Muthannā—Abū Nu'aym—Sufyān: God 's statement, "We see you weak among us," means that he was weak-sighted.

Sufyān said: He was called the preacher of the prophets. God sent him as a prophet to the people of Midian, who were the masters of the thorn-bush, the thorn-bush being a twisted tree.[344] They were a people who disbelieved in God, and who used dishonest weights and measures to despoil people of their wealth. God had given them ever more sustenance and had made their lives easy as an attempt to persuade them to be righteous, despite their disbelief in Him. Shu'ayb said to them, "O my people! Serve God. You have no other god but Him. Do not use short measures and short weights. I see you well-to-do, and I fear for you when the day of all-encompassing doom
[367] comes."[345] Some of what Shu'ayb said to his people and the people's response to him is recorded in God's book.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ya'qūb b.

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343. Qur'ān, 11:91.
344. Or "thicket"; see n. 342, above.
345. Qur'ān 11:84.

Abī Salamah: Whenever the Messenger of God mentioned Shu'ayb, he used to say: "That one was the preacher of the prophets!" He said this because of the beauty of the way Shu'ayb kept repeating to his people the disputed matter. As their perseverence in sin and error dragged on, and Shu'ayb's exhortations and warnings of God's punishment failed to turn them back, God decided to destroy them, and He gave mastery over them.

According to al-Ḥārith—al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Ashīb—Sa'īd b. Zayd, the brother of Ḥammād b. Zayd—Ḥātim b. Abī Ṣaghīrah—Yazīd al-Bāhilī: I asked 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās about this verse, "So there came upon them the retribution of the day of gloom [or shade]. Lo! It was retribution of an awful day."[346] 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās said, "God sent fire and great heat, which took away their breath. They ran into their houses, and it followed them there and took away their breath. They left their houses and fled out to the desert. God sent a cloud which shaded them from the sun, and made it cool and pleasant for them. So they called to each other until they had all gathered beneath it, whereupon God sent fire against them." 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās said that that was the retribution of the day of shade. Lo! It was the retribution of an awful day.

According to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Ibn Wahb—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Qatādah: Shu'ayb was sent to two peoples; to his own nation, the Midianites, and to the masters of the thorn-bush. The thorn-bush was a sort of twining tree. When God wanted to punish them he sent powerful heat against them. Then he lifted the punishment from them as though it were a cloud. When it neared them they went out to it, seeking its coolness, but when they were beneath it, it rained fire upon them, for that is His word, "There came on them the retribution of the day of gloom." [368]

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Abū Sufyān—Ma'mar b. Rāshid—a man from among their companions—certain sages: The people of Shu'ayb had neglected a divine statute, and God expanded their sustenance. They neglected another

346. Ibid., 26:189.

divine statute, and God again expanded their sustenance. Every time they stopped obeying another part of the divine law, God would expand their sustenance, until the day came when He desired to destroy them. He imposed on them heat from which they were unable to become cool, and neither shade nor water benefitted them. Then one of them found shelter under some shade, and found a breeze, and called to his companions, "Come here to this breeze!" They hurried to him, and when
[369] they had all gathered there God sent fire against them, and that was the retribution of a day of shade.

According to Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Raḥmān—Sufyān—Abū Isḥāq—Zayd b. Mu'āwiyah: As for God's statement, "There came upon them the retribution of a day of gloom," it means that heat struck them within their houses, and a cloud was created which looked like shade. They rushed to it, and while they were sleeping under it the convulsion seized them.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū 'Āṣim—'Īsā and al-Ḥārith—al-Ḥasan—Warqā'—all of them—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: God's words, "The retribution of a day of gloom," mean the shadows of punishment.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj—Mujāhid: As for his words, "There came upon them the retribution of a day of gloom," they refer to the time when retribution cast a shadow over the people of Shu'ayb. Ibn Jurayj said: When God brought the first part of the punishment down upon them, great heat came down to them from it. Then God raised a cloud up for them, and a party of them went out to seek shade under it, and found coolness, breeze, and a goodly perfume. Then God poured down retribution upon them from above, from out of that cloud, for that is His word, "The retribution of a day of gloom. Lo! It was the retribution of an awful day."

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Zayd: Regarding His word, "There came upon them the retribution of a day of gloom. Lo! It was the retribution of an awful day," God sent them a cloud for shade. Then he gave an order to the sun and it burned everything on the face of the earth, so that all of them went outside to that shade. When they were all gathered to-

gether, God took the shade away from them, and the heat of the sun burned them up like locusts in a frying pan. [370]

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Abū Tumaylah—Abū Ḥamzah—Jābir—ʿĀmir—Ibn ʿAbbās: If any sage tells you what the "retribution of the day of gloom" was, do not believe him.

According to Maḥmūd b. Khidāsh—Ḥammād b. Khālid al-Khayyāṭ—Dāwūd b. Qays—Zayd b. Aslam: They asked Shuʿayb, "Does your prayer command you to make us forsake what our fathers worshipped, or to stop us from doing what we want with our own property?"[347] One of the things Shuʿayb forbade them to do was to debase dirhams, or, as he put it, to cut dirhams. The presence of Ḥammād in the chain of transmitters casts doubt on the truthfulness of this account.

According to Sahl b. Mūsā al-Rāzī—Ibn Abī Fudayk—Abū Mawdūd—Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī: I had heard that Shuʿayb's people were punished for cutting dirhams. Then I found these words in the Qur'ān, "Does your prayer command you to make us forsake what our fathers worshipped, or to stop us from doing what we want with our own property?"

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—Zayd b. Ḥubāb —Mūsā b. Ubaydah—Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī: Shuʿayb's people were punished for cutting their dirhams. They asked, "O Shuʿayb! Does your prayer command you to make us forsake what our fathers worshipped, or to stop us from doing what we want with our own property?" [371]

Let us now return to the story of Jacob and his sons.

It is said—and God knows best—that Isaac b. Abraham lived one hundred years after Esau and Jacob were born to him, and then he died at the age of one hundred and sixty. Esau and Jacob buried him at the grave of his father Abraham in the field of Hebron. Jacob b. Isaac lived one hundred and forty-seven years altogether.

347. Ibid., 11:87.

Joseph[348]

Jacob's son Joseph had, like his mother, more beauty than any other human being.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad and Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzayyān—ʿAffān b. Muslim—Ḥammād b. Salamah—Thābit—Anas—the Prophet: Joseph and his mother were given half of all the beauty in the world. When Rachel bore him, her husband Jacob gave him to his sister to bring up.[349] What happened between Joseph and this sister, Joseph's paternal aunt, was related through Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: I have heard that the
[372] first misfortune to befall Joseph was the fact that his paternal aunt was Isaac's daughter, the eldest of Isaac's children, and that the belt of Isaac had come into her possession. This belt was supposed to be handed down from generation to generation by age, the eldest child always inheriting it. If someone else acquired it by guile from the person who was supposed to

348. The story of Joseph plays an important yet limited role in the Bible (see Gen 37–50 and hardly elsewhere) and in the Qur'ān,where the story is concentrated entirely in *sūrah* 12, which is named for Joseph. For the embellishments in Jewish tradition see *Encyc. Judaica*, 10:202–218; Ginzberg, *Legends*, II, 3–184; V, 324–77; Kisā'ī, 167–192; Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 94–125. See also *Shorter Encyc.*, 646–48, s.v. Yūsuf b. Ya'ḳūb.

349. The Genesis account of Joseph begins when he is seventeen, but aggada adds some details about his childhood to explain why his brothers hated him. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, II, 5–8. Here the account begins with his childhood to explain the Qur'ānic reference to his having stolen, but see n. 322, above. Tha'labī, 95–96, does not include this account but devotes much space to a discussion of Joseph's beauty.

have it, then he would become absolutely subject to the will of the rightful owner, and the rightful owner could do with him as he wished. Now, no love was so great as that which Joseph's paternal aunt, who had brought him up, felt for him. When Joseph grew up, his father Jacob's soul became fixed on him, and he came to her and said, "O little sister! Hand Joseph over to me, for by God I cannot stand to have him away from me for another hour." She said, "But, by God, I will not give him up." Jacob insisted, "By God, I will not give him up either." She said, "Leave him with me for a few days so that I can look at him and set my mind at ease about him, and perhaps I will feel better about giving him up."

When Jacob left her, she took Isaac's belt and put it on Joseph under his clothes. Then she said, "I have lost Isaac's belt! See who took it and who has it." She looked for it diligently, and then she ordered that everyone in the household be searched. They found the belt on Joseph, and she said, "By God! He is mine. I will do with him what I wish!" When Jacob came to her she told him the story, and he said, "You and that one. If he did it, he is yours; I can do nothing about it." So she kept Joseph, and Jacob could not take him until she died. This incident (in [373]
which it was made to seem that Joseph had stolen the belt) was what Joseph's brothers had in mind when they later said, "If he [one of the brothers] steals, a brother of his stole before."[350]

Abū Ja'far said: When Joseph's brothers saw how much their father Jacob loved him during his childhood as well as during his infancy, and how impatient Jacob became when Joseph was not there, they envied Joseph for his position in Jacob's affections. They said to each other, "Verily Joseph and his brother [Benjamin] are dearer to our father than we are, though we may be a troop [*'uṣbah*]."[351] By *'uṣbah* they meant a group, for they were ten in number. They said, "Our father is plainly in a state of aberration."[352]

Then there happened the events which God has related in His book. They asked Jacob to send Joseph out with them to

350. Qur'ān, 12:77.
351. Ibid., 12:8.
352. Id.

the desert to run and play, and they promised to guard him. Jacob told them he would be sad to have Joseph away from him, and feared for him on account of the wolves. They deceived their father with lies about Joseph, and finally he sent Joseph with them. They took him out to the desert, having decided to throw him down a well.

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad al-ʿAnqazī—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: Jacob sent Joseph with them, he who was more noble than they, and when they got him out into the desert they made clear their enmity toward him. One brother began to beat him, and when he asked another brother for help, the other one beat him, too. None of them showed mercy to him, and they beat him until they almost killed him. He began to shout, "O my father! O Jacob! You did not know what the sons of the servant girls[353] would do to your son." When they
[374] had almost killed him and he had begun to shout, Judah, one of the brothers, said to the others, "Did you not give me a pledge that you would not kill him?" So they took him to the well and lowered him into it. When they began lowering him into it he clung to the edge, but they tied his hands and stripped his shirt off. He said, "O brothers, give me my shirt back so that I can cover myself with it in the well." They said, "Call on the sun, the moon, and the eleven stars to keep you company."[354] He said, "Verily, I did not dream that." But they went on lowering him until he was halfway down, then let him fall the rest of the way, for they wanted him to die. There was water in the well and he fell into it, then managed to climb out of the water onto a rock which was at the bottom of the well. When they threw him into the well he began to weep. They called out to him and he thought it was out of pity, but in fact they wanted to smash him with a rock and kill him. But Judah stopped them, saying, "You have given me a pledge not to kill him." And while Joseph was in the well, Judah used to bring him food.

God described how He revealed to Joseph, while Joseph was

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353. That is, the four sons of Bilhah and Zilphah, the handmaidens who became concubines of Jacob. Note that various sons of his aunt Leah intervene at various times on his behalf.

354. Referring to Joseph's dream; see Ṭabarī, I, 360.

in the well, that he would one day tell his brothers what they had done to him; the brothers did not know of this revelation to Joseph.[355] This account was also relayed from Qatādah.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Ṣanʿānī—Muḥammad b. Thawr—Maʿmar—Qatādah: God said, "We revealed to him, 'You will tell them of this deed of theirs.'"[356] He revealed to Joseph, while he was in the well, that he would tell them about what they had done to him, "while they knew not" of this revelation.

According to al-Muthannā—Suwayd—Ibn al-Mubārak—Maʿmar—Qatādah: More or less the same account, except that he said that he would inform them. [375]

It is said that that meant that they would not know he was Joseph, and this statement is related from Ibn ʿAbbās.

According to al-Ḥārith—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—Ṣadaqah b. ʿAbādah al-Asadī—his father: I heard Ibn ʿAbbas saying that, and he got it from Ibn Jurayj.

God described how Joseph's brothers came weeping to their father in the evening and told him that a wolf had eaten Joseph. Their father said, "No, your minds have beguiled you into something. It is best to be patient."[357] Then God described how a caravan came to the well where Joseph was, and how they sent their water-drawer to get water from it. He took Joseph out of the well and told his companions about it, saying, "O good luck! Here is a youth."[358]

According to Bishr b. Muʿādh—Yazīd—Saʿīd—Qatādah: When Joseph was taken out, they said, "O good luck! Here is a youth." The well is in the land of Bayt al-Maqdis, and its location is known.

It has been said that the one who took Joseph out of the well told only one person, a companion of his named Bushrā (which [376] means "good luck"), so that when he called out "O good luck!" he was calling out that man's name. Al-Suddī also reports this.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad—Khalaf b. Hi-

355. See Qur'ān, 12:15.
356. Id.
357. Ibid., 12:18.
358. Ibid., 12:19.

shām—Yaḥyā b. Ādam—Qays b. al-Rabīʿ—al-Suddī: The water-drawer's words "O good luck!" refer to the name of his companion Bushrā.

According to al-Muthannā—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ḥammād—al-Ḥakam b. Ẓuhayr—al-Suddi: The boy to whom he was talking when he said, "O good luck! Here is a youth," was named Bushrā. So it was just like saying, "O Zayd!" (to someone named Zayd).

God described how when the caravan pulled Joseph out of the well they bought him from his brothers "for a low price, a number of silver coins,"[359] because of his brothers' indifference to him. Those who bought him hid him like a treasure from the merchants in the caravan, for they feared that if the merchants knew about him they would demand a share in him. This is what the interpreters have said on the matter.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAmr—Abū ʿĀṣim—ʿĪsā b. Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: The quote, "They hid him as a treasure,"[360] means that those who were actually there when he was pulled out of the well decided to keep him secret as a treasure among themselves, fearing that others in the caravan would want a share in him if they realized for how much he could be sold. Joseph's brothers followed them, saying to them, "Make sure that he does not escape," until they reached Egypt with Joseph. Joseph said, "He who buys me will be happy." The king, who was a Muslim, bought him.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad—Shabābah—War-qā'—Ibn Abi Najīḥ—Mujāhid: A similar story, except that he said, ". . . for fear that they would want a share in him if they knew about him." And his brothers followed them, saying to the
[377] water-drawer and his companions, "Make sure that he does not escape," until they reached Egypt with him.

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī. The quote, "They hid him as a treasure," means that when the two men bought Joseph from his brothers, they were afraid that the rest of the group would say, "We have all bought him, and we are entitled to a share in him." So they decided

359. Ibid., 12:20.
360. Ibid., 12:19.

that if anyone asked them what it was that they had, they would say, "A piece of merchandise for which we traded with the people who own the well." For it is as God said, "They hid him as a treasure."

Joseph's brothers sold him for "a low price"—that is, a bit less than the forbidden price. It is said that they sold him for twenty dirhams, then divided it among the ten of them so that each had two dirhams. The money was counted by number of coins rather than by weight, for it is said that at that time the smallest unit of weight for money was the *ūqiyyah* (the weight of forty dirhams) and coins weighing less than that were not weighed. Some say that they sold him for forty dirhams; others say it was forty-two. It is reported that the man who sold him in Egypt was Mālik b. Daʿar b. Yawbūb b. ʿAfqān b. Madyān b. Abraham the Friend (of God).

This was related through Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās.

As for the man who bought Joseph from Mālik b. Daʿar in Egypt and who said to his wife, "Receive him honorably,"[361] Ibn ʿAbbas reports that his name was Qiṭṭīn.[362]

According to Muḥammad b. Saʿd—his father—his uncle— [378]
his father—his father—Ibn ʿAbbās: The name of the one who bought him was Qaṭafīr (Potiphar), and it is said that his name was Iṭfīr b. Rawhīb and that he was ruler[363] and in charge of the Egyptian treasury. At that time the king was al-Rayyān b. al-Walīd[364] a man of Amalekite stock, according to the account relayed through Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq. Another account gives the full name of the king and Pharaoh of Egypt at that time as al-Rayyān b. al-Walīd b. Tharwān b. Arāshah b. Qārān b. ʿAmr b. ʿImlāq b. Lud b. Shem b. Noah.

It has been said that before this king died he became a be-

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361. Ibid., 12:21.

362. The biblical name Potiphar appears in a variety of forms in Arabic sources, among them Qittīn, Qiṭṭifīn, Quṭifar, Qiṭfīr, Iṭfīr, and Iṭfīn. See *Shorter Encyc.*, 647, s.v. Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb.

363. ʿAzīz, lit. "mighty, honored, proud, precious;" here, the ruler of Egypt but not the king or Pharaoh.

364. Note that he is not referred to as Pharaoh/Firʿawn, which in the Qurʾān has the connotation of an evildoer.

liever and follower of Joseph's religion, and that he died when Joseph was still alive. The king after him was Qābūs b. Muṣ'ab b. Mu'āwiyah b. Numayr b. al-Salwās b. Qārān b. 'Amr b. 'Imlāq b. Lud b. Shem b. Noah. He was an infidel, and when Joseph invited him to Islam he refused to accept it.

Some of the people of the Torah report that, according to the Torah, Joseph was sold by his brothers and brought to Egypt when he was seventeen years old. They say that he remained in the house of the ruler who bought him for thirteen years, and [379] that when he reached the age of thirty the Pharaoh of Egypt al-Walīd b. al-Rayyān made him vizier. They say that on that same day the Pharaoh died at the age of one hundred and ten, naming his brother Judah his heir. They also say that Joseph met Jacob in Egypt twenty-two years after having been taken from him (by his brothers), that Jacob stayed with him in Egypt with his family for seventeen years, that Jacob named Joseph his heir, and that Jacob had seventy members of his family with him when he came to Egypt. They also say that when Potiphar bought Joseph and brought him to his house, he said to his wife, (whose name, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, was Rā'īl)[365] "Receive him honorably. He may prove useful to us.[366] When he grows up and understands things, he may be able to help us in some of the affairs which we have at hand, or we may adopt him as our son."[367] That was because, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, Potiphar was a man who did not have intercourse with women,[368] though his wife Rā'īl was beautiful and tender, and had property and possessions.

When Joseph reached the age of thirty-three, God gave him wisdom and knowledge.

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365. So in Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 103, with a variant, Bakkā, also recorded. In Kisā'ī, 172, and other Muslim works, it is usua lly Zalīkah, Zulaykah, Zuleikha; see *Shorter Encyc.*, 647, s.v. Yūsuf. The Jewish work *Sefer ha-Yashar* also uses the latter name. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 339, n. 113, n. 111 for other names used.

366. Qur'ān, 12:21.

367. Id.

368. Jewish legends say that Potiphar bought Joseph for a lewd purpose but the angel Gabriel made him an eunuch so that he could not accomplish it. Ginzberg, *Legends*, II, 43; V, 338, n. 101.

According to al-Muthannā—Abū Ḥudhayfah—Shibl—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: God said, "We gave him wisdom and knowledge"[369]—meaning intelligence and knowledge before prophecy.

"And she, in whose house he was, asked of him an evil act"[370] when he had matured and reached the age of virility. This "she" refers to Potiphar's wife Rā'īl. "And she bolted the doors,"[371] locking him in with herself, so that she might have what she desired from him, and she began to speak of his charms in order to arouse his desire for her.

Concerning Those Who Said That: [380]

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr b. Muḥammad—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī (As the Qur'ān says,) "She desired him and he would have desired her."[372] She said, "O Joseph, how beautiful your hair is!" He answered, "It is the first thing that will fall off of my body." She said, "O Joseph, how beautiful your eyes are!" He answered, "They are the first things that will melt into the earth from my body." She said, "O Joseph, how beautiful your face is!" He answered, "The earth will eat it." But she kept after him until she had enticed him.

"She desired him and he would have desired her,"[373] and they entered the house and she locked the doors and he went to loosen his trousers, when suddenly the figure of Jacob appeared to him, standing in the house and biting his fingers, saying, "O Joseph, do not have intercourse with her. If you do not have intercourse with her, you are like the bird in the sky who is not caught. If you have intercourse with her, you are like the bird when it dies and falls to the ground, unable to defend itself. If you do not have intercourse with her, you are like a difficult ox upon whom no work can be done, whereas if you have intercourse with her, you are like that ox when he dies and ants

369. Qur'ān, 12:22.
370. Ibid., 12:23.
371. Id.
372. Ibid., 12:24.
373. Id.

come in at the base of his horns and he cannot defend himself."[374] So Joseph tied his trousers up and left at a run, but she overtook him and seized the tail of his shirt from behind and tore it. The tail of the shirt fell off and Joseph left it behind and raced toward the door.

According to Abū Kurayb, Ibn Wakī', and Sahl b. Mūsā—Ibn 'Uyaynah—'Uthmān b. Abī Sulaymān—Ibn Abī Mulaykah: Ibn
[381] 'Abbās was asked how far Joseph went in following his desires. He said, "He loosened his waistband and sat with her as one who possesses would sit."

According to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad—Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad—Ibn Jurayj—'Abdallāh b. Abī Mulaykah: I asked Ibn 'Abbās, "How far did Joseph go in following his desires?" And he said, "She lay on her back for him and he sat between her legs removing his clothes."

God turned him away from his desire for evil by giving him a sign that he should not do it. It has been said that that sign was the image of his father Jacob, biting his fingers. Some have said instead that a voice proclaimed from beside the house, "Will you fornicate and be like the bird whose feathers fall out, and who finds he has no feathers when he tries to fly?" Yet others have said that Joseph saw written on the wall, "Do not come near to adultery. Verily it is an abomination and an evil way,"[375] and that Joseph, seeing the proof of his Lord, arose and fled, seeking the door of the house to escape from what she wanted him to do. But Rā'īl followed him and caught up with him before he left the house, and grabbed him from behind by his shirt, and tore it. Then Joseph and Rā'īl met her master, her huband Potiphar, sitting at the door of the house with one of Rā'īl's cousins.

Likewise according to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr b. Muḥammad—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī "They met her master at the door."[376] He

374. See the very different version in the Jewish aggada where Joseph remains steadfast in spite of all blandishments and threats; Ginzberg, *Legends*, III, 44–50, for a Jewish account similar to Ṭabarī's, with both Jacob and Rachel appearing to stop Joseph, see 53–54. For this reason some of the rabbis blamed Joseph. See *Encyc. Judaica*, X:211.

375. Qur'ān, 17:32

376. Ibid., 12:25.

was sitting at the door with her cousin. When she saw him she asked, "How would you reward one who wishes evil to your folk, if not by imprisonment or a painful doom?[377] He (Joseph) [382] asked of me an evil act, but I refused and defended myself from him and tore his shirt."

Joseph said, "No, rather it was 'she who asked of me an evil act,'[378] and I refused and fled from her. But she overtook me and tore my shirt." Rā'īl's cousin said, "The evidence for this matter is in the shirt. If it is torn in front, then she is honest and he is a liar. And if it is torn from behind, then she has lied and he is honest."[379] The shirt was brought and Potiphar found it torn from behind. He said, "This is [typical of] the guile of you women. Your guile is very great. Joseph, turn away from this, and you, O woman, ask forgiveness for your sin. Verily you are a sinful person."[380]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umārah—'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsa—Shaybān—Abū Isḥāq—Nawf al-Sha'mī: Joseph did not want to tell Potiphar of the matter until Rā'īl said, "How would you reward one who wishes evil to your folk, if not by imprisonment or a painful doom?"[381] Then he became angry and said, "She asked of me an evil act."

There is a difference of opinion about which member of her family it was who pointed out that "if it is torn in front, then she is honest and he is a liar."[382] Some agree with what I have reported from al-Suddī, while others have said that it was a child in his cradle.[383] This version has come down from the Messenger of God by way of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad—'Affān b. Muslim—Ḥammād—'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib—Sa'id b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: The Prophet said, "There were four people who spoke when they were small," and he mentioned among them this witness of Joseph's.

According to Ibn Wakī'—al-'Alā' b. 'Abd al-Jabbār—Ḥam- [383]

377. Id.
378. Ibid., 12:26.
379. Ibid., 12:26–27.
380. Ibid., 12:28–29.
381. Ibid., 12:25.
382. Ibid., 12:26.
383. For a Jewish version, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, II, 57; also V, 342, n. 134.

mād b. Salamah—'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib—Sa'īd b. Jubayr —Ibn 'Abbās: There were four who spoke when they were small, and they were the son of the Pharaoh's daughter Māshaṭah, the witness of Joseph, the companion of Jurayj, and Jesus, the son of Mary.

It has also been said that the witness was the shirt itself and the tear in its back.

Concerning Some of Those Who Said That

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū 'Āṣim—'Īsā—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: Regarding God's statement, "A witness of her own folk testified,"[384] it meant that his shirt was torn from behind, and that was the testimony. So when the woman's husband saw Joseph's shirt torn from behind, he said to his wife Rā'īl, "This is [typical of] the guile of you women. Indeed your guile is very great."[385] He said to Joseph, "Refrain from talking about the evil act which she was asking of you, and do not mention it to anyone." Turning back to his wife, he said to her, "Ask forgiveness for your sin. You are indeed a sinful person."[386]

Throughout the city of Egypt women talked of what had happened between Joseph and the wife of the ruler, and of how she had asked an evil act of him; the matter could not be hidden. They said, "The ruler's wife is asking of her slave-boy an evil deed. He has smitten her to the heart with love."[387] For her love for Joseph had reached the pericardium of her heart, entered beneath it, and overpowered her heart. The pericardium is the cover and veil of the heart.

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr b. Muḥammad—Asbāt—al-Suddī: They said, "He has smitten her with love."[388] The pericardium is a skin on the heart, which is called the tongue of
[384] the heart. Love entered the skin until it assailed the heart.

384. Qur'ān, 12:26.
385. Ibid., 12:28.
386. Ibid., 12:29.
387. Ibid., 12:30.
388. Id.

When the ruler's wife heard of this talk and came to know that they were talking among themselves about the situation between her and Joseph, she sent for them and prepared a support made of cushions on which they could recline when they came to her. They came to her and she presented them with food, drink, and citrons, and she gave each of them a knife with which to cut the citrons.[389]

According to Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār—Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt—Abū Kudaynah—Ḥaṣīn—Mujāhid—Ibn ʿAbbās: It is said, "She prepared a couch for them and gave each of them a knife."[390] She had made Joseph sit in another room, and when her guests arrived she gave them citrons[391] and gave each of them a knife. This being done she called to Joseph, "Come out here to them!"[392] And Joseph came out to them, and when they saw him they exalted him and were so distracted by his beauty that they cut themselves in the hands with their knives, thinking that they were cutting their citrons. They said, "God forbid! This is not a human being. This can only be a gracious angel."[393]

After they had cut their hands on account of their distraction at seeing Joseph, and had recognized their error in saying, "The ruler's wife is asking of her slave-boy an evil deed,"[394] and in disapproving her action, she confirmed to them that she had indeed asked of him an ill deed. She said, "This is the one on whose account you blamed me. I asked of him an evil act, but he proved continent"[395]—after he had loosened his trousers.

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—Asbāṭ—al- [385]
Suddī: She said, "This is the one on whose account you blamed me. I asked of him an evil act, but he proved continent." She

389. A similar story—usually with citrus fruit but sometimes with bread and meat—is found in old aggadic collections. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 339, n. 118. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 194–95, says that it does not occur in ancient Midrashic texts.

390. Qur'ān, 12:31.

391. See Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ* 107, "She prepared for them citrus, melons, bananas, pomegranates, and roses. . . ."

392. Qur'ān, loc. cit.

393. Id.

394. Ibid., 12:30.

395. Ibid., 12:32.

said, "After he had loosened his trousers, he remained continent. I do not know what appeared to him. But if he does not do what I order"—that is, have intercourse—"verily he will be imprisoned and brought low."[396] But Joseph chose prison over adultery and disobedience to his Lord, saying, "O my Lord! Prison is more dear to me than that to which they urge me."[397]

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: He said, "O my Lord! Prison is more dear to me than the adultery to which they urge me."

He asked his Lord for help, saying, "If You do not fend off their wiles from me, they will gradually win me over and I will become foolish."[398] God told him that He would answer his prayer, and He averted their guile from him and saved him from committing abomination.

At length the ruler—even though he had seen Joseph's shirt torn from behind, and the scratches on his face, and the women cutting their hands, and even though he knew Joseph was innocent—grew disgusted with himself for having let Joseph go free. It is said that the reason for this was that which was related by Ibn Wakīʿ—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: "It seemed good to them, after they had seen the signs [of his innocence] to imprison him for a time."[399] The woman said to her husband, "This Hebrew slave has disgraced me among the people, claiming by way of excuse that I asked an evil act of
[386] him. I cannot give any excuse"—that is, because he had restricted her to the house by way of punishment—"so either give me leave to go out and give my excuse, or imprison him as you have imprisoned me." That is the meaning of God's statement, "It seemed good to them, after they had seen the signs [of his innocence] to imprison him for a time."

It is reported that they imprisoned him for seven years.

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396. Id.
397. Ibid., 12:33.
398. Id.
399. Ibid., 12:35.

Concerning Those Who Said That

According to Ibn Wakī'—al-Muḥāribī—Dāwūd—'Ikrimah: To imprison him for a time meant for seven years.

When his master the ruler imprisoned Joseph, two young men were sent to the prison with him. They were two of the servants of the king, the great master of Egypt, al-Walīd b. al-Rayyān. One of them was in charage of the king's food, the other of his drink.

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: The king imprisoned him and became angry at his baker, having heard that he desired to poison him. So he imprisoned him, and also imprisoned the man in charge of his drink, thinking that the latter had helped the baker. He imprisoned them together, for that is God's statement, "For two young men went to prison with him."[400]

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: When Joseph entered the prison he said, "I interpret dreams." So one of the two young men said to the other, "Come, let us test this Hebrew slave." So they pretended, asking him about dreams, when they really had not dreamed anything. [387]

The baker said, "I dreamed that I was carrying bread on my head, and the birds were eating it." And the other said, "I dreamed that I was pressing wine." They demanded of him, "Tell us the interpretation, for we see that you are one of those who do good."[401]

As to what this "doing good" meant, there is an account relayed through Isḥāq b. Abī Isrā'īl—Khalaf b. Khalīfah—Salamah b. Nubayṭ: A man asked al-Ḍaḥḥāk about the quotation, "we see that you are one of those who do good." He asked him, "What was his good deed?" Al-Ḍaḥḥāk said, "Whenever a man became ill in prison, Joseph would watch over him. When he needed something Joseph would fetch it for him, and when he found the place too confining Joseph would expand it for him."

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400. Ibid., 12:36.
401. Id.

Joseph said to them, "The food which you are given will not come to you"—on this day—"but I shall tell you the interpretation"—while waking.[402] He did not want to interpret for them what they had asked, so he began with something they had not asked. This was because the interpretation of what they had asked suggested something unpleasant for one of them. So he said, "O my fellow prisoners, are many different lords better, or God the One, the Almighty?"[403]

One of the two young men who had been sent to prison with Joseph was named Maḥlab;[404] he was the one who claimed to have dreamed about bread being on his head. The other one was named Nabū,[405] and he was the one who claimed to have dreamed of himself pressing wine. They refused to let him avoid interpreting the dreams about which they had asked him, and at last he said, "As for one of you, he will pour out wine for his lord to drink"[406]—that was the one who claimed
[388] he had dreamed of himself pressing wine. "As for the other, he will be crucified, so that the birds will eat from his head."[407]

Then, when he had given them these interpretations, they said, "We did not dream anything."

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—Ibn Fuḍayl—ʿUmārah, (that is, Ibn al-Qaʿqāʿ)—Ibrāhīm—ʿAlqamah—ʿAbdallāh: When the two young men told Joseph of their dreams, they were only pretending to have dreamed so as to test him. When he had explained their dreams, they said, "We were only playing." He said, "Thus is the case judged about which you asked."[408] Then he said to Nabū—the one he had said would be saved—"Mention me in the presence of your lord"[409]—meaning, in the presence of the king—"and tell him that I am unjustly imprisoned." But Satan made Nabū forget to mention it to the king, which was a misfortune which befell Joseph from Satan.

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402. See ibid., 12:37.
403. Ibid., 12:39.
404. Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ*,108: Mujlib; Kisāʾī, 108: Ghālib.
405. Thaʿlabī: Bayūs; Kisāʾī: Abruhah.
406. Qurʾān, 12:41.
407. Id.
408. Id.
409. Ibid., 12:42.

According to al-Ḥārith—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Ḍubaʿī—Bisṭām b. Muslim—Mālik b. Dīnār: Joseph said to the cupbearer, "Mention me in the presence of your lord." And God said, "O Joseph! You have placed trust in one other than Me, therefore I shall lengthen your imprisonment." And Joseph wept and said, "O Lord! The weight of my misfortunes made my heart forget, and I said a word—woe is to my brothers!"[410]

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd—ʿAmr b. Dīnār—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Prophet said, "If Joseph had not said that—meaning what he said [to Nabū]—he would not have stayed in prison as long as he did because he sought deliverance from someone other than God."

As for how long Joseph stayed in prison, it was related by al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-Razzāq—ʿImrān Abū al-Hudhayl al-Ṣanʿānī—Wahb: Misfortune struck Job for seven years, Joseph [389]
was left in prison for seven years, and Nebuchadnezzar was punished by being turned into an animal for seven years.

Then the king of Egypt had a dream which terrified him. According to Ibn Wakīʿ—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: While the king was asleep, God showed him a dream which terrified him. He saw "seven fat kine which seven lean kine were eating, and seven green ears of corn and another seven dry."[411] The king assembled his sorcerers, soothsayers, seers, and prognosticators, and told them about the dream. They said, "Jumbled dreams! We are not knowledgeable in the interpretation of dreams."[412]

Then the youth who had been saved, Nabū, remembered Joseph's request which he had forgotten. He said, "I will tell you the interpretation, so send me forth"[413]—that is, "release me." So they sent him forth and he came to Joseph and said, "O truthful one! Explain to us about the seven fat kine which

410. The aggadic accounts interpret Joseph's longer imprisonment in the same way; he should have trusted in God alone. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 63.

411. Qur'ān, 12:43. See Gen 41:17–21.

412. Qur'an, 12:44.

413. Ibid., 12:54.

seven lean kine were eating, and seven green ears of corn and the others dry,[414] for the king has seen that in his sleep."

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Ibn 'Abbās: The prison was not in the city, so the cupbearer was sent out to Joseph and said, "Explain to us about the seven fat kine, etc."

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd—Sa'īd—Qatādah: He said, "Explain to us about the seven fat kine." The fat ones were seven abundant years, while the lean kine were barren, sterile years. As for the statement, "And seven green ears of corn and others dry," the green ears were the years of abun-
[390] dance, while the dry ones were the sterile, barren ones.

When Joseph had given Nabū this interpretation, Nabū went to the king and repeated it to him. The king realized that Joseph's interpretation was correct. He said, "Bring him to me."[415]

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: When the messenger came to the king and told him, the king said, "Bring him to me."

When the messenger came to Joseph and invited him to come to the king, Joseph refused to go with him, saying, "Go back to your lord and ask him about the case of the women who cut their hands. My lord surely knows their guile."[416]

According to al-Suddī—Ibn 'Abbās: If Joseph had gone to the king before the king knew about this affair, Potiphar would have kept after him, saying, "This is the one who sought an evil act of my wife." When the messenger came back to the king from Joseph, the king assembled those women and said to them, "What happened when you asked an evil act of Joseph?"[417] According to Ibn Waki'—'Amr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī, they answered, "God forbid! We know no evil of him."[418] But Potiphar's wife admitted that she had asked an evil act of Jo-

414. Ibid., 12:46.

415. Ibid., 12:50. See the various alternate interpretations in the aggada, Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 65–66, followed by Joseph's correct one, ibid., 70.

416. Qur'ān, 12:50.

417. Ibid., 12:51.

418. Id.

seph and that he had entered the house with her. Then she said, "Now the truth is out. I asked of him an evil act, but he is surely honest."[419]

Joseph said, "This"—meaning the act of sending back the messenger with letters about the women—"was so that my master Potiphar would know that I did not secretly betray him with his wife, and that 'God surely does not guide the snares of betrayers.'"[420]

When Joseph had said that, Gabriel said to him that which was mentioned in the account of Abū Kurayb—Wakī'—Isrā'īl—Simāk—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: When the king assembled those women and asked them, "Did you ask an evil act of Joseph?" they said, "God forbid! We know no evil of him." And Potiphar's wife said, "Now the truth is out. I asked of him an evil act, but he is surely honest." Joseph said, "It was so that he [Potiphar] would know that I did not secretly betray him, and that God surely does not guide the snares of betrayers."[421] Then Gabriel said to him, "Did you not desire her even for one day?" And Joseph said, "I do not excuse myself. The soul does indeed drive us to evil."[422] [391]

When Joseph's innocence and faithfulness became clear to the king, he said, "Bring him to me that I may attach him to my person"[423]—that is, take him into royal service. And when Joseph was brought, "and when he had talked with him, he said, 'As of today you are established and trusted.' And Joseph said, 'Set me over the storehouses of the land.'"[424]

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Zayd: Joseph's words, "Set me over the storehouses of the land," referred to the many storehouses which the Pharaoh had for food and other things. The Pharaoh turned over all his authority to him, appointing him administrator, and his orders and judgment were valid.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ibrāhīm b. al-Mukhtār—Shay-

419. Id.
420. See ibid., 12:52.
421. Ibid., 12:51–52.
422. Ibid., 12:53.
423. Ibid., 12:54.
424. Ibid., 12:54–55.

[392] bah al-Ḍabbī: His words, "Set me over the storehouses of the land," meant watching over the food supply of Egypt. He said, "I am a skilled custodian. I will be custodian of whatever you entrust to me, knowledgeable in years of famine." So the king appointed him to that post.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah— Ibn Isḥāq: When Joseph said to the king, "Set me over the storehouses of the land, for I am a skilled custodian," the king said, "I hereby do so." It is said that he appointed Joseph to Potiphar's post, dismissing Potiphar from it. God said, "Thus We gave Joseph power in the land. He was its owner where he pleased. We reach with Our mercy who We will. We do not fail to reward the good."[425] It is said—but God knows best—that Potiphar died around that time and that the king, al-Rayyān b. al-Walīd, married Joseph to Potiphar's wife Rāʿīl.[426] When she was brought to him, he said, "Is this not better than what you desired?" It is said that she answered, "O honest one, do not blame me, for as you see I was a beautiful and graceful woman, comfortable in my possessions and worldly goods, and my master did not have intercourse with women. And you were as God made you, with your beauty and appearance, and I could not control myself, as you saw." They said that he found her to be a virgin[427] and had intercourse with her, and that she bore him two sons, Ephraim b. Joseph and Manasseh b. Joseph.

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—ʿAmr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: God said, "Thus We gave Joseph power in the land. He was its owner where he pleased."[428] The king set Joseph in authority over Egypt. He was in charge of all selling and commerce. This was the meaning of God's statement, "Thus We gave Joseph power

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425. Ibid., 12:56.

426. The biblical acount gives Joseph's wife's name as Asenath, daughter of Potiphar. The problem of whether Potiphar, Joseph's master, is the same as Potiphar, his father-in-law, and whether Asenath could be the daughter of Potiphar who was an eunuch, is discussed in Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 337–338, nn. 100–101.

427. Because her husband did not have intercourse with women; see Ṭabarī, I, 379, and n. 368, above.

428. Qur'ān, 12:56.

in the land. He was its owner where he pleased."

Joseph administered the storehouses of the land, and became established in his office. During the seven abundant years Joseph ordered the people to leave with him all the seeds they [393] harvested from ears of corn (as provision for the lean years). Then the barren years began, and the people suffered from the lack of rain. One of the countries afflicted by the drought was Palestine, and it began to hurt the family of Jacob, which lived there, so Jacob spoke to his sons about the problem.

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr—Asbāṭ —al-Suddī: Hunger became widespread until it struck the land where Jacob lived. So Jacob sent his sons to Egypt (because he knew there was stored grain there) but kept Joseph's full brother Benjamin in Palestine. When Joseph received them in Egypt, "He knew them but they did not know [that is, recognize] him."[429] When he looked at them, he said, "Tell me about yourselves, for I have no knowledge of you." They said, "We are people from the land of Syria." He said, "What brought you here?" They said, "We came to seek food." He said, "You lie. You are spies. How many of you are there?" They said, "Ten." He said, "You are ten thousand. Each one of you is a thousand. Tell me your story." They said, "We are brothers, sons of an honest man. We once numbered twelve, and our father loved a brother of ours. He who was the most loved by our father went to the desert with us and died there."[430] Joseph asked, "On whom did your father rely after him?" They said, "On a brother of ours, younger than he." Joseph said, "How can you tell me that your father is honest, and loves the youngest of you more than the oldest? Bring me this brother of yours so that I may see him. And if you do not bring him to me, then there will be no grain for you, nor shall you approach me." They said, "We will try to persuade his father to send him, indeed we will."[431] Jo-

429. Ibid., 12:58.

430. This interrogation of the brothers seems to be a shorter version of the one found in Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 83–84. For versions similar to this one see Kisā'ī, 180–81; a shorter version is in Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 114.

431. Qur'ān, 12:60–61.

seph said, "Leave one of yourselves here to guarantee that you
[394] will return." So they left Simeon.[432]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When Joseph saw the sufferings of the people he was charitable to them, and fair; he would not give more than one camel-load to a single man. He was just with the people and generous to them. Among the people who came to him were his brothers, in search of supplies in Egypt. He recognized them, but they did not recognize him, because of what God wanted to achieve with Joseph. Joseph ordered that each one of his brothers have his camel fully loaded, and said to them, " 'Bring me a brother of yours from your father,'[433] so that I may load another camel for you and you will go back one camel-load better off. 'Do you not see that I give you the full measure'[434] and no one diminishes it, 'and [that] I am the best of hosts?'[435] I am the best of all those who accept guests in this land, for I am giving you hospitality. But if you do not bring me your brother from your father, I will not measure out any more food for you, and do not come back to my country."

Then he said to the young men who were measuring out the food for his brothers, "Place their merchandise"—he meant the price they had paid for the food—"in their saddlebags."[436]

According to Bishr—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'īd—Qatādah: He said, "Place their merchandise in their saddlebags;" that is, their papers. The workers put them in the brothers' saddlebags, but the brothers did not know it.

[395] When Jacob's sons returned to their father, they said what was related by Ibn Wakī'—'Amr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: When they returned to their father they said, "O our father! The king of Egypt showed us such honor that even if he had been another son of Jacob he could not have honored us more, but he took Simeon as a pledge, saying, 'Bring me that brother of yours to whom your father is most attached after your brother

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432. Because he had advised the brothers to put Joseph to death. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, 86.
433. Qur'ān, 12:59.
434. Id.
435. Id.
436. Ibid., 12:62.

who perished. If you do not bring him to me, I will not measure out any more food for you, nor shall you ever come near me.'"[437] Jacob said, "Can I trust you with him as I once trusted you with his brother? God is better at guarding, and He is the most merciful of all those who show mercy.[438] When you come to the king of Egypt, greet him for me and tell him, 'Our father blesses you and prays for you for what you have done for us.'"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: They travelled until they reached their father. Some scholars have told me that their dwelling-place was in al-ʿArabāt[439] in the land of Palestine, in the Ghawr of Syria.[440] Others say that it was in al-Awlāj[441] in the region of al-Shaghb,[442] lower than the two parts of Palestine. Jacob owned desert land with camels and sheep. When Joseph's brothers returned to their father Jacob, they said, "O our father! We are denied grain beyond the load of our camels, and he measured out to each of us only one camel-load, so send our brother Benjamin so that he will be given a measure for himself—we will surely guard him [396] well."[443] Then Jacob said to them, "Can I trust you with him as I once trusted you with his brother? God is better at guarding, and He is the most merciful of all those who show mercy."[444]

When the sons of Jacob who had gone to Egypt for provisions opened their belongings which they had brought back with them, they found that the price they had paid for the food had been given back to them. They said to their father, "O our father! What more can we desire? Here is our merchandise re-

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437. Ibid., 12:60.

438. Ibid., 12:64.

439. Hebrew, ʿAravah, the depression from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of ʿAqabah.

440. Properly, the Jordan Valley; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 822: "al-Ghawr is the depression [*ghawr*] from the land of Damascus to the land of Jerusalem."

441. Although LeStrange, *Palestine*, 404, has "a place in Syria" referring to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 407, the latter seem to have a place in Arabia in mind.

442. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 302, refers to it as an estate in the vicinity of Wādī al-Qurā, hence in the Ḥijāz.

443. See Qur'ān, 12:63.

444. Ibid., 12:64.

turned to us. We shall get provision for our folk and guard our brother, and we will have the measure of an extra camel-load[445] besides the loads of our own camels."

According to al-Ḥārith—al-Qāsim—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj: They said, "We will have the measure of an extra camel-load." Each one of them had a camel-load, and they said, "Send our brother with us and we will add one more camel-load." According to Ibn Jurayj—Mujāhid: A camel-load means the load of a donkey; it is simply an expression. According to al-Ḥārith—al-Qāsim, (that is, Mujāhid): In some dialects they use the word *baʿīr* (camel) to mean donkey.

Jacob said, "I will not send him with you unless you promise me in the name of God that you will bring him back to me, unless you are surrounded"—meaning, unless they all were killed, which would be an excuse. "When they gave him their promise," with an oath, Jacob said, "God is the Warden over what we say."[446]

After permitting them to take their half-brother with them, he ordered that they not all go in by the same gate of the city. He feared the eyes (of the envious) upon them, for they were handsome in appearance and comely in form. He ordered them [397] to enter by different gates. As we have it from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Muḥammad b. Thawr—Maʿmar—Qatādah: Jacob said, "Go in by different gates."[447] They had been given form and beauty, and he feared men's intentions toward them. For God has said, "And when they had entered in the manner their father had ordered, it would not have availed them anything against God, but it was a need of Jacob's soul which he satisfied"[448]—that is, he feared for his children from people 's evil eyes because of their appearance and beauty.

When Joseph's brothers once again came into Joseph's presence, he embraced his full brother (Benjamin) to himself.

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—ʿAmr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: And when they went in to the presence of Joseph, he took his

445. Ibid., 12:65.
446. Ibid., 12:66.
447. Ibid., 12:67.
448. Ibid., 12:68.

brother to himself.[449] He recognized his brothers, giving them a place to stay and providing them with food and drink. When night fell he brought them beds and said, "Each two of you should sleep in one bed." When only the boy remained alone, Joseph said, "This one will sleep with me in my bed." He spent the night with him and Joseph began to smell his breath and hugged him to himself until morning came. Reuben said, "We have never seen anything like this. May we be saved from him!"[450]

As for Ibn Isḥāq, we have his account through Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When they—that is, Jacob's sons—entered the presence of Joseph, they said, "This is our brother whom you ordered us to bring to you. We have brought him to you. It has been reported to me that Joseph said to them, "You have done well and acted rightly, and you will find the reward for that with me." Then he said, "I think that you are men whom I have wanted to honor." He called his officer in charge of hospitality and said, "House each two men separately. Honor them and entertain them well." Then he said to the brothers, "I see that the man whom you brought has no partner with him, so I will take him to myself and his dwelling will be with me." So he housed them two by two in different dwellings, but housed Benjamin with himself. When he was alone with Benjamin he said, "I am your brother, I am Joseph. Do not sorrow for what they did to us in bygone days, for God has been good to us. But do not tell them anything of what I have told you." [398]

God said that when they came before Joseph, he took his brother to himself, saying, "I myself am your brother, so sorrow not for what they did"[451]—"sorrow not" meaning "do not be sad."

When Joseph loaded his brothers' camels with provisions,

449. Ibid., 12:69.

450. None of the other accounts include this. At this point (Kisā'ī, 183, and Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 116), Joseph and Benjamin sit together at one table. Benjamin tells his brother of his own children whom he has named in memory of his brother's suffering. Kisā'ī has three sons of Benjamin; Tha'labī has ten sons, paralleling the account (and the names) in Ginzberg, *Legends*, II, 97.

451. Qur'ān, 12:69.

providing for their needs and filling their measures, he placed the golden drinking-cup with which he had measured the food in his brother Benjamin's saddlebag.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad—ʿAffān—ʿAbd al-Wāḥid—Yūnus—al-Ḥasan: The metal cup (*ṣawāʿ*) and the drinking cup were the same—a vessel from which one drank.

It is said that Joseph placed it in Benjamin's saddlebag, without Benjamin's knowledge.

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—ʿAmr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: When he gave them their provisions, he put the drinking-cup in his brother's saddlebag.[452] His brother was unaware of this. When they set out, a crier called out before the caravan had left, "You are surely thieves!"[453]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: He loaded camel after camel for them, and loaded one in his full brother's
[399] name as he had done for the others. Then he called for the king's drinking-cup, which was metal— some claim it was silver—and placed it in Benjamin's saddlebag. He granted them a respite until they had left and gone far from the city, then he gave orders about them and they were overtaken and stopped. A caller cried out, "O camel riders! You are surely thieves!" It is reported that Joseph's messenger reached them and said, "Did we not entertain you honorably, give you full measure (of provisions), provide you with good housing, and do for you what we do not do for others? We took you into our own houses and we are entitled to some respect for our property from you." As he spoke to them, they said, "Certainly, what is the matter?" The messenger said, "We are missing the king's drinking-cup, and suspect no one but you." They said, "By God! You know that we did not come to do evil in this land, and we are not thieves."[454]

Mujāhid said that the "camels" (*ʿayr*) were donkeys. I have this by way of al-Ḥārith—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—Sufyān—a man—Mujāhid.

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452. Ibid., 12:70.
453. Id.
454. Ibid., 12:73.

One of the things which Joseph's messenger called out was, "Whoever brings the king's metal cup shall have a camel-load of food, and I shall be responsible for it"[455]—meaning he would be responsible for ensuring that the reward was given.

The brothers only said, "You know that we did not come to do evil in this land, and we are not thieves." They had given back to Joseph the price of the food which he had put in their saddlebags the first time, so they said, "If we were thieves, we would not have returned that to you." It is said that they were known for not taking anything which was not theirs, which is why they insisted upon that.

They were asked, "How should the one who has stolen it [400] be punished?" They answered, "In our judgment, his penalty should be to be handed over to the one from whom he stole, to be enslaved by him."

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: The brothers were asked, "And what should the penalty be, if you are liars?" They answered, "The penalty? He in whose bag it is found, let him be the penalty.[456] Take him, he is yours."

Joseph began by searching the others' packs before that of Benjamin. He went through them and finally took the cup out of Benjamin's pack.

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd b. Zuray' —Sa' īd—Qatādah: It was reported to us that before he looked into the packs he asked God's pardon, eschewing the sin he accused them of committing until only Benjamin remained, being the youngest of the group. He said, "I don't think this one took anything." They said, "Of course, so consider him blameless." Except that he already knew where the drinking-cup had been put. God said, "Then he produced it from his brother's bag. Thus did We contrive for Joseph. He could not have taken his brother according to the king's law"[457]—that is, according to the judgment and ordinance of the king of Egypt, which did not ordain that a thief be enslaved for what he stole. Instead Joseph

455. See ibid., 12:72.
456. Ibid., 12:74–75.
457. Ibid., 12:76.

took him through a subterfuge which God worked for him, so that his companions handed Benjamin over to him and he satisfied them that the handing over was just.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad—Shabābah—Warqā'-Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: God's statement, "He could not have taken his brother according to the king's law," means he could not have taken him except through a pretext which God con-
[401] trived for him and which Joseph carried out. At that point Joseph's brothers said, "If he steals, a brother of his stole before "[458]—they meant Joseph.

It has been said that Joseph stole one of the idols of his grandfather—his mother's father—and broke it. And they condemned him for that.

Concerning Those Who Said That

According to Aḥmad b. 'Amr al-Baṣrī—al-Fayḍ b. al-Faḍl—Mis'ar—Abū Ḥaṣīn—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: The quote, "If he steals, a brother of his stole before," means that Joseph stole one of the idols of his grandfather—his mother's father—and broke it, throwing it on the path, and his brothers shamed him for that.

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Idrīs—his father: The sons of Jacob were at dinner with him when Joseph looked at a bone and hid it, and they blamed him for that, hence the quote, "If he steals, a brother of his stole before." When Joseph heard that from them he immediately said to himself, "You are in the worst case, and God knows best the truth of what you claim"[459]—that is, what they said about the brother of Benjamin was a lie, but he did not say so in plain words.

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr —Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: When the stolen object was produced from the boy's saddlebag, they were filled with sadness and said, "O sons of Rachel! Still we suffer tribulation from you. When did you take this cup?" Benjamin answered, "No, rather it is the sons of Rachel who are still suffering from you. You took away my brother and made him die

458. Ibid., 12:77. See above, n. 332.
459. Id.

in the desert. The one who placed the cup in my saddlebag is the one who put the dirhams in your saddlebags." They said, "Don't mention the dirhams lest we be seized for them." [402]

When they were brought before Joseph he called for the cup, struck it, and held it to his ear. Then he said, "This cup of mine tells me that you originally numbered twelve, but you took a brother of yours and sold him." When Benjamin heard that he arose and bowed down before Joseph and said, "O king! Ask this cup of yours about my brother. Where is he?" Joseph struck the cup again and said, "He is alive and you will see him."[460] Benjamin said, "Then do with me what you wish, for if he knows about me, he will deliver me."

Then Joseph went into his chamber and wept, then he washed himself and came out. Benjamin said, "O king! I would like you to strike this cup of yours, that it might tell you the truth about who stole it and put it in my saddlebag." Joseph struck it again and said, "This cup of mine is angry and says, 'How can you ask me who my owner is? You have seen who had me in his possession.'"

The sons of Jacob could not be controlled when they became angry. Reuben said, "O king! By God, leave us alone or I will give such a shout that every pregnant woman in Egypt will drop what is in her womb." Reuben was so angry that every hair on his body stood out and stuck through his clothes. So Joseph said to his son, "Stand at Reuben's side and touch him." Now it was known that whenever a son of Jacob was angry and another son of Jacob touched him, his anger would disappear. (When Joseph's son touched him,) Reuben said, "Who is this? Is there a sprout of the seed of Jacob in this land?"[461] Then Joseph said, "Who is Jacob?" And Reuben became angry and said, "O king, do not mention Jacob. He is Israel of God, the son of God's sacrificial victim,[462] who was the son of the Friend of God."[463] Joseph said, "Then you are honest."

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460. In Ginzberg, *Legends*, II:98, in addition to the cup, Joseph has a magic astrolabe by which he reveals himself to Benjamin but not to his brothers.

461. For a Jewish variant of this story see Ginzberg, *Legends*, II:107; V:354, nn. 277, 278.

462. That is, Isaac.

463. That is, Abraham.

[403] When Joseph detained his brother Benjamin, his brothers themselves admitted that he had more right to keep him than they did and saw no way to free him. But they began seeking his release by exchanging one of themselves for him. They said, "O ruler, he has an aged father, so take one of us instead of him. We see that you are a person who does kindnesses."[464] Joseph said to them, "God forbid that we should seize anyone but him on whom we found our property; then, truly, we would be wrongdoers"[465]—that is, if they punished an innocent one instead of the guilty one. When his brothers despaired of getting Joseph to agree to their request to take one of them in place of Benjamin, they saved themselves by means of a secret—no one could separate them, nor could any but they associate with them.[466] The eldest of them, namely Reuben (though some say it was Simeon) said to the rest, "Do you not remember that our father made us promise by God that we would bring our brother Benjamin safely back unless we were all surrounded? Before this, we were remiss in the case of Joseph. I shall not leave this land until my father permits me"—that is, permits him to depart leaving his brother Benjamin behind—"or until God judges for me, for He is the best of judges."[467] It is said that by (the words,) "or until God judges for me," he meant that he would fight anyone who tried to stop him from taking Benjamin with him, and God would judge the outcome. "Go back to our father and tell him, 'O our father, your son has stolen and we have handed him over in his guilt. We testify only to what we know, and the king's cup was found

464. Qur'ān, 12:78.

465. Ibid., 12:79.

466. Although the unique qualities of Jacob's sons (who could not be separated and who could not associate with others) are mentioned in the aggada, they are not given the prominent emphasis which we find here. Compare the account of Judah's reaction, after his threat to kill Joseph and Pharaoh, to Manasseh's stamping his foot on the ground, when Judah says, "only one belonging to our family can stamp thus!" Ginzberg, *Legends*, II:104–5. Also, Joseph tells Manasseh to lay his hand on Judah's shoulder to allay his fury, and Judah notices "that he was in contact with a kinsman of his," ibid., 110.

467. Qur'ān, 12:80.

in his saddlebag. We are not guardians of the unseen;[468] we [404]
promised only to protect him from that against which we have means of protecting him. We could not have known that he would steal and become enslaved for his thievery. Ask the people of the town in which we were and in which your son stole, and those of the caravan with which we came from Egypt, about the story of your son. You will be told the truth about it.'"[469]

When they went back to their father and told him how Benjamin and Reuben had been left behind, he said, "No, it is rather that your minds have beguiled you into something"—which they wanted. He said, "Patience is seemly"—meaning he had no violent grief over the loss of his son. "It may be that God will bring them all to me"—meaning Joseph, Benjamin, and Reuben. Then Jacob turned away from them and said, "Alas, my grief for Joseph!" As God said, "His eyes were whitened with the sorrow he was suppressing,"[470] for he was filled with sadness and anger. When his sons heard this they said, "By God! You will never stop remembering Joseph,[471] or loving him or mentioning him, until your body becomes seriously ill and your brain disordered from loving and remembering him, and you become decrepit and worn out or die." Jacob answered them, "I expose my distress and anguish only to God"—that is, not to you—"and I know from God that which you do not know"[472]—that is, about the truth of Joseph's dream and of its interpretation that Jacob and his sons one day would all bow down to Joseph.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ḥakkām—'Īsā b. Yazīd—al-Ḥasan: The question was asked, "How strong was Jacob's emotion for his lost son?" He answered, "As strong as the emotion of seventy bereaved mothers." He asked, "And what did he have as recompense?" He answered, "The reward of one hun- [405]

468. Ibid., 12:81.
469. Ibid., 12:82.
470. Ibid., 12:83–84.
471. Ibid., 12:85.
472. Ibid., 12:86.

dred martyrs." He never thought ill of God for a single moment, night or day.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ḥakkām—Abū Muʿādh—Yūnus—al-Ḥasan— the Prophet: the same.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—al-Mubārak b. Mujāhid—a man of al-Azd—Ṭalḥah b. Muṣarrif al-Yāmī: I was told that a neighbor of Jacob b. Isaac visited him and said, "O Jacob! What is this I see? You have become fragile and exhausted, and you have not reached the age which your father reached." Jacob said, "What has destroyed and exhausted me is concern for Joseph, and remembering him with which God has afflicted me." Then God said to him, "O Jacob! Do you complain of Me to My creatures?" Jacob said, "O my Lord! It is a sin I have committed, forgive me for it." God said, "I have indeed forgiven you for it." After that, if he was asked, he would only say, "I expose my distress and anguish only to God, and I know from God what you do not know."

According to ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Āmulī—Abū Usāmah—Hishām—al-Ḥasan: From the time Joseph left Jacob's presence until he returned, eighty years passed, and for all that time grief did not leave his heart, nor did he cease weeping until his sight was gone. By God, there is no creature on earth nobler to God than Jacob.

Then Jacob ordered his sons who had come back from Egypt to go there again and seek news of Joseph and Benjamin, saying to them, "Go and find out about Joseph and his brother, and do not despair of the spirit of God.[473] By His spirit he will dispel
[406] from us and from you the grief in which we find ourselves." So they went back to Egypt, and when they entered Joseph's presence they said, "O ruler! Misfortune has struck us and our folk, and we bring only poor merchandise, so give us the full measure and be charitable to us. God will reward the charitable."[474] The "poor merchandise" which they brought with them consisted of spurious, wretched dirhams which could only be taken as a deposit. Some have said it was rings of a sack

473. Ibid., 12:87.
474. Ibid., 12:88.

of ropes or some such thing. Others have said it was butter and wool, while others said it was pine nuts and terebinth fruit. Still others have said that it was very little, less than they had previously used for buying.

They asked Joseph to be generous to them and give them as much food as he had given them the two previous times, and not any less. They said to him, "Give us the full measure and be charitable to us. God will reward the charitable."

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: In (the phrase), "be charitable to us," the word "charitable" means something between generosity and baseness. It has been said that "and be charitable to us" meant they wanted him to return their brother to them, and "God will reward the charitable."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: It is said that when they spoke to him in these words, he was overcome and wept, scattering tears. Then he revealed to them what he had been hiding, "Do you know what you did to Joseph and his brother in your ignorance?"[475] In mentioning his brother Benjamin, Joseph did not mean what he himself had done to Benjamin when he seized him; he meant their having parted Joseph [407]
from Benjamin when they sold him. When Joseph said that, they said to him, "Then you are Joseph!" He said, "I am Joseph and this [that is, Benjamin] is my brother. God has shown us favor"—that is, by bringing the two together after the other brothers had separated them. "He who wards off evil and endures, indeed God does not forget to reward the kindly."[476]

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: When Joseph said to them, "I am Joseph and this is my brother," they sought pardon and said, "By God, verily God has preferred you above us, and we were indeed sinful." Joseph said to them, "Have no fear this day. May God forgive you; He is the most merciful of all those who show mercy."[477] When Joseph had revealed himself to them, he asked them about his father.

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: Joseph

475. Ibid., 12:89.
476. Ibid., 12:90.
477. Ibid., 12:91–92.

asked them, "What did my father do after me?" They replied, "When Benjamin vanished from him, he became blind with grief." So he said, "Go with this shirt of mine and lay it on my father's face, and he will recover his sight. Then come to me with all your folk."[478] When the caravan of Jacob's sons departed, Jacob (back in Palestine) said, "I am conscious of the scent of Joseph."[479]

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Shurayḥ—Abū Ayyūb
[408] al-Hawzanī: The wind asked permission to bring the scent of Joseph to Jacob before the messenger bearing the shirt would reach Jacob, and it did so. Jacob said, "Truly I am conscious of the scent of Joseph, though you call me a dotard."[480]

According to Abū Kurayb—Wakī'—Isrā' īl—Ibn Sinān—Ibn Abī al-Hudhayl—Ibn 'Abbās: About the quote, "And when the caravan departed, their father said, 'Truly I am conscious of the scent of Joseph,'" it means that a wind stirred up and brought the scent of Joseph from a distance of eight nights' journey. And Jacob said, "Truly I am conscious of the scent of Joseph, though you call me a dotard."

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd b. Zuray'—Sa'īd—Qatādah—al-Ḥasan: It was reported to us that on that day there were eighty *farsakh*s (four hundred and eighty km) between Joseph in the land of Egypt and Jacob in the land of Canaan; therefore it came a long way.

According to al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj: Concerning his statement, "Truly I am conscious of the scent of Joseph," we have heard that there were eighty *farsakh*s between them when he said, "Truly I am conscious of the scent of Joseph." He had been parted from him for seventy-seven years. By his words, "though you call me a dotard," he meant "though you consider me foolish and an example of decrepitude and declining intelligence." But those of his sons who were with him said, "By God, you are in your old aberra-

478. Ibid., 12:93. According to Jewish tradition a seer loses his spirit of prophecy when in a state of grief, hence news of Joseph being alive restored prophecy to Jacob. Ginzberg, *Legends*, II, 116; see also V, 346, n. 198.

479. Qur'ān, 12:94.

480. Id.

tion again"[481]—meaning craziness and error brought on by his remembrance and love of Joseph.

The bearer of glad tidings—the post rider whom Joseph had sent out to bring Jacob word of him—arrived and told of Joseph's being alive and of what had happened with him. It is reported that the messenger's name was Judah b. Jacob. [409]

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: Joseph said, "Take this shirt of mine and lay it on my father's face. He will regain his sight. Then come to me with all your folk."[482] Judah said, "The time before, I took the blood-smeared shirt to Jacob and told him a wolf had eaten Joseph. Today I shall take this shirt and tell him that he is alive, to gladden his eye just as I saddened him then." So he was the messenger of good tidings.

When the messenger came to Jacob with Joseph's shirt, he laid it on his face and he became able to see again after having been blind. He said to his children, "Did I not tell you that I know from God what you do not know?"[483]—meaning that, from the truth of the interpretation of Joseph's dream in which he saw the eleven stars and the sun and the moon bowing down to him, he knew that which they did not know. Then they said to Jacob, "O our father! Ask forgiveness of our sins for us, for we were indeed sinful."[484] And Jacob said to them, "I shall ask forgiveness for you from my Lord."[485] Some say that he delayed praying for them until dawn, and some say that he delayed it until Friday night.

According to Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Tirmidhī—Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashqī—al-Walīd b. Muslim—Ibn Jurayj—'Aṭā' and 'Ikrimah, the client of Ibn 'Abbās—Ibn 'Abbās—the Messenger of God: Jacob said, "I shall ask forgiveness for you from my Lord"—meaning, when Friday night came.

When Jacob and his sons and their families came into Joseph's presence, he sheltered his parents with himself. It is said [410]

481. Ibid., 12:95.
482. Ibid., 12:93.
483. Ibid., 12:96.
484. Ibid., 12:97.
485. Ibid., 12:98.

that they came into his presence before they entered Egypt, because Joseph went forth to meet them.

According to Ibn Wakī'—'Amr—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: They brought their wives and families to him, and when they reached Egypt, Joseph spoke to the king who was above him, and he and the king went forth to meet them. When they reached Egypt he said, "Come safe into Egypt, if God wills!" And when they came into Joseph's presence he took his parents unto himself.[486]

According to al-Ḥarith—'Abd al-'Azīz—Ja'far b. Sulaymān—Farqad al-Sabakhī: When the shirt was placed on Jacob's face, he was able to see again, and he said, "Take me with your family, all together." So Jacob was carried with Joseph's brothers. When Jacob drew near, Joseph was informed that he was approaching, and went forth to meet him. The people of Egypt rode forth with Joseph, extolling him. When they approached each other Jacob was walking, supporting himself on his son Judah. Jacob looked at all the horses and men and said, "O Judah! This is the Pharaoh of Egypt!" But Judah said, "No, this is your son Joseph."[487] And when they came together Joseph went to speak the greeting to him first, but was prevented from doing so, for Jacob had more right and privilege to do so than he. Jacob said, "Peace be upon you. Oh one who removes sorrows!"

When they entered Egypt, "he placed his parents on the dais"[488] and sat them down upon it. There is disagreement as to exactly whom it was that Joseph raised to the throne and placed upon it. Some have said that one of them was his father Jacob and the other his mother Rachel. Others have said that the other person was not Rachel but Joseph's aunt Liyyā, for
[411] his mother Rachel had died before that time.

And Jacob and Joseph's mother and all the sons of Jacob fell down prostrate before him. According to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Muḥammad b. Thawr—Ma'mar—Qatādah: "They

486. Ibid., 12:99. The two sentences are in reverse order.

487. The confusion of Joseph with the king of Egypt occurs in almost all the accounts; see Ginzberg, *Legends*, II:91–94 , the letter of Jacob to Joseph.

488. Qur'ān, 12:100.

fell down before him prostrate,"[489] for the greeting among those people was for one to bow down to the other. And Joseph said to his father, "O my father! This is the interpretation of my dream of old. My Lord has made it true."[490] By this he meant that their prostrating themselves fulfilled the interpretation of his dream which he had had before his brothers sold him—the dream of the eleven stars and the sun and the moon. God had made it true. He said, "He makes the dream true by bringing its interpretation."

It is said that forty years had passed between the time Joseph was shown this dream and the time when its interpretation was fulfilled.

Concerning Some Who Said That

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Muʿtamir—his father—Abū ʿUthmān—Salmān al-Fārisī: Between Joseph's dream and his seeing its fulfillment, forty years passed. It has also been said that it was eighty years.

Concerning Some Who Said That

According to ʿAmr b. ʿAlī—ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī —Hishām—al-Ḥasan: Between the time when Joseph departed [412]
from Jacob and the time the two of them met, eighty years passed. Grief had not left Jacob's heart and tears flowed down his cheeks, yet no one on earth was more beloved of God at that time than Jacob.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad—Dāwūd b. Mihrān—ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād—Yūnus—al-Ḥasan: Joseph was cast into the pit when he was seventeen years old, and eighty years passed between that (time) and his meeting Jacob (in Egypt). After that he lived twenty-three years and died at the age of one hundred and twenty.

According to al-Ḥārith—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—Mubārak b. Faḍālah

489. Id.
490. Id.

—al-Ḥasan: Joseph was cast into the pit when he was seventeen, was separated from his father for eighty years, and then lived—after God reunited them and Joseph saw the fulfillment of his dream—for twenty-three more years, and then died at the age of one hundred and twenty.

Certain people of the scriptures have said that Joseph entered Egypt at seventeen and remained in the house of Potiphar for thirteen years. When he reached thirty, Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, whose name was al-Rayyān b. al-Walīd b. Tharwān b. Arāshah b. Qārān b. ʿAmr b. ʿImlāq b. Lud b. Shem b. Noah,[491] made him his chief minister. This king became a believer and died. After him reigned Qābūs b. Muṣʿab b. Muʿāwiyah b.
[413] Numayr b. al-Silwās b. Qārān b. ʿAmr b. ʿImlāq b. Lud b. Shem b. Noah, who was an infidel. Joseph called upon him to believe in God, but he did not respond. Then Joseph made his brother Judah his heir, and died at the age of one hundred and twenty years. Jacob's separation from him lasted twenty-two years, while his stay with Joseph in Egypt after God brought them together lasted seventeen years. When death came to him, he made Joseph his heir. Jacob had come to Egypt with seventy men of his family, and when he died he made Joseph promise to take his body back to be buried next to his father Isaac. Joseph did that for him, taking him to be buried in Syria and then coming back to Egypt. Joseph ordered that his own body be taken to be buried with his ancestors, and when Moses left Egypt he carried the coffin with Joseph's body with him.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: It was mentioned to me—but God knows best—that Joseph's absence from Jacob lasted eighteen years. But the people of the scriptures claim that it was forty years or thereabouts, and that after Jacob came to Joseph in Egypt he remained with him for seventeen years and then God took him. It has been reported to me that Joseph was buried in a coffin of marble in the waters of the Nile. Someone has said that Joseph lived twenty-three years after his father's death, and was one hundred and twenty years old when he died.

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491. See the previous listing, Ṭabarī, I, 378, above.

In the Torah it is said that he lived one hundred and ten years, and that Ephraim b. Joseph and Manasseh b. Joseph were [414] born to him. Nun was born to Ephraim, and to Nun b. Ephraim was born Joshua b. Nun who was the manservant of Moses. To Manasseh was born Moses[492] b. Manasseh, and it is said that Moses b. Manasseh was a prophet before Moses b. Amram. The people of the Torah claim that he was the one who sought al-Khiḍr.[493]

492. See the story of Moses b. Manasseh (Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, 126, has Mīshā), Kisā'ī, 208. Most Muslim Qur'ān commentators associate the story referred to him (see n. 493, below) with Moses b. Amram, but a minority attribute it to this otherwise unknown figure who, according to Tha'labī, lived two hundred years before Moses b. Amram.

493. Al-Khiḍr or al-Khāḍir is the popular figure in legend and story who is primarily associated with *sūrah* 18:60–82. The name does not appear in the Qur'ān, but most of the commentators say that he was the "servant of Moses" mentioned there. See *Shorter Encyc.*, 232ff. Compare this with the Jewish story of "R. Joshua b. Levi and the Strange Actions of Elijah" in Brinner, *Relief*, II, 13–16; Obermann, *Elijah*, 387–404.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME III

The Children of Israel

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM M. BRINNER

The Children of Israel
Volume III
Translated by William M. Brinner

This volume continues the stories of the Israelite patriarchs and prophets who figured in Volume II, as well as of the semi-mythical rulers of ancient Iran. In addition to biblical, Qur'ānic, and legendary accounts about Moses, Aaron, and the exodus of the Children of Israel from Egypt; of the Judges, Samuel and Ezekiel; and of Saul, David, and Solomon, it includes a version of Iranian prehistory that emphasizes the role of Manūchihr (Manūshihr in Arabic) in creating the Iranian nation and state.

Woven into these accounts are stories about figures belonging to the very earliest literatures of the Middle East: the mysterious al-Khiḍr, with echoes from the epic of the Sumero-Akkadian hero Gilgamesh; the legendary exploits of Dhū l-Qarnayn, mirroring the ancient romance of Alexander; and incorporating elements about the encounter of King Solomon and Bilqīs, the Queen of Sheba, of Jewish *midrash* and South Arabian lore.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME III

The Children of Israel

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l mulūk)

VOLUME III

The Children of Israel

translated and annotated
by

William M. Brinner

University of California, Berkeley

State University of New York Press

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS *(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)* by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as *The History of al-Ṭabarī,* is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided into 39 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission *(isnād)* to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—)

between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually translated according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume 1.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

EI:[2] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., I–. Leiden: Brill, 1960–.

EJ: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, I–XVI. Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1972.

Enc. Ir.: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. I–. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982–

GAL: C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. 2 vols. and Supplement, 3 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937–49.

GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967–.

Translator's Foreword

This volume continues the accounts of the prophets of ancient Israel and of ancient Arabian tradition, and further illustrates al-Ṭabarī's efforts at the historical synchronization of these accounts with ancient Iranian foundation myths. In this difficult process, al-Ṭabarī shows again and again his striving for historical accuracy, despite the heavy odds against him. Lacking the requisite linguistic knowledge and the "primary sources" that are the *sine qua non* of modern scholarship, al-Ṭabarī trained his critical and quite skeptical eye on the tales transmitted by various traditionists, accepting some, questioning or rejecting others.

In this ongoing story, several key figures loom especially large: the mysterious al-Khiḍr, whose identification with the prophet Elijah al-Ṭabarī rejects; Moses; David; and Solomon, David's son. Tales about these figures make up the bulk of this volume, although stories of other individuals are included in briefer form as well: Balaam, Korah, Elijah, Elisha, Ezekiel, the Judges of Israel, Samuel, Saul, and Goliath, not to speak of ancient Iranian figures, including the story of how the boundary between the Iranians and the Turks was determined. Perhaps serving as a bridge between these traditions, there is the enigmatic figure of Dhū al-Qarnayn, who is mentioned in the Qur'ān. Al-Ṭabarī sees the name as encompassing two individuals: one the semimythical figure of the *Alexanderroman*, living at the time of Moses, who accompanies al-Khiḍr on his strange journey, and the later Dhū al-Qarnayn, the historical Alexander, whose exploits will be recounted in the next volume of this series.

In rendering Qur'ānic quotations into English, I have relied on M. M. Pickthall's *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran,* both for the English translation and the numbering of verses. I have, however, modified his biblical style and, in places where an alternative translation seemed more apposite, have turned to A. J. Arberry's *The Koran Interpreted.*

In his Introduction to Volume XXXVIII of this translation series Franz Rosenthal stresses the need for a new, critical edition of the Arabic text of al-Ṭabarī. Lacking that, one is left with some difficult textual problems, some of which may be solved by references to the works of such other medieval Muslim writers as al-Thaʿlabī, who used some, though not all, of the same sources as al-Ṭabarī, or Ibn al-Athīr, who, centuries later, used this text as the basis for his own, much-abbreviated rendition of these tales.

In dealing with some of these problems, I have been greatly aided by the advice and suggestions of several colleagues and friends, but, above all, by the knowledge of Iranian matters of Prof. Martin Schwartz and Dr. P. O. Skjærvø and the meticulous editing of Dr. Everett K. Rowson. I wish to thank them for their assistance in preventing some egregious errors. Those that remain are my own responsibility. I also wish to express my sincere thanks to my student assistant, Amy Forga, for her devoted work in the preparation of the manuscript for publication.

William M. Brinner

The Tale of al-Khiḍr[1] and His History; and the History of Moses and His Servant Joshua[2]

[414]

Abū Jaʿfar[3] said that al-Khiḍr lived in the days of Afrīdhūn the king, the son of Athfiyān,[4] according to the report of the majority of the

1. See *EI*², s.v. "al-Khaḍir" (al-Khiḍr), lit. "the green man, the green." In popular folklore in the Islamic world he is primarily connected, as here, with Qurʾān 18:61–83, although not mentioned by name there. In the Qurʾānic tale he is referred to simply as *ʿabd min ʿibādinā* "one of Our worshipers, servants," whom Mūsā (Moses) and his servant (*fatā*) meet on a journey in search of the "meeting place of the two seas." Elements of the story are based on three sources: the Gilgamesh epic, the Alexander romance (especially its Syriac version), and the Jewish legend of Elijah and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi; see *EI*², s.v. "al-Khaḍir," 902. The latter story is recorded in the Judeo-Arabic collection of tales by Nissim b. Jacob of Kairouan (ca. 990–1062), known in Hebrew as *Ḥibbur Yafeh me-ha-Yeshuʿah* (orig. *al-Faraj baʿda al-shiddah*), trans. W. Brinner as *An Elegant Composition Concerning Relief after Adversity*, 13–16. Joshua b. Levi seems to have been confused with the biblical Joshua, hence his identification as the "servant of Moses." Muslim scholars debated whether this was the biblical Moses or Mūsā b. Mīshā (Manasseh), a descendant of Joseph. Al-Khiḍr is identified with Elijah (Ilyās) in some Muslim stories, but al-Ṭabarī seems not to accept this identification; see nn. 19, 665, below. See also I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadirlegende und der Alexanderroman*.

2. Qurʾān 18:61 says simply "Moses and his servant," not mentioning Joshua by name. This story is found in al-Thaʿlabī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 192–94, 199–203. Biblical names will be given in their usual English equivalents when actually referring to biblical figures, as here. Joshua: Yūshaʿ.

3. Abū Jaʿfar is the *kunyah* of al-Ṭabarī, the author of this work, and this is his usual manner of interpolating his own views.

4. Afrīdhūn, Middle Persian Frēdōn, Avestan Θraētaona, a Persian mythical hero

first scriptuaries, and before[5] the days of Moses b. Amram.[6] Still others say he was over the vanguard of Dhū al-Qarnayn the Elder,[7] who lived in the days of Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful.[8] Dhū al-Qarnayn passed judgment in favor of Abraham in Beersheba,[9] at an arbitration Abraham brought before him concerning a well that he had dug for his cattle in the desert of Jordan.[10] Abraham brought them for arbitration before Dhū al-Qarnayn, about whom it was mentioned that al-Khiḍr was over his vanguard during the days when he journeyed in the lands; the dispute arose when a group of people of Jordan also claimed this same land. Also, al-Khiḍr reached the River of Life and drank its water unawares; Dhū al-Qarnayn and

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(see F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 331; M. Mayrhofer, *Die altiranischen Namen*, 81–82 no. 312). He defeated the three-headed dragon or dragon king, Avestan (Aži) Dahāka, Middle Persian Aždahāg, Persian Ẕaḥḥāk/Ẕoḥ(ḥ)āk, Arabic al-Ḍaḥḥāk (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 226–30, trans. Brinner, 23–27; see also Aždahā ii, in *Enc. Ir.* III/2, esp. 195–96). The name *Athfiyān*, Middle Persian *Aspiyān* (cf. B. T. Anklesaria, *Zand-Ākāsīh*, 292–95, chap. 35.8), is from Avestan *Āθwyāna-*, a patronymic meaning "descendent of Āθwya" (see Justi, *op. cit.*, 49; Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, 30 no. 75; *Enc. Ir.* I/3, p. 248, s.v. Ābtīn, with additional bibliography in *Enc. Ir.* III/1 p. 27, s.v. Āθviya). In the Avesta, in *Yasna* 9.7 (the *Hōm yašt*), Āθwya is said to have been the second human to have pressed the Haoma (cf. n. 639, below), for which he received the fortune of fathering Θraētaona, who killed the dragon.

5. Text has *wa-qīla* "and it was said," but Ibrāhīm, *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, I, 365, and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh*, I, 160, read *qabla* as "before."

6. Arabic: Mūsā b. ʿImrān.

7. Lit. "the two-horned." Generally identified by Muslim and modern Western scholars with Alexander the Great (356–23 B.C.); see *EI*², s.v. "al-Iskandar." Here *al-akbar* "the elder" is used to distinguish a hypothetical, more ancient figure from the historical Alexander, who lived much later. For the connection of this story with the Alexander romance, see no. 1, above. It is significant that the only Qur'ānic mention of Dhū al-Qarnayn is immediately after this story, in 18:84–99. He was considered a *mu'min* in Islamic tradition, but scholars disputed whether or not he was a prophet. His deeds, like the search for the River of Life, are recorded in collections of tales of the prophets; see al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 322–32. See also Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, 276–301. The life of the "historical" Dhū al-Qarnayn is recorded by al-Ṭabarī, I, 692–703, (trans. Perlmann, 87–95).

8. Arabic: Ibrāhīm. Traditionally known in Islam as "the friend of Allah." Al-Ṭabarī here attempts to coordinate early Israelite and Persian chronology and will later attempt to do the same with Greco-Roman and Persian chronology.

9. Arabic: Bi'r al-Sabaʿ; See Genesis 21:22–34 for the story of Abraham and his covenant with Abimelech, king of Gerar, at Beersheba.

10. Al-Urdunn, the name usually used in Arabic for the district (*jund*) west and southwest of the Damascus district, comprising Galilee and the Jordan valley down to the Dead Sea. The area west and south of this, including Beersheba, the Roman Palaestina Prima, was known by the Arabs as Filasṭīn; see G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*. 24ff.

his companions did not know [that he drank it]. So he became immortal and remains alive until now.[11]

A scholar claimed that al-Khiḍr was the offspring of a man who believed in Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful, and followed him [415] in his religion, emigrating with him from Babylon when Abraham emigrated.[12] He [also] said that his name was Baliyā b. Malikān[13] b. Peleg b. Eber b. Shelah b. Arphachshad b. Shem b. Noah and that his father was a powerful king. Others say that Dhū al-Qarnayn, who lived in the era of Abraham, was Afrīdhūn b. Athfiyān,[14] and that over the vanguard of Dhū al-Qarnayn was al-Khiḍr.

ʿAbdallāh b. Shawdhab[15] said about him what ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī[16] related to us — Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil[17] — Ḍamrah b. Rabīʿah[18] — ʿAbdallāh b. Shawdhab: Al-Khiḍr was of the progeny of Persia, while Elijah was an Israelite.[19] The two met every year during the annual festival season.[20]

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11. The story of the River of Life, bathing in which makes creatures immortal, is an element of the Syriac Alexander romance, in which Alexander's cook, Andreas, sees a salted fish he is washing in a spring come to life and swim away. Andreas jumps in and gains immortality, but Alexander's later efforts to find the spring fail; see *EP*, s. vv. "Iskandar Nāma," "Idrīs" [i.e., Andreas]. In Jewish tradition the River of Life flows out of Paradise; see L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, V, 92 n. 51.

12. An effort to place al-Khiḍr in history as a contemporary of Abraham. See n. 8, above.

13. MS BM without pointing, also possibly *Yaliyā*. These two names, unlike the remainder of those given here, are not biblical. In Genesis 11:19 Peleg's son is Reu, as also in al-Ṭabarī, I, 217 [trans. Brinner, 16]. The genealogy given here would make Baliyā a contemporary of Nahor, the grandfather of Abraham.

14. Here the attempt is made to associate "the elder" Dhū al-Qarnayn with Persian mythical history.

15. ʿAbdallah b. Shawdhab, mentioned as coming from Beirut by Yāqūt, *Kitāb muʿjam al-buldān*, I, 785. Possibly the son of Shawhab Abū Muʿādh, who is mentioned without biographical notice in Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, VI, 248. As ʿAbdallāh is at the beginning of the *isnād* given here, he must have lived at the end of the second/eighth or the very beginning of the third/ninth century.

16. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, d. 257/871. A Malikī jurist and the noted historian of the Muslim conquest of Egypt and the Maghrib. See *GAL*, I, 148, Suppl. I, 227; B. Dodge, ed., *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 940.

17. Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Luʾluʾī al-Baṣrī Ruways, d. 238/852. See *GAS*, I, 13

18. Ḍamrah b. Rabīʿah, d. 202/817–818, a reliable transmitter, according to Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 173.

19. A clear effort by al-Ṭabarī to separate al-Khiḍr from the association with Elijah, whose story is found in the Bible, 1 Kings 17–2 Kings 2.

20. *Mawsim*, either an annually recurring festival or a regular assembly or reunion; see Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes*, II, 813–14, s.v. *wsm*.

Ibn Isḥāq[21] said about al-Khiḍr — Ibn Ḥumayd[22] — Salamah[23] — Ibn Isḥāq: God appointed to rule over the Israelites a man named Josiah b. Amon,[24] and He sent al-Khiḍr to them as a prophet. He said that al-Khiḍr's name, according to what Wahb b. Munabbih[25] claimed, on the authority of the Israelites, was Jeremiah b. Hilkiah
[416] from the tribe of Aaron b. Amram.[26] Between this king, whom Ibn Isḥāq mentioned, and Afrīdhūn there was a period of more than one thousand years.

The words of the one who said that al-Khiḍr lived in the days of Afrīdhūn and Dhū al-Qarnayn the Elder before Moses b. Amram are nearer to the truth[27] — *unless* we accept the other report, that he was over the vanguard of Dhū al-Qarnayn, the companion of Abraham, and drank the water of life. Then, however, he was not sent as a

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21. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār al-Muṭṭalabī al-Madanī, 85–150/704–67. A famous and reliable traditionist and biographer of the Prophet. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 67; *GAL*, I, 134, Suppl. I, 205; *GAS*, I, 288–90; *EI*², s.v. "Ibn Isḥāk." See biography and evaluation of his work by G. D. Newby, *The Making of the Last Prophet*, 5–25.

22. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd b. Ḥayyān al-Rāzī, d 248/862. A frequently cited transmitter of tradition, especially, as here, from Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, IX, 127–31; *GAS*, I, 29, 30, 79, 242, 253; Kh. al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, VI, 343.

23. Salamah b. al-Faḍl al-Anṣārī, al-Abrash, d. 191/807. Traditionist, historian of *maghāzī*, and judges in al-Rayy. A companion of Ibn Isḥāq, from whom he was a trusted transmitter. See Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 110; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, IV, 153–54. Briefly noted in *GAL*, Suppl. I, 205.

24. Nāshiyah b. Amūṣ. Perhaps a scribal error for Yāshiyah b. Amūn (MS BM without pointing), i.e., Josiah b. Amon, king of Judah in 640–609 B. C. E., who, together with Hilkiah the priest, carried out the religious revival in Judah known as the Josianic reformation. Elijah prophesied in the kingdom of Israel under the Omrid dynasty — Omri, Ahab, Ahaziah, and Joram, 876–42 B. C. E. — or two hundred years earlier. See 2 Kings 21:24–23:30. The substitution of *Amūṣ* for *Amūn* may have been influenced by the patronymic of the prophet Isaiah (Arabic: Shaʿya b. Amūṣ); see n. 26, below.

25. A major authority for biblical lore based on the text of the Bible, postbiblical Jewish legends, and Islamic (often Qurʾānic) material. See R. G. Khoury, *Wahb ibn Munabbih*. See also *GAL*, Suppl. I, 101; *GAS*, I, 305–7.

26. Jeremiah the prophet b. Hilkiah the priest lived in Judah during the reigns of its last kings, from Josiah to Zedekiah 597–87 B. C. E., hence about one hundred years after Isaiah and more than two hundred years after Elijah. Note the occurrence of the name Hilkiah, which may be the link to Josiah (Nāshiyah). There seems to be confusion between Josiah (b. Amon)/Yūshiya (b. Amūn) (al-Ṭabarī, I, 643 [trans. Perlmann, 40]) and Shaʿya/Yāshiyah (Isaiah) b. Amūṣ/Amoz (al-Ṭabarī, I, 657–58 [trans. Perlmann, 55]).

27. *Ashbahu bi-al-ḥaqq*. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I, 161, has *ashbahu li-al-ḥadīth al-ṣaḥīḥ*, "nearer to the sound tradition."

prophet in the days of Abraham, but during the days of Josiah b. Amon, because Josiah b. Amon, whom Ibn Isḥāq mentioned as being king over the Israelites, lived during the era of Bishtāsb b. Luhrāsb.[28] Between Bishtāsb and Afrīdhūn were eras and periods of which everyone knowledgeable about human history and its accounts is aware. I shall mention the sum of that when we reach the account of Bishtāsb, God willing.

We have said that the words of the one who said that al-Khiḍr was before Moses b. Amram were closer to the truth than the words of Ibn Isḥāq. The latter related from Wahb b. Munabbih only because of the account narrated from the Messenger of God by Ubayy b. Kaʿb,[29] that the companion of Moses b. Amram, who was a learned man whom God commanded Moses to seek out because he thought that there was no one on earth more knowledgeable than he, was al-Khiḍr. The Messenger of God was the most knowledgeable of God's creatures regarding past, as well as future, events.[30] [417]

That which Ubayy b. Kaʿb narrated to us about [al-Khiḍr] from him is what Abū Kurayb[31] related — Yaḥyā b. Ādam[32] — Sufyān b.

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28. Bishtāsf b. Luhrāsb (in Arabic texts also written Bistāsf or Yastāsb, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 416 n. *e*; in Persian the form Gushtāsp is also frequent), is Middle Persian [Kay] Wištāsp or Kay Wištāsp, son of Luhrāsp (cf. Anklesaria, *op. cit.*, 296–97, chap. 35.35), Avestan Vištāspa, or Kavi Vištāspa, son of Aurvaṯ.aspa (*Yašt* 5.105 [*Ardwīsūr yašt*]; see Justi, *op. cit.*, 372; Mayrhofer and Schmitt, *op. cit.*, 26 no. 57, 97 no. 379). The Avestan Vištāspa, who was Zarathustra's patron, became confused in the later tradition with Old Persian Vištāspa, Greek Hystaspes, the father of Darius I (see M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism* II, 41, 68). According to the *Shāhnāmah* Luhrāsb was the fourteenth king to rule over Iran. For al-Ṭabarī's account of Luhrāsb and Bishtāsb, see I, 645–49 (trans. Perlmann, 43–47). The point of this paragraph is that, if we accept the story of al-Khiḍr's drinking the Water of Life, we can accept *both* synchronisms: with Abraham and Dhū al-Qarnayn, as well as with Josiah.

29. Ubayy b. Kaʿb, d. 21/642, associate of the Prophet and one of the earliest transmitters of prophetic traditions. See Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, III, 2, 59; *GAS*, I, 3, 5, 14, 29, 404; al-Zirikli, *op. cit.*, I, 78; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1116.

30. This statement both bolsters the authority of traditions linking al-Khiḍr with the Qur'ānic tale and emphasizes the superiority of the Prophet Muḥammad over other prophets; hence al-Ṭabarī's preference for this version of the story of al-Khiḍr. See the study of this story in H. Schwarzbaum, "The Jewish and Moslem Versions of Some Theodicy Legends."

31. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlā', one of the earliest traditionists, lived in al-Kūfah. See Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 289; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1033.

32. Yaḥyā b. Ādam b. Sulaymān, Abū Zakariyā, d. 203/818–19, a jurist and authority on tradition. See Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 281; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1124.

ʿUyaynah[33] — ʿAmr b. Dīnār[34] — Saʿīd:[35] I said to Ibn ʿAbbās[36] that Nawf[37] claimed that al-Khiḍr was not the companion of Moses. He said, "The enemy of God has lied! Ubayy b. Kaʿb related to us from the Messenger of God, saying that Moses rose to preach among the Israelites. Someone said, 'who of the people knows best?' and he replied, 'I do.' God reproved him when he did not attribute knowledge to Him, so He said, 'Nay, but I have a servant at the meeting place of the two seas.'[38] Moses said, 'O Lord! How can I find him?' He replied: 'Take a fish and put it in a basket. When you miss it, he will be there.'[39] Moses took a fish and put it in a basket. Then he said to his servant, 'If you miss this fish, tell me.' They set out walking along the shore of the river until they reached a large stone, where Moses went to sleep. The fish stirred in the basket, got out, and fell into the sea. God held the flow of the water so that it became like an opening and a tunnel for the fish. It was a wonder to both Moses and his servant, and then they set out.

When it was time for breakfast, Moses said to his servant: *'Bring us our breakfast. Verily we have become weary from our journey.'*[40]

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33. Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah b. Abī ʿImrān, Abū Muḥammad, 107–99/725–814, a scholar of Qur'ān and law, famed for his piety. See Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 364–65; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1103.

34. ʿAmr b. Dīnār, 46–126/666–743, a jurist in Mecca of Persian origin and a trusted transmitter of tradition. See Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, VIII, 30; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, V, 245; *GAS*, I, 800.

35. Here Saʿīd b. Jubayr al-Asadī, Abū ʿAbdallāh, 45–95/665–714. Studied with Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar. One of the most learned and important of the generation after that of the Prophet. One of the earliest Qur'ānic commentators. Executed by al-Ḥajjāj. See Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 178–87; *GAS*, I, 28–29; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1089.

36. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, usually known as Ibn ʿAbbās, ca. 69–88/620–87. A cousin of the Prophet, involved in the political life of the early Muslim community but owing his renown to his knowledge of tradition, jurisprudence, and Qur'ānic exegesis. He was a controversial figure in his political life, and many forged traditions were attributed to him as well; see n. 237, below. See *EI*², s.v. "ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās" 40–41. See also G. H. A. Juynboll, *The Authenticity of the Tradition Literature*, for modern Muslim discussions on this issue.

37. Nawf al-Bikālī b. Faḍālah al-Ḥimyarī, son of the wife of Kaʿb (al-Aḥbār), d. ca. 95/714, a traditionist mentioned in the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* and a narrator of *qiṣaṣ* (tales). See Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 160; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IX, 31.

38. *ʿInda majmaʿ al-baḥrayn*, lit. "at the joining (or gathering) of the two seas, or rivers." Variously interpreted in Islamic sources as "the place where the Persian Ocean unites with the Roman Sea" or the junction of the Roman Sea with the (Atlantic) Ocean. See *EI*², s.v. "al-Khaḍir," 903–4; Friedlaender, *op. cit.*, pp. 302–4.

39. Based on Qur'ān 18:59, 18:64.

40. Qur'ān 18:63.

Moses did not become weary until he went beyond where God had commanded him. *Moses said: 'Did you see that, when we took refuge on the rock, I forgot the fish — and none but Satan caused me to forget it — and it found its way into the water by a marvel!' He said, 'This is what we have been seeking.' So they retraced their steps.*"[41]

He relates that they came to the rock and "behold! there was a man sleeping, covered with his garment. Moses greeted him with peace, and the man said, 'Whence does this greeting come in our land?'[42] He said, 'I am Moses.' The man responded, 'Moses of the Israelites?' Moses replied, 'Yes.' The man continued, 'O Moses! I possess what God taught me of His knowledge that you do not know, while you possess what God taught you of His knowledge that I do not know.' Moses said, *'May I follow you, so that you may teach me the right conduct which you have been taught!'*[43] He said, *'If you go with me, do not ask me anything until I myself mention it to you.'*[44] So they set off, walking on the shore and lo! there was a sailor in a ship who knew al-Khiḍr, so he carried him without charge. A bird came and alighted on [the ship's] edge and pecked or picked[45] at the water. Al-Khiḍr said to Moses, 'My knowledge and yours are not less than God's knowledge, except for the amount that this bird pecks or picks at in the sea.' [Abū Jaʿfar said: I am uncertain, but I have taken the reading *nqr* as "pecks" in my book.][46] [418]

While they were on the ship, Moses was startled when al-Khiḍr drove a peg or pulled out a board.[47] Moses said to him: 'He carried

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41. Qur'ān 18:64–65. *Saraban*, translated "by a marvel" by M. M. Pickthall, "in a wondrous sort" by J. M. Rodwell, "took its way freely" by G. Sale, "in a miraculous fashion" by N. J. Dawood, "in a manner marvelous" by A. J. Arberry, is translated by M. Kasimirski "par une voie souterraine." The latter is in keeping with E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1341–42: "a subterranean excavation."

42. *Wa-annā bi-arḍinā al-salām*. Perhaps "From whom comes [this greeting of] peace in our land?" See Schwarzbaum, *op. cit.*, 151. See, n. 68, below.

43. Qur'ān 18:67.

44. Qur'ān 18:71.

45. *Naqara aw naqada*; both words mean "to peck or pick at," as of a bird, though *naqada* also has the meaning of "to pick and separate." See Lane, *op. cit.*, 2836–37, s.v v. *nqd*, *nqr*.

46. *I.e.*, al-Ṭabarī reads *naqara*, rather than *naqada*. This is phrased more clearly below, p. 13, where the bird takes water from the sea.

47. *Takht*; see *Glossarium*, CXLIX, "tabula [planche]"; al-Nuwayrī has *lawḥ*; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 418 n. *m*.

us without charge. *Did you make a hole in this ship to drown the people? You have indeed done a dreadful thing.'* Al-Khiḍr replied, *'Did I not tell you that you could not bear with me?'* Moses said, *'Do not be angry with me that I forgot.'*[48] This was the first instance of Moses' forgetting.[49] Then the two of them got off the ship and
[419] went walking. When they saw a boy playing with other boys, al-Khiḍr took him by the head and slew him. Moses said to him: *'What! Have you slain an innocent soul who has slain no one? Verily you have done a horrid thing.'* Al-Khiḍr replied, *'Did I not tell you that you could not bear with me?'* Moses said: *'If I ask you about anything after this, do not keep company with me. You have received an excuse from me.'*[50]

They continued their journey until they reached a town where they asked the people to feed them, and found no one who would feed them or give them anything to drink. *They found there a wall about to fall into ruin and he (al-Khiḍr) repaired it* with his hand."[51] The narrator said: "He touched it with his hand. Moses said to him: 'They showed us no hospitality, nor did they give us shelter. *If you had wished, you could have taken payment for it.' He said, 'This is the parting between me and you.'*"[52] The Messenger of God said, "I would have liked him to have been patient so that he could have told us their story."

Al-ʿAbbās b. Al-Walīd[53]—my father—al-Awzāʿī[54]—al-Zuhrī[55]—

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48. Qur'ān 18:72–74.

49. I.e., his promise, above, not to ask about anything until al-Khiḍr himself had mentioned it to him. Other instances follow.

50. Qur'ān 18:75–77.

51. Qur'ān 18:78.

52. Qur'ān 18:78–79. See the slightly different details in the Judeo-Arabic version; Nissim, *op. cit.*, 13–16.

53. Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd b. Mazyad al-Āmulī al-Bayūtī. *Index*, 313. Not further identified.

54. Al-Awzāʿī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr b. Yuḥmid, Abū ʿAmr, 88–157/707–74, founder of the Awzāʿī legal school, favored by the Umayyads in Syria and Spain. Transmitted from Qatādah and al-Zuhrī. *GAS*, I, 516–17; *GAL*, Suppl. I, 307; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IV, 94.

55. Al-Zuhrī, Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Shihāb, Abū Bakr, ca. 50–124/670–742. A traditionist, historian, and expert in poetry, he played a leading role in the transmission and organization of prophetic *Ḥadīth* based on personal contact with the earliest links in the chain of transmitters. *GAS*, I, 280–83; *GAL*, I, 65, Suppl. I, 102.

ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah b. Masʿūd[56] — Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that he and al-Ḥurr b. Qays b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī[57] had a dispute about the companion of Moses, and Ibn ʿAbbās said that he was al-Khiḍr. Ubayy b. Kaʿb passed by them, and Ibn ʿAbbās called him over, saying, "This companion of mine and I are disputing about the companion of Moses, who asked for the way to meet him. Did you hear the Messenger of God mention this matter?" [Ubayy] said, "Yes, I heard the Messenger of God say: 'While Moses was among a [420] crowd of the Israelites, a man came up to him and said, "Do you know where there is someone who knows more than you do?" Moses said, "No." Thereupon God inspired Moses, "Yes, Our servant al-Khiḍr." Moses inquired about the way to meet him. So God made the fish a sign, saying, "When you have forgotten the fish, return, for you will meet al-Khiḍr." Moses then followed the traces of the fish and said, *"This is what we have been seeking." So they retraced their steps,*[58] and they found al-Khiḍr. Their meeting was as God has related in His Book.'"

Muḥammad b. Marzūq[59] related to me — Ḥajjāj b. al-Minhāl[60] — ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar al-Numayrī[61] — Yūnus b. Yazīd:[62] I heard al-Zuhrī relating traditions, saying: ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah b. Masʿūd — Ibn ʿAbbās that he and al-Ḥurr b. Qays b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī were disputing about the companion of Moses; his account was similar to the report of al-ʿAbbās on the authority of his father.[63]

Muḥammad b. Saʿd[64] — my father — my uncle — my father — his father — Ibn ʿAbbās, about His words: *And when Moses said to his*

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56. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah b. Masʿūd al-Hudhalī, Abū ʿAbdallāh, d. 98/716. A jurist of Medina and a noted poet, he was a teacher of the caliph ʿUmar II. Al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IV, 350.

57. Al-Ḥurr b. Qays b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī. *Index*, 126. Not further identified.

58. Qur'ān 18:65.

59. Muḥammad b. Marzūq. *Index*, 528. Not further identified.

60. (Al-)Ḥajjāj b. al-Minhāl al-Anamāṭī, Abū Muḥammad, d. 217/832, a reliable transmitter of many traditions. Died in al-Baṣrah. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 53.

61. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar al-Numayrī. *Index*, 332. Not further identified.

62. Yūnus b. Yazīd b. Abī al-Najād al-Aylī, Abū Yazīd, d. ca. 158/775. A student and transmitter of al-Zuhrī. See Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 206; *GAS*, I, 519.

63. *I.e.*, the account in the previous paragraph by al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd — Ubayy.

64. Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Manī al-Baṣrī, Abū ʿAbdallāh, Kātib al-Wāqidī, 168–230/784–845. His major work, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, is one of the main sources for the life of the Prophet and for the major traditionists up to the year of his death. *GAS*, I, 300–1; *GAL*, I, 136, Suppl., I, 208; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1058.

servant, I will not give up until I reach the point where the two rivers meet ... [65] [Ibn ʿAbbās] said, When Moses and his people were victorious over Egypt, his people settled in Egypt. When their residence there became fixed, God revealed to Moses: "Remind them of the days of God."[66] So he preached to his people and mentioned the
[421] good that God had given them, as well as the pleasure. He reminded them that God had saved them from the people of Pharaoh, [how] their enemy had perished, and also how He had appointed them vicars in the land. Then Moses said: "God spoke to me, your prophet, in speech, chose me for Himself, and sent revelation to me out of His love. God has brought you everything you have asked of Him. Your prophet is the best of the people of the earth, and you are reading the Torah." Moses did not leave one kindness that God had shown them unmentioned, reminding them of everything.

One of the Israelites said to him: "It is so, O Prophet of God! We know what you are saying. But is there on earth anyone who knows more than you, O Prophet of God?" Moses said, "No." So God sent Gabriel to Moses, who said, "Verily, God says, "How do you know where I have placed My knowledge? Indeed, there is a man on the shore of the sea who knows more than you.'" Ibn ʿAbbās said that this is al-Khiḍr. Moses asked his Lord to show this man to him, so God inspired him: "Go to the sea, and you will find a fish on the shore. Take it and give it to your servant; then stay on the shore of the sea. But if you forget the fish and it disappears from you, then you will find the pious servant whom you seek."

When the journey of Moses, the Prophet of God, became long and he became tired, he asked his servant about the fish, and his servant —his young man—said to him: *"Did you see that, when we took refuge on the rock and I forgot the fish, none but Satan caused me to forget to mention it* to you?" The servant said to him, "I saw the fish when *it took its way into the waters by way of a marvel."*[67] This
[422] caused Moses to wonder, and he turned back until he came to the rock and found the fish. The fish began to move in the sea, and Moses followed it. He began to use his staff to stir the water away from the fish, in order to follow the fish. Whatever the fish touched

65. Qur'ān 18:61.
66. *I.e.*, in which He manifested His justice or mercy.
67. Qur'ān 18:64. See n. 41, above.

dried up and became a rock. God's prophet wondered at this, until the fish led him to one of the islands of the sea, where he met al-Khiḍr. Moses greeted him with peace, and al-Khiḍr said: "And upon you be peace. Whence comes this [greeting of] peace in this land?[68] And who are you?" Moses replied, "I am Moses." Al-Khiḍr said to him, "The master of the Israelites?" He responded, "Yes." Then al-Khiḍr welcomed him and said, "What has brought you?" He said, "I came *so that you may teach me the right conduct that you have been taught.*" He replied, "*Lo! you cannot bear with me*"[69]—saying "You cannot do that." Moses said, "*God willing, you will find me patient, and I shall not contradict you in anything.*"[70] So he went with al-Khiḍr, who said to him: "*Do not ask me about anything* I do until I explain its matter to you"—for that is His word: "*until I mention it to you myself.*"[71] They sailed on a ship, desiring to cross over to the dry land, but al-Khiḍr arose and made a hole in the ship. Moses said to him: "*Have you made a hole in this ship to drown its people? Verily you have done a dreadful thing.*"[72] Then [Ibn ʿAbbās] mentioned the rest of the story.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaʿqūb al-Qummī[73]—Hārūn b. ʿAntarah[74]—his father—Ibn ʿAbbās: Moses asked his Lord, saying, "O Lord! which of Your servants is most beloved by You?" He responded, "The one who remembers Me and does not forget Me." Moses said, "And which of Your servants is best in judging?" He responded, "He who judges with right and does not follow his fancy." Moses continued, "O Lord! which of Your servants is the wisest?" He responded, "The one to whose knowledge the people's knowledge aspires, so that it [423] might attain a word that will lead one to guidance or turn one away from evil." Moses said, "Lord! is there anyone on earth?" Abū Jaʿfar said, "I think he meant 'Who knows more than I?'" God said, "Yes." Moses said, "Lord! who is he?" He replied, "al-Khiḍr." Moses asked,

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68. *Wa-annā yakūnu hādhā al-salām bi-hādhihi al-arḍ*; see the similar statement, n. 42, above.
69. Qur'ān 18:67–68.
70. Qur'ān 18:70.
71. Qur'ān 18:71.
72. Qur'ān 18:72.
73. Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī, mentioned by name only; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 111.
74. Hārūn b. ʿAntarah. *Index*, 605. Not further identified.

"Where shall I seek him?" He replied, "On the shore at the rock where the fish will get away."

Then Moses began seeking al-Khiḍr, until he met up with him at the rock, as God had mentioned would happen. Each greeted the other, and Moses said to him, "I want you to take me along as a companion." Al-Khiḍr responded, "You will not be able to bear my company." He said, "Yes, I can." Al-Khiḍr said, "If you accompany me, do not ask me about anything until I mention it to you." They set out until, when they were sailing on the ship, al-Khiḍr made a hole in it, and Moses said: *"Have you made a hole in this ship to drown its people? Verily you have done a dreadful thing."*[75] Al-Khiḍr replied, "Did I not say to you that *you cannot bear with me?"*[76] Moses said, *"Do not be angry with me because I forgot, and do not be hard on me for my fault."* They set out until they met a young lad, whom al-Khiḍr slew. Moses said: *"What! Have you slain an innocent soul who has slain no one? Verily you have done a horrid thing."* [(Al-Khiḍr) said, *"Did I not tell you that you could not bear with me?"* (Moses) said, *"If I ask you anything after this, do not keep company with me.*] *You have received an excuse from me."*[77]

Moses' words regarding the wall were for himself and for his seeking some gain in this world, while his words regarding the ship and the lad were for the sake of God. Al-Khiḍr said, *"This is the parting between you and me! I will announce to you the interpretation of what you could not bear with patience."*[78] Then he related to him: *"As for the ship [it belonged to poor people working on the river. I wished to mar it because there was a king behind them who is taking every ship by force]. And as for the lad [his parents were believers, and we feared that he would oppress them by rebellion and disbelief. And we intended that their Lord should change him for them for one better in purity and closer to mercy]. And as for the wall [it belonged to two orphan boys in the city. There was a treasure beneath it belonging to them, and their father had been pious, and your Lord intended that they should come to their full strength*

75. Qur'ān 18:72.
76. Qur'ān 18:68.
77. Qur'ān 18:74–77. The section in brackets is omitted in the text, with the phrase "to where He said" indicating that the educated Muslim would know the omitted portion.
78. Qur'ān 18:79.

and should bring forth their treasure as a mercy from their Lord; and I did not do it on my own command. Such is the interpretation of what you could not bear."[79] He continued: Then he journeyed on the sea with him, until they reached the meeting place of the two [424] seas, than which no place on earth has more water. He said, "Your Lord sent the swallow, and it began to take water with its beak." Al-Khiḍr said to Moses, "How much do you think this swallow takes away from this water?" He said, "How little it diminishes it!" Al-Khiḍr said, "O Moses! My knowledge and your knowledge are to God's knowledge like the quantity of this water that this swallow drinks." Moses had thought to himself that there was no one wiser than [this man] or who had uttered [anything like] this, and for that reason he had been commanded to go to al-Khiḍr.

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmārah[80]—al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtaybah[81]—Saʿīd b. Jubayr: I was sitting with Ibn ʿAbbās and several People of the Book, and one of them said: "O Abū al-ʿAbbās, Nawf, the son of the wife of Kaʿb, mentioned on Kaʿb's authority that Moses the prophet, who searched for the sage, was none other than Moses b. Manasseh."[82] Saʿīd said, "Then Ibn ʿAbbās replied, 'Did Nawf say that?'" Saʿīd said, "I told him, 'Yes, I heard Nawf say that.' Ibn ʿAbbās said, 'You heard him, O Saʿīd?' He replied, "I said, 'Yes.' Ibn ʿAbbās said, 'Nawf lied.' Then Ibn ʿAbbās said, ʿUbayy b. Kaʿb related to me—the Messenger of God that Moses, the prophet of Israel, asked his Lord saying, "O Lord, if there is among Your servants one who knows more than I, lead me to him." God replied, "Yes, among My servants is one who knows more than you." Then He described his location and gave Moses permission to meet him. Moses set out, his servant accompanying him, with a salted fish about which he had been told,

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79. Qur'ān 18:80–83. Texts in brackets omitted by al-Ṭabarī, who writes after the first words of each verse "*al-āya*," i.e., "[the rest of] the verse."

80. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmārah. *Index*, 134. Not further identified.

81. Al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtaybah al-Asadī [al-Kindī], Abū ʿAbdallāh, d. 113/731. *GAS*, I, 65; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 231.

82. Mūsā b. Mīshā b. Yūsuf. According to al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 126, and Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I, 160, while some Israelites thought that he and not Moses b. Amram was the companion of al-Khiḍr, other scholars generally held that it was the latter Moses. Al-Thaʿlabī states that Mūsā b. Mīshā was a messenger, who called his people back to the worship of God and performance of His commandments two hundred years before the birth of Moses b. Amram.

[425] "If this fish comes to life in a certain place, then your companion is there too, and you will have attained your desire." So Moses went forth with his servant, both carrying the fish. He traveled until the journey exhausted him, reaching the rock and the water. Since the water was the water of life, whoever drank of it became eternal, and no dead thing could draw near to it without life entering it, making it alive. When they settled down there and the fish touched the water, it became alive, and *it took its way into the waters, being free,*[83] and it swam away. When they had gone beyond a day's journey, Moses said to his servant, *"Bring us our breakfast. Verily we are fatigued from our journey."* The servant spoke, saying, *"Did you see, when we took refuge on the rock, and I forgot the fish—none other than Satan caused me to forget to mention it—it took its way into the waters by a marvel."*[84]

Ibn ʿAbbās said: "Moses became aware of the rock as they reached it, and lo! there was a man there wrapped in a garment. Moses greeted him, and he returned the greeting, saying, 'Who are you?' He replied, 'I am Moses b. Amram.' The man asked, 'Master of the Israelites?' He replied, 'Yes, I am the one.' So he said, 'What has brought you to this land, for you must be busy with your people?' Moses said to him, 'I have come to you so you can teach me the right conduct which you have been taught.'[85] The man said to him, *'Lo! you cannot bear with me.'*[86] He was a man who used esoteric knowledge[87] that he had learned. Moses said, 'I certainly can.' He said, *'How can you bear with what you cannot encompass in knowledge?'*[88] In other words, 'You know only what is obvious about
[426] justice, but you have not encompassed the esoteric knowledge that I know.' Moses said, *'God willing, you will find me patient, and I shall not contradict you in anything,* even though I see something that offends me.' The man replied, *'If you go with me, do not ask me about anything until I mention it to you myself.'*[89] In other words,

83. Qur'ān 18:62.
84. Qur'ān 18:63–64. See discussion of *saraban*, n. 41, above.
85. Based on Qur'ān 18:67.
86. Qur'ān 18:68.
87. *Yaʿmalu ʿalā al-ghayb.* See *Glossarium*, CCCXCIII.
88. Qur'ān 18:69.
89. Qur'ān 18:70–71.

'Don't ask me about anything even if you disapprove of it, until I mention it to you.'

The two of them set out walking along the shore of the sea, encountering people and seeking someone to provide them with transportation, when a new, reliable ship passed by, a ship better than any that had passed by them, more beautiful and more trustworthy. They asked the people on the ship to carry them, and they agreed. When they felt secure on the ship and it set out upon the sea, al-Khiḍr took out a chisel and a mallet he carried with him. He made his way to a section of the ship, where he struck the side with the chisel until it made a hole. Then he took a plank and covered the hole, sitting upon it to patch it. Moses said to him: 'What can be more abominable than this? *Have you made that hole to drown the people? You have indeed done a dreadful thing.*[90] The people carried us, giving us shelter in their ship, unlike any other ship on the sea. Why did you pierce it?' He replied, *'Did I not tell you that you could not bear with me?' Moses said to him, 'Do not be angry with me because I forgot*—namely, I abandoned your agreement—*and don't be hard on me for my fault.'*[91]

Then they left the ship, walking until they came to the people of a town, and lo! there were boys playing. Among them was a boy who was more handsome, more delicate, cleaner than the other boys. Al-Khiḍr took him by the hand, grabbed a stone, and hit him on the head until he killed him. Thus Moses saw something abominable, which he could not bear: He had taken a young lad without wrongdoing or sin. So Moses said, *'Have you slain an innocent soul who has slain* [427]
no one? — namely, someone small who has killed no one — *Verily you have done a horrid thing.'* Al-Khiḍr replied, *'Did I not tell you that you could not bear with me?' He replied: 'If I ask you about anything after this, do not keep company with me. You have received an excuse from me'*[92]—that is to say, 'You have been excused regarding a matter concerning me.'

The two of them continued on until, when they came to the people of another town, they asked them for food, but they refused to

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90. Qur'ān 18:72.
91. Qur'ān 18:73–74.
92. Qur'ān 18:75–77.

extend hospitality to them. Then the two of them found a wall threatening to fall down, which [al-Khiḍr] set upright.[93] He proceeded to destroy it, and then he began to rebuild it. Moses was exasperated by what he saw al-Khiḍr doing, and such hypocrisy he could not bear. *He said, 'If you had wished, you could have been paid for it'*[94]—meaning: 'We asked the people for food, but they did not feed us; we asked them for hospitality, and they did not extend it; then you began to work without pay, when, if you had wished, you could have been paid for it.' *He said: 'This is the parting between me and you! I will give you the interpretation of those events that you could not bear with patience. As for the ship, it belonged to poor people working on the river. I wished to mar it because there was a king behind them who is taking every ship by force.'*"[95]—the reading of Ubayy b. Kaʿb has *"every useful ship by force"*—"'but I marred it only to avert him from taking it. It was safe when he saw the defect that I caused. *As for the lad, his parents were believers, and we feared that he would oppress them by rebellion and disbelief. And we intended that their Lord should change him for one better in purity and closer to mercy. And as for the wall, it belonged to two orphan boys in the city. There was a treasure beneath it be-*
[428] *longing to them, and their father had been pious'*... to... *'what you could not bear.'*"[96]

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmārah—his father—ʿIkrimah:[97] Someone said to Ibn ʿAbbās, "We have not heard any mention of an account about the servant of Moses, although he was with him." Ibn ʿAbbās mentioned the narrative of the servant, saying, "The servant drank the water of eternal life and became immortal. The learned sage took him, fitted him with a ship, then sent him out to sea. The ship will rock on the sea with him until the Day of Resurrection, because he drank from the river, which he should not have done."

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93. Qur'ān 18:78.
94. Qur'ān 18:78.
95. Qur'ān 18:79–80.
96. Qur'ān 18:81–83. For the full text of the last verse, see pp. 12–13, above.
97. ʿIkrimah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Barbarī al-Madanī, Abū ʿAbdallāh, 25–105/645–723. A slave of Ibn ʿAbbās, later set free, he became an expert on the life of the Prophet, the Qur'ān, and the *maghāzī*. *GAS*, I, 23, 24, 26, 81, 91, 243, 285; *GAL*, Suppl. I, 691; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 212–16; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, V, 43–44.

Bishr b. Muʿādh[98] related to us — Yazīd[99] — Shuʿbah[100] — Qatādah[101]: His words: *And when they reached the point where the two met, they forgot their fish.*[102] It was mentioned to us that, when the Prophet of God, Moses, split the sea and God saved him from the people of Pharaoh, he gathered the Israelites and addressed them, saying "You are the best people on earth and the most learned. God has destroyed your enemy, has made you cross the sea, and has revealed the Torah to you." Someone said to him, "There is a man wiser than you." So he and his servant Joshua b. Nun set out to seek him. They were supplied with provisions of a salted fish in a large basket. Someone said to them, "When you forget what you have, you will meet a learned man who is called al-Khiḍr." When they came to that place, God restored life to the fish, and it crawled from the shore[103] until it swam into the sea. Then it journeyed on, and every road it traversed became solid water. He continued: Moses and his [429] servant went on. God says, *"And when they had gone farther, he said to his servant: 'Bring us our breakfast. Verily we have become tired from our journey*... to where He says... *'[Then they found one of Our servants, unto whom We had given mercy from Us and] had taught him knowledge from Our Presence.'"*[104] The two of them met a wise man called al-Khiḍr. It has been mentioned to us that the Prophet of God said: "Al-Khiḍr was called green, because he sat on a white fur and it shimmered green with him."

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98. Bishr b. Muʿādh al-ʿAqadī al-Baṣrī, Abū Sahl, d. ca. 245/859. An authority on *Ḥadīth*, who taught al-Ṭabarī. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, I, 458; *GAS*, I, 32, 92.

99. Yazīd b. Hārūn b. Zādān al-Wāsiṭī, Abū Khālid, 118–206/736–821. A *mawlā* of the Banū Sulaym, he wrote a commentary on the Qurʾān and was a traditionist. *GAS*, I, 40; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, XI, 366–69. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, p. 62; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IX, 247; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1127.

100. Shuʿbah b. al-Ḥajjāj b. al-Ward al-ʿAtakī al-Azdī, Abū Bisṭām, 82–160/701–76. One of the earliest *Ḥadīth* scholars to order them systematically and to treat the biographies of the traditionists in a scholarly manner. *GAS*, I, 92; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 60–118/280–81; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, III, 241–42; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1100.

101. Qatādah b. Diʿāmah b. Qatādah al-Sadūsī, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, 60–119/679–736. Blind from birth, noted for his memory in fields of lexicography, Qurʾān exegesis, law, poetry, genealogy, and history, he transmitted from such Companions of the Prophet as Anas b. Mālik and gave the Muʿtazilah their name. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 229–31; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, VIII, 351–56; *GAS*, I, 31–32; *EI²*, s.v. "Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma."

102. Qurʾān 18:62.

103. *Min al-jadd.* MS BM has *al-ḥadd* "the edge."

104. Qurʾān 18:63–66. Full text is given above, pp. 6–7.

These accounts that we have mentioned on the authority of the Messenger of God and the scholars among the predecessors make it clear that al-Khiḍr was before and during the days of Moses. This proves the error of the words of those who say that he was Jeremiah b. Hilkiah, because Jeremiah lived during the days of Nebuchadnezzar, and between the days of Moses and Nebuchadnezzar was a period the extent of which is not difficult for scholars of the days of mankind and their accounts to calculate.[105]

We have put mention of him and his account this early only because he lived during the era of Afrīdhūn, according to what is told, even if, according to this account about al-Khiḍr, Moses, and his servant, he lived into the days of Manūshihr[106] and his reign, since Moses became a prophet only during the era of Manūshihr, whose reign came after the reign of his grandfather Afrīdhūn. Everything we have mentioned about the individuals in these tales, from the period of Abraham to the account of al-Khiḍr, all that—so it is reported—took place during the reigns of Bīwarāsb[107] and Afrīdhūn, the stories of whose lives, their scope, and the span of each we have mentioned previously.

[430] Now we will return to the account concerning Manūshihr, his relations, and the events that took place during his time.

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105. Compare with the previous discussion, pp. 2–5, above, and see the identification of Jeremiah with al-Khiḍr in the next volume; al-Ṭabarī, I, 658 (trans. Perlmann, 55).

106. Manūshihr, Avestan Manuš.čiθra, son of Airyāva the just (*Yašt* 13.131 [*Farvardīn yašt*]); in the *Bundahishn* Manuščihr is said to be the great-great-grandson of Ērič (cf. Anklesaria, *op. cit.*, 294–95, chap. 35.16; and see n. 119, below; see also Justi, *op. cit.*, 191; Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, 61 no. 219).

107. Bīwarāsb, Middle Persian Bēwarāsp, literally "having ten thousand horses" (cf. Justi *op. cit.*, 60–61), another name for al-Ḍaḥḥāk (see n. 4, above, and al-Ṭabarī, I, 201–10; trans. Brinner, 1–10). The name is not attested in Avestan, but it may be noted that in *Yašt* 5, 28–31, Ažī Dahāka is a figure in the mythical history of Iran, who sacrifices "a hundred stallions, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand sheep" to Anāhitā in order to obtain a wish.

Manūshihr

After Afrīdhūn b. Athfiyān Burkāw,[108] Manūshihr, who was a descendant of Īraj b. Afrīdhūn,[109] ruled. Someone has claimed that Fārs[110] was named Fārs for this Manūshihr. He was Manūshihr, great king, according to the genealogists of the Persians, son of Manushkhamar b. Wayrak[111] b. Sarūshank b. Athrak b. Bitak b. Farzūshak b. Zūshak b. Farkūzak b. Kūzak b. Īraj b. Afrīdhūn b. Athfiyān Burkāw. These names are pronounced unlike these formulations. One of the Magians claimed that Afrīdhūn had intercourse with the daughter of his son Īraj, who was named Kūshak,[112] and she bore him [431]

108. Athfiyān Burkāw, Middle Persian Aspiyān ī Purgāw (cf. Anklesaria, *op. cit.*, 292–95, chap. 35.8), literally "(the?) Aspiyān who possesses many cattle" (from Avestan *pouru.gav-*, C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 899).

109. Īraj b. Afrīdhūn, Middle Persian Ērīǰ (Ērič), son of Frēdōn, the eponymous progenitor of the Iranian peoples (see n. 123, below). In the Avesta the father of Manuš.čiθra was Airyāva the Just; the original meaning of this name may be "he who brings help to the Aryas" (cf. Justi, *op. cit.*, 11(2); Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, 18 no. 11).

110. Fārs (from Old Persian Pārsa, which the Greeks knew as Persis) was originally the name of a province in southern Iran but was later extended to include the entire country; see Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, II, 835–38. The fact that coins of three rulers of Fārs called Mančihr have survived from the 2nd century C.E. (M. Alram, *Nomina Propria Iranica in Nummis*, 180–83) may be connected with the tradition cited here by al-Ṭabarī.

111. Manshakhurnar, Middle Persian Manushxwarnar, son of Manushxwarnāk, whose mother was Gūzag according to the *Bundahishn*, but Vīrak in the *Pazand Jāmāspnāmag*; see Anklesaria, *op. cit.*, 294–95, chap. 35.16; *Indian Bundahishn*, tr. E. W. West, 133–34).

112. Kuzak, above, from Guzak (Gučak); see Justi, *op. cit.*, 123(2).

a girl named Farkūshak;[113] then he had intercourse with this Farkūshak, and she bore him a girl, named Zūshak;[114] then he had intercouse with this Zūshak, and she bore him a girl named Farzūshak;[115] then he had intercouse with this Farzūshak, and she bore him a girl named Baytak;[116] then he had intercourse with this Bay-
[432] tak, and she bore him a girl named Athrak; then he had intercourse with Athrak,[117] and she bore him Īzak; then he had intercourse with Īzak,[118] and she bore him Wayrak; then he had intercourse with Wayrak, and she bore him Manushkharfāgh, whom some call Manushkhwārnāgh, and a girl named Manushkhorak.[119] They say that Manushkhwārnāgh had intercourse with Manushkhorak, and she bore him Manushkharnar and a girl named Manushrāzūk;[120] and

113. Instead of Farkūzak, above, from Fragūzak; see Justi, *op. cit.*, 101.

114. Zūshak; see Justi, *op. cit.*, 388.

115. Frazūshak; see Justi, *op. cit.*, 105.

116. Instead of Bitak, above, which is correct. See Justi, *op. cit.*, 69.

117. Unclear in MSS, except Tn, which has Ayrak (al-Ṭabarī, 433 n. *a*), but *Bundahishn* has Ērak daughter of Thritak, possible conflation of *'θrtk* and *'yrk?*; hence the names here should probably be Athrak and Irak; see Justi, *op. cit.*, 23.

118. For Īrak? Not listed in the genealogy above, where Sarūshank (Srūshenk) is named as the child of Athrak; see Justi, *op. cit.*, 23.

119. Manushkharnāgh is probably the correct form, as the *Bundahishn* has the popular etymology "Manuš ī xwaršēd pad wēnīg: Manush, who has the sun on his nose" (i.e., khar = Mid. Pers. xwar = xwaršēt "sun" and nāgh = Mid. Pers. *nāg = wēnīk "nose"). See also *Addenda*, DLXXXII. The genealogical information given by al-Ṭabarī may be compared with that of the *Bundahishn*:

Bundahishn	al-Ṭabarī-I	Magians according to al-Ṭabarī
Frēdōn	Afrīdhūn	Afrīdhūn
Ērij	Īraj	—
Gūzag	Kūzak	Kūshak
Fragūzag	Farkūzak	Farkūshak
Zūšag	Zūshak	Zūshak
Frazūšag	Farzūshak	Farzūshak
Bidag	Bitak	Baytak
Θritag	Athrak	Athrak
Ērag	Sarūshank	Īzak
Gūza	Wayrak	Wayrak
Manushxwarnāk	—	Manushkharfāgh, -nāgh + Manushkhorak
Manushxwarnar	Manushkharnar	Manushkharnar + Manushrāzūk
Manuščihr	Manūshihr	Manūshihr

120. *Manūskh"arnar* in *Bundahishn*. The girl's name should probably be Manushrārūk; see Justi, *op. cit.*, 193. These twins represent a pattern repeated in the mythical genealogies.

that Manushkharnar had intercourse with Manushrāzūk, and she bore him Manūshihr.

One scholar says that Manūshihr's birthplace was in Danbāvand,[121] while another says that she was born in al-Rayy,[122] and that Manushkharnar and Manushrāzūk, when Manūshihr was born to them, concealed his birth for fear of Tūj[123] and Salm.[124] When Manūshihr grew up, he went to his grandfather Afrīdhūn. When he entered to see him, Afrīdhūn saw promising signs in him, and he placed in Manūshihr's custody the domain that he had formerly as- [433]
signed to his grandfather Īraj, crowning him with his crown. A certain historian has asserted [rather] that this Manūshihr was Manūshihr b. Manushkharnar b. Ifrīqīs[125] b. Isaac b. Abraham. He also asserted that rule was transferred to him after Afrīdhūn, after nineteen hundred and twenty-two years of the era of Jayūmart[126] had passed. He cited as witness to the truth of that these verses of Jarīr b. ʿAṭīyah:[127]

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121. The highest summit of the Elburz mountains in Iran and a town on its slopes. Early Persian manuscripts show this spelling, but the word is today pronounced Damāvand. See Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, II, 606–10, s.v. "Dunbāwand." See also W. Eilers, *Der Name Demawand*.

122. An important medieval city, southwest of Damāvand and just outside present-day Tehran. See Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, II, 892–901.

123. Tūj, also Tūr (Justi, *op. cit.*, 329), eponymous ancestor of the Turanians, or Turks, whose conflict with the descendents of Īraj, the Iranians, occupies the whole of the mythical portion of the *Shāhnāmah*. See Boyce, *op. cit.*, 104 and n. 128 for further references.

124. Also written Sarm, from Avestan Sairima, representing the western lands and peoples; see Justi, *op. cit.*, 289; Boyce, *op. cit.*, 104.

125. The name *Ifrīqīs* may be an arabicized form of *Ferengīs*, which, in the *Shāhnāmah*, is the name of the daughter of Afrāsiāb (on whom see *Enc. Ir.* I/6, 570–76). In the *Bundahishn* the names of several daughters of Afrāsiyāb are mentioned (Anklesaria, *op. cit.*, 294–95, chap. 35.20–22), among them one whose name is traditionally read Wispān-friyā, though Wispān-friy, literally "dear to all," may be a more probable Middle Persian reading. Justi, *op. cit.*, 371, speculated that Ferengīs might be a distortion of this name (cf. A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 85 n. 4); it is also possible, however, that al-Ṭabarī is here reporting the name of Wispānfriy's sister, Frīgīz ī Čūr (thus Anklesaria; West, *op. cit.*, 135, and Justi, *op. cit.*, 104, read this name as Frasp-i čūr).

126. *Gaya-maretan*, lit. "mortal man"; Justi, *op. cit.*, 108. Identified at times with Gomer, the biblical son of Japheth, and as the first of the mythical Persian rulers; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 216, 353 (trans. Brinner, 15, 133); Christensen, *Les types du premier homme*..., esp. I.

127. Jarīr b. ʿAṭīyah b. al-Khatafa (Hudhayfa) b. Badr, d. ca. 110/728. One of the great court poets of the Umayyad period, a master of *hijāʾ*, or satirical verse. See *EI*², s.v. "Djarīr."

The sons of Isaac were lions when they girded themselves
with the sword belts of death, clothed in armor,
And when they claimed descent they numbered al-Ṣibahbadh[128] to
be of them and Chosroes,[129] and they counted Hurmuzān[130] and
Caesar.[131]
Scripture and prophecy were among them,[132]
and they were kings of Iṣṭakhr[133] and Tustar.[134]
There unites us and the noble ones, sons of Fāris,[135]
a father after whom it matters not to us who comes later.
Our forefather is the Friend of Allah,[136] and Allah is our Lord.
We are pleased with what God has bestowed and has decreed.

As for the Persians, they disclaim this genealogy, and they know no kings ruling over them other than the sons of Afrīdhūn and acknowledge no kings of other peoples. They think that, if an intruder of other stock entered among them in ancient times,[137] he did so wrongfully.

I was informed—Hishām b. Muḥammad:[138] Between themselves

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128. *Ṣibāhbadh/ṣabāhbadh*, perhaps for *iṣbāhbadh*, the title of the foremost military leader in ancient Iran, from **spādapati: ispehbed*. Justi, *op. cit.*, 306; see also *EI²*, s.v. "Ispahbadh."

129. Arabic: *kisrā*. Title given to all pre-Islamic Persian rulers in later Arabic literature, based on the name of the mythical ruler Kay Khusrau in the *Shāhnāmah*.

130. Al-Hurmuzān, for Persian Hormiz[d]ān. Persian governor and defender of Khūzistān against the Arabs 16–19 or 21/637–640 or 642. Taken prisoner by the Arabs at Tustar and slain by ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar at Medina in 23/644. See *EI²*, s.v. "al-Hurmuzān."

131. A generic title for Roman and Byzantine rulers in Arabic literature. All of the above names are used as general categories. Hence "We are descended from Isaac but also from military commanders, kings of the Persians and of the Byzantines; thus we unite Abrahamic descent with descent from the two other major ancient civilizations."

132. Prophecy and kingship were special gifts of God to the Children of Israel, but both disappeared from them with the coming of the Persians and the Byzantines; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 353 (trans. Brinner, 133).

133. Iṣṭakhr, near Iṣfahān, one of the great frontier cities of medieval Iran, as well as a district; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I, 299.

134. Šuštar, the greatest city of Khūzistān in southwestern Iran; Yāqūt, I, 847–50.

135. In Jarīr's *Dīwān* [Jarīr b. ʿAṭīyah, *The Naḳāiḍ of Jarir* . . .] and in Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I, 299, s.v. "Iṣṭakhr," we find here *sārah* (i.e., descent from Abraham?), but this should be *sādat* "dominion," as in Abū al-Faraj, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, according to al-Ṭabarī, I, 433 n.*e*.

136. *Khalīl allāh*, the traditional Muslim epithet for Abraham. See n. 8, above.

137. *Qabl al-Islām* "before Islam" is inserted here in MS BM.

138. Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib, Abū al-Mundhir al-Kalbī, called Ibn al-Kalbī, ca. 119–204 or 206/737–819 or 821. An immensely learned and prolific au-

Tūj and Sarm[139] ruled the earth for three hundred years after they had slain their brother Īraj. Then Manūshihr b. Īraj b. Afrīdhūn ruled for one hundred and twenty years. Then a son of the son of Tūj the [434] Turk pounced upon Manūshihr, exiling him from the land of Iraq for twelve years. Manūshihr, in turn, replaced him, exiled him from his land, and returned to his rule, reigning for an additional twenty-eight years.

Manūshihr was described as just and generous. He was the first who dug trenches[140] and collected weapons of war, and the first who set up *dihqāns*,[141] imposing a *dihqān* over each village, making its inhabitants his chattels and slaves, clothing them in garments of submission, and ordering them to obey him.

It is said that Moses the Prophet appeared in the sixtieth year of his reign. It has been mentioned by someone other than Hishām[142] that, when Manūshihr became king, he was crowned with the royal crown, and he said on the day of his enthronement, "We will strengthen our fighting force and promise them to take vengeance for our forefathers and drive the enemy from our land." Then he journeyed to the land of the Turks, seeking to avenge the blood of his grandfather Īraj b. Afrīdhūn. He slew Tūj b. Afrīdhūn and his brother Salm, achieving his revenge; then he left.

He also mentioned Frāsiyāb b. Fashanj b. Rustam b. Turk[143] (from [435] whom the Turks claim descent) b. Shahrāsb[144] (or, as some say, the son of Arshāsb) b. Tūj b. Afrīdhūn the king, (Fashak is also called Fashanj b. Zāshamīn).[145] [Frāsiyāb] did battle with Manūshihr sixty years after the latter had slain Tūj and Salm, and [he] besieged him in Ṭabaristān. Then Manūshihr and Frāsiyāb reached an agreement

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thor of books in many branches of knowledge, especially Arab history. *EI*², s.v. "al-Kalbi"; *GAS*, I, 268–71; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1027, s.v. "Kalbī."

139. An alternative writing of Salm; see n. 124, above.

140. Referring, perhaps, to irrigation channels.

141. Head of a village and member of the lesser Sasanian nobility, representing the government to peasants and responsible for collecting taxes. See *EI*², s.v. "*Dihḳān*."

142. Text has *ʿan* "according to," but Ibrāhīm, I, 379, has *ghayr* "other than," which fits the context.

143. Also called Frāsiāf, Afrāsiāb from old Iranian Fraṅrasyan. See Justi, *op. cit.*, 103; see also *Enc. Ir.* 1/6, 570–76. Cf. n. 623, below.

144. Šērāsp, son of Arūšāsb (Dūrōšāsp). See Justi, *op. cit.*, 295.

145. Pashang (or Pesheng), Middle Persian Pašang, son of Zaēšim (the latter in Avestan letters; Anklesaria, *op. cit.*, 294–95, chap. 35.17). In al-Ṭabarī, above, the father's name is mistakenly written Rustam (see Justi, *op. cit.*, 245).

that they would set a boundary between their two kingdoms at the distance of an arrow shot by a man from among Manūshihr's companions named Arishshibaṭīr[146] (but sometimes one shortens his name and calls him Īrash): Wherever his arrow fell from the place where it was shot, adjacent to the land of the Turks, would be the boundary between them, which neither of them was to cross to the other side. Arishshibaṭīr drew an arrow in his bow, then released it.
[436] He was given strength and power so that his shot reached from Ṭabaristān to the river of Balkh.[147] Because the arrow fell there, the river of Balkh became the boundary between the Turks and the children of Tūj, and the children of Īraj and the region of the Persians. In this way, through Arishshibaṭīr's shot, wars were ended between Frāsiyāb and Manūshihr.

They have mentioned that Manūshihr derived mighty rivers from al-Ṣarāt,[148] the Tigris, and the river of Balkh. It is said that he was the one who dug the great Euphrates and commanded the people to plow and to cultivate the earth. He added archery to the art of warfare and gave leadership in archery to Arishshibaṭīr, owing to the shooting he had performed.

They say that, after thirty-five years of Manūshihr's reign had passed, the Turks seized some of his outlying districts. He reproached his people and said to them: "O people! Not all those you have sired are people;[149] for people are only truly people so long as they defend themselves and repel the enemy from them, but the Turks have seized a part of your outlying districts. That is only because you abandoned warfare against your enemy and you lacked concern. But God has granted us dominion as a test of whether we

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146. Arishshibaṭīr, corrected from Arishshiyaṭīr (*Addenda*, DLXXXIII), "shortened" form Īrash, a mythical archer; in Middle Persian his name must have been *Arš *Šē-bāg-tigr "Arš with the swift arrow," attested in the anonymous *Mujmal al-tawārīkh wa-al-qiṣaṣ* (520/1126), 190, as Ārash shiwā-tīr, a rendering of Avestan Ǝlrəxša xšwivi-išu (*Yašt* 8.6; see *Enc. Ir.* II/3, 266–67, s.v. "Āraš i"). See also al-Bīrūnī, *al-Athār al-bāqiyah*, 205; J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, II, 415–16 n. 24; Boyce, *op. cit.*, 75.

147. The river of Balkh, the Jayḥūn, the classical Oxus, today the Amu Darya, is the boundary between Īraj and Tūj, hence between the Iranians and the Turks.

148. A canal watering the Baghdad area dating back to Sasanian times. See Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, III, 377–79; J. Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages*, 277 n. 4.

149. *Lam talidū al-nāsa kullahum*. See *Glossarium*, DLXVI, s.v. *wld*.

will be grateful, and He will increase us, or will disbelieve and He will punish us, though we belong to a family of renown, for the source of rule belongs to God. When tomorrow comes, be present!" They said they would and sought forgiveness.

He dismissed them, and when the next day came, he sent for those possessing royalty and the noblest commanders.[150] He invited them and made the leaders of the people enter: he invited the Chief Magus,[151] who was seated on a chair opposite his throne. Then Manūshihr rose on his throne, with the nobles of the royal family and the noblest commanders rising to their feet. He said: "Be seated! I stood up only to let you hear my words." They sat down, and he continued: [437]

> O people! All creatures belong to the Creator; gratitude belongs to the One Who grants favors, as does submission to the All-Powerful. What exists is inescapable, for there is none weaker than a creature, whether he seeks or is sought; there is no one more powerful than a creator or anyone more powerful than He who has what He seeks [already] in His hand or one weaker than one who is in the hand of His seeker. Verily, contemplation is light, while forgetfulness is darkness; ignorance is misguidance. The first has come, and the last must join the first. Before us there came principles of which we are derivative—and what kind of continued existence can a derivative have after its purpose disappears?
>
> Verily God has given us this dominion, and to Him belongs praise. We ask Him to inspire us with integrity, truth, and certainty. For the king has a claim on his subjects, and his subjects have a claim on him, whereas their obligation to the ruler is tht they obey him, give him good counsel, and fight his enemy; the king's obligation to them is to provide them with their sustenance in its proper times, for they cannot rely on anything else, and that is their commerce. The king's obligation to his subjects is that he take care of them, treat them kindly, and not impose on them what they cannot do. If a calamity befalls them and diminishes their gains

150. *Ahl al-mamlakah wa-ashrāf al-asāwirah.*

151. *I.e.*, the high priest of the Zoroastrian faith, the *mobedh al-mobedhān*. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 436 n. *k*.

because a heavenly or earthly evil comes upon them, he should deduct from the land tax that which was diminished. If a calamity ruins them altogether, he should give them what they need to strengthen their rebuilding. Afterward, he
[438] may take from them to the extent that he does not harm them, for a year or two years.

The relationship of the army to the king is of the same status as the two wings of a bird, for they are the wings of the king. Whenever a feather is cut off from a wing, that is a blemish in it. Likewise in the case of the king, for he is equally dependent on his wings and feathers. Moreover, the king must possess three qualities: first, that he be truthful and not lie, that he be bountiful and not be miserly, and that he be in control of himself in anger, for he is given power with his hand outstretched and the land tax coming to him. He must not appropriate to himself what belongs to his troops and his subjects. He must be liberal in pardon, for there is no king more long-lasting than a king who pardons or one more doomed to perish than one who punishes. Moreover, a man who errs regarding pardon and pardons is better than one who errs in punishing. It is necessary that a king be cautious in a matter involving the killing of a person and his ruin. If a matter requiring punishment is brought to him regarding one of his officials, he must not show him favor. Let him bring him together with the complainant, and, if the claim of the wronged one is proved right against him, the sum is transferred from the official to him.[152] But, if [the official] is unable to [pay], then the king should pay the sum for him and then return the official to his position, requiring that he make restitution for what he extorted. So much for my obligation to you. However, I will not pardon one who sheds blood wrongfully or cuts off a hand without right, unless the aggrieved one pardons. Therefore accept this from me [as my right].

The Turks have coveted you, so protect us and you will only protect yourselves. I have commanded arms and provi-
[439] sions for you. I am your partner in this matter, for I can only

152. See *Glossarium*, CCXVI, s.v. *khrj*.

call myself king as long as I have obedience from you. Indeed, a king is a king only if he is obeyed. For if he is contradicted, he is ruled and is not a ruler. Whenever we are informed of disobedience, we will not accept it from the informer until we have verified it. If the report is true, so be it; if not, we will treat the informer as a disobedient one.

Is not the finest act in the face of misfortune the acceptance of patience and rejoicing in the comfort of certainty? Whoever is slain in battle with the enemy, I hope for him the attainment of God's pleasure. The best of things is the submission to God's command, a rejoicing in certainty, and satisfaction in His judgment. Where is sanctuary from what exists? One can only squirm in the hand of the seeker. This world is only a journey for its inhabitants; they cannot loosen the knots of the saddle except in the other [world], and their self-sufficiency is in borrowed things.

How good is gratitude toward the Benefactor and submission to the One to Whom judgment belongs! Who owes submission more to One above him than he who has no refuge except in Him, or any reliance except on Him! So trust in victory if your determination is that succor is from God. Be confident of achieving the goal if your intent is sincere. Know that this dominion will not stand except through uprightness and good obedience, suppression of the enemy, blocking the frontiers, justice to the subjects, and just treatment of the oppressed. Your healing is within you; the remedy in which there is no illness is uprightness, commanding good and forbidding evil. For there is no power except in God. Look to the subjects, for they are your food and drink. Whenever you deal justly with them, they desire prosperity, [440] which will increase your land-tax revenues and will be made evident in the growth of your wealth. But, if you wrong the subjects, they will abandon cultivation and leave most of the land idle. This will decrease your land-tax revenues, and it will be made evident in the decrease of your wealth. Pledge yourself to deal justly with your subjects. Whatever rivers or overflows there are, of which the cost [of repair] is the ruler's, hurry to take care of it before it increases. But whatever is owed by the subjects of which they are unable to

take care, lend it to them from the treasury of the land taxes. When the times of their taxes come due, take it back with their produce tax to the extent that it will not harm them: a quarter [of it] each year, or a third, or a half, so that it will not cause them distress.[153]

This is my speech and my command, O Chief Magus! Adhere to these words, and hold onto what you have heard this day. Have you heard, O people?

They said, "Yes! You have spoken well, and we will act, God willing." Then he ordered the food, and it was placed before them. They ate and drank, then left, thankful to him. His rule lasted one hundred and twenty years.

Hishām b. al-Kalbī claimed—in what has been transmitted to me from him—that al-Rā'ish b. Qays b. Ṣayfī b.[154] Saba' b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Joktan (Qaḥṭān) was one of the kings of Yemen after Ya'rub b. Joktan b. Eber b. Shelah and his brothers, and that the reign of al-Rā'ish in Yemen was during the days of Manūshihr. He was only called al-Rā'ish, although his name was al-Ḥārith b. Abī Sadad, be-
[441] cause of the booty he had plundered from people he raided and had taken to Yemen; therefore he was called al-Rā'ish.[155] He raided India, slaying there, taking captives, and plundering wealth; then he returned to Yemen. He traveled from there and attacked the two mountains of Ṭayy',[156] then al-Anbār,[157] then Mosul.[158] He sent out his cavalry from Mosul under the command of one of his companions, a man called Shimr b. al-Aṭāf. He fought against the Turks of the land of Adharbaijān, which belonged to them in those days. He

153. Text has *yatabayyana* "be noticed," here reading instead *yashaqqa* with MS Tn and Ibrāhīm, I, 383. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 440 n. *f*.

154. There may be some generations omitted here; see the genealogies on pp. 98, 156, below. In the last it seems that Bilqīs, the Queen of Sheba, is of the same family.

155. Lit. "the one who accepts or gives bribes" or "one who gives one the property of another"; see Lane, *op. cit.*, 1200, s.v. *rysh*.

156. Two mountains, Aja' and Salmā, in the territory of Ṭayy', a tribe inhabiting the north-central area of the Arabian peninsula in pre-Islamic times. See Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I, 122–30.

157. A town built by the Sasanian Persians on the left bank of the Euphrates, not far from the present site of Baghdad. *EI²*, s.v. "al-Anbār."

158. The great center of northern Iraq across the river from ancient Nineveh. The army of al-Rā'ish moved roughly in a north-by-east direction through al-Ṭayy' and al-Anbār to Mosul.

slew the fighters and took the children captive. He engraved on two stones, which are known in Adharbaijān, what had happened on his campaign. Imru' al-Qays[159] said about this:

Did he not inform you that Time is a demon,
traitor to a pact, gobbling up men?
He caused the "feathered one"[160] to cease his banquets,
though he had already ruled plains and mountains,
And he attached Dhū Manār to the claws
and set snares for the strangler.[161]

Dhū Manār, whom the poet mentioned, is Dhū Manār b. Rā'ish, the king after his father, and his name was Abrahah b. al-Rā'ish.[162] He was called Dhū Manār only because he raided the lands of the west and penetrated them by land and by sea. He feared that his troops might lose their way on their return journey, so he built a lighthouse tower *(manār)* with which to guide them. The people of Yemen claimed that he sent his son, al-ʿAbd b. Abrahah on his raid to the area of the most distant lands of the west, where he plundered and seized their wealth. He brought back to [his father] some *nāsnās*, which had wild and abominable faces.[163] People were frightened [442] of them and called him Dhū al-Adhʿār (possessor of frightening things). He said further: Abrahah was one of their kings who penetrated deeply in the earth.

I have mentioned these kings of Yemen here because I remembered the words of one who claimed that al-Rā'ish was ruler in Yemen in the days of Manūshihr and that the kings of Yemen were governors for the kings of Persia there, which was their dominion before them.

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159. One of the six great pre-Islamic poets, perhaps the most famous of them, d. ca. 550 C. E. *EI²*, s.v. "Imru' al-Kays."

160. The other, more common meaning of the root *rysh* is "to feather (an arrow)"; hence *dhū al-riyāsh* here is "the feathered one."

161. *Al-zarrād*, perhaps an epithet for an historical figure.

162. It is unclear whether this is the Abrahah, a Christian king of South Arabia, who is famous for leading an expedition against Mecca in 570. See *EI²*, s.v. "Abraha."

163. *Nāsnās*, a creature jumping or hopping on one leg. Tradition related that a tribe of ʿĀd disobeyed their apostle and that God transformed them into *nāsnās*, each having one arm and one leg, being one-half of a human being; they hopped like birds and pastured like animals. See Lane, *op. cit.*, s.v. *nsns*; another story is given in al-Ṭabarī, I, 214 (trans. Brinner, 13).

The Genealogy of Moses b. Amram, His History, and the Events That Took Place in His Era and That of Manūshihr b. Manushkharnar

We have already mentioned the children of Jacob, Israel of God, their numbers, and their birth dates. Ibn Ḥumayd transmitted to us — Salamah b. al-Faḍl — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said moreover that Levi b. Jacob married Nābitah bt. Mārī b. Issachar, and she bore him Gershon, and Merari, and Kohath. Kohath b. Levi married Fāhī bt. [443] Masīn b. Bethuel b. Elias, and she bore him Izhar. Izhar married Shamīth bt. Batādīt b. Barakiyā b. Jokshan b. Abraham, and she bore him Amram and Korah. Amram married Jochebed bt. Samuel b. Barakiyā b. Jokshan b. Abraham, and she bore him Aaron and Moses.[164]

Someone other than Ibn Isḥāq said: The life span of Jacob b. Isaac was one hundred and forty-seven years, and Levi was born to him when he was eighty-nine years old. Kohath was born to Levi when he was forty-six years old. Then Izhar was born to Kohath, then Amram to Izhar, and he is ʿImrān [in Arabic]. Izhar lived for one hundred forty-seven years, and Amram was born to him when he was sixty years old. Then Moses was born to Amram, and his mother was Jochebed, and some say that her name was Anāḥīd.[165] His wife

164. There are significant deviations here from the biblical genealogy of Moses. In Exodus 6:18 Amram and Izhar are brothers, both sons of Kohath. Korah was the son of Izhar (Exodus 6:21), hence not the brother of Amram but his nephew. Jochebed, the

was Zipporah bt. Jethro, who is Shuʿayb the prophet.[166] Moses begat Gershom and Eliezer. He left for Midian out of fear when he was forty-one years old and called people to the religion of Abraham. God appeared to him at Mt. Sinai when he was eighty years old. The [444] pharaoh of Egypt in his days was Qabūs b. Muṣʿab b. Muʿāwiyah, the second master of Joseph. His wife was Āsiyah bt. Muzāḥim b. ʿUbayd b. al-Rayyān b. al-Walīd, the first pharaoh of Joseph. When Moses was called, he was informed that Qabūs b. Muṣʿab had died and that his brother, al-Walīd b. Muṣʿab,[167] had taken his place. He was more insolent than Qabūs, more disbelieving, and more boastful. God commanded that Moses and his brother Aaron go to al-Walīd with the message.

It was said the al-Walīd married Āsiyah bt. Muzāḥim after his brother. Amram lived for one hundred and thirty-six years, and Moses was born when Amram was seventy years old. Then Moses went to Pharaoh as a messenger, together with Aaron. Eighty years passed from the time of Moses' birth to his departure from Egypt with the Israelites, whereupon he went to the wilderness, after crossing the sea. Forty years passed from their sojourn there until they went out with Joshua b. Nun. One hundred twenty years passed from Moses' birth to his death in the wilderness.

Ibn Isḥāq said—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: God took Joseph, and the king who was with him, al-Rayyān b. al-Walīd, died. The pharaohs had inherited rule over Egypt from the Amalekites. God scattered the Israelites there; when Joseph died, he was buried,

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mother of Moses and Aaron, was the paternal aunt of Amram (Exodus 6:20). The female names and their genealogies are not given in the Bible.

165. Middle Persian form of Avestan and Old Persian Anāhitā, the important old Iranian river goddess, on whom see, e.g., *Enc. Ir.* II/1, 1003–11. Although it is unclear why she is associated with the mother of Moses, E. R. Goodenough has identified the female figure holding the infant Moses in the Dura Europus synagogue murals as Aphrodite/ Anāhitā. See *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* IX, 6, 10, 83, 165, 200–3; XI, fig. 178; XII, 66, 168, 169.

166. The identification of Qur'ānic Shuʿayb with biblical Jethro is made by later commentators and has no basis in the Qur'ān, except for the connection of both with the land of Midian (Madyan). See below, p. 47, where Jethro is mentioned as a nephew of Shuʿayb. *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Shuʿaib."

167. The traditional Muslim names given to these figures. Compare al-Ṭabarī, I, 378, 412 (trans. Brinner, 154, 184): Qabūs; al-Ṭabarī I, 378, 386 (trans. Brinner, 154, 161): al-Walīd b. al-Rayyān. Āsiyah is close to biblical Asenath, name of the wife of Joseph, not of Pharaoh. In Jewish legend the daughter of Pharaoh is called Bithiah ("daugher of God,") a name given to her by God for her kindness to Moses. See Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 170. For the Islamic view of Pharaoh, see *EI*², s.v. "Firʿawn."

as was mentioned to me, in a casket of marble in the Nile, in the
[445] midst of the water. The Israelites continued living under the rule of the pharaohs while maintaining of their religion whatever Joseph, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham had prescribed for them of Islam, holding fast to that until the Pharaoh, to whom God sent Moses, had arrived. Among the pharaohs there was none more insolent than he toward God, or haughtier in speech, or longer-lived in his rule. His name, according to what I have been told, was al-Walīd b. Muṣʿab. There was no pharaoh more ruthless, harder-hearted, or of more evil character toward the Israelites than he. He tormented them and made them slaves and chattels, classifying them in his tasks: one class for building, another class for plowing, another class for his sowing. They were busy with his projects, and whoever among them was not working for him had to pay a poll tax. He *inflicted*[168] upon them, as God said, *"dreadful torment."*[169] Yet they retained remnants of their religion, from which they did not want to depart. The pharaoh had married an Israelite woman named Āsiyah bt. Muzāḥim, from the best of a limited number of women. He was granted a long life among them while he ruled them, and in return he inflicted upon them dreadful torment. When God wanted to release them from their misery, and when Moses had reached maturity, God gave him the message.

The narrator continued: It was told to me that, when Moses' time approached, the astrologers and diviners of Pharaoh came to him and said: "We want you to know that we find according to our lore that a child born to the Israelites, the time of whose birth draws near to you, will deprive you of your rule. He will vanquish you in your dominion, send you out of your land, and change your religion." When
[446] they told him this, he ordered the slaying of every newborn male child who would be born among the Israelites and commanded that they spare the females alive.[170] He gathered the midwives from the people of his domain and said to them, "Do not let a single male fetus of the Israelites come forth at your hands without striking him." They would do this, while he killed those lads who were older. As for the pregnant women, he ordered them to be tormented until they miscarried.

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168. Qur'ān 7:137.
169. Qur'ān 2:49.
170. Based on Qur'ān 2:49.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ[171] — Mujāhid[172]: I was told that he called for reeds and had them split so they became like sharp blades, which were then lined up one next to another. The pregnant Israelite women were brought and made to stand on them. It cut their feet, so that a woman would miscarry, causing the fetus to fall between her legs. A woman would tread on [the fetus] and thereby avoid the reeds, cutting her feet out of exhaustion from her effort. [Pharaoh] went so far in this that he almost wiped out all of the [Israelites]. Someone said to him, "You have destroyed the people and cut off their progeny, although they are still your slaves and workers." So he commanded that the boys be slain one year and spared the next. Aaron was born in the year during which the boys were spared, and Moses was born in the year during which the boys were slain; Aaron was one year older than Moses.

Al-Suddī[173] told us what Mūsā b. Hārūn[174] related to us — Asbāṭ[175] — al-Suddī, in an account — Abū Mālik[176] and Abī Ṣāliḥ[177] — Ibn ʿAbbās; also from Murrah al-Hamdānī[178] — Ibn Masʿūd;[179] and from people among the Companions of the Prophet: Pharaoh saw a vision

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171. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ al-Makkī, Abū Yasār, d. 131/748–49. A reliable transmitter of many traditions. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 355; *GAS*, I, 20–21.

172. Mujāhid b. Jabr, Abū al-Ḥajjāj, ca. 21–104/642–722. One of the most reliable disciples of Ibn ʿAbbās, he also studied with other Companions of the Prophet, wrote a commentary on the Qurʾān, and was active in jurisprudence. *GAS*, I, 29; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 343–44; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, VI: 161; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1061.

173. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Karīmah al-Suddī, Abū Muḥammad, d. 127/745. An important Qurʾān exegete and author of *maghāzī* and biographical works, he transmitted from Companions of the Prophet, as well as from many of their successors. *GAS*, I, 32–33; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 225; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, I, 313; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1103.

174. Mūsā b. Hārūn, probably Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī. Cf. *GAS*, I, 33 n. 2.

175. Asbāṭ b. Naṣr al-Hamadānī, Abū Naṣr, d. 170/786. He transmitted the Qurʾān commentary of al-Suddī and was himself a commentator and transmitter. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 341; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, I, 282.

176. Abū Mālik, often linked with Abū Ṣāliḥ, whose name follows, possibly Abū Mālik al-Ghifārī. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 206.

177. Abū Ṣāliḥ Bādhām, *mawlā* of Umm Hāniʾ bt. Abī Ṭālib. Ibn al-Kalbī and others transmitted from Umm Hāniʾ. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 222.

178. Murrah b. Sharāḥīl al-Hamdānī, according to Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 79.

179. ʿAbdallāh b. Ghāfil b. Ḥabīb al-Hudhalī, known as Ibn Masʿūd, d. 32/653. Of humble origin, he became one of the first Muslims, a famous Companion of the Prophet and reader of the Qurʾān. His *Ḥadīth* and Qurʾān readings were preferred in al-Kūfah and by Shiʿites generally. *EI²*, s.v. "Ibn Masʿūd"; *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, 150; *GAS*, I, 3, 5, 14, 86 et passim; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IV, 280; Dodge *op. cit.*, II, 936.

[447] in his dream. A fire came from Bayt al-Maqdis[180] until it overcame the houses of Egypt; the Egyptians were burned, while the Israelites were left and the houses of Egypt were destroyed. He called for the magicians, soothsayers, prognosticators, and diviners and asked them about his dream. They said to him: "There will come from the land of the Israelites, meaning Jerusalem, a man in whose face one can read the destruction of Egypt." He therefore ordered any boy born to the Israelites to be killed and any girl born to them to be left. He then said to the Egyptians: "Observe your slaves who work outside and bring them in. Put the Israelites in charge of those loathsome tasks." So the Egyptians set the Israelites the tasks of the servants and brought the latter inside. That is where God says: *"Lo! Pharaoh exalted himself in the earth"*—meaning: he acted haughtily on earth—*"and made its people castes"*[181]—meaning the Israelites, when he placed them in loathsome tasks—*"a tribe among them he oppressed, killing their sons...."*[182] It came to be that every male child who was born to the Israelites was slain, and the little ones did not grow up. God sent down death upon the elders of the Israelites, and it hastened among them. Then the heads of the Egyptians entered in to Pharaoh and spoke to him, saying: "Verily, death has befallen this people, and the work will soon fall upon our servants. We slay their sons, and then the little ones do not grow up, and the old ones die off. Perhaps you could let some of their sons live." So he ordered that they kill them one year and let them live the next.

The year in which they did not kill, Aaron was born and was left to live. But during the year of slaying, the mother of Moses was preg-
[448] nant with him. When she wanted to give birth, she grieved for him. God inspired her, saying, *"Suckle him, and when you fear for him, cast him into the river"*—that is, the Nile—*"and fear not nor grieve. Lo! We shall bring him back to you and shall make him one of Our messengers."*[183]

When she had given birth and had suckled him, she called for a carpenter, who made an ark for Moses, placing the key to the ark inside. She placed him in it, casting him into the river. *And she said*

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180. Lit. "the house of the sanctuary," i.e., the temple in Jerusalem, *beyt hamiqdash* in Hebrew, hence often used to refer either to Jerusalem or to all of Palestine.
181. *Shiyāʿan*, lit. "factions, parties"; Arberry translates it "sects."
182. Qurʾān 28:3–4.
183. Qurʾān 28:7.

to his sister, "Trace him"—that is, "Trace signs of him." *So she observed him from afar, and they did not notice*[184] that she was his sister. The wave carried the ark forward, alternately lifting it up and carrying it down, until a wave took the ark to some trees at Pharaoh's residence. The servant girls of Āsiyah, the wife of Pharaoh, came out to wash themselves and found the ark. They took it to her, thinking there might be some treasure in it. As Āsiyah looked at him, her pity went out to him, and she loved him. When she told Pharaoh about the baby, he wanted to kill him; however, Āsiyah continued speaking to him until Pharaoh left the baby to her. He said, "I am afraid this child is an Israelite and he is the one at whose hands our destruction will occur." For that is God's Word: *"And the family of Pharaoh took him up, that he might become for them an enemy and a sorrow."*[185] They sought wet nurses for him, but he would not suckle from any of them. The women, meanwhile, were vying for the position of wet nurse, so that they might dwell with Pharaoh during the period of nursing. But the baby refused to suckle. And that is God's Word: *"And We had before forbidden wet nurses for him." So* his sister *said, "Shall I show you a household who will rear him for you and show good will to him?"*[186] They took her and said: "You already know this lad, so lead us to his family." She said: [449]
"I do not know him. I only said that they would show good will to Pharaoh." When his mother came, he took her breasts, and she almost said, "This is my son," but God held her back, for that is God's Word: *"And she would almost have betrayed him if We had not fortified her heart so that she might be one of the believers."*[187]

He was called Moses (Mūsā) only because they found him in water and trees, and in Egyptian water is *mū* and tree is *shā*.[188] And that is the Word of God: *"We gave him to his mother that she might be comforted and would not grieve."*[189] Pharaoh took him as a son, and he was called "son of Pharaoh." When he walked, his mother showed him to Āsiyah. While she was swinging and playing with

184. Qur'ān 28:11.
185. Qur'ān 28:8.
186. Qur'ān 28:12.
187. Qur'ān 28:10.
188. Mūsā in Arabic, Mosheh in Hebrew. Contrast this etymology with the biblical "I drew him out of the water," Exodus 2:10, from Hebrew *mashah*, "to draw out."
189. Qur'ān 28:13.

him, she offered him to Pharaoh, saying, "Take him, the delight of my eye and yours!" Pharaoh said, "He is the delight of your eye, not mine."

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās said: If he had said "and he is the delight of my eye," then He would have entrusted [Moses] to him, but he refused. So, when Pharaoh took him, Moses seized his beard and pulled out hairs from it. Pharaoh said: "Bring me executioners! He is the one!"[190] Āsiyah said: *"Do not kill him. Perhaps he may be of use to us, or we may choose him as a son."*[191] He is only a boy who does not understand. He has done this only because of his childishness. You know that among the people of Egypt there is no woman more adorned than I. I shall make him an ornament of sapphire and place next to it a live coal. If he takes the sapphire, he is aware, so you may kill him. But, if he takes the live coal, he is only a child."[192]
[450] She brought for him a sapphire and placed before him a basin of live coals. Gabriel came and put a live coal in Moses' hand, which he put into his mouth, burning his tongue. This is as God said: *"And loose a knot from my tongue that they may understand my speech."*[193] Because of this incident, she left Moses alone.

Moses grew up and would sail in Pharaoh's boats and dress as he did, and he was known only as Moses, son of Pharaoh. Once, Pharaoh sailed on a boat without Moses. When Moses arrived, he was told that Pharaoh had already set sail, so he set out to sail after him. He reached a town named Memphis[194] at siesta time. Entering at midday, he found its markets were already closed, and no one was in its streets. This is God's word: *"He entered the city at a time when its people were heedless. He found there two men fighting, one of his own faction"*—they mean this was an Israelite—*"and the other of his enemies"*—they mean one of the Egyptians. *"The man of his faction asked him for help against his enemy. So Moses struck him with his fist, killing him. He said, 'This is of the devil's doing. He*

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190. *I.e.*, the one who, the astrologers had predicted, would deprive Pharaoh of his rule. See pp. 32–34, above. See also the Jewish legend in Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 272. Al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 152, has "he is my enemy who is being sought."

191. Qurʾān 28:9.

192. See the Jewish legend, in which an onyx stone and a fiery coal are mentioned. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 274.

193. Qurʾān 20:27–28. In the Jewish version, the fiery coal is the reason for his being tongue-tied, or stammering. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 274.

194. The Arabic has Manf here; also Manfis, Mansaf.

is an enemy, clearly a misleader.' He said, 'My Lord! Lo! I have wronged my soul, so forgive me.' Then He forgave Moses. He is the Forgiving, the Merciful. He said: 'My Lord! since You have favored me, I will nevermore be a supporter of the guilty.' And morning found him in the city, fearing, vigilant"—fearing that he would be apprehended—*"when behold! the man who had asked for his help the day before cried out to him"*—meaning, he asked for his assistance. *Moses said to him, 'Lo! You are indeed a mere hothead.'*[195] Then Moses approached to aid him. But when he saw Moses approaching him to fall upon the man who was fighting with the Israelite, the Israelite said, fearing that Moses would strike him because [451] he had spoken rudely: *"O Moses! Would you kill me like you killed a person yesterday? You would be nothing but a tyrant in the land; you would not be one of those who puts things right."*[196] So he left, and the Egyptian circulated the story that Moses was the one who had killed the man, whereupon Pharaoh sought him, saying, "Seek him out, for he is the one." He said to those who were searching for him, "Look for him on the side roads, for Moses is a boy who will not discover the main road." Moses set out on the side roads, and a man came to Moses, informing him that *"the chiefs take counsel against you to kill you; so escape! So he escaped from there, afraid, vigilant. He said: "My Lord! deliver me from the wrongdoing people."*[197]

When Moses set out on the side roads, an angel came to him on a horse, with a javelin in his hand. When Moses saw him, he bowed down to him in fear. The angel said, "Do not bow down to me, but follow me instead." So Moses followed as the angel guided him to Midian. Moses said, turning his face toward Midian, *"Perhaps my Lord will guide me in the right road."*[198] The angel went with him until he brought him to Midian.

Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd related to me—al-Qāsim[199]—Saʿīd b. Jubayr—Ibn ʿAbbās: Pharaoh and his counselors conferred about what God had promised Abraham: that He would appoint among his de-

195. Qurʾān 28:15–17.
196. Qurʾān 28:18–19.
197. Qurʾān 28:20–21.
198. Qurʾān 28:22.
199. Probably al-Qāsim b. Abī Ayyūb (for full name, see n. 242 below), called a reliable transmitter of a few traditions by Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, 59.

[452] scendants prophets and kings. Some of them said that the Israelites were awaiting that, not doubting it. They had thought that it might be Joseph b. Jacob, but when he died they said, "God would not have promised Abraham that." So Pharaoh said, "What do you think [we should do]?" Ibn ʿAbbās continued: They deliberated together and reached a common conclusion: Pharaoh would send men carrying knives to circulate among the Israelites; wherever they found a male infant, they would kill him.

When they saw that the old Israelites were dying at their appointed times and the infants were being killed, they said: "You are about to wipe out the Israelites, and you will reach the point where you will have to carry out the tasks and perform the services that they performed for you. So during one year kill every newborn male, and their sons will decrease in number. During the next year do not kill any of them, and let the little ones grow up in place of the old ones who die. They will not become numerous from those whom you let live so that you would have to be afraid of their becoming more numerous than you; nor will they become fewer in number through those whom you kill." On that they agreed.

The mother of Moses became pregnant with Aaron in the year during which they did not kill male newborns, and she gave birth to him openly and safely. In the following year she became pregnant with Moses, with distress and sadness falling on her heart. That was one of the trials, O Ibn Jubayr![200] that entered him [already while still] in the womb of his mother, that was intended for him. So God inspired her: *"Fear not nor grieve! Lo! We shall bring him back to you and shall make him one of Our messengers."*[201] When she gave birth to him, He commanded her to place him in a chest and to cast it into the sea. After she gave birth, she did what she was com-
[453] manded. But then, in the time when her son was concealed from her, Iblīs came to her, and she said to herself, "What have I done with my son? If he were slain while he was with me, I would conceal and bury

200. The phrase *wa-dhālika min al-futūn yā ibna jubayr* recurs four more times. It is an exclamation by the narrator, Ibn ʿAbbās, addressed to the transmitter of his account, Saʿīd b. Jubayr, and is connected with Qurʾān 20:40–{41}... *"We delivered you from great distress and tried you with heavy trials"* {*wa-fatannāka futūnan*}. Ibn ʿAbbās thus points to five trials {*futūn*} in his account to Ibn Jubayr. See *Glossarium*, CCCXCVII, s.v. *ftn*.

201. Qurʾān 28:7; cf n. 183, above.

him. I would prefer that to throwing him with my own hands to the fish and beasts of the sea."

The water carried the chest until it brought it ashore at a harbor of the watering place of the slave girls belonging to the family of Pharaoh. They saw it and took it, and they were about to open the chest. But then they said to one another, "There must be treasure in this, and, if we were to open it, the wife of Pharaoh would not believe us when we told her what we found in it." So they carried it just as they found it, not moving anything in it until they presented it to her. When she opened it, she saw the boy. She cast her love onto him, the like of which had never been cast by her on any other person.

And the heart of the mother of Moses became empty[202] of the memory of everything except the memory of Moses. When the executioners heard about him, they approached the wife of the Pharaoh with their knives, wishing to kill him—and that was one of the trials, O Ibn Jubayr. She said to the executioners: "Be gone! This single one will not increase the Israelites. I shall go to Pharaoh and ask the lad of him as a gift. If he gives him to me, you have been kind and done well. If he orders him slain, I will not blame you." When she took him to Pharaoh, she said, *"[He will be] a consolation for me and for you. Do not kill him."*[203] Pharaoh said: "He may be that for you, but as for me, I have no need for him."

The Messenger of God said, "By the One by Whom one swears! Had Pharaoh admitted that Moses would be a consolation to him as she had admitted, God would have guided Pharaoh on his account, as He guided his wife on his account. But God forbade him that."

Then she sent to all the females around her who had milk, in order [454]
to choose a wet nurse. As each woman would take him to nurse, he would not accept her breast. The wife of Pharaoh worried that he would refuse milk and die, and that saddened her. She gave orders regarding him, for a group of people were in the marketplace, to find a wet nurse from whom he would accept [milk], but they did not find anyone.

The mother of Moses awakened in the morning, and *she said to his sister; "Follow him,* and seek him out. Will you hear anything about him? Is my son alive, or did the beasts and fish of the river eat

202. Qur'ān 28:10.
203. Qur'ān 28:9.

him?" She had forgotten what God had promised her. His sister *observed him from afar, but they did not notice.*[204] She said, out of joy when the wet nurses failed them, *"Shall I show you a household who will rear him for you and show good will to him?"*[205] They seized her, and they said: "How do you know what their good will to him is? Do you know him?" Therefore they had doubts about that, and that was one of the trials, O Ibn Jubayr! She said, "Their good will is toward him, and their worry is about him; their desire is for nursing for the king,[206] and their wish to be of use to him." So they left her alone, and she returned to her mother, relating the story to her. Moses' mother came, and when she placed Moses in her bosom, he leaped[207] to her breasts until both sides of him were filled. The messengers went to the wife of Pharaoh to give her the good news: "We have found a wet nurse for your son!" She sent for her, and Moses' mother was brought together with him. When Pharaoh's wife saw how he behaved with her, she said, "Stay with me, and nurse this son of mine, for I have never loved anything as I love him."

[455] Moses' mother said: "I cannot leave my house and my child, for he will perish. If it pleases you to give him to me, I will take him to my house, and he will be with me. I will not neglect anything good for him that you have done. Otherwise, I am unable to leave my house and my child." The mother of Moses remembered what God had promised her, so she treated the wife of Pharaoh harshly and verified that God carries out His promise. Thus she returned to her house with her son that very day.

God made him grow up a strong child and preserved him for what He had predestined for him. Meanwhile, the Israelites, who were gathered in the vicinity of the city, continued to be secure through him from the injustice and forced labor that was upon them. When Moses grew up, the wife of Pharaoh said to his mother, "I want you to show me Moses."[208] She promised Pharaoh's wife a day on which she would show him. Pharaoh's wife said to her nursemaids, wet

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204. Both italicized passages are from Qur'ān 28:11.

205. Qur'ān 28:12.

206. *Raghbatuhum fī ẓu'ūrat al-malik*. Lane, *op. cit.*, has for *ẓu'ūrah* "inclination to, or affection for, the young one of another," or "the relation in which one stands by being a . . . nurse."

207. *Nazā*, but other MSS (BM, Ca) have *nazala* "he settled down."

208. MS Ca: "my son"; MSS C and Tn: "Show me my son!"; al-Tha'labī, *op. cit.*, 151: "I should like you to show me my son."

nurses, and stewards: "None of you is to refrain from receiving my son with a gift and respect, so that he may see it. Meanwhile, I am sending a reliable woman to count what each of you does." He continued to be met by gifts, generosity, and treasures from the time he left his mother's house until he entered to see Pharaoh's wife. When he came, she treated him with respect, honored him, and rejoiced in him. What she saw of his mother's good influence on him pleased her, and she said [to her women], "Take him to Pharaoh so that he may respect and honor him." But when they took him to Pharaoh, placing him on his lap, Moses took hold of Pharaoh's beard and pulled it. One of the enemies of God said, "Do you not see what God promised to Abraham, that He would cast you down and raise you up?" Pharaoh sent for the executioners to kill him, and that was one [456] of the trials, O Ibn Jubayr! after all the trials with which he was tried and enticed.

Then Pharaoh's wife came hurrying to Pharaoh and said to him, "What happened to you with this boy whom you gave to me?" He said, "Did you not see him claim that he would cast me down and raise me up?" She replied: "Let us set between us something by which the truth will become known. Bring two glowing coals and two pearls, and set them near him. If he falls upon the pearls and avoids the coals, you will know that he is sensible. But, if he takes the coals and does not want the pearls, then realize that no one will prefer glowing coals over pearls if he is sensible." Pharaoh brought these close to him, and Moses took the glowing coals. They were removed from him, for fear that they would burn his hand, but the woman said, "Do you not see?" Thus God turned [Pharaoh] away from [Moses] after what he had intended to do to him. *And God attains His purpose through him.*[209]

When he matured and became a man, he did not permit anyone of Pharaoh's people to treat the Israelites with injustice or forced labor, so they were completely secure from these. However, while he was walking one day in the vicinity of the town, suddenly he came across two men fighting: one of them an Israelite and the other a Pharaonite. The Israelite asked Moses for help against the Pharaonite, and Moses became extremely angry. His anger grew because the man had reached out to him, knowing Moses' standing with the

209. Qur'ān 65:2.

Israelites[210] and his protection of them.[211] Except for the mother of
[457] Moses, no one knew that that was because of anything but his nursing, unless God told Moses [himself] about that what He had told no one else. *Moses struck* the Pharaonite *with his fist and killed him,* but no one saw them except God and the Israelite. When he killed the man, Moses said: *"This is Satan's doing. He is an enemy, a clear misleader."* Then he said: *"My Lord, I have wronged my soul. Forgive me." Then He forgave him, for He is the Forgiving, Merciful One.*[212]

The next morning he arose in the city afraid, waiting for the news to spread. People came to Pharaoh, and he was told that the Israelites had killed a man from the people of Pharaoh, "So demand our due, and do not permit them to take liberties regarding that." He replied, "Seek his killer for me and whoever witnessed it, for it is not right for us to pass judgment without evidence or someone trustworthy." They sought that for him, and, while they were searching and not finding any evidence, Moses passed by the very same Israelite the next day, fighting with a Pharaonite, and the Israelite again asked him for help against the Pharaonite. By chance he had encountered Moses, who had regretted what he had done the previous day and hated what he had seen. Moses became angry and reached out his hand, wanting to strike the Pharaonite. Instead he said to the Israelite, because of what the man had done yesterday and today, *"Verily you are clearly a hothead!"*[213] The Israelite looked at Moses after he had spoken and saw that Moses was as angry as he had been the day before, when he had killed the Pharaonite, and the Israelite feared—after his saying *"Verily, you are clearly a hothead!"*[214]—that [his anger] would be intended for him. But it was not intended for him, only for the Pharaonite. However, the Israelite was afraid and held off the Pharaonite. The Israelite said, *"Would you kill me as you killed*
[458] *a person yesterday?"*[215] He said that only because he feared it was he

210. MS BM has, instead of "with the Israelites," "with Pharaoh. For what Moses did in advising the Israelites sincerely, his responding to them. . . ."
211. MS BM adds here "without knowing that he was an Israelite."
212. Qur'ān 28:15–16.
213. Qur'ān 28:18.
214. Qur'ān 28:18.
215. Qur'ān 28:19.

that Moses had in mind to kill. The two stopped fighting, and the Pharaonite went off to his people, relating to them the report he had heard from the Israelite when the latter said, "Would you kill me as you killed a person yesterday?"

Moses took the main road when Pharaoh sent out the executioners in search of him, certain that he would not escape them. A man from the party of Moses who lived in the farthest part of the city took a shortcut nearby and got to Moses first, informing him of this. And that was one of the trials, O Ibn Jubayr!

The account now returns to that of al-Suddī, who said: When [Moses] reached Midian, *he found there a tribe of men watering*[216] [their flocks]—meaning: a great many of the people watering [their flocks].

Abu ʿAmmār al-Marwazī[217] — al-Faḍl b. Mūsā[218] — al-Aʿmash[219] — al-Minhāl b. ʿAmr[220] — Saʿīd b. Jubayr: Moses left Egypt for Midian, between which lay a journey of eight nights. Saʿīd commented: "It is said to be like [the distance] from al-Kūfah to al-Baṣrah." He had no food except leaves of trees. He had left barefoot and did not reach Midian until the soles fell off his feet.

Abū Kurayb — ʿAththām[221] — al-Aʿmash — al-Minhāl — Saʿīd b. Jubayr—Ibn ʿAbbās, who said something similar.

The account returns to that of al-Suddī: *He found apart from them two women keeping back* — meaning, holding back their flocks of sheep. He asked them, *"What ails you?" The two said,* [459]
"We cannot give our flocks anything to drink until the shepherds go away, and our father is a very old man."[222] Moses had pity on them and went to the well. He took away a stone that was on the well, which it took a group from the people of Midian together to lift

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216. Qur'ān 28:23.

217. Abū ʿAmmār al-Marwazī. *Index*, 404. Not further identified.

218. Possibly al-Faḍl b. Mūsā al-Sinānī, from the region of Marw. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, 104.

219. Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Asadī, nicknamed al-Aʿmash, 61–148/681–765. A traditionist and Qur'ān "reader" from al-Kufah, following the system of Ibn Masʿūd. *EI²*, s.v. "al-Aʿmash"; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 238; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, III, 198; *GAS*, I, 9, 81, 310–11, 560.

220. Al-Minhāl b. ʿAmr, cf. *Index*, 574. Not further identified.

221. ʿAththām b. ʿAlī, Abū ʿAlī, d. 195/811, a reliable Kūfan traditionist. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 173.

222. Qur'ān 28:23.

up. Moses drew water for them with a bucket, and they gave their flocks water and returned [home] quickly, for usually they watered only from the overflow of the troughs. *Then* Moses *turned aside to the shade* of an acacia tree *and said, "My Lord! I am in need of whatever good You send down to me."*[223]

Ibn ʿAbbās said: As Moses spoke, if a man wanted he could see the greenness of his entrails from his intense hunger. He was only asking God for food.

Ibn Ḥumayd — Ḥakkām b. Salm[224] — ʿAnbasah[225] — Abū Ḥuṣayn[226]—Saʿīd b. Jubayr—Ibn ʿAbbās, about His words: *when he came to the water of Midian*[227] said: He came to the water, and the greenness of plants appeared in his stomach because of his emaciation. Then he said, *"My Lord! I am in need of whatever good You send down for me."*[228] [Ibn ʿAbbās interpreted this as] sufficient food.

The account returns to that of al-Suddī: When the two maidens returned quickly to their father, he asked them about the watering. They told him the story of Moses, so he sent one of them to him, and she came to him *walking shyly. She said, "Lo! my father bids you, that he may reward you with a payment for your having watered*
[460] *the flock for us."*[229] So he arose with her and said, "Go." So she walked before him, and the winds blew on her so he could look at her buttocks. Moses said to her, "Walk behind me, and guide me on the way [from there] if I make a mistake." When he came to the old man *and told him the story, he said: "Fear not! You have escaped from the wrongdoing folk." One of the two women said: "O my father! Hire him! For the best one you can hire is the strong, the trustworthy one."*[230] She was the maiden who had invited him. The old man said: "I had already seen his strength when he took away the stone, but did you see his trustworthiness? What do you know of that?"

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223. Qur'ān 28:24.
224. Ḥakkām b. Salm al-Rāzī. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 110.
225. ʿAnbasah b. Saʿīd al-Kūfī, of Umayyad descent, he transmitted from Abū Hurayrah. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 177.
226. Abū Ḥusayn al-Rāwī. *Index*, 169. Not further identified. Possibly the man mentioned by Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, IV, 2, 19.
227. Qur'ān 28:23.
228. Qur'ān 28:24.
229. Qur'ān 28:25.
230. Qur'ān 28:25–26.

She said, "I was walking in front of him, and he did not wish to wrong me, so he ordered me to walk behind him." The old man said to him; *"I would like to marry you to one of my two daughters, on the condition that you hire yourself to me [for (the term of) eight pilgrimages. Then, if you complete ten, it will be of your own accord, for I would not make it hard for you. God willing, you will find me of the righteous." He said, "That is between you and me], whichever of the two terms I fulfill*—whether eight or ten. *God is Guarantor over what we say."*[231] Ibn ʿAbbās said: The maiden who invited him was the one he married.

Then he ordered one of his daughters to bring him a staff, and she brought it to him. That was the staff that an angel in the form of a man had given to the old man. The maiden entered and got the staff and brought it out to him. When the old man saw it, he said to her, "No! Bring another one." So she threw it down and tried to grab another one, but only that one came to her hand. He kept sending her back, but every time she would come back with that one in her hand. When [Moses] saw this, he approached the staff, took it out, and herded the flocks with it. The old man regretted this, saying, "This was entrusted [to me]." So he went out to meet Moses, and when he [461] met him he said, "Give me the staff!" Moses replied, "It is my staff" and refused to give it to him. They argued over it, until they came to an agreement that they would appoint the first man who would meet them as an arbitrator. An angel came walking and judged between them, saying, "Place the staff on the ground, and whoever can lift it, it is his." The old man tried but could not lift it. Moses took it in his hand and lifted it up. So the old man left it to Moses, and he herded for the old man for ten years. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās said: Moses was more worthy of discharging the obligation.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī[232] related to me — al-Ḥumaydī [Ibn] ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr[233] — Sufyān — Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Abī

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231. Qur'ān 28:27–28. The section in brackets is omitted in al-Ṭabarī and replaced by "to where He says." In what seems almost a reflex of the story of Jacob's serving Laban for the right to marry his daughter, Shuʿayb has imposed a term of eight to ten years of service in these verses.

232. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Ṭūsī. *Index*, 18. Not further identified.

233. Al-Ḥumaydī [Ibn] ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. ʿĪsā, Abū Bakr, d. 219/834, a leading Meccan tradition authority, cited by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IV, 219; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, V, 215; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 368.

Ya'qūb[234] — al-Ḥakam b. Ābān[235] — 'Ikrimah — Ibn 'Abbās that the Messenger of God said: "I asked Gabriel which of the two terms [eight or ten years] did Moses serve, and he replied, 'The fuller and more complete of them.'"

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — Ḥakīm b. Jubayr[236] — Sa'īd b. Jubayr, who said: A Jew said to me in al-Kūfah, while I was preparing for the pilgrimage: "Verily, I consider you to be a man who pursues knowledge. Tell me, which of the two terms did Moses complete?" I said: "I do not know. But I am now going to the 'rabbi of the Arabs'[237] — meaning Ibn 'Abbās — and I will ask him
[462] about that." When I reached Mecca, I asked Ibn 'Abbās about that, telling him what the Jew had said. Ibn 'Abbās said: "He completed the greater of the two and the better of them. When a prophet promises something, he does not contradict it." Sa'īd said: I returned to Iraq and met the Jew, telling him about that, and he said, "He is right, but God did not reveal that to Moses."[238] And God is the One who knows best.

Ibn Wakī'[239] related to us — Yazīd[240] — al-Aṣbagh b. Zayd[241] — al-Qāsim b. Abī Ayyūb[242] — Sa'īd b. Jubayr, who said: A man from the Christian community asked me which of the two terms Moses completed, and I said, "I do not know," for at that time I did not know. Then I met with Ibn 'Abbās and mentioned to him what the Christian had asked me, and he said: "Didn't you know that eight were obligatory for him? A prophet cannot decrease this required number. Know that God made Moses keep his promise that he had made, so he completed ten years."

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234. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Ya'qūb. *Index*, 10. Not further identified.

235. Al-Ḥakam b. Ābān, d. 154/770. A native of Aden. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, V, 397.

236. Ḥakīm b. Jubayr al-Asadī. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VI, 228. No further information.

237. *Ḥabr/ḥibr al-'arab*. Usually used for a non-Muslim religious authority, *ḥabr* is derived from Hebrew *ḥaber*, a title of respect for outstanding rabbinic authorities. Among Arabic-speaking Jews it became a synonym for educated men and scholars, see *EI* VII, 1491–92. See also *EI²* I, s.v. "Ibn 'Abbās," where Ibn 'Abbās was called *ḥibr/ḥabr* and *al-baḥr* "the sea" because of the breadth of his learning.

238. Perhaps implying that none of this is included in the biblical account.

239. Sufyān b. Wakī', d. 247/861. Mentioned in Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, III, 276. Not further identified.

240. I.e., Yazīd b. Hārūn. See n. 99, above.

241. Al-Aṣbagh b. Zayd al-Warrāq al-Juhanī (client of al-Juhaynah), d. 159/776, a bookseller who copied Qur'ān texts and a weak transmitter of tradition, according to Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 61.

242. Al-Qāsim b. Abī Ayyūb. See n. 199, above.

Al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan[243] related to us—al-Ḥusayn[244]—Ḥajjāj[245]—Ibn Jurayj—Wahb b. Sulaymān al-Dhimārī[246]—Shuʿayb al-Jabāʾī,[247] who said: The names of the two maidens were Liyā and Zipporah, and the wife of Moses was Zipporah bt. Jethro,[248] the priest of Midian; and a priest *(kāhin)* is a rabbi *(ḥabr)*.[249]

Abū al-Sāʾib[250] related to me—Abū Muʿāwiyah[251]—al-Aʿmash—ʿAmr b. Murrah[252]—Abū ʿUbaydah,[253] who said: The one who hired Moses was Jethro, the nephew of Shuʿayb the prophet.

Ibn Wakīʿ related to us—al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār[254]—Ḥammād b. Salamah[255]—Abū Ḥamzah[256]—Ibn ʿAbbās, who said: The one who hired Moses was named Jethro (Yathrā), the ruler of Midian.

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243. Probably al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan, al-Hamadānī, d. 272/885, as given in the chain of transmitters in *GAS*, I, 31.

244. Al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd al-Maṣṣīṣī, d. 226/840. See *GAS*, I, 31.

245. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad al-Aʿwar, Abū Muḥammad, d. 206/821 in Baghdad. A reliable transmitter. *GAS*, I, 31; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, 75, 186.

246. Wahb b. Sulaymān al-Dhimarī, a scholar from Yemen. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 391; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1121; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, II, 129.

247. Shuʿayb al-Jabāʾī, a scholar from Yemen and contemporary of Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān, who died in 106/724. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, II, 12, s.v. "Jabaʾ."

248. Ṣafūrah bt. Yathrā in Arabic. See n. 166, above, where the question of the identity of Shuʿayb and Jethro is discussed; and see the continued discussion in the text. Liyā (not mentioned in the Bible) may be a reflex of Leah, the first wife of Jacob. See n. 231, above.

249. The Arabic *kāhin* is used for Hebrew *kohen*, with which it is etymologically connected, although the *kāhin* was a diviner or soothsayer, rather than a priest. For *ḥabr*, see n. 237, above.

250. Abū al-Sāʾib Salm b. Junādah. *Index*, 221. Not further identified.

251. Abū Muʿāwiyah al-Ḍarīr, Muḥammad b. Khāzim, 113–94/731–810. A blind memorizer and reliable transmitter of many traditions, who died in al-Kūfah. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, IX, 137; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 273; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, VI, 345.

252. ʿAmr b. Murrah al-Jamalī, d. 116 or 118/734 or 736. From Madhḥij in Yemen. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 220.

253. Abū ʿUbaydah Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā, 110–209/728–824. A Baṣran noted for his learning, brought to Baghdad by Hārūn al-Rashīd; an author of numerous works. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, X, 246; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, many citations.

254. Al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-ʿAṭṭār, a Baṣran who settled in Mecca and transmitted many traditions. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 367.

255. Ḥammād b. Salamah b. Dīnār, Abū Salamah, d. 164 or 166/781 or 783, at al-Baṣrah. A noted mufti and scholar who transmitted many traditions, often ones that were disapproved. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 39; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 993; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, II, 302.

256. So also in al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 154, but Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 400, has Abū Jamrah instead of Abū Ḥamzah. If the former, he is Abū Jamrah al-Ḍubaʿī, Naṣr b. ʿImrān, d. 127/745. A noted trusted transmitter of tradition from al-Baṣrah, later Khurāsān. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 6; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, X, 431; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, VII, 348.

[463] Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥaytham Abū al-ʿĀliyah[257] related to me — Abū Qutaybah[258] — Ḥammād b. Salamah — Abū Ḥamzah[259] — Ibn ʿAbbās, who said: The name of the father of Moses' wife was Jethro (Yathrā).

The account returns to that of al-Suddī: *Then, when Moses had fulfilled his term and was journeying with his family,*[260] he erred in the way. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās said: "It was winter. A fire became visible to him and he thought that it was fire, but it was the light of God. *He said to his family, 'Stay here. Lo! I see in the distance a fire; perhaps I may bring you tidings from it.*[261] And if I do not find any tidings *I shall bring you a borrowed flame so that you may warm yourselves.'*"[262] [Ibn ʿAbbās] said: "[That was] because of the cold. But, when he reached the flame, he was called from the right side of the valley from the tree *in the blessed field.*[263] *'Blessed is whoever is in the fire and whoever is around it.'*[264] And, when Moses heard the call, he was startled and said, 'Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds!' And there was proclaimed: *'O Moses! lo! I, verily I, am God, the Lord of the Worlds.*[265] *What is that in your right hand, O Moses?' He said, 'This is my staff, on which I lean and with which I beat down leaves for my sheep.'*[266] He is saying: 'I would beat the leaves of the trees with it, and they would fall down for the sheep. *'And I have other uses.'*[267] He means to say, 'Other needs.' 'I carry on the staff the provision bag and the waterskin.' God said to him, *'Cast it down, O Moses!' So he cast it down, and lo! it was a serpent gliding.*[268] *But, when Moses saw it writhing as though it were a demon, he turned to flee and did not wait.'*[269] He means to say: 'He did not wait.'[270] It was said to him, *'O Moses! Do not fear! The messengers*

257. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥaytham, Abū al-ʿĀliyah. *Index*, 39. Not further identified.
258. Abū Qutaybah. *Index*, 460. Not further identified.
259. Abū Jamrah (?). See n. 256, above.
260. Qur'ān 28:29.
261. Qur'ān 28:29.
262. Qur'ān 27:7.
263. Qur'ān 28:30.
264. Qur'ān 27:8.
265. Qur'ān 28:30.
266. Qur'ān 20:17–18.
267. Qur'ān 20:17–18.
268. Qur'ān 20:19–20.
269. Qur'ān 27:10; 28:31.
270. Qur'ān has *yuʿaqqib*, which al-Ṭabarī glosses by *yantazir*.

do not fear in My presence.[271] *Draw near, and do not fear. Verily! you are one of those who are secure. Thrust your hand into the bosom of your robe; [it will come forth white without hurt. And guard your heart from fear.] Then there shall be two proofs from your* [464]
Lord,'[272] In other words, the staff and the hand are [the] two signs because Moses had prayed to his Lord and said, *'My Lord! Lo! I killed a man among them, and I fear that they will kill me. My brother Aaron is more eloquent than I in speech. Therefore send him with me as a helper to confirm me*—he is saying, 'In order that he confirm me.'—*'for I fear that they will consider me a liar.'*[273] He had said to them, *'I have committed a crime,' and I fear that they will kill me,*[274] meaning, for the slain man. *He said, 'We will strengthen your arm with your brother, and We will give both of you power'*—and the power is the proof—*'so that they cannot reach you because of Our signs. You two, and those who follow you, will be the victors.*[275] Moses and Aaron, come [both of you] to [Pharaoh] and say, *"Verily, we are messengers of the Lord of the Worlds."*[276]

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah: *When Moses completed his term,*[277] he went out—according to what was mentioned to me by Ibn Isḥāq—Wahb b. Munabbih the Yemenite,[278] according to what was mentioned to him about Moses—with his flocks, his fire drill, and in his hand his staff, with which he beat leaves down for his flocks in the daytime. When night fell, he struck a fire with his fire drill and slept near it with his family and flocks. When morning came, he set out with his family and flocks, leaning on his staff, which had, according to what was described to me from Wahb b. Munabbih, two prongs at its top and a hook at its end.

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—one of his friends who could not be doubted [as to veracity]—that Ka'b al-

271. Qur'ān 27:10.
272. Qur'ān 28:31–32. The omitted portion of the verse is given here in brackets.
273. Qur'ān 28:33–34.
274. Qur'ān 26:14.
275. Qur'ān 28:35.
276. Qur'ān 26:16.
277. Qur'ān 28:29.
278. Wahb b. Munabbih, Abū 'Abdallāh, ca. 17–110 or 114, 638–728 or 732. A Yemenite Muslim scholar of Jewish origin who was noted for his acquaintance with pre-Muslim traditions, especially from Jewish sources. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, V, 395; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, XI: 166; *GAS*, I, 305–7; *EI*, 16, 341–42; al-Zirikli, *op. cit.*, IX, 150; Dodge, *op. cit.*, II, 1121.

Aḥbār[279] came to Mecca where ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿAṣ[280] was, and Kaʿb said: "Ask him about three things, and, if he tells you, then he is learned. Ask him about something that God placed on earth for mankind from Paradise; and ask him what was the first thing placed on the earth; and what was the first tree planted in the earth?" ʿAbdallāh was asked about them, and he said: "The first thing God
[465] placed on earth for mankind from Paradise was this Black Corner.[281] As for the first thing placed on earth, it was Barahūt[282] in Yemen, where the corpses of the unbelievers will come. As for the first tree that God planted on earth, it was the boxthorn from which Moses cut his staff." When this reached Kaʿb, he said: "The man is right, a scholar, by God!"

The narrator continued: When the night came on which God wished to show His favor upon Moses and on which He started him on his prophethood and His speaking to him, Moses took the wrong road, so that he did not know where he was going. He took out his fire drill to kindle a fire for his family so that they might sleep around it and in the morning they would awaken and he could determine his path's direction. However, his fire drill became inert and would not strike a fire for him. He continued to strike it until, [when][283] it tired him, a fire glowed. When he saw it, *he said to his family: "Wait! Lo! I discern a fire. Perhaps I may bring you a brand from it or may find guidance at the fire"*[284]—with a brand, so they might warm themselves, and guidance about knowledge of the path on which we were misled by the description of a knowledgeable one.[285] So he moved toward it, and behold! it was in a creeping bush

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279. Kaʿb al-Aḥbār b. Mātiʿ, Abū Isḥāq, d. 32/652. A Yemenite Jew who converted to Islam under ʿUmar, he emigrated to Medina, then to Syria, and became a noted source, often quoted, for Jewish and Yemenite traditions. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, 156; *EI*², s.v. "Kaʿb al-Aḥbār." 17; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, VIII, 438–40; *EJ*, 10:488; I. Ben Zeev, *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār*; *GAS*, I, 304–5.

280. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, 65/616–84. An early convert to Islam and source of many traditions from the Prophet, he served as governor of al-Kūfah briefly under Muʿāwiyah. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, IV, 2, 8–13; *GAS*, I, 84; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IV, 250.

281. *Al-rukn al-aswad*, i.e., the corner of the Kaʿbah in which the Black Stone is embedded.

282. MS C has Barahūd. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I, 598: a valley in Yemen in which the Prophet said the souls of the unbelievers and hypocrites will be placed.

283. The insertion of *idhā* "when" is suggested by the editor of the Arabic text, al-Ṭabarī, I, 465 n. *f*, and appears in Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 402.

284. Qurʾān 20:10.

285. Text has *khabīr*, instead of *khayr* "goodness." See al-Ṭabarī, I, 465 n. *h*; Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 402.

—although some among the scriptuaries say it was in a boxthorn. When he came near, it drew back from him. When he saw it draw back, he retreated from it, feeling a sense of fear. When he wanted to leave, it drew near him. Then something was spoken from the bush. When he heard the voice, he listened, and God said to him, *"Take off your shoes, for lo! you are in the holy valley of Ṭuwā,"*[286] and he threw them down. Then He said, *"What is that in your right hand, O Moses?"*[287] [Moses] replied, *"This is my staff on which I lean, and with which I beat down branches for my sheep, and wherein I find other uses'*—that is, other benefits. *He said, "Cast it down, O Moses!" So he cast it down, and lo! it was a serpent gliding.*[288] Its two prongs became the serpent's mouth; its hook became a crest on its back, which shook, and it had fangs. It was as God wished it to be. Moses saw this fearful thing and turned to flee, and he did not wait. [466]

His Lord called to him: "O Moses! Approach, *and fear not. We shall return it to its former state"*—that is, its state as a staff, as it had been. When he approached, He said: *"Grasp it and do not fear.*[289] Put your hand into its mouth." Moses was wearing a long garment of wool, so he wrapped his hand in his sleeve, because he was terrified of the serpent. It was proclaimed: "Cast your sleeve from your hand!" and he cast it off. Then he placed his hand between the serpent's jaws. When he did so, he seized it, and lo! It became his staff, with his hand between its two forks, where he usually grasped it, and its hook in its place. There was nothing of it he did not recognize.

Then it was said to him: *"Thrust your hand into your bosom; it will come forth white without injury"*[290]—that is, without leprosy—for Moses was a ruddy man, hook-nosed, curly-haired, and tall. So he placed his hand into his bosom and then brought it out, white as snow. He returned it to his bosom, and it came out as it had previously been in color. Then He said: *"These shall be two proofs from your Lord to Pharaoh and his chiefs. Lo! They are evil-living people." He said: "My Lord! I killed one of their men, and I fear that they will kill me. My brother Aaron is more eloquent than I in*

286. Qur'ān 20:12.
287. Qur'ān 20:17.
288. Qur'ān 20:18–20.
289. Qur'ān 20:21.
290. Qur'ān 20:22; cf. 27:12, 28:32.

speech. So send him with me as a helper to confirm me"—that is,
[467] to explain to them what I say, for he will clarify what they do not understand. *He said: "We will strengthen your arm with your brother, and We will give to you both power, so that they cannot reach you for Our signs. You two, and those who follow you, will be the winners."*[291]

The account returns to that of al-Suddī: Moses returned to his family, and together they journeyed toward Egypt until they arrived during the night. He was given hospitality by his mother, but he did not recognize them.[292] He came to them on a night during which they were eating *ṭifshīl*,[293] and he camped beside the house. Then Aaron came and noticed his guest. He asked his mother about him, and she told him that he was a guest. He invited Moses and ate with him. While they were sitting and conversing, Aaron asked him: "Who are you?" He replied: "I am Moses." So both stood up, and each embraced the other.

When they had become familiar with each other, Moses said to him: "O Aaron! Go to Pharaoh with me, for God has sent us to him." Aaron responded: "I hear and obey!" But their mother arose and shouted, saying, "I beg you by God not to go to Pharaoh, for he will kill you." But they refused and went off to him during the night. They arrived at the gate and knocked. Pharaoh was startled, as was the gatekeeper, and Pharaoh said: "Who is that knocking at my gate at this hour?" The gatekeeper looked down upon them and spoke to them. Moses said to him: *"I am the messenger of the Lord of the Worlds!"*[294] The gatekeeper was frightened, and he went to Pharaoh and informed him, saying: "Here is a madman who claims that he is the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds." Pharaoh said, "Let him enter." Moses entered and said, "Verily, I am the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds," and you must *send with me the Children of Israel.*" Pharaoh recognized him and said, *"Did we not rear you*

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291. Qur'ān 28:32–35.

292. *Ya'rifuhum* or *yu'rifuhum* "he had not informed them." But Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I, 180, has *wa-lā ya'rifūnahu* "and they did not recognize him." See the very different account in al-Tha'labī, *op. cit.*, 160.

293. A dish of grains. See the note in *Glossarium*, CCCXLI, s.v. *ṭafshīl*. See al-Ṭabarī, trans. Perlmann, 66 n. 171, where it is related to the Aramaic *tabshīla*, a kind of broth.

294. Qur'ān 43:46.

among us as a child? And you spent many years of your life among us, and you did your deed that you did. You are one of the unbelievers together with us in our religion, which you denounce!" Moses said: *"I did it then when I was one who is astray. Then I fled from you when I feared you. My Lord gave me rule* (and this rule is prophecy) *and appointed me one of the messengers. And this is a favor with which you reproach me, that you have enslaved the Israelites*[295] and you reared me previously as a child." [468]

Pharaoh said: "What is the Lord of the Worlds?[296] *And who is your Lord, O Moses?" He replied: "Our Lord is He who gave everything its nature, then guided it."*[297] He means to say: He gave every beast its mate, then guided it to mate. Pharaoh said to him: *"If you have brought a sign, then bring it forth, if you are one of the truthful."*[298] This was after he had said to him some words that God had mentioned. Moses said: *"Even though I bring you something plain?" Pharaoh said: "Bring it, if you are one of the truthful." Then he flung down his staff, and it became clearly a serpent*[299] (the serpent is a male snake), which opened its mouth and placed its lower jaw on the ground and its upper on the walls of the palace. It then turned toward Pharaoh to seize him. When Pharaoh saw it, he was terrified and jumped up, voiding excrement, although he had not previously done so.[300] He screamed, "O Moses! Seize it and I will believe in you. I will send the Israelites with you." So Moses grabbed the serpent, and it became a staff once more. *And he drew forth his hand*—bringing it out of his bosom—*and lo! It was white to the beholders.*[301] Moses left his presence after that, and Pharaoh refused to believe in him or to send the Israelites with him. Instead, he said to his people: *"O Chiefs! I do not know that you have a god other than me, so kindle a fire for me, O Haman,*[302] *to bake the mud; and set* [469]

295. Qur'ān 26:17–22.
296. Qur'ān 26:23.
297. Qur'ān 20:50.
298. Qur'ān 7:106.
299 Qur'ān 26:30–32.
300. This was supposedly a sign of Pharaoh's superhuman nature. See p. 55 and nn. 314–16, below.
301. Qur'ān 26:33, 7:106.
302. One of the prototypical figures of evil in the Qur'ān and Islamic lore, Haman is transferred from his biblical locale in Persia to the palace of Pharaoh. See *EI*², s.v. "Hāmān."

up a lofty tower so that I may look at the god of Moses."[303] When the lofty edifice was built for him, he climbed to the top of it, called for an arrow, and shot it toward heaven. It returned to him, stained with blood. So he said, "I have killed the God of Moses."[304]

Bishr b. Muʿādh — Yazīd b. Zurayʿ[305] — Saʿīd — Qatādah: *So kindle a fire for me, O Haman, to bake the mud;*[306] he said [this means] he was the first to bake the bricks with which to build a tower.

As for Ibn Isḥāq, he said what Ibn Ḥumayd related — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq: Moses went out when God sent him until he reached Egypt and Pharaoh, both he and his brother Aaron, until they stood at Pharaoh's gate, requesting to enter, saying: "We are two Messengers of the Lord of the Worlds, so permit us to see this man." According to what we have heard, they remained for two years, spending mornings and evenings at his gate, while Pharaoh knew nothing of this, for no one had the audacity to inform him. This continued until a jester of his, one who amused him and made him laugh, entered to him and said: "O King! At the gate there is a man who says something strange, claiming that he has a god other than you." Pharaoh said: "Let him be brought in!" So Moses entered, with his brother Aaron; and in his hand was his staff. When he stood before Pharaoh, he said to him: *"I am the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds."*[307] But Pharaoh recognized him and said, *"Did we not rear you among us as a child? And you dwelt many years of your life among us. And you did your deed that you did, and you are one of the unbelievers." He replied: "I did it then when I was one [who is] astray."*[308] — that is, erring — "I did not wish to do that." Then Moses approached him, denying to Pharaoh what he mentioned of his favor to Moses while he was with him, and said: *"And this is a favor with which you reproved me, that you have enslaved the Israelites*[309] —
[470] that is, you regarded them as slaves, taking their sons from them,

303. Qur'ān 28:38.

304. See the story of Nimrod, who also wanted to reach God in heaven. Al-Ṭabarī, I, 321–23 (trans. Brinner, 107–9).

305. Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, Abū Muʿāwiyah, 102–82/720–98. A Baṣran considered a trustworthy transmitter of *Ḥadīth*. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 44; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, XI, 325–28; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IX, 235.

306. Qur'ān 28:38.

307. Qur'ān 7:104.

308. Qur'ān 26:18–20.

309. Qur'ān 26:22. Probably to be understood as "and this is a 'favor' you granted me? That you enslaved. . . ."

stealing from whomever you wished, and killing whomever you wished. Indeed, only this brought me to your house and to you." *Pharaoh said: "And what is the Lord of the Worlds?"*[310] That is, he asked him to describe his God Who sent him, or "What is this God of yours?" *Moses said: "Lord of the heavens and the earth and all that is between them, if only you had sure belief." Pharaoh said to those around him* of his chiefs, *"Do you not hear?"*[311]—namely, disputing what he had said—"He has no god but me." *Moses said: "Your Lord and the Lord of your forefathers*[312] Who created your forefathers and created you from your fathers." *Pharaoh said: "Lo! Your messenger, who has been sent to you, is indeed a madman"*—that is, this is not true when he claims that you have a god other than me. *Moses said: "Lord of the East and the West and all that is between them, if you would only understand"*—that is, He is creator of the East and the West and all created things between them, if you would only understand. *Pharaoh said: "If you choose a god other than me*—to worship other than me and abandon my worship—*I shall certainly place you among the prisoners." He replied: "Even if I show you something plain?"*—that is, by which you will acknowledge my truth and your falsehood. *Pharaoh said: "Produce it then, if you are truthful!" Then he flung down his staff, and it became a serpent manifest*[313] and filled all that was between the two ranks of Pharaoh's men, its mouth open. The crook of the staff had become a crest on its back, and the people scattered before it. Pharaoh left his throne, adjuring Moses by his Lord. Then Moses placed his hand in his bosom and withdrew it white as snow. Then he returned it to its [471] condition. Moses placed his hand between the serpent's jaws, and it became a staff in his hand, the latter being between its prongs and its crook at the bottom as it had been. Pharaoh was unable to control his bowels, although they claim he used to remain for five or six days not seeking the privy—meaning the latrine—as other people do, and that was one of the things that induced him to say that there was not like him anyone among the people.[314]

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310. Qur'ān 26:23.
311. Qur'ān 26:24–25.
312. Qur'ān 26:26.
313. Qur'ān 26:27–32.
314. For other references to Pharaoh's bowels and his reactions to these events, see p. 53 and n. 300, above.

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq: I was told by Wahb b. Munabbih the Yemenite that [Pharaoh] had diarrhea[315] for twenty-odd nights until he almost expired; then it ceased.[316] He said to his chiefs: *"Lo! This is verily a sage wizard"* — that is, there is no wizard more competent at magic than Moses — *[who would drive you out of your land by his magic.] "Now what do you counsel?*[317] Shall I kill him?" *And a believer of Pharaoh's family [who hid his faith] said* — a pious servant whose name was, as they assert, Ḥabrak — *"Would you kill a man because he said: 'My Lord is Allāh,' and has brought you clear proofs from His Lord*[318] with his staff and his hand?" Then he made them afraid of God's punishment and warned them of what had happened to peoples before them, saying: *"O my people! Your dominion is today the uppermost in the land. But who would save us from the wrath of God should it reach us?" Pharaoh said: "I only show you what I think, and I only guide you to a wise policy"*[319] The chiefs of his people said, the power of God having disenchanted them, *"Put him off, him and his brother, and send into the cities summoners, who will bring to you every know-*
[472] *ing wizard"*[320] — that is, outnumber him with wizards. "Perhaps you may find among the wizards someone who can perform what he does."

Moses and Aaron had left Pharaoh after Moses had shown them some of God's powers. Pharaoh immediately[321] sent throughout his domain and did not leave a single sorcerer under his rule whom he did not have brought. I have been told, but God knows best, that he gathered fifteen thousand sorcerers, and when they assembled before him he gave them his command, saying: "A sorcerer has come to us unlike any we have seen before. If you are able to outdo him, I shall honor you and prefer you and bring you nearer than all the people of my kingdom." They said: "Will all that indeed be ours if we outdo him?" He replied, "Yes." They said, "Then set a date for us to come together, the sorcerer and us."

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315. *Fa-mashā* (Ms Tn adds *baṭnuhu*). See *Glossarium*, CDLXXVI, s.v. *mshy: alvi profluvio laboravit;* Dozy, *op. cit.*, II, 604, *aller à la selle.*

316. *Istamsaka.* See *Glossarium*, CDLXXXIV, s.v. *msk: se sustinuit, se cohibuit. MS C has istaballa* "was cured."

317. Qur'ān 26:34–35. Words in brackets omitted in text.

318. Qur'ān 40:28. Words in brackets omitted in text.

319. Qur'ān 40:29.

320. Qur'ān 26:36–37.

321. *Makanahu.* See *Glossarium*, CDLX, s.v. *kwn: illico.*

The chiefs of the sorcerers whom Pharaoh had assembled for Moses were Sābūr,[322] ʿĀdūr,[323] Ḥaṯḥaṯ,[324] and Muṣfā[325] — four in number. They were the ones who believed when they saw what they did of God's power. All the sorcerers believed, and they said to Pharaoh, when he threatened them with death and crucifixion, *"We will not choose you above the clear proofs that have come unto us and above Him Who created us. So decree what you will decree."*[326] So Pharaoh sent to Moses to *"appoint a meeting between you and me that neither of us will fail to keep, at a place convenient to both."* [Moses] *said: "Your meeting will be the day of the feast"* — a feast day on which Pharaoh would go forth — *"let the people assemble when the sun is high*[327] to attend my affair and yours." Pharaoh assembled the people for that gathering. Then he ordered the sorcerers, saying: *"Come in ranks. Whoever is uppermost this day will be indeed successful"*[328] — that is, the successful one will be he who is greater than his companion. [473]

Fifteen thousand sorcerers, each with his cords[329] and staves, arranged themselves in ranks. Moses went forth, his brother with him, leaning on his staff, until he reached the assembly, while Pharaoh was in his assembly with the noblest people of his domain. The people crowded around Pharaoh. Moses said to the sorcerers when he came to them: *"Woe unto you! Do not invent a lie against God, lest He wipe you out by some punishment. He who lies fails miserably."*[330] The sorcerers disputed among themselves, and one said to the other in secret, *"Lo! These are two sorcerers who would drive you out of your country by their magic and destroy your best traditions."*[331] Then they said, *"O Moses! Either throw first, or let us be the first to throw." He said: "Nay, but you throw!" Then lo! Their*

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322. Also Shānūr, Sālūr, Schâboun. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 472 n. *e*; Sātūr in Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 408.

323. Also Ghādhūr, Gâboun. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 472 n. *f*; ʿĀdūr, Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 408.

324. Also Ḥaṯḥaṯah, Hatîl, al-Ṭabarī I, 472 n. *g*.

325. Also Muḍʿā, al-Ṭabarī I, 472 n. *h*. *Addenda* I, DLXXXIV, lists five persons: Sābūr, Ghādūr, Ḥafẓ, Khaṭaṭ, and Muṣfā.

326. Qur'ān 20:72.

327. Qur'ān 20:58–59.

328. Qur'ān 20:64.

329. Cords of rope were used in divination and imprecation, e.g., blowing on knots, as in Qur'ān 113:4.

330. Qur'ān 20:61.

331. Qur'ān 20:63.

cords and their staves, by their magic, appeared to him as though they ran.[332]

The first people they dazzled by their sorcery were Moses and Pharaoh, and then the people afterward. Then each man among them threw whatever cord or staff he had in his hand, each becoming a serpent as big as a mountain, which filled the valley, one mounted on the other. *Moses conceived a fear in his soul,*[333] and he said, "By God! Verily they were staves in their hands, and they became serpents. [But] this staff of mine will not run" or so he had a presentiment. Therefore God inspired him, *"Throw what is in your right hand! It will eat up what they have made. Lo! What they have made is but a sorcerer's artifice, and a sorcerer shall not succeed in whatever he may attain."*[334] Moses was comforted and threw his
[474] staff from his hand. It faced their cords and staves that they had thrown — which were running serpents to the eyes of Pharaoh and the people — and began to overtake and swallow them, serpent by serpent, until there were neither few nor many of what they had thrown remaining in the valley. Then Moses grabbed it, and it became his staff in his hand, as it had been previously. *Then the sorcerers were cast down prostrating, saying: "We believe in the Lord of Aaron and Moses.*[335] If this were sorcery, it would not have overcome us." Pharaoh said to them, regretfully, having seen the clear victory: *"Have you put faith in him before I give you leave? Verily he is your chief who taught you magic. Now surely I shall cut off your hands and your feet alternately [and crucify you on the trunks of palm trees, and you will know for certain which of us has sterner and more lasting punishment." They said: "We do not choose you above the clear proofs that have come to us, and above Him Who created us], so decree what you will decree"* — namely, do what seems best to you — *"you will only end for us the life of this world* — over which alone you have power, but you have no power thereafter. *Verily, we believe in our Lord, that He may forgive our sins and the sorcery into which you forced us. God is better and more last-*

332. Qur'ān 20:65–66.
333. Qur'ān 20:67.
334. Qur'ān 20:69.
335. Qur'ān 20:70.

ing!"[336]—meaning, better than you as to reward and more lasting as to punishment.

God's enemy turned away defeated and cursed, but he refused to do anything but persist in disbelief and persevere in evildoing. God carried out signs against him and seized him with famine[337] and sent upon him the flood.

The account returns to that of al-Suddī. As for al-Suddī, he said in his account: It is mentioned that the signs by which God tested the people of Pharaoh came before the meeting of Moses with the sorcerers. When the arrow returned to him stained with blood, Pharaoh said, "We have slain the God of Moses," whereupon God sent upon them the flood,[338] which was heavy rain; everything they possessed [475] drowned. They cried out, "O Moses! Pray to your Lord to relieve us, and we will believe in you, and we will send the Israelites with you." God relieved them of the flood, and their seeds sprouted. They said, "But now it does not please us that we are not rained upon!" Then God sent locusts upon them that ate their produce. So they asked Moses again to pray to his Lord that He relieve them of the locusts, saying they would then believe in Him. Moses prayed, and He relieved them while a remnant was left of their standing grain. So they said, "We shall not believe, for a remnant is left of our grain." Then God sent upon them tiny locusts that are vermin, and they devoured the land entirely and entered between the clothing and skin of a person, biting him. A person would be eating food when it would become filled with vermin. [It got to the point where] one of them would build a pillar of bricks and plaster and make it slippery, so that nothing could climb on top of it, and he would put the food on top; but, when he climbed up to eat it, he found it full of vermin. No misfortune had ever befallen them that was worse than the vermin. And this is the *rijz*[339] or terror that God mentions in the Qur'ān as having stricken them. They asked Moses to pray to his Lord to remove this terror from them, saying they would then have faith in Him. Yet, when He removed it from them, they refused to believe. So God sent upon them blood. An Israelite and an Egyptian would drink from the

336. Qur'ān 20:71–73. Words in brackets omitted in text.
337. Based on Qur'ān 7:130.
338. Based on Qur'ān 7:134.
339. See Qur'ān 7:134.

same water, but the water of the Egyptian would become blood, while that of the Israelite would remain water.

When this became too difficult for them, they asked Moses to remove it and they would have faith in Him. Yet when he removed it from them, they refused to have faith. That is when God said: *"But when We eased them of the torment, behold! They broke their word"*[340]—about what they had pledged. That is when He said: *"We* [476] *straitened Pharaoh's people with famine"*—that is, hunger—*"and the dearth of fruits, that perhaps they might heed."*[341] Then God inspired the two of them: *"Speak to him a gentle word, that perhaps he may heed or fear."*[342] They came to him, and Moses said to him: "O Pharaoh! Do you desire that I should grant that your youth will not fade to senility, that your dominion will never be removed from you, and that the pleasure of women, of drinking, and of riding be restored to you? And that when you die, you will enter the Garden? Trust me." These words made an impression on him—that is "the gentle word"—and he said, "Stay where you are until Haman comes." When Haman came, he said to him, "This man came to me." He said, "Who is he?" He said that, although previously [Pharaoh] had only called Moses "the sorcerer," when that day came he did not call him "the sorcerer." Pharaoh said, "Moses." Haman asked, "What did he say to you?" He replied, "He said to me such-and-such." Haman asked, "And what did you reply to him?" He said, "I said, '[Wait] until Haman comes and I take counsel of him.'" Haman found him weak and said: "My opinion of you was better than that. You will become a slave who serves, after having been a master who is served."

That was when Pharaoh went out and addressed his people, assembling them before him, and said: *"I am your Lord the Highest!"*[343] Between his saying *"I do not know that you have a god other than me"*[344] and his words *"I am your Lord the Highest,"*[345] forty years had passed. Then he said to his people: *"Lo! Verily this is a knowing sorcerer who would drive you out of your land with his*

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340. Qur'ān 43:50.
341. Qur'ān 7:130. Qur'ān has *yadhdhakarūna* "they might heed," but text and MSS have *yarji'ūna* "turn back." Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 411, uses Qur'ānic text.
342. Qur'ān 20:44.
343. Qur'ān 79:24.
344. Qur'ān 28:38.
345. Qur'ān 79:24.

magic. Now what do you counsel?" They said, "Put him off, him and his brother, and send into the cities summoners, who will bring unto you every knowing sorcerer."[346] Pharaoh said, *"Have you come* [477]
to us to drive us from our land [with your magic], O Moses? But surely we can produce magic like it. So appoint a meeting between us and you, which neither we nor you will fail to keep, at a place equally convenient" — meaning, equitable. Moses said: *"Your meeting shall be on the day of the feast, and let the people assemble when the sun has risen high."* That was a feast day for them. *Pharaoh went and gathered his strength, then returned.*[347] He sent out summoners in the cities, who assembled the sorcerers to him and assembled the people to watch. *It was said: "Are you [also] gathering?"* [They said:] *"So we shall be able to follow the sorcerers" [if they are the winners. And when the sorcerers came they said to Pharaoh:] "Will there surely be a reward for us if we are the winners?"* — meaning, a gift that you will give us. *He said: "Yes, you will surely then be one of those brought near me."*[348] *Moses said to them: "Woe to you! Do not invent a lie against God, lest He extirpate you by some punishment"*—meaning, destroy you by a punishment. *They debated with one another what they must do, and they kept their counsel secret* from Moses and Aaron. They said in their counsel: *"Lo! These are two sorcerers who would drive you out of your land with their sorcery and destroy your best traditions"*[349]—meaning, destroy the noblest of your people. Moses and the chief of the sorcerers met, and Moses said to him: "Tell me, if I overcome you, will you believe in me and bear witness that what I have brought is true?" He said: "Yes." The sorcerer then said: "Verily, tomorrow I shall bring magic that no magic can overcome. By God! If you overcome me, I shall believe in you and bear witness that what you say is true." Pharaoh was observing them, for this is Pharaoh's speech: *"This is a plot that you plotted in the city* ... when you two met to support each other ... *in order to drive its people from it."*[350] They said, *"O Moses! Either throw first, or let us be the first to throw."*[351] Moses said to them, "Throw," and they threw their [478]

346. Qur'ān 26:34–37.
347. Qur'ān 20:57–60. Words in brackets omitted in text.
348. Qur'ān 26:40–42. Words in brackets omitted in text.
349. Qur'ān 20:61–63.
350. Qur'ān 7:123.
351. Qur'ān 7:115.

cords and staves. They were thirty-odd thousand men,[352] not one of them without a cord and staff. *When they had thrown, they cast a spell upon the eyes of the people and frightened them,*[353] meaning, they terrified them. *Moses conceived a fear in his mind,* but God inspired him: *"Do not fear! ... Throw what is in your right hand. It will eat up what they have created."*[354] So Moses threw his staff, and it ate every one of their serpents. When they saw that, they prostrated themselves and said: *"We believe in the Lord of the Worlds, the Lord of Moses and Aaron!"*[355] Pharaoh said: *"Verily, I shall cut off your hands and feet on alternate sides and shall indeed crucify you on trunks of palm trees."*[356] He massacred them and cut them up, as ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās related, when they said: *"Our Lord! Grant unto us steadfastness and make us die as those who have surrendered unto You."*[357] It is said that in the morning they were sorcerers and by the end of the day they were martyrs.

Then Pharaoh came out to the Israelites, and his people said to him: *"Will you let Moses and his people make mischief in the land and flout you and your gods?"*[358] His gods, according to what Ibn ʿAbbās asserts, were cattle. Whenever they saw a beautiful cow, he would order them to worship it. Therefore *"he produced for them a calf. ... "*[359]

Then God commanded Moses to lead out the Israelites. He said: *"Take away My servants by night, for you will be pursued."*[360] Moses ordered the Israelites to go out and to borrow jewelry from the Egyptians. He also ordered that no man call out to another and that they should leave the lamps lit in their houses until morning;[361] whoever went out would cause damage.[362]

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352. MS Tn has "they were thirty"; al-Thaʿlabī, ms. cited in al-Ṭabarī, I, 478 n. b, f. 129 b, has "and al-Suddī said: 'They were thirty {*thalāthūn* [sic!]}-odd thousand'" {corrected to *thalāthīn* in al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 164}.

353. Qur'ān 7:116.

354. Qur'ān 20:67.

355. Qur'ān 7:121–22, 26:47–48.

356. Qur'ān 20:71; cf. 7:124.

357. Qur'ān 7:126.

358. Qur'ān 7:127.

359. Qur'ān 20:88.

360. Qur'ān 26:52.

361. *Yusrijū*, lit. "Kindle light." Not calling out and leaving the lamps lit seem to be intended to avoid arousing the suspicions of the Egyptians.

362. The Arabic has *wa-anna man kharaja adhan*: meaning unclear, probably connected with the previous phrase. Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 414, has *idhā* instead of *adhan*.

Mūsā [b. Hārūn] — ʿAmr [b. Ḥammād[363] — Asbāṭ — al-Suddī][364] says: "That whoever went out" — but Mūsā says ʿAmr says: "I think it should read 'and he who went out ... ' said," "He ordered whoever went out to smear his door with his palm covered with [479] blood to show that he had left. Also God would send out every child of adultery among the Egyptians from the Israelites to the Israelites and would send out every child of adultery among the Israelites from the Egyptians to the Egyptians, so that they would go to their fathers."

Then Moses went out with the Israelites by night, while the Egyptians were unaware. Before that, they had prayed to God against the Egyptians when Moses said: *"Our Lord! You have given Pharaoh and his chiefs splendor and riches in the life of this world. [Our Lord! That they may lead men astray from Your way. Our Lord! Destroy their riches and harden their hearts so that they will not believe] till they see the painful doom."* God said: *"Your prayer is heard."*[365] Al-Suddī claimed that it was Moses who prayed and Aaron said "Amen." That was when God said: *"Your* [dual] *prayer is heard."*[366] Regarding his saying: *"Our Lord! Destroy their riches,"* it is said that the destruction of riches was that He turned their dirhams and dinars into stones. Then He said to the two of them: *"You two keep to the straight path."*[367] Then Moses and Aaron went out with their people. Death was cast down upon the Egyptians; every man's firstborn died. They buried them at dawn and were too busy to seek the Israelites until the sun arose. That is when God said: *"And they overtook them at sunrise."*[368]

Moses was at the rear of the Israelites, while Aaron was in the front, leading them. The believer said to Moses: "Where did you command us [to go]?" He said: "To the sea." He wanted to rush blindly, but Moses prevented him. Moses went out with six hundred

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363. ʿAmr b. Ḥammād b. Ṭalḥah al-Qannād, Abū Muḥammad, d. 223/836. A transmitter of the commentary of Asbāṭ from al-Suddī. Died in al-Kūfah. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 285; *GAS*, I, 33 n. 3.

364. According to al-Ṭabarī, I, 479 n. *a.*, MS Tn omits *adhan* and says "That whoever went out"—but Mūsā says ʿAmr says: "I think it should read 'he who went out....'"

365. Qurʾān 10:89–90.

366. Qurʾān 10:89–90.

367. Qurʾān 10:90.

368. Qurʾān 26:60.

and twenty thousand fighting men — those twenty years old were not counted because of their youth, nor those of sixty because of
[480] their age; only those in between were counted — in addition to the women and children. Pharaoh followed them with Haman at the forefront with a million and seven hundred thousand horses, and among them was not a single mare. That was when God said: *"Then Pharaoh sent into the cities summoners* [who said:] *'Lo! These indeed are but a little troop, and lo! They are offenders against us'* — meaning the Israelites — *'and lo! We are a ready host'"*[369] — meaning thereby that we have readied ourselves and have resolved on our affair. *And, when the two armies saw each other* and the Israelites looked at Pharaoh who was following them, they said: *"Lo! we are indeed caught!"*[370] And they said: "O Moses! *We suffered hurt before you came to us* — they slaughtered our sons and spared our women — *and since you have come to us.*[371] Today Pharaoh is overtaking us, and he will kill us. *Lo! We are indeed caught!* The sea is in front of us, and Pharaoh is behind us." Moses said: *"No, verily! For lo! My Lord is with me. He will guide me"*[372] — meaning, He will protect me. He continued: *"Perhaps your Lord will destroy your enemy and make you viceroys on earth, so that He may see how you behave."*[373]

Aaron approached and struck the sea, but the sea refused to open up, saying: "Who is this tyrant who is striking me?" Then Moses came and called the sea "Abū Khālid,"[374] striking it. *And it parted, and each part was as a lofty mountain*[375] — meaning, like a mighty mountain. Then the Israelites entered the sea. In the sea there were twelve paths, a path for each tribe. It was as though the paths then were separated by walls, and each tribe said: "Our companions have
[481] been slain!" When Moses saw that, he prayed to God, Who made them into bridges for them in the form of arches. Then the last of them could see the first, until all of them had gone out.

Then Pharaoh and his companions drew near, and when he looked

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369. Qur'ān 26:53–56.
370. Qur'ān 26:61.
371. Qur'ān 7:129.
372. Qur'ān 26:61–62.
373. Qur'ān 7:129.
374. Abū Khālid, lit. "father of eternal (life), everlasting one."
375. Qur'ān 26:63.

at the sea that was split he said: "Do you not see how the sea split because of me and opened up for me, so that I may overtake my enemies and kill them?" For that was what God said: *"Then We brought near the others in that place*[376] — meaning, We made the people of Pharaoh draw near to there. When Pharaoh stood at the entrances to the paths, his horses refused to advance. Gabriel descended on a mare,[377] and the stallions smelled her odor and rushed blindly after her, until when the first of them was about to leave the sea and the last of them had entered, He commanded the sea to seize them, and it crashed together over them. Gabriel meanwhile busied himself with Pharaoh, by thrusting some of the sea pebbles into his mouth. When drowning overtook him, he said: *"I believe that there is no God save Him in Whom the Children of Israel believe, and I am one of those who surrender."* Then God sent Michael to him to upbraid him, and he said: *"What! Now! When until now you have rebelled and been one of the evildoers!"*[378]

Gabriel said: "O Muḥammad! I have not loathed any creature as I have loathed two men: One of them was a jinnī, namely Iblīs, when he refused to bow down to Adam; and the other is Pharaoh, when he said: *'I am your highest lord.'*[379] I wish that you had seen me — O Muḥammad! — when I took some sea pebbles and put them into Pharaoh's mouth, fearing that he would say some word for which God would have mercy upon him."

The Israelites said: "Pharaoh did not drown. Now he will overtake and kill us." Moses prayed to God, and He brought forth Pharaoh with six hundred and twenty thousand men covered with iron.[380] The Israelites took him as a sign, for that is the word of God to Pharaoh: *"But this day We save you in your body that you may be a sign for those after you"*[381] — meaning, a sign for the Israelites. [482]

When they wanted to journey onward, He set a trackless wilderness before them that confused them in their direction. Moses called upon the Israelite elders and asked them: "What is happening

376. Qur'ān 26:64.
377. See p. 64, above, where it is noted that Pharaoh's horses were only stallions.
378. Qur'ān 10:91–92.
379. Qur'ān 79:24.
380. Meaning unclear. The iron proves either that they were mighty warriors or that they were thus preserved to serve as a sign.
381. Qur'ān 10:93.

to us?" They said to him: "When Joseph died in Egypt, he exacted a promise from his brothers that they would not leave Egypt 'unless you take me out with you.' And that is the reason for this matter." He asked them where Joseph's burial place was located, but they did not know. Then Moses arose and proclaimed: "I beseech you, by God, that whoever knows the burial place of Joseph will tell it to me. But whoever does not know, let his ears be deaf to my words." He kept passing between men on both sides proclaiming this, and they did not hear his voice, until an old woman among them heard it and said: "Tell me, if I guide you to his grave, will you give me whatever I ask of you?" But he refused and said, "Not until I ask my Lord." Then God commanded him to grant this to her. Moses granted it to her, and she said: "What I want is that you will not inhabit a room in Paradise without inhabiting it with me." He said: "Very well." She said: "I am a very old woman, and I cannot walk, so carry me." He carried her, and, when they came near the Nile, she said: "He is
[483] in the midst of the water, so pray to God to uncover the water from him." So he prayed to God, and He removed the water from the grave. She said, "Dig him up." Moses did so and carried his bones. Then He opened the way for them, and they continued their journey. *They came to a people who were devoted to their idols. They said: "O Moses! Make for us a god even as they have gods." He said: "Lo! You are a people who are ignorant. Lo! As for these, their way will be ruined"*—meaning, what they are doing will be destroyed—*"and all that they are doing is in vain."*[382]

Ibn Isḥāq said—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah: And God brought the signs upon him in succession—meaning, on Pharaoh—and seized him with the drought when he refused to believe after all that had happened to him and the sorcerers. So He sent upon him the deluge, then the locusts, then the vermin, then the frogs, then blood, *all successive signs.*[383] He sent the deluge, and it overflowed the face of the earth; then it became still, so they could not plow or do anything until they suffered from hunger. When that overcame them, they said: "O Moses! *Pray for us to your Lord,... and if you remove this punishment from us, we will believe you and we will send out the Israelites with you."*[384] Moses prayed to his Lord, and He removed

382. Qur'ān 7:138–39.
383. Based on Qur'ān 7:130, 133.
384. Qur'ān 7:134.

the punishment from them. However, they did not fulfill anything that they had promised. Then God sent the locusts against them, and they ate the trees—according to what I have heard—to the extent that they would even eat the iron nails of doors, until their houses and dwellings collapsed. Then they asked of Moses what they had asked before. Moses again prayed to his Lord, and He removed it from them. But they did not fulfill anything they had said.

Then God sent vermin against them. I was told that Moses was commanded to go to a sand hill and strike it with his staff. So he [484] went to a mighty hill of poured sand and struck it with his staff. It covered the people of Egypt with vermin until their houses and food were covered over and they were prevented from sleeping or resting. When they became exhausted, they asked of Moses the same as they had asked previously. So he prayed to his Lord, and He relieved them, but they did not fulfill anything they had said they would.

Then God sent frogs against them, and they filled the houses, food supply, and vessels. No one could uncover any clothing, food, or vessel without finding frogs filling it. When that exhausted them, they asked of Moses the same as they had asked previously. So he prayed to his Lord, Who relieved them, but they did not fulfill anything they had said.

Then God sent blood upon them, and the water of Pharaoh's people became blood. They could not draw water from a well or a river, or ladle out water from a vessel, without its becoming fresh blood.

Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related to me—Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī,[385] who related that, when thirst had exhausted them, a woman of Pharaoh's people would come to an Israelite woman and would say: "Let me drink from your water." She would ladle some for her from her jug or pour it for her from her waterskin, and it would become blood in the vessel. She would say: "Put the water in your mouth, then spit it into my mouth." She would take water into her mouth, but, when she spat it into the other woman's mouth, it became blood. They continued like this for seven days, when they said: *"Pray for us to your Lord, as He has promised you. Verily, if you relieve us of this punishment, we will surely believe in you and will indeed send the Chil-*

385. Muḥammad b. Kaʿb b. Sulaym al-Qurazī, d. 118/736. Considered one of the most learned sources of tradition among the early scholars, he wrote a Qur'ān commentary and a historical work. *GAS*, I, 32; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, IX, 420–22.

dren of Israel with you."[386] But, when the punishment was removed from them, they reneged and did not keep any promise they had made. So God commanded Moses to set out and informed him that
[485] He would deliver him and those with him and would also destroy Pharaoh and his armies. Moses had already prayed for their obliteration and had said: *"Our Lord! You have given Pharaoh and his chiefs splendor and riches in the life of this world, O Lord, that they may lead men astray from Your way"* ... to where He says ... *"and follow not the road of those who have no knowledge."*[387] So God turned their property into stone: the palm trees, the slaves, and their food. This was one of the signs that God showed Pharaoh.

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — Buraydah b. Sufyān b. Farwah al-Aslamī[388] — Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī, who said: ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[389] asked me about the nine signs that God showed Pharaoh,[390] and I said: "The deluge, the locusts, the vermin, the frogs, the blood, his staff, his hand, the obliteration, and the sea." And ʿUmar said: "How do you know that obliteration is one of them?" I said: "Moses prayed against them, and Aaron said 'Amen,' and God turned their property into stone." So he said: "That is what can be called understanding (*fiqh*)!" Then he sent for a leather bag in which were things that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān[391] had obtained in Egypt, when he was in charge of it, some of the remnants of the property of the pharaonites. He took out a peeled egg in two halves, and lo! It was stone (i.e., petrified), and a shelled nut, and it was stone, and a chick-pea, and a lentil.

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Muḥammad — a man from Syria who had been in Egypt, who said: I saw a felled palm tree, and

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386. Qur'ān 7:134.

387. Qur'ān 10:89–90. The omitted portion is: *O Lord! Destroy their riches and harden their hearts so they do not believe until they see the painful doom. He said: Your prayer is heard. Do you two keep to the straight path....*

388. Buraydah b. Sufyān b. Farwah al-Aslamī. *Index*, 66. Not further identified.

389. D. 102/720. Known also as ʿUmar II. He succeeded his uncle ʿAbd al-Malik in 96/714 and tried, during his brief reign, to reform the governmental system to strengthen Islam.

390. Ten plagues in the biblical account, which differs in the identification of some of the "signs."

391. D. 137/754. Son of the Umayyad caliph Marwān I and father of ʿUmar II, above, he was appointed governor of Egypt by his father and served for twenty years. *EI*², s.v. "ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān."

it was stone,[392] and I saw a man — about whom I had no doubt that he was a man — and he was stone, one of their slaves. And God says: *"Verily We gave Moses nine signs, clear proofs"* ... up to ... *"accursed,"*[393] meaning wretched. [486]

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — Yaḥyā b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr[394] — his father,[395] that, when God commanded Moses to journey with the Children of Israel, He ordered him to carry Joseph with him in order to bury him in the Holy Land. So Moses asked about anyone who might know the place of Joseph's grave but found only an old Israelite woman who said: "O Prophet of God! I know his place. If you take me out with you and do not leave me behind in the land of Egypt, I will lead you to it." Moses said: "I will do so." He had promised the Israelites that he would set out with them when dawn broke, but he prayed to his Lord to delay his departure so that he might finish the matter of Joseph. He did so, and the old woman went out with Moses until she showed it to him, in a section of the Nile, within the water. Moses drew him out in a coffin of marble and carried him with him. ʿUrwah said: "Since then, the Jews transport their dead from every land to the Holy Land."[396]

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq, who said: According to what I have heard, Moses said to the Israelites concerning what God had commanded him, "Borrow from them goods, jewelry, and clothing, and I will give their possessions as booty to you together with their destruction." When Pharaoh summoned [his] forces, one of the ways

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392. This may refer to the remnants of petrified trees near Cairo, beyond the Muqaṭṭam hills. These are mentioned in nineteenth-century guidebooks. See Wilkinson, *Handbook*, 159, 195, 231, and Cook's *A Tourist's Handbook*, 164: "A desert space covered with fragments of sycamore and palm apparently turned to stone."

393. Qurʾān 17:101–2. The omitted portions of the verses read: *Do but ask the Children of Israel how he came to them; then Pharaoh said to him: Lo! I consider you one bewitched, O Moses. He said: In truth you know that none sent down these signs except the Lord of the heavens and the earth as proofs, and lo! I consider you.... Mathbūr* is here translated "lost" by Pickthall, and "cursed" by Arberry.

394. Yaḥyā b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr, Abū ʿUrwah, d. ca. 114/732. He was a prominent Medinan and a nephew of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, XI, 258; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IX, 195.

395. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr, b. al-ʿAwwām al-Asadī, 24–94/643–712. He was one of the great legal scholars of Medina and a noted transmitter of traditions. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 132–35; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, VII, 180–85; *GAS*, I, 278; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, V, 17.

396. See the account in Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 181–83, for the Jewish version of the story of the finding and transport of Joseph's body.

he incited them against the Israelites was that he said as they set out: "They were not content to go forth by themselves but also took your wealth with them."

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī — ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād b. Alhād:[397] I was told that Pharaoh
[487] went out in search of Moses with seventy thousand black horses, aside from the gray ones among his troops. Moses went out until the sea was before him and there was no way out. Pharaoh came up with his troops behind them. *When the two groups saw each other, Moses' companions said: "Verily we are indeed caught."* He replied: *"Not at all! Verily my Lord is with me. He will guide me"*[398] — meaning, to salvation — "He has promised that to me, and there is no duplicity in His promising."

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: God, according to what I have been told, inspired the sea, saying: "When Moses strikes you with his staff, split yourself in two for him." The sea then spent the night, one part striking the other, out of fear of God and awaiting His command. Then God inspired Moses: *"Strike the sea with your staff,"*[399] and he struck it. Within the staff was God's power, which He had given to Moses. *The sea parted, and each part was as a mountain vast*[400] — that is, like the mountain on an elevated part of the earth. God was saying to Moses: *"Strike for them a dry path in the sea, fear not being overtaken, neither be afraid."*[401] When the sea came to rest for him with a straight dry path, Moses set out upon it with the Israelites, while Pharaoh followed him with his troops.

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī — ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād b. Alhād al-Laythī: It was transmitted to me that, when the Israelites entered the sea and none remained behind, Pharaoh approached. He was on a stallion of his horses and came closer until he was at the edge of
[488] the sea, unflinching about his situation while the horse feared to ad-

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397. ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād b. Alhād al-Laythī, d. ca. 82/701. A reliable transmitter of Shiʿite tendency, he transmitted traditions of ʿUmar and ʿAlī and was killed with other scholars who joined the rebellion of Ibn al-Ashʿath against al-Ḥajjāj. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 86–87.

398. Qur'ān 26:61–62.

399. Qur'ān 26:63.

400. Qur'ān 26:63.

401. Qur'ān 20:77.

vance. Then Gabriel appeared to him on a female horse in heat. He brought her near Pharaoh's stallion, and he smelled her. When he smelled her, Gabriel made her advance, and the stallion advanced with Pharaoh on his back. When Pharaoh's troops saw that Pharaoh had entered the sea, they entered with him, while Gabriel went ahead of them all. They were following Pharaoh, and Michael[402] was on a horse behind the people, urging them on, saying: "Catch up with your companion!" When Gabriel went out of the sea, with no one ahead of him and Michael remained standing on the other side with no one behind him, the sea closed over them. Pharaoh cried out when he saw what he did of God's power and authority and recognized his humiliation. His soul forsook him, and he called out: *"There is no god but the God in Whom the Children of Israel believe, and I am one of those who surrenders."*[403]

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Abū Dāwūd al-Baṣrī[404]—Ḥammād b. Salamah—ʿAlī b. Zayd[405]—Yūsuf b. Mihrān[406]—Ibn ʿAbbās: Gabriel came to the Prophet and said: "O Muḥammad! I wish that you had seen me when I was stuffing slimy mud into Pharaoh's mouth for fear that mercy would come over him."[407] God said: *"Now! When hitherto have you rebelled and have been one of the wrongdoers! But this day We save you in your body"*—that is, complete, nothing of you will be gone—*"so that you may be a sign for those after you"*[408]—that is, a warning and testimony. It used to be said that, if God had not brought him out with his body so that they recognized him, some of the people would have doubted Him.

[Ibn Isḥāq said]:[409] When he took the Children of Israel across the [489]

402. Arabic: Mikāʾīl, i.e., the archangel.

403. Qurʾān 10:91.

404. Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī al-Baṣrī, Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Jārūd, 133–ca. 203/750–ca. 818. He transmitted traditions from a number of sources, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, among others, transmitted from him. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, IV, 186; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, 51; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, III, 187.

405. ʿAlī b. Zayd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Judʿān Abū al-Ḥasan, al-Taymī al-Baṣrī, d. 127/744 or 130/747. Blind from birth, he was considered a transmitter of weak traditions. *GAS*, I, 71; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 18; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, V, 101.

406. Yūsuf b. Mihrān. Transmitted from Ibn ʿAbbās and was considered reliable. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 1, 161.

407. For this theme, see p. 65, above, where the term *maqlah, maql* "pebbles, earth in a well" is used. Here the word is *ḥamāʾ* "slimy mud."

408. Qurʾān 10:93.

409. So in MS Tn. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 488 n. *g*.

sea, *they came upon a people who were devoted to idols they had. They said: "O Moses! Make for us a god [such] as they have gods." He said: "Lo! You are a people who do not know... Lo! As for these, their way will be destroyed, and all that they are doing is in vain." He said: "Shall I seek for you a god other than God, when He has favored you above all creatures?"*[410] When God destroyed Pharaoh and his people, saving Moses and his people, He appointed for Moses thirty nights.

The account returns to that of al-Suddī. Then Gabriel came to take Moses to God. He approached on a horse, and al-Sāmirī[411] saw him but did not know him. It is said that it was the horse of life. [Al-Sāmirī] said when he saw him, "Verily this is something momentous!" So he took some of the dust from the hoof of the horse. Then Moses set out, making Aaron his vice-regent over the Children of Israel, and promised to meet them in thirty nights, but God added to them ten.[412] Aaron said to them: "O Children of Israel! Spoils are not permitted to you, and the ornaments of the Egyptians are spoils, so gather all of them together and dig a pit for them, burying all of them in it. When Moses returns, if he permits them for you, then you may take them. Otherwise, they are things you may not consume." They assembled all the ornaments in that pit, and al-Sāmirī brought the handful of dust. He threw it [upon the pit], and God brought forth from the ornaments *a corporeal calf of saffron color, and it gave forth a lowing sound.*[413]

The Israelites had counted the appointed time of Moses; they counted each night a day, and each day a day. When it was the twentieth day, the calf came forth. When they saw it, al-Sāmirī said to them: *"This is your God and the God of Moses, but he has forgotten."*[414] He said: "Moses left his God here and went looking for Him." So they clung to the calf and worshiped it, for it could bellow
[490] and walk. Aaron said to them: "O Children of Israel! *You are only*

410. Qur'ān 7:138–40.

411. This name, which means "the Samaritan," occurs several times in the Qur'ān in connection with the story of the calf of gold. See Qur'ān 20:85, 87–88, 95. Al-Ṭabarī, in his *Tafsīr* on these verses, sees in al-Sāmirī a prominent Israelite of the Samaritan tribe. As punishment for his sin, Moses forbade the Israelites to have contact with him, hence providing an explanation for the separation of the Samaritans from other Israelites. See *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 501–2, s.v. *"al-Sāmirī."*

412. See Qur'ān 7:142.

413. Qur'ān 7:148, 20:88.

414. Qur'ān 20:88.

being seduced with it" — meaning, you are only being tested with it, that is, the calf — *"For lo! Your Lord is the Beneficent."*[415] Aaron and those Israelites who were with him continued not to fight them, while Moses was off speaking with his God. When He spoke with him, He said: *"What made you hasten from your people, O Moses?" He said: "They follow close upon my track. I hastened to You, my Lord, that You might be pleased." He said: "Lo! We have tested your people in your absence, and al-Sāmirī has misled them."*[416]

When He had related their tale to him, Moses said, "O Lord! This al-Sāmirī ordered them to adopt the calf. Tell me, who breathed the soul into it?" The Lord said: "I did." Moses said: "Then, my Lord, You misled them."

Moses, after his Lord had spoken to him, desired to see Him and said: *"My Lord! Show me Yourself that I may gaze upon You." He replied: "You will not see Me. But gaze upon the mountain, and, if it stands still in its place, then you will see Me."*[417] Angels surrounded the mountain, and the angels were surrounded by fire, and angels surrounded the fire, and those angels were surrounded by fire. Then his Lord revealed Himself to the mountain.

Mūsā b. Hārūn related to me — ʿAmr b. Ḥammād — Asbāṭ — al-Suddī — ʿIkrimah — Ibn ʿAbbās: He revealed of Himself no more than the equivalent of the tip of the little finger, and He sent the mountain crashing down,[418] while Moses fell down in a faint. He remained in a faint as long as God wished, and then he recovered his senses, saying: *"Glory unto You! I turn to You repentant, and I am the first of the believers"* — among the Israelites. *He said: "O Moses! I have chosen you above mankind through My messages and My speaking to you. So hold what I have given you, and be among* [491] *the thankful." And He*[419] *wrote for him, upon the tablets, the lesson to be learned from all things and its explanation* — regarding what is permissible and what is forbidden — *"So take fast hold of it"* — meaning, with seriousness and striving — *"and command your people to take hold of the best in it"*[420] — namely, the best of what they find in it. After that, no one was able to look at Moses in his

415. Qur'ān 20:90.
416. Qur'ān 20:83–85.
417. Qur'ān 7:143.
418. Qur'ān 7:143.
419. So in text. Qur'ān has here: "We."
420. Qur'ān 7:143–45.

face, so he would cover his face with a piece of silk cloth. He took the tablets *and returned to his people angry and sorry*—meaning saddened. *He said: "O my people! Has not your Lord promised you a good promise"* (to where it says) ... *"We did not break your appointed time of our own will"*—meaning, through our own ability—*"but we were laden with burdens of ornaments of the people"*—meaning, the jewelry of the Egyptians—*"so we cast them [into the fire] as al-Sāmirī proposed."*[421] That was when Aaron said to them, "Dig a pit for these jewels, and cast them into it," and they cast them in. Then al-Sāmirī threw his dust.

Then Moses threw down the tablets, *and he seized his brother by the head, dragging him toward him.*[422] *Aaron said: "O son of my mother! Do not clutch my beard or my head! I feared that you would say, "You have caused division among the Children of Israel and have not waited for my word."*"[423] So Moses left Aaron and turned to al-Sāmirī, saying: *"And what have you to say, O Sāmirī?"* Al-Sāmirī said: *"I perceived what they do not perceive [so I seized a handful from the footsteps of the messenger, and then threw it in. Thus my soul commended to me." (Moses) said: "Then go! And lo! In this life, it is for you to say: 'Touch me not!' And lo! There is for you an appointment you cannot break. Now look upon your god, of which you have remained a worshiper. Verily we will burn it] and scatter its dust over the sea."*[424] Thereupon, he seized the calf and killed it, then filed it down and scattered it into the sea. There was no flowing sea into which it did not fall. Then Moses said to them, "Drink some of the water." They drank, and whoever drank it, the gold in the water would show itself on those who had loved [the calf].
[492] That was when He said: *"And the calf was made to sink into their hearts because of their unbelief."*[425] When the Israelites repented after Moses came *and they saw that they had gone astray, they said: "Unless our Lord has mercy upon us and forgives us, we verily are of the lost."*[426] God refused to accept the repentance of the Israelites, except for the circumstance that they had disliked fighting among

421. Qur'ān 20:86–87; cf. 7:150.
422. Qur'ān 7:150.
423. Qur'ān 20:94.
424. Qur'ān 20:95–97.
425. Qur'ān 2:93.
426. Qur'ān 7:149.

themselves when they worshiped the calf.[427] Moses said to them: *"O my people! You have wronged yourselves by your choosing the calf, so turn in penitence to your Creator, and kill the guilty yourselves."*[428] So those who had worshiped the calf and those who did not worship it struck one another with swords. Whoever was killed of the two parties was a martyr. The slaying increased until they were almost destroyed; until seventy thousand were killed among them; and until Moses and Aaron prayed: "Our Lord! The Children of Israel are destroyed! Our Lord! The remnant! The remnant!" He therefore commanded them to put down their weapons, and He forgave them, so that those who were slain were martyrs, and those who remained were forgiven, for this is His word: *"He relented toward you. Lo! He is the Relenting, the Merciful."*[429]

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — Ḥakīm b. Jubayr — Saʿīd b. Jubayr — Ibn ʿAbbās: Al-Sāmirī was a man of Bājarmā,[430] of a people who worshiped cows. The love of worshiping cows was in his soul, but he had professed Islam [submission] among the Children of Israel. When Aaron judged among the Israelites and Moses departed from them to go to his Lord, Aaron said to them: "You were laden with burdens of ornaments, goods, and jewelry of the people of Pharaoh's family,[431] so purify yourselves [493] of all that, for it is uncleanliness." He kindled a fire for them and said: "Cast into it whatever you have with you [of those items]." They said "Yes," and began to bring whatever jewelry and goods they had with them, casting them into the fire until, when the jewels became broken in it, al-Sāmirī saw the trace of Gabriel's horse and took some dust from its hoofprint. Then he drew near to the pit and said to Aaron, "O prophet of God! Shall I throw in what is in my hand?" He agreed, thinking that it was like the goods and jewels the others had brought, and [al-Sāmirī] cast it into it, saying: "Be a saffron-colored calf, which bellows."[432] And it became a trial and se-

427. Meaning, presumably, that they had worshiped the calf out of reluctance to cause internecine warfare over the issue. Only on that basis could they be forgiven.

428. Qur'ān 2:54.

429. Qur'ān 2:54.

430. A village in the Jazīrah [northern Mesopotamia] near al-Raqqah. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I, 454.

431. See Qur'ān 20:87.

432. See Qur'ān 20:88.

duction, and he said: *"This is your God and the God of Moses."*[433] They devoted themselves to it and loved it with a love unlike anything they had ever felt. God said: *"But he has forgotten"*—meaning, he, al-Sāmirī, abandoned the state of Islam [submission] he had been in—*"Do they not see, then, that it returns no words to them and possesses for them neither harm nor use?"*[434]

Ibn ʿAbbās continues: Al-Sāmirī's name was Mūsā b. Ẓafar. He happened to be in the land of Egypt and entered among the Israelites. When Aaron saw the state into which they had fallen, he said: *"O my people! You are only being seduced therewith. [For lo! Your Lord is the Beneficent, so follow me and obey my order!" They said: "We shall by no means be its worshipers] until Moses returns to us."*[435] Aaron stayed with those Muslims who were not seduced, while those who worshiped the calf continued their worship. Aaron feared that, if he traveled on with those Muslims who were with him, Moses would say to him: *"You have caused division among the Children of Israel and have not waited for my word,"*[436] for he was reverential, obedient to Moses.

Moses traveled on with the Israelites to the mountain,[437] for God had set a meeting with them when He rescued them and destroyed their enemy at the right side of the mountain. When Moses jour-
[494] neyed from the sea with the Children of Israel and they needed water, he prayed to God to give His people water. God commanded Moses to strike the rock with his staff,[438] and twelve springs burst forth from it, a spring from which each tribe would drink and that they would recognize.

When God spoke to Moses, he desired to see Him and asked his Lord if he might look at Him. But God said to Moses: *"You will not see me, but gaze upon the mountain! [If it stands still in its place, then you will see Me." And, when his Lord revealed [His] glory to the mountain, He sent it crashing down, and Moses fell down senseless. When he awoke, he said: "Glory be to You! I turn to You repen-*

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433. Qur'ān 20:88.
434. Qur'ān 20:89.
435. Qur'ān 20:90–91.
436. Qur'ān 20:94.
437. *Al-Ṭūr*, the name by which Mt. Sinai is known in the Qur'ān. See Qur'ān 52:1, 95:2, and several other references.
438. See Qur'ān 7:160.

tant,] and I am the first of the believers." Then God said to Moses: *"I have chosen you above mankind by My message and by My speaking. So hold what I have given you [and be among the thankful. And We wrote for him, upon the tablets, the lesson to be drawn from all things, then told him: 'Hold it fast; and command your people, (saying:) "Take the better (course) therein.] I shall show you the abode of the evildoers."'"*[439] And He said to him: *"What has made you hasten to leave your folk, O Moses?"* ... to where He says ... *"Then Moses went back to his people, angry and sad,"*[440] and with him was God's covenant on his tablets. When Moses reached his people and saw that they were worshiping the calf, he threw the tablets down from his hand. They were, according to what has been said, of green chrysolite. Then he seized the head and beard of his brother, saying: *"What held you back, when you saw they had gone astray, that you did not follow me? [Have you then disobeyed my order?" He said: "O son of my mother! Clutch not my beard or my head! I feared lest you should say: 'You have caused division among the Children of Israel'".]*[441] And he said: *"O son of my mother! The people have judged me to be weak and almost killed me. Oh, do not make my enemies rejoice over me, and do not place me among the evildoers."*[442] Moses relented and said: *"My Lord! Have mercy on me and my brother; bring us into Your mercy; You the most Merciful of those who show mercy."*[443] He approached his people and said: *"O my people! Has not your Lord promised you a fair promise? [Did the time appointed appear too long for you, or did you wish that wrath from your Lord should come upon you, that you broke your appointment with Me?" They said: "We did not break our appointment with You of our own will, but we were laden with burdens of ornaments of the people, then cast them (in the fire), for thus al-Sāmirī proposed. Then he produced for them] a saffron-colored calf that bellows."*[444]

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439. Qur'ān 7:143–45.
440. Qur'ān 20:83–86. The omitted portions of the verses read: *He said: They are on my track. I hastened to You that You might be well pleased. He said: Lo! We have tried your people in your absence, and al-Sāmirī has misled them.*
441. Qur'ān 20:92–94.
442. Qur'ān 7:150.
443. Qur'ān 7:151.
444. Qur'ān 20:86–88.

He drew near to al-Sāmirī and said: *"And what have you to say, O Sāmirī?" He said: "I perceived what they did not"*... to where it says... *"He embraces all things in His knowledge."*[445] Then he took the tablets. God says: *"He took up the tablets, and in their inscrip-*
[495] *tion there is guidance and mercy for all those who fear their Lord."*[446]

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — Ṣadaqah b. Yasār[447] — Saʿīd b. Jubayr — Ibn ʿAbbās: God had written for Moses on the tablets exhortation and details of everything, as well as guidance and mercy. And, when he threw them down, God removed six-sevenths of them and left one-seventh, saying: *"And in their inscription, there is guidance and mercy for all those who fear their Lord."*[448]

Then Moses gave orders that the calf should be burned to ashes, then strewn over the sea. Ibn Isḥāq said, "I heard some scholars say that burning it (*iḥrāq*) was really filing it (*saḥl*); then he scattered it on the sea." And God knows best.

Then Moses chose among seventy good men of the best[449] of them and said, "Go to God, and repent to Him for what you have done. Ask Him for forgiveness for those of your people you have left behind. Fast; purify yourselves and your garments." Then he took them to Mount Sinai at the set time that God had appointed for him, because he could not come to Him except with His permission and knowledge. The seventy said to him — from what has been told to me — after they had done what he had ordered them to do and had gone out with him to meet his Lord, "Ask if we may hear the speech of our Lord." And he said, "I shall do it." When Moses neared the mountain, the pillar of cloud fell upon it until the mountain was completely obscured. Moses drew near and entered into it, saying to the people, "Draw near!" Now, when He had spoken to Moses, a radiant light had descended on his forehead. Because no human being could look at him, a veil was placed in front of him. The people drew near
[496] so that, when they entered the cloud, they fell down, prostrating

445. Qur'ān 20:95–98. For the full text, see p. 74, above.

446. Qur'ān 7:154.

447. Ṣadaqah b. Yasār. A client of some Meccans, he transmitted few traditions but was considered reliable. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 357.

448. Qur'ān 7:154.

449. *Al-khayra fa-al-khayra.* Repeated at n. 454, below. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I, 191, has *min akhyārihim* "from the best of them."

themselves. They heard Him as He was speaking to Moses, commanding him and forbidding him, what to do and not to do.

When God had finished commanding Moses, the cloud was removed from Moses, and he approached the people, who said to him: *"We will not believe in you until we see God plainly."*[450] Then *the trembling came upon them*[451] — that was the *lightning*.[452] Their souls were taken by surprise, and they all died. Then Moses arose, adjuring his Lord and praying to Him, asking Him humbly, saying: *"My Lord! If You had wanted, You would have destroyed them long before, and me as well.*[453] They were foolish, and those of the Children of Israel who were behind me are now destroyed owing to what the foolish ones among us have done. This is indeed destruction for them. I chose seventy good men among them, the best![454] I shall return to them, and not one man will be with me. Why should they believe me?" Moses continued adjuring his Lord and asking Him until He returned their souls to the [seventy]. [He also asked Him] to forgive the Israelites for their worship of the calf, but God responded, "No! Not until they kill themselves."

Ibn ʿAbbās continued: I was informed that they said to Moses, "We will be steadfast in God's command." Moses commanded that those who had not worshiped the calf should kill those who had. They sat in their enclosures, while the people unsheathed their swords and began to kill them. Moses wept, and the young boys and women hurried to him, begging pardon for them. He forgave and pardoned them, and then Moses ordered them to hold back their swords.

As for al-Suddī, he mentioned in his account, the chain of authorities of which I have given previously, that the journey of Moses to his Lord, with the seventy men he had chosen from his people, was [after God had forgiven the worshipers of the calf among his people. [497]
This was that he mentioned,][455] after the tale I have already related from him, that, after his saying that *He is the Relenting, the Merci-*

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450. Qur'ān 2:55; 4:153.
451. Qur'ān 7:155.
452. Qur'ān 2:55; 4:153.
453. Qur'ān 7:155.
454. *Fa-al-khayr*. See n. 449, above.
455. The section within brackets is partially or totally omitted in two manuscripts. From "after God had forgiven ... to ... that he mentioned" in MS BM and from "among his people ... to ... that he mentioned" in MS Tn. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 497, n. *a*.

ful,[456] God commanded Moses to come to Him with some Israelites to apologize for worshiping the calf. He set an appointed time for them, and *Moses chose seventy men from his people*[457] whom he regarded highly. Then he brought them to make apologies. When they came to the place, they said: *"We will not believe in you until we see God plainly*[458] ... for you have already spoken to Him, so show Him to us." ... Then the lightning seized[459] them, and they died. Moses arose, weeping and praying to God, and said: "My Lord! What shall I say to the Children of Israel when I come to them after You have slain the best of them? *My Lord! If You had wanted, You would have destroyed them long before, and me as well. Will You destroy us for what the foolish among us did!"*[460] God inspired Moses that "these seventy were from those who accepted the calf," whereupon Moses says: *"It is only Your trial of us. You send astray thereby whom You will and guide whom You will"* ... to where he says ... *"Lo! We have repented to You"*[461] ... meaning, we have turned back to You ... and that is His word: "Then you said, *'O Moses! We will not believe in you until we see God plainly'; [even while you gazed] and the lightning seized you"*[462] ... and the lightning is fire. Then God revived them. Each man rose up and lived, looking at the others and at how they were revived. They said: "O Moses! You pray to God, and anything you ask of Him, He gives you. So pray to Him to make us prophets." So he prayed to Him, and He
[498] made them prophets, for that is His word: *"Then We revived you after your death"*[463]—but He made one letter precede and another go behind.[464]

Then He commanded them to journey on to Jericho, which is the land of Jerusalem.[465] They journeyed until they were near it.[466]

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456. Qur'ān 2:54.
457. Qur'ān 7:155.
458. Qur'ān 2:55; cf. also 4:153.
459. Based on Qur'ān 2:55.
460. Qur'ān 7:155.
461. Qur'ān 7:155. The section omitted is *You are our Protecting Friend, therefore forgive us and have mercy on us, You, the best of all who show forgiveness and ordain for us in this world what is good as well as in the Hereafter.*
462. Qur'ān 2:55.
463. Qur'ān 2:56.
464. *Baʿathnākum min baʿdi mawtikum* "we revived [or "we sent"] you [as prophets] after your death."
465. Or Palestine: *Wa-hiya 'arḍ bayt al-maqdis*. See n. 180, above, on this usage.

Moses sent out twelve chiefs, [one] from each of the Israelite tribes, who set out to bring him an account of the giants.[467] One of the giants, who was called Og,[468] met them. He seized the twelve and placed them in his waistband, while on his head was a load of firewood. He took them off to his wife and said to her, "Look at these people who claim that they want to fight us." He flung them down in front of her, saying, "Shouldn't I grind them under my foot?" But his wife said, "No, rather let them go, so they will tell their people what they have seen." He did that, and after the twelve were released one said to the other, "O people! If you tell the Children of Israel the account of this people, they will forsake the prophet of God. So conceal it, and tell only the two prophets of God, and let them come to their own conclusion." They all made a pact with each other about concealing it, and then they returned. But then ten of them immediately broke the pact, each one of them telling his brother and father what they had seen of Og. However, two men concealed the event but went to Moses and Aaron and told them the account, whereupon God said: *"God made a covenant with the Children of Israel, and we sent among them twelve chiefs."*[469] Moses said to them: *"O my people! Remember God's favor to you, how He placed prophets among you, and He made you kings* ... each man among you ruling himself, his family, and his wealth ... *O my people! Go into the Holy Land that God has inscribed for you"* ... meaning, that God [499]
has ordained for you ... *"Turn not back in flight [for surely you turn back] as losers." They said*—from what they had heard from the ten — *"Lo! A giant people are there, and lo! We shall not enter it until they leave from there; only then will we enter." Then two men of those who were God-fearing and to whom God had been gracious, spoke: "Enter in upon them by the gate."*[470]

Those two were the men who had concealed the report. They were Joshua b. Nun, the servant of Moses, and Caleb b. Jephunneh—some

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466. Text has *minhum* "near them," but MS BM has *minhā* "near it." Al-Ṭabarī, I, 498 n. *a.*; Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 429, reads *minhā*.

467. *Al-jabbārīn*, for the biblical *bnei ʿanaq*, who were "men of great stature ... 'we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight.'" See Numbers 13:32–33.

468. Arabic: *ʿĀj*. See Numbers 21:33, where Og, king of Bashan, went out against the Israelites.

469. Qurʾān 5:12.

470. Qurʾān 5:20–23.

say Kilāb b. Jephunneh — the brother-in-law of Moses.[471] When Moses said: "O people! *Enter in upon them by the gate,*" they said, "*O Moses! We will never enter the land as long as they are in it. So you go with your Lord, and the two of you fight. We will be sitting home.*" Moses became angry and prayed against them, saying: "*My Lord! I have control of none but myself and my brother, so distinguish between us and the wrongdoing people.*" This was a hasty act that Moses had done rashly, for God then said: "*This land will be forbidden to them for forty years that they will wander on the earth bewildered.*"[472] When this bewildered wandering was cast upon them, Moses regretted what he had said. Those people who were obedient to him went to him and said, "What have you done to us, O Moses?" When he regretted, God revealed to him, "*Do not grieve*" that is, do not be sad — "*about the people* — you have named — *the wrongdoers.*"[473] So he was not sad. Then they said: "O Moses! How
[500] can we find water for ourselves here? Where is there food?" So God sent down to them manna and quails.[474] Manna[475] and quails would fall down on the trees; the quail (*salwā*) is a bird resembling the *sumānā*.[476] A person would look at the bird, and if it was fat he would slaughter it; otherwise, he would let it go. When it became fat, he would return to it.

Then they said, "This is the food, but where is the drink?" So Moses was commanded, and he struck the rock with his staff, and there broke forth from it twelve springs, each tribe drinking from one spring. Then they said, "This is the food and drink, but where is the shade?" So God shaded them with clouds, and they said, "This

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471. Or "was allied by marriage to Moses." According to MS C, Caleb "was the husband of Miriam bt. Amram, the sister of Moses and Aaron." Al-Ṭabarī, I, 499 n. *d.* Jewish legend says that Caleb married Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh. See Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, II, 270.

472. Qur'ān 5:23–26.

473. Qur'ān 5:23–26.

474. See Qur'ān 2:57.

475. *Tāranjubīn*, also *taranjabīn*, *turanjabīn*, from Persian. A kind of manna. See Lane, *op. cit.*, 306, s.v. *taranjubīn* "Persian manna." Al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl*, I, 155, glosses *mann wa-salwā* by *al-taranjubīn wa-al-sumānā*. Al-Ṭabarī, I, 500 n. *a.*, has variant readings: *zanjabīl*, *zanjīl*, i.e., "ginger."

476. *Salwā*, *sumānā* both refer in English to quail. See Lane, *op. cit.*, s.vv. *slw*, *smn*. Biblical Hebrew has *s'law*, Exodus 16:13, Numbers 11:32. But the plural *salwīm* in Numbers 11:31 seems to derive from a form *salwah*.

is the shade, but where is the clothing?" So their garments grew on them, as young boys grow,[477] and did not become ragged on them, for that is His word: *"We caused the cloud to shade them, and sent down for them the manna and the quails"*[478] ... and His words: *"And when Moses asked for water for his people, We said: 'Smite the rock with your staff.' And there gushed out from it twelve springs, so that each tribe knew their drinking place.* They settled that, and then they said, *'O Moses! We are weary of one kind of food; so call upon your Lord for us that He bring forth that which the earth produces—of its herbs, and its cucumbers, its grain'* ... that is, its wheat ... *'its lentils and its onions.' He said: 'Would you exchange that which is meaner for that which is better? Go down to Egypt'*—meaning, one of various countries[479]—*'there you will get what you ask for.'"*[480] When they left the wilderness, the manna and quail were removed from them, and they ate vegetables.

When Moses met Og, he leaped ten cubits into the heavens. His [501]
staff was ten cubits, and his height was ten cubits. His staff struck Og's anklebone, killing him.

Ibn Bashshār[481] related to us — Mu'ammal[482] — Sufyān — Abū Isḥāq[483] — Nawf: The base of Og's head[484] was eight hundred cubits high, while Moses' height was ten cubits and his staff ten cubits. Then he jumped into the air ten cubits and struck Og, hitting his anklebone. Og fell down dead, becoming a bridge for the people to cross over.

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477. *Taṭūlu ʿalayhim kamā taṭūlu al-ṣubyān*, meaning unclear. Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 431, has *maʿahum* "grew with them."

478. Qur'ān 7:160; see 2:57.

479. *Miṣran min al-amṣār*, taking *miṣr* as "country," rather than as "Egypt."

480. Qur'ān 2:60–61.

481. Muḥammad b. Bashshār b. ʿUthmān b. Dāwūd al-ʿAbdī al-Baṣrī Bundār, Abū Bakr, 167–252/783–866. Considered a reliable transmitter, he was cited by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, and others. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, IX, 70–71; *GAS*, I, 113–14; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, VI, 277.

482. Mu'ammal b. Ismāʿīl al-ʿAdawī, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, d. 207/822. He was a trustworthy transmitter, though with many errors because he recited from memory. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 367; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, X, 380; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, VIII, 290–91.

483. Abū Isḥāq al-Hamdānī al-Sabīʿī, ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh, 33–129/653–745. A Kūfan, he transmitted from numerous sources and was an expert on the *maghāzī*. *GAS*, I, 283; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 123; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, VIII, 63–67; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, V, 251.

484. *Sarīr*. See Lane, *op. cit.*, s.v.: "the part where the head rests upon the neck."

Abū Kurayb related to us—Ibn ʿAṭīyah[485]—Qays[486]—Abū Isḥāq—Saʿīd b. Jubayr—Ibn ʿAbbās: Moses' staff, his leap, and his height were each ten cubits. He struck the anklebone of Og, killing him. Og then became a bridge for the people of the Nile. It is said that Og lived for three thousand years.

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485. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAṭīyah al-ʿAwfī, d. 181/797. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, II, 294; *GAS*, I, 30.

486. Qays b. al-Rabīʿ al-Asadī, Abū Muḥammad, d. 168/784. He was noted for his extensive travel to hear traditions and his learning. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 262–63.

The Deaths of Moses and of Aaron, the Sons of Amram

Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī related to us—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī, in an account that he mentioned—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās; also Murrah al-Hamdānī—ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd; as well as—some of the companions of the Prophet: Then God inspired Moses, saying: "I am going to take Aaron to me,[487] so bring him to such and such a mountain." Moses and Aaron went toward that mountain and lo! There was a tree, unlike any that had ever been seen, and lo! There was a dwelling, and within it a bedstead on which were cushions, and a pleasant smell all about. When Aaron saw the mountain and the house and what was in it, it pleased him, and he said: "O Moses! I would like to sleep on this bed." Moses said to him: "Then go to sleep on it." He said: "But I am afraid that the master of this house will return and be angry with me." Moses said to him: "Do not be afraid! I will protect you from the master of this house, so sleep!" Aaron said: "O Moses! Rather sleep with me, so, if the master of this house comes, he will be angry with both of us." When they fell asleep, death took Aaron. When he felt its touch, he said: "O Moses! You have deceived me!" When he was dead, the house was taken away, the tree disappeared, and the bed was raised to heaven. [502]

487. Lit. *mutawaff* "cause [him] to die." For other legends about the death of Aaron, see Schwarzbaum, "Jewish, Christian, Moslem and Falasha Legends of the Death of Aaron, the High Priest."

When Moses returned to the Children of Israel without Aaron, they said that Moses had killed Aaron, because he had envied their love for him, for Aaron was more forbearing and more lenient with them, while Moses had a certain harshness toward them. When this reached Moses, he said to them: "Woe unto you! He was my brother. [503] Do you think that I would kill him?" And when they spoke against him more, he arose and performed two *rakʿahs*,[488] and then prayed to God, Who made the bed descend so that they could see it between heaven and earth; and then they believed Moses.

Then, while Moses was walking with his servant Joshua, a black wind suddenly approached. When Joshua saw it, he thought that the Hour[489] was at hand. He clung to Moses and said, "The Hour is appearing while I cling to Moses, the prophet of God." But Moses withdrew himself gently from under his shirt, leaving it in Joshua's hand. When Joshua returned with the shirt, the Israelites seized him, saying, "You have killed the prophet of God!" He said, "No, by God! I have not killed him. He pulled himself away from me." But they did not believe him and wanted to kill him. He said, "If you do not believe me, give me a delay of three days." Then he prayed to God, and every man who was guarding him was approached in a dream and informed that Joshua had not killed Moses; rather, "We have raised him up to Us," and they left him alone. Not one of those who had refused to enter the village of the giants with Moses remained, but they [had] died without witnessing the victory.

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq: The sincere friend of God (i.e., Moses) hated death and found it distressing.[490] Because he hated it, God wanted him to love death and to hate life. So prophecy was transferred to Joshua b. Nun, and he would walk with Moses morning and evening. Moses would say to him: "O prophet of God! what has God caused to happen to you?" Joshua b. Nun would respond: "O Prophet of God! Did I not accompany you so-and-so many years? Did I ever ask you about anything God did with you until you mentioned it first?" Joshua would not mention any-

488. Two *rakʿahs* are two sections of the Muslim prayer ceremonial, going through certain ritual postures and recitations. See *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. *Ṣalāt*.

489. *I.e.*, the hour of final judgment.

490. Compare the following account of the death of Moses with the Jewish *midrash* in Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, III, 463–79.

thing to him, and when Moses saw that he hated life and loved [504]
death.

Ibn Ḥumayd said — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq: The Chosen One of God, according to what Wahb b. Munabbih told me, used to seek shade under a trellis, eating and drinking from a stone trough. When he wanted to drink after he had eaten, he would put his mouth into that trough as an animal would, humbling himself to God when God honored him as He did with His speech.

Wahb said, and it was mentioned to me in regard to his death, that the Chosen One of God went out from that trellis of his one day for some need, and not one of God's creatures was aware of him. He passed by a small group of angels digging a grave. He recognized them and approached them, until he was standing next to them. He saw then that they were digging a grave more beautiful than he had ever seen, nor had he seen the like of the greenness, lushness, and beauty that was in it. He said to them, "O angels of God! For whom are you digging this grave?" They replied, "We are digging it for a servant who is esteemed by his Lord." He said, "This servant is surely in a lodging from God[491] that I have never seen the like of [before] today as a place to lie down or to enter." That was when there was about to occur from God what occurred regarding his being taken. The angel said to him, "O Chosen One of God, would you want it to be yours?" He said, "I should like that." They said, "Go down and lie down in it, turn your face to your Lord, and breathe the lightest breath you have ever breathed." He descended, lay down in it, and turned to his Lord. Then he breathed, and God took his soul, whereupon the angels covered him over. The Chosen One of God had been abstemious in this world, desiring what was with God. [505]

Abū Kurayb — Muṣʿab b. al-Miqdām[492] — Ḥammād b. Salamah — ʿAmmār b. Abī ʿAmmār, a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim[493] — Abū Hurayrah:[494] The Messenger of God said that the Angel of Death

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491. *La-bi-manzalin*, perhaps for *la-bi-manzalatin* "is surely esteemed by God." Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I, 198, has "*lahu manzalun karīmun*."

492. Muṣʿab b. al-Miqdām. *Index*, 553. Not further identified.

493. ʿAmmār b. Abī ʿAmmār, *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim. Probably the son of Yāsir b. ʿĀmir al-Kanānī, Abū ʿAmmār, d. ca. 615, an early convert to Islam. Al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IX, 153.

494. Abū Hurayrah, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣakhr al-Dawsī, b. 602, d. 61/679. This Companion of the Prophet was noted for the large number of traditions, that he transmitted, many of them were used by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. *EI²*, s.v. "Abū Hurayra," al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IX, 80–81; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, XII, 262–67.

used to come to people in clear view until he came to Moses, who slapped him and put out his eye. He continued: He returned and said, "O Lord! Your servant Moses put out my eye. Were it not for his regard with You, I would have caused him distress." God said to him, "Go to My servant Moses, and tell him to place the palm of his hand on the back of an ox; for each hair his hand covers, he has a year. Give him a choice between that and dying now." So the Angel of Death went to him and gave him the choice. Moses said to him, "What will happen after that?"[495] He replied, "Death," so he said, "Then let it be now!" He inhaled him with a breath that took away his soul. After that [death] came to people secretly.

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—[Salamah]—Abū Sinān al-Shaybānī[496] —Abū Isḥāq—ʿAmr b. Maymūn:[497] Moses and Aaron both died in the wilderness, Aaron dying before Moses. They had both gone out in the wilderness to a certain cave where Aaron died and Moses buried him. Then Moses returned to the Children of Israel, who said, "What has Aaron done?" Moses replied, "He has died." They said, "You lie! You have killed him because of our love for him"—because he was beloved by the Children of Israel. Moses beseeched his Lord, complaining of what he had encountered from the Children of Israel. God revealed to him, "Take them to his burial place, and I shall revive him so that he may inform them that he died a natural death and that you did not kill him." He took them to the grave of Aaron and called out, "O Aaron!" and he emerged from his grave, shaking the dust off his head. Then Moses said, "Did I kill you?" and Aaron replied. "No, by God! I died a natural death." Moses said,
[506] "Then return to your bed," and they departed.

The entire span of the life of Moses was one hundred and twenty years — twenty of them during the reign of Afrīdhūn and one hundred during the reign of Manūshihr. The beginning of God's sending him as a prophet, until He took Moses to Himself, was during the reign of Manūshihr.

Then, after Moses, God sent Joshua b. Nun b. Ephraim b. Joseph b. Jacob b. Isaac b. Abraham as a prophet and commanded him to journey toward Jericho and do battle with the giants who were there.

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495. I.e., after the span of years equal to the number of hairs covered by his hand.

496. Abū Sinān Ḍirār b. Murrah al-Shaybānī. A reliable transmitter of tradition in al-Kūfah. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 236.

497. ʿAmr b. Maymūn al-Awdī, d. 74 or 75/693 or 694. Related traditions from ʿUmar. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 80.

Earlier scholars have disagreed about who committed this act and when Joshua journeyed there: Was the journey there during the lifetime of Moses b. Amram or after his death? Some of them said that Joshua did not journey, and was not commanded to journey, to Jericho, except after Moses and all those who refused to journey there with Moses b. Amram, when God commanded them to fight the giants there, had died. They said: Moses and Aaron both died before leaving the wilderness.

Mention of Those Who Said That: ʿAbd al-Karīm b. al-Haytham,[498] related to me—Ibrāhīm b. Bashshār[499]—Sufyān, who said: Abū Saʿīd[500]—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: When Moses prayed: *"My Lord! I have control of none but myself and my brother, so distinguish between us and the wrongdoing people," God said: "This land will be forbidden to them for forty years during which they will wander bewildered in the earth."*[501] Ibn ʿAbbās continued: Then they entered the wilderness, and whoever entered the wilderness and was over twenty years old died there. Moses died in the wilderness, and Aaron died before him. They continued their aimless wandering for forty years. Joshua and those who remained with him struggled against the city of the giants, and Joshua eventually conquered them. [507]

Bishr[502] related to us—Yazīd b. Zurayʿ—Saʿīd—Qatādah: God said, *"This land will be forbidden to them for forty years"*... to the end of the verse.[503] The towns were forbidden to them, and they could not settle in a town for forty years. It has been mentioned to us that Moses died during these forty years, and none of them entered the Holy Land[504] except their sons and the two men who said what they did.[505]

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498. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. al-Haytham b. Ziyād al-Qaṭṭān, d. 278/891. He visited major centers of learning in Iraq, Damascus, and Egypt and was considered a trustworthy transmitter. *GAS*, I, 153–54.

499. Ibrāhīm b. Bashshār al-Ramādī, Abū Isḥāq. A companion of Ibn ʿUyaynah [n. 33, above], he died in al-Baṣrah. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 58.

500. Possibly Saʿīd b. Abī Saʿīd al-Miqbarī, Abū Saʿd. *Index*, 230, 232. Not further identified.

501. Qur'ān 5:25–26.

502. *I.e.*, Bishr b. Muʿādh. See n. 98, above.

503. Qur'ān 5:25–26. *[during which they will wander in the earth bewildered. So do not grieve over the wrongdoing people.]*

504. *I.e.*, *bayt al-maqdis*.

505. Namely, Joshua and Caleb, who were true to the agreement not to reveal what they had seen when spying out the land.

Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī related to me saying—ʿAmr[506]—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī, in an account the chain of authorities of which I have mentioned previously: None of those who had refused to enter the city of the giants with Moses remained, but all died without participating in the conquest. After the forty years had passed, God sent Joshua b. Nun as a prophet, and he told the Children of Israel that he was a prophet and that God had commanded him to fight the giants. They gave him their allegiance and believed him, so he attacked the giants. They attacked and rushed at the giants, slaying them all. A band of Israelites would gather around the neck of one of the giants and strike it. Yet they were unable to cut through it.

Ibn Bashshār related to us—Sulaymān b. Ḥarb[507]—Abū Hilāl[508]—Qatādah, regarding God's word, *"This land will be forbidden to them,"*[509] he said, "[that means] forever."

Al-Muthannā[510] related to me, saying—Muslim b. Ibrāhīm[511]—Hārūn al-Naḥwī[512]—al-Zubayr b. al-Khirrīt[513]—ʿIkrimah, regarding His word, *"This will be forbidden to them for forty years during which they will wander in the earth,"*[514] he said, "What is forbidden to them is the wandering."

[508] Others have said that it was Moses who conquered Jericho but Joshua was in command of the vanguard of Moses when he journeyed forth against them.

Mention of those who said that: Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Moses journeyed with them, after the youngsters from among the offspring of those who had refused to fight the giants

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506. ʿAmr b. Muḥammad al-ʿAnqarī (?). See Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 281–82.

507. Sulaymān b. Ḥarb al-Azdī al-Wāshijī, Abū Ayyūb, 140–235/757–849. A trustworthy transmitter of many traditions, he served as *qāḍī* in Mecca, then returned to al-Baṣrah, where he died. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 52; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, III, 183; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, IV, 178.

508. Abū Hilāl Muḥammad b. Sulaym, Abū ʿAbdallāh, al-ʿAbdī. He lived during the reign of al-Ma'mūn, when he served as *qāḍī*. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 93.

509. Qur'ān 5:26.

510. Al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm al-Āmulī, d. 224/837. *Index*, 497; *GAS*, I, 20, 27, 35, 41.

511. Muslim b. Ibrāhīm al-Azdī al-Farāhidī, Abū ʿAmr, d. 223/836. A Baṣran who transmitted from several authorities and was cited by al-Bukhārī, Abū Dāwūd, and others. A trustworthy transmitter. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, 55; *GAS*, I, 103; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, X, 121–23.

512. Hārūn al-Naḥwī. *Index*, 605. Not further identified.

513. Al-Zubayr b. al-Khirrīt. *Index*, 203. Not further identified.

514. Qur'ān 5:26.

with Moses grew up, after their fathers had perished, and after the forty years had passed during which time they were made to wander aimlessly. With him were Joshua b. Nun and Caleb b. Jephunneh. The latter was, as they claim, married to[515] Miriam bt. Amram, the sister of Moses and Aaron, and was thus the brother-in-law of the latter.[516] When they reached the land of Canaan Balaam b. Beʿor, the diviner,[517] was there, a man to whom God had granted knowledge. Among the lore that God had given him was the mighty name of God,[518] according to reports, to which, when God was prayed to by means of it, He responded; and when something was requested by means of it, He granted it.

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — Sālim Abū al-Naḍr,[519] who related that when Moses came into the land of the Children of Canaan in the land of Syria, Balaam was in Bāliʿah, one of the towns of al-Balqāʾ.[520] When Moses, together with the Israelites, settled in this dwelling place, Balaam's people came to him, saying, "O Balaam! Moses b. Amram, with the Israelites, has come to remove us from our land, to kill us, and to settle the Israelites in it and make it their dwelling place. We are your people who have no dwelling place, but you are a man whose prayer is answered. So go forth and pray to God against them." He replied, "Woe unto you! He is a Prophet of God, who has angels and believers with [509]

515. *ʿAlā maryam*; see *Glossarium*, CCCLXXV, s.v. 'l'.

516. See above, n. 471.

517. Balʿam b. Baʿūr, *al-maʿrūf*. But *Glossarium*, CCCLVIII, suggests the possible reading *al-ʿarūf* (used by Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, I, 437), equivalent to *ʿālim*, the term used to describe Balaam on p. 94, below. See Lane, *op. cit.*, s.v. *ʿārif*: like *ʿālim* "signifying knowing . . . particularly [skilled in divine things] possessing knowledge of God, and of His kingdom . . . see also *maʿrūf*." For a full discussion of the Arabic stories connected with Balʿam, see H. Schützinger, "Die arabische Bileam-Erzählung." See also al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 209–12.

518. Possibly reflecting the Jewish concept of *shem ha-mʿforash*, the ineffable name of God, Muslim tradition speaks of *al-ism al-aʿẓam*, Muḥammad having said that whoever calls upon God by this name shall obtain all his desires. See Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī *Mishkāt al-masābīḥ* X, 1.

519. Sālim Abū al-Naḍr. *Index*, 220. Not further identified.

520. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I, 479, cited by Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 416, says only that Bāliʿah is in al-Balqāʾ and is the place of origin of Balaam. Al-Balqāʾ was a district of the province of Damascus, east of the Jordan, between the districts of Damascus and Karak. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 36, following Yaʿqūbī, states that its capital was ʿAmmān; on p. 456, following Abū al-Fidāʾ, he states that its capital was Ḥusbān (see below), which seems to have been true during the Mamluk period. See al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 209, on al-Balqāʾ.

him. How can I go and pray against them when whatever I know is from God?" They said, "But, we have no dwelling place." They continued cajoling him and pleading with him until they beguiled him, and he was won over. He mounted his she-ass and headed for the mountain where he could observe the Israelite army, Mount Heshbon.[521] He had not journeyed very far[522] on the she-ass when she lay down with him on her back. He got off and struck her. When he was sharp with her she arose, and he mounted her again. But she did not travel far until she lay down with him again, and he did what he had previously done. She got up, and he mounted her. She did not travel far until she lay down with him, and he beat her until, when he was sharp with her, God permitted her to speak, and she argued with him, saying, "Woe to you, O Balaam! Where are you going? Don't you see the angels in front of me, turning me back? Will you go to the Prophet of God and the believers to pray against them?" Balaam did not stop beating her, so God opened the path to her when he did that to her.

They traveled together until, from Mount Heshbon, they overlooked the Israelite army. Balaam began to pray against them. However, he could not utter a prayer against the Israelites without God's turning his tongue instead against his own people, nor could he pray for his people without God's turning his tongue instead toward the Israelites. So his people said to him, "Do you know what you are doing, O Balaam? You are praying for them and against us." He said, "I have no control over this matter. This is a matter over which God
[510] has power." As his tongue lolled and he fell down upon his chest, he said to them, "Both this world and the next have departed from me, and nothing remains but stratagems and deceptions. So I will plan a stratagem for you, using deceit. Adorn your women and give them some goods. Then send them to the Israelite army to sell them. Command each to give herself to any man who desires her, because, if even one of the men commits fornication, then you will be protected against them."

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521. Mount Heshbon is Arabic Ḥusbān, Ḥasbān. Cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 456. See also Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans*, xv, 15 (Ḥasban), 51 (Ḥusbān).

522. *Fa-mā sāra ʿalayhā ghayra qalīlin*, here, but al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 210, has *fa-lamma sāra ʿalayhā ghayra baʿīdin*; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I, 201, has *fa-mā sāra ʿalayhā illā qalīlan*.

They did as they were instructed. When the women reached the Israelite army, one of the Canaanite women, named Cozbi, daughter of Zur, who was head of his people and of the sons of his father, those of them who had been in Midian, he being the eldest of them, passed by one of the most powerful Israelite men, named Zimri b. Salu, chief of the tribe of Simeon b. Jacob b. Isaac b. Abraham.[523] Because he was pleased by her beauty, he arose and took her by the hand. They approached Moses, and Zimri said, "I believe that you will say that 'This is forbidden to you.'" Moses replied, "Certainly, she is forbidden to you. Do not draw near her." Zimri responded, "By God! We will not obey you in this matter." Then they entered his tent and had intercourse. As a result, God sent the plague among the Israelites.

Phineas b. Eleazar b. Aaron, a man who possessed strength and great courage, managed affairs for Moses. He had been absent when Zimri b. Salu did what he did. When he returned, the plague was raging among the Israelites. After he was informed of Zimri's affair, he seized his spear, which was made entirely of iron, entered the tent where the two were lying beside one another, and pierced them with his spear. Taking the spear in his forearm, propping his elbow on his waist, and leaning the spear against his jaw, Phineas left the tent [511] with both of them raised to the heavens. The firstborn of Eleazar, Phineas, began to call out, "My God! We will do this to those who disobey You," and the plague was lifted. A count was taken of the Israelites who had perished in the plague from the time Zimri had accosted the woman until Phineas killed him; they found that seventy thousand Israelites had perished. Even those who gave the lowest figures said twenty thousand during one hour alone. Since then, from every animal the Israelites sacrificed, they would give the descendants of Phineas b. Eleazar b. Aaron the stomach, the foreleg, and the jaw, because he propped his spear on his waist, held it by his forearm, and leaned it against his jaw. Because Phineas was Eleazar's firstborn son, they gave their firstborn and the firstborn of all their possessions as well.[524]

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523. Based on the biblical account in Numbers 25, here the man's name is Zimrī b. Shalūm, and the name of the Midianite woman is Kasbā bt. Ṣūr.

524. A reflection of the biblical rules regarding the portions of sacrificial animals given to the priests (Leviticus 7:14, 30, 36; Numbers 18:10–11), as well as the commandment regarding the redemption of the firstborn son (Exodus 13:15; 34:19; Deuteronomy 15:19). See *EJ*, VI, 1306–7.

Regarding Balaam b. Beʿor, God revealed to Muḥammad, *"Recite to them the tale of him to whom We gave Our revelations, but he sloughed them off"* — meaning Balaam b. Beʿor — *"so Satan overtook him [and he became one who leads astray. Had We willed We could have raised him by their means, but he clung to the earth and followed his own lust. Therefore his likeness is as that of a dog: If you attack him, he pants with his tongue out, and if you leave him, he pants with his tongue out. Such is the likeness of the people who deny Our revelations. Narrate to them the history (of the men of old), that] perhaps they may take thought"*[525] — namely, the Children of Israel. "I have brought them the history of what occurred among them but that they concealed from you. Perhaps they would then consider and realize that only a prophet could bring them this history of what happened to them in the past, a prophet whose account comes from heaven."

Then Moses sent Joshua b. Nun ahead to Jericho with the Israelites. [Joshua] entered with them and slew the giants who lived there. He smote those he smote among them, and there remained of them only a remnant on the day on which he smote them. Night approached, and [Joshua] feared that, if the night covered them, the giants would elude him. So he asked the sun to stand still and prayed to God to detain it. He did so until [Joshua] extirpated them. Then
[512] Moses entered Jericho with the Israelites and remained there as long as God wished. Then God took Moses to Himself; the whereabouts of his grave are unknown.

On the other hand, al-Suddī related in his account, the chain of transmission of which I have mentioned previously, that Joshua b. Nun fought the giants after the death of Moses and Aaron. He related about him and them what I am mentioning, recounting therein that God sent Joshua as a prophet after the forty years had ended. Joshua summoned the Children of Israel and told them that he was a prophet whom God had commanded to fight the giants. They gave him their allegiance and believed him. A man of the Israelites named Balaam went forth. He was a learned man, one who knew the great ineffable name [of God]. But he became an unbeliever and went over to the giants, saying, "Do not be afraid of the Israelites. When you go to fight them, I will utter a prayer against them, and they will

525. Qurʾān 7:175–76.

perish." He obtained all the worldly goods that he had wanted from them, but he could not approach their women, because of their enormous size. Therefore, he resorted to intercourse with one of his she-asses. God was speaking about Balaam when He said, *"Recite to them the tale of him to whom We gave Our revelations"*... that is, he saw... *"yet he sloughed them off, so Satan overtook him, and he became one who leads astray"*... to where he said... *"but he clung to the earth and followed his own lust. Therefore his likeness is as that of a dog: If you attack him, he pants with his tongue out; if you leave him, he pants with his tongue out."*[526] And Balaam used to pant with his tongue out just as a dog does.

Joshua, along with the people, went to battle against the giants, [513] while Balaam accompanied the giants on his she-ass. He intended to curse the Israelites, yet, whenever he wished to pray against them, the prayer went against the giants instead. The giants said, "Verily, you are only praying against us." Balaam replied, "But I only intended to affect the Children of Israel." When he reached the gate of the city, an angel took hold of the tail of his she-ass and held it tight. [Balaam] began to goad her, but she would not move. When he continued to beat her, she spoke, saying, "You have intercourse with me by night and ride me by day. Woe is me from you! If I could go farther, I would, but this angel is stopping me."

Joshua fought a fierce battle against the giants on Friday, lasting until the evening when the sun set and the sabbath began. He prayed to God and said to the sun, "Verily, you and I are both obedient to God. O my God! Turn the sun back for me." The sun was turned back for him, and the daylight lengthened by an hour on that day. He put the giants to flight and the Israelites stormed after them, slaying them. A group of the Israelites would gather around the neck of one [giant], striking but not cutting it. They collected their spoils, which Joshua commanded them to sacrifice. The spoils were sacrificed, but fire did not descend to consume them. So Joshua said, "O Children of Israel! God has a request of you. Come now and swear allegiance to me." So they swore allegiance to him. But the hand of one man stuck to Joshua's hand. Joshua said, "Bring me what you have." The man brought him the head of an ox made of gold crowned with

526. Qur'ān 7:175–76. For complete text of verses, see preceding occurrence, n. 525, above.

sapphires and gems that he had retained fraudulently for himself. Joshua placed it, as well as the man, in the sacrifice. Fire came, consuming both the man and the sacrifice.

As for the people of the Torah, they say that Aaron and Moses per-
[514] ished in the wilderness and that God inspired Joshua after Moses, commanding him to cross the Jordan to the land He had promised and given to the Israelites. Joshua exerted himself in obeying God's command and sent [spies] toward Jericho to reconnoiter it. Then he journeyed on, with the Ark of the Covenant, until he crossed the Jordan, within which a road appeared for him and his companions. He then surrounded the city of Jericho for six months. During the seventh month, the Israelites blew their horns, gave a single great shout, and the walls of the city proceeded to fall. They sacked the city, setting it and all that was in it on fire, except for the gold, silver, and vessels of copper and iron, for these they put into the treasury. Then, however, one of the Israelites took something fraudulently, which made God angry with them. They were put to flight, and Joshua became greatly grieved until God revealed that he should draw lots from among the tribes. He did so, and the lot fell upon the man who had taken items fraudulently. His stolen loot was removed from his house. Then Joshua stoned him and burned everything that belonged to him. They named that place after the one who possessed the loot, who was ʿĀḥir. The place is known, until this day, as the valley of ʿĀḥir.[527]

Then Joshua rallied them against the king of Ai[528] and his people, with God guiding them to battle. God commanded Joshua to lay an ambush for them. He did so, and conquered Ai, crucifying its king on a piece of wood and setting fire to the city. He slew twelve thousand men and women of its inhabitants. The people of the valley of Gibeon[529] deceived Joshua so that he pledged their safety. But, when he became aware of their deceit, he prayed to God against them — that they should become hewers of wood and drawers of water; they
[515] became so. He also wanted Bāziq,[530] the king of Jerusalem, to be re-

527. Ghawr ʿĀḥir, Hebrew *ʿemeq ʿakhor*, Joshua 7:24, 26; 15:7. In this biblical account, the man who stole from the booty was named Achan (ʿAkhan), and no link is made between his name and that of the valley.

528. Arabic: ʿĀyī. See Joshua 8 for the biblical account.

529. Arabic: ʿImaq Jabʿūn. See Joshua 9–10 for the account of the trick played by the Gibeonites and their later relations with Joshua.

530. A misreading of the biblical Adoni-Zedek (*ṣedeq*), king of Jerusalem, Joshua

duced to beggary.[531] Then the kings of the Amorites,[532] who were five in number, sent one to the other, and all of them assembled against Gibeon, the people of which asked Joshua for assistance. Joshua gave it to them, and they routed the kings, driving them down into the gorge of Ḥawrān.[533] God then cast down hailstones upon them, and there were more people killed by the hail than were slain by the swords of the Israelites.

Joshua asked the sun to stand still and the moon to rise until he could avenge his enemies before the beginning of the sabbath. Both [luminaries] did so while the five kings fled and hid in a cave. Joshua gave orders to close off the entrance to the cave until he finished avenging himself on his foes. Then he gave orders for them to be brought forth, whereupon he killed and crucified them. He then took them down from the pieces of wood and threw them into the cave in which they had been hiding. He then attacked the remaining kings one by one in Syria, wiping out thirty-one among them; and he divided up the land he had conquered.

Then Joshua died and was buried on Mount Ephraim. After his death, the tribes of Judah and Simeon battled against the Canaanites. The Israelites ravaged their women, and they slew ten thousand of them in Bāziq.[534] They seized the king of Bāziq, cutting off his thumbs and great toes. The king of Bāziq replied, "Seventy kings, with cut-off thumbs and great toes, used to pick up bread from under my table. Now God has paid me back for my actions." The king of Bāziq was then taken to Jerusalem, where he died. The sons of Judah continued to fight the remaining Canaanites and took control of their land.

The span of Joshua's life was one hundred and twenty-six years, and his authority over the Israelites, from the time of death of Moses until his death, lasted twenty-seven years. [516]

10:1, or confusion with Adoni-Bezek, king of Bezek, Judges 1:5. See n. 534, below. Septuagint Joshua 10:1 has Adonibezek, a possible source for this reading. Text has Ūrshalim; MS BM has Urasalam.

531. *Yataṣaddaqu*. See *Glossarium*, CCCXXIII, *sensu mendicavit*.

532. Here *al-armāniyīn*, but Joshua 10:5 speaks of the "five kings of the Amorites" —Hebrew *emorī*.

533. Classical Auranitis, one of the southeastern portions of the province of Damascus, north of the Balqā'. See n. 520, above. Its capital was Buṣrā. See Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 32–34; Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, II, 357–58.

534. Bezek, a city of the Canaanites and Perizzites. See Judges 1:4–7, where the words of Adoni-Bezek (*i.e.*, lord of Bezek) are given in almost the same form as here.

It is said that the first man to rule as king among the kings of Yemen was from Ḥimyar, during the age of Moses b. Amram. He was named Shamīr b. al-Amlūl,[535] and he built the city of Ẓafār[536] in Yemen, driving out the Amalekites who were there. At that time, this Shamīr b. al-Amlūl al-Ḥimyarī, had been selected as a governor over Yemen and its vicinity by the king of Persia.

Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī asserted that a remnant of Canaanites remained after Joshua slew those of them he had slain. He also asserted that Ifrīqīs[537] b. Qays b. Ṣayfī b. Saba' b. Ka'b b. Zayd b. Ḥimyar b. Saba' b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Joktan (Qaḥṭān) passed by them on his way toward Ifrīqiyah. He carried them from the coasts of Syria and brought them to Ifrīqiyah. Then he conquered it, killing its king, Jirjīr,[538] and settled it with the remnant of the Canaanites whom he had taken with him from the coasts of Syria.[539] [Al-Kalbī] said the Berbers are so named because Ifrīqīs said to them, "How much noise *(barbara)* you make!" Therefore they were called Berbers. It is also mentioned that Ifrīqīs said, in a poem, regarding their noise:

Canaan made noise when I drove them
from lands of destruction[540] to a life of wonder.[541]

Among the Berbers from Ḥimyar were the Ṣinhājah and Kutāmah, who are still among them today.[542]

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535. Probably the same as Shamr b. al-Umlūk al-Ḥimyarī, supposedly contemporary with Moses, who built Ẓafar and drove the Amalekites out of Yemen. See al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, III, 253.

536. An ancient city in Yemen, south of Ṣan'ā', and a capital of the Himyarite kings. See Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, III, 576–77.

537. The same as Afrīqūs b. Qays b. Ṣayfī, whose exploits in North Africa were doubted by Ibn Khaldūn. See *al-Muqaddimah*, trans. Rosenthal, I, 21–25, on errors concerning Yemenite history. Also written Ifrīqīsh, in MS Tn. See n. 125, above, where Ifrīqīs is listed as a descendant of Isaac. See also n. 154, above, and n. 797, below, for similar genealogies.

538. According to Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, during the Muslim conquest of North Africa in 27/647/48, killed Gregory (Jirjīr), the Byzantine governor of the province. See Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, trans. Rosenthal, III, 474 n. 1939. There was undoubtedly confusion between those two events. MS C has Jirjīs, but other MSS have Jirjīr.

539. Perhaps reflecting the Phoenician establishment of Carthage.

540. MS Tn has *al-mulk* "dominion," instead of *al-hulk* "destruction." Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire*, I, 111, has *al-ḍank* "straitness."

541. Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire*, I, 111, has *al-khaṣab* "fruitfulness," instead of *al-'ajab* "wonder."

542. Two great Berber groups. See Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah*, trans. Rosenthal, I, 22, for a specific refutation of this claim of Himyarite origin.

The Affair of Korah b. Izhar b. Kohath[543]

[517]

Korah was the cousin of Moses. Al-Qāsim[544] said—al-Ḥusayn[545]—Ḥajjāj[546]—Ibn Jurayj: [Regarding] His word: *Korah was of the people of Moses,*[547] he said: "This means the son of his uncle, the brother of his father." He said: "Korah was the son of Izhar"—thus said al-Qāsim—"[He was] the son of Kohath, and Moses was the son of ʿArmar b. Kohath, and ʿ*Armar* in Arabic is ʿ*Imrān*." Thus said al-Qāsim, but in fact it is *Amram*, [not ʿ*Armar*].

As for Ibn Isḥāq, he said what Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah—[Ibn Isḥāq]: Izhar b. Kohath married Shummayth bt. Tabāwīb[548] b. Barakiyā[549] b. Yaqsān b. Abraham, who bore him Amram b. Izhar and Korah b. Izhar. Thus Korah, according to Ibn Isḥāq, was the uncle of Moses, the brother of his father by both his father and his mother. As for the learned men of the forebears of our people and of the people of the two scriptures,[550] they agree with what Ibn Jurayj said.

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543. *Qārūn* in Arabic. The biblical story of Korah is found in Numbers 16; the Jewish legends about him are in Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, III, 286–303. See also *EI*, X, 1190–94; *EI²*, s.v. "Ḳārūn"; al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 188–92.

544. *I.e.*, al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan al-Hamadānī. See n. 243, above.

545. Al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd al-Maṣṣīṣī. See n. 244, above.

546. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad. See n. 245, above.

547. Qurʾān 28:76.

548. Unpointed in text. Pointing comes from MS Tn.

549. MS Tn has Baraknā. The editor suggests it is Hebrew Berachya.

550. *I.e.*, the Torah and the Gospels, the Jews and the Christians.

The Mention of Those among Our Past Scholars Whose Reports about That Have Reached Us

Abū Kurayb related to us—Jābir b. Nūḥ[551]—Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid[552]—Ibrāhīm,[553] concerning [God's] saying that *Korah was of the people of Moses:* He was the paternal cousin of Moses.

Ibn Bashshār[554] related to us—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[555]—Sufyān—Simāk b. Ḥarb[556]—Ibrāhīm: Korah was the paternal cousin of Moses.

[518] Ibn Wakīʿ related to us—my father—Sufyān—Simāk—Ibrāhīm said [concerning the statement] that *Korah was of the people of Moses;* he was his paternal cousin and he treated [Moses] unjustly.

Ibn Wakīʿ related to us—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān[557]—[Sufyān][558] Simāk b. Ḥarb—Ibrāhīm: Korah was the paternal cousin of Moses.

Ibn Wakīʿ related to us—Abū Muʿāwiyah[559]—Ibn Abī Khālid—Ibrahim: *Korah was of the people of Moses* means that he was his paternal cousin.

Bishr b. Muʿādh related to us—Yazīd—Saʿīd—Qatādah: Concerning His saying that *Korah was of the people of Moses,* it has been related to us that he was his paternal cousin, [son of] his father's brother; he was called "al-Munawwir" because of the beauty of his description in the Torah.[560] But the enemy of God played the hypocrite, just like al-Sāmirī,[561] and injustice destroyed him.

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551. Jābir b. Nūḥ al-Ḥamānī, Abū Bashīr. *Index,* 93. Not further identified.

552. Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid, *mawlā* of al-Bujaylah, al-Aḥmasī, d. 146/763. *GAS,* I, 821.

553. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd b. Qays al-Nakhaʿī, Abū ʿImrān, 50–97/670–715, a leading jurist and transmitter of traditions from al-Kūfah. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.,* VI, 188–99; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.,* 177–79; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.,* I, 76; *GAS,* I, 403–4.

554. Muḥammad b. Bashshār. See n. 481, above.

555. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī b. Ḥassān al-ʿAnbarī al-Luʾluʾī al-Baṣrī, 135–98/752–814. One of the leading memorizers of traditions. *GAS,* I, 781; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.,* IV, 115.

556. Simāk b. Ḥarb b. Aws b. Khālid al-Dhahilī al-Bakrī, Abū al-Mughīrah, d. 123/741, a Kūfan transmitter of traditions. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.,* IV, 222; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.,* III, 202.

557. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān al-Taymī, Abū Saʿīd, 120–98/737–813. A Baṣran memorizer of traditions, he rendered legal opinions according to Abū Ḥanīfah. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.,* VII, 2, 47; *GAS,* I, 852; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.,* IX, 181.

558. MS Tn inserts—Sufyān—, missing in other MSS.

559. Abū Muʿāwiyah al-Ḍarīr. See n. 251, above.

560. There seems to be no basis for this in the Torah. The genealogy of Korah is given as b. Izhar b. Kohath (Numbers 16:1), as here.

561. Korah, al-Sāmirī, Haman, and Pharaoh (Firʿawn) are all the prototypes of evil tyrants in the Qurʾān and are often compared with one another. See n. 302, above.

Bishr b. Hilāl al-Ṣawwāf[562] — Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Ḍubaʿī[563] — Mālik b. Dīnār:[564] I was told that Moses b. Amram was the paternal cousin of Korah, whom God had given great wealth; as God described it, *We gave him so much treasure that the very keys thereof would have been a burden for a troop of mighty men*[565] ... by His saying *burden*, He meant something oppressive.

It is said that the keys of his storehouses were, we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd — Jarīr[566] — Manṣūr[567] — Khaythamah,[568] regarding His statement that *the very keys thereof would have been a burden for a troop of mighty men*,[569] as we find written in the Gospels:[570] [519]
The keys of Korah [equal] the burden of sixty mules with white blazes on their foreheads and white legs. No key was greater than a finger in length, and each one was connected to a treasure.

Abū Kurayb related to me — Hushaym[571] — Ismāʿīl b. Sālim[572] — Abū Ṣāliḥ: The very keys thereof would have been a burden for a troop. He said. "The keys of his storehouses were carried by forty mules."

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562. Bishr b. Hilāl al-Ṣawwāf. *Index*, 70. Not further identified.

563. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Ḍubaʿī, Abū Sulaymān, *mawlā* of Banū al-Ḥarīsh, d. 178/794, a reliable transmitter, tending toward Shīʿism. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, 44.

564. Mālik b. Dīnār al-Sāmī al-Nājī, Abū Yaḥyā, d. 131/748, from al-Baṣrah. He was noted as an ascetic and transmitted traditions from Anas b. Mālik, among others. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, X, 14–15; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, 243; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, VI, 134; *GAS*, I, 634.

565. Qurʾān 28:76.

566. Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāzī al-Ḍabbī, 110–188/728–804. A Kūfan who lived and died in al-Rayy, he was much sought after for his extensive knowledge of tradition (Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII, 2, 110; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, II, 111), according to *Index*, 99. But *GAS*, I, 404, seems to indicate that Jarīr b. Ḥāzim was the next in transmission from Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir, below.

567. Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sulamī, Abū ʿAttāb, d. 132/749 or 750. A very famous Kūfan transmitter, than whom no one had memorized more traditions, he was considered very reliable. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, I, 312; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 235; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, VIII, 245.

568. Khaythamah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He was a reliable traditionist, born in Medina, who lived in al-Kūfah. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 200–1.

569. Qurʾān 28:76.

570. No mention of this is found in the Gospels.

571. Hishām in text. Reading with Ibrahim, I, *op. cit.*, 444 n. 2, who identifies him as Hushaym b. Bashīr b. al-Qāsim al-Sulamī, Abū Muʿāwiyah, 104–83/722–99. A transmitter of *ḥadīth* from Ismāʿīl b. Sālim, according to Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, XI, 59–63; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 61; *GAS*, I, 38; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IX, 89.

572. Ismāʿīl b. Sālim al-Asadī. A Kūfan who lived in Baghdad before it became the ʿAbbāsid capital, he was considered a reliable authority and was much quoted by Hushaym above. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 67.

Abū Kurayb related to us—Jābir b. Nūḥ—al-Aʿmash[573]—Khaythamah: The keys of Korah were carried by sixty mules, and each key, resembling a finger (and made) of leather, was for the door of a specific treasure.

Ibn Wakīʿ related to us—my father—al-Aʿmash—Khaythamah, who said: "The keys of Korah were made of leather, each like a finger, and each for a separate storehouse. When Korah traveled, his keys were carried on sixty mules with white blazes and white legs. The enemy of God rebelled because of the ill luck and trial God desired to inflict through him on His people due to the greatness of his wealth."

It is said that his oppression of them consisted of his having surpassed them in luxurious garments. The like of this was related to me by ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Kindī,[574] Abū al-Sāʾib[575] and Ibn Wakīʿ—Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth[576]—Layth[577]—Shahr b. Ḥawshab.[578] The people warned Korah about his oppression, forbade him to do it, and commanded him to expend what God had given him for His sake and to make use of it in obedience to Him, as God has reported regarding them, that they said to [Korah], as He said: *When his own people said to him, "Do not exult; lo! God does not love the exultant. But seek the abode of the Hereafter with what God has given you. Do not neglect* [520] *your portion of this world, and be generous as God has been generous to you. Do not seek corruption in the earth; lo! God does not love corrupters."*[579] He meant by saying "do not neglect your portion of this world" that, while you are in this world, you should not neglect to take your portion in it for your hereafter.

Korah's response showed his ignorance and his heedlessness of God's forbearance toward him, which He mentioned in His book,

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573. Al-Aʿmash. See n. 219, above.

574. ʿAlī b. Saʿīd al-Kindī. *Index*, 396. Not further identified.

575. Abū al-Sāʾib. See n. 250, above.

576. Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth b. Ṭalq al-Nakhaʿī al-Azdī, Abū ʿUmar, 117–94/735–810. He was a *qāḍī* of al-Kūfah, a reliable memorizer of tradition, and a companion of Abū Ḥanīfah. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 271–72; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, II, 291–92.

577. (Al)-Layth b. Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Abū al-Ḥārith, al-Miṣrī, 95–175/713–91. He was a leading traditionist and legal scholar of Egypt in his day. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, VIII, 459; Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 517; *GAS*, I, 520.

578. Shahr b. Ḥawshab al-Ashʿarī, 20–100/641–718. A Syrian who settled in Iraq, he served as a government official and was considered a rather weak transmitter. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 158; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, IV, 369; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, III, 259.

579. Qurʾān 28:76–77.

where [Korah] said to them: *"I have been given what I have been given of* this world *only on account of knowledge I possess."*[580] It is said that the meaning of that was "because of good I possess." Thus it was related from Qatādah. Someone else said that he meant, "If God were not pleased with me and did He not know my excellence, He would not have given me this." But God, giving the lie to his meaning,[581] said, *"Did he not know that God had already destroyed of generations before him men who were mightier than he in strength and greater in respect to gathering,"*[582] i.e., of wealth. If God gives wealth and this world only to those who please Him and possess excellence with Him, then He would not have destroyed those who possessed great wealth before him whom He did not destroy, despite the quantity of it that He had given them. Neither the warnings of those who warned him, nor the reminders of him who reminded of God and His good counsel, turned Korah back from his ignorance and oppression of his people through the use of his great wealth. Instead, he persisted in his wrong course and in going astray. He would go out among his people in his finery, mounted on a white work horse with a purple saddle, and dressed in yellow-dyed garments. He took along with him three hundred slave girls in similar garb on similarly adorned nags, as well as four thousand of his companions. Someone has said that his companions, whom he took along in the same garb and adornment, numbered [521] seventy thousand.

Ibn Wakīʿ related to us — Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar[583] — ʿUthmān b. al-Aswad[584] — Mujāhid:[585] Regarding *Then he went out before his people in his pomp,*[586] he said, [means] on white work horses with purple saddles, [their riders] wearing yellow-dyed [garments]. The people who had gone astray, among those before whom Korah went forth in his pomp, wanted the like of what had been given him and said: *"Ah, would that we had been given the like of what has been*

580. Qur'ān 28:78.

581. *Qīla* seems used here as a noun, "meaning." See also n. 590, below. Other versions have *qabla* "before."

582. Qur'ān 28:78.

583. Sulaymān b. Ḥayyān Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar. *Index*, 248. Not further identified.

584. ʿUthmān b. al-Aswad. *Index*, 374. Not further identified.

585. Mujāhid. See n. 172, above.

586. Qur'ān 28:79.

given to Korah! Lo! He is the possessor of great good fortune!"[587] But people knowledgeable of God disapproved of them for saying this, and they responded, *"Woe unto you!*[588] O You who desire what has been given to Korah! Rely on God. Do what God has commanded you, and desist from what He has forbidden. For verily God's reward and recompense to those who obey Him are better for those who believe in Him and His messengers and those who perform pious deeds, according to what He has commanded. God says, *And none but the steadfast will obtain it."*[589] He says [interpreting]: "No one will not obtain the meaning[590] of this statement except those who are steadfast in avoiding the pomp of the life of this world and who prefer God's great reward for pious deeds over the pleasures of this world and its passions and who act [to obtain it] as that requires."

When the evildoer became arrogant and continued his wrong course, undervaluing God's favor, God tried [Korah], from His precept regarding his wealth and the right He obliged from him regarding it with what his avarice brought upon him, namely, the most painful of His punishments, by which he became a warning to those who have passed away[591] and an exhortation to those remaining behind.

Abū Kurayb related to us—Jābir b. Nūḥ—al-Aʿmash—al-Minhāl
[522] b. ʿAmr—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith[592]—Ibn ʿAbbās: When the [duty of] alsmgiving was revealed, Korah came to Moses and agreed with him [on giving] one dinar for every thousand dinars, and for every thousand dirhams one dirham, and one article (*shayʾ*) for every thousand—or he said, "for every thousand sheep (*shāh*), a sheep." Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī said: "I am uncertain [about the proper wording]."

Then Korah returned to his house, made an account of his possessions and found that his tax would be very high. So he gathered the Israelites and said, "O Children of Israel! Moses has given you com-

587. Qurʾān 28:79.
588. Qurʾān 28:80.
589. Qurʾān 28:80.
590. *Qīla*, as in n. 581, above. Or "what is meant by."
591. Here *li-al-ghābirīn*. MS C has *li-al-ʿābirīn* with similar meaning, but MS Tn has *li-al-muʿtabirīn* "to those who take heed, or learn a lesson."
592. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥārith b. Nawfal al-Hāshimī, 9–84/630–703. One of the noblest of Quraysh and a nephew of Muʿāwiyah, he supported Ibn Zubayr and had to flee to Oman, where he died. See Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 15–16; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IV, 205.

mandments about everything, and you have obeyed him. Now he wants to take your possessions." They replied, "You are our elder and master, so command us as you wish." He said, "I command you to bring so-and-so, the prostitute, and offer her an agreed price. Then let her accuse [Moses of committing adultery] with her." So they called her and set a price, on the condition that she accuse him [of adultery with her]. Then Korah went to Moses and said, "Your people have gathered together for you to give them commandments and prohibitions." So Moses went out to them while they were on a plain of the land and said, "O Children of Israel! Whoever steals, we will cut off his hand; whoever forges a lie against someone, we will flog him eighty stripes; whoever fornicates and has a wife, we will flog him until he dies or stone him until he dies." Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī] said, "I am uncertain about this."[593]

Then Korah said to him, "Even if it were you?" Moses replied, "Even if it were I." Korah said, "The Israelites claim that you committed adultery with so-and-so." [Moses] said, "Call her, and if she says so, then it is as she says." When she arrived, Moses said to her, "O so-and-so!" She said, "Here I am!" He said, "Did I do to you what these people say?" She replied, "No! They lie. They set a price with me on the condition that I accuse you of [committing adultery] with [523] me." Then he stood up and bowed down, while he was still among them, and God inspired him, saying, "Command the earth to do whatever you want." Moses said, "O earth! Seize [these people]!" And it took hold of them up to their ankles. Then he said, "O earth! Seize them!" And it took hold of them up to their knees. Then he said, "O earth! Seize them!" And it took hold of them up to their necks. The narrator continued: They began saying, "O Moses! O Moses!" and pleading with him. He said, "O earth! Seize them!" And it covered them up. Then God inspired him, "My servants said to you 'O Moses! O Moses!' but you did not have mercy. But, if it had been I, they would have found Me *Nigh, Responsive.*"[594]

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593. This statement reflects the long-standing dispute in Islamic law over punishment for sexual misconduct, deriving from certain differences between the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth* on the subject. Imprisonment at home (Qur'ān 4:15) or flogging (Qur'ān 24:2) are the punishments specified in the Qur'ān. In the prophetic *Ḥadīth* stoning is added (with considerable discussion about its having been included in a Qur'ānic verse, later abrogated, the provisions of which remained in effect). This also reflects the difference in punishment of a virgin (*bikr*) and a married person (*muḥṣan*). See *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. "Zinā'."

594. Qur'ān 11:61.

And these were His words: *"Then Korah exhibited his pomp before his people."*[595] His "pomp" was when he went out on sorrel mares with purple saddles, [their riders] wearing garments dyed yellow. *"Those who desire life of this world said, 'Ah, we wish that we had been given the like of what has been given to Korah [Lo! He is lord of rare good fortune.' But those who had been given knowledge said: 'Woe unto you! The reward of God for him who believes and does right is better, and only the steadfast will attain it.' So We caused the earth to swallow him and his dwelling place. Then he had no host to help him against God. Nor was he one of those who can save themselves. And morning found those who had coveted this place only yesterday crying: 'Ah, God enlarges provision for whom He will of His servants and straitens it. If God had not been gracious to us, He would have caused it to swallow us.] Disbelievers never prosper.'* O Muḥammad! *That is the Abode of the Hereafter. We assign it to those who do not seek oppression on the earth, nor corruption. The ultimate issue is to the godfearing."*[596]

Abū Kurayb related to us—Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā[597]—al-Aʿmash—al-Minhāl—a man—Ibn ʿAbbās, more or less the same version, but he added to my version. He said that after that the Israelites endured distress and great famine; they went to Moses and said, "Pray to your Lord for us." He continued: So he prayed for them, and God inspired him, "O Moses! Do you speak to Me about a people because of whose sins what is between Me and them has become dark? They called out to you, and you did not respond to them—if it had been I, I would have answered them."

[524] Al-Qāsim[598] related to me—al-Ḥusayn[599]—ʿAlī b. Hāshim b. al-Barīd[600]—al-Aʿmash—al-Minhāl—Saʿīd b. Jubayr—Ibn ʿAbbās, regarding His saying that *Korah was of the family of Moses:* He was his paternal cousin, and, while Moses judged in one area of the Israelites, Korah did in another. He continued: Korah called on a harlot among the Israelites and offered her a price if she would accuse

595. Qur'ān 28:79.
596. Qur'ān 28:79–83.
597. Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā. *Index*, 637. Not further identified.
598. *I.e.*, al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan. See n. 243, above.
599. *I.e.*, al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwūd. See n. 244, above.
600. ʿAlī b. Hāshim b. al-Barīd, d. 181/797. A traditionist of al-Kūfah, he was considered a reliable transmitter. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 273.

Moses [of committing adultery] with her. Then he left him alone, until a day came on which the Israelites assembled with Moses. Korah went to him saying, "O Moses! What is the punishment if someone steals?" Moses replied that his hand should be cut off. He said: "And if it were you?" Moses said: "Yes." Then Korah said: "And what is the punishment if someone commits fornication?" And Moses replied that he should be stoned. Korah said, "Even if it were you?" He replied, "Yes." Korah said, "Verily, you have done that." Moses said, "Woe to you! With whom?" He replied, "With so-and-so." Moses called her and said, "I adjure you by Him Who revealed the Torah, did Korah tell the truth?" She said, "My God! Since you have adjured me, then I bear witness that you are innocent, that you are the messenger of God, and that God's enemy, Korah, offered me a price to accuse you [of adultery] with me."

Ibn ʿAbbās continued: Moses sprang up, then prostrated himself. God inspired him: "Lift up your head, for I have commanded the earth to obey you." So Moses said to the earth, "Seize them!" And it seized them until they sank to their loins. Korah called out, "O Moses!" But he said, "Seize them!" And it seized them until they sank to their chests. He called out again, "O Moses!" But he said, "Seize them!" He continued: And they disappeared. God said to him, "O Moses! Korah called out to you for help, and you did not help him. But, if he had called to Me for help, I would have responded and would have come to his aid."

Bishr b. Hilāl al-Ṣawwāf[601] related to us — Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Ḍubaʿī[602] — ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Judʿān:[603] ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith[604] left his house and entered the prayer enclosure. When he came out again, [525]
he sat down and leaned back on it, as we sat around him. He mentioned Solomon b. David. *He said, "O Chiefs! Which of you will bring me her throne before they come to me, surrendering?"* to where He said: *"For lo! My Lord is Absolute in independence, Bountiful."*[605] The narrator continued: Then he was silent about the

601. Bishr b. Hilāl al-Ṣawwāf. See n. 562, above.
602. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Ḍubaʿī. See n. 563, above.
603. ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Judʿān. See n. 405, above.
604. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥārith b. Nawfal. See n. 592, above.
605. Qurʾān 27:38–40. The following is omitted in al-Ṭabarī: *A stalwart of the jinn said: I will bring it to you before you can rise from your place. Lo! I verily am strong and trusty for such work. One who possessed knowledge of scripture said: I will bring it to you before your gaze returns to you. When he saw it set in his presence,*

account of Solomon and said that *Korah was of Moses' people, but he oppressed them.*[606] He was given so much treasure, as God mentioned in His book, *that its keys would have been a burden for a troop of mighty men.*[607] Korah said: *"I have been given it only on account of knowledge I possess."*[608]

Korah treated Moses as an enemy and harmed him, while Moses would forgive and pardon Korah because of their kinship. [This relationship persisted] until Korah built a house, making its door of gold and placing on the walls sheets of gold. The chiefs of the Israelites would visit him in the morning and evening, and he would offer them food, and they would converse with him and make him laugh. [God] did not send down upon Korah his distress and misfortune until he sent for an Israelite woman known for obscene speech and famous for insult. She came, and he said to her: "Would you like me to make you wealthy, to give you [gifts], and to let you consort with my wives? It is on the condition that you come to me while the chiefs of the Israelites are here and say, 'O Korah! will you not keep Moses from me?'" She said, "Of course." So when Korah sat with the chiefs of the Israelites, he sent for the woman. She came and stood before him, but God turned her heart, causing her to repent. She said to her-
[526] self, "I will not find today any repentance better than not harming the messenger of God and chastising the enemy of God."

Then she said, "Verily Korah said to me, 'Would you like me to make you wealthy, to give you [gifts], and to let you consort with my wives? It is on condition that you come to me while the chiefs of the Israelites are here and say, "O Korah! will you not keep Moses from me?'" But I found no repentance better than not harming the Messenger of God and chastising the enemy of God." When she spoke these words, Korah was abashed, lowered his head, and fell silent among the chiefs of the Israelites, realizing that he had fallen into his damnation. Her speech spread among the people until it reached Moses. When Moses heard the news, his anger grew strong. He

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(Solomon) said: This is of the bounty of my Lord, that He may test me whether I give Him thanks or am ungrateful. Whoever gives thanks only gives thanks for (the good of) his soul; and whoever is ungrateful (is so only to his soul's hurt).

606. Qur'ān 28:76. The change of subject is probably intended to contrast the different attitudes of Solomon and Korah to God's bounty.

607. Qur'ān 28:76.

608. Qur'ān 28:78.

cleansed himself in water, then prayed and wept, saying: "O Lord! Your enemy is causing me harm; he seeks my disgrace and shame. O Lord! Give me power over him!" God inspired him: "Command the earth to do whatever you want; it will obey you."

Moses went to Korah, and when he met him Korah detected evil in Moses' face toward him, and he said, "O Moses! Have mercy on me!" Moses said, "O earth! Seize them!" The narrator continued: The house began to move and sank with Korah and his companions up to their ankles. Korah began begging, "O Moses! Have mercy on me!" But Moses said, "O earth! Seize them!" And his house moved and sank, swallowing Korah and his companions up to their knees, while he was pleading with Moses, "O Moses! Have mercy on me!" Moses continued, "O earth! Seize them!" And his house moved and sank, and Korah and his companions were swallowed up to their navels while he was pleading with Moses, "O Moses! Have mercy on me!" Moses continued, "O earth! Seize them!" And he, his house, and his friends were all consumed by the earth.

[God] said to Moses, "O Moses! How harsh you are! But—by My glory—if only [he had called to] Me, I would have responded to him."

Bishr b. Hilāl related to me—Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān—Abū ʿImrān al-Jawnī:[609] I have heard that it was said to Moses, "I shall never again [527] subject the earth to anyone, after you."[610]

Bishr related to us—Yazīd[611]—Saʿīd—Qatādah: *So We caused the earth to engulf him and his dwelling place.*[612] It was mentioned to us that he is [further] engulfed the length of a man's stature every day, and he continues to sink into [the earth], but he will not reach its bottom until the Day of Resurrection.

When[613] God's vengeance descended upon Korah, the believers who had exhorted and warned Korah advised him to acknowledge His truth and act in obedience to Him, praised God for His favor to them, whereas those who desired the wealth and comfort in life that Korah possessed were filled with regret, and they became aware of their error in desiring it. They said what God related about them in

609. Abū ʿImrān al-Jawnī. *Index*, 411. Not further identified.

610. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I, 206, has here: "I shall not again make the earth obey anyone." Al-Ṭabarī, I, 527 n. *a*.

611. *I.e.*, Yazīd b. Zurayʿ. See n. 305, above.

612. Qurʾān 28:81.

613. This is preceded by "Abū Jaʿfar said" in Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 451.

His book: *"Alas! God makes provision abundant for those worshipers whom He will and straitens it [for whom He will]. If God had not been gracious to us*—and averted from us what Korah and his companions suffered for what we had ourselves sought yesterday — *He would have caused the earth to swallow us too*[614] — as He caused it to swallow him and them. But God rescued from every dread and trial His prophet Moses, those believers who held fast to His covenant with the Children of Israel, His servant Joshua b. Nun, and those who followed him in obedience to their Lord. Meanwhile He destroyed His enemies and theirs, Pharaoh, Haman, Korah, and the Canaanites, for their disbelief and rebellion against Him, and for their insolence, by drowning some of them, engulfing some of them in the earth, and [slaying] some of them by the sword. He made them examples for those who take warning from them and exhortation for those who are admonished by them, despite the abundance of their [528] possessions, the number of their troops, the strength of their power, and the enormity of their physiques and bodies. But their possessions, bodies, power, armies, and helpers were of no use to them against God's will, because they disavowed God's signs and spread corruption on the earth, and they took God's servants for themselves as property: so there encompassed them what they were secure from. We seek God's help from a deed that will bring His anger near, and we pray to Him for success in what will bring His love near and draw close to His mercy."

It is related from the Prophet what Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb[615] told us — my paternal uncle — al-Māḍī b. Muḥammad[616] — Abū Sulaymān[617] — al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad[618] — Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī[619] — Abū Dharr:[620] "The Messenger of God said to me that

614. Qur'ān 28:82.

615. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb al-Qurashī, Abū ʿAbdallāh, Baḥshal, d. 264/877. He was used by Muslim as a reliable transmitter, but later he was considered a weak source. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, I, 54; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, I, 141.

616. Al-Māḍī b. Muḥammad. *Index*, 491. Not further identified.

617. Abū Sulaymān ʿAlī b. Sulaymān. *Index*, 247. Not further identified.

618. Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Abū Muḥammad, 37–107/657–725. A grandson of the caliph Abū Bakr, in his time he was considered one of the greatest scholars. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, VIII, 333–35; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, VI, 15.

619. Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī ʿĀʾidh Allāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar 8–80/630–700. A Damascene scholar and jurist under ʿAbd al-Malik. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, V, 85; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IV, 4.

620. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, Jundab b. Junādah b. Sufyān b. ʿUbayd, d. 32/652. One

'the first of the prophets of the Israelites was Moses and the last was Jesus.' I said, 'O Messenger of God! What was in the pages of Moses' revelation?' He replied, 'It was all examples: I wondered at one who was sure of hellfire but laughed, I wondered at one who was sure of death but rejoiced, and I wondered at one who was sure of the reckoning tomorrow but did not act.'"

Joshua's administration of the Israelites' affairs, from the time of the death of Moses until Joshua's death, was altogether twenty years during the time of Manūshihr and seven years during the time of Afrāsyāb.[621]

We will return now to an account of those Persians who ruled in Babylon[622] after Manūshihr.

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of the earliest Muslims, he was a Companion of the Prophet. Al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, II, 136–37.

621. Text has Afrāsyāt. The same as Frāsiāb. See n. 623, below.

622. Possibly referring to Mesopotamia in general, where the Sasanian Persian capital, Ctesiphon, was located on the Tigris river.

The Persians Who Ruled in Babylon after Manūshihr

An account of the Persians who ruled in Babylon after Manūshihr, since the chronology of history can be accurately determined only
[529] by the sequence of the length of lives of their kings.

When Manūshihr the king, b. Manshakhūnar b. Manshakhwārnāgh died, Frāsiyāb b. Fashanj b. Rustam b. Turk[623] conquered Khunyārith[624] and the kingdom of the Persians and betook himself, according to what is said, to Babylon. His stays in Babylon and in Mihrijān Qudhaq[625] became frequent, and he worked much corruption in the kingdom of the Persians. It is said that when he conquered their kingdom he said, "We are hurrying to destroy mankind,"[626] and that his oppression and tyranny were great, destroying whatever was built in the land of Khunārath. He stopped up the streams and water conduits,[627] so that the people were afflicted by drought in[628] the fifth year of his reign until he left Persia and was

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623. Text has Frāsyāt (Afrāsyāb, Frāsyāb) b. Pesheng, king of Turān (*i.e.*, the Turks), hence a bitter enemy of the Iranians. See Justi, *op. cit.*, 103, s.v. "Franrasyan." See also *Enc. Ir.* I/6, s.v. "Afrāsīāb," and n. 143, above.

624. Khunyārith, Khunārath, Arabic forms of Khwanirath "center of the continents." Middle Persian Xwanirah, Avestan X^v^anıraθa, in old Iranian cosmology the seventh and central continent, encircled by the six others. An ancient name used for the Iranian realm given to Īraj. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 229 (trans. Brinner, 26 n. 93).

625. Also Qadhaq, a region of Jibāl province in west-central Iran. See Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 498. Arabic forms of *Mihragān *Kōdak, lit. "smaller Mihragān."

626. Reading *al-bariyyah;* al-Ṭabarī has here *al-barriyah* "the wasteland."

627. Referring to surface canals and underground water channels (*qanāt*).

628. *Fī* here should probably be *min*.

driven back to the land of the Turks. Meanwhile, the waters sank into the earth, the fruit-bearing trees were barren, and the people remained in the greatest affliction because of his tyranny, until Zaw b. Ṭahmāsb appeared. The name Zaw(w) can also be pronounced other ways: some saying Zāb b. Ṭahmāsfān, one saying Zāgh, and another saying Rāsab b. Ṭahmāsb (Ṭahmāsp) b. Kānjū b. Zāb b. Arfas b. Harāsf b. Wīdanj b. Aranj b. Būdhajawasb (Nawadjawsh) b. Maysū b. Nawdhar (Nōdar) b. Manūshihr.[629] Zaw's mother was Mādūl[630] bt. Wāman b. Wādharjā b. Qawad (Kawād) b. Salm b. Afrīdhūn. [530]

It is said that during his reign, Manūshihr became angry at Ṭahmāsb, because of a crime he had committed while stationed on the Turks' borders to fight against Frāsiyāb. Manūshihr wanted to kill him, but the mighty men of his kingdom spoke to him about forgiving Ṭahmāsb. Manūshihr's justice, according to what has been mentioned, consisted of treating equally the noble and the humble, the near and the distant, in punishment when one of his subjects merited that for a crime he committed. But he refused to grant them what they requested and said to them, "This is, in religion, a weakness. [But since] you refuse to do what I want (i.e., execute him), [Ṭahmāsb] will never inhabit or stay in any part of my domain." So

629. The genealogical information given here by al-Ṭabarī may be compared with that from the *Bundahishn* (Anklesaria, *op. cit.*, 296–97, chap. 35.26, where some of the names are in Avestan letters; the manuscripts differ in some details):

Bundahishn	al-Ṭabarī
Manuščihr	Manūshihr
Nōdar	Nawdhar
Mašvāk	Maysū
Nōδaēā/Nōiṯ.agā	Būdhajawasb (Nawadjawsh)
Ray	Aranj
Vaētaŋg	Wīdang
Hwāsp	Harāsf
Araβš	Arfas
Barzišt	Zāb
Kanak	Kānju
Tahmāsp	Ṭahmāsb +
Uzaw	Zaw (Zāb)

630. Māderek bt. Wāman. See Justi, *op. cit.*, 183, s.v. "Madērek," and 347, s.v. "Wāman (b. Wādherjā)." Mādūl, called Māderek in *Mujmal*, 28, is not mentioned by name in the *Bundahishn*, where she is merely referred to as "the daughter of Wāmūn/Nāmūn the sorcerer," but Wādharjā may be identical with Middle Persian Nōδargā/Vaδargā (in Avestan letters; Anklesaria, *op. cit.*, 298–99, chap. 35.37, 41), a descendant of Manuščihr.

[531] he banished him from his kingdom, and Ṭahmāsb went to the land of the Turks, arriving at the region belonging to Wāman. He beguiled Wāman's daughter, who was imprisoned in a castle because the astrologers had mentioned to Wāman, her father, that she would bear a son who would kill him. He brought her out of the castle in which she was inprisoned, after she had become pregnant with Zaw by him. Then Manūshihr permitted Ṭahmāsb's return to Khunārath, the Persian kingdom, after he had completed the term of his punishment. He brought along Mādūl, the daughter of Wāman, the two of them having used deception to effect her escape from the castle, traveling from the land of the Turks to the Persian kingdom. She bore him Zaw after he returned to the land of Īrankard.[631]

Then, according to what has been mentioned, Zaw killed his grandfather Wāman in one of his raids against the Turks. He also expelled Frāsiyāb from the Persian kingdom until he drove him back to the Turks after wars and battles between them. The conquest of the Persians by Frāsiyāb in Babylon lasted twelve years, from the time Manūshihr died, until Zaw b. Ṭahmāsb drove him out and expelled him to Turkistan. It has been said that Zaw's expulsion of Frāsiyāb from what he controlled of the Persian kingdom took place on the day of Ābān in the month of Ābānmāh.[632] The Persians adopted this day as a holiday because Frāsiyāb's evil and oppression were removed from them. They made it the third of their holidays, after Nawrūz and al-Mihrjān.[633] Zaw was praised for his rule and behaved well toward his subjects. He commanded the restoration of what
[532] Frāsiyāb had spoiled in Khunārath and Babylon and the rebuilding of the fortresses of that land that had been destroyed. He also cleaned out the streams and conduits that had been filled with earth and whose water had been made to disappear, and he dug out the watercourses that had been stopped up, so that he restored all, according to what has been mentioned, to the best possible condition. He remitted the land tax from the people for seven years, dispensing with

631. Īranshahr, according to al-Ṭabarī, I, 531 n. *d.* Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I, 417, quotes Abū al-Rayḥān al-Khwārazmī (al-Bīrūnī), who says that Īranshahr includes Iraq, Fārs, Jibāl, and Khurāsān.

632. Abān is the tenth day of any month. Abānmāh is the eighth month of the Iranian calendar.

633. Nawrūz (Nawrōz) is the spring festival at the equinox; Mihrjān (Mihragān) is the autumn festival.

it. During his reign, Persia prospered, the waters increased, and the people's livelihoods were abundant. He dug out a canal in al-Sawād[634] and named it al-Zāb,[635] and gave orders to have a city built on its shores; this is the place [now] called "al-Madīna al-ʿAtīqa."[636] He surrounded it with a province called "al-Zawābī,"[637] which he divided into three districts: one of them, the district of the Upper Zāb; one, the district of the Middle Zāb; and the third, the district of the Lower Zāb. He ordered the seeds of mountain aromatic plants[638] as well as tree roots to be carried there and had sown and planted respectively those that are sown and those that are planted.

He was the first for whom were invented all kinds of cooked food, and who gave orders about them, and all varieties of edibles. He gave his troops horses and riding animals that had been plundered and chased to him from the Turks and others. On the day he became king and the crown was placed on his head, he said: "We are progressing in restoring what the deluder Frāsiyāb had destroyed."

He had [acting] as his vizier over the kingdom Karshāsb b. Athraṭ (Thrit) b. Sahm (Sām)[639] b. Narīmān b. Ṭūrak b. Shayrāsb b. Arwa- [533]
shāsb (Aurušaspa) b. Ṭūj[640] b. Afrīdhūn the king, but one of the Per-

634. Generally synonymous with the alluvial plain of Iraq.

635. This indicates that we are dealing with the Zābī canals and not the Zāb rivers. See n. 637, below.

636. A part of al-Madā'in, namely Ctesiphon on the east side of the river. See *EI*², s.v. "al-Madā'in."

637. A district south of al-Madā'in, named for the Zābī canals rather than the two Zāb or Zābī rivers of northern Iraq. See Rowson, *op. cit.*, 155 n. 565.

638. *Al-rayāḥīn.*

639. Karshāsb, also Persian Garshāsb, Middle Persian Karisāsp, Avestan Kərəsāspa, a legendary hero and dragon killer (see Justi, *op. cit.*, 161; Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, 60 no. 216; *Enc. Ir.*, III/2, s.v. "Aždahā," esp. 196). Athraṭ, Middle Persian Aθrat (in Avestan letters; Anklesaria, *op. cit.*, 296–97, chap. 35.33), Avestan Θrita, was, according to *Yasna* 9.10, the third human to have pressed the Haoma (cf. n. 4, above), for which he received the fortune of fathering two sons, Kərəsāspa and Urvāxšaya (Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, 82 no. 315). Sahm = Middle Persian Sām (Anklesaria, *op. cit.*, 296–97, chap. 35.33), Avestan Sāma (the name of a family; Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, 74–75 no. 280).

640. Narīmān, in the Avesta *naire.manah*, "manly minded," an epithet of Kərəsāspa, but interpreted in the later tradition as a name and incorporated in the genealogy (for the confusion in the attribution of Narīmān, see Justi, *op. cit.*, 225); he is not listed in the *Bundahishn*, where Sām is said to be the son of Tūrag. Tūrak, Middle Persian Tūrag, father of Sām, is not mentioned in the Avesta (see Justi, *op. cit.*, 329, s.v. "Tūrak"). Shayrāsb is probably a mistake for *Shaydāsb, from Middle Persian *Šēdāsp "who possesses sorrel horses," and Arwashāsb is possibly from Middle Persian

sian genealogists gave him a different genealogy, saying that he was Karshāsb b. Asās b. Ṭahmūs b. Ashak b. Nars b. Raḥar b. Dursaru b. Manūshihr the king. Some say that Zaw and Karshāsb were partners in rule; but what is generally recognized about the two of them is that kingship belonged to Zaw b. Ṭahmāsb, and Karshāsb was his vizier and aide. Karshāsb held a powerful position among the Persians except that he did not rule. According to what has been said, all of Zaw's reign until he died lasted three years.

Then after Zaw, Kayqubādh (Kay Kawād) ruled. He was Kayqubādh b. Zāgh b. Nūḥiyāh b. Maysū b. Nawdhar b. Manūshihr.[641] He was married to Qartak bt. Tadarsiyā the Turk. Tadarsiyā was one of
[534] the Turkish chiefs and of their powerful men. [Qartak] bore him Kay Afinah (Afibah), Kay Kāus (Kā(w)ūs), Kay Arsh, Kaybah Arsh (Kay Biyarš), Kayfāshīn (Kay Pisina, Pisīn), and Kaybayh.[642] These were the most powerful kings and the fathers of the most powerful kings.

It is said that Kayqubādh, on the day he became king and the crown was placed on his head, said, "We are subduing the Turkish lands and exerting ourselves in improving and taking care of our
[535] land," and that he assigned the river and spring waters for irrigating the lands. He gave names to the lands, determined their boundaries, set up provinces, and clarified the divisions[643] of each province and

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*Arušāsp, from Avestan *aurušāspa* "who possesses reddish horses," said of Miθra (Bartholomae, *op. cit.*, 191); in the *Bundahishn* these two are called Spaēnyasp, perhaps "who possesses white horses" (see Justi, *op. cit.*, 306–7, s.v. "Spaēnāsp") and Dūrōšāsp (see Justi, *op. cit.*, 87), respectively (Anklesaria, *op. cit.*, 296–97 chap. 35.33).

641. Avestan Kavi Kavāta, Pahlavi Kay Kawād, the first Kayanid king, son of Uzavua, according to older Iranian sources. He, however, married Farhang, not Qartak. See Justi, *op. cit.*, 159, s.v. "Kawāta." See also Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, passim.

642. The Avestan (*Yašts* 13.132, 19.71) and Middle Persian (Anklesaria, *op. cit.*, 296–97, chap. 35.29–30) names of the Kayanids (the order differs in the sources), compared with those given by al-Ṭabarī:

Avesta	Bundahishn	al-Ṭabarī
Kavi Kavāta	Kay Kawād	Kayqubādh
Kavi Aipvaŋhu	Kay Abiweh	Kay Afinah (Afibah)
Kavi Usaδan	Kay Arš	Kay Kāus
Kavi Aršan	Kay Pisinang	Kay Arsh
Kavi Pisina	Kay Byarš	Kaybah Arsh (Kay Biyarsh)
Kavi Byaršan	Kay Kayus	Kay Fāshīn
		Kay Bayh

643. *Ḥayyiz*, but perhaps used verbally *(wa)-ḥayyaza* "(and) divided." See *Glossarium*, CCVIII, s.v. *ḥwz*. Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 456, has *ḥyr*, for *ḥayr*(?). See Lane, *op. cit.*, 685, "a garden," or "pasturage."

its territory.[644] He commanded the people to take the land, and collected a tithe from its produce to provision the army. According to what has been mentioned, Kayqubādh was compared to Pharaoh in his promotion of prosperity, his defense of the land from enemies, and his self-aggrandizement.

It is said that the Kayanid kings[645] and their sons were of his stock, and many wars took place between him and the Turks and others. He resided at the border between the Persian kingdom and the Turks, near the river of Balkh,[646] to prevent the Turks from making any incursions to the Persian border. His rule lasted one hundred years, but God knows best.

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644. *Ḥarīm*. See *Glossarium*, CLXC (*i.e.*, for CLX), s.v. *ḥrm*, *territorium* = *ḥaram*.

645. Those mentioned above, usually known as the Kayanids. See Christensen, *Les Kayanides*.

646. The river of Balkh is the Jayḥūn, also called Oxus or Amu Darya. See n. 147, above.

The Israelites and the Chiefs Who Were Over Their Affairs after Joshua

Now let us return to mention of the Israelites and the chiefs who were over their affairs after Joshua b. Nun, and the events that occurred during the eras of Zaw and Kayqubādh.

There is no difference of opinion among scholars of the history of past generations and of the affairs of foregone peoples from our community and others that Caleb b. Jephunneh was the one in charge of the affairs of the Israelites after Joshua b. Nun, then Ezekiel b. Buzi after him;[647] he is the one who is called "Ibn al-ʿAjūz" (the son of the old woman).

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Ezekiel b. Buzi was named Ibn al-ʿAjūz because his mother asked God for a son even though she had grown old and barren. Then God gave him to her. For that reason he was called "son of the old woman." It was he who prayed for the people, whom God mentioned in the Book to
[536] Muḥammad, as it has reached us: *"Consider those who left their houses in their thousands, fearing death."*[648]

647. Ḥizqīl b. Būdhī (b. Būrī in Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 221). There is no biblical source for this statement. Ezekiel was a prophet of the exilic period (sixth century B.C.E.) and lived in Babylonia. The basis for the mention of Caleb is Judges 1:12, but his younger brother Othniel seems to have been the first real leader. Compare the story here with the version of the valley of the dry bones in Ezekiel 37:1–14.

648. Qur'ān 2:243.

Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar[649] related to me—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm[650]—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil,[651] who heard Wahb b. Munabbih say: Misfortune afflicted some of the Israelites, as did a calamity of the time. They complained of what had afflicted them saying, "Would that we had died! We would have rest from what we are now experiencing." God inspired Ezekiel: "Your people cried out from misfortune, claiming that they would have liked to die and have rest. But what rest is there for them in death? Do they think that I cannot raise them up after death? So set out for such and such a great plain, for there are four thousand there."

Wahb said: Those are the ones about whom God said: *"Consider those who left their houses in their thousands, fearing death.*[652] Arise and proclaim to them!" Now their bones were already scattered, the birds and beasts of prey having scattered them. But Ezekiel called to them, saying: "O you crumbling bones! God commands you to join together!" And the bones of each person joined together. Then Ezekiel called out a second time, saying "O you bones! God commands you to be covered with flesh!" They were then covered with flesh and, after the flesh, with skin, and became bodies. Then Ezekiel called a third time, saying: "O you souls! God commands you to return to your bodies!" Their souls arose with God's consent, and they magnified Him in unison.

Mūsā b. Hārūn related to me—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī in a report he cited—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās; and Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Masʿūd; and—people among the companions of the Prophet: *"Consider those who left their houses in their thousands fearing death. And God said to them: Die! and then He brought them back to life."*[653] In a city called Dāwardān,[654] before Wāsiṭ, a plague occurred. Its common people fled and settled in one region; most of those who remained in the city perished, while the others escaped and not many of them died. When the [537]

649. Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar al-Bukhārī. *Index*, 515. Not further identified.

650. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Maʿqil b. Munabbih, d. 210/825, a Yemenite scholar. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 399.

651. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil b. Munabbih. He related traditions from Wahb b. Munabbih. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 398.

652. Qurʾān 2:243.

653. Qurʾān 2:243.

654. A town one parasang east of al-Wāsiṭ, site of a monastery named for Ezekiel, in central Iraq. See Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, II, 541–42.

plague was lifted, they returned to the city in safety. Those who had remained said: "These friends of ours were more resolute than we. If we had done what they did, we would have remained alive. Verily, if the plague occurs a second time, we will go out with them." A plague recurred the next year, and they fled, being thirty thousand odd, settling in that place that was an extensive valley. In the valley, one angel called to them from the bottom and another from the top: "Die!" And they died, so that all of them perished and their bodies decayed.

A prophet named Ezekiel[655] passed by them. When he saw them, he stopped and began to think about them. He twisted his mouth and fingers, and God inspired him: "O Ezekiel! Do you want Me to show you how I shall revive them?" Ezekiel replied, "Yes," his only thought being that he would be astonished at God's power over them, so he said "Yes." He was told, "Call out!" So he called out: "O you bones! Verily God commands you to join together!" The bones began to fly one to another until they were bodies of bones. Then God inspired him: "Call out 'O you bones! Verily God commands you to be covered with flesh!'" And they became covered with flesh and blood, and the clothes in which they died covered their bodies again. Then it was said to him "Call out!" and he called out: "O you bodies! Verily God commands you to arise!" So they arose.

Mūsā related to me—ʿAmr—Asbāṭ, who said that Manṣūr b. al-
[538] Muʿtamir claimed—Mujāhid that these people said, after being revived: "Glory be to You, our Lord! We praise You! There is no god but You." Then they returned to their people alive, knowing that they had been dead, with the color of death on their faces. They wore not a garment that did not become dirty like a shroud. Then they died at their appointed times that had been decreed for them.

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Ḥakkām[656] — ʿAnbasah[657] — Ashʿath[658]—Sālim al-Naṣrī:[659] Once while ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was praying, there were two Jews behind him. When ʿUmar wanted to

655. Text has Hizqīl, a variant of the usual Ḥizqīl.
656. Ḥakkām b. Salm. See n. 224, above.
657. ʿAnbasah b. Saʿīd. See n. 225, above.
658. Ashʿath b. Sawwār al-Thaqafī, d. ca. 137/754, considered weak in transmission of tradition. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 249.
659. Sālim Sabalān, *mawlā* of the Banū Naṣr, hence al-Naṣrī. He related traditions from Āʿishah, the wife of the Prophet. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 222.

prostrate himself, he left a space,[660] whereupon one of the Jews said to his companion: "Is it he?" He continued: When ʿUmar turned away from his prayer, he said, "Tell me about what one of you said to his companion 'Is it he?'" They said, "We find mentioned in our book a horn of iron[661] that gives what was given to Ezekiel, who revived the dead with God's permission." ʿUmar said, "We do not find Ezekiel in our Book, and no one revived the dead by God's permission except Jesus b. Mary." The two of them said, "Do you not find in the Book of God '*and messengers We have not mentioned to you*'?"[662] ʿUmar said, "Of course." They said, "As for the revival of the dead, we will relate to you that a plague afflicted the Israelites. A group left and, when they were at the beginning of a mile, God killed them, and the people built a wall over them. When their bones had decayed, God sent Ezekiel, and he stood over them. He said whatever God desired, and God revived them for him. God revealed regarding that [event]: '*Consider those who fled from their homes in their thousands, fearing death,*'" etc.[663]

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — [539]
Wahb b. Munabbih, that, when God took Caleb b. Jephunneh, after Joshua's death, He appointed as a successor among the Israelites Ezekiel b. Buzi, who was the son of the old woman. It was he, we have been informed, who prayed for the people whom God mentioned in the Book to Muḥammad as: "*Consider those who went forth from their houses,*" etc.[664]

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq: One of their accounts reached me according to which they fled a plague or epidemic or disease, which afflicted the people, fearful of death. They were thousands of people, and when they settled in an elevated part of the land God said to them, "Die!" and all of them died. The people of that land resolved to build an enclosure around them to protect them against wild animals. Then they left them there, because they were

660. *Khawwa*, the meaning of which is unclear here.

661. *Qarnan min ḥadīd*, possibly a reference to Micah 4:13: "I will make thy horn iron"; 1 Kings 22:11 and 2 Chronicles 18:10: "And Zedekiah ... made him horns of iron." It is not connected there with the story of Ezekiel, however.

662. Qur'ān 4:164.

663. Qur'ān 2:243. The verse continues: *[And God said to them: Die! And then He brought them back to life. Lo, God is a Lord of kindness to mankind, but most of mankind do not give thanks]*.

664. Qur'ān 2:243.

too many to be covered up. Periods and ages passed over them until they had become decayed bones, when Ezekiel b. Buzi passed by them. He stopped where they were and wondered at them. He was filled with pity for them, and it was said to him: "Would you like God to revive them?" He said, "Yes." And it was said to him, "Call out to them and say, 'O you decayed bones that have rotted and decayed, let each bone return to its companion.'" And he called this out to them, and he looked at the bones rushing to each other, seizing each other. Then it was said to him, "Say: 'O you flesh and sinews and skin, cover the bones, with your Lord's permission.'" The narrator said: He looked at them, and the sinews took the bones, then
[540] the flesh, the skin, and the hair, until creatures were completed, who had no souls in them. Then he prayed for life for them, and something from heaven covered him, distressing him until he fainted from it. He then recovered, and the people were sitting, saying, "Glory be to God" for God had revived them.

The length of Ezekiel's sojourn among the Israelites has not been mentioned to us.

When God took Ezekiel, it is reported, misdeeds multiplied among the Children of Israel. They abandoned the covenant with God that had been made with them in the Torah and worshiped idols. Then God sent to them, as it is told, Elijah.

Elijah[665] *b. Yāsīn b. Phineas b. Eleazar b. Aaron b. Amram*

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: When God took Ezekiel, misdeeds became great among the Israelites. They forgot what had been God's covenant with them, to the extent that they erected idols and worshiped them instead of God. Then God sent to them Elijah b. Yāsīn b. Phineas b. Eleazar b. Aaron b. Amram as a prophet. After Moses, the prophets of the Israelites were sent to them only with a renewal of what they had forgotten of the

665. Arabic: Ilyās, based on Greek Elias, for Hebrew Eliyahu, Eliah, obviously treated by al-Ṭabarī as a figure distinct from al-Khiḍr; see the discussion of this question in n. 1, above. The Bible gives no genealogical information; he is called simply Elijah the Tishbite. His story is found in 1 Kings 17–22 and 2 Kings 1–2. The Jewish legendary material is in Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, IV, 195–235. See also al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 223–29.

Torah. Elijah was with one of the kings of the Israelites named Ahab, whose wife's name was Jezebel. He would listen to [Elijah] and believe him, and Elijah would keep his affairs in order, while the remainder of the Israelites had adopted an idol that they worshiped instead of God, called "Baal." [541]

Ibn Isḥāq said: I have heard some sages say that Baal was only a woman whom they worshiped instead of God. God says to Muḥammad: *"And lo! Elijah was one of those sent, when he said to his people: 'Will you not ward off [evil] [will you cry to Baal and forsake the best of Creators?] God, your Lord, and the Lord of your forefathers?'"*[666] Elijah began to call them to God, but they would not listen to anything from him, only what came from the king. Now kings were scattered throughout Syria, each one exploiting one of its regions. One day, the king with whom Elijah was, keeping his affairs in order and considering him [alone] among his fellow [rulers] to be rightly guided, said: "O Elijah! By God I consider what you are urging as nothing but delusion. By God! I do not believe that so-and-so and so-and-so (enumerating some of the kings of the Israelites) who worshiped the idols instead of God, are faring any differently than we do, eating, drinking, enjoying life, given rule, not losing any of their temporal possessions, because of their stance, which you claim is delusion, while we do not see that we have any advantage or superiority over them."

They claim—but God knows best—that Elijah was taken aback and his hair and skin stood up. Then he abandoned Ahab and left. The king then performed the deeds of his peers, worshiping idols and doing what they did. Elijah said: "O my God! Verily the Israelites accept only disbelief in You and worship of another, so change Your favor toward them" or whatever he said.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: It was mentioned to me that [Elijah] was inspired: "We have placed the matter of the sources of their sustenance in your hands, so that it will be you who will give orders regarding their lives."

So Elijah said: "My God! Hold back rain from them!" And it was withheld for three years, until the beasts of burden, cattle, insects, and trees were destroyed and people led miserable lives. According to what is said, after Elijah called down this order upon the Israel- [542]

666. Qur'ān 37:123–26. Words in brackets are omitted in the text.

ites, he went into hiding, fearing for his life. Wherever he was, sustenance was sent down to him. Whenever people detected the smell of bread in a house, they would say: "Elijah must have entered that place!" They would search for him, and the people of that dwelling would suffer at their hands. One night, he sought shelter with an Israelite woman who had a son named Elisha b. Akhṭūb,[667] who suffered some injury. She gave Elijah shelter and hid him. So Elijah prayed for her son, and he was cured of his injury. Then Elisha followed Elijah, believing in him and holding him to be truthful. He clung to him and went with him wherever he went. Elijah had become aged and grown old, while Elisha was still a young lad.

They claim — but God knows best — that God inspired Elijah that: "You have destroyed many creatures, beside the Israelites, who did not rebel. Their destruction I would not have desired for the sins of the Israelites, among the beasts, cattle, birds, insects, and trees, by withholding rain from the Israelites." And they claim — but God knows best — that Elijah replied: "O Lord! Let me be the one who prays for them and brings them relief from the distress they are suffering. Perhaps they will return and abandon their present worship of other than You." He was told "So be it."

Then Elijah went to the Israelites and said: "Verily you have been
[543] destroyed by misfortune, and the beasts, cattle, birds, insects, and trees have been destroyed because of your sins. Verily you are following delusion and falsehood" — or whatever he said — "and if you would like to know this and to know that God is angry at what you are doing and to know that what I have been urging upon you is the truth, then bring out these idols that you worship, which you claim are better than what I urge upon you. If they respond to you, then it is as you say. But, if they do not act, then you will know that you are deluded and should abandon [them]. Then I will pray to God, and He will relieve you of the distress you are suffering." They said, "You are acting justly." So they brought out their idols and abominations with which they sought God's favor and which He did not accept. They prayed to them, but they were not answered, nor were they re-

667. There is no figure by this name in the Bible. The biblical story of the widow and her unnamed son, whom Elijiah restores to life (1 Kings 17:10–24), seems to be confused with the story of Elisha b. Shaphat, who followed Elijah (1 Kings 19:19–20) and who later helped the woman of Shunem bear a son and then restored him to life (2 Kings 4:8–37).

lieved of the distress in which they were, so they realized the extent of their error and falsehood.

Then they said to Elijah, "O Elijah! We are perishing. Pray to God for us." So Elijah prayed for their relief, that they be given rain. A cloud, like a shield, came forth over the surface of the sea, with God's permission, while they were watching. Then the clouds rushed toward him, and it became overcast, whereupon God sent the rain and watered them. Their land was revived, and He relieved them of the distress they were in. But they did not abandon [their idols] or repent, but continued in the worst of their deeds.

When Elijah saw this ingratitude of theirs, he prayed to his Lord to take him to Himself and to give him rest from them. It is claimed that he was told: "Await such-and-such a day. Then go to such-and-such a village. Whatever comes to you, mount it, and do not fear it." So Elijah went out, with Elisha b. Akhṭūb, until when Elijah was in the village that was mentioned to him at the place he was com- [544] manded, a steed of fire approached, until it stopped in front of him. He jumped on it, and it took off with him, while Elisha was calling out, "O Elijah! O Elijah! What commands do you have for me?" That was the last they saw of him. God covered him with feathers, clothed him in fire, and stopped for him the pleasure of food and drink. He flew with the angels, becoming human-angelic, earthly-heavenly.

After Elijah, control over the affairs of the Israelites was taken by Elisha, according to what we have been told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: I was told by Wahb b. Munabbih that, after Elijah, Elisha was made a prophet among the Israelites.[668] He remained among them for as long as God wished him to be; then He took him to Himself. People followed each other in succession among them with sins increasing while the Ark was among them. Within it was the Sakīnah[669] and a remainder of what the people of

668. Elisha's story in the Bible is found from 1 Kings 19–22 to 2 Kings 13. Jewish legends are in Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, IV, 239–46; and see al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 229–31. The chronology is quite confused here, jumping from the time of Joshua (ca. 1150 B.C.E.) to Elijah and Elisha (865–30 B.C.E.) and now back to the period of the Judges who ruled over Israel after the death of Joshua.

669. Hebrew: *shekhinah* "the presence (of God)." In the story of Abraham's building of the Kaʿbah, al-Ṭabarī, I, 274 (trans. Brinner, 69–71), the Sakīnah is pictured as a strong wind with the power of speech. See *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 489. See also a different version in n. 708, below. Al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 237, gives several different Muslim versions of the meaning of the term.

Moses and Aaron had left. It was handed down as an inheritance from one generation to another. God would rout any enemy who met the Israelites while they were advancing and marching with the Ark. The Sakīnah, according to what Ibn Isḥāq mentioned — Wahb b. Munabbih—some of the Israelites' sages, was the head of a dead cat, and, when it cried out within the Ark with the howling of a cat, the Israelites were assured of victory and conquered.[670]

Then a ruler succeeded among them, called Īlāf.[671] God had blessed them in their mountain from Jerusalem.[672] No enemy could enter the city against them; and with it they needed nothing else. One Israelite, as it is reported, would gather dust on a stone, then [545] throw grain on it; and God would bring forth for him and his family [enough grain] that he could eat for a year. He might have an olive and from it he would press enough for him and his family to eat for a year. But when their misdeeds became great and they abandoned their covenant with God, an enemy came down upon them, and they went out against him, taking along the Ark, as usual. They marched out with it and were fought against until it was torn from their hands.

Their king Īlāf came [to them] and was informed that the Ark had been taken forcibly. When he heard the news, he bowed down his neck and died of grief. Their affairs became disordered and changed,[673] and their enemy plundered them and trod upon them, until their children and women were stricken. They remained in turmoil about their affairs and in disagreement about their situation. At times they persevered in their trespass and error, whereupon God would give power over them to one by means of whom He took vengeance on them. Then, at times, they would resort to repentance, and God would protect them against the evil of whoever desired evil for them. This took place until God sent Saul[674] as king and returned

670. MS C inserts here "Mention of those kings who ruled the Israelites after that."

671. Īlāf or Aylāf. Not identifiable with any biblical figure except perhaps Eli the priest, who judged Israel just before Samuel. He, however, is mentioned by name later. The story of the death of Īlāf/Aylāf is similar to that of Eli. See p. 134, below. For the Jewish legends about the judges, see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, IV, 21–54.

672. *Fī jabalihim min iliyā.* Iliyā is Arabic Aelia, the Latin name given to Jerusalem by Hadrian.

673. Text has *wa-ikhtalafa*, but al-Tha'labī, *op. cit.*, 234, has *wa-ikhtalla* "became entangled, disordered." See al-Ṭabarī, I, 545 n. *d*.

674. Arabic: *Ṭālūt*. See *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 571–72, for an explanation of the deviation of the name from the Hebrew Sha'ūl.

the Ark of the Covenant to them. A period of four hundred and sixty years passed, from the death of Joshua b. Nun, during which time command of the Israelites belonged in part to the judges and leaders among them, and in part to others who overcame them so that they were ruled over by others, until rule was established among them and prophecy returned to them through Samuel b. Bālī.[675]

According to what is said, the first to be given power over the Israelites was a man descended from Lot named Cushan.[676] He oppressed and humbled them for eight years. Then a younger brother of [546]
Caleb, named Othniel b. Kenaz,[677] delivered them from Cushan's hand and held power among them, it is said, for forty years. Then power over them was given to a king named Eglon,[678] who ruled for eighteen years, and from whom, it is said, a man of the tribe of Benjamin named Ehud b. Gera, with a withered right hand,[679] delivered them. Ehud held sway over them for eighty years. Then a king from the Canaanites named Jabin[680] held power over them and ruled for twenty years.

It is said that then a woman prophet named Deborah delivered them, and also that a man named Barak ruled their affairs on her behalf for forty years.[681] Power over them was then given to a group of Lot's descendants whose dwellings were on the borders of the Ḥijāz; they ruled for seven years.[682] Then a man of the children of Naphtali b. Jacob delivered them from Lot's descendants. His name was Gideon b. Joash,[683] and he ruled their affairs for forty years. After Gideon, his son Abimelech b. Gideon[684] managed their affairs for three years. After Abimelech, Tola b. Puah,[685] a son of Abimelech's maternal un-

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675. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 545 n. *i*, for variants of his name. In the Bible his father is named Elkanah. See p. 129, where he is b. Bālī b. Alqamah.

676. Cushan-rishathaim, king of Aram-naharaim (Mesopotamia). Judges 3:8.

677. See Judges 3:8.

678. ʿAjlūn, king of Moab. See Judges 3:12–25.

679. Ahūd. The English Bible simply says that he was left-handed. The Hebrew is *asher iṯṯer yad yemino* "who bound up his left hand"; *iṯṯer*, in later Hebrew, means "withered." See Judges 3:15–30.

680. Text: Yāfin, biblical Jabin, king of Canaan, the captain of whose army was Sisera. Judges 4:2.

681. Text: Dabūrā. Deborah was a prophet and called Barak (Baraq) to lead the Israelites in battle against Sisera's army. Judges 4:4–24.

682. The Bible speaks of them as Midianites. See Judges 6:1ff.

683. Jadʿūn b. Yuwāsh. See Judges 6:11–8:35.

684. Abīmalik. See Judges 9:1–57.

685. Tūlagh b. Fuwā. See Judges 10:1–2.

cle—some say his paternal uncle—managed them for twenty-three years. Then after Tola an Israelite named Jair[686] managed their affairs for twenty-two years. Then the Ammonites,[687] a tribe among the Palestinian people, ruled over them for the next eighteen years.

[547] Then a man among them named Jephthah[688] held control over them for six years. After him, Ibzan,[689] an Israelite, ruled them for seven years. Next, Elon[690] ruled them for ten years; and then Kayrūn —whom some call "ʿAkrūn" [Ekron?][691]—for eight years. Then the people of Palestine and their kings oppressed them for forty years.[692] Samson, an Israelite, governed them for the next twenty years.[693] After Samson, the Israelites remained without a king or [other] leader of their affairs, it is said, for ten years.[694] Eli[695] the priest ruled their affairs following this period, and in his days the people of Gaza and Ascalon took the Ark of the Covenant by force. When he had managed their affairs for forty years, Samuel was sent as a prophet. He had ruled, it is recounted, for ten years when the Israelites asked him —when their enemies humiliated and shamed them for their rebellion against their Lord—to send them a king with whom they might strive together on behalf of God. Samuel said to them what God has related in His glorious Book.[696]

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686. Yāʾir. See Judges 10:3–5.
687. Banū ʿAmūn. See Judges 10:7–18.
688. Yaftaḥ. See Judges 11:1–12:7.
689. Text has Bajshūn/Bajsūn. Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 466 has Yajshūn. See Judges 12:8–10.
690. Alūn. See Judges 12:11–12.
691. Judges 12:13–15. Bible has Abdon.
692. *I.e.*, the Philistines. Judges 13:1.
693. Shamsūn. Judges 13:2–16:31.
694. "In those days there was no king in Israel." Judges 18:1, 21:25.
695. Here ʿAlī, but later ʿAylī/ʿAylā. See n. 722, below. Al-Thaʿlabī has ʿAylī throughout.
696. A reference to Qurʾān 2:246–47, where the prophet is not named but is clearly Samuel.

The History of Samuel b. Bālī b. Elkanah b. Jeroham b. Elihu b. Tohu b. Zuph[697] and of Saul and Goliath

In the account of Samuel b. Bālī, we find that after the Israelites suffered prolonged distress and after foreign kings humiliated them, op- [548]
pressed their land, killed their men, took their women and children captive, and seized by force the Ark in which were the Sakīnah and the rest of what the family of Moses and Aaron had left behind, and by which they were helped to victory when they confronted the enemy, they prayed humbly to God to send them a prophet who would put their affairs in order.

Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī related to me—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī in an account he reported—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās; and—Murrah—Ibn Masʿūd; and—men among the companions of the Prophet: The Israelites battled the Amalekites, whose king was Goliath.[698] The [Amalekites] gained control over the Israelites, imposing a head tax[699] upon them and taking

697. Text has Shamwīl b. Bālī b. ʿAlqamah b. Yarūkham b. Alīhū b. Tāhu b. Ṣūf. See n. 674, above. For the biblical story of Samuel, see 1 Samuel 1–28. For the Jewish legends, see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, IV, 57–70. See also al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 232–40, who explains the name Shamwīl as the Hebrew equivalent of Ismāʿīl (232).

698. Goliath in the Bible is the hero of the Philistines, not the Amalekites.

699. *Jizya*, in traditional Islamic law, is the poll tax collected from non-Muslims in Muslim states; hence the term is used anomalously here. See *EI*², s.v. "djizya."

their Torah. The Israelites asked God to send them a prophet with whom they could fight. The tribe of the prophets had perished, and only one pregnant woman of them remained. The [Israelites] confined her to a house, fearing that she would bear a girl, then substitute for her a boy, seeing the Israelites' desire for her child. The woman prayed earnestly to God to grant her a son, and she gave birth to a boy whom she named Shamʿūn,[700] saying: "God heard my prayers."

When the boy grew older, his mother handed him over to learn the Torah in the Temple. An elder sage assumed responsibility for him and adopted him. When the boy matured so that God could send him as a prophet, Gabriel came to him while the boy was sleeping
[549] near the old man, who would entrust him to no one else, and Gabriel called out, in the old man's tone of voice: "O Samuel!"[701] and the boy got up, frightened, and said to the old man: "O my father! Did you call me?" The old man did not want to say "No" and alarm the boy, so he said, "O my son! Go back to sleep." The boy returned and fell asleep; then [Gabriel] called him a second time. The boy returned again saying, "Did you call me?" He replied, "Go back to sleep. If I call you a third time, do not answer me." On the third time, Gabriel appeared to him and said, "Go to your people and bring them your Lord's message. For God has sent you among them as a prophet."

But, when [Samuel] presented himself to [the Israelites], they considered him a liar, saying, "You have been hasty regarding prophecy. We will pay no attention to you." They said, "If you are a speaker of truth, then *send us a king to fight for the sake of God,*[702] as a sign of your prophecy." Samuel[703] said, "*Would you then refrain from fighting, if fighting were prescribed for you?*" *They said, "Why should we not fight for God's sake when we have been driven from our*

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700. Shamʿūn (Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 467, has Samʿūn) is from the Hebrew root *sh-m-ʿ* (cognate to Arabic *s-m-ʿ*), meaning "to hear," but is not connected with Samuel's name in Hebrew—it is equivalent to the Hebrew for Simeon (Shimʿon). MSS BM and C have here Samʿūn, probably to fit the etymological connection with "Allāhu *samiʿa* duʿāʾī"—"God has heard my prayer." In the section that follows, it alternates with two other forms of Samuel's name, Shamwīl and Ashamwīl.

701. Shamwīl is a closer equivalent to Hebrew Shᵉmuʾel for Samuel. In the Bible, 1 Samuel 1:20, the name is given a very weak etymology: *ki me-YHWH sheʾiltiw* "for *I have asked him* from YHWH." Al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, has Shamwīl throughout.

702. Qurʾān 2:246.

703. Here Shamʿūn.

dwellings with our children[704] — by tax payment?" So he prayed to God and was given a staff, the size of which was the height of the man who would be sent as the king. Samuel said: "Your companion's height should reach that of this staff." They measured themselves by it, but they did not match it. Saul was a water carrier, carrying water on a donkey of his; his donkey went astray, so he went out on the road to search for it. When they saw [Saul], they called him over and measured him with [the staff], and he matched it. *Their prophet said to them: "Lo! God has raised up Saul to be a king for you."*[705] But the people said: "You have never been more untruthful than you are now. We belong to the tribe of kingship. He is not from that tribe, and *'he has not been given wealth enough'*[706] that we should follow him." The prophet said: *"Lo! God has chosen him above you, and has increased him abundantly in wisdom and stature."*[707] They said, "If you are truthful, bring us a sign that this [550] man is a king." He said: *"Lo! The token of his kingship is that the Ark, in which there is the Sakīnah, and a remnant of that which the family of Moses and the family of Aaron left behind, will come to you from your Lord."*[708] ... The Sakīnah is a basin of gold in which the hearts of the prophets are washed. God gave it to Moses, and he placed the tablets in it.[709] The tablets, according to what we have been told, were of pearls, sapphire, and chrysolite. As for the "remnant," it is the staff of Moses and fragments of the [broken] tablets. The Ark, and all that was in it, came to be in the house of Saul. The Israelites believed in the prophecy of Samuel[710] and handed kingship over to Saul.

Al-Qāsim informed us — al-Ḥusayn — Ḥajjāj — Ibn Jurayj — Ibn ʿAbbās: The angels brought the Ark, carrying it between heaven and earth, while the people watched it, until they placed it with Saul.

Yūnus[711] related to me — Ibn Wahb[712] — Ibn Zayd:[713] "The angels

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704. Qur'ān 2:246 bis.

705. Qur'ān 2:247. For the biblical story of Saul, see 1 Samuel 9–31 and 2 Samuel 1. For the Jewish legends, see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, IV, 65–91. See also al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 235–56, 239–44.

706. Qur'ān 2:247 *bis*.

707. Qur'ān 2:247 *bis*.

708. Qur'ān 2:248.

709. Another interpretation of the concept of Sakīnah. See n. 669, above.

710. Shamʿūn.

711. Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Mūsā b. Maysarah al-Ṣadafī, Abū Mūsā, 170–264/787–877. One of the great legalists of Egypt, he was noted for his traditions. *GAS*, I,

brought the Ark down by day while [the people] watched with their own eyes, until they placed it in their midst." He continued, "They acknowledged it reluctantly, and then they left angry."

The account returns to al-Suddī's: Eighty thousand men went out with Saul. Now Goliath was one of the strongest of men and the most courageous. He went forth ahead of the troops, and his companions would not join him until he himself put to flight whomever he met. When [the Israelites] went forth, Saul said to them: *"Lo! God will test you by a river. Whoever [therefore] drinks of it, he is not of me, and whoever does not taste of it is of me."*[714] This was the river of Palestine.[715] They drank from it out of fear of Goliath; only four thousand of them crossed with Saul, while seventy-six thousand turned back. Those who drank of it became thirsty, while those
[551] who did not drink of it, except in the palms of their hands, had their thirst quenched.

And after he had crossed it, he and those who believed with him, and they saw Goliath, they too turned back—*they said: "We have no power this day against Goliath and his hosts." But those who knew that they would meet their Lord*—those who believed firmly—said: *"How many a little band has overcome a mighty host by God's leave! God is with the steadfast."*[716]

Three thousand six hundred and eighty-odd also turned back, so Saul departed with three hundred and nineteen, the number of the people of Badr.[717]

38; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, XI, 440; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IX, 345.

712. ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb b. Muslim al-Fihrī al-Qurashī al-Miṣrī, Abū Muḥammad, 125–97/743–813. He was a traditionist, Qur'ān commentator, and legalist, who transmitted from Mālik b. Anas. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 518; *GAS*, I, 466; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IV, 289.

713. Usāmah b. Zayd b. Aslam al-Laythī, *mawlā* of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū Zayd. He heard traditions from several Companions of the Prophet and died in Medina during the reign of al-Manṣūr, 137–58/754–75. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 305.

714. Qur'ān 2:249.

715. The river of Palestine is not clear. The remainder of Qur'ān 2:249, not quoted in the text—*[except for him who takes of it in the hollow of his hand. But they drank of it, all except a few of them]*—is identical with Gideon's test of his followers at En-Harod, a spring that gives rise to a stream leading to the Jordan River. See Judges 7:1–7.

716. Qur'ān 2:249 *bis*.

717. "The people of Badr" are the small group of Muslims who defeated the more numerous Meccans at the battle of Badr, in March 2/624. For a full description, see Watt, *Muhammad in Medina*, 10–13.

Al-Muthannā[718] related to me—Isḥāq b. al-Ḥajjāj[719]—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm[720]—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil,[721] who heard Wahb b. Munabbih say: Eli,[722] who reared Samuel,[723] had two sons, young men, who did something with the sacrifice that was not appropriate.[724] The instrument with which they stirred the sacrifice consisted of two iron prongs, and whatever they took out belonged to the priest who stirred it; but Eli's sons gave it more prongs. Furthermore, whenever women came to pray in the sanctuary,[725] the two would take hold of them.

While Samuel[726] was sleeping in the front of the chamber where Eli slept, he heard a voice say: "Samuel!" and he ran to Eli saying, "Here I am! Why did you call me?" Eli replied, "No, go back to sleep." Then he heard another voice say "Samuel!" and he ran to Eli again saying, "Here I am! Why did you call me?" Eli replied, "I didn't do it. Go back to sleep. If you hear something, say 'Here I am' in your place. 'Command me and I shall do it!'" He returned and fell asleep. He heard a voice again say "Samuel!" and he replied, "Here I [552] am! It is I, so command me, I shall do it." The voice said, "Go to Eli and say to him that his paternal love has prevented him from scolding his two sons for having defiled My temple and My sacrifice and having rebelled against Me. Therefore, I shall strip the priesthood from him and from his sons, and I shall cause him and them to perish." When he arose in the morning, Eli asked Samuel [about the night], and Samuel told him; and he was very afraid because of that.

One of their enemies who surrounded them marched against them, and Eli ordered his two sons to lead the people out to fight this enemy. They went out, taking the Ark, in which were the tablets and the staff of Moses, in order to overcome the enemy by means of [the Ark].

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718. Al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm. See n. 510, above.
719. Isḥāq b. al-Ḥajjāj. *Index*, 29. Not further identified.
720. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm. See n. 650, above.
721. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil. See n. 651, above.
722. Here, and hereafter, ʿAylī. See n. 695, above.
723. Shamwīl.
724. In the Bible the two sons of Eli were Hophni and Phineas. For their story, see 1 Samuel 2:12–36, 4:1–11.
725. Here *al-quds*, the usual Arabic name for Jerusalem, lit. the "holy place." Jerusalem was not yet in the hands of the Israelites at the time of Eli, but it may be meant here.
726. *Ashamwīl* or *ashmawīl*. See also nn. 727 and 728, below.

While they and their enemy lined up for battle, Eli awaited reports of what they had done. Then a man came and informed him while he was seated on his chair, "Verily your two sons have been slain, and our troops have been routed." Eli said, "What about the Ark?" The man replied, "The enemy has taken it." Eli gave the death rattle, fell out of his chair on his neck, and died. Those who had captured the Ark placed it in the house of their gods. They had an the idol they worshiped, and they placed the Ark under it, with the idol on top. But on the morning of the next day, the idol was under and the Ark on top. So they took the idol, placed it on top again, and nailed its feet to the Ark. But on the morning of the next day, the hand and two feet of the idol were cut off, and it was cast down under the Ark. They said to one another, "Have you not learned that nothing can withstand the God of the Israelites? So remove the Ark from the house of your gods." They removed the Ark and placed it in an area of their town. The people of that area suffered from pains in their necks, and they said, "What is this?" A maiden among them, one of their Israelite captives, said to them, "You will continue to witness what you
[553] do not like, as long as this Ark is among you, so remove it from your town." They said, "You lie!" She replied, "For a sign of that you should bring two oxen, both of whom have young, and upon whom no yoke has ever been placed. Then put a cart behind them, place the Ark on the cart, and make them journey while you detain their young. They will set out with [the Ark] submissively, until they have left your land and have set foot in the nearest territory of the Israelites. Then they will break their yoke and return to their young."

They did all that [she suggested], and, when the oxen left their land and set foot on the nearest territory of the Israelites, they broke their yoke and returned to their young, after having placed the Ark in a ruined place where there were Israelite reapers. The Israelites hurried toward the Ark and approached it. Yet no sooner would one of them approach it but he would die. Then their prophet Samuel said to them: "Pass in review! Whoever feels the strength in himself, let him draw near it." They passed the men by it in review, but not one was able to draw near it, except for two Israelite men whom he permitted to carry it to the house of their widowed mother. It remained in their mother's house until Saul became king. Thus did the con-

dition of the Israelites improve with Samuel.[727] Then the Israelites said to Samuel,[728] *"Appoint for us a king who will fight for God's cause."*[729] He replied, "God is sufficient to do battle for you." They replied, "But we are afraid of those around us. If we have a king, we will take refuge in him." So God inspired Samuel thus: "Appoint for them Saul as king and anoint him with the holy oil."

Saul's father's donkeys went astray, and he sent Saul and one of his lads to find them. The two lads approached Samuel to ask him about the donkeys, and Samuel said, "God has appointed you as king over [554] the Israelites." Saul asked, "Me?" Samuel replied, "Yes." Saul said, "Don't you know that my tribe is the lowliest tribe of the Israelites?" He said, "Certainly." Saul said, "And don't you know that my clan is the lowliest clan of my tribe?" He replied, "Certainly." He said, "Don't you know that my family is the lowliest family of my clan?" Samuel replied, "Certainly." Saul continued, "Then by what sign?" Samuel said, "By the sign that, when you return home, your father will have found his donkeys, and when you are in such-and-such a place, inspiration will descend upon you." Then he anointed him with the holy oil and said to the Israelites: *"Lo! God has raised up Saul to be a king for you." They said: "How can he have dominion over us when we are more deserving of it than he is, since he has not been given enough wealth!" He said: "Lo! God has chosen him above you and has increased him abundantly in wisdom and stature."*[730]

The account returns to al-Suddī's: *And when they went into battle against Goliath and his hosts, they said: "Our Lord! Bestow on us endurance."*[731] On that day, David's father, along with thirteen sons of his, was among those who crossed over. Now David was his youngest son. He had come to [his father] one day and said, "O my father! Whatever I throw at with my sling, I knock down." His father said, "Rejoice at that, O my son. God has placed your sustenance in your sling." Then he returned to him another time and said, "O my father! I went among the hills and found a crouching lion. I mounted

727. *Maʿa ashmawīl/ashamwīl.*
728. *Li-ashmawīl/ashamwīl.*
729. Based on Qurʾān 2:246.
730. Qurʾān 2:247.
731. Qurʾān 2:250.

it, taking hold of its two ears, and it did not throw me off." His father replied, "Rejoice at that, O my son! That is a virtue that God grants you." Then he came to him another day and said, "O my father! Verily I was walking in the hills, glorifying [God], and no hill remained that did not glorify with me." So he said, "Rejoice, O my son! That is a virtue that God has given you."

[555] David was a shepherd, and [on this day] his father had left him behind to bring food to him and his brothers. The prophet [Samuel] brought a horn in which there was oil and a breastplate[732] of iron. He sent them to Saul saying, "Verily, your companion who kills Goliath will have this horn placed on his head, and it will boil over until he will be anointed by it. But it will not flow into his face, it will just remain on his head in the shape of a crown. He will also be put in this breastplate and fill it."

Saul called the Israelites and tested them with [the horn], but none fit the description. When they were finished, Saul said to David's father, "Do you have another son who has not presented himself to us?" He replied, "Yes, there remains my son David, who brings us food." When David was returning to [his father], he passed by three stones on the road, and they spoke to him, saying, "Take us, O David, and you will kill Goliath with us!"

He picked them up and placed them in his provision bag. Saul had said: "I will marry my daughter to whoever kills Goliath, and I shall also entrust his seal with my dominion." When David arrived, they placed the horn on his head, and it boiled over until he was anointed by it. He put on the breastplate, and he filled it, even though he was a sickly, pale man. Anyone who put it on shook [loosely] in it, but when David put it on the breastplate was so tight on him that it cracked. Then he went to Goliath. Goliath was one of the stoutest and strongest of men, yet, when he looked at David, fear of him was cast into his heart. So he said to David, "O boy! Go back! I pity you lest I kill you." But David said, "No, on the contrary. I shall kill you." He took out the stones and placed them in the sling. Every time he picked up one of those stones, he gave it a name. He said, "This one is named for my father Abraham, the second for my father Isaac, and the third for my father Israel." Then he whirled the sling, and the stones became one stone. He sent it off, and it struck Goliath be-

732. *Tannūr* here is "breastplate," rather than the usual "oven." Cf. *Glossarium*, CLII: *lorica*.

tween the eyes, piercing his head. It killed him and kept on killing every man it struck, piercing right through him until no one remained in front of it. Then the Israelites routed them. [556]

Since David had killed Goliath, Saul returned and betrothed his daughter to David and entrusted his seal with his rule. The people were inclined toward David and loved him. When Saul saw that, he suffered anguish and envied him, desiring to kill him. David became aware that [Saul] wanted to do that, so he wrapped up a wineskin in his bed. Saul entered David's sleeping quarters after David had fled, and struck the skin with a blow that split it open, and the wine flowed. A drop of the wine fell in his mouth, and Saul said: "May God have mercy on David! How much wine he drank!"

David went into Saul's chamber the next year, while he was sleeping, and placed two arrows at his head, and at his feet, and on his right and left side two further pairs. Then he left, and when Saul awoke, he saw the arrows and recognized them. He said, "May God have mercy on David! He is better than I. I had him in my power, and I killed him [as I thought].[733] He had me in his power and refrained." Then he mounted one day, and found David walking in the wilderness, while Saul was on a horse. Saul said, "Today I shall kill David." When David became alarmed, he could not be overtaken. Saul ran at David's heels, but David became alarmed and ran faster. He entered a cave, and God inspired a spider to spin its web over it. When Saul reached the cave, he looked at the spider's web and said, "If he had entered here, he would have torn the spider's web." So he was fooled and left him.

The scholars reproached Saul in the matter of David, but Saul would kill anyone who restrained him from David, and God incited him to kill the scholars.[734] He killed every scholar among the Israelites over whom he had power, until a woman was brought to him [557]

733. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I, 221, has *fa-aradtu qatlahu* "I desired killing him"; al-Thaʿlabī, 242, has *fa-qaṣadtu qatlahu* "I intended killing him." See al-Ṭabarī, I, 556 n. *e*.

734. Here begins a version of the biblical story of the "witch" or diviner of Endor. See 1 Samuel 28:5–25. There is no mention of scholars there, but the Hebrew word *yidʿonī*, "diviner (by a familiar spirit)" is mentioned by the woman when she says to Saul (1 Samuel 28:9): "Behold, you know what Saul has done, how he has cut off those that divine by a ghost (*ōvōt*) or a familiar spirit (*yidʿonī*) . . . ." The latter word, from the Hebrew root *ydʿ*, meaning "to know," may have been mistranslated as "one who knows, a scholar." See *al-ʿarūf*, *ʿālim*, as applied to Balʿam, n. 517, above. See also Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, IV, 70–71.

who knew the most powerful name of God. He ordered the giant[735] to kill her, but the giant had pity on her, saying: "Perhaps we will need a scholar." So he left her alive. Repentance entered Saul's heart, and he regretted and wept, so that people pitied him. Every night he went out to the graves and wept. He would cry out, "I adjure by God any human who knows that there is any repentance for me to tell me." When it became too much for them, a voice called out to him from the graves, "O Saul! Are you not satisfied that you slew us when we were alive, that you wish to trouble us when we are dead?" His weeping and sadness increased until the giant pitied him and said, "What is the matter with you?" He replied, "Do you know of any scholar in the land whom I can ask whether there is any atonement for me?" The giant said to him, "Do you know what you resemble? You are like a king who lodged in a town at dusk. The cock crowed, and the king drew an evil omen from that, so he said, 'Do not leave a single cock in this town, kill them all.' Then he wanted to sleep, and he said, 'When the cock crows, awaken us so we may set out at daybreak.' They said to him, 'Have you left any cock [alive] whose crowing can be heard?' Have you left any scholar alive in the land?"

His weeping and sadness increased, and, when the giant saw that he was in earnest, he said, "Tell me, if I lead you to a scholar, will you perhaps [as I fear] kill him?" Saul replied, "No." So the giant considered him trustworthy and informed him that the woman scholar was with him. Saul said, "Take me to her. I will ask her whether there is any atonement for me." That name[736] was known only by
[558] members of a family whose men had died; then the women would know it. Then the giant said, "If she sees you, she will faint and be afraid of you." So when they reached the door, the giant left Saul behind it and entered to her, saying, "Am I not the most generous person toward you, having saved you from being killed and given you refuge with me?" She said, "Yes, of course." He said, "Then I need something from you. This is Saul who will ask you whether there is any atonement for him." She fainted out of terror, but he said, "He

735. *Al-jabbār* seems to mean "giant" here, rather than "tyrant." Jewish legend tells that the woman diviner was the mother of Abner, a cousin of Saul and a giant of extraordinary size. See Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, IV, 73. But Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 473, reads *al-khabbāz* as "the baker."

736. *I.e.*, the ineffable name of God. See n. 518, above.

does not want to kill you, only to ask you whether there is atonement for him." She replied, "No, by God, I know of no atonement for Saul. But do you know the place of a prophet's tomb?" They said, "Yes. This is the tomb of Joshua b. Nun."[737] She went off to it, the two of them with her, and she prayed. Joshua b. Nun came out, shaking the dust off of his head. When he looked at the three of them, he said, "What is it? Has the resurrection occurred?" She said, "No. But Saul wants to ask you whether there is any atonement for him." Joshua said, "I know of no atonement for Saul, unless he divests himself of his rule and he and his sons go forth and his sons do battle before him, on God's behalf. Then, if they are slain, [Saul] will go on the offensive; if he is killed, perhaps that will be atonement for him." Then he fell down dead in the grave.

Saul returned sadder than he had ever been, for fear that his sons would not follow him. He wept until his eyelashes fell out and his body became emaciated. His thirteen sons came to him, and spoke to him, asking him about his condition. He told them his story and what had been said to him about his atonement. He asked them to do battle with him. He equipped them, and they went out together. The sons attacked before him and were killed; then he attacked and [559] was killed. David became king after that, and God made him a prophet, for that is His word: *God gave him the kingdom and the wisdom*[738]—it is said that the latter means prophecy. [God] gave him Samuel's[739] prophecy and Saul's kingship.

Saul's name in Syriac[740] is Saul b. Kish b. Abiel b. Zeror b. Becorat b. Aphiah B. Aysh b. Benjamin b. Jacob b. Isaac b. Abraham.

Ibn Isḥāq said: The prophet revived from his grave to inform Saul about his atonement was Elisha b. Akhṭūb.[741] So were we informed by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq.

The people of the Torah assert that Saul's reign lasted forty years, from the beginning until he was slain in battle along with his sons.

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737. In the biblical account it is the recently deceased Samuel, and not Joshua, who is raised from the dead; 1 Samuel 28:11–19.

738. Qur'ān 2:251.

739. Here Samuel is Sham'ūn.

740. Hebrew rather than Syriac, given here as Shāwul b. Qays (or Qīs) b. Abyāl b. Ḍirār b. Baḥarat b. Afīḥ/Afyaḥ b. Aysh (the latter probably in error for the Hebrew *ben ish y'mini* "son of a (Ben)jaminite man," 1 Samuel 9:1. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 559 n. *f*.

741. See the discussion of this name on p. 124, and in n. 667, above.

The Account of David b. Jesse b. Obed b. Boaz b. Salmon b. Nahshon b. Amminadab b. Ram b. Hezron b. Perez b. Judah b. Jacob b. Isaac b. Abraham[742]

David was—as Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—some scholars—Wahb b. Munabbih—short, with blue eyes, little hair, and a pure and pious heart.

[560] Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā related to me—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Zayd related to me regarding the word of God: *"Consider those who went forth from their habitations in their thousands, fearing death"*... to where He says ... *"God is aware of evildoers."*[743] God inspired their prophet that among the sons of so-and-so, was a man by whom

742. Dāwūd b. Īshā b. ʿAwbid b. Bāʿaz b. Salmūn (not Salma; cf. Ruth 4:20–21) b. Naḥshūn b. ʿAmī Nādab b. Rām b. Ḥaṣrūn b. Fāris b. Yahūdhā b. Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm. The biblical story is found in 1 Samuel 16–31, 2 Samuel 1–24, and 1 Kings 1–2. The legendary accounts are in Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, IV, 81–121. See also al-Thaʿlabī, 235–60.

743. Qur'ān 2:243–46. *And God said to them: Die! And then He brought them back to life. Lo! God is a Lord of kindness to mankind, but most of mankind do not give thanks. Fight in the way of God, and know that God is Hearer, Knower. Who is it who will lend to God a goodly loan, so that He may give it manifold increase? God straitens and enlarges. To Him will you return. Consider the leaders of the Children of Israel after Moses, how they said to a Prophet whom they had: Set up for us a king, and we will fight in God's way. He said: Would you then refrain from fighting if fighting were prescribed for you? They said: Why should we not fight in God's way*

God would slay Goliath. Among his distinguishing marks is a horn which, when placed on his head, will overflow with water. So the prophet went to this man [i.e., so-and-so] and said, "God has inspired me that among your sons is a man by whom God will slay Goliath." He said, "Yes, O prophet of God!" So he brought out to him twelve men like tall columns, among whom was one who towered over the others. He tested them with the horn, but [each time] saw nothing, so he said to each big man, "Withdraw!" and tried it on the next one, but God inspired him: "Verily, We do not select men because of their forms but because of the righteousness of their hearts." The prophet said, "O Lord, he has claimed that he has no other son." God replied, "He has lied." The prophet said, "My Lord has given you the lie and said that you have a son besides them." He replied, "He is right, O prophet of God. I have a short son whom I was ashamed of having people see, so I sent him off with the herds." The prophet said, "Where is he?" The father replied, "He is within such-and-such a gorge of such-and-such a mountain."

The prophet went out to him and found that a valley had begun to flow with water between him and the plot of land where he went to rest his flocks at the end of the day. He found [this son] carrying two lambs at a time, crossing the stream with them, not making them ford it alone.[744] When the prophet saw him, he said, "This is he, no doubt about it. He is merciful to animals, so he must be even more merciful to people." He placed the horn on his head, and it overflowed.

Al-Muthannā related to me—Isḥāq—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil—Wahb b. Munabbih: When the Israelites [561] surrendered rule to Saul, God inspired the prophet of the Israelites, "Say to Saul: Let him do battle with the Midianites and not leave anyone alive, killing them all, and I shall give him victory." So he went with the troops to Midian and slew those there, except their king, whom he took prisoner; he also carried off their cattle. God inspired Samuel: "Do you not wonder at Saul? I gave him My command and he violated it: he took their king prisoner and carried off their cattle. So go meet him, and say to him that I shall indeed strip dominion from his house, not to return it until the Day of Resurrec-

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when we have been driven from our dwellings with our children! Yet, when fighting was prescribed for them, they turned away, all but a few of them.

744. Lit. *wa-lā yakhūḍu bihimā al-sayl.*

tion. For I only give honor to him who obeys Me, and I humble him who despises My command."

[Samuel] met [Saul] and said to him, "What have you done? Why did you take their king as prisoner? And why did you drive their cattle?" He replied, "I drove the cattle only in order to sacrifice them." Samuel said to him, "God has stripped rule from your house, and it will not return to it until Resurrection Day." God inspired Samuel, "Go to Jesse, and let him present his sons before you. Anoint the one whom I command you with the holy oil to be king over the Children of Israel." He went on from there until he came to Jesse and said, "Present your sons before me." Jesse called the eldest of his sons, a husky man of handsome appearance. When Samuel looked at him, he was impressed with him and said, "Praise be to God! *Lo! God is Seer of His servants.*"[745] But God inspired him, saying, "Your eyes see what is apparent, but I observe what is in the hearts. Not this one." So [Samuel] said, "Not this one. Present another before me." So he had six more pass before him, and for all of them, he said, "Not this one. Bring me another one." Finally he said, "Do you have another son besides these?" Jesse replied, "Yes, I have
[562] a red-headed boy who is herding the flocks." [Samuel] said, "Send for him!" When David, a red-headed youth, came, Samuel anointed him with the holy oil and said to his father [Jesse], "Hide this youth, for if Saul sees him, he will slay him."

Goliath and his people journeyed toward the Israelites and made camp, while Saul traveled with the Israelites and made camp. They prepared for battle, and Goliath sent to Saul, saying, "Why should my people and yours be slain? Come forth to me in single combat, or send someone out to me, whomever you want. If I slay you, dominion will be mine, while if you kill me, dominion will be yours." Saul sent a crier among his troops calling, "Who will go forth to duel with Goliath?" Then the narrator recounts the story of Saul and David's killing of Goliath and what happened between Saul and David.

Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī] said that in this story, it becomes clear that God had already transferred kingship to [David] before he slew Goliath and before Saul's attempt to slay him had occurred. As for the remainder of those whose discourse about that we have related, they

745. Qur'ān 40:44, 3:20.

have said that David became king only after Saul and his sons were slain.

Ibn Ḥumayd has related to us — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq, regarding what some sages have mentioned to me — Wahb b. Munabbih: When David slew Goliath and his army was routed, people said, "David has slain Goliath and has deposed Saul," and the people turned to David instead of Saul, until no mention of Saul could be heard.

When the Israelites gathered around David, God revealed the Psalms to him, and taught him ironworking,[746] making it supple for him. He also ordered the mountains and the birds to sing praise with him when he sang. According to what they have mentioned, God did [563] not give anyone of His creation a voice like his. So when David recited the Psalms, wild beasts would gaze at him with delight,[747] until they were lined up, intently listening upon hearing his voice. The demons invented flutes, lutes, and cymbals with only his voice as a model. David was extremely diligent, constant in worship, and wept much.

He was as God has described him to His prophet Muhammad, when He said, *"and remember Our servant David, possessor of might. Lo! He turned in repentance. Lo! We subdued the hills [to sing the praises] with him [at nightfall and sunrise]"*[748] — these two verses[749] mean he possessed power.

Bishr b. Muʿādh[750] related to us — Yazīd — Saʿīd — Qatādah: Regarding *And remember Our servant David, possessor of might. Lo! He turned in repentance,*[751] he said: He was granted power in worship and understanding in submission (Islam).

It has also been mentioned to us that David would stay up at night and fast half of the time. And according to what has been mentioned, four thousand men guarded him every day and night.

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746. The connection of David with ironworking, and especially the fashioning of fine chain mail, goes back to the Qurʾānic verses 34:10–11: "... *We made iron supple to him. Saying: Make long coats of mail and measure their limbs ...*"; 21:80: "*And We taught him the art of making garments* [of mail] *to protect you in your daring.*" This association seems to antedate Islam, see *EI*², s.v. "Dāwūd."

747. Text: *tarnū*. But Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I, 223, and al-Thaʿlabi, *op. cit.*, 244, have *tadnū* "draw near." See al-Ṭabarī, I, 563, n. *a*.

748. Qurʾān 38:18–19.

749. Qurʾān 38:18–19.

750. Bishr b. Muʿādh. See n. 98, above.

751. Qurʾān 38:18.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn[752] related to me — Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal[753]—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī, regarding His words *And We made his kingdom strong,* he said, "Four thousand men guarded him every day and night."

It is mentioned that one day, he wanted from his Lord the same status as his forefathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and he asked his Lord to test him somewhat as He had tested them and to grant him favor like that He had granted them.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn—Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal—Asbāṭ who said: al-Suddī said that David divided his time into three days: one [564] day he would spend with people; one day he would devote to the worship of his Lord; and one day he would devote to his wives, of whom he had ninety-nine. In what he read in books, he found the excellence of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. When he found this in the books he read, he said: "O Lord! It seems to me that my forefathers have taken all goodness. Grant me the same as you have granted them! Do to me what you have done to them."

Then God inspired him: "Your forefathers were tried with misfortunes with which you have not been tried. Abraham was tested with the sacrifice of his son, Isaac with the loss of his sight, and Jacob with grief over his son Joseph. You have not been tried with any of that." David said, "O Lord! Test me as you have tested them, and grant me what you have given them."

God inspired him: "You are going to be tested, so be on your guard!" He waited as long as God wished him to wait, whereupon Satan came to him, taking on the shape of a golden dove. It alighted at his feet while he was standing and praying. The narrator continued: He reached out his hand to take hold of it, but it flew away. He followed it, but it distanced itself until it alighted in an aperture in the wall. He went to grab it, but it flew from the aperture. He watched to see where it would alight, so he could send after it.

He saw a woman bathing herself on her roof, one of the most beautiful women in form. She happened to turn around, and she saw him. She let down her hair, covering herself with it. That only increased his desire for her.

He asked about her and was told that she had a husband who was

752. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn. *Index,* 509. Not further identified.

753. Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal, *mawlā* of Quraysh, d. 215/830. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.,* VI, 286.

absent at such-and-such a garrison. He sent to the garrison commander an order to send Uriah[754] against such-and-such an enemy. He therefore sent him, and [the enemy] was conquered by him. The [565] commander wrote back to David about the victory, and David wrote to him again, saying, "Send him against such-and-such an enemy, who is even stronger than they." So he sent him, and they again were conquered by him, and he wrote to David about the second victory. David wrote to him, "Send him to such-and-such an enemy." So he sent him, and on the third time, Uriah was slain.

David married Uriah's wife. When she came to him, she had been with him only a short time when God sent two angels, in human form, who requested admission to his presence. But they found that this was his day of worship, and the guards prevented them from entering. So the two scaled the wall of his private apartment to reach him.[755] He was not aware of [their arrival] while he was praying, but suddenly the two were sitting in front of him. He was startled, but they said, *"Do not be afraid.* We are *two litigants, one of whom has wronged the other, therefore judge aright between us; be not unjust"* — meaning, do not act wrongfully — *"and show us the* fair *way,* to just judgment." David said, "Tell me your story." One of them said, *"Lo! This brother of mine has ninety-nine ewes while I have one ewe.*[756] He wants to take my ewe to round out his to one hundred."

David then said to the other one, "What do you have to say?" The other replied, "I have ninety-nine ewes, and this brother of mine has one ewe, and I want to take it from him to complete my ewes to one hundred." David said, "Even though he is unwilling?" He replied, "Even though he is unwilling!" David said, "Then we cannot let you do that!" He replied, "But you are unable to [prevent] that." David said, "If you try that, then we will hit you on this and that" which Asbāṭ interprets as "the tip of the nose and the forehead." Then he said, "O David! You deserve more to be hit on this and this, since [566] you have ninety-nine wives while Uriah had only one wife. But you did not stop exposing him to slaughter until he was slain, and you married his wife."

754. Arabic: Ahriyā in al-Ṭabarī; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I, 224, has Awriyā; al-Tha'labī, *op. cit.*, 248, has Awriyā'.

755. This story, based on Qur'ān 38:22, reflects the biblical account of David's chastisement by the prophet Nathan; 2 Samuel 12:1–23.

756. 2 Samuel 38:23–24.

[David] looked and saw no one. Then he understood what had happened, and how he was being tested, and he fell down prostrating himself, and wept. He remained prostrate and weeping for forty days, not raising his head except for some absolute need, after which he would again fall down prostrate and weeping. He prayed until grass began to sprout from his tears.

Then after forty days passed, God inspired him "O David! Lift up your head, for I have forgiven you." He said, "O Lord! how will I know that You have forgiven me, when You are a just judge Who shows no favor in judgment? When Uriah comes on the Day of Resurrection, holding his head in his right or left hand, his neck veins gushing blood before Your Throne, he will say, 'O Lord! Ask this one why he slew me.'" God inspired him: "If that happens, I will call Uriah and ask for you as a gift from him. He will give you to Me, and I will repay him with Paradise." David said, "O Lord! Now I know that You have forgiven me." He could not raise his eyes to the heavens, because of his shame before his Lord, until he died.

ʿAlī b. Sahl[757] related to me — al-Walīd b. Muslim[758] — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir[759] — ʿAtāʾ al-Khurāsānī:[760] David engraved his sin on the palm of his hand, lest he should forget it. Whenever he saw it, his hand would tremble and throb.

[567] It is said that the reason for the trial with which he was tested was that his innermost feelings told him that he could spend a day without perpetrating an evil deed. It happened that the day of the trial took place on the day he thought he could spend without committing an evil deed.

Mention of who said that.

Bishr related to us — Yazīd — Saʿīd — Maṭar[761] — al-Ḥasan,[762] say-

757. ʿAlī b. Sahl al-Ramlī. *Index*, 397. Not further identified.

758. al-Walīd b. Muslim al-Umawī al-Dimashqī, Abū al-ʿAbbās, 119–95/737–810. He was the foremost scholar of Syria in his time and author of many works on tradition and history. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, XI, 151–55; *GAS*, I, 293; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IX, 143.

759. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir. *Index*, 353. Not further identified.

760. ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Muslim Maysarah al-Khurāsānī, 50–140/670–757. A Damascene scholar who transmitted from Anas b. Mālik, he wrote Qurʾān commentary. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 369; Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, VII, 212–15; *GAS*, I, 33.

761. Maṭar b. Ṭahmān al-Warrāq. A traditionist from Khorasan, considered a weak transmitter. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 19.

762. Al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan Yasār al-Baṣrī, Abū Saʿīd, 21–110/642–728. He was a famous preacher and deeply pious personality, and his statements circulated as traditions. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/1, 114ff; *EP*, s.v. "Ḥasan al-Baṣrī"; *GAS*, I, 591–94.

ing that David divided his time into four parts: one day for his wives; one day for his worship; one day for judging the Israelites; and one day during which he would exhort the Children of Israel and they him, he would bring them to tears and they him. When it was the day for the Children of Israel, he said, "Exhort me!" They said, "Is there a day in which a man does not commit a sin?" David imagined to himself that he could accomplish that, so when the day of worship came, he locked his doors, giving orders that no one was to be admitted. He devoted himself to the Torah, but while he was reading it, lo! A golden dove full of every beautiful color alighted in front of him. He reached out to seize it, but it flew off and alighted not far away, still giving him hope of reaching it. He continued following it until he looked out and saw a woman washing herself; her form and beauty pleased him. When she noticed his shadow on the ground, she covered herself with her hair, which only pleased him more. He had sent her husband to command one of his armies, and now he wrote to him to journey to such-and-such a place, a place from which he would not return.

Uriah journeyed there and was killed, so David proposed to his wife and married her. Qatādah has told us that we have heard she was Solomon's mother. When he was in his private apartment, lo! [568]
Two angels climbed the wall to him. When two litigants came to him, they usually came by way of the door of the private chamber, *so he was startled by them* when they climbed the wall of the private chamber. But *they said: "Be not afraid!* We are *two litigants, one of whom has wronged the other"* ... until where he reached — *"be not unjust"* — meaning, do not show favor — *"and show us the fair way"* — that is, the more just and better one. *"This brother of mine has ninety-nine ewes"* — and David had ninety-nine wives — *"while I have one ewe"* — and Uriah had only one wife. *"And he said: 'Entrust it to me,' and he conquered me in speech"* — that is, he wronged me and overcame me. [David] *said: "He has wronged you in demanding your ewe in addition to his ewes [and lo! Many partners oppress one another, save those who believe and do good works, and they are few.]" And David guessed* — knowing that it was secretly directed at him, that is, it was he who was meant by that — *and he fell down prostrate and he repented.*[763]

763. Qur'ān 38:23–25.

Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm[764] related to me — Ibn Idrīs:[765] I heard Layth[766] mention — Mujāhid: When David was overcome by this sin, he fell down, bowing to God for forty days, until herbs sprouted from his tears, covering his head. Then he called out, "O Lord! My forehead is covered with ulcers, and my eyes have dried up, but no answer has been given to David about his sin." It was proclaimed: "If [you are] hungry, you will be fed; if ill, you will be healed; or if oppressed, assistance be sought for you." He sobbed so that everything that had grown withered, and at that he was forgiven. His sin was written on his hand, so he could read it. When he was brought a vessel from which to drink, he would drink only a third or half, then he would remember his sin, and he would sob so much that his joints would be dislocated, and he would not finish drinking, until the vessel was filled with his tears. It was said one of David's tears equaled a tear of
[569] all creatures; that one of Adam's tears equaled one of David's tears and of all creatures.'

[David] will come on Resurrection Day with his sin written on his hand and will say: "Lord! My sin, my sin! Make me go ahead!" He will be sent ahead, but he will not feel secure, so he will say, "Lord! Make me stay behind!" He will then be held back, but continue to feel insecure.

Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā related to me — Ibn Wahb — Ibn Lahī'ah[767] — Abū Ṣakhr[768] — Yazīd al-Raqāshī[769] — Anas b. Mālik,[770] saying: I

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764. Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Kathīr al-'Abdī, Abū Yūsuf, al-Dawraqī, 166–252/782–866. A leading reliable memorizer and transmitter of tradition in Iraq from whom the six codifiers received many versions. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, XI, 381; Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 97; *GAS*, I, 3f; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IX, 253.

765. 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Idrīs b. Sinān, Abū 'Abdallāh, d. 229/844. A grandson of Wahb b. Munabbih (n. 278, above) and leading transmitter of his grandfather's work. A native of Yemen, he died in Baghdad when he was almost one hundred years old. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 97; *GAS*, I, 306.

766. Al-Layth b. Sa'd. See n. 577, above.

767. 'Abdallāh b. Lahī'ah b. 'Uqbah (Fur'ān in Ziriklī) al-Ḥadramī, al-Miṣrī Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 97–174/715–790. He was a *qāḍī* in Egypt and a collector of traditions who, especially during his latter days, was considered a weak authority. *GAS*, I, 94; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, IV, 255–56.

768. Abū Ṣakhr, possibly Yazīd b. Abī Sumayyah, Abū Ṣakhr al-Aylī. See Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 206. A reliable transmitter of tradition.

769. Yazīd al-Raqāshī. *Index*, 641. Possibly Yazīd b. Abān al-Raqāshī, a weak transmitter of tradition. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 13.

770. Anas b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Ḍamḍam, al-Najārī al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī, Abū Thamāmah (or Abū Ḥamzah) b. 612, d. 94/712, A Companion and servant of the Prophet. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim cited over two thousand traditions from him. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VII/1, 10–16; *EI²*, s.v. "Anas b. Mālik."

heard the Messenger of God say that when David the prophet looked at the woman and became disquieted, he levied an army of the Children of Israel and gave orders to its leader, saying: "When the enemy appears, make so-and-so draw near and advance in front of the Ark." At that time, the Ark was taken as assistance: whoever advanced in front of it, would not return until he was slain or the army fled before him. Then the husband of the woman was slain, and the two angels descended and related his story to David. He understood, and bowed down, remaining so for forty nights, until plants grew up around his head from his tears, and the earth consumed part of his forehead. While he was prostrate he said—and I understood from what al-Raqāshī said only these words—"Lord! David has committed a sin beyond what is between the East and West. Lord! If You do not have mercy on David's weakness and forgive his sin, You will make his sin a subject of conversation among successive generations after him."

Gabriel went to David after forty nights and said, "O David! God has forgiven you for what you intended." David said, "I know that God is able to forgive what I intended and that God is just, not showing favor. But how about so-and-so, who will come on Resurrection Day and will say, 'O Lord! My blood is on David!'" Gabriel said, "I [570]
did not ask your Lord about that, but if you wish, I shall do so." [David] said, "Yes." Then Gabriel ascended while David prostrated himself, remaining so as long as God willed. Then [Gabriel] came down and said, "I have asked God, O David, what you sent me about, and He replied, 'Say to him, "O David! God will bring the two of you together on Resurrection Day, and He will say [to Uriah]:[771] 'Give Me your blood, which is with David' and he will reply, 'It is Yours, O Lord!' and He will say, 'You may have whatever you want in the Garden and whatever you desire in place of it.'"'"

People of the Scripture claim that David continued to rule after Saul, until the incident between him and Uriah's wife occurred. When he committed that sin, David was busied with atonement for it, according to what they claim, and the Israelites disdained him. One of his sons, named Absalom,[772] rebelled against him and called

771. Inserted by al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 251. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 570 n. *d*.

772. Arabic: Abshā. Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 484; Īshā, probably from MS Tn.; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I, 227, and al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 254. The latter gives Shalūn as an alternative. Al-Nuwayrī has Ayshalūm.

the people to acknowledge him as ruler, and those who erred[773] among the Israelites rallied to him.

When God forgave David, some people returned to him, and David fought his son until he defeated him. He sent one of his captains to capture him, giving orders that he be careful to take him alive and show kindness in capture. As the captain sought him, he fled and was forced to run into a tree. He had luxuriant hair, and one of the branches got caught in his hair and held him. This enabled the cap-
[571] tain to overtake and kill him, contrary to David's order. David was greatly saddened over his death, and felt a hatred for the captain.

During David's time, a violent plague struck the Israelites. David took them to the place of the Temple to pray to God, asking Him to remove this misfortune from them. Their prayers were answered, and they adopted that place as a place for worship.[774] They say that this happened after David had ruled for eleven years, but that he died before he completed constructing it. So he left it to Solomon to complete, as well as to slay the captain who had killed his brother. When Solomon had buried David, he carried out his command that the captain be killed, and he completed the building of the Temple.

Regarding David's building of that Temple, there has been said what Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar[775] reported to us — Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm[776] — ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil,[777] who heard Wahb b. Munabbih say that David wanted to know how many Israelites there were. To find this number, he sent out appraisers and chiefs and commanded them to bring him the number they found. But God was angry with David about this matter and said, "You know that I had promised Abraham that I would bless him and his descendants,[778] so that I would make them as numerous as the stars in heaven, and their number uncountable. Yet you wanted to know the number that I said could not be counted. So choose either that I afflict you with hunger for three years, or that I give power over you to the enemy for three months, or to death for three days." David conferred with the Israelites about this matter, and they said, "We do not have the pa-

773. *Ahl al-zaygh.*
774. *Masjidan,* lit. "a place of prostration." In Islam a mosque.
775. Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar. See n. 649, above.
776. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm. See n. 650, above.
777. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil. See n. 651, above.
778. See the blessing of Abraham after the binding of Isaac. Genesis 22:15–18.

tience to withstand hunger for three years, nor the enemy for three months, for there would be no remnant of us. If there is no way out, then better death at His hand than at the hand of anyone else."

Wahb b. Munabbih mentioned that during one hour of the day, many thousands, the number is unknown, died among them. When David learned of the numbers of dead, he was distressed, so he devoted himself to God and prayed to Him, saying, "O Lord! I have eaten the sour sorrel, but the teeth of the Israelites are set on edge.[779] I sought this, I ordered the Israelites to do it, everything that happened is my [fault], so pardon the Children of Israel!" God responded to him by removing death from them. Then David saw the angels with their drawn swords sheathing them and climbing a golden ladder from the Rock[780] to heaven, and David said, "This is a site on which a place of worship[781] should be built." David wanted to begin its construction, but God inspired him: "This is a holy house, and you have stained your hands with blood. You are not to be its builder, then, but a son of yours, whom I shall make king after you, whom I shall name Solomon, [and] whom I shall keep safe from bloodshed."[782] When Solomon became king, he built the place of worship and ennobled it. David's life, according to the accounts that came from the Messenger of God, lasted one hundred years, whereas one of the Scriptuaries claims that he lived for seventy-seven years[783] and reigned for forty years. [572]

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779. *Anā ākil al-ḥummāḍ wa-banū Isrā'īl yaḍrasūna.* In 2 Samuel 24:17 (repeated in 1 Chronicles 21:17) David asks God to end the plague, saying: "Lo, I have sinned, and I have acted iniquitously; but these sheep, what have they done? Let Thy hand be against me, and against my father's house." A phrase closer to the one used here occurs in Jeremiah 31:29: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on set on edge." The same occurs in Ezekiel 18:2.

780. *Al-ṣakhrah,* presumably the rock over which the Dome of the Rock was later built on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.

781. Once again, *masjid,* but it may be taken as "a place of prostration" or "temple."

782. Compare the play on the root letters of Solomon's name in Arabic and Hebrew, here: *Sulaymān usallimuhu*: "I shall name *Solomon* whom *I shall keep safe*"; 1 Chronicles 22:9: *sh'lomo* yihyeh shemo we-*shalom*..."his name shall be *Solomon,* and I will give *peace*...."

783. See 2 Samuel 5:4, 10: "David was thirty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned forty years." Hence he was seventy years old at his death.

The History of Solomon b. David[784]

Solomon b. David ruled over the Israelites after his father David. God compelled the jinn, men, birds, and wind to serve him. In addition, He gave Solomon prophecy, and he asked his Lord to give him dominion that would not be appropriate to anyone after him, and He responded, giving him that.

According to what we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah —
[573] Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — some scholars — Wahb b. Munabbih: When he left his dwelling for his council chamber, the birds would stay close to him, while men and jinn would arise for him until he was seated on his throne.

He was — they assert — pale, corpulent, clean, and hairy, and wore white garments. During the days of his father's rule, after Solomon had reached mature manhood, his father would consult with him, according to what is recorded, about his affairs. One of his and David's concerns involved giving judgment about sheep who had wandered by night by themselves into the fields of people, an account of whom — as well as the account of the two of them — God related in His Book, saying: *And David and Solomon, when they gave judgment concerning the field, when people's sheep had pastured therein by night; and We were witnesses to their judgment. And We*

784. See the biblical account in 1 Kings 2–11. Jewish legendary accounts are to be found in Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, IV, 125–76; al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 257–92; *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. "Sulaimān."

made Solomon understand; and to each of the two We gave judgment and knowledge.[785]

Abū Kurayb and Hārūn b. Idrīs al-Aṣamm,[786] related to us — al-Muḥāribī[787] — Ash'ath — Abū Isḥāq — Murrah — Ibn Mas'ūd: Regarding His words: *And David and Solomon, when they gave judgment concerning the field, when people's sheep had pastured therein by night,*[788] he said: It was a vineyard, whose clusters had sprouted, and [the sheep] had ruined them. David passed judgment on the sheep in favor of the owner of the vineyard, but Solomon said: "Not that, O prophet of God!" He replied, "Why is that?" He said, "Hand over the vineyard to the owner of the sheep, so that he may take care of it until it returns to its former condition, and give the sheep to the owner of the vineyard, so that he may gain from them until the vineyard has returned to its previous state, then hand it over to its owner and the sheep to their owner. For that is His saying: *We made Solomon understand* [the case].[789] [574]

He was a warfaring man, who rarely ceased his constant campaigning. No sooner would he hear about a ruler in some part of the world, but he would go to him to humble him. It was as Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq, as they claim, that when he desired to do battle, he would command his army[790] to be mustered, and wood would be cut for it. It would be set upon [the wood], and people, draft animals, weapons of war, everything, was loaded on it. As soon as it carried what he wanted, he commanded the violent wind to enter under the wood and raise it up. When it had been lifted, he commanded the light breeze, which carried them [the distance of] a month in one night, and [the distance of] one month in one morning, to wherever he wished. God says: *So We made the wind subservient to him, that ran at his command softly, wherever he might light upon*[791] — meaning, wherever he wished. And God

785. Qur'ān 21:78–79.

786. Hārūn b. Idrīs al-Aṣamm. *Index*, 604. Not further identified.

787. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad, al-Muḥāribī, d. 196/811, a Kūfan who was considered trustworthy but made many errors in transmission. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VI, 273.

788. Qur'ān 21:78.

789. Qur'ān 21:79.

790. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, I, 230, has instead: "He commanded the making of a carpet of wood to accommodate his army." Cf. al-Ṭabarī, I, 574 n. *b*.

791. Qur'ān 38:37.

said: *And unto Solomon (We gave) the wind, of which the morning's course was a month's journey, and its evening course a month's journey.*[792]

The narrator continued: It was mentioned to me that there is an inscription, written by one of Solomon's companions, either a jinni or one of mankind, in a dwelling in the vicinity of the Tigris: "We dwelt in it, but we did not build it; we found it already built. We came early in the morning from Iṣṭakhr[793] and spent the midday rest in it. We will go from it in the evening, if God wills, and spend the night in Syria."

[575] According to what I have heard, the wind carried his army, and the light breeze blew him wherever he wished, yet it could move over a sown field and not make it move.

Al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan[794] related to us—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Abū Maʿshar[795]—Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī:[796] We have heard that Solomon's army [stretched] one hundred parasangs: twenty-five of them consisted of humans, twenty-five of jinn, twenty-five of wild animals, and twenty-five of birds. He possessed one thousand houses of glass on the wooden [carpet], in which there were three hundred wives[797] and seven hundred concubines.[798] Solomon ordered the violent wind, and it lifted all this, and ordered the gentle breeze and it transported them. God inspired him while he was journeying between heaven and earth: "Lo! I have increased your rule so that no creature can say anything without the wind bringing it and informing you."

Abū al-Sāʾib related to me—Abū Muʿāwiyah—al-Aʿmash—al-Minhāl b. ʿAmr—Saʿīd b. Jubayr—Ibn ʿAbbās: "Solomon b. David had six hundred thrones set out. The noblest humans would come

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792. Qurʾān 34:12.

793. In Iran. See n. 133, above.

794. Al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan. See n. 243, above.

795. Abū Maʿshar Najīḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sindī, d. 170/786, a younger contemporary of Ibn Isḥāq from Yemen, who later lived in Medina and Baghdad. He was more highly regarded as a historian than as a reliable transmitter of tradition. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, V, 309; *EI*², s.v. "Abū Maʿshar"; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, VIII, 328.

796. Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī. See n. 385, above.

797. *Ṣarīḥah*, lit. "pure, unmixed, (f.) of race or genealogy." See Lane, *op. cit.*, 1675. Usage unclear.

798. *Thalāthumiʾatu ṣarīḥatin wa-sabʿumiʾatu surriyatin*, but al-Thaʿlabī has *thalāthumiʾatu surriyatin wa-sabʿumiʾatin imratin*, i.e., three hundred concubines and seven hundred wives.

and sit them near him, then the noblest jinn would come and sit near the humans." He continued: "Then he would call the birds, who [576] would shade them, then he would call the wind, which would carry them." He went one: "During one morning, they would all travel the distance of a month's journey."

What We Have Heard about Solomon's Campaigns, among Them His Raid during Which He Corresponded with Bilqīs

Who was, according to what the genealogists say, Yalmaqah bt. al-Yashraḥ—some say, bt. Aylī Sharḥ, and others say, bt. Dhī Sharḥ—b. Dhī Jadan b. Aylī Sharḥ b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Ṣayfī b. Saba' b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Joktan [Qaḥṭān],[799] after which she came to Solomon peacefully, without warfare or battle.

He corresponded with her, according to what is said, because he had missed the hoopoe bird one day during a journey. He needed water, but no one with him knew how far away it was. He was told that the hoopoe possessed such knowledge, so he asked for the hoopoe, but could not find it. Someone said that, on the contrary, Solomon had asked about the hoopoe because it missed its shift.[800]

Regarding his story, the story of that journey, and the story of

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799. These names seem generally to be South Arabian. For similar genealogies, see nn. 154, 539, above. The name Bilqīs itself has been linked with Naukalis, given by Josephus as the name of the Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia; with the Greek *phallaxis* and Hebrew *pilegesh* "concubine." See *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 63, s.v. "Bilkīs"; see also Newby, *History*, 132 n. 1.

800. Text has *bi-al-nabwa*, lit. "tell news," comparing it to *bi-nabā'in* "tidings," in Qur'ān 27:22, but this hardly fits. MS BM and Ibrāhīm have *nawba* "(its) shift, turn," which is translated here. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 576 n. *i*.

Bilqīs, there is what al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd al-Āmulī[801] related to me — ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim[802] — ʿAtāʾ b. al-Sāʾib[803] — Mujāhid — Ibn ʿAbbās: When Solomon b. David went on a journey or wanted to travel, he [577] would sit on his throne with seats placed to his right and left. He would give permission to the humans to enter, and permitted the jinn to enter behind them. Then he gave permission to the demons, after the jinn. He would then send for the birds to give them all shade from above, and for the wind to carry them, while he sat on his throne and the people in their seats. The wind carried them, *the morning's course was a month's journey, and its evening course was a month's journey,*[804] *softly wherever he might light [upon].*[805] It was neither a violent nor a light wind, but one in the middle between the two.

While Solomon was traveling, he always chose one bird that he made the chief of all the birds. If he wanted to ask a bird about anything, he would ask its chief. While Solomon was traveling, he alighted in a desert and asked about the distance to water from there. The humans said, "We do not know," so he asked the jinn. They said, "We do not know." Then Solomon asked the demons, and they said, "We do not know." So he became angry and said, "I shall not leave until I know how far away water is from here."

The demons said to Solomon: "O Messenger of God! Do not be angry, because if there is anything to be known, the hoopoe knows it." Solomon said, "Bring the hoopoe to me!" But it could not be found, so Solomon became angry and said, *"How is it that I do not see the hoopoe, or is he among the absent? Verily I will punish him with hard punishments, or I will slay him, or he will bring me a clear authority"*[806] — meaning, a clear excuse — "for being absent from this journey of mine." His punishment for a bird's absence was to pluck out its feathers and to place it in the sun; it would be unable

801. Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd. See n. 53, above.

802. ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim b. Ṣuhayb al-Wāsiṭī, Abū al-Ḥasan. 105–201/723–816. He was a leading memorizer of traditions of Iraq in his time. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VII/2, 61; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, V, 110.

803. ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib al-Thaqafī, Abū Zayd, d. 136/753. He was a trusted transmitter of the earliest traditions until later in his life, when some confusion occurred. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 235.

804. Qurʾān 34:12.

805. Qurʾān 38:37.

806. Qurʾān 27:20–21.

to fly and would become one of the insects of the earth if [Solomon] wished so. Or he would slay it, and that would be its punishment.

The hoopoe passed over Bilqīs' palace and saw one of her gardens
[578] behind the palace. It inclined toward the greenness and alighted on it, and lo! There was one of [Bilqīs'] hoopoes in the garden. Solomon's hoopoe said: "Where are you [so far] from Solomon? And what are you doing here?" Bilqīs' hoopoe replied, "And who is Solomon?" He replied, "God sent a man named Solomon as a messenger, and humbled before him the wind, the jinn, humans, and birds."

Bilqīs' hoopoe said to the other, "What are you saying?" It replied, "I am saying to you what you have heard." [Bilqīs' hoopoe] said, "This is indeed a wonder, but more wonderful than that is that all of these many people, a woman rules *over them, and she has been given [abundance] of all things, and hers is a mighty throne.* They replaced thanks to God by *worshiping the sun instead of God.*"[807] When the hoopoe had mentioned Solomon, it flew off. When it reached the army, the other birds met it and said, "The Messenger of God has threatened you," and they informed it of what Solomon had said.

Solomon's punishment of the birds was to pluck their feathers and to spread them in the sun, so that they would never fly again and would become like the insects of the earth. Or he would kill them and they would never have posterity.

The hoopoe said, "But did the Messenger of God make no exception?" They replied, "Yes, he did, saying, '*Or let him bring me a clear* excuse.'"[808] When the hoopoe went to Solomon, he asked it, "What has caused you to be absent from my journey?" The hoopoe responded, *"I have found out a thing that you do not apprehend, and I come to you from Sheba with sure tidings"*—to where He reached—*"and see what [answer] they return."*[809]

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807. Qur'ān 27:23–24.

808. Qur'ān 27:21; see above.

809. Qur'ān 27:22–28. The verses omitted in the text are: *Lo, I found a woman ruling over them, and she has been given (abundance) of all things, and hers is a mighty throne. I found her and her people worshiping the sun instead of God; and Satan makes their deeds seem fair to them, and debars them from the way (of truth), so they do not go aright. So they do not worship God, who brings forth the hidden in the heavens and the earth, and knows what you hide and what you proclaim. God; there is no god besides Him, the Lord of the tremendous throne. (Solomon) said: We*

The hoopoe pleaded excuses and related to him of Bilqīs and her people as the other hoopoe had told him. Solomon responded, "You have pleaded an excuse. *We shall see whether you speak the truth or whether you are a liar. Go with this letter of mine, and throw it down to them.*[810]

The hoopoe met her while she was in her palace and threw the letter to her, and it came into her mind[811] that this was *a noble letter.*[812] She was worried about it, so she took it and threw her garments over it, ordered her throne be brought out, then went to sit upon it and proclaimed to her people, saying to them: *"O chieftains! Lo! There has been thrown to me a noble letter. Lo! It is from Solomon, and it is: 'In the name of God the Beneficient, the Merciful. Exalt not yourselves against me, but come to me as those who surrender.'*[813] I am accustomed not to decide a matter until you bear witness to me."[814] *They said: "We are lords of might and lords of great prowess, but it is for you to command; so consider what you will command." [She said: "Lo, when kings enter a town, they ruin it, and make the honor of its people shame. Thus will they do.] But lo! I am going to send a present to them.*[815] If he accepts it, then he is an earthly king, and I am more powerful and stronger than he. But if he does not accept it, then this is something from God." When the present reached Solomon, he said to them, *"Would you help me with wealth! That which God has given me is better than what He has given you. [Nay it is you (not I) who exult in your gift. Return to them. We shall surely come to them with hosts that they cannot resist, and we shall drive them from there with shame] and they will be abased'*[816]—that is, they are not praiseworthy. [579]

She sent him an unpierced gem and told him: "Pierce it!" Solomon asked people, but they had no knowledge about that, then he

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shall see whether you speak the truth or whether you are a liar. Go with this letter of mine and throw it down to them; then turn away.

810. Qur'ān 27:27–28.

811. *Saqaṭa fī ḥijriha.* For *ḥijr* as "understanding, intelligence, intellect, mind, or reason." See Lane, *op. cit.*, II, s.v. *ḥjr.* Some versions have *suqiṭa fī khaladiha,* which means "she was nonplused." See *Glossarium,* CCCXCIII, s.v. *sqṭ;* and al-Ṭabarī, I, 579 n. *a.*

812. Qur'ān 27:29.

813. Qur'ān 27:29–31.

814. A paraphrase of Qur'ān 27:32.

815. Qur'ān 27:33–35.

816. Qur'ān 27:36–37.

asked the jinn, but they had no knowledge of that. Then he asked the demons, who said, "Send for the termite." So the termite came, placed a hair in her mouth, entered into [the gem], and after a while, pierced it. When her messengers returned to her, [Bilqīs] left her people hurriedly at the break of day with her people following after her.

[580] Ibn ʿAbbās said, "She had one thousand *qayls*[817] with her." Ibn ʿAbbās said, "The people of Yemen call their leader *'qayl,'* and with each *qayl* were ten thousand men." Al-ʿAbbās said, "ʿAlī said, ten thousand thousand."

Al-ʿAbbās[818] said—ʿAlī[819]—Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[820] related to us—ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād b. Alhād:[821] Bilqīs proceeded to Solomon with three hundred and twelve *qayls*, each with ten thousand men.

ʿAṭāʾ — Mujāhid — Ibn ʿAbbās: Solomon was an awe-inspiring man. No enterprise was undertaken unless he was responsible for it. On that day, he went out to sit upon his throne and saw a cloud of dust near him. He asked, "What is this?" They told him, "Bilqis, O Messenger of God!" He said, "She has encamped near us in this place!"

Mujāhid said that Ibn ʿAbbās described that for us, "I estimated [the distance] as that between al-Kūfah and al-Ḥīrah, the distance of one parasang." He continued: [Solomon] addressed his troops and said: *"Which of you will bring me her throne before they come to me, surrendering?" An 'ifrīt of the jinn said: "I will bring it to you before you rise from your place"*[822]—in which you are now until the time you rise for your morning meal.

Solomon said, "Who will bring her throne to me before that?" *One who had knowledge of Scripture said: "I will bring it to you*
[581] *before your gaze returns to you."*[823] Solomon looked at him, and when he had finished speaking, Solomon returned his gaze to the throne.[824] He saw that her palanquin[825] had come and emerged from

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817. *Qayl*, pl. *aqyāl*, the minor or petty kings of pre-Islamic Arabia.
818. *I.e.*, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd. See n. 53, above.
819. *I.e.*, ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim. See n. 802, above.
820. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Abū al-Hudhayl, al-Sulamī. Ibn Saʿd, *op. cit.*, VI, 236.
821. ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād. See n. 397, above.
822. Qurʾān 27:38–39.
823. Qurʾān 27:40. See n. 845, below.
824. *ʿArsh*, usually treated by Muslim commentators as the divine throne. Hence

beneath his throne.[826] *And when he saw it set in his presence, (Solomon) said: "This is of the bounty of my Lord, that He may try me, whether I give thanks* ... when He brings it to me before my gaze even returns to me ... *or am ungrateful*[827] ... for He has made one in my power more able to bring it than me."

They set up her throne for her. He said further: *When she came,* she sat next to Solomon, and *it was said* to her: *"Is your throne like this?"* So she looked at it, and *she said: "It is as though it were the very one."*[828] Then she said: "I left it in my fortress with troops surrounding it, so how was this brought, O Solomon? I should like to ask you something, so you may tell me about it." He said: "Ask!" She said: "Tell me about sweet water that is from neither heaven nor earth." The narrator said: When Solomon was faced with something he did not know, he began by asking humans about it. If humans had knowledge of it, [good], otherwise he asked the jinn. If the jinn had no knowledge about it, he asked the demons. The demons said to him: "How easy that is, O Messenger of God! Command the horses and make them run, then fill a vessel with their sweat." So Solomon said to her, "The sweat of horses." She said, "You are right. Then tell me about the color of the Lord." Ibn ʿAbbās said that Solomon rose up from his throne and fell down prostrating himself. Al-ʿAbbās said — ʿAlī — ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd[829] told me — al-Ḥasan: "Solomon was thunderstruck and fainted and fell down from his throne." Then we [582]
return to the original account, which says: She arose, and his troops scattered from him, while a messenger arrived, saying, "O Solomon! Your Lord says to you, 'What is wrong with you?'" He replied, "She has asked me something that I am reluctant to repeat."[830] [The messenger] said, "God commands you to return to your throne and sit upon it. Send for her, those of her troops who were with her, and all

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the common word for throne. See n. 826, below.

825. *Sarīr,* "couch or bedstead," sometimes used as a symbol of royalty. See Lane, *op. cit.*, s.v. *srr.*

826. *Kursī,* sometimes used for throne, when used together with *ʿarsh,* it is treated as the footstool. See *EI*², s.v. "Kursī."

827. Qurʾān 27:40 *bis.*

828. Qurʾān 27:42.

829. ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd b. Bāb al-Taymī, Abū ʿUthmān, 80–144/699–761. A leading Muʿtazilite Qurʾān commentator, noted for his piety, asceticism, and learning. *EI*², s.v. "ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd" *GAS,* I, 597.

830. *Yukabidunī an uʿīdahu.* See *Glossarium,* CDLXIV, s.v. *kbd.*

of your troops who were present. Let them all come to you, while you ask her and them what she had asked you."

He did that, and when they had all entered to his presence, he said to her, "About what did you ask me?" She replied, "I asked you about sweet water that is from neither heaven nor earth." He said, "And I answered you that it was horse's sweat." She said, "And you were right." He said, "And what else did you ask me?" She said, "I did not ask you anything but that." The narrator went on: Solomon said to her, "Then why did I fall from my throne?" She said, "That is something I know nothing about."

Al-ʿAbbās said—ʿAlī: "I forgot it." He went on, "So he asked her troops, and they said what she had said." [Solomon] asked his own troops, jinn, birds, and whoever of his troops had been present, and they all said, "She asked you, O Messenger of God, only about sweet water." The narrator said: The messenger had said, "God says to you, 'Return to your place, for I have taken care of them for you.'"

Solomon said to the demons, "Build me a castle in which Bilqīs will enter to me." He continued: The demons turned to one another and said, "Solomon is the Messenger of God, and God has humbled [583] to him whatever He has humbled. Bilqīs is the queen of Sheba, whom he will marry, and she will bear him a boy, and we shall never be freed from slavery."

Bilqīs was a woman with hairy legs, so the demons said, "Build a structure for him that will show him that, so that he will not marry her." They built him a castle of green glass, making floor tiles[831] of glass that resembled water. They placed within those tiles every kind of sea creature, fish, and the like, then they covered it up. They said to Solomon, "Enter the castle."

A throne was set up for Solomon at the far end of the castle. When he entered, he looked around, went to the throne, sat upon it, and said: "Let Bilqīs enter to me." *"She was told, "Enter the castle!"* When she began to enter, she saw the forms of the fish and creatures in water, so *she thought it was a pool,* i.e., she thought it was water, *and she bared her legs* to enter it. The hair was twisted around her legs, and when Solomon saw this, he called to her, averting his glance: *"Lo! It is a hall, made smooth, of glass."* She let down her

831. *Ṭawābiq.* See *Glossarium,* CCCXXXVIII, s.v. *ṭbq*: *largae tegulae soli in aedificio.*

garment, and *she said: "My Lord! Lo! I have wronged myself, and I surrender with Solomon to God, the Lord of the Worlds."*[832]

Then Solomon called the humans and said, "How ugly this is! What can remove it?" They said, "O Messenger of God! The razor." He said, "Razors will cut the woman's legs." So he called the jinns and asked them. They said, "We do not know." Then he called the demons and said, "What will remove this?" They said likewise, "The razor." He replied, "Razors will cut the woman's legs." He [584] continued: They apologized to him, then made a depilatory paste for him.

Ibn ʿAbbās said, "It was the first day on which depilatory paste was mixed. Then Solomon married her."

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — a scholar — Wahb b. Munabbih: When the messengers brought back to Bilqīs what Solomon had said, she said, "By God! I had known that this is no ordinary king and that we have no power to oppose him and will not accomplish anything by vying with him." So she sent to him, saying, "I am coming to you with the kings of my people, so that I may see your situation and your religion to which you are inviting [me]." She then ordered her royal palanquin, upon which she used to sit, made of gold inlaid with sapphire, topaz, and pearls, and it was placed within seven structures, each within another, then she had their doors locked. She was served only by women, of whom there were six hundred with her. Then she said to the one whom she had appointed over her domain, "Guard what is in your hands and the palanquin of my rule, and do not let anyone reach it or even see it until I return." Then she went off to Solomon with twelve thousand *qayls* from the kings of Yemen, and under the authority of each of them were many thousands. Solomon began sending out the jinns, who would bring him [word] of her travel and how far she reached each day and night. When she drew near, he assembled all the jinns and men under his command and said, *"O you chiefs! Who will* [585] *bring me her throne before they come to me submitting!"*[833] The narrator said: "She submitted [to Islam], and her Islam was sincere."

It is claimed that Solomon said to her, when she had accepted Islam and he had completed the matter with her, "Choose a man from

832. Qur'ān 27:44.
833. Qur'ān 27:38.

your people to whom I will marry you." She replied, "Shall men marry someone like me, O Prophet of God, when I have had dominion and power among my people such as I have had?" He said, "Yes. In Islam, there can only be the like of that. It is not fitting for you to forbid that which God has made permissible for you." So she said, "Then marry me, if it must be so, to Dhū Tubbaʾ, king of Hamdān."[834] So Solomon married her to him, returned her to Yemen, and gave rule over Yemen to her husband Dhū Tubbaʾ. Solomon called Zawbaʿah, prince of the jinns of Yemen, and said, "Do for Dhū Tubbaʾ whatever he asks you to do for his people."

So Zawbaʿah carried out construction projects in Yemen for Dhū Tubbaʾ, and Dhū Tubbaʾ remained there as king, having whatever he wanted done for him, until Solomon b. David died. Then, when a year had passed and Solomon's death[835] became clear to the jinn, one of them journeyed through Tihāmah[836] until, in the midst of Yemen, he shouted at the top of his voice, "O assemblage of jinn! King Solomon has died, so stop working." The demons directed themselves to two large stones, upon which they wrote an inscription in Himyarite script:[837] "We built Salḥīn in seventy-seven years,[838] striving steadily. And we built Ṣirwāḥ, Marāḥ, and Baynūn by the sweat of [our] hands;[839] and Hind and Hunaydah and seven cisterns[840] in a paved court, and Talthūm in Raydah. Were it not for the one who shouted in Tihāmah, we would have left in al-Bawn[841] a sign."

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The narrator explains: Salḥīn, Ṣirwāḥ, Marāḥ, Baynūn, Hind, Hu-

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834. Although the text has Dhū Bataʿ, Ibrāhīm, *op. cit.*, I, 495, has Dhū Tubbaʿ, basing this on other MSS, as noted by the editor. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 585 n. *c*. See also Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I, 115, and al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 286.

835. See the story of Solomon's death, pp. 173–74, below.

836. The central area of western Arabia between Yemen and the Ḥijāz. See Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I, 901–3.

837. *I.e.*, the South Arabian alphabet. The inscription is written in *saǰʿ*, rhymed prose.

838. *Kharīfan*, lit. "autumns," South Arabian: "years." See al-Ṭabarī, I, 585 n. *e*.

839. Written *aydīn(a)*, it should have long ā, but it is probably written to rhyme with *dāʾibīn(a)*. See the correct form in Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, III, 115, s.v. "Salḥīn."

840. *Amǰilah*, pl. of *maǰil*, for *maʾǰil*. *Glossarium*, CDLXXXI, s.v. *mǰl*. Written *amḥilah* in another version. See n. 806, above.

841. Bawn, a town in Yemen. See Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I, 763–64, supposedly the site of the "deserted well and lofty tower" [Arberry: "a ruined well, a tall palace"] mentioned in Qurʾān 22:45.

naydah, and Talthūm are fortresses in Yemen[842] that the demons built for Dhū Tubbaʾ. Then they stopped work and left. The rule of Dhū Tubbaʾ and Bilqīs ended with the rule of Solomon b. David.

842. Yāqūt lists some but not all of these fortresses separately and in most cases attributes their building to Solomon or to the devils. E.g., Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, III, 115, s.v. "Salḥīn": A great fortress in Yemen of the Tubbaʿs (kings of Yemen). It is claimed that the devils built the castles and buildings for Dhū Tubbaʿ, king of Hamdān, when Solomon married Bilqīs." He then gives the inscription as follows: "We built Baynūn and Salḥīn, Ṣirwāḥ and Mirwāḥ, with the weakness (*rijājah*; Lane, *op. cit.*, s.v. *rjj*) of our hands. And Hindah and Hunaydah, Qalsūm and Buraydah, and seven *amḥilah* (?) in a courtyard." See also al-Ṭabarī, 586 nn. *b–f*. Al-Thaʿlabī, *op. cit.*, 286, has Salḥīn, Ghamdān, Banyūn; on 287 he has Salḥīn, Abnujīn, Ṣirwāḥ, Marwaḥ, Fanqūn, Hindah, Hunaydah, and Dalūm.

Solomon's Campaign against the Father of His Wife, Jarādah, and the Story of the Devil Who Took Solomon's Signet Ring

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—a scholar—Wahb b. Munabbih: Solomon heard of a city, named Sidon,[843] on one of the
[587] islands of the sea, in which was a mighty powerful king. People had no access to him because of his situation in the sea. However, God had given to Solomon within his dominion, power to which nothing on land or sea would be inaccessible. He needed only to ride to it when he rode on the wind. He set out for that city, the wind carrying him over the water, until he landed there together with his troops of men and jinns. He killed its king and took everything as booty. Among those items he seized was a daughter of that king, the like of whose comeliness and beauty he had never seen. He chose her for himself and invited her to become a Muslim. She accepted Islam, but reluctantly and doubtfully. He loved her with a love he had never shown to any of his wives and became obsessed with her.[844] But despite her standing with him, her sadness did not leave her, nor did her

843. Ṣaydūn, Ṣīdūn, perhaps for Hebrew *ṣīdōn*, the seaport in Phoenicia, although its usual Arabic name is Ṣaydā'.

844. *Waqaʿat nafsuhu ʿalayhā*. See *Glossarium*, DLXIV, s.v. *wqʿ: amor ejus occupavit animum*.

tears stop. When he saw how [sad] she was, distressed by what he saw, he said to her, "Woe is you! What is this sadness that does not leave you? And these tears that do not stop?" She replied, "It is my father. I remember him and his dominion. I remember what his position was, and what happened to him. It makes me sad." He said, "God has exchanged it with a dominion for you that is greater than his, and power greater than his power. He has guided you to Islam, which is better than all of that." She said, "Certainly that is so, but whenever I remember him, sadness overcomes me, as you have seen. Perhaps you could command the demons to make a likeness of my father in my dwelling, so that I may see it in the morning and evening. I hope this will take away my sadness and divert me somewhat from what I feel." So Solomon commanded the demons, saying, "Make for her a likeness of her father in her dwelling in which nothing would be unrecognizable for her." They made his likeness for her so that she [seemed to] look at her father himself, except that there [588] was no soul in him. After they had made him for her, she directed herself to him, wrapping him in a girdle, putting a shirt and a turban on him, and restored him to the kind of clothing he used to wear and the sort of appearance he used to have. Then, when Solomon would leave her dwelling, she would enter to [the image] early in the morning with her slave girls. She and the slave girls would bow down to him, as they used to do for him in his dominion. Every evening she would go to him in the same way, and Solomon knew nothing of that for forty days.

Word of that reached Asaph b. Berechiah,[845] a trusted counselor who was never turned back from Solomon's gates, and at any hour he desired to enter any of his apartments, he entered, whether Solomon was present or not. He went to Solomon and said, "O Prophet of God! I have become old, my bones have become frail, and my time is running out. It is time for me to pass on. I should like to stand in a place before my death in which I might mention those of God's prophets who have passed on and praise them with my knowledge of them,

845. Asaph b. Berechiah is mentioned in 1 Chronicles 6:24 and 15:17 as one of the Levites who sang and played before the Ark when it was brought into Jerusalem at David's command. In Islamic lore he is supposed to be the one referred to (though not by name) in Qur'ān 27:40: *One with whom was knowledge of the scripture* (see n. 817, above), who brought the throne of Bilqis to Solomon in the twinkling of an eye. He is known in Islamic tradition and folklore. See *EI*², s.v. "Asaf b. Barkhyā."

and teach the people something of what they have not known of many things about them." Solomon said, "Do so!" Solomon gathered the people to him, and he stood among them as a preacher, mentioning God's prophets who had passed on. He praised each prophet for what he had been and mentioned in what way God had made him excel, until he came to Solomon's name, and mentioned him, saying, "How forbearing you were—in your youth, and how pious you were—in your youth, and how virtuous you were—in your youth, and how wise you were—in your youth, and how far you were from everything disapproved—in your youth!" Then he left, and Solomon
[589] grew angry until he was filled with rage. He entered his dwelling and sent for Asaph, saying, "O Asaph! You mentioned the prophets of God who have passed on, and you praised their goodness throughout their lives and in every state of their affair. But when you mentioned me, you began to praise my goodness in my youth, but you remained silent about everything else in my case after I matured and what I have done in my latter days." Asaph responded, "Verily, someone other than God has been worshiped in your dwelling during the last forty days in the passion of a woman." Solomon said, "In my dwelling?" He replied, "In your dwelling!" Solomon said, "*Verily, we are God's, and lo! To Him do we return.*[846] I know that you spoke only about something that has reached you." Then Solomon returned to his dwelling, broke the image, and punished that woman and her slave girls.

Then [Solomon] ordered garments of purification to be brought to him. They are garments spun by none but virgins, woven by none but virgins, washed by none but virgins, and no woman who had menstruated may touch them. He put them on, then went out to a deserted piece of land by himself. He ordered ashes to be brought and spread out for him. Then he came, repenting to God and sat on those ashes, rolling in them in his garments, humbling himself before God and entreating him, weeping, praying, asking forgiveness for what had happened in his dwelling, saying among the things he said [as was mentioned to me, but God knows best], "Lord, why do You afflict the family of David so that they worship other than You, and that they permit in their dwellings and among their family the worship of other than You." He remained thus until the evening came,

846. Qur'ān 2:156.

weeping to God, imploring Him, and asking His forgiveness. Then he returned to his dwelling.

He had a chief concubine named al-Āminah to whom, when he entered his privy or when he wished to have intercourse with one of [590] his wives, he would give his signet ring until he purified himself, because he would not touch his signet ring unless he was [ritually] pure.[847] His dominion was in his signet, and one day, he gave it to her, as he used to do, then he entered his privy. The Devil who was master of the sea, who was named Ṣakhr, came to her in Solomon's form. Āminah saw nothing unlike Solomon in him, and when he said, "My signet ring, O Āminah!" she gave it to him. He put it on his hand, went out, sat on Solomon's throne, and the birds, jinns, and men surrounded him.

Solomon came out and went to al-Āminah, but his condition and appearance had changed for everyone who saw him. When he said, "O Āminah, my signet ring!" she replied, "And who are you?" He said, "I am Solomon b. David." She said, "You lie! You are not Solomon b. David. Solomon came and took his signet ring. He is that one, sitting on his throne in his dominion."

Solomon realized that his sin had overtaken him. He went out and began to stand at one of the houses of the Israelites, saying, "I am Solomon b. David," but they would throw dirt on him and insult him, saying, "Look at this madman! What does he say? He claims that he is Solomon b. David." When Solomon saw that, he turned to the sea, and would carry fish to the market for the seafaring men. Each day, they would give him two fish. When evening came, he would sell one fish for some loaves of bread, and grill the other and eat it. He remained thus for forty days — the same amount of time that the idol had been worshiped in his dwelling. Asaph and the powerful men of the Israelites found fault in the judgment of God's enemy, the Devil, during those forty days. Asaph said, "O assembly of the Children of Israel! Have you noticed the same change in the [591] judgment of the son of David that I have noticed?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Give me time to enter to his wives so that I may ask them whether they have found the same fault in his private affairs that we

847. In Islam ritual purity after sexual intercourse involving seminal emission requires *ghusl*, complete immersion (*EI*², s.v. "Ghusl"), whereas defecation or urination requires *wuḍū'*, the minor ablution (hands, feet, etc.). See *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. "wuḍū'."

have found with his public affairs with the people and his outward behavior." He went in to Solomon's wives and said, "Woe unto you! Have you found something wrong in Solomon's behavior as we have found wrong?" They said, "The worst of it is that he will not leave any woman of us who is menstruating alone,[848] and he does not wash himself from impurity."[849] Asaph said: *"Verily we are God's, and to Him do we return!*[850] *Verily that is a clear test."*[851] Then he returned to the Israelites and said, "What he does in private is worse than what he does in public."

When forty days had passed, the Devil flew away from his council chamber. As he passed over the sea, he threw the signet ring into it, and a fish swallowed it. One of the fishermen saw that fish and caught it. Solomon had worked for him from the beginning of that day until evening, so he gave Solomon his two fish, [including] the one that had taken the signet ring. Solomon went out with his two fish and sold the one in whose stomach there was no signet ring for some loaves of bread. He then applied himself to the other fish, cutting it open in order to grill it, and was confronted by his signet ring in its stomach. He took it, placed it on his hand, and fell down, prostrating himself to God. The birds and jinns surrounded him, and people approached him, and he knew that what had come upon him was only because of what he had let happen in his household. He returned to his dominion and manifested repentance for his sin. He commanded the demons, saying, "Bring [Ṣakhr] to me!" The demons sought him until they caught him, and he was brought. Solomon bored a hole in a stone for him and put him inside. Then he closed it up with another [stone], bound it with iron and lead, and gave orders for it to be cast into the sea.

[592] Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn[852] related to us—Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal — Asbāṭ — al-Suddī said about [God's] word: *And verily We tried Solomon, and set upon his throne a body*[853]—he said, [this was] the devil, when he sat on [Solomon's] throne for forty days. He contin-

848. Sexual intercourse with menstruating women is forbidden by the Qur'ān (2:222), but the rules forbidding contact are less stringent in Islam than in Judaism. See *EI*[2] s.v. "Ḥaiḍ."

849. See n. 845, above.

850. Qur'ān 2:156.

851. Qur'ān 37:106.

852. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn. See n. 752, above.

853. Qur'ān 38:35.

ued: Among Solomon's one hundred wives, was one called "Jarādah." She was his favorite wife and the most trusted. When he was impure or went out for his need, he would take off his ring, and he would trust no one of the people but her with it. She went to him one day and said, "My brother has a dispute with so-and-so, and I should like you to settle it for him when he comes to you." He said, "Of course." But he did not do it, and he was afflicted. He gave her his signet ring and entered the toilet. But the devil came out in his form. He said, "Give me the ring!" and she gave it to him. Then he went and sat on Solomon's seat. Afterward, Solomon came out and asked her for his signet ring, and she said, "Did you not take it before?" He said, "No," and went out of his place bewildered.

The devil continued judging the people for forty days. The people found fault with his judgments, and the readers and scholars of the Children of Israel assembled, and came and entered to [Solomon's] wives and said, "We find fault with this, and if it is Solomon, then he has lost his senses. We disapprove of his judgments." [Al-Suddī] continued: The women wept upon [hearing] this. The people approached them on foot until they reached [the devil] and surrounded him. Then they unrolled and read the Torah. He flew from before them until he rested upon an embattlement with the signet ring. Then he flew until he reached the sea, and the signet ring, falling from him into the sea, was swallowed by one of the fish.

[Al-Suddī] continued: Solomon approached in the state in which he was, until he reached one of the fishermen of the sea, and he was [593] hungry. Solomon's hunger had become very strong, and he asked [the fisherman] for food from their catch, saying, "Verily I am Solomon." One of the fishermen arose and struck him with a staff, cutting open his head. Solomon began to wash off his blood—he was on the seashore—and the fishermen blamed their companion who had struck him, saying: "How bad was what you did when you struck him!" He said, "It was because he claimed that he was Solomon."

They gave him two of the fish they had caught, but he did not busy himself with what he had of the catch until he stood at the seashore and split open the two [fish], beginning to wash them, and found his signet ring in the stomach of one. He took it, put it on, and God restored his glory to him and his dominion. The birds came so that they hovered over him, and the people knew that he was Solomon. The people rose and asked his pardon for what they had done. He

said, "I shall not praise you for your asking pardon, nor will I blame you for what you did. This matter had to be."

He went until when he reached his dominion, he sent for the devil, and he was brought to him. The wind and the demons were made to work for him on that day; they had not been subordinated to him before then, for that is His word: *"Bestow upon me sovereignty such as shall not belong to anyone else after me. Lo! You are the Bestower."*[854]

He sent for the devil, and he was brought. [Solomon] gave orders to
[594] place him in a chest of iron, then it was shut and locked with a lock. He sealed it with his signet ring, then he gave orders to cast it into the sea. The devil will be in it until the Hour arrives. His name was Ḥabaqīq.

Abū Jaʿfar said: Then Solomon continued in his sovereignty after God had returned him to it, the jinn making for him *what he willed: places of worship and statues, basins like water troughs and anchored cooking pots*[855] and his other projects.

He punished those demons he wished, and set free those he liked, so that when he neared his term and God wanted to take him to Him, his matter was as was told to me, as Aḥmad b. Manṣūr[856] related about him — Mūsā b. Masʿūd Abū Ḥudhayfah[857] — Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān[858] — ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib — Saʿīd b. Jubayr — Ibn ʿAbbās — the Prophet: When Solomon, the Prophet of God, was praying, he would see a tree sprouting in front of him, and he would say to it: "What is your name?" It said, "Such-and-such." Then he said, "For what purpose are you?" If it was for planting, it would be planted; if it was for a remedy, it would be written down. One day while he was praying, suddenly he saw a tree in front of him, and he said to it, "What is your name?" It said, "Carob (*kharrūb*)." He said, "For what purpose are you?" It said, "For the destruction (*kharāb*) of this house." Sol-

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854. Qurʾān 38:36.

855. Qurʾān 34:13.

856. Aḥmad b. Manṣūr b. Sayyār al-Ramādī, Abū Bakr, 182–265/798–877. A trustworthy memorizer of traditions, he traveled widely seeking their sources and wrote many books, including collections of traditions. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, I, 83; *GAS*, I, 41; al-Ziriklī, *op. cit.*, I, 244.

857. Mūsā b. Masʿūd al-Nahdī al-Baṣrī, Abū Ḥudhayfah, d. 240/854. He was one of the authorities of al-Bukhārī. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, X, 370–71; *GAS*, I, 41.

858. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān b. Shuʿbah al-Khurasānī, Abū Saʿīd, d. 164/780. Born in Herat, he journeyed to Nishapur, Baghdad, and Mecca, where he died. He was considered one of the best traditionists of Khurāsān. Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.*, I, 129–31; *GAS*, I, 92–93.

omon said, "O my God! Blind the jinn to my death, so that men may know that the jinn do not know what is hidden." He hewed [the tree] into a staff and was supported upon it for a year after he had died, while the jinn continued to work. Then, a termite ate it, and he fell. Thus, humans perceived that *the jinn, if they had known the unseen, would not have continued in despised toil.*[859]

He said: Ibn ʿAbbās used to read it "for a year in despised toil." He [595]
continued: The jinn thanked the termite and used to bring it water.

Mūsā b. Hārūn[860] related to me — ʿAmr[861] — Asbāṭ — al-Suddī, in an account that he related — Abū Mālik; and Abū Ṣāliḥ — Ibn ʿAbbās; and Murrah al-Hamdānī — Ibn Masʿūd; and people among the companions of the Prophet: Solomon would isolate himself in the Temple for a year or two years, for a month or two months, or for more or less time. His food and drink would be brought in to him, as it was at the time he died. From the beginning, there was not a day when he woke [early], but a tree had sprouted in the Temple. He would go to it and ask it, "What is your name?" And the tree would say, "My name is such-and-such." He would say to it, "Why have you sprouted?" And it would say, "I sprouted for such-and-such [a purpose]." He would give orders regarding it, and it would be cut down. If it sprouted for planting, he would plant it. If it sprouted as a remedy, it would say, "I have sprouted as a remedy for such-and-such," and he would use it for that. Then a tree sprouted that is called the carob, and he asked it, "What is your name?" It replied, "I am the carob tree." He said, "Why did you sprout?" It replied, "I have sprouted for the destruction of this place of worship." Solomon said, "God would not destroy it while I am alive. You [are the one] upon whose face is my death and the destruction of the Temple." He pulled up the tree and planted it in a wall of his. He then entered the prayer chamber and stood praying, leaning on his staff, and he died. The demons did not know of this, and they were working for him at that time, fearing that he would come out and punish them. They would [596]
gather around the prayer chamber, with its openings in front and back. Any devil who wanted to disobey would say, "Am I not strong if I enter [here] and depart from that side?" So he would enter and depart from the other side. Then one devil entered and passed by. No

859. Qur'ān 34:14.
860. Mūsā b. Hārūn. See n. 174, above.
861. ʿAmr b. Muḥammad. See n. 506, above.

devil could look at Solomon in the prayer niche without being burned. But as this one passed by, he did not hear Solomon's voice. When he returned, he still did not hear it. Then he returned again and stood in the Temple and was not burned. He looked at Solomon, who had fallen down dead, and went out, informing the people that Solomon had died. They opened up the Temple and brought him out. They found that his stick [*minsa'ah*][862] — which is a staff in the Ethiopian language — had been eaten by a termite. They did not know how long he had been dead. So they placed the termite on the staff, and it ate of it for one day and night. Then they reckoned, on the basis of that, that he had died a year previously. This is, in the reading of Ibn Mas'ūd:[863] "They continued to submit to him for a whole year after his death." People determined thereby that the jinn had been lying, for if they had known the unseen, they would have known of Solomon's death and would not have remained in toil for a year working for him.[864] For that is God's word: *Nothing showed him his death but a creeping creature of the earth [which gnawed away his staff (minsa'atahu). And when he fell the jinn saw clearly how, if they had known the unseen, they would not have continued] in despised toil*[865] — meaning, that their situation made clear to the people that they had been lying.

[597]

Then the demons said to the termite, "If you ate food, we would bring you the best food. If you drank wine, we would bring you the best wine. But we will bring [you] water and clay."

They [would] bring the termite water and clay, wherever it was. The narrator went on: Have you not seen the clay that is within wood? That is what the demons bring the termite out of gratitude.

Solomon b. David's life span, according to what they say, was some fifty-odd years,[866] and in the fourth year of his reign, he began building the Temple, as it is said.

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862. Not of Arabic origin. See *Glossarium*, DXI, s.v. *ns'*: *baculus* [a staff, or scepter]. It occurs in Qur'ān 34:14, below.

863. See al-Ṭabarī, 496 n. *b*. Ibn Mas'ūd, see n. 179, above.

864. The jinn, therefore, do not possess the superhuman power of foretelling the future or even knowing what was generally unknown. Had they been aware of Solomon's death, they would not have continued their toil for him.

865. Qur'ān 34:14. The words in brackets are omitted in text.

866. The length of Solomon's life is not specified in the Bible, but he reigned for forty years, 1 Kings 11:42; 2 Chronicles 9:30. Al-Tha'labī, *op. cit.*, 260, says that Solomon was thirteen years old when he succeeded his father.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME IV

The Ancient Kingdoms

TRANSLATED BY MOSHE PERLMANN

The Ancient Kingdoms
Volume IV
Translated by Moshe Perlmann

In this volume Ṭabari takes up the history of the ancient world, focusing on the Iranians and the Israelites after the time of Solomon. He establishes a comparative chronology between the two nations; viewing Bahman, the Persian king, as the son of Esther, and his daughter, Khumānī, the mother of Darius. Ṭabarī's synchronization also leads him into a discussion of North and South Arabia, in which stories about King Jadhīmah, Queen Zabbā, and the tribes of Ṭasm and Jadīs appear.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME IV

The Ancient Kingdoms

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME IV

The Ancient Kingdoms

translated and annotated
by

Moshe Perlmann

University of California, Los Angeles

annotations of Iranian names and terms
by Shaul Shaked
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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In 1971 the General Editor proposed to the UNESCO to include a translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* in its Collection of Representative Works. UNESCO agreed, but the Commission in charge of Arabic works favored other priorities. Deeming the project worthy, the Iranian Institute of Translation and Publication, which collaborated with UNESCO, agreed to undertake the task. After the upheavals of 1979, assistance was sought from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The invaluable encouragement and support of the Endowment is here gratefully acknowledged.

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of

the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Each volume has an index of proper names. A general index volume will follow the publication of the translation volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translators.

Well-known place-names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings, Less common place-names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and īmām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place-names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes

as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

The events of the present volume revolve around two major subjects: Iran, and the Hebrews after Solomon. Both of these subjects include data on the past of the Arabs (Anbār, Ḥīrah and the Jews in the Hijāz). Judaeo-Christian lore (Christ, the Seven Sleepers, Saint George, Jonah, Samson) is set in the period of the obscure princelings who ruled between Alexander the Great and the rise of the Sasanian Empire. Not only does Ṭabarī combine Arab and Iranian themes, but he attempts to synchronize them with the body of Judaeo-Christian lore. For information concerning the latter, the author relied on early Islamic authors, principally, Ibn al-Kalbī and Wahb b. Munabbih. Much of his data is derived from the Alexander Romance on the one hand, and on the other hand from a cycle of legend and tradition that was later given artistic shape by Daqīqī and Firdawsī who flourished within a half century of his death.

M. P.

Los Angeles, California

An Account of the Persian Kings who Ruled the Region of Babylonia and the East After Kayqubādh.

Kayqubādh b. Zāgh b. Būjbāh was followed by Kayqāwus[1] b. Kayabiwah[2] b. Kayqubādh the king. It is reported that on the day he became king he said, "God accorded us the earth and whatever is in it that we might proceed upon it in obedience to Him." Report has it also that he slew a number of the powerful men of the lands around him; that he thwarted any infringement upon his land and subjects by the enemies around them; and that he lived in Balkh.[3] A uniquely beautiful and perfectly [598]

1. The second part of this name is derived from ancient Iranian Kavi Usan, giving Qāwūs which sometimes occurs in Arabic and Persian sources as Qābūs, with an additional and superfluous Kay. The latter is again derived from ancient Iranian Kavi, added in these cases as a title. For the title Kay, from the ancient form Kavi. The Arabic orthography of these names is retained throughout the translation. See Christensen, *Kayanides*, 43. On the person mentioned here see *EI*², s.v. Kay Ḳā'ūs, and Christensen, *Kayanides*, 73ff., 108ff., where an analysis of the various ancient Iranian traditions reflected in Ṭabarī's account will be found. A connected narrative of these legends, based mostly on the *Shāhnāmah*, may be seen in Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, I, 584ff.

2. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 19f., s.v. Aipiwanhu.

3. A late form of the name of ancient Bactria. See *EI*², s.v. Balkh.

formed son was born to him, and was named Siyāwakhsh.[4] The king assigned and entrusted his son's training to Rustam[5] al-Shadīd b. Dastān b. Brāmān b. Hawarbak b. Karshāsb b. Athrat b. Sahm b. Narīmān, who was governor (*isbahbadh*) of Sijistān[6] and the adjacent territory to the south. Rustam took charge of the prince, and they proceeded to Sijistān, with the prince remaining under his tutelage. Rustam assembled selected nurses and maids for the infant until he developed. Following that, Rustam selected teachers to instruct the child until he mastered horseback riding, and then to teach him chivalry until he became expert in the art. Finally, he brought him as an accomplished young man to Kayqāwus, who examined him and found him efficient, nay outstanding, in every respect. The father rejoiced.

Kayqāwus is said to have married the daughter of Frāsiyāt,[7] the king of the Turks;[8] others say she was the daughter of the king of the Yaman.[9] Her name was Sūdhābah,[10] and she was a sorceress. She became enamored of Siyāwakhsh and made overtures to him, but he did not respond—it would take too long to relate the story of these two. But finally, as I was told, when Sūdhābah saw that Siyāwakhsh was firm in his re-

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4. Siyāwakhsh, Siyāwush: Some references will be found in *EI*[1], s.v. Kai-Ḳā'ūs. See also Christensen, *Kayanides*, 79, 111f.

5. Rustam is derived from Middle Iranian Rōd-stahm. See Markwart, *ZDMG*, 49 (1895), 642; Christensen, *Kayanides*, 121ff., 130ff.

6. Sijistān is ancient Sakastāna, the land of the Saka tribes, also known in the Islamic period as Sistan. See *EI*[1], IV, 456ff., and G. Gnoli, *Richerche storiche sul Sistan*.

7. Frāsiyāt is a corruption of Frāsiyāb (sometimes written Afrāsiyāb), which in its turn is a late derivative of the ancient name Frangrasyan. See Christensen, *Kayanides*, 43, 61ff., 85ff.; *EI*[2], s.v. Afrāsiyāb; *Enc. Iran.*, I, 570ff., s.v. Afrāsiāb.

8. According to the original legend he was a Turanian king, and therefore an enemy of Iran. Later, the early designation Turan was replaced anachronistically by a reference to the Turks.

9. This remark contains an allusion to another story, according to which Su'dah, the daughter of the king of the Yaman, was married to Kay Qāwūs after the latter had suffered defeat by the Yemenite king, but was rescued by Rustam. See Christensen, *Kayanides*, 110.

10. Sudhābah is perhaps a derivative of Middle Persian Sudhābag. See Christensen, *Kayanides*, 62ff., 110ff. The name Sudhāba could conceivably be an Iranized form of Su'da (which seems somewhat more likely in the present context).

fusal to comply with her wish that he commit adultery with his father's spouse, she made him hateful to his father. Siyāwa- [599]
khsh then asked Rustam to plead with his father to send him to fight Frāsiyāt because the latter withheld certain gifts (that had been) stipulated when he gave away his daughter in marriage to Kayqāwus and concluded a peace between the two realms. Siyāwakhsh thus intended to keep away from his father, Kayqāwus, and the intrigue of his wife Sūdhābah. Rustam, indeed, acted accordingly and asked Kayqāwus to consent.

A substantial force was assigned to the son who then proceeded to the land of the Turks to meet Frāsiyāt. When Siyāwakhsh reached him, a truce was concluded between them. Siyāwakhsh reported to his father about the truce, but the father ordered him to oppose Frāsiyāt and do combat with him, unless the latter submitted by fulfilling the previous stipulations. Siyāwakhsh, however, considered that to follow his father's command and fight Frāsiyāt, after a truce and peace had been concluded and scrupulously observed by Frāsiyāt, would be dishonorable, vicious and sinful. He therefore refrained from implementing his father's order in this matter. He was also apprehensive lest he again be approached by his father's spouse who had urged him to be with her, and whom he had spurned. He was inclined to flee from his father, so he sent a message to Frāsiyāt asking for a guarantee of safe-conduct to enable him to leave his father and join Frāsiyāt, whereupon the latter agreed. It is said that the legate between them was Fīrān b.[11] Wīsa- [600]
ghān, a Turk of great standing. When Siyāwakhsh did this, he was abandoned by the men of his father's army who set out to return to Kayqāwus.

When Siyāwakhsh reached Frāsiyāt, the latter received him with honor and gave him in marriage one of his daughters, Wisfāfarīd,[12] the mother of Kaykhusrawanh.[13] Not only was Siyā-

11. The Iranian form of this name is Pīrān, of the family of Wisag. See Christensen, *Kayanides*, 111; Markwart, *Wehrot*, 58n.

12. Wisfāfarīd is a corruption of Wispān-friya, which means "Beloved by all." See Christensen, *Kayanides*, 111 and n. 2. An alternative interpretation of the meaning of this name could be Middle Persian Wisp-āfrīd, which would mean either "Blessed by all [the deities]" or "[Worshiper of God,] the Creator of all."

wakshs held in esteem, but his training and good sense, his expertness, and his chilvary and bravery made such an impact on Frāsiyāt that he became apprehensive concerning his own kingship. This alienated him from Siyāwakhsh, especially as two sons of Frāsiyāt and a brother of his, Kīdar[14] b. Fashinjān,[15] became envious and apprehensive for their kingdom. Finally Frāsiyāt allowed them to kill Siyāwakhsh.

A long story is told concerning the cause of their decision to kill him. In any case, they killed him and mutilated him while his spouse, the daughter of Frāsiyāt, was pregnant with his son
[601] Kaykhasrawanh. They also sought a way to induce an abortion but did not succeed.

Fīrān, who brought about the peace between Frāsiyāt and Siyāwakhsh, learned that Frāsiyāt had caused Siyāwahkhsh's assassination, and he disapproved of it. He threatened Frāsiyāt with the consequences of his treachery, and warned him that Kayqāwus and Rustam would avenge the death of Siyāwakhsh. He urged Frāsiyāt to hand over his daughter Wisfāfarid, so that she might stay with him until her child was born and slain; whereupon Frāsiyāt complied. But when she gave birth to the child, Fīrān had pity on her and the newborn child. He failed to slay the infant and concealed the matter until the child grew up. Kayqāwus is said to have sent Bayy[16] b. Jūdharz[17] to the land of the Turks to inquire about the child born to the spouse of his son Siyāwakhsh and, if successful in his inquiry, to bring the child (back with him). Bayy appeared (in the land of the Turks) for that purpose. Incognito, he continued inquiring into the matter for some time without obtaining any information or

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In some sources this name occurs as Farangīs. See further Justis *IranNb*, 371, s.v. Wispān-friya; *Enc. Iran.*, I, 573b.

13. Kay-Khusraw is intended. His name, Haosravah, is spelled here in an archaizing manner. See Christensen, *Kayanides*, 90ff.; *EI²*, s.v. Kay-Khusraw.

14. Kīdar is a corruption of Kēdan. See Christensen, *Kayanides*, 111. His other name was Karsēwaz.

15. Fashinjān, the father of Kēdan and of Frāsiyāb, was Pashang. See Christensen, *Kayanides*, 85; *Enc. Iran.*, I, 571.

16. The ancient form of this name is Wēw. A common form which occurs in the texts is Geēw. See Markwart, *ZDMG*, 49 (1895), 642; Christensen, *Kayanides*, 59, 112, and index under Gēw.

17. The Iranian form of the name is Gōdarz. See references in the preceding note.

leads from anybody. But later he found out about the child, and by a ruse he succeeded in getting both mother and child out of the land of the Turks to Kayqāwus. They say that when Kayqāwus learned of the assassination of his son, he summoned a number of his leading warchiefs, among them Rustam b. Dastān al-Shadīd and Ṭūs[18] b. Nawdharān.[19] These two were men of vigor and valor.

The Persians exhausted the Turks by slaying and capturing them, while engaging Frāsiyāt in intense combat. Rustam personally killed Shahr and Shahrah,[20] the two sons of Frāsiyāt, while Ṭūs with his own hand killed Kīdar, Frāsiyāt's brother. They say that the devils were at the service of Kayqāwus. Some scholars well versed in the history of the ancients assert that the devils who were subservient to him submitted to him by the order of Solomon the son of David, and that Kayqāwus ordered the devils to build a city which he named Kaykadar or Qayqadūr. It was, they contend, eight hundred *farsakh* (4800km) in length.[21] By his order they set up around it a series of walls made of yellow brass, brass, copper, fired clay, silver and gold. The devils carried it between heaven and earth, with all the animals, treasures, wealth and people that it contained. [602]

They mention that Kayqāwus would not talk while he ate and drank.[22] Later, Almighty God sent to the city that Kayqāwus had thus built, someone who would destroy it. Kayqāwus ordered his devils to prevent the man from destroying the city but they were unable to do so. When Kayqāwus saw that the devils were unable to protect the city, he turned against them, and slew their chieftains. Kayqāwus was victorious over any king who opposed him. So it went until he became worried about the glory and the kingship granted to him, and he no

18. Tōs is the Avestan Tusa. Christensen, *Kayanides*, 58f.

19. On this name see below, n. 105.

20. The name of Frāsiyāb's son according to the *Shāhnāmah* is Surkhah. See *Enc. Iran.*, I, 573b; Justi, *Iran Nb*, 293, s.v. Šēdah, suggests that this name should be emended to read Shēdah. However, Ṭabarī, 615, reports that the latter survived the attacks of Frāsiyāt.

21. One *farsakh* equals three *mīl* or approximately six kms. See *EI*², s.v. farsakh.

22. This behavior conforms to the precepts of Zoroastrianism.

longer partook of anything unless it reached him by ascent to heaven.

[603] Hishām b. Muḥammad related:[23] Kayqāwus arrived in Babylon from Khurāsān[24] and said, "The whole earth is in my possession; now I must learn about heaven and the planets and what is beyond them." God granted him strength to rise in the air with his retinue until they reached the clouds; then God deprived them of that strength, and they fell downwards and perished, and the king alone escaped. Thus a new stage began, and his kingship went awry. The earth was torn among many kings on the fringes, and raids by and against him followed; sometimes he was victorious, at other times he was defeated.

Kayqāwus attacked the land of the Yaman[25] which was ruled in those days by Dhū al-Adhʿār b. Abrahah Dhū al-Manār b. al-Rāʾish.[26] When Kayqāwus arrived in the Yaman, Dhū al-Adhʿār b. Abrahah marched against him. He had been struck by semiparalysis, and was not in the habit of leading a raid in person before that. But when Kayqāwus advanced against Dhū al-Adhʿār and plundered his land, the latter personally marched out (against him) with a force of the Ḥimyar and the descendents of Qaḥṭān.[27] He defeated Kayqāwus and took him prisoner, while destroying his army. He kept him imprisoned in an encased well.

Hishām also reports that a powerful man named Rustam had come out of Sijistān with his cohort. The Persians asserted that he had attacked the Yaman and extricated Qabūs, that is Kayqāwus, from his prison. The people of the Yaman assert that when word reached Dhū al-Adhʿār that Rustam was approaching, he marched against him with his forces and equipment. Each side established a defensive perimeter around its camp.

[604] Both leaders were worried about the fate of their respective armies, and feared that if they clashed no one would survive.

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23. See *EI*², s.v. Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, and al-Kalbī.

24. See *EI*², s.v. Khurāsān. The term was used rather generally for the eastern regions of Iran. The original meaning of the term is "land of the rising sun."

25. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Yaman.

26. On this episode see Christensen, *Kayanides*, 110.

27. The references to Ḥimyar and Qaḥṭān denote South Arabian associations. Qaḥṭān was the fictitious ancestor of all the South Arabian tribes. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳaḥṭān.

They agreed therefore that Kayqāwus was to be handed over to Rustam, and that warfare was to be abandoned. Rustam and Kayqāwus then departed for Babylon. Kayqāwus granted Rustam freedom from slavery to the king, endowed him with the fiefs of Sijistān and Zābulistān,[28] gave him a gold-woven *qalansuwah*,[29] crowned him, and ordered that he sit on a silver throne with legs of gold. That land remained in the hands of Rustam down to the death of Kayqāwus and for a long time thereafter. He reigned for 150 years.

Persian scholars assert that the first to mourn by wearing black was Shādūs[30] b. Jūdharz who mourned for Siyāwakhsh. He did this on the day Kayqāwus learned of his son's death—the victim of a treacherous assassination by Frāsiyāt. Wearing black, Shādūs came to Kayqāwus and announced to him that he did so because it was a day of darkness and blackness.

Ibn al-Kalbī's report that the ruler of the Yaman captured Qabūs is verified by a poem of al-Ḥasan b. Hāni':[31]

> Qabūs spent the hot season in our chains
> for seven years, enough for one to compute them.

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28. The highlands of the Kandahar country in Afghanistan. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 334.

29. A headgear with a high conic shape, often worn in Islamic times by highly placed persons such as caliphs, wazīrs and qāḍis. See Dozy, *Vêtements*, 365–371.

30. For Shādūs, see Justi, *Iran Nb*, 294, s.v. Šēdōs, who assumes that the name contains an *imālah*, i.e., a change of the first vowel from *-a-* to *-ē-*.

31. That is the famous poet of the 'Abbāsid period, Abū Nuwās, who died ca. 200 (815). See *EI*², s.v. Abū Nuwās.

Kaykhusraw

After Kayqāwus, his grandson Kaykhusraw, the son of Siyāwakhsh b. Kayqāwus b. Kayabīwah b. Kayqubādh became king. When Bayy b. Jūdharz brought him and his mother Wisfāfarīd (she is often referred to as Wasfafrah), the daughter of Frāsiyāt, [605] from the land of the Turks to Kayqāwus, the latter made him king. When Kaykhusraw followed his grandfather Kayqāwus as ruler and was crowned, he delivered an eloquent speech to his subjects in which he announced that he would seek to avenge the blood of his father Siyāwakhsh upon Frāsiyāt the Turk. Then he wrote to Jūdharz, the general, who was in Iṣbahān and the regions of Khurāsān, ordering him to appear before him. When Jūdharz arrived, the king informed him of his decision to avenge the murder of his father. He instructed him to review the army, select thirty thousand men, attach them to Ṭūs b. Nūdharān, and to send the latter with them to the land of the Turks. Jūdharz carried out the order and joined Ṭūs. Among those who came with him were Burzāfrah[32] b. Kayqāwus, the paternal uncle of Kaykhusraw, Bayy b. Jūdharz, and a large number of his brothers. Kaykhusraw instructed Ṭūs to pursue

32. Burzāfrah (or Burz-farrah) occurs in some traditions as Fariburz. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 73, s.v. Burzafrah; Bal'amī, *Ta'rīkh*, 603 n.1. For the alternative reading Burzafarrah see the name Barzaphames in Justi, *Iran Nb*, 65; Christensen, *Kayanides*, 115 n.3.

Frāsiyāt and his warlords but not through the Turkish territory where Furūdh[33] b. Siyāwakhsh lived; he was a brother of Kaykhusraw—born to a mother called Burzāfarīd,[34] a woman Siyāwakhsh had married in a Turkish town on his way to Frāsiyāt. Later Siyāwakhsh left her while she was with child. She gave birth to Furūdh, and he grew up in this town. They say that Ṭūs committed a fatal error: namely, when he was near [606] the city in which Furūdh dwelled somehow hostilities broke out between them. In the course of these hostilities Furūdh perished. When the news reached Kaykhusraw, he wrote a harsh note to his uncle Burzāfrah telling him that Ṭūs b. Nūdharān had fought his (that is Kaykhusraw's) brother Furūdh. Ṭūs was to be delivered in chains and shackles, and Burzāfrah was to take over the command of the army. When the message reached Burzāfrah, he gathered the military commanders, read them the order to put Ṭūs in chains, and dispatched him with trustworthy messengers to Kaykhusraw. Burzāfrah took over the army command and crossed the river known as Kāsrūd.[35] When Frāsiyāt learned of this, he sent some of his brothers and warlords against Burzāfrah. They met at Wāshin[36] in the land of the Turks. Among them were Fīrān b. Wīsaghān and his brothers, Tarāsf[37] b. Jūdharz, Frāsiyāt's brother-in-law, and Hamāsf[38] b. Fashinjān. They fought a furious engagement. As Burzāfrah perceived the seriousness of the situation and the great number of dead, he lost courage, and retreated with the banner to the mountains. The Jūdharz clan became confused, [607] and in that massacre seventy of them were slaughtered in one battle. Many were killed on both sides. Burzāfrah and his reti-

33. Possibly to be read Farūdh. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 99; Christensen, *Kayanides*, 115, where the name is read Frōd.

34. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 73.

35. The name, which should probably be read Kāsa(g)-rōd, is identified by Markwart, *Wehrot*, 5, with present-day Kashaf-rūd. See also Justi, *Der Bundehesh*, 205, s.v. Kasp; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, I, 627ff.

36. Wāshin may be the place often referred to in the Arabic geographical works as Wāshjird or Wēshjird. A discussion of its location is in Markwart, *Wehrot*, 54ff.

37. For Tarāsf, or better Tarāsp, see Justi, *Iran Nb*, 322.

38. Hamāsf, or better Hamāsp, is possibly a corruption of Hamazasp, a well-attested Iranian name. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 124 ff.

nue left for Kaykhusraw. So disturbed and stricken were they that they wished they were dead. They were also in terror of chastisement. When they came before Kaykhusraw, he began to upbraid Burzāfrah violently and said, "You were deceived because you disobeyed my order; contravening a royal command brings misfortune and causes regret." So grievous were Kaykhusraw's words that Burzāfrah was pained and could neither eat nor sleep.

A few days after their arrival, Kaykhusraw sent for Jūdharz. When he entered, Kaykhusraw displayed compassion. Then Jūdharz complained of Burzāfrah, stating that it was Burzāfrah who had caused the flight with the banner and the desertion of his (Jūdharz's) sons. Kaykhusraw then said, "Your loyal service to our ancestors has been continuous; our troops and treasuries are at your disposal in the pursuit of revenge." He ordered Jūdharz to prepare and ready himself to march against Frāsiyāt in order to slay him and lay his country desolate.

When Jūdharz heard what Kaykhusraw said, he rose at once, kissed his hand and said, "O victorious King, we are your sub-
[608] jects and slaves. Should a calamity or accident occur, may it be upon the slaves, not upon the king, and may my slain sons be a sacrifice for you. We shall wreak vengeance upon Frāsiyāt, avenging ourselves upon the kingdom of the Turks. May the king not be troubled by what occurred and let him not abandon his pleasure, for warfare is subject to turns of fortune." He assured the king that he was in full control and left content.

The next day Kaykhusraw summoned the commanders of his armies and the notables of the realm, and when they arrived he told them of his decision to fight the Turks. He wrote to the governors (*'ummāl*) of the provinces informing them thereof and ordering them to present themselves at an appointed time in the steppe called Shāh Ustūn[39] in the Balkh region. The military chieftains arrived at the place, as did Kaykhusraw with his generals (*isbahbadh*) and their men. Among them was his paternal uncle Burzāfrah with his clan, and Jūdharz with his remaining sons. When everything was

39. Bal'ami, *Tārīkh*, 605, gives Shāh-Sīr.

ready for war, the *marzbāns*[40] were assembled, Kaykhusraw personally reviewed the army so that he might know their numbers and positions. Then he called Jūdharz b. Jashwādghān[41] and Mīlād[42] b. Jurjīn[43] and Aghaṣ[44] b. Bihdhān.[45] Aghaṣ was the son of a lady-in-waiting under Siyāwakhsh; she [609] was called Shūmāhān.[46]

The king told them that he wanted the troops to enter the territory of the Turks from four directions to surround them on land and on water, and that Jūdharz had been put in charge of most of the troops. The assault was launched from Khurāsān by those (troops) under his uncle Burzāfrah and Bayy b. Jūdharz, and a great number of commanders were attached to Jūdharz. The king handed over to him on that day the great banner which they called *dirafsh-e-Kābyān*.[47] They say that the banner had never before been handed by any king to any general, but princes used to carry it when entrusted with grave missions. He ordered Mīlādh to enter from a spot adjacent to China, and assigned to him a large number of troops, apart from those assigned to Jūdharz. The king ordered Aghaṣ to enter from the side of the Khazars[48] with a force equal to that given Mīlādh. To Shūmāhān he assigned her brothers and nephews and fully thirty thousand men, and ordered her to enter on a road between the paths of Jūdharz and Milādh. They say that Kaykhusraw drew Shūmāhān into the campaign be-

40. The term *marzbān* designated some kind of highly placed official in the Sasanian period, and is here used in a loose sense for the mythological period. See Kolesnikov, *Palestinskij Sbornik*, 27 (1981), 49–56; Ph. Gignoux, *JSAI*, 4 (1984), 1–29.

41. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 114, s.v. Gēšwād; Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*, 8.

42. Mīlād is a form of the Iranian name Mihrdād. See Markwart, *ZDMG* (1895), 633 ff. This and some of the adjoining names indicate the Parthian provenance of certain elements in these heroic stories. See Markwart, op. cit., 641ff.; Nöldeke, *Nationalepos*, 7.

43. Jurjīn is the same name as Armenian Wrkēn. See Markwart, *ZDMG*, 49 (1895), 634 n. 3; Justi, *Iran Nb*, 355, s.v. Warkaina.

44. For this name see Justi, *Iran Nb*, 7, s.v. Aghus.

45. Perhaps a corruption of Iranian Wēh-dādān (or else of Wēh-dēn). See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 360, s.v. Wehadān.

46. The name is not clear. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 314.

47. The actual meaning of the term is "the banner of the Kavians." See Christensen, *Sassanides*, 212.

48. That is from the Caucasus and, later, Central Asia. See *EI*², s.v. Khazar.

cause of her connection with Siyāwakhsh, whose blood she had vowed to avenge. All these marched ahead. Jūdharz entered the land of the Turks from the direction of Khurāsān, clashing first with Fīrān b. Wīsghān. A fierce battle ensued, in
[610] which Bīzan[49] b. Bayy slew Khumān[50] b. Wīsghān in single combat; also, Jūdharz killed Fīrān, and then went for Frāsiyāt. The three armies pressed upon him, each from the direction where it had entered, and the great mass followed Kaykhusraw himself. Following in the direction of Jūdharz, the king made his entry (into the land of the Turks) and reached the army of Jūdharz. He led an onslaught upon the Turks, slew Fīrān, the leading general of Frāsiyāt and heir to the throne, as well as many of his brothers, such as Khumān, Ostahan,[51] Julbād,[52] Siyāmaq,[53] Bahrām,[54] Farashkhādh[55] and Farakhlād.[56] He
[611] also slew some sons of his, such as Rūyīn[57] b. Fīrān, who was a dignitary (*muqaddam*) of Frāsiyāt, and several brothers of Frāsiyāt, among them Zandarāy,[58] Andirmān,[59] Isfakhram[60]

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49. The name Bīzan is a reflection of Iranian Wēw-zana, meaning "of the family of Wēw." See Markwart, *ZDMG*, 69 (1895), 642. If this interpretation is correct, Bīzan means the same thing as "son of Bayy" which follows in the text.

50. The older form of the name Khumān is probably Hōmān, derived from the name of the *haoma* plant, sacred to the ancient Iranians. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 132.

51. The name of this person occurs as Nastihan in the *Shāhnāmah*. In the Pahlavi account this person's name could be read Khwastirikht, but this reading is uncertain. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 52, s.v. Ausahr; 182, s.v. Xwast-irixt; 226, s.v. Nastihen.

52. In the *Shāhnāmah* the form attested is Gulbād. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 119, s.v. Gulbād.

53. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 299.

54. In the *Shāhnāmah* the name of this person is Bārmān. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 64, s.v. Bārmān.

55. In the *Shāhnāmah* his name is Faršīdward; the Middle Persian form may have been Frasaward. The Avestan name which may be identified here is Frašhāmvareta. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 104.

56. Possibly Farrukhlād. The form in the *Shāhnāmah* is Lahhāk. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 96, s.v. Farruxlād; 183, s.v. Lāwahāk.

57. The name Rūyīn means "brazen". See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 267.

58. Zandarāy may correspond to the name Zangulah in the *Shāhnāmah*. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 379, s.v. Zandalan.

59. The name Andirmān corresponds to Avestan Vandaremainiš. In the *Shāhnāmah* it is spelled Andarīmān. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 347, s.v. Wandaremainiš; Christensen, *Kayanides*, 25; Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes*, II, 228f.

60. The older Iranian form of Isfakhram is Spahram. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 307.

and Akhust.[61] He took prisoner Barwā[62] b. Fashinjān, the assassin of Siyāwakhsh. He found that Jūdharz had counted the dead and the captives, and the booty in animals and valuables; the count was thirty thousand captives, over five hundred sixty thousand slain, and animals, silver and valuables which were [612] beyond reckoning.

The commander ordered each chieftain who was with him to place his Turkish prisoner or victim near his banner, so that Kaykhusraw might see them upon his arrival. When Kaykhusraw reached the troops and the battleground, the men lined up, and Jūdharz and the other generals received him. Upon entering the camp, he began to pass by the banners, and the first corpse he saw was that of Fīrān next to the banner of Jūdharz. When he saw it, he stopped, then said, "O hard-sheltered mountain of slopes impregnable, did I not warn you of this war, and of setting yourself in our path? All to protect Frāsiyāt in this pursuit. Did I not exert great effort for your sake? Did I not seek to offer my kingship to you? But you made a fatal choice. Was I not truthful, the protector of brethren, the keeper of secrets? Did I not warn you of Frāsiyāt's cunning, of how little he valued loyalty? But you did not do what I commanded you to do; you proceeded with your dream until lions surrounded you to keep you from fighting us and the sons of our kingdom. What good was Frāsiyāt to you? You departed from this world, and brought to an end the line of Wīsghān. Woe to your reason and understanding; woe to your generosity and truthfulness. We are truly grieved today by what has happened to you."

Kaykhusraw continued to lament Fīrān until he arrived at the banner of Bayy b. Jūdharz. When he stopped there, he found Barwā b. Fashinjān alive, a prisoner in the hands of Bayy. Upon learning that it was Barwā who had mutilated Siyāwakhsh after murdering him, Kaykhusraw came close to him, bowed his head and prostrated himself in gratitude to God. He then said, "Praise to God who enabled me to seize you, O Barwā. You are

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61. The form of this name in the *Shāhnāmah* is Axwāst. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 13.

62. Possibly the same name as attested under the form Parwā in the Sasanian period. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 244. For Fashinjān, see above, n. 15.

[613] the man who slew Siyāwakhsh and mutilated him; you are the one who took away his finery. You, of all the Turks, undertook his destruction; you planted by your deed this tree of hostility, stirred up between us this war, kindled in both parties a burning fire. Through your hands his shape was changed and his strength sapped. O Turk, did you not stand in awe of his beauty? Why did you not leave the rising light upon his face? Where are your courage and strength today? Where is your brother the magician who failed to help you? I shall not slay you for having slain him, but for volunteering for the evil deed that you should not have committed. I shall kill him who, in wickedness and crime, slew Siyāwakhsh." Then he ordered that Barwā's limbs be cut off while Barwā was still alive, and only after that should he be slain; which was carried out by Bayy.

Kaykhusraw continued from banner to banner, from general to general (*isbahbadh*). As he reached each one, he would say something like the aforementioned remarks. Then he arrived at his campsite. When he settled down there, he summoned his uncle Burzāfrah, and when the man entered, the king seated him at his right, and expressed his satisfaction that Burzāfrah had slain Julbādh b. Wīsaghān in single combat. He richly rewarded Burzāfrah, making him ruler of the regions of Kirmān[63] and Mukrān.[64] Then he summoned Jūdharz, and when the latter entered, the king said to him, "O faithful general, kind and mature, this mighty victory is indeed due first to our God, without any stratagem or power on our part; then to your devotion to our interest and to your readiness to sacrifice yourself and your sons. This we have on record. We grant you the title of *buzurjframadhār*,[65] which is the wazīr's office, and we assign to you Iṣbahān[66] and Jurjān[67] and their mountains.

63. On the province of Kirmān in Islamic times see LeStrange, *Lands*, 299ff., and *EI*^{2}.

64. On the province of Mukrān (Makrān) in Islamic times see LeStrange, *Lands*, 329ff., and *EI*^{2}.

65. On the title *buzurjframādhār*, which literally means "the great commander," see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 518ff., and Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 9 n.2.

66. On this town see *EI*^{2}, s.v. Isfahān; LeStrange, *Lands*, 202ff.

67. On the Islamic province of Jurjān, which is equivalent to the modern

Take good care of their people." Jūdharz gave thanks, and left [614]
content and happy.

The king then summoned the outstanding generals who had been with Jūdharz and distinguished themselves, those who were responsible for the slaying of the Turkish *tarkhāns*,[68] the progeny of Fashinjān and Wīsghān. These generals included Jurjin[69] b. Mīlādhān, Bayy, Shādūs, Lakhām,[70] Jadmīr[71] b. Jūdharz, Bīzan b. Bayy, Burāzah b. Bīfaghān,[72] Farūdhah b. Fāmdān,[73] Zandah b. Shāburīghān,[74] Bistām b. Kazdahman,[75] and Fartah b. Tafāraghān.[76] They entered one by one. Some [615]

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province Astarābādh, see *EI*², s.v. Gurgān, and Astarābādh; LeStrange, *Lands*, 376ff.

68. *ṭarkhān* is a title used in Islamic times for a Turkish nobleman or prince. Its use in this context is of course an anachronism, like most of the titles of office and many of the geographical names.

69. For this name see above, n. 43.

70. In the *Shāhnāmah* Lakhām is Ruhhām. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 257, s.v. Rahām.

71. Jadmīr is possibly the same person who is named in the *Shāhnāmah*, Katmārah (see the note to the Leiden edition in this place).

72. Burāzah b. Bīfaghān is the person called in the *Shāhnāmah* Gurāzah *sar tukhma-i* Gīwagān (see note to the Leiden edition on these words). See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 349, s.v. Warāzaka. The patronymic of this person is a reflection of the name Gēwag, related to the name Wēw already encountered here (see above, n. 16).

73. Both the personal name and the patronymic are uncertain as to their reading as well as their meaning. The latter may be read perhaps Qāmdān and be regarded as a corruption of Kām-dēn, a name which may mean a person "whose religion is [according to] desire," i.e., the desire of God. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 99, s.v. Ferūdeh.

74. The reading of the first name is doubtful. In the *Shāhnāmah* the form is Zanga, and the father's name is given as Shāwarān. The confusion has been attributed to the ambiguities of the Pahlavi script, where *d* and *g* have the same shape. This implies that the Islamic recensions used by Ṭabarī and Firdawsī were based on a reading of the stories written in Pahlavi script. If the correct reading is with *d*, the first name means "living", and gives a fairly late form of the word, *zinda*. The father's name, Shāburīghān, is apparently related to the widely attested name Shā(h)pu(h)r, which means "king's son, prince." See the note to the Leiden edition, and Justi, *Iran Nb*, 385, s.v. Zengeh, and 386, s.v. Zindeh.

75. In the *Shāhnāmah* the name occurs as Gustaham son of Gazhdaham. The older form of the first name was Wistaxma. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 371, s.v. Wistaxma, and 114, s.v. Gezdehem.

76. In the *Shāhnāmah* the first name is Parta, probably to be derived from the word for battle, Old Iranian *parta-*. The patronymic is uncertain. It has the form Tawānah in the *Shāhnāmah*, while in the Ṭabarī manuscripts it has the

were appointed to rule the celebrated lands, some were assigned to court duties. Soon he received messages from Mīlādh, Aghaṣ and Shūmahān indicating that they had attacked the land of the Turks, and had put Frāsiyāt's armies to flight one after the other. He wrote them that they should persevere in warfare, and meet him at an appointed place within the land of the Turks. They say that when the four armies surrounded Frāsiyāt, and he learned of the havoc that death and capture had wrought in his ranks and of the destruction of his land, he was in dire straits; of all his sons only Shīdah,[77] who was a sorcerer, remained with him. Frāsiyāt sent him well prepared and equipped to Kaykhusraw. When Shīdah reached Kaykhusraw, the latter was informed that Shīdah had been sent by his father, Frāsiyāt, to make an attempt on his life. Kaykhusraw therefore gathered his generals, and cautioned them to be on guard against Shīdah's design. It is said that Kaykhusraw was apprehensive of Shīdah that day. He feared him, and believed himself helpless against him; it is also said that the battle between them continued for four days, and that one of Kaykhusraw's retinue, Jurd b. Jarhamān[78] by name, aligned Kaykhusraw's men in the best battle order. Many were slain from the opposing armies; the men of the world (*khunyarth*)[79] fought fiercely and defiantly. Shīdah, certain that he could not overcome
[616] them, fled, pursued by Kaykhusraw and his men. Jurd overtook Shīdah and struck him on the head with a mace from which he fell dead. Kaykhusraw stood over the dead body, eyeing it in its abominable ugliness. The army of the Turks became Kaykhusraw's booty. The news reached Frāsiyāt, who then advanced with all his *tarkhān*s. When Frāsiyāt and Kaykhusraw met, a ferocious battle erupted, the like of which, it may be said, has

form Fāraghān. See the annotation in the Leiden edition and Justi, *Iran Nb*, 244, s.v. Parteh.

77. For this Iranian name, which means "resplendent", see Justi, *Iran Nb*, 293f., s.v. Šēdah.

78. The reading is uncertain. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 121, s.v. Gurd.

79. This word, usually spelled *xnyrθ*, is the Arabic transcription of the Iranian term Xvanirath, which denotes the central clime, or region, of the world, where human habitation is concentrated. The phrase here is likely to mean simply "the men of the world." The phrasing in Arabic seems in this case to be taken from a composition which bears the marks of style of heroic poetry. For the concept of Khvanirath, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 164.

never before been fought upon the earth. The men of the guard and the Turks mingled, and the battle continued until all the eye could see was a stream of blood. Jūdharz and his sons, Jurjīn, Jurd, and Bistām were taken prisoner. Frāsiyāt noticed they were defending Kaykhusraw like ferocious lions, whereupon he fled. It is reported that the number of the slain that day reached a hundred thousand. Kaykhusraw and his men persisted in the pursuit of Frāsiyāt. The latter, stripped of arms, fled from country to country until he came to Ādharbayjān,[80] where he hid in a body of water known as Bi'r Khāsif.[81] Then he was apprehended. When Kaykhusraw arrived, he made sure to have Frāsiyāt put in irons. After three days', he summoned Frāsiyāt, and asked him what his excuse was in the matter of Siyāwakhsh. But Frāsiyāt had neither excuse, nor argument. Whereupon Kaykhusraw gave the order that he be put to death. Bayy b. Jūdharz arose and slew Frāsiyāt as Frāsiyāt had slain Siyāwakhsh. His blood was brought to Kaykhusraw who dipped his hand into it, and said, "This is in blood vengeance for Siyāwakhsh, and because you wronged him and outraged him." Victorious, successful and content, he left Ādharbayjān. [617]

It is reported that some of the sons of Kayabiwah,[82] the great-grandfather of Kaykhusraw, and their sons, were with Kaykhusraw in the battle against the Turks. Among them were Kay Arash[83] b. Kayabiwah, who was in charge of Khūzistān[84] and the adjacent land of Babylonia, and Kay Bih Arash,[85] who was in charge of Kirmān and its environs. Also with him was Kay Ojī b. Kay Manūsh[86] b. Kay Fāshīn[87] b. Kayabiwah. This

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80. For this area in northwestern Iran see *EI*[2] and *Enc. Iran.*, s.v.

81. Not identified. Khasav-yurt, a river in the Khazar country, is unsuitable in this context.

82. See above, n. 2.

83. The ancient form of the name was Arsham, which means "man, a male animal." See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 29ff., s.v. Aršam.

84. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 232ff., and *EI*[2], s.v.

85. This name seems to be a reflection of the Old Iranian name Vanghu-Aršya, attested in the Avesta. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 347, s.v. Wanhu-Aršya. Justi does not quote the form occurring here.

86. On the varieties of the spellings of Kay-Ojī [Kayūjī], see Justi, *Iran Nb*, 231ff. For Kay-Manūsh, see op. cit. 191.

87. The ancient form of the name is Pisina, attested in Yašt 13:132. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 252f.

Kay Ojī was the father of King Kay Luhrāsf.[88] It is said that a brother of Frāsiyāt, Kay Sharāsf[89] by name, went to the land of the Turks after his brother was put to death by Kaykhusraw, and seized power there. He had a son called Kharzāsf,[90] who reigned after him and who was an arrogant tyrant. He was the nephew of Frāsiyāt, the king of the Turks who had fought Manūshihr.[91] Jūdharz was the son of Jashwādaghān[92] b. Ba-
[618] sakhrah[93] b. Farruyīn[94] b. Jabar[95] b. Raswūd[96] b. Ūrath[97] b. Tāj[98] b. Rabasang[99] b. Aras[100] b. Wēdīnaj[101] b. Raghar[102] b. Nawadjah[103] b. Mashwagh[104] b. Nawdhar[105] b. Manūshihr.

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88. This name is a late rendering of the ancient Iranian name Arvat-Aspa. See the material collected by Justi, *Iran Nb*, 41f., s.v. Aurwadaspa, and 183 for his remarks on the form Luhrāsp.

89. Kay-Sharāsf is probably to be read Shawāsf, according to some of the variants listed in the Leiden edition. This name is a reflection of Ancient Iranian Syavaspa, which means "a possessor of black horses." See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 300, s.v. Syāwāspa.

90. This is possibly a corruption of the name Arjasp, Old Iranian Arjataspa. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 21f.

91. The name occurs in an earlier part of Ṭabarī's account, 430 and 432. See Justi, *IranNb*, 191–193.

92. See above, n.41.

93. The reading is uncertain. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 67, s.v. Besaxrah.

94. The reading is uncertain. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 96, Farruxīn.

95. The reading is uncertain. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 106.

96. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 340f. He prefers the variant reading Wasūd, which he connects to the well-attested late Persian name Wahsūd, which means "of good benefit."

97. Of the several variants, the reading Urath, for Old Iranian Huraθya, is probably to be preferred. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 133, s.v. Hurath.

98. The reading is problematic. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 323, s.v. Tāz.

99. On this doubtful name see Justi, *Iran Nb*, 27, s.v. Arpas.

100. This name occurs as Harasf above, in Ṭabarī I, 530. On the other forms of this name, see Justi, *Iran Nb*, 126, s.v. Harasp.

101. Possibly a reflection of the Avestan name Vahudaēnā, which means "an adherent of the Good Religion" (or alternatively, "one whose inner religion is good"). See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 347, s.v. Wanghudaēnā.

102 Raghar occurs earlier in Ṭabarī, I, 530 as Aranj. The reading is extremely doubtful. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 257, s.v. Raghar.

103. Nawadjah is possibly a corruption of Nawadgāw, a name which apparently means "possessor of ninety cows." See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 227, s.v. Nawadgāw.

104. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 200, s.v. Maswak.

105. The Old Iranian form of this name is Nautara, which means "junior". See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 226 f., s.v. Nautara; Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*, 8 and n. 8. See also above, n. 19.

After Kaykhusraw avenged himself and felt secure in his realm, he renounced his kingship and became an ascetic. He announced to the notables of his people and to the nation at large that he was going to relinquish power. They were overcome with anxiety, and their estrangement from him grew. They appealed to him, beseeched and implored him, and sought to persuade him to continue to direct their kingdom. But their effort was in vain. When they despaired, they all said, "If you persist in your intention, name a man to whom you would entrust the realm. Luhrāsb was present. Kaykhusraw pointed to him and announced that he was his choice and heir. Luhrāsb accepted the legacy, and the people flocked to him. Kaykhusraw disappeared. Some say that Kaykhusraw absented himself for acts of devotion, and it is not known where or how he died. Some tell other stories. Luhrāsb assumed power and conducted the realm as he saw fit. [619]

The children of Kaykhusraw were Jāmās,[106] Asabahar, Ramī and Ramīn.[107] He reigned for sixty years.

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106. The Old Iranian form of this name is Jāmāspa. See Justi, *IranNb*, 109.
107. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 258, for the last two names.

The Kingdom of the Children of Israel After Solomon, the Son of David[108]

Returning to the story of the Children of Israel, after Solomon, the son of David, all the Israelites were ruled by his son Rehoboam. It is said that his reign lasted seventeen years, but it is reported the kingdom of the Israelites split after Rehoboam. Abijah b. Rehoboam ruled over the tribes of Judah and Benjamin but not over the other tribes; the rest of the tribes made Jeroboam their king—he was the son of Nabat, a servant of Solomon. This occurred because of the sacrifice offered by Solomon's wife at his home—she had offered locusts to an idol,[109] whereupon God threatened (Solomon) that part of the kingdom would be taken away from his son. Rehoboam is reported to have reigned three more years before he died.

Then Asa b. Abijah reigned over the two tribes that his father had ruled over, that is, Judah and Benjamin, for forty-one years up to his death.[110]

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108. See I Kings 15:1–8. Rehoboam ruled 928–911 B.C., Abijah 911–908 B.C. For biblical chronology, see *New Westminster Dictionary of the Bible*, 168–175.

109. A scarab serving as a cult object?

110. Asa ruled 908–867 B.C. See I Kings 15:9–24; 16:8–29; II Chronicles 14–16.

The Story of Asa b. Abijah and Zerah the Indian[111]

According to Muḥammed b. Sahl b. 'Askar Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Karīm—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Ma'qil—Wahb b. Munabbih:[112] A king of the Israelites called Asa b. Abijah was a righteous man, [620]
and he was lame. (And at that time there) was an Indian king called Zerah—a corrupt tyrant—calling upon men to worship himself. (Now) Abijah[113] had been an idolworshiper. He had worshiped two idols, not God, and he called upon men to worship those two idols, thus misleading most of the Israelites. He continued to worship the idols until his death.[114] Following

111. See II Chronicles 14:8–15. In biblical lore Zerah is an Ethiopian. Note the expression "from India to Ethiopia," a Hebrew expression derived from Esther 1:1 about far-away places. See also Ginzberg, *Legends, II, 125; IV, 184*. Here the Ethiopian has become an Indian. The Arabic text has Zarj for Zerah.

112. Wahb b. Munabbih is the major authority in Islamic literature for biblical lore. His data are based primarily on biblical information, partly on post-biblical legends (*aggadah*) and partly on Islamic elaborations, sometimes with references to the Qur'ān. His nephews Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Karīm and 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Ma'qil served as transmitters of his material. See R.G. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, Wiesbaden, 1972.

113. The text reads *abiya*; perhaps read *abiyyan*. See next note.

114. Earlier Abijah is portrayed as a righteous man. Moreover, this reference to him as an idol-worshiper appears in a story concerning his son Asa and Zerah the Indian. This may derive from a confusion of Abiyya (= Abijah) with *abiyyan* (scornful), a quality of Zerah. It was Abijah's son Asa who was involved with Zerah.

that, his son Asa took over. When he became king over the Israelites, Asa sent a herald proclaiming:

> There, unbelief is dead and so are the unbelievers; faith and the believers are alive. The idols and their worship are overturned, obedience to God and acts of faith reappear. As of today, no unbeliever shall raise his head among the Israelites in unbelief in my land and reign, or else I shall slay him. For the flood came upon the world and its population, God made cities sink into the ground, brimstone and fire rained from heaven, only because obedience to God was abandoned and disobedience was displayed. Therefore, it behooves us not to suffer any disobedience to God, nor spare any effort in obedience to God, until we have cleansed the earth from its impurity, and purged it from its pollution. We shall fight whoever opposes us therein by warfare and expulsion from our land.

When his people heard these words, they became resentful and clamorous. They went to the mother of King Asa, complaining of her son's action against them and their deities, and of his appeal to abandon their religion and embrace the worship of the Lord. She undertook to speak to him and deflect him to the worship of his father's idols. As the king was sitting with the nobles of his people, their leaders and chieftains, the
[621] king's mother entered. The king rose, and, giving her her due and honoring her, he offered her his seat. She refused and said, "You are not my son unless you respond to my appeal, obey me in doing what I command you to do. If you obey me, you will do right and be happy; should you disobey me, you will forfeit your good fortune and wrong yourself. It has reached me, my son, that you have started your people on a stupendous affair; you have called upon them to violate their religion, reject their deities, and to turn away from their ancestors' religion. You set a new path for them, launching heresy among them. You claim you sought thereby to enhance your dignity and position in order to strengthen your rule. But your step is a misstep and a disgrace. You provoke everybody to oppose you, and you set out single-handedly to fight them. You seek to enslave the free, and to turn the weak into strong support. Thereby you make

the opinion of the learned appear foolish, you contradict the sages, and follow the fools. I swear, my son, it is only your great fickleness, youth, and lack of learning that urge you to act this way. If you reject my words, and do not recognize that I am in the right, you are not of your father's progeny, and kingship is not for a man of your ilk. O my Son, what is it that you propose to your people? Have you been granted revelation in writing, like Moses when he went to Pharaoh whom he [622] drowned, and thus saved his people from evil?[115] Or have you perchance been granted strength like David, who killed the lion for his people, who followed the wolf and split its jawbone, and who slew, unaided, Goliath the giant?[116] Or have you been granted more of royalty and wisdom than Solomon the son of David—that head of sages whose wisdom has become proverbial even for generations to come?[117] O my Son, anything fortunate that comes to you makes me most happy; anything else makes me most distressed about your distress."

As the king heard her, his wrath and annoyance grew. He said to her, "O Mother, it does not behoove me to eat at one table with my friend and enemy; nor does it behoove me to worship any deity but my Lord. Now then, either you follow me, and you will be on the right path, or you desist, and you will be misguided. You must worship God and renounce any other deity. Whosoever rejects this, is but an enemy of God. I lead to God's triumph for I am His servitor."

She said to him, "I shall not relinquish my idols nor the religion of my ancestors and people. I shall not abandon them for your tenet nor shall I worship the Lord you invoke." The king replied, "O Mother, this speech of yours severs the relations between us."

Then, upon the king's command they took her away and banished her. He further ordered the head of his guard and court to put her to death should she so much as question his position. When the tribes around him heard this, they felt out-

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115. Exodus 14:21–31.

116. I Samuel 17.

117. Solomon's wisdom was a subject given considerable attention in the Islamic legends that were told about him. Note in particular his contact with Bilqīs, the Queen of Sheba.

[623] maneuvered and overawed, and they submitted to him. They said, "If this is how he treats his mother, how would he treat us if we should oppose his order, and not respond to his religion?" They tried all manner of evasion, but God sustained him, and crushed their cunning. Discontented and unwilling to give up their religion, they conspired to escape from his country and settle elsewhere.

They set out for Zerah, the king of India, seeking to incite him against Asa and his followers. When they came before Zerah, they prostrated themselves. He said to them, "Who are you?" They said, "We are your slaves." Said he, "Which slaves of mine are you?" They said, "We are from your country, Palestine (*al-Shā'm*). We are admirers of your reign. A youthful king, tender of age and foolish, appeared among us, changed our religion and declared our view foolish and our fathers unbelievers. He disregarded our resentment; therefore, we came to you to advise you of this. You will be worthier to rule our land of which we are the leaders. It is a land of much wealth, a weak population, and easy living; (a land of) much beauty, with the treasures and assets of the thirty kings defeated by Joshua the son of Nun, the successor (*Khalīfah*)[118] of Moses who led his people through the sea.[119] We and our land are yours, our country is your country. Nobody in it will oppose you. The people stretch out their hands to you, pleading peacefully for their lives and possessions."

Zerah said to them, "By my life, I shall not respond to your appeal, nor shall I respond to a call to combat a people who are perhaps more compliant than you, until I have sent to them trusted agents from among my people. If what you tell me is
[624] true, it will accrue to your advantage, and I shall make you rulers over the land; if, however, it proves to be false, I shall punish you for having lied to me." The men said, "You have spoken justly, and your verdict is fair; we are pleased with it." Zerah gave orders for their maintenance, and they were given

118. Note the use of *khalīfah*, which used in the same way denotes caliph, that is, the successor to Muḥammad the Prophet.

119. Joshua defeated thirty-one kings in his conquest of Canaan. See Joshua 12, especially the last verse.

pay. He selected from among his people trusted agents to be sent as spies. He threatened them with severe chastisement for false reports but promised to reward them if they reported truthfully. Zerah said to them, "I am dispatching you because of your loyalty, your religious strictness, and your good reputation, in order to inspect one of my lands. Report to me about its people, its ruler, the numbers of its armies, the quantity of its waters, the paths and roads, the points of entrance and departure, and its weaknesses and strengths. Report this so that I might, as it were, see it with my own eyes and know it as if I were there in person. Take along from the treasuries some sapphires and pearls and raiment that might appeal to the people, and induce them to purchase the goods from you."

He opened his treasures to equip them for travel on land and by sea. He described the people whom they might encounter and who would show them how to proceed. They set out as merchants, and reaching the coast they boarded a ship and arrived at the coast of Jerusalem (Iliya).[120] Then they went on until they entered Jerusalem. Depositing their baggage there, they displayed their wares and goods, inviting the people to buy from them, but the people were not eager for the goods and trade was slack. They began to sell much at low prices, lest they be expelled from the city before they could learn of its affairs and obtain the data that their king had instructed them to [625]
seek.

Now King Asa had warned the women of the Children of Israel that an unmarried woman should not appear in the garb of a married woman, lest she be put to death or exiled to some island in the seas. Woman is the strongest snare used by the devil to confuse the pious. Unmarried women were to go out only (if they were) veiled and in shabby clothes, and thus unrecognizable.

As these spies were selling their goods, accepting one dirham for what was worth a hundred, the women of the Children of Israel began buying covertly. They bought at night and in secret, so that none of the pious men would notice them. The

120. After Aelia Capitolina, the name given the city by the Romans after the Barkochba revolt in A.D. 135.

spies sold all their goods and obtained in turn what they were looking for. They accumulated data about the city, its fortresses, and the water supply. But they had concealed their main wares, their best pearls, corals and sapphires, as a gift for the king. From people they encountered in the city they began to inquire about the king who had bought nothing from them. They said, "How is it that the king has bought nothing from us? If he is rich, we have wondrous goods to supply him with, whatever he wants, the like of which has never entered his treasuries; if he is poor, what prevents him from visiting us, so that we might give him whatever he desires without any payment?" The men from the city who visited them said, "His
[626] wealth, treasures, and various possessions are immeasurable. He took over the treasures which Moses had carried out of Egypt, and the jewels the Israelites had brought.[121] He also took over what Joshua the son of Nun, the successor to Moses, had accumulated, and the great wealth and inestimable vessels that Solomon, the head of the sages and kings, had assembled."

The spies inquired, "How is he at warfare? What is his strength? What about his troops? Suppose, some king attacked and invaded his realm, how would he fight him? What is the king's equipment, the number of his troops? How many cavalry and horses are at his disposal? Or is it that his great treasures inspire people with awe for him?" The people replied, "King Asa's equipment and resources are poor but he has a friend who, if called upon to help move mountains, would do so. As long as the friend is with him, nothing can overcome him." Then the spies asked, "Who is Asa's friend? How numerous are his troops? How can he be confronted? How does he fight? How many soldiers and chariots does he have? Where is his base and home?" At this, the people answered, "His abode is above heaven, he is upright on his throne, his troops are innumerable, and all creation is at his service. Should he command the sea, it would deluge the land; should he command the rivers, they would dry up. He is not visible and his base is not known. Such is Asa's friend and helper."

The spies began to record everything they had been told

121. The allusion is to Exodus 12:36.

about Asa. Some of these spies came before Asa and said, "O King! We have a gift we should like to offer you from among the curiosities of our land, or you might wish to purchase it from us, and we would sell it cheaply." He said to them, "Bring it so that I might look at it." When they brought it to him, he said, "Will this remain forever with the owners, and they with it?" They answered, "No, this will wane, and so will its owners," whereupon he replied, "I have no need of it; what I am seeking is something whose splendor remains with the owners, unabated, and whose owners will remain with it." [627]

He returned their gift, and they left him. They traveled from Jerusalem (Bayt al-Maqdis)[122] toward their king, Zerah the Indian. Upon arriving, they unrolled the report before him and informed him of what they had learned about King Asa and his friend. Zerah adjured them by his power, and by the sun and the moon which they worshiped and prayed to, not to conceal from him what they had seen among the Israelites. They gave a truthful account. When they had completed their report of Asa and his friend, Zerah said to them, "The Israelites, suspecting that you were spies inquiring about their weakness, mentioned Asa's friend. They lied. They wanted to terrify you. Asa's friend cannot muster an army larger than mine, nor better equipped, nor one with stouter hearts or more valor in battle than mine. If he came against me with thousands,[123] my forces would easily surpass his."

Zerah then urged every province under his rule to send a fully equipped army. He sought the support of Gog and Magog,[124] and the Turks and Persians, and the rest of the subject nations. He wrote: [628]

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122. Bayt al-Maqdis is the Arabic equivalent of Hebrew *bet hammiqdash*, that is, "the sanctuary, the temple," and more generally "the holy city." Jerusalem is more commonly called al-Quds in Arabic, based on the Hebrew *'īr haqqodesh*, "the holy city."

123. The text reads *alf*, "thousand"; perhaps read *alf alf*, "million".

124. Gog and Magog represent the names of obscure and distant peoples of great might. See Genesis 10:2; Ezekiel 28:2; 39:6. Tradition connected them with eschatological events. Note Qur'ān 18:92ff.; 21:96 which mentions Yājūj and Mājūj, connecting them with the wall that Alexander erected against invaders. See *SEI*, s.v. Yādjūdj wa-Mādjūdj.

> From Zerah, the mighty Indian, King of the lands, to whomever my messages reach, I have a land whose crop is drawing close, whose fruit is ripe, and I should like you to send me workers upon whom I shall bestow whatever they reap. This land is distant from me, and its people seized some fringes of my land and subdued my subjects who came under their rule. I leave their fate in the hands of those who rise along with me to fight them; if your strength fails, I shall be your strength; and my treasuries are inexhaustible.

They rallied to him from every direction, supporting him with cavalry, men, and equipment. When they assembled, he supplied them from his stores with arms and implements, and ordered a count of their number and a review. Their number reached 1,100,000, apart from his own countrymen. He ordered a hundred ships. Mules were hitched, four in a set, carrying a couch and tent, in each tent a slave girl. In each ship were ten servants and five of his elephants. Each of the armies had a hundred thousand men. The retinue which rode with him consisted of a hundred commanders. In each army, he placed experts whom he addressed and spurred on to battle. As he observed them and rode with them, his prestige rose greatly in the hearts of those present.

Then he said, "Where is the friend of Asa? Can he protect Asa from me? Who can defeat me? If Asa and his friend but looked at me and my army, they would not dare fight me. For [629] against each of his soldiers, I have one thousand. For sure, Asa will enter my country as a prisoner, and I shall lead his captive people amidst my troops."

Zerah began to disparage Asa and talk about him abusively. Asa now learned of Zerah's activities and preparations for war. He prayed to God saying:

> Oh God, you have created in your power heaven and earth and all those in them, all under Your control. You are of tender patience and mighty wrath. I ask of You not to remember our sins toward You, nor chastise us for disobeying You, but to remember us in your mercy which you did apply to creatures. See our weakness and the

strength of our enemy; see how few we are and how numerous is our enemy; see the straights and trouble we are in, and the joy and satisfaction of our enemy. Drown Zerah and his hosts in the sea with the might with which you plunged Pharaoh and his hosts into the sea while saving Moses and his people. I ask You to surprise Zerah and his men with a sudden chastisement.

Asa had a dream in which God announced to him:

Know that I have heard your word; your supplication has reached My Throne. If I drowned Zerah the Indian and his people, the Children of Israel would not know of it, nor would anybody else. But I shall display to you and to those who follow you My power against Zerah and his people. I shall save you from this trouble and grant you their booty, and I shall place their troops in your hands, so that your [630] enemies may learn that the protégé of 'the friend of Asa' is invincible; his army will not be put to flight nor will the friend's devotee be frustrated. I shall bide My time until he completes his scheme, then I shall lead him to you as a slave, and his troops will be chattels for you and your people.

Zerah and those with him set forth, then camped on the coast of Tarshish.[125] Within a day the rivers dried up; the meadows turned barren; the people were harassed by the birds and could not escape the beasts. They proceeded, and when they were two days' journey from Jerusalem, Zerah dispatched some of his troops to the city. The countryside, mountains and plains were replete with the enemy. The people of Palestine were filled with terror, and feared destruction.

King Asa heard about the enemy; he sent a vanguard of his people toward them, and ordered the vanguard to inform him about the number and array of the troops. The men sent by Asa set out and saw the troops from the top of a hill. Then they returned to Asa, informing him that human eyes had not seen

125. Tarshish is a biblical coastland outside of Palestine. In this text Palestine is called al-Sha'm, which is the term for Syria, as the area from Iraq to Egypt.

nor had human ears heard anything like it; what with their elephants and horses and horsemen, "We would not have believed that there are such numbers of men and equipment. Our minds did not suffice to count them. We would not know how to fight them, and we lost hope." The city's people heard about it, rent their garments, covered their heads with dust, lamented in the alleys and marketplaces, and began to bid each other farewell.
[631] They then came to the king and said, "We are all going out to those people; we shall stretch out our hands to them, and perchance they will pity us and permit us to remain in our country."

King Asa said to them, "God forbid (that we) surrender to the unbelievers, abandon the House of God and His scripture to the wicked!" They said, "Then find us a ruse; ask your friend and Lord, Whose help you used to promise us, and in the belief in Whom you used to call us to rally. If He rids us of this calamity, well and good. Otherwise, we shall submit to our enemy; perhaps this will save us from massacre."

Asa replied, "My Lord is invincible and can be moved only by supplication, chastity, and humbleness." The people then said, "Then turn to Him. Maybe He will respond to you and have pity on our weakness. A friend will not abandon his friend in such a position."

Asa went into the prayer chamber, took the crown off his head, changed his robes for sackcloth, and sprawled in the dust. With a heavy heart he stretched out his hand calling upon the Lord. In supplication and profusion of tears, he said:

> Oh God, Lord of the seven heavens, Lord of the mighty throne, the God of Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, and Jacob and his sons. You are concealed from Your creation when it pleases You. Your abode is unknown, and the depth of Your might is inscrutable. You are the waking one who sleeps not; the ever-alert whom days and nights will not weary. I ask of You what Your friend Abraham asked of You when, to rescue him, the fire was extinguished.[126]

126. Qur'ān 4:12: "And God took Ibrāhīm [Abraham] for a friend [*khalīl*]." Hebron, where the patriarchs are reportedly buried, is called in Arabic al-Khalīl. Abraham was saved from the fire into which his heathen compatriots

You brought the righteous to join him in the fire. I pray to You with the prayer that Your confidant Moses offered, when You saved the Children of Israel from evil and thereby liberated them from slavery, leading them across the sea to land, while drowning Pharaoh and those who [632] followed him. I implore You as did David whom You raised and granted strength after weakness, giving him victory over Goliath, the giant whom You put to flight. It is a request like that of Solomon Your prophet, whom You endowed with wisdom, and to whom You granted high rank, and sovereignty over all living beings. You revive the dead and destroy the world, remaining alone in eternity, indestructible. Oh, my God, I beseech You, have pity on me. Respond to my prayer. For I am wretched, lame, one of Your weakest worshipers, with the least notion of what to do. Yet a great trouble and grave danger has befallen us, and only You are able to remove it. We have no strength or power but in You. Please, then, have pity on our weakness. For You pity whomever pleases You, however it pleases You.

Outside, the learned among the Israelites began to pray to God:

Oh God, respond today to Your servitor for he takes refuge in You alone; do not abandon him to Your enemy. Remember his love for You, how he separated himself from his mother and all people, except those obedient to You.

While Asa was in his prayer chamber prostrated, God made him fall asleep, and then, they say, a divine messenger came to him saying:

Oh Asa, a friend will not abandon his friend. God says, "I extend my love to you; my aid to you is forthcoming. It is I who shall rid you of your enemy; for he who trusts in Me shall not be humiliated, nor will he who takes courage in Me prove weak. You remembered Me amidst prosperity,

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had thrown him. See Qur'ān 37:97ff; 21:68–70; 29–24. Also *EI*², s.v. al-Khalīl; Ginzberg, *Legends*, I, 176, 202ff., 206, 216ff. See also Speyer, *Erzählungen*, 142–144.

and I shall keep you safe amidst adversity. You prayed to Me in trust; I shall keep you safe while you are afraid." Al-
[633] mighty God says, "I swear that even if heaven and earth with everything in them should turn against you, I shall secure for thee a way of escape. It is I who shall send some of My tormentors [*zabāniyatī*][127] to slay My foes. I am with you, and none shall come near you and those with you."

Asa, his face aglow, and thanking God, left his prayer chamber. He told the people what he had heard. The believers gave credence to his words but the hypocrites considered these words lies, and said to one another, "Asa walked in lame, and lame did he walk out. Had he told us the truth and had God responded to him, his leg would be sound; but he is beguiling us and wants us to indulge in hope until war starts and he can destroy us."

As the king was telling them of God's act for their sake, the messengers arrive from Zerah. They entered Jerusalem with messages from Zerah to Asa that were replete with abuse against Asa and his people, and with the denial of God. Zerah wrote in them, "Call on your friend, with talk of whom you have misled your people. Let him challenge me with his troops, and let him appear to me; though I know that neither he nor anybody else can prevail over me, for I am King Zerah the Indian."

When Asa read the messages delivered to him, tears welled up in his eyes. He entered the prayer-chamber, and spread those messages before God, and said:

O God, nothing is more desirable to me than to stand before Thee, but I fear lest this light which Thou hast shown in these, my days, should peter out. These messages have arrived, and Thou knowest their contents. If I were their
[634] butt, that would be a slight matter; but Thy slave Zerah turns against Thee, insults Thee, speaks vaingloriously and falsely, and Thou art witness thereto.

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127. These are mentioned in Qur'ān 96:18.

Then, they say God revealed to Asa:

> There is no change in My words, no variation in My promise, no alteration in My command. Therefore go out of thy prayer-chamber, order thy troops to rally, and lead them and those who follow thee until you reach an elevated piece of ground.

Asa came out and related what he had been told, and twelve chieftains, each with his unit, set out. As they were departing they took leave of their families, intimating that they would not return alive. They stood on a hill opposite Zerah, and from there they saw Zerah and his people. When Zerah saw them, he shook his head jeeringly and said, "For fellows like these I came from my country and spent my money?" He then summoned those who had described Asa and his people to him, and exclaimed, "You have deceived me. You asserted that your people are numerous." He then ordered that they and the spies whom he had sent to obtain information all be put to death.

Meanwhile Asa was imploring God, taking refuge in Him. Zerah said, "I do not know what to do with these people, nor how few of them there are against us. I consider them too few for warfare, and I think I shall not fight them."

Zerah sent a message to Asa, "Where is your friend whom you were threatening us with and who, you claimed, would save you from my blows? Will you surrender, so that I can carry out my judgment upon you? Or do you seek to fight me?" Asa's reply was, "O wretch, you neither know nor grasp what [635] you are saying. Do you wish to wrestle with your Lord, to outnumber Him? He is the strongest, greatest, most powerful and forceful, and His creatures are too humble and weak to actually see Him. He is with me here and no one who is with God shall be defeated. Exert yourself to the utmost, oh wretch, until you have learned what is to befall you."

When Zerah's men lined up, and took their positions, Zerah commanded his archers to shoot. But God sent His angels from every heaven, they say—and God knows best—to help and aid Asa and his people. Asa had them retain their positions. When the enemy shot their arrows the unbelievers kept the sunlight from the earth, as if a cloud were rising. The angels diverted it

from Asa and his people. Then the angels struck the people of Zerah with the cloud of arrows, and each man was hit by his own arrow, with the result that the archers were all slain. During that time, Asa and his people were praying to God and loudly extolling Him, and they say the angels became visible. When the wretch Zerah saw them, he was seized with terror and bewilderment, and exclaimed, "Great is Asa's cunning, superb his sorcery. Such are the Israelites, unsurpassed, unmatched in cunning. They learned it from the Egyptians; that is how they crossed the sea."

The Indian called out among his people, "Unsheath your swords, attack them, crush them." They pulled out their swords, attacked the angels, and the angels slew them and none of the humans remained except Zerah with his women and slaves. At the sight of this, Zerah took to flight with his [636] retinue, exclaiming, "Asa is victorious overtly, and his friend has destroyed me covertly. I was looking at Asa and those who were standing with him and not fighting, while the battle was taking its toll of my people."

When Asa saw that Zerah was fleeing, he exclaimed, "Oh God, Zerah is fleeing, and if You do not separate us, he will again rally his people against us." But God revealed to Asa, "You have not slain them; I have slain them. Now remain in your place. If I were to leave it to the two of you, they would slay you all. Rather, let Zerah squirm in My palm. None will help save him from Me; he has no escape. I grant as a gift to you and your people his encampments, with their silver, valuables, and animals. This is the reward for your adherence to Me, and I seek no reward for aiding you."

Zerah reached the sea intent on flight. One hundred thousand people were with him. They prepared their ships and boarded them, but at sea God sent winds upon them from every direction of land and sea, and the waves were stormy. The ships struck one another and were smashed while Zerah and his men drowned. The waves were so stormy that the people of the surrounding towns were in terror; the earth trembled. Asa sent men to find out what had happened. But God revealed to him, they say—and God knows best—"Come down, you and your people, and the people of your towns to pick up

the booty that God has bestowed upon you by His power. Be grateful for it. I allow every man to take from these camps [637] whatever he chooses." They rushed down praising and hallowing God. They say and God knows best that for three months they carried that booty to their towns.

After Asa, his son Jehoshafat reigned for twenty-five years, until his death. After that reigned Athaliah—she is also known as Ghazaliah—the daughter of Omri, and mother of Ahaziah. She had slain the sons of the kings of the Children of Israel; only Joash, the son of Ahaziah, was hidden from her. Joash and his men slew her. Her reign lasted seven years. Then Joash b. Ahaziah reigned until his men killed him, the man who had slain his grandmother. His reign lasted forty years. Then Amaziah b. Joash reigned for twenty-nine years until he was slain by his men. After that Uzziah (also called Ghuzziah) b. Amaziah reigned for fifty-two years until his death. Then Jotham b. Uzziah reigned for sixteen years until he died. Then Ahaz b. Jotham b. Uzziah reigned for sixteen years until his death. After that Hezekiah b. Ahaz reigned until his death. They say he was a friend of Isaiah, and that Isaiah had announced to him the end of his lifetime. But he implored the Lord, and God added to Hezekiah's lifetime, granting him a respite, and instructed Isaiah to inform him thereof. But Muhammad b. Ishaq maintained that the friend of Isaiah to whom this story refers was called Zedekiah.[128]

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128. The chronology of these reigns is as follows: Asa in Judea, 913–873 B. C. or 910–869 B. C.; Uzziah, 783–742 B.C. or 767–739 B.C.; Hezekiah, 715–687 B.C.; Zedekiah, who ruled from 598–587 B.C., is misplaced here. Isaiah's activity falls into the period between Uzziah and Hezekiah. Hezekiah's illness, imminent death, and the grant of fifteen years of life beyond this moment is announced by Isaiah. See II Kings 20:1–11; Isaiah 38.

[638]

The Story of Isaiah's Friend; the Kings of the Children of Israel and Sennacherib

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Ibn Isḥāq: In the divine scripture revealed to Moses, in the account of the Israelites and of what they were going to do after him, it is said,[129] "And We decreed for the Children of Israel in the Book, 'You shall do corruption in the earth twice, and you shall ascend exceedingly high' . . . and We have made Gehenna a prison for the unbelievers." So there were the Israelites with their history and sins, and God was letting them go unpunished, out of compassion for them, favoring them. Then God brought (punishment) upon them for their sin, as He had warned them in the Mosaic text. The first of these incidents concerned one of their kings called Zedekiah. When he ascended the throne, God had sent a prophet to instruct and direct him, thus making the prophet an intermediary between the king and God. God thus spoke to Zedekiah about the Israelites, not by books revealed, but rather by commanding them to follow the Torah and its stipulations, and by deterring them from disobedience, as well as by calling upon them to return to

129. Qur'ān 17:4–8.

obedience. When this king began to reign, God sent to him Isaiah the son of Amoz. That was before the time of Jesus, Zechariah, and John the Baptist.[130] It was Isaiah who announced the advent of Jesus and Muḥammad. The king reigned over the Children of Israel and Jerusalem for some time. But as his reign was coming to a close, grave events took place while Isaiah was with the king. God sent against them Sennacherib, king of [639] Babylon, with six hundred thousand men,[131] and he advanced until he reached the environs of Jerusalem.

The Israelite king was suffering from a rash on his leg. The prophet Isaiah came to him and said, "O King of the Children of Israel, Sennacherib, king of Babylon, has arrived with six hundred thousand of his forces. The people are terrified and fleeing before them." This depressed the king, who said, "O Prophet of God, do you have a divine revelation for us about what has happened. How will God treat us and Sennacherib and his forces?" The prophet then replied, "No revelation has come to me about you." Just then God revealed to the prophet Isaiah, "Go to the king of the Children of Israel, and command him to prepare his testament and to appoint whomever he desires from among the members of his house to succeed him." The prophet Isaiah then came to the king of the Children of Israel, Zedekiah, and said to him, "The Lord has revealed to me that I should command you to prepare your testament and to appoint whomever you desire of your family as your successor, for you shall die."

As Isaiah said this to Zedekiah, the king turned to the sanctuary and prayed. He praised God and called upon him, weeping and imploring amidst tears, his heart sincere and full of reliance upon God, with endurance and a clear conscience, "Oh God, Lord supreme, God supreme most holy, compassionate, merciful and gracious, whom no slumber or sleep affects! Remember my acts and deeds, and my good rule over the Children of Israel. All that was from You, and You know it better

130. The prophet Zechariah is confused here with the New Testament figure who is the father of John the Baptist (Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā). See Luke 1:5, 11–13, 59ff.

131. Sennacherib of Assyria invaded Judah in 701 B.C. See II Kings 18:13, 19–36; Isaiah 36–37.

[640] than I myself, for both my conscience and my manifest behavior are open to You." God responded to him for he was a pious worshiper. God inspired Isaiah to inform King Zedekiah that his prayer had been heard, and that God was merciful, "God saw your tears. He has postponed your death by fifteen years and shall deliver you from your enemy, King Sennacherib of Babylon and his hosts."

Upon hearing this the king was relieved of pain, suffering and grief. He prostrated himself and said, "O my God and God of my fathers, You have I worshiped, praised, honored and glorified. You grant kingship to whomever You desire, and withdraw it whenever it pleases You. You exalt or humble whomever it pleases You. You know the concealed and the manifest. You are the first and the last, Master of the innermost and of the manifest. You have mercy, and answer the prayer of those in straits. You responded to my prayer, and pitied me when I implored You."

As he raised his head, God instructed Isaiah, "Tell King Zedekiah to command one of his servitors to bring him a piece of the fig and let the king apply it to his rash, and he will be healed. By morning, he will have recovered." The king did accordingly, and was healed. He then said to Isaiah the prophet, "Ask the Lord to give us a sign of what He is going to do to our enemy." God said to the prophet Isaiah, "Tell him, I shall dispose of your enemy and save you from them. They will all be dead by morning except for Sennacherib and five of his scribes."

When they awoke in the morning, a herald came to the king, and announced at the gate of the city, "O King of the Children of Israel, God has disposed of your enemy. Come forth, for Sennacherib and his host have perished." When the king went forth to look for Sennacherib, he was not found among the dead. The king then dispatched men to search for him, and he
[641] was found in a cave with five of his scribes, one of whom was Nebuchadnezzar. They were paraded in public places, and then were brought before the king of the Israelites, who, upon seeing them, prostrated himself from sunrise till afternoon. Then he said to Sennacherib, "What do you think of the act of our Lord concerning you? Has He not slain your host with His power

while both we and you were unaware?" Sennacherib replied, "I had heard, even before I left my country, of your Lord and His aid to you as well as His mercy upon you. But I did not obey the right counsel. It is only my foolishness that plunged me into this misery. Had I listened or been reasonable, I would not have attacked you. But misery struck me and my men." The king of the Children of Israel exclaimed, "Praise God, the mighty Lord whom it pleased to save us from you. Our Lord left you and those with you alive, not in order to honor you but to confront you with increased misery in this world, and chastisement in the world to come; also to have you tell those whom you left at home what you have seen of the act of our Lord, and to warn those who will come after you. Were it not for that, He would not have preserved you. Your blood and that of those with you is worth less before God than the blood of a tick, should I happen to kill one."

Then the king of the Children of Israel ordered the chief of his guard to parade them before the populace, and for seventy days he paraded them in Jerusalem, while feeding them two loaves of barley bread per man daily. Sennacherib said to the king, "Death is better than what you are doing to us. But do what you were ordered to do." The king gave orders to place them in the death-chamber, but God revealed to Isaiah, "Tell the king to send Sennacherib and his men away, in order to [642] warn their people; let the king honor them and transport them until they have reached their country. The prophet Isaiah informed the king thereof. So Sennacherib and those with him departed for Babylon. When they arrived, he assembled the people and informed them of what God had wrought with his troops. His sorcerers and soothsayers told him, "O King of Babylon, we used to tell you about their Lord and their prophet, and the divine revelations to their prophet, but you did not listen to us. They are an invincible people, because of their Lord." The story of Sennacherib frightened them. But God spared them, and it turned into a warning and an admonition. Sennacherib lived seven years thereafter.

Some scholars from among the People of the Book assert that this king of the Israelites attacked by Sennacherib was lame as a result of sciatica, and that Sennacherib coveted his realm be-

cause Zedekiah was chronically ill and weak, and that another king of Babylon had set out against him, one Lifar by name. Nebuchadnezzar, the son of his uncle, was his scribe.[132] God sent upon him a wind that destroyed his army while he and his scribe escaped, and Lifar was slain by his own son; but Nebuchadnezzar in his fury about his master's death slew the son, the parricide. Sennacherib later set out against Zedekiah. Sennacherib dwelled then in Nineveh with the current king of Ādharbayjān—he was called Salmān the Left-handed. Sennacherib and Salmān clashed and fought until their armies annihilated one another, so that whatever they possessed became the booty of the Children of Israel.

[643] Some say, that the one who attacked Hezekiah, the friend of Isaiah, was Sennacherib, the king of Mosul, and that when he surrounded Jerusalem with his armies, God sent an angel to kill 185,000 of Sennacherib's men in one night.

Hezekiah's reign lasted twenty-nine years. It is said that he was succeeded by Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, who ruled for fifty-five years. Amon, his son, succeeded him for twelve years but was slain by his courtiers. After him, his son Josiah ruled for thirty-one years. He was slain by the pharaoh of Egypt, the mutilated cripple.[133] Josiah's son Jehoahaz succeeded him. Raided by the mutilated pharaoh who captured him, he was carried off to Egypt. The pharaoh made Jehoahaz's son, Jehoiakim, king over his father's domain and imposed upon him, so they assert, a tribute to be paid to the pharaoh for twelve years. They further assert that Jehoiakim exacted the money from the Israelites to pay the pharaoh.

Jehoiachin, the son of Jehoiakim, ruled after him. After a reign of three months he was attacked by Nebuchadnezzar,

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132. For the legends connected with the story of Sennacherib see Ginzberg, *Legends*, VI, 267–270, 300–301; VI, 362–365. Here Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar are related and take part in the invasion of Judah, thus connecting the invasion of 701 B.C. and the fall of Jerusalem over a century later.

133. For the Pharaoh Necho, see II Kings 23:29; also Ginzberg, *Legends*, IV, 160; X, 297 n.71. The name of the pharaoh is construed as a derivative of the root *NKY* which means "to injure" or "to cripple" in both Hebrew and Arabic. The ancient Syriac Bible and the *Targum* make use of this etymology.

who captured him and carried him off to Babylon. His uncle Mattaniah was made king in his stead and was named Zedekiah. He rebelled but Nebuchadnezzar defeated him, bound him in fetters, and carried him to Babylon after slaying Zedekiah's son before his eyes. He then tore out Zedekiah's eyes, and destroyed the city and the temple. Nebuchadnezzar led the [644] Israelites into captivity in Babylon where they remained until Cyrus, the son of Jamasb, the son of Asb, returned them to Jerusalem because of the relationship that existed between them. For his mother was Esther, the daughter of the Jew Abihail. The reign of Zedekiah, including the three months of Jehoiachin's reign, lasted, it is said, eleven years and three months. After that the kingdom of Jerusalem and Palestine became the possession of Ushtasb b. Lahrasib, and Nebuchadnezzar was his governor over all that land.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Salamān:[134] When Zedekiah, the aforementioned king of the Jews, passed away, the affairs of the Jews became confused. There was rivalry for the kingship. They killed one another to attain it, and though their prophet Isaiah was among them, they did not turn to him nor did they listen to him. We heard that because they acted in this way, God said to Isaiah, "Rise among thy people, let me send a revelation through you." When he rose, God inspired him. The prophet admonished them and filled them with fear about the vicissitudes of fate; he enumerated God's favors and fate's vicissitudes. As Isaiah finished his speech, they turned upon him to kill him, but the prophet fled from them. A tree that he passed split open, and he entered it. But Satan caught him and seized a fringe of his gar- [645] ment, which he showed to the pursuers. They set a saw across the middle of the tree and sawed through it, and Isaiah was sawn in half.[135]

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134. The Ibn Ḥumayd tradition may go back to the lost Qur'ān commentary of Ibn Jubayr (d. 95 A.H./713/4). See *GAS*, I, 28ff.

135. On the martyrdom of Isaiah, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, IV, 279; VI, 371, 374ff. It may be noted that the legend concerning Isaiah's death is similar to that told of the Iranian Yima (Jamshēd). For a discussion of this similarity see Christensen, *Premier homme*, II, 73ff.

Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Bukhārī also told me the story of Isaiah and his people, the Children of Israel, and of his death at their hands. He said: We were told by Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm —Ṣamad b. Maʿqil—Wahb b. Munabbih.

The Account of Luhrāsb and His Son Bishtāsb; the Expedition of Nebuchadnezzar Against the Israelites and How He Destroyed Jerusalem[136]

After Kaykhusraw, the Persians were ruled by Luhrāsb, son of Kayūjī b. Kaymanūsh b. Kayfāshīn, who was selected by Kaykhusraw. When the crown was set upon his head, he said, "We prize piety above all." He sat on a gold throne, adorned with all kinds of jewels. By his order the city of Balkh was built for him in Khurāsān, and he named it "The Beautiful." He introduced government agencies, strengthened his reign with a select guard, cultivated the land, levied taxes to support the troops, and sent Nebuchadnezzar, whose Persian name was Bukhtrashah,[137] so it was said, against the Israelites.

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136. In this conception the legendary kings of Persia succeeded one another as supreme rulers throughout the ancient Near East. Nebuchadnezzar is, therefore, merely a governor serving them. His geographical domain is limited to west of the Tigris. See Ezra 7:21; Nehemiah 2:9. The name Nebuchadnezzar itself, as it is given in the Arabic sources, has a Persianized form. It is consistently written Bukht-Naṣ(ṣ)ar, where the first part is identical to the Persian word meaning "saved".

137. The text reads Bukhtrashah, perhaps read Bukhtrasha. It is not clear

I was told on the authority of Hishām b. Muḥammad: Luhrāsb, the nephew of Qabūs,[138] became king and built the city of Balkh. Since at that time the power of the Turks was growing, he dwelt in Balkh fighting the Turks. Nebuchadnezzar was
[646] his contemporary and was the commander (*isbahbadh*) over the area between al-Ahwāz and Western Asia (Arḍ al-Rūm) to the west of the Tigris. He personally concluded the peace with the people of Damascus, and he sent one of his officers to Jerusalem. The latter concluded a peace treaty with the king of the Israelites, a man of David's progeny. The officer took hostages and departed. But by the time he reached Tiberias, the Israelites attacked their king and slew him, saying, "You gave hostages to the Babylonians and humiliated us." They then prepared to fight. Nebuchadnezzar's officer reported to him what had happened, and he was instructed to stay on until Nebuchadnezzar's arrival and to behead the hostages he was holding. Nebuchadnezzar then set out for Jerusalem, took the city by force of arms, slew the fighting men, and took the children captive.

We received word that he found the prohet Jeremiah in the Israelite prison. God had sent him as a prophet to warn the Children of Israel of what Nebuchadnezzar was to bring upon them, and to tell them that unless they repented and gave up their evil deeds, God would visit upon them the power that would slay their fighting men and capture their children. Nebuchadenzzar said to Jeremiah, "What is it you want?" Jeremiah then told him that God had sent him to warn the Israelites of what was to befall them, but they did not believe it and imprisoned him. Nebuchadnezzar said, "Wretched people, they defied their Lord's messenger." He released Jeremiah and treated him well. The residue of the unfortunate Israelites gathered around the prophet and said, "We were wrong and wicked, but we are repenting before God the evil we have per-

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what the second element was deemed to denote in either Bukht-Nas(ṣ)ar (the Arabic-Persian form of Nebuchadnezzar) or Bukht-Rasah (if the reading of the latter name is correct).

138. This form of the name is a corruption of Kay-Us. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 334, s.v. Usan, and above, n. 1.

petrated. Pray to God to accept our repentance." He prayed, and the Lord revealed to him that they were not sincere saying, "If they are [sincere] let them stay with you in this city." Jeremiah told them of the divine command, but they said, "How [647] shall we stay on in a town that was destroyed and whose people have aroused divine wrath?" They refused to remain there.[139] Nebuchadnezzar then wrote to the king of Egypt, "Some of my slaves have run away from me to you; send them to me, or else I shall attack you and send my cavalry to conquer your land." The king of Egypt wrote back, "They are not your slaves, but free men and the sons of free men." So Nebuchadnezzar attacked him, slew him, took the Egyptians captive, and proceeded through North Africa (Maghrib) until he reached its very farthest point. He then returned (home) with many captives from Palestine and Transjordan, among them Daniel and other prophets.

That was the time when the Israelites dispersed. Some of them settled in the Hijāz, at Yathrib and in the Wādī al-Qurā, and elsewhere.[140] According to a report reaching us, God then inspired Jeremiah thus, "I am restoring Jerusalem. Therefore, proceed to settle there." So he set out, and arriving there he found it in ruins. He said to himself, "God be praised, He commanded me to settle in this city and announced to me that He would restore it. But when will He rebuild it, and when will He revive it? After its death?" He then put his head down and fell asleep. His donkey and provision-basket were with him. He remained asleep seventy years, so that Nebuchadnezzar was gone, as was the great king above him, that is, Luhrāsb. His reign lasted 120 years, and he was succeeded by his son Bishtāsb.[141] Word reached the latter about Palestine, that it was in

139. See Jeremiah 39:11–14; 40:2–10; 42, 43.

140. The settlement of the Jews in Arabia is connected here with the destruction of the Judean kindgom and the Babylonian captivity in 586 B.C. See Y. Hirschberg, *Israel in Arabia* (Hebrew), and C.C. Torrey, *The Jewish foundations of Islam*; J. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*; D.S. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites*. The Wādī al-Qurā contained a chain of settlements between Syria and North Arabia. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 877.

141. Bishtāsb or Gushtāsp is a late form of Old Iranian Vishtāspa. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 372f. The theory that this early figure of a king, who was said to be

ruins and that wild beasts had become numerous there, and that no humans remained there. He announced in Babylonia among the Israelites that whosoever wished to return to Palestine could do so, and he made a man of the progeny of David king over them. He ordered him to rebuild Jerusalem and to re-
[648] construct its temple (*masjid*); consequently, the Israelites returned and rebuilt it. Then God opened Jeremiah's eyes, and the prophet looked at the city as it was being rebuilt. He had slept until he was a hundred years old, but when God revived him he thought he had been asleep for only an hour. He remembered the city in ruin and desolation. When he saw it now, he exclaimed, "I know that God is powerful over everything."[142]

The Children of Israel settled in Jerusalem and their government was returned to them. They multiplied there until the Romans were victorious over them in the period of the regional princes (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*).[143] After that they no longer had a commonwealth (*jamā'ah*).

It was in the time of Bishtāsb that Zoroaster (Zarādasht), whom the Zoroastrians consider their prophet, appeared. Some scholars from among the People of the Book in Palestine assert that Zoroaster was a servant of one of the prophet Jeremiah's disciples, and that he was close to the latter and favored by him.[144] But he betrayed his master and slandered him. The

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the patron of the prophet Zoroaster, was identical with the Achaemenian king of the same name (the father of Darius I), has been propounded by E. Herzfeld in *Zoroaster and his world*, but criticized by other scholars. See especially W.B. Henning, *Zoroaster, Politician or Witch-doctor?*

142. The prototypes for this story are the rabbinic legends of Ḥoni the Circle-maker and Jeremiah's disciple Baruch ben Neriah. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, VI, 409ff.; also Speyer, *Erzählungen*, 425. The story may echo Jeremiah 29:1–7 or 40:7–10. The apocalyptic theme concerning sleeper and donkey is found in Qur'ān 2:261 and is also used by 'Abbāsid propagandists who cite the Qur'ānic verse.

143. That is, the period between Alexander the Great and the Sasanian dynasty. The term *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* may also be rendered as princelings, petty kings, petty dynasties, and so forth. More specifically, it refers here to the Diadochs.

144. Note that Jeremiah had a secretary, one Baruch ben Neriah. For the rabbinic legends concerning him, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, IV, 322, 324; VI, 411ff. The identification of Zoroaster with Baruch ben Neriah is made in several Syriac and Arabic sources. See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 165f.; Bidez and Cumont, *Les*

master invoked wrath, and the man thus became a leper. He reached Ādharbayjān where he started the Zoroastrian faith. Later he went to Bishtāsb, who was then at Balkh. When Zoroaster came to Bishtāsb and offered him the new faith, the king admired it, forced the people to embrace it, and perpetrated a great massacre among his subjects in this connection. They followed his religion. Bishtāsb reigned for 112 years.

But another scholar well versed in antiquity said that Kay Luhrāsb was commended by the people of his realm. He was repressive towards the rulers around Iran (Irānshahr), strict with his associates, high-minded, and absorbed in construction, irrigation and cultivation. The kings of Rome, North Africa, and India, and other rulers, used to pay him a set annual tribute and impost, and they addressed him with reverence, recognizing [649] him with awe as King of Kings.

It is said that Nebuchadnezzar brought him treasures and valuables from Jerusalem. When Luhrāsb felt he was becoming weak, he made his son Bishtāsb king. He thus retired from rule while entrusting it to his son. Luhrāsb is said to have reigned 120 years. It was asserted that this Nebuchadnezzar who attacked the Israelites was called Bukhtrashah, and that he was a Persian of the progeny of Jūdharz. It is also asserted that he lived a long life of over three hundred years, and that he was in the service of King Luhrāsb, the father of Bishtāsb. It was Luhrāsb who sent him to Palestine and Jerusalem in order to exile the Jews from there. He went there and later withdrew. After serving Luhrāsb, he served his son Bishtāsb and, later, Bahman[145] who lived in the city of Balkh, called "The Beautiful."

It is also asserted that it was Bahman who ordered Bukhtrashah to go to Jerusalem to exile the Jews from there. The rea-

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mages hellénisés, I, 49f.; 41ff., where other Jewish identifications of Zoroaster are discussed. See also H.S. Nyberg, *JCOI*,39 (1958), 45ff. and J. Neusner, *JBR*, 32 (1964), 359–360. See also the Hebrew medieval stories connected with the name of Ben Sira (Sirach), discussed in E. Yasif, *Sippure Ben Sira*.

145. The ancient form of this name is Vohu Manah, "of good mind," which also serves as a name for one of the Amesha Spenta, the group of abstract divine figures around Ahura Mazda. On this mythical king see Justi, *Iran Nb*, 374, s.v. Wohu-Manah.

son therefore was that the ruler of Jerusalem attacked the messengers Bahman had sent to him, and slew some of them. When Bahman learned of this he called Bukhtrashah. He made him king of Babylon and ordered him to proceed there, and then to go to Palestine and Jerusalem, specifically against the Jews, to slay their fighters and seize their young ones. Bahman gave him a free hand to select from among the nobles and officers whomever he wished, and Bukhtrashah selected from the royal house Darius[146] the son of Mahrī, of the progeny of
[650] Madai b. Japhet b. Noah.[147] Darius was Bukhtrashah's nephew. He also selected Cyrus Kaykawān,[148] one of the sons of Elam b. Shem who was in charge of the treasury of Bahman, and Ahasuerus b. Cyrus b. Jāmāsb,[149] who was nicknamed the sage, as well as Bahrām b. Cyrus b. Bishtāsb.[150] Bahman assigned to him these four of his kin and retinue, and also some dignitaries of the *asāwirah* and their leaders. There were three hundred of them and fifty thousand soldiers of the army. Bahman permitted him to exact whatever he needed to maintain them.

Buktrashah now marched with them southward until they reached Babylon. He stayed there for a year to prepare for the campaign. A vast number of people came to him. Among them was a man of the progeny of Sennacherib, the king who had raided King Hezekiah b. Ahaz in Palestine and Jerusalem. The latter was of the progeny of Solomon and David, and the friend of Isaiah. The man's name was Nebuchadnezzar b. Nebuzaradan b. Sennacherib (ruler of Mosul and its environs) b. Darius b. ʿAbīrī b. Tīrī b. Rūbā b. Rāyā b. Solomon (Salāmūn) b. David b. Ṭāmī b. Hāmil b. Harmān b. Fūdī b. Hamūl b. Daramī b.

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146. The Old Persian form of this name is, in the nominative, Dārayavahuš (although the *-h-* is not expressed in the Old Persian script). The late Persian tradition preserves this name as Dārāb, Dārā. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 78–80.

147. Genesis 10:2.

148. There is some confusion about this person, which Justi, *Iran Nb*, 167, s.v. Kuru, No. 2, tries to correct by emending the name to read Kay-Arish son of Kay Kawād.

149. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 167, s.v. Kuru, No. 1.

150. The name Bahrām is a development of Old Iranian Verethraghna. On this person see Justi, *Iran Nb*, 361, s.v. Werethraghna, No. 3.

Qamā' il b. Sāmā b. Raghmā b. Nimrod b. Kush b. Ham b. Noah. [651]

This man came to Bukhtrashah because of the tribute that Hezekiah and the Israelites had brought to his ancestor Sennacherib when the latter waged war on them. Thus he ingratiated himself with Bukhtrashah, who sent him out with a large force. Then Bukhtrashah followed him. When the soldiers massed at Jerusalem, Bukhtrashah proved victorious over the Israelites because God wanted to punish them. As a result, he took them prisoner, destroyed the Temple, and retired to Babylon with Jehoiachin b. Jehoiakim, a descendent of Solomon. Jehoiachin was king of Israel at the time. Bukhtrashah returned after appointing Mattaniyā, uncle of Jehoiachin, to be king, renaming him Zedekiah. When Nebuchadnezzar arrived in Babylon, Zedekiah rebelled. Nebuchadnezzar attacked him again, and defeated him; he destroyed his city and the temple. After slaying Zedekiah's sons and putting out his eyes, Nebuchadnezzar carried Zedekiah in chains to Babylon. The Children of Israel remained in Babylon until they returned to Jerusalem. According to our source, Nebuchadnezzar, the one named Bukhtrashah, lived forty years after the conquests of Jerusalem. He was succeeded by his son, Merodakh, who ruled the area for twenty-three years. Then the latter died and was succeeded by a son called Belshazzar b. Merodakh, who ruled [652] for a year.

When Belshazzar became king, he became confused in his rule. Bahman dismissed him, and in his stead he appointed Darius the Mede[151] over Babylon and the adjoining regions of Syria and the other districts. Darius was related to Mādhī b. Japheth b. Noah. Darius then slew Belshazzar, and reigned over Babylon and the region of Syria for three years. Then Bahman dismissed him and appointed instead Cyrus the Elamite,[152] of the progeny of Elam b. Shem b. Noah, who had gone to Gomer with Madai when Gomer went eastward. When power was in-

151. This mythical figure is mentioned in Daniel 9:1 and in Josephus, *Ant.* 10.11:2,4,7. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 78, s.v. Dārayawa(h)u, No. 2.

152. The same person was called Cyrus Kay-Kawān. See above, n. 148.

vested in Cyrus, Bahman wrote to him instructing him to be kind to the Israelites, to permit them to settle wherever they wished, to return to their country, and to appoint whomever they chose to lead them. They chose the prophet Daniel, and he took charge of their affairs. Cyrus ruled Babylon and the adjacent territory for three years. These years—from the time of the victory of Nebuchadnezzar to the end of his power and that of his son, and the reign of Cyrus the Elamite, counting from the destruction of Jerusalem—are referred to as the period of Nebuchadnezzar, a period of seventy years.[153]

After that, Babylon and its environs were ruled on behalf of Bahman by one of his relatives called Ahasuerus b. Cyrus b. Jāmāsb. Nicknamed the sage, he was one of the four dignitaries selected by Bukhtrashah when he set out for Palestine on behalf of Bahman. Ahasuerus had come to Bahman well recommended by Nebuchadnezzar, and it was at that time that Bahman appointed him to rule Babylon and its environs. He was
[653] appointed, so it is asserted, because a man who had administered the region of India (Sind and Hind) for Bahman, Karardashīr b. Dashkāl,[154] rebelled with six hundred thousand followers. Bahman therefore appointed Ahasuerus over the region and ordered him to go to Karardashīr, which he did. He waged war on the rebel, slaying him and most of his supporters. Bahman continued adding to the administrative duties of Ahasuerus, giving him various parts of the realm to rule over. The latter stayed at Susa, gathered nobles around him and wined and dined them; he ruled the region from Babylon to India, and Ethiopia and the coast. On a single day he gave each of one hundred twenty military commanders a banner and a thousand choice soldiers, each of whom equalled one hundred warriors.

Ahasuerus became entrenched in Babylon but spent much time at Susa, and he married a woman from among the Israelite captives. She was called Esther, the daughter of Abihail. She

153. Jeremiah 29:10. Note, however, that Jerusalem fell in 587 B.C. and the return began in 539 B.C., the beginning of Cyrus's reign.

154. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 156, s.v. Kara, No. 3.

had been raised by an uncle of hers, Mordechai, who was her milch-brother, as Mordechai's mother milk-fed Esther. The reason he married her was that he had killed one of his wives, a noble, beautiful, bright woman, named Vashti. He had ordered Vashti to appear before the people in order that they might see her majesty and beauty, but she refused. Ahasuerus slew her but then became anxious about it. It was suggested to him that he review the women of the world, which he did. He became attracted to Esther by a divine design for the sake of the Israelites. The Christians assert that she bore him a son on his way to Babylon, and that he named it Cyrus. They also assert that the rule of Ahasuerus lasted fourteen years, that Mordechai taught him the Torah, and that Cyrus embraced the faith of the Israelites and learned from the prophet Daniel and his companions, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah. They asked the king to [654] permit them to proceed to Jerusalem but he refused, saying, "Even if a thousand of your prophets were with me, no one would leave me as long as I live." He appointed Daniel as judge and transferred to him all his power, ordering him to remove from the treasuries and return to Jerusalem whatever Nebuchadnezzar had taken from there. The king started the reconstruction of Jerusalem. It was built and completed in the days of Cyrus b. Ahasuerus.[155]

The reign of Cyrus was within that of Bahman and Khumānī[156] and lasted some twenty-two years. Bahman died after thirteen years of the rule of Cyrus, and Cyrus died four years after Khumānī assumed power. The total reign of Cyrus b. Ahasuerus lasted twenty-two years. This is what those versed in biography and history report about Nebuchadnezzar and his relations with the Children of Israel. Old (Muslim) authorities among the learned gave different reports about the matter.

Thus I was told by al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—Ḥajjāj—Ibn Jurayj Ya'lā b. Muslim—Sa'īd b. Jubayr: An Israelite was reading un-

155. Cyrus b. Ahasuerus is Cyrus the Great. See Justi, *IranNb*, 167, s.v. Kuru, No. 3.

156. Another form of the name attested is Humā, Humāy, both daughter and wife of Bahman. See Justi, *IranNb*, 132, s.v. Huma, No. 2.

til he reached the passage, "We sent against you servants of Ours, men of great might."[157] He wept bitterly, closed the scripture, and said, "Such is the time God intended." Then he
[655] said, "O Lord, show me this man by whose hand You will accomplish the destruction of the Children of Israel." He was shown in his dream a wretch in Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar by name. The Israelite was a rich man, and he set out with money and servants. He was asked, "Where are you going?" and replied, "I want to trade." He settled in a house in Babylon and took it on lease. Alone there, he began to invite the beggars and was kind to them. Giving something to everyone who came, he would ask, "Are there not any other poor men?" They said, "Yes, a wretch in such and such neighborhood, a sick man, Nebuchadnezzar by name." He said to his servants, "Come." He walked until he reached that man, whereupon he asked, "What is your name?" "Nebuchadnezzar," he replied; whereupon he said to his servants, "Carry him." They carried him to the house, where the Israelite nursed him until the man recovered, and gave him clothes and adequate support. Then the Israelite announced he was going to leave, and Nebuchadnezzar wept. "Why are you crying?" the Israelite asked. The other man replied, "I am crying because you treated me in this manner, and I find nothing with which to reciprocate." At this, the Israelite said, "Oh yes, I want a slight matter from you: Should you become king, you should obey me."[158] The other man began following him saying, "You are mocking me"—he was prepared to do as requested but he felt that he was being mocked. The Israelite wept, and said, "I know that what prevents you from granting my request is that God wishes to carry out what He decreed and wrote in His scripture."

[656] Fate struck its blow. Ṣayḥūn—the Persian king in Babylon—said, "What if we sent a vanguard to Palestine?" (His advisors) said, "Not a bad [idea]." He then asked, "Whom would you

157. Qur'ān 17:5.

158. *in malakta aṭa'tanī*, "If you become king, you would accede to my wish." In Ṭabarī's commentary on the Qur'ān 15:5–7, vol. XV, 29 (ed. 1954), Ibn Jubayr is quoted for this story. It is evident that there is a confusion of *aṭa'tanī*, "you would obey me," and *a'ṭaytanī*, "you would give or grant me."

consider [sending]?" They said, "Such and such." So he sent a man with an army of a hundred thousand, and Nebuchadnezzar went along in his kitchen, in order to eat his fill. When he arrived in Palestine, the head of the vanguard found that God's country abounded in horses and sturdy men, which made him wary; but he did not investigate (the situation). Nebuchadnezzar began to take part in the councils of the native population, and he would say, "What prevents you from attacking Babylon? If you raided it, you would have access to its wealth." They replied, "We are not good at fighting and do not fight." So he abandoned the councils of the native population. Then the vanguard returned, and its commander informed their king of what he had seen. Nebuchadnezzar began talking to the king's cavalry, "If the king called me, I would inform him otherwise." This was reported to the king who called him in, whereupon Nebuchadnezzar informed him, "When that commander of the vanguard saw that country so rich in horses and sturdy men, he became wary and made no inquiry; but I left no gathering there unattended, and I told them such and such, and they told me such and such"—that is the version of Saʿīd b. Jubayr. The chief of the vanguard then said to Nebuchadnezzar, "You have disgraced me; I'll pay you a hundred thousand (coins) if you withdraw what you said." He replied, "If you gave me Babylon's treasury, I would not withdraw it." [657]

The wheel of fate turned. The king said, "Suppose we send a cavalry detachment to Palestine; and if they find the going easy, let them proceed, and if not, let them wrest from it as much as they can." (His advisors) said, "Not a bad [idea]." Then he asked, "Whom would you consider [sending]?" They said, "Such and such." Said he, "[I would] rather [send] the man who informed me." He called in Nebuchadnezzar, and then dispatched him with four thousand horsemen. They departed, spied out the entire land and captured what they could, but without destroying or killing.

It so happened that Ṣayḥūn died and was being buried. Some said, "Appoint a successor." Others said, "Don't rush! Let your men, your choice cavalry arrive, lest they be resentful." So they tarried until Nebuchadnezzar came with the captives and

the spoils, which he proceeded to distribute among the people. Then they said, "We see nobody more worthy of kingship than he." So they made him king.

Other (Muslim) scholars say that Nebuchadnezzar went out against the Israelites because of a conflict that arose when they killed John, the son of Zechariah.[159]

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159. Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā', that is, John the Baptist.

The Reason Why Nebuchadnezzar Destroyed Jerusalem

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād—Asbāt—al-Suddī, and the chain of authority we mentioned above: Ṣayḥāʾīn dispatched Nebuchadnezzar to wage war on the Israelites when their king slew John the son of Zechariah and word reached Ṣayḥāʾīn about his death.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: According to what I learned, Almighty God appointed over the Israelites, after Isaiah, a man called Josiah b. Amoz. Then God sent them [658] al-Khaḍir[160] as a prophet—his name, as Wahb b. Munabbih asserted on the authority of Israelites, was Jeremiah b. Hilkiah, of the tribe of Aaron.[161]

As for Wahb b. Munabbih, what he related about al-Khaḍir, I heard from Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar al-Bukhārī—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil who said: I heard Wahb b. Munabbih relate. . . .

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—an unquestionable authority: Wahb b. Munabbih al-Yamanī used to tell as follows: Almighty God told Jeremiah when he sent him

160. Also rendered al-Khiḍr. For this prophet, who is a hero of Arabic folklore, see *EI*², s.v. al-Khaḍir.

161. Jeremiah 2:8. Here al-Khaḍir is identified with Jeremiah.

to be a prophet among the Israelites, "Before I created you, I selected you, and before I shaped you in the womb of your mother, I consecrated you, and before I removed you from your mother's womb I purified you, and before you could walk I made you a prophet, and before you reached manhood I tested you, and I elected you for an important task." For Almighty God sent Jeremiah to that king of the Israelites, to instruct and direct him, to bring him the divine message in whatever arose between him and Almighty God.

Then the affairs of the Israelites became grave. They were guilty of acts of disobedience, violated prohibitions, and forgot what God had done for them, and that He had saved them from their enemy Sennacherib and his hosts. Then Almighty God revealed to Jeremiah, "Go to thy people, the Children of Israel, and tell them that which I shall command you; remind them of My favors to them, make known to them their misfortunes."
[659] Jeremiah said, "I am weak, unless You strengthen me. I fail, unless You grant me attainment. I err, unless You instruct me. I am forsaken, unless You help me. I am humble, unless You honor me."

Almighty God replied,

> Do you not know that everything issues from My will, and that all hearts and tongues are in My hands? I turn them at My will, and they obey Me. I am the incomparable God. By My word arose heaven and earth and whatever is in them. I address the seas, and they hearken to My word. I command them, and they comply with My order. I set limits to them in the plain, and there is no violation of My boundary. In mountain-like waves they come but when they reach the limit I have set, in fear and cognizance of My decree, they are enveloped in humbleness of obedience to Me. I am with you, and no evil will come to you while I am with you. I send you to a great host of My creatures, to convey to them My messages. Thereby will you merit the reward of those of them who will hearken to you; it will not be less than their rewards. And, should you fail therein, you will merit the burden of him whom you have left, and in his blindness, no less. Go to your people and

tell them, "God remembers the good of your ancestors. This urged Him to call upon you, O sons, to repent." Ask them, how their fathers found the effect of obedience to Me, and how they found the consequence of disobedience toward Me. Do they know anyone before them who obeyed Me but was wretched in obedience to Me, or was disobedient toward Me, yet prospered in that disobedience? Beasts remembering their goodly domiciles, return to them; but these people graze in the meadows of perdition. Their rabbis and monks took My worshipers as servants, and the people worship them, not Me, and they [the rabbis and monks] judge them not in accordance with My scripture. They made the people ignore Me, forget Me. Their princes and leaders disregard My favor, believe they are safe from My cunning, spurn My scripture, forget My covenant, alter My procedure, and My creatures believe in them with the loyalty due only to Me. The people obey [660] the leaders in disobeying Me, and follow them in heresy against My religion and in insolence, heedlessness and deception toward Me and My messengers. By My majesty, exaltedness, and power! Is it seemly that I create creatures to serve as divinities? Their readers and legists practice devotion in sanctuaries, and display religiosity in erecting them for a deity other than Myself, as they seek worldly advantage in religion. They study there not for knowledge, and learn not for deed. The sons of prophets are outnumbered, overpowered, deluded, "plunge along with the plungers."[162] They desire that I help them as I did their fathers, and honor them as I honored their fathers.

Without truth, thought and consideration they assert that none is worthier thereof than they. They do not remember how their fathers assisted Me, and how they exerted themselves for Me, when heretics wrought alternations. Nor do they remember how their ancestors sacrificed their very lives, how they suffered but believed, until My order prevailed and My religion was victorious. I have been patient with these people—perhaps they will

162. Qur'ān 74:76.

respond. I gave them time, I forgave them—perhaps they will repent. I gave them long life—perhaps they will reflect. I forgave throughout, I gave them rain, and made the earth grow plants for them, granted them health and victory over the enemy. But they merely became more wicked, more removed from Me. How long will they struggle with Me? [How long] will they deceive Me? I swear by My Majesty, that I shall foreordain for them a hardship
[661] that will confuse the forebearing; the sensible man's sense will go astray, and so will the wise man's wisdom. Then shall I give mastery over them to a harsh and violent tyrant, whom I shall clad in awe, and from whose heart I shall remove mercy, compassion and leniency; who will be followed by a host like the blackness of the dark of [the] night, with soldiers like flocks of clouds, and chariots like the raging sea. The flutter of his banners is like the flight of eagles, the attack by his horsemen like the eagles' scream.

Later, Almighty God revealed to Jeremiah, "I shall destroy the Children of Israel at the hand of Japheth." Japheth refers to the people of Babylon who are the progeny of Japheth, the son of Noah. When Jeremiah heard the divine revelation, he cried out and wept, rent his clothes and poured dust on his head,[163] and said, "Cursed be the day wherein I was born,[164] the day I learned the law; my worst day is the one when I was born. I was left to be the last of the prophets only for what is evil unto me. If He wished me well He would not make me the last of the prophets of the Children of Israel. Through me, wretchedness and destruction shall strike."

When God heard al-Khaḍir imploring, crying, and exclaiming, He called unto him, "O Jeremiah, does my revelation grieve you?" He then replied, "Yes, O Lord, destroy me before I see calamity overwhelm the Children of Israel." But Almighty God said, "By My majesty and glory, I shall not destroy Jerusalem and the Children of Israel until the decree comes from

163. These were traditional signs of mourning among the Jews. See Jeremiah 20:14.

164. Jeremiah 20:14–18.

you." Jeremiah rejoiced at hearing what his Lord had said. His soul became uplifted and he replied, "No, by Him who sent the truth through Moses and His prophets, never shall I urge my Lord to destroy the Children of Israel." Then he came to the king of the Children of Israel and announced to him what God had revealed. The king rejoiced at hearing the good news and became jubilant. He said, "Should the Lord chastise us, it [662] would be for the many sins we have perpetrated, but it is within His power to forgive us."

For three years after this revelation they increased their refractory behavior and persevered in their evil ways; all this at the time when their destruction was approaching. They were not thinking of the world to come. Revelation was withheld from them as worldly matters continued to distract them. Their king said to them, "O Children of Israel, desist from these doings before divine force steps in, before God sends against you a people who will have no pity on you; the Lord is close to the repentent." But they refused to desist from any of their behavior.

God moved Nebuchadnezzar b. Nabuzeradan b. Sennacherib b. Darius (Dāryās) b. Nimrod (the one who disputed with Abraham concerning his Lord) b. Peleg b. Eber to proceed to Jerusalem and to accomplish there what his grandfather Sennacherib had intended to do.[165] He set out for Jerusalem with an army of six hundred thousand men. When he departed, the news reached the king of the Israelites, "Nebuchadnezzar and his army have set out to fight you." Then the king sent for Jeremiah. When the prophet arrived, the king said, "O Jeremiah, what about the revelation that God would not destroy the people of Jerusalem except by your urging?" Jeremiah said to the king, "The Lord does not revoke a promise, and I put my trust in Him." When the time approached, and the end of their realm was at hand, and God decided that they should be destroyed, He dispatched an angel to whom He said, "Go to Jere- [663] miah and ask him for his opinion." And (God) instructed him what to ask of Jeremiah. Disguised as an Israelite, the angel

165. For Nimrod, see Genesis 10:8ff.; for Peleg, 10:25. See also Qur'ān 2:260 concerning a dispute with God.

came to Jeremiah. The prophet said to him, "Who are you?" The angel replied, "An Israelite, asking you about a concern of mine." The prophet consented, and the angel said to him, "O Prophet, I came to ask you about my kith and kin whom I have treated kindly in accordance with divine command. I have treated them with kindness throughout, and have not failed to honor them. But the more I honor them, the more they rage against me. Give me your opinion of them, O Prophet." Jeremiah said to him, "Improve relations between yourself and God, treat the relatives in accordance with divine command, and may you be happy." The angel then departed. A few days later he reappeared in the same guise. Jeremiah asked, "Who are you?" "I am the man who came to you to consult you about my kith and kin," he replied. The prophet asked, "Has there been no improvement yet in their attitude? Are you still dissatisfied?" He responded, "O Prophet, by God, I know no manner of honoring relatives which I have not attempted or improved upon." To this Jeremiah then said, "Go back to your people, be good to them, and ask God, who encourages the virtuous, to better your relations, so that all of you will please God and be spared His wrath."

The angel left, and was absent for several days. Nebuchadnezzar and his troops descended upon Jerusalem. They were more numerous than locusts. The Israelites were in terror, and [664] the king of the Israelites was distressed. Summoning Jeremiah, he said, "O Prophet, what of the divine promise?" "I trust the Lord," replied the prophet. Then the angel approached Jeremiah as he was sitting on the wall of Jerusalem, smiling and rejoicing at the promised divine help. He sat down in front of the prophet who asked him, "Who are you?" "I am the one who came to you twice about my relatives," he replied. "Is it not time for them to rouse themselves?" asked Jeremiah. "O Prophet, I have borne with patience all that I suffered from them to this day, although I knew their purpose was to anger me. But when I came to them today, I saw them in an act that will displease God," he said. "What act?" asked Jeremiah. He answered, "O Prophet, a grave act to anger God. Had they continued their previous behavior, my anger would not have become vehement, I would have suffered and hoped; but today I

became furious for the sake of God and of you. So I came to tell you about them, and I ask you, by God who sent you to announce the truth, would you not invoke God to destroy them?" Jeremiah then exclaimed, "O King of heaven and earth, if they are right and just, leave them be, but if they anger and displease You, destroy them." No sooner did the word pass Jeremiah's lips than God sent from heaven a thunderbolt upon Jerusalem. The sacrificial alter caught fire, and the seven city gates collapsed. When Jeremiah saw that, he shouted, rent his garment, poured dust on his head, and exclaimed, "O King of heaven, Most Merciful, where is your promise to me?" Then it [665] was announced (from heaven), "O Jeremiah, what befalls them, comes by your decision announced to Our messenger."

The prophet realized that it was his decision—which he had uttered thrice to the Lord's messenger. He lost his mind and mingled with wild beasts. Nebuchadnezzar with his troops entered Jerusalem, conquered Palestine, slew the Israelites until he annihilated them, and destroyed the temple. He then ordered each of his troops to fill his shield with dust, and to throw it upon the temple. They did so, filling the site. He then left for Babylon, taking the captive Israelites. He ordered all those from Jerusalem to assemble. All young and old Israelites assembled, and he selected from among them a hundred thousand youths. When the booty of his army was sorted and he was about to distribute it among the soldiers, the chieftains (*mulūk*) present said, "O King, take all our booty, and distribute among us (instead) these youths elected by you from among the Israelites." He complied, and each of them was given four youths. Among these were Daniel, Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael. There were also seven thousand of the progeny of David, eleven thousand of the tribe of Joseph and his brother Benjamin, the sons of Jacob, and eight thousand of the tribe of Asher. Included as well were fourteen thousand of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali, four thousand of the tribes of Reuben and Levi, four thousand of the tribe of Judah, and what [666] remained of the Children of Israel.

Nebuchadnezzar divided them into three groups: one-third he left in Palestine, one-third he took into captivity, one-third he slew. He brought the Temple vessels to Babylon, also the

seventy thousand youths. This was the first blow God brought down upon the Israelites for their evildoing and iniquity. When Nebuchadnezzar started out on his way back to Babylon with the Israelite captives, Jeremiah came on his donkey, carrying a vessel of grape juice and a basket of figs. When he reached Jerusalem and saw how it lay in ruins, he began doubting. How would God revive this city after its death? God then caused him to lie dead for a hundred years, with donkey vessel and basket just as they were when he died. God made him invisible. Then God raised him up, saying,[166] "How long have you tarried?" He said, "I have tarried a day, or part of a day." Said He, "No, you have tarried a hundred years. Look at your food and drink—it has not spoiled; and look at your donkey. We shall make you a sign for the people. Look at the bones [of your donkey]—We shall set them up and then clothe them with flesh."

Then Jeremiah looked at his donkey and saw how the veins and nerves were being joined, though the animal had died at the same time as he. Then he saw how God clothed it all with flesh, until it stood up and became animate and brayed. The prophet then looked at his juice and figs, and behold, they were as when he had put them down, unchanged. Confronted with
[667] such divine might, he exclaimed, "I know that God is powerful over everything." Thereupon God gave long life to Jeremiah, and he is seen in the desert areas.

Nebuchadnezzar ruled as long as it pleased God. Then he saw a dream that perturbed him, for he saw a thing that struck him and made him forget what he saw.[167] He summoned Daniel, Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, who were of the seed of prophets, and said, "Explain to me a dream I saw; something struck me and made me forget the dream, yet it amazed me." They said to him, "Tell us about it that we might let you know its interpretation." He said, "I do not remember. If you do not interpret it for me, I shall cut off your shoulders." They left him and prayed to God, imploring His help, and asked Him to let them know the dream. He granted their request. Then they

166. Qur'ān 2:261. See also n. 142.
167. Daniel 2.

came to the king and told him, "You saw a statue." "Right you are," he said. They continued, "Its feet and legs were of clay, its knees and thighs of copper, its belly of silver, the chest of gold, head and neck of iron." "Right indeed!" he said. They continued, "As you were looking at it, it surprised you, but God sent a rock from heaven, and it smashed the statue. It is the rock that made you forget the dream." The king responded, "That is right. But what does it mean?" They said, "It means that you saw the reigns of kings; some were weaker, others better, some stronger. The first reign was of clay, it was the weakest and meekest. Above it was copper—it is the better and the stronger one. Above copper was silver, which excels copper and is finer [668] than it, and above silver was gold which is better and nobler than silver. Next was iron, your realm, the strongest of the kingdoms, and more powerful than any before it. The rock you saw, sent by God from heaven to smash it, points to a prophet God will send from heaven to smash it all, and power will revert unto Him."

The people of Babylon said to Nebuchadnezzar, "Have you seen these Israelite youths whom you gave to us upon our request? By God, we have become estranged from our women since the youths came to stay with us. We saw our women attracted to them, turning toward them. Get them out of our midst, or slay them." The king replied, "As you wish. Whoever prefers to slay those in his possession, let him do so." They removed them but as the youths were led to be slain, they implored God, "O Lord, we are the victims of other people's sins." God had mercy upon them, and promised to revive them after they had been slain. They were slain, except for those Nebuchadnezzar kept alive, among them Daniel, Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael.

When Almighty God wanted Nebuchadnezzar to perish, the latter hastened to address the Israelites in his power, "Do you see this house which I destroyed, and these people I have slain? Who are they, and what house is it?" They said, "It is the house of God, a temple of His, and the people were His people. They were of the seed of the prophets. But they were wicked, and transgressed, showing their disobedience; because of their sins you were made ruler over them. Their Lord is the God of

[669] heaven and earth, and Lord of all human beings. He both grants and deprives them of honor. He makes them powerful, but if their deeds call for it, He destroys them and imposes alien rule over them."

The king then said, "Tell me, what could make me rise to high heaven? Perhaps I shall rise to heaven, slay those who are there, and take it over as my realm. For I am through with the earth and its people." They answered, "You cannot do that; no creature can." And Nebuchadnezzar said, "You must do this or I shall slay you to the last [man]!" They cried to God, imploring Him. To show the king how weak and negligible he was, God sent upon him a gnat that entered his nostril, penetrated his brain, and bit into the very center of the brain, until the king was unable to sit or rest without pain in his head at the center of the brain. When he felt death was close, he said to his retinue, "After I die, split my head open, and find out what it was that killed me." When he died, they split his head open, and found the gnat biting at the very center of this brain, so that God might show men His might and dominion.[168]

God saved the Israelites who were under the king's rule. Taking pity on them, he returned them to Palestine and Jerusalem, and to the sacred Temple. They multiplied, and were more prosperous than ever before. They say—and God knows best—that God revived those who were slain, and that they joined the others. When they returned to Palestine, they had no divine scripture, for the Torah had been seized and burned, and it perished. Ezra, one of the captives in Babylon who re-
[670] turned to Palestine, spent day and night grieving over it, in solitude. While he was in waterless valleys and in the wilderness, grieving over the Torah and weeping, lo and behold, a man approached him as he sat, and (the man) said, "O Ezra, what grieves you?" Ezra said, "I grieve over God's scripture and covenant which was among us, but our transgressions and the Lord's wrath against us came to such a pass that He made our enemy prevail. They slew our men, destroyed our country and

168. The story of the gnat is found also in the rabbinic legends concerning Titus, the Roman emperor who destroyed the Second Temple. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, V. 60, n. 191.

burned our divine book, without which our worldly existence and our life to come has no meaning. What shall I weep over if not this." The man said, "Would you like it to be returned to you?" Ezra asked, "Is that possible?" "Yes," the man replied. "Go back, fast, cleanse yourself, and cleanse your garments. Then be at this place tomorrow."

Ezra went back, cleansed himself and his garments, and went to the appointed place. He sat there, and the man came carrying a vessel filled with water—he was an angel sent by God—and gave Ezra to drink from that vessel. The Torah then presented itself in Ezra's consciousness. Ezra returned to the Children of Israel and set down the Torah for them, so that they might know what it permits and what it prohibits, its patterns, precepts and statutes. They loved it as they had never loved anything before. The Torah was established among them, and with it their cause fared well. Ezra stayed among them to carry out the divine truth. Then he died. In the course of time, the Israelites considered Ezra to be the son of God. God again sent them a prophet, as He did in the past, to direct and teach them, and to command them to follow the Torah.[169]

Others relate, on the authority of Wahb B. Munabbih, different stories about Nebuchadnezzar and the Israelites, and (about) his expedition against them. We omitted them, for the sake of brevity. [671]

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169. Qur'ān 9:30 concerning alleged Jewish claims that Ezra was the son of God.

The Story of Nebuchadnezzar's Raid Against the Arabs

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad: It is mentioned—and God knows best—that the settlement of the Arabs in Iraq, their establishment there, and their taking of al-Ḥīrah and al-Anbār as their domicile, began when God inspired Berechiah b. Hananiah[170] b. Zerubabel b. Shealtiel (Hishām said that al-Sharqī said Shealtiel is the first who made the dish *ṭifshīl*),[171] of the tribe of Judah, saying, "Go to Nebuchadnezzar and command him to raid the Arabs whose houses have no locks, nor gates.[172] Let him conquer their land with soldiers, slay their fighting men, and despoil their wealth. Tell him that they do not believe in Me, that they have taken other deities, and that they deny My prophets and messengers."

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170. The name Hanahiah is uncertain in the text. The editor suggests it follows I Chronicles 3:19.

171. *Ṭifshīl* (the form *ṭafayshal* is also attested) is a dish of grains; see de Goeje, *Glossarium*, p. CCCXLI; Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 48. Persian knows a dish called *tafshīla* (variant forms: *tafshīra*, *tafshara*, etc.), consisting of meat, eggs, carrots and honey, but other ingredients are also mentioned; see *Burhān-i Qāṭi'*, 502. The word seems to be of Aramaic origin, See JAram. *tabshila*, a kind of broth; see Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1646.

172. Jeremiah 49:31 regarding Kedar and Hasor. The Hebrew expression "inhabitants of the tents of Kedar" had become synonymous with the Arabs of the desert.

Berechiah proceeded from Najrān,[173] until he reached Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon—his name was Nebuchad Nazr but the Arabs arabicized it.[174] The prophet announced the revelation, and told him as he was charged. That was at the time of Ma'add b. 'Adnān.[175]

Nebuchadnezzar pounced upon the Arab merchants who were in his land. They used to come to buy and sell, securing grain, figs, clothes, and so forth. He assembled those whom he succeeded in seizing and built an enclosure around them on a sand hill. The king fortified it, concentrated them therein, and appointed guards and watchmen over them. Thereupon he announced the expedition against the Arabs. While the expedition was in preparation, the news spread to the neighboring [672] Arabs. Groups (*ṭawā' if*) of them came out to him suing for peace and guarantees of safety. Nebuchadnezzar consulted Berechiah about them, and the latter said, "Their coming out of their land to meet you before you start to march upon them is a sign of repentence over their practices; accept it and treat them kindly." So Nebuchadnezzar settled them in the Sawād,[176] on the bank of the Euphrates, where they later developed the site of their military encampment into the city of al-Anbār.[177] He left the people of al-Ḥīrah[178] undisturbed, and the Arabs settled there during the lifetime of Nebuchadnezzar. When he died, they joined the people of al-Anbār, and that fenced-off area (al-Ḥīrah) remained a ruin.

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173. Najran, which is situated in the Yaman, was a Christian center in pre-Islamic times.

174. On the form of the name in Arabic, Bukht-Naṣar, see above, n. 136.

175. 'Adnān was the legendary ancestor of the northern Arabs. See *EI*², s.v. 'Adnān.

176. The fertile black land of southern Iraq. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 24.

177. On Anbār see LeStrange, *Lands*, 65f.; *EI*², s.v. al-Anbār. See also F.C. Andreas in *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, Stuttgart, 1893-., I, 1790–1795, s.v. Ambara. Anbār is identified by some scholars with the important Jewish center of learning Pumbedita of the talmudic period. Detailed information in Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, 362ff.

178. Ḥīrah is located southwest of present-day Najaf in Iraq, and was the capital of the Lakhmid dynasty in the pre-Islamic period. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 75f.; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥīra; *CHI* 3(1), 597ff. The most detailed treatment of the history of Ḥīrah is in Rothstein, *Dynastie der Laḫmiden*, 12ff.

Apart from Hisham, another scholar versed in antiquity mentioned that when Ma'add b. 'Adnān was born, the Israelites began slaying their prophets. The last of those slain was John b. Zechariah (the Baptist). This does not include those slain by the men of al-Rass and the people of Ḥaḍūr.[179] When they had the audacity to attack God's prophets, He decreed the destruction of that generation, to whose prophets Ma'add b. 'Adnān belonged. So God set Nebuchadnezzar upon the Israelites. After the destruction of the Temple and the towns, and the dispersion of the Israelites and their captivity in Babylon, the king was urged in a dream—or some prophet was instructed to command him to do it—to enter Arabia, wipe out man and beast, and obliterate it completely, leaving no sign of life there. Nebuchadnezzar concentrated cavalry and infantry
[673] between Aylah and al-Ubullah.[180] They entered Arabia and massacred every living being they had come upon and seized. God had revealed to Jeremiah and Berechiah, "God has warned your people but they did not desist, so after having had a kingdom they became slaves, and after an affluent life, they became beggars. Similarly I warned the people of 'Arabah but they were obstinate. I imposed Nebuchadnezzar's rule over them to take revenge upon them. Now rush to Ma'add b. 'Adnān of whose progeny will be Muḥammad, whom I shall bring forth at the end of time to seal prophethood and lift humility."

Setting out, the two rushed through the land as the earth folded under them miraculously.[181] They preceded Nebuchadnezzar and met 'Adnān who received them, whereupon they rushed him to Ma'add who was then twelve years old. Berechiah carried him on al-Burāq[182] and sat behind him. At

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179. For these evildoers, see Qur'ān 25:40 and 50:12. Ḥaḍūr is also mentioned in Bayḍāwī's commentary of Qur'ān 21:14. See also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 289; III, 73; index, 100.

180. Aylah is in northwest Arabia at the gulf of Akabah. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ayla. For Ubullah, which is in Iraq, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 47. What is implied here is that Nebuchadnezzar ranged his forces east-west all along the border with Arabia.

181. "The earth folded under them" is analogous to the Hebrew *qefiṣath hadderekh*.

182. That is, the wondrous beast of Muhammad's celestial journey to reach a distant sanctuary, interpreted as Jerusalem. See *EI*², s.v. al-Burāḳ.

once they reached Ḥarrān. The earth miraculously folded up and rushed Jeremiah to Ḥarrān.[183] Thus ʿAdnān and Nebuchadnezzar met in battle. Nebuchadnezzar put ʿAdnān to flight, and he proceeded through Arabia down to Ḥāḍūr in pursuit of ʿAdnān. Most of the Arabs of the ʿArabah area gathered at Ḥāḍūr, and the two forces established defensive trenches. . . . Nebuchadnezzar set an ambush, some assert the very first ambush ever. A heavenly voice called out, "Woe to the slayers of the prophets." Swords struck them from behind and in front. They repented their sins and called out in distress. ʿAdnān was prevented from reaching Nebuchadnezzar, and the latter from reaching ʿAdnān. Of those who were not at Ḥāḍūr and had escaped before the defeat split into two groups, one force betook [674] itself to Raysūt[184] under ʿAkk, the other set out for Wabar and a group of settled Arabs.

It is to them that the Qur'ānic passage refers: "How many a city that was evildoing We have shattered [of miscreants; yet when the chastisement descended upon the cities and engulfed them at the last blow, they were about to flee but failed to do so]. Then when they perceived Our might [to take revenge of them], behold, they ran headlong out of it [fleeing; swords struck them in front and from behind]. Run not! [Do not flee!] Return to the luxury that you exulted in, [to the pleasant life for which you were not grateful], and to your dwelling places; haply you shall be questioned."[185]

When they understood what was striking them, they admitted their sins, exclaiming, " 'Alas for us! We have been evildoers.' So they ceased not to cry, until We made them stubble, silent and still [dead and slain by the sword]."

Nebuchadnezzar returned to Babylon with captives from the land of the Arabs (ʿArabah),[186] and placed them at al-Anbār; as a result it was called al-Anbār of the Arabs. Later the Aramaic speakers mingled with them. When Nebuchadnezzar returned, ʿAdnān died, and Arabia remained in ruins during Nebuchad-

183. For Ḥarrān which is in northern Syria, see *EI*², s.v. Ḥarrān.
184. The text reads Raysūb; read Raysūt, as in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 633.
185. Qur'ān 21:11–15.
186. For ʿArabah see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 633.

nezzar's lifetime. After Nebuchadnezzar's death, Ma'add b. 'Adnān marched with the prophets, that is, the prophets of the Israelites, until he came to Mecca. He restored its landmarks and performed the pilgrimage, as did the prophets with him.
[675] He then marched on until he came to Raysūt. Ma'add questioned its people, inquiring about the remnant of the clan of al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Jurhumī—he was the one who had fought Daws al-'Atq. Most of the Jurhum had been wiped out by Daws; however, he was told that Jūsham b. Julhumah was alive. Ma'add married his daughter Mu'ānah, and she bore him Nizār b. Ma'add.

Returning to the Story of Bishtāsb, His Reign and Its Events, Initiated by Him as well as Others, Such as His Governors; Also the Deeds of Nebuchadnezzar

Arab and Persian scholars well-versed in the lore of the ancient peoples say that Bishtāsb, son of Kay Luhrāsb said on this coronation day, "We are directing our thought, activity and knowledge toward everything through which righteousness is secured."

It is said that he built in Fārs the city of Fasā.[187] And in India and elsewhere he built sanctuaries for fire-worship, appointing priests to serve there. It is also said that he set up seven dignitaries,[188] each of them as a king in a region given to him; and it is said that Zoroaster the son of Isfīmān[189] ap- [676]

187. On Fasā see LeStrange, *Lands*, 290 and *EI*², s.v.

188. The motif of the seven highly placed dignitaries in the Persian court who are closest to the person of the king was fairly widespread in antiquity. It occurs, for example, in Esther 1:14. The story of the seven conspirators in the court of the pseudo-Smerdis, one of whom was the future Darius I (Herodotus III:71ff.) may go back to a similar idea. See further Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 437.

189. Zaradusht-i Spitamān is a Middle Iranian form of the name of the founder of the religion of ancient Iran, called in English, following the Greek

peared after thirty years of Bishtāsb's reign. He claimed prophethood and counseled the king to embrace the new faith; the latter at first refrained from doing so, but later gave credence to his claim and accepted his tenets and the scripture which Zoroaster claimed was divinely revealed. It was written on twelve thousand cow skins, that is, carved on skins and painted in gold.[190] Bishtasb sent it to a place called Diz Nibisht in Iṣṭakhr[191] to which he assigned priests. He prohibited teaching it to the rank and file.[192] In those days Bishtāsb kept his peace with Kharzāsf b. Kay Sawāsf,[193] brother of Frāsiyāt, king of the Turks, observing a kind of truce. A condition of that truce was that Bishtāsb should have at the gate of Kharzāsf a royal mount, reserved, as befits royalty.[194] Zoroaster instructed Bishtāsb to break with the Turkish king. Accepting the suggestion, Bishtāsb sent for the horse and the man in charge, and took them over. The news was broken to Kharzāsf who was angered by it—he was a powerful sorcerer. He decided to fight Bishtāsb, and wrote him an insulting and roughly worded message, informing him that a major incident has occurred. He also reproved him for embracing Zoroaster's

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tradition, Zoroaster. The name Zaradusht and some of the legends connected with his person occur quite frequently in Arabic sources. For a survey of the Arabic material see H.S. Nyberg, "Sasanid Mazdaism according to Moslem sources," *JCOI*, 39 (1958), 1–63. For a modern scholarly theory of Zoroaster's life and religious conceptions see M. Boyce, *History of Zoroastrianism*, especially I, 181ff. The traditional materials are collected and analyzed in Jackson, *Zoroaster*.

190. For the legend that the Avesta was written on twelve thousand cow skins, see Nyberg, op. cit., 15ff.

191. Iṣṭakhr is ancient Persepolis, where an important Achaemenid palace and center of government existed. The meaning of the term *diz (i) nibisht* is "the fortress of the writings." An attempt, not entirely convincing, to distinguish two separate traditions in ancient Iran, one connected with Iṣṭakhr and the other with Shīz, in ancient Media, was made by S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester*, esp. 132ff.

192. For the tradition about the secrecy in which the Avesta was to be kept see Shaked, *Proceedings of the Israel Academy*, 3 (1969), 175–221, esp. 187f.

193. On this person, the Sasanian form of whose name was probably Arjasp (the older form was Arejat-aspa) son of Syāwasp, see Justi, *IranNb*, 21f., s.v. Arejadaspa, and 300, s.v. Syāwaspa. See also Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, II, 6.

194. We have evidence for the notion that such a custom existed in the Sasanian court. See S. Shaked, *JSAI*, 7 (1986), 75-91, esp. 79.

faith, and ordered him to extradite Zoroaster or else, he swore, he would attack and shed the blood of Bishtāsb and his house. When the messenger brought the letter to Bishtāsb, the latter assembled his kith and kin and the great men of his realm, among them Jāmāsb,[195] their scholar and reckoner, and Zarīn b. Luhrāsb.[196] Then Bishtāsb wrote the king of the Turks an insulting letter in reply to his message; it declared war and an- [677] nounced that he would not desist even if his rival did. Both were on the move, each with an innumerable fighting force. With Bishtāsb was Zarīn,[197] his brother, Nastur b. Zarīn,[198] Isfandiyār[199] and Bushūtan,[200] the two sons of Bishtāsb, and the men of Luhrāsb. With Kharzāsf were his brothers Jawharmaz[201] and Andirmān[202] his family, and Bidarafsh the sorcerer.[203] In the battles that ensued Zarīn was killed, which grieved Bishtāsb. Zarīn's son Isfandiyār lamented his father in fine music. He slew Bidarafsh in single combat. Fate turned against the Turks, and they lost men heavily. Kharzāsf fled, and Bishtāsb returned to Balkh. Some years later a certain Jurazm[204] slandered Isfandiyār and turned Bishtāsb against him. The king sent Isfandiyār on one campaign after another; then he ordered him to be chained and had him sent to a castle which served as a prison for women.

Bishtāsb went to Kirmān and Sijistān, then to the mountain

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195. Jāmāsp(a) was a famous sage of Iranian antiquity. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 109, s.v. Jāmāsp, No. 2.

196. The reading of the name is uncertain. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 378, s.v. Zaęnigâ, and 41, s.v. Aurwadaspa.

197. A corruption of Zarēr. See Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, II, 2; Justi, *Iran Nb*, 382, s.v. Zairiwari; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 105.

198. The correct form of the name is probably Bastwar b. Zarēr. See Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, II, 3; Justi, *Iran Nb*, 65, s.v. Bastawairi; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 105.

199. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 308, s.v. Spentōdāta, No. 1. The correct form of the name, as given by Justi, means "adhering to the holy (or bounteous) law."

200. That is, Peshōtan. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 251, s.v. Peschotanu.

201. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 112, s.v. Gauhormizd.

202. For Andirmān see above, n. 59.

203. More details about this person in Justi, *Iran Nb*, 368, s.v. Widrafš.

204. The text reads Jurazm; the name should be read Kurazm, one of the sons of Vishtāspa. The Avestan form of the name is Kavarazem. See Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes*, II, Paris, 1883, 230f.; Justi, *IranNb*, 159, s.v. Kawarazem; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 117.

[678] Ṭamīdhar[205] to study his religion and perform acts of devotion. He left his father Luhrāsb in the city of Balkh, an old man and invalid; his treasures, his wealth and his women he left with his wife Khaṭūs.[206] Spies carried the news to Kharzāsf; upon receiving it, he rallied innumerable troops and marched from his land toward Balkh, in the hope of taking advantage of Bishtāsb and conditions in his realm. As he reached the border of the kingdom of Fārs, he sent ahead Jawhurmuz, his brother, who was to succeed him as king, with a large fighting force. He sent him with an order to speed towards the center of the kingdom, smite the people, and attack villages and towns. Jawhurmuz acted accordingly and spilled blood, committing untold infamies. Kharzāsf followed suit; he burned the archives, slew Luhrāsb and the priests, destroyed the fire-worship sanctuaries, seized the wealth and treasures, and captured two daughters of Bishtāsb, one called Khumānī[207] and the other Bādhāfrah.[208] Among the things seized was the great banner called *dirafsh-e-kābyān*.[209] He pursued Bishtāsb, who kept fleeing until he finally took up a fortified position in that region, near Fārs, in the mountain known as Ṭamīdar. Bishtāsb was hard-hit by adversity. It is said that when the situation became desperate, he sent Jāmāsb to Isfandiyār to set him free from his detention and rush him to the king. When Isfandiyār was brought in, the king apologized and promised to crown him and treat him as Luhrāsb had treated him (that is, Bishtāsb). He put him in charge of the army and of fighting Kharzāsf.

When Isfandiyār heard his words, he forgave the king. He

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205. There are a number of variants listed for this name in the manuscripts of Ṭabarī, among them Tindhar and Tahmandar, but none seems to be connected to a known locality. The name may possibly be reconstituted as Tahm(ān)-diz, "the Fortress of the Brave."

206. The name of Vishtāspa's wife as attested in the Iranian sources is Hutaosa. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 139, s.v. Hutaosa; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 70. She was, like her husband, of the Naotarya family (some sources present her as his sister, in accordance with the Iranian custom of incestuous marriages).

207. He is known as Huma or Huma'i in the Zoroastrian and late Iranian traditions. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 131; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 72.

208. The name, according to Firdawsi, is Weh-āfrīd, which means "created well." See Justi, *IranNb*, 348, s.v. Wanuhi-āfriti; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 72.

209. See above, n. 47.

rose[210] and immediately took charge of the army review and selection and of all the urgent matters. He spent the night occupied with the mobilization. At dawn he ordered the trumpets sounded; the soldiers assembled, and he led them against the Turks' position. When the Turks saw his army, they rushed out to face it. Among them were Jawhurmuz and Andirmān. Fighting flared up between the opposing forces. Isfandiyār, spear in hand, struck like lightning amidst the people, eager to pounce upon the enemy. Soon enough he made a mighty breach in their position. The rumor now spread among the Turks that Isfandiyār had been released from prison, and they took flight in panic. Isfandiyār pressed forward, regained the great banner, and carried it unfurled. When he came before Bishtāsb, the latter was delighted by his victory and ordered him to pursue the enemy. One of his directives was to slay Kharzāsf, if possible, in retribution for Luhrāsb's death, and to slay Jawhumuz and Andirmān as revenge for the death of the princes. Moreover, he was to destroy the Turks' fortress and put the torch to their cities. He was to slay their inhabitants in order to avenge the followers of the faith whom they had killed; and he was to save the captives. Bishtāsb sent along with him the generals and chieftains needed.

They say that Isfandiyār entered the land of the Turks from a direction never before attempted, and that in controlling the army, killing wild beasts, and striking the 'Anqā',[211] he performed unparalleled feats. He forced his way into the Turkish [680] city named Dizru'īn[212] which in Arabic means "the one of brass." He killed the king, his brothers and fighters, seized the king's wealth, captured his women, saved his two captive sisters, and reported the victory to his father. After Isfandiyār, the greatest share in that battle fell to his brother Fashūtan, to Ādarnūsh,[213] and to Mahrīn, the son of his daughter.[214]

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210. An account of the war led by Isfandiyār, based on the various sources, is in Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 116f.

211. For this fabulous bird see *EI*², s.v. al-'Anḳā'.

212. Diz-rūyīn, or, as the name is given in the *Shāhnāmah*, Rūyīn-diz, means "the brazen fortress."

213. Ādarnūsh occurs under the form Nūsh-Ādar in the *Shāhnāmah*. See

It is said that they reached the city only after crossing mighty rivers—the Kāsrūd, the Mihrūd,[215] and another of their mighty rivers. It is also said that Isfandiyār entered a city called Wahishtkank[216] which belonged to Frāsiyāt, and that he subjugated the land (of the Turks), reaching its farthest limits, up to Tibet and the Ṣūl Gate.[217] After that he divided up the land and, upon the conclusion of peace, entrusted each region to a Turkish dignitary, and he set the tribute due annually from each of them to Bishtāsb. Thereupon he retired to Balkh. Furthermore, it is said that Bishtāsb envied his son Isfandiyār for the valor he displayed, and therefore he sent him to Rustam in Sijistān.

[681] According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī: Bishtāsb declared that his son Isfandiyār would succeed to the throne. He sent Isfandiyār to wage war against the Turks, and the crown prince returned victorious to his father. The latter said, "This man Rustam is in the very midst of our land; he is disobedient because he claims that Qabūs has released him from submission to the empire. Therefore go to him and bring him to me." Isfandiyār rode out to Rustam and fought him, but Rustam killed Isfandiyār.[218]

Bishtāsb died after a reign of 112 years.

An author mentions that an Israelite by the name of Samī, who was a prophet, was sent to Bishtāsb. He set out to meet him at Balkh, and entering the city he met Zoroaster, the Magian teacher, and the learned Jāmāsb b. Qaḥad. Samī spoke in Hebrew; Zoroaster knew that tongue and recorded in Persian

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Justi, *Iran Nb*, 17, s.v. Anōš (under Anōšādar); Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 113. The name means "immortal fire" or "possessor of immortal fire."

214. Mahrīn (Mahrēn or rather Mihrēn) is unknown from parallel sources. The translation given here, "son of his daughter" is doubtful.

215. For Kāsrūd see above, n. 35. The river Mihrūd is probably the same as Mihrā(n) Rūd, occurring in the Bundahishn. See Markwart, *Wehrot*, 97ff., 113.

216. This toponym should be read Wahisht-kang. The form given in the *Shāhnāmah* is Kang-i bihisht. See Nöldeke, *Nationalepos*, 168; Markwart, *Wehrot*, 165.

217. Ṣūl is a city near Derbend in the Caucasus. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.

218. On this episode as it is told in the *Shāhnāmah* see Nöldeke, *Nationalepos*, 166; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 121.

what Samī was saying in Hebrew. Jāmāsb joined them, and that is why Jāmāsb was called "the Learned."[219]

A Persian authority asserts that Jāmāsb was the son of Qaḥad b. Hū[220] b. Hakāw[221] b. Nadhkaw b. Fars b. Raj b. Khurasraw b. Manūshihr the King; and that Zoroaster was the son of [682] Yūsīsf[222] b. Fardwāst b. Urudaḥd b. Mabjadsaf b. Jakhshanash b. Fatarasf b. Alhadī b. Hardān b. Saqmān b. Bidasht b. Adrā b. Raj b. Khurasraw b. Manūshihr. [683]

It is said that Bishtāsb and his father Luhrāsb embraced the religion of the Sabians,[223] until Samī and Zoroaster came to Bishtāsb with their tenets. This occurred after thirty years of his reign had elapsed. This authority said that Bishtāsb's reign lasted 150 years; he was one of those who considered Bishtāsb one of the seven noble men whom they call Bihkanid.[224] Bishtāsb lived in Dihistān of Jurjān and was a contemporary of Falhawī who dwelled at Māh Nihāwand, of Sūrīn Falhawī who dwelled in Sijistān, and of Isfandiyār Falhawī who dwelled at al-Rayy.[225]

Others say Bishtāsb ruled for 120 years.

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219. This story, like the tradition about Zoroaster being identical with Baruch, Jeremiah's secretary, combines Iranian and Jewish traditions. The prophet Samī is unknown from other sources.

220. Hū is probably a form of Hvogva, Hvova, one of the prominent people of the early Zoroastrian period. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 140, s.v. Hwogwa. His son's name is unclear; it could be read Fhd, etc.

221. Hakāw is possibly Jakāw. The following names are not clear.

222. Yūsīsf is quite likely to be a corruption of Bushtāsf, a variant form of Wishtāsp.

223. The Sabians are mentioned in Qur'ān 2:59; 5:73; 22:17. The pre-Islamic group mentioned in these passages were perhaps the Mandaeans of Iraq. In Islamic times down to the eleventh century the term applied to a group centered in Ḥarrān whose religion consisted of an amalgam of ancient pagan elements, especially star worship, with philosophical interpretations. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣaba'iyya; Tardieu, *JA*, 274 [1986], 1-44.

224. The reading of the word is uncertain. For the idea of the seven noble men in the Persian court see above, n. 188.

225. For these locations see LeStrange, *Lands*, 379ff.; 196ff.; 334ff.; 214ff.

The Account of the Kings of the Yaman in the Days of Qābūs, And After Him, to the Age of Bahman b. Isfandiyār.

Abū Ja'far says: As reported previously, some assert that Qābūs lived in the age of Solomon the son of David. We have also mentioned the kings of the Yaman in the age of Solomon, and the story of Bilqīs, the daughter of Īlsharah.[226]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī: After Bilqīs, kingship over the Yaman went to Yāsir b. 'Amr b. Ya'fūr who
[684] was called Yāsir An'am. He was named Yāsir An'am (the Gracious) because of the gifts he bestowed upon them, which strengthened their realm and their loyalty.

The people of the Yaman assert that he conducted raids westward until he reached a dried out river bed (*wādī*) called Wādī al-Raml which had never been reached by anybody before him. Once there, he found no passage beyond it, so abundant was the sand (*raml*). However, while staying there, the sand opened up. He then ordered a man of his house, 'Amr by name,

226. That is, the Queen of Sheba who visited Solomon. See I Kings 10; Qur'ān 27:20–45. The story of their meeting receives wide prominence in the Arabic *Isrā'iliyyāt* literature. See *EI*[2], s.v. Bilḳīs. Abū Ja'far-Ṭabarī, the author.

to cross with his companions. They crossed but did not return. Seeing that, he ordered a copper statue to be cast and set on a rock at the edge of the valley, and on its chest it carried an inscription in South-Arabian, "This is the statue of Yāsir An'am of Ḥimyar. There is no passage beyond it. Let no person attempt it lest he perish."

After him ruled a king (*tubba'*), that is, Tibān As'ad, the father of Karib b. Malkī Karib Tubba' b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Tubba', that is, Dhū al-Adh'ār, the son of Abrahah Tubba' Dhī al-Manār b. al-Rā'ish b. Qays b. Ṣayfī b. Saba'. He was called al-Rā'id.[227]

This king lived in the days of Bishtāsb and Ardashīr Bahman [685]
b. Isfandiyār b. Bishtāsb. He emerged from the Yaman on the road taken by al-Rā'ish (and travelled) until he reached two mountains of the Ṭayyi'. He then marched toward al-Anbār, but when he reached al-Ḥīrah—this was at night—he became confused (*taḥayyara*) and stopped, and that place was named al-Ḥīrah.[228] He left some men there of the tribes of the Azd,[229] Lakhm Judhām, 'Āmilah, and Quḍā'ah. They built it up and remained there. Later they were joined by people from the tribes of the Ṭayyi', Kalb, Sakkūn, Balḥārith b. Ka'b and Iyad. The king advanced to al-Anbār, then to Mosul, and then to Ādharbayjan, where he encountered the Turks. He put them to flight, slaying their fighting men and capturing the children. Following this, he returned to the Yaman where he spent many years; the kings held him in awe and respect, and they brought him gifts.

A messenger of the king of India came to him with gifts and presents of silk, musk, aloe and other precious products of India. He saw things the like of which he had not seen before, and said, "My, is all that I see found in your country?" The messen-

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227. *Tubba'* was the title of the kings of the Yaman. Most of the following accounts have their origins in the Alexander Romance. See Friedländer, *Chadirlegende*; Nagel, *Alexander der Grosse in der frühislamischen Volksliteratur*.

228. The pun indicates that the name of al-Ḥīrah is derived from the root *ḥ-y-r*, "to get confused."

229. On the Azd and many of the other Arab tribes mentioned in these pages see the relevant entries in *EI*.

ger replied, "Bless you, some of what you see is available in our country; most of it is from China." The messenger then described China to the king: its vastness, fertility, and the extent of its borders. The king swore to conquer it. He set out at the head of the Ḥimyar along the coast, until he reached al-Rakā'ik[230] and the wearers of black headgear. He sent one of his men—a man called Thābit—with a large force to China. However, Thābit was wounded; so the king (himself) proceeded until he entered China. He killed its defenders and
[686] plundered what he found there. They assert that his expedition to China, his stay there, and the return took seven years, and that he left in Tibet twelve thousand horsemen from Ḥimyar. They are the people of Tibet, and assert nowadays that they are Arabs. They are Arabs in constitution and pigmentation.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā—Mūsā b. Talḥah: A king (*tubba'*) set out with a few Arabs until they lost their way outside (what is now) Kūfah. It became one of the stations where some infirm men remained. It was called Ḥīrah because they had lost their way (*taḥayyur*). The king proceeded on his way but later returned to them. In the meantime, they had built up the place as a permanent settlement. The king left for the Yaman but they stayed on, and among them were people from all the Arab tribes such as Banū Liḥyān, Hudhayl, Tamīm, Ju'fī, Ṭayyi', and Kalb.[231]

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230. Al-Rakā'ik is not a known place name. It may be regarded as a plural form of the adjective which means "shallow-minded".

231. On these tribes see the appropriate entries in *EI*.

The Account Concerning Ardashīr Bahman and His Daughter Khumānī

Bishtāsb was succeeded by his grandson Ardashir Bahman. They say that on his coronation day he said, "We uphold loyalty and we compensate our subjects generously." He was called Ardashīr the Mighty,[232] and was nicknamed thus, so it is said, because he took whatever was within reach in the surrounding kingdoms, and thus ruled all the climes. It is said [687] that he built a city in the Sawād and named it Ābād Ardashīr. This is the village known (today) as Humaniyyah on the Upper Zāb.[233] In the Tigris region he built a city and named it Bahman Ardashīr, which is (today) Ubullah.[234] He set out for Sijistān to avenge his father, slew Rustam and Rustam's father

232. The term used in Arabic, *al-ṭawīl al-bā'*, may be translated "powerful", as done here. The original Persian term *darāz-dast*, which literally means, like the Arabic expression, "of long hands, longimanus," signifies "oppressive, rapacious." See Bal'amī, *Tārīkh*, 683.

233. The place name Abād-Ardashīr, which means "the inhabited place of Ardashīr," in not preserved. The text has *Humayniya*, to be read *Humayniyya*, also known as Humaniyyah, possibly from the Iranian divine name Wahuman. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 37; O. Blau, *ZDMG*, 27 (1873), 295–363, esp. 325; T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 28 (1874), 93–102, esp. 94 n. 1.

234. On al-Ubullah, ancient Apologos, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 46f.; Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, 253f.

Dastān, his brother Azwārah,[235] and his son Faramurz.[236] Ardashīr levied huge taxes to maintain the army and to sustain the clergy, the fire sanctuaries and so forth. He was the father of Darius (Dārā) the Great and Sāsān,[237] the progenitor of the other Persian kings, that is, Ardashīr son of Bābak, and his sons. Khumānī,[238] the daughter of Bahman, was the mother of Darius.

Hishām b. Muḥammad relates: After Bishtāsb, there ruled Ardashīr Bahman b. Isfandiyār b. Bishtāsb. He was, as they mention, humble, and well liked. His messages were issued, "From Ardashīr, worshiper of God, servitor of God who guides your affairs." It is said that with a million soldiers he waged war on the invading Romans. A source other than Hishām reports: Bahman died before the birth of Darius. Khumānī was made queen, out of gratitude to her father Bahman, and the kings of the earth continued to pay tribute to Bahman. He is said to have been the most distinguished and successful Persian king; his writings and messages excelled those of Ardashīr and his age.

[688] Bahman's mother was Astūryā, that is Esther, the daughter of Jair[239] b. Shimei b. Kish b. Misha b. King Saul (Ṭālūt) b. Kish b. Abiel b. Zeror b. Beçorath b. Aphiah b. Jesse b. Benjamin b. Jacob b. Isaac b. Abraham, God's friend. The mother of Bahman's son was the slave Rahab bint Pinchas, of the children of Rehoboam b. Solomon b. David. Bahman appointed Rahab's brother Zerubabel b. Shealtiel king over the Israelites, transferred to him the office of the exilarch, and returned him to Palestine, upon Rahab's request.[240] Bahman died and left (the following) offspring: two sons, Darius the Great and Sāsān, and daughters Khumānī, who ruled after him, and Franik[241]

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235. The name Azwārah occurs as Zuwārah or Zawārah in the *Shāhnāmah*. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 337, s.v. Uzwārak.

236. Faramurz occurs in the *Shāhnāmah* with a long vowel in the second syllable. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 90.

237. These persons occur further on in the book.

238. On Khumānī see Justi, *Iran Nb*, 132, s.v. Huma, No. 2.

239. In Jewish sources Mordechai is listed as the son of Jair. See Esther 2:5; I Samuel 9:1. See also Ginzberg, *Legends*, VII, 320.

240. Ezra 2:2; 3:2,8.

241. Text reads Farīk; Franik seems to be the reading to be preferred here (the

and Bahman Dukht.[242] "Bahman" translated into Arabic means "the well-intentioned.[243] He ruled for 112 years. As for Hishām b. al-Kalbī, he says that Bahman's reign lasted eighty years.

Khumānī, Bahman's daughter, succeeded to the throne. As some authorities mentioned, they made her queen out of love for her father Bahman, out of gratitude for his benevolence, and because of her excellent mind and beauty, and her vigor and valor. She was nicknamed Shahrāzād.[244] [689]

One authority said that Khumānī reigned after her father Bahman. When she was pregnant with Darius the Elder, she asked Bahman to crown the yet unborn child and grant him preference to the throne. He complied, and made the unborn child crown prince. Sāsān,[245] Bahman's other son, was at the time an adult, and had no doubt as to his future kingship. But when Sāsān saw what his father had done in this respect, he traveled to Iṣṭakhr, became an ascetic, and abandoned his earlier life-style. He practiced piety, acquired some sheep, and he himself tended his animals. The people considered his behavior disgraceful, and were shocked by it. They said, "Sāsān has become a shepherd." This is why people connected him to shepherding.[246] Sāsān's mother was the daughter of Sheal-

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third consonant is uncertain in the manuscripts). See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 106, s.v. Freni, No. 8.

242. Bahman-dukht simply means "the daughter of Bahman" and does not look like a genuine personal name. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 375, s.v. Wohu-Mananh (Ableitungen und Zusammensetzungen No. 2).

243. Bahman is a late development of the form Vohu Manah, which means "possessor of a good mind." It is the name of one of the Amahraspands, the divine beings forming the retinue of Ohrmazd. A man who possesses this quality and in whom Bahman dwells is, among other things, peaceful and generous, and he helps the poor (see Shaked, *Wisdom*, 29, para. 78).

244. The proper form of this name, as can be seen from the variants and the parallel versions, is Chihrāzād, which means approximately "one whose countenance is noble." The name is derived from an epithet of the goddess Anahita. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 163, s.v. Čihrāzād.

245. Sāsān is the reputed ancestor of the Sasanian dynasty, that ruled Iran from about A.D. 224 to the Arab conquest. The story of Sāsān as given here and in other sources makes him a direct descendant of the Achaemenids. This is done at the cost of ignoring the centuries which separate Darius (522–486 B.C.) from Ardashīr, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty. On the name Sāsān see Frye, *History*, 284f.; *CHI* 3(1), 116f.

246. The romance of Ardashīr, describing the origins of the dynasty of the

tiel(?) b. Jochanan b. Oshia b. Amon b. Manasseh b. Hezekiah b. Ahaz b. Jotham b. Uzziah b. Joram b. Jehoshaphat b. Abijah b. Rehoboam b. Solomon b. David.

They say that Bahman died before his son Darius was born to Khumānī; she gave birth to Darius a few months after she ascended to the throne. She refused to expose the matter. She therefore put the child in a coffer and floated it on the Kurr River of Iṣṭakhr, adding a precious jewel.

[690] Another source says: It was the Balkh River, and the coffer reached a miller of Iṣṭakhr who had lost a young child. When the man found the coffer, he brought it to his wife, and she rejoiced in the child because he was beautiful and because the thing that was found along with him was precious. They nursed him. Later, when the boy grew up, the incident became known, and Khumānī admitted her wrongdoing in exposing him to danger. When he matured, he was tested and was found extremely well endowed with princely character. She then transferred the crown to him, and he took charge of the realm.

Khumānī left, settled in Fārs, built the city of Iṣṭakhr, and sent army after army against Rome. She was victorious, subduing enemies, while preventing them from seizing any of her territory. The subjects enjoyed prosperity and comfort during her reign. When Khumānī raided Roman territory, many prisoners were taken and brought to her country. She ordered the builders among them to build for her within the area of Iṣṭakhr, tall, wondrous Roman-type structures. One of these is in Iṣṭakhr; another is on the through route to Darābjird, a *farsakh* (six km) from this city; the third, four *farsakh*s (twenty-four km) away on the road to Khurāsān.[247] She sought to please Almighty God, and was granted aid and victory. She eased the burden of taxation on her subjects. Her reign lasted thirty years.

Sasanians, makes him grow up as a shepherd, his royal descent being at first unrecognized.

247. For Dārābjird see LeStrange, *Lands*, 288f., 294, 296.

The History of the Israelites and the Synchronization of Their Chronological Data with Those of the Persian Kings [691]

We have previously mentioned that some of the Israelite captives who were brought by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylonia went to Jerusalem, and that this happened in the days of Cyrus b. Ahasuerus and during Cyrus's reign in Babylonia on behalf of Bahman b. Isfandiyār during Bahman's lifetime. It continued for years after Bahman's death in the reign of his daughter Khumānī. We also mentioned that Khumānī lived twenty-six years after the death of Cyrus b. Ahasuerus. In all, her reign was thirty years. The period during which Jerusalem lay in ruins, from the destruction by Nebuchadnezzar to its rebuilding, was seventy years, according to the Jews, the Christians, and scholars of history. All of the period falls partly in the days of Bahman b. Isfandiyār b. Bishtāsb b. Luhrāsb, and partly in the days of Khumānī, as explained previously in the present work.

Some have asserted that Cyrus (Kīrash) was actually Bishtāsb. But others deny this, saying: Kay Arash[248] was, rather,

248. The name of Cyrus was not preserved in the Iranian historical and legendary sources available to Ṭabarī and his contemporaries. It occurs in the biblical account of the rebuilding of Jerusalem after the Babylonian exile. Ṭabarī, or one of the authorities on which he relies, tries to harmonize the Jewish and Iranian accounts by identifying Cyrus either with Bishtāsb (Wishtāspa), a his-

the uncle of Bishtāsb's grandfather; or, Kay Arash was the brother of Kayqāwus b. Kayabiwah b. Kayqubādh the Great, and King Bishtāsb was the son of Kayluhrāsb b. Kayujī b. Kaymanūsh b. Kayqāwus b. Kayabiwah b. Kayqubādh the Great. Kay Arash never reigned; he was merely appointed to rule Khuzistān and the contiguous Babylonian territory on behalf of
[692] Kayqāwus and on behalf of Kaykhusraw b. Siyāwakhsh b. Kayqāwus, and, after that, on behalf of Luhrāsb. He (Cyrus) had a long life and was a man of great consequence. When Jerusalem was rebuilt and its people, the Israelites, returned there, Ezra was among them. I have already described what happened to him and to the Israelites. The ruler over them was an appointee of the Persians, either a Persian or an Israelite. This was the case until their region came under the rule of the Greeks and the Romans following the victory of Alexander, and the assassination of Darius, the son of Darius (the Elder). All occurred, it is said, within a period of eighty-eight years.

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torical ancestor of Darius, or with Kay Arash, whose name sounds similar enough to Koresh (the Hebrew form of the name Cyrus).

The Account of Darius [Dārā] the Elder and His Son Darius the Younger. How He Perished and the Account of Alexander [Dhū-l-Qarnayn][249]

Darius b. Bahman b. Isfandiyār b. Bishtāsb became king. He was nicknamed Jihrāzād,[250] meaning, noble-natured. They say that he dwelt in Babylon, that he sternly administered his realm, and that he subdued the kings around him and they paid him tribute. He built in Fārs a city which he called Darābjird. He cut the tails of the riding beasts (that carried) the royal mail[251] and arranged the animals in proper order. He was amazed by his son Darius. Because of his love for him, he named him after himself and designated him as successor to the throne. He had a wazīr, Rastīn[252] by name, a man of fine mind. But intrigue and enmity arose between Rastīn and a youth called Bīrī[253] who was raised with the younger Darius. [693]

249. See n. 227 above.

250. This is the same name as Shahrāzād, discussed above, n. 244.

251. On the postal system in the Parthian period, see *CHI* 3(1), 564.

252. The name is unpointed, but is probably to be read as Rashnīn. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 259, s.v. Rašnīn.

253. Perhaps, as surmised by Justi, *Iran Nb*, 252, s.v. Pīrī, this is to be read Pīrī.

Rastīn slandered him to the king, and it is said that the king gave Bīrī a drink from which he died. The prince bore a grudge against the wazīr and the group of military commanders who had supported the wazīr against Bīrī. Darius reigned for twelve years.

He was succeeded by his son, Darius b. Darius b. Bahman. His mother was Māhiyāhind[254] the daughter of Hazārmard[255] b. Bihradmah. At his coronation Darius said, "We shall neither force anyone into the abyss of destruction, nor hold back one who tumbles into it." It is said that he built the city of Dārā (Darius) in the Jazīrah. He employed Bīrī's brother and made him wazīr, because of his sympathy for him and his brother. But the wazīr instigated the king against his aides and induced him to kill a number of them. This angered the notables and the public, and they loathed the king who was a heedless, excitable, malicious, and violent young man.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad: After Darius b. Ardashīr, his son Darius ruled for fourteen years. He mistreated his subjects and slew their leaders, and Alexander attacked him at that time. The people of his realm were fed up with him and
[694] detested him, and they wished to be rid of him. Many of their leaders and dignitaries joined Alexander. By exposing Darius's weak points, they strengthened the invader. In the Jazīrah, the contenders met and battled for a year. Then some of the intimates of Darius pounced upon him, slew him, and brought his head to Alexander. He ordered that they be put to death, saying, "This is the reward for him who dares an attempt on his king's life." Alexander married Darius's daughter, Rūshanak. He invaded India and the lands to the east, after which he withdrew, intending to go to Alexandria. But he died in the region of the Sawād, and his remains were taken to Alexandria in a gold casket—his reign had lasted fourteen years. Greek rule

254. The correct reading of the name is probably Māh-(A)nāhīd, combining two divine names into a compound personal name, "Moon-Anāhitā (= Venus)." See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 187, s.v. Māh-nāhīd (where a different explanation of the name is given).

255. Hazārmard may mean "equal to a thousand men." See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 128. The father's name should be read Bih-dād-māh, the first part signifying "follower of the Good Law." Māh (Mah) may mean either "moon" or "greater".

had become centralized, whereas before Alexander it was dispersed; (on the other hand) Persian rule was dispersed, whereas before Alexander it had been centralized.

According to a source other than Hishām: When Darius's son Darius became king, he ordered a vast city to be built in the Jazīrah, and he named it Dāranawā—it is called Dārā[256] today. He also reports that Darius built and equipped it with everything necessary, and that Philip, the father of Alexander the Greek, reigned over a Greek land known as Macedonia and other lands that he had occupied. He concluded a peace treaty with Darius, under which he paid an annual tribute to the latter. Philip died, and his son Alexander succeeded him, but he did not send the tribute that his father used to send. This brought the wrath of Darius upon him; Darius wrote to him upbraiding him for the misdeed of stopping the payment of the [695] tribute his father used to pay, and so forth, and (saying) that it was youth and ignorance that led him to withhold what his father used to send in tribute. Darius sent to Alexander a polo mallet (*sawlajān*), a ball, and a load of sesame. In a written message he stated that Alexander was a boy, and that he should play with the polo mallet and ball, but not function or parade as a king. Should he not confine himself to this order, and should he assume kingship and rebel, then he, Darius, would send an emissary to fetch him in shackles; and (he stated) that the soldiers of Darius were as numerous as the grains of sesame (he) sent to Alexander.

In reply, Alexander wrote to Darius that he understood the message. (He said) that he had looked at the polo mallet and the ball sent to him, and saw therein a good omen (that is, he would) throw the thrower of the ball to the mallet, and drag him with the ball. He likened the earth to the ball, and declared that he would drag the realm of Darius to his own kingdom and country, (and this) into his domain. In the same light, he viewed the sesame sent to him; although abundant, it was neither bitter nor pungent. Along with his letter, he sent Darius a sack of mustard and told him that what he was sending was small in size but that in pungency, bitterness and [696]

256. On Dārā see LeStrange, *Lands*, 96.

strength, it equalled the gift of sesame, and that his army fully answered this description.

When Alexander's message reached Darius, the latter assembled his army and prepared to fight Alexander, who in turn made preparations and set out toward the land of Darius. The news thereof reached Darius who advanced to meet him. The two forces met and engaged in the fiercest of battles; and fate turned against the army of Darius. Two men of his guard—it is said they were of Hamadhān—stabbed him from behind and dragged him from his saddle. They expected thus to gain Alexander's favor and good grace, but Alexander had announced that Darius should be captured but not slain. When Alexander was informed of the fate of Darius, he went to meet him, and saw that he was about to die. Alexander dismounted, sat by the head of Darius, and told him that it had never occurred to him to slay him, and that what happened was not of his initiative. He said to Darius, "Ask me for whatever you wish, and I shall help you." Whereupon Darius said to him, "I have two requests. First, take revenge upon the two who assaulted me," and he named them and their province; "second, marry my daughter Rūshanak." Alexander granted both requests. By his order, the two men who attacked Darius were crucified; and he married Rūshanak.[257] He penetrated the realm of Darius and became its ruler.

Some authorities on ancient history assert that this Alexander who fought the younger Darius was a rebellious brother of his and that the older Darius had married Alexander's
[697] mother, the daughter of the Greek king, and that her name was Helen (Hali).[258] She was carried to her husband, the elder Darius, but when he found her foul of odor and perspiration, he sought a way to counter it. Authorities agreed that she was to be treated with an emulsion of a tree called *Sandar* in Persian. It was steamed and she bathed in it, and much of the foul odor was removed, but not all of it. Because of that he refrained from being with her. Finding her loathsome, he returned her to her

people. She had become pregnant by him, however, and gave birth while among her people, to a boy. She named him after herself and after the tree in whose effusion she had bathed in order to cure her malodorousness—Helen-Sandarus. Such is the origin of the name Alexander.

Darius the Elder died, and his son Darius the Younger took over. The Greek kings had paid annual tribute to Darius the Elder When the Greek king, Helen's father and Alexander's maternal grandfather, passed away kingship passed to his daughter's son, and Darius the Younger sent him the customary reminder, "You are late in paying us the usual tribute, which was also paid by your predecessor. Send us the tribute of your country or we shall declare war upon you." But the reply that reached him was, "I slaughtered the hen, ate its meat, and only the extremities remained. If you wish, we shall leave you in peace; but if you wish, we shall come forth against you." Thereupon, Darius loathed him and came forth to do battle with him.

When the kings met in battle, two chamberlains of Darius stabbed him, and Alexander sentenced the two chamberlains (*ḥājib*) for the assassination. They had acted on their own, and (thus) failed to secure their (own) safety. Alexander found Darius smitten and he dismounted seeing the king in the throes of death. Wiping the dust from the face of Darius, he [698] eased his head onto his lap and told him, "It is your two chamberlains who have killed you; I would like you, O noblest, most generous King of Kings, to have been spared this fate. Enjoin me whatever you may wish." Darius then requested that Alexander should marry his daughter Rūshanak; that he should take her unto himself, and perpetuate Persian nobility, and not impose foreign rule upon the Persian nobility. Alexander accepted his testament and acted accordingly. Then the two assassins of Darius came to Alexander, who decided their fate. He said to them, "I am fulfilling your stipulation (for reward) but there was no stipulation about your lives. I am putting you to death; for it is proper that assassins of kings should not be spared unless it be under inviolable guarantee." So he had them put to death.

Some mention that the Greek king in the days of Darius the

Elder used to pay tribute to Darius. But that king died, and Alexander became the Greek king. He was a resolute, strong, and cunning man. It is said that he attacked some western king, whom he defeated, and he therefore felt emboldened to attack Darius the Younger and to stop paying the tribute his father used to pay. This enraged Darius who wrote vehement messages to Alexander. The relations between them soured, and both moved toward battle. Fully prepared, they met at the frontier, and exchanged communications and messengers. Alexander was afraid to fight Darius; he called for reconciliation. But Darius consulted his aides, who bore a grudge against Darius, and they extolled going to war.

Scholars have disagreed about the frontier and the site where
[699] they clashed. Some mention that it took place in the region of Khurāsān, near the Khazars. The opposing forces engaged in a fierce battle, so that the kings became involved. That day Alexander was on a wondrous steed called Būkfārasb.[259] It is said that a Persian attacked (Alexander); piercing the Greek lines, he struck Alexander a blow with a sword, causing fear for the king's life. Alexander admired the feat and exclaimed, "That is a Persian horseman with proverbial valor!" But the grudges held by the men of Darius were at work. There were two men of his guard from Hamadhān who had exchanged messages with Alexander. They sought to deal treacherously with Darius. Finally they stabbed him and, having inflicted a lethal blow, they fled. It is said that when the horror occurred and the news reached Alexander, he rode out with his retinue. Reaching Darius, he found him in the throes of death. Alexander spoke to him; putting the dying man's head on his lap, he wept over him, saying, "You were attacked from the rear. You were alone among enemies and your trusted men betrayed you. Ask of me whatever you desire, for I am intent on keeping close relations between us." He meant, so this source maintained, the closeness between Salam and Hīraj, the sons of Afrīdhūn.[260]

Horrified by what had happened to Darius, Alexander

259. Boucefalos means "bull-headed".
260. See *EI*², s.v. Farīdūn.

thanked God for his own safety. Darius then requested that his daughter Rūshanak be married to Alexander and be treated with consideration and respect, and that his death be avenged. Alexander agreed. Then the two men who had attacked Darius came seeking their reward. Alexander ordered that they be beheaded and crucified, and that an announcement be made, [700] "Such is the punishment of him who dares to raise a hand against his king, and is disloyal to his people." They say that Alexander carried away (many) books—the learning of the Persians on the sciences, the stars, and philosophy—after they had been translated into Aramaic and then into Greek.[261]

Some assert that at the time that Darius was slain he had two sons, Ashak and Ardashīr[262] and also a daughter, Rūshanak. The reign of Darius lasted fourteen years. Some (authorities) mention that the tribute which Alexander's father paid to the kings of Persia consisted of golden eggs. When Alexander became king, Darius sent him a demand for that payment but Alexander replied, "I have slain the hen which used to lay those eggs, and I ate its meat. So declare war!"

Alexander reigned after Darius b. Darius. I have already mentioned the view of those who say that Alexander was the brother of Darius the Younger and the son of Darius the Elder. As for the Greeks and many genealogists, they say that Alexander was the son of Philip—some say of Philip b. Metrius. It is (also) said (that he was the) son of Maṣrīm b. Hermes b. Hardas b. Mīṭūn b. Rūmī b. Lantī b. Yunān b. Japhet b. Thūbah [701]

261. This statement derives from the Zoroastrian tradition where it is maintained that Persian wisdom was carried away to Greece by Alexander, which explains why translations of philosophical and scientific works from Greek into Persian are merely an act of bringing what was originally Persian wisdom back to its source. A similar notion existed with regard to translations of Indian writings to Persian. On the borrowings from Greek and Indian lore into Persian, see Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems*, 81ff.

262. Ashak is the reputed ancestor of the Parthian dynasty, the dynasty of the Arsacids. Like the Sasanian dynasty, so also with regard to the Arsacids, Iranian historical traditions endeavored to connect them genealogically with their predecessors, the Achaemenids. See Justi, *Iran Nb*, 28, s.v. Aršaka, No. 9. Ardashīr is the founder of the Sasanian dynasty; although according to his official genealogy he is the son of Pāpak and possibly grandson of Sāsān (or otherwise connected to the latter), he is here made out to be the son of the last Achaemenid monarch. See Justi, op. cit., 35, s.v. Artaxšaθra, No. 15.

b. Sarḥūn b. Rūmyah b. Barbat b. Jubal b. Rūfī b. al-Aṣfar b. Eliphaz b. Esau b. Isaac b. Abraham, God's friend.[263]

After the death of Darius, Alexander annexed the empire of Darius to his own kingdom, and ruled Iraq, Asia Minor al-Rūm, Syria, and Egypt. Following the death of Darius, he reviewed his army; it is said that he found the army to consist of 1,400,000 men; of these 800,000 were of his own force, and 600,000 were from the (old) force of Darius. It is reported that on the day he ascended the throne he said, "God granted us triumph over Darius and granted us the opposite of Darius's threats." Alexander destroyed the cities, fortresses, and fire temples of the Persians. He slew their priests, and he burned their books and the archives of Darius. Appointing some of his aides as governors over the empire of Darius, he marched on toward India where he slew its king and conquered its capital. From there he marched toward China, and did there as he did in India. The whole of the earth was his, and he ruled Tibet and China. With four hundred men he entered the dark area near the North Pole, and (he entered) the area of southern sun in search of the Well of Immortality. He marched there for eighteen days, then left and returned to Iraq. Alexander appointed the diadochs (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*), and he died on the road at Shahrazūr[264]—he was thirty-six, some say. He was carried to his mother at Alexandria.

[702] As for the Persians, they assert that Alexander's reign lasted fourteen years. The Christians assert that it lasted thirteen years and some months, and that Darius was slain at the beginning of the third year of Alexander's reign.

It is said that upon Alexander's command twelve cities were constructed, each one of them named Alexandria. One of them in Iṣbahān, called Jayy, was shaped like a serpent (*ḥayyah*). Three towns were built in Khurāsān, among them Harāt, Marw, and Samarqand.[265] In Babylonia he built a town for

263. This list combines elements taken from Jewish biblical sources with those whose origin is in Greek mythology.

264. A town in old Media, the Jibāl district of Islamic times. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 190f.

265. On Herāt see LeStrange, *Lands*, 407ff.; on Maru, 397ff.; on Samarqand, 463ff.

Rūshanak, the daughter of Darius, and in the Greek territory in Helakos he built a city for the Persians. He also built other cities.

When Alexander died, the realm was offered to his son Alexander, but he refused for he preferred piety and worship. They say the Greeks made Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, king. He reigned for thirty-eight years. The Greek age of the empire continued from the time of Alexander until the Romans took over. Religion and government under the Israelites in Jerusalem and its environs was not monarchic in form; then the Persians and the Romans devastated their country, and banished them from it after John the Baptist was slain.

After Ptolemy b. Lagos, Syria, Egypt and the lands to the [703] West (al-Maghrib) were ruled by Ptolemy Philadelphus for forty years. After him, Ptolemy Euergetes ruled for twenty-four years, and then Ptolemy twenty-one years, and then Ptolemy Epiphanes ruled for twenty-one years. Then Ptolemy Euergetes ruled for twenty-nine years, and Ptolemy Soter for seventeen years. Ptolemy Alexander I ruled for eleven years. After him ruled the Ptolemy who disappeared from the throne after eight years. He was succeeded by Ptolemy Dionysos who ruled for sixteen years. After him ruled Ptolemy Cleopatra for seventeen years. All these were Greeks. Each of the kings following Alexander was addressed as Ptolemy, just at the Persian rulers were each addressed as Chosroes (Kisrā).[266] All the Ptolemies were called Mufqānīs.[267]

According to what is mentioned, after Cleopatra, Syria was ruled by Rome alone. The first Roman to rule was Gaius Julius, for five years. After him, Syria was ruled by Augustus for [704] fifty-six years. In the forty-third year of his reign Jesus was born. Three hundred and three years elapsed between the rise of Alexander and the birth of Jesus.

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266. This is historically inaccurate. Kisrā became a general term for kings of the Sasanian dynasty only in the Islamic period, as far as we can tell, and not during the reign of the Sasanians.

267. Possibly a distortion of "Macedonian". The Ptolemies were of Macedonian origins.

The Account of the Persians After the Death of Alexander

We return now to the history of the Persian empire.

Authorities on the history of the ancients disagree about the ruler of the Sawād of Iraq after Alexander, and about the number of regional princes (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*) who ruled in Babylonia after him down to the emergence of Ardashīr Bābakān.[268] According to what I have been told, Hishām b. Muḥammad said that Seleucus Nicator and then Antiochus ruled after Alexander.[269] He said that it was Seleucus who founded the city of Antioch; also that these kings held sway over the region of al-Kūfah. They used to travel the routes of al-Jibal and the regions of al-Ahwāz and Fārs. Then a man called Ashak,[270] a son of Darius the Elder, revolted—he was born and raised in Rayy.[271] Assembling a large host, he moved against Antiochus. The latter marched against him, and they met in the area of Mosul.[272] Antiochus was slain, and Ashak seized the Sa-

268. Ardashīr ruled from ca. A.D. 226 to 240.

269. They ruled from 305 to 280 B.C. and from 280 to 211 B.C. respectively.

270. The Parthian kingdom existed from the mid-third century B.C. to the third century A.D. Ashak ruled about 247–211 B.C.

271. On al-Rayy in Media (al-Jibāl), called Rhages by the ancient Greeks, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 214ff.

272. Mosul, or, as the place is known in Arabic, al-Mawṣil, is in the medieval province of al-Jazīrah in Iraq, on the river Tigris. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 86ff.

wād. He then extended his control from Mosul to al-Rayy and Iṣbahān.[273] The other regional princes were in awe of him because of his genealogy, and they respected his record. Recognizing his superiority, they put his name first in their messages, and he put his own name first in addressing them.[274] They called him king and sent gifts to him. Yet he neither appointed nor dismissed any of them. [705]

He was succeeded by Jūdharz,[275] the son of Ashakān. He is the one who raided the Israelites the second time. According to that which has been mentioned, the cause for God inflicting him on them was that they had slain John the Baptist. Jūdharz slew many of them, and they never regained anything like their first commonwealth (*jamā'ah*). God deprived them of prophethood and visited humiliation upon them.

The Romans (Rūm) led by their supreme king attacked Fārs. He sought to avenge there the death of Antiochus, king of Babylonia, who had been slain by Ashak. The ruler of Babylonia at the time was Balāsh,[276] the father of Ardawān, whom Ardashīr b. Bābak had slain. Balāsh wrote to the regional princes informing them of the campaign planned by the Romans against their lands, and of the Roman forces which he could not confront. He wrote that should he succumb, the Romans would defeat all of them. Then the princes, each according to his ability, sent Balāsh men, arms, and money, so that he amassed four hundred thousand men, and appointed as their commander the prince of Ḥaḍr,[277] one of the princes who held

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273. Iṣbahān is in the Jibāl area, in ancient Media. It is adjacent to the town of Jay (older Gabe). See LeStrange, *Lands*, 202ff.; *EI*², s.v. Isfahan.

274. On the style of addressing letters see J.C. Greenfield, *Irano-Judaica*, 4–11 (esp. 4–7).

275. Jūdharz is known in the Greek sources under the form Gotarzes. The first king by this name ruled ca. 91–87 B.C.; Gotarzes II ruled ca. A.D. 38–51.

276. The name occurs in the Greek sources as Vologeses, and it has the form *wlgš* in the Middle Iranian inscriptions. There were five kings by this name among the Arsacids. The last Vologeses, who preceded Artabanus V, ruled ca. A.D. 207–227. See Frye, *History*, 360. On the forms of the name see T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 28 (1874), 93–102, esp. 94f.

277. The Roman name of al-Ḥaḍr was Hatra. It was an important caravan center and the place of a local Arab semi-independent state in the Parthian period, in the Jazīrah area of Iraq. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 98f.; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥaḍr; *CHI* 3(1), 490ff., 594ff.

an area between the Sawād and the Jazīrah. This man marched at their head until he encountered the king of the Romans. He slew the king of the Romans and plundered his camp. That was an incentive for the Romans to found Constantinople and to transfer the capital from Rome to that place. It was founded by
[706] the emperor Constantine, the first to embrace Christianity.[278] He banished the remaining Israelites from Palestine (Filasṭīn) and Jordan (al-Urdunn)[279] because, as he asserted, they had slain Jesus. Constantine found the wooden cross upon which they believed Christ had been crucified, and the Romans subsequently revered it and placed it among their treasures, where it remains unto this day.[280]

Persian rule continued to break down until the rise of Ardashīr. Hishām mentions what I have stated on his authority, but he does not state the duration of the Persian empire. Other authorities on Persian history report that after Alexander the empire of Darius was ruled by those who were not of the Persian dynasty. Nevertheless, they deferred to the one who ruled the mountainous area, and they showed loyalty to him.

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278. Valerian, who ruled A.D. 253–259, was treacherously seized at a parley, and died as captive in the hands of the Persians. Constantinople became a capital in A.D. 330. Constantine ruled A.D. 306–337.

279. The medieval boundaries do not correspond to those of modern times. Jordan (Urdunn) refers here to territories on both sides of the river. See LeStrange, *Palestine*, index, 602; *EI*², s.v. Filasṭīn.

280. It is usually connected with the name of Saint Helen (d. ca. A.D. 328), the wife of Constantius I Chlorus. It was also claimed that the cross had been found during the construction of Constantine's church on Golgotha.

The Arsacid (Ashaghān) Kings

The Arsacid kings were addressed as regional princes (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*), and their rule lasted 266 years.[281] Ashak b. Ashaghān ruled for ten of these years. He was succeeded by Shapūr (Sābūr) son of Ashaghān who reigned for sixty years. In the forty-first year of his reign, Jesus arose in the land of Palestine. Some forty years after the ascension of Jesus, Titus, the son of Vespasian the Roman emperor, attacked Jerusalem, slew the [707] people of the city, and took their progeny prisoners. Upon his order, the city was demolished so that no stone remained upon another.

(Then the following Arsacids ruled): Jūdharz son of Ashaghān the Elder, ten years; Bīzan, twenty-one years; Jūdharz, nineteen years; Narsī, forty years; Hurmuz, seventeen years; Ardawān, twelve years; Chosroes, forty years; Balāsh, twenty-four years; Ardawān the Younger thirteen years. Then came the reign of Ardashīr, the son of Bābak.

Others say that after Alexander, Persia was ruled by the regional princes, among whom Alexander divided the realm. In each region a prince asserted himself from the time he was ap- [708] pointed, except in the Sawād which for fifty-four years after Alexander's death was in the hands of the Greeks (Rūm). Among

281. The actual length of Arsacid rule was about twice as long as that. See above n. 270.

the regional princes was one of royal descent appointed to al-Jibāl and Iṣbahān. Later his progeny seized the Sawād and ruled it, as well as al-Māhāt,[282] al-Jibāl and Iṣbahān, as chiefs of the other regional princes. It was customary to cite this chieftain and his sons first; therefore only they are mentioned by name in the historical accounts.

They say that Jesus was born in Jerusalem, fifty-one years after the rise of the regional rulers. Their reign lasted from Alexander to the rise of Ardashīr, a total of some 266 years. Among the princes who ruled over al-Jibāl and whose progeny succeeded in seizing the Sawād, was Ashak b. Ḥarah b. Rasībān b.
[709] Artashakh b. Hurmuz b. Sāham b. Zarīn b. Isfandiyār b. Bishtāsb. The Persians assert that Ashak was the son of Darius. Some say he was Ashak, the son of Ashakān the Great, of the progeny of Kayabiwah b. Kayqubādh, and that he reigned for ten years.

After him, there ruled (in the following order): Ashak b. Ashak b. Ashakān, twenty-one years; Shapūr (Sābūr) b. Ashak b. Ashakān, thirty years; Jūdharz the Elder b. Shapūr b. Ashakān, ten years; Bīzan b. Jūdharz, twenty-one years; Jūdharz the Younger b. Bīzan, nineteen years; Narsī (Narsah) b. Jūdharz the Younger, forty years; Hurmuz b. Balāsh b. Ashakān, seventeen years; Ardawān the Elder b. Ashakān, twelve years; Chosroes b. Ashakān, forty years; Bihāfarīd, the Arsacid, nine years; Balāsh, the Arsacid, twenty-four years. It is said that Ardawān the Younger b. Balāsh b. Fīrūz b. Hurmuz b. Balāsh b. Shapūr (Sābūr) b. Ashak b. Ashakān the Elder, whose grandfather was Kayabiwah b. Kayqubādh,[283] was the greatest of the Arsacid rulers in power and victory, and the most famous and mighty in subduing the regional princes. It is also said that he seized
[710] the district of Iṣṭakhr since it was adjacent to Iṣbahān. Then he set out for Jūr[284] and other points in Fārs which he seized.

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282. Al-Māhāt is a late Iranian form (with Arabic plural ending) of what was called in earlier times Māda, i.e., Media. Geographically it is identical with Jibāl, and Iṣbahān is an important town within that district.

283. This list is summarized in Justi, *Iran Nb*, 413, parallel with other lists given in several different sources.

284. Jūr (in Persian Gōr) is the old name of what was later called Fīrūzābād, in the district of Fārs. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 255f.; *CHI* 3(2), 751.

Their rulers submitted to him, for the rulers of the regions were in awe of him. He reigned thirteen years after which Ardashīr's reign began.

Others say that after Alexander, Iraq and the area between Syria and Egypt were ruled by ninety kings over ninety entities, all submitting to the ruler in al-Mada'īn,[285] that is, the Arsacids. Among the Arsacid rulers were: Pakoros (Afqūrshāh) b. Balāsh b. Shapūr (Sābūr) b. Ashakān b. Ash the Great (al-Jabbār) b. Siyāwakhsh b. Kayqāwus the King, sixty-two years; Shapūr (Sābūr) b. Afqūr, in whose days Christ and John the Baptist lived, fifty-three years; Jūdharz b. Shapūr b. Afqūr, who attacked the Israelites to avenge the death of the Baptist, and whose reign lasted fifty-nine years; Abzān, his nephew, the son of Balāsh b. Shapūr, forty-seven years; Jūdharz b. Abzān b. Balāsh, thirty-one years; his brother Narsī b. Abzān, thirty-four years; his paternal uncle al-Hurmuzān b. Balāsh, forty-eight years; his son al-Fīrūzān b. al-Hurmuzān b. Balāsh, thirty-nine years; his son Chosroes b. al-Fīrūzān, forty-seven years; his son Ardwān b. Balāsh, the last of them, was slain after a reign of [711] fifty-five years by Ardashīr b. Bābak.

The reign of Alexander and of the various regional princes lasted approximately 523 years.

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285. Al-Madā'in, which literally means "the towns," is a name which continues a similar designation current in the Sasanian period (it is preserved, e.g., in Greek). The term designates a group of towns on the Tigris River. Chief among them were Ctesiphon, which served as an important center of government in the Sasanian period, and Seleucia. An important Jewish center existed in the town of Maḥoza, which formed part of the same complex. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 33ff. The relevant sources are given with detailed discussions in A. Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, 179ff.

The Events That Occurred During the Rule of These Regional Princes

The Persians assert that sixty-five years after Alexander seized Babylonia, and fifty-one years after Arsacid rule began, Mary the daughter of 'Imrān gave birth to Jesus. But the Christians assert that Jesus was born to her 303 years after Alexander conquered Babylonia, and that John the Baptist was born six months before Jesus. They report that Mary was pregnant with Jesus when she was thirteen years old. They also report that Jesus lived thirty-two years and a few days before his ascension, and that Mary lived six more years after his ascension, altogether over fifty years. They assert that John and Jesus met in the Jordan River when Jesus was thirty years of age, and that John was slain before the ascension of Jesus.[286] Zechariah b. Berechiah, the father of Yaḥyā b. Zechariah, and 'Imrān b. Māthān, the father of Mary, were married to two sisters. One
[712] was married to Zechariah—she was the mother of John; the other was with 'Imrān b. Māthān, and she was the mother of Mary. 'Imrān b. Māthān died when the mother of Mary was

286. See Qur'ān 19, a *sūrah* which is entitled "Mary" (Maryam). It contains the story of Zechariah (Zakariyyā') and the birth of his son John the Baptist (Yaḥyā); also the immaculate conception, the birth of Jesus and his gift of speech in the cradle. Note that Mary of Sūrat Maryam (Miriam) is the sister of Aaron, the brother of Moses.

pregnant with her. When Mary was born, Zechariah provided for her after her mother's death, because her aunt, the sister of her mother, was with him. The name of Mary's mother was Hanna bt. Fāqūd b. Qabil; the name of the sister of Mary's mother, that is, the name of John's mother was Elizabeth bt. Fāqūd. Zechariah provided for Mary, and she was engaged to Joseph b. Jacob b. Māthān b. Eleazar b. Eliud b. Achim b. Zadok b. Azor b. Eliakim b. Abiud b. Zerubabbel, b. Shealtiel b. Jechonia b. Josiah b. Amon b. Manasseh, b. Hezekiah b. Ahaziah b. Jotham b. Uzziah b. Joram b. Jehosaphat b. Asa b. Abijah b. Rehoboam b. Solomon b. David.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: As far as I could learn her lineage, Mary was the daughter of ʿImrān b. Josiah b. Amon b. Manasse b. Hezekiah b. Ahaziah b. Jotham b. Azariah b. Amaziah b. Joash b. Ahaziah b. Joram b. Jehosaphat b. Asa b. Abijah b. Rehoboam b. Solomon.

To Zechariah was born John, the son of the (great) aunt of Jesus, the son of Mary. In his youth John became a prophet and [713] travelled. He came to Palestine, calling upon the people. John the Baptist and Jesus met, and then parted after John baptized Jesus. It is said that Jesus sent John the Baptist with twelve apostles to teach the people. Among their prohibitions was marriage to a niece.

According to Abū al-Sāʾib—Muʿāwiyah—Aʿmash—al-Minhāl—Saʿīd b. Jubayr—Ibn ʿAbbās: Jesus, son of Mary, sent the Baptist with twelve apostles to teach the people. Among their prohibitions was marriage to a niece. Their king had a niece who excited him, and he wanted to marry her. Every day he carried out some wish of hers. When her mother learned of this, she told her daughter, "If you come to the king, and he asks you what your wish is, tell him, 'my wish is that you slay the Baptist.'" When she came to him, he asked what her wish was. She said, "I wish you to slay the Baptist," whereupon he replied, "Ask me for something else." But she responded, "I shall ask you for nothing else." Thereupon he summoned the Baptist and called for a bowl.[287] Then he slew the Baptist, and

287. The story of Salome. See Matth. 14:1–11; Mark 6:16–29; Josephus, *Ant.*, Book XVIII, Ch. V, 2, does not mention the romantic aspect of the story.

a drop of the Baptist's blood fell upon the ground and kept boiling until God sent Nebuchadnezzar against the Israelites. An old woman of the Children of Israel came and showed Nebuchadnezzar that blood. God thus planted in his mind the thought to kill the Israelites over that spot until the blood came to rest; so he killed seventy-thousand of them who were of the same age, until the drop of blood came to rest.

[714] According to Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās and Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some companions of the Prophet: An Israelite saw in a dream that the destruction of the Temple and the Israelites was to come about through the son of a widow in Babylon—an orphaned youth called Nebuchadnezzar. They believed the vision, and it proved true. The man began to inquire about the youth (in his dream) and then came to the boy's mother while her son was gathering firewood. The youth arrived with a bundle of firewood on his head, threw it down, and sat down near the house. Then the Israelite spoke to him and gave him three dirhams, saying, "Buy food and drink with these." For a dirham he bought meat; for another, bread; and for the third, wine. They ate and drank. The next day, the same (thing) happened, and again on the third day. Then the Israelite said, "I should like you to write a guarantee of safe-conduct for me, in case you should some day become king. The youth replied, "You are poking fun at me," to which the Israelite said, "No, I am not; but it would not hurt you to shake hands over it." The mother of the young man spoke, saying to her son, "What is it to you? If it happens, so be it; if not, it won't hurt you." So he wrote a guarantee of safe-conduct for the man. The latter now said, "Suppose you come, and people around you separate us; make a sign by which you will recognize me." The youth said, "Lift your document on a pole, so that I may recognize you." Then the man gave him clothes and gifts.

[715] The king of the Israelites honored the Baptist. He favored him and consulted him, never deciding on a matter without him. But the king wanted to marry the daughter of one of his wives. He asked the Baptist about it, and the latter forbade it, saying, "I do not approve of your marrying her." Word of this

reached her mother and she hated the Baptist for forbidding the king to marry her daughter. She betook herself to the maiden when the king sat down for his wine, dressed her in fine red clothes, with perfume and jewels; and over all (this finery), a black garb. Sending her (daughter) to the king, she instructed her to give him wine to drink and to serve him; and should he desire her, she should refuse until he grants her wish. If he grants her wish, she should ask that the Baptist's head be brought to her on a platter. She acted thus, starting to serve him drink, and offering more. When he was overcome with wine, he desired her. She said, "I shall not comply until you give me what I ask of you." He said, "What are you asking of me?" She replied, "I ask of you that you send for the Baptist and that his head be brought to me on this platter." "Woe, ask me for something else," he said; whereupon she stated, "I do not want to ask for anything else."

When she refused, he sent for the Baptist; his head was brought, and the head kept talking until it was placed before the king. It was saying, "She is forbidden unto you." When the king awoke, lo and behold, the Baptist's blood was boiling. The king asked for dust to be thrown over it, but the blood rose boiling above the dust. More dust was thrown upon it, but the blood rose above it. He continued throwing dust upon it until it reached the city wall, yet the blood kept boiling. This reached Ṣayḥā'īn[288] who appealed to the people. He wanted to [716] send an army there, and to appoint a man to lead it. Nebuchadnezzar came to him and said, "The force you sent that time was too weak. But I entered the city and heard the people talk; therefore, send me." So he sent him. Nebuchadnezzar set out and reached that place (Palestine), where they fortified themselves against him in their towns. He was thus unable to subdue them. When his situation became grave, and his men were hungry, he was on the verge of retreat.

Then an old Israelite woman came out and inquired, "Where is the commander of the army?" Brought before him, she said, "I have learned that you are about to retreat with your army,

288. The legendary Persian ruler under whom Nebuchadnezzar is supposed to have served.

without conquering this city." He said, "Yes. Our stay has been long, my men hunger, I cannot go on with the siege." She then said,"Do you suppose that if I open the city to you, you will grant my request, (that is,) kill whom I order you to kill, and stop when I ask you to do so?" "Yes," he replied to her. She then said, "In the morning, divide your army into four parts; place one part at each corner, raise your hand to heaven, and call out, 'We ask victory of You, O God, for the blood of the Baptist.' The city will surely collapse." They did accordingly and the city did collapse. Then they entered it from all sides. She now said to him, "Keep killing over this blood until it subsides." She led him to the Baptist's blood which was rising over a wall of dust. Over it he killed until the blood subsided. He killed seventy thousand men and women. When the blood calmed down, she said to him, "Stop." For if a prophet is slain, God will not be satisfied until the slayer is slain, and he who approved the slaying.[289]

[717] Then the possessor of the guarantee of safe-conduct came before him with his document. Nebuchadnezzar refrained from killing him and his family, but he destroyed the Temple, and upon his order it was strewn with corpses. He said, "Whoever threw a corpse there, will be exempt from the annual poll-tax." The Romans helped him in the destruction because the Israelites had slain the Baptist. When Nebuchadnezzar destroyed it, he led into captivity the notables and chieftains of the Israelites, among them Daniel, Eli, Azariah and Mishael, all of them children of the prophets; he also took the exilarch with him. When he arrived in Babylonia, Nebuchadnezzar found that Ṣayḥā'īn had died. He thus came to rule in his stead, and he held Daniel and his friends in the highest regard. But the Magians were envious of them, and denounced them to Nebuchadnezzar, "Daniel and his friends do not worship your God, and they do not partake of your slaughtered animals."[290] Nebuchadnezzar now summoned the exiles and questioned them.

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289. The story of the boiling blood caused by the murder of the prophet Zechariah occurs in Jewish midrashic sources, but without the erotic aspect. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, IV, 304; VI, 396ff.

290. Daniel 1:8; 3:12.

They said, "Yes, we have a Lord whom we worship, and we do not eat of your slaughtered animals." Upon his order a trench was dug, and they were thrown into it, six of them; and a ferocious lion was thrown in with them to devour them. The captors said, "Let us go eat and drink." They did so and then returned, and found the captives sitting and the lion lying with his paws stretched out. The lion did not so much as scratch or wound any of them. But they discovered still another man with them. They were counted and found to be seven. The king exclaimed, "Who is this seventh man? There were only six." Then the seventh man came forth. It was an angel, and he slapped Nebuchadnezzar who turned into a wild beast for seven years.[291]

According to Abū Ja'far: This is related on the authority of sources both mentioned and not mentioned in the present work; namely, the report that it was Nebuchadnezzar who [718] waged war on the Israelites after they slew the Baptist, is erroneous in the opinion of Muslim and non-Muslim experts in pre-Islamic history and lore. For they are unanimous in saying that Nebuchadnezzar waged war on the Israelites when they slew their prophet Isaiah, in the age of Jeremiah b. Hilkiah; and that according to the Jews and the Christians, 461 years separate the age of Jeremiah and the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar from the birth of the Baptist. They state that that is clearly established in their writings and scriptures, for they count seventy years from the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar to its reconstruction in the age of Cyrus son of Ahasuerus, the governor (*isbahbadh*) of Babylonia on behalf of Ardashīr Bahman b. Isfandiyār b. Bishstāsb and then on behalf of his daughter Khumānī; then eighty-eight years after the rebuilding of Jerusalem to the victory of Alexander over Khumānī, and the annexation of her empire to his; then 303 years from Alexander to the birth of the Baptist. This, they say, makes 461 years.

The Zoroastrians agree with the Christians and Jews about the period of the destruction of Jerusalem and about Nebuchadnezzar. They also agree about the story of the Israelites

291. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, IV, 300, 334, 339; VI, 423, 428.

[719] down to Alexander's victory over Jerusalem and Palestine, and the death of Darius. But they contradict them about the duration of the period between Alexander's reign and the birth of the Baptist, as they maintain that it was fifty-one years. Between the Zoroastrians and the Christians there is a controversy, as I have mentioned, about the length of the period between Alexander's reign and the birth of the Baptist.

The Christians assert that the Baptist was born six months before Jesus, and that it was an Israelite king named Herod who put him to death on account of Herodias who was the wife of Herod's brother Philip. Herod loved her, and she consented to lie with him. She had a daughter, Salome. Herod wanted to live with Herodias, his brother's wife, but the Baptist forbade it and told him that it was not permissible. Herod admired the daughter and one day she aroused him, and then asked for a favor; he agreed, and instructed one of his men to carry out her request. She then ordered the man to bring her the Baptist's head, and he complied. When Herod learned about it, he was shocked and thoroughly frightened.[292]

I have quoted Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī to present the view of the experts on pre-Islamic history and lore.

As for Ibn Isḥāq's version, we learned it from Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: The Israelites flourished after that, meaning, after their return from Babylonia to Jerusalem.
[720] They transgressed, and God again sent messengers to them. Some of them were rejected, some slain, until the last prophets sent to them were Zechariah, John (the Baptist), the son of Zechariah, and Jesus, the son of Mary. They were descended from David. John's lineage is: Zechariah b. Iddo b. Meshullam b. Zadok b. Nachshon b. David b. Solomon b. Meshullam b. Zedekiah b. Berechiah b. Shefatiah b. Fakhor b. Shallum b. Jehoshaphat b. Asa b. Abiah b. Rehoboam b. Solomon b. David.[293]

When God took Jesus from their midst to heaven, they slew the Baptist. Some say when they killed the Baptist, God

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292. See Mark 6:14–29; Matth. 14:1–12; Josephus, *Wars*, II, 911.

293. The genealogical list is drawn from a composite of Zechariah 1:1; Ezra 8:16–17; Nehemiah 3:4; 7:59. See also Matth. 1.

sent against them a Babylonian king called Khardūs.[294] He marched against them with a Babylonian host and entered Palestine. When he defeated them, he summoned one of his military chieftains, a man addressed as Nābuzarādhan the executioner, to whom he said, "I have sworn by my deity that if I defeat the people of Jerusalem, I shall kill them until their blood flows amidst my encampment, and until I find none to [721] kill." The king commanded Nābuzarādhan to slay them until such was done.

Nābuzarādhan entered the Temple. He stood over the spot where they used to offer their sacrifice, and he found blood there that was boiling. He asked them, "O Children of Israel, why is this blood boiling? Tell me about it and do not conceal anything." They said, "It is the blood of a sacrifice which we had offered and which was not accepted from us; and therefore it is boiling, as you see. We have offered sacrifices for eight hundred years, and the sacrifice has always been accepted, except this one." He said, "You have not told me the truth." They replied, "If things were as they used to be, it would be accepted; but we have been deprived of kingship, prophecy, and inspiration, and that is why this sacrifice of ours was not accepted." Nābuzarādhan slew seven hundred seventy of their leaders on that spot, but the blood did not calm down. Upon his order seven hundred of their young men were brought and slaughtered over the blood, but it did not calm down. He ordered that seven thousand of their sons and their spouses be slain there, but the blood did not cool. When Nābuzarādhan saw that the blood was not calming down, he said to them, "O Children of Israel, woe unto you. Tell me the truth, and endure for the sake of your Lord. For a long time you have been in possession of the land, acting in it as you please. [Tell me], before the last of you is slain, male or female." When they saw the gravity of the mayhem, they told him the truth, "This is the blood of a prophet of ours who often sought to forewarn us of divine wrath. Had we been obedient to him, he would have guided us. He used to tell us about you, but we did not believe him. We killed him, and this is his blood." Nābuzarādhan then [722]

294. That is, Herod.

asked, "What was his name?" They answered, "John, the son of Zechariah." He exclaimed, "Now you have told me the truth. That is why your Lord is taking revenge upon you."

When Nābuzarādhan perceived that they had told him the truth, he prostrated himself and said to those around him, "Lower the gates of the city, remove from it those who were here of the host of Khardūs." He remained with the Israelites. Then he exclaimed, "O John, son of Zechariah, my Lord and your Lord knows the affliction suffered by your people on your account, and how many of them have been slain on your account. Be calm now, by God's grace, before I exterminate your people." Then the Baptist's blood subsided so that Nābuzarādhan stopped the killing, saying, "I believe in the God of the Children of Israel. I sincerely believe in Him; I know for sure that He is the only God. No other deity can there be beside Him. Had He any associate, heaven and earth would not hold together. It would be wrong for Him to have a son. May He be blessed, sanctified, praised, glorified, the King of Kings who reigns the seven heavens with knowledge and wisdom, strength and power; He who spread out the earth and set therein firm mountains for eternity. Thus it befits my Lord to be, and His realm to be.[295]

It was revealed to a leader of the remnant of the prophets that Nābuzarādhan was a sincere *ḥabūr*—*ḥabūr* in Hebrew is a new convert.[296] Nābuzarādhan told the Israelites, "Khardūs, the enemy of God, ordered me to slay so many of you that your blood should flow amidst his encampment. I cannot disobey him." They told him, "Do as you were ordered." Upon his
[723] command, they dug a trench. He ordered that horses, mules, asses, cattle, sheep, and camels in their possession be placed there and slaughtered, and that blood be made to flow throughout the camp. Upon his order the corpses of the people who had been slain were thrown over the slaughtered animals, so that Khardūs was certain that the trench was filled with dead Israel-

295. See Qur'ān 13:3; 15:19; 50:7. Note the Muslim view that Jesus is not the son of God.

296. Presumably Hebrew *ḥaber*, meaning "companion, friend" or "scholar". Note that Arabic *ḥabr* means a Jewish scholar.

ites. When the blood reached his camp, he sent to Nābuzarādhan the message, "Stop, their blood has reached me; I have been revenged for what they have done." Whereupon he left for Babylonia after almost annihilating the Israelites.[297] It was the last calamity that God brought upon them. God said to his prophet Muḥammad, "And we decreed for the Children of Israel in the Book . . . And we have made Gehenna a prison for the unbelievers."[298] The divine "perchance" (found in the extended passage) has come true. The first calamity was at the hand of Nebuchadnezzar and his hosts. Then God caused "the turn," and the final calamity struck them—Khardūs and his hosts. It was the greater of the two calamities, the one in which their land was destroyed, their men slain, and their women and progeny taken prisoner. God says, "To destroy utterly that which they ascended to."

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297. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, IV, 304; VI, 397ff.

298. Qur'ān 17:4–8. The full text reads: "And We decreed for the Children of Israel in the Book: 'You shall do corruption in the earth twice, and you shall ascend exceedingly high.' So when the promise of the first of these came to pass, We sent against you servants of Ours, men of great might, and they went through the habitations, and it was a promise performed. Then We gave back to you the turn to prevail over them, and We succoured you with wealth and children, and We made you a greater host. If you do evil, it is to them likewise. Then when the promise of the second came to pass, We sent against you Our servants to discountenance you, and to enter the temple, as they entered it the first time, and to destroy utterly that which they ascended to. Perchance your Lord will have mercy upon you; but if you return, We shall return; and We have made Gehenna a prison for the unbelievers."

The Story of Jesus Son of Mary and His Mother

Mary and her cousin Joseph, the son of Jacob, were attached to the service of the sanctuary. It is said that when Mary's water and Joseph's water ran out, each of them would take the pitcher to go to the cave where they used to draw the water
[724] they liked. They would fill the pitcher, and then return to the sanctuary. When the day arrived on which the angel Gabriel met her—it was the longest and hottest day of the year—the water ran out. She said, "O Joseph, should we not go fetch water?" He said, "I have more than enough for the day, enough to last until tomorrow." She then said, "By God, I have no water left." She took her pitcher and went alone. She entered the cave, and found Gabriel there—God made him appear to her as a shapely human—and he said to her, "O Mary, God has sent me to you to give you a boy most pure." At this she exclaimed, "I take refuge in the All Merciful from you, if you fear God!" (She had thought that he was a man, a mortal.) But he said, "I am but a messenger come from your Lord." She then said, "How shall I, whom no mortal has touched, have a son; neither have I been unchaste?" He replied, "Even so. The Lord has said, 'Easy is that for Me, and We may appoint him a sign unto men and a mercy from Us; it is a thing decreed.'"[299]

299. Qur'ān 19:17–21. Cf. *EI*[2] s.v. Tsa, Djibril, and *SEI* s.v. Maryam, Yaḥya.

That is, God has decreed that it is so. When the angel spoke thus, she submitted to the divine decree, and he breathed into her bosom. Then he left her, and she filled her pitcher.

According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar al-Bukhārī—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil, the son of the brother of Wahb—Wahb: When God sent Gabriel to Mary, he appeared to her as a shapely man. She then said, "I take refuge in the All Merciful from you, if you fear God!" Then he [725] breathed into the opening of her garment; the breath reached her womb, and she conceived Jesus. A relative of hers was with her, Joseph the carpenter by name. Both were going to the Temple which is near Mount Zion. At the time, that Temple was one of their greatest sanctuaries. Mary and Joseph were then serving at that Temple, and service there was a great honor. They were both attending to the sanctuary, perfuming, sweeping, cleaning, and whatever was necessary. They were the most eager worshipers of the age.

Joseph was the first to censure Mary's pregnancy. He was distressed by what he saw, horrified, and knew not what to ascribe it to. When Joseph was ready to accuse her, he remembered that she was pious and innocent, that she had never absented herself from him. When he wanted to exonerate her, he observed what had happened to her. When this began to oppress him, he spoke to her. First he said to her, "A thought has occurred to me about you, and I have tried hard to still and conceal it; but it has overcome me, and I have decided to talk about it to calm my heart." She said, "Say a pleasant word;" whereupon he replied, "That is all I wanted to say; tell me, does a field grow without a seed?" She replied, "Yes." He said, "Does a tree grow without rain striking it?" She said, "Yes." "Can there be a child without intercourse?" he asked. "Yes," she replied, "Do you not know that God made the field sprout on the day of creation without any seed; rather, the seed was [726] from the field which God made sprout without seed. Do you not know that God made the tree grow without the rain, and that with the same power he produced the rain for the life of the tree, after he had created each of the two separate? Or do you think God could not make the tree grow without using

water upon it? Or, were it not for the water He could not make the tree grow?"

Joseph said to her, "I do not say that. I know that it is within God's power to act as it pleases Him. He only has to say 'Be, and it is.'"[300] Mary then said to him, "Do you not know that God created Adam and his wife without male or female?" "Certainly," he replied. When she told him that, it occurred to him that what was happening to her was a divine thing, and that he should not ask her about it since he felt she was concealing it. Thereafter Joseph took care of the Temple service, and spared Mary all the work she used to perform there. He did so because he saw how delicate her body was, the yellowing of her complexion, the dark hue of her face, the growth of her abdomen, her weakness, the intent gaze. Previously, Mary was different. When the time of her confinement was close, God revealed to her, "Leave the land of your people, for if they seize you, they will revile you and kill your child."

She came to her sister who was then pregnant and to whom the birth of the Baptist had been announced. When the two met, the Baptist's mother felt that her child was bowing within her in recognition of Jesus.[301] Joseph then carried Mary to Egypt on a donkey. During the entire trip there was nothing be-
[727] tween her and the saddle.[302] Joseph travelled with her, and when they were close to Egypt, far from the land of her people, birth-pangs seized Mary which forced her to lie on the haversack of the donkey under a palm tree. It was winter, and Mary's delivery was difficult. When in pain, she took refuge under the palm tree. Angels embraced and surrounded her in ranks. When she gave birth and was in sorrow, she was told, "No, do not sorrow; see, your Lord has set below you a rivulet. Shake also to yourself the palm trunk, and there shall come tumbling upon you dates, fresh and ripe. Eat therefore, and drink, and be comforted; and if you should see any mortal, say, 'I have vowed to the All Merciful a fast, and today I will not speak to any man.'"[303]

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300. A frequent locution in the Qur'ān. See for example 2:111; 3:52.
301. Luke 1, especially verses 41–44.
302. Matth. 2:13–15.
303. Qur'ān 19:24–27.

The dates came tumbling upon her, though it was wintertime. Wherever idols were worshiped, the idols were toppled and thrown upside down. Devils took fright but remained unaware of the cause. They rushed to Iblīs,[304] who was on his throne in the deep green sea like the throne that had been upon the water, and he veiled himself in imitation of the veils of light before the All Merciful. The devils came to him while six hours of daylight were remained. When Iblīs saw their congregation he was frightened, for since he had dispersed them he had never seen all of them together. He had seen them in small groups only. He questioned them, and they told him that something had happened upon earth, and that the idols were turned upside down. These idols were most conducive to human perdition. "We used to enter their insides, address the humans, and contrive to direct them, while the people thought [728] that the idols were speaking to them. When this event occurred, however, it detracted from the stature of the idols, humbling and humiliating them. We fear humans will not worship them anymore. Know, that we did not come to you before crossing land and sea, and doing whatever we could, but we are still utterly ignorant about the cause of what happened."

Iblīs told them, "Truly, this is a grave matter. I know it was concealed from me. Stay here." He flew away and was absent for three hours during which time he passed by the place where Jesus was born. When he saw the angels surrounding the spot, he realized that this was where the event had occurred. Iblīs wanted to approach it from above. But the angels' heads and shoulders that reached up to heaven were over it. He then tried to reach it from under the earth but the angels' feet were firmly entrenched below—lower than Iblīs expected. Thereupon he tried to enter among them, but they shoved him away. Then he returned to his associates, and said to them, "I come to you after crossing the whole earth, east and west, land and sea, the four quarters of the world, and the upper sphere. I managed to do that in three hours." Then informing them about the birth of Christ, he said to them, "It was concealed from me. No fe-

304. That is, the Devil. See *EI*², s.v. Iblīs.

male womb has ever conceived without my knowledge, and none has given birth without my presence. I am more apt to mislead the newborn than he is to find right guidance. No prophet was ever more calamitous to me and to you than this one."

That night a group set out to go to Christ, urged by the rise of an unknown star. They had been discussing that the rise of
[729] that star was one of the signs of the birth of a child, as indicated in the Book of Daniel. They set out on the road to reach the newborn, and carried gold and frankincense and myrrh. They passed by the king of Palestine. He asked them where they were bound, and they told him. He then asked, "Why of all things this gold, frankincense, and myrrh that you bring as a gift for him?" They replied, "They befit him because gold is the noblest possession, and this prophet is the noblest of his age; myrrh heals wound and fracture, and similarly, this prophet will be raised by God to heaven, uniquely in his time." Upon hearing this, the king resolved to kill the child. He told them, "Go, and when you have found him, bring me word, and I shall follow in your footsteps." They departed, and delivered the gifts to Mary. They wanted to return to the king to bring him word of the place of Jesus, but an angel met them, saying, "Do not return to him, and do not bring him word of the child's place, for the king wanted to learn of it only to slay the child." Thus they departed by another road.[305]

Mary carried the child on the donkey, and Joseph was with her. So they went down into Egypt. This is the "height" in the verse, "We gave them refuge upon a height, where was a hollow and a spring."[306] Mary spent twelve years there, concealing the child, and nobody saw him. She did not trust anybody to be in contact with him, nor to provide for his suste-
[730] nance. She would collect the ears of grain as soon as she heard of a harvest. While carrying the cradle on one shoulder, she would carry the vessel containing the ears of corn on the other. Then Jesus turned twelve. The first miracle of his witnessed by people occurred when his mother was staying at the home of

305. Matth. 2.
306. Qur'ān 23:15.

an Egyptian dignitary (*dihqān*).[307] A treasure was stolen from him while only poor people were living in his house, yet he did not accuse them. Mary was saddened by that dignitary's misfortune. When Jesus noticed his mother's sadness at the misfortune of their host, he asked her, "Oh mother, would you like me to guide him to his property?" She said, "Yes, my son." He then said, "Tell him to assemble the poor men of his home;" whereupon Mary told the dignitary, and he assembled them. When they were assembled, Jesus approached two of them, one blind, the other crippled. He put the cripple on the shoulder of the blind man and said to him, "Stand up with him." The blind man said, "I am too weak." Jesus replied, "How then were you able to do that yesterday?" When they heard his words, they forced the blind man to get up with the cripple. When he stood up carrying the other, the cripple plunged to the window of the treasury. Jesus said, "This is how they cheated the landlord yesterday; the blind man used his strength, and the cripple his eyes." The cripple and the blind said, "He is right." And they returned the property to the dignitary. The dignitary replaced it in his treasury, and said, "O Mary, take half of it." But she replied, "It is against my grain to do so."[308] He said, "Give it to your son." And she replied, "He is even more scrupulous than I."[309] Soon afterward one of the dignitary's sons gave a wedding feast, and all the people of Egypt gathered there. When [731] the feast was over, people from Palestine (Shā'm) visited him. The dignitary was not prepared for them. They came, and he had no wine to offer them. When Jesus saw him worry about it, he entered one of the dignitary's houses in which there were two rows of jars. As he walked by them, Jesus touched the tops of the jars and each jar, to the last of them, became filled with wine. He was twelve years old. Upon seeing what he had done the people were in awe of him and of the powers that God had endowed him with.

God revealed to his mother Mary, "Go up with him to Palestine." She did as he commanded, and stayed in Palestine until

307. For this term, which is of Persian origin, see *EI*², s.v. Dihḳān.
308. Text: *innī lam akhluq lidhālika.*
309. Text: *huwa a'ẓamu minnī sha'nan.*

he was thirty years old. Then inspiration came upon him at the age of thirty. His prophethood lasted three years, and then God raised him unto Himself. When Iblīs saw him on the day of the temptation, he (Iblīs) could achieve nothing. Iblīs presented himself as an old and respectable man, and with him were two obstreperous devils just like himself in appearance; they merged amid the company of men.[310]

Wahb asserted that the sick often flocked to Jesus, as many as fifty thousand at a time. Those who could reach him did so. But if one could not, Jesus would walk up to him. He would heal them by praying to God. Iblīs came to him in a dazzling, beautiful shape. When the people saw the devil, they were attracted to him, and followed him. He began to tell them of wondrous things, namely, that this man was wonderful, that he spoke in the cradle, that he revived the dead, that he proph-
[732] esied concerning the hidden, and that he healed the sick. "So this is God." But one of his companions exclaimed, "You are all wrong, old man. Shame upon what you have said. It does not befit God to reveal himself to humans. Nor does he dwell in a womb, or in the cavities of women. But this is the son of God." The third said, "How evil is what the two of you have said. Both of you are mistaken and wrong. It does not befit God to have a child. But this one is god along with Him." After they completed their talk, they disappeared. This was the last time they were seen.[311]

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās and Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd—some of the Prophet's companions: Mary went out to the side of the prayer niche (*miḥrāb*), as she was menstruating, and hid behind the walls to separate herself from the people. This is indicated in the (following) verses, "When she withdrew from her people to an eastern place, and she took a veil apart from them"[312] mean-

310. See Matth. 4. Note that Iblīs adopted similar garb when he sought to assist the Quraysh in dealing with Muḥammad shortly before the Prophet's emigration from Mecca to al-Madīnah. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 324.

311. Devils discuss the issues that gave rise to dissension and heresy in the early church.

312. This and the following quotes are from Qur'ān 19:16–31.

ing east of the prayer niche. When she was pure, lo and behold, she encountered a man, as it says, "Then We sent unto her Our Spirit [that is, the angel Gabriel] that presented himself to her a man without fault." When she saw him, she was frightened, and exclaimed, "I take refuge in the All Merciful from thee! If thou fearest God. . ." He said, "I am but a messenger come from thy Lord, to give thee a boy most pure." She said, "How shall I whom no mortal has touched have a son, neither have I been unchaste [that is, a harlot]." He said, "Even so, your Lord has said, 'Easy is that for Me, and We may appoint him a sign unto men and a mercy from Us; it is a thing decreed.'"

She wore a gown. He held her sleeves and breathed into the opening of her garment which was split in front. The breath entered her breast, and she conceived. Her sister, the wife of Zechariah, came to visit her at night. When Mary opened the door for her, the sister clung to her. The wife of Zechariah said, "Oh Mary, do you know I am with child?" Mary replied, "Do you know that I too am with child?" Zechariah's wife then said, "I felt that the child in me was bowing to the child in you," as it is written "confirming the Word of God." The wife of Zechariah gave birth to John (the Baptist). When the time arrived for Mary to give birth, she went out to the eastern side of the prayer niche. She reached the edge, "and the birthpangs surprised her by the trunk of the palm tree." As she was suffering the delivery, ashamed before the people, she exclaimed, "Would that I had died before this, and become a thing forgotten [that this, the memory of me should be forgotten, as well as any trace of me, and no eye should see me]." But Gabriel called unto her from below, "No, do not sorrow; see, your Lord has set below you a rivulet [that is, a watercourse]. Shake also to yourself the palm trunk [it was a broken-off trunk]." She shook it and, lo and behold, it was a palm tree; he produced for her a stream in the prayer niche, and dates fresh and ripe came tumbling down. He then said to her, "Eat, therefore, and drink, and be comforted; and if you should see any mortal say, 'I have vowed to the All Merciful a fast, and today I will not speak to any man.'" At that time, one fasting would not talk until evening. She was told, "Say nothing further." [733]

When she gave birth to the child, Iblīs the devil sent to in-

[734] form the Israelites, "Mary gave birth to a child." They came angrily, and called out to her. "Then she brought the child to her folk, carrying him, and they said, 'Mary, you have surely committed a monstrous [that is, grave] thing! Sister of Aaron, thy father was not a wicked man, nor was thy mother a woman unchaste. What is it with you, sister of Aaron?'" She was descended from Aaron, the brother of Moses, so that this expression is the equivalent of saying, "Oh, brother of tribe such and such;" it indicates a family relationship. She then told them what God had commanded her to say. When they wanted her to talk further, "Mary pointed to the child [Jesus] then." But they became angry, and exclaimed, "'Her mocking at us by telling us to speak to this boy is more distressing to us than her unchastity.' They said, 'How shall we speak to one who is still in the cradle, a little child?'" But Jesus spoke to them. "He said, 'Behold, I am God's servant; God has given me the Book and made me a prophet. Blessed he has made me, wherever I may be.'"

Then the Israelites said, "Only Zechariah made her pregnant; he used to have relations with her." So they sought him, but he had fled from them. Iblīs presented himself to him in the shape of a shepherd, saying, "O Zechariah, they have caught up with you; pray to God that this tree might open up for you, and that you might enter it." He prayed to God, the tree opened up, and he entered it, but the fringe of his garment remained outside. The Israelites passed by Iblīs, and said, "O shepherd, have you seen a man here?" He replied, "Yes. He enchanted this tree; it opened up, and he entered it, and there is the fringe of his garment." They proceeded to cut the tree with saws while the man was in it. And you will not find a Jew without such a fringe on his garb.[313] When Jesus was born,
[735] every idol upon the earth fell on its face.

According to al-Muthannā—Isḥāq b. al-Ḥajjāj—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Maʿqil—Wahb: When Jesus son of Mary was told by God that he was about to leave this world, he became afraid of death and grieved. He summoned the apostles and prepared food for them saying, "Come to me

313. See Num. 15:38ff.

tonight. I have something to discuss with you." When they assembled at night, he served them supper. When they finished the meal, he began to wash their hands, cleansing them with his hands, and wiping their hands with his garment. But they considered it a grievous act and were displeased, whereupon Jesus said, "Indeed, he who rejects anything I do tonight, is not of mine, and I am not of his." So they waited until he had finished. Then he said, "What I have done with you tonight in serving you the meal, washing your hands with mine—this is to make you and me equal. You consider me the best of you, so do not be arrogant towards one another. Sacrifice yourselves for one another, just as I sacrifice myself for you. My request of you is that you call out to God; call out fervently to postpone my end." When they turned to pray and sought to be fervent, they fell asleep and could not pray. He began to wake them, saying, "Praised be God, could you not watch one night to help me?" They said, "By God, we do not know what happened to us; we were keeping vigil but were unable to keep awake tonight, and as soon as we attempted to pray, we were prevented from doing so." He said, "The shepherd is taken away, the flock disperses."[314]

He began to use such language announcing his death. Then [736]
he said, "The truth is that one of you shall deny me thrice before the cock-crow, and one of you shall sell me for a few coins, and he shall eat my price." They walked out and dispersed. The Jews were looking for him. They seized Simeon, one of the apostles, and said, "This one is a companion of his." But he denied it, and said, "I am not his companion." So they left him. Then another caught him, but he denied it again. Then he heard the cock crow, and wept. When morning came, one of the apostles came to the Jews, and said, "What will you give me if I lead you to Christ?" And they set for him thirty pieces of silver. He took those, and led them to him. Before that they were not sure of Christ. But now they seized him, chained him, tied him with cord, and began to lead him, saying, "You revived the dead, chased away the devil, and cured the possessed; will you not set yourself free from this cord?" They spat upon

314. Mark 14; Matth. 26; Luke 22.

him and threw thorns upon him, until they brought the wooden board upon which they wanted to crucify him. But God raised him up to Himself, and they crucified "only a likeness of that shown to them."[315] A week passed. Then his mother and the woman whom Jesus healed and cured from derangement came weeping at the place of crucifixion. But Jesus came to them and said, "Why are you weeping?" They said, "Because of you;" whereupon he replied, "God raised me up to Himself, and nothing but good has happened to me. Only a likeness was shown to them. Instruct the apostles to meet me at place such and such." They met him at that place, eleven of them, as the one who had betrayed him and led the Jews to him was missing. Jesus asked the apostles about him. They said, "He rued what he had done, and strangled himself to death."
[737] Jesus said, "Had he repented, God would have forgiven him." He asked them about John, a youth who was following them, and said, "He is with you. Go! Each of you will speak the language of a people to warn and summon them."[316]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ibn Isḥāq—an impeccable authority—Wahb b. Munabbih al-Yamānī: God allowed Jesus, the son of Mary, to die at three o'clock in the day; then He took him unto Himself.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The Christians assert that God granted him death for seven hours of the day, and then resurrected him saying, "Descend upon Mary Magdalene on her mountain, for nobody wept for thee as she did, nor did anybody grieve for thee as she did. Let her assemble for thee the apostles, and send them forth as preachers for God, for you have not done that." God let him descend to her; the mountain was aglow with light as he descended, and she gathered the apostles. Jesus sent them out and commanded them to tell men in his name of the divine injunction. Then God raised Jesus unto Himself, gave him wings of an angel and dressed him in radiance. No longer did Jesus relish food or drink; he was flying along with the angels, around the throne.

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315. Qur'ān 4:145.

316. Mark 14:18; 15:66–72; Matth. 26:14–15; 27:2–10; 28:16; 34; Acts 1:16–20.

He was (both) human and angelic, celestial and terrestrial. The apostles then dispersed, as commanded. The night on which he was sent down is celebrated by the Christians with frankincense.

Among the apostles, and the followers who came after them were the apostle Peter and Paul who was a follower and not an apostle;[317] they went to Rome. Andrew and Matthew were [738] sent to the country whose people are man-eaters, a land of blacks, we think; Thomas was sent to Babylonia in the east, Philip to Qayrawān (and) Carthage, that is, North Africa. John went to Ephesus, the city of the youths of the cave, and James to Jerusalem, that is, Aelia. Bartholomew was sent to Arabia, namely, the Hijāz; Simeon to the land of the Berbers in Africa. Judas was not then an apostle, so his place was taken by Ariobus. He filled in for Judas Iscariot after the latter had perpetrated his deed.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Umar b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—Ibn Sulaym al-Anṣārī al-Zuraqī: One of our women was under a vow to appear on al-Jammā', a mountain in 'Aqīq near Madīnah,[318] and I went with her. We stood on the mountain and, lo and behold, there was a huge grave with two huge stone slabs over it—one at the head, one at the feet. On them was an inscription in the ancient script (*musnad*)[319] which I could not decipher. I carried the slabs with me halfway down the mountain; they proved too heavy, however, so I threw one (down) and descended with the other. I showed it to readers of Syriac (to determine) whether they knew its script; but they did not. I showed it to [739] psalm (*zabūr*) copyists from the Yaman and those versed in reading the *musnad* script; but they did not recognize it, either.

As I found nobody who recognized it, I threw it under a coffer we had, and there it lay for years. Then people from Māh[320] in

317. In Islamic terms the messengers or apostles pave the new path. Their work is continued by the *tābi'ūn*, the followers, members of the next generations, who lead the Faithful.

318. A network of mountains and valleys. See *EI*², s.v. al-'Aḳīḳ.

319. That is, the script of ancient South Arabia.

320. Māh is the late form of the name of ancient Media. See above, n. 282, on

Persia came to us looking for pearls, and I said to them, "Do you have a script?" "Yes," they said. I brought out the stone for them and, lo and behold, they read it. It was in their script, "This is the tomb of Jesus, son of Mary, God's messenger to the people of this land." They were its people at that time. Among them he died, so they buried him on the mountaintop.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The rest of the apostles were assaulted, viciously exposed to the sun, tortured, and dishonorably paraded. The Roman king, who ruled over them and who was an idol-worshiper, heard this. He was told that a man among the Israelites, subject to his rule, was assaulted and slain. The man had announced to them that he was God's messenger. He performed miracles, revived the dead and healed the sick. He created a bird of clay, breathed into it, and it flew, by God's permission. He told of hidden things. The king exclaimed, "But why did you not mention this to me, about him and them? By God, had I known, I would not have let them have a free hand against him!" Then he sent for the apostles and snatched them from the hands of the Israelites. He asked the apostles about the faith of Jesus and about his fate. They told him, whereupon he embraced their faith. The king released Sergius and concealed him.[321] He took the wooden cross on which Jesus had been crucified, and he honored and preserved it because Jesus had touched it. The king thus became an enemy of the Israelites, and killed many of
[740] them. From this arose Christianity in Rome.

Some historians mentioned that Jesus was born forty-two years after Augustus had become emperor. Augustus continued to live on, and his reign lasted fifty-six years; some add a few days. The Jews assaulted Christ. The sovereign in Jerusalem at the time was Caesar, and it was on his behalf that Herod the Great reigned in Jerusalem. Messengers of the king of Persia came to him. Sent to Christ, they came to Herod by mis-

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Māhāt. The Muslim view is that Jesus escaped crucifixion. Here it is intimated that he lived on in Arabia under Iranian rule.

321. Saint Sergius, a Roman officer, was martyred ca. A.D. 303. His shrine was popular in Rusāfat al-Shā'm and attracted Arab nomads. See Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in pre-Islamic times*, London-New York 1979, 235ff.

take. They informed Herod that the king of Persia had sent them to offer Christ the gifts they carried, gifts of gold, myrrh and frankincense. They told him that they had observed that Christ's star had risen—they had learned through computation. They offered him the gifts at Bethlehem in Palestine. When Herod learned about them, he plotted against Christ, and looked for him in order to slay him. God commanded an angel to tell Joseph, who was with Mary at the sanctuary, that Herod intended to slay the child, and to instruct him to flee to Egypt with the child and its mother.

When Herod died the angel told Joseph, who was in Egypt, that Herod was dead and that his son Archelaus reigned instead—the man who had sought to slay the child was no longer alive. Joseph took the child to Nazareth in Palestine, to fulfill the word of Isaiah the prophet, "I called you out of Egypt."[322] Archelaus died, and the younger Herod became king, in whose reign the likeness of Christ was crucified. Sovereignty at the time was in the hands of Greek and Roman kings; Herod and his sons, who ruled on their behalf, had titles nevertheless—the sovereigns were titled "caesar." At the time [741] of the crucifixion it was the younger Herod who reigned in Jerusalem on behalf of Tiberius, the son of Augustus, except in the matter of (criminal) court. This was entrusted to a Roman called Pilate, on behalf of caesar; the exilarch was Liunan son of Babbutan.[323] They mention that the man who was taken for Jesus and crucified was a Jew called Joshua, son of Pandera.[324] The reign of Tiberius lasted a little over twenty-three years, over eighteen years before the ascension of Jesus, and five thereafter.

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322. The reference ascribed here to Isaiah is in Hosea 11:1.

323. Augustus ruled from 31 B.C. to A.D. 14; Archelaus 4 B.C. - A.D. 6; Tiberius A.D. 14–37. The Muslim author projects the institute of the exilarch into the distant past. The name of the exilarch is unclear.

324. In ancient anti-Christian lore, Jesus is the illegitimate son of a Roman named Pandera. See Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, New York 1978, 26ff., 46–50, 178.

The Roman Rulers

The Roman rulers, according to the Christians, reigned over Palestine from the ascension of Christ to the age of the Prophet Muḥammad.

Abū Ja'far says: They assert that after Tiberius, Palestine and other parts of Syria were ruled by Gaius, son of Tiberius, for four years. He was succeeded by another son, Claudius, for fourteen years, following which Nero ruled for fourteen years. He slew Peter and crucified Paul head down. For four months Boṭlāius [Vittelius] ruled thereafter. Then Vespasian, father of Titus whom he sent to Jerusalem, ruled for ten years. Three years after his rise to power, forty years after the ascension of
[742] Jesus, Vespasian sent Titus to Jerusalem. Titus destroyed it and slew numerous Israelites in his wrath over the fate of Christ. The following Roman kings then ruled:

Titus, son of Vespasian, ruled for two years; Domitian, sixteen years; Nerva, six years; Trajan, nineteen years; Hadrian, twenty-one years; Antonin, twenty-two years; Marcus and his sons, nineteen years; Commodus, thirteen years; Pertinax, six months; Severus, fourteen years; Antoninus (= Caracalla), seven years; Marciarus (= Macrinus), six years; Antoninus (= Elagabalus), four years; (Severus) Alexander, thirteen years; Ghasmiyanus (= Maxinimus),
[743] three years; Gordian, six years; Philipp, seven years;

Decius, six years; Gallus, six years; Valerian and Gallienus, fifteen years; Claudius II, one year; Critalius, six months; Aurelian, five years; Tacit, six months; Florian, twenty-five days; Probus, six years; Carus and his two sons, two years; Diocletian, six years; Maximian, twenty years; Constantine, thirty years; Constantine, thirty years; Constantine, thirty years; Julian the Apostate, two years; Jovian, one year; Valentinian and Gratian, ten years; Valentinian II, one year; Theodosius the Great, seventeen years; Arcadius and Honorius, twenty years; Theodosius II and Valentinian, sixteen years; Marcian, seven years; Leo, sixteen years; Zeno, eighteen years; Anastasius, twenty-seven years; Justin I, seven years; Justinian I, twenty years; Justin II, twelve years; Tiberius, six years; Maurice [744]
(Maurikios) and his son Theodosius, twenty years; Phocas, who was slain, seven and a half years; Heraclius, to whom the Messenger of God wrote an epistle, thirty years.

From the rebuilding of the Temple, after it was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, to the hijrah there elapsed, according to these scholars, over a thousand years. From the reign of Alexander to the hijrah there elapsed over 920 years. Of these, 303 years elapsed from the rise of Alexander to the birth of Jesus, and thirty-two years elapsed from the birth of Jesus to his ascension. From his ascension to the hijrah there elapsed 585 years and a few months.

Some authorities assert that the death of John the Baptist at the hands of the Israelites took place at the time of Ardashīr b. Bābak, after eight years of his reign, and that Nebuchadnezzar went to war in Palestine against the Jews on behalf of Shapūr (Sābūr) of the Troops b. Ardashīr b. Bābak.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad: Among the events taking place under the petty rulers, before the rise of Ardashīr b. Bābak, was the emergence of several Arab tribes from the shores of Iraq and the settlement of some of them at Ḥīrah and Anbār.

Al-Ḥīrah and al-Anbār[325]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad: When Nebuchadnezzar
[745] died, those Arabs whom he had settled at al-Ḥīrah when he was ordered to fight them, joined the people of al-Anbār, and the enclosure (*al-ḥayr*) remained a ruin. Thus, a long time elapsed during which no new wave (of tribesmen) from Arabia appeared. But al-Anbār had its Arab population which was joined by that of al-Ḥīrah. All of them were from Arab tribes, children of Ishmael and of Ma'add b. 'Adnān.[326] When the progeny of Ma'add b. 'Adnān, and those of the Arab tribes who were with them, multiplied and filled their land in al-Tihāmah and adjoining areas, they were dispersed by wars that occurred among them and evils that befell them. Therefore they moved out in quest of space and fertile land in the adjoining areas of the Yaman and the Syrian approaches. Some tribes that emerged settled in al-Baḥrayn, among them a group of the Azd. They had settled there in the age of 'Imrān b. 'Amr, who was from the remnant of the progeny of 'Āmir,[327] that is Mā' al-Samā' b. Ḥārithah, that is, al-Ghiṭrīf b. Tha'labah b. Imrū' al-

325. See above, n. 178.

326. Ishmael (Ismā'īl) is regarded as the ancestor of the Arabs in the Islamic tradition. 'Adnān and his son Ma'add are considered the ancestors of the northern Arabs. See *EI*², s.v. Ismā'īl, 'Adnān, Ma'add.

327. 'Āmir is the reputed ancestor of a South Arabian tribe by the same name. See *EI*², s.v. Dja'da.

Qays b. Māzin b. al-Azd. Those Arabs who emerged from al-Tihāmah included Mālik and 'Amr, the sons of Fahm b. Taymallāh b. Asad b. Wabarah b. Taghlib b. Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'ah, and Mālik b. Zuhayr b. 'Amr b. Fahm b. Taymallāh b. Asad b. Wabarah with a group of their people, and al-Ḥayqār b. al-Ḥīq b. 'Umayr b. Qanas b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān with all the Qanas, followed by Ghaṭafān b. 'Amr b. al- [746] Ṭamathān b. 'Ūdh Manāt b. Yaqdum b. Afṣā b. Du'mī b. Ayād b. Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān, and Zuhr b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Shalal b. Zuhr b. Ayād, and Ṣabaḥ b. Ṣabaḥ b. al-Ḥārith b. Afṣā b. Du'mī b. Ayād. Thus a number of Arab tribes gathered in al-Baḥrayn. They became allies known as al-Tanūkh, which means "abode," and pledged themselves to assist and support one another; under the joint name of Tanūkh they became a force against other people. They bore that name as if they were some great tribe. Clans of Numārah b. Lakhm dwelled with them.

Mālik b. Zuhayr invited Jadhīmah al-Abrash[328] b. Mālik b. Fahm b. Ghānim b. Daws al-Azdī to settle with him, and he married him to his sister Lamīs bt. Zuhayr. Jadhīmah b. Mālik and all the Azd who came along settled there, and Mālik and [747] 'Amr, the sons of Fahm, and the Azd became allies (*ḥalīf*). This (arrangement) excluded the rest of Tanūkh who were united.

The gathering and the alliance of the Arab tribes in al-Baḥrayn took place in the period of the regional princes, a period which lasted from (the time of) Alexander—who divided the countries after he slew Darius son of Darius, king of Persia—down to the victory of Ardashīr b. Bābak, the king of Fārs, over the regional princes. After that, Ardashīr was recognized as supreme authority. Thus the regional princes were called (*mulūk al-ṭawā'if*) because each of them had only a small domain with castles and structures surrounded by a ditch. Nearby enemies were similarly established, and they would raid one another, only to retreat suddenly.

The Arabs of Baḥrayn looked towards the land of Iraq; they

328. A king of pre-Islamic Arab antiquity, who lived perhaps in Iraq in the third century A.D. See *EI*², s.v. Djadhīma al-Abrash. See also Nicholson, *Literary history*, 34ff.; *CHI* 3(1), 597.

were desirous of overpowering the non-Arabs in order to seize the area adjoining Arabia, or to share it with them. Taking advantage of the discord among the princes, the Arab chieftains decided to march to Iraq. All who were with them agreed to do so. The first to rise was al-Ḥīqār b. al-Hīq with a group of his people and a motley crowd of others. They found the Armānīs, who were from Babylonia and the adjoining area up to Mosul, fighting the Ardawānīs, the petty princes in the area between Niffar,[329] a town of lower Iraq, and Ubullah and the edge of the wilderness (*bādiyah*).[330] The Arabs did not submit to
[748] their rule, and pushed them out of their own land. ʿĀd used to be called Iram, and when they perished Thamūd was called Iram.[331] Later they were called Arman, and they are the remnant of Iram. They are the Nabaṭ of the Sawād. Damascus is also called Iram.[332] These tribes disappeared from the Sawād of Iraq and became remnants of tribes among the Arabs of al-Anbār. Those of al-Ḥīrah are remnants of Qanaṣ b. Maʿadd. They are related to ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Naṣr b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Suʿūd b. Mālik b. ʿAmam b. Numārah b. Lakhm. This is the opinion of Muḍar and Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah,[333] but it is incorrect. Nothing more certain has reached us concerning Qanaṣ b. Maʿadd than Jubayr b. Muṭʿim's word that Nuʿmān was of his progeny.

Al-Anbār was so named because there were food storehouses (*anābir*) there.[334] They were called *al-ahrā'* (granaries), because the Persian king used to supply the sustenance for his men there.

Then there arose Mālik and ʿAmr, the two sons of Fahm b.

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329. On Niffar, ancient Nippur, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 73f.; Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, 315–319.

330. On al-Ubullah see above, n. 234.

331. On ʿĀd, Iram and Thamūd, which are names of Arab tribes in pre-Islamic times, see the relevant articles in *EI*[1] and *EI*[2].

332. Iram and Aram are similar in appearance in the Arabic script, hence probably the identification with Damascus, which was situated in the center of an Aramaic-speaking territory at the time of the Muslim conquest.

333. For Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah, an eighth century collector of Arabic verse, see *EI*[2], s.v. Ḥammād al-Rāwiya.

334. Anbār is actually a Persian word meaning storehouse, granary. See above, n. 177.

Taymallāh, and Mālik b. Zuhayr b. Fahm b. Taymallāh, and Ghaṭafān b. 'Amr b. al-Tamthān, and Zuhr b. al-Ḥārith, and Ṣabaḥ b. Ṣabaḥ, along with those from among their tribes and allies who joined them to dwell at al-Anbār in the kingdom of the Armānīs. Then there arose Numārah b. Qays b. Numārah and al-Najdah, a tribe (*qabīlah*) of 'Amālīq[335] claiming relationship to Kindah,[336] and Malkān b. Kindah, and Mālik and 'Amr, the sons of Fahm, and those allied with them. They dwelled together in Niffār in the domain of the Ardawānīs. The Ardawānīs settled them at the enclosure which Nebuchadnezzar had erected for those Arab traders whom he found [749] in his capital. This was when he was ordered to raid the Arabs in their country and to lead the troops against them. The garrison continued to be stationed at al-Anbār and Niffar, distrustful of the foreigners and distrusted by them, until the arrival of the *tubba'*, that is, As'ad Abū Karīb b. Malkīkarib with his troops. As'ad left behind those who had no strength to follow his troops, and those who were too weak to proceed with him or to return home. Thus they joined the Arabs within the enclosure and mingled with them. Ka'b b. Ju'ayl b. 'Ajrah b. Qumayr b. Tha'labah b. 'Awf b. Mālik b. Bakr b. Ḥabīb b. 'Amr b. Ghanam b. Taghlib b. Wā' il referred to this in the verse:

And *tubba'* raided with Ḥimyar
Until, from the people of 'Adan he arrived at al-Ḥīrah.

The *tubba'* set out marching, and then returned to them. They settled (at al-Ḥīrah), and he left them to themselves, returning to the Yaman. Among them were people from all the tribes, such as the Banū Liḥyān, who were a remnant of Jurhum, the Ju'fī, Ṭayi', Kalb, and Tamīm. The remnant of Jurhum was only at al-Ḥīrah. According to Ibn al-Kalbī: Liḥyān represents the remnant of Jurhum.

Many of the Tanūkh settled at al-Anbār and al-Ḥīrah, in the

335. The 'Amālīq are a mythical tribe of Arabs, the designation of whom is derived from the biblical Amalek, to which many further legends and elaborate stories were added by Arab story-tellers. See *EI*², s.v. 'Amālīḳ.

336. Kindah was a confederation of tribes of South Arabian origin that exercised rule over the Ma'add tribes in northern Arabia and, for a time, over al-Hīrah. See *EI*², s.v. Kinda; *CHI* 3(2), 601f. See **GAS** II 162 f.

area between al-Ḥīrah and the bank (*ṭaff*) of the Euphrates. To the west, they settled as far as the neighborhood of al-Anbār and its surroundings. They lived in tents, small and large, but not in clay houses; nor did they have any contact with the people living in houses. Their community extended into the area between al-Anbār and al-Ḥīrah, and they were known as the Arabs of the unwalled area (*ḍāḥiyah*). The first ruler from
[750] among them in the time of the regional princes was Mālik b. Fahm who dwelled close to al-Anbār. Following his death, his brother ʿAmr b. Fahm reigned, and upon the death of ʿAmr b. Fahm, Jadhīmah al-Abrash b. Mālik b. Fahm b. Ghānim b. Daws al-Azdī became ruler.

According to Ibn al-Kalbī: Daws is the son of ʿAdnān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. Zahrān b. Kaʿb b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik b. Naṣr b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabāʾ. According to Ibn al-Kalbī: It is said that Jadhīmah al-Abrash was from the proto-Arabs (*al-ʿāribah al-ūlā*) of the Banū Wabar b. Umaym b. Lūdh b. Shem b. Noah.[337] Jadhīmah was one of the brightest Arab kings, far-reaching and effective in his raids, and most resolute. He was the first to rule in Iraq. The Arabs joined him, and he raided standing armies. He was a leper. The Arabs were too awestruck to mention him by name or genealogy; they called him by his nickname out of respect. Thus they referred to Jadhīmah al-Waḍḍāḥ (the Luminous) or Jadhīmah al-Abrash (the Speckled). His dwellings were in the area between al-Ḥīrah and al-Anbār, and in Baqqah and Hīt and their environs. They were also in ʿAyn al-Tamr and the rim lands up to al-Ghumayr, al-Quṭquṭānah, and Khafiyyah and the adjoining area.[338] Tribute was paid to him, and delegations used to visit him. He raided the dwellings of Ṭasm and Jadīs, in Jaww and the environs. The Ṭasm[339] and Jadīs spoke Arabic. He encountered Ḥassān b. Tubbaʿ Asʿad Abī Karib who raided the Ṭasm and Jadīs in al-

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337. On Jadhīmah see above, n. 328.

338. For Hīt and ʿAyn Tamr see LeStrange, *Lands*, 65; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 121, 137 (al-Qutqutānah); III, 664 (Ghumayr); II, 457 (Khafiyyah).

339. For Ṭasm and Jadīs see *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭasm. For Jaww, see text above.

Yamāmah. Jadhīmah then withdrew, returning with his men, but the *tubbaʿ*'s cavalry came upon one of Jadhīmah's raiding parties and destroyed it. News of them reached Jadhīmah, who then recited: [751]

How often did I gaze at a high spot
northern winds flaying my garb.
I was with youths their defender.
they spent the night in the raid's hardships.
Then to the livestock spoilers I was led,
and men were left dead by us.
We were in their passage
as the people's passage was brotherhood.
I wish I knew what slew them.
We set out at nightfall but they stayed on at night;
They were ours.
When one of us spoke, they shouted.
Ours were the distant deserts
whose black people were scattered,
A company of the best, a witness
that is, my people, my kinsfolk.
I imbibed wine amidst them
delighted, with no voices.
Now over the generosity that was, my young girls
might weep over me.
I am the lord of all men,
beside my restraining and discouraging Lord.

By "restraining" he meant He who cuts short their lives; by "discouraging" he meant God who makes them fail.

Ibn al-Kalbī says: Three lines of the poem are genuine; the rest are not.[340] In his account of expeditions and raids of the proto-Arabs, a pre-Islamic poet declared:

340. The authenticity of much of pre-Islamic poetry in Arabic, which was transmitted orally and was not committed to writing before the rise of Islam, was regarded as suspect by some medieval Arab scholars. It was assumed, with some plausibility, that much of it was made up in the Islamic period for a variety of reasons, not least among them the great interest in Arab antiquities that developed in the early period of Islam. The statement by Ibn al-Kalbī reflects this kind of critical attitude. See Nicholson, *Literary history*, 131ff.

Jadhīmah, in Yabrīn, his abode
[752] became possessor of the treasure of ʿĀd of old.

Jadhīmah acted as prophet and soothsayer. He had two idols, called the two Dayzans. The place of the two Dayzans at al-Ḥīrah is known. They were entreated for water, and aid against the enemy. The Iyād[341] were at the well of Ubāgh, a man of the ʿAmālīk. Jadhīmah settled at that well, and conducted raids against the Iyād. It is mentioned that Jadhīmah had a servant from the Lakhm[342] who had among his maternal uncles, men of the Iyād. His name was ʿAdī b. Naṣr b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Suʿūd b. Mālik b. ʿAmam b. Numārah b. Lakhm—he was handsome and graceful. Jadhīmah raided the Iyād, so they sent men who gave the custodians of the two idols wine to drink and then stole the two idols. This is how the idols came to be possessed by the Iyād. A message was now sent to Jadhīmah, "Your idols are with us. They shun you and are attracted to us. If you will assure us that you will not raid us, we shall return them to you."

He said, "Send me ʿAdī b. Naṣr also." They did, along with the two idols. Jadhīmah left the Iyād in peace, kept ʿAdī, and put him in charge of his wine. Jadhīmah's sister Raqāsh,[343] the daughter of Mālik, noticed ʿAdī and fell in love with him. She sent for him and said, "O ʿAdī, speak to the king about your marrying me, for you are a man of lineage and status." But he said, "I dare not talk to him about the matter, nor do I wish him to marry you to me." She said, "When he sits over his wine, and his drinking companions arrive, give him pure wine to drink, but offer the company diluted wine; then when he is overcome with wine, talk to him about marrying me; he will not refuse you nor decline, and if he marries you to me, make the company witnesses."

[753] The young man acted upon her order. When the wine had taken effect, he asked the king for the girl's hand, which was

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341. On the ancient Arab tribe of Iyād see *EI*² s.v.

342. The Lakhm were an Arab tribe who formed a state around al-Ḥīrah, which was friendly to the Sasanians. See Rothstein, *Dynastie der Lahmiden*; S. Smith, *BSOAS*, 16 (1954), 425–468; *CHI* 3(2), 596ff.

343. *EI*², s.v. Djadhīma al-Abrash, reads this name as Riqāsh.

granted to him. ʿAdī went to her, and celebrated his wedding feast that very night. He became red-stained from the woman's perfume, and Jadhīmah, disapproving of ʿAdī's appearance, asked, "What are those traces, ʿAdī?" To which ʿAdī replied, "From the wedding." "What wedding?" asked the king. At this ʿAdī replied, "The wedding with Raqāsh." Jadhīmah then said, "Woe unto you. Who married her to you" ʿAdī answered, "The king did." Jadhīmah slapped his forehead and threw himself upon the ground in remorse and lament, while ʿAdī fled from his presence. Nobody saw any trace of him or heard of him (after that). Jadhīmah sent for Raqāsh, and said to her:

Tell me, and do not lie
    did you fornicate with a noble man or an ignoble one?
Was it a slave?
    then you are worthy of a slave.
Perhaps a worthless man?
    then a worthless one you deserve.

She replied, "No, you gave me in marriage to an Arab who is well-known, and of noble birth. You did not consult me about my fate, and I had no power over myself." He recognized her plea and let her be. ʿAdī b. Naṣr returned to the Iyād, and stayed with them. One day he left with youths on a hunt, and one of the young men, who was from the Lihb, shot him at a spot between two mountains. He retired to a tent, and died. Raqāsh was with child, and she gave birth to a boy whom she named ʿAmr.[344] She reared him until he grew up. She then perfumed him and clothed him, and brought him to his uncle Jadhīmah. As soon as Jadhīmah saw the boy, he was taken by him, and he showered him with tender love. The boy frequently visited the king's children, and stayed with them. One day, Jadhīmah set out into the wilderness with his kin and children in a year of abundant rich herbage. Tents were set up for him in a garden with flowers and pools. The princes, and ʿAmr with them, were gathering mushrooms. Whenever they found a good mushroom, they ate it, but whenever ʿAmr found one he con- [754]

344. On ʿAmr b. ʿAdī see *EI*² s.v.

cealed it in his waistband. They raced toward Jadhīmah while ʿAmr recited:

> This is what I have gathered, and the best of it is in it [*fīhi*] when every gatherer [but myself] has his hand to his mouth [*fīhi*][345]

Jadhīmah hugged him and held him, pleased with his word and deed. The king ordered a silver trinket and a necklace made for ʿAmr; ʿAmr was the first Arab to wear a necklace, and was nicknamed ʿAmr the Necklaced (Dhū al-Ṭawq). While he was in his prime, he was lured and carried away by the jinn. Jadhīmah searched for him for a long time throughout many lands, but to no avail. Two brothers from Bulqayn, one called Mālik, the other ʿAqīl, sons of Farij b. Mālik b. Kaʿb b. al-Qayn b. Jasar b. Shayʿallāh b. Asad b. Wabarah b. Taghlib b. Ḥulwān b. ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāʿah came from Syria and sought to meet Jadhīmah for whom they had brought gifts and precious things. While they were on their way, they alighted at a house. They had a songstress with them whose name was Umm ʿAmr. She served them food, and while they were eating, there arrived a haggard, naked youth with tangled hair and long nails. Looking ill, he sat down at their side and stretched out his hand for food. The songstress gave him a leg. He ate it and then stretched out his hand toward her. She said, "Give the slave a leg, he will covet the arm." It became a proverb. Then she offered the two men some of her wine, and tied up the skin. ʿAmr b. ʿAdī said:

[755] Pass round from left to right! Why do you allow Umm ʿAmr,
me and my comrades thirst,
Yet you will not serve me this morning, Umm ʿAmr,
Am I the worst of us three?[346]

Mālik and ʿAqīl then asked, "Who are you, young man?" His answer was, "As you do not know me or my lineage, I am ʿAmr b. ʿAdī, the son of a Tanūkh woman of the Lakhm tribe; tomorrow you shall not see me at Numārah, but renounced."

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345. Translated in Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 472 col. 3.

346. This verse is from the Muʿallaqah of ʿAmr b. Kulthūm. The translation is based on Nicholson, *Literary history*, 111.

Mālik and ʿAqīl rose to embrace him. They washed his head, cut his nails, cleansed his hair, dressed him in clothes they had, and said, "We could not present to Jadhīmah anything more precious to him or more beloved by him than his sister's son. God has returned him to Jadhīmah through us." The two set out taking ʿAmr along, and reached the gate of Jadhīmah at al-Ḥīrah. They announced to him the glad tiding, and he rejoiced greatly, but he did not recognize ʿAmr in his current state. The two brothers exclaimed, "Bless you, a man in his state will change." Jadhīmah then sent ʿAmr to his mother and he stayed with her for a few days, after which she returned him to her brother. Jadhīmah said, "I saw him on the day he disappeared, when he was wearing a necklace. Since then, till this day, he has never left my mind nor my heart." They returned the necklace to ʿAmr. But when the king looked at him, he said, "ʿAmr has outgrown the necklace." This locution has become proverbial. Jadhīmah turned to Mālik and ʿAqīl, "How about your reward?" They replied, "Our reward is to be your boon companions as long as we and you are alive." So they were the two boon companions of Jadhīmah and became proverbial in Arabic poetry. It is about them that Abū Khirāsh al- [756]
Hudhalī says:[347]

By your life, Kabīshah has not been bored by my appearance,
yet my stay with her was slight indeed.
Know you not, that long before us, they had to part
The two sincere boon companions, Mālik and ʿAqīl?

Mutammim b. Nuwayrah said:[348]

For a long time we were [inseparable] like Jadhīmah's two boon-companions
so that it was said, "Never will they part."
But after we parted, lo, Mālik and I,
despite the long companionship, we spent not a single night together."

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347. See Hell, *Neue Hudailiten-Diwane*, II, 24, 49. Here the first line is different. The text of Hell reads, "By my life, my appearance truly upset Umaymah [*laʿamrī laqad rāʿat Umaymata ṭalʿatī*]."

348. See Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie*, 100, 106.

ʿAmr b. Ẓarib[349]

The ruler of the Arabs in the Jazīrah and the fringes of Syria was ʿAmr b. Ẓarib b. Ḥassān b. Udhaynah b. al-Sumaydaʿ b. Hubār al- ʿAmlaqī—he is also called al-ʿAmlīqī. Jadhīmah gathered hosts of Arabs and marched toward ʿAmr to attack him, while ʿAmr b. Ẓarib advanced from Syria at the head of his forces. They met, and they fought a fierce engagement. ʿAmr b. Ẓarib was slain and his forces scattered; Jadhīmah with his men returned safe and sound, carrying their booty. Concerning this, al-Aʿwar b. ʿAmr b. Hunāʾah b. Mālik b. Fahm al-Azdī recited the (following) verses:

[757] It is as if ʿAmr b. Tharb had never lived as a king,
and never did banners around him flutter.
He encountered Jadhīmah with a spreading cavalry
like locusts jumping amidst flames.

349. On ʿAmr b. Ẓarib, see Nicholson, *Literary history*, 35.

Al-Zabbā'[350]

After 'Amr, his daughter al-Zabbā' reigned. Her name was Nā'ilah. Al-Qa'qā' b. al-Darmā' al-Kalbī referred to her in the verse:

> Do you know a home between the road
> and Nā'ilah's ancient track?

Her army consisted of remnants of the 'Amālīq and the proto-Arabs, and Tazīd and Ṣāliḥ, the two sons of Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'ah, and those who joined them from the tribes of Quḍā' ah. She had a sister named Zabībah. Al-Zabbā' built herself a fortress on the western bank of the Euphrates. She used to spend the winter with her sister, and the spring at Baṭn al-Najjār from where she would go to Palmyra (Tadmur). When her power was well established and she was well entrenched in her reign, she decided to attack Jadhīmah al-Abrash to avenge the death of her father. Her sister Zabībah, thoughtful, clever and cunning that she was, said to her, "O al-Zabbā', if you attack Jadhīmah, it may be a battle fraught with consequences. If you are victorious, you will have achieved your vengeance; but if you are slain, your kingdom will be

350. On al-Zabbā', see Nicholson, *Literary history*, 35ff. M. Piotrovskii discussed the legend in Paleztinskij Sbornik v. 84 (1970).

gone. War is a matter of ups and downs, and its vicissitudes cannot be avoided. Your glory still prevails over your foe and contestant; you have not yet encountered trouble or vicissi-
[758] tudes of fate, and you do not know who may be the victor, and whose turn it may be." Al-Zabbā' said to her, "You offer reflection and good advice and it is well taken." She gave up the idea of attacking Jadhīmah and she approached the matter by way of duplicity, treachery, and craftiness. She wrote to Jadhīmah inviting him to visit her and her kingdom, and to join his country with hers. She also wrote him in her letter that she felt that the reign of women tended only toward ill-repute, weak rule, and inefficient administration; that she considered nobody but him to be her peer and to be worthy of her kingdom. "Come to me, join my kingdom to yours," (she wrote), "join my country to yours and assume my power along with yours."

When al-Zabbā's letter reached Jadhīmah, and her messengers came to him, he was delighted with her invitation and excited by her offer. He assembled men of good sense and intelligence from among his trusted associates. He was at the time at al-Baqqah on the bank of the Euphrates. he presented the invitation of al-Zabbā' to them, and consulted them on the matter. They agreed he should proceed to her and take over her kingdom. Among them was a man called Qaṣīr b. Sa'd b. 'Umar b. Jadhīmah b. Qays b. Rabī b. Numārah b. Lakhm. Sa'd (his father) had married a servant of Jadhīmah, and she gave birth to
[759] Qaṣīr. Resourceful and energetic, he was an influential advisor to Jadhīmah. He opposed the advice of the other men, saying, "Feeble thought and sheer treachery." The locution became proverbial.[351] But they refuted his words and contested his thoughts. Then he said, "I see a matter that is neither odd nor even"—this too became a proverb.[352] Then he said to Jadhīmah, "Write to her that if she is sincere, let her come to you; if not, do not expose yourself to her power, and do not fall into her trap. You enraged her, because you killed her father." But Jadhīmah did not accept Qaṣīr's advice. Qaṣīr then recited:

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351. *ra'y fātir wa-ghadr ḥāḍir.*
352. *innī la'arā amr laysa bi-l-khasā wa-lā al-zakā.*

I am a man whom failure will not deflect from quenching his thirst
if the gall of excess comes before the goal.[353]

Jadhīmah replied, "No, but you are a man whose opinion is cautious, not enterprising"—this too became a proverb.[354] The king now summoned his nephew ʿAmr b. ʿAdī for consultation. ʿAmr encouraged Jadhīmah to proceed, and said, "The Numārah are my people; they are with al-Zabbāʾ. If they could they would join you." Jadhīmah listened to him, rejecting Qaṣīr's counsel. Qaṣīr then said, "None follows Qaṣīr's advice." Concerning this Nahshal b. Ḥarrī b. Ḍamrah b. Jābir, of Tamīm recited:

The master, obstinate, defied me,
Just as Qaṣīr was not followed in the two Baqqahs
But when the result of my affair and his affair became clear,
And hearts turned with the failures of affairs
he wished belatedly he had followed my advice
As events followed events.

The Arabs said, "In Baqqah the affair was settled."[355] The expression then became a proverb. Jadhīmah appointed ʿAmr b. ʿAdī to be his deputy over his realm and power, and ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Jinn al-Jarmī to head his calvary. Then he set out with his best men, taking the route along the western side of the Euphrates. When he alighted at al-Furḍah[356] he summoned [760] Qaṣīr and asked, "What is the prudent course?" "Prudence you left at al-Baqqah," was the reply—it became proverbial.[357] The messengers of al-Zabbāʾ received the king with gifts and pleasantries, whereupon he said, "O Qaṣīr, what think you?" The reply was, "A minor occurrence in a major affair"—this too became proverbial.[358] "The cavalry will meet you," [Qaṣīr

353. *innī imruʾ lā yamīlu al-ʿajz tarwiyatī idhā atat dūna shayʾ mirrat al-wadham.*
354. *fī al-kinn lā fī al-ḍiḥḥ.*
355. *fī Baqqah ubrima al-amr.*
356. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 107, 125.
357. *bi-Baqqah tarakta al-raʾy.*
358. *khaṭar yasīr fi khaṭb kabīr.* On this seventh century poet see GAS II 196 f.

continued). "If they march in front of you, the woman is sincere; but if they outflank you and encircle you, they mean treachery. Ride al-'Aṣā—this was Jadhīmah's unrivalled mare—"and I, too, shall ride her and accompany you."

The king was met by the cavalry and the squadrons, and they separated him from al-'Aṣā. But Qaṣīr jumped on the mare's back. Jadhīmah glanced at him as he was turning back on the mare, and exclaimed, "Woe to his mother! What resolution on 'Aṣā's back"—this became proverbial.[359] Then he exclaimed, "What a frustration al-'Aṣā is carrying."[360] The mare ran until sunset, and then expired after having covered a vast distance. Qaṣīr erected a tower over the spot, called the 'Aṣā Tower. The Arabs say, "The best al-'Aṣā did was to set an example."[361]

Jadhīmah was surrounded by horsemen and brought before al-Zabbā'. When she saw him, she uncovered and, lo and behold, the hair of her pudendum was plaited. She said, "O Jadhīmah, do you see the concern of a bride?"[362] This became a proverb. He said, "The limit has been reached, the moist ground has dried up, and I see a case of treachery."[363] She replied, "By my deity, we do not suffer from a lack of razors, or scarcity of surgeons, but it is a custom of men"—this too became proverbial.[364] Then she said, "I was told that royal blood is a cure against madness." She seated him on a skin and ordered a golden bowl which she prepared for him. She gave him
[761] wine to drink until he was intoxicated, and then ordered the veins in his arm to be cut. She moved the bowl toward him. She had been told that if a drop of his blood should fall outside the bowl, his blood would be avenged. Out of respect for royalty, kings were not killed by decapitation except in battle. When Jadhīmah's hands weakened, drops of his blood spilled outside the bowl, and al-Zabbā' said, "Do not lose any of the

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359. *wayl ummihi ḥazm 'alā ẓahr al-'Aṣā.*

360. *yā ḍulla mā tajrī bihi al-'Aṣā.* See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* 1797, s.v. *ḍull.*

361. *khayr mā jā'at bihi al-'Aṣā mathal.*

362. *a-da'b 'arūs tarā?*

363. *balaqha al-madā wa-jaffa al-tharā wa-amr qhadr arā.*

364. *mā binā min 'adam mawāsin wa-lā qillat awāsin wa-lakinnahu shīmat mā unāsin.*

king's blood." Whereupon Jadhīmah said, "Leave blood lost by its owner"—the phrase became proverbial.[365] Jadhīmah died and al-Zabbā' sought to absorb his blood with a piece of cotton in her perfume container.

Qaṣīr left the tribe where the mare al-'Asā had died, and continued on his way until he came to 'Amr b. 'Adī who was at al-Ḥīrah. Qaṣīr then said to him, "Oblivious or avenging?"[366] The reply was, "No, avenging, marching"—and it became a proverb.[367] Qaṣīr now met up with Jadhīmah's people; they had split. One faction was with 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Jinn al-Jarmī; another, with 'Amr b. 'Adī. Qaṣīr went back and forth until he brought them together, and 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Jinn became reconciled with 'Amr b. 'Adī. The people sympathized with 'Amr b. 'Adī, who said about it as follows:

I called upon Ibn 'Abd al-Jinn for peace after he
ran in the distance of imprudence, and hurried.
But when he refrained from impeding us by being obstinate
I urged him like a mother would her young ones.

'Amr b. 'Abd al-Jinn replied:[368]

Verily, by blood flowing, and running hither and thither,
Which you would think to be dragon's blood
Upon the mountain top of al-'Uzzā', or by al-Nasr
And what the monks sanctified at every temple,
The most saintly Christ son of Mary. [762]

The verse was found in this form, incomplete; the third line is likely to have read, "such and such happened." Qaṣīr now said to 'Amr b. 'Adī, "Prepare and be ready; do not let your uncle's blood be unavenged." 'Amr replied, "But how can I reach her when she is more inaccessible than the eagle of the air?" —this became a proverb.

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365. *da'ū dam ḍayya'ahu ahluhu.*
366. *a-dāthir am thā'ir?*
367. *thā'ir sā'ir.*
368. The translation is based on Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 2033. For the pre-Islamic deity al-'Uzzā', see *SEI*. Nasr "vulture" or "eagle" was also a deity in pre-Islamic Arabia. See W. Robertson Smith, *The religion of the Semites*, 226; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 23.

Al-Zabbā' asked one of her woman soothsayers about power and rule, and the woman replied, "I see your death because of a youth, vile and disloyal, 'Amr b. 'Adī; you will not die at his hand but at your own, on his account." Wary of 'Amr, al-Zabbā' built a tunnel from the audience hall in which she held court to a fortress inside her city, and said, "Should something unexpected occur, I shall enter the tunnel to get to my fortress." She called in a painter, the best and most successful of her country's painters. She equipped him, treated him well, and said to him, "Go in disguise and reach 'Amr b. 'Adī, stay with his retinue, join them, mingle with them, make them aware of your knowledge of painting and your expertise. Then make the acquaintance of 'Amr b. 'Adī, and paint him seated, standing, riding, in simple garb, and fully armed, reproducing his costumes and color. If you succeed in carrying this out, [763] come to me." The painter set out, and he arrived at 'Amr's (camp). Proceeding according to the instructions of al-Zabbā', he carried out his task. Then he returned to her with the likenesses she wanted, so that she might recognize 'Amr b. 'Adī in any shape or guise and be on her guard.

Qaṣīr said to 'Amr b. 'Adī, "Cut off my nose, beat my back and leave her to me." To this 'Amr replied, "I am not going to do that. This is not what you deserve from me." Qaṣīr now said, "If you would help me, you will be clear of blame"—this became a proverb.[369]

According to Ibn al-Kalbī: The father of al-Zabbā' built the tunnel for her and her sister; her sister's fortress was inside her city. 'Amr said to Qaṣīr, "You are a man of discernment." But Qaṣīr cut off his own nose, and covered his back with wounds. So the Arabs say of a ruse, "Qaṣīr cut off his nose."[370] Al-Mutalammis refers to this in the verse:

For the sake of blood vengeance it was that
Qaṣīr cut off his nose, and Bayhas plunged to death by sword.[371]

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369. *khalli 'annī idhan wa-khalāka dhamm.*

370. *jada'a anfahu Qaṣīr.*

371. On the pre-Islamic poet al-Mutalammis see Nicholson, *Literary history*, 107f. Bayhas lost seven brothers. To urge blood revenge, he wore the

Another version has "He desired death." 'Adī b. Zayd recited:[372]

Like Qaṣīr when he found nothing else,
Qaṣīr cut off his ears and nose for gratitude.

When Qaṣīr cut off his nose and injured his back he left, pretending that he was fleeing. He claimed that 'Amr did it all to him asserting that Qaṣīr had been plotting against his uncle Jadhīmah who was gullible about al-Zabbā'. Qaṣīr then pro- [764]
ceeded to al-Zabbā'. She was told that Qaṣīr was at the gate, and he was admitted by her order. Lo and behold, his nose had been cut off and his back carried the signs of beating. She said, "What is it that I see upon you, O Qaṣīr?" He replied, "'Amr b. 'Adī asserted that I had misled his uncle by extolling the trip to you, and that I had duped him and sided with you against him. He thus did to me what you see; I proceeded to you, as I knew that nobody would be more averse to him than you." She treated him kindly, honored him, and found in him some of the resoluteness, good sense, experience, and knowledge of royal affairs that she sought.

When he felt that she had become friendly with him and trusted him, he said to her, "I have much wealth in Iraq, including rarities, clothes, perfume. Send me to Iraq so that I may get my wealth and bring to you some of the clothes and rare garments, Iraqi varieties of perfumes and commodities. You will gain much profit and acquire objects useful to royalty, for Iraq's rarities are incomparable." He kept describing this to her in glowing terms, until she let him go and sent a caravan with him. She said, "Go to Iraq, sell what we have equipped you with there, and buy for us of their rarities in clothes and the like." Qaṣīr set out with what she gave him. He reached Iraq and came to al-Ḥīrah disguised. He was received by 'Amr b. 'Adī, to whom he told the story. Qaṣīr said, "Equip me with cloth, rarities, goods. Maybe God will deliver al-Zabbā' to us,

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shirt instead of the trousers and vice versa. When asked about it, he said, "I wear garb for every occasion, be it pleasant or calamitous." See Nicholson, ibid.

372. A pre-Islamic Christian poet. See *GAS*, II, 778; *EI*², s.v. 'Adī b. Zayd; Nicholson, *Literary history*, 45–48.

and you will be able to exact your vengeance and slay your enemy." 'Amr gave Qaṣīr what he needed, supplying him with all manner of clothes and other goods. Qaṣīr then returned to al-Zabbā' and displayed it all to her. She liked what she saw and was pleased, and her trust and confidence in him increased.
[765] She then equipped him with even more goods than on the first trip, and he again went to Iraq. He met 'Amr b. 'Adī and obtained from him what he thought would suit al-Zabbā'. He returned to Iraq on a third trip, reported to 'Amr, and said, "Gather your trusted men and soldiers, and prepare for them sacks and haircloth"—according to Ibn al-Kalbī, Qaṣīr was the first to use sacks. "Load two men each in a sack on a camel," (he continued), "and sew the seams of the sack heads on the inside. When they are inside the city of al-Zabbā', I shall station you at the gate of her tunnel; the men will come out of the sacks, shout at the city people, and kill whoever resists. If al-Zabbā' comes seeking the tunnel, strike her with the sword."

'Amr b. 'Adī acted accordingly. He loaded the men in sacks, as suggested by Qaṣīr, and sent the camels off to al-Zabbā', with men and arms. When they were close to her city, Qaṣīr came to her, announcing their arrival and the quantity of garments and rarities they were carrying to her. He asked her to come out to see the train of those camels and their load, saying, "I brought what shrieks and keeps silent"—this became a proverb.[373]

According to Ibn al-Kalbī: Qaṣīr hid during the day, and traveled at night; he was the first to do that. Al-Zabbā' came out and saw the camels almost collapsing under the heavy load. She said, "O Qaṣīr,

[766] What is the matter with the camels that their march is so slow?
Do they carry stone or iron?
Or solid cold lead?"

The camels entered the city until the last passed by the gatekeeper. He was a Nabatean holding an ox-goad. With it he prodded the sacks near him; the prod hit the waist of a man in

373. *ji'tu bi-mā ṣā'a wa-ṣamata.*

the sack and the man broke wind. The gate-keeper became frightened and exclaimed in Nabataean,[374] *"Bishta be-saqqe,"* meaning "There is mischief in the sacks"—the phase became proverbial. When the camels reached midtown, they were made to kneel down. Qaṣīr had signaled to 'Amr the gate of the tunnel, and had shown it to him. The men got out of the sacks and threw themselves upon the people of the city, attacking them with arms. 'Amr b. 'Adī stood at the gate of the tunnel. Al-Zabbā' rushed back to get into the tunnel but noticed 'Amr standing there. She recognized him from the picture the painter had made. She sucked her seal-ring, which contained poison, and exclaimed, "By my own hand, not by yours, O 'Amr"—the phrase became a proverb.[375] 'Amr countered and, striking her with his sword, he killed her. After inflicting casualties among the city's people, 'Amr returned to Iraq.

In his ode (*qaṣīdah*), 'Adī b. Zayd referred to the story of Jadhīmah, and of Qaṣīr and al-Zabbā', and how 'Amr b. 'Adī killed al-Zabbā':

Were the abodes changed or obliterated?
Did they become very antiquated or did they disintegrate . . . ? [767]

Al-Mukhabbal, that is, Rabī'ah b. 'Awf al-Sa'di[376] recited:

O 'Amr, I longed to join you,
and for each longing to join there is separation.
Nay, how often have I seen time parting.
those whose inclination is not to part.
Good luck had al-Zabbā', she built herself
abodes and fountains with tunnels,
Gentle-paced, fine-necked camels from the people of Dūmah
carried prosperous life to her, devoid of hardship.
Until they were scattered by a shining sword,
violence flashing like a blade.

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374. This is in Aramaic.
375. *bi-yadī, lā bi-yadika yā 'Amr.*
376. On the sixth-century poet, 'Adi b. Zayd see *EI*[2] I 196. On the seventh-century poet al-Mukhabbal see *GAS* II, 201ff.

And Abū Ḥudhayfah, on the day he and his men were in straits,
pressed by the vortex cleft, battle turmoil at Ufāq;
With him Ma'add and the 'Ibād and the Ṭayyi',
and among the troops squadrons and companies of men.
He bestowed excellent and comely animals around him
to a troop; their bodies seemed released.
Then there came upon him an hour when he had no escape from fate;
that seemed to be on the day of his final destiny,
a gift whose vessel was turned to spill.

An Arab poet said:

We slew Faqḥal and Ibn Rā'in and uprooted al-Zabbā's plant with reaping hook.
When the caravans arrived, she said, "Is it solid weight of date, or iron and stone."

[768] 'Abd Bājir, whose name was Bahrā, was one of the proto-Arabs. They formed ten tribes (*ḥayy*): 'Ād, Thamūd, 'Amālīq, Ṭasm, Jadīs, Umaym, al-Mūd, Jurhum, Yaqṭan and al-Silf—al-Silf was included in the Ḥimyar:[377]

May your foot ride from the calamity.
You rode a camel [that was] not low
Upon the 'Arāqī in Ṣafā of al-Ṭawī.
If you be angry, be angry with the unwalled well,
And blame the chief, 'Amr b. 'Adī.

After Jadhīmah, the kingship fell to his sister's son 'Amr b. 'Adī b. Naṣr b. Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. 'Amr b. Numārah b. Lakhm. The latter was the first Arab king to settle in al-Ḥīrah, and the first of the Arab kings in Iraq whom the people of al-Ḥīrah glorified in their writings, and to whom they are related. They are the kings of Naṣr's house. 'Amr b. 'Adī continued his reign until his death at the age of 120. He ruled as an autocrat who raided and seized booty. Missions waited on him throughout his long reign. However, he would not recognize

377. See *EI*², s.v. 'Ād. Al-Mūd may be suggested by Gen. 10:26, and Umaym by Gen. 25:4. See *EI*² I 450 on 'Amr b. 'Adī.

the regional princes of Iraq, nor did they recognize him. This [769]
continued to the rise of Ardashīr b. Bābak among the Persians.

What we mentioned here about Jadhīmah and his nephew 'Amr b. 'Adī, flowed from our previous discussion of the kings of the Yaman whose reigns were not orderly. A chieftain among them was ruler over his province (*mikhlāf*) and region (*maḥjar*) only, not beyond that. If any of them deviated from this, or distinguished himself and went beyond this limitation by advancing well beyond his province, then it was due rather to his personality and not entrenched rule, or ancestry and progeny. It was similar to what happens to some exceptional bandit who raids district after district, surprising the people, but when pursued, he shows no stability. Such was the case of the rulers of the Yaman. One after the other would sometimes emerge from his province and region, and gain something on his march, but he would then rush home in fear of pursuit. No one would show allegiance to him, other than the people of his province, nor would they pay him taxes. 'Amr b. 'Adī, Jadhīmah's nephew, whose story we have recounted, became a ruler (in the same way) as his progeny did, that is, in the fashion practiced by the Arabs in the environs of Iraq and the *bādiyah* of the Hijāz.[378] They became rulers because the Persian kings employed them for this purpose, relying on them to keep the adjacent Arabs under control. This continued until Abarwīz b. Hurmuz killed al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, and transferred these functions to others. [770]

Regarding this we discussed the story of Jadhīmah and 'Amr b. 'Adī. We did this as we wanted to continue the complete history of the Persian kings, and to confirm (*istashhada*) what has been told about them, insofar as we are able to do so. The story of the family (*āl*) of Naṣr b. Rabī'ah,[379] and those rulers and governors who served the Persian kings in securing the frontier Arabs in the *bādiyah* of Iraq, is known and recorded among the

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378. *Bādiyah* signifies countryside, wilderness, area of nomadism. See *EI*[2] supplement, s.v. al-bādiya. Parvīz b. Hurmuz abolished the kingdom of al-Ḥīrah in A.D. 602.

379. For Naṣr, an ancestor of a ruling family in al-Ḥīrah, see Rothstein, *Dynastie der Lahmiden*, 39.

people of al-Ḥīrah. It is known in their churches and recorded in their writings.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī: From al-Ḥīrah's churches I used to obtain data about the Arabs, the genealogy of the family of Naṣr b. Rabī'ah, the dates of their service to the Persian emperors and the chronicle of their years. For in those churches is a record of their kingdom and all their affairs.

As for Ibn Ḥumayd, he gave us a different version concerning the offspring of Naṣr b. Rabī'ah and their migration to Iraq. His version was different from that of Hishām and from the account we received on the authority of Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—some scholars. Ibn Ḥumayd b. Rabī'ah b. Naṣr al-Lakhmī had a vision. We shall mention it later when discussing Ethiopian power and their occupation of the Yaman. We shall also mention the interpretation of the dream by Saṭīḥ and Shiqq, and their response to his vision. Ibn Ḥumayd then mentioned in this report of his: It occurred to Rabī'ah b. Naṣr, after questioning Saṭīḥ and Shiqq and obtaining their reply, that what those two had said depended on the Ethiopians.[380] He equipped his sons and the people of his house to enable them to
[771] move to Iraq to improve their lot. Rabī'ah wrote on their behalf to a Persian called King Shapūr (Sābūr) b. Khurrazād, whereupon the king settled them in al-Ḥīrah.[381] Among the progeny of Rabī'ah b. Naṣr was al-Nu'mān, the king of al-Ḥīrah, that is, al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir b. 'Amr b. 'Adī b. Rabī'ah b. Naṣr.[382] This is according to the genealogy and learning of the people of the Yaman.

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380. Rothstein, *Dynastie der Lahmiden*, 30–40, 50ff. The South Arabian version indicates that a king of the Yaman, Rābi'ah b. Naṣr, had a dream which was interpreted by two sages, Saṭīḥ and Shiqq, as referring to an Ethiopian invasion. This started a migration to the north. Hishām b. al-Kalbī indicates another tradition, that Arab royalty had migrated northwards even before the Lakhmids. The newcomers established a federation (*ḥilf*) with the indigenous population. The Lakhmid royalty was thus incorporated into the local dynasty. It would appear that these events took place in the third century A.D.

381. That is Shāpūr VII, ca. A.D. 240–272. See Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 25, n. 7.

382. Al-Nu'mān b. Mundhir ruled in al-Ḥīrah in the years A.D. 592–604. See the chronological table in S. Smith, *BSOAS*, 16 (1954), 425–468 (for the table, 430).

Ṭasm and Jadīs[383]

Says Abū Ja'far:
We shall now discuss the Ṭasm and Jadīs as their history also falls within the period of the regional princes. The extinction of the Jadīs was brought about by Ḥassān b. Tubba', as stated above in the account of the *tubba*'s of Ḥimyar who were contemporaries of the Persian kings.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad, and also, Ibn Ḥumayd —Salamah—Ibn Isḥḥāq and other Arab scholars: I was told that the Ṭasm and Jadīs were among the dwellers of al-Yamāmah.[384] At the time, al-Yamāmah was a most fertile and highly cultivated land, a land most prosperous, with a variety of fruit, wondrous orchards, and tall castles. They were ruled by a ruler of the Ṭasm, a wicked and tyrannical king; nothing deterred him from his capriciousness. His name was 'Amlūq, and he mistreated and humiliated the Jadīs. One of his acts of tyranny and humiliation against them was his command that no virgin of the Jadīs should be given to her husband until she had been brought to be deflowered by the king. A man of the Jadīs, al-Aswad b. Ghifār said to the chieftains of his people, "You see the shame and humiliation we suffer. Dogs would [772]

383. See above, n. 339.
384. For al-Yamāmah in Arabia see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v., where a detailed account of the land as well as a version of the present story is given.

loathe and resent it. Follow me, for I am calling upon you to rise to the occasion (*'izz al-dahr*) and reject the humiliation." They asked, "How is that?" He answered, "I shall prepare a party for the king and his people. When they come, we shall rise against them with our swords. I shall deal with him, and slay him, and each of you will turn against his dinner companion." They agreed unanimously, whereupon he prepared a party and ordered his people to unsheath their swords and hide them in the sand. He said, "When the guests arrive, strutting in their finery, pick up your swords, and attack them before they take their seats; slay the leaders, for, having slain them, the underlings will be of no account." The king arrived and was slain, as were the leaders. Then the men attacked the underlings and wiped them out. A man of the Ṭasm, Riyāḥ b. Murrah by name, fled, and came to Ḥassān b. Tubba' appealing for help. Ḥassān, at the head of the Ḥimyar, set out, and when he had covered one third of the distance to al-Yamāmah, Riyāḥ said, "Bless you. I have a married sister among the Jadīs. Her name is al-Yamāmah. Nobody upon earth has better vision than she. She will notice a rider from the distance of a three-night ride. I am wary lest she warn the people of your approach. Therefore, command each and every one of your men to cut down a tree, hold it in front of him, and proceed with the tree in his hand." Ḥassān gave the command. His men complied with the command, and then he proceeded.[385]

But al-Yamāmah looked out and noticed them, so she said to the Jadīs, "The Ḥimyar are on the march." They said, "What is it that you see?" She replied, "I see a man upon a tree, biting into a shoulder, or mending his shoe." They did not believe
[773] her. Yet it was as she said. In the morning, Ḥassān struck. He wiped them out and devastated their country, razing their castles and fortresses. (The region known as) al-Yamāmah was called, at the time, Jaww and al-Qaryah. Al-Yamāmah, the daughter of Murrah, was now brought to Ḥassān, whereupon he ordered that her eyes be gouged out. They found black veins in them. He said to her, "What is this black stuff in your veins?" She replied, "It is a tiny black stone called antimony

385. See Nicholson, *Literary history*, 25.

[*ithmīd*] which I used to color the eyelids." They say she was the first person to use antimony to color the eyelids. Ḥassān then ruled that Jaww should be called al-Yamāmah.

Arab poets spoke of Ḥassān and this expedition of his. Thus al-A'shā said:[386]

Be like her who when her visitor could not yet be seen,
gave him from afar a frightened glance.
No woman with her vision arose
to see the truth; like the truthful soothsayer in his rhymed prose,
She turned an eye unerring
as the mirage was floating over Ra's al-Kalb and rising.
She said, 'I see a man [biting] a shoulder blade in his palm
or adjusting a shoe; woe to me, whichever he did.'
But they believed her not, and in the morning they were overwhelmed
by Ḥassān spreading trap-ropes and death.
They forced the people of Jaww from their abodes; [77
they destroyed the tall structures, razing them to the ground.

Also Namīr b. Tawlab al-'Uklī recited:[387]

Have you not asked about 'Ādiyā' and his house,
the wine and the vinegar, the inevitable ups and downs,
And about their maiden, 'Anz, on the evening when she perceived
and heard from afar through space.
She said, "I see a man whose palm is turning
a tree-root, while Jaww is secure, devoid of fear."
She saw the vanguard of the army and in front of it
the run of the camels to the shout for Tubba',
As if a good man of the Jaww people, at the morning drink,
were smitten by the diluted poison potion.
They were as the most prosperous you ever saw,
yet began to rob the well-equipped traveller's provision.

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386. See Ḥusayn, *Diwan*, 153 n. 13; also *EI*², s.v. al-A'shā; Nicholson, *Literary history*, 123ff.

387. For this seventh-century poet see *GAS*, II, 222ff.

Said al-Yamāmah, "Carry me standing [upon the camel].
I shall be slain if you send the camel to me kneeling."

Ḥassān b. Tubbaʿ who struck down the Jadīs is Dhū Muʿāhir, who was Tubbaʿ b. Tubbaʿ Tubān Asʿad b. Abī Karib b. Malkīkarib b. Tubbaʿ b. Aqran. He was the father of Tubbaʿ b. Ḥassān
[775] who—so the people of the Yaman assert—came to Mecca and covered the Kaʿbah. The ravine of al-Maṭābikh (the Kitchens) was given this name because he had set up the kitchens there and fed the people. Ajyād (Long Necks) was called thus because his cavalry was there.[388] He came to Yathrib,[389] alighted at a house called today the ruling house, and slew a great number of Jews because of a complaint made to him by the Aws and the Khazraj about the Jews being bad neighbors. He sent his son Ḥassān to Sind, and Samir Dhū al-Janāḥ to Khurāsān, and instructed them to proceed to China. Samir passed Samarqand, besieged it until he conquered it, and slew its warriors taking captives and booty. Then he proceeded to China where he met Ḥassān. Some people of the Yaman assert that those two died there; others claim that they came back to Tubbaʿ with wealth and booty.

Among the events taking place in the period of the regional princes is the event mentioned in the Qur'ān about the young men who took refuge in the cave, those whose ears were smitten.

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388. For these locations see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 561, 622, 623.
389. That is, al-Madīnah before the migration of the Prophet Muḥammad.

The Story of the Men of the Cave[390]

They were youths, as God described them in the glorious Qur'ān, who believed in the Lord. God said to his prophet Muḥammad, "Or do you think the Men of the Cave and al-Raqīm were among Our signs a wonder?"[391] Al-Raqīm is the inscrip- [776]
tion engraved on a tablet by the people to which the youths belonged, in order to tell their story. They put it on the gate of the cave to which the youths had escaped, or carved it on the rock in which they had sought refuge, or wrote it on a tablet placed in a coffer that was left nearby when the youths took to the cave. The number of the youths, they say on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās, was seven and there was a dog with them.

According to Ibn Bashshār—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Isrā'īl—Simāk—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: "And none knows them, except a few."[392] I am of the few. They were seven.

According to Bishr—Yazīd—Saʿīd—Qatādah, Ibn ʿAbbās used to say: I am of those few whom God made an exception; they were seven, their dog was the eighth.

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390 . This is based on the Christian story of the seven sleepers. The legend arose around the fourth century persecution of the Christians, and is centered on Ephesus. It derives its Islamic name from Qur'ān 18, which is entitled "The Cave" (*al-Kahf*). The sleepers are known as *aṣḥāb al-kahf*. See *EI*², s.v. Aṣḥāb al-kahf.

391. Qur'ān 18:4.

392. Qur'ān 18:21.

Concerning the name of one of them, that is, the one empowered to buy food for them, the divine words mention that they said when they awoke from their slumber, "Now send forth one of you with this silver to the city, and let him look for which of them has the purest food, and bring you provision thereof." According to 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī—Sufyān—Muqātil: "Now send forth one of you with this silver for the city," refers to the one named Yamnīkhā.

According to Ibn Isḥāq—Ibn Jumayd—Salamah: His name was Yamlīkhā. Ibn Isḥāq used to say: The number of the youths was eight, their dog was accordingly the ninth of the group.

[777] According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who used to give their names saying: One of them, the oldest, who spoke to the king in the name of the group was Maksimilinā; another was Mahsimilinā; the third, Yamlīkhā; the fourth, Martūs; the fifth, Kaṣūṭūnas; the sixth, Bīrūnas; the seventh, Rasmūnas(?) the eighth, Baṭūnas; and the ninth, Qālūs. They were young.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abd allāh b. Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: I was told that some of them, because of their youth had teeth that shone like silver. They were of a people that worshiped Roman idols, but God put them on the true path to Islam. According to many of our early learned masters, their faith was the faith of Jesus.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—al-Ḥakam b. Bashīr—'Amr, that
[778] is, Ibn Qays al-Mulā'ī: The Men of the Cave and al-Raqīm were the youths who practiced the religion of Jesus, the son of Mary, that is, they practiced Islam while their king was an unbeliever.

Some assert that their story and withdrawal to the cave took place before Christ, that Christ told his people about them, and that God awakened them from their sleep after Christ's ascension. That is, God awakened them during the interval (*fatrah*) between Christ and Muḥammad.[393] God knows best how it happened. Muslim scholars are agreed that it took place after Christ. No scholar vested in antiquity will deny that it happened in the period of the regional princes. At that time there

393. See *EI*², s.v. Fatra.

was a king (named) Decius, an idol-worshiper, it is said. Word reached him that the youths were opposed to his faith, and he set out to search for them. To keep their faith they fled to a mountain. I was told by Ibn Jumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid—Ibn ʿAbbās: the name of that mountain was Nīḥlūs.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-Razzāq—Muʿammar—Ismāʿīl b. Sadūs—Wahb b. Munabbih: the reason for their faith, and the subsequent religious disagreement with their people was as follows. An apostle of Jesus came to the [779] city of the Men of the Cave. He sought to enter the city but was told that at the gate of the city there was an idol, and that nobody could enter unless he prostrated himself before the idol. Not wishing to enter the city, he came to a bathhouse that was close by. He worked there as a wage earner for the owner. As the latter noticed that the man was a blessing to his bathhouse, he gave him sustenance, observed him and became friendly with him. Several youths from the city became attached to the worker. The apostle began to tell them about heaven and earth, and the life to come. He spoke to them until they began to share his beliefs. He would tell the owner, "Tonight do not disturb my prayer." So it went until the son of the king came with a woman to the bathhouse. The apostle rebuked him, saying to the prince, "You are the king's son and you come with this harlot." The prince was ashamed and left, only to come another time. The apostle upbraided him again and cursed him and scolded him, but the prince disregarded it. He entered, and the woman entered with him, and both died in the bath. It was reported to the king, "The bath attendant slew thy son." The attendant was sought in vain, for he had fled. The king asked, "Who was acquainted with him?" The youths were mentioned and then sought, so they left the city. They passed by a friend in a field who was in a similar position. They mentioned that the search for them was on. The friend joined them; with him was his dog. At night they took refuge in the cave, saying, "We [780] shall spend the night here, and in the morning, God willing, you will decide what to do." But their ears were smitten. The king and his men came forth in pursuit of them, and found them inside the cave. But whenever anyone wanted to enter,

he was scared away, and nobody was able to enter. Somebody said to the king, "Is it not true that if you could seize them, you would kill them?" The king replied, "Certainly." The man suggested, "Then erect a gate over the cave, and leave them inside to die of thirst and hunger." This was done.

Much time had passed since that gate was built over the cave, when a shepherd was overtaken by rain near the cave. He thought, "What if I opened this cave and let my flock in to protect it from the rain." He kept trying until he succeeded. The next morning, God returned life to their bodies and the youths awoke. They sent one from among them with silver to buy food for them, but whenever he arrived at a gate of their city, he saw something he did not recognize. Finally he came to a man, and said, "Sell me food for these coins." The man asked, "Where did you get these coins?" He said, "Yesterday, with friends, I left the city. We were overtaken by night, but in the morning they sent me [for food]." The seller said, "These coins are of the age of king so and so; but how did you get them?"

He brought the youth before the king, who was a righteous ruler. The king asked, "Where did you get these silver coins?" The youth replied, "My friends and I left the city yesterday, and night overtook us in such and such cave; then [in the morning] my friends ordered me to buy food for them." The king now asked, "Where are your friends?" And the youth replied, "In the cave." They went with him and came to the gate of the cave, whereupon the youth said, "Let me go in to my friends first." When they saw him approach, both he and they "were smitten upon their ears." Anybody who (tried to) [781] enter was frightened away, and people were unable to go in. So they built a church there and made it a sanctuary for prayer.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-Razzāq—Muʿammar—Qatādah—ʿIkrimah: The men of the cave were Roman princes for whom God had provided the true faith (Islām). They stood alone in their faith, dissenting from their people until they reached the cave, where God struck them upon their ears. They spent ages there (in the cave) while their community (*ummah*) perished and a righteous (Muslim) community took its place, whose king was a true believer (Muslim).

There was disagreement concerning spirit and body. Some

maintained that all would be revived in body and spirit; others asserted that they would be revived in spirit while the bodies would be consumed by the earth, and would disintegrate. The king was exasperated by the dispute. He got up, put on hair-cloth, sat on dust, and prayed to God, "Oh, Lord, You see the dispute of these men; send them a sign to make it clear." God sent the men of the cave, and they sent one of their number to buy food for them. He entered the marketplace, but he did not recognize the faces, although he knew the streets. He saw faith manifest in the city. Walking furtively, he came to a man who sold food, but when the seller saw the silver coins, he did not recognize them.

The seller remarked, "I thought they were the light quarters, that is, the small change." The youth said, "Is not your king such and such?" "But no," said the seller, "Our king is so and so." And so it went on until they came before the king. The king interrogated the youth, who told him about his friends. The king then sent for the men involved in the dispute. He assembled them and said, "You disagreed concerning spirit and body. Now the Almighty has sent you a sign. Here is a man of [782] the people of the late king [anonymous]." The youth said, "Let us go to my friends." The king and his men set out on the road and reached the cave. The youth said, "Let me enter to join my friends." But when he saw them, God smote upon his ears and their ears. The king and his men were kept waiting. Finally, they entered and beheld perfect bodies but with no life in them. The king exclaimed, "This is a God-sent sign unto you."

According to Qatādah: While on a raid, Ibn ʿAbbās and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah passed by the cave and, lo and behold, there were bones in it. A man said, "These are the bones of the men of the cave." Ibn ʿAbbās replied, "Their bones disappeared over three hundred years ago."

Jonah Son of Amittai[394]

According to Abū Ja'far: In the period of the regional princes belongs the story of Jonah, son of Amittai. He is said to have been from a town in the region of Mosul, called Nineveh. His people worshiped idols, so God sent Jonah to them with an injunction against this worship and a command to repent, to turn to God from their unbelief, and to believe in but one God. What happened to him and to those to whom he was sent is told in the Qur'ān. It says, "Why was there never a city that believed, and profited from its belief, except the people of Jonah? When they believed, We removed from them the chastisement of degradation in this present life, and We gave unto them enjoyment for a time."[395] It also says, "And Dhū al-Nūn, when he went forth enraged and thought that We would have no
[783] power over him; then he called out in the darkness, 'There is no God but Thou. Glory be to Thee! I have done evil!' So We answered him and delivered him out of grief; even so do We deliver the believers."[396]

The early scholars of the community of our Prophet Muḥam-

394. Yūnus b. Mattā is the biblical Jonah. For Jewish legends of Jonah, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, IV, 245–253; VI, 348, 352. For the Qur'ānic account see *SEI*, s.v. Yūnus. In the Qur'ān Jonah is also called Dhū al-Nūn or Ṣāḥib al-Ḥūt, that is, "the Whale Man."

395. Qur'ān 10:97f.

396. Qur'ān 21:87ff.

mad differed about how Jonah had defied the Lord, thinking the Lord would have no power over him, and about the time of the event. Some maintained that the reference was to the time before he called upon the people to whom he was sent, and before he gave them the Lord's message. The point is that the prophet was commanded to proceed to the people to whom he was sent when divine chastisement was in store for them, to announce to them how the Lord kept chastisement from them so that they might repent their evil practices hateful to the Lord. The prophet asked to be excused from the mission but the Lord did not grant a respite, so the prophet was angry with the Lord for hurrying him to execute His command, and for rejecting the request for a respite.

Those Who Held This View

According to al-Ḥārith—al-Ḥasan al-Ashyab—Abū Hilāl Muḥammad b. Sulaym—Shahr b. Ḥawshab: Jonah was visited by the angel Gabriel who told him, "Go to the people of Nineveh and warn them that chastisement is imminent." Jonah then said, "I shall seek a riding beast." Gabriel replied, "The command is too urgent." Now Jonah said, "I shall look for footwear." Gabriel again replied, "The command is too urgent." Angrily Jonah proceeded to the ship and boarded it, but it stalled, moving neither forward nor backward.

Then they drew lots, and the lot fell to Jonah. The whale (*al-ḥūt*) came wagging its tail. It was divinely announced, "Whale, O Whale! We shall not make Jonah into your sustenance! Rather We make you a retreat for him, a sanctuary." The whale swallowed Jonah, and proceeded with him from that spot to Ubullah. From there it proceeded up the Tigris, until it [784] deposited Jonah at Nineveh.

According to al-Ḥārith—Al-Ḥasan—Abū Hilāl—Shahr b. Hawshab—Ibn ʿAbbās: The mission of Jonah took place after the whale had ejected him. Others say that it took place after he called upon those to whom he had been sent to follow the divine instruction, and after he had delivered to them the Lord's message. He threatened them with the onset of the divine chastisement at an appointed time; but he departed as

they did not repent, nor did they consider obeying God and believing in Him. But when divine chastisement cast its shadow upon the people, it enveloped them as described in the Qur'ān. Then they repented, and turned to God; and God lifted the chastisement. Jonah heard of their deliverance, and the lifting of the chastisement with which he had threatened them. Angered thereby, he said, "I threatened them but my threat was belied." He left, angry with the Lord, and refused to return to them, for they had denounced him as a liar.

Those Who Held This View

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Ziyād—'Abdallāh b. Abī Salamah—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: God sent Jonah to the people of his town, but they rejected his message and ignored it. When they acted thus, God
[785] revealed to him, "I shall send upon them chastisement on such and such day; so leave them then." Jonah announced to his people the divine chastisement in store for them. They said, "Observe him; if he leaves you, then by God, his threat will come true." On the eve of chastisement, the people set out warily behind Jonah. They left the city for an open space and separated the animals from their young ones. Then they cried out to God for help. They appealed to Him to annul his decision, and he granted them that annulment. Jonah was expecting news about the city and its people. A passer-by told him what the people of the city had done. "What did the people of the city do?" asked Jonah. The passer-by replied, "This is what they did. As soon as their prophet left them, they understood that he spoke the truth when he threatened them with the chastisement; so they left their city for an open space, and separated all the mothers from their young ones, and cried out to God for help. They repented, their repentance was accepted, and chastisement was averted." Upon hearing this, Jonah said angrily, "By God, I shall never return to them as a liar. I threatened them with chastisement on a certain day, then it was averted from them." He departed, angry with the Lord, and fell into the devil's snare.

According to al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm—Isḥāq b. al-Ḥajjāj—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ja'far—his father—al-Rabī': I heard from

a man who knew the Qur'ān by heart in the days of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.[397] He was telling about the people of Jonah and how Jonah warned his people and was not believed. (According to him) Jonah told them chastisement would strike them, and (then he) left them. When they saw this and (understood) that chastisement enveloped them, they left their dwellings and ascended to an elevated spot. They prayed fervently to the Lord, calling out to him in sincere supplication, so that he might defer chastisement from them and return unto them their messenger. That is why it says, "Why was there never a city that believed, and profited from its belief, except the people of Jonah, when they believed? We removed from them the chastisement of degradation in this present life, and We gave unto them enjoyment for a time."[398] In no city overcome by chastisement was the chastisement revoked, except in the case of the people of Jonah. But Jonah did not see it that way; he bore a grudge against the Lord and left angrily. Thinking that the Lord would not be able to reach him, Jonah embarked on a ship. The people of the ship were struck by a wind-swept storm and said, "It is on account of the transgression of one of you." Jonah, recognizing that it was his fault, said, "It is my transgression; throw me into the sea." They refused, until after they cast lots, and Jonah "cast lots and was of the condemned."[399] He told them, "I informed you that this was my fault." But they refused to throw him into the sea until they cast lots for the third time. He was condemned again. When he saw that, he threw himself into the sea, at night. [786]

The whale swallowed him, "then he called out in the darkness [recognizing his sin]: 'There is no God but Thou, Glory be to Thee! I have done evil.'"[400] He had done righteous work previously, and God revealed about him, "Now, had he not been of those who glorify God, he would have tarried in its belly until the day they shall be raised."[401] The point is that

397. That is, the second Islamic caliph, who ruled in the years A.D. 634–644.
398. Qur'ān 10:97f.
399. Qur'ān 37:141.
400. Qur'ān 21:87.
401. Qur'ān 37:143–144.

the righteous deed raises man when he stumbles. (As it is written:) "And We cast him upon the wilderness and he was sick."[402] Jonah was cast on the seashore, and God caused a tree of gourds to grow. It is said the tree of gourds was a pump-
[787] kin which dripped milk until his strength returned unto him. Then one day he returned to the tree, and found it had dried up. He grieved and wept over it. But he was reproved and told, "You have grieved and wept over a tree, but you have not grieved over a hundred thousand or more whose death you have sought."

Then God extricated him from error, and made him one of the righteous. Jonah was commanded to go to his people and announce that God had forgiven them. Setting out for them, he encountered a shepherd whom he asked about his people, their situation and how they were. The shepherd told him they were well, and hoped that their prophet would return unto them. Jonah then said to him, "Say to them, 'I have met Jonah.'" The shepherd responded, "I cannot do so without a witness," whereupon Jonah pointed to a goat of the shepherd's flock, and said, "This one will witness for thee that thou hast met Jonah." At this, the shepherd asked, "What else?" Jonah responded, "And this spot where thou art will witness for thee that thou hast met Jonah." The shepherd asked again, "What else?" Jonah now replied, "And this tree will witness for thee that thou hast met Jonah, and that the shepherd has returned to his people."

The shepherd announced to the people that he had met Jonah, but they did not believe him and plotted evil against him. He exclaimed, "Do not assault me until morning." When he awoke the next day, he led them to the spot where he had encountered Jonah. The shepherd appealed to the earth, and it announced to them that the shepherd had met Jonah. He asked the goat, and it told them that the shepherd had met Jonah. They appealed to the tree, and it told them that the shepherd had met Jonah. Later on, Jonah came to them. It says,[403]

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402. Qur'ān 37:145.
403. Qur'ān 37:147–148.

"Then We sent him unto a hundred thousand or more, and they believed; so We gave them enjoyment for a while."

According to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Amr b. Muḥammad al-'Anqarī —his father Isrā' īl—Abū Isḥāq—'Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī [788] —Ibn Mas'ūd, who related to us at the treasury: Jonah had threatened his people with chastisement, and told them it would come upon them within three days. They separated every mother from her progeny, and then left. The people came to God and asked for His forgiveness, whereupon God withheld chastisement from them. Jonah went out early expecting chastisement but saw nothing. A liar without clear proof used to be put to death. Jonah therefore left in anger "and shouted in the darkness."[404] This refers to the darkness of the belly of the whale, the darkness of the night, and the darkness of the sea.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—one who told him—'Abdallāh b. Rāfi', the *mawlā* of the Prophet's spouse Umm Salamah—Abū Hurayrah: The Prophet said, "When God wanted Jonah to be detained in the whale's belly, God urged (*awḥā*) the whale, 'Take him, but do not scratch his flesh and do not break his bones.' The whale picked up Jonah and plunged to its dwelling in the sea. When it reached the bottom of the sea, Jonah heard a sound. He said to himself, 'What is that?' Then while Jonah was in the whale's belly God revealed to him, 'This is the sea fauna glorifying God.'"

Then Jonah, in the whale's belly, glorified God. The angels heard his glorification of God, and exclaimed, "Oh, Lord, we hear a faint voice in a strange land." God said, "That is my servant Jonah. He disobeyed Me, so I detained him in the whale's belly at sea." They exclaimed, "The righteous servant from whom every day and night a righteous deed rose to Thee?" God replied, "Yes." At this, they interceded for Jonah. The whale was thus ordered to cast him upon the shore. As God said,[405] "And he was sick." His sickness, which is described in the [789] Qur'ān, was like that of a newborn child. When the whale cast him upon the shore, his flesh and bones were bare.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yazīd b.

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404. Qur'ān 37:87.
405. Qur'ān 37:145.

Ziyād—'Abdallāh b. Abī Salamah—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: Out it went, that is, the whale (with Jonah), until it ejected Jonah onto the shore, and cast him up as if he were a newborn child fully preserved.

According to Yūnus—Ibn Wahb—Abū Ṣakhr—Ibn Qusayṭ—Abū Hurayrah: He was ejected naked, and God made a vegetable cover (*yaqtīnah*) to grow upon him. We said, "O Abū Hurayrah, what was that vegetable cover?" He replied, "The gourd tree." God prepared for it female antelopes and other animals that eat the grass of the earth or the soft sod. They would stray over it and quench its thirst with their milk every evening and morning until it grew.

The Sending by God of His Three Envoys

An event which also occurred in the days of the regional princes was (the arrival of the three envoys sent by God and) [790] mentioned in the divine revelation "Spin a parable for them—the inhabitants of the city, when the messengers came to it. When We sent unto them two men, they declared them liars, so We sent a third as reinforcement." They said, "We are assuredly messengers unto you."[406] Such are the verses in which their story is told in scripture.

But the early authorities differ about their story. Some say these three, whom God mentioned in these verses and whose story He told therein, were prophets and messengers. He had sent (them) to the Roman king Antiochus, and the city in which this king dwelled and to which God sent these envoys was Antioch.

Those Who Held This View

Concerning the story of the man of Sūrah YaSin (in the Qur'ān), according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—from Ka'b al-Aḥbār and Wahb b. Munabbih al-Yamanī: There was a man of Antioch. Ḥabīb was his name, and he was a

406. The story is based on a legend of Christian origins. See *EI*[1], s.v. Yāsīn; *EI*[2], s.v. Anṭākiyā. For the Qur'ānic story see 36:13ff.

silk-maker. A sickly man, he early contracted leprosy. His home was near the farthest city gate. He was a believer and an alms-giver. The man used to take his earnings in the evening, so they say, and divide them in two piles; one he would use to feed his family, the other he would give away in alms. Neither his sickness, nor his work, nor his weakness concerned him, as his heart was pure and his character upright. In the city of Antioch, in which he lived, was one of the pharaohs, Antiochus, the son of Antiochus, an idol-worshiping polytheist. [791] God sent the three envoys: Ṣādiq, Ṣadūq, and Shalūm. First, God sent to him and the people of his city two of the envoys, but the people declared them liars. Then God sent the third as reinforcement. Others say: no, they were of the apostles of Jesus, the son of Mary. They were not God's messengers but rather the messengers of Jesus. But as the mission by Jesus was upon the command of the Almighty, the mission was an extension of God's mission. So it says, "When We sent unto them two men, they declared them liars; so We sent a third as reinforcement."

Those Who Held This View

According to Bishr b. Muʿādh—Yazīd b. Zurayʿ—Saʿīd—Qatādah regarding the following passage: "Spin a parable for them—the inhabitants of the city, when the messengers came to it. When We sent unto them two men, they declared them liars; so We sent a third as reinforcement. They said, 'We are assuredly messengers unto you.'"[407] It was mentioned to us that Jesus, the son of Mary, sent two of the apostles to Antioch, a Roman city; but they were declared liars, so he sent a third as reinforcement. They said, "We are assuredly messengers," etc.

Returning to the version of Ibn Isḥāq: When the messengers appealed (to the king) calling upon him, in God's name, that is, when they carried out their divine order and denounced the city's religion and beliefs, the inhabitants said,[408] "We augur ill of you. If you do not desist, we will stone you, and a painful

407. Qur'ān 36:13–14.
408. Qur'ān 36:17–18.

chastisement will be inflicted upon you by us." The messengers told them, "Your augury is with you," that is, your deeds. "If you are reminded? But you are a prodigal people." When the king and the people decided to kill the envoys, the news reached Ḥabīb while he was at the farthest gate of the city. He [792] came running to them, reminding them of God, and calling upon them to follow the messengers. He said,[409] "My people, follow the messengers! Follow those who ask no reward from you, those that are rightly-guided." That is, while they are advising you they will not ask for your possessions in return for their message of guidance to you, so follow them and you will be rightly-guided.

According to Bishr b. Muʿādh—Yazīd—Saʿīd—Qatādah: When he—meaning Ḥabīb—reached the messengers, he said, "do you ask a reward for this?" They said, "No." Then he said, "My people, follow the messengers, follow those who ask no reward from you, those that are rightly-guided."

Returning to the version of Ibn Isḥāq: He then appealed to them to desist from their idol-worship, disclosing to them his faith, and to worship the Lord; and he told them that only God had the power to make him profit or hurt him. Then he said, "And why should I not serve Him who created me, and unto whom you [too] shall be returned? What shall I take, apart from Him? . . . Behold, I believe your Lord; therefore hear me," that is, I believe in the Lord you deny, listen to my word. When he said that to them, they attacked him in unison and killed him. Because of his weakness and sickness they considered him of no consequence, and none came to his defense.[410]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—one of his companions—ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd: They trampled him with their feet until his intestines came out through his back. God said to him, "Enter Paradise!"[411] He entered it while alive and prospering, as God removed worldly sickness, sadness, and disease. As he attained God's mercy, Paradise, and favor, he exclaimed, "Ah, would that my people had knowledge [793]

409. Qur'ān 36:21–24.
410. Ibid.
411. Qur'ān 36:25.

that My Lord has forgiven me, and that he has placed me among the honored."[412]

God was so angry that they considered him of no consequence that He left none of the people alive; He brought revenge upon them speedily for having considered Ḥabīb easy prey. God said, "And We did not send down upon his people, after him, any host out of heaven; nor would We do so." That is, He dismissed acting through any heavenly mediator, meaning the matter was slight for Him. "It was only one Cry and lo and behold, they were silent and still." Thus God brought perdition upon that king and the people of Antioch. They became extinct from the face of earth, without a (surviving) remnant.[413]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Ḥasān b. ʿUmārah—al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtaybah—Miqsam Abū al-Qāsim, the *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal—Mujāhid—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, who used to say: The name of the man of the Sūrah YaSin in the Qur'ān was Ḥabīb; his leprosy was well advanced.

According to Ibn Bashshār—Mu'ammal—Sufyān—ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal—Abū Makhlad: The name of the man in Sūrah YaSin of the Qur'ān was Ḥabīb b. Marī.

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412. Qur'ān 36:36.
413. Qur'ān 36:27–28.

The Story of Samson[414]

Among the stories from the time of the regional princes is (that of Samson). He was an inhabitant of one of the Roman cities (*qaryah*), who had been rightly-guided by God for his integrity. However, his people were idol worshipers. This is what happened to him and them, as told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Mughīrah b. Abī Labīd—Wahb b. Munabbih al-Yamanī: Samson was a righteous man (Muslim) among them, and his mother made him a Nazarite. He was a man from one of their cities where the people were idolatrous unbelievers. His abode was a few miles away. Samson would raid them alone, fighting them in God's name, satisfying his needs at their expense while killing, taking captive, and seizing possessions. He would meet them with only the jawbone of a camel. If they engaged one another in combat and he became tired and thirsty, sweet water would burst from the stone at Lehi.[415] He would then drink of it to quench his thirst, and he thus regained his strength. Neither iron nor anything else could bind him. In such fashion, he kept fighting them in God's name. Raiding them, he obtained from them what he needed. [794]

They could do nothing against him until they said, "We will

414. See Judges 13–16.

415. In Judges 15:19, this is a place name; in 15:15, it means the jawbone (of an ass).

not get at him except through his wife." They came to his wife, offered her a reward, and she said, "Yes, I shall tie him for you." They gave her a strong rope, and said, "When he is asleep, tie his hand to his neck, so that we may come and take him." When he was asleep, she tied his hand to his neck with that rope. But when he awoke, he pulled it with his hand, and it fell off his neck. He said to her, "Why did you do this?" Said she, "To try thus your strength. I have never seen anybody like you." Then she sent them a message, "I tied him with the rope,
[795] but it was in vain." So they sent an iron ring. They said, "When he is asleep, snap it on his neck." While he slept she put it on his neck, then snapped it. But when he awoke, he pulled it, and it fell from his hand and neck. He said to her, "Why did you do it?" She replied, "To test your strength; I have seen nobody like you, O Samson. Is there nothing in the world [with which] to vanquish you?" "No, except one thing," he said. She asked, "What is it?" He replied, "I am not going to tell you," but she continued to nag him about it. He had much hair, (and finally) he told her, "My mother made me a Nazarite, and I will never be vanquished nor seized except through my hair." When he fell asleep, she tied his hand and his neck with the hair on his head. This fastened him. She sent for the people and they came and seized him. They lopped off his nose and ears, gouged out his eyes, and placed him before the people amidst the pillars of the minaret. Their king and people were watching the minaret in order to observe Samson and to see what would be done to him. As he stood there, amidst their jeering, Samson prayed to God to give him strength against them. He was commanded to hold on to two pillars of the minaret, above which were the king and the men with him, and to pull at the pillars. This he did. God had restored to him his sight and the amputated parts of his body, and the minaret came crashing down on the king and the people standing there. They all perished.

The Story of Jirjīs[416]

They say that Jirjīs was a righteous servant of God among the people of Palestine, and that he lived at the time of the last apostles of Jesus. He was a merchant who profited from his trade, a man of independent means who assisted the unfortunate. He supplied himself for a journey to a king in Mosul, so [796] we were told by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Wahb b. Munabbih and other learned men. In Mosul, Dacianus (Dadhāna) was king over all of Syria. He was a fierce tyrant over whom only God could prevail. Jirjīs was a righteous man of the people of Palestine. He was a believer who was concealing his faith among a group of like-minded righteous people who concealed their faith. They had known the last of the apostles,

416. For the story of the martyrdom of saint George, a Roman officer martyred under a cruel pagan ruler (Diocletian) early in the fourth century, see *EI*², s.v. Djirdjīs. The martyr is identified with Elijah and al-Khaḍir in the Islamic tale. Various pre-Islamic elements came to be incorporated into the story. The oldest versions are: (1) The Greek text (from southern Palestine); see Casson and Hettich, *Excavations at Nessana*, II, 123–142, with extensive bibliography; (2) The Syriac version; see Brooks, "Acts of Saint George," *Le Muséon* 38 (1925), 67–115; (3) The Latin text; see Cumont, "Légende de St. Georges"; (4) The Coptic and Ethiopic versions; see Wallis Budge, *George of Lydda*. See also Delahaye, *Légendes qrecques*, 45–46. The Arabic versions are discussed by Wallis Budge, op. cit., 26–66. A Muslim Arab version was published by Cheikho in *Al-Machriq* 10 (1907), 414–420. In this version Jirjīs is called a prophet.

heard them speak, and learned from them. Jirjīs was a very rich man, a great merchant and benefactor. Sometimes he would donate his wealth for charitable purposes until nothing of it remained and he would become poor; but then he would strike it rich again and his wealth would increase manifold. Such was his material position. He would desire wealth, acquire it, and amass it for charitable purposes. Were it not for that, he would have preferred poverty to riches. He was apprehensive of the rule of the unbelievers, fearful that they might hurt him on account of his faith, or that they might tempt him away from it.

He set out for the king of Mosul, carrying money which he intended to present to him, in order that the king should not empower any princes to rule under him. Jirjīs arrived as the king was holding court in the presence of the dignitaries and princes of his people. A large fire, and various other forms of torture, had been prepared to torture those opposed to him. Upon his order a statue called Apollo had been erected, and the people had to pass before it. Whoever did not bow to it was then cast into the fire and put through various tortures. When [797] Jirjīs saw what was happening, he was horrified, and distressed. He thought of martyrdom, but God inspired in him anger and resistance. He thought of the money he had intended to present to the king. Instead, he divided it among his coreligionists until nothing was left. He did not want to oppose the king with money; he preferred to do it personally. His anger and resentment at their acme, he approached the king saying, "Know, that you are a slave owned by a master, and that you yourself own nothing directly or indirectly, and that above you is a Lord Who owns you and others. This Lord created and sustained you; he makes you live and die; he harms you and benefits you; and yet you propose to imitate what is created by Him? God said unto man, 'Be,' and he was.[417] Deaf, dumb, speechless and sightless, [an idol] can neither hurt nor benefit. It cannot help you at all to dispense with God. You decorate it with gold and silver and make it a temptation unto man. You worship it,

417. Qur'ān 3:15 and elsewhere. The next phrase is influenced by Qur'ān 2:17.

not God, and you force humans to worship it. You call it the Lord."

Jirjīs addressed the king in this fashion about the greatness and glory of God, and he denounced the idol and the senseless worship thereof. The king's answer was to ask him who he was and from where he came. Jirjīs replied, "I am a servant of God, and the son of a servant of God. I am a son of His community [*ummah*], the lowliest of His servants, and the most needy of His aid. I was created of dust and to dust I shall return." He told the king what had brought him, and called upon the former to worship God and to repudiate idol-worship. The king summoned Jirjīs to worship the statue that he worshiped, saying, "If your Lord were the King of Kings, as you say, His effect would be visible upon you, as my impact is visible upon my people's princes around me." Jirjīs replied by glorifying divine [798] rule, and in the course of his speech, he said, "Where would you place Tranquillinus, a dignitary of your people under your rule? And how would you compare him to Elijah under divine rule? Elijah was originally human; he ate food, and walked in the market, but limitless divine favor unto him continued. He was granted wings and dressed in light, so that he became human and angelic, terrestrial and celestial, and he floated with the angels. Tell me, how would you compare Magnentius, a dignitary of your people, with Christ, the son of Mary? For God chose him and his mother above the men of the world, and made them a sign for the believers [*al-mu'tabirīn*]."[418]

Then he spoke of Christ and how God favored him with miracles. He also said, "And tell me, how would you compare the mother of this good spirit, whom God has chosen as His word, cleansing her body for His spirit, and making her the head of His women servants? To whom would you compare her and the divine favor she was granted? To Jezebel[419] and her fate under your rule? For she was of your faction [*shī'ah*] and reli-

418. That is, those who duly consider, or observe.

419. See I Kings 21; II Kings 9:21–37. See this comparison in the encomium on Saint George, the Bishop of Ancyra. The text is translated by Wallis Budge in *George of Lydda*. For the Greek prototype, see Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg*, 18–26.

gious community [*millah*], and God made her safe at the home
[799] of the great man of her realm. That is, until the dogs attacked her at her home and tore her flesh and lapped her blood, and the foxes and hyenas pulled her limbs. How would you compare her and her fate to Mary, the daughter of 'Imrān, and her rank in the kingdom of God?"

The king said to him, "But you are talking to us about matters of which we do not know. Bring to me the two men whom you have mentioned, so that I may see them, and consider them. I do not know of such things occurring in humans." Then Jirjīs said to him, "The denial comes to you from her heedlessness of God. As to the two men, you will not see them nor will they see you, unless you act like them and reach their abodes." The king replied, "We pardoned you and your lies became clear to us, for you boasted of deeds you were able to perform and could not verify what you said."

The king then offered Jirjīs the choice of being punished or bowing to Apollo, for which he would be rewarded. At this Jirjīs said "If Apollo is he who raised heaven and multiplied upon it bodies by God's power, you are right and your suggestion is correct; but if not, then off with you, accursed filth." When the king heard Jirjīs curse him and his deity, he was mightily enraged. He called for a wooden board which was set up for torture. The iron rake was passed over Jirjīs to tear his body and maul his flesh and skin and veins, while vinegar and mustard were sprinkled over him. When the king saw that this did not kill Jirjīs, he ordered six iron nails heated until they were aglow, and upon the king's order, Jirjīs's head was penetrated with a nail so that his brains oozed out. Now when the
[800] king saw that Jirjīs was still alive, he ordered a copper cauldron to be heated until it was aglow, and Jirjīs was placed in it. It was covered over him, and Jirjīs remained in it until it cooled off. When the king saw that Jirjīs was still alive, he called to him, "Do you not feel the pain of this torture?" At this Jirjīs replied, "Did I not tell you that there is a Lord over you, and he is closer to you than you yourself?" Then the king said, "Yes, you told me." Whereupon Jirjīs remarked, "It is He who has lifted your torture and enabled me to endure it, that it be a proof against you."

As he said it, the king felt sick, and was afraid for himself and his realm; he decided to keep Jirjīs in prison forever. But the notables of the people said, "If you leave him free to address the people, he will soon turn them against you; rather, order that he be tortured in prison to keep him from addressing the people." Upon the king's order he was thrown on the ground in prison, four iron poles held his feet and hands, and a marble column was put over his back. Seven men attempted to carry that column but could not remove it; then fourteen men failed. Finally, eighteen men did succeed. That day Jirjīs remained pegged (to the ground) under the stone. When night came, God sent an angel to him. This was the first time he was supported by an angel, and the first time inspiration visited him. The angel removed the stone from him, removed the pegs from his hands and feet, fed him and gave him to drink, gave him glad tidings and comforted him. In the morning he took Jirjīs out of the prison, and said to him, "Stay with your enemy and struggle with him mightily in the cause of God, for God says to you, 'Be of good cheer, endure, for I shall put you to the test at the hand of this enemy of Mine. For seven years he will [801] torture you and during those years he will kill you four times. In each case I shall return your life to you, but at the fourth killing I shall accept your soul and award you your reward.'"

The others did not notice and, lo and behold, Jirjīs appeared over them, calling upon them to turn to God. The king exclaimed, "Is it Jirjīs?" "Yes," said Jirjīs. He asked, "Who released you from the prison?" "He Whose power is beyond your power," Jirjīs answered. When Jirjīs said that to the king, the latter became filled with ire and ordered various tortures. At the sight of these, Jirjīs felt fear and terror. He began to rebuke himself in a loud voice, and the people heard. When he finished rebuking himself, they stretched him between two wooden boards, put a sword over him at his throat, and then sawed his head off, so that it fell at his feet—his body was in two pieces. Then they started cutting those two parts of his body into smaller pieces. There were seven ferocious lions in a pit—they were one kind of torture—and his body was thrown to them. As he fell toward them, God commanded the lions to lower their heads and necks; the lions stood on their talons, thus pro-

tecting him from harm. That day he remained dead; it was the first death he experienced. As night fell, God collected his dismembered body, rebuilt it, returned it to life, and sent an angel to take him out of the bottom of the pit. The angel was to feed him, let him drink, and bring him glad tidings and comfort him. In the morning, the angel said to him, "O Jirjīs." "Here I am," replied Jirjīs; whereupon the angel said, "Know, that the power that created man out of dust, took you out of the bottom of the pit. Stay with your enemy, fight him mightily for the sake of God, and endure death patiently."

[802] The people were taken unaware when Jirjīs appeared while they were occupied with a joyful celebration of his alleged death. When they saw him coming toward them, they exclaimed, "How this man resembles Jirjīs; as if it were he." The king said, "No hiding for Jirjīs; that is indeed he! Do you not notice his unruffled manner, his lack of awe?" Jirjīs responded, "Certainly, it is I. What evil people! You killed and mutilated [me] but God was truly kinder and more merciful than you. He revived me, returning to me my life. Turn to this mighty Lord who showed you His deeds." When he told them that, they said to one another, "A sorcerer, he enchanted your hands and eyes, to keep them away from himself." They assembled the sorcerers that were in their land. When they arrived, the king said to their leader, "Suggest to me your greatest sorcery that will dispel my anxiety." The sorcerer said, "Call for an ox." When this was brought, he blew into one of its ears and it split in two. Then he blew into the other ear and, lo and behold, there were two oxen. Then he ordered sowing and ploughing, and the field was sown. It grew crops that ripened and were harvested. He then treaded, winnowed, and milled, and he kneaded, baked and ate; all this within an hour,[420] as you see.[421]

The king asked, "Can you transform him into an animal?" The sorcerer replied, "Which animal?" The king said, "A dog." The sorcerer then called out, "Order a goblet of water." When

420. Text: *wa-akala dhālika*, "and he ate this." Perhaps read instead: *wa-kull dhālika*, "and all this within . . ."

421. Perhaps: as they were looking on (wa-hum yarauna).

it was brought, the sorcerer blew upon it; then he said to the king, "Invite him to drink it." So Jirjīs drank it all. The sorcerer asked, "What do you feel?" He replied, "I feel quite well, as I [803] was thirsty, and by divine kindness I was given this drink, and strengthened thereby against you." When he said this, the sorcerer approached the king, and said, "Know, O King, that if you were contending with a man like yourself you could prevail over him; but you are contending with the Master of heaven, who is King beyond contention."

A poor woman heard of Jirjīs and the wondrous things he was doing. She came to him when he was at the height of his suffering, saying, "O Jirjīs, I am a poor woman. I have neither money nor provisions, except an ox with which I used to plough, but he died. I came to you that you might have pity on me, and pray to God to revive my ox. The eyes of Jirjīs welled up with tears, and he prayed to God to revive her ox; he gave her a stick and told her, "Go to your ox, strike him with this stick, and say to him, 'Live, God willing.'" She said, "O Jirjīs, my ox died some days ago, and beasts of prey tore him to pieces; and it will take me some days before I reach home." Jirjīs replied, "Even if you should find only a single tooth of his to strike with the stick, he will rise, God willing." She left and reached the spot where the ox had fallen. The first things she noticed were one of his horns and the hair of his tail. She put them together, struck them with the stick she was given, and uttered the words as instructed. Lo and behold, her ox was alive, and she put it to work. The news of it spread.

When the sorcerer spoke to the king of what he did, one of the king's men, the most powerful after the king, said, "Listen to me, O people, I shall tell you." They responded, "Yes." Then he spoke thus, "You have attributed sorcery to this man, and [804] you have asserted that he has, by sorcery, kept your hands and eyes away from himself. He has shown you that you tortured him, but it did not touch him; you slew him, yet he did not die. Have you ever seen a sorcerer able to ward off death or revive the dead?" He then related to them what Jirjīs had done, and what they had done to him, as well as the story of the woman and the ox. He remonstrated against them citing these events, whereupon they said to him, "Your speech is that of a man

who has been receptive to him." He replied, "Since I have seen what I have seen of his deeds, his case has seemed wondrous to me." They replied, "Perhaps he has seduced you." At this, he declared, "Indeed, I believe, and I testify before God that I do not share your worship."

The king and his companions attacked him with daggers and cut out his tongue. Soon he was dead. They said, "The pest affected him, and God hastened his end before he spoke." When the people heard of his death, it horrified them, and they suppressed the story. But when Jirjīs saw that they were suppressing it, he came out and disclosed it, repeating to them the speech of the slain man. Four thousand men followed Jirjīs as he related the story of the dead man. They said, "He was right. How wonderful it is what he said! God will have mercy upon him!" The king now acted against them. He detained them, and he kept torturing, killing and mutilating them, until he destroyed them all. Then he turned to Jirjīs and said, "Why do you not call upon your Lord to revive these companions of yours who were slain because of you?" Jirjīs replied, "What they chose to do was for their bliss."

One of their dignitaries called Majlitis said, " You asserted, Jirjīs, that it is your God who creates and then recreates. Let me ask something of you. If your God makes it happen, I shall believe in you, I shall proclaim you truthful, and I shall save you from my people. As you see, there are fourteen platforms below us, and a table between us upon which there are goblets [805] and plates, all made of dry wood from various trees. Well then, pray to your Lord to recreate these vessels and platforms and the table as He originally created them, so that they again become green plants which we should recognize each by its color, foliage, flower and fruit."

Jirjīs answered him, "You have asked for a thing that is extremely difficult for me or for you but is a slight matter for God." He prayed to the Lord and, lo and behold, instantly those platforms and all those vessels turned into green trees, rooted in the ground, covered with bark, branches, foliage, flowers and fruits, so that each tree could be recognized by name, color, flower and fruit. When they beheld this, Majlitis, who had requested it, turned upon Jirjīs and said, "I shall devise a torture

for this sorcerer in a way that will deprive him of his ruse." He took copper, made of it a huge hollow image of an ox, filled it with naphtha, lead sulfur, and arsenic. Then he also put Jirjīs into the copper ox, lit a fire under the figure, and kept adding fuel to the flame until the figure was all aglow and everything in it had melted entirely. Jirjīs died inside. God then sent a stormy wind that filled the skies with dark clouds, constant thunder and lightning, and continuous thunderbolts. God sent whirlwinds that filled their land with smoke and darkness. Everything from heaven to earth was blackened and darkened, and for days the people were perplexed in that darkness, unable to distinguish between day and night.

God sent (the angel) Michael to carry off the figure with Jirjīs in it. When the angel removed it, he struck the ground with it, with a blow so powerful that it frightened all the people of Syria, all of whom heard it simultaneously and they prostrated themselves, dumbfounded by the powerful shock. The figure broke, and Jirjīs walked out of it alive. As he stood talking to [806] them the darkness disappeared, and all that is between heaven and earth lit up. Their souls returned to them. One of the men, Traqbalina by name, said to him, "Jirjīs, we do not know if it is you or your Lord who performs these wonders. If it is He who does so, pray to Him to revive our dead; for in these graves you see are some of our dead, some of whom we know, and others who died before our time. Pray to Him to revive them, so that they might be as they were and we might talk to them. We might recognize those we know; he whom we do not recognize, might tell us his story."

Jirjīs answered him, "You know that God grants you this pardon and shows you these miracles only to complete the proofs of his [manifest existence] for you. He does this so you might incur His wrath [later]." Then upon his order the graves were unearthed; there were bones, mortal remains and rot. He began praying, and instantly there sat seventeen persons: nine men, five women, and three boys. One of the men was very old. Jirjīs addressed him, "Old man, what is your name?" The man answered, "My name is Yūbīl." Jirjīs then asked, "When did you die?" "At such and such time," he replied. They calculated he had died four hundred years earlier. When the king and

his company saw this, they said, No manner of torture has been left untried, except hunger and thirst. Torture Jirjīs with these.

They betook themselves to a well-guarded house of a very old and poor woman who had a son, blind, mute, and crippled. They imprisoned Jirjīs in her house. Neither food nor drink [807] could reach him. When he suffered from hunger he said to the old woman, "Do you have any food or drink?" She answered, "No. By Him in whose name an oath is made, we have not had food since such and such time. I shall go out and ask for something for you." Then Jirjīs said to her, "Do you know God?" "Yes," she replied. He now asked, "Do you worship Him?" She said, "No." Jirjīs then summoned her to God. She accepted his words and left seeking something for him. In her house there was a dry wooden pillar supporting the wood (structure) of the house. He began praying, and in no time that pillar flourished to produce all kinds of known edible fruit, such as *liyyā'* and beans. Abū Ja'far relates: *Liyyā'* is a Syrian plant with an edible pit; the back of the pillar extended as a branch (*far'*) over the house to give it and the place around it shade.[422]

The old woman came and found him enjoying his abundant food. When she saw from afar what had happened to her home, she exclaimed, "I believe in Him who fed you in the house of hunger. Pray to this great Lord to cure my son." Jirjīs said to her, "Bring him close to me." She did, whereupon he spit in the boy's eyes, and he saw. Jirjīs breathed in his ears, and he heard. At this, she said, "Release his tongue and feet, may God have mercy on you." Jirjīs said to her, "Hold him, it is a great day for him."

The king went out for a stroll in his city. When he saw the tree, he said to his retinue, "I see a tree where I did not know one to be before." They said, "This tree grew for the sorcerer whom you wanted to punish with hunger. He is, however, sated by this tree with whatever he desires; the poor woman [808] has been fed, and he has cured her son. Upon the king's order the house was destroyed and the tree was to be cut down.

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422. A kind of very white chickpea growing in Syria, and perhaps in the Ḥijāz.

When they attempted to cut it down, (however,) God dried it up and it returned to its former state; so they left it. The king ordered that Jirjīs be thrown to the ground face down, and pegged to four poles. A column of clay was rapidly loaded over him with daggers and knifeblades inserted under it. Then he called for forty oxen. They trampled over it all. Jirjīs, under this burden, was torn in three pieces. The king then ordered that one be burned in fire until it turned into ashes, and he sent men to scatter those ashes over the sea. But immediately they heard a heavenly voice, "Sea, God commands you to guard what is in you of this blessed body, for I wish to return it to its former state." God then sent the winds to extract and collect the ashes from the sea, so that they turn into a heap, as they were before the scattering. All this while those who scattered the ashes were still standing there. They saw the ashes rise, and from these Jirjīs emerged, shaking the dust off his head. The men then returned Jirjīs. When they reached the king, they told him of the voice that had brought Jirjīs back to life and the wind that collected the ashes. The king said to Jirjīs, "Would you like something that would be good for me and you? Were it not that the people might say that you defeated me and vanquished me, I would follow you and believe in you. Prostrate yourself before Apollo just once, or sacrifice to him just one sheep, then I shall do something to please you."

When Jirjīs heard these words of the king, he was seized with the desire to be brought before the idol so that he could destroy it. Jirjīs hoped that once the idol was destroyed, the king would [809] despair of it and would believe him. So Jirjīs resorted to deception and said, "Yes, if you wish, but let me come before your idol to prostrate myself before it, and sacrifice to it." The king rejoiced. He got up and kissed Jirjīs's hand, his feet, and his head. Then he said, "I suggest that you spend the day and the night at my home, on my couch, among my family, so that you might have a respite from suffering torture, and so that the people might see how you honor me." He vacated his home for Jirjīs, removing those who were in it. Jirjīs stayed there until evening; then he rose to pray and read the psalms—he had an exquisite voice. When the king's spouse heard him, she listened. Jirjīs had not been aware that she was behind him and

had joined him in weeping. He then appealed to her to embrace the faith, and she became a believer. Then he ordered her to conceal her faith. In the morning, he went to the shrine of the idols to worship them.

The old woman in whose home he had been imprisoned was told, "Do you know that Jirjīs has been seduced and has succumbed to worldly temptation, that the king made him covet his realm, and that he and Jirjīs went to the shrine of his idol to worship?" The old woman went out among others, carrying her son on her shoulder, chiding Jirjīs while the people were paying no attention to her. When Jirjīs entered the shrine amidst the people, he noticed the old woman with her son on her shoulder next to himself. He called the old woman's son by his name, and the boy spoke in reply, though he had never spoken before; then the boy rushed off his mother's shoulder and walked on his feet, upright, though he had never before touched the ground with his feet. When he stood before Jirjīs, [810] the latter said, "Now pray for me to these idols."

The idols were then on platforms of gold, seventy-one of them—the people worshiped the sun and the moon too. The boy asked Jirjīs, "What shall I say to the idols?" Jirjīs replied, "Tell them that Jirjīs asks you and suggests to you, in the name of God, to come to him." As the boy told them that, they began to roll down toward Jirjīs. When they reached him, he struck the ground with his foot; they caved in, along with the platform, and Satan (Iblīs) emerged from the body of one of the idols, running and fleeing from the ignominy. As he passed Jirjīs, the latter seized him by his forelock, so that Satan's head and neck bowed. Jirjīs then addressed him, "Tell me, filthy spirit, accursed creation, what urges you to destroy yourself and others while you know that you and your host will go to hell." Satan replied, "If I had the choice between everything lit up by the sun, as well as that which is in the darkness of the night, a choice between this and destroying and misleading mankind, or even a single human but for one moment, I would choose that moment above all else. The passion for that seizes me, and the pleasure is like that enjoyed by all creatures. Do you not know, Jirjīs, that God made all angels bow to your father Adam, and that Gabriel and Michael and Israfil and all the

angels closest to God and the celestial host did so while I refused; for I said, 'I shall not bow to this creature as I am better than he is.'"[423] When Satan said this, Jirjīs released him. Since then Satan has not entered the inside of any idol, out of fear of [811] collapse; nor will he ever do so, people say.

The king said, "Jirjīs, you have deceived and misled me, and destroyed my deities." Jirjīs replied, "I have done so intentionally so that you might consider and realize that had they been deities, as you say, they would have been out of my reach; but how can you believe in deities that cannot escape my reach, while I am but a bleak creature and possess only what my Lord has endowed me with." When Jirjīs said this, the king's spouse addressed them, declaring her faith and repudiating their religion, while enumerating before them the deeds of Jirjīs and the signs he had shown them. She said to them, "What are you expecting from this man if not a prayer which will make the earth under you cave in and destroy you, even as your idols perished. By God, O people, it is about your lives." The king then said to her, "Woe upon you, Alexandra! How quickly has this sorcerer misled you in one night, while I have withstood him for seven years with no impact on me." She replied, "Have you not seen how God makes him victorious over you? How God imposes his power over you? How he triumphs in the dispute with you in every respect?"

By the king's command, she was carried to the wooden board on which Jirjīs had been hung, and she was hung upon it. She was tortured with the iron combs from which Jirjīs had suffered. When she felt the pain of the torture she exclaimed, "Pray to your Lord, Jirjīs, to alleviate my pain." He said to her, "Look above you!" As she did so, she laughed. He said to her, "What makes you laugh?" She answered, "I see two angels above me, and a crown with the jewels of Paradise. They are awaiting my soul's expiration, and as soon as it expires they will crown it." Then they carried her soul up to Paradise. When God took her soul, Jirjīs began to pray. He said, "O God, You have honored me with this tribulation, to grant me the virtues of the martyrs. O God, this is my last day, the day

423. See *EI*², s.v. Djabrā'īl, Isrāfīl; *SEI*, s.v. Malā'ika, Mīkāl.

which you have promised me would be a rest from this world's tribulation. O God, I ask You not to accept my soul, and not to remove me from this place before You bring upon the arrogant people Your blows and vengeance which they cannot withstand. This would console me and delight me, for they have mistreated and tortured me. O God, I also ask of You that, if after me any herald of Yours should, amidst tribulation and grief, remember me and ask You [something] in my name, You should comfort him, have mercy on him, be responsive to him, and accept my intercession for him."

As he finished this prayer, God rained fire upon them. In pain, they turned on Jirjīs and struck him with swords. Then God granted him the fourth death, as promised. When the city and all within it was burnt down and turned to ashes, God carried it from the face of the earth. He overturned it, and for a long time thereafter malodorous smoke issued from under it. Anybody who inhaled it fell gravely ill. It resulted in a variety of diseases, each unlike the other.

Those who believed in Jirjīs, and were slain with him numbered thirty-four thousand in addition to the king's spouse, may God have mercy on her.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME V

The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakmids, and Yemen

TRANSLATED BY C. E. BOSWORTH

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Volume V
Translated by C. E. Bosworth

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

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(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME V

The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen

translated and annotated
by

C. E. Bosworth

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

In his monumental work al-Ṭabarī explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators. The thirty-ninth volume is a compendium of biographies of early members of the Muslim community, compiled by al-Ṭabarī; although not strictly a part of his *History*, it complements it.

The *History* has been divided here into thirty-nine volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as *dirham*, and *imām*, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation is aimed chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see the preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

AAE: Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy
AJSLL: American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
AKAW Berlin: Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
AKGW Göttingen: Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
AM: Asia Major
AO: Acta Orientalia
AO Hung.: Acta Orientalia Hungarica
BAR: British Archaeological Reports
BEO: Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales
BGA: Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum
BIFAO: Bulletin de l'Institut Française d'Archéologie Orientale
BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BZ: Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CAJ: Central Asiatic Journal
CHI III: The Cambridge History of Iran. III. The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods, ed. E. Yarshater, 2 parts. Cambridge, 1983.
CHI IV: The Cambridge History of Iran. IV. The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs, ed. R. N. Frye. Cambridge, 1975.
CRAIBL: Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EI[1]: Encyclopaedia of Islam, first edition
EI[2]: Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition
EIr: Encyclopaedia Iranica
GAS: Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 9 vols. Leiden, 1975– .

GMS: Gibb Memorial Series
HdO: Handbuch der Orientalistik
IA: Iranica Antiqua
IC: Islamic Culture
Iran JBIPS: Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies
IIJ: Indo-Iranian Journal
IJMES: International Journal of Middle East Studies
IS: Iranian Studies
Isl.: Der Islam
JA: Journal Asiatique
JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society
JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JIS: Journal of Islamic Studies
JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSAI: Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam
JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies
MO: Le Monde Oriental
MUSJ: Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph
NC: The Numismatic Chronicle
OC: Oriens Christianus
OS: Orientalia Suecana
PSAS: Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies
PW: Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. G. Wissowa *et alii*, 34 vols. + 15 vols. Supplement. Stuttgart, 1893-Munich, 1972. *Der Kleine Pauly*, 5 vols. Stuttgart, 1964-Munich, 1975.
RHR: Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RMMM: Revue du Monde Musulman et la Méditerranée
RSO: Rivista degli Studi Orientali
SbWAW: Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften
SI: Studia Islamica
St Ir: Studia Iranica
TAVO: Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
WbKAS: Wörterbuch des klassischen arabischen Sprache
WO: Die Welt des Orients
WZKM: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZA: Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZDMG: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

In citations from the Qur'ān, where two different numbers are given for a verse, the first is that of Flügel's text and the second one that of the official Egyptian edition.

Translator's Foreword

I

The section of al-Ṭabarī's *History* on the four centuries preceding the rise of the Prophet Muḥammad continues the nonannalistic treatment of the pre-Islamic period as a whole, but it departs from the previous retailing of stories about the Children of Israel, the earlier prophets and the ancient peoples of the Near East and Arabia, which formed the first tier of Islamic salvation history, that of a pristine monotheism which had become clouded over by idolatry and a time of ignorance before God had sent His Prophet to mankind. Instead, although we do not get the year-by-year treatment of events used for post-Islamic times, we emerge instead into something that is recognizable as real history: the origins of the successors to the Parthian Arsacids of Persia, the Sāsānids, and the subsequent four centuries' history of the dynasty; the Sāsānids' sporadic episodes of warfare with the Romans/Byzantines, and, on the eastern frontiers of the Sāsānid empire, occasional wars with the peoples of Inner Asia, the Tūrān of Firdawsī's version of the Persian national epic, the *Shāh-nāmah;* the Sāsānids' attempts to maintain a buffer-state on the desert fringes of Mesopotamia in the shape of the Arab Lakhmid princes who, it was hoped, would protect Mesopotamia from depredations by the Bedouins of inner Arabia; the Sāsānids' installing of military bases on the western shores of the Persian Gulf in order to turn the gulf into a Persian lake, safe for their commerce; from the fifth century onwards, an interventionist policy across central Arabia, culmi-

nating in the Persian occupation of Yemen in 570 for some sixty years; but then, at the end, the sudden disintegration of the empire at the hands of first the Byzantines and then the Muslim Arabs.

This section of al-Ṭabarī's work is thus by no means exclusively concerned with the affairs of the Persian imperial heartland proper, the Iranian plateau and Mesopotamia, where the capital Seleucia-Ctesiphon lay, but is to a considerable extent concerned with its western and southwestern fringes; that is, the Roman/Byzantine provinces of eastern Anatolia and the Semitic Near East, including such ruling Arab families as the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīrah and the chiefs of Kindah of the family of Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār in central Arabia. Much of the material in al-Ṭabarī on the Sāsānids' external relations can be corroborated or amplified from outside contemporary or near-contemporary sources. For the warfare with the Romans/Byzantines, there is a rich array of Byzantine chroniclers, some of them, like Procopius, closely connected with the military commanders concerned or, like Agathias, with a special channel of communication for knowledge of Persian affairs. For the Arabian peninsula, there is a fair amount of Arabic information, admittedly post-Islamic in the form we know it, about the Lakhmid kings and the chiefs of Kindah, arising out of the Arabs' passion for genealogical information and its historical background and out of the need to elucidate the background of poetic activity at the court of al-Ḥīrah or in the person of a poet-chief like Imru' al-Qays. In his translation, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (see on this, below), Nöldeke omitted some sections of al-Ṭabarī's material on pre-Islamic Yemen, since he considered it as "zu fabelhafte" (880^{17}–882^{4}, but with 881^{19}–882^{4} inserted out of order in his translation at 147–48; 890^{4}–892^{14}; 901^{1}–917^{17}). He also omitted as irrelevant to his general topic 966^{15}–981^{2}, on the miraculous birth and early upbringing of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the closing section in this *Prima series*, vol. 2, 1069^{17}–1072^{20}, on the chronology of the world from Adam to the Prophet's birth. With regard to the South Arabian material, during the 1870s, with little more secondary material available on the history of the pre-Islamic Arabs than A. P. Caussin de Perceval's attempt at making historical bricks without straw, his *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme, pendant l'époque de Mahomet et jusqu'à la réduction de toutes les tribus*

sous la loi musulmane (Paris 1847–48), this must have seemed substantially the case. Only from the early 1870s, through the pioneer efforts of scholarly travelers like Halévy in copying inscriptions on the spot, with his subsequent decipherment of the script and then further elucidation of the material by D. H. Müller and others, did knowledge begin to emerge of the rich but patchy heritage of South Arabian inscriptions (and also, around this time, of inscriptions in other languages of the peninsula like Thamudic, Lihyanitic, Safaitic, etc.). Nöldeke was of course aware of the pioneer discoveries and publications here, but the material was still meager in quantity and philologically difficult to evaluate. During the course of the present century, the study of Epigraphic South Arabian has emerged as a fully grown branch of Semitic studies, and we now have confirmation—if at times in an allusive rather than direct manner—of several apparently "fabelhafte" events in al-Ṭabarī's presentation of South Arabian history. Nor should one forget the significant quantity of material in Syriac and other languages of the Christian Orient that has now come to light and has illuminated the formation of an indigenous Christian church in Southwestern Arabia and such episodes as the struggle for political power and influence there involving such outside powers as Abyssinia, Byzantium, and Persia. Even the history of the lands beyond Persia's northeastern frontier has had a certain amount of fresh illumination thrown upon it by recent work on the Western Turk empire and on the Kushans, Kidarites, and Hephthalites, utilizing the results of such disciplines as archaeology, numismatics, and epigraphy; and the emergence in the last decade of material from a family archive in what is now northern Afghanistan will almost certainly increase our knowledge of the history and language of Bactria, the later Islamic Ṭukhāristān, in its pre-Islamic phase.

We have been talking about the peripheries of Persia, but there remains central to this section of al-Ṭabarī's *History* the Persian and Mesopotamian core of the Sāsānid empire. The populations and resources of these territories, the firm social structure, the cohesive power within society of the Zoroastrian state church and its ethos, the richness of the irrigated lands of the Sawād of Iraq and the oases of the Iranian plateau, all these provided the motive power for Sāsānid expansionism and military success. For nearly

four centuries there was a perceptible trend of Sāsānid military success over the Romans/Byzantines: in the great battleground of Upper Mesopotamia, the Persian captured Nisibis in 363 and held it continuously thereafter as a bastion of Persian power threatening the Greeks, with the supreme success of final breakthrough in 614. Recently, James Howard-Johnston has perceptively weighed up the comparative positions and rôles of the two great empires of the Near and Middle East, concluding that it was above all the Persians' possession of Mesopotamia, with its populousness, its advanced, irrigated agriculture and its position at the head of the Persian Gulf with trade routes stretching thither from the East—all these advantages complementing the results of a similar exploitation of the oasis economies of the Iranian plateau—which gradually gave the Sāsānids the edge over Byzantium, enabling *inter alia* the emperors to use the threat of renewed military action to impose humiliating, tribute-paying conditions on the Greeks.[1]

Unfortunately, our knowledge of whole stretches of Sāsānid internal history and of the mechanisms driving the empire remains very imperfect. Such basic topics as the nature of the social structure and the rôles of the aristocracy, gentry, priesthood, and merchants, and the nature of the landholding and financial system on which the state apparatus rested, continue to excite discussion and controversy among scholars. Sources of information like that from the rich corpus of Sāsānid royal and priestly inscriptions and reliefs, the testimony of coins and sealings, the material concerning subordinate faiths of the empire such as that from the conciliar acts of the Nestorian Church and from the Babylonian Talmud, have all been carefully sifted, but cannot compensate for the almost total absence of contemporary records and literature in Middle Persian; and the exact dating and provenance of such exiguous material as we do have, like the *Letter of Tansar* (see on this p. 17 n. 66, below) continue to be debated. Hence the continued, central importance of al-Ṭabarī's historical information on Sāsānid history, supplemented by equally valuable if scantier information in writers like Ibn Qutaybah, al-Ya'qūbī, al-Dīnawarī, al-Mas'ūdī, and Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī.

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1. Howard-Johnston, "The Two Great Powers in Late Antiquity: A Comparison," 180–97.

It is undeniably true, as Howard-Johnston has again observed, that the version of Sāsānid history that reached al-Ṭabarī from one or other versions of the *Khwadāy-nāmag* or *Book of Kings*, probably from that translated into Arabic by the late Umayyad writer Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, almost certainly involved much distortion, suppression, and invention.[2] The penchant for entertaining anecdotes, memorable sayings, curiosa, moralizing tales, and the like, which seem to go back to the *Book of Kings*'s Pahlavi original, was characteristic also of early Arabic *udabāʾ* or littérateurs. In his endeavor to produce a plausible, straightforward historical narrative, al-Ṭabarī must have tried valiantly to cut his way through a mass of entertaining but historically irrelevant information presented to him in these royal annals, but he could not entirely break free of the *adab* tradition (cf. his inclusion of the totally unhistorical story of Shābūr II's wandering disguised in the Roman camp and capture, p. 60 below, and the tale of Kawād I's escape from imprisonment at the end of the interregnum of Jāmāsp's rule, p. 135 below). Al-Ṭabarī's efforts at pruning less relevant material can be seen in the shortened Persian translation produced by Abū ʿAlī Balʿamī (see on this, below), in which the Sāmānid vizier put back in his narrative certain items from the Sāsānid historical tradition where he thought al-Ṭabarī had pruned it overzealously. The fact that anecdotal material of the examples given above remained in al-Ṭabarī's *History* detracts only a little from confidence in his search for sober history.

There is nevertheless a certain unevenness of treatment, perhaps inevitable considering the material within al-Ṭabarī's hands. Sometimes confirmation or amplification of incidents in al-Ṭabarī's narrative can be found in, for example, the Greek, Syriac, or Armenian sources, but when the internal history of the Sāsānid empire did not impinge upon or affect the Christians of Persia, there was little reason for Eastern Christian sources to notice events there. Hence we are left with many blank or little-known periods in Sāsānid history, such as the reigns of Bahrām II in the later third century (covering seventeen years), of Bahrām IV at the end of the fourth century (eleven years) and of Yazdagird II in the

2. Ibid., 170–72.

mid fifth century (almost two decades), skated over by al-Ṭabarī (see pp. 46, 69, 106–109 below). For a crucial subject like Khusraw Anūsharwān's financial, tenurial, and military reforms, vital for our understanding of the internal dynamics of the later Sāsānid empire, we are still largely dependent on al-Ṭabarī's account; it is detailed and informative, but capable of varying interpretation, and hence has not surprisingly attracted a substantial body of comment and interpretation (see p. 258 n. 624, below). The same applies to the slightly earlier episode of Mazdak and his religiosocial movement in the reign of Kawād I and the earlier part of Anūsharwān's reign, which has given rise to widely varying interpretations, often not unconnected with the political and social views of the scholars concerned (see p. 132 n. 342, below).

We must be grateful to al-Ṭabarī for preserving as much as he did of hard historical material, among the less valuable episodes of his *History* that were meant more for entertainment than instruction. Writing a history of the Sāsānids without the Arabic chronicles, even though these last date from two or three centuries after the empire's demise, would be a daunting task.

II

The achievement of Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) in producing in 1878 his *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* and its stupendous commentary, was uniformly praised on its publication (save for one petulant French reviewer, although one recalls that this was only seven years after the French loss of Alsace-Lorraine to the German empire and that Nöldeke was at that moment sitting in Alsace in a professorial chair at Strassburg/Strasbourg University). In his extended review article of the work, Alfred von Gutschmid stated that Nöldeke's utilization of al-Ṭabarī had made it possible for the first time to write a real history of the Sāsānids.[3] Succeeding generations of scholars—and not only orientalists but those from other disciplines like Byzantine studies—have continued to use Nöldeke's work and will doubtless continue to do so, when so

3. See F.-C. Muth, *Die Annalen von aṭ-Ṭabarī im Spiegel der europäischen Bearbeitungen*, 57 and nn. 323–37.

much of the material he brought to bear on the elucidation and amplification of the Arabic text, that from the Greek, Latin, Syriac, Hebrew, Georgian, and Armenian sources (the latter via his Berlin colleague von Gutschmid), remains still valid. Nöldeke himself regarded his translation as perhaps his *chef d'oeuvre*.[4] Nevertheless, a plethora of new information has emerged in the intervening 120 years, and this needs to be integrated with any new translation of the Arabic text. Today we live in an age of many specialists but not of polymaths like Nöldeke. How can any single person nowadays—not least the present *'abd ḥaqīr*—attempt to gather up and integrate all this new information? Thus as noted above, since Nöldeke's time, a whole new field within Semitic studies, that of Epigraphic South Arabian and South Arabian history, has emerged and matured. The obvious answer to the problem would be a team of experts collaborating on the project of a translation plus a commentary that would almost certainly exceed by many times the length of the translation itself. Such projects are easy to conceive but hard to finance and even harder to realize. The final volume of the *History of al-Ṭabarī* project cannot wait a further twenty years or so, which is what such a team of experts in different fields might well require (though Nöldeke finished his translation in one year!); and their finished product would almost inevitably be outdated in many respects before the end of the period of time involved. Hence the present work is offered now for readers' consideration as one which had to be completed within a period of two years only. The present translator and commentator is conscious of whole areas of new scholarship which should, in ideal conditions, be brought into consideration for the commentary; for instance, much exciting and relevant work is coming out of the Workshops on Late Antiquity and Early Islam, and this has been only partially tapped. But a halt must be called at some point, and I have reluctantly arrived at this; whether the achievement is worthwhile, the reader must judge for himself.

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4. His view here was expressed in a letter to Goldziher, cited by F. Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation. I. General Introduction* and *From the Creation to the Flood*, 144 n. 469.

The generations of Arabists who have used Nöldeke's *Geschichte* cannot have failed to be impressed by the degree of accuracy which he achieved in his translation.[5] Where, as with so much of pre-Islamic poetry, replete as it is with recondite allusions, often totally unrecoverable today, doubt and uncertainty remained, he noted this. Since he actually published the translation a year before the appearance of the edited text (volume 1 of the *Prima Series*) on which it was based, a more complete understanding of the text led him on occasion to revise his translation (see, e.g., p. 65 n. 177 below). But such occasions were few and far between. What has happened since Nöldeke's time is that several Arabic texts that he had to use in manuscript, such as Ibn Qutaybah's *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, al-Ya'qūbī's *Ta'rīkh*, al-Dīnawarī's *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, and various poetical *dīwān*s, have now been critically edited, and wherever possible, I have taken advantage of improved readings in these editions.

When the project for an edition of the *History* was first mooted in the early 1870s under the stimulus of the Leiden Arabist M. J. de Goeje,[6] Nöldeke undertook to edit the section on the Sāsānids (*Prima series*, 813–1067) and, after the unexpected death of Otto Loth, the ensuing section 1067–1572; that is, up to almost the end of the events of A.H. 6. Basically, Nöldeke had at his disposal for the section on the Sāsānids the three manuscripts (1) L = Leiden 497, covering the whole period except for a lacuna at 878^{12}–899^{17}; (2) C = Constantinople/Istanbul, Köprülü 1040; and (3) T and t = Tübingen Ma. VI, 2 (Wetzstein Collection), with two parts, the second copied later than the first. Other manuscripts in part supplemented these, including P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ancien fonds 627 (a manuscript cognate with L), from 899^{12} (i.e., soon after the beginning of the reign of Khusraw I Anūsharwān); and BM = British Library, Add. 23,263, from 915^{9} (i.e., in the section on the Tubba' king of Yemen As'ad Abū Karib). Nöldeke also mentioned that he had found useful Ibn Hishām's version of Ibn

5. Cf. Irfan Shahīd, "Theodor Nöldeke's 'Geschichte der Perser und Araber,' an Evaluation," 119–21.

6. See on the project and its genesis, *Introductio*, pp. XXII–XXXV; J. W. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 212–14; Muth, *Die Annalen von aṭ-Ṭabarī*, 8–13; Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, I, 141–42.

Isḥāq's *Sīrat al-nabī* (available in the printed edition of 1858–60 by F. Wüstenfeld); the anonymous history contained in the manuscript Sprenger 30 (in the collection acquired in 1858 from Sprenger by the Prussian State Library in Berlin, and still unpublished; it corresponds to one of the two main versions used by al-Ṭabarī for the history of the Sāsānids; see on the work the dissertation of J. G. Rothstein, *De chronographo arabo anonymo, qui codice Berolinensi Sprengriano tricesimo continetur*); and the Gotha manuscript 24–25 of Bal'amī's abbreviated, and in places slightly amplified, Persian translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* (H. Zotenberg's French translation was not published until 1867–74).[7] The Cairo 1960–69 text of al-Ṭabarī's *History* by the veteran Egyptian editor Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, which incorporates some readings from Istanbul Topkapi Saray manuscripts and certain other ones, has been compared by the present translator with the Leiden text; the additional information gleaned has, however, proved negligible.

The rendering of Arabic names and terms follows the usual system of *The History of al-Ṭabarī*. In regard to Epigraphic South Arabian, I have endeavored to follow the generally acknowledged system as exemplified in A. F. L. Beeston's *Sabaic Grammar*. It is the rendering of pre-Islamic Iranian names and terms that causes difficulties, and no watertight system seems possible here. At the suggestion of Mr F. C. de Blois, for the spelling of Middle Persian words and names I have endeavored to follow the principles laid down by D. N. MacKenzie in his *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (cf. his exposition of the ambiguities and difficulties involved in handling the Pahlavi script, Introduction, pp. x–xv) and now generally accepted by specialists; namely, a strict distinction between *transliteration* of the consonantal script and *transcription* of the reconstructed Sāsānid pronunciation. For example, the name of the first Sāsānid ruler is transliterated *'rtḫštr* but transcribed as Ardaxšīr. His father's name is transliterated *p'pky* but transcribed as Pābag. Ardaxšīr's son's name is spelled etymologically as *šḫpwḫly* (for *šāh* + *puhr*), and the contemporary Sāsānid pronunciation was Šābuhr, as we know from the Manichaean Middle Per-

7. See *Introductio*, pp. L–LII, and for Bal'amī's translation specifically, Muth, *Die Annalen von aṭ-Ṭabarī*, 20–27.

sian spelling *š'bwḥr*; although in the commentary to al-Ṭabarī's *History* I have used the later Middle Persian (and early New Persian) form for this last name of Shābūr, as being closer to the Arabic version of the name. A further slight anomaly is that I have used the later form Ardashīr rather than the strictly correct, earlier form Ardakhshīr, as again reflecting early New Persian usage and as being also the familiar Arabic equivalent.

Such institutions as the John Rylands University Library, Manchester; the Widener Library, Harvard University; and the Oriental Institute Library, Oxford, have aided completion of the work. Several colleagues have been helpful in making books available to me, providing xeroxes of articles difficult of access to me, sending offprints of their own articles, and giving information and guidance on various obscure or contested points. Thus I am grateful to Mr. Mohsen Ashtiany (Columbia University); Dr. S. P. Brock (Oxford University); Dr. Paul M. Cobb (Wake Forest University, N.C.); the Rev. Professor J. A. Emerton (Cambridge University); Dr. G. Greatrex (University of Wales, Cardiff); Dr. R. G. Hoyland (Oxford University); Dr. Ph. Huyse (Paris); Mr. M. C. A Macdonald (Oxford); Prof. D. N. MacKenzie (Anglesey); Dr. M. I. Mochiri (Paris); Professor Chr. Robin (CNRS, Aix-en-Provence); Professor N. Sims-Williams (SOAS, London); Professor G. Rex Smith (Manchester University); and Professor Edward Ullendorff (Oxford). My colleague in Manchester, Professor W. C. Brice, has drawn the maps in an expert fashion. In particular, Mr. F. C. de Blois (Royal Asiatic Society, London), with his special expertise in such fields as Iranian, South Arabian, and Syriac studies, has been kind enough to read through a draft of the commentary and to make a considerable number of corrections and valuable suggestions for improvement; some of these are explicitly acknowledged in the commentary, but there are many other, unacknowledged places where he has saved me from error or has enriched the documentation. Hence I am deeply grateful to him. But at the end, the usual confession must be made: responsibility for the final product remains my own.

C. Edmund Bosworth

Table 1. The Sāsānid Emperors
(*the dates of some of the early rulers are tentative*)

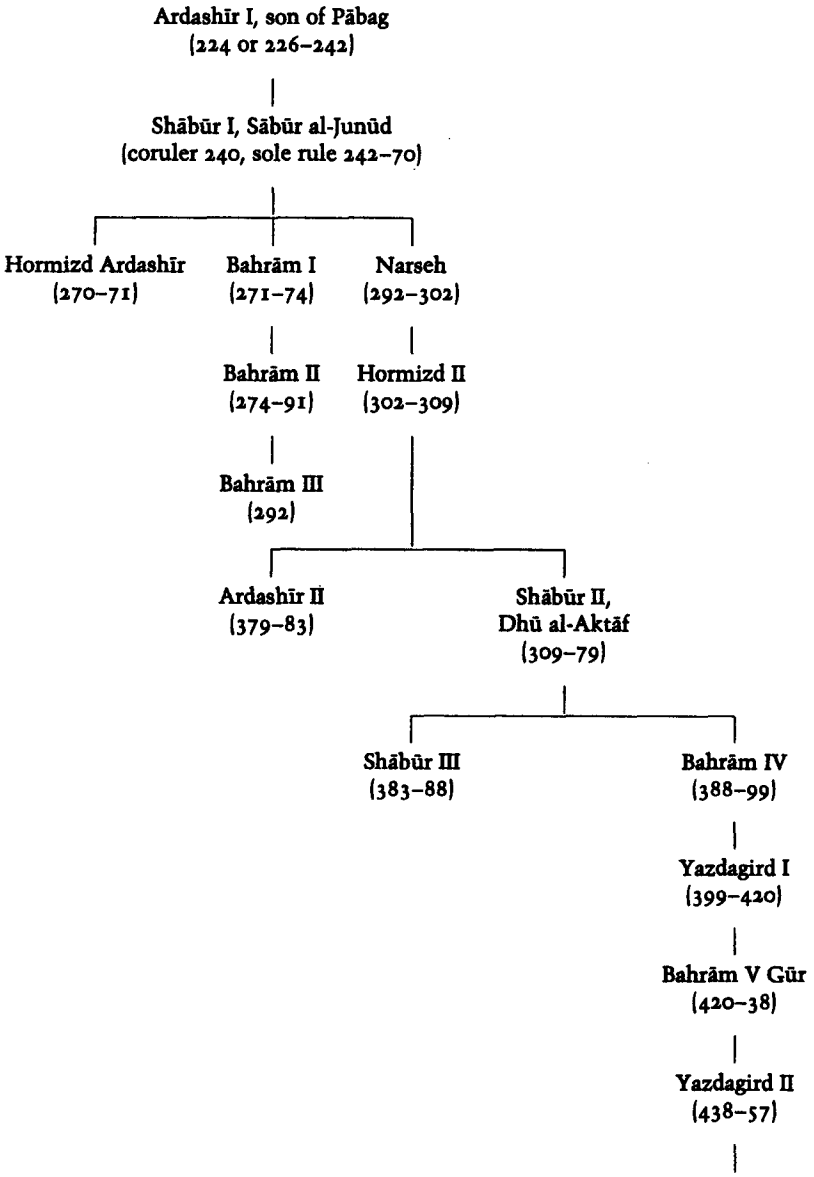

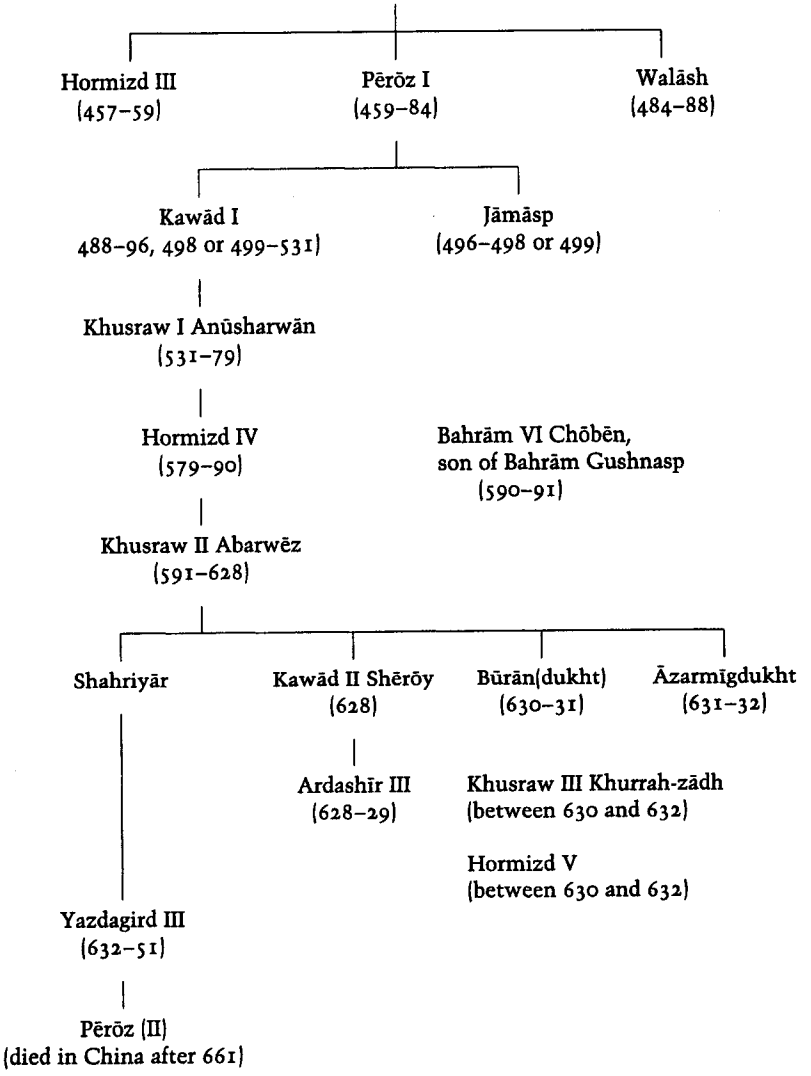
Hormizd III
(457–59)
Pērōz I
(459–84)
Walāsh
(484–88)
Kawād I
488–96, 498 or 499–531)
Jāmāsp
(496–498 or 499)
Khusraw I Anūsharwān
(531–79)
Hormizd IV
(579–90)
Bahrām VI Chōbēn,
son of Bahrām Gushnasp
(590–91)
Khusraw II Abarwēz
(591–628)
Shahriyār
Kawād II Shērōy
(628)
Būrān(dukht)
(630–31)
Āzarmīgdukht
(631–32)
Ardashīr III
(628–29)
Khusraw III Khurrah-zādh
(between 630 and 632)
Hormizd V
(between 630 and 632)
Yazdagird III
(632–51)
Pērōz (II)
(died in China after 661)

Table 2. The Roman and Byzantine Emperors, from Constantine the Great to Heraclius

Constantine I	324–37
Constantius II	337–61
Julian	351–63
Jovian	363–64
Valens	364–78
Theodosius I	379–95
Arcadius	395–408
Theodosius II	408–50
Marcian	450–57
Leo I	457–74
Leo II	474
Zeno, first reign	474–75
Basiliscus	475–76
Zeno, second reign	476–91
Anastasius I	491–518
Justin I	518–27
Justinian I	527–65
Justin II	565–78
Tiberius II Constantine	578–82
Maurice	582–602
Phocas	602–10
Heraclius	610–41

Table 3. The Lakhmid Rulers
(*many dates are tentative*)

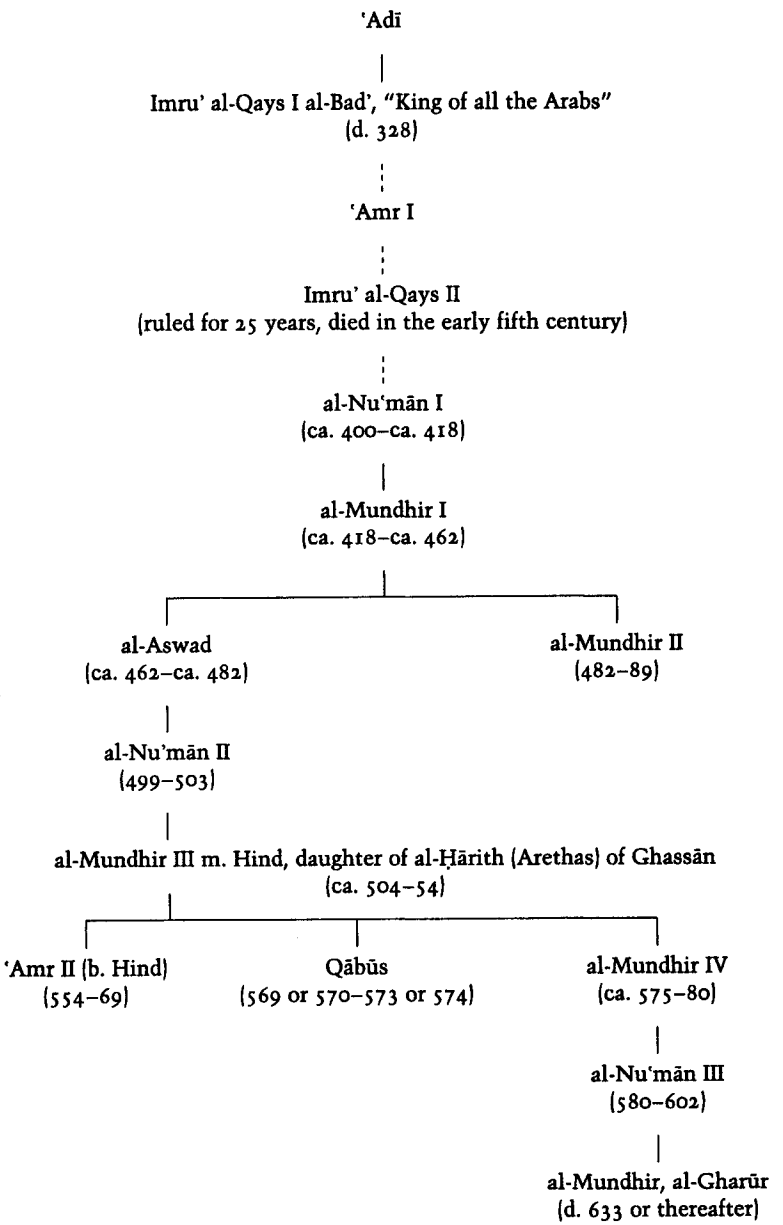

Table 4. The Chiefs of Kindah

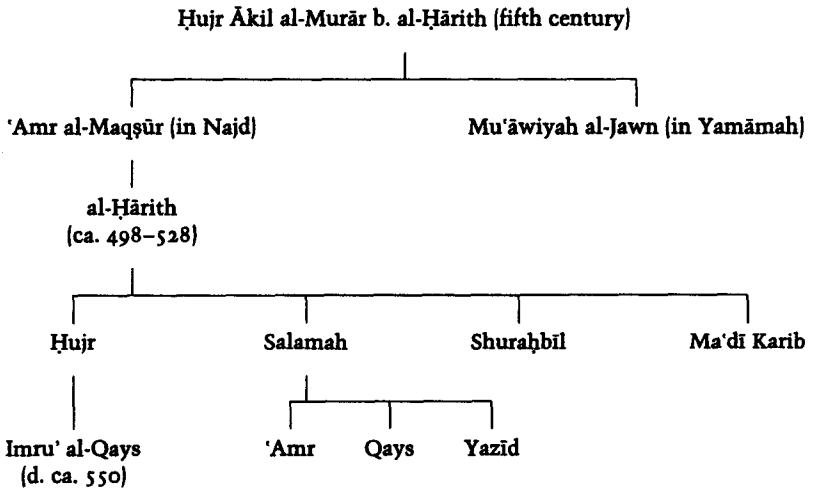

Table 5. Rulers in South Arabia during the Sixth and Early Seventh Centuries
(*many dates are tentative*)

Marthad-īlān Yanūf, to end of 518 or beginning of 519

Ma'dī Karib Ya'fur, last Tubba' king, began ruling end of 518 or beginning of 519

Yūsuf (or Yanūf ?) As'ar Yath'ar, called Dhū Nuwās, 521 or 522, died 525

Abraham, king under Abyssinian suzerainty, killed after 525

Sumu-yafa' Ašwa' (Esimiphaios), king under Abyssinian suzerainty 530 or 531

Abrahah, former slave, ruler ca. 533 till after 552 or 553, nominally on behalf of the king of Abyssinia

Yaksūm, son of Abrahah

Masrūq, son of Abrahah

Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, local Yemeni noble, rebel against Abyssinian domination 570, placed on the throne by the Persian commander Wahriz

Wahriz, governor on behalf of the king of Persia till ca. 575

Marzubān, his son

Bīnajān (?), Marzubān's son

Khurrah Khusrah, Bīnajān's son

Bādhān, till ca. 630

Shahr, his son, killed in 632 by the Yemeni local rebel and religious leader al-Aswad or Dhū al-Khimār

al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah al-Makhzūmī, first Muslim governor 632

Map 1. The Sāsānid Empire

Map 2. The Roman-Byzantine and Persian Frontierlands

Map 3. The Northeastern Frontier of the Sāsānids

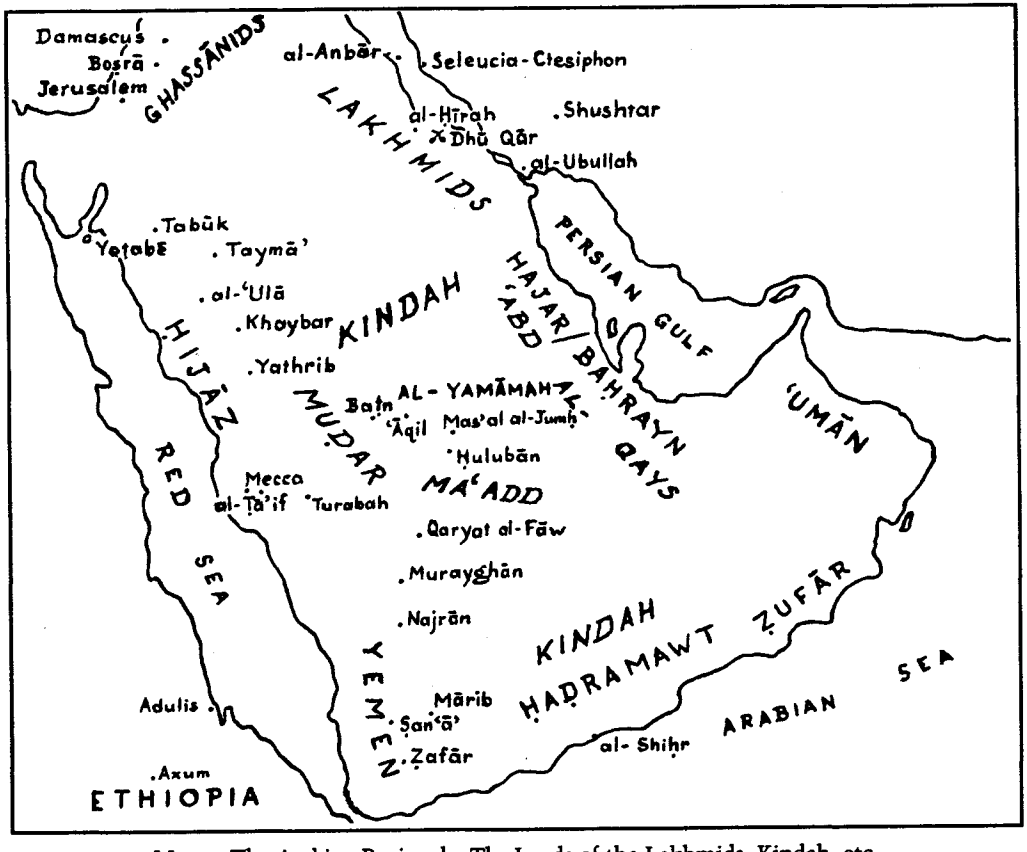

Map 4. The Arabian Peninsula: The Lands of the Lakhmids, Kindah, etc.

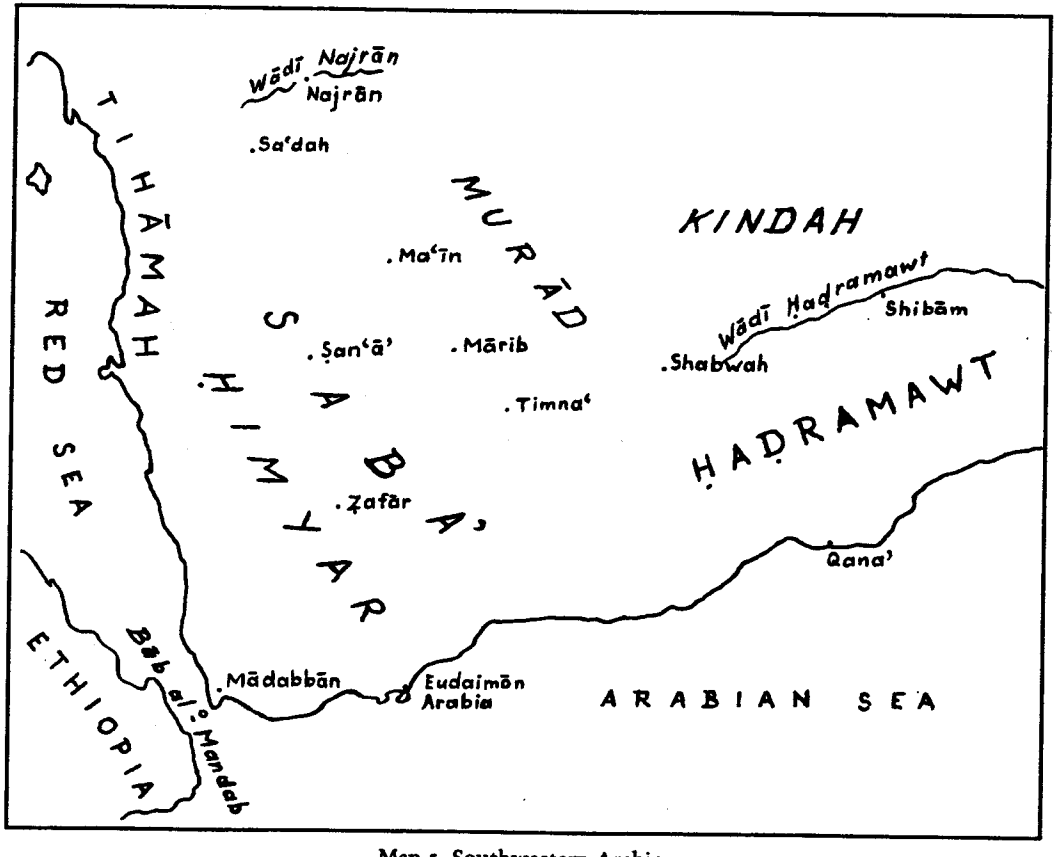

Map 5. Southwestern Arabia

[The Kings of the Persians]

The kings of the Persians and the duration of their rule according to the entire course of [their] history, since we have already mentioned the major events that took place in the time of the Party Kings (*Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*)[1] among the Persians, the Children of [I, 813]

1. Al-Ṭabarī intends by this term, as he has earlier explained (I, 706), the Parthians or Arsacids, considered as regional powers in comparison with such universal monarchs as the Achaemenid emperors of Persia and Alexander the Great. The Sāsānids themselves regarded the "Party Kings," comprising the Arsacids' predecessors the Seleucids (in fact, little known in Iranian historical tradition) and the Arsacids themselves, as an interruption in the development through the ages, from legendary times onward, of the legitimate, unified Persian monarchy, even though the Arsacids ruled for the very respectable span of 474 years. But historical mention of the Achaemenids in indigenous Persian sources seems to be exiguous, beyond some knowledge of the last kings, the Dārās (Darius III being the only monarch mentioned, e.g., in Zoroastrian sources like the *Dēnkard* and the *Bundahišn*, and in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāmah*) (M. A. Dandamayev and V. G. Lukonin, however, have suggested that, in the Sāsānid national consciousness, these two Darius were in any case attached to the Kayanids; see their *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*, 372–73). The problem has exercised modern scholars, who have tended to draw the conclusion that the Sāsānids had little or no knowledge of the Achaemenids, hence could not in any significant way have considered themselves as heirs of the Achaemenids. The arguments have been set forth and discussed, with a wealth of pertinent information, by Ehsan Yarshater in his "Were the Sasanians Heirs to the Achaemenids?" 517–39, and his "Iranian National History," 378; and cf. A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 35–43. Subsequent Iranian historical scholarship has overwhelmingly endorsed Yarshater's view; see, e.g., G. Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran*, 136–38; J. Wiesehöfer, *Die 'dunklen Jahrhunderte' des Persis*, 19; and idem, *Ancient Persia from 550 B.C. to 650 A.D.*, 167–69. Only Touraj Daryaee has recently challenged this consensus, assembling references to the

Israel, the Romans (*al-Rūm*), and the Arabs, up to the time of Ardashīr.[2]

[Ardashīr I]

When there had elapsed, according to what the Christians and the possessors of the early Scriptures relate, 523 years, but according to the Zoroastrians (*al-Majūs*), 266 years, since Alexander had taken control of the land of Babylon,[3] there arose Ardashīr,[4] son of Bābak Shāh, King of Khīr, son of the younger Sāsān, son of Bābak, son of Sāsān, son of Bābak, son of M.h.r.m.s, son of Sāsān, son of

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Achaemenids from earlier Sasanid sources, citing the veneration by the Sāsānids of Persepolis as a sacred site (but they regarded it as stemming from legendary or semilegendary times!) and suggesting that non-Persian authors such as Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and Muslim ones (including, of these last, the Khwarazmian al-Bīrūnī in his *al-Āthār al-bāqiyah*) were well aware of the Achaemenids; see his "National History or Keyanid History? The Nature of Sasanid Zoroastrian Historiography," 129–41. Nevertheless, as emphasized above, the weight of opinion concurs in the view that the Sāsānids did not regard themselves as heirs to the Achaemenids, but to the Kayānids.

2. See *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. III, *The Children of Israel*, and vol. IV, *The Ancient Kingdoms*.

3. The chronology attributed by al-Ṭabarī to the Christians here, and elsewhere, as the "Years of Alexander," is based on the Seleucid era, that commemorating Seleucus I's assumption of power at Babylon, commonly fixed at 1 October 312 B.C. The Byzantine historian Agathias dated the beginning of Ardashīr's reign to the year 538 of the era of Alexander, i.e., A.D. 226–27, probably with Ardashīr's coronation at Ctesiphon in mind (cf. Averil Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," 117). Interpretation of the bilingual, i.e., Parthian and Middle Persian, inscription at Bīshāpūr would seem to point to the "official" beginning of the Sāsānid dynasty's rule as being in the calendar year 27 September 223 to 25 September 224; but the topic remains uncertain and controversial. Since Alexander's era was considered to have begun with his accession, the traditional figure for the length of his reign, fourteen years (e.g., in al-Ṭabarī, I, 702, citing "the Persians"), these years had to be subtracted from the known figure of 537 years to give 524 years as the interval separating Ardashīr from Alexander's death. The lesser figure of the Magians or Zoroastrians given here reflects Sāsānid ideological considerations, foreshortening the actual 474 years of Parthian rule in an attempt to depreciate the duration of their predecessors' power (in reality, this had been longer than the rule of the Sāsānids was to extend). See Th. Nöldeke, trans. 1 n. 1; *EIr* s.v. Arsacids. V. The Arsacid Era, and VI. Arsacid Chronology in Traditional History (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

4. MP *'.r.t.ḥ.š.t.r*, pronounced Ardaxšīr, from a hypocoristic form **Ṛtaxšira* of the full OP form **Ṛtaxšathra*, i.e., Artaxerxes. The name had apparently continued in use among local princes of Fārs during the Arsacid period, on numismatic evidence. See Nöldeke, trans. 1 n. 2; D. Sellwood, "Minor States in Southern Iran," 304–305; *EIr*, s.v. Ardašīr I. i. History (J. Wiesehöfer).

King Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, son of Bishtāsb, son of Luhrāsb, son of Kaywajī (?), son of Kaymanush. According to another genealogy, [he was] Ardashīr, son of Bābak, son of Sāsān, son of Bābak, son of Zarār, son of Bihā-Afrīdh, son of the elder Sāsān, son of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, son of Bishtāsb, son of Luhrāsb.[5] [He [814]
arose] in Fārs seeking, as he alleged, to avenge the blood of his paternal cousin Dārā, son of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, on whom Alexander had made war and had killed two of the latter's chief commanders. As he said, he wished to recover the royal power (or: the kingdom) for its rightful holders and for those who had held it continuously in the previous time of his predecessors and forefathers, before the "Party Kings," and [wished] to gather it together again under one head and one monarch.[6]

It is mentioned that he was born in a village (*qaryah*) of the Iṣṭakhr region called Ṭīrūdih, situated in the rural district (*rustāq*)

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5. On the problems in the Sāsānid genealogies, see G. Morrison, "The Sassanian Genealogy in Mas'ūdī," 42–44; R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 207–208; idem, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 116–17. The genealogies go back to personages like Zarār and Bihā-Āfrīdh who were attached (nonhistorically) to the Arsacids, and then back to the legendary Kayānids, the Achaemenids having by Sāsānid times (apart from the Dariuses) receded into a legendary haze. See Nöldeke, trans. 2, nn. 1–3, 3 n. 1.

The question of the nearer descent of Ardashīr, whether Sāsān was actually his grandfather or a more remote ancestor (the *jadd* of al-Ṭabarī's text could imply either of these), or directly connected with the line of Pābag at all, has aroused considerable discussion, since the sources, literary and epigraphic, offer differing interpretations. Thus, noting the description of Sāsān as a lord but with no explicit filiation of Pābag as the son of Sāsān in the Ka'ba-yi Zardusht inscription at Naqsh-i Rustam, R. N. Frye is inclined to believe that Sāsān was a remote ancestor whose name was used for the dynasty as a whole, just as the Achaemenids took their name from the totally obscure Haxāmaniš/Achaemenēs, while noting the epic tradition that, since Sāsān died just after his son Ardashīr's birth, the boy was adopted, following current Zoroastrian practice, as Pābag's own son. The popular Persian tradition, exemplified in the Middle Persian romance, the *Kār-nāmag-ī Ardašīr-ī Pābagān, pace* the view expressed here by al-Ṭabarī, makes Ardashīr the son of Sāsān, the local ruler Pābag having given his daughter in marriage to Sāsān after hearing of the latter's noble descent from Dārā, i.e., the last Achaemenid Darius III (considered by the Sāsānids as the last Kāyanid king). See the discussions in R. N. Frye, "History and Sasanian Inscriptions," 215–16; idem, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 116–17; *EIr*, s.v. Ardašīr I. i. History (Wiesehöfer).

6. Again reflecting Sāsānid imperial propaganda that Ardashīr restored the unity of the state as the heir of earlier, pre-Arsacid rulers whom he now avenged on Artabanus V.

of Khīr[7] in the administrative division (*kūrah*) of Iṣṭakhr.[8] His grandfather Sāsān was a courageous and mighty warrior whose courage and military might were such that he fought single-handed eighty of the strong and valiant men of Iṣṭakhr and put them all to flight. His wife stemmed from one of the royal families in Fārs called the Bāzranjīn.[9] She was named Rāmbihisht, and possessed beauty and perfection. Sāsān was the custodian of the fire temple of Iṣṭakhr called that of Anāhīdh.[10] He was also a devotee of the chase and of equestrian pursuits (*al-furūsiyyah*).

7. This town of Fārs (other forms such as Khayr and Khiyār are found in the geographers) lay near the southeastern tip of Lake Bakhtigān in the district of Nīrīz, and marked a stage on the Shīrāz-Kirmān road. See G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 289–90; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 104–105. The location of Ṭīrūdih, and the exact form of its name, remain unclear.

8. In Sāsānid times, Stakhr (thus written in Pahlavi script, *stxr*) was regarded as both the religious and political center for the dynasty, given the origins of the Sāsānids themselves from the district. It lay on the Pulvar river north of Persepolis, and may have come into prominence after Alexander the Great's destructions at Persepolis. In Islamic times, it remained moderately significant as the center of the *kūrah* or administrative district (see on this term n. 119 below) of the same name but was gradually overshadowed by the foundation in early Umayyad times of Shīrāz, which became the capital for the whole of Fārs. See Nöldeke, trans. 3 n. 2; Le Strange, *Lands*, 275–76; Schwarz, *Iran*, 13–16; W. Barthold, *An Historical Geography of Iran*, 151–53; *EI*², s.v. Iṣṭakhr (M. Streck-G. C. Miles); *EIr*, s.v. Eṣṭakr (A. D. H. Bivar and Mary Boyce). This tradition identifying Ṭīrūdih as Ardashīr's birthplace may well deserve credence; before the Sāsānids, the Arsacids had continued to venerate their original home in northeastern Persia, on the evidence of Isidore of Charax.

9. The correct form of this name is unclear. Nöldeke, trans. 4 n. 1, compared it with a mountainous district of western Fārs, Bāzrang, mentioned by the Islamic geographers al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal (see Le Strange, *Lands*, 171–72; Schwarz, *Iran*, 118–19), so that we might possibly have a family name derived from a place. The Bāzrangīs were apparently a family of local potentates in Fārs, acknowledging the Arsacids as their suzerains but in practice largely autonomous; after the time of Ardashīr, however, they disappear from historical record. See *EIr*, s.v. Bāzrangī (R. N. Frye). Whether Ardashīr really was related to one of these families cannot now be ascertained, but such a link is by no means improbable; A. von Gutschmid, "Bemerkungen zu Tabari's Sasanidengeschichte, übersetzt von Th. Nöldeke," 734, was less skeptical than Nöldeke about such a possibility.

10. The Avestan Arədvī Sūrā Anāhita "mighty, immaculate one of the waters," a goddess of fertility, nurturer of crops and herds, and also of success in battle, MP Ardwīsūr Anāhīd, had also become identified with the Western Iranian Anāhiti, apparently the goddess of the planet Venus. Venerated by the Achaemenids from the time of Artaxerxes II onward, the cult was popular among the early Sāsānids, and Shāpūr I called his daughter and queen Ādur Anāhīd, "Fire (and) Anāhīd," i.e., this was a dvandva name, from the names of two deities. According to al-Ṭabarī's source, presumably the *Khwadāy-nāmag* or "Book of Kings," Ardashīr was now laying claim to custodianship of the fire temple that had grown out of a shrine to

Rāmbihisht provided Sāsān with a son, Bābak, whose hair, at the moment he was born, was already over a span long.[11] When he reached the age of sound judgment, he assumed rule over the people after his father. Then his son Ardashīr was born to him. The ruler of Iṣṭakhr at that time was a man from the Bāzranjīn family called, according to what I have been told from information going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad (i.e., Ibn al-Kalbī),[12] Jūzhir,[13]

Anāhīd, the beginning of a tradition among the Sāsānids that their founder had been at once warrior hero, prince, and priest. See Nöldeke, trans. 4 n. 2; *EIr*, s.v. Anāhīd. i. Ardwīsūr Anāhīd (M. Boyce).

11. A legendary touch, like being born with a full set of teeth, presaging future strength and greatness. See Nöldeke, trans. 4, n. 3.

12. The major early Islamic historian of pre-Islamic Arabia, including Yemen and the fringes of the northern and central Arabian Desert facing the empires of the Byzantines and the Sāsānids, and also a prime authority, as his *magnum opus* the *Jamharat al-nasab* shows, on Arab tribal genealogy and history, born in Kūfah ca. 120/737 and died there in 204/819 or 205/821. His interest in pre-Islamic Arabian history seems to have arisen partly from a desire to elucidate the background of the Qur'ān, and partly from his Kalbī family origins, for the Kalb had played a glorious role in South Arabian tribal history as the mainstay of the Quḍā'ah, and then in early Islamic times had been the principal military backing for the Umayyad caliphs in Syria. Moreover, his home town of al-Kūfah lay close to al-Ḥīrah, in pre-Islamic times the capital of the Lakhmid kings, whose history Hishām was especially concerned to elucidate (see, e.g., al-Ṭabarī, I, 821–22, pp. 20–22 below). His interest here was such that he called one of his sons al-Mundhir, the name so typical of Lakhmid kings that they are often referred to as al-Manādhirah, and thus himself acquired the *kunyah* or patronymic of Abū al-Mundhir.

This interest in the Lakhmids further gave him a desire to make available to his contemporaries in early 'Abbāsid Iraq the history of the Lakhmids' suzerains, the rulers of Persia. This explains why Hishām provided so much material for al-Ṭabarī on the Persian monarchs (which al-Ṭabarī, being himself of Iranian stock, was probably not averse from using); he wrote a special monograph, no longer extant, on the Parthian Arsacids, the *Kitāb Mulūk al-ṭawā'if*. This material on the Lakhmids and Sāsānids is much greater in quantity and richer in caliber than the exiguous material al-Ṭabarī could find on the Ghassānids of Syria and their suzerains the Byzantines. Apart from his careful use of written sources, including historical traditions and narratives, *akhbār*, derived from his father Muḥammad, a noted Qur'ānic scholar and exegete, Hishām apparently had access to some written documents on the Lakhmids still available in al-Ḥīrah during his own lifetime. He combed local churches and monasteries for their inscriptions and for documents preserved there. He was especially familiar with the verses of the poet of the last Lakhmids at al-Ḥīrah, 'Adī b. Zayd (see n. 116 below), but must have had the whole corpus of pre-Islamic poetry and that of the interval between the Jāhiliyyah and the new Islamic dispensation, the *mukhaḍram*, at his fingertips.

See on Hishām and his father Ibn al-Kalbī, trans. W. Caskel and G. Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, introduction; Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 268–71; A. A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing among the Arabs*, 51–52, 146–47; Irfan Shahîd, *Byzantium*

[815] and, according to others, Juzhir. This last had a eunuch called Tīrā,[14] whom he had appointed castellan (*arjabadh*)[15] of Dārābjird.[16] When Ardashīr reached the age of seven years, his father took him to Juzhir, whose seat was at al-Bayḍā',[17] made his son stand before Juzhir, and asked the latter if he would attach the boy to Tīrā as a foster child of his and as the future castellan in Tīrā's stead. Juzhir agreed to his request and had the terms of the request written out for him in a formal sealed document (*sijill*).[18] Bābak

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and the Arabs in the Fourth Century, 349–66; *EI*², s.v. al-Kalbī (W. Ataullah).

13. Older forms Gōchithr, Gōchihr, rendered in Greek sources as Gōsithrēs "a former king of the Persians." It means "whose seed is cattle," i.e., parent of the cattle, *gaočithra* being used in the Avesta as an epithet of the moon. See Nöldeke, trans. 4 n. 4; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 110. No coins from Gōchihr (or from any other Bāzranjīs) are extant, but his historical existence seems likely.

14. This name stems from such a compound name as Tīr- dād "given, created by Tīr or Mercury." In Greek sources a king of Characene is named as Tiraios (from whom coins are known), and it may have been this ruler who gave his name to the Nahr Tīrā or Tīrīn river or canal of early Islamic al-Ahwāz (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, V, 319; Le Strange, *Lands*, 241; Schwarz, *Iran*, 308, 313–15). See Nöldeke, trans. 4 n. 5; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 325, 326–27; P. Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique*, no. 899.

15. Nöldeke, trans. 5 n. 1, took *(h)argabadh* to mean "castellan," but the coexistence of the specific Middle Persian term *dizbed*, meaning "commander of a fortress," led some scholars subsequently to doubt this interpretation and suggest a meaning like "tax collector" for an MP **hargbed*. However, Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 107, noted that, at the outset of the Sāsānid state, it was an office held by the prince Ardashīr (I) (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 815, p. 7 below), and in *EIr*, s.v. Argbed, M.-L. Chaumont opts for the former meaning, "commander of an *arg*," to use the NP term corresponding to MP **argbed*. Both readings of the word are possible. It clearly became a very prestigious office, and later, al-Ṭabarī, I, 869, p. 104 below, states that it was close in status to that of the commander-in-chief of the army.

16. A town and *kūrah* of eastern Fārs, in modern times having the curtailed form Dārāb, corresponding to what in Seljuq and Il-Khānid times was known as the lands of the Shabānkāra'ī Kurds. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ii, 446; Le Strange, *Lands*, 288–89; Schwarz, *Iran*, 92–97; *EI*², s.v. Dārābdjird (D.N. Wilber).

17. Literally, "the white [fortress, town, etc.]," a town of Fārs lying to the north of Shīrāz and in the Kāmfīrūz district. This region flourished as far back as Elamite times as that of Anshan (see *EIr*, s.v. Anshan [J. Hansman]), but al-Bayḍā' is today little more than a village. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 529; Le Strange, *Lands*, 280; Schwarz, *Iran*, 16–17, 54; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 153, 161; *EI*², s.v. al-Bayḍā' (O. Löfgren); *EIr*, s.v. Bayżā (C. E. Bosworth).

18. Derived from Latin *sigillum* "seal" and then in Late Latin and Byzantine Greek usage applied to the document or scroll to which a seal had been affixed, this term came into Arabic certainly by Qur'ānic times (cf. Sūrah XXI, 104). It later acquired various technical legal and administrative senses. See *EI*² s.v. Sidjill. 1. Ḳur'ānic and early Arabic usage (F. C. de Blois).

took him along to Tīrā, who received him handsomely and adopted him as his own son. When Tīrā died, Ardashīr took over his office, and performed the function admirably. A group of astrologers and diviners informed him that he had been born under an auspicious star and that he would rule the lands (sc., the whole of Iran). It is related that, after this, Ardashīr behaved in a modest and unpretentious manner in pursuance of this forecast, and continued each day to grow in good deeds and conduct, and that he saw in a dream an angel sitting by his head who told him that God was going to give him rulership over the lands, so he was to prepare for this. When he awoke, he rejoiced at this and felt within himself power and great strength such as he had never before known.

The first thing he did was to proceed to a place in the Dārābjird district called Jūbānān,[19] and killed a ruler there named Fāsīn.[20] Then he went along to a place called Kūn.s (?) and killed a ruler there called Manūshihr,[21] and after that to a place called L.r.wīr (?),[22] where he killed a ruler there named Dārā.[23] In all these places he appointed persons [as governors] responsible to him. He then wrote to his father (sc., to Bābak) telling him what he had accomplished, and called upon him to rise up against Juzhir, who [816]

19. Literally, "cowherds," MP *gōbānān, in this form or the singular Jūbān, is the name of several villages in Persia, cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 176 (Jūbānān), IV, 487 (Kūbān[ān]); but most probably here is meant what was in early Islamic times the town of Jūbānān on the northern shore of Lake Bakhtigān (now, it seems, vanished from the map) and on the Iṣṭakhr-Sīrajān-Kirmān road. See Nöldeke, trans. 6 n. 3; Le Strange, *Lands*, 278–79; Schwarz, *Iran*, 109.

20. Thus the reading of the ms. Sprenger 30, an anonymous chronographical work (see *Introductio*, p. LII), i.e., Pisīn, Pasīn, a name familiar in the Iranian national legend, see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 252–53; but other mss. have readings that could be *Wās.f.r* (see text, n. g), cf. Wāsbuhr, etc.

21. This name of a hero in the Iranian national legend (literally, "from the race of Manu," in Indian legend, the first man; see Yarshater, "Iranian National History," 433–35, and Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 559) is attested on pre-Sāsānid coins, or on coins roughly contemporary with the advent of Ardashīr to power, issued by kings of Persis. See Nöldeke, trans. p. 6 n. 6.

22. Both Kūn.s and Lurwīr are unidentified.

23. This ancient name of Achaemenid kings had survived among local rulers during the Arsacid period, and one of these may have been the eponymous founder of Dārābjird (according to the Middle Persian geography used by J. Markwart, ed. G. Messina, in his *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr*, 19, by a Dārā, son of Dārā), since names of towns composed of a personal name and the ending *-gird* do not occur before the time of Alexander the Great. See Nöldeke, trans. 6 n. 7.

was at al-Bayḍā'; this Bābak did, killing him and seizing his crown,[24] and then he wrote to Ardawān the Pahlawī, king of the mountain regions (al-Jibāl, i.e., Media) and the adjoining lands,[25] humbly entreating and requesting from him permission to place upon his son Sābūr's head the crown of Juzhir. Ardawān, however, wrote back to him in harsh terms informing him that he and his son Ardashīr were to be regarded as rebels, since the two of them had killed people; but Bābak took no notice of this.

Bābak died around that time, and Sābūr, son of Bābak, was invested with the crown and reigned in his father's place as king.[26] He wrote to Ardashīr instructing him to proceed to his court, but Ardashīr held back. Accordingly, Sābūr grew angry at Ardashīr's recalcitrance; he gathered together troops and set off at the head of them to make war on Ardashīr. He left Iṣṭakhr [and encamped in the building (*binā'*) of Khumāy[27] on the road to Dārābjird, but part of the building fell on top of him and killed him. When news of this reached Ardashīr, he proceeded to Iṣṭakhr].[28] He found there a number of his brothers, some of them older than himself. They

24. The account transmitted by al-Ṭabarī seems to magnify Ardashīr's role in the fighting against Artabanus; it may well have been Bābak and not his son who took the initiative here. See Nöldeke, trans. 7 n. 1.

25. That is, the last Arsacid king, Artabanus IV (in the older reckoning, Artabanus V), r. ca. 213–ca. 224. The Greek form Artabanus, Parthian and MP Ardawān, represents OP *Arta-bānu "the glory of Arta" (i.e., the divine order of the Avesta, cf. *EIr* s.v. Ardwahišt [M. Boyce]). See Nöldeke, trans. 7 n. 2; A. D. H. Bivar, "The Political History of Iran under the Arsacids," 94–96, 99; *EIr*, s.v. Artabanus (M.R. Dandamaev, K. Schippmann). The form Ardawān was taken over by the Arab historians; see the citations detailed in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Ch. Pellat, VI, *Index généraux*, 137.

26. The name Shābūr, MP Shāhpuhr, "son of the king," ultimately going back to OP **Xšāyathiya.pūthra*, was not apparently used before the Sāsānids (see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 284–87; Gignoux, *Les noms propres sassanides*, no. 858). Whether Shābūr was thus named by his father to buttress his right to succeed to the throne is uncertain. His reign was long enough for him to mint coins. In any case, Ardashīr's theoretical role as a usurper was subsequently validated by his succession on Shābūr's accidental death. See Nöldeke, trans. 7 n. 3; *EIr*, s.v. Ardašīr I. i. History (Wiesehöfer).

27. Humāy, Avestan Humāyā, is in the Avesta the daughter of Wīshtāspa, playing a role in later Persian epic tradition somewhat like that of the Assyrian queen Semiramis. Early Islamic authors such as al-Dīnawarī, al-Mas'ūdī, and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī attribute to Humāy the building of palaces in the vicinity of Iṣṭakhr, in one of which Shābūr now met his death, possibly in an earthquake. See Nöldeke, trans. 8 n. 2; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 131–32; M. Mayrhofer, *Die altiranischen Namen*, no. 177.

28. These words are supplied from the ms. Sprenger 30.

nevertheless gathered together and brought in the crown and the royal throne, and then offered them all to Ardashīr. Hence he was crowned and sat down on the throne.

He began his reign with vigorous and incisive measures. He appointed various persons to diverse offices, and nominated a man called Abarsām to the position of Chief Minister (*buzurg framadhār*), lavishing largesse on him and giving him numerous charges.[29] He appointed a man named Fāh.r (?) as Chief Mōbadh (*mūbadhān mūbadh*).[30] He got wind of a plot on the part of his brothers and some other persons in his entourage to assassinate him, hence he slew a great number of them. Then news came to him that the people of Dārābjird had risen against him, so he returned thither and conquered the town after killing a number of [817] its citizens. He proceeded to Kirmān, where there was a king called Balāsh.[31] There was a fiercely fought battle, in which Ar-

29. Abarsām is a fully historical figure, attested as a high-ranking official of Ardashīr's in Shābūr I's Naqsh-i Rustam inscription, in which the latter monarch lists those court dignitaries in whose memory Shābūr had set up a pious foundation. He could not have been the chief minister, since this official for both Ardashīr and Shābūr is named as a Bābag, and his exact rank and title are uncertain, but he was obviously exalted enough for the late Sāsānid tradition, as transmitted by al-Ṭabarī, to consider him as chief minister. See *EIr*, s.v. Abarsām (E. Yarshater). For Abarsām's supposed part in the preservation and then production at an opportune moment of the prince Shābūr, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 823–25, pp. 24–27 below.

It is, however, an anachronism of al-Ṭabarī's source that he introduces already the office of *buzurg framadhār*, which is not attested till the early fifth century (see on the office, n. 257 below). Court and administration cannot have been so neatly organized at this early time; the highest offices under the Sāsānids in their first century of power were actually those of the *(h)argbed* (see above, n. 15) and the *bidakhsh*, a kind of viceroy, cf. *EIr*, s.v. Bidaxš (W. Sundermann). See Nöldeke, trans. 9 n. 2, and on the name Abarsam, Justi, *Namenbuch*, 1, and Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no, 14.

30. This renders MP *mowbed mowbedān* "supreme priest," in Syriac the *rēš məghūšē*; see Nöldeke, trans. 451, Excursus 3. The title comes into usage comparatively late in the Sāsānid period and is not an early one. As Nöldeke remarks, trans. 9 n. 3, the new ruler, whether from personal conviction or for reasons of state, showed himself eager to establish the Zoroastrian clergy in a leading role under his dynasty.

31. This, or Walāsh, is the NP form of MP Wardākhsh, well known in the Greek forms Vologesos, etc., and it was a frequent name for the Arsacid kings, later appearing also in the Sāsānid royal line in the shape of Balāsh, son of Yazdajird II (484–88), see, p. 126 below. This Balāsh of Kirmān must have been a local ruler of the last Arsacids, and he may have been the founder of the town of Walāshgird, on the road connecting Jīruft with Hurmuz, mentioned by the Islamic geographers (Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 383; Le Strange, *Lands*, 317–18; Schwarz, *Iran*, 248). See

dashīr took part personally, until he captured Balāsh and seized control of the city. Ardashīr thereupon appointed as governor over Kirmān one of his sons, also called Ardashīr.

Ruling in the coastlands along the Persian Gulf was a king called 'b.t.n.b.w.d (Haftānbūkht ?),[32] who was accorded divine attributes and worship. Ardashīr marched against him, killed him by cutting him in half with his sword, put to death the members of his entourage, and brought forth from their subterranean store rooms (*maṭāmīr*)[33] extensive treasures that had been piled up there. He wrote to Mihrak, the king of Abarsās (?)[34] in the district of Ardashīr Khurrah,[35] and to a group of his fellow rulers, summoning them to his obedience. When they refused to submit, he

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Nöldeke, trans. 10 n. 2; *EIr*, s.v. Balāš (M. L. Chaumont).

In Sāsānid times and in early Islamic times up to the fourth/tenth century, the *shahr-i Kirmān*, the provincial capital, was what became the early Islamic city of Sīrajān, in the western part of the province and near the modern Sa'īdābād. It may have been this first Sāsānid governor, Ardashīr, son of Ardashīr I, who laid out what was perhaps a military encampment, rather than a city, at Weh Ardashīr in the northeastern part of the province (Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 43), the place that became in later times Guwāshīr or Bardasīr, provincial capital under the Būyids and, afterward, became the modern city of Kirmān. See Nöldeke, trans. 10 n. 3; Le Strange, *Lands*, 300–301; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, 30; Markwart-Messina, *Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals*, 90; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 137–38; *EI²*, s.v. Kirmān (A. K. S. Lambton).

32. Thus according to text, n. *b*. Nöldeke, trans. 10 n. 1 renders the reading '.*s.w.w.d* of the Sprenger ms. as Astawadh (?). The spelling Haftānbūkht (?) is probably a misrendering of an Achaemenid term for an administrative district, denoting a component part of a province, a term that survived through Islamic times as the modern place-name Haftuwān, a village to the southwest of Khunj, in the western part of Lāristān, in southern Fārs.

33. Sing. *maṭmūrah*, meaning a subterranean chamber, either natural or man-made, used essentially for the storage of foodstuffs like grain (i.e., as a silo) or, as here, for treasure. The plural form is not infrequently a toponym in early Islamic times, as in Byzantine Asia Minor, see al-Ṭabarī, III, 1104, year 216/831–32, and in general, *EI²*, s.v. Maṭmūra (Ch. Pellat).

34. Thus in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 382, but regarded by Nöldeke as dubious; the mss. have various incomprehensible readings, see text, n. *d*. For Mihrag, older form Mithrak, see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 207–208; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 629.

35. One of the five *kūrah*s or administrative districts making up the province of Fārs, in which was later situated the Islamic provincial capital Shīrāz. The *kūrah*'s MP name, "Ardashīr's glory," commemorated the founder of the Sāsānid dynasty, while the original town there of Gūr, the Islamic Jūr and then Fīrūzābād, was said to have been built on the site of Ardashīr's decisive victory over the last Arsacid Ardawān or Ardabanus IV in ca. A.D. 224. See Nöldeke, trans. 11 n. 2, 446 Excursus 3; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 283; Le Strange, *Lands*, 248–49; Schwarz, *Iran*, 43ff.; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 152–53, 158–59; *EI²*, s.v. Fīrūzābād (L. Lockhart).

proceeded against them and killed Mihrak. He then went to Jūr; he founded the city [there] and began the construction of the palace called al-Ṭirbāl[36] and also of a fire temple.

While he was engaged in these activities, an envoy from Ardawān (Azdawān, Lāzdawān ?)[37] arrived bearing a letter from the latter. Hence Ardashīr assembled the leading men in the state (*al-nās*)[38] for this purpose and read out the document in their presence. The contents were as follows: "You have presumed beyond your rank in society, and have brought down on yourself destruction, O Kurd brought up amongst the tents of the Kurds![39] Who gave you leave to assume the crown on your head, and permission to seize all the territories you have assembled together and whose rulers and peoples you have subdued? Who ordered you to build the city which you have founded in the desert of . . . ?"—he meant Jūr[40]—"When we allow you to go ahead and construct it, then build a city in the desert which is ten farsakhs across and call it Rām Ardashīr!"[41] He went on to inform Ardashīr that he had dispatched the king of al-Ahwāz against him, with orders to bring back Ardashīr to him in bonds. Ardashīr replied, "It [818] is God who has bestowed on me the crown which I have assumed, who has given me authority over the lands which I have conquered, and who has aided me against the mighty potentates (*jabābirah*) and kings whom I have slain. As for the city which I am to build and which I am to name Rām Ardashīr, I very much hope to get my hands on you and then send your head and your

36. This appears in the Arabic dictionaries, defined as "high building, tower" (see E. W. Lane, *Lexicon*, 1836c), but must in reality be a loanword from MP *talwār* "audience hall," a synonym of *īwān*. There are impressive remains above ground of Ardashīr's palace at Gūr/Jūr; see *EIr*, s.v. Architecture. iii. Sasanian (D. Huff), at II, 331 (Plate V), 332. Concerning the fire temple at Jūr, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1067, p. 410 below.

37. Nöldeke, text, n. *e*, preferred the reading of the Sprenger ms. Lāzdawān.

38. Here, as often in premodern Islamic history in all times and places, *al-nās* does not mean "people in general" but "the people who matter, *the* people"; cf. the Mamlūk *awlād al-nās*, sons of amīrs and mamlūks within the *ḥalqah* unit of the Mamlūk army; i.e., sons of the ruling military caste.

39. A looking-forward to later Islamic times when, certainly from the ʿAbbāsid period onward, *kurd*, "shepherd, nomad," is virtually a synonym for "robber, bandit, brigand."

40. See for Jūr, n. 35 above.

41. Literally, "joy of Ardashīr." Ardashīr's words here are of course ironic: you may plan a city, but you won't be able to carry out the plan! See Nöldeke, trans. 12 n. 3.

treasuries to the fire temple which I have founded at Ardashīr Khurrah."[42]

Then Ardashīr headed toward Iṣṭakhr, and left Abarsām [as governor] in Ardashīr Khurrah. Not much time had elapsed before a letter reached him from Abarsām with the news that the king of al-Ahwāz had appeared but that he had retreated after being defeated in battle.[43] Whereupon Ardashīr proceeded to Iṣbahān, took its king Shādh Sābūr prisoner and then killed him,[44] after which he returned to Fārs, and went forth to give battle to Nīrūfarr (?), ruler of al-Ahwāz, marching to Arrajān,[45] Sanbīl (?),[46] and Ṭāshān,[47] dependencies of [the district of] Rām Hurmuz, and then to Surraq.[48] When he reached these places, he rode on with a group of his retainers until he stood on the banks of the Dujayl (here, the Kārūn river),[49] took control of the city [already existing there], and founded the [new] city of Sūq al-Ahwāz;[50] then he returned to Fārs

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42. Again ironically, Ardashīr asserts that he has no need of a new city, but will adorn his existing one with his enemy's head. See Nöldeke, tr. 12 n. 5.

43. This ruler would be the ruler of Elymais, a vassal of the last Arsacids, the region of southeastern Khūzistān, with its center at the modern Tang-i Sarvak; coins are extant from these petty rulers.

44. Ardashīr is now for the first time moving out of Fārs against neighboring potentates. Nothing is known of the rulers in Iṣfahān at this time; Nöldeke, trans. 13 n. 1, surmised that Shādh Sābūr, literally "joy of Shābūr," should perhaps be read as Shāh Sābūr, since the name in the text would be more fittingly that of a town.

45. The name of a city and of the westernmost *kūrah* of Fārs, adjacent to the border with the province of Ahwāz. Al-Ṭabarī's mention of it here would be anachronistic in the light of the information in many Arabic authors that it was founded by the emperor Qubādh (I) (i.e., some two-and-a-half centuries after Ardashīr's time), but clearly an older town existed on the site, which Qubādh may have rebuilt. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 142–44; Nöldeke, trans. 13 n. 2; Le Strange, *Lands*, 248, 268–69; Schwarz, *Iran*, 111ff.; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 164–65; H. Gaube, *Die südpersische Provinz Arraǧān/Kūh-Gīlūyeh*, 28–31, 74–76; *EI*², s.v. Arradjān (M. Streck-D. N. Wilber); *EIr*, s.v. Arrajān (H. Gaube).

46. Nöldeke's preferred reading, n.c, for the text's *s.sār*.

47. Tāshān or Ṭāsān probably survives today as the ruined site of Tāshūn. See Schwarz, *Iran*, 344; Gaube, *Die südpersische Provinz Arraǧān/Kūh-Gīlūyeh*, 112,

48. The region of which Dawraq [al-Furs] was the chief town. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 242; Schwarz, *Iran*, 370–71; Sir Arnold T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf. An Historical Sketch from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, 186–87; Gaube, *Die südpersische Provinz Arraǧān/Kūh-Gīlūyeh*, 22ff; *EI*², s.v. Dawraḳ (L. Lockhart); *EIr*, s.v. Dawraq (C. E. Bosworth).

49. Dujayl, "Little Tigris." See Nöldeke, trans. 13 n. 3; Le Strange, *Lands*, 232–34, 245–46; Schwarz, *Iran*, 296–99; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 189–92; *EI*², s.v. Kārūn (M. Streck-J. Lassner).

50. A city of lower Khūzistān or Ahwāz (the latter an Arabic broken plural of Hūzī, Khūzī, the name of the Iranian tribe originally occupying the region), the

laden with plunder. He set off from Fārs once again, and went back to al-Ahwāz by the road through Jirih and Kāzarūn,[51] and then from al-Ahwāz to Maysān, where he killed a ruler there called B.n.dū (?) and built there Karkh Maysān.[52]

Yet again, he set off back to Fārs, and dispatched a message to Ardawān demanding [that he name] a place where the two of them could fight together. Ardawān replied that he would meet Ardashīr on a plain called Hurmuzjān[53] at the end of the month of Mihr. Ardashīr, however, reached the place before the appointed time in order to take up a [favorable] position on the plain. He dug out a ditch to protect himself and his army, and took possession of [819] a spring there.[54] Ardawān came up against him, and the troops deployed themselves in battle order. Sābūr, Ardashīr's son, had

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name Ahwāz also being applied to the province's capital, further defined as the province's "market" (*sūq*), given the agricultural and commercial prosperity of the province. There was probably an Achaemenid settlement on the site of Sūq Ahwāz, which Ardashīr rebuilt and refounded as his own city, Hurmuz Ardashīr (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 820, p. 16 below), and in Sāsānid times it prospered greatly as the capital of the province of Susiana after the decay of Susa. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 284–86; Le Strange, *Lands*, 232–34; Schwarz, *Iran*, 315–24; *EI*², s.v. al-Ahwāz (L. Lockhart); *EIr*, s.v. Ahvāz. 1. History (C. E. Bosworth).

51. These two places, often mentioned together by the geographers, lay to the southwest and west, respectively, of Shīrāz. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 131, IV, 429–30; Le Strange, *Lands*, 266–68; Schwarz, *Iran*, 33, 35; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 162–63; *EI*², s.v. Kāzarūn (J. Calmard).

52. The Greek Mesēnē, MP Mēshān, Arabic Maysān, was the region along the lowest reaches of the Tigris in Mesopotamia to the east of the Baṭīḥa, or Great Swamp. Its center was the Seleucid foundation of Charax Spasinou, with the province in Arsacid times being known as Characene, with the subsequent Syriac name Karkhā dhə Mēshān (*karkhā*, "fortified town"), eventually yielding the Arabic form given by al-Ṭabarī. Ardashīr conquered Characene in ca. 224, but there seems to be no confirmatory evidence that the rebuilt and refounded town of Charax acquired the name Ast(ar)ābādh Ardashīr. See Nöldeke, trans. 13 n. 5; *PW*, III/2, s.v. Charax, Mesēnē (Weissbach); Le Strange, *Lands*, 43, 80; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 40–42; M. J. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 155–61; W. Eilers, "Iran and Mesopotamia," 487; Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 594; *EI*², s.v. Maysān (M. Streck-M. Morony); *EIr*, s.v. Characene and Charax (J. Hansman).

53. Unattested in the Islamic geographers.. See Nöldeke, trans. 14 n. 1; the name appears in al-Dīnawarī's *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* with an intrusive *d*, i.e., Hurmuzdijān

54. The exact location of the battlefield is unknown. It has been fixed as probably somewhere near the later Islamic town of Gulpāyagān to the northwest of Iṣfahān; the date of the battle was 30 Mihr of Seleucid era 535/28 April 224. See *EIr*, s.v. Artabanus (K. Schippmann), at II, 650a. There remains, nevertheless, the possibility that the encounter took place in eastern Khūzistān if the name Hurmuzdijān should have some connection with the town of Rām-Hurmuz; the terrain there would certainly be suitable for extensive cavalry maneuvering.

already gone forward in order to shield his father. Fierce fighting got under way, in the course of which Sābūr killed Dādhbundādh,[55] Ardawān's secretary (sc., the writer of the letter) with his own hand. Ardashīr rushed forward from his battle position toward Ardawān and killed him. There was great slaughter among Ardawān's troops, and the survivors fled the field. It is said that Ardashīr dismounted and trampled Ardawān's head with his feet. On that day of battle, Ardashīr received the title of "Supreme King" (*Shāhanshāh*, literally "King of Kings").[56]

Then he went from there to Hamadhān and conquered it by force of arms, as also the mountain region (al-Jabal), Azerbaijan, Armenia, and [the region of] al-Mawṣil. The he went from al-Mawṣil to Sūristān, that is, the Sawād,[57] and took possession of it for himself. On the banks of the Tigris, opposite the city of Ctesiphon (which is the city that forms the eastern part of al-

55. The rendering preferred by Nöldeke, text n. *a*, for the *dār.n.b.dādh* of the text (Sprenger ms., *dād.b.n.dār*).

56. Ardashīr commemorated his victory in a rock relief, the largest surviving Sāsānid one, on a mountainside near his town of Ardashīr Khurrah. See *EIr*, s.v. Ardašīr I. ii. Rock reliefs (H. Luschey) (with illustrations).

Ardashīr's symbolic investiture with the ancient title of "King of Kings" is depicted in a relief at Naqsh-i Rustam, in which the king receives the diadem of sovereignty from Ahura Mazdā, and in other reliefs depicting god and king at the bridge near Ardashīr-Khurrah and at Naqsh-i Rajab. See Georgina Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, 82–88, 90 (illustration); Luschey, loc. cit. (with illustrations). His assumption of the title is also noted in the other Arabic sources on the Sāsānids: al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 179; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 43; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 161 = §585. It was from the date of his victory over Ardawān (see above, n. 54), i.e., the regnal year 223–24, or at his formal accession to the throne shortly afterwards (probably therefore at some point between 224 and 226, see Frye, "The Political History of Iran," 118–19, and n. 68 below) that Ardashīr dated the beginning of his reign, which extended till his death, most probably in 242 (the chronology of the early Sāsānids is in many places uncertain). See Nöldeke, trans. 15 n. 1; the genealogical table of Sāsānid rulers in Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 295 (in which several dates for the early Sāsānids need correction), and his list in "The Political History of Iran under the Sassanians," 178 (again with some early dates to be corrected); *EIr*, s.v. Ardašir I. i. History (J. Wiesehöfer).

57. Nöldeke, trans. 15 n. 3, took Sūristān to be a Persian translation of Bēth Aramāyē, "land of the Syrians." It could also denote "the region of the Nahr Sūrā," this being the name the Arabs gave to what was then the eastern branch of the middle Euphrates (now the river's main channel; see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 279; Le Strange, *Lands*, 70; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 21; Markwart-Messina, *Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals*, 103). It is equated with the Sawād, "the dark lands" (contrasted, in its vegetation and greenery, with the dazzling whiteness of the surrounding desert), the irrigated region of Mesopotamia. See *EI*², s.v. Sawād (C. E. Bosworth).

Madā'in), he built a city on the western side, which he called Bih Ardashīr. He formed this into a province (*kūrah*), adding to it Bihrasīr, al-Rūmaqān, Nahr Darqīṭ, Kūthā and Nahr Jawbar,[58] and appointed local governors (*'ummāl*) over them. Then he went back from the Sawād to Iṣṭakhr, and thence to Sijistān, thence to Jurjān, and thence to Abarshahr,[59] Marw, Balkh, and Khwārazm, as far as the farthest frontiers of Khurāsān, after which he returned to Marw. He killed a large number of people, and despatched their heads to the fire temple of Anāhīdh. Then he returned from Marw to Fārs and took up his quarters at Jūr. Envoys from the kings of [820] the Kūshān, of Ṭūrān, and of Makrān, came to him offering their submission.[60] From Jūr, Ardashīr went to al-Baḥrayn and laid siege to its king Sanaṭruq. The latter was reduced to the extremity of need, till finally he threw himself down from the walls of the citadel and perished. Ardashīr returned to al-Madā'in and estab-

58. For these places, see Nöldeke, trans. 16 nn. 3, 4; Le Strange, *Lands*, 34, 68–70; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 164–65; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 143ff. As Nöldeke observed, tr. 16 n. 4, these administrative arrangements reflect late Sāsānid administrative geography, not that of Ardashīr's time, shown by the inclusion of Rūmaqān, the settlement of Weh-Andiyōg-Khusraw, founded by Anūsharwān for the people of Antioch carried off after the Persian conquest of that city in 540, and called in Arabic al-Rūmiyyah. See Fry, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 155; *EIr*, s.v. "Deportations. ii. In the Parthian and Sasanian Periods" (E. Kettenhofen), at VII, 301a; pp. 157–58 below.

59. That is, the region around Nīshāpūr, the central part of Khurāsān, the province to which Ardashīr turned his attention once he had secured western Persia. The name Abarshahr probably reflected an old **Aparn-xšathr* "country of the Aparnak," Greek Aparnoi, the leading tribe of the Dahae who founded the Parthian empire. For the city of Nīshāpūr and its foundation, see n. 163 below. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 65–66; Nöldeke, trans. 17 n. 2, 59 n. 3; Le Strange, *Lands*, 382–88; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 36, 74–75 (his rendering of Abarshahr as "upper country" is to be rejected); Markwart-Messina, *Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals*, 52–53; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 94ff.; *EI*², s.v. Nīshāpūr (E. Honigmann-C. E. Bosworth).

60. These potentates were neighbors of the Sāsānids in what is now northern Afghanistan and the Sijistān-Baluchistan region. The demise of the Kushan empire, which had in its heyday straddled the Hindu Kush and extended over northern India, seems to have taken place ca. 225, and is probably to be connected with Ardashīr's campaigns against the Kushan Shāh, laconically referred to here. See Nöldeke, tr. 17 n. 5; Bivar, "The History of Eastern Iran," 203. Ṭūrān was in early Islamic times a region of east-central Baluchistan associated with Quṣdār or Khuzdār, i.e., it lay to the north of the coastal region of Makrān and, as Nöldeke observed, trans. 18 n. 1, is not to be confused with Tūrān, the name the Iranians gave to the peoples beyond the Oxus. The Paikuli inscriptions of some two generations after Ardashīr's time mention the Makurān Shāh as a vassal of the Sāsānids but not the Tūrān Shāh. See *EI*¹, s.v. Ṭūrān (V. Minorsky).

lished himself there, and he had his son Shābūr crowned within his own lifetime.[61]

It is related that there was in a village called Alār, in the district of Kūjarān, which is one of the rural districts of the coastland of Ardashīr Khurrah, a queen who was accorded the respect and worship of a divinity and who possessed wealth, treasuries, and soldiers. Ardashīr made war on her priestly custodians (*sadanah*), killed her, and seized as booty immense wealth and treasures belonging to her. [It is further related] that he built eight cities: in Fārs, the city of Ardashīr Khurrah, that is, Jūr, the city of Rām Ardashīr, and the city of Rīw Ardashīr;[62] in al-Ahwāz, Hurmuz Ardashīr, that is, Sūq al-Ahwāz; in the Sawād, Bih Ardashīr, that is, the western side of al-Madā'in,[63] and Astābādh Ardashīr, that is, Karkh Maysān; in al-Baḥrayn, Fasā (?) Ardashīr, i.e the city of al-Khaṭṭ;[64] and in [the region of] al-Mawṣil, Būdh Ardashīr, that is, Ḥazzah.[65]

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61. These movements by Ardashīr mark the beginning of Sāsānid attempts to control the western shores of the Gulf, and we now have the start of a Persian political, cultural, and religious penetration into eastern Arabia that was to continue until the advent there of Islam in the 630s. The appearance of the Parthian name Sanaṭrūq/Sinatrices, so common among the Arsacids and their dependents in Adiabene and Commagene, may mean that this local ruler in Baḥrayn was an Arsacid vassal. See Nöldeke, trans. 18 n. 3; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, 77–79; Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 603–604.

The coronation of Shāpūr with his father's crown and the joint rule of father and son is confirmed by Ardashīr's late coins, which, inter alia, depict Ardashīr and a youthful king symbolizing the son, and also by rock reliefs, including one at Dārābgird apparently depicting Shāpūr, victorious over the Romans, and wearing his father's crown. See *EIr*, s.v. Dārāb. iii. Rock Reliefs (Georgina Herrmann).

62. This name later became Rēshahr/Rīshahr. Its modern ruins lie at the southern end of the Bushire peninsula; the name survived at least until the sixteenth century in that of the Portuguese fort of "Reixer." See Nöldeke, trans. 19 n. 4; Schwarz, *Iran*, 120–21; Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, 73–74; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 164; *EI²*, s.v. Būshahr (Būshīr) (L. Lockhart).

63. That is, the newly refounded Seleucia. See J. M. Fiey, "Topographie chrétienne de Mahozé," 400, 409–10.

64. Al-Khaṭṭ was a term applied by early Islamic historians and geographers to the coastlands of eastern Arabia from the head of the Persian Gulf down to Oman, without any more precise definition. The particular settlement of al-Khaṭṭ was said to be held by the 'Abd al-Qays tribe and to be an entrepôt for a famous type of spear, the Khaṭṭī, imported from India and sold to the Bedouins, but it is impossible to locate it firmly. The name would appear to be old and to be connected with the Chatenia of the classical geographers. See Nöldeke, tr. 20 n. 3; *PW*, III/2, s.v. Chattenia (D. H. Müller); Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 593–4; *EI²*, s.v. al-Khaṭṭ (A. Grohmann).

65. Ḥazzah, marked today by an entirely Muslim village Heza to the southwest

It is mentioned that, when Ardashīr first came to power, he wrote to the Party Kings eloquently phrased letters setting forth his rightful claim to authority over them and summoning them to obedience. When he came to the end of his life, he set forth his testament for his successor.[66] All through his career he was the object of praise and was victorious in war. No military force of his was ever put to flight nor was any banner of his ever hurled down. [821]

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of Irbil, was the administrative center of a region of the same name in Adiabene, the region between the Greater and the Lesser Zāb rivers in northern Mesopotamia (see on it, *EIr*, s.v. Adiabene [D. Sellwood]). The town is frequently mentioned in Nestorian Christian literature as the seat of a bishopric in the metropolitanate of Irbil (and ca. 1200 a Jacobite bishopric is mentioned there). Ibn Ḥawqal in the fourth/tenth century still speaks of the *arḍ Ḥazzah* and its component *rustāqs*. See Nöldeke, tr. 20 n. 4; M. Canard, *Histoire des H'amdanides*, 123; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 165–67; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 132–33. Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī devotes much of his section on Ardashīr in *Ta'rīkh*, 42–44, to the many cities the emperor founded and his many fire temples and other buildings. Although a zealous adherent of Zoroastrianism, Ardashīr seems to have been tolerant of the Christian communities within his realm, although it was only toward 250 that what might be called a catholic Christianity, with a defined dogma, evolved with a proper ecclesiastical hierarchy, at least as far as the Tigris. See J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide, 224–632*, 10–17; M.-L. Chaumont, "Les Sassanides et la Christianisme de l'Empire iranien au IIIe siècle de notre ère," 167–68.

66. This is a reference to what was in Islamic times known as the *'ahd Ardashīr*, in fact a good example of the "Mirrors for Princes" genre, listed by Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist*, 377–78, trans. Bayard Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm. A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, II, 740, as the *Kitāb 'Ahd Ardashīr Bābakān ilā ibnihi Sābūr* and described as a translation from Pahlavi. Whether any material from the time of Ardashīr is actually contained in it is unknown, but it is more likely that material ostensibly from Ardashīr was imputed to him later. The text and a translation of it, at that time still in manuscript, were given by Mario Grignaschi in his "Quelques spécimens de la littérature sassanide conservée dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," 46–90, and the work has been subsequently edited and published by Iḥsān 'Abbās, *'Ahd Ardashīr*, Beirut 1967. A related text is the *Ā'īn-i Ardashīr*, a collection of aphorisms and advice on statecraft, also edited and translated by Grignaschi in op, cit., 91–133. Also relevant here is mention of the so-called *Letter of Tansar*, known subsequently to the Islamic world through an Arabic translation, probably by Ibn al-Muqaffa' from a lost Pahlavi original, but now known substantially in a New Persian version. It purports to be the work of Ardashīr's Chief Priest, Tōsar or Tansar; it adjures a local prince of Ṭabaristān to submit to the Sāsānid ruler and, in general, justifies Sāsānid rule and political conduct. Although it is generally accepted that the *Letter* in its existing form dates substantially from the time of Khusraw Anūsharwān, i.e., the sixth century, it may well have a core going back to the third century. See *EI²*, s.v. Tansar, Kitāb (F. C. de Blois). See also for a recent consideration of all three of these texts as part of the movement for translating works from the Pahlavi into Arabic, and their place in the subsequent development of Islamic political and social thinking, Louise Marlow, *Hierarchy and Egalitarianism in Islamic Thought*, 72–88.

He reduced to submission[67] and humiliated all the rulers of the lands around his own kingdom, and conquered the lands totally. He divided up the land into provinces, laid out cities, established the various ranks and offices in the state, and exerted himself in multiplying the fertility and flourishing of the land. His reign lasted, from the time when he killed Ardawān till he himself perished, fourteen years, but according to others, fourteen years and ten months.[68]

There was related to me a narrative going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad (i.e., Ibn al-Kalbī) that states:[69] Ardashīr moved for-

67. *wa-athkana fī al-arḍ*, echoing Qur'ān, VIII, 68/67.

68. Ardashīr I reigned from spring 224, the date his victory over Ardawān took place, or 226 (see n. 56 above) to 240 as sole ruler, and then for two more years till his death as coruler with his son Shāpūr. There has, in fact, been much discussion about the chronology of Ardashīr's last years and the exact date of his death; this latter event should probably be placed, in Wiesehöfer's estimation (see below), in early 242, most likely in February of that year. Ardashīr's name appears on his coins as 'ARTḤŠTR. See, on his coins, Furdoonjee D. I. Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 51–52, 305–16, 413–16, Plates I-III, Table I; R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 42, Tables I-Ia, Plates 1–2; D. Sellwood, P. Whitting, and R. Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 73–78; Hodge Mehdi Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 232–33.

The Arabic sources on the rise of the Sāsānids and Ardashīr's reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 653–54; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 179 (very brief); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 42–45 (Ardashīr's rise to power and defeat of Ardawān's son Farrukhān, the extension of his authority over outlying provinces and the story of the clandestine birth and upbringing of his son Sābūr (I), see below, al-Ṭabarī, I, 823–25); Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 42–44 (Ardashīr's rise and consolidation of power, his new cities and his building operations); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 148, 151–63 = §§ 573, 576–88 (his defining of the various ranks in the Persian social, military, and religious structures, his emphasis on court ceremonial, his urban foundations and building works, and his aphorisms on statecraft and monarchical power, as set forth in the *Kār-nāmag* [*-ī Ardašīr-ī Pābagān*], on which see n. 5 above); idem, *Tanbīh*, 98–100, trans. B. Carra de Vaux, *Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, 141–44; and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 380–84. Among Persian sources, see al-Ṭabarī, Persian abridged trans. Bal'amī, trans. H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Mo'hammed-ben-Djarîr-ben-Yezid Tabari*, I, 527–28, II, 66–75.

For studies on the reign of Ardashīr in general, see e.g., Christensen, *Sassanides*, 86–96; Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 207–21; idem, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 118–25, 178; *EIr*, s.v. Ardašīr I. i. History (J. Wiesehöfer). Nöldeke, trans. 21 n. 4, thought that the picture of the first Sāsānid emperor as an exemplary ruler, while not without some basis, was exaggerated. Ardashīr can nevertheless be accounted a firm and successful ruler who brought unity to the Persian lands after the chaotic conditions of the late Arsacid period. It is probably true that he extirpated the Arsacid royal family within Persia (though not in Armenia, see n. 84 below), but he conciliated and took into his service many of the great Parthian military and administrative families, thus providing some element of continuity within the state.

69. The change to Ibn al-Kalbī's narrative, with material emanating from the

ward at the head of an army of the men of Fārs seeking to gain military and political ascendancy over Iraq. He encountered there Bābā, the king of the Aramaeans, and he also encountered Ardawān, the king of the Ardawānīs.[70] Hishām explains: The Aramaeans are the Nabataeans (*al-Anbāṭ*) of the Sawād, and the Ardawānīs are the Nabataeans of Syria.[71] He goes on to relate: Each one of these two groups used to fight with each other over the possession of power, but then they came together and agreed to fight Ardashīr. So the two of them fought against Ardashīr, each assisting the other (or: going forth in separate groups, alternately, *mutasānidayn*)[72] one of them would fight one day, and the other would fight on another day. When it was Bābā's day for combat, Ardashīr was unable to withstand him, but when it was Ardawān's day for combat, the latter was unable to withstand Ardashīr. So when Ardashīr realized that, he made a peace agreement with Bābā, on the basis that Bābā would let Ardashīr alone and leave the latter to fight it out with Ardawān, while Ardashīr, for his part, would leave Bābā in control of his own territories and all

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Arab milieu of al-Ḥīrah, brings with it more poetic and anecdotal elements into the story (seen here immediately in the story of the warfare between Ardashīr and his two opponents Ardawān and Bābā) as compared with the more sober, straightforward material of the Persian national historical tradition going back to the *Xwadāy-nāmag*. See Nöldeke, trans. 22 n. 2.

70. The "Aramaeans" (*al-Aramāniyyūn*) can hardly refer to the whole nation of Aramaic-speaking peoples of the Syro-Mesopotamian region, those in Islamic times called al-Nabaṭ/al-Anbāṭ (see n. 71 below). Nöldeke, loc. cit., thought that in this context the term appears to refer to the people of Bēth Aramāyē or Lower Iraq, with the king Bābā being the unidentified Bābā, son of Bandīnā, described by al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 161 = § 585, as ruler of (the forerunner of) Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah (which in early Islamic times lay between Baghdad and al-Kūfah, see *EI*², s.v. Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra [J. Lassner]). As for the Ardawānīs, these were not of course an ethnic or national group at all, but the partisans and troops of king Ardawān.

71. The term *Nabaṭ*, pl. *Anbāṭ*, was especially applied in early Islamic times, often with a contemptuous tinge, to the indigenous, Aramaic-speaking cultivators of the Sawād of Iraq as compared with the Bedouin Arab pastoralists. By then, little was remembered or known of the proto-Arab Nabataeans of northwestern Arabia, modern Jordan, and southern Syria, the Nabaṭ al-Shām of the Muslims. There was much confusion in the Arab historians concerning the ancient peoples who had inhabited Mesopotamia, with all of these—Sumerians, Akkadians, Assyrians, etc.—tending to be lumped together as Chaldaeans, *al-Kaldāniyyūn*. See *EI*², s.v. Nabaṭ. 2. The Nabaṭ al-'Irāḳ (T. Fahd). The false distinction between the Ardawānīs = the Nabataeans of Syria, and the Aramāniyyūn = the Nabataeans of Iraq, appears also in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 85.

72. See for this term, Lane, *Lexicon*, 1443b, 1444b, and Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 691–92.

within them. In this way, Ardashīr was free to combat Ardawān alone; he speedily killed him and conquered all his possessions and dependencies. He also compelled Bābā to give obedience [to him]. Thus Ardashīr took firm control of the realm of Iraq; its rulers became subject to him; and he finally brought into submission all the people there who had resisted him, thereby compelling them to to do what he wished and what was in accordance with his plans, however distasteful though it was to them.

[The History of al-Ḥīrah]

[Hishām b. Muḥammad continues:] When Ardashīr conquered Iraq and seized power there, a large part of the Tanūkh (group of tribes)[73] disliked the prospect of remaining in his kingdom and becoming his subjects. Hence those of them belonging to the tribes of Quḍā'ah who had come with Mālik and 'Amr, the two sons of Fahm, together with Mālik b. Zuhayr and others, went forth and eventually joined with those of Quḍā'ah already in Syria.[74] Now
[822] there was a group of the Arabs who were guilty of committing

73. This important tribal confederation, accounted as South Arabian in genealogy when they were in Iraq, and said to have spread out from the southern part of the Arabian peninsula toward the fringes of Iraq and Syria, was certainly an ancient one, apparently referred to by Ptolemy as the *Thanouitai*. Their history in the peninsula is very shadowy, but they are attested on the fringes of the Fertile Crescent by the third century A.D. and, as al-Ṭabarī relates, they became a significant population element in al-Ḥīrah and Mesopotamia as "Arabs of the Marches" (i.e., of the Sāsānid empire, *'Arab al-Ḍāḥiyah*), and seem to have had some kinship connection with the ruling Lakhmids of al-Ḥīrah. It was in these places that some at least of the Tanūkh acquired Christianity, which they retained well into the Islamic period. See G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Ḥîra*, 18–40, 134–38; I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, 360–62, 366ff., 418ff.; *EI*[1], s.v. Tanūkh (H. Kindermann); *EI*[2], s.v. Tanūkh (I. Shahîd); and see the next note.

74. Quḍā'ah were an old group of tribes, whose components included Balī, Juhaynah, Kalb, Khawlān, Salīḥ, Tanūkh, 'Udhrah, etc. The genealogists were uncertain whether they belonged to the North or South Arabs; there are indications that, in the Umayyad period, the Quḍā'ah of central Syria may have changed their affiliation, for military and political reasons, from Ma'add, the North Arabs, to Qaḥṭān, the South Arabs (see W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 246–53; M. J. Kister and M. Plessner, "Notes on Caskel's Ǧamharat annasab," 56–58; G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam, The Umayyad Caliphate A D 661–750*, 36). The Tanūkh of Quḍā'ah were certainly installed in northern Syria and northern Jazīrah during the eighth and ninth centuries, still Christian in faith and considering themselves Qaḥṭānīs. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, tables 274, 279, II, 73–76, 470; *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳuḍā'a (M. J.Kister).

various misdeeds among their own people,[75] or who were becoming reduced by hardship in their daily life to extremities, so that they were moving into the agricultural lands (*rīf*) of Iraq and settling at al-Ḥīrah.[76] [The population of al-Ḥīrah] thus comprised three elements. The first element was that of the Tanūkh, who dwelled in shelters and tents of hair and skins on the western banks of the Euphrates, between al-Ḥīrah and al-Anbār and beyond.[77] The second element were the 'Ibād ("devotees"), that is, those who had [originally] settled in al-Ḥīrah and built themselves permanent houses there.[78] The third element were the Aḥlāf

75. That is, had brought down upon their heads blood feuds. See Nöldeke, trans. 24 n. 1.

76. This was the great city, strategically situated on the borderland between the cultivated lands of the Sawād of Mesopotamia and the northeastern fringes of the Arabian Desert; its ruins (first noted by B. Meissner, *Von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Ḥîra und Ḫuarnaq*, Deutsche Orientgesellschaft Sendschriften 2, 1899, Leipzig 1901) can be seen today to the southeast of al-Najaf. It owed its rise, as the most important city of the Arabs for three centuries, to the Lakhmids and was always closely associated with that dynasty, with a peak of splendor under al-Mundhir III b. al-Nu'mān II (r. 504–54), the appointee of Qubādh and Khusraw Anūsharwān (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 899–900, pp. 159, 161 below). The decline of the city came with the end of the Lakhmids, when in 602 Khusraw Abarwēz deposed and killed al-Nu'mān III b. al-Mundhir IV (see text, I, 1026–28, below) and entrusted the city to Persian nominee governors, and then with the city's surrender in 12/633 to the Muslim general Khālid b. al-Walīd (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 2019). It continued to exist, however, for at least four more centuries, but was gradually eclipsed by the nearby, newly founded *miṣr* or armed camp of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 328–31; Nöldeke, trans. 25 n. 1; Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 12–40; Le Strange, *Lands*, 75–76; Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter*, 76–77; Eilers, "Iran and Mesopotamia," 487–88; Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 597; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥīra (I. Shahīd).

The etymology of the name al-Ḥīrah has traditionally been connected with Syriac *ḥērtā*, "enclosure," but Shahīd has argued that an etymology from the languages of the Arabian peninsula, with the sense of "military encampment," is more likely, especially since we have in Sabaic *ḥyrt*, *ḥrt*= "encampment," and a verb *ḥyr*, "to encamp" (see for these, A. F. L. Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary*, 74; Joan C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect*, 175). Shahīd propones that we should accordingly consider Syriac *ḥērtā* as a loanword from the Arabian peninsula, not vice versa. See his *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, 490–98.

77. These dwellers in shelters and (permanent?) tents must have represented a transitional way of life between those of the pure nomadic Bedouins and the house-dwelling 'Ibād. See Nöldeke, trans. 24 n. 3.

Anbār (Persian, "storehouse," "granary") was an ancient town of central Iraq, at a crossing-point of the Euphrates and further strategically important as the approach from the west to Ctesiphon-al-Madā'in and, later, to Baghdad. Its value had led Shābūr I to rebuild it in early Sāsānid times and to rename it Fīrūz-Shāpūr. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 257–58; *PW*, I/2, s.v. Ambara (F. C. Andreas); Le Strange, *Lands*, 65–66; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 353–57; *EI*², s.v. al-Anbār (M. Streck and A. A. Duri); *EIr*, s.v. Anbār (M. Morony).

("confederates"), who had joined with the people of al-Ḥīrah and settled among them but who belonged neither to the tent-dwelling Tanūkh nor the 'Ibād, who had both submitted to Ardashīr.[79]

Al-Ḥīrah and al-Anbār were both built in the time of Bukht Naṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar), but al-Ḥīrah fell into ruins when its population migrated to al-Anbār at the time of Bukht Naṣṣar's death. In this way, al-Anbār flourished for 550 years, until al-Ḥīrah revived in the time of 'Amr b. 'Adī, when the latter took up his residence there. Al-Ḥīrah accordingly flourished for 530-odd years, until al-Kūfah was founded and [the people of] Islam took up residence there. The complete extent of 'Amr b. 'Adī's tenure of power was 118 years, of which ninety-five fell within the time of Ardawān and the "Party Kings" and twenty-three years within the time of the Persian kings, comprising fourteen years and ten months of Ardashīr son of Bābak's reign and eight years and two months in his son Sābūr's reign.[80]

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78. The Arab Christian 'Ibād, "devotees," of al-Ḥīrah represented the culturally most advanced Arabs of their time, even though their Lakhmid rulers remained generally pagan, at times fiercely so. The last Lakhmid king, al-Nu'mān III, may have been the first Christian ruler since the time of Imru' al-Qays I al-Bad' (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 834, p. 44 below). Modern archaeological investigations, from an Oxford expedition in 1931 to the work of the Japanese Archaeological Expedition to Iraq in the 1970s and 1980s, have uncovered the sites of many Christian churches both at the site of al-Ḥīrah itself and in the surrounding district; see the details given in Erica C. D. Hunter, "Syriac Inscriptions from al Hira," 66–67, and nn. 2, 4–5; and also J. S. Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, 197 and n. 114. Early Arab traditions state that the Arabic alphabet, having evolved among the literate scribes of al-Ḥīrah, was carried thence to the Arabian interior and Mecca (but note the doubts of G. Endress, "Die arabische Schrift," 169). Certainly, the Lakhmid kings were great patrons of the Bedouin poets who flocked to their court, but the city itself also produced several noted poets, headed by the celebrated 'Adī b. Zayd (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1016–24, pp. 339–51, below, and n. 116, below). See Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 18–28; Bosworth, Iran and the Arabs before Islam, 597–99; and for al-Ḥīrah as a literary center, R. Blachère's section "La poésie à la cour des Laḫmides de Ḥîra," in his *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, II, 293–301.

79. These must have been Bedouins sedentarized within the city; see Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 18ff., and Bosworth. "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 599. The Lakhmid kings' policy of balancing rival tribal groups within Arabia against each other, one of divide and rule, is discussed in F. McG. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, 45–48.

80. 'Amr b. 'Adī, the father of the Imru' al-Qays I al-Bad', "king of the Arabs," of the Namārah inscription (as this has customarily been read), lived toward the end of the third century and in the early part of the fourth century; he was regarded as the father of the dynasty, but cannot have ruled for such a span of years. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 834–35, p. 44 below; Nöldeke, trans. 25 n. 1; Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 50ff.

Mention of the Holders of Power in the Kingdom of Persia after Ardashīr b. Bābak

[Sābūr I, called Sābūr al-Junūd][81]

When Ardashīr b. Bābak died, there succeeded to power in Persia[82] his son Sābūr. When Ardashīr b. Bābak had attained the royal [823]
power, he wrought great slaughter among the Arsacids (al-Ashakāniyyah),[83] to whom belonged the "Party Kings," until he had exterminated them, in accordance with an oath which Sāsān the elder, son of Ardashīr, son of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, the ancestor of Ardashīr b. Bābak, had sworn: that, if at some point, he should attain the royal power, he would not spare a single one of the progeny of Ashak, son of Khurrah. He had further laid this charge on his descendants, and had instructed them in his testament not to leave alive a single one of the Arsacids if they should succeed to power [immediately after him] or if one of them should [eventually] attain to royal power one day. The first of his descendants and progeny to achieve this power was Ardashīr, son of

81. That is, "Sābūr of the Armies."

82. Here, for the first time in the present text, *Fār(i)s* seems to mean the land of Persia in general rather than the province of Fārs, cradle of ancient Persian monarchy, in particular.

83. The Arabic name for the dynasty goes back to the eponymous founder of the line, Arshaka, Parthian *'ršk*, Greek Arsacēs, who seized power in northern Parthia ca. 247 B.C., henceforth the beginning of the Parthian era. See Nöldeke, trans. 26 n.1; Bivar, "The Political History of Iran under the Arsacids," 28, 98.

Bābak. Hence Ardashīr massacred the Arsacids en bloc, women and menfolk alike, not sparing a single one of them, in accordance with the intention of his forefather Sāsān.[84]

It is mentioned that he left no one alive except a maiden whom he had found in the royal palace. He was struck by her beauty, and asked her—she was really the slaughtered king's daughter—about her origins. She stated that she was the handmaiden of one of the king's wives. He then asked her whether she was a virgin or had previously been married. She told him that she was a virgin. So he had sexual intercourse with her and took her as one of his concubines, and in due course she became pregnant by him. Now when she became assured of her own safety in regard to him, because of her firm position in his affections through her pregnancy, she informed him that she was really from the progeny of Ashak. However, he recoiled from her, and summoned Harjand, son of Sām,[85] a man of great seniority and advanced years, and told him that she was from Ashak's progeny. Ardashīr went on to say, "It is incumbent upon us to keep faith with our forefather Sāsān's vow, even though she has become dear to my own heart, as you
[824] well know. So take her away and kill her!" The old man went off to kill her. She told him that she was pregnant. He took her along to the midwives, who confirmed that she was indeed pregnant. He consigned her to an underground cellar. Then he cut off his own

84. Whether the Arsacid royal family, the line of Ardawān, was so thoroughly exterminated is hard to determine, but the Arsacid dynasty in Armenia, which had come to power when Tiridates I was crowned king of Armenia by the Roman emperor Nero in A.D. 66, continued to rule there till the early fifth century; the Armenian Arsacids considered themselves the holders of legitimate Iranian rule and, not surprisingly, their relations with the upstart Sāsānid supplanters of their kinsmen in Persia always remained strongly hostile. See D. M. Lang, "Iran, Armenia and Georgia," 517–18. Whatever the fate of members of the Arsacid royal house in Persia, many of the great Parthian "feudal" families seem gradually to have made their peace with the Sāsānids and to have entered their service; such was certainly the case with the Kāren, Sūrēn, and Mihrān families. See Nöldeke, trans. 26 n. 1; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 119–20.

85. Perhaps one should read here *Abarsām* (on Abarsām, see n. 29 above) for the text's *H.r.j.n.d ibn Sām*, as in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 43–45, where he is described as Ardashīr's *wazīr*. This last historian in fact gives the story of Abarsām's self-mutilation and the birth of Shāpūr I, the only one of the other Arabic sources on the Sāsānids to note it. See also Nöldeke, trans. 27 n. 2.

genitalia and placed them in a box, which he sealed. He returned to the king. The king said to him, "What have you done?" He replied, "I have consigned her to the bowels of he earth," and he handed over the box to the king, asking him to seal it with his personal seal and to place it in one of his treasuries; this Ardashīr did.

The girl remained with the old man until she gave birth to a baby boy. The old man did not want to give the king's son a name inferior to his status, nor did he wish to tell him about his real rank when he was still a child, but only when he was grown up and had completed his education and acquisition of good manners (*adab*). The old man had actually determined the astral conjunctions at the moment of the boy's birth and had worked out for him his horoscope; he realized from this that the child would eventually become a ruler, hence he gave him a name which would be both a description and also a true personal name, in that he would subsequently have a choice regarding it when he knew all about it (i.e. whether it was intended for him as a descriptive or a personal name). Hence he called him Shāh Būr, which means in Arabic "king's son" (*ibn al-malik*), and he was the first person to be thus named.[86] This was Ardashīr's son, Sābūr al-Junūd. Other authorities say, on the other hand, that he called him Ashah Būr, meaning in Arabic "the son of Ashak," from whose progeny the boy's mother stemmed.

Ardashīr passed several years in a childless state. Then the faithful old man, who had the child in his care, went into the king's presence and found him deep in sorrow. He asked him, "What is making you so sad, O King?" Ardashīr replied, "Why should I not be sad? Although by means of my sword I have seized everything between the East and the West, although I have conquered everything I wanted and although I have complete control over the kingdom, the kingdom of my forefathers, yet I shall die in the end, leaving no offspring behind to succeed to my authority, and there will be no enduring trace of me within the royal power during the

86. Conveniently forgetting here Ardashīr's prematurely deceased brother Shābūr, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 816, p. 8, above, and taking no account of the fact that the future Shābūr (I) must have been born well before the defeat of Ardawān and the overthrow of the Arsacids. See Nöldeke, trans. 28 n. 1.

future." But the old man said to him, "May God grant you joy, O King, and give you long life! I have in my care a fine, noble son of yours. Call for the box which I entrusted to you, and which you personally sealed, to be brought in, and I will show you the decisive proof of that." Ardashīr sent for the box. He examined the
[825] impression of his seal, and then he broke it and opened the box. In it he found the old man's genitalia and a document on which it was written: "When we ascertained that the daughter of Ashak had indeed conceived by the King of Kings Ardashīr, at the same time when the latter ordered us to kill her, she being pregnant, we did not consider it lawful to destroy the noble seed of the king. So we consigned her to the bowels of the earth, as our monarch had commanded us, and we exonerated ourselves in his sight from any guilt (i.e., by the self-mutilation), lest any calumniator find any means to forge lies against her. We made it our concern to protect the rightfully sown seed until it should be united once again with its own kindred. This took place at so-and-so time in so-and-so year."

On hearing all this, Ardashīr ordered the old man to place the boy among a group of a hundred youths—according to others, among a thousand youths—all of exactly the same appearance and height as the boy, and then to parade them before him in a body, avoiding any distinguishing features of clothing, height, and demeanor. The old man did this. When Ardashīr looked at this group of youths, his instinct immediately recognized his own son out of all the throng, and he found him pleasing, without there having been made any indication of him or muttered hint concerning him to the king. Then he gave commands for them all to be brought into the antechamber of the royal palace (*ḥujrat al-aywān*). They were provided with polo sticks, and they set to playing with a ball, the king meanwhile being seated on his throne inside the palace proper (*al-aywān*).[87] The ball flew into the palace chamber where the king was. All the youths held back from entering the place chamber, but Sābūr pushed his way forward from their midst and went in. Ardashīr now deduced from Sābūr's entry into his pres-

87. Historical romance and legend does in fact describe Ardashīr as the first prominent enthusiast for polo, as, e.g., in the *Kārnāmag-ī Ardašīr-ī Pābagān*. See *EI*², s.v. Čawgān (H. Massé).

ence, his thrusting forward and his temerity—all this being in addition to the feeling in his heart for acceptance of Sābūr, which he had felt on the first occasion when he saw him, and his tender sentiments toward him, quite lacking in regard to all his comrades—that he was indeed his own son. Ardashīr said to him in Persian, "What is your name?" The youth answered, "Shāh Būr." Ardashīr exclaimed, "The king's son (*shāh būr*)!" When he was completely certain that the youth really was his son, he publicly acknowledged him and hailed him as heir after himself.[88]

The Persian people had already experienced, before the royal [826] power passed to Sābūr and during his father's lifetime, Sābūr's intelligence, virtue, and knowledge, combined with ardor in battle, eloquence, and wit, tenderness toward the subjects, and mildness. When the crown was [eventually] placed on his head (i.e., after his father's death), he gathered together before him all the great men of state. They then sent up prayers for his long life and went on at length in mentioning his father and the latter's excellent characteristics. Sābūr informed them that they could not have invoked his benevolence by any means more acceptable to him than by what they had said about his father, and he gave them promises of beneficence. Then he gave orders that the riches in the treasuries were to be lavished on the people (*al-nās*, i.e., the landed and military classes who were the supports of the state), sharing them out among those whom he deemed worthy of receiving them—the prominent persons, the troops, and those [of them] who had fallen into indigence (*ahl al-ḥājah*). He wrote to his governors in the provinces and outlying districts that they were to do likewise with the wealth under their control.[89] In this way, he distributed his bounty and beneficence to those near and far, noble and humble, the aristocracy and the generality of people, so that all shared in this benevolence and their standard of daily life was thereby raised. Then he chose governors over the populace, and

88. As Nöldeke notes, trans. 30 n. 2, this tale of Ardashīr's recognition of Shābūr as his son and his appointing him his heir, is pure fantasy.

89. Nöldeke, trans. 31 n. 1, regarded it as highly unlikely that a powerful monarch like Shābūr, who intended vigorously to prosecute the wars with the Romans, would thus dissipate the wealth in his treasuries, especially as Persian rulers seem, even at the best of times, always to have been short of money for their military ventures.

kept a keen watch over them and over the subjects in general. Thus the meritoriousness of his good conduct became clear, his fame spread widely and he stood out above all other monarchs.

It is said that, in the eleventh year of his reign, he marched against the city of Niṣībīn,[90] where there was a garrison of Roman troops, and besieged them for a considerable period of time.[91] But then he received news of happenings in one of the regions of Khurāsān that required his personal attention, so he headed for there, restored order and returned to Niṣībīn. They allege that the city's wall split asunder of its own accord, and a breach was opened up for Sābūr, by means of which he was able to gain entry. He then killed the [defending] soldiers, enslaved the women and children, and seized an immense sum of wealth stored up there for Qayṣar (i.e., the Roman emperor). Then he traversed the territory to Syria and Roman Anatolia (*bilād al-Rūm*), and conquered a

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90. Niṣībīn or Naṣībīn, Greek Nasibis, was one of the most important towns and fortresses of Upper Mesopotamia, situated on the Hirmas river, an affluent of the Khābūr, in the plain to the south of the mountainous region of Ṭūr 'Abdīn. In Roman and Byzantine times it came within the district of Bēth 'Arabhāyē, and in early Islamic times, in that of Diyār Rabī'ah within the province of al-Jazīrah. Known as a settlement in Assyrian times, possession of it oscillated between the Parthians and the Romans, until in A.D. 195 Septimius Severus came to Niṣībīn and made it the capital of the new province of *Septimia Nesibi Colonia*. Control of the region was disputed by the Romans and Persians more or less continuously in the third and fourth centuries, with this campaign of Shābūr I's falling in the 250s (see n. 91 below); but after the peace agreement of 363 between Jovian and Shābūr II, Niṣībīn and Sinjār or Singara passed under Persian control more or less permanently. This period of Persian domination enabled Niṣībīn to become an especially flourishing center of the (to the Byzantines, heretical) Nestorian Church; under this last, it functioned as the metropolitan seat for the region of Bēth 'Arabhāyē. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 288–89; *PW*, XVII/1, s.v. Nisibis (J. Sturm); Le Strange, *Lands*, 94–95; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 83; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 218–24; Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides*, 100–101; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 125, 137–38; *EI*², s.v. Naṣībīn (E. Honigmann-C. E. Bosworth).

91. No clear picture emerges from the scattered details in the sources about Shābūr's wars against Rome, with a resultant uncertainty about chronology. The eleventh year of Shābūr's reign would be 251, and it is possible that Niṣībīn was attacked (and for at least the second time) in 251 or 252; but Shābūr's expeditions into Asia Minor and Syria must have extended beyond that date, and the emperor Valerian did not in any case begin his reign until 253. See Nöldeke, trans. 31 n. 3; E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire. I. De l'état romain à l'état byzantin (284–476)*, 6; and the discussion of the dating of the Persian capture of Niṣībīn at this time in E. Kettenhofen, *Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Chr. nach der Inschrift Šāpuhrs I. an der Ka'be-ye Zartošt (ŠKZ)*, 44–46.

large number of the cities there. Among these, he is said to have conquered Qālūqiyyah (Cilicia) and Qadhūqiyyah (Cappadocia) and to have besieged one of the [Roman] kings who happened to be in Anatolia called al-Riyānūs (Valerian[us])[92] in the city of Antioch. He took him prisoner, and transported him, and a large number of the troops who were with him, and settled them at Junday Sābūr (Jundīshāpūr).[93] It is mentioned that he compelled al- [827]

92. That is, the emperor Valerian, Publius Licinius Valerianus (r. 253–60). See on him *Der kleine Pauly*, V, s.v. Valerianus (G. Winckler). W. B. Henning observed that it was strange that the tradition that came down to al-Ṭabarī from the *Xwadāy-nāmag*, with the name as al-Riyānūs, rendered the Roman emperor's name more correctly than did Shābūr's victory inscription (see next note), with its *wry'rnswy*. See his "The Great Inscription of Shāpūr I," 834.

93. According to the trilingual (in Parthian, Middle Persian, and Greek) inscription erected by Shābūr on the Ka'bah-yi Zardusht at Naqsh-i Rustam in 260 or shortly afterward, the Persian emperor captured Valerian with his own hands. The question of the exact dating of the capture of the Roman emperor—for which August or September 260 would seem to be *termini post quem*—is discussed by Kettenhofen, *Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Chr.*, 97–99.

The discovery of the Ka'ba-yi Zardusht trilinguis (ŠKZ) by the Chicago University Persepolis Expedition of 1936–39 marked a great step forward in our knowledge of the campaigns of Shābūr against the Romans and of the history of the early Sāsānid rulers in general. Wiesehöfer has emphasized that inscriptions like this one at Naqsh-i Rustam, the inscription of Narseh at Paikuli (see n. 141 below) and that of the High Priest Kerdēr at Naqsh-i Rajab, are important inter alia for their information on the early Sāsānid court and its officials, and on the contemporary conception of royal power and its relationship to the divinity Ahura Mazdā, and, in part, as *res gestae*, the exploits of the Sāsānids, thus supplying a corrective to non-Persian sources such as the Byzantine ones; see his *Ancient Persia*, pp. 154–55.

The information of the three texts making up the complete Ka'ba-yi Zardusht inscription, as edited by Martin Sprengling (the two Middle Iranian texts) and André Maricq (the Greek text) has been compared and integrated with the information of the Greek and Latin historical texts, of coin legends, etc., by Kettenhofen in his monograph mentioned in the previous paragraph, meant to accompany his TAVO map (BV 11) *Vorderer Orient. Römer und Sāsāniden in der Zeit der Reichskrise (224–284 n. Chr.)* and its *Sonderkarte, Die Kriege Šāpuhrs I. mit Rom nach ŠKZ;* the monograph itself includes three maps illustrating Roman and Sāsānid campaigns in Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia. A new *Gesamtedition* of the three ŠKZ texts is being prepared by Dr. Philip Huyse and will appear as part of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* under the title *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhr's I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ).*

Shābūr's victories over the Romans were also immortalised for him in such rock reliefs as at Naqsh-i Rustam and in those of the Bīshāpūr gorge. See Henning, "The Great Inscription of Shāpūr I," 833–35; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 221–24; Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, 92–94, 96–98; Gignoux, "Middle Persian Inscrip-

Riyānūs to set to work building a dam (*shādurwān*) at Tustar, whose breadth was to be one thousand cubits.[94] The Roman [emperor] constructed this with the aid of a group of men whom he had caused to be brought from Anatolia, and he held Sābūr to a promise to free him once the dam was completed. It is said that

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tions," 1207–1209.

The Sāsānid foundation, or rather re-foundation, in al-Ahwāz or Khūzistān of Gondēshabūr is given by al-Ṭabarī, I, 830–31, pp. 38–39 below, the original name in New Persian of Bih-az-Andiyū Sābūr "Better than Antioch (has) Sābūr (built this)," repeated thus in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 45 (the MP equivalent would be *Weh az Andiyōg Shāhbuhr [kird]). Nöldeke, trans. 42 n. 2, was skeptical, and thought that Wandēw-Sābūr "Acquired by Shābūr" was the true form, eventually yielding Gondēshābūr and the Arabised form Jundaysābūr; but Mr F. C. de Blois tells me that he is in turn skeptical of Nöldeke's theory, since "Acquired by Sābūr" would be *Windād Shāhbuhr. D. T. Potts has recently discussed the etymology of the place's name in the light of two Greek inscriptions found at Susa which mention a local river Gondeisos, and has suggested that the name of this river derives from a military center and fortress there of the Parthian period, *Gond-dēz, subsequently called *Gond-dēz-i Shābūr when the Sāsānid ruler restored and refounded it. The alternative name *Weh az Andiyōg Shāhbuhr would have been applied to it when the people from Antioch were planted there. See his "Gundešapur and the *Gondeisos*," 323–35. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 46, has the cryptic information that, in *al-khūziyyah* (i.e., the local language of Khūzistān), the town was called N.y.lāṭ, now rendered by the people there as N.y.lāb. Under the Sāsānids, Gondēshabūr flourished as the main urban center of Khūzistān. In early Islamic times it was famed as a center of medical knowledge and practice, skills that must have been brought thither in Sāsānid times by Nestorian Christians. See Nöldeke, trans. 41 n. 2; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 170–71; Le Strange, *Lands*, 238; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 346–50; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 187–88; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 126; *EI*[2] s.v. Gondēshāpūr (Cl. Huart and Aydin Sayılı). On the improbability of Indian influence there, cf. n. 180 below.

Al-Ṭabarī does not actually mention the building of what was Shābūr's most favored urban foundation, that of Bīshāpūr to the west of Iṣṭakhr, probably completed by him ca. 266. As at Gondēshabūr and at Shushtar (see on this last n. 94 below), Roman prisoners of war are said to have been settled there. Many buildings of the Sāsānid and Islamic period remain on the site, although by the tenth century the town was in ruins, eclipsed by the rising town of Kāzarūn. Also notable are the nearby reliefs carved at Shābūr's behest on the bank of the Tang-i Chawgān river. See Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, 101–104; *EIr*, s.v. Bīšāpūr (E. J. Keall).

94. This dam, popularly known as the Band-i Qayṣar "Emperor's dam" from the alleged, but probably legendary, role of the captured Roman ruler in building it (although Roman prisoners of war were very probably involved in this work, as also at the monuments of Bīshābūr; cf. Christensen, *Sassanides*, 220–21, and Nina Garsoïan, "Byzantium and the Sasanians," 581), came to be regarded as one of the wonders of the world by the mediaeval Muslims. It was in reality only one of many *shādurwāns* on the Dujayl or Kārūn, barriers that divided up the river's waters into irrigation channels running off from the main flow and that at the same time relieved the pressure of waters in winter and spring from the snows that fell in the

Sābūr took from al-Riyānūs a great financial indemnity, and set him free after cutting off his nose; others, however, say that Sābūr killed him.[95]

Now there was, facing Takrīt[96] and between the Tigris and Euphrates, a city called al-Ḥaḍr (Hatra),[97] and there was there a man

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Zagros Mountains, where the Kārūn and its affluents rise.

Tustar (Persian, Shus(h)tar) was in early Islamic times the next most important town of Khūzistān after the provincial capital al-Ahwāz, and was situated on the Kārūn; but its pre-Islamic history goes back at least to the time of Pliny (first century A.D.), who mentions it. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 29–31; Le Strange, *Lands*; Markwart-Messina, *Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals*, 97; *EI*², s.v. Shushtar (J. H. Kramers-C. E. Bosworth).

The term *shādurwān* has many meanings in early Islamic usage, often in connection with irrigation devices, but the basic meaning seems to be that of a raised platform or dais, this being then extended to masonry walls and revetments for storing and controling waters and their flow. E. Benveniste thought that this obviously Iranian word was probably Parthian in origin. See his "Le sens du mot persan shâdurvân," 31–37; Bosworth, "Some Remarks on the Terminology of Irrigation Practices and Hydraulic Constructions in the Eastern Arab and Iranian Worlds in the Third–Fifth Centuries A.H.," 83–84.

95. Nothing definite is known of Valerian's death. The Byzantine historian Agathias (who derived much of his information on the Sāsānids from the interpreter Sergius, who had been given access to the Persian royal annals while in the Persian capital on diplomatic work) says that Shābūr, a notoriously bloodthirsty monarch, had Valerian flayed alive, but this is unconfirmed elsewhere. See Averil Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," 120–21, 138.

96. Reading *bi-ḥiyāl* as in Nöldeke's text, whereas he had in his translation, 33, followed a defective reading, *bi-jibāl*. There are, of course, no hills, let alone mountains, near Takrīt, lying as this town does on the Tigris; see *EI*², s.v.Takrīt (J. H. Kramers and C. E. Bosworth).

97. The city of Hatra, Greek Atrai, lay to the southwest of Mawṣil on the Nahr Tharthar, an affluent of the Tigris, but even by early Islamic times the exact site was not known to the Arabs. In the Parthian period, Hatra was the center of one of a chain of Arab principalities along the fringes of the Syrian Desert through Commagene and Edessa to Emesa and Palmyra, but was clearly under considerable Iranian political and cultural influence. Various of its princes bore Iranian names, such as the typically Parthian one of Sanatrūk (which may be behind the Arabic name of the ruler given here, al-Sāṭirūn; for suggestions on the etymology of the name Sanatrūk itself, see Eilers, "Iran and Mesopotamia," 491 n. 3) and that of Vologases, and Hatra was usually an ally of the Arsacids against Roman pressure. With the fall of its Parthian protectors, Hatra declined in power. It passed temporarily under Roman control, bringing down on it the wrath of Shāpūr I in the middle years of the third century, as related here (other, less likely, dates for this are given in Arabic sources other than al-Ṭabarī).

Hatra became famed in early Islamic lore as a symbol of the transience of earthly power, since it seemed by then to have disappeared from the face of the earth, and the story of the city's betrayal by al-Ḍayzan's daughter al-Naḍīrah struck the popular imagination. It must have entered into Arabic literature either through Ibn

from the Jarāmiqah[98] called al-Sāṭirūn. He is the person about whom Abu Du'ād al-Iyādī speaks:[99]

I see how death has come down from al-Ḥaḍr upon the leader of its people, al-Sāṭirūn.

The Arabs, however, called him al-Ḍayzan.[100] It is said that he was a man from the people of Bā Jarmā, but according to Hishām b. [Muḥammad] al-Kalbī, he was an Arab from Quḍā'ah, his genealogy being al-Ḍayzan b. Mu'āwiyah b. al-'Abīd b. al-Ajrām b. 'Amr b. al-Nakha' b. Salīḥ b. Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍā'ah, that his mother Jayhalah was from the tribe of Tazīd b. Ḥulwān

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al-Muqaffa''s Arabic version of the *Khwadāy-nāmag* or through the traditions transmitted by Ibn al-Kalbī, and here utilized by al-Ṭabarī, based inter alia on references in the verses of the poets of al-Ḥīrah, Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī, and 'Adī b. Zayd. As Yarshater has noted, "Iranian National History," 400–401, intriguing anecdotes and touches like this may have evolved to provide an element of entertainment within the narratives of dynastic and political history. See Nöldeke, trans. 33 n. 4; *PW*, VII/2, s.v. Hatra (M. Streck); Christensen, *Sassanides*, 218–19; F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, II, 191ff., IV, 263ff.; Eilers, "Iran and Mesopotamia," 490–91; Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 594–96; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥaḍr (Ch. Pellat).

98. That is, from the inhabitants of Bā Jarmā, Syriac Bē(th) Garmē, the region to the east of the middle Tigris and of Takrīt, lying south of the Lesser Zāb and the region of Adiabene; it extended to Shahrazūr and the fringes of the Zagros range. As an important Christian region in Sāsānid times, it was the seat of a metropolitan bishopric. Arabic Jarāmiqah, sing. Jarmaqī, derives from Syriac Garmaqāyē. See Nöldeke, trans. 35 n. 1; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 21–22; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 11–145; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 335–36.

99. Pre-Islamic poet of al-Ḥīrah, *floruit* in the middle years of the sixth century under the Lakhmid al-Mundhir III; he was classed among the *muqillūn*, those poets who only composed a small amount of verse. This verse is given in G. E. von Grunebaum, "Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī. Collection of Fragments," as one of a fragment of thirteen verses. See on the poet, Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*³, XVI, 373–81; Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 28, 133; Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, II, 294–95; *EI*², s.v. Abū Du'ād al-Iyādī (Ch. Pellat).

100. Nöldeke, trans. 35 n. 1, nevertheless thought that al-Sāṭirūn and Ḍayzan were two separate persons: the first name a non-Arabic one (see n. 97 above), and the second one Arabic, and averred that the only sure name of a king of Hatra that we know is the Barsēmias/Barsēmios, a clearly Aramiac name, in Herodian, which he interpreted as Barsamyā but which von Gutschmid, "Bemerkungen zu Tabari's Sasanidengeschichte," 735, preferred to read as Barsēnios = Barsīn. Nöldeke surmised that the Ḍayzan mentioned here might possibly have been the founder of the Ḍayzanābādh/Ṭayzanābādh of al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 284, and likewise connected with the Marj al-Ḍayāzin on the middle Euphrates near al-Raqqah of Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 101.

and that he was exclusively known by his mother's name.[101] Ibn al-Kalbī goes on to assert that he was the ruler over the land of al-Jazīrah and that he had with him [as his supporters] innumerable numbers of the Banū 'Abīd b. al-Ajrām and [other] tribes of Quḍā'ah. [It is said that] his kingdom stretched as far as Syria.

When Sābūr, son of Ardashīr, was away in the region of Khurāsān, al-Ḍayzan made an incursion into the Sawād. When [828] Sābūr got back from his period of absence, he was told what al-Ḍayzan had been up to. 'Amr b. Ilah (?) b. al-Judayy b. al-Dahā' b. Jusham b. Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāfi b. Qudā'ah composed these verses in connection with al-Ḍayzan's actions:[102]

We encountered them [in battle] with a host of the [Banū] 'Ilāf
and with [a troop of] strong-hoofed stallions.
The Persians received at our hands exemplary punishment, and
we massacred the Hērbadhs of Shahrazūr.[103]
We advanced toward the Persians (*al-A'ājim*) from afar with a
host from al-Jazīrah as in a blaze of fire.[104]

When Sābūr was informed about what al-Ḍayzan had done, he headed towards him until he halted before al-Ḍayzan's fortress, while al-Ḍayzan entrenched himself within it. Ibn al-Kalbī asserts that Sābūr was involved in the siege of the fortress for four years, completely unable to destroy it or to get his hands on al-Ḍayzan.

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101. That is, as Ibn Jayhalah; cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 284.

102. Nöldeke, trans. 39 n. 1, was skeptical about the contemporaneity of this poet with the events alluded to and thought that the (later) author must have had al-A'shā's verses in mind. In Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], II, 142–43, giving the story of Sābūr's destruction of al-Ḥaḍr, the poet's name appears as 'Amr b. Alah.

103. The place-name Shahrazūr in western Kurdistān, though admittedly a place with a pre-Islamic history (see *EI*[2] ,s.v. Shahrazūr (V. Minorsky-C. E. Bosworth), gives little sense in this context. Nöldeke, trans. 36 n. 3, endeavoring to improve the reading of these verses from parallel sources, opined that the reading *Bahrasīr* = Bih Ardashīr (cf. al-Ṭabarī, I, 820, p. 16 above) of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[1], II, 37 (wrongly corrected to *Shahrazūr* in *Aghānī*[3] ?) was certainly the right one. It undoubtedly makes more sense that Zoroastrian priests, hērbeds, should be encountered in the central Mesopotamian plain than in the mountains of Kurdistān.

104. Following Nöldeke's suggestion, loc. cit., that one should follow the reading of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[1], *mil-jazīrati*, for the text's *ka-al-jazīrati*.

However, al-A'shā Maymūn b. Qays[105] has mentioned in his poem that Sābūr was engaged in the siege of the fortress for only two years, saying:

Have you not seen al-Ḥaḍr, whose people always enjoyed ease of life? But does anyone favored with ease of life enjoy it for ever?
Shāhabūr of the Hosts (al-Junūd) remained before it for two years, wielding his battle axes there.
But his (i.e., the ruler of al-Ḥīrah's) Lord vouchsafed him no access of strength, and pivots such as his could not remain firm (i.e., the ease of life he had enjoyed could not endure forever).
When his Lord saw what he was doing, He swept down on him
[829] with a violent blow, without him being able to retaliate.
He had called upon his partisans, "Come forward to your affair, which has been already severed,
And die noble deaths through your own swords; I see that the real warrior takes on for himself the burden of death with equanimity."[106]

One of al-Ḍayzan's daughters, called al-Naḍīrah,[107] was menstruous, hence was segregated in the outer suburb of the city, as was the custom of the time with women during their menstrual periods. According to what was generally acknowledged, she was one of the most beautiful women of her time, just as Sābūr was one of the most handsome men of his age. The two of them saw each other, and fell madly in love with each other. She sent a

105. Here giving the full name of the poet (on whom see n. 106, below) in order to distinguish him from several Arabic poets with the cognomen *al-A'shā* "the night-blind one."

106. R. Geyer, *Gedichte von Abú Baṣír Maimún ibn Qais al-'A'shà*, Arabic text 33–34, poem no. 4, vv. 60–65. For this *mukhaḍram* poet (d. after 3/625) who frequented the Lakhmid court at al-Ḥīrah in the early part of his life, see Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 21; Siddiqi, *Studien über die persische Fremdwörter*, 77; Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, II, 321–25; *EI*², s.v. al-A'shā, Maymūn b. Ḳays (W. Caskel). Nöldeke, trans. 37 n. 4, pointed out that there is no mention—at least, in this fragment of what was probably a longer poem—of Ḍayzan and his daughter al-Naḍīrah's treachery; the verses merely stress the well-worn theme of the fragility and perishability of human endeavor.

107. In al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 48, she is called Mulaykah.

message to him with the words, "What would you give me if I were to indicate to you how you could bring about the destruction of the wall of this city and how you could kill my father?" He replied, "Whatever you might choose; and I would elevate you above all my other wives and would make you my closest spouse to their exclusion." She instructed him, "Take a silver-colored collar dove, and write on its leg with the menstrual blood of a blue-eyed virgin girl. Then release it, and it will alight on the city wall, and the latter will crumble away."[108] That was in fact the talisman of the city, and only this could destroy the city. So Sābūr did that and got ready to attack them (sc., the city's defenders). The king of al-Ḥaḍr's daughter went on to say, "I will give the guards wine, and when they are laid out on the ground [by its stupefying effects], kill them and enter the city."[109] He did all this; the city's defenses collapsed totally, and he took it by storm and killed al-Ḍayzan on that very day. The splinter groups from Quḍā'ah, who were with al-Ḍayzan, were annihilated, so that no part of them known as such remains to this present day. Some clans of the Banū Ḥulwān[110] were likewise completely destroyed. 'Amr b. Ilah, who was with al-Ḍayzan, has said:

Have you not been filled with grief as the reports come in about
what has happened to the leading men of the Banū 'Abīd,
And of the slaying of [al-] Ḍayzan and his brothers, and of the

108. In many premodern societies, menstrual blood has been regarded as possessing special power, in certain cases for healing but more often for wreaking violent and harmful effects; whence the taboos that usually surround menstruous women and the menstrual flow and which often cause them to be separated from the rest of the community at times of menstruation (as was the case here with al-Naḍīrah, see above). Pliny the Elder wrote in his *Natural History*, Book XXVIII. XXIII. 77, "Over and above all this there is no limit to women's power . . . Wild indeed are the stories told of mysterious and awful power of the menstruous discharge itself . . ." (tr. Rackham, VII, 55).

Here, the violent effect, the shock to the order of nature that spontaneously brings about the destruction of the walls of Hatra, arises from the passage of unclean menstrual blood from the pure virgin to the pure dove and its consequent supernatural effect.

109. Nöldeke, trans. 38 n. 4, notes that this additional explanation for the fall of the city is superfluous, given the magical effect of the dove smeared with menstrual blood, and must be an attempt at a rationalizing explanation of events.

110. Ḥulwān was the great-grandson of Quḍā'ah; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 279, II, 331.

men of Tazīd, who were wont to ride forth in the cavalry squadrons?
Sābūr of the Hosts attacked them with war elephants, richly caparisoned, and with his heroic warriors,
And he destroyed the stone blocks of the fortress's columns, whose foundation stones were like iron blocks.[111]

Sābūr then reduced the city to ruins and carried off al-Ḍayzan's daughter al-Naḍīrah, marrying her at 'Ayn al-Tamr.[112] It is mentioned that she complained volubly the whole night through about the hardness of her bed, even though this was of finely woven silk cloth stuffed with raw silk. A search was made for what was distressing her, and behold, it turned out to be a myrtle
[830] leaf stuck in one of the folds of the skin of her abdomen which was irritating her.[113] [Ibn al-Kalbī] goes on to relate: Because her skin was so fine, one could see right to her marrow. Sābūr thereupon said to her, "Tell me then, what did your father give you to eat?" She replied, "Cream, marrow from bones and honey from virgin bees, together with the choicest wine!" He exclaimed, "By your father! I have known you more recently than your father, and am dearer to you than him, who gave you such food as you mention!" (i.e., you should not therefore start complaining). So he commanded a man to mount a wild, unbroken horse; he tied her locks of hair to its tail, and then made the horse gallop off[114] until it tore her into pieces.

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111. These verses are also given in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], II, 142–43; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 85 = § 1411 (three verses); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 268–69. Nöldeke, trans. 39 n. 1, doubted very much the authenticity of Arabic poetry from so early a period.

112. This was a *ṭassūj* or administrative subdistrict to the west of the Euphrates and south of Hīt on the Syrian Desert fringes; the settlement of 'Ayn al-Tamr "the spring of the date palm" still had a small fortress in al-Maqdisī's time (fourth/tenth century), but the site has now disappeared. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 176–77; Le Strange, *Lands*, 65, 81; Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 41–42, 285, 289–90, 295–311. For the term *ṭassūj*, see *EI*[2], s.v. Ṭassūdj (M. J. Morony), and the remarks on Sāsānid administrative geography in n. 117 below.

113. This folkloric motif turns up in Hans Christian Andersen's story of "The Princess and the Pea." Cf. Christensen, "La princess sur la feuille de myrte et la princesse sur la poie," 241–57.

114. For this verb *istarkaḍa*, see *Glossarium*, p. CCLXIX. Nöldeke, trans. 39 n. 4, compared al-Naḍīrah's fate with the (apparently authentic) account of the death of the Merovingian queen Brunhilda, dragged to her death at a horse's tail in 613, as narrated by the chronicler Fredegar.

A poet has said in connection with this:

The fortress has become desolate on account of [al-] Naḍīrah,
likewise al-Mirbā' because of her and the banks of the
Tharthār.[115]

The poets have written extensively about this [al-] Ḍayzan in their verse. 'Adī b. Zayd alludes to him in his words:[116]

And [where is now] the ruler (*akhū*) of al-Ḥaḍr, who once built
it and for whom the taxation of the Tigris and the Khābūr
was collected?
He raised it up firmly with marble and covered it over with
plaster, yet the birds have found nesting places in its
pinnacles.
The blows of ill fortune did not frighten him, yet kingly power
ebbed away from him and his portals are now forsaken.

It is also said that Sābūr built in Maysān [the town of] Shādh Sābūr, which is called in Aramaic (*al-nabaṭiyyah*) Dīmā.[117]

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115. This verse is in fact by 'Adī b. Zayd (see n. 116 below) and is included in the collected *Dīwān 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī*, ed. al-Mu'aybidī, 135, fragment no. 67. The Tharthār river flowed past al-Ḥaḍr, and al-Mirbā' ("place with vegetation from spring rains") must have been a local site.

116. 'Adī b. Zayd, of Tamīmī origin, flourished in the second half of the sixth century as the most notable exponent of the Ḥīran school of poets, in whom the indigenous Arabic, the Christian culture of the 'Ibād and, probably, Persian culture, all combined. Hence 'Adī's poetry mingles Christian and Biblical themes with the ascetic and fatalist strains of desert life. His administrative career was spent in the Persian capital Ctesiphon as a translator and advisor on Arab affairs for Khusraw Abarwēz and, after 580, at al-Ḥīrah with al-Nu'mān III, till the jealousies and intrigues of his enemies brought about his death ca. 600, as detailed by al-Ṭabarī, I, 1016–24, pp. 339–51 below. His complete *Dīwān* has not survived and only scattered verses are known. See Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 109–11; Siddiqi, *Studien über die persische Fremdwörter*, 76–77; Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, II, 300–301; *EI²*, s.v. 'Adī b. Zayd (F. Gabrieli).

These famous verses by 'Adī on the lost glories of al-Ḥaḍr are from the long poem in the *Dīwān*, ed. al-Mu'aybidī, 88, fragment no. 16.

117. Shādh Sābūr was both a town and a *kūrah* or administrative district in Maysān, the later Islamic administrative division of Arḍ Kaskar; see Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 155. Marquart suggested that the place's full name might have been Ērān-shād Shābuhr "the joy of the Iranians [is] Shābūr"; see Markwart-Messina, *Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals*, 102. The local *nabaṭī* name of Dīmā (in the Cairo text, the equally incomprehensible Rīmā) remains obscure.

In the time of Sābūr, there arose Mānī the Zindīq.[118]

It is said that, when Sābūr proceeded to the site of Junday Sābūr in order to lay down the city's foundations, he came across an aged man there called Bīl. So he asked him, "Is it permissible for a city to be constructed on this spot?" Bīl replied, "If I am vouchsafed the ability to write, despite my having reached an advanced age, then it is allowable for you to build a city in this place." Sābūr said [831] to him, "Now indeed, the two things whose possibility you deny shall come to pass," and he thereupon sketched out the plan of the city and handed Bīl over to an instructor, with instructions to teach him to write and to be able to do arithmetical calculations within one year. The instructor shut himself up with Bīl, and began by shaving off Bīl's hair and his beard, lest these two things distract him, and then taught him thoroughly. After this, he brought Bīl to the king, Bīl having bcome effective and skillful in his studies. So Sābūr entrusted to him the job of calculating expenditure on the city and of setting up a proper accounting procedure for these payments. The king established the region (i.e., of the city and its surrounding rural areas) as a separate administrative division (*kūrah*)[119] and called it Bih-az-Andīw-i Sābūr, which

118. On the rise of Mani, son of Pātik, and his movement at this time, see G. Widengren, "Manichaeism and Its Iranian Background," 965–90. The founder of the new faith actually stemmed, according to the much later Islamic historian al-Bīrūnī, from Kūthā to the south of Ctesiphon, on the canal connecting the Tigris and the Euphrates. In later Arabic lore, he appears as Mānī b. Fātik or Fāttik; see *EI*², s.v. Mānī b. Fāttik (C. E. Bosworth).

The term *zindīq* came to be applied in Sāsānid times not only to the Manichaeans but also, subsequently, to the Mazdakites, while in early Islamic times its use was generalized to cover adherents of many heretical movements, especially within 'Abbāsid Iraq, and as a general term of abuse for any religious deviants. See G. Vajda, "Les zindîqs en pays d'Islam au début de la periode abbaside," 173–229; F. Gabrieli, "La «zandaqa» au Ier siècle abbaside," 23–38; *EI*¹, s.v. Zindīḳ (L. Massignon). Some older authorities sought an etymology for *zindīq* in Aramaic *zaddīqā* "righteous (one)" or even Greek, but more recently the view has been put forward that it is an indigenous Iranian term, from MP *zandīk*, a person who has a deviant interpretation (*zand*) of the sacred text of the Avesta; hence early Armenian writers contrast the *zandīk*s with the orthodox Zoroastrian Magians. The question remains open. See Sir Harold Bailey's *Note* appended to Widengren's chapter, in *CHI*, III/2, 907; *EI*², s.v. Zindīḳ (F. C. de Blois), opting for an Aramaic origin.

119. For this term, probably stemming from Greek *chōra*, see *EI*², s.v. Kūra (D. Sourdel). It denoted something like an administrative division within a province (Fārs, for instance, having within it five *kūrah*s in Sāsānid and early Islamic times), the equivalent, according to Yāqūt, quoting Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, of the Persian

means "the city of Sābūr's which is better than Antioch."[120] This is the city that is [now] called Junday Sābūr, which the people of al-Ahwāz, however, call Bīl, from the name of the man who was overseer of the city's construction.[121]

When Sābūr was near to death, he appointed as ruler his son Hurmuz and laid upon him testamentary instructions, ordering him to base his conduct upon them. There are differing views on the length of Sābūr's reign. Some authorities put it at thirty years and fifteen days, others at thirty-one years, six months, and nineteen days.[122]

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istān/ustān, and was itself divided up into component *ṭassūjs* and *rustāqs*. F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period, with Special Reference to Circumstances in Iraq*, 164–67, assumed a descending order of *istān/kūrah—ṭassūj—rustāq—dih/qaryah* for the hierarchy of administrative subdivisions in Sāsānid Mesopotamia and Persia and these same lands during early Islamic times, but the texts are, however, inconsistent and at times contradictory. The *Sīrat Anūsharwān* (see on this n. 624 below) posits, in the context of Khusraw Anūsharwān's administrative and fiscal reforms (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 960–63, pp. 255–62 below) a hierarchy of province or region (*balad*), administrative division (*kūrah*), rural district (*rustāq*), village (*qaryah*), down to individual taxpayer, and this corresponds largely to how al-Ṭabarī, I, 814, pp. 3–5 above, describes Ardashīr I's origins. See Nöldeke, trans. 446–47 Excursus 3; Wadie Juwaideh, *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 56, 57–58; Valeria F. Piacentini, "*Madīna/shahr, qarya/dih, nāḥiya/rustāq*. The city as political-administrative institution: the continuity of a Sasanian model," 96–99; and above all, the detailed discussion of G. Widengren, "Recherches sur le feudalisme iranien," 122–48.

120. See nn. 58, 93 above.

121. This tale of Bīl's educational achievement revolves round learning the notoriously difficult and ambiguous Pahlavi script.

122. Shābūr I's reign was 240–70, since he was crowned as coruler with his father Ardashīr I in 240, probably in April of that year, almost two years before the latter's death; see the discussion on the regnal dates of Shābūr by Kettenhofen in his *Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Chr.*, 46–49. Shābūr's name appears on his coins as ŠḤPWḤRY = Shābuhr. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 52–53, 316–22, 416–19, Plates IV-V, Table II; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 43, Table II, Plate 2; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 79–83; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 233.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 654 (brief entry); al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 180–81 (brief note of Sābūr's Roman campaign, but mainly concerned with the appearance of Mani, the polemical works he composed, and Sābūr's own attraction to Manichaeism before he was brought back to *al-majūsiyyah* by the Chief Mōbadh); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 46 (only a short notice, on Sābūr's Roman campaign and capture of the Roman emperor, and his construction works in Khūzistān and at Jundaysābūr); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 163–66 = §§589–93 (Mani's rise to prominence and Sābūr's part in it, together with

[Hurmuz I]

Then after Sābūr (I), son of Ardashīr (I), son of Bābak, the royal power was assumed by his son Hurmuz (I).[123]

He was called "the Bold" (*al-jārī'*),[124] and resembled Ardashīr in bodily constitution and appearance, but did not come up to him in judgment and skillful management.[125] Nevertheless, he was outstanding for his fortitude in battle, boldness, and massive build. His mother, according to what is said, was one of the daughters of King Mihrak, whom Ardashīr killed at Ardashīr Khurrah.[126] This arose from the fact that Ardashīr's astrologers had told him that a person would arise from Mihrak's stock who would attain the royal power. So Ardashīr hunted down all of his stock and killed them. However, Hurmuz's mother, who was an intelligent, beautiful, perfectly formed, and physically strong person, slipped

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the latter's counsels on good rule and the maintenance of an efficient army); idem, *Tanbīh*, 100, trans. 144; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 44–45 (enumerates in fair detail all the cities Sābūr built, with their names and comments on their plans); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 385–88. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 75–85.

Shābūr seems to have been a less zealous adherent of Zoroastrianism than his father, and is even said by some sources to have been favorable toward Manichaeism, although Zoroastrianism was at this time being consolidated as the state religion of Persia through the untiring efforts of men like the Chief Hērbed Kerdēr. During his time, the influence in the state of Kerdēr and the prophet Mani seems to have been evenly balanced. Shābūr's deportations from Antioch and elsewhere in Syria and in Upper Mesopotamia actually brought increased numbers of Christians into the Persian Empire, so that Christian communities were now implanted in the towns of the heartland Fārs and in places like Ardashīr Khurrah, the preferred residence of Ardashīr I. See Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 19–20; Chaumont, "Les Sassanides et la Christianisme de l'Empire iranien," 168–80; S. Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire: A Case of Divided Loyalties," 1ff.

For recent studies on Shābūr's reign in general, see, e.g., Christensen, *Sassanides*, 179ff, 218–26; Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 208–17; idem, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 124–27, 178; *EI*², svv. Sāsānids (M. Morony), Shāpūr (C. E. Bosworth).

123. In Pahlavi, Ohrmazd, Greek Hōrmisdēs, from Ahura Mazdā, the name in the Avesta of the great divinity of ancient Iranian religion. See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 7–9; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 702; *EIr*, s.v. Ahura Mazdā (M. Boyce).

124. In al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 166 = §593, and al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 102, we have for this *al-baṭal* "the warrior, hero." Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 43 n.2.

125. Nöldeke, trans., 43 n. 3, observes that the forty years or so from Shāpūr I's death to the accession of Shāpūr II were ones of comparative weakness and decline for the Sāsānids.

126. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 817, pp. 10–11 above.

away surreptitiously into the desert and took refuge with some shepherds.

Now Sābūr set out one day hunting. He pursued his quarry enthusiastically, and became very thirsty. At that point, the tents where Hurmuz's mother had sought refuge came into his view. He made for them, but found the shepherds away. He asked for water, and the woman there gave him some. He perceived that she was outstandingly beautiful and had a remarkable carriage and a noble face. Shortly afterward, the shepherds returned. Sābūr asked them about her, and since one of the shepherds gave out that she was a member of his family, Sābūr asked him to give her to him in marriage. The shepherd conceded this to him, so Sābūr went off with her to his own encampment, commanded her to be washed clean, suitably clothed, and adorned. He wanted to have conjugal relations with her. But when he was alone wih her, and sought from her what men usually seek from women, she held back and fended him off when he tried to get near her, with a degree of force he found unpleasing, and he marveled at her physical strength. When she behaved like this for some time, it aroused his anger, and he enquired after the cause. So she told him that she was the daughter of Mihrak, and that she had only done what she had done in order to spare him from Ardashīr. He made an agreement with her to conceal her real position, and had sexual congress with her. She then gave birth to Hurmuz, but Sābūr subsequently concealed the whole matter. [832]

When Hurmuz was several years old, Ardashīr rode out one day, and turned aside to Sābūr's dwelling because he wanted to tell Sābūr something. He went into the house unexpectedly. When Ardashīr had stretched himself out comfortably, Hurmuz came forth, having by this time grown into a sturdy youth. He had in his hand a polo stick that he was playing with, and was crying out in pursuit of the ball. When Ardashīr's eye fell on him, this perturbed him, and he became aware of the resemblance in the youth to his own family, because the qualities of Persian kingship (*al-kayiyyah*)[127] characteristic of Ardashīr's house could not be con-

127. An Arabic abstract noun coined from the name of the ancient, at best semilegendary, ruling dynasty of the Kayānids, Kay (Avestan Kawi) being the princely title used by these, passing into MP and NP with the generalized sense of

cealed and could not be disregarded by anyone, because of certain specific traits visible in members of that house: a handsome face, a stout physique, and other bodily features by which Ardashīr's house was distinguished. So Ardashīr made him come near, and asked Sābūr about him. The latter fell down [before him] in obeisance, acknowledging his fault over all that he had done, and told
[833] his father the truth about the whole affair. Ardashīr, nevertheless, expressed joy over him, and told him that he had now [for the first time] realized the truth of what the astrologers had said regarding Mihrak's offspring and regarding the one from them who would reign as king; the astrologers had simply been envisaging Hurmuz in this connection, since he was from the stock of Mihrak; and this had now provided consolation for the perturbation in his mind and had dispelled it.

When Ardashīr died, and the royal power passed to Sābūr, he appointed Hurmuz governor of Khurāsān and dispatched him thither. Hurmuz adopted an independent policy, subdued the rulers of the nations in adjacent lands, and behaved as a highly proud and effective ruler. Hence various calumniators delated him to Sābūr and implanted the delusion in the latter's mind that, if Sābūr were to summon Hurmuz [to his court], the latter would not respond, and that he was planning to seize the royal power from him. News of this reached Hurmuz. It is said that he went aside into a private place, and cut into his hand and severed it, placed on the hand some preservative, wrapped it up in a piece of costly clothing, put it in a casket and sent it off to Sābūr. He wrote a letter to him about what he had heard (sc., the calumnies concerning him), and [explained] that he had only done what he had done (i.e., cut off and dispatched the hand) in order to dispel all suspicions about him, for among their customs was the practice of not raising anyone to kingly power who had a physical defect.[128] When the letter and the accompanying casket reached Sābūr, he

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"king." See Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 9–10, 17ff., 43; Yarshater, "Iranian National History," 436ff.; *EI*², s.v. Kayānids (ed.).

128. Nöldeke, trans. 45 n. 1, noted the information of the Byzantine historian Procopius that "a one-eyed person or someone afflicted by any other serious defect, could not become king of Persia"; but this was probably a near-universal principle in the Ancient Near East and the classical Eastern Mediterranean world, and was one of continued validity in later times, since physical wholeness was certainly required for the Byzantine emperors and the Islamic caliphs.

became cut up through grief, and wrote back to Hurmuz telling him how filled with affliction he had become at Hurmuz's action, excused himself and informed him that, if Hurmuz were to cut up his body limb by limb, he would not choose anyone else for the royal power. He then proclaimed him [his successor as] king.

It is said that, when Sābūr placed the crown on Hurmuz's head, the great men of state came into his presence and invoked blessings on him. He returned a kindly answer to them, and they then realized from him the [real] truth of the affair. He behaved benevolently toward them, meted out justice to the subjects, and followed the [praiseworthy] ways of his forefathers, and he laid out the district (*kūrah*) of Rām Hurmuz.[129] Hurmuz's reign lasted one year and ten days.[130]

[Bahrām I]

After him, there succeeded to the royal power his son Bahrām (I). He was Bahrām, son of Hurmuz (I), son of Sābūr (I), son of Ardashīr (I), son of Bābak.[131]

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129. A town of southeastern Khūzistān, in early Islamic times a flourishing market town and in the modern period a center for the oil industry. It was clearly an old town, though little mentioned by the historians. The Pahlavi town list confirms al-Ṭabarī's information here that it was founded by Hormizd I, son of Shābūr I (Markwart-Messina, *Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals*, 19, 95–96), but some sources, e.g., Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 43, attribute it to Ardashīr I. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 145; Le Strange, *Lands*, 243–44; Schwarz, *Iran*, 332–35; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 194; *EI²*, sv. Rām-Hurmuz (V. Minorsky and C. E. Bosworth).

130. Hormizd I Ardashīr's reign was 270–71. Hormizd's name appears on his coins as 'WḤRMZDY. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian coins*, 53, 322–23, 419, Plate V, Table III; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 43, Table II, Plate 3; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 84–85; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 233.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 654; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 187 (extremely brief); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 47 (mainly on his execution of Mani, thus attributed to Hurmuz); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 166–67 = §593 (his counsels to his commanders); idem, *Tanbīh*, 100, trans. 144; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 45 (notes his considerable gifts, but that he fell short of his father); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 388–89. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 85–89.

For recent studies on Hormizd's reign in general, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 102, 226–28; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 127–28, 178; Morony, *EI²*, s.v. Sāsānids.

131. MP Warahrān, Wahrām, Greek Ouararanēs, Baramas, etc., Syriac Warathrān, from the name of the Avestan god of victory Vərəthraghna. See Nöldeke,

[The History of al-Ḥīrah]

After the demise of 'Amr b. 'Adī b. Naṣr b. Rabī'ah, the governor for Sābūr b. Ardashīr, and for Hurmuz b. Sābūr, and for Bahrām [b.
[834] Hurmuz] b. Sābūr, over the frontier region of [the land of] the Arabs of Rabī'ah, Muḍar, and the rest of the tribes in the deserts of Iraq, Ḥijāz, and Jazīrah,[132] was at that time a son of 'Amr b. 'Adī called Imru' al-Qays al-Bad'. He was the first of the kings from the house of Naṣr b. Rabī'ah and the governors for the kings of the Persians who became a Christian.[133] According to what Hishām b. Muḥammad (sc., Ibn al-Kalbī) has mentioned, he ruled over his charge as a vassal prince for 114 years, comprising twenty-three years and one month under Sābūr, son of Ardashīr, one year and

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trans. 46 n. 3; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 361–65; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 926; *EIr*, s.v. Bahrām, heading.

132. This enormous sphere of control and influence attributed to the early Lakhmid governors is vastly exaggerated, since their authority as representatives of imperial Persia was mainly exercised along the Syrian Desert fringes of Mesopotamia and in northeastern Arabia, and only sporadically within the Arabian interior. The two great tribal groups of Rabī'ah and Muḍar dominated northern Arabia, with members of their component tribes pushing northward through Iraq into Jazīrah, where the names of their dwelling places and pasture grounds, the Diyār of Rabī'ah, Muḍar, and Bakr, reflect their presence in early Islamic times. See *EI*², s.v. Rabī'a and Muḍar (H. Kindermann). It was, however, true that elements of the South Arabian Lakhm had spread from their original home quite early in the pre-Islamic period not only into Iraq but also into Syria. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 176, 246, II, 54–56, 375–76; *EI*², s.v. Lakhm (H. Lammens-Irfan Shahîd).

133. *al-Bad'*, "the first, the originator." This is Imru' al-Qays (I), the famous "Imru' al-Qays, King of all the Arabs" of the proto-Arabic al-Namārah tomb inscription of 328, al-Namārah being situated in the district of al-Ṣafā' between Damascus and Boṣrā in what was then the Roman province of Arabia. In explanation of the apparent paradox why this Lakhmid king in al-Ḥīrah should have been buried far from his homeland of the desert fringes of Iraq, Irfan Shahîd has plausibly suggested that Imru' al-Qays was the first of his line to become a Christian and therefore deserted his allegiance to the Zoroastrian Sāsānids and went over to the Romans in Syria, becoming one of their client rulers; also, he may have been affronted by Shābūr II's campaign against the Arabs of eastern Arabia (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 838–39, pp. 54–56 below), which challenged his own claim to the headship of all the Arabs, however inflated this might have been (see n. 132 above). Nöldeke, tr. 47 n. 2, denied that Imru' al-Qays al-Bad' could have been a Christian, in the light of the vigorous paganism of later Lakhmid kings, and thought that al-Ṭabarī's source Ibn al-Kalbī had here confused this Imru' al-Qays (I) with a later one of the same name. But Nöldeke was writing before the discovery of the Namārah inscription in Syria at the end of the nineteenth century. See Shahîd's detailed discussion of the king and his inscription, in *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, 31–47, and also Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 52, 55ff., 61, 63–64, 139.

ten days under Hurmuz, son of Sābūr, and three years, three months, and three days under Bahrām, son of Hurmuz, son of Sābūr, and eighteen years under Bahrām, son of Bahrām, son of Hurmuz, son of Sābūr, son of Ardashīr.[134]

According to what has been mentioned, Bahrām b. Hurmuz was a forebearing and mild person, so that the people rejoiced when he came to power. He behaved in a praiseworthy manner toward them, and in his policy of rule over the people followed the practices of his forefathers.

According to what has been mentioned, Mānī the Zindīq summoned him to his religion. So Bahrām enquired exhaustively into Mānī's beliefs, and found that he was a propagandist for Satan. So he ordered him to be executed and his body to be skinned and stuffed with straw, and then for it to be hung from one of the city gates of Junday Sābūr, which is [because of this] called Mānī's Gate. He also killed his followers and those who had joined his faith.[135] Bahrām's reign lasted, according to what is said, for three years, three months, and three days.[136]

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134. A total, in reality, of forty-five years, four-and-a-half months (but Shābūr I's reign is usually taken as thirty or thirty-one years, as in al-Ṭabarī, I, 831, p. 39 above). Also, Bahrām I was the son of Shābūr I, not of Hormizd I, and Bahrām II was the son of Bahrām I, hence Hormizd I's nephew and not his son.

135. The date of Mani's execution is controversial, and its exact placing is bound up with uncertainty over the chronology of the early Sāsānid rulers. see n. 56 above, and, specifically, with the dates for Bahrām I's brief reign, during which it appears Mani was killed. Hence the chronology for the dating of Shābūr I's death, Hormizd I's reign, Bahrām I's reign, and Bahrām II's accession proposed by Henning is followed here (see nn. 122, 130 and 134 above, and nn. 136–37 below). Basing himself on the dating of 271–74 for Bahrām I's reign and on evidence from a wide range of sources, including Manichaean ones, Henning suggested that Mani may have been executed on Monday, the 4th of the Babylonian month of Addaru in the year 584 of the Seleucid era = 2 March A.D. 274; but he allowed the possibility of divergent dates, such as a date in A.D. 277 proposed by S. H. Taqizadeh. See Taqizadeh and Henning, "The dates of Mani's Life," 505–20 and especially 515–20. See also for further suggestions regarding the date, such as that of 276, W. Hinz, "Mani and Kardēr," 490–92; Widengren, "Manichaeism and Its Iranian Background," 971–72.

136. Bahrām I's reign was 271–74, but very little is known about his reign. His name appears on his coins as WRḤR'N. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 53–54, 324–25, 419–22, Plates V-VI, Table III; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 43, Table II, Plate 3; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 86–87; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 233.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 655; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 182 (on his relations with Mani, and his execution of him); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 47 (lists his name only); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 147–

[Bahrām II]

Then there succeeded him in the royal power his son Bahrām (II). [He was] the son of Bahrām [I], son of Hurmuz (I), son of Sābūr (I), son of Ardashīr (I). He is said to have been knowledgeable about the affairs [of government]. When he was crowned, the great men of state called down blessings on his head, just as they had done for
[835] his forefathers, and he returned to them greetings in a handsome manner and behaved in a praiseworthy fashion toward them. He was wont to say: "If fortune furthers our designs, we receive this with thankfulness; if the reverse, we are content with our share." There are varying reports about the duration of his reign. Some say that he ruled for eighteen years, others for seventeen years.[137]

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48 = §594 (Mani's rise, Bahrām's feigned sympathy for his, and an explanation of the term *zindīq* = one who makes (heretical) interpretations, *zand*s, of the Avesta; cf. n. 118 above); idem, *Tanbīh*, 100, trans. 144; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 47 (his interrogation and execution of Mani); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 390. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 89–90. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 226–27; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 127–28, 178; *EI*², s.v. Sāsānids (M. Morony); *EIr*, s.v. Bahrām I (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

137. Bahrām II's reign was 274–91. His reign was a troubled one, although few details of its events are known. There was the lengthy rebellion of his brother Hormizd centered on Sijistān, so that the Romans were able to take advantage of Bahrām's preoccupation with the east of his realm and invade Mesopotamia, an attack on Ctesiphon only being averted by the death in 283 of the Roman emperor Carus. Bahrām II's name appears on his coins as WRḤR'N. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 54–55, 326–34, 422–25, Plates VI-VIII, Table IV; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 43–45, Tables III-IV, Plates IV-V; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 88–92; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 233.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 655; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 182 (name and length of reign only); al-Dīnawarī, al-*Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 47 (name only); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 168–74 = §§595–99 (lengthy entry: stresses Bahrām's life of pleasure and neglect of state affairs); idem, *Tanbīh*, 100, trans. 144; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 46; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 390. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 90.

Bahrām was a fervent Zoroastrian and was strongly under the influence of Kerdēr, whom he regarded as his mentor and on whom he bestowed the title of "Saviour of Bahrām's soul"; also, Kerdēr appears on all but one of Bahrām's numerous rock reliefs with the sovereign himself (see Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, 98–99, 106). In the previous reigns of Shābūr I and Bahrām I, Kerdēr had had to share royal patronage and favor with the prophet Mani. Now, with the advent of Bahrām II, as Hinz has pointed out, the balance tipped definitely in Kerdēr's favor, and some two years into the new reign, Mani was arrested and died in imprisonment (see n. 135 above). With Kerdēr's ascendancy now complete, non-Zoroastrian faiths within Persia came under attack, as is seen in his Ka'ba-yi Zardusht inscription, where it is stated that Kerdēr humbled, among others like the Manichaeans

[Bahrām III]

Then there reigned Bahrām (III), who had the honorific title of Sakānshāh.[138] [He was] the son of Bahrām [II], son of Bahrām [I], son of Hurmuz (I), son of Sābūr (I), son of Ardashīr (I). When he was crowned, the great men of state gathered together around him, and called down on his head blessings for the auspiciousness of his rule and for his long life, and he returned to them greetings in a handsome manner. Before he had succeeded to the royal power, he had been appointed ruler of Sijistān. He reigned for four years.[139]

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and Jews, the "Nazarenes" (Jewish Christians?), and the *Krīstīyān* (mainstream, Catholic, Nicene Christians?) (the exact defintion of the latter two terms is disputed; thus Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia*, 203, following Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire," 3, 6, and n. 21, assumes a distinction based on territorial-cultural origins, so that "Nazarenes = the indigenous Persian Christians, and *Krīstīyān* = the Christian deportees from lands further west and their descendants); the *Chronicle of Arbela* has some mention of persecutions during Bahrām's reign. It seems to have been the Jews who, in practice, suffered the least molestation. See; Chaumont, "Les Sassanides et la Christianisme de l'Empire iranien," 187–97; J. Neusner, "Jews in Iran," 914–15.

Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 227–31; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 128–29, 178; *EI*², s.v. Sāsānids (M. Morony); *EIr*, s.v. Bahrām II (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

138. al-Ṭabarī's text has *Shāhanshāh* "Supreme king," but as is apparent from the words at the end of this section on him, this is an old misreading; the correct reading appears in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 46, and al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīh al-'ulūm*, 102. Sakān Shāh means literally "king of the Sakas," i.e., of the people controling or inhabiting Sakastān/Sagastān, Islamic Sijistān, Sīstān; see *EI*², s.v. Sīstān (C. E. Bosworth). Bahrām III had acquired his post during his predecessor's reign, following the early Sāsānid practice of granting out provincial appanages to royal princes; in this case, he was appointed to Sagastān because of its importance as a bastion against powerful peoples of the eastern fringes, such as the Sakas and Kushans, or because it had recently been conquered by Bahrām II after the revolt there of his brother Hormizd (n. 137 above). Agathias says that it was the custom of the Persian kings, when they had subdued a land or people, to give their sons titles expressing dominion over that people. See Nöldeke, trans. 49 n. 2; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 228–29; Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," 122–23, 143; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 128–29.

139. Bahrām III's reign was for four months only in the early part of the year 292 until he was deposed after a revolt by his great-uncle Narseh (see below). Coins attributed to Bahrām's name are exiguous in number, and the readings of their legends are ambiguous, with coins variously assigned to him and to his successor Narseh. See on these Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 56, 334–35, 425–26, Plate VIII, Table V; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 93–94; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 234.

The other Arabic sources on his reign, all very laconic (with al-Dīnawarī omitting him altogether), are Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 655; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 182; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 174 = § 600; idem, *Tanbīh*, 100, trans. 144; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*,

[Narsī]

Then there took charge of the royal power after him Narsī, son of Bahrām (I) and also the brother of Bahrām (II).[140] When he was crowned, the nobles and great men of state came into his presence and called down blessings on him. He gave them promises of benevolence and adjured them to aid him in the business of ruling. He behaved toward them in a highly just manner. On the day he became king he said, "We must never lose an opportunity in giving thanks to God for His bountifulness to us." He reigned for nine years.[141]

I, 391. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 231; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 129, 178; *EI*², s.v. Sāsānids (M. Morony); *EIr*, s.v. Bahrām III (O. Klíma).

140. The name Narseh, Greek Narsēs, Narsaios, goes back to Nairyōsaṇha, the name in the Avesta of the messenger of Ahura Mazdā. See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 221–25; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 678. Narseh was actually yet another son of Shābūr I, hence brother of Bahrām I, uncle of Bahrām II and great-uncle of Bahrām III. Cf. Nöldeke, tr. 50 n. 2; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 231; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 129, 178; *EI*², s.v. Sāsānids (M. Morony). Only in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 238 = § 660, quoting from Abū 'Ubaydah's history of Persia, taken from 'Umar called Kisrā (?), is the correct filiation "Narsī, son of Sābūr (I)" given in the other Arabic sources, for which see n. 141 below.

141. Narseh's reign was 292–302. His name appears on his coins as NRSḤY. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 56, 335–36, 426–28, Plate VIII, Table V; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 45, Table V, Plate 5; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 95–96; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 234.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, loc. cit.; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit. (name and length of reign only); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 47 (name and length of reign); al-Mas'ūdī, loc. cit.; idem, *Tanbīh*, loc. cit.; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 46–47; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, loc. cit. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 90. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 102, 231–32; Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 218, 220–21; idem, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 129–31, 178.

Narseh had become "High King of Armenia" on his father Shābūr I's death. The story of his eventual achievement of the throne and the setting aside of Bahrām III; the enumeration of local kings or princes on the fringes of the Sāsānid empire who were presumably tribute to him; and the exposition of his concept of his own royal power, are set forth in the inscription (NPi) which he had carved on the commemorative tower built by him at Paikuli in Kurdistan. He also made known his feeling that his legitimate right to the throne after Hormizd Ardashīr's death had been usurped by the succession of the three Bahrāms, by altering Bahrām II's investiture relief at Bīshāpūr and substituting his own name for that of his elder brother; and he added to the relief the prostrate figure of a vanquished foe under the monarch's horse (this enemy being probably the noble Wahnām who had organized the putsch in Fārs raising Bahrām III to the throne). See E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli. Monument and Inscriptions of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire*, I, 94–

[Hurmuz II]

Then there ruled Hurmuz (II), son of Narsī, son of Bahrām (II),[142] son of Bahrām (I), son of Hurmuz (I), son of Sābūr (I), son of Ardashīr (I). The people had been in awe of him, and had experienced harshness and severity [from him]. But he told them that he had been fully aware of their fears over his severity and strong rule, and informed them that he had exchanged the roughness and harshness in his nature for mildness and clemency. He then ruled them in the most considerate fashion and behaved in the most equitable manner possible. He was eager to succor and revive the [836] weak, to render the land prosperous and flourishing, and to spread justice among the subjects. Then he died without leaving any son. The people were distressed at that and, because of their favorable feeling for him, they asked about his wives and were told that a certain one of them was pregnant. Others have said, moreover, that Hurmuz had entrusted the royal power to that unborn child in his mother's womb, and that the woman in question gave birth to [the future] Sābūr (II) Dhū al-Aktāf ("The Man with the Shoulders").[143] Hurmuz's tenure of royal power, according to

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119, and now H. Humbach and P. O. Skjaervø, *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*, III/1–2; Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, 99, 106–107; Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia*, 184–85.

Narseh's warfare against the Romans was not very successful, though we have little information on the actual course of events. The Romans were able to restore their protégé, the Armenian Arsacid Tiridates I, to the throne of Armenia, and the Persian had to cede part of Little Armenia to Rome. However, the peace of 298 between Narseh and Diocletian was to endure for forty years. Narseh is also said to have been tolerant toward the Christians and Manichaeans, possibly in the hope of securing the support of their coreligionists within the boundaries of the Roman territories. See Nöldeke, trans. 50 n. 3; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 233; Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, I, 79–80; Chaumont, "Les Sassanides et la Christianisme de l'Empire iranien," 200; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," loc. cit.; *EIr*, s.v. Armenia and Iran. ii. The Pre-Islamic Period (M. -L. Chaumont), at II, 426.

142. For the correct filiation here, see p. 45 n. 134 above.

143. Nöldeke, trans. 52 n. 1, surmised that this sobriquet was initially one of honor, "the man with broad shoulders." i.e., suitable for bearing the burdens of royal power and leadership in war. The folkloric explanation of the Arabic sources, given by al-Ṭabarī, I, 843–44, p. 63 below, that Shābūr acquired the title from piercing the shoulders of Arab captives from eastern Arabia, would accordingly be a later, fanciful explanation. Al-Ṭabarī's younger contemporary, Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 47, followed by al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 102–103, give the alleged Persian original of "shoulder borer" as *hūyah sunbā* (thus vocalized by al-Khwārazmī's editor Van Vloten: NP *hūyah/hūbah* "shoulder" + *sunbā*, "auger,

what some authorities say, was six years and five months, but according to others, seven years and five months.[144]

[Sābūr II Dhū al-Aktāf]

Then there was born Sābūr Dhū al-Aktāf, son of Hurmuz (II), son of Narsī, son of Bahrām (II), son of Bahrām (I),[145] son of Sābūr (I), son of Ardashīr (I), who succeeded to the royal power by virtue of the testament of his father Hurmuz's appointment of him as his successor.[146] The people rejoiced at his birth; they spread the news about it to the farthest lands, they wrote letters and the couriers of the postal and intelligence system (*al-burud*) conveyed news of it to the most distant regions and frontiers.[147] The viziers

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instrument for boring"). Whether this goes back to a Pahlavi original or is a later, back formation from the Arabic, is, as Nöldeke observed, impossible to determine.

144. Hormizd II's reign was 302–309. His name appears on his coins as 'WḤRMZDY. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 57–58, 337–41, 428–30, Plates VIII-IX, Table VI; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 45–46, Table V, Plate 5; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 97–98; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Coins," 234.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 655; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 182 (name and length of reign, death while Sābūr (II) was still a baby) al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 47 (information that he died when his wife was several months pregnant; the succession of his putative son was confirmed by placing the crown on his wife's abdomen, a tale known also to Western historians such as Agathias, see Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," 122–25, 144); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 174 = § 600; idem, *Tanbīh*, 100, trans. 144 (name and reign only); Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 47 (he founded a *rustāq* in the Rām-Hurmuz district); Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, I, 391–92. Of Persian sources, See Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 90–91. Of modern studies, see Nöldeke, trans. 51 nn. 1, 2; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 233–34; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 131–32, 178; *EI*², s.v. Sāsānids (M. J. Morony).

145. For the correct filiation here, see p. 45 n. 134 above.

146. Concerning the folkloric touch of Hormizd's entrusting the royal power to his infant Shābūr while he was still in his mother's womb, aside from the fact that he could not have known the sex of the child at that point, the ascertainable historical facts are that Hormizd left several sons by various wives, all older than Shābūr. The great men of state and the Zoroastrian priesthood saw their chance of securing a dominant influence in affairs, hence killed the natural successor to power, Hormizd's eldest son Ādhar Narseh, blinded another, forced a third to flee to Roman territory, and then raised to nominal headship of the realm the infant Shābūr, born forty days after his father's death. See the references in n. 144 above, and *EIr*, s.v. Ardašīr II (A. Sh. Shahbazi)

147. The institution of a state-organized postal and intelligence network was an ancient Near Eastern one, known in Persia from as far back as Achaemenid times and in such neighbors of the Sāsānids as the Romans and Byzantines. While there is

and secretaries retained the official functions they had held during his father's reign. They continued in these positions until news about them (sc., about these officials) spread, and there was disseminated on the distant frontiers of the land of the Persians [the news] that the people there had no king and that the Persians were merely waiting for a child, [at that time] in the cradle, not knowing how he would turn out. Hence the Turks[148] and the Romans cast envious eyes on the lands of the Persians.

Now the lands of the Arabs were the nearest ones to Fārs,[149] and these Arabs were among the most needy of all the nations for something to provide them with daily sustenance and with lands, because of their wretched condition and the harshness of their way of life. So a great horde of them crossed the sea from the region of the lands of 'Abd al-Qays, al-Baḥrayn, and al-Kāẓimah, until they set up military encampments against (*anākhū 'alā*) [the town of] Abruwān, on the shores that had Ardashīr Khurrah as their hinterland (*sawāḥil Ardashīr Khurrah*) and in the coastlands (*asyāf*) of Fārs.[150] They seized the local people's herds of cattle,

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little direct information on the postal and intelligence network of the Sāsānids, a certain amount of information can be inferred from both Pahlavi sources and from Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāmah;* see B. Geiger, "Zum Postwesen der Perser," 309–14. As well as the rapid conveyance of information and intelligence, such a system of riding-beasts and post-houses provided one of the few possible means for rulers to exercise control over the remoter parts of their kingdoms. Popular early Islamic etymology derived the term *barīd* (sing. of *burud*) from Persian *burīdah-dunb* "having a docked tail," but the true derivation is from Late Latin *veredus* "post-horse" (whence *veredarius* "courier"), as was recognized by Quatremère over a century and a half ago. See Bosworth, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art," 141–42; *EI*², s.v. Barīd (D. Sourdel); *EIr*, s.v. Barīd (C. E. Bosworth).

148. Nöldeke, trans. 53 n. 2, held that mention here of "Turks" was anachronistic and pointed to al-Ṭabarī's source having been composed in the later sixth century at the earliest, because only in that century did Khusraw Anūsharwān come into contact with the Turks, those of the Western Türk empire, which had established its influence over both sides of the Tien Shan and over Transoxania (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 895–96, pp. 152–53 below). This is probably true, but it is not totally impossible that the "Turks" whom Bahrām V Gūr repelled from the eastern borders of his kingdom in the second quarter of the fifth century included elements of genuine Turks, but perhaps as members of the following of the hordes like those of the Kidarites or Chionites. See the discussion in n. 244 below.

149. Altheim and Stiehl have pointed out (*Die Araber*, II, 346) that Nöldeke, trans. 53, was mistaken in rendering *Fārs* here as "Persien" when the geographical context makes it clear that the province of Fārs is meant. When, as in I, 839, p. 55 below, al-Ṭabarī specifically means "the land of Persia," he has *mamlakat Fārs*.

150. 'Abd al-Qays were an ancient Arab tribe, originally from the inland regions

their cultivated lands, and their means of subsistence, and did a
[837] great deal of damage in those regions.

They (sc., the Arab invaders) remained engaged in these activities for a considerable time, with none of the Persians able to launch a counterattack because they had set the royal crown on the head of a mere child and because of people's [consequent] lack of awe and respect for him. [This continued] until Sābūr grew up and became stirred to action. When he was grown up, the first thing that was manifested of his good management of affairs and his acute understanding, so it has been mentioned, was that he was awakened from sleep one night, toward early morning, in the royal palace at Ctesiphon, by the anguished clamor of the people. He enquired what that was, and was told that it was the clamor of the people crowded together on the bridge over the Tigris, coming and going. So he gave orders for another bridge to be built, so that one of the bridges could be used for people crossing in one direction and the other bridge for people crossing from the opposite direction; thus people using the two bridges would no longer be crowded together. When the people perceived the acuteness of his mind in

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of eastern Najd, and accounted genealogically as part of Rabī'ah. They early migrated toward the western shores of the Persian Gulf, to Qaṭīf and Baḥrayn, which, as al-Ṭabarī shortly relates (I, 838–39, pp. 54–56 below) were from Shābūr II's time directly under Persian rule, with garrisons and governors, and then made over to the Persians' representatives, the Lakhmids. The 'Abd al-Qays were thus well placed, under the stimulus of inadequate resources for supporting them in the oases of the eastern Arabian coastlands, to make incursions across the gulf to the coast (*sīf*, pl. *asyāf*) of Fārs. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 141, 168, II, 28–29, 127; *EI*², s.v. 'Abd al-Qays (W. Caskel); *EIr*, s.v. 'Abd-al-Qays (P. Oberling). Al-Kāẓimah was a place on the Baḥrayn coast south of the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab but not further specified. See al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, III, 1109–10; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 431.

The reading of the name rendered here as Abruwān (tentatively translated by Nöldeke, trans. 53, as Rīshahr, on which see al-Ṭabarī, I, 820, p. 16 and n. 62 above) varies greatly in the mss. Altheim and Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, II, 347–48, have suggested that this is the town of *Abruwān mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, I, 870, p. 105 below, as being in the province of Ardashīr Khurrah and as a place where Mihr Narsī erected lofty buildings (see p. 105 n. 267 below, for varying suggestions about this place-name). Also, Altheim and Stiehl have suggested, as certainly seems appropriate in the context, that one should follow ms. C's reading *anākhū 'alā*, "they set up encampments against . . ." (thus likewise in the Cairo edition, II, 55, apparently following here the Constantinople/Istanbul ms.), instead of the text's weaker *anākhū bi-*, "they halted at . . ." (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 734, on *anākha 'alā:* "se présenter hostilement devant [une place ou un homme]").

working out a solution for this problem, despite his tender years, they rejoiced at this, and hastened to fulfil what had been commanded regarding this [construction of the new bridge]. It is mentioned that the [second] bridge was constructed in the vicinity of the existing bridge before sunset of that day. In this way, the people were relieved of the necessity of endangering their lives when crossing the bridge. The child [Sābūr] grew in stature and prestige in that single day, what for others would have taken a long period.

The secretaries and viziers began successively to lay before Sābūr various state matters. Among the matters they brought to his notice was the position of the troops along the frontiers and those directly facing enemies there, for news had arrived that the greater part of them had been reduced to a sorry state. The secretaries and viziers stressed to him the seriousness of the situation, but Sābūr told them, "Don't worry about this excessively, since the remedy for it is simple." Then he ordered a letter to be sent to the whole of these troops, stating that he had learned about how long they had been stationed in those regions of the provinces where they were, and about the intensity of their deprivation of [838]
their dependents and brothers.[151] Hence whosoever wished to return to his family was free to do so, with full permission for that; and whosoever wished to complete the rest of his service by remaining standfast in his post, that would be reckoned to him favorably. He further ordered that those who chose to return could remain with their families on their own lands until the time when they were needed again. When the viziers heard all these words of his, they approved of them highly and said, "Even if this youth had had long experience of state affairs and the management of troops, his judgment and the soundness of his eloquent speech could not be greater than what we have just heard!"

151. Complaints about the long periods of service along distant frontiers, entailing separation from homes and families, were among the accusations hurled two centuries or so later at Khusraw II Abarwēz by his own son and supplanter Shēröy, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1047, p. 383 below. Also, in early Islamic times complaints about this process, called in Arabic *tajmīr* (literally, "bringing together, collecting," i.e., of troops in garrisons, with the Arab warriors or *muqātilah* being stationed on the inhospitable fringes of what is now Afghanistan, were a powerful factor in the revolt of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ashʿath and the "Peacock Army" in 81–82/700–701 which nearly toppled the Umayyad government. See *EI*², s.vv. Ibn al-Ashʿath (L. Veccia Vaglieri) and Tadjmīr (C. E. Bosworth).

Then there were issued successively his instructions to the provinces and the frontier lands, which gave heart to his own troops and humbled his enemies. At last he reached sixteen years of age and was able to bear weapons and ride cavalry horses, and his physical strength became great. He summoned together the commanders of his guards and troops and made an oration to them. He mentioned how bountiful God had been to him and to them through his forefathers, what these last had accomplished through their good conduct and how they had crushed their enemies, and how all these achievements of theirs had, however, fallen into confusion in the period that had elapsed during his youth. He then told them that he was going to make a start on the work [of restoring the position] by securely defending the heartland; and that [after that] he was making plans to move against one of his enemies and make war on him, and that he was going to take with him a force of one thousand warriors only. The assembled people rose up, calling down blessings [on him] and expressing their thanks, but asking that he should remain in his place and send forward in his stead the commanders and troops on this expedition he had planned.

He rejected their request, however, that he should stay in his capital. Then they requested him to increase the number [of troops] he had mentioned, but again he refused. [On the contrary,] he selected one thousand cavalrymen from among the stoutest and most heroic of the troops. He commanded them to go forward and accomplish his design and forbade them to spare any of the Arabs they encountered or to turn aside in order to seize booty. Then he led them forth, and fell upon those Arabs who had treated Fārs as their pasture ground while they were unaware, wrought great slaughter among them, reduced [others of] them to the harshest form of captivity, and put the remainder to flight.[152]
[839] Then he crossed the sea at the head of his troops and reached al-Khaṭṭ. He marched through the land of al-Baḥrayn, killing its people, not letting himself be bought off by any kind of payment and not turning aside to take plunder. He went back on his tracks and reached Hajar,[153] where there were Bedouins from the tribes of

152. Reading here *wa-harraba.*

153. That is, the western Persian Gulf coastland, of what is now Kuwait, Qatar, and eastern Saudi Arabia, the term appearing in Syriac sources as Hagar; it was also

Tamīm, Bakr b. Wā'il, and 'Abd al-Qays. He spread general slaughter among them, and shed so much of their blood that it flowed like a torrent swollen by a rainstorm. Those who were able to flee realized that no cave in a mountain nor any island in the sea was going to save them.

After this he turned aside to the lands of the 'Abd al-Qays and destroyed all the people there except for those who fled into the desert sands. He passed on to al-Yamāmah,[154] where he made general slaughter like that of the previous occasion. He did not pass by any of the local Arabs' springs of water without blocking them up, nor any of their cisterns without filling them in. He approached the neighborhood of Medina and killed the Arabs whom he found there and took captives. Then he turned aside to the lands of the Bakr and Taghlib, which lie between the land of Persia (*mamlakat Fārs*) and the frontier fortresses (*manāẓir*)[155] of the Romans in the land of Syria. He killed the Arabs he found there, took captives, and filled in their water sources. He settled members of the tribe of Taghlib, who were in al-Baḥrayn, at Dārīn and al-Samāhīj, and at al-Khaṭṭ;[156] members of the 'Abd al-Qays

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called al-Baḥrayn (in this sense comprehending both the island and the adjacent mainland) in early Islamic times and, right up to modern times, al-Aḥsā' or al-Ḥasā. See Nöldeke, trans. 56 n. 1; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥasā (F. S. Vidal). For al-Khaṭṭ, see n. 64 above.

154. An extensive region of eastern Arabia, with several important oases, running westward to the scarp of the Jabal Ṭuwayq and eastward to the Daḥnā', i.e., comprising much of the modern Saudi provinces of al-Riyāḍ, al-Kharj, and al-'Āriḍ. At the beginning of the Islamic period, Yamāmah was the home of the semi-Christianized Banū Ḥanīfah and the epicenter of activity by the rival prophet to Muḥammad, Musaylimah. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Yamāma (A. Grohmann).

155. Sing. *manẓarah*, literally "look-out posts," largely synonymous with the more common term for these frontier guard stations, *maslaḥa*, pl. *masāliḥ*.

156. Taghlib b. Wā'il were an important tribe of the Rabī'ah group who lived in Najd till their defeat in the famous "War of Basūs" (early sixth century), and already within the sphere of the Sāsānids and their Lakhmid allies, as Shābūr I's policy here shows. When the Lakhmids regained control of al-Ḥīrah after the interlude of Kindah control there in the 520s, the considerably Christianized Taghlib became one of the firm supports of Lakhmid power there. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 141, 163, II, 27–28, 541–42; *EI*², s.v. Taghlib b. Wā'il (M. Lecker).

The mediaeval geographers were confused and vague about these places in al-Baḥrayn. According to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 432, Dārīn was either on Baḥrayn island or on the nearby Persian Gulf coast. Concerning Samāhīj, see al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 754, IV, 1382: "a place in al-Baḥrayn belonging to the 'Abd al-Qays" (but in Yāqūt, op. cit., III, 432, an island in the gulf). Al-Ṭabarī's text here, *Dārīn wa-ismuhā*

and some groups of the Banū Tamīm in Hajar; and those members of the Bakr b. Wā'il who were in Kirmān (the so-called Bakr Abān)[157] and those of them from the Banū Ḥanẓalah at al-Ramaliyyah in the province of al-Ahwāz.[158]

He gave orders for the building of a city in the Sawād, which he called Buzurj Sābūr, [that is, Ukbarā, and another city which he

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Hayj, is disturbed, and should should be corrected to *Dārīn wa-Samāhīj* in the light of the parallel passage in Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughyat al-ṭalab*. It is not surprising that Nöldeke, trans. 57 n. 2, was unable to find anything about a putative place called Hayj. In fact, we have here reference to two distinct places. Dārīn was the main town of the island of Tarut, still known today as such and lying in the bay off the eastern Arabian coast near the modern towns of al-Qaṭīf and al-Dammām. Samāhij was a village on the island of al-Muḥarraq lying just off the northern edge of the main al-Baḥrayn island (and now linked to it by a causeway); it is mentioned around this time as the seat of a Nestorian Christian bishopric. See the detailed discussion of these place-names by Joëlle Beaucamp and Chr. Robin, "L'évêché nestorien des Mâšmâhîg dans l'archipel d'al-Baḥrayn (Ve–IXe siècle)," 171–96; D. T. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity*, II, 151–52.

157. Bakr b. Wā'il were also a tribe of Rabī'ah, originally nomadizing in the Yamāmah region, but, also like the Taghlib, migrating northward to the desert fringes of the lower and middle Euphrates. Hence they came into contact with the Lakhmids, especially after Taghlib moved on again into Upper Mesopotamia, and began to clash with the rival pastoralists of Tamīm, a discord subsequently reflected in the events leading up to the skirmish of Dhū Qār (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1030, pp. 359–60 below). Several leading poets of Bakr, including Ṭarafah b.'Abd, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥillizah, and al-A'shā Maymūn, came within the cultural ambit of the Lakhmid court. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 141, 162–66, II, 22–23, 223; *EI*², s.v. Bakr b. Wā'il (W. Caskel).

Abān was a place in eastern Fārs, lying to the southeast of Yazd in the district of Rūdhān, and is now the modern town of Anār. See Nöldeke, trans., 57 n. 3; Le Strange, *Lands*, 286; Schwarz, *Iran*, 21, 191–92.

158. Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik were a subdivision of the great tribe of Tamīm b. Murrah or Ma'add, forming the main group within its branch of Zayd Manāt. Tamīm's center was in Yamāmah, where they were rivals and opponents of the Rabī'ah tribes of Taghlib and Bakr. Tamīm in general had close connections with the Sāsānids and Lakhmids, cooperating with the Persian authorities in Hajar and policing trade routes across central Arabia to Yemen for the above two powers. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 59, 68, 72–73, II, 7–10, 298; *EI*², s.vv. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik (W. Montgomery Watt) and Tamīm b. Murra (M. Lecker).

Al-Ramaliyyah may well be the Qaryat al-Ramal of subsequent Islamic times situated in western Khūzistān, between Qurqūb and the Nahr Tīrā on or near the Karkhā affluent of the Kārūn. In the later third/eighth century, it was the scene of amphibious operations led by the Regent al-Muwaffaq against the Zanj rebels, according to al-Ṭabarī, III, 1952–53, tr. P. M. Fields, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, XXXVII, *The 'Abbāsid Recovery. The War against the Zanj Ends*, 17–18. See Nöldeke, trans. 57 n. 4; Schwarz, *Iran*, 368.

called Fayrūz Sābūr, that is] al-Anbār.[159] He further founded in the province of al-Ahwāz two cities, one called Īrān-Khurrah-Sābūr, [840] which means "Sābūr and his land," and which is called in Syriac al-Karkh, and the other al-Sūs, a city he built at the side of the fortress that has within it a sarcophagus containing the corpse of the prophet Dāniyāl (Daniel), may God pray over him and grant him peace.[160] He led an expedition into the land of the Romans, took a great number of prisoners there, and then planted [them] in the city of Īrān-Khurrah-Sābūr, which the Arabs called al-Sūs after

159. The interpolated words were supplied by Nöldeke; see text, n. *e*, and trans. 57 n. 5. 'Ukbarā, Syriac 'Okbarā, was a town on the east bank of the Tigris above Ctesiphon, famed for its gardens and vineyards. Arabic authorities like Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī and Yāqūt confirm that its Persian name was indeed Buzurg Shāpūr. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 142; Le Strange, *Lands*, 50–51. Anbār (for which, see n. 77 above) was doubtless meant as one of the fortified points in the belt of strongholds and garrisons (*masāliḥ*) protecting the Sawād, and would have had Arab auxiliaries planted along this line as frontier guards, the equivalent of the *limitanei* of the Romans and Byzantines on the opposite, western side of the Syrian Desert. Not mentioned by al-Ṭabarī but known from other Arabic sources, e.g., al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 298, is the defensive trench and rampart, the *khandaq Sābūr*, which the Sāsānid ruler had dug out from Hīt in the north to al-Kāẓimah, south of where the Islamic *miṣr* of al-Baṣrah was later to be laid out. See Altheim and Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, II, 349–50; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 138.

160. The text is somewhat disturbed here, as pointed out by Altheim and Stehl, *Die Araber*, II, 352. The definition "Sābūr and his land" must in reality go with Īrān-Shahr-Sābūr, this being the first of Shābūr's two foundations; the second, Īrān-Khurrah-Sābūr, must be Sūs, especially as Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 47, specifically equates Khurrah Sābūr with al-Sūs. We thus have Īrān-Shahr-Sābūr = Karkh, and Irān-Khurrah-Sābūr = Sūs.

Both towns lay in the ancient region of Susiana. Al-Karkh(ah) (Syriac *karkh* = "fortified town") appears in the Eastern Christian sources as Karkhā dhə Lēdhān or Rēdhān, and was the seat of a Nestorian bishop; it was situated near Susa/al-Sūs, with its present site marked by the ruins called locally Aywān-i Karkh. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 449, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 145; Le Strange, *Lands*, 240; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 185; Markwart-Messina, *Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals*, 97; Altheim and Stiehl, op. cit., II, 353–55; *EI*², s.v. Karkha (P. Schwarz-A. Miquel); *EIr*, s.v. Ērān-Xwarrah-Šābuhr (Rika Gyselen).

(Al-)Sūs was the early Islamic form for the ancient city of Susa (also the seat of a bishopric in later Sāsānid and early Islamic times), which lay on the plain between the Kārūn and Kharkhā rivers. One of its greatest attractions for religious devotees was that it claimed to have the tomb of Daniel, the Islamic prophet Dāniyāl, although another town of Khūzistān, Rustar or Shushtar, also claimed to have it. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 280–81; Nöldeke, trans. 58 n. 1; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 144–45; Le Strange, *Lands*, 240–41; Schwarz, *Iran*, 358–64; Markwart-Messina, *Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals*, 96–90; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 185–86; *EI*², s.vv. Dāniyāl (G. Vajda), al-Sūs (M. Streck-C. E. Bosworth).

shortening the name.[161] He gave orders also for the building of a city in Bā Jarmā, which he called Khunī[162] Sābūr (?), which he laid out as an administrative region (*kūrah*) and for the building of a city in the land of Khurāsān, which he named Naysābūr and likewise laid it out as an administrative region.[163]

Sābūr had made a truce with Qusṭanṭīn (Constantine), the King of the Romans, the one who built Constantinople and who was the first king of the Romans who became a Christian.[164] Qusṭanṭīn died, and his kingdom was divided between three of his sons, who also died, so that the Romans appointed as their king a man from Qusṭanṭīn's house named Lulyānūs (Julian[us]), who was an adherent of the religion of the Romans that had prevailed before Christianity.[165] He used to conceal this, and ostensibly follow Christianity before he became king, but when he actually came to power he openly proclaimed his adhesion to the religion of the [ancient] Romans, restored it in its former state, and gave orders for its revival. He commanded that the churches should be pulled

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161. On Shābūr's deportations and plantations of prisoners of war, see Nöldeke, trans. 59 n. 1; *EIr*, s.v. Deportations. ii. In the Parthian and Sasanian Periods (E. Ketterhofen), at VII, 299.

162. Text, *J.nī*, thought Nöldeke though that the whole name was dubious. For Bā Jarmā, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 827, p. 32 and n. 98 above.

163. Naysābūr, the Arabised form of MP Nēw-Shāhbuhr, NP Nīkū Shābūr Nīshābūr, less correctly Nīshāpūr, "fair [city] of Shābūr." Some sources attribute its foundation to Shābūr I, e.g., Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 44, presumably to be considered as part of his consolidation of power in the realm described in al-Ṭabarī, I, 819–20, pp. 14–15 above. Others attribute its foundation to Shābūr II, and if he was its founder, this action may have been part of his activities in the East against the "Kushans," *Cuseni*, which are poorly documented but which apparently fell within the 350s or 360s while Shāpūr was also disputing control of Armenia with the Romans. What may have happened was a rebuilding by Shābūr II of his great-grandfather's original foundation. See in addition to the references in n. 59 above, Yāqūt, V, 331–33; Nöldeke, trans. 59 n. 3; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 50; R. Ghirsham and T. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 70–74.

164. Constantine the Great (r. 324–37). See on him *PW*, IV/1, s.v. Constantinus (der Grosse) (Benjamin).

165. Julian the Apostate (r. 361–63), successor to Constantine I's second son Constantine II, was actually the son of a half-brother of Constantine the Great. See on him *PW*, XI/1, s.v. Iulianus (Apostata) (E. von Borries). The rendering here with initial *l-* stems from a Syriac form of the name, see Nöldeke, trans. 60 n. 1, who also in 59 n. 4 points out that the following information is of no historical value, but must stem from the Syriac romance of the Emperor Julian, see his "Ueber den syrischen Roman von Kaiser Julian," 291–92 (see on this romance p. 63 n. 173 below).

down and that the bishops and learned scholars of the Christians should be killed. He assembled contingents of the Romans and Khazars,[166] and of the Arabs who were within his kingdom, in order to use them for making war on Sābūr and the armies of Persia.

The Arabs seized that opportunity as an occasion for revenge on [841] Sābūr for his killing the Arabs. One hundred and seventy thousand Arab warriors were gathered together in Lulyānūs's army.[167] The latter sent them forward under the command of one of the Patricians of the Romans called Yūsānūs (Jovian[us]),[168] whom he placed in charge of his vanguard. Lulyānūs marched on until he

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166. Nöldeke, trans. 60 n. 2, thought that this anachronistic mention of the Turkish Khazars was an interpolation in the text of al-Ṭabarī's source, since the Khazars do not firmly appear in Middle Eastern history till the early seventh century, when they were allies of Byzantium against the Persians in Transcaucasia; see *EI*², s.v. Khazar (W. Barthold and P. B. Golden). Shahîd has suggested, in his *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, 116 n. 38, that al-Ṭabarī's "Khazars" were probably Goths (an important auxiliary element in the Roman forces at this time, the same nation whom Ammianus Marcellinus (see below, n. 167) calls "Scythians"), but this seems unlikely. It is admittedly true that the Scythians, the original Goths, and the Khazars all inhabited the South Russia-lower Volga basin region.

167. The undeniable, if in many ways obscure, Arab dimension to Julian's short, eighteen-months' reign, has been considered in close and perspicuous detail by Shahîd in his *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, especially at 82–86, 110ff. and 132–37, depending, on the classical side, on such sources as the Latin historian Ammianus Marcellinus's *Res gestae*, the Greek Libanius's *Orations* and some church historians. Julian's own attitude toward the Arabs was somewhat ambiguous, but became generally hostile: he himself describes them as *lēstas* "robbers," echoing Ammianus's stigmatizing of them as a *natio perniciosa*. But here it is very probably the *Sarakenoi*, the nomadic Arabs of the desert interiors of Syria, Palestine, Sinai, and Egypt who are envisaged; whereas, the Romans' prime contact with the Arabs was with the sedentary or semisedentary ones of the borderlands between the desert and the town, the *foederati* or confederates, many of them Christianized, those who at the time of the Arab conquests are described in the sources as *musta'ribah*. Shahîd argues that Julian failed to make the best use of the Arab auxiliary element in his forces when he thrust through the northern part of the Syrian Desert via his concentration point at Callinicum (the later Islamic al-Raqqah) across the Euphrates at Ctesiphon. For the Arabs were familiar with the terrain, as well as with the Middle Eastern climate, whereas the Roman troops were more used to fighting in the temperate climes of Europe and the Mediterranean basin. Also, whereas many elements back in Rome were lukewarm about the Persian campaign, arguing that the threat from the Goths was a more imminent one than that from the Persians, the Arabs were, as al-Ṭabarī notes, eager to take vengeance for Shābūr's savage treatment of their compatriots in eastern Arabia.

168. The Syriac form of Jovian's name, according to Nöldeke, trans. 60 n. 4.

reached the land of Persia. When Sābūr got news of the magnitude of Lulyānūs's army—Romans, Arabs, and Khazars—he became alarmed, and sent out spies to bring back to him information about the size of their forces and their state of fighting spirit and effectiveness for wreaking damage. But the reports these spies brought back to him concerning Lulyānūs and his troops were at variance with each other. Hence Sābūr disguised himself and went along with a group of some men from his trusty entourage to see for themselves the opposing army. When he drew near to the army of Yūsānūs, the commander of Lulyānūs's vanguard, he sent forward a small group from those accompanying him to Yūsānūs's army, in order that they might ferret out information and bring back to him authentic reports. However, the Romans became aware of them, seized them, and brought them back to Yūsānūs. Not one of them confessed the purpose for which they had gone out to Yūsānūs's army except for one man, who told Yūsānūs about the whole affair, exactly as it was, and where Sābūr was, and who asked Yūsānūs to send back with him a detachment of troops so that he might bring Sābūr back to them. But when Yūsānūs heard this story, he sent to Sābūr one of his own close intimates who would tell him what Yūsānūs had learned about Sābūr's position and warn him. Sābūr accordingly rode away rapidly, back to his own army. The Arab troops in Lulyānūs's army asked him for
[842] permission to launch an attack on Sābūr and he acceded to their request. So they advanced toward Sābūr, fought with him, routed his force and wrought great slaughter among them. Sābūr fled, together with what remained of his army, and Lulyānūs took possession of Sābūr's seat of power, the city of Ctesiphon, and seized Sābūr's stores of wealth and treasuries there.[169]

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169. Julian's army advanced into Persian Mesopotamia in spring 363 and won a great victory over Shābūr outside Ctesiphon. Al-Ṭabarī emphasizes the outstanding role of the Arab auxiliary troops here, presumably as mounted lancers within the cavalry division of the army, whereas Ammianus Marcellinus does not mention it. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, 117, notes the Latin historian's dislike of the Arabs, and thinks that the truth may be somewhere in between the two partisan viewpoints; for Nöldeke, however, trans. 61 n. 1, the emphasis on the Arab role was a later addition to the story by an Arab hand concerned to vaunt the exploits of his nation. Despite the victory in the field over the Persian army, Ctesiphon resisted a siege by the Romans (*pace* al-Ṭabarī's information here that it was captured), and in June 363 Julian and his forces turned

Sābūr at that point sent letters to those elements of his army in distant regions, telling them what he had suffered at the hands of Lulyānūs and his Arab contingents, and he ordered all the commanders there to hasten back to him with the troops of his army under their command. Very soon, armies from all quarters of the land had gathered round him. He then marched back again, attacked Lulyānūs, and recovered from him the city of Ctesiphon. Luliyānūs encamped with his army at the city of Bih-Ardashīr[170] and in the region nearby. Envoys were at this point going backward and forward between him and Sābūr. One day, however, Lulyānūs was seated in his chamber when a stray arrow, from an invisible hand, struck him in the heart and killed him.[171]

The hearts of his troops were thrown into perturbation, and they became fearful because of what had happened to him. They fell into despair about extracting themselves from the land of Persia. They coalesced into an advisory council, with no king or leader, and asked Yūsānūs if he would take over the business of ruling, and they would accordingly raise him to the throne. He refused this, however, and when they pressed him, he told them that he was a Christian and that he would not rule over a people who were opposed to him in religion; but the Romans told him that they were really Christians too, and that they had only concealed this in fear of Lulyānūs. So he agreed to their request, and they made him their king and publicly displayed their Christian faith.[172]

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back toward Antioch. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 50, states that Julian's army occupied the city of Ctesiphon but were held up outside its citadel (*qaṣr*), with Julian killed by a stray arrow in the course of the siege.

170. That is, Seleucia, the Bihrasīr of al-Ṭabarī, I, 819, p. 15 above.

171. The circumstances of Julian's sudden death in June 363 were mysterious. Contemporaries were unsure whether he was killed, as al-Ṭabarī says, by a stray arrow or lance thrust, or whether he was struck down by an assassin; and if the latter, was the murderer in the pay of the Persians or one from Julian's own troops? The possibility that the assassin was an Arab and that it was the result of a grudge against the emperor (since according to Ammianus, Julian had withheld the Arab troops' pay) is discussed by Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, 124–31.

172. On Julian's death, the Roman troops offered the imperial crown first to the Praetorian Prefect Salutius Secundus, who refused it, and then to the commander Jovian. See E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, I, 169–71.

Sābūr came to know about Lulyānūs's death, and sent a message to the commanders of the Roman army in which he said, "God has brought you into our power and has made us to prevail over you, in return for your violence towards us and your trampling over our [843] land. We hope that you will perish there from hunger without our having to wield a sword against you in battle or to point a spear at you; but dispatch to us a leader [to treat with us], if you have appointed a leader over yourselves." Yūsānūs resolved to go to Sābūr, even though none of his army commanders agreed with his judgment in this. Nevertheless, he insisted on following his own view here and went to Sābūr with a guard of eighty of the noble warriors from his camp and from his army, and wearing his crown. Sābūr received news of his coming; he went out to meet him, and each of them prostrated themselves before the other [in obeisance], and then Sābūr embraced Yūsānūs out of thankfulness for what he had previously done for him (i.e., letting him escape back to his camp). He feasted with Sābūr that day and felt at ease. Sābūr sent a message to the commanders of the Roman army and their leaders informing them that, if they had raised to power anyone except Yūsānūs, their destruction in the land of Persia would have ensued, and that their appointing Yūsānūs as their king had [alone] preserved them from his violence. Yūsānūs's prestige became strong through his action [on this occasion].

Sābūr continued: "The Romans have launched attacks into our land and have killed a great number of people. They have chopped down date palms and other trees in the Sawād, and have ruined its agricultural prosperity. So either you must pay us the full value of what you have destroyed and ruined, or else you must hand over to us, in recompense for all that damage, the town of Niṣībīn and its surrounding region." Niṣībīn had previously been part of the kingdom of Persia, but the Romans had then conquered it. Yūsānūs and the leading commanders of his army agreed to Sābūr's demand for reparations, and handed over Niṣībīn to him. The people of Niṣībīn heard about this, and emigrated from there to various cities in the Roman empire, fearful of their safety under the power of a king opposed to their own religion (sc., to Christianity). When news of this reached Sābūr, he transferred twelve thousand persons of good lineage from among the people of Iṣṭakhr, Iṣbahān, and other regions of his country and his provinces, to Niṣībīn, and

settled them there. Yūsānūs returned with his troops to Roman territory, where he reigned for only a short time and then died.[173]

Right up to his death, Sābūr became occupied with great eagerness in killing the Arabs and tearing out the shoulder-blades of [844] their leaders; this was why they called him Dhū al-Aktāf "The Man of the Shoulders." Certain of the historians (*ahl al-akhbār*) mention that after Sābūr had wrought great slaughter among the Arabs and had expelled them from the regions they had entered, namely the lands adjoining Fārs, al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāmah,[174] he went down into Syria and proceeded to the frontiers of the Roman empire.[175] He explained to his companions that he intended to enter the territory of the Romans in order to find out

173. Jovian died at Dadastana in central Anatolia en route from Antioch to Constantinople, thus terminating his brief reign of slightly more than six months (363–64). See on him *PW*, IX/2, s.v. Iovianus (Seeck). It seems quite likely that may Christians did flee from Nisībīn before the Persians and that Shāpūr did resettle Persians from the interior of his kingdom in this strategically placed city of Nisībin. The infusion of a Persian ethnic element there helps perhaps to explain the city's preference thereafter for the Persian connection. Jovian's action in making peace with Shāpūr enabled the Roman army to withdraw intact, but at the price of the cession of Nisībīn, Singara (Sinjār), and the territories in Upper Mesopotamia conquered by Diocletian more than sixty years before. The peace treaty was, however, regarded by contemporaries in the Roman empire as a dishonorable one. Agathias expressed this view when he called it "a shameful and disgraceful truce, so bad that it is even now (i.e., ca. 570) harmful to the Roman state"; see Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," 124–25, 146. From this time onward, Nisībīn was to be the great bastion of Persian arms against Roman and Byzantine attacks and pressure from the west, and was never to return to Christian control.

The preceeding story of the Roman-Persian warfare during Shabūr's reign is paralleled in the account of these events in the Syriac romance of the Emperor Julian, an original Syriac work and not a translation from Greek, probably written in Roman-held Edessa. Nöldeke thought that it was directly or indirectly known to the Arabs, since al-Ṭabarī's account, derived from Ibn al-Kalbī, accords in general with the romance, especially in such episodes as Julian's being killed by a stray arrow, Shābūr's secret visit to the enemy encampment and his personal understanding with Jovian. See his "Ueber den syrischen Roman von Kaiser Julian," 263–92.

174. This is a sketchy and not very accurate résumé of Shabūr's campaigns in eastern Arabia in the year 326 already described by al-Ṭabarī, I, 836–37, pp. 51–52 above.

175. The following story apparently contradicts the previous narrative of the warfare of Julian and Jovian with Shābūr, but is in Nöldeke's view, trans. 64 n. 2, really a genuine Persian recounting, not of events in the time of Shābūr II but of those in the time of Shābūr I (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 826–27, pp. 28–31 above), the captured Qayṣar being, of course, Valerian.

their secrets and to acquire information about their cities and the numbers of their troops. Accordingly, he entered Roman territory and wandered about there for a considerable period of time. News reached him that Qayṣar had given a great feast and had ordered all the people to be gathered together to attend his feast. Sābūr set out, therefore, disguised as a beggar, with the aim of attending that gathering, so that he might thereby see Qayṣar, familiarize himself with his appearance, and discern how he behaved at his feast. But his identity was discovered; he was arrested and Qayṣar gave orders for him to be wrapped in a bull's hide.

Qayṣar now traveled with his troops toward the land of Persia, bearing with him Sābūr in that condition. He made extensive slaughter and destroyed many cities and villages, and cut down date palms and other trees until finally he came to the city of Junday Sābūr. The local people had fortified themselves in it, but Qayṣar set up ballistas (*majānīq*) and demolished part of the city. While matters stood thus, the Roman guards entrusted with watching over Sābūr were negligent one night. There were some prisoners from al-Ahwāz in his vicinity, so he instructed them to pour oil from nearby skins on to his bonds. They did this; the ox hide became soft, and he wriggled out of the bonds. He then slipped quietly away until he drew near to the city gate. He told the city guards who he was. When he came out among its people, [845] they were overjoyed at seeing him. Their voices were raised in praise and invocations to God, to such an extent that Qayṣar's troops woke up at the sound of the voices.[176]

Sābūr gathered together all those who were in the city, provided them with weapons and equipment, and marched out against the Romans that very same night toward the morning. He killed the Romans, took Qayṣar captive and seized as booty his treasuries

176. The whole story of Sābūr's foray into the Roman camp, his capture, and escape, is part of a well-known topos, that of the prince slipping behind enemy lines in disguise for spying purposes. Nöldeke, trans. 65 n. 1, cites such a role being ascribed to Alexander the Great in the *Alexander Romance*, the legendary biography of the emperor by Pseudo-Callisthenes (whence taken over by Firdawsī into the Persian epic) (see Nöldeke, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans," 1–56); to a Roman emperor, probably Galerius (r. 305–11) by Synesius; and here to Shābūr, being taken, as already noted, from the Syriac Julian Romance.

and his womenfolk. Then he loaded Qayṣar with iron fetters and required him to restore to prosperity all that he had ruined. It is said that Sābūr required him to bring earth from the Roman lands to al-Madā'in and Junday Sābūr, so that he might thereby restore what he had destroyed, and to plant olive trees in place of the date palms and other trees he had chopped down. Then he cut off Qayṣar's heels, sewed them up, and sent him back to the Romans on an ass with the words, "This is your punishment for your crimes against us." Because of that, the Romans abandoned the use of straps over the heels (i.e., for shoes and sandals) and sewed up the parts of the shoes hanging down over the feet.[177]

Sābūr remained in his kingdom for a considerable time, and then he led an expedition against the Romans. He killed many of them and took many captives. He settled these last in a city he built in the vicinity of al-Sūs and called it Īrānshahr-Sābūr. Then he sought peace with the Arabs, and settled some tribes of Taghlib, 'Abd al-Qays, and Bakr b. Wā'il in Kirmān, Tawwaj,[178] and al-Ahwāz. He built the city of Naysābūr and other cities in Sind and Sijistān.[179] He had a physician brought from India and established him at al-Karkh by al-Sūs; when this man died, the people of Sūs

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177. Nöldeke observed in his text, n. *b*, that he had not correctly understood this last sentence when he made his translation, 66. Other Arabic sources, including Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 657–58, and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 181–83 = §§ 605–606, 608, give the story of Sābūr's spying mission, his capture, his being sewn up in a bull's hide, and his escape. This last historian, ibid., II, 184 = § 607, gives the story of Sābūr's mutilation of the captured Qayṣar in a slightly different form: that he shod with iron the Roman's feet after cutting his Achilles tendons and cauterizing his heels, which is why the Rūm subsequently did not shoe their horses with iron or themselves wear boots with heels (*al-khifāf al-mu'aqqabah*).

178. Tawwaj or Tawwaz was an ancient town, the Taokē mentioned in the itinerary of Alexander's Indian campaign and in the classical geographers. It lay in western Fārs on the Shābūr river about midway between Kāzarūn and the Persian Gulf shore. In early Islamic times it was an important center of the textile trade, but in later mediaeval times it fell into ruins, and its exact site is now unknown. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 56–57; Le Strange, *Lands*, 259–60; Schwarz, *Iran*, 66–68; Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, 74–75; Markwart-Messina, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals*, 94–95; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 163; *EI*, s.v. Tawwadj (C. E. Bosworth).

179. It is unlikely that Shābūr could have built cities in a frontier province like Sijistān, disputed with the Sakas and their epigoni, and almost impossible that he could have constructed any in the Indian province of Sind, at this time under local Brahman rulers.

inherited his medical skill, and for this reason the people of that region are the most expert of medical practitioners among the Persians.[180] Shābūr bequeathed the royal power to his brother Ardashīr (II). Sābūr's reign lasted seventy-two years.[181]

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180. Although the Arabic sources mention an Indian connection for the foundation of medical studies as Sūs and Jundayshābūr, it is difficult to discern any factual basis for this beyond a general belief in early Islamic society that Indian physicians were especially skillful, a belief that was perpetuated because of the infinitesimal number of Indian physicians known against which the belief could be tested (but cf. the story given by al-Ṭabarī, III, 747–48, of Hārūn al-Rashīd's summoning from India the physician Mankah to treat an obstinate illness). Much clearer than Indian influences are the undoubted Hellenistic ones brought by persons resettled in Khūzistān from the Byzantine lands and by Nestorian Christian immigrants, who brought the traditions and techniques of the medical schools of Antioch and Alexandria. See *EI*², s.v. Gondēshāpūr (Aydın Sayılı).

181. Shābūr II's reign was 309–79. Shabūr's name appears on his coins as ŠḤPWḤRY. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 58–59, 341–52, 430–35, Plates IX–XI, Tables VI–VIII; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 46–47, Table VI, Plates 6–7; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 99–103; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 234–35.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 656–59; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 182–83 (his raids on and violence against the Arabs, and his wars with the Romans); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 47–51 (a very detailed section: the raids into Jazīrah and the Sawād by a Ghassānid king [cf. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, 117], Shabūr's attacks on al-Ḥaḍr, his war with Julian [here called Mānūs!] and acquisition of Niṣībīn, and his urban foundations); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 175–89 = §§ 601–11 (much detail on the attacks of the Arabs on Iraq and Shābūr's revenge, his adventures in Rūm and his plantation of Byzantine captives in Khūzistān); idem, *Tanbīh*, 100, trans. 144; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 47–48 (his raids on the Arabs, his being captured while spying in Rūm, his captivity, his gaining of Niṣībīn, and his building works); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 392–97. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 91–102. Of modern studies on Shābūr II's reign in general, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 234–53; Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 224; idem, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 132–41, 178; *EI*¹, s.v. Shāpūr (V. F. Büchner); *EI*², s.vv. Sāsānids (M. J. Morony), Shāpūr (C. E. Bosworth).

Nöldeke, trans. 68 n. 1, noted that the Arabic and Persian sources used by al-Ṭabarī and other Islamic writers mention nothing of Shābūr's persecutions of the Christian community in Persia and, to a lesser extent, of the Jews and Manichaeans. The great sufferings of the Christians are, however, known to us from the Syriac *Acts of the Martyrs* and from such works as Sozomenus's *Ecclesiastical History*. Thus in 341 the Catholicos in the see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (whose primacy had only become established with difficulty in the mid-fourth century), Simon Bar Ṣabba'ē, was martyred after he had protested his inability to burden his indigent community with the capitation tax at double rate in order to finance Shābūr's wars with the Romans/Byzantines; and two years later, Narsēs, the metropolitan of Bēth Garmāyē, was arrested and executed. Given that Shābūr was

[The History of al-Ḥīrah]

During the reign of Sābūr, his governor over the desert fringes of Muḍar and Rabī'ah was Imru' al-Qays al-Bad' b. 'Amr b. 'Adī b. Rabī'ah b. Naṣr, and then Sābūr appointed over the latter's governorship his son, 'Amr b. Imri' al-Qays, according to what has been mentioned. He remained in the office for the remainder of Sābūr's reign, the whole of his brother Ardashīr (II), son of Hurmuz (II) b. Narsī's reign and part of that of Sābūr (III), son of Sābūr (II). The [846] total length of his governorship over the Arabs, as I have just mentioned, and his exercise of authority over them, amounted to thirty years, according to Ibn al-Kalbī.[182]

[Ardashīr II]

Then there took charge of the royal power, after Sābūr (II) Dhū al-Aktāf, his brother Ardashīr.

[He was] the son of Hurmuz (II), son of Narsī, son of Bahrām (II), son of Bahrām (I), son of Hurmuz (I), son of Sābūr (I), son of Ardashīr (I), son of Bābak. After he was crowned, he sat there [to receive] the great men of state. When they came into his presence, they prayed for his victoriousness and conveyed thanks to him for his brother Sābūr. Ardashīr replied to them enthusiastically and told them about the warm place in his heart for their thanks to him regarding his brother. When he was securely on the throne, he turned his attention to the great men and the holders of authority,

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indeed much involved with warfare against the Christian Romans/Byzantines, a political element was doubtless at work here, but the king is known to have hated the Christians and to have been a keen enforcer of Zoroastrian orthodoxy within his dominions. Christians could not accept elements like the sun, earth, and fire as objects of cultic reverence, and found such Zoroastrian practices as marriage within close degrees of relationship as equally abhorrent. Shābūr's reign was the worst thirty or forty years or so that the Christians of Persia had to endure, and the total ruin of Christianity within Persia was only averted by his death and the succession of kings who either did not wish to continue his policy or did not have the means to do so. See Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 20–25, 43–82; J. P. Asmussen, "Christians in Iran," 936–39. Shabūr's reign concomitantly saw a rise in power and prestige of the Zoroastrian priesthood, whom a strong monarch like Shābūr could afford to cultivate and shower with favors.

182. The middle and later decades of the fourth century are an obscure period in the history of the Lakhmids. See Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 41ff.

and killed a great number of them, The people then deposed him from power after a reign of four years.[183]

[Sābūr III]

Then there assumed the royal power Sābūr.

He was the son of Sābūr (II) Dhū al-Aktāf, son of Hurmuz (II), son of Narsī. The subjects rejoiced at his accession and at the return of his father's royal authority to him. He met with them in the most handsome way possible, and wrote letters to the provincial governors enjoining them to good conduct and to kindness with the subjects, and he ordered the same thing to his viziers, secretaries, and court entourage, and addressed them in eloquent terms. He continued to behave justly to his subjects, showing compassion to them because of the love, affection, and obedience they clearly bore him. His paternal uncle, the deposed Ardashīr (II), behaved submissively toward him and vouchsafed obedience to him. But the great men of state (*al-ʿuẓamāʾ*) and the members of noble houses (*ahl al-buyūtāt*) cut the ropes of a large tent Sābūr had had erected in one of his palace courts, and the tent fell down on top of him [and killed him]. He had reigned for five years.[184]

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183. Ardashīr II's reign was 379–83. As Nöldeke, trans. 69 n. 2, remarked, Ardashīr must have been an old man when he came to the throne, since he was only slightly younger than his half-brother Shabūr II, and he lived on into the next reign of Shābūr III (see below). Ardashīr had been a governor at Ḥajab in Adiabene for Shābūr II, and his depiction of himself in the Tāq-i Bustān rock reliefs, together with his brother, as subduers of a slain Roman emperor (possibly Julian; see R. Sellheim, "Ṭāq-i Bustān und Kaiser Julian (361–363)," 354–66), implies that he participated in Shābūr's wars with the Romans. Al-Ṭabarī's information that Ardashīr slaughtered many of the nobility points to his being a strong personality who continued Shābūr's policy of firm rule. Ardashīr's name appears on his coins as 'RTḤŠTR. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 59, 352–53, 435–36, XII, Table VIII; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 47, Table VII, Plate 7; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 104–105; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 235.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 659; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 183; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 189 = § 611; idem, *Tanbīh*, 100, trans. 144; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 48; Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, I, 397. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, trans. II, 102. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 254–55; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 141, 178; *EIr*, s.v. Ardašīr II (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

184. Shābūr III's reign was 383–88. As Nöldeke, trans., 70 n. 2, observed, the

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[Bahrām IV]

Then there assumed the royal power after him his brother Bahrām (IV).

[He was] the son of Sābūr (II) Dhū al-Aktāf, and had the title of Kirmān-Shāh, since his father Sābūr had made him governor of Kirmān during his own lifetime.[185] He wrote a letter to his army commanders urging them to obedience and adjuring them to fear God and to furnish sound advice to the king. At Kirmān he built a city. He governed his subjects in a commendable fashion and was praised for his rule. His reign lasted eleven years. A group of murderous evildoers rose up against him, and one of them killed him by shooting an arrow at him.[186]

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briefness of the reigns of Shābūr III and his two successors, as well as their violent ends, show that this was a "time of troubles" for the Sāsānid state, with enfeeblement of the crown and aggrandizement of the nobility. It was fortunate for the Persians that Rome was largely preoccupied with the Goths; the readjustments to the frontiers between Persian-protected Armenia and the smaller, Roman-protected part were achieved peacefully in the reigns of Shabūr III and Bahrām IV. Shābūr' s name appears on his coins as ŠḤPWḤRY. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 59–60, 3534–56, 437–40, Plate XII, Table IX; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 47–48, Table VII, Plate 8; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 106–107; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 235.

The other Arabic sources on Shābūr's reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 659; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 183 (his death under the collapsing tent); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 189 = § 611 (his wars against the Arabs of Iyād and other tribes; a confusion with the activities of Shābūr II?); idem, *Tanbīh*, 100, trans. 144; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 48; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 397–98. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 89. For recent studies on his reign, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 256–57, 259; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 141, 178.

185. It nevertheless seems more probable, as already noted by Nöldeke, trans. 71 n. 2, that Bahrām was a son of Shābūr III.

186. Bahrām IV's reign was 388–99. His name appears on his coins as WRḤR'N. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 60–61, 356–60, 440–43, Plates XII–XIII, Table X; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 48, Table VIII, Plate 8; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 108–11; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 235.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 659; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 183 (his pursuit of justice and good rule); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 51 (makes him the direct successor of his father Shabūr II) (*recte* III?); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 190 = § 612; idem, *Tanbīh*, 101, trans. 144; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 48 (a proud, harsh ruler, negligent of his subjects' welfare); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 398. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 90–91. Of modern studies on his reign, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 253–54, 269; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 142–43, 178; *EIr*, sv. Bahrām IV (O.

[Yazdajird I]

Then there assumed the royal power after him Yazdajird (I).[187]

He had the epithet of "The Sinful One" (*al-Athīm*),[188] and was the son of Bahrām (IV), who was called Kirmān-Shāh, son of Sābūr (II) Dhū al-Aktāf. Some of the scholars knowledgeable about the genealogies of the Persians say [on the other hand] that this Yazdajird the Sinful One was the brother of Bahrām, who had the title Kirmān-Shāh, and not his son, and they state that he was Yazdajird, son of Sābūr Dhū al-Aktāf. Among those who attribute this filiation to him and assert this, is Hishām b. Muḥammad (sc., Ibn al-Kalbī).[189]

According to what has been mentioned, he was rough and harsh and possessed many defects. One of the worst and most serious of these last, it is said, was that he did not use his keenness of intellect, his good education, and the wide-ranging varieties of knowledge he had thoroughly mastered in their proper place, and also his extensive delving into harmful things and his use of all the powers he possessed for deceiving people, using his sharpness, wiles, and
[848] trickery —all this together with his keen mind, which had a propensity toward evil-doing, and his intense enjoyment in employing these faculties of his. Also, he scoffed at and poured scorn upon other people's knowledge and cultural attainments, counting them as of no account, and he paraded at length before people his own achievements. In addition to all that, he was ill-natured, of

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Klíma). The name of the town Bahrām built (when he was governor?) survives today as the small town of Kirmānshāh to the south-southeast of Yazd (and perhaps survives also in the name of the better-known Kirmānshāh of western Persia, cf. Nöldeke, trans., 71 n. 3).

187. Literally, "made by a god," Yazdgird being a MP formation from *yazad* (< Avestan *yazata-*) and *kird* (< Old Persian *kṛta-*) (*yazata-* denotes the lesser deities of Zoroastrianism, below the supreme position of Ahura Mazdā), Greek Isdigerdēs. See Nöldeke, trans. 72 n. 3; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 148–49; Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, cols. 443–48, 1279–80; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 1047.

188. Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 49, and al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 103, give a Persian equivalent for *al-athīm al-mujrim*, which Nöldeke, trans. 72 n. 4, interpreted as *dabz* ("rough, harsh" = Arabic *ghalīẓ*) + *bazah* ("sin," whence *bazagar* "sinner").

189. The filiation is obviously confused here. Yazdagird I was the son of Shābūr III and thus the brother of Bahrām IV. See Nöldeke, trans. 73 n. 1; Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, genealogical table at p. 295.

bad morals, and of depraved propensities, to the point that his bad nature and violent temper made him consider minor lapses as great sins and and petty slips as enormities. As a result, no one, whatever close relationship he might have with him, ever dared to intercede on behalf of a person who had offended him in the slightest way. He was suspicious of people for the whole period of his life, and trusted no one in any thing whatever. He would never recompense anyone who had done a good service, but if he conferred the most exiguous benefit on a person, he made that out to be a great favor. If anyone was bold enough to speak to him over some matter which another person had already spoken to him about, he would say to him, "The person on whose behalf you have spoken to me, how much did he give you, or how much have you already received from him?"[190] Only delegations of envoys coming to him from the rulers of the various nations could speak with him on these things and similar topics. His subjects could only preserve themselves from his harshness and the affliction of his tyranny, and from the tout ensemble of his evil defects, by holding fast to the good customs of the rulers before his period of power and to their noble characters. They could only band together and help each other in the face of his reprehensible conduct and fear of his harshness. It was part of his policy that he should punish anyone guilty of an error in regard to him, or who had committed an offense against him, with such a severe penalty that the sum stipulated could never be gathered together by the offender in the space of three hundred years; and for the same reason, such a person would never be beaten with a number of lashes without expecting further punishment later on, which would be even more unpleasant. Whenever he received a report that one of his entourage had shown especial favor toward one of those dependent on him, or whom he had encouraged and patronized (*min ahl ṣinā'atihi*), or one of those of equal social standing (*[min ahl] ṭabaqatihi*), he sent him away from his service.[191]

190. A recognition, if evidence were necessary, of the antiquity in Persian life of the tradition of offering presents, *pīshkash*, in return for expected favors from a superior. See *EI*², s.vv. Hiba. iv. Persia (H. Busse), Pīshkash (A. K. S. Lambton).

191. The universally black picture of Yazdagird in the Islamic sources depending on the Persian historical tradition has been seen by modern scholars as the

When Yazdajird had achieved power, he had appointed as his
[849] vizier Narsī, the outstandingly wise man of his age; Narsī was perfect in manners and education, excellent in all his conduct, and the preeminent figure among the men of his time. They used to call him Mihr Narsī or Mihr Narsih, and he had the by-name of al-Hazārbandah.[192] The subjects hoped that his policies and his abilities would take away some of Yazdajird's [bad] characteristics and that Narsī would have a beneficial effect on him. But when Yazdajird became firmly established on his throne, his contempt for the

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reflection of a struggle between the king and such powerful and ambitious classes in the state as the nobility and the Zoroastrian priesthood. Nöldeke, trans. 74 n. 3, adduced as a counterbalance to this image, promulgated by aristocratic and clerical circles, the very favorable image of the king in contemporary Christian sources, and other faiths such as Judaism seem to have enjoyed more freedom during his time. According to one story (not, however, very probable), he married Shōshendukht, daughter of the Rēsh Gālūthā, the Jewish Exilarch; see Neusner, "Jews in Iran," 915. While Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 143–44, states that not all Christian sources are eulogistic, and there was some persecution toward the end of his reign, he does agree that Yazdagird was, in comparison with earlier emperors, tolerant toward minority faiths in Persia, even if this may have involved an element of *Realpolitik*, in that he sought the maintenance of peace and good relations with the Romans. One source optimistically states that Yazdagird was on the verge of becoming a Christian himself. Agathias calls Yazdagird "friendly and peaceable," a ruler who never once made war on the Romans; see Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," 126–27. Procopius likewise praises Yazdagird's peace policy and retails the colorful story that the Roman emperor Arcadius (r. 383–408) entrusted his young son, the future Theodosius II, to Yazdagird's guardianship. See *The Persian Wars*, I.ii.1–10; Garsoïan, "Byzantium and the Sasanians," 578–79; Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, 153–54. Also, it was during Yazdagird's reign, in 410, that the first synod of the Nestorian Church on Sāsānid territory was held, under the headship of the Catholicos Mār Isḥāq of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and a hierarchy of metropolitan bishoprics, headed by Seleucia-Ctesiphon, set up. See Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 87–109; Asmussen, "Christians in Iran," 939–40; *EI*², s.v. Sāsānids (M. J. Morony); *EIr*, s.v. Christianity. I. In Pre-Islamic Persia (J. R. Russell), at V, 525.

192. Literally, "having or commanding a thousand slaves," see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 128. Mihr Narsēh was from one of the noblest families in Persia, the Spendiyārs; for his genealogy, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 868–69, pp. 103–104 below. See on him Nöldeke, trans., 439, and Lukonin, "Political, Social and Adminstrative Institutions: Taxes and Trade," 704. That the emperor made him his chief minister immediately on his accession is improbable, as Nöldeke, trans. 76 n. 1, noted, seeing that Mihr Narsēh was active as a minister and field commander until forty years later in the reigns of Bahrām V and Yazdagird II; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 866, 868, 871, 872, pp. 99–100, 103, 106, 108 below.

nobles and great men of state grew intense, he bore down hard on the weak, shed copious amounts of blood, and exercised power in so tyrannical a manner as the subjects had never experienced in his time. When the prominent personages and the nobles perceived that Yazdajird was only rushing further into the paths of tyranny, they came together and complained [to God] about the oppression by Yazdajird from which they were suffering. They made humble supplications to their Lord and implored Him to send them a speedy deliverance from Yazdajird.

They assert that Yazdajird was in Jurjān.[193] One day, he looked out from his palace at a horse coming toward him, the like of whose fine appearance and perfection of form had never before been seen in a horse. It stopped at his gate. The people marveled at it because the beast was of an extraordinary nature. Yazdajird was told about it, and he then gave orders for it to be saddled and bridled. His grooms and the master of his stables all tried to do this but failed. Yazdajird was informed of the horse's refractoriness with them, so he went out personally to the spot where that horse was, placed a bridle on it with his own hand, threw a saddle blanket over its back and a saddle on top of it, secured the girth strap, and put a halter round its neck, without the horse moving an inch at any of this. Finally, he lifted its tail to fix the crupper, when the horse wheeled round behind him and struck him such a blow on the heart that he died from it. Subsequently, that horse [850] was never seen again. It is said that the horse galloped off at a great pace, without anyone being able to catch up with it, nor could anyone ascertain the reason for its behavior. The subjects were thus freed from him and exclaimed, "This is God's work and a manifestation of His beneficence to us."[194]

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193. That is, the region at the southeastern end of the Caspian Sea, Gurgān, OP Vṛkāna, classical Hyrcania. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 119–22; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 72–74; Le Strange, *Lands*, 376–78; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 88; *EI*², s.v. Gurgān (R. Hartmann-J. A. Boyle).

194. Following the reading of the Sprenger ms. given in Nöldeke's text, n. *a*, *khalaṣat al-ra'iyyah minhu*. The remarkable mode of Yazdagird's death is closely linked with the story in the Perso-Islamic sources concerning his evil ways, as being a fittingly mysterious end for such an impious tyrant. See Nöldeke, trans. 77 n. 1.

Some state that Yazdajird reigned for twenty-two years, five months, and sixteen days, others that he reigned for twenty-one years, five months, and eighteen days.[195]

[The History of al-Ḥīrah]

When 'Amr b. Imri' al-Qays al-Bad' b. 'Amr b. 'Adī died during the time of Sābūr, son of Sābūr,[196] the latter appointed to his office Aws b. Qal(l)ām, according to Hishām [Ibn al-Kalbī]; Aws was one of the Amalekites, from the tribe of 'Amr b. 'Amalīq (or 'Imlīq). But Jaḥjabā b. 'Atīk b. Lakhm rose up against him and killed him, Aws having reigned for five years.[197] His death fell in the time of Bahrām, son of Sābūr Dhū al-Aktāf. There was appointed to succeed him in the office Imru' al-Qays al-Bad',[198] the son of 'Amr b.

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195. Yazdagird I's reign was 399–420. His name appears on his coins as (L'MŠ-TRY) YZDKRTY, i.e., (Rāmshahr) Yazdagird. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 61–62, 360–62, 443–47, Plates XIII–XIV, Table XIII; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 48, Table VIII, Plate 9; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 112–15; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 235.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 659–60; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 183 (both sources on his evil ways and tyrannical rule); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 51–52 (his harsh rule and his sending his son Bahrām [V] to al-Ḥīrah for his education); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 190 = § 612; idem, *Tanbīh*, 101, trans. 144; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 49; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 398–401. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 127–28. For recent studies of his reign, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 269–73; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 143–44, 178; *EI*², s.v. Sāsānids (M. J. Morony).

196. Correctly, "during the time of Sābūr (II), great-grandson of Sābūr (I)." The father of 'Amr, Imru' al-Qays al-Bad', was the "King of the Arabs" of the Namārah inscription; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 834, p. 44 and n. 133 above.

197. The five years' rule of Aws b. Qal(l)am (fuller genealogy in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 87: . . . b. Buṭayn(ah) . . . b. Liḥyān al-'Amalīqī) forms the first interregnum of Lakhmid domination in al-Ḥīrah. Very little is known of Aws, whose reign must have fallen within the 380s or 390s if he died during Bahrām IV's reign, but he must have been a member of one of the leading Arab families of al-Ḥīrah. It was a descendant of his, the Christian bishop of the town, Jābir b. Sham'ūn, who lent the impoverished last Lakhmid king al-Nu'mān III b. al-Mundhir IV (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1016ff., pp. 339ff. below) eighty thousand dirhams so that he could live in a royal style (see Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[1], II, 26 = *Aghānī*[3], II, 115). If al-'Amalīqī did occur as a tribal *nisbah* among the ancient Arabs, it cannot of course have had any direct connection with the Old Testament Amalekites; cf. Nöldeke, trans. 78 n. 1.

198. That is, Imru' al-Qays (II), see Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 52, 55, 58, 65. As Nöldeke, 79 n. 1, observed, it is highly improbable that two Lakhmid rulers could both have had the cognomen *al-Bad'* "the first"; accordingly, we find in the text of

Imri' al-Qays [al-Bad'] (?) b. 'Amr, [who ruled for] twenty-five years; he died in the time of Yazdajird the Sinful one. The latter appointed in his stead his son al-Nu'mān b. Imri' al-Qays al-Bad' b. 'Amr b. Imri' al-Qays b. 'Amr b. 'Adī,[199] whose mother was Shaqīqah, daughter of Rabī'ah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān, [al-Nu'mān being], the rider of [the celebrated horse] Ḥalīmah and the builder of al-Khawarnaq.

The reason for his building al-Khawarnaq,[200] according to what has been mentioned, was that Yazdajird the Sinful One, the son of Bahrām the Kirmān-Shāh, son of Sābūr Dhū al-Aktāf, had [at that [851] time] no surviving son. Hence he made enquiries concerning a spot that was healthy and free from diseases and maladies. As a result, he was directed to the elevated region of al-Ḥīrah, and he sent his [subsequently born] son Bahrām Jūr to this al-Nu'mān, ordering the latter to build al-Khawarnaq as a residence for him. He made him reside there, and instructed him to send out Bahrām Jūr into the deserts of the Arabs. The actual builder of al-Khawarnaq was a man called Sinnimār.[201] When Sinnimār had completed its construction, people were amazed at its beauty and the perfection of its workmanship. Sinnimār, however, commented, "If I had believed that you (sc., al-Nu'mān) would pay me

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Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 87, the second occurrence of al-Bad' changed to (the meaningless in the context) al-Badan.

199. That is, al-Nu'mān (I), called al-A'war "the one-eyed" and al-Sā'iḥ "the wanderer, ascetic" (cf. regarding this last cognomen, p. 81 n. 217 below). See Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 52, 55, 56, 58, 65–68; *EI*², s.v. Lakhmids (Irfan Shahīd).

200. This famous palace of the Lakhmids would accordingly date from the first two decades of the fifth century. It lay just to the east of al-Ḥīrah, hence of the Islamic al-Najaf also, and was regarded by the early Arabs as one of the wonders of the world. The name is most probably of Iranian origin. F. C. Andreas suggested an etymology from **huwarna*, "having a fine roof," but Mr F. C. de Blois has pointed out to the present writer the great unlikelihood of this, given that there is no trace of a word **warna-* "roof" in Middle Persian. Al-Khawarnaq was used as a palace in early 'Abbāsid times, but later fell into ruins. Its site is visible today. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 401–403; Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 15–16; Le Strange, *Lands*, 75–76; Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 35, 103–106; *EI*², s.v. al-Khawarnaḳ (L. Massignon). The story that it was built specially for the prince Bahrām Gūr would be, according to Noldeke, 79 n. 3, a later suggestion.

201. Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 90, gives him the *nisbah* of *al-Rūmī*, "the Greek," and makes him the builder of a palace called Ṣinnīn (?). Sinnimār's being described as a *Rūmī* is a reflection of the Romans' reputation as architects and fine builders. Nothing is known of the historicity of Sinnimār; see Nöldeke, 80 n. 1.

the whole of my due and would have treated me as I deserve, I would have constructed a building which would have gone round with the sun, wherever it went in its course." The king then exclaimed, "So you could have built something more splendid than this, yet you didn't do it?" and he ordered him to be thrown down from the top of al-Khawarnaq.[202] It is in connection with this that Abū al-Ṭamaḥān al-Qaynī has recited:[203]

He paid a recompense to her and her lord, just as Sinnimār was paid a recompense—by Allāt and al-'Uzzā![204]—the recompense which must be paid by someone seeking release from an oath.

Salīṭ b. Sa'd has likewise said,[205]

Abū Ghaylān's sons recompensed him for his advanced age and his handsome behaviour just as Sinnimār was recompensed.

Also, Yazīd b. Iyās al-Naḥshalī has said,[206]

May God recompense Kammāl for his most evil action with the recompense of Sinnimār, one which is paid out in full!

'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Imri' al-Qays al-Kalbī also related poetry [with this reference].[207] It happened that he gave a present of some

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202. Hence "the reward of Sinnimār" became proverbial; see Rothstein, loc. cit.

203. Abū al-Ṭamaḥān Ḥanẓalah b. al-Sharqī was a *ṣu'lūk* or bandit poet of the *mukhaḍram*. See Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], XIII, 3–14, with this verse quoted at II, 145; Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, II, 318; *EI*[2] Suppl., s.v. Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān al-Ḳaynī (ed.).

204. That is, the two goddesses of the pre-Islamic Arabs of Ḥijāz, who with Manāt made up the so-called Daughters of Allāh, mentioned specifically in Qur'ān, LIII, 19–20. The shrine of Allāt was at al-Ṭā'if and that of al-'Uzzā at al-Nakhlah near Mecca. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām*, text in F. Klinke-Rosenberger, *Das Götzenbuch. Kitâb al-Aṣnâm des Ibn al-Kalbî*, 10–17, Ger. trans. 37–44, Eng. trans. N. A. Faris, *The Book of Idols*, 14–23; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 24, 29–45; T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, 111–20, 163–82; *EI*[1], s.v. al-'Uzzā (F. Buhl); *EI*[2], s.v. al-Lāt (Fahd).

205. The poet himself is obscure, but the verse is quoted in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], II, 145.

206. This poet is not traceable, but the Naḥshal were a subtribe of Dārim of Tamīm. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 60, 62, II, 8, 433.

207. The story of 'Abd al-'Uzzā and the Ghassānid king is given in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], loc. cit., with the first two verses of the following poem.

horses to al-Ḥārith b. Māriyah al-Ghassānī and went to him.[208] The horses delighted al-Ḥārith, as did 'Abd al-'Uzzā's own presence and conversation. The king had a son who had been put out for suckling among the Banū al-Ḥamīm b. 'Awf of the Banū 'Abd Wudd of Kalb.[209] A snake bit the son [and killed him], but the king imagined that they had fallen upon and murdered him. He said to 'Abd al-'Uzzā, "Bring these fellows to me!" 'Abd al-'Uzzā replied, "These are a free people, I have no superiority over them in lineage [852] or achievements [that I might compel them to come back with me]." The king threatened, "Either you bring them to me or else I shall do such-and-such [to you]!" He replied, "We expected something as a gift from you, but we are getting punishment from you instead!" He summoned his two sons Sharāḥīl and 'Abd al-Ḥārith, and sent the following verses with them to his people:

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208. The Ghassān were a section of the great tribal group of Asd or Azd. The tribe apparently migrated to west-central Arabia during the course of the fourth century, and the *Gs'n* are mentioned in a South Arabian inscription dated 470 of the Ḥimyarite era/A.D. 360–61 (on the correspondence of these eras, see n. 409 below) as located in western Najd at Sijah/Siyyan (roughly midway between Mecca and the modern al-Riyāḍ). Some of the Ghassān, though not necessarily all of them, migrated to the fringes of the Byzantine province of Arabia in the later fifth century, where they then assumed the role of frontier auxiliaries for the Byzantine emperors—a role corresponding to that of the Lakhmids for the Sāsānids on the other side of the Syrian Desert—under chiefs from the family of Jafnah. See Chr. Robin, "Le royaume ḥujride, dit «royaume de Kinda» entre Ḥimyar et Byzance," 693 and n. 101, 697 n. 118, who, because of the fact that not all members of the Banū Ghassān necessarily established themselves in Syria, would prefer to style the chiefs in Syria who were allies of Byzantium "Jafnids" (see n. 211 below), a point already made implicitly by Nöldeke in the title of his pioneer monograph on the family. See in general on the Jafnid/Ghassānid chiefs at this time, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 176,II, 31–33, 273; Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's*, 5ff.; Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, 89–91; idem, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 32–49, 61–72; *EI²*, s.v. Ghassānids (Shahîd).

The greatest of the Jafnid/Ghassānid princes, Abū Shamir al-Ḥārith b. Jabalah al-Aṣfar (r. 529–69) is here attributed to his mother, the famous Kindī princess Māriyah. According to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 217 = § 1079, al-Ḥārith, the son of Māriyah Dhāt al-Qurtayn bt. Arqam, was the third of the Jafnid/Ghassānid governors of Syria for the Byzantines. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Ḥārith b. Djabala (Irfan Shahîd).

209. This ancient custom of placing babies with foster mothers in the healthy environment of the desert is later seen in the infant Muḥammad the Prophet's being entrusted for suckling (*riḍā'*) to a woman of the Sa'd b. Bakr tribe of the Hawāzin groups outside Mecca. See F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 117, noting that such a custom goes back well before Muḥammad's time; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 33.

He has recompensed me—may God recompense him with the worst of His recompenses—just as Sinnimār, who was entirely innocent, was recompensed.
[It was] simply that he raised up the building over a period of twenty years long, lavishing on it repeatedly fired bricks and molten lead.
When [the king] saw that the building had reached a great height and had become like a lofty mountain with steep and difficult slopes,
It rendered him suspicious (or: he became suspicious of him) after a long period of time and after the people of East and West had shown abhorrence of him.
Sinnimār imagined that he would gain from him all sorts of joys of life and achieve a position of affection and close friendship with him.
But the king exclaimed, "Throw the barbarian (*al-'ilj*)[210] from the top of his own tower!" By God, this is one of the most remarkable affairs!
And, as you well know, I am guilty of no offense against Ibn Jafnah[211] that could make him swear an oath [to act] against Kalb (sc., the poet's own tribe).
He will certainly seek out the heart of their lands with his cavalrymen, but—may you avoid all curses![212]—become free of it by your far-traveling words!

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210. In its original meaning, *'ilj* means "coarse, strong, burly," but it was applied—obviously with a deprecatory meaning—by the Arabs to non-Arabs, and especially to the Aramaic-speakers of Iraq and to the Persians. The implicit contrast is with the spare, lean Arabs, devoid of any superfluous flesh through their harsh and frugal desert way of life; cf. n. 813 below, where 'Adī b. Zayd counsels the Lakhmid al-Nu'mān III to impress the emperor Hormizd IV by appearing before him as a lean, half-starved, battle-hardened desert warrior.

211. That is, the Jafnid/Ghassānid prince referred to in the poem, the name "Ibn Jafnah" going back to the eponymous founder of the line in its original Yemen home, Jafnah b. 'Amr Muzayqiyā b. 'Amīr. See al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 182, 217, III, 391 = §§ 1037, 1079, 1276; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 99; Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten*, 6.

212. *abayta 'l-la'na*, a common formula in addressing Arab chiefs and princes of the Jāhiliyyah, with the implication "may you not do anything which will merit your being cursed!" Used here, as Nöldeke notes, trans. 82 n. 5, with a contemptuous tinge to the wish. Numerous examples from early Arabic literature of its use are collected in M. Ullmann, *WbKAS*, II/2, 859–60.

Opposing what Ibn Jafnah has willed for himself are men who repel the perpetrator of evil from the tribe! [853]
Already the man Ḥārith sent before you[213] has launched an attack on us, but he has been left mortally wounded in the lungs (literally, "afflicted by consumption") on the reddish-colored hills.

Hishām has related: This al-Nu'mān had raided Syria many times and had brought down numerous calamities on its people, taking captives and plunder.[214] He was one of the most violent of kings in inflicting hurt on his enemies and one of the most effective in penetrating deeply into their lands. The king of Persia had given him two corps of troops, one called Dawsar—these being from Tanūkh—and the other one called al-Shahbā' ("the Brightly Gleaming Ones"), these being Persians.[215] These are the two

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213. One could also vocalize here *min qibalika* "on your authority."

214. Nöldeke, trans. 83 n. 3, thought that such attacks were not impossible, even within the period of general peace between Byzantium and Persia negotiated by Theodosius II and Shābūr III, but that it was more likely that a confusion has been made with the Lakhmid al-Nu'mān II (r. ca. 499–503), who was certainly active in the Byzantine-Persian warfare in Upper Mesopotamia toward the end of the fifth century. See Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 121–22.

215. The Arabic sources mention various groups on whom the Lakhmids relied for military backing. Since they were a family in al-Ḥīrah ruling over a population which was in large part an urban, sedentary one, with the 'Ibād different also from their rulers in their Christian faith, the Lakhmids had generally to rely on foreign or mercenary troops except when they could take advantage of tribal conflicts within Arabia and thus utilize as allies one of the tribal groups involved. As well as these two groups of the Dawsar and the Shahbā', supplied, according to al-Ṭabarī, by the Persian emperors, the sources mention other groups in Lakhmid service. These include the Waḍā'i' (sing *waḍī'ah*, "those set down, planted, *mawḍū'*," perhaps "garrison troops set down on the desert frontiers." or else "levied, stipulated according to an agreement," *waḍī'ah*); the Ṣanā'i' (sing. *ṣanī'ah*, "creatures [of the king], those attached to his service through royal favor and patronage"); the Rahā'in (sing. *rahīnah*, "pledges, hostages," taken from the nearby Arabian tribes); and others.

Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 134–38, discussed these various bodies of troops at length, and the discussion has been taken up more recently by M. J. Kister in his "Al-Ḥīra. Some Notes on Its Relations with Arabia," 165–68, who was able to use important additional information on the Lakhmids in the British Library ms. of Abū al-Baqā' Hibat Allāh al-Ḥillī's *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyyah fī akhbār al-mulūk al-asadiyyah* (since Kister wrote, available in the printed edition of Ṣāliḥ Mūsā Danādikah and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Khuraysāt).

The Dawsar(ah), says Abū al-Baqā', were an élite force of valiant and courageous

groups known as "the two tribes." He used to raid the land of Syria and the Arabs who did not recognize his authority, by means of these troops.

Hishām related: It has been mentioned to us—but God knows best [the truth of it]—that al-Nu'mān sat one spring day in his audience chamber at al-Khawarnaq and looked down at al-Najaf, with the gardens, date-palms, orchards, and canals adjoining it, on his western side, and down at the Euphrates on his eastern side, he being on the ridge of al-Najaf.[216] He was pleased with all the greenness, the flowers, and the water courses he could see, and exclaimed to his vizier and companion, "Have you ever seen the like of this view?" The vizier replied, "No; if only it were to last!" The king said, "What then endures?" He replied, "That which is with God in the next world." The king asked, "How can that be attained?" He replied, "By your abandoning this present world, by devoting yourself to God and by seeking that which is laid up with Him." So the king renounced his kingdom that very night; he put on coarse garments and left secretly in flight, without anybody knowing. The people came next morning, knowing nothing about

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cavalrymen. The Shahbā' were called al-Ashāhib (pl. of *ash'hab*, fem. *shahbā'*, literally, "white mingled with grey," often applied to armies because of the glint of their weapons and breastplates) because of their handsomeness and splendid appearance ("the shining ones") (but according to an alternative tradition, these were a detachment of Persians, the Waḍā'i'). A third group, according to this author, were the Malḥā' (fem. of *amlaḥ*, "greyish, ashen colored," thus called from their grey, iron cuirasses). See *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyyah*, 110, and cf. Kister, op. cit., 167, and Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 599–600. No source offers an etymology for the name Dawsar, but Nöldeke, trans. 83 n. 4, influenced by al-Ṭabarī's information that these were troops sent by the Persian monarch, saw clearly in it Persian *du sar* "having two heads," without being able to suggest any reason for this designation. One might speculate that the contingent had two component detachments, each with its own commander. Shahîd, in his *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 29 n. 26, cf. 30, has recently suggested a possible link with the Arabian tribe Dawsar, the modern Dawāsir, whose name is enshrined in that of the Wādī al-Dawāsir in southern Najd, see *EI*², s.v. al-Dawāsir (G. Rentz). The question remains unresolved.

216. Al-Najaf, in Islamic times known also as Mash'had 'Alī from its being the last resting place of the fourth caliph, lay on the edge of the desert some six miles to the west of where the early Islamic *miṣr* or military encampment of al-Kūfah was to arise; nothing, however, appears to be known of the pre-Islamic history of the place or whether this history was in any way separate from al-Ḥīrah. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 271–22; Le Strange, *Lands*, 76–78; Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 34–35; *EI*², s.v. al-Naǰaf (E. Honigmann-C. E. Bosworth).

what had happened to him; they came to his door, but received no permission to enter into his presence, as he normally gave. When they had waited for a considerable time without this permission to enter, they made enquiries about him, but could find no trace of him.[217]

Concerning this, 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī says:

Consider the example of the lord of al-Khawarnaq, when he looked out one day, and he had an [inward] vision of divine guidance. [854]
His position made him rejoice, and the great extent over which he ruled, the river [Euphrates] stretched out before him, and al-Sadīr.[218]
But his heart became troubled and he said, "What happiness can a king enjoy, when he is heading toward death?"
Then after prosperity, royal power, and ease of life, the graves have closed over them there.
Then they have become like shriveled leaves, which the east and west winds snatch away.[219]

Al-Nu'mān's reign, up to the point when he renounced the world and wandered the earth, was twenty-nine years and four months. Ibn al-Kalbī says that fifteen years of that fell within Yazdajird's time and fourteen years within that of Bahrām Jūr,[220]

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217. The theme of the ruler experiencing a revulsion from the world and suddenly renouncing it is a topos, but the Arabic sources do attribute ascetic tendencies to al-Nu'mān (whether ex post facto is unknown), whence his by-name of al-Sā'iḥ, "the wanderer," and he is said to have visited the Syrian pillar saint, Simeon Stylites, between 413 and 420. See Nöldeke, trans. 85 n. 1; Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 162–64; *EI*², s.v. Lakhmids (Shahîd).

218. Another famed palace of the Lakhmids, often mentioned in Arabic lore and linked with al-Khawarnaq. Some of the Arabic philologists sought a forced etymology for its name in *si dihlī(z)* "having three compartments, porticoes." See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 201–202; Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 15–16, 96; Le Strange, *Lands*, 75.

219. The complete poem is in 'Adī's *Dīwān*, 84–92, no. 16. Its atmosphere of world-weariness would lead one to place it among 'Adī's *ḥabsiyyāt*, poems composed when he was in the prison to which a credulous and ungrateful al-Nu'mān had consigned him.

220. Jūr, the Arabized form of Persian *gōr*, "wild ass," famed for its endurance and hardiness. The epithet would thus be parallel to that of al-Ḥimār given to the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II b. Muḥammad, and would be applied here to Bahrām for his heroic qualities. One could also take Bahrām-i Gōr as meaning "Bahrām of the wild asses," i.e., a hunter of those beasts. Popular romance con-

son of Yazdajird; but as for the Persian scholars knowledgeable about their historical accounts and affairs, they relate concerning this what I am [now] about to relate.

[Bahrām V Jūr]

[He was] the son of Yazdajird the Harsh One (*al-Khashin*), son of Bahrām (IV) Kirmān-Shāh, son of Sābūr Dhū al-Aktāf.

It is mentioned that his birth took place on Hurmuzd day in the month of Farwardīn at the seventh hour of the day.[221] At the instant of Bahrām's birth, his father Yazdajird summoned all the astrologers who were at his court and ordered them to cast his horoscope and to explain it in such a clear way that what was going to happen to him in the whole of his life would be indicated. They measured the height of the sun and observed the ascension of the stars. Then they informed Yazdajird that God would make Bahrām the heir to his father's royal power, that he would be suckled in a land not inhabited by the Persians, and that it was advisable that he should be brought up outside his own land. Yazdajird had it in mind that he should commit the child for suckling and rearing to one of the Romans or Arabs or other non-
[855] Persians who were at his court. It now seemed best to Yazdajird to choose the Arabs for rearing and bringing him up. Hence he sum-

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nects Bahrām's acquisition of the name with a hunting feat when he killed both a lion and a wild ass with a single arrow, see the story as given by al-Ṭabarī, I, 857, pp. 85–86 below, and n. 226 below; thus the etymology from *gōr* "wild ass" became hallowed in romance and story. Various other bases for the name have been proposed, including one from a supposed Sogdian royal title, *gula*, which the Indo-Europeanist Olaf Hansen thought occurred, e.g., in the name of the Hephthalite or "White Hun" ruler over northern India Mihrakula/Mihragula, r. ca. 515–44 (but of which there is actually no trace in Sogdian), and an Indian one (cf. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 109 n. 4). In our present state of knowledge, the traditional explanation seems most feasible.

221. That is, toward midday on the Persian New Year's Day; it is emphasised in the popular romantic legends surrounding Bahrām that he was born at this most auspicious and fortunate hour and date. Firdawsī's information that he was born in the eighth year of Yazdagird I's reign would make Bahrām fourteen or fifteen years old at his accession, but the statement in al-Ṭabarī, I, 863, p. 93 below, that Bahrām was twenty years old when he became king seems more historically correct.

moned al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān[222] and he committed to his charge the upbringing of Bahrām. He lavished on al-Mundhir signs of nobility and honour and gave him rule over the Arabs, and he bestowed on him two high ranks, one of them called Rām-abzūd-Yazdajird, meaning "Yazdajird's joy has increased,"[223] and the other called Mihisht, meaning "chiefest servant." He also singled him out for presents and robes of honor befitting his high rank, and he ordered al-Mundhir to take Bahrām to the land of the Arabs.

So al-Mundhir went with Bahrām to his dwelling place in the land of the Arabs. He selected for suckling him three women, daughters of the nobles, with healthy bodies, keen intelligence, and acceptable education: two of them from the Arab ladies and one Persian lady. He gave orders for them to be provided with all the clothing, carpets, food, drink, and other items they needed, and they then took turns in suckling him over a period of three years.

In the fourth year, he was weaned. When he was five, he said to al-Mundhir, "Bring me knowledgeable teachers, well trained in methods of instruction, who can teach me writing, archery, and knowledge of law (*fiqh*; or perhaps just "intellectual skills"). Al-Mundhir replied, "You are still young in years, and the time is not yet ripe for you to embark on education. Occupy yourself with the things young children concern themselves with until you reach an age ready for being educated and for being taught good behavior; then I will appoint teachers for everything in which you have sought instruction." But Bahrām told al-Mundhir, "By God, I am indeed young in years, but my intelligence is that of a man of adult judgment; whereas, you are old in years, yet your mind is that of a weak child. Do you not know, O man, that everything which is

222. This is al-Mundhir I (r. ca. 418–62), son of al-Nu'mān I (r. ca. 400–18), on whom see Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 52, 55, 58, 69–70; for al-Mundhir's role in Lakhmid-Persian relations and his share in the war of 421–22 between Bahrām and Byzantium, see Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 28–32.

223. This title was restored, with difficulty, by Nöldeke from the mss., see text, n. *b*. In his trans., 86 n. 1, he noted that one would expect *Rām-abzūd* (for *aβzūd*, *afzūd*) *ba-Yazdagird* and that this seems to be an isolated attestation of the epithet in the sources for Sāsānid history, leading him to wonder whether its form has arisen from a misunderstanding by the older Arab transmitters/authors.

[856] sought after prematurely is reached in its right time, that which is sought in its own time is reached at some other time, and that which is not sought at the right time (i.e., too late) is lost and not attained at all? I am the offspring of kings, and with God's permission, royal power will come to me. Now the most appropriate obligation for kings and the most important thing they should see is beneficial knowledge, for this last is an adornment for them and a pillar of their royal power; by means of it they become powerful. So busy yourself and procure quickly for me the teachers for whom I have asked you!"

The very moment that al-Mundhir heard these words of Bahrām's, he sent envoys to the king [of Persia's] court who would bring back to him a group of scholars of the Persians versed in law, instructors in archery and the equestrian arts, and teachers in writing and in all the share of attainments of those possessing a good education.[224] He furthermore assembled for Bahrām wise men from among those of the Persians and Romans and retellers of the stories of the Arabs. Bahrām thereupon gave them binding instructions, and he appointed specific times for the specialists in each sector of those skills in which they were to come to him, and he laid down a fixed period of time within which they had to communicate to him all their appropriate knowledge. Bahrām devoted his skills exclusively to learning everything that he had asked to be taught and to listening to the wise men and the transmitters of stories. He firmly comprehended everything he heard and quickly grasped everything he was taught with the minimum of tuition. It was found that after he had reached twelve years of age he had derived benefit from everything that had been taught him, had stored it all in his mind, and had surpassed his teachers and all the highly educated persons round him to such an extent that they acknowledged to him his superiority over themselves.[225]

Bahrām now expressed his gratitude to al-Mundhir and his

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224. The Cairo text has *khāṣṣat*^{an}, "and especially those knowledgeable about polite education," for Leiden's *ḥiṣṣati*.

225. Bahrām's education in both the Persian and the Arabic sciences and knightly virues is also described, in much less detail, in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 183; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 51–52; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 110–12.

teachers, and commanded the latter to return home. He now ordered the instructors in archery and the equestrian arts to be present with him, in order that he might acquire from them everything requisite for him to be trained in and to achieve mastery over. Then, [after having acquired these skills,] Bahrām sent for al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir and instructed him to make the Arabs come forward and bring their horses, both stallions and mares, with information on their pedigrees. Hence al-Nuʿmān instructed the Arabs to do that. When al-Mundhir was informed about Bahrām's intention of selecting a horse as his mount, he said to [857] Bahrām, "Don't require the Arabs to let their horses run forth [in competition with each other], but order each of them to pass in review his horse before you, and then take your pick, just as it pleases you, and tether the horse for your own use." Bahrām replied, "You have spoken well; but I am the most outstanding of men in rulership and nobility, and its is necessary that my mount should only be the very best of horses. The superiority of one horse over another can only be known by trial, and there can be no trial without a competitive race." Al-Mundhir approved of his words, and al-Nuʿmān ordered the Arabs to bring forward their horses. Bahrām and al-Mundhir rode out to the horses assembled for the race. The horses went off from [a place which was] two farsakhs [from the winning post]. A sorrel horse of al-Mundhir's outstripped all these horses and came in first, and then the rest of them came along in successive groups, of two or three horses following each other or coming in separately or coming right at the end. Al-Mundhir led that sorrel horse over to Bahrām with his own hand, saying, "May God bring you blessing by means of it!" Bahrām ordered the steed to be secured for him; his joy was great, and he gave thanks to al-Mundhir.

One day, Bahrām rode the sorrel horse, which al-Mundhir had given him as a mount, out hunting. He spotted a herd of wild asses, loosed an arrow at them, and rode towards them, but lo and behold, there was a lion that had seized one of the asses in the herd, and had gripped its back with its jaws in order to smash it and kill it! Bahrām shot an arrow into the lion's back; the arrow pierced through its body to its belly, and then to the wild ass's back and its navel, until it ended up in the ground, penetrating into it to about a third of its length, and was fluttering there for a

considerable time. All this took place in the presence of a group of Arabs and of Bahrām's guards and other persons. Bahrām gave orders for the episode of him, the lion, and the wild ass to be set down in picture form in one of his court chambers.[226]

Then Bahrām informed al-Mundhir that he was going to return to his father, so he set out to see the latter. But his father Yazdajird, because of his evil character, paid no attention to any of his children and merely took Bahrām as one of his servants, so that Bahrām suffered great hardship in this.[227] At that point, an em-
[858] bassy came to Yazdajird under a brother of the Roman Emperor, called Thiyādhūs (Theodosius), seeking a peace agreement and a truce in fighting for the emperor and the Romans.[228] Hence Bahrām asked Thiyādūs to speak with Yazdajird and to secure for Bahrām permission to return to al-Mundhir. So he returned to the land of the Arabs, where he devoted himself to a life of ease and enjoyment.

Bahrām's father Yazdajird died while Bahrām was away. A group of the great men of state and nobles came together and made an agreement among themselves not to raise to the throne any of Yazdajird's offspring because of his evil conduct. They said, "Yazdajird has not left any son capable of assuming the royal power except for Bahrām; but he has not yet governed any province [of the realm] by means of which his abilities may be tested and his capabilities thereby known. Nor has he had an education

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226. The tale of Bahrām's prowess in the chase—thus explaining his sobriquet "the Wild Ass," see n. 220 above—figures in or is echoed by various other sources. See, e.g., Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, I, 178; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 52; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 117–18; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 191 = § 613, referring for further details to his *Akhbār al-zamān* and his *Kitāb al-Awsaṭ* (both now lost, despite the existence of apocryphal works bearing these titles, see Ahmad M. H. Shboul, *Al-Mas'ūdī and His World. A Muslim Humanist and His Interest in Non-Muslims*, 72–73 and nn. 126–27; *EI*², s.v. al-Mas'ūdī [Ch. Pellat]). Hunting scenes depicting Bahrām, such as this adventure with the lion and wild ass, became favorite subjects for later Persian miniature painting. See *EIr*, s.v. Bahrām. vi. Bahrām V Gūr in Persian Legend and Literature (W. L. Hanaway).

227. Although this piece of information would seem to be just one more item with which to blacken Yazdagird's reputation, Nöldeke, trans. 90 n. 2, thought that there might conceivably have been some bad blood between father and son, with Bahrām's being sent to al-Ḥīrah as a sort of exile. This is, however, pure conjecture.

228. The name of the "brother of the Roman Emperor" is in fact that of the then emperor himself, Theodosius II (r. 408–50).

in Persian ways, but his education has been solely in Arab ways, so that his nature is like the Arabs' nature, seeing that he has grown up among them." The view of the great men of state and the nobles agreed with that of the mass of people (*'āmmah*) (i.e., of the military and landed classes below the topmost ranks of society): that the royal power should be diverted from Bahrām to a man from the family of Ardashīr, son of Bābak (i.e., a man from a collateral line of descent from the first Sāsānid emperor) called Kisrā, and without delay they raised this last to the royal power.[229]

The news of Yazdajird's death, and the leading men's raising of Kisrā to the throne, reached Bahrām at a time when he was out in the Arabian Desert. He sent for al-Mundhir and his son al-Nu'mān, plus a group of the chiefs of the Arabs, and said to them, "I feel sure that you will not deny my father's special favor (*khiṣṣīsā*) which you have enjoyed, O Arabs, and the beneficence and largesse he has showered upon you, while at the same time he has been harsh and savage against the Persians." He then passed on to them the information that had reached him announcing his father's death and the Persians' appointment of a king as a result of deliberations among themselves. Al-Mundhir replied, "Don't let that make you apprehensive; I will find some stratagem for dealing with the situation." Al-Mundhir therefore fitted out a force of ten thousand cavalrymen from the Arabs and sent them, under his son's command, against Ctesiphon and Bih-Ardashīr, the two royal cities.[230] He further ordered him to encamp near to them and to keep sending forward reconnaissance units against them. If [859] anyone were to make a move toward giving battle to him, he should fight him, and he should raid into the territory adjacent to

229. Before this happened, Shābūr, the eldest of Yazdagird's three sons, in fact hastened from Persian Armenia, where he had acted as king since the death of its Arsacid ruler in 414, to Ctesiphon in order to enforce his claim by seniority to the crown, but was killed at the capital by the nobles and priests, according to the Armenian writer Moses Khorenac'i. See Nöldeke, trans. 91 n. 4; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 274–75; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 144; *EIr*, s.v. Bahrām V (O. Klíma).

230. Presumably from the Dawsar, the Shahbā' and other units of the Lakhmid forces. The forces sent to the Sawād and to Bih Ardashīr near Ctesiphon in order to support Bahrām's bid for the throne may well have been numerous, but ten thousand looks like a suspiciously round number.

the two cities, take captives, adults and children; but he forbade him to shed blood. Al-Nuʿmān advanced until he encamped near to the two cities, sent out advanced reconnaisance units toward them, and made fighting with the Persians his chief task.

Then the great men of state and the nobles at the [Persian] court dispatched Juwānī,[231] the head of Yazdajird's chancery, to al-Mundhir, and they wrote letters to the latter informing him of what al-Nuʿmān was doing. When Juwānī reached al-Mundhir and read out the letter that had been written to him, al-Mundhir said, "Go and meet King Bahrām," and he provided him with someone who would conduct him to Bahrām. Juwānī went into Bahrām's presence, but the sight of Bahrām's handsomeness and splendid appearance reduced him to a state of alarm and, out of confusion, he forgot to prostrate himself before Bahrām. Bahrām realized at that moment that Juwānī had only omitted the prostration because he had been awe-stricken by his own outstandingly beautiful form.[232] Bahrām spoke to him and personally assured him of promises of favor. He sent him back to al-Mundhir, whom he told that he would give an answer to what he had written. Al-Mundhir said to Juwānī, "I have been thinking about the letter which you have brought to me. It was only King Bahrām who sent al-Nuʿmān to your region, since God has given him the royal power after his father and conferred [power] on him over you." When Juwānī heard al-Mundhir's words, and recalled to mind Bahrām's outstandingly beautiful form, which he had seen face to face, and the awe for Bahrām he had felt in his spirit, [he realized] that all those who

231. Thus in Nöldeke's text, but interpreted by him in his trans., 92 n. 1, as Juwānūyah, with the Persian hypocoristic ending *-ōy/ ūyah*, which the Arab philologists turned into *-wayhi*, and as probably being a contracted form of some compound name like Juwānmard or Juwānshīr. Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, 123.

232. This is the royal *xvarənah* of the Avesta, MP *xwarrah* or *farr(ah)*, NP *farr*, the divine aura of the ruler, one of the most enduring concepts in Persian national history, the "royal glory" that legitimized the authority of theocratic rulers and brought them success. See Marquart, "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erān," 667–69; Yarshater, "Iranian Common Beliefs and World View," 345–46, and the references at 345 n. 2; Almut Hintze, *Der Zamyād-Yašt. Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, 15–33, with further literature (the most up-to-date discussion of the term's etymology and meaning; she believes that it means "Glücksglanz").

had advised depriving Bahrām of his royal power were revealed as persons to be discounted and rejected in argument. He said to al-Mundhir, "I am not going to take back any reply.[233] But you yourself, if you see fit, go to the royal residence, so that the great men of state and the nobles who are there may gather round you and take counsel together about the matter. Bring forward good arguments, for they will oppose you in nothing which you advise."

Al-Mundhir then sent back Juwānī to those who had sent him in the first place. He made his preparations and went forth, just one day after Juwānī's departure, in company with Bahrām and at the head of thirty thousand cavalrymen, courageous and mighty [860] warriors, from amongst the Arabs, against the two cities of the [Persian] king. When they reached the two cities, he gave orders, and the people gathered together, with Bahrām seated on a golden throne (*minbar*) encrusted with jewels and al-Mundhir at his right hand. The great men of state and the nobles of the Persians spoke, and in their speech set out before al-Mundhir how harsh Bahrām's father had been and his evil conduct; how, through his perverted judgment, the land had been ruined; and how he had killed large numbers of people unjustly and had even slaughtered the people of his own land; and [they recounted] many other enormities. They mentioned that it was only because of these facts that they had taken counsel together and made an agreement to divert the royal power away from Yazdajird's offspring. They asked al-Mundhir not to force them to accept anything in regard to the royal power that they would dislike. Al-Mundhir fully comprehended all that they had pointed out regarding this matter, but he said to Bahrām, "It is more fitting that you, rather than me should answer the people."

Bahrām replied, "I cannot deny as false, O group of spokesmen, any part of the deeds for which you have accused Yazdajird of responsibility, because I am myself convinced of its truth. I have personally denounced him for his evil example and have avoided him, on account of his way of behavior and belief; hence I have unceasingly asked God graciously to bestow upon me the royal

233. Reading, with the Cairo text, *muḥīr*^{an} for the Leiden text's *mukhbir*^{an}.

power so that I might put right all that he has done wrong and repair what he has split asunder.[234] If I reign for just one year and have not fulfilled all the things I have enumerated to you, then I will freely and willingly renounce all claim to the throne. I call upon God, His angels, and the Chief Mōbadh to bear witness that I do this, and let the last named be the arbiter and judge between us. Moreover, despite what I have explained to you, I am ready to tell you that I am content to accept your appointing as king the person who can snatch the crown and the regalia from between two ravening lions with their cubs;[235] let such a person be king!"

When the people heard these words of Bahrām's and what he had, personally and from the heart, promised, they rejoiced at that, [861] their hopes were raised, and they said among themselves, "We cannot reject Bahrām's words. Seeing that, if we carry to its conclusion the decision to exclude Bahrām from the throne, we will thereby be thrown into fear of bringing about our own destruction, given the large numbers of Arabs he has brought to his aid and has summoned up. We shall, on the other hand, be able to test him in regard to what he has laid before us, promises which only confidence in his own strength, bravery, and boldness would have led him to make. If he is really as he has described himself, our decision can only be to hand over the royal power to him and to show him obedience and submsission. But if he perishes through weakness and impotence, we shall be guiltless of any part in his death and secure from any malevolence and trouble from him."

With this resolution, they dispersed. Bahrām came back again [on the next day] after he had originally spoken to them and sat down just has he had sat down the previous day. The persons who had previously opposed him were also there. He told them: "Either you agree to what I proposed to you yesterday or else you keep silent, humbling yourselves and giving obedience." The people answered: "We ourselves have made the choice of Kisrā to direct the affairs of state, and have only experienced good actions from

234. According to Nöldeke, trans. 94 n. 2, the Sprenger manuscript elaborates on this prayer: that Bahrām promises to lower the land tax, to increase the army's pay, and to give the nobles and great men still higher offices. Nöldeke thought that these express promises certainly belonged to the original source used here.

235. That is, alluding to the contest, described below, between himself and the rival contender for the throne, Khusraw.

him. Nevertheless, we are willing that the crown and regalia should be set down, as you have suggested, before two lions and that you and Kisrā should contend together for them; to whichever of you manages to snatch them from among the lions we will transfer the royal power."

Bahrām was agreeable to what they proposed, so the Chief Mōbadh, who was responsible for placing the crown on the head of every king who was invested with royal power,[236] brought in the crown and regalia, and he placed them at one side. Bisṭām the Iṣbahbadh[237] brought in two fierce, hungry lions with their cubs, and stationed one of them at the side of the place where the crown and regalia had been set down and the other opposite it, and released their chains. Bahrām said to Kisrā, "You have first go at the crown and regalia!" Kisrā responded, "It is more fitting that you should have the first attempt at getting them for yourself, because you are seeking the royal power by right of inheritance while I am an usurper in regard to it." Bahrām had nothing against his words [862] because of his confidence in his own bravery and strength. He took up a mace[238] and made toward the crown and regalia. The

236. Nöldeke, trans. 96 n. 1, noted that, among the Persian Arsacids and in Armenia, it was one of the leading nobles who had the hereditary right to crown the ruler.

237. The *Spāhbed* or "Army chief," Arabized as *Iṣbabadh*, whose title goes back to Achaemenid times, was the supreme military commander and war minister in the Sāsānid empire. In the first three centuries or so of the dynasty's rule, there was a single, supreme *Spāhbed*, but in the sixth century Khusraw Anūsharwān, fearing such a concentration of power in the hands of a single person, divided the office and appointed four *Spāhbed*s for each of the quarters of the realm. See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 306; Marquart, "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erān," 635–39; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 99, 104, 130–31, 370–71, 519–21; Eilers, "Iranisches Lehngut im arabischen Lexikon," 215; Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia*, 198; *EI*², s.v. Ispahbadh (C. E. Bosworth).

Bisṭām is the Arabized form of NP Bistahm, from the unattested OP *Vistaxma, with the parallel form Gustahm, literally, "wielding far-extending power." See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 371–72; *EIr*, s.v. Besṭām (W. Eilers). The *Spāhpat* named here as Bistahm or Bisṭām is apparently the Bisṭām, "*Iṣbahbadh* of the Sawād, who held the rank of Hazār-raft" (on which latter title, see Nöldeke, trans. 76 n. 2, and Justi, op. cit., 88, 128), who, according to al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 55, was one of the great men of state who had met together on Yazdagird's death to exclude any descendant of the deceased ruler from the succession in favor of the remote kinsman Khusraw (al-Ṭabarī, I, 858, p. 86 above, cf. also I, 993, p. 303 and n. 711 below).

238. The mace or club (Pers. *gurz*, here Arabized to *jurz*) appears in Persian lore

Chief Mōbadh said to him "What you have embarked upon puts you in mortal danger; this is all done freely and of your own accord, and none of the Persians has put the idea into your head. We are blameless before God of your [possible] self-destruction." Bahrām replied, "[Yes], you are absolved of all responsibility and have no burden of blame regarding it." Then he darted quickly toward the lions. When the Chief Mōbadh perceived Bahrām's vigor in confronting the lions, he cried out to him [again], saying, "Confess openly your sins and show repentance for them, then step forward, if you are completely determined on doing so." Bahrām confessed the sins he had committed[239] and advanced towards the two lions. One of them sprang towards him, but when it got near, Bahrām leapt with a single bound onto its back, squeezed the lion's flanks with his thighs so firmly that he threw the lion into distress, and he set about beating its head with the mace he had brought.

At that point, the other lion hurled itself at him, but he seized it by its two ears, rubbed them violently with both his hands, and kept on dashing its head against the head of the other lion on which he was riding until he had battered out their brains; then he killed them both by raining blows on their heads with the mace he had with him. This action he did before the eyes of Kisrā and all the persons assembled for the occasion.[240] After that, Bahrām took up for himself the crown and regalia. Kisrā was the first to call out to him, saying, "May God grant you long life, Bahrām, to whom all around are giving their ear and their obedience, and may He give you rule over the seven climes of the earth!"[241] At that, all

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and epic as the weapon par excellence of heroes. Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 49, describes Bahrām Gūr, after representations which he had seen, as seated on his throne with a mace in his hand.

239. A touch noted by Nöldeke, trans. 97 n. 1, as very characteristic of the Perso-Islamic transmission of this story.

240. The story of Bahrām's contest with the lions appears in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 183–84; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 191 = § 613; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 117–18. It became a favorite tale in the Islamic *adab* works; see, e.g., Ps.-al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-tāj fī akhlāq al-mulūk*, tr. Ch. Pellat, *Le livre de la couronne*, 182–84.

241. Here, *aqālīm*, sing. *iqlīm*, refers to the ancient Iranian idea of the seven *kishwars* or "regions of the earth" grouped round the central *kishwar*, the inhabited world, the region most favored by nature for human life and human development, the Avestan *x^w^aniratha-*, MP *khwanirah*; see C. Brunner, "Geographical

those present cried out, saying, "We submit to King Bahrām, we humble ourselves before him and are content to have him as king," and they sent up profuse prayers for him. The great men of state, the nobles, the provincial governors and the viziers came to al-Mundhir after that day, and besought him to speak with [863] Bahrām, asking forgiveness for their injurious conduct toward him, pardon, and overlooking of their faults. Al-Mundhir spoke to Bahrām regarding their request, and asked him to bestow now as benevolence all the personal animus he had [previously] borne against them. Bahrām satisfied al-Mundhir in what he had asked, and gave them hopes of future beneficence.[242]

Bahrām assumed the royal power when he was twenty years old. On the very same day, he ordered his subjects to celebrate a general holiday and festivities. After that, he sat in public audience for all the people for seven days continuously, giving them promises of his benevolent rule and enjoining upon them fear of God and obedience to Him. But when he had become king, Bahrām continuously devoted himself to pleasure, to the exclusion of everything else, until his subjects reproached him profusely for this conduct and the neighboring monarchs became desirous of conquering his land and seizing his kingdom.[243]

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and Administrative Divisions: Settlements and Economy," 747. The idea later took shape that the six lands surrounding Persia were those of India, China, the Turks, the Rūm, Africa, and the Arabs; see *EI*², s.v. Iḳlīm (A. Miquel).

242. Nöldeke, trans. 98 n. 1, held that Bahrām had succeeded to power against the desires of the nobility and priesthood, and was now in a position of strength vis-à-vis those two classes. In fact, this inital lack of support from the nobility probably placed Bahrām in a somewhat weak position, and explains his cooperation with the commanding figure in the state of Mihr Narsēh. The latter was known as an implacable foe of the Christians, and almost immediately on Bahrām's accession, the emperor ordered, or at least condoned, a savage persecution of the Persian Christians; several members of the Persian nobility suffered. It was reaction to the plight of refugees from the western frontier regions of Persia fleeing to Byzantine territory which led to the Perso-Byzantine war of 421–22, mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, I, 868, p. 103, and see n. 261 below. See Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 109; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 280–81; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 148; Asmussen, "Christians in Iran," 940–41.

243. Other sources, such as al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 184, and al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 56, describe Bahrām's excessive love of sport and diversion (*lahw*) and of hunting, until he was reproached for this by the great men of the kingdom, and ambitious neighboring rulers, like the king of the Turks, were emboldened to

The first ruler to set himself up as a rival to Bahrām in power was Khāqān, the king of the Turks, who attacked Bahrām with an army of 250,000 Turks.[244] News of Khāqān's approaching their land with a powerful force reached the Persians. It appeared to them a catastrophe and terrified them. A group of the Persian great men of state, known for their firm judgment and their solicitude

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attack Persia. Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 49, has a story about Bahrām's passion that people should enjoy themselves and busy themselves with music making, to the extent that he sent to the king of India a request for musicians (*mulhīn*). The king sent twelve thousand of these, whom Bahrām spread throughout his realm; this was the origin of the Zuṭṭ, i.e., gypsies. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 157–58 = § 582, states that Bahrām promoted musicians to a higher rank in society than previously.

244. The mention here of the Turks, with their grossly inflated army, is, as noted in n. 148 above, probably an anachronism, although there seem to have been Turks in the Eurasian steppelands by the fifth century, as was certainly the case in the sixth century when the first Turk empire, with its western and eastern wings, was constituted. See D. Sinor and S. G. Klyashtorny, "The Turk Empire," 332–35; Sinor, "The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk Empire," 285, 287; *EI*², s.v. Turks. I. History. 1. The Pre-Islamic Period (L. Bazin). The "Turks" mentioned here by al-Ṭabarī were, in Bahrām's time, quite likely the Kidarites or Chionites, successors to the Kushans in Bactria, i.e., the upper Oxus lands and what is now northern Afghanistan; the Sprenger manuscript speaks of a *marzbān-i Kūshān* who guarded the eastern frontiers of the Sāsānid kingdom, but "the land of the Kushans" was by now a generic term for all the lands in the east. See Nöldeke, trans. 99 n. 1, 102 n. 2; Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 83–84; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 142; A. D. H. Bivar, "The History of Eastern Iran," 211–14.

The rendering in Arabic, Khāqān, of the Turkish ruler's title corresponds to the oldest attestation of the title in Turkish, the Qaghan of the Tonyuquq inscription in Mongolia (ca. 720), and in the Orkhon inscriptions it has the meaning of "an independent ruler over a people or tribe," hence not only applicable to the Qaghans of the two empires of the Eastern and Western Turks but also, e.g., to the Chinese emperor, referred to as Tabghach Qaghan in both the Tonyuquq and the Kül Tigin inscriptions. In Byzantine Greek sources of this time it appears as *Chaganos* (Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. II. Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, 332–34). The title is undoubtedly an ancient one, clearly recognizable as a royal title of such Inner Asian peoples as the Juan-juan and the T'u-yü-hu (ca. A.D. 400) but possibly recognisable from Chinese transcriptions as a title of the much earlier Hsiung-nu, according to E. G., Pulleyblank, "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese. Part II," 260–62, and Doerfer, confirming the earlier opinion of Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 54. Its etymology must accordingly be lost in the obscurity surrounding these Inner Asian peoples known to us only as names from the Chinese sources. See the discussions in C. E. Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, "Al-Xwarazmī on the Peoples of Central Asia," 9; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Türkische Elemente*, II, 141–79 no. 1160; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, 611.

for the masses of the people, went into Bahrām's presence and told him, "O king, there has suddenly come upon you the calamitous appearance of the enemy, and this should be enough to rouse you from the pleasure and merrymaking in which you are sunk. So get ready to tackle it, lest we become afflicted by something which will entail revilement and shame for you." Bahrām merely replied, "God, our Lord, is powerful, and we are under His protection," and he only increased in his exclusive pursuit of pleasure and merry-making. But then he fitted out an expedition and proceeded to Azerbaijan, in order to worship at the fire temple there,[245] then to Armenia to seek game for hunting in its thickets and to enjoy himself on the way. He was accompanied by a group [864] of seven of the great men of state and the nobles plus three hundred mighty and courageous men from his personal guard. He left one of his brothers, called Narsī, to act as his governor over the kingdom.

When the people heard about Bahrām's expedition and his appointment of his brother as his deputy to govern the kingdom, they felt sure that this was an act of flight from his enemy and an act of abandonment of his kingdom. They took counsel together and resolved to send an embassy to Khāqān and to undertake that they would pay him tribute, out of fear that he would invade their land and would annihilate their own troops unless they showed themselves submissive to him by handing the money over. Khāqān heard about what the Persians had agreed upon, that they would submit and show themselves submissive to him, so he gave a guarantee of security for their land and ordered his army to hold back. Bahrām, however, had sent forward a spy to bring back to him information about Khāqān; the spy now returned and told him about Khāqān's doings and intentions. So Bahrām marched against him with the force accompanying him and fell on him by

245. This is the ancient, celebrated fire temple of Ādur-Gushnasp at Shīz, by or near Ganzak or Ganjak, the Greek Ganzaka, to the southeast of Lake Urmiya (to be distinguished from the Ganjah in Arrān, in Transcaucasia), in more recent times known as Takht-i Sulaymān. In the next century after this, Khusraw Anūsharwān transferred the fire to a site in the mountains of southern Azerbaijan less open to Byzantine attack. See on its location, V. Minorsky, "Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene," 97–101; also Nöldeke, trans. 100 n. 1; Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, 113–18, 128–31; *EI*², s.v. Shīz (J. Ruska and C. E. Bosworth).

night, killing Khāqān with his own hand and spreading slaughter among Khāqān's troops. Those who escaped being killed were put to flight and showed their backs. They left behind their encampment, their wives and children and their baggage. Bahrām exerted himself assiduously in hunting them down, killing them, gathering up the plunder he had seized from them and enslaving their women and children, and returned with his own army intact.[246]

Bahrām had seized Khāqān's crown and diadem and had conquered his country in the land of the Turks. He appointed a Warden of the Marches (*Marzbān*)[247] over these conquered territories, providing him with a silver throne. A group of people from the regions bordering on the land of the Turks that he had conquered came to Bahrām, submissive and offering him obedience, and they asked him to demarcate for them the boundary between his and their territories, which they would not then cross. So he duly delimited the frontier for them, and ordered the construction of a tall and slender tower (*manārah*); this is the tower which Fayrūz, son of Yazdajird (II) [later] gave orders for its [re]building, and it was erected in a forward position on [the frontier of] the land of the Turks. Bahrām also sent one of his military commanders to
[865] Transoxania in the land of the Turks and instructed him to fight the people there. So he made war on them and wrought great slaughter among them, until they promised submission to Bahrām and the payment of tribute.

Bahrām now went back to Azerbaijan and then to his residence

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246. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 56–57, gives details of Bahrām's itinerary as he marched to engage the "Turkish" army through Ṭabaristān and the Caspian coastlands to Gurgān, then across northern Khurāsān via Nasā to Marw. The battle then took place at Kushmayhan, a village in the Marw oasis (see on this village, Le Strange, *Lands*, 400; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, trans. 105). As Nöldeke commented, trans. 101 n. 2, there seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of this location for the battle, and Marquart equated this more or less exactly with the site of the battle between Wishtāsp and the Chionites in the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān* "Memorial of Zarēr," see his *Ērānšahr*, 51–52.

247. *Marzbān* "protector of the frontier," Arabized as *marz(u)bān*, is used in Sāsānid administrative and military terminology from the fourth century onward for the military governor of such frontier provinces as Upper Mesopotamia (the commander here being based on Niṣībīn), Bēth Aramāyē, and, as here, Khurāsān. See Nöldeke, trans. 102 n. 2; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 197–98; Eilers, "Iranisches Lehngut im arabischen Lexikon," 219; *EI*², s.v. Marzpān (J. H. Kramers-M. J. Morony).

in the Sawād [of Iraq]. He ordered that the rubies and other jewels in Khāqān's diadem should be hung up in the fire temple of Azerbaijan, and then he set off and came to the city of Ctesiphon. He took up his quarters in the administrative headquarters (*dār al-mamlakah*) there. He sent letters to his troops and provincial governors announcing how he had killed Khāqān and what he and the Persian army had accomplished. Then he appointed his brother Narsī governor of Khurāsān, instructed him to make his way thither and to establish his residence at Balkh, and ordered for him whatever he required.[248]

Toward the end of his life, Bahrām went to Māh for hunting there.[249] One day he rode out to the chase, fastened tenaciously onto a wild ass and pursued it closely. But he fell into a pit and sank into the mud at the bottom. When his mother heard of that accident, she hurried along to that pit, taking with her a large sum of money. She remained near the pit, and ordered that the money should be paid out to whoever might rescue Bahrām from the hole. They excavated a vast amount of earth and mud from the pit, until they had made a number of large mounds from this; but they were never able to find Bahrām's corpse.[230]

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248. Balkh lay in the heart of Bactria, the early Islamic Ṭukhāristān, and must at this time have been in the hands of a power like the Kushans or their epigoni; subsequently, it was a principal residence of the king of the northern Hephthalites. It is highly unlikely that any Sāsānid control could have been exerted at this time as far east as Balkh; Marw was probably the northeasternmost bastion of Persian power. See Nöldeke, trans. 103 n. 1.

249. The OP Māda-, i.e., Media or northwestern Persia, a name that survived into Islamic times as Māh, included in the toponyms Māh al-Baṣrah = Nihāwand, and Māh al-Kūfah = Dīnawar. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 190 and n. 2; *EI*², s.v. Māh al-Baṣra (M. J. Morony).

250. This story of Bahrām's end also appears, very cursorily in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 184, and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 190 = § 612, but in detail in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 58, who says that the story of Bahrām's death was still current in the area of Dāy-marj, the place where the king was swallowed up (this lay near Hamadhān and was later famous as the site of a battle in 584/1188 when the last Seljuq sultan of the East, Ṭoghrīl III, defeated the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir's forces; see Schwarz, *Iran*, 553). This whole region of Māh or Media was a favorite one of Bahrām's, and he is said to have had a splendid palace at Mādharūstān near Ḥulwān and a fortress near Hamadhān (Le Strange, *Lands*, 191, 195). Nöldeke, trans. 103 n. 3, thought that this tale of the manner of Bahrām's death originated in an attempt to provide an alternative explanation to his by-name Gūr/Jūr in the sense of "wild ass," i.e., one from *gōr* in the sense of "pit, grave."

It is mentioned that, when Bahrām returned to his realm from his expedition against the Turks, he addressed the people of his kingdom for several days continuously, urging them in his speech to maintain their obedience and informing them that his intention was to render circumstances easy for them and to bring them a good way of life; but if they should stray from the straight way of righteousness, they would suffer treatment from him more severe than what they had experienced under his father. The latter had begun his reign over them with lenience and equity; but then they, or at least some of them, had rejected that policy and not shown themselves submissive, as servants and slaves should in fact show themselves toward kings. This had impelled him into harsh policies: he had beaten people and had shed blood.

Bahrām's return journey from that expedition [against the
[866] Turks] was via the road to Azerbaijan; he presented to the fire temple at al-Shīz the rubies and jewels that were in Khāqān's diadem, a sword belonging to Khāqān encrusted with pearls and jewels, and many other precious adornments. He gave Khātūn, Khāqān's wife,[251] to the temple as a servant there.[252] He remitted to the people three years' land tax as a thank offering for the victory he had achieved in his expedition, and he divided up among the poor and destitute a great sum of money, and among the nobles and persons of meritorious behavior twenty million dirhams. He sent letters to the distant lands with news about his

251. In Orkhon Turkish, *qatun/khatun* denoted the wife of the Qaghan, borrowed into Mongolian as *qadun*, but later it tended to mean "noble woman" and, eventually, by Ottoman times, little more than "married lady, woman" in the form *kadin* (a relationship noted by Nöldeke, trans. 104 n. 2). It has traditionally been considered as a loan word from Sogdian *xwt'yn*, "wife of the lord or ruler," but from Paul Pelliot onward, doubts have been raised over this. Pulleyblank, "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese. Part II," 262–64, states that related forms are to be found among the Inner Asian Altaic people of the T'o-pa, successors of the Hsiung-nu in the early centuries A.D. G. Doerfer has pointed out the phonological difficulties in the transition Sogdian *khwatēn* > Old Turkish **khaghatun/qaghatun*. Instead, he posits an ultimate origin in the Inner Asian peoples of Turco-Mongolian stock known to us from Chinese sources, perhaps from as far back as the eastern Hsiung-nu. See *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Türkische Elemente*, II, 132–41 no. 1149; Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, 602–63.

252. That is, as a manifestation of contempt for the paganism of the captured queen; cf. Nöldeke, trans. 104 n. 3.

dealings with Khāqān, in which he mentioned how reports had reached him that Khāqān had invaded his lands, and how he had extolled and magnified God and had depended completely on Him, how he had marched against Khāqān with a guard of [only] seven men from the nobility and three hundred cavalrymen from the choicest warriors of his personal guard, via the Azerbaijan and Caucasus Mountains road until he had reached the deserts and wastes of Khwārazm, and how God had then tested him [in battle] with a most successful outcome. He further mentioned to them how much land tax he had remitted to them. His letter containing this information was an eloquent and penetrating one.

When Bahrām had first achieved the royal power, he had given orders that the arrears of the land tax from previous years (*al-baqāyā*) and for which the taxpayers were still liable, should be cancelled.[253] He had been informed that these arrears amounted to seventy million dirhams, but had nevertheless given orders that they were to be remitted. He also remitted one-third of the land tax for the year in which he had acceeded to power.[254]

It is said that, when Bahrām Jūr returned to Ctesiphon from his expedition against Khāqān the Turk, he appointed his brother Narsī as governor of Khurāsān and assigned him Balkh as his capital [there].[255] He appointed as his vizier Mihr Narsī, son of Burāzah,[256] made him one of his intimates and nominated him as Buzurjfarmadhār.[257] He then announced to him that he was going

253. In Arabic administrative literature of the fourth/tenth century, *al-baqāyā* "arrears of taxation from previous years" seems to be distinguished from *al-bāqī* "taxation of the current year still uncollected." See Bosworth, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art," 135.

254. If the report is authentic, this concession was presumably possible because of the great amount of plunder taken from the Turks; cf. Nöldeke, trans., 105 n. 5.

255. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 865, p. 97 and n. 248 above.

256. This paternal name is somewhat problematical. Nöldeke, trans. 106 n. 2, unconvincingly connected it with place names in Fārs. Justi, *Namenbuch*, 70, noted the Greek form Bōrazē for Hebrew Bigtā, the name of one of the seven eunuchs who served King Ahasuerus as chamberlains in Esther, i.10.

257. The *framadār* was originally, it appears, the steward of the royal household and then administrator of the royal estates, and finally, by Sāsānid times, the first civilian minister in the state. The extended title of *wuzurg* "great" *framadār* is characteristic of the later Sāsānid period, and this Mihr Narsēh (whose genealogy al-Ṭabarī subsequently traces back to pre-Sāsānid times (see I, 868–69, p. 104 below) appears as one of the first persons mentioned as holding the office. See

to the land of India in order to get information about conditions there and to find out by subtle means whether he could add part of the Indian lands to his own territory, in order that he might [867] thereby lighten some of the tax burden on his own subjects. He gave him (sc., Mihr Narsī) the necessary orders concerning all the matters relative to his apppointment as regent up to the time of his own return, and set off on the journey from his kingdom until he reached Indian territory, traveling in disguise. He remained there a considerable time, without any of the local people asking at all about him and his situation, except that they were favorably impressed by what they saw regarding him: his equestrian skill, his killing of wild beasts, his handsomeness, and the perfection of his form.

He continued thus until he heard that there was in one region of their land an elephant, which had made the roads unsafe for travelers and had killed a great number of people. He accordingly asked one of the local people to direct him toward the beast so that he might kill it. This intention came to the ears of the king; he summoned Bahrām and sent an envoy to accompany him, who was to go back to him with an account of Bahrām's actions. When Bahrām and the envoy came to the patch of dense jungle where the elephant was, the accompanying envoy shinned up a tree in order to see what Bahrām would do. Bahrām went forward to try and lure out the elephant, and shouted to it. The elephant came forth toward him, foaming with rage, trumpeting loudly and with a fearsome appearance. When it got near, Bahrām shot an arrow at it right between the eyes, in such a way that the arrow almost disappeared in the beast's head, and he showered arrows on it until he

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Christensen, *Sassanides*, 114–16, 136, 265–66, 519–26; V. J. Lukonin, "Political, Social and Administrative Institutions: Taxes and Trade," 737–38.

The *wuzurg framadār* has been seen by some scholars as a forerunner of the early Islamic vizier, the chief minister of the caliphs from 'Abbāsid times onward (for whose name, *wazīr*, some have sought a Persian etymology, see below, although more recent opinon favors an indigenous Arabic one—not that this philological question is particularly relevant anyway to the question of continuity in function and practice). See the discussion in D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'abbāside de 749 à 936 (132 à 324 de l'Hégire)*, I, 41–61; and for a reassertion of a Persian origin for the word, in MP *wizīr* (apparently attested, however, in the opinion of Mr F. C. de Blois, only as an abstract noun "decision, judgment"), see Eilers, "Iranisches Lehngut im arabischen Lexikon," 207.

reduced it to a sorry state. He then leaped upon it, seized it by the trunk and dragged it downward, which made the elephant sink down on its knees. He kept on stabbing it until he got the upper hand over it and was then able to cut off its head. He rolled it over on to its back and brought it forth to the roadside. The king's envoy was meanwhile watching all this.

When the envoy returned, he related the whole story of Bahrām's doings to the king. The king was full of wonder at Bahrām's strength and boldness, gave him rich presents and questioned him about himself and his background. Bahrām told him that he was one of the great men of the Persians, but had incurred the wrath of the king of Persia for a certain reason, hence had fled from him to the king of India's protection. Now that latter monarch had an enemy who had tried to deprive him of his kingdom and had marched against him with a large army. The king, Bahrām's patron, had become fearful of the enemy because of what he knew of this enemy's might and the fact that the latter demanded of him submission and payment of tribute. Bahrām's patron was on the point of acceeding to the enemy's demands, but [868] Bahrām dissuaded him from that, and guaranteed to him that the affair would be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The king's mind became tranquil and confident in Bahram's words, and Bahrām set out, prepared for war.

When the two armies encountered each other, Bahrām said to the Indian cavalrymen (*asāwirah*),[258] "Protect my rear," and then

258. This is the Arabic broken pl. formed from the sing. *aswār/uswār*, from MP *aswār*, "cavalryman," used specifically in Sāsānid times for the heavy, mailed cavalrymen who formed the backbone of the army. It seems originally to have denoted a high military rank, the chief of a military unit, but in Sāsānid times came to be applied to the cavalrymen in general. These *aswārān* were certainly ranked among what might be called the aristocracy and landed gentry of Persia, and in the fiscal reforms of Khusraw Anūsharwān they were one of the classes exempted from paying the poll tax on account of their great services to the state (thus enumerated by al-Ṭabarī, I, 962, p. 259 below, where *al-muqātilah* = *aswārān*; in his equivalent passge, al-Dīnawarī specifically has *asāwirah*, see n. 625 below). In the accounts of the battles of the Muslim Arabs with the armies of the last Sāsānids, e.g., in al-Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-buldān*, the *asāwirah* emerge as an élite of mounted archers. See Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, 171, and the detailed discussion in Widengren, "Recherches sur le feudalisme iranien," 170–76; and for later usage of the term *aswārī*, extending up to Mughal and British Indian times as *suwār*, Anglicised as sowar, see *EIr*, s.v. Asāwera (C. E. Bosworth).

he led an assault on the enemy. He began to strike their heads with blows that split the head down to the mouth; to strike another in midbody so that he cut him in half; to go up to an elephant and sever its trunk with his sword; and to sweep a rider off his saddle. The Indians are a people who are not very skillful in archery, and most of them fought on foot, not having horses; when, on the other hand, Bahrām shot an arrow at one of the enemy, the shaft penetrated right through him. When the enemy saw what was happening, they wheeled round and fled, without turning aside to do anything. Bahrām's patron seized as plunder everything in the enemy's camp, and returned home rejoicing and glad, in company with Bahrām. As a reward for Bahrām's efforts, the king bestowed on him his daughter in marriage and granted to him al-Daybul, Makrān, and the adjacent parts of Sind.[259] He wrote out for him an investiture patent for all this, had the grant to him confirmed before witnesses, and gave orders for those territories to

259. Daybul, the Arabized form of a possible original something like Dēwal, was the great port of Sind in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, and the first city of the province to be captured by the Arab commander Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī in 92/711–12. Moses Khorenac'i (later sixth century to early eighth century ?) mentions the district of *Dēpuhl, linking it, as here, with Makrān and Sind in general (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 45). It lay in the Indus delta region to the west of the river's then main channel, but its location is still a matter for conjecture since an identification with the archaeological site Bhanbore is by no means certain. See S. Qudratullah Fatimi, "The Twin Ports of Daybul. A Study in the Early Maritime History of Sind," 97–105; *EI*², s.v. Daybul (A. S. Bazmee Ansari).

Makrān is the coastal region of what is now Pakistani and Persian Baluchistan. Whether it embraced the region known from Sumerian and old Akkadian texts as Magan, in the OP inscriptions Maka (where it is described as a satrapy of Darius the Great), and also from Akkadian texts as Melukhkha, has called forth varying opinions. Recently, de Blois, on the evidence of the texts of two Elamite tablets from the so-called Persepolis fortification tablets, has argued that Maka denotes the region called in Middle Iranian, Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic sources, from the third century A.D. onward, Mazūn = 'Umān; see his "Maka and Mazūn." 160–67. Whatever the truth, Greek historians of the time of Alexander call Makrān Gedrosia; and the region appears in the Naqsh-i Rustam inscription of Kerdēr as *Mkwl'n*. Despite the reported pretensions of early Persian monarchs to control it, as here with Bahrām Gūr, Makrān probably remained always within the Indian rather than the Persian political and cultural sphere, in Bahrām's time under the influence of the Brahman kings of Sind. See *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, trans. 123, comm. 373; Marquart, op. cit., 33–34; Le Strange, *Lands*, 329–30; *EI*², s.v. Makrān (C. E. Bosworth).

be added to the Persian lands, with their land tax to be paid to Bahrām. Bahrām then returned [to his homeland] rejoicing.[260]

After this, Bahrām sent Mihr Narsī, son of Burāzah, on an expedition against the Roman lands, at the head of a force of forty thousand warriors. He ordered him to make for their supreme ruler (*'aẓīm*) and discuss with him the question of the tribute and other things, tasks that only a man of Mihr Narsī's caliber could undertake. Mihr Narsī then marched off with this army and matériel, and entered Constantinople. He played a notable role there, and the supreme ruler of the Romans made a truce with him. He returned homeward having achieved all that Bahrām had desired, and the latter heaped honors unceasingly on Mihr Narsī.[261]

His name was sometimes rendered in a "lightened" (*mukhaffaf*) form as just Narsī, and sometimes people would say Mihr Narsih.

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260. Naturally, there is no question of the historicity of these fabulous Indian adventures of Bahrām, which appear, however, in other Arabic sources such as Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 660–61 (detailed account, clearly based on the same source as al-Ṭabarī); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 191 = § 612 (describes Bahrām's secret mission to the court of King Shubrumah, probably to be identified with the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II, r. 376–415); Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 49 (very brief mention); and Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 122–25.

261. This is a cursory mention of the war with Byzantium that broke out in 421 shortly after Bahrām's accession. It ran counter to the general trend in Byzantine-Persian relations of the period, which had been one of peace since the treaty of 384 between Theodosius II and Shābūr III. It seems to have been provoked, on the one hand, by the violent persecution of Christians within the Persian lands that broke out at the beginning of the new reign (see n. 242 above), and, on the other hand, by Byzantine attempts to use Christian missionary activities in order to secure the allegiance of Arab tribes of the Syrian Desert fringes and by the Byzantines' sheltering of Christian converts from those fringes under Persian control.

The war was ended by a peace treaty in the following year. It promised religious freedom for Christians of Persia and for Zoroastrians in the Byzantine lands; each side was prohibited from accepting and sheltering Arab allies of the other side if these Arabs should rebel; and the Greeks were to pay an annual tribute, ostensibly for the defense of the pass at Darband against the barbarians beyond the Caucasus, but which contained no territorial changes to the boundary between the two powers. See J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (395 A.D. to 800 A.D.)*, I, 304–305; idem, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius to the Death of Justinian (A.D. 395 to A.D. 565)*, I, 4–5; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 118; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 281; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 145; Z. Rubin, "Diplomacy and War in the Relations between Byzantium and the Sassanids in the Fifth Century A.D.," 679–81; G. Greatrex, "The Two Fifth-Century Wars between Rome and Persia," 1–14.

[869] He was Mihr Narsī, son of Burāzah, son of Farrukhzādh, son of Khūrahbādh, son of Sīsfādh, son of Sīsanābrūh, son of Kay Ashak, son of Dāra, son of Dāra, son of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, son of Bishtāsb.[262] Mihr Narsī was held in high honor by all the kings of Persia because of his fine education and manners, the excellence of his judgment, and the contentedness and tractability of the masses of the people with him. He had, moreover, several sons, who approached him in worth and who fulfilled various offices for the monarchs that almost reached his own office [in rank and importance]. There were three of them who had reached an outstanding position. One was Zurwāndādh,[263] whom Mihr Narsī had intended for religion and the religious law. In this sphere he attained such a leading position that Bahrām Jūr appointed him Chief Hērbadh (Hirbadhān Hirbadh), a rank near to that of Chief Mōbadh. The second was called Mājusnas, who remained in charge of the department of the land tax all through the reign of Bahrām Jūr, the name of his rank in Persian being Wastrā'i'ūshān Sālār.[264] The third was called Kārd[ār], supreme commander of the army, the name of his rank in Persian being Rathāshtārān Sālār;[265] this is a rank higher than that of al-Iṣbahbadh and is near to that of al-Arjabadh.[266]

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262. Mihr Narseh's Arsacid descent, in fact linking the first Arsacids with a Darius of the Achaemenids and then with the legendary kings of early Persia (only detailed here and in the Sprenger ms.), shows that scions of the previous, fallen dynasty could nevertheless rise to high office under the Sāsānids; cf. n. 84 above.

263. Following here the version of this name preferred by Nöldeke from the Sprenger ms., set forth in his n. *e*, instead of the text's Zarāwandadh; the name Zurvandād is, in fact, attested, see Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 1091. The name would then mean "given by Zurvān," i.e., by the deification of time put forward by some heretical (?) Zoroastrian circles, erecting it into a guiding principle for the universe as the father of both Ahura Mazdā and Ahriman, hence above all gods and men. See R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, 236–47 (his chapter here being more manageable than his exhaustive work, *Zurvan, a Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford, 1955).

264. Following the form reconstructed by Nöldeke, in n. *g* for the text's *Rās.t.r.āī w.shān.s.lān*, i.e., *Wāstaryōshān-sālār*. The title would then be that of "head of [the class of] cultivators."

265. Following the form reconstructed by Nöldeke in n. *i* for the text's *As.ṭ.rān s.lān*, i.e., *Artēshtārān-sālār*. The title would then mean "head of [the class of] warrors." Cf. for this and the preceding note, Nöldeke, trans. 110 n. 4.

266. For the exalted title of *argabadh*, "commander of a fortress," see al-Ṭabarī, I, 815, p. 6 and n. 15 above.

Mihr Narsī's own title of rank was in Persian Buzurjfarmadhār, [870]
which means in Arabic "supreme vizier" (*wazīr al-wuzarā'*) or "supreme executive" (*ra'īs al-ru'asā'*). He is said to have come from a town (*qaryah*) called Abruwān[267] in the rural district of Dasht-i Bārīn[268] in the province of Ardashīr Khurrah. He had lofty buildings erected there and at Jirih, in the province of Sābūr, because of the contiguity of that and Dasht-i Bārīn, and he constructed there for himself a fire temple, which is said to be still in existence today,[269] with its fire still burning to this present moment. It is called Mihr Narsiyān. In the vicinity of Abruwān he founded four villages, with a fire temple in each one. He set up one of these for himself and called it Farāz-marā-āwar-khudāyā, meaning [in Arabic] "come to me, O my lord,"[270] with the aim of showing great veneration for the fire. The second one was meant for Zarāwandādh, and he called it Zarāwandādhān. The third was for Kārd[ār], and he called it Kārdādhān; and the last was for Mājushnas, and he called it Mājushnasfān.[271] He also laid out three gardens in this region: in one of them he planted twelve thousand date palms; in another, twelve thousand olive trees; and in [the third] garden, twelve thousand cypress trees. These villages, with [871]
the gardens and the fire temples, have remained continuously in the hands of his descendants, who are well known till today, and it has been mentioned that all these remain in the best possible condition at the present time.

It has been mentioned that, after he had finished with Khāqān and the King of the Romans, Bahrām proceeded to the land of the

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267. The text has *'b.r.wān*, but the form of this name is uncertain. It may possibly be the Artuwān of al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 258, in the list of the towns and districts of Sāsānid Persia attributed to Qubādh (I), son of Fayrūz, or the Arduwāl/Arduwān of Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 149, as a small town of southwestern Persia.

268. The "plain of Bārīn" was a district of southwestern Fārs whose urban center was in Islamic times Ghundijān. See Nöldeke, trans. 111 n. 4; Le Strange, *Lands*, 260, 268, 294; Schwarz, *Iran*, 68–70.

269. When "today" and "at the present time" were, is unfortunately not known.

270. With feminine forms in the Arabic: *iqbalī ilayya sayyidatī, nār*, "fire" being a feminine noun. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 111 n. 7.

271. These names of estates or places in *-ān* demonstrate connections with their founders or developers (the *-ān* being originally a genitive pl. ending) and were especially notable in Iraq during early Islamic times for the names of estates, canals, etc.; e.g., Go Masrūqān, Not Artashīrakān, Nahr Sūrān.

blacks, in the region of Yemen,[272] and fell upon them, wreaking great slaughter among them and taking large numbers of captives before returning to his kingdom. Then followed his death in the manner we have described. There are differing views on the length of his reign. Some say that it was eighteen years, ten months, and twenty days, others that it was twenty-three years, ten months, and twenty days.[273]

[Yazdajird II]

Then there succeeded to the royal power after him Yazdajird, son of Bahrām Jūr. When the crown had been placed on his head, the great men of state and the nobles (*ashrāf*) came into his presense, invoked blessings on his head, and congratulated him on his accession to the royal power. He replied to them in pleasant terms and mentioned his father, his virtues, how he had behaved toward the subjects, and how lengthy his sessions for them (sc., for hearing complaints and receiving petitions) had been. He told them that if they did not experience from him just what they had been used to experience from his father, they should not condemn him, for his periods of withdrawal from public gaze at court were only for some aspect of public good for the kingdom and to trick enemies. [He went on to say] that he had appointed Mihr Narsī, the son of Burāzah, his father's aide, as his vizier, that he would

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272. The *bilād al-sūdān* would be the regions of the Horn of Africa and East Africa adjacent to South Arabia, but the story that Bahrām penetrated to there is quite legendary, and may have been influenced by the Persian expeditions to Yemen in the later sixth century, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 948ff., pp. 239ff. below.

273. Bahrām V Gūr's reign was 420–38. His name appears on his coins as (R'MŠ-TRY) WRḤR'N, i.e., (Rāmshahr) Bahrām See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 62, 363–66, 447–48, Plates XIV–XV, Table XII; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 49, Table IX, Plate 9; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 116–18; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 235.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 661; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 183–84; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 56–58; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 190–93 = §§ 612–14; idem, *Tanbīh*, 101, trans. 144; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 49; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 401–406. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 118–26. Of modern studies of his reign in general, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 274–82; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 144–46, 178; *EI*², s.vv. Bahrām (Huart-H. Massé) and Sāsānids (M. J. Morony); *EIr*, s.vv. Bahrām V Gōr (O. Klíma), Bahrām V Gōr in Persian Legend and Literature (W. L. Hanaway).

behave with them in the best possible manner and would lay down for them the best of ways of conduct, and that he would unceasingly humble his enemies but continuously behave with mildness and benevolence to his subjects and his troops.[274]

Yazdajird had two sons, one called Hurmuz, who was ruler over Sijistān, and the other called Fayrūz. It was Hurmuz (II) who seized the royal power after his father Yazdajird's death. Fayrūz [872] fled from him and reached the land of the Hephthalites (*al-Hayāṭilah*).[275] He told their king the story of what had happened between him and his brother and that he had a better right to the throne than Hurmuz. He asked the king to provide him with an army with which he could combat Hurmuz and gain control of his father's kingdom, but the king of the Hephthalites refused to respond to his request until he received information that Hurmuz really was a tyrannical and unjust king. He said, "God is not pleased with injustice, and He does not let the works of those

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274. Christian sources nevertheless describe Yazdagird II as a savage persecutor of the Christians, both within his kingdom proper (with records of many martyrs in Mesopotamia) and also in Armenia, where his edict of 449 imposing Zoroastrianism on Armenia and Georgia provoking the revolt there, mentioned in n. 277 below. Jews also suffered when in 454–55 Yazdagird forbade the observance of their Sabbath, and later the Persian authorities are said to have closed all Jewish schools. See Nöldeke, trans. 114 n. 1; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 126–30; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 283–89; Lang, "Iran, Armenia and Georgia," 520–21; Neusner, "Jews in Iran," 915–16; Asmussen, "Christians in Iran," 942.

275. Hayāṭilah is the Arabic broken plural of Hayṭal, correctly *Habṭal. This last seems originally to have been a dynastic name, with forms of it appearing in, e.g., Byzantine sources (*Hephthalitai*) and Chinese ones (*Ye-tai-i li-to*), the Greek form corresponding to the Sogdian nominative pl. **Heβtalīt*; see W. B. Henning, "Neue Materialen zur Geschichte des Manichäismus," 17 n. 2. At the time of Fayrūz/Fīrūz's flight to the land beyond the eastern frontiers of the Sāsānid realm (i.e., in 457), the Kidarites were still ruling in Bactria and Gandhara, but were about to be replaced there, in the second half of the fifth century, by the Hephthalites (J. Harmatta places the Hephthalite attack on the Kidarite territories in Transoxania in 466). The Hephthalites did not apparently arrive in a sudden wave from the Inner Asian steppes, but had doubtless been infiltrating into Transoxania, Bactria, and the northern fringes of Khurāsān for some time. It was to these that the fugitive Fīrūz was able to appeal for the help that enabled him to gain his father's old throne. See Nöldeke, trans. 115 n. 2; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. I. Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*, 69–70; Sinor, "The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk Empire," 298–99; E. V. Zeimal, "The Kidarite Kingdom in Central Asia," 124–26; B. A. Litvinsky, "The Hephthalite Empire," 138–39.

committing it prosper; under the rule of an unjust king, a man cannot succeed properly in any enterprise or practice any trade successfully except by injustice and tyranny likewise." Then, after Fayrūz had made over al-Ṭālaqān to him, he provided Fayrūz with an army.[276] Fayrūz advanced with it and gave battle to his brother Hurmuz, killing him, scattering his forces, and seizing control of his kingdom.

The Romans had been dilatory in forwarding to Yazdajird, the son of Bahrām, the tribute they used to pay to his father. Hence Fayruz sent against them Mihr Narsī, the son of Burāzah, with an army and matériel such as Bahrām had originally sent against them for that purpose (sc., of exacting tribute), and Mihr Narsī secured the imposition of his master's will for him.[277]

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276. There was more than one Ṭālaqān in the eastern Persian lands and their fringes. See Nöldeke, trans. 116 n. 1; *EI*², s.v. Ṭālaḳān (C. E. Bosworth and J. R. Lee). The Ṭālaqān intended here is most likely the one in what was the later mediaeval Islamic province of Gūzgān, at a site now unknown but somewhere in the vicinity of modern Maymanah in northwestern Afghanistan. At the time of the Arab invasions of Bactria/Ṭukhāristān, it had a local (Iranian?) ruler of its own. Less likely to be the Ṭālaqān mentioned here is the one beyond Balkh and toward Badakhshān. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 6–8; Le Strange, *Lands*, 423; *EI*², art. cit., sections 1 and 3. The mention here of the cession of Ṭālaqān to the Hephthalites implies that the Sāsānid territories never extended as far as the Oxus.

277. This was the war launched by Yazdagird II in 439 soon after he had achieved the throne. It caught the Roman empire at a critical moment when its North African provinces had just been invaded by the Germanic Vandals and when the Huns from Inner Asia were pressing on the Balkans and eastern parts of the empire. As al-Ṭabarī implies in his mention of the arrears of tribute, there were financial reasons behind the outbreak of war, the Byzantines' refusal to contribute to the cost of defenses in the Caucasus to keep out barbarians pressing down from the north, as well as continuing disputes over the allegiance of Arab tribes in the Mesopotamian frontier region, which had caused the war with Yazdagird I twenty years previously (see n. 261 above). The war was terminated by the commander of Theodosius II's eastern army, the *Strategus Anatolicus*, coming to an agreement with Yazdagird, essentially on a basis of retaining the status quo, and with the additional proviso that neither side should erect new fortresses in the frontier zone between the two empires. See Nöldeke, trans. 116 n. 2; Stein, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, I, 291; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 146; Rubin, "Diplomacy and War in the Relations between Byzantium and the Sassanids in the Fifth Century AD," 681ff.; Greatrex, "The Two Fifth-Century Wars between Rome and Persia," 2–14.

In addition to this war against the Byzantines, Nöldeke notes, trans. 113 n. 4, that Yazdagird II was involved in several other wars during his reign, unmentioned by the Arabic sources but known from Greek, Armenian, and Syriac authors. The emperor suppressed with difficulty a revolt of the Christian princes of Armenia

According to some authorities, Yazdajird's period of royal power was eighteen years and four months, but according to others, seventeen years.[278]

[Fayrūz I]

Then there succeeded to the royal power Fayrūz,[279] son of Yazdajird (II), son of Bahrām Jūr, after he had killed his brother and three [other] members of his family. There was related to me a report going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad [in which] he said: Fayrūz prepared for war with the resources of Khurāsān and called upon the men of Ṭukhāristān and regions neighboring on it for support,[280] and marched against his brother Hurmuz, son of Yazdajird (II), who was at al-Rayy. Both Fayrūz and Hurmuz had a common mother, called Dīnak, who was at al-Madā'in governing that part of the kingdom adjacent to it. Fayrūz captured and im-

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(see n. 274 above), the battle of 451 between the Persians and Armenians leaving behind the memory of a host of slain Armenian martyrs whose deaths are commemorated by the Armenian Church to this day. Yazdagird also repelled an invasion of the Huns through the Caucasus that had penetrated to Darband and Shīrwān; and, most importantly, he engaged in strife with the Kidarites or their supplanters, defeating their king in a battle near Marw al-Rūdh. It was probably in the course of this last campaign on his eastern frontiers that Yazdagird subdued the local ruler of Ṣūl or Chōl in the vicinity of Gurgān (see on Ṣūl, al-Ṭabarī, I, 874, pp. 112–13 and n. 290 below) and founded there a town, Shahristān-i Yazdagird, whose exact location is unknown.

278. Yazdagird II's reign was 438–57. His name appears on his coins as (KDY) YZDKRTY, i.e., (Kay) Yazdagird. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 63, 366–67, 450–52, Plate XV, Table XIII: Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 49, Table IX, Plate 10; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 119–21; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 236.

The other Arabic sources on his reign are Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 661; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 184; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 58–59; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 193–94 = §§ 615–16; idem, *Tanbīh*, 101, tr. 144–45; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 49; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 407. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 127–28. Of modern studies of his reign in general, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 282–89; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 146–47, 178; *EI*², s.v. Sāsānids (M. J. Morony).

279. In Pahlavi, Pērōz, NP Pērōz/Fīrūz, literally, "successful, victorious." See Nöldeke, trans. 117 n. 3; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 247–51; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 759.

280. That is, the Kidarites or Hephthalites of Bactria.

prisoned his brother.[281] He displayed just rule and praiseworthy
[873] conduct, and showed piety.[282] During his time, there was a seven-year-long famine, but he arranged things very competently: he divided out the monies in the public treasury, refrained from levying taxation, and governed his people to such good effect that only one person died through want in all those years.

He then marched against a people called the Hephthalites, who had taken over Ṭukhāristān. At the outset of his reign, he had strengthened their power, because they had helped him against his brother (sc., Hurmuz).[283] They allegedly practiced sodomy, hence Fayrūz did not deem it permissible (or: it was not deemed permissible) to leave the land in their hands.[284] He attacked the Hephthalites, but they killed him in battle, together with four of his sons and four of his brothers, all of whom bore the title of king. The Hephthalites conquered the whole of Khurāsān, until there rose up against them a man of Fārs, from the people of Shīrāz,

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281. The Arabic sources on the civil war include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 661; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 184; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 58–59 (the most detailed account); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 195 = § 617; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 408. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 127–28.

282. *kāna yatadayyanu*, reflecting the fact that, in the civil warfare between the two brothers, Fīrūz had the support of the Zoroastrian priesthood. Subsequently in his reign, he enforced harsh measures against the Christians and Jews of the empire. See Nöldeke, trans. 118 n. 4; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 130; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 290–92. Reflecting the state of affairs in the middle of the fifth century, i.e., at this time, al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 193, trans. 147–48, places the Chief Mōbadh at the head of the social hierarchy in the state, just below the king himself. See Christensen, op. cit., 265, 290.

283. At the time of his first war with the powers of the eastern lands, Fīrūz's enemies there were probably still the Kidarites, who controled Balkh, as they were likewise the Persian ruler's foes in his second war of 467, in the opinion of Zeimal, "The Kidarite Kingdom in Central Asia," 125–26, and see n. 275 above. It would thus have been natural for Fīrūz to have sought aid from the Kidarites' enemies, soon to replace them as the dominant power in Transoxania and Bactria, the Hephthalites, and equally natural that he should fall out with his erstwhile allies once the formidable power of the Hephthalites was firmly established just across his eastern frontiers.

284. This accusation laid against the Hephthalites is also in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 403, cf. Nöldeke, trans. 120 n. 1. In the Shu'ūbiyyah controversies of the third/ninth century within the Islamic caliphate, the Arabs asserted that it was the Persians, and especially the Khurāsānians, who had brought the vice into the central lands of the caliphate.

among whom he was a chief, called Sūkhrā.[285] Sūkhrā went forth with a band of followers, like a volunteer fighter and one seeking a heavenly reward for his action, until he encountered the ruler of the Hephthalites and expelled him from the land of Khurāsān. The two sides now disengaged and made peace; all those members of Fayrūz's army who had not by then perished and had been made captive—men, women and children—were repatriated. Fayrūz had reigned for seven years.[286]

Another purveyor of historical traditions other than Hishām[287] has stated that Fayrūz was a man of limited capability, generally unsuccessful in his undertakings, who brought down evil and misfortune on his subjects, and the greater part of his sayings and the actions he undertook brought down injury and calamity upon both himself and the people of his realm. During his reign, a great famine came over the land for seven years continuously. Streams, qanāts, and springs dried up; trees and reed beds became dessicated; the major part of all tillage and thickets of vegetation were reduced to dust in the plains and the mountains of his land alike,

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285. The form of the name is uncertain, but it appears to have been a family name rather than one of an individual; at all events, Sūkhrā clearly represented a powerful family of the Shīrāz region. In al-Ṭabarī, I, 877–78, 880, pp. 116–18, 120 below, and see n. 298, he is linked with the great family of Qārin and his genealogy given back to legendary Iranian times. See Nöldeke, trans. 120 n. 3.

286. There were actually three wars of Fīrūz with the powers of the East; in the first two he made no headway, while the third campaign ended in the supreme disaster of his death. In the first campaign, Fīrūz may have been taken prisoner and later released in exchange for a ransom, paid in part by the Byzantines, on the evidence of the history attributed to Joshua Stylites, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, tr. W. Wright, 8. He was certainly captured at the end of the second campaign, and his son Qubādh/Kawādh, the future king, had to spend two years in the East as a hostage until sufficient ransom money could finally be raised. The third and last campaign was undoubtedly against the Hephthalites proper, who had by now overrun Transoxania and Bactria and were pressing southward over the Hindu Kush into northern India, where there were to appear in Indian chronicles as the "White Huns." See Litvinsky, "The Hephthalite Empire," 138–39. Al-Ṭabarī, or his source, was not able to distinguish these three campaigns, but conflated them into one calamitous war that destroyed the Persian king himself and left his country tributary to the Hephthalites for several years.

287. According to Nöldeke, trans 121 n. 1, this new authority for Fīrūz's reign is Ibn al-Muqaffa', who is indeed cited in Ibn Qutaybah's *'Uyūn al-akhbār* as "the author of the *Kitāb siyar al-'Ajam*" for Fīrūz's débâcle with the Hephthalite king Akhshunwār, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 874ff., pp. 113ff. below.

bringing about the deaths there of birds and wild beasts; cattle and horses grew so hungry that they could hardly draw any loads; and the water in the Tigris became very sparse. Dearth, hunger, hardship, and various calamities became general for the people of his
[874] land. He accordingly wrote to all his subjects, informing them that the land and capitation taxes were suspended, and extraordinary levies (*nā'ibah*)[288] and corvées (*sukhrah*) were abolished, and that he had given them complete control over their own affairs, commending them to take all possible measures in finding food and sustenance to keep them going. He wrote further to them that anyone who had a subterranean food store (*maṭmūrah*), a granary, foodstuffs, or anything that could provide nourishment for the people and enable them to assist each other, should release these supplies, and that no one should appropriate such things exclusively for himself. Furthermore, rich and poor, noble and mean, should share equally and aid each other. He also told them that if he received news that a single individual had died of hunger, he would retaliate upon the people of that town, village, or place where the death from starvation had occurred, and inflict exemplary punishment on them.

In this way, Fayrūz ordered the affairs of his subjects during that period of dearth and hunger so adroitly that no one perished of starvation except for one man from the rural district of Ardashīr Khurrah, called Dīh. The great men of Persia, all the inhabitants of Ardashīr Khurrah and Fayrūz himself considered that as something terrible. Fayrūz implored his Lord to bestow His mercy on him and his subjects and to send down His rain (or, assistance, *ghayth*) upon them. So God aided him by causing it to rain. Fayrūz's land once more had a profusion of water, just as it had had previously, and the trees were restored to a flourishing state.[289]

Fayrūz now gave orders for a town to be built near al-Rayy and called it Rām Fayrūz; another town between Jurjān and the Gate of

288. See for this meaning, *Glossarium*, p. DXXXIII.

289. Fīrūz employs here what would have been called, in an Arabian context, *istisqā'*, "offering up pleas, prayers [to God] for rain," and this is in fact the very term used here by al-Dīnawarī, al-*Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 59, in his account of Fīrūz's measures to relieve the famine and dearth and to restore fertility. See *EI*², s.v. Istisḳā' (T. Fahd and P. N. Boratav).

Ṣūl and called it Rūshan Fayrūz; and a third one in the region of Azerbaijan, which he named Shahrām Fayrūz.[290]

When Fayrūz's land had revived and his kingly rule there was firmly established, when he had inflicted condign violence on his enemies and subdued them, and when he had completed the building of these three towns, he set off with his army for Khurāsān, with the aim of making war on Akhshunwār, king of the Hephthalites.[291] When news of this reached Akhshunwār, he

290. Fīrūz's building activities are also recorded by al-Dīnawarī, al-*Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 59–60, and Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 50 (in the latter source, as far as Hind!). Rām Fīrūz is mentioned by the Arabic geographers, but they are uncertain whether it was the predecessor of the mediaeval Islamic city of Rhagae/Rayy or a town near it, as al-Ṭabarī states here. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 283; Schwarz, *Iran*, 744–45. The "Gate of Ṣūl" guarded the ancient corridor for peoples from the steppe passing via Dihistān and Gurgān on to the Persian plateau. The Ṣūl in question is possibly the Ṣūl or Chūl known as a family or tribal name; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 51, 73, connected it with Turkish *chöl*, "steppe, desert," regarded skeptically by Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia. III. A History of the Turkmen People*, 87–88. Von Gutschmid, however, in his "Bemerkungen zu Tabari's Sasanidengeschichte," 736, preferred to connect Ṣūl with the Qaghan of the Western Turks known in Chinese sources as Su-lu and the Arabic ones as Abū Muzāḥim, r. 717–38. De Blois adduces the MP name for "Sogdian," *sūlīg* (*sughdī* > *sughlī* > *sūlī*). Whatever the origin of this name, the local rulers of Ṣūl are certainly described as "Turks" at the time of the first Arab probes into Gurgān and Dihistān, i.e., in the mid-first/seventh century; see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 335–36. But the family of these rulers must gradually have bcome Islamized and integrated into Perso-Islamic life and culture. A Ṣūl [Er-] Tigin was a leading commander under the caliphs al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq in the first half of the third/ninth century (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1194, 1313), and the family produced several scholars and *adīb*s in Arabic, most notably Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣulī (d. 335/947) (see *EI*², s.v. al-Ṣūlī [S. Leder]).

The Sāsānids constructed walls across the coastal plain of Gurgān between the Caspian and the inland Elburz mountain chain to keep out the barbarians, including Fīrūz himself (al-Ṭabarī, I, 895, p. 152 below) and Khusraw Anūsharwān (Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-a'laq al-nafīsah*, 150, tr. 173). Rūshan Fīrūz seems, however, to be the wrong appellation for Fīrūz's foundation in Gurgān, since certain other sources place this in the district of Kaskar on the lower Tigris (see Nöldeke, trans., 123 n. 2). Later, at I, 894–95, pp. 150–52 below, al-Ṭabarī mentions Khusraw Anūsharwān's stone defenses in the regions of the Ṣūl and the Alan region of the Caucasus, his quelling of the Ṣūl people and his settling them at the (already existing?) Shahrām (= Shahr Rām) Fīrūz. This last is most likely the correct name for Fīrūz's foundation in Gurgān, especially as there seem to be no other mentions, apart from the one here of a Shahr Rām Fīrūz in Azerbaijan. See Nöldeke, trans. 123 nn. 1–3.

291. It is not immediately obvious whether this is a personal name or a title; the *Khushnawāz* of Firdawsī and other Persian sources looks like an attempt to mold this into an intelligible Persian name. Nöldeke, trans. 123 n. 4, connected the name Akhshunwār with the Kougchas, king of the Kidarites in ca. 485, mentioned

[875] was stricken with terror. It is mentioned that one of Akhshunwār's retainers offered up his life for him and told him, "Cut off my hands and feet and hurl me down in Fayrūz's way; but look after my children and family." He intended by this, so it has been mentioned, to trick Fayrūz. Akhshunwār did this to the man, and threw him down in Fayrūz's way. When Fayrūz passed by him, he was distressed at the man's state, and asked him what had happened to him. The man informed him that Akhshunwār had done that to him because he had told Akhshunwār that he would be unable to stand up against the Persian troops. Fayrūz accordingly felt pity and compassion for him, and ordered him to be carried with him. The man told Fayrūz, by way of advice, so it is alleged, that he would show him and his followers a short cut, which no one had ever previously used, to get to the king of the Hephthalites. Fayrūz was taken in by this trickery, and he and his troops set off along the route the mutilated man had told him about. They kept on floundering through one desert after another, and whenever they complained of thirst, the man would tell them that they were near to water and had almost crossed the desert. Finally, when the man had brought them to a place where, he knew, they could neither go forward nor back, he revealed to them what he had done. Fayrūz's retainers said to him, "We warned you about this man, O King, but you would not be warned. Now we can only go forward until we encounter the enemy, whatever the circumstances may be." So they pressed ever onward; thirst killed the greater part of them, and Fayrūz went on with the survivors against the enemy. When they contemplated the state to which they had been reduced, they appealed to Akhshunwār for a peace

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by the Byzantine historian Priscus (see on this Greek rendering, Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 165–66), and this was followed up by Ghirshman, who adduced a coin of Fīrūz's with the counterstamp of a ruler called Akūn, which he connected with Kougchas; see his *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 87–88. The name looks like a distinctly Iranian one, and certainly not a Turkish one, and Henning put forward the view that it was a title, which should be read as *'.kh.sh.n.dār* = Sogdian *'xš'wnd'r* "power holder"; see his "Neue Materialen zur Geschichte des Manichäismus," 17 n. 2. Widengren, however, saw no need to amend the *w* of the ending of the name, and suggested that it represents Sogdian *'xš'wnw'r* "power bearer"; see his "Xosrau Anōšurvān, les Hephtalites et les peuples turcs. Etude préliminaire des sources," 75 n. 1.

agreement, on the basis that he would allow them freely to return [876]
to their homeland, while Fayrūz would promise Akhshunwār, with an oath and an agreement sworn before God, that he would never in the future mount raids against him, covet his territories, or send against him an army to make war on them. Fayrūz further undertook to establish a boundary between the two kingdoms, which he would not cross. Akhshunwār was content with these promises. Fayrūz wrote for him a document, properly sealed and with his obligations guaranteed by professonal witnesses. Akhshunwār then allowed him to depart, and he returned home.

However, once Fayrūz arrived back in his kingdom, overweening pride and uncontrollable rashness led him to renew the war with Akhshunwār. He led an attack on Akhshunwār, despite the advice of his viziers and his close advisers against this, since it involved breaking the agreement; but he rejected their words and would only persist in following his own judgment.[292] Among those who counseled against this course of action was a man called Muzdbuwadh (?) who was especially close to Fayrūz and whose opinion Fayrūz used to seek out. When Muzdbuwadh perceived Fayrūz's firm determination, he set down what had passed between him and the king in a document, which he asked Fayrūz to seal.[293]

Fayrūz now set off on his expedition toward Akhshunwār's territory. Akhshunwār had dug a great trench (*khandaq*) between his own and Fayrūz's territory. When Fayrūz came to this, he threw bridges across it and set up on them banners which would be guiding markers for him and his troops on the way back home, and then crossed over to confront the enemy. When Akhshunwār came up to their encampment, he publicly adduced before Fayrūz the document with the agreement he had written for Akhshunwār, and warned him about his oath and his undertaking; but Fayrūz rejected this and only persisted in his contentiousness and

292. The narrative emphasizes Fīrūz's personal responsibility, as the breaker of his oath, for the ensuing catastrophe; but as Nöldeke skeptically observes, if Fīrūz had been victorious, all mention of his oath-breaking would have been tossed aside!

293. That is, so that the record should be clear, that he had opposed Fīrūz's planned attack and was thus in no way responsible for the consequences.

squaring up to his opponent. Each one of them addressed his opponent in lengthy speeches, but in the end, they became enmeshed in the toils of war. Fayrūz's followers were, however, in a weakened and defeatist state because of the agreement that had existed between them and the Hephthalites. Akhshunwār brought forth the document Fayrūz had written out for him and raised it up on the ṭip of a lance, calling out, "O God, act according to what is in
[877] this document!"[294] Fayrūz was routed, mistook the place where the standards had been set up [as markers], fell into the trench, and perished. Akhshunwār seized Fayrūz's baggage, his womenfolk, his wealth, and his administrative bureaus (*dawāwīnuhu*). The Persian army suffered a defeat the like of which they had never before experienced.

There was in Sijistān a man of the Persians, from the people of the district of Ardashīr Khurrah, who had insight, strength in battle, and bravery, and who was called Sūkhrā.[295] He had with him a detachment of cavalrymen. When he received the news about Fayrūz, he rode off that same night, traveling as far as he could, till he came up with Akhshunwār. He sent a messenger, announcing to him his intention of making war and threatening him with destruction and ruin. Akhshunwār dispatched a mighty army against Sūkhrā. When the two sides met, Sūkhrā rode out against them, and found them eager for battle. It is said that he shot an arrow at a man who had ridden out to attack him; the arrow struck the latter's horse between the eyes and became almost totally sunk in its head. The horse fell down dead, and Sūkhrā was able to capture its rider. Sūkhrā spared his life, and instructed him to go back to his master and inform him about what he had seen. The (Hephthalite) troops went back to Akhshunwār bearing with them the horse's corpse. When Akhshunwār saw the effects of the arrow shot, he was amazed, and sent a message to Sūkhrā, saying, "Ask whatever you want!" Sūkhrā told him, "I want you to return to me the government exchequer (*al-dīwān*) and to release the captives: The king did that. When Sūkhrā had taken possession of the ex-

294. That is, bring down upon Fīrūz the stipulated curse for his breaking the agreement he had made with Akhshunwār.

295. Presumably the Sūkhrā mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, I, 873, pp. 110–11 above, as from Fārs, Ardashīr Khurrah being the district in which Shīrāz lay.

chequer and had secured the release of the captives, he extracted from the exchequer records a certified statement of the monies[296] that Fayrūz had had with him, and then wrote to Akhshunwār that he was not going to leave without this money. When Sūkhrā's determination became apparent to Akhshunwār, he purchased his freedom (i.e., from the threatenings of Sūkhrā, by handing over the missing money).

Sūkhrā was able thus to return to the Persian land after rescuing the captives and after getting hold of the exchequer, with the money and all the contents of the treasuries that had been with Fayrūz, now given back. When he arrived back to the Persians, they received him with great honor, extolled his feats, and raised him to a lofty status such as none but kings were able to attain after him. He was Sūkhrā, son of Wīsābūr,[297] son of Z.hān, son of [878] Narsī, son of Wīsābūr, son of Qārin, son of K.wān, son of 'b.y.d, son of 'w.b.y.d, son of Tīrūyah, son of K.r.d.n.k, son of Nāw.r, son of Ṭūs, son of Nawdhar,[298] son of M.n.shū, son of Nawdar, son of Manūshihr.

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296. Reading, with the Sprenger ms., *thabat* (or *thubūt*), "certification, record," as in n. *b*, for the text's *buyūt*.

297. For Wihshāpūr, as in Nöldeke, trans. 127 n. 1.

298. Text, *N.w.d.kā*. The *Addenda*, p. DXCI, refer back to the name Ṭūs, son of Nawdharān, in al-Ṭabarī, I, 601, amended there by the editor from the form in the *Bundahishn* and the *Shāh-nāmah*, the name Nawdhar being in Persian legendary history the son and successor of king Manūchihr, killed by Afrāsiyāb. See Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*, 8–9; Yarshater, "Iranian National History," 373, 404, 435. The Naōtara/Nawdhar were, in fact, one of the great princely houses of legendary history, figuring in the Avesta. From the time of Wištāspa onward—apparently through Wištāspa's marriage connection with Hutaosā, of the Naōtara—the Naōtara were reckoned as the royal house, now prominent in the national epic. See Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 23–25; Yarshater, op. cit., 413, 460–61; and on the family name, appearing in the Avesta as the eponymous epithet *naōtairya-*, see Mayrhofer, *Die altiranischen Namen*, no. 228, regarding it as of uncertain origin.

This impressive genealogy for Sūkhrā, going back to mythological times, indicates the importance of the family and places it as one of the great Arsacid families, that of Qārēn or Qārin, which was to survive the Islamic conquest of Persia and play a role in Islamic history for some two centuries further. Qārin, son of Sūkhrā, received from the Sāsānid monarch lands in Ṭabaristān, the Wandā-Ummīd Kūh in the hinterland of Amul, and in early Islamic times the Qārinid principality may have been centered on Firrīm. The most famed representative of the line in the Islamic period was Māzyār b. Qārin, then only a recent convert to Islam, who rebelled against the Ṭāhirid governors of Khurāsān in the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim and was executed in 225/840, with the line disappearing from history after this point. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 1268–98; Nöldeke, trans. 127 n. 2, 438 Excursus 3; *EI*[1], s.v.

Another authority knowledgeable about the historical narratives of the Persians has mentioned the story of Fayrūz and Akhshunwār in similar terms to what I have just recounted,[299] except that he has stated that when Fayrūz set out and headed toward Akhshunwār, he appointed as his deputy over the cities of Ctesiphon and Bahurasūr—the two royal residences—this person Sūkhrā.[300] He related: The latter was called, on account of his rank, Qārin,[301] and used to be governor of Sijistān as well as of the two cities. Fayrūz came to a tower (*manārah*) Bahrām Jūr had constructed in the zone between the border of the land of Khurāsān and the land of the Turks in order that the latter should not cross the frontier into Khurāsān—all this in accordance with the covenant between the Turks and the Persians providing that each side should renounce transgressing the other's frontiers. Fayrūz likewise had made an agreement with Akhshunwār not to pass beyond the tower into the land of the Hephthalites.

[After reaching the tower,] Fayrūz gave orders, and had fifty elephants plus three hundred men linked together,[302] and had it (sc., the tower) dragged forward, while he came along behind it. He intended by means of this to assert that he had ostensibly kept
[879] faith with Akhshunwār regarding his agreement with him.[303] Akhshunwār got news of what Fayrūz was up to in connection with that tower. He sent an envoy to Fayrūz with the message, "Desist, O Fayrūz, from what your forefathers abandoned, and don't embark on what they didn't attempt to do!" Fayrūz took no notice of his words and Akhshunwār's message left him unmoved. He began to try and tempt Akhshunwār into a direct military

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Māzyār (V. Minorsky); *EI*², sv. Ḳārinids (M. Rekaya).

299. In this version, Fīrūz's enemies in the East have become not Hephthalites but Turks, and Fīrūz's offense consists in advancing beyond the tower that Bahrām Gūr had set up as a boundary between the two powers. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 128 n. 3.

300. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 60, has Shūkhar for this name and also states that Fīrūz was accompanied on the expedition by, among others, the Chief Mōbadh.

301. Nöldeke, trans 128 n. 4, notes that Greek sources also tend to attach family or clan names, associated with great offices in the state, to the offices themselves.

302. The Cairo text, II, 96, has *fa-ṣuffida* "were linked together," with the same meaning as the Leiden text's *fa-ḍumida*.

303. That is, by not leading the attack on Akhshunwār directly from the front of his troops.

engagement and summoned him to this, but Akhshunwār kept on holding back and showing an aversion for this, because the Turks' method of warfare consists for the most part in trickery, deceitfulness, and stratagems. Furthermore, Akhshunwār ordered a trench to be dug behind the lines of his own army, ten cubits wide and twenty cubits deep. He had light branches of wood laid over it and then had it covered with earth. Then he retired with his troops to a spot not too far away. Fayrūz received news of Akhshunwār's departure from his encampment with his troops, and had no doubt that this meant Akhshunwār's withdrawal and flight. He ordered the drums to be beaten, and rode out at the head of his troops in pursuit of Akhshunwār and his followers. They rushed forward impetuously, heading directly toward that trench. But when they reached it, they rushed blindly on to the trench's covering.[304] Fayruz and the whole mass of his army fell into the pit and perished to the last man. Akhshunwār wheeled round to Fayrūz's encampment and took possession of everything there. He took captive the Chief Mōbadh, and among Fayrūz's womenfolk who fell into his hands was Fayrūzdukht,[305] his daughter. Akhshunwār gave orders for the corpses of Fayrūz and all those who had fallen into that trench with him to be retrieved, and they were laid out on funerary structures (*al-nawāwīs*).[306] Akhshunwār sent for Fayrūzdukht, wishing to join with her in sexual congress, but she refused.[307]

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304. The *Addenda*, p. DXCI, suggest reading the text's *'alā ghimā'ihi* (*ghimā'* = "roof made of reeds and earth" as *'alā 'amāyat*[in], "erroneously." Cf. *Glossarium*, p. CCCSCII.

305. Literally, "daughter of Fīrūz"; cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, 250, and Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 761. As Nöldeke, trans. 130 n. 2 notes, her true name would not be known outside the royal harem and its circle of attendants.

306. In conformity thereby with the Zoroastrian practice of exposing corpses to the air rather than inhumation. The *nawāwīs* would be hastily assembled, temporary structures for dealing with large numbers of the slain, corresponding to the more permanent *dakhmas* or "towers of silence."

307. Nöldeke, trans 130 n. 3, notes that this is a distortion of the apparent truth, meant here to emphasize Persian royal pride. According to Ps.-Joshua Stylites, *Chronicle*, trans. 15–16, the victorious Akhshunwār took Fīrūz's daughter into his harem, and she gave birth to a daughter who subsequently married her own paternal uncle Kawādh, son of Fīrūz; the king's daughter was obviously not given back with any other royal womenfolk.

When the news of Fayrūz's death reached the Persian lands, the people were thrown into perturbation and terror. However, when [880] Sūkhrā became convinced of the exact truth of Fayrūz's fate, he got ready and advanced with the greater part of the troops at his disposal against the Hephthalite lands. When Sūkhrā reached Jurjān, Akhshunwār received news of his expedition to attack him, so he prepared for war and moved toward engaging Sūkhrā in battle; and at the same time he sent to Sūkhrā asking him about his intentions and enquiring what his name and his official position were. Sūkhrā sent back the message that he was a man with the personal name of Sūkhrā and the official rank of Qārin, and that his intention in marching against Akhshunwār was to take vengeance on him for Fayrūz's death. Akhshunwār returned a message to him: "Your way of proceeding in this affair you have undertaken is exactly like Fayrūz's was, since despite the numerousness of his troops, the sole consequence of his attacking me was his own destruction and perdition." But Akhshunwār's words did not deter Sūkhrā, and he paid no heed to them. He gave orders to his troops, and they got ready for battle and girded on their weapons. He moved forward against Akhshunwār, advancing with firm determination and a keen mind (literally, "heart"). Akhshunwār sought a truce and a peace agreement with Sūkhrā, but the latter refused to contemplate any peace agreement with him unless he could recover everything Akhshunwār had appropriated from Fayrūz's encampment. So Akhshunwār returned to him everything he had seized from Fayrūz's camp, including his treasuries, the contents of his stables, and his womenfolk, including Fayrūzdukht, and he handed back to him the Chief Mōbadh and every single one of the great men of the Persians in his possession. Sūkhrā then went back to the land of the Persians with all that.[308]

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308. The Arabic sources on Fīrūz's last campaign and Sūkhrā's putative campaign of vengeance include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 661–62; idem, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, I, 117–21 (from the *Kitāb siyar al-'Ajam*); al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 184–85; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 60; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 195 = § 617, placing the battle in which the Persian monarch was killed at Marw al-Rūdh, whereas Firdawsī places it in the vicinity of Marw; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 408–409. The Persian ones include Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 131–44. Nöldeke, trans. 131 n. 2, saw in the campaign of Sūkhrā a reminiscence of Bahrām Gūr's campaigns in the East, and in his *Das iranische Nationalepos*, 9, drew attention to the role of Sūkhrā

The authorities differ concerning [the length of] Fayrūz's reign. Some say it was twenty-six years, others twenty-one years.[309]

Mention of Events in the Reigns of Yazdajird (II), Son of Bahrām (V), and Fayrūz and the Relations of Their Respective Governors with the Arabs and the People of Yemen[310]

Information was transmitted to me from Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: The sons of the nobles of Ḥimyar and others from the Arab tribes used to serve the kings of Ḥimyar during their

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as retriever of the military situation and restorer of Persian national honor after Fīrūz's ill-omen actions had abased it, and he mentioned the parallel role of the house of Qārin (to which al-Ṭabarī attaches Sūkhrā; see above) in Iranian legendary history, possibly an attempt to glorify the house of Qārin by giving it a splendid part in the nation's remote past. Christensen, *Sassanides*, 296, notes that the whole episode of Sūkhrā's campaign of revenge against the Hephthalite king is unmentioned in the contemporary sources (i.e., the Christian chroniclers), and may likewise have been a patriotic Persian invention by circles unwilling to accept the possibility of such a dismal defeat for Fīrūz, especially when the latter had been the darling of the Zoroastrian clergy. Of Byzantine sources on the wars with the Hepthalites, Procopius, *The Persian War*, I.iii.1–iv.35 is detailed but inclined very much to the anecdotal, with undue space devoted to, e.g., the story of a pearl earring of Fīrūz's; see Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, 154–55. Agathias, however, has a more lively account, influenced by Syrian and Armenian traditions very hostile to Fīrūz; see Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," 152–54. Of modern studies on the wars, see Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, 87–90; K. Hannestad, "Les relations de Byzance avec la Transcaucasie et l'Asie Centrale aux 5e et 6e siècles," 438–40; Litvinsky, "The Hephthalite Empire," 138–40.

309. Fīrūz I's reign was 459–84; hence more like twenty-six (lunar) years. His name appears on his coins as (KDY) PYRWCY, i.e., (Kay) Pērōz. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 63, 367–70, 452–57, Plate XVI, Table XIV; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 49–50, Table IX, Plate 10; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 123–27; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 236.

The other Arabic sources for his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 661–62; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 184–85; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 58–60; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 195 = § 617; idem, *Tanbīh*, 101, trans. 145; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 50; Ibn al-Athīr, I, 407–11. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 128–44. For modern studies of his reign in general, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 290–96; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 147–8, 178.

310. From this point, I, 880 l. 17 to 882, l. 4, Nöldeke did not bother to translate, considering the events narrated there as too "fabelhafte" (but see regarding such omissions, Translator's Foreword, p. xvi above).

period of royal power.[311] Among those who served Ḥassān b.
[881] Tubba' was 'Amr b. Ḥujr al-Kindī, the chief of Kindah during his time.[312] When Ḥassān b. Tubba' led an expedition against the Jadīs,[313] he appointed 'Amr as his deputy over certain affairs.[314] When 'Amr b. Tubba' killed his brother Ḥassān b. Tubba' and

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311. The earliest firm mention of Ḥimyar (Sabaic *ḥmyr*) and the Ḥimyarites comes from Pliny the Elder in the late first century A.D., but it is unclear whether the term originally denoted an ethnic identity or a grouping of diverse ethnic elements. It then appears, in what is probably the next century, in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, where is mentioned Charibael "king of the two nations (*ethnē*), the Homeritae and the Sabaeans." In the first centuries A.D., the Ḥimyarites seem to have been led by minor princes, *qayls*, and chiefs, rather than kings. Only in the sixth century do we find epigraphic evidence for kings of Ḥimyar, when the Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb inscription (CIH 621) speaks of their being killed by the Abyssinians. See Beeston, "The Himyarite Problem," 1–7.

312 Kindah (*kdt* = *kndt* in the South Arabian inscriptions, with assimilation of the intervocalic *n*) was the great Arabian tribe which, according to Arab tradition, migrated from Ḥaḍramawt to central Arabia, though this may be an inversion of what actually happened. It was accordingly accounted South Arabian in *nasab* by the overwhelming majority of genealogists (see for certain exceptions to these, Kister and Plessner, "Notes on Caskel's Ǧamharat an-nasab," 58–59). Certainly, in the third century A.D., Kindah was established in southwestern Najd with their center at Qaryat al-Fāw, an important settlement on the main caravan route from Yemen and Najrān northward to Najd (see A. R. al-Ansary, *Qaryat al-Fau. A Portrait of Pre-Islamic Civilisation in Saudi Arabia*); they appear in recorded history as nomad auxiliaries of the kings of Saba, and then, after ca. A.D. 275, of the Ḥimyarite kings. In the second half of the fifth century, Kindah are found further to the north in Najd, with what seems to have been a semipermanent camp/capital at Baṭn 'Āqil (localized by U. Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie*, 29, in the wadi of that name, an affluent of the Wādī al-Rummah, to the west of modern 'Unayzah and Buraydah) under the celebrated Ḥujr b. 'Amr, called Ākil al-Murār (on this cognomen, n. 408 see below). It seems that, as part of the general policy of extending Ḥimyarite power into central Arabia at this time, this chief of Kindah was placed in power as a "king" (in fact, merely a tribal chief) over the local Arab tribes there of Ma'add. The Arab historical tradition makes the Ḥimyarite ruler involved here either the Tubba' As'ad Abū Karib or his son Ḥassān (in the South Arabian inscriptions, *ḥs³n*) Yuha'min, whose reigns should be placed, according to the inscriptions, in the second quarter of the fifth century. As well as appearing in the Arabian historical tradition, it now seems likely that Ākil al-Murār is the "Ḥujr b. 'Amr, king (*mlk*) of Kiddat" of a Sabaean rock inscription found near Kawkab, roughly half-way between Najrān and al-Fāw (see Iwona Gajda, "Ḥuǧr b. 'Amr roi de Kinda et l'établissement de la domination ḥimyarite en Arabie centrale," 65–73). The fortunes of Kindah were thus for long connected with the rulers of South Arabia, until the fall of the Ḥimyarites under Abyssinian pressure deflected many elements of the tribe in southwestern Najd into Ḥaḍramawt. See, in general, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 176, 233, II, 47–53, 371–2; G. Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda of the Family of Ākil al-Murār*, 32–50; Chr. Robin, in idem (ed.), *L'Arabie antique de Karib'îl à*

assumed the royal power in his stead, he took 'Amr b. Ḥujr al-Kindī into his personal service. 'Amr b. Ḥujr was a man of sound judgment and sagacity. 'Amr b. Tubba' intended to honor him and at the same time to diminish the status of his brother Ḥassān's sons, and as part of this policy he gave Ḥassān b. Tubba''s daughter in marriage to 'Amr b. Ḥujr. The Ḥimyarites grumbled at this, and among them were some young men who were concerned about her, because none of the Arabs had previously been bold enough to desire a marriage alliance with that house (sc., the Ḥimyarites).

Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions, 80–81; idem, "Le royaume ḥujride, dit «royaume de Kinda», entre Ḥimyar et Byzance," 666–68; idem, in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v. Sheba. 2, col. 1141; *EI²*, s.v. Kinda (Irfan Shahîd).

Ḥujr's son 'Amr, mentioned here, had the cognomen al-Maqṣūr, apparently because he was "limited, confined" to his father's sphere of power and unable to expand it (regarding his personal qualities, al-Ṭabarī, below, stresses his judgment and sagacity). He succeeded Ḥujr in the main center of Kindī authority, Najd, with another branch of the family under his brother Mu'āwiyah al-Jawn controling the eastern Najd regions of Yamāmah, Hajar and Baḥrayn. See Olinder, op. cit., 47–50, and nn. 314, 408 below.

313. This was one of the extinct tribes of the Arabs, *al-'Arab al-bā'idah*, according to Arabic lore and legend, which relates that Jadīs and his brother Thamūd were three generations after Sām b. Nūḥ, i.e., Noah's son Shem. The story goes that Jadīs, living in Yamāmah, rebelled against the tyranny of a sister tribe, Ṭasm, but that the sole survivors of the latter called in Ḥassān Tubba', whose army exterminated the Jadīs. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 215, 217, 219–21, 771–75; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I. 40; *EI²*, s.v. Ṭasm (W. P. Heinrichs).

314. Tubba', with the Arabic broken plural Tabābi'ah, is used by writers of Islamic times as a dynastic title (comparable to Fir'awn, pl. Farā'inah, for the Pharaohs of Egypt and Kisrā, pl. Akāsirah, for the Sāsānid kings (on this last title, see n. 374 below), etc.) for this line of Ḥimyarite rulers who controled the southwestern part of Arabia from the late third century A.D. to the early sixth century. It is probably true that Tubba' was a title rather than a personal name, but its meaning and/or etymology are unknown; the explanations of the Arabic lexicographers (see Lane, *Lexicon*, 295b–c) can be disregarded. At all events, ca. 275 the Ḥimyarite Shamir Yur'ish or Yuhar'ish overthrew the Sabaean rulers in Yemen, together with the independent rulers in Ḥaḍramawt, and constituted himself "king of Saba and Dhū Raydān and of Ḥaḍramawt and *Ymnt*" (see further on him, al-Ṭabarī, I, 890, p. 142 and n. 364 below). Almost all the Tubba' rulers mentioned by Islamic authors, most notably by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945) in his *Iklīl*, can be validated from South Arabian inscriptions, but there remain lacunae, and a definitive dynastic list cannot be worked out. See Beeston, "Hamdānī and the Tabābi'ah," 5–15; *EI²*, s.v. Tubba' (A. F. L. Beeston).

'Amr b. Tubba''s patronage of 'Amr b. Ḥujr al-Kindī further illustrates the closeness of the links between Kindah and the kings of Ḥimyar, as does his giving in marriage his own niece to 'Amr b. Ḥujr, mentioned a few lines below. Cf. Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda*, 48, who is unnecessarily skeptical about this marriage.

Ḥassān b. Tubba'"s daughter bore al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr to 'Amr b. Ḥujr.

After 'Amr b. Tubba', 'Abd Kulāl b. Muthawwib succeeded to the royal power. This was because the sons of Ḥassān were only small, except for Tubba' b. Ḥassān, whom the jinn had rendered mentally unbalanced. Hence Abū Kulāl b. Muthawwib assumed the royal power [temporarily], fearing lest someone outside the royal house of the kingdom might covet it. He was qualified to exercise this power through his mature years, his experience, and his excellent powers of governing. According to what has been mentioned, he was an adherent of the original form of Christianity (*'alā dīn al-Naṣrāniyyah al-ūlā*), but used to conceal this from his people. He had been converted to that faith by a man of Ghassān who had come from Syria, but whom the Ḥimyarites had then attacked and killed.[315]

At that point, Tubba' b. Ḥassān recovered his sanity and was restored to health. He was highly knowledgeable about the stars, the most intelligent among those who had learned [the sciences] in his time, and the one with the most information and lore concerning both the past and what was to come after him in the future. Hence Tubba' b. Ḥassān b. Tubba' b. Malikay Karib b. Tubba' al-Aqran was raised to the kingship. Ḥimyar and the Arabs stood in intense awe of him. He then sent his sister's son al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Ḥujr al-Kindī at the head of a powerful army against the
[882] lands of Ma'add,[316] al-Ḥīrah , and the districts adjacent to them both. Al-Ḥārith marched against al-Nu'mān b. Imri' al-Qays b. al-Shaqīqah and fought with him; al-Nu'mān and a number of his family were killed, and his companions were routed. Only al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān al-Akbar,[317] whose mother was Mā' al-

315. That is, by al-Nu'mān I b. Imri' al-Qays II (r. ca. 400–18). See Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 52, 65–68, 70.

316. Ma'add is a general designation for the North Arab tribes in Islamic times, as is also that of his father 'Adnān and his son Nizār. Ma'add was originally, in pre-Islamic times, a tribal group in central Arabia, presumably the Nizār of the Namārah inscription of A.D. 328, and then in the early sixth century the Ma'add are mentioned in South Arabian inscriptions as the North Arab subjects of Kindah. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 1, II, 1–2, 379; *EI*², s.v. Ma'add (W. M. Watt).

317. That is, al-Mundhir I b. al-Nu'mān I (r. ca. 418–76). See Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 53, 68–70.

Samā', a woman of the Banū al-Namir,[318] managed to escape from al-Ḥārith. In this way the royal power of the house of al-Nu'mān passed away, and al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr al-Kindī succeeded to their former power and possessions.[319]

Hishām related: After al-Nu'mān, his son al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān succeeded to the royal power, al-Mundhir's mother being Hind bt. Zayd Manāt b. Zayd Allāh b. 'Amr al-Ghassānī,[320] for forty-four years, of which eight years and nine months fell within

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318. The Namir b. Qāsiṭ were a minor tribe of Rabī'ah. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 141, II, 444; Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq*, 334–35.

319. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr al-Maqṣūr (*fl.* in the first thirty years or so of the sixth century) was a dominating personality on the political and military scene of Arabia and the adjacent fringes of the Byzantine and Persian lands. The Lakhmids and the chiefs of Kindah had had connections, despite being rivals for the control of northern and eastern Arabia; already in the later fifth century al-Aswad b. al-Mundhir I had married a daughter, Umm al-Malik, of the Kindī 'Amr b. Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār.

The campaign against the Lakhmids mentioned here was preceded by an attack on the Byzantine frontiers in Syria led by two of al-Ḥārith's sons, Ḥujr and Ma'dī Karib, in ca. 500, forcing the Greeks to agree to a peace treaty in 502. According to the South Arabian tradition of Ibn al-Kalbī and the Bakrī tribal one set forth in Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Anbārī's commentary on the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* poetical anthology, al-Ḥārith and the Rabī'ah attacked al-Nu'mān al-Akbar, al-Mundhir's father, and then al-Ḥārith became head of the Arabs of Iraq. This accords *grosso modo* wiith the South Arabian tradition of Ibn al-Kalbī also given here by al-Ṭabarī, that al-Nu'mān was killed but his son al-Mundhir III b. al-Nu'mān II b. Mā' al-Samā' managed to escape. All other Arabic traditions are concerned only with al-Mundhir, variously described as the son of Imru' al-Qays, of al-Nu'mān, and of Mā' al-Samā', and not with his father. Concerning the date of the event, the Ps.-Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle*, trans. 45–46, states that the Arab (i.e., Kindī) invasion of the Lakhmid lands took place when al-Nu'mān was away with the Persian army combatting the Greeks, which would place an attack by al-Ḥārith on al-Ḥīrah in 503. It is probable that the Kindī ruler was then able to control the greater part of the Lakhmid dominions from 503 till 506, the years when the Byzantine-Persian war was at its most intense, and Kawād was unable to afford the Lakhmids any assistance. According to the Bakrī tradition again, al-Mundhir, bereft of Persian help, had to agree to marry al-Ḥārith's daughter Hind, who, as a Christian, was subsequently held in great honor at al-Ḥīrah and was the founder of a monastery in the region of al-Ḥīrah, the Dayr Hind (al-Ṣughrā); see al-Shābushtī, *Kitāb al-diyārāt*, 244–46, and n. 914 below. See for these events, Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 69–71, 87ff.; Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda*, 57–63; S. Smith, "Events in Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.," 445–46; *EI*², s.v. Kinda (Irfan Shahîd). For the general background of relations between Byzantium and Kindah, Shahîd, "Byzantium and Kinda," 57–63.

320. As Rothstein pointed out, *Laḫmiden*, 68, this *nasab* does not necessarily imply that Hind was a princess of the Jafnid/Ghassānid royal house in Syria; there were members of Ghassān living in al-Ḥīrah, e.g., the Āl Buqaylah.

the time of Bahrām (V) Jūr, son of Yazdajird (I), eighteen years fell within the time of Yazdajird (II), son of Bahrām, and seventeen years within the time of Fayrūz b. Yazdajird (II). After him there reigned his son al-Aswad b. al-Mundhir, whose mother was Hirr bt. al-Nu'mān from the descendants of al-Hayjumānah bt. 'Amr b. Abī Rabī'ah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān.[321] It was he whom the Persians imprisoned. [He reigned for] twenty years, of which ten years fell within the time of Fayrūz, son of Yazdajird (II), four years in the time of Balāsh, son of Yazdajird (II), and six years in the time of Qubādh, son of Fayrūz.[322]

[Balāsh]

Then there succeeded to the royal power after Fayrūz, son of Yazdajird (II), his son Balāsh.[323]

(He was) the son of Fayrūz, son of Yazdajird (II), son of Bahrām (V) Jūr. His brother Qubādh had disputed the succession with him, but Balāsh had emerged victorious and Qubādh had fled to Khā-
[883] qān, king of the Turks, seeking his help and military aid.[324] When the crown was placed on Balāsh's head, the great men of state and the nobles gathered round him, hailed him with congratulations, and invoked divine blessings on him. They requested him to re-

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321. Nöldeke, trans. 133 n. 1, thought that the unusual name al-Hayjumānah (found in ancient Arab onomastic in both masculine and femine forms) stemmed from Greek *hegoumenē* or *hegemōn*, and this seems very probable.

322. The reign of al-Aswad b. al-Mundhir I is poorly documented, but must have fallen substantially within the third quarter of the fifth century and just beyond it, apparently from 462 onward in Rothstein's computation.. The lists of the Lakhmid kings in the Arabic sources, where they mention al-Aswad (here from Ibn al-Kalbī, and also in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 200 = § 1060) accord in giving him a reign of twenty years, which would take his reign up to 482. See Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 55, 70.

323. Correctly, the brother of Fayrūz and not his son. See Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 295. On the name Balāsh/Walāsh, see n. 31 above.

324. Some sources, both Christian and Muslim, mention two flights of Kawād from Walāsh to the rulers of the East, others only one. He had certainly been a hostage for two years with the Hephthalite king Akhshunwār, according to al-Ya'qūbī and other authorities. Further sources state, however, that Walāsh had to struggle for the succession of his father's death with another brother, Zarēr. See Nöldeke, trans. 133 n. 6.

ward Sūkhrā for what he had done, so Balāsh marked him out as one of his special favorites, honored him and gave him rich presents.[325] Balāsh invariably behaved in a praiseworthy manner and had an intense care for the prosperity of the land. His laudable concern for this reached the extent that, whenever he heard of the ruin of a house and the flight of its inhabitants, he would punish the owner of the village[326] because of his lack of lively concern for them and lack of relief for their need, so that they would not have been compelled to abandon their homes. He built in the Sawād a city he called Balāshāwādh, which is Sābāṭ near al-Madā'in.[327] His reign lasted four years.[328]

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325. Sūkhrā was clearly a dominant influence during Walāsh's short reign. It may well be that Sūkhrā and his son Zārmihr, mentioned just below, are one and the same person. See Nöledke, trans. 134 n. 1.

326. *ṣāḥib al-qaryah*, i.e., the *dihqān*, a member of the lesser nobility of rural and small-town landowners.

327. This is a false equation of the two places mentioned, which extracts a fictitious name from the later port of Balāshābād; a genuine Sābāṭ, Sābāṭ al-Madā'in, in Persian, Walāshābād, existed as the port of Ctesiphon from Arsacid times, having been founded by Vologeses I (r. ca. A.D. 51–80), whose name really lies behind al-Ṭabarī's Balāshāwādh. See Nöldeke, trans. 134 n. 4; Fiey, "Topographie chrétienne de Mahozé," 398–99.

328. Walāsh's reign was 484–88. His name appears on his coins as (ḤWKDY) WLK'Š, i.e., Hu Kay Wālakhsh. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 63–64, 370–73, 457–59, Plates XVI–XVII, Table XVI; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 50–51, Table X, Plate 11; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 128–29; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 236.

Of the other Arabic sources on his reign, al-Ya'qūbī, al-Dīnawarī, and al-Mas'ūdī merely give his name and the length of his reign. Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 610, mentions him in connection with a popular proverb, *ḥijām Sābāṭ*, and 662–63 in regard to his brief reign and his deposition in favor of his brother Qubādh. Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 50, notes that he built Balāshābād and another town near Ḥulwān called Balāshfarr (read thus for the text's *Balāsh.'.z*). See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 411. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 144–46. For modern studies of his reign, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 295–96; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 149, 178.

Despite Walāsh's good rule, he was overthrown and blinded by a conspiracy of the great men of state and the Zoroastrian clergy; Ps.-Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle*, trans. 12–13, says that the clergy hated him and condemned him for introducing public baths into Persia, presumably because it was a foreign, Roman practice and such use of water profaned one of the sacred elements of creation. His measures had perhaps clashed with the interests of the aristocracy and the *dihqāns*, while his conciliatory policy toward the Christians had aroused the ire of the priesthood of the state church. See Nöldeke, trans. 134 n. 5; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 154.

[Qubādh I]

Then there succeeded to the royal power Qubādh, son of Fayrūz, son of Yazdajird (II), son of Bahrām (V) Jūr.[329] Before Qubādh attained the throne, he had fled to Khāqān, seeking help from him against his brother Balāsh. On his way there, he passed through the vicinity of Naysābūr, accompanied by a small band of companions fleeing with him in disguise. Among these was Zarmihr, son of Sūkhrā. Qubādh had an intense desire for sexual satisfaction, complained about this to Zarmihr, and asked the latter to seek out a wife of good family (*dhāt ḥasab*) for him.[330] Zarmihr did that, and went along to the wife of his major-domo (*ṣāḥib manzilihi*), who was one of his cavalrymen; she had a virgin daughter, of outstanding beauty. He asked her, as a sincere friend, for her daughter, and indicated to her that he would send her along to Qubādh. The wife told her husband about that, while Zarmihr kept on setting forth to the two of them how attractive a proposition it was and spelling out to them how alluring a prospect it was
[884] for them, until finally they consented. The girl, who was called Nīwāndukht,[331] came to Qubādh; he lay with her that very night, and she became pregnant with Anūsharwān.[332] He ordered for her

329. Qubādh is the Arabized form of MP Kawād, Greek form Kabatēs, on his coins KW'T and KDY KW'T, i.e., (Kay) Kawād, which goes back to Kawi Kawāta, the legendary founder of the Kayānid dynasty. Following Nöldeke, Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 40–41, and *Sassanides*, 350–51, noted the increasing popularity from the fifth century onward of personal names from Persian legendary history and that it was from this time that the legendary, epic history assumed the form as we know it in the *Xwadāy-nāmag*. See Nöldeke, trans. 135 n. 1, 147 n. 1; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 159–60; Mayrhofer, *Die altiranischen Namen*, no. 209; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 493; Yarshater, "Iranian National History," 374.

330. Necessary for her, since she was to be the mother of the great Anūsharwān. For the name Zarmihr ("golden Mithra"), see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 383; P. Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 1082. The historicity of this whole episode of Kawād's flight to the Khāqān of the Turks during his brother Balāsh's reign is, however, difficult to accept, and may be a confusion arising from the fact of Kawād's undoubted one, probably two, stays among the Hephthalites. The begetting of Anūsharwān at Nīshābūr must, at all events, be pure fable.

331. Following the reading of this name by Nöldeke in text, n. *a*; cf. his trans. 502. Justi, *Namenbuch*, 228–29, interpreted Nēwāndukht as "daughter of heroes."

332. Anūshrawān or Anūsharwān (the most common form of the name in later Islamic times), in its original form Anōshag-ruwān, literally "of immortal soul"; see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 17–18; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 102. According to Nöldeke, 136 n. 2, we do not possess any contemporary evidence for this

a handsome present and gave her a noble reward. It has been said that the mother of that girl asked her about Qubādh's appearance and bodily form: The girl told her that she knew nothing about that except that she noticed that his trousers were embroidered with gold.[333] Her mother knew thereby that he was a royal prince, and this gave her happiness.

Qubādh traveled on to Khāqān, and when he reached him, he told him that he was the son of the king of Persia and that his brother had contested the throne with him and had gained the upper hand. Hence he was now coming to Khāqān seeking help. The latter gave him fine promises, but Qubādh remained at Khāqān's court for four years, during which Khāqān kept putting off his promise to Qubādh. Qubādh became tired of waiting and sent a message to Khāqān's wife requesting her to adopt him as her own child, and requesting her to speak with her husband regarding him and ask him to fulfill his promise. She did this, and kept on at length pressing Khāqān until he dispatched an army with Qubādh.[334]

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cognomen of the future Khusraw I, hence we cannot say whether this original form of the by-name was used for him or whether a shorter form was current. De Blois has, moreover, pointed out that this epithet is commonly used in Middle Persian with the simple meaning of "deceased" (hence the equivalent of Arabic *al-marḥūm* "the one on whom [God] has had mercy"), thus strengthening the probability that it was not applied to Khusraw till after his death; see *Burzōy's Voyage to India and the Origin of the Book of Kalīlah wa Dimnah*, 96.

333. Trousers were regarded by classical writers as a characteristic garment for the Persians (according to Herodotus, *History*, I.71, adopted by the Persians from the Scythians, steppe people of Inner Asia). A Byzantine author like Theophylactus Simocatta speaks of the "gold-embroidered trousers" of the Persian kings. Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 50, says that Kawād's trousers were red. The Arabic word for trousers, *sirwāl* is of doubtful etymology, though often assumed to be a loanword from Persian (cf. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter*, 18, 24; the parallel Persian form *shalwār* is often derived from a word *shāl* said to mean "thigh," but an origin in a putative OP word *zārawāro*, as asserted by W. Björkman in his *EI*[2] article "Sirwāl," is impossible (personal communication from Professor N. Sims-Williams).

334. According to some Western sources, when Kawād was in exile among the Hephthalites, he married the king's daughter, the offspring of the ruler and Fīrūzdukht (see n. 307 above). This would appear to be the basis for the story here in al-Ṭabarī's text, in which he becomes the adoptive son of the Khāqān's wife and, by extension, of the Khāqān himself. He would in any case now be in a strong position to secure military help from a father-in-law/adoptive father in gaining the Persian throne.

When Qubādh departed with the military force and reached the vicinity of Naysābūr, he asked the man who had brought the girl to him about what had happened to her. The man made enquiries of the girl's mother, who told him that she had given birth to a boy. Qubādh gave orders for the child to be brought to him. She came to him, bringing Anūsharwān by her hand. When she entered his presence, he asked her about the boy's history, and she informed him that he was his own son, that the boy resembled him in his bodily form and handsomeness. It is said that the news of Balāsh's death reached him on that very spot. He regarded the child's birth as a good augury, and ordered him and his mother to be conveyed in wagons of the type customary for royal womenfolk.[335]

When Qubādh reached al-Madā'in and had gathered together firmly in his hands all the reins of royal power, he sought out Sūkhrā for special honor, delegated to him all his executive
[885] powers, and gave him thanks for the service rendered to him by his son (sc., by Zarmihr). He then sent out troops to the distant frontiers, which inflicted hurt on his enemies and brought back numerous captive women and children.[336] Between al-Ahwāz and Fārs he built the town of Arrajān, and likewise he built the town of Ḥulwān, and, in the administrative district (*kūrah*) of Ardashīr Khurrah, in the neighborhood of Kārazīn, a town called Qubādh Khurrah. All this was in addition to [other] towns and villages he founded and to [other] canals he had dug and bridges he had constructed.[337]

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335. Carts and wagons, originally with two wheels and shafts for the animals drawing them, are known to have been used by the steppe peoples of Inner Asia from early Christian times onward, hence this form of transport would be familiar to Kawād from his residence among the Hephthalites; but they seem in any case to have been employed in Persia, on the testimony of classical authors, from Achaemenid times onward for conveying royal consorts. See also *EI*², s.v. 'Araba. II. (M. Rodinson).

336. According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 194, Kawād sent one of his commanders into the region of Arrān in Transcaucasia to secure the Caucasus passes against the Khazars (at this early period, this is probably an anachronism, and the steppe peoples to the north of the Caucasus were probably Huns, the Turkish Onughurs, and/or Avars, since it is only ca. 630 that a distinct Khazar state begins to emerge; see P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, I, 28ff., 58–59). Kawād then ordered the building in Arran of various towns and defences between Shīrwān and the Alan Gates.

337. For Arrajān, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 818, p. 12 and n. 45 above. Ḥulwān, at the entrance from the Iraq plain to the pass through the Zagros mountains and thence

Now when the greater part of Qubādh's days had gone by, with Sūkhrā in charge of the government of the kingdom and the management of affairs, the people came to Sūkhrā and undertook all their dealings with him, treating Qubādh as a person of no importance and regarding his commands with contempt.[338] At last, Qubādh became desirous of resuming power and was no longer able to endure that state of affairs or remain content with it. He wrote to Sābūr of al-Rayy, [a man] from the house called Mihrān, who was Supreme Commander of the Land (*iṣbahbadh al-bilād*),[339] to come to him with the troops under his command.[340] Sābūr came to him with these, and Qubādh sketched out for him the position regarding Sūkhrā and gave him the necessary orders concerning this last. The next morning, Sābūr went into Qubādh's presence and found Sūkhrā seated there with the king. He walked toward Qubādh, passing before Sūkhrā and paying no attention to him. Sūkhrā [for his part] gave no heed to this part of Sābūr's

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to Khurāsān, is a much older town than this, being known in Assyrian times as *Khalmanu*; at most, Kawādh can only have refounded it. Kārzīn, to the southwest of Jahrum, within the bend of the Sakkān river in southern Fārs, was still in early Islamic times a town of significance, with the surrounding region still known as "the glory of Qubādh." See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 290–93, IV, 428–29; Nöldeke, trans. 138 n. 3; Le Strange, *Lands*, 191, 254; Schwarz, *Iran*, 70–71, 677–83; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 198–99; *EI*², s.v. Ḥulwān (L. Lockhart).

338. Nöldeke, trans. 138 n. 4, thought that the opening words "when the greater part of Qubādh's days had gone by . . ." required emendation, since they would place the fall of Sūkhrā in the later part of his reign, well after his exile among the Hephthalites and his restoration. On this analysis, the obvious sense of the episode would be that the newly acceeded Kawād was at first under the tutelage of Sūkhrā but grew to resent this tutelage once he had acquired experience and the will to govern independently. This view is ostensibly confirmed by such Arabic sources as al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 185, and al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 64–65, which state that Kawād was fifteen years old on his accession and remained under Sūkhrā's dominance for the first five years of his reign, i.e., till 493, until he rebelled against this control. On the other hand, further sources make Kawād eventually die as an old man (Firdawsī, at the age of eighty; the Byzantine historian John Malalas, at the age of eighty-two), who must therefore have begun a reign spanning forty-three years in his late thirties; also, the account in al-Ṭabarī, I, 886, places the fall of Zarmihr-Sūkhrā after Kawād's restoration, see nn. 342–43, 345 below.

339. An attempt to render the title *Ērān-spāhbed*; see n. 237 above.

340. The Mihrāns were one of the greatest noble families at this time, in part at least descended from the Arsacid royal house, and Bahrām Chūbīn (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 992ff., pp. 301ff. below) was to be one of their most illustrious members. See the references gathered together in Nöldeke, trans. 139 n. 3, 438–39 Excursus 3, and also Lukonin, "Political, Social and Administrative Institutions: Taxes and Trade," 704.

cunning plan, until Sābūr threw round his neck a noose he had with him and then dragged him off. He was taken away, loaded with fetters, and consigned to gaol. People commented at that time, "Sūkhrā's wind has died away, and a wind belonging to Mihrān has now started to blow," and this became proverbial. After that, Qubādh ordered Sūkhrā to be executed, and this was done.[341]

When ten years had elapsed of Qubādh's reign, the Chief Mōbadh and the great men of state agreed together on deposing Qubādh from his throne, so they did this and imprisoned him. This was because he had become a follower of a man named Mazdak and his partisans, who proclaimed, "God has established
[886] daily sustenance in the earth for His servants to divide out among themselves with equal shares, but men have oppressed each other regarding it." They further asserted that they were going to take from the rich for the poor and give to those possessing little out of the share of those possessing much; moreover, [they asserted that] those who had an excessive amount of wealth, womenfolk, and goods had no more right to them than anyone else. The lower ranks of society took advantage of this and seized the opportunity; they rallied to Mazdak and his partisans and banded together with them. The people (*al-nās*, i.e., the higher levels of society) suffered from the activities of the Mazdakites, and these last grew strong until they would burst in on a man in his own house and appropriate his dwelling, his womenfolk, and his possessions without the owner being able to stop them. They contrived to make all these doctrines attractive to Qubādh, but also threatened him with deposition (if he did not cooperate with them). Very soon it came to pass that a man among them (i.e., the Mazdakites?) no longer knew his own son, nor a child his father, nor did a man any longer possess anything with which he could enjoy ampleness of life.[342]

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341. As Nöldeke observed, 140 n. 2, Kawād's seeming ingratitude here may have sprung from fear of Sūkhrā's ascendancy in the state and of his behavior as an overmighty subject; if so, it would accord with the information given in n. 338 above.

342. No episode in Sāsānid history has engendered so much discussion by modern scholars, from Nöldeke himself (in his trans., 455–67 Excursus 3 on Mazdak and the Mazdakites) through Christensen to recent scholars like F. Altheim and Ruth Stiehl, N. V. Pigulevskaya, O. Klíma, Mansour Shaki (viewing the Mazdakite revolt as an upsurge of oppressed peasantry had obvious attractions for scholars

They now consigned Qubādh to a place to which only they had access and set up in his place a brother of his called Jāmāsb.[343] They told Qubādh, "You have incurred sin by what you have done in the past, and the only thing that can purify you from it is handing over your womenfolk." They even wanted him to make

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writing behind the Iron Curtain), H. Gaube, and Patricia Crone, as the appearance of the Mazdakite movement and Kawād's involvement in it. Two recent summations of the problem are Ehsan Yarshater's chapter "Mazdakism" and, more controversially, Patricia Crone's article "Kavad's Heresy and Mazdak's Revolt." In brief, it seems unlikely that Mazdak espoused a thoroughgoing program of communism of property and wives, entailing a total upheaval in society, or that Kawād would adopt such a program in its entirety, thereby subverting the hierarchy of classes on which Persian monarchy and society had rested from time immemorial and laying a disordered land open to attacks from the Byzantines on one side and the Hepthalites on the other.

What Yarshater and Crone bring out, despite their different emphases, is that, when Mazdakism came to prominence in the first part of Kawād's reign (488–96), at a time when the emperor was still a youth or young man, it clearly appeared as a Zoroastrian heresy. As such it stemmed from the ideas of a third century A.D. heresiarch, Zarādusht of Fasā in Fārs (the Zarādhusht, son of Khurrakān, of al-Ṭabarī, I, 893, p. 148 below), not connected in any way with Manichaeism, and in *Weltanschauung* and ethos directly opposed to Mani's asceticism and suspicion of the present world. Kawād could never have become, by definition as a Sāsānid monarch, a fervid communist, but did see the utility of some of Mazdak's ideas in his endeavors to reduce the excessive power of the nobility, to modernize the Sāsānid state, to make its social structure more flexible, and to render it more able to withstand attacks from its powerful external enemies in both east and west. His proposed reform of marriage practices did not involve communism of wives, *ibāḥat al-nisā'*, but rather a widening of such existing practices as wife lending, a redistribution of women immured within princely and noble harems, and the allowing of women to marry outside their own class. Regarding property, some redistribution, rather than confiscation, was probably envisaged. Such policies would have reduced social distinctions and destroyed the purity of noble lineages. They must have been anathema to the Persian nobility, and only Kawād's youth explains how he thought he could enforce such measures, given that the only coercive power at his disposal was that of an army staffed by the great nobility and *dihqān*s themselves, members of the classes most likely to be directly affected by the reforms. Hence the ending of what was apparently the first phase of the Mazdakite movement with Kawād's deposition in 496 by a conspiracy of the nobility, who replaced him by what was hoped would be a more pliant Jāmāsb/Zāmāsp, is wholly explicable.

343. Nöldeke, 142 n. 1, noted that all is straightforward in the narrative up to this point, but that it now becomes illogical and absurd, with Kawād dethroned by the Mazdakites but with them influential enough once more after his restoration to procure the killing of Sūkhrā/Zarmihr. Nöldeke attributed this section to Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

Jāmāspa- is in Persian legendary history a son of Kay Khusraw. Whether this is the name appearing here as Jāmāsb/Zāmāsp, Greek form Zamaspēs, on his coins

over himself to them as a sacrifice, so that they could kill him and make him an offering to the fire. When Zarmihr, son of Sūkhrā, perceived this, he went forth with an accompanying group of the nobles, ready to expend his own life, and then killed a great number of the Mazdakites, restored Qubādh to his royal power and drove out his brother Jāmāsb. After this, however, the Mazdakites kept on inciting Qubādh against Zarmihr to the point that Qubādh killed him.[344] Qubādh was always one of the best of the Persian kings until Mazdak seduced him into reprehensible ways. As a result, the bonds linking the outlying parts of the realm became loosened and the defense of the frontiers fell into neglect.[345]

Z'M'SP, i.e., Zāmāsp, is unclear. See on Jāmāsb's coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 64, 375–76, 461–63, Plate XVII, Table XVIII; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 51, Table X, Plate 11; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 137–39; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 236–37. See on the name, Nöldeke, trans. 142 n. 2; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 109. His brief reign, separating the two parts of Kawādh's one, was 496–98. See on it, Christensen, *Sassanides*, 349–51; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 150.

344. It is strange, as pointed out by Nöldeke, trans. 140 n. 2, that after putting Sūkhrā to death, Kawād should take into his service the son Zarmihr and that Zarmihr should then take a leading part in the release and restoration of Kawād after the Mazdakite ascendancy, only to be killed in his turn by the emperor. He suggested that we do not need to assume that Kawād killed successively father and son, but that we have to deal instead with one minister only, Sūkhrā Zarmihr, who had been with Kawād in exile among the Hephthalites but who now, after the emperor's return, had arrogated too much power in the state to himself, leading to his elimination in the usual fashion. This event would have been split into two episodes corresponding to the two elements making up Sūkhrā Zarmihr's name. The actual occasion of the execution must, on this analysis, be accordingly pushed back to the second part of Kawād's reign; but see n. 338 above.

345. That Kawād was a weakling who allowed his empire to fall apart as alleged here (and in al-Ṭabarī, I, 888–89, pp. 139–41 below, in regard to Kawād's relations with the Kindī chief al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr) could well be a slanderous report going back to the Zoroastrian priestly and Persian aristocratic tradition exemplified in the *Book of Kings* which Ibn al-Muqaffa' made available for later Arabic authors, and reflecting Kawād's involvement early in his reign with Mazdakite doctrines and attempts to curb the Zoroastrian clergy and the nobility (see n. 342 above and n. 349 below). It is further reflected, for instance in the report of al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 292, that in Kawād's reign the irrigation channels in the district of Kaskar on the Tigris in Lower Iraq were allowed to fall into disrepair.

Nöldeke, trans. 142 n. 3, endeavored at length to refute this partisan verdict, pointing out that Kawād held the throne, with just a two or three years' break, for the lengthy period of forty-three years. During this time he undertook two protracted wars against the Greeks (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 887, p. 137 and n. 351 below).

A certain person knowledgeable about the history of the Persians has [on the other hand] mentioned that it was the great men of state of the Persians who imprisoned Qubādh when he became a partisan of Mazdak and one of the followers of his doctrines, and who raised to the royal power in his stead his brother Jāmāsb, son [887] of Fayrūz. Now a sister of Qubādh's went to the prison where he was incarcerated[346] and tried to gain entry, but the offical responsible for guarding the prison and its inmates prevented her from entering. This man became roused by the desire to ravish her at that opportunity, and told her how much he desired her; she informed him that she would not resist him in anything he might desire of her, so he let her in. She entered the prison, and spent a day with Qubādh. Then at her bidding, Qubādh was rolled up in one of the carpets in the gaol, and this was borne by one of his male attendants, a strong and hardy youth, and brought out of the prison. When the lad went past the prison commander, the latter asked him what he was carrying. He was unable to answer, but Qubādh's sister came up behind the lad and told the prison commander that it was a bed roll she had slept on during her menstrual periods and that she was only going forth to purify herself and would then return. The man believed her, and did not touch the carpet or go near it, fearing lest he become polluted by it, and he allowed the lad who was bearing Qubādh to pass freely out. So he went along with Qubādh, the sister following after him.

Procopius regarded Kawād as exceptionally clever and energetic. He also maintained a general peace with the Hephthalites in the east; see n. 348 below. Similarly, Crone, "Kawad's Heresy and Mazdak's Revolt," 25–26, stresses that, while Kawād ruled in a mild and pacific fashion, and abstained during his pro-Mazdakite phase from meat (al-Ṭabarī, I, 889, p. 142 below), after his restoration he behaved in a bellicose enough manner and in his warfare with the Byzantines was as savage as any of his predecessors.

346. According to Greek sources, Kawād's fortress-prison lay in Susiana. Procopius, who makes the ingenious woman here Kawād's wife and not his daughter (followed in this by Agathias, see Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," 128–29, 157–58), simply calls it "the fortress of oblivion" and has a lengthy digression on its past history within his already extended account of Kawād's enforced interregnum, imprisonment, and escape. See *The Persian War*, I.v.1–vi.19; Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, 155. Theophrastes, however, calls the fortress Giligerda, which led the nineteenth-century traveler and historian Sir Henry Rawlinson to identify it with Gilgird in the mountains to the east of Shushtar. See Nöldeke, trans. 144 n. 1.

Qubādh now took to flight until he reached the land of the Hepththalites, in order to ask their king to help him and to provide him with an army, so that he might make war on those who had rebelled against him and deposed him. It has been further related that, on his outward journey to the Hepththalites, he halted at Abarshahr at the house of one of its leading citizens, who had a daughter of marriageable age, and it was on the occasion of this journey that he had sexual relations with the mother of Kisrā Anūsharwān.[347] It has been also related that Qubādh returned from that journey with his son Anūsharwān and the latter's mother.[348]

He defeated his brother Jāmāsb in the contest for royal power after the latter had reigned for six years.[349] Then after that,

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347. Abarshahr was the district around Nīshābūr, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 819, p. 15 and n. 59 above. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 185–86, has Abatrshar here, but al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 65–66, in a more detailed account than that of al-Ṭabarī, has Kawād fleeing for refuge in the house of a *dihqān*, whose ancestry went back to Farīdūn, on the borders of Khūzistān and Iṣfahān, and Firdawsī follows al-Dīnawarī substantially. The emperor's flight to a refuge in southwestern-western Persia obviously accords better with his incarceration just before this in Susiana. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 145 nn. 2–4.

348. There is little information in the Arabic sources on Kawād's stay among the Hephthalites (with whom he already had links from his time as a hostage at the Hephthalite court during his father's reign), but useful information in Procopius and the Western sources. The fugitive Kawād was sheltered—after what must have been a lengthy journey right across Persia—by the king of the Hephthalites (whose personal name is unknown, unless Akhshunwār was still ruling). The king gave to Kawād in marriage his daughters, actually the child of the Persian princess who had been captured by the Hepththalites on the defeat of her father Fīrūz, hence Kawād's niece; such a union would not have been regarded in Zoroastrian custom as at all incestuous. Kawād regained his throne with Hephthalite assistance, but at the price of continued dependence on them. He had to finance the Hephthalite army that placed him back on the throne, to cede territory along the Oxus to them, and to pay a tribute, in Sāsānid coinage counterstamped with the Hephthalite name. This last was in fact paid for over thirty years till the opening of Khusraw Anūsharwān's reign. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 63–64; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 349–50; Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 16–17 and Pl. II (coins) 92–93; Litvinsky, "The Hephthalite Empire," 140.

349. The reign of Jāmāsb/Zāmāsp seems in reality to have been shorter than this, with Kawād resuming power—apparently without striking a blow—in 498 or 499, which would make his period of deposition, imprisonment, and exile only two or three years. The fate of Zāmāsp, now in turn deposed, is uncertain. Elias of Nisibis alone states that Kawād had him killed. More probable is the leniency toward his brother attributed to Kawād by the well-informed Agathias, that Zāmāsp renounced the throne of his own accord, preferring a life of safe obscurity, and was pardoned (confirmed in the Arabic source of al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-*

Qubādh led an expedition against the land of the Romans, conquered one of their towns in al-Jazīrah called Āmid[350] and carried off the women and children as captives.[351] He gave orders for a town to be built in the borderland between Fārs and the land of al-Ahwāz and named it Wām Qubādh;[352] this is the town named [888]

ṭiwāl, 66). The Christian Arabic *Chronicle of Se'ert* does, however, record a purge of the Zoroastrian priesthood by Kawād, with executions and imprisonments. See Nöldeke, trans. 145 n. 5; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 350–51; Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," 130–31; eadem, *Procopius on the Sixth Century*, 155 (Procopius in his *The Persian War* confuses Jāmāsb with Fīrūz's successor Balāsh/Blasēs); Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 150.

350. Āmid, classical Amida, was a key point in the fighting between the Byzantines and Sāsānids. It lay on the west bank of the upper Tigris, in what was in early Islamic times the district of Diyār Bakr in the province of Jazīrah, and is now the modern Turkish city of Diyarbakir. See *PW*, I/2, col. 1833, s.v. Amida (Baumgartner) Le Strange, *Lands*, 108–11; Canard, *H'amdanides*, 79–81; *EIr*, s.v. Amida (D. Sellwood). Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 66, adds that Kawād also captured another town of the region, Mayyāfāriqīn (the Greek Martyropoplis).

351. These are the sole details in the oriental sources on the great four years' war launched by Kawād against the Byzantines (summer 502–autumn 506) soon after his regaining the Persian throne. Kawād's pretext for opening hostilities was the emperor Anastasius's refusal to contribute to Kawād's expenses in financing the Hephthalite army, which had backed him, and in paying the ongoing tribute to the Hephthalites. The Byzantines must have had the hope that, if Kawād were unable to pay his former allies, a rupture between these two latter powers would occur. It seems that the Byzantine frontier fortresses and fortified towns had not been kept in good repair during the fifth century and, as a result, were at this time inadequate to withstand the Persians, especially as the Persians had acquired important stretches of territory in the later fourth century, above all the important bridgehead of Niṣībīn (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 826, p. 28, and nn. 90–91 above). Hence early successes for Kawād's army, which included Hephthalite contingents, were the sack of Theodosiopolis (the later Erzerum) in western Armenia, this capture of Amida/Āmid (see n. 350 above), and that of Martyropolis or Mayyāfāriqīn (the bare information recorded in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 66, and Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 143). However, the war is fully documented in Greek and Syriac sources, such as Procopius's *The Persian War*, I.vii.1–I.x.19; cf. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, 155–56; Ps. Joshua the Stylite's *Chronicle*, trans. 37–62, 63–75. See Nöldeke, trans. 146 n. 1; Bury, A *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, I, 307–309; idem, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*, I, 10–15; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 352; Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 92–93; Hannestad, "Les relations de Byzance avec la Transcaucasie et l'Asie Centrale aux 5e et 6e siècles," 442; Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 267–72; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 150–51; M. Whitby, "Procopius and the Development of Roman Defences in Upper Mesopotamia," 725–26; Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War*, 502–532, 73–119.

The fame of the Persian victory at Amida resonated several decades later in a verse of the Ḥīran poet 'Adī b. Zayd:

We struck to the ground Qubādh, the lord of all the Persians, even though they

Būqubādh,[353] also called Arrajān.[354] He laid out an administrative division (*kūrah*) and added to it rural districts (*rasātīq*) from the *kūrah* of Surraq and that of Rām Hurmuz.[355] He then nominated his son Kisrā as his successor in the royal power, and wrote this out in a document, which he sealed with his seal ring.[356] When

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had stirred up with their hands the glistening swords of Āmid. (*Dīwān*, 124 no. 41)

352. Following *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCI, as being a crasis of *Weh-Āmid-Kawād for the text's Rām Qubādh.

353. Following *Addenda et emendanda*, loc. cit., for the text's Barqubādh.

354. These two alternative names for Arrajān are somewhat dubious; the second one should be read as *Abarqubādh, as the consonant ductus in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 66, and Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 143, allows. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 146 n. 2.

355. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 66–67, mentions a number of changes in administrative geography carried out by Kawād in the provinces of *Abarqubādh (locating this, however, in central Iraq), Bihqubādh al-Awsaṭ and al-Asfal, and Iṣfahān. These may have been connected with the cadastral survey of the Sawād of Iraq instituted by Kawād, accompanied by a new tax system, to be continued by his successor Khusraw Anūsharwān, which is mentioned in the Arabic sources. See Crone, "Kawad's Heresy and Mazdak's Revolt," 33–34.

356. According to al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 67, Kawād had several sons, out of whom Khusraw was the most favored, despite the emperor's having certain grounds for suspicion (*ẓinnah*) regarding him. According to Procopius, Kawād's eldest son was Kaosēs, i.e., Kāwūs (called by Theophanes *Pthasouarsan* in an attempt to render *Padashkhwār-shāh*, this being Kāwūs's title as provincial ruler of Ṭabaristān), and there was another son Zamēs, i.e., Jam. But Kawād wished his third, younger son Khusraw to succeed him, since, according to Theophanes, Kāwūs had been brought up (in the first part of his father's reign?) as a Mazdakite.

Toward the end of his reign, Kawād was in a stronger position vis-à-vis the nobility, and was able to make these succession arrangements himself rather than leave the choice and the election of his successor to the nobles and clergy; but he cannot have wished to provoke a strong reaction by nominating Kāwūs if the latter was still indeed an adherent of the Mazdakites. Procopius, *The Persian War*, I.x.1–18, further relates that Kawād had sought from the Byzantine emperor Justin I (518–27) that the latter should adopt Khusraw (just as, at the end of the fourth century, the emperor Arcadius had made the Sāsānid Yazdagird I protector of his son and desired heir Theodosius (II) (see n. 191 above). No doubt Kawād had the intention of strengthening Khusraw's claim to the succession, which might then have been backed, if necessary, by Byzantine arms; but Justin had refused. The second son Jāmāsb (= Procopius's Zamēs/Jam) was disqualified from succeeding to the throne through the loss of an eye. Hence when Kawād fell mortally ill in 531, he wrote out this succession document (al-Ṭabarī's *kitāb*, al-Ya'qūbī's *waṣiyyah*) for Khusraw. According to the Byzantine chronicler John Malalas, he actually had him crowned. Again according to Procopius, ibid., I.xxi.20–22, Kāwūs laid claim to the throne on his father's death, and according to the later historian of Ṭabaristān Ibn Isfandiyār, raised a rebellion, which failed and caused him to lose his life. See Nöldeke, trans. 147 n. 1; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 353–55; Frye "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 151; Crone, "Kawad's Heresy and Mazdak's Revolt," 31–32.

Qubādh died after having reigned for forty-three years, including the years of his brother Jāmāsb, Kisrā put into execution the measures which Qubādh had commended to him.[357]

Mention of What Has Been Recorded Concerning the Events Taking Place among the Arabs in Qubādh's Reign in His Kingdom and Involving His Governors

There was related to me a narrative going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: Al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī met al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir b. Imri' al-Qays b. al-Shaqīqah in battle and killed him, with al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān al-Akbar escaping from al-Ḥārith. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr al-Kindī then assumed power over the lands al-Nu'mān had ruled. At this point, Qubādh, son of Fayrūz, the ruler of Persia, sent a message to al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr, informing him that there had been formerly an agreement between him and his predecessor as king [among the Arabs] and that he would welcome a meeting with al-Ḥārith.[358]

Qubādh was a Zindīq who did only good deeds, who abhorred shedding blood and who, in his dislike for shedding blood, treated

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357. Kawād I's reign was 488–531, with the interlude of Jāmāsb/Zāmāsp's two or three years from 496 to 498 or 499. Concerning his possible age at death, see n. 338 above. Concerning his name on his coins, see n. 329 above. See on his coins, Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 64–65, 373–75, 376–80, 459–61, 464–70, Plates XVII–XVIII, Tables XVII, XIX; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 51–52, Table X, Plate 11; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 130–36; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 236.

The other Arabic sources for his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 663; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 185–86 (mainly on Kawād's flight to the Hephthalites and the circumstance of Khusraw's birth); al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 64–67 (considerable detail on Mazdak's movement); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 195–96 = §§ 617–18 (brief note of Mazdak); idem, *Tanbīh*, 101, trans. 145; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 50–51 (concentrates on his foundation of cities); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 412–14, 421. Of the Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 146–55.

Of modern studies on his reign in general, see Christensen, *Le règne du roi Kawādh I et le communisme mazdakite*; idem, *Sassanides*, 336–62; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 149–51, 178; *EI*², s.v. Sāsānids (M. J. Morony); also references on the Mazdakite movement in n. 338.

358. This is a repetition *grosso modo* of the events treated by al-Ṭabarī at I, 881–82, pp. 124–25 above, but bringing in Kawād at the end causes chronological difficulties, since Kawād only acceeded to power in 488, and the events involving al-Nu'mān I's death and the succession of his son al-Mundhir I are probably to be placed in the second decade of the century, hence some seventy years earlier; see nn. 315, 319 above.

his enemies with leniency.[359] In his time, heretical opinions (*al-ahwā'*) became rife, and the people came to regard Qubādh as a weak ruler. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr al-Kindī, however, set out with a numerous and well-equipped army, until the two forces met at the bridge of al-Fayyūm.[360] Qubādh ordered a dish of dates and extracted their stones. Then he ordered another dish and placed in it dates in which the stones had been left. These two dishes were placed before them (sc., Qubādh and al-Ḥārith). The dish of dates
[889] with stones by al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr, and the one with no date stones in it was placed by Qubādh. Al-Ḥārith began to eat the dates and to spit out the stones. Qubādh set about eating [everything in] the dish in front of him, and said to al-Ḥārith, "What's the matter with you? Why aren't you eating exactly what I'm eating?" Al-Ḥārith replied, "Among us, only camels and sheep eat date stones," and he realized that Qubādh was deriding him. After this, the two of them made peace on the basis that al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr and those he wished of his followers should bring their horses to drink from the Tigris up to their saddle girths but not pass any further beyond that point.[361]

But when al-Ḥārith saw Qubādh's weakness, he began to covet the Sawād, and ordered the men in his garrison posts (*masāliḥihi*) to cross the Euphrates and carry out raids into the Sawād.[362] The

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359. See on the term Zindīq, n. 118 above.

360. According to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 286, this was in central Iraq, near Hīt on the Euphrates; cf. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 350. As a bridge, it would be regarded as neutral ground, hence suitable for a meeting between the two opposing sides. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 149 n. 1.

361. According to Nöldeke, trans. 149 n. 3, citing the Talmud, this occurs as a formulaic legal expression.

362. These garrison posts must in reality have been part of the Sāsānid defenses along the desert fringes against Arabs from the interior of the peninsula like those of Kindah. From this point onward, al-Ṭabarī's account slides into legend, as recognized by Nöldeke, trans. 150 nn. 1–2, and Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 88–89. What is, nevertheless, firmly historical is that between approximately 525 and 528 al-Ḥārith was indeed able to expel the Lakhmids from al-Ḥīrah, having taken over parts of the Iraqi borderlands some twenty years before (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 881–82, pp. 124–25 and n. 319 above). From 528 till his death in 531, Kawād was preoccupied with warfare with the Byzantines, with the emperor Justin I at the outset and then with the great Justinian I, this warfare being centered on Georgia and Transcaucasia on one front and on the Upper Mesopotamian frontier on another one (see Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, I, 372–80; idem, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the*

cries for help [of the local people] reached Qubādh when he was at al-Madā'in, and he exclaimed: "This has occurred under the protection of their king," and he then sent a message to al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr that some robbers of the Arabs had mounted raids and that he wanted a meeting with him. When al-Ḥārith came, Qubādh said to him, "You have done something which no one before you has ever done," but al-Ḥārith replied, "I haven't done anything, and don't know anything about it; it was some Arab robbers, and I myself cannot keep a firm hand over the Arabs except by financial subsidies and regular troops." Qubādh said to him, "What do you want, then?" and he replied, "I want you to make over to me a grant of part of the Sawād so that I can get weapons ready by means of it." So Qubādh made over to him the side of the lower Euphrates bordering on the Arabs, comprising six *ṭassūj*s. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr al-Kindī at that point sent a messenger to Tubba' in Yemen,

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Death of Justinian, I, 79–89; Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 267–71, 283–84, 287–94; Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War*, 502–532, 139–212). It seems, however, to have been a withdrawal of support from al-Mundhir III by Kawād that allowed al-Ḥārith to take over al-Ḥīrah. Al-Mundhir had apparently been negotiating with the Persians' enemy, Byzantium. Hence credence should not be placed in the information retailed in some Arabic sources (e.g., Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[1], VIII, 63 = *Aghānī*[3], 78–79; Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, I, 434) that Kawād tried first to impose Mazdakism on al-Mundhir but failed, whereupon al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr agreed to accept Mazdakism, and was rewarded by a grant of the former Lakhmid lands. See Christensen, *Le règne du roi Kawādh I et le communisme mazdakite*, and (regarding the tale with skepticism), Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda*, 63–64. In any case, Kawād had broken decisively with the Mazdakites on his restoration in 498 or 499, and it seems highly unlikely that he would make adherence to the heresy an instrument of diplomacy nearly thirty years later. Abū al-Baqā', *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyyah*, 121, simply states that Kawād was unable to answer al-Mundhir's appeal for help because his kingdom was disturbed by the Mazdakites

Al-Mundhir regained control of al-Ḥīrah in 528. The sources all state that it was Khusraw Anūsharwān who restored him, but Khusraw did not come to the throne until 531; it thus seems that al-Mundhir had somehow regained possession of his capital and that Khusraw merely confirmed this. At all events, Lakhmid power was now firmly reestablished on the Iraq fringes, backed by the might of their traditional patrons and supporters, the Sāsānids. At some unspecified point, al-Mundhir managed to get hold of al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr, who had had to retreat into the interior of northern Arabia after clashing with the Byzantines and Ghassānids on the Syrian frontiers. Al-Mundhir seized the Kindī leader's camels, killed al-Ḥārith himself, and massacred forty-eight members of the ruling house of Kindah, an event alluded to in the *Dīwān* of al-Ḥārith's grandson Imru' al-Qays (*Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 200, no. 37 vv. 1–2). Other traditions make al-Ḥārith's death at the hands of the Kalb. See Rothstein, *Lahmiden*, 89–90; Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda*, 63–68.

saying, "I covet strongly the kingdom of the Persians, and have already acquired six *ṭassūj*s of it. So gather your troops together and advance, for there is nothing between you and their kingdom, since the king does not eat meat and does not consider the shedding of blood lawful, for he is a Zindīq." So Tubba' assembled his troops and advanced until he encamped at al-Ḥīrah. He drew near
[890] to the Euphrates, where the midges plagued him. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr ordered a canal to be dug for him as far as al-Najaf, and this was done: this is the Canal of al-Ḥīrah. He encamped against there and sent his nephew Shamir Dhū al-Janāḥ ("Shamir of the Wing") against Qubādh.[363] He fought with Qubādh and routed him, compelling him to flee as far as al-Rayy. He then caught up with Qubādh there and killed him.[364]

Tubba' now sent Shamir Dhū al-Janāḥ to Khurāsān and his son Ḥassān to Sogdia (al-Ṣughd), telling them, "Whichever of you

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363. See on Shamir Yur'ish or Yuhar'ish, n. 314 above and n. 364 below, and al-Ṭabarī, I, 910, pp. 176–77 and n. 451 below.

364. All this is pure fantasy. As implied by al-Ṭabarī in I, 888, pp. 138–39 above, Kawād died a natural death, doubtless at an advanced age after such a long reign. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 411, criticizes al-Ṭabarī for his confusion here and lack of critical acumen, such defects of an absense of discrimination and discernment being common, he says, to all writers dealing with the ancient Arabs; Nöldeke in his translation omitted this passage on the legendary exploits of the Tubba' kings, that from I, 890 l. 4 to 892 l. 14. The only genuine feature in al-Ṭabarī's account is that the Tubba' prince Shamir Yur'ish mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, I, n. 910, pp. 176–77 below, the first recorded Tubba' king (on this dynasty, see n. 314 above), really did exist.

For the king's name, *Sh.m.r*, the vocalization is of course speculative, there being no indication of vowels in the South Arabian script with the probable exception of *w* and *y* used both consonantally and vocalically (see Beeston, *Sabaic Grammar*, 6–7). But Shamir or Shimr seem to have better claims that Shammar for the vocalization of the first component of the king's full name, despite the fact that the rather late author Nashwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1178) expressly gives Shammar in his *Shams al-'ulūm* (see 'Azīmuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwāns im Šams al-'ulūm*, 56–57). The choice of this latter form by such later writers as Nashwān was probably influenced by the rise of the North Arabian tribe of Shammar and their home, the Jabal Shammar, since there is no orthographic sign in the South Arabian script to indicate gemination (Beeston, ibid., 7–8). G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, I, 210, has Šimr, comparing this with Classical Arabic *shimr*, "energetic, capable"; G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Names and Inscriptions*, 357, has Šamir; and Robin, *Supplément à la dictionnaire du Bible*, s.v. Sheba. 2., writes Shammir. In the line of verse (apocryphal, naturally) placed in Shamir's mouth in al-Ṭabarī, I, n. 910, p. 177 below, the *wāfir* metre does require *ShVmVr*^{un} or *ShVmr*^{un}.

reaches China first shall become ruler over it." Each one headed a mighty army, said to be of 640,000 men. He further sent his nephew Ya'fur against the Romans; it was he who recited:

O my companion, you may well be full of wonder at Ḥimyar,
when they encamped at al-Jābiyah![365]
Eighty thousand is the number of their chiefs,[366] and for each
group of eight men there is a chief!

Ya'fur proceeded until he reached Constantinople (al-Qusṭanṭīniyyah), whose people then gave him their obedience and promised to pay tribute, and then went on to Rome (Rūmiyyah), a journey of four months, and besieged it. The troops accompanying him suffered great hunger, were afflicted by plague, and became weakened. The Romans perceived what had hit them, so fell upon them and killed them, with not a single man escaping. Shamir Dhū al-Janāḥ traveled on until he reached Samarqand.[367] He besieged it but was unable to capture any part of it. When he realized that, he went round to the city guard, captured one man of it, and interrogated him about the city and its ruler. The man told him that, regarding its ruler, he was the most stupid of mankind, with no interest except in drinking and eating, but that he had a daughter and it was she who decided the affairs of the populace. Hence Shamir sent the man back to her with a present, telling him, "Inform her that I have only come from the land of the Arabs because of what I have heard about her intelligence, and in order [891] that she might marry me and I might acquire through her a boy

365. This settlement in the Jawlān or Golan region south of Damascus was a main residence of the Byzantines' allies, the chiefs of the Jafnid family of Ghassān, probably their summer encampment, and it was further important in the periods of the Arab conquest of Syria and of the early Umayyads as a military encampment and concentration point for troops. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 91–92; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 460–61; Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten*, 47–49; H. Lammens, "L'evènement des Marwānides et le califat de Marwān Ier," 77–79; Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, 44.; *EI*², s.v. Djābiya (H. Lammens-J. Sourdel-Thomine).

366. Thus interpreting *rawāyāhum*, pl. of *rāwiyah*, "a camel used for drawing water," such a camel being likened to the chief who bears the burden of blood money, to be paid in camels by his tribe. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1196c; *Glossarium*, p. CCLXXIII: *rāwiyah* = *dux*.

367. Presumably to Transoxania via Khurāsān, Ḥassān having, as it later appears, preceded him to Sogdia and then China.

who will rule over both the Persians and the Arabs. [Tell her also] that I have not come seeking wealth but that I have here with me four thousand chests of gold and silver and that I will hand it over to her and proceed onward to China. If I succeed in gaining the land, she will become my wife; but if I perish, all that wealth will be hers."

When his message was brought to her, she said, "I have fallen in with his wishes, so let him send what he has mentioned." Hence he sent to her four thousand chests, with two men inside each chest. Now Samarqand had four gates, with four thousand men by each gate. He fixed as a sign of recognition between himself and them the striking of camel bells, and gave orders regarding that to the envoys he sent with them. When they got inside the city, he had the camel bells struck; they sprang out [from the chests] and seized control of the gates. Shamir led a frontal attack with his troops and entered the city, killing its populace and seizing as plunder everything within it.[368] He then marched onward to China. He encountered the hosts of the Turks, put them to flight, and went on to China, but found that Ḥassān b. Tubbaʿ had preceeded him by three years. According to what certain people have mentioned, the two of them remained in China until they died, their stay there extending to twenty-one years.

He related: Those who have asserted that they both remained in China until they died have said that Tubbaʿ built [a chain of] lighthouses (*al-manār*) spanning the expanse between him and them, and when any affair of moment occurred, they lit fire beacons at night, and the news was thereby conveyed in a single night. He laid down as a sign between him and them that, "If I light two fires at my end, this signifies the death of Yaʿfur, and if I light three fires, that means the death of Tubbaʿ; whereas, if a single fire is kindled at their end, it means the death of Ḥassān, and if two fires, the death of both of them." They kept to this arrangement, until he lit two fires, and that signified the death of Yaʿfur, and then he lit three fires, and that signified the death of Tubbaʿ.

368. A Persian popular etymology derived the city's name (presumably after its supposed rebuilding) from this legendary episode, *Shamir kand* "Shamir destroyed, uprooted (it)," according to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 108.

He related: According to the story generally agreed upon, Shamir and Ḥassān returned via the road they had previously taken when they had originally started out, until they came into Tubba''s presence with the wealth they had obtained in China plus various kinds of jewels, perfumes, and slave captives. Then they all went back together to their own land, Tubba' traveled onward till he reached Mecca, where he lodged in the ravine of the cook shops (*al-maṭābikh*).[369] Tubba' died in Yemen. None of the kings of Yemen after him ever sallied forth from Yemen on raids to any other land. His reign lasted for one hundred and twenty-one years. [892]

He related: It is said that Tubba' had become a convert to Judaism because of the rabbis (*al-aḥbār*), a large group of whom had gone from Yathrib to Mecca with him.[370] He related: They say that Ka'b al-Aḥbār's lore came from the surviving material those rabbis had bequeathed; Ka'b al-Aḥbār came from the Ḥimyar.[371]

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369. Tubba''s coming to Mecca and his designs against the Ka'bah are treated in more detail by al-Ṭabarī at I, 901ff., pp. 164ff. below. In giving this story, also from Ibn Isḥāq, the historian of Mecca al-Azraqī specifies that *al-shi'b min al-maṭābikh* got its name because Tubba' set up his own kitchens in the ravine of Mecca later called that of the early Umayyad governor of the city, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz (*Kitāb akhbār Makkah*, I, 85).

370. We certainly know of the presence of Judaism in pre-Islamic Yathrib, the Islamic Medina, notably from the story of the Prophet Muḥammad's relations with the local Jewish tribes there after he had made the *hijrah* from Mecca to Medina. These Jews must have emigrated from Palestine to setlements along the Wādī al-Qurā in western Arabia, Yathrib being the farthest south of these colonies; the stimulus for this migration may well have been the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 or the aftermath of Bar Kokhba's revolt. i.e., after A.D. 135. The term used for "rabbi" in early Arabic, *ḥabr/ḥibr*, given the Arabic broken plural *aḥbār*, stems directly from Hebrew *ḥabēr*, and was already known in pre-Islamic Arabia. See C. C. Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam*, 34; A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 49–50. Al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 35, equates *al-ḥabr* with the Muslim *al-'ālim*.

How the town which became the Islamic Medina/al-Madīnah had acquired its earlier name of Yathrib (still appearing in Qur'ān, XXXIII, 13) is uncertain, but the name is undoubtedly ancient. A cuneiform inscription from Ḥarrān mentions *ya-at-ri-bu* as one of the towns in Arabia to which Nabū-nā'id or Nabonidus of Babylon (r. 556–539 B.C.) penetrated; in the Greek geographer Ptolemy we have *Iathrippa*; and in Minaean inscriptions we find *Ytrb*. See Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 201 n. 1; F. Rosenthal, introd. to Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam*, repr. p. xi; *EI*², s.v. al-Madīna. i. History to 1926 (W. M. Watt).

371. Abū Isḥāq Ka'b al-Aḥbār ("Ka'b of the rabbis") was a Yemeni convert from Judaism to Islam, probably in 17/638 (thus in al-Ṭabarī, I, 2514), dying in 32/652–

As for Ibn Isḥāq's account, he has mentioned that the member of the Tubbaʿ dynasty who went to the Orient was Tubbaʿ the Second (*al-ākhar*); namely, Tubbaʿ Tubān Asʿad Abū Karib b. Malkī Karib b. Zayd b. ʿAmr Dhī al-Adhʿār, who was the father of Ḥassān.[372] Ibn Ḥumayd transmitted that information to us, saying that he had it from Salamah.[373]

[Kisrā I Anūsharwān]

Then there assumed the royal power Kisrā Anūsharwān, son of Qubādh, son of Fayrūz, son of Yazdajird (II), son of Bahrām (V) Jūr.[374] When he became king, he wrote letters to the four Fādhūsbāns, each of whom was governor over a region of the land of Persia, and to their subordinate officials.[375] The text of his letter to the Fādhūsbān of Azerbaijan is as follows:

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53 or shortly afterward. He was considered the greatest authority of his time on Judaeo-Islamic traditions, the *Isrāʾīliyyāt*, and also on South Arabian lore. See *EI*², s.vv. Isrāʾīliyyāt (G. Vajda) and Kaʿb al-Aḥbār (M. Schwitz).

372. This genealogy in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 12 = ed. al-Saqqā *et alii*, I, 20, tr. A. Guillaume, 6. Asʿad Abū Karib is attested in the inscriptions as reigning ca. A.D. 425.

373. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Rāzī (d. 248/862) was one of al-Ṭabarī's most important transmitters, in both his *History* and his *Tafsīr*, especially as a second-generation *rāwī* for Ibn Isḥāq, and it is very often Abū ʿAbdallāh Salamah b. al-Faḍl al-Anṣārī (d. 191/806) who provides the link between the two scholars. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 242; Rosenthal, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, I, *General Introduction and From the Creation to the Flood*, 17–19, 172 n. 26, 174 n. 49.

374. . Kisrā, the Arabized form of MP Husraw (thus according to Gignoux) or Khusrōy, and NP Khusraw, Greek Chosroēs, going back to Avestan *haosrawah-*, "of good reputation," a name stemming from the Persian legendary past; in Firdawsī, Kay Khusraw is the son of Siyāwush and Farangīs (for Wasfāfrīd), daughter of Afrāsiyāb, who is the victorious leader of the host of Iran against Turan, and the vanquisher and slayer of Afrāsiyāb. See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 134–39; Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, cols. 1737–38; Mayrhofer, *Die altiranischen Namen*, no. 167; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 465; Yarshater, "Iranian National History," 375–76. Because the two prolonged reigns of Khusraw I Anūsharwān (531–79) and Khusraw II Abarwēz (590 and 591–628) made them especially well known to the Arabs, and because those monarchs' actions impinged very much on the history of the pre-Islamic Arabs and the beginnings of Islam, the assumption arose among the Arabs that Kisrā was a generic term for all the Persian kings, and it actually acquired a broken plural, *al-Akāsirah*. See Nöldeke, trans. 151 n. 1. For the component Anūsharwān, see n. 332 above.

375. The exalted title Pādhūspān stems from a non-Persian form corresponding to MP *pāygōs*, "land, region," + the suffix *-pān*. The Pādhūspāns of the four quarters of the Sāsānid empire seem to have been the civil administration counterparts

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate,[376] from the King Kisrā, son of Qubādh, to Wārī, [893]
son of the Nakhīrjān,[377] Fādhūsbān of Azerbaijan and Armenia and their territories, and Dunbāwand and Ṭabaristān and their adjacent territories,[378] and his subordinate officials, greetings! The thing that most strikes fear into the hearts of people is the feeling of deprivation felt by those who fear the ending of their state of comfortable living, the eruption of civil disorders, and the advent of unpleasant things to the best of individuals, one after the other of such individuals, in regard to their own persons, their retainers, their personal wealth, or what is dearest to them. We know of no cause for fear or absence of a thing that brings more crushing ill-fortune for the generality of people, nor one likely to bring about universal disaster, than the absence of a righteous king.[379]

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of the Ispahbadhs or provincial military commanders (on Khusraw Anūsharwān's division of the supreme military command into four commands corresponding to the quarters of the empire, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 894, p. 149 below), although the civil and military functions doubtless often overlapped in frontier regions. In some sources, notably al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 260, the Pādhūspān is placed under the control of the Ispabadh. See Nöldeke, trans. 151 n. 2, 445–46 Excursus 3; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 139, 265, 352, 519.

376. It is hardly conceivable that the Sāsānids should have used the exact form of the Islamic *basmalah*; whether they used a corresponding formula at the opening of their chancery documents, etc., is unknown, although Mr F. C. de Blois points out that extant Pahlavi texts (known, of course, in Islamic-period manuscripts) often begin with the formula *pad nām ī yazadān* "by the name of the gods," or words to the same effect. He cites Saul Shaked, "Some Iranian Themes in Islamic Literature," 152–54, who is skeptical, however, that there was any Persian influence on Islam in this regard.

377. This appears both as a family name and as a title, but was perhaps originally a patronymic. In al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 262, we have this same form, al-Nakhīrjān, as the name or title of the defender of al-Madā'in against the Arabs of 'Umar's army. See Nöldeke, trans. 152 n. 2. N. *a* of Nöldeke's text suggests the possible reading Zādhūyah for the son of the Nakhīrjān, which would make more sense than the unusual Wārī.

378. These would be the territories making up the "northern quarter" of the realm, the arrangements made by Khusraw Anūsharwān being variously defined in an Armenian source and in the later Islamic historians and geographers: see n. 385 below.

379. As Nöldeke remarks, trans. 153 n. 2, the sententious and moralizing tone of the document (this being merely its introduction) is not untypical of what we know of Sāsānid chancery documents.

When Kisrā had gained firm control of power, he took measures to extirpate the religious beliefs of a hypocritical person from the people of Fasā, called Zarādhusht, son of Khurrakān,[380] a new faith which he had brought into existence within the Mazdaean religion. A considerable number of people followed him in that heretical innovation, and his movement became prominent on account of this. Among those who carried out missionary work for him among the masses was a certain man from M.dh.riyyah (?) called Mazdaq, son of Bamdādh.[381] Among the things he ordained for people, made attractive to them, and urged them to adopt, was holding their possessions and their families in common. He proclaimed that all this was part of the piety that is pleasing to God, and that He will reward with the most handsome of recompenses, and that, if that religious faith he commanded them to observe and urged them to adopt were not to exist, the truly good way of behavior, the one which is pleasing to God, would lie in the common sharing or property. With those doctrines, he incited the lower classes against the upper classes. Through him, all sorts of vile persons became mixed up with the best elements of society, criminals seeking to despoil them of their possessions found easy ways to do this, tyrannical persons had their paths to tyranny facilitated, and fornicators were able to indulge their lusts and get their hands on high-born women to whom they would never have
[894] been able to aspire. Universal calamity overwhelmed the people to an extent they had never before experienced.[382]

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380. Fasā was an important town and district of southeastern Fārs. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 260–61; Le Strange, *Lands*, 290; Schwarz, 97–100; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 152–53; *EI*², s.v. Fasā (L. Lockhart). That Zarādhusht came from Fasā is stated in the *Dēnkard*. See Nöldeke, trans. 456; Crowe, "Kavad's Heresy and Mazdak's Revolt," 24.

381. The sources variously attribute Mazdak to this mysterious M.dh.riyya (which Nöldeke, trans. 154 n. 3, compared with Manādhir in Susiana and which Christensen, *Le règne du roi Kawādh Ier*, 100, sought to interpret as Mādharayyā in Lower Iraq), to Iṣṭakhr in Fārs (al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 65), and to Nasā in Khurāsān (al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiyah*, 209). See Nöldeke, trans. 457 and n. 3; Crone, "Kawad's Heresy and Mazdak's Revolt," 24.

382. The question of whether there were two Mazdakite revolts, one toward the end of Kawād's reign and another one at Khusraw's accession or shortly after it, and the exact timing of the revolt(s) anyway, has been much discussed. Most recently, Crone has suggested that it is simplest to assume that a single revolt broke out on Khusraw's acession in 531, at a time when he was combating the rival succession

Hence Kisrā forbade the people[383] to act in accordance with any of the heretical innovations of Zarādusht, son of Kharrakān, and Mazdaq, son of Bamdādh. He extirpated all their heresy, and he killed a great number of their fervid adherents and did not allow himself to be deflected from any of what he had forbidden the people. [He further killed] a group of the Manichaeans, and made firm for the Magians the religion they had always held.

Before Kisrā became king, the office of Iṣbahbadh—that is, the supreme commander of the armed forces—was held by one man, who was responsible for this supreme command over all the land.[384] Kisrā now divided this office and rank between four Iṣbahbadhs, namely, the Iṣbahbadh of the East, comprising Khurāsān and its adjoining regions; the Iṣbahbadh of the West; the Iṣbahbadh of Nīmrūz, that is, the land of Yemen; and the Iṣbahbadh of Azerbaijan and its adjoining regions, that is, the Khazar lands.[385] He

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claims of his elder brother Kāwūs and military control over the realm was obviously relaxed. Khusraw may have bought time by offering the Makdakites some degree of toleration, and he certainly brought the protracted, but by now rather desultory war with Justinian to an end. Once firmly in command of affairs, *lammā istaḥkama lahu al-mulk*, as al-Ṭabarī, I, 893, puts it, he turned on the Mazdakites, massacred them and gradually restored order in the land. A *terminus ad quem* for this would be 540, when Khusraw resumed the war with Byzantium. See Crone, 30–33.

383. The syntax here is somewhat unusual in that we have verb-object-subject instead of the normal verb-subject-object, but one only derives sense if *Kisrā* is taken as the subject and *al-nās* as the object, as here and as in Nöldeke's translation, "Da verbot nun Chosrau . . ."

384. This is the *iṣbahbadh al-bilād/Ērān-spahbed* of al-Ṭabarī, I, 885, p. 131 above.

385. The division of the realm into four quarters (probably in MP, *kustag*; Arabic, *rub'*, *nāḥiya*), described by their geographical orientation, is attested to in the Armenian geography ascribed to Moses Khorenac'i, which considers the various places in the Persian lands according to a division of (1) *K'usti Khorbaran*, the West; (2) *K'usti Nemroy*, the midday region, the South; (3) *K'usti Khorasan*, the East; and *K'usti Kapkoh*, the direction of the Caucasus, the North. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 16–17, and for the exact delimitation in this work of the Quarter of the South, see n. 969 below. The Islamic sources have similar information about these divisions. Thus Ibn Khurradadhbih, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 118: Jibāl and its components, Rayy, Azerbaijan, Ṭabaristān, Dunbāwand, and Qūmis; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 201–202: Ṭabaristān, Rayy, Jibāl, and its components, and Azerbaijan; al-Dīnawārī, *al-Akbār al-ṭiwāl*, 67: Iṣfahān, Qum, Jibāl, Azerbaijan and Armenia. See Nöldeke, trans. 155 n. 2; and the discussion in Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 94–95. The Khazar lands were never, of course, controled by the Sāsānids (or any other rulers of Persia), and the mention of this Turkish people in a context as early

saw in this new arrangement a way of improving the good ordering of his kingdom. He strengthened the fighting quality of the soldiers with weapons and mounts.[386] He recovered lands belonging to the kingdom of Persia, some of which had slipped out of the hand of King Qubādh and into the control of other monarchs of the nations, through various causes and reasons, including Sind, Bust, al-Rukhkhaj, Zābulistān, Ṭukhāristān, Dardistān, and Kābulistān.[387] He inflicted extensive slaughter among a people called the Bāriz, transported the remaining ones of them from their land, and resettled them in various places of his kingdom. They submitted to him as his servants, and he utilized them in his military campaigns.[388] He gave orders for another people, called the Ṣūl, to be made captives, and they were brought before him.

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as the first part of the sixth century is an anachronism anyway; see further n. 390 below.

386. For Khusraw's military reforms, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 963–65, pp. 262–63, and n. 633 below.

387. Bust, al-Rukhkhaj (classical Arachosia), Zābulistān, Kābulistān, and Dardistān (the pre-Islamic region of Gandhara, this name properly read in Nöldeke's text, whereas in his translation, 156, he had read it, with justifiable doubt, as "Dihistān") were all in the southeastern or eastern part of what is now Afghanistan, while Ṭukhāristān (older Bactria) was in its northern part. It is possible that the success in the mid-560s of the Western Turks against the Hephthalites north of the Oxus, with the resultant fragmentation of the northern Hephthalite kingdom, enabled the Persian king to extend Sāsānid control toward the Oxus and into Bactria (cf. al-Ṭabarī, I, 899, p. 160 below). But Marquart, in his *Ērānšahr*, 32–33, was dubious that Persian armies ever penetrated south of the Hindu Kush into eastern Afghanistan at this time, where the southern Hephthalite kingdom was to persist for a considerable time further, and hardly credible that they should have reached Sind. Later, however, in his "Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Žūn vom 6.-9. Jahrhundert," 257 n. 2, he apparently accepted that Khusraw did actually conquer the Hephthalite lands south of the Hindu Kush as far as the borders of India. See Nöldeke, trans. 156 n. 1; Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 94; Widengren, "Xosrau Anōšurvān, les Hephtalites et les peuples turcs," 69–74 (a penetrating critique of the information in the various sources and the traditions they represent); Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 156. For the regions mentioned above, see *EI*², s.vv. Bust (J. Sourdel-Thomine), Dardistān (A. S. Bazmee Ansari), Kābulistān (C. E. Bosworth), al-Rukhkhadj (idem), Zābulistān (idem, forthcoming).

388. The mountain people of the Jabal Bāriz in the southeastern part of Kirmān province seem to have supplied infantry for the Achaemenid armies, and were always regarded as a bellicose and predatory race. In early Islamic times, various of the ruling dynasties of Persia launched punitive expeditions against these Kūfichīs. See Bosworth, "The Kūfichīs or Qufṣ in Persian History," 9–17; *EI*² Suppl., s.v. Bāriz, Djabal (idem).

He commanded that they should be killed, except for eighty of their boldest warriors, whom he spared and had settled at Shahrām Fayrūz, where he could call upon them for his military [895] campaigns.[389] There was also a people called the Abkhaz, and other ones of the B.n.j.r, Balanjar, and al-Lān, who came together in a coalition to raid his lands.[390] They made an incursion into Armenia in order to raid and despoil its people. Their route thither was at that moment easy and unimpeded, and Kisrā closed his eyes to their activities until, when they had firmly established themselves in his territories, he dispatched against them contingents of troops, who fought with them, and exterminated them apart for ten thousand of them, whom they took prisoner and then settled in Azerbaijan and the neighboring regions.[391]

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389. For the Ṣūl and Shahrām Fayrūz, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 874, pp. 112–13 and n. 290 above.

390. The Abkhāz were, and still are, a people living on the eastern shores of the Black Sea to the northwest of Georgia and on the southern slopes of the northwestern prolongation of the Caucasus range; under Soviet Russian rule there was an Abkhazian ASSR within the Georgian SSR, now part of the independent Georgian Republic. The lands of the Abkhāz were invaded by the Byzantine armies of Justinian and the people converted to Christianity; subsequently, their history was closely linked with the oher Christian peoples of the Georgians and Alans. See Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 175–78; *EI²*, s.v. Abkhāz (W. Barthold-V. Minorsky). However, Marquart read al-Ṭabarī's *Abkhaz* as *al-Khazar*, without any discussion of the questions involved. If this were correct, it would be an early mention of the appearance of this Turkish people in the steppes north of the Caucasus; cf. D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, 23. But whether it is possible to speak of the Khazars, in what was at this time their prehistory, as a separate Turkish people or just part of the Inner Asian Türk empire, is impossible to decide. See Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 335–36; P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, I, 49–50.

The Alans originally lived north of the Caucasus, but as a result of pressure from the Huns, were pushed into the central Caucasus. At the time of Khusraw Anūsharwān they must have been still pagan, and were not converted to Christianity till the early tenth century. Their modern descendants are the Ossetians. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 65, 95, 105–06; idem, *Streifzüge*, 164–72; *EI²*, s.v. Alān (Barthold-Minorsky), Marquart, op. cit., 16, also in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCI, took *B.n.j.r* for *Bulghār*, adducing the Pahlavi form *Burgar* for this Turkish people of the middle Volga basin and South Russian steppe; see *EI²*, s.v. Bulghār (I. Hrbek). The Balanjar are here a people, but subsequently they gave their name to what became a well-known city of the Turkish Khazars, in eastern Caucasia to the north of Darband or Bāb al-Abwāb. See Nöldeke, 157 n. 3; Marquart, op. cit., 16–18; *EI²*, s.v. Balandjar (D. M. Dunlop).

391. On this Caucasian campaign of Khusraw, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 369–70; Hannestad, "Les relations de Byzance avec la Transcaucasie et l'Asie

King Fayrūz had previously erected in the regions of the Ṣūl and al-Lān buildings of stone, with the intention of strengthening his lands against the encroachments there of those nations. Moreover, King Qubādh, son of Fayrūz, had begun the construction, after his father, of a great number of building works in those regions, until, when Kisrā achieved the royal power, he gave orders for the construction in the region of the Ṣūl, with stone hewn in the vicinity of Jurjān, of towns, castles, fortified mounds, and many other buildings, which would serve as a protection for the people of his lands, where they might seek refuge from the enemy in the event of a sudden attack.[392]

The Khāqān Sinjibū was the most implacable, the most courageous, the most powerful, and the most plentifully endowed with troops of all the Turks. It was he who attacked W.r.z (?) the king of the Hephthalites, showing no fear of the numerousness or the fierce fighting qualities of the Hepththalites, and then killed their king W.r.z and the greater part of his troops, seizing their possessions as plunder and occupying their lands, with the exception of the part of them that Kisrā had conquered.[393] Khāqān won

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Centrale aux 5e et 6e siècles," 444–56; Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, 22–23; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 155–56.

392. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 874, pp. 112–13 and n. 290 above.

393. The episode briefly noted here reflects the fact that the Hepththalites were at this time squeezed between the growing might of the Sāsānids under Khusraw Anūsharwān and that of the Western Turks of Ishtemi or Istemi (see n. 394 below) and, subsequently, his son Tardu (Qaghan by 576). In the years from 560 to 563 the Qaghan of the Western Turks invaded Transoxania, seized Chāch (the later Tashkent) and defeated the Hephthalites near Bukhārā. The Hepththalite state in Transoxania thus came to an end, although minor Hephthalite principalities continued in Sogdia and the upper Oxus lands, with the main focus of the surviving Hepththalite power now in eastern and southeastern Afghanistan south of the Paropamisus mountains and the Hindu Kush, and in northwestern India. As a share of the spoils from operations contemporary with those of the Turks, Khusraw now received Bactria, but was to lose it to the Turks shortly afterward.

The name *W.r.z* (text, *W.z.r*) is probably to be connected with the Avestan name Varāza-, Middle Persian Warāz, Warāzān, frequent also in compound names in both Persian and Armenian, and meaning "boar, wild boar," especially as Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 22–23, records an undated Hephthalite coin mentioning VRZ; whether this coin was issued by the *W.r.z* mentioned here is impossible to tell. See on the name Nöldeke, trans. 240 n. 1; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 348–50; Mayrhofer, *Die altiranischen Namen*, no. 355; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, nos. 940–44; Widengren, "Xosrau Anōšurvān, les Hephtalites et les peuples turcs," 93 n. 4; and for the compound name Shahrbarāz/Shahrwarāz, n. 749 below. Among the titles of the petty princes of Khurāsān at the time of the Arab

over the Abkhaz, the B.n.j.r and the Balanjar to his side, and they vouchsafed him their obedience. They informed him that the kings of Persia had always sought to ward them off by paying [896] tribute, thereby securing safety from their raids on their (sc., the Persians') lands. Khāqān now advanced with 110,000 warriors until he reached the fringes of the land of the Ṣūl. He sent a message to Kisrā, uttering threats and using peremptory language against him, to the effect that Kisrā must send to him treasure and to the Abkhaz, the B.n.j.r, and the Balanjar the tribute money the Persian kings had customarily paid before Kisrā came to power. [He further threatened] that, if Kisrā did not expedite the forwarding of all that he asked, he would enter his land and attack it. Kisrā paid no heed to his menaces and did not offer Khāqān a single item of what he had demanded, since he had strongly fortified the region of the gates of the Ṣūl and had blocked the ways and the tracks through defiles that the Khāqān Sinjibū would have to follow in order to reach him. He also knew the strength of his defensive forces in the frontier region of Armenia: five thousand warriors, cavalrymen, and infantry. The Khāqān Sinjibū got word of Kisrā's fortifying of the frontier regions of the Ṣūl, hence returned to his own land with all his troops and with his intentions frustrated. Those of the enemy who were massed against Jurjān were likewise, because of the fortifications Kisrā had built in its neighborhood, unable to mount any raids on it and to conquer it.[394]

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invasions are mentioned Barāz-bandah in Gharchistān, '.b.rāz in Nasā, and Barāzān in Herat, Būshanj, and Bādhghīs, according to Ibn Khurradādhbih, *al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 39–40. The last king of the northern Hepththalites, the one defeated and killed by the Western Turks, appears in the contemporary Greek sources as Katoulphos. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, 501; Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 23, 94–95; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 156; Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, 82–83; Litvinsky, "The Hephthalite Empire," 143–44.

394. Sinjibū is to be identified with the Turkish ruler mentioned by such Byzantine historians as Menander Protector (on whom see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, 422–26) in their accounts of the diplomatic and commercial exchanges between the Greeks and the Western Turks from 563 onward as Sizaboulos, Silziboulos, etc. The reigning Western Turkish Qaghan at this time was Ishtemi or Istemi, the *Ištmi* or *Štmi* of the Orkhon inscriptions and the Stembischagan of Greek sources. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 216–17, identified him with Silziboulos, but this is linguistically difficult, and it is more likely that Silziboulos/Sinjibū, and his son Turkhath, mentioned by Menander, were lesser Turkish rulers in the southern, Transoxanian part of the extensive Türk empire. It has not so far been possible to recover the (presumably) Turkish original form of Silziboulos/Sinjibū; it seems to be rendered in the Chinese annals as *Shê-li čao-wu*. Marquart's analysis of the first

The people had recognized Kisrā Anūsharwān's excellent judgment, knowledge, intelligence, bravery, and resolution, combined with his mildness and clemency toward them.[395] When he was crowned, the great men of state and the nobles came into his presence, and with all their might and eloquence called down

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element *Silz-* as connected with the *Sir* , the *Seres* of the Byzantine historian Jordanes, who located this people as living east of the Caspian Sea, and whose name seems to be enshrined in that of the Syr Darya river, is convincing, but his equation of the second element with *Yabghu*, the Turkish title of the leader holding the rank just below that of the Qaghan (*Ērānšahr*, loc. cit. and 247), is less so. This war between Khusraw and the Turks—who, after the defeat of the Hephthalites (see above), must have become uneasy neighbors in the Oxus region—is to be placed in the late 560s. See Nöldeke, trans. 158 n. 2, 159 n. 1; Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, 82–83; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 275–76, 291; H. W. Haussig, "Die Quellen über die zentralasiatische Herkunft der europäischen Awaren," 31–32; Sinor, "The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk Empire," 302–305; Sinor, "The Türk Empire. 1. The First Türk Empire (553–682)," 332–33.

The Khāqān's advance to "the fringes of the land of Ṣūl" (here, then, Arabic al-Ṣūl would correspond to the Armenian name for Darband, Čʿor) is taken by Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, 24–25, as relating to Bāb al-Abwāb (the *bābs* "gates" being the mouths of the river valleys running down from the mountains to the sea) or Darband, which commanded a particularly constricted point on the narrow route between the western Caspian shore and the easternmost spurs of the Caucasus. This would imply that the Western Turks were already operating in the South Russian steppes and the Kuban steppes north of the Caucasus, in the latter region perhaps through the agency of the tribal chief of the Khazars (if, again, as in al-Ṭabarī, I, 895, p. 151 above, one reads *al-Khazar* for *Abkhaz*). To Khusraw Anūsharwān is traditionally ascribed the building of the famous Wall of Darband, said to have been seven farsakhs long, to keep out the northern barbarians as part of his general plan of fortifying the Caucasus region and thereby protecting Caucasian Albania or Arrān and also Azerbaijan (impressive remains of fortifications are in fact still visible at Darband). However, many romantic and legendary elements were subsequently added to the story, e.g., in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 195–96; Qudāmah b. Jaʿfar, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, 259–61; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 304, s.v. Bāb al-Abwāb. See Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*, 14, 86–88, 144; Dunlop, op. cit., 24–26; *EI*[1], s.v. Derbend (W. Barthold); *EI*[2], s.v. Bāb al-Abwāb (D. M. Dunlop).

395. Nöldeke, trans. 160 n. 2, notes that a new report on Khusraw's reign begins here, one which stems, on the basis of parallel reports in other sources, both Christian and Muslim, from Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ.

The image of Khusraw as a just, beneficent monarch, solicitous for the interests of rich and poor alike, while vigorous and powerful enough to defend the borders of his realm against the Greeks in the west and the Hepththalites and Turks in the east, and to extend Persian authority into lands as distant as Yemen, all contributed to the picture of an ideal ruler. Already, the Prophet Muḥammad is said to have praised him as a just king, although the prevalent Islamic image of the Kisrās, meaning the Sāsānid kings in general, came to be one of regarding them as examples of supreme royal pride and pomp. Nevertheless, for Khusraw Anūsharwān

blessings on his head. When they had concluded their speeches, he stood up and delivered an oration. He began by mentioning God's favors on His people when He had created them, and his own dependency on God for regulating their affairs and the provision of foodstuffs and the means of life for them. He left nothing [which ought to have been said] out of his oration. Then he told the people what they had suffered [through the spreading of Mazdak's teachings]; namely, the loss of their possessions, the destruction of their religion and the damage to their position regarding their children and their means of life. He further informed them that he was looking into ways and means of putting all that right and render- [897]
ing affairs strong again, and urged the people to aid him in this.

Next, he ordered the heads of the leaders of the Mazdakites to be chopped off and their possessions to be shared out among the poor and needy.[396] He killed a large number of those people who had

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specifically, the image of him in the Islamic sources was in general positive, as can be discerned from anecdotes about him in *adab* works like the *Kitāb al-tāj* and the *Kitāb al-maḥāsin wa 'l-aḍdād* of Ps.-al-Jāḥiẓ, and the *Marzubān-nāmah* of Sa'd al-Dīn Warāmīnī, as also in the "Mirrors for Princes" such as Kay Kāwūs b. Iskandar's *Qābūs-nāmah* and Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāmah*; often, he is linked with his supremely wise (semilegendary) vizier Buzurgmihr.

Even if there is truth in this picture—and certainly, the Sāsānid empire reached its apogee during his reign—it did not prevent Khusraw from being also a skillful exponent of *Realpolitik*, ready to use violence and terror to achieve his aims, and some of the later anecdotes about him stress his cunning and duplicity in dealing with opponents. The Christians of Persia had to endure some bouts of persecution during his time (although nothing as severe as that under Shābūr II), usually linked with resumption of Byzantine-Persian warfare. The Catholicos Mar Aba, a former Zoroastrian, survived imprisonment in Azerbaijan but died of the hardships he had suffered after Khusraw released him in 552. Clearly, the emperor must always have been careful to retain the support of the Zoroastrian priesthood. Yet, to be set against a natural feeling on the part of the Sāsānid authorities that Persian Christians must inevitably have a prime loyalty, through religion, to their co-religionists in the west, many of the Persian Christians seem, in fact, to have felt a strong attachment to their native land, Persia, and their own ethnos as Persians, and this counterbalanced any feelings of religious solidarity with the Greeks, especially as Byzantium stood for Chalcedonian orthodoxy as against the dominant Nestorianism and, to a lesser extent, Monophysitism, in the Persia empire. At least one high commander in the Persian army is known to have been a Christian. See for a detailed consideration of these attitudes, and the tensions between ethnos and faith which must often have been at work within the Persian Christian community, Asmussen, "Christians in Iran," 933–35, and Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire," 10–17.

At all events, there was, on the whole, during Khusraw's reign, some amelioration of the Christians' lot. According to John of Ephesus, the king allowed the Monophysites to organize themselves within the realm and to choose a Catholicos

confiscated other people's possessions, and restored these possessions to their original owners. He commanded that every child concerning whom there was dispute before him about his or her origin should be attributed to that person in whose family the child was, when the real father was not known, and that the child should be given a [legal] share in the estate of the man to whom the child was now attributed, provided that the latter acknowledged the child. In regard to every woman who had been forced to give herself unwillingly to a man, that man was to be held to account and compelled to pay the bride price to her so that her family was thereby satisfied. Then the woman was to be given the choice between remaining with him or marrying someone else, except that if she had an original husband, she was to be restored to him. He further commanded that every man who had caused harm to another person in regard to his possessions, or who had committed an act of oppression against another person, should make full restitution and then be punished in a manner appropriate to the enormity of his offense. He decreed that, where those responsible for the upbringing of the children of leading families had died, he himself would be responsible for them. He married the girls among them to their social equals and provided them with their bridal outfit and necessities out of the state treasury; and he gave the youths in marriage to wives from noble families,

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of their own. The peace treaty of 561 with Justinian promised freedom of worship for Christians in Persia, and for Zoroastrians in the Byzantine lands, provided that there was no proselytism between the two faiths (but the inference is that apostasy from Zoroastrianism had been tolerated till then). A certain amount of intellectual freedom and a spirit of enquiry seem to have characterized Khusraw's court, and this was an innovation among the Sāsānids. Some sources attribute to the emperor himself an interest in philosophical ideas and in the tenets of other faiths. There was indeed a movement for the translation of scientific, medical, and other works from languages like Greek and Sanskrit into Middle Persian. Translations from Sanskrit are especially attributed to the monarch's physician Burzōy. See Nöldeke, trans. 160 n. 3; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 177–90; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 372–73, 374–440; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 161–62; Asmussen, "Christians in Iran," 946; Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia*, 216–19; *EI*², s.v. Kisrā (M. J. Morony), and Tarḏjama. 2. Translations from Greek and Syriac (D. Gutas), 3. Translations from Middle Persian (Pahlawī) (F. C. de Blois).

396. According to Nöldeke, trans. 163 n. 1, other, later sources state that he merely banished the leaders of the Mazdakites from his land. And among these sources, Eutychius says that the confiscated goods and property were made into a charitable foundation for the common benefit.

presented them with money for dowries, awarded them sufficient riches, and ordained that they should be members of his court so that he might call upon them for filling various of his state offices. He gave the wives of his [dead] father the choice between staying with his own wives and sharing in their maintenance and provision, and enjoying the same income as these last, or alternatively, he would seek out for them husbands of the same social standing as themselves.[397]

He further ordained the digging of canals and the excavation of subterranean irrigation conduits (*al-qunī*), and provision of loans for the owners of agricultural lands and support for them. He likewise ordered the rebuilding of every wooden bridge or bridge of boats (*jisr*) that had been destroyed and of every masonry bridge (*qanṭarah*) that had been smashed, and further ordered that every village that had fallen into ruin should be restored to a better state of prosperity than previously. He made enquiries about the cavalrymen of the army (*al-asāwirah*), and those lacking in in [898]
resources he brought up to standard by allocating to them horses and equipment, and earmarked for them adequate financial allowances. He assigned overseers for the fire temples and provided good roads for the people. Along the highways he built castles and towers. He selected [good] administrators, tax officials, and governors, and gave the persons appointed to these functions stringent orders. He set himself to peruse the conduct, the writings, and the legal decisions of Ardashīr, and took them as a model to imitate, urging the people to do likewise.

Once he had a firm grip on the royal power and all the lands were under his control, and some years after he had been reigning, he marched against Antioch, where were stationed leading commanders of Qayṣar's army, and conquered it. He then gave orders that a plan should be made for him of the city of Antioch exactly to scale (literally, "according to its extent"), with the number of its houses, streets, and everything contained in it, and orders that a [new city] should be built for him exactly like Antioch but situated at the side of al-Madā'in. The city known as al-Rūmiyyah was built exactly on the plan of Antioch. He thereupon had the inhabitants of Antioch transported and settled in the new city; when

397. That is, the state of widowhood was, according to Persian custom, to be avoided as far as possible.

they entered the city's gate, the denizens of each house went to the new house so exactly resembling their former one in Antioch that it was as if they had never left the city.[398] Kisrā now attacked the town of Heraclea and conquered it, followed by Alexandria and the lands extending up to it. He left behind a detachment of

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398. The attack on Antioch was part of the resumed war of 540–43. Khusraw had made peace with the Byzantines in 532, just after his accession, thus ending the war that had begun toward the end of Kawād's reign (see n. 362 above): the Persians had evacuated several fortresses in Lazica and the Byzantines had agreed to pay a very substantial annual tribute in return for "eternal peace," since the empire was being hard pressed by external enemies in the West; see Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War*, 502–532, 213–24. The resumption of war resulted from a general Byzantine resentment at the inferior position which the paying of tribute implied, and from the sheer inability to keep up these payments at a time when the empire was being threatened on so many fronts, with military defense expenditure causing a disastrous drain on the Byzantine treasury. A considerable effort had been made in the early years of Justinian's reign (527–32) to continue the earlier work of Anastasius. Thus he improved Daras/Dārā or Anastasiopolis, founded by Anastasius in 505 at a strategic point some 25 km/15 miles southeast of Mārdīn and facing the Persian bastion of Niṣībīn, which lay further to its southeast (see on it Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 424; Le Strange, *Lands*, 96–97; *EIr*, s.v. Dārā (M. Weiskopf); Whitby, "Procopius' Description of Dara" (*Buildings* II, 1–3), 737–83, who describes and elucidates those of its buildings and defensive walls still visible), making it the single most important point in the Byzantine defensive system in Upper Mesopotamia. Justinian also strengthened the forward fortified points at such places as Circesium, Martyropolis, and Theodosiopolis. However, the "eternal peace" may have involved some restrictions on Byzantine frontier construction, and the emperor had in any case become involved in the defense of his western provinces. Hence when Khusraw marched against Antioch through the more weakly defended, more southerly middle Euphrates region, he found a city with deficiencies in its defenses, in part because of an earthquake some years previously. In June 540 he sacked it, a disastrous setback for the Greeks, in the course of which the overstretched Byzantine army was revealed as lacking the manpower really to protect this and other cities of northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria until troop reinforcements couild be brought up from further west and the military position in Mesopotamia stabilized. See Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, 163–65; Whitby, "Procopius and the Development of Roman Defenses in Upper Mesopotamia," 726–29.

Meanwhile, Justinian had to agree to a truce on the basis of the Greeks paying an indemnity and arrears of tribute. The new city for the dispossessed citizens of Antioch on the Orontes was called by the Persian emperor Weh Andiyōg Khosrōy, "Khusraw [has built this] better than Antioch," and was popularly known by the Persians as Rūmagān "town of the Greeks" = al-Rūmiyyah; it formed part of the urban complex of al-Madā'in. See Nöldeke, trans., 165 nn. 2–4; Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, I, 420–27; idem, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*, I, 91–112; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 386–87; Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 486–92; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 154–55; Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I/1, 209–36.

his troops in the land of the Romans after Qayṣar had submitted to him and had paid him ransom money.[399]

He returned home from Rūm and then took the field against the Khazars, and sought revenge on them for the damage they had wrought on him by afflicting his subjects.[400] Next, he turned his atention to Aden. He blocked up part of the sea there which lay between two mountains and is adjacent to the land of Abyssinia (al-Ḥabashah), with large ships, rocks, iron columns, and chains, and he killed the great men of state of that land.[401] He then returned to al-Madā'in, having brought under his control all those regions of the land of Rūm and Armenia that are situated on this side of Heraclea plus the whole area between his capital and the sea,[402] in the region of Aden. He appointed al-Mundhir b. al- [899]
Nu'mān as king over the Arabs and loaded him with honors.[403] Then he took up residence in his own kingdom at al-Madā'in, and

399. The truce was denounced by Justinian because of Persian operations in 541 in the Black Sea region of Lazica, which was adjacent to Byzantine defense points in eastern Pontus and which had been recently Christianized, and because of what were regarded as unjustified exactions of Khusraw from the people of the Byzantine fortified points and towns in Upper Mesopotamia during the previous year, leading to Persian invasions of Upper Mesopotamia in 542, of Armenia in 543, and of Upper Mesopotamia again in 544. In the course of this last campaign, Edessa was strenuously besieged by the Persians (see on this event, J. B. Segal, *Edessa, 'The Blessed City'*, 105, 113, 158–60). There does not, however, seem to have been at any of these times a Persian advance into southern Anatolia as far as Heracleia (the Hiraqlah of later Islamic historians and geographers, modern Eregli, see on it Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 398–99; Le Strange, *Lands*, 149; *EI²*, s.v. Eregli (J. H. Mordtmann-F. Taeschner), which, according to the contemporary church historian Evagrius Scholasticus, was not sacked by the Persians till much later, in the time of Justin II (r. 565–78). The mention of Alexandria (in Egypt!) must be a confusion with the Persian invasion of Egypt under Khusraw II Abarwēz some seventy years later in the imperial reign of Heraclius (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1002, pp. 318–19 below). But as al-Ṭabarī says here, Edessa had been forced to pay an indemnity to the Persians after the final siege, and the peace or five years' truce of 545 beween Khusraw and Justinian involved the handing over by the Greeks of a substantial indemnity. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, I, 427–40; idem, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*, I, 91–112; Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 492–502; Frye, "The Political History," 155–56; Lang, "Iran, Armenia and Georgia," 521.

400. Presumably a repetition of the notice by al-Ṭabarī at I, 895, p. 151 above, of the emperor's Caucasian expedition.

401. An anticipatory mention of the South Arabian expedition, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 947ff., pp. 238ff. below.

402. Following the text's n. *f*, with the correct reading of the Sprenger ms. *al-baḥr* for the text's *al-Baḥrayn*.

403. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 899–900, p. 161 below.

turned his attention once more to affairs needing his personal care. After this, he led an expedition against the Hepththalites, seeking revenge for his grandfather Fayrūz. Previously, Anūsharwān had married Khāqān's daughter, so he now wrote to him before setting off on the expedition, informing him of his intentions and enjoining him to march against the Hephthalites. Anūsharwān came up against them, killed their king, and extirpated the whole of his family. He penetrated to Balkh and what lies beyond it and quartered his troops in Farghānah. He then returned home from Khurāsān.[404] When he got back to al-Madā'in, a deputation came to him seeking help against the Abyssinians. So he sent back with them one of his commanders heading an army of the men of Daylam and adjacent regions; they killed the Abyssinian Masrūq in Yemen and remained there.[405]

Thus Kisrā enjoyed an unbroken run of victories and conquests; all the nations were in awe of him; and numerous delegations from the Turks, the Chinese, the Khazars, and similar [distant] nations thronged his court. He lavished generosity on scholars. He reigned for forty-eight years. The birth of the Prophet fell within

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404. In the account of these events at I, 895, p. 152 above, it is the Khāqān of the Turks who kills the Hephthalite king W.r.z/Warāz. The name of the Turkish princess whom Khusraw is said here to have married (the future mother of his successor Hormizd IV) is given by al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 211 = § 632 as the un-Turkish-looking Fāqum (thus vocalized by Pellat; the reading is dubious, but an Armenian author has Kaïēn, according to Nöldeke, trans. 264 n. 4). Although an Arabic geographer like Ibn Khurradādhbih, *al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 30, says that Khusraw supposedly constructed the town of Farghānah, it seems most unlikely that Sāsānid power ever extended into the Farghānah valley of Central Asia. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 219–20, endeavored to make sense of this piece of information by relating it to a Wādī Farghānah south of Baghlān in the southern part of Ṭukhāristān, mentioned in the accounts of the Arab invasions of northern Afghanistan; but this seems very forced. See also Nöldeke, trans. 167 nn. 2–3.

405. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 948–50, 952–57, pp. 238–42, 244–50 below, for the story of the expedition to Yemen. The Daylamīs, mountaineers from the region of Daylam in the Elburz Mountains at the southwestern corner of the Caspian Sea, were often employed as mercenary infantrymen and alpine troops by the Sāsānids, and Procopius mentions *Dolomitae* in Khusraw's operations in Georgia and Lazica. See *EI*², s.v. Daylam (V. Minorsky). Khusraw's recourse to marginal peoples like the Daylamīs seems to have arisen from an increasing shortage of military manpower from the traditional Persian sources, i.e., the indigenous mailed cavalrymen of the *aswār* class (on whom see n. 258 above), during his reign, and part of what Zeev Rubin has called the "barbarization" of the Persian army at this time, a parallel to what happened in the Roman world. See Rubin, "The Reforms of Khusro Anūshirwān," 284–85.

the latter part of Anūsharwān's reign.[406] Hishām [Ibn al-Kalbī] has related that Anūsharwān's reign was (only) forty-seven years. He also related that 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Messenger of God's father, was born during his reign [in the twenty-fourth year of this, and that he died] in the forty-second year of his dominion.[407]

Hishām also related: When Anūsharwān's position became assured, he sent a message to al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān the Elder (al-Akbar), whose mother was Mā' al-Samā', a woman of al-Namir [tribe], and appointed him as king over al-Ḥīrah and the lands over which the House of al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr Ākil al-Murār[408] used to [900] rule, and al-Mundhir remained in this office continuously until he died.[409] He also related: Anūsharwān led an expedition against the

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406. This based on the traditional dating of the Prophet's birth to ca. 570. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 900, pp. 163–64 and nn. 414, 640 below.

407. The words between the parentheses supplied by Nöldeke, trans. 168, from other, parallel texts as necessary to complete the text where there is an obvious omission.

408. How Ḥujr, the essential founder of Kindī greatness in Najd at this time (see p. 122 and n. 312 above) and grandfather of al-Ḥārith (on whom, see Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda*, 51–69), gained the nickname *ākil al-murār*, "eater of bitter herbs," is unclear, although the Arabic sources give two not very convincing explanations (see Olinder, op. cit., 42; Robin, "Le royaume ḥujride," 3). But Arabic *murār* is virtually identical with Akkadian *murāru*, "bitter lettuce," and possibly connected with *irrū*, "a medical plant of the Cucurbilaceae family, possibly the colocynth" (see *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Letter M*, Part II, 218, *Letters I–J*, 182–83). R. Campbell Thompson thought that *irrū* was *Papaver*, probably *rhoeas* L., the poppy (*A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, 223–29). We are clearly dealing with bitter herbs used as a medicament, and possibly, in the light of Campbell Thompson's definition of *irrū*, with a pain-killing or narcotic drug.

409. Concerning Khusraw's apppointment (or more probably, confirmation; see pp. 140–41 and n. 362 above) of al-Mundhir III as his deputy on the fringes of Iraq and in northern and eastern Arabia, al-Ṭabarī records, at I, 958, p. 253 below, this time from Ibn Isḥāq, that, after the peace treaty of 531 with Justinian, the Persian emperor appointed the Lakhmid as ruler over all the Arabian lands as far as Baḥrayn, 'Umān, Yamāmah, al-Ṭā'if, and Ḥijāz. See Smith, "Events in Arabia in the Sixth Century A.D.," 442, and al-Ṭabarī, I, 958, pp. 252–53 below). The rivalry of the houses of Lakhm and Kindah was thus bound to be intensified.

As well as Kindah's rivaling with Lakhm over control of Najd, the lands of Baḥrayn and Hajar in eastern Arabia were controled at this time by a subordinate branch of Kindah under Mu'āwiyah al-Jawn ("the dark colored one"), brother of 'Amr al-Maqṣūr and son of Ḥujr, which persisted there under Mu'āwiyah's descendants until the time of the Prophet (see Olinder, "Āl al-Ǧaun of the Family of Ākil al-Murār," 208–29). As noted at p. 122 n. 312 above, it certainly seems that there was a Kindī "kingdom," or rather, an assemblage of tribes ruled by a Kindī chief

Burjān, then turned back and built [the town of] al-Bāb and the Caspian Gates (al-Abwāb).[410]

[The History of al-Ḥīrah]

Hishām related:[411] There reigned as king over the Arabs, as appointee of the Persian kings after al-Aswad b. al-Mundhir, his

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centered on Najd and under the suzerainty of the Kings of Ḥimyar, a subordination explicit in two South Arabian inscriptions (Ry 445 and 446) from Ma'sal al-Jumḥ, 240 km/150 miles west-south-west of modern al-Riyāḍ and dating from the mid-fifth century and 631 Ḥimyarite era/A.D. 521–52, respectively. (De Blois is followed here for beginning the Sabaean or Ḥimyarite era in April 110 B.C. rather than 115 B.C., i.e., converting the South Arabian era to the Christian one by subtracting 110 years and not 115 years, the figure which has long been followed ever since Halévy propounded it a century and a quarter ago, since the disparity of only 110 years—a "short chronology"—causes fewer problems that that of 115 years. See de Blois, "The Date of the 'Martyrs of Nagrān,'" 119–20, and also Robin, who follows de Blois in this, in his *L'Arabie antique de Karib'îl à Mahomet*, 33, 151, and his "Le royaume ḥujride," 691; cf. also *EI*², s.v. Ta'rīkh. I, *Dates and Eras in the Islamic World*, 1. In the Sense of Date, Dating, etc. [de Blois].) The two inscriptions name Kindah and Ma'add as among the Arab auxiliaries and allies of the kings of Ḥimyar (see Robin, "Le royaume ḥujride," 675–95). Dating from some three decades after the second Ma'sal al-Jumḥ inscriptions, the inscription of the well of Murayghān, situated to the north of Najrān and east of what is now now 'Asīr (Ry 506), records that the men of Kindah and Khindif fought in the army of the Abyssinian viceroy Abrahah when this last governor marched against the Lakhmid al-Mundhir III's son 'Amr (the later 'Amr III; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 900, p. 163 and n. 414 below) and his Bedouin allies. The main force under Abrahah himself engaged the Ma'add in a battle at Ḥulubān or Ḥalabān, not far to the south of Ma'sal al-Jumḥ (the name vocalized as Ḥulubān in al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, I, 491, and Ḥalabān in Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 281–82; see on the place Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie*, 53: a wadi arising in the Arwā chain and running into the Wādī Rikā', cf. his Map D). The Ma'add were decisively defeated and forced to give hostages, while another force, which included men of the tribes of Sa'd and Murād, operated in the territory of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah and defeated the 'Āmir at Turabah, some 100 km/60 miles to the east-southeast of al-Ṭā'if. Al-Mundhir then had to sue for peace from Abrahah and send hostages to Yemen. The inscription dates these events to 662 Ḥimyarite era/A.D. 552–53. Much has been written on the inscription and the events it describes. Among all this, see Beeston, "Notes on the Mureighan Inscription," 389–92; Smith, "Events in South Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.," 435–37; M. J. Kister, "The Campaign of Ḥulubān. A New Light on the Expedition of Abraha," 425–36.

410. That is, against the Bulghārs of the Middle Volga; this must be a legendary touch, unless it is a reminiscence of the events already noted in al-Ṭabarī, I, 895–96, pp. 151–53 above. On Bāb al-Abwāb or Darband, see pp. 151, 153 and nn. 390, 394 above.

411. A continuation of Ibn al-Kalbī's narrative interrupted in al-Ṭabarī, I, 892, p. 146 above.

brother al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān, whose mother was Hirr bt. al-Nu'mān, and who reigned for seven years. After him there reigned al-Nu'mān b. al-Aswad b. al-Mundhir, whose mother was Umm al-Malik bt. 'Amr b. Ḥujr, the sister of al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr al-Kindī, who reigned for four years. Then there was appointed in his stead Abū Ya'fur b. 'Alqamah b. Mālik b. 'Adī b. al-Dhumayl b. Thawr b. Asas b. Rab[412] b. Numārah b. Lakhm, who reigned for three years. Then there reigned al-Mundhir b. Imri' al-Qays al-Bad', i.e., Dhū al-Qarnayn. Hishām related: He was only thus called on account of two plaits made from his hair.[413] His mother was Mā' al-Samā', that is, Māriyah bt. 'Awf b. Jusham b. Hilāl b. Rabī'ah b. Zayd Manāt b. 'Amir al-Ḍaḥyān b. Sa'd b. al-Khazraj b. Taym Allāh b. al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ. He reigned for a total of forty-nine years. Then there reigned his son 'Amr b. al-Mundhir, whose mother was Hind bt. al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār and who reigned for ten years.[414] He related: After 'Amr b. Hind had been reigning for eight years and eight months, the Messenger of God was born; that was in the time of Anūshar-

412. Reading uncertain.

413. An unconvincing explanation for an appellation already well known as a by-name that was generally applied to Alexander the Great in Arabic lore, including in the Qur'ān; see n. 443 below. Its origin, if ever known, must have been forgotten by Ibn al-Kalbī's time.

414. Ibn al-Kalbī's filiation of the Lakhmid kings has come down to us in two slightly different versions, the one given here by al-Ṭabarī (and in part, in various other places in his *History*) and the other utilized by Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh*, 83–97, for his section on the Lakhmids. Sidney Smith thought that Ibn al-Kalbī derived information here from a Sāsānid register of years, "used with remarkable fidelity." The two versions are compared, together with others in the Arabic historical sources, and a harmonization attempted, by Rothstein, *Lahmiden*, 50ff.; see now Smith, "Events in Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.," 429–30.

The accession of 'Amr III b. al-Mundhir III, also called 'Amr b. Hind after his mother, the Kindī princess, should be placed in 554, with what was apparently a smooth succession to his father, and the duration of his reign was sixteen years (as in Rothstein's table, 53, following the figure of sixteen in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, op. cit. 94, pace the one given here by al-Ṭabarī of ten years. This would place 'Amr's death—as a result of being assassinated by the poet 'Amr b. Kulthūm—in 569 or in 570, the traditional but impossible date given for the "Year of the Elephant" at Mecca. See for 'Amr's reign (he had a reputation for firm rule and cruel behavior, seen in the celebrated affair of the "letter of al-Mutalammis," see n. 774 below), Nöldeke, trans. 170 n. 1, 172 n. 1; Rothstein, op. cit., 94–102; *EI*², s.v. 'Amr b. Hind (A.J. Wensinck). See for the chronological difficulties involved in placing the Prophet Muḥammad's birth in the eighth year of 'Amr's reign, Smith, op. cit., 434.

wān and the "Year of the Elephant" in which al-Ashram Abū
[901] Yaksūm led an attack on the Ka'bah.[415]

[The History of Yemen]
Mention of the Rest of the Story of Tubba' in the Days of Qubādh and the Time of Anūsharwān and the Persians' Dispatch of an Army to Yemen in Order to Combat the Abyssinians, and the Reason for This Last.[416]

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said: When Tubba' II (al-Ākhar), that is, Tubān As'ad Abū Karib, came back from the East, he traveled via Medina.[417] When he had passed by it at the beginning of his expedition (i.e., on his outward journey), he had not aroused any feelings of disquiet among its people, but had left behind there in their midst one of his sons, who had [subsequently] been treacherously slain.

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415. See on this attack, al-Ṭabarī, I, 936–46, pp. 222–35 below. The patronymic Abū Yaksūm refers to the Abyssinian viceroy of South Arabia, Abrahah, also known as al-Ashram "the man with his nose-tip cut off," whose son Yaksūm was to succeed him as governor in South Arabia. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 931, p. 213, below, for the alleged occasion of this mutilation, and I, 945, pp. 235–36 below, for Yaksūm's reign. The actual name Yaksūm must stem from the toponym Aksum, the capital of the first Abyssinian kingdom, which lasted up to this sixth century

416. Nöldeke omitted from his translation the section beginning here at I, 901 l. 1, as far as 917 l. 17.

417. The following section, up to I, 917 l. 17, depends on the parallel account of Ibn Isḥāq, in essence only moderately different from that of Ibn al-Kalbī, but it must be taken as a later growth of legendary history of a type similar to that in the Alexander Romance, which may have influenced it. The section is reproduced substantially by Ibn Isḥāq in the *Sīrat al-nabī* of Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 12ff. = ed. al-Saqqā et al. I, 19ff., trans., 6ff.; cf. Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tījān*, 297–300, and F. Krenkow, "The Two Oldest Books on Arabic Folklore," 227–28.

Abū Karib As'ad himself was, however, a fully historical person, leaving aside the legendary accretions, the *'bkrb 's'd* of the Ḥimyaritic inscriptions. In the first half of the fourth century he expanded his territories from southwestern and southern Arabia into central Arabia. He inflated the royal title of the founder Shamir Yur'ish from that of "lord of Saba, Dhū Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt and *Ymnt*" to include "and of their Arabs (i.e., Bedouins) in *Ṭwd*^{m} and Tihāmah," and succeeding Tubba' kings also used this fuller title (in Classical Arabic, *ṭawd* means "mountain"; for al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab*, 371, al-Ṭawd denoted the mountain range of the Sarāt, which divided Yemen between its coastland, *tihāmah*, and its inland plateau, *najd*). His fame ensured the later growth around him of a fantastic romance and epic similar to that of, and, as noted above, conceivably inspired by, that of Alexander the Great. See *EI*^{2}, s.v. Tubba' (A. F. L. Beeston).

Hence he now came to the town with the intention of reducing it to ruins, extirpating its people and cutting down its date palms. When they heard of his plans, this tribe (*ḥayy*) of the Anṣār banded together against him in order to defend themselves. Their chief at that time was 'Amr b. al-Ṭallah, one of the Banū al-Najjār, and then of the Banū 'Amr b. Mabdhūl.[418] They sallied forth to attack Tubba'. When Tubba' had encamped [with his troops] by the Medinans, one of the latter from the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār, called Aḥmar, had killed one of Tubba''s followers whom he had found cutting down the date clusters of a tree that belonged to him. He had therefore struck him with his reaping hook and killed him, saying, "The fruit belongs to the one who nurtures it and makes it grow!" After killing him, he had thrown the corpse into a well-known local well called Dhāt Tūmān (?); this naturally increased Tubba''s rage against them, and the two sides became engaged in making war and fighting other. He related: The Anṣār assert that they used to fight Tubba' by day but treat him as a guest each night. Tubba' was amazed at this and used to say, "By God, these people of ours are generous of heart!"

While he was engaged thus, there came to him two rabbis from [902]
the Jews of the Banū Qurayẓah, learned scholars with firmly grounded knowledge, who had heard about Tubba''s intention of destroying the town and its people.[419] They told him, "O King, don't do it, for if you persist in carrying out your plan, something will intervene to prevent you, and we fear that you will bring down on yourself speedy retribution." He said to them, "How can

418. This is an anachronism, in that the designation of Anṣār "Helpers" was only given to his supporters in Medina by the Prophet after his *hijrah* of 622, and an inaccuracy in that it was not, of course, a tribal name. The Arabs inhabiting Yathrib, as it was mainly called in pre-Islamic times (see n. 370 above), were from the Banū Qaylah bt. Hālik, with its two branches of the Aws and the Khazraj. Al-Najjār were a clan of the Khazraj, and the 'Amr b. Mabdhūl part of their subclan Māzin. The 'Adī mentioned below were another subclan. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 176–77, 185, II, 31, 34–35, 347: Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 256; Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, genealogical table at 154.

419. Qurayẓah were one of the three main Jewish tribes in Medina, confederates of the Aws; they nevertheless suffered the massacre of their menfolk and the enslavement of their women and children by Muḥammad in 6/627 after the siege of Medina by Quraysh and their allies. See Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 273–77; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 193ff.; *EI*², s.v. Ḳurayẓa (W. M. Watt).

that be?" They replied, "It is the place to which a prophet, who will arise out of the tribe of Quraysh at the end of time, will migrate, and it will be his home and resting place." After having heard these words, Tubba' desisted from what he had intended to do regarding Medina, perceiving that the two rabbis had special knowledge and being amazed at what he had heard from them. He departed from Medina, took them with him to Yemen, and embraced their religion. The names of the two rabbis were Ka'b and Asad, both from the Banū Qurayẓah and paternal cousins of each other.[420] They were the most knowledgeable persons of their age, as Ibn Ḥumayd has mentioned to me—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yazīd b. 'Amr—Abān b. Abī 'Ayyāsh—Anas b. Mālik—shaykhs from his people (sc., of Medina) who went back to the Jāhiliyyah.

A certain poet of the Anṣār, one Khālid[421] b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Ghaziyyah b. 'Amr b. 'Abd b. 'Awf b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, recited these verses about the warfare between the Medinans and Tubba', vaunting 'Amr b. al-Ṭallah and mentioning his merits and his resolute defense:

Has he relinquished youthful folly, or has its remembrance ceased? Or has he obtained his fill of pleasure?
Or have you remembered youth? And what a memory of youth or of its times you have![422]
For indeed, it was a young man's war (literally, the war of a beast which sheds its two teeth next to the incisors at its fourth or later year, *rubā'ī*, or of a young man similarly shedding teeth, *rabā'ī*), whose like brings to a youth experience and esteem.[423]

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420 The names of the two rabbis as given here come from the Ibn Isḥāq version of this story, from an uncertain source; but Michael Lecker has recently pointed out that the late-period historian of Medina Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1506) cites an alternative tradition from the second/eighth-century historian of Medina Ibn Zabālah that the names of the two men were Suḥayt/Sukhayt and Munabbih, from the Medinan Jewish tribe of Hadl, who were actually clients of the more powerful Qurayẓah. See al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā*, I, 190; Lecker, "The Conversion of Ḥimyar to Judaism and the Jewish Banū Hadl of Medina," 134–35.

421. The Cairo text, II, 106, has for this name *khāl* "the maternal uncle of. . . ."

422. An alternative translation of the second sentence in the line might be "And what is it that you remember? Youth or the passing of the whole span of life?"

423. Following *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCI, Thorbecke's reading *ātā*, "brings to," for the text's *atā*, "comes." One might also render the last word

[903]

So ask 'Imrān or ask Asd, then, at the time when [the army] came, when the morning star was still visible,[424]
An army headed by Abū Karib, with their bodies clad in long coats of mail and with pungent reek.
Then they said, Who is coming along with them, the Banū 'Awf or al-Najarah?
O Banū al-Najjār, indeed we have a burden of taking vengeance on them from long ago![425]
Then there went forth to encounter them in battle a body of lofty warriors (*'ashannaqah*),[426] whose extent was like that of a sheet of falling rain drops.[427]
A chief who is on a level of prestige with kings; whoever would make war on 'Amr does not realize his eminence.

A man of the Anṣār, mentioning their fierce resistance to Tubba', has said:

You impose upon me, among other duties in regard to it, [defense of] the date palm groves of al-Asāwīf and al-Manṣa'ah,[428]

'ibarah as "a moral example."

424. 'Imrān is not common in tribal genealogies, but may conceivably refer to the 'Imrān b. Hudhmah, a branch of the tribe of Muzaynah who lived to the south of Medina; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 88, II, 357; *EI*², s.v. Muzayna (F. M. Donner). Asd is, of course, the great tribe of Asd or Azd (*'sd* being the form in the South Arabian inscriptions), with its two branches originally centered on 'Umān and the Sarāt mountain chain in 'Asīr respectively; see *EI*², s.v. Azd (G. Strenziok).

425. The name 'Awf occurs in the genealogies of a large nuumber of Arab tribes, while al-Najjār b. Tha'labah were a subclan of the Medinan Khazraj; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 185, II, 442. What is unclear is whether the Najarah are identical with the Banū al-Najjār of the next line, the difficulty in identifying them as a single unit being that the 'Awf and the Najarah are apparently among the attackers, whereas one would expect the Banū al-Najjār to be among the defenders of their town.

426. Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 14 = ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā et al., I, 23, has *musāyifah*, "a body of swordsmen," for this rare word *'ashannaqah*, hence probably a *lectio facilior*.

427. Ibn Hishām, loc. cit., inserts here a line, "Among them is 'Amr b. Ṭallah; may God grant him long life for the welfare of his people!" which serves as a link between the preceding and following verses and elucidates the 'Amr who is subsequently praised.

428. Al-Asāwīf is the plural, used here for metrical purposes, one assumes, of al-Aswaf, a place outside Medina but regarded as coming within the Ḥaram estab-

Date palm groves the Banū Mālik have protected from the
terrifying cavalry hosts of Abū Karib.

He related: Tubba' and his people were devotees of idols and worshiped them. He set out toward Mecca, this being on his route back to Yemen, until when he was at al-Duff in the district of Jumdān, between 'Usfān and Amaj, a point along his way between Mecca and Medina,[429] a group of men from Hudhayl[430] met him and said, "O king, allow us to lead you to an ancient, largely obliterated treasury which previous monarchs have overlooked and which contains pearls, chrysoliths, rubies, gold, and silver." He replied, "Yes, indeed," and they went on to say, "[It is] a temple in Mecca which its people worship and pray by."[431] The Hudhalīs,
[904] however, intended by that Tubba'/s destruction, because they knew full well that if any king had any bad intentions concerning the Ka'bah or acted deceitfully in regard to it, he would perish. When he had agreed to their proposal, he sent for the two rabbis

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lished by the Prophet around the town. See Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, II, 422; al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, I, 151; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā*, IV, 1125–26. Al-Manṣa'ah, on the contrary, would be the singular of a place-name normally found in the plural, al-Manāṣi', literally "places set apart," i.e., for purposes of fulfilling the needs of nature, outside Medina, specifically for the women of the town to use at night, and figuring as such in the famous *ḥadīth al-ifk*, "affair of the lie," involving 'Ā'ishah and her calumniators. See Majd al-Dīn Ibn Athīr, op. cit., V, 65; al-Samhūdī, op. cit., IV, 1313.

429. These places all lay to the north of Mecca, with 'Usfān in the transition zone between the coastal plain, the Tihāmah, and the Ḥijāz mountain chain, the Sarāt, and the others on the road to Medina across the mountains. For al-Duff, see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 458. For Jumdān, see al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, II, 391–92, and Yāqūt, op. cit., II, 162, respectively, describing it as a mountain in the territory of Sulaym and a mountain in the *ḥarrah*, or lava field, of Ḍariyyah. 'Usfān is frequently mentioned in early Islamic sources as two stages from Mecca, and still exists as a village. See al-Bakrī, op. cit., III, 942–43, placing it in the territory of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā'ah; Yāqūt, op. cit., IV, 120–21; Thilo, *Die Ortsmanen in der altarabischen Poesie*, 109 and Map C; Abdullah Al-Wohaibi, *The Northern Hijaz in the Writings of the Arab Geographers 800–1150*, 284–89. Amaj was an oasis settlement in the territory of Khuzā'ah. According to al-Bakrī, op. cit., I, 190–92, and according to Yāqūt, op. cit., I, 249–50, it was in the region of Medina; see also Al-Wohaibi, op. cit., 120–22, 186.

430. Hudhayl b. Mudrikah were a tribe, accounted North Arab in genealogy, from the Khindif branch of Muḍar, hence related to Quraysh of Mecca, whose territory was in the vicinity of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 3, 58, II, 7, 286; *EI²*, s.v. Hudhayl (G. Rentz).

431. That is, the Ka'bah, regarded, as is stated below, as having been founded by Ibrāhīm (Abraham) and his son Ismā'īl (Ishmael).

and asked them about it. They told him: "The sole intention of these people is to bring about your destruction and the destruction of your army. If you do what they are urging you to do, you and everyone with you will assuredly perish en bloc." Tubba' said, "What then do you advise me to do when I get to the temple?" They replied, "When you get there, do as its devotees do: circumambulate it, venerate and honor it, shave your head in its presence and behave with humility until you leave its precincts." He asked them, "What is preventing you yourselves from doing that?" They retorted, "By God, it is indeed the temple of our forefather Abraham, and it is just as we have informed you; but the local people have interposed as obstacles, between us and the temple, various idols they have set up around it, and blood they shed there. They are unclean polytheists," or words to that effect.[432]

Tubba' recognized the soundness of their advice and the veraciousness of their words. He had the group of Hudhalīs brought in, and cut off their hands and feet. Then he proceeded onwards till he reached Mecca. It was revealed to him in a dream that he should cover over the temple, so he covered it with sheets of woven palm leaves. Then in a second dream it was revealed to him that he should cover it with something better than that, so he covered it with Yemeni cloth (*al-ma'āfir*). Then in a third dream, that he should cover it with something even better than that, so he covered it with women's robes and pieces of finely woven Yemeni cloth joined together (*al-mulā'ah wa-al-waṣā'il*). According to what they assert, Tubba' was the first person to put a covering over the Ka'bah.[433] He also ordered its guardians, from Jurhum,[434]

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432. According to Muslim lore, the primitive monotheism of Abraham, the *millat Ibrāhīm*, became corrupted after his time by polytheistic practices such as are mentioned here, so that by Muḥammad's time it had become an idol temple. Whether the *ṭawāf* or circumambulation, and the requirement of shaving the head, part of the *iḥrām*, practices mentioned here, were part of the rites of the Ka'bah in the two or three centuries before the coming of Muḥammad, the age of the Tubba's, is unknown; but it seems quite likely that such taboos and ritual practices did exist well before their formalization under Islam as the *manāsik al-ḥajj*. See M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pélerinage à la Mekke, étude d'histoire religieuse*, 30ff.; *EI*², s.v. Ka'ba (A. J. Wensinck).

433. For the *kiswah* or covering, see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pélerinage à la Mekke*, 33; idem, "Le voile de la Ka'ba," 5–21; *EI*², s.v. Ka'ba. 1. (A.J. Wensinck and J. Jomier).

434. Jurhum were an ancient tribe, accounted Yemeni in genealogy, who were said to have migrated northward to Ḥijāz and to have taken over Mecca and its

to look after it and to keep it in a state of ritual purity, not letting any blood, dead bodies, or *mīlāth*, that is, [cloth used for] menstruation, come near it, and he provided it with a door and a key. Then he set out for Yemen accompanied by his troops and the two rabbis. When he reached Yemen he summoned its people to enter into the same religion as he had done, but they refused until they were able to test it by means of ordeal by fire, which they had in Yemen.[435]

[905] Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Abū Mālik b. Tha'labah b. Abī Mālik al-Quraẓī,[436] who said: I heard Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh relate that, when Tubba' drew near to Yemen in order to enter it, the Ḥimyarites blocked his way to it, telling him that he could not enter it because he had abandoned their religion. He invited them to accept his (new) faith, saying, "It is a better religion than yours." They retorted, "In that case, come and settle the matter with us by the ordeal of fire," and he agreed. He related: According to what the Yemenis assert, there was in Yemen a fire, by means of which they would settle matters in dispute among themselves; the fire would devour the wrongdoer but leave the one who had suffered injury unscathed. When they told this to Tubba', he replied, "You have made a fair proposition." So his people (i.e., the Ḥimyarites) went forth with their idols and with other sacred objects they were accustomed to utilize in their religion, while the two rabbis went forth with their sacred codices (*maṣāḥifihimā*)[437] hanging round their necks until they halted in front of the fire by the place where it blazed forth. The fire leapt out toward them, and when it neared them they withdrew from it in great fear. But those people present urged them onward and instructed them to stand firm. So they stood

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shrine from the Amelekites before being themselves displaced by the local Ḥijāzī tribe of Khuzā'ah. Individuals with the *nisbah* of al-Jurhumī were still known in the time of Muḥammad. See *EI*², s.v. Djurhum or Djurham (W. M. Watt).

435. This story is also in Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 14–15 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 237, trans. 8–9; idem, *Kitāb al-Tījān*, 294–96; al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, I, 84–86.

436. Some male members of the Jewish tribe of Qurayẓah apparently survived the massacre mentioned in n. 419 above.

437. These *muṣḥafs* could have been made up of flat leaves, loose or sewn, or of rolled-up leaves, both procedures being apparently known in earliest Islam and doubtless before then. See *EI*², s.v. Ṣaḥīfa (A. Ghédira).

their ground until the fire covered them and consumed the idols and the sacred objects they had brought along, together with the men of Ḥimyar who were bearing them. The two rabbis then went forth with their sacred codices round their necks, with their foreheads dripping with sweat but the fire did not harm them at all. At this, the Ḥimyarites agreed to accept Tubba''s religion; from this time onward, and because of this episode, was the origin of Judaism in Yemen.

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—one of his colleagues, that the two rabbis and the Ḥimyarites who went out with them at that same time only followed the track of the fire in order to repel it, for they said that whoever was able to drive it back was the most worthy of credence. When some of the Ḥimyarites came with their idols near to it in order to drive it back, the fire came on at them in order to consume them, hence they retreated and were unable to drive it back. But when the two rabbis drew near to it after that, and began to recite the Torah, the fire began to recede until they had driven it back to its place of origin. Thereupon, the Ḥimyarites adopted the two rabbis' [906]
religion.

Now Ri'ām was one of the temples they used to venerate and where they offered up slaughtered beasts and from which they used to speak under inspiration, this during the time when they were polytheists.[438] The two rabbis told Tubba' that it was only a demon (*shayṭān*) that lured them into evil ways and made them its sport, and they asked him to let them deal with it how they would. He replied, "Just go ahead with it!." The Yemenis assert that the two rabbis drew out from it a black dog, which they

438. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab*, 268, 365, describes Riyām/Ri'ām as one of the fortresses and castles (*maḥāfid, quṣūr*; for the first term, sing. *maḥfad, maḥfid*, see C. Landberg, *Glossaire datînois*, I, 442–30) of Yemen and as one of the shrines of the Arabs (*mawāḍi' al-'ibādah*), located in the territory of the Hamdān (i.e., in that part of northern Yemen between Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'dah). Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, in Klinke-Rosenberger, *Das Götzenbuch*, text, 7–8, Ger. trans. 35, comm. 87, Eng. trans. Faris, 10–11, states that it was a sanctuary of the Ḥimyarites at Ṣan'ā' and that there was an oracle there. The existence of both the place and the shrine at Rym^{um} where the god Ta'lab was venerated, is confirmed by South Arabian inscriptions. See Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, 141–43; W. W. Müller, "Ancient Castles Mentioned in the Eighth Volume of al-Hamdānī's Iklīl," 154.

slaughtered. They also tore down that temple; its remains, according to what has been mentioned to me, can still be seen today in Yemen at Ri'ām, with traces of the blood that used to be poured over it.[439]

Tubba' composed the following verses about that journey of his; what he had intended to do at Medina and the Ka'bah; how he dealt with the men of Hudhayl when they told him what they in fact told him; what he did regarding the Holy House when he came to Mecca, that is, putting a cover over it and purifying it; and what the two rabbis told him about the Messenger of God's future role:

Why [O my soul] is your sleep troubled, like that of one with bleary, diseased eyes, suffering from sleeplessness, as if kept awake incessantly?
Feeling rage against two Jewish tribes who settled at Yathrib, who richly deserve the punishment of a day of violence![440]
When I made my dwelling place at Medina, my slumber there was sweet and refreshing.
I made space for a dwelling place on a hill between al-'Aqīq and
[907] Baqī' al-Gharqad.[441]
We left behind its tract of dark-colored rocks and its plateaux, and its salt flats extending on a bare plain,
And we descended to Yathrib, with our breasts raging with anger at the killing of a slaughtered one (i.e., Tubba''s son).

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439. This story is also in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 17–18 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 24–28, trans. 10–11, idem, *Kitāb al-tījān*, 37–38.

440. There were, of course, more than two Jewish tribes living in Medina at the time of the *hijrah* and almost certainly before then. Their presence there may even date to the diaspora from Palestine down the Wādī al-Qurā in western Arabia after such cataclysms for the Jewish people as the Roman emperor Titus's sack of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 and the suppression of the revolt of Bar Kokhba in A.D. 132; the question of the origins of the communities of Jews (or Judaised Arabs?) in such oases of western Arabia as Fadak, Khaybar and Medina has been much discussed, without finality having been reached. For Judaism in South Arabia, see n. 486 below.

441. The Wādī al-'Aqīq lay just to the west of Medina and is expressly lauded in Islamic tradition as "the blessed valley" because of the Prophet's fondness for it. See *EI*², s.v. al-'Aḳīḳ (G. Rentz). Baqī' al-Gharqad was the first Muslim cemetery in Medina, much venerated in later times because so many of the Prophet's family, the Companions, and other notable figures of early Islam were buried there. See *EI*², s.v. Baḳī' al-Ghar̲ḳad (A. J. Wensinck and A. S. Bazmee Ansari).

I have sworn a deliberate, binding vow, an oath which is, by your life, not to be rescinded,
"If I come to Yathrib, I will not suffer to remain in its central parts a single date cluster or any ripe dates."
Until there came to me a learned scholar of Qurayẓah, a rabbi to whom, by your life, the Jews accorded primacy.
He said, "Remove yourself from a settlement which is preserved [by God] for the prophet of Mecca from Quraysh, a divinely guided one."
So I forgave them without any reproach, and left them to the requital of an everlasting day (sc., the Day of Judgment).
And I left them to God, for whose forgiveness I hope on the Day of Reckoning, [escaping] from the stoked-up flames of Hell.
I left behind at Yathrib for him a group of men from our people, men of personal achievement and valor, whose deeds are praised,
A group of men who will bring victory in their train; I hope thereby a reward from the lord of one worthy of praise.[442]
I did not realize that there was a pure house, consecrated to God in the hollow of Mecca, where He is worshiped,
Until there came to me servile wretches from Hudhayl, at al- [908]
Duff of Jumdān above the ascent of the hill (*al-musnad*).
They said, "[There is] at Mecca a house of ancient, forgotten wealth, with treasures of pearls and chrysoliths."
I wanted to get at them, but my Lord interposed between me and them, for God repels [profane ones] who would destroy the house of worship.
Hence I renounced my intentions against it and against the people of Yathrib, and left them as an example to the discerning.
Dhū al-Qarnayn before me submitted himself [to God], a king to whom the other kings became humble and thronged [his court].[443]

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442. *rabbi muḥammadi*, which could be taken as presaging the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad.

443 "The man with the two horns" of Qur'ān, XVIII, 82–97/83–97, generally identified in Muslim lore with Alexander the Great, regarded by some authorities as a proto-Muslim because he spoke to the people of the West about God's punish-

He reigned over the Eastern and Western lands, yet sought the means of knowledge from a wise, rightly guided scholar.
He witnessed the setting of the sun in its resting place into a pool of black and foetid slime.
Before his time, Bilqīs was my paternal forebear (literally, "aunt") and ruled over them until the hoopoe came to her.[444]

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: They assert that, in regard to this tribe (*ḥayy*) of the Anṣār, Tubbaʿ was only enraged at them because of the Jews who lived among them. Tubbaʿ intended to destroy them when he came to them at Medina, but the Anṣār restrained him from them until he then departed. This was the reason for his saying in his poem,

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ment for the wicked and His reward for the righteous, though it was disputed whether he was a prophet. See *EI*², s.v. al-Iskandar (W. M. Watt). Tubba"s citation here of Dhū al-Qarnayn as a predecessor no doubt reflects the elaboration in early Islamic times of South Arabian legends and folk-tales, which assigned to Alexander a place in the glorious past of Yemen, as a counterbalance to the North Arabs' glorying in the fact that it was from them that the Prophet Muḥammad had arisen. See Tilman Nagel, *Alexander der Grosse in der frühislamischen Volksliteratur*, 60ff.

444. This story is given in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 12–18 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 20–28, trans. 7–12, including the text of the whole poem. Guillaume wondered how Ibn Isḥāq came to insert so patently spurious a poem into a serious historical work. Bilqīs was the name given in Muslim lore to the Queen of Sheba (not actually given a personal name) in Qur'ān, XXVII, 15–45, to whom the hoopoe (*hudhud*) is said to have brought a letter from King Solomon. See *EI*², s.v. Bilḳīs (E. Ullendorff); J. Briend, in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v. Sheba. I. "Dans la Bible," cols. 1043–46.

It is quite possible that Solomon had some diplomatic contacts with some Arabian queen, though whether these really were with a monarch in South Arabia or whether the name of Saba, as being that of a well-known, mighty kingdom, was later attached to the story, is impossible to say. However, there was a historical Bilqīs, and the late Jacqueline Pirenne worked out from genealogical information in al-Hamdānī's *Iklīl* that her husband was in fact a *qayl* or local prince of Yemen called Baril or Barig Dhū Bataʿ, known from South Arabian inscriptions and to be placed in the mid-third century A.D., and that the monarch whom Bilqīs and her husband visited was an Arab king, the famous Odenathus/Udhaynah of Palmyra, ally of the Romans against the Persians. The identification of the king thus visited with Solomon would accordingly stem from the existing identification in Jewish lore and legend of the Old Testament monarch with the city-state of Palmyra. See Pirenne, "Who Was the Suleyman visited by al-Hamdani's Bilqis, Queen of Himyar?," 27–45.

Feeling rage against two Jewish tribes who settled at Yathrib,
who richly deserve the punishment of a day of violence! [909]

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: Before this, there had come to Tubba' Shāfi' b. Kulayb al-Ṣadafī, who was a soothsayer (*kāhin*). He stayed with Tubba', and when he signified his intention to say goodbye, Tubba' said, "What does there remain of your learning?" Shāfi' replied, "An eloquent piece of historical lore—and a veracious item of knowledge."[445] He said, "Can you find a people with a kingdom equal in status to mine?" Shāfi' replied, "No, except that the king of Ghassān has numerous offspring (*najl*)." Tubba' said, "Can you find any king superior to him in status?" He replied, "Yes." He said, "Who has such a kingdom?" He replied, "I find it belonging to a pious and God-fearing man—who has been made strong by conquests—and who has been described in the Scriptures (*al-zabūr*, literally "the Psalms of David")[446]—his community is given a superior status in the sacred books (*al-sufūr*)—and he will dispel darkness with light—Aḥmad the prophet—blessed be his community until he comes!—[He is] one of the Banū Lu'ayy—and then of the Banū Quṣayy."[447] Tubba' sent for a copy of the scrip-

445. The *kāhin*'s utterance here is, as usual with such gnomic pronouncements, in assonantal, rhymed prose (*saj'*). See Fahd, *La divination arabe. Etudes religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, 151–53; *EI*², s.v. Sadj'. i. As Magical Utterances in Pre-Islamic Arabian Usage (T. Fahd).

446. This term is used in the Qur'ān, in the singular, as here, for the Psalms, but in the plural *al-zubur* for written inscriptions in general; A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 148–49, see also *EI*¹, s.v. Zabūr (J. Horovitz), derived it from the Christian Orient. However, Mr. F. C. de Blois has pointed out to the present writer that a Sabaean verb *zbr*, "to write, inscribe," is now attested on the inscribed sticks that have been recently coming to light in Yemen, as described by W. W. Müller, "L'écriture *zabūr* du Yémen pre-islamique dans la tradition arabe," 35–39, who traces what appears to be the subsequent usage of the verb *zabara* in early Classical Arabic, perhaps influenced by Yemeni precursors and influences. It is accordingly possible that one should translate al-Ṭabarī's text here, *wa-wuṣifa fī al-zabūr*, as "and who has been described in the ancient written texts," and the subsequent mention of Tubba''s sending for a copy of *al-zabūr* (here grammatically feminine, as if a collective) as simply for "ancient written documents."

447. Quṣayy was the semilegendary hero of the Banū Lu'ayy of Fihr or Quraysh who was an ancestor, separated by five generations, of Muḥammad/Aḥmad. He is said to have restored the Ka'bah to the primitive monotheistic worship of the *millat Ibrāhīm* after the cult there had lapsed into pantheism under Jurhum (on whom see n. 434 above). See *EI*², s.v. Ḳuṣayy (G. Levi Della Vida).

tures and perused them; and lo and behold, he found there the Prophet's description!

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, to whom someone had transmitted from Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās—others of the scholars of Yemen who relate traditions. Some of them transmitted part of the story, but all of that is gathered together in this present story, that there was a king from the Lakhm in Yemen among the Tubba's of Ḥimyar, called Rabī'ah b. Naṣr. Before his period of royal power in Yemen there had reigned Tubba' I, who was Zayd b. 'Amr Dhī al-Adh'ār b. Abrahah Dhī al-Manār b. al-Rā'ish b. Qays b. Ṣayfī b. Saba' the Younger b. Kahf al-Ẓulm b. Zayd b. Sahl b. 'Amr b. Qays b. Mu'āwiyah b. Jusham b. Wā'il b. al-Ghawth b. Qaṭan b. 'Arīb b. Zuhayr b. Ayman b. Hamaysa' b. al-'Aranjaj Ḥimyar b. Saba' the Elder b. Ya'rub b. Yashjub b. Qaḥṭān.[448] Saba''s name was (really) 'Abd Shams, and he was only called Saba', as they assert, because
[910] he was the first to take captives (*sabā*) among the Arabs.[449] This is the ruling house of the kingdom of Ḥimyar, among whom were the Tubba's.

After Tubba' I there came Zayd b. 'Amr and[450] Shamir Yur'ish b. Yāsir Yun'im b. 'Amr Dhī al-Adh'ār his paternal cousin.[451] It was

448. The genealogy is here taken back to Qaḥṭān, regarded as the progenitor of the South Arabs as 'Adnān was of the North ones, Ḥimyar being accounted, with Kahlān, as one of the two main subdivisions of Qaḥṭān. The name Qaḥṭān was connected by the Arab genealogists with the Old Testament name Yoqṭān/Joktan (cf. Gen. x. 28; I Chron. i. 20), but this seems phonologically hazardous. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 176, II, 31–33, 455; *EI*², s.v. Ḳaḥṭān (A. Fischer-A. K. Irvine).

449. The Sabaeans were reckoned by the Arab genealogists as stemming from Saba', called personally 'Āmir b. Yashjub. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 176, II, 491. In the Old Testament, Səbā figures in Gen. x. 7, as the son of Cush, son of Ham, and Shəbā in I Chron. i. 9, as a son of Joktan. Briend notes that Səbā (with initial *samekh*, occurring five times in the Old Testament) seems to have a different geographical connotation from Shəbā (with initial *shin*, occurring twenty-three times in the Old Testament), which seems definitely to be placed in southwestern part of Arabia. See *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v. Sheba. I, col. 1046.

450. Supplying the "and" from the Cairo text, II, 111.

451. More correctly, Sh.m.r Yuhar'ish (on the form of the first element in the name, see n. 364 above), as the name appears in South Arabian inscriptions. He and his father Yāsir^{um} Yuhan'im were ruling jointly in 385 Ḥimyarite era/A.D. 285–86 as founders of the Ḥimyarite line, since a decade or so before this Sh.m.r Yuhar'ish

Shamir Yur'ish who raided China, built Samarqand,[452] and laid out as an encampment (*ḥayyara*) al-Ḥīrah,[453] and it was he who recited the verses,

I am Shamir Abū Karib al-Yamānī; I urged on the horses from Yemen and Syria,
In order that I might attack the slaves who had rebelled against us, [when we were] in the lands beyond China, in 'Athm and Yām,[454]
And then we shall inflict judgment in their lands with a just decision, which not a single youth shall survive.

. . . and so on to the end of the ode.

He related: Then there came after Shamir Yur'ish the son of Yāsir Yun'im, Tubba' the Lesser; namely, Tubān As'ad Abū Karib b. Malkī Karib b. Zayd b. Tubba' I b. 'Amr Dhī al-Adh'ār.[455] It was he who came to Medina and who took back the two Jewish rabbis to Yemen, who venerated the Holy House and put a covering on it and who recited the poetry which is well known.[456] All these reigned before the royal power of Rabī'ah b. Naṣr al-Lakhmī, and

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had taken over Yemen from the kings of Saba' and Ḥaḍramawt in order to consolidate the new united kingdom in South Arabia (see n. 314 above). See G. Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam. Ma'īn et Saba*, 210–12; Robin, in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v. Sheba. II, cols. 1102, 1139–40.

452. See for details of these legendary trans-Asian raids, al-Ṭabarī, I, 890–92, pp. 142–45 above.

453. Virtually nothing is known of the history of al-Ḥīrah before the Lakhmids built it up into their capital (see nn. 76–79 above), but this story of its foundation by the Tubba's is pure invention, conceivably influenced, however, by the fact that Lakhm were considered genealogically to be a South Arab tribe (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 834, p. 44 and n. 132 above).

454. The Yām b. Aṣbā were a component tribe of the South Arabian Hamdān living in the Najrān area and several times mentioned by al-Hamdānī in his geographical work. The Banū Yām gave their name to one of the districts (*mikhlāf*, pl. *makhālīf*, see n. 462 below) of Yemen, that around their home. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 229, II, 47, 590; *EI*², s.v. Yām (G. R. Smith). The reading 'Athm is uncertain, but al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 88, registers a place 'Asham in the *mikhlāf* of the Tihāmah; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab*, 259, mentions this also as a mine (*ma'din*) in the Tihāmah of Yemen, while Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 126, has an 'Ashm in the northern Tihāmah.

455. See n. 417 above, for his place as founder of the Tubba' line.

456. This tale is given in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 12 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 20, trans. 7; idem, *Kitāb al-tījān*, 294–96; cf. Krenkow, "The Two Oldest Books on Arabic Folklore," 227.

when the latter died, the whole of the royal authority in Yemen reverted to Ḥassān b. Tubān (or Tibān) As'ad Abī Karib b. Malkī Karib b. Zayd b. 'Amr Dhī al-Adh'ār.

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, from a
[911] certain scholar, that Rabī'ah b. Naṣr had a dream that alarmed him and that continued to disquiet him.[457] When he had this dream, he sent out enquiries among the people of his kingdom and gathered together in his presence every soothsayer, magician, drawer of omens from the flight of birds,[458] and astrologer. Then he informed them, "I have had a dream which has alarmed me and caused me disquiet, so tell me its interpretation." They replied, "Recount it to us, so that we might inform you of its meaning." He replied, however, "If I recount it to you, I shall have no confidence that you will be able to tell me its correct interpretation; the only person who will know its correct interpretation is the one who already knows about the dream without my telling him." When Rabī'ah had said all this to them, one of the assembled group of experts on dreams said, "If the king requires this, then he should send for Saṭīḥ and Shiqq, for there is no one more knowledgeable than these two, and they will certainly be able to tell you what you ask." Saṭīḥ's (real) name was Rabī' b. Rabī'ah b. Mas'ūd

457. What we have here is a story from the South Arabian tradition, meant to explain the presence of the (genealogically) South Arabian Lakhmids in Iraq and al-Ḥīrah. The story is traced back to the time of a generation after Shamir Yur'ish/Yuhar'ish, i.e., the first part of the fourth century, and Rabī'ah b. Naṣr al-Lakhmī is made the father of 'Adī, who in the Lakhmid king lists dependent upon Ibn al-Kalbī (see n. 414 above) is regarded as the progenitor of the line, the first figure in the royal genealogy, father of 'Amr I, the father of Imru' al-Qays I. At the end of the story of the dream, the Lakhmids are made to migrate from Yemen to al-Ḥīrah in order to escape the prophesied invasion of the Abyssinians, being allowed to settle at al-Ḥīrah by the Persian king Shāpūr I (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 913–14, p. 182 below, and Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 39–40, who states that we know, concerning the origins of the kingdom based on al-Ḥīrah, "so gut wie nichts").

458. See for this person, the *'ā'if*, al-Ṭabarī, I, 1058, p. 395 and n. 970 above. Concerning this series of persons skilled in various types of prognostication, cf. the series of "magicians, enchanters, sorcerers, and the Chaldaeans" whom Nebuchadnezzar summoned to interpret his dreams in Daniel ii. 2. For the practice of the interpretation of dreams, oneiromancy, a pseudo-science whose literature goes back through Classical Antiquity to Assyrian times and which in the Islamic period produced a considerable number of works on *ta'bīr al-ru'yā*, dream interpretation books, see Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 247–367, and *EI*², s.v. Ru'yā (H. Daiber).

b. Māzin b. Dhi'b b. 'Adī b. Māzin b. Ghassān, and because of his genealogical connections with Dhi'b he was called al-Dhi'bī. Shiqq was the son of Ṣa'b b. Yashkur b. Ruhm b. Afrak b. Nadhīr b. Qays b. 'Abqar b. Anmār.[459]

When they told Rabī'ah that, he sent for the two men. Saṭīḥ came to him before Shiqq; there were no soothsayers (*kuhhān*) like them in their time. So when Saṭīḥ arrived, the king summoned him and said, "O Saṭīḥ, I have had a dream which has alarmed me and disquieted me, so tell me about it, for if you comprehend the dream correctly, you will know correctly its interpretation." Saṭīḥ replied, "I will do this. You saw in your dream a skull (*jumjumah*) (Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] says: I have found the rendering of it in other places as '. . . I saw blazing coals, *ḥumamah*')—which came forth from the darkness—and fell upon the lowlands descending to the sea—and devoured there everything with a skull!" The king said, "O Saṭīḥ, you have got it exactly right; so what, in your opinion, is the interpretation of it?" Saṭīḥ answered, "I swear by the serpent which is between the two *ḥarrah*s[460]—the Abyssinians (al-Ḥabash)[461] will certainly swoop down on your land —and will then rule over all the land from [912]
Abyan to Jurash."[462]

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459. Saṭīḥ and Shiqq appear in Arabic lore as legendary personages, often described as barely human monsters, and they have roles in pre-Islamic history as diviners: here for the Lakhmid Rabī'ah but also (anachronistically) for al-Nu'mān (III) b. al-Mundhir (IV) and Khusraw Anūsharwān in predicting the fall of the Persian kingdom and the triumph of the Arabs (al-Ṭabarī, I, 981–84, pp. 285–89 below). See Rothstein, *Lahmiden*, 39; *EI*², s.vv. Saṭīḥ b. Rabī'a (T. Fahd) and Shiḳḳ (B. Carra de Vaux and T. Fahd).

460. The geographers enumerate large numbers of *ḥarrah*s, basaltic lava fields, in the region between the Ḥawrān in southern Syria and Medina. See the long section in Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 245–50 (paraphrased and discussed by O. Loth, "Die Vulkanregionen von Arabien nach Yāḳūt," 365–82); *EI*², s.v. Ḥarra (ed.). Here the reference, if at all specific, is probably to two of the *ḥarrah*s in the vicinity of Medina, which included the Ḥarrat Wāqim, site of a famous battle in 63/683 when the Umayyad army under Muslim b. 'Uqbah al-Murrī defeated the Medinans there; see Loth, op. cit., 380.

461. This designates here the people of al-Ḥabashah, *ḥbs²t* of the later Sabaean inscriptions. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥabashat (A. K. Irvine). As observed by Irvine, there is no evidence for the statement in earlier authorities like Glaser and Rossini there that the *Ḥbs²t* may have been a South Arabian tribe in origin.

462. Abyan was a *mikhlāf* of the southernmost tip of Arabia, comrprising Aden and its eastward-stretching hinterland; see *EI*², s.v. Abyan (O. Löfgren). Jurash,

The king said to Saṭīḥ, "By your father! O Saṭīḥ, this is indeed distressing and painful for us; but when will this take place—in my own time, or subsequently?" Saṭīḥ replied, "Nay, indeed, a good while after it—more than sixty or seventy years will elapse." The king said, "Will that dominion of theirs endure, or will it be cut short?" he answered, "Nay, it will be cut short after seventy-odd years have gone by—and then all of them there will be slain or will be expelled from it as fugitives." The king said, "Who, then, will assume that task of killing and expelling them?" Saṭīḥ replied, "Iram of Dhū Yazan[463]—who will come forth against them from Aden—and not leave a single one of them in Yemen." The king enquired, "Will Iram's dominion there endure, or will it be cut short?" He replied, "It will indeed be cut short." The king said, "And who will cut it short?" He replied, "A prophet—a pure one—to whom the inspired revelation (*al-waḥy*) will come—from on high." The king asked, "Who will this prophet spring from?" He replied, "[He will be] a man from the progeny of Ghālib b.

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frequently mentioned by al-Hamdānī, was an important town and a *mikhlāf* in mediaeval Islamic times, situated in northern Yemen to the northwest of Najrān. See al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, II, 376; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 126.

Mikhlāf, used in the early Islamic sources on Yemen in particular (although no longer used as an administrative term in modern Yemen), is said by the geographers to be the equivalent of *kūrah*. It may have a tenuous relationship to Sabaean *ḫlf* "vicinity of a town," but a form *mḫlf* has not so far been attested in the inscriptions. See Beeston *et alii*, *Sabaic Dictionary*, 60; *EI*², s.v. Mikhlāf (C. E. Bosworth).

463. Muslim lore identified Iram with the Biblical Aram, son of Shem (Gen. x. 22–23; I Chron, I. 17), and made various peoples of Arabia his descendants. When the Qur'ān, LXXXIX, 6, speaks of Iram dhāt 'imād, it is probably referring to a tribe or people, here linked with the legendary giant race of 'Ād. See al-Hamdānī, *al-Iklīl. al-Juz' al-thāmin*, 33, trans. Faris, *The Antiquities of South Arabia*, 29–30; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwāns im Šams al-'ulūm*, 2; *EI*², s.v. Iram (W. M. Watt).

Dhū Yaz'an or Yazan was one of the Ḥimyarite kings of the first half of the sixth century, and father of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan who secured the help of Khusraw Anūsharwān to expel the Abyssinians from Yemen; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 946ff., pp. 236ff. and n. 585 below. The component *dhū* in his name is the South Arabian relative pronoun *ḏ*, often used to indicate clan or group affiliation, thence "the chief [of such a group]," as here. See Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect*, 89–90; Beeston, *Sabaic Grammar*, §27:2. The Muslim Arabs regarded names thus compounded as so characteristic of South Arabian monarchical terminology that they used *dhū*, pl. *adhwā'*, as a generic term for South Arabian rulers. See Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwāns*, 39. 116; *EI*², s.v. Adhwā' (O. Löfgren).

Fihr—son of Mālik b. al-Naḍr[464]—his dominion over his people shall last until the end of time." The king said, "O Saṭīḥ, will time (*al-dahr*) have an end?" He replied, "Yes, a day on which the first generations and the last generations wil be assembled—the righteous will be joyful on it—but the evildoers shall be made wretched." The king said, "Is what you are informing us true, O Saṭīḥ?" the latter replied, "Yes, by the redness of the dying sun at evening—and the beginning of the darkness of night—and the dawn when it is complete—what I have told you is undoubtedly true."

When Saṭīḥ had finished, Shiqq arrived, so the king summoned him. He said, "O Shiqq, I have had a dream that has alarmed and disquieted me, so tell me about it, for if you comprehend the dream correctly, you will know correctly its interpretation," just as he had said to Saṭīḥ. But he concealed from him what Saṭīḥ had said in order that he might see whether the two interpretations agreed or differed. Shiqq said, "Yes, you saw a skull—which came forth from the darkness—and fell upon all the land, meadows, and [913] thickets—and devoured everything there with living breath." When that king perceived that the words of the two soothsayers agreed with each other totally, he said to Shiqq, "O Shiqq, you have got it exactly right, so what, in your opinion, is the interpretation of it?" Shiqq replied, "I swear by the men living between the two *ḥarrah*s—the blacks will certainly come down on your land—and will seize custody of every tender one from your hands—and will then rule over all the land from Abyan to Najrān."[465]

The king exclaimed, "By your father! O Shiqq, this is indeed distressing and painful for us; but when will this take place—in my own time, or subsequently?" Shiqq answered, "Nay indeed, a stretch of time after you—then a mighty one, lofty of status, shall rescue you from it—and will make them taste the deepest abasement." The king said, "Who is this person mighty of status?"

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464. That is, from Quraysh, these being persons figuring in the genealogy of the tribe back to Ma'add b. 'Adnān. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 4; *EI*², s.v. Ḳuraysh (W. M. Watt).

465. Again implying the whole length of Yemen, since Najrān lay on its north-eastern fringes. See al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, IV, 1298–99; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 266–71; *EI*², s.v. Nadjrān (Irfan Shahîd).

Shiqq retorted, "A youth neither base nor inadequate for what he attempts—he will issue forth from the house of Dhū Yazan." The king said, "Will his dominion endure, or will it be cut short?" He replied, "Indeed, it will be ended by a prophet who will be sent—who will come with right and justice—among the people of religion and virtue—the dominion will remain among his people until the Day of Separation. One may ask, 'What is the Day of Separation?'[466] —The reply is, the day on which those near to God will be recompensed—invocations from the heavens will be made—which both the quick and the dead shall hear—and on which the people will be gathered together at the appointed place[467]—on which there will be salvation and blessings for those who fear God." The king said, "Is what you say true, O Shiqq?" The latter replied, "Yes, by the lord of heaven and earth—and the highlands and the lowlands which lie between them—what I have communicated to you is indeed the truth, in which there is no dissimulation."

When the king had finished questioning the two men, there came into his mind that what the two of them had told him regarding the invasion of the Ethiopians was really going to take place, so he fitted out his sons and other members of his house for the journey to Iraq, together with what they needed, and wrote on their behalf to one of the kings of Persia called Shābūr, son of Khurrazād,[468] who allowed them to settle at al-Ḥīrah. Al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, the king of al-Ḥīrah, was a descendant of Rabīʾah b.
[914] Naṣr; he is al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir— b. al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Rabīʾah b. Naṣr, that same king in the genealogy and the lore of the scholars (*ahl*) of Yemen.[469]

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466. Echoing the Qurʾānic usage of the eschatological concept of the *yawm al-faṣl*, the day of separation or distinction between those who will be saved and those who will be damned, as expounded n XXXVII, 21, etc., and especially in LXXVII, 13, 14, 38.

467. That is, the *ḥashr* or "crowding together" for the Last Judgment. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳiyāma (L. Gardet).

468. Presumably the reference is to Shābūr I, since his father Ardashīr I's mother was Khurrazād. See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 96–97.

469. This story is in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 9–12 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 15–19, trans. 4–6, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 418–20, and cf. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 250–52. As noted in n. 457 above, the dream described thus becomes an explanation for the movement of a South Arabian group like the

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: When Saṭīḥ and Shiqq told that to Rabī'ah b. Naṣr, and Rabī'ah did with regard to his sons and other members of his house what he in fact did, the mention of all this spread among the Arabs, and they talked about it extensively until his fame and his reputation for knowledge became widely disseminated among them. Hence when the Ethiopians occupied Yemen, and the events which they had previously been talking about, including the interpretations of the two soothsayers, came to pass, al-A'shā—that is, al-A'shā of the Banū Qays b. Tha'labah al-Bakrī[470]—said in some of the poetry he recited, mentioning the events involving those two soothsayers Saṭīḥ and Shiqq:

A woman with her eyelids never looked forth like with a look
full of penetration, as when al-Dhi'bī made
pronouncements when he spoke in *saj'*.

Saṭīḥ used only to be called al-Dhi'bī by the Arabs because he came from the progeny of Dhi'b b.'Adī. When Rabī'ah b. Naṣr died and the royal power in Yemen became concentrated into the hands of Ḥassān b. Tubān As'ad Abī Karib b. Malkī Karib b. Zayd b. 'Amr Dhī al-Adh'ār,[471] one of the factors involving the eruption of the Ethiopians, the transfer of the royal power from Ḥimyar, and the ending of their period of dominion—and there is a cause for everything—was that Ḥassān b. Tubān As'ad Abī Karib led an expedition with the army of Yemen, aiming at overrunning the land of the Arabs and the land of the Persians, just as the Tubba's had been wont to do previously. But when the expedition reached

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Lakhmid family from Yemen to Iraq.

470. The celebrated poet al-A'shā Maymūn b. Qays, often ranked for his poetic genius with the authors of the Seven *Mu'allaqāt*, came from the Qays b. Tha'labah of Bakr b. Wā'il (d. after 3/625), grew up in the Christian environment of al-Ḥīrah and eulogized *inter alios* Iyās b. Qabīṣah, the appointee of the Persians to the governorship of al-Ḥīrah after the deposition and death of al-Nu'mān V b. al-Mundhir II (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1029–30, p. 359 below). His life was much bound up with political and military events along the desert frontiers of Iraq. The verse is from his *qaṣīdah* beginning with the formulaic hemistich *Bānat Su'ād wa-amsā ḥabluhā inqaṭa'a*, in *Dīwān*, ed. Geyer, *Gedichte von 'Abû Baṣîr Maimûn ibn Qais al-A'šâ*, 74, no. 13, v. 16. See on the poet Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, II, 321–25; *EI*², s.v. al-A'shā, Maymūn b. Ḳays (W. Caskel).

471. Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwāns*, 38, has a fanciful explanation for the princely name Dhū al-Adh'ār.

a certain spot in the land of Iraq, Ḥimyar and the tribes of Yemen refused to go on further with him and wanted to return to their own homeland and families. Hence they approached and spoke with one of Ḥassān's brothers, who was with him in the army, called ʿAmr, saying, "Kill your brother Ḥassān, and we will make you king over us in his stead and you can lead us back to our homeland." He agreed to their plan, and Ḥassān's brother and his followers from Ḥimyar and the tribes of Yemen agreed to kill
[915] Ḥassān, except for Dhū Ruʿayn al-Ḥimyarī, who forbade ʿAmr to do this and told him, "You are the ruling house of our kingdom; do not kill your brother and thereby dissolve the uniting bonds of our house," or something like that. But ʿAmr rejected his words, although Dhū Ruʿayn was a leading noble of Ḥimyar.[472] Hence Dhū Ruʿayn obtained a leaf of writing material and inscribed on it:

O who would buy sleeplessness for sleep? The one who passes
his nights in a calm and peaceful state is indeed fortunate.
And although Ḥimyar has acted treacherously and faithlessly,
God will hold Dhū Ruʿayn blameless.

Then he sealed the piece of writing and gave it to ʿAmr, telling him, "Keep this document by you on my behalf, for there is in it something which I desire earnestly and have need of" (i.e., for his eventual exculpation), so ʿAmr did that. When Ḥassān got news of what his brother ʿAmr, Ḥimyar, and the tribes of Yemen had resolved upon, that is, his death, he recited to ʿAmr:

O ʿAmr, do not hasten my deathly fate, but take the royal
power without using armed force.

But ʿAmr was set on killing him, and in fact did the deed. He then returned to Yemen with his accompanying army. A certain poet of Ḥimyar recited:

When, [I pray] to God, has anyone ever seen, in previous long
spans of years, the like of Ḥassān, as a slain one?

472. That Dhū Ruʿayn were a noble family of Ḥimyar is confirmed by Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naśwāns*, 46, cf. 41, apparently claiming a connection for them with the previous ruling house of Saba'.

The princelets (*aqyāl*) slew him out of fear lest they be kept at military service, while assuring him, "No harm, no harm!" (*labābi labābi*).[473]
Your dead one was the best of us and your living one is lord over us, while all of you are chiefs.

When ʿAmr b. Tubān Asʿad Abī Karib established himself in Yemen, he was unable to sleep and suffered permanent insomnia, according to what they assert. He found it impossible to sleep. It reduced him to a state of exhaustion, so he set about asking the physicians, and the soothsayers and diviners who work by examining physiognomy, what was the matter with him, saying, "I am deprived of sleep, and can get no rest, and insomnia has reduced me to a state of exhaustion." One of them told him, "By God, no [916] man has ever killed his brother or a blood relation wrongfully, as you killed your brother, without losing his sleep and incurring sleeplessness." On being told this, ʿAmr set about killing all those members of the nobles of Ḥimyar and tribes of Yemen who had urged him to kill his brother Ḥassān, until finally he came to Dhū Ruʿayn. When ʿAmr expressed his intention of killing him, Dhū Ruʿayn said, "You have in your possession a document exonerating me from what you propose to do with me." ʿAmr said, "What is this exculpating document in my possession?" He replied, "Fetch out the paper which I entrusted to you and left with you." The king fetched out the paper, and lo and behold, there was written on it those two verses of poetry:

O who would buy sleeplessness for sleep? The one who passes his nights in a calm and peaceful state is indeed fortunate.

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473. Nashwān b. Saʿīd, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwāns*, 89, defines *qayl* as meaning "king" among the Ḥimyarites. It seems to have a fairly late usage in South Arabia in the explicit form *qyl*, mainly in the fifth and sixth centuries, and to bear the meaning "prince," a potentate subordinate to a *malik* or king, as well as the meaning of "tribal chief." See G. Ryckmans, "Le Qayl en Arabie méridionale préislamique," 144–55; Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect*, 453–54; *EI*², s.v. Ḳayl (A. F. L. Beeston).

The word *labābī/labāb*[in] is said by Ibn Isḥāq, in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 19 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 29, trans. 13, to mean in the Ḥimyarite language *lā baʾs*.

And although Ḥimyar has acted treacherously and faithlessly,
God will hold Dhū Ruʿayn blameless.

When ʿAmr read these two verses, Dhu Ruʿayn told him, "I forbade you to kill your brother, but you would not listen to me; so when you refused thus to listen to me, I left this paper with you as proof of my innocence in regard to you and as exoneration of me vis-à-vis you. I feared that, if you killed him, you would be afflicted as you have in fact been afflicted; and if you intend to inflict on me what I see you have inflicted on those who urged you to kill your brother, this paper will serve as a means of preserving me from your intentions." Hence ʿAmr b. Tubān Asʿad left him alone and did not include him among the nobles of Ḥimyar whom he executed; he recognized that Dhū Ruʿayn had given him wise counsel, if only he had followed it.

ʿAmr b. Tubān Asʿad recited, when he executed those guilty men of Ḥimyar and the people of Yemen who had urged him to kill his brother Ḥassān:

We purchased sleep, when tendons in the neck were drawn
tight with what causes sleeplessness and knotting of sinews
which will not go away.
They called out together at the time of their treacherous action,
"No harm!" when the exculpation of Dhū Ruʿayn had
[917] already been expressed.
We have now executed those responsible for this betrayal, as an
act of retaliation for Ibn Ruhm, which does not entail
responsibility for a blood feud.
We have executed them in requital for Ḥassān b. Ruhm, for
Ḥassān was the one murdered by the ones who stirred up
trouble.
We have executed them, so that none of them now remains,
and every eye feels refreshed at their fate.
The eyes of the lamenting women are weeping with grief for the
noble women, women of the two armies.
Gentle maidens at nightfall, who are dark eyed when the upper
parts of Sirius and Procyon rise.
Hence we are known by our fidelity when our lineage is traced
back, and we disassociate ourselves strongly from the one
who acts treacherously.

We surpass in eminence all other people, just as pure gold is superior to silver.
We exercise royal power over all other peoples; we have the connections of nobility and power, after the two Tubba's.
We assumed royal power after Dāwūd (David) for a lengthy period, and we made the kings of East and West our slaves.[474]
We wrote down in Ẓafār the ancient writings of glory, so that the chiefs of the two towns (*al-qaryatān*, sc., Mecca and al-Ṭā'if)[475] might read them.
We are the ones who pursue every burden of revenge when the eloquent ones cry out, "Where, O where [is vengeance to be taken]?"
I shall quench my thirst of [the blood of] the treacherous ones, for treachery has entailed perdition for them and for me (i.e., through his brother's murder).
I obeyed them (i.e., in their evil counsels) and was not well guided; they were seducers into evil ways, who have destroyed my noble reputation and handsome qualities.

He related: Not long afterward, 'Amr b. Tubān died.[476]

Hishām b. Muḥammad related: This 'Amr b. Tubba' was called Mawthabān because he sprang upon (*wathaba*) his brother Ḥassān

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474. The king and prophet Dāwūd/David (whose reign over the Children of Israel is given by al-Ṭabarī in I, 554–72 above, trans. W. M. Brinner, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. III. The Children of Israel*, 135–51) is presumably adduced here to connect the Tubba's with early prophetic history. For David in Islamic lore, see *EI*², s.v. Dāwūd (R. Paret).

475. The royal city and capital of the Ḥimyarites appears in South Arabian inscriptions as *ẓfr*, but was known as such to classical authors from the time of Pliny the Elder (his *regia Sapphar*) onward. Its ruinous site now lies to the southwest of Yarīm in southern Yemen. It remained of some significance into early Islamic times, and al-Hamdānī describes it both in his *Iklīl*, 25–29, trans. Faris, 20–26, and in his *Ṣifat jazirat al-'Arab*, 365, as one of the great fortresses of Yemen. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 60; Shahîd, "Byzantium and South Arabia," 29, 43–47; *EI*¹, s.v. Ẓafār (J. Tkatsch).

Mecca and al-Ṭā'if are usually taken as the referents of "the two towns" in the Qur'ānic passage that this echoes, XLIII, 30/31, speaking of a *rajul min al-qaryatayni 'aẓīm*, "a man of the two towns, a respected one," but the context is somewhat obscure and the identification by no means certain. See for this question of the "two towns," Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 114–15.

476. This story appears in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 26–28 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 28–30, trans. 12–13. Cf. also idem, *Kitāb al-tījān*, 297–98.

at the gap of Nu'm and killed him.[477] He related: The "slope of Nu'm (*furḍat Nu'm*)" was the desert tract of Ṭawq b. Mālik; Nu'm was the concubine of the Tubba' Ḥassān b. As'ad.[478]

The narrative returns to that of Ibn Isḥāq.[479]

He related: The affairs of Ḥimyar fell into disorder at this point, and the people became split up. A man of Ḥimyar who did not stem from the royal house of Ḥimyar, called Lakhī'athah (?) Yanūf Dhū Shanātir, rose up against them, seized power over them, [918] killed the choicest men of Ḥimyar, and treated with scorn the ruling families of the kingdom.[480] Hence a certain man of Ḥimyar

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477. Other Arabic sources give an alternative etymology for the cognomen *Mawthabān:* that rulers were thus called in the language of Ḥimyar because they "sat down" and did not engage in raiding and warfare. See Ibn Hishām, *Kitāb al-tījān,* 298–99 (with a brief version of the preceding story), and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwāns,* 113. The confusion stems from the fact that in South Arabian, the prime signification of *wṯb* was, as in Hebrew, "to sit down," with *mwṯb(n)* thus meaning "seat, shrine of a god," as opposed to Classical Arabic *wathaba* "to rise, spring up," although another range of meanings for South Arabian *wṯb* does exist, "to attack, assault," to which the cognomen given here by al-Ṭabarī of *Mawthabān* could be attached. See Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary,* 165–66; Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect,* 153–54. The confusion that could arise out of the two opposing senses of the root forms the basis of favorite anecdotes in the sources in which a man dies or is killed through misunderstanding the South Arabian sense of the word. See al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl,* 32, trans. Faris, 28; Nashwān al-Ḥimyari, loc. cit.; Robin, in *L'Arabie antique de Karib'îl à Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions,* 108.

478. According to the geographers, the *furḍat Nu'm* lay in Jazīrah, in the tract of land along the Euphrates, where, so Yāqūt says, Ḥassān b. Tubba' had built a palace for this *umm walad* of his. See al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam,* IV, 1211; Yāqūt, *Buldān,* IV, 251.

479. Nöldeke's translation resumes here. He regarded the following material as still essentially legendary and fabulous, but considered that it was connected with such historical events as the persecution of the Christians of Yemen, the resultant Abyssinian occupation, and the eventual Persian conquest, hence as such worthy of translation; see his trans. 172 n. 4.

480. The episode of Lakhī'athah or Lakhnī'athah is somewhat mysterious. The name is variously written in the Arabic sources, e.g., Lakhnī'ah in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī,* ed. Wüstenfeld, 19 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 30), but Nöldeke, trans. 173 n. 1, suggested the form Lakhī'athah on the basis of its form in the South Arabian inscriptions known at that time, in which *Ynf* is likewise attested. Professor Christian Robin has suggested (personal communication) that it is a corruption of a very common personal name *Lḫy 'tt,* often shortened to *Lḫy't,* which would mean "'Atht[ar] illuminates" (after Ge'ez *laḥaya* "to be shining, to gleam"); it would seem that *ḫ* was only feebly aspirated in Ḥimyaritic speech, since the name passed

mentioned what was destroying the fabric of Ḥimyar, rending apart its unity and getting rid of its choicest men:

Ḥimyar is massacring its own sons and expelling its own princes, and creating humiliation for itself with its own hands.
Destroying its own worldly prosperity with light-headed fantasies of its own, but what it destroyed of its religion was even greater.
In the same way, earlier generations brought down evil on themselves, through their oppression and profligacy, and then perished.[481]

Lakhī'athah Yanūf Dhū Shanātir brought about all that for them. He was an evildoer, being allegedly a practitioner of sodomy. In addition to the killing and oppression he inflicted upon them, when he heard that a youth from the royal family had reached the age of puberty, he sent for him and ravished him in an upper chamber he had had constructed for this purpose, so that the youth could never rule after him (i.e., because of the dishonor). He would then go out from that upper chamber to his guards and those of his army who were present—these people being at a lower level—with a toothpick (*siwāk*) he had placed in his mouth,[482]

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into Classical Arabic as Lahī'ah.

Ma'dī Karib, probably the last of the Tubba's (al-Ṭabarī's "the royal house of Ḥimyar") is attested in inscriptions as ruling in 631 Ḥimyarite era/A.D. 521–22. We have therefore only a year or so for Lakhī'athah's inscription and the accession of Dhū Nuwās. One suggestion for resolving this tight chronology was put forward by Altheim and Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, V/1, 377–78: that the title Ma'dī Karib Ya'fur was the throne-name assumed by the usurping Lakhī'athah, just as his successor Dhū Nuwās was to assume the throne-name of Yūsuf As'ar Yath'ar (see n. 488 below). But this suggestion does not seem to have found much favor. At all events, one can only treat the tale of Lakhī'athah's sodomitical proclivities as a pretext for his murder with caution.

Concerning Lakhī'athah's nickname or cognomen, Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwāns*, 58, says that *shuntur* means "finger" in the Ḥimyarī language. But when linked with *dhū*, one would more naturally expect a place-name; none like Shanātir is, however, so far attested.

481. As noted by Nöldeke, trans. 174 n. 1, the wording of the poem, with such words in it as *ḍayya'at*, *ẓulm*, *isrāf*, *takhsaru*, etc., is very reminiscent of Qur'ānic phraseology and concepts.

482. That is, a piece of wood with the end incised for use as a toothbrush. It has been suggested that the use by the Arabs of such a primitive toothbrush or tooth-

that is, in order to let them know that he had acomplished his purpose with the youth. Then he would release the youth and go forth and appear before the guards and the people, having completely disgraced the youth.

At last it was the turn of the last of the youths from that line of kings, Zurʿah Dhū Nuwās b. Tubān Asʿad Abī Karib b. Malkī Karib b. Zayd b. ʿAmr Dhī al-Adhʿār the brother of Ḥassān.[483] Zurʿah had been only a small boy when his brother was killed, and had grown up into a fine and handsome youth, with an attractive appearance and intelligence. Lakhī'athah Yanūf Dhū Shanātir sent for him in order to do with him as was his wont with the princes of the royal house before him. When the messenger came to Zurʿah, he realized what Lakhī'athah intended to do, so he took a slim-bladed, sharp knife and placed it between his sandal and the sole of his
[919] foot. Then he set out to Lakhī'athah with the latter's envoy. When Lakhī'athah was alone with Zurʿah in that upper chamber of his, he locked the door on the two of them and pounced upon Zurʿah. But Dhū Nuwās leaped on him first with the knife and stabbed him with it until he had killed him. Then he cut off his head and stuck it in the window niche of that upper chamber of Lakhī'athah's, from where he was accustomed to show himself to his guards and troops. He took that toothpick of Lakhī'athah's and stuck it in the latter's mouth, and went forth to the people. They said to him, "Dhū Nuwās—was it wetness or dryness?" He an-

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pick was influenced by the similar Persian religious custom, and that the Arabic term may stem from MP **sawāk*, "scraper," from the verb *sūdan*, "to scrape, rub." See Shaked, "Some Iranian Themes in Islamic Literature," 149 and n. 35, citing Goldziher; *EI*², s.v. Miswāk (A. J. Wensinck).

483. Unlike Lakhī'athah, Dhū Nuwās is a fully historical figure, mentioned in Byzantine sources, e.g., in the Greek of the *Martyrium Arethae* as *Dounaas*. An Arabic etymology for his name is given in the Arabic sources, e.g., Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XXII, 318, and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naswāns*, 106, as "the man with the dangling forelock, long hair," but again is more likely to relate to a place name, or possibly to a deity. See on him further, nn. 486, 488, 506 below, and Nöldeke, trans. 174 n. 3, who also notes that Zurʿah is likewise a historically-attested name, since one of the local princes of Yemen who sent to the Prophet in autumn of the year 9/630 offering their acceptance of Islam, was Zurʿah Dhū Yazan, quite possibly a descendant of Dhū Nuwās; it was to him that Muḥammad sent a group of *ṣadaqah* collectors headed by Muʿādh b. Jabal. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 955–57 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., IV, 235–36, tr. 642–44.

swered, "Ask n.kh.mās[484]—'s.t.r.ṭ.bān Dhū Nuwās—'s.t.r.ṭ.bān Dhū Nuwās—[he is] unharmed (*lā ba's*)." They went off to look when he called to them in these terms, and lo, there was the severed head of Lakhī'athah Yanūf Dhū Shanātir in the window niche, with his toothpick in his mouth, which Dhū Nuwās had jammed there! Ḥimyar and the guards went off after Dhū Nuwās until they caught up with him and told him, "The only fitting person to rule over us is yourself, since you have rid us of this abominable fellow." They therefore made him king, and Ḥimyar and the tribes of Yemen rallied round him.[485] He was the last of the kings of Ḥimyar. He became a convert to Judaism (*tahawwada*), and the Ḥimyarites followed him in this path. He adopted the name of Yūsuf (i.e., Joseph) and reigned for a considerable time.[486]

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484. According to Ibn Hishām's gloss, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 20 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 31, tr. 14, *n.khmās* was a Ḥimyarī word for "head." The rest of this puzzling saying clearly has an obscene reference, as the word seemingly figuring in it—*ist*, "anus"—implies, explicit in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], xxii, 319.

485. This story comes also in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 19–20 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 30–31, tr. 13–14; idem, *Kitāb al-tījān*, 300–301; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], xxii, 318–19.

486. The questions of the date of the appearance of Judaism in Yemen, the extent of that faith's spread from the ruler and nobles downward to the generality of the population, and the nature and quality of that Judaism, have excited much discussion.

There seems no reason to doubt the reports (al-Ṭabarī, I, 892, 902, 905, pp. 145, 165–66, 170–71 above: one of Ibn Isḥāq's informants for these seems to have been Abū Mālik b. Tha'labah b. Abī Mālik al-Quraẓī, whose grandfather had been a Jewish client of Kindah and who had migrated from Yemen to Yathrib; see M. Lecker, "Abū Mālik 'Abdallāh b. Sām of Kinda, a Jewish convert to Islam," 280–82) that Abū Karib As'ad accepted the Jewish faith in some form or other when he was at Yathrib in the first half of the fifth century and that the faith was already known at the Ḥimyarite court in the time of his father Malkī Karib, i.e., the end of the fourth century, when paganism was abandoned for monotheism. The implantation of a genuine Judaism there around that time would be parallel to the contemporaneous consolidation of the Christian community at Najrān, for which see n. 487 below. See Smith, "Events in South Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.," 462–63; J. Ryckmans, "Le Christianisme en Arabie du Sud préislamique," 417–19. 426–28, 447; Lecker, "The Conversion of Ḥimyar to Judaism and the Jewish Banū Hadl of Medina," 129–36.

There is epigraphic evidence for the existence of adherents of Judaism in Yemen proper during the later fifth century, in that the Bayt al-Ashwal I inscription was erected at Ẓafār by a man called *Yhwd' Ykf*/Yehūdā Yakkuf (for Yankuf), clearly a native South Arabian, who invokes "the Lord of Heaven and Earth" and "His

There were in Najrān remnants of people who adhered to the religion of 'Īsā (Jesus), followers of the Gospel, virtuous and upright.[487] They had a head, of this same faith, called 'Abdallāh b. al-Thāmir. The place where that faith originally took root was Najrān, which at that time was in the center of the land of the Arabs;

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people (*s²'b*) Israel" and who mentions the king Dhara' 'amar Ayman (II), who ruled in the later fourth century. See Müller, "Eine hebraeisch-sabaeische Bilinguis aus Bait al-Aśwal," 117–23; Robin, in *L'Arabie antique de Karib'îl à Mahomet*, 145–46. Judaism seems to have made rapid advances at the Ḥimyarite court, with three of the leading noble families, those of Hamdān, Yaz'an, and Haṣbaḥ, becoming converts. There was in the later fifth and early sixth centuries an important Jewish trading community on the island of Yotabē (not yet specifically located, but somewhere near the mouth of the Gulf of 'Aqabah; see Smith, "Events in South Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.," 428–29; Z. Rubin, "Byzantium and Southern Arabia—the Policy of Anastasius," 388–89), which was controlled by a local chief called Amorcesos and which probably served as a base for mercantile activities down the Red Sea as far as the shores of Yemen.

We cannot judge how far below the level of the royal family and that of the great nobles this adherence to Judaism may have penetrated; but more controversial is the nature and quality of the faith as implanted in South Arabia—was it recognizably Rabbinical Judaism or was it an aspect of the monotheistic faith "Raḥmānism," another aspect of which may have been the ascetic monotheism of the *ḥanīf*s during the period just before Muḥammad's call to prophethood? After ca. A.D. 450–60 the South Arabian inscriptions begin to give the "Lord of Heaven and Earth" the proper name of Raḥmānān, one equally used by the Christian monotheists and, in the early seventh century, by Muḥammad's rival among the Banū Ḥanīfah of al-Yamāma, Musaylimah. It does seem that, sixty or so years later, a ruler like Yūsuf As'ar Dhū Nuwās was an enthusiastic Jewish believer. Jacques Ryckmans stressed that the name Raḥmānān in South Arabia must have come originally from a Jewish milieu, almost certainly the Jewish communities of Medina and the settlements of the Wādī al-Qurā, since the term stems from the Aramaic Raḥmānā, frequent in the Babylonian Talmud and sporadically found in the Jerusalem one, while rare in Christian texts of the time. But he went on to suggest that Raḥmānān became generalized in South Arabian monotheistic usage, not least among Christians, via the Christian community in Najrān, by the end of the fifth century, since it appears in an inscription of the Christian king Sumu-yafa' Aśwa', installed by the Ethiopians after the death of Dhū Nuwās (see n. 518 below), for the first person of the Trinity. See Ryckmans, "Le Christianisme en Arabie du Sud préislamique," 436–40; Shahîd, Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century, 100–06; Beeston, "Judaism and Christianity in Pre-Islamic Yemen," 271–78; idem, "Himyarite Monotheism," 149–54; Rubin, op. cit., 387–88; Robin, in op. cit., 145–47; idem, in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v. Sheba. II, cols. 1115–16, 1190–92.

Concerning the length of Dhū Nuwās's reign, tradition gives him one of thirty-eight years, a vastly exaggerated number; see n. 488 below.

487. In Muslim eyes, Christianity had in general degenerated by the time of the Prophet's coming, leaving only "remnants" such as those mentioned here. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 177 n. 2.

Shahîd has propounded that Najrān at this time came definitely within the

its people, like all the rest of the Arabs, were (originally) idol worshipers. At that point, a man called Faymiyūn, from the rem-

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Arabic cultural and liguistic sector of the Arabian Peninsula rather than the Sabaean-Ḥimyarite one, on the basis of the Arabic names of the Martyrs of Najrān and the existence there in the sixth century of a school of Arabic poets; but this suggestion is rejected by such experts on South Arabian languages as W. W. Müller.

The advent of Christianity to Najrān was part of a general percolation of monotheistic religions, specifically Judaism and Christianity, into the Arabian Peninsula (for Judaism in western and southern Arabia, see n. 486 above, and for Judaism at Najrān specifically, where the community seems to have been an old, established one, see Lecker, "Judaism among Kinda and the *Ridda* of Kinda," 635–36). Already in the mid-fourth century, the king of Ḥimyar had received a diplomatic mission sent by the Byzantine emperor Constantius II (r. 337–61) under Theophilus "the Indian" (who was actually from the island of Socotra, the whole region of South Arabia and the Gulf of Aden shores being often referred to vaguely in Byzantine sources as "India"), an Arian in faith like his master, and the king had undertaken to build three churches within his dominions. Later in that same century, Abū Karib As'ad and others of his family adopted a monotheism that involved some form of Judaism (see n. 486 above). There may well have been some political factors at work here, since the Abyssinian kingdom of Axum was at this time adopting Christianity and the faith was also spreading among the Arabs of the northern and eastern fringes of the Peninsula. The Ḥimyarite rulers may have wished to counter a possible threat of intervention on religious grounds from outside—intervention which was, indeed, to materialize when the power of the Ḥimyarite monarchy went into decline in the early sixth century. J. Ryckmans opined that both Nestorianism and Monophysitism were represented within the Najrān Christian community, but that the former was likely to have been more favorably regarded by the Jewish or Judaizing Ḥimyarite kings of the eighty years or so before the Abyssinian intervention in favor of Monophysitism, and that the celebrated persecutions at Najrān were essentially of the Monophysites there, with the Nestorians merely looking on, if not actively encouraging the Himyarite rulers; see his "Le Christianisme en Arabie du Sud préislamique," 448, 450–52. Through Abyssinian enthusiasm for Monophysitism, and a distinct Byzantine preference for it over Nestorianism (see n. 511 below), Najrān itself became the focus in the sixth century for something like an Arabian national church, Monophysite in theology. From the time of the Byzantine emperor Anastasius I (r. 491–518), the Ḥimyarites had a bishop of their own, probably a Syrian and Monophysite in theology, called Silvanus, and we know the names of two Monophysite bishops, both named Paul, consecrated for Najrān itself around this time (see below). During the early Islamic period, despite the deportations of Christians from Najrān to Iraq by the second caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the faith was to survive there (as also in the island of Socotra, in the Gulf of Aden) into mediaeval Islamic times. The Nestorian Church in Iraq had contacts with Christians in southwestern Arabia for some three centuries after the advent of Islam: the Patriarch Timothy ordained a bishop for Yemen and Ṣan'ā' in ca. 800, and John IV answered questions from a priest "of the people of Yemen" in ca. 900. See Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 230; Beaucamp and Robin, "Le Christianisme dans la péninsule arabique d'après l'épigraphie et l'archéologie," 56–57; *EI*², s.v. Nadjrān (Irfan Shahîd).

But before the consolidation of Christianity in Najrān under Byzantine and Abyssinian influence came about, the desire of the Ḥimyarite ruling strata to

nants of the adherents of that faith had come among them; he summoned them to his religion and they adopted it.

Hishām related: [He was] Zur'ah Dhū Nuwās, but when he be-
[920] came a convert to Judaism, he assumed the name of Yūsuf.[488] It

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preserve their national identity and culture between the two powerful Christian realms of Byzantium and Abyssinia, had inevitably entailed a growing hostility toward the indigenous Monophysite Christian community, even if for political rather than strictly religious reasons. There was persecution under Sharaḥbi'īl Yakuf (known to have been reigning in 472), when we know from an Ethiopic hagiographical work that the missionary Azqīr (whose name Ryckmans linked, through deformed transcriptions, with the Yazdīn of a Persian romance centered round one of the Persian Christian martyrs; Beeston suggested a possible connection with Arabic al-Dhakīr "the famed, reputed one") was killed, possibly for proselytizing but certainly with some sort of Jewish involvement in the deed (see Ryckmans, op. cit., 441–43; Beeston, "The Martyrdom of Azqir," 5–10; Rubin, "Byzantium, and Southern Arabia—the Policy of Anastasius," 387–88); and Paul, the first bishop of Najrān, was martyred at the Ḥimyarite capital Ẓafār, stoned by the Jews there, at an unknown date before 521 but possibly before 504, as is known from the Syriac martyrological literature. Intervention by Abyssinia was not long in coming, and it seems that Yūsuf As'ar Dhū Nuwās's predecessor Ma'dī Karib Ya'fur was placed on the throne of Ḥimyar by the Abyssinians in late 518 or early 519, as part of a direct extension of Abyssinian influence into Yemen, involving even a permanent mission in Ẓafār, where (judging from their names) Abyssinian representatives built a palace for themselves during the reign of Ma'dī Karib Ya'fur's predecessor Marthad 'ilān Yanūf. The stage was thus set for the culmination of what had probably been a series of persecutions of the Christians of Najrān, the most notorious being that in the proto-nationalist, pro-Jewish reaction, which intensified under Yūsuf As'ar Dhū Nuwās; see the following note. On the vestiges Arabian Christianity has left in the epigraphy and archaeology of the peninsula, see Beaucamp and Robin, op. cit., 45–61; on the position of Christianity in the politics and diplomacy of southwestern Arabia at this time, Robin, "Le royaume ḥujride," 699–702; and on the faith there in general, the references in the following note.

Nöldeke, trans. 177 n. 3, thought that Faymiyūn was most likely a shortened form of Euphemion, so that this Greek name would point to a man coming from the Byzantine lands. But since his time there has been further investigation of the origins of this story of the introduction of Christianity to Najrān, in particular, by A. Moberg. Moberg traced the story of the Arabic sources, with its theme of the wandering ascetic from Syria, to Persian Christian romantic legends of Yazdīn-Pethion, involving the martydom in Persia in 447 of Pethion, whose name yielded the Arabic form Faymiyūn. See the discussion of his views in J. Ryckmans, op. cit., 441–42.

The story of 'Abdallāh b. al-Thāmir is given in al-Ṭabarī, I, 923–25, pp. 200–202 below.

488. The actual name of Dhū Nuwās (this being a nickname or cognomen, see n. 483 above), of the family of Yaz'an, emerges from an inscription dating from the month of Dhū Madhra'ān 633 of the Ḥimyarite era/June–July 523. His name is given in the inscription as Yusuf/Yūsuf (replacing Yanūf ?) As'ar Yath'ar, with the title "king of all the tribes, *'s²'b*ⁿ," a much more modest one than the usual

was he who had the trench (*al-ukhdūd*) dug out at Najrān and killed the Christians.[489]

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Mughīrah b. Abī Labīd, a freedman of al-Akhnas—Wahb b. Munabbih al-Yamānī,[490] who related to them that the

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grandiloquent ones of the Ḥimyarite kings, such as "king of Saba', Dhū Raydān, Ḥaḍramawt, and Yamanat, together with the Arabs of the Ṭawd and the Tihāmat" (see nn. 314, 417 above) and one which seems to reflect the fact that, as an usurper, his rule was illegitimate.

Dhū Nuwās replaced the last Tubba' ruler Ma'dī Karib Ya'fur between June 521 and June 522, and was defeated by the Abyssinians soon after Pentecost 525, killing himself shortly afterward (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 927–28, p. 207 below). Whatever the nature of his commitment to Judaism (see n. 486 above)—and Shahîd has suggested that he may well have started off as a Christian and as the designated successor of Ma'dī Karib (but see above)—he embarked in 523 on his campaign to eliminate the Abyssinians and the indigenous Christians of southwestern Arabia. The eight hundred-strong Abyssinian community in Ẓafār was put to death and the Abyssinian-held fortresses in Shamir taken. Tihāmah was conquered, and Najrān compelled to give hostages and to endure a blockade. Then in November of that same year 523, Najrān was attacked and occupied, its Christian population massacred, the churches burned down, and Greek and Abyssinian traders there killed. See R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in Its Christian Environment*, 33–63; Smith, "Events in South Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.," 459–60; G. Ryckmans, "Le Christianisme en Arabie du Sud préislamique," 413–53; Altheim and Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, V/1, 373–85; idem, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, I, 442–43; Shahîd, *The Martyrs of Najrân. New Documents*, 266–68; Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, 297–99; Müller, "Survey of the History of the Arabian Peninsula," 129; Robin, in op. cit., 151–52; *EI*², s.vv. Dhū Nuwās (M. R. Al-Assouad), Mathāmina (Chr. Robin); n. 506 below.

The chronology adopted here for these events, including the actual martyrdoms at Najrān and the happenings following on from them, is that put forward, after a very thorough sifting of the evidence (from Byzantine Greek and Syriac sources and from contemporary South Arabian inscriptions) by François de Blois, that the martyrdoms took place at the traditional date of 523 and not in 518, as argued by, e.g., Rubin and Shahîd. See de Blois, "The Date of the "Martyrs of Nagrān," 110–27.

489. Traditional Qur'ānic exegesis regarded the *aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd*, "companions of the trench," of LXXXV, 4–8, as being the Christian martyrs of Najrān, praised for their steadfastness in the face of immolation or, occasionally, connected with the three men in Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace of Daniel, iii. 13ff. Joseph Halévy, on his pioneer expedition into Yemen in 1869–70 sponsored by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, found that the Najrān of that time was called Madīnat al-Khudūd (< Ukhdūd); see his "Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen," 37–40. The connection with the martyrs of Najrān was upheld by older generations of Western scholars, e.g., Nöldeke, in his *Geschichte des Qorāns*, I, 97 n. 3, and (originally) Richard Bell in his *The Origin of Islam in Its Christian Environment*, 38, 68. But it is now generally recognized as being not a specifically historical reference but, rather, an eschatological one, the "companions of the trench" being unbelievers destined for Hell Fire because of what they had done to

implantation of that religion (sc., Christianity) in Najrān arose from the fact that there was a man from the remnants of the followers of the faith of 'Īsā b. Maryam called Faymiyūn,—a pious man, a zealous fighter for the faith and an ascetic, one whose prayers were answered by God.[491] He used to wander forth, staying in villages. As soon as he became known in one village (sc., as a holy man and wonder worker), he would leave it for another village where he was not known. He lived entirely off what his own hand gained; he was a builder, who worked with mud brick. He used to keep Sunday holy, and when this day came round would do no work but would go out into a desert place and pray and worship there until it was evening. He was once in one of the villages of Syria, performing those rites of his away from human gaze, when a local man called Ṣāliḥ realized what sort of an exalted religious state Faymiyūn had attained and felt a love for him such as he had never felt for anything previously.[492] He followed Faymiyūn around wherever he went, unperceived by Faymiyūn, until on one occasion Faymiyūn went forth into the desert on Sunday, as was his custom, followed by Ṣāliḥ, unbeknown to Faymiyūn. Ṣāliḥ sat down in a place where he could see

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the believers (v. 7). See Bell, ed. Bosworth and M. E. J. Richardson, *A Commentary on the Qur'ān*, II, 517; *EI*², s.v. Aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd (R. Paret).

490. The *Tābi'* or Successor Abū 'Abdallāh Wahb b. Munabbih (b. ca. 34/654–55, d. 110/728 or 114/732) was one of the most knowledgeable of Umayyad period historians, especially regarding the "Stories of the Prophets" and regarding South Arabian lore, having been himself born, of Persian stock, at Dhimār to the north of Ṣan'ā'. He seems to have been able to draw on both Jewish and Christian traditions (in the latter case, notably for the story of the events here at Najrān); it is regrettable that his *Kitāb al-mulūk al-mutawwajah min Ḥimyar wa-akhbārihim wa-qiṣaṣih wa-qubūrihim wa-ash'ārihimm* is only known through later citations, including extensively in the first part of Ibn Hishām's *Kitāb al-tāj*, which depends heavily on Wahb. See Krenkow, "The Two Oldest Books on Arabic Folklore," 56ff.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 305–307; *EI*², s.v. Wahb b. Munabbih (R. G. Khoury).

491. Nöldeke, trans. 177 n. 3, regarded the following tale of Faymiyūn and Ṣāliḥ, and its sequel, the tale of 'Abdallāh b. al-Thāmir, as nothing but pious legend, but Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, 294–95, thought that they should not be discounted as complete inventions but should be considered as reflections of later Islamic attempts to iluminate the background of the Prophet's life and to elucidate supposed Qur'ānic references to events in Najrān (but see on these references, n. 489 above).

492. The name Ṣāliḥ has connotations of "piety, God-fearingness," and also evokes the name of the Qur'ānic native Arabian prophet sent to warn Thamūd. As a personal name, it seems to be very rare in pre-Islamic usage. See *EI*², s.v. Ṣāliḥ (A. Rippin).

Faymiyūn, but in a place concealed from Faymiyūn, not wishing the latter to know where he was. Faymiyūn started praying, but while he was preoccupied with this, a *tinnīn*, a serpent with seven heads, slid up to him.[493] On seeing it, Faymiyūn called down a curse on it, and it died. Ṣāliḥ saw the *tinnīn*, but did not know what had happened to it, and feared for Faymiyūn's safety. Hence he was overcome with concern for him and cried out, "O Faymiyūn, a *tinnīn* has just come up to you!" But Faymiyūn paid no attention to him and kept on with his worship and prayers until he had completed them. Evening having come on, he returned, knowing that he had been recognized; Ṣāliḥ likewise knew that Faymiyūn had seen where he was. Ṣāliḥ addressed him, saying, "O Faymiyūn, God knows that I have never loved anything as [921] much as I love you; I want to accompany you and be with you wherever you may go." Faymiyūn replied, "As you wish. You see what my work is, but if you believe that you are strong enough to undertake it yourself, well and good." Ṣāliḥ accordingly remained with him closely, but the people of the village were on the verge of discovering Faymiyūn's real nature. For when one of God's servants with some disease suddenly crossed his path, Faymiyūn prayed for him, and he was cured; but when he was summoned to a sick person, he refused to go. Now one of the people of that village had a son who had some affliction (*ḍarīr*),[494] and he asked about Faymiyūn's conduct. He was told that he never came when expressly summoned but that he was a man who did building work for people in return for his hire. So the man went along to that son of his, and put him in his room and threw a garment over him. Then he went to Faymiyūn and asked him, "O Faymiyūn, I want some building work done in my house, so come back with me and have a look at it, so that I can discuss conditions with you." Faymiyūn went back with him and entered the room. He next said, "What do you want done in your house?" The man replied, "So-and-so," and whisked away the garment from of the lad, saying, "O Faymiyūn, one of God's servants has been afflicted as you can see; so pray to God for him!" Faymiyūn exclaimed

493. The *tinnīn* appears as a seven-headed dragon in Jewish Haggadic lore, taken over subsequently into the Islamic *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* stories; see, e.g., W. M. Thackston Jr., *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa'i*, Boston 1978, 201.

494. Thus in the context, rather than "blind."

when he saw the boy, "O God, Your enemy has entered into the sound health which You bestowed on one of your servants in order to destroy it, so cure him, restore him to health and protect him from the Devil!" The boy thereupon got up and was completely free of any defect.

Faymiyūn now realized that he was recognized, so departed from the village, with Ṣāliḥ accompanying him. On one occasion, he was walking somewhere in Syria and passed by a large tree. A man called down to him from the tree, saying, "Is that Faymiyūn?" The latter replied, "Yes." The man said, "I have been continuously awaiting you and have kept saying, 'When is he coming?' until I heard your voice and knew that you were its owner. Don't go away until you have prayed over my grave, for I am now at the point of death." He related: He did die at that moment, and Faymiyūn prayed over him and buried him.[495] Then
[922] he departed, accompanied by Ṣāliḥ, until the two of them set foot in part of the land of the Arabs. But the Arabs swept down on them, and a caravan of some Arab group snatched them up, carried them off, and finally sold them in Najrān.

At that period, the people of Najrān followed the religion of the Arabs, worshiping a lofty date palm in their midst. Every year they had a festival, when they hung on that tree every fine garment they could find and also women's ornaments. Then they went forth and devoted themselves to worship of it for the whole day.[496] One of the nobles of Najrān purchased Faymiyūn, and another man purchased Ṣāliḥ. Now one night Faymiyūn stood up in a hut (*bayt*) his master had allotted to him, praying, when the whole hut

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495. The man in the tree was presumably a dendrite, a tree-dwelling ascetic, with a way of life analogous to that of a stylite or pillar dweller.

496. The worship of sacred trees was a standard feature of ancient Semitic religion, attested among the Canaanites, Phoenicians, etc. In Arabia, as well as this date palm at Najrān, there was the acacia tree (*samurah*) at al-Nakhlah, between Mecca and al-Ṭā'if, embodiment of the goodess al-'Uzzā, and the great tree at Ḥunayn called *dhāt anwāṭ* "[tree] on which date baskets, etc., are hung," to which the people of pre-Islamic Mecca used to resort and bring gifts. See Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. First Series. The Fundamental Institutions*, 185ff; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 36, 104–105; H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, 7–72; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 79–80; Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, 31–32, 58. Nöldeke, trans. 181 n. 1, attributed the hanging of women's ornaments on the tree to the fact that the word for date palm, *nakhlah*, is of feminine gender in Arabic.

was filled with light as if from a lamp, until it was completely illuminated but without the presence of any lamp. Faymiyūn's master saw this, and the sight filled him with wonder. He asked Faymiyūn about his religion, and the latter told him about it. Faymiyūn explained to him: "You people are completely in error; this date palm can neither harm nor benefit, and if I were to invoke against it the One whom I worship, He would destroy it. He is God, the One, without any partner."[497] He related: His master told him, "Do that, and if you can bring that to pass, we will embrace your religion and abandon the one we used to hold." He related: Faymiyūn arose, purified himself, prayed two *rak'ah*s,[498] and then invoked God's curse on the date palm. God sent a wind that tore it up from its roots and cast it down. At that, the people of Najrān followed Faymiyūn and adopted his religion. He instructed them in the law (*sharī'ah*) of the faith of 'Īsā b. Maryam. But after that, various innovations (*aḥdāth*)[499] came into their faith, as into that of their coreligionists in every land. From this center, the Christianity of Najrān spread in the land of the Arabs—all this being the report of Wahb b. Munabbih concerning the people of Najrān.[500]

There related to us Ḥumayd—Salamah, who said: There related [923]
to us Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Ziyād, a freedman of the Banū Hāshim—Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī.[501] He said: There related to us also Muḥammad b. Isḥāq from a man of the people of

497. Anticipating, in its Qur'ānic phraseology regarding God's unity, *tawḥīd*, Muḥammad's denunciation, in his later years at Mecca, of the "Daughters of Allāh," the three pagan goddesses worshiped by Quraysh, as having no spiritual efficacity, either positive or negative. See on this last episode, involving the so-called Satanic verses, Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 100–109.

498. Looking forward to the *rak'ah*, the act of bowing and bending, which forms part of the Muslim *ṣalāt*.

499 This seems to be the sense here of *aḥdāth*, rather than the general one of "events, happenings."

500. This tale, of no direct relevance to the drama of political and military events in South Arabia that swirled around such figures as Dhū Nuwās and Abrahah, is given in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 20–22 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 32–35, tr. 14–16.

501. Muḥammad b. Ka'b (d. 118/736), descended from the Medinan Jewish clan of Qurayẓah, was a Successor famed both as an early Qur'ān commentator and as a retailer of *akhbār*, historical traditions, and in this last utilized by Ibn Isḥāq. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 32.

Najrān: The people of Najrān were polytheists who worshiped idols. In one of their villages near Najrān—Najrān being the major urban center there, in which the people of that region used to come together—there was a sorcerer who used to teach magic to the Najrān youths. When Faymiyūn took up residence in Najrān (He related: They did not call him by the name which Wahb b. Munabbih gives him, but they simply said "a man took up residence there"), he put up a tent between Najrān and that village where the sorcerer lived. The people of Najrān began to send their boys to that sorcerer, who then taught them magic. Hence al-Thāmir sent his son ʿAbdallāh b. al-Thāmir, together with the other youths of the people of Najrān. When ʿAbdallāh b. al-Thāmir passed by the man in the tent, he was astonished by what he saw of the man's praying and acts of devotion, and began to sit with him and listen to him, until he surrendered himself to God (*aslama*), acknowledged God's unity, and worshiped Him. He set about asking the man about the Greatest Name (of God), but although the man knew it, he concealed it from him with the words, "O my nephew, you will not be able to bear it; I fear you are too weak for it."[502] He therefore refused to tell him. Meanwhile, al-Thāmir, the father of ʿAbdallāh, had no idea that his son ʿAbdallāh was not going along [regularly] to the sorcerer just as the other youths were doing. When ʿAbdallāh saw that his master had kept the knowledge [of God's Greatest Name] from him and was afraid for his weakness, he took a number of arrows and gathered them together.[503] Every name of God that he knew he wrote on an arrow, every name on a single arrow. When he had counted all the

502. This is what became the Islamic equivalent of the Jewish name of God, the tetragrammaton *yhwh, ha-shem ha-məfōrāsh,* known only to the High Priest, who was only allowed to pronounce it once a year. In Islam, the secret name of God becomes a word of power, whose possessor can wreak with it mighty, supernatural deeds. See Nöldeke, trans. 183 n. 1.

503 Arrows were used for oracular and divinatory purposes in some sectors at least of ancient Semitic religion, as in Ezek. xxi. 21, where the king of Babylon consults his divining arrows. In Qur'ān, V, 4/3, *al-istiqsām bi-al-azlām,* "division [of a sacrificial offering] by means of arrows," which is said to have been practiced in the Kaʿbah of pre-Islamic times before the image of the god Hubal (see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām,* 17, tr. Klinke-Rosenberger, 44 and 114–15 n. 256, tr. Faris 23–24; al-Ṭabarī, I, 1075–78), is denounced as a relic of paganism. See Fahd, *La divination arabe,* 181–82; *EI*², s.v. Istiḳsām (T. Fahd).

names,[504] he lit a fire for this special purpose and began to throw the arrows on it one by one, until he finally reached the arrow with the Greatest Name of God [on it]. He threw it on the fire, but it immediately sprang out completely undamaged. He went up to it and grasped it, and then went to his master and informed him [924] that he had now come to know the name his master had concealed from him. His master questioned him about it, and the youth replied that it was such-and-such. His master said, "How did you come to know it?" The boy told him how he had set about discovering it. He related: He then said, "O my nephew, you have got it correctly, but keep it to yourself—yet I don't think you actually will."

Thereafter, whenever 'Abdallāh b. al-Thāmir came to Najrān and met any sick person there he would invariably say, "O servant of God, will you confess the unity of God and adopt my religion, so that [if you do], I may invoke the blessing of God and He will cure you of your affliction?" The sick person would assent. 'Abdallāh would thereupon proclaim God's unity, submit himself to God, and pray to Him, so that the man was then healed. In the end, there was no sick or maimed person left in Najrān who did not come to him and then followed him in his faith; 'Abdallāh invoked God's blessing on the sick person and he was healed. Ultimately, the news of his activity reached the king of Najrān. He sent for 'Abdallāh and accused him: "You have corrupted the people of my town and have set yourself against my religion and that of my forefathers; I shall inflict exemplary punishment on you!" 'Abdallāh replied, "You have no power to do that." The king set about dispatching him to a high mountain, from whose summit he was hurled down; but he fell to the ground totally unhurt. Next, the king had him consigned to some waters at Najrān, [deep] stretches of water out of which nothing had ever emerged alive. He was thrown into them, but again came out unharmed.

Having thus triumphed over the king, 'Abdallāh b. al-Thāmir told him, "By God, you will never be able to kill me until you confess the unity of God and believe in my own system of belief; but if you do that, you will be given power over me and will be able

504. A total formalized in later Muslim piety as the "Ninety-nine Most Beautiful Names" of God. See *EI*², s.v. al-Asmā' al-ḥusnā (L. Gardet).

to kill me." That king thereupon confessed the unity of God and bore witness to the creed of 'Abdallāh b. al-Thāmir. He then struck him with a staff he had in his hand, striking his head with a blow of only moderate violence, thereby killing him; but the king himself then dropped dead on the spot. The people of Najrān accepted the faith of 'Abdallāh b. al-Thāmir en masse, and henceforth held fast to the gospel and the law that Jesus son of Mary had
[925] brought. Subsequently, they were affected by the events that also affected their coreligionists. This was the origin of Christianity at Najrān.[505]

Such is the report of Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī and another scholar of Najrān knowledgeable about that event; but God is the most knowledgeable [about all this].

He [i.e., Ibn Isḥāq] related: Dhū Nuwās marched against them with his forces of the Ḥimyarites and the tribes of Yemen. He gathered the people of Najrān together, and summoned them to the Jewish faith, offering them the choice between that and being killed. They chose being killed, so he dug out for them the trench [*al-ukhdūd*]. He burnt some of them with fire, slew some violently with the sword, and mutilated them savagely until he had killed nearly twenty thousand of them.[506] Out of them there es-

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505. There was pointed out to Halévy, at the ruins of the old town of Najrān, a mosque built at the tomb of 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāmir [*sic*], described to him as the first Muslim apostle to the district, although scholars in Najrān attributed the tomb to a saint of pre-Islamic times; see his "Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen," 39–40. Today, there is a police post in the Wādī Najrān named Qaṣr 'Abdallāh b. Thāmir after the nearby supposed tomb of the *walī* of this name, see Beaucamp and Robin, "Le Christianisme dans la péninsule arabique d'après l'épigraphie et l'archéologie," 53–54 and n. 49.

506. Ibn Isḥāq has more detail here than Ibn al-Kalbī on the actual martyrdom of the Christians. Although the Syriac *Book of the Himyarites*, composed in the second quarter of the sixth century and therefore very close to the time in question, i.e., 523, mentions nothing about the Christians being put in a pit, the recently discovered Syriac "new" letter of Simeon of Bēth Arshām specifically says that two thousand Christians were immolated when their church was burned. See Shahīd's edition, translation, and study, *The Martyrs of Najrân. New Documents.*

Dhū Nuwās's policy here may not have been one that he conceived and pursued entirely of his own accord, in isolation from outside considerations, given the possible background of his conversion to some form of Judaism [see n. 486 above]. That it was aimed at countering an extension of Christian Abyssinan influence in Yemen is clear, but Dhū Nuwās may have looked for support in another quarter of Arabia. M. J. Kister has suggested, with impressive documentation, that the

caped only one man, called Daws Dhū Tha'labān, on one of his horses, who traveled through the sands until he threw his pursuers off.[507]

He related: I have heard a certain man from the people of Yemen say that the man who escaped from them was a man of Najrān called Jabbār (var. Ḥayyān) b. Fayḍ. He related: In my view, the more authentic of the two reports is that of the man who narrated to me that it was Daws Dhū Tha'labān.

Dhū Nuwās returned with his forces to Ṣan'ā' in the land of Yemen.[508] Concerning Dhū Nuwās and his troops, there narrated

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Lakhmid king of al-Ḥīrah al-Mundhir III (on whom see nn. 362, 409 above) exerted a measure of control across Najd as far as Medina, with the backing of his suzerains the Sāsānids, for whom an *'āmil* collected taxes in Medina at this time; see his "Al-Ḥīra. Some Notes on Its Relations with Arabia," 144–49. From this possibility of an alliance between the pagan Lakhmid rulers with the Jewish tribes in Medina, who were still dominant over the local Arabs of the Yathrib oasis during the first half of the sixth century, Shahîd and Altheim and Stiehl have gone on to suggest that Dhū Nuwās, in his anti-Abyssinian and anti-Christian policies at Najrān and in Yemen, looked to al-Mundhir for at least moral and perhaps diplomatic backing, given the apparent connection of the later Ḥimyarite kings' Jewish tendencies or sympathies with Medina (cf. the tale, in al-Ṭabarī, I, 901–905, pp. 164–70 above, of Tubān As'ad Abū Karib's espousal of Judaism when passing through Medina, and also n. 486 above). Furthermore, Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 113, states that "Dhū Nuwās halted at Yathrib when once he was passing through, and was favorably impressed by the Jewish faith. Hence he adopted it for himself, and the Jews of Yathrib incited him to attack Najrān and to inflict trials and tribulations on the Christians there." Al-Mundhir, for his part, would have welcomed an opportunity to counteract Abyssinian power over southwestern Arabia. See Nöldeke, trans. 183 n. 1; Bell, *The Origin of Islam in Its Christian Environment*, 36–39; Altheim and Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, V/1, 359–61; eidem, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, I, 440–41; Shahîd, *The Martyrs of Najrân*, 266–68; Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, 297; Rubin, "Byzantium and Southern Arabia—the Policy of Anastasius," 401–402.

However, by the time the Abyssinians appeared in Yemen in 525 in order to avenge the Martyrs of Najrān and the Abyssinians slain in southwestern Arabia, al-Mundhir was in no position to offer any military help, being hard pressed by his rivals of Kindah and being shortly afterward ejected, albeit temporarily, from his own capital al-Ḥīrah by the Kindī al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr (see n. 362 above).

507. Dhū Tha'labān was the name of one of the eight great noble families of Ḥimyar, influential either during the period of independent Ḥimyarite royal power or during that of Abyssinian and then Persian domination over southwestern Arabia that followed the extinction of the Ḥimyarite ruling dynasty, Tha'lab being apparently a tribal name. Epigraphic evidence does support the fact that the Dhū Tha'labān came from the Najrān area. See Nöldeke, trans. 186 n. 1; *EI*², s.v. al-Mathāmina (Chr. Robin).

508. Ṣan'ā' emerges into prominence only in the inscriptions of the third cen-

to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said: God sent down to His Messenger the words "Slain were the Men of the Trench, with the fire abounding in fuel," to His words ". . . and God, the Mighty, the Praiseworthy."[509] It is said that 'Abdallāh b. al-Thāmir, their leader and imām, was among those whom Dhū Nuwās killed, but it is also said that 'Abdallāh b. al-Thāmir was killed before that event, killed by a previous ruler. He was the founder of that faith [at Najrān], and Dhū Nuwās only slew adherents of 'Abdallāh's religion who came after him.

As for Hishām b. Muḥammad, he says that the royal power in
[926] Yemen was handed down continuously, with no one venturing to contest it until the Abyssinians (*al-Ḥabashah*) seized control of their land in the time of Anūsharwān. He related: The reason for their conquest was that Dhū Nuwās the Ḥimyarite exercised royal power in Yemen at that time, and he was an adherent of the Jewish faith. There came to him a Jew called Daws from the people of Najrān, who told him that the people of Najrān had unjustly slain his two sons;[510] he now sought Dhū Nuwās's help against

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tury A.D., although it doubtless had a history before that time. It was a *ḥgr/ḥajar* or town in what was at that time the petty kingdom of Samay, which was seemingly linked in some sort of federal arrangement with Saba'. It was a military center, as the probable connection of its name with the Sabaean root *ṣ.n.'*, "to fortify [a place]," indicates (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab*, 81, states however that the town's ancient name was Azāl). Ṣan'ā' seems to have reached a peak of importance within the wider Sabaean state at this time, with one of its kings, Ilisharaḥ Yaḥḍab, named in Islamic sources (e.g., Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 210). As builder of the famous castle of Ghumdān (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 928, p. 209 and n. 520 below). After this, Ṣan'ā' suffered a temporary eclipse when power shifted to the Ḥimyarite dynasty of the Tubba's, with their capital at Ẓafār (see n. 475 above). Neither Ṣan'ā' nor Ghumdān figure in inscriptions dating from the fourth to the sixth centuries. The town does nevertheless seem to have had within it during pre-Islamic times a *mḥrm/maḥram*, a place to which access was prohibited or restricted, usually for religious or cultic reasons, and R. B. Serjeant suggested that the pre-Islamic *hijrah* or sacred area of Ṣan'ā' may have existed in parallel with the Ḥaram of Mecca. One can therefore easily comprehend that the profanation of the Christian church built at Ṣan'ā' by Abrahah (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 934, 943, pp. 217, 232–33 below) was a particularly heinous action if, as seems possible, the church was situated in the *maḥram* area. See Shahîd, "Byzantium and South Arabia," 81–83; Beeston, "Pre-Islamic Ṣan'ā'," 36–38; Serjeant, "Ṣan'ā' the 'Protected', Hijrah," 39–40; *EI*², s.v. Ṣan'ā' (G. R. Smith).

509. See n. 489 above.

510. Nöldeke thought that, given the deeply rooted hostility of Eastern Christians toward Jews, this incident was perfectly possible.

them. The people of Najrān were Christians. Dhū Nuwās was a fervent partisan of the Jewish faith, so he led an expedition against the people of Najrān, killing large numbers of them. A man from the people of Najrān fled and in due course came to the King of Abyssinia. He informed the king of what the Yemenis had committed and gave him a copy of the Gospels partly burned by the fire. The King of Abyssinia said to him: "I have plenty of men, but no ships [to transport them]; but I will write to Qayṣar (i.e., the Byzantine Emperor) asking him to send me ships for transporting the soldiers." Hence he wrote to Qayṣar about this matter, enclosing the [partly] burned copy of the Gospels, and Qayṣar dispatched a large number of ships.[511]

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511. Refugees from Najrān and the other places in Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt where there had been persecutions (the Syriac *Book of the Ḥimyarites* mentions that these occurred in five towns, Ẓafār, Najrān, "the town of Ḥaḍramawt," Mārib, and [Ha]jjarēn; see Shahîd, "Byzantium in South Arabia," 38) probably managed to escape to Abyssinia and possibly to Byzantine territory at the head of the Red Sea. At all events, the news speedily reached the Christian kingdoms of Axum and Byzantium, and the sufferings of the Najrānites entered their martyrologies (the Ethiopian Church adopted into its calendar the commemoration of the *samā'tāta Neǧrān*, "witnesses of Najrān," on 26 November; see H. M. Hyatt, *The Church of Abyssinia*, 32). The martyrdoms at Najrān involved essentially, as noted in n. 487 above, the local Monophysites, and the Church of Abyssinia was also Monophysite. Byzantium was Melkite, and persecuted Monophysites within the empire's boundaries, but southwestern Arabia was sufficiently far from the imperial heartlands for theological niceties not to count in the face of a Judaizing ruler and his persecution of Christians. Justin halted his own persection of the Monophysites within his dominions, and utilized the Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria as his intermediary with the Abyssinian Najāshī or Negus in Axum.

Eventually, a fleet of some sixty merchant ships commandeered by the Byzantine authorities set out from Adulis, the port of Axum on what is now the Eritrean coast under the leadership of the king in Axum, Kālēb, who had the regnal name of Ělla Aṣběḥa (rendered by Procopius, *The Persian War*, I.xx.1–13, as Hellēsthaios for Hellesbaios; in a South Arabian inscription *'l'ṣbḥ*). This was probably in the spring or summer of 525. Kālēb's activities as the restorer of Christianity in South Arabia were to earn him great renown within the church. After disposing of Dhū Nuwās, Ělla Aṣběḥa seems to have erected a victory inscription in Ge'ez, one which is unfortunately only fragmentarily legible, at Mārib. He very probably engaged in a campaign of revenge, slaughtering great numbers of Ḥimyarites and destroying their idols and temples. He certainly embarked upon an extensive program of church building in southwestern Arabia, details of which are given in the Greek—possibly with a Syriac *Vorlage*—hagiographical *Vita Sancti Gregentii*, whose extensive information here has been made the subject of a close study by Irfan Shahîd. See Nöldeke, trans. 188 n. 1; Smith, "Events in South Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.," 454–55; Murad Kamil, "An Ethiopian Inscription found at

The narrative returns to that of Ibn Isḥāq. There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, who related that there was a man from the people of Najrān in the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb[512] who dug up one of the ruined sites of Najrān intending to utilize it, and found [the body of] 'Abdallāh b. al-Thāmir inside a hollow there that had become filled with sand (*dafn, difn*). He was in a sitting position, with his hand covering the wound from the blow to his head, holding it firmly with that hand. When his hand was lifted off, the wound began to flow with blood, but when his hand was released, he placed it back on the wound and the flow of blood ceased. On [the finger of] his hand was a seal ring, with the inscription "My lord is God." A report was sent to 'Umar telling him the story, and he wrote back to them: "Leave him
[927] alone, and replace the grave that was over him," so they did that.[513]

When Daws Dhū Tha'labān threw off his pursuers in this manner, he pressed onward until he came to Qayṣar, the ruler of al-Rūm.[514] He requested his help against Dhū Nuwās and his troops, and told him what his people had suffered from them. Qayṣar replied, however, "Your land is distant from our own and too remote for us to be able to reach it with our own armies, but I will write on your behalf to the king of Abyssinia, for he is a Christian also. He is nearer than us to your land, hence can give you aid, protect you, and exact vengeance on your behalf from those who oppressed you and who violently shed the blood of you and your coreligionists."

Qayṣar sent back Daws with a letter to the king of Abyssinia in which was mentioned Daws's moral entitlement to help and what he and his coreligionists had endured, and Qayṣar commanded the king of Abyssinia to provide Daws with succor and the means for

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Mareb," 56–57; Altheim and Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, V/1, 385–91; eidem, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, I, 445–57; Shahîd, "Byzantium in South Arabia," 23–94.

512. That is, in the later 630s or early 640s.

513. This same story of the discovery of 'Abdallāh b. al-Thāmir's corpse is found in al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, 134–35, tr. 80–81.

514. Here the narrative returns to the account of Ibn al-Kalbī broken off by this parenthesis from Ibn Isḥāq.

him to exact vengeance for these who had treated him and his fellow Christians wrongfully.

When Daws Dhū Tha'labān presented Qayṣar's letter to the Najāshī,[515] ruler of Abyssinia, the latter sent a force with Daws of seventy thousand Abyssinian troops, appointing as commander over them one of their number, an Abyssinian called Aryāṭ (? Arethas).[516] He laid upon him the following charge: "If you secure the victory over (i.e., Dhū Nuwās and the Yemenis), kill a third of their menfolk, lay waste a third of their land, and capture and enslave a third of their women and children." Aryāṭ set out with his troops. Among these last was Abrahah al-Ashram ("the man with a cut-off nose tip").[517] He crossed the sea with Daws Dhū Tha'labān until they landed on the coast of Yemen. Dhū Nuwās heard of their approach, and he collected together at his side Ḥimyar and those tribes of Yemen owing him obedience, but there were many dissensions and divisions in their ranks on account of the approaching end of the period [appointed by God], the suffering of hardships, and the coming down of punishment. There ensued no real battle and Dhū Nuwās was only able to engage in a certain amount of skirmishing, and then his troops were put to flight and Aryāṭ overran the land with his forces. Hence when Dhū Nuwās saw what had befallen him and his supporters, he headed his horse toward the sea; he whipped it onward and it went into the sea, bearing him through the shallows until it carried him into the [928] deep water. He urged it onward into the open sea, and that was the last ever seen of him.[518]

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515. An accurate rendering of Ethiopic Nāgāsī, "ruler, king," used also as a regnal title (and Anglicized as Negus). The Najāshī figures extensively in the *Sīrah* of the Prophet, in the first place in connection with the two *hijrah*s of the first Muslims from Mecca to Abyssinia. See *EI*², s.v. al-Nadjāshī (E. van Donzel).

516. The reading of this name is uncertain; the manuscripts have Aryāṭ and Arbāṭ, but other renderings are possible. See the detailed discussion of the evidence from parallel Greek sources in Nöldeke, trans. 190 n. 3.

517. Abrahah is the Arabic form of Ethiopic Abrēha.

518. Dhū Nuwās seems in reality to have been killed by the Abyssinians in battle; this final touch about the mode of his death must be a romanticizing, South Arabian one, as remarked by Nöldeke, trans. 191 n. 2.

The events of the years immediately after Dhū Nuwās's death are somewhat obscure. De Blois has suggested that the Abyssinian invaders, having disposed of Dhū Nuwās, set up a puppet Christian king called Abraham (not to be confused with the subsequent Abrahah) and then withdrew the bulk of their troops back

Aryāṭ marched across Yemen with the Abyssinian army, killing a third of its menfolk, devastating a third of the countryside, and sending back to the Najāshī (the Negus) a third of the captured women and children. He remained there, imposing firm control over the land and reducing it to submission. A certain poet of the Yemenis has said, recalling how Daws Dhū Tha'labān had imposed upon them the yoke of the Abyssinians:

[Do not let anyone act] like Daws, and not like what he has fastened on his saddlebag [for us] (i.e., the yoke of the Abyssinians),

that is, what he brought down on them in the shape of the Abyssinians; this has remained a proverbial saying in Yemen up to this day.

Dhū Jadan al-Ḥimyarī[519] recorded the following lines, mentioning Ḥimyar and the humiliations it now suffered after its former

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across the Bāb al-Mandab. But the Ethiopian hold in Yemen was clearly a precarious one, for within a short time, the anti-Abyssinian party in Yemen apparently got the upper hand once more, necessitating a second Abyssinian invasion at the end of 530 or the beginning of 531 on the pretext of Jewish persecution of the Christians there. This was once more successful. Procopius records the expedition, and his information is confirmed by the Ḥiṣn al-Ghurāb inscription (CIH 621) of 640 Ḥimyarite era/A.D. 530–31, in which a local potentate, the Christian Sumuyafa' Ašwa', records the killing of a local king of the Ḥimyarites and his own subordination to the *Ḥbšt:* This local potentate is Procopius's Esimiphaios, now appointed king of Yemen under Abyssinian suzerainty. In any event, Sumu-yafa' Ašwa' cannot long have reigned before the usurpation of the former slave Abrahah (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 930ff., pp. 212ff. below). All this implies that there were in fact three Abyssinian invasions of South Arabia within two decades: one ca. 518; a second one between 525 and 527, resulting in the overthrow of Dhū Nuwās and the setting-up of Abraham; and a third one at the end of 530 or beginning of 531 after Abraham's death and the temporary resurgence of the anti-Abyssinian party, resulting in the establishment of Esimphaios. See de Blois, "The Date of the 'Martyrs of Nagrān,'" 119–20. For other reconstructions of events at this time, see Smith, "Events in South Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.," 455–56; Altheim and Stiehl, *Christentum am Roten Meer,* I, 446–47; Robin, in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible,* s.v Sheba. II, col. 1143; *EI*², s.v. Abraha (A. F. L. Beeston).

The story of the persecutions of Najrān and the Abyssinian invasion appears also in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī,* ed. Wüstenfeld, 24–26 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 37–39, tr. 17–18; idem, *Kitāb al-tījān,* 301–02; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XVII, 303–305.

519. This poet, much cited by al-Hamdānī in his *Iklīl,* appears in Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, passim, as 'Alqamah Dhū Yazan and 'Alqamah b. Dhī Jadan. This name would connect him with Dhū Jadan, one of the eight leading noble families of Ḥimyar (see n. 507 above and n. 585 below), specifically from the Mārib region. See

glory, and [recalling] the fortresses of Yemen Aryāṭ had destroyed, in addition to his devastation of the countryside, that is, Silḥīn, Baynūn, and Ghumdān, castles without parallel among mankind:[520]

Gently, [O woman!]. Tears cannot bring back what has gone by,
and do not destroy yourself out of grief, recalling those who
are dead.
After Baynūn, of which there is no visible trace and vestige, and
after Silḥīn, shall men ever construct [such] buildings
again?

Dhū Jadan al-Ḥimyarī further said in this connection:

Leave me alone [O woman], may you be deprived of your father!
You will not be able to deflect me from my resolve—may
God heap shame on you, you have dried up my spittle!
When, to the music of singing girls, we became exhilarated by
wine, and when we were given to drink the finest vintage,
[that was indeed good].
Consuming wine is no shame for me, since my drinking
companion does not reproach me at all for it.

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al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, index s.v. (usually cited simply as "'Alqamah"); O. Löfgren, "'Alqama b. Dī Ǧadan und seine Dichtung nach der Iklīl-Auswahl in der Biblioteca Ambrosiana," 199–209; *EI*², s.v. al-Mathāmina (Chr. Robin).

520. These were former castles of pre-Islamic Yemen, and are mentioned as such by authors like al-Hamdānī in the eighth book of his *Iklīl* devoted to the castles and fortresses of South Arabia, and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī. Silḥīn or Salḥīn, in South Arabian inscriptions *slḥm*, was the royal palace of the kings of Saba' at Mārib, the minting center for Sabaean coins and the building in South Arabia most frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. Ghumdān (*ḡndn, ḡmdn*) was originally the royal residence at Ṣan'ā' of the Dhū Gurat family, and is particularly frequently cited by the post-Islamic poets as an example of the transience of human achievement; in fact, although allegedly destroyed by the Abyssinian viceroy Abrahah or the Islamic caliph 'Uthmān, it was several times refortified in the early Islamic centuries. Baynūn is located by al-Hamdānī in the eastern part of the lands of the Banū 'Ans. See al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, 3–5, 12–21, 48–51, 54–57, tr. 8–9, 14–19, 36–38, 40; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naśwāns*, 10, 50, 81; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 535–36, III, 235, IV, 215–16; Müller, "Ancient Castles Mentioned in the Eighth Volume of Al-Hamdānī's Iklīl and Evidence of Them in Pre-Islamic Inscription," 141–43, 145–47; Serjeant and R. Lewcock, "The Church (al-Qalīs) of Ṣan'ā' and Ghumdān Castle," 44; *EI*², s.v. Ghumdān (O. Löfgren).

No one can hold back the onslaught of death, even though he were to drink a healing remedy together with sniffing a perfumed medicament.
Nor can any monk in a cell (*usṭuwān*, literally, doorway, portico)[521] whose walls [are so lofty that they] abut on to
[929] the nests (literally, "eggs") of the vulture.
Ghumdān, of which you have been told, and which they constructed with a high roof[522] on a mountain top,
With skilled carpenter's (or smith's) work, and its lower part of hewn stone and choicest damp and smooth clay.
Lamps filled with oil shine forth within it at eventide, like the gleaming of lightning flashes,
Its date palms are planted up against it, and the fresh dates almost bend the branches down to earth with their clusters.
Yet this once-new fortress has now become a pile of ashes, and the consuming flames have transformed its former beauty.
Dhū Nuwās gave himself over to impending death, and he warned his people of the afflictions that were to come upon them.[523]

Ibn Dhi'bah al-Thaqafī[524] recited, remembering Ḥimyar when the black troops swept down on it and what the Ḥimyarite people suffered from them:

By your life, there is no escape for a man when death and old age overtake him!
By your life, a man has no open space to which he can flee, nor indeed, any refuge!
What moralizing example can there be, after what came upon Ḥimyar's tribes one morning,[525]

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521. For this word (< Greek *stōa*), see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 22.
522. Reading, with al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, I, 87, *musmak*^{an} (= text, n. *a*).
523. As Nöldeke observed, trans. 194 n. 1, the poet seems to echo the implication of the prose accounts by Ibn al-Kalbī and Ibn Isḥāq, that Dhū Nuwās was inadequately supported by his own followers, hence willingly sought his own death.
524. Ibn Hishām's gloss in his *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 27 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 41, tr. 695, says that Dhi'bah was this poet's mother's name and that his own name was Rabī'ah b. 'Abd Yālīl b. Sālim . . . Nothing seems to be known about this poet of al-Ṭā'if.
525. One could alternatively translate, "Can there be anything after there came

Namely, a swift-moving gathering of warriors[526] and spearmen,
[gleaming in the sun] like the heavens just after rain,
With battle cries deafening the charging horses, and with their
putting to flight the warriors with their stink,[527]
Witches,[528] like the very grains of sand in number, who make
the tender branches of trees dry up [at their approach].

As for Hishām b. Muḥammad, he asserts that when the ships sent by Qayṣar reached the Najāshī, the latter transported his army by means of them, and the troops landed on the coast of al-Mandab.[529] He related: When Dhū Nuwās heard of their approach, he wrote to the local princes (*maqāwil*)[530] summoning them to [930] provide him with military support and to unite in combating the invading army to repel it from their land. But they refused, saying, "Let each man fight for his own princedom (*maqwalah*) and re-

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upon Ḥimyar's tribes one morning a cause for bitter tears,," reading, with the Cairo edition, II, 127, *dhāt al-'abar* for the text's *dhāt al-'ibar*.

526. Following the emendation *bi-alb*^{in} *ulūb*^{in} of *Addenda et corrigenda*, p. DXCI, cf. *Glossarium*, p. CLXXXVII.

527. Following the *bi-al-dhafar* of text, n. *e*, as also in al-Azraqī and Ibn Hishām; the black Abyssinian warriors are depicted, as often in early Islamic writings on blacks, as stinking.

528. *sa'ālā*, *sa'āl*^{in}, pl. of *si'lāt*, often regarded as the female counterpart of the *ghūl*, a malevolent, demonic being, hence with the characteristics of a succubus or sometimes as a *sāḥirah* or witch, enchantress. See G. van Vloten, "Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den altern Arabern. Mitteilungen aus Djâhitz' Kitâb al-haiwân," Part I, 179–80; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 152; *EI*², s.v. Ghūl (D. B. Macdonald-Ch. Pellat).

529. That is, in the neighborhood of the Bāb al-Mandab, the straits connecting the Red Sea with the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea. South Arabian inscriptions speak of *mdbn* and its s^1s^1lt or s^1s^3lt = *silsilah* (a chain across an inlet or harbor?) in connection with the events of this period. Al-Hamdāni mentions only the Bāb al-Mandab as a headland dangerous for seamen but locates a town of al-Mandab on or near the Tihāmah coast at an unidentified spot between Farasān and the territory of the Banū Majīd b. Ḥaydān; see his *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab*, 67, 72, 205, 258, and cf. *EI*², s.v. Bāb al-Mandab (G. Rentz). Beeston, "The Chain of al-Mandab," 1–6, discussed the passages of the Arabic historians and al-Hamdānī, and the mentions in the Byzantine Greek *Martyrion Aretha*, regarding the chain of al-Mandab and the landing(s) of the Abyssinians (since the latter source speaks of two landings, at spots widely apart). He concluded that the reports of an actual chain are fully historical, and thought that its location was at the Khōr Ghurayrah, the inlet immediately behind the Cape of al-Mandab; see his map at p. 4.

530. Sing. *miqwal*, reflecting the *mqwl* of South Arabian inscriptions, with the sense "prince, minor ruler," or the residence of such a ruler, and cognate with *qayl* (on which see n. 473 above). See Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary*, 110; Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect*, 449.

gion." When Dhū Nuwās saw that, he had a large number of keys made, and then loaded them on to a troop of camels and set out until he came up with the [Abyssinian] host. He said: "These are the keys to the treasuries of Yemen, which I have brought to you. You can have the money and the land, but spare the menfolk and the women and children." The army's leader said, "I will write to the king," so he wrote to the Najāshī. The latter wrote back to the leader ordering him to take possession from the Yemenis of the treasuries. Dhū Nuwās accompanied them until, when he brought them into Ṣan'ā', he told the leader, "Dispatch trusted members of your troops to take possession of these treasuries." The leader divided up his trusted followers into detachments to go and take possession of the treasuries, handing over the keys to them. [Meanwhile,] Dhū Nuwās's letters had been sent to every region, containing the message "Slaughter every black bull within your land." Hence they massacred the Abyssinians so that none were left alive except for those who managed to escape.

The Najāshī heard what Dhū Nuwās had done and sent against him seventy thousand men under the command of two leaders, one of them being Abrahah al-Ashram. When they reached Ṣan'ā' and Dhū Nuwās realized that he had not the strength to withstand them, he rode off on his horse, came to the edge of the sea amd rushed headlong into it; this was the last ever seen of Dhū Nuwās.

Abrahah set himself up as ruler over Ṣan'ā' and its dependent districts (*makhālīf*),[531] but did not send any tribute or captured plunder back to the Najāshī. The latter was informed that Abrahah had thrown off his obedience and now considered himself an independent potentate. Hence the Najāshī sent against him an army commanded by one of his retainers called Aryāṭ. When Aryāṭ reached his camping place, Abrahah sent a message to him in these terms: "We are linked together by both the same homeland and the same faith, so we ought to look to the interests of our fellow countrymen and coreligionists who make up the troops who are with us respectively. So if you are agreeable, engage me in single combat, and whichever of us overcomes his opponent shall have the kingship, and the Abyssinians will not be killed because

531. For *mikhlāf*, see n. 462 above.

of our quarrel." Aryāṭ agreed to this, but Abrahah planned to act deceitfully with him. They appointed a place where the two of them were to meet [for the fight], but Abrahah placed in an ambush for Aryāṭ one of his slaves called '.r.n.j.d.h (?), in a depression [931] in the ground, near the spot where they were to fight. When they met together, Aryāṭ moved forward first and lunged at Abrahah with his spear; but the spear slipped from off Abrahah's head and sliced off the end of his nose, hence his nickname of al-Ashram. Then '.r.n.j.d.h rose out from the depression and lunged with his spear at Aryāṭ, piercing his body and killing him. Abrahah said to '.r.n.j.d.h, "Name your own reward!" The latter said, "I claim the right to sexual intercourse with every women of Yemen before her marriage with her husband." Abrahah replied, "I concede that to you." '.r.n.j.d.h continued to enforce this right[532] for a long period, until the people of Yemen rose up against him and killed him. Abrahah said, "The time has at last come for you to act as free men."[533]

News of the killing of Aryāṭ reached the Najāshī, and he therefore swore that he would not rest in his mind until he had shed Abrahah's blood and overrun his land. News of the Najāshī's oath reached Abrahah, and he accordingly wrote back to him, "O king, Aryāṭ was merely your slave, and I am your slave also, He advanced against me with the intention of weakening your royal power and of slaughtering your troops. I asked him to stop fighting me until until I might send an envoy to you; if, then, you should order him to desist from attacking me, [all right,] but if not, I would hand over to him all my power and possessions. However, he refused to accept anything except to make war on me. I thus attacked him and gained the upper hand over him. Any power that I possess is yours, but I have heard that you have sworn not to stop until you shed my blood and overrun my land. Hence I have now forwarded to you a phial of my blood and a leather bag of soil from my territory. By means of these, you will be able to secure release

532. Reading, with *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCI, *fa-ghabara* for the text's *fa-'abara*.

533. That is, for them no longer to support the dishonoring of their womenfolk. On the military struggle beween Aryāṭ and Abrahah, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 943, p. 232 and n. 571 below.

from your oath. I ask for the completion of your favor upon me, O king, for I am merely your slave; any power and splendor which I have is your power and splendor." The Najāshī regarded him [once more] with favor, and confirmed him in his office.[534]

The narrative returns to that of Ibn Isḥāq. He related: Aryāṭ remained in Yemen for several years in the course of that period of his rule. Then Abrahah the Abyssinian, who was one of his troops, [932] fought with him over the Abyssinian dominion in Yemen until the Abyssinians became split into two groups, with one faction joining up with each contender. Then one of them marched against the other. When the troops drew near and approached each other, Abrahah sent a message to Aryāṭ: "You will not wish to cause the Abyssinians to encounter each other in battle to the

534. As described in n. 518 above, the invading Abyssinians set up in Yemen a ruler, Sumu-yafa' Ašwa', Procopius's Esimphaios, who was now subordinate to the Abyssinian king Ĕlla Aṣbĕḥa, Procopius's Hellesthaios. Abrahah, originally the slave of a Greek merchant in Adulis, led a revolt of malcontent Abyssinian troops against Sumu-yafa' in ca. 533, and replaced him as ruler in Yemen; subsequent expeditions sent in the next year or so by Ĕlla Aṣbĕḥa, which must be the ones led by Aryāṭ in al-Ṭabarī's account here, were unable to dislodge Abrahah. After the Abyssinian king's death in ca. 536, the fait accompli of Abrahah's dominion in South Arabia was recognized by Ĕlla Aṣbĕḥa's successors in Axum, but Abrahah would only agree to pay tribute to the Byzantine emperor Justinian I, as a remote suzerain unlikely to interfere in Yemeni affairs and trouble his untrammeled power there, rather than to the much closer Abyssinian king. In 657 Ḥimyarite era/A.D. 547–48, the celebrated inscription of Abrahah recording repairs to the Mārib dam mentions that he quelled a rebellion by a son of Sumu-yafa'. See Smith, "Events in South Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.," 459; Altheim and Stiehl, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, I, 449–51; Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, 300–301; *EI*², s.v. Abraha (A. F. L. Beeston).

The circumstantial detail in the accounts both of Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn al-Kalbī regarding Abrahah's dealings with Aryāṭ and 'Atwadah/'Atūdah must be legendary additions to the basic fact of Abrahah's assumption of power in Yemen. Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 88, in his account of these events, has some additional touches, such as the fact that the Najāshī's residence was in *arḍ Aksūm* in the land of the Ḥabash. Even by early Islamic times, the name of Axum had virtually disappeared from Arab consciousness. It is mentioned in poetry written about Abrahah's "Expedition of the Elephant" against Mecca, with Abrahah called Abū Yaksūm, and 'Adī b. Zayd speaks of the *āl Barbar wa-al-Yaksūm* = the Abyssinians, but when al-Hamdānī and Nashwān b. Sa'īd mentioned it, it must have been a term from the remote past. See 'Adī b., Zayd, *Dīwān*, 47 no., 5; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 39–40, 45 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 61, 70, tr. 29, 33. Nöldeke, trans. 198 n. 2, took Barbar as a place name, the ancient form of modern Berbera = the coasts of Somaliland and Eritrea in general, and the name *Barbaria* for this is certainly found in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*.

point that you destroy part of them, so come out against me and fight, and I will come out against you and fight, and whichever of us is able to smite his opponent, the latter's troops will come over and join the victor." Aryāṭ sent a reply: "You have proposed a just procedure, so come forth [against me]." Abrahah went forth; he was short, fleshy, and with a stout body, and held fast to the Christian faith. Aryāṭ marched out against him; he was a powerful, tall, and handsome man, and bore a spear in his hand. Behind Abrahah was a hillock that protected his rear, and concealed behind it was one of his slaves called 'Atwadah ('Atūdah). When the two contestants drew near to each other, Aryāṭ raised his spear and struck Abrahah's head with it, aiming at the top of his skull. But the spear-blow fell across Abrahah's forehead and split his eyebrow, eye, nose, and lip; for this reason, Abrahah was called al-Ashram. Abrahah's slave boy 'Atwadah sprang upon Aryāṭ from behind Abrahah and killed him. Aryāṭ's troops then went over to Abrahah, so that all the Abyssinians in Yemen rallied to his side. 'Atwadah said concerning the killing of Aryāṭ: "I am 'Atwadah—from a base stock—without a noble father or mother," meaning, "Abrahah's slave has killed you."

He related: Al-Ashram at this point said to 'Atwadah, "Choose what you wish, O 'Atwadah . . .[535] even though you have killed him; we have only now the responsibility for paying Aryāṭ's blood money." 'Atwadah replied, "My choice is that I should have the [933] first opportunity for sexual intercourse with every bride from the people of Yemen before she enters the possession of her husband," and Abrahah granted him this. He then handed over the blood money for Aryāṭ. Everything Abrahah did was without the knowledge of the Najāshī, king of the Abyssinians.

When news of all that reached the latter, he became filled with rage and said, "He has attacked my own commander and killed him without any instruction from me!" He swore an oath that he would not leave Abrahah in power until he had overrun his land and cut off his forelock. When Abraham heard this, he shaved his head and filled a leather sack with the soil of Yemen, and then sent it to the Najāshī with the message: "O King, Aryāṭ was only

535. According to the editor of the Cairo text, II, 129 n. 4, something has dropped out here.

your slave, and I am your slave too. We disputed about your command; both of us owed you obedience, but I was stronger in directing the affairs of the Abyssinians, firmer and more skillful in statesmanship regarding them. When I heard about the king's oath, I shaved my head completely, and I have dispatched to him a sack of the earth of Yemen in order that the king may put it under his feet and thus fulfill his oath." When this message reached the Najāshī, he showed Abrahah his favor [once more] and wrote back to him: "I confirm you in your office in the land of Yemen until such time as a further command of mine reaches you."

When Abrahah perceived that the Najāshī had shown him favor and had appointed him viceroy over the Abyssinian troops and the land of Yemen, he sent to Abū Murrah b. Dhī Yazan and took from him his wife Rayḥānah bt. 'Alqamah b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān. The father of Rayḥānah was Dhū Jadan. Abū Murrah had a son by her, Ma'dī Karib b. Abī Murrah. She now had a son by Abrahah, after Abū Murrah, Masrūq b. Abrahah and a daughter by him, Basbāsah. Abū Murrah fled from him. Abrahah remained in Yemen, while his slave 'Atwadah was for a long time exercising there the right Abrahah had conceded to him as 'Atwadah's chosen reward; but then a man of Ḥimyar or of Khath'am[536] attacked 'Atwadah and killed him. When Abrahah received the news of his death—and Abrahah was a magnanimous, noble leader, piously
[934] attached to his Christian religion[537]—he exclaimed, "The time is nigh for you, O people of Yemen, to have over you a man of solid judgment who is able to exercise the self-control appropriate to men of character. By God, if I had known, when I let 'Atwadah choose his own reward, that he would ask what he did, I would

536. Khath'am b. Anmār were an Arab tribe of the Sarāt mountain region between al-Ṭā'if and Najrān, i.e., the hinterland of the modern province of 'Asīr, although the tribe is not mentioned as such in the South Arabian inscriptions (personal communication from Professor Chr. Robin). As al-Ṭabarī relates, I, 936–37, pp. 221–23 below, Abrahah is said to have marched into their territory en route for Mecca at the time of the "Expedition of the Elephant," defeated the Khath'am, and compelled their chief to guide him along the road to Mecca as far as al-Ṭā'if. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 234, I, 45, 345; *EI*², s.v. Khath'am (G. Levi Della Vida).

537. As Nöldeke remarked, trans. 200 n. 3, such an encomium hardly squares with Abrahah's long tolerance of 'Atwadah's behavior or with his own appropriation of Abū Murrah b. Dhī Yazan's wife.

never have allowed him the choice and would never have heaped favors on him in any way. I swear by God, there shall be no blood price exacted from you for his death, and you will not receive any untoward retribution from me for his death."[538]

He (Ibn Isḥāq) related: Abrahah now built the cathedral church (*qalīs, qullays*) at Ṣan'ā'—such a church as had never been constructed on earth in its time. He then wrote to the Najāshī, king of the Abyssinians: "O king, I have constructed for you a church whose like has never been built for any monarch before you. I shall not give up until I have diverted the Arab pilgrims to it."[539] When

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538. Al-Ṭabarī has thus given two versions of Abrahah's rise to power and fame, those of Ibn al-Kalbī and of Ibn Isḥāq, the two accounts being substantially in agreement. But in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], XVII, 304–307, a fuller form of what was given by al-Dīnawarī in his *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 62, there is a third account, in which Abrahah is a subordinate commander of 'Aryāṭ's, of low birth (*lā bayta lahu*), who kills Aryāṭ with a poisoned dagger. Abrahah's lowly birth may be the origin of Procopius's tale that Abrahah was originally a slave in Adulis. See Nöldeke, trans. 200 n. 4.

539. *qalīs, qullays*, via Syriac *qəlēsā*, from Greek *ekklēsia*. The site of this famous church is still shown in Ṣan'ā' as a large, shallow pit lined with courses of rubble masonry and called Ghurqat al-Qalīs/al-Qullays, and Serjeant and Lewcock saw no reason to doubt that this site, near the citadel, is indeed that of Abrahah's building, which had a west-east orientation like that of the Axumite churches of Abyssinia. Al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 88–90, citing information from "trustworthy Yemeni shaykhs at Ṣan'ā'," provides a highly detailed and plausible account of the structure, stating that building stone for it was taken from the "palace of Bilqīs" at Mārib, and giving copious measurements of its various features. He further mentions a dome at what would have been the east end of the church, and in this last were two ornamented beams of teak (*sāj*) called Ku'ayb al-Aḥ.w.zī (this latter component of the name said to mean al-Ḥurr, "the free one," "in their language") and his wife, respectively, which were considered as objects of superstitious reverence. Shahîd has plausibly suggested that the dome covered a *martyrium* or shrine and that the images of Ku'ayb, and his wife were originally those of saints and martyrs, very probably those of Najrān: Ku'ayb's name might be a reminscence of the Najrān martyr al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b and his wife could be the most celebrated women martyr of Najrān, Ruhaymah. Around the church was a large, open area to accommodate pilgrims and visitors, and corresponding to the Ḥaram around the Meccan Ka'bah. Al-Azraqī, op. cit., 91–92, further describes how the church continued in use by the Christian community of Ṣan'ā' (which may have persisted up to the fourth/tenth century or beyond) until the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr ordered his governor in Yemen al-'Abbās b. al-Rabī' al-Ḥārithī to demolish it, a process that was accomplished but resented by the Ṣan'ānīs, both Christian and Muslim, because of their reverence for Ku'ayb and his wife. Hence Nöldeke's comment, trans. 201 n. 1, that Christianity put down only weak roots in Yemen and at the time of the coming of Islam to the province had left hardly any trace, is clearly wrong. See Bell, *The Origin of Islam in Its Christian Environment*, 39–41;

the Arabs fell to talking about Abrahah's letter to the Najāshī, one of the men charged with intercalating the calendar (*al-nasa'ah*) flew into a rage. He was one of the Banū Fuqaym, part of the larger tribal group of the Banū Mālik.[540] He set out until he came to the cathedral church and then defecated (*qa'ada*) in it, and then departed and reached his own land. Abrahah was informed about the incident and demanded, "Who perpetrated this deed?" They told him, "A man from that House at Mecca, to which the Arabs make pilgrimage, did it, because he had heard your words 'I shall divert the Arab pilgrims to it (i.e., the new cathedral).' He became enraged, came here, and defecated in it, aiming to show that it was not worthy of that purpose." Abrahah himself became full of ire and swore that he would march against the House and demolish it.[541]

Now Abrahah had in his retinue some men of the Arabs who had come to him seeking his bounty, including Muḥammad b. Khuzā'ī b. Ḥuzābah of the Banū Dhakwān and then of the larger tribal group of the Banū Sulaym,[542] together with a group of his

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Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times*, 304; Shahîd, "Byzantium in South Arabia," 81–83; Serjeant and Lewcock, "The Church (al-Qalīs) of Ṣan'ā' and Ghumdān Castle," 44–48; Robin, in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v. Sheba. II, cols. 1192–93.

540. The Fuqaym b. 'Adī were a branch of Mālik of Kinānah, a Ḥijāzī tribe who dwelt in the vicinity of Mecca and from whom sprang Quṣayy, founder of Quraysh's fortunes in Mecca. They were said to have been entrusted, in pre-Islamic times, with the periodic intercalation of an extra month in the lunar calendar in order to make the *Ḥajj* or Pilgrimage coincide with the fairs and markets that accompanied it. If it had been true that Abrahah had planned to build up Ṣan'ā' into a pilgrimage center rivaling Mecca, the Banū Fuqaym's function as *nasa'ah* or intercalators would have become otiose. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 30 = ed. Saqqā et al., I, 44–47, tr. 21–22; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, 156–57; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I,. Table 47, II, 6, 247; al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 125; *EI*², s.v. Kināna (W. M. Watt), Nasī' (A. Moberg).

541. The Arabic sources have differing information on the location of Abrahah's church (Ṣan'ā', Najrān, or a place on the seashore) and on the person(s) desecrating it (Nufayl b. Ḥabīb al-Khath'amī, a man or men from Kinānah, etc.), but all of them point to Quraysh of Mecca being the real instigators of the desecration or burning of the church, Kinānah being of course closely connected with Quraysh. See Kister, "Some Reports Concerning Mecca. From Jāhiliyya to Islam," 63–65 (utilizing information from Ps.-al-Aṣma'ī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī akhbār al-Furs wa-al-'Arab*; see on this work n. 624 below).

542. Dhakwān b. Tha'labah were one of the three great subdivisions of the

fellow tribesmen, including his brother, Qays b. Khuzāʿī. While they were at Abrahah's court, there came round unexpectedly for them one of Abrahah's festivals. He sent along to them on that [935] feast day some of his morning meal. Abrahah used to eat [animals'] testicles. When Abrahah's food was brought to them, they protested, "By God, if we eat this the Arabs will never stop blaming us for it as long as we live!"[543] Muḥammad b. Khuzāʿī arose and went to Abrahah, saying, "O king, today is our festival when we eat only the flank and forelegs [of beasts]." Abrahah replied, "We will send you what you like; I was only showing honor to you with food from my morning meal because of your high status in my eyes." He then crowned Muḥammad b. Khuzāʿī and appointed him governor over Muḍar. He further commanded him to go out among the [Arab] people and summon them to make pilgrimage to the cathedral, the church he had built. So Muḥammad b. Khuzāʿī went off until he reached a spot in the territory of the Banū Kinānah. Meanwhile, the people of Tihāmah[544] had received information about Muḥammad's mission and what he was aiming to do, so they dispatched against him a man of Hudhayl called

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powerful North Arab tribe of Sulaym b. Manṣūr, whose territories in Ḥijāz lay between Mecca and Medina, but bordered closely on Mecca; in both the pre-Islamic and the post-Islamic periods, Dhakwān were the closest Sulamī allies of the Meccans, intermarrying with some of the leading clans of Quraysh, including Umayya. Muḥammad b. Khuzāʿī b. ʿAlqama b. Ḥuzābah, who is said here to have been appointed chief over the tribes of Muḍar for Abrahah and who, according to Ibn Saʿd, was actually crowned by Abrahah, has a certain fame through being one of the few people who bore the name Muḥammad in the Jāhiliyyah. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 125, II, 18–19, 235, 517; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, 130; idem, *Kitāb al-munammaq*, 68–72; M. J. Kister, "Some Reports Concerning Mecca. From Jāhiliyya to Islam," 72; Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym. A Contribution to the Study of Early Islam*, 91–98, 108–19; *EI*², s.v. Sulaym (Lecker).

543. The Arabs are reported to have been repelled by certain of the customs and food practices of the Abyssinians; cf. the poet of Hudhayl's revulsion from his Abyssinian wife cited by Nöldeke, trans. 203 n. 2. But it seems strange that the Arabs of that time should have objected to eating animals' testicles when, at the present day, they are eaten as a delicacy all over the Middle East.

544. That is, the lowland strip along the Red Sea shores, running the length of what was in later times the provinces of Ḥijāz, ʿAsīr and Yemen. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 63–64; *EI*², s.v. Tihāma (G. R. Smith; and for its pre-Islamic history, Robin, "La Tihāma yéménite avant l'Islam: Notes d'histoire et de géographie historique," 222–33.

'Urwah b. Ḥayyāḍ al-Milāṣī[545] who shot Muḥammad with an arrow and killed him. Muḥammad's brother Qays was with him, and when Muḥammad was killed, he fled and went to Abrahah, informing him of Muḥammad's death. This sent Abrahah into an even greater rage and fury, and he swore that he would lead an expedition against the Banū Kinānah and tear down the House [at Mecca].[546]

Hishām b. Muḥammad related, however, as follows: After the Najāshī had restored Abrahah to favor and had confirmed him in his charge, the latter built the church at Ṣan'ā'. He made it a marvelous building, whose like had never been seen before, using gold and remarkable dyestuffs and stains. He wrote to Qayṣar

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545. The Milāṣ b. Ṣāhilah were a subdivision of Hudhayl. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 58, II, 407.

546. Abrahah's appointment of Muḥammad b. Khuzā'ī and then his invasion of Ḥijāz, which later Meccan lore may have transformed into the "Expedition of the Elephant," seems to have been part of a far-reaching policy of extending Abrahah's dominion into central and even northern Arabia, confronting there Persia and its allies, through alliances with and favors to the Bedouin tribes of those regions. This was clearly the case with the expedition which he led into central Arabia in ca. 552, which included contingents from Kindah and Ma'add and which defeated the Lakhmid al-Mundhir III at Ḥulubān or Ḥalabān (see n. 409 above). The poet of al-Ṭā'if, Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt, an older contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad, speaks of "kings of Kindah, heroic warriors, fierce in battle, falcons" around Abrahah's elephant in the expedition of that name (*Sharḥ dīwān Umayyah*, ed. Sayf al-Dīn al-Kātib and Aḥmad 'Iṣām al-Kātib, 65; Bahjah 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Ḥadīthī, *Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt, ḥayātuhu wa-shi'ruhu*, 337–38 no. 154; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 40 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 62, tr. 30). Procopius states that the Byzantine emperor tried to bring together in an alliance "Qays," specified in a parallel source as "the prince of Kindah and Ma'add," with the viceroy of the Abyssinians (cited by Nöldeke, trans. 204 n. 2).

It is clear that Abrahah's expedition to Mecca, whatever its place in the history and chronology of events at that time (see regarding this, n. 563 below), contained substantial bodies of Arab tribesmen as well as a core of Abyssinian troops, even though the account of Ibn Isḥāq, in al-Ṭabarī, I, 936, p. 222 below, speaks—for obvious reasons of Arab-Islamic national pride—of the attackers as being wholly Abyssinians and of the Arabs as solidly united against them in defense of the Holy House in Mecca. Abrahah received a welcome in al-Ṭā'if and assistance to find his way to Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, I, 937, p. 223 below), and varying traditions on the expedition speak of participation in Abrahah's army by South Arab tribes like 'Akk, Ash'ar, Khath'am, Balḥārith, and Khawlān, and by North Arab tribes like Sulaym of Muḍar. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb in his *Munammaq*, 70, refers to the incident of the Muḍarī troops recoiling from eating animals' testicles and implies that the food habits of North and South Arabs were different. See Kister, "Some Reports Concerning Mecca. From Jāhiliya to Islam," 67–73.

telling him that he intended to build a church at Ṣan'ā' whose traces and whose fame would last forever and asked for the emperor's aid in this. Qayṣar accordingly sent back to him skilled artisans, mosaic cubes, and marble.[547] When the building was completed, Abrahah wrote to the Najāshī that he planned to divert to it the pilgrims of the Arabs. When the Arabs heard that, they [936] regarded it with perturbation and it assumed momentous proportions in their eyes. A man from the Banū Mālik b. Kinānah went off until he reached Yemen, entered the temple, and defecated in it. Abrahah's wrath was aroused, and he resolved to lead an expedition against Mecca and to raze the House to the ground. He set off with the Abyssinian army, including the elephant.[548] Dhū Nafar al-Ḥimyarī encountered him in battle. Abrahah fought with him and captured him. Dhū Nafar pleaded, "O king, I am nothing but your slave, so spare me, for keeping me alive will be more useful to you than killing me"; so he spared him. Abrahah marched onward. Nufayl b. Ḥabīb al-Khath'amī opposed him, but Abrahah engaged him in battle, putting his supporters to flight and capturing him. Nufayl asked Abrahah to spare him; Abrahah agreed, and made him his guide in the land of the Arabs.

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547. This seems perfectly feasible, given that, in early Islamic times, the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd I asked the Byzantine emperor (presumably Justinian II) to send skilled artisans and mosaic cubes (*al-fusayfisā'*, from Greek *psēphos*, the word used here in al-Ṭabarī's text) for the decoration of the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus and the Prophet's Mosque at Medina. See H. A. R. Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate," 51–56. As mentioned in n. 539 above, we have highly detailed descriptions of the interior decoration of Abrahah's church, which included a lavish use of tropical hardwoods, gold, silver, mosaic cubes, jewels, etc., in both the portico (*aywān*) of the church and the part of the basilica beneath the dome (*qubbah*). It is improbable that all this could have been achieved without outside assistance. The completed building must indeed have seemed like a wonder of the world, and explains the attachment of the local people, both Christian and Muslim, to it (see n. 539 above). As well as the account by al-Azraqī referred to in the above-mentioned note, see also the account of the church by the thirteenth-century Egyptian Coptic author Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (one which may possibly have been influenced by the author's knowledge of Egyptian church interiors), *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, trans. B. J. A. Evetts, 300–302; Serjeant and Lewcock, "The Church (al-Qalīs) of Ṣan'ā' and Ghumdān Castle," 47.

548. Nöldeke, trans. 206 n. 1, cites the Byzantine historian John Malalas that the Abyssinian king rode one of the four elephants pulling the royal coach or cart. Whether Abrahah actually rode on the elephant here is not explicit.

The narrative returns to the account of Ibn Isḥāq. He said: When Abrahah decided on an expedition against the House [at Mecca], he ordered the Abyssinians to prepare for the campaign and put themselves in a state of readiness, and he set out with the army and with the elephant. He related: The Arabs heard about this; they found the news alarming and were filled with fear at it. They regarded fighting in defense of the Ka'bah, God's Holy House, as a duty laid upon them when they heard of Abrahah's intention to tear it down. A man who was one of the nobles of the Yemenis called Dhū Nafar rose up against him and summoned his people, and those of the Arabs who responded to his call, to make war on Abrahah and oppose him strenuously in defense of God's House and in the face of Abrahah's intention of demolishing and reducing it to a pile of ruins. A certain number rallied to his side. He confronted Abrahah, but Abrahah attacked him, and Dhū Nafar and his followers were put to flight. He himself was taken prisoner and brought before Abrahah. The latter was on the point of killing him when Dhū Nafar said to him: "O king, don't put me to death, for it may be that my presence at your side could be more advantageous for you than killing me." Abrahah therefore desisted from killing him, but kept him in captivity by him, loaded with fetters; Abrahah was a magnanimous man.

After this, Abrahah continued onward in accordance with his plan, intending to do what he had set out to do, until when he reached the territory of the Khath'am, he was opposed by Nufayl
[937] b. Ḥabīb al-Khath'amī with a force from the two component tribes of Khath'am, Shahrān, and Nāhis,[549] and others from the tribes of the Arabs who followed him. He attacked Abrahah, but the latter routed him. He was taken prisoner and brought before Abrahah. Abrahah intended to put Nufayl to death, but he pleaded with him: "O king, don't kill me, for I will act as your guide through the land of the Arabs; these two hands of mine are your sureties for the obedience and good behavior of the two tribes of Khath'am, Shahrān, and Nāhis." Hence Abrahah spared him and released

549. In the genealogy of Khath'am, these two subdivisions were the descendants of two of the great-grandsons of Khath'am b. Anmār; the name of Shahrān survives today. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 124–25, II, 345.

him. Abrahah went forth with Nufayl, the latter acting as his guide along the road until they reached al-Ṭā'if.[550] Mas'ūd b. Mu'attib came out with the men of Thaqīf,[551] and addressed Abrahah: "O king, we are your servants, obedient and submissive to you, and you will not find us offering any resistance to you. This house of ours (they meant [the house of] Allāt) is not the House which you seek. You want the House which is at Mecca (they meant the Ka'bah), and we will send a man with you who will guide you." He therefore passed them over and did not molest them.

They sent with him Abū Righāl [as guide], and Abrahah departed, accompanied by Abū Righāl, until the latter brought him as far as al-Mughammis. As soon as he had conducted Abrahah thither, Abū Righāl died at that very place. The Arabs subsequently hurled stones at his grave; it is this grave at which people hurl stones at al-Mughammis [today].[552] When Abrahah en-

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550. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 68, says that Abrahah gathered together a force, "a motley crew of the evildoers of the Arabs" (*fussāq al-'Arab wa-ṭakhārīrihim*), mainly from Khath'am and the Banū Munabbih b. Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b, said to have been traditionally hostile to the Ka'bah, and all under Nufayl's leadership. This author, at least, does concede that, *pace* Ibn Isḥāq (see n. 546 above) Arabs were included in Abrahah's army.

551. As Mas'ūd b. Mu'attib says here, the shrine of the pre-Islamic goddess Allāt was located at al-Ṭā'if, and the popularity of its cult made it a considerable rival to that of Allāh in the Ka'bah of Mecca during pre-Islamic times, until the shrine was despoiled and destroyed at the surrender of al-Ṭā'if in 8/630.

'Urwah b. Mas'ūd was one of the leaders of the Aḥlāf group of Thaqīf during the time of the Prophet's career; Aḥlāf were more inclined toward conciliation with the Prophet than the other group of Thaqīf, the Banū Mālik. 'Urwah was in fact assassinated on his return from the Prophet's side in Medina, allegedly having become a secret Muslim working for the surrender of his town to the Muslims; he thereby earned the Islamic designations of *shahīd*, "martyr," and of *ṣaḥābī*, Companion of the Prophet. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 102–04; *EI*², s.v. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd (C. E. Bosworth).

552. Abū Righāl is at best a semilegendary figure, the story of whose guiding Abrahah to Mecca may have been elaborated as part of the anti-Thaqafī bias of pietistic Muslim circles hostile to the role of prominent men of al-Ṭā'if within the Umayyad caliphate like 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Abīhi and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. However, the practice of stoning Abū Righāl's alleged burial place must have developed early, as attested to by mention of it in a verse of the Umayyad poet Jarīr (d. 110/728–29 or shortly thereafter) cited by al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 93. Al-Mughammis or al-Mughammas was a valley just off the Mecca to al-Ṭā'if road on the edge of the Ḥaram of Mecca. See al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, III, 1248; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 161–62; *EI*², s.vv. Abū Righāl (S. A. Bonebakker) and al-Mughammas

camped at al-Mughammis, he sent forward one of the Abyssinians called al-Aswad b. Maqṣūd (or Mafṣūd) with a troop of cavalry until al-Aswad reached Mecca, from where he sent back to Abrahah captured beasts taken from the people of Mecca, Quraysh, and others. Among these, Abrahah acquired two hundred camels belonging to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, at that time the paramount chief and lord of Quraysh.[553] Quraysh, Kinānah, Hudhayl, and all the rest of the people who dwelled in the Holy Enclosure (*al-Ḥaram*) contemplated giving fight to Abrahah's forces, but then realized that they lacked the power to resist him, so renounced the idea.

[938] Abrahah sent Ḥunāṭah al-Ḥimyarī to Mecca and instructed him: "Ask who is the lord and noble leader of this territory, and then inform him that the king tells them, 'I have not come to make war on you, but have merely come to destroy the House. If you do not wish to defend it by force of arms, then there will be no need for us to shed your blood; and if he (i.e., 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib) does not intend to oppose us by fighting, then bring him back to me.'" Now when Ḥunāṭah entered Mecca, he asked who was the lord and noble leader of Quraysh, and was told that this was 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy; so he went to him and delivered the message Abrahah had commanded him to communicate. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib replied, "By God, we don't want to fight with him, for we have no power to do so. But this is the Holy House of God and the House of His friend Ibrāhīm (Abraham)," or words to that effect, "and if He defends it against him, well, it is

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(ed.). The custom of stoning Abū Righāl's grave bears an obvious resemblance to the ritual stoning of Satan at Minā in the course of the Pilgrimage ceremonies. See *EI*², s.v. Djamra (F. Buhl-J. Jomier).

Nöldeke, trans. 208 n. 1, citing the anthology *al-Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad, noted that in post-Islamic times Hudhayl were still reviled for having guided the Abyssinians against the Ka'bah, but he considered this to be really an echo of the alleged role of Hudhalīs in guiding Tubba' Tubān As'ad Abū Karib against the Ka'bah, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 903–904, pp. 168–69 above.

553. The importance of the figure of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, great-grandson of Quṣayy and grandfather of the Prophet, has doubtless been inflated by Islamic tradition. At the time of Abrahah, he was clan chief of Hāshim and probably the de facto leader of a group of Meccan clans who tried to negotiate with Abrahah if only to gain some advantage over their rivals within Mecca, but we have no solid information about his role here, and Nöldeke, 209 n. 1, was justly skeptical. See Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 113–16; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 30–33; *EI*², s.v. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (W. M. Watt).

His House and His sanctuary; whereas if He allows Abrahah to get possession of it, then, by God, we have no one who can defend it from him," or words to that effect. Ḥunāṭah told him, "You must come back [with us] to the king, for he has ordered me to bring you to him."

Ḥunāṭah accordingly set off with 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the latter accompanied by one of his sons, until they reached the army camp. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib enquired after Dhū Nafar, who was a friend of his, and was directed to him, Dhū Nafar being however in confinement. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, "O Dhū Nafar, have you any means of relief for the trouble which has come upon us?" The latter replied, "What relief is possible from a man held captive at the king's hand, one who expects to be killed at any moment (literally, "in the morning or evening")? I can't avail at all in regard to your misfortune, except that Unays, the keeper of the elephant, is a friend of mine. I will send a message to him and will commend you to him, put the case to him for helping you as strongly as possible, and ask him to try to arrange an audience for you with the king. So make your request to him, and Unays will intercede with him on your behalf as skillfully as possible for him." 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib responded, "That's as much as I can hope." Dhū Nafar accordingly sent a message to Unays, and came to him[554] saying, "O Unays, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is the chief of Quraysh and master of the Meccan caravan ('īr);[555] he feeds the people on the plains and the wild beasts on the mountain peaks.[556] The king has seized two [939] hundred of his camels, so I ask permission for him to come before

554. Following the suggested emendation of text, n. *e*, *fa-jā'ahu*.

555. Thus in text, in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 51, and in al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 94, but Ibn Hishām, op. cit., ed. Wüstenfeld, 33, trans. 25, has *'ayn*, "well," i.e., the well of Zamzam in Mecca.

556. An allusion to the *rifādah*, the supplying of provisions to pilgrims and traders coming to Mecca for the *Ḥajj* and its attendant fairs. It was linked to another service, that of *siqāyah*, the supplying of water, *nabīdh* or date wine, and the semiliquid foodstuff *sawīq* to the pilgrims also. Both of these were said to have been established in Mecca by Quṣayy for the 'Abd al-Dār clan but usurped by the 'Abd Manāf clan, of whom Hāshim were a component. These rights are adduced by later Islamic authors as showing the nobility of the Prophet's clan in pre-Islamic times, but in reality must have been not so much philanthropic or social services as much as lucrative sources of revenue for the holders Hāshim. See Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pélerinage à la Mekke*, 89–101; Bosworth, "The Terminology of the History of the Arabs in the Jāhiliyya According to Khwārazmī's 'Keys of the Sciences,'" 31–33.

the king, and be as useful as possible on his behalf." Unays replied, "I'll do that." Unays spoke to Abrahah, saying, "O king, this is the chief of Quraysh, now in your court, who is seeking an audience of you. He is master of the Meccan caravan, and feeds the people on the plain and the wild beasts on the mountain peaks. So grant him permission to come before you, so that he may tell you his request, and treat him kindly!"

He related: Abrahah granted 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib an audience. Now 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was an impressive, handsome, and well-built man. When Abrahah beheld him, he treated him with too great a respect and kindness to allow 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib to sit below him. Abrahah did not, however, want the Abyssinians to see him letting 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib sit at his side on his royal throne, so he came down from his throne and then sat on his carpet, bidding 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib sit on it also by his side. He then told his interpreter to ask him what was his request of the king. The interpreter passed these words on to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and the latter said, "My request of the king is that he should give me back the two hundred camels of mine which he has seized." When the interpreter informed Abrahah of this, Abrahah told him through the interpreter, "You impressed me favorably when I saw you, but I went off you (*zahidtu fīka*) when you spoke to me. Do you speak to me about the two hundred camels which I seized, and brush aside a House that enshrines your religion and the religion of your forefathers, and which I have come to destroy, and say nothing to me about it?" 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib replied: "I am the owner of the camels; the House has a lord of its own who will defend it." Abrahah said, "He won't be able to defend it against me!" But 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib retorted, "That's your own affair; just give me back my camels!"

A certain learned scholar has asserted that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had gone to Abrahah, when the latter sent Ḥunāṭah to him, accompanied by Ya'mar[557] b. Nufāthah b. 'Adī b. al-Du'il b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah, who was at that time chief of the Banū Kinānah, and Khuwaylid b. Wāthilah al-Hudhalī, chief of Hudhayl at the time. They offered Abrahah a third of the wealth (*amwāl*) of
[940] Tihāmah if he would go back home and not destroy the House, but

557. Following the correct reading for this name in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-Nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 34 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 52, trans. 25, and in al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 95, against the *'Amr* of the text.

he refused. But God is more knowing [about the truth of this]. At any rate, Abrahah had meanwhile restored to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib the camels he had seized.

When they left him, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went back to Quraysh and told them the news. He ordered them to go forth from Mecca and seek refuge on the mountain tops and in the defiles, fearing violent behavior from the [Abyssinian] army. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib then arose and took hold of the door-ring, that of the door of the Ka'bah, and a group of Quraysh stood with him praying to God and imploring His help against Abrahah and his troops. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib recited at the time when he took hold of the door-ring of the Ka'bah:

O Lord, I don't hope for any one but you against them!
O Lord, defend your sacred area (*ḥimā*) from them![558]
Indeed, the enemy of the House is the one who is attacking you!
Repel them lest they lay waste Your settlements!

Then he further recited:

O God, a servant [of God] defends his dwelling, so protect Your dwelling places and their people (*ḥilālak*)![559]
Let not their cross and their cunning craft (*miḥāl*) prevail over Your cunning craft on the morrow![560]
But if You do that (i.e., abandon them), then it may be something which seems most appropriate [for You] and an affair which appears best to you.

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558. In pre-Islamic Arabia, *ḥimā*, "protected area," denoted a stretch of pasture or hunting or other desirable land set aside for the use of a particular group and protected by that group. Many *ḥimās* gradually acquired taboos and a religious aura from tribal deities, hence by the time of the coming of Islam, the Ḥaram of Mecca had become the protected area par excellence. See Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 105–09; Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, 60–64; *EI*², s.v. Ḥimā (J. Chelhod).

559. Reading thus for the text's *ḥalālak* (*ḥilāl* = pl. of *ḥillah*), following *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCII, and *Glossarium*, p. CXCIX, but with more or less the same meaning anyway.

560. Reading *ghadw*^{an} for the text's *'adw*^{an}, following *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCII. The verse echoes the Qur'ānic use of *miḥāl* "the cunning craft and force [of God]" in sūrah XIII, 14/13, God being depicted elsewhere in the Qur'ān (II, 47/54. VIII, 30) as "the best of those who use craft and guile, *makr*."

And if You do that, well, it is an affair which will complete your [divine] plan of action.
When some person comes to you seeking peace, we hope that
[941] You will act toward us in a like manner.
Then they turned back, having gained nothing but humiliation; perdition was coming upon them there.
I never heard of the most reprobate of men who desired glory and who then violated the sanctity of Your sacred enclosure (*ḥarām*).
They brought into action the assembled host of their land and the elephant, in order to capture and enslave members of your families.
They attacked your sacred area (*ḥimā*) with their cunning, out of sheer savagery (*jahl*[an]), and paid no heed to Your exaltedness.[561]

Then ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib let go of the ring of the door, the door of the Kaʿbah, and set off with his companions of Quraysh to the mountain tops and sought refuge there, in expectation of what Abrahah was going to do in Mecca when he entered it. Next morning, Abrahah prepared to enter Mecca, got ready his elephant (whose name was Maḥmūd), and drew up his army. Abrahah was determined upon destroying the House and then returning to Yemen. When they drove the elephant forward, Nufayl b. Ḥabīb al-Khathʿamī came up and stood by its flank. He then got hold of its ear and said, "Kneel, O Maḥmūd, and go [then] straight back whence you came, for you are in God's sacred territory!" Then he let go its ear; the elephant knelt down,[562] while Nufayl b. Ḥabīb made off at top speed and clambered up the mountain. The soldiers beat the elephant to make it get up, but it refused. They beat its head with a battle axe to make it get up, but it still refused. They stuck hooks into its soft underbelly and scarified it to make it rise, and yet again it refused. But then they turned it round to face back to Yemen (i.e., southward); it got up and trotted off. They

561. Nöldeke notes in text, n. *d*, that the last three verses of this poem are in a different meter (*wāfir*) from the rest of it (*kāmil*) and that some manuscripts have rearranged the wording of these three verses to make them fit the *kāmil* meter of the whole poem. Otherwise, one must assume that we have here verses from two separate poems, even though they share the same rhyme in *-ak/-ik*.

562. As pointed out by Nöldeke, trans. 213 n. 1, elephants do not kneel down like camels, a fact already recognized by one of the scholiasts of Ibn Hishām.

pointed it in the direction of Syria (i.e., northwards), and it behaved exactly the same. They pointed it in the direction of the east, and it again did likewise; but when they made it face Mecca, it knelt down.

God now sent down on them a flock of birds, like swallows, each bird bearing three stones like chick peas and lentils, one [942]
stone in its beak and two in its claws. Everyone whom the birds hit [with the stones] perished, although not all of them were in fact hit.[563] They retreated in haste along the road they had come,

563. The description of the divine visitation on Abrahah's impious forces is connected, as here, by the compilers of the *Sīrah* of the Prophet and subsequent commentators with Qur'ān, CV, Sūrat al-Fīl. But as both Gordon Newby and Irfan Shahîd have noted, the connection is by no means explicit in the Qur'ān. There is no mention in the sūrah of place or time, the object of the attack or the identity of the attackers themselves. Moreover, Shahîd adds that the agents of the destruction of the *aṣḥāb al-fīl* are by no means clearly the birds of vv. 3–4, described there as sweeping down in flocks (*abābīl*) bearing *sijjīl*. These last have been traditionally interpreted as "stones of baked clay," and this meaning fits the context here and in the other two Qur'ānic attestations of the word, cf. *EI*², s.v. Sidjdjīl (V. Vacca-Ed.); but F. de Blois now suggests that *sijjīl* stems ultimately from the pre-Islamic religious tradition of North Arabia and may even have been in origin the name of a local deity, see his forthcoming "Ḥijāratun min sijjīl." The birds may have been scavengers after the work of destruction wrought by God Himself, if one follows the variant reading *yarmīhim*, "[He] pelted them," for the accepted text *tarmīhim*, "[they, i.e., the birds] pelted them." Shahîd doubts whether Muḥammad's Meccan audience could have been misled by assumptions about an event that had taken place only two generations previously. Instead, we must regard the later Islamic tradition as supplying a specific reference for what was, at the time of its revelation in Mecca, rather, an eschatological description of the imminence of punishment for unbelieving peoples. See G. H. Newby, "Abraha and Sennacherib: A Talmudic Parallel to the *Tafsīr* on *Sūrat al-Fīl*," 433–34; I. Shahîd, "Two Qur'ānic Sūras: *al-Fīl* and *Qurayš*," 431, 433–44; and cf. R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*², 522.

Whatever the original significance and message of *Sūrat al-Fīl*, rationalizing interpretations of the story of Abrahah's abortive expedition against Mecca arose early, mainly involving the explanation that the attacking forces were struck down by mass disease or by an epidemic, such as measles or smallpox mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, I, 945, p. 235 below, reducing Abrahah's combatant power and compelling a withdrawal. An explanation from smallpox was put forward in *ḥadīth*s going back to the Successor 'Ikrimah (d. 105/723–24), and in one line of poetry cited by Ibn Isḥāq from the verse written on the "Expedition of the Elephant" by Muḥammad's opponent in Mecca, 'Abdallāh b. al-Ziba'rā al-Sahmī (on whom, see Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XV, 139–84), "Sixty thousand men (i.e., Abrahah's forces) did not return to their land, and their sick ones did not survive after the return home." See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 39 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 59, tr. 28; *EI*², s.v. al-Fīl (A. F. L. Beeston).

The historicity of some move by Abrahah against Mecca seems likely, given the undoubted fact that his sphere of military activity extended as far as central Ara-

asking Nufayl b. Ḥabīb to guide them along the way to Yemen. When Nufayl b. Ḥabīb saw what God had sent down on them as punishment, he said:

Where can a man flee, when God is pursuing [him]? Al-Ashram (i.e., Abrahah) is the conquered one, not the conqueror!
Ho, Rudaynah,[564] may greetings be upon you! When we went forth this morning, our eyes rejoiced at you!
A seeker after fire from among you came to us yesterday evening, but he was unable to get anything from us.
If you had been able to see, O Rudaynah—but you were not able to see it—what we saw in the vicinity of al-Muḥaṣṣab,[565]

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bia, where he aimed at countering an extension of Lakhmid power and, behind that, Persian influence, on the evidence of the well of Murayghān inscription dating from 662 Ḥimyarite era/A.D. 552–53 (a *terminus ad quem* for dating this campaign being, in any case, Abrahah's opponent al-Mundhir III of al-Ḥīrah's death in 554; see further on this episode, n. 409 above). How much later than this date Abrahah could have mounted the "Expedition of the Elephant" is uncertain, but must have been very soon afterward. The inscription commemorating Abrahah's repair of the Dam of Mārib has the date 658 Ḥimyarite era/A.D. 548–49 (Smith, "Events in South Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.," 437–41), but Abrahah had to die and be succeeded in South Arabia by his two sons Yaksūm and Masrūq before the appearance of the Persians in Yemen in 570 (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 945–46, pp. 235–36 below). It has been suggested that the campaign of Abrahah, with its victories over Ma'add and other tribes at Ḥulubān/Ḥalabān, and the victory of his Kindah and Sa'd-Murād confederates over the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah at Turabah, were either a preparation for an expedition against Mecca shortly afterward or the basis for a later tradition growing out of an Abyssinian expedition against Mecca. Going a step further, Altheim and Stiehl have very plausibly suggested that the Meccan expedition was actually part of the general operations of Abrahah in central Arabia during the course of 552. The chronological differences arising out of the fact that the Islamic tradition generally placed the Prophet's birth in the "Year of the Elephant," conventionally taken as A.D. 570, may not be unresolvable, since M. J. Kister, following H. Lammens, has pointed out the existence of traditions giving a different birth date for Muḥammad, including one in Ibn al-Kalbī that he was born twenty-three years after the "Expedition of the Elephant" and one going back to al-Zuhrī which, by a computation involving the dates of various events mentioned in the *ḥadīth*, would fix the "Year of the Elephant" in 552, i.e., precisely the year the Ry 506 inscription records for Abrahah's military operations. See Lammens, "L'âge de Mahomet et la chronologie de la Sîra," 211–12, and the full discussion in Kister, "The Campaign of Ḥulubān," 426–28.

564. That is, the poet is, in accordance with poetic convention, addressing a real or imaginary beloved, Rudaynah.

565. Literally, "ground strewn with pebbles," a valley near Minā through which the pilgrims pass on the return from Minā to Mecca at the end of the *Ḥajj*. On halting there, *taḥṣīb*, the act of throwing pebbles, is a recommended (*mustaḥabb*)

You would have exonerated me and praised my good judgment,
and not have grieved over what has passed and gone
between us.[566]
I praised God when I saw with my own eyes the birds, but
feared that the stones might be rained upon us.
All the people are asking for Nufayl, as though I owed the
Abyssinians a debt.[567]

As they retreated, the Abyssinian troops were continually falling by the wayside and perishing at every watering place (or halting place, *manhal*). Abrahah was smitten in his body; they carried him with them, with his fingers dropping off one by one. As each finger dropped off, there followed a purulent sore in its place, which exuded pus and blood, until they brought him to Ṣan'ā', with him looking like a newly born chick (i.e., plucked and emaciated). They allege that, as he died, his heart burst out from his breast.[568]

Al-Ḥārith related to me, saying: There related to us Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar[569]—'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Sulaymān—his father. There also related to us from Muḥammad

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action, and this may be a reminiscence of a pre-Islamic rite, perhaps one of lapidation. See al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, IV, 1192; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 62; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pélerinage à la Mekke*, 303–304.

566. Taking *baynā* as standing for *baynanā*.

567. Nöldeke, trans. 214 n. 2, commented that these verses are ostensibly part of a longer poem but contain many details and features have no connection with the supposed circumstances of their composition. In fact, they correspond in verse form, rhyme, and, to some extent, in wording, to an old poem in the *Ḥamāsah* anthology of the 'Abbāsid poet Abū Tammām, demonstrating that the verses have been modeled on this latter poem.

568. This tale of the manner of Abrahah's death is perhaps a transference to him of the army's being afflicted by disease, see n. 563 above. It is also given in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 36 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 55–56, tr. 27, and al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 97–98, the latter author adding that some stragglers and deserters from the Abyssinian army, and other elements had been attached to it, came into Mecca and stayed there, working as laborers and camel herders. This seems quite feasible, but less so the *khabar* going back to 'Ā'ishah (born ca. 614) quoted by al-Azraqī, op. cit., 98, 103, according to which she saw the elephant's conductor and its groom as blind beggars for food in the center of Mecca. See Nöldeke, trans. 219 n. 1; also Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 73–76.

569. That is, the *khabar* here goes back to Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), a member of the Medinan historical school who worked in Baghdad, and to his secretary and transmitter, Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845). See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 294–97, 300–301; *EI*², s.vv. Ibn Sa'd (J.W. Fück) and al-Wāqidī (S. Leder).

b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Salmānī—his father. There also related to
[943] us ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Zuhayr al-Kaʿbī—Abū Mālik al-Ḥimyarī—ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār. There also related to us Muḥammad b. Abī Saʿīd al-Thaqafī—Yaʿlā b. ʿAṭāʾ—Wakīʿ b. ʿUdus—his paternal uncle Abū Bazīn al-ʿUqaylī. There also related to us Saʿīd b. Muslim—ʿAbdallāh b. Kathīr—Mujāhid—Ibn ʿAbbās. Parts of some narratives are combined with others. They say: Al-Najāshī had dispatched Aryāṭ Abū Ṣaḥam[570] with a force of four thousand men to Yemen. He subjugated and conquered it. He gave rewards to the local kings but treated the poor with contempt. There arose a man from among the Abyssinians called Abrahah al-Ashram Abū Yaksūm. He invited the people to give him allegiance, and they responded, so he then killed Aryāṭ and seized control of Yemen.[571] He observed the local people getting ready, at the time of the festival, for pilgrimage to the Holy House [in Mecca], and asked, "Where are the people going?" They told him that they were making pilgrimage to God's House at Mecca. He enquired, "What is it made of?" They replied, "Of stone." He said, "What is its covering (*kiswah*)?" They responded, "The striped Yemeni cloth (*al-waṣāʾil*), which comes from here."[572] Abrahah swore, "By the Messiah! I will certainly build for you something better than that!" So he built for them a house constructed from white,

570. Thus in the text; the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCII, prefer the reading Aṣḥam (which would mean "dust-colored, yellowish, tinged with black"). However, Nöldeke, trans. 215 and n. 2, states that Ḍaḥam or Ṣaḥam is the correct reading, as in the name of the Ethiopian king Ella Ṣaḥam.

571. What Ibn Saʿd says here of Aryāṭ's discriminatory policy as a cause of his downfall is confirmed by extra details in the *Nihāyat al-irab* (see for this n. 624 below): that Aryāṭ, a noble and nephew of the Najāshī, appropriated captured booty and other wealth for himself, the nobility, and chiefs of the Abyssinians. Abrahah, himself of servile origin, was thus able to champion the cause of the excluded rank and file and the lower classes, and was able to lead an uprising against Aryāṭ in the name of equality of treatment. See von Gutschmid, "Bemerkungen zu Tabari's Sasanidengeschichte, übersetzt von Th. Nöldeke," 738–40; Kister, "Some Reports Concerning Mecca. From Jāhiliyya to Islam," 61–63 n. 5.

572. For the *kiswah*, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 904, p. 169 and n. 433 above, where the Tubbaʿ Asʿad Abū Karib is said first to have covered the Kaʿbah with Yemeni *maʿāfīrī* cloth, Yemen being traditionally famed for its textiles. There seems to have been an ancient tradition in Arabia of covering *qubbahs*, i.e., tents and similar structures housing sacred objects, with materials like skins and cloth, according to H. Lammens, "Le culte des bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamiques," 130–32, 138–42.

red, yellow, and black marble, and adorned it with gold and silver, and encompassed it with jewels. He provided it with doors made with sheets of gold and with golden nails, and set the space between them with jewels, which included an enormous ruby. He provided it with a covered sanctuary (*ḥijāb*), in which sweet-smelling aloes wood was continually burnt, and its walls were smeared with musk, thereby darkening the walls until the jewels [encrusted on them] appeared sunken. He gave orders to the people, and they made pilgrimage to it, as did a large number of the tribes of the Arabs over a period of years. There lived permanently within this temple men who made perpetual adoration and service to God there, and who devoted themselves to worshiping Him in it.

Nufayl al-Khath'amī was planning to do by stealth something unpleasant to it.[573] One night, when he saw no one moving around, he got up and took some excrement and smeared the apse of the high altar (*qiblah*)[574] of the temple with it, and he gathered together some putrefying animal carcases and threw them into it. Abrahah was told about this; he became extremely angry and exclaimed, "The Arabs have only done this out of vexation on account of their own House; I shall certainly destroy it stone by stone!" He wrote to the Najāshī informing him of that and asking the Najāshī to send him his elephant Maḥmūd—this being an elephant unparalleled in the whole earth for its size, stout body, and strength. The Najāshī accordingly dispatched it to him. [944]

Once the elephant had arrived, Abrahah set out with his army, accompanied by the king of Ḥimyar[575] and Nufayl b. Ḥabīb al-Khath'amī. When he reached the Sacred Enclosure (*al-ḥaram*), he commanded his troops to raid the beasts of the local people. They captured some camels belonging to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. It happened

573. *kāna yu'arriḍu lahu;* for *arraḍa*, see *Glossarium*, p. CXI. Here we have a variation from the man of the Banū Fuqaym who is responsible for the desecration of the church in Ibn Isḥāq's account given by al-Ṭabarī, I, 934, p. 218 above, and, since Nufayl is said at I, 937, p. 223 above, to have guided Abrahah to al-Ṭā'if, a confusion also. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 62–63, has "a man from the people of al-Tihāmah" as the perpetrator of the deed.

574. The use here of the technical term *qiblah*, literally, "direction to be faced [in the Muslim worship]," is an anachronism.

575. The *malik Ḥimyar* must be Dhū Nafar, called at I, 936, p. 222 above, "one of the nobles of Ḥimyar."

that Nufayl was a friend of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's, so the latter spoke to Nufayl about his camels. Nufayl, therefore, spoke to Abrahah, saying, "O king, there has come to you the lord of the Arabs, the most distinguished of them in status and the foremost of them in nobility—he gives people swift horses as mounts, bestows largesse, and feeds whatever the wind blows along." He brought him into Abrahah's presence, and the latter said [to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib], "What's your request?" 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib replied, "That you should give me back my camels." Abrahah retorted, "I consider what I have just heard from you nothing but fraud. I had expected that you would speak to me about your House, which is your source of nobility and pride." But 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib merely said, "Give me back my camels and do what you like with the House, for it has a lord who will protect it." So Abrahah ordered the camels to be returned to him.

When 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib took possession of them, he draped the soles of sandals round their necks, marked them as intended sacrifices, offered them as gifts [to the Sacred Enclosure], and let them scatter throughout the sacred enclosure. [He did that] so that if anyone of them should be seized [by the Abyssinians], the lord of the Sacred Enclosure would thereby become angered.[576] 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, accompanied by 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm, Muṭ'im b. 'Adī and Abū Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, went up to Mount Ḥirā'[577] and recited:

O God, a man defends his dwelling, so protect your dwelling
places and their people (*ḥilālak*).
Let not their cross and their cunning craft overcome Your
cunning craft on the morrow.

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576. Qur'ān, V, 2, refers to the *qalā'id*, necklets hung round the necks of animals destined for sacrifice, *budn*, part of the *sha'ā'ir Allāh* mentioned in XXII, 37/36. There is also reference in V, 102/103, to various types of camel, including the *sā'ibah*, the *waṣīlah* and the *ḥāmī*, left to roam freely after dedication to God. See Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 112ff.; *EI*², s.v. Baḥīra (A. J. Wensinck). Seizure by the Abyssinians of the camels released by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib would thus incur Allāh's wrath.

577. Ḥirā' or Ḥarā' was a mountain outside Mecca mentioned later in the *Sīrah* as a place where Muḥammad, in the period before his public ministry, would spend time in *taḥannuth*, pious and ascetic exercises. See Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 132; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 40, 44; *EI*², s.v. Ḥirā' (T. H. Weir-W. M. Watt).

But if You do abandon them and our *qiblah,* then it may well be something which seems best to You. [945]

He related: The birds flew in from the sea successively. Each bird had three stones, two in its claws and one in its beak. They hurled down the stones upon the Abyssinian troops, and everyone who was hit suffered either a severe wound or else that spot erupted into blisters and pustules. (That was the first time that smallpox and measles and bitter shrubs appeared [in the land].) Thus the stones snuffed them out completely, and God sent a torrential flow of water, which swept them all away and hurled them into the sea.[578] He related: Abrahah and the survivors who were with him took to flight. Abrahah's limbs began to drop off one by one. As for Maḥmūd, the Najāshī's elephant, it lay down and would not venture[579] into the Sacred Enclosure and was thus preserved in safety; but regarding the other elephant, it ventured into the Sacred Enclosure and it suffered a hail of stones.[580] It is also said that there were thirteen elephants. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went down from Mount Ḥirā' and two of the Abyssinians came up to him, kissed his hand and said, "You were more knowledgeable [than us]."

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah b. al-Mughīrah b. al-Akmas, who said that the first time measles and smallpox were seen in the land of the Arabs was in that year, as also the first tme for bitter shrubs like rue, colocynth, and gigantic swallow-wort[581] to be seen.

Ibn Isḥāq says: On Abrahah's death, there succeeded to power in Yemen over the Abyssinians his son Yaksūm b. Abrahah. Abrahah's patronymic[582] was from him. Ḥimyar and the tribes of the Arabs submitted, and the Abyssinians treated them oppressively,

578. That is, a *sayl,* the torrent from a sudden rainstorm, typical of the erratic weather conditions in the mountains in the western part of the Arabian Peninsula. In Arabic lore, the sweeping away of peoples by such inundations is not infrequent; cf. the *sayl al-'arim,* "bursting of the dam by a torrent," in Qur'ān, XXXIV, 15/16. See Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam,* 23–25.

579. *wa-lam yashja' 'alā . . .* ; for this verb, see *Glossarium,* p. CCCVI.

580. Following the text's *fa-ḥuṣiba;* one might also read *fa-ḥaṣaba* "and it suffered blisters and pustules," as taken by Nöldeke in his trans. 209.

581. That is, *Asclepias gigantea* L.

582. That is, Abū Yaksūm. According to Nöldeke, trans. 219 n. 3, there exists a coin minted by Yaksūm.

taking their women as sexual partners, killing their menfolk, and employing their sons as interpreters between themselves and the Arabs.[583] He related: After God hurled back the Abyssinians from Mecca, and the latter received the punishment described above, the Arabs treated Quraysh with great honor, saying, "[They are] the people of God; God fought on their behalf and relieved them of the burden of their enemies.

He related: On Yaksūm b. Abrahah's death, there succeeded to power in Yemen his brother Masrūq b. Abrahah. The burden of oppression on the people of Yemen became protracted. The Abyssinian dominion in Yemen extending from the time when
[946] Aryāṭ came to Yemen until the Persians killed Masrūq and expelled the Abyssinians from the land, was seventy-two years. During that period, four kings ruled there successively: Aryāṭ, then Abrahah, then Yaksūm b. Abrahah, and finally, Masrūq b. Abrahah.[584]

Sayf b. Dhī Yazan al-Ḥimyarī, whose patronymic was Abū Murrah, went forth until he reached the court of Qayṣar, king of al-Rūm.[585] He complained to Qayṣar about what they were suffer-

583. According to al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 63, Yaksūm was worse and more malevolent than his father, and his brother Masrūq yet more so. Yaksūm's tenure of power is very summarily treated in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 41 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 63, tr. 30; see also idem, *Kitāb al-tījān*, 303, cf. Krenkow, "The Two Oldest Books on Arabic Folklore," 229.

584. The seventy-two years given here for the Abyssianian domination must be a considerable exaggeration, since this rule extended in reality only from 525 to ca. 570, i.e., forty-five years. In Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], XVII, 311, the respective reigns of the Abyssinian governors are given: Aryāṭ, twenty years; Abrahah, twenty-three years; Yaksūm, nineteen years (thus also in al-Dīnawarī); Masrūq, twelve years; total, seventy-four years. Of these, that of Aryāṭ is much exaggerated; Abrahah was certainly still alive in 552, the date of the well of Murayghān inscription, itself five years after his Dam of Mārib inscription. This would leave eighteen years at most for the combined reigns of Yaksūm and Masrūq. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 220 n. 3.

585. Yazan was one of the great families of South Arabia, accounted one of the Mathāminah, influential in Ḥaḍramawt and known (as *Yz'n*) in inscriptions from the mid-fifth century A.D. onward. It appears that their original center was in the Wādī 'Amāqīn area near al-Ḥawṭah in what became in modern times the hinterland of al-Mukalla. The family or clan appears in early times in association with the ancient Sabaean family or clan of Gadan or Dhū Gadan. By the early sixth century, the Yazan probably dominated all the Ḥaḍramawt and the Ẓufār coastlands as well as the island of Socotra, whence their title of *Dhū* implying lordship. Members of the family served the last Tubba' Ma'dī Karib and then Dhū Nuwās as

ing, and asked hm to expel the Abyssinians and take over the rule there personally.[586] [He asked him to] send what forces he pleased of the Byzantines, and then the rule over Yemen would be his; but Qayṣar would not satisfy his plea, and he got none of the satisfaction he sought from Qayṣar.

So he set out again until he arrived at al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir's court at al-Ḥīrah. Al-Nuʿmān was Kisrā's governor over al-Ḥīrah and adjacent parts of Iraq in the land of the Arabs.[587] Sayf b. Dhī Yazan now complained to al-Nuʿmān about the oppression and humiliation the people of Yemen were suffering. Al-Nuʿmān replied, "I have the obligation of paying a formal visit to Kisrā every year, so stay with me until the time for it comes round, and I will take you with me." He related: So he remained with al-Nuʿmān until the latter set off on his visit to Kisrā, accompanied by Sayf b. Dhī Yazan. When al-Nuʿmān came into Kisrā's presence and had completed his own business with the king, he mentioned to him Sayf b. Dhī Yazan and the reason for his coming to him, requesting an audience for him; Kisrā granted this. Kisrā was in his throne chamber (*aywān majlisihi*), where his crown was kept. This crown was like a huge grain measure (*qanqal*),[588] and set with rubies, emeralds, pearls, gold, and silver, and was suspended by a

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military commanders, and it was perhaps the connection with the latter that led to a tradition, given by al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 63, that Sayf b. Dhī Yazan was a descendant of Dhū Nuwās. Little is in fact known about Sayf, whose activities as leader of the "patriotic" reaction against the Abyssinians in 570 fall outside the period for which we have epigraphic evidence; his role in later Arabic popular epic literature has no known historical basis. See M. A. Bafaqih, "New Light on the Yazanite Dynasty," 5–6; *EI²*, s.vv. Mathāmina (Chr. Robin), Sayf b. Dhī Yazan (J. P. Guillaume: entirely on the romance) and Yazan (A. F. L. Beeston).

586. The Byzantine emperor at this time was Justin II (r. 565–78). There is no record in Byzantine sources of this alleged embassy from South Arabia.

587. This is a patent confusion with the last Lakhmid, al-Nuʿmān III b. al-Mundhir IV (r. ca. 580–602); the ruler in al-Ḥīrah at this time must have been ʿAmr II b. al-Mundhir III (b. Hind) or his brother and successor Qābūs b. al-Mundhir III. See Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 96–105. In Ibn al-Kalbī's version of these events (al-Ṭabarī, I, 950, p. 242, cf. n. 596 below), the conjecture is expressed that it was ʿAmr b. Hind.

588. In al-Khwārazmī's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 67, the *qanqal* is a large measure of capacity used in Iraq and equalling three thousand *raṭls*, i.e., two "equalised" *kurrs*, but the latter measure itself varied considerably even within the Sawād of Iraq. See Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art," 148–49.

golden chain from the top of the dome of that chamber. The crown was too heavy for his neck to bear, so he concealed himself in robes until he sat down on that throne; his head was inserted into the crown, and when he had settled down comfortably on his throne, the robes were whisked away from him. Everyone who saw him for the first time fell down on his knees out of awe for
[947] him, hence Sayf b. Dhī Yazan sank down on his knees when he entered his presence.

Then he addressed Kisrā, "O king, ravens have seized control over our land," and when Kisrā asked him, "Which ravens, those from Abyssinia or those from Sind?"[589] he replied: "The Abyssinians, and I have come to you imploring help against them and for you to expel them from our midst. You can then assume the royal power in my land, for you are more loved by us than them." Kisrā retorted, "Your land is far away from our own one, and your land is poor in resources: nothing there but sheep and camels, which are no use to us. I am not prepared to commit a Persian army to the land of the Arabs; there is no good reason why I should do this." However, he ordered Sayf b. Dhī Yazan to be given ten thousand dirhams of full weight, and gave him a fine robe of honor. Sayf b. Dhī Yazan took the money, went forth, and began distributing it wholesale among the people, so that boys, slave boys, and slave girls seized it avidly. Very soon, this was reported to Kisrā, who was told, "The Arab to whom you gave a sum of money is scattering the dirhams among the people, and slave boys, boys, and slave girls are scrambling for them." Kisrā said, "There is something strange about this man, bring him back to me!" When Sayf b. Dhī Yazan came into his presence, Kisrā said, "This is what you do with a royal gift! You distribute it among the people?" Sayf b. Dhī Yazan responded, "And what exactly should I do with the king's gift, when the mountains of the land from which I have come are composed wholly of gold and silver?"[590] [He said this] in order to excite the emperor's cupidity, when the latter saw how little Sayf

589. Since the ancient Persians tended to classify all blacks as "Indians," a usage taken over by Greek and Syriac writers, there arose uncertainty over the geographical extent of "India," which could cover South Arabia and the Horn of Africa. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 222 n. 2.

590. Sayf b. Dhī Yazan's boast reflects the ancients' belief that South Arabia was a land of famed wealth, with its precious metals, perfumes and aromatic substances, etc.

was concerned about the money. [He continued] "I have only made my way to the king that he might preserve me from tyranny and relieve me of humiliation." Kisrā said to him, "Remain here with me while I consider your case;" so he remained at Kisrā's court.

Kisrā assembled his Marzbāns and the sagacious advisers he was wont to consult, and said, "What do you think about this man and the proposition he has made?" One of them said, "O king, you have in your prisons various men whom you have incarcerated in [948] preparation for killing them. Why don't you send them back with Sayf? If they perish, well, that is the fate you ordained for them, and if they gain control of his land it will be an additional kingdom to your own." Kisrā exclaimed, "That's a good idea. Count for me how many men there are in my prisons." These men were counted up, and they found a total of eight hundred men in the prisons. Kisrā then ordered, "Find out the man among them with the best achievements and lineage, and make him the commander over them." They found that the best person qualified in these respects was Wahriz, who was a man of mature years.[591] Kisrā accordingly sent him with Sayf and appointed him commander of his troops.

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591. In the Arabic sources, noble birth from various origins is attributed to Wahriz, e.g., in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 43 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 65, trans. 31, that he was of advanced age and of good, unspecified, family; in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 63–64, that he was a centenarian (!) and the son of Kānjār, of noble stock but imprisoned because he had taken to highway robbery; in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 163 = § 1016, that he was the Ispabadh of Daylam; and in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 52, that he was from the progeny of Bihāfarīdūn, son of Sāsān, son of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār. It would be usual for the commander of an expedition to be of high rank and birth, but unlikely that his troops, if they had been rescued from incarceration and the threat of death, to have been of good stock also, as is asserted by a poet of Ḥaḍramawt cited by al-Mas'ūdī, op. cit., III, 164 = § 1017 (". . . from the clan of Sāsān and the clan of Mahrasan") and by Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, loc. cit. Such claims to exalted origins were doubtless fabricated by or for the descendants of the Persians in Yemen, the so-called Abnā', the children of unions between Persians and Arabs in Yemen. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 223 n. 2. But in any case, these reports from Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn al-Kalbī (for the latter report, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 952–53, pp. 244–45 below) that Yemen was conquered by a force of gaolbirds and desperadoes must be regarded as romantic accretions to the real story of the Persian expeditionary force to Yemen as mentioned at I, 899, p. 160 above: that Wahriz's force was composed of tough Daylamī mountaineers, recruited as mercenaries for the specific task, see n. 405 above.

Wahriz/Wahrīz is presumably MP *Weh-rēz*, "having a good abundance," see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 340. It seems, however, to have been in origin a title rather than a personal name; Procopius, describing an expedition sent by the emperor Kawād I into Georgia and Lazica, calls its commander a "Persian" named Boēs, who had the

He provided them with eight ships, each one carrying a hundred men plus equipment and supplies for the sea voyage. However, when they got out into the open sea, two of the ships foundered with everyone and everything in them. But six ships safely reached the coast of Yemen in the region of Aden, and these contained six hundred men, including Wahriz and Sayf b. Dhī Yazan. When they were safely on dry land in the land of Yemen, Wahriz said to Sayf, "What resources do you have?" Sayf replied, "As many Arab soldiers and Arab horses as you wish; I will put my leg on your leg [over this], so that we either die together or conquer together." Wahriz said, "You have spoken fairly and eloquently." Sayf now brought to Wahriz's standard those of his people who were in his obedience.

Masrūq b. Abrahah heard about their arrival. He assembled round himself the Abyssinian army and marched against them. The two armies moved close to each other and encamped in close proximity to each other. Wahriz now sent one of his sons called Nawzādh[592] with a cavalry detachment and instructed him, "Engage in skirmishing with the enemy army, so that we may get to know their mode of fighting." Nawzādh sallied forth and engaged in some skirmishing with them, but then got himself into a spot from which extrication was impossible, and the enemy killed him. This aroused Wahriz to a frenzy of rage and made him more determined to fight them. When the opposing troops were drawn
[949] up in ranks against each other, Wahriz said, "Point out their king for me." They replied, "Do you see a man on an elephant, with a crown on his head and a red ruby on his forehead?" He said, "Yes," and they retorted, "That's their king!" He said, "Leave him alone for the present," and they waited a long time. Then he said, "What's he riding?" They replied, "He has mounted a horse now." He said, "Leave him alone," and again they waited a long time. He said, "What's he riding now?" They replied, "He has mounted a mule now." Wahriz said, "A wild ass's filly! He is a weak individual, and so is his kingdom! Are you listening to me properly? I am going to shoot at him. If you observe his guards still standing

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title Ourazēs, which would appear to be *Wahriz. See *EI*², s.vv. Daylam (V. Minorsky), and Wahriz (C. E. Bosworth).

592. That is, "the newborn." See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 227.

around and not moving, then stand fast until I give you the command [to advance], for I shall have missed him. But if you see the enemy troops crowding round him and sticking close to him, I shall have hit the man, so launch an attack on them!" Then he strung his bow (according to what has been asserted, none but Wahriz himself could bend it because of its strength). He ordered his eylids to be fastened up,[593] placed an arrow in his bow, braced the bow as widely as possible until, when it was fully extended, he released it. The arrow struck the ruby on Masrūq's forehead, and penetrated through his head, coming out at the nape of the neck. Masrūq was thrown backward from his mount, and the Abyssinians crowded round him closely. The Persians charged at them, and the Abyssinians were defeated. The Persians made great slaughter, and groups of the Abyssinians fled in all directions.[594] Wahriz advanced against Ṣan'ā' with the intention of entering it, but when he reached the city gate, he said, "My banner shall never enter [a town] lowered! Break down the gateway!" The gateway of Ṣan'ā' was accordingly demolished, and he then entered it with his banner raised high and borne in front of him.

Once he had secured dominion over Yemen and had expelled the Abyssinians from it, Wahriz wrote to Kisrā, "I have subdued Yemen for you and have driven out those Abyssinians who occupied it," and he forwarded to him wealth. Kisrā wrote back ordering him to set up Sayf b. Dhī Yazan as ruler of Yemen and its territories, and he imposed on Sayf the responsibility for the poll

593. That is, because the muscles of his eyelids were relaxed with old age and drooped over his eyes. A similar explanation is given for the name of a Persian commander in the fighting with the Arabs during the caliph 'Umar I's reign, one Dhū al-Ḥājib ("the man with the eyelid") Mardānshāh; see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 251. This seems to have been something of a topos in early Arabic, since a leader of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah at the late sixth-century "Day of Jabalah" (see *EI*², s.v. Djabala [F. Buhl-R. H. Headley]) is likewise said to have had his eyelids falling into his eyes. See *Naqā'iḍ Jarīr wa-al-Farazdaq*, II, 657, 1062, and cf. Caskel, *Aiyām al-'arab. Studien zur altarabischen Epik*, 36.

594. As noted by Nöldeke, trans. 226 n. 2, the story of Wahriz's battle with Masrūq is also given by Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, I, 149, from "the books of the Persians." In his account, Wahriz has drawn from his quiver an arrow of good omen with his wife's name inscribed on it, which he interprets as Persian *zanān*, "women," and then as the exhortation *zan ān*, "strike that [person]," hence he launches the arrow at Masrūq and kills him, as al-Ṭabarī relates. Cf. also Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter*, 81.

[950] tax and the land tax, which he was to send to Kisrā annually as fixed sums. He also ordered Wahriz to return to him, and Wahriz did this. Sayf b. Dhī Yazan was thus appointed as ruler over Yemen as his father Dhū Yazan, one of the kings of Yemen, had been [before him]. This is what Ibn Ḥumayd transmitted to us—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq concerning the affairs of Ḥimyar, the Abyssinians and their rule, and Kisrā's dispatch of an expedition to attack the Abyssinians in Yemen.[595]

As for Hishām b. Muḥammad, he relates as follows. After Abrahah, there reigned Yaksūm and then Masrūq. He related: It was this last whom Wahriz killed in the reign of Kisrā, son of Qubādh, and then expelled the Abyssinians from Yemen. He related: Among what he related is that Abū Murrah al-Fayyāḍ Dhū Yazan was one of the nobles of Yemen. He had a wife Rayḥānah bt. Dhī Jadan, and she presented him with a boy, whom he called Ma'dī Karib. She was beautiful, hence al-Ashram took her away from Abū Murrah and forced her to marry him. Abū Murrah departed from Yemen and came to one of the kings of the house of al-Mundhir—I think it was 'Amr b. Hind[596]—and asked him to write on his behalf to Kisrā, asking him to tell Kisrā about his high worth, his nobility, and his aid and support for Kisrā in any affair in which he could help the emperor. [The ruler in question from the house of al-Mundhir] replied, "Don't act rashly; I am obliged to visit Kisrā each year, and the time for this is so-and-so." Hence Abū Murrah remained at his court until he accompanied the ruler on his visit to Kisrā. 'Amr b. Hind went into Kisrā's presence; he mentioned to him Dhū Yazan's nobility and lofty estate, and sought permission for him to have an audience of the emperor. Dhū Yazan went in, and 'Amr made space for Dhū Yazan to go before him. When Kisrā observed that, he realized that 'Amr could have treated Dhū Yazan thus in his presence only out of regard for his nobility. When Dhū Yazan went up to the emperor, the latter treated him kindly and questioned him in a friendly way, saying to

595. The story of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan's appeal to Kisrā and the Persian conquest of Yemen by Wahriz and his force is given by Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 41–45 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 64–70, tr. 30–33; idem, *Kitāb al-tījān*, 306–309, cf. Krenkow, "The Two Oldest Books on Arabic Folklore," 229.

596. As noted in n. 587 above, Ibn al-Kalbī's conjecture here is probably correct.

him, "What has brought you here?" Dhū Yazan replied, "O king, the blacks have seized from us power over our own land, and have committed things so frightful that my respect for the king makes [951] me shrink from mentioning them. If the king were to offer us help without our having to ask for it [formally], that would be appropriate for him because of his excellence, nobility, and preeminence over the rest of monarchs; why should this not be so, when we have made our way toward him, full of expectations regarding him, hoping that God will smash our enemies, aid us against them, and procure for us revenge over them? If the king sees fit to make our speculations come true, fulfill our hopes and send back with me an army that will eject this enemy from our land so that he may add it to his own kingdom—for it is one of the most fertile of lands and most amply endowed with resources, not like the region of the Arabian peninsula bordering on his empire [at present]—he may do all this."

Kisrā replied. "I know well that your land is as you describe it; but which blacks are they who have conquered it, the Abyssinians or the Sindīs?" Dhū Yazan said, "The Abyssinians." Anūsharwān said, "I would certainly like to make your speculations come true, and would like to enable you to go back home with your request fulfilled; but the way to your land is difficult for the army, and I would not like rashly to commit my troops. But let me think about your request. Meanwhile, you can stay here with whatever you like." He ordered Dhū Yazan to be given suitable lodging and to be treated hospitably. He remained at Kisrā's court until he died. Abū Murrah had composed an ode in the Ḥimyaritic language in which he eulogised Kisrā. When it was translated for him, he was delighted with it.[597]

597. The South Arabian language had, in fact, been in steep decline long before this time, and the story of Abū Murrah being able to compose a poem in the "Ḥimyaritic language" must be apocryphal. Chr. Robin, basing himself on such indications as a perceptible decline in the quality and correctness of the Sabaean language in the later inscriptions, believes that it had yielded place, as a spoken tongue, to early [North] Arabic by the fourth century A.D. Hence after ca. 400 it was only a learned language, increasingly poorly known, although still used epigraphically for a further century and a half. The latest dated inscription so far discovered, CIH 325, comes from 669 of the Ḥimyarite era, hence A.D. 559–60, although some graffiti found in northern Yemen at Umm Laylā north of Ṣa'dah, in North Arabic language and South Arabian script, probably date from the beginning

Rayḥānah bt. Dhī Jadan gave birth to a son of Abrahah al-Ashram's, whom he called Masrūq. Ma'dī Karib b. Dhī Yazan grew up with his mother Rayḥānah in Abrahah's house. One of Abrahah's sons satirized him, and said to him, "May God curse you! And may God curse your father!" Ma'dī Karib had never realized that al-Ashram was anyone but his own father. He went along to his mother and said to her, "Who is my father?" She replied, "Al-Ashram." He retorted, "No, by God, he is not my father; if he were really my father, so-and-so would not have satirized me." So she told him that his father was [in reality] Abū Murrah al-Fayyāḍ, and communicated to him the whole story. All this had a profound
[952] effect on the lad's mind, but he bided his time for a long period.

Then al-Ashram died, followed by the death of his son Yaksūm. Dhū Yazan's son set out, making for the king of the Byzantines' (*al-Rūm*) court, avoiding Kisrā because he had delayed so long in helping his father. But he did not get what he wanted from the king of the Byzantines, and found him taking the side of the Abyssinians because they shared a common religious allegiance. Hence he turned away from the Byzantine court and made for the court of Kisrā. He presented himself before Kisrā one day, when he was on horseback, and called out to him, "O king, my future heritage lies in your hands!" Kisrā summoned him when he had dismounted and asked him, "Who are you, and what is this heritage of yours?" Dhū Yazan's son replied, "I am the son of the senior chief (*shaykh*) of the Yemenis, Dhū Yazan, whom you promised to aid, but then [in the end] he died at your court and in your entourage. That promise is my rightful due, and a heritage which you have an obligation to fulfill for me." Kisrā relented toward him and ordered him to be given a sum of money. The lad went out and began to scatter the dirhams about, and the people scrambled for them. Kisrā sent a message to him, "What has led you to do what you have done?" The lad replied, "I didn't come to

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of Islam. See Robin, "Résultats épigraphiques et archéologiques de deux brefs séjours en République arabe du Yémen," 188–93.

In the fourth/tenth century, al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī was able in his *Iklīl*, Book VIII, 122–23, tr. 72–73, to give the values of the letters of the South Arabian script (*musnad*), but was only able with difficulty to read a few names of the inscriptions. See Robin, *L'Arabie antique de Karib'îl à Mahomet*, 15, 19–20, 134–35; idem, in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v. Sheba. II, cols. 1216–17.

you seeking money, but rather, I came to you seeking men and that you should preserve me from humiliation." Kisrā was pleased with this rejoinder and sent back a message to him, "Stay here while I look into your case."

Kisrā then sought counsel from his ministers concerning sending an army back with him. The [Chief] Mōbadh said to him, "This lad has a just claim upon us, through his journey here and the death of his father at the king's court and in his entourage, and because of the promises made by the king to him previously. Now in the king's prisons are men of valor and martial strength. Let the king send these men with Dhū Yazan's son; if they secure a victory, it will be a triumph for the king; if they all perish, he will have secured his own peace of mind [from the threat of them] and will have relieved the citizens of the kingdom of them. That would not be far from the correct line of action." Kisrā said, "This is a sound piece of advice," and he gave orders for the men of this description in the prisons to be counted. They extended to eight hundred men. He appointed as commander over them a com- [953]
mander from among his cavalrymen (*asāwiratihi*) called Wahriz, whom Kisrā accounted the equal of a thousand cavalrymen. He supplied them with weapons and equipment and ordered them to be transported in eight ships, each one containing a hundred men.

They set forth on the seas, but two ships out of the eight foundered, leaving six safe and sound. They landed on the coast of Ḥaḍramawt.[598] Masrūq marched out against them with an army of one hundred thousand men, including Abyssinians, Ḥimyarites, and Bedouins. [However,] a considerable number of people joined the son of Dhū Yazan. Wahriz encamped on the sea coast, placing the sea at his back. When Masrūq saw how few were their numbers, he became eager to engage them. He sent a mes-

598. It seems likely that the ships, buffeted by storms, would come up on the Ḥaḍramawt coast, and apparently the landing was in the vicinity of al-Shiḥr. The Ḥaḍramī poet cited by al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 164 = § 1017, says that the ships were washed up at *M.th.w.b*, read by Pellat as Mathwab but read by Nöldeke, trans. 230 n. 2, as Manūb. A Manūb cerainly existed in Ḥaḍramawt in Islamic times, and it is mentioned by al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab*, 172 and n. 2, 215, but described by him as a wadi with villages in the territory of Kindah and in the Shibām/al-Qārah region, i.e., well inland and away from the coast. Al-Bakrī's listing of Manūb, in his *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, I, 316–17, IV, 1273, is vague and unhelpful.

sage to Wahriz, "What has brought you here? You have only the [few] men whom I can see, while I have [the large number] whom you can see. You have recklessly put yourself and your followers at risk, but if you like, I will allow you to return to your homeland; I shall not hurl satires at you, nor will there be inflicted upon you any unpleasant action on my part or on that of my troops. Or if you wish, I will march out against you immediately. Or yet again, if you wish, I will allow you a period of respite (*ajal*) so that you may consider your position and take counsel with your followers." Wahriz realized how strong they were and perceived that he could not match their strength. So he sent to Masrūq the message, "All right, grant a period of respite for us both; give me an engagement and compact, and receive in return the same promises from me, that neither side should fight with the other until the period of truce is up and until we can see our [correct] course of action." Masrūq agreed to that.

Each side remained within its encampment. Then, when ten days had elapsed of the standstill in hostilities, Wahriz's son set off on one of his horses and went forward until he drew near to the enemy's encampment. But his horse carried him onward into the midst of their encampment, and they killed him, Wahriz being unaware of all this. When the news of the killing of his son reached him, he sent a message to Masrūq, "There has been, as you well know, a compact between us, so why did you kill my son?" Masrūq sent a message back, "Your son charged into the
[954] midst of our encampment, and some irresponsible elements of our army sprang up and killed him. I myself strongly disapprove of his killing." Wahriz said to the messenger, "Tell him that he was not my son, but only the son of a whore (*zāniyah*); if he had been my son, he would have patiently waited and not broken the truce between us until it had come to an end."[599] Then he ordered the corpse to be thrown down on to the ground, where his body could be seen, and he swore an oath that he would not drink wine nor

599. Nöldeke, trans. 232 n. 1, explained that Wahriz disowns his son and refuses any responsibility for him because he does not wish to have to accept blood money for him from the Abyssinians; the blood money will be their own blood. Also, the killing of the Persian, though half-justified, will incur divine retribution for the breach of the oath-protected truce.

rub his head with any scented oil until the truce should come to its end.

When there was just one day left of the truce, Wahriz gave orders for the ships in which they had sailed to be set on fire, and likewise with regard to all superfluous clothing they had with them, leaving his men only with what they had on their backs. Next, he ordered all their provisions to be brought out and instructed his men, "Eat up this food!" So they ate up [as much as they could]. When they had finished, he ordered what remained to be thrown in the sea. At that point, he stood up in their midst and made a speech, saying to them, "Regarding the ships of yours which I caused to be burned, I wanted you to realize that there is no way for you ever to return home. Concerning your clothing which I had burned, it was arousing my ire that, should the Abyssinians gain the victory over you, it should fall into their hands. As for your food which I caused to be thrown into the sea, I would not wish any of you to have food for himself to exist on for a single day [if we should be defeated]. If you are people who will fight alongside me and endure the heat of battle, let me know this now; but if you will not do this, I shall fall upon this sword of mine until it comes out of my back, for I have no mind ever to let the Abyssinians gain power over me alive. So consider you own position now, since I, your commander, have chosen this course for myself." They responded, "Indeed, we will fight alongside you, until either we are dead to the last man or we are victorious!"

On the morn of the day when the truce ended, Wahriz arranged his troops for the fight, with the sea at their rear. He went up to [955] them and exhorted them forcefully to remain steadfast in battle, and told them that they had two possible ways forward: either to be victorious over their enemy or to die gloriously. He ordered them to have their bows bent and strung, and said, "When I give you the order to shoot, let fly at them swiftly with a five-arrow volley (*bi-al-banjakān*)."[600] The people of Yemen had never seen

600. This seems to be the meaning here, since Persian *panj*, "five," is clearly an element of the word, presumably *panjagān*, "five-fold," in origin. It is presumably related to the *banjakiyyah* of al-Jawālīqī, *al-Mu'arrab*, 71: a volley of five arrows, mentioned in a context which speaks of the Khurāsānians. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter*, 81 n. 7, less plausibly interprets *banjakān* as referring to five-pointed or five-barbed arrows ("fünfzackige [Pfeile]").

war arrows before this occasion. Masrūq advanced with a host that appeared limitless, on an elephant, wearing a crown on his head and with a ruby the size of an egg on his forehead; he could not conceive the possibility of anything except victory. Wahriz's sight had become poor through old age, and he said, "Show me their leader." He was informed, "It's the man on the elephant," but then very soon afterward Masrūq got down from the elephant and mounted a horse. So they exclaimed, "He's now mounted a horse." Wahriz said, "Prop open my eyelids"—they had fallen down over his eyes on account of his age[601]—so they held them up with a bandage. He then took out an arrow, placed it in the center (*kabid*)[602] of his bow and said, "Point out for me Masrūq." They did that for him, until Wahriz was sure of him, and then he gave the order "Shoot!" He himself pulled on his bow until, when he had drawn it to its utmost, he released the arrow. It sped forward as if it were a tightly stretched rope, and struck Masrūq's forehead. He fell from his mount. A great number of men were killed by that rain of arrows. When they saw their commander felled to the ground, their front rank crumbled, and there was nothing for it but flight.

Wahriz immediately gave orders for the burial of his son's corpse, and ordered that Masrūq's corpse be thrown down in its place. Booty was found in the defeated army's encampment in quantities beyond measure and beyond enumeration. Each individual Persian cavalryman got fifty or sixty Abyssinians, Ḥimyarites, or Bedouin as captives, and drove them along, unresisting, before him in bonds. Wahriz said, "Leave the Ḥimyarites and Bedouin alone, just hunt down the blacks and don't leave a single one alive." The Abyssinians were massacred on that day
[956] until not a single one of their host remained. A Bedouin managed to flee on his camel and galloped onward day and night. Then he happened to turn round and saw an arrow stuck in his provision bag behind the saddle. He exclaimed, "The devil take it! (literally, "Woe to your mother!")—has it traversed such a wide distance or

601. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 949, p. 241 above.

602. For the technical term *kabid al-qaws* (*kabid*, literally "liver" "center, heart of a thing"), see J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson, *Saracen Archery*, 161, 184: exactly, "the point the arrow passes when shot," i.e., the arrow pass.

traveled so far!" He thought that the arrow had caught up with him!

Wahriz advanced until he entered Ṣan'ā' and reduced to submission the whole land of Yemen. He sent out governors to the provincial districts (*makhālīf*). Abū al-Ṣalt, the father of Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafī,[603] says concerning the son of Dhū Yazan, his adventures, and those of Wahriz and the Persians, the following verses:

Let those who are like the son of Dhū Yazan seek vengeance, a man who spent several years traveling across the seas on account of his enemies.

He came to Heraclius, at a time when his enemies were already falling into discord and perturbation, but he did not secure from him any part of what he sought.

Then after seven years he turned toward Kisrā; how far away did you have to travel!

Until at last he brought with him the Free Ones (*Banū al-Aḥrār*, i.e., the Persians),[604] whom he bore along; by my life, you spent long in strenuous activity!

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603. Ibn Hishām's scholion to Ibn Isḥāq's text here, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 44 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 67–68, tr. 698, states that some authorities ascribe the poetry to the son Umayyah, who was a contemporary of the Prophet but, on account of the links between al-Ṭā'if and Quraysh, was a supporter of Muḥammad's opponents; he seems to have been dead by the time of the *fatḥ*, the conquest of Mecca, in 8/630. See *Sharḥ dīwān Umayyah*, 65; al-Ḥadīthī, *Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt, ḥayātuhu wa-shi'ruhu*, 344 n. 158; Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, II, 304–306; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 298–300, IX, 277; *EI*², s.v. Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (J. E. Montgomery).

Ibn Hishām's text has for the name *Hiraql* in v. 2 the more general *Qayṣar*, "emperor," and if this is the older and better reading, it would point to the poem's being either contemporaneous with the events described or at least written not long afterward, by Abū al-Ṣalt rather than by his son Umayyah. If the reading *Hiraql* should be correct, then the poem would date from at least one or two generations after the events, since Heraclius reigned 610–41, The reading *Hiraql* would certainly appear to predate al-Ṭabarī, since it is the one found in the *Kitāb al-shi'r wa-al-shu'arā'*, 281, of Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889), repeated also in al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 99.

604. *Banū al-aḥrār* is a frequent designation in early Arabic usage for the Persians encountered by them along the borders of Iraq and during the conquest of Iraq and Persia, e.g., at the engagements of Dhū Qār (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1036, p. 367 below) and al-Qādisiyyah. We find the equivalent *eleutheroi* used by Josephus for the Parthians as the equivalent of the social-military Persian term underlaying the Arabic expression, i.e., *āzādhagān* (in origin, Avestan *āzāta-*"agnate, born into a clan" "freeman (as opposed to a slave)" and, in a narrower sense, "noble," "free"),

Who is like Kisrā, the supreme king (*shahanshāh*) over the dependent kings, or like Wahriz on the day of the army, when he attacked furiously!
What a remarkable band went forth! You will never see among men their likes again!
Outstanding warriors, noble chiefs, gleaming ones, marzbāns,
[957] lions who train their cubs in the thickets,
Who shoot from highly bent bows, as if they were camel saddles, with long, slim arrows which bring the one who is hit to a speedy death.
You loosed lions against black dogs, and their scattered fugitives have spread through the land in full flight.
So drink with full peace of mind, wearing your crown and reclining high on Ghumdān in a house which you have made [once more] frequented.
Indulge freely in the use of musk, for they (i.e., your enemies) are in complete disarray, and on this day let your two luxurious robes trail freely!
These are noble deeds! Not two wooden bowls of milk mingled with water, which subsequently turned to urine.[605]

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i.e., noble ones," the class of great and lesser landowners, i.e., aristocrats and gentry, who supplied the military commanders and the élite cavalrymen of the army and upon whom the Persian kings had depended since Achaemenid times. De Blois has suggested that the expression *Banū al-aḥrār*, with its apparently otiose use of the component *banū*, reflects Aramaic usage and that the Arabs may have adopted it from Aramaic-speaking population of the Sāsānid empire in Mesopotamia. See Nöldeke, trans. 235 n. 2; De Blois, "'Freemen' and 'Nobles' in Iranian and Semitic Languages," 5–15; *EIr*, s.v. Aḥrār or Banu 'l-Aḥrār (C. E. Bosworth); and cf. n. 258 above.

605. This last verse has the ring of a proverbial saying. According to the scholion of Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 44 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 68–69, tr. 698, the poem was correctly transmitted by Ibn Isḥāq except for the last verse, actually by the *mukhaḍram* poet and Companion of the Prophet al-Nābighah al-Ja'dī (died toward the end of the seventh century?), on whom see Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe*, III, 477–79; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 245–47, IX, 274; *EI*², s.v al-Nābigha al-Ja'dī (A. Arazi).

For other sources on Sayf b. Dhī Yazan's appeal for help and Khusraw Anusharwān's despatch of Wahriz and his army, see al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 187, 226–27; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 64; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 52–53, 114–15; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XVII, 308–13; al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 98–99. See also Christensen, *Sassanides*, 368–69, 373; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 158; Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 606–607. Two further verses of the poem are given by al-Azraqī and Nashwān al-

The story returns to the narrative of Ibn Isḥāq.

He related: Wahriz went back to Kisrā, having appointed Sayf as king of Yemen. The latter now fell upon the Abyssinians and began to kill them, ripping open the pregnant womenfolk to tear out the fetuses, until he had exterminated the Abyssinians, apart from an insignificant, wretched few whom he took into his service as slaves. Some of these he employed as runners to go before him with their spears. Sayf carried on thus only for a short while before he went forth one day, with the Abyssinians running before him with their spears, until suddenly he found himself surrounded by them, and they attacked him with their spears, killing him. One of the Abyssinians assumed power over them, and carried out a policy of killing the Yemenis, creating havoc and wreaking all manner of evil. When news of this reached Kisrā, he dispatched Wahriz against them with four thousand Persian troops and ordered him not to leave alive in Yemen a single black, nor the child of an Arab woman by a black, whether young or old, nor to leave alive a single man with crisp and curly hair in whose generation the blacks had been involved. Wahriz advanced until he entered [958] Yemen, and did all that, killing every Abyssinian he could find. Then he wrote to Kisrā informing him of what he had done. Kisrā appointed him as viceroy over Yemen. He ruled over it, and levied taxation on it for Kisrā until he died.[606]

After him, Kisrā made his son al-Marzubān, son of Wahriz, viceroy, who governed the land until he died. Then Kisrā appointed al-

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Ḥimyarī; see Nöldeke, trans. 235 nn. 4–5.

Frye, loc. cit., makes the point that, by the time of the invasion, the pro-Byzantine attitude of the Monophysite Christians in South Arabia, so decisive at the time of the Najrān persecutions and the first Abyssinian intervention in Yemen, changed (i.e., by 570). But in fact, Justin continued his predecessors' policy of tolerance toward religious dissidents during the first five or six years of his reign, and only in 572, i.e., after the Persians had appeared in Yemen, did he start to persecute the Samaritans and Christian Monophysite dissidents under the influence of the Chalcedonian Patriarch of Constantinople, John Sirimis. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 76.

606. According to al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 64, Wahriz governed Yemen for five years. On his deathbed, he shot an arrow, which fell at the spot where his tomb was to be; "to this day," says the historian, "the place is called the *maqbarat Wahriz*." This same tale is given later by al-Ṭabarī, I, 988, p. 294 below, as part of Ibn al-Kalbī's narrative.

Bīnajān (?), son of al-Marzubān,[607] son of Wahriz, until he also died. Then Kisrā[608] appointed after him Khurrakhusrah, son of al-Bīnajān, son of al-Marzubān, son of Wahriz. The latter governed Yemen, but then Kisrā grew angry with him and swore that the Yemenis should bring Khurrakhusrah to him at his court borne on their shoulders. This they did. When Khurrakhusrah came before Kisrā, one of the Persian great men went right up to him and laid across him a sword that belonged to Kisrā's father. Kisrā therefore granted him security from being killed, but dismissed him from his post and sent Bādhān[609] to Yemen [as governor] instead. Bādhān remained in that office until the time when God sent His Messenger Muḥammad.[610]

[Resumption of the History of Kisrā Anūsharwān]

It is related that there was a peace accord and a truce between Kisrā Anūsharwān and Yakhṭiyānūs (Justinian), king Byzantines. Discord and emnity arose between a man of the Arabs called Khālid b. Jabalah,[611] whom Yakhṭiyānūs had appointed over the

607. In Ibn al-Kalbī's version of these events, i.e., in al-Ṭabarī, I, 988, p. 294, and cf. n. 693 below, al-Marzubān appears as *al-M.r.w.zān*, a better reading, probably to be vocalized as al-Marūzān. Likewise, al-Bīnajān appears as *Z.y.n*, perhaps for *W.y.n*, according to the suggestion of Marquart in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCII, whereas Nöldeke thought it more likely that this consonant ductus contained the names of two persons, *W.y.n* and *W.y.n.jān*. But in the version of Ibn Isḥāq at I, 958 n. *d*, Nöldeke adduced the name of a commander mentioned by the contemporary Byzantine historian Menander Protector, one Binganēs.

608. The Kisrā in question must be, of course, Khusraw II Abarwēz (r. 591–628).

609. Perhaps originally Bādhām, in which case the etymology would be presumably from *bādām*, "almond." The name is in fact attested in Middle Persian as *w'd'm*. See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 56, connecting it with NP *bād*, Avestan *vāta-*, the spirit of the wind; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 914; *EI*[2] Suppl., s.v. Bādhām, Bādhān (C. E. Bosworth).

610. This marks the end of this extended section on the history of Yemen, and the narrative now resumes from Persian sources as a parallel to that already given by al-Ṭabarī at I, 898–99, pp. 157–59 above.

611. That is, the Jafnid/Ghassānid ruler, the greatest of his line, correctly, al-Ḥārith b. Jabalah or Arethas (r. 529–69). (Nöldeke, trans. 238 nn. 2–3, pointed out that al-Ṭabarī's form Khālid arises from the ambiguities of the Pahlavi script, as does the *kh* for *st* in Yakhṭiyānūs = Justinian, showing that al-Ṭabarī's ultimate source here must have been a Persian one.) Al-Ḥārith was a redoubtable *foederatus* or ally of the Byzantines, stemming as he did from a fervently Christian, albeit Monophysite, Arab family. He fought at the side of the Greeks in two major wars,

Arabs of Syria, and a man from Lakhm called al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān,[612] whom Kisrā had appointed over the lands extending from 'Umān, al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāmah to al-Ṭā'if and the rest of Ḥijāz and all the Arabs of the intervening lands. Khālid b. Jabalah raided al-Mundhir's territory and wrought great slaughter among his subjects and seized as plunder extensive lands of his. Al-Mundhir laid a complaint about this before Kisrā, and asked him to write to the king of the Byzantines requesting the latter to secure justice for him against Khālid. Kisrā therefore wrote to [959] Yakhṭiyānūs mentioning the agreement regarding the truce and peace between the two sides and informing him of what al-Mundhir, his governor over the Arabs [within the Persian sphere of influence], had suffered at the hands of Khālid b. Jabalah, whom Yakhṭiyānūs had appointed governor over the Arabs within his dominions. He further asked him to command Khālid to return all the plunder he had driven off from al-Mundhir's territory and lands and [to command Khālid] to hand over the blood price for the Arabs whom he had killed and who were in al-Mundhir's jurisdiction and to furnish justice to al-Mundhir against Khālid. Yakhṭiyānūs was not to treat what Kisrā had written lightheartedly and contemptuously; [if he were to do so,] then this would be the cause of the rupturing of the agreement and truce between them. Kisrā sent a stream of letters to Yakhṭiyānūs urging him to furnish justice to al-Mundhir, but Yakhṭiyānūs paid no heed.

Hence Kisrā got ready his forces and led an expedition of some ninety thousand warriors against Yakhṭiyānūs's lands.[613] He cap-

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including at the battle of Callinicum (the Arabic al-Raqqah) in 531, and himself defeated and in 554 killed the Lakhmid al-Mundhir III at the battle of al-Ḥiyār at Chalcis (the Arabic Qinnasrīn) (possibly the *yawm Ḥalīmah*—Ḥalīmah being al-Ḥārith's daughter—of the Arabic *ayyām al-'Arab* literature), a decisive victory not merely as an intra-Arab clash but an event which gave the Ghassānids the preponderance over the Lakhmids for a long time to come. See on al-Ḥārith and the battle of Chalcis, Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânidische Fürsten*, 17–19; Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 83–87; Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I/1, 63–82, 134ff., 236–66; *EI*², s.vv. Ghassān and al-Ḥārith b. Djabala (I. Shahîd).

612. That is, al-Mundhir III, who played this leading rôle in the extension of Persian power into eastern and central Arabia and, indeed, as far as Ḥijāz. See nn. 409, 563 above.

613. This is the renewed, second war of the Persian emperor with Justinian, spanning 540–45, with the campaign against Antioch already described at I, 898, p. 157 and nn. 398–99 above. The events in question form the very detailed narrative

tured by force of arms the towns of Dārā, al-Ruhā (Edessa), Manbij, Qinnasrīn, Aleppo, Antioch (which was the finest town in Syria), Fāmiyah (Apamea), Ḥimṣ (Homs), and numerous other towns in the neighborhood of these towns;[614] he appropriated all the wealth (or: beasts, *al-amwāl*) and moveable goods in them; and he took captive all the inhabitants of Antioch, deported them to the Sawād, and gave orders for a town to be built for them at the side of Ctesiphon exactly on the pattern of the original Antioch, as I have already mentioned previously. He resettled the people of Antioch there; this is the town called al-Rūmiyyah. He erected this district into an administrative division (*kūrah*), which was to comprise four subdistricts (*ṭassūjs*): that of Upper Nahrawān, that of Lower Nahrawān, that of Bādarāyā, and that of Bākusāyā.[615] He allotted

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of Procopius in the later part of Book I and then Book II of *The Persian War*, in which the historian highlights the deeds of the general Belisarius, first appointed *Magister Militum per Orientem* in 529 and whom Procopius himself served as *symboulos*, i.e., as legal adviser and secretary. See Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, 8, 157–70.

614. Of these towns of Upper Jazīrah and northern and central Syria, Nöldeke, trans. 239 n. 2 noted that Aleppo, Antioch, and Apamea (situated on the Orontes, to the northwest of Ḥamāt: see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 227; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 384–85; *EI*², s.v. Afāmiya [H. A. R. Gibb]) were conquered by the force of Persian arms, while Daras/Dārā (see for this n. 398 above), Edessa, Manbij (the classical Hierapolis, an important military post commanding crossings of the upper Euphrates: see Yāqūt, op. cit., V, 205–207; Le Strange, op. cit., 107; *EI*², s.v. Manbidj [N. Elisséff]), and Qinnasrīn (the classical Chalcis to the south of Aleppo: see Yāqūt, op. cit., IV, 403–404; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 486–87; *EI*², s.v. Ḳinnasrīn [Elisséff]) purchased their safety from the Persians by handing over substantial indemnities. Emesa or Ḥimṣ also suffered badly.

615. Nahrawān was the district containing an extensive canal system to the east of the Tigris and in the region of the lower Diyālā river, with its center at the town of Nahrawān, which lay to the northeast of where the later Baghdad was to be situated. The canal system doubtless dates in some form from ancient times, but Khusraw Anūsharwān developed it extensively and caused to be dug a lengthy feeder channel, al-Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī, "the Imperial cut," from the Tigris near the later Sāmarrā to the Diyālā below Ba'qūbā. At various places, there were *shādhurwāns* or weirs (see for these, n. 94 above) dating from Sāsānid times. The *kūrah* mentioned here was one created with the city of Weh-Antioch-i Khusraw/Rūmiyyah where the people deported from Antioch in Syria were settled ca. 540. The Arabic sources actually list five *ṭassūjs* of the Nahrawān *kūrah*, the additional one being that of Middle Nahrawān. Bādarāyā and Bākusāyā (Aramaic Bēth Darāyā and Bēth Kosāyā) formed the region of Bandanījīn, stretching from the east of Nahrawān to the fringes of the Zagros range and the border with the province of Media or Jibāl. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 317–18, 327, V, 324–27; Le Strange, *Lands*, 57–61; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 245–49; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Con-*

living allowances for the people whom he had transported from Antioch to al-Rūmiyyah, and appointed as overseer of their affairs [960] a man from the Christian community of Ahwāz called Barāz,[616] whom he had earlier made head of the the artisans and craftsemen working for him. This Kisrā did out of tenderness and sympathy for those captives, and also with the administrative aim of causing them to feel at home with Barāz, because he was their coreligionist, and making them regard him with trust. As for the remainder of the towns of Syria and Egypt,[617] Yakhṭiyānūs bought Kisrā off from them with a very large sum, which he handed over to the Persian king, and he undertook to pay ransom money to him each year in return for Kisrā's undertaking not to raid his lands. He wrote for Kisrā a document enshrining these terms, which he and the Byzantine great men of state sealed officially. They accordingly paid this sum annually.[618]

The rulers of Persia before Kisrā Anūsharwān used to levy land tax (*kharāj*) on the administrative divisions (*kuwar*), a third or quarter or fifth or sixth [of their produce], according to the water supply and the degree of cultivation; and poll tax (*jizyat al-jamājim*) according to a fixed sum.[619] King Qubādh, son of Fayrūz

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quest, 138–40; *EI*², s.vv. Badra (S. H. Longrigg) and al-Nahrawān (M. J. Morony).

616. As explained in n. 393 above, this is the New Persian form of MP Warāz, etc., meaning literally "boar, wild boar," an animal admired for its strength and tenacity; see on it the references in that note.

617. Again, as in al-Ṭabarī, I, 898, p. 158 above, a confusion with the campaign early in the seventh century of Khusraw II Abarwēz.

618. Nöldeke, trans. 240 n. 4, noted that al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 69, names a certain Sharwīn of Dastabā as *wakīl* or overseer of payment of the tribute, but that there is uncertainty in other sources regarding this personage.

619. Since *jumjumah* means "skull," its plural use in *jizyat al-jamājimah* conveys literally the idea of a poll tax. Al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 58, equates *māl al-jamājim* with *māl al-jawālī*, that money paid in the first place by non-Muslims expelled from the Arabian peninsula by the caliph ʿUmar I but then applied to all Dhimmīs, "Protected peoples," liable to poll tax, whether émigrés or not; see Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art," 132. It has been known for some time, including from Talmudic references to it, that the Sāsānids levied a poll tax (the *kargā*, *kərāgā*) as well as a land tax (*ṭasqā*) and a further land tax (*mənātā də malkā*, "the king's share"; different from the *ṭasqā*!), but much remains obscure about this fiscal system. See Grignaschi, "La riforma tributaria di Ḫosrō I e il feudalesimo sassanide," 113–15; Rubin, "The Reforms of Khusro Anūshirwān," 231–32). Whether there was any continuity between this Sāsānid poll tax and the early Islamic *jizyah* on the Dhimmīs, is unclear; it may have been just one among several contributory strands in

ordered, toward the end of his reign, a cadastral survey (*masḥ al-arḍ*), comprising plains and mountains alike, so that the correct amount of land tax could be levied on the lands.[620] This was carried out, except that Qubādh's death supervened before that survey could be completed. Hence when his son Kisrā succeeded to power, he gave orders for it to be carried through to its end and for an enumeration to be made of date palms, olive trees, and heads (i.e., of those liable to the poll tax). He then ordered his secretaries to calculate the grand total of that, and he issued a general summons to the people. He commanded the secretary responsible for the land tax to read out to them the total tax liabilities from the land and the numbers of date palms, olive trees, and heads. The secretary read all this out to them, after which Kisrā said to them, "We have judged it advisable to establish the rates of taxation (*waḍā'i'*) on the basis of what has been enumerated of the various *jarīb*s of this cadastral survey[621]—date palms, olive trees, and heads—and we ordain that the taxation
[961] should be paid in installments spread over the year, in three installments. In this way, sums of money will be stored in our treasuries so that, should any emergency arise along one of our vulnerable frontiers or on any one of our distant boundaries, a breach of the borders or anything else untoward, and we have a need to deal with it and to nip it in the bud, involving the expenditure of money on this, we shall have money stored up here, ready and to

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the emergence of this Islamic tax. See Nöldeke, trans. 241 n. 1; Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, 15, 132, 141.

620. Such surveys were frequently used by later, Islamic rulers as the bases for new tax assessments, involving the assessment of growing crops (*takhmīn*) and the sharing out of the harvested crop between the tax collector and the cultivator (*muqāsamah*), the technique of surveying being called *misāḥah*. See *EI*², s.vv. Ḳānūn. ii. Cadaster (Cl. Cahen), Kharādj. I. In the Central and Western Islamic Lands (Cahen) and Misāḥa. 1. In the Central Islamic Lands (C. E. Bosworth).

621. Al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 66, 67, tr. in Bosworth, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art," 148–49, states that the *jarīb* was a measurement of surface area equaling thirty-six hundred square *dhirā'*s or cubits, although of a fluctuating equivalence in Khurāsān. The *jarīb* was, in fact, the basic measurement for area in early Islamic times, still in use today in Persia, officially equaling one hectare, as well as being a measure of capacity for grain, etc.; but in origin it was the amount of agricultural land which could be sown with a *jarīb*'s measure of grain. See Nöldeke, trans. 242 n. 2; *EI*², s.v. Misāḥa. 1.

hand, since we do not wish to have to levy a fresh installment of taxation for that emergency. So what do you think about the procedure we have envisaged and agreed upon?"

None of those present offered him any further advice or uttered a single word. Kisrā repeated these words to them three times. Then a man stood up from out of the expanse of persons present and said to Kisrā, "O king—may God grant you long life!—are you estabishing a perpetual basis for this land tax on transient foundations: a vine that may die, land sown with corn that may wither, a water channel that may dry up, and a spring or qanāt whose water supply may be cut off?" Kisrā replied, "O troublesome, ill-omened fellow, what class of people do you come from?" The man said, "I am one of the secretaries." Kisrā gave orders, "Have him beaten with ink holders (*al-dawā*) until he dies."[622] Hence the secretaries in particular beat him with their ink holders, seeking to disassociate themselves, in Kisrā's eyes, from the man's views and utterance, until they killed him. The people said, "O king, we are in full agreement with the land tax which you are imposing on us."

Kisrā chose some men of sound judgment and wise counsel, and ordered them to investigate the various types of crops the cadastral survey had revealed for him, the numbers of date palms and olive trees, and the numbers of heads of those liable for the poll tax. On that basis, they were to fix the rates of taxation by the yardsticks of what they perceived would ensure the well-being of his subjects and ample means of sustenance for them. They were to report the results of this to him. Each man of them now spoke, according to the measure of his perception, regarding those rates [962] of taxation which were to be fixed. They discussed the matter among themselves at length, and finally agreed to base the land tax on the products that maintained alive men and beasts, these being: wheat, barley, rice, grapes, trefoil and clover (*riṭāb*),[623] date

622. These would be ink holders of what later became the typical Islamic pattern, with a heavy head to hold the actual ink and with a handle. This secretary courageous enough to protest against Khusraw's measures is making the point adumbrated in n. 624 below: that fixed rate taxes will leave the cultivator at the mercy of crop failures or natural disasters, which will make him unable to find the money demanded.

623. As Nöldeke, trans. 244 n. 1, notes, al-Mas'ūdī in his *Murūj*, II, 204–205 = § 627, specifies that Anūsharwān's land-tax measures were only for Iraq, the richest

palms, and olive trees. They fixed the land tax rate for every *jarīb* of land planted with trefoil and clover, seven dirhams; on every four Persian date palms, one dirham; on every six date palms of lesser quality (*daqal*), the same figure; and every six olive tree stacks, the same figure. They only levied tax on date palms planted in enclosures or grouped together, not those growing as isolated trees. Everything apart from these seven types of crops from the earth they left tax free, and the people were to have a satisfactory standard of life from them.[624]

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province of the empire. He also explains the stress on the annual fodder plants trefoil and clover (*raṭbah*, pl. *riṭāb* = Persian *aspist*) from the outstanding importance of horses in an army composed essentially of cavalrymen.

624. This land-tax reform was really begun by Kawād I but completed by Khusraw Anūsharwān. Previously, the land tax had been proportional to the harvest, but this basis, though apparently fair, had the disadvantage that the cultivators' harvested crop might rot before the state's assessor could arrive and extract the ruler's share. Hence a fixed unit of the land, the *jarīb*, was now taken as the basis for assessment, and from the ruler's point of view, such a reform was highly advantageous since it gave promise of a fixed and predictable income from taxation. It was, however, less advantageous to the cultivator (despite what could be said, as noted above, about the possibility of the crop rotting or failing before the state's assessor arrived). Whatever the yield from his crops, he was obliged to pay the fixed sum stipulated, might have to sell his harvest at a time of glut and low prices, or borrow money at excessive interest, and could thus be left either starving or burdened with debt. See D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*, 14–15; Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, 110, 117, 119; Crone, "Kavād's Heresy and Mazdak's Revolt," 33–34.

The topic of Anūsharwān's land-tax reforms, involving such questions as the stimulus for them (did the Mazdakite movement play any rôle here?), the precise nature of the reforms, and their social effects, has been long recognized as a crucial episode in Sāsānid history, one with repercussions that continued into the early Islamic period for the land and fiscal systems in the Persian lands and Iraq.

Al-Ṭabarī's account is basic, and is largely corroborated by the poetic one in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāmah*; the ultimate source must have been the *Khwadāy-nāmag*, as also for al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 71–72, in his parallel section on the land tax in the time of Anūsharwān. But the Italian scholar Mario Grignaschi has, in a series of publications, drawn attention to several other little-known but relevant sources. These include the anonymous *Nihāyat al-arab fī akhbār al-Furs wa-al-'Arab*, in the past attributed to the philologist al-Aṣma'ī but in fact by some unknown author of the third/ninth century, still substantially unpublished (but see below), and rejected by Nöldeke, trans. 475–76, as an inferior version of al-Dīnawarī's *Long Histories*. See Grignaschi, "La *Nihāyatu l-'arab fī aḫbāri-l-Furs wa-l-'Arab* (première partie)," 15–67; idem, "La *Nihāyatu 'l-arab fī aḫbāri l-Furs wa-l-'Arab* et les *Siyaru mulūki l-'Aǧam* du Ps. Ibn al-Muqaffa'," 83–102. There is further a *Sīrat Anūshirwān*, which claims to be the emperor's autobiography and which is preserved within the text of the Būyid historian Mis-

They imposed the poll tax on everyone except for people from noble families, great men, warriors, hērbadhs, secretaries, and those in the king's service, and made them liable for it according to four levels, of twelve, eight, six, and four dirhams according to the richness or poverty of the person in question.[625] The poll tax

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kawayh's *Tajārib al-umam*. See Grignaschi, "Quelques spécimens de la littérature sassanide conservée dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," 16–45.

Grignaschi used these sources in his closely argued article "La riforma tributaria di Ḫosrō I e il feudalesimo sassanide," 87–138, to which he appended the texts of relevant extracts from the above-mentioned *Sīrat Anūshirwān* and the *Nihāyat al-arab* bearing on Khusraw's reforms. The topic has been recently subjected to a thoroughgoing analysis by Zeev Rubin in his "The Reforms of Khusro Anūshirwān," 227–97. Rubin compares the relevant sections of al-Ṭabarī, the *Nihāyah*, and al-Dīnawarī and notes that the account of the *Nihāyah* is perceptibly less favorable to Khusraw than al-Ṭabarī's: instead of the vigorous, single-minded monarch of the latter historian, the *Nihāyah*'s Khusraw emerges as a somewhat hesitant person who has to explain and justify his proposed reforms. All three accounts neverthless seem to go back to a common tradition put together in early 'Abbāsid times within Shu'ūbī circles.

The social and political chaos of the decades before Khusraw's accession were obviously a stimulus for the fiscal reforms begun by Kawād and carried through by his son. Rubin also avers that we should examine the reforms against the background of the general economic situation of the Sāsānid state. First, it benefited from the commerce of the Orient, which had largely to pass through its territories or through Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea waters which the Persian could controled en route for the Mediterranean world. Nor were the financial subsidies that the Byzantine empire had to pay as the price of peace in the Near East negligible contributions to the economic health of Persia. Second, the fiscal reforms should be considered together with Khusraw's military reforms, already examined by Geo Widengren as part of his general survey of the Persian army as a feudal force from Achaemenid to Sāsānid times (see his "Recherches sur le feudalisme iranien," 152–74. There is also particular detail on military affairs in the *Sīrat Anūshīrwān*, see Grignaschi, "Quelques spécimens de la littérature sassanide conservée dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," 20–21). Despite the envisaged rise in revenue yields envisaged by the reforms, there does not seem ever to have been enough money available to finance a large, professional army of mailed cavalrymen directly recruited and paid by the monarch and freeing him from dependence on the military services of the great noble families of Persia and their retinues. Hence there seems to have evolved the practice of bringing in manpower from non-Persian, mercenary sources, such as Turks and Hephthalites from Central Asia and Bactria, Daylamīs from the Elburz mountain region, and Arabs from the desert fringes of Iraq. Khusraw was here continuing a process already begun under Kawād, who had regained his throne and been kept in power by the backing of Hephthalite mercenaries, links with the Hephthalites having been forged during his enforced exile within their lands in the 490s.

Finally, the course and development of Khusraw's fiscal system are briefly touched upon by Rubin. The system must have changed even within the course of his long reign, and was already showing signs of decay by the end of that time. The

was not to be levied on those below twenty or above fifty years of age. They brought their tax assessments before Kisrā; he approved them and ordered them to be put into force and for tax collecting to be done on their basis annually, in three installments each of four months. These he called '.*b.rās.yār* (?), meaning "an arrangement mutually agreed upon by all."[626] It was these tax assessments 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb followed when he conquered the Persian lands and levied taxation on the "protected peoples" (*ahl al-dhimmah*) there, except that he levied taxation on every uncultivated (*ghāmir*) piece of land according to its potential yield, at the same rate as he levied on sown land. Also, he levied on every *jarīb*
[963] of land growing wheat or barley from one to two additional *qafīz*s

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control system of the provincial judges, in fact district mōbadhs of the Zoroastrian state church (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 963, p. 261 below) probably proved no less susceptible to corrupt practices than any other officials in a similar situation. Under Khusraw's son and successor Hormizd IV, the great military families of the provinces gained excessive opportunities for exploiting the peasantry, and Rubin speculates that Hormizd's reputed violence against the military aristocracy (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 988–89, p. 295 below) may have been a desperate attempt to stem corruption and oppression and to salvage something of Khusraw's sytem. The cataclysmic events toward the end of Khusraw II Abarwēz's reign must have plunged the system into deeper malfunction. It nevertheless survived intact enough to be taken over by the Muslims when they overran Iraq and Persia, basically as the *misāḥah* system, but was at least in part converted into *muqāsamah* in the early 'Abbāsid period, a reversion to the system before the reforms of Kawād and Anūsharwān. See Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, 109–13.

625. The poll tax (see n. 619 above) had previously been a fixed sum that the assessors and collectors had had to divide out as best they could. The exemptions for the royal family, aristocracy, soldiers (al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 71, specifies here *marāzibah* and *asāwirah* [al-Ṭabarī has, less specifically, for these two classes *'uẓamā'* and *muqātilah*] and *kuttāb*), secretaries, and the Zoroastrian priests increased their position as privileged castes. While the tax liabilities of the middle and lower classes were theoretically meant to compensate for the royal service and religious duties that they were unable to perform, in practice, payment of these taxes amounted to an acknowledgment of social inferiority. As mentioned in n. 619 above, the existence of this Sāsānid institution may have been a contributory factor when the nascent Islamic state evolved the poll tax (*jizyah*) and applied it to the Dhimmīs as a mark of their social and religious degradation and second-class citizenship compared with the Muslim Arabs, but this is speculative.

626. This term is wholly obscure. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 71, says that the warehouses where the three installments of collected produce were stored were called *sarāy simarrah* (text, *shimarrah*), i.e., "house for the three (*sic*) times (*marrah*) [of collection]"; cf. the loan word in Arabic *samarjā* or *samaraj*, see Asya Asbaghi, *Persische Lehnwörter im Arabischen*, 165: "Steuer in drei Stufen."

of wheat; this he used for feeding his army.[627] But in the specific case of Iraq, 'Umar did not make any arrangements contrary to those of Kisrā regarding the *jarīb*s of land and regarding the date palms, olive trees, and the heads [of those liable to the poll tax], and he excluded from liability to taxation the people's means of daily sustenance, as Kisrā had done.[628]

Kisrā ordered the new tax assessments to be written down in several copies. One copy was to be kept in his own chancery close at his hand; one copy was sent to the land-tax collectors (*'ummāl al-kharāj*) for them to collect taxation on its basis; and another copy was sent to the judges of the administrative divisions (*quḍāt al-kuwar*). The judges were charged with the duty of intervening between the tax collectors and the people if the tax collectors in the administrative districts attempted to raise an additional sum above the amount laid down in the master copy of the tax assessment in the chancery, of which they had received a copy. Also, the judges were to exempt from land tax those whose tillage or other tax-attracting produce had been damaged or badly affected in any way, according to the seriousness of that damage or defect. Regarding those persons liable for the poll tax who had died, or who had passed the age of fifty, collecting the taxation was likewise suspended; the judges were to write back to Kisrā about the tax exemptions here, which they had granted so that Kisrā might issue appropriate instructions to his tax collectors. Furthermore,

627. As with the *jarīb*, the *qafīz* was a measure both of surface area (one-tenth of a *jarīb*, i.e., 360 square *dhirā'*s or cubits, according to al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 66) and also one of capacity (ibid. 67–68, giving the varying equivalences of the basically Iraqi *qafīz* for different parts of the Persian lands, where the *manā* was the normal measure for capacity). See Nöldeke, trans. 246 n. 6; Bosworth, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art," 148–50, citing information from W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte umgerechnet ins metrische System*, 16–23.

628. On 'Umar's *misāḥah*, see Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*, 22ff., and Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, 119–20. Regarding 'Umar's procedure over the land tax, there are actually contradictory reports in the Arabic sources concerned with the postconquest Sawād of Iraq. Thus according to al-Māwardī, 'Umar imposed on the Sawād a flat rate of one dirham and one *qafīz* of produce for the provisioning of the Arab warriors (but in other parts of Iraq, the rate varied according to the crop); but according to Abū Yūsuf, 'Umar taxed land according to the crop grown there. In reality, the disparity only arises, suggested Dennett, because the two viewpoints reflect changes in 'Umar's prescriptions here.

the judges were not to let the tax collectors levy taxation on persons aged less than twenty.[629]

Kisrā had appointed over the department of the warriors (*dīwān al-muqātilah*) a man from the secretarial class who was outstanding for his noble birth, martial virtues, sufficiency, and capability, called Bābak, son of '.l.y.r.wān (?).[630] This last said to Kisrā, "My function cannot properly be carried out unless I have a free hand at putting into practice what seems best to me for the good conduct of the king's affairs in regard to his army." Kisrā granted Bābak this. Bābak now gave orders for the construction of a platform in the place where army reviews were customarily held, carpets from Sūsanjird and woolen rugs were laid on it, and cushions provided for him to lean back upon. He then took up his place on all those coverings.

Bābak's herald now proclaimed throughout those troops present
[964] in Kisrā's army camp that the cavalrymen were to present themselves before him for inspection on their mounts and with their weapons, and the infantrymen with their requisite weapons. The troops massed together in front of him in the manner Bābak had stipulated they were to parade, but he did not see Kisrā present in their ranks, so he told them to go back. His herald made the same proclamation on the next day, and the troops gathered round him again; but when he still could not discern Kisrā among them, he told them to go back and reappear before him next morning. He instructed his herald to proclaim on the third day, "Let no one present in the army camp lag behind, even if he is honored by possessing a crown and a throne," for Bābak had resolved that there should be no exception in his favor and no partiality shown to him (i.e., to Kisrā). The message reached Kisrā, and he placed the crown on his head, girded on the weapons of a soldier, and then went along to Bābak so that he might present himself for inspection by him.

The equipment that a cavalryman of the army had to take along with him comprised horse mail, soldier's mailed coat, breastplate,

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629. These judges from the religious institution were presumably mōbadhs who administered the Zoroastrian church law; here they are charged with protecting the taxpayers from tyranny and exploitation by the taxcollectors.

630. Nöldeke, trans. 247, though that this name might be Bīrawān (?); it is equally corruptly written in al-Dīnawarī's passage on the Sāsānid army review, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 72–73, as al-Nahrawān.

leg armor plates, sword, lance, shield, mace, and, fastened at his waist, a girdle, battle axe, or club, a bow case containing two bows with their strings, thirty arrows, and finally, two plaited cords, which the rider let hang down his back from his helmet.[631] Kisrā presented himself for inspection before Bābak with his weapons all complete except for the two cords he was supposed to tie on his back. Bābak did not pass over his name, but said to him, "O king, you are standing in such a place where all are treated equally, where no partiality on my part can be shown nor any relaxation! So step forward with all the requisite kinds of weapons!" At that point, Kisrā remembered the matter of the two cords, so he let them hang down.

Bābak's herald now sang out in a loud voice, saying, "For the brave warrior, lord of brave warriors, four thousand and one dirhams,"[632] and Bābak passed over his name. Then the king returned home. Now Bābak used to give the king a pay rate superior to that of the rest of the soldiers by one dirham. When Bābak got [965] up from his seat [on the platform], he went to Kisrā and told him, "The lack of consideration that I showed you today, O king, was only so that the function with which you charged me could be thereby properly discharged, because the most secure way of achieving the king's aim is his making my office as firmly based as possible." Kisrā replied, "We don't regard as any lack of consideration for us a procedure that I desire for the furtherance of the welfare of my subjects and by means of which the injury of an injured person may be set right."[633]

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631. Nöldeke, trans. 248 n. 2, noted that Firdawsī adds to the list the lassoo, characteristic of steppe-dwelling herdsmen, and mentioned by Herodotus, VII. 85, as a weapon of the Iranian tribe of the Sagartians, possibly to be located in northeastern Persia.

632. The "and one" is supplied from the parallel passage in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 73, as done by Nöldeke in trans. 249, cf. n. 1, and noted in text, n. *e*; without this amendment, the point made just afterward is lost.

633. Bābak's rôle as head of the military department corresponds to that of the *'āriḍ* who presided over the department of the army, *dīwān al-jaysh, dīwān al-jund*, in the 'Abbāsid caliphate and the *dīwān al-'arḍ* in such successor states to it in the Persian lands as those of the Sāmānids, Ṣaffārids, Būyids, and Ghaznavids. The institution of regular inspections of troops was probably an ancient one in Persia. According to Widengren, in Achaemenid times, the Persian army had a rallying point, apparently termed the **handaisa-* < *handēz*, corresponding to Xenophon's *exetasis*, and there was a secretary, the *rēš dupšarri ša ūqu* who fulfilled the rôle of Bābak here. From the evidence of the Bablyonian Talmud, the

Kisrā now dispatched to Yemen an army under the command of a man from the people of Yemen called Sayfān b. Ma'dī Karib—some authorities aver, however, that he was called Sayf b. Dhī Yazan—which killed the blacks there (i.e., the Abyssinians) and conquered the land.[634] Having secured the submission of the land of Yemen, Kisrā sent one of his commanders, with a numerous army, against Sarandīb, the land of precious stones, in the land of India.[635] The commander attacked its king, killed him, and seized control of it, sending back from there to Kisrā abundant wealth and many jewels.

In the land of Persia there were no jackals (*banāt āwā*),[636] but

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related term *andesaq* seems to have been used in Arsacid times. The account given here by al-Ṭabarī and also by al-Dīnawarī of the Sāsanīd army inspection is distinctly imaginative in its details, and can hardly be accepted as firm evidence for detailed Sāsānid practice here. Yet it is likely that there was some department of the bureaucracy concerned with the army and its standard of effectiveness, and precampaign inspections of the Persian army, in the presence of the monarch and the commanders appointed to lead that expedition, are mentioned by Procopius (Christensen, *Sassanides*, 213–14). The *Sīrat Anūshirwān* mentions these reviews held by the emperor, and says that they took place in the presence of the *qā'id* or commander, the *pādhguspān* or commander-in-chief of the force (the later *ispahbadh*), the *qāḍī* or judge, and a trusty secretary appointed directly by the king (*amīn min qibalinā*). See Widengren, "Recherches sur le feudalisme iranien," 152ff.; Grignaschi, "Quelques spécimens de la littérature sassanide conservée dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," 20 and n. 48.

For the Islamic period, we have a detailed account of the *'arḍ* as practiced in the Ṣaffārid army under 'Amr b. al-Layth (r. 265–87/879–900) in which the Amīr, like Khusraw Anūsharwān, had to be inspected by the *'āriḍ* and passed fit for service just like every other soldier. The authority for this is al-Sallāmī, author of a lost history of the governors of Khurāsān, cited in Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān*. Ibn Khallikān juxtaposes this with al-Ṭabarī's account of the Sāsānid inspection in the time of Anūsharwān (actually cited via the historian of Aleppo Ibn al-'Adīm), and notes the similarity between the two procedures. A modern historian like Barthold observed that the resemblances could hardly be coincidental. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, 421–23, tr. de Slane, IV, 322–24; W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*[3], 221; Bosworth, "The Armies of the Ṣaffārids," 549–50.

634. This seems to be a purely Persian piece of historical information, perhaps compressed by al-Ṭabarī because of its contradictions with the story of Wahriz's South Arabian expedition given by him at considerable length in I, 952–58, p. 245–51 above. According to Nöldeke, trans. 250 n. 1, we should correct the text's Sayfān (which in Persian would mean "son of Sayf") to Sayf b. Dhī Yazan.

635. Sarandīb was the name given to the island of Ceylon in mediaeval Islamic geographical and historical literature; see *EI*[2], s.v. Sarandīb (C. E. Bosworth). It was famed in Islamic lore for its supposed wealth. The story of a Sāsānid conquest of Ceylon is, of course, pure legend.

636. The jackal (*canis aureus* or *anthus*, in Persian, *shaghāl*) is in fact widely distributed today in Persia. See Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, *Persia*, 209–10.

some of them infiltrated into Persia from the land of the Turks during the reign of Kisrā Anūsharwān. News of this reached Kisrā, and caused him anguish. He summoned the Chief Mōbadh and told him, "We have heard about the appearance of those wild beasts in our land, and it has distressed the people. We are, however, astonished that they consider such an insignificant occurrence as so portentous; tell us what you think about all this." The Chief Mōbadh replied, "O king—may God grant you long life—I have heard our scholars learned in the divine law say that, so long as justice does not overlay tyranny in a land and itself becomes obliterated, the people of that land will be afflicted by incursions of their enemies against them, and all sorts of unpleasant things will gradually come upon them. I have become afraid lest the infiltration of these wild beasts into your land is connected with what I have just told you." Very soon afterward, the news reached [966] Kisrā that a band of Turkish youths had raided the furthest boundaries of his land. He ordered his ministers and provincial governors not to go beyond what was just in the course of their official duties and not to act in any way during the course of those duties except justly. Because of this policy of acting justly, God deflected that enemy from Kisrā's land without his having to make war on them or to undertake great trouble in repelling them.[637]

Kisrā had several handsomely educated sons. From out of those, he appointed as his successor to the throne Hurmuz, whose mother was the daughter of Khātūn and Khāqān,[638] because he knew Hurmuz to be a person who would act with circumspection and fidelity to his word, and because he hoped through this appointment that Hurmuz would keep the kingdom in order and would show strength in directing the government of the land and in ruling over the subjects and treating them suitably.[639]

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637. The story of an invasion of jackals into Iraq appears in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 74, but with no mention of an incursion of Turkish youths; here, the depredations of the jackals are attributed to the existence of tyranny and injustice within Anūsharwān's lands, remedied by his appointing a commission of thirteen agents to enquire into the matter, as a result of which the king executed ninety evil officials *pour décourager les autres*. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 251 n. 1.

638. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 899, p. 160 above.

639. Anūsharwān's designation of Hormizd (IV) sprang no doubt from his mother's royal birth. According to such sources as al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 74–75, and al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 187, the king passed over his other sons because they had mothers of lowly origin and were only *awlād sūqah*, and chose Hormizd after

The birth of the Messenger of God took place during the reign of Kisrā Anūsharwān, in the year when Abrahah al-Ashram Abū Yaksūm marched against Mecca with the Abyssinians, bringing with him the elephant, having the intention of demolishing the Holy House of God. It happened after forty-two years of Kisrā Anūsharwān's reign had elapsed.[640] In this same year also was the

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carefully observing his worthy behavior. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 252 n. 3.

640. This would make it the year 573. The question of the birth date of Muḥammad is unusually speculative and controversial. A key point is what al-Ṭabarī mentions here, i.e., the date of Abrahah's expedition against Mecca in the "Year of the Elephant," with which the Prophet's birth date is held to coincide. But since the early Islamic historical tradition does not date this expedition, a date of 570 has been calculated backward from the fact that Muḥammad's first call to prophethood, the *mabḥath*, fell approximately in 610 and from the saying that he was about forty years old when he received this call.

However, this date of 570, while repeated in many of the biographies of Muḥammad, is contradicted both by evidence outside the Islamic tradition, principally from what we know about South Arabian history in the mid-sixth century, and by some reports within the Islamic tradition, which give widely differing dates up to twenty years after the "Year of the Elephant." Already more than 120 years ago, Nöldeke, trans. 204 n. 2, saw that the traditional dating was untenable, adducing among other things Ibn al-Kalbī's assertion that Muḥammad's birth was twenty-three years after Abrahah's expedition (also in his *Geschichte des Qorāns*, I, 67–70). Lammens pointed out that, if one takes ten years off the traditional birth date of 570, i.e., placing Muḥammad's birth in 580 so that he was fifty-two years old when he died, there is a correspondence with the date for the Prophet's death given by Barhebraeus in his *Mukhtaṣar Ta'rīkh al-Duwal*, ed. A. Ṣāliḥānī, Beirut 1890, 160, i.e., 892 of the Seleucid era = A.D. 580 (unfortunately Barhebraeus does not say how he acquired this date); see Lammens, "L'âge de Mahomet et la chronologie de la Sîra," 239–40. Various Islamic traditions stating that Muḥammad was not born in the "Year of the Elephant" have been listed by Kister, see n. 563 above. What we know of Abrahah's policy in pushing his dominion northward from Yemen into Ḥijāz and central Arabia places his activities in the 550s, as attested by the well of Murayghān inscription from 552–53. Whether an attack on Mecca was part of the campaign of Abrahah to Ḥulubān or another campaign mounted into Ḥijāz shortly afteward is discussed in n. 563 above. All in all, it does not seem feasible to uphold the date of 570 as being that of the Prophet's birth. Furthermore, L. I. Conrad, in a detailed discussion of the whole topic, has pointed out how little interested were the Arabs of north and central Arabia in questions of firm dating and chronology, seen in the vagueness and confusedness over the chronological order and relationship to each other of the *ayyām al-'Arab*, the battles of the pre-Islamic Arabs. Hence the figure of forty years for Muḥammad's life before his call to *nubuwwah*—apart from the fact that "forty" is a literary topos in both ancient and mediaeval times for a number with connotations of perfection, completion, and culmination—must be regarded as a symbolic rather than a chronologically exact one. See his "Abraha and Muḥammad. Some Observations Apropos of Chronology and Literary Topoi in the Early Arabic Historical Tradition," 225–40.

"Day of Jabalah," one of the celebrated "days" (i.e., battles) of the Arabs.[641]

641. Jabalah, an isolated mountain in Najd some 150 km/90 miles south of 'Unayzah (al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, II, 365–66; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 104), was the scene of the *yawm [shi'b] Jabalah* or *yawm al-Nūq* between 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah and 'Abs on one side, and Tamīm, supported by Dhubyān, Asad, a contingent from al-Ḥīrah and men of Kindah from the Āl Jawnah then ruling in Baḥrayn (see n. 312 above), accounted as one of the most celebrated battles of the Arabs. 'Āmir and their allies were victorious, and one result was the shattering of Kindī power in Najd (see Olinder, "Āl al-Ǧaun of the Family of Ākil al-Murār," 214–25; because two members of the line of Jawn took part in the battle, the encounter is also known as the *yawm al-Jawnayn*). The historical traditions vary concerning the date of the "Day of Jabalah"; some place it in the year of Muḥammad's birth, others seventeen or nineteen years before that. In reality, if the Lakhmid king who sent a contingent was, as the historical traditions say, al-Nu'mān (III) b. al-Mundhir (IV), then the date cannot be before 580, the year of his accession. See Caskel, *Aiyām al-'Arab. Studien zur altarabischen Epik*, 11, 34, 36–37, 62, translating at 95–97 part of the *Naqā'iḍ Jarīr wa-al-Farazdaq*, II, 654ff., describing the "Day"; *EI*², s.vv. Djabala (F. Buhl-R. L. Headley), Shi'b Djabala (I. Shahîd).

Mention of the Birth of the Messenger of God

There related to us Ibn al-Muthannā—Wahb b. Jarīr—his father, who said: I heard Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Qays b. Makhramah—his father—his grandfather, who said:
[967] The Messenger of God and myself were born in the Year of the Elephant.

He related: ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān asked Qubāth b. Ashyam, a member of the Banū ʿAmr b. Layth, "Who is the greater in build (*akbar*), you or the Messenger of God?" He replied, "The Messenger of God is greater in build than I, although I preceded him in date of birth (*anā aqdam minhu fī al-mīlād*); I saw the elephant's dung, dark colored and reduced to a powdery form, one year after the beast's appearance. I also saw Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams as a very old man being led around by his slave." His son said, "O Qubāth, you have the best knowledge; what do you say?"

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Qays b. Makhramah—his father—his grandfather Qays b. Makhramah, who said: The Messenger of God and myself were born in the Year of the Elephant, and we were coevals of each other.

There was narrated to me a narrative going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the Messenger of God's father, was born in the twenty-fourth year of Kisrā Anūsharwān's period of power, and the Messenger of God was born in the forty-second year of his period of power.[642]

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642. That is, ʿAbdallāh would have been born, on this reckoning, in 555 and his son Muḥammad in 573.

I was informed by Yūsuf b. Mu'īn—Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās, who said: The Messenger of God was born in the Year of the Elephant.

I was informed by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir—'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Thābit—al-Zubayr b. Mūsā—Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, who said: I heard 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān say to Qubāth b. Ashyam al-Kinānī al-Laythī, O Qubāth, who is the greater in body, you or the Messenger of God?" He replied, "The Messenger of God was greater in body than me, but I am older than him. The Messenger of God was born in the Year of the Elephant, and my mother stood with me by a pile of the elephant's dung, when it was crumbling away to powder, at a time when I was nevertheless able to understand what it was."

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: The Messenger of God was born in the Year of the Elephant, [968] on Monday, the twelfth of the month of Rabī' I. It is said that he was born in the house known as that of Ibn Yūsuf. It is further said that the Messenger of God gave this house to 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, who retained ownership of it until he died, when his son sold it to Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, brother of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. Muḥammad rebuilt the house called that of Ibn Yūsuf, and incorporated that new part into the house as a whole. Later, al-Khayzurān separated the new part from the house as a whole and made it into a mosque, which then came into use for public worship.[643]

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: Among what people relate is the assertion—but God is the most knowing [about the truth]—that Āminah bt. Wahb, the Messenger of God's mother, used to relate that when she became pregnant, people came to her and said, "You are bearing the lord of this community (*sayyid hādhihi al-ummah*), and when he drops to the ground [from you], exclaim, 'I seek refuge in the One God—from the evil of every envious one,' and then name him Muḥammad." When she was pregnant with him, she dreamed that there came forth from her a light, by which she could discern the for-

643. Muḥammad had made this house over to 'Alī's half-brother 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib when he left Mecca on the Hijrah to Medina; with al-Khayzurān's purchase of it, the house returned to the family of Hāshim. See al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 422; Nabia Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad, Mother and Wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd*, 118–19.

tresses (*quṣūr*) of Buṣrā in the land of Syria.[644] When she actually gave birth to him, she sent a message to the child's grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib: "A baby boy has been born for you, so come and see him." He indeed came along and saw the child, and she told him about the dream she had had while pregnant with the child, what had been told her regarding him and what she had been commanded to call the child.[645]

There related to us Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Qazzāz—Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhrī—'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Imrān—'Abdallāh b.

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644. Buṣrā or Boṣrā was an ancient town of the Ḥawrān in southern Syria, to the south of the modern Jabal al-Durūz. At the time of Muḥammad's birth it was an important center of Byzantine power and of Eastern Christianity. Muslim legend later made the Arabs' capture of Buṣrā, the first town of the Byzantines to fall into their hands, into a sign of divine favor for Muḥammad's mission. It also had a continued fame as the place to which the youthful Muḥammad is said to have journeyed in the company of his uncle Abū Ṭālib and where he is said to have met the Christian monk Baḥīrā or Buḥayrā, who foretold the boy's coming greatness as a prophet. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 441–42; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 425–26; T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, 38; M. Lings. *Muhammad, His Life based on the Earliest Sources*, 29–30; *EI*², s.vv. Baḥīrā and Boṣrā (A. Abel).

645. Āminah bt. Wahb b. 'Abd al-Manāf was from the Meccan clan of Zuhrah. Her apparently uxorilocal marriage with 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was ended by the latter's premature death (see n. 662 below), and she herself died when Muḥammad was only six years old, leaving him to his paternal grandfather's care. See *EI*², s.v. Āmina (W. M. Watt). Popular belief and lore in early Islam attributed various supernatural details to Aminah's pregnancy and the birth of Muḥammad, including the story of the dream of divine radiance, "the light of prophethood," the averring that she was bearing "the lord of this community," and the remarkable ease of her giving birth to him, clean, with cut umbilical cord and circumcised, after which the infant placed his hands on the ground and gave thanks to heaven. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 102, 106 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 166–67, 175, tr. 69, 72; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, I/1, 60–61, 63–64. On the topic of Muḥammad's being born circumcised and the fact that, according to some traditions, Muḥammad was only one of a series of prophets born circumcised, see Kister, " . . . And he was born circumcised. . . . ' Some Notes on Circumcision in Ḥadīth," 10–30 and esp. 13–16.

Modern scholars have pointed out the resemblance of many of these details to the stories of the birth and early life of other great religious leaders. Thus the *nūr muḥammadī* parallels the old Iranian idea of the divine fortune or glory of kings, *xvarənah*, MP *farrah*, NP *farr* (see n. 232 above), which manifested itself, according to the account in the *Dēnkard*, at the time of Zoroaster's birth, and the light at the births of Krishna and the Buddha, while the announcement of Aminah's forthcoming delivery of a child is like that of Mary glorying in her conception of Jesus in the Magnificat. See I. Goldziher, "Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīṯ," 328–30; Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds*, 28–33, 319–21; idem, *Mohammed, sein Leben und Glaube*, 28–29

'Uthmān b. Abī Sulaymān b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im—his father—Ibn Abī Suwayd al-Thaqafī—'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ—his mother, who said that she was present at the Messenger of God's mother [969]
Āminah bt. Wahb's giving birth, this being during the night, and Āminah said, "What is this thing which I can see from the house, lighting everything up, and I can also see the stars drawing near me to such a point that I can say that they are falling on top of me."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: People assert that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib picked up the child and took it along to Hubal,[646] in the heart of the Ka'bah, and stood by him, praying to God and giving thanks for what He had vouchsafed him. Then he went forth with the child and handed him over to his mother. He sought out for the child foster mothers,[647] and asked a woman to foster him, one from the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr called Ḥalīmah bt. Abī Dhu'ayb, Abū Dhu'ayb being 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Shijnah b. Jābir b. Rizām b. Nāṣirah b. Quṣiyyah b. Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Manṣūr b. 'Ikrimaha b. Khaṣafah b. Qays b. 'Aylān b. Muḍar. The name of the Messenger of God's foster father was al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Rifā'ah b. Mallān b. Nāṣirah b. Quṣiyyah b. Sa'd b, Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Manṣūr b. 'Ikrimah b. Khaṣafah b. Qays b. 'Aylān b. Muḍar. The names of his foster brother and sisters were 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith, and Unaysah bt. al-Ḥārith and Judhāmah[648] bt. al-Ḥārith, respectively. The latter was in practice called al-Shaymā',[649] a name that prevailed over her proper name so that,

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646. The cult of the god Hubal was said to have been introduced into Mecca by a man of Khuzā'ah, 'Amr b. Luḥayy. He became an especially popular god in the pantheon of the Ka'bah, before whom divination by means of arrows (cleromancy, the *istiqsām bi-al-azlām* of Qur'ān, V, 4/3), so that Wellhausen speculated (*Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 75) whether the worship of Hubal was not identical with, or paved the way for, the worship of Allāh there. This seems, however, unlikely, especially as, at the battle of Uḥud in the course of the warfare between Quraysh of Mecca and the Muslims in Medina, the clash between the Meccans' god Hubal and the Muslims' Allāh is stressed. See Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, 95–103; *EI*², s.v. Hubal (T. Fahd).

647. *ruḍa'ā'*, literally "children suckling at the breast," sing. *raḍī'*, hence used here by metonymy for "foster mothers" or for some expression like *dhawāt* or *ulāt/ūlāt al-raḍā'ah*.

648. In parallel sources we have the variants Khidhāmah and Ḥudhāfah for this name.

649. Literally, "the woman marked by a mole (*shāmah*)."

among her people, she was known exclusively by it. [The mother of these foster siblings was] Ḥalīmah bt. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith, (foster) mother of the Messenger of God. It is asserted that al-Shaymāʾ used to carry the Messenger of God in her bosom, as also did her own mother while the boy was in her care.[650]

As for the report from an authority other than Ibn Isḥāq, he relates concerning that: There related to me al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Mūsā b. Shaybah—ʿUmayrah bt. ʿUbaydallāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik—Barrah bt. Abī Tujzaʾah, who said:
[970] The first person who suckled the Messenger of God for a few days was Thuwaybah, with milk for a son of hers called Masrūḥ, before Ḥalīmah was put forward; she had previously suckled Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and after him she suckled Abū Salamah b. ʿAbd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī.

There related to us Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, also Hannād b. al-Sarī—Yūnus b. Bukayr—Ibn Isḥāq, also Hārūn b. Idrīs al-Aṣamm—al-Muḥāribī—Ibn Isḥāq, also Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā al-Umawī—his paternal uncle Muḥammad b. Saʿīd—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Jahm b. Abī al-Jahm, a mawlā of ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, who said: Ḥalīmah bt. Abī Dhuʾayb al-Saʿdiyyah, the Messenger of God's (foster) mother who suckled him, used to relate that she went forth from her land, accompanied by her husband and an infant son of hers whom she was nursing, with a group of women from the Banū Saʿd b. Bakr, seeking for babies whom they could foster. This was, she related, in a year of severe drought, which had left nothing. [She related:] I set out on a greyish-white she-ass of mine, together with an old she-camel which was not, by God, yielding a drop [of milk]. We could not sleep the whole night because of our child's crying from hunger. There was nothing in my breasts to satisfy him, and nothing in our she-camel to provide him with nourishment, but we were hoping for rain and for relief.

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650. Ḥalīmah's tribe Saʿd b. Bakr were part of the Hawāzin confederation, who lived in Ḥijāz in the vicinity of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif. When women of Saʿd b. Bakr were captured by Muḥammad on his defeat of Hawāzin at the battle of Ḥunayn in 8/630, he honored Ḥalīmah's daughter al-Shaymāʾ and responded favorably to appeals by the menfolk of the tribe on the basis of their foster relationship. See *EI*², s.vv. Ḥalīma bint Abī Dhuʾayb and Saʿd b. Bakr (W. M. Watt).

I set off on that she-ass of mine, but through weakness and emaciation it was jaded, and lagged behind the rest of the group until that became an irritation for them. Finally, we reached Mecca, where we sought for children to foster. The Messenger of God was offered to every one of the women, but each one rejected him when told that he was an orphan, since we hoped for the customary payment from the child's father. We would say, "An [971] orphan! And what are his mother and grandfather likely to do?" Hence for that reason we spurned him. Every woman in the group that had come with me had found a child to foster except myself. When we decided to depart, I said to my husband, "I dislike the idea of returning with my group of women companions without having taken a foster child; by God, I shall go back to that orphan and take him." My husband said, "You are free to do as you wish; perhaps God will send us a blessing on his account." She related: I took him up and brought him back to my traveling baggage. When I placed him in my bosom, my breasts immediately began to flow for him with all the milk he desired. He sucked until he was full up, as did also his (foster) brother. Then they both slept, whereas previously he had not been able to sleep. My husband arose and went to that old she-camel of ours and looked at it, and lo and behold, her udders were full. He milked it, and we both drank of the milk until we were finally refreshed and replete, and we passed a happy night. She related: When it was morning, my husband said to me, "By God, O Ḥalīmah, do you realize that you have taken a blessed creature?" I replied, "By God, I hope so." She related: Then we set off. I rode that she-ass of mine and carried him with me, and by God, she went ahead through the party of riders so that none of their other male asses could keep up with it, to the point that my women companions were saying to me, "O Ibnat Abī Dhu'ayb! Wait for us! Isn't this she-ass of yours the one on which you started out?" and they commented, "By God, there is something extraordinary about it!" She related: We then reached our camping grounds in the country of the Banū Sa'd; and [972] I do not known any of God's lands more barren than that.

[She related:] When we had him with us, my flock used to come back to us in the evening satiated and full of milk. We would milk them and drink the milk, while other people could not draw a drop or find anything in their beasts' udders, until those of our tribes

who had fixed dwelling places (*al-ḥāḍir min qawminā*) used to tell their shepherds, "Woe to you! Send your flocks to pasture where Ibnat Abī Dhu'ayb's shepherd sends his flock!" But their flocks nevertheless would come back in the evening hungry, not yielding a drop of milk, while my flock would come back satiated and full of milk. We kept on recognizing increased bounty from God through the child, until two years had gone by, when I weaned him. He was growing up into a boy such as none of the other lads were, so that by the time he was two years old, he was a well-formed child beyond the age of suckling. We brought him to his [real] mother, although we were very eager for him to continue staying with us because of the blessing we observed he had brought us. So we talked with his mother and said to her, "O wet nurse (*ẓi'r*),[651] I should like you to leave my little boy with me [for a further period], until he becomes big and sturdy, for I fear his succumbing to the plague in Mecca." She related: We kept on at her until she sent him back with us.[652]

She related: We brought him back, and by God, a few months after our return with him, he and his (foster) brother were with some lambs of ours, behind our tents, when his (foster) brother came running toward us and told me and his (foster) father, "Two men wearing white robes have come to that Qurashī brother of mine, and have laid him down on the ground and slit open his belly and are at this moment stirring it up." She related: His (foster) father and I ran swiftly out and found him standing there with a livid face. She related: His father and I rushed to his side and said to him, "What's the matter, my dear son?" He replied, "Two men wearing white robes came up to me, laid me down on the

651. As Guillaume observed, Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, trans. 71 n. 1, the implication that Āminah was not Muḥammad's biological mother is rather strange.

652. These miraculous events attending Ḥalīmah's suckling of the infant Muḥammad, the abundance of milk from the animals in time of dearth, and the revival of the flagging donkey, are part of the traditional *Sīrah* of the Prophet. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 103–105 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 171–73, tr. 70–71; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, I/1, 69–70; and cf. Lings, *Muhammad*, 25–26. See for modern discussions of these miraculous details, Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds*. 28ff.; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 117–17; Watt. *Muhammad at Mecca*, 33–36; Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger. The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety*, 10.

ground, slit open my belly, and searched within it for something I know not what." She said: We took him back with us to our tent. She related: His (foster) father said to me: "O Ḥalīmah, by God, I fear that this child may have been struck by some malady, so take [973] him back to his family before the results of the attack become manifest." She related: So we picked him up and bore him back to his mother. She asked, "What has made you bring him back, O wet nurse, when you were formerly so anxious for his welfare and for his remaining with you?" She related: I said, "God has allowed my (foster) son to grow up so far, and I have fulfilled the duties incumbent upon me. I now fear that something untoward may afflict him, so I have handed him back to you as you desire." Āminah asked me, "What's all this that has happened to you? Tell me the truth!" She related: She would not leave me alone until I had told her the whole story. She asked, "Were you then afraid a demon (*al-shayṭān*) had possessed him?" She related: I replied, "Yes." She exclaimed, "By God, indeed no! No demon has power over him. My dear son has a great future before him; shall I not tell you his story?" She related: I answered, "Yes, please." Āminah said, "When I became pregnant with him, a light went forth from me which illuminated all the fortresses of Buṣrā in the land of Syria for me, and thereafter I bore him, and by God, I never had a pregnancy that was easier and smoother than the one with him. Then when I gave birth to him, he slid out, and placed his hands on the ground and raised his head toward the heavens. Leave him now, and go back with your task honorably fulfilled."

There related to us Naṣr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī—Muḥammad b. Yaʿlā—ʿUmar b. Ṣubayḥ—Thawr b. Yazīd al-Shaʾmī—Makḥūl al-Shaʾmī—Shaddād b. Aws, who said: Once, while we were sitting with the Messenger of God, there approached a shaykh of the Banū ʿĀmir, who was the leading chief and sayyid of his tribe and descendant of a great shaykh, leaning upon a staff, and appeared before the Messenger of God, standing here, and attributed the latter genealogically to his grandfather, saying thus, "O Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, I have been informed that you claim to be the Messenger of God to the people (*al-nās*) and that [you claim that] God has sent you with the message which He entrusted to Ibrāhīm (Abraham), Mūsā (Moses), ʿĪsā (Jesus), and

[974] other prophets. [I am further informed] that you have pronounced a momentous message (*fawwahta bi-ʿaẓīm*[in]).[653] But the prophets and the representatives of God (*al-khulafāʾ*) have stemmed only from two houses of the Children of Israel, whereas you come from a people who worship these stones and idols. So what connection have you with prophethood? Nevertheless, every utterance has its core of truth, so tell me about the truth of your words and the beginnings of your claim to prophethood." He related: The Prophet was pleasurably impressed by his question, and replied, "O brother of the Banū ʿĀmir, this affair you are asking me about has indeed its own story and place (or: occasion) where (or: when) it should be recounted, so sit down!"

The man bent his legs and then knelt down just as a camel does, and the Prophet faced him and began to speak. He said: "O brother of the Banū ʿĀmir, the truth of my words and the beginnings of my claim to prophethood lie in the fact that I am what my forefather Abraham prayed for and the good news of my brother Jesus, son of Mary. I was my mother's first born, and she conceived and bore me as the heaviest burden she had ever borne and began to complain of the weight she felt to her fellow wives (or: fellow womenfolk, *ṣawāḥibihā*). Then my mother saw in a dream that what she bore in her womb was a light, and she said, "I began to follow the light with my gaze, and the light went before my gaze until it lit up for me the whole eastern and western limits of the earth." Then she gave birth to me, and I grew up. When I grew up, the idols of Quraysh were rendered hateful to me, as was also poetry.[654] I was offered for suckling among the Banū Layth b. Bakr.[655]

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653. This seems to be the sense here of *fawwaha*, although the lexica only give the meaning for this form II verb of "[God] created someone with a wide mouth."

654. In the years at Mecca before his call to prophethood, Muḥammad is said to have recoiled from swearing by Allāt and al-ʿUzzā, but this premature rejection of polytheism may be a retrojection of subsequent attitudes. Also, Muḥammad's rejection of poetry was not presumably from lack of interest or for aesthetic reasons but, as is clear from Qur'ān, XXVI, 221–26, cf. LXIX, 40–43, because the themes of poetry were the expression par excellence of the old pagan order, with its violence, its emphasis on revenge, and its proclamation of trust in human effort as a major factor in life, attitudes which the new faith of Islam aimed at countering or transforming.

655. In al-Ṭabarī, I, 969, p. 271 above, Ḥalīmah's tribe is the Banū Saʿd b. Bakr. Layth b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt were one of the main branches of Kinānah; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 36, II, 6, 376.

One day, I was away from the rest of my people in the bottom of a wadi, with a group of children of my own age, and we were playing at throwing between us pieces of camels' dung. Suddenly, a group of three men approached us, bearing a gold pitcher filled with snow. They took me out of the group of my friends, and the latter fled until they reached the edge of the wadi. Then they came back to the group of three and said, "What do you intend to do with this lad? He is not one of us but is the son of the lord of Quraysh, and is an orphan, for whom a wet nurse was sought among us; he has no father. What good will killing him bring you, [975] and what will you gain from that? But if you are determined ineluctably on killing him, then choose one of us, whichever you like; let him come to you in his stead, and then kill him; but leave this lad alone, he is an orphan." However, when the children saw the group of three men returning no answer to them, they fled at top speed back to the tribe, telling them what had happened and imploring help against the men.

One of the three men came up to me and laid me gently on the ground, and then split open my body from the division of my rib cage (*mafraq ṣadrī*) to the end of the pubic hair, while I was watching all this but not feeling any touch at all. He then took out the viscera from my abdomen and washed them with that snow. He washed them carefully and replaced them. Then the second man stood up and said to his companion, "Stand aside," and he drew him away from me. He then put his hand into my insides and brought forth my heart, with me watching all the time. He split it asunder, extracted a black drop and threw the drop aside. He went on to say: In his hand, at his right side, there was as if he were holding something, and lo and behold, just by me was a seal ring in his hand, emitting light that dazzled anyone looking at it, and by means of which he sealed my heart so that it became filled with light; this was the light of prophethood and wisdom. Then he returned it to its place. I felt the coolness of that seal ring in my heart for a long time afterward. The third man now said to his companion, "Stand aside from me," and he passed his hand over my body from the division of my rib cage to the end of the pubic hair, and that slit was henceforth healed together, by God's permission. He now took my hand and gently made me get up from my resting place, and said to the first man, who had slit open my

body, "Weigh him against ten of his community!" They weighed me against them, and I outweighed them. Next he said, "Weigh him against a hundred of his community!" They weighed me against them, and I outweighed them. Finally he said, "Weigh him against a thousand of his community!" They weighed me against them, and I outweighed them. He then said, "Let him be; even if you were to weigh him against the whole of his community, he would outweigh them all!" He related: They then clasped me to
[976] their breasts, and kissed my head and the place between my eyes. They said to me, "O my dear one, you have not been rendered terrified. If only you knew the goodness and benefit that is intended through you, you would rejoice and be refreshed."

He related: While we were engaged thus, behold, I found the tribe at my side, who had come in their entirety, and there was my mother, who was [really] my wet nurse, in the forefront of the tribe, crying out at the top of her voice and saying, "Alas for a poor, weak one!" He related: They crowded round me and fell upon me, kissing my head and the place between my eyes, and said, "Good for you O poor, weak one!" Then my wet nurse lamented, "Alas for a solitary one!" at which they crowded round and fell upon me and clasped me to their breasts, kissing my head and the place between my eyes, and said, "Good for you, O solitary one, for you are not a solitary one—indeed God, His angels, and all the believers of the people of the earth are with you!" But my wet nurse still lamented, "Alas for an orphan, treated as a weak one among your companions and then killed because of your weakness!" at which they crowded round and fell upon me and clasped me to their breasts, kissing my head and the place between my eyes, and said, "Good for you, O orphan, how noble you are in the sight of God! If you only knew what goodness and blessing is intended through you!" He related: They [i.e., the three miraculous visitants] brought me to the edge of the wadi. When my mother, who was [really] my wet nurse, saw me, she cried out, "O my dear son! Do I really see you still alive?" and she came up to me, fell upon me and clasped me to her breast. And by Him in whose hand is my soul, I was within her bosom, she having clasped me to her, while my hand was still in the hand of one of the three men. I began to turn toward them, imagining that the members of the tribe could see them [also], but they could not in fact see them. One of the

members of the tribe commented, "Some touch of madness or a visitation of the jinn has affected this lad; let us take him along to our soothsayer and medicine man (*kāhin*), so that he may examine him and cure him." I said to him, "O so-and-so, nothing such as you mention has affected me; my mental faculties are intact and [977] my heart is sound; I am not afflicted by any malady."[656] My father said—he being the husband of my wet nurse—"Do you not perceive that what he says is the speech of a perfectly sound person? I fully expect that no affliction will permanently affect my son." They nevertheless agreed upon taking me along to the soothsayer, and they carried me until they came to him. When they related to him the story of what had happened to me, he told them, "Shut up, until I hear from the child himself, for he knows more about what happened to him than you do." He questioned me, and I told him my story, from beginning to end. When he had heard my words, he sprang up and clasped me to his breast, and then called out in the loudest possible voice, "O Arabs, O Arabs, forward! Kill this lad, and kill me with him, for by Allāt and al-ʿUzzā, if you let him be and he reaches the age of puberty, he will most certainly subvert your religion, declare your minds and those of your forefathers to be deluded, oppose your way of life, and bring forward for you a religion of whose like you have never heard." I made for my foster mother, and she snatched me away from his bosom, saying, "You yourself are certainly more deranged and more possessed by the jinn than this son of mine, and if I had only known that you would have made such a pronouncement as this, I would not have brought him along to you. Seek out for yourself someone who will kill you, for I am not going to kill this lad!" Then they bore me along and handed me back to my family. I subsequently lost all fear of what had been done to me, and the traces of that cut from my breast to the end of the pubic hair became just a faint line. This, O brother of the Banū ʿĀmir, is the truth of my words and the beginnings of my claim to prophethood.[657]

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656. *qalabah*, literally "a condition or malady for which the afflicted one should be turned over and examined," apparently a disease of camels and horses; according to the lexicographers, it was only used in negative contexts, as here. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 2554b–c.

657. The story of the opening of Muḥammad's breast has been first given by al-

The ʿĀmirī exclaimed, "I call to witness God, than whom there is no other god, that your calling is a true one, so give me information about various things I am going to ask you." The Prophet replied, "Ask what you want (*sal ʿanka*)" (before this, the Prophet always used to say to a questioner, "Ask whatever you wish and about what seems good to you," *sal ʿammā shiʾta wa-ʿammā badā laka;* he only said to the ʿĀmirī on that particular day *sal ʿanka* because that was a dialectical peculiarity [*lughah*] of the Banū ʿĀmir). The Prophet spoke to him concerning what he knew.

[978] The ʿĀmirī said, "Tell me, O Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, about that which increases one's knowledge." The Prophet re-

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Ṭabarī at I, 972–73, pp. 274–75 above, on the basis of four *isnād*s all going through Ibn Isḥāq and in a fairly brief form. It is now given in greater detail in a *khabar* going back to Shaddād b. ʿAmr b. Thābit (nephew of the poet of Medina Ḥassān b. Thābit, died 58/678; see Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, VII/2, 124). Then thirdly, we have at I, 979, p. 282 below, a briefer version in a *khabar* going back to Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Kalāʿī (known as an ascetic and as a trustworthy authority, *thiqah*, for *ḥadīth* transmission, died 103/721–22; see Ibn Saʿd, op. cit., VII/2, 162). Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 105–06 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 173–76, tr. 71–72, gives, of course, the first version, that through Ibn Isḥāq, as does Ibn Saʿd, op. cit., I/1, 70.

Again, this story can be paralleled in the lore and legend of many other human societies. The visitation by angels or spirits, the slitting open of Muḥammad's belly, the removal of the black spot of sin and purification by washing with snow, all suggest ritual cleansing and the communication of extraordinary powers. In the Jāhiliyyah, it was often held that the *jinn* could communicate poetic inspiration to a man by similar means. Goldziher, in his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, I, 213, cited as a parallel to the history of the opening of Muḥammad's breast what the sister of the poet of al-Ṭāʾif, Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt (on whom see n. 603 above) is said to have told the Prophet that a *jinnī* in the form of a vulture opened the breast of the sleeping Umayyah, filled his breast with something unspecified and then closed it up. This gave the prophet Umayyah the inspiration for introducing wise aphorisms (*ḥikmah*) into his poems and also the idea of divine unity (*tawḥīd*).

What connection the story of Muḥammad and his supernatural visitants has with the words of Qurʾān, XCIV, 1–2, "Did We not open your breast, And removed from you your burden?" is unclear. The Qurʾān commentators take this figuratively rather than literally (i.e., with the verb *sharaḥa* in *a-lam nashraḥ ṣadraka* taken as meaning "to remove, lift away" rather than "to cut open": see Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, 515–16; Bell, *A Commentary on the Qurʾān*, II, 554), that God opened up thereby Muḥammad's awareness of the spiritual world; but there is always the possibility that the story of the opening of Muḥammad's breast may have evolved to explain the Qurʾānic passage in a literal sense. See Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds*, 32–34; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 35–36; H. Birkeland, *The Legend of the Opening of Muhammad's Breast*, passim; Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger*, 67–69.

plied, "The process of learning." The 'Āmirī asked, "Tell me what points toward knowledge." The Prophet replied, "Asking questions." The 'Āmirī asked, "Tell me about that which increases in evil." The Prophet replied, "Persistence [in evil ways]." The 'Āmirī asked, "Tell me, is piety of any avail after evil doing?" The Prophet replied, "Yes, repentance (*tawbah*) cleanses from sin, and good deeds sweep away evil deeds. If a servant [of God] mentions his Lord's name when he is enjoying ease of life, God will aid him in times of distress." The 'Āmirī said, "How can that be, O Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib?" The Prophet replied, "This is because God says, 'No, by my power and exaltedness, I shall not gather together for My servant two causes of security, nor shall I ever gather together for him two causes of fear. If he shows fear toward Me in this present world, he will feel secure from Me (i.e., from my wrath) on the Day when I shall gather together all my servants in the sacred enclosure (*ḥaẓīrat al-quds*).[658] This feeling of security will remain with him perpetually and I shall not withhold my blessings from him when I do deny blessings [from others]. But if he feels secure from Me (i.e., self-sufficient) in this present world, he will fear Me on the day when I shall gather together all my servants at a specified time on an appointed day, and his fear will remain with him perpetually.'"

The 'Āmirī said, "Tell me, O Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, to what are you summoning people?" The Prophet replied, "I am summoning people to worship the One God, who has no partners, and that you should throw off allegiance to idols, proclaim your disbelief in Allāt and al-'Uzzā, affirm your belief in the Book or the prophets which have come from God, perform the five acts of worship with all their significant details, fast for a month in each year, and hand over poor tax on your wealth, [for if you do so,] God will purify you by means of it and render your wealth wholesome for you. Also, that you should perform the Pilgrimage to the [Holy] House when you are able to do this, perform the major ablution (*ghusl*) after

658. The Cairo text of al-Ṭabarī, II, 164, has *ḥaẓīrat al-firdaws* "enclosure of Paradise," as in ms. P. of the Leiden text, see n. *e*. The reference is to the gathering together of the saved after the Last Judgment, as foretold in Qur'ān, XIX, 85/88, and their admittance to Paradise. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳiyāma (L. Gardet).

major bodily pollution (*janābah*),[659] and believe in death and the resurrection after death, and in the Garden and Hell Fire." The ʿĀmirī said, "O Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, if I do all that, what will be
[979] my reward?" The Prophet replied, "The Garden of Eden, from below which springs of water flow, in which [those who are saved] will remain forever, that is the reward of those who aim at righteousness."[660] The ʿĀmirī said, "O Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, is there, as well as all that, any advantage for this present life, for I find ease and pleasantness of daily life attractive?" The Prophet replied, "Yes, indeed, success and a firm place in the land."[661] He related: The ʿĀmirī responded to the Prophet's call and turned to God.

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Thawr b. Yazīd—Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Kalāʿī, who said: A group of the Messenger of God's followers asked, "O Messenger of God, tell us about yourself!" He replied, "Yes, I will. I am what my forefather Abraham prayed for and the good news of Jesus. My mother saw in a dream when she bore me within her womb that there came forth from her a light which illuminated for her the fortresses of Buṣrā in the land of Syria. I was offered for suckling to the women of the Banū Saʿd b. Bakr. Once when I was with one of my (foster) brothers, behind our tents, tending our lambs, there came to me two men wearing white robe and bearing a golden pitcher filled with snow. They took hold of me, split open my belly and then extracted from it my heart, which they split open, taking out from it a black blood clot. They threw it aside, and then washed my belly and my heart with that snow, until they had cleansed it. Then one of them said to his companion, 'Weigh him with ten of his community,' so he weighed me with them, and I was equal to them in weight. Then he said, 'Weigh him with a hundred of his community,' so he weighed me with them, and I was equal to them in weight. Then he said, 'Weigh him with a

659. That is, the major ablution required after such polluting events as sexual intercourse, contact with menstrual blood, etc. See *EI*², s.v. Ghusl (G. H. Bousquet).

660. Qur'ān, XX, 78/76. For this interpretation of *tazakkā* in a late Meccan-early Medinan context, see Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 165–66.

661. Again echoing Qur'ānic phraseology, in which *al-tamakkun fī al-arḍ*, "establishing a firm place in the land," is often a reward for the righteous.

thousand of his community,' so he weighed me with them, and I was equal to them in weight. Finally, he said, 'Leave him alone, for even if I were to weigh him with [the whole of] his community, he would be equal to them.'"

Ibn Isḥāq says: 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Messenger of God's father, died at a time when the Messenger of God's mother, Āminah bt. Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhrah, was pregnant with him.

As for Hishām [b. Muḥammad], he says: 'Abdallāh, the Messenger of God's father, died when the Messenger of God was twenty-eight months old.[662] [980]

There related to me al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd, who said: Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī stated that the firmly accepted belief, from which none of our companions differ, is that 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came back from Syria in a caravan of Quraysh's and encamped at Medina, and he remained there until he died. He was buried in the building (*dār*) of al-Nābighah, in the small hut (*al-dār al-ṣughrā*), [which is], when you go into the building, on your left, within the house (*bayt*).[663]

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, who said that the Messenger of God's mother Āminah died at al-Abwā' between Mecca and Medina when the Messenger of God

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662. Ibn Isḥāq preferred the view that 'Abdallāh died before Āminah gave birth to Muḥammad, although one line of transmission adds that he died when Muḥammad was twenty-eight months old. Other authorities mentioned, such as Ibn al-Kalbī cited here, give figures like twenty-eight months or seven months for Muḥammad's age at his father's death. Half-a-century later than Ibn Isḥāq, however, the historian al-Wāqidī (on whom see n. 1020 below) had much more circumstantial detail about the time and place of 'Abdallāh's death (cf. below and n. 663). See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 102 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 167, tr. 69; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 61–62; and the detailed discussion of the varying reports on 'Abdallāh's death in Lecker, "The Death of the Prophet Muḥammad's Father: Did Wāqidī Invent Some of the Evidence?" 9–27.

663. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 61, following reports used by al-Wāqidī, says that 'Abdallāh was taken ill on the way back from Syria, was unable to carry on the journey to Mecca and died at Medina among his maternal kinsmen, the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār (his grandfather Hāshim having married Salmā bt. 'Amr from this Medinan clan, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 88 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 144–45, tr. 59; Ibn Sa'd, op. cit., I/1, 46).

was six years old, She had brought him to Medina to let him visit his maternal uncles of the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār, but she died on the way back to Medina with him.[664]

Al-Ḥārith related to me—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ibn Jurayj—'Uthmān b. Ṣafwān, who said that Āminah bt. Wahb's grave is in the ravine of Abū Dharr at Mecca.

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-'Abbās b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'bad b. al-'Abbās—some member of his family, who said that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died when the Messenger of God was eight years old. But another authority says that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died when the Messenger of God was ten years old.

There related to us Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ṭalḥah b. 'Amr al-Ḥaḍramī—'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ—Ibn 'Abbās, who said: The Prophet
[981] was in the care of Abū Ṭālib after his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and became the latter's child as if he were part of himself.[665]

The story returns to the completion of the reign of Kisrā Anūsharwān.

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664. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 107 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., I, 177, tr. 73, and Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 73–74, confirm that Āminah died at al-Abwā' when Muḥammad was six years old, and state that the Prophet visited and tended her grave and mourned over her when he was en route for al-Ḥudaybiyah in 6/628. Al-Abwā' lay just north of Mecca along the Medina road; it was said to be the goal of Muḥammad's first *ghazwah* or raid against the Banū Ḍamrah and the Banū Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt of Kinānah only twelve months after the Hijrah. See al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, I, 102; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 79–80; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 84, 340; Al-Wohaibi, *The Northern Hijaz*, 35–40.

665. *ghumṣ*^{an} *rumṣ*^{an} . . . *saqīl*^{an} *dahīn*^{an}, literally, "like the wet and dry dirty matter which collects in the inner corner of the eye . . . and like something smooth and anointed with oil."

[The Remainder of Kisrā Anūsharwān's Reign and the Last Sāsānid Kings]

There related to us 'Alī b. Ḥarb al-Mawṣilī—Abū Ayyūb Ya'lā b. 'Imrān al-Bajalī—Makhzūm b. Hāni' al-Makhzūmī—his father, who was a hundred and fifty years old. He said: When it was the night in which the Messenger of God was born, the Aywān of Kisrā was shaken and fourteen pinnacles of it fell down;[666] the [sacred] fire of Fārs, which had not previously been extinguished for a thousand years, was extinguished;[667] the waters of the lake of Sāwah sank into the earth;[668] and the Chief Mōbadh saw in a dream refractory camels running before noble Arab horses which had crossed the Tigris and had spread through those districts of it.[669] The next morning, Kisrā was affrighted by what he had seen. He resolutely held himself back in patience, but then he considered that he ought not to conceal it from his ministers and Marzbāns. He put on his crown and seated himself on his throne,

666. That is, the Aywān or Ṭāq-i Kisrā, the great Sāsānid palace in the district of Aspānbār at al-Madā'in, on the east bank of the Tigris, where its ruinous partial shell still exists. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 34; Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, 126–28; *EI*², s.v. al-Madā'in (M. Streck-M. J. Morony).

667. Presumably the great fire temple at Iṣṭakhr, i.e., at Persepolis, at whose ruins al-Mas'ūdī marvelled. See his *Murūj*, III, 76–77 = § 1403; *EIr*, s.v. Ātaškada (M. Boyce).

668. Sāwah is a town of northwestern Persia, in the mediaeval Islamic province of Jibāl, not however known to have existed in pre-Islamic times. It was nevertheless made the site of one of these tales of portents announcing the Prophet's birth. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 179–80; Le Strange, *Lands*, 211–12; Schwarz, *Iran*, 339–42; *EI*², s.v. Sāwa (C. E. Bosworth-H. H. Schaeder).

669. These portents are mentioned also by al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 217, II, 228 = §§ 231, 649.

and gathered them around him. When they were all gathered together around him, he told them why he had sent for them and what he had summoned them for. While they were engaged in all this, a letter arrived bringing news of the extinguishing of the [sacred] fire, so that his distress of spirit increased. The Chief Mōbadh said, "I too—may God grant the king righteousness—had a dream that same night," and he recounted to him his dream about the camels. The king said, "What is this thing, O Chief Mōbadh," although he himself was the most knowing about the real meaning of that. The Chief Mōbadh replied, "An event which is issuing from the Arabs."

On hearing that, Kisrā wrote a letter, as follows: "From Kisrā, the king of kings, to al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir. As follows: Send to me a man who is knowledgeable about what I wish to ask him," so al-Nuʿmān dispatched to him ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAmr b. Ḥayyān b. Buqaylah al-Ghassānī.[670] When the letter reached Kisrā, Kisrā asked him, "Do you know what I wish to ask you?"
[982] He replied, "Let the king tell me about it; and if I am knowledgeable about it, [well and good], but if not, I can tell him about someone who will know it for him." Kisrā accordingly told him about his dream. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ said, "A maternal uncle of mine who lives in the elevated regions of Syria, called Saṭīḥ, will have knowledge about it."[671] Kisrā said, "Go to him, and ask him what I have just asked you, and bring me back his answer." ʿAbd al-Masīḥ rode off on his mount until he came to Saṭīḥ, who was, however, on the verge of death. He greeted him and wished him long life, but Saṭīḥ returned no answer. Hence ʿAbd al-Masīḥ began to recite:[672]

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670. This member of the Christian ʿIbād of al-Ḥīrah seems to have been a historical person, although his role in these events and the attribution to him of an age of 350 years are clearly embellishments. He is said to have negotiated with Khālid b. al-Walīd for the surrender of al-Ḥīrah to the incoming Muslim Arabs. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 243; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, I, 217–22 = §§ 231–33; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], XVI, 194–95.

Buqaylah was one of the clans of al-Ḥīrah, of Ghassānid tribal origin, as appears also from al-Ṭabarī, I, 1023, p. 349 below, which had a castle (*qaṣr*) of its own. See al-Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 309, tr. G. Wiet, 140–41; Nöldeke, trans. 254 n. 2; Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 114 n. 2.

671. For Saṭīḥ, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 911ff., pp. 178ff. above.

672. Nöldeke noted, trans. 255 n. 1, that the manuscripts have considerable variation in the readings of various words and in the order of these *rajaz* verses,

Is the proud lord of Yemen deaf, or does he hear? Or has he gone away, and has the course of untimely death made away with him?
O you who are able to give the interpretation of an affair which was too difficult for this man and that, the shaykh of the tribe, from the house of Sanan, has come to you,
Whose mother is from the house of Dhi'b b. Ḥajan, a blue-eyed one, with sharpened fang, whose ears are ringing,[673]
A shining white one, with an ample cloak and corselet of mail, [983]
the envoy of the prince (*qayl*) of the Persians, who journeys onward during the time for sleeping.
A stout, compactly built she-camel travels through the land, which conveys me up a rocky slope at one time and down it the next,
Fearing neither thunderbolts nor the misfortunes of time, until it becomes lean and emaciated in the breast and the part between the thighs (i.e., from traveling continuously).
The fine dust of the deserted encampments' traces swirls round it in the wind, as if it were galloping vigorously from the two slopes of Thakan.[674]

When Saṭīḥ heard the verses, he raised his head and said: 'Abd al-Masīḥ—traveling on a camel—to Saṭīḥ—who is already on the brink of the tomb—the king of the sons of Sāsān has sent you—because of the Aywān's being shaken—and the extinguishing of the fires—and the dream of the Chief Mōbadh—of refractory camels running before noble Arab horses—which had crossed the Tigris and spread through those districts of it—O 'Abd al-Masīḥ,

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with interchanging of hemistichs, and that the text and interpretation of the poem is uncertain in parts. Older poets, as here 'Abd al-Masīḥ, use the *mashṭūr* form of the *rajaz* meter in which, in each *bayt*, every *shaṭr* rhymes with the following hemistich and not just with regard to the two hemistichs of the first *bayt;* with a common rhyme for the whole poem, hemistich by hemistich, interchange of hemistichs within *bayts* is easy. See Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language,* II, 362A–B.

673. Sanan and Dhi'b b. Ḥajan must be tribal groups of Yemen, but do not figure in such works as Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamharat al-nasab* or al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab.*

674. Thakan is listed by al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam,* I, 342, and Yāqūt, *Buldān,* II, 82, but with no mention of its location and with this verse as the only *shāhid* for it.

when there has been much recounting of stories—and the man with the staff has been sent[675]—and the valley of al-Samāwah[676] has overflowed (i.e., with invading troops)—and the waters of the lake of Sāwah have sunk into the earth—and the [sacred] fire of Fārs has been extinguished—then Syria is no longer for Saṭīḥ Syria—kings and queens from amongst them (i.e., the last Sāsānids) shall reign—according to the number of pinnacles (i.e., those fallen from the Aywān)—and everything whose coming is decreed will come." Then Saṭīḥ expired on the spot. 'Abd al-Masīḥ now mounted his steed and recited:

Gird yourself for action, for you are keen in resolution,
vigorous! Let not separation and mutability affright you!
If the dominion of the sons of Sāsān escapes from their hands,
well, time is made up of different evolutions and lengthy periods.
How oft, O how oft did they reach a lofty stage in which lions
[984] which tear their prey were afraid of their mighty onrush!
To them belongs Mihrān, the man of the lofty tower,[677] and his brothers, the two Hurmuzs, Sābūr and [the other] Sābūr.
The people are all half brothers and sisters of each other; when one of them comes to realize that another one has become lacking in some way, that person is cast aside and treated with contempt.
But they are also brothers from the same mother; when they see some item of property, that item is protected and supported in the owner's absence.
Good and bad fortune are closely linked together like a rope binding two camels; good fortune is sought after, but bad fortune is avoided.

When 'Abd al-Masīḥ arrived back to Kisrā, he informed him of Saṭīḥ's words. Kisrā commented, "Once fourteen of us have re-

675. That is, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second caliph, mentioned here as bearing his staff of office (*hirāwah*, the equivalent of the *qaḍīb* or *'aṣā*), with which the stern 'Umar trounced malefactors and which became one of the insignia of the caliphal office. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳaḍīb (D. Sourdel).

676. That is, "the elevated land," the desert region between the Euphrates and Syria. See *EI*², s.v. al-Samāwa (C. E. Bosworth).

677. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 885, p. 131 and n. 340 above.

igned, things will happen!" Ten of them, however, reigned for a total of four years only, and the rest of them held power until the reign of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.[678]

I received reports going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad,[679] who said: [On one occasion,] Wahrīz dispatched wealth and valuable specialities of Yemen to Kisrā. When these reached the territory of the Banū Tamīm, Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Nājiyah b. 'Iqāl al-Mujāshi'ī[680] summoned the Banū Tamīm to fall upon the caravan, but they refused. When the caravan reached the territory of the Banū Yarbū',[681] Ṣa'ṣa'ah summoned these last to do that, but they were fearful of doing it. He said, O Banū Yarbū', I can foresee that this caravan will pass into the territory of the Banū Bakr b. Wā'il and they will attack it, and they will then use the wealth acquired hereby to make war on you!"[682] When they heard that, they plundered the caravan. A man of the Banū Salīṭ called al-Naṭif seized a saddle bag filled with jewels, hence people said, "He has seized the treasure of al-Naṭif," and this became proverbial. Ṣa'ṣa'ah acquired a palm-leaf basket containing silver ingots. The people of the caravan went to Hawdhah b. 'Alī al-Ḥanafī in al-Yamāmah,[683] who pro-

678. The ten ephemeral rulers mentioned here would presumably be those transient rulers, pretenders, and usurpers who filled the four years or so after Heraclius's invasion of Mesopotamia in 627 had left a legacy of chaos and confusion within the Persian ruling classes; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1045–66, pp. 381–409 below. Of the kings after Anūsharwān, only three persons, Hormizd IV, Khusraw II Abarwēz, and Yazdagird III, could be said to have enjoyed reigns of reasonable duration.

679. Nöldeke, trans. 257 n. 3, noted that the Arabic sources on the conflict of the Persians with the Arabs of Tamīm give considerably varying stories but fall substantially into two versions, the one largely agreeing with the account here, the other, however, quite aberrant; and he stressed the vivacity and generally realistic nature of the Arabic narratives on this topic.

680. Grandfather of the famous Umayyad poet al-Farazdaq, and called *muḥyī al-maw'ūdāt* "he who restores to life those female children meant for killing," because he ransomed—allegedly as many as three or four hundred—girls about to be slaughtered by their destitute parents. See Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], XXI, 276–77.

681. An important group of the Tamīm b. Murr, as were the Mujāshi'. The Salīṭ mentioned below were a subgroup of them. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 68–71, II, 9, 591; *EI*[2], s.v. Yarbū', Banū (G. Levi Della Vida).

682. The Bakr and the Tamīm were ancient enemies, as was to be seen at the "Day of Dhū Qār," see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1015ff., pp. 338ff. below.

683. Hawdhah was one of the leading men of the Ḥanīfah b. Lujaym, a component tribe of the Bakr and occupiers of the rich eastern Arabian province of al-

vided them with clothing, food supplies, and mounts, and personally accompanied them until he reached Kisrā's presence. Hawdhah was a handsome and eloquent man, and Kisrā was favorably impressed by him and accounted to his credit what he had done. He called for a circlet of pearls, and it was placed on
[985] Hawdhah's head [as a diadem], and he gave him a brocade coat of honor and many other items of clothing; because of all that, Hawdhah was called "the man with the crown." Kisrā said to Hawdhah, "Do you know whether these fellows, who have done this deed, are from your own tribe?" He answered, "No." Kisrā said, "Is there a peace agreement between you and them?" He replied, "[No,] there is death between us." Kisrā said, "Your requirement is now about to be fulfilled," and he resolved to send a force of cavalry against the Banū Tamīm.

He was informed, however, "Their land is a bad land, made up of deserts and wastes, with tracks that cannot be followed. Their water comes from wells, and one cannot be sure that they will not block them up, with the result that your troops will perish." He was advised to write to his governor in al-Baḥrayn, Āzādh Firūz, son of Jushnas, whom the Arabs called al-Muka'bir ("the Mutilator"), because he used to cut off hands and feet.[684] He had sworn not to leave, among the Banū Tamīm, a single eye that could flow with tears. Kisrā followed this advice, and sent an envoy to him. He also summoned Hawdhah again, and gave him a further, fresh lot of honors and presents, and told him, "Travel back with this envoy of mine, and secure a satisfactory solution (i.e., secure re-

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Yamāmah (see on the Ḥanīfah, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 156, II, 25, 297). It was to Hawdhah (who was, as emerges from the poem cited by al-Ṭabarī, I, 987, p. 293 below, penultimate verse, a Christian, like much of the Banū Ḥanīfah at this time), together with Thumāmah b. Uthāl, that Muḥammad sent an envoy with a letter for "the king of al-Yamāmah" inviting him to become a Muslim, and Hawdhah was allegedly at one point in correspondence with Muḥammad offering to become a Muslim if he could have the succession to the Prophet's office after Muḥammad's death; but Hawdhah himself died shortly afterward and before the Prophet, probably in 8/630. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 971–2 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., IV, 254, tr. 653, 789; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 86–87; *EI*², s.v. Musaylima (W. Montgomery Watt).

684. After his operations against Tamīm, al-Muka'bir apparently remained in eastern Arabia, since he later led the Persian forces there together with their allies against Abū Bakr's commander al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī during the opening years of 'Umar's caliphate, but he eventually submitted and became a Muslim. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 85–86.

venge) for both myself and yourself." Hawdhah and the army reached al-Muka'bir just before the time for gleaning. Meanwhile, at that moment the Banū Tamīm had moved to Hajar in order to get provisions and gleanings. Al-Muka'bir's herald proclaimed, "Let those of the Banū Tamīm who are here, come forward, for the king has decreed that provisions and food should be made available for them and divided out among them." They came forward, and he brought them into al-Mushaqqar, which is a fortified place facing another fortress called al-Ṣafā and separated from it by a river called the Muḥallim.[685]

The builder of al-Mushaqqar was one of Kisrā's cavalry troops called Basak (?), son of Māhbūdh,[686] whom Kisrā had sent expressly for its construction. When he began work on it, he was told, "These workmen will not remain in this place unless they are provided with womenfolk; but if you do that, the construction [986] work will be completed, and they will remain working on it until they have finished it." So he had brought for them whores from the regions of the Sawād and al-Ahwāz, and had skins of wine for them, from the land of Fārs, conveyed across the sea. The workmen and the women married each other and begat children, and soon comprised the greater part of the population of the town of Hajar. The people spoke Arabic and claimed kinship with the 'Abd al-Qays. When Islam came, they said to the 'Abd al-Qays, "You know well our numerical strength, our formidable equipment and

685. The port and fortress of al-Mushaqqar was the seat of Persian military power in the region of Hajar or the eastern Arabian shorelands, with the place's foundation variously attributed to the rulers of Kindah, the Persian commander mentioned below, etc. It lay in the territory of the 'Abd al-Qays tribe (on whom see al-Ṭabarī, I, 836, p. 51 and n. 150 above), but its exact site is unknown. See *EI*², s.v. al-Mushaḳḳar (C. E. Bosworth). At all events, it became a notable center for the extension of Sāsānid political control over the western shores of the Persian Gulf. By the mid-sixth century, the Arab poet of Bakr, Ṭarafah b. 'Abd, could call the Arabs of Baḥrayn, with a distinct note of contempt, *'abīd Asbadh* (where Asbadh stems from *asb*, "horse," + *ped*, "chief, commander," *pace* Nöldeke's etymology, trans. 260 n. 1, from *ispabadh*) "slaves of the commander of mounted warriors," i.e., of the Persian mailed cavalrymen, while other poets refer to the Persians settled in eastern Arabia as *Asbadhī*s. See Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter*, 78–79.

686. On these two names (the second of which is, however, uncertain), see Nöldeke, trans. 260 n. 3, and Justi, *Namenbuch*, 185 (Māhbōdh), 357–58 (*Wasaka, Vasaces). For the father Māhbūdh, Māhbōdh, who played a great role as commander in fighting between the Persians and Byzantines during Hormizd's reign, see Nöldeke, trans. loc. cit. and 438 n. 4, and n. 703 below.

weapons, and our great proficiency, so enroll us formally among your tribe and give us your daughters in marriage." They responded, "No, but remain here as you were as our brothers and clients (*mawālī*)." One man of 'Abd al-Qays said, "O tribesmen of 'Abd al-Qays! Follow my suggestion and enroll them as full members of the tribe, for the likes of those people are very much to be desired." But another member of the tribe said, "Aren't you ashamed of yourself? Are you telling us to take into our midst people who, as you know, have such beginnings and origins?" The first man replied, "If you don't adopt them into the tribe, other Arabs will." The second man answered, "In that case, we shan't worry about them in future!" Thereupon, they (i.e., those people from the mixed population of Hajar) became dispersed among the Arabs. Some remained with the 'Abd al-Qays and were then reckoned as part of them, with no one gainsaying this attribution.

Once al-Muka'bir had got the Banū Tamīm within al-Mushaqqar, he massacred their menfolk and spared only the boys. On that day was killed Qa'nab al-Riyāḥī, the knight of the Banū Yarbū'; two men of the Shann, who served the kings [of Persia] with alternate spells of duty, killed him.[687] The boys were put in boats and conveyed across to Fārs; some of them were castrated as eunuchs. Hubayrah b. Ḥudayr al-'Adawī related: After the conquest of Iṣṭakhr, there came to us a number of these deportees, one of them a eunuch and another a tailor.[688] A man of the Banū Tamīm called Ubayy b. Wahb attacked the chain holding the gate
[987] [of the city], cut through it, and escaped. He then recited:

I remember Hind, although it is not the time for remembrance;
I remember her, even though several months' journey separates me from her.

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687. This encounter was the *Yawm al-Ṣafqah*, described at length in Abū al-Faraj Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], XVII, 318–22, cf. Sir Charles Lyall, *Translations from Ancient Arabian Poetry, Chiefly Pre-Islamic*, 87–88. Qa'nab b. 'Attāb al-Riyāḥī had been one of the plunderers of the Persian caravan from Yemen (Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, op. cit., XVII, 318). Shann were a clan of 'Abd al-Qays; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 168, II, 28, 526.

688. Nöldeke, trans. 262 n. 1, pointed out that the Muslims did not conquer Iṣṭakhr till the 640s (actually in 23/643; see *EI*[2], s.v. Iṣṭakhr [M. Streck-M. J. Morony]), hence the events mentioned here happened almost certainly later than the time of Khusraw I Anūsharwān, since he died early in 579.

[She is] from Ḥijāz, from the highlands, and her people dwell where the autumn rains pour down, between Zūr and Minwar.[689]

Ho there, has it come to my people, despite the distance separating us, that I defended my sacred interests (*dhimārī*) on that day of the gateway of al-Mushaqqar?

I struck with my sword the panel of the gateway such a blow, which would have made the most firmly built gateway spring open.

On that day, Hawdhah b. ʿAlī interceded with al-Mukaʿbir for a hundred of the captives from the Banū Tamīm; the latter granted them to Hawdhah on Easter Day, and Hawdhah freed them. Concerning this, al-Aʿshā recited:

Question Tamīm about him, how it was in the days when they were sold, when they came to him as captives, all of them reduced to submissiveness,

In the midst of al-Mushaqqar. among a host of dust-smeared, dark-colored ones (i.e., the victorious army), unable to secure any beneficial aid afer the hurt [they had previously suffered].

He said to the king, "Free a hundred of them," speaking gently, in a low voice, not raising it.

So he released a hundred from the band of captives, and all of them became freed of their bonds.

He put them forward openly, on Easter Day, as an offering, hoping [for a reward] from God for what he had done as a benefit and had wrought. [988]

But they (i.e., the freed Tamīmīs] did not consider as an act of benevolence all that which had just been vouchsafed [for them], even though their spokesman expressed a need for due acknowledgment (or: spoke the truth about it, *qāla qāʾiluhā ḥaqq*^{an} *bihā*) and exerted himself in that.[690]

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689. Nöldeke vocalized *muṣāb* and translated "on the hills of al-Kharīf," but the vocalization *al-maṣāb*, "place where rains pour down," is followed here, with *al-kharīf* in its usual sense of "autumn." Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 216, mentions Manwar as a mountain, but clearly had no idea of its location.

690. al-Aʿshā Maymūn, *Dīwān*, no. 13, vv. 62–63, 67–69, 71; cf. Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian poetry*, 88–89.

He describes the Banū Tamīm here as ungrateful.

Hishām related: When Wahriz was close to death—this being toward the end of Anūsharwān's reign—he called for his bow and an arrow, and said, "Set me up," so they did this. He shot the arrow and said, "See where my arrow falls to earth, and make my grave there." His arrow fell behind the monastery—that is, the church near Nu'm, a place called till today "the grave of Wahriz."[691] When the news of Wahriz's death reached Kisrā, he sent out to Yemen a knight called W.y.n (?), who proved a pertinacious tyrant.[692] Hence Hurmuz, the son of Kisrā, dismissed him and apppointed as governor in his stead al-Marūzān.[693] This last remained in Yemen, and had children born there who grew up to the age of puberty.

At this point Kisrā Anūsharwān died, after a reign of forty-eight years.[694]

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691. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 539, could only conjecture that this place was in the vicinity of Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawq, the latter place, in fact, in Syria (ibid., III, 34–36). This *dayr Nu'm* must, however, have been in Yemen.

692. Marquart surmised that this was the al-Bīnajān of al-Ṭabarī, I, 958, pp. 251–52 above, but the editor Nöldeke thought it more probable that there were two separate persons, *W.y.n* and *W.y.najān* (= al-Bīnajān). See *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCIII.

693. Thus corrected in *Addenda et emendanda*, loc. cit., following Marquart, from the text's *al-Marwazān*, in the light of the form of the name in parallel Greek and Armenian sources; previously, Nöldeke in his trans. 264 n. 1, had rendered the name as Marwazān.

694. Khusraw I Anūsharwān's reign was 531–79. His name appears on his coins as ḤWSRWB. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 65–66, 380–84, 470–79, Plates XX–XXI, Tables XX–XXV; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 52, Table XI, Plate 12; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 140–44; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Coins," 237.

The Arabic sources devote considerable space to this important reign, concurrent as it was with many events within Arabia significant for the birth of Islam. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 663–64; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 186–67; al-Dīnawarī, op. cit., 67–74; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 196–211 = §§ 618–31; idem, *Tanbīh*, 101–102, tr. 145–46; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 51–53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 434–42, 455–57. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 159–64, 219–32. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 363–440; Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 228–33; idem, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 153–62, 178; *EI*², s.vv. Anūsharwān (H. Massé), Kisrā and Sāsānids (M. Morony).

Al-Ṭabarī, in company with other early historical writers like al-Ya'qūbī and Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, does not mention Buzurgmihr/Buzurjmihr, famed sage and minister of Anūsharwān so famed in later Islamic lore and legend (al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 72, has a single, brief reference, but Ibn Qutaybah in his *'Uyūn al-*

[Hurmuz]

Then there assumed the royal power Hurmuz. He was the son of King Anūsharwān, and his mother was the daughter of Khāqān the Elder.[695]

I received reports going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: This Hurmuz, son of Kisrā, was well educated and full of good intentions of benevolence toward the weak and destitute, but he attacked the power of the nobles, so that they showed themselves hostile and hated him, exactly as he in turn hated them. When he assumed the crown, he gathered round himself the members of the nobility of his kingdom. They enthusiastically called down blessings on his head and offered up thanks for his father. Hurmuz gave them promises of benevolent rule; he was anxious to behave toward his subjects with justice but implacable [989] against the great men of the kingdom, because of their oppressing the lowly folk.[696]

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akhbār has frequent mentions and quotations from his *ḥikmah*). Extensive mention of him only appears in writers of the mid-fourth/tenth century onward, such as al-Mas'ūdī, al-Tha'ālibī and especially Firdawsī, but thereafter he figures as the epitome of good counsel and wisdom in the "Mirrors for Princes" and similar *adab* works. This paragon may have arisen out of the Burzmihr who was a secretary of Anūsharwān's but who was, according to the *Shāh-nāmah*, executed by that ruler's successor Hormizd IV. Christensen, "La légende du sage Buzurjmihr," 81–128, although now outdated, traced how the stories round him first appeared in Middle Persian literature and then grew in the Islamic period. De Blois, in his *Burzōy's Voyage to India and the Origin of the Book of Kalīlah wa Dimnah*, 48–50, subjects Christensen's ideas to stringent analysis and concludes that Buzurgmihr remains a very shadowy individual, if he existed at all; nor does he think that there are any grounds for identifying him with Khusraw Anūsharwān's physician Burzōy, sent to India, according to the story, to fetch back a copy of the wonderful book *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*. See also *EI*², s.v. Buzurgmihr (H. Massé); *EIr*, s.v. Bozorgmehr-e Boktagān (Djalal Khaleghi Motlagh).

695. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 899, p. 160 and n. 404. According to al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 74–75, Hormizd was the only son of Anūsharwān's who was born of a noble mother, all the others being *awlād sūqah*.

696. Hormizd's policy of favoring the masses as a counterweight to the upper classes, who represented a threat to his despotic royal power, is stressed in the Arabic sources. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 75–77, puts into his mouth a lengthy accession speech enunciating guidelines for his future policy, including protection of the weaker, vulnerable members of society (*al-ḍu'afā' wa-ahl al-ḍi'ah*) against the oppression of the upper classes (*al-'ilyah*). This was a reversal of his father's cultivation of the support of the nobility and the Zoroastrian clergy, and the hostility of these latter entrenched interests was to contribute to Hor-

His justice reached such a point that he once went to Māh in order to spend the summer there.[697] In the course of his journey thither, he gave orders for it to be proclaimed amongst his troops and all the others in his army camp that they were to avoid the cultivated fields and not to cause harm to any of the landholders (*dahāqīn*) there. They were also to keep their mounts under control so that they caused no damage to the fields. He appointed a man who was to familiarize himself with the sort of thing that was going on in the army camp and to punish anyone who transgressed his command.

His own son Kisrā was in the army camp, and one of his riding beasts wandered off and strayed into one of the tilled fields along the way, started grazing, and created damage there. The animal was caught and brought to the man whom Hurmuz had appointed to punish anyone who caused damage to the tillage, or the owner of any beast that caused such damage, and to compel the offender to pay compensation. However, the man was not able to enforce Hurmuz's orders against Kisrā nor against any of those in Kisrā's retinue, hence he brought to Hurmuz's notice the damage he had observed that beast causing. Hurmuz ordered that he should crop that animals's ears and dock its tail, and that he should exact compensation from Kisrā. The man left Hurmuz's presence in order to put the king's orders into effect regarding Kisrā and his riding beast, but Kisrā secretly induced a group of the great men to ask him to go easy in putting the command into effect. They met him and talked to him about this, but he refused to listen. They asked him to delay putting into practice Hurmuz's order to him concerning the beast, until they had a chance to speak with the king and to persuade him to leave the animal alone. He agreed to this. That group of great men went to Hurmuz and told him that the steed that had done the damage was an ill-natured beast and

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mizd's downfall, blinding, and death, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 993, p. 303 below. Nevertheless, Hormizd's justice is stressed, a justice greater than that of Anūsharwān, in the opinion of Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. II, 246–47. Also, Christian sources praise him for his tolerance, which included special favor for the Nestorian Catholicos at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, Īshō'yahb I (in office 582–95). See Nöldeke, trans. 268 n. 3; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 200–203; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 441–43; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 162.

697. See for this place, al-Ṭabarī, I, 865, p. 97 and n. 249 above.

that it had wandered off and entered the tilled field; they asked Hurmuz to withdraw his order that the beast's ears should be cropped and its tail docked because this would be a bad augury for Kisrā. Despite this, Hurmuz refused their request; on his orders, the steed's ears were cropped and its tail docked, and Kisrā was [990] made to pay compensation in the same amount as other people were made to pay. Then Hurmuz moved off from his army camp.[698]

One day, at the time when the vines were ripening, Hurmuz rode out to Sābāṭ near al-Madā'in. His route went past orchards and vineyards. One of the men from Hurmuz's cavalry division who was riding with him noted a vineyard and saw in it partly ripened grapes. He picked some clusters and gave them to a squire (*ghulām*) who was accompanying him, telling him, "Take these back to our quarters, cook them with some meat, and make a broth out of it, for this is very wholesome and beneficial at this time." The guardian of that vineyard came up to him, gripped him fast and shouted loudly. The man's anxiety about being punished by Hurmuz for picking those grapes reached such a pitch that he handed over to the guardian of the vineyard a belt ornamented with gold, which he was wearing, in exchange for the half-ripe grapes he had picked from his vines, and thereby indemnified himself against punishment. He considered that the guardian's acceptance of the belt from him, and his letting him go free, was an act of grace the guardian had bestowed on him and a kind act he had accorded him.

It is said that Hurmuz was a successful and victorious commander, who never set his hand to anything that he did not attain. He was, moreover, well educated, skillful, and shrewd, but bad intentioned, a defect he inherited from his maternal relations, the Turks. He removed the nobles [from his court and entourage] and killed 13,600 men from the religious classes and from those of good family and noble birth. His sole aim was to win over the lower classes and to make them favorably disposed towards him. He imprisoned a great number of the great men, and degraded them and stripped them of their offices and ranks. He provide well

698. This story also in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 77–78.

for the mass of troops (*al-jund*), but deprived the cavalrymen (*al-asāwirah*) of resources. Hence a great number of those in his entourage became evil intentioned toward him, as a consequence of the fact that God wished to change their (i.e., the Persians') rule and transfer their royal power to someone else. Everything has its own particular cause.[699]

[991] The Hērbadhs presented Hurmuz with a petition that embodied their desire to persecute the Christians. The king endorsed the document with the words, "Just as our royal throne cannot stand on its two front legs without the two back ones, our kingdom cannot stand or endure firmly if we cause the Christians and adherents of other faiths, who differ in belief from ourselves, to become hostile to us. So renounce this desire to persecute the Christians and become assiduous in good works, so that the Christians and the adherents of other faiths may see this, praise you for it, and feel themselves drawn toward your religion."[700]

I received reports going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: The Turks marched out against Hurmuz. Other authorities state that, in the eleventh year of his reign, Shābah, the supreme ruler of the Turks,[701] advanced against him with three hundred

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699. Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 78, and Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 211–12, the latter source stating that Hormizd killed thirteen thousand from the upper classes (*al-khawāṣṣ*) of Persia and destroyed the bases of the Zoroastrian state church. The *asāwirah* or mailed, heavy cavalrymen were recruited from the classes of the nobility and gentry (see n. 258 above), while what is here called the *jund* represented the infantry and other less favored elements of the forces.

700. As mentioned in n. 696 above, Nestorian Christian sources give a favorable picture of Hormizd and his policies.

701. Shābah (if this is the correct form of a dubiously written name) was more probably a ruler of the northern Hephthalites, or a vassal ruler in the upper Oxus regions of the Turkish, rather than the Qaghan of the Western Turks. In the 580s, Tardu (Chinese, Ta-t'ou), son of Ishtemi or Istemi (see n. 394 above), was Qaghan of what the Chinese knew as the Western Frontier Region, with Central Asia *stricto sensu* and the fringes of Transoxania controlled by other members of the Turkish ruling house, Taspar (or Taghpar), son of Bumin (r. 572–81), then Nivar (Chinese, She-tu), who was ousted by Apa, son of Muhan (Chinese, Ta-lo-pien), who in 583 founded the state of the Western Turks, until he lost power in 587. See Sinor, "The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk Empire," 304–306; Sinor and S. G. Klyashtorny, "The Türk Empire," 333–34. None of these names resembles that of Shābah, and these Turkish potentates were in any case too heavily involved in internal warfare and internecine rivalries within Inner Asia to have begun hostilities with an external power like the Sāsānids.

thousand warriors until he reached Bādhghīs and Harāt;[702] that the king of the Byzantines moved into the outer districts of his empire (*al-ḍawāḥī*) with eighty thousand warriors heading toward him;[703] and that the king of the Khazars moved with a large army toward al-Bāb wa-al-Abwāb (i.e., Darband), wreaking damage and

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702. Bādhghīs is the region of what is now northwestern Afghanistan lying to the north of Herat, the name being known, in the form Wāitigaēsa, since Avestan times. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 318; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 64–65, 67, 70, 77–78; Le Strange, *Lands*, 412–13; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 47–49; *EI*², s.v. Bādghīs or Bādhghīs (W. Barthold and F. R. Allchin); *EIr*, s.v Bādḡīs. I. General and the early period (C. E. Bosworth).

703. The course of Perso-Byzantine relations after the war of 540–45 between Khusraw Anūsharwān and Justinian (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 958–60, p. 252–55 above) until this point is not noted by al-Ṭabarī but was in fact very eventful. There was a prolonged war in Lazica, the westernmost, coastal region of Georgia, the Colchis of Antiquity, from 549 to 561, in which Persia, endeavoring to extend her influence over Armenia and Georgia, had confronted Byzantium, equally concerned to assert a protectorate over these Christian kingdoms (for Sāsānid policy in Persarmenia, that part of eastern Armenia where the Persians claimed control, see *EIr*, s.v. Armenia and Iran. ii. The Pre-Islamic Period. 6. The Sasanian Period. II: Persarmenia [M.L. Chaumont]), and this formed the second of Anūsharwān's wars with the Greeks. The peace treaty of 561, the negotiations for which are described in detail by the Greek historian Menander Protector, giving the text of the Greek version of the treaty *in extenso*, and whose chief Persian representative in them was Īzadh-Gushnasp (later to be a partisan of Bahrām Chūbīn's, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 997, p. 307 below), provided for a fifty years' peace, on analogy with that of 422 between Theodosius II and Bahrām V Gūr, involving Byzantium's paying an annual tribute in return for Persia's renouncing all rights over Lazica and consequent access to the Black Sea. There was also a commercial clause by means of which both powers aimed at controlling—with the imposition of appropriate customs dues—trade conducted by Arab merchants from the Persian Gulf shores and across the Syrian Desert, and a military clause that seems to have aimed at preventing intertribal, or rather, interdynastic hostilities between the respective Arab allies of the Byzantines and Persians, the Jafnids/Ghassānids and the Lakhmids (see Shahîd, "The Arabs in the Peace Treaty of 561," 191–211).

Justinian's expansionist efforts during his long reign were largely concentrated on the west of his empire, and he had been generally content to maintain the status quo in the east. But his nephew and successor Justin II (r. 567–78), having lost much of Italy to the Germanic Lombards who invaded the Po valley in 568, looked to the east for compensatory military glory. Hence the fifty years' peace lasted only ten years. In 572 Justin renounced payment of the tribute and intervened in Armenia to support a revolt of local Christians against the persecutions and attempts to impose Zoroastrianism of the Persian Marzbān Chihr-Gushnasp from the prominent Suren family. By supporting the Armenian rebels, Justin hoped to take advantage of Anūsharwān's preoccupations in the east with the Turkish Khāqān Sinjibū (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 895–96, pp. 152–53 above).

The result was a third war which began with a Persian invasion of Syria, capturing Daras/Dārā and threatening Antioch. The war dragged on for twenty years,

destruction.[704] [They further state] that two men from the Arabs, one called ʿAbbās the Squinter and the other ʿAmr the Blue-Eyed One, encamped with a mighty host of Arabs on the banks of the Euphrates and mounted raids against the inhabitants of the Sawād.[705] His enemies became emboldened against him and

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despite an armistice of 575–78 negotiated on the Persian side by the commander Māhbōdh (whose son Basak (?) is named in al-Ṭabarī, I, 985, p. 291 above, as the fortifier of al-Mushaqqar in eastern Arabia) and on the Greek side by Tiberius (who became emperor as Tiberius II Constantine, r. 578–82, but who was already Caesar and acting emperor after Justin lapsed into insanity in December 574). The truce enabled the *Magister Militum per Orientem* Maurice (subsequently emperor, r. 582–602) to build up his forces for a campaign in the east in 578, but this was preempted by a Persian invasion, under the general Māhbōdh, of the Armenian Taurus region, checked by a counterattack of Maurice which carried the Byzantine offensive as far as the region of Adiabene in northern Mesopotamia. Attempts at a further peace between Tiberius and Anūsharwān were aborted by the Persian king's sudden death in spring 579, for his successor Hormizd preferred to break off relations and continue the war; a sticking-point was the Byzantines' continued refusal to extradite the Armenian leaders of the 572 revolt in Persarmenia.

With the resumption of hostilities, Maurice prepared for war, and now in 580 aimed at involving the Jafnid/Ghassānid al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith (r. 569–82) in warfare along the Syrian Desert fringes (see Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten*, 27–28; Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I/1, 396ff.). After further peace negotiations in 580–81 failed, the Byzantine army under Maurice secured resounding victories in Upper Mesopotamia, including at Constantina/Tall Mawzan, but was still unable to capture the key fortresses of Niṣībīn and Daras/Dārā. The war then continued through Hormizd's reign, with the Byzantine armies commanded by Maurice's brother-in-law Philippicus, by Priscus and then by Phillippicus again till 589, and with fighting concentrated upon such points as Amida/Āmid, Martyropolis/Mayyāfāriqīn, and Daras/Dārā. In 589 Hormizd ordered Bahrām Chūbīn (on whom see n. 706 below), fresh from his victories in the east against the Hephthalites, to invade Siunikʿ (the region between Lake Sevan and the middle course of the Araxes/Aras river) but Bahrām suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the Byzantine general Romanus; it was apparently Hormizd's humiliating treament of the momentarily unsuccessful, but until then highly successful, Bahrām (the Greek historians state that the emperor sent to him women's garments, emblems of weakness and cowardice, while Bahrām responded with a letter addressed to his sovereign merely as "Hormizd, son of Khusraw"), which finally provoked him into rebellion against the king.

See on these events, Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, I, 441–68, II, 95–110; idem, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius to the Death of Justinian*, I, 113–23; M. J. Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice (582–602). Part I. The Chronology, with a Brief History of the Persian Calendar*, 24–41; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 372–74; Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 503–21; P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam. I. Byzance et l'Orient sous les successeurs de Justinien. L'Empéreur Maurice*, 63–127; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 155–56, 158–60, 162–63; Whitby, "Procopius and the Development of Roman Defences in Upper Mesopotamia," 729–30.

raided his lands. They so encompassed his lands that these last became known as a sieve with many holes. It is further said that enemies had encompassed the land of Persia from all sides like the bowstring over the two curved ends of the bow. Shābah, king of the Turks, sent a message to Hurmuz and the great men of the Persians, announcing his advance with his troops and saying, "Put in good repair the bridges over the rivers and wadis so that I may cross over them to your land, and construct bridges over all those [992] rivers which do not already have them. Also, do likewise regarding all the rivers and wadis that lie along my route from your land to that of the Byzantines, because I have determined on marching against them from your land."

Hurmuz became very fearful at all these threats coming upon him, and sought counsel regarding them. The decision was reached for him to move against the king of the Turks. So Hurmuz sent against him a man from the people of al-Rayy called Bahrām, son of Bahrām Jushnas, known as Jūbīn, with twelve thousand men whom Bahrām had personally selected—mature and experienced men, not youngsters.[706] It is stated alternatively that Hur-

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Ḍawāḥī, sing. *ḍāḥiyah*, literally, "exposed, outer side," was a term specially used in early Islamic times for the zones of advanced frontier defenses marking the Byzantine-Arab frontier in the Taurus region of southeastern Anatolia.

704. It does seem that the Khazars had become established in the eastern Caucasus region by the later sixth century, see Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, 43–45; but we have no precise historical mention of this invasion.

705. These two contemptuous and pejorative names (blueness = haggardness, lividness, or blue-eyedness, being regarded as a defect, reflected in the linking of the color with the *mujrimīn* or sinners at the Last Judgment in Qur'ān, XX, 102) may well be fictitious ones. Nothing is otherwise known of these two raiders from the desert except that al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 212 = § 633, gives 'Amr the further sobriquet of *al-Afwah*, "the big-mouthed one," and unhelpfully says that the raiders came from the direction of Yemen.

706. Bahrām Chūbīn (literally "wooden," but explicable, according to A. Sh. Shahbazi, see below, from his tall and slender physique, hence with the sense of "lance, javelin shaft") stemmed from the great family of Mihrān (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 885, p. 131 and n. 340 above) in Rayy and was commander on the eastern frontiers of the Sāsānid realm. His military exploits in the east and his subsequent usurpation of royal power made such an impression on popular consciousness that there arose a popular romance in Pahlavi, the no longer extant *Wahrām Čōbēn-nāmag*. This romance, together with a *Book of Rustam and Isfandiyār*, was translated into Arabic by a secretary of "Hishām" (the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik?), one Jabalah b. Sālim. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 305, 364, tr. Bayard Dodge, II, 589, 716; Nöldeke, trans. 474–48, Excursus 6; Christensen, *Romanen om Bahrâm Tschôbîn, et rekonstruktionsforsøg*. In his own time, Bahrām had been hailed by

muz mustered at that time all those in his capital registered on the *dīwān* rolls (*al-dīwāniyyah*),[707] amounting to seventy thousand warriors. Bahrām advanced rapidly with the troops who had joined him until he had passed Harāt and Bādhghīs. Shābah was unaware of Bahrām's presence until the latter fixed his encampment in his vicinity. Messages went backward and forward between them, and clashes of arms, and Bahrām killed Shābah with an arrow shot at him. It is said that, in the realm of the Persians, supreme skill in archery was attributed to three men: '.r.sh.sh.yāṭ.y.n's shot in the war between Manūshihr and Afrāsiyāb (text, "Firāsiyāt");[708]
[993] Sūkhrā's shot in the war against the Turks;[709] and this shot of Bahrām's. He declared Shābah's encampment to be lawful booty, and established himself in that place. B.r.mūdhah,[710] Shābah's

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many as something of a messianic figure who was to save the Sāsānid kingdom from chaos and to restore the glories of his Arsacid forebears, although subsequent writings on the downfall of the Sāsānid kingdom, written in Pahlavi and stemming from the early Islamic period, generally take what might be called a Persian legitimist view and portray Bahrām as a base-born usurper whose actions contributed to the decline and confusion of the state in its last decades. See K. Czeglédy, "Bahrām Čōbīn and the Persian Apocalyptic Literature," 32–43, and on him on general, Nöldeke, trans. 270 n. 3; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 443–45; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 163–65; *EI*², s.v. Bahrām (Cl. Huart and H. Massé); *EIr*, s.v. Bahrām. vii. Bahrām VI Čōbīn (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

707. An anachronistic use of the Islamic administrative term, that used to denote the register of names of the Arab *muqātilah* or warriors and their pay allotments, the system instituted, so the story goes, by the caliph 'Umar I, although the word itself is assumed to stem ultimately from Old Persian *dipi-*, "document, inscription," but probably with even older antecedents. See *EIr*, s.v. Dīvān. i. The term (F. C. de Blois), and also al-Ṭabarī, I, 877, p. 116 above, where *dīwān* is used for the king Fīrūz's perpatetic exchequer.

708. Thus in Nöldeke's text, but n. *e* offers a variety of readings from the manuscripts, with Marquart, in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCIV, following Darmesteter, offering also *Irishshibāṭīr*. For his translation, 271, Nöldeke chose from among the various readings *Arishsātīn*. The first element of the name is clearly the personal name Arish, the MP form of Avestan Erəxša-, of uncertain meaning. In Iranian legendary history, Arish or Kay Arish, the Avestan Kawi Arshan, was the celebrated archer who shot an arrow a prodigious distance to establish the boundary between Iran and Afrāsiyāb's Turan, as mentioned here. The Arsacids traced their descent back to Kay Arish, regarded in the Pahlavi sources as the grandson of Kay Kawād. See Nöldeke, trans. 271 n. 2; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 29–30, 88–89; Mayrhofer, *Die altiranischen Namen*, 38 no. 114; Yarshater, "Iranian National History." 373, 406, 444, 475. Nöldeke was, however, unable to suggest any plausible explanation of the second element *sātīn* (or however it should be read)

709. See I, 877, p. 116 above, for this incident.

710. Again a doubtful rendering of a name that does not look very Turkish in its

son, who was the equal of his father, marched against Bahrām. Bahrām attacked him, put him to flight, and besieged him in a certain fortress of his. Bahrām pressed B.r.mūdhah so hard that he surrendered to him. Bahrām sent him back captive to Hurmuz and plundered immense treasures that were laid up in the fortress. It is said that he transported to Hurmuz wealth, jewels, vessels, weapons, and other plundered items amounting to two hundred fifty-thousand camels' loads. Hurmuz thanked Bahrām for the booty he had gained and which had reached him.

However, Bahrām was afraid of Hurmuz's violence, as were the troops who were with him, so he threw off allegiance to Hurmuz, advanced toward al-Madā'in, showed vexation at Hurmuz's behavior, and proclaimed that Hurmuz's son Abarwīz was more fitted for the royal power than he. Certain of those in Hurmuz's court circle threw in their lot with the rebels. For this reason Abarwīz, fearing Hurmuz, fled to Azerbaijan; a number of the Marzbāns and Iṣbahbadhs joined him there and gave him their allegiance. The great men and the nobles at al-Madā'in, including Bindūyah (text, "Bindī") and Bisṭām, maternal uncles of Abarwīz, rose up, deposed Hurmuz, blinded him with a red-hot needle but left him alive, shrinking from the crime of actually killing him.[711]

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present form. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 81, has the much more Turkish-looking *Y.l.t.kīn* for it, but Nöldeke was very likely correct in suspecting that this was the invention of a later age when names for soldiers, etc., compounded with the ancient Turkish, originally princely, title of *tégin* were becoming familiar within the Islamic world.

711. Bindūyah (a hypocoristic from Winda-(farnah?) "possessing royal glory," see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 368–69, 370–71) and Bisṭām (see on this name n. 237 above) were members of one of the seven greatest families of Persia, regarded as almost on a level with the families of the Arsacids and Sāsānids, that of Spābadh. Their father Shabūr had been killed by Hormizd in his purge of magnates of the realm whom he regarded with suspicion (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 990, p. 297 above), hence the revenge of the two sons in this rebellion against the king. See Nöldeke, trans. 273 n. 1, 439 Excursus 3; *EIr*, s.v. Besṭām o Bendōy (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

The mode of blinding mentioned here (Ar. *samala*, Pers. *mīl kashīdan*) was often employed in order to avoid physical desecration or disfiguring of the body of a person invested with the divinely buttressed aura of kingship, etc. Procopius, *The Persian War*, I.vi.17, states that the Persians used either to pour boiling olive oil into the victim's wide-open eyes or else to prick the eyeballs with a heated needle. Al-Ṭabarī, I, 998, p. 310 below, and other sources state further that Hormizd was shortly afterward murdered, either directly on Khusraw Abarwēz's orders, as the Byzantine chronicler Theophylactus Simocatta alleges, or with his complicity, as

News of this reached Abarwīz, and he set out from Azerbaijan, with his retinue, for the capital, hastening to get there before Bahrām. Having arrived at al-Madā'in, Abarwīz seized the royal power and prepared to defend himself against Bahrām. The two of them met together on the bank of the Nahrawān river,[712] where disputation and confrontation took place between them. Abarwīz sought to convince Bahrām that he would guarantee his security, exalt him in rank, and raise the status of his governorship; but
[994] Bahrām would not accept that.[713]

Various battles took place between them, until Abarwīz was compelled to flee to Byzantium, seeking help from its king, after a fierce battle and a night attack launched by both sides. It is said that Bahrām had with him a detachment of especially strong troops, including a group of three of the leading Turkish warriors, unequalled among the rest of the Turks for their equestrian skills (*furūsiyyah*) and their strength, who had undertaken to Bahrām that they would kill Abarwīz. On the morning after the night attack, Abarwīz stood firm and summoned his troops to give battle to Bahrām, but they were reluctant to stir. The group of three Turks attacked him, but Abarwīz went out to engage them and killed them one by one with his own hand. He then abandoned the battlefield, aware that his followers had been reluctant to fight and were wavering in their allegiance. He went to his father at Ctesiphon, entered his presence, told him what was apparent to him regarding his troops' attitude, and sought his advice. Hurmuz advised him to make his way to Mawrīq (Maurice), the king of the Byzantines, in order to seek help from him. He placed his womenfolk and children in a place secure from Bahrām and set off with a small number of companions, including Bindūyah, Bisṭām and Kurdī, brother of Bahrām Jūbīn. He reached Antioch, and wrote to

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al-Ṭabarī says. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, 444.

712. That is, the canal that ran a two hundred miles' course, parallel to and eastward of the Tigris, from near Takrīt in the north to Mādharāyā in the south. See further on the region of Nahrawān n. 615 above.

713. As Nöldeke, trans. 273 n. 1, and 274 n. 2, observed, the course of all these events, which were to culminate in Khusraw Abarwēz's triumph over Bahrām Chūbīn, is extremely confused in the sources, with Theophylactus having the clearest and fullest narrative here. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, 444–45; *EIr*, s.v. Bahrām. vii. Bahrām VI Čōbīn (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

Mawrīq. The latter received him and gave him in marriage his daughter, called Maryam (Mary), who was very precious to him. The complete extent of Hurmuz, son of Kisrā's reign was, according to certain authorities, eleven years, nine months, and ten days, and according to Hishām b. Muḥammad, twelve years.[714]

[Kisrā II Abarwīz]

Then there assumed the royal power Kisrā Abarwīz.[715] [995]

[He was] the son of Hurmuz, the son of Kisrā Anūsharwān, and was one of the outstanding kings of the dynasty in regard to bravery, one of them with the most incisive judgment, and one with the most far-sighted perceptions. According to what has been mentioned, his strength in battle, valor, successfulness, victoriousness, accumulation of wealth and treasuries, the assistance to his cause of fate and of the times, reached a pitch that had never been vouchsafed to any king more exalted than he. Hence he was called Abarwīz, meaning in Arabic "The Victorious One."

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714. For more detailed comment on these events, including Bahrām's revolt, Khusraw Abarwēz's appeal to the Byzantine emperor Maurice, and his alleged marriage to a Byzantine princess, see the second, fuller narrative of these events by al-Ṭabarī at I, 995ff., pp. 305ff. below.

In the Arabic and Persian sources, the story of the three-sided struggle between Hormizd, Khusraw Abarwēz, and Bahrām Chūbīn is given in detail by al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 79–84 and Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. II, 266ff., and more cursorily by al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 187–91, and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 212–15 = §§ 633–35. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 444–46; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 164–65, 178; *EIr*, s.v. Bahrām VI Čōbīn (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

Hormizd IV's period of power was 579–90, see Frye, op. cit., 178. His name appears on his coins as AUHRMZDY. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 66, 384–85, 479–83, Plate XX, Tables XXVI-XXVII; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 52, Table XI, Plate 12; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 145–47; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 237.

The Arabic sources on his reign in general include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 664; al-Ya'qūbī, op. cit., I, 187–91; al-Dīnawarī, op. cit., 74–84; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 195–211 = §§ 617–31; idem, *Tanbīh*, 102, tr. 146; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 469–72. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabari-Bal'amī, trans. II, 246–53. Of modern studies, see the ones detailed in the previous paragraph.

715. MP *abarwēz*, NP *parwēz*, "victorious." See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 19; Nöldeke, trans. 275 n. 3. This point is the beginning of the second, fuller narrative of events surrounding the deposition of Hormizd, the revolt of Bahrām Chūbīn and the eventual triumph of Khusraw Abarwēz.

It is mentioned that, when he became apprehensive of what his father Hurmuz intended, on account of the scheming of Bahrām Jūbīn over this, and when it had reached the point that Hurmuz imagined that Abarwīz was planning to seize the royal power for himself, Abarwīz left secretly for Azerbaijan. Subsequently, he proclaimed his cause openly there. When he reached that region, a group of the Iṣbahbadhs and others who were there rallied to him and gave him their allegiance, promising to give him aid, but he made no [positive] steps toward that. It is also said that, when Ādhīn Jushnas,[716] who had been sent to combat Bahrām Jūbīn, was killed, the army accompanying Ādhīn Jushnas scattered and finally made its way to al-Madā'in. Jūbīn pursued them, and Hurmuz's[717] position became very unsure. Ādhīn Jushnas's sister, who had been the youthful companion of Abarwīz, wrote to him, informing him of Hurmuz's weak position as a result of what had happened to Ādhīn Jushnas and telling him that the great men of state had resolved upon deposing Hurmuz. She further told him that, if Jūbīn reached al-Madā'in before he could get there, Jūbīn would occupy it. When the letter reached Abarwīz, he gathered together all the troops he could from Armenia and Azerbaijan, and with them marched on al-Madā'in. The leading figures and nobles rallied to him, full of joy at his arrival. He assumed the royal crown and seated himself on his throne. He said: "It is part of our religion to choose piety [above all other things], and part of our considered opinion to do good works. Our grandfather Kisra, son
[996] of Qubādh, was like a parent for you, and our father Hurmuz was a just judge for you; so ensure that you remain obedient and submissive now."

On the third day, Abarwīz went to his father, prostrated himself before him and said, "May God grant you long life, O king! You

716. This name appears variously in the sources. Nöldeke adopted his reading here, see trans. 276 n. 2, on a basis of the readings of al-Ṭabarī and al-Ya'qūbī alone among the sources. Justi, *Namenbuch*, 5, 354–55, interpreted this putative name as from *ādhīn* "ornament" + *gushnasp* "strong, powerful." But Mr F. C. de Blois has pointed out that Justi's translation is certainly wrong: rather, for *ādhīn* read MP *ēwēn* "manner, custom" (NP *ā'īn*), while *gushnasp* means "stallion" and is also the name of a sacred fire. He suggests that a rendering *Ādur-gushnasp would make better sense here.

717. Correcting the name *Bahrām* of the text to *Hurmuz*, as in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCIV, and Nöldeke, trans. 276.

know that I am innocent of what your false-hearted subjects (literally, "hypocrites," *munāfiqūn*) did to you. I went into hiding and made for Azerbaijan out of fear that you had the intention to kill me." Hurmuz gave credence to this apology, saying, "O my dear son, I have two requests to make of you, so aid me in implementing these. The first one is that you should take vengeance on my behalf upon those who took part in my deposition and blinding,[718] and that you should show no mercy toward them. The second one is that you should appoint every day three persons of firm judgment to keep me company and that you should instruct them to come into my presence." Abarwīz showed himself humble and submissive toward him, and said, "O king, may God grant you long life! The rebel Bahrām is threatening us from very near and has on his side courage and bravery; we do not at present have the power to stretch forth our hand against those who perpetrated what they did against you, but if God gives me the upper hand over the false-hearted one, then I shall act as your representative and the willing agent of your hand."

Bahrām got news of Kisrā's approach and of how the people had made Abarwīz king. He hastened toward al-Madā'in with his troops. Abarwīz sent out spies against him. When Bahrām drew near to him, Abarwīz thought that the best course was to negotiate with him peaceably. So he girded on his weapons, and ordered Bindūyah, Bisṭām, a group of the great men whom he trusted, and a thousand men of his troops to put on their best array and gird on their weapons. Abarwīz set out from his fortress with them against Bahrām, with the people calling down blessings on his head, and surrounded by Bindūyah, Bisṭām, and all the other leading figures until he halted on the bank of the Nahrawān river. When Bahrām perceived the full extent of Abarwīz's panoply, he set out on a piebald mount (*birdhawn . . . ablaq*), which he especially held dear, wearing no mailed coat and accompanied by Īzadh [997]
Jushnas[719] and three men who were kinsmen of the king of the Turks. These last had pledged their lives to Bahrām that they

718. That is, on Bindūyah, Bisṭām, and their allies, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 993, p. 303 above.

719. That is, *īzad* "God" + *gushnasp* (see n. 716 above); see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 145–46, 354–55.

would hand over to him Abarwīz as a prisoner, and he had given them extensive wealth as payment for this.

When Bahrām saw Kisrā's fine figure, his splendid outfit, his crown going with him, accompanied by the unfurled banner of Kāwah (*dirafsh-i Kābiyān*), their supremely mighty flag,[720] and when he saw Bindūyah, Bisṭām, and the rest of the great men, their fine weapons, their splendor, and their mounts, he became downcast at all this, and commented to his companions, "Do you not see that the son of a whore has put on flesh and grown fat, has made the transition from youth to manhood experience, has acquired an ample beard and a full-grown mustache,[721] and his body has become stout." While he was uttering these words, having stationed himself on the bank of the Nahrawān river, Kisrā said to one of those standing with him, "Which of these is Bahrām?" One of Bahrām's brothers called Kurdī, who had never wavered in his allegiance to Abarwīz and had remained one of his followers, said, "May God grant you long life, the man on the piebald steed!" Kisrā began his speech with the following words: "O Bahrām, you are one of the supports of our kingdom and a pillar for our subjects; you have exerted yourself nobly in our service. We have seen fit to choose some day auspicious for you[722] in order to appoint you to

720. This banner is said to have been originally the apron of the blacksmith Kāwah who, in the Iranian national epic, led a successful revolt against the tyrant Zohāk, although the legend is, according to Christensen, of comparatively late, Sāsānid origin. By that time, it was equated with the royal standard of the Persian kings, and several Arabic authors (e.g., al-Ṭabarī, I, 2174–75; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 224 = § 1556; al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 115) purport to describe it. By the time of these authors, however, the banner had long ceased to exist, being captured, according to the historians, at the decisive battle of al-Qādisiyyah between the Persians and Arabs in 15/636 or 16/637. See Nöldeke, trans. 278 n. 1; Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 43; idem, *Sassanides*, 502–504; *EI*², s.v. Kāwah (Ed.).

721. Following the preferred reading of the Sprenger ms. *shāribihī* (text, n. c), for the text's *shabābihi*.

722. That is, auspicious from the astrological aspect. It is emphasized in later Islamic literature, and, in particular, in the works of the third/ninth-century author al-Jāḥiẓ of Baṣrah and apocryphal works attributed to him, that hemerology, the skill of choosing auspicious days for planned actions, had in considerable measure passed to the Arabs from the Persians, with the official astrologers already significant figures at the Sāsānid court. In the *Kitāb al-tāj* or *Kitāb akhlāq al-mulūk*, attributed (but almost certainly falsely) to al-Jāḥiẓ, it is stated that when Ardashīr I Pābagān divided up Persian society into four classes (an item of information that figures extensively in the sources; see Marlow, *Hierarchy and Egalitar-*

the office of Iṣbahbadh of the whole land of Persia." Bahrām, however, replied, "But I have chosen for *you* a day for crucifying you!" Kisrā was filled with trepidation, even though nothing of it showed in his face. Bahrām said to Abarwīz, "O son of an adulteress, raised in the tents of the Kurds!" and other words like it, and accepted nothing whatever of what Abarwīz had offered him. There was mention of Arish, Bahrām's forefather, and Abarwīz reproached him over Arish's obedience to Abarwīz's own forefather Manūshihr.[723] The two of them separated, each one showing the most violent hostility to the other. [998]

Bahrām had a sister called Kurdiyah, one of the most accomplished of women and most endowed of them with qualities, whom he had married.[724] She reproached Bahrām for his evil speech adressed to Kisrā and his attempt to bring him under his own obedience, but he would have none of it. A martial engagement between Kisrā and Bahrām took place. It is said that, on the morning after the night battle, Kisrā sallied forth for combat in person. The three Turks saw him and made for him, but Abarwīz killed them with his own hand. He urged on his troops to battle, but perceived that they were flagging. He decided to go to some other monarch and seek military help from him. He went first to his father [Hurmuz], seeking his advice; Hurmuz considered that Abarwīz's best course was to make his way to the king of the Byzantines. He placed his womenfolk in a secure place and set out with a small body of men, including Bindūyah, Bisṭām, and Bahrām's brother Kurdī. When they left al-Madā'in, the mass of Abarwīz's supporters (*al-qawm*), however, were afraid that Bahrām would restore Hurmuz to the royal power and write to the king of the Byzantines on his behalf that Abarwīz's delegation be

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ianism in Islamic Thought, 79–83), physicians, scribes, and astrologers formed the third class. See *Kitāb al-tāj*, tr. 53; Gabrieli, "Etichetta di corte e costumi sasanidi nel Kitāb Aḫlāq al-Mulūk di al-Ǧāḥiẓ," 296–97; *EI*², s.v. Ikhtiyārāt (T. Fahd).

723. On Arish, see n. 708 above, where is mentioned the claims of the Arsacids, Bahrām's alleged forebears, to descent from the Kay Arish of Iranian legendary history.

724. As Nöldeke observed, trans. 279 n. 6, such a marriage would be allowable and even praiseworthy in Zoroastrian law and custom, though repugnant to the Muslim Firdawsī, who suppresses mention of it in the *Shāh-nāmah*. It would also have been unacceptable to the pre-Islamic Arabs; see Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 164.

sent back so that they might be put to death. They told this to Abarwīz and sought permission from him to kill Hurmuz; but he made no reply. Hence Bindūyah, Bisṭām, and some of their followers went to Hurmuz, strangled him to death, and then returned to Kisrā. They said, "You can now proceed under the best possible auguries."[725]

They urged on their mounts and came to the Euphrates, crossed it, and took the way through the desert under the guidance of a man called Khurshīdhān,[726] arriving at a certain monastery on the edge of the cultivated land. While they encamped in the courtyard there, a cavalry squadron of Bahrām's, commanded by a man called Bahrām, son of Siyāwush, came upon them by surprise. Once they became aware of this, Bindūyah woke Abarwīz from his slumber and told him, "Use some stratagem [for escaping], for the enemy are on top of you." Kisrā replied, "I have no means of
[999] escaping," so Bindūyah told him that he would sacrifice his own life for him, and asked him to hand over his weapons and equipment and to flee with his retainers from the monastery. They did this, and hurried on ahead of the enemy until they were able to conceal themselves in the mountains. When Bahrām, son of Siyāwush, arrived, Bindūyah, girded with Abarwīz's weapons and equipment, showed himself to Bahrām from the top of the monastery, and let Bahrām thereby imagine that he was Abarwīz. He asked Bahrām to grant him a respite until the next morning, when he would peacefully deliver himself into his hands. Hence Bahrām left him alone and only later was his stratagem revealed. Bahrām, son of Siyāwush, took Bindūyah back with him to Jūbīn, who consigned Bindūyah to imprisonment in Bahrām's custody.

It is said that Bahrām [Jūbīn] entered the royal palaces at al-Madā'in and sat down on the royal throne. The prominent leaders and great men of state gathered round him, and Bahrām addressed

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725. These words, and those of other sources, no doubt express the degree of Khusraw's complicity in his father's killing: satisfaction with the result without having to stain his own hands with blood. Khusraw's conduct here was certainly Machiavellian; Nöldeke, 281 n. 1, adduces the parallel of the Russian emperor Alexander I, who in 1801 certainly had prior knowledge of the planned murder of his father Paul I.

726. That is, Khurshēdh, Avestan *hvarə-xšaēta*, literally "sun." See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 180; Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1848.

them, abusing Abarwīz violently and blaming him. Several sessions of argument and disputation took place between him and the prominent leaders, all of whom were averse to him. Nevertheless, Bahrām seated himself on the royal throne and had himself crowned, and the people gave him obedience out of fear.[727] It is said that Bahrām, son of Siyāwush, agreed with Bindūyah on assassinating Jūbīn, but the latter got to know about it, and had Bahrām, son of Siyāwush, executed. Bindūyah, however, escaped and managed to reach Azerbaijan.

Abarwīz journeyed onward until he reached Antioch, and from there wrote to Mawrīq, the king of the Byzantines, sending to him a delegation of his retainers and asking him for military aid.[728]

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727. Bahrām Chūbīn entered Ctesiphon in summer 590. There was clearly a reluctance among the great men of state in the capital that the ancient house of the Sāsānids should be set aside by Bahrām. The latter, for his part, claimed to be the restorer of the even more ancient house of the Arsacids, who had been displaced by the upstart Ardashīr (I) b. Sāsān, son of a mere shepherd, and he took advantage of apocalyptic beliefs which, so he asserted, foretold himself as the future savior of the land of Iran from such external foes as the Byzantines and the Hephthalites. In Ctesiphon he assumed the complete royal style, being crowned and issuing coins, although according to Theophylactus and al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 90, he hedged his bets by proclaiming to the nobles that he was only acting as regent for Hormizd's young son Shahriyār until the latter should reach maturity. Despite his efforts, Bahrām was never able to persuade the Persian aristocracy and the Zoroastrian clergy that he held a social position above their own or that he enjoyed the divine favor, and a strong party of them continued to favor the cause of Khusraw Abarwēz as successor to his father. Bahrām had accordingly to turn to other elements for support, including that of the Jews; subsequently, Khusraw's commander Māhbōdh slaughtered many Jews in retaliation. See Neusner, "Jews in Iran," 916.

Bahrām VI Chūbīn reigned in Ctesiphon 590–91. His name appears on his coins as VRḤR'N. See on his coins, Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 66–67, 385–86, 483–84, Plate XX, Table XXVII; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 52, Table XI, Plate 12; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 148–49; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 237.

See on his career and reign Nöldeke, trans. 282 n. 2; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 444–45; Czeglédy, "Bahrām Čōbīn and the Persian Apocalyptic Literature," 25–27; *EIr*, s.v. Bahrām. vii. Bahrām VI Čōbīn (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

728. Both the exact date of Khusraw Abarwēz's appeal to Maurice and the exact route he followed from the Persian capital to the Byzantine lands present certain problems. However, it seems likely that the date was the late spring of 590. Antioch, mentioned here by al-Ṭabarī as the place to which Khusraw fled, was deep in Byzantine territory, and it is much more probable, on the basis of fairly exact itineraries in Theophylactus and the *Anonymus Guidi*, that Khusraw and his entourage traveled from the region of Ctesiphon up the Euphrates valley via Fīrūz-

Mawrīq agreed to this, and things went so far that he gave Abarwīz his daughter Maryam in marriage and had her conveyed to him.[729] Furthermore, he sent to Abarwīz his brother Thiyādhūs (Theodosius)[730] with an army of sixty thousand warriors, headed by a man called Sarjīs (Sergius), who was [in practice] in charge of all the army's affairs, and another man whose strength was equal to a thousand men.[731] He laid down as conditions that Abarwīz should

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Shāpūr/al-Anbār, Hīt and 'Ānah to Circesium/Qarqīsiyā at the confluence of the Khābūr and Euphrates, the first fortified point within Byzantine territory.

Bahrām had tried to purchase Byzantine neutrality in the struggle by offering to cede Niṣībīn and the lands held by the Persians right up to the Tigris. But Maurice must have felt that it was better for Byzantine interests to have a young and inexperienced Khusraw Abarwēz on the throne than the battle-hardened warrior Bahrām, and he may also have hoped to extract concessions for the Christians within the Persian realm if Khusraw were to prevail. At all events, Maurice disregarded the advice of the Senate in Constantinople, which was suspicious of affordng any help to the ancestral foe, and a Byzantine army to be commanded by the *Magister Militum* Narses was promised as aid for Khusraw. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 112; Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice (582–602), Part I*, 42–54; Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, I, 131–45.

729. As Nöldeke pointed out, trans. 283 n. 2, the Persian historical tradition and later romantic literature makes this Byzantine princess the mother of Khusraw Abarwēz's son and successor Kawād II Shērōy, whereas the Greek sources do not mention her. Nöldeke did not at the time when he made his translation of al-Ṭabarī know of the Syriac *Anonymus Guidi* (the earlier, greater part of which may, it has recently been suggested, have been written by Elias of Marw: personal communication from Dr. Sebastian Brock). This chronicle does in fact, mention her as one of Khusraw's two Christian wives (see trans. Nöldeke, 10). Another Syriac chronicler like Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē records the marriage with much circumstantial detail, e.g., that she was accompanied to the Persian capital by bishops and clergy and that Khusraw built for her two places of worship (*hayklē*), one dedicated to St. Sergius and the other to Mary, the Mother of Jesus (see trans. Palmer, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, 117). It seems that there was some confusion between the Byzantine princess Maria and the celebrated Shīrīn, Khusraw's beloved, the subject of so many later Persian romances, and Theophylactus makes *Sirē* likewise of Byzantine origin. However, Shīrīn is said by the *Anonymus Guidi*, loc. cit., to have been of Aramaean origin from the district around what was later al-Baṣrah. As the mother of Khusraw's son Mardān Shāh and the mother or foster mother of another son, Shahriyār, she showed herself hostile to Shērōy after her husband's death. The historicity of Khusraw's supposed marriage with Maria must remain very dubious. See von Gutschmid, "Bemerkungen zu Tabari's Sasanidengeschichte," 744; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 208–209; Garsoïan, "Byzantium and the Sasanians," 579.

730. Nöldeke, trans. 284 n. 1, corrected "brother" to "son," as in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 92, and later Persian sources.

731. al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 92, speaks of "ten men from among the

treat him with respect and cease requiring the tribute his forefathers had exacted from the kings of the Byzantines. When the Byzantine troops reached Abarwīz, he was filled with joy and allowed them five days' rest after their arrival. Then he reviewed them and appointed officers (*'urafā'*) over them. The army included in its numbers Thiyādhūs, Sarjīs, and the champion warrior who was the equal of a thousand men. He went with them [1000] until he reached Azerbaijan and encamped on a plain called al-Danaq (?).[732] Bindūyah and a man from the Iṣbahbadhs of that region called Mūshīl[733] with forty thousand warriors met up with him there, and people from Fārs, Iṣbahān, and Khurāsān rushed[734] to Abarwīz's standard.

Bahrām got news of Abarwīz's taking up his position on the plain of al-Danaq and set out toward him from al-Madā'in. Several violent clashes took place between them in which the Byzantine champion was killed. It is said that Abarwīz engaged Bahrām's forces, quite separately from the main body of the army, with just fourteen of his soldiers, including Bahrām's brother Kurdī, Bindūyah, Bisṭām, Sabūr, son of Afriyān, Abādh, son of Farrukhzādh, and Farrukh Hurmuz,[735] in a fierce hand-to-hand fight. The Zoroastrians (*al-Majūs*) assert that Abarwīz got trapped in a defile and Bahrām pursued him thither, but when Bahrām was sure that he had Abarwīz in his power, something that could not be comprehended (i.e., some supernatural power) took the latter up to the

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Hazārmardān," *hazārmard* "[having the strength of] a thousand men," being a frequent sobriquet of valiant warriors, as Nöldeke, trans. 284 n. 2, points out.

732. Minorsky, "Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene," 88–89, discussed the readings for this unidentified name, which include Firdawsī's *Dūk*, and he thought that MP *d.w.k* might lie behind it. He also noted the frequent confusion in Arabic orthography of final *kāf* and *lām* and the existence of a place name Dūl to the southeast of Lake Urmiya. For the probable location of the final battle between Bahrām and the combined forces of the Byzantine army and Khusraw, see n. 736 below,

733. Reading thus for the text's *Mūsīl*, since Nöldeke, trans. 285 n. 3, identified him as Mushel, the Armenian ruler of Mūsh in eastern Anatolia, from the famous Mamikonian family.

734. Following the reading *wa-inqaḍḍa* in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCIV.

735. Following the reconstruction of these names—all fourteen of them being given in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāmah*—in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCIV, two of them, Sābūr, son of Afriyān, and Abādh, son of Farrukhzād, being to a considerable extent differently rendered in Nöldeke's original edition and his translation, 286, rendering some of the etymological speculations in his n. 2 invalid.

top of the mountain. It is mentioned that the astrologers agreed that Abarwīz would reign for forty-eight years. Abarwīz went out to engage Bahrām in single combat. He wrested Bahrām's spear from his hand and battered his head with it until the spear broke. Bahrām became downhearted about his cause; he grew fearful, and realized that he had no hope of withstanding Abarwīz. Hence he retreated toward Khurāsān and thence to the Turks.[736]

Abarwīz, meanwhile, journeyed to al-Madā'in after he had distributed twenty million [dirhams] among the Byzantine troops and had sent them back to Mawrīq. It is said that Abarwīz wrote a letter to the Christians giving them permission to establish their churches (*'imārat biya'ihim*) and allowing anyone who wished, with the exception of the Zoroastrians, to adopt their faith.[737] In

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736. Bahrām's troops in the vicinity of Nisībīn had at the beginning of 591 gone over to Khusraw's side on hearing of the latter's alliance with the Byzantines, so that Khusraw then controlled Upper Mesopotamia. The combined forces of Narses and Khusraw's general Mābōdh captured Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Weh Andiyōg Shābūr in summer 591, and Bahrām then faced the combined threat of Narses' army plus a mixed Persian-Armenian-Byzantine force under Bindūyah and the Greek general John Mysticus, moving southward from Armenia into Upper Mesopotamia. In Azerbaijan, on a plain to the east of Lake Urmiya, by a river called by the Byzantine historians Balarath, near the fortified point of Ganzakos (identified by Minorsky with the course of the Mūri Chay to the south of modern Marāghah), the armies met. Although Bahrām's army included a contingent of "Turks" plus a troop of war elephants, it was decisively defeated, with the victors seizing Bahrām's royal tent, harem, children, and jewels. He himself managed to escape with a small force of some four thousand men to Nīshāpūr and thence across the Oxus to the "land of the Turks." See Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice (582–602), Part I*, 51–54; Minorsky, "The Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene," 87–91; Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, I, 147–62; *EIr*, s.v. Bahrām. vii. Bahrām (VI) Čōbīn (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

737. As Nöldeke noted, trans. 288 n. 1, Zoroastrian church law—like the subsequent Islamic one—prescribed death as the penalty for apostasy from that faith. The Greek and Syriac sources record that Khusraw Anūsharwān had executed high-born Persian converts to Christianity and had put to death the Monophysite Catholicos because he had baptised members of the imperial family; in the Perso-Byzantine treaty of 562 (see n. 703 above), this penalty for proselytism had been prescribed as the reflex of freedom of worship for the Christians. On Khusraw Abarwēz's policy toward the Christians, see Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 208–35; Asmussen, "Christians in Iran," 946. Labourt highlights the great influence at Khusraw's court of his treasurer, the Nestorian Yazdīn, descendant of the martyr Pethion (see n. 487 above) and the official responsible for collecting the land tax. Yazdīn was a member of a rich and influential Nestorian family from the vicinity of Dastagird in eastern Iraq (see on this place, n. 756 below); a

this connection he adduced the fact that Anūsharwān had made a peace agreement with (*kāna hādana*) Qayṣar regarding the tribute that he exacted from the Byzantine ruler, and had stipulated that [1001] those of his [Zoroastrian] compatriots who were in the Byzantine ruler's lands should be kindly treated and that the monarch should build fire temples for them in his lands. Qayṣar, for his part, had made a similar stipulation in regard to the Christians [in the Persian lands].[738]

Bahrām remained among the Turks, highly honored by the king, until Abarwīz intrigued against him by sending a man called Hurmuz.[739] He sent him to the Turks with valuable jewels and other things, and Hurmuz was able to worm his way into the confidence

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Yezdīnābādh mentioned in Adiabene may reflect their property interests. This family was for long prominent in the financial administration of the Persian realm, and various of its members were generous benefactors of the Nestorian Church. Nevertheless, the see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon remained vacant from the Catholicos Gregory's death in 609 till the end of Khusraw's reign in 628, and Yazdīn was unable to secure authorisation for his replacement (op. cit., 230–31).

738. The peace treaty of autumn 591, which concluded the Byzantine intervention in Persia, involved honors and presents for the Byzantine commanders and for the Armenian allies of Khusraw, with the Prince Sṃbat Bagratuni being appointed Marzbān of Hyrcania/Gurgān. Khusraw now renounced his claims to some two-thirds of Armenia. Maurice recovered the town of Martyropolis, captured by the Persians in 588, and Daras/Dārā was returned to him, although there was no question of the wide range of territory promised to Maurice by Bahrām being relinquished, and Niṣībīn remained firmly in Persian hands. The financial provisions were important, but the twenty million dirhams mentioned by al-Ṭabarī here were in practice a lesser sum, since they had to be set against the arrears of tribute due from the Byzantines in previous years. In the sphere of protocol, the Persian emperor now for the first time agreed to address the Byzantine monarch as Basileus in official correspondence instead of just Caesar (although it was to be Heraclius in 629, after his crushing victory over the Sāsānids, who was formally to adopt the title Basileus, previously used informally; see I. Shahîd, "The Iranian Factor in Byzantium during the Reign of Heraclius," 295–96). According to Theophylactus, Maurice agreed to leave behind at Ctesiphon a force of one thousand Byzantine troops as Khusraw's personal guard. See Nöldeke, trans. 287 n. 1; Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 112; Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, I, 163–70; *EIr*, s.v. Byzantine-Iranian Relations. 1. Before the Islamic Conquest (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

739. This man appears in, e.g., al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 80, 83, and al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 193–94, with the further component to his name of Jarābzīn (with Jalābzīn also found in the sources, including al-Ṭabarī, I, 1030, p. 360–61 and n. 864 below), the Zalabzan of Byzantine Greek historians. See Nöldeke, trans. 289 n. 1.

of Khātūn, the king's wife, and win her over with those jewels and other things, until she engaged agents who secretly brought about Bahrām's death.[740] It is said that Khāqān grieved over his killing, and sent a message to Kurdiyah, Bahrām's sister and wife, informing her of the fate that had come upon Bahrām through his respon-

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740. The story of Bahrām's murder through feminine wiles is narrated in considerable detail by al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 98–100, also in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 193–94, at fair length, laconically in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 222–23 = §§ 642–43, and Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 302–303. Bahrām's troops are said to have feared for their continued safety among the "Turks" after their commander's death and to have returned to the security of the fastnesses of Daylam in the Elburz mountains, where Sāsānid control was negligible, taking part later in the revolt of Bisṭām.

At-Ṭabarī records nothing of the fates of Khusraw Abarwēz's two great-uncles Bindūyah and Bisṭām (on whom see n. 711 above). Al-Dīnawarī, op. cit., 101–105, and al-Ya'qūbī, op. cit., I, 194–95, deal with them at length and in the same romantic guise as the legends around Bahrām Chūbīn's end, concluding with Bisṭām's revolt and eventual death through the craftiness of Kurdiyah, Bahrām's sister. Certain Greek and Armenian sources have more prosaic but much briefer references. Theophylactus states that Khusraw took vengeance on all those who had been involved in the deposition and blinding of his father Hormizd, and had Bindūyah thrown into the Tigris; the Armenian historian Sebeos says that Bisṭām fled to "Parthia" and was later treacherously killed by a "Kushan" ruler of the east. The *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 8–9, also records their deaths. There was thus in Nöldeke's time little hard historical fact on the revolt, but in his trans. 478–87, Excursus 7, he extracted what he could out of the meager evidence. He concluded that Khusraw probably dealt with Bindūyah fairly quickly, but that Bisṭām, who had been appointed Marzbān of Khurāsān, did not rebel until 591 or early 592, and that he maintained himself virtually independent in northern Persia till the end of 595, since coins of his are extant, dated to what are called years 2–6 of his reign. We now know considerably more, above all through the information given by al-Dīnawarī (known to Nöldeke but still in manuscript and apparently not fully accessible to him) and from fresh numismatic evidence. It seems accordingly that Bisṭām held power ca. 590–96 over a considerable stretch of territory in the north, from Media/Jibāl and the Caspian provinces to Khurāsān as far as the Oxus, with the backing of many local magnates and troops from Bahrām Chūbīn's former army. He minted coins at Rayy, under the name PYLWCY WSTḤM, i.e., Pērōz Vistahm, with dates extending over seven regnal years. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 67, 386, Plate XX; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 53, Table XI, Plate 13; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 150–51; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 237. The coin sequence, and information in Christian sources, indicate that it was not till 596 that Khusraw Abarwēz managed through intrigue to procure Bisṭām's death and thus end his separatist movement; he also slew some sixty members of the families of Bindūyah and Bisṭām. These killings were to form one of the accusations laid at Khusraw's door when he himself was deposed and executed over thirty years later; see al-Ṭabarī, I, pp. 1046–47, 1051–52, 1053–54, pp. 382–84, 387–88, 390–91 below. See *EIr*, s.v. Besṭām o Bendōy (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

sibility and asking if he could marry her to his brother N.ṭrā (?). For this reason (i.e., his responsibility for the killing of Bahrām) he divorced Khātūn. It is said that Kurdiyah gave Khāqān a soft answer but refused N.ṭrā. She gathered round herself the warriors who had been with her brother, and set off with them from the land of the Turks toward the borders of the kingdom of Persia. N.ṭrā the Turk pursued her with twelve thousand warriors, but she killed him with her own hand. She proceeded onward and wrote to her brother Kurdī, who subsequently secured for her from Abarwīz a grant of safe conduct and security (*amān*). When she reached Abarwīz, he married her. He was highly taken with her, and thanked her for having (previously) reproached Bahrām.[741] Abarwīz showed himself grateful and acted in a kindly way toward Mawrīq.[742]

After Kisrā had reigned for fourteen years, the Byzantines deposed Mawrīq and killed him, also exterminating all his heirs, apart from one of his sons who fled to Kisrā, and they raised to the throne as their king a man named Fūqā (Phocas).[743] When Kisrā heard the news of the Byzantines' breaking their allegiance to Mawrīq and their killing him, he became violently aroused, re- [1002]
garded it with revulsion, and was gripped by anger.[744] He gave

741. There does not seem to be any firm historical information that Khusraw did marry Kurdiya, though it would not be unexpected. The story involving N.trā, a name which does not look possible as a Turkish one, must be pure legend.

742. See n. 738 above.

743. Text, Qūfā. On the revolution in Constantinople that led to the dethronement and murder in 602 of Maurice and his sons and his replacement as emperor by the Thracian centurion Phocas, see Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 86–94. In fact, Theodosius, Maurice's eldest son and intended heir over the Balkan, Anatolian, and Near Eastern lands of the empire, seems to have escaped death with the rest of his brothers only for a short while after their execution, although rumors were rife that he had escaped to Persia, as reported here by al-Ṭabarī and by certain Byzantine historians, including Theophylactus. It seems to have been enemies of Phocas who subsequently spread abroad these rumors that Theodosius had survived the bloodbath, made his way to Persia, and then ended his days in the wastes of Colchis (i.e., western Caucasia). But Khusraw Abarwēz might well have given shelter to some Byzantine claimant, whether genuine or not, as is implied by the Armenian historian Sebēos, in order to use him in as a pawn in any future Perso-Byzantine conflict, as surmised by Nöldeke, trans. 290 n. 2.

744. The killing of Maurice was, nevertheless, only a pretext for the beginning of hostilities, since there had been tension with Persia already in the latter years of

asylum to Mawrīq's son, who had come to him as a refugee, crowned him, and set him up as king of the Byzantines, then sent him back with a mighty army headed by three of his commanders. The first one was called Rumiyūzān (?).[745] Kisrā sent him to Syria, which he then subdued and penetrated as far as Palestine.[746] He came to the city of Jerusalem (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) and took action against its bishop and all the priests in the city and the rest of the Christians over the Cross [of Jesus], which had been placed in a chest of gold and buried, with a vegetable garden planted on top of it. He pressed them hard until they showed him the spot. He then dug it out with his own hand and sent it to Kisrā in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.[747] The second commander was called Shāhīn and was the Fādhūsbān of the West. He proceeded onward until he captured Egypt and Alexandria and the land of Nubia, and sent back to Kisrā the keys of the city of Alexandria in the twenty-

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Maurice's reign. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 198–99; Higgins, *The Persian Wars of Emperor Maurice (582–602)*, passim.

745. Identified by Nöldeke, trans. 290 n. 3, with the Romīzān of Michael the Syrian and Barhebraeus and the Rhousmiazan of Theophanes. Nöldeke also thought it possible that Barhebraeus was correct in identifying him with the other Persian commander Shahrbarāz mentioned a few lines further on (see on the meaning of this name, n. 749 below), with Shahrbarāz being another component of Romīzān's name (but in that place, we have Shahrbarāz equated with Farru(k)hān). It was Shahrbarāz who was actually the Persian commander who conquered Jerusalem in 614, hence this would fit with what al-Ṭabarī goes on to say of Rumiyūzān's conquests in Syria and Palestine.

746. After appearing in Syria, the Persian army had occupied Damascus in 613 and had appeared in Palestine in spring 614 after defeating the Byzantine forces in the Ḥawrān between al-Darā'ah and Boṣrā (possibly the battle referred to in *Sūrat al-Rūm*, Qur'ān, XXX, 2–3, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1005, 1007, pp. 324, 327 and n. 761 below). See R. Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule. A Historical and Archaeological Study*, 20ff.

747. The capture of Jerusalem probably took place in June 614, when the city suffered a three days' sacking at the hands of the Sāsanīd troops. The "bishop" was the Patriarch Zacharias, installed at Jerusalem by Phocas's general Bonosus in 609 but now carried off into captivity in Persia; he remained titular Patriarch until his death in exile around the time of the Byzantines' final defeat of the Persian, i.e., ca. 627–28, with Modestus acting as his *locum tenens* in the years of the Persian occupation of Palestine and Syria. The True Cross was certainly carried off by the victors, not to be restored until 629, but the Sponge and the Spear were preserved and taken to Constantinople. See Nöldeke, trans. 291 n. 1; Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 214; 39, 46; Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule*, 33–39, 46.

eighth year of his reign.[748] The third commander was called Farruhān (i.e., Farrukhān), who had the rank of Shahrbarāz. He led an expedition to attack Constantinople, until he halted on the bank of the strait (i.e., the Bosphorus) just near the city, and made his encampment there.[749] Kisrā ordered him to devastate the land of the Byzantines, as an expression of his anger at the Byzantines' violence against Mawrīq and as an act of vengeance upon them for him. But none of the Byzantines acknowledged Mawrīq's son as their ruler or offered him any obedience. However, they killed Fūqā, the king whom they had raised to the throne as ruler over them, when his evil doing, his impiety toward God, and his reprehensible behavior became apparent to them. They raised to royal [1003] power over themselves a man called Hiraql (Heraclius).[750]

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748. MP *shāhēn*, literally "falcon," see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 274–75. Shāhīn's army probably moved from Palestine against Egypt in autumn 616, so that the capture of Alexandria was probably in 617. See A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, 70–83.

749. Regarding the form Farruhān for the fairly common Persian name Farrukhān (an ancient patronymic from Farrukh, literally "fortunate, joyful"; see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 94–95, and Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, 82–83 nos. 352, 354), Nöldeke, trans. 292 n. 2, noted that the Pahlavi script does not distinguish between the letters *h* and *kh*. Shahrwarāz/Shahrbarāz is a name and not a rank (*martabah*), with the meaning of "boar (i.e., valiant warrior) of the land," occurring in Middle Persian onomastic, although the simple name Warāz/Barāz is more common, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 895, 960, pp. 152, 255, and nn. 393, 616 above. That Farrukhān could also have the name Shahrbarāz seemed to Nöldeke improbable, but he was not able to resolve the problem. In reality, it was Shāhīn who transferred his scene of operations to Anatolia, penetrating as far as Chalcedon on the shores of the Bosphorus (modern Kadiköy, near Üsküdar or Scutari), probably in 616, and according to certain tales meeting with the Emperor Heraclius for negotiations, an act for which he paid with his life when he returned to Khusraw's court. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 216–17. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 106, states that Shāhīn led an army of twenty-four thousand men to the shores of the "gulf of Constantinople" and encamped there; the confused account of al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 226–27 = § 647, has a romancelike account of Shahrbarāz's exploits from a base at Antioch involving his quarrel with Khusraw and in revenge leading the Byzantine emperor and his army into Persian Mesopotamia.

750. The usurper Phocas's misrule in Constantinople provoked an appeal to the Exarch of the West at Carthage, who had been appointed by Maurice and who had maintained a de facto independence during the eight years of Phocas's reign. The Exarch sent his son Heraclius with a fleet. In autumn 610 Phocas was overthrown and killed, and Heraclius was crowned emperor in his place; Phocas left behind him a reputation in the Byzantine chronicles of tyrannical behavior and ineptitude during a chaotic reign. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 203–206.

When Hiraql perceived the perilous state the land of the Byzantines was in, with the Persian armies devastating it, their killing of the Byzantine warriors, their carrying off into captivity of the Byzantines' women and children, their plundering of the Byzantines' wealth, and their violation of the inmost parts of their realm, he shed tears before God and made humble petition to Him, imploring Him to rescue him and the people of his kingdom from the Persian armies.[751] He saw in a dream a stout-bodied man, on a lofty throne and accoutred with fine weapons (i.e., the Persian king), set up some distance from his side. Another person came into their presence, threw down that man from his throne, and said to Hiraql, "I have delivered him into your hands." When Hiraql woke up, he told no one about his dream. The next night, Hiraql saw in a dream the man whom he had seen in his previous dream seated on a lofty throne, and the man who had come in upon the two of them now came to him with a long chain in his hand, which he threw round the neck of the man on the throne and held him in his power with it, saying to Hiraql, "Here, I've done it; I have handed Kisrā over to you completely. So march against him now, for victory will be yours, you will be given power over him and you will attain your desire in your campaign." When these dreams came to him successively, he at last recounted them to the great men of the Byzantines and to those of them with

751. The Persian invasion of Anatolia had left the Persian army stationed at Chalcedon on the eastern shore of the Bosphorus, permanently threatening the Byzantine capital. Syria and Palestine were under Persian occupation, and the Christians there suffered massacres and the loss of many religious buildings; the interlude between Heraclius's regaining these provinces and the appearance of the Muslim Arabs in the mid-630s was too brief to enable the Christian communities there to recover their lost position. The Copts and Greeks in Egypt likewise endured massacres and saw the destruction of many churches and monasteries; the Persian forces spread up the Nile valley as far as Syene/Aswan and westward along the Mediterranean coast to the Pentapolis (i.e., the modern Cyrenaica). Phocas's disastrous reign had witnessed the collapse of what remained of the Byzantine *limes* on the Sava and lower Danube, allowing the Avars (who had moved westward from Inner Asia before the expanding power of the first Türk empire there) and Slavs to overrun the Balkans and Greece, with the Avars reaching the suburbs of the capital itself in 617. The situation appeared so desperate that in 618 Heraclius contemplated abandoning Constantinople for Carthage, but was deterred by the Patriarch Sergius. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 214–18; Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 54–92; Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine*, 20–48.

penetrating judgment. They told him that he would be given power over Kisrā, and advised him to lead an expedition against him.

Hiraql prepared for the campaign, and appointed one of his sons as his deputy over the city of Constantinople.[752] He took a different route from that of Shahrbarāz and proceeded onward until he penetrated deeply into Armenia and encamped at Niṣībīn after the space of a year.[753] Shāhīn, the Fādhūsbān of the West,

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752. On his accession to power, Heraclius had found the empire in desperate straits. He had to quell the revolt in 610–11 at Ancyra of Phocas's brother Comentiolus, which caused a delay to his plans for rebuiliding the Byzantine war machine, and he had to force the untrustworthy general of the army in Cappadocia, Priscus, a brother-in-law of Phocas, to relinquish his command and enter a monastery. Heraclius now endeavored to secure his position in the Balkans by making peace with the Khan of the Avars in 620, agreeing to pay him tribute (even if this relief from Avar attacks was only short-lived). He inaugurated extensive reforms and reorganization in both provincial and central administration. Details are sparse, but it seems that, once the Persians had been pushed out of Anatolia in 623 (see n. 753 below), Heraclius began the extensive settlement there of picked troops, *epilekta*, possibly the genesis of the military theme system which was to develop in the later seventh century as a response to Arab attacks along the Taurus mountains frontier. Naval forces were also built up; the Byzantine fleet was used to transport an army in spring 622 to Lazica so that it could campaign successfully in Armenia, and skillful use of sea power prevented any effective link-up of the Persians with their putative allies in the Balkans, the Avars, Slavs, and Bulghars. The emperor's campaign of revenge was to take on something of the character of a holy war; Byzantine religious feeling had been profoundly shocked by the Persians' carrying off from Jerusalem the True Cross, and the church contributed extensively of its gold and silver for the financing of Heraclius's efforts. Moreover, once Heraclius had achieved his victory, former Byzantine territory recovered, Greek captives returned from Persia and the True Cross restored to Jerusalem, he was to assume formally the title (hitherto used in an informal fashion only) of *basileus*, "emperor," with connotations of divine approval of the royal power; Irfan Shahîd has suggested that, in the assumption of this imperial title, Heraclius was influenced by the example of Christian monarchy in Armena and was also harking back to the Davidic monarchy over Israel. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 244–45; Shahîd, "The Iranian Factor in Byzantium during the Reign of Heraclius," 295–320.

The son of Heraclius appointed as his deputy in Constantinople was the ten-year-old Constantine, the ephemeral emperor Constantine III in the confused period just after Heraclius's death in February 641. See Bury, 210–26; W. Ensslin, in *The Cambridge Medieval History. IV. The Byzantine Empire. Part II, Government, Church and Civilization*, 36–37; W. E. Kaegi, "New Evidence on the Early Reign of Heraclius," 313–24; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 169.

753. Heraclius's initial campaign, the first of his six campaigns against the Persians, was aimed at Shahrbarāz, who was still encamped at Chalcedon. It start-

was at Kisrā's court when Hiraql reached Niṣībīn, because Kisrā
[1004] had become angry with him and had dismissed him from that frontier command (*thaghr*). Shāhbarāz, however, was firmly holding the place where he was stationed because of Kisrā's command to him to remain there and not leave it.[754] Kisrā received the news of Hiraql's descent on Niṣībīn with his army, and sent to combat Hiraql one of his commanders called Rāhzādh[755] with twelve thousand warriors, giving him orders to remain at Nīniwā (Nineveh) in the vicinity of the town of al-Mawṣil (Mosul), on the banks of the Tigris, and to prevent the Byzantines from crossing the river. Kisrā had been residing at Daskarat al-Malik[756] when the news about Hiraql reached him.

Rāhzādh put Kisrā's command into effect and encamped in the place he had instructed. Hiraql, however, crossed the Tigris at a different spot and marched toward the district where the Persian army lay. Rāhzādh sent out spies against Hiraql; they came back

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ed from Cilicia and was largely conducted in Pontus and Cappadocia; in a battle at the opening of 623, at a so far unidentified place, the emperor decisively defeated the Persian commander and thereby relieved the pressure on Constantinople. Further operations were conducted in Cilicia, Armenia, Caucasian Albania, and Azerbaijan during the period 623–26 (for Heraclius's operations in the latter region, see Minorsky, "Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene," 91–94). The campaign of 627–28 into Upper Mesopotamia and Persia was actually his sixth one, launched in autumn 627 in the year after Heraclius had repelled a second Avar attack on Constantinople, while Shahrbarāz had again penetrated as far as Chalecedon. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, II, 227–30, 239–41; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 169–70.

754. Khusraw's attempt to recall Shahrbarāz from Chalcedon in order to reinforce the Persian defenses in Upper Mesopotamia was foiled, so the story goes, by the Greeks' interception of his letter and the substitution for it of another letter telling Shahrbarāz to remain where he was. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empir from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 242.

755. Text, *Rāhzār*. This man is the Razates (vars. Ryzates, Razastēs) and the Rōzbehān and Rōgwehān of the Syriac ones. See Nöldeke, trans. 294 n. 3; Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 241 n. 3.

756. This is the Arabic form of the Persian Dastgird (< MP *dastgird* "landed estate, including all buildings, beasts, persons, etc., within it"; see B. Geiger, "Mittelpersische Wörter und Sachen," 123–28), Syriac Dasqartā, which lay to the northeast of Ctesiphon on the route via Khāniqīn and Ḥulwān to Media/Jibāl, the site being marked today by the ruins of Eski Baghdād. Yāqūt distinguishes it from a Dastjird in Khurāsān by calling this one Dastjird al-Kisrawiyyah, "royal Dastjird." See his *Buldān*, II, 454, and II, 455, for Daskarat al-Malik; Nöldeke, trans. 295 n. 1; Le Strange, *Lands*, 62; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 454–55. The ruins of Khusraw's splendid palace there, sacked by the Byzantines when they entered the town, were admired four centuries later by the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī, see his *Second Risālah*, ed. and tr. Minorsky, text § 38, trans. 46, comm. 94.

and told him that Hiraql had ninety thousand warriors. Rāhzādh was now convinced that he and the troops at his disposal were inadequate for withstanding such a number of troops. He wrote several times to Kisrā that Hiraql was pressing heavily on him with forces so numerous and so well equipped that he and his troops could not withstand them. To all that, Kisrā kept on replying that, if he was too weak to withstand those Byzantines, he would not be too weak to get his troops to fight to the last and to lavish their blood in his service. When Rāhzādh had secured the same reply successively for his letter to Kisrā, he got his troops ready for action and attacked the Byzantines. The latter killed Rāhzādh and six thousand of his men. The rest were routed and fled precipitately. The news of the Byzantines' killing of Rāhzādh and the victory gained by Hiraql reached Kisrā. This catastrophe crushed his spirits, and he left Daskarat al-Malik for al-Madā'in and fortified himself within it because he was too weak to stand up to Hiraql in battle.[757] Hiraql advanced until he was near to al- [1005]
Madā'in. But when ever-fresh reports about him kept reaching Kisrā, and he prepared to fight Hiraql, the latter turned back to the Byzantine lands.[758]

Kisrā wrote to the three army commanders who had been defeated, instructing them to send him information about every one of their troops who had shown weakness in that battle or who had not stuck fast to their posts. They were to punish these men according to their degrees of guilt. Through this letter, he provoked them into rebelliousness against him and into seeking ways to preserve themselves safe from him. He also wrote to Shahrbarāz, ordering him to come to him as rapidly as possible and to describe for him what the Byzantines had done in his province.[759]

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757. As Nöldeke noted, trans. 296 n. 1, Khusraw's flight from Daskarah/Dastgird was a great blow to his authority, and contributed to the loss of confidence in him which was to lead to his deposition and death. It had been his seat of government almost continuously since 604 because of a prediction that he would die at Ctesiphon. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, 454.

758. Not in fact to Anatolia but northeastward into Azerbaijan and its protective mountains, where he took up quarters in the region of Ganzak for the winter of 627–28. See Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, II, 241–42; Minorsky, "Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene," 91–94.

759. It was this letter that was reportedly intercepted by the Greeks, enabling them to spread disinformation which ensured that Shahrbarāz did not march eastward to shore up the Persian defenses in Iraq; see n. 754 above. The doubts and

It has been said that God's words, "*Alif, lām, mīm*. The Romans have been defeated in the nearer part of the land,[760] but after their defeat they will be victorious within a few years. The affair belongs to God, before and after, and on that day the believers will rejoice in God's succor; He succors whom He pleases, and He is the Mighty, the Compassionate One. The promise of God! God does not fall short in His promise, but most of the people do not know.", were only revealed regarding the affairs of Abarwīz, king of Persia, and Hiraql, king of the Byzantines, and what happened between them, which I have recounted in these stories.[761]

Mention of Those Who Say That

There related to me al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh—'Ikrimah,[762] who said: The Byzantines and the Persians fought together in the nearer part of the land. He related: The nearer part of the land [refers to] the Day of

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suspicions of Khusraw's generals were probably justified, and Shahrbarāz, in particular, must have suspected that the king's ire would be directed at him (cf. the information in the romanticized Arabic report on the authority of 'Ikrimah in al-Ṭabarī, I, 1007–09, pp. 326–30 below). But Khusraw's prestige had fallen so low and his freedom of action in Ctesiphon was so circumscribed that he fell victim to events there at the beginning of 628, while Heraclius was in Azerbaijan. He fell ill, tried to arrange the succession in favor of his son by Shīrīn, Mardānshāh, but was forestalled by his other son Kawād or Shēröy, imprisoned and executed at the end of February. For details of these events, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1043–45, pp. 379–81 below.

760. *Fī adnā al-arḍ* is usually interpreted as the part of northwestern Arabia adjacent to the Byzantine frontier. See further n. 761 below.

761. *Sūrat al-Rūm*, Qur'ān, XXX, 1–5. The text is usually read with the passive verb *ghulibat al-Rūm* and then the active one *sa-yaghlibūna* and is taken to refer to some battle during the Persian invasion of the Levant 613–14 (see n. 746 above). But a less authoritative, single reading has *ghalabat al-Rūm*, ". . . have been victorious," and *sa-yughlabūna*, "[but] . . . they will be defeated," dubiously taken to refer to the initial Byzantine success against the Arab raid on Mu'tah in 8/630 and the eventual triumph of Muslim arms in Palestine and Syria. See Bell, *A Commentary on the Qur'ān*, II, 69; Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, 388. Detailed studies on the sūrah and its historical background are E. Beck, "Die Sure ar-Rūm (30)," 335–55; M. Götz, "Zum historischen Hintergrund von Sure 30, 1–5," 111–20.

762. Abū 'Abdallāh 'Ikrimah (died probably in 105/723–24) was a noted Successor, a *mawlā* or client of Ibn 'Abbās, and an authority for many of his traditions. See Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, V, 212–16; al-Ṭabarī, III, 2483–85; *EI*², s.v. 'Ikrima (J. Schacht).

Adhri'āt, where the two armies met, and the Byzantines were defeated.[763] This came to the ears of the Prophet and his companions while they were [still] in Mecca (i.e., before the Hijrah) and caused them distress. The Prophet disliked the Zoroastrian gentiles (*al-ummiyyūn min al-Majūs*) gaining the upper hand over the [1006]
Byzantine possessors of written scriptures (*ahl al-kitāb min al-Rūm*). The unbelievers in Mecca, however, rejoiced and hurled abuse; they encountered the Prophet's companions and said, "You are possessors of a written scripture, and the Christians are possessors of a written scripture, while we are unbelievers. Now our brethren, the Persians, have been victorious over your brethren, the possessors of written scriptures, and if you attack us, we shall certainly be victorious over you."[764] At this point, God sent down the revelation "*Alif, lām, mīm*. The Romans have been defeated . . ." to "they are unheeding about the next life."

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763. Adhri'at, in Biblical times the capital of Bashan, the Edrei of Num. xxi. 33, is the more recent al-Darā'ah or Deraa just north of the Syrian-Jordanian frontier at the southern edge of the Ḥawrān. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 130–31; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 383; A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, 3; *EI*[2], s.v. Adhri'āt (F. Buhl-N. Elisséeff); and n. 746 above. The Cairo text, II, 184, has "the nearest part of the land was, at that time (*yawma'idhin*, for the Leiden text's *yawm*) Adhri'āt," with this reading taken from al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* on Sūrah XXX.

764. Kister has pointed out that the Persians may have tried in the sixth century to exercise some form of indirect control or influence over Ḥijāz, including over Mecca and Medina. The seventh/thirteenth-century, hence comparatively late, author Ibn Sa'īd mentions that, in the time of Qubādh, son of Fayrūz, Qubādh attempted, through the agency of the Kindī chief al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr (on whom see n. 362 above), to impose the doctrine of Mazdak that he had espoused, and some people in Mecca assented to this summons (*tazandaqa*). Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb actually lists the alleged *zanādiqah* (whoever these may be, however; see below) of Quraysh (*Muḥabbar*, 161). Hence the Meccan pagans might well have retained memories of the connection with Persia, enough to use this as a way of slighting Muḥammad when, at this stage in his mission, he would have had a natural sympathy toward the Christian Byzantines as fellow monotheists. See Kister, "Al-Ḥīra. Some Notes on Its Relations with Arabia," 144–45. On the other hand, earlier Arabic authors, such as Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, in his *Muḥabbar*, loc. cit., and Ibn Qutaybah, in his *Ma'ārif*, 621, state that Quraysh got their *zandaqah* from al-Ḥīrah. De Blois has accordingly suggested that, in early Islamic usage, *zandaqah* nornally means "Manichaeism" and that Manichaeism was conveyed to Mecca by Qurashī traders who derived it from converts to Manichaeism from among the Christian population of al-Ḥīrah, i.e., from elements of the 'Ibād; Ibn Sa'īd's story would have arisen from a confusion and conflation of information in the earlier sources. See de Blois, "The 'Sabians' (Ṣābi'ūn) in Pre-Islamic Arabia," 48–50 and n. 38. See also Nöldeke, trans. 298 n. 1.

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq went forth to the unbelievers (*al-kuffār*) and said, "Have you rejoiced at the victory of your brethren over our brethren? Don't rejoice! May God not give you refreshing solace! By God, the Byzantines will be victorious over the Persians; our Prophet has told us that." Ubayy b. Khalaf al-Jumaḥī came up to him and said, "You lie, O Abū Fuḍayl!"[765] Abū Bakr answered him, "You are a bigger liar, O enemy of God!" He added, "I wager you ten of my young she-camels against ten of yours. If within the next three years the Byzantines are victorious over the Persians, I get the stake; and if the Persians are victorious, you get it." Then Abū Bakr went to the Prophet and told him this. The Prophet said, "I didn't express myself thus: 'a few' (*al-bidʿ*) means a number from three to nine, so raise the stake and extend the period of time with him." Abū Bakr accordingly went out and met Ubayy, and the latter commented, "Perhaps you have come to regret [your wager]?" He replied, "Not at all. Come on, I'll raise the stake with you and extend the period of time: make it a hundred young she-camels over a period up to nine years." Ubayy answered, "I agree."[766]

There related to us al-Qāsim—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj—Abū Bakr—ʿIkrimah, who said: There was in Persia a woman who gave birth only to kings and heroes. Kisrā summoned her and said, "I am
[1007] planning to send an army against the Byzantines and to appoint one of your sons as its commander. Advise me, which of them should I nominate?" She replied, "The first one is so-and-so, who is craftier than a fox and more wary than a falcon; then there is Farrukhān, who is more incisive than a spear point; and then there is Shahrbarāz, who is more sagacious (*aḥlam*) than such-and-such.[767] So appoint whichever of them you please." He said, "I appoint the sagacious one," and he appointed Shahrbarāz. He pro-

765. Ubayy was a member of the clan of Jumaḥ, which ranged itself with the Makhzūm-ʿAbd Shams group within Mecca, largely hostile to Muḥammad; he fought in the army of Quraysh at the battle of Uḥud, and died of wounds received there. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 1407, 1409. "Abū Fuḍayl" was a *kunyah* or patronymic of Abū Bakr's, here used as a familiar form of address. The Cairo text, II, 184, has for this *kunyah* "Abū Faṣīl."

766. The same story in al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 13.

767. As suggested in nn. 745, 749 above, the two components of Shahrbarāz Farrukhān's name—if this is indeed one person—have apparently been wrongly separated here and made into two different persons.

ceeded to [the land of] the Byzantines with the Persian army, defeated the Byzantines, slaughtered them, devastated their towns, and cut down their olive trees.

Abū Bakr says:[768] I related this narrative to 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī,[769] and he asked me, "Have you ever seen the land of Syria?" I said, "No," and he replied, "If you had ever been there you would have seen the towns that were laid waste and the olive trees that were cut down."[770] Later, I actually went to Syria and saw this." 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī related from Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar, who said: Qayṣar sent a man called Q.ṭ.mah [?][771] with a Byzantine army, and Kisrā sent Shahrbarāz. The two met up with each other at Adhri'āt and Buṣrā, which are the nearest parts of Syria to you [i.e., the Arabs]. The Persians encountered the Byzantines and defeated them. The unbelievers of Quraysh in Mecca rejoiced at this; whereas, the Meccans were chagrined. God then sent down the revelation *"Alif, lām, mīm*. The Romans have been defeated . . ." to the end of the section. Then he mentioned further another narrative, like 'Ikrimah's but with additional details. Shahrbarāz kept on relentlessly defeating them and laying waste their towns until he reached the Bosphorus [*al-khalīj*]. But then, Kisrā died. News of this reached them, and Shahrbarāz and his followers retreated precipitately. Fortune swung round to give the Byzantines power over the Persians at that point, and they pursued and killed them.

He related: 'Ikrimah said in his narrative: When the Persians were victorious over the Byzantines, Farrukhān was once sitting and drinking, and said to his companions, "I had a dream, and it

768. That is, the transmitter Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sabrah, died 162/778–79. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, XII, 27–28.

769. That is, the Syrian traditionist and Qur'ān commentator 'Aṭā' b. Abī Muslim Maysarah al-Khurāsānī, died 135/752–53. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/2, 102; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, VII, 212–15; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 33–34.

770. That is, he saw, after the lapse of more than a century, the effects of devastation, in 613–14, by the invading Persian army. See Nöldeke, trans. 399 n. 4.

771. This name is obscure. Nöldeke, trans. 300 n. 1, adduced as a possibility the Jafnid/Ghassānid al-Nu'mān b. al-Ḥārith b. Jabalah, to whom Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 103, gives the cognomen [*laqab*] Q.ṭām, but later, in his *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten*, 44, Nöldeke took this as a confusion with the name of the chief of Kindah, Ḥujr b. Umm Qaṭām mentioned in the *Mu'allaqah* of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥillizah, it being in any case difficult to take the name Qaṭām as anything but a female one.

was as if I saw myself on Kisrā's throne."[772] This came to Kisrā's ears, and he wrote to Shahrbarāz, "When this letter of mine reaches you, send to me Farrukhān's head." Shahrbarāz wrote back to him, however, "O king, you will never find anyone like Farrukhān who has inflicted so much damage on the enemy or has
[1008] such a formidable reputation among them; so don't do this!" Kisrā answered him, "Among the men of Persia there is certainly someone who can serve as his replacement, so hasten and send me his head!" Shahrbarāz made further representations to him, which angered Kisrā, and he made no further answer but sent a courier of the postal and intelligence service (*barīd*)[773] to the people of Persia announcing, "I hereby remove Shahrbarāz from power over you and appoint Farrukhān over you in his stead." Then he handed over to the courier a small sheet and instructed him, "When Farrukhān assumes royal authority and his brother gives him obedience, then give him this."[774] When Shahrbarāz read the letter, he said, "I hear and obey!" He got down from his throne. Farrukhān sat down [in his place], and he handed over the paper. Farrukhān then said, "Bring Shahrbarāz before me," and pushed him forward so that his head could be cut off. Shahrbarāz, however, protested, "Don't be in such a hurry, let me write my last testament!" and Farrukhān agreed to this. Shahrbarāz called for a chest and gave him three sheets [of paper from out of it], telling him, "I sent these sheets to Kisrā pleading for you, and now you want to execute me on the pretext of a single letter." At this, Farrukhān gave the royal authority back to his brother.[775]

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772. The dream predicts Shahrbarāz Farrukhān's later elevation to his forty days' reign in Ctesiphon, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1062–63, p. 401–403.

773. See on this institution n. 147 above.

774. As emerges a few lines below, the sheet contains an order for Shahrbarāz's execution. The motif of a letter containing a command to kill the unsuspecting bearer is an ancient one, and in Arabic lore is exemplified by the "letter of al-Mutalammis," given to the pre-Islamic poet al-Mutalammis by the Lakhmid 'Amr b. Hind (see on him n. 414 above) but which he was sharp enough to destroy, whereas his nephew, the poet Ṭarafah, duly delivered his letter and thereby brought about his own death. See *EI*², s.v. al-Mutalammis (Ch. Pellat). Cf. also the parallel use, in different circumstances, of a letter containing orders for an execution, that of Oroetes of Sardis at the behest of King Darius, in Herodotus, III.128.

775. The above story continues the separation of Shahrbarāz-Farrukhān into

Shahrbarāz wrote to Qayṣar, the king of the Byzantines, "I have a request to make to you which couriers cannot carry and no documents can convey. Come and meet me, but with just fifty Byzantine troops, and I will bring just fifty Persian ones." Qayṣar, however, came with five hundred thousand Byzantine troops and began to place spies along the road before him, fearing that Shahrbarāz might be contemplating some act of trickery with him, until his spies returned to him with the information that Shahrbarāz had with him only fifty men. A carpet was spread out for them both, and they met in a brocade tent that had been erected for them. Each of them had a knife by his side. They summoned an interpreter for their negotiations, and Shahrbarāz said, "The ones who laid waste your towns were my brother and my-

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two different persons, as set forth in nn. 745, 749, 767 above. The second commander involved in the story is presumably in reality the Shāhīn mentioned by al-Ṭabarī at I, 1003, p. 321 above. For the apparently more historical episode of the letter of dismissal and death which Khusraw despatched to Shahrbarāz's second-in-command at the Persian camp in Chalcedon and which was intercepted by the Byzantines and its contents revealed to Shahrbarāz, see Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 244. The story became a romantic tale handed down among the Persians, and is listed as such by Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 364 (read *Shahrbarāz* for *Shahrīzād*), tr. II, 716.

The whole story of Shahrbarāz's defection from Khusraw's cause to the side of the Byzantines has recently been discussed, on a basis of the sources available, by Walter E. Kaegi and Paul M. Cobb. They distinguish the Eastern Christian ones from the early Islamic ones. Very similar, though with some variation of details, are the accounts of Theophanes, Michael the Syrian, and Agapius of Manbij; these would seem to go back to the lost Syriac historian Theophilus of Edessa, and in them, Shahrbarāz's defection is attributed to Khusraw's suspicious nature thereby driving his commander into Heraclius's arms. The account in the *Short History* of Nicephorus, however, simply makes Heraclius's triumph against the Persians the result of his excellent strategy and generalship, with no suggestion of internal stresses and suspicions within the Persian camp. At the side of these Christian accounts are the Islamic ones: the one given on the basis of reports from 'Ikrimah given here by al-Ṭabarī, and the much less-noticed one—because concealed within a history that ostensibly deals only with the conquest of Egypt—going back to the traditionist of the Umayyad period al-Zuhrī (see on him n. 789 below) and preserved within the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (said to have d. 171/787–88). Both Islamic accounts share similarities with the Christian accounts, and could represent a single, original tradition, although al-Zuhrī has the interesting additional feature of a plausible reason for Khusraw's anger with Shahrbarāz, i.e., the latter's procrastination, his failure to launch a decisive assault on Constantinople and thus destroy the Byzantine empire. See Kaegi and Cobb, "Heraclius, Shahrbarāz, and al-Ṭabarī," 121–43.

self, with our stratagems and our valor. But now Kisrā has come to envy us and wants me to kill my brother. When I refused to do this, he ordered my brother to kill me. Hence both of us have thrown off allegiance to him, and are ready to fight at your side against him." Qayṣar said, "You have made the right choice."
[1009] Then one of the two made a sign to his companion, [saying,] "The secret lies between two people; if it goes beyond two people, it will become public knowledge." The other said, "Yes, indeed." So they both fell upon the interpreter and killed him with their knives.[776] God brought about Kisrā's death, and the news of this reached the Messenger of God on the Day of Ḥudaybiyah, causing him and his companions to rejoice.[777]

I received information going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said that in the twentieth year of Kisrā Abarwīz's reign, God sent Muḥammad [as His prophet].[778] The latter remained thirteen years in Mecca, and he emigrated to Medina in the thirty-third year of Kisrā's reign.

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776. Acording to Nöldeke, trans. 302 n. 1, these negotiations in fact refer to a meeting of Heraclius and Shahrbarāz at the Anatolian town of Arabissos (in Armenia Tertia, what was later Little Armenia, somewhere in the region of the mediaeval town of Elbistan; see Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I/1, 610–11) in June 629 after Khusraw Abarwēz had been deposed and killed and after Shahrbarāz had led a rebellion at Ctesiphon against his rival for the direction of state affairs under the youthful new king Kawād II Shērōy, had killed the latter after a reign of only eighteen months, and proclaimed himself ruler, though not of Sāsānid or Arsacid royal stock (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1061–63, p. 400–403 below, and cf. Christensen, *Sassanides*, 497–98; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 170–71; Kaegi and Cobb, "Heraclius, Shahrbarāz, and al-Ṭabarī," loc. cit., noting that an anonymous Syriac chronicle from 724 confirms the Arabic sources regarding the location of the meeting at Arabissos and records the construction of a church by Heraclius and Shahrbarāz, dedicated in the name of Eirēnē, "Peace," at their meeting point). Shahrbarāz's rapid rise to power and ephemeral rule—he was killed by a conspiracy at Ctesiphon led by rival military leaders and great men of state, who subsequently set up as nominal ruler there Khusraw's daughter Būrān (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1063–64, p. 403–405, below)—was aided by Heraclius's support, who had remained at Ganzak in Azerbaijan during the upheavals within the Persian state (see nn. 758–59).

777. The treaty of Ḥudaybiyah made between Muḥammad and the Meccans was concluded at that place on the edge of the Meccan Ḥaram in Dhū al-Qa'dah 6/March 628, hence in the month after Khusraw's death. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 13–14; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 286–90; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 46–52; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥudaybiya (W. M. Watt).

778. That is, in A.D. 610.

Mention of the Account Concerning the Events That Happened When God Wished to Take Away from the People of Persia Rule over Persia, and the Arabs' Overrunning it by Means of God's Favoring Them with His Prophet Muḥammad, Involving the Prophethood, the Caliphate, the Royal Power, and the Dominion, in the Days of Kisrā Abarwīz[779]

This includes what has been related from Wahb b. Munabbih, which is what was related to us by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said: This account of Kisrā is what one of my colleagues related to me from Wahb b. Munabbih: That Kisrā constructed a dam on the "Blind Tigris" (*Dijlah al-'Awrā'*)[780] and expended on it sums of such magnitude that no one knew their extent. Also, the throne room of his palace (*ṭāq majlisihi*) was built [with such splendor] as had never been seen before. He used to suspend his crown and sit on his throne when he was in public audience. He had 360 men who were prognostica- [1010] tors (*ḥuzāt*),[781] these being learned scholars ('*ulamā'*), including soothsayers, magicians, and astrologers. He related: Among these was a man from the Arabs called al-Sā'ib who used to draw omens from the flight of birds in the manner of the Arabs and who was seldom wrong. Bādhān had sent him to Kisrā from Yemen.[782] Whenever Kisrā was disturbed by some matter, he would order his

779. The following is an embellished account of the events leading up to Khusraw's deposition and death, concentrating on the prognostications and portents that pointed to and presaged these events.

780. *al-'awrā'* (fem.) means "the one-eyed." As applied to the Tigris, it is the estuary, extending nearly one hundred miles, of the combined Euphrates and Tigris before it debouches into the Persian Gulf at Ābādān, i.e., the modern Shaṭṭ al-'Arab. The appellation "one-eyed" may stem from the fact either of the island of 'Uways being close to the estuary's mouth or of the existence of the sand bar there. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 26, 43; *EI*², s.v. Shaṭṭ al-'Arab (Amatzia Baram). According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 292, Khusraw had attempted, at the end of his reign, to cope with excessive floods in Lower Iraq by repairing or constructing dams with sluices (*musannayāt*) and diversion channels from the river to feed the canals (*buthūq*) (for these terms, see Bosworth, "Some Remarks on the Terminology of Irrigation Practices and Hydraulic Constructions," 81–82), but without success.

781. The *ḥāzī* was essentially the *kāhin* or soothsayer in his rôle as prognosticator, the term being etymologically connected with the Biblical Hebrew *ḥōzeh* or seer. See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 112–13.

782. Bādhān was the last Persian governor in Yemen. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 958, p. 252 and n. 609 above.

soothsayers, magicians, and astrologers to be gathered together and would tell them, "Look into this matter and see exactly what it is."

Now when God sent His prophet Muḥammad, Kisrā woke up one morning and found that the arched roof of his royal palace (*ṭāq mulkihi*) had collapsed in the middle without any weight having been put upon it; also, that the [dam on the] "Blind Tigris" had been breached. When he saw all that, he became filled with grief and said, "The arched roof of my royal palace has collapsed in the middle without any weight having been put upon it, and the [dam on the] 'Blind Tigris' has been breached: *Shāh bishikast,*" meaning [in Arabic] "the king has been overthrown (literally, 'broken')." Then he summoned his soothsayers, magicians, and astrologers, and summoned al-Sā'ib with them, too. He told them "The arched roof of my royal palace has collapsed in the middle without any weight having been put upon it, and the [dam on the] 'Blind Tigris' has been breached: *Shāh bishikast.* Look into this matter and see exactly what it is."

They left his presence and looked into his affair, but all the quarters of the heavens became covered over for them and the earth became darkened; they exploited to the full the resources of their knowledge, but none of the magicians' magic or the soothsayers' ability to look into the future proved efficacious, nor was the astrologers' knowledge of the stars of any avail. Al-Sā'ib spent the whole of a dark, overcast night on a hillock, where he saw a lightning flash that arose from the direction of Ḥijāz, flew across the heavens, and reached as far as the East. The next morn-
[1011] ing, he looked at what was beneath his feet, and behold, there was a green meadow. He then made a pronouncement in his role as diviner: "If what I was seeing is true, there will arise from Ḥijāz a dominion (*sulṭān*) which will reach the East and from which the earth will grow green and fertile—much more so than from any previous kingdom."[783] When the soothsayers and astrologers spoke together confidentially [about what they had seen] and saw what had happened to themselves, and perceived that only Sā'ib had really seen anything, they said to each other, "You know, by

783. Referring, of course, to the rise of Muḥammad and the birth of the new faith in Mecca.

God, that it can only be something originated from the heavens that has prevented you from utilizing your specialist knowledge; that is because of a prophet who has been already sent [from God], or is just about to be sent, who will take away this present royal power and smash it. But if you announce to Kisrā the impending destruction of his royal power, he will surely kill you, so concoct among yourselves some explanation you can give him that will deflect [his wrath] from you for some length of time." So they went to Kisrā and told him. "We have looked into this matter and have found that your astrological calculators, to whom you entrusted the prognostications for building the roof of your royal palace and likewise for the construction of the dam across the 'Blind Tigris', based their calculations on inauspicious stars. When night and day successively worked on those constructions, the inauspicious stars assumed their most maleficient positions, so that everything based upon those nights and days was destroyed.[784] We can, however, make a calculation for you regarding when you should begin the work of reconstruction, and this will not be destroyed." Kisrā said, "Make the calculation, then." They did this for him and told him, "Now construct it!" So he did that, and was at work on the Tigris for eight months, expending on it an incalculable amount of money. When it was at last completed, Kisrā asked them, "Shall I sit down on top of the dam's wall?" They replied, "Yes." So he called for carpets and coverings and aromatic herbs to be placed on it. He ordered the marzbāns to be gathered together before him, as were also musicians and players (*la''ābūn*). Then he went forth and sat down on it. But when once he was installed there, the Tigris dashed the construction away from beneath him, and he was only extricated [from it] at his last gasp. When they had got him out, he gathered together his soothsayers, magicians, and astrologers, executed nearly a [1012] hundred of them and said, "I let you grow fat and let you come closer to my presence than other people, and I gave you living

784. Belief in the favorable or unfavorable effects of the movements of the heavenly bodies went back to the Ancient Near Eastern civilizations and to the Greeks' division of the planets into beneficent ones, *agathopoioi*, and maleficent ones, *kakopoioi*, and was transmitted to the ancient Arabs. See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 483ff.; *EI*², s.vv. Nudjūm, aḥkām al- (T. Fahd), Sa'd wa-naḥs (Fahd), al-Sa'dān¹ (P. Kunitzsch).

allowances, and then you trifle with me!" They responded, "O king, we were at fault, just as those before us were at fault, but we can make a [new] calculation for you, and you can be sure of it, and you can accordingly begin the task of reconstruction on the most reliably auspicious of days!" Kisrā said, "Take care what you say!" They replied, "We will indeed!" Kisrā further said, "Make the calculation, then." They did this for him and told him, "Now construct it!" He expended on it an incalculable amount of money, over a period of eight months from that point.

Then they told him, "We've completed it," and he said, "Shall I, accordingly, go forth and sit down on it?" They replied, "Yes." He was nevertheless reluctant to sit down on it, hence rode one of his steeds and started proceeding over the dam. But while he was traveling along it, the Tigris dashed the construction away, and he only reached safety at his last gasp. He gathered them together again, and said, "By God, I will pass you along [for execution], to the last man of you, and I will tear out your shoulder joints and will throw you beneath the feet of elephants, unless you tell me faithfully the truth about this matter concerning which you have elaborated such a story for me."

They replied, "We won't lie to you any longer, O king. You commanded us, when [the dam on] the Tigris was breached and the arched roof of your royal palace collapsed without any weight having been put on it, to use our specialist knowledge and look into the reason behind it. We did that, but the earth became darkened and all the quarters of the heavens became covered for us. Our specialist knowledge was of no avail (literally, "came back into our hands"), so that none of the magicians' magic nor the soothsayers' ability to look into the future nor the astrologers' knowledge of the stars proved efficacious. We realized that this matter originated in the heavens and that a prophet had already been sent, or was about to be sent, and because of that, something had prevented us from exercising our specialist knowledge. We
[1013] were afraid that if we announced to you the destruction of your royal power, you would kill us. Like everybody else, we did not want to die, so we gave you an evasive answer in order to protect ourselves, as you saw." Kisrā said, "Woe upon you! Why didn't you provide me with the explanation of this matter so that I might have used my own judgment regarding what I should do?" They

replied, "Our fear of you prevented us from doing that." Kisrā, therefore, let them go and gave up concerning himself with [the dam on] the Tigris when this last had got the better of him.

There related to us Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Faḍl b. 'Īsā al-Raqāshī—al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,[785] [who said] that the Messenger of God's Companions said, "O Messenger of God, how could God prevail over Kisrā by means of you?" The Prophet said, "God sent to him an angel, who put his hand out through the wall of the house where he was, shining with light. When Kisrā saw it, he was alarmed. The angel said, "Why are you so fearful, O Kisrā? God has sent a prophet and sent down upon him a book, so follow him, and you will be secure in this present life of yours and in the next one." Kisrā replied, "I'll think about it."[786]

There related to us Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—al-Zuhrī—Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, who said: God sent an angel to Kisrā, when he was in a room of his palace (*aywānihi*) where no one was allowed to come into his presence. Suddenly[787] there was, round about the time of midday at the time he was wont to take a siesta, a figure standing by his head with a staff in his hand. The figure said, "O Kisrā, are you going to submit yourself to God (*a-tuslimu*)? [If not,] I shall break this staff!" He replied, "*Bihil, bihil*" ("Leave, leave!"),[788] so the angelic visitant then left him. Kisrā summoned his guards and chamberlains, and became enraged at them, saying, "Who let this person come into my presence?" They replied, "No one has come into your presence, and we haven't seen this person at all." In the following year, the angel came to him at precisely the same hour as before and spoke the same words to him as

785. That is, the great popular preacher and ascetic of al-Baṣrah in Umayyad times, the Successor Abū Sa'īd [al-] Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan (died 110/728), subsequently regarded as the proto-Ṣūfī. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥasan al-Basrī (H. Ritter).

786. The following versions of the story of how Khusraw was warned by an angelic visitant are of the same type as the Biblical story of King Belshazzar of Chaldaea, who was warned of the imminent fall of his kingdom by the moving finger writing on the wall of his palace (Daniel, v. 5ff.).

787. Literally, "he was not mindful of it," *lam yar'ihā*, echoing the Qur'ānic phrase *fa-mā ra'awhā*, "they (i.e., the followers of Jesus) did not cherish/look after it," of LVII, 27.

788. Persian *hishtan, hilīdan* "to leave, depart."

before, saying, "Are you going to submit yourself to God? [If not,] I
[1014] shall break this staff!" Kisrā replied three times, "*Bihil, bihil, bihil,*" so the angelic visitant departed from him. Kisrā summoned his chamberlains, guards, and doorkeepers, and became enraged with them, saying to them what he had said to them on the first occasion. They replied, "We didn't see anyone coming into your presence." When the third year came round, the angel came to Kisrā at exactly the same hour as he had come to him previously, and spoke the same words to him as before, saying, "Are you going to submit yourself to God? [If not,] I shall break this staff!" Kisrā replied, "*Bihil, bihil.*" He related: At that, the angel broke his staff and departed. Only a short time afterward, his royal power disintegrated, and his son and the Persian rose in rebellion and finally killed him.

'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—al-Zuhrī,[789] [who said,]: I recounted this story to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz,[790] from Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and he said: It has been mentioned to me that the angel came into Kisrā's presence with two glass bottles in his hands and then said to him, "Submit yourself [to God]!" and when he did not comply, he smashed one of the bottles against the other and broke them into smithereens. Then he departed. Kisrā's own destruction followed, as is well known.

There related to me Yaḥyā b. Ja'far—'Alī b. 'Āṣim—Khālid al-Ḥadhdhā', who said: I heard 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakrah say:[791] Kisrā, son of Hurmuz, was asleep one night in his palace (*aywān*), the palace of al-Madā'in, and the cavalrymen [of the guard] were

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789. That is, Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī, often referred to as Ibn Shihāb, from the Meccan clan of Zuhrah, one of the founders of the Islamic science of tradition (died 124/742). As a teacher of Ibn Isḥāq, he was a great contributor to the *Sīrah* of the Prophet and was much quoted by al-Ṭabarī for the history of the first three Rightly-Guided caliphs. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 136–36; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, IX, 445–51; *EI*[1], s.v. al-Zuhrī (J. Horovitz).

790. That is, the member of the Umayyad family, governor of Medina and then the caliph 'Umar II (r. 99–101/717–20).

791. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was the eldest son of the Companion Nufay' b. Masrūḥ, called Abū Bakrah, "the man of the pulley," and an Abyssinian *mawlā* of the Prophet. 'Abd al-Raḥmān managed his maternal uncle Ziyād b. Abīhi's property in al-Baṣrah for him, but submitted reluctantly to 'Alī after the Battle of the Camel (al-Ṭabarī, I, 3229, II, 22). See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/1, 138; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 288–89; *EI*[2], s.v. Abū Bakra (M. T. Houtsma-Ch. Pellat).

posted all around his castle. Suddenly, there appeared a man with a staff who walked up and stood at Kisrā's head and said, "O Kisrā, son of Hurmuz, I am God's messenger to you [with the message] that you should submit yourself [to Him]." He said this three times, while Kisrā lay prostrate, looking at him but returning no answer. Then the angel left him. He related: Kisrā sent for the commander of the guard and said to him, "Did you allow this man to enter my presence?" The commander of the guard replied, "No, I didn't, and no one has come in from our part."

He related: When it was the following year, Kisrā was fearful of that night and sent a message to the commander of the guard, [1015] "Post guards all round my castle and don't let anyone enter my presence." He related: The commander of the guard did that. But when it was that precise hour, behold, there was the angel with the staff standing at his head and saying to him, "O Kisrā, son of Hurmuz, I am God's messenger to you [with the message] that you should submit yourself [to Him]; so do this, and it will be best for you!" He related: Kisrā was looking at him without giving any answer. Then the angel left him. He related: Kisrā sent for the commander of the guard [and upbraided him], "Didn't I order you not to let anyone into my presence?" The commander of the guard replied, "O king, by God, no one has come into your presence from our part; search out whence he came into your presence."

He related: When the next year came round, it was as if he was fearful of that night, and he sent a message to the commander of the guard and the guard itself, "Stand guard all around me during this night, and don't allow any woman or man to enter my presence." They did that. When it was that precise hour, behold, there was the angel again standing by his head and saying, "Kisrā, son of Hurmuz, I am God's messenger to you [with the message that] you should submit yourself [to Him], so do this, and it will be best for you!" This he repeated three times, while Kisrā was looking at him but returning no answer. The angel said, "O Kisrā, you have rebuffed me! By God, God will certainly smash you just as I am smashing this staff of mine!" Then he broke it, and went away. Kisrā sent to his guard and said, "Didn't I order you not to let anyone into my presence this night, neither wife (*ahl*) nor child?" They replied, "No one has come into your presence from our

part." He related: Very soon afterward, his son rose in rebellion against him and killed him.[792]

[The Encounter at Dhū Qār]

A further episode [in the story of the fall of the Sāsānid empire] is what happened concerning [the tribal group of] Rabī'ah[793] and the army Kisrā Abarwīz had dispatched for war against them and their subsequent encounter at Dhū Qār.

[1016] It is related from the Prophet that when the Prophet heard the news of Rabī'ah's rout of Kisrā's army, he exclaimed, "This [has been] the first military encounter (*yawm*) in which the Arabs have secured their just due from the Persians (*intaṣafat al-'Arab min al-'Ajam*), and it was through me that they were given the victory." The battle of Dhū Qār[794] is also called that of Qurāqir or

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792. That is, Kawād (II) Shērōy, placed on the throne by the rebels against his father. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 1045–61, pp. 381–99 below.

793. Both Bakr and Taghlib, on opposite sides at Dhū Qār, were accounted parts of the great tribal group of Rabī'ah. See *EI*², s.v. Rabī'a and Muḍar (H. Kindermann).

794. The battle of Dhū Qār, if this is not too grandiose a word for the encounter, was to assume a position in subsequent Islamic lore greater than its military significance—which was probably just one of several similar clashes along the frontiers with Arabia—would warrant. The saying of the Prophet retailed here, oft-repeated in the sources, sets it up as the first stage in the upsurge of the Arabs against the Persians and their influence in eastern and southern Arabia. It could thus be regarded as a victory for proto-Islam over the Persian infidels, or at least as prefiguring that victory, and in later times a popular romance grew up round it, the *Kitāb Ḥarb Banī Shaybān ma'a Kisrā Anūsharwān*.

The ambiguous rôle in the Dhū Qār events of a Shaybānī leader like Qays b. Mas'ūd b. Qays b. Khālid b. Dhī al-Jaddayn (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1028, p. 356–57 below) tends to confirm the view put forward by F. McG. Donner in his "The Bakr b. Wā'il Tribes and Politics in Northeastern Arabia on the Eve of Islam," 27–33, that the anti-Sāsānid alignment of Shaybān and other Bakrī tribes at Dhū Qār does not represent a decisive turning point in relations between the Sāsānids and the Arab tribes of northeastern Arabia and the frontier region—whatever the views that grew up in Islamic times, outlined in the previous paragraph—but rather, a temporary fluctuation of allegiances, in which one group might move against the Persians and then return to its Persian allegiance later if circumstances so dictated. Donner notes that most of the powerful clans combating the Persians at Dhū Qār seem to have fought on the Sāsānid side against the Muslim Arabs during the 630s and 640s, and concludes that "The theory that the Bakr tribes were, since Dhū Qār, awaiting the opportunity to rise against the Persians is, then, if not positively erroneous, at least dangerously simplistic" (ibid., 33).

The sources (see below) offer no firm date for the *Yawm Dhī Qār*, but the

that of the bend (*al-ḥinw*), the bend of Dhū Qār or the bend of Qurāqir; that of al-Jubābāt; that of Dhū al-'Ujrum; that of al-Ghadhawān; and that of the depression (*al-baṭḥā'*), the depression of Dhū Qār. All of these are places around Dhū Qār.[795]

There was related to me a narrative going back to Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā[796]—Abū al-Mukhtār Firās b. Khindif[797] and a number of the scholars (*'ulamā'*) of the Arabs, whom he specified by name: The battle of Dhū Qār was the consequence of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir al-Lakhmī's killing of 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī. 'Adī was one of Kisrā Abarwīz, son of Hurmuz's, translators (*tarājimah*).[798] The reason for al-Nu'mān (III) b. al-Mundhir (IV)'s killing of 'Adī b. Zayd was what was mentioned to me in an account going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Isḥāq b. al-Jaṣṣāṣ,

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Muslim traditions which place it just after the opening of the Hijrī era (e.g., a few months after the battle of Badr between the pagan Quraysh and the Muslims, hence in the later part of 624, according to Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], XXIV, 76) are clearly too late. The range of years for Dhū Qār is probably between 604 and 611, i.e., before the beginning of Muḥammad's public ministry in Mecca but at a time when he could certainly have heard reports of the victory against the Persians and their allies.

Several Arabic sources treat of the last years of Lakhmid domination in al-Ḥīrah and the desert fringes of eastern Arabia, including al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 246, II, 47; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 360–61; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 227–28, III, 205–209 = §§ 648, 1065–70; idem, *Tanbīh*, 241–43, tr. 318–21; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], XXIV, 53–71; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 293–95; Abū al-Baqā', *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyyah*, I, 373–426. Of modern studies, see Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 114–23; Donner, loc. cit.; Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 607–608; *EI*[2], s.v. Dhū Ḳār (L. Veccia Vaglieri); *EIr*, s.v Dū Qār (Ella Landau-Tasseron).

795. According to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 293, it lay to the south of what soon afterward became the Arab *miṣr* of al-Kūfah, and cannot have been far from the Euphrates, hence in a region where the nomads' herds could have ready access to water. It seems impossible to pinpoint it more exactly, although there were presumably bituminous springs bubbling to the surface there (*qār, qīr* "pitch, tar").

796. Abū 'Ubaydah (d. 209 or 210/824–25), philologist and grammarian, was a mawlā of Mesopotamian origin who became the most learned authority of his time on the tribal history and lore of the early Arabs. He also achieved a later reputation, which does not in fact seem to be justified, as a zealous supporter of the claims of the Shu'ūbiyyah, those vaunting the cultural supremacy of the 'Ajam, in effect the Persians, over the Arabs. See *EI*[2], s.v. Abū 'Ubayda (H.A.R. Gibb); *EIr*, s.v. Abū 'Obayda Ma'mar (C. E. Bosworth).

797. Following what seems to be the correct emendation, following *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCIV, for this personal and tribal name (Khindif b. Muḍar: cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 1, II, 2, 347, and also n. 430 above).

798. See on 'Adī, n. 116 above.

who took it from the book of Ḥammād [al-Rāwiyah],[799] and my father also mentioned part of the story to me. He said: Zayd b. Ḥammād b. Zayd b. Ayyūb b. Maḥrūf b. 'Āmir b. 'Uṣayyah b. Imri' al-Qays b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm[800] had three sons: the poet 'Adī, who was a handsome man, both poet and orator (*khaṭīb*), who had read the books of the Arabs and the Persians;[801] 'Ammār, who was also called Ubayy; and 'Amr, who was also called Sumayy. They had a uterine brother called 'Adī b. Ḥanẓalah, from the [tribe of] Ṭayyi'. 'Ammār used to stay at Kisrā's court. One of the two of them ardently desired the death of 'Adī b. Zayd; the other was a firm devotee of Christianity. They all belonged to a notable house whose members were close to the Kisrās, eating their food with them and staying at their side, and receiving from them land grants (*qaṭā'i'*).

When al-Mundhir (IV) b. al-Mundhir (III) became king,[802] he entrusted his son al-Nu'mān to 'Adī's care; it was this family who fostered him (and reared him). Now al-Mundhir had another son called al-Aswad, whose mother was Māriyah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Julhum from the [tribe of] Taym al-Ribāb. There fostered[803] and

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799. Ḥammād b. Maysarah, called Abū Laylā, al-Rāwiyah ("the great transmitter"), d. 155 or 156/772–73, of Persian mawlā stock, was famed as a collector of ancient Arabic poetry but also suspected of forging some of this. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 366–38; *EI*², s.v. Ḥammād al-Rāwiya (J. W. Fück).

800. Nöldeke, trans. 312 n. 5, noted that the appearance of the name Ayyūb in 'Adī's *nasab*, as the poet's great-great-grandfather, indicates the ancientness of Christianity within the family. He further noted that, for Ayyūb to have been born four generations back from 'Adī (who must himself have been born ca. 554, in J. Horovitz's view), he must have been in extreme old age if he is to be identified with the person mentioned (together with the *comes* Angeleios (?), son of Zeid) in the *Martyrium Arethae* as Iōb/Ayyūb, ethnarch of the Christian community in al-Ḥīrah, and as being a member of the entourage of the Lakhmid al-Mundhir III b. al-Nu'mān II. The "house of Ayyūb" was clearly important, through its literacy and its practical skills, in the secretarial and diplomatic service of both the Lakhmids and the Sāsānids. See further Horovitz, "'Adi ibn Zeyd, the Poet of Hira," 32–34 (also translates, 40ff., the detailed account of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī in *Aghānī*³, II, 95ff., much fuller than the account given here by al-Ṭabarī); Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I/1, 315–18.

801. Nöldeke trans. 313 n. 1, commented that there could hardly have been any books written in Arabic at this time, but only orally transmitted poetry and possibly tales, and that, when the Christian Arabs of a city like al-Ḥīrah did write, they would use Syriac.

802. That is, in ca. 575.

803. This passage in parentheses was supplied by Nöldeke in his text, n. *d*, from the parallel passage in *Aghānī*³, II, 105.

reared him a family from the people of al-Ḥīrah called the Banū Marīnā, who were considered a part of Lakhm and were of noble status (*ashrāf*).[804] As well as these two, al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir had ten other sons. Because of their handsome appearance, the entire group of his sons were known as al-Ashāhib ("the Shining Ones"), as al-A'shā says: [1017]

The sons of al-Mundhir, the Shining Ones, go forth in the morning in al-Ḥīrah with their swords.[805]

Al-Nu'mān was red haired (or: had a reddish complexion, *aḥmar*), with a mottled skin, and was short of stature.[806] His mother was called Salmā (or Sulmā) bt. Wā'il b. 'Aṭiyyah al-Ṣā'igh ("the goldsmith"), from the people of Fadak; she was a slave girl of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam b. 'Adī b. Janāb's, from [the tribe of] Kalb.[807] Qābūs b. al-Mundhir the Elder, the paternal uncle of al-Nu'mān and his brothers, had sent 'Adī b. Zayd and his brothers to Kisrā, son of Hurmuz,[808] these being secretaries and translators of his.

When al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir died,[809] leaving behind those thirteen sons of his, Iyās b. Qabīṣah al-Ṭā'ī was given charge of his

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804. For this family, see Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 20, 110. It was of such prominence in the life of the city that the poet Imru' al-Qays speaks of al-Ḥīrah as *diyār Banī Marīnā*. See *Dīwān*, 200, no. 37 v. 3, and cf. Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda*, 67.

The situation thus evolved in al-Ḥīrah of al-Nu'mān being supported for the succession there by 'Adī b. Zayd and al-Aswad by the Banū Marīnā; 'Adī, however, had a distinct advantage through his honored status at the Sāsānid court. See Rothstein, ibid., 109–10.

805. *Dīwān*, 212, no. 63 v. 14.

806. Nöldeke, trans. 314 n. 1, noted that this description is confirmed, in another context, in *Aghānī*³, XXXI, 2.

807. This maternal origin is confirmed in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 95, and Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, 13, but al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 202 = § 1061, says that Salmā was of the Kalb.

As Nöldeke, noted, trans. 314 n. 2, Fadak, a settlement in the Wādī al-Qurā of western Ḥijāz, had a significant Jewish element, famed as workers in precious metals. It is thus possible that Salmā came from this population group; the poet 'Amr b. Kulthūm al-Taghlibī satirized al-Nu'mān, that his mother's relatives were smiths and weavers, practicing despised crafts (*Aghānī*³, XI, 58–59, and a satire attributed to al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī by one of his enemies describes al-Nu'mān as *wārith al-ṣā'igh* "heir of the goldsmith" (ibid., XI, 13; cf. Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 108–109).

808. Following Nöldeke, trans. 314 n. 3, one should read here "Kisrā, son of Qubādh," i.e., Anūsharwān, and not "Kisrā [Abarwīz], son of Hurmuz."

809. That is, in 580.

governmental responsibilities,[810] but only held this office for a few months while Kisrā was searching for a man he could appoint as ruler over the Arabs. At that juncture, Kisrā, son of Hurmuz,[811] summoned ʿAdī b. Zayd and said to him, "Who now remains of al-Mundhir's sons?[812] What sort of persons are they, and is there any good amongst them?" ʿAdī replied, "There are still some of them left from the sons of the recently deceased al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir; those are real men!" Kisrā said, "Send for them!" So he wrote to the various sons, and they came to Kisrā, who assigned them lodging with ʿAdī b. Zayd. ʿAdī gave preferential treatment in regard to lodging and hospitality to al-Nuʿmān's brothers over al-Nuʿmān himself, and he would let them see that he expected nothing from al-Nuʿmān. He spoke with them individually and privately, and said to each of them, "If the king asks you, 'Can you control the Arabs for me?' then tell him, 'Yes, we can control them all for you, except al-Nuʿmān.'" ʿAdī said to al-Nuʿmān,
[1018] however, "If the king asks you about your brothers, tell him, 'If I can't cope with them, then I can't cope with anybody else!' "[813]

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810. That is, Hormizd (see n. 811 below) appointed him as temporary governor of al-Ḥīrah. It was Iyās b. Qabīṣah who was, nearly a quarter of a century later, apppointed (this time by Khusraw II Abarwēz) governor or ruler in al-Ḥīrah after the Lakhmid al-Nuʿmān's deposition in 602. At some point, the Persian king awarded Iyās thirty villages along the Euphrates as a grant for life and made him administrator of the district of ʿAyn al-Tamr (see on this place n. 112 above). See *EI*[2] Suppl., s.v. Iyās b. Ḳabīṣa al-Ṭāʾī (Ch. Pellat). Nöldeke, 314 n. 5, opined that the Qabīṣah of *Aghānī*[1], II, 22, i.e., Iyās's father, fitted better chronologically for this appointment by Hormizd, but a period of twenty-two years during which Iyās was occupied with other charges along Persia's frontier with the north Arabian desert does not seem an excessive amount out of a man's official career, and in any case, the same passage in *Aghānī*[3], II, 106, has "Iyās b. Qabīṣah" for the interim governor in al-Ḥīrah before the choice of al-Nuʿmān was made.

811. Read here "Hurmuz, son of Kisrā."

812. That is, of the progeny of al-Nuʿmān's grandfather al-Mundhir III (r. 504–54).

813. That is, al-Nuʿmān is to stress to Hormizd his ability to cope with rivals and with other unruly elements along the desert fringes of the Persian realm. Nöldeke, trans. 315 n. 3, noted further that in the more detailed account of *Aghānī*[3], II, 107–108, ʿAdī gives al-Nuʿmān advice which will project himself to the Persian king as a tough and spartan son of the desert: that he should appear before Hormizd in travel-stained clothes, girt with his sword, and exhibiting a voracious appetite. At the same time, ʿAdī craftily instructs the other brothers to wear their most opulent clothes, to eat in an elegant and restrained manner, and generally to present themselves as refined, ineffective characters, useless for the envisaged task of guarding the frontiers.

There was a man from the Banū Marīnā called ʿAdī b. Aws b. Marīnā, a headstrong fellow who was also a poet and who used to say repeatedly to al-Aswad [b. al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir], "You know that I expect some favor from you (or perhaps, "am well disposed toward you, am concerned for your welfare," *annī laka rājin*).[814] I beg and implore you not to follow ʿAdī b. Zayd's counsel, for by God, he never has your good interests at heart." But al-Aswad paid no attention to his words.

When Kisrā ordered ʿAdī b. Zayd to bring them into his presence, ʿAdī began to lead them in one by one, so that Kisrā might speak with each of them; he found that he was looking at a group of men whose like he had rarely seen. When he asked them, "Are you able to fulfill this office for me, as your family previously filled it?" They replied, "We can control the Arabs for you, except al-Nuʿmān."

When al-Nuʿmān went into Kisrā's presence, the latter perceived an ugly and ill-favored person. Nevertheless, when Kisrā addressed him and asked, "Can you control the Arabs for me?" he answered, "Yes!" Kisrā asked, "How will you deal with your brethren?" Al-Nuʿmān replied [mockingly], "If I can't cope with them, then I can't cope with anyone!" Kisrā thereupon appointed him ruler, gave him robes of honour and a crown valued at sixty thousand dirhams and set with pearls and gold.[815]

Al-Nuʿmān went forth, having been just appointed thus. [At this point,] ʿAdī b. Aws b. Marīnā said to al-Aswad, "Now you've done it! You have gone against the correct course of action!" Then ʿAdī b. Zayd prepared a feast in a church, and sent a message to Ibn Marīnā, "Come along to me, and bring whomever you like, for I need to say something [to you]." Hence Ibn Marīnā went to him with a group of people. They all feasted and drank at a morning meal in the church. ʿAdī [b. Zayd] said to ʿAdī b. Marīnā, "O ʿAdī, "People like you know how best to recognize good conduct and then to avoid blaming [anyone] for it. I realize that you would have preferred your candidate al-Aswad b. al-Mundhir to have been

814. Nöldeke follows the first of these interpretations in his trans., 316.

815. ʿAdī's scheming has thus secured the authority in al-Ḥīrah for al-Nuʿmān (cf. Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 111), but at the price of making powerful enemies in the city.

appointed rather than my candidate al-Nuʿmān, but don't blame me for something which you yourself would have done [if you had been able]. I would not like you to hate me for a course of action which you yourself would have followed had you been able. I would further like you to treat me with the same consideration as
[1019] I show to you, for my share in the royal power is no more extensive than your own share."

ʿAdī b. Zayd then arose and went to the church and took an oath that he would not satirize ʿAdī b. Marīnā in his poetry, would never intend any wicked act against him, and would never keep back from him anything good.[816] But when ʿAdī b. Zayd had finished saying this, ʿAdī b. Marīnā stood up and swore a similar oath that he would never cease satirizing ʿAdī b. Zayd and never cease intending evil against him as long as he lived. Al-Nuʿmān now went forth and took up his residence at al-Ḥīrah.

ʿAdī b. Aws b. Marīnā recited these verses regarding ʿAdī b. Zayd:

Ho there, announce to ʿAdī from ʿAdī, and do not grieve, even though your physical power has become worn out.
You are despoiling our places of worship when you have no need for such gains, merely in order that you may be praised or your gain may be more complete.[817]
If you are now successful, you will not be successful in a praiseworthy manner; and if you perish, we shall wish someone else, and not you, to be not far from us [in death].[818]

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816. The Cairo text, II, 196, has here *khabar*, "any piece of information," for *khayr*, "anything good," the latter being the reading, however, in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, II, 108.

817. Following the emendations in the text, I, 1019 n. *a* and in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCIV for the first hemistich of this verse. The reference here to "despoiling our *hayākil*" seems to refer, as Nöldeke noted, trans. 315 n. 3, to ʿAdī's obtaining a loan of eighty thousand dirhams from the bishop of al-Ḥīrah, Jābir b. Shamʿūn, on al-Nuʿmān's behalf so that the latter could inflate and strengthen his position in the Persian king's eyes. See *Aghānī*³, II, 115; Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 111 n. 2.

818. Literally, "may someone else, not you, not be far from us [in death]!" *fa-lā yabʿad siwāka*, a motif familiar in ancient Arabian elegiac poetry, in which the spirit of a dead man, a companion, or kinsman, is enjoined *lā tabʿad*, "do not go far away in death!" See Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 255–56, Eng. tr. C.

You will feel regret like the man of Kusa' when your two eyes
see what your hands have wrought.[819]

'Adī b. Marīnā likewise said to al-Aswad, "Although you have not been successful, do not be so weak as to forgo seeking vengeance on this man of Ma'add, who has treated you in this fashion.[820] I have kept on telling you that the crafty wiles of Ma'add are never at rest, and I enjoined you not to follow his ways; but you acted against my advice." He replied, "What do you want, then?" Ibn Marīnā said, "I want you to hand over to me all the income from your sources of wealth and land," and al-Aswad did that. Ibn Marīnā was [already] very rich and well endowed with estates. No day now ever passed without a present arriving at al-Nu'mān's portal from Ibn Marīnā, so that the latter became the most honored of men in al-Nu'mān's eyes, and he did not decide any matter of state without 'Adī b. Marīnā's instructions. Whenever 'Adī b. Zayd's name was mentioned in Ibn Marīnā's presence, he would heap praises on him and recount his merits, yet he would add, [1020]
"The make-up of a man of Ma'add is not complete without there being an element of craft and treachery in it."

When the persons in al-Nu'mān's court circle perceived the high status of Ibn Marīnā in the king's sight, they attached themselves to him and followed him. He began to tell his most trusted followers, "When you see me mentioning 'Adī b. Zayd with approbation to the king, say, 'Indeed, he is just like you say, but he doesn't leave anybody alone but keeps on saying that the king—he meant al-Nu'mān—is merely his governor and that he secured al-

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R. Barber and S. M. Stern, *Muslim Studies*, I, 231–32; idem, "Beiträge zur arabischen Trauerpoesie," 311–12; *EI*², s.v. Marthiya. 1. (Ch. Pellat), at VI, 603b.

819. The "regret of the man of Kusa'" was proverbial for someone who committed an irrevocable action and then repented of it. Kusa' is variously described as a clan or subgroup of archers of Qays 'Aylān, Yemen, or Ḥimyar, but no such tribal division is registered by Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Jamharat al-nasab*; clearly, the lexicographers had no real idea of the origin of the saying. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, X, 186–87; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, V, 494–95.

820. 'Adī's genealogy, set forth by al-Ṭabarī at I, 1016, p. 340 above, went back to the Zayd Manāt b. Imri' al-Qays, one of the two main branches of the great North Arab tribe of Tamīm (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 59, II, 8, 544; *EI*², s.v. Tamīm b. Murr (M. Lecker)), whereas most of the Arabs in al-Ḥīrah, from the ruling Lakhmid family downward, stemmed from tribes accounted Yemeni in *nasab*.

Nu'mān's appointment to the office which he now holds.'" They kept on thus repeatedly until they caused the king to be full of hatred toward 'Adī b. Zayd. Also, they wrote a letter in 'Adī's name to one of his stewards (*qahramān*) and then laid a plot against him to seize the letter, which they then brought to al-Nu'mān. The latter read it, and it filled him with rage. He sent a message to 'Adī b. Zayd in these terms: "I beseech you, why haven't you visited me? I have been longing to see you." 'Adī was at this juncture at Kisrā's court; he asked Kisrā for permission to leave, and the latter gave this. But when 'Adī came to al-Nu'mān, he had hardly set eyes on al-Nu'mān before he was thrown into a prison, where no one came to visit him.[821] 'Adī b. Zayd set about composing verses while he was in prison. The first of the verses which he composed there was:

Would that I knew something from the great hero (i.e., the king)! Then would a tenderly persuasive enquiry bring you authentic news [of him]![822]

He further recited many other pieces of poetry.[823]

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821. In the second of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's accounts of the estrangement between al-Nu'mān and 'Adī, in *Aghānī*[3], II, 115–16, that stemming from al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī, to the reasons for this estrangement set forth in the first account from Ibn al-Kalbī, essentially that given above by al-Ṭabarī, al-Mufaḍḍal adds another cause, also involving 'Adī's enemy Ibn Marīnā. According to this, 'Adī grew angry with al-Nu'mān because he had prepared for al-Nu'mān and his entourage a splendid feast, but en route for this, al-Nu'mān was intercepted by Ibn Marīnā who invited him on the spot to a feast of his own so that, when al-Nu'mān eventually arrived at 'Adī's feast, he was satiated and oculd not touch any of it. 'Adī was naturally piqued, displayed his anger, reproached al-Nu'mān in verse and broke off relations with him. In retailiation, al-Nu'mān consigned 'Adī to prison.

822. *Dīwān*, 56, no. 7 v. 2, a verse from a long poem, more of which is cited in other sources such as *Aghānī*[3], II, 110.

823. When Nöldeke made his translation, he stated, 319 n. 2, that the verses of 'Adī had to be recovered from scattered citations in later sources. A formal *dīwān* of 'Adī's collected poetry is mentioned in several mediaeval Islamic sources, e.g., Ibn al-Nadīm and Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, as being in existence at that time, with various copies circulating in Baghdad. However, the *Dīwān* of 'Adī has now been published by Muḥammad Jabbār al-Mu'aybid on the basis of a unique manuscript, preserved at al-Baṣrah, of the work of Jāhilī poets and called *Kitāb jamharat shu'arā' al-'Arab min al-Jāhiliyyah;* see al-Mu'aybid's Introduction, 20–25.

As Nöldeke commented, loc. cit., the poetry of 'Adī, the product of an urban, Christanised environment, is perceptibly easier to understand than the verses of contemporary Bedouin poets, products of the ruder, harsher desert.

Whenever ʿAdī composed some poetry, this came to al-Nuʿmān's notice and hearing, and he felt regret for having imprisoned him. He began to send messages to ʿAdī, making him various promises and arousing his hopes [of being freed], but shrank from releasing him lest ʿAdī should then intend some evil against him. ʿAdī thereupon uttered the verse:

I lay awake in a thick, dark cloud in which lightning flashes
continually rose up on the gray mountain peaks.[824]

and also,

That night was long for us and intensely dark.[825] [1021]

And also,

Ho there, the nights and the days are long![826]

When he became wearied of addressing entreaties to al-Nuʿmān, he recited poetry in which he reminded him of death and informed him of those kings before him who had perished, saying,

Has farewell been said to him when he was setting out in the
morning or at even?[827]

and many other poems.

He related: Al-Nuʿmān once set out for al-Baḥrayn, and [in his absence] a man from Ghassān appeared and wrought whatever violence he willed in al-Ḥīrah. It is said that the person who attacked al-Ḥīrah and then put it to flames was Jafnah b. al-Nuʿmān al-Jafnī.[828] ʿAdī recited:

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824. *Dīwān*, 37, no. 3 v. 1.
825. ibid., 59, no. 8 v. 1.
826. ibid., 132, no. 60 v. 1.
827. ibid., 84, no. 16 v. 1.
828. This refers to a major, surprise attack on the Lakhmid capital involving an operation mounted across the Syrian Desert by the Jafnid/Ghassānid prince, who plundered al-Ḥīrah and pitched his *praetorium* or military headquarters there for five days, while the Lakhmid ruler was absent, as ʿAdī's scornful verse stresses. The Jafnid/Ghassānid prince would be al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith or Arethas (r. 569–82). Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten*, 27–28, placed the attack in 580–81, commenting that it could not in any case have happened after 591 when the emperor Maurice and Khusraw Abarwēz made peace, since the Byzantine ruler would not have allowed his Syrian vassal to breach the agreement thus; see also

A falcon soared high, and then set both sides of it (i.e., the town of al-Ḥīrah) in flames, while you were completely occupied with camels, some of which are sent out to travel by night while others are left to pasture freely.[829]

When 'Adī's imprisonment became protracted, he wrote the following verses to his brother Ubayy, who was at Kisrā's court,

Convey the news to Ubayy, however far away he is—is what a man has come to know any use to him?—
—That your brother, the dear one of your heart, for whom you were intensely concerned while ever he was safe and sound,
Is shackled with iron fetters in the power of a king, whether justly or unjustly.
So let me not find you acting like a woman with a child (*dhāt al-ghulāmi*) if she does not find a suckler of her breast, seeking for such an one.
So take care to remain in your own land, for if you come to us you will sleep a dreamless slumber (i.e., will find death)![830]

His brother wrote back to him,

If Fate has betrayed you, then you are no weakling (literally, "weak of outstretched arms"), nor an inactive person, nor a feeble
[1022] one.

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trans. 320 n. 3. This seems a reasonable argument, and the attack must in any case have happened well before al-Nu'mān's imprisonment of 'Adī toward the year 600. Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 104 n. 2, 105, 112, however, placed the attack earlier than Nöldeke. More recently, Irfan Shahîd has dated the attack to 575, at the end of the three years' period when al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith had withdrawn from Byzantine service and was keen to retaliate on the Lakhmids for their raids on the Syrian frontiers during that period. The Lakhmid ruler at that time would thus be al-Mundhir IV b. al-Mundhir III rather than the energetic al-Nu'mān III, ruling by ca. 580. The mention of the Jafnid/Ghassānid attacker as being "Jafnah b. al-Nu'mān al-Jafnī" in the account transmitted by Abū 'Ubaydah is thus both vague and inaccurate.

829. *Dīwān*, 114, no. 25 v. 1.

830. ibid., 164, no. 111 vv. 1–5. The message of the last two verses is that Ubayy should not assume a task, that of avenging his brother 'Adī, which is no part of his business—at least, not by immediately coming to the Lakhmid court seeking vengeance and instead finding there his own certain death. Nöldeke, trans. 321 n. 1, was uncertain about the rendering of v. 4, but the enlightning emendations in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCXIV, and *Glossarium*, p. CCCCLIX, make it clear that the proverbial saying given in Lane, *Lexicon*, 2025a, is being alluded to here.

By God's oath, even if a darkly massed,[831] mighty, crushing force, with gleaming swords,
With a distant roaring sound, advancing across country with an overwhelming host bringing death, with robes of battle intact and enfolding them,[832]
Had I been in the thick of its throng, I would have hastened to you; so know that I would have responded when you asked for succor!
Or if I had been asked for money for you, neither inherited wealth nor wealth which had been earned for some specific purpose would have been held back.
Or [if you had been] in a land and I could have come to you there, neither its distance away nor any fearsome danger would have affrighted me.
Since you are far away from me, the glory of this age and the authority to command are with the enemy.
If, by God, I am bereft of you, an old companion whose loss brings pain, there is no one who can replace you, while ever the autumn rains pour forth.
Indeed, by my life, if I grieve over you, it is as an afflicted, sad one.
Indeed, by my life, if I manage to regain control and find consolation, nevertheless there will be few like you in the lands through which I range.[833]

They assert that, when Ubayy read 'Adī's letter, he went along to Kisrā and spoke with him [about the affair]. Kisrā thereupon wrote a letter and sent an envoy with it. Al-Nu'mān's deputy in the exercise of government (*khalīfah*) wrote to al-Nu'mān that Kisrā had sent a letter to him. At that, 'Adī's enemies from the [1023]
Banū Buqaylah of Ghassān[834] went along to al-Nu'mān and said,

831. That is, because of the dark color of the massed warriors in their mailed coats.

832. Reading thus, with Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[1], II, 27, *malfūfu*, as suggested in n. *a*; but *Aghānī*[3], II, 119, chooses the reading of Nöldeke's text, *makfūfu* "with the hems of their robes of battle trimmed short." Both renderings are equally possible in the context.

833. This poem also figures in *Aghānī*[3], II, 119–20. As Nöldeke remarked, 321 n. 3, the poem reads more like an elegy composed after 'Adī's death than one addressed to him during it.

834. See n. 670 above.

"Kill him immediately!" but he refused. The envoy arrived, having been first accosted by 'Adī's brother, who gave him money as a bribe and told him to visit 'Adī first. The envoy went to 'Adī, the latter being incarcerated in [the fortress of] Ṣinnīn.[835] 'Adī's brother said, "Go into his presence and see what instructions he gives you." The envoy went into 'Adī's presence and said, "I have brought the order for your release; what have you got [for me]?" 'Adī said, "Something you will like very much," and gave him promises, adding, however, "Don't leave me, but give me the letter so that I may convey it to him (i.e., al-Nu'mān), for by God, if you leave me, then I shall undoubtedly be killed." The envoy replied, "I can't do anything except go to the king and deliver the letter to him personally."

Meanwhile, someone went along to al-Nu'mān to let him know what was happening. This person came to al-Nu'mān and told him, "Kisrā's envoy has been to visit 'Adī, and is going to bring 'Adī with him. If he does that, he will not spare any of us, neither yourself nor anyone else." Al-Nu'mān thereupon sent 'Adī's enemies to him, and they smothered him till he died, and then buried him. The envoy came into al-Nu'mān's presence with the letter. Al-Nu'mān hailed him with the words, "Good fortune and welcome!" and sent him four thousand mithqāls[836] (i.e., in silver dirhams) and a slave girl, saying to him, "When you go along to 'Adī next morning, go in to him and bring him back personally." But when the envoy rode out to there next morning and entered the prison, the guards told him, "He has already been dead for several days; we didn't, however, dare to tell the king out of fear of him, since we knew that he did not desire 'Adī's death." The envoy returned to al-Nu'mān and said, "I went into his presence

835. This was a fortress of the district of al-Ḥīrah, mentioned in the account of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ's attack on al-Ḥīrah in 14/635 (al-Ṭabarī, I, 2233). According to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 90, it was built by the Greek architect Sinnimār, the luckless constructor of al-Khawarnaq (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 851–52, pp. 75–78 above). See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 431; Nöldeke, trans. 322 n. 3 (on the most probable Aramaic etymology of the toponym); Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 117–18 (mentioning what he identified as the ruins of Ṣinnīn and its castle); Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 152.

836. For this measure for precious metals and monetary unit, based on the weight of the Byzantine gold, *solidus*, see Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 1–8; *EI*², s.v. Makāyil and Mawāzin (E. Ashtor).

[yesterday] and he was still alive!" Al-Nuʿmān told him, "The king sends you to me, and you go to ʿAdī before me? You're lying, and you're only seeking bribe money and stirring up mischief!" He threatened him but then gave him increased largesse and marks of favor, and extracted a promise from him that he would merely tell Kisrā that ʿAdī had died before he could go to him. So the envoy [1024] returned to Kisrā and informed him that ʿAdī had died before he could get access to him. Al-Nuʿmān was filled with remorse at ʿAdī's death, but ʿAdī's enemies behaved menacingly toward him, and he was violently afraid of them.

Al-Nuʿmān went out hunting one day and met one of ʿAdī's sons called Zayd. When he saw him, he recognized his resemblance to ʿAdī and asked him, "Who are you?" The son replied, "I am Zayd b. ʿAdī b. Zayd," Al-Nuʿmān spoke with him and found him to be a finely formed young man, and he rejoiced at this (or, "in him") greatly. He introduced him into his court circle, gave him gifts, made excuses to him over the matter of his father,[837] and fitted him out handsomely with a traveling kit. Then he wrote to Kisrā in these terms: "ʿAdī was, because of his wise counsel and his intelligence, one of those persons who are the supports of kings; but the inevitable fate came upon him, his life span was fulfilled and his sustenance was cut off; no one was more deeply afflicted by his death than myself. Yet a king does not lose one of his men without God sending along a replacement for him, since God has made the king's royal power and exalted status so mighty. Now one of ʿAdī's sons, not inferior to him in qualities, has just reached maturity. Hence I have sent him along to the king; if he sees fit to appoint him in his father's stead, he may do so."

When the young man came to Kisrā, he appointed him to his father's old office and transfered his paternal uncle (i.e., Ubayy) to another post. So it was Zayd who took charge of correspondence dispatched to the land of the Arabs—in particular, [that of] the king. The Arabs gave him a specific, annual payment for filling this office, namely, two chestnut-colored colts, fresh truffles in their season and dried ones, dried and compacted cheese, hides (or, "seasonings," *al-udum*), and other products traded by the Arabs.

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837. That is, over his being imprisoned and not, of course, over his killing. See Nöldeke, trans. 324 n. 1.

Zayd b. ʿAdī b. Zayd was thus in charge of all this—that is, those functions ʿAdī b. Zayd had exercised. When Zayd had attained such a position in Kisrā's eyes, the latter asked him about al-Nuʿmān; Zayd praised him profusely.

Zayd accordingly remained for several years filling the same
[1025] role his father had filled. Kisrā was highly pleased with him, and Zayd used frequently to go into his presence. The Persian kings possessed the description of a [perfect] woman, written down and kept by them, and they used to send that description out to all those lands (i.e., to obtain for themselves such ideal wives and concubines), except that they never had any dealings with the land of the Arabs regarding this and would never seek it. At one point, the king again took steps for seeking out women, and sent out that written description. Then Zayd went into Kisrā's presence and spoke to him about the course of action the king had embarked upon, and said, "I see that the king has sent out letters concerning women who are to be sought out for him [as partners]. I have read the description. I know the house of al-Mundhir very well. Your servant al-Nuʿmān has many daughters and paternal nieces and other members of his family, totaling more than twenty women, who correspond to this description." Kisrā said, "In that case, you should write off concerning them." Zayd replied, "O king, the worst characteristic of the Arabs, and of al-Nuʿmān [in particular], is that they regard themselves as superior in nobility, as they conceive themselves, to the Persians. I am afraid that he will conceal these women. But if I personally go to him with this mission, he will not be able to place them in concealment. So send me, together with a man from your own guard who is a skilled Arabic speaker." Hence Kisrā sent with him a sturdy man. Zayd set off with the latter. He began to treat that man in a noble and friendly fashion until he reached al-Ḥīrah. He went into al-Nuʿmān's presence and extolled the monarch, then went on to say that "He (Kisrā) requires women [as attendants] for his wives and children, and desires to show you honor, hence has sent this mission to you."[838] Al-Nuʿmān asked, "What kind of women are

838. Such a tribute of maidens was regarded by Nöldeke, trans. 325 n. 1, as quite credible, especially as Barhebraeus mentions a "Fast of the Maidens" of the Nestorian Christians commemorating the frustration of Khusraw Abarwēz's at-

these [who are required]?" Zayd answered, "This is the description of them."

The description stemmed from al-Mundhir the Elder's[839] forwarding as a present for Anūsharwān a slave girl whom he had acquired as plunder when he had raided al-Ḥārith the Elder al-Ghassānī, son of Abū Shamir,[840] and whose description he had sent in a letter to Anūsharwān:

"[She is] of medium height, with a clear skin color and fine [1026] teeth, white, gleaming like the moon, pronounced eyebrows, dark and wide eyed, with a high, aquiline nose, slender eyelashs over fine eyes, smooth cheeks, with a delectable body, plentiful hair, a good-sized skull so that ear-drops hang far apart, with a high neck, a wide bosom, and well-rounded breasts. [She has] stout shoulder and upper arm bones, fine wrists, delicate hands with long and straight fingers; a pulled-in abdomen, neat waist, slender at the girdle, ample hips, a well-rounded rear and strong thighs, a fine posterior and fleshy buttocks, good-sized knees, filled-out calves so that her ornamental anklets fit snugly, but with delicate ankle bones and feet. [She] walks with slow steps, is somnolent and remains inside in the fierce light of day and has a tender skin where this is exposed. [She is] obedient to her lord and master, not flat-nosed or with a tanned skin, humble and submissive although of noble birth and not brought up in penurious circumstances, modest, sedate, mild in character, and steady minded. [She has] noble maternal relatives[841] and she is satisfied with her paternal lineage, without reference to her clan, and with her clan without reference to her tribe. Experience of life has made her of fine conduct and attainments (*adab*). Her ways of thought are those of

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tempt to carry off all the maidens from al-Ḥīrah, and as al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiyah*, 314, states that the *ṣawm al-'adhārā* marked the relief of the Arabs at being relieved of the tribute of virgins levied by the kings of al-Ḥīrah or else the victory of Dhū Qār, which spared the Arabs from the Persian demand for their maidens.

839. That is, the Lakhmid al-Mundhir III (r. 504–54, interrupted by the Kindī occupation of al-Ḥīrah in the mid-520s).

840. That is, the Jafnid/Ghassānid al-Ḥārith (Arethas) (r. 529–69), son of Abū Shamir Jabalah (d. 528). See Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, I/1, 69.

841. Following the emendation *al-khāl* of *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCIV, for the text's *al-ḥāl*.

noble people, but her actions those of the poor and needy. [She is] skillful with her hands, restrained with her tongue, has a gentle voice; she is an adornment to the house, and puts the enemy to shame. If you wish for [sexual contact with] her, she shows eagerness for it; if you prefer to leave her alone, she is content to abstain. She becomes wide eyed [with sexual longing], her cheeks blush red, her lips tremble, and she hastens toward you before you can fall upon her."[842]

Kisrā accepted this description and ordered it to be set down in permanent form in his chancery registers. [The Persian rulers] kept on handing it down to each other until it finally reached Kisrā, son of Hurmuz.

Zayd read out the description to al-Nu'mān, but the latter found the topic distasteful, and said to Zayd, with the envoy listening at the same time, "Aren't all the wide-eyed ones (*'īn*) of the Sawād
[1027] and Persia enough to fulfill your needs?" The envoy said to Zayd, "What are the 'wide-eyed ones' ?"[843] He replied, "Wild cows (*al-baqar*)."[844] Zayd said to al-Nu'mān, "Kisrā only desires to show you honor; if he had known that this [demand] was distressing for you, he would not have written to you in these terms." Al-Nu'mān gave them both hospitality for two days and then wrote to Kisrā, "That which the king seeks I do not possess," and he told Zayd, "Make my excuses to the king."

When Zayd went back to Kisrā, he told the envoy who had come with him, "Tell the king everything you heard from al-Nu'mān, for I shall give him the same account as you and not contradict you at all regarding it." When the two of them went into Kisrā's presence, Zayd said, "This is his letter," and he read it out to him. Kisrā retorted, "Where, then is what you [previously] told me

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842. This bravura piece of rhetorical prose, with its balanced phrases and rhymes, appears also in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], II, 29–30, with various divergencies of wording. On the theme of descriptions of female beauty in Iranian and Persian literatures, from the Avesta onward, see *EIr* s.v. Erotic Literature (Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh).

843. *a'yan*, f. *'aynā'*, pl. *'īn*, "wide-eyed, dark-eyed," is a favorite attribute of the wild cow or oryx, and thence, of women, in early Arabic poetry, appearing in the Qur'ān as a description of the houris of the Paradise intended for the justified believers, e.g., in XXXVII, 47/49, XLIV, 54, LII, 20, LVI, 20.

844. The account in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 205–206 = §§ 1065–66, uses the synonym for wild cow, *mahāt*.

about?" Zayd said, "I told you about their (i.e., the Arabs') tenaciousness in keeping their women from others, and that this arises from their miserable way of life; they prefer starvation and nakedness to satiety and fine clothes, and the fiery and tempestuous winds to the ease and pleasantness of this land of yours, to the point that they call it a prison.[845] Now just ask this envoy who accompanied me about what he (i.e., al-Nu'mān) said, for I have too great a regard for the king's exalted position to be able to repeat what he said and the answer that he gave the king." Kisrā thereupon asked the envoy, "What did he say?" The envoy replied, "He said, O king, 'Hasn't he got enough from the wild cows of the Sawād without seeking after what we ourselves have?'" Signs of anger became apparent in Kisrā's face and he felt violently moved in his heart, but he merely remarked, "Many a wretch has had worse things than this in mind, yet his intentions have come to naught in the end!" These words became generally circulated and reached the ears of al-Nu'mān.

Kisrā then remained silent regarding this topic for several months. Al-Nu'mān, meanwhile, was preparing for whatever might befall and was expecting [the worst], when Kisrā's letter reached him [containing the command]: "Come here, for the king has business with you!" He set off [precipitately] when the king's letter reached him, taking with him his weapons and whatever else he was able [to carry]. He arrived at the two mountains of Ṭayyi',[846] accompanied by [his wife] Far'ah bt. Sa'd b. Ḥārithah b. [1028]
Lām, who had borne him both a male and a female child, and also [his wife] Zaynab. bt. Aws b. Ḥārithah [b. Lām]. Al-Nu'mān made for the land of the Ṭayyi', hoping that they would take him in among themselves and protect him, but they refused to do this, saying, "Were it not for the marriage bonds between us, we would

845. Contrasting the harshness and misery of the desert existence of the Bedouins with the ease of life in the *ḥaḍar* or settled lands such as al-Ḥīrah and the Persian lands in Mesopotamia.

846. The "two mountains of Ṭayyi'," Aja' and Salmā, were in what is now the Jabal Shammar of northern Najd, to the south and southeast of modern Ḥā'il, and are often mentioned in old poetry. See al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, I, 109–10, III, 750; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 94–99, III, 238–39; Musil, *Northern Neǧd, a Topographical Itinerary*, New York 1928, 76–77, 88–89; Thilo, *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie*, 26, 90.

attack you, for we do not want to be drawn into emnity with Kisrā."[847] Al-Nu'mān went onward, but no one would receive him except for the Banū Rawāḥah b. Sa'd from the Banū 'Abs, who said, "We will fight at your side, if you wish," because of an act of favor al-Nu'mān had shown to them over the matter of Marwān al-Qaraẓ. However, he replied, "I don't want to bring about your destruction, for you don't have the strength to prevail over Kisrā."[848] So he traveled onward until he encamped secretly at Dhū Qār amongst the Banū Shaybān. Here he met Hāni' b. Mas'ūd b. 'Āmir b. 'Amr b. Abī Rabī'ah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān, who was a mighty chief. At that time, the sheikhly rule in Rabī'ah was among the house of Dhū al-Jaddayn, held by Qays b. Mas'ūd b. Qays b. Khālid b. Dhī al-Jaddayn.[849] Kisrā had made a grant to

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847. The tribe of Ṭayyi', whose ancient pasture grounds were in northern Najd, as the connection of their name with the two mountains there shows (see n. 846 above), were accounted Yemeni in genealogy. Al-Nu'mān's marriage with two Ṭā'ī wives suggests that the tribe had links with the Lakhmids, but these were not strong enough to offset the need to keep up good relations with the Sāsānids, and it was a man of Ṭayyi', Iyās b. Qabīṣah, whom Khusraw appointed after al-Nu'mān's death as the first, and last, non-Lakhmid governor in al-Ḥīrah and the former Lakhmid lands and who commanded the forces of the Persians and their Arab allies at Dhū Qār (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1017, p. 341 above). Christianity seems to have acquired some hold among the Ṭayyi' in pre-Islamic times, presumably among those of the tribe who frequented the fringes of Iraq, and Iyās was a Christian. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 176, 249–57, II, 57–61, 176; *EI²*, s.v. Ṭayyi' (Irfan Shahîd). As Nöldeke noted, trans. 329 n. 2, al-Nu'mān's own adoption of Christianity—the first of his line to do so—was nominal enough for him to remain polygamous and to take at least two wives.

848. The 'Abs were a component of the great North Arab group of Ghaṭafān, part of Qays 'Aylān, with the Banū Rawāḥah coming in the tribal *silsilat al-nasab* five generations after 'Abs himself. Their pasture grounds lay between the Jabal Shammar and northern Ḥijāz, hence just beyond those of Ṭayyi'. The "matter of Marwān al-Qaraẓ" involved al-Nu'mān's securing this man's release from al-Nu'mān's uncle and the previous ruler in al-Ḥīrah 'Amr b. al-Mundhir or b. Hind, and the affair is referred to in the poetry of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā (who was born and reared among the Banū 'Abdallāh of Ghaṭafān), as is the magnanimous reception of the fugitive Lakhmid by the Banū Rawāḥah b. Sa'd. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 92, 132–33, 136, II, 20–21, 135–36; *EI²*, s.v. Ghaṭafān (J. W. Fück); and on al-Nu'mān's flight and attempts to secure *jiwār* or tribal protection, see Rothstein, *Lahmiden*, 117–18.

849. Dhū al-Jaddayn were one of the leading families of Bakr (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 144, II, 24), from the Hammām b. Murrah, a dominant branch of the Shaybān. Equally influential with Qays was his son, the poet and warrior Bisṭām. See *EI²*, s.v. Bisṭām b. Ḳays (M. J. Kister).

Qays b. Mas'ūd of al-Ubullah,[850] hence al-Nu'mān was fearful of entrusting his family and dependents to him because of that fact; whereas, he knew that Hāni' would protect him as he would his own life.

Al-Nu'mān then (i.e., after leaving his family and dependents with Hāni') proceeded toward Kisrā's court. On the stone bridge of Sābāṭ[851] he met Zayd b. 'Adī, who said to him, "Save yourself, [if you can,] O Little Nu'mān (Nu'aym)!" Al-Nu'mān replied, "You have done this, O Zayd, but by God, if I manage to survive, I shall do with you what I did with your father!" Zayd told him, "Go on, Little Nu'mān, for by God, I have prepared for you at Kisrā's court bonds to hobble your feet which even a high-spirited colt couldn't break!"[852] When the news of his arrival at court reached Kisrā, the latter sent guards to him who put him in fetters, and he consigned him to Khāniqīn.[853] There he remained in gaol until an outbreak

850. Al-Ubullah (< Greek Apologos) lay on the right bank of the Euphrates-Tigris estuary, at the mouth of a canal of the same name, the Nahr al-Ubullah. The town existed in Sāsānid times and possibly earlier, and in the later Sāsānid period, at least, came normally within the dominions of the Lakhmids. With the advent of Islam, al-Ubullah was to some extent eclipsed by the *miṣr* of al-Baṣrah, founded further inland, but it continued to be a port of major significance for trade with the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean shores all through mediaeval Islamic times until the Mongol invasions. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 76–78; Le Strange, *Lands*, 47–48; Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, 62–64; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 161–62; *EI*², s.v. al-Ubullah (J. H. Kramers). According to Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XXIII, 54, Khusraw made the grant to Qays b. Mas'ūd so that the latter would ward off the tribesmen of Bakr b. Wā'il from the Sawād. See Donner, "The Bakr b. Wā'il Tribes and Politics in Northeastern Arabia on the Eve of Islam," 27–28.

851. See for this, n. 327 above.

852. As Nöldeke noted, trans. 331 n. 2, another brother of Zayd's, 'Amr (not 'Ammār) b. 'Adī b. Zayd, acted as adviser on Arab affairs and translator for Khusraw Abarwēz, and fought at Dhū Qār on the Persian side, where he was killed. See *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 61–62, 73–74. The family of 'Adī b. Zayd continued to be of significance in al-Ḥīrah until well into 'Abbāsid times, when al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 309, tr. 141, describes them in his own time (late third/ninth century) as among the upper social strata there (*'ilyat ahl al-Ḥīrah*) and still firmly attached to their Christian faith.

853. This town lay to the northeast of Ctesiphon and the later Baghdad on the highway through Jibāl to al-Rayy and Khurāsān; at the present day, it comes just within the borders of Iraq. The early Islamic geographers praise a fine, brick-built bridge there, spanning the Ḥulwān river, an affluent of the Diyālā, and this apparently dated back to the town's pre-Islamic existence. The fact that al-Nu'mān was imprisoned there suggests the presence there of a Sāsānid fortress also. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 340–41; Le Strange, *Lands*, 62–63; Schwarz, *Iran*, 687–89; Barthold,

of plague occurred and he died in prison. People think that he died at Sābāṭ on account of a verse by al-A'shā,

It happened thus, and he was not able to save his master (i.e., al-Nu'mān, the master of the noble steed addressed in the preceding verses) from death at Sābāṭ, dying while he was
[1029] incarcerated.[854]

In fact, he died at Khāniqīn, just a short while before the coming of Islam. Soon afterward, God sent His prophet; al-Nu'mān's fate was the cause of the battle of Dhū Qār.[855]

There was related to me a narrative going back to Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā—Abū al-Mukhtār Firās b. Khindif and a number of the learned scholars of the Arabs whom Abū 'Ubaydah expressly named, as follows:[856] When al-Nu'mān killed 'Adī, the latter's brother and son hatched a plot against al-Nu'mān at Kisrā's court, and falsified a letter sent by al-Nu'mān to Kisrā exculpating himself with expressions that roused Kisrā's anger. Hence he ordered al-Nu'mān to be killed. When al-Nu'mān had become fearful of Kisrā, he had deposited his coat of mail, his valuables, and other arms with Hāni' b. Mas'ūd b. 'Āmir al-Khaṣīb b. 'Amr al-Muzdalif b. Abī Rabī'ah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān b. Tha'labah; this was because al-Nu'mān had given him two of his daughters in marriage. Abū 'Ubaydah added, however, that "Other

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Historical Geography, 199, 202; *EI*², s.v. Khāniḳīn (P. Schwarz). In his *Iran im Mittelalter*, 688 n. 1, Schwarz details the information of the Arabic sources on al-Nu'mān's mode of death: either from plague or through being trampled by elephants.

854. *Dīwān*, 147, no. 33 v.18. Cf. Nöldeke, trans. 331 n.4.

855. This could be considered as true in an indirect way, in that the end of the Lakhmids does seem to have facilitated increased depredations by Bedouin tribes like the Bakr on the now less strongly defended desert fringes of Iraq. Whether Khusraw had any serious reason for thinking that al-Nu'mān was aiming at a policy more independent of his Persian overlord is impossible now to determine. See Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 607–608.

Other accounts in the Arabic sources of al-Nu'mān's fall from favor and his consequent fate are given in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 245–46; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 205–10 = §§ 1065–70; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 94–95 (al-Dīnawarī, on the other hand, takes very little account of the Lakhmids). See also Nöldeke, trans. 332 n. 1.

856. This is now the continuation of the *riwāyah* from Abū 'Ubaydah begun by al-Ṭabarī at I, 1016, p. 339 above.

authorities state that Hāni' b. Mas'ūd was no longer alive at the time of this happening; the person in question was Hāni' b. Qabīṣah b. Hāni' b. Mas'ūd, and I consider this to be correct."[857]

After Kisrā had had al-Nu'mān killed, he appointed Iyās b. Qabīṣah al-Ṭā'ī as governor over al-Ḥīrah and the other former territories of al-Nu'mān.[858] Abū 'Ubaydah related: When Kisrā had fled from Bahrām [Chūbīn], he passed by Iyās b. Qabīṣah, and the latter gave him a horse and slaughtered a camel for him; in this way, Kisrā showed his gratitude.[859] Kisrā sent a message to Iyās enquiring where al-Nu'mān's deposited possessions were. Iyās replied that al-Nu'mān had found a safe refuge for them among the Bakr b. Wā'il. So Kisrā ordered Iyās to get possession of what al-Nu'mān had left behind and to forward that to him. Iyās sent a message to Hāni', "Send to me the coats of mail and other items [1030] al-Nu'mān entrusted to you" (the lowest estimate of these mailed coats was four hundred, and the highest was eight hundred). But Hāni' refused to hand over what he had engaged to protect.[860]

He related: When Hāni' withheld these, Kisrā was filled with anger and gave out that he would extirpate the Bakr b. Wā'il. At that moment, he had at his court al-Nu'mān b. Zur'ah al-Taghlibī,

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857. Hāni' b. Qabīṣah b. Mas'ūd al-Shaybānī and Iyās b. Qabīṣah al-Ṭā'ī, or his son Farwah b. Iyās—Iyās being at this point the Persian ruler's viceroy in al-Ḥīrah—are mentioned in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 243, as yielding up the city in 12/633 to Khālid b. al-Walīd's forces on the basis of a peace treaty, with the provision that the Ḥīran leaders were now to act as spies for the Arabs against the Persians.

858. Iyās, noted above as involved (unless his son Farwah is meant) in the surrender of al-Ḥīrah to the Arabs, was the son of Khusraw's adviser Qabīṣah, the tribe of Ṭayyi' having links with the Sāsānid ruling house (see n. 847 above). He was thus an appropriate person to appoint as governor in al-Ḥīrah. However, at his side Khusraw placed his commander Nakhīrjān (on this name, see n. 377 above), who was later to play an eminent role in the defense of al-Madā'in against the Arabs (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 2419–22, etc., below), as financial controller and tribute collector. Iyās was to govern in al-Ḥīrah from 600 to 611. See Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 110, 116, 120 and n. 1.

859. As Nöldeke, trans. 333 n. 2, commented, this gratitude was rather belated. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 216–17, has different details on the fugitive Khusraw's desperate search for a mount, including the detail that al-Nu'mān refused to give the king his own celebrated horse al-Yaḥmūm.

860. This refusal to hand over valuable war material is confirmed by some verses of al-A'shā in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], XXIV, 79.

who was eager for the destruction of the Bakr b. Wā'il.[861] Al-Nu'mān said to Kisrā, "O best of rulers, shall I show you how Bakr might be attacked unawares?" Kisrā replied, "Yes!" Al-Nu'mān said, "Leave them alone, so that they can go to their summer encampments, for if they do take up these summer quarters they will alight at one of their watering places called Dhū Qār just as a moth falls into a fire, and then you can fall upon them exactly as you wish. I myself can take charge of this and get rid of them for you." Al-Nu'mān's phrase "they will alight just like a moth falling into a fire" was translated for Kisrā, and he accordingly left them alone for the time being.

But then when the Bakr b. Wā'il migrated to their summer quarters, they went along and encamped at the bend of Dhū Qār, one night's journey away from Dhū Qār itself. Kisrā sent al-Nu'mān b. Zur'ah to them with the message that they were to chose one of three courses of action (literally, "aims, targets"). Al-Nu'mān encamped at Hāni''s and told him, "I am the king's envoy to you. I offer you three courses of action. Either you submit yourselves, and the king will make a decision concerning you however he pleases; or you remove yourselves from the land; or be apprised of the imminence of war."[862] They took counsel together, and left the decision to Ḥanẓalah b. Tha'labah b. Sayyār al-'Ijlī, whose advice they regarded as auspicious.[863] Ḥanẓalah told them, "I can't see any other course but fighting, for if you place yourself in his hands, you will be killed and your children enslaved. If you flee, you will die of thirst, and the Tamīm will come upon you and put you to death. So apprise the king of imminent war."

The king sent messages to Iyās, to al-Hārmarz al-Tustarī, whose fortress was at al-Quṭquṭānah, and to Jalābzīn,[864] who held the

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861. The two tribes of Bakr and Taghlib, although forming the major part of Rabī'ah, were at odds with each other for much of the sixth century. See *EI*², s.v. Bakr b. Wā'il (W. Caskel).

862. Echoing Qur'ān, II, 279, *fa-'dhanū bi-ḥarb*[in] *min Allāh wa-rasūlihi.*

863. The 'Ijl b. Lujaym were a component of Bakr; see *EI*², s.v. 'Idjl (W.M. Watt). The *sayyid* Ḥanẓalah b. Tha'labah is described in *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 67, as bald headed, large bellied and with a reddish-brown skin, which Nöldeke, trans. 334 n. 3, regarded as probably an authentic description, since it deviates radically from the usual ideal of the spare desert warrior with long locks of hair.

864. This rendering of the Persian commander's name approaches more closely to the Zalabzan of the Byzantine Greek historians (see n. 739 above) than the

fortress at Bāriq. Kisrā further wrote to [the above-mentioned] Qays b. Mas'ūd b. Qays b. Khālid b. Dhī al-Jaddayn, whom Kisrā had appointed over the frontier zone (*al-ṭaff*) of Safawān, with instructions to meet up with Iyās, and when they were all assembled, Iyās was to be their leader.[865] The Persians brought along troops and elephants on which were mounted cavalrymen. At this time, the Prophet had already begun his mission and the authority of the Persians had become weak. The Prophet said, "Today the Arabs have received satisfaction from the Persians." Note was taken of that day, and behold, it was the day of the battle. [1031]

When the armies of the Persians and their allies drew near, Qays b. Mas'ūd slipped away by night and went to Hāni'. He told him, "Give your troops al-Nu'mān [b. al-Mundhir]'s weapons in order thereby to increase the troops' strength. If they should perish, they will merely share the fate of those who bore them [originally], and you will have acted with all prudence and resolution; and if they are victorious, they will give them back to you."[866] Hāni' did that, and divided out the mailed coats and weapons among the strongest and stoutest of his troops. When the [Persian] army drew near to the Bakr, Hāni' shouted to the latter, "O men of the Bakr tribe! You won't be able to withstand Kisrā's troops and their Arab allies, so gallop back to the desert!" The tribesmen rushed headlong to do that, but Ḥanẓalah b. Tha'labah b. Sayyār sprang up and said to Hāni', "You admittedly want us to flee to safety, but you are thereby increasing the likelihood of your consigning us to destruction!" Thus he persuaded the tribesmen to go back, and he cut through the leather straps of the litters [on the camels] so that the

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Khunābizīn of the *Naqā'iḍ Jarīr wa-al-Farazdaq*, II, 640, 643, 644; see *Addenda et emendanda*, p. CXCV.

865. The three places mentioned here were points along the zone of frontier posts and fortresses to the west of the middle and lower Euphrates. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 319–20, III, 225, IV, 374 (al-Quṭquṭānah as the place of al-Nu'mān's imprisonment, but this is less likely than the fortress at Khāniqīn mentioned by al-Ṭabarī at I, 1028, p. 357 above); Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 151, 153.

866. As noted by Nöldeke, trans. 336 n. 1, Qays b. Mas'ūd was subsequently imprisoned by Khusraw in Sābāṭ on the grounds that he had not prevented Bedouin incursions across the fronier zone of al-Ṭaff, confirmed by poetry allegedly composed by Qays himself in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], XXIV, 57–59, Abū 'Ubaydah's information here does confirm that Qays may have had a secret understanding with his fellow members of Bakr. However, in al-Ṭabarī, I, 1035, p. 367 below, al-A'shā satirizes Qays for cowardice and flight in battle.

Bakr would not be able to take their womenfolk with them if they were to flee. He therefore acquired the name of "the one who cuts the thongs" (*muqaṭṭi' al-wuḍun*), *wuḍun* being the straps securing the saddles and litters, or else "the one who cuts the belly girths" (*muqaṭṭi' al-buṭn*), *buṭn* being the straps securing the load-bearing frameworks on draught camels (*al-aqtāb*).[867] Ḥanẓalah also erected a tent for himself in the depression of Dhū Qār and took an oath that he would not flee unless the tent itself fled. Some of them (i.e., the Bakr) went forward, but the greater part of them went back and spent half a month at a watering place getting water for themselves [and their herds].

The Persians came upon them and fought with them at the bend [of Dhū Qār]. The Persians suffered from thirst, hence they fled, without making a stand and being hard pressed, back to al-Jubābāt,[868] with the Bakr and the 'Ijl, the foremost of the Bakr,
[1032] pursuing them. The 'Ijl were in the forefront and fought in an exemplary fashion on that day. The Persian troops came together [at first] in a compact mass, so that people said, "The 'Ijl are finished!" Then [the rest of] the Bakr rallied to the attack and found the 'Ijl standing fast and fighting back. One of their women recited:

If the uncircumcised ones (*al-ghuzal*) gain the victory, they will
ravish us (literally, "place [their penises] inside us");
onwards, may your lives be ransoms for yourselves, O Banū
'Ijl!

She also said, urging on the combattants:

If you put the enemy to flight, we shall embrace [you] and
spread out soft rugs [for you].
But if you flee, we shall avoid [you], showing no tender
affection![869]

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867. This incident appears also in *Aghānī*[3], XXIV, 68–71.

868. Al-Jubābah (thus sing.) is merely noted by Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 98, as a place near Dhū Qār, and a watering place of the Abū Bakr b. Kilāb.

869. These three verses of the 'Ijlī woman figure in the account of Dhū Qār in the *Naqā'iḍ Jarīr wa-al-Farazdaq*, II, 641, while the second and third verses, with a slight variant, are attributed in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-nabī*, ed,. Wüstenfeld, 562 = ed. al-Saqqā et al., III, 72, tr. 374, to Hind bt. 'Utbah when she urged on Quraysh against the Muslims at the battle of Uḥud, in the year 3/625.

They fought with the Persians at al-Jubābāt for a whole day. Then the Persians suffered thirst and made toward the depression of Dhū Qār. The [tribe of] Iyād, who were auxiliary troops against the Bakr with Iyās b. Qabīṣah,[870] secretly sent a message to the Bakr: "Which is more attractive to you, that we should arise and steal away under cover of night, or stay here and take to flight when you encounter the enemy?" They replied, "Nay, stand fast, and then, when the enemy engage in battle, take to flight with them." He related: Bakr b. Wā'il fell upon the enemy next morning, with their womenfolk (*al-ẓu'un*, literally, "those mounted on camels in litters") standing nearby, inciting the men to fight. Yazīd b. Ḥimār al-Sakūnī, a confederate of the Banū Shaybān, said, "O Banū Shaybān, follow my leadership and let me make an ambush against the enemy." They did that, and made Yazīd b. Ḥimār their leader. Then they concealed themselves in an ambush at a place near Dhū Qār called al-Jubb,[871] and showed themselves stout warriors there. Commanding Iyās b. Qabīṣah's right wing was al-Hāmarz, and over his left wing was al-Jalābzīn; commanding the right wing of Hāni' b. Qabīṣah, the leader of the Bakr, was Yazīd b. Mus'hir al-Shaybānī, and over his left was Ḥanẓalah b. Tha'labah b. Sayyār al-'Ijlī. The people began to urge on their fellows and to compose *rajaz* verses [to encourage them]. Ḥanẓalah [1033]
b. Tha'labah recited:

Your hosts have already become a compact mass, so fight
fiercely! What excuse shall I have, since I am strongly
armed and robust?[872]
The bow has a thick string, like the foreleg of a young camel or
stronger.

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870. The Iyād were a North Arab tribe, whose eponymous forebear was said by the genealogists to be a son of Nizār b. Ma'add and a brother of Rabī'ah and Muḍar. Some Iyād settled at al-Ḥīrah and became Christians; others remained nomadic, and at the end of the sixth century and beginning of the seventh century were among the tribes in the service of the Sāsānids as frontier auxiliaries until their defection from the Persian side as narrated below. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 174–75, II, 29–30, 359–60; *EI*², s.v. Iyād (J. W. Fück). For Iyās b. Qabīṣah, see above nn. 810, 858.

871. Literally, "depression, hollow."

872. Following the *mud'in* of the Leiden and Cairo texts and of the *Naqā'iḍ*. Nöldeke's translation, 338, "da ich . . . sterben muss" would require *mūd^in* < *awdā*, "he perished."

The celebrated deeds of my people have become clear. Indeed, there is no escape from death.
Here is 'Umayr, whose tribe[873] rushes impetuously forward in battle,[874] with none able to repel it,
Until his reddish-colored horse becomes like a dark-brown one (i.e., with the blood of battle); they have cleared the way, O Banū Shaybān, and stood firm on their own![875]
Myself, my father and my grandfather I give as your ransom!

Ḥanẓalah further recited,

O my people, rejoice in yourselves at fighting! [This is] the most suitable of days for putting the Persians to flight![876]

Yazīd b. al-Mukassir b. Ḥanẓalah b. Tha'labah b. Sayyār recited:

The one of you who flees abandons his wives and the alien under his protection, and flees also from his boon companion.
I am the son of Sayyār, with his toughness and endurance (literally, "hanging on to his bit"); indeed, the sandal thongs have been cut from his own hide.
All men grow in the way of their forefathers, whether nurtured from defective blood or of pure stock.[877]

Firās related: Then they handed over the command, after Hāni',[878] to Ḥanẓalah. He went along to his daughter Māriyah, who was the mother of ten sons, one of these being Jābir b. Abjar,[879] and cut through the leather straps of her litter so that she

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873. The Cairo text, II, 209, has the reading *taḥtahu* for *ḥayyuhu*, followed in the text of the *Naqā'iḍ Jarīr wa-al-Farazdaq*.

874. Following the emendation in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCV, *taqdumat*[an].

875. Following, with the text of the *Naqā'iḍ*, the probable emendations to the second hemistich given in *Addenda et emendanda*, loc. cit., with statements (*khallaw . . . wa-stabaddū*) rather than imperative verbs and commands.

876. These verses of Ḥanẓalah figure in the *Naqā'iḍ*, II, 642.

877. These verses are in the *Naqā'iḍ*, II, 643, with the poet's name as Yazīd al-Mukassir b. Ḥanẓalah, i.e., the son, not the grandson, of the previously cited poet.

878. That is, because, as recorded by al-Ṭabarī at I, 1031, p. 361 above, Hāni' had left the field.

879. Nöldeke noted, trans. 339 n. 3, that the Ḥajjār b. Abjar b. Jābir b. Bujayr al-'Ijlī mentioned in the historical sources was probably Jābir's brother. This Ḥajjār

fell to the ground, and he did the same with the straps of the other women so that they all fell to the ground. The daughter of al-Qarīn, the woman of Shaybān, cried out when the women fell to the ground,

Woe to you, O Banū Shaybān, rank upon rank! If you are put to flight, the uncircumcised ones (*al-qulaq*) will ravish us (literally, "will plunge into us")! [1034]

Seven hundred of the Banū Shaybān cut the arms of the sleeves of their garments from the shoulder pieces so that their arms would be freer for wielding their sword, and then they engaged the enemy fiercely in battle. He related: Al-Hāmarz cried out [in Persian], "Man to man!" (*mard u mard*). Burd b. Ḥārithah al-Yashkurī[880] exclaimed, "What is he saying?" They told him, "He is issuing a summonse to single combat, man to man." He replied, "By your father! He has spoken justly!" Burd advanced against him and slew him. Surayd b. Abī Kāhil recited:[881]

Little Burd (Burayd)[882] is one of us, [who proved himself in battle] when he went out against your hordes, when you did not want to let him draw near to the Marzbān with the bracelets on his arm.[883]

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was prominent in fighting the Muslims during the *Riddah* wars in al-Baḥrayn during Abū Bakr's caliphate, but apparently became a Muslim under 'Umar, especially as Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 161 (but not, e.g., Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah*), devotes a notice to him since, after conversion, he could technically be considered as a Companion of the Prophet; cf. also Donner, "The Bakr b. Wā'il Tribes and Politics in Northeastern Arabia on the Eve of Islam," 31–32. His father Abjar seems, however, to have remained Christian until his death toward the end of 'Alī's reign. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 3460, and Hawting, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, XVII, *The First Civil War*, 217 and n. 858. Nöldeke further noted the antiquity of the name Abjar/Abgar among the Arabs, going back to the kings of Edessa, among whom some ten of that name are known. See Segal, *Edessa, 'The Blessed City,'* index s.vv. Abgar I, etc.

880. The Banū Yashkur were a tribe of Bakr, with much of the tribe living as sedentaries in al-Yamāmah. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tables 141, 162, II, 26, 592.

881. Surayd b. Abī Kāhil Shabīb al-Yashkurī was a poet of the *mukhaḍram*. See Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 165–66.

882. The parallel verse in the *Naqā'iḍ*, II, 643, has for this name "Yazīd," but the text shortly afterward mentions Burayd as a variant for Yazīd.

883. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*[3], XXIV, 71, mentions that the Persian cavalrymen of al-Hāmarz rode out against the Bakr wearing arm bracelets (*musaw-*

That is, you did not consider him [as an outstanding warrior].

Ḥanẓalah b. Tha'labah b. Sayyār called out, "O my people, don't just stand there facing them, or they will overwhelm you with arrows! The left wing of the Bakr, led by Ḥanẓalah, attacked the [Persian] army's right wing (whose commander, al-Hāmarz, Burd had just killed), and the right wing of the Bakr, led by Yazīd b. Mus'hir, attacked the [Persian] army's left wing (commanded by Jalābzīn). The concealed force under Yazīd b. Ḥimār came up behind them from al-Jubb of Dhū Qār, and launched an attack on the enemy's center, where Iyās b. Qabīṣah was. The Iyād turned round and fled, just as they had undertaken to do, and the Persians also fled.

Salīṭ said: The [Arab] captives whom we took, who were on that day in the Persian forces, related to us thus, saying: When the two sides clashed, Bakr took to flight, so we said, 'They are making for the watering place." But when they crossed the wadi and emerged from the bed of its stream onto the other side, we said, 'This is flight." This happened in the midday heat[884] of a day in the midst
[1035] of summer. A detachment of the 'Ijl approached, tightly packed like a bundle of reeds, with no gaps in between; they did not offer impediment to any fugitives (i.e., from the other branches of the Bakr) and they did not mingle with others of the enemy. Then they urged each other on to the attack, advanced in a mass and hurled themselves frontally at the enemy. There was nothing more to be done; they had made the enemy yield, and these last turned and fled. They slew the Persians and those with them from the depression of Dhū Qār as far as al-Rāḥiḍah.[885] Firās related: I was further informed that they pursued the Persians closely, not looking for plunder or anything else, unti they met up with each other at Adam,[886] a place near Dhū Qār. There were found to be thirty riders from the Banū 'Ijl and sixty from the rest of the Bakr. They killed Jalābzīn, slain by the hand of Ḥanẓalah b. Tha'labah. May-

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war) and with pearls in each ear. Variants for the last word of this verse, al-Ṭabarī's *al-musawwarā*, are given in both the *Naqā'iḍ* and the *Aghānī*, and from the latter (where two verses are quoted), the correct rhyme emerges as *-ru* and not *-rā*.

884. *Naqā'iḍ*, II, 644, has *ḥadd*, "intensity, acute part of something," for al-Ṭabarī's *ḥarr*.

885. Unidentified.

886. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 162, knows this only as a place associated with the events of Dhū Qār.

mūn b. Qays (i.e., al-A'shā) recited the poem, praising the Banū Shaybān in particular:

I would give as a ransom for the Banū Dhuhl b. Shaybān my she-camel and its rider (i.e., myself) on the day of the encounter, but this would be too little.[887]
They combatted fiercely the vanguard of al-Hāmarz at the bend, the bend of Qurāqir, until he turned and fled.
Qays [b. Mas'ūd] escaped from our group, and I commented, "Perhaps, if he were wearing sandals there, he threw them off" (i.e., in order to escape more easily).

This shows that Qays was in fact present at Dhū Qār.

Bukayr, the deaf one (*al-aṣamm*) of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Ubād,[888] eulogised the Banū Shaybān thus:

[O serving girl,] if you pour out wine for those who are wont to enjoy it (or, "deserve it"), then pour it out as an act of honor for the sons of Hammām, [1036]
And for all of the Abū Rabī'ah and the Muḥallim,[889] who attained the foremost place on the most noble of battle days.
They attacked the Free Ones (*Banū al-Aḥrār*)[890] on the day when they encountered them in battle, with Mashrafī swords[891] on the place where the skull rests firmly.
Arabs numbering three thousand and a force of two thousand Persians, from those who wear cloths over their mouths (*banī al-faddām*).[892]

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887. Following the reading *wa-qallati* of al-A'shā, *Dīwān*, 179, no. 40 v. 1; *Naqā'iḍ*, II, 644; *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 78; and *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCV, I do not see how Nöldeke, trans. 342, got his rendering "[geb' ich . . .] und meinen Renner" from *wa-fullati*.

888. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Ubād b. Ḍubay'ah were a clan of the important Tha'labah branch of Bakr. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 155, II, 25, 314.

889. Muḥallim b. Dhuhl were a clan of Shaybān. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 142, II, 421,

890. See for these, n. 604 above.

891. Clearly a superior kind of sword. The lexica give various explanations for the term, including one connecting it with the *mashārif al-Shām*, "the highlands of Syria," possibly the Ḥawrān massif, which would be near the place of origin of the later, famed swords of Damascus. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1539a.

892. Nöldeke, trans. 343 n. 2, noted the reference here to the *pandām*,

The son of Qays made a charge, and the fame of it for him has traveled as far as the peoples of Iraq and Syria,
[That is,] 'Amr, and 'Amr is not decrepit with age or weak minded among them (i.e., his people of Qays), nor inexperienced and a mere youth.[893]

Since al-A'shā and al-Aṣamm praised the Banū Shaybān specifically, the Lahāzim[894] grew angry, and Abū Kalbah, one of the Banū Qays,[895] reproached those two poets strongly for this:

May you be mutilated, O two poets of a people of exalted fame! May your noses be cut off with a saw!
I mean the deaf one (*al-aṣamm*) and our weak-sighted one (*a'shānā*) who, when they both come together, do not find help for [defective] hearing from seeing.
If it had not been for the riders of the Lahāzim, who are not feeble and defenseless, they would not have been able to spend the summer [any longer] at Dhū Qār.
We came upon them from their left side, just as those going to water [their beasts] become intermingled with those returning from the water (i.e troops traveling in opposite directions, with the enemy fleeing and ourselves wheeling
[1037] round and returning to the battle field).[896]

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paitidāna, of the Zoroastrians (cf. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, cols. 830–31), MP *padām*, NP *pandāmah*, worn across the mouth in order to avoid contamination with the breath of sacred objects.

893. These verses also in *Naqā'iḍ*, II, 644–45; *Aghāni*, XXIV, 77–78.

894 The Lahāzim were a grouping of Bakrī tribes, defined in the Umayyad al-Baṣrah of some eighty years later than this time as the Qays b. Tha'labah and their confederates; the 'Anazah; and the Taymallāt b. Tha'labah and their confederates, the 'Ijl. See al-Ṭabarī, II, 448, tr. Hawting, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, XX, *The Collapse of Sufyānid Authority and the Coming of the Marwānids*, 25–26; cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, II, 27. The term *lahāzim* is said by the lexicographers to be the plural of *lihzimah*, "mastoid bone, hinge of the jawbone with the skull," the idea of hardness being transfered to the solidity of the tribal alliance. See *Glossarium*, p. CDLXXIII; Ullmann, *WbKAS*, II, Letter *lām*, Pt. 2, 1516–19; *EI*[1], s.v. Taimallāt b. Tha'laba (G. Levi Della Vida).

895. Attached by Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 355, to the clan of 'Ukābah b. Qays, part of Murrah of Shaybān. See Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel-Strenziok, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Table 141, II, 566.

896. *Naqā'iḍ*, II, 645, in part quoted, but with additional verses,in *Aghānī*[3], XXIV, 77.

Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' said: When Abū Kalbah's words reached al-A'shā, he commented, "He has spoken truly," and recited verses in extenuation of himself, some of which are:

When a deaf person is linked through a connection with a weak-sighted one, they both wander around distractedly, lost and in distress.
For I am not able to see what he can see, while he is never able to hear my reply.[897]

Al-A'shā recited concerning the day of battle,

There came to us from the Free Ones (*Banū al-Aḥrār*) a word that was not conformable.
They wanted to hack down the tree of our nobility, but we were defending ourselves against serious events.[898]

He also recited to Qays b. Mas'ūd,

O Qays b. Mas'ūd b. Qays b. Khālid, you are a man in whose youthful vigor the whole of Wā'il[899] places its hopes!
Are you combining in a single year both raiding and journeying abroad? Would that the midwives had drowned Qays [at his birth]![900]

Al-A'shā of the Banū Rabī'ah said,[901]

We stood our ground firmly on the morning of Dhū Qār, when [the enemy] tribes were present there in swarms, having come together to give aid.
They had brought on that occasion a dark-colored [army], an intimidatory host, with closely compacted squadrons of riders, a crushing force,

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897. al-A'shā, *Dīwān*, 206, no. 57 vv. 1–2; *Naqā'iḍ*, II, 645.
898. *Dīwān*, 204, no. 56, vv. 5–6; Naqā'iḍ, II, 645, with *al-ḥakamā* for *al-khuṭamā* at the end of the second verse.
899. That is, Wā'il b. Jadīlah b. Asad b. Rabī'ah, from whom sprang the two great tribes of Bakr and Taghlib. See *EI*², s.v. Rabī'a and Muḍar (H. Kindermann).
900. *Dīwān*, 128, no. 26 vv. 1–2; *Naqā'iḍ*, II, 645–46.
901. That is, A'shā Banī Abī Rabī'ah or A'shā Shaybān, 'Abdallāh b. Khārijah, another of the many poets with this sobriquet, numbered at seventeen by the Arabic literary biographers. This al-A'shā was a poet of al-Kūfah and a staunch adherent of the Marwānids, dying ca. 100/718–19. See Nöldeke, trans. 344 n. 6; *EI*², s.v. al-A'shā (ed.).

For a hateful day of battle, until the moment when the shades of its blackness fell away from us, revealing us as warriors with unsheathed swords.
They thereupon turned their backs on us totally,[902] and we only had to ward off Nuʿmān b. Zurʿah.[903]
And we drove away the threatening rain-cloud (*ʿāriḍ*) of the free ones as if going to water, just as the sand grouse (*qaṭā*) alight for water at a desert pool with exiguous water.[904]

Mention of Those Vassal Rulers Set over the Desert Frontier of the Arabs at al-Ḥīrah as Appointees of the Monarchs of Persia, after ʿAmr b. Hind

We have already mentioned previously those members of the house of Naṣr b. Rabīʾah who held this power as vassal rulers on
[1038] behalf of the monarchs of Persia up to the time of ʿAmr b. Hind's death, and the durations of their respective periods of office as vassal rulers. after ʿAmr b. Hind up to the time when al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir held power.[905]

The person who exercised this office after ʿAmr b. Hind was his [full] brother Qābūs b. al-Mundhir,[906] whose mother was likewise Hind bt. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr; he held power for four years, of which eight months fell in the reign of Anūsharwān and three years and four months in the reign of the latter's son Hurmuz.[907] After

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902. *akta'īnā*, also translatable "as if they were completely mutilated," as by Nöldeke, trans. 345.

903. That is, the Taghlibī chief and enemy of the Bakr, who at Khusraw's court advised the course of action that led to the *Yawm Dhī Qār*; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1030, pp. 359–60 above. According to Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, XXIV, 72–73, he escaped from the field of Dhū Qār.

904. *Dīwān*, 281 no. 16 vv. 1–5.

905. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 833–34, 845–46, 850–54, 858ff., 899–900. 946, 981, 1016–30, pp. 44, 67, 74–82, 87ff., 161–63, 237, 286, 339–59 above.

906. The appearance of this purely Persian name, an Arabized form of Kāwūs (< Avestan Kawi-Usan, see Nöldeke, 345 n. 4; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 334–46; Mayrhofer, *Die altiranischen Namen*, nos. 208, 210, 323), among the Lakhmids, is an indication of the strength of Persian cultural influence within the dynasty. See further on this, Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs before Islam," 609ff.

907. On this count, Qābūs would have reigned from 578 or 579 to 582 or 583, since Khusraw Anūsharwān died in 579, but we know that he was ruling a decade or so before then, since he was defeated by the Jafnid/Ghassānid al-Mundhir b. al-

Qābūs b. al-Mundhir there came to power al-Suhrab,[908] then after him the father of al-Nu'mān, al-Mundhir b. al-Mundhir, who held power for four years;[909] then after him, al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, Abū Qābūs, for twenty-two years, of which seven years and eight months fell in the reign of Hurmuz, son of Anūsharwān, and fourteen years and four months in the reign of Kisrā Abarwīz, son of Hurmuz.[910] Then there held power Iyās b. Qabīṣah al-Ṭā'ī, together with al-Nakhīrajān, for nine years in the reign of Kisrā, son

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Ḥārith on Ascension Day 570. His four years' reign must have been from 569 or 570 to 573 or 574, i.e., entirely within Anūsharwān's reign, as confirmed by Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 94. See Nöldeke, trans. 345 n. 1; Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 72, 102–106. Rothstein, op. cit., 102, pointed out that what we know of Qābūs's military activities does not confirm Ḥamzah's allegation that he was a weak and ineffectual ruler, and he believed that the contemptuous nickname given to Qābūs of Qaynat al-'Urus (read thus for Ḥamzah's *Fitnat al-'Urus*), "slavegirl who looks after the bride's dwelling and wedding outfit," stemmed from some satirical poetry aimed at him.

908. As Nöldeke said, trans. 340 n. 1, this man with so typical a Persian name can hardly have been a Lakhmid (despite what has been said in n. 906 above about Persian cultural influence within the Lakhmid house, the name of Suhrab is totally unattested among them) but must have been a Persian official sent out by Anūsharwān during an interregnum between Qābūs's death and the eventual accession of al-Mundhir IV b. al-Mundhir III. According to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 94, this official (whose name is corruptly written here as *F.y.sh.h.r.t*) administered al-Ḥīrah for one year only. See Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 106–107.

909. Al-Mundhir IV b. al-Mundhir III (also a full brother of 'Amr and Qābūs, since according to Nöldeke, trans. 346 n. 2, a poet cited in the *Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām addresses him as ". . . b. Hind") must in fact have reigned rather more than four years, from ca. 574 to 580. Nöldeke mentioned, 346 n. 1, the apparent reluctance of the Christian 'Ibād of al-Ḥīrah to accept the pagan al-Mundhir as ruler, but Rothstein pointed out that all the Lakhmid rulers with the exception of the last one were pagans, and the fact that al-Mundhir was unable immediately to succeed his brother Qābūs must have had other causes. In the process of al-Mundhir's eventual succession to the throne in al-Ḥīrah, 'Adī's father Zayd b. (?) Ḥammād, Anūsharwān's adviser on Arab affairs, may have played a significant rôle. Al-Mundhir had at one point been involved in fighting with the Jafnids/Ghassānids, but we have no exact details of the circumstances of his death. See Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 107.

910. Al-Nu'mān III, who is also found with the *kunyah* of Abū al-Mundhir and whose mother was the slavegirl Salmā or Sulmā (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1017, p. 341 above), reigned 580–602 as the last of the Lakhmid kings in al-Ḥīrah. See Nöldeke, trans. 347 n. 1; Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 107–19, 142–43. Al-Nu'mān figures frequently in the lives of the poets who frequented his court in the final florescence of Arabic culture at al-Ḥīrah; he was the first and last of his line to become a Nestorian Christian, however nominally, doubtless under the influence of his upbringing in the family circle of 'Adī b. Zayd. See *EI*², s.v. al-Nu'mān (III) b. al-Mundhir (Irfan Shahîd).

of Hurmuz.[911] According to what Hishām b. Muḥammad has asserted, one year and eight months from the beginning of Iyās b. Qabīṣah's tenure of power, the Prophet was sent [by God] on his mission.[912] His successor Āzādhbih, son of [Ādhur] Māhān (?), son of Mihrbundādh, from Hamadhān, held power for seventeen years, of which fourteen years and eight months fell within the time of Kisrā, son of Hurmuz; eight months in the time of Shīrūyah, son of
[1039] Kisrā; one year and seven months in the time of Ardashīr, son of Shīrūyah; and one month in the time of Būrān-dukht, daughter of Kisrā.[913] Al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir then held power. He is the one whom the Arabs called al-Gharūr ("the one who deludes, deceives") and who was killed in al-Baḥrayn at the battle of Juwāthā; he held power for eight months until Khālid b. al-Walīd marched on al-Ḥīrah and was the last survivor of the house of Naṣr b. Rabī'ah. Their power crumbled with the collapse of the royal power in Persia.[914]

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911. Iyās's nine years' of governorship was from 602–11, and this was in partnership with the Persian commander Nakhīrjān (on whom, see n. 377 above). Rothstein, *Laḫmiden*, 119–20, suggested that this arrangement could have been the prelude to the incorporation of the Lakhmid territories into the Persian empire as one of its provinces.

912. This is almost certainly too early; the Prophet's *mab'ath* or mission is more probably to be placed in 610 (the call to prophethood, *nubuwwah*, and his nonpublic ministry), and then with ca. 613 as the date for the *risālah* or beginning of his public ministry in Mecca. See Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 59.

913. This means a governorship for Āzādhbih of nineteen years if he held the post till the reign of Būrān or Būrān-dukht (r. 630–31). The reading for his father's name is very uncertain. Marquart suggested [Ādhur] Māhān for a completely undotted consonant skeleton, which would correspond with the name in the Byzantine Greeks historians of Adormaanēs, but this was regarded by the editor Nöldeke as not very probable; the text could be *Bān.y.ān* or numerous other possibilities. See *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCV.

914. This later Lakhmid never reigned in al-Ḥīrah but was raised up by the rebels of al-Baḥrayn during the Riddah wars as one of their leaders, doubtless from the prestige of his ancient name and lineage. He is called in the Muslim sources *al-Gharūr*, "the treacherous, deceitful one," but is said to have ruefully called himself, when captured by the Muslims, *al-Maghrūr*, "the deceived one." The accounts of his fate vary: that he was killed at the siege of Juwāthā, the fortress of the 'Abd al-Qays in al-Khaṭṭ (i.e., in al-Baḥrayn); that he was subsequently killed fighting for Musaylimah in al-Yamāmah; and (less probably) that he became a Muslim. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 84; al-Tabārī, I, 1737, tr. Ismail K. Poonawala, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, IX, *The Last Years of the Prophet*, 95, and I, 1959–61, tr. F. M. Donner, ibid., X, *The Conquest of Arabia*, 136–38; Nöldeke, trans. 348 n. 1, with other information on the ultimate fate of the Lakhmid line, including that in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 209–12 = §§ 1071–72, cf.

According to what Hishām [b. Muḥammad] has asserted, the total of the rulers of the house of Naṣr plus their deputies from the 'Ibād and the Persians, was twenty rulers. He related: The total number of years during which they held power was 522 years and eight months.[915]

The Story Returns to the Mention of al-Marūzān, Who Governed Yemen on Behalf of Hurmuz and His Son Abarwīz, and His Successors[916]

There was related to me a narrative going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: Hurmuz, son of Kisrā, dismissed W.y.n (?)[917] from Yemen and appointed in his stead al-Marūzān. The latter remained in Yemen long enough to have children born to him there and for these to grow to puberty.[918] But then the people

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Pellat's index, VI, 268, on the encounter of al-Nu'mān's daughter Ḥurqah/Ḥarīqah/Ḥurayqah with Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ after the Arab victory at al-Qādisiyyah.

Al-Shābushtī, *Kitāb al-diyārāt*, 244–46, mentions the Dayr Hind al-Ṣughrā at al-Ḥīrah, which Hind, the daughter of al-Nu'mān, is said to have built and to have stayed there herself as a nun (*mutarahhibah*) until her death; cf. also the editor Gūrgīs 'Awwād's *dhayl*, 388–90, with information from other sources on the convent and on Hind, and Fiey, *L'Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 215–17. According to the *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 9, the Catholicos Īshō'yabh II was buried there by Hind when he died. According to the later geographer al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā ista'jam*, II, 604–607, Hind and Ḥurqah/Ḥarīqah/Ḥurayqah were the same person (Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 95, makes them two separate persons and mentions a third daughter, '.*n.f.q.y.r* [?]), and al-Bakrī quotes Abū al-Faraj [al-Iṣfahānī] that the tribes of both Hind and her father al-Nu'mān were visible, side by side, in the Dayr Hind al-Awwal (= al-Ṣughrā) during the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (i.e., ca. A.D. 800). Fiey, op. cit., III, 216 n. 4, suggested that Ḥurqah, etc., was this princess's pagan name before the adoption of Christianity by her father and herself. Concerning Khālid's march on al-Ḥīrah, see Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 283–92.

915. Nöldeke, trans. 349 n. 1, basing himself on the figures for each reign in the corrected text of Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī's *Ta'rīkh*, found this a remarkably accurate computation.

916. From this point onward, there resumes the story from Ibn al-Kalbī on events in Yemen under Persian rule broken off by al-Ṭabarī at I, 988, p. 294 above, and then on the end of Khusraw Abarwēz's reign and the rule of his successors.

917. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 988, p. 294 above.

918. Such children, born of Persian fathers who were soldiers or officials during the half-century or so of Persian dominance in Yemen, and local Arab mothers, came to form the so-called *Abnā'* or "Sons." The virtual collapse of the Sāsānid empire in 628 left these Abnā' and other surviving representatives of Persian power in Yemen remote and isolated from their homeland with virtually no hope of human replenishments or material help from Persia. Hence when Muḥammad was extending his power into the more distant parts of the Arabian peninsula, the

of one of the mountains of Yemen called al-Maṣāni'[919] rebelled against him and refused to hand over to him the land tax. Al-Maṣāni' is a long mountain, difficult of access, with another mountain adjacent to it with a plain that is not very wide lying between them; moreover, no one can possibly conceive in his mind the idea of climbing up to it. Al-Marūzān proceeded to al-Maṣāni', and when he arrived there he perceived that there was no way up to the mountain except via a single way of access which a
[1040] man could defend single handed.

When al-Marūzān saw that there was no way for him to reach it, he climbed up the mountain which faced the people of al-Maṣāni''s fortress, and looked for the narrowest gap between it and the mountain he himself was on, with nothing but empty space stretching down below him. He realized that the only way of takng the fortress was from that point. So he ordered his troops to form themselves into two ranks and then all to shout out to him with one great shout. He spurred on his horse, it galloped on with all its force and then he hurled it forward and it jumped across the chasm, and lo and behold, he was on the top of the fortress. When the Ḥimyarites saw him and what he had done, they exclaimed, "This man is a '.*y.m!*"—'.*y.m* meaning in Ḥimyarite "devil."[920] Then he herded them together roughly, spoke to them in Persian and ordered them to place each other in shackles. He brought

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Abnā' were inclined to come to terms with the Prophet, with their leader, the governor Bādhān or Bādham (see n. 609 above) recorded as submitting and becoming a Muslim in 10/631. See *EIr*, s.v. Abnā' (C. E. Bosworth); *EI*² Suppl. s.v. Bādhām, Bādhān (Bosworth).

919. Literally, "the constructions," in this case, fortifications. According to Nöldeke, trans. 350 n. 1, the Paris ms. of this part of al-Ṭabarī's text has a remark identifying al-Maṣāni' with the mountain al-D.l.' and the town of Kawkabān. The plateau and mountain area of al-Maṣāni' and the Jabal Dila' (this last often mentioned by al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'Arab*, 223, 231, 234, etc.) are in fact still known as such and lie to the west-northwest of Ṣan'ā', with the ancient town, now a provincial capital, of Kawkabān located there. See *EI*² s.v. Kawkabān. 4 (A. Grohmann).

920. This mysterious word is not so far attested in South Arabian. Nöldeke, trans. 350 n. 2, cited the lexicographers al-Jawharī and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī that it meant "a variety of serpent" and adduced Hebr. *'ēmāh*, "something terrifying, frightful." He further suggested that there might be a connection of the word with the 'Emīm, the mythical giants of the land of Moab mentioned in Gen. xiv. 5 and Deut. ii. 10–11; but this is pure speculation, based on what is probably chance resemblance of words.

them all down from their fortress, killing one part of them and enslaving others. He wrote to Kisrā, son of Hurmuz, telling him what he had done. The king marveled at his achievement and wrote back: "Appoint as your deputy whomever you will, and come to me!"

He related: Now al-Marūzān had two sons, one of whom, called Khurrakhusrah, was very fond of Arabic and could recite poetry in it,[921] while the other was a cavalryman who spoke Persian and lived in the fashion of a *dihqān*. Al-Marūzān now appointed his son Khurrakhusrah—Khurrakhusrah being the dearest to him of his sons—as his deputy over Yemen, and traveled onward until, when he was in some region of the Arab lands, he died. He was then placed in a sarcophagus and this was carried along until it was finally brought to Kisrā. The latter ordered that sarcophagus to be placed in his treasury and caused to be inscribed on it "In this sarcophagus lies so-and-so, who did such-and-such," giving the story of what he did at the two mountains.[922] News of Khurrakhusrah's adoption of Arab ways (*ta'arrub*), his relating of Arabic poetry, and his entirely Arab education reached Kisrā, so he dismissed him and appointed as governor Bādhān, who was in fact the last of the Persian governors to be sent out to Yemen.[923] [1041]

Kisrā became puffed up with vainglory because of the vast amount of wealth and all kinds of jewels, utensils, equipment, and horses he had accumulated. He had conquered so many of the lands of his enemies. Events all came together to aid him, and he was granted good fortune in his ventures. However, he was filled with conceit and boastfulness, and was horribly avaricious; he grudged and envied people for their wealth and possessions.[924] He appointed a certain man from the local people (*'ilj*,[925] i.e., one of

921. An example of the assimilation of the Abnā' to their local environment if, as is possible, Khurrakhusrah had an Arab mother.

922. The story of al-Marūzān's successful attack on al-Maṣāni' and his eventual death and burial is given in Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, I, 178–79, on the basis of the author's readings in the "books of the Persians."

923. The date of Bādhān's appointment is unknown, but as noted in n. 918 above, he remained in Yemen till his conversion to Islam in 10/631.

924. Nöldeke, trans. 351 n. 1, gives a balanced assessment of Abarwēz's character and achievements, concluding that "In sum, Khusraw II is to be considered much more a weak than a bad man."

925. See for this term, n. 210 above.

the Nabataean population of Iraq) called Farrukhzādh, son of Sumayy,[926] from a a village called Khandaq[927] in the *ṭassūj* of Bih-Ardashīr (text, Bahurasīr), to take charge of collecting the arrears of taxation (*al-baqāyā*).[928] This latter person imposed on the people all sorts of evil afflictions, ill-treated them and tyrannized them, confiscating their wealth unlawfully on the plea of extracting the arrears of land tax. He thereby rendered them disaffected, their means of life became straitened, and Kisrā and his rule became hateful to them.

There was related to me a narrative going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: This Kisrā Abarwīz had accumulated more wealth than any other monarch. His riders reached as far as Constantinople and Ifrīqiyah.[929] He spent the winter in al-Madā'in and the summer in the region between al-Madā'in and Hamadhān.[930] It was said that he had twelve thousand women and slave-girls, 999 elephants, and fifty thousand riding beasts comprising finely bred horses, horses of lesser breed, and mules. He was the most avaricious of mankind regarding jewels, vessels, and the like. Another source, not Hishām, has stated that he had in his palace three thousand women with whom he had sexual relations and thousands of slave girls employed as servants, for

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926. Nöldeke, trans. 352 n. 1, implied—as seems reasonable in regard to an Aramaic-speaking "Nabataean" of Iraq—that Sumayy was a Semitic name, adducing the name of the Jewish prophet S.m.y who met Zoroaster at Balkh, according to al-Ṭabarī, I, 681, tr. M. Perlmann. *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, IV, *The Ancient Kingdoms*, 76–77.

927. Literally, "trench, ditch," a place that cannot be identified exactly but which, if it was in the vicinity of Bih-Ardashīr or Seleucia, lay to the west of al-Madā'in (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 819, p. 15 and the references in n. 58 above).

928. On this fiscal and administrative term, see n. 253 above.

929. In early Islamic geographical usage, this region (< Latin Africa, perhaps from the Afri, an indigenous people of the region, or the later Punic-Cartaginian ethnic mixture there, see *EI*², s.v. Ifrīḳiya (M. Talbi), corresponded to modern Tunisia, but is doubtless used in this context in a looser, wider sense of "North Africa" in general. These far-flung raids of Khusraw's are, in any case, pure legend.

930. That is, in that part of the Zagros chain which now forms southern Kurdistan. As Nöldeke noted, trans 353 n. 1, it was ancient practice for rulers, from Achaemenid times onward, to spend the winter on the Mesopotamian plain but to move up to the drier, less torrid Iranian plateau for the summer. It was actually Hamadhān which, some four or five centuries later, the Seljuq sultans preferred as their usual capital, only visiting Baghdad occasionally and normally leaving a *shiḥnah*, a military governor, there.

music making and singing, and such. He also had three thousand male servants at his hand, eighty-five hundred riding beasts on which he could travel, 760 elephants, and twelve thousand mules for conveying his baggage.[931] He gave orders for the building of fire temples and appointed for them twelve thousand hērbadhs for [1042] chanting the Zoroastrian religious formulae (*li-al-zamzamah*).[932]

In the eighteenth year of his reign,[933] Kisrā ordered the sums collected as land tax from his territories and its associated taxes (*tawābi'*) and other sources of income, to be counted up. It was reported back to him that the amount of silver coinage (*al-wariq*)[934] collected from the land tax and other sources of income in that year was 420 million mithqāls [in weight], which, on the basis of seven mithqāls [in weight equaling ten dirhams], is the amount corresponding to six hundred million dirhams (i.e., silver coins). He ordered all this to be transfered to a treasury he had built at the city of Ctesiphon and had called Bahār ḥ.f.r.d (?) Khusraw, together with other sums of money he possessed, comprising coinage of Fayrūz, son of Yazdajird, and Qubādh, son of Fayrūz, amounting to twelve thousand purses (*badrah*), each purse containing four thousand mithqāls in coinage,[935] the whole

931. Substantially the same figures in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 53, but with an increased figure of six thousand guards (*ḥaras*).

932. *zamzamah*, "humming, mumbling," was the term applied by the Arabs to the liturgical chanting of the Zoroastrian priests and religious scholars or hērbeds. Nöldeke, trans. 353 n. 3, gave the MP and Syriac terms for this chanting, *wāz* and *reṭnā* respectively, and noted such still-surviving memorials of Khusraw Abarwēz's palace building as the Ṭāq/Aywān-i Kisrā (see n. 666 above). More precisely, so Mr F .C. de Blois points out, *wāz*, and perhaps *zamzamah*, refers to the Zoroastrian practice of speaking in a subdued voice while eating.

On the Zoroastrian clergy in general, see Nöldeke, trans. 450–52, Excursus 3, and on the hērbed specifically—hērbed being the oldest religious title attested from the Sāsānid period, as being that of Kerdēr, see n. 122 above—see Chaumont, "Recherches sur le clergé zoroastrien. Le Hērbad," 55–80.

933. This would be the year 607–608.

934. Nöldeke, trans. 354 n. 2, detailed and discussed the information in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 464, from Ibn al-Muqaffa' on the collecting of sources of revenue in the Persian empire and adduces the continuity of practice as shown, e.g., in the travel narrative of the Huguenot Sir John Chardin in seventeenth-century Ṣafawid Persia.

935. Conventionally, a *badrah* in early Islamic times contained ten thousand dirhams; but on the equivalence of seven mithqāls in weight equaling ten dirhams, these Sāsānid purses contained 5,720 dirhams. See for the mithqāl, n. 836 above, and for *wariq* = "silver coinage," *EI*² s.v. Wariḳ (M.L. Bates)

of this totaling forty-eight million mithqāls, the equivalent according to the proportion seven [to ten] of 68,571,42[8] plus a half and a third of an eighth of a dirham. In addition, there were various kinds of jewels, garments, and the like, whose grand total God alone could enumerate.

Kisrā treated people with contempt and regarded them with
[1043] scorn in a manner no righteous and discerning monarch should adopt. His insolent pride and lack of respect for God reached the point that he gave orders to the man in charge of his personal guard at court, called Zādhān Farrūkh,[936] that he should kill every person held captive in any of his prisons; these persons were counted up, and their number reached thirty-six thousand. However, Zādhān Farrūkh did not take any steps to kill them but gave instructions for a delay in implementing Kisrā's command regarding them, adducing various reasons, which he enumerated to Kisrā. Kisrā incurred for himself the hatred of the subjects of his kingdom for various reasons. First, his contemptuous treatment of them and his belittling of the great men of state. Second, his giving the barbarian (*al-'ilj*) Farrukhānzādh, son of Sumayy, power over them. Third, his command that all the prisoners should be slain. Fourth, his intention to put to death the troops returning from their defeat at the hands of Hiraql (Heraclius) and the Byzantines. Hence a group of the great men of state went to 'Aqr Bābil,[937] where were Shīrūyah (text, "Shīrī"), son of Abarwīz, and his brothers, and where the king had appointed tutors to educate them. [He had also appointed] cavalry guards (*asāwirah*) to prevent them leaving that place. They now brought out Shīrūyah and

936. A Persian financial official, Zādhān-farrukh, with the nickname of "the one-eyed one," later figures in the Islamic historians' accounts of the *naql al-dīwān* in Iraq, i.e., the change from Persian to Arabic as the administrative language of the finance department, effected by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik's governor of Iraq and the East, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī. See, e.g., al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 300–301; al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb*, 38–39; M. Sprengling, "From Persian to Arabic," 185–90, 194–97. Of course, this Zādhān-farrukh lived some three generations after Khusraw's commander of the guard, and it is unknown whether there was any family connection between the two men. On the name Zādhān-farrukh "the fortunate one," see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 377.

937. The ruins of "the palace" ('*aqr*) of Babel lay just to the north of the later Islamic town of al-Ḥillah and slightly to the east of the Sūrā canal. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 72; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 150.

entered the town of Bih Ardashīr (text, "Bahurasīr") by night. They released all those in the prisons there, and these freed captives were joined by the fugitive troops whom Kisrā had intended to put to death. They all shouted, "Qubādh (i.e., Shīrūyah) for supreme ruler (*shāhanshāh*)!" The next morning they proceeded to the open space before Kisrā['s palace]. His palace guards took to their heels, and Kisrā himself fled, in great terror, unaccompanied by anyone, to one of the gardens adjacent to his palace called the Bāgh al-Hinduwān. But he was sought out and then apprehended on the day Ādhar of the month Ādhar,[938] and imprisoned in the palace of government (*dār al-mamlakah*). Shīrūyah entered that [1044] palace, and the leading figures gathered round him and proclaimed him king. He sent a message to his father bitterly upbraiding him for his conduct.[939]

There was related to me a narrative going back to Hishām b. Muḥammad, who said: Kisrā Abarwīz had eighteen sons, the eldest of whom was Shahriyār, whom Shīrīn had adopted as a son. The astrologers told Kisrā, "One of your sons will himself have a son, at whose hands this throne will come to ruin and this kingdom be destroyed. The distinguishing sign of this son will be a defect in a certain part of his body." For that reason, Kisrā thereupon kept his sons separated from all women, and they remained for a long time with no access to a woman. At last, Shahriyār complained to Shīrīn about this, sending to her a message in which he complained about his lust for women and asked her to provide him with a woman. If he could have no woman, he would kill himself. She sent a message back to him: "I can't manage to get women into your presence, except a woman of no consequence who wouldn't be suitable for you to touch." He replied, "I don't care who she is, as long as she is a woman!" So she sent to him a

938. Nöldeke, trans. 357 n. 3, noted that in Khusraw's rejoinder to Shēröy's's charges against him, the previous day, Day [ba Ādhar], is named, and that this date would correspond to 25 February 628. He further noted, ibid., 357 n. 2, cf. 381 n. 3, that Armenian historians, among others, mention that it had been prophesied to Khusraw that he would die in India, and this duly occurred in the "house of the Indians."

939. The Christian Greek, Syriac, and Armenian sources on the palace revolution that overthrew Khusraw and brought Shīruyah to power are discussed at length in Nöldeke, trans. 357 n. 4, to which can now be added the *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 29–30.

maiden whom she was wont to employ for being cupped. According to what is asserted, this maiden was the daughter of one of the Persian nobles, but Shīrīn had become angry with her for some reason or another and had consigned her to the ranks of the cuppers.[940] When Shīrīn introduced the maiden into Shahriyār's presence, he immediately leapt on her, and she became pregnant with Yazdajird. Shīrīn gave orders regarding her, and she was kept carefully confined until she gave birth. The fact of the child's birth was kept secret for five years.

At that point, Shīrīn noticed that Kisrā had acquired a tenderness toward young children, at this time when he was growing old, so she said to him, "O king, would it gladden your heart to see a child of one of your own sons, even though this might entail something untoward?" He replied, "[Yes,] I don't care [what might happen]." She gave commands for Yazdajird to be perfumed and decked out with fine clothes, and she had him brought into Kisrā's presence, saying, "This is Yazdajird, son of Shahriyār!" Kisrā sum-
[1045] moned him, clasped him to his breast, kissed him, yearned toward him, and displayed great affection for him; and from then onward he kept Yazdajird close to him. One day, the boy was playing in his presence when he remembered what had been foretold, so he summoned him, had his clothes taken off, inspected him from the front and the back, and perceived clearly the defect (or, "the defect was clearly apparent," *istabāna al-naqṣ*) in one of his hips. He was now filled with anger and distress, and dragged the boy off in order to dash him to the ground. But Shīrīn clung to him and besought Kisrā by God not to kill him, telling Kisrā, "If this is something that is going to befall this state, then there is no possibility of changing it." He replied. "This boy is the agent of ill-fortune about whom I was informed (i.e., by the astrologers), so get rid of him. I don't want ever to see him again!" Shīrīn therefore gave orders for the boy to be sent to Sijistān; but others say that, on the contrary, he was in the Sawād with his guardians at a village called Khumāniyah.[941]

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940. On Shīrīn, see n. 729 above. In Islamic times at least, phlebotomy, the function of the cupper, was regarded as particularly menial and degrading, doubtless from the fact that such bodily services were usually performed by slaves. See *EI*² Suppl., s.v. Faṣṣād, Ḥadjdjām (M. A. J. Beg).

941. The story of Yazdagird's birth and upbringing is doubtless a popular tale

The Persians rose up against Kisrā and killed him, aided by his son Shīrūyah, son of Maryam, the Byzantine woman [al-Rūmiyyah].[942] The duration of his [i.e., Kisrā's] power was thirty-eight years.[943] After the elapsing of thirty-two years, five months, and fifteen days of his rule, there took place the Prophet's migration from Mecca to Medina.[944]

[Qubādh II Shīrūyah]

After him there succeeded to the royal power Shīrūyah,[945] whose [regnal] name was Qubādh [II].

He was the son of [Kisrā II] Abarwīz, son of Hurmuz [IV], son of Kisrā [I] Anūsharwān. It has been mentioned that the great men of state from the Persians came into Shīrūyah's presence when he had become king and after he had imprisoned his father, and said to him, "It is not fitting that we should have two kings: either you kill Kisrā, and we will be your faithful and obedient servants, or we shall depose you and give our obedience to him just as we [1046]

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that endeavored to account for the eventual disaster that overtook Yazdagird III, the last of his line to rule in Persia, and the Sāsānid dynasty as a whole.

Khumāniyah must be the Humāniyyah or Humayniyyah on the west bank of the Tigris below al-Madā'in and just below the confluence of that river and the Kūthā canal, a place which later became of some importance in early 'Abbāsid times. See Nöldeke, "Zur orientalischen Geographie," 94 n. 1; Le Strange, *Lands*, 37.

942. See on the question of Maryam al-Rūmiyyah and the historicity or otherwise of her marriage with Khusraw Abarwēz, al-Ṭabarī, I, 999, p. 312 and n. 729 above.

943. From the beginning of his first reign, Khusraw II Abarwēz ruled for thirty-eight years, 590–628. His name appears on his coins as ḤWSRW. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 67–68, 386–90, 484–91, Plates XX–XXI, Tables XXVIII–XXX; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 53–54, Table XII, Plate 13; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 152–58; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 237–38.

The Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 665; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 190–96; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 84–107; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 214–32 = §§ 634–53; idem, *Tanbīh*, 39, 102, 155–56, tr. 62–63, 146, 213–16; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 472–81, 492–94. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 274–301, 304–309, 325–32. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 448–96; Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 234–35, 239; idem, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 164–70, 178.

944. This is very accurate, given that the Hijrah took place in Rabī' I of the year 1/September 622.

945. Properly Shēröy < *shēr* "lion," with a hypocoristic ending of a type familiar in MP and NP and Arabized as *-awayh(i)*. See on this ending Nöldeke, "Persische Studien. I. Persische Koseformen," 388–423. On the name Shēröy/Shīrūyah in general, see Nöldeke, trans. 361 n. 2; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 297.

always did before you secured the royal power." These words struck fear into Shīrūyah's heart and crushed him. He ordered Kisrā to be transported from the palace of government to the house of a man called Mārasfand.[946] Kisrā was set on a common nag, with his head covered, and conveyed to that house escorted by a detachment of troops. On the way, they brought him past a shoemaker who was sitting in a booth that led out on to the road. When the shoemaker saw the detachment of cavalry troops escorting a single rider with a muffled head, he realized that the covered-up figure was Kisrā and he struck at him with a shoemaker's last. One of the troops escorting Kisrā turned on the shoemaker, unsheathed his sword, cut off the shoemaker's head, and then rejoined his comrades.[947]

When Kisrā was installed in Mārasfand's house, Shīrūyah assembled together all the great men of state and the members of leading families who were at court and addressed them: "We have thought fit, in the first place to send an envoy to our father the king setting forth all his evil actions in his government and drawing his attention to various aspects of these." Then he sent for a man from Ardashīr Khurrah, who was called Asfādh Jushnas and who, because of his position as head of the [royal] secretaries,[948] was in charge of governing the kingdom. Shīrūyah said to him, "Off you go to our father the king and tell him in our name that we have not been the cause of the unhappy state into which he has fallen, nor is any member of the subject population responsible, but God has condemned you to His divine retribution in return for your evil conduct. [First,] your crime against your father Hurmuz, your violence toward him, depriving him of the royal power, blinding his eyes, killing him in a most horrible fashion, and all the great burden of guilt you have brought upon yourself by injur-

946. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 107, has for this name *H.r.s.f.t.h.*

947. Nöldeke, trans. 362 n. 2, noted that, in Firdawsī, the shoemaker often serves as the outspoken representative of the masses, sometimes with comic touches; even so, he is not allowed here to mock and slight the fallen monarch.

948. Correcting the text's *ra'īs al-katībah* (which would mean something like "head of the cavalry of the military host"; *katībah* = "detachment of cavalry") in the light of the parallel passage in al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 107, who has *ra'īs kuttāb al-rasā'il* "head of the secretaries responsible for official correspondence." Cf. also Nöldeke, trans. 362 n. 3.

ing him. [Second,] your bad treatment of us, your sons, by keeping us from all access to and participation in good things, and from everything which would have brought us ease of life, enjoyment, and happiness. [Third,] your bad treatment of those whom you condemned to perpetual imprisonment, to the point that they [1047] suffered hardship from extreme deprivation, wretched living conditions and food, and separation from their homelands, wives, and children. [Fourth,] your lack of consideration for the women whom you appropriated for yourself; your failure to show them any love or affection and to send them back to live with those men by whom they already had children and progeny; and your keeping them confined in your palace against their wills.[949] [Fifth,] what you have inflicted on your subjects generally in levying the land tax and in treating them with harshness and violence. [Sixth,] your amassing a great amount of wealth, which you exacted from the people with great brutality so that you drove them to consider your rule hateful and thereby brought them into affliction and deprivation. [Seventh,] your stationing the troops for long periods along the frontiers with the Byzantines and on other frontiers, thereby separating them from their families.[950] [Eighth,] your treacherous behavior toward Mawrīq (Maurice), the king of the Byzantines and your ingratitude for his praiseworthy actions on your behalf, in that he sought refuge with you, exerted himself laudably for you, protected you from the malevolence of your enemies, and increased the fame of your name by giving to you in marriage the noblest and most precious in his sight of his daughters. Moreover, you regarded your rightful obligations to him lightly and refused to grant his request of you regarding the return of the wooden [True] Cross, to which neither you nor any of your fellow countrymen had any entitlement or need.[951] You know

949. Nöldeke, trans. 364 n. 2, noted that this complaint about the seizure of married women for the ruler's harem has the ring of authenticity.

950. For this complaint, in early Islamic times technically known as *tajmīr*, see n. 151 above.

951. When Shēröy brought the lengthy war with Heraclius to an end, the return of the True Cross to Jerusalem was one of the provisions of the peace treaty. The Byzantine emperor brought it back to the Holy City personally, but the date of his visit is notoriously difficult to ascertain and has been much discussed. The restoration of the Cross was subsequently celebrated on 14 September 629, but the city

this well [now]. If you have explanations or exculpations to adduce to us and to the subjects, then bring them forward; if you don't have any, then show your contrition swiftly to God and return to Him, until we announce our intentions concerning you."[952]

Asfādh Jushnas committed to his mind this message to Kisrā from Shīrūyah and set off from Shīrūyah's court in order to convey it to him. When he reached the place where Kisrā was imprisoned, he found a man called Jīlinūs (Jālīnūs), the commander of the guard who had been entrusted with keeping ward over Kisrā, [1048] seated there.[953] He held conversation with Jīlinūs for a while, and then Asfādh Jushnas asked him for permission to go into Kisrā in order to deliver a message from Shīrūyah. Jīlinūs went back and drew the curtain that veiled access to Kisrā, went into his presence, and said to him, "May God grant you long life![954] Asfādh Jushnas is at the gate, has recounted that the king Shīrūyah has sent him to you with a message, and now seeks an audience with you. So decide according to your will what you wish to do." Kisrā

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was, according to some authorities, recaptured in a March, probably March 630. See Nöldeke, trans. 365 n. 2, 392 n. 1; Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, II, 244–45; N. H. Baynes, "The Restoration of the Cross at Jerusalem," 287–99; Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule*, 50.

952. Nöldeke, trans. 363 n. 1, regarded this denunciation and Khusraw's rejoinder, with their fullest extant texts given here by al-Ṭabarī, as artistic renderings of an exchange of complaints and justifications composed by someone close to the actual events yet writing after the deaths of Khusraw, Shērōy, and the latter's son Ardashīr during the reign of Khusraw's grandson Yazdagird III, when the Sāsānid house was still reigning in Persia. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 196, has only a brief reference to Shērōy's *risālah ghalīẓah*, "harsh letter," but al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 107–10, has quite a lengthy version.

953. Jālīnūs or Jālinūs (whose name looks Greek rather than Persian; possibly he was a Christian and had adopted a Christian name in addition to an unknown, purely Persian one) is described by al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 107, as *ra'īs al-jund al-mustamītah*, "commander of the troops who seek death," the ruler's personal guard (in Middle Persian, the *gyān-abespārān*, "those who sacrifice their lives"). He was later to be a leading general of the Persian troops combating the Arab invaders of Iraq and fell at al-Qādisiyyah. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 258, 260; al-Ṭabarī, I, 2169–72, 2174, etc., tr. Khalid Yahya Blankenship, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, XI, *The Challenge to the Empires*, 183–86, 188, etc., and I, 2357, tr. Yohanan Friedmann, ibid., XII, *The Battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine*, 141; Nöldeke, trans. 365 n. 2.

954. As Nöldeke noted, trans. 366 n. 2, the imprisoned Khusraw Abarwēz is treated throughout as a monarch, with the correct etiquette of address observed, so that Jālīnūs adresses him with the formula *anōšag buwād!* "may he be immortal!"

smiled and said in a joking manner, "O Jīlinūs, son of Asfādh (*Jīlinūs Asfādhān*), what you say is contrary to what intelligent persons say. For if it is the case that the message you have mentioned is from the king Shīrūyah, then, in the face of his royal power, it is not for us to grant permission to enter. If we do have authority for granting permission to enter or to exclude, then Shīrūyah is not king. But the relevant aphorism here is what is said, 'God wills a thing, and it is; the king commands a thing, and it is put into execution.'[955] So let Asfādh Jushnas enter and deliver the message he bears."

When Jīlinūs heard this speech, he went out from Kisrā's presence, took Asfādh Jushnas's hand, and said to him, "Arise, and come into Kisrā's presence, in a correct manner." Asfādh Jushnas accordingly stood up, called for one of the attendants accompanying him, and handed him the robe he [ordinarily] wore, pulled out a clean, white cloth from his sleeve and used it to wipe his face.[956] Then he went into Kisrā's presence. When he came face to face with him, he fell down before him in prostration. Kisrā ordered him to get up. Hence he arose and did obeisance before Kisrā. Kisrā was seated on three Khusrawānī rugs woven with gold, which had been laid on a silken carpet, and he was lolling back on three cushions likewise woven with gold. In his hand he had a yellow, well-rounded quince. When he noticed Asfādh Jushnas, he sat up in a cross-legged position and placed the quince on the place [1049] where he had been sitting. Because it was perfectly round and because of the smoothness of the cushion on the seat, plumped out with its stuffing, it rolled down from the topmost of the three cushions on to the upper one of the three rugs, then from the rug to the carpet, finally rolling off the carpet to the ground, where it rolled some distance, becoming covered with dirt. Asfādh Jushnas

955. Echoing frequent Qur'ānic phraseology, e.g., in XXXVI, 82; XL, 70/68.

956. The text has *shushtaqah* for this cloth. The *Glossarium*, p. CCCXI, has *shustaqah* and adduces the commentary to Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī's *Qaṣīdah sāsāniyyah* as given in al-Tha'ālibī's *Yatīmat al-dahr*; but the word here should be read as *suftajahu* "his financial draft." See Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld, The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature*, II, *The Arabic Jargon Texts*, Arabic text 7, comm. v. 34, tr. 193. In any case, it seems that the action here is not that of wiping the face clean but of placing the *pandāmah* over the mouth to prevent pollution of a sacred object, in this case, the king's person. See Nöldeke, trans. 367 n. 1, and n. 892 above.

picked it up and rubbed it with his sleeve, moving forward to present it to Kisrā. But the latter gestured to Asfādh Jushnas to keep it away from him, and told him, "Take it away from me!" So Asfādh Jushnas laid it on the ground at the carpet's edge, fell back, stood in his old place, and did obeisance before Kisrā by putting his hand on his breast. Kisrā lowered his head and then uttered the aphorism appropriate to the incident: "When one encounters adversity, there is no means or device (*ḥīlah*) for making things go forward again, and when things do go well, there is no means or device which is able to reverse them. These two things happen in turn, but means and devices are lacking in both cases." Then he said to Asfādh Jushnas, "Thus this quince has rolled down and fallen where it did, and become smeared with dirt. It is for us an announcement, as it were, of the message you have been charged with bringing, what you are going to do with it, and its results. For indeed, the quince, which denotes what is good, fell from the heights to the depths; it did not stay on the coverings of our seat but speedily fell to the ground, ending up far away and covered in dirt.[957] All this happening indicates a bad omen, that the glory of the monarchs has passed into the hands of the common masses, that we have been deprived of royal power, and that it will not remain long in the hands of our successors before it passes to persons who are not of royal stock (*min ahl al-mamlakah*). Now get on with it, and speak about the message you have been charged with delivering and the words with which you have been pro-
[1050] vided!" Asfādh Jushnas then began to retail the message Shīrūyah had charged him to deliver, not leaving out a single word and getting the sequence of its phrases exactly right.

Kisrā made the following answer to that message: Convey back to Shīrūyah, the short-lived one,[958] [the message] from me that it

957. It appears from this that the quince was regarded by the Persians as an emblem of good fortune (perhaps not uninfluenced by the closeness in form of *bih*, "good," and *bihī*, "quince" = the Arabic *safarjalah* used here in al-Ṭabarī's text); cf. *Glossarium*, p. CCXCII. The significance of the quince subsequently became the focus of a minor academic controversy among German orientalists; see the details in Muth, *Die Annalen von aṭ-Ṭabarī im Spiegel der europäischen Bearbeitungen*, 58–59.

958. Prophetic of Shēroy's brief period of power and his early death through epidemic disease or, according to one report, by poisoning, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1061, p. 399, and n. 984 below.

is not fitting for an intelligent person that he should spread around about anyone [tales of] venial sins and minor misdeeds without having thoroughly convinced himself of their truth and being completely certain in his own mind about them, let alone the gross sins and crimes that you have spread around and published abroad, and that you have imputed to us and laid at our door. Moreover, the person who can best repel with contumely a sinner and condemn the perpetrator of a crime is the one who has kept himself free from all sins and crimes. O man who will be short reigned, O man of little understanding, even if we were guilty of what you have imputed to us, it is unfitting that you should spread it abroad and upbraid us. For if you do not recognize the defects you yourself possess, since you have spread them around concerning us as you have done, you should be fully aware of your own defects. So cut short your blaming us and finding fault with us, since your ill-chosen speech only increases the public awareness of your own ignorance and lack of judgment.

O one devoid of reason, deficient in knowledge! If there is any real basis for your efforts in showing us up publicly as guilty of sins which deserve death for us and you have some real proof for it, then [you should remember that] the judges among your own religious community (i.e., the Zoroastrian one) prevent the son of a man who has merited death from assuming his father's position and keep him from contact with the best people, from sitting with them and from mingling with them, except in a small number of places, much less making him king. Furthermore, we have [1051] attained—praise be to God and [thanks for] His beneficence!—through our upright behavior and intentions and in our relationship with God, with the adherents of our religious community and faith, and with the whole group of our sons, a position in which we have in no way fallen short nor deserved any proof of guilt or any reproach. We shall explain the situation regarding the sins you have imputed to us and the crimes you have laid at our door, without any attempt on our part to diminish anything in the arguments we have put forward and the proofs we have adduced, if only so that you might acquire fuller knowledge of your own lack of judgment, absence of reason and the evil nature of your actions.

[First,] regarding what you have mentioned in regard to our father Hurmuz, our rejoinder here is that evil and malevolent per-

sons had incited him against us, to the point that he grew suspicious of us and was carried away by hatred and rancor against us. We perceived his revulsion from us and his bad opinion of us, and we accordingly became fearful of remaining in his proximity, so removed ourself from his court out of fear from him and made our way to Azerbaijan. By that time, the royal power had become dissolved and split apart, as is well known. As soon as we received news of what had happened to him, we set out from Azerbaijan for his court. But the false-hearted (*munāfiq*) Bahrām [Chūbīn] assailed us with a great army of rebels, whose conduct merited death, threw off his obedience, and drove us out of the kingdom. We sought asylum in the land of the Byzantines, and came back from there with troops and war materials, and made war on him. As a result, he fled before us and ended up in the land of the Turks, with destruction and perdition, as has been generally known among people.

Finally, when we had achieved firm control of the realm and our authority was made firm and, with the help of God, we had dispeled for our subjects all the afflictions and calamities, on the brink of which they had been, we then said [to ourselves], "One of the best courses of action with which we can inaugurate our ruling policy and begin our royal power is to take vengeance for our
[1052] father, to secure requital for him and to kill all those involved in [shedding] his blood." Then, when we had firmly accomplished all our intentions regarding that and had attained what we were aiming at, we turned our attention to other aspects of the governance of the kingdom. So we put to death everyone who had a share in [shedding] his blood or who had schemed and plotted against him.

[Second,] regarding what you have mentioned concerning our sons, our rebuttal here is that all the sons whom we brought into the world, with the exception of those whom God chose to take back unto Himself, were perfectly sound in the limbs of their bodies. But we appointed for you guards and restrained you from getting mixed up in things that did not concern you, out of a desire to prevent you from doing harm to the land and the subjects. So we established for you ample means for your living expenses, such as for your clothing, for your riding mounts, and for everything you needed, as you well know. In respect to you (i.e., Shīrūyah) in particular, the story is that the astrologers had decreed from your

horoscope (*kitāb mawlidika*) that you would bring evil upon us, or that evil would happen through your agency. Nevertheless, we did not order you to be put to death but put a seal on the document indicating your horoscope and handed it over to our consort Shīrīn's keeping. In confirmation of the fact that we placed full credence in that document with the indication [of the horoscope], it happened that Furumīshā, king of India, wrote to us in the thirty-sixth year of our reign, having sent a delegation of his subjects to us.[959] He wrote about all sorts of things and sent to us and to you, the ensemble of our sons, presents, together with a letter to each one of you. His presents to you—you will recall them!—comprised an elephant, a sword, a white falcon, and a brocade coat woven with gold. When we looked at the presents he had sent you, we found that he had written on his letter to you, in the Indian language, "Keep the contents of this secret." We then gave orders that all the presents or letters he had sent to each of you should be [1053] passed on to you all, and we [merely] kept back his letter to you because of its superscription. We sent for an Indian scribe and ordered the letter's seal to be broken and its contents to be read out. There was written there, 'Rejoice, be refreshed in spirit and be happy in mind, for you will be crowned on the day Day ba-Ādhar in the month of Ādhar of the thirty-eighth year of Kisrā's reign[960] and be hailed as holder of his royal power and ruler of his lands.' We were convinced that you would only attain to royal power through our own destruction and perdition, yet despite being certain about this, we did not make any reduction in the living allowances, subsidies, presents, and such, previously assigned to you, let alone order you to be put to death. We resealed

959. As correctly conjectured by Nöldeke, trans. 371 n. 1, this name reflects that of a leading king of the early mediaeval northern Deccan, but to be rendered as Pulakesin II (r. ca. 609–42), from the Chālukya dynasty. It would thus have been perfectly possible for Khusraw Abarwēz to have received a delegation from this ruler in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, i.e., 626. See A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India. A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent before the Coming of the Muslims*, 74–75; R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, III, *The Classical Age*, 234–41. An alternative interpretation of this name was suggested, however, by von Gutschmid, "Bemerkungen zu Tabari's Sasanidengeschichte," 746: that it represents the common Indian royal title Paramēśa "supreme lord."

960. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 1043, p. 379 and n. 938 above.

Furumīshā's letter with our own seal and entrusted it to our consort Shīrīn, who is still alive and sound in mind and body. If you wish to retrieve from her the indications of your horoscope and Furumīshā's letter to you and read them both in order to bring home to you your contrition and loss, then do it!

[Third,] in regard to what you have mentioned concerning the condition of those condemned to perpetual imprisonment, we say in justification that the ancient kings, from the time of Jayūmart (Kayūmarth) till the reign of Bishtāsb,[961] used to conduct their royal power by means of justice, and then continuously from the time of Bishtāsb till we ourselves assumed power, they conducted it by means of justice combined with religious piety. Now, since you are so devoid of reason, knowledge, and education, ask the authorities (*ḥamalah*) in religion, the basic supports (literally, "tent pegs," *awtād*) of this religious community, about the position of those who rebel against and disobey the kings, who break their oaths, and those who have merited death for their sins, and they will tell you that they do not deserve to be shown mercy or forgiveness. Know that, despite all this, we have only condemned to perpetual imprisonment in our gaols those who, if an equitable
[1054] judgment were to be made, have merited being killed or blinded or having a hand or leg or some other limb cut off. How often have those appointed to guard them, or various of our ministers, mentioned the well-deserved fate of those who merit execution and have said, "Kill them speedily, before they find ways and means of killing *you!*" Yet, because of our wish to spare lives and our dislike of shedding blood, we acted slowly and deliberately with them and left them to God, and we used not to go further in punishing them beyond the imprisonment to which we limited ourselves in inflicting, beyond depriving them of eating meat, drinking wine, and enjoying the fragrance of aromatic herbs. In none of these things that were withheld were we going beyond what is in the precepts of the religious community in regard to keeping those who have merited death from enjoying the pleasures of life and easy circum-

961. That is, from the time of Gayōmard (thus the MP form), the first man, to that of Gushtāsp (Avestan Wištāspa-, MP Wishtāsp), son of Luhrāsp, in whose reign Zoroaster is supposed to have arisen. See Yarshater, "Iranian Common Beliefs and World View," 352–53; idem, "Iranian National History," 376–77, 466–69.

stances. [On the contrary,] we used to allot for them the food, drink, and other necessities for keeping them in good health, and we used not to keep them from access to their womenfolk and from the possibility of contact for siring children and producing progeny while they were imprisoned. Now the news has reached us that you have decided to set free these evil doers and evil wishers who merit execution and to give orders for demolishing their gaol. If you do release them, you will sin against God your Lord, bring down harm upon yourself, and inflict injury on your own faith and the injunctions and legal prescriptions contained in it, which deny mercy and forgiveness for those who deserve execution. In addition to this, [there is the fact] that the enemies of kings never love kingly power, and those who rebel against kings never furnish them obedience. The wise men have given the warning, "Don't hold back from punishing those who have merited punishment, for such hesitation entails an impairment of justice and harmful effects on the governance of the kingdom." Although it may give you a certain feeling of joy when you set free those evil doers, evil wishers, and rebels who deserve execution, you will certainly experience the [baleful] result of that in your conduct of government and the introduction of the severest harm and [1055] calamitousness for the people of your religious community.

[Fifth,][962] regarding your allegations that we have only acquired, gathered together, and laid up in our treasuries wealth, equipment and utensils, grain, and so forth, from the lands of our kingdom by means of the harshest methods of tax gathering, the most pressing demands on our subjects, and the most violent tyranny, rather than from the lands of the enemy by making war on them and forcible seizure by ourselves of their possessions, our reply is as follows. The best answer to any statement uttered with gross ignorance and stupidity is not to give any answer at all, but we have not wished to leave this aside, since not giving an answer is tantamount to affirming the truth [of the original statement]. Our rejoinder to the accusations laid against us is a vigorous rebuttal of

962. As Nöldeke, trans. 374 n. 1, noted, this fifth section of Khusraw's response covers both Shēröy's fifth and sixth accusations without clearly distinguishing the two. Shēröy's seventh and eighth accusations are not addressed by his father, as least in the words that have come down to us.

them, and our clear exculpation is an exposition of what you have sought from us regarding it.

Know, O ignorant one, that, after God, it is only wealth and troops that can uphold the royal authority of monarchs, this being especially the case with the kingdom of Persia, whose lands are surrounded by enemies with gaping mouths ready to gulp down what the kingdom possesses. The only thing that can keep them from it and fend them off from those lands they avidly desire to seize for themselves, is numerous troops and copious quantities of weapons and war material. Now numerous troops and everything necessary for these can only be acquired by having a great deal of wealth and ample quantities of it; and wealth can only be amassed and gathered together, for any contingency which may arise, by strenuous efforts and dedication in levying this land tax. We are not the first ones to have gathered together wealth; on the contrary, we have merely imitated here our forefathers and our predecessors in past times. They collected wealth just as we have, and amassed great quantities of it, so that it might constitute a firm backing for them in strengthening their armies, in upholding their authority, and in [making possible] other things for which wealth must inevitably be amassed. But then the false-hearted one Bahrām, with a gang of people like himself and with desperadoes who merited being put to death, attacked that wealth and those [1056] jewels in our treasuries. They scattered and dispersed them and went off with a great deal of them, and they left behind in our storehouses of wealth and treasuries only a few of our weapons which they were unable to scatter to the winds or remove or else had no desire for them. When, God be praised, we recovered our kingly power and our authority was firmly reestablished, when the subjects submitted to us and gave obedience, and we removed the calamities which had befallen them, we dispatched to the outlying parts of our land Iṣbabadhs, we appointed below them in those regions Fādhūsbāns, and we nominated over the frontier zones Marzbāns and courageous, energetic, and tough executive officials. All those whom we appointed we provided with a strong backing of numerous troops, and these officials led vigorous campaigns against the hostile kings and the enemies into the lands facing their own territories. From the thirteenth year of our reign

onward,[963] their raids against the enemies, the slaughter they wrought, and the captives they took, [reached to such an extent] that none of those hostile rulers could dare to raise his head even in the heart of his own kingdom except under a protective cover, with fearfulness, or under a grant of protection from us, let alone to mount a raid into any part of our land or to engage in anything unacceptable to us. Hence during all this period of years, there came into our storehouses of wealth and our treasuries what had been seized as plunder from the lands of our enemies, comprising gold, silver, all sorts of jewels, copper, steel, silk, silk brocades (*istabraq*),[964] brocade coats, horses, weapons, captured women and children and male prisoners, whose enormous extent cannot be concealed and whose value is known to everyone.

When at the end of the thirteenth year of our reign we gave instructions for the engraving of new dies for coins (*naqsh sikak ḥadīthah*), so that we might give our orders for beginning the minting of new silver coinage with their aid, there was found at the end of the minting process in our storehouses of wealth, according to what was reported back to us by the persons charged with counting the silver which was left there, apart from the [1057] sums of money which we had instructed should be set aside for paying the salaries of our troops, two hundred thousand purses of silver coinage, containing eight hundred million mithqāls [in weight].[965]

When we perceived that we had made our frontiers secure, had repulsed the enemy from them and from our subjects, had put a muzzle on their mouths, which had been gaping open to swallow up what they had acquired, had extended over them (i.e., the subjects) security, and had preserved the inhabitants of the four outlying quarters of our land from calamities and raids, we gave orders

963. That is, the year 602, when the Byzantine emperor Maurice was overthrown and murdered (see n. 743 above), after which Khusraw could claim to be avenging the death of the usurper Phocas.

964. This is itself a loanword in Arabic (and in Syriac), and an early one, since it is used in the Qur'ān of the silk brocade garments of the saved in Paradise (XVIII, 30/31; XLIV, 53; etc.). See Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter*, 8 n. 2, 13; Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 58–60.

965. Here, as Nöldeke pointed out, trans. 376 n. 2, not meaning a weight in gold.

for the collection of the arrears of taxation remaining from previous years and for the restoration to their original place of all the gold and silver that had been carried off from our storehouses of wealth and all the jewels and copperware that had come from our treasuries.[966] Hence at the end of the thirtieth year of our reign we gave orders for the engraving of new dies for coins, from which silver coins could be struck, and there was found in our storehouses of wealth, apart from what we had ordered to be set aside for paying the salaries of our troops and apart from the sums of money already counted up for us previously, four hundred thousand purses of silver coinage, containing one billion, six hundred million mithqāls [in weight]. All this in addition to what God added for us to those sums of money from what He presented to us as booty and of His liberality and lavishness upon us, out of the wealth of the rulers of Byzantium which the wind brought us in ships and which we called "plunder of the winds (*fay' al-riyāḥ*)."[967]

From the thirtieth year of our reign to the thirty-eighth, which is the present year, our stores of weath have not ceased growing in extent and richness, our lands in florescence, our subjects in security and tranquility, and our frontiers and peripheral regions in impregnability and strength of defenses. We have now heard that you intend, because of the abysmally low level of your manly virtues, to scatter abroad and destroy all this wealth, acting on the advice of evil doers who merit being put to death.[968] We are now telling you, however, that those treasures and wealth were only

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966. These activities, as Nöldeke noted, trans. 377 n. 1, could hardly have been carried out without using violence, with resultant great hardship for the populace, and in the case of the recovery of wealth allegedly filched from the central treasury, the innocent would doubtless suffer equally with the guilty.

967. This may conceivably relate distantly to an actual happening. Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 665, says that a fleet of the king of Constantinople bearing treasure was cast up on the Mediterranean shores at Alexandria (the *khazā'in al-rīḥ*), and, slightly more circumstantially, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 227–8 = § 647, says that a fleet of treasure ships of Phocas was thrown up on the Syrian coast at Antioch, where Khusraw's general Shahrbarāz was able to seize the wealth and forward it to his master. Nöldeke, trans. 378 n. 1, cited an authority who suggested that the incident might relate to some treasure that Heraclius despatched to North Africa, before he became involved in the Persian wars, and which was lost at sea.

968. According to Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 665, Shēröy lightened taxes and did not collect the *kharāj*.

gathered together through exposing one's life to danger and after intense exertion and effort in order to repel by means of them the [1058] enemies who were surrounding the lands of this kingdom and who were pursuing courses aimed at getting full control of what they had acquired. Enemies like these can only be driven off, in all periods and times, and after receiving help from God, by wealth and troops; troops can only be kept strong by wealth; and wealth is only of use when it is available in large and extensive amounts. So don't contemplate dividing out this wealth and don't rush rashly into doing it, for wealth is a protection for your royal power and your land, and a source of strength for you against your enemies.

Asfādh Jushnas then went back to Shīrūyah and related to him what Kisrā had said to him, not leaving out a single word. The great men of state among the Persians came back and told Shīrūyah, "It is not fitting that we should have two kings. Either you give orders for Kisrā to be put to death, and we shall be your servants, furnishing obedience to you, or else we shall depose you and give him obedience [once more]." These words struck fear into Shīrūyah's heart and crushed him. He ordered Kisrā to be executed. Several men who had duties incumbent upon them of vengeance against Kisrā responded to the call to kill him. But every time one of them came to Kisrā, he heaped insults on the man and repelled him strongly. No one would undertake the task of killing Kisrā until finally, a youth named Mihr Hurmuz, son of Mardānshāh, went along to kill him. Mardānshāh was Kisrā's Fādhūsbān over the province of Nīmrūz[969] and one of Kisrā's most obedient and trusty retainers.

Now some two years before his deposition, Kisrā had asked his astrologers and diviners[970] what his end would be, and they had

969. That is, the region of the south, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 894, p. 149, and n. 385 above. The geography ascribed to Moses Khorenac'i defines the *K'usti Nemroy* as extending from Lower Iraq and Hajar, from Iṣfahān, Fārs, and Khūzistān, to Kirmān, Sīstān, Makrān, and Tūrān (both in the later Baluchistan), Zābulistān (in what is now eastern Afghanistan), and Daybul on the coast of Sind. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 25–47.

970. *'āfah*, pl. of *'ā'if*, was the diviner who took auguries from the flight or cries of birds, the practice of *'iyāfah*, ornithomancy. Among the early Arabs, this was essentially that practiced by the Greek and Roman augurs. See Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 371, 432–34.

told him that his fated death (*maniyyatahu*)[971] would come from the direction of Nīmrūz. He accordingly grew suspicious of Mardānshāh and fearful of his proximity, on account of Mardānshāh's great prestige and because there was no one in that region who
[1059] could equal him in strength and power. Kisrā had written to him instructing him to travel quickly to him, until by the time Mardānshāh had reached him, he had turned over in his mind how he might seek a pretext to kill him. But he had not found any fault in Mardānshāh. Kisrā accordingly recoiled from killing him because of his knowledge about Mardānshāh's faithful obedience to him, his good counsel to him and his eagerness to please the king. So he resolved to spare his life but to order his right hand to be cut off, and to compensate him for its loss by a grant of a large sum of money, lavishing wealth on him for this. Hence he sought for a pretext that would enable him to have Mardānshāh's right hand cut off.[972]

Hands and feet and heads used to be cut off in the open space before the royal palace (*raḥbat al-mulk*).[973] On the day when he had ordered Mardānshāh's hand to be cut off, Kisrā sent along a scout and observer (*'ayn*), who was to come back to him and inform him of what he had heard Mardānshāh and the onlookers who were present saying. When Mardānshāh's right hand was cut off, he took it up with his left hand, kissed it, and placed it in his bosom, and he began to lament over it with his tears streaming down, saying, "Alas for a mild and forbearing [hand], one which used to shoot, and write, and deal blows, and engage in sport, and dispensed largesse!" The man whom Kisrā had sent along as a scout and observer over Mardānshāh went back to Kisrā and told

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971. *maniyyah*, pls. *manāyā* and perhaps *manūn*, is literally "the determination, decreeing, of a man's fate," hence a synonym for death and a term much used in early Arabic poetry. See Caskel, *Das Schicksal in der altarabischen Poesie*, 22–42; H. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism*, 14–23; Mohamed Abdesselem, *Le thème de la mort dans la poésie arabe des origines à la fin du IIIe/IXe siècle*, 57, cf. 71.

972. The story of the mutilation of the courtier by the ruler because of the prognostication that the courtier's son would bring about Khusraw's death, is given very briefly in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 196, with the tale cut short because of a lacuna in the manuscript used by the editor Houtsma.

973. Nöldeke noted, trans. 380 n. 1, the predilection of Persian kings, from Achaemenid up to Qājār times, for public executions and mutilations.

him what he had seen and heard Mardānshāh doing and saying. At this, Kisrā became full of tenderness and sympathy for him, and regretted his impetuosity regarding Mardānshāh. He sent a message to him via one of the great men of state expressing his regret for what he had done to Mardānshāh and telling him that he would fulfill, so far as was in his power, any request to him which Mardānshāh might make and would facilitate this for him. Mardānshāh sent back a message to Kisrā by that same envoy, invoking blessings on the king and saying, "O king, I have always recognized your beneficence to me, and I thank you for it; I have become fully convinced that what you have inflicted on me was done unwillingly. It was merely a stroke of fate that caused this. But I have one request to make of you: give me oaths that you will fulfill it, so that my mind may be set at rest. Also, send to me, on your solemn undertaking to fulfill the oath, a pious man of God, and then I will reveal and communicate [my request] to you." Kisrā's envoy returned to his master with this message, and Kisrā hastened to put into effect Mardānshāh's request, and swore mighty oaths that he would without fail accede to his request so [1060] long as this last did not entail anything which would weaken the fabric of his royal power. Kisrā dispatched this message to Mardānshāh via the Chief [Zoroastrian] Priest (literally, "head of the murmurers," *ra'īs al-muzamzimīn*). Mardānshāh sent back a message to Kisrā asking him to order his (Mardānshāh's) execution, in order that the dishonor which [now] attached to him might be thereby effaced.[974] Kisrā gave the requisite order for Mardānshāh's head to be cut off, unwilling, as he asserted, to break his oath.

When Mihr Hurmuz, Mardānshāh's son, came into Kisrā's presence, the latter asked Mihr Hurmuz his name and that of his father and his position in the state. He told him that he was Mihr Hurmuz, son of Mardānshāh, the Fādhūsbān of Nīmrūz. Kisrā said, "You are the son of a a noble, highly sufficient, and competent man whom we requited for his faithfulness and good counsel to us, and for his sufficiency and competence with us, in an undeserving manner; so set to, and get on with what you have been ordered to do!" So Mihr Hurmuz struck, with an axe that he held

974. That is, the dishonor of continuing to live as a mutilated person, hence unable to fill any office in the state or in the Zoroastrian church.

in his hand, several blows at the sinews of Kisrā's neck running down to his shoulder, but these had no effect on Kisrā. The latter was searched, and it was discovered that a jewel in the form of an amulet[975] had been tied on his upper arm (or, "he had tied an amulet on his upper arm"). The amulet protected its wearer from the effects of a sword. The amulet was accordingly taken off Kisrā, and then after that Mihr Hurmuz delivered a single blow which killed him.[976]

The news was brought to Shīrūyah, who tore the front part of the neck of his robe and wept copiously; he gave orders for Kisrā's corpse to be borne to the place of sepulture. This was done. All the great men of state and the people of the classes just below them (*afnā' al-nās*)[977] accompanied his corpse [to the place of burial]. He ordered Mihr Hurmuz executed. Kisrā's tenure of royal power lasted thirty-eight years. He was killed on the day of Māh in the month of Ādhar.[978] Shīrūyah killed seventeen of his brothers, men of good education, bravery, and the manly virtues,[979] on the advice of his minister Fayrūz[980] and at the urging of one of the sons of Yazdīn, who was the official in charge of the [collection of the] land tax (literally, "tithes," *'ushūr*) from the entire lands for
[1061] Kisrā and who was called Shamṭā,[981] that he should put them to death.

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975. Apparently the reading here is *kharazah* rather than *ḥirzah*. See *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCVI, and *Glossarium*, pp. CCXVII–CCXVIII.

976. Nöldeke, trans. 382 n. 1, discussed the information of other sources, including Christian ones, on the exact mode of Khusraw's execution, but concluded that there was no firm evidence concerning this mode.

977. Arabic *afnā'*, sing. *finw*, is defined in the lexica as "people from mixed groups." Here the meaning clearly relates to people high in the Persian social hierarchy who alone would accompany the catafalque of a king. Nöldeke, trans. 382, has "die Ausgesehnsten der Leute," i.e., the most outstanding, prominent people.

978. Nöldeke, trans. 382 n. 2, gives the equivalent of this date as 29 February 628.

979. The Arabic sources, and also the Christian ones, have various totals for these brothers usually around sixteen to eighteen; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 54, actually names eighteen of them. See the discussion in Nöldeke, 383 n. 1.

980. Bal'amī's Persian rendering of al-Ṭabarī's *History*, tr. II, 346, makes Shērōy's chief minister Barmak, son of Fīrūz, ancestor of the Barmakī family so prominent in the caliphate during early 'Abbāsid times. Nöldeke, trans. 313 n. 2, thought that this was a later touch inserted by an enemy of the Islamic Barmakīs.

981. The very defective rendering of this name in the text was read thus by the editor Nöldeke, who identified Shamṭā's father Yazdīn from the Christian sources,

Shīrūyah was now afflicted by illness and never enjoyed any of the pleasures of this present world. He died at Daskarat al-Malik. He was an inauspicious figure for the house of Sāsān.[982] When he killed his brothers, he showed violent grief. It is said that, on the day after he had killed them, his two sisters Būrān and Āzarmīdukht[983] came into his presence and reviled and upbraided him harshly, saying, "Greed for a royal power which is still not yet firmly established has driven you to kill your father and all your brothers, and you have committed acts of dishonor." When he heard those words, he wept bitterly and tore the crown from off his head. All his days he was overwhelmed with cares and afflicted by sickness. It is said that he extirpated every member of his house on whom he could get his hands, and that plague spread during his time until most of the Persians perished.[984] His tenure of royal power lasted eight months.[985]

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principally the Syriac historians and hagiographers and the conciliar acts of the Nestorian Church, as Khusraw's treasurer Yazdīn (see n. 737 above). One Nestorian author, Thomas of Margā, describes Shamṭā as the real driving force behind the conspiracy to dethrone Khusraw. See Nöldeke, trans. 357 n. 4, 383 n. 3. However, according to the *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 30–31, Shamṭā soon showed himself overly ambitious for power, was accused of conspiring to seize the throne, arrested, his right hand cut off and consigned to prison by Shēröy.

On the name Yazdīn, see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 147–48. Whether this Yazdīn was the same person as the governor of Armenia for Khusraw Abarwēz, the Yazdēn of the Armenian historian Sebēos (see ibid.), is unclear.

982. And called by the Persians, according to al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 232 = § 653, the equivalent of Arabic *al-ghashūm*, "the tyrannical one." On the other hand, the *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 30, states that Shēröy's reign was one of peace and security for the Christians of the realm.

983. That is, Shēröy's eventual, ephemeral successors on the Persian throne, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1063–64, 1064–65, pp. 403–405, 406–407, below.

984. This plague is mentioned in other sources (e.g., Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 665; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 232 = § 653; and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 497) as having devastated Iraq, with, according to Ibn Qutaybah and Ibn al-Athīr, the king himself dying from the disease. Less probably, the Byzantine historian Theophanes states that Shēröy was poisoned by his hostile stepmother Shīrīn; see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 497 n. 1.

985. Kawād II Shēröy reigned for six or eight months in 628. His name appears on his coins as PYRWCY KW'T. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 68, 390–92, 492, Plate XXII, Table XXX; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 54–55, Table XIII, Plate 14; Selwood, Whitting and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 159–60; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 238.

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 665; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 196; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 110; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*,

[Ardashīr III]

After him there succeeded to the royal power Ardashīr. [He was] the son of [Qubādh II] Shīrūyah, son of [Khusraw II] Abarwīz, son of Hurmuz (IV), son of [Khusraw I] Anūsharwān, and was only a small child. It is said that he was only seven years old, since there was no grown-up person of judgment and experience left of the royal house; hence the great men of the Persian state made him king.[986] A man called Mih Ādhar Jushnas, who held the office of high steward of the table (*ri'āsat aṣḥāb al-mā'idah*),[987] was in charge of his upbringing. He carried on the administration of the kingdom in an excellent fashion, and his firm conduct of it reached a point where no one would have been aware of Ardashīr's youthfulness.

Shahrbarāz was at the frontier with Byzantium with troops whom Kisrā had given him and had named "the fortunate ones" (*al-su'adā'*).[988] Kisrā and Shīrūyah had continuously written to him regarding important matters in which they were involved, and had sought his advice concerning these. But now, since the great men of state of the Persians had not consulted him about
[1062] raising Ardashīr to the throne, he took that as a pretext for making accusations of criminal behavior and demands on them, and went as far as shedding blood, and made it an occasion for endeavoring to seize the royal power and to rise by means of that from the lowly status of serving people to the heights of royal power. Shahrbarāz treated Ardashīr with contempt because of his youth

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II, 233–34 = § 653; idem, *Tanbīh*, 102, tr. 146; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 54; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 494–97. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. II, 332–47. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 493–97; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 170, 178.

986. From this point onward, all the remaining Persian kings and queens, with the exception of the capable, non-Sāsānid Shahrbarāz, who seized power for himself, were set on the throne as puppets of the nobility and great men of state and church.

987. In Persian, *khwān-sālār*, which Nöldeke noted, trans. 386 n. 2, was the term used by Bal'amī in his rendering of al-Ṭabarī's *History*.

988. Shahrbarāz made peace with Heraclius in July 629 at Arabissos in eastern Anatolia (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1008–1009, pp. 329–30 and n. 776 above), and was thus free to turn his attention to Mesopotamia and take advantage of the unsettled conditions there. Quite possibly he claimed to be the avenger of the murdered Khusraw Abarwēz, since al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 111, says that, when Shahrbarāz entered al-Madā'in, he put to death all those who had conspired to depose and kill Khusraw; cf. also Nöldeke, trans. 387 n. 1.

and acted arrogantly toward the great men of state. He decided to summon together the ruling classes of the people (*al-nās*) for a consultation over the matter of the royal power. He then advanced with his troops.

Meanwhile, Mih Ādhar Jushnas had embarked on fortifying and strengthening the walls and gates of the city of Ctesiphon, and he transfered Ardashīr and the remaining members of the royal house, their womenfolk, the contents of Ardashīr's treasury—that is, money and his treasure chests—and his horses, into the city of Ctesiphon. Shahrbarāz's troops, with whom he now approached, numbered six thousand men from the Persian army on the Byzantine frontiers.[989] He took up a position near the city of Ctesiphon, besieged its inhabitants and fought with them, setting up ballistas against the city, but did not manage to enter it. When he realized that he was not strong enough to take it by force, he sought it by means of craft. He kept on inciting a man named Nīw Khusraw, who was the commander of Ardashīr's guard, and Nāmdār Jushnas, son of Ādhar Jushnas, the Iṣbabadh of Nīmrūz, to treachery, until the two of them opened the gates of the city to Shahbarāz. Thus he entered it, seized a number of the leading men, and killed them, appropriating their wealth for himself and ravishing their womenfolk. At Shahbarāz's behest, a group of men killed Ardashīr, son of Shīrūyah, in the second year of his reign, in the month of Bahman, on the night of the day Abān, in the palace of Khusraw Shāh Qubādh. He had held the royal power for one year and six months.[990]

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989. As Nöldeke remarked, trans. 387 n. 2, it was indicative of the chaos and weakness into which the Persian state had fallen that such a modest force was able to take over the capital and secure power for Shahrbarāz himself.

990. Nöldeke noted, trans. 388 n. 4, 432–33, that this date in Bahman, the tenth day of the eleventh month, corresponds to 27 April 630, and that Ardashīr's reign had, on the basis of his coins, two years, the first identical with the seven months making up the last year of his father Kawād II Shēröy and the second one of independent rule beginning on 17 June 629. His reign would thus total one year and slightly under six months. Ardashīr's name appears on his coins as 'RTḤŠTR. See on his coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 68–69, 391–92, 491–92, Plate XXII, Table XXXI; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 54–55, Table 13, Plate 14; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 161–63; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 238; *EIr*, s.v. Ardašīr III (A. Sh. Shahbazi).

The other Arabic sources on his reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 665; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 196; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 110–11 (wrongly named

[Shahrbarāz]

After him, there succeeded to the royal power Shahrbarāz, that is, Farrukhān, for the month of Isfandār(madh); he was not of the
[1063] royal house of the kingdom. He proclaimed himself king, but when he sat down on the royal throne, his belly began to gripe, and this affected him so violently that he had no time to get to a latrine, hence he [swiftly] called for a bowl (*ṭast*), had it set down before the throne, and relieved himself in it.[991]

A man from the people of Iṣṭakhr called Fus Farrūkh, son of Mā(h) Khurshidhān,[992] and two of his brothers were roused to great anger at Shahrbarāz's killing of Ardashīr and his seizure of the royal power. They felt an intense revulsion from that, and came together and swore mutually that they would kill him. All three of them belonged to the king's personal guard. It was [at that time] the custom that, when the king rode out, his personal guard stood in two lines, with their mailed coats, helmets, shields, and swords, and with spears in their hands; then, when the king came up level with one of them, each of them laid his shield on the wooden forepart (*qarabūs*, i.e., pommel) of the king's saddle[993] and placed his forehead on it, as if he were prostrating himself on

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as Shīrzād); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 233 = § 653; idem, *Tanbīh*, 102, tr. 146; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 54; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 498. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 347–48. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 497–98; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 170–71, 178; *EIr*, art. cit.

991. This story is meant to heighten the enormity of Shahrbarāz's temerity and his sacrilege by sitting down on the royal throne when he was not from the royal houses of the Arsacids or the Sāsānids. The ensuing account of the ignominious treatment of his corpse after he had been assassinated likewise highlights this apparent strong sense of legitimacy among the Persian ruling classes. However, as Nöldeke, trans. 388 n. 7, noted, the corollary of this feeling that the direction of the state should never pass into the hands of those outside the ancient ruling dynasties meant that, in an age of epigoni, hopes of an infusion of fresh vigor and military initiative could never be realized, and the Persian realm sank into total collapse, together with the feeble remnants of the Sāsānid royal house.

992. The first component of the name Fus Farrukh must be the MP *pus*, "son," the whole name meaning "fortunate son," see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 256, while Māh-Khwarshēd-ān would presumably be the patronym "son of Māh-Khwarshēd," see ibid., 187.

993. The *qarabūs* was actually made up of two curved pieces of wood, the front one forming the forepart or pommel of the saddle and the rear one forming the troussequin. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 2509b.

the ground. Shahrbarāz rode forth a few days after he had become king. Fus Farrūkh and his two brothers stood close to each other, and when Shahrbarāz drew level with them, Fus Farrūkh struck him with his spear, followed by his two brothers, This took place in the month of Isfandārmadh on the day of Daybadīn.[994] He fell down dead from his horse. They tied a rope round his leg and dragged him to and fro. A man from among the great men of state called Zādhān Farrūkh, son of Shahrdārān, a man called Māhyāy (?), who was the instructor of the cavalrymen (*mu'addib al-asāwirah*), and a large number of the great men of state and members of leading families assisted Fus Farrūkh and his brothers in killing Shahrbarāz. They also aided them in killing the various men who had assassinated Ardashīr, son of Shīrūyah, and they killed various members from the class of the great men of state. They then raised to the throne Būrān, daughter of Kisrā. Shahrbarāz had held the royal power for forty days.[995]

[Būrān]

Then there succeeded to the royal power Būrān, daughter of [1064]
Kisrā (II) Abarwīz, son of Hurmuz (IV), son of Kisrā (I) Anūshar-

994. The twenty-third day of the twelfth month, i.e., 9 June 630, according to Nöldeke, trans. 389 n. 2.

995. Nöldeke, trans. 390 n. 1, 432–33, pointed out that we actually have a period of forty-two days from Ardashīr III's death on 27 April 630, but that Shahrbarāz's proclamation of himself as ruler days later, hence making a reign of forty days, with Shahrbarāz killed on 9 June. Shahrbarāz did not apparently have time enough as king to mint his own coins. The other Arabic sources on his reign include al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 196–97; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 111; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 233 = § 654; idem, *Tanbīh*, 102, tr. 146; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 499. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. II, 348. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 497–98; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 170–71, 178.

Some sources add at this point in their list of Sāsānid rulers, between Shahrbarāz and Būrān, Khusraw (III), son of Kawād (II) Shēröy, son of Khusraw (II) Abarwēz (or according to others—and this seems genealogically more likely—son of Khusraw Abarwēz, and not his grandson). See Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 666; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, loc. cit.; idem, *Tanbīh*, loc. cit.; al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 104, who attributes to him the nickname of Kūtāh/al-Qaṣīr "the short one." These sources state that he had grown up in "the land of the Turks," had heard of the dissensions within Persia and had decided to try his own luck there; but after a "reign" of only three months, apparently in some part of Khurāsān, he was killed by the governor there. See Nöldeke, trans. 433; Christensen, op. cit. 498; Frye, op. cit., 171.

wān.[996] It has been mentioned that she proclaimed on the day when she was hailed as queen, "I will pursue righteousness and ordain justice," and she entrusted Shahrbarāz's office to Fus Farrūkh and invested him with the office of her chief minister. She behaved kindly toward her subjects and spread justice among them. She gave orders for silver coins to be minted, and she repaired masonry bridges (*al-qanāṭir*) and bridges of boats (*al-jusūr*).[997] She remitted for the people the arrears of land tax (*baqāyā*) due, and she wrote to them in general open letters concerning the policies of benevolence toward them that she intended to follow, and she mentioned the topic of the members of the royal house [of the Sāsānids] who had perished. At the same time, she expressed the hope that God would show them, through solicitude for their welfare and firm policies deriving from her elevated position, what would let them realize that lands were not subdued through the strength and energy of men, that military camps were not laid open to plunder through their martial valor, and that victory was not gained through men's stratagems and hatreds extinguished, but all that comes from God, He is exalted and magnified. She further exhorted them to be obedient and urged them to be faithful. Her letters brought together everything that was necessary (i.e., for the subjects' guidance and welfare). She restored the wood of the [True] Cross to the ruler of Byzantium through the

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996. Also named as Būrān-dukht and, according to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 54, a sister of Shērōy and the daughter of Khusraw Abarwēz's Byzantine princess wife, Maryam, daughter of Heraclius. Her descent on both sides would thus make her a very acceptable queen. The *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 32–33, describes Būrān as not only Shērōy's sister but also his wife, this being quite possible in Nöldeke's view, ibid. 32 n. 5. For the name Būrān/Bōrān, see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 70; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides en Moyen-Perse épigraphique*, no. 209, cf. no. 208, considered by him as a hypocoristic from * *baurāspa-*, "having bay horses."

Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 111, mentions as ruling before Būrān the child Juwānshīr, son of Khusraw and Kurdiyah, the sister and wife of Bahrām Chūbīn (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 998, 1001, pp. 309, 316–17 above), whom Abarwēz had married after Bahrām's death; if this piece of information were true, presumably Juwānshīr would have escaped Shērōy's massacre of his brothers, but in any case, must have died after a year. There is no trace of him in Sāsānid coinage.

997. Nöldeke noted, trans. 391 n. 3, that Būrān also built a fire temple at Istīniyā (a village near the later al-Kūfah, according to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 176, *pace* Nöldeke that it was near Baghdad), according to al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, IV, 86 = § 1412, cf. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 283.

intermediacy of the Catholicos called Īshū'hab.[998] Her tenure of royal power lasted one year and four months.[999]

[Jushnas Dih]

Then there succeeded to the royal power after her a man called Jushnas Dih,[1000] from the remote offspring of Abarwīz's paternal uncle. His tenure of royal power was less than a month.

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998. Restoration of the True Cross had been a prominent point in the peace negotiations begun by Heraclius with Shēröy and dragging on into the times of Shahrbarāz or Būrān, but the Cross was actually restored by Shēröy and was back in Jerusalem in late summer 629 or spring 630; see on the problem of exact dating here, n. 951 above. The Catholicos in question was Īshō'yahb II of Gadāla, formerly bishop of Balad in northern Mesopotamia and in office 628–46; hence he was head of the Nestorian Church when the Arabs arrived in Iraq. See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 341, 343–44. Īshō'yahb and several other Nestorian bishops of the Persian empire went on a mission to Heraclius in northern Syria as part of the peace negotiations. See Nöldeke, trans. 392 n. 1; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 243–45.

999. In Nöldeke's surmise, trans. 433, there was a short interregnum of intrigues and anarchy in the capital Ctesiphon after Shahrbarāz's assassination on 9 June 630. Būrān's coins, extending over three regnal years, began with the regnal year 1, which would have ended on 16 June 630. Her reign must have extended over a year and four or six months, hence into autumn 631. The *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 33, and the Nestorian *Chronicle of Se'ert* state that she was strangled, according to the latter source, by the general Fīrūz. Būrān's name appears on her coins as BWL'N. See on her coins Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 69, 392–93, Plate XXII; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 54–55, Table XIII, Plate 15; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 166–68; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 238; Jenny Rose, "Three Queens, Two Wives, and a Goddess. The Roles and Images of Women in Sasanian Iran," 43–45.

The other Arabic sources for her reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 666; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 197; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 111; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 233 = § 654; idem, *Tanbīh*, 102, tr. 147; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 54; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 499. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. II, 349–50. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 498; Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," 171, 178; *EIr*, s.v. Bōrān (Marie Louise Chaumont).

1000. The form of this ephemeral ruler's name is uncertain, especially in regard to the second element after Jushnas/Gushnasp. variably writen in those sources that mention him, i.e., Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 666, "one of Kisrā's paternal uncle's progeny"; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 233–34 = § 654, *Fīrūz J.sh.n.dah*, a descendant of Shābūr, son of Yazdajird [I] the Sinner"; idem, *Tanbīh*, tr. 147, *Fīrūz J.sh.n.t.dah*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 499–500 (al-Dīnawarī's section on the Persian rulers ends essentially with Būrān, and merges into his account of the Arab conquests in Iraq and Persia). The resemblance of the names given by al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn al-Athīr to that of the Fayrūz, son of Mihrān Jushnas who is listed by al-Ṭabarī, I, 1066, p. 408 below, leads one to think that the two persons are really one and the same.

[Āzarmīdukht]

Then there succeeded to the royal power Āzarmīdukht,[1001] daughter of Kisrā (II) Abarwīz, son of Hurmuz (IV), son of Kisrā (I)
[1065] Anūsharwān. It is said that she was one of the most beautiful of the women of the Persians and that she proclaimed, when she assumed the royal power, "Our way of conduct will be that of our father Kisrā, the victorious one,[1002] and if anyone rebels against us, we will shed his blood." It is said that the outstanding great man of Persia was at that time Farrukh Hurmuz, Iṣbahbadh of Khurāsān. He sent a message to her asking her to give herself in marriage to him. She wrote back, "Marriage to a queen is not permissible. I realize full well that your intention in what you are proposing is to satisfy your own [sexual] needs and lust with me; so come to me on such-and-such night." Āzarmīdukht ordered the commander of her guard to lie in wait for him on the night they had agreed to meet together and then kill him. The commander of her guard carried out her orders regarding Farrukh Hurmuz; and at her command, the latter's corpse was dragged out by the feet and thrown down in the open space before the palace of government. Next morning, they found Farrukh Hurmuz slain, and she gave orders for his corpse to be taken away and concealed from sight. It was generally recognized that he could only have been killed for some momentous deed. Rustam, son of Farrukh Hurmuz, the man whom Yazdajird (III) was later to send to combat the Arabs,[1003] was acting as his father's deputy in Khurāsān. When he received the news (i.e., of his father's murder), he came with a mighty

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1001. This is the Arabic form, virtually identical with that of the Syriac sources, Āzarmīdūkht, of the MP name Āzarmīgdukht. Nöldeke, trans. 393 n. 2, saw its etymology as being most probably "modest (*āzarmīg*) noble maiden"; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 54, gave no opinon. However., Gignoux, in his *Noms propres sassanides en Moyen-Perse épigraphique*, no. 167, cf. no. 166, and in *EIr*, s.v. Āzarmīgduxt, renders it as "daughter of the honored, respected one," i.e., of her father Khusraw Abarwēz; both "honored maiden" and "daughter of the honored one" are possible translations.

1002. Arabic *al-manṣūr* = MP *abarwēz*. According to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 55, Āzarmīgdukht was *jalīdah qasīmah*, "vigorous and beautiful," and he records that she built a fire temple at a village called al-Q.r.ṭ.mān (?) in the region of Abkhāz (i.e., in western Transcaucasia).

1003. That is, the Persian general vanquished some five years later at al-Qādisiyyah by the Arabs. See *EI*², s.v. Rustam b. Farrukh Hurmuzd (ed.).

army, encamped at al-Madā'in, blinded Āzarmīdukht, and then killed her. According to other authorities, however, she was poisoned. Her tenure of royal power was six months.[1004]

[Kisrā III]

There was then brought forward a man from the stock of Ardashīr (I), son of Bābak, who was living in al-Ahwāz, called Kisrā. [He was] the son of Mihr Jushnas. The great men of state raised him to the throne. He assumed the crown and sat down upon the royal throne, but was killed a few days after his accession.[1005]

[Khurrazādh Khusraw]

It is also said that the one who reigned after Āzarmīdukht was Khurrazādh Khusraw, from the progeny of [Khusraw II] Abarwīz.[1006] It is said that he was found in a fortress near Niṣībīn called al-Ḥijārah (the "Stone Fortress").[1007] When he reached al- [1066]
Madā'in, he remained there a few days only before [the people there] rebelled and rose against him in opposition.

1004. Hence Āzarmīgdukht's reign was even shorter than that of her sister Būrān, and would fall at the end of 631 and opening of 632; see Nöldeke, trans. 434. Coins issued by her, one from the mint of Shīrāz, with the effigy of her father Khusraw Abarwēz and with the legend of her own name, have been discovered and identified by M. I. Mochiri. See Selwood, Whitting and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 169–70; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 238–39.

The other Arabic sources on her reign include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 666; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 197–98; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 233 = § 654; *idem*, *Tanbīh*, 102–103, tr. 147; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 54–55; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 500. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. II, 350–52. Of modern studies, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 499; *EIr*, s.v. Āzarmīgduxt (Ph. Gignoux).

1005. The only other Arabic sources clearly mentioning him are al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 198, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 500.

1006. There seems to be a confusion here of Khurrahzādh and the Farrukhzādh mentioned below as coming after Fīrūz (II). Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 198, does not mention Khurrazādh (nor do any other sources) but places Farrukhzādh after Fīrūz.

1007. A town of what is now southeastern Anatolia, in the medieval Islamic province of Diyār Bakr, situated on the upper course of the Tigris about halfway between Āmid/Diyarbekir and Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar, the mediaeval Islamic Ḥiṣn Kayfā. The second part of the name would appear to reflect Syriac *kīpā*, "rock," hence "rock or stone fortress." See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 265; Le Strange, *Lands*, 113; Canard, *H'amdanides*, 84; *EI²*, s.v. Ḥiṣn Kayfā (S. Ory).

[Fayrūz II]

Those authorities who say that Kisrā (III), son of Mihr Jushnas, succeeded to the royal power after Āzarmīdukht [further relate that,] when Kisrā, son of Mihr Jushnas, was killed, the great men of state in Persia sought for someone from the royal house whom they could raise to the throne. They looked for someone who had in his veins an element of [the blood of] the members of that house, even though it was through maternal relationship. They brought forward a man who was resident in Maysān, called Fayrūz, son of Mihrān Jushnas, who was also called Jushnas Dih.[1008] He was the son of Ṣahārbukht,[1009] daughter of Yazdāndādh (text, "Yazdāndār"), son of Kisrā (I) Anūsharwān. They raised him to the throne against his own will. He was a man with a large head, and when he was crowned he exclaimed, "How tight this crown is!" The great men of state drew a bad omen from his beginning his reign by speaking of tightness and narrowness, hence killed him after he had reigned for [only] a few days. Some people assert that he was killed the moment he uttered those words.[1010]

[Farrukhzādh Khusraw]

The authorities who say this last go on to say that a man from among the great men of state, called Zādhī,[1011] who had the func-

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1008. As noted in n. 1000 above, this Fayrūz may well be identical with the Jushnas Dih mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, I, 1064, p. 405 above; at least, there is some confusion in the sources which seem to mention Fayrūz, i.e., al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 198; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 233–34 = § 654 (?); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 500.

1009. Written thus here and in Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit., but reflecting the common rendering in Arabic of Persian *ch* by *ṣ*, cf. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter*, 72, hence probably the name Chahār Bukht, "saved by the four," i.e., the four spirits of water, earth, plants, and beasts, or the four elements, cf. the common Sāsānid name Si Bukht, "saved by the three." See Nöldeke, trans. 396 n. 1; Justi, *Namenbuch*, 151; Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides*, no. 833. Fayrūz's relationship to the main stem of the Sāsānid royal house was clearly tenuous.

1010. In addition to the exiguous Arabic sources on Fayrūz mentioned in n. 1008 above, see the Persian one of Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. II, 352–53. See also Nöldeke, trans. 396 n. 1. No coins of his seem to be extant.

1011. Thus written in the text, but taken by Nöldeke, trans. 396 and n. 2, as Zādhūyah, which seems likely. Nöldeke also noted that the Marzbān of Sarakhs who made peace with 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir in 31/651–52 when the Arabs arrived in

tion of "Chief of the Servants" (*ra'īs al-khawal*),[1012] proceeded to a place in the western section [of the Persian kingdom], near to Niṣībīn, called Ḥiṣn al-Ḥijārah ("the Stone Fortress"). He brought back a son of Kisrā (II)'s who had escaped to that fortress when Shīrūyah killed all the sons of Kisrā, and who was called Farrukhzādh Khusraw, to the city of Ctesiphon. The people gave him obedience for a short time, but then rebelled and rose in opposition against him. Some sources state that they killed him. His period of royal power was six months.[1013] [1067]

[Yazdajird III]

Some authorities say that the people of Iṣṭakhr got hold of Yazdajird, son of Shahriyār, son of Kisrā (II), at Iṣṭakhr, whither people had fled with him when Shīrūyah killed his brothers.[1014]

Khurāsān was called Zādhūyah (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 405) and that Zādhūyah is a possible reading for the rather cryptic name Wārī in al-Ṭabarī, I, 893 and n. *a*, p. 147 above.

1012. Presumably an office at the Sāsānid court, something like a major-domo or steward, what would in Islamic times be called a *qahramān*, cf. the use of the word by al-Ṭabarī, I, 1020, p. 346 above.

1013. On the possible confusion of this Farrukhzādh with Khurrahzādh Khusraw, see n. 1006 above. The other Arabic sources on him include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 666–67; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 198; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 234 = § 655; idem, *Tanbīh*, 103, tr.147; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 55; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 501. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 353. He is briefly mentioned by Christensen, *Sassanides*, 499. No coins of his are extant.

Also mentioned as fleetingly holding power between the years 630 and 632, but probably with recognition in certain parts of the realm only, are Hormizd (V), who nevertheless minted some coins as 'WḤRMZDY (see concerning him, n. 1016 below), and Khusraw (IV) (assuming that this person is not the same as Farrukhzādh Khusraw), who minted some coins as ḤWSRWB. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, 499, and for their coins, Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 69–70, 393–94, 493–94, Plates XXII–XXIII, Table XXXI; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 54–55. Table XIII, Plate 15; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 171–74; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 239.

1014. The eight-year-old boy Yazdagird (this age being more probable than the fifteen or sixteen years of certain Christian and later Islamic sources, since Yazdagird's coins show him as beardless until the tenth year of his reign and he is described by al-Ṭabarī, I, 1067, p. 410 below, as being twenty-eight years old when he was killed at Marw in 651) was thus raised to power in Fārs and crowned in the temple of Anāhīd at Iṣṭakhr by a faction opposed to the one in Ctesiphon that had made Farrukhzādh king there. Hostility toward the new king is reflected in the statement of al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 198, that Yazdagird was regarded as ill-omened

When the great men of state among the people of Iṣṭakhr received the news that the people of al-Madā'in had rebelled against Farrukhzādh, they brought Yazdajird to a fire temple called "Ardashīr's fire temple,"[1015] crowned him there and hailed him as king. He was, however, only a young boy. Then they brought him to al-Madā'in and killed Farrukhzādh Khusraw by means of treachery after he had reigned for one year. In this fashion, the way was open for Yazdajird to assume the royal power, except that, compared with the power of his forefathers, his power was like a phantom of the imagination and a vision in a dream (*al-khayāl wa-al-ḥulm*).[1016] The great men of state and the ministers exercised his royal authority because of his youth. The most illustrious and the shrewdest of his ministers was the Chief of the Servants. The power of the Persian kingdom grew weak, and its enemies attacked it boldly from all sides, made incursions into Yazdajird's lands, and devastated parts of them. The Arabs attacked his lands when two years had elapsed of his reign or, it is said alternatively, after four years. His whole life span, until he was killed, was twenty-eight years.[1017]

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from the start because his mother had been a mere cupper (*ḥajjāmah*) in Khusraw Abarwēz's service, but was brought out from obscurity from sheer necessity; cf. al-Ṭabarī's information, I, 1044, p. 380 above, on Yazdagird's mother). Nöldeke, trans. 397 n. 3, 434, that Yazdagird's accession must have fallen within the Persian year 16 June 632–16 June 633, since the Zoroastrians begin their era in this year of Yazdagird III's accession.

1015. That is, the fire temple at Jūr/Fīrūzābād whose building by Ardashīr I is recorded in al-Ṭabarī, I, 817, p. 11 above.

1016. Nöldeke, trans. 397 n. 5, noted that Yazdagird had considerable trouble in establishing his authority throughout all the Persian lands, with important provinces like Azerbaijan, Mesopotamia, and Khurāsān at first reluctant to acknowledge him. Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 119, speaks of his struggles when raised to the throne (but anachronistically, it would appear, with Āzarmīgdukht). It seems that Rustam threw his weight behind the new king in the short period before he became embroiled with the invading Arabs. Numismatic evidence (see n. 1013 above) shows the existence of a rival for the throne, Hormizd (V), who challenged Yazdagird's position and whose center of power Armenian sources place in Nisībīn in Upper Mesopotamia.

1017. Yazdagird III ruled from the end of 632 or the beginning of 633 till his death at Marw in 31/651 (al-Ṭabarī, I, 2872–84, tr. R. S. Humphreys, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation*, XV, *The Crisis of the Caliphate. The Reign of 'Uthmān*, 78–90). The Arabs began their probes into Iraq by the end of the second year of his reign, i.e., in 634 or 635, with the major battle for the province coming a year or two later. Yazdagird's name appears on coins as YZDKRTY. See

There are various further historical reports about this ruler Yazdajird and his sons, which I will mention later, if God wills, in their appropriate place, including the conquests by the Muslims of the land of the Persians, and what was the ultimate fate of Yazdajird and his sons.[1018]

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on his coins, Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, 70, 394–96, 494–95, Plate XXIII, Table XXXI; Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, 54–55, Table XIII, Plate 15; Sellwood, Whitting, and Williams, *An Introduction to Sasanian Coins*, 21, 175–78; Malek, "A Survey of Research on Sasanian Numismatics," 240.

The other Arabic sources on Yazdagird's accession and first few years include Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 666–67; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 198; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 119; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 234 = § 655; idem, *Tanbīh*, 103, trans. 147; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rīkh*, 53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 501. Of Persian sources, see Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, trans. II, 353, who merely quotes the fact of Yazdagird's accession and that he reigned for four years, i.e., this source regards his reign as closing with the Arabs' capture of the capital al-Madā'in in March 637 and Yazdagird's subsequent gradual retreat eastward across Persia from Ḥulwān and Iṣfahān to Iṣṭakhr (thus according to such Arabic sources as al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 315; al-Ṭabarī, I, 2439–40, tr. *The History of al-Ṭabarī, an Annotated Translation. XIII. The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia and Egypt. The Middle Years of 'Umar's Caliphate*, 20; the *Anonymus Guidi*, tr. 33, has Yazdagird flee via Khūzistān) to Kirmān and then his being killed in Khurāsān. Of modern studies, see Nöldeke, trans. 397 nn. 3–5, 431; Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia. The Arabs in the East*, London 1975, 57–67; 'Abd al-Ḥusain Zarrīnkūb, "The Arab Conquest of Iran and Its Aftermath," 4, 12–25.

1018. One of Yazdagird's sons, Fīrūz (III), spent the rest of his life after his father's death on the far northeastern fringes of the Islamic lands. He seems to have received aid from the Hephthalite or Turkish local ruler of Bactria/Ṭukhāristān, and may, in the surmise of J. Harmatta, have held power in Sistan for a short period ca. 660. He became a Chinese vassal and hoped to make a comeback with Chinese help; but he was driven out of the upper Oxus region by the Arabs, subsequently made his way to the imperial capital Ch'ang-an and died in China. Fīrūz's son, whose name is known only from Chinese sources as Ni-nieh-shih (presumably Narseh) continued to hover round the regions of Sogdia and Ṭukhāristān, stirring up trouble against the Arabs, but China was too distant to give these Sāsānid claimants any effective military support; he had to fall back into China and died there soon after 707. The presence of Sāsānid descendants in the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an seems nevertheless to be attested, according to Chinese sources, into the ninth century. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 68, 133–34; J. Harmatta, "The Middle Persian-Chinese Bilingual Inscription from Hsian and the Chinese-Sāsānian Relations," 373–76; Frye, "The Political History," 176; W. Watson, "Iran and China," 547.

[The Chronology of the World]

The whole of the period of years that elapsed from Adam's being sent down to earth (i.e., his expulsion from the Garden of Eden) up to the time of the Prophet's Hijrah, according to what the Jews
[1068] among the People of the Book say and according to what they allege is in the all-embracing text of the Torah (*al-Tawrāt al-ṣūrah*) setting forth the lives of the prophets and kings, is 4,642 years and a few months.[1019]

According to what the Christians say and assert in their Torah in the Greek language (i.e., the Septuagint), that extent of time was 5,992 years and a few months.

With regard to the whole of that, according to what the Persian Zoroastrians say, it was 4,182 years, ten months, and nineteen days, with the proviso that included in that span is the period of time between the Hijrah and the killing of Yazdajird—that is, thirty years, two months and fifteen days—and the further proviso that this system of reckoning of theirs and the beginning of their era (*ta'rīkh*) runs from the time of Jayūmart, Jayūmart being Ādam (Adam), the progenitor of all mankind, to whom every human being can be traced back, as I have clearly set forth in this book.

Concerning the learned scholars of Islam, I have mentioned previously what certain of them have said regarding it, and I shall now mention some of those whose fame has not come down to the present day. These persons say that from the time of Ādam to that

1019. In n. *a* to his text, Nöldeke cited the origin of this phrase as Syriac *ṣūraṯ kəṯāḇ* "the complete text of the sacred books."

of Nūḥ (Noah) was ten centuries (a century, *qarn*, being a hundred years), between Nūḥ and Ibrāhīm (Abraham), ten centuries (a century being a hundred years again) and between Ibrāhīm and Mūsā, son of 'Imrān (Moses, son of Amram), ten centuries (a century being a hundred years yet again).

Mention of Those Who Say That

There related to us Ibn Bashshār—Abū Dāwūd—Hammām b. Qatādah— 'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās, who said: Between Ādam and [1069] Nūḥ there were ten centuries, and all of them (i.e., the people of this period) followed a path of divine truth (*sharī'ah min al-ḥaqq*).

There related to us al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Wāqid al-Aslamī,[1020] from several of the learned scholars, who all said: Between Ādam and Nūḥ were ten centuries (a century being a hundred years), between Nūḥ and Ibrāhīm, ten centuries (a century being a hundred years again), and between Ibrāhīm and Mūsā, son of 'Imrān, ten centuries (a century being a hundred years yet again).

It was transmitted from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Abū 'Awānah—'Āṣim al-Aḥwal—Abū 'Uthmān—Salmān, who said: The interval (*al-fatrah*) between Muhammad and 'Īsā (Jesus), peace be upon them both, was six hundred years.[1021]

It was transmitted from Fuḍayl b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb—Ja'far b. Sulaymān—'Awf, who said: Between 'Īsā and Mūsā was 600 years.

1020. That is, the historian al-Wāqidī (130–207/747–823), who derived this *nisbah* from his grandfather's name and that of al-Aslamī from being a mawlā of a member of the Medinan clan of Aslam. Of his many works on the pre-Islamic history of Mecca and Medina and on early Islamic history, only the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* and possibly a *Kitāb al-riddah* survive, but his work was much used by slightly later authors such as Ibn Sa'd. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 294–97; *EI*², s.v. al-Wāḳidī (S. Leder).

1021. The literal meaning of *fatrah* is "relaxation, weakening," thence "elapsing, period of time," and the term is especially applied in early Islamic usage to the interval between any two of the numerous prophetic messengers (*rusul*) who preceded the advent of Muḥammad. Al-Jāḥiẓ explained that these intervals were called *fatrah*s because there was a "slackening" of observance, with a reinvigoration of religion when a new *rasūl* came along. It became particularly used, as here, for the lengthy period without any prophets between Jesus and Muḥammad. See *EI*², s.v. Fatra (Ch. Pellat), and n. 1025 below.

There related to me Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Ibn 'Ulayyah—Sa'īd b. Abī Ṣadaqah—Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, who said: I was informed that Ka'b said that God's words, "O sister of Hārūn (Aaron)" do not refer to Hārūn the brother of Mūsā.[1022] He related: 'Ā'ishah said to him, "You are wrong!" He replied, "O Mother of the Faithful! If the Prophet said it, then he is the most knowledgeable and the best one,[1023] but if not, I find a space of six hundred years between them." He related: She was thereupon silent.

There related to me al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Hishām—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās, who said: Between Mūsā, son of 'Imrān, and 'Īsā, son of Maryam (Mary), was nineteen hundred years, but there was no interval (*fatrah*) between them, because during this period, God sent a thousand prophets from the Banū Isrā'īl (Children of Israel), apart from those whom He sent to other
[1070] nations. Between the birth of 'Īsā and the Prophet was 569 years, in the first part of which He sent three prophets, as in His words, "When We sent to them two persons, and they branded them as liars, We strengthened them with a third person";[1024] the person whom He sent as a strengthener was Sham'ūn (Simon), one of the Apostles. The interval during which God did not send any prophets was 434 years.[1025] When Jesus was raised up (i.e., in his

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1022. Qur'ān, XIX, 29/28, there being an apparent confusion here of Maryam, the Virgin Mary, with Maryam, the sister of Moses and Aaron. However, J. M. Rodwell in his *The Koran Translated from the Arabic*, 385 n. 2, admitted that Muḥammad seems here to be guilty of an anachronism, but further pointed out that the anachronism might be only apparent, since even if Aaron, the brother of Moses, is meant, Maryam, the Virgin Mary, could be called his sister because she was of Levitical stock. Ka'b (i.e., Ka'b al-Aḥbār, on whom see n. 371 above) is in this tradition implying that the Hārūn/Aaron here is another person. See the extensive discussion in R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, 65.

1023. For the Leiden text's *khayr*, the Cairo text, II, 236, has, following al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, the reading *akhbar* "giving more faithful reports."

1024. Qur'ān, XXXVI, 13/14. The words occur at the opening of the parable, or rather, story, of the unbelieving town, Antioch being the city commonly identified with this. K. Ahrens referred to a story of St. Peter at Antioch given in Ps.-Clement of Alexandria, see Bell, *A Commentary on the Qur'ān*, II, 138–39. Muslim tradition came to connect the story of the unbelieving town with the legendary character Ḥabīb the Carpenter who urged the town's inhabitants not to reject the three messengers who had been sent to them by God. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥabīb al-Nadjdjār (G. Vajda).

1025. We thus have an attempt to fill up part at least of the *fatrah* between Jesus

Ascension to Heaven), he was thirty-two years and six months old, and his period of prophethood was thirty months. God raised him [to Heaven] corporeally, and he is still alive at this moment.

There related to me Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Askar—Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Karīm—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Ma'qil, who heard Wahb [b. Munabbih] say that fifty-six hundred years have elapsed of this present world.

There related to me Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī—Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ—al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī—'Abd Allāh b. Busr, who said: The Messenger of God said to me: "You will certainly live for a century (*qarn*)!" And he did [in fact] live for a hundred years.

This is what was transmitted from the learned scholars of Islam concerning this, and in what they say there is a very wide variation. This is seen in the fact that al-Wāqidī told the story, on the authority of a group of learned scholars, that they said what I have mentioned as his transmission from them. On the basis of what he said, one must take the whole span of years of this present world up to the birth of our Prophet as being forty-six years, but on the basis of what Ibn 'Abbās said, as transmitted by Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās, one must take [1071] the figure up to the birth of the Prophet as fifty-five hundred years. As for Wahb b. Munabbih, he mentioned what he had to say in one bloc, without breaking it down into details, that is, up to his own time [is a span of] fifty-six hundred years. The entire extent in time of this present world is, according to Wahb, six thousand years, of which there had elapsed up to his own time, in his view, fifty-six hundred years. Wahb b. Munabbih died in the year 114 of the Hijrah [/A.D. 732].[1026] Thus the remainder of the extent of this present world, from the time we are actually in now, is, according

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and Muḥammad; other Muslim scholars endeavored to find also within it persons who had at least rejected the worship of idols and had followed an ascetic way of life, such as the *ḥanīfs* in pre-Islamic Mecca and the poet-ascetic of al-Ṭā'if, Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt (on whom see n. 603 above), called collectively the *ahl al-fatrah*. See *EI*², s.v. Fatra (Ch. Pellat).

1026. This is one of the two dates given in the sources for Wahb's death, the other being 110/728–29. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 305; *EI*², s.v. Wahb b. Munabbih (R. G. Khoury).

to Wahb's words, 215 years.[1027] This is what Wahb b. Munabbih says, conformable to what Abū Ṣāliḥ transmited from Ibn 'Abbās.

Some authorities state that from the time of the descent [to earth] of Ādam to the mission of our Prophet is 6,113 years, [this span comprising,] in their view, from Ādam's descent to the earth up to the Flood, 2,256 years; from the Flood to the birth of Ibrāhīm, the Friend of the Merciful One,[1028] 1,079 years; from the birth of Ibrāhīm to Mūsā's exodus with the Banū Isrā'īl from Egypt, 565 years; from Mūsā's exodus with the Banū Isrā'īl from Egypt to the building of the Sacred Temple (*al-Bayt al-Maqdis*)—this being four years after the accession to royal power of Sulaymān, son of Dāwūd (Solomon, son of David)—636 years; from the building of the Temple to al-Iskandar's (Alexander the Great's) accession to royal power, 717 years; from al-Iskandar's accession to the birth of
[1072] 'Īsā, son of Maryam, 369 years; from the birth of 'Īsā to Muḥammad's mission, 551 years; and from Muḥammad's mission to his Hijrah from Mecca to Medina, thirteen years.

Some authorities have related from Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās, who said that from Ādam to Nūḥ was twenty-two hundred years; from Nūḥ to Ibrāhīm, 1,143 years; from Ibrāhīm to Mūsā, 575 years; from Mūsā to Dāwūd, 179 years; from Dāwūd to 'Īsā, 1,053 years; and from 'Īsā to Muḥammad, 600 years.

Al-Haytham b. 'Adī[1029] has related from certain members of the People of the Book, saying that from Ādam to the Flood was 2,256 years; from the Flood to the death of Ibrāhīm, 1,020 years; from Ibrāhīm's death to the Banū Isrā'īl's entry into Egypt, seventy-five years; from Ya'qūb's (Jacob's) entry into Egypt to Moses' exodus from it, 430 years; from the building of the Sacred Temple to the accession to royal power of Bukht-Naṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) and

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1027. That is, the period of time between Wahb's death and the date when al-Ṭabarī was writing his *History*, which would bring the latter date up to 319 [/931].

1028. Ibrāhīm/Abraham being called in Muslim lore Khalīl Allāh, the "Friend of God," this being based on Qur'ān, IV, 124/125 "and God took Abraham as a friend," echoing Isa. xli. 8.

1029. That is, the Kūfan *akhbārī* or historian (d. 204, 207 or 209/819–24), a source for al-Ya'qūbī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas'ūdī, and other historians. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 272; *EI*², s.v. al-Haytham b. 'Adī (Ch. Pellat).

the destruction of the Sacred Temple,[1030] 446 years; from the accession of Bukht-Naṣṣar to the accession to royal power of al-Iskandar,[1031] 436 years; and from al-Iskandar's accession to the year 206 of the Hijrah [/A.D. 821–822], 1,245 years.

1030. The Old Testament Nebuchadnezzar (*nbwkdn'ṣr*, a scribal error in the masoretic text for *nbwkdr'ṣr*), Babylonian Nabû-kudurri-uṣur, "the god Nabu has guarded the estate [succession]," came to power in 605 B.C.; various dates, including 588, 587, and 586 B.C. are given for his sack of Jerusalem and destruction of the Temple there. The extents of time between the events delineated here, going up to Alexander's accession (see below) are, of course, fanciful.

1031. That is, Alexander the Great (365–323 B.C.), whose accession to the throne of Macedon took place in 336 B.C. on his father Philip II's assassination. Al-Ṭabarī's computation of 1,245 years is thus an exaggeration, even if *hijrī* lunar years and not solar ones are used.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME VI

Muḥammad at Mecca

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY
W. MONTGOMERY WATT AND M. V. McDONALD

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and M. V. McDonald

The sixth volume of the translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* deals with the ancestors of Muḥammad, with his own early life, and then with his prophetic mission up to the time of his Hijrah or emigration to Medina. The topics covered mean that this volume is of great importance both for the career of Muḥammad himself and for the early history of Islam. Al-Ṭabarī was familiar with, and made use of, the main early source of these matters, the *Sīrah* or life of Muḥammad by Ibn Isḥāq, a work which is still extant. Although his own treatment is briefer than that of Ibn Isḥāq, it complements the latter in important ways by making use of other sources. Where Ibn Isḥāq gave only the version of an event which he preferred, al-Ṭabarī includes any variants which he considered of value. Thus he mentions the dispute about the first male to become a Muslim— 'Ali or Abu Bakr or Zayd— and has also several variant accounts of the call to be a prophet. He has much material, too, about the hostility toward Muḥammad from many of the leading Meccans and their attempts to put pressure on his family to stop his preaching. The negotiations with the men of Medina which eventually led to the Hijrah are fully described, and there is then an account of how Muḥammad escaped an assassination attempt and arrived safely in Medina. A concluding section discusses some chronological questions. This volume does not merely give a straightforward account of the earlier career of Muḥammad and the beginnings of Islam, but also contains valuable source-material not easily accessible otherwise, or not accessible at all.

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarīr al-Tabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Tabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of the non-Arabists, with historical and philogical notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabari's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muhammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission *(isnād)* to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, according to Ibn Ḥumayd–Salamah–Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place-names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less-common place-names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually translated according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others which cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place-names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

The Sources and Their Reliability

The sources

In the latest and most complete history of Arabic literature by Fuat Sezgin, nearly fifty pages are devoted to works on the history of pre-Islamic Arabia and the life of the Prophet, solely for the period up to about the year 1000 A.D.[1]

There are notices of over seventy writers, even if many of these are now known only through quotations from them by later authors. This gives some idea, however, of the large amount of written material available to Ṭabarī. For the present volume, he had three main sources.

The earliest and most important of those sources is Ibn Isḥāq, whose book on the Prophet is usually known as the *Sīrah*. This has been preserved primarily in the recension of a later scholar, Ibn Hishām (d.218/833).[2] It is known, however, that there were at least fifteen recensions of Ibn Isḥāq's work by various pupils of his, and there is a little information about how these differed from that of Ibn Hishām.[3] Ibn Hishām derived his version mainly from Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh al-Bakkā'ī (d.183/299). Ṭabarī, on the other hand, knew Ibn Isḥāq through the recension of Salamah b. al-Fadl al-Abrash

1. *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums (GAS)*, vol. I, Leiden 1967, pp. 257–302.
2. Ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1858, 1859. For other editions and further details about Ibn Hishām, see Sezgin, I:297-99.
3. J. Fück, *Muhammed b. Ishāq*, Frankfort 1925.

(d.191/206), which was transmitted to him by Ibn Ḥumayd, but he also sometimes consulted the recension of Yūnus b. Bukayr (d.199/214). The *Sīrah* of Ibn Isḥāq is accessible to English readers in the translation of Alfred Guillaume.[4] Guillaume aimed at reconsituting the text of Ibn Isḥāq as far as it still exists. He took out of the main text the notes and editorial comments of Ibn Hishām (of whom he had a poor opinion) and placed these in an Appendix. Then he incorporated into his main text the passages omitted by Ibn Hishām which he was able to recover mainly from Ṭabarī, though there are also one or two from other sources.[5]

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār was born in al-Madīnah about 85/704. His grandfather Yasār, who had been held as a prisoner by the Persian emperor, was captured by the Muslims at ʿAyn al-Tamr in Iraq in 12/633 and sent to al-Madīnah as a slave. On professing Islam, he was manumitted. His sons Isḥāq and Mūsā became scholars with special knowledge of the anecdotes about the Prophet and the early history of Islam. Occasionally, Ibn Isḥāq gives his father as the source for a piece of information. In 119/737, when he was over thirty, he went to Alexandria to study under Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb. He seems to have returned to al-Madīnah after a year or two, but had to go away again, probably because of the hostility of the jurist Mālik b. Anas (though there are some discrepancies in the accounts). He then taught for several years in a number of places, including al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, and al-Rayy, before settling in Baghdad. His move to Baghdad can hardly have been before 146/763, since it was only about that year that the Caliph, al-Manṣur, and his administration took up residence in their new city. Ibn Isḥāq died there, probably in 151/768.

Ibn Isḥāq's great work was the *Sīrah* of the Prophet, though there are reports and fragments of other works. The *Sīrah* as a whole may have been called *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (The Book of the Expeditions), but the name is also used for the third part dealing with Muḥammad's career from the hijrah to his death. The first part was *al-Mubtada'* (The Beginning), and went from the creation of the world through stories of early prophets to accounts of South Arabian affairs up to the time of the Prophet. The second part,

4. *The Life of Muhammad: a Translation of (Ibn) Ishāq's "Sīrat Rasūl Allāh,"* translated by A. Guillaume, London 1955.

5. Op.cit., xxxi-xxxiii.

al-Mab'ath (The Sending, sc. of the Prophet), covered the period from Muḥammad's birth until his arrival in al-Madīnah.

The earlier section of *al-Mubtada'* was omitted by Ibn Hishām, though fragments of it are found in other authors. He retained a genealogy of Muḥammad back to Adam, but then passed immediately to the Arab descendants of Ishmael (Ismā'īl) through 'Adnān, with a reference to the parallel line through Qaḥṭān. A number of stories then follow about the kings of South Arabia, but not much of this material is relevant to Mecca and Yathrib (as al-Madīnah was then called). The story of the expedition of the Elephant, however, is told in some detail. This was an expedition against Mecca led by Abrahah, the Abyssinian viceroy, or ruler, of the Yemen, which included a fighting elephant to terrify the Arab tribesmen. In Sūrah 105 of the Qur'ān, the failure of the expedition is attributed to God. Muḥammad is reported to have been born in "the year of the elephant," which is usually taken to be the year A.D. 570.

In the second part of the *Sīrah*, events are given a rough dating according to Muḥammad's age. Ibn Hishām has omitted some anecdotes (1161f.; 1171–73) which present 'Alī as playing an important role in the earliest days of Islam (and so were felt to be pro-Shī'ite), and also the story of the "satanic verses" (1192–95), which was perhaps thought to be slightly discreditable to the Prophet. Ibn Hishām may well have omitted more passages of which we are unaware, since Ṭabarī does not report many of the minor topics found in Ibn Isḥāq.

The great reputation of Ibn Isḥāq as a biographer of the Prophet is due to his wide knowledge of the relevant material, to his wise judgement in selecting the more reliable accounts of events, and to his ability to form the whole into a single connected narrative. Criticisms of him by later Muslim scholars are not of his work as a historian but of his collection of Ḥadīth (anecdotes about Muḥammad's sayings and doings to be used for legal purposes). Ibn Isḥāq usually gives a source for his historical material, though not always with a complete *isnād* or chain of transmitters. In the case of some major events he names several sources which he has used, but does not specify the source or sources of each detail of the account.

Ṭabarī clearly regarded Ibn Isḥāq very highly, and in many parts

of his narrative uses him as his main source, while inserting variant accounts from other sources. Where Ibn Hishām omitted passages from Ibn Isḥāq which he thought unduly favorable to Shī'ism (as noted above), Ṭabarī retained such passages but balanced them by other material. Thus, where Ibn Isḥāq only had material showing that 'Alī was the first male Muslim, Ṭabarī added other sources which claimed that honor for Abū Bakr or Zayd b. Ḥārithah.

In the section dealing with Muḥammad's ancestry Ibn Isḥaq follows a chronological order, but, as already noted, introduces many incidents from South Arabian history which have little relevance to the Prophet's ancestors. It has been suggested that attention was paid to South Arabia because this was a matter of pride for the Muslims of al-Madīnah, who regarded themselves as descended from the South Arabian or Yemenite tribes, whereas the Muslims of Mecca, who by Ibn Isḥāq's time held most of the power in the Islamic state, belonged to the northern Arabs. Ṭabarī includes some of the South Arabian material from Ibn Isḥāq at an earlier point in his narrative.[6] When he comes to Muḥammad's ancestors, he reverses the chronological order; he begins with Muḥammad's father, then goes to his grandfather, then to his great-grandfather, and so on. The difference between the two historians may be seen from the following table:

Ancestors	Ibn Isḥāq	Ṭabarī
Adam to 'Adnān	3	1113–23
'Adnān, Ma'add	3–7	1111–13
Nizār	49	1111
Muḍar, Ilyās	50	1108–10
Mudrikah to Lu'ayy	60–62	1101–8
Ka'b to Quṣayy	67–68	1092–1101
'Abd Manāf	68, 84	1091–92
Hāshim	87	1088–91
'Abd al-Muṭṭalib	88	1082–88
'Abdallāh, Muḥammad's conception	98–101	1074–82

A second important source is Muḥammad b. 'Umar (as Ṭabarī

6. This will be found in the previous volume of the present translation.

usually calls him), generally known as al-Wāqidī.[7] Al-Wāqidī was born in al-Madīnah in 150/747, and studied under the scholars there, notably Mūsā b. 'Uqbah, Ma'mar b. Rāshid and Abū Ma'shar.[8] In 180/796 he went to Baghdad, obtained the support of the wazīr Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, and was appointed by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd as judge for the east side of Baghdad; later he had other similar posts. He died in Baghdad in 207/823. His most important work is the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, which deals with the "expeditions" of Muḥammad, and thus covers most of the events of the period between the hijrah and Muḥammad's death. There are many references to this in the next two volumes of the present translation of Ṭabarī's history. Al-Wāqidī paid special attention to chronology, and his dating of the expeditions in general is superior to that of Ibn Isḥāq and to be accepted. He must have known the work of Ibn Isḥāq , but does not make use of it in his *Maghāzī*, though he uses it for earlier and later matters. He was also regarded as an authority on the early Islamic conquests, but was not so highly thought of in respect of pre-Islamic history. Some of the historical material he collected has been preserved not in his own works but in those of his pupil Ibn Sa'd. There is now an excellent text of the *Maghāzī* edited by Marsden Jones. Previously scholars had to rely on the accurate summary of the work in German by Julius Wellhausen entitled *Muhammed in Medina*.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd was born in al-Baṣrah in 168/784, but moved to al-Madīnah and other centers of learning. It was presumably in Baghdad that he studied under al-Wāqidī. Though he had studied under other scholars, including Hishām b. al-Kalbī, he became specially attached to al-Wāqidī and was known as his *kātib* or secretary. He died in Baghdad in 230/845. Virtually his only extant work is the *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* (The Great Book of Classes).[9] The "classes" are the various generations of those who transmitted anecdotes, historical or legal, about Muḥammad. The first "class" consists of the Companions *(Ṣaḥābah)*, those who had known and conversed with Muḥammad. Thus there are bio-

7. Sezgin, I:294-97; the notices of his three teachers are on pp. 286, 290, and 291.
8. *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, 3 vols., London 1966; *Muhammed in Medina*, abbreviated German translation by J. Wellhausen, Berlin 1882.
9. Sezgin, *GAS*, I:300f.

graphical notices of all the 300-odd men who had taken part in the battle of Badr. Altogether Ibn Sa'd has notices of some 4,250 persons, including about 600 women, though some of the notices in the later "classes" are sketchy, occasionally only a name. The *Ṭabaqāt* proper are preceded by a collection of information about the earlier part of Muḥammad's life, but the *Maghāzī* are not dealt with in detail, presumably because of the existence of al-Wāqidī's book, though there are accounts of tribal deputations and texts of treaties not found in al-Wāqidī. The material relevant to the period up to the hijrah is found in the first half of the first volume of the European edition. Ṭabarī quotes the *Ṭabaqāt* from al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāmah (d. 282/895).

A third important source is Ibn al-Kalbī, or more fully, Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī.[10] His father Muḥammad (d.146/763) was already an authority on pre-Islamic Arabia, and the son added to his store of knowledge. He was born in al-Kūfah about 120/737, and died there in 204/819. Ṭabarī's normal description of this source is: Hishām b. Muḥammad from his father. They were regarded as the chief authorities on Arab genealogy and many other aspects of the pre-Islamic history of Arabia. Two books relevant to the life of Muḥammad by the philologist Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d.245/860), *al-Muḥabbar* and *al-Munammaq*, rely heavily on Ibn al-Kalbī.[11]

It may also be noted that from one of his minor sources Ṭabarī reproduces an early document, a letter from the scholar 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr to 'Abd al-Malik (Caliph from 685 to 705).[12] 'Urwah was a son of al-Zubayr, who along with Ṭalḥah was defeated by 'Alī at the Battle of the Camel in 35/656. His brother 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, some thirty years his senior, set himself up as counter-Caliph in Mecca from 61/80 to 73/692. Though 'Urwah had supported his brother in Mecca against the Umayyads, he managed to have good relations with the Umayyad 'Abd al-Malik. He was reckoned to have a wide knowledge of early Islamic history, and some of this has been transmitted by later scholars such as Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d.124/742) and Abū al-

10. Ibid., 268–71.

11. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, (GAL)*[2] Leiden 1943, I:105 (106).

12. See 1180f., 1284-88 below.

Aswad al-Asadī (d.131/748).[13] Al-Zuhrī was one of the teachers of Ibn Isḥāq.

The reliability of the materials used

For a century or so, some Western scholars have been sceptical about the historical value of much of the material about the career of Muḥammad. This scepticism may be said to have reached its culmination in two works published in 1977. One was a book on the Qur'ān by John Wansbrough, in which he maintained that the text of the Qur'ān did not attain its present form until a century and a half after Muḥammad.[14] The other book was by two pupils of Wansbrough's who attempted to show that all the early Muslim sources for the life of Muḥammad were to be rejected, and that the earliest phase of his religion was not Islam as it is now known but something different which they called "Hagarism".[15] Neither book has been favorably received by scholars in general, since both are based on many unjustified assumptions, and there seems little point in offering a detailed criticism of them. Nevertheless, since they allege that the entire contents of this and the two or three following volumes of Ṭabarī's history are without historical value, it seems worth while to give some arguments to justify the belief that most of the materials used by Ṭabarī are reliable. A form of these arguments has already been published under the title "The Reliability of Ibn Isḥāq's Sources",[16] and since Ibn Isḥāq was Ṭabarī's main source, they will also apply to Ṭabarī. It will be useful, however, to show more particularly how this is so.

One of the earliest exponents of sceptical views was Ignaz Goldziher, who in 1890, in the second volume of his *Muhammedanische Studien*, suggested that much of what was contained in the vast collections of Ḥadīth was not historically

13. Sezgin, I:280-83, 284f.

14. *Quranic Studies, Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, London 1977.

15. Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism, the Making of the Islamic World*, Cambridge 1977.

16. In *La vie du prophète Mahomet* (Colloque de Strasbourg, 1980), Paris 1983, pp.31-43; see also Watt. "The Materials used by Ibn Isḥāq," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P.M. Holt, London 1962, pp.23-34.

true.[17] This line of thought was further elaborated by Joseph Schacht in *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence.*[18] The corpus of Ḥadīth is primarily concerned with legal and liturgical matters, and to a lesser extent with theological concerns, but other scholars expressed similar criticisms of the more purely historical material. The leaders among them were Henri Lammens and Carl Heinrich Becker, and their views were widely accepted up to a point. Becker expressed his conclusions by saying that the *Sīrah* of Ibn Isḥāq consisted primarily of "the already existing dogmatic and juristic Ḥadīth ... collected and chronologically arranged," and he held that to these had been added expanded versions of historical allusions in the Qur'ān[19] Following Lammens and Becker, Régis Blachère argued that the only reliable source for the life of Muḥammad was the Qur'ān itself.[20]

One serious defect of the Lammens-Becker view is that it does not explain where the chronology comes from. Ḥadīth do not normally give an indication of chronology, and there are no "chronological" Ḥadīth. Thus Ḥadīth cannot be used to arrange Ḥadīth chronologically. The other serious defect is that "the already existing dogmatic and juristic Ḥadīth," even if they are true, have no importance for the historian of Muḥammad's career. They do not convey the sort of information which the historian requires. It is plausible to suppose that "anecdotes about what Muḥammad said and did" must be at the heart of his biography, but this is not so with those in the corpus of Ḥadīth. A saying which is of dogmatic or juristic interest is usually irrelevant to the historian. Thus there is a well-known story about how Muḥammad passed a man beating a slave and told him not to do so because "God made Adam in his (the slave's) image." This is dogmatically important, since it replaces the usual Jewish and Christian interpretation of the phrase "God made Adam in His image" as being God's image—a phrase which, in other Ḥadīth, Muḥammad is said to have uttered. For the historian, however, this story is of no importance.

It is essential to realize that, though originally there may have

17. Halle 1890; English translation edited by S.M. Stern, *Muslim Studies* London 1971.

18. Oxford 1950.

19. C.H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, Leipzig 1924, I:520f. (reprinted from *Der Islam*, IV [1913]: 263ff.)

20. *Le problème de Mahomet*, Paris 1952.

been some overlap between the study of Ḥadīth and the study of the *Sīrah,* the two studies soon became distinct disciplines with different methodologies. This is made obvious by a glance at Arent Jan Wensinck's *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition.*[21] At the beginning of the work he lists the titles—about four hundred in all—of the separate "books" or sections in eight standard collections of Ḥadīth. Most of these books deal with legal or liturgical matters such as "marriage" or "ablutions." A few deal with dogmatic questions under such headings as "faith" (*īmān)* and "predestination" (*qadar).* Only three "books" could be regarded as historical, two in the collection of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) entitled "expeditions" (*maghāzī)* and "the merits of the Companions" (*faḍā'il al-ṣaḥābah),* and one in the collection of Muslim (d.261/875) with the latter title. Bukhārī's "book" on the "expeditions" is lengthy, but the difference between his methodology and that of the historians can be illustrated from his first paragraph. He quotes both a Companion and a later scholar as saying that the first expedition in which Muḥammad took part personally was that of al-'Ushayrah, but then he gives the statement of Ibn Isḥāq that Muḥammad had taken part in two expeditions before that of al-'Ushayrah.[22] Bukhārī thought it worthwhile retaining the assertion of the Companion and the later scholar, although it seems to be valueless after that of Ibn Isḥāq. Historians like Ibn Isḥāq, on the other hand, did not repeat assertions they held to be clearly mistaken. When Ṭabarī gives alternative views, as he sometimes does, it is probably because he is not sure which is correct. The conclusion to which these considerations lead is that the critique of Ḥadīth by Goldziher, Schacht, and others does not necessarily apply to the materials used in the *Sīrah.* Most of these materials may be brought under four headings: a chronological framework and outline of events, anecdotes other than Ḥadīth, Qur'ānic elaborations, and poetry.

The first type of material consists of a basic chronological framework and an outline of the main events. This applies particularly to the period after the hijrah where the framework is the chronological order of the expeditions and is accompanied by brief account of what happened in each. (A word will be said later

21. Leiden 1927.
22. Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah,* 415f., 421f.; Ṭabarī, I:1269-71.

about the chronology of the period before the hijrah.) Ibn Isḥāq usually introduces each expedition with a description of it in his own words, without naming any source. Thus for the first expedition in which Muḥammad participated he says

> Then he went out raiding in Ṣafar (August) at the beginning of the twelfth month from his arrival in al-Madīnah, and proceeded as far as Waddān. This is the expedition of al-Abwā' against Quraysh and Banū Ḍamrah,...during which Banū Ḍamrah made an agreement with him through their chief Makhshī b. 'Amr. Then the Messenger of God returned to al-Madīnah without meeting hostile action, and remained there for the rest of Ṣafar and the first part of Rabī' I (September).[23]

This account raises the question: What was the source of Ibn Isḥāq's information, and why does he not name a source? The answer is almost certainly that these were matters of widespread and generally accepted common knowledge, and a little reflection will show how this came to be so. At the time Muḥammad died, all Muslims of long standing and many more recent Muslims presumably knew the order of the main events since the hijrah, namely: the battle of Badr, the battle of Uḥud, the siege of al-Madīnah, the expedition of al-Ḥudaybiyah, the conquest of Khaybar, the conquest of Mecca, the battle of Ḥunayn, and the expedition to Tābūk. Those who had taken part in some of the other expeditions presumably knew more or less how these fitted into the basic framework, because Arab society was primarily an oral and not a literate society. This common knowledge would be carefully treasured. As the Islamic state expanded into a more literate world, literacy must have grown. There are grounds for thinking that a few men had begun to write down something of the early history within about thirty years of Muḥammad's death; perhaps even before then. Fuat Sezgin's list of early historians has already been mentioned; and it is noteworthy that of those dealing with the *Sīrah*, the first two were born a year or two after the hijrah, and the next four within ten years of Muḥammad's death;

23. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 415f. As Guillaume assumes, the statement that Sa'd b. 'Ubādah was left in charge of al-Madīnah is probably from Ibn Hishām, though it is not indicated as such in the text.

and these men appear to have left written reports. They may, even before they were twenty years old, have heard informal lectures or talks in the mosques about the early days of Islam; there certainly were such lectures on the history of pre-Islamic times. If by the time they were twenty they were interested in studying the subject, there would be great numbers of older men whom they could ask about points they found obscure.

Of the scholars described above, ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr would reach the age of twenty about 46/665 and al-Zuhrī about 71/690. These dates are important for comparative purposes. A person aged eighty today (1987) probably remembers something of the beginning of the First World War in 1914, perhaps also of the sinking of the "Titanic" in 1911, and of the order of the two events; and these happened over seventy years ago. Such a person would have heard parents and elders talking about events twenty or thirty years earlier still. If we apply this consideration to early Islam, then ʿUrwah could certainly have spoken to a number of men who had lived through the events of the first ten years after the hijrah, and even al-Zuhrī might have met one or two. Moreover, ʿUrwah and al-Zuhrī by the time they were twenty would already have learnt something of the *Sīrah* from older scholars, so that their work was not the construction of a chronological framework but the refining of one that already existed. Thus when Ibn Isḥaq gives a statement about an expedition such as the one quoted, he will have learnt most of it from al-Zuhrī and his other teachers, and it will represent the distillate of the work of several generations of scholars. It cannot be attributed to a single source, since it is the result of many scholars sifting masses of evidence from dozens or even hundreds of informants. The final result of this process is what is meant by "the basic chronological framework and outline of events", and the bulk of it must have been accepted by all scholars, though some might have had fuller knowledge than others of certain parts, and there might have been divergencies on minor matters. For the period after the hijrah, Ṭabarī has the chronology of both Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī to follow, and he also notes where they differ, as in respect of some of the earlier expeditions.

For the period between Muḥammad's birth and the hijrah, there is only a meager chronological framework. Doubtless this was because there were fewer outstanding events and fewer people capa-

ble of giving information by the time the scholars were beginning to ask questions. Some dating is provided by Muḥammad's age: the war of the Fijār took place when he was twenty, his marriage to Khadījah when he was twenty-five, the rebuilding of the Ka'bah when he was thirty-five, and the beginning of his prophethood when he was forty or forty-three. The fact that these are multiples of five suggests that they are only approximations. For the period after the call to be a prophet, there is virtually no attempt to give dates, though the order is probably correct in the case of such events as the emigration to Abyssinia and the boycott of the clan of Hāshim. Ṭabarī sometimes introduces an event by a brief statement in his own words—presumably saying what is generally accepted—before going on to quote sources. An example of this is in his introduction to the rebuilding of the Ka'bah (1130) where he notes that it happened ten years after Muḥammad's marriage to Khadījah; he then quotes Ibn Isḥāq as saying that it was when Muḥammad was thirty-five, and he follows with a longer account also from Ibn Isḥāq.

The importance of genealogy for the Arabs will be further discussed below, but it may be noted here that it provided a rough chronological structure for pre-Islamic events, as can be seen in the *Sīrah* of Ibn Isḥāq. Ṭabarī disregards genealogy in this respect, since he treats Muḥammad's ancestors in reverse order; and in the previous volume, he mixed in a few events in Arabian history with the accounts of the Persian kings.

A second type of historical material is provided by anecdotes other than Ḥadīth. It would be only natural that families would remember with pride the exploits of their older members in the battles of Badr and Uḥud and similar events. A notable example is the story of a man called Qatādah b. al-Nu'mān, who was beside Muḥammad in the battle of Uḥud when he was wounded. When Muḥammad's bow broke, Qatādah picked it up and kept it. At the same time, his own eye was partly pulled out, but Muḥammad replaced it and in later life Qatādah declared that this eye was better than the other.[24] This is the sort of anecdote which would be treasured within a family, especially if the bow had become a family heirloom. It is in fact recorded by Qatādah's grandson, 'Āṣim b.

24. Ṭabarī, pp. i, 1414, from Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 573f.

'Umar b. Qatādah (d.120/737), who was a student of the *Sīrah* and produced some written works.[25] The story may well have been touched up in the course of transmission; for example, the wound to the eye may have been less serious than the description suggests, but Qatādah may well have claimed that he saw better with it. The story tells us nothing about the course of the battle, except that at one point Muḥammad used a bow, but Ibn Isḥāq may have included it because it seemed to show that Muḥammad had unusual healing powers.

Joseph Schacht regarded what he called a "family *isnād*" as an invention to give an appearance of authenticity to Ḥadīth where there was no proper *isnād*.[26] This may well be so in legal Ḥadīth where there is no question of family pride, but there seems to be no reason why it should apply to historical anecdotes, especially when these were of incidents which a family took pride in remembering. An example from the present volume is found in the long accounts from Abū Bakr's daughters of how Muḥammad told Abū Bakr that the time for his hijrah had come and how they arranged things.[27] These accounts are fitted into the narrative of the hijrah and the events leading up to it, which belong to the basic framework. This is in part a family *isnād*, since 'Ā'ishah, from whom 'Urwah heard the story, was his maternal aunt, while her sister Asmā' was his mother. When 'Ā'ishah died in 58/678 'Urwah was over thirty, so that he may have heard the story from her many times. Whether such anecdotes about minor incidents come with a family *isnād* or some other form, they cannot be rejected out of hand. Each, however, should be considered on its merits and examined for inherent improbabilities and the presence of distorting motives. Many of these anecdotes, however, appear to be genuine, and they may serve a useful purpose in adding flesh to the basic framework.

The third type of material is the text itself of the Qur'ān, together with expansions of it. When C. H. Becker spoke of "exegetical elaborations of Qur'ānic allusions," he presumably meant chiefly what Muslim scholars know as "occasions of revelation" (*asbāb al-nuzūl*), that is, accounts of the particular occasion on

25. Sezgin, I:279f.
26. *Origins*, 170.
27. Ṭabarī, pp. 1237-41.

which a certain passage was revealed. Thus Sūrah 80 begins with the words "He frowned and turned away, because the blind man came to him," and the occasion of this is said to have been that Muḥammad was talking to one or two important Meccan merchants (who are named), trying to convince them of the truth of Islam, when a blind man, already a believer, came and asked some questions. The blind man was Ibn Umm Maktūm, who came from a good family and was later adjudged a suitable person to be left in charge of al-Madīnah once or twice when Muḥammad was absent on an expedition. This incident must have happened in the earlier part of Muḥammad's prophethood at Mecca, but no date is assigned, and Ṭabarī neglects the story in his history. As historical material, the "occasions of revelation" are in a similar position to the anecdotes just considered; they are possibly true, but each must be examined separately. An example may be given from Ṭabarī where the alleged "occasion" has to be rejected.[28] In a passage where he speaks in his own person, he states that Muḥammad received permission for himself and the Muslims to fight the pagans by the revelation of the verse: "Fight them until there is no more *fitnah* (persecution), and the religion is God's alone" (Qur'ān 8:39). This appears to have been just before the Muslims from al-Madīnah took the Pledge of War at the pilgrimage of 622 A.D. The dating of passages of the Qur'ān is notoriously difficult, but this verse occurs in a group of verses which were almost certainly revealed after the battle of Badr.[29] This means that the Pledge of War and the impending hijrah cannot have been the "occasion" for its revelation.

Ibn Isḥāq quotes many verses from the Qur'ān in respect of important events like the battles of Badr and Uḥud, also paraphrasing and otherwise expanding them; but Ṭabarī is sparing in such quotations, and indeed there are hardly any which are relevant to the period before the hijrah, apart from some which speak of the character of Muḥammad's prophethood, which is not really a matter for a history such as the present. Any use of the Qur'ān for historical purposes necessarily presupposes the chronological framework of events, so that verses with a clear historical refer-

28. I:1227; See also 1225, where the emphasis is on *fitnah*.

29. The almost identical verse 2:193 seems to have been revealed shortly before the conquest of Mecca.

ence can be fitted into that. Most of the information to be derived from the Qur'ān concerns not the outward shape of events but the attitudes of the participants. Apart from this, however, much can be learnt from the Qur'ān about various aspects of the background of the events described by the historians.[30]

Not much need be said about a fourth type of material, the poetry. There has been much discussion, from the days of Ibn Hishām down to modern times, of the authenticity of the poetry quoted by Ibn Isḥāq and Ṭabarī.[31] A proportion of the poetry would seem to be by the persons to whom it is attributed, but by no means all. The poetry, like the Qur'ān, does not tell us much about the outward events, but it gives some insight into people's feelings and attitudes, including the attitudes of a tribe or clan toward its rivals. Even when poems are not by the authors to whom they are ascribed, the information they give about attitudes may still be accurate.

This review of the types of material used by historians like Ibn Isḥāq and Ṭabarī points to the conclusion that their presentation of the career of Muḥammad and the early history of the Islamic state is largely sound. The historians are, of course, subject to various limitations imposed by the general intellectual outlook of their time, as well as by personal idiosyncrasies, and for these, allowance must be made. To suggest, however, that the whole corpus of material found in the historians was invented several generations after the events is ludicrous when one becomes aware of the vastness of this corpus. Thus besides the biographical notices of the more important Companions of Muḥammad found in Ibn Sa'd, there are later biographical dictionaries of Companions by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) and al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) which contain something like 10,000 names with longer or shorter biographical notices. Naturally in all this plethora of material there are differences and discrepancies, but it is amazing how much of it fits together in an interlocking whole. The problem facing scholars today is how to use all this material critically and creatively so

30. Some of this background information has been collected in Watt, *The Meccan Prophet in the Qur'ān*, Edinburgh 1987.

31. See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, Introduction, xxv-xxx; W. Arafat, "Early Critics of the Authenticity of the Poetry of the Sīra," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xxi (1958):453-63.

as to gain an understanding of the beginnings of Islam which will be relevant to the needs of Muslims in the twenty-first century

Comment on the Events

The present volume of the translation of al-Ṭabarī's history is the first of four dealing with the life of Muḥammad. In this volume al-Ṭabarī first describes the ancestors of Muḥammad, and then the main events in his life until his Hijrah or emigration to Medina in 622. The following comments deal with the chief points and issues involved.

Genealogy

The first section of this volume (pp.1073–1123 of the Leiden text) deals with the ancestry of Muḥammad. Where Ibn Isḥāq deals with the individual men more or less in chronological order, Ṭabarī reverses this and works backwards from Muḥammad's father to his grandfather, then to his great-grandfather and so on.[32]

Genealogy played an important part in the cultural tradition of the Arabs. It was the basic structure which was then clothed with stories and memories, or, to vary the metaphor, it was the skeleton for which particular events and incidents provided the flesh. Thus, for the Arabs of the period round about 600 A.D., genealogy was the heart of their traditional lore. Every individual wanted to be sure that the tribe of which he was a member was an honorable one, and its honor was bound up with the great names in its past. Maintaining the honor of the tribe was a deep spring of action among the Arabs of the desert.

Abū Bakr, Muḥammad's chief lieutenant, was an expert genealogist, and this probably meant that he also had a thorough knowledge of the internal politics of the various tribes. Genealogy continued to be studied by the early Muslim scholars, and they collected material from all available sources. What had been oral tradition was set down in writing. The matter was naturally complicated, since groups often made conflicting claims about their ancestry. By about the year 800, largely due to the work of Ibn al-Kalbī, the genealogical system had been established in a way

32. See the table on p. xiv above.

that satisfied most people. On points of detail, of course, there were still many disagreements and uncertainties. Western scholars of the late nineteenth century were inclined to think that some parts of this genealogical system had been manipulated in order to justify alliances between tribes which developed in parts of the Umayyad empire during the first Islamic century. There may be some truth in this at one or two points, but scholarly opinion now tends to think that the standard system is, broadly speaking, a true reflection of genealogical facts.

According to this system, the existing Arab tribes are descended from two distinct ancestors, ʿAdnān and Qaḥṭān. The descendants of ʿAdnān are spoken of as northern Arabs, and those of Qaḥṭān as southern Arabs or Yemenites.[33] The southern Arabs had at one time lived as a settled population in the Yemen, but as the result of a great disaster they had had to give up settled life and had taken to the desert; many had moved northwards.[34] In Arabian tradition the disaster is spoken of as the breaking of the dam of Ma'rib, and is mentioned in the Qur'ān (34:16). Remains of the great dam are still extant, and inscriptions have been found recording breakings in the middle of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. It is now thought, however, that the breaking of the dam, which really means a breakdown of the irrigation system, was not the cause but rather the effect of a general decline of the civilization of South Arabia owing to economic and social factors.[35]

With Arab interest in genealogy being strong, it was natural that attempts should be made to link the traditional Arab system with the genealogies in the Bible, especially since the Qur'ān had associated Abraham and Ishmael with Mecca. The Biblical genealogies are found as follows: *Genesis* 5, Adam to Noah; *Genesis* 10:1-11:26, descendants of Noah; *Genesis* 25:12-16, descendants of Ishmael; 1 *Chronicles* 1:1-31, Adam to the sons of Ishmael. The Muslim scholars held ʿAdnān to be a descendant of Ishmael either through his son Nābit (Nebaioth) or through his son Qaydhar (Kedar). Qaḥṭān is sometimes held to be descended from Ishmael, but is usually identified with Joktan son of Eber and Noah's

33. The best short account is in *EI*, s.v. 'Arab (Djazīrat al-), sect. vi.
34. There is a reference to this on p. 1132 (Leiden); see also n. 68 to the text.
35. Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London 1960, p. 64f.

great-great-great-grandson.[36] At some points Ṭabarī admits that these genealogies have been taken from "the people of the first Book," but most Muslim scholars disliked admitting borrowings from Jews and Christians and omitted any mention of the ultimate source. The Hebrew names are mostly recognizable in Arabic despite the fact that they may not have been taken directly from Hebrew but through either Syriac or Greek.

The early history of Mecca

In the course of his description of Muḥammad's ancestors, Ṭabarī gives some stories and other material relevant to the early history of Mecca. It is not known when the Ka'bah was first regarded as sacred. The earliest statement with even a modicum of historical value is that the tribe of Jurhum exercised some sort of control over the Ka'bah, presumably benefiting in some way from the visits of pilgrims. Jurhum probably had no houses but lived in tents, and were not necessarily at Mecca throughout the year. The statement (on p. 1131) that Ishmael married a woman of Jurhum seems to be no more than an attempt to fill the gap between Ishmael and Jurhum. Ṭabarī tells (1132) how the control of the Ka'bah passed from Jurhum to Khuzā'ah after the latter had come from the Yemen; and this suggests a date in the fifth or sixth century A.D., and it seems unlikely that Jurhum would have been in control for more than a century of two. Ishmael, on the other hand, is now dated by scholars at about 1800 B.C., so that the gap between him and Jurhum is considerable. Muslim scholars thought that Jurhum had completely disappeared, but there are one or two traces of it in the early Islamic period.

In his account of Quṣayy (1092–99) Ṭabarī tells how Khuzā'ah in their turn were deprived of control of the Ka'bah by Quṣayy and his allies. This was the real founding of the town of Mecca, since Quṣayy brought his supporters and settled them in the area round the Ka'bah, presumably in permanent dwellings. In the "valley" or torrent-bed *(baṭḥā')* immediately round the Ka'bah, he gave land to the more important groups of supporters, and these became known as Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ, while less important groups, Quraysh al-Ẓawāhir, were at a greater distance. These supporting

36. *Genesis* 10:25-30; *I Chronicles* 1:19-23.

groups were probably related to Quṣayy, but possibly not so precisely as the standard genealogy suggests (of which an abbreviated version is given below).

Though the name Quraysh is sometimes given to an ancestor, either Fihr or al-Naḍr, in its origin it seems to have been a nickname which was given to the supporters of Quṣayy as a whole, perhaps meaning "the little collection," though other meanings were suggested by later scholars (as the text shows). Associated with control of the Ka'bah were various offices or privileges, doubtless intended to ensure that things went smoothly during the time of pilgrimage. Among the offices mentioned in Ṭabarī's material were: the *siqāyah* or ensuring of a water supply, especially for the pilgrims; the *rifādah* or seeing that there was food for the pilgrims; the *liwā'*, which was either carrying the standard in battle or arranging for this; and the *nasī'* or arranging when a month was to be intercalated.[37]

The existence of the sanctuary and the habit of pilgrimage gave Mecca some advantages for commerce. In the later sixth century, possibly because of the warfare between the Byzantine and Persian empires, the merchants of Mecca seem to have gained something like monopoly control over the trade between South Arabia (and the Indian Ocean?) and the Mediterranean coast, and they had become very prosperous. There were two or three rival goups, but commercial interests made them work together. Though most Meccans shared in the prosperity, some fared very much better than others, and there was growing social malaise as the wealthy came to disregard aspects of traditional morality. Islam may be said to have developed as an answer to the problems resulting from Meccan commercial prosperity.

Events up to Muhammad's call (1123–39)

The story of Muḥammad's encounter with the Christian monk Baḥīrā, like some of the other stories about Muḥammad in this volume, is to be regarded as primarily a way of reassuring people that Muḥammad was really a prophet. After the Arabs had conquered Syria, Egypt, and Iraq, they were in contact with Christians who used various arguments to show that Muḥammad was not

37. See n. 71 to the text.

The Clans of Quraysh.
(Names in capitals are those of groups commonly spoken of as clans.)

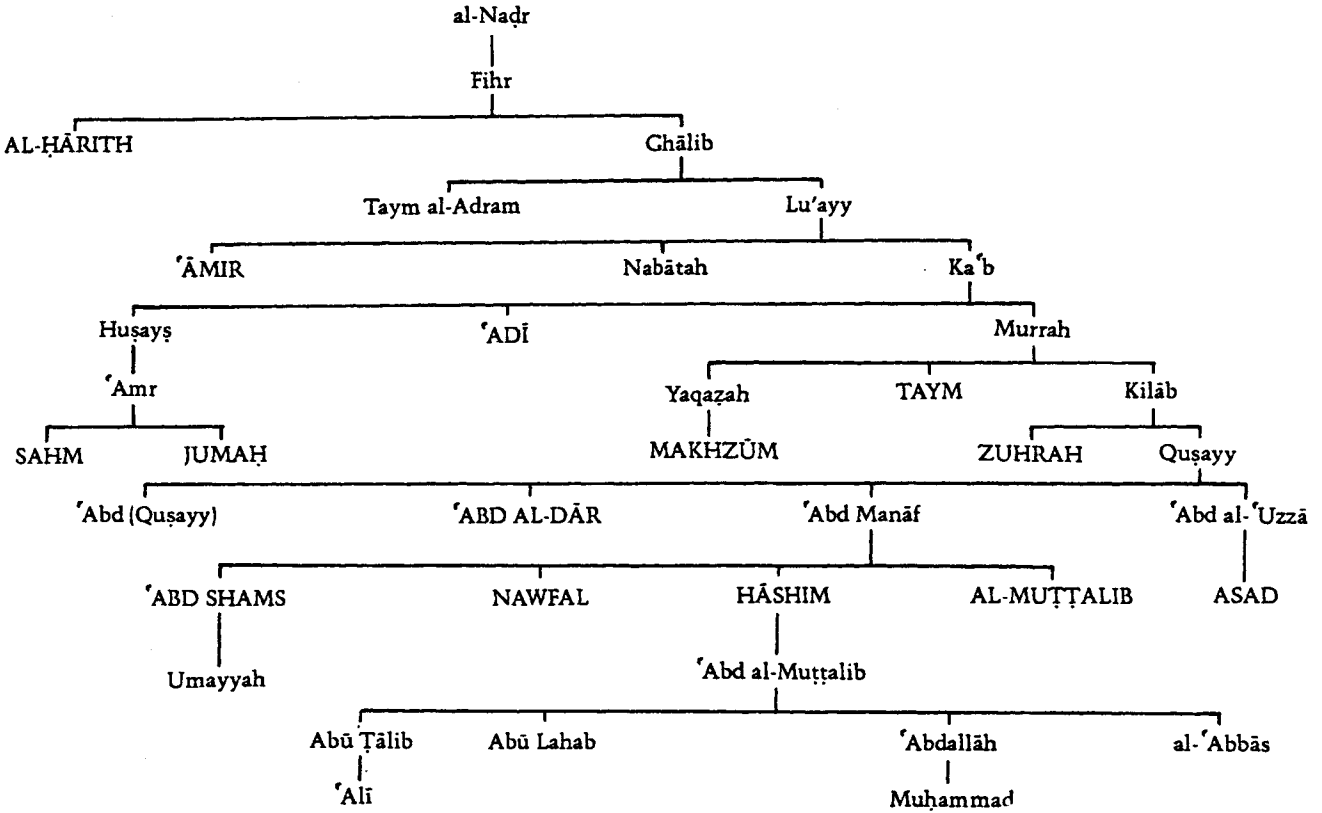

a prophet; for example, that he had performed no miracles, and that his coming had not been foretold. It is almost certain that Muḥammad travelled more than once with Abū Ṭālib and others to Gaza and Damascus, and he may well have had some contacts with Christian monks; but the details of the story must be treated as hagiography.

Muḥammad's marriage to Khadījah was a turning point in his career. The system of inheritance customary among the Arabs at this time allowed only mature persons to inherit, and thus Muḥammad received nothing from either his father or his grandfather. This meant that he was unable to engage in trading on his own account as most of his relatives did. It is not known what social arrangements made it possible for Khadījah to be a merchant in her own right, though at least one other woman merchant is mentioned in the sources. After the marriage Muḥammad continued to trade with Khadījah's capital, though presumably now as her partner rather than as her agent. We are told that he had as a business associate al-Sā'ib b. Abī al-Sā'ib of the clan of Makhzūm, a nephew of Khadījah's second husband. These arrangements made it possible for Muḥammad to make some use of his administrative skills, but Khadījah seems to have been only moderately wealthy and Muḥammad was probably still excluded from the most lucrative enterprises.

It appears that Khadījah also appreciated the qualities in Muḥammad which made it possible for him to be a prophet; and after some of his earliest prophetic experiences, when he was uncertain what to make of these and anxious about the future, her encouragement and support helped him to overcome his difficulties. She had a cousin, Waraqah b. Nawfal, who is said to have become a Christian, and she may have learnt something about Christianity from him. Waraqah, when talking to Khadījah about Muḥammad, is reported to have identified Muḥammad's experiences with those of Moses in the Bible. It is doubtful whether Waraqah ever spoke to Muḥammad about this, but his ideas may have been conveyed by Khadījah, for in the end Muḥammad was convinced that he was continuing the line of Biblical prophets.

The story of Muḥammad's part in the rebuilding of the Ka'bah is probably intended to show that he was a person of high character before his call to be a prophet. There may be some truth in

the story, in that many of the merchants may have realized that Muḥammad was unusually skilled in handling difficult personal situations.

The call to be prophet

It will be convenient to treat under a single heading all the matters covered in pages 1139–57, since they are closely interconnected, besides being the most important part of the present volume. The historian can hardly avoid asking what light this material throws on the origins of a religion professed by perhaps a seventh of the world's population.

It is necessary first of all to say something about religious attitudes in Mecca at the time, and in particular to call attention to a feature which was ovelooked in my book *Muḥammad at Mecca.* This is the existence in Mecca of a belief in Allah as a "high god, " that is, as one god among many, though in some respects superior to the others.[38] The fact is clearly stated in two passages of the Qur'ān and referred to in several others.

> If you ask them who created the heavens and the earth, and made the sun and moon subservient, they will certainly say, Allāh. . . . And if you ask them who sent down water from heaven and thereby revived the earth after its death, they will certainly say, Allāh. . . . And when they sail on the ship they pray to Allāh as sole object of devotion, but when he has brought them safe to land they "associate" (*yushrikūn)* others with him (29:61–65).
>
> If you ask them who created the heavens and the earth, they will certainly say, Allāh. Say: Do you then consider that what you call upon apart from Allāh, those (female beings), are able, if God wills evil to me, to remove this evil, or, if he wills mercy for me, to hold back this mercy (39:38)?

This last passage is possibly a reference to the belief that the other deities intercede with Allāh on behalf of their worshippers, a belief which is clearly stated in 10:18: "they serve apart from Allāh what neither harms nor benefits them, and they say, These

38. See Watt, "Belief in a 'high god' in pre-Islamic Mecca," *Journal of Semitic Studies,* xvi (1971): 35-40; "The Qur'ān and Belief in a 'High God'," *Der Islam,* lvi (1979): 205-11. See also n. 4 to the text.

are our intercessors (*shufa'ā'*) with Allāh."[39] Once it is admitted that there was this belief in Allāh as a "high god," it will be found that there are many other passages of the Qur'ān, descriptive of pagans, in which it may be implicit.

While it is clear that such beliefs were widespread among Muḥammad's contemporaries, it is impossible to know what proportion of the people held them. Similar beliefs are known to have been held throughout the Semitic Near East during the Graeco-Roman period.[40] Something of the kind is also to be found in the Bible, for according to recent interpreters, *Psalm* 16:2f. runs as follows:

> To Yahweh you say, "My Lord, you are my fortune, nothing else but you," yet to these pagan deities in the land, "My princes, all my pleasure is in you."[41]

Muḥammad must have been aware of this belief in Allāh as a "high god" even if he did not fully share in it. There is no way of discovering how much he knew about Judaism and Christianity before his revelations began. He presumably knew all that was commonly known in Mecca, and he may have discussed religious matters with Christians on his visits to Syria. Khadījah, too, may have known something about Christianity through her cousin Waraqah who is said to have been a Christian. The word Allāh, however, was presumably used by Jews and Christians when speaking about God in Arabic; and this must have made it difficult for serious-minded people in Mecca to understand how Allāh as worshipped by Jews and Christians differed from Allāh as worshipped by their pagan contemporaries.

Relevant to this matter is a significant point which does not seem to have been noticed by Western scholars, namely, that the word Allāh does not occur in the earliest passages of the Qur'ān, or does so only rarely. The relative dating of the Qur'ān is, of course, a notoriously difficult matter about which Western scholars are not agreed, while few Muslims accept the Western approach to chronology. The absence of the word Allāh in early sūrahs can be

39. See also 36:23 and 43:86.
40. See J. Teixidor, *The Pagan God: Popular Religion in the Greco-Roman Near East*, Princeton 1977.
41. Jerusalem Bible.

illustrated from the latest attempt to place the sūrahs in chronological order, that of Régis Blachère in his French translation.[42] In what he reckons to be the first seventeen sūrahs, the word Allāh occurs only three times, namely, in his seventh (91:13), his tenth (95:8) and his sixteenth (87:7); and of these, he considers the verses 91:13 and 87:7 to be later than the rest of the sūrah. Instead of Allāh, one finds "your Lord" (rabbuka) as in 96:1,3 or "we" as in 94:14. The word Allāh occurs, of course, in the invocation at the beginning of each sūrah, but this would be added later.

The story of the "satanic verses" (1192–96) shows the persistence of some confusion between Allāh conceived monotheistically and Allāh as "high god." The truth of the story cannot be doubted, since it is inconceivable that any Muslim would invent such a story, and it is inconceivable that a Muslim scholar would accept such a story from a non-Muslim. It also appears to be vouched for by a verse from the Qur'ān (22:52). Many Muslims reject the story as unworthy of Muḥammad, but there is nothing unworthy of him in holding that his knowledge and understanding of "his Lord" developed during the early years of his prophethood as the revelations multiplied.

The core of the story is that one day Muḥammad received a revelation (as he supposed) in which three goddesses were mentioned and permission was given to use them as intercessors. He communicated this to the leading men of Quraysh, and they all joined with him in Islamic worship. Later he realized that the verses permitting intercession were not from God but must have been put into his mind by Satan. When the change was communicated to Quraysh, their opposition became even fiercer. Some versions state that the realization of the falsity of the supposed revelation came to Muḥammad on the evening of the same day, but this is unlikely if one accepts the further story about some Emigrants returning from Abyssinia. There would thus appear to have been an interval between the "revelation" of the verses and their cancellation.

The point to be emphasized here is that Muḥammad did not immediately appreciate that there was a contradiction between this permission for intercession and a genuine monotheism. This does

42. First edition, Paris 1949.

not necessarily mean that he accepted the idea of the believers in Allāh as "high god" that there were other deities which could intercede with him Some of those who heard the verses might certainly have understood them in this way, but Muḥammad himself probably thought of the three goddesses as angels. It is to be noted that verse 26 of the same sūrah speaks of the possibility of intercession by angels: "How many angels there are in the heavens whose intercession is of no avail save after God gives leave to those whom he chooses and accepts!" The full story of the rejection of the "satanic verses" will never be known. What is certain is that a fresh revelation cancelled them and replaced them by others. It is from this time, too, that the revelations emphasize that "there is no deity but God" and that he must be the sole object of worship.[43] Even the possibility that the goddesses might be angels is rejected: "they are but names which you have named, you and your fathers" (53:23). Thus, in the end, the Qur'ān decisively rejected the belief in Allāh as "high god," but it is part of the background against which the accounts of Muḥammad's call must be considered.

There is much to be said for accepting the statement of 'Ā'ishah that first beginning of revelation for the Messenger of God was true vision (*al-ru'yā al-sādiqah*); it used to come upon him like the dawn".[44] It seems very probable that this refers to the two visions described in Sūrah 53:1–8:

By the Star when it sets,
your comrade neither errs nor is deceived,
nor does he speak from (his own) fancy.
It is naught but a revelation revealed,
which one of mighty powers taught him,
a vigorous one; he grew clear to view
while being on the uppermost horizon.
Then he drew near and came down
till he was (distant) two bows' length or nearer
and revealed to his slave what he revealed.
The heart lied not (in seeing) what it saw.

43. Emphasis on the unicity of God is not found in the early passages of the Qur'ān; see Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 60-85.

44. P. 1147.

Will you dispute with him concerning what he sees?

Indeed he saw him yet another time
by the lote tree of the utmost boundary,
near which is the Garden of Abode,
when the lote tree was strangely shrouded.
The eye turned not aside nor yet was overbold.
He saw one of the greatest signs of his Lord.

In Islamic tradition, the second vision is often identified with the "night journey," of which more will be said later. This is unlikely, however, since the vision of 53:13–18 appears to be very early, whereas the "night journey" is generally held to come late in the Meccan period. The words here translated "reveal" and "revelation" (*awḥā, waḥy*) are those which became the standard terms for these concepts; but in this passage they are used in a more general sense, which could perhaps be rendered by "suggested" or "indicated", and of which there are several examples in the Qur'ān.[45] This means that these visions were not the beginning of the verbal revelations which constitute the Qur'ān. It should also be noted that the word "slave" (*'abd*) in verse 10 implies that the object seen was a divine being and not an angel, since "slave" would be inappropriate in the latter case. When, after the hijrah, it came to be the accepted view that the angel Gabriel was the agent of revelation, he was taken to be the object of the visions; but many of the early commentators allow that it was a vision of God. It may be, however, that Muḥammad thought of him only as "his Lord" and not as Allāh.

The text of Ṭabarī (1245–50) shows that there were two strong bodies of opinion about Muḥammad's age when he was called to be a prophet, one maintaining that he was forty, the other that he was forty-three. It would seem probable that there is some truth underlying both views, and that they refer to two stages in his becoming aware of himself as a prophet. The problem then becomes how to distinguish between the full prophethood from the age of forty-three onwards and what happened in the previous three years. There are two main possibilities. One is that the revelation of the Qur'ān began soon after the visions but that he did not pro-

45. Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 20-23.

claim the revelations publicly until after three years. The other is that during the three years he was not receiving verbal revelations (or at least not until near the end), but that he had some other kind of religious experience. This second possibility may be connected with the statement that during the three years his visitant was the angel Isrāfīl (1248f.). This would mean that during these years Muḥammad was coming to a deeper understanding of religious truth and working out a system of religious practice, such as the details of the formal prayer. The statement that these were demonstrated to him by Gabriel (1156f.) is unlikely to be a description of the original experience, since Gabriel does not seem to have played any part in Muḥammad's thinking until after the hijrah. The statement would be more plausible if Isrāfīl was substituted for Gabriel; but on the whole, it is likely that Isrāfīl was brought in by a later Muslim scholar. Nevertheless, it would be true that Muḥammad must have had religious experiences through which he learnt such matters as the details of the formal prayer, and he may have done so only gradually. Since the details of the prayer are not prescribed in the Qur'ān, they must have come to Muḥammad through some form of nonverbal inspirational experience. This tends to support the second of the two possibilities, namely, that for most of the three-year period Muḥammad was not receiving Qur'ānic revelations but was having experiences of another kind.

There is not much of clear historical value in the remaining material about the call to prophethood. The story of the revelation by Gabriel of the first part of Sūrah 96 cannot be accepted as it stands, since there are strong grounds for holding that it was only after the hijrah that Muḥammad came to think of Gabriel as the agent of revelation. The receiving of passages of the Qur'ān does not seem to have been accompanied by any visual experience, and so it is possible that Muḥammad thought that it was "his Lord" himself who was putting the Qur'ān into his heart. Interpreted in this way, the story may be essentially true, at least in those versions in which the words *mā aqra'u* are taken to mean "what shall I recite?" At some point a Muslim scholar realized that these words could also mean "I do not recite" or "do not read." By this time, in order to counter Christian claims that Muḥammad had taken stories from the Bible, it had become a point of Muslim

apologetic that Muḥammad was unable to read; and so the story of the first revelation was sometimes modified to support this line of apologetic. Such modifications are certainly not original.

Even if the central point of the story is accepted, the question has still to be asked whether the beginning of Sūrah 96 was in fact the first revelation. Some nineteenth-century scholars, like Sir William Muir and Hubert Grimme, thought that several sūrahs had been revealed before this passage. It can also be argued that it would be easy for a later Muslim scholar to think that a sūrah beginning "recite" *(iqra')* *must* have been the beginning of a book called "recitation" (*qur'ān* - the verbal noun from the same root), and then to invent a story to substantiate this. On the other hand, when the core of the story is accepted, it does sound like a new beginning.

The contents of the passage, however, seem to show that it cannot have been the first revealed. The words "your Lord... taught by the pen, taught man what he did not know" are almost certainly a reference to previous scriptures, that is, to the Bible. This is not meant to suggest that Muḥammad had himself read any of the Bible, for it is unlikely that it had been translated into Arabic, and doubtful if anyone in Mecca had a copy of it in any language. The point is that Muḥammad had had two visions and other strange experiences, and sometimes was not sure what to make of them. He needed to be assured by someone with the requisite knowledge that what he had experienced was similar to what had been experienced by the prophets of the Bible. There are many discrepancies in the versions of the story about Waraqah, but the central point is the assurance to Muḥammad that what had come to him was the great Nāmūs which had come to Moses (1151f.). Western scholars have tended to identify the Nāmūs with the Mosaic law because of the resemblance to the Greek *nomos* (law). The identification with Gabriel is impossible for the reason given above, but suggests that Waraqah may have been saying that the "Lord" of Muḥammad's experience was God who had come to Moses. Certainly throughout his prophetic career Muḥammad never doubted that he and the Jews and the Christians were all alike worshippers of God. So, in a sense, it was because of what "his Lord" had taught by the pen to men like Waraqah that Muḥammad was able to have the assurance that he

stood within a great prophetic tradition. This does not prove that there had been verbal revelations to Muḥammad before Sūrah 96, but it makes it not unlikely that there had been some. If this were so, then the *iqra'* of 96:1 could be a command to recite revealed passages as part of the formal prayer, and in this respect would mark a new beginning.

Early in the material from al-Zuhrī on page 1147 there occur the words, "the Truth (that is, God) came to him unexpectedly and said, Muḥammad, you are the Messenger of God", and "he" repeated the words shortly afterwards in Khadījah's chamber. A line or two later the same words are spoken to Muḥammad by Gabriel; and on page 1155, Gabriel comes to him after the "gap" in the revelation and says "you are the Prophet of God." The name of Gabriel cannot be original here, since he belongs to the period after the hijrah. If there is a genuine experience underlying the story, it is to be found in the version which speaks of "the Truth," for this could be identified with Muḥammad's "Lord" and the divine being of the visions.

Further, if through this experience Muḥammad came to some understanding of his vocation, it could not have been by means of the term "Messenger of God" *(rasūl Allāh)*. Apart from the fact that he seems to have been uncertain whether to think of "his Lord" as identical with Allāh, the term *rasūl* would probably not have had much meaning for him at this period. He certainly came to believe that he had a divinely given vocation, but he would have thought of it in other terms. In the earliest passages of the Qur'ān, he is told to warn or to admonish, and is then spoken of as a "warner" *(nadhīr)* or "admonisher" *(mudhakkir)*.[46]

Some Muslim scholars held that the first passage of the Qur'ān to be revealed was the beginning of Sūrah 74: "O you enveloped in a cloak, Rise and warn." Others held that this was not the first of all revelations but was the one marking the beginning of public preaching. The words "rise and warn" certainly imply communicating the message to people in general; but then they could not be the first of all revelations unless there were none for communication only to believers.

The idea that Muḥammad thought of committing suicide must

46. E.g., 74:2 and 87:9 (commands). See also *Muhammad at Mecca*, 71f.

have come originally from himself, though it may not have been so definite as it appears to be in the stories, but was perhaps rather a mood of dejection and despair. Sūrah 93 *(al-Ḍuḥā)* gives encouragement to Muḥammad to rise above such a mood. The reason for such depression could be perplexity at the strange experiences through which he was passing and uncertainty whether to accept them at their face value. After Muḥammad had received a number of revelations, there was a period known as the "gap" *(fatrah)* when none came to him; and this also he found worrying. It should be remembered, too, that there was a widespread feeling among Semitic peoples that the near approach of the divine could have disastrous consequences for the individual, and so was to be feared. To be covered with a cloak seems to have been regarded as offering some protection against the danger. This is the most likely explanation of the description of Muḥammad as "enveloped or enwrapped in a cloak" in the opening verses of Sūrahs 73 and 74. The words *muzzammil* and *muddaththir* are similar in meaning as well as in form. It is possible that the stories in which Muḥammad asks to be covered were invented to explain the two words.

Close examination, then, of the material presented by Ṭabarī about Muḥammad's call to be a prophet shows that much of it has little historical value. This should not, however, obscure the fact that most of the main points in the presentation as a whole are almost certainly true. Muḥammad had meditated deeply on the social, moral, and religious problems of Mecca. He had two visions which moved him profoundly and other religious experiences. He became convinced first that God had called him to be a "warner" to his community, then later that he had called him to be not just a prophet, but a prophet in the line of the biblical prophets. He began to receive messages or revelations from God, and these continued to come to him at short intervals. He communicated these to other people, and those who believed them came to form a religious community.

The night journey (1157–59)

Popular Islamic tradition has greatly elaborated and expanded the story of Muḥammad's "night journey" and ascent to heaven *(isrā', mi'rāj)*. There is much more to it than the brief account

given by Ṭabarī. In many versions, Muḥammad is first of all carried from Mecca to Jerusalem. and then from Jerusalem taken up to the seventh heaven. It is claimed that these are fuller descriptions of what is briefly referred to in the Qur'ān (17:1):

> Glorified be he who carried his servant by night from the Inviolable Mosque to the Furthest Mosque, whose neighborhood we have blessed, that we might show him our signs.

This presumably refers to a dream or something similar, and is far from justifying the plethora of material about the "night journey" of Muḥammad.[47]

The first Muslims (1159–69)

The material on the question of who was the first male to become a Muslim is not so much history as political propaganda. For Shī'ites, the assertion that "'Alī was the first male Muslim is an additional mark of his superiority to Abū Bakr and further support for his claim to be the rightful successor of Muḥammad as caliph. 'Alī may well have been the first male to accept Islam and join in the prayer; but he was only ten at that time. The assertion that Abū Bakr was first is doubtless a Sunnite claim that he was best fitted to succeed Muḥammad; though he became Muḥammad's chief lieutenant, he was not necessarily his best friend at the time of his call, and, if not, probably not the first Muslim. The statement that fifty accepted Islam before him but that he was the best Muslim looks like a Sunnite admission that he was not first. Zayd b. Ḥārithah, as a member of Muḥammad's household, may well have been the first adult male.

The opposition to Muḥammad in Mecca (1169–99)

It was probably a year or two after the beginning of Muḥammad's public preaching that he and his followers came to experience serious opposition from the leading merchants of Mecca. Some older Western scholars thought that the reason for the opposition was that the leading merchants considered that Muḥammad's attack on idols would put an end to the sacredness of the Ka'bah and of Mecca generally. This idea is without founda-

47. There is much more material in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah* 263-71; see also *EI(S)*, art. Mi'rādj (Horovitz).

tion. There is no record of Muḥammad doing other than respecting the sacredness of the Ka'bah and of Mecca. Though the Qur'ānic attack on idols would apply to the idol Hubal who was kept in the sacred area round the Ka'bah, the men of Quraysh are called upon (Sūrah 106:3) to worship "the Lord of this House"; and this last phrase implies that for Muslims the Ka'bah is a temple of the one true God, and therefore eminently sacred. Since the three goddesses of the "satanic verses" had each a shrine not far from Mecca, at al-Ṭā'if, Nakhlah, and al-Mushallal, respectively, the cancellation of the verses would mean primarily that worship at these shrines was no longer permitted, but would not affect the status of the Ka'bah. There is nothing here to suggest that the pilgrimage would be adversely affected and trade destroyed.

The reasons for the Meccan opposition are to be sought rather in the main themes found in the earlier passages of the Qur'ān. In *Muhammad at Mecca*, pages 60–85, the passages were carefully examined and the main themes shown to be: God's goodness and power, the return to God for Judgement, the requirement that men should respond by gratitude and worship, and also by being generous with their wealth and "purifying" themselves. The requirement of generosity implied a critique of the merchants' unscrupulous pursuit of profit and their disregard of traditional obligations to kinsmen. The call to men to believe in God, to be grateful to Him, and to worship Him went counter to the firm conviction of the merchants that their own economic and political powers were the ultimate determinant of events. The merchants probably also felt that Muḥammad was threatening their political control of Meccan affairs. He was collecting round him devoted followers, and if this process continued and his followers became a sizeable proportion of the people of Mecca, it would be difficult for the merchant's council to go against rulings given by Muḥammad.

Credence should also be given to the statement in the letter of 'Urwah to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (p.1180) that Quraysh were not wholly averse to Muḥammad "until he mentioned their idols" and that then wealthy Quraysh from al-Ṭā'if took the lead in stirring up opposition to him. The "mention of idols" probably means the cancellation of the "satanic verses"; and it is conceivable that Meccans from al-Ṭā'if led the opposition because the rejection of the shrine of the goddess Allāt there somehow adversely affected

their business interests. The "mention of the idols," however, was doubtless no more than the occasion for the development of oppressive measures, since the worship of the idols probably meant little to the materialistic merchants. The basic reasons for their opposition were the Qur'ānic critique of their attitudes and practices, and the threat to themselves from Muḥammad's increasing power. It was possibly also relevant to the growth of opposition that Muḥammad's followers were largely young men, some of them sons and younger brothers of the leading merchants.

The various ways in which life was made difficult for Muḥammad and the Muslims are illustrated in the pages of Ṭabarī. There was economic pressure on individuals, and finally on the whole clan of Hāshim. There were insulting words and actions. There were repressive measures involving physical coercion. The last happened within the clan or even family, since peace was maintained in Mecca, as elsewhere in Arabia, by the *lex talionis*, (law of retaliation). Each individual was normally "protected" by his clan in the sense that, if he were to be injured, honor would demand that his clan should exact "an eye for an eye," and so on. Muḥammad himself suffered little other than petty annoyances because his uncle Abū Ṭālib, as chief of Hāshim, refused to withdraw clan protection from him despite attempts of the opponents to entice or threaten him into changing his mind — he was not himself a Muslim.

When the level of prosecution became intolerable for some of the Muslims, Muḥammad encouraged them to emigrate to Abyssinia, a country with which Mecca had trading relations. The primary motive was to escape from persecution, but there may also have been secondary motives of various kinds, perhaps even the hope that the Christian emperor (or Negus) might become a Muslim. Two separate emigrations are sometimes spoken of, but this seems to be an unjustified deduction from the fact that Ibn Isḥāq has two separate lists. It is also said that some of the Emigrants came back when they heard that after the "satanic verses" the leading Meccans had joined Muḥammad in the prayer; they did not hear of the cancellation until they were near Mecca, but they then returned to Abyssinia. What seems likely is that there was a succession of small groups rather than two emigrations of large parties. Not all the Muslims in Mecca emigrated. Those who

did nearly all belonged to a specific group of clans, and this was doubtless because these clans were more vigorous in persecuting their own members. Some of the Emigrants returned to Mecca before the hijrah, but others remained in Abyssinia until six years after that event, presumably making a good living as traders.

The culmination of the attempts of the opponents to deprive Muḥammad of the "protection" of his clan was an agreement by most of the clans of Mecca not to trade with the clan of Hāshim (and its associated clan of al-Muṭṭalib) and not to intermarry. This "boycott" is said to have lasted for about three years. It does not seem to have caused undue hardship to Hāshim, possibly because they were not dependent on the boycotting clans for the importing of food. Some of these clans eventually broke the boycott, perhaps feeling that they were losing more from it than they were gaining.

It was probably in the year 619 A.D. that the boycott ended, and shortly afterwards Muḥammad lost by death both his wife Khadījah and the uncle who had protected him, Abū Ṭālib. Abū Ṭālib was succeeded as chief of Hāshim by another uncle Abū Lahab, and the latter soon found an opportunity of depriving Muḥammad of clan protection without loss of face; the reason given is said to have been that Muḥammad had alleged their common ancestor ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib to be in Hell.

The final years at Mecca and the Hijrah (1199–1245)

Soon after these events Muḥammad made a journey to al-Ṭāʾif, doubtless because he had lost, or was about to lose, his "protection" in Mecca. He may have hoped to find some support for his religion there, because al-Ṭāʾif, a trade rival of Mecca, had been forcibly brought under the control of its stronger neighbor. When he reached al-Ṭāʾif, however, he found no one ready to support him and stand up for him, and he suffered badly at the hands of some of the local population. Before he returned to Mecca he had to obtain the "protection" of some man of importance. Two requests were rejected, but the third man he approached, the head of the clan of Nawfal, gave a positive answer, though he probably imposed conditions, such as not preaching, of which we are not informed.

The impossibility of spreading Islam further in Mecca made Muḥammad look for potential followers elsewhere. He ap-

proached some of the nomadic tribes when they were at Mecca for the annual pilgrimage, but found no response. Then, probably in 620, he met half a dozen men from al-Madīnah and was listened to with interest. Unlike Mecca, where there was no agriculture, al-Madīnah was an oasis growing dates and cereals; but for a long period it had been plagued with feuds of increasing intensity between rival clans and groups of clans. Most recently, at the battle of Bu'āth about 617, nearly all the clans of al-Madīnah had been involved on one side or the other. Peace had been restored but it was still fragile, and many people in al-Madīnah were attracted by the prospect of having someone with an authority such as Muḥammad's, who might be able to settle their disputes.

A more representative group of twelve came to the pilgrimage of 621 and took the first pledge of al-'Aqabah, which was tantamount to accepting Islam. Muḥammad sent an agent to al-Madīnah with them, ostensibly to teach them Islam, but probably also to gain detailed information about political trends in al-Madīnah and to avoid a repetition of the fiasco at al-Ṭā'if. A year later, at the pilgrimage of 622, over seventy men and one or two women made the second pledge of al-'Aqabah, the pledge of war, by which they not only accepted Islam but also undertook to "protect" Muḥammad in al-Madīnah as they would one of their nearest kinsmen.

This pledge made it possible for Muḥammad and the community of Muslims to "emigrate" to al-Madīnah. Muḥammad encouraged those who wanted to go to make the journey in small groups. After about two months, over seventy men with their wives and families had reached al-Madīnah. Some Muslims chose to remain in Mecca, but it is difficult to know how many. The leading opponents apparently had some awareness of what was happening, and realized that it could create problems for themselves, though, despite some of their alleged remarks, they could hardly have anticipated the precise nature of their problems. There may well have been a plot to kill Muḥammad of the kind described by Ṭabarī.

So long as he remained in Mecca Muḥammad was presumably still under the "protection" of the clan of Nawfal. On leaving Mecca, however, he would have no "protection" until he reached al-Madīnah. This was the reason for the secrecy of his departure,

for his hiding in the cave, and then following an unusual route to al-Madīnah. His precautions were effective, and he reached al-Madīnah safely on 24 September 622.

Questions of chronology (1245–56)

The various statements about the length of Muḥammad's prophetic career in Mecca support the view adopted above that there were two points, about three years apart, at each of which an important step forward was taken. The second was almost certainly the beginning of the public proclamation of the message. The first is not so clear, but was probably not the beginning of verbal revelation, that is, of the Qur'ān. If, as some of the sources seem to indicate, the period of public preaching at Mecca was ten years, then it must have begun about 612, and the earlier stage about 609; but these dates are admittedly only approximate.

The establishment of the Islamic era was almost certainly the work of the caliph 'Umar (634–44). The matter could hardly have been of concern to Muḥammad while the Islamic polity was still at the embryonic stage. The distinctive character of the Islamic year, of course, was fixed shortly before Muḥammad's death by the Qur'ānic rejection of intercalation.[48] The choice of the hijrah for the beginning of the Islamic era was doubtless made because it was the effective beginning of the Islamic state, and for the practical reason that there was little chronological material before the hijrah and a large amount afterwards.

The Islamic era was fixed to begin with the first month of the Arab year during which Muḥammad made the hijrah, and it was decided, by working backwards, that Muḥarram 1, A.H. 1 was equivalent to July 16, A.D. 622 This was based, however, on the assumption that no intercalary months were observed after the hijrah, though it is unlikely that this was so. This may explain why the sources say that Muḥammad arrived in al-Madīnah on a Monday, whereas according to the standard calendar the day was a Friday.

W. Montgomery Watt

48. Qur'ān 9:36f. See also n. 74 to the text.

The Lineage of the Messenger of God [1073]

'Abdallāh (His Father)

The name of the Messenger of God was Muḥammad, and he was the son of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. 'Abdallāh, the father of the Messenger of God, was his father's youngest son. 'Abdallāh, al-Zubayr, and 'Abd Manāf, who is Abū Ṭālib, were sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib by the same mother, Fāṭimah bt. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm. This information was given to us by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Ibn Ishāq.

Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father: 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the father of the Messenger of God, Abū Ṭālib, whose name was 'Abd Manāf, al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Ka'bah, 'Ātikah, Barrah and Umaymah, the children of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, were full brothers and sisters, their mother being Fāṭimah bt. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓah.

Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Ibn Wahb—Yūnus b. Yazīd—Ibn Shihāb—Qubayṣah b. Dhu' ayb: A woman had sworn to sacrifice her son at the Ka'bah if she achieved a certain matter; she did (in fact) achieve it and then she came to al-Madīnah to seek a legal opinion on her oath.[1] She went to 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, who said, "I do not know that God has given any command concerning oaths other other than that one should be faithful to them." "Am I to sacrifice

1. This incident probably occurred a few years after A.D. 661 when the seat of the caliphate had been moved to Damascus. Among the religious authorities remaining in al-Madinah were 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, son of the caliph 'Umar, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, son of Muḥammad's uncle al-'Abbās.

my son, then?" she asked. ʿAbdallāh replied, "God has forbidden you to kill one another," and said no more to her than that. Then she went to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās and asked his opinion. He replied, "God has commanded you to be faithful to your oaths and has for-
[1074] bidden you to kill one another. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim vowed that if ten of his sons grew to manhood he would sacrifice one of them. He cast lots among them, and the lot fell on ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, whom he loved more than any other. Then he said, 'O God, shall I sacrifice him or a hundred camels?' He cast lots between him and the camels, and the lot fell on the hundred camels." Then Ibn ʿAbbās said to the woman, "My opinion is that you should sacrifice a hundred camels in place of your son."

Finally the matter came to the attention of Marwān,[2] who was governor of al-Madīnah at that time, and he said, "I do not think that either Ibn ʿUmar or Ibn ʿAbbās has given a correct opinion; no vow which contravenes God's commands can be binding. Ask God's forgiveness, repent, give alms, and perform such charitable actions as you are able. As for sacrificing your son, God has forbidden you to do that." The people were delighted and lost in admiration at this verdict, and concluded that Marwān's opinion was the correct one; from that time on they adopted the opinion that no vow which contravenes God's commands can be binding.

Ibn Isḥāq gives a fuller account of this matter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's vow than one given above.[3] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim, so it is said—and God knows best—had vowed, when Quraysh made difficulties for him about the digging of Zamzam, that if ten sons were born to him and reached maturity so that they could protect him, he would sacrifice one of them to God at the Kaʿbah.[4] When he had ten sons grown to maturity and he knew that they

2. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, of the clan of Umayyah, became Caliph in 684 and died in 685. The story puts the Umayyads in a favorable light.

3. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 97-101.

4. The name Allāh has throughout been translated as "God." It should be kept in mind, however, that in the pre-Islamic period it does not necessarily mean "God" in a monotheistic sense. It is known from the Qur'ān (29:61-5; 39:38; etc.) that many pre-Islamic Arabs believed in Allāh as a high or supreme god superior to the other gods whom they also recognized. See: Watt, "Belief in a 'high god' in pre-Islamic Mecca," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, xvi (1971):35-40; "The Qurān and Belief in a 'High God,'" *Der Islam*, lvi (1979),: 205-11. This explains how it was possible for ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib to stand beside Hubal while praying to Allāh, as

would protect him, he brought them together, told them of his vow, and called on them to keep faith with God in this matter. They expressed their obedience, and asked what they should do. [1075] He replied, "Let every one of you take an arrow, write his name on it, and bring it to me." They did this, and he went into the presence of Hubal in the interior of the Ka'bah. Hubal was the greatest of the idols of Quraysh in Mecca, and stood by a well inside the Ka'bah in which were gathered the offerings made to the Ka'bah.

Beside Hubal there were seven arrows, on each of which there was writing. On one was written, "the blood money"; when a dispute arose as to which of them was responsible for paying blood money, they cast lots with the seven arrows to settle the matter. On another arrow was written "yes"; when they were considering some course of action, they cast lots, and if the "yes" arrow came out they acted on it. Another arrow had "no," and if that came out they did not proceed with their course of action. On the other arrows was written "of you", "attached",[5] "not of you," and "Water." When they wanted to dig for water they cast lots with the arrows, including this last one, and wherever it fell they started digging. Whenever they wanted to circumcise a boy, arrange a marriage, or bury someone who had died, or when they were in doubt as to the descent of one of them, they took him to Hubal together with a hundred dirhams and a slaughtering-camel which they would give to the custodian who used to cast lots with the arrows. Then they would bring forward the person about whom they wished to consult the oracle and would say, "O god of ours, this is so-and-so the son of so-and-so, about whom we wish to know such-and-such; so reveal the truth concerning him." Then they would say to the custodian of the arrows, "Cast!" The latter would cast them, and if "of you" fell to the person in question, that meant that he was a fellow tribesman; if it was "not of you," he was a confederate; and if it was "attached," he remained as he was, linked to them neither by descent nor alliance. In matters [1076] other than these, when "yes" came out they acted accordingly, and when "no" came out they deferred the matter until the following year, when they brought it up again. This recourse to the

described below.

5. Ar. *mulṣaq*; according to Ibn Manẓūr this means one who lives among a tribe but is not of them. See *Lisān* s.v. L-S-Q.

way the arrows fell was their ultimate method of deciding their affairs.

Accordingly, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib said to the custodian of the arrows, "Cast my sons' arrows to determine their fate," and told him of the vow which he had made. Each of them gave the custodian his arrow with name written on it. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was his father's youngest son and, it is claimed, the one he loved most, and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib thought that if the arrow missed (this son) he himself would be able to endure the outcome. ʿAbdallāh was the father of the Messenger of God. When the custodian of the arrows took the arrows to cast them, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib stood beside Hubal in the interior of the Kaʿbah, calling upon God. The custodian of the arrows cast, and the lot fell against ʿAbdallāh. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took him by the hand, took a large knife, and went up to Isāf and Nāʿilah, two idols of Quraysh at which they used to slaughter their sacrifices, to sacrifice him. However, the Quraysh rose from their assemblies and came to him, saying, "What do you intend to do, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib?" He replied "To sacrifice him," but the Quraysh and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's other sons said, "By God! You shall never sacrifice him but must get an excuse for not doing so. If you act thus men will never stop bringing their sons to sacrifice them, and how will the people survive in this way?" Then al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm, from whose tribe ʿAbdallāh's mother was, said, "By God! You shall never sacrifice him, but must get an excuse for not doing so. If it takes all we possess to ransom him, we shall do so."

The Quraysh and the other sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib then said, "Do not do this, but take him to the Ḥijāz. There is a sorceress there who has a familiar spirit; ask her, and you will know what
[1077] to do. If she commands you to sacrifice him, you will sacrifice him, and if she commands you to do something which offers relief to you and to him, you can accept it." They went to al-Madīnah where, it is claimed, they found that she was in Khaybar. They rode until they reached her and consulted her. ʿAbd Al-Muṭṭalib told her the story about himself and his son, what he had intended to do to him, and the vow which he had made, and she said to them, "Retire from me for today, until my familiar visits me and I can ask him."

They retired from her, and when they had left her presence

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib stood and prayed to God. On the following day they went back to her and she said, "Yes, news has come to me. How much is the blood-money among you?" They replied, "Ten camels," which it was. "Go back to your country, then," she said, "and bring forward the young man and ten camels, and cast the arrows. If they fall against the young man, add to the camels until your Lord is satisfied. If they fall against the camels, sacrifice them, and your Lord will be satisfied and the young man will be saved."

They left and returned to Mecca, and when they had all agreed on the matter, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib stood and prayed to God. Then they brought forward ʿAbdallāh and ten camels, while ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was in the interior of the Kaʿbah beside Hubal praying to God. The arrow fell against ʿAbdallāh, so they added ten camels, making twenty, while ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib stood where he was praying to God. Then they cast again, and the arrow fell against ʿAbdallāh, so they added another ten camels, making thirty. They went on in this way, casting the arrows and adding ten camels every time the arrow fell against him, until they had cast ten times and the number of camels had reached a hundred, while ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib continued to pray. Then they cast again, and the arrows fell against the camels. Then the Quraysh and those others present said, "Your Lord is satisfied at last, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib." They claim that he said, "No, by God, not until I cast the arrows against them [1078] three times." So they cast the arrows between the camels and ʿAbdallāh while ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib prayed, and they fell against the camels; then they did it again, a second and a third time, with the same result. Then the camels were slaughtered and left there, and no man or wild beast was turned back from eating them.

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib left, taking his son ʿAbdallāh by the hand. It is alleged that he passed by a woman of the Banū Asad called Umm Qattāl bt. Nawfal b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, the sister of Waraqah b. Nawfal b. Asad; she was by the Kaʿbah. When she looked at his face she said, "Where are you going, ʿAbdallāh?" "With my father," he said. She said, "I have for you as many camels as were slaughtered for you, so sleep with me now." "My father is with me," he replied, "and I cannot oppose his wishes or leave him." ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took him away and brought him to Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhrah, who was the leading man of the Banū Zuhrah

in age and eminence at that time, and the latter married him to (his daughter) Āminah bt. Wahb, who was then the most excellent woman in Quraysh as regards genealogy and status. Her mother was Barrah bt. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Dār b. Qusayy, Barrah's mother was Umm Ḥabīb bt. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Qusayy, and Umm Ḥabīb's mother was Barrah bt. ʿAwf b. ʿAbīd b. ʿAwīj b. ʿAdī b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy.

It is alleged that he consummated his marriage to her there as soon as he married her, that he lay with her and that she conceived Muḥammad; then he left her presence and came to the woman who had propositioned him, and said to her, "Why do you not [1079] make the same proposition to me today which you made to me yesterday?" She replied, "The light which was with you yesterday has left you, and I have no need of you today." She had heard (about this) from her brother Waraqah b. Nawfal, who was a Christian and had studied the scriptures; he had discovered that a prophet from the descendants of Ismāʿīl was to be (sent) to this people; this had been one of the purposes of his study.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muhammad b. Isḥāq—his father, Isḥāq b. Yasār: ʿAbdallāh paid a visit to a wife whom he had in addition to Āminah bt. Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhrah. He had been working in clay[6] and traces of the clay were still on him, and when he invited her to lie with him she made him wait because of this. He went out, performed his ablutions, washed off the clay which was on him, and went to Āminah's quarters. He went in and lay with her, and she conceived Muḥammad. Then he passed by this other woman and said, "Do you wish to lie with me?" "No," she replied. "When you passed by me before you had a white blaze between your eyes. You invited me to lie with you and I refused, so you went to Āminah and she has taken it away."

They allege that this wife of his used to relate that when he passed by her he had between his eyes something like the white blaze on a horse's forehead, that she invited him in the hope that he would lie with her, but that he refused and went in to Āminah bt. Wahb and lay with her, as a result of which she conceived the Messenger of God.

6. R.B. Serjeant in his comments on Alfred Guillaume's translation of the *Sīrah* (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xxi[1958]:1-14 says this means a cultivated plot or field. There was, however, little cultivable land near Mecca.

ʿAlī b. Ḥarb al-Mawṣilī—Muhammad b. ʿUmārah al-Qurashī—al-Zanjī b. Khālid—Ibn Jurayj—ʿAtāʾ—Ibn ʿAbbās: When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was taking ʿAbdallāh to marry him to Āminah, they passed by a female soothsayer from the tribe of Khathʿam called Fāṭimah bt. Murr, a convert to Judaism from the people of Tabālah, who had read the scriptures and who saw light in his face. "Young man," she said, "would you like to lie with me now, and I will give you a hundred camels?" He replied,

As for unlawful relations, I would sooner die, [1080]
and as for lawful marriage, there can be none, as
I clearly recognize.
So how can that be which you desire?

Then he said, "I am with my father and I cannot leave him." His father took him and married him to Āminah bt. Wahb b. ʿAbd Manaf b. Zuhrah, and he stayed with her for three days. Then he left her, and when he passed by the Khathʿamī woman he felt a desire to accept the proposition which she had made, and he asked her, "Would you like what you wanted before?" "Young man," she said, "I am not, by God, a woman of questionable morals. I saw light in your face and wished it to be within me, but God willed that He should place it where He wished. What did you do after you left me?" He said, "My father married me to Āminah bt. Wahb and I stayed with her for three days." Then Fāṭimah bt. Murr recited the following verses:

I saw a sign which shone
and gleamed in the black rainclouds.
I comprehended it as light which illuminated
what was around it like the full moon.
I hoped to have it as a source of pride which
I might take back with me,
but not everyone who strikes a flint produces fire.
By God, no other Zuhrī woman has plundered
your person of that which Āminah has, and yet
she is unaware of it.

She also said:

Banū Hāshim, Āminah has left (bearing something) [1081]

from your brother,
while there is a dispute over marriage,
Just as wicks leave the lamp behind when it goes out,
having absorbed its oil.
Not all the fortune which the young man inherits
comes from resolve, nor does that which escapes
him come from remissness.
So if you desire something behave with restraint,
for two grandfathers combined will ensure it for you.
Either a hand with fingers clenched
or else a hand with fingers outstretched will ensure
it for you.
When Āminah conceived that which she conceived
from him, she conceived an incomparable glory.

Al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ma'mar and others—al-Zuhrī: 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the handsomest of the men of Quraysh. They told Āminah bt. Wahb of his handsomeness and his appearance and asked if she would like to marry him, so she married him. He consummated his marriage to her, and she conceived the Messenger of God. 'Abdallāh's father sent him to al-Madiñah for provisions, where he died. When he was late in returning, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib sent his son al-Ḥārith to look for him, but al-Hārith found that he had died.

Al-Wāqidī: This is an error. In our view the consensus of opinion concerning the marriage of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is that which is related to us by 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Zuhrī—Umm Bakr bt. al-Miswar who said: 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came with his son 'Abdallāh, seeking a wife for himself and one for his son; they were married at the same time. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib married Hālah bt. Uhayb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhrah, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib married Āminah bt. Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhrah.[7]

[1082] Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—al-Wāqidī: In our opinion, the most trustworthy version about which there is no dispute among our fellow scholars, is that 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came from Syria in a caravan belonging to Quraysh, stopped at al-Madīnah owing to ill-

7. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1:58, 3-17; the previous paragraph has not been found in Ibn Sa'd, but the following is in Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1:61.

ness, and remained there until he died. He was buried in the house of al-Nābighah (or, some say, of al-Tābi'ah) in the small room on your left as you enter. There is no dispute about this among our fellow scholars.

'Abd al Muṭṭalib (His Grandfather)

'Abdallāh was the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, whose name was Shaybah. I was told on the authority of Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—that he was given this name because his hair was white, (*shaybah* means white hair).

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq; and Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father; and al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: Some of them narrate a version which overlaps that of others and some of them add to the versions of others: He was known as 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib for the following reason. His father Hāshim had set off for Syria on a commercial expedition taking the Madīnan route, and when he reached al-Madīnah he stayed with 'Amr b. Zayd b. Labīd al-Khazrajī. There he saw Salmā bt. 'Amr (Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥaq: Salmā bt. Zayd b. 'Amr)[8] b. Labīd b. Ḥarām b. Khiddash b. Jundub b. 'Adī b. al-Najjār, admired her, and asked her father 'Amr for her hand in marriage. The latter married her to him, stipulating that if she gave birth to any children it should be among her own family. Hāshim went on his way without consummating the marriage, consummating it instead on his way back from Syria while staying with [1083] her family in Yathrib. She became pregnant, and he left for Mecca taking her with him. When she became heavy with child he took her back to her family, while he himself went on to Syria, and died there in Gaza. Salmā gave birth to his son 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who remained in Yathrib for seven or eight years. Then a man from the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt passed through Yathrib and saw some boys competing at archery. When Shaybah hit the mark he would say, "I am the son of Hāshim, I am the son of the Lord of the Valley?"[9] The Ḥārithī said, "Who are you?" and he replied, "I

8. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 88 has Salmā bt. Ʌmr; see Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, Ṭabarī is not following either source exactly.

9. The word *baṭḥā'* (plural *biṭāḥ*), here translated "valley," is properly the bed of a torrent. The central part of Mecca round the Ka'bah was known as al-Biṭāḥ, in

am Shaybah b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf." When the Ḥārithī arrived back in Mecca he said to al-Muṭṭalib (brother of Hāshim), who was sitting in the Ḥijr (a part of the Kaʿbah), "Abū al-Ḥārith, do you know that in Yathrib I found some boys competing at archery and among them was a boy who, when he hit the mark, would say, 'I am the son of Hāshim, I am the son of the Lord of the Valley?'" Al-Muṭṭalib said, "By God, I shall not return to my family until I bring him here!" "My she-camel is here in the courtyard," said the Ḥārithī, "ride her!"

Al-Muṭṭalib mounted the camel, (eventually) arriving in Yathrib in the early evening. He went to the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, and there he saw some boys playing football in the midst of an assembly. He recognized his brother's son and said to the people, "Is this Hāshim's son?" "Yes," they said, "this is your brother's son, and if you want to take him, do so now, before his mother finds out. If she does find out, she will not let him go, and we shall have to prevent you from taking him." So he called to him and said, "Nephew, I am you uncle, and I want to take you to your people." He made his camel kneel, and without hesitation the boy sat on its rear-quarters. Then he set off with him, and his mother did not find out about it until nightfall, when she was standing bewailing her son; then they told her that his uncle had taken him away.

Al-Muṭṭalib brought him into Mecca during the morning while the men were sitting in their assemblies. They began to say, "Who
[1084] is that sitting behind you?" and he replied, "My slave." Finally he brought him home and took him to his wife Khadījah bt. Saʿīd b. Sahm, who said, "Who is this?" "My slave," he replied. He then went out to al-Ḥazwarah and bought a robe with which he clothed Shaybah. In the evening he took him out to the assembly of the Banū ʿAbd Manāf, and after that he led him round the streets of Mecca wearing the robe. People said, "This is al-Muṭṭalib's slave (*ʿabd al-Muṭṭalib*)," for when his people had asked him he had said, "This is my slave." Al-Muṭṭalib said:

I recognized Shaybah as the sons of al-Najjār
were around him competing at archery.

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contrast to al-Ẓawāhir or outskirts, and the main clans of the Quraysh were called Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ. The Ḥijr (below) was a section of the courtyard immediately surrounding the Kaʿbah; see *EI*², s.v. Kaʿba.

ʿAlī b. Ḥarb al-Mawṣilī—Abū Maʿn ʿĪsā, a descendant of Kaʿb b. Mālik[10] —Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Anṣārī—the shaykhs of the Anṣār: Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf married a noblewoman from the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, accepting the condition imposed upon whoever sought her hand in marriage that she should remain in her family's settlement. She married Hāshim and bore him the praiseworthy Shaybah. He grew up among his maternal uncles, treated with respect. While he was competing with the boys of the Anṣār at archery, he hit the target and said, "I am the son of Hāshim!" A man who was passing through heard him, and when he came to Mecca he said to the boy's uncle al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf, "I was passing by the settlement of the Banū Qaylah[11] and saw a boy of such-and-such a description competing with their boys at archery. He claimed to be your brother's son, and you should not leave such a fine boy to live among strangers."

Al-Muṭṭalib rode to al-Madīnah, and persuaded the boy to travel to Mecca. Then he spoke to the boy's mother, and did not leave her in peace until she gave him permission to take him. He mounted the boy behind him and took him to Mecca. Whenever people met him and said, "Who is this, Muṭṭalib?" he would say, "My slave." This is why he was called ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. When he arrived in Mecca, al-Muṭṭalib told the boy what his father's property consisted of and made it over to him. (Some time later) Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf opposed al-Muṭṭalib in respect of a courtyard which belonged to the latter and unlawfully seized it from him. ʿAbd [1085]
al-Muṭṭalib then went to the men of his tribe and asked them to assist him against his uncle, but they said to him, "We cannot intervene between you and your uncle."[12] When he saw what their

10. Kaʿb b. Mālik of the clan of Salimah in al-Madīnah was one of the poets supporting Muḥammad; see. *EI*, s.v. Kaʿb b. Mālik.

11. The Banū Qaylah are all the Arabs of al-Madīnah, also known in Islamic times as the Anṣār. Qaylah was the mother of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, the ancestors of the two main tribes.

12. It is made clear later that this affair took place after the death of al-Muṭṭalib, when Nawfal was the only surviving son of ʿAbd Manāf. Since other descendants of ʿAbd Manāf would be much younger than Nawfal, they would not have felt able to oppose him. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib then appealed to a wider circle of the men of Quraysh, but it would have been against normal custom for them to interfere in a matter concerning only a single family. They could probably, however, had they so desired, have brought some moral pressure to bear on Nawfal; but many of the merchants of Mecca seem to have been unscrupulous in such matters. An

attitude was, he wrote to his maternal uncles telling them about the attitude of Nawfal. Included in his letter were the following lines:

Tell the Banū al-Najjār if you come to them
that I am one of them, their son and their
close associate.[13]
I think that they are a people who, if I come to them,
love to meet me and to hear my voice.
My uncle Nawfal persists in an action from which even
a base man would avert his eyes in disgust.

Abū Sa'd b. 'Udas al-Najjārī then led eighty riders to the valley,[14] and when 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib heard of this he went to meet him and said, "Come to my home, uncle!" "Not until I have met Nawfal," he replied. "I left him sitting in the Ḥijr among the shaykhs of Quraysh," said 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Then his uncle went and stood next to Nawfal, unsheathed his sword, and said, "By the Lord of this edifice, either you return his courtyard to my sister's son, or my sword will drink its fill of your blood!" "By the Lord of this edifice," said Nawfal, "I shall return his courtyard, and I call upon those present to witness this." Then Abū Sa'd said, "Let us go to your house, nephew." He stayed there for three days and performed the lesser pilgrimage (*'umrah*). On this occasion, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib recited the following lines:

Māzin, the Banū 'Adī and Dīnār
b. Taym al-Lāt refused to accept that I should be
wronged,
As did the lords of Mālik;[15] and after this Nawfal
withdrew his pretensions to my property

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idea of the "wheeling and dealing" which was going on may be obtained from Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 5-7. This story is also of interest as illustrating how matrilineal kinship was still strong in al-Madīnah, whereas in Mecca men were thinking mainly in terms of patrilineal kinship, even though some matrilineal usages continued there. This matter is a complex one. There is a collection of relevant material in Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 373-88. In a sense, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was here invoking the matrilineal system against unjust behavior by the patrilineal system.

13. The meaning of *wa-l-khamīs* is somewhat obscure.

14. *Al-abṭaḥ*, a variant of *baṭḥā'*, is the central district of Mecca; see n. 8 above.

15. According to the genealogists, Māzin, 'Adī, Dīnār, and Mālik were the four sons of al-Najjār and gave their names to the main subdivisions of the clan, which

Through them God returned my courtyard to me
though they were not as closely related to me as
my own tribe.

With regard to this matter, Samurah b. 'Umayr Abū 'Amr al-Kinānī said:

By my life, Shaybah's maternal uncles, despite
being less closely related,
are more dutiful and mindful of bloodties than
his closely related paternal uncles.
They responded to their newphew's appeal though they
were far away,
and were not deflected when Nawfal overstepped his
rights.
May God requite with good a band of Khazrajīs [1086]
who called upon one another to respect family duty;
he who does so is more virtuous.

Faced with this, Nawfal formed a confederacy with the whole of the Banū 'Abd Shams against the Banū Hāshim.

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr: I related this story to Mūsā b. 'Īsā and he said to me, "Ibn Abī Bakr, this is something which the Anṣār relate in order to court our favor, since God has placed sovereignty in our hands.[16] 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was held too dear by his own people to need the Banū al-Najjār to ride to his aid from al-Madīnah." "May God make the amīr prosper," I said, "one who was better than 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib needed their assistance." He had been reclining, but he sat up straight in anger and said, "Who is better than 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib?" "Muḥammad, the Messenger of God," I replied. "You are right," he said and returned to his previous posture. Then he said to his sons, "Write down this anecdote from Ibn Abī Bakr."

The following anecdote concerning 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and his uncle Nawfal was related to me by Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father—Ziyād b. 'Ilāqah al-Taghlibī, who was born in the

was a large one. Al-Najjār was also known as Taym Allāt, which was later changed to Taym Allāh.

16. Mūsā b. 'Īsā appears to be an 'Abbāsid governor. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Anṣārī was a scholar, (d. 132/749); see Ibn Ḥajar *Tahdhīb*, ix:80

Jāhiliyyah: It was the confederacy between the Banū Hāshim and Khuzā'ah, which led to the Messenger of God conquering Mecca and to saying "Let this cloud empty its rain in aid of the Banū Ka'b."[17] The reason for the beginning of this confederacy was that Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf, who was the last surviving son of 'Abd Manāf, wrongfully deprived 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf of certain courtyards. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's mother was Salmā bt. 'Amr al-Najjāriyyah of (the tribe of) al- Khazraj. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib asked for justice from his paternal uncle, but he did not treat him justly; so he wrote to his maternal uncles:

My night is made long by my sorrows and cares;
[1087] will anyone take a message to al-Najjār, my uncles,[18]
To inform 'Adī, Dīnār and Māzin
and Mālik, the protectors of their clients, of my circumstances?
When I was among you I did not fear any oppressor,
and I was respected, inviolable, and carefree.
But when I travelled to my own tribe, urged
to travel and leave that situation by my uncle al-Muṭṭalib,
Even though I lived a life of ease and joy when he was alive,
walking with a proud gait and trailing the hems of my garments,
Yet he was swallowed up by a gloomy grave
and Nawfal arose to deal unjustly with my property.
Was it because he saw a man bereft of paternal
and maternal uncles and without a protector,
That he attacked him and ignored the ties of blood?
When a man is among his paternal and maternal uncles,
how immune to attack he is!
Call your men together for war, and defend your
nephew against oppression;
do not abandon him, for you are not men to abandon others.
There is no clan like you among the sons of Qaḥṭān
to come to the aid of a client or to bestow favors.
You are mild to those who behave mildly to you

17. Banū Ka'b b. 'Amr was an important subdivision of the tribe of Khuzā'ah.
18. See n. 15.

and live at peace with you, and are poison[19] to the haughty and overbearing.

Eighty of their riders came to him and made their camels kneel in the courtyard of the Ka'bah. When Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf saw them he said, "Good morning," but they replied, "No good morning to you, man! Give our nephew redress from the injustice which you have inflicted upon him!" "I will do it," he said, "for the love and respect which I feel for you." Then he gave the courtyards back to his nephew and treated him justly, and they went back to their own country. [1088]

These events prompted 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib to form a confederation, and accordingly he summoned Busr b. 'Amr, Warqā b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā[20] and some of the leading men of Khuzā'ah, who entered the Ka'bah with him and drew up a contract of confederation.

After the death of his uncle al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib held the privilege of providing food and drink to the pilgrims which the sons of 'Abd Manāf had held before him. He was honored among his people and was a man of great importance among them, for not one of them was his equal. He it was who discovered Zamzam, the well of Ishmael, the son of Abraham, and brought out what was buried there, namely, two golden gazelles which Jurhum are said to have buried when they were evicted from Mecca, and Qal'ī[21] swords and coats of mail. He made the swords into a door for the Ka'bah and covered the door with the gazelles in the form of gold plate. This, it is said, is the first gold with which the Ka'bah was ornamented.

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's patronymic *(kunyah)*[22] was Abū al-Ḥārith; he was so called because his eldest son was named al-Ḥarith; his own name was Shaybah.

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19. Vocalized as *samām* in the Leiden edition, though *simām*, a pural of *samm* (poison), would also be possible. "Poison" is almost certainly the meaning here, though it is not given for *samām* in the dictionaries.

20. Following the correction in the Leiden edition.

21. A well-known type of sword, possibly of Indian origin, and apparently made of or incorporating tin of high quality; see *EI*[2], *s.v. Ḳal'ī*.

22. The *kunyah* was a patronymic or name of honor of the form Abū N or Umm N (father or mother of N). N was normally the eldest son; but a *kunyah* could be given even to childless persons such as Muḥammad's wife 'Ā'ishah.

Hāshim

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the son of Hāshim, whose name was 'Amr; he was called Hāshim because he used to break up *(hashama)* bread for *tharīd*[23] for his people in Mecca and feed them with it. Matrūd b. Ka'b al-Khuzā'ī—or Ibn al-Ziba'rā, according to Ibn al-Kalbī—says of him:

[1089] 'Amr who broke up bread for *tharīd* for his people
when the men of Mecca were drought-stricken and lean.

It is said that his people, Quraysh, were stricken by dearth and drought and that he travelled to Palestine and bought flour there. Then he returned to Mecca, gave orders for it to be baked into bread, slaughtered a camel, and made *tharīd* with the bread. It is also said that he was the first to institute the two yearly caravans, those of winter and summer, for Quraysh.[24]

Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father: 'Abd Manāf's sons were Hāshim, 'Abd Shams, the eldest, al-Muṭṭalib, the youngest, the mother of these being 'Ātikah bt. Murrah al-Sulamiyyah, and Nawfal, whose mother was Wāqidah. They succeeded jointly to their father's authority, and were called "those who make mighty" *(al-mujabbirūn)*. Of them it was said:

O man who is unfastening his saddle,
Why do yo not lodge with the sons of 'Abd Manāf?

They were the first to obtain for Quraysh guarantees of immunity which allowed them to travel far and wide from the sacred precints of Mecca (Haram). Hāshim obtained for them a treaty with the Greek rulers of Syria and with Ghassān, 'Abd Shams obtained for them a treaty with the Great Negus as a result of which they travelled regularly to Abyssinia, Nawfal obtained for them a treaty with the Persian emperors as a result of which they travelled regularly to Iraq and Persia, and al-Muṭṭalib obtained for them a treaty with the kings of Ḥimyar as a result of which they travelled regularly to the Yemen. By means of them God made

23. A kind of broth into which bread was crumbled.

24. The winter and summer caravans are referred to in Qur'ān 106:2. The winter caravan is said to have gone to the Yemen and Abyssinia, and the summer one to Syria. Ghassān was an Arab tribe on the southern border of the Byzantine empire in alliance with it; see *EI*[2], s.v.

Quraysh mighty, and they were called "those who make mighty" *(al-mujabbirūn).*

It is said that Hāshim and ʿAbd Shams were twins and that one was born before the other with one of his fingers stuck to his twin's forehead; when his finger was separated blood flowed; people regarded this as an omen and said, "There will be blood between them."

After his father's death Hāshim succeeded to the office of providing food and drink.

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Saʿd—Hishām[25] b. Muḥammad— [1090]
Maʿrūf b. al-Kharrabūdh al-Makkī—a man of the Āl ʿAdī b. al-Khiyār b. ʿAdī b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf—his father: Wahb b. ʿAbd Qusayy spoke the following lines on Hāshim's feeding his people with *tharīd:*

Hāshim took upon himself the responsibility
    which no other mortal was able to undertake.
He brought them sacks from Syria
    full of winnowed wheat
And gave the people of Mecca their fill of broken bread,
    mixing the bread with fresh meat.
The people were surrounded by wooden bowls piled high
    whose contents were overflowing.

Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf, who was a man of wealth, was envious of Hāshim and unwillingly attempted to emulate him; but he could not do it, and some of the men of Quraysh gloated over his discomfiture. He was angry and maligned Hāshim, and challenged him to a contest before an arbiter as to which of them was nobler *(manāfarah).* Hāshim did not wish to accept this because of his age and standing, but the Quraysh would not allow him to refuse, and they finally irritated him so much that he said, "I accept this challenge, on condition that the loser slaughters fifty black-eyed camels in the valley of Mecca and leaves Mecca for ten years." Umayyah accepted this, and they chose a Khuzāʿī soothsayer to judge between them. The soothsayer awarded the victory to Hāshim, who took the camels, slaughtered them, and fed those present (at the event). Umayyah

25. Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, I:43,24-44,11.

then left for Syria and stayed there for ten years. This was the first occasion on which enmity broke out between the families of Hāshim and Umayyah.[26]

[1091] Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—a man of the Banū Kinānah called Ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ and a man from Raqqah, a *mawlā* of the Banū Asad who was a scholar: 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim and Ḥarb b. Umayyah asked the Negus of Abyssinia to judge which of them was the nobler, but he refused. So they asked Nufayl b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Riyāḥ b. 'Abdallāh b. Qurṭ b. Rizāḥ b. 'Adī b. Ka'b to judge between them. He said to Ḥarb, "Abū 'Amr, do you challenge a man who is greater than you in height, larger than you in the size of his head, more beautiful of face, more highly born, who has more sons than you, gives more abundant gifts, and is a more influential speaker?" Then he gave the victory to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Ḥarb said, "It is a sign of the degeneration of the times that we made you an arbiter!"

The first of the sons of 'Abd Manāf to die was Hāshim, who died in Gaza in Syria. He was followed by 'Abd Shams, who died in Mecca and was buried in Ajyād. Then Nawfal died at Salmān on the road to Iraq, and finally al-Muṭṭalib died at Radmān in the Yemen.[27] After Hāshim's death the office of feeding and watering the pilgrims passed to his brother al-Muṭṭalib.

'Abd Manāf

Hāshim was the son of 'Abd Manāf, whose name was al-Mughīrah; he was (also) called "al-Qamar" (the moon) on account of his beauty. They claim that Quṣayy used to say, "I have four sons; I named two of them after my idols, one after my settlement and one after myself." These were, respectively, 'Abd Manāf, 'Abd al-'Uzzā, who was the father of Asad, 'Abd al-Dār, and 'Abd Quṣayy, who died childless. All of these, together with his daughter Barrah, were by Ḥubbā bt. Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyah b.Salūl b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Khuzā'ah.

26. Umayyah is the ancestor of the Umayyad dynasty, as Hāshim is of the 'Abbāsids. The following paragraph appears to be another version of the same story placed a generation later; see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I:5212-20.

27. According to what was said on pp. 1086, and 1087, Nawfal survived al-Muṭṭalib and, after the latter's death, seized property belonging to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; see n. 12.

Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father: ʿAbd Manāf was called "al-Qamar," but his name was al-Mughīrah, and he was generally known as ʿAbd Manāf because his mother Ḥubbā offered him to Manāf, the greatest of the idols of Mecca, to show her devotion to it. Of ʿAbd Manāf it was said: [1092]

Quraysh was an egg, and it split open;
the choicest part belongs to ʿAbd Manāf alone.

Quṣayy

ʿAbd Manāf was the son of Quṣayy, whose name was Zayd. He was called Quṣayy for the following reason. His father Kilāb b. Murrah married his mother Fāṭimah bt. Saʿd b. Sayal (whose name was Khayr) b. Ḥamālah b. ʿAwf b. Ghanm b. ʿĀmir al-Jādir b. ʿAmr b. Juʿthumah b. Yashkur of the Azd Shanūʾah; they lived as confederates among the Banū al-Dīl.[28] Fāṭimah bore Zuhrah and Zayd to Kilāb, who died while Zayd was still a child. Zuhrah had grown up and had reached adulthood. Rabīʿah b. Ḥarām b. Ḍinnah b. ʿAbd b. Kabīr b. ʿUdhrah b. Saʿd b. Zayd, one of the Quḍāʿah, then came to Mecca and married Fāṭimah, the mother of Zuhrah and Quṣayy, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq. This tradition is also related by Hishām b. Muḥammad—his father. Zuhrah had grown up and was a man, while Quṣayy had not long been weaned, so when Rabīʿah took Fāṭimah to the territory of the Banū ʿUdhrah in the Syrian highlands she took Quṣayy with her because he was so young, whereas Zuhrah stayed among his own tribe. After this Fāṭimah bore Rizāḥ b. Rabīʿah to Rabīʿah, so that Rizāḥ was Quṣayy's half-brother on his mother's side. Rabīʿah had three other sons by another wife, Ḥunn, Maḥmūd, and Julhumah. Zayd [1093] grew up under Rabīʿah's guardianship, and was called Quṣayy (the little distant one) because he lived so far from his tribe. Zuhrah continued to live in Mecca, but while Quṣayy b. Kilāb was in the territory of Quḍāʿah, it is asserted, he regarded himself as being a full member of Rabīʿah b. Ḥarām's family. One day, when Quṣayy had grown up and was a young man, there was some kind of dis-

28. Also called Banū al-Duʾil, which is perhaps the original form; see al-Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Ansāb al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1959, p.54. Most of the material about Quṣayy is not in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*; see 75f., 79-81.

pute between him and a man of Quḍāʿah. The Quḍāʿī reproached him for being a stranger, and said, "Do not swear by your tribe and your descent, for you are not one of us." Quṣayy went back to his mother, pained at what the man had said, and asked her about it. "By God," she answered, "you are nobler than he and have a nobler father, my son. You are the son of Kilāb b. Murrah b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kinānah al-Qurashī. Your tribe live in Mecca by the Kaʿbah and in its neighborhood."

Quṣayy decided to go to his people and to join them, for he hated being a stranger in the territory of the Quḍāʿah. His mother said to him, "My son, do not be in too much of a hurry. Wait for the sacred month and go with the pilgrimage, for I am afraid that some misfortune may befall you." Quṣayy waited until the sacred month arrived and the pilgrims from the Quḍāʿah set out, and went with them. When he reached Mecca and had completed the pilgrimage, he remained there. He was a strong man of good lineage, and when he asked Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyyah al-Khuzāʿī for the hand of his daughter Ḥubbā, Ḥulayl, recognising his lineage and regarding him as a desirable match, gave his consent and married her to him. At that time, it is claimed, Ḥulayl was in charge of the Kaʿbah and ruled in Mecca.

Ibn Isḥāq: Quṣayy stayed with him (i.e. Ḥulayl) and Ḥubbā bore him ʿAbd al-Dār, ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd alʿUzzā and ʿAbd. His progeny
[1094] increased, his wealth multiplied and he became greatly honoured, and when Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyyah died Quṣayy thought that he had a better right to the Kaʿbah and to rule over Mecca than the Khuzāʿah and the Banū Bakr, since the Quraysh were the noblest and purest of the descendants of Ishmael, son of Abraham. He spoke to some men of the Quraysh and the Banū Kinānah and called upon them to expel the Khuzāʿah and the Banū Bakr from Mecca. They accepted his proposal and swore an oath of allegiance to him to do this. Then he wrote to his half-brother Rizāḥ b. Rabīʿah b. Ḥarām, who was in his tribal lands, asking him to come to his assistance and fight along with him. Rizāḥ b. Rabīʿah stood up among the Quḍāʿah and called upon them to come to the assistance of his brother and to march with him, and they answered his call.

Hishām: Quṣayy went to his brother Zuhrah and his people, and before long became their chief. The Khuzāʿah were more numer-

ous than the descendants of al-Naḍr[29] in Mecca, so Quṣayy asked his brother Rizāḥ for assistance. Rizāḥ had three brothers on his father's side by a different wife, and he came with them and those clans of the Quḍāʿah who answered his summons. Quṣayy had with him his tribe, the Banū al-Naḍr, and together they expelled Khuzāʿah.

Quṣayy had married Ḥubbā bt. Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyyah, a Khuzāʿī woman, and she had borne him four sons. Ḥulayl was the last (member of Khuzāʿah) to be the custodian of the Kaʿbah, and when he became too old for the task he handed it over to his daughter Ḥubbā. She said, "You know that I am not strong enough to open and shut the door," so he said, "I will give the task of opening and shutting the door to a man who will do it for you." He gave the task to Abū Ghubshān, whose name was Sulaym b. ʿAmr b. Buwayy b. Milkān b. Afṣā, and Quṣayy purchased the custodianship of the Kaʿbah from him for a skin full of wine and a lute. When the Khuzāʿah saw this, they gathered against him, so he asked his brother for assistance and fought the Khuzāʿah.

I have heard, and God knows best, that the Khuzāʿah were seized by an outbreak of pustules which was likely to wipe them out and that, seeing this, they abandoned Mecca. Some of them gave their houses away, some sold them, and some leased them. Quṣayy [1095]
took charge of the House (the Kaʿbah) and the lordship of Mecca.[30] He gathered together the clans of Quraysh and settled them in the valley of Mecca, while some remained in the ravines and hilltops.[31] To each (clan) he allotted their settlements. (Because he thus gathered together and settled the Quraysh) he was called "gatherer" (*mujammiʿ*). Of him Maṭrūd—some say Ḥudhāfah b. Ghānim—said:

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29. The Banū al-Naḍr (a section of the tribe of Kinānah) were the effective clan (or tribe) to which Quṣayy belonged. They included more than the group known as Quraysh, since these were usually reckoned to be the descendants of Fihr, the grandson of al-Naḍr.

30. The Arabic here is somewhat vague: *wallā Quṣayy al-bayt wa-amr Makkah wa-l-ḥukm bi-hā; amr* may mean either "rule" or "affairs," while *ḥukm* may refer to the giving of decisions in accordance with custom. It is not clear how much is involved in the kingship or supreme rule attributed to him in what follows, but he was certainly the man in Mecca with supreme authority.

31. This is the distinction mentioned in notes 8 and 14. Those in the "valley" (here *abṭaḥ*) are Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ, and the others Quraysh al-Ẓawāhir.

Your father Quṣayy was called *mujammi'*;
through him God gathered the clans of Fihr.

The tribe made him their king over them.

Ibn Isḥāq: Rizāḥ answered Quṣayy's call to come to his aid and went with his three brothers and those men of the Quḍā'ah who followed him to Mecca on the pilgrimage, determined to come to Quṣayy's aid and to fight on his side. Khuzā'ah claim that Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyyah made his position over to Quṣayy and commanded him to accept it when the latter's sons by (Ḥulayl's) daughter increased, saying, "You are more worthy of the Ka'bah and its custodianship, and of ruling Mecca, than the Khuzā'ah." Thereupon Quṣayy made his request for assistance. The pilgrims gathered in Mecca, went out to the *mawqif*[32] completed the pilgrimage and went to Minā. Quṣayy and his followers from his own tribe of the Quraysh and the Banū Kinānah, together with those Quḍā'ah who supported him, had decided upon their course of action; nothing now remained of the ritual of the pilgrimage but the dispersal from Minā.

The Ṣūfah[33] used to drive the people away from 'Arafah and give them permission to depart when they dispersed from Minā. On the day of dispersal they went to stone the *jimār*,[34] and a man of the Ṣūfah used to throw stones for the pilgrims, none throwing until he had thrown. Those who had urgent matters to attend to would come to him and say, "Get up and throw, so that we can throw with you," but he would say, "No, by God, not until the
[1096] sun begins to set." Then those who had matters to attend to and wanted to hasten the proceedings would throw stones at him in an attempt to hurry him up, and say, "Get up and throw, for heaven's sake!" But he would refuse until the sun began to set; then he

32. The *mawqif* or "place of standing" is the plain of 'Arafāt, about 24 km east of Mecca. The "standing" here between midday and sunset on the appointed day is one of the most important rites of the *ḥajj* or pilgrimage. This was followed by the *ifāḍah* or "dispersal" (with a suggestion of haste) to Minā, rather more than half way back to Mecca. Ṭabarī uses *nafr* for "dispersal" instead of the more usual *ifāḍah*, and also has the singular 'Arafah instead of the plural. See *EI* [2], s.v. Ḥadjdj, sect. 1.

33. Ṣūfah was a small clan or group of kinsmen; see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 76f.; also Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Munammaq*, 14.

34. The *jimār* were three erections or heaps of stones, at which stones or pebbles were thrown. In Islam, they were held to represent the devil. See *EI* [2], s.v. Djamra.

would throw and the pilgrims would throw with him.

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yahyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ẓubayr—his father ʿAbbād: When they had finished stoning the *jimār* and wanted to disperse from Minā, the Ṣūfah would occupy both sides of the pass of al-ʿAqabah and detain the pilgrims. The pilgrims would say, "Give the permission to depart, Ṣūfah!" Nobody left until the Ṣūfah passed through; when they had dispersed and left, the other pilgrims were free to go, and set out after them.

This year the Ṣūfah acted as usual. The Arabs recognized their right to do this, since they regarded it as a religious duty during the rule of the Jurhum and the Khuzāʿah. Quṣayy b. Kilāb, accompanied by his followers from his own tribe of Quraysh, from the Kinānah and from Quḍāʿah, came to the Ṣūfah at al-ʿAqabah and said, "We have a better right to this than you." At that they opposed one another and began to fight. A fierce battle broke out, as a result of which the Ṣūfah were put to flight, and Quṣayy wrested from them the privileges which had been in their hands, thus denying them.

When this happened the Khuzāʿah and the Banū Bakr drew back from Quṣayy b. Kilāb, knowing he would impose prohibitions upon them as he had on the Ṣūfah, and that he would exclude them from the Kaʿbah and control of Mecca. When they drew back from him, Quṣayy revealed his enmity to them openly and resolved to do battle with them. His brother Rizāḥ b. Rabīʿah with his fellow-tribesmen from the Quḍāʿah stood firm beside him while the Khuzāʿah and the Banū Bakr took the field against them and prepared for battle. The forces met and a fierce battle took place. There were many dead and wounded on both sides. Finally, both sides called for peace and for the appointment of one of the Arabs to arbitrate between them on their differences. [1097] They appointed Yaʿmar b. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb b. Layth b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kinānah, whose verdict was that Quṣayy had a better right to the Kaʿbah and to rule Mecca than the Khuzāʿah, that all injuries inflicted by Quṣayy upon the Khuzāʿah and the Banū Bakr were remitted and trampled beneath his feet, while all injuries inflicted by the Khuzāʿah and the Banū Bakr upon the Quraysh, the Banū Kinānah, and Quḍāʿah should be compensated for by blood money. He added that Quṣayy b. Kilāb should be allowed to con-

trol the Ka'bah and Mecca. On that day Ya'mar b. 'Awf was given the name al-Shaddākh, because of the blood money which he remitted and trampled underfoot *(shadakha)*. Quṣayy took control of the Ka'bah and rule over Mecca, and gathered together his tribe from their dwellings and settled them there. He assumed rule over his tribe and the people of Mecca, and they accepted him as their king. Quṣayy was the first of the descendants of Ka'b b. Lu'ayy to attain rule acknowledged by his tribe. He held the privileges of being doorkeeper of the Ka'bah, providing the pilgrims with food and drink, presiding over the assembly, and appointing standard bearers, thus taking all the honors of Mecca for himself. He also divided Mecca into quarters for his tribe, settling every clan of the Quraysh in the dwelling places assigned to them in Mecca.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: People allege that the Quraysh were afraid to cut down the trees of the Ḥaram in their settlements, and that Quṣayy thus cut them down with his own hands, and that they then helped him. The Arabs called him "Gatherer" *(mujammi')* because of his gathering them, and they regarded his rule as a good omen. No woman or man of Quraysh was married anywhere but in the house of Quṣayy b. Kilāb, nor did Quraysh consult together about any matter affecting them anywhere but in his house. When they were about to fight another tribe, banners were tied only in his house, where one of his own sons would hand the banner over. Whenever a girl of Quraysh came of age to put on her shift, she would do so only in his house; there her shift would be split over her, and she would put it on and be taken to her family. His authority among his tribe of Quraysh,
[1098] in his lifetime and after his death, was like a religion which people followed; they always acted in accordance with it, regarding it as filled with good omens and recognizing his superiority and nobility. He took for himself the assembly house and made the door which (later) led from it to the mosque of the Ka'bah, The Quraysh used to decide their affairs in that house.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abd al-Malik b. Rāshid—his father—al-Sā'ib b. Khabbāb, the author of *al-Maqṣūrah:* I heard a man telling 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, when he was Caliph, this story of Quṣayy b. Kilāb, that is, how he gathered his own tribe together, expelled the Khuzā'ah and the Banū Bakr from Mecca, and gained control of the Ka'bah and rule over

Mecca; 'Umar did not reject it or disavow it.

Quṣayy remained in Mecca, held in honor and high esteem by his tribe, and not opposed in his rule of Mecca in any way. As regards the pilgrimage, he confirmed the rights of the Arabs to continue their previous customs. This is because he considered these to be a religious duty which he should not change. The Ṣūfah thus continued as they had before, (and did so) until they died out, their rights then passing by inheritance to the family of Ṣafwān b. al-Ḥārith b. Shijnah; the 'Adwān also continued as they had, and likewise the intercalators from the Banū Mālik b. Kinānah and Murrah b. 'Awf. No changes occurred until Islam, and God thereby did away with all these functions. Quṣayy had a house built in Mecca, which was the house of assembly, in which the Quraysh used to decide their affairs.

At last Quṣayy grew old and feeble; 'Abd al-Dār, his first-born and his eldest son, was, it is claimed, a weakling, while 'Abd Manāf was held in honor during his father's lifetime, and managed everything with his brothers 'Abd al-'Uzzā and 'Abd. It is claimed that Quṣayy said to 'Abd al-Dār, 'By God, I shall make you the equal of the others, even though they have been raised in dignity [1099] over you. No man of them shall enter the Ka'bah until you have opened it, no banner shall be tied for the Quraysh to go to battle except by your hand, no man shall drink water in Mecca except that which you have provided, no man shall eat food in the pilgrimage season other than your food, and the Quraysh shall not decide their affairs anywhere but in your house.' Then he gave him his own house, the assembly house, in which Quraysh always made their decisions, and gave him the offices of being doorkeeper, tying the banners, presiding over the assembly, and the *rifādah*. The *rifādah* was a tax which was levied in every pilgrimage season by the Quraysh according to their wealth and handed over to Quṣayy b. Kilāb. He used it to prepare food to be eaten by those pilgrims attending the pilgrimage who had neither means nor provisions. It was imposed on the Quraysh by Quṣayy, who said to them when he commanded them to pay it, "Quraysh, you are neighbors of God, people of his Ka'bah and people of the sacred precincts (Ḥaram). the pilgrims are guests of God and visitors to his House, and are the most deserving of all guests of honorable treatment. Give them food and drink during the days of the pil-

grimage, until they depart from you." They did so, and every year they levied a tax on their property and paid it to him, and he would use it to prepare food for the pilgrims during the days of Minā. This institution of his became current among the Quraysh during the whole of the Jāhiliyyah up to the appearance of Islam, and then became current in Islam, continuing to this day. This is the food which the government supplies to the pilgrims every year at Minā until the pilgrimage is completed.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah: This story of Quṣayy b. Kilāb and what he said to ʿAbd al-Dār concerning the offices which he handed over to him was told to me by Ibn Isḥāq b. Yasār—his father—al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib. Yasār said, "I heard al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad saying this to a man of the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār called Nubayh b. Wahb b. ʿAmir b. Ikrimah b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿAbd al-Dār. He said, 'Quṣayy made over to him all the authority which he had over his tribe. Quṣayy's commands
[1100] were never disobeyed and nothing he did was ever opposed. Then Quṣayy died and his sons assumed his authority over his tribe."'

Kilāb

Quṣayy was the son of Kilāb. It is said that Kilāb's mother was Hind bt. Surayr b. Thaʿlabah b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kinānah. He had two half brothers by a different mother, Taym and Yaqaẓah, whose mother, according to Hishām b. al-Kalbī, was Asmāʾ bt. ʿAdī b. Ḥārithah b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Bāriq. As for Ibn Isḥāq, he says that their mother was Hind bt. Ḥārithah al-Bāriqiyyah.[35] Some people say that Yaqaẓah's mother was Hind bt. Surayr, Kilāb's mother.

Murrah

Kilāb was the son of Murrah, whose mother was Waḥshiyyah bt. Shaybān b. Muḥārib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kinānah. Murrah's two full brothers were ʿAdī and Huṣayṣ. Some say that the mother of these three was Makhshiyyah, others say that the mother of Murrah and Huṣayṣ was Makhshiyyah bt. Shaybān b.

35. The standard text of Ibn Isḥāq (Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 67) has Hind bt. Surayr.

Muḥārib b. Fihr, and that ʿAdī's mother was Raqāsh bt. Rukbah b. Nāʿilah b. Kaʿb b. Ḥarb b. Taym b. Saʿd b. Fahm b. ʿAmr b. Qays b. ʿAylān.

Kaʿb

Murrah was the son of Kaʿb, whose mother, according to Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn al-Kalbī, was Māwiyyah bt. Kaʿb b. al-Qayn b. Jasr b. Shayʿ Allāh b. Asad b. Wabrah b. Taghlib b. Ḥulwān b. ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāʿah. He had two full brothers, ʿĀmir and Sāmah; the three of them were known as the Banū Nājiyah.[36] They also had a paternal half brother whose descendants regarded themselves as belonging to Ghaṭafān and became a part of them. He was called ʿAwf, and his mother was al-Bāridah bt. ʿAwf b. Ghanm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ghaṭafān. It is said that when Luʿayy b. Ghālib died she went back with her son to her own people and married Saʿd b. Dhubyān b. Baghīḍ, who adopted ʿAwf; of him Fazārah b. Dhubyān is reported to have said: [1101]

Son of Luʿayy, turn your camel aside to me;
your own people have abandoned you, and you have
no dwelling place.

Kaʿb had also two other paternal half brothers. One of these was Khuzaymah, who was known as ʿĀʿidhat Quraysh after his mother, ʿĀʿidhah bt. al-Khims b. Quḥāfah b. Khathʿam, and the other was Saʿd. The descendants of Saʿd are known as Bunānah, Bunānah being Saʿd's mother. Their nomadic kinsmen are now said to be part of the Banū Asʿad b. Hammām, a branch of the Banū Shaybān b. Thaʿlabah, while their settled section trace their descent back to Quraysh.

Luʿayy

Kaʿb was the son of Luʿayy, whose mother, according to Hishām was ʿĀtikah bt. Yakhlud b. al-Naḍr b. Kinānah. She was the first of the ʿĀtikahs of the tribe of Quraysh who were female ancestors of the Messenger of God. Luʿayy had two full brothers; one of

36. Nājiyah appears to be a scribal error for Māwiyyah.

them was called Taym, and was known as Taym al-Adram. The name of al-Adram is derived from the word *daram*, which means "a deficiency in the chin"; it is said that he had a receding chin. The other was Qays; it is said that there are no living descendants of Qays the brother of Lu'ayy, and that the last of them was a man who died in the time of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī[37] and that his estate remained unclaimed, as nobody knew who had a right to
[1102] it. It is also said that the mother of Lu'ayy and his brothers was Salmā bt. 'Amr b. Rabī'ah. Rabī'ah's name was Luhayy b. Ḥārithah b. 'Amr Musayqiyā' b. 'Āmir Mā' al-Samā' b. Khuzā'ah.

Ghālib

Lu'ayy was the son of Ghālib, whose mother was Laylā bt. al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm b. Sa'd b. Hudhayl b. Mudrikah, and his full brothers were al-Ḥārith, Muḥārib, Asad, 'Awf, Jawn and Dhi'b. Muḥārib and al-Ḥārith belonged to the Quraysh al-Ẓawāhir, but al-Ḥārith came to live in the valley.[38]

Fihr

Ghālib was the son of Fihr. Hishām b. Muḥammad: He was the gatherer (*jammā'*) of Quraysh. His mother was Jandalah bt. 'Āmir b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Jurhumī.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: His mother was Jandalah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ b. 'Amr al-Jurhumī.

Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā is reported to have said that his mother was Salmā bt. Udd b. Ṭābikhah b. Ilyās b. Muḍar. It is also said that his mother was Jamīlah bt. 'Adwān of Bāriq of Azd. In his time, Fihr was the chief of the Meccans, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq,[39] in their war against Ḥassān b. 'Abd Kalāl b. Mathūb Dhū Ḥurath al-Ḥimyarī. It is said that Ḥassān advanced from the Yemen with Ḥimyar and a great many other Yemenite tribes. His intention was to transport the stones of

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37. Umayyad governor of Iraq from about 724 to 738; see *EI* ^{2}, s.v. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḳasrī.

38. See n. 8 above.

39. This paragraph is not found in Ibn Hishām's recension of Ibn Isḥāq (IH, 61); see Guillaume's translation, p.41.

the Ka'bah from Mecca to the Yemen, and so to divert the pilgrimage associated with the Ka'bah to his own country. He advanced as far as Nakhlah, raided the Meccan herds, and blocked the road, but was afraid to enter Mecca. When Quraysh, the tribes of Kinānah, Khuzaymah, Asad, and Judhām, and fragmentary groups belong to Muḍar who were with them, saw this, they went out to meet Ḥassān in battle, under the leadership of Fihr b. Mālik. A fierce [1103] battle ensued, the Ḥimyar were put to flight, and Ḥassan b. 'Abd Kalāl, the king of the Ḥimyar, was taken captive by al-Ḥārith b. Fihr. Among those who were killed in the battle was Fihr's grandson, Qays b. Ghālib b. Fihr. Ḥassān was held captive in Mecca for three years, but finally ransomed himself from them. He was taken back to Yemen from Mecca but died on the way.

Mālik

Fihr was the son of Mālik, whose mother was 'Ikrishah bt. 'Adwān. 'Adwān was al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. 'Aylān, according to Hishām.

Ibn Isḥāq: His mother was 'Ātikah bt. 'Adwān b. 'Amr b. Qays b. 'Aylān.[40] It is said that 'Ikrishah was her nickname and that her real name was 'Ātikah. It is also said that his mother was Hind bt. Fahm b. 'Amr b. Qays b. 'Aylān. Mālik had two brothers; one was called Yakhlud, and his descendants became part of the Banū 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Kinānah and ceased to belong to the Quraysh; the other was called al-Ṣalt, but none of his descendants survive. It is said that the Quraysh were so called after Quraysh b. Badr b. Yakhlud b. al-Ḥārith b. Yakhlud b. al-Naḍr b. Kinānah. This is because when the caravan of the Banū al-Naḍr arrived the Arabs used to say, "The Caravan of Quraysh has arrived". They say that this Quraysh was the guide of the Banū al-Naḍr in their travels and was responsible for provisioning them. He had a son named Badr who dug the well at Badr, and the well called Badr is named after him.

Ibn al-Kalbī: Quraysh is a collective name, and cannot be traced back to a father or mother, or to a male or female guardian.

Others say that the descendants of al-Naḍr b. Kinānah were

40. Only this sentence is found in the standard text of Ibn Isḥāq (Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 61).

[1104] called Quraysh because al-Naḍr b. Kinānah came out one day to his tribal assembly and they said to one another, "Look at al-Naḍr! he is like a *quraysh* [41] camel!" Others say that Quraysh were so called after a creature which lives in the sea and eats other sea creatures, namely, the shark (*qirsh*). The descendants of al-Naḍr b. Kinānah were named after the *qirsh* because it is the most powerful of sea creatures. Another account is that al-Naḍr b. Kinānah used to inquire after *qarrasha)* the needs of his people and to satisfy them with his wealth; the word *qarsh*, it is alleged, means "inquiry": his sons used to inquire after the needs of the pilgrims and to satisfy them fully. The following verse is quoted as evidence that the word *taqriīsh* means "inquiry";

You who are speaking and inquiring (*muqarrish*) about us
from ʿAmr, will they ever desist?[42]

Some say that al-Naḍr b. Kinānah was himself called Quraysh, while others deny this and maintain that al-Naḍr's descendants continued to be called the Banū al-Naḍr until Quṣayy b. Kilāb gathered them together; they were then called Quraysh because they had been gathered together, which is the meaning of the verb *taqarrasha*. The Arabs used to say, "*taqarrasha Banū al-Naḍr*" which means that they were gathered together. Yet another account is that they were called Quraysh because they made a profit (*taqarrasha)* from raiding.

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (al-Wāqidī)—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Sabrah—Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim: ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān[43] asked Muḥammad b. Jubayr when the Quraysh were first called Quraysh. He replied "When they were gathered into the sacred precincts (Ḥaram) from their dispersion. This gathering together is *taqarrush.*" ʿAbd al-Malik said, "I have not heard this, but I have heard that Quṣayy was called al-Qurashī and that the name

41. None of the works we have consulted gives a reasonable meaning for *quraysh* in this context.

42. This verse is from the *Muʿallaqah* of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥillizah, line 64 in al-Tibrīzī's recension, but the form there is different and does not include the word *muqarrish*. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, quotes the verse in a form closer to that of Ṭabarī, but explains *muqarrish* as "slandering and instigating" (s.v. *q-r-sh)*.

43. Umayyad caliph who ruled from 685 to 705. This and the following paragraphs are found in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I:40.17-28; 41.10-15.

Quraysh was not used before him."

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—'Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl b. 'Abd al-Raḥman b. 'Awf—Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf: When Quṣayy settled in the sacred precincts and became master of them, he performed fine deeds and was called al-Qurashī; he was the first to be called this. [1105]

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Bakr b. Abī Sabrah—Abū Bakr b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Jahm: Al-Naḍr b. Kinānah was called al-Qurashī.

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: Quṣayy instituted the lighting of the fire at al-Muzdalifah when the *wuqūf* (standing) took place there,[44] so that those being driven away from 'Arafah could see it. This fire continued to be lit in this place throughout the Jāhiliyyah.

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar and Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Muzanī—Nāfi'—('Abdallāh) Ibn 'Umar: This fire was lit in the time of the Messenger of God, and of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān.

Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī): It is lit to this day.

Al-Naḍr

Mālik was the son of al-Naḍr, whose name was Qays and whose mother was Barrah bt. Murr b. Udd b. Ṭābikhah. His full brothers were Nuḍayr, Mālik, Milkān, 'Āmir, al-Ḥārith, 'Amr, Sa'd, 'Awf, Ghanm, Makhramah, Jarwal, Ghazwān, and Ḥudāl. Their paternal half brother was 'Abd Manāt, whose mother was Fukayhah— [1106]
according to others, Fakhah—whose name was al-Dhafrā' bt. Hanī b. Balī b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'ah. 'Abd Manāt had a maternal half brother called 'Alī b. Mas'ūd b. Māzin b. Dhī'b b. 'Adī b. 'Amr b. Māzin al-Ghassānī. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah married Hind bt. Bakr b. Wā'il, who bore him children. Then he died, and his maternal half brother 'Alī b. Mas'ūd married her, and she had children by him. He became the guardian of his brother's children, and they regarded themselves as being descended from him, so that the Banū 'Abd Manāt were called the Banū 'Alī. It is to them

44. Al-Muzdalifah is between 'Arafāt and Minā; "standing" here was one of the pilgrimage rites.

that the poet refers when he says:

How excellent are the Banū ʿAlī
the celibate and the married.

Kaʿb b. Zuhayr also refers to them when he says:

They clashed with ʿAlī on the day of Badr
and after that ʿAlī were subject to Nizār.[45]

Afterwards Mālik b. Kinānah fell upon ʿAlī b. Masʿūd and killed him, and Asad b. Khuzaymah paid his blood money.

Kinānah

Al-Naḍr was the son of Kinānah, whose mother was ʿAwānah bt. Saʿd b. Qays b. ʿAylān. It is also said that his mother was Hind bt. ʿAmr b. Qays. His paternal half brothers were Asad, Asadah—some say that he was Abū Judhām—and al-Hūn; their mother was Barrah bt. Murr b. Udd b. Ṭābikhah. She was also the mother of al-Naḍr b. Kinānah, as Kinānah married her after his father died.

Khuzaymah

Kinānah was the son of Khuzaymah, whose mother was Salmā bt. Aslum b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāʿah. His full brother was Hudhayl, and their maternal half brother was Taghlib b. Ḥulwān b. ʿImrān b. al-
[1107] Ḥāf b. Quḍāʿah. It is also said that the mother of Khuzaymah and Hudhayl was Salmā bt. Asad b. Rabīʿah.

Mudrikah

Khuzaymah was the son of Mudrikah, whose name was ʿAmr and whose mother was Khindif. Her real name was Laylā bt. Ḥulwān b. ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāʿah; her mother was Ḍariyyah bt. Rabīʿah b. Nizār, after whom, it is said, the Ḥimā Ḍariyyah was named. Mudrikah's full brothers were ʿĀmir, who was Ṭābikhah,

45. According to the genealogists, Nizār is the father of Muḍar, and the name includes a large number of "northern" tribes; see p. 1111 below. Banū ʿAlī had become assimilated to the tribe of ʿAlī b. Masʿūd which was Ghassān and was reckoned as "southern" or Yemenite.

and 'Umayr, who was Qama'ah, and is said to be the father of Khuzā'ah.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The mother of the sons of Ilyās was Khindif, who was a woman from the Yemen. Her name prevailed in her sons' genealogy, and they were known as the Banū Khindif. Mudrikah's name was 'Āmir, and Ṭābikhah's name was 'Amr. They claim that while the two of them were among camels which they were herding they caught some game. As they were sitting down cooking it a hostile raiding party attacked their camels, and 'Āmir said to 'Amr, "Will you catch up with the camels or cook this game?" 'Amr said, "I will cook the game." So 'Āmir caught up with the camels and brought them back. When they returned to their father and told him what had happened, he said to 'Āmir, "You are the overtaker (*mudrikah*)" and he said to 'Amr "You are the cook (*ṭābikhah*)."

Hishām b. Muḥammad: It is said that Ilyās took his herds out to look for pasture, and his camels ran away from a hare. 'Amr went after them and overtook them, and so was called Mudrikah. 'Āmir took the hare and cooked it, and so was called Ṭābikhah. 'Umayr slunk *inqama'a* into the tents and did not come out, and so was called Qama'ah. Their mother came walking out, and Ilyās said to her, "Where are you hurrying to (*tukhandifīn*)?" So she was called Khindif. The word *khandafah* means a certain kind of walking.

Qusayy b. Kilāb said:

My mother is Khindif and Ilyās is my father.

Ilyās said to his son 'Amr: [1108]

What you sought you have overtaken (*adrakta*)

and to 'Āmir:

What you cooked (*ṭabakhta*) you have done to a turn

and to 'Umayr:

You have done badly and have slunk away.

Ilyās

Mudrikah was the son of Ilyās, whose mother was al-Rabāb bt.

Ḥaydah b. Ma'add and whose full brother was al-Nās, who was 'Aylān. He is said to have been called 'Aylān because people used to remonstrate with him over his generosity, and say, "You will be overcome by destitution *('aylah)*, 'Aylān." So this name stuck to him. Others say that he was called this because he was born on a mountain called 'Aylān, while yet others say that he was called this because he was raised by a slave of Muḍar called 'Aylān.

Muḍar

Ilyās was the son of Muḍar, whose mother was Sawdah bt. 'Akk and whose full brother was Iyād. They had two paternal half brothers, Rabī'ah and Anmār, whose mother was Jaddālah bt. Wa'lān b. Jawsham b. Julhumah b. 'Amr of Jurhum. Some say that when Nizār b. Ma'add was on the point of death he made his will and divided his wealth among his sons. He said, "This leather tent—it was a tent of red leather—and that of my wealth which resembles it go to Muḍar [as a result, Muḍar was called al-Ḥamrā', the red]; this black hair tent and that of my wealth which resembles
[1109] it go to Rabī'ah. [He left black horses, and Rabī'ah was called al-Faras, the horse.] This female servant and that of my wealth which resembles her go to Iyād. [She was grey-haired, so he took the piebald horses and the small sheep and goats]; and this purse full of dirhams and this place of assembly go to Anmār so that he can sit in it [and Anmār took what he had been given]. If you have any problems about this and you differ about the division, then betake yourselves to al-Af'ā al-Jurhumī."

They did differ about the division, so they set off for al-Af'ā. While they were on their way, Muḍar saw pasturage which had been grazed over, and said, "The camel which has been grazing this pasturage is one-eyed." Rabī'ah said, "It is crooked." Iyad said, "It is dock-tailed," and Anmār said, "It is a stray." They had not gone much farther before they were met by a man whose riding camel was carrying him along at a gentle pace. He asked them about the camel, and Muḍar said, "Is it one-eyed?" The man said, "Yes." Then Rabī'ah said, "Is it crooked?" The man said, "Yes." Then Iyād said, "Is it dock-tailed?" The man said, "Yes." Finally Anmār said, "Is it a stray?" The man said, "Yes." Then he said, "This is the description of my camel. Show me where it is." They

swore to him that they had never seen it, but he clung to them and said, "How can I believe you, when you have described my camel just as it is?" So they all went on together, and finally reached Najrān. They halted at the dwelling of al-Afʿā al-Jurhumī, and the owner of the camel cried out, "These people have my camel. They described it to me just as it is, and then said, 'We have never seen it.' " The Jurhumī said, "How could you describe it when you have never seen it?" Muḍar said, "I saw that it had grazed on one side and left the other side alone, so I knew that it was one-eyed." Rabīʿah said "I saw that one of its feet had left a firm imprint while the other had left a weak one, so I knew that this was because it leaned heavily to one side owing to its crookedness." Iyād said, "I knew that it was dock-tailed because of the compactness of its dung. If it had had a long tail, it would have hit the dung with it." Anmār said, "I knew that it was a stray, because it had grazed an area with dense vegetation and had then left it for another area with thinner and poorer vegetation." Then the Jurhumī said, "They do not have your camel. Go and look for it." [1110]

Then he asked them who they were. They told him, and he welcomed them, saying, "Do you need me, when you are as perspicacious as I see you to be?" He called for food for them, and they and he ate and drank. Muḍar said, "I have never seen more excellent wine than this which we are drinking today, unless it has grown on a grave." Rabīʿah said, "I have never eaten meat more delicious, unless it has been fed on dog's milk." Iyād said, "I have never seen a man more generous than I have today, unless he be born of a father other than the one he claims." Anmār said, "I have never heard speech more profitable for our needs." The Jurhumī heard these words and marvelled at what they said. He went to his mother and questioned her, and she told him that she had been married to a king who could beget no children, and that, being unwilling that the kingship should depart, she had given a man who was staying with her the freedom to do with her as he would; so he lay with her, and she became pregnant by him. Next, he questioned his steward about the wine, and he said, "It comes from a trellised vine which I planted on your father's grave." Lastly, he went to his shepherd and asked him about the meat, and he said, "It is a sheep which I fed on the milk of a bitch, since no other sheep had been born in the flock."

He asked Muḍar, "How did you know that the wine had grown on a grave?" He replied, "Because I felt a severe thirst when I drank it." Then he asked Rabīʿah, "How did you recognize it?" and he told him. Then the Jurhumī came to them and said, "Describe to me the situation in which you find yourselves." So they told him the story of their father's will, and he awarded the red leather tent, the (gold) dinars, and the camels, which were red, to Muḍar, the black hair tent and the black horses to Rabīʿah, the female servant, who was grey-haired, and the piebald horses to Iyād and the (silver) dirhams to Anmār.

Nizār

[1111] Muḍar was the son of Nizār. It is said that Nizār had the patronymic (*kunyah*) Abū Iyād, and it is also said that on the contrary he was called Abū Rabīʿah. His mother was Muʿānah bt. Jawsham b. Julhumah b. ʿAmr, and his full brothers were Qunuṣ, Qunāṣah, Sinām,[46] Ḥaydān, Ḥaydah, Hayādah, Junayd, Junādah, al-Qaḥm, ʿUbayd al-Rammaḥ, al-ʿUrf, ʿAwf, Shakk, and Quḍāʿah. Maʿadd was called Abū Nizār after Nizār. The lines of many of these brothers have died out.

Maʿadd

Nizār was the son of Maʿadd. It is claimed by Hishām that Maʿadd's mother was Mahdad bt. al-Lihamm—according to others, al-Lahm—b. Jalḥab b. Jadīs or b. Ṭasm, or b. al-Ṭawsam, one of the descendants of Yaqshān the son of Abraham, the friend of the Compassionate.[47]

Al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Saʿd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAjlānī: His full brothers were al-Dīth—it is said that al-Dīth was ʿAkk, and it is also said that ʿAkk was the son of al-Dīth b. ʿAdnān—ʿAdan b. ʿAdnān, of whom some genealogists claim that he was the Lord of

46. Vocalization unclear.

47. Abraham is often referred to in Arabic as the Friend of God, following Qurʿān 4:125, where it is said that "God took Abraham as a friend" (*khalīl*). The town of Hebron, which is associated with Abraham, is known in Arabic as al-Khalīl. Abraham is also called "friend of God" in the Bible: Isaiah 41:8; James 2:23.

Aden, which is named after him, and that its inhabitants were his descendants, but that they became extinct; Abyan, of whom they claim that he was Lord of Abyan, that it was named after him, and that its inhabitants were his descendants, but that they became extinct; al-Ḍaḥḥāk; and al-ʿAkk. The mother of all of them was Maʿadd's mother. Some genealogists say that ʿAkk departed for Samrān, in the Yemen, leaving his brother Maʿadd. This is because when the people of Ḥaḍūr killed Shuʿayb b. Dhī Mahdam al-Ḥaḍūrī God sent Nebuchadnezzar against them as a punishment. Armiyā and Barkhiyā went away taking Maʿadd with them, and when the warfare had died down they took him back to Mecca. Maʿadd then found that his brothers and uncles who were descended from ʿAdnān had joined the peoples of the Yemen and had intermarried with them; the Yemenites were sympathetic to them because they were descendants of Jurhum. They quote the following verses in proof of the above story: [1112]

We left our brothers, al-Dīth and ʿAkk
on their way to Samrān, and they departed quickly.
They were of the Banū ʿAdnān,
but they lost this descent irrevocably among themselves.

ʿAdnān[48]

Maʿadd was the son of ʿAdnān. ʿAdnān had two paternal half brothers, one called Nabt and the other ʿAmr. The genealogists do not differ concerning the descent of our Prophet Muḥammad as far as Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān, which is as I have expounded it.

Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Lahīʿah—Abū al-Aswad and others: The lineage of the Messenger of God is as follows; Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murrah b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Nadr b.Kinānah b. Khuzaymah b. Mudrikah b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān b. Udad; they differ concerning what comes after that. [1113]

48. According to the standard genealogical system, ʿAdnān is the ancestor of all the so-called northern Arabs. In the list of his sons above, ʿAyy of the text has been corrected to ʿAkk.

'Adnān's Descent from Ishmael, Abraham, and Adam[49]

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār—Yaḥyā b. al-Miqdād al-Zam'ī—his paternal uncle Mūsā b. Ya'qūb b. 'Abdallāh b. Wahb b. Zam'ah—his maternal aunt Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet: I heard the Messenger of God say, "Ma'add b. 'Adnān b. Udad b. Zand b. Yarā b. A'rāq al-Tharā." Umm Salamah: Zand is al-Hamaysa', Yarā is Nabt and A'rāq al-Tharā is Ishmael, son of Abraham.

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Ajlānī—Mūsā b. Ya'qūb al-Zam'ī—his paternal aunt—her grandmother Bint al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad al-Bahrānī: The Messenger of God said, "Ma'add b. 'Adnān b. Udad b. Yarā b. A'rāq al-Tharā."[50]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Ibn Isḥāq: 'Adnān, as some genealogists assert, was the son of Udad b. Muqawwam b. Nāhūr
[1114] b. Tayraḥ b. Ya'rub b. Yashjub b. Nābit b. Ismā'īl (Ishmael) b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham), while others say: 'Adnān b. Udad b. Aytahab b. Ayyūb b. Qaydhar b. Ismā'īl (Ishmael) b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham). Quṣayy b. Kilāb traces his descent back to Qaydhar in his poetry. Yet other genealogists say: 'Adnān b. Mayda' b. Māni' b. Udad b. Ka'b b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. al-Hamaysa' b. Qaydhar b. Ismā'īl (Ishmael) b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham). These differences arise because it is an old science, taken from the people of the first Book (the Old Testament).

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Hishām (al-Kalbī): Someone told me on the authority of my father, Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, although I did not hear this from him myself, that he traced the descent as follows; Ma'add b. 'Adnān b. Udad b. al-Hamaysa' b. Salāmān b. 'Awṣ b. Būz b. Qamwāl b. Ubayy b. al-'Awwām b.

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49. It is obvious to modern scholars that the lists of names between 'Adnān and Adam have somehow or other been derived from those in the Bible. Most early Muslim scholars, however, were unwilling to admit to a Biblical source, and they often mentioned only their immediate source (as did Ibn Isḥāq in the standard text). In the material given by Ṭabarī we find both acknowledgement of the Biblical source and an attempt to provide an Arab source.

50. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I:28.6-9; later passages are from I:28.20-29.19. There is no certainty about the vocalization of many of the names in the following lists. We have usually followed those given in the Leiden edition, which are partly based on the Hebrew parallels. It is also to be remembered that in some cases the names may be derived from a Syriac translation of the Hebrew. We have not called special attention to the Biblical parallels. In some names the diacritical points, and, therefore, the consonants, are uncertain.

Nāshid b. Ḥazā b. Bildās b. Yidlāf b. Ṭābakh b. Jāḥam b. Ṭāḥash b. Mākhā b. ʿAyfā b. ʿAbqar b. ʿUbayd b. al-Daʿā b. Ḥamdān b. Sanbar [1115] b. Yathribī b. Yaḥzan b. Yalḥan b. Arʿawā b. ʿAyfā b. Dayshān b. ʿĪsar b. Aqnād b. Ayhām b. Muqṣir b. Nāḥath b. Rizāḥ b. Shammā b. Mizzā b. ʿAwṣ b. ʿArrām b. Qaydhar b. Ismāʿīl (Ishmael) b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham).

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Saʿd—Hishām b. Muḥammad (al-Kalbī): There was a man from Tadmur whose patronymic (*kunyah*) was Abū Yaʿqūb. He was one of the children of Israel who had become a Muslim, who had read in their books and become deeply learned. He said that Barūkh b. Nāriyyā,[51] a scribe from Urmiyā, had established the lineage of Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān with him and had set it down in his writings. It was well known among the learned men of the People of the Book and set down in their books. It was close to the names given above, and perhaps the difference between them was owing to the language, since these names had been transliterated from the Hebrew. [1116]

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Saʿd: Hishām (al-Kalbī) recited to me the following line of verse, which was related to him by his father:

I belong to no tribe which brought me up
but that in which the descendants of Qaydhar and
al-Nabīt took root.

By al-Nabīt, he meant Nabt b. Ismāʿīl (Ishmael).

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār—ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr al-Muʿammalī—Zakariyyāʾ b. ʿĪsā—Ibn Shihāb: Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān b. Udad b. al-Hamaysaʿ b. Asḥub b. Nabt b. Qaydhar b. Ismāʿīl (Ishmael).

Others relate: Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān b. Udad b. Umayn b. Shājab b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAtr b. Yarbaḥ b. Muḥallam b. al-ʿAwwām b. Muḥtamil b. Rāʿimah b. al-ʿAyqān b. ʿAllah b. al-Shaḥdūd b. al- [1117] Ẓarīb b. ʿAbqar b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham) b. Ismāʿīl b. Yazan b. Aʿwaj b. al-Muṭʿim b. al-Ṭamḥ b. al-Qasūr b. ʿAnūd b. Daʿdaʿ b. Maḥmūd b. al-Zāʿid b. Nadwān b. Atāmah b. Daws b. Ḥiṣn b. al-Nizāl b. al-Qumayr b. al-Mushajjir b. Muʿdamir b. Ṣayfī b. Nabt b. Qaydhār b. Ismāʿīl (Ishmael) b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham), the Friend of the Compassionate.

Still others: Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān b. Udad b. Zayd b. Yaqdir b.

51. Baruch son of Neraiah was the secretary of Jeremiah.

Yaqdum b. Hamaysa' b. Nabt b. Qaydhar b. Ismā'īl (Ishmael) b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham).

Others: Ma'add b. 'Adnān b. Udad b. al-Hamaysa' b. Nabt b. Salmān, who is Salāmān, b. Ḥamal b. Nabt b. Qaydhar b. Ismā'īl (Ishmael) b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham).

Others: Ma'add b. 'Adnān b. Udad b. al-Muqawwam b. Nāḥūr b. Mishraḥ b. Yashjub b. Malik b. Ayman b. al-Nabīt b. Qaydhar
[1118] b. Ismā'īl (Ishmael) b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham).

Others: Ma'add b. 'Adnān b. Udd b. Udad b. al-Hamaysa' b. Asḥub b. Sa'd b. Yarbaḥ b. Naḍīr b. Ḥumayl b. Munaḥḥim b. Lāfath b. al-Ṣābūḥ b. Kinānah b. al-'Awwām b. Nabt b. Qaydar b. Ismā'īl (Ishmael).

A certain genealogist told me that he had found that some Arab scholars had memorized forty ancestors of Ma'add as far as Ismā'īl (Ishmael) in Arabic, quoting Arabic verses as evidence for this, and that he had collated the names they gave with what the People of the Book say and had found that the number agreed but that the actual names differed. He dictated these names to me and I wrote them down. They are as follows; Ma'add b. 'Adnān b. Udad b. Hamaysa' (Hamaysa' is Salmān, who is Umayn) b. Hamayta' (who is Hamayda', who is al-Shājab) b. Salāmān (who is Munjir Nabīt, so called, he claimed, because he fed the Arabs on milk and flour *anjara*, as the people lived well in his time. He quoted as evidence for this, the verse of Qa'nab b. 'Attāb al-Riyāḥī:

[1119] Ṭayy calls upon me, but Ṭayy is distant,
and reminds me of the *bālūdh* [52] of the times of Nabīt.)

Nabīt b. 'Awṣ (he is Tha'labah, to whom the Tha'labīs' descent is traced back) b. Būrā (who is Būz, who is 'Atr al-'Atā'ir, the first person to institute the custom of the *'atīrah* [53] for the Arabs) b. Shūḥā (who is Sa'd Rajab, the first person to institute the custom of the *rajabiyyah* for the Arabs) b. Ya'mānā (who is Qamwāl, who is Yarbaḥ al-Nāṣib, who lived in the time of Sulaymān b. Dāwūd

52. A sweetmeat, possibly a kind of blancmange, prepared from starch or flour, water, and honey, more usually *falūdh* or *falūdhaj* in Arabic. The word is originally Persian, *pālūda*.

53. A sacrificial lamb; the *rajabiyyah* mentioned below was a sheep or goat sacrificed by the Arabs in the month of Rajab in the Jāhiliyyah. The practice was forbidden in Islamic times. See Lane, p. 1034.

the prophet) b. Kasdānā (who is Muḥallam Dhū al-ʿAyn) b. Ḥazānā (who is al-ʿAwwām) b. Bildāsā (who is al-Muḥtamil) b. Badlānā (who is Yidlāf, who is Rāʿimah) b. Taḥbā (who is Ṭahab who is al-ʿAyqān) b. Jahmā (who is Jāḥam, who is ʿAllah) b. Maḥshā (who is Tāḥash. who is al-Shaḥdūd) b. Maʿjālā (who is Mākhā, who is al-Ẓarīb Khāṭim al-Nār b. ʿAqārā (who is ʿĀfā, who is ʿAbqar, the father of the Jinn, to whom the garden of Abqar is ascribed) b. ʿAqārā (who is ʿĀqir, who is Ibrāhīm Jāmiʿ al-Shaml. He was called Jāmiʿ al-Shaml (settler of affairs) because every fearful person felt safe in his reign; he returned every outcast, and he attempted to make peace between all men) b. Bandāʿā (who is al-Daʿā, who is Ismāʿīl Dhū al-Maṭābikh (master of the kitchens), who was so called because during his reign he established a house for guests in every town of the Arabs) b. Abdāʿī (who is ʿUbayd, who is Yazan al-Ṭaʿʿān, the first man to fight with lances, which are ascribed to him) b. Hamādā (who is Ḥamdān, who is Ismāʿīl Dhū al-Aʿwaj; al-Aʿwaj was his horse, and the Aʿwajī breed of horses is ascribed to him) b. Bashmānī (who is Yashbīn, who is al-Muṭʿim fī al-Mahl) b. Bathrānī (who is Bathram, who is al-Ṭamḥ) b. Baḥrānī (who is Yaḥzan, who is al-Qasūr) b. Yalḥānī (who is Yalḥan, who is al-ʿAnūd) b. Raʿwānī (who is Raʿwā, who is al-Daʿdaʿ) b. ʿĀqārā (who is ʿĀqir) b. Dāsān, (who is al-Zāʿid) b. ʿĀṣār (who is ʿĀṣir, who is al-Naydawān Dhū al-Andiyah; in his reign the sons of al-Qādhūr (who is al-Qādūr) were dispersed and the kingship departed from the descendants of al-Nabīt b. al-Qādūr and passed to the sons of Jāwān b. al-Qādūr, and then returned to them again) b. Qanādī (who is Qanār, who is Ayyāmah) b. Thāmār (who is Bahāmī, who is Daws al-ʿItq, Daws who, he asserts, was the most beautiful of mankind in his time. There is an Arab proverb, *aʿtaq min Daws,* which has two significations, either referring to his beauty (*ʿitq)* or to his antiquity (also *ʿitq),* that is, either "more beautiful than Daws" or "more ancient than Daws." In his reign Jurhum b. Fālij and Qatūrā were exterminated. This is because they acted wrongfully in the sacred precincts (Ḥaram), and Daws killed them. Tiny ants followed in the tracks of those of them who survived, penetrated into their ears, and destroyed them.) b. Muqṣir (who is Maqāṣirī, who is Ḥiṣn; he is also called Nāḥath, who is al-Nizāl) b. Zāriḥ (who is Qumayr) b. Sammī who is Sammā, who is al-Mujashshir, who was, he asserted, the most just king to succeed

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to power and the best in managing his affairs; speaking of him, Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt[54] said to Heraclius, the King of the Greeks:

[1122] Be like al-Mujashshir, of whom his subjects said
"al-Mujashshir was the most faithful of us in
fulfilling what he undertook.")

b. Marzā—or, some say, Marhar—b. Ṣanfa (who is al-Samr, who is al-Ṣafī, the most generous king to be seen on the face of the earth; of him Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt said:

al-Ṣafī b. Nabīt, when he was king,
was loftier and more generous than Heraclius and Caesar.)

b. Ja'tham (who is 'Urām, who is al-Nabīt, who is Qaydhar; the interpretation of Qaydhar, he said, is "ruler", for he was the first of the descendants of Ismā'īl to be king) b. Ismā'īl (Ishmael), who was faithful to his promise, b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham), the Friend of the Compassionate, b. Tāriḥ (who is Āzar) b. Nāḥūr b. Sārū' b. Arghawā b. Bāligh (the interpretation of Bāligh is "the divider" as in Syriac; this is because it was he who divided the lands between the descendants of Adam, and he is Fālij) b. 'Ābar b. Shālikh b. Arfakhshad b. Sām (Shem) b. Nūḥ (Noah) b. Lamk b. Mattūshalakh b. Akhnūkh (he is the prophet Idrīs)[55] b. Yard (he is Yārid, in whose time idols were made) b. Mahlā'īl b. Qaynān b. Anūsh b. Shithth (who is Hibatallāh) b. Ādam. Shithth (Seth) was the successor of his father after Hābīl (Abel) was killed; his father said, "A gift of God (*Hibatallāh*) in exchange for Hābil," and his name was de-
[1123] rived from this.

We have mentioned earlier in this work in a concise and abridged form a part of what we have been able to discover of the accounts of Ismā'īl (Ishmael) b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham) and his ancestors, male and female, back to Adam, and of the events of every age during this period of time, and we shall not repeat them here. Hishām b. Muḥammad: The Arabs used to say, "The flea has bit-

54. For Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt, a poet from al-Ṭā'if, roughly contemporary with Muḥammad, see *EI* [1], s.v. and *GAL S*, I:55f. Heraclius is the well-known Byzantine emperor.

55. A prophet mentioned in the Qur'ān as "raised to high station" by God (19:56f.; see 21:85). He is usually identified with the Biblical Enoch (Akhnūkh) who "walked with God, and he was not, for God took Him" (Genesis 5:24). For other identifications see *EI* [2], s.v. Idrīs.

ten since our father Anūsh was born, and sin has been forbidden since our father Shithth was born." The Syriac name for Shithth is Shīth.

The Account of the Messenger of God and His Life

The Messenger of God Is Recognized by the Monk Baḥīrā

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥaq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr.[56] 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died eight years after the Year of the Elephant. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had entrusted the Messenger of God to the care of his paternal uncle Abū Ṭālib, because Abū Ṭālib and 'Abdallāh, the father of the Messenger of God, had had the same mother. Abū Ṭālib assumed responsibility for the Messenger of God after the death of his grandfather and kept him with him. Once Abū Ṭālib was going on a trading expedition to Syria with a party of Quraysh, but when he had made his preparations and was ready to set out, the Messenger of God, as they allege, could not bear to be separated from him. Abū Ṭālib took pity on him and
[1124] said, "By God, I will take him with me, and we shall never part from one another," or words to that effect; and took him with him.

The caravan halted at Buṣra[57] in Syria, where there was a learned Christian monk named Baḥīrā in his cell. There had always been a monk in that cell, and their knowledge was passed on, it is alleged, by means of a book which was handed down from generation to generation. When the caravan halted at Baḥīrā's cell this year, he prepared a copious meal for them, because while he was

56. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 115–17; Ṭabarī omits some details given by Ibn Isḥāq. For Baḥīrā see *EI* ^{2}, s.v. Baḥīrā.

57. Bostra.

in his cell he had seen the Messenger of God shaded by a cloud which marked him out from among the company. Then they had come near, and, when they halted in the shade of a tree close to him, he observed the cloud covering the tree and bending down its branches over the Messenger of God until he was in the shade beneath it. When Baḥīrā saw this, he descended from his cell and sent the caravan a message inviting them all. When he saw the Messenger of God, he observed him very intently, noting features of his person whose description he had found in his book. After the company had finished the meal and dispersed, he asked the Messenger of God about certain matters which had taken place both when he was awake and when he was asleep. The Messenger of God told him, and he found that these things corresponded to the description which he had found in his book. Finally he looked at Muḥammad's back, and saw the seal of prophethood between his shoulders.

After this Baḥīrā asked Muḥammad's uncle, Abū Ṭālib, "What relation is this boy to you?" "My son," he replied. "He is not your son," said Baḥīrā. "This boy's father cannot be living." "He is my brother's son," said Abū Ṭālib. "What happened to his father?" he asked. "He died while the boy's mother was pregnant with him," he replied. "You have spoken the truth," said Baḥīrā. "Take him back to your country, and be on your guard against the Jews, for, by God, if they see him and recognize what I have recognized in him, they will seek to do him harm. Great things lie ahead of him, [1125] so take him back quickly to his country." His uncle then took him quickly back to Mecca.

Hishām b. Muḥammad: Abū Ṭālib took the Messenger of God to Buṣra in Syria when he was nine years old.

Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad—Abū Nūh—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—Abū Bakr b. Abī Mūsā—Abū Mūsā: Abū Ṭālib set off for Syria accompanied by the Messenger of God and a number of shaykhs of Quraysh. When they were above the monk's cell they went down and unloaded their camels. The monk came out to meet them, even though when they had passed by him previously he had not done so nor paid any attention to them. As they were encamped among their baggage he went among them, finally coming up and taking hold of the hand of the Messenger of God. Then he said, "This is the Chief of the Worlds; this is the Messenger of the Lord

of the Worlds: this person has been sent by God as a mercy to the Worlds." The shaykhs of the Quraysh said to him, "What is it that you know?" He replied, "I know that when you appeared at the top of the pass there was not a tree or a stone which did not prostrate itself in worship; and they only prostrate themselves to a prophet. I also recognize him by the seal of prophethood which is below the cartilage of his shoulders and which is like an apple." Then he returned and prepared a meal for them. When he brought it to them, the Messenger of God was tending the camels, so he said, "Send for him." He came with a cloud above him, and Baḥīrā said, "Look at him! There is a cloud above him which is shading him." When he approached the company he found that they had already occupied the shade of the tree; but when he sat down, the shade of the tree moved to cover him. Then Baḥīrā said, "Look at the shade of the tree! It has moved to cover him."

[1126] While he was standing by them beseeching them not to take the Messenger of God to the land of the Byzantines, since if these saw him they would recognize him by his description and would kill him, he turned around and suddenly beheld seven men advancing from the land of the Byzantines. He went up to meet them and said, "What brings you here?" They replied, "We have come because this prophet is appearing in this month. Men have been sent to every road, and we have been chosen as the best of men and sent to your road." "Have you left anyone behind you who is better than you?" he asked. "No," they said, "We have been chosen as the best of men for your road." He asked them, "Do you believe that something which God wishes to bring about can be prevented by any man?" "No," they said, and they followed him and remained with him. Then he went up to the members of the caravan and said to them, "I ask you in God's name, which of you is his guardian?" "Abū Ṭālib," they said. He did not cease to beseech Abū Ṭālib until he sent the Messenger of God back. Abū Bakr sent Bilāl to accompany him, and the monk supplied him with provisions of cakes and oil.

The Messenger of God Is Protected by God from Participating in Pagan Practices

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b.

'Abdallāh b. Qays b. Makhramah—al-Hasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib—his father, Muḥammad b. 'Alī—his grandfather, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: I heard the Messenger of God saying, "I was only tempted to take part in heathen practices on two occasions, and both times God prevented me from doing what I wanted. After that I was never tempted to evil, right up to the time when God honored me by making me his Messenger. One night I said to a lad from the Quraysh who was guarding flocks with me in the high ground of Mecca, 'Would you watch my flock for me so that I can go into Mecca and spend an evening there like other young men?' He agreed, so I set off with this object in mind. When I came to the first settlement in Mecca I heard the sound of tambourines and pipes, and I asked what was happening. They said that a wedding [1127] was taking place, so I sat down to watch them. But God prevented me from hearing, and I went to sleep and did not wake up until I felt the touch of the sun. Then I went back to my companion, who asked me what I had done. 'I did not do anything,' I replied, and then told him what had happened. Another night I made the same request, and he agreed, so I set out. When I reached Mecca I heard the same sound which I had heard on that earlier night, and I sat down to watch. Once again God prevented me from hearing and, by God, I only woke up when I felt the touch of the sun. I went back to my companion and told him what had happened. After that I was not tempted to evil, right up to the time when God honoured me by making me his Messenger."

The Prophet's Marriage to Khadījah[58]

Hishām b. Muḥammad: The Messenger of God married Khadījah when he was twenty-five years old. At that time, Khadījah was forty years of age.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy was a wealthy and respected merchant. She used to employ men to engage in trade with her prop-

58. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrāh*, 119–21; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I:35.5-10. It is not clear how it was possible for Khadījah to trade on her own account, but the sources speak of at least one other Meccan woman who did so. Khadījah had previously been twice married, and the husbands were presumably now dead, so this may have had something to do with her special position.

erty and gave them a share in the profits, for Quraysh were a trading people. When she heard of the Messenger of God's truthfulness, reliability, and nobility of character, she sent for him and proposed to him that he should go to Syria and engage in trade with her property; she would give him more than she gave other men who traded for her and also a slave of hers called Maysarah. The Messenger of God accepted, and set out to trade with her property accompanied by her slave Maysarah. When he reached Syria he halted in the shade of a tree near a monk's cell. The monk
[1128] went up to Maysarah and said, "Who is this man who has halted beneath this tree?" Maysarah replied, "He is a man of Quraysh, one of the people of the sacred precinct (Ḥaram)." "No one has ever halted beneath this tree but a prophet," said the monk.

The Messenger of God sold the goods which he had brought with him, bought what he wanted to buy, and then set off back to Mecca accompanied by Maysarah. They assert that whenever the noonday heat grew intense Maysarah saw two angels shading him from the sun as he rode his camel. When he arrived in Mecca, he brought Khadījah her property, which she sold for twice the price or nearly so. Then Maysarah informed her of what the monk had said and how he himself had seen the two angels shading him. Khadījah was a resolute, intelligent and noble woman, and in addition to this God wished to ennoble her, so when Maysarah told her these things she sent for the Messenger of God and, it is reported, said to him, "Cousin, your kinship to me,[59] your standing among your people, your reliability, your good character and your truthfulness make you a desirable match." Then she offered herself to him in marriage. Khadījah was then the most distinguished of the women of Quraysh in lineage, the most highly honored, and the wealthiest, and all the men of her tribe would have been eager to accept this proposal had it been made to them. When she made this offer to the Messenger of God he told his uncles about it, and Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went with him to Khuwaylid b. Asad and asked for (his daughter) Khadījah's hand on Muḥammad's behalf. Khuwaylid married Khadījah to the Messenger of God, and she bore all his children except for Ibrāhīm. They were Zaynab, Ruqayyah, Umm Kulthūm, Fātimah, al-Qāsim—

59. They were not closely related, but both were descendants of Quṣayy.

from whom he received his *kunyah* of Abū al-Qāsim—al-Tāhir, and al-Ṭayyib.[60] Al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, and al-Ṭayyib died during the Jāhiliyyah, while all of his daughters lived until Islam, became [1129] Muslims, and emigrated with him to al-Madīnah.

Al-Ḥarith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ma'mar and others—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī: a similar report was given by other local scholars:[61] Khadījah hired only the Messenger of God and another man from Quraysh to go to the market of Ḥubāshah in Tihāmah. It was her father Khuwaylid who married her to Muḥammad, and the person who acted as an intermediary was a half-breed freedwoman from Mecca.

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—al-Wāqidī: All of this is an error.

Al-Wāqidī: They also say that Khadījah sent a message to the Messenger of God inviting him to take her, meaning that they should marry. She was a highly respected woman, and the whole of Quraysh would have been eager to marry her and would have spent much money to that end had they aspired to it. She called her father to her house, plied him with wine until he was drunk, slaughtered a cow, anointed him with perfume and clothed him in a striped robe; then she sent for the Messenger of God and his uncles and, when they came in, her father married him to her. When her father recovered from his intoxication, he said, "What is this meat, this perfume, and this garment?" She replied, "You have married me to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh." "I have not done so," he said. "Would I do this, when the greatest men of Mecca have asked for you and I have not agreed?"

Al-Wāqidī: This is also an error. In our opinion the trustworthy version is what is preserved in the account of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muslim—his father—Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im; and in the account of Ibn Abī al-Zinād—Hishām b. Urwah—his father—'Ā'ishah; and in the account of Ibn Abī Ḥabībah—Dāūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: Her uncle 'Amr b. Asad married her to the Messenger of God. Her father died before the Sac- [1130]

60. Al-Ṭāhir is also said to have been called 'Abdallāh. Some critics have suggested that al-Ṭayyib is also an epithet applied to 'Abdallāh. None of the sources see anything unusual (or miraculous) in Khadījah having had seven children after the age of forty.

61. Literally, "the same was said by others than he of the people of the town," perhaps al-Madīnah or Damascus.

rilegious War (*al-fijār*).[62]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): Khadījah's house at that time was the house which is still known today and called Khadījah's House. It is related that Mu'āwiyah[63] bought it and turned it into a mosque in which people could pray. He rebuilt it in the form in which it exists today without alteration. The stone which is at the door of the house to the left as you go in is the stone beneath which the Messenger of God used to sit to shelter himself when people threw stones at him from the houses of Abū Lahab[64] and 'Adī b. Ḥamrā' al-Thaqafī, behind the house of Ibn 'Alqamah. The stone measures a cubit (*dhirā'*) and a span (*shibr*) one way, and a cubit the other way.

62. This was a war in which Quraysh supported by Kinānah fought against the tribe of Qays 'Aylān during the sacred month. It is said to have occurred when Muḥammad was twenty, that is, in A.D. 590; and he did not marry Khadījah until five years later. See *EI* [2], s.v. Fidjār.

63. Umayyad caliph who reigned from A.D. 661 to 680. Abū Lahab (below) was the uncle of Muḥammad who succeeded Abū Ṭālib as chief of Hāshim and turned against Muḥammad.

64. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 122–26.

Events of the Life of the Messenger of God

The Rebuilding of the Ka'bah[65]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): We have mentioned previously the circumtances of the Prophet's marriage to Khadījah, the various conflicting reports about it, and the date of its occurence. Ten years after the marriage of the Messenger of God to Khadījah, Quraysh demolished the Ka'bah and then rebuilt it. According to Ibn Isḥāq, this was in the Messenger of God's thirty-fifth year.

Ibn Ḥumayad—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The reason for their demolition of the Ka'bah was that at this time it consisted of loose stones rising to somewhat above a man's height, and they wished to make it higher and roof it over, since some men, Qurashites and others, had stolen the treasure of the Ka'bah, which was kept in a well in its interior.

History of the Ka'bah

Hisham b. Muḥammad—his father: The story of the two gazelles of the Ka'bah is as follows. The Ka'bah had been destroyed when the people of Noah were drowned, and God commanded his friend Abraham and Abraham's son Ishmael to rebuild it on its original [1131]
foundations. This they did, as is stated in the Qur'ān:[66] And when Abraham and Ishmael were raising the foundations of the House

65. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah,* (vol):122–26. There is nothing in the Qur'ān to connect Noah with the Ka'bah, so this must be a deduction by later Muslim scholars from the statement that the whole world was destroyed by the flood in the time of Noah.

66. 2:127.

(Abraham prayed): Our Lord! Accept from us (this duty). Only You are the Hearer, the Knower.

It had not had any custodians since its destruction in the time of Noah. Then God commanded Abraham to settle his son by the Ka'bah, wishing thereby to show a mark of esteem to one whom he later ennobled by means of his Prophet Muḥammad. Abraham, the Friend of the Compassionate, and his son Ishmael were custodians of the Ka'bah after the time of Noah. At that time, Mecca was uninhabited, and the surrounding country was inhabited by the Jurhum and 'Amāliqah.[67] Ishmael married a woman of the Jurhum. On this subject, 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ said:

We allied ourselves by marriage to a man with the
noblest of fathers;
his sons are of us, and we are his brothers-in-law.

After Abraham, Ishmael became the custodian of the Ka'bah, and after him, Nabt and his Jurhumī mother. When Nabt died, since Ishmael's sons were not numerous, Jurhum seized the custodianship. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ said:

We were the custodians of the Ka'bah after Nābit;
we circumambulated it and good was manifest.

The first of the Jurhum to be custodian of the Ka'bah was Muḍāḍ, followed by his descendants, generation after generation. Eventually the Jurhum acted wrongfully in Mecca, held lawful that which was forbidden, misappropriated the wealth which had been presented to the Ka'bah, and oppressed those who came to Mecca. Their behavior became so unrestrained that when one of them could not find a place in which to fornicate he would go into the Ka'bah and do it there. It is asserted that Isāf fornicated with Nā'ilah in the interior of the Ka'bah and that they were transformed into two stones. During the Jāhiliyyah, any person who
[1132] acted wrongfully or oppresively in Mecca, or any king who held lawful what was forbidden there, perished on the spot. Mecca was called al-Nāssah, and was also called Bakkah, because it used to break *(tabukk)* the necks of evildoers and tyrants when they acted

67. These are the Amalekites of the Bible, but in the traditional history of pre-Islamic Arabia there is much non-Biblical material about them. See *EI* [2], s.v. 'Amāliḳ.

wrongfully there.

The Jurhum did not desist from their wickedness. When the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir dispersed from the Yemen,[68] the Banū Ḥārithah b. ʿAmr split off *(inkhazaʿa)* from them, settled in Tihāmah, and became known as Khuzāʿah.[69] Khuzāʿah consists of the Banū ʿAmr b. Rabīʿah b. Ḥārithah together with the clans of Aslam, Mālik, and Milkān, sons of Afṣā b. Ḥārithah. God sent a bleeding of the nose and a plague of ants[70] against the Jurhum and destroyed them, while Khuzāʿah joined together to expel those of them who survived. The chief of Khuzāʿah at that time was ʿAmr b. Rabīʿah b. Ḥārithah, whose mother was Fuhayrah bt. ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ. A battle took place, and when ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith[71] felt that he would be defeated, he brought out the two gazelles of the Kaʿbah and the stone of the *rukn*,[72] seeking forgiveness, and recited:

O God, Jurhum are your servants;
    our enemies are newcomers, while we are your
    hereditary servants,
Through whom your dwelling has flourished of old.

However his repentance was not accepted (by the opponents), so he flung the two gazelles of the Kaʿbah and the stone of the *rukn* into Zamzam, buried them and left with the remnants of the Jurhum for part of the territory of Juhaynah. There a sudden torrent overtook them and swept them away. On this subject Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt said:

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68. The reference is to ʿAmr Muzayqiyāʾ, who led the migration of several tribes from the Yemen at the time of the breaking of the dam of Maʾrib; he had sons called Ḥārithah and Afṣā.

69. The name Khuzāʿah is here explained as indicating that they have split off (*inkhazaʿa*) from the main tribe. The following sentence suggests that Khuzāʿah was at first a group of small related clans rather than being all descendants of a single ancestor.

70. The ants are mentioned on p. 1121.

71. There is some doubt about whether the name should be ʿĀmir or ʿAmr. ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥārith was the father of Fuhayrah, just mentioned.

72. The phrase *ḥajar al-rukn* is unusual. Each of the corners or angles of the Kaʿbah is called a *rukn*, but the English word "cornerstone" has misleading associations. It is possible that the stone here is the sacred Black Stone, which is now built into one *rukn* of the Kaʿbah and kissed or touched by pilgrims. Near the Black Stone is another stone, "the lucky stone" (*al-ḥajar al-asʿad*), which is touched but not kissed, and this might be what is meant here.

Jurhum blackened Tihāmah with the dung of their cattle
for a while,
and then Iḍam was awash with them all.

[1133] The custodianship was taken over by ʿAmr b. Rabīʿah, or, according to the descendants of Quṣayy, by ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith al-Ghubshānī. He it is who says:

We became custodians of the Kaʿbah after Jurhum
that we might keep it prosperous, free from every
wrongdoer and unbeliever.

He also said:

A valley whose birds and wild animals may not be
touched.
We are its custodians and we do not discharge our
duties dishonestly.

and:

It is as though there had never been a close friend
between al-Ḥajūn and al-Ṣafā
and no companion had engaged in evening conversation
in Mecca.
Nay! We were its people, but we were destroyed
by the vicissitudes of time and stumbling fate.[73]

and:

Travel, men, for it would be negligence on your part
for you not to be travelling one day.
We were men like you, but fate changed our condition,
and you shall be as we were.
Urge on your mounts and slacken your reins
before you die, and perform your duties.

What he means is, "Strive for the hereafter and abandon the concerns of this world."

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73. These two lines are quoted by Ibn Isḥāq (Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 73) as part of a longer poem which he attributes to ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Jurhumī. It is virtually impossible to clear up the confusion of names here. Al-Ḥajūn is a mountain above Mecca, and al-Ṣafā is the point near the Kaʿbah from which the pilgrims begin to run to al-Marwah.

The Ka'bah was taken over by the Khuzā'ah, except that there were three functions which were in the hands of tribes of (the group called) Muḍar. The first of these was the *ijāzah*, the giving of permission to the pilgrims to leave 'Arafah. This was in the hands of al-Ghawth b. Murr, who was (of the clan of) Ṣūfah. When it was time for the permission to be given the Arabs would say, "Give permission, Ṣūfah." The second function was the *ifādah*, the permission for the pilgrims to disperse to Minā on the morning of the sacrifice. This was in the hands of the Banū Zayd b. 'Adwān; the last of them to hold this position was Abū Sayyārah 'Umaylah b. al-A'zal b. Khālid b. Sa'd b. al-Ḥārith b. Wābish b. Zayd. The third function was the *nasī'*, the delaying or postponement of the sacred month (by intercalation).[74] The right to decide this was in the hands of al-Qalammas, who was Ḥudhayfah b. Fuqaym b. 'Adī, of the Banū Mālik b. Kinānah. After him, it passed to his descendants, down to the last of them, Abū Thumāmah, who was Junādah b. 'Awf b. Umayyah b. Qala' b. Hudhayfah. When Islam came, the sacred months had returned to their original times, and God established them firmly and abolished the *nasī'*. [1134]

When Ma'add became numerous, they scattered, as Muhalhil says:

Our abode was in Tihāmah for a time,
and the descendants of Ma'add dwelt there.

As for Quraysh, they did not leave Mecca.

When 'Abd al-Muttalib dug (the well of) Zamzam, he found the two gazelles of the Ka'bah which Jurhum had buried in it and brought them out. We have already mentioned the story of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the two gazelles in the appropriate place earlier

74. The Arabs observed lunar months, but, in order to keep their lunar year in line with the solar year, they occasionally intercalated an extra month; this is what is known as the *nasī'*, the delaying or postponing of the sacred months. There is no mention of any fixed system of intercalation, and so it may have been carried out in haphazard fashion, and perhaps even in ways which were of personal advantage to those making the decision. This is presumably why it was forbidden by the Qur'ān (9:36f.). Muḥammad is said to have made these verses public at the Pilgrimage of Farewell (March 632). This committed the Muslims to a lunar year of 354 days, and thus caused difficulties for those engaged in agriculture who followed the solar calendar. It is difficult to give a reasonable sense to the phrase "had returned to their original times."

in this book.[75]

The Rebuilding of the Ka'bah (Continued)

Returning to the narrative of Ibn Isḥāq:[76] The person in whose house the treasure of the Ka'bah was found was Duwayk, a *mawlā* of the Banū Mulayḥ b. 'Amr of Khuzā'ah, and they cut off his hand publicly. Among those who were suspected in this matter were al-
[1135] Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal, Abū Ihāb b. 'Azīz b. Qays b. Suwayd al-Tamīmī, who was a half brother of al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf on his mother's side, and Abū Lahab b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. These are the people who, Quraysh allege, left the treasure with Duwayk, the *mawlā* of the Banū Mulayḥ, after they had stolen it. When Quraysh accused them of the crime, they informed against Duwayk and his hand was cut off. It is said that they left the stolen treasure with him. They also relate that when Quraysh were certain that al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf had it, they took him to a female Arab soothsayer, who, using her occult skill, pronounced in rhyming prose that he should not enter Mecca for ten years because of his violation of the sanctity of the Ka'bah. They allege that they expelled him from Mecca and that he remained on its outskirts for ten years.

A ship belonging to a Greek merchant had been driven ashore by rough seas at Jeddah and had been broken to pieces. They took its timbers and prepared them for use in roofing over the Ka'bah. There was a Copt in Mecca who was a carpenter, and thus they had both the materials for restoring it and a craftsman ready and at hand. There was a snake which used to come out of the well in the Ka'bah into which votive objects were thrown, and which would lie on top of the Ka'bah wall every day. People were afraid of it because whenever anyone went near it it would draw itself up, make a rustling noise, and open its mouth. One day, as it was
[1136] lying on top of the Ka'bah as usual, God sent against it a bird which seized it and carried it off. On seeing this, the Quraysh said, "We may hope that God is pleased with what we intend to do. We have a companion who is a craftsman and we have timber, while God

75. Above, p.1088.
76. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 122–26. Ibn Hishām omits the passage about Duwayk apart from the first sentence.

has dealt with the snake for us."

This was fifteen years after the Sacrilegious War, when the Messenger of God was thirty-five years old. When they took the decision to demolish and rebuild the Ka'bah, Abū Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm rose and took a stone from it which leapt from his hand and returned to its place. Then he said, "Men of Quraysh, do not spend on its rebuilding any ill-gotten gains, nor money earned by prostitution, usury, or by wronging any man." Some people wrongly ascribe this saying to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ al-Makkī—'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān b. Umayyah b. Khalaf: He saw a son of Ja'dah b. Hubayrah b. Abī Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm circumambulating the Ka'bah and asked about him. They said, "This is a son of Ja'dah b. Hubayrah." Then 'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān said, "This man's grandfather—meaning Abū Wahb—is he who, when Quraysh agreed to demolish the Ka'bah, lifted a stone from it which leapt from his hand and returned to its place. Then he said, 'Men of Quraysh, do not spend on its rebuilding any ill-gotten gains, nor money earned from prostitution, usury, or by wronging any man.' " Abū Wahb was a maternal uncle of the Messenger of God, and was a noble.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: Quraysh divided the work on the Ka'bah between them. The side containing the door went to the Banū 'Abd Manāf and Zuhrah; the section between the Black Stone and the southern corner went to the Makhzūm, Taym, and the clans of Quraysh who were attached to them; the back of the Ka'bah went to the Banū Jumaḥ and Banū Sahm; and the side facing the Ḥijr and the Ḥaṭīm went to the Banū 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy, the Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy, and the Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b. Then, however, they were afraid to demolish it, so al-Walīd b. Mughīrah said, "I will make a start on the demolition for you." He took up his pickaxe and stood by the Ka'bah, saying, "O God, let the Ka'bah not fear. O God, we intend nothing but good." Then he demolished part of it near the two corners.[77] They waited to see what would happen to him that [1137]

77. Since al-Walīd b. Mughīrah belonged to Makhzūm, these were presumably the two corners of the side assigned to them, that is, what lay between the eastern corner (with the Black Stone) and the southern corner.

night, and they said, "Let us watch; if something happens to him we shall not demolish any more of it and shall restore it as it was, and if nothing happens to him we shall know that God is pleased with what we have done, and we shall demolish it." The next morning al-Walīd went early to his work and continued to demolish, and the others then did so also. At last they came to the foundations, reaching green stones like teeth, interlocked with one another.

[1138] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—certain narrators of traditions *(Ḥadīths):* A man of Quraysh who was among these demolishing it thrust a crowbar between two stones to prise one of them up. When the stone moved, the whole of Mecca shook, and then (they knew that) they had reached the foundations.

The clans then gathered stones to rebuild the Ka'bah. Each clan gathered them separately and built separately, and when the building reached the place where the Black Stone was to be put they began to dispute about it, since every clan wished to lift the Stone to its place to the exclusion of the other clans. They started to split up into factions, to form alliances, and to make agreements among themselves in preparation for battle. The Banū 'Abd al-Dār brought a bowl full of blood and made a compact with the Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b to support one another to the death. They thrust their hands into this bowl of blood, and were called "the bloodlickers" *(la'aqat al-dam)* on account of this. The Quraysh remained in this state for four or five days, and then they gathered in the mosque to consult together and to reach an equitable agreement.

Some narrators assert that Abū Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah, who at that time was the oldest member of Quraysh, said, "Men of Quraysh, make the first man who comes in at the door of this mosque the arbiter of your differences so that he may judge on the matter." The first man to come in was the Messenger of God, and when they saw him they said, "This is the trustworthy one *(al-amīn)* with whom we are satisfied. This is Muḥammad." He
[1139] came up to them, and they told him about the matter, and he said, "Bring me a cloak." They brought him one, and he took the Black Stone and placed it on it with his own hands. Then he said, "Let each clan take one side of the cloak, and then lift it up all together." They did so, and when they had brought it to its place he

put it in position with his own hands. Then they built on top of it. Before the revelation first came to him, Quraysh used to call the Messenger of God "the trustworthy one."

The Beginning of the Prophetic Mission

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): Quraysh's rebuilding of the Kaʿbah was fifteen years after the Sacrilegious War. There were twenty years between the Year of the Elephant and the Year of the Sacrilegious War. The early authorities differ as to the age of the Messenger of God when he became a prophet. Some say that it was five years after the Quraysh rebuilt the Kaʿbah, when his fortieth birthday had passed.[78]

Those who say this:

Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-ʿAsqalānī—Ādam—Ḥammad b. Salamah—Abū Jamrah al-Ḍubaʿī—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Messenger of God commenced his mission at the age of forty.

ʿAmr b. ʿAlī and Ibn al-Muthannā—Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Qays—Rabīʿah b. Abī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Anas b. Mālik: The Messenger of God commenced his mission at the end of his fortieth year.

Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd—his father—al-Awzāʿī—Rabīʿah b. Abī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Anas b. Mālik: The Messenger of God commenced his mission at the beginning of his fortieth year.

[1140] Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Barqī—ʿAmr b. Abī Salamah—al-Awzāʿī—Rabīʿah b. Abī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Anas b. Mālik: The Messenger of God commenced his mission at the beginning of his fortieth year.

Abū Shuraḥbīl al-Ḥimṣī—Abū al-Yamān—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd—Rabīʿah b. Abī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Anas b. Mālik:

78. This places the beginning of his prophethood about the year A.D. 610.

The Messenger of God received the revelation when he was aged forty.

Ibn al-Muthannā—al-Ḥajjāj b. al-Minhāl—Ḥammād—ʿAmr b. Dīnār—ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr: The Messenger of God commenced his mission when he was aged forty.

Ibn al-Muthannā—al-Ḥajjāj—Ḥammād—ʿAmr—Yaḥyā b. Jaʿdah: The Messenger of God said to Fāṭimah, "[Gabriel] has reviewed the Qur'ān with me once a year, but this year he has reviewed it with me twice, and I fancy that my time has come. You are the nearest to me of my kin. Whenever a prophet has been sent, his mission has lasted for a period of half his predecessor's lifetime. Jesus was sent for a period of forty years, and I was sent for twenty."[79]

ʿUbayd b. Muḥammad al-Warrāq—Rawḥ b. ʿUbādah—Hishām—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Messenger of God commenced his mission at the age of forty, and remained in Mecca for thirteen years.[80]

Abū Kurayb—Abū Usāmah and Muḥammad b. Maymūn al-Zaʿfarānī—Hishām b. Ḥassān—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: The [1141] Messenger of God commenced his mission and received the revelation when he was aged forty, and remained in Mecca for thirteen years.

Others say that he became a prophet when he was aged forty-three.[81]

Those who say this:

Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—Aḥmad—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd—Hishām—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Prophet received the revelation when he was aged forty-three.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd—Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab: The Messenger of God received the revelation when he was aged forty-three.

Ibn al-Muthannā—ʿAbd al-Wahhāb—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd—Saʿīd, that is, Ibn al-Musayyab: The Messenger of God received the revelation when he was aged forty-three.

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79. This fits in better with the view that he became a prophet when he was forty-three.

80. Thirteen years would be from A.D. 610 to 622 inclusive.

81. This makes his prophethood begin about the year a.d. 613.

The Day and the Month on Which the Messenger of God Became a Prophet, and the Accounts Concerning This

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): The sound account is the one related by Ibn al-Muthannā—Muḥammad b. Ja'far—Shu'bah—Ghaylān b. Jarīr—'Abdallāh b. Ma'bad al-Zimmānī—Abū Qatādah al-Anṣārī: The Messenger of God was questioned about his Monday fast. He replied, "This is the day on which I was born and the day on which I commenced by mission." Another version has it: "on which I received the revelation."

Aḥmad b. Manṣūr—al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Ashyab—Abū Hilāl—Ghaylān b. Jarīr al-Ma'walī—'Abdallāh b. Ma'bad al-Zimmānī—
[1142] Abū Qatādah—'Umar: He said to the Prophet, "O Prophet of God, (what is the reason for) your Monday fast?" He replied, "This is the day on which I was born and the day on which the prophethood descended upon me."

Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd—Mūsā b. Dā'ūd—Ibn Lahī'ah—Khālid b. Abī 'Imrān—Ḥanash al-Ṣan'ānī—Ibn 'Abbas: The Prophet was born on a Monday and became a prophet on a Monday.

First Revelation of the Qur'ān

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): There is no dispute among the scholars on the above point. There is however a dispute as to which Monday this was. Some say that the Qur'ān was revealed to the Messenger of God on the eighteenth of Ramaḍān.

Those who say this:

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār—Ayyūb—Abū Qilābah 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-Jarmī: According to the information which had reached him, the Qur'ān was revealed to the Messenger of God on the eighteenth of Ramaḍān.

Others say that it was revealed on the twenty-fourth of Ramaḍān.

Those who say this:

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—one who is above suspicion—Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūbah—Qatādah b. Di'āmah al-

Sadūsī—Abū al-Jald: The *furqān*[82] was revealed on the twenty-fourth of Ramaḍān.

Others say that it was revealed on the seventeenth of Ramaḍān. They quote as evidence for this the words of God:[83] "And that [1143] which we revealed to Our slave on the day of the *furqān*, on the day when the two armies met.[84] This refers to the meeting (in battle) of the Messenger of God with the polytheists at Badr, which took place on the morning of the seventeenth of Ramaḍān.

Signs of the Approach of Prophethood

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): Before Gabriel appeared to him to confer on him his mission as Messenger of God, it is said that he used to see signs and evidences indicating that God wished to ennoble him and to single him out for his favor. One of these is the account which I have previously given[85] of the two angels who came to him, opened up his breast, and removed the hatred and the impurity which were in it. This was when he was with his foster-mother, Ḥalīmah. Another is that it is said that whenever he passed along a road and passed by a tree or a stone, it would greet him.

Al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—Manṣūr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—his mother Barrah bt. Abī Tajrāh: When God willed that Muḥammad should be ennobled and should enter upon prophethood, it came about that whenever he went out to attend his business[86] he would go a great distance, out of sight of houses, and into the ravines and wādī-beds; and then every stone and tree he passed would say, "Peace be upon

82. Here means the Qur'ān, but the word has several other meanings; see *EI* [2], s.v. Furḳān. This paragraph from Ibn Isḥāq is omitted by Ibn Hishām.

83. 8:41.

84. This verse refers to the battle of Badr, and *furqān* might then be understood as the Muslims' "deliverance" from the pagan Meccans; but that also seems to be connected somehow with a revelation of Muḥammad.

85. Though Ṭabarī says "I have previously given," he appears to be referring to what comes subsequently on pp. 1154f.

86. This seems to be the plain meaning of *al-ḥājah*; but "went out about his business" is also possible. The paragraph corresponds to Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I:102.17-23.

you, Messenger of God." He would turn to the right and the left and turn round, but could not see anyone.

Predictions of the Appearance of the Prophet

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): The various religious communities used to speak of his forthcoming mission, and the scholars of every community used to tell their people of it.

[1144] Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Ḥakamī—his father—'Āmir b. Rabī'ah: I heard Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl[87] saying, "I expect a prophet from the descendants of Ishmael, in particular from the descendants of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. I do not think that I shall live to see him, but I believe in him, proclaim the truth of his message, and testify that he is a prophet. If you live long enough to see him, give him my greetings. I shall inform you of his description, so that he will not be hidden from you." I said, "Tell me, then," and he said, "He is a man who is neither short nor tall, whose hair is neither abundant nor sparse, whose eyes are always red, and who has the seal of prophethood between his shoulders. His name is Aḥmad,[88] and this town is his birthplace and the place in which he will commence his mission. Then his people will drive him out and hate the message which he brings, and he will emigrate to Yathrib and triumph. Beware lest you fail to recognize him. I have travelled around every land in search of the faith of Abraham. Every person whom I ask, whether Jew, Christian, or Magian, says, 'This faith lies where you have come from,' and they describe him as I have described him to you. They say that no prophet remains but he."[89] 'Āmir said, "When I

87. One of the four men mentioned by Ibn Isḥāq (143-49) as a *ḥanīf* or searcher for a pure monotheism; see Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 162-64. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I:105.23-106.8.

88. Aḥmad is commonly regarded as a variant form of Muḥammad, following the standard interpretation of Qur'ān 61:6, where Jesus says to the Israelites that he brings "good tidings of a messenger who comes after me, whose name is Aḥmad." (Aḥmad is, of course from the same root as Muḥammad, namely ḥ-m-d.) There are strong grounds, however, for thinking that for the first century or so of Islam the word *aḥmadu* was understood as an adjective meaning "more praiseworthy" and not as a proper name; see Watt, "His Name is Aḥmad," *Muslim World*, xliii (1953):110–17.

89. This refers to the standard Muslim interpretation of the phrase "seal of the prophets" applied to Muḥammad in Qur'ān 33:40, namely, that he is the last

became a Muslim, I told the Messenger of God what Zayd b. 'Amr had said, and I gave him his greetings. He returned his greetings and said, 'May God have mercy on his soul. I saw him in Paradise dressed in flowing robes.' "

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—one who is above suspicion —'Abdallāh b. Ka'b the *mawlā* of 'Uthmān: 'Umar b. al-Khattāb was sitting with others in the Messenger of God's mosque one day when a beduin came up and entered the mosque looking for 'Umar (b. al-Khaṭṭāb). When 'Umar looked at him he said, "This man is still a polytheist, although at one point he abandoned polytheism. He was a soothsayer in the Jāhiliyyah." The man greeted him and then sat down. 'Umar said to him, "Have you become a Muslim?" [1145] "Yes," he replied. "Were you a soothsayer in the Jāhiliyyah?" asked 'Umar. "Praise be to God," the man answered. "You have received me with words which I do not suppose that you have uttered to one of your subjects since you became Caliph." "God forgive me!" said 'Umar.[90] "During the Jāhiliyyah we used to do worse things than you. We used to worship idols and embrace graven images until God honored us with Islam." "Yes, by God, O Commander of the Faithful," answered the man. "I used to be a soothsayer in the Jāhiliyyah." "Tell me," said 'Umar, "what is the most amazing saying which your familiar spirit brought you?" "He came to me a month or a year before Islam," said the man, "and said to me:

Have you considered the Jinn[91] and their hopelessness
and their despair of their religion,
and their clinging to young female camels and their
saddle cloths?"

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prophet after whom there will be no other.

90. The point of this story appears to be that the Caliph 'Umar made a hasty judgement about this man's continuing polytheism, and then had to withdraw it. This account from Ibn Isḥaq is not in the standard text.

91. The jinn (plural; singular *jinnī*, formerly transliterated as "genie") are a third class of intelligent beings along with angels and humans. They are imperceptible to the senses, but may make appearances under different forms. They are capable of having a religion and believing in God; and the Qur'ān (72:1–19; 46:29–32) speaks of Muḥammad preaching to them and of some being converted. In the present passage their "despair of their religion" may be intended as a sort of premonition of the coming of Islam; the reason for the reference to camels is unknown. The jinn play a large part in folklore. See *EI* ^{2}, s.v. Djinn, first part.

Then ʿUmar said to the gathering, "By God, I was by one of the idols of the Jāhiliyyah with a number of men of Quraysh. An Arab had sacrificed a calf to it, and we were waiting for it to be divided up in order to receive a share, when I heard coming from the belly of the calf a voice which was more penetrating than any voice I have ever heard—this was a month or a year before Islam—saying:

O people of Dharīḥ
A matter which has ended in success
A man shouting
Saying, "There is no deity but God."

Ibn Ḥumayd—ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—Ibn Ishāq—al-Zuhrī—ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb the *mawlā* of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān: a similar account.

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—al-Zuhrī—Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. [1146] Muṭʿim—his father: We were sitting by an idol at Buwānah a month before the Messenger of God commenced his mission, having slaughtered camels. Suddenly we heard a voice calling from the belly of one:[92]

Listen to the wonder;
There will be no more eavesdropping to overhear inspiration;
We throw down shooting stars
For a prophet in Mecca;
His name is Aḥmad,[93]
His place of emigration is Yathrib.

We held back and marvelled; then the Messenger of God appeared (that is, he began his mission).

Proofs of Prophethood

Aḥmad b. Sinān al-Qaṭṭān al-Wāsiṭī—Abū Muʿāwiyah—Aʿmash—Abū Ẓibyān—Ibn ʿAbbās: A man of the Banū ʿĀmir came to the Prophet and said, "Show me the seal which is between your shoulders, and if you lie under any enchantment I will cure you, for I am the best enchanter of the Arabs," "Do you wish me to show you a sign?" asked the Prophet. "Yes," said the man, "summon

92. Reading *juzur* instead of *jazūr* with Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I:105.12-17.
93. See n. 88.

that cluster of dates." So the Prophet looked at a cluster of dates hanging from a date palm and summoned it, and began to snap his fingers until it stood before him. Then the man said, "Tell it to go back," and it went back. The 'Āmirī said, "O Banū 'Āmir, I have never seen a greater magician than I have seen today."

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): The stories of the proof of his prophethood are too numerous to be counted. We shall devote a book to this subject, if God wills.

The Manner in Which the Qur'ān Was First Revealed

We now return to an account of the condition of the Prophet of God at the time when God began to ennoble him by sending Gabriel to him bearing the revelation.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): We have mentioned previously some of the stories related to the first occasion on which Gabriel brought our Prophet Muḥammad the revelation from God and how old the Prophet was at that time. We shall now describe the manner in which Gabriel began to come to him and to appear to him [1147] bringing the revelation of his Lord.

Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān, known as Abū al-Jawzā—Wahb b. Jarīr—his father—al-Nu'mān b. Rāshid—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah—'Ā'ishah: The first form in which the revelation came to the Messenger of God was true vision; this used to come to him like the break of dawn.[94] After that, he grew to love solitude and used to remain in a cave on Ḥirā' engaged in acts of devotion[95] for a number of days before returning to his family. Then he would return to his family and supply himself with provisions for a similar number of days. This continued until the Truth came to him unexpectedly,[96] and said. 'Muḥammad, you are the Messenger of God.' " (Describing what

94. This probably refers to the two visions described in the Qur'ān (53:1–18). These are now interpreted by Muslims as visions of Gabriel, but the use of the word *'abd* (slave) in verse 10 implies that Muḥammad originally took it to be a vision of God, and this is allowed by some of the older commentators. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 151.

95. There has been much discussion over the precise meaning of the word *yataḥannathu* (verbal noun, *taḥannuth*), although it is clearly some form of devotional practice; further references in Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 44.

96. In this usage, the Truth (*al-ḥaqq*) is God, and the apparent declaration of Muḥammad's messengership by God supports the view that he originally took the visions to be of God.

happened next,) the Messenger of God said, "I had been standing, but fell to my knees; and crawled away, my shoulders trembling. I went to Khadījah and said, 'Wrap me up! Wrap me up!'[97] When the terror had left me, he came to me and said, 'Muḥammad, you are the Messenger of God.' "

He (Muḥammad) said: I had been thinking of hurling myself down from a mountain crag, but he appeared to me, as I was thinking about this, and said, "Muḥammad, I am Gabriel and you are the Messenger of God." Then he said, "Recite!" I said, "What shall I recite?"[98] He took me and pressed me three times tightly until I was nearly stifled and was utterly exhausted; then he said:[99] "Recite in the name of your Lord who created," and I recited it. Then I went to Khadījah and said, "I have been in fear for my life." When I told her what had happened, she said, "Rejoice, for God will never put you to shame, for you treat your kinsfolk well, tell the truth, deliver what is entrusted to you, endure fatigue, offer hospitality to the guest, and aid people in misfortune."

Then she took me to Waraqah b. Nawfal b. Asad[100] and said to
[1148] him "Listen to your brother's son." He questioned me and I told him what had happened. He said, "This is the Nāmūs[101] which was sent down to Moses, son of 'Imrān. Would that I were a young

97. The word *zammilūnī* is masculine plural, and so not addressed to Khadījah alone. The same root is found in Qur'ān 73:1, "O enwrapped one" (*muzzammil*). Somewhat similar is the word in 74:1 *muddaththir* (wrapped in a *dithār* or cloak), and this was held by some scholars to the first sūrah to be revealed. Covering with a cloak is said to have been regarded as a form of protection from the danger involved in the near approach of the divine.

98. The words *mā aqra'u* can mean both "what shall I recite?" and "I do not (cannot) recite," and it is sometimes difficult to decide which meaning is to be preferred. The translations given are thus in a sense conjectural. Muslim scholars debated the question, and some modified the phrase to *mādhā aqra'u*, which can only have the first meaning, others to *mā anā bi-qārin*, which can only have the second. Since *qara'a* can also mean "read," Muḥammad's inability to read was part of later apologetic.

99. 96:1.

100. Waraqah was Khadījah's cousin, their fathers being brothers. He was counted as a *ḥanīf* (see n. 87), and is sometimes said to have become a Christian (Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 143;1151 below); he had certainly studied the Bible. There are other versions of this story in which he does not actually meet Muḥammad. The words "brother's son" may indicate that, as husband of Khadījah, Muḥammad was reckoned as son of her father.

101. The word *nāmūs*, which seems to represent the Greek *nomos* (law), is not found in the Qur'ān. It presumably refers to the five books of Moses (in Arabic usually Tawrāt); but see n. 114 below.

man now, and would that I could be alive when your people drive you out!" I said, "Will they drive me out?" "Yes," he said. "No man has ever brought the message which you have brought without being met with enmity. If I live to see that day, I shall come firmly to your aid."

The first parts of the Qur'ān to be revealed to me after *Iqra'* were:

> Nūn. By the pen, and that which they write. You are not, through your Lord's favor to you, a madman. Yours will be a reward unfailing, and you are of a great nature. You shall see and they shall see.[102]

and:

> O you enveloped in your cloak, arise and warn![103]

and:

> By the forenoon, and by the night when it is still.[104]

Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Ibn Wahb—Yūnus—Ibn Shihāb—ʿUrwah—ʿĀʾishah: A similar account, but omitting the last part from the words "The first parts of the Qur'ān.... "

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī al-Shawārib—ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād—Sulaymān al-Shaybānī—ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaddād: Gabriel came to Muḥammad and said, "O Muḥammad, recite!" He said, "I cannot recite." Gabriel was violent towards him[105] and then said again, "O Muḥammad, recite!" He said, "I cannot recite," and Gabriel again was violent towards him . A third time he said, "O Muḥammad, recite!" He said, "What shall I recite?"[106] and he said:

> Recite in the name of your Lord who creates! He creates man from a clot of blood. Recite: And your Lord is the Most

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102. 68:1-5. This is unlikely to be early, since it implies that Muḥammad has been charged with being *majnūn*, mad or possessed by jinn.

103. 74:1-2.

104. 93:1-2. This sūrah contains encouragement to Muḥammad, apparently after a period of depression, possibly the time when Gabriel did not come to him.

105. The word *ghammahu* (he afflicted or grieved him) replaces *ghattanī* of the previous account (he pressed tightly until I was nearly stifled).

106. Muḥammad uses the same words on all three occasions, but the meaning seems to have changed with the third; see n. 98.

> Bountiful, He who teaches by the pen, teaches man what he knew not.[107]

Then he went to Khadījah and said, "Khadījah, I think that I have gone mad." "No, by God," she said. "Your Lord would never do that to you. You have never committed a wicked act." Khadījah
[1149] went to Waraqah b. Nawfal and told him what had happened. He said, "If what you say is true, your husband is a prophet. He will meet adversity from his people. If I live long enough, I shall believe in him."

After this, Gabriel did not come to him for a while, and Khadījah said to him, "I think that your Lord must have come to hate you." Then God revealed to him:

> By the forenoon, and by the night when it is still, your Lord has not forsaken you, nor does he hate you.[108]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq[109]—Wahb b. Kaysān the *mawlā* of the family of al-Zubayr: I heard ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr saying to ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr b. Qatādah al-Laythi, "Relate to us, ʿUbayd, what the beginning of the Messenger of God's prophetic mission was like when Gabriel came to him." I was present as ʿUbayd related the following account to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr and those with him. He said, "The Messenger of God used to spend one month in every year in religious retreat on Ḥirā." This was part of the practice of *taḥannuth* in which Quraysh used to engage during the Jāhiliyyah. *Taḥannuth* means self-justification.[110] (Mentioning this practice) Abū Ṭālib said, "By those ascending Ḥirā' and those descending."

The Messenger of God used to spend this month in every year in religious retreat, feeding the poor who came to him. When he had completed his month of retreat the first thing which he would do on leaving, even before going home, was to circumambulate the Kaʿbah seven times, or however many times God willed; then he would go home.

When the month came in which God willed to ennoble him, in

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107. 96:1-5.
108. 93:1-3.
109. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 151-54; this omits some sentences kept by Ṭabarī.
110. For *taḥannuth* see n. 95; the word translated "self-justification" is *tabarrur*, which has a wide range of meanings.

the year in which God made him his Messenger, this being the month of Ramaḍān, the Messenger of God went out as usual to Ḥirā' accompanied by his family. When the night came on which [1150] God ennobled him by making him his Messenger and thereby showed mercy to his servants, Gabriel brought him the command of God. The Messenger of God said, "Gabriel came to me as I was sleeping with a brocade cloth in which was writing. He said, "Recite!" and I said, "I cannot recite."[111] He pressed me tight and almost stifled me, until I thought that I should die. Then he let me go, and said, "Recite!" I said, "What shall I recite?" only saying that in order to free myself from him, fearing that he might repeat what he had done to me. He said:

> Recite in the name of your Lord who creates! He creates man from a clot of blood. Recite: And your Lord is the Most Bountiful, He who teaches by the pen, teaches man what he knew not.

I recited it, and then he desisted and departed. I woke up, and it was as though these words had been written on my heart. There was no one of God's creation more hateful to me than a poet or a madman; I could not bear to look at either of them. I said to myself, "Your humble servant (meaning himself) is either a poet or a madman, but Quraysh shall never say this of me.[112] I shall take myself to a mountain crag, hurl myself down from it, kill myself, and find relief in that way."

I went out intending to do that, but when I was halfway up the mountain I heard a voice from heaven saying, "O Muḥammad, you are the Messenger of God, and I am Gabriel." I raised my head to heaven, and there was Gabriel in the form of a man with his feet set on the horizon, saying, "O Muḥammad, you are the Messenger of God and I am Gabriel." I stood looking at him and this distracted me from what I had intended, and I could go neither forward nor back. I turned my face away from him to all points of

111. The phrase *mā aqra'u* seems here to have been given the meaning "I cannot read," since writing is mentioned. The verb *qara'a* can mean "read" as well as "recite."

112. It seems unlikely that it occurred spontaneously to Muḥammad that he was a poet or madman. This is almost certainly a criticism made of him by opponents after he began his public preaching. Later scholars have doubtless introduced the point here in order to explain how Muḥammad came to contemplate suicide.

the horizon, but wherever I looked I saw him in exactly the same form. I remained standing there, neither going forward nor turning back, until Khadījah sent her messengers to look for me. They went as far as Mecca and came back to her, while I was standing in the same place. At last Gabriel left me and I went back to [1151] my family. When I came to Khadījah, I sat down with my thigh next to hers, and she said to me, "Abū al-Qāsim,[113] where have you been? I sent messengers to look for you all the way to Mecca and back." I said to her, "I am either a poet or a madman," but she answered, "May God save you from that, Abū al-Qāsim! God would not do that to you, considering what I know of your truthfulness, your great trustworthiness, your good character, and your good treatment of your kinsfolk. It is not that, cousin. Perhaps you did see something." "Yes," I said, and then told her what I had seen. "Rejoice, cousin, and stand firm," she said. "By Him is whose hand is Khadījah's soul, I hope that you may be the prophet of this community." Then she rose up, gathered her garments around her, and went to Waraqah b. Nawfal b. Asad, who was her paternal cousin. He had become a Christian, read the Scriptures, and learned from the people of the Torah and the Gospel. She told him what the Messenger of God had told her that he had seen and heard. Waraqah said, "Holy, Holy! By Him in whose hand is the soul of Waraqah, if what you say is true, Khadījah, there has come to him the greatest Nāmūs—meaning by Nāmūs, Gabriel—he who came to Moses[114] (That means that) Muḥammad is the prophet of this community. Tell him to stand firm."

Khadījah went back to the Messenger of God and told him what Waraqah had said, and this relieved his anxiety somewhat. When he had completed his retreat he went back to Mecca and, as was his usual practice, went first to the Ka'bah and circumambulated it. Waraqah b. Nawfal met him as he was doing this and said, "Son of my brother, tell me what you saw or heard." The Messenger of [1152] God did so, and Waraqah said to him, "By Him in whose hand is my soul, you are the prophet of this community, and there has come to you the greatest Nāmūs, he who came to Moses. They

113. This is Muḥammad's patronymic or *kunyah* (see n. 22) and a familiar way to address him.

114. This interpretation of Nāmūs differs from that adopted in the translation on p. 1148, which is justified by the use of the verb "sent down" there.

will call you a liar, molest you, drive you out, and fight you. If I live to see that, I will come to God's assistance in a way which he knows." Then he brought his head close and kissed the top of his head. The Messenger of God went home with his resolve strengthened by what Waraqah had said and with some of his anxiety relieved.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—Ismā'īl b. Abī Ḥakīm the *mawlā* of the family of al-Zubayr: He was told that Khadījah said to the Messenger of God, to keep him steadfast in the prophethood with which God had ennobled him, "Cousin, can you tell me when this companion of yours who visits you comes?" He replied, "Yes," and she said, "Tell me then, when he comes." Gabriel came to him as before, and the Messenger of God said to Khadījah, "Khadījah, here is Gabriel who has come to me." She said, "Yes? Come and sit by my left thigh, cousin." He came and sat by her, and she said, "Can you see him?" He replied, "Yes," and she said, "Move around and sit by my right thigh." He did so, and she said, "Can you see him?" He replied, "Yes," and she said, "Move around and sit in my lap." He did so, and she said, "Can you see him?" He replied, "Yes." Then she was grieved, and flung off her veil while the Messenger of God was sitting in her lap. Then she said, "Can you see him?" and he replied, "No." At that she said, "Cousin, be steadfast and rejoice. By God, this being is an angel and no devil."[115]

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muhammad b. Ishāq: I related this tradition (*ḥadīth*) to 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, and he said, "I heard my mother Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn relating this *Ḥadīth* on the author- [1153]
ity of Khadījah, except that I heard her saying that Khadījah put the Messenger of God inside her shift next to her body, and that thereupon Gabriel departed. Then she said, 'This being is an angel and no devil.' "

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Uthmān b. 'Umar b. Fāris—'Alī b. al-Mubārak—Yaḥyā, that is, Ibn Abī Kathir: I asked Abū Salamah which part of the Qur'ān had been revealed first, and he replied:

"O you enveloped in your cloak, arise and warn!"[116]

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115. The thought is that an angel respects a woman's modesty, whereas a devil or demon would not.

116. 74:1.

I said, "They say that it was

Recite in the name of your Lord",[117]

but Abū Salamah replied, "I asked Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh which part of the Qur'ān had been revealed first, and he said, "O you enveloped in your cloak." I said, "What about 'Recite in the name of your Lord?' " but he answered, "What I am telling you is what the Prophet told me. He said, "I was in retreat on Ḥirā', and when I had completed my retreat I came down the mountain and went into the bottom of the wādī. Then I heard a voice calling me; I looked right and left, behind me and in front of me, but could not see anything. Then I looked up, and there he was sitting on a throne between heaven and earth, and I was afraid of him (*fa-khashītu minhu*). Ibn al-Muthannā: These were ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar's words, but the correct version is "I was terror-stricken by him." (*fa-ju'ithtu minhu*) Then I went to Khadījah and said, "Envelop me!" So they enveloped me in a cloak and poured water over me, and then "O you enveloped in your cloak, arise and warn!" was revealed to me.

Abū Kurayb—Wakīʿ—ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak—Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr: I asked Abū Salamah which part of the Qur'ān had been revealed first, and he said, "It was 'O you enveloped in your cloak.' " I said, "They say that it was 'Recite in the name of your Lord who created,' " but he said, "I asked Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh, and he said 'I am only telling you what the Messenger of God told me. He said, "I was in retreat on Ḥirā', and when I had completed my retreat I
[1154] came down the mountain and heard a voice. I looked left and right and saw nothing, and behind me and saw nothing. Then I raised my head and saw something, and went to Khadījah and said, 'Envelop me, and pour water on me.' So they enveloped me in a cloak and poured water on me, and then 'O you enveloped in your cloak' was revealed to me."

Hishām b. Muḥammad: Gabriel came to the Messenger of God for the first time on Saturday night and Sunday night.[118] On Monday he brought him the commission as Messenger of God, and taught him the ritual ablution, the prayer ritual, and the passage

117. 96:1.
118. The Arab day begins at sunset, so that by Western reckoning this would be the nights of Friday and Saturday.

"Recite in the name of your Lord who created." On the Monday on which he received the revelation, the Messenger of God was forty years old.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Ṭūsī—Abū Dāūd al-Ṭayālisī—Ja'far b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān al-Qurashī—'Umar b. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī: I said, "O Messenger of God, how did you first know with absolute certainty that you were a prophet?" "Abū Dharr," he replied, "two angels came to me while I was somewhere in the Valley of Mecca. One of them came down to earth, while the other remained between heaven and earth. One of them said to the other, 'Is this he?' and the other replied, 'It is he.' 'Weigh him against a man,' he said, so I was weighed against a man and outweighed him. 'Weigh him against ten,' he said, so he weighed me against ten and I outweighed them. Then he said, 'Weigh him against a hundred,' so he weighed me against a hundred and I outweighed them. Then he said, 'Weigh him against a thousand.' So he weighed me against a thousand and I outweighed them. People began to be scattered over me from the pan of the balance, and one angel said to the other, 'If you were to weigh him against the whole of his community he would outweigh them.'

"Then one said to the other, 'Open his breast.' He opened my breast, and then he said, 'Take out his heart' or 'open his heart.' He [1155] opened my heart, and took out from it the pollution of Satan and the clot of blood, and threw them away. Then one said to the other, 'Wash his breast as you would a receptacle—or, wash his heart as you would a covering.' Then he summoned the *sakīnah*,[119] which looked like the face of a white cat, and it was placed in my heart. Then one of them said to the other, 'Sew up his breast.' So they sewed up my breast and placed the seal between my shoulders. No sooner had they done this than they turned away from me. While this was happening I was watching it as though I were a bystander."[120]

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119. The word *sakīnah* occurs six times in the Qur'ān. In five instances it is usually taken to mean a "peace of reassurance" sent down by God upon Muḥammad or the believers; but in the other instance (2:48) it is a material object contained in the sacred ark of the Israelites. Because of the uncertainty about its meaning, the word lent itself to various interpretations, of which there is an example here. It corresponds to the Hebrew *shekhinah*; see *EI* [1] s.v. *Sakīna*.

120. Ibn Isḥāq (Ibn Hishām *Sīrah*, 105–6) describes events similar to the above,

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Ibn Thawr—Maʿmar—al-Zuhrī: The inspiration ceased to come to the Messenger of God for a while, and he was deeply grieved. He began to go to the tops of mountain crags, in order to fling himself from them; but every time he reached the summit of a mountain, Gabriel appeared to him and said to him, "You are the Prophet of God." Thereupon his anxiety would subside and he would come back to himself.

The Prophet used to relate this story as follows: "I was walking one day when I saw the angel who used to come to me at Ḥirāʾ on a throne between heaven and earth. I was terror-stricken by him, and I went back to Khadījah and said, "Wrap me up!" So we wrapped him up (*zammalnāhu*), that is, enveloped him in a cloak (*daththarnāhu*), and God revealed:

> O you enveloped in your cloak, arise and warn! Your Lord magnify, your raiment purify.[121]

Al-Zuhrī: The first thing to be revealed to him was "Recite in the name of your Lord who creates . . . " as far as the words "what he knew not."

Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Ibn Wahb—Yūnus—Ibn Shihāb—Abū Salamah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī: The Messenger of God said, relating the story of the interruption or gap
[1156] in the revelation, "As I was walking, I heard a voice from heaven. I looked up, and suddenly saw the angel who came to me at Ḥirāʾ seated on a throne between heaven and earth. I was terror-stricken and went (to Khadījah) and said "Wrap me up! Wrap me up" They enveloped me in my cloak, and God revealed, "O you enveloped in your cloak, arise and warn . . . " as far as "and pollution shun."

After that, the revelation came in regular succession.

Khadījah the First to Believe in the Messenger of God

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): God commanded his Prophet to rise up and to warn his people that God would punish them for their ingratitude to their Lord and for their worship of false gods and idols to the exclusion of Him who created them and gave them their daily bread. He was also to tell them of his Lord's bounty to himself,

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but during Muḥammad's childhood; see also 1157 below.

121. 74:1-4; there is an awkward change of person in the previous sentence.

with the words: "Of the bounty of your Lord let your discourse be." According to Ibn Isḥāq, this refers to his prophethood.[122]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The words "Of the bounty of your Lord let your discourse be" mean "Of God's bounty and generosity in bestowing Prophethood upon you, Let your discourse be," that is, "proclaim it and summon people to it." Thereupon the Messenger of God began to proclaim God's bounty to himself and to (God's) servants in conferring prophethood upon him. He did this in private to those of his family who trusted in him. It is related that of God's creatures the first to hold him truthful, to believe in him, and to follow him was his wife Khadījah.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—al-Wāqidī: Our fellow scholars are agreed that the first of the people of the Qiblah to respond to the Messenger of God was Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid.

The First Rituals of Islam Are Prescribed

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): The first of the duties of Islam to be prescribed for Muḥammad by God, after that of confessing God's oneness, disavowing graven images and idols, and repudiating false gods, is said to have been that of ritual prayer or worship *(ṣalāt)*.[123]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—certain scholars:[124] When ritual prayer was prescribed for the Messenger of God, Gabriel came to him while he was in the upper part of Mecca, [1157] and dug his heel into the side of the wādī, whereupon a spring gushed out. While the Messenger of God watched him, Gabriel then performed the ritual ablution in order to show him how to purify himself for prayer. Then the Messenger of God performed the ritual ablution as he had seen Gabriel do. Next, Gabriel rose up and led him in prayer, and the Prophet followed his actions. Then Gabriel departed, and the Messenger of God went to Khadījah and performed the ablution for her in order to show her how to purify

122. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 158; the verse is 93:11.

123. The word *ṣalāt* is commonly translated "prayer," although "worship" would be more appropriate, since there is virtually no petition or intercession. The *ṣalāt* consists of a series of acts accompanied by expressions of praise or adoration. The climax is touching the ground with the forehead in acknowledgement of God's majesty. Each Muslim is now required to accomplish the *ṣalāt* five times a day, though originally the number of times was probably not fixed.

124. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 158.

herself for prayer, as Gabriel had shown him. She performed the ablution as he had done, and then he led her in prayer as Gabriel had led him, and she followed his actions.

The Prophet Ascends to the Seventh Heaven [125]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Hārūn b. al-Mughīrah and Ḥakkām b. Salm—ʿAnbasah—Abū Hāshim al-Wāṣiṭī—Maymūn b. Siyāh—Anas b. Mālik: At the time when the Prophet became a prophet, he used to sleep around the Kaʿbah as did the Quraysh. On one occasion two angels, Gabriel and Michael, came to him and said, "Which of the Quraysh were we ordered to come to?" Then they said, "We were ordered to come to their chief," and went away. After this they came from the Qiblah and there were three of them. They came upon him as he slept, turned him on his back, and opened his breast. Then they brought water from Zamzam and washed away the doubt, or polytheism, or pre-Islamic beliefs, or error, which was in his breast. Then they brought a golden basin full of faith and wisdom, and his breast and belly were filled with faith and wisdom.

Then he was taken up to the earthly heaven. Gabriel asked for
[1158] admittance, and they said, "Who is it?" "Gabriel," he said. "Who is with you?" they said. "Muḥammad," he answered. "Has his mission commenced?" they asked. "Yes," he said. "Welcome," they said, and called down God's blessings on him. When he went in, he saw before him a huge and handsome man. "Who is this, Gabriel?" he asked. "This is your father, Adam," he replied. Then they took him to the second heaven. Gabriel asked for admission, and they said the same as before. Indeed, the same questions were asked and the same answers given in all the heavens. When Muḥammad went in to the second heaven he saw before him two men. "Who are these, Gabriel?" he asked. "John and Jesus, the two maternal cousins," he replied. Then he was taken to the third heaven, and when he went in he saw before him a man. "Who is this, Gabriel?" he asked. He replied, "Your brother Joseph who was given preeminence in beauty over other men as is the full moon over the stars at night." Then he was taken to

125. Ibid. 263–71, with slightly different material.

the fourth heaven, and he saw before him a man and said, "Who is this, Gabriel?" "This is Idrīs," he said,[126] and recited:

And we raised him to high station.

Then he was taken to the fifth heaven, and he saw before him a man and said, "Who is this, Gabriel?" "This is Aaron," he said. Then he was taken to the sixth heaven, and he saw before him a man and said, "Who is this, Gabriel?" "This is Moses," he said. Then he was taken to the seventh heaven, and he saw before him a man and said, "Who is this, Gabriel?" "This is your father Abraham," he said.

Then he took him to Paradise, and there before him was a river whiter than milk and sweeter than honey, with pearly domes on either side of it. "What is this, Gabriel?" he asked. Gabriel replied, "This is al-Kawthar, which your Lord has given to you, and these are your dwellings." Then Gabriel took a handful of its earth and lo! it was fragrant musk. Then he went out to the Sidrat al-Muntahā,[127] which was a lote tree bearing fruits the largest of which were like earthenware jars and the smallest like eggs. Then his Lord drew nigh,

"Till he was distant two bows' length or nearer." Because of [1159] the nearness of its Lord the lote tree became covered by the like of such jewels as pearls, rubies, chrysolites, and colored pearls. God made revelation to his servant, caused him to understand and know, and prescribed for him fifty prayers (daily).

Then he went back past Moses, who said to him, "What did he impose your community?" "Fifty prayers," he said. "Go back to your Lord," said Moses, "and ask him to lighten the burden for your community, for your community is the weakest in strength and the shortest-lived." Then he told Muḥammad what he himself had suffered at the hands of the Children of Israel. The Messenger of God went back, and God reduced the number by ten.

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126. See n. 55. The verse is 19:57.

127. The "lote tree of the utmost boundary" is spoken of in the description of Muḥammad's second vision in Sūrah 53:14. The following phrase about being "distant two bows' length or nearer" is from verse 9 describing the first vision. Though many Muslim scholars associate the second vision with Muḥammad's "night journey" or ascent to heaven, this is improbable since the main verse referring to the "night journey" (17:1) was revealed about the middle of the Meccan period, whereas the passage 53:13–18 almost certainly refers to a very early experience.

Then he passed Moses again, who said, "Go back to your Lord and ask him to lighten the burden further." This continued until he had gone back five times. Once more Moses said, "Go back to your Lord and ask him to lighten the burden," but the Messenger of God said, "I am not going back, although I do not wish to disobey you," for it had been put into his heart that he should not go back. God said, "My speech is not to be changed, and my decision and precept is not to be reversed, but he (Muḥammad) lightened the burden of prayer on my community to a tenth of what it was at first."[128]

Anas: I never encountered any scent, not even the scent of a bride, more fragrant than the skin of the Messenger of God. I pressed my skin to his and smelt it.

The First Male to Believe in the Messenger of God

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): There is a difference of opinion among the early scholars as to who after his wife Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid first followed the Messenger of God, believed in him, held true the message which he brought from God, and prayed with him. Some say that the first male to believe in the Messenger of God, pray with him, and hold the truth of the message which he brought from God was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Among those who take this view, whose reports we have heard, are the following:

[1160] Ibn Humayd—Ibrāhīm b. al-Mukhtār—Shuʿbah—Abū Balj—ʿAmr b. Maymūn—Ibn ʿAbbās: The first to perform the prayer was ʿAlī.

Zakariyyā b. Yaḥyā al-Ḍarīr—ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Baḥr—Sharīk b. ʿAbdallah b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl—Jābir: The Prophet was commissioned as prophet on Monday, and ʿAlī performed the prayer on Tuesday.

Ibn al-Muthannā—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar—Shuʿbah—ʿAmr b. Murrah—Abū Ḥamzah—Zayd b. Arqam: The first to accept Is-

128. Literally, this runs: "he lightened the prayer for my community to a tenth." The translation adopted assumes that these words are a continuation of the speech of God, and seems to make best sense of "my"; but there are other possibilities.

lam with the Messenger of God was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. I mentioned this to al-Nakhaʿī, and he denied it, saying, "Abū Bakr was the first to accept Islam."

Abū Kurayb—Wakīʿ—Shuʿbah—ʿAmr b. Murrah—Abū Ḥamzah the *mawlā* of the Anṣār—Zayd b. Arqam: The first to accept Islam with the Messenger of God was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Abu Kurayb—ʿUbayd b. Saʿīd—Shuʿbah—ʿAmr b. Murrah—Abū Ḥamzah, a man of the Anṣār—Zayd b. Arqam: The first to perform the prayer with the Messenger of God was ʿAlī.

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Tirmidhī—ʿUbaydallāh b. Mūsā—al-ʿAlāʾ—al-Minhāl b. ʿAmr—ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdallāh: I heard ʿAlī saying, "I am the servant of God and the brother of his Messenger, and I am the most righteous one (*al-ṣiddīq al-akbar*).[129] No one other than I can say this but a liar and an inventor of falsehoods. I performed the prayer with the Messenger of God seven years before other men.

Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd al-Muḥāribī—Saʿīd b. Khuthaym—Asad b. ʿAbdah al-Baljī—Yaḥyā b. ʿAfīf—ʿAfīf: During the Jāhiliyyah I came to Mecca and stayed with al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. [1161] When the sun came up and rose into the sky, while I was looking at the Kaʿbah a young man came up and gazed at the sky. Then he turned to face the Kaʿbah and stood facing it. Soon afterwards a youth came and stood on his right, and soon after that a woman came and stood behind them. The young man bowed, and the youth and woman bowed; then the young man stood erect, followed by the youth and the woman, and then the young man prostrated himself, and they did so with him. I said, "ʿAbbās, this is a weighty matter." "It is a weighty matter indeed," he said. "Do you know who this is?" "No", I said. "This is Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, my brother's son," he said. "Do you know who this is with him?" "No," I said. "This is ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, my brother's son," he said. "Do you know who this woman is who is behind them?" "No," I said. "This is Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid, my nephew's wife," he said "My nephew has told me that his Lord,[130] the Lord of Heaven, has commanded them to do what you see them doing. God's oath, I do not

129. This is an implicit claim that ʿAlī is superior to Abū Bakr, since "the righteous one" (*al-ṣiddīq*) is a kind of by-name regularly given to Abū Bakr by Sunnites.

130. Following the variant *rabbahu* instead of the *rabbaka* of the printed text.

know anyone on the face of the earth but these three who follow this religion."

Abū Kurayb—Yūnus b. Bukayr—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Ash'ath al-Kindī, a Kūfan scholar—Ismā'īl b. Iyās b. 'Afīf—his father—his grandfather:[131] I was a merchant, and I came during the pilgrimage and stayed with al-'Abbās. While we were
[1162] with him, a man came out to pray and stood facing the Ka'bah. Then a woman came out and stood praying with him, followed by a youth who stood praying with him. I said, "'Abbās, what is this religion? I do not know what this religion is." He answered, "This is Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, who claims that God has sent him as His Messenger with this (religion), and that the treasures of Chusroes and Caesar will be given to him by conquest. This woman is his wife Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid, who has believed in him, and this youth is his cousin 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, who has believed in him."

'Afīf: Would that I had believed in him that day, so that I had been the third.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl and 'Alī b. Mujāhid: (then) Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Ash'ath (Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): elsewhere in my book the name is given as Yaḥyā b. al-Ash'ath)—Ismā'īl b. Iyās b. 'Afīf al-Kindī ('Afīf was the maternal halfbrother of al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī, and the son of his paternal uncle)—his father—his grandfather, 'Afīf: Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was a friend of mine. He used to go to the Yemen to buy perfume and sell it during the pilgrimage season. While I was staying with al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib at Minā there came to him a man in the prime of life who performed the ritual ablution thoroughly and then stood praying. Then a woman came out, performed the ablution, and stood praying. Then a youth just past the age of puberty came out, performed the ablution, and stood by his side praying. I said, "Whatever is this, 'Abbās" He replied, "This is my brother's son Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who claims that God has sent him as a messenger; this is my brother's son 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who has followed him in his
[1163] religion, and this is Muḥammad's wife Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid who has followed him in his religion." After 'Afīf had become a

131. This and the following paragraph are omitted by Ibn Hishām. See Guillaume, p.113.

Muslim and Islam had become firmly rooted in his heart, he used to say, "Would that I had been a fourth."

Ibn Humayd—Īsā b. Sawādah b. al-Ja'd—Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir, Rabī'ah b. Abī 'Abd al-Rahmān, Abū Ḥāzim al-Madanī and al-Kalbī: 'Alī was the first to accept Islam. According to al-Kalbī, he accepted Islam at the age of nine.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq:[132] The first male to believe in the Messenger of God, to pray with him, and to accept the truth of the message he brought from God was 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who at that time was ten years old.

One of the favors which God bestowed on 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was that the Messenger of God was his guardian before Islam.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallah b. Abī Najīh—Mujāhid b. Jabr Abū al-Ḥajjāj: A mark of God's favor to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his beneficence and benevolence towards him was the following. When Quraysh were afflicted by a severe drought, the Messenger of God, seeing that Abū Ṭālib had many dependents, said to his uncle al-'Abbās, who was one of the richest of the Banū Hāshim, "'Abbās, your brother Abū Ṭālib has many dependents, and you see how people are suffering from this drought. Come with me and let us lighten the burden of his dependents. I will take one of his sons and you take one, and we will look after them for him." Al-'Abbās agreed, and they went to Abū Ṭālib and said, "We wish to lighten the burden of your dependents until the hardship from which the people are suffering lifts." [1164]

Abū Ṭālib said to them, "As long as you leave me 'Aqīl, do as you wish." The Messenger of God took 'Alī and made him a member of his household, and al-'Abbās did likewise with Ja'far. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib continued to live with the Messenger of God until the latter became a prophet, and then followed him, believed in him, and accepted the truth of his message. Ja'far remained with al-'Abbās until he (Ja'far) professed Islam and became financially independent of him.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: Some scholars mention that when the time for prayer came, the Messenger of God would go out to the ravines of Mecca, accompanied by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, in order to conceal himself from his uncle Abū Ṭālib,

132. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 158-60.

his other uncles, and the rest of his clan. They would pray together there, and then as evening fell, would return. They continued in this fashion as long as God willed that they should. One day, however, Abū Ṭālib came across them as they were praying and said to the Messenger of God, "Nephew, what is this religion which I see you following?" He replied, "Uncle, this is the religion of God, of His angels, of His messengers and of our forefather Abraham," or words to that effect; "God has sent me as Messenger to His servants with this religion, and you, my uncle, are the most deserving person to whom I could give sincere advice and whom I could summon to right guidance, and you are the most deserving person to answer my call and assist me in this matter," or words to this effect. Abū Ṭālib replied, "Nephew, I cannot leave my religion and the religion of my forefathers and their practices, but, by God, as long as I live nothing unpleasant shall befall you."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muhammad b. Isḥāq: They allege that he said to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, "My son, what is this religion which
[1165] I see you practicing?" He replied, "Father, I believe in God and His Messenger. I accept the truth of the message which he has brought, and I pray to God with him." They also allege that Abū Ṭālib said "He calls you to nothing but good, so adhere to him."

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Nāfiʿ—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid: ʿAli became a Muslim when he was ten years old.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—al-Wāqidi: Our fellow scholars are agreed that ʿAlī accepted Islam a year after the Messenger of God began his prophetic mission, and that he remained in Mecca for twelve years.

Abū Bakr

Others say that Abū Bakr was the first male to accept Islam.

Those who say this:

Sahl b. Mūsā al-Rāzī—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Maghrā,—Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: I said to Ibn ʿAbbās, "Who was the first to accept Islam?" He answered, "Have you not heard the lines of Ḥassān b. Thābit,[133]

If you call to mind trustworthy men to grieve for them,
mention your brother Abū Bakr and his deeds.

133. *Dīwān*, ed. Arafat, I:125.

The best of men, the most pious and the most just
after the Prophet, and the most faithful in fulfilling
what he undertook.
The second, the follower, may his tomb be praised,
and the first of men to believe in the prophets.

Sa'īd b. 'Anbasah al-Rāzī—al-Haytham b. 'Adī—Mujālid—al-Sha'bī—Ibn 'Abbās: A similar account. [1166]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ—al-Haytham b. 'Adī—Mujālid—al-Sha'bī—Ibn 'Abbās: A similar account.

Baḥr b. Naṣr al-Khawlānī—'Abdallāh b. Wahb—Mu'awiyah b. Ṣāliḥ—Abū Yaḥyā and Ḍamrah b. Ḥabīb and Abū Ṭalhah—Abū Umānah al-Bāhilī—'Amr b. 'Abasah: I came to the Messenger of God when he was staying at 'Ukāẓ[134] and said, "O Messenger of God, who has followed you in this religion?" He replied, "Two men have followed me in it, a free man and a slave; Abū Bakr and Bilāl." Then I accepted Islam and reckoned myself at that time to be one quarter of those who believe in Islam.

Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Barqī—'Amr b. Abī Salamah—Ṣadaqah—Naṣr b. 'Alqamah—his brother—Ibn 'Ā'idh—Jubayr b. Nufayr: Both Abū Dharr and Ibn 'Abasah used to say, "I reckoned myself to be a quarter of those who believed in Islam, for no one had accepted Islam before me but the Prophet, Abū Bakr and Bilāl." Neither knew when the other accepted Islam.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr—Mughīrah—Ibrāhīm: The first to accept Islam was Abū Bakr.

Abū Kurayb—Wakī'—Shu'bah—'Amr b. Murrah—Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī: Abū Bakr was the first to accept Islam.

Others say that a number of people accepted Islam before Abū Bakr.

Those who say this: Ibn Ḥumayd—Kinānah b. Jabalah—Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān—al-Ḥajjāj b. al-Ḥajjāj—Qatādah—Sālim b. Abī al-Ja'd—Muḥammad b. Sa'd: I said to my father, "Was Abū Bakr the first of them to accept Islam?" He answered, "No, more than fifty people accepted Islam before him, but he was the best Muslim among us." [1167]

134. Site of an annual fair, lying between Nakhlah and al-Ṭā'if.

Zayd b. Ḥārithah

Others say that the first man to believe and follow the Prophet was Zayd b. Ḥārithah, his *mawlā*.

Those who say this:

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—al-Wāqidī—Ibn Abī Dhi'b: I asked al-Zuhrī who was the first person to accept Islam. He replied, "The first woman was Khadījah and the first man was Zayd b. Ḥārithah."

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mus'ab b. Thābit—Abū al-Aswad—Sulaymān b. Yasār: The first to accept Islam was Zayd b. Ḥārithah.

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad (that is Ibn 'Umar)—Rabī'ah b. 'Uthmān—'Imrān b. Abī Anas: A similar report.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam—'Abd al-Malik b. Maslamah—Ibn Lahī'ah—Abū al-Aswad—'Urwah: The first to accept Islam was Zayd b. Ḥārithah.

Ibn Isḥāq's account[135]

Ibn Isḥāq's account, as transmitted by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah, is as follows: Then Zayd b. Ḥārithah, the *mawlā* of the Messenger of God, accepted Islam. He was the first male to accept Islam and
[1168] to pray after 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Then Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah al-Ṣiddīq accepted Islam. When he did so, he proclaimed this openly and summoned others to God and to his Messenger. He was well-liked among his tribe, popular and easy to get on with. He was also the most expert of Quraysh on the genealogy of the tribe and the best informed of them about their good and bad qualities. He was a merchant, upright and well-known, and, for various purposes, the men of his tribe used to come to him and associate with him because of his knowledge, his commercial skill, and the excellence

135. The passage from al-Wāqidī has not been located. That from Ibn Isḥāq is Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 160. Zayd b. Ḥārithah had been captured in war as a boy and sold as a slave to Khadījah. When Muḥammad freed him, he would become his "client" (*mawlā*). Usually, however, he is called Muḥammad's "adoptive son," and is even said to have been named Zayd b. Muḥammad. This "adoption" was presumably not like that practiced in the West, but some kind of social usage about which we are not fully informed, perhaps due to the fact that Zayd chose to remain with Muḥammad and Khadījah. This question became important when Muḥammad married Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh after Zayd had divorced her; see Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 282, 329–31.

of his company. He began to summon to Islam trustworthy members of his tribe who came and joined in his social gatherings. I have heard that 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh accepted Islam at his hands. When they responded to his summons, he took them to the Messenger of God, where they accepted Islam and joined in the prayer. These eight men were the first group to accept Islam, to pray, to accept the truth of his message, and to believe in the revelation which he brought from God. After that, people entered Islam in unbroken succession, both men and women, until Islam became a general topic of conversation in Mecca and everyone talked of it.

Al-Wāqidī's account

Al-Wāqidī's account, as transmitted by al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd, is as follows: Our fellow scholars are agreed that the first of the people of the Qiblah to respond to the Messenger of God's call was Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid. After this, there is a difference of opinion among us as to which of three men, Abū Bakr, 'Alī, and Zayd b. Ḥārithah, was the first to accept Islam. Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Ās accepted Islam with them and made a fifth. According to some Abū Dharr accepted Islam fourth or fifth, while 'Amr b. 'Abasah al-Sulamī accepted Islam fourth or fifth according to others. There is a difference of opinion among us as to which of these men accepted Islam first and there are many accounts concerning this. There are disagreements about the first three and about those whose names we have given after them. [1169]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mus'ab b. Thābit—Abū al-Aswad Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nawfal: Al-Zubayr became a Muslim after Abū Bakr and he was the fourth or fifth.

Ibn Isḥāq: Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Ās and his wife Humaynah bt. Khalaf b. As'ad b. 'Āmir b. Bayāḍah of Khuzā'ah became Muslims after a large number of people other than those whom I have mentioned by name as being early converts to Islam.[136]

136. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 164. It is not clear why Ṭabarī has selected these two names from a list of early Muslims given by Ibn Isḥāq.

Events of the Life of the Messenger of God

(Continued)

The Messenger of God Begins to Preach Openly

Three years after the commencement of his mission,[137] God commanded His Prophet to proclaim the divine message which he had received, to declare it publicly to the people, and to summon them to it. God said to him:

> So proclaim that which you are commanded, and withdraw from the polytheists.[138]

In the previous three years of his mission, until he was commanded to summon people openly to God, he had kept his preaching secret and hidden. Then God revealed:

> And warn your tribe of near kindred, and lower your wing (in kindness) to those believers who follow you. And if they (your kinsfolk) disobey you, say: "I am innocent of what they do."[139]

When the Messenger of God's Companions, prayed they went to the ravines and concealed themselves from their fellow tribesmen. Once while Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and a number of the Messenger of God's Companions were in one of the ravines of Mecca, a group of polytheists suddenly appeared before them as they were praying, expressed their disapproval and reproached the believers for what they were doing. Finally, they came to blows, and Sa'd b.

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137. Ibid., 166.
138. 15:94
139. 26:214-16.

Abī Waqqāṣ struck one of the polytheists with a camel's jawbone [1170]
and split his head open. This was the first blood shed in the time of Islam.

Abū Kurayb and Abū al-Sā'ib—Abū Mu'āwiyah—al-A'mash—'Amr b. Murrah—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: One day the Messenger of God mounted al-Ṣafā and called out, "Beware this morning!" Quraysh gathered around him and said, "What is the matter?" Then he said, "If I were to tell you that the enemy would come upon you this morning or this evening, would you believe me?" "Certainly," they replied. He said, "I am a warner to you in the face of a terrible doom." Then Abū Lahab said, "May you perish! Did you call us together for this?" Then God revealed: "The power of Abū Lahab will perish and he will perish" ... reciting to the end of the sūrah.[140]

Abū Kurayb—Abū Usāmah—al-A'mash—'Amr b. Murrah—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbas: When God revealed the verse, "and warn your tribe of near kindred," the Messenger of God went out, mounted al-Ṣafā, and called out, "Beware this morning!" Some said, "Who is that calling out?" and others said, "It is Muḥammad." Then he said, "Banū so-and-so, Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Banū 'Abd Manāf!" They gathered round him, and he said, "If I were to tell you that horsemen were coming out at the foot of that mountain, would you believe me?" They replied, "We have never known you to tell a lie." Then he said, "I am 'a warner to you in the face of a terrible doom.'" Abū Lahab said, "May you perish! Did you only bring us together for this?" Then the following sūrah was revealed: "The power of Abū Lahab will perish, and he will perish ... " reciting to the end of the sūrah.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abd al- [1171]
Ghaffār b. al-Qāsim—al-Minhāl b. 'Amr—'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muttalib—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib:[141] When the verse "and warn your tribe of near kindred" was revealed to the Messenger of God, he called me and said to me, "'Alī, God has commanded me to warn my tribe of near

140. Abū Lahab was the uncle of Muḥammad who succeeded Abū Ṭālib as chief of the clan of Hāshim, and then refused to continue to let Muḥammad have the protection of the clan. It was probably at that time that Sūrah III was revealed and not on the occasion described here. The verses quoted are 34:46 and 111:1-5.

141. This section is omitted by Ibn Hishām.

kindred. I was troubled by this, for I knew that when I broached the matter to them they would respond in a way which I would not like. I kept silent until Gabriel came to me and said, "Muḥammad, if you do not do what you are commanded, your Lord will punish you. So prepare a measure of wheat for us, add a leg of mutton to it, fill a large bowl of milk for us, and then assemble the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib for me so that I may speak to them and tell them what I have been commanded to tell them."

I did what he had told me to do and then called them to him. At that time they numbered forty men, more or less, including his uncles Abū Ṭālib, Ḥamzah, al-ʿAbbās, and Abū Lahab. When they had gathered together, he called on me to bring the food which I had prepared. I brought it, and when I put it down the Messenger of God took a piece of meat, broke it with his teeth, and threw it towards the dish. Then he said, "Take, in the name of God." They ate until they could eat no more, and yet the food was as it had been, except for where their hands had been. I swear by God, in
[1172] whose hand ʿAlī's soul rests, that a single man could have eaten the amount of food which I put before all of them. Then he said, "Give them something to drink," so I brought them that bowl and they drank from it until they had drunk their fill, and I swear by God that one man could have drunk that amount.[142]

When the Messenger of God wanted to speak to them, Abū Lahab forestalled him and said, "Your host has long since bewitched you." Then they dispersed without the Messenger of God speaking to them. On the following day he said to me, ʿAlī, this man forestalled me by saying what you heard him saying, so that the people dispersed before I could speak to them. Prepare the same food for us as you did yesterday, and assemble them here."

I did this, assembled them, and brought the food to them when he called me. He did as he had done the previous day, and they ate until they could eat no more. Then he said, "Bring the bowl," and they drank until they could drink no more. Then he spoke to them, saying, "Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, I know of no young man among the Arabs who has brought his people something better than what I have brought to you. I bring you the best of this world

142. This is an example of the miracles invented for Muḥammad by later Muslim scholars in order to refute the Christian argument that he could not be a prophet because he had performed no miracles.

and the next, for God has commanded me to summon you to him. Which of you will aid me in this matter, so that he will be my brother, my agent *(waṣī)* and my successor *(khalīfah)* among you?"

They all held back, and although I was the youngest and the most bleary-eyed,[143] pot-bellied, and spindly-legged of them, I said, "I will be your helper, Prophet of God." He put his hand on the back of my neck and said, "This is my brother, my agent, and my successor among you, so listen to him and obey him." They rose up laughing and saying to Abū Ṭālib, "He has commanded you to [1173] listen to your son and to obey him!"

Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā al-Ḍarīr—'Affān b. Muslim—Abū 'Awānah—'Uthmān b. al-Mughīrah—Abū Ṣādiq—Rabī'ah b. Nājid: A man said to 'Alī, "Commander of the Faithful, how did you become the heir of your cousin to the exclusion of your paternal uncle?"[144] 'Alī said, "Ahem" three times until everybody craned their necks and pricked up their ears, and then said, "The Messenger of God assembled (or: invited) the whole of the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, including his own closest relatives, to eat a year-old lamb and to drink some milk.[145] He also prepared a quantity of wheat[146] for them, and they ate until they were full, while the food remained as it was, as though it had not been touched. Then he called for a drinking cup and they drank until they could drink no more, while the drink remained as though it had not been touched and they had not drunk.

"Then he said, 'Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, I have been sent to all men in general and to you in particular. Now that you have seen what you have seen, which of you will swear an oath of allegiance to me to become my brother, my companion and my inheritor?' Not one of them rose up, so I stood before him, although I was the youngest there. He said. 'Sit down.' He repeated the words he had spoken three times, while I would rise up and would say to me, 'Sit down.' On the third occasion, he struck his hand on mine. In

143. The word *armaṣ* is literally "with eyes encrusted with matter."

144. This presumably refers to al-'Abbās, the ancestor of the 'Abbāsid dynasty.

145. Literally, "to drink a *farq*" which was a liquid measure used especially in al-Madīnah.

146. Literally "a *mudd* of wheat," but it is impossible to say even approximately how much this was.

this way I became the heir of my cousin to the exclusion of my uncle."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Amr b. 'Ub-
[1174] ayd—al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan: When the verse "and warn your tribe of near kindred" was revealed to the Messenger of God, he rose up in the Valley and said, "Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Banū 'Abd Manāf, Banū Quṣayy!" Then he named the various groups of Quraysh, clan by clan, until he had come to the last of them, and said, "I summon you to God and warn you of his punishment."

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Jāriyah b. Abī 'Imrān—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim—his father:[147] The Messenger of God was commanded to proclaim the divine message which he had received, to declare it publicly to the people, and to summon them to God.

147. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I:132.22-5.

Other Events up to the Hijrah

Quraysh Begin to Oppose the Messenger of God

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq:[148] The Messenger of God proclaimed God's message openly and declared Islam publicly to his fellow tribesmen. When he did so, they did not withdraw from him or reject him in any way, as far as I have heard, until he spoke of their gods and denounced them. When he did this, they took exception to it and united in opposition and hostility to him, except for those of them whom God had protected from error by means of Islam. The latter were few in number and practiced their faith in secret. His uncle Abū Ṭālib was friendly to him, however, and protected him and shielded him from harm. The Messenger of God continued to do God's work and to proclaim his message, undeterred by anything. When Quraysh saw that he would not give them any satisfaction, they objected to his departing from their ways and denouncing their gods, and, seeing that Abū Ṭālib protected him, shielded him from harm, and would not hand him over to them, a number of the nobles of Quraysh, [1175] consisting of such men as 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah, Shaybah b. Rabī'ah, Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām, al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib, al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il, and Nubayh and Munabbih, the sons of al-Ḥajjāj,[149] went to Abū Ṭālib and said, "Abū Ṭālib, your nephew has reviled our gods, denounced our re-

148. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 166–8; Ibn Hishām omits the previous section from Ibn Isḥāq.

149. These were leading men from the clans of 'Abd Shams (2), Asad (2), Makhzūm (2), and Sahm (3). In the politics of pre-Islamic Mecca, these clans tended to be opposed to Hāshim and its associated clans.

ligion, derided our traditional values and told us that our forefathers were misguided. Either curb his attacks on us or give us a free hand to deal with him, for you are just as opposed to him as we are, and we will deal with him for you." Abū Ṭālib gave them a mild answer and declined courteously, and they left him. The Messenger of God continued as before, proclaiming the faith of God and summoning people to it.

After this, Muḥammad was estranged from the Quraysh, and they withdrew from him and harbored a secret hatred for him. They talked about him frequently amongst themselves and urged one another against him. Eventually they went to Abū Ṭālib once again. "Abū Ṭālib," they said, "we hold you in respect among us on account of your age, your nobility, and your standing. We asked you to forbid your nephew to attack us, but you did not do so. By God, we can no longer endure this vilification of our forefathers, this derision of our traditional values and this abuse of our gods. Either you restrain him or we shall fight both of you over this until one side or the other is destroyed," or words to that effect. Then they left. This breach and enmity with his tribe weighed heavily on Abū Ṭālib, but he could not reconcile himself to surrendering the Messenger of God to them or deserting him.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn—Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: A number of men of the Quraysh gathered together, including Abū Jahl b. Hishām, al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil, al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib [1176] and al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yaghūth, together with a number of other shaykhs of the Quraysh, and said to one another, "Let us go to Abū Ṭālib and speak to him about Muḥammad, so that he will give us justice against him and order him to desist from reviling our gods; and we will leave him to the god whom he worships, for we fear that this old man may die and we may do something which the Arabs will reproach us for and say, 'They let him alone until his uncle died, and then they laid hands on him.'"

They sent one of their number, whose name was al-Muṭṭalib,[150] to Abū Ṭālib to ask permission for them to enter. He said, "Here are the shaykhs and nobles of your tribe asking permission to visit you." He told him to ask them to come in, and when they had

150. This is not, of course, al-Muṭṭalib, the brother of Hāshim, who had been dead for a long time. It may have been al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥantab from the clan of Makhzūm.

done so they said, "Abū Ṭālib, you are our elder and our chief, so give us justice against your nephew and order him to desist from reviling our gods, and we will leave him to his god."

Abū Ṭālib sent for the Messenger of God, and when he came in he said, "Nephew, here are the shaykhs and nobles of your tribe. They have asked for justice against you, that you should desist from reviling their gods and they will leave you to your god." "Uncle," he said, "shall I not summon them to something which is better for them than their gods?" "What do you summon them to?" he asked. He replied, "I summon them to utter a saying through which the Arabs will submit to them and they will rule over the non-Arabs." Abū Jahl said from among the gathering, "What is it, by your father? We will give you it and ten like it." He answered, "That you should say; "There is no deity but God." They took fright at that and said, "Ask for anything rather than that!" But he said, "If you were to bring me the sun and put it into [1177] my hand, I would not ask you for anything other than this."

They rose up to leave in anger and said, "By God, we shall revile you and your god who commands you to do this!" "The chiefs among them hurried about, exhorting; Go and be staunch to your gods! This is a thing designed ... " to the words "naught but an invention."[151]

Muḥammad turned toward his uncle, who said to him, "Nephew, why did you go too far with them?" He turned again toward his uncle and called upon him, saying, "Utter a saying by means of which I shall testify for you on the day of resurrection. Say, 'There is no deity but God.'" He replied, "Were it not that the Arabs would consider this shameful for you (all), and say that I was afraid of death, I would grant you this; but I must remain in the religion of my ancestors." Then came the revelation of the verse:

> You guide not whom you love, but God guides whom he will.[152]

Abū Kurayb and Ibn Wakī'—Abū Usāmah—al-A'mash—'Abbād—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: When Abū Ṭālib fell ill, a number of Quraysh visited him, among them Abū Jahl, who said,

151. 38:6-7.
152. 28:56.

"Your nephew is reviling our gods and doing and saying all sorts of things. Why do you not send for him and forbid him to do this?" He sent for him, and the Prophet came and entered the room. There was just room for one man to sit between Abū Ṭalib and his visitors, and Abū Jahl, being afraid that Abū Ṭālib would be more sympathetic to him if he sat beside him, leapt up and sat in that place himself, so that the Messenger of God could not find anywhere near his uncle to sit down and had to sit by the door. Abū Ṭālib said to him, "Nephew, how is it that your tribe are complaining of you and claiming that you are reviling their gods and saying this, that, and the other?" They showered accusations
[1178] upon him, and then the Messenger of God spoke and said, "Uncle, I want them to utter one saying. If they say it, the Arabs will submit to them and the non-Arabs will pay the *jizyah* [153] to them." They were perturbed at this utterance and said, "One saying? Yes, by your father, and ten! What is it?" Abū Ṭālib said, "What saying is it, nephew" He replied, "There is no deity but God." They rose up in alarm, shaking the dust off their garments and saying, "Does he make the gods one god? This is indeed an astounding thing." Then came the revelation beginning with the words just spoken by these men and ending "they have not yet tasted my doom."[154] These are the exact words of Abū Kurayb's account.

Returning to Ibn Isḥāq's narrative.[155]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah b. al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas: He was told that when the Quraysh said this to Abū Ṭālib, he sent for the Messenger of God and said to him, "Nephew, your tribe have come to me and said such-and-such. Spare me and yourself, and do not put a greater burden on me than I can bear." The Messenger of God thought that his uncle had changed about him and was going to abandon him and hand him over, and that his determination to aid him and stand by him had weakened, so he said, "Uncle, if they were to place the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left, on condition that I should abandon (carrying on) my preaching before God gave it the victory or I died in the attempt, I should not abandon

153. The *jizyah* was the poll tax paid by members of "protected minorities" (*dhimmīs*) under the Caliphate.

154: 38:5-8.

155. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 168–70; Ṭabarī omits a poem ascribed to Abū Ṭālib.

it." Then the Messenger of God burst into tears and wept, and rose up. When he turned away, Abū Ṭālib called him back and said, "Come here, nephew." The Messenger of God came up to him, and he said, "Go, nephew, and say what you like. By God, I [1179] will never hand you over for any reason."

When the Quraysh discovered that Abū Ṭālib had refused to abandon the Messenger of God and to hand him over, and was determined to break with them on this issue and become their enemy, they brought ʿUmārah b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah to him and said, I have been told, "Abū Ṭālib, this is ʿUmārah b. al-Walīd, the bravest, most poetically gifted and most handsome young man in Quraysh. Take him, and his intelligence and his support are yours. Take him as a son, and he is yours; and hand over your nephew who has opposed your religion and the religion of your forefathers, who has sowed discord among your tribe and who has derided their traditional values, and we shall kill him. A man for a man."

Abū Ṭālib said, "This is an evil bargain which you are offering me. Will you give me your son so that I can feed him for you, while I give you my son so that you can kill him? By God, this shall never be." Al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf said, "By God, Abū Ṭālib, your tribe have treated you fairly, and have tried hard to avoid putting you in an unpleasant situation. I do not think that you wish to accept any proposal from them." Abū Ṭālib replied to al-Muṭʿim, "By God, they have not treated me fairly. You have decided to abandon me and to support the rest of the tribe against me. Do what you think fit." These, or something like them, were his words.

After this, the situation deteriorated, hostility became more bitter, and people withdrew from one another and showed open hatred to one another. Then the Quraysh incited one another against those in their various clans who had become Companions of the Messenger of God and had accepted Islam with him. Every clan fell upon those of its members who were Muslims, tormenting them and trying to force them to leave their religion. God pro- [1180] tected his Messenger from them by means of his uncle Abū Ṭālib who saw what the Quraysh were doing among the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib and called on them to follow him in protecting and defending the Messenger of God. They gathered

round him, stood by him, and responded to his call to defend the Messenger of God, with the exception of Abū Lahab. Abū Ṭālib was overjoyed when he saw how serious they were in supporting him and how solicitous they were for him, and he began to praise them and to extol the Messenger of God's merits and his standing among them in order to reinforce their decision.

The Emigration to Abyssinia

ʿAlī b. Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahḍamī and ʿAbd al-Wārith b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith—Abān al-ʿAṭṭār—Hishām b. ʿUrwah—ʿUrwah: He wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik as follows, referring to the Messenger of God: When he summoned his people to the guidance and light which had been revealed to him and for which God had sent him, they did not withdraw from him at the beginning of his preaching, and were on the point of listening to him. When, however, he spoke of their idols, some wealthy men of Quraysh who had come from al-Ṭāʾif took exception to this and reacted strongly against him, not liking what he said. They instigated those over whom they had influence against him, and the mass of the people turned away from him and abandoned him, except for those of them whom God pro-
[1181] tected, and these were few in number. Matters remained thus as long as God willed, and then their chiefs conspired together to seduce from God's religion those of their sons, brothers, and fellow clansmen who had followed him. It was a trial which severely shook the people of Islam who had followed the Messenger of God. Some were seduced, but God protected from error those whom He wished to protect. When the Muslims were treated in this way, the Messenger of God commanded them to emigrate to Abyssinia. In Abyssinia there was a righteous king called the Negus in whose land no one was oppressed and who was praised for his righteousness. Abyssinia was a land with which Quraysh traded and in which they found an ample living, security, and a good market. When the Messenger of God commanded them to do this, the main body of them went to Abyssinia because of the coercion they were being subjected to in Mecca. His fear was that they would be seduced from their religion. He himself remained, and did not leave Mecca. Several years passed in this way, during

which Quraysh pressed hard upon those of them who had become Muslims. After this, Islam spread in Mecca and a number of their nobles entered Islam.[156]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): There is a difference of opinion as to the number of those who emigrated to Abyssinia in this, the first emigration. Some say that there were eleven men and four women.[157]

Those who say this:

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Ẓafarī—his father—a man of his tribe; also 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās al-Hudhalī—al-Ḥārith b. al-Fuḍayl: Those who emigrated in the first emigration did so by stealth and in secret, and numbered eleven men and four women. They went to al-Shu'aybah, some riding and some walking. As they arrived, God caused two [1182] merchant ships to halt there for the Muslims, and in these they were carried to Abyssinia for half a dīnār. This took place in the month of Rajab in the fifth year from the time of the Messenger of God's commissioning as a prophet. Quraysh set out in pursuit of them and reached the sea at the place where the Muslims had embarked, but did not capture any of them. The emigrants said, "We came to Abyssinia and were hospitably lodged by the best of hosts. We had security to practice our religion, and we worshipped God without being persecuted and without hearing unpleasant words."

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd–Muḥammad b. 'Umar–Yūnus b. Muḥammad—his father; also 'Abd al-Ḥamīd—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥibbān: The names of this group, men and women, were: 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and his wife Ruqayyah, the daughter of the Messenger of God; Abū Ḥudhayfah b. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah and his wife Sahlah bt. Suhayl b. 'Amr; al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad; Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhrah; Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm and his wife Umm Salamah bt. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm; 'Uthmān b. [1183] Maẓ'ūn al-Jumaḥī; 'Āmir b. Rabī'ah al-'Anzī (from the tribe of 'Anz b. Wā'il, not from that of 'Anazah), the confederate of the

156. Reading *dakhala fīhi* for *fīhā* of the printed text. This is part of the letter to the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik.

157. For the emigrations to Abyssinia, see Introduction, p.46. The two following passages from al-Wāqidī are found in Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, I:136. 9-137.2.

Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, and his wife Laylā bt. Abī Ḥathmah; Abū Sabrah b. Abī Ruhm b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā al-ʿĀmirī; Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams; Suhayl b. Bayḍāʾ, from the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Fihr; and ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd, the confederate of the Banū Zuhrah.

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): Others say that those Muslims who went to Abyssinia and emigrated there, apart from their children who went with them when they were young or were born there, were eighty-two men, if ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, who is doubtful, is included among them.

Those who say this:

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq:[158] The Messenger of God saw the sufferings which were inflicted on his Companions and saw that, although he himself was spared such treatment by virtue of his standing with God and his uncle Abū Ṭālib, he could not defend his Companions against the sufferings they were experiencing. He therefore said to them, "Why do you not go to Abyssinia? There is a king there under whom no one is oppressed, and it is a land of truth. Stay there until God creates a relief from the situation in which you find yourselves." Thereupon the Messenger of God's Muslim Companions went to Abyssinia, fearing they might be seduced and fleeing to God with their religion. This was the first emigration in Islam.

[1184] The first Muslims to emigrate were as follows: from the Banū Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf, ʿUthman b. ʿAffān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayyah, accompanied by his wife Ruqayyah, the daughter of the Messenger of God. From the Banū ʿAbd Shams, Abū Ḥudhayfah b. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf, accompanied by his wife Sahlah bt. Suhayl b. ʿAmr, one of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. From the Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. After this, Ibn Isḥāq gives the same list of people as al-Wāqidī, except that he says: From the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr, Abū Sabrah b. Abī Ruhm b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Abī Qays b. ʿAbd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy; but some people say that this was not so and that it was Abū Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. He is said to have been the first of all to go to Abyssinia. Ibn Isḥāq makes their number ten, say-

158. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 208–9; Ṭabarī omits Ibn Isḥaq's second longer list, 209-16.

ing: These ten, according to what I have been told, were the first Muslims to emigrate to Abyssinia.

Then Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib emigrated, and after that there was a steady flow of Muslims. They assembled in Abyssinia and remained there, some coming with their families and some singly, without their families. Ibn Isḥāq then reckons that there were eighty-two men in all, including the ten I have mentioned by name, some who had their families and children with them, some who had children born in Abyssinia, and some who had no family with them.

Quraysh Show Increased Hostility to the Messenger of God

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): When those of the Messenger of God's Companions who emigrated to Abyssina had departed, the Messenger of God remained in Mecca preaching in secret and openly, protected by God through his uncle Abū Ṭālib and by those of his clan who answered his call for support. When Quraysh saw that they had no means of attacking him physically, they accused him of sorcery, soothsaying, and madness, and of being a poet. They began to keep away from him those whom they feared might listen to him and follow him. The most serious step which they are reported to have taken at that time was the following. [1185]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—his father 'Urwah—'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ:[159] I said to him, "What was the worst attack you saw by Quraysh upon the Messenger of God when they openly showed their enmity to him?" He replied, "I was with them when their nobles assembled one day in the Ḥijr and discussed the Messenger of God. They said, 'We have never seen the like of what we have endured from this man. He has derided our traditional values, abused our forefathers, reviled our religion, caused division among us, and insulted our gods. We have endured a great deal from him,' or words to that effect. While they were saying this, the Messenger of God suddenly appeared and walked up and kissed the Black Stone. Then he passed by them while performing the circumambulation,

159. Ibid., 183f.

and as he did so they made some slanderous remarks about him. I could see from the Messenger of God's face that he had heard them, but he went on. When he passed the second time they made similar remarks, and I could see from his face that he had heard them, but again he went on. Then he passed them the third time, and they made similar remarks; but this time he stopped and said, 'Hear, men of Quraysh. By Him in whose hand Muḥammad's soul
[1186] rests, I have brought you slaughter.' They were gripped by what he had said, and it was as though every man of them had a bird perched on his head;[160] even those of them who had been urging the severest measures against him previously spoke in a conciliatory way to him, using the politest expressions they could think of, and said, 'Depart in true guidance, Abū al-Qāsim; by God, you were never ignorant.'

"The Prophet left, and the next day they gathered in the Ḥijr, and I ('Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ) was again present. They said to one another, 'You were talking about the unpleasantness which you have endured and the things which Muḥammad has done to you, but when he openly said something disagreeable you shrank from him.' While they were saying this, the Messenger of God suddenly appeared, and they leapt upon him as one man and surrounded him, saying, 'Is it you who says this and that?' repeating what they had heard of his denunciation of their gods and their religion. The prophet said, 'Yes, I am the one who says that.' "

"Then I saw one of them grabbing his cloak, but Abū Bakr stood in front of him weeping and saying, 'Woe upon you all! Would you kill a man because he says, My Lord is God?'[161] Then they left him, and that is the worst thing I ever saw Quraysh do to him."

Yunūs b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Bishr b. Bakr—al-Awzā'ī—Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr—Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān: I said to 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, "Tell the worst thing which you saw the polytheists do to the Messenger of God." He said, "'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayṭ came up while the Messenger of God was by the Ka'bah, twisted his robe round his neck, and throttled him violently. Abū Bakr stood behind him, put his hand on his shoulder, and pushed him away

160. In his translation, Guillaume interprets this as "not one of them but stood silent and still."

161. Abū Bakr quotes a verse from the Qur'ān (40:28) referring to a threat to kill Moses.

from the Messenger of God. Then he said, 'People, would you kill a man because he says, My Lord is God? ... ' to the words 'God guides not one who is prodigal, a liar?' " [1187]

Ḥamzah Accepts Islam

Ibn Isḥāq—a man from Aslam, who had a good memory:[162] Abū Jahl b. Hishām passed by the Messenger of God as he was sitting by al-Ṣafā and abused him, reviled him, and spoke to him offensively, denouncing his religion and trying to humiliate him. The Messenger of God did not say anything, but a woman client (*mawlāh*) of 'Abdallāh b. Jud'ān al-Taymī, who was in her house above al-Ṣafā, overheard this. Then Abū Jahl left him, went to the assembly of the Quraysh at the Ka'bah, and sat down with them. Soon afterwards, Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came up with his bow slung over his shoulder, on his way back from the hunt. He was a great huntsman and used to go out for game with his bow and arrows. When he came back from the hunt he would not go back to his family until he had circumambulated the Ka'bah, after which, if he passed by an assembly of the Quraysh, he would always stop, greet them, and talk with them. He was the strongest man of Quraysh, and the most unyielding. By the time he went past the woman, the Messenger of God had risen and gone home, and she said to him, "Abū 'Umārah, if only you had seen what your nephew Muḥammad had to endure just now, before you came, from Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām.[163] He found him sitting here and reviled him, abused him and spoke to him offensively, and then left him, while Muḥammad said nothing in return."

Ḥamzah was carried away by a fury, as it was God's will to honor him in this way, and went off quickly, not stopping to speak to anyone as he used to do when intending to circumambulate the Ka'bah, ready to attack Abū Jahl when he saw him. When he entered the mosque, he saw him sitting among the people and went up to him. When he was standing next to him he raised his bow

162. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 184f.

163. Out of politeness, this woman addresses Ḥamzah by his *kunyah* (see n. 22) and refers to Abū Jahl by his, that is, Abū al-Ḥakam. Since Jahl is not a boy's name, Abū Jahl is not a proper *kunyah* but rather a kind of nickname, possibly meaning "father of violence (or bravado)." His primary name was 'Amr. Similarly the name of Muḥammad's uncle Abū Lahab means something like "father of brightness."

and gave him a blow with it which split his head open in an ugly way, and said, "Do you revile him when I am a member of his religion and say what he says? Return that blow against me if you can!"

[1188] The men of Banū Makhzūm (the clan of Abū Jahl), rose up to come to Abū Jahl's assistance against Ḥamzah, but Abū Jahl said, "Leave Abū 'Umārah, for, by God, I insulted his nephew gravely."

Ḥamzah persevered in his Islam. Quraysh recognized that by Ḥamzah's acceptance of Islam the Messenger of God had been strengthened and that Ḥamzah would protect him; after this, they curbed some of their attacks on him.

'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd Recites the Qur'ān Aloud to Quraysh

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—his father:[164] The first to recite the Qur'ān aloud in Mecca after the Messenger of God was 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd. One day the companions of the Messenger of God were assembled together and said, "By God, Quraysh have never heard this Qur'ān recited aloud to them. Who will let them hear it?" 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd said, "I will." They said, "We fear what they will do to you. What we want is a man who has a clan who will protect him against them if they seek to harm him." He replied, "Let me do it. God will protect me."

The next day, Ibn Mas'ūd went to the Maqām[165] in the late morning when the Quraysh were gathered in their groups. When he was standing at the maqām, he said, "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful," raising his voice as he did so, "The Compassionate has made known the Qur'ān. He has created man." He turned toward them as he recited, and they took notice of him and began to say, "What is this son of a slave's mother saying?" Then they said, "He is reciting some of what Muḥammad has brought," and rose up and began to hit him in the face. He continued to recite as much as God willed that he should, and then went back to his companions with the marks of their blows

164. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 202f.

165. Presumably the spot near the Ka'bah known as "the standing place of Abraham" (*maqām Ibrāhīm*). The verses recited are 55:1-3.

on his face. They said, "This is what we feared would happen to you," but he replied, "The enemies of God were never more despicable in my sight than they are now. If you wish, I will do the [1189] same thing to them tomorrow." They replied, "No, you have done enough. You have made them hear what they do not wish to hear."

Quraysh Boycott the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib[166]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): When those who had emigrated to Abyssinia had settled down in the land of the Negus and were living in security, Quraysh conferred together about taking some action against those Muslims who had taken refuge there. They then sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and 'Abdallāh b. Abi Rabī'ah b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī to the Negus with many gifts for him and for his generals, telling them to ask the Negus to hand back those Muslims whom he had accepted into his country. 'Amr and 'Abdallāh travelled to him on this mission and carried out the task which their people had entrusted to them, but did not achieve the results from the Negus which their tribe had hoped for, and went home in disgrace.

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who was a staunch, sturdy, and mighty warrior, had accepted Islam, as had Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib before him, and the Messenger of God's Companions began to feel stronger. Islam had begun to spread among the clans, and the Negus had given protection to those Muslims who had taken refuge in his country. When all of these things happened, the Quraysh gathered together to confer and decided to draw up a document in which they undertook not to marry women from the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib, or to give them women in marriage, or to sell anything to them or buy anything from them. They drew up a written contract to that effect and solemnly pledged themselves to observe it. Then they hung up the document in the interior of the Ka'bah to make it even more binding upon themselves. When Quraysh did this, the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib joined with Abū Ṭālib, went with him to his valley [1190] and gathered round him there; but Abū Lahab 'Abd al-'Uzzā b.

166. There is similar material in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 230-32.

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib left the Banū Hāshim and went to the Quraysh, supporting them against Abū Ṭālib. This state of affairs continued for two or three years, until the two clans were exhausted, since nothing reached any of them except what was sent secretly by those of the Quraysh who wished to maintain relations with them.

It is related that Abū Jahl met Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad with a slave carrying some wheat which he intended to take to his aunt Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid, who was with the Messenger of God in the valley. He hung on to him and said, "Are you taking food to the Banū Hāshim? By God, you and your food will not move until I disgrace you in Mecca!" Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad came up and said, "What is going on between you two?" Abū Jahl said, "He is taking food to the Banū Hāshim," but Abū al-Bakhtarī replied, "It is food belonging to his aunt which he has stored and which she has now sent for. Would you prevent him from taking her own food to her? Let the man pass." Abū Jahl refused, and in the end they came to blows. Abū al-Bakhtarī took hold of a camel's jawbone, struck him with it, split his head open, and trampled upon him violently. Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was near by observing this. They did not want the Messenger of God and his Companions to hear of this and rejoice at their discomfiture. During all of this period of years the Messenger of God was calling upon his people in secret and openly, by night and by day, while the revelation from God was coming to him continuously, commanding and forbidding, threatening those who showed open hostility to him, and vindicating the Messenger
[1191] of God against those who opposed him.

Quraysh Attempt to Induce the Messenger of God to Cease His Attacks on Their Gods

It is said that the nobles of his tribe gathered together to speak to him one day.

Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ḥarashī—Abū Khalaf 'Abdallāh b. 'Īsā—Dāūd—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: Quraysh promised the Messenger of God that they would give him so much wealth that he would become the richest man in Mecca, would give him as many wives as he wanted in marriage, and would submit to his commands.

They said, "This is what we will give you, Muḥammad, so desist from reviling our gods and do not speak evilly of them. If you will not do so, we offer you one means which will be to your advantage and to ours." "What is it?" he asked. They said, "You will worship our gods, al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā, for a year, and we shall worship your god for a year." "Let me see what revelation comes to me from my Lord," he replied. Then, the following inspiration came from the Preserved Tablet:

> Say: O disbelievers! I worship not that which you worship; nor do you worship that which I worship. And I shall not worship that which you worship, nor will you worship that which I worship. To you your religion, and to me my religion.

God also revealed:

> Say: Do you bid me serve other than God? O fools! ... (reciting to the words) ... Nay, but God must you serve, and be among the thankful![167]

Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Saʿīd b. Mīna the *mawlā* of Abū al-Bakhtarī:[168] Al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah, al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil, al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib, and Umayyah b. Khalaf met the Messenger of God and said, "Muḥammad, come and let us worship that which you worship and you worship that which we worship, and we shall make you a partner in all of our undertakings. If what you have brought is better than what we already have, we will be partners with you in it and take our share of it, and if what we have is better than what you have, you shall be partner with us in what we have, and you shall take your share of it." Then God revealed: "Say: O disbelievers ... (reciting) to the end of the [1192]
sūrah.[169]

Satan Casts a False Revelation on the Messenger of God's Tongue

The Messenger of God was eager for the welfare of his people and

167. The verses revealed are 109:1-6 and 39:64-66.
168. Ibn Hishām seems to have omitted this section, although Guillaume has not noticed the fact.
169. 109.

wished to effect a reconciliation with them in whatever ways he could. It is said that he wanted to find a way to do this, and what happened was as follows.[170]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Ziyād al-Madanī—Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī: When the Messenger of God saw how his tribe turned their backs on him and was grieved to see them shunning the message he had brought to them from God, he longed in his soul that something would come to him from God which would reconcile him with his tribe. With his love for his tribe and his eagerness for their welfare it would have delighted him if some of the difficulties which they made for him could have been smoothed out, and he debated with himself and fervently desired such an outcome. Then God revealed:[171]

> By the Star when it sets, your comrade does not err, nor is he deceived; nor does he speak out of (his own) desire . . .

and when he came to the words:

> Have you thought upon al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā and Manāt, the third, the other?

Satan cast on his tongue, because of his inner debates and what he desired to bring to his people, the words:

> These are the high-flying cranes; verily their intercession is accepted with approval.[172]

When Quraysh heard this, they rejoiced and were happy and delighted at the way in which he spoke of their gods, and they listened to him, while the Muslims, having complete trust in their Prophet in respect of the messages which he brought from God, did not suspect him of error, illusion, or mistake. When he came to the prostration, having completed the sūrah, he prostrated himself and the Muslims did likewise, following their Prophet, trusting in the message which he had brought and following his example. Those polytheists of the Quraysh and others who were in the

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170. This section is also omitted by Ibn Hishām, perhaps because he felt it was discreditable to the Prophet.

171. Sūrah 53; the verses quoted are 1-3 and 19-20.

172. An alternative reading to *turtaḍā* is *turtajā*, meaning, "is to be desired or hoped for."

mosque[173] likewise prostrated themselves because of the reference [1193]
to their gods which they had heard, so that there was no one in the mosque, believer or unbeliever, who did not prostrate himself. The one exception was al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah, who was a very old man and could not prostrate himself; but he took a handful of soil from the valley in his hand and bowed over that. Then they all dispersed from the mosque. The Quraysh left delighted by the mention of their gods which they had heard, saying, "Muḥammad has mentioned our gods in the most favorable way possible, stating in his recitation that they are the high-flying cranes and that their intercession is received with approval."

The news of this prostration reached those of the Messenger of God's Companions who were in Abyssinia and people said, "The Quraysh have accepted Islam." Some rose up to return, while others remained behind. Then Gabriel came to the Messenger of God and said, "Muḥammad, what have you done? You have recited to the people that which I did not bring to you from God, and you have said that which was not said to you." Then the Messenger of God was much grieved and feared God greatly, but God sent down a revelation to him, for He was merciful to him, consoling him and making the matter light for him, informing him that there had never been a prophet or a messenger before him who desired as he desired and wished as he wished but that Satan had cast words into his recitation, as he had cast words on Muḥammad's tongue. Then God cancelled what Satan had thus cast, and established his verses by telling him that he was like other prophets and messengers, and revealed:

> Never did we send a messenger or a prophet before you but that when he recited (the Message) Satan cast words into his recitation *(umniyyah)*. God abrogates what Satan casts. Then God established his verses. God is knower, wise.[174]

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173. The sacred area around the Ka'bah was not, of course, an Islamic mosque at this period, though the word *masjid*, "place of prostration, mosque," seems to have been applied to it.

174. 22-52. The translation deviates here from that of Pickthall in order to make it correspond with what is required by Ṭabarī's account. The meanings for *tamannā* and *umniyyah*, "recite" and "recitation," are well attested (see *Lisān* s.v. *M-N-Y*). An alternative rendering for this verse would be: "Never did we send a messenger or a prophet before you but that when he formed a wish Satan threw (some vanity) into his desire . . . ."

Thus God removed the sorrow from his Messenger, reassured him about that which he had feared and cancelled the words
[1194] which Satan had cast on his tongue, that their gods were the high-flying cranes whose intercession was accepted with approval. He now revealed, following the mention of "al-Lāt, al-ʿUzza and Manāt, the third, the other," the words:

> Are yours the males and his the females? That indeed were an unfair division! They are but names which you have named, you and your fathers ...

to the words:

> to whom he wills and accepts.[175]

This means, how can the intercession of their gods avail with God?

When Muḥammad brought a revelation from God cancelling what Satan had cast on the tongue of His Prophet, the Quraysh said, "Muḥammad has repented of what he said concerning the position of your gods with God, and has altered it and brought something else." Those two phrases which Satan had cast on the tongue of the Messenger of God were in the mouth of every polytheists, and they became even more ill-disposed and more violent in their persecution of those of them who had accepted Islam and followed the Messenger of God.

Those of the Companions of the Messenger of God who had left Abyssinia upon hearing that Quraysh had accepted Islam by prostrating themselves with the Messenger of God now approached. When they were near Mecca, they heard that the report that the people of Mecca had accepted Islam was false. Not one of them entered Mecca without obtaining protection or entering secretly. Among those who came to Mecca and remained there until they emigrated to al-Madīnah and were present with the Prophet at Badr, were, from the Banū ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān b. Abī al-ʿĀs b. Umayyah, accompanied by his wife Ruqayyah the daughter of the Messenger of God; Abū Hudhayfah b. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd Shams, accompanied by his
[1195] wife Sahlah bt. Suhayl; together with a number of others number-

175. 53:21-23,26, Ṭabarī explains *ḍīzā*, "unfair," as meaning *ʿawjā*, "crooked."

ing thirty-three men.

Al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn b. Dāūd—Ḥajjā—Abū Ma-ʿshar—Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Qurazī and Muḥammad b. Qays: The Messenger of God was sitting in a large gathering of Quraysh, wishing that day that no revelation would come to him from God which would cause them to turn away from him. Then God revealed:

> By the Star when it sets, your comrade does not err, nor is he deceived ...

and the Messenger of God recited it until he came to:

> Have you thought upon al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā and Manāt, the third, the other?

when Satan cast on his tongue two phrases:

> These are the high flying cranes; verily their intercession is to be desired.[176]

He uttered them and went on to complete the sūrah. When he prostrated himself at the end of the sūrah, the whole company prostrated themselves with him. Al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah raised some dust to his forehead and bowed over that, since he was a very old man and could not prostrate himself. They were satisfied with what Muḥammad had uttered and said, "We recognize that it is God who gives life and death, who creates and who provides sustenance, but if these gods of ours intercede for us with him, and if you give them a share, we are with you."

That evening Gabriel came to him and reviewed the sūrah with him, and when he reached the two phrases which Satan had cast upon his tongue he said, "I did not bring you these two." Then the Messenger of God said, "I have fabricated things against God and have imputed to Him words which He has not spoken." Then God revealed to him:

> And they indeed strove hard to beguile you away from what we have revealed to you, that you should invent other than it against us ...

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176. Sūrah 53. This version of the false verses has *la-turjā*, "to be desired or hoped for."

to the words:

and then you would have found no helper against us.[177]

He remained grief-stricken and anxious until the revelation of the verse:

[1196] Never did we send a messenger or a prophet before you ... to the words ... God is knower, wise.[178]

When those who had emigrated to Abyssinia heard that all the people of Mecca had accepted Islam, they returned to their clans, saying, "They are more dear to us"; but they found that the people had reversed their decision when God cancelled what Satan had cast upon the Messenger of God's tongue.

The Boycott Is Repealed

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq.[179] Then a number of the Quraysh took steps to repeal the agreement which the Quraysh had drawn up amongst themselves directed against the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib. The most creditable part in this was played by Hishām b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith al-ʿĀmirī of ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. He was the son of the maternal half-brother of Naḍlah b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf, and he went to Zuhayr b. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm, whose mother was ʿĀtikah bt. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and said, "Zuhayr, are you content to eat food, wear clothes, and marry women while your maternal uncles are in the condition in which you know them to be, unable to buy or sell, and unable to give or take in marriage? I swear by God that if they were the maternal cousins of Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām[180] and you were to call on him to do what he has called on you to do, he would never agree to do it." "For goodness' sake, Hishām," he replied, "What can I do? I am only one man. By God, if I had another man with me I would take steps to repeal it and would continue until I had had it repealed." "You have found

177. 17:73,75.
178. 22:52.
179. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 247-49.
180. This is the man usually called Abū Jahl, who was one of the most vehement opponents of Muḥammad.

a man," he said. "Who?" he asked. "Myself," he replied. Then Zuhayr said, "Find me a third man."

So he went to al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf and said to him, "Muṭʿim, are you content that two clans of the Banū ʿAbd Manāf are perishing while you look on,[181] agreeing with Quraysh on the matter? By God, if you allow them to do this, you will find that they will soon do the same to you." He replied, "For goodness' sake, what can I do? I am only one man." "You have found a second," he said. "Who?" he asked. "Myself," he replied. Then he said, "Find me a third." "I have already done so," he replied. "Who?" he asked. "Zuhayr b. Abī Umayyah," he said. Then he said, "Find me a fourth." [1197]

So he went to Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām and said the same to him as he had said to al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī. He answered, "Is there anyone who will help in this?" "Yes," he said. "Who?" he asked. He said, "Zuhayr b. Abī Umayyah and al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī, and I am with you." "Find me a fifth," he said.

Then he went to Zamʿah b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad, spoke to him, and reminded him of how closely they were related to him and of his duty to them. He said, "Is there anyone who will help in this matter in which you are calling upon me to take part?" "Yes," he replied, and named them.

They promised to meet him at Khaṭm al-Ḥajūn, which is in the high ground above Mecca. When they gathered there, they agreed upon their course of action, and pledged themselves to deal with the document and to have it repealed. Zuhayr said, "I will be the first to begin and will be the first to speak." The next morning they went to their groups, and Zuhayr appeared in a gown, circumambulated the Kaʿbah seven times, and then went up to the people and said, "People of Mecca, shall we eat food, drink drink, and wear clothes while the Banū Hāshim are perishing, neither buying nor selling? By God, I shall not sit down until this unjust document which severs relationships is torn up." Abū Jahl, who was at one side of the mosque, said, "You lie, by God. It shall not be torn up." Zamʿah b. al-Aswad said, "By God, you are a greater liar. We did not approve of its being written when it was written." [1198]

181. ʿAbd Manāf had four sons, ancestors of four clans. The two who are perishing are Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib. Muṭʿim belongs to a third, Nawfal, and the fourth is ʿAbd Shams.

Then Abū al-Bakhtarī said, "Zam'ah has spoken the truth. We do not approve of what was written in it, and we do not acknowledge it." Then al-Muṭ'im b. 'Adī said, "You have both spoken the truth, and anyone who says otherwise is lying. We are full of guilt for it before God and for what is written in it." Hishām b. 'Amr said much the same. Then Abū Jahl said, "This is something which has been decided during the night, and which has been decided elsewhere than in this place." Abū Ṭālib was sitting at one side of the mosque. Al-Muṭ'im b. 'Adī went up to the document to tear it up, and found that it had been eaten by termites except for the part on which had been written, "In your name, O God." These were the words with which the Quraysh prefaced their documents when they wrote anything.

I have heard that the writer of the document which the Quraysh drew up against the Messenger of God and his relatives from the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib was Manṣūr b. 'Ikrimah b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. (For having done so) his hand withered.

The Messenger of God Is Subjected to Further Insults

The rest of the emigrants remained in Abyssinia until the Messenger of God sent 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī to the Negus for them. He transported them in two ships and brought them to the Messenger of God while he was in Khaybar after al-Ḥudaybiyah. The total number of those who came in the two ships was sixteen men.[182]

The Messenger of God continued to live in Mecca with Quraysh, calling them to God secretly and openly, enduring their molestation of him, their calling him a liar, and their derision of him. Things came to such a pitch that one of them, it is said, [1199] would throw a sheep's womb upon him as he was praying or would throw it into his cooking pot when it was set up for him. Finally, I have been told, he took a large stone and sheltered behind it when he prayed.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Umar b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ur-

182. This final return was early in the year 7/628. Many others had returned before Muḥammad left Mecca.

wah b. al-Zubayr—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr:[183] The Messenger of God used to bring this out on a stick when it was thrown into his house and stand at his door and say, "Banū 'Abd Manāf, what protection is this?" Then he would throw it into the road.

The Deaths of Abū Ṭālib and Khadījah

After this Abū Ṭālib and Khadījah died in a single year.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq:[184] This was three years before his emigration to al-Madīnah. Their death was a great affliction to the Messenger of God. This is because after the death of Abū Ṭālib, Quraysh went to greater lengths in molesting him than they had ever done during his lifetime. One of them even poured dust upon his head.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Hishām b. 'Urwah—his father: When that foolish person poured dust upon the Messenger of God's head, he went into his house with the dust still on his head. One of his daughters stood next to him washing off the dust and weeping, while the Messenger of God said to her, "Do not weep, daughter, for God will protect your father." The Messenger of God used to say, "Quraysh never did anything unpleasant to me until Abū Ṭālib died."

The Messenger of God Goes to al-Ṭā'if

When Abū Ṭālib died, the Messenger of God went to al-Ṭā'if to seek support and protection against his own people from Thaqīf. It is said that he went to them alone.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Ziyād—Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī:[185] When the Messenger of God reached al-Ṭā'if, he went to a group of men of Thaqīf who were at that time the chiefs and nobles of the tribe. They were three brothers, 'Abd Yālayl b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr, Mas'ud b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr, and Ḥabīb b. 'Amr. b. 'Umayr. One of them had a wife from Quraysh, from [1200]

183. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 277.
184. Ibid., 277.
185. Ibid., 279-81. Thaqīf was the dominant tribe in al-Ṭā' if. They had been forced into an alliance with the Meccans, and Muḥammad may have hoped that anti-Meccan feeling would lead men to support him.

the Banū Jumaḥ. He sat down with them and called them to God, and spoke to them of the requests which he had come to them to make, (that is,) that they should come to his aid in defense of Islam and take his side against those of his own tribe who opposed him. One of them said, "If God has sent you, I will tear off the covering of the Ka'bah;" another said, "Could God find no-one but you to send?" and the third said, "By God, I shall never say a single word to you, for if you are a messenger from God as you say, you are too important for me to reply to you, and if you are lying against God, it is not right for me to speak to you."

The Messenger of God rose up and left them, despairing of getting any good out of Thaqīf. I have been told that he said to them, "If that is your decision, do not tell anyone about it," for he did not want his tribe to hear about this matter and be emboldened against him. However, they did not comply with his request, but incited against him their ignorant rabble and their slaves, who reviled him and shouted at him until a crowd gathered and forced him to take refuge in a garden belonging to 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah and Shaybah b. Rabī'ah, who were in it at the time.[186] Those of the rabble of Thaqīf who had followed him went back, and he went to the shade of a trellised vine and sat there while the two sons of Rabī'ah watched him, seeing what he had to endure from the rabble of Thaqīf.

[1201] I have been told that the Messenger of God met that woman from the Banū Jumaḥ[187] and said to her, "What have I had to endure from your husband's relatives?" I have been told that when he felt secure the Messenger of God said, "O God, I make complaint to You of the weakness of my power, the fewness of my expedients, and the contempt in which I am held by men. O most merciful of the merciful, You are the Lord of the oppressed, and You are my Lord. To whom will You entrust me? To a stranger who will regard me with displeasure or to an enemy to whom You have given power over me? If You are not angry with me, I do not care, but Your protection is wide enough for me. I take refuge in the light of Your countenance by which the darkness is illumi-

186. These were two Meccans of the clan of 'Abd Shams. Many wealthy Meccans had property in al-Ṭā'if because, being higher up in the mountains, it had a much better climate.

187. The wife of one of the leaders of Thaqīf with whom he had been speaking.

nated, and in which this world and the next are rightly ordered, refuge from the descent of Your anger upon me or the falling of Your wrath upon me. You shall have satisfaction from me until You are content. There is no might and no power except in You."

When the two sons of Rabīʿah, ʿUtbah and Shaybah, saw what had happened to him, they were moved by pity for their kinsman[188] and, calling a Christian slave of theirs named ʿAddās, they said to him, "Take a bunch of these grapes, put it in this dish, take it to that man, and tell him to eat of it." ʿAddās did so, went up to him and put it before the Messenger of God. When he stretched out his hand he said, "In the name of God," and then ate. ʿAddās looked him in the face and said, "By God, these words are not used by the people of this country." The Messenger of God said to him, "From what country do you come, ʿAddās, and what is your religion?" He replied, "I am a Christian, from the people of Nineveh." The Messenger of God said, "From the town of the righteous man Jonah the son of Mattā?"[189] "How do you know [1202] about Jonah the son of Mattā?" he asked. The Messenger of God replied, "He is my brother. He was a prophet, and I am a prophet." ʿAddās bent down before the Messenger of God, kissing his head, his hands, and his feet. The two sons of Rabīʿah said one to the other, "As far as your slave is concerned, Muḥammad has corrupted your slave for you." When ʿAddās came back to them they said to him, "Woe betide you, ʿAddās, what made you kiss that man's head, hands, and feet?" He replied, "Masters, there is no one better in the world than that man. He has told me something which none but a prophet knows." They said, "Woe betide you, ʿAddās, do not let him turn you away from your religion. Your religion is better than his."

The Messenger of God Returns to Mecca

When the Messenger of God despaired of getting any positive response from Thaqīf, he left al-Ṭāʾif to return to Mecca. When he was at Nakhlah, he rose in the middle of the night to pray, and, as God has told, a number of the jinn passed by. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq says that he was told that they were seven jinn from Naṣībīn of

188. As being all descendants of ʿAbd Manāf.
189. In the Bible his father is called Amittai.

the Yemen.[190] They listened to him, and when he had completed his prayer they went back to their people to warn them, having believed and responded to what they had heard. God mentioned their story when he said:

> And when we inclined toward you certain of the jinn, who wished to hear the Qur'ān and, when they were in its presence, said: Give ear! and when it was finished, turned back to their people, warning. They said: O our people! We have heard a scripture which has been revealed after Moses, confirming that which was before it, guiding to the truth and a right road. O our people! respond to God's summoner and believe in him. He will forgive you some of your sins and guard you from a painful doom.[191]

God also said:

> Say: It is revealed to me that a company of the jinn gave ear, and they said: It is a marvellous Qur'ān.

[1203] Muḥammad (Ibn Isḥāq) says that he has heard that the names of the jinn who listened to the revelation were Ḥassā, Massā, Shāṣir, Nāṣir, Aynā al-Ard, Aynayn, and al-Aḥqam.[192]

Then the Messenger of God came back to Mecca, and found that its people were even more determined to oppose him and to abandon his religion, except for a few weak people who believed in him. Some say that when the Messenger of God left al-Ṭā'if for Mecca[193] a certain Meccan passed by, and the Messenger of God

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190. This phrase seems incorrect, since the well-known Naṣībīn is on the border between eastern Syria and Turkey. Another version of the story reads "on their way from Naṣībīn to the Yemen" (see Leiden text, footnote).

191. 46:29-31. Ṭabarī gives only the beginning and the end of this passage, but it has been given in full to make the story more intelligible. The following verse is 72:1.

192. These names are not vocalized in the text and the forms given here are hypothetical; the fifth and sixth names are particularly dubious.

193. This story implies (though there is no explicit statement) that following the death of Abū Ṭālib, Muḥammad had been deprived of the protection of his own clan of Hāshim by the new chief Abū Lahab. For this reason he had to obtain the protection of another clan before he could return to Mecca in safety. Al-Akhnas b. Sharīq, though technically a confederate from al-Ṭā'if, appears to have been the leading man of the Meccan clan of Zuhrah. Suhayl b. 'Amr was chief of the clan of 'Āmir. When he speaks of Banū Ka'b he means all the main clans of Quraysh except his own and al-Ḥārith b. Fihr (see table in the Introduction, p.xxx). Al-Muṭ'im

said, "Will you deliver a message which I entrust to you?" He agreed, and he said, "Go to al-Akhnas b. Sharīq and say to him, 'Muḥammad asks you if you will give him protection so that he can deliver the message of his Lord.' The man went to him and delivered the message, and al-Akhnas replied, "The confederate does not give protection against the men of pure blood." He went back to the Prophet and gave him this reply. Muḥammad then asked him if he would go back again, and when he indicated that he would, said, "Go to Suhayl b. 'Amr and say to him, 'Muḥammad asks you if you will give him protection so that he can deliver the message of his Lord.' " He went to him and delivered the message, and he replied, "The Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy do not give protection against the Banū Ka'b." The man went back to the Prophet and gave him this reply. Muḥammad asked him if he would go back yet again, and when he indicated that he would, he said, "Go to al-Muṭ'im b. 'Adī and say to him, 'Muḥammad asks if you will give him protection so that he can deliver the message of his Lord.' " Al-Muṭ'im replied, "Yes, let him enter."

The man went back and told him this, and the next morning al-Muṭ'im b. 'Adī, his sons, and his brother's sons appeared wearing their weapons and entered the mosque. When Abū Jahl saw him, he said, "Are you offering protection to someone or following a call to arms?" "I am offering protection," he said. Abū Jahl replied, "We shall protect whomever you protect." The Prophet entered Mecca and remained there. One day he went into the sacred mosque while the polytheists were by the Ka'bah. When Abū Jahl saw him he said, "This is your prophet, Banū 'Abd Manāf."[194] [1204]
To this 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah said, "Is there anything wrong with there being a prophet or a king from among us?" The Prophet was told of this or heard it, and he went to them and said, "As for you, 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah, by God, you were not angered on behalf of God or

b. 'Adī was head of the clan of Nawfal, and had been one of those instrumental in ending the boycott. In his translation, Guillaume regards the whole story as derived by Ṭabarī from Ibn Isḥāq, but in this he appears to be mistaken. The introductory words "some say..." (*dhakara ba'ḍuhum*) indicate a different unspecified source. It is unlikely, too, that Ibn Hishām would have omitted the story at this point (Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 281), if it had been present in Ibn Isḥāq, since he gives the gist of it in his own additional note at an earlier point (Ibid., 251).

194. The designation Banū 'Abd Manāf includes the clans of 'Abd Shams and Nawfal as well as Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib. Pride in his ancestry makes 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah (of 'Abd Shams) defend Banū 'Abd Manāf against the taunt of Abū Jahl.

his Prophet, but were angered on behalf of your own pride; and as for you, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, by God, not long will pass before you laugh little and weep much; and as for you, council *(mala')* of Quraysh, by God, not long will pass before you will enter unwillingly into that which you dislike."

The Messenger of God Preaches to the Arab Tribes

The Messenger of God used to appear at the times of pilgrimage before the Arab tribes, summoning them to God, informing them that he himself was a prophet sent by God, and asking them to believe his words and defend him so that he might make manifest the message from God he had been sent to convey.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās:[195] I heard Rabī'ah b. 'Abbād telling my father: "I was in Minā with my father when I was a young man while the Messenger of God was stopping at the encampments of the Arab tribes and saying, Banū so-and-so, I am God's Messenger to you, commanding you to worship God and not to associate anything with Him, to cast off whatever idols you worship other than Him, to believe in me, and the truth of my message, and to defend me so that I may make manifest the message of God I have been sent to convey".

Behind him was a freshly washed man with a squint, with two locks of hair, wearing an 'Adanī robe. When the Messenger of God had completed his speech and his appeal, the man would say, "Banū so-and-so, this man is calling upon you to cast off al-Lāt and
[1205] al-'Uzzā from your necks, both you and your confederates from the jinn of the Banū Mālik b. Uqaysh, and to accept the heresy and the error which he has brought; so do not obey him and do not listen to him." I said to my father, "Father, who is that man who is following Muḥammad and contradicting what he says?" He answered, "That is his uncle, 'Abd al-'Uzzā Abū Lahab b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī: The Messenger of God went to the Kindah—among whom was one of their chiefs called Mulayh—

195. From here to p. 1224 Ṭabarī follows Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 282–301, with some omissions.

in their encampments, and summoned them to God and offered himself to them, but they refused him.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥuṣayn: He went to a clan of Kalb called the Banū ʿAbdallāh in their encampments, summoned them to God and offered himself to them, and finally said, "Banū ʿAbdallāh, God has given your ancestor an excellent name." However, they did not accept what he offered them.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—one of his companions—ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik: The Messenger of God went to the Banū Ḥanīfah in their encampments, summoned them to God and offered himself to them, but not one of the Arabs gave him an uglier answer than they.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī: He went to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah, called them to God and offered himself to them. One of them called Bayḥarah b. Firās said, "By God, if I could take [1206] this young man from Quraysh I could conquer all the Arabs with him." Then he said, "Do you think that if we follow you and God gives you victory over your opponents we shall have the command after you?" He replied, "Command belongs to God, who places it where He wills." Bayḥarah said, "Are we to expose our throats to the Arabs in your defense, and when you are victorious the command will go to someone else? We do not need your religion." So they refused him. When the pilgrims dispersed, the Banū ʿĀmir [b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah] went back to one of their shaykhs who was so old that he was unable to participate in the pilgrimage with them. On returning to him they would tell him what had happened during the pilgrimage. In this particular year he asked them on their return what had happened during the pilgrimage, and they said, "A young man from the Quraysh, one of the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who claimed that he was a prophet, came to us and called upon us to defend him, stand with him, and bring him back with us to our country." The old man put his hand to his head and said, "Banū ʿĀmir, is there any way we can put this right? Can we regain our lost opportunity? By him in whose hand my soul rests, no descendant of Ishmael has ever falsified this. It is indeed the truth! What happened to your ability to judge him?"

The Messenger of God continued in this manner. Whenever

people gathered for the pilgrimage, he would go to them, summon the tribes to God and to Islam, and offer them himself together with the right guidance and mercy which he had brought to them
[1207] from God. Whenever he heard of an arrival who had name and nobility among the Arabs, he would give special attention to him, summon him to God, and offer him his message.

The First Madīnans Said to Have Accepted Islam

Ibn Ḥumayd—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah al-Ẓafarī—some shaykhs of his people: Suwayd b. Ṣāmit the brother of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf came to Mecca on the pilgrimage or the *'umrah.* [196] Among themselves Suwayd's people called him al-Kāmil (the perfect one) on account of his steadfastness, his poetry, his descent, and his nobility. He is the author of the following lines:

Many a man is there whom you call a friend, but if
you knew
what he says behind your back, his slanders would
grieve you.
His words are like fat when he is in your presence,
but when you are absent they are a sword pointed
at the base of your throat.
His outward appearance delights you, but beneath his skin
is false slander which cuts through the sinews of your
back.
His eyes show you what he is concealing
for there is no concealing hatred and the malignant
glance.
[1208] Aid me with good deeds, for you have been weakening me
for too long;
the best friends are those who aid without weakening.

He also composed many other poems.

196. The *'umrah* or "lesser pilgrimage" consisted of those rites of the full pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) which took place in Mecca itself, and it could be performed at any time of the year. Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf was an important clan of the tribe of al-Aws in al-Madīnah. The phrase "brother of (a clan)" is common in al-Madīnah and seems to be equivalent to "member of" the clan; it is perhaps to be explained by the persistence in al-Madīnah of matrilineal kinship; see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina,* 378–85, etc.

When the Messenger of God heard of his arrival, he was attentive to him and summoned him to God and to Islam. Suwayd said to him, "Perhaps what is with you is like what is with me." The Messenger of God asked, "What is with you?" "The book of Luqmān," he replied, meaning the wisdom of Luqmān.[197] The Messenger of God said, "Expound it to me." He expounded it to him, and he said, "This speech is good, but I have a speech better than this, a Qur'ān which God has revealed to me, guidance and light." Then the Messenger of God recited the Qur'ān to him and summoned him to Islam. He was close to accepting, and said, "This is indeed an excellent saying." He left him and went back to al-Madīnah, and soon afterwards was killed by the Khazraj. His clan used to say that he was a Muslim when he was killed; his death took place before (the battle of) Bu'āth.[198]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh, brother of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal—Maḥmūd b. Labīd, brother of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal: When Abū al-Ḥaysar Anas b. Rāfi' came to Mecca accompanied by some young men of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal,[199] including Iyās b. Mu'ādh, seeking an alliance with the Quraysh against their fellow citizens from the Khazraj, the Messenger of God heard of their arrival, came to them and sat down with them. He said to them, "Would you like something better than what you have come for?" "What is that?" they asked. He said, "I am the Messenger of God whom He has sent to His servants that I may call them to God, so that they may worship God and not associate anything with Him. He has revealed the Book to me." Then he told them about Islam and recited the Qur'ān to them. Iyās [1209]
b. Mu'ādh, who was a young lad, said, "My people, by God, this is better than what we came for." Abū al-Ḥaysar Anas b. Rāfi' took up a handful of dust from the valley, threw it in the face of Iyās b.

197. Luqmān was a legendary wise man of Arab tradition, also mentioned in the Qur'ān, Sūrah 31.

198. The battle of Bu'āth between two factions of the inhabitants of al-Madīnah, and involving nearly all of them, occurred about the year a.d. 617; see *EI*², s.v. Bu'āth. The story illustrates the rivalry between clans and tribes to claim priority in the acceptance of Islam.

199. Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal was another important clan of the tribe of al-Aws. The story has been handed down in the clan as a claim to have had one of the first Muslims in al-Madīnah.

Muʿādh, and said, "Enough of that. By my life, we did not come here for this." Iyās remained silent, the Messenger of God rose up to leave them, and they went back to al-Madīnah, where the battle of Buʿāth took place between the Aws and the Khazraj. Iyās b. Muʿādh died soon afterwards.

Maḥmūd b. Labīd: Those of my clan who were with him when he died told me that they heard him saying continually until he died, "There is no deity but God," "God is very great," "Praise be to God," "Glory be to God." They had no doubt that he died a Muslim, having embraced Islam at that meeting when he heard the Messenger of God saying what he said.

The First Deputation from al-Madīnah

When God wished to make His religion victorious, to render His Prophet mighty, and to fulfil His promise to him, the Messenger of God went out during that pilgrimage in which he met the group of the Anṣār,[200] and appeared before the Arab tribes as he had been doing in every pilgrimage season. While he was at al-ʿAqabah, he met a party of the Khazraj to whom God wished good.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatādah—some shaykhs of his tribe: When the Messenger of God met them he said to them, "Who are you?" They said, "We are a group of the Khazraj." "Mawlās[201] of the Jews?" he asked. "Yes," they said. "Will you not sit down so that I may speak to you?" he asked. "Certainly," they said. So they sat down with him, and he summoned them to God, expounded Islam to them, and recited the Qurʾān to them.

One of the things which God had done for them in order to pre-
[1210] pare them for Islam was that the Jews lived with them in their land. The Jews were people of scripture and knowledge, while the Khazraj were polytheists and idolaters. They had gained the mastery over the Jews in their land, and whenever any dispute arose

200. The Anṣār ("helpers") are the Muslims of al-Madīnah as a whole, but the name, given in honor for their support of Muḥammad, was not conferred until after this date.

201. *Mawālī* is the plural of *mawlā*, which can mean either "client" or "patron"; the latter would be more appropriate here, since most of the Arab clans of al-Madīnah were now politically stronger than the Jewish groups allied with them, as is indicated below.

among them the Jews would say to them, "A prophet will be sent soon. His time is at hand. We shall follow him, and with him as our leader we shall kill you as ʿĀd and Iram[202] were killed." When the Messenger of God spoke to this group of people and called them to God, they said to one another, "Take note! This, by God, is the prophet with whom the Jews are menacing you. Do not let them be before you in accepting him." They responded to his call, believed in the truth of his message, and accepted the Islam which he expounded to them, saying, "We have left our people behind us, and no people is as divided by enmity and malice as they are. Perhaps God will reunite them by means of you;[203] we shall go to them, summon them to your proposals, and expound to them this religion which we have accepted from you. If God reunites them in it, there will be no man mightier than you."

Then they left the Messenger of God to go back to their country, believing and accepting the truth of his message. I have been told that they were six men of the Khazraj; from the Banū al-Najjār, who are Taym Allāh, in particular from the Banū Mālik b. al-Najjār b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAmr b. al-Khazraj b. Ḥārithah b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir: Asʿad b. Zurārah b. ʿUdas b. ʿUbayd b. Thaʿlabah b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, who is Abū Umāmah, and ʿAwf b. al-Ḥārith b. Rifāʿah b. Sawād b. Mālik b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, who is Ibn ʿAfrāʾ; from the Banū Zurayq b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd [1211]
Ḥārithah b. Mālik b. Ghaḍb b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj b. Ḥārithah b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAmr b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir: Rāfiʿ b. Mālik b. al-ʿAjlān b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Zurayq; from the Banū Salimah b. Saʿd b. ʿAlī b. Asad b. Sāridah b. Tazīd b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj b. Ḥārithah b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAmr b. Āmir, in particular from the Banū Sawād: Qutbah b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥadīdah b. ʿAmr b. Sawād b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salimah; from the (subclan) Banū Ḥarām b. Kaʿb b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salimah: ʿUqbah b. ʿĀmir b. Nābī b. Zayd b. Ḥarām; and from the (subclan) Banū ʿUbayd b. ʿAdī b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salimah: Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Riʾāb b. al-Nuʿmān b. Sinān b. ʿUbayd.

When they went back to their people in al-Madīnah, they told them about the Messenger of God and summoned them to Islam,

202. Two Arab tribes mentioned in the Qurʾān, but extinct by this time.

203. The hope of overcoming the divisions in al-Madīnah which had reached a climax in the battle of Buʿāth (n. 176), was an important motive for the acceptance of Islam there.

so that it spread among them, and there was not a single dwelling among the dwellings of the Anṣār in which the Messenger of God was not spoken of.

The First Pledge of al-ʿAqabah

The following year, twelve of the Anṣār came on the pilgrimage and met the Messenger of God at al-ʿAqabah, this being the first al-ʿAqabah, and took an oath of allegiance to him according to the terms of the "pledge of women."[204] This was before the duty of making war was laid upon them.

[1212] They were; from the Banū al-Najjār: Asʿad b. Zurārah b. ʿUdas b. ʿUbayd b. Thaʿlabah b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, who is Abū Umāmah, ʿAwf and Muʿādh, sons of al-Ḥārith b. Rifāʿah b. Sawād b. Mālik b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, who are the sons of ʿAfrāʾ; from the Banū Zurayq b. ʿĀmir: Rāfiʿ b. Mālik b. al-ʿAjlān b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Zurayq and Dhakwān b. ʿAbd Qays b. Khaldah b. Mukhallad b. ʿĀmir b. Zurayq; from the Banū ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj: from the (subclan) Banū Ghanm b. ʿAwf, who are al-Qawāqil, ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit b. Qays b. Aṣram b. Fihr b. Thaʿlabah b. Ghanm b. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj and Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who is Yazīd b. Thaʿlabah b. Khazmah b. Aṣram b. ʿAmr b. ʿAmmārah, one of the Banū Ghudaynah of the tribe of Balī, a confederate of theirs; from the Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj: ʿAbbās b. ʿUbādah b. Naḍlah b. Mālik b. al-ʿAjlān b. Zayd b. Ghanm b. Sālim b. ʿAwf; from the Banū Salimah, from the (subclan) Banū Ḥarām: ʿUqbah b. ʿĀmir b. Nābī b. Zayd b. Ḥarām b.
[1213] Kaʿb b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salimah; from the (subclan) Banū Sawād, Quṭbah b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥadīdah b. ʿAmr b. Sawād b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salimah. From (the tribe of) al-Aws b. Ḥārithah b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir, from the clan of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, there was present Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān, whose name is Mālik, a confederate of theirs, and from (the clan of) the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf: ʿUwaym b. Sāʿidah b. Ṣalʿajah, a confederate of theirs.

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204. This was a pledge to accept and practice the religion of Islam, but without any undertaking to protect Muḥammad. It is called "the pledge of women" because in Sūrah 60:12 Muḥammad is told to require something like this from believing women wanting to become Muslims. A modified version of the Qurʾānic requirements is given below on p.1213.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb—Marthad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Yazanī–Abū ʿAbdallāh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUsaylah al-Ṣunājī—ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit: I was among those who were present at the first al-ʿAqabah. There were twelve of us, and we took an oath of allegiance to him according to the terms of the "pledge of women," this being before the duty of making war was laid upon us. The terms were that we should not associate anything with God, should not steal, should not commit adultery, should not kill our children, should not produce any lie we have devised between our hands and feet, and should not disobey him in what was proper. If we fulfilled this, we should have paradise, and if we committed any of these sins, we should be punished with the prescribed penalties in this world, which would be an expiation for them, while if we concealed them to the Day of Resurrection, then the matter was in God's hands; if He wished, He would punish us, and if He wished He would forgive us.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ibn Shihāb—ʿĀʾidh Allāh b. ʿAbdallāh Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī—ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit—the Prophet: A similar account.

Islam Begins to Spread in al-Madīnah

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When they left the Messenger of God he sent with them Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd [1214]
Manāf b. ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy, commanding him to teach them to recite the Qurʾān, to teach them Islam, and to instruct them in their religion. In al-Madīnah Muṣʿab was called "al-Muqriʾ" (the Qurʾān reciter) and lodged with Asʿad b. Zurārah b. ʿUdas Abū Umāmah.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Mughīrah b. Muʿayqīb and ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm: Asʿad b. Zurārah went out with Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr to take him to the dwellings of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal and the Banū Ẓafar. Saʿd b. Muʿādh b. al-Nuʿmān b. Imruʾ al-Qays was the son of Asʿad b. Zurārah's maternal aunt. Asʿad took Muṣʿab into one of the gardens of the Banū Ẓafar by a well called Biʾr Marq, and the two sat down there, while some of those who had become Muslims gathered around them. Saʿd b. Muʿādh and Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr were at that time the two chiefs of their clan, the

Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, and both of them were polytheists according to the religion of their people. When they heard of the arrival of Asʿad and Muṣʿab, Saʿd b. Muʿādh said to Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, "My excellent friend, go to those two men who have come to our quarter to make fools of our weaker members, drive them off, and forbid them to return to our quarter. If it were not that, as you know, Asʿad b. Zurārah is related to me, I would do it for you, but he is my maternal aunt's son, and I cannot tackle him in any way."

Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr took his javelin and went up to them. When Asʿad b. Zurārah saw him he said to Muṣʿab, "This is the chief of his clan who has come to you, so be true to God in dealing with him." Muṣʿab answered, "If he sits down I will speak to him." Usayd stood by them with a grim expression on his face and said,
[1215] "Why have you come to us to make fools of our weaker members? Depart from us, if you set any value on your lives." Muṣʿab said to him, "Why do you not sit down and listen? If you like anything which we say, you can accept it, and if not, then what you dislike will have been removed from you." Usayd replied, "You have spoken fairly," planted his javelin in the ground and sat down with them. Muṣʿab spoke to him of Islam and recited the Qurʾān to him. It is reported that the two (Muṣʿab and Asʿad) said of this, "By God, we recognized Islam in (Usayd's) face, in its radiance and easiness, before he spoke." Then (Usayd) said, "How fair and beautiful is this. What do you do when you wish to enter this religion?" The two (Asʿad and Muṣʿab) replied, "Wash, purify yourself, pronounce the *shahādah* of Truth and then pray two *rakʿahs*."[205]

Usayd rose up, washed himself, purified himself, pronounced the *shahādah* of truth, and then rose and performed two *rakʿahs*. After this he said, "I have come from a man not one of whose clan, if he were to follow you, would lag behind him. I shall send him to you now. His name is Saʿd b. Muʿādh." He took his javelin and went to Saʿd and his people, who were sitting in their assembly. When Saʿd b. Muʿādh saw him coming he said, "I swear, by God, that Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr is coming back to you with a differ-

205. The *shahādah* is the "witnessing" that "there is no deity but God, Muḥammad is the Messenger of God." A *rakʿah* is a cycle of actions and words constituting part of the prayer or formal worship (*ṣalāt*). Each *ṣalāt* has two, three, or four *rakʿahs*, according to the time of day, as well as an introduction and a conclusion.

ent face from that with which he left you." When Usayd stood by the assembly, Sa'd said to him, "What did you do?" He answered, "I spoke to the two men, and I did not find any harm in them. I forbade them to come here, and they said, 'We will do what you wish.' However I have been told that the Banū Ḥārithah[206] have come out against As'ad b. Zurārah in order to kill him; they want to show that you cannot protect your kin, for they know that he is your maternal aunt's son."

Sa'd rose in anger and in haste, being alarmed by what Usayd had told him about the Banū Ḥārithah. He took the javelin from Usayd's hand, saying, "By God, I think that you are useless," and went up to As'ad and Muṣ'ab. When he saw that they were at ease, he realized that Usayd had only wanted him to listen to them. He [1216] stood by them with a grim expression on his face, and then said to As'ad b. Zurārah, "Abū Umāmah, if we were not related, you would not seek to do this to me, coming to us in our dwellings with a message which we do not want." As'ad had said to Muṣ'ab, "By God, Muṣ'ab, there has come to you the acknowledged chief of his clan, no two of whom will oppose you if he follows you." Accordingly, Muṣ'ab said to Sa'd, "Will you not sit and listen? If you are pleased with anything or desire it, you can accept it, and if you do not like it we shall take away from you that which you dislike." Sa'd replied, "You have spoken justly," stuck the javelin into the ground and sat down. Then Muṣ'ab expounded Islam to him and recited the Qur'ān to him. The two (Muṣ'ab and As'ad) said of this, "We recognized Islam in (Sa'd's) face, in its radiance and easiness, before he spoke of it." Then Sa'd said, "What do you do when you accept Islam and enter into this religion?" They said to him, "Wash, purify yourself, pronounce the *shahādah* of truth and pray two *rak'ahs.*"

He rose up, washed himself, purified himself, pronounced the *shahādah* of truth and prayed two *rak'ahs.* Then he took his javelin and headed for his people's assembly accompanied by Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr. When his people saw him coming, they said to one another, "We swear, by God, that Sa'd is coming back to you with a different face from that with which he left you." When Sa'd stood by them he said, "Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, what do you recog-

206. A clan whose ancestor Ḥārithah was reckoned to be a brother of 'Abd al-Ashhal.

nize my position to be amongst you?" They replied, "You are our chief, the best of us in judgement and the most blessed of us in spirit." Then he said, "It is forbidden to me to speak to any man or woman of you until you believe in God and in His Messenger."

By that evening there was not a man or woman in the dwellings of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal who had not accepted Islam. Asʿad and Muṣʿab went back to Asʿad b. Zurārah's house, and Muṣʿab remained with him calling people to Islam until there was not a dwelling place among the dwellings of the Anṣār in which [1217] there were not Muslim men and women, except for those in the dwellings of the Banū Umayyah b. Zayd, Khaṭmah, Wāʾil, and Wāqif; these were the group Aws Allāh, of (the tribe of al-Aws b. Ḥārithah.[207] The reason for this was that Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, whose name was Ṣayfī, was among them. He was their poet and their leader, whom they used to heed and obey. He caused them to hold back from Islam, and continued in this course until the Messenger of God had emigrated to al-Madinah and the battles of the first Badr, Uḥud, and the Trench had taken place.

The Second Pledge of al-ʿAqabah

After this Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr went back to Mecca. Some of the Muslim Anṣār went on the pilgrimage together with polytheist pilgrims from their people, and when they came to Mecca they agreed to meet the Messenger of God at al-ʿAqabah in the middle of the days of *al-tashrīq*.[208] Thus God wished to honor them, to aid his Prophet, to make Islam and its followers mighty, and to humble polytheism and its followers.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Maʿbad b. Kaʿb b. Mālik b. Abī Kaʿb b. al-Qayn, brother of the Banū Salimah—his brother ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb, who was one of the most learned men of

207. The four small clans Umayyah b. Zayd, Khaṭmah, Wāʾil, and Wāqif were collectively known as Aws Allāh, originally Aws Manāt. They were a small section of the tribe of al-Aws, but of little political importance and perhaps to some extent dependent on Jewish clans. This last point may explain why they did not at first become Muslims.

208. The three days of *tashrīq* are the eleventh to the thirteenth of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, following on the day of sacrifice on the tenth. The pilgrims have to spend these days at Minā and are not to fast. The original meaning of *tashrīq* is uncertain.

the Anṣār—his father Ka'b b. Mālik, who was one of those present at al-'Aqabah and swore the oath of allegiance to the Messenger of God there. We set out among the pilgrims of our tribe, having prayed and become instructed in our religion. With us was al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr, our chief and our oldest member. When we set off on our journey and left al-Madīnah al-Barā' said to us, "By God, I have made a decision, and I do not know whether you will agree with me in it or not." We said, "What is that?" and he said, "I have decided that I shall not turn my back on this building (meaning the Ka'bah) and that I shall pray toward it." We said, "By God, we have not heard that our Prophet prays in any other direction than toward Syria, and we do not wish to differ from him.[209] He answered, "I shall pray toward the Ka'bah." "We shall not do so," we said. [1218]

When the time for prayer came, we prayed toward Syria and he prayed toward the Ka'bah. This continued until we came to Mecca. We reproached him for what he was doing, but he insisted upon continuing the practice. When we came to Mecca he said to me, "Nephew, let us go to the Messenger of God so that I can ask him about what I have done during my journey, for I became concerned about it when I saw how you opposed me over it." We went to ask for the Messenger of God, as we did not know him and had not seen him before. We met a man from Mecca and asked him about the Messenger of God. "Do you know him?" he asked. "No," we said. "Do you know al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, his uncle?" he asked. We said that we did, as we knew al-'Abbās, who came frequently to us on business. He said, "When you go into the mosque, he is the man sitting with al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib."

We went into the mosque, and there was al-'Abbās sitting down, with the Messenger of God sitting with him. We greeted him, and then sat down with him. The Messenger of God said to al-'Abbās, "Do you know these two men, Abū al-Faḍl?" "Yes," he said. "This is al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr, the chief of his people (that is, the clan of Salimah) and this is Ka'b b. Mālik." By God, I shall never forget how the Messenger of God asked, "The poet?" to which al-'Abbās replied, "Yes."

209. Facing towards Syria means, of course, facing towards Jerusalem as the Jews did. The final change of *qiblah* (direction faced in prayer), from Jerusalem to Mecca occurred about February A.D. 624.

Al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr said to him, "O Prophet of God, I set out on my journey, having been guided by God to Islam, and I decided that I would not turn my back on this building, and so I prayed
[1219] toward it. My companions opposed me in this, and I became concerned about it. What is your opinion, O Messenger of God?" The Messenger of God replied, "You would indeed have had a *qiblah*, had you kept to it patiently."[210] Then al-Barā' returned to the Messenger of God's *qiblah* and prayed with us toward Syria. His family assert that he prayed toward the Ka'bah until he died, but it is not as they say. We know more about the matter than they do.

Then we went on the pilgrimage, and agreed to meet the Messenger of God at al-'Aqabah in the middle of the days of *al-tashrīq*. When we had finished (the rites of) the pilgrimage, the night came upon which we had promised to meet the Messenger of God. We had with us 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām Abū Jābir. We had concealed our purpose from the polytheists among our people who were with us, but we told him about this meeting and spoke to him as follows: "Abū Jābir, you are one of our chiefs and one of our nobles, and we do not wish you to remain in your present state, which is that you will be fuel for the flames of Hell on the morrow." Then we summoned him to Islam, and informed him of the Messenger of God's arrangement to meet us at al-'Aqabah. He accepted Islam and was present at al-'Aqabah with us, and became a *naqīb*.[211]

We spent that night encamped with our people, but when a third of the night had gone by we left our encampment to meet the Messenger of God. We slipped away secretly, moving as silently as sand grouse, and met in the ravine by al-'Aqabah. We were seventy men and two women, Nusaybah bt. Ka'b Umm 'Umārah, a woman of the Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār, and Asmā' bt. 'Amr b. 'Adī, a woman of the Banū Salimah, who was Umm Manī'. We gathered in the ravine to wait for the Messenger of God. He came to us ac-
[1220] companied by his paternal uncle al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who at that time still adhered to the religion of his people, but wished to be present when his nephew was negotiating and to

210. The meaning of this reply is ambiguous.

211. Muḥammad asked that each clan which had accepted Islam should appoint a "representative" (*naqīb*), presumably to form a council of some sort, but there is no record of them ever functioning as such (see below p.1221).

see that there was a firm agreement. When he had sat down, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the first to speak, and said, "People of the Khazraj (the Arabs used to call the Anṣar, the Khazraj and the Aws together, by the name of the Khazraj), you know what Muḥammad's position is among us. We have protected him against those of our people who have the same religious views as ourselves. He is held in honor by his own people and is safe in his country. He is determined to leave them and to join you, so if you think that you can fulfil the promises which you made in inviting him to come to you and can defend him against his enemies, then assume the responsibilities which you have taken upon yourselves. But if you think that you will abandon him and hand him over after he has come to you, then leave him alone now, for he is honored by his people and is safe in his country."

We said to him, "We have heard what you have said. Speak, Messenger of God, and choose what you want for yourself and your Lord." The Messenger of God spoke, recited the Qur'ān, summoned us to God, and made us desirous of Islam. Then he said, "I will enter a contract of allegiance with you, provided that you protect me as you would your wives and children."

Then al-Barā' b. Maʿrūr took his hand and said, "By Him who sent you with the truth, we shall defend you as we would our womenfolk. Administer the oath of allegiance to us, O Messenger of God, for we are men of war and men of coats of mail; we have inherited this from generation to generation."

He was interrupted as he was speaking to the Messenger of God by Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān, the confederate of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, who said, "O Messenger of God, there are ties between us and other people which we shall have to sever (meaning the Jews). If we do this and God gives you victory, will you perhaps return to your own people and leave us?" The Messenger of God smiled and then said, "Rather, blood is blood, and blood shed [1221] without retaliation is blood shed without retaliation. You are of me and I am of you. I shall fight whomever you fight and make peace with whomever you make peace with." Then he said, "Appoint twelve representatives *(naqīb)* from among you for me, who will see to their people's affairs." They appointed twelve representatives, nine from the Khazraj and three from the Aws.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b.

Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm: the Messenger of God said to the representatives, "You are to see to your people's affairs; you are a surety for them, as the disciples were for Jesus, son of Mary, and I am for my people." They agreed to this.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatādah: When they gathered to take the oath of allegiance to the Messenger of God, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUbādah b. Naḍlah al-Anṣāri, the brother of the Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf, said, "People of the Khazraj, do you know what you are pledging yourselves to in swearing allegiance to this man?" "Yes," they said. He continued, "In swearing allegiance to him you are pledging yourselves to wage war against all mankind. If you think that when your wealth is exhausted by misfortune and your nobles are depleted by death you will give him up, then stop now, for, by God, it is disgrace in this world and the next if you later give him up. But if you think that you will be faithful to the promises which you made in inviting him, even if your wealth is exhausted and your nobles killed, then take him, for, by God, he is the best thing for you in this world and the next." They answered, "We shall take him even if it brings the loss of our wealth and the killing of our nobles. What shall we gain for this, O Messenger of God, if we are faithful?" He answered, "Par-
[1222] adise." "Stretch out your hand," they said. He stretched out his hand, and they swore alleginace to him. According to ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatādah, al-ʿAbbās (b. ʿUbādah) only said this in order to make the contract more binding upon them, while according to ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr he only said it in order to delay them that night in the hope that ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl[212] would come, which would give more weight to the people's decision; but God knows best which version is true. The Banū al-Najjār claim that Abū Umāmah Asʿad b. Zurārah was the first to clasp hands, while the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal say that on the contrary it was Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad (b. Isḥāq)—Maʿbad b. Kaʿb b. Mālik; and also Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd—his father—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Maʿbad b. Kaʿb—his father Kaʿb b. Mālik:

212. This is the man who a year or two later became the leader of the Hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*), that is, those men of al-Madīnah who had accepted Islam but were not happy to have Muḥammad as their leader. It is said that before Muḥammad's arrival ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy had hoped to become ruler of al-Madīnah.

The first to clasp the hand of the Messenger of God was al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr, and after this they clasped his hand one after another. When we had all sworn the oath of allegiance to the Messenger of God Satan shouted from the top of al-'Aqabah in the most piercing voice I have ever heard, "people of the stations[213] of Minā, do you want a blameworthy person and the apostates with him[214] who have gathered together to wage war on you?" The Messenger of [1223] God said, "What does the Enemy of God say? This is the (devil) Azabb of al-'Aqabah, the son of the devil Azyab.[215] Listen, Enemy of God. By God, I shall deal with you!"

The Messenger of God told them to disperse to their encampments, and al-'Abbās b. 'Ubādah b. Naḍlah said to him, "By Him who sent you with the truth, if you wish we shall fall upon the people of Minā with our swords tomorrow." The Messenger of God replied, "We have not been commanded to do this; go back to your encampments."

We went back to our beds and slept upon them until the morning, when the chief men of Quraysh came to us in our encampments and said to us, "Men of the Khazraj, we have heard that you have come to this companion of ours to take him from our midst and to swear an oath of allegiance to him to wage war against us. By God, there is not tribe of the Arabs between whom and ourselves we should be more unwilling for war to break out than you." Those of the polytheists of our people who were there immediately swore to them by God that nothing of the sort had taken place and that they knew nothing about it. They were telling the truth, for they did not know.

We looked at one another, and the men of Quraysh rose up, among them al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī, who was wearing a pair of new sandals. I (Ka'b b. Mālik) spoke a few words as though I wished to associate all of our people with what our polytheists had said; "Abū Jābir,[216] can you not get sandals like those of this young man of Quraysh (that is al-

213. The place where the stomachs (*jabājib*) of the sacrificial victims were scattered.

214. "Blameworthy" (*mudhammam*) is an insulting way of referring to Muḥammad, whose name can mean "praiseworthy." The *ṣubāt* (plural of *ṣābi'*) are people who have changed their religion.

215. Nothing further is known about this matter.

216. This is 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr of the subclan Ḥarām of the clan of Salimah.

Ḥārith), seeing that you are one of our chiefs?" Al-Ḥārith heard these words, took the sandals off his feet, and threw them at me,
[1224] saying, "By God, put them on your feet!" Abū Jābir said, "Gently! By God, you have annoyed the young man! Give him back his sandals." I replied, "By God, I will not! It is a good omen. If the omen proves true I shall plunder him." This is Ka'b b. Mālik's account of al-'Aqabah and what he witnessed there.

Abū Ja'far (al-Tabarī): Other authorities than Ibn Isḥāq say that those of the Anṣār who came to swear allegiance to the Prophet came in (the month of) Dhū al-Ḥijjah. After this the Messenger of God remained in Mecca for the rest of that Dhū al-Ḥijjah and for the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafar, and emigrated to al-Madīnah in the month of Rabī' I (July-September 622) arriving there on Monday, the twelfth of that month (24 September).

'Alī b. Naṣr b. 'Alī and 'Abd al-Wārith b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith—his father—Abān al-'Attār—Hishām b. 'Urwah—'Urwah: When those who had emigrated to Abyssinia before the Messenger of God's emigration to al-Madinah came back from there, the number of Muslims began to increase and multiply. Many of the Anṣār in al-Madinah accepted Islam, which spread widely there, and the people of al-Madinah began to come to the Messenger of God in Mecca. When the Quraysh saw this, they urged one another to torment the Muslims and treat them harshly. They seized them and were eager to torment them, and the Muslims suffered great hardship. This was the second trial; there were two trials, one which forced out those of them who emigrated to Abyssinia, when the Messenger of God commanded them to do so and gave them permission to go there, and one they came back and saw the people of al-Madinah coming to them.

The seventy representatives,[217] chiefs of those who had accepted
[1225] Islam, came to the Messenger of God from al-Madīnah met him during the pilgrimage, and swore an oath of allegiance to him at al-'Aqabah. They gave him their pledge in the following words: "We are of you and you are of us; whoever comes to us of your Companions, or you yourself if you come to us, we shall defend you as we

217. The word *naqīb* is used here in a general sense. They did in a sense represent their clans, but not all of them were the "representatives" asked for by Muḥammad.

would defend ourselves." After this Quraysh began to treat them harshly, and the Messenger of God commanded his Companions to go to al-Madīnah This was the second trial, during which the Messenger of God told his Companions to emigrate and himself emigrated. It was concerning this that God revealed:

> And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is all for God.[218]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm:[219] They (the Quraysh) came to ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl and said much the same as Kaʿb b. Mālik reports them as saying. He replied, "This is a weighty matter; my people are not men to make a decision without consulting me in such a matter, and I have no knowledge that it has taken place." They then left him.

When the people dispersed from Minā, Quraysh investigated the report thoroughly, and found that there had indeed been an agreement. They went out in pursuit of the (men of al-Madīnah), and overtook Saʿd b. ʿUbādah at al-Ḥājir together with Al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr the brother of the Banū Sāʿidah b. Kaʿb b. al-Khazraj; both of these were representatives. Al-Mundhir evaded capture, but they took Saʿd, tied his hands to his neck with the thong of his camel's saddle girth and went back to Mecca with him, beating him and [1226] dragging him by his hair, for he had very luxuriant hair.

Saʿd said of this, "By God, I was in their hands when a group of the Quraysh came up to me, among them a white, clean, tall, pleasant-looking man. I said to myself, 'If there is any good among them, it will be in this man.' When he came near me, he raised his hand and gave me a severe blow. I said to myself, 'By God, there is no good in them after this.' I was in their hands and they were dragging me along, when one of the men with them was moved by pity for me and said, 'For heaven's sake! Don't you have any bond of protection or any compact with any of the Quraysh?' 'Certainly,' I said, 'I used to protect Jubayr b. Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf's commercial agents and defend them against anyone who

218. This verse (8:39) was probably not revealed until after the battle of Badr. The almost identical verse 2:193 seems not to have been revealed until shortly before the conquest of Mecca.

219. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 301f.

wished to wrong them in my country, and I did the same for al-Ḥārith b. Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf.' 'Well then, ' he said, 'call out these two men's names and say what links there are between you and them.'

"I did so, and he went to them and found them in the mosque by the Kaʿbah. He told them that a man of the Khazraj was being beaten in the valley and that he was calling upon them and saying that there were bonds of protection between himself and them. They asked who it was, and he said that it was Saʿd b. ʿUbādah. They said, 'He speaks the truth, by God. He used to protect our agents and defend them against oppression in his country.' They [1227] came and released me from my captors' hands, and I departed. The person who punched me was Suhayl b. ʿAmr, the brother of the Banūʿ Āmir b. Luʾayy."

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) : When they came to al-Madīnah they proclaimed Islam there. There were among their people some of their shaykhs who remained in their polytheistic religion, among whom was ʿAmr b. al-Jamūḥ b. Zayd b. Ḥarām b. Kaʿb b. Ghanm b. Salimah, whose son Muʿādh b. ʿAmr had been present at al-ʿAqabah and had sworn an oath of allegiance to the Messenger of God along with others of their young men. Those members of the Aws and the Khazraj who took the oath of allegiance at the second al-ʿAqabah took the pledge of war, when, in contrast to the terms of the first al-ʿAqabah, God permitted fighting. The first was the pledge of women, as I have mentioned above on the authority of ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit. The second pledge of al-ʿAqabah was to wage war against all men,[220] as I have mentioned above on the authority of ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿUbādah b. al-Walīd b. ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit—his father al-Walīd—ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit, who was one of the representatives:[221] We took the oath of allegiance to the Messenger of God according to the terms of the pledge of war. ʿUbādah was one of the twelve who took the pledge at at first al-ʿAqabah.

220. That is, on anyone who injured or killed Muḥammad.
221. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 304.

The Messenger of God Commands the Muslims to Emigrate to al-Madīnah[222]

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): After God had given his Messenger permission to fight by revealing the verse:[223] "And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is all for God," and the Anṣār had pledged themselves to support him according to the terms which I have described, the Messenger of God commanded those of his Companions from among the Muslims who were with him at Mecca to emigrate, go to al-Madīnah, and join their brethren, the Anṣār. He told them, "God has made for you brethren and an abode in which you will be safe." They went in groups. The Messenger of God remained in Mecca waiting for his Lord to [1228] give him permission to leave Mecca and go to al-Madīnah. The first of the Messenger of God's Companions to emigrate to al-Madīnah was from the Quraysh, from the Banū Makhzūm. He was Abū Salamah b. ʿAbd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm, who emigrated to al-Madīnah a year before the people of al-ʿAqabah took the oath of allegiance to the Messenger of God. He had come to the Messenger of God in Mecca from Abyssinia, and when Quraysh persecuted him and he heard that some of the Anṣār had accepted Islam, he went to al-Madīnah as an Emigrant. The first of the emigrants to go to al-Madīnah after Abū Salamah was ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿah the confederate of the Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, accompanied by his wife Laylā bt. Abī Ḥathmah b. Ghānim b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAwf b. ʿAbīd b. ʿAwīj b. ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, and after him ʿAbdallāh b. Jaḥsh b. Riʾāb and Abū Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh, who was blind and used to go about Mecca, both the upper and the lower parts, without a guide. After this, the Companions of the Messenger of God went to al-Madīnah in successive groups, but the Messenger of God remained in Mecca after his Companions had emigrated, waiting to be given permission to emigrate.[224] None of the Emigrants remained behind with him in Mecca except those who had been seized and imprisoned (by their families) or who had been

222. This follows Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 314, 316 closely, though Ṭabarī does not mention the fact.

223. 8:39.

224. From this point to p.1234, Ṭabarī follows Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 323-26, apart from a paragraph on p.1232.

seduced (from Islam).The only exceptions were ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah. Abū Bakr would often ask the Messenger of God for permission to emigrate, but the Messenger of God would say to him, "Do not do so; perhaps God will provide a companion for you." Abū Bakr hoped that the Messenger of God would be that companion.

The Quraysh Plot to Kill the Messenger of God

[1229] When Quraysh saw that the Messenger of God had acquired a following and Companions from a tribe other than themselves in a region other than theirs, and when they saw his Emigrant Companions going to join them, they realized that these had found a home and were safe from their attacks. The Quraysh were now anxious about the Messenger of God going to the people of al-Madīnah as they knew that he had decided to join the Madīnans in order to make war on the Quraysh. They therefore met together about this matter in the House of Assembly, formerly the house of Quṣayy b. Kilāb, where Quraysh had always made their decisions, and there they deliberated what to do about the Messenger of God, since they had come to be afraid of him.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid b. Jabr Abū al-Ḥajjāj—Ibn ʿAbbās; also al-Kalbī—Abū Ṣālih—Ibn ʿAbbās and al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmārah—al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtaybah—Miqsam—Ibn ʿAbbās: They gathered together for this purpose and at the fixed time went into the House of Assembly to deliberate there about the Messenger of God. On the morning of the day fixed (the day called al-Zaḥmah) they went there, and the Devil met them in the form of a venerable old man wearing a coarse garment and stood at the door of the house. When they saw him standing at the door they said, "Who is this old man?" He said, "I am an old man from Najd who has heard what you have arranged to meet for and has come to be with you to
[1230] hear what you say; perhaps you will not lack judgement and good advice from him." They replied, "Certainly, come in," so he went in with them. All the nobles of Quraysh, of every clan, had gathered there; from the Banū ʿAbd Shams, Shaybah and ʿUtbah the sons of Rabīʿah and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb; from the Banū Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf, Ṭuʿaymah b. ʿAdī, Jubayr b. Muṭʿim and al-Ḥārith b.

ʿAmir b. Nawfal; from the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah; from the Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām, Zamʿah b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib and Ḥakim b. Ḥizām; from the Banū Makhzūm, Abū Jahl b. Hishām; from the Banū Sahm, Nubayh and Munabbih the sons of al-Ḥajjāj; and from the Banū Jumaḥ, Umayyah b. Khalaf. In addition there were others, some from the Quraysh and others who were not counted as Quraysh.

They said to one another, "This man has done what he has done, and you have seen it for yourselves. We cannot be sure that he will not fall upon us with his followers who are not of us; so come to a decision about him." When they began to deliberate, one of them said, "Keep him in fetters, lock him up, and wait for the same kind of death to overtake him which overtook other poets of his sort before him, Zuhayr, al-Nābighah[225] and others." The old man from Najd said, "No, by God, this is not judicious; if you were to imprison him as you say, news of what had happened to him would leak out to his companions from behind the door which you had shut upon him, and in no time at all they would fall upon you and snatch him away from your hands. Then their numbers would grow against you and they would seize power from you. This is not judicious, so consider something else."

They consulted again, and one of them said, "Let us expel him from among us and banish him from our land; when he has left [1231] us, by God, we will not care where he goes or where he settles. The harm which he has been doing will disappear, we shall be rid of him and we shall be able to put our affairs in order again and restore our social harmony to what it was before." The old man from Najd said, "By God, this is not judicious; do you not see the beauty of his discourse, the sweetness of his speech and how he dominates the hearts of men with the message which he brings? By God, if you expel him, I think it not unlikely that he will descend upon some tribe of the Arabs and win them over with this speech and discourse of his so that they follow him in his plans; then he will lead them against you, crush you with them, seize power from your hands and do with you what he wants. Come to some other decision about him."

225. Two of the most famous pre-Islamic poets. The circumstances of their deaths are obscure.

Abū Jahl b. Hishām said, "By God, I have an idea about him, which I do not think you have hit upon yet." "What is it, Abū al-Ḥakam?" they asked. He said, "I think that you should take one young, strong, well-born, noble young man from each clan; then we should give each young man a sharp sword; then they should make for him and strike him with their swords as one man and kill him. Thus we shall be relieved of him, and if they do this, the responsibility for shedding his blood will be divided up among all the clans, and the Banū 'Abd Manaf[226] will not be able to wage war against the whole of their tribe, and will be content to take blood money from us, which we can pay them." The old man from Najd was saying, "What this man says is right. This is the correct decision; you have no other." Thereupon they dispersed, having agreed upon this.

The Messenger of God Escapes from the Attempt to Kill Him

Then Gabriel came to the Messenger of God and said, "Do not spend this night in the bed in which you usually sleep." When
[1232] the first third of the night had gone past, the young men gathered at his door and waited for him to go to sleep so that they could fall upon him. When the Messenger of God saw them there he said to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, "Sleep on my bed and wrap yourself up in my green Ḥaḍramī cloak; nothing unpleasant will befall you from them." The Messenger of God used to sleep in that cloak when he went to bed.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): At this point one authority adds the following words to this story: Muhammad said to 'Alī, "If Ibn Abī Quḥāfah—that is, Abū Bakr—comes to you, tell him that I have gone to Thawr and ask him to join me; send me some food, hire a guide for me who can show me the road to al-Madīnah, and buy me a riding camel." Then the Messenger of God went off, and God blinded the sight of those who were lying in wait for him so that he departed without their seeing him.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Ziyād—Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī: They gathered against him,

226. This must mean only the subclans Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib, since the other two subclans of 'Abd Manāf were represented at the meeting.

and among them was Abū Jahl b. Hishām, who said, while they were waiting at his door, "Muḥammad claims that if you follow him in his religion, you shall be the kings of the Arabs and the non-Arabs, that after your death you shall be brought back to life and your lot shall then be gardens like the gardens of Jordan. He also claims that if you do not do this, you shall meet with slaughter from him, and that after your death you shall be brought back to life, and your lot shall then be a fire, in which you shall burn." Then the Messenger of God came out, took a handful of dust and said, "Yes, I do say that; and you are one of them." Then God took away their sight so that they could not see him, and Muḥammad began to sprinkle the dust on their heads while reciting the following verses from Sūrat Yā' Sīn: [1233]

> Yā' Sīn. By the wise Qur'ān, you are one of those sent on a straight path ...

to the words:

> and we have set a barrier before them and a barrier behind them, and have covered them so that they do not see.[227]

By the time he had finished reciting these verses he had put dust on the heads of every one of them, after which he went to where he wished to go. Someone who had not been with them came to them and said, "What are you waiting here for?" They answered, "Muḥammad." He said, "God has frustrated you, for Muḥammad has gone out despite you; furthermore, he has put dust on the heads of every one of you, and has gone away about his business. Do you not see what has happened to you?"

Every man of them put his hand on his head and found dust on it; then they began to investigate, and saw 'Alī on the bed shrouded in the Messenger of God's cloak. They said, "By God, this is Muḥammad asleep in his cloak," and they continued in this fashion until morning came, when 'Alī rose up from the bed. Then they said, "By God, the person who spoke to us was telling the truth."

Among the passages of the Qur'ān revealed concerning that day and what they had agreed upon are the following:

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227. 3:1-9.

> And when those who disbelieve plot against you to wound you fatally or to kill you or to drive you out; they plot, but God plots; and God is the best of plotters.

and:

> Or they say: he is a poet, one for whom we may await the accident of time. Say; await! I am with you among those who await.[228]

Some of them assert that Abū Bakr came to ʿAlī and asked him
[1234] about the Prophet of God. He told him that he had gone to the cave of Thawr and said, "If you have any business with him, join him there." Abū Bakr went out hastily and caught up with the Prophet of God on the road. The Messenger of God heard the sound of Abū Bakr coming in the darkness of the night and thought that he was one of the polytheists. He increased his pace and his sandal strap snapped, and he skinned his big toe on a stone. It bled profusely, and he walked even faster. Abū Bakr was afraid that he would cause the Messenger of God distress, and so he raised his voice and spoke to him. The Messenger of God recognized him, and stopped until Abū Bakr reached him. They then set off again, with the Messenger of God's foot pouring blood. The cave was reached at dawn and they went in together.

When morning came the group of people who were lying in wait for the Messenger of God went into his house. ʿAlī rose from his bed, and when they came close to him they recognized him and said, "Where is your companion?" He replied, "I do not know. Do you expect me to keep watch over him? You told him to leave, and he has left." They scolded him and beat him. Then they took him to the mosque and imprisoned him for a while, but after this they left him alone. Thus God delivered his Messenger from their plotting. About this event God revealed: "and when those who disbelieve plot against you to wound you fatally or to kill you or to drive you out; they plot, but God plots; and God is the best of plotters."[229]

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228. 8:30; 52:30-31.
229. 8:30.

The Messenger of God Emigrates to al-Madīnah

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: After this God gave his Messenger permission to emigrate.

'Alī b. Naṣr al-Jahḍamī—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith; also 'Abd al-Wārith b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith—his father ('Abd al-Ṣamad)—Abān al-'Aṭṭār—Hishām b. 'Urwah—'Urwah: When the Messenger of God's Companions had gone to al-Madīnah but before he himself left Mecca, and before the verse [1235] was revealed in which they were commanded to fight,[230] Abū Bakr, who had not been commanded to go, asked Muḥammad's permission to leave with the rest of his companions. The Messenger of God kept him back, however, and said, "Give me a little time. I do not know. Perhaps I shall be given permission to depart." Abū Bakr had bought two riding camels and had prepared them for departure to al-Madīnah with the Messenger of God's Companions. When the Messenger of God asked him to wait and told him of the hope which he had that God would give him permission to leave, he kept the two camels in expectation of accompanying the Messenger of God, and fed them well and fattened them. When the Messenger of God's departure was delayed, Abū Bakr said to him, "Do you hope that permission will be given to you?" He replied, "Yes. Wait until it comes." He then waited patiently.

'Ā'ishah told me that on a certain day, while they were in their house at noon time, there being nobody with Abū Bakr except his daughters 'Ā'ishah and Asmā', the Messenger of God suddenly appeared while the noonday sun was at its height. It had been his habit to come to Abū Bakr's house every day without fail at the beginning of the day and at the end of it, and so when Abū Bakr saw the Prophet coming at noon he said to him, "O Prophet of God, only something special has brought you here." When he came in, the Prophet said to Abū Bakr, "Ask whoever is with you to leave." He answered, "There are no spies upon us here. These are only my two daughters." Then the Prophet said, "God has given me permission to depart for al-Madīnah." Abū Bakr said, "O Messenger of God, may I accompany you?" "Yes," he replied. Abū Bakr said, "Take one of the riding camels." These were the riding camels which he had been feeding in preparation for departure when per- [1236]

230. The verse was alleged to be 8:39; see above pp.1225, 1227, and n. 218.

mission was granted to the Messenger of God. He gave him one of them and said, "Take it, O Messenger of God, and ride it." The Prophet replied, "I accept it, for its price."

ʿĀmir b. Fuhayrah was a half-breed from the tribe of Azd belonging to al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sakhbarah (who was Abū al-Ḥārith) b. al-Ṭufayl, who had the same mother as Abū Bakr's daughter ʿĀʾishah and his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. ʿĀmir b. Fuhayrah became a Muslim while he was their slave, and Abū Bakr bought him and set him free. He was a good Muslim. At the time when the Prophet and Abū Bakr set out, Abū Bakr had the rights to the milk of a flock of sheep which used to come to his family in the evening. Abū Bakr sent ʿĀmir with the sheep to Thawr, and he used to bring them in the evening to the Messenger of God in the cave there, which is the cave named by God in the Qurʾān. [231]

They sent ahead with their mounts a man from the Banū ʿAbd b. ʿAdī, a confederate of the family of al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil of Banū Sahm of Quraysh. At that time, this man ʿAdī was a polytheist, but they hired him as a guide for the journey. During the nights which they spent in the cave ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr used to come to them in the evening and bring them all the news of Mecca, and then return to Mecca by morning. ʿĀmir would bring the sheep every evening so that they could milk them, and would then drive them to pasture at daybreak, and spend the morning with other people's shepherds, so that nobody realized what he was doing. When the clamor about Muḥammad and Abū Bakr died down and news came to them that people were no longer talking about them, their guide brought them their camels and they set off, taking with them ʿĀmir b. Fuhayrah to serve them and assist them. Abū Bakr mounted him behind him and shared the saddle with him by
[1237] turns. There was nobody with them but ʿĀmir b. Fuhayrah and the brother of the Banū ʿAdī, who guided them along the road. He took them through the Meccan lowlands, then along a route parallel to the coast below ʿUsfān, then across country, rejoining the road after Qudayd, then along the al-Kharrār path, then across the pass of al-Marah, and then along a road called al-Mudlijah, between the ʿAmq road and the Rawḥāʾ road. He then met the ʿArj road, coming to a spring called al-Ghābir to the right of Rakūbah,

231. The verse is 9:40.

and then ascended the Baṭn Ri'm, finally arriving, one day at high noon, at the quarter of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf in (the south of) al-Madīnah. I have been told that the Messenger of God only stayed among them for two days, although the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf assert that he stayed among them for longer than that. Then he led his camel, which followed him to the quarter of the Banū al-Najjār. There the Messenger of God showed them a drying floor in the midst of their dwellings.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Tamīmī—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—'Ā'ishah the wife of the Prophet:[232] The Messenger of God never failed to come to Abū Bakr's house at the two ends of the day, early morning and evening. When the day arrived upon which God gave his Messenger permission to emigrate and to go away from Mecca from among his tribe, the Messenger of God came to us in the heat of the day at a time at which it was not his custom to come. When Abū Bakr saw him he said, "The Messen- [1238] ger of God can only have come at such an hour because of something special." When he came in, Abū Bakr rose from his bed, and the Messenger of God sat down. There was nobody with Abū Bakr except for myself and my sister Asmā', and when the Messenger of God said, "Send out those who are with you," he said, "O Prophet of God, these are my daughters; there is no need for that, may my father and mother be your ransom."

Then the Messenger of God said, "God has given me permission to leave Mecca and to emigrate." Abū Bakr said, "May I accompany you, O Messenger of God?" "You may accompany me." he replied. By God, I was never aware that anyone could weep for joy until that day when I saw Abū Bakr weeping for joy. Then he said, "O Prophet of God, these are my two riding camels which I have prepared for this." They hired as a guide for the road 'Abdallāh b. Arqad, a man from the Banū al-Dīl b. Bakr, whose mother was from (the Meccan clan of) the Banū Sahm b. 'Amr, a polytheist. They handed their two riding camels over to him and he kept them with him to pasture them until the appointed time.

According to what I (Ibn Isḥāq) have been told not a single person knew of the Messenger of God's departure when he went ex-

232. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 327–30.

cept for ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and his family. As for ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Messenger of God is said to have informed him that he was leaving and to have commanded him to stay behind in Mecca to hand back those things which people had entrusted to his custody. Everyone in Mecca who had any possession which he feared to lose would deposit it with the Messenger
[1239] of God because they knew of his honesty and reliability. When the Messenger of God decided upon departure, he went to Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah, and the two of them left by a window in the back of Abū Bakr's house and went to a cave in Thawr, a mountain below Mecca, and entered it. Abū Bakr told his son ʿAbdallāh to listen to what people were saying about them during the day and to bring them the day's news in the evening. He also told his *mawlā* ʿĀmir b. Fuhayrah to pasture his flocks during the day and to bring them to them in the cave in the evening. Abū Bakr's daughter Asmāʾ brought them enough food for their needs in the evening.

The Messenger of God and Abū Bakr spent three days in the cave. When Quraysh realized that he was missing, they offered a hundred she-camels for whoever would bring him back to them. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr spent his time among Quraysh listening to what they were plotting and to what they were saying about the Messenger of God and Abū Bakr. Then he would come to them in the evening and give them the news. ʿĀmir b. Fuhayrah, Abū Bakr's *mawlā*, pastured his flocks among the other Meccan shepherds, and brought Abū Bakr's sheep to the cave in the evening, when the two men would milk them and slaughter (one of) them. When ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr left for Mecca the following morning, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayrah would follow after him with the sheep in order to erase his trail.

When the third day had gone past, and the people's interest in the two had died down, the man whom they had hired brought them their camels and Asmāʾ brought them their travelling provisions. She had forgotten to bring them a strap, and when they set off, she went to attach the travelling provisions and found that
[1240] there was no strap. She took off her girdle and used that as a strap to attach the provisions. Thereafter she was known as "She of the two girdles" on account of this incident.

When Abū Bakr brought the two riding camels to the Messenger of God, he gave him the better of the two and said, "Mount, may

my father and mother be your ransom." The Messenger of God replied, "I will not ride a camel which does not belong to me." "It is yours, O Messenger of God whom I value more than my father and mother," he said. "No," said the Messenger of God. "What is the price which you paid for it?" He named the price, and the Messenger of God said, "I will take it for that price." Abū Bakr said, "It is yours, O Messenger of God." They mounted and set off, and Abū Bakr mounted behind himself his *mawlā* ʿĀmir b. Fuhayrah, who was to serve them during the journey.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Asmāʾ bt. Abī Bakr: When the Messenger of God and Abū Bakr left, a number of men of Quraysh, including Abū Jahl b. Hishām, came to us and stood at Abū Bakr's door. I went out to them and they said, "Where is your father, daughter of Abū Bakr?" I replied, "By God, I do not know where my father is." Abū Jahl raised his hand, for he was a loathsome and evil man, and gave me a blow on the cheek which knocked off my earring. Then they left, and for three days we did not know where the Messenger of God had gone. Then a man of the jinn came from the lower part of Mecca singing lines of verse in the manner of the Arabs, followed by people who were listening to his voice but could not see him, until at last he went out from the upper part of Mecca. He sang these lines:

May God the Lord of Men give his best recompense
to two Companions who took their siesta, in the two
tents of Umm Maʿbad.
They halted there bringing guidance and set off in the [1241]
morning bearing it;
may whoever becomes Muḥammad's Companion prosper!
May the Banū Kaʿb be given joy by the position of their
young woman,
and by her sitting as a lookout for the Believers.[233]

When we heard what he said we knew where the Messenger of God had gone, and that he was making for al-Madīnah. There were four of them, the Messenger of God, Abū Bakr, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayrah, and ʿAbdallāh b. Arqad, their guide.

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī)—Aḥmad b. al-Miqdām al-ʿIjlī—Hishām b.

233. Umm Maʿbad was a woman of the clan of Banū Kaʿb of the tribe of Khuzāʿah.

Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī—'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Abī 'Abs b. Muḥammad b. Abī 'Abs b. Jabr—his father: In the night, Quraysh heard a voice on (the hill of) Abū Qubays saying;

If the two Sa'ds accept Islam, Muḥammad will no longer
fear the opposition of any opponent in Mecca.

[1242] The next morning Abū Sufyān said, "Who are the two Sa'ds? Sa'd Bakr? Sa'd Tamīm? Sa'd Hudhaym?" The following night they heard the voice saying:

Sa'd, Sa'd of the Aws, be a helper *(nāṣir)*
and Sa'd, Sa'd of the noble Khazraj,
Respond to him who calls you to right guidance,
and wish
through God for the object of desire in Paradise
of one who knows.
God's reward for the seeker after right guidance
is pavilioned gardens of Paradise.

In the morning, Abū Sufyān said, "By God it is Sa'd b. Mu'ādh and Sa'd b. 'Ubādah."[234]

The Messenger of God Arrives in al-Madīnah

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): Their guide brought them to Qubā'[235] in the quarter of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf on Monday, the twelfth of Rabī' I (September 24, 622) when the heat of the forenoon had grown intense and the sun had almost reached its midpoint in the sky.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Uwaym b. Sā'idah—some men of his clan from the Companions of the Messenger of God:[236] When we heard that the Messenger of God had left Mecca and we were expecting his arrival, we used to go out after the morning prayer to the far side of our (lava-flow)

234. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh was the chief of the clan of 'Abd al-Ashhal of the tribe of the Aws, and was the leader of all the Muslims of al-Madīnah until he died of wounds received in the siege of al-Madīnah in A.D. 627. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah was chief of the clan of Sā'idah of the tribe of al-Khazraj; he was latterly the leading man of the Khazraj, and after A.D. 627 of the Muslims of al-Madīnah as a whole.

235. A district in the south of the oasis of al-Madīnah.

236. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 333-35.

ḥarrah to wait for him, and did not depart until the sun left us no [1243]
shade to shelter in. When we could no longer find any shade we returned to our houses; this was during a hot period. When the day came on which the Messenger of God arrived, we sat as usual until there was no shade left and then went into our houses. The Messenger of God arrived after we had gone home, and the first person to see him was one of the Jews, who had observed what we were doing and knew that we were expecting the arrival of the Messenger of God. He shouted out at the top of his voice, "Banū Qaylah,[237] here is your good fortune who has come!"

We went out to where the Messenger of God was sitting in the shade of a palm tree with Abū Bakr, who was about the same age as he. Most of us had not seen the Messenger of God before then, and we crowded around without knowing him from Abū Bakr. Then the shade left the Messenger of God and Abū Bakr rose up and shaded him with his cloak, and we knew.

Some say that the Messenger of God lodged with Kulthūm b. Hidm the brother of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, of (the subclan of) the Banū ʿUbayd, while others say that he lodged with Saʿd b. Khaythamah. Those who say that he lodged with Kulthūm b. Hidm say that when he came out of Kulthūm b. Hidm's house he sat to receive people in Saʿd b. Khaythamah's house. This was because Saʿd was a bachelor without any family, and those of the Messenger of God's Emigrant Companions who were unmarried were lodging with him. This is why it is said that Muḥammad lodged with Saʿd b. Khaythamah. The latter's house was called "the bachelors' house." God knows best which of these reports is correct; this is all that we have heard.

Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah lodged with Khubayb b. Isāf the [1244]
brother of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj at al-Sunḥ; but there are some who say that he lodged with Khārijah b. Zayd b. Abī Zuhayr the brother of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib remained in Mecca for three full days until he had returned to their owners on the Messenger of God's behalf the deposits which had been in his keeping. When ʿAlī had completed this task, he joined the Messenger of God and lodged with him with Kulthūm b. Hidm. ʿAlī used to say that he lodged at Qubāʾ

237. The tribes of the Aws and the Khazraj together.

for a night or two with a Muslim woman who had no husband. He used to tell the following story: "I was lodging at Qubā' with a Muslim woman who had no husband, and I noticed a person coming to her in the middle of the night and knocking on her door. She would open the door for him and he would give her something which he had with him. I had misgivings about this and said to her, 'Handmaid of God, who is this man who knocks on your door every night and who gives you something, I do not know what, and you a Muslim woman with no husband?' She answered, 'This is Sahl b. Ḥunayf b. Wāhib, who knows that I am a woman living on my own. In the evening he falls upon his people's idols, smashes them, and brings them to me, saying, "Use this as firewood."'" 'Alī used to tell this story about Sahl b. Ḥunayf after Sahl died while he was with 'Alī in Iraq.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: This story was
[1245] related to me by 'Alī b. Hind b. Sa'd d. Sahl b. Ḥunayf— 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The Messenger of God remained at Qubā' among the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and founded their mosque.[238] Then God caused him to leave them on Friday. The Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf assert that he remained among them longer than that, but God knows best. Some say that his stay at Qubā' lasted for ten days or so.

238. This presumably means that he discovered a suitable piece of ground and conducted prayers there, not that he started building anything. The Muslims of Qubā' may have continued to use the same ground for prayers.

The Beginning of the Prophetic Mission (Continued)

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): The early scholars differ as to the length of the Messenger of God's stay in Mecca after he became a prophet. Some say that the length of his stay there, until he emigrated to al-Madīnah, was ten years.

Those who say this:

Ibn al-Muthannā—Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Qays al-Madanī, who is known as Abū Zukayr—Rabī'ah b. Abī 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Anas b. Mālik: The Messenger of God received his mission at the age of forty and stayed in Mecca for ten years.

Al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr al-Āmulī—'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā—Shaybān—Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr—Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—'Ā'ishah and Ibn 'Abbās: The Messenger of God remained in Mecca for ten years receiving revelation of the Qur'ān.

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Wahhāb—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd—Sa'īd b. al- [1246]
Musayyab: The Qur'ān was first revealed to the Messenger of God when he was aged forty-three, and he remained in Mecca for ten years.

Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—Aḥmad—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd—Hishām—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbas: It was first revealed to the Prophet when he was aged forty-three, and he remained in Mecca for ten years.

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl—'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Ḥimṣī—his father—Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ṭā'ifī—'Amr b. Dīnār: The Messenger of God emigrated ten years after his emergence as a prophet.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): Others say that this is not so, and that he remained in Mecca for thirteen years after becoming a prophet.

Those who say this:

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ḥajjāj b. al-Minhāl—Ḥammād, that is, Ibn

Salamah—Abū Jamrah—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Messenger of God remained in Mecca for thirteen years receiving revelations.

Muḥammad b. Khalaf—Ādam—Ḥammād b. Salamah—Abū Jamrah al-Ḍubaʿī—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Messenger of God received his mission at the age of forty, and remained in Mecca for thirteen years.

Muḥammad b. Maʿmar—Rawḥ—Zakariyyāʾ b. Isḥāq—ʿAmr b. Dīnār—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Messenger of God remained in Mecca for thirteen years.

ʿUbayd b. Muḥammad al-Warrāq—Rawḥ—Hishām—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Prophet received his mission at the age of forty and remained in Mecca for thirteen years receiving revelations; then he was commanded to emigrate.

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): The account of those who say that the Messenger of God received his mission at the age of forty and remained in Mecca for thirteen years agrees with the account of Abū Qays Ṣirmah b. Abī Anas the brother of the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār which is found in his *qaṣīdah* (poem) in which he says, describing how God ennobled them with Islam and how the Messenger of God came to stay with them:

He stayed among Quraysh for some ten years
    reminding people of Islam if he found a favorable friend,
Offering himself to the pilgrims,
    yet did not see anyone taking refuge in Islam or
    summoning others to it.
But when he came to us God gave victory to his religion,
    and he became joyful and satisfied at Ṭaybah.
He found a friend and his aim became secure
    and he had manifest support from God.
He related to us what Noah said to his people
    and what Moses saw when he answered the Caller.
He came to fear none of mankind,
[1248] whether near or far.
We expended the greater part of our wealth upon him
    and our own lives in the clamor of battle and at
    the time of consolation.
We know that there is nothing but God
    and we know that God is the best guide.

Abū Qays informs us in this poem that the length of the Messenger of God's stay among his people of Quraysh after he became a prophet and made public his revelations from God was some ten years.

Some of them say that he remained in Mecca for fifteen years.

Those who say this:

Al-Ḥārith–Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar–Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl—Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: He quoted the line by Abū Qays Ṣirmah b. Abī Anas except that he recited it as follows:

He stayed among Quraysh for fifteen years
reminding people of Islam if he found a favorable friend.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): It is related on the authority of al-Sha'bī that (the angel) Isrāfīl was associated with the Messenger of God [1249]
for three years before he received any revelation.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī—al-Thawrī—Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid—al-Sha'bī: He (al-Wāqidi) also said that he had this from al-Manṣūr by dictation—al-Ash'ath—al-Sha'bī: Isrāfīl was associated with the Messenger of God's prophethood for three years. The Messenger of God was aware of him, but could not see his person. After that came Gabriel.

Al-Wāqidī: I mentioned that to Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Dīnār, who said, "By God, nephew, I heard 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Ḥazm and 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah conversing in the mosque. An Iraqi man was saying this to them and they both denied it, saying, 'We have neither heard nor learnt anything other than that it was Gabriel who was associated with him and used to bring him revelations from the day he became a prophet until he died.' "

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī 'Adī—Dāwūd—'Āmir: Prophethood descended upon him when he was forty. Isrāfīl was associated with his prophethood for three years, and used to teach him the word and the deed,[239] but the Qur'ān was not revealed by his tongue. After three years had gone by Gabriel was associated with Muḥammad's prophethood and the Qur'ān was revealed by his

239. The Qur'ān presupposes that the religion of Islam had already been given certain forms, such as those of the *ṣalāt*, or worship; and this pre-Qur'ānic nonverbal revelation to Muḥammad would appear to be what is here ascribed to Isrāfīl.

tongue for ten years in Mecca and ten years in al-Madīnah.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): Perhaps those who say that the length of Muḥammad's stay in Mecca after the revelation was ten years count this period from the time that Gabriel brought him the revelation from God and he began to summon men to acknowledge that God is one, while those who say that the length of his stay [1250] was thirteen years count from the beginning of the time that he became a prophet, when Isrāfīl was associated with him, this being the first three years in which he was not commanded to summon men to Islam.

A different account from the two which I have mentioned is related on the authority of Qatādah. This is as follows: Rawḥ b. 'Ubādah—Sa'īd—Qatādah: The Qur'ān was revealed to the Messenger of God for a period of eight years in Mecca and ten years in al-Madīnah) after the emigrated.

Al-Ḥasan used to say: Ten in Mecca and ten in al-Madīnah.

The Institution of the Islamic Calendar

The Date of the Institution of the Islamic Era

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): It is said that when the Messenger of God came to al-Madīnah he ordered the establishing of a new era.[240]

Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Zāʾidah—Abū ʿĀṣim—Ibn Jurayj—Abū Salamah—Ibn Shihāb: When the Prophet came to al-Madīnah, which was in Rabīʿ I (September 624), he ordered the establishing of a new era.

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): It is said that they used to reckon the date by the number of months after Muḥammad's arrival (in al-Madīnah), until the (first) year was completed. It is also said that the first person to order the establishing of a chronology was ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

Reports on This Subject

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Abū Nuʿaym—Ḥibbān b. ʿAlī al-ʿAnazī—Mujālid al-Shaʿbī: Abū Mūsā al-Asharī wrote to ʿUmar saying, "Letters have come from you to us which do not have a date." ʿUmar assembled the people for consultation. Some said, "Date from the beginning of the Messenger of God's mission," while [1251] others said, "From the Messenger of God's emigration, for that

240. It is very improbable that Muḥammad was concerned about this matter, and almost certainly true that the formal institution of the Islamic era was due to ʿUmar, the second Caliph. Doubtless, however, people spoke of events as so many months after Muḥammad's arrival in al-Madīnah, as Ṭabarī mentions below; and there are in fact several examples of such dating in his accounts of the earlier years at al-Madīnah.

distinguished between truth and falsehood."

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Qutaybah b. Saʿīd—Khālid b. Ḥayyān Abū Yazīd al-Kharrāz—Furāt b. Salmān—Maymūn b. Mihrān: A money order was brought before ʿUmar which fell due in (the month of) Shaʿbān. ʿUmar said, "Which Shaʿbān? The one which is coming or the one we are in now?" Then he said to the Messenger of God's Companions, "Contrive something for the people which they can recognize." Some said, "Write according to the chronology of the Greeks; it is said that they date their letters from the time of Alexander, but that was a long time ago." Others said, "Write according to the chronology of the Persians; it is said that whenever a king rises up amongst them he discards the era of his predecessors." In the end they agreed that they should see how long the Messenger of God had remained in al-Madīnah. They found this to be ten years, and the era was reckoned from the Messenger of God's emigration.

Umayyah b. Khālid and Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī—Qurrah b. Khālid al-Sadūsī—Muḥammad b. Sīrīn: A man rose up before ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and said, "Institute a chronology." ʿUmar said, "What is that?" The man replied, "It is something which the non-Arabs do. They write, 'In such-and-such a month of such-and-such a year.'" ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, "This is good. Institute a chronology." They said, "Which year shall we begin from?" Some said, "From the beginning of Muḥammad's mission," and others said, "From his death." Finally they agreed upon his hijrah or emigration. Then they said, "From which month shall we be-
[1252] gin?" They said, "Ramadān," and then they said, "al-Muḥarram, for that is the month when people depart from their pilgrimage, and it is a sacred month." So they agreed upon al-Muḥarram.

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Saʿīd b. Abī Maryam; and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam—his father; both from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Ḥāzim—Abū Ḥāzim—Sahl b. Saʿd: Whenever people calculated the date, they did not reckon from the beginning of the Messenger of God's mission, nor from his death; they only reckoned from his arrival in al-Madīnah.

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Saʿīd b. Abī Maryam—Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Muslim—ʿAmr b. Dīnār—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās: The era began in the year in which the Messenger of God came to al-Madīnah, which is the year in which ʿAbdallāh b. al-

Zubayr was born.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam—Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq b. Abī ʿAbbād—Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ṭāʾifī—ʿAmr b. Dīnār—Ibn ʿAbbās: The era began in the year in which the Messenger of God came ... (his comment is) followed by a report similar to the one above.

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Qutaybah b. Saʿīd—Nūḥ b. Qays al-Ṭāḥī—ʿUthmān b. Miḥsan: concerning the Qurʾānic verses "By the dawn, and ten nights,"[241] Ibn ʿAbbās used to say, "The dawn is al-Muḥarram, the dawn of the year."

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—Abū Isḥāq—al-Aswad b. Yazīd—ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr: Al-Muḥarram is God's month, and it is the beginning (that is the first month) of the year. In it, the Kaʿbah is clothed, [1253] dating commences, and silver is struck. In it is a day upon which people repented, and God forgave them.

Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—Aḥmad—Rawḥ b. ʿUbādah—Zakariyyāʾ b. Isḥāq—ʿAmr b. Dīnār: The first person to date letters was Yaʿlā b. Umayyah, when he was in the Yemen. The Prophet of God came to al-Madīnah in Rabīʿ I (September 624) and people began their chronology from the beginning of the year in which he came to al-Madīnah

ʿAli b. Mujāhid—Muḥammad b. Isḥaq—al-Zuhrī and Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ—al-Shaʿbī: The children of Ishmael dated from the fire of Abraham[242] until the building of the Kaʿbah, when Abraham and Ishmael built it. Then they dated from the building of the Kaʿbah until they dispersed, and every time a people departed from Tihāmah they dated from their departure. Those of the descendants of Ishmael who remained in Tihāmah dated from the departure from Tihāmah of Saʿd, Nahd, and Juhaynah, the sons of Zayd, until Kaʿb b. Luʾayy died; then they dated from his death until the Year of the Elephant. After that they dated from the Elephant until ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb established the era of the hijrah. This was in the year 17 or 18 (A.D. 638 or 639).

ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam—Nuʿaym b.

241. 89:1-2.

242. According to the Qurʾān (21:68–70, 29:24, 37:97), when Abraham attacked the idolatry of his people, they prepared a fire to burn him, but God saved him from them.

Ḥammād—al-Dārawardī—'Uthmañ b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Rāfi'—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb assembled the people
[1254] and asked them, "From what day shall we begin our dating?" 'Alī said, "From the day on which the Messenger of God emigrated and abandoned the land of polytheism." 'Umar followed this advice.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): The acount given by 'Alī b. Mujāhid narrated from his authorities for the chronology of the descendants of Ishmael is not far from the truth, which is that it was not their custom to date from an established (and well-known) event which the majority of them could adopt, but that, when they dated an event, they did so from (a local happening, such as) a drought which took place in some part of their country, a barren year which befell them, the reign of a governor who ruled over them, or an event the news of which became widespread among them. This is shown by the way in which their poets differ in their dating; if they had had a dating from an established event and a generally adopted basis, this difference among them would not have arisen. An example of this can be seen in the lines of al-Rabī' b. Ḍabu' al-Fazārī:

Here I am, hoping for immortality, and yet
my knowledge and my time of birth go back to Ḥujr,
The father of Imru' al-Qays – have you heard of him?
How far from the mark! How long have I lived!

Here he dates his life by Ḥujr b. 'Amr, the father of Imru' al-Qays.[243]

Likewise Nābighah of the Banū Ja'dah says:

Whoever asks about my age, let him know
that I was young at the time of the glanders.

Here he dates his life by an epidemic which afflicted them.

Another poet says:

I was still wearing boy's garments at the time
when Ibn Hammām raided the encampment of Khath'am.

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243. Imru' al-Qays is a well-known poet who is thought to have died about A.D. 550. See *EI* ^{2} s.v. Imru' al-Ḳays b. Ḥujr. He was the youngest son of Ḥujr, king of the tribe of Kindah. Al-Rabī' al-Fazārī and Nābighah al-Ja'dī are minor poets, of whom the latter (who is not to be confused with the famous Nābighah al-Dhubyānī) lived to become a Muslim.

All of these poets whose chronology I have quoted in these lines [1255] lived close in time to one another, and the events from which they dated were also close in time to one another, and yet they all chose different events. If they had had a recognized era, as the Muslims and other communities do today, they would not, God willing, have used other than that; but matters stood with them, I believe, as I have stated.

As for the Quraysh among the Arabs, the latest epoch which I have been able to establish as being used by them in computing dates before the emigration of the Prophet from Mecca to al-Madīnah is that of the Year of the Elephant, which is the year in which the Messenger of God was born. There were twenty years between the Year of the Elephant and the Sacrilegious War, fifteen years between the Sacrilegious War and the rebuilding of the Ka'bah, and five years between the rebuilding of the Ka'bah and the beginning of the Prophet's mission.

Summary of Meccan Chronology

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): The Messenger of God received his call to prophethood at the age of forty. According to al-Sha'bī, Isrāfīl was associated with the Messenger of God's prophethood, for three years, this being before he was commanded to call people to Islam and to proclaim it openly. We have already quoted the narratives and stories to this effect. After three years, Gabriel was associated with his prophethood, and he commanded him to summon people openly to God. He did this for ten years while resident in Mecca, and then emigrated to al-Madīnah in Rabī' I fourteen years after becoming a prophet. He left Mecca for al-Madīnah on a Monday and arrived in al-Madīnah on Monday the twelfth of Rabī' I (September 24, 624).

Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī—Mūsā b. Dāwūd—Ibn Lahī'ah—Khālid b. Abī 'Imrān—Ḥanash al-Ṣan'ānī—Ibn 'Abbās: The Prophet was born on a Monday, became a prophet on a Monday, lifted the (Black) Stone on a Monday, left Mecca to emigrate to al-
[1256] Madīnah on a Monday, arrived in al-Madīnah on a Monday, and passed away on a Monday.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī: The Messenger of God arrived in al-Madīnah on Monday, the twelfth of Rabī' I.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): If the matter of the Muslim chronology is as I have described it, then although it is based on the emigration it actually begins two months and twelve days before the Prophet's arrival in al-Madīnah. This is because the year begins in al-Muḥarram, and the Prophet arrived in al-Madīnah after this period of time had elapsed; the era did not begin with the time of his arrival but with the beginning of that year.

Abbreviations

EI[1] , *EI*[2] : *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Ist ed., 2d ed., Leiden and London, 1913–42, 1960 – .

EI(S) : *The Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden 1953.

GAL : C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., vol. I Leiden 1943.

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The definite article al-, the abbreviations b. (ibn, son) and bt. (bint, daughter), and all parenthetical material ahve been disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement. Where a name occurs in both the text and the footnotes on the same page, only the page number is given.

Abbreviations: 'AA. = 'Abdallah; B. = Banu (sons of); M. = Muḥammad. An asterisk after a name indicates that it occurs only in the isnāds, the chains of transmitters. The letter "f." indicates one following page only.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME VII

The Foundation of the Community

TRANSLATED BY M. V. McDONALD
ANNOTATED BY W. MONTGOMERY WATT

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME VII

The Foundation of the Community

MUHAMMAD AT AL-MADINA

A.D. 622–626/HIJRAH–4 A.H.

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME VII

The Foundation of The Community

translated and annotated
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In 1971 the General Editor proposed to the UNESCO to include a translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* in its Collection of Representative Works. UNESCO agreed, but the Commission in charge of Arabic works favored other priorities. Deeming the project worthy, the Iranian Institute of Translation and Publication, which collaborated with UNESCO, agreed to undertake the task. After the upheavals of 1979, assistance was sought from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The invaluable encouragement and support of the Endowment is here gratefully acknowledged.

The General Editor wishes to thank sincerely also the participating scholars, who have made the realization of this project possible; the Board of Editors for their selfless assistance; Professor Franz Rosenthal for his many helpful suggestions in the formulation and application of the editorial policy; Professor Jacob Lassner for his painstaking and meticulous editing; and Dr. Susan Mango of the National Endowment for the Humanities for her genuine interest in the project and her advocacy of it.

Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some

degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Tabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place-names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place-names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place-names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes

as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

This volume deals with the history of the Islamic community at Medina between the Hijrah and the end of year 4 A.H. This was a time of critical importance both for Islam as a religion and for the political community in which it was embodied. Muḥammad and those Meccan Muslims who chose to accompany him (the Emigrants) took up their residence in Medina on the basis of the agreement known as the Constitution of Medina. The document of this name preserved by Ibn Hishām is probably of a later date but appears to incorporate the essential provisions of the original agreement.[1] It was an agreement to form a federation for mutual support between the "clan" of Emigrants with Muḥammad as their chief and eight clans of Medina. The federation was conceived on traditional Arab lines; however, because the nine clans were Muslims and Muḥammad was recognized as Messenger of God, it was in effect an Islamic polity, even though it contained Jewish groups as secondary members. Muḥammad had no special political authority, but it was stated that serious disputes were to be referred to him. Since this body politic was a new venture for all concerned and details of organization would be somewhat fluid, many decisions must have been taken in these early years;

1. IH, 341-4; see also Watt, *Medina*, 221-8, text and discussion; further discussion and analysis by R.B. Serjeant in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xli (1978), 1-42.

but al-Ṭabarī gives only a few glimpses of such matters, presumably because there were no specific datable events connected with them.

The first Friday prayer (1256–8) (pages 1256-8 of the Leiden edition)

It was important not only to make political arrangements for the community of Muslims but also to establish its religious observances. The unanimous testimony of the sources is that Muḥammad and the Muslims at Mecca did not make anything special of the Friday midday prayer before the Hijrah. However, there may have been some observance at Medina, and it is to be noted that al-Ṭabarī says it was the first Friday prayer which Muḥammad himself observed. Friday had become a market day in Medina, probably at first to enable Jews to lay in provisions for the sabbath; but it was also observed by the Arabs. It was doubtless because of these facts that the Muslims of Medina had made something special of the Friday prayer, and Muḥammad was ready to accept their practice. Indeed, it was eventually made obligatory for adult male Muslims to be present on this occasion in the mosque, preferably the *jāmiʿ* or central mosque of the town.[2]

Details of other liturgical arrangements are mentioned on pages 9 and 24–6.

The sermon or *khuṭbah* is an essential feature of the Friday prayer. It seems unlikely that the sermon given here by al-Ṭabarī was actually delivered by Muḥammad on this occasion. One of the verses quoted (8.42) is generally held to have been revealed over a year later at the time of the battle of Badr, while Muḥammad himself would hardly have used the phrase "I bear witness that Muḥammad is his servant and Messenger." A different sermon is reproduced by Ibn Hishām for this occasion.

The choice of a site for mosque and house (1258–60)

From other references it is clear that what was built at this time was a house or series of apartments for Muḥammad and his dependants. The mosque was the courtyard of the private dwell-

2. See art. Djumʿa (S.D.Goitein) in *EI*².

ing, perhaps demarcated by a wall. The "building" of the mosque at Qubā' was probably no more than marking off a piece of ground with a wall or fence. At this time Muḥammad had only one wife, Sawdah bt. Zam'ah, the widow of a Muslim who had died in Abyssinia, since 'Ā'ishah still lived with her parents; he had also two unmarried daughters in his household.[3] Accommodation would be required for these and also, after the consummation of her marriage, for 'Ā'ishah. Later when Muḥammad had several wives, each had her own apartment opening off the courtyard, and he spent his nights with them in turn.

The choice of a site belonging to the Banū al-Najjār was probably deliberate. Muḥammad was aware that one of the reasons for his invitation to Medina was that people hoped he would be able to put an end to the blood-feuds which had been increasing in violence; and he was careful not to ally himself by marriage with any of the clans of Medina. Al-Najjār was a numerous but not particularly powerful clan, divided into several subclans. The fact that Muḥammad had as great-grandmother a woman of al-Najjār, Salmā bt. 'Amr, could have been the justification for his decision to live among them. They were also in a fairly central position.

Various deaths (1260f.)

About Kulthūm b. Hidm nothing else appears to be known. The three men mentioned at the end were prominent Meccan pagans of the older generation.

As'ad b. Zurārah was one of the first group of six men from Medina to contact Muḥammad, probably in 620, and he also made both the First Pledge of al-'Aqabah in 621 and the Second in 622. He is further credited with being mainly responsible for the conversion of some of the leading men of Medina to Islam; and it was he who, in the year before the Hijrah, had given hospitality to Muḥammad's envoy to Medina, Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr.[4] His death must have been a serious loss for Muḥammad. The remark that it is bad for the Jews and Hypocrites implies that it will discourage them from believing in God.

At the second meeting at al-'Aqabah, when the Muslims of

3. See 1263 below.
4. IH, 286-93.

Medina had pledged themselves to defend and protect Muḥammad and the Emigrants, Muḥammad had asked for twelve *nuqabā'* or representatives to be appointed, perhaps as a kind of council or senate for Medina. The men selected were the leading men in each clan of those present. As'ad b. Zurārah was the representative of al-Najjār. Though the names of the men are recorded, there is no record of them having met or decided anything. Muḥammad's decision to become himself the replacement for As'ad may have been made to prevent ill feeling between different sections of the clan, and he may also have realized, now that he had firsthand experience of conditions in Medina, that the institution of *nuqabā'* was not going to serve any useful purpose.

The marriage with 'Ā'ishah (1261–3)

All Muḥammad's marriages and those he arranged for his daughters were made for political reasons. Abū Bakr was his chief lieutenant and aide, and he is reputed to have had an excellent knowledge of the inner politics of the nomadic tribes; thus, he was able to advise Muḥammad in his dealings with those tribes. Muḥammad's betrothal to Abū Bakr's daughter 'Ā'ishah was made despite her tender age in order to cement the relationship between the two men. Muḥammad was similarly married in 625 to Ḥafṣah, the daughter of his other prominent lieutenant 'Umar; she was then eighteen, and her first husband had been killed at Badr.[5] Another important Emigrant, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, later the third caliph, was married first at Mecca to Muḥammad's daughter Ruqayyah, and then, after her death at the time of the battle of Badr, to another daughter, Umm Kulthūm.[6] What seems properly to be a betrothal was apparently called a marriage by the Arabs, as may be seen in the case of Muḥammad's daughters and the two sons of Abū Lahab.[7] The mention of the special features in 'Ā'ishah may have been circulated to offset the extravagant praise by Shī'ites of Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭimah. According to the ideas of the times, the age of nine was seemingly not too young for marriage.

5. See 1383 below.
6. See 1358 and 1373 below.
7. See 1347 below.

The early expeditions (1265–73)

One of the outstanding features of the period between the Hijrah and the death of Muḥammad was a long series of "expeditions" of a warlike character. In a sense, these grew out of the nomadic custom of the razzia, the sudden raid in which one tried with superior force to surprise an enemy and drive off his camels. Al-Wāqidī's main surviving work on the career of Muḥammad is called "The Expeditions" (*al-Maghāzī*), and expeditions provide the main structure of the *Sīrah* of Ibn Isḥāq. The term, which is used in English for several Arabic words, has a wide range of application; it may be used for the action of a single individual, for an expedition that is mainly a battle (like Badr or Uḥud), for a defensive battle (like the siege of Medina), or for a three-month expedition with thirty thousand men (to Tabūk).

Not surprisingly, there is some uncertainty about the dating and order of the earliest relatively small expeditions. Three small expeditions led by Emigrants are placed by al-Wāqidī in year 1 and by Ibn Isḥāq in year 2. Al-Ṭabarī's arrangement is somewhat curious. He first gives an account of these three expeditions based mainly on al-Wāqidī, and then, after remarking that Ibn Isḥāq places them in year 2, proceeds to give the latter's account of an expedition led by Muḥammad and two of the previous three. He follows this with Ibn Isḥāq's account of three further expeditions led by Muḥammad himself, which according to both sources are in year 2. Yet all this comes under the heading of year 1, which closes with a paragraph based on al-Wāqidī about Abū Qays b. al-Aslat. Year 2 opens with a version from al-Wāqidī of the four expeditions led by Muḥammad. A table in al-Wāqidī's order and with his dating may make the arrangement clearer.

Month/year	*Destination*	*Leader*	*References in Ṭ*	
9/1	Sīf al-Baḥr	Ḥamzah	1265	: 1267–8
10/1	Rābigh/Aḥyā'	'Ubaydah	1265	: 1267
11/1	al-Kharrār	Sa'd	1265–6	: 1270
2/2	al-Abwā'/Waddān	Muḥammad	1266	: 1270
3/2	Buwāṭ	"	1268	: 1270–1
3/2	Safawān	"	1269–70	: 1271
6/2	al-'Ushayrah	"	1268–9	: 1271

The question of years could be tidied up if the paragraph about Abū Qays were placed immediately after al-Wāqidī's accounts of the three Emigrant expeditions, and if the heading for year 2 were inserted at this point. From the middle of page 1266, the events belong to year 2 apart from that one paragraph.

Some further points may be noted about these expeditions. All except that of Safawān, which was punitive, seem to have had the aim of intercepting a Meccan caravan and gaining booty. All, however, were unsuccessful. Sometimes the Muslim force may have been too weak to have any prospect of success against the men conducting the caravan. On the other hand, Muḥammad had two hundred men for the expedition of Buwāt, and there were only one hundred Meccans with the caravan of twenty-five hundred camels. In light of the new strategy which led to the success of the expedition of Nakhlah (sending out a party with sealed orders), it seems that the earlier failures were due to the ability of the Meccans to gain information from Medina; they doubtless had agents who gave them prior notice of Muslim plans, so that they could either increase the party with the caravan or vary the route.

It is also to be noted that none but Emigrants took part in these early expeditions. Before he encouraged his Meccan followers to join him in making the Hijrah, Muḥammad must have considered how they would make their living at Medina. They could hardly expect to be permanent guests of the Anṣār, the Muslims of Medina, and they probably had no inclination to become farmers, though land seems to have been available. They had some expertise in trade with Gaza and Damascus, but attempts to trade would almost certainly lead to conflict with the Meccans. Therefore, the intercepting of Meccan caravans and disrupting of Meccan trade must have been seen at least as a possibility. The Anṣār presumably acquiesced in these expeditions of Emigrants, but too much reliance should not be placed on the statements that such and such a person (often one of the Anṣār) was left in charge of Medina in Muḥammad's absence, since it is unlikely that at this period Muḥammad himself was in any sense in charge of Medina.

The expedition of Nakhlah (1273-9)

Although only eight men, or at most twelve, took part in this expedition, it was an important stage in the worsening of relations between the Muslims and the pagan Meccans. It was the first occasion on which a Meccan was killed by a Muslim and the first occasion on which the Muslims seized Meccan goods.

The first point to be noted is that the party was sent out eastwards for two days' march, but the sealed orders given to the leader told them to proceed south from there to Baṭn Nakhlah on the road from al-Ṭā'if to Mecca. The exact location is not known, but it must have been to the southeast of Mecca, and the members of the expedition were obviously going to be in considerable danger. All the Muslims professed themselves ready to carry on, but at some point two remained behind the rest of the party, allegedly looking fot a straying camel; but this sounds like an excuse. It is not clear whether Muḥammad knew there would be a caravan at this date making for Mecca or merely thought it a probability. The Muslim party did meet a small caravan, probably only a local one, since it was carrying raisins and leather and had only four men attending it. One of the Muslims had his head shaved, and this made the Meccans think they were a group performing the *'umrah* or lesser pilgrimage.

In the accounts of Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī, the Muslims now found themselves faced with a problem. It was the last day of the "sacred month" of Rajab, during which hostilities were forbidden; but by the following day the caravan would have entered the "sacred territory" of Mecca, where hostilities were equally forbidden. They decided to attack at once. One of the Meccans was killed by an arrow, two were taken prisoner, and one escaped to Mecca. Despite this escape, the Muslims were able to return safely to Medina with the prisoners and the caravan. The version of al-Suddī, which al-Ṭabarī gives subsequently, suggests that the fighting occurred on the first day of Rajab. The verse of the Qur'ān quoted (2.217) makes it clear that the fighting was in the month of Rajab, but gives no indication whether it was at the beginning or end.

On reaching Medina safely, the members of the successful party were surprised to find that they were not nearly so well re-

ceived as they had expected. The ostensible reason was that they had killed a man during a sacred month. It seems unlikely that this weighed much with Muḥammad himself, since the sacred month was part of the false religion he was attacking. The matter is more complex than this, however. The Qur'ān itself (2.125; 3.97) acknowledges the sacredness of Meccan territory; but the sacredness of the four months (Rajab, Dhū al-qa'dah, Dhū al-ḥijjah, Muḥarram) may not have been acknowledged until after the abolition of the intercalary month (*nasī*), usually said to be in the year 10/632.[8] It is almost certain, however, that the fundamental reason for the disquiet in Medina over this matter was the fear that it would lead to Meccan reprisals against the whole city. It has to be remembered that the Anṣār had not taken part in any expedition against the Meccans, but they had undertaken to protect the Emigrants if these were attacked, and to this extent were deeply involved in the consequences of the expedition to Nakhlah.

The raiding party is said to have offered Muḥammad a share of the booty as chief of their tribe. The pre-Islamic custom was that the chief should receive a quarter of any booty captured by the tribe in order to offset what he had to expend on behalf of the tribe. The later Islamic norm was that Muḥammad received a fifth, but it is doubtful if anything so precise had yet been decided. Since acceptance of a share of the booty would have implied approval of what the Muslim party had done, Muḥammad at first declined. Eventually, however, the matter was settled by a revelation (2.217): "They ask you about the sacred month, fighting in it; fighting in it is a great (sin), but barring from the ways of God, and disbelieving in him and in the sacred mosque, and expelling its people from it, are greater (sins) in God's sight." After this Muḥammad accepted a share of the booty, presumably now satisfied that the Anṣār would support him whatever the Meccans did. The kinsmen of the man killed would doubtless attempt to avenge him, but the Meccans in general could not ignore the loss of face caused by the capture of the caravan almost, as it were, from under their noses.

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8. Qur'ān, 9.36f.

The break with the Jews (1279-81)

The change of Qiblah (direction faced in prayer) and the institution of the fast of Ramaḍān are not purely questions of religious observance but are linked with political matters. Muḥammad had from an early date become convinced that the revelations he received were identical in essence to those which were the basis of Judaism and Christianity; he therefore expected that the Jews of Medina would accept him as a prophet. Consequently, when he came to Medina, he was disappointed to find that the Jews there, far from accepting his prophethood, were mostly inclined to poke fun at his revelations. Only one or two formally became Muslims.

The Muslims of Medina appear to have adopted a number of practices from their Jewish neighbours. They kept the Jewish fast of the 'Āshūrā'; most, but not all, of them faced Jerusalem in prayer; and they made something special of the prayer at midday on Fridays. Muḥammad seems at first to have encouraged all these practices. The Qur'ān (5.5) makes it lawful for Muslims to eat Jewish food and to marry Jewish women. After some sixteen or eighteen months in Medina, however, it became clear to Muḥammad that such concessions were not going to win over the Jews, and a series of events occurred to which Western scholars have given the label of "the break with the Jews." The two points here mentioned by al-Ṭabarī are central to this change, namely, the change of Qiblah and the institution of the fast of Ramaḍān.

A later source has a story of how Muḥammad, while leading prayers, received a revelation bidding him face Mecca instead of Jerusalem, upon which he and all the other participants turned round and faced south instead of north; the place where this is said to have happened became known as the Mosque of the Two Qiblahs. No verse in the Qur'ān exactly fits this story, and a careful study of the whole passage (2.142-52) suggests that there may have been a period of uncertainty before a revelation prescribed the new Qiblah. The date of the change of Qiblah is about 11 February 624.

The essential point about the fast of Ramaḍān is that it was to replace the Jewish 'Āshūrā', which the Muslims of Medina had been observing before the Hijrah, and in which Muḥammad and

the Emigrants probably shared. The brief paragraph in al-Ṭabarī suggests that the fast of Ramaḍān was meant to celebrate the deliverance of the Muslims at Badr just as the ʿĀshūrāʾ commemorated the deliverance of the Israelites at the Red Sea. Although al-Ṭabarī records the institution in year 2, it seems impossible that the Muslims could have kept the full fast in this year, since the battle of Badr occurred on or about 19 Ramaḍān. It is conceivable that some days of fasting were observed after the return to Medina, and that this justified the celebration of the ʿīd al-fiṭr, the feast of the breaking of the fast.

It seems likely that the events mentioned marked not only the rejection of Jewish practices but also some political realignments among the Muslims. It is from about this period that we hear of the Hypocrites, the nominal Muslims opposed to many of Muḥammad's policies. Their leader was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, who had for long had close relations with some of the Jews and had hoped they would help him to become prince of Medina. On the other hand, Saʿd b. Muʿādh, possibly the strongest man in Medina, now put himself wholeheartedly behind Muḥammad and was instrumental in persuading about two hundred of the Anṣār to join the expedition to Badr—the first time any of the Anṣār had taken part in an expedition. There are various small points which suggest that Saʿd b. Muʿādh might be described as pro-Arab and anti-Jewish. In 627 it was he who decided that all the men of the Jewish clan of Qurayẓah were to be put to death.

The battle of Badr (1279-1359)

The amount of material about the battle of Badr collected by the historians is a mark of its importance. Perhaps its most significant result was the upsurge of confidence among the Muslims. During the later years at Mecca, the Qurʾānic revelations had been showing how God protected his prophets against those who opposed them and rejected the revelations, and how in the end the prophets and the believers were triumphant and the opponents were punished. The victory of Badr was the way in which God had vindicated his prophet Muḥammad against the Meccan pagans, just as he had vindicated other prophets in other ways. For the ordinary believer it was a powerful confirmation of Muḥammad's claim to be a prophet. The belief that God and his an-

gels worked for them during the battle raised the morale of the Muslims to such a point that it became overconfidence.

Muḥammad himself must have been deeply moved by the confirmation of his prophethood, but he must also have been aware that there were many problems ahead. For even if the Meccans had lost a dozen of their most senior men, Abū Sufyān and a few others were still around, and some capable younger men were coming up; so Meccan power must still be feared. Besides, in addition to the loss of leading men there was a serious loss of prestige, and prestige was necessary for the Meccans if they were to maintain their commercial empire. They were thus bound to attempt to reverse the result, and Muḥammad must have been aware of the fact.

With regard to the expedition itself, as previously noted, this was the first occasion on which men of the Anṣār joined Muḥammad. This doubtless came about largely because of the new understanding between Sa'd b. Mu'ādh and Muḥammad. The majority of the Anṣār had probably decided to support and defend Muḥammad against any Meccan reprisals for the attack at Nakhlah. With the contingent of Anṣār the Muslim force would easily have been strong enough to overpower the men accompanying the caravan, and Muslim intentions probably did not go beyond booty. Muḥammad and Sa'd, however, probably realized that things could become more serious.

The excellence of the Meccan information service is shown by the fact that Abū Sufyān knew about the Muslim expedition to Badr in sufficient time to take evasive action and that the people in Mecca knew in time to send out a relief force. The possibility of such a force may have occurred to Muḥammad, but he probably had no definite information until he was in the vicinity of Badr. On this point the view of 'Urwah in his letter (1286) is to be preferred to that of Ibn Isḥāq (1300). Had the Muslims in general known earlier they might have wanted to withdraw, for it was no dishonour to an Arab to avoid an engagement with a superior force. At Badr, however, when the two forces found themselves so close to one another, neither could honourably have retreated. On the other hand, it could be argued that Qur'ān 8.7—God's promise of one of the two companies, the caravan or the relief force—implies that Muḥammad knew something about a relief force be-

fore he knew that the caravan had eluded him. It is just conceivable, then, that he deliberately manoeuvred the Muslims into a situation in which they could not honourably avoid a conflict with the Meccans.

On the Meccan side, Abū Jahl was clearly a "hawk" intent on teaching Muḥammad a lesson and restoring Meccan prestige. It was he who taunted with cowardice those who wanted to withdraw while that was still an option. The right of commanding the Meccans in war belonged to Abū Sufyān, but, because he was absent with the caravan, Abū Jahl was temporarily in command; and it may be that he wanted to make the most of this opportunity. Once the Meccans realized the close proximity of the Muslims, there could be no question of retreating.

Some reasons for the Muslim victory can be discerned. The plan adopted by Muḥammad on the suggestion of one of his followers, namely, blocking up all the wells except one and so depriving the Meccans of water, certainly contributed. It is likely, too, that the Anṣār, because they gained a livelihood by cultivating date-palms and cereal crops, were in better condition physically than the Meccans, whose lives as merchants were probably much more sedentary. Even when they accompanied caravans, they presumably did so on camel-back. The Anṣār, moreover, had gained experience of fighting in the feuds which had been endemic in the oasis. Some of the Emigrants also proved successful fighters, possibly because they were in general younger men than their opponents, while their belief in God and in the life of Paradise doubtless increased their confidence.

The accounts of the treatment of prisoners and other events of the period after the battle give interesting insights into the outlook and moral attitudes of the people of the time. The first and lengthiest part of al-Ṭabarī's material comes from Ibn ʿAbbās through his disciple ʿIkrimah, that is, from authorities on the exegesis of the Qur'ān, not authorities on Muḥammad's career. The critical verse is 8.67: "It is not for any prophet to have captives until he has made slaughter in the land . . . (or "until he has subdued the land")." Some of the surrounding verses belong to the period of the battle of Badr but others belong to that of Uḥud, and it is difficult to distinguish the two. It seems likely that 8.67 was not revealed until after Uḥud and is perhaps part of the attempt to

explain why that was so disastrous. On this assumption the verse is saying: "If you had not been so keen on ransoms after Badr and had not taken prisoners, these losses would not have befallen you." It is probably not coincidence that in some sources the number of prisoners at Badr and the number of Muslim dead at Uḥud are both stated to be seventy. It should not be supposed, however, that killing instead of taking prisoners was thought of chiefly as a way of weakening the enemy militarily. It was seen rather as inflicting a punishment and something of a moral duty, in line with the *lex talionis.*

Modern Westerners are inclined to think of the principle of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" as barbaric,[9] but in actuality the *lex talionis* is a primitive way of maintaining security for life and property. It is indeed almost the only way of doing this when there is no strong central authority capable of punishing wrongdoers. The basis is the solidarity of the group of kinsmen. A person is less likely to kill or injure another without serious cause if he knows that the victim's kin-group will inflict a like injury on his own kin-group. All the groups recognized that it was essential that injuries and deaths should be avenged, and usually ended the blood-feud when proper vengeance had been taken, though it was sometimes difficult to agree on what was proper and equal vengeance. This meant that the system was only effective when the next of kin saw it as a sacred duty to avenge a death. When it became the practice to accept a blood-wit of camels instead of a life, the conservative moralists taunted those who did so with being content with milk instead of blood. It is noteworthy that in al-Ṭabarī's second account (on page 1356) 'Umar says that the Meccans had called Muḥammad a liar and driven him out, and so deserved to die; and this has the implication that in not having them put to death Muḥammad was failing to perform his duty.

The expulsion of Banū Qaynuqāʿ (1360-2)

One of the limitations of al-Ṭabarī's method of writing history is to be seen in the fact that this is the first reference to the Jews of Medina. The title "the break with the Jews" was given above to the section on the change of Qiblah and the institution of the fast

9. *Exodus* 21.23-5; *Leviticus* 24.17-21.

of Ramaḍān, but al-Ṭabarī himself did not mention the Jews there. Yet from the Qur'ān it is clear that the Jews were a serious problem for Muḥammad from the day of his arrival in Medina. From the little he knew previously about the Jewish religion, he expected the Jews to receive him as a prophet. To the generality of the Jews, however, it was inconceivable that there could be a prophet who did not come from the chosen people, that is, themselves. To make things worse for Muḥammad and the Muslims, the Jews did not merely refuse to recognize Muḥammad as a prophet but made fun of him in various ways and tried to discredit his prophethood by showing that some of the Qur'ānic assertions about Biblical matters were incorrect.

The expulsion of the Banū Qaynuqā' is probably to be seen as a corollary of the break with the Jews. It is possible that Muḥammad and Sa'd b. Mu'ādh had agreed that they would get rid of the Jews as opportunities presented themselves. According to al-Wāqidī, the immediate occasion of the siege of Qaynuqā' was a trick played by a Jew on an Arab woman as she sat in their market. An Arab killed this Jew, and then another Jew killed the Arab. At this, the Jews took refuge in their strongholds, and the Muslims came and besieged them. This incident was no more than a pretext, and by omitting it al-Ṭabarī seems to have judged it so. The very life of the Islamic religio-political community at Medina depended on wholehearted belief that Muḥammad was a prophet and the Qur'ān the word of God; but this belief was endangered by some of the criticisms made by the Jews. This was the fundamental reason for the attacks on the three main Jewish clans in Medina and on particular individuals. Muḥammad was doubtless aware that the Jews were relatively wealthy, and the Muslims benefited from the seizure of their wealth; but that was not the primary reason for attacking them.

Banū Qaynuqā' were goldsmiths and armourers, and also conducted a market. They had been confederates of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, and when they surrendered after a fortnight's siege, he pleaded for them, though without much success. The statement quoted by al-Ṭabarī from al-Wāqidī that Muḥammad wanted to kill them seems to be mistaken. It was against their expulsion that 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy argued on the ground that Muḥammad

might some day be in need of their skill as armourers; but Muḥammad was not to be moved. On leaving Medina, they are said to have gone first to Wādī al-Qurā, where there were Jewish settlements, then to Syria.

The expulsion of Banū Qaynuqāʿ was only the first of a series of attacks on Jewish groups and individuals. A few months later, five men of the Anṣār (of the tribe of al-Aws) killed Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf, who counted as a Jew because his mother was Jewish, although his father was a pagan Arab from a nomadic tribe. He was a noted poet who after Badr went to Mecca and did his best to discredit the Muslim cause and create dissension. Two of those involved in the killing were his milk-brothers (1368–72). Al-Ṭabarī follows this almost immediately (1375–83) with the account of the killing of Abū Rāfiʿ Sallām b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq; but this probably occurred considerably later, after the siege of Medina in the year 8/627. He had seconded the efforts of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf against the Muslims and later had helped to persuade nomadic tribes to take part in military operations against Medina.

Minor expeditions between Badr and Uḥud (1362–8; 1373–5)

Apart from the "expedition" against Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf, there were four between Badr and Uḥud led by Muḥammad himself and one led by his adoptive son, Zayd b. Ḥārithah. The early Muslim scholars discussed the dating of these expeditions at length without coming to any firm conclusions. Furthermore, so little information is given about them that it is difficult to know the precise aim of some, much less to determine the exact dates.

The first was the so-called "barley-meal raid" (*sawīq*) in which the Muslims were responding to a challenge from the Meccans. Abū Sufyān probably intended to do no more than make a gesture which might help to restore Meccan prestige among the nomads, but his two hundred horsemen could have inflicted heavy casualties on any Muslims fighting on foot—and the Muslims had only one or two horses. His retreat when a Muslim force came out against him seems to show that he was not looking for a confrontation. Significant points are the apparent ease with which he entered Medina and the fact that a leading man of a Jewish clan was prepared to converse with him. (The fact that the nickname of

"barley-meal raid" was also given to what is otherwise known as Badr al-Maw'id[10] indicates the difficulties the historians had with the small early expeditions.)

The other expeditions led by Muḥammad were against nomadic tribes and were perhaps chiefly intended to convince potentially hostile nomads that the Muslims could not be attacked with impunity. The expedition led by Zayd to al-Qaradah was, like that to Badr, aimed at a caravan. The Meccan leaders realized the difficulty they were in after Badr, since any caravan following the normal coastal route northwards could easily be attacked by raiders from Medina. They therefore sent a small but wealthy caravan by a more easterly route through Najd. Muḥammad must have learnt about this, for he sent out Zayd with a force of a hundred men, more than sufficient to overawe the Meccans and make them abandon their caravan. Al-Ṭabarī, following Ibn Isḥāq, says the caravan was led by Abū Sufyān, but al-Wāqidī makes the leader Ṣafwān b. Umayyah, supported by Abū Zam'ah al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib.[11]

The battle of Uḥud (1383–1430)

The Meccan defeat at Badr, along with subsequent events such as the loss of a caravan at al-Qaradah, had made it clear to all that if Mecca was to survive as a commercial power it must somehow reduce Muḥammad to impotence and restore its own prestige among the Arabs generally. To the achievement of this end the Meccans directed strenuous efforts in the months after Badr under the forceful leadership of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. By the spring of 625, he was able to mobilize three thousand men from the men of Mecca and the allied tribes in the neighbourhood; of these, 700 had coats of mail and two hundred were mounted on horses. They set out about 11 March and reached the oasis of Medina on Thursday, 21 March, entering it from the northwest corner and pasturing their animals in the fields of cereals there.

Muḥammad's first plan was that the people of Medina should retire to the strongholds or fortified houses (*āṭām*), of which each

10. See 1457-9 below.

11. Abū Sufyān is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī in his report from al-Wāqidī, but he is not mentioned at all in al-Wāqidī, 197f.

clan had several. The Meccans would find these virtually impregnable and would be unable to use their cavalry if there was fighting in the confined spaces between the strongholds. Some of the Anṣār, however, could not bear to see their fields devastated by the Meccans and insisted on marching out to confront them. Somewhat against his better judgement, Muḥammad agreed. He set out with a thousand men and, using a guide with local knowledge, slipped past the Meccans and took up a position to the north of their camp on the lower slopes of the hill of Uḥud, where he could not be attacked by the Meccan cavalry. Before he reached this position, however, 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy with three hundred men had returned to the strongholds in the centre of the oasis, leaving only seven hundred men with Muḥammad. Presumably he acted in this way because he disagreed with Muḥammad's policies, though there are divergent views on the point. From this time on, 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy is known as the leader of the Hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*), the nominal Muslims opposed to Muḥammad.

Al-Ṭabarī's method of presenting without comment a series of slightly different reports about incidents in the battle does not produce a clear picture but suggests rather a long, confused melée. By following the more coherent accounts and making use of the references in the Qur'ān, the course of the battle may be outlined somewhat as follows.

It possibly began with an unsuccessful attack by the Meccan cavalry. Muḥammad's main defence against them is usually taken to be his archers, posted on his left flank. The report from Ibn 'Abbās (page 1394) most probably does not mean that al-Zubayr and his men had to move against the cavalry but that they were posted in such a way that they could deflect a cavalry charge in cooperation with the archers. Apart from this, the chief Meccan assault seems to have been an advance by the infantry against the main body of Muslims, who may have begun to move down from the hill slopes. The references to the carrying of the Meccan standard by men of the clan of 'Abd al-Dār (and the deaths of eleven of them) seem to imply that they led this advance. Fierce fighting ensured, of which the Muslims had the better. The Meccans retreated towards their camp, perhaps even took to flight and abandoned their camp (as is suggested by the mention of the

women running away]. It is doubtful whether the Muslims actually began to plunder the camp, but some sections of the Muslim force saw opportunities for plunder, and in particular some of the archers left their positions.

When these movements were observed by Khālid b. al-Walīd, commanding the right wing of the cavalry, he caused consternation by charging the Muslim flank and rear. It was at this point that Muḥammad was personally involved in fighting and was wounded. However, he was able to rally a number of Muslims round him and to regain the slopes of Uḥud. They may have been a little higher than previously, and they beat off Meccan attacks without much difficulty. One body of Muslims, however, instead of making for the hill, tried to reach a stronghold to the south of the Meccan camp, and it was probably they who suffered the severest casualties. The figure is given of seventy Muslims killed, four Emigrants and sixty-six of the Anṣār.[12] As soon as Abū Sufyān realized that it would be impossible to dislodge the Muslims from their position on the hill, he decided to leave Medina and return to Mecca. The whole Meccan army moved off to Ḥamrā' al-Asad, eight miles to the south.

To understand this surprising denouement, it is necessary to assess carefully the significance of the battle for the two sides. The fact that there were seventy Muslim casualties as against twenty-two Meccan suggests a serious defeat for the Muslims, and both Muslim and Western scholars have often interpreted it in this way. Yet, a little reflection shows that it was far from being a victory for the Meccans. They had boasted that they would exact several Muslim lives for every Meccan life lost at Badr, whereas, on the assumption that seventy Meccans fell at Badr, the Muslim losses in the two battles were less than those of the Meccans, and so they had not even achieved a life for a life. More seriously, the Meccans had completely failed in their strategic aim of breaking Muḥammad's power. These facts point to the conclusion that in the early stage of the fighting, before the reversal of fortune brought about by the cavalry charge, the Meccan infantry had had much the worse of it; many of the horses, too, may have been wounded by the Muslim arrows. Abū Sufyān must

12. IH, 607-9; W, 300-7.

have reckoned that despite the Muslim casualties the Meccans were not capable of attacking the strongholds of Medina. He may also have hoped that those of the inhabitants of Medina who were least enthusiastic about Muḥammad and his religion would now turn against him and expel him; and he would not want to do anything to antagonize such people.

From a strictly military point of view, then, Muḥammad had not been seriously defeated; apart from the possibility of increased disaffection towards him in Medina, he had come out of the battle at least as well as the Meccans. What Abū Sufyān could not have realized, however, was that the happenings at Uḥud were for Muḥammad and the Muslims a serious spiritual reverse. After the victory of Badr, the Muslims had thought that they were practically invincible, since God and his angels were helping them. In the Qur'ān (8.66), Muḥammad was told to encourage the Muslims to fight, for "if there are twenty steadfast men among you, they will overcome two hundred, and if a hundred, they will overcome a thousand." To the ordinary Muslim, conscious of so many comrades dead, it must have seemed that God was not supporting them after all. Muḥammad's own faith may have been shaken, at least briefly. In due course the Qur'ān made it clear that the discomfiture did not indicate withdrawal of God's support but was caused by the Muslims' own disobedience and excessive desire for plunder.

Whatever Muḥammad's inmost feelings in the immediate aftermath of Uḥud, he publicly put a brave face on things, and on the following day led out about nine hundred men to Ḥamrā' al-Asad, from which the Meccans had now moved on to al-Rawḥā'. This expedition was really a kind of gesture of defiance intended, as Ibn Isḥāq put it, "to lower the morale of the enemy . . . and to give them the impression that his strength was unimpaired." To heighten the show of strength, Muḥammad told the men to gather wood by day and to light a large number of fires at night—a matter mentioned by al-Wāqidī but not thought worthy of inclusion by al-Ṭabarī. A friendly nomad, Ma'bad al-Khuzā'ī, also helped by exaggerating the size and warlike attitude of the Muslim force. At the same time, Abū Sufyān was using comparable means to scare the Muslims into withdrawing, while some of the Meccans wanted to attack Medina again. It is unlikely, however,

that either side thought seriously of again engaging the enemy; and both soon returned to base.

The expeditions of year 4 (1431–59)

For an adequate understanding of the events of year 4, which were relatively minor, it is necessary to appreciate more of the general background than is made clear in the materials presented by al-Ṭabarī.

The key is to be found in the activities of the Meccans after Uḥud. Despite the casualties inflicted on the Muslims, the Meccans had failed to dislodge Muḥammad or even, as things turned out, to seriously weaken him. Yet this was what they had to do if they were to preserve their commerce and their wealth. It must have been clear to Abū Sufyān, too, that the army he had managed to collect from Mecca itself and the small neighbouring tribes was not sufficient to achieve their aim. For complete success they would have to have the support of some of the great nomadic tribes; and for the next two years the Meccans were making strenuous efforts to gain this support, using all possible means from promises of booty to straight bribes.

In consequence of this, Muḥammad's general strategy during these years, apart from restoring confidence among the Anṣār and strengthening his position in Medina, was to take all possible measures to counteract what the Meccans were doing. There was an expedition shortly after Uḥud (not mentioned by al-Ṭabarī) into regions friendly to the Meccans in order to counteract their propaganda about Muḥammad's weakness and display something of the Muslims' military power. The expedition to Dhāt al-Riqāʿ (1453–7) was somewhat similar. Muḥammad also hoped to persuade groups from the nomadic tribes to accept Islam and toward this end was prepared to take calculated risks. Examples of this, in which the gamble did not come off, were the expeditions of al-Rajīʿ (1431–7) and Bi'r Maʿūnah (1441–8). Muḥammad's prestige was apparently now such that one group or faction within a tribe might hope to improve its standing in the tribe by being first to embrace Islam. Something of this sort may have been at the root of the attack on the Muslims at al-Rajīʿ. It was certainly present in the disaster at Bi'r Maʿūnah.

In the latter case, the chief of the tribe of ʿĀmir, Abū Barāʾ

'Āmir b. Mālik, seems to have wanted to improve his position in the tribe against a rival faction led by his nephew, 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl. Abū Barā' gave his formal protection to the Muslim party, and this should have been respected by all the tribe; and it was in fact respected by all despite the pleas of his nephew to disregard it. Foiled at this point, the nephew suggested to nearby clans of the tribe of Sulaym, with whom he must have been on good terms, that they could attack the Muslims with impunity. All the Muslims were killed except a nomadic confederate who was able to claim that he was protected by some oath. What happened next is puzzling to the Westerner. On his way back to Medina this confederate met two men of the tribe of 'Amir and killed them; as a result Muḥammad had to pay blood-money to 'Āmir for these two men, although he was unable to claim blood-money for the forty or more Muslims who had been killed. The explanation is that the actual killing had been done by men of Sulaym, so that in Arab eyes they alone were responsible (and Muḥammad was not in a position to demand blood-money from Sulaym, which was friendly to Mecca). 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl had suggested the killing and so in Western eyes was morally responsible, but he had not been physically involved in it, and so he and his tribe of 'Āmir were not liable for blood-money. The nomadic confederate was a powerful and brutal man who a little earlier had gone to Mecca in an attempt to kill Abū Sufyān (1437–41).

In the case of the last expedition of the year, that of Badr al-Maw'id (1457–9), it seems clear that neither side really meant to engage the other in battle, but both put on a show of brinkmanship to convince the tribes of the region that they themselves had no fear, whereas the opponents were on the point of running away.

The expulsion of Banū al-Naḍīr (1448–53)

The main underlying reason for the expulsion of the clan of al-Naḍīr was the same as in the case of Qaynuqā', namely, that Jewish criticisms endangered the ordinary Muslim's belief in Muḥammad's prophethood and in the Qur'ān as revelation from God. It should also be kept in mind that the attack was made only a few weeks after the Muslim loss of life at al-Rajī' and Bi'r Ma'ūnah, when many people in Medina must have been enter-

taining gloomy feelings. Some of the details are obscure. The clan of al-Naḍīr had some sort of alliance with the tribe of ʿĀmir, but it is not clear how this affected the question of blood-money. Again, while it is possible that some men of al-Naḍīr really planned to drop a stone on Muḥammad and kill him, it is also possible that the allegation was no more than an excuse to justify the attack. Even if there is some truth in the story, however, the incident was only the occasion for the attack, not the fundamental reason. Apart from the general hostility of the Jews to Muḥammad and Islam, a chief of al-Naḍīr had given hospitality and information to Abū Sufyān at the time of the "barley-meal raid" in 624, and Muḥammad may have been aware of this. The result of the Meccan attack was similar to that on Qaynuqāʿ, except that some of the clan of al-Naḍīr remained at the oasis of Khaybar where they had lands.

Muḥammad's family

During year 4 (about October 625), Muḥammad lost his eldest grandson, ʿAbd Allāh, the son of ʿUthmān and Muḥammad's daughter Ruqayyah. A few months later, however, in January 626, ʿAlī and Fāṭimah had a second son, al-Ḥusayn (1453).

Muḥammad married Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah about February 626 (1441). Her first husband al-Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith had divorced her and then she had married his brother ʿUbaydah, who had been killed at Badr. Muḥammad may have felt that he had an obligation to her, since her two husbands had been from the clan of al-Muṭṭalib, which was virtually part of his own clan of Hāshim; she herself belonged to the tribe of ʿĀmir, with which he was cultivating good relations.

About a month later he took another wife, Umm Salamah, the widow of Abū Salamah, who had died from wounds received at Uḥud after apparently recovering. Both were from the Meccan clan of Makhzūm, the clan of Abū Jahl, with which it was important for Muḥammad to have good relations.

Al-Ṭabarī and his Sources

Al-Ṭabarī's main source for the first four years of the Hijrah was the *Sīrah* or biography of the Prophet by Ibn Isḥāq (d.150/767). A form of this is still extant and is available in scholarly

printed editions and in an English translation by Alfred Guillaume. The extant form of the *Sīrah* is the recension of it by another scholar, Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833), who added some small items of information but also omitted a few passages. In the present volume, the most notable omissions are those of how the Prophet's uncle al-ʿAbbās took part in the battle of Badr as a pagan and was captured. Though not found in Ibn Hishām's recension, these have been reproduced by al-Ṭabarī.[13] Guillaume places Ibn Hishām's additions in an appendix but includes in his main text passages of Ibn Isḥāq's work from al-Ṭabarī and others. While al-Ṭabarī retains most of the strictly narrative parts of Ibn Isḥāq, he omits some matters only incidental to the main account, as well as the lists of names, the detailed references to Qur'ānic texts about Badr, Uḥud and the like, and most of the poetry.

To the material from Ibn Isḥāq, al-Ṭabarī adds divergent accounts from a large number of sources. The most important of these is al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), whose *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* ("Book of the Expeditions") has been excellently edited. He seems to have studied questions of dating more thoroughly than Ibn Isḥāq, and al-Ṭabarī always notes where his conclusions differ from the latter's. Apart from this, however, al-Ṭabarī only reproduces material from al-Wāqidī where it is significantly different from Ibn Isḥāq, but he does not reproduce material found only in al-Wāqidī.

Another source worthy of mention is an early document, the letter of ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr (d.94/712) to the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik.[14] Ibn Isḥāq uses material from ʿUrwah but does not seem to have known of this document.

Al-Ṭabarī also has a small amount of material for which he gives no source, such as statements about births, deaths, and marriages. These were possibly regarded as matters of common knowledge.

Problems of Chronology

For the first ten years of the Hijrah there are special difficulties about the correlation of Islamic dates with Christian. The "stan-

13. See pp. 1290, 1323, 1339f, 1344, and notes 65 and 101.
14. See pp. 1284-9 and notes 16 and 56.

dard" correlation (as found in *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, ed. Bertold Spuler, Wiesbaden 1961) has been followed here. This is based on the assumption that the strict Islamic calendar, without intercalary months, was followed from the beginning of year 1. This assumption, however, is almost certainly wrong, since the Qur'ānic verse (9.37) forbidding the use of the intercalary month (*nasī*) was revealed at the Pilgrimage of the year 10 (March 632). There is thus a presumption that before that date three or four intercalary months had been observed by the Muslims since the Hijrah. There is no record, however, of how many such months there had been, nor in what years. This leads to discrepancies about the day of the week on which certain events happened. Thus Muḥammad is said to have arrived at Qubā' in the oasis of Medina on Monday, 12 Rabīʿ al-awwal; but according to the "standard" correlation, this was a Friday. Attention has not been called to discrepancies of this type except in note 1. The alternative method of dating events as so many months after the Hijrah is a useful check, but does not solve the problems.

While Dr. Michael McDonald and I have cooperated closely in this volume, the primary work of translation has been his and that of annotation and introduction mine. The rendering of Qur'ānic verses is from *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* by Marmaduke Pickthall.

W. Montgomery Watt

The Events of the Year I

[1256]

(JULY 16, 622–JULY 4, 623)

Part 2: The Period After the Hijrah

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) states: We have already mentioned the date of the Prophet's arrival in Medina, the place in which he stayed when he arrived, the man with whom he stayed, the length of his stay in that place and his departure from it. We shall now mention the other noteworthy events of this year, the first year of the Hijrah.

The First Friday Prayer

Among these is his holding the Friday prayer with his companions on the day on which he left Qubā' for Medina. This was on Friday,[1] and the time for prayer—the Friday prayer—overtook

1. IH, 333, says that the Messenger reached Qubā' on the outskirts of the oasis of Medina on Monday, 12 Rabī' al-Awwal (September 24, 622), and stayed there until Friday of that week. According to the standard calendar, 12 Rabī' al-Awwal is itself a Friday; but the standard calendar is based on the assumption that from year 1 the Muslims observed a lunar year without intercalary months, whereas it is almost certain that some intercalary months had been observed before the revela-

him in the territory of the Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf in the bed of a wadi belonging to them, and this was used as a mosque that day.[2] This
[1257] was the first Friday prayer which the Messenger of God held in Islam. On this Friday he delivered a sermon, the first sermon he preached in Medina.

The Sermon of the Messenger of God at the First Friday Prayer[3]

According to Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Ibn Wahb— Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jumaḥī: The sermon of the Messenger of God at the first Friday prayer which he led at Medina in the territory of the Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf was as follows:

> Praise be to God. I praise him, and call on him for help, forgiveness and guidance. I believe in him, do not deny him and am an enemy of whoever denies him. I bear witness that there is no deity but God alone, without partner, and that Muḥammad is his servant and his Messenger, whom he has sent with guidance, light and exhortation after an interval (*fatrah*)[4] in the appearance of messengers, at a time when

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tion of the verse (Qur. 9.7) abolishing them; because of this, some slight discrepancies of dating are only to be expected and will not be further commented on here. It is generally agreed in many sources that so long as Muḥammad was at Mecca there was no special observance of the Friday midday prayer.

2. According to IH, 335, the wadi is Wādī Ranūnah; see map in Watt, *Medina*, 152. Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf was a small but important clan in Medina, usually known as Qawāqilah. The clan system at Medina is very complex. Eight large clans are mentioned in the document known as the Constitution of Medina (IH, 341–4), but sixteen subclans seem to have functioned to some extent as independent units, and at least as many more are occasionally mentioned. A form of the genealogical table is given in Watt, *Medina*, 154, and this shows the nominal place of other clans to be mentioned later by al-Ṭabarī. Many of the names in the table appear to be fictitious, perhaps due to the persistence in Medina until about this period of a matrilineal kinship system. It should also be noted that the term *banū*, "sons of," is used for kinship groups of all sizes, from single families to the largest tribes; the use of words like "clan" and "tribe" depends on scholars' estimates of the size of the group.

3. IH, 340, gives a different sermon. The text here cannot be an exact reproduction of the original, since it contains a verse of the Qur'ān revealed at the time of the battle of Badr.

4. It is unlikely that Muḥammad himself would have used the words "I bear witness that Muḥammad is his servant and his Messenger." For *fatrah*, see *EI*², s.v. The word was used for the interval or period between any two prophets or

knowledge is scarce, men are led astray, time is cut short, the Last Hour is at hand and the End is close. Whoever obeys God and his Prophet has been rightly guided; whoever disobeys them has erred, been remiss and gone far astray. I recommend to you the fear of God, for the best thing which a Muslim can enjoin upon a Muslim is that he should exhort him to seek the Other World and command him to fear God. Beware of what God has warned you against concerning himself. There is no better advice than this and no better admonition. The fear of God, for whoever acts according to it in fear and dread of his Lord, is a trusty aid to what you desire of the Other World. He who sets aright what is between him and his Lord in secret and in public, seeking nothing thereby but the face of God, will be remembered in this world, and will have a treasure in that which is after death. Then a man will have need of that good which he has done previously; and as for that which is otherwise, he will wish that there was a great distance between him and it. God warns you to beware of himself, but God is merciful to his servants and to those who believe his word and fulfil their promises. God says: [1258]
"The sentence that cometh from me cannot be changed, and I am in no wise a tyrant unto the slaves."[5] Fear God, then, in this world and the next, in secret and in public. He who fears God will have his evil deeds forgiven and his reward magnified; he will achieve a great success. The fear of God will ward off God's hatred and retribution and wrath. The fear of God will make people blameless in the sight of God, will please the Lord and will raise their degree. Seize hold of your portion, and do not be remiss with regard to God. God has caused you to know his Book and has opened his path before you in order that he may know those who speak the truth and those who lie. Act well, then, as God has acted well with you. Be enemies of his enemies, and strive on God's behalf in the way to which he is entitled. He has chosen you and named you Muslims, "that he who perished (on that day)

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messengers, but more particularly for that between Jesus and Muḥammad. It may also suggest a slackening of the previous prophet's religion.

5. Qur. 50.29; the "slaves" or "servants" (of God) are human beings generally.

might perish by a clear proof (of his sovereignty) and he who survived might survive by a clear proof."[6] There is no power but with God. Remember God frequently and act for the sake of that which is after today; for he who sets aright that which is between him and God will have that which is between him and other men taken care of by God. That is because God pronounces judgement upon men whereas they do not pronounce judgement upon him, and because God rules men whereas they do not rule him. God is most great. There is no might but with God the great.

The Choice of a Site for Mosque and House

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God mounted his she-camel and let her reins hang loose. The inhabitants of every settlement of the Anṣār (the Muslims of Medina) which she went past invited him to stay with them, saying, "Come, O Messenger of God, to a settlement which has many defenders and is well-provisioned and impregnable." He would say to them, "Let go her reins, for she is commanded (by God)." Finally he reached the present site of his mosque, and his
[1259] camel knelt down where the door of his mosque is. At that time this place was a drying-floor for dates and belonged to two orphan boys of Banū al-Najjār under the guardianship of Mu'ādh b. 'Afrā'; their names were Sahl and Suhayl, sons of 'Amr b. 'Abbād b. Tha'labah b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār. When the camel knelt down, the Messenger of God remained on her. After a little she got up and went a short distance, while the Messenger of God let go her reins and did not direct her with them. Then she turned round, went back to the place where she had knelt first, and there knelt and laid down her neck. When the Messenger of God dismounted from her, Abū Ayyūb took his saddle into his house. Others of the Anṣār invited him to stay with them but the Messenger of God said to them, "The man goes with his saddle," and stayed with Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd b. Kulayb among the Banū Ghanm b. al-Najjār.

6. Qur. 8.42; generally held to have been revealed about the time of the battle of Badr.

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): The Messenger of God asked to whom the drying-floor belonged, and Mu'ādh b. 'Afrā' told him, "It belongs to two orphans under my guardianship, whom I will compensate for it." The Messenger of God ordered that a mosque should be built there, and stayed with Abū Ayyūb until the mosque and his living-quarters had been completed.[7]

It is said that the Messenger of God bought the site of his mosque and then built upon it, but the correct version in our opinion is this, according to Mujāhid b. Mūsā—Yazīd b. Hārūn—Ḥammād b. Salamah—Abū al-Tayyāḥ—Anas b. Mālik: The site of the mosque of the Prophet belonged to Banū al-Najjār and contained palm trees, cultivated land and pre-Islamic graves. The Messenger of God said to them, "Ask me a price for it," but they said, "We do not want a price for it, but only the reward we [1260] shall receive from God." The Messenger of God then gave orders concerning the site; the palm trees were cut down, the cultivated land levelled, and the graves dug up. Before this mosque was completed the Messenger of God used to pray in sheep-enclosures or wherever the time of prayer overtook him.

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): He himself joined in the work of building his mosque, together with his companions from the Emigrants and the Anṣār.

Deaths and Minor Events

In this year the mosque of Qubā' was built.

The first Muslim to die after the Prophet's arrival in Medina, it is said, was Kulthūm b. al-Hidm, in whose house in Qubā' he had lodged; his death occurred shortly afterwards. There followed in the same year of the Prophet's arrival the death of Abū Umāmah As'ad b. Zurārah, which occurred before the Messenger of God had finished building his mosque; it resulted from diphtheria and a rattling in the throat.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr—Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān: The Messenger of God said, "The death of Abū Umā-

7. What was built was primarily the living quarters for Muḥammad and his wives. At first, the mosque was presumably only the courtyard beside these.

mah is an evil thing for the Jews and the Arab Hypocrites. They say, 'If Muḥammad were a prophet, his companion would not have died'; but I have no power with God either for myself or for my companion."

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—Yazīd b. Zurayʿ—Maʿmar—al-Zuhrī—Anas: The Messenger of God cauterised Asʿad b. Zurārah for a whitlow (*shawkah*).[8]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿĀṣim b.
[1261] ʿUmar b. Qatādah: Abū Umāmah Asʿad b. Zurārah had been the representative (*naqīb*)[9] of Banū al-Najjār, and when he died they came as a group to the Messenger of God and said, "O Messenger of God, you know what position this man held among us; appoint one of us to his place to perform for us the functions he used to perform." The Messenger of God replied, "You are my maternal uncles,[10] and I am one of you; I will be your representative." The Messenger of God was unwilling to single out any one of them for this honour to the disadvantage of others. As a result, it was counted a distinction for the people of Banū al-Najjār that the Messenger of God was their representative.

In this year there died Abū Uḥayḥah in al-Ṭāʾif with all his wealth, and al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah and al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil al-Sahmī in Mecca.[11]

The Marriage with ʿĀʾishah

In this year also the Messenger of God consummated his marriage with ʿĀʾishah.[12] This was in Dhū al-Qaʿdah (May–June 623) eight

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8. The identification of *shawkah* with "whitlow" is based on Hava's Dictionary. Elsewhere it is said to be a redness of face or body (Lane; Lisān al-ʿarab; s.v.).

9. At the second meeting at al-ʿAqabah (June 622) twelve men were appointed as *nuqabāʾ* (sing. *naqīb*) or "representatives" of the Anṣār, the Muslims from Medina. They were leading men in their clans, but their function is obscure; see Watt, *Mecca*, 145–8; *Medina*, 248.

10. He is referring to the fact that his great-grandmother, Salmā bt. ʿAmr, wife of Hāshim, was of Banū al-Najjār.

11. These were three powerful Meccan leaders of an older generation who had opposed Muḥammad; see Watt, *Mecca*, index.

12. ʿĀʾishah was the daughter of Abū Bakr, Muḥammad's chief lieutenant, and the marriage was important in cementing the relationship of the two men. According to the statements given below, the original marriage, which could be considered rather a betrothal, must have been about April or May, 620 or 621, since

months after his arrival in Medina according to some accounts, or in Shawwāl (April–May 623) seven months after his arrival according to others. He had married her in Mecca three years before the Hijrah, after the death of Khadījah. At that time she was six or, according to other accounts, seven years old.

According to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bayān al-Sukkarī—Muḥammad b. Yazīd—Ismāʿīl (that is, Ibn Abī Khālid)—ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Abī al-Ḍaḥḥāk—a man from Quraysh—ʿAbd al- [1262]
Raḥmān b. Muḥammad: ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣafwān together with another person came to ʿĀʾishah, and ʿĀʾishah said (to the latter), "O so-and-so, have you heard what Hafṣah has been saying?"[13] He said, "Yes, O Mother of the Faithful." ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣafwān asked her, "What is that?" She replied, "There are nine special features in me that have not been in any woman, except for what God bestowed on Maryam bt. ʿImrān.[14] By God, I do not say this to exalt myself over any of my companions." "What are these?" he asked. She replied, "The angel brought down my likeness; the Messenger of God married me when I was seven; my marriage was consummated when I was nine; he married me when I was a virgin, no other man having shared me with him; inspiration came to him when he and I were in a single blanket; I was one of the dearest people to him; a verse of the Qurʾān was revealed concerning me when the community was almost destroyed;[15] I saw Gabriel when none of his other wives saw him; and he was taken (that is, died) in his house when there was nobody with him but the angel and myself."

According to Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): The Messenger of God married her, so it is said, in Shawwāl, and consummated his marriage to her in a later year, also in Shawwāl.

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intercalary months presumably kept Shawwāl about the same time of the solar year.

13. Daughter of the second caliph ʿUmar; married Muḥammad in 3/625. "Mother of the Faithful" was a title conferred on Muḥammad's wives in 9/630 probably; and this incident must have occurred later; see Watt, *Medina*, 286f.

14. That is, Mary the mother of Jesus (see Qur. 3.35f.; 66.12); but hardly any of the special features apply to her.

15. This refers to the scandal about ʿĀʾishah after the raid on the tribe of al-Muṣṭaliq in 5/627. The verse is held to be Qur. 24.11.

Further Reports Concerning This

According to Ibn Bashshār—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd—Sufyān—Ismā'īl b. Umayyah—'Abd Allāh b. 'Urwah—his father ('Urwah)[16]—'Ā'ishah: The Messenger of God married me in Shawwāl and consummated his marriage to me in Shawwāl. 'Ā'ishah liked her women's marriages to be consummated in Shawwāl.

According to Ibn Wakī'—his father—Sufyān—Ismā'īl b. [1263] Umayyah—'Abd Allāh b. 'Urwah—'Urwah—'Ā'ishah: The Messenger of God married me in Shawwāl and consummated his marriage to me in Shawwāl, and which of the Messenger of God's wives did he favour more than me? 'Ā'ishah liked her women's marriages to be consummated in Shawwāl.

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): It is said that the Messenger of God consummated his marriage to her on a Wednesday in Shawwāl in the house of (her father) Abū Bakr in al-Sunḥ.[17]

Muslim Women Brought to Medina

In this year the Prophet sent Zayd b. Ḥārithah and Abū Rāfi' to his daughters and his wife Sawdah bt. Zam'ah, and they brought them from Mecca to Medina.[18] It is said that when 'Abd Allāh b. Urayqiṭ[19] returned to Mecca he informed 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr of the situation of his father Abū Bakr, and the latter brought his father's family to him. The party included Umm Rūmān, the mother of 'Ā'ishah, ('Ā'ishah herself) and 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr, and they were accompanied to Medina by Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubayd Allāh.

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16. 'Urwah, a son of al-Zubayr, had access to 'A'ishah because she was his maternal aunt. His important collection of historical material was known to al-Ṭabarī, partly through Ibn Isḥāq and partly through other channels. See n. 56 below.

17. Al-Sunḥ was a district of Medina where Abū Bakr lodged in the house of one of the local Muslims (IH, 334).

18. Zayd b. Ḥārithah was Muḥammad's adoptive son and Abū Rāfi' his *mawlā* or client. It is usually said that they escorted to Medina his two unmarried daughters, Umm Kulthūm and Fāṭimah, as well as his wife Sawdah, whom he had married after Khadījah's death.

19. Or b. Arqaṭ. He was a pagan who had guided Muḥammad and Abū Bakr on their Hijrah from Mecca to Medina.

Prayers of Travellers

In this year, it is said, two *rak'ahs* were added to the prayers of those who were not travelling; up till now the prayers of those not travelling and of those travelling had both been of two *rak'ahs*. This change took place a month after the arrival of the Messenger of God in Medina, that is, on 12 Rabī' al-Ākhir (October 24, 622). Al-Wāqidī asserts that there is no difference of opinion among the people of Ḥijāz on this point.

Births

In this year also, some say, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr was born;[20] but according to al-Wāqidī, he was born in the second year of the Messenger of God's residence in Medina, in Shawwāl (April 624).

According to Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī: Ibn al-Zubayr was born in Medina twenty months after the Hijrah.

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): He was the first child born to the Emigrants in the abode of the Hijrah. It is said that the [1264] Messenger of God's companions cried, "Allāh Akbar" ("God is very great"), when he was born. This was because a story was current among the Muslims that the Jews claimed that they had bewitched the Muslims so that no children would be born to them. The Muslims praised God in joy that he had shown the Jews' claim to be false. His mother, Asmā' bt. Abī Bakr, is said to have been pregnant with him when she emigrated to Medina.

It is also said that al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr was born in this year and that he was the first child born to the Anṣār after the Emigration of the Prophet to them.

Al-Wāqidī denies that this (happened in year 1).

According to Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—al-Wāqidī—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah—his father—his grandfather: The first child born to the Anṣār was al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr, who was born fourteen months after the Hijrah (about October–

20. Son of the prominent Companion al-Zubayr. He attempted to set himself up as caliph in Mecca from 64/684 to 73/692. 'Urwah (n.16) was his full brother.

November 623); the Messenger of God died when he was aged eight or a little more. Al-Nuʿmān was born three or four months before Badr.

According to Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (al-Wāqidī)—Muṣʿab b. Thābit—Abū al-Aswad: Al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr was mentioned in the presence of Ibn al-Zubayr, and he said, "He is six months older than I."

According to Abū al-Aswad: Ibn al-Zubayr was born exactly twenty months after the Hijrah of the Messenger of God, and al-Nuʿmān was born in Rabīʿ al-Ākhir, year 2 (October 623), fourteen months after the Hijrah.

According to Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): It is said that al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī and Ziyād b. Sumayyah were born in this year.

Expedition Led by Ḥamzah

[1265] Al-Wāqidī asserts that in this year, in Ramaḍān, seven months after the Hijrah (about March 623), the Messenger of God entrusted a white banner to Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib with the command of thirty men of the Emigrants. Their aim was to intercept the caravans of Quraysh. Ḥamzah met Abū Jahl at the head of three hundred men. Majdī b. ʿAmr al-Juhanī intervened between them, and they separated without a battle. The banner of Ḥamzah was carried by Abū Marthad.[21]

Expedition Led by ʿUbaydah

(He also says that) in this year, eight months after the Hijrah, in Shawwāl (April 623), the Messenger of God entrusted a white banner to ʿUbaydah b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf and ordered him to march to Baṭn Rābigh. His banner was carried by Misṭaḥ b. Uthāthah. He reached the pass of al-Marah, which is near al-Juḥfah, at the head of sixty Emigrants without a single Anṣārī (Muslim of Medina) among them. They met the polythe-

21. This is usually known as the expedition of Sīf al-Baḥr; cf. IH, 419–21; W, 9f. Ḥamzah was Muḥammad's uncle.

ists at a watering place called Aḥyā'; they shot arrows at one another but there was no hand-to-hand fighting.

There is a difference of opinion as to who was the commander of the (Meccan) expedition; some say that it was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and some that it was Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ.

Al-Wāqidī says: I consider the true account to be that it was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, and that he was at the head of two hundred polytheists.[22]

Expedition Led by Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ

In this year, in Dhū al-Qa'dah, the Messenger of God entrusted to Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ a white banner (for an expedition) to al-Kharrār. It was carried by al-Miqdād b. 'Amr.[23]

According to Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl—his father—'Āmir b. Sa'd—his father: I set out on foot at the head of twenty men (or, twenty-one men). We used to lie hidden by day and march at night, until we reached al-Kharrār on the fifth morning. The Messenger of God had enjoined me not to go beyond al-Kharrār, but the caravan had got to al-Kharrār a day before me; there were sixty men with it. Those who were with Sa'd were all from the Emigrants. [1266]

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): Ibn Isḥāq's[24] account of all these expeditions differs from that of al-Wāqidī, which I have just related, and places them all in year 2.

Expedition Led by Muḥammad to al-Abwā'

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: The Messenger of God came to Medina on the twelfth of

22. The expedition of Rābigh, placed before Sīf al-Baḥr by IH, 416–8; cf. W, 1of. Abū Sufyān of the clan of 'Abd Shams/Umayyah was one of the leading men in Mecca, and played an important part in later events. Art. Abū Sufyān in *EI*²; Watt, *Medina*, index.

23. See IH, 422f.; W, 11.

24. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 150/767) is the author of the *Sīrah* (biography) of the Prophet, which is the primary source for his career. It has been preserved and published in the recension of Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833), and was also used by al-Ṭabarī in a different recension (see n.99). The other extant early source is the *Maghāzī* of al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), which was also used by al-Ṭabarī. See Sezgin, *GAS*, i.288–90; 294–9.

Rabīʿ al-Awwal (September 24, 622), and remained there for the rest of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, Rabīʿ al-Ākhir, the two Jumādās, Rajab, Shaʿbān, Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, Dhū al-Qaʿdah, Dhū al-Ḥijjah—the pilgrimage in that month was directed by the polytheists—and Muḥarram. In Ṣafar (which began August 4, 623), nearly twelve months after his arrival in Medina on the twelfth of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, he went out on a raid as far as Waddān, searching for Quraysh and the Banū Ḍamrah b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kinānah. This was the expedition of al-Abwāʾ,[25] in the course of which the Banū Ḍamrah made a treaty of friendship with him; their fellow-tribesman and chief, Makhshī b. ʿAmr, acted on their behalf. Then the Messenger of God returned to Medina without any
[1267] fighting, and remained there for the rest of Ṣafar and the beginning of Rabīʿ al-Awwal.

Further Details About Expeditions

During this stay he sent ʿUbaydah b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib at the head of eighty or sixty horsemen from the Emigrants without a single Anṣārī among them. He got as far as Aḥyāʾ, a watering place in Ḥijāz, below the pass of al-Marah.[26] There he met a great band of Quraysh, but there was no fighting between them, except that Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ shot an arrow on that day, which was the first arrow shot in Islam. Then the two groups separated from one another, the Muslims leaving a rearguard. Al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr al-Bahrānī, the confederate (*ḥalīf*) of the Banū Zuhrah, and ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān b. Jābir, the confederate of the Banū Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf, fled from the polytheists to the Muslims. They were Muslims, but they had gone to try to effect a reconciliation between the unbelievers and the Muslims. The commander of the Meccan detachment was ʿIkrimah b. Abī Jahl.

Muḥammad (b. Isḥāq) says: The banner of ʿUbaydah, I have heard, was the first banner which the Messenger of God entrusted to a Muslim in Islam.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: Some of the scholars assert that the Messenger of God sent him

25. See IH, 415f.; W, 11f.; see also 1270f. below.
26. Apparently the same expedition as that reported 1265 above.

out while he was returning from the raid of al-Abwā', before he reached Medina.

During this stay he sent Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib at the head of thirty horsemen from the Emigrants, without a single Anṣārī among them, to Sīf al-Baḥr, near al-'Īṣ, which is in the territory of Juhaynah. He met Abū Jahl b. Hishām on the coast there at the head of three hundred Meccan horsemen. Majdī b. 'Amr al- [1268]
Juhanī intervened between them, being on friendly terms with both parties, and the two sides separated without a battle.[27]

Some say that the banner of Ḥamzah was the first banner which the Messenger of God entrusted to a Muslim. This is because he sent him and 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith at the same time, so that there is confusion on this point.

What we have heard from scholars to whom we have spoken is that the banner of 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith was the first banner to be entrusted in Islam.

Expeditions Led by Muḥammad

Then the Messenger of God led an expedition in Rabī' al-Ākhir (which began October 2, 623) in search of Quraysh. He went as far as Buwāṭ in the region of Raḍwā and then returned without any fighting.[28]

He stayed in Medina for the rest of Rabī' al-Ākhir and part of Jumādā al-Ūlā (which began October 31, 623) and then led another expedition in search of Quraysh.[29] He took the mountain track of the Banū Dīnār b. al-Najjār (of Medina) and then crossed the desert of al-Khabār, halting beneath a tree in the Baṭḥā' Ibn Azhar called Dhāt al-Sāq. He prayed there, and his mosque is there. Food was prepared for him there, and he and those with him ate. The site there of the stones on which his cooking-pot was supported is still well-known. Water was brought to him from water called al-Mushayrib. Then he set off, leaving al- [1269]
Khalā'iq on the left and going through a pass, now called Shu'bat 'Abd Allāh. From that point, he went down to the left until he

27. Apparently the same expedition as the one reported 1265 above before that led by 'Ubaydah.

28. Expedition to Buwāṭ: IH, 421; W, 12. See also 1271 below.

29. Expedition of al-'Ushayrah: IH, 421f.; W, 12f. See also 1271 below.

reached Yalyal, halting where Yalyal adjoined al-Ḍabūʿah. Water was brought to him from a well at al-Ḍabūʿah. Next, he went through the plain of Malal until he joined the road at Ṣukhayrāt al-Yamām, then kept to the road until he halted at al-ʿUshayrah in the Baṭn Yanbuʿ. He stayed there for the rest of Jumādā al-Ūlā and a few days of Jumādā al-Ākhira (which began November 30, 623). During this time, the Banū Mudlij and their confederates from the Banū Ḍamrah made a treaty of friendship with him. Then he went back to Medina without any fighting. In the course of this expedition he made certain remarks to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The Messenger of God had only spent a few days in Medina, less than ten, after coming back from the expedition to al-ʿUshayrah, before Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihrī raided the herds of Medina. The
[1270] Messenger of God went out in pursuit of him and reached a valley called Safawān in the region of Badr, but Kurz eluded him and was not caught. This was the first expedition of Badr.[30]

Then the Messenger of God returned to Medina and stayed there for the rest of Jumādā al-Ākhirah, Rajab and Shaʿbān (December 623 to February 25, 624). Among other expeditions he sent out at this time was one under Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ at the head of eight men.[31]

Affair of Abū Qays

Al-Wāqidī asserts that in this year, the first year of the Hijrah, Abū Qays b. al-Aslat came to the Messenger of God;[32] the Messenger of God proposed Islam to him, and he said, "How excellent is that to which you call me! I will settle my affairs and then return to you." ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy[33] met him and said to him, "By God, you are unwilling to fight the Khazraj!" So Abū Qays said, "I will not become a Muslim for a year." He died, however, in Dhū al-Qaʿdah (which began May 7, 623).

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30. Expedition of Safwān or Badr I: IH, 423; W,12. See also 1271 below.

31. Possibly another version of the expedition to al-Kharrār. See also 1265 above and n.23.

32. Abū Qays had been a prominent man in the struggles in Medina before the Hijrah, as chief of the clan of Wāʾil and leader of the wider group known as Aws Manāt; cf. Watt, *Medina*, index.

33. Leader of the Munāfiqūn or Hypocrites, who were nominally Muslims but opposed Muḥammad in various ways.

The Events of the Year 2

(July 5, 623–June 23, 624)

Expeditions Led by the Messenger of God

In this year, according to all the *Sīrah*-writers, the Messenger of God personally led the expedition of Al-Abwā', or, as it is sometimes called, Waddān; the two places are six miles apart and opposite one another.[34] When he went there, the Messenger of God left Sa'd b. 'Ubādah b. Dulaym in command of Medina.[35] On this expedition his banner was carried by Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and was, it is said, white.

Al-Wāqidī asserts that he stayed there for fifteen days and then returned to Medina.

According to Al-Wāqidī: Then the Messenger of God went on an expedition at the head of two hundred of his companions in the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir (which began October 2, 623), and reached Buwāṭ. His intention was to intercept the caravan of [1271]

34. See 1266 above and n. 25.

35. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah of the clan of Sā'idah was a leader of the whole tribe of al-Khazraj, and in Muḥammad's closing years became leader of all the Anṣār.

Quraysh, led by Umayyah b. Khalaf with a hundred men of Quraysh and two thousand five hundred camels.[36] In the end he returned to Medina without fighting. His banner was carried by Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, and he left Sa'd b. Mu'ādh in command of Medina during this expedition.[37]

Earlier, in Rabī' al-Awwal (which began September 2, 623), he went on an expedition at the head of the Emigrants in pursuit of Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihrī.[38] This man had raided the flocks of Medina which were pastured in al-Jammā' and had driven them off; the Messenger of God pursued him as far as Badr but failed to catch up with him. His banner was carried by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and he left Zayd b. Ḥārithah in command of Medina.

In this year the Messenger of God set forth at the head of the Emigrants to intercept the caravan of Quraysh when it set off for Syria. This was the expedition of al-'Ushayrah,[39] and it went as far as Yanbu'. He left Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Asad in command of Medina. His banner was carried by Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

'Alī and the Name Abū Turāb

According to Sulaymān b. 'Umar b. Khālid al-Raqqī—Muḥammad b. Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq[40]—Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Khuthaym—Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī—Yazīd b. Khuthaym (father of Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Khuthaym)—'Ammār b. Yāsir: I and 'Alī were companions with the Messenger of God on the expedition of al-'Ushayrah. We halted on one occasion and saw some men of the Banū Mudlij working in one of their
[1272] date groves, and I said, "Why don't we go and watch how they are working?" So we went and watched them for a while; then we felt drowsy and went to a date grove and went to sleep on some

36. See 1268 above and n. 28.

37. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh of the clan of 'Abd al-Ashhal was leader of the whole tribe of al-Aws and in effect of all the Anṣār.

38. See 1269f. above and n. 30.

39. See 1268 above and n. 29.

40. IH, 422; but only the second *isnād* is given; there is confusion about whether Yazīd was the son of Khuthaym and Muḥammad the grandson, or vice versa. Abū Turāb is literally "father of dust"; see also n.166 below.

dusty ground under the trees. The Messenger of God himself woke us up, coming to us as we were covered in dust. He stirred 'Alī with his foot and said, "Arise, O dusty one! (*Abū Turāb*). Shall I tell you who are the most wretched of men? Aḥmar of Thamūd[41] who slaughtered the she-camel, and the person who will strike you on this"—indicating the side of his head—"and will stain this from it,"—and he took hold of his beard.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Khuthaym al-Muḥāribī—Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī—Muḥammad b. Khuthaym, who is Abū Yazīd—'Ammār b. Yāsir: I and 'Alī were companions . . . (and he gave a similar account).

A Variant Account

According to Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd al-Muḥāribī—'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Ḥāzim—his father: Someone said to Sahl b. Sa'd,[42] "A certain governor of Medina intends to send to you (ordering you to) abuse 'Alī from the *minbar*." He said, "What shall I say?" The man replied, "Say Abū Turāb." Sa'd said, "By God, nobody called him that but the Messenger of God." I said, "How was that, O Abū al-'Abbās?" Sa'd replied, "'Alī went to pay a visit to Fāṭimah, and then came out and lay down in the shadow of the mosque. When the Messenger of God went to pay a visit to Fāṭimah, he [1273]
asked her, 'Where is your cousin?' She replied, 'There he is, lying down in the mosque.' The Messenger of God went to him and found him with his cloak fallen off his back and the dust in direct contact with it. He began to wipe the dust off his back and to say, 'Sit up, Abū Turāb!' By God, nobody but the Messenger of God called him that, and, by God, he loved no name better than that."

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41. The tribe of Thamūd is frequently mentioned in the Qur'ān as having been punished because they hamstrung a sacred camel. The perpetrator of the deed, Aḥmar (elsewhere Uḥaymir) is not named in the Qur'ān but is described as the "most wretched" (*ashqā*) of them (Qur.91.12).

42. Sahl b. Sa'd, with the *kunyah* Abū al-'Abbās, was a well-known Anṣārī, said to be aged fifteen in 632, who lived to be over ninety. The request to abuse 'Alī was presumably made under the Umayyads to test whether he had Shī'ite sympathies.

'Alī Marries Fāṭimah

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): In this year, a few days before the end of Ṣafar (which ended September 1, 623), 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib married Fāṭimah.[43] I have been told this on the authority of Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Abū Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Sabrah—Isḥāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Farwah—Abū Ja'far.

Expedition of Nakhlah[44]

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): When the Messenger of God returned to Medina from his pursuit of Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihrī in Jumādā al-Ākhirah (December 623), he sent out in Rajab (which began December 29, 623) 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh with eight men of the Emigrants without any Anṣārī among them. This was related to me by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī and Yazīd b. Rūmān—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr. As for al-Wāqidī, he asserts that the Messenger of God sent 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh (at the head of) a detachment of twelve Emigrants.

According to Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī and Yazīd b. Rūmān—
[1274] 'Urwah: The Messenger of God wrote him (i.e., 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh) a letter, but ordered him not to look at it until he had travelled for two days. Then he was to look at it and to carry out what he was commanded in it but not to compel any of his companions to do anything against their will. When 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh had travelled two days, he opened the letter and looked at it, and it said, "When you look at my letter, march until you halt at Nakhlah, between Mecca and al-Ṭā'if. Observe Quraysh there, and find out for us what they are doing." When 'Abd Allāh looked at the letter he said, "I heed and obey." Then he said to his companions, "The Messenger of God has commanded me to go to Nakhlah and observe Quraysh so that I can bring him news of them. He has for-

43. Different dates are given for this marriage in other sources; see *EI*², art. Fāṭimah.

44. For this expedition see IH, 423–7 and W, 13–19; also Watt, *Medina*, 5–8. The leader, 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, was son of a maternal aunt of Muḥammad's. The reason for the sealed orders was doubtless to prevent enemy agents in Medina from learning the destination and passing on the information to Mecca. The precise location of this Nakhlah is uncertain; the road from Mecca to al-Ṭā'if runs eastwards.

bidden me to compel any of you against your will, so whoever of you wishes and desires martyrdom, let him come with me, and whoever does not, let him go back. As for myself, I am going to carry out the command of the Messenger of God." He went, and his companions went with him, and not one of them stayed behind. He made his way through Ḥijāz, until, when he was at a mine above al-Fur', called Buḥrān, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and 'Utbah b. Ghazwān lost a camel of theirs which they were taking turns to ride. They stayed behind to search for it, but 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh and the rest of his companions went on until he reached Nakhlah. A caravan of Quraysh went past him carrying raisins, leather, and other goods in which Quraysh traded. Among the Quraysh in it were 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī, 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughīrah and his brother Nawfal b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughīrah, both of the clan of Makhzūm, and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān the *mawlā*[45] of Hishām b. al-Mughīrah (also of Makhzūm). When they saw (the Muslims) they were afraid of them, since they had halted very close to them. Then 'Ukkāshah b. Miḥṣan came into view and he had shaved his head, and when they saw him they felt safe [1275] and said, "They are on their way to the 'umrah (or lesser pilgrimage); there is nothing to fear from them." The (Muslims) consulted one another concerning them, this being the last day of Rajab, and said, "By God, if you leave these people alone today, they will get into the Ḥaram (the sacred territory of Mecca) and be out of your reach there; and if you kill them (today) you will have killed them in the sacred month." They hesitated and were afraid to advance upon them, but then they plucked up courage and agreed to kill as many of them as they could and to seize what they had with them. Wāqid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī shot an arrow at 'Amr b. al-Ḥadramī and killed him, and 'Uthman b. 'Abd Allāh and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān surrendered, but Nawfal b. 'Abd Allāh escaped and they were unable to catch him. Then 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh and his companions took the caravan and the two captives back to the Messenger of God in Medina.

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45. At this period the *mawlā* or "client" was usually a slave, probably one captured in warfare, who had been set free. A man could also become a *mawlā* by exchanging oaths with a "patron" (also *mawlā*). Later a non-Arab convert to Islam was attached to an Arab tribe as a *mawlā*. See I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S.M.Stern, London 1967, i.101–4.

Questions After the Return to Medina

Some of the family of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh relate that he said to his companions, "The Messenger of God receives a fifth of the booty you have taken." This was before God made (surrendering) a fifth of booty taken a duty.[46] He set aside a fifth of the booty for the Messenger of God and divided the rest between his companions. When they reached the Messenger of God he said, "I did not order you to fight in the sacred month," and he impounded the caravan and the two captives and refused to take anything of it. When the Messenger of God said this they were aghast and thought that they were ruined, and the Muslims rebuked them severely for what they had done, saying to them, "You have done what you were not commanded to do, and have fought in the sacred month when you were not commanded to fight." Quraysh said, "Muḥammad and his companions have violated the sacred month and
[1276] shed blood in it, have seized property in it and taken men captive in it." Those Muslims who were (still) in Mecca refuted this, saying, "They seized what they seized in (the following month) Shaʿbān." The Jews, seeing in this (event) an omen unfavourable to the Messenger of God, said, "ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī was killed by Wāqid b. ʿAbd Allāh. 'ʿAmr' means war is flourishing (ʿamarat); 'al-Ḥaḍramī' means war is at hand (*ḥaḍarat*); 'Wāqid b. ʿAbd Allāh' means war is set ablaze (*waqadat*)." However God turned this to their disadvantage, not their advantage, and when people began to say this frequently God revealed to His Messenger: "They question thee with regard to warfare in the sacred month. . . ."[47] When the Qur'ānic passage concerning this matter was revealed, and God relieved the Muslims from the fear in which they found themselves, the Messenger of God took possession of the caravan and the two prisoners. Quraysh sent to him to ransom

46. The fifth, *khums* or *khumus*. In pre-Islamic Arabia it had been customary for a tribal chief to receive a fourth of any booty taken in order to cover what he expended on behalf of the tribe. Qur. 8.41 prescribes that Muḥammad should receive a fifth and is said to have been revealed after Badr but first applied in the case of the Jewish clan of Qaynuqāʿ. See Watt. *Medina*, 232, 255. Muḥammad himself was probably not worried at the violation of a month whose sacredness was part of the pagan religion he was attacking, but he would be concerned because some of his followers had strong scruples. These scruples, however, probably got their strength from Muslim fears of Meccan reprisals.

47. Qur. 2.217.

'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān, but the Messenger of God said, "We will not release them to you on payment of ransom until our two companions (meaning Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and 'Utbah b. Ghazwān) get back, for we are afraid that you may harm them. If you kill them, we will kill your companions." Sa'd and 'Utbah came back, however, and the Messenger of God released the (prisoners) on payment of ransom. As for al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān, he became a Muslim, and an excellent one; he remained with the Messenger of God until he was killed as a martyr at the battle of Bi'r Ma'ūnah.

Expedition of Nakhlah—Another Account

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says that al-Suddī[48] differs from both Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī on some points of this story.

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ— [1277]
al-Suddī: "They question thee with regard to warfare in the sacred month. Say: Warfare therein is a great (transgression), but to turn (man) from the path of Allah. . . ." This was revealed because the Messenger of God sent a detachment of seven men under the command of 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī, consisting of 'Ammār b. Yāsir, Abū Ḥudhayfah b. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, 'Utbah b. Ghazwān al-Sulamī the confederate of the Banū Nawfal, Suhayl b. Baydā', 'Āmir b. Fuhayrah and Wāqid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Yarbū'ī the confederate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He wrote a letter (which he gave) to Ibn Jaḥsh, ordering him not to read it until he halted at Baṭn Malal. When he halted at Baṭn Malal, he opened the letter, which read, "March until you halt at Baṭn Nakhlah." He said to his companions, "Whoever desires death, let him go on and make his will; I am making my will and acting on the orders of the Messenger of God." He went on, and Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and 'Utbah b. Ghazwān, who had lost their riding-camel, stayed behind. They went to Buḥrān in search of it, while Ibn Jaḥsh went to Baṭn Nakhlah. Suddenly he encountered al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān, 'Abd Allah b. Mughīrah, al-Mughīrah b. 'Uthmān, and 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī. They fought and took al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughīra captive, while al-

48. Well-known Qur'ān-commentator, d.128/745; see Sezgin, *GAS*, i.32f.

Mughīrah escaped and ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī was killed by Wāqid b. ʿAbd Allāh. This was the first booty taken by the companions of Muḥammad. When they returned to Medina with the two captives and the property they had taken, the people of Mecca
[1278] wanted to ransom the two captives. The Prophet said, "Let us see how our two companions fare." When Saʿd and his companion returned, he released the two captives on payment of a ransom. The polytheists spread lying slander concerning him, saying, "Muḥammad claims that he is following obedience to God, yet he is the first to violate the holy month and to kill our companion in Rajab." The Muslims said, "We killed him in (the previous month) Jumādā." Some say it was on the first night of Rajab, and some say it was on the last night of Jumādā and that the Muslims sheathed their swords when Rajab began. God revealed in rebuke of the Meccans, "They question thee with regard to warfare in the sacred month. Say: Warfare therein is a great (transgression). . . ."

Further Details About the Expedition of Nakhlah

According to Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): It is said that the Prophet had intended to ask Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ to lead this expedition but then thought it best to ask ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān—his father—a man—Abū al-Sawwār—Jundub b. ʿAbd Allāh: The Messenger of God sent a group of men with Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ in charge of them. When he was about to set off he wept in fervent love for the Messenger of God, so he sent another man in his place named ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh. He wrote him a letter, ordering him not to read it until he reached such-and-such a place, (and said) "Do not compel any of your companions to go with you against their will." When he read the letter he said, "Verily, we belong to God and to him we shall return," and also, "Heeding and obeying the command of God and his Messenger (is incumbent)." He told the (others) the news and read them
[1279] the letter. Two men went back and the rest went on. They met Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and killed him, not knowing whether that day was in Rajab or Jumādā. The polytheists said to the Muslims, "You have done such-and-such in the sacred month." They came to the Prophet and told him the story, and God revealed, "They

question thee with regard to warfare in the sacred month . . ." up to ". . . for *fitnah* is worse than killing." The word *fitnah* here means polytheism.[49]

According to one of those whom I doubt: They were [several] in the expedition, and, by God, only one person killed him, and he said, "If it is a good deed, then I am responsible for it, and if it is a sin, then I do it knowingly."

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49. *Fitnah* originally meant the assaying or testing of metals; it then came to have other meanings, such as trying to seduce. A civil war between Muslims is regularly called a *fitnah*. The phrase in the verse [Qur.2.217] probably means trying to lure men away from their religion rather than simply "polytheism."

Other Events of the Second Year of the Hijrah

The Change of Qiblah[50]

One of these is God's changing of the Muslims' Qiblah (the direction faced in prayer) from Syria (that is, Jerusalem) to the Ka'bah. This was in the second year of the Prophet's residence in Medina, in Sha'bān (which began January 28, 624). The early scholars disagree as to the date at which the Qiblah was changed in this year; the majority say that it was changed halfway through Sha'bān, eighteen months after the arrival of the Messenger of God in Medina.

Those who say this.

According to Mūsā b. Hārūn al-Hamdānī—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī—Abū Mālik and Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn
[1280] 'Abbās and Murrah al-Hamdānī—Ibn Mas'ūd and some companions of the Prophet: People used to pray towards

50. For the question of the Qiblah, the direction faced by the Muslims in prayer, cf. Watt, *Medina*, 198–202. The date, middle of Sha'bān (about 11 February 624), is that given in most sources; but it is possible that the change followed a period of hesitation and was not made in a single day. This may explain the reports that the change took place two months earlier, presumably in Jumādā al-Ākhirah (December). The verse quoted is Qur.2.144, but the whole passage 2.142–52 deals with the question of the Qiblah, though it is difficult to relate it to the historical accounts. The change was apparently linked with Muḥammad's changing attitudes towards the Jews.

Jerusalem when the Prophet came to Medina, and for eighteen months after his Emigration. He used to raise his head to heaven when he prayed, to see what he would be commanded; he used to pray towards Jerusalem, and then this was abrogated in favour of the Ka'bah. The Prophet used to like to pray towards the Ka'bah, and God revealed the verse: "We have seen the turning of your face to Heaven . . ."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The Qiblah was changed in Sha'bān, eighteen months after the arrival of the Messenger of God in Medina.

Ibn Sa'd—al-Wāqidī offers a similar account, adding: The Qiblah was changed to the Ka'bah at midday on Tuesday, halfway through Sha'bān.

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): Others say that the Qiblah was changed to the Ka'bah sixteen months after the beginning of the Hijrah era.

Those who have said this.

According to Al-Muthannā b. Ibrāhīm al-Āmulī—al-Ḥajjāj—Hammām b. Yaḥyā—Qatādah: They used to pray towards Jerusalem while the Messenger of God was in Mecca before the Hijrah. After the Messenger of God emigrated, he prayed towards Jerusalem for sixteen months and after that was turned towards the Ka'bah.

According to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Zayd: The Prophet turned towards Jerusalem for sixteen months, and then it reached his ears that the Jews were saying, "By God, Muḥammad and his companions did not know where their Qiblah was until we directed them." This displeased the Prophet and he raised his face toward Heaven, and God said, "We have seen the turning of your face to Heaven." [1281]

Arrangements About Fasting[51]

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): In this year, it is said, the fast of Ramaḍān was prescribed, and it is said that it was prescribed in

51. The Jewish fast of the 'Āshūrā' (Day of Atonement) had probably been observed by some Muslims in Medina before the Hijrah; cf. *EI*², art. 'Āshūrā' (A. J.

Sha'bān. When the Prophet came to Medina he saw the Jews fasting on the day of 'Āshūrā'. He questioned them, and they told him that it was the day upon which God drowned the people of Pharaoh and so saved Moses and those with him from them. He said, "We have a better right to Moses than they have," and he fasted and ordered people to fast with him. When the fast of Ramaḍān was prescribed, he did not order them to fast on 'Āshūrā', nor did he forbid them to do so.

In this year he commanded people to pay the *zakāt al-fiṭr*. It is said that the Prophet addressed the people one or two days before the *fiṭr* and commanded them to do this.

In this year he went out to al-Muṣallā and prayed the 'Īd prayer there.[52] This was the first occasion on which the people went out to al-Muṣallā for the 'Īd prayer.

In this year, it is said, the Staff was carried to al-Muṣallā for him and he prayed facing it. It belonged to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and had been given to him by the Negus, and it was carried before him on festivals. I am informed that it is today in the custody of the muezzins in Medina.

The Battle of Badr—the Date

In this year the greater battle of Badr[53] took place between the Messenger of God and the Unbelievers of Quraysh. This was in the month of Ramaḍān. There is a difference of opinion as to the
[1282] day on which the fighting took place between them. Some say the Battle of Badr took place on 19 Ramaḍān (March 15, 624).

Those who have said this.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Hārūn b. al-Mughīrah—'Anbasah

Wensinck). The change to the fast of Ramaḍān is one aspect of the break with the Jews, but the precise details of the change are in dispute. The 'Āshūrā', observed on 10 Muḥarram, remains an optional feast for Muslims. The problems are discussed at length in K. Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran*, Leiden 1968.

52. The *'īd* prayer is that of *'īd al-fiṭr*, the festival of the breaking of the fast. The *zakāt al-fiṭr*, alms of the breaking of the fast, is a prescribed quantity of food to be given to needy persons not later than the day of the *'īd*. Both points imply that the fast of Ramaḍān was observed in year 2; but this is unlikely because of the expedition to Badr.

53. For the battle of Badr, see IH,427–539; W,19–174; also Watt, *Medina*, 10–13.

—Abū Isḥāq—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad—his father—Ibn Mas'ūd: Make your requests (intended) for the Laylat al-Qadr[54] on the nineteenth night of Ramaḍān, for it is the night of Badr.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umārah al-Asadī—'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā—Isrā'īl—Abū Isḥāq—Ḥujayr al-Tha'labī—al-Aswad—'Abd Allāh: Make your requests (intended) for the Laylat al-Qadr on the nineteenth of Ramaḍān, for its morning was the morning of Badr.

According to Abū Kurayb—'Ubayd b. Muḥammad al-Muḥāribī—Ibn Abī al-Zinād—his father—Khārijah b. Zayd—Zayd: He used not to celebrate any night of Ramaḍān like the nights of the nineteenth and twenty-third, and in the morning his face would be pale from the effects of sleeplessness. They asked him why, and he said, "On its morning, God distinguished between Truth and Falsehood."

According to others: (The battle of Badr) was on a Friday, on the morning of 17 Ramaḍān (March 13, 624).

Those who have said this.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Muḥammad b. Ja'far—Shu'bah—Abū Isḥāq—Ḥujayr—al-Aswad and 'Alqamah—'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd: Make your requests (intended) for it (the Laylat al-Qadr) on the seventeenth, and he recited the verse: ". . . the day when the two armies met. . . ." that is, the day of Badr. Then he said, "Or on the nineteenth, or the twenty-first." [1283]

According to Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—al-Thawrī—al-Zubayr—'Adī—Ibrāhīm—al-Aswad—'Abd Allāh: Badr was on the morning of 19 Ramaḍān.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—al-Thawrī—Abū Isḥāq—al-Aswad—'Abd Allāh give a similar report.

According to Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—al-Wāqidī: I mentioned this to Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, and he said: "This is the most amazing thing! I never supposed that anyone in the world would doubt this! It was on the morning of 17 Ramaḍān, on Friday."

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54. The Laylat al-Qadr (Night of Power or Decision) is spoken of in Surah L97, where it is said to be "better than a thousand months." It is popularly supposed that any prayer made on this night will be granted, but the precise date is not known. 19 Ramaḍān is only one suggestion. Cf. Wagtendonk, *Fasting*, 82–121, esp. 113.

Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ said to me (and I heard ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qaṭādah and Yazīd b. Rūmān saying this), "O my nephew, what need have you to name authorities on this subject? This is too obvious for that. Even the women in their houses are not ignorant of this!"

Al-Wāqidī says: I mentioned it to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Zinād, and he said, "My father told me on the authority of Khārijah b. Zayd—Zayd b. Thābit: He used to celebrate the night of
[1284] 17 Ramaḍān, and in the morning the traces of sleeplessness would be on his face, and he would say, 'On this morning God distinguished between truth and falsehood, and on this morning he made Islam mighty, and on it he revealed the Qur'ān, and on it he humbled the leaders of unbelief; and the battle of Badr was on Friday.'"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ—Yaḥyā b. Yaʿqūb, Abū Ṭālib—Abū ʿAwn Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Thaqafī—Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥabīb—al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib: The Laylat al-Furqān, the day when the two armies met, was on 17 Ramaḍān.[55] What provoked the Battle of Badr and the other fighting that took place between the Messenger of God and the polytheists of Quraysh, according to ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr, was the killing of ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī by Wāqid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamīmī.

The Account of the Greater Battle of Badr in the Letter of ʿUrwah[56]

According to ʿAlī b. Naṣr b. ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Wārith b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith—his father—Abān al-ʿAṭṭār—Hishām b. ʿUrwah: ʿUrwah wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān as follows:

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55. Part of Qur.8.41 is "on the day of the Furqān, the day the two armies met." The interpretation of the word *furqān* is difficult, but here it seems to mean something like "discrimination" or "deliverance"; God discriminated between believers and unbelievers, and delivered the believers. Laylat (night) has perhaps been introduced because of the relation to Laylat al-Qadr. For Furqān, see *EI*², art. Furḳān (R. Paret), and Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān*, Edinburgh 1970, 145–7.

56. This letter from ʿUrwah (cf.n.16) to the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik is an important source apparently unknown to Ibn Isḥāq.

You have written to me asking about Abū Sufyān and the circumstances of his expedition. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb came from Syria at the head of nearly seventy horsemen from all [1285] the clans of Quraysh. They had been trading in Syria and they all came together with their money and their merchandise. The Messenger of God and his companions were informed about them. This was after fighting had broken out between them and people had been killed, including Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī at Nakhlah, and some of Quraysh had been taken captive, including one of the sons of al-Mughīrah and their *mawlā*, Ibn Kaysān. Those responsible were ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh and Wāqid, the confederate of the Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, together with other companions of the Messenger of God whom he had sent out with ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh. This incident had provoked (a state of) war between the Messenger of God and Quraysh and was the beginning of the fighting in which they inflicted casualties upon one another; it took place before Abū Sufyān and his companions had set out for Syria.

Subsequently Abū Sufyān and the horsemen of Quraysh who were with him returned from Syria, following the coastal road. When the Messenger of God heard about them he called together his companions and told them of the wealth they had with them and the fewness of their numbers. The Muslims set out with no other object than Abū Sufyān and the horsemen with him. They did not think that these were anything but (easy) booty and did not suppose that there would be a great battle when they met them. It is concerning this that God revealed, "And ye longed that other than the armed one might be yours."[57]

When Abū Sufyān heard that the companions of the Messenger of God were on their way to intercept him, he sent to Quraysh (saying), "Muḥammad and his companions are going to intercept your caravan, so protect your merchandise." When Quraysh heard this, since all the clans of Kaʿb b. Luʾayy[58] were represented in Abū Sufyān's caravan, the

57. Qur.8.7. The previous words are: "When God promised you one of the two bands (either the caravan or the armed body which came out to protect it). . . ."

58. Luʾayy was the grandson of Quraysh (Fihr), and all the main clans of Quraysh except two were his descendants. Cf. the genealogical table, Watt, *Mecca*, 7.

[1286] people of Mecca hastened towards it. The body of men was drawn from the clans comprised in the Banū Ka'b b. Lu'ayy but did not contain any of the clan of 'Āmir, except for some of the subclan of Mālik b. Ḥisl. Neither the Messenger of God nor his companions heard about this force from Mecca until the Prophet reached Badr, which was on the route of those horsemen of Quraysh who had taken the coastal road to Syria. Abū Sufyān then doubled back from Badr and kept to the coastal road, being afraid of an ambush at Badr.

The Prophet marched forward and spent the night near Badr. He sent al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām at the head of a group of his companions to the water of Badr. They did not suppose that Quraysh had come out against them, but while the Prophet was standing in prayer some water-carriers of Quraysh suddenly came to draw water at the water of Badr. Among these water-carriers was a black slave of the Banū al-Ḥajjāj. The men whom the Messenger of God had sent with al-Zubayr to the water seized him, while some of the slave's companions escaped towards Quraysh. They brought him to the Messenger of God in his bivouac, and questioned him about Abū Sufyān and his companions, having no idea that he was not of that party. The slave began to tell them about (the protecting force of) Quraysh, which of them had set out and who their leaders were, and gave them a true account. This account, however, was the most unwelcome possible, for the only object of their expedition at the time was Abū Sufyān and his companions. Meanwhile the Prophet was praying, bowing and prostrating himself, (and also) seeing and hearing the treatment of the slave. When (the slave) told them that Quraysh had come to meet them, they began to beat him and call him a liar, saying, "You are trying to conceal the whereabouts of Abū Sufyān and his companions."
[1287] When they beat him severely and asked him about Abū Sufyān and his companions, although he had no knowledge about them and was only one of Quraysh's water-carriers he said, "Yes, this is Abū Sufyān." In fact the convoy was below them, as is referred to in the word of God: "When ye were on the near bank (of the valley) and they were on the

yonder bank, and the caravan was below you (on the coast plain). . . ." up to ". . . a thing that must be done."[59]

When the slave said to them, "This is Quraysh who have come out against you," they beat him, but when he said, "This is Abū Sufyān," they left him alone. When the Prophet saw what they were doing he left off his prayer, having heard the information which (the slave) had given them. They assert that the Messenger of God said, "By Him in Whose hand my soul rests, you beat him when he tells the truth and leave him alone when he lies." They said, "He is telling us that Quraysh have come." He replied, "He is telling the truth. Quraysh have come to protect their horsemen." He called the slave and questioned him, and the slave told him about Quraysh, and said, "I know nothing about Abū Sufyān." He asked him how many people there were, and the slave said, "By God, I do not know. There is a large number of them." They assert that the Prophet said, "Who fed them the day before yesterday?" and the slave named a man who had fed them. Then he said, "How many camels did he slaughter for them?" and the slave said, "Nine." Then he said, "Who fed them yesterday?" and the slave named a man. "How many camels did he slaughter for them?" he asked. "Ten," the slave said. They assert that the Prophet said, "There are between nine hundred and a thousand of them." The force of [1288]
Quraysh on that day was, in fact, nine hundred and fifty.

The Prophet set off and dismounted at the water. He filled up the cisterns and stationed his companions round them, waiting for the enemy to arrive. When the Messenger of God came to Badr, he said, "This is where you will fight." Thus Quraysh found that the Prophet had reached Badr before them and occupied it. When they came upon him, they assert that the Prophet said, "This is Quraysh, who have come with their hubbub and their boasting to oppose you and to show your Messenger to be a liar. O God, I ask you for what you

59. Qur.8.42. The verse asserts that the encounter between the Muslims and the armed party of Quraysh could not have happened in the normal course of events but was purposely brought about by God.

have promised me." When Quraysh advanced he met them and threw dust in their faces, and God put them to flight.[60]

Before the Prophet met the force from Mecca a horseman from Abū Sufyān and his convoy came to these and said, "Go back!"[61]—meaning that Quraysh was to withdraw while they were at al-Juḥfah. They said, "By God, we will not go back without halting at Badr and staying there for three nights so that the men of Ḥijāz who have come to us can see us, for none of the Arabs will see us and our army and dare to fight us." They are the people concerning whom God said, ". . . who came forth from their dwellings boastfully and to be seen of men."[62]

The Meccan force and the Prophet met and God gave victory to His Messenger, shamed the leaders of the unbelievers, and satisfied the Muslims' thirst for revenge on them.

Another Account

According to Hārūn b. Isḥāq—Muṣʿab b. al-Miqdām—Isrāʾīl—Abū Isḥāq[63]—Ḥārithah—ʿAlī: When we came to Medina we ate of its produce and became jaded with it and unwell from eating it.
[1289] The Messenger of God was making enquiries about Badr, and when we learnt that the polytheists had come the Messenger of God went to Badr (which is a well) and we got there before the polytheists. We found there two of them, a man of Quraysh and a *mawlā* of ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ. As for the Qurashī, he escaped, and as for ʿUqba's *mawlā*, we took him and began to say, "How many men are there?" He said, "By God, they are many and formidable," and when he said that the Muslims began to beat him. Finally, they took him to the Messenger of God, and he said to him, "How many men are there?" He said, "By God, they are many and formidable." The Prophet tried to get him to tell him how many there were, but he refused. Then the Messenger of God

60. This is said to be evidence of a belief in magic, and it is claimed that Qur. 8.17 refers to it: "thou threwest not when thou didst throw but God threw"; but cf. Watt, *Medina*, 312f. (W,81 has the word *ramā* in the story.) Cf. 1322 below.

61. Omitting the words *wa-l-rakabu alladhīna* in De Goeje's text.

62. Qur. 8.47.

63. The historian Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī (d. 127/745); cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, i.283.

asked him how many camels they slaughtered (for food) every day and he replied, "Ten each day." The Messenger of God said, "There are a thousand of them."

During the night there was a light drizzle, and we went under trees and leather shields to shelter from the rain there. The Messenger of God spent the night calling upon his Lord as follows: "O God, if this group perishes you will not be worshipped on earth." When dawn broke, he called out, "Come to prayer, servants of God!" and the people came from under the trees and the leather shields. The Messenger of God led us in prayer and urged us on to fight. Then he said, "The army of Quraysh is by that hillside." When they approached us and we drew ourselves up against them we suddenly saw a man on a red camel moving among them. The Messenger of God said, "'Alī, summon Ḥamzah to me (he was the closest to the unbelievers) and ask him who the man on the red camel is, and what he is saying to them." The Messenger of God said, "If there is anyone among them who will give them good advice, perhaps it will be the man on the red camel." Ḥamzah came [1290] to him, and said, "It is 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah, and he is telling them not to fight, and is saying to them, 'I see people who are determined to fight to the death. Your meeting them will not have any good outcome for yourselves. Wrap up my head, men, and say, "'Utbah b. Rabī'ah has turned coward"; yet you know that I am not the most cowardly of you.'"

Abū Jahl heard that and said, "Is this what you are saying? By God, if it were anyone else saying this, I would bite him! Your lungs and your belly are full of fear?" 'Utbah replied, "Are you abusing me, you cowardly wretch? You will see today which of us is the greater coward!" Then 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah, his brother Shaybah b. Rabī'ah, and his son al-Walīd went in front of the army in a fighting frenzy, and said, "Who will meet us in single combat?" Six young men of the Anṣār came forward, but 'Utbah said, "We do not want these; we want some of our cousins from the sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib!"[64] The Messenger of God said, "'Alī, rise up! Ḥamzah, rise up! 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith, rise up!" Then God killed 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah, Shaybah b. Rabī'ah, and al-Walīd b. 'Ut-

64. Muḥammad's grandfather; but 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith is from the clan of al-Muṭṭalib, which was closely associated with the clan of Hāshim.

bah, and 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith was wounded, and then we killed seventy of them and took seventy of them captive.

A short man of the Anṣār brought al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib[65] captive, and the latter said, "O Messenger of God, it was not this man who took me captive, but a man with bald temples, one of the most handsome of men, on a piebald horse, whom I cannot see among your army." The Anṣārī said, "It was I who took him captive!" The Messenger of God replied, "God assisted you with a noble angel." 'Alī said, "Of the sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib there were taken captive al-'Abbās, 'Aqīl, and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith.

According to Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Buzūrī—'Ubayd Allāh b.
[1291] Mūsā—Isrā'īl—Abū Isḥāq—Ḥārithah—'Alī: When it was the day of Badr, and we were facing the enemy, we feared for the Messenger of God, for he was one of the most intrepid of men, and none of us was closer to the enemy than he.

According to 'Amr b. 'Alī—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Shu'bah —Abū Isḥāq—Ḥārithah b. Muḍarrib—'Alī: I heard him saying, "There was no horseman among us on the day of Badr except for Miqdād b. al-Aswad,[66] and I saw no one among us who was not sleeping except for the Messenger of God, who was standing by a tree praying and calling upon God until the morning."

Account of Badr by Ibn Isḥāq

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq:[67] The Messenger of God heard that Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was coming from Syria in a great caravan belonging to Quraysh containing money and merchandise of theirs and including thirty or forty horsemen of Quraysh, among them Makhramah b. Nawfal b.

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65. The Prophet's uncle. Because he was the ancestor of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, the historians of that period tend to minimize the extent of his opposition to Muḥammad; but references such as this show that he fought with the Meccans at Badr and was taken prisoner. Cf. A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (translation of Ibn Isḥāq), London 1955, xliv, 338n.; also 1323, 1339f., 1344, and n.101 below.

66. W, 27 says there were two horses and calls this man al-Miqdād b. 'Amr, a confederate of the clan of Zuhrah.

67. From this point on, al-Ṭabarī gives Ibn Isḥāq's account of the battle of Badr (commencing IH, 428) with some slight additions and some omissions (cf. n. 101).

Uhayb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhrah and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il b. Hishām b. Su'ayd b. Sahm.[68]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī and 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah and 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr and Yazīd b. Rūmān—'Urwah and other scholars—'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās: All of them have told me part of this narrative, and their narrative is combined in the narrative I have given concerning Badr:[69] When the Messenger of God heard that Abū Sufyān was coming from Syria, he called the Muslims, both Emigrants and Anṣār, to go against them, saying, "This is the caravan of Quraysh, containing their wealth; so go out against it, and it is to be hoped that God will give it to you as booty." The people went out in answer to his urging, some eagerly and some reluctantly, as the latter did not suppose that the Messenger of God would take any booty. Abū Sufyān had been seeking information and questioning the riders whom he met as he approached Ḥijāz, being fearful for his people's wealth. Finally he received news from some riders; "Muḥammad has called his companions together to fight against you and your caravan." He was on his guard after that, and he engaged the services of Ḍamḍam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī and sent him to Mecca, telling him to go to Quraysh and summon them to come out to fight to protect their property, and to inform them that Muḥammad and his companions had set off to intercept the caravan. So Ḍamḍam b. 'Amr set off swiftly to Mecca. [1292]

The Dream of 'Ātikah, and the Relief Force

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—one whose veracity I do not doubt—'Ikrimah the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Abbās—Ibn 'Abbās: also Yazīd b. Rūmān—'Urwah: Three days before Ḍamḍam got to Mecca, 'Ātikah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had a dream which frightened her, so she sent for her brother al-'Abbās b. 'Abd

68. Of these two men, the former became a Muslim after the capture of Mecca; the latter was converted before that event and played a prominent part in affairs as a Muslim; cf. *EI*², art. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ [A.J. Wensinck].

69. Ibn Isḥāq is speaking; he describes how he has used his sources.

al-Muṭṭalib and said to him, "Brother, last night I had a dream
[1293] which horrified me, and I am afraid that it may portend evil and affliction for your people, so keep what I am going to tell you to yourself." He said, "What did you dream?" She said, "I saw a rider coming up on his camel. He halted in the valley and shouted at the top of his voice, 'Hasten to your deaths, you people of treachery, in three days' time!' I saw the people gathering round him, then he went into the mosque with the people following him. While they were round him, his camel climbed on top of the Ka'bah with him on its back. Then he shouted three times at the top of his voice as he had before, "Hasten to your deaths, you people of treachery, in three days' time!' Then his camel mounted to the summit of the mount of Abū Qubays with him on its back and he shouted the same thing. Then he picked up a boulder and sent it rolling down the mountain. When it reached the bottom it shattered into fragments, and a piece of it went into every house and settlement in Mecca."

Al-'Abbās said, "This is indeed a dream! As for you, keep it to yourself and do not mention it to anyone."

Then al-'Abbās went out and met al-Walīd b. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah, who was a friend of his. He mentioned the dream to him and asked him to keep it to himself. However al-Walīd told it to his father, 'Utbah, and the story became public knowledge, and all Quraysh talked about it. Al-'Abbās said, "One morning I went to circumambulate the Ka'bah and there was Abū Jahl b. Hishām[70] sitting with a group of Quraysh talking about 'Ātikah's dream. When Abū Jahl saw me he said, "Abū al-Faḍl, when you have finished your circumambulation, come over to us." So when I had finished, I went over to him and sat down with them. Then Abū
[1294] Jahl said to me, "Sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, when did this prophetess come among you?" I said, "What are you talking about?" He replied, "The dream which 'Ātikah had." "What was that?" I asked. "Sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib," he replied, "are you not content with your men claiming to be prophets, that your women also claim to be prophets? 'Ātikah claims that in her dream he

70. Abū Jahl of the clan of Makhzūm was about Muḥammad's age and a particularly bitter opponent; he led the force which went out to protect the caravan and was killed at Badr.

said, 'Hasten in three days' time!' We shall be watching over you for these three days, and if what she says comes true, then so be it; but if the three days go by and nothing of this comes about, we will put it in writing that your family are the greatest liars among the Arabs."

Al-'Abbās said, "By God, I did not make a great issue of it. I simply rebutted it and denied that she had dreamt anything." Then we separated, and by that evening there was not a woman of the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who had not come to me and said, "Did you allow that vicious profligate to attack your men, and then go on to attack the women, while you listened to it without being outraged by what you heard?" I replied, "By God, that is what I did do—I did not make an issue of it. God's oath, I will confront him, and if he says it again, I will give you satisfaction against him." On the third day after 'Ātikah's dream, I went out in the morning seething with rage, thinking I had missed the chance of paying him back for his words. I went into the mosque and saw him, and, by God, I went towards him to confront him and to give him the chance to repeat some of what he had said so that I could attack him—he was a slight man, with sharp features, a sharp tongue, and a sharp glance. Suddenly, however, he went out towards the gate of the mosque at a great pace. I said to myself, "What is the matter with him, God curse him! Is all of this because he is afraid that I will revile him?" In fact, however, he had heard something which I had not, the voice of Ḍamḍam b. 'Amr al Ghifārī, who was shouting in the bottom of the wadi, standing on his camel. He had cut off his camel's nose, put his saddle on back to front, and torn his shirt, and he was saying, "O people of Quraysh, The caravan! The caravan! Your wealth is with Abū Sufyān, and Muḥammad and his companions have set off to intercept it, and I do not think you will reach it. Help! Help!" [1295]

This occurrence made me forget him and made him forget me. The people hastily equipped themselves, saying, "Do Muḥammad and his companions imagine that it will be like the caravan of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī? No, by God; they will find otherwise!" They were divided into two groups, some setting out in person and others sending another man in their place. Quraysh went out in a body, and none of their nobles stayed behind except for Abū

Lahab b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib,[71] who stayed behind and sent in his place al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah. He induced the latter to do this because he owed Abū Lahab four thousand dirhams and was unable to pay him; so he hired al-ʿĀṣ for this sum to undertake the military duty in his place. Al-ʿĀṣ then went out on the expedition, while Abū Lahab stayed behind.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Najīḥ: Umayyah b. Khalaf had decided to stay
[1296] at home, being a bulky and heavy old man. ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ came to him while he was sitting in the mosque among his people carrying a brazier with fire and aloes-wood in it. He put it before him and said, "Scent yourself, Abū ʿAlī, for you are one of the women." He replied, "May God disgrace you and that which you have brought!" Then he equipped himself and went out with the others.

When they had finished equipping themselves and had decided to set out, they remembered the state of war which existed between them and the Banū Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kinānah,[72] and said, "We are afraid that they may attack us from the rear."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and Yazīd b. Rūmān—ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr:[73] When Quraysh had decided to set out, they remembered the quarrel between them and the Banū Bakr. This almost caused them to go back, but Iblīs manifested himself to them in the form of Surāqah b. Juʿshum al-Mudlijī, who was one of the nobles of Kinānah. He said, "I will guarantee you security against any unwelcome attention from Kinānah." So they went off speedily.

The Number of Muslims at Badr

According to Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): The Messenger of God went out, as I have been informed by authorities other than Ibn Isḥāq, on 3 Ramaḍān (February 28, 624) at the head of over three hundred and ten of his companions. There is a difference of opinion as

71. The Prophet's uncle, who is denounced in Surah 111; cf. 1339 below.

72. An important section of the nomadic tribe of Kinānah with grounds to the west of Mecca; cf. Watt, *Medina*, 62f., 81–4.

73. This follows IH, 432.

to how many more than (three hundred and) ten there were. Some say there were three hundred and thirteen men.

Those who say this. [1297]

According to Abū Kurayb—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh—Abū Isḥāq—al-Barā': We used to relate that the people of Badr on the day of Badr were like the number of people of Saul,[74] three hundred men and thirteen men who crossed the river. The account ends at this point.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd al-Muḥāribī—Abū Mālik al-Janbī—al-Ḥajjāj—al-Ḥakam—Miqsam—a 'Abbās: The Emigrants on the day of Badr were seventy-seven men, and the Anṣār were two hundred and thirty-six men. The banner of the Messenger of God was carried by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the banner of the Anṣār was carried by Sa'd b. 'Ubādah.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq[76]: Those who were present, took part[75] in it, and reaped its reward were three hundred and fourteen men.

According to others: They were three hundred and eighteen.

Still others claim they were three hundred and seven. As for most of the early scholars, they (merely) say that there were over three hundred and ten men.

Those who say this.

According to Hārūn b. Isḥāq—Muṣ'ab b. al-Miqdām and Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Ahwāzī—Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī—Isrā'īl—Abū Isḥāq—al-Barā': We used to relate that the number of the people of Badr was the same as the number of the people of Saul who crossed the river with him; and nobody crossed with him but believers, over three hundred and ten of them. [1298]

According to Ibn Bashshār—Abū 'Āmir—Sufyān—Abū Isḥāq

74. Saul, king of Israel, is mentioned in the Qur'ān as Ṭālūt. The story to which reference is made here is to be found in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1861, i.102. Al-Mas'ūdī speaks of 313 men, but there seems to be some confusion with the story of Gideon and his 300 men in *Judges* 7.

75. Reading *ḍaraba* not *ḍaruba*.

76. IH, 506, after giving a complete list of names, concludes that there were 83 Emigrants and 231 of the Anṣār, or 314 in all.

—al-Barā': We used to relate that the companions of the Prophet on the day of Badr were over three hundred and ten, the same as the number of the people of Saul who crossed the river, and none but believers crossed with him.

Ibn Wakī'—his father—Sufyān—Abū Isḥāq—al-Barā' give a similar account.

According to Ismā'īl b. Isrā'īl al-Ramlī—'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Mughīrah—Mis'ar—Abū Isḥāq—al-Barā': The number of the people of Badr was the number of the people of Saul.

Aḥmad b. Isḥāq—Abū Aḥmad—Mis'ar—Abū Isḥāq—al-Barā' give a similar account.

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh—Yazīd—Sa'īd—Qatādah: We were told that the Prophet of God said to his companions on the day of Badr: "You are the same number as the people of Saul on the day that he met Goliath." The companions of the Prophet of God on the day of Badr were over three hundred and ten men.

[1299] According to Mūsā b. Hārūn—'Amr b. Ḥammād—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: Saul had over three hundred and ten men, the same number of people as the people of Badr.

According to Al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—'Abd al-Razzāq—Ma'mar—Qatādah: There were with the Prophet on the day of Badr over three hundred and ten men.

The Advance of the Muslims to Badr

Resumption of the narrative of Ibn Isḥāq.[77]

When several days of Ramaḍān had passed, the Messenger of God went out at the head of his companions, putting Qays b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'ah, the brother of the Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār, in charge of the rearguard. He himself went ahead, and when he was near al-Ṣafrā' he sent Basbas b. 'Amr al-Juhanī—the confederate of the Banū Sā'idah (of the Anṣār)—and 'Adī b. Abī al-Zaghbā' al-Juhanī—the confederate of the Banū al-Najjār (of the Anṣār)—to Badr, in order to glean information for him about Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and his caravan. Then the Messenger of God, having sent them on in advance, continued his march. When he got to al-Ṣafrā', which is

77. IH, 433f.

a village between two mountains, he asked the names of its two mountains. They said, "One of them is called Musliḥ and the other is called Mukhri'." He asked about the people who lived in them, and they said, "The Banū al-Nār and the Banū Ḥurāq, two [1300] clans of the Banū Ghifār." The Messenger of God took a dislike to these mountains and to passing between them, regarding their names and the names of their inhabitants as an evil omen,[78] so leaving them and al-Ṣafrā' to his left, he went to the right along a valley called Dhafirān. When he had gone part way along it, he came out of it and halted. Here he received news that Quraysh had marched to protect their caravan. The Prophet consulted the people and told them about Quraysh. Abū Bakr stood up and spoke well; then 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stood up and spoke well; then al-Miqdād b. 'Amr stood up and said, "O Messenger of God, carry on as God has commanded you, and we, by God, are with you; we will not say, as the Children of Israel said to Moses, 'Go thou and thy Lord and fight! We will sit here,'[79] but we will say, 'Go thou and thy Lord and fight! We will fight with thee.' By him who sent you with the truth, if you led us to Bark al-Ghimād[80] (meaning the town in Abyssinia), we would fight with you against those who stood in our way until you reached it." The Messenger of God replied, "Well said!"—and prayed for blessings for him.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd al-Muḥāribī—Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm Abū Yaḥyā—al-Mukhāriq—Ṭāriq—'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd: I saw something in al-Miqdād as a result of which I would rather be his companion than anything else in the world. He was a man [1301] who could read people's faces; when the Messenger of God was angry, his cheeks grew red, and so al-Miqdād came to him when he was in this condition and said, "Rejoice, O Messenger of God! We will not say to you, as the Children of Israel said to Moses, 'Go then and thy Lord and fight! We will sit here,' but, by him who sent you with the truth, we will be before you and behind

78. *Musliḥ* and *mukhri'* both mean "defecating"; *nār* is "fire" and *ḥurāq* "burning."

79. Qur.5.24.

80. This is said to be a place five nights' journey beyond Mecca towards the sea, or a town in the Yemen, or in the furthest part of the region of Hajar (eastern Arabia).

you, on your right hand and on your left hand, until God gives you victory!"

Resumption of the narrative of Ibn Isḥāq.[81]

Then the Messenger of God said, "Advise me, people," meaning by this the Anṣār, for they were the bulk of his force. The reason for this was that, when they had sworn allegiance to him at al-ʿAqabah,[82] they had said, "O Messenger of God, we are exempt from having to protect you until you reach our dwelling-place, but when you reach us, you will be under our protection, and we will protect you as we would our children and our womenfolk." The Messenger of God was afraid that the Anṣār might not consider themselves obliged to come to his aid except against those of his enemies who attacked him at Medina, nor might they consider themselves obliged to let him lead them out of their own territory against an enemy.

When the Messenger of God said this, Saʿd b. Muʿādh said to him, "By God, you seem to mean us, O Messenger of God." "Yes," he replied. "We have believed in you and accepted that what you say is true," Saʿd replied, "and we have testified that the message you have brought is the truth, and we have given you our word and covenant to that effect, to heed and to obey; so proceed
[1302] as you wish, O Messenger of God, and by him who sent you with the truth, if you lead us headlong to that sea and plunge into it, we will plunge into it with you and not a single man will lag behind. We are not unwilling for you to meet the enemy with us tomorrow; we are steadfast in war and true in battle. It may be that God means to show you something through us which will gladden your heart, so lead us with God's blessing."

The Messenger of God was gladdened by Saʿd's reply, and it filled him with vigour. Then he said, "March, with God's blessing, and rejoice, for God has promised me one of the two opposing parties. By God, I seem to be looking at the slaughtered enemy now!"

Then the Messenger of God set out from Dhafirān and went through the mountain passes called al-Aṣāfir. Then he descended

81. IH, 434–8.
82. Cf. IH, 296f.; Watt, *Mecca*, 144–9.

from them to a village called al-Dabbah, leaving al-Ḥannān (which is a huge sand dune as big as a mountain) to the right. Then he camped near Badr.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥibbān: The Messenger of God and one of his companions rode to an Arab shaykh and asked him what he had heard about Quraysh and about Muḥammad and his companions. The shaykh said, "I will not tell you until you tell me which side you are from." The Messenger of God replied, "If you tell us, [1303] we will tell you." "The one for the other?" he asked. "Yes," he said. The shaykh said, "I have heard that Muḥammad and his companions set out on such-and-such a date, and if the person who told me was telling the truth, he is today at such-and-such a place—naming the place where the Messenger of God in fact was—and I have heard that Quraysh set out on such-and-such a date, and if the person who told me was telling the truth, they are today at such-and-such a place—naming the place where Quraysh in fact were." When he had finished giving this information, he said, "Which side are you from?" The Messenger of God replied, "We are from water," and then left, while the shaykh was saying, "What do you mean, from water? From the water of Iraq?"

Then the Messenger of God went back to his companions, and the next morning he sent ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and a few of his companions to the water of Badr to reconnoitre it for him, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Rūmān—ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr. They came across a party of water-carriers from Quraysh there, including Aslam, a slave of the Banū al-Ḥajjāj, and ʿArīḍ Abū Yasār, a slave of the Banū al-ʿĀṣ b. Saʿīd, and took them to the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God was standing praying, so the companions questioned the slaves. They said, "We are water-carriers of Quraysh, who have sent us to get water for them from the water." This was unwelcome news to the companions, as they had hoped that the slaves belonged to [1304] Abū Sufyān; so they beat them, and when they had weakened them the slaves said, "We belong to Abū Sufyān," and were left alone.

The Messenger of God bowed and prostrated himself twice,

then greeted the companions and said, "When the slaves tell you the truth you beat them, and when they lie to you you leave them alone. By God, they are telling the truth, they belong to Quraysh. Tell me, where are Quraysh?" They replied, "They are behind that sand dune which you can see on the far bank." (The sand dune was al-ʿAqanqal.) The Messenger of God said to them, "How many men are there?" They replied, "A lot." He said, "How many?" "We do not know," they replied. "How many camels do they slaughter every day?" he asked. "Nine or ten a day," they replied. The Messenger of God said, "They are between nine hundred and a thousand." Then the Messenger of God said to them, "Which of the nobles of Quraysh are among them?" They replied, "ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah, Shaybah b. Rabīʿah, Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, Nawfal b. Khuwaylid, al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Nawfal, Ṭuʿaymah b. ʿAdī b. Nawfal, al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah, Zamʿah b. al-Aswad, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, Umayyah b. Khalaf, Nubayh and Munabbih the sons of al-Ḥajjāj, Suhayl b.
[1305] ʿAmr, and ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd." The Messenger of God turned to the people and said, "Here Mecca has flung its dearest flesh and blood to you!"[83]

Basbas b. ʿAmr and ʿAdī b. Abī al-Zaghbāʾ had gone ahead and stopped at Badr. They halted their camels by a hillock near the water and took an old water-skin to fetch water. Majdī b. ʿAmr al-Juhanī was at the water, and ʿAdī and Basbas heard two slave girls belonging to the settled inhabitants discussing a debt at the water. The first said to the second, "The caravan will come tomorrow or the day after. I will work for them, and then I will pay you what I owe." Majdī said, "That's right," and then separated them. ʿAdī and Basbas heard this, mounted their camels and left. They came to the Messenger of God and told him what they had heard.

Abū Sufyān Takes Evasive Action

Abū Sufyān came in advance of the caravan as a precaution and arrived at the water. He said to Majdī b. ʿAmr, "Have you noticed

83. The list includes most of the leading men of Mecca apart from the older generation. For details see Watt, *Mecca, Medina*, index.

anyone?" He replied, "I have not seen anyone I do not know, except that I saw two riders who halted their camels by that hillock, filled their water-skin with water, and left." Abū Sufyān went to the place where they had halted their camels, picked up some of the camels' droppings, and crumbled them; they contained date-stones. "By God," he said, "This is the camel fodder of Yathrib!"[84] He went back hastily to his companions, turned his caravan away from that road, and took the coastal route, leaving Badr on his [1306] left. Then he set off with all speed.

The Advance of Quraysh

Meanwhile Quraysh were advancing. They halted at al-Juḥfah, where Juhaym b. al-Ṣalt b. Makhramah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf had a dream. He said, "I was between sleep and wakefulness when I had a dream. I saw a man coming on a horse. Then he stopped, and he had a camel with him. Then he said, "Utbah b. Rabī'ah, Shaybah b. Rabī'ah, Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām, Umayyah b. Khalaf, and so-and-so and so-and-so—enumerating nobles of Quraysh who were killed on that day—have been killed.' Then I saw him stab his camel's chest and send it off into the camp, and there was not a single tent in the camp which it did not sprinkle with its blood."

Abū Jahl heard of this dream, and said, "This is yet another prophet from the clan of al-Muṭṭalib. He will know tomorrow who is killed, if we meet in battle."

When Abū Sufyān saw that he had assured his caravan's safety, he sent to Quraysh saying, "You only came out to protect your caravan, your men, and your property. God has kept them safe, so [1307] go back." But Abū Jahl b. Hishām said, "By God! We will not go back until we have reached Badr—Badr was the location of one of the Arab festivals; every year a market was held there—spent three days there, slaughtered camels, given food to eat and wine to drink, and had our singing girls perform there, so that the Arabs may hear of what we have done and continue to hold us in

84. Since Yathrib (Medina) was an oasis, its camels could be fed on dates. The two scouts were actually nomads of the tribe of Juhaynah, as was also Abū Sufyān's scout, Majdī b. 'Amr.

awe. Go ahead!" Al-Akhnas b. Sharīq b. 'Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafī,[85] who was a confederate of the Banū Zuhrah, who were at al-Juḥfah, said, "O Banū Zuhrah, God has saved your property and rescued your companion Makhramah b. Nawfal. You only came out to defend him and his property, so let any charge of cowardice rest on my shoulders and go back; for there is no need for you to take the field except in the defence of property. Ignore what this man is saying," meaning Abū Jahl. So they went back, and not one of the clan of Zuhrah took part in the battle, since his word was law among them.

There was not a clan of Quraysh from which some men did not go out (to Badr), except for the Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b, from whom not a single man had gone out. Since the Banū Zuhrah had gone back with al-Akhnas b. Sharīq, nobody from those two clans was present at Badr. The rest went on.

[1308] Words were exchanged between Ṭālib b. Abī Ṭālib,[86] who was with the army, and some of Quraysh, who said, "By God, Banū Hāshim, we know that your sympathies are with Muḥammad, even if you have come out with us," and so Ṭālib was among those who returned to Mecca.

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): As for Ibn al-Kalbī,[87] among the narratives I was told on his authority is the following: Ṭālib b. Abī Ṭālib set out for Badr with the polytheists. He was sent out against his will, and he was not among the captives, nor the dead, and he did not return to his family. He was a poet, and he is the one who said:

O Lord, if Ṭālib goes on an expedition in one of these defiles
Let him be plundered, not the plunderer, conquered not the conqueror.

85. Although he was a confederate belonging to the tribe of Thaqīf in al-Ṭā'if, he appears to have been the leading man in the clan of Zuhrah in Mecca at this time; he may have been related to them matrilineally. Cf. Watt, *Mecca*, index.

86. Muḥammad's cousin, son of his uncle and guardian Abū Ṭālib, who was now dead.

87. Hishām b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Kalbī, was a well-known scholar of pre-Islamic and early Islamic affairs; cf. *EI*², art. (al-)Kalbī, II.

Resumption of the narrative of Ibn Isḥāq.[88]

Quraysh went on and halted on the further bank of the wadi behind al-ʿAqanqal. The bed of the wadi (which is called Yalyal) lies between Badr and al-ʿAqanqal, the sand dune behind which were Quraysh, and the wells at Badr are on the bank of the Yalyal which is nearer to Medina. God had sent rain, and the wadi-bed was soft; the effect of the rainfall as far as the Messenger of God and his companions were concerned was to compact the ground without impeding their movement, but its effect on Quraysh was that they were not able to set off because of it. So the Messenger of God set out to get to the water before them, and when he got to [1309] the nearest well of Badr he halted.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—some men of the Banū Salimah: Al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jamūḥ[89] said, "O Messenger of God, do you consider that this is a position in which God has placed you, and that it is not for us to move it forward or back, or do you consider that it is a matter of judgement, tactics and stratagem?" He replied, "Certainly not; it is a matter of judgement, tactics and stratagem." Then al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jamūḥ said, "O Messenger of God, this is not the proper position for you. Arise with your men and go to the nearest well to the enemy. Halt there and then fill in the other wells. Then build a cistern next to it and fill it with water. Then we will fight the enemy and have water to drink while they do not." The Messenger of God said, "You have given judicious advice." Then the Messenger of God and the men who were with him arose and went to the well nearest to the enemy and halted there. Then he gave orders to fill in the other wells, and to build a cistern next to the well at which he had halted. This was filled [1310] with water and then they drew water from it in their drinking vessels.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr: Saʿd b. Muʿādh said, "O Messenger of God, let us build you a shelter of stripped palm branches, in which you

88. IH, 439–41.

89. This man, of the clan of Salimah, appears to have been the leader of the Khazraj at Badr but is not specially prominent in later events.

can remain, and we will keep your riding-camels ready by you. Then we will meet our enemy, and if God gives us strength and grants us victory over our enemy, that will be as we would wish; and if it turns out otherwise, you can mount on your riding-camels and join those of our people who are left behind us (in Medina), for there remain behind from your expedition, O Prophet of God, many people who love you just as greatly as we do, and would not have remained behind from your expedition if they had thought that you would become involved in fighting. God will defend you by means of them, and they will give you good advice and strive along with you."

The Messenger of God praised him greatly and prayed for God's blessings on him. Then a shelter was built for the Messenger of God and he stayed in it.

At dawn Quraysh had set out and advanced, and when the Messenger of God saw them moving down from al-'Aqanqal, which is the sand dune from which they came, to the wadi, he said, "O God, here come Quraysh in their arrogance and their pride, opposing you and calling your Messenger a liar. O God, give me the aid which you have promised me. O God, destroy them this morning."

When the Messenger of God saw 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah among the
[1311] enemy on his red camel he said, "If there is good in any of the enemy, it is in the man on the red camel. If they obey him, they will be rightly guided."

Preparations and Discussions of Quraysh

Khufāf b. Aymā' b. Raḥḍah al-Ghifārī, or his father Aymā' b. Raḥḍah[90] sent his son with a present of some slaughter-camels to Quraysh, as they passed by him, and added, "If you would like me to reinforce you with arms and fighting men, I will do so." They sent a message back to him by his son, saying, "You have discharged the duties of kinship and done what was incumbent upon you. By my life, if we are fighting against men, we are not too

90. The small nomadic tribe of Ghifār was reckoned a part of Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt, but some members seem to have been friendly to Quraysh.

weak to deal with them, and if we are fighting God, as Muḥammad claims, nobody has any power against God."

When Quraysh halted, a number of them advanced until they reached the cistern of the Messenger of God; among them was Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, riding his horse. The Messenger of God said, "Let them drink." Every man who drank was killed that day, with the exception of Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām. He escaped on his horse called al-Wajīh, and later became a Muslim, and a very good one. When he wanted to swear a very forcible oath, he would say, "No, [1312] by him who saved me on the day of Badr."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and Isḥāq b. Yasār and other scholars—some shaykhs of the Anṣār: When the enemy army had settled down, they sent 'Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī, saying, "Estimate Muḥammad's numbers for us." So he circled the camp on his horse and then went back to them, saying, "Three hundred men, give or take a few, but give me a little more time so that I can see if they have any men lying in ambush or any reserves." He then rode about in the wadi for a considerable distance, but he could not see anything. He went back to them and said, "I could not see anything, but I saw, O people of Quraysh, saddlecloths carrying doom, the water-camels of Yathrib carrying certain death. The enemy are people who do not have any safe refuge or retreat except their swords. By God, I do not think a man of them will be killed until he has killed a man of you, and if they kill as many of you as there are of them, what will be the good of life after that? So decide as you think fit."

When Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām heard that, he went on foot among the [1313] army to 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah and said, "Abū al-Walīd, today you are a great man of Quraysh, their chief and obeyed among them. Would you like to continue to be remembered by them with gratitude to the end of time?" "How will I achieve that, Ḥakīm?" he asked. "Take the people back with you," he said, "and take upon yourself the responsibility for the blood of your confederate 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī." "I will do so," he replied. "You are my witness in this. He was my confederate, and it is for me to seek compensation for his killing and for the property of his which was taken. So go to Ibn al-Ḥanẓaliyyah (meaning Abū Jahl b. Hishām), for I do not fear that anyone else will dispute the matter."

According to Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār—'Imāmah b. 'Amr al-Sahmī—Musawwar b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Yarbū'ī—his father—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab: While we were with Marwān b. al-Ḥakam[91] his chamberlain came in and said, "Abū Khālid Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām is here." "Admit him," he said. When Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām came in he said, "Welcome, Abū Khālid! Come close." Then Marwān left his place at the head of the *majlis* until he was halfway between him and the cushion. Then Marwān welcomed him and said, "Tell us the story of Badr." He said, "We went out and halted at al-Juḥfah. Then one of the clans of Quraysh left in their entirety, and not
[1314] one of their polytheists was present at Badr. Then we went on and halted on the bank which is mentioned by God.[92] I went to 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah and said, 'Abū al-Walīd, would you like to win the honour of this day as long as you live?' 'What must I do?' he asked. 'You want nothing from Muḥammad but restitution for the blood of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī' I said, 'for he was your confederate; so take upon yourself the responsibility for his blood-money, and take the people back to Mecca with you.' 'I will do as you say,' he said. 'I will take upon myself the responsibility for his blood-money. Go to Ibn al-Ḥanẓaliyyah (meaning Abū Jahl) and say, "Would you and those with you be prepared to retreat from your cousin today?"'

"So I went to him, and saw him in a group of people in front of him and behind him. Suddenly I beheld Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī[93] standing at his head and saying, 'I take the responsibility for avenging me away from the clan of 'Abd Shams and give it to the clan of Makhzūm.' So I said to him, "'Utbah b. Rabī'ah says to you, "Would you and those with you be prepared to retreat from your cousin today?"' Abū Jahl said to me, 'Could he find no other emissary but you?' I replied, 'No, and I have no intention of being an emissary for anybody except him.' I went out hastily to 'Utbah (Ḥakīm continued) in order not to miss any of the story. 'Utbah was leaning on Aymā' b. Raḥḍah al-Ghifārī, who had given ten slaughter-camels to the polytheists, when Abū Jahl appeared with malice

91. A prominent member of the clan of Umayyah, probably governor of Medina at the time of this incident. He became caliph in 64/684 but died about ten months later and was succeeded by his son 'Abd-al-Malik.

92. Qur. 8.42, "when ye were on the near bank (of the valley). . . ."

93. 'Āmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī, brother of the man killed at Nakhlah.

all over his face, and said to 'Utbah, 'Your lungs are inflated with [1315]
fear.' 'You will soon find out,' retorted 'Utbah. Abū Jahl drew his sword and slapped his horse's back with it, and Aymā' b. Raḥḍah said 'This is an evil omen.' Thereupon the battle began."

Resumption of the narrative of Ibn Isḥāq.[94]

Then 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah rose up to give a speech. "O people of Quraysh," he said, "you will achieve nothing by meeting Muḥammad and his companions in battle. By God, if you defeat him you will not be able to look one another in the face without loathing, for you will see someone who has killed the son of your paternal or maternal uncle, or a man from your clan. Go back, and leave Muḥammad to the rest of the Arabs. If they kill him, that will be what you want, and if not he will find that you have not done to him what you would have liked to do (and will respect you for it)."

"I left," said Ḥakīm, "to go to Abū Jahl, and I found him preparing his coat of mail which he had removed from its bag. 'Abū al-Ḥakam,' I said to him, "Utbah has sent me to you to tell you such-and-such (repeating what he had said).' 'By God!' he replied, 'his lungs were inflated with fear when he saw Muḥammad and his companions. No, by God, we will not go back until God gives the decision either for us or for Muḥammad and his companions. What is really troubling 'Utbah is not what he says, but the fact [1316]
that he sees Muḥammad and his companions so few in number that one slaughtered camel would suffice them. His son is among them, and he is afraid of you for his sake.'

"Then he sent to 'Āmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī and said to him, 'This confederate of yours wants to take the army back at a time when you see your revenge before your eyes; so rise and remind them of your covenant and your brother's murder.' So 'Āmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī rose and uncovered himself; then he shouted out, 'Alas for 'Amr! Alas for 'Amr!' Then the zeal for battle grew intense, and they were ruined. They agreed upon the evil course on which they were set, and the counsel which 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah had urged upon them was wasted on them.

"When 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah heard that Abū Jahl had said, 'His

94. IH, 441–4.

lungs are inflated with fear,' he said, 'That cowardly wretch will find out whose lungs are inflated with fear, mine or his!' Then he asked for a helmet to put on his head, but he could not find a helmet in the army to fit him because his head was so big. When he saw this, he wrapped a striped cloth he had round his head."

The Fighting Begins

In the expedition was al-Aswad b. ʿAbd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī, who was a quarrelsome and bad-natured man. He now said, "I make a covenant with God that I will drink from their cistern and will destroy it, or will die in the attempt." When he took the field, Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib came out to meet him, and in the encounter Ḥamzah struck him and cut off his foot together with half his leg before he had reached the cistern. He fell on his back with blood gushing from his leg toward his companions.
[1317] Then he crawled toward the cistern and flung himself into it, intending[95] to fulfil his oath; but Ḥamzah followed him and struck him a blow which killed him in the cistern.

After this, ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah took the field, between his brother Shaybah b. Rabīʿah and his son al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah. When he had drawn clear of the battle line, he issued a challenge to single combat. Three young men of the Anṣār came forward to meet him, ʿAwf and Muʿawwidh, sons of al-Ḥārith with ʿAfrāʾ for their mother,[96] and another man called ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥah. The Meccans said, "Who are you?" and the three young men replied, "A group of the Anṣār." "We have no business with you," the Meccans said. Then their herald called out, "Muḥammad, send out people of our rank from our tribe!" The Messenger of God said, "Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, rise; ʿUbaydah b. al-Ḥārith, rise; ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, rise." When they arose and approached the three Meccans, the latter said, "Who are you?" ʿUbaydah said "ʿUbaydah," Ḥamzah said, "Ḥamzah," and ʿAlī said "Alī." The Meccans said, "Yes, these are noble equals." ʿUbaydah b. al-

95. Omitting *zaʿama*.
96. Each of these two (and a third brother) was commonly known as "Ibn ʿAfrāʾ," perhaps a relic of the former matrilineal kinship system. See Watt, *Medina*, 166, 378, etc.

Ḥārith, who was the oldest of the Muslims, engaged 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah in single combat, Ḥamzah engaged Shaybah b. Rabī'ah, and 'Alī engaged al-Walīd b. 'Utbah. It was no time before Ḥamzah had killed Shaybah, and 'Alī had killed al-Walīd. 'Ubaydah and 'Utbah, however, each inflicted a blow upon his adversary which disabled him. Ḥamzah and 'Ali then turned upon 'Utbah [1318] with their swords and finished him off, and lifted up their companion 'Ubaydah and brought him to his companions. His foot had been cut off and the marrow was flowing out. When they brought 'Ubaydah to the Messenger of God he said, "Am I not a martyr, O Messenger of God?" "Yes indeed," Muḥammad replied. "If Abū Ṭālib were alive," said 'Ubaydah, "he would know that I am more worthy than he of his line of verse when he says:

> We keep him safe until we are struck down around him,
> and forget our sons and our wives."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah said to the young men of the Anṣār when they gave their lineages, "Noble equals! But we only want men of our own tribe!"

The armies then advanced and drew near to one another. The Messenger of God had ordered his companions not to attack until he gave the command, and he had said, "If they approach you, keep them at a distance from you with a hail of arrows." The Messenger of God remained in the shelter with Abū Bakr.

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī)—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn: The Battle of Badr was on Friday morning, 17 Ramaḍān (March 13, 624).

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq [1319] —Ḥibbān b. Wāsi' b. Ḥibbān b. Wāsi'—some shaykhs of his people: The Messenger of God straightened the ranks of his companions on the day of Badr with an arrow which he had in his hand. As he passed by Sawād b. Ghaziyyah, the confederate of the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār, who was standing forward from the line in his eagerness to fight, the Messenger of God poked him in the stomach with the arrow and said, "Get into line, Sawād b. Ghaziyya." "O Messenger of God," he said, "you have hurt me! God has sent

you with the truth, so allow me to retaliate!" The Messenger of God uncovered his stomach and said, "Take your retaliation!" Sawād embraced him and kissed his stomach. "What induced you to do that, Sawād?" he asked. "O Messenger of God," he replied, "you see the situation we are in. I was not sure that I would not be killed, and I wanted my last recollection of you to be that my skin had touched yours." The Messenger of God prayed for his welfare and encouraged him. After straightening the ranks, the Messenger of God went back to the shelter and entered it. Abū Bakr was there with him but nobody else. The Messenger of God was calling on his Lord to grant him the aid which he had promised him, saying, among other things, "O God, if this band of people perishes today (meaning the Muslims), you will not be worshipped after today." Abū Bakr was saying, "O Prophet of
[1320] God, do not call upon your Lord so much; for God will assuredly fulfil what he has promised you."

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd al-Muḥāribī—ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak—ʿIkrimah b. ʿAmmār—Simāk al-Ḥanafī—Ibn ʿAbbās—ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: When it was the day of Badr, and the Messenger of God looked at the polytheists and their number, and then looked at his companions, who were something over three hundred, he turned toward the Qiblah and began to pray, saying, "O God, fulfil what you have promised me. O God, if this band of Muslims perishes, you will not be worshipped on the earth." He continued to say this until his cloak fell off. Abū Bakr picked it up and put it back on him, then grasped him from behind and said, "O Prophet of God, whom I value more than my father and mother, this is enough of calling upon your Lord. He will assuredly fulfil what he has promised you." Then God revealed, "When ye sought help of your Lord and he answered you (saying): I will help you with a thousand of the angels, rank on rank."[97]

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—al-Thaqafī (meaning ʿAbd al-Wahhāb) —Khālid—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: The prophet said when he was in his awning on the day of Badr, "O God, I ask you to keep your contract and your promise. O God, if you so wish, you will not be worshipped after today." Abū Bakr took his hand and said, "This is enough, O Prophet of God. You have tired your Lord with your

97. Qur. 8.9.

importuning." He was in his coat of mail, and he went out saying, "The hosts will all be routed and will turn and flee. Nay, but the Hour (of doom) is their appointed tryst, and the Hour will be more wretched and more bitter (than this earthly failure)."[98]

Resumption of the narrative of Ibn Isḥāq.[99]

The Messenger of God slept a light sleep in the shelter for a while; then he awoke and said, "Abū Bakr, God's aid has come to you. Here is Gabriel, taking hold of the reins of his horse and leading it, and there is dust on its front teeth." [1321]

Mihja', the *mawlā* of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, was struck by an arrow and killed. He was the first Muslim to be killed. Then Ḥārithah b. Surāqah, one of the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār, was struck by an arrow as he was drinking at the cistern and was killed. Then the Messenger of God went out to his men and urged them to battle. He promised every man that he could keep all the booty he took, and then said, "By him in whose hands Muḥammad's soul rests, if any man fights them today and is killed, fighting steadfastly and with resignation, going forward and not turning back, then God will cause him to enter Paradise." 'Umayr b. al-Ḥumām, the brother of the Banū Salimah, who was holding some dates in his hand and eating them, said, "Excellent! All that stands between me and entering Paradise is being killed by these people!" Then he threw down the dates, took his sword, and fought the enemy until he was killed, reciting the following lines:

I hasten to God without provision except fear of God
and working for the Hereafter
And patience in God in the struggle, for every other
provision is liable to be exhausted
Except for fear of God, piety and right guidance.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq —'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: 'Awf b. al-Ḥārith, known as Ibn 'Afrā', said, "O Messenger of God, what makes the Lord laugh [1322]

98. Qur. 54.45f.

99. IH, 444–64. In this, al-Ṭabarī follows Ibn Isḥāq closely, though he has a short passage from another source on p.1328. He has also retained from Ibn Isḥāq passages about the capture of al-'Abbās (1340, 1344) which are omitted from Ibn Hishām's recension of Ibn Isḥāq in the form in which we have it; see n.65.

with joy at his servant?" He replied, "Plunging his hand into the enemy without armour." So he took off a coat of mail he was wearing and threw it away; then he took his sword and fought the enemy until he was killed.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī—'Abd Allāh b. Tha'labah b. Ṣu'ayr al-'Udhrī the confederate of the Banū Zuhrah: When the armies met and drew close to one another, Abū Jahl said, "O God, whichever of us has severed the ties of kinship more, and has committed more unacceptable acts, destroy him today." He was thus asking God to give the victory against himself.

Then the Messenger of God picked up a handful of gravel and faced Quraysh with the words, "May their faces be deformed!"[100] Then he threw it at them, and ordered his companions to attack. A rout followed, in which God killed many chiefs of Quraysh and caused many of their nobles to be taken captive. While the Muslims were taking captives, the Messenger of God was in his shelter. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh was standing at the door, girt with his sword, along with a few of the Anṣār, guarding the Messenger of God, since they were afraid that the enemy would wheel round and attack him. The Messenger of God, I have been told, saw in the face
[1323] of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh disapproval of what the people were doing, and said, "It seems, Sa'd, that you disapprove of what the people are doing." "Yes, by God, O Messenger of God," he replied. "This was the first defeat inflicted by God on the polytheists, and killing the prisoners would have been more pleasing to me than sparing them."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-'Abbās b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'bad—a member of his family—Ibn 'Abbās: The Messenger of God said to his companions that day, "I know that some of the Banū Hāshim and others have been forced to march against us against their will, having no desire to fight us. Whoever of you meets one of the Banū Hāshim, let him not kill him; whoever meets Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad, let him not kill him; whoever meets al-'Abbās b.

100. See 1288 above and n.60.

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the uncle of the Messenger of God,[101] let him not kill him, for he has been forced to march against us against his will."

Abū Ḥudhayfah b. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah[102] said, "Are we to kill our fathers, our sons, our brothers, and our clansmen, and leave al-'Abbās alone? By God, if I meet him I will hack him with my sword!" These words reached the Messenger of God, and he said to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, "Abū Ḥafṣ, have you heard what Abū Ḥudhayfah says? He says, 'I will strike the face of the uncle of the Messenger of God with my sword!'" 'Umar said, "O Messenger of God, give me permission and I will cut off his head with my sword. By God, he is a Hypocrite!" In later times 'Umar used to say, "By God, that was the first day on which the Messenger of [1324] God addressed me by the name Abū Ḥafṣ."

Abū Ḥudhayfah used to say, "I never felt safe afterwards on account of those words which I spoke that day, and I continued to be afraid because of them, but hoped that martyrdom might expiate them." He was killed as a martyr on the day of al-Yamāmah.[103]

The Messenger of God forbade the killing of Abū al-Bakhtarī because he used to restrain the people from harming the Messenger of God while he was still in Mecca. He himself neither injured him nor caused him any unpleasantness; and he was one of those who were active in cancelling the document[104] which Quraysh drew up against the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib.

He was met by al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād al-Balawī, the confederate of the Banū 'Adī of the Anṣār.[105] Al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād said to Abū al-Bakhtarī, "The Messenger of God has forbidden us to kill you." Abū al-Bakhtarī had a fellow rider with him, who had come with him from Mecca, whose name was Junādah b. Mulayḥah bt. Zuhayr b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad. Junādah was a member of the Banū Layth, and Abū al-Bakhtarī's full name was al-'Āṣ b.

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101. See 1290 above and n.65.

102. Abū Ḥudhayfah was of the clan of 'Abd Shams, and his father and several other kinsmen were among those killed at Badr.

103. The fierce battle in 12/633 in which the false prophet Musaylimah was defeated.

104. The so-called "boycott" of the clans of Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib; cf. Watt, *Mecca*, 120–2.

105. Of the tribe of Balī; IH, 446, says he was a confederate of the clan of Sālim b. 'Awf.

Hishām b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad. He replied, "And my fellow rider?" Al-Mujadhdhar said, "No, by God. We will not spare your fellow rider. The Messenger of God only gave us orders about you." "No, by God," he replied. "Then he and I will die together. The women of Quraysh in Mecca will not relate of me that I abandoned my fellow rider in my greed for life." As he was engaged by al-Mujadhdhar and insisted on fighting, Abū al-Bakhtarī recited the following lines of *rajaz*:

[1325] The son of a noble woman will not surrender the man
who shares his food
Until he dies or sees his (friend's) way (clear).

In the combat between the two he was killed by al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād.

Then al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād went to the Messenger of God and said, "By him who sent you with the truth, I tried to make him give himself up so that I could bring him to you, but he insisted on fighting, and I fought him and killed him."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr—his father: also 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr and others (than he and Yaḥyā)—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf: Umayyah b. Khalaf was a friend of mine in Mecca. My name was 'Abd 'Amr, but when I became a Muslim I was called 'Abd al-Raḥmān.[106] Umayyah used to meet me when we were in Mecca and would say, "'Abd 'Amr, do you dislike the name your father gave you?" I would reply, "Yes." He would then say, "I do not recognise al-Raḥmān, so find some name that I can call you by when we meet. You do not answer to your old name, and I will not call you by something I do not recognise." When he called me 'Abd 'Amr, I would refuse to answer him. At length I said to him, "You suggest whatever name you like for our use, Abū 'Alī." He said, "Well then, you are 'Abd al-Ilāh."[107] I agreed.

106. Omitting the words *wa-naḥnu bi-Makkah*.

107. The form 'Abd 'Amr, "servant (or slave) or 'Amr," implies that 'Amr was a pagan deity, and for this reason this name and several others were changed by Muḥammad. Nothing has been recorded, however, of any such deity; but it might conceivably be a secondary name or epithet of a deity known by some other name. The pagan Umayyah rejects Raḥmān as a name of the one God. 'Abd al-Ilāh means "servant of the god," and could be understood as either polytheistic or monotheistic. Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², Berlin 1897, 1–9.

After that when I passed him, he would say "'Abd al-Ilāh!"—and I would answer him and talk with him. On the day of Badr I passed him as he was standing with his son 'Alī b. Umayyah, holding his hand. I had with me some coats of mail which I had taken as plunder, which I was carrying, and when he saw me he said, [1326] "'Abd 'Amr!"—so I did not answer him. Then he said, "'Abd al-Ilāh!"—and I said, "Yes." "Would you like to take me [as prisoner]?" he asked. "I will be more use to you than those coats of mail which you are carrying." I said, "Yes! Come here then." I flung away the coats of mail and took his hand and his son 'Alī's hand while he said, "I have never seen a day like this. Have you no need for milk?"[108] Then I left, taking the two of them with me.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abī 'Awn—Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf—his father—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf: Umayyah b. Khalaf said to me, while I was between him and his son, holding them by the hands, "'Abd al-Ilāh, who is that man in your army wearing an ostrich feather on his chest as a mark of identification?" I said, "That is Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib." He said, "He is the one who wrought such havoc on us." 'Abd al-Raḥmān continued: And, by God, while I was leading them, Bilāl[109] saw him with me. It was Umayyah who used to torture Bilāl in Mecca in an attempt to make him abandon Islam. He used to take him out to the sun-baked ground of Mecca when it was scorching hot and make him lie down on his back. Then he would order a huge boulder to be placed on his chest, and then he would say, "You will stay like this until you leave the faith of Muḥammad." Bilāl would say, "God is one, God is one." When he saw Umayyah [1327] Bilāl said, "The head of disbelief, Umayyah b. Khalaf! May I not be spared, if they are spared!" I said, "Bilāl, would you harm my captives?" "May I not be spared, if they are spared!" he replied. "Do you hear what I am saying, son of the black woman?" I asked. "May I not be spared if they are spared!" he said. Then he shouted at the top of his voice, "O Helpers of God, the head of disbelief, Umayyah b. Khalaf! May I not be spared if he is spared!"

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108. He is referring to the fact that the ransom will be paid in milch-camels.

109. Bilāl was an Abyssinian slave, tortured to make him renounce Islam (IH, 205), and ransomed by Abū Bakr. He was the first muezzin.

People surrounded us and placed us under a kind of restraint, while I was trying to protect Umayyah. One man struck his son, who fell down. Umayyah gave a scream the like of which I have never heard. I said, "Save yourself, for there is no escape (for him).[110] By God, I cannot do anything for you." Then they hacked at them with their swords until they had finished with them. 'Abd al-Raḥmān used to say, "May God have mercy on Bilāl! I lost my coats of mail, and he deprived me of my captives."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr—Ibn 'Abbās—a man from the Banū Ghifār: I and a cousin of mine went and mounted a hill from which we could overlook Badr (we were polytheists then) to await the outcome of the battle and see who would be defeated, so that we could join in the plundering afterwards. While we were on the [1328] hill a cloud approached us. We heard the neighing of horses in it, and I heard a voice saying, "Forward, Ḥayzūm!"[111] As for my cousin, the covering of his heart split open, and he died on the spot; as for myself, I almost perished, but then pulled myself together."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—his father Isḥāq b. Yasār—some men of the Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār—Abū Dā'ūd al-Māzinī, who was present at Badr: I was pursuing one of the polytheists on the day of Badr in order to strike him, when his head suddenly fell off before my sword touched him. Then I knew that someone other than I had killed him.

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī—Yaḥyā b. Bukayr—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Iskandarānī—al-'Alā' b. Kathīr—Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar b. Makhramah—Abū Umāmah b. Sahl b. Ḥunayf: My father said to me, "My son, I saw us Muslims on the day of Badr, and saw that one of us would wave his sword at a polytheist, and the man's head would fall from his body before the sword touched him."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. 'Umārah—al-Ḥakam b. 'Utaybah—Miqsam the

110. Adding *bi-hi* with IH.
111. The angel Gabriel's horse; for angelic help cf. Qur. 8.9,12.

mawlā of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith—'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās: The sign of the angels on the day of Badr was white turbans which trailed down their backs, and on the day of Ḥunayn it was red turbans. The angels did not fight on any day except the day of Badr; on the [1329] other days they were assistants and helpers, but they struck no blows.

Abū Jahl and Other Meccan Dead

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad (ibn Isḥāq) —Thawr b. Zayd the *mawlā* of the Banū al-Dīl—'Ikrimah the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Abbās—Ibn 'Abbās: also 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr: Mu'ādh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ the brother of the Banū Salimah used to say, "When the Messenger of God had finished with his enemy, he gave orders that Abū Jahl should be searched for among the dead, and said, 'O God, let him not have escaped you!'" The first man who encountered Abū Jahl was Mu'ādh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ, who said, "Abū Jahl was in a sort of thicket and I heard the people saying, 'We cannot get at Abū al-Ḥakam.' When I heard this, I made him my mark, and I made my way toward him. When he was within my reach, I attacked him and struck him a blow which severed his foot and half his leg. By God, when it flew [1330] off I could only compare it to a date-stone which flies out of a date-stone crusher when it is struck.

"Then his son 'Ikrimah struck me on the shoulder and struck off my arm, which dangled at my side from a piece of skin. The fighting prevented me from reaching him after that. I fought the whole day, dragging my arm behind me. When it began to hurt me, I put my foot on it and stood on it until I pulled it off." Mu'ādh survived this wound and lived until the caliphate of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

Then Mu'awwidh b. 'Afrā' passed by Abū Jahl, who was now crippled, and struck him until he could no longer move, leaving him at his last gasp. Then Mu'awwidh fought until he was killed. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd[112] passed by Abū Jahl when the Messenger of God ordered that he should be searched for among the slain; the

112. One of the earliest Muslims and a client of the Meccan clan of Zuhrah; he later became an authority on the Qur'ān. Cf. *EI*², art. Ibn Mas'ūd (J. Vadet).

Messenger of God had said to them, I have been told, "If you cannot identify him among the dead, look for the mark of a wound on his knee, for I jostled against him at a feast given by 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'ān[113] when we were boys. I was a little thinner than he was, and I pushed him, so that he fell on his knees and got a scratch on one of them, the mark of which never went away." 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd said, "I found Abū Jahl at his last gasp and recognised him, and put my foot on his neck. He had grabbed hold of me once at Mecca and had hurt me and punched me. Then I said,
[1331] 'Has God disgraced you, O enemy of God?' 'In what way has he disgraced me?' he replied. 'Am I anything more important than a man whom you have killed? Tell me, to whom is the victory?' I said, 'To God and his Messenger.'"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: Some men of the Banū Makhzūm assert that Ibn Mas'ūd used to say, "Abū Jahl said to me, 'You have ascended a difficult ascent, you little shepherd.' Then I cut off his head and brought it to the Messenger of God, and I said, 'O Messenger of God, this is the head of the enemy of God, Abū Jahl.' Then the Messenger of God said, 'Is this so, by God, than whom there is no other deity?' This was the oath of the Messenger of God. I said, 'Yes, by God, than whom there is no other deity.' Then I threw down his head in front of the Messenger of God. He said, 'Praise be to God!'"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq and Yazīd b. Rūmān—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—'Ā'isha: When the Messenger of God ordered the dead to be thrown into the well, all were thrown into it, except Umayyah b. Khalaf. He had swollen up in his coat of mail and filled it. They went to move him, but he fell apart, so they left him where he was and flung upon him enough earth and stones to cover him. When he threw the dead into the well, the Messenger of God stood over them and said, "O people of the well, have you found what your Lord promised you to be true? For I have found what my lord promised me to be
[1332] true." His companions said to him, "O Messenger of God, are you speaking to dead people?" He replied, "They know (*laqad 'alimū*) that what I promised them is the truth." 'Ā'ishah said, "Other

113. A prominent man in Mecca at an earlier period; cf. Watt, *Mecca*, index.

people report this saying with the words *laqad sami'ū* (they hear), but the Messenger of God said *'laqad 'alimū.'*"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl—Anas b. Mālik: The companions of the Messenger of God heard the Messenger of God saying in the depths of the night, "O people of the well, O 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah, O Shaybah b. Rabī'ah, O Umayyah b. Khalaf, O Abū Jahl b. Hishām—and he enumerated those who were with them in the well—have you found what your Lord promised you to be true? For I have found what my Lord promised me to be true." The Muslims said, "O Messenger of God, are you addressing people who have putrefied?" He replied, "You hear what I say no better than they, but they cannot answer me."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—certain scholars: The Messenger of God, on the day on which he uttered these words, also said, "O people of the well, you were evil fellow tribesmen to your prophet! You disbelieved me, when other people believed me. You drove me out, when other people gave me shelter. You fought me, when other people came to my aid." Then he added, "Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true?" . . . and the rest.

When the Messenger of God ordered the dead to be thrown into the well, 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah was taken and dragged to the well. As I have been informed, the Messenger of God looked into the face of his son Abū Ḥudhayfah b. 'Utbah, which was dejected and altered, and said, "Abū Ḥudhayfah, perhaps some sadness has entered you on account of your father," or words to that effect. "No, by God, O Messenger of God," he replied. "I had no doubts about my father, nor about his death. But I knew my father to be a judicious, forbearing, and virtuous man, and I used to hope that these qualities would lead him to Islam. When I saw what had happened to him and remembered the state of unbelief in which he died, after the hopes which I had had for him, it saddened me." The Messenger of God prayed for his welfare and encouraged him. [1333]

The Division of the Booty

Then the Messenger of God gave orders concerning the contents of the camp which the people had collected, and it was all brought

together. Among the Muslims, however, there was a difference of opinion concerning it. Those who had collected it said, "It is ours. The Messenger of God promised every man that he could keep the booty he took." Those who were fighting and pursuing the enemy said, "If it had not been for us, you would not have taken it. We distracted the enemy from you so that you could take what you took." Those who were guarding the Messenger of God for fear that the enemy would attack him said, "By God, you have no better right to it than we have. We wanted to kill the enemy when God gave us the opportunity and made them turn their backs, and we wanted to take property when there was no one to protect it; but we were afraid that the enemy might wheel round and attack the Messenger of God, so we remained standing before him; you have no better right to booty than we have."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq
[1334] —'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith and other companions of ours—Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Ashdaq—Makḥūl—Abū Umāmah al-Bāhilī: I asked 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit about (*Sūrat*) *al-Anfāl* (8). He replied, "It was revealed concerning us, the participants in the battle of Badr, when we disagreed about the booty and became very bad-tempered about it. God removed it from our hands and handed it over to his Messenger, and the Messenger of God divided it equally among the Muslims. In this matter there can be seen fear of God, obedience to his Messenger, and the settling of differences."

The Return of the Muslims to Medina

After the victory, the Messenger of God sent 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥah to take the good news that God had given the victory to his Messenger and the Muslims to the people of the upper part (of Medina), and he sent Zayd b. Ḥārithah to the people of the lower part. Usāmah b. Zayd said,[114] "The news came to us when we had buried Ruqayyah, the daughter of the Messenger of God, who was married to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. The Messenger of God had left me to look after her together with 'Uthmān. Then Zayd b. Ḥārithah

114. Usāmah, the son of Muḥammad's adopted son, Zayd b. Ḥārithah, was possibly only about eleven at this time.

arrived so I went to him. He was standing in al-Muṣallā surrounded by people, and he was saying, "'Utbah b. Rabī'ah has been killed, and Shaybah b. Rabī'ah, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, Zam'ah b. al-Aswad, Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām, Umayyah b. Khalaf, and Munabbih and Nubayh, the sons of al-Ḥajjāj.' I said, 'Father, is this true?' 'Yes, by God, my son,' he replied."

Then the Messenger of God came back to Medina, bringing with him the booty which had been taken from the polytheists. In charge of the booty he put 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Zayd b. 'Awf b. Mabdhūl b. 'Amr b. Māzin b. al-Najjār. Then he himself ad- [1335] vanced, halting when he had emerged from the defile of al-Ṣafrā' at a sand dune called Sayar between the defile and al-Nāziyah beside a *sarḥ* tree. There he divided equally the booty which God had bestowed upon the Muslims from the polytheists. After water had been brought to him from the spring there called al-Arwāq, he travelled on. When he was at al-Rawḥā', the Muslims met him, congratulating him and the Muslims with him on the victory which God had given them.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq —'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah and Yazīd b. Rūmān: Salamah b. Salāmah b. Waqsh said, "What are they congratulating us on? By God, we met nothing but bald old women like hobbled sacrificial camels, so we slaughtered them." The Messenger of God smiled and said, "My nephew, those were the *mala'*."[115]

The polytheist captives were with the Messenger of God, and there were forty-four of them. There was a similar number of dead.[116] Among the captives were 'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayṭ and al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah,[117] but when the Messenger of God was at al-Ṣafrā' he had al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith killed by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq —one of the scholars of the people of Mecca: Then the Messenger [1336] of God went on, and when he was at 'Irq al-Ẓabyah he killed 'Uq-

115. The council or senate of Mecca; cf. Watt, *Mecca*, 8f.

116. Ibn Isḥāq has lists which give the numbers as 50 dead and 43 prisoners (IH, 511, 515); but Ibn Hishām adds further names which bring the totals to 70 dead and 70 prisoners.

117. Of the Meccan clan of 'Abd al-Dār; he had produced Persian stories which he claimed were as good as those in the Qur'ān

bah b. Abī Muʿayṭ. When the Messenger of God ordered him to be killed, ʿUqbah said, "Who will look after my children, Muḥammad?" 'Hellfire," Muḥammad replied. He was killed by ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abī al-Aqlaḥ al-Anṣārī, a member of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. As I was informed by Abū ʿUbaydah b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, when the Messenger of God reached ʿIrq al-Ẓabyah and killed ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ, he was met by Abū Hind, the *mawlā* of Farwah b. ʿAmr al-Bayāḍī with a butter-skin full of *ḥays* (ground dates mixed with butter). He had stayed away from Badr, but afterwards he was present at all the other battles with the Messenger of God; he was the Messenger of God's cupper.[118] The Messenger of God said, "Abū Hind is truly a man of the Anṣār, so relate yourselves to him by marriage," and they did so. Then the Messenger of God went on, reaching Medina a day before the captives.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq —ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ra-
[1337] ḥmān b. Asʿad[119] b. Zurārah: When the captives were brought in, Sawdah bt. Zamʿah, the wife of the Prophet, was with the family of ʿAfrā' participating in their mourning for her sons ʿAwf and Muʿawwidh. This was before the veil had been imposed on women. Sawdah used to say, "By God, I was with them when someone came to us and said, 'Here are the captives who have been brought.' I went to my house," she said, "and the Messenger of God was there, and there was Abū Yazīd Suhayl b. ʿAmr[120] at one side of the room with his hands tied to his neck with a rope. By God," she said, "I could not restrain myself, when I saw Abū Yazīd like that, from saying, 'Abū Yazīd, did you surrender yourself? Why did you not choose an honourable death?' By God, it was only the voice of the Messenger of God coming from the house saying, 'Sawdah, (are you saying) this against God and to his Messenger?' which brought me back to myself. 'O Messenger

118. Cupping as a medical treatment to draw blood was popular with the Arabs.

119. IH, 459, reads Asʿad, the well-known brother of Saʿd; but the editor of al-Ṭabarī says that Asʿad had no sons.

120. Of the Meccan clan of ʿĀmir (to which Sawdah belonged), and brother of her former husband. He was prominent in the resistance to Muḥammad in the years preceding the conquest of Mecca, but afterwards became a good Muslim; cf. Watt, *Medina*, index.

of God,' I said, 'by him who sent you with the truth, when I saw Abū Yazīd with his hands tied to his neck with a rope I could not restrain myself from saying what I said.'"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Nubayh b. Wahb, the brother of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār: When the Messenger of God came with the captives he divided them up among his companions, saying, "Look after the captives well." Abū 'Azīz b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim, the brother of Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr by his father and his mother, was among the captives. Abū 'Azīz said, "My brother Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr passed by me while a man of the Anṣār had me captive, and said, 'Hold on to him tight, for his mother has property and she may ransom him from you.' I was in a group of the Anṣār when they brought me [1338] from Badr. When they took their lunch and their supper, they gave me bread in preference to themselves while they ate dates, because the Messenger of God had enjoined them concerning us, 'No crust of bread will fall into the hands of any one of them, but that he will reward me for it.' I would feel ashamed and give it back to one of them, but he would return it to me without touching it."

News of Defeat Reaches Mecca

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: The first person to reach Mecca with news of the defeat of Quraysh was al-Ḥaysumān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Iyās b. Ḍubay'ah b. Māzin b. Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Khuzā'ī. (According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī), Al-Wāqidī says his name was al-Ḥaysumān b. Ḥābis al-Khuzā'ī.) "What has happened?" they asked. He said, "'Utbah b. Rabī'ah has been killed, and also Shaybah b. Rabī'ah, Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām, Umayyah b. Khalaf, Zam'ah b. al-Aswad, Abū al-Bakhtarī b. Hishām, and Nubayh and Munabbih, the sons of al-Ḥajjāj." When he started to enumerate the nobles of Quraysh, Ṣafwān b. Umayyah, who was sitting in the Ḥijr, said, "By God, if this man is in his right mind, question him about me." "What happened to Ṣafwān b. Umayyah?" they asked."There he is sitting in the Ḥijr," he said, "and by God, I saw his father and his brother when they were killed."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq

[1339] —Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās—ʿIkrimah the *mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās: Abū Rāfiʿ, the *mawlā* of the Messenger of God, said, "I was a slave of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and Islam had entered us, the *Ahl al-Bayt* ("the people of the house," that is, Muḥammad's extended family). Umm al-Faḍl[121] became a Muslim, and I became a Muslim. Al-ʿAbbās was afraid of his people and was unwilling to oppose them, and he concealed the fact that he had become a Muslim. He had much property which was dispersed among his people. Abū Lahab, the enemy of God, had not gone to Badr and had sent in his place al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah; this is what they did—no man stayed away without sending another man in his place. When the news of the disaster which befell Quraysh at Badr came, God humbled and disgraced Abū Lahab, while we felt strength and might in our souls.

"I was a weak man, and I used to make arrows, which I would smooth in the enclosure of Zamzam.[122] By God, I was sitting there smoothing arrows, and Umm al-Faḍl was sitting there with me, both of us overjoyed by the news we had received, when the evildoer Abū Lahab approached, dragging his feet in malice. He sat down by the guy rope of the enclosure, so that his back was to my back. While he was sitting there the people said, 'Here is Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who has just arrived.' Abū Lahab said, 'Come over here, my nephew, for you have news.' He sat down next to him while the others stood around him. Then Abū Lahab said, 'My nephew, tell me, what happened to our people?' 'Nothing, by God,' he replied, 'except that we met them and
[1340] turned our backs, while they killed us and took us captive as they saw fit. Even so, I swear by God, I do not blame our people. We met white-robed men on piebald horses, between heaven and earth, for which we were no match and which nothing could resist."

"I lifted the guy rope of the enclosure with my hand and said, 'Those were the angels.' Abū Lahab raised his hand and gave me a violent blow on the face. I rushed at him but he picked me up and threw me to the ground and then knelt on me and beat me, for I was a weak man. Umm al-Faḍl went to one of the tent poles of

121. The wife of al-ʿAbbās.
122. A well near the Kaʿbah.

the enclosure, picked it up and gave him a blow which split his scalp open and made an unpleasant wound. Then she said, 'You treat him arrogantly when his master is absent!' He got up and turned away humiliated. By God, he only lived for seven days before God afflicted him with pustules from which he died.[123] His two sons left him for two or three days without burying him until he began to stink in his house, for Quraysh were as afraid of pustules and their infectiousness as people are afraid of the plague. Finally, a man of Quraysh said to them, 'Woe to you! Are you not ashamed that your father is stinking in his house and you do not bury him?' 'We are afraid of those ulcers,' they said. 'Go, and I will come with you,' he said. They did not wash his corpse except by throwing water over it from a distance without touching it. Then they lifted it up and buried it in the highest part of Mecca [1341] next to a wall, and then threw stones over it until they covered it."

The Treatment of the Captives

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-'Abbās b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'bad—a member of his family—'Abd Allāh b.'Abbās: On the evening after the day of Badr, when the captives were confined in fetters, the Messenger of God could not sleep in the first part of the night. His companions said, "O Messenger of God, why do you not sleep?" He said, "I can hear al-'Abbās writhing in his fetters." So they went to al-'Abbās and released him from his fetters, and the Messenger of God went to sleep.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. 'Umārah—al-Ḥakam b. 'Utaybah—Miqsam—Ibn 'Abbās: The man who took al-'Abbās captive was Abū al-Yasar Ka'b b. 'Amr, the brother of the Banū Salimah. Abū al-Yasar was a slightly-built man, and al-'Abbās was a big man, and the Messenger of God said to Abū al-Yasar, "How did you take al-'Abbās captive, Abū al-Yasar?" "O Messenger of God," he replied, "a man whom I have never seen before or after helped me against

123. From here to the foot of p. 1341 is not in Ibn Hishām's text of Ibn Isḥāq, though al-Ṭabarī gives the latter as his source.

him. His appearance was so-and-so." The Messenger of God said, "A noble angel helped you against him."

[1342] According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: and Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād—his father ʿAbbād: Quraysh bewailed their dead, and then said, "Do not act thus, in case Muḥammad and his companions get to hear of it and rejoice at your misfortune; and do not send any messages concerning the ransom of your captives, but keep Muḥammad and his companions waiting, so that they do not make excessive demands for ransoms."

Al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib had lost three sons, Zamʿah b. al-Aswad, ʿAqīl b. al-Aswad, and al-Ḥārith b. al-Aswad, and he wanted to weep for them.[124] While he was in this condition, he suddenly heard a woman wailing in the night. He said to his slave, as he himself had lost his sight, "See if wailing has been made lawful and whether Quraysh are weeping for their dead, so that perhaps I can weep for Abū Ḥakīmah (meaning Zamʿah), for my belly is on fire." When the slave came back he said, "It is only a woman weeping for a camel of hers which she has lost." It was on that occasion that he composed the following verses:

Does she weep because a camel of hers is lost,
and does sleeplessness prevent her from sleeping?
[1343 Do not weep for a young camel, but for Badr where our
good fortune deserted us
For Badr and the chiefs of the Banū Ḥusayṣ, and
Makhzūm and the clan of Abū al-Walīd.[125]
And weep, if you must weep, for ʿAqīl, and weep for
al-Ḥārith, the lion of lions
Weep for them all without tiring, and there is no
equal to Abū Ḥakīmah.

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124. Al-Ṭabarī appears to have made a mistake here and to have confused al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yaghūth (of the clan of Zuhrah) with al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib (of the clan of Asad). The former had no son called Zamʿah (al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953, 262), but the latter had a son Zamʿah and his *kunyah* was Abū Zamʿah. Al-Ṭabarī is also mistaken in speaking of al-Ḥārith b. al-Aswad; the man who died was his grandson al-Ḥārith b. Zamʿah b. al-Aswad. Below (1374) one should read Abū Zamʿah al-Aswad, since Zamʿah b. al-Aswad was killed at Badr.

125. Banū Ḥuṣayṣ means the clans of Sahm and Jumaḥ, Ḥuṣayṣ being nominally their grandfather. Abū al-Walīd is presumably ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah of ʿAbd Shams.

Indeed, men have become chiefs after them who would
never have become chiefs if not for Badr.

Among the captives was Abū Wadā'ah b. Ḍubayrah al-Sahmī. The Messenger of God said, "He has a son who is a shrewd merchant with much money. It is as though he had already come to you about his father's ransom." When Quraysh said, "Do not hurry in ransoming your captives, so that Muḥammad and his companions do not make excessive demands on you," al-Muṭṭalib b. Abī Wadā'ah, who was the man the Messenger of God meant, said, "You are right! Do not hurry in ransoming your captives." Then he slipped away at night, went to Medina, ransomed his father for four thousand dirhams, and departed with him. After that, Quraysh sent to discuss ransoming the captives. Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaf came to ransom Suhayl b. 'Amr, who had been taken captive by Mālik b. al-Dukhshum, the brother of the Banū Sālim b. 'Awf; Suhayl b. 'Amr had a split lower lip.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq —Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. 'Aṭā' b. 'Ayyāsh b. 'Alqamah, the [1344] brother of the Meccan clan of Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to the Messenger of God, "O Messenger of God, pull out Suhayl b. 'Amr's two lower front teeth so that his tongue will loll out and he will never be able to stand up and make speeches against you anywhere." The Messenger of God said, "I will not mutilate him, or God will mutilate me even if I am a prophet." I have heard that the Messenger of God said to 'Umar in this ḥadīth, "Perhaps he will play a role which you will not find blameworthy." When Mikraz bargained with them over his ransom and finally reached an agreement with them, they said, "Give us what is due to us." He replied, "Fetter my foot instead of his and let him go, so that he can send you his ransom." So they let Suhayl go, and imprisoned Mikraz in his place.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Kalbī—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn 'Abbās: The Messenger of God said to al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib when he reached Medina with him, "Al-'Abbās, you must ransom yourself, your two nephews, 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith, and your confederate, 'Utbah b. 'Amr b. Jaḥdam, the brother of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Fihr, for you are a wealthy man." "O Messenger of God," he

replied, "I was a Muslim, but the people forced me (to fight) against my will." "God knows best concerning your Islam," he said. "If what you say is true, God will reward you for it. As for your external acts, they were against us; so ransom yourself." The Messenger of God had taken twenty ounces (*ūqiyyah*) of gold from him after Badr, and al-ʿAbbās said, "O Messenger of God, credit me with this amount towards my ransom." "No," he said, "that was something which God gave to us from you." "I have no
[1345] money," al-ʿAbbās then said. "Well," was the reply, "Where is the money which you deposited with Umm al-Faḍl bt. al-Ḥārith in Mecca when you were setting out? You were by yourselves, and you said to her, 'If I am killed on my journey, so much is for al-Faḍl, so much is for ʿAbd Allāh, so much is for Qutham, and so much is for ʿUbayd Allāh'?" "By him who sent you with the Truth," he said, "nobody knows this except myself and her, and I know that you are the Messenger of God." So al-ʿAbbās ransomed himself, his two nephews, and his confederate.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad (Ibn Isḥāq)—ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm: ʿAmr b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb, who was married to the daughter of ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ, was a captive in the hands of the Messenger of God, one of the captives of Badr. They said to Abū Sufyān, "Ransom ʿAmr." "Shall I lose both my blood and my wealth?" he asked. "They have killed Ḥanẓalah and I am to ransom ʿAmr? Leave him in their hands and they can hold on to him as long as they like." While he was imprisoned in this way in the custody of the Messenger of God, Saʿd b. al-Nuʿmān b. Akkāl, the brother of the clan of ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, from the subclan of Muʿāwiyah,[126] went to Mecca to perform the ʿumrah accompanied by a young wife. He was a very old man, a Muslim, who had flocks in al-Naqīʿ. From there he went to perform the ʿumrah, not fearing what was to befall him and not imagining that he would be held captive in Mecca. He came simply to perform the ʿumrah, for Quraysh had undertaken not to interfere in any way with anyone
[1346] who came to perform the ḥajj or the ʿumrah, apart from helping them. Abū Sufyān wrongfully imprisoned him at Mecca in ex-

126. Cf. genealogical table in Watt, *Medina*, 154.

change for his son 'Amr b. Abī Sufyān. Then Abū Sufyān composed the following lines of verse:

O clan of Ibn Akkāl, answer his prayer; may you lose
one another! Do not forsake your mature chief.
The Banū 'Amr are base and lowly if they do not
remove the fetters from their captive.

The Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf went to the Messenger of God, told him about this, and asked him to give them 'Amr b. Abī Sufyān so that they could obtain the release of their shaykh. The Messenger of God did so, and they sent 'Amr to Abū Sufyān, who allowed Sa'd to go.

The Release of Zaynab's Husband

Among the captives was Abū al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd Shams, the son-in-law of the Messenger of God, being the husband of his daughter Zaynab. Abū al-'Āṣ was one of the esteemed men of Mecca in respect of wealth, trustworthiness, and commerce. He was the son of Hālah bt. Khuwaylid (sister of Muḥammad's wife Khadījah) so that Khadījah was his maternal aunt. Khadījah asked the Messenger of God to marry him (to Zaynab) and he did not oppose this; this was before he had received any revelations. He married him (to her) and (Khadījah) used to regard Abū al-'Āṣ as her son. When God honoured his Messenger with his Prophethood Khadījah and his daughters believed in him, testified that the message which he brought was the truth, and followed his religion, but Abū al-'Āṣ held fast to his polytheism. The Messenger of God had married one of his daughters, either Ruqayyah or Umm Kulthūm, to 'Utbah b. Abī Lahab,[127] and when he openly proclaimed the command of God to Quraysh and they shunned it, they said to one another, "You had relieved Muḥammad of the worry of providing for his daughters; but now return his daughters to him and let him have responsibil-

127. As becomes clear later, this was not an actual marriage but only a betrothal. It is sometimes said that two daughters of Muḥammad had been betrothed to two sons of Abū Lahab. It was apparently Ruqayyah who, on being rejected by 'Utbah, was married to 'Uthmān.

ity for them." When they went to Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ and said
[1347] to him, "Leave your wife, and we will marry you to any woman you wish from Quraysh," he replied, "By God, I will do no such thing! I will not leave my wife, and I do not want any woman from Quraysh in exchange for my wife." I have been told that the Messenger of God used to praise him for being a good son-in-law.

Then they went to the evildoer, the son of the evildoer, ʿUtbah b. Abī Lahab, and said to him, "Divorce Muḥammad's daughter and we will marry you to any woman you want from Quraysh." He said, "If you will marry me to the daughter of Abān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ or the daughter of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, I will leave her." So they married him to the daughter of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, and he left Muḥammad's daughter. The enemy of God had not yet consummated the marriage, and God rescued Muḥammad's daughter from his enemy's clutches, to her honour and his shame. ʿUthman b. ʿAffān [the later caliph] succeeded ʿUtbah as her husband. The Messenger of God could not permit or forbid such marriages while in Mecca, since he was not in a position of authority.[128] Although Islam had in a sense separated Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God, from Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. Rabīʿ when she became a Muslim, the Messenger of God was not able actually to separate them, and she continued to live with him until the Hijrah of the Messenger of God to Medina, despite the fact that she was a Muslim and he a polytheist. When Quraysh marched to Badr, Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. Rabīʿ marched with them, was taken captive on the day of Badr, and held in custody by the Messenger of God in Medina.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr—his father, ʿAbbād[129]—ʿĀʾishah the wife of the Messenger of God: When the people of Mecca sent to negotiate about ransoming their captives, Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God, sent money for
[1348] the ransom of Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ and included with it a necklace which Khadījah had presented to her when Abū al-ʿĀṣ married her. When the Messenger of God saw it, his heart softened greatly, and he said to the Muslims, "If you see fit to set free

128. The marriage of a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim, whether pagan or from the People of the Book, was later forbidden.

129. Cf. n.16; ʿĀʾishah was also maternal aunt of ʿAbbād.

Zaynab's captive for her and to return her property to her, do so." They said, "Yes, O Messenger of God," and set Abū al-'Āṣ free and returned Zaynab's property. Either the Messenger of God extracted an undertaking from Abū al-'Āṣ, or he promised the Messenger of God that he would let Zaynab go to him, or else this was one of the conditions of his release which was not made public either by him or the Messenger of God so that we might know what it was. Whatever the truth of this, however, after Abū al-'Āṣ had been allowed to go and had reached Mecca, the Messenger of God sent Zayd b. Ḥārithah and a man of the Anṣār, saying, "Be in the Baṭn Ya'jaj until Zaynab passes by you, and then accompany her back to me." The two went there, a month or so after Badr. When Abū al-'Āṣ reached Mecca, he told Zaynab to go to her father, and she proceeded to get ready to travel.

Zaynab's Journey to Medina

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm: I have been told that Zaynab said, "While I was getting ready to travel in Mecca in order to join my father, Hind bt. 'Utbah[130] met me and said, 'Daughter of Muḥammad, have I not heard that you wish to join your father?' I said, 'I do not want to do so.' She said, 'Cousin, do not deny it. If you need anything which will make your journey more comfortable or any money to help you reach your father, I have whatever you need, so do not be ashamed to ask; for [1349] men's quarrels have nothing to do with the women.' And, by God, I am sure that she meant what she said, but I was afraid of her, and denied that I wanted to go. Nevertheless, I got ready to travel."

When the daughter of the Messenger of God had completed her preparations, her brother-in-law, Kinānah b. al-Rabī', her husband's brother, brought her a camel, which she mounted. Then, taking his bow and quiver, he went out with her in broad day-

130. Hind was the wife of Abū Sufyān, who was of the same clan as Zaynab's husband, and this may be why Hind was friendly here; but she thirsted for vengeance on Muḥammad's uncle Ḥamzah because he had killed her father and uncle at Badr.

light, leading the camel with her in the camel litter. The men of Quraysh discussed this, and went out in pursuit of her, catching up with her at Dhū Ṭawā. The first men to reach her were Habbār b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā and Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Qays al-Fihrī. Habbār threatened her with a spear while she was in the camel litter; it is said that she was pregnant, and that when she went back again to Mecca, she had a miscarriage. After Habbār's threat, her brother-in-law knelt down, spread out the contents of his quiver, and said, "By God, if any man comes near me I will put an arrow into him." At this, they drew back from him until Abū Sufyān and the main body of Quraysh arrived. Abū Sufyān said, "Man, lower your bow so that we can talk to you." He lowered his bow, and Abū Sufyān came up and stood by him, and said, "You did the wrong thing in taking the woman away in public under everyone's noses. You know the affliction and disaster which have befallen us as a result of Muḥammad's actions. If his daughter is taken away from among us publicly, under their noses, people will think that this shows the humiliation which has befallen us as a result of the disaster we suffered, and
[1350] that it is weakness and feebleness on our part. By my life, we have no need to keep her away from her father, and we have no intention of exacting vengeance in that way. But take the woman back, and when the clamour has died down and people are saying that we have brought her back, slip out secretly with her, and reunite her with her father." Kinānah did so, and when the clamour had died down he took Zaynab out by night and handed her over to Zayd b. Ḥārithah and his companion, and they took her to the Messenger of God.

The Conversion of Abū al-ʿĀṣ

Abū al-ʿĀṣ remained in Mecca, and Zaynab remained with the Messenger of God in Medina, separated by Islam. Just before the conquest of Mecca, however, Abū al-ʿĀṣ went on a trading expedition to Syria. He was regarded as a trustworthy man, and he had with him, besides his own merchandise, goods belonging to other men of Quraysh which they had entrusted to him to trade with. When he had concluded his business and was on his return journey, he encountered a detachment of the Messenger of God's

men. They seized the goods he had with him, but he himself managed to elude them by flight. After the detachment reached Medina with his property which they had seized, Abū al-ʿĀṣ came under cover of night, entered the house of Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God, and sought her protection, which she gave. He did this, seeking the recovery of his property.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Rūmān: When the Messenger of God came for the morning prayer, he said, "Allāh Akbar" and the people responded. Then Zaynab cried out from the women's bench, "O people, I have taken Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ under my protection."

When the Messenger of God had completed his prayer, he turned round to the people and said, "O people, did you hear what I heard?" They said, "Yes." He said, "By him in whose hand Muḥammad's soul rests, I knew nothing of this until I heard the words you heard from Zaynab. It is the case, however, that the humblest of the Muslims has the right to extend protection (to someone) on their behalf."[131] Then the Messenger of God left and went to visit his daughter, and said, "Look after him well, but do not let him come near you, for you are not lawful for him (as a wife)." [1351]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr: The Messenger of God sent to the detachment who had seized Abū al-ʿĀṣ's property and said, "You know this man's relationship to us, and you have seized his property. If you would do him a kindness and return his property to him, we would like that, but if you do not wish to, then it is God's booty which he has bestowed upon you, and you have a better right to it." They replied, "O Messenger of God, we will return it to him."

So they returned his property to him; one man even brought rope, another brought old water-skins and leather bottles, and somebody even brought pegs for fastening sacks, until they had returned his property in its entirety, and nothing was missing. Abū al-ʿĀṣ then went to Mecca, and to every member of Quraysh who had entrusted him with merchandise handed over what be-

131. This is the practice of *ijārah*, that is, the granting of protection as a "neighbour" (*jār*). Muḥammad emphasizes that the protection given by Zaynab is to be binding on all Muslims.

longed to him. Finally, he said, "Men of Quraysh, has any of you property remaining with me which he has not received back?" They said, "No, may God reward you well. We have found you to be faithful to your promise and generous." "Indeed then," he said, "I testify that there is no deity but God, and that Muḥammad is his servant and his Messenger. By God, nothing prevented me from accepting Islam when I was with him except the fear that you might think that I only wanted to help myself to your merchandise. Now that God has delivered it to you and I have no more to do with it, I accept Islam." Then he left Mecca and went to the Messenger of God.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Dā'ūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn—'Ikrimah the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Abbās—'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās: The Messenger of God returned Zaynab to him on the terms of his previous marriage six years earlier, and did not make any new conditions.

The Conversion of 'Umayr b. Wahb

[1352] According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr: 'Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī was sitting in the Ḥijr with Ṣafwān b. Umayyah, a little after the disaster suffered by Quraysh at Badr. 'Umayr b. Wahb was one of the evil men of Quraysh, those who used to torment the Messenger of God and his companions, and cause them distress so long as they remained in Mecca. His son Wahb b.'Umayr was among the captives of Badr. While 'Umayr was discussing the People of the Well and what had happened to them, Ṣafwān said, "By God, there is nothing good in life after their death." "You are right, by God," replied 'Umayr. "If I did not have a debt which I cannot discharge, and a family who I fear might perish when I am gone, I would ride to Muḥammad and kill him. I have cause against his followers, for my son is captive in their hands." Ṣafwān b. Umayyah seized this opportunity and said, "I will accept your debt and will discharge it for you, and I will look after your family in exactly the same way as my own, as long as they live. They will lack nothing that is within my means." "Keep this agreement between us a secret, then," 'Umayr said. "I will do so," Ṣafwān replied.

Then 'Umayr called for his sword, had it sharpened and poisoned, and set out and came to Medina. While 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and a number of Muslims were in the Mosque talking about [1353] the day of Badr and discussing the way God had honoured them by it, and what he had taught them by the fate of their enemy, 'Umar suddenly noticed 'Umayr b. Wahb making his camel kneel at the door of the Mosque, and girt with his sword. "This is the dog, the enemy of God, 'Umayr b. Wahb," he said. "He has certainly come for some evil purpose. He is the one who set us against one another and estimated our numbers for the enemy on the day of Badr." 'Umar then went in to the Messenger of God and said, "O Messenger of God, here is the enemy of God 'Umayr b. Wahb, who has come wearing his sword." "Bring him in to me, then," he said. 'Umar went up to him, took hold of the shoulder-belt from which his sword was hanging, and seized him round the neck with it. Then he said to some men of the Anṣār who were with him, "Go in to the Messenger of God and sit near him, and watch out for this villain, for he is not to be trusted." 'Umar then took 'Umayr in to the Messenger of God, and when the Messenger of God saw him with 'Umar grasping his sword-belt he said, "Let him go, 'Umar. Approach, 'Umayr." He approached and said, "*An'imū ṣabāḥan*" (good morning). This was the greeting of the people of the Jāhiliyyah among themselves. The Messenger of God replied, "God has honoured us with a greeting better than your greeting, 'Umayr, which is "*al-salām*" (peace), the greeting of the people of Paradise." "By God, Muḥammad," he said, "You have not been using this expression for long." "What brings you here, 'Umayr?" he asked. "I have come for this captive who is in your hands," he said, "so treat me well over him." "What is that sword round your neck for?" he asked. "God curse the swords," 'Umayr said. "Have they been of any use to us?" "Tell me the truth," he replied, "about what you have come for." "I have come for nothing but this," 'Umayr insisted. "No," the Messenger of God replied. "While you and Ṣafwān b. Umayyah were sitting in the Ḥijr and discussing the People of the Well of Quraysh, you happened to say, 'If it were not for a debt which I owe and for my family, I would go and kill Muḥammad.' Ṣafwān then said he would be responsible for your debt and your family on condition that you would kill me for him. God has intervened, however, be- [1354]

tween you and me." Then 'Umayr said, "I testify that you are the Messenger of God. We used to disbelieve the tidings of Heaven which you brought us and the revelations which came down to you. This is a meeting at which only Ṣafwān and I were present. By God, I know that nobody but God can have informed you of it. Praise be to God who has guided me to Islam and led me along this path." Then he pronounced the *Shahādah*,[132] and the Messenger of God said to the Muslims present, "Instruct your brother in his faith, teach him to recite and understand the Qur'ān, and release his captive for him," and they did so.

Later 'Umayr said, "O Messenger of God, I used to strive to put out the light of God and to persecute those who were in God's religion. I would like you to give me permission to go to Mecca and call the people there to God and to Islam. Perhaps God will guide them rightly; but, if not, I will make difficulties for them in their religion as I used to make difficulties for your companions in theirs."

The Messenger of God gave him permission and he went to Mecca. After 'Umayr b.Wahb had left Mecca, Ṣafwān used to say to Quraysh, "Rejoice, good news will come to you, in a few days from now, of an event which will make you forget what happened at Badr." Ṣafwān used to ask riders about 'Umayr, until one arrived who told him that he had become a Muslim. Ṣafwān swore that he would never again speak to 'Umayr and never again confer any benefit on him. 'Umayr, on arriving in Mecca, remained there calling people to Islam and making great difficulties for those who opposed him; many people accepted Islam at his hands.

Discussions About the Lawfulness of Taking Captives

When the events of Badr were over, God revealed *al-Anfāl* (Surah 8) in its entirety concerning it.

According to Aḥmad b. Manṣūr—'Āṣim b. 'Alī—'Ikrimah b. 'Ammār—Abū Zumayl—'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās—'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: On the day of Badr, the two armies met, and God de-

132. The *shahādah* is the profession of faith: "I bear witness there is no deity but God, Muḥammad is the Messenger of God." Pronouncing this made a man a Muslim.

feated the polytheists. Seventy of them were killed and seventy were taken captive. On that day the Messenger of God consulted Abū Bakr, ʿAlī and ʿUmar. Abū Bakr said, "O Prophet of God, [1355] these people are cousins, fellow clansmen and nephews. I think that you should accept ransoms for them so that what we take from them will strengthen us, and perhaps God will guide them aright so that they may be an assistance for us." The Messenger of God said, "What do you think, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb?" I said, "I say no, by God! I am not of the same opinion as Abū Bakr. I think that you should hand so-and-so over to me so that I can cut off his head, and that you should hand Ḥamzah's brother over to him so that he can cut off his head, and that you should hand over ʿAqīl to ʿAlī (his brother) so that he can cut off his head. Thus God will know that there is no leniency in our hearts towards the unbelievers. These are their chiefs, their leaders, and their foremost men."

The Messenger of God liked what Abū Bakr said and did not like what I said, and accepted ransoms for the captives. The next day I went to the Prophet in the morning. He was sitting with Abū Bakr, and they were weeping. I said, "O Messenger of God, tell me, what has made you and your companion weep? If I find cause to weep, I will weep with you, and if not, I will pretend to weep because you are weeping." The Messenger of God said, "It is because of the taking of ransoms which has been laid before your companions. It was laid before me that I should punish them, more nearly than this tree (and he pointed to a nearby tree)." God revealed: "It is not for any Prophet to have captives until he hath made slaughter in the land . . ." to the words, "(Had it not been for an ordinance of Allah which had gone before) . . . an awful doom had come upon you on account of what ye took."[133] After that, God made the booty lawful for them. In the following year, at Uḥud, they were punished for what they had done. Seventy men of the companions of the Messenger of God were killed, and seventy were taken captive. (Muḥammad's) lateral incisor was bro-

133. Qur. 8.67f. The verses are interpreted to mean that Muḥammad should not have taken captives at Badr and that the Muslims should not have been so anxious to gain the ransom money. The next verse, however, says that they may keep and enjoy what they have taken (69).

ken, his helmet was shattered on his head, and the blood flowed over his face; the Prophet's companions fled and took to the mountain. (Then) God revealed: "And was it so, when a disaster smote you, though ye had smitten (them with a disaster) twice (as
[1356] great), that ye said, How is this? Say (unto them, O Muḥammad): It is from yourselves. 'Lo! Allah is able to do all things.'"[134] And this other verse was revealed: "When ye climbed (the hill) and paid no heed to anyone, while the messenger in your rear was calling you (to fight). Therefore, he rewarded you grief for (his) grief that (he might teach) you not to sorrow either for that which ye missed or for that which befell you.... Then after grief he sent down security for you."[135]

According to Salm b. Junādah—Abū Muʿāwiyah—al-Aʿmash—ʿAmr b. Murrah—Abū ʿUbaydah—ʿAbd Allāh: When it was the day of Badr and the captives were brought, the Messenger of God asked, "What do you say concerning these captives?" Abū Bakr replied, "O Messenger of God, they are your people and your family. Spare them and give them time. Perhaps God will relent against them." ʿUmar said, "O Messenger of God, they have called you a liar and driven you out. Bring them forward and cut off their heads." ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥah said, "O Messenger of God, look for a wadi with a lot of firewood in it, put them in it and set fire to it around them." Al-ʿAbbās said to him, "Your own kin have severed the bonds of kinship."

The Messenger of God was silent and did not answer them. Then he went indoors, and some people said, "He will take Abū Bakr's advice," some said, "He will take ʿUmar's advice," and other people said, "He will take the advice of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥah." When the Messenger of God came out again, he said, "God softens the hearts of men in each, so that they become softer than milk, and God hardens the hearts of men in each so that they become harder than stones. Abū Bakr, you are like Abraham, who said, 'Whoso followeth me, he verily is of me. And whoso disobeyeth me—Still thou art Forgiving, Merciful.'[136] And Abū Bakr, you are (also) like Jesus, who said, 'If thou punish them, lo! they are thy slaves, and if thou forgive them (lo! they are

134. Qur. 3.165.
135. Qur. 3.153f.

thy slaves). Lo! Thou, only Thou art the Mighty, the Wise.'[137] You, 'Umar, are like Noah, who said, 'My Lord! Leave not one of the disbelievers in the land.'[138] And you are like Moses, who said, 'Our Lord! Destroy their riches and harden their hearts so that they believe not till they see the painful doom.'"[139] [1357]

Then the Messenger of God said, "You today are a single household. Let not one of them escape without paying a ransom or losing his head." 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd said, "Except for Suhayl b. Bayḍā', for I heard him professing Islam." The Messenger of God was silent, and I do not think that I have ever been more fearful that stones would fall on me from Heaven than I was that day; but at last the Messenger of God repeated, "Except for Suhayl b. Bayḍā'." In respect of this matter God revealed, "It is not for any Prophet to have captives until he hath made slaughter in the land . . ." to the end of the three verses.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: When it was revealed, "It is not for any Prophet to have captives . . ." the Messenger of God said, "If punishment were to descend from Heaven, none would escape from it but Sa'd b. Mu'ādh, because he said, 'O Prophet of God, extensive killing is dearer to me than sparing men's lives.'"

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: The total number of the Emigrants who were present at Badr and who were given a share and a reward from it by the Messenger of God was eighty-three, according to Ibn Isḥāq (Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah). The total number of al-Aws who were present and received a share was sixty-one, and the total number of al-Khazraj who were present was one hundred and seventy, according to Ibn Isḥāq. The total number of Muslims [1358] martyred on that day was fourteen men, six from the Emigrants and eight from the Anṣār.

The polytheists, so al-Wāqidī asserts, consisted of nine hundred and fifty fighters, and their cavalry consisted of a hundred horse.

On that day the Messenger of God sent back a number of people whom he considered to be too young, according to al-Wāqidī.

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136. Qur. 14.36.
137. Qur. 5.118.
138. Qur. 71.26.
139. Qur. 10.88.

Among them, he claims, were 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, Rāfi' b. Khadīj, al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, Zayd b. Thābit, Usayd b. Ẓuhayr and 'Umayr b. Abī Waqqāṣ. Then he allowed 'Umayr to take part after sending him back, and he was killed on that day.[140]

Before setting out from Medina the Messenger of God had sent Ṭalḥah b.'Ubayd Allāh and Sa'īd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl along the road to Syria to gather information about the caravan. Their return to Medina did not take place until the actual day of the battle of Badr. They met the Messenger of God at Turbān, which is the descent from Badr, as he was making for Medina.

Al-Wāqidī says:[141] The Messenger of God set out from Medina with three hundred and five men. The Emigrants numbered seventy-four, and the rest were Anṣār. Eight (other) men got their rewards and shares; three of the Emigrants, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān who stayed behind to look after (his wife) the daughter of the Messenger of God, until she died, together with Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubayd Allāh and Sa'īd b. Zayd, whom he sent to gather information about the caravan; and five of the Anṣār, Abū Lubābah Bashīr b. 'Abd al-Mundhir, whom he left in charge of Medina, 'Aṣim b. 'Adī b. al-'Ajlān, whom he left in charge of the 'Āliyah, al-Ḥārith b.
[1359] Ḥāṭib, whom he sent back from al-Rawḥā' to the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf on account of some news he had about them, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimmah, who broke his leg at al-Rawḥā' (he belonged to the Banū Mālik b. al-Najjār), and Khawwāt b. Jubayr, who was from the Banū Amr b. 'Awf, who also broke his leg. There were seventy camels and two horses, one belonging to al-Miqdād b. 'Amr and one to Marthad b. Abī Marthad.[142]

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī)—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Hilāl—his father—Abū Hurayrah: The Messenger of God was seen in pursuit of the polytheists on the day of Badr with drawn sword reciting, "The hosts will all be routed and will turn and flee."[143] On the Badr expedition, the Messenger of God took his sword Dhū al-Faqār as booty. It had belonged to Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj. On that day he also took Abū

140. W, 21.

141. W, 101; W. says that 'Āṣim b. 'Adī was left in charge of Qubā' and of Ahl al-'Āliyah, "the people of the upper districts."

142. W, 102.

143. Qur. 55.45.

Jahl's camel as booty. It was a Mahrī dromedary on which he used to go on raids and which he used to put to stud with his milch camels.

The Campaign Against the Banū Qaynuqāʿ

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: The Messenger of God remained in Medina after his return from Badr. When he first came to Medina he had made a compact with its Jews that they would not aid anyone against him and that if any enemy attacked him there they would come to his aid. After the Messenger of God killed many polytheists of Quraysh at Badr, (the Jews) were envious and behaved badly towards him, saying, "Muḥammad has not met anyone who is good at fighting. Had he met us, he would have had a battle which would be unlike a battle with anyone else." They also infringed the contract in various ways.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq:[144] What happened with regard to the Banū Qaynuqāʿ was that the [1360] Messenger of God assembled them in the Market of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ and said, "O Jews, beware lest God bring on you the like of the retribution which he brought on Quraysh. Accept Islam, for you know that I am a prophet sent by God. You will find this in your scriptures and in God's covenant with you." They replied, "Muḥammad, do you think that we are like your people? Do not be deluded by the fact that you met a people with no knowledge of war and that you made good use of your opportunity. By God, if you fight us you will know that we are real men!"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b.Qatādah: The Banū Qaynuqāʿ were the first Jews to infringe the agreement between them and the Messenger of God; they took to arms between Badr and Uḥud.

According to Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh—al-Zuhrī: The campaign of the Messenger of God against the Banū Qaynuqāʿ was in Shawwāl (which began March 27, 624) in the second year of the Hijrah.

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144. IH, 545. The Jewish clan had a settlement near the middle of the oasis of Medina; they worked as goldsmiths and armourers but did not engage in agriculture.

According to Al-Zuhrī—'Urwah: Gabriel brought the following verse down to the Messenger of God: "And if thou fearest treachery from any folk, then throw back to them their treaty fairly."[145] When Gabriel had finished delivering this verse, the Messenger of God said, "I fear the Banū Qaynuqā'."

'Urwah says: It was on the basis of this verse that the Messenger of God advanced upon them.

According to Al-Wāqidī—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ—'Āṣim b.'Umar b. Qatādah: The Messenger of God besieged them for fifteen days and prevented any of them from getting out. They then surrendered at the discretion of the Messenger of God. They were fettered, and he wanted to kill them, but 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy spoke to him on their behalf.[146]

[1361] Resumption of the narrative of Ibn Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah.

The Messenger of God besieged them until they surrendered at his discretion. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl rose up when God had put them in his power, and said, "Muḥammad, treat my *mawālī* well"; for they were the confederates of al-Khazraj. The Prophet delayed his answer, so 'Abd Allāh repeated, "Muhammad, treat my *mawālī* well." The Prophet turned away from him, and he put his hand into (the Messenger's) collar. The Messenger of God said, "Let me go!"—he was so angry that they could see shadows in his face (that is, his face coloured). Then he said, "Damn you, let me go!" He replied, "No, by God, I will not let you go until you treat my *mawālī* well. Four hundred men without armour and three hundred with coats of mail, who defended me from the Arab and the non-Arab alike, and you would mow them down in a single morning? By God, I do not feel safe and am afraid of what the future may have in store." So the Messenger of God said, "They are yours."

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī)—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: The Prophet said, "Let them go; may God curse them, and may he curse ('Abd Allāh b. Ubayy) with them." So the Muslims let them go. Then

145. Qur. 8.58.
146. W, 177, summarized.

the Messenger gave orders to expel them, and God gave their property as booty to his Messenger and the Muslims. The Banū Qaynuqāʿ did not have any land, as they were goldsmiths. The Messenger of God took many weapons belonging to them and the tools of their trade. The person who took charge of their expulsion from Medina along with their children was ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit. He accompanied them as far as Dhubāb, saying "The most distant and furthest honour is the furthest." On this occasion [1362] the Messenger of God left Abū Lubābah b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir in charge of Medina.

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: In this year, the first *khums* (fifth) to be levied by the Messenger of God in Islam took place. The Messenger of God took his *ṣafī*, the *khums* and his share, and distributed the other four fifths among his companions. This was the first *khums* to be taken by the Messenger of God.[147]

The banner of the Messenger of God in the battle against the Banū Qaynuqāʿ was a white banner, carried by Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. There were no flags (*rāyāt*) on that day.

Celebration of the First ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā

Then the Messenger of God returned to Medina, and (the festival of) al-Aḍḥā came.[148] It is related that the Messenger of God made his sacrifice together with those of his companions who had the means to do so on the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (June 3, 624). He took the people to al-Muṣallā and led them in prayer. This was the first prayer which the Messenger of God led at al-Muṣallā on a festival. On this festival, he slaughtered two sheep there with his own hands, or according to some people, one sheep.

According to Al-Wāqidī—Muḥammad b. Faḍl, one of the descendants of Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj—Abū Mubashshir: I heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh saying, "When we came back from fighting the Banū

147. The *khums* or "fifth" has already been mentioned (1275; n.45). The *ṣafī* or "first pick" was a special privilege of the Messenger (as of tribal chiefs). The "share" was what was due to him as one of the participants.

148. The *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* or "festival of the sacrifice" is primarily part of the Ḥajj or pilgrimage to Mecca. On the 10th of the pilgrimage month (Dhū al-Ḥijjah), the pilgrims immolate sacrificial victims (sheep, camels, etc.) at Mina. The festival is also celebrated by all Muslims everywhere. See *EI*², art. ʿĪd al-aḍḥā.

Qaynuqāʿ, we sacrificed on the morning of the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. This was the first Aḍḥā which the Muslims witnessed. We sacrificed in the territory of the Banū Salimah, and seventeen sacrificial victims were counted there."[149]

Minor Expeditions—Dating[150]

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: As for Ibn Isḥāq, he does not specify any date for the campaign of the Messenger of God against the Banū Qaynuqāʿ, except for saying that it was between the expedition of al-Sawīq and the expedition of the Messenger of God from Medina against Quraysh, in which he went as far as the Banū Sulaym and Buḥrān, a mine in Ḥijāz in the direction of al-Furʿ.
[1363] Others say that there were three expeditions led by the Messenger of God himself and one raiding party which he dispatched between his first expedition to Badr and the campaign against the Banū Qaynuqāʿ. They claim that the Prophet attacked the latter on 7 Ṣafar (July 30, 624) in the third year of the Hijrah, and that the Messenger of God led this attack after coming back from Badr, his return to Medina being on a Wednesday, eight days before the end of Ramaḍān (which ended March 26, 624). After spending the rest of Ramaḍān there, he led an expedition to Qarqarat al-Kudr[151] when he heard that the Banū Sulaym and Ghaṭafān were gathering. He set out from Medina on a Friday, when the sun was high in the sky, on the first day of Shawwāl in the second year of the Hijrah (March 27, 624).

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When the Messenger of God came to Medina from Badr, having finished with Badr at the end of Ramaḍān or the beginning of Shawwāl, he spent only seven days in Medina before leading an expedition in person against the Banū Sulaym. He got as far as one of their watering places, called al-Kudr, stayed there for three days, and then went back to Medina without any fighting. He remained there for

149. This paragraph seems to be from a source other than the *Maghāzī* of al-Wāqidī.

150. There is much uncertainty about the order and dating of these minor expeditions between the battles of Badr and Uḥud; they are described in IH, 539–55 and W, 181–98.

151. W, 182, has Qarārat al-Kudr.

the rest of Shawwāl and Dhū al-Qa'dah (which ended May 24, 624), and during this period most of the captives of Quraysh were ransomed.

As for al-Wāqidī, he asserts that the Prophet's expedition to al-Kudr was in Muḥarram in the third year of the Hijrah (which began June 24, 624), that on this expedition his banner was carried by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and that he left Ibn Umm Maktūm al-Ma'īṣī in charge of Medina.[152]

Some authorities say that the Prophet returned to Medina from the expedition to al-Kudr, having driven off livestock without any fighting, on 10 Shawwāl (April 5, 624). He then sent Ghālib b. [1364] 'Abd Allāh al-Laythī, on Sunday, 10 Shawwāl, as leader of a raid against the Banū Sulaym and Ghaṭafān. The Muslims killed some of the enemy, took their livestock, and returned to Medina with their booty, on Saturday, fourteen days before the end of Shawwāl (April 11, 624). Three of the Muslims were martyred. The Messenger of God stayed in Medina until Dhū al-Ḥijjah (May 25—June 23, 624) and led the expedition of al-Sawīq on Sunday, seven days before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

The Expedition of al-Sawīq (the Barley-Meal)[153]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī)—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When the Messenger of God returned to Medina from the expedition to al-Kudr, he remained there for the rest of Shawwāl of the second year of the Hijrah and Dhū al-Qa'da (which ended May 24, 624). Then Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb went on the expedition of al-Sawīq in Dhū al-Ḥijjah. In this year the polytheists led the pilgrimage.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq —Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr, and Yazīd b. Rūmān and one whose authority I do not doubt—'Ubayd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik, who was one of the best-informed of the Anṣār: After the battle of Badr, when Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb returned to Mecca, along with the routed remnants of Quraysh, he swore that no water would touch his head to purify him from ritual impurity until he had led an ex- [1365]

152. Ibn Umm Maktūm is said to have been the blind man in respect of whom Sūrah 80 was revealed. Ma'īṣ is a subclan of the Meccan clan of 'Āmir.

153. IH, 543f.; W,181f. *Sawīq* is barley-meal, which was usually consumed in the form of gruel. The reason for the name is explained by al-Wāqidī below.

pedition against Muḥammad. In order to fulfil his vow, he set out at the head of two hundred horsemen of Quraysh and took the Najdī route, halting in the upper part of Qanāt by a mountain called Tayt (variant Thayb), a stage or so from Medina. Then he set out by night and came, while it was still night, to the Banū al-Naḍīr. He went to Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab and knocked at his door, but Ḥuyayy refused to open up, being afraid of him. Then he went to Sallām b. Mishkam, who was the chief of al-Naḍīr at that time and their treasurer, and asked to be allowed to enter. Sallām did so, provided him with food and drink, and gave him confidential information about the Muslims. Towards the end of the night, Abū Sufyān left and returned to his companions, then sent some men of Quraysh into Medina. These went to a district called al-'Urayḍ, set fire to date gardens there, and killed a man of the Anṣār and his confederate whom they found in arable ground belonging to the man. After that, they left and went back. The Muslims caught sight of them, however, and the Messenger of God set out in pursuit. He went as far as Qarqarat al-Kudr but then turned back, because Abū Sufyān and his companions had eluded them. The Muslims saw the provisions which these had discarded in the fields in order to lighten their load and escape. When the Messenger of God returned, the Muslims said to him, "Do you hope that this will be counted in our favour as an expedition?" He replied, "Yes."

As Abū Sufyān was equipping himself to go from Mecca to Medina, he had recited the following lines of verse to spur on Quraysh:

[1366] Wheel round and attack Yathrib and its population,
for what they have gathered together is booty for you.
Even though the day of the Well may have gone in their favour,
what comes after it will turn out in your favour.
I have sworn that I will not approach women
and that the water of ablution will not touch my head and skin
Until you destroy the tribes of al-Aws
and al-Khazraj; indeed my heart is on fire.

Ka'b b. Mālik replied to him in these words:

The mother of those who praise God sighs
for Ibn Ḥarb's army which was so futile in the *Ḥarrah*
When the Muslims threw aside the bodies of those upon whom
the birds had gorged their fill, flying to the top of the mountains.
They came with an army the kneeling-place of whose camels,
if it were measured,
would be no more than the hollow left by a jackal,
Denuded of victory and wealth, and denuded
of the heroes of the Valley, and of spears.

As for al-Wāqidī, he asserts that the expedition of al-Sawīq was in Dhū al-Qa'dah in the second year of the Hijrah (which began April 25, 624), and says, "The Messenger of God set out at the head of two hundred of his companions, of the Emigrants and the Anṣār." Then he gives an account of the journey of Abū Sufyān which is similar to that given by Ibn Isḥāq, except that he says, "He (meaning Abū Sufyān) passed by a man called Ma'bad b. 'Amr, who had a hired worker with him, at al-'Urayḍ, killed them both and set fire to some houses and straw there. He then considered that he was released from his vow. The clamour came to the ears of the Prophet, and the people assembled for fighting and set out on his track, but they were unable to catch him." [1367]

He goes on, "Abū Sufyān and his companions were throwing down sacks of barley-meal in order to lighten themselves, this being the main part of their provisions. For this reason it was called the *ghazwat al-sawīq* (the barley-meal expedition).

Al-Wāqidī says: The Messenger of God left Abū Lubābah b. 'Abd al-Mundhir in charge of Medina.

Other Events of the Year

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī says): In this year, that is the second year of the Hijrah, there died, in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn. The Messenger of God buried him in al-Naqī', and set a stone at his head to mark his grave. It is said that al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was born in this year.

According to Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī)—al-Wāqidī—Ibn Abī Sabrah—Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh—Abū Jaʿfar: ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib married Fāṭimah in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, at the beginning of the twenty-second month.

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: If this account is correct, then the previous report is erroneous.[154]

It is said that in this year the Messenger of God wrote the *Maʿāqil*, which was suspended from his sword.[155]

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154. See 1273 above and n.43.

155. *Maʿāqil*, plural of *maʿqūlah*, which like *diyah* means "blood-money." Muḥammad is said to have drawn up regulations about this; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i.271; ii.204. Cf. also *EI*², arts ʿĀḳila (R.Brunschwig), Diya (E. Tyan).

The Events of the Year 3

(June 24, 624–June 12, 625)

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: When the Messenger of God returned from the "barley-meal expedition" he remained in Medina for the rest of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (which began May 25, 624) and for Muḥarram (which began June 24, 624), or nearly all of it, and then mounted an expedition to Najd against Ghaṭafān, which is known as the expedition of Dhū Amarr.[156] He spent the whole of Ṣafar (which began July 24, 624), or almost all of it, in Najd and then returned to Medina without [1368] any fighting. He spent all but a small part of Rabīʿ al-Awwal (which began August 22, 624) there, and then went on an expedition against Quraysh and the Banū Sulaym. He went as far as Buḥrān, a mine in Ḥijāz in the region of al-Furʿ, spent Rabīʿ al-Ākhir and Jumādā al-Ūlā (September 21–November 18, 624) there, and then returned to Medina without any fighting.

156. IH, 544. IH omits "Muḥarram," but it is implied by what follows.

The Story of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf[157]

Abu Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In this year the Prophet sent a party against Ka'b b. al-Ashraf. Al-Wāqidī asserts that the Prophet sent this party in Rabī' al-Awwal of this year. Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq says: When the Meccans suffered disaster at Badr, Zayd b. Ḥārithah went to the people of the Sāfilah and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥah went to the people of the 'Āliyah, both sent by the Messenger of God to the Muslims in Medina to bring the good news of the victory granted to him by God and the killing of a number of polytheists.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abd Allāh b. Mughīth b. Abī Burdah b. Asīr al-Ẓafarī, and 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, and 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah and Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Umāmah b. Sahl; all of them, (Ibn Isḥāq) said, related a part of his story to me: Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, was a man of (the tribe of) Ṭayyi', one of the Banū Nabhān, and his mother was from the (Jewish clan of) Banū al-Naḍīr. When the news reached him, he said, "Alas! Is this true? Can Muḥammad have killed these people whom these two men (meaning Zayd b. [1369] Ḥārithah and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥah) have named? These are the nobles of the Arabs and the kings of men! By God, if Muḥammad has killed these people, then the belly of the earth is a better place for us than its surface!" When the enemy of God became convinced of the truth of the report, he set out and went to Mecca to stay with al-Muṭṭalib b. Abī Wadā'ah b. Ḍubayrah al-Sahmī, who was married to 'Ātikah bt. Asīd b. Abī al-'Īṣ b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams. She received him and offered him hospitality, and he began to arouse people against the Messenger of God, to recite verses, and to weep for the People of the Well from Quraysh who were killed at Badr. Then Ka'b b. al-Ashraf went back to Medina and composed the following amatory poem on Umm al-Faḍl bt. al-Ḥārith:[158]

Are you leaving without stopping in a valley,
and abandoning Umm al-Faḍl in the Ḥaram?

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157. IH, 548–55; W, 184–93.

158. Umm al-Faḍl bt. al-Ḥārith was the wife of al-'Abbās, but it is not clear why Ka'b should have praised her. She was from the important nomadic tribe of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah.

Pale-skinned she is, and scented with saffron; if she
were squeezed, she would exude scent, henna and hair-dye.
When she makes to rise, but then does not, what
lies between her ankles and her elbows quivers.
Like Umm Ḥakīm when she was close to us,
the bonds that link us are firm and unsevered
One of the Banū ʿĀmir by whom my heart is driven
to madness; but if she wished, she could cure Kaʿb of
his sickness.
The chief of women; and her father is the chief of
his tribe, a people of high repute, who live up to their
obligations.
Never before her have I seen a sun rising at
night, appearing to us when there is no moon.

Then he composed love poetry on some of the women of the Muslims, causing them offence.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbd Allāb b. al-Mughīth b. Abī Burdah: The Prophet said, "Who will rid me of Ibn al-Ashraf?" Muḥammad b. Maslamah, the brother of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, said, "I will rid you of him, O Messenger of God. I will kill him." "Do it then," he said, [1370] "if you can." Muḥammad b. Maslamah went back and remained for three days, neither eating nor drinking more than would keep him alive. The Messenger of God got to hear of this, so he summoned him and said to him, "Why have you left off food and drink?" "O Messenger of God," he said, "I said something, and I do not know whether or not I can fulfil it." "All that you are obliged to do is try," he replied. "O Messenger of God," he said, "we shall have to tell lies." "Say what you like," he replied. "You are absolved in the matter." Then Muḥammad b. Maslamah, Silkān b. Salāmah b. Waqsh, otherwise known as Abū Nāʾilah, one of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, and the foster brother of Kaʿb, ʿAbbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh, one of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, al-Ḥārith b. Aws b. Muʿādh, one of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, and Abū ʿAbs b. Jabr, one of the Banū Hāritḥah, made a plan to kill him. Before they all went to Ibn al-Ashraf, they sent ahead Silkān b. Salāmah Abū Nāʾilah. He went to him, and they spoke together for a while, and recited verses to one another, for Abū Nāʾilah was

something of a poet. Then he said, "Ibn al-Ashraf, I have come to you about a matter of which I should like to speak to you, but keep it to yourself." "Go ahead," he replied. "The arrival of this man has been an affliction for us," he said. "The Beduin are hostile to us, and all of them attack us. We cannot travel along the roads, and the result is that our families are facing ruin and suffering. We are all suffering and our families are suffering." Ka'b replied, "By God, I, Ibn al-Ashraf, warned you, Ibn Salāmah, that things would turn out like this." Silkān said, "I would like you to sell us some food. We will give you a surety and make a firm contract; please treat us generously." "Give me your sons as a surety," he said. "Do you want to disgrace us?" he asked. "I have
[1371] some companions with me who think the same way that I do. I would like to bring them to you so that you can sell to them; please treat us generously. We will deposit with you sufficient coats of mail to guarantee payment of the debt." Silkān wanted him not to be suspicious about the weapons when they came bearing them. He replied, "Coats of mail will be a satisfactory guarantee." Silkān went back to his companions, informed them of what had happened, and told them to take their weapons, set off, and join him. They came together at the house of the Messenger of God.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Thawr b. Zayd al-Dīlī—'Ikrimah, the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Abbās—Ibn 'Abbās: The Messenger of God went with them to Baqī' al-Gharqad and then sent them off, saying, "Go in the name of God; O God, aid them!" Then the Messenger of God went back to his house. It was a moonlit night, and they went forward until they reached Ka'b's stronghold.[159] Then Abū Nā'ilah called out to him. He had recently married, and he leapt up in his blanket. His wife took hold of one end of it, and said, "You are a fighting man; a man of war does not leave his house at an hour like this." He replied, "It is Abū Nā'ilah. If he had found me sleeping, he would not have wakened me." "By God," she said, "I sense evil in his voice!" Then Ka'b said to her, "Even if a brave man is summoned

159. One of the features of Medina was the existence of many "strongholds" (*āṭām*, sing. *uṭum*), that is, small forts or fortified houses where those inside were secure from hostile attack.

to a sword thrust, he responds." He went down and spoke with them for a while, and they spoke with him. Then they said to him, "Would you like to walk with us, Ibn al-Ashraf, to Shi'b al-'Ajūz, so that we can talk there for the rest of the night?" "If you like," he said. So they set out together and walked for a while. Then Abū Nā'ilah thrust his hand into the hair of his temple, smelt it, and said, "I have never known perfume to smell so good as it does tonight." Then he walked on for a while, and did the [1372] same thing again, so that Ka'b relaxed his guard. Then he walked on for a while, and did it again, taking hold of the hair of both temples. Then he said, "Strike the enemy of God!" Their swords rained blows upon him, but to no avail. Muḥammad b. Maslamah said later, "When I saw that our swords were of no avail, I remembered a long, thin dagger which I had in my scabbard, and took hold of it. By this time the enemy of God had shouted so loudly that lamps had been lit in all the strongholds around us. I plunged the dagger into his breast and pressed upon it so heavily that it reached his pubic region, and the enemy of God fell. Al-Ḥārith b. Aws b. Mu'ādh had been wounded in the head or the leg, struck by one of our swords. We left, passing through the quarters of the Banū Umayyah b. Zayd and the Banū Qurayẓah, and then through Bu'āth, until we climbed up the *ḥarrah* of al-'Urayḍ. Our companion al-Ḥārith b. Aws was lagging behind us, bleeding heavily, so we waited for him for a while, and then he came to us, having followed in our footsteps.

We lifted him up and carried him to the Messenger of God at the end of the night. He was standing in prayer, so we greeted him, and he came out to meet us. We told him that the enemy of God had been killed, he spat upon the wound of our companion, and we returned to our families. The next morning, the Jews were in a state of fear on account of our attack upon the enemy of God, and there was not a Jew there but feared for his life.

The Messenger of God said, "Whoever of the Jews falls into your hands, kill him." So Muḥayyiṣah b. Mas'ūd fell upon Ibn Sunaynah, one of the Jewish merchants who was on close terms with them and used to trade with them, and killed him. Ḥuway- [1373] yiṣah b. Mas'ūd (his brother) at that time had not accepted Islam; he was older than Muḥayyiṣah, and when (the latter) killed (the Jew), he began beating him and saying, "O enemy of God, have

you killed him? By God, you have much fat in your belly from his wealth." Muḥayyiṣah said, "I said to him, 'By God, if he who commanded me to kill him had commanded me to kill you, I would have cut off your head.'" And, by God, that was the beginning of Ḥuwayyiṣah's acceptance of Islam. He said, "If Muḥammad had ordered you to kill me, you would have killed me?" and I replied, "Yes, by God, if he had ordered me to kill you I would have cut off your head." "By God," he said, "a faith which has brought you to this is indeed a marvel." Then Ḥuwayyiṣah accepted Islam.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: This report was related to me by a *mawlā* of the Banū Ḥārithah —the daughter of Muḥayyiṣah—her father.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: Al-Wāqidī asserts that they brought Ibn al-Ashraf's head to the Messenger of God. Al-Wāqidī also asserts that in Rabī' al-Awwal of this year (which began August 22, 624) 'Uthmān b. 'Affān married Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the Messenger of God, and that she was brought to his house in Jumādā al-Ākhirah (which began November 19, 624). He further asserts that in Rabī' al-Awwal of this year the Messenger of God led the expedition of Anmār, known as Dhū Amarr. We have mentioned Ibn Isḥāq's opinion about this previously.

Al-Wāqidī says: In this month was born al-Sā'ib b. Yazīd b. Ukht al-Namir.

The Expedition to al-Qaradah[160]

Al-Wāqidī says: in Jumādā al-Ākhirah (which began November
[1374] 19, 624) of this year the expedition to al-Qaradah took place. Its leader is said to have been Zayd b. Ḥārithah. This is the first expedition led by Zayd b. Ḥārithah.

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī)—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah —Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God sent Zayd b. Ḥārithah on an expedition in which he captured the caravan of Quraysh led by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb at Qaradah, a watering place in Najd. After what happened at the battle of Badr, Quraysh were afraid to take the road which they used to follow to Syria and instead took the

160. IH, 547f.; W, 197f.

Iraq route. A number of their merchants set out, and among them was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb with a large amount of silver, since this was the main part of their merchandise. They hired a man of Bakr b. Wā'il named Furāt b. Ḥayyān to guide them along this route. The Messenger of God sent out Zayd b. Ḥārithah, who met them at that watering place and captured the caravan and its goods, but was unable to take the men. He then brought the caravan to the Messenger of God.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: As for al-Wāqidī, he asserts that the reason for this expedition was that Quraysh said, "Muḥammad has damaged our trade, and sits astride our road." Abū Sufyān and Ṣafwān b. Umayyah then argued, "If we stay in Mecca we will consume our capital." Abu Zam'ah al-Aswad said, "I will show you a man who will guide you along the Najdī route; he would find his way if he followed it with his eyes shut." Ṣafwān said, "Who is he? Our need for water is small, for winter is upon us." He said, "Furāt b. Ḥayyān." They summoned him and hired him. He led them out, it being winter, and took them by Dhāt 'Irq and then by Ghamrah. The news of the caravan reached the Prophet, [1375] as also the information that it contained much wealth and silver vessels which were being carried by Ṣafwān b. Umayyah. Zayd b. Ḥārithah therefore set out, intercepted the caravan, and made himself master of it, although the leading men escaped. The fifth (*khums*) was twenty thousand (dirhams); the Messenger of God took it and divided the other four fifths among the members of the expedition. Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-'Ijlī was taken captive. They said to him, "If you accept Islam, the Messenger of God will not kill you." When the Messenger of God summoned him to Islam, he accepted it, and was allowed to go free.

The Killing of Abū Rāfi' the Jew[161]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In this year, it is said, the killing of Abū Rāfi' the Jew took place. The reason for his being killed was, it is said, that he used to take the part of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf against the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God is said to have sent

161. IH, 714–6, 981; W, 391–5; Watt, *Medina*, 212f.

'Abd Allāh b.'Atīk against him in the middle of Jumādā al-Ākhirah of this year (which began November 19, 624).

According to Hārūn b. Isḥāq al-Hamdānī—Muṣ'ab b. Miqdām—Isrā'īl—Abū Isḥāq—al-Barā': The Messenger of God sent some of the Anṣār under the command of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uqbah or 'Abd Allah b. 'Atīk against Abū Rāfi' the Jew, who was in the Ḥijāz. Abū Rāfi' used to injure and wrong the Messenger of God. He lived in his stronghold in the Ḥijāz. When the Muslim party drew
[1376] close to it, as the sun was setting and the people were bringing their flocks back, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uqbah or 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk said to the others, "Stay where you are, and I will go and ingratiate myself with the doorkeeper, in the hope of gaining entrance." He went forward, and when he was close to the door, he wrapped himself up in his cloak as though he were relieving himself. Everybody else had gone in, and the doorkeeper called to him, "You there, if you want to come in, come in, because I want to shut the door." "I went in," he said, "and hid myself in a donkey pen. When everybody had come in, the man shut the door and hung up the keys on a wooden peg. I went to the keys, took them, and opened the door. Abū Rāfi' had company that evening in some upper rooms, and when his guests left I went up to him. Every time I opened a door, I shut it again behind me from inside, saying to myself, 'If they become aware of me, they will not be able to reach me before I kill him.' When I reached him, he was in a dark room along with his family. As I did not know where he was in the room, I said, 'Abū Rāfi'!' and he said, 'Who is that?' I rushed toward the sound and gave him a blow with my sword, but I was in a state of confusion and did not achieve anything. He gave a shout, and I left the room but remained close at hand. I then went in again and said, 'What was that noise, Abū Rafi'?' 'God damn it,' he said, 'there is a man in the house who has just struck me with
[1377] his sword.' Then I hit him and covered him with wounds, but I could not kill him, so I thrust the point of my sword into his stomach until it came out through his back. At that, I knew that I had killed him, and I opened the doors one by one until I reached a flight of stairs. Thinking that I had reached the ground, I put my foot out but fell into a moonlit night and broke my leg. I bound it up with my turban and moved on. Finally, finding myself sitting by the door, I said to myself, 'By God, I will not leave tonight un-

til I know whether I have killed him or not.' When the cock crowed, the announcer of his death stood upon the wall and said, 'I announce the death of Abū Rāfiʿ, the profit-maker of the people of Ḥijāz.' I went to my companions and said, 'Deliverance! God has killed Abū Rāfiʿ.' Then I went to the Prophet and told him, and he said, 'Stretch out your leg!' When I stretched it out, he stroked it, and it was as though I had never had anything wrong with it."

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: As for al-Wāqidī, he asserts that this expedition sent by the Messenger of God against Abū Rāfiʿ Sallām b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq was sent in the fourth year of the Hijrah in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (which began May 4, 626) and that those who went to him and killed him were Abū Qatādah, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAtīk, Masʿūd b. Sinān, al-Aswad b. Khuzāʿī, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays. [1378]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Sallām b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq, who was Abū Rāfiʿ, was one of those who had mustered the *aḥzāb* against the Messenger of God. Al-Aws had killed Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf before Uḥud on account of his enmity to the Messenger of God and his inciting people against him, and so al-Khazraj asked permission of the Messenger of God to kill Sallām b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq, who was in Khaybar, and was granted this.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī—ʿAbd Allah b. Kaʿb b. Mālik: One of the favours which God conferred upon his Prophet was that these two tribes of the Anṣār, al-Aws and al-Khazraj, used to vie with one another like stallions as regards the Messenger of God; al-Aws did not do anything which benefited the Messenger of God without al-Khazraj saying, "By God, they will not gain superiority over us in Islam in the eyes of the Messenger of God by doing this," and they would not cease until they had done something similar. When al-Khazraj did something, al-Aws said the same. Thus, when al-Aws killed Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf on account of his hostility to the Messenger of God, al-Khazraj said, "They will never take superiority from us by doing that." They conferred together to find a man comparable to Ibn al-Ashraf in hostility to the Messenger of God and called to mind Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq, who was in Khaybar. They then asked the Messenger of God for permission to kill him, and this he gave. Five men of al-Khazraj, of the clan of Banu Salimah, [1379]

set out, 'Abd Allāh b.'Atīk, Mas'ūd b. Sinān, 'Abd Allah b. Unays, Abū Qatādah al-Ḥārith b. Rib'ī, and Khuzā'ī b. al-Aswad, a confederate of theirs from (the tribe of) Aslam. The Messenger of God put 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk in command of them and forbade them to kill women or children. Setting out, they reached Khaybar and entered Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq's house by night. As they went, they shut the door of every room in the house upon its occupants. Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq was in an upper room reached by a spiral stairway. They climbed up this, went to the door, and asked permission to enter. A woman came out to them and said, "Who are you?" They replied, "We are some beduin seeking provisions of grain." She said, "The man you want is over there; go in and see him." "When we went in," (they said), "we shut the door behind her, ourselves, and him, being afraid that a patrol might prevent us from getting at him. His wife gave a shout to warn him of our presence, and we rushed upon him with our swords as he was in his bed. By God, the only thing which guided us to him in the blackness of the night was his whiteness, as though he were a piece of Egyptian linen thrown down there.

"When his wife shouted that we were there, one of us would raise his sword against her; then he would remember the Prophet's prohibition and withdraw his hand. If it had not been for that, we would have dispatched him that night. After we had struck him with our swords, 'Abd Allāh b. Unays thrust his sword into his stomach and transfixed him while he was shouting, 'Enough! Enough!' At once we went out. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk had bad eye-
[1380] sight, and he fell off the stairway, bruising his leg severely. We lifted him up, took him to one of their water channels, and entered it. They lit lamps, and searched for us in every nook and cranny, but finally they gave up hope and went back to their master, crowding round him as he lay dying. We said to ourselves, 'How shall we know that the enemy of God is dead?' One of us said, 'I will go and look for you.' He set off and mingled with the people. He said later, 'I found him with the men of the Jews, and with his wife, who had a lamp in her hand and was looking into his face. Then she said, speaking to them, "By God, I recognised the voice of Ibn 'Atīk, but then I thought I must be wrong, and said to myself, 'How could Ibn 'Atīk be in this country?'" Then she turned to him to look in his face, and said, "By the God of the

Jews, he is dead." 'I never heard any words more pleasing to me, said our companion.

"He then came back to us and told us the news. We lifted up our injured companion, went to the Messenger of God, and told him that we had killed the enemy of God. We disagreed in his presence about the killing of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq, each of us claiming to have done it. The Messenger of God then said, 'Bring your swords,' and when we did so he looked at them and said, 'This sword of 'Abd Allāh b. Unays killed him. I can see the marks left by bones on it.'"

Speaking of the killing of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf and Sallām b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq, Ḥassān b.Thābit[162] said:

How excellent are the people whom we met, Ibn (Abī)
al-Ḥuqayq and you, Ibn al-Ashraf!
Travelling by night towards you with nimble swords, [1381]
as proud as lions in a wooded den
Until they came to you in your country, and made you
taste death with sweeping swords,
Vigilant for the victory of the faith of their Prophet,
and setting at naught every calamity.

According to Mūsā b.'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Masrūqī and 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-'Aẓīm al-'Anbarī—Ja'far b. 'Awn—Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl—Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b b. Mālik—his father—his mother, the daughter of 'Abd Allāh b. Unays—'Abd Allāh b. Unays: The company whom the Messenger of God sent to Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq to kill him comprised 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk, 'Abd Allāh b. Unays, Abū Qatādah, one of their confederates, and a man of the Anṣār. They reached Khaybar at night. 'Abd Allāh b. Unays said, "We went to their doors, shut them from the outside, and took the keys, so that they were locked in. Then we threw the keys into an irrigation ditch and went to the upper room where [1382] Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq was lying. 'Abd Allāh b.'Atīk and I went up there while our companions sat down by the wall. 'Abd Allāh b.'Atīk asked permission to enter, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq's wife

162. Ḥassān b. Thābit of the tribe of al-Khazraj in Medina was the most prominent of the poets supporting Muḥammad; cf. *EI*², art. Ḥassān b. Thābit (W. Arafat). This poem is to be found in his *Dīwān*, ed. Arafat, London 1971, i.211f.

said, 'That is 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk's voice.' Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq said, 'May your mother be bereaved of you! 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk is in Yathrib. How could he be with you at this hour? Open the door! No honourable man turns visitors from his door at such an hour.' So she got up and opened the door, and I and 'Abd Allāh went in to Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīq said, 'You take care of her!' So I unsheathed my sword against her, and I was going to strike her with it, but I remembered that the Messenger of God had forbidden the killing of women and children, and I desisted. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk went up to Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq. 'I looked at him,' he said, 'at the extreme whiteness of his skin in a dark upper room, and when he saw me and saw the sword, he took the pillow and tried to fend me off with it. I made to strike him, but was unable to do so, and instead pierced him with it.' Then 'Abd Allāh b. Unays came out to join me, and said, 'Shall I kill him?' I said, 'Yes,' so he went in and finished him off.

"Then (said 'Abd Allāh b. Unays) I went out to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk and we left, and the woman shouted, 'A night raid! A night raid!' Then 'Abd Allāh b. 'Atīk fell down the staircase and said, 'My leg! My leg!' I carried him until I was able to lay him down on the ground and said, 'Go! There is nothing wrong with your leg.' So we left. We came to our companions and set off. Then I remembered my bow, which I had left in the staircase. I returned for my bow, and there were the people of Khaybar, surging against
[1383] one another and saying nothing but, 'Who has killed Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq? Who has killed Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq?" I did not look anybody in the face, while nobody looked me in the face, but I merely said, "Who has killed Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq?" I then went up the staircase, while people were going up and down, took my bow from where it was and left. When I reached my companions, we hid during the day and travelled by night; when we were hiding we posted one of our number as a sentry to keep watch for us, and if he saw anything he would signal to us, and we would move on. When we were at al-Bayḍā', I (Mūsā said, 'I was their sentinel,' and 'Abbās said, 'I was their sentry,') gave the signal, and they moved off at a brisk pace. I followed in their footsteps until we were close to Medina, and then caught up with them. They said, "What is the matter? Have you seen something?" "No," I said,

"But I knew that you were exhausted and ill, and I wanted fear to spur you on."'"

The Prophet Marries Ḥafṣah

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In this year the Prophet married Ḥafṣah bt. 'Umar, in Sha'bān (which began January 17, 625).[163] She had previously been married to Khunays b. Ḥudhāfah al-Sahmī in the Jāhiliyyah, and he had left her a widow.

The Expedition to Uḥud[164]

In this year also there took place the expedition of the Messenger of God to Uḥud. This is said to have been on Saturday, 7 Shawwāl, in Year Three of the Hijrah (March 23, 625).

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: What provoked the expedition to Uḥud by the polytheists of Quraysh against the Messenger of God was the battle of Badr and the killing of those nobles and chiefs of Quraysh who were killed there.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: (Ibn Isḥāq said) Muḥammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Shihāb [1384]
al-Zuhrī and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥibbān and 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda b and al-Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b.Mu'ādh and others of our scholars have all related a part of this narrative concerning the day of Uḥud, and their narrative is combined in the account which I have given of the day of Uḥud. They say that when Quraysh—or, according to some versions, when the People of the Well of the unbelievers of Quraysh on the day of Badr—were overtaken by disaster, and their defeated remnants reached Mecca, and when Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb returned with his caravan, 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Rabī'ah, 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl, and Ṣafwān b. Umayyah went at the head of a number of men of Quraysh whose fathers, sons, and brothers had been killed at Badr

163. There were reasons of state for Muḥammad's marriage with Ḥafṣah, as with virtually all his other marriages. She was the daughter of one of his chief supporters, 'Umar, later second caliph. Her first husband was a Muslim from Mecca killed at Badr.

164. IH, 555–638; W, 199–334; Watt, *Medina*, 21–9.

and addressed Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and those members of Quraysh who had goods in that caravan, saying, "Men of Quraysh, Muḥammad has bereaved you and killed the best of you; aid us with this wealth to wage war against him and perhaps we will obtain vengeance upon him for those of us who have been killed." They agreed to do so. When Abū Sufyān and the owners of the caravan agreed to this, Quraysh assembled to wage war against the Messenger of God, together with their Aḥābīsh[165] and those of the tribes of Kinānah and the people of Tihāmah who obeyed them.
[1385] All of these people raised a clamour to wage war against the Messenger of God.

Abū ʿAzzah ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jumaḥī had been treated kindly by the Messenger of God on the day of Badr, being a poor man with daughters. He was among the captives, and he said, "O Messenger of God, I am a poor man with a family and with needs which you are aware of; so treat me kindly, may God bless you!" The Messenger of God then treated him kindly.

Ṣafwān b. Umayyah now said, "Abū ʿAzzah, you are a poet, so aid us with your tongue, and join our expedition." "Muḥammad has treated me kindly," he replied, "and I do not wish to help against him." "No," he urged, "aid us in person, and I swear before God that if you return I will make you a rich man and that if you are killed I will treat your daughters as I treat my own daughters; whatever hardship or prosperity comes my daughters' way will come their way." With this assurance, Abū ʿAzzah joined the expedition, travelling through Tihāmah and calling upon the Banū Kinānah. Similarly, Musāfiʿ b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Wahb b. Hudhāfah b. Jumaḥ went to the Banū Mālik b. Kinānah to rouse them and call upon them to fight the Messenger of God.

Jubayr b.Muṭʿim called a slave of his called Waḥshī, who was an Abyssinian who threw his javelin in the Abyssinian manner and rarely missed with it, and said to him, "Go with the army, and if you kill Muḥammad's uncle in retaliation for my uncle Ṭuʿaymah b. ʿAdī, you are free." Quraysh set out armed and determined

165. These Aḥābīsh (meaning "group of people not all of one tribe") were a confederacy of small clans or subtribes. The most important was Banū al-Ḥarith b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kinānah; others were al-Muṣṭaliq and al-Hūn (with subdivisions ʿAḍal and al-Qārah). The assertion of Henri Lammens that they were Abyssinian slave mercenaries is mistaken. Cf. *EI*², art. Ḥabash. last section.

on battle, with their Aḥābīsh and those of the Banū Kinānah and the people of Tihāmah who were with them. They had taken their womenfolk with them in the hope that they would be spurred on by zeal to defend these and would not run away. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, who was the leader of the army, had with him [1386] Hind bt. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah; 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah had with him Umm Ḥakīm bt. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah; al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah had with him Fāṭimah bt. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah; Ṣafwān b. Umayyah b. Khalaf had with him Barzah (Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] asserts that some say Barrah) bt. Mas'ūd b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaqafiyyah, the mother of 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣafwān; 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ b. Wā'il had with him Rayṭah bt. Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj, the mother of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ; Ṭalḥah b. Abī Ṭalḥah, who was 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b.'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Dār, had with him Sulāfah bt. Sa'd b. Shuhayd, the mother of Musāfi', al-Julās, and Kilāb, sons of Ṭalḥah, who were killed on that day together with their father; Khunās bt. Mālik b. al-Muḍarrib, one of the women of the Banū Mālik b. Ḥisl, and the mother of Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, set out with her son Abū 'Azīz b. 'Umayr, and 'Amrah bt. 'Alqamah, one of the women of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah, also set out.

Every time Hind bt. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah passed by Waḥshī, or he [1387] passed by her, she would say, "Go to it, Abū Dusmah! Quench my thirst for vengeance, and quench your own!" Abū Dusmah was Waḥshī's *kunyah*.[166]

The Meccan force went forward, and halted at 'Aynayn on a hill in the valley of al-Sabkhah of Qanāt on the edge of the wadi nearest to Medina. When the Messenger of God and the Muslims

166. The *kunyah* or "parent name" is the name of the form "Abū M" or "Umm N" ("father of M," "mother of N"), and was a title of respect. M or N was usually the eldest son, but, especially in Medina, could instead be a daughter. Sometimes a *kunyah* seems to have been given to children as a first name, as in the case of Muḥammad's daughter Umm Kulthūm, and sometimes as a kind of nickname. While Waḥshī could conceivably have had a daughter called Dusmah (or Dasmah), it seems more likely that Abū Dusmah, "father of duskiness or blackness," was felt to be an appropriate name for an Abyssinian slave; but it does not seem to be a disrespectful mode of address, just as the name of Muḥammad's uncle Abū Lahab probably originally meant "father of brightness," although Sūrah 91 links it with the flame (*lahab*) of Hell.

heard that they were camped there, the Messenger of God said to the Muslims, "I saw in a dream some cattle, and interpreted them as a good omen; and I saw that the blade of my sword was notched, and I saw that I had put on an invulnerable coat of mail, and I interpreted that as Medina. If you see fit to remain in Medina and to leave them encamped where they are, well and good; for, if they remain there, they will be in the worst possible place, and if they enter Medina to fight us, we will fight them here."

Quraysh camped at Uḥud on Wednesday and remained there on that day, Thursday, and Friday. When the Messenger of God had led the Friday prayer, he went out and reached the gorge of Uḥud the following morning. Battle was joined on Saturday, halfway through Shawwāl (March 23, 625).

The opinion of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl was the same as the opinion of the Messenger of God on this matter, that he should not go out to meet the enemy. Yet, although the Messenger of God had not wanted to go out of Medina, some men of the Muslims whom God ennobled with martyrdom on the day of Uḥud, and others who had missed Badr and the chance to be there, said,
[1388] "O Messenger of God, lead us out to our enemies so that they may not think that we are too cowardly and weak to face them." ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl said, "O Messenger of God, stay in Medina and do not go out to meet them. By God, we have never gone out of it to meet an enemy but that they have inflicted severe losses on us; and no enemy has ever entered it but that we have inflicted severe losses on them. Leave them alone, O Messenger of God, and if they remain, they will be in the worst possible place; and if they enter Medina, the men will fight them face to face, and the women and boys will hurl stones at them from above; if they then withdraw, they will withdraw disappointed in their hopes, as they came." Those who were eager to meet the enemy, however, continued to press the Messenger of God until he went into his house and put on his coat of mail. This was on Friday, after he had finished the prayer.

On that day there had died a man of the Anṣār called Mālik b. ʿAmr, one of the Banū al-Najjār. The Messenger of God prayed over him, and then went out to meet the enemy. By this time the people had repented; they said, "We have compelled the Messenger of God against his wishes, and we had no right to do this."

The narrative of al-Suddī.

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says that according to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn—Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī, when the Messenger of God heard that the polytheists of Quraysh and their followers had camped at Uḥud he said to his companions, "Advise me what I should do." They said, "O Messenger of God, lead us out to these dogs." The Anṣār said, "O Messenger of God, no enemy of ours has ever overcome us who came to us in our dwelling places, so how much more will this be the case now that you are among us." The Messenger of God called upon ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, although he had never called upon him before, [1389] and asked for his counsel. "O Messenger of God," he said, "lead us out to these dogs." The Messenger of God would have preferred that the enemy should enter Medina, so that the fighting could be in the alleyways. Al-Nuʿmān b. Mālik al-Anṣārī came to him and said, "O Messenger of God, do not deprive me of Paradise! By him who sent you with the truth, I shall indeed enter Paradise!" "In what way?" the Messenger of God said. Al-Nuʿmān replied, "By testifying that there is no deity but God and that you are the Messenger of God, and by not fleeing from the advancing enemy." "You have spoken the truth," the Messenger of God said. Al-Nuʿmān was killed that day.

The Messenger of God then called for his coat of mail and put it on. When they saw him armed, the people repented and said, "What an evil deed we have done, giving the Messenger of God advice when inspiration comes to him!" They rose up and apologised to him, saying, "Do what you see fit!" The Messenger of God replied, "It is not fitting for a prophet to put on his coat of mail and take it off again before fighting." So the Messenger of God went out to Uḥud at the head of a thousand men, having promised them victory if they showed endurance. When he went out, however, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl returned with three hundred men. Abū Jābir al-Salimī followed them, calling them, but they did not heed him[167] and said to him, "We know of no battle; and if you take our advice, you will come back with us." On

167. Al-Ṭabarī's text does not quite make sense here, perhaps owing to a careless abridgement, and has been slightly changed in translation; see Ibn Isḥāq's version below.

this occasion God said, "When two parties of you almost fell away. . . ."[168] The two parties were the Banū Salimah and the Banū Ḥārithah, who were minded to go back when ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy went back; but God restrained them, and the Messenger of God remained at the head of seven hundred men.

Resumption of the narrative of Ibn Isḥāq.

When the Messenger of God went out to do battle with the en-
[1390] emy, the Muslims said, "O Messenger of God, we have compelled you against your will, and we had no right to do this. If you wish, stay here, may God bless you." The Messenger of God replied, "It is not fitting for a prophet when he has put on his coat of mail to take it off until he fights." So the Messenger of God went out at the head of a thousand men of his companions until, when they were at al-Shawṭ, between Uḥud and Medina, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl split off from him with a third of the army, saying, "He obeyed them by setting out and disobeyed me. By God, we do not know why we should get ourselves killed here, men." So he went back to Medina with those of his people of the Hypocrites and doubters who followed him. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām, the brother of the Banū Salimah, followed them saying, "I call on you in God's name not to abandon your Prophet and your people when the enemy is here!" They replied, "If we knew that we were going to fight, we would not desert you, but we do not think that there is going to be a battle." When they thus refused to heed him and insisted on going back, he said, "God curse you, enemies of God! God will let us manage without you."

According to Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī: ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy split off from the Messenger of God at al-Shaykhayn with three hundred men, and the Messenger of God remained with seven hundred. The polytheists numbered three thousand and their cavalry numbered two hundred horse. Their womenfolk numbered fifteen.

Among the polytheists there were seven hundred men wearing coats of mail, while among the Muslims there were only one hundred. The Muslims had no cavalry with them apart from two

168. Qur. 3.22.

horses, one belonging to the Messenger of God and one belonging to Abū Burdah b. Niyār al-Ḥārithī. The Messenger of God set out before daybreak from al-Shaykhayn, just as the sky was beginning [1391] to redden. Al-Shaykhayn received the name from two strongholds which were looked after by a blind Jew and a blind Jewess who used to talk to one another; they were called al-Shaykhayn (the two old people) because of this. They lie at the furthest extremity of Medina.

The Messenger of God had reviewed his troops at al-Shaykhayn after sunset, allowing some to go on and sending some back. Among those whom he sent back were Zayd b. Thābit, Ibn ʿUmar, Usayd b. Ẓuhayr, al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, and ʿArābah b. Aws. The latter is the person of whom al-Shammākh said:

> I considered ʿArābah the Awsite a man of good deeds,
> one without equal
> When the banner of glory was raised aloft,
> ʿArābah accepted it with his right hand.

He also sent back Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, but allowed Samurah b. Jundub and Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj to go on. The Messenger of God had considered Rāfiʿ too young, but he stood on his pair of patched shoes and stretched himself on tiptoe to his full height, and when the Messenger of God saw him, he passed him.

According to Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (al-Wāqidī): Samurah's mother was married to Murayy b. Sinān b. Thaʿlabah, the uncle of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, and he was Samurah's stepfather. When the Messenger of God went out to Uḥud, reviewed his men and sent back those whom he thought too young, he sent back Samurah b. Jundub and passed Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj. Then Samurah b. Jundub said to his stepfather Murayy b. Sinān, "Father, the Messenger of God has passed Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj and sent me back, but I can throw Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj in wrestling." So Murayy [1392] b. Sinān said, "O Messenger of God, you have sent back my son and passed Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj, but my son can throw him in wrestling." The Messenger of God said to Rāfiʿ and Samurah, "Wrestle!" Samurah threw Rāfiʿ, and so the Messenger of God passed him, and he was present at the battle with the Muslims. The Prophet's guide was Abū Ḥathmah al-Ḥārithī.

Resumption of the narrative of Ibn Isḥāq.

As the Messenger of God was proceeding across the *ḥarrah* of the Banū Ḥārithah, a horse swished its tail, hit the handle of a sword, and knocked it out of its scabbard. The Messenger of God, who liked omens, although he did not take auguries from the flight of birds, said to the owner of the sword, "Sheathe your sword, for I see that swords will be drawn today." Then the Messenger of God said to his companions, "Who can take us close to the enemy by a road which will not cause us to pass by them?" Abū Ḥathmah, the brother of the Banū Ḥārithah b. al-Ḥārith, said, "I can, O Messenger of God." He took him through the *ḥarrah* of the Banū Ḥārithah and between their property, until he brought him to the property of al-Mirbaʿ b. Qayẓī, who was a Hypocrite, and blind. When the latter became aware of the presence of the Messenger of God and the Muslims with him, he rose up and threw dust in their faces, saying, "Even if you are the Messenger of God, I will not allow you into my garden!" I was told that he
[1393] took a handful of dust and then said: "If only I knew that I would not hit anyone else, Muḥammad, I would throw it in your face." The people rushed up to kill him, but the Messenger of God said, "Do not do so, for this man who is blind of sight is also blind of heart." Saʿd b. Yazīd, the brother of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, had rushed up to al-Mirbaʿ as the Messenger of God uttered this prohibition, and he split al-Mirbaʿ's head open with his bow.

The Messenger of God proceeded until he came down into the gorge from Uḥud on the slope up from the wadi towards the mountain. He stationed his men with their backs and their camp towards Uḥud, and said, "Let no one fight until I command him to fight." Quraysh had set their camels and horses free to pasture in some crops in al-Ṣamghah of Qanāt belonging to the Muslims, and one of the Muslims said, when the Messenger of God ordered them not to join battle, "Are the crops of the Banū Qaylah[169] to be used as grazing before we come to blows?" Then the Prophet prepared to fight with his seven hundred men, and Quraysh prepared to fight with their three thousand men and two hundred horses. They put Khālid b. al-Walīd in command of the right wing of the

169. Banū Qaylah is the name for the two tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj together, Qaylah being ostensibly the mother of both.

cavalry and 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl in command of the left wing. The Messenger of God put 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr, the brother of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, in comı and of the archers. He was distinguished on that day by white clothes, and the archers numbered fifty men. "Defend us against the cavalry with your arrows," he said, "and do not come up behind us whether the battle goes for us or against us. Hold firm to your position, so that we will not be attacked from your direction." Then the Messenger of God put on two coats of mail.

The Fighting Begins

According to Hārūn b. Isḥāq—Muṣ'ab b. al-Miqdām—Isrā'īl; [1394]
and (also) Ibn Wakī'—his father—Isrā'īl—Abū Isḥāq—al-Barā': When it was the day of Uḥud and the Messenger of God met the polytheists, he stationed certain men as archers and put them under the command of 'Abd Allāh b. Jubayr, with the order, "If you see us victorious over them, do not leave your position, and if you see them victorious over us, do not come to our assistance." When battle was joined, the polytheists were put to flight, and I saw the women tucking up their skirts in flight and exposing their anklets. A cry went up of "Booty, booty!" 'Abd Allāh said, "Not so fast! Do you not know the orders the Messenger of God gave you?" They refused to listen to him, however, and left. When they reached the others, God turned away their faces and seventy of the Muslims were killed.

According to Muḥammad b. Sa'd—his father—his paternal uncle—his father—his father—Ibn 'Abbās: Abū Sufyān arrived on 3 Shawwāl (March 19, 625) and camped at Uḥud. The Prophet marched out, called on the people to come to fight and assembled them round him. He ordered al-Zubayr, who had al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad al-Kindī with him on that day, to engage the cavalry, and gave the banner to a man of Quraysh called Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr. Next Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib marched out at the head of those who had no armour; he sent Ḥamzah out immediately in front of himself.

When Khālid b. al-Walīd advanced with the polytheist cavalry, together with 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl, the Messenger of God dispatched al-Zubayr with the order, "Meet Khālid b. al-Walīd and [1395]

engage him until I give you further orders." Then he gave orders concerning other (enemy) horsemen who were in another part of the field, and said, "Do not leave your positions until I give you further orders."

Abū Sufyān advanced, raising a cry of "Al-Lāt! Al-ʿUzzā!"[170] The Prophet sent al-Zubayr against the enemy, and when he attacked Khālid b. al-Walīd, God put Khālid and his companions to flight. With reference to this, God said, "Allah verily made good His promise unto you . . . after He had shown you that for which ye long." God had promised the believers that He would give them victory and that He would be with them.

The Messenger of God had sent certain people to take up positions behind his army, and said to them, "Stay here and turn back any of us who flees, and act as a guard for our rear." When the Messenger of God and his companions put the enemy to flight, those who had been posted to the rear said to one another, when they saw the enemy's women scrambling up the hill and saw the booty, "Let us go to the Messenger of God and get the booty before the others beat us to it." Another group said, "No, we should obey the Messenger of God and keep to our position." It is to this that God's words refer: "Whoso desireth . . . the world," i.e., those who desired the booty, "and whoso desireth . . . the Hereafter," i.e., those who said, "We should obey the Messenger of God and keep to our position."[171] Ibn Masʿūd used to say, "I never realised that any of the Prophet's companions desired the world and its goods until that day."

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn—Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍ-
[1396] ḍal—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: When the Messenger of God took the field at Uḥud, he gave orders to the archers who then took up a position at the base of the mountain facing the polytheist cavalry. He said, "Do not leave your positions if you see that we have put them to flight, for we shall not cease to be victorious as long as you keep to your positions."

He put ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr, the brother of Khawwāt b. Jubayr, in command of them.

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170. These are two goddesses worshipped by the Meccans; see Watt, *Mecca*, 102–4. The verse quoted below is Qur. 3.152.

171. Qur. 3.145.

Then Ṭalḥah b. 'Uthmān,[172] the polytheist's standard-bearer, rose up and said, "You companions of Muḥammad, you assert that God will hasten us to Hell by means of your swords, and that He will hasten you to Paradise by means of our swords. Is there one of you whom God will hasten to Paradise by means of my sword, or who will hasten me to Hell by means of his sword?" 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib rose up and said, "By him who holds my soul in his hand, I shall not separate from you until I have hastened you to Hell by means of my sword or until you have hastened me to Paradise by means of your sword." Then 'Alī struck him, cutting off his foot, and Talhah b. 'Uthmān fell down, exposing his genitals. He said, "I call on you in the name of God and in the name of blood-relationship, cousin!" So 'Alī left him, and the Messenger of God cried out, "God is great!" His companions said to 'Alī, "What prevented you from finishing him off?" He said, "My cousin called on me in God's name with his genitals exposed, and I felt a sense of shame before him."

After this al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad attacked the polytheists and put them to flight, while the Prophet and his companions charged and put Abū Sufyān to flight. When Khālid b. al-Walīd, who was in command of the polytheists' cavalry, saw this, he made a countercharge, but the archers rained arrows upon him, and his advance was checked. However, when the archers saw the Messenger of God and his companions in the heart of the polytheists' camp and plundering them, they hurried down to the booty. Some of them said, "Do not go against the command of the Messenger of God," but most of them went to the camp. When Khālid saw how few archers there were left, he [1397] shouted to his cavalry, charged, and killed the archers, and then charged the Prophet's companions. When the polytheists on foot saw that their cavalry was in action, they called to one another and renewed their attack on the Muslims, defeating them and killing some.

According to Bishr b. Ādam—'Amr b. 'Āṣim al-Kilābī—'Ubayd

172. The person intended is Ṭalḥah b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Uthmān, also known as Ṭalḥah b. Abī Ṭalḥah; see W, 225f. The exposure of the genitals was deliberate and was a way of asking for mercy. It is not clear what precise cousinship Ṭalḥah intended; his paternal aunt Barrah bt. 'Abd al-'Uzzā was Muḥammad's maternal grandmother.

Allāh b. al-Wāzi'—Hishām b. 'Urwah—his father—al-Zubayr: The Messenger of God displayed a sword in his hand on the day of Uḥud, and said, "Who will take this sword with its right?" I rose up and said, "I will, O Messenger of God." But he turned away from me, and said again, "Who will take this sword with its right?" I said again, "I will, O Messenger of God," but he turned away from me and said, "Who will take this sword with its right?" Then Abū Dujānah Simāk b. Kharashah rose up and said, "I will take it with its right. What is its right?" The Messenger of God replied,"Its right is that you should not kill a Muslim with it, and that you should not flee with it from an unbeliever." Then he gave it to him.

When he was eager for battle, Abū Dujānah used to wear a headband as a distinguishing mark, and I said to myself, "I shall see what he will do today." Thereafter if any one rose up before him, he slashed them down and ripped them apart. Finally, he came to some women on the lower slopes of a mountain who had tambourines with them; among them was a woman who was chanting:

We are the daughters of Ṭāriq
If you advance we will embrace you
And spread cushions
If you turn your backs we will leave you
And show you no tender love.

He raised his sword to strike them, but then let them be. I said to him, "I saw all of your deeds. Why did you decide to lower your sword after raising it against the woman?" He replied, "I respected the Messenger of God's sword too much to kill a woman with it."

[1398] Resumption of the narrative of Ibn Isḥāq.

The Messenger of God said, "Who will take this sword with its right?" Various men rose up, but he withheld it from them. Finally Abū Dujānah Simāk b. Kharashah, the brother of the Banū Sā'idah, rose up and said, "What is its right, O Messenger of God?" The Messenger of God replied, "That you should strike the enemy with it until it bends." Abū Dujānah said, "I will take it with its right, O Messenger of God"; so he gave it to him. Abū

Dujānah was a brave but conceited man when war broke out, and whenever he bound a red headband on his head as a distinguishing mark, people knew that he was going to fight. When he took the sword from the hand of the Messenger of God, he took his headband and bound it on his head. Then he began to strut between the opposing ranks.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ja'far b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aslam, the mawlā of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—a man of the Anṣār from the Banū Salima: When the Messenger of God saw Abū Dujānah strutting he said, "That is a gait which God hates except on an occasion like this."

Abū Sufyān had sent a messenger saying, "Men of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, leave us to deal with our cousin, and we will leave you; for we have no need to fight you." But they gave him a disagreeable answer.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq [1399]
—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: Abū 'Āmir 'Abd 'Amr b. Ṣayfī b. Mālik b. al-Nu'mān b. Amah, one of the Banū Ḍubay'ah, had gone to Mecca in order to distance himself from the Messenger of God, accompanied by fifty young men of al-Aws, including 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf; some people say there were fifteen of them. He kept promising Quraysh that if he met Muḥammad, no two men of them would meet him. When battle was joined, the first man to meet the Muslims was Abū 'Āmir with the Aḥābīsh and the slaves of the Meccans. He called out, "Men of al-Aws, I am Abū 'Āmir." They replied, "God curse you, you evildoer!" In the Jāhiliyyah, Abū 'Āmir had been called "the monk," but the Messenger of God called him "the evildoer." When he heard their reply, he said, "Evil has befallen my people since my departure." Then he fought the Muslims vigorously and pelted them with stones.

Abū Sufyān had said to the standard-bearers of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār, urging them on to battle, "Banū 'Abd al-Dār, you had charge of our banner on the day of Badr, and you saw what a disaster befell us. Men are dependent on what happens to their ban-
ners; if their banners are destroyed, they are destroyed too. Either [1400]
you must take proper care of our banner or leave it to us, and we will take care of it for you." This disgraceful possibility worried them, and they furiously retorted, "Are we to hand our banner

over to you? You will see how we will act tomorrow when we join battle." That was what Abū Sufyān wanted.

When battle was joined, and the armies closed upon one another, Hind bt. 'Utbah stood up among the women who were with her, and they took up their tambourines. They beat their tambourines behind the men and urged them on to fight. Hind chanted:

If you advance we will embrace you
And spread cushions;
If you turn your backs we will leave you
And show you no tender love.

She also chanted:

On, Banū 'Abd al-Dār!
On, protectors of our rear!
Strike with every sharp-edged sword!

The armies engaged one another and the battle grew hot. Abū Dujānah fought until he had penetrated deep into the enemy ranks. Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib fought at the head of a band of Muslims. God sent down his victory and made good his promise to them. They cut down the enemy with their swords until they put them to flight. There was no doubt about the defeat the Muslims had inflicted on the Meccans.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr—his father—his
[1401] grandfather, al-Zubayr: "By God, I found myself looking at the anklets of Hind bt. 'Utbah and her companions as they tucked up their skirts and fled. There was nothing to prevent us taking them, but the archers turned aside to the (enemy) camp in search of plunder after we had driven the enemy away from it and thus left our rear exposed to the cavalry. These came upon us from behind, and somebody shouted out, 'Muḥammad has been killed!' We turned back, and the enemy turned back after us, but not before we had killed the men guarding the (Meccan) banner so that none of the enemy were near it."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—certain scholars: The banner remained flung on the ground until 'Amrah bt. 'Alqamah al-Ḥārithiyyah took hold of it; she then

raised it for Quraysh and they flocked to it.[173] It had previously been in the hands of Ṣu'āb, an Abyssinian slave belonging to the sons of Abū Ṭalḥah (the group responsible for the banner). He was the last of the group to take it. He had fought until his hands were cut off, and then he had knelt over it and clutched it to his chest and throat. Finally he was killed over it, saying all the while, "O God, am I forgiven?" Ḥassān b. Thābit said on the subject of Ṣu'āb's hand being cut off when they were exchanging mutual taunts:

You boasted of your standard: the worst possible
boast is a standard handed over to Ṣu'āb.
You have made your boast of it over
a slave, one of the lowliest men who walks the earth.
You supposed, though only a fool supposes,
for it has nothing to do with the truth,
That fighting us on the day when we met, was [1402]
like your selling red leather bags in Mecca.
It gladdened the eye to see his hands reddened,
though they were not reddened by dye.[174]

According to Abū Kurayb—'Uthmān b. Sa'īd—Ḥibbān b. 'Alī—Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Rāfi'—his father—his grandfather: When 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib had killed the (Meccan) standard-bearers, the Messenger of God saw a group of the unbelievers of Quraysh and said to 'Alī, "Attack them." So 'Alī attacked them, dispersed them, and killed 'Amr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jumaḥī. Then the Messenger of God saw another group of the unbelievers of Quraysh and said to 'Alī, "Attack them." So 'Alī attacked them, dispersed them, and killed Shaybah b. Mālik, one of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. Then Gabriel said, "O Messenger of God, this is for consolation." The Messenger of God said, "Verily he is of me

173. This woman was the wife of Ghurāb, son of Sufyān b. 'Uwayf, the leader of the Banū 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah; in W, 203 she is called 'Amrah bt. al-Ḥārith b. 'Alqamah. Several sons and grandsons of Abū Ṭalḥah (of Banū 'Abd al-Dār) were killed defending the banner. Ṣu'āb is the reading of the slave's name by Wüstenfeld, Marsden Jones and Arafat.

174. See *Dīwān* of Ḥassān, i.367f.

and I am of him," and Gabriel said, "And I am of both of you." And they heard a voice saying,

There is no sword but Dhū al-Faqār,
and no brave young man but
'Alī.

The Muslims Retreat

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: When the Muslims were attacked from behind and put to flight, the polytheists killed many of them. When this catastrophe befell the Muslims, they were afflicted in three ways; some were killed, some wounded, and some put to flight. The latter were so exhausted by battle that they did not know what they were doing. The Messenger of God's lower [1403] lateral incisor was broken, his lip was split, and he was wounded on the cheeks and on the forehead at the roots of his hair. Ibn Qamī'ah stood over him to his left with his sword. The person who wounded him was 'Utbah b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

According to Ibn Bashshār—Ibn Abī 'Adī—Ḥumayd—Anas b. Mālik: On the day of Uḥud, the Messenger of God's incisor was broken and he was wounded in the head. Blood began to pour down his face, and he kept wiping it away, saying, "How can a people prosper who stain the face of their Prophet with blood while he is calling them to God?" God revealed concerning this,"It is no concern at all of thee, (Muḥammad), whether He relent toward them or punish them: for they are evildoers."[175]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: When the enemy overwhelmed him, the Messenger of God said, "Who will sell his life for us?"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh—Maḥmūd b. 'Amr b. Yazīd b. al-Sakan:[176] Then Ziyād b. al-Sakan rose up with five of the Anṣār (some people say it was 'Umārah b. Ziyād b. al-Sakan), and they fought to protect the Messenger of God. Man after man of them was killed in front of him until only Ziyād—or 'Umārah b. Ziyād b. al-Sakan—was left; and he fought

175. Qur. 3.128; only the first clause is quoted in the text.
176. Maḥmūd's grandfather Yazīd appears to be the brother of Ziyād.

until his wounds made him incapable of further fighting. By this time a group of Muslims had come back and driven the enemy away from Ziyād. The Messenger of God said, "Bring him close to [1404] me." They brought Ziyād close to him, and the Messenger of God made his foot a pillow for him so that he died with his cheek on the Messenger of God's foot.

Abū Dujānah shielded the Messenger of God with his body, bending over him while arrows struck his back until it was full of them.

Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ used his bow in defence of the Messenger of God. He said, "I saw him handing me arrows and saying, 'Shoot, may my father and mother be your ransom.' He even handed me an arrow without a head and said, 'Shoot this.'"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b.'Umar b. Qatādah: The Messenger of God shot from his bow until its end broke. Qatādah b. al-Nu'mān took it and kept it. (Qatādah's) eye was so badly injured that day that it fell out onto his cheek. The Messenger of God put it back with his hand, and it was his best and keenest eye (thereafter).

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: Muṣ 'ab b. 'Umayr fought in defence of the Messenger of God and bore his banner until he was killed. The man who killed Muṣ'ab was Ibn Qamī'ah al-Laythī, who thought it was the Messenger of God, and went back to Quraysh announcing that he had killed Muḥammad. After Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr was killed, the Messenger of God gave the banner to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib fought until he killed Arṭāt b. 'Abd Shuraḥbīl b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy, who was one of those who were carrying the (Meccan) banner. Then Sibā' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā al-Ghubshānī, whose *kunyah* [1405] was Abū Niyār, passed by him, and Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said to him, "Come over here, you son of a cutter-off of clitorises." His mother was Umm Anmār, the *mawlāt* of Sharīq b. 'Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafī, who was a female circumciser in Mecca. When they met, Ḥamzah struck him and killed him.

Waḥshī, the slave of Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, said, "By God, I saw Ḥamzah cutting down men with his sword, not sparing anyone who went past him; he was like an ash-colored camel (in size). When Sibā' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā reached him before me, Ḥamzah said to him, 'Come over here, you son of a cutter-off of clitorises.' He

then struck him so swiftly that he could not be seen striking his head. I balanced my javelin until I was satisfied with it, and then I hurled it at Ḥamzah. It struck him in the lower part of the belly with such force that it came out between his legs. He came towards me, but was overcome and fell. I waited until he was dead and then went and recovered my javelin; after that I returned to the camp, since there was nothing else I wanted to do there."

'Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abī al-Aqlaḥ, the brother of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, killed Musāfi' b. Ṭalḥah and his brother Kilāb b. Ṭalḥah (son of Abū Ṭalḥah), hitting each of them with an arrow; each went to his mother Sulāfah and put his head in her lap. When she asked, "My son, who has wounded you?" each replied, "I heard a [1406] man saying, when he shot me, 'Take that! I am Ibn al-Aqlaḥ.'" "The Aqlaḥī!" she exclaimed, and vowed that if God put her in possession of 'Āṣim's skull she would drink wine from it. 'Āṣim had made a compact with God that he would never touch a polytheist and that no polytheist should touch him.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rāfi', the brother of the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār: Anas b. al-Naḍr, the paternal uncle of Anas b. Mālik, went to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubayd Allāh, who were with some of the Emigrants and the Anṣār who had given up the fight. "Why have you stopped fighting?" he asked. "Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, has been killed," they replied. "What will you do with life after him?" he said. "Rise up and die as the Messenger of God has died!" Then he went towards the enemy and fought until he was killed. Anas b. Mālik was named after him.[177]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl—Anas b. Mālik: That day we found seventy cuts and stab wounds on Anas b. al-Naḍr, and nobody but his sister could recognise him. She recognised him by the beauty of his fingertips.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: The first man to recognise the Messenger of God after the defeat and the rumour that the Messenger of God had been killed was, according to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, Ka'b b. Mālik the brother of the

177. Anas b. Mālik was an important Companion, source of many Ḥadīth.

Banū Salimah. (He said,) "I recognised his eyes shining beneath his helmet and I called out at the top of my voice, 'Muslims, rejoice! This is the Messenger of God!'" The Messenger of God [1407] signed to me to be silent. When the Muslims recognised the Messenger of God, they went up with him towards the gorge.[178] With him were 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimmah, and a number of other Muslims. As the Messenger of God was climbing up the gorge, he was overtaken by Ubayy b. Khalaf, who was saying, "Where is Muḥammad? May I not escape if you escape!" They said, "O Messenger of God, shall one of us go over and deal with him?" "Leave him," he said. When he drew close, the Messenger of God took a javelin from al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimmah. I have been told that some people say that when the Messenger of God took it, he shook us off, so that we flew off from him like camel-flies from a camel's back when it shakes itself. Then he confronted (Ubayy) and gave him such a thrust in the neck that he swayed in the saddle several times.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf: Ubayy b. Khalaf used to meet the Messenger of God in Mecca and say to him, "Muḥammad, I have a horse called al-'Awd, whom I feed every day on a measure (*faraq*) of millet. I shall kill you on it." "Not so," said the Messenger of God. "I shall kill you, if God wills." When he went back to Quraysh with a scratch on his throat which was not particularly large and in which the blood had stopped flowing, he said, "By God, Muḥammad has killed me." "By God, you have lost heart," they answered, "by God, there is [1408] nothing wrong with you." He replied, "He said to me in Mecca, 'I will kill you,' and, by God, even if he spat on me he would kill me." The enemy of God died at Sarif as they were taking him back to Mecca.

When the Messenger of God got to the mouth of the gorge, 'Alī went out and filled his shield from al-Mihrās and brought it to the Messenger of God so that he could drink from it. He thought it

178. The gorge was some feature of the lower slopes of the hill of Uḥud where the Muslims were safe from the Meccan cavalry; the place called "the rock" was presumably nearby.

had an unpleasant smell, however, and he felt so disgusted by it that he would not drink. He washed the blood from his face and poured the water over his head, saying, "May God's anger be intense against those who have bloodied the face of His Prophet."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān—somebody who told him from Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ: Sa'd used to say, "By God, I never thirsted to kill anyone as I thirsted to kill 'Utbah b. Abī Waqqāṣ.[179] Even if I had not known that he was evil of character and hated among his own people, the Messenger of God's saying, 'May God's anger be intense against those who have bloodied the face of the Messenger of God,' would have been enough for me."

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn—Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal—Asbāṭ—al-Suddī: Ibn Qamī'ah al-Ḥārithī, one of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah, came and threw a stone at the Messenger of God, breaking his nose and his lateral incisor, splitting his face open, and stunning him. His companions dispersed and abandoned him, some of them going to Medina and some of them climbing up the mountain (of Uḥud) to the rock, and standing there. The Messenger began calling out to his army, "To me, servants of God! To me, servants of God!" Thirty men
[1409] gathered round him and moved forward ahead of him, but none stood their ground except Ṭalḥah and Sahl b. Ḥunayf. Ṭalḥah protected him from behind and was wounded in the hand by an arrow, as a result of which his hand withered. Ubayy b. Khalaf al-Jumaḥī—who had sworn to kill the Prophet, and to whom the latter had replied, "No, I will kill you"—advanced saying, "Where will you flee to now, you liar!" He charged at him, but the Prophet gave him a thrust in the collar of his coat of mail which wounded him lightly. He fell down bellowing like an ox, and they picked him up and said, "You are not wounded, so there is nothing to worry about." He replied, "Did he not say, 'I will kill you'? If this wound had been inflicted on the whole of Rabī'ah and Muḍar[180] it would have killed them." In no more than a day or so he died of that wound.

179. 'Utbah was Sa'd's brother but had remained a pagan, whereas Sa'd was one of the earliest Muslims.

180. Two great groups of tribes.

The rumour spread among the army that the Messenger of God had been killed. Some of the people on the rock began to say, "Would that we had an envoy to 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, so that he could secure our safety from Abū Sufyān! Muḥammad has been killed, so go back to your people before the Meccans come and kill you." Anas b. al-Naḍr, however, called out, "Men, if Muḥammad has been killed, the Lord of Muḥammad has not been killed, so fight as Muḥammad fought. O God, I apologise to you for what these people are saying, and I disavow before you what they have done." Then he rushed at the enemy with his sword and fought until he was killed.

The Messenger of God set off uphill, calling upon his men to follow, and soon reached the people on the rock. When they saw him, one man put an arrow in his bow and would have shot him, but he said, "I am the Messenger of God." They rejoiced when they realised that the Messenger of God was alive, and the Messenger of God rejoiced when he saw companions among whom he [1410] could hold out.

When they regrouped with the Messenger of God among them, their sorrow vanished, and, as they climbed up, they spoke of how the victory had eluded them and of their companions who had been killed. To those who said, "Muḥammad has been killed, so go back to your people," God said, "Muḥammad is but a messenger, messengers (the like of whom) have passed away before him. Will it be that, when he dieth or is slain, ye will turn back on your heels! He who turneth back doth no hurt to Allah, and Allah will reward the thankful."[181]

Then Abū Sufyān advanced until he was nearly upon them. When they saw him, they forgot what they had been about and directed their attention to Abū Sufyān. The Messenger of God said, "These men must not get to a higher position than ours! O God, if this band of people is killed, you will have no worshippers!" Then his companions bestirred themselves and threw stones at the enemy which forced them to retreat downhill.

On that day Abū Sufyān said, "Hubal be exalted! A Ḥanẓalah for a Ḥanẓalah, and a day for the day of Badr."[182] On the day (of

181. Qur. 3.144.
182. Hubal was a prominent Meccan deity. Muḥammad is alleged to have said

Uḥud) they had killed Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rāhib, who was in a state of ritual impurity and was cleansed by the angels, while Ḥanẓalah b. Abī Sufyān had been killed on the day of Badr. Abū Sufyān said, We have "Al-'Uzzā, and you have no 'Uzzā."[183] The Messenger of God said to 'Umar, "Say, 'God is our Lord, and you have no Lord.'" Abū Sufyān said, "Is Muḥammad among you? Some of your dead have been mutilated. I neither commanded this nor forbade it, and it neither gave me pleasure nor saddened me."

God spoke of Abū Sufyān's approaching them and said, "Therefore, He rewarded you with grief upon grief that (He might teach) you not to sorrow either for that which ye missed or for that which befell you."[184] The first grief is the victory and booty which eluded them, and the second grief is the enemy's approaching
[1411] them; they were not to grieve for the booty which eluded them, nor the memory of the killing which was inflicted upon them. Abū Sufyān distracted them from this.

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī)—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah —Ibn Isḥāq: While the Messenger of God was in the gorge with those companions of his, suddenly a group of Quraysh came up the mountain. The Messenger of God said, "They should not be above us," so 'Umar and a group of Emigrants with him fought until they forced them to retreat down the mountain. The Messenger of God went up to the rock on the mountain to get on top of it. He had become stout with age and was wearing two coats of mail. When he tried to climb up, he could not manage to do so, and Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubayd Allāh bent down beneath him and then rose up until the Messenger of God was settled on the rock.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah —Muḥammad (b. Isḥāq) —Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr—his father —'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr —al-Zubayr: I heard the Messenger of God saying on that day, "Ṭalḥah performed an action deserving of reward when he did what he did for the Messenger of God."

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: The army had fled and abandoned the Messenger of God, some of them getting as far as al-Munaqqā,

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after the death of Ḥanẓalah b. Abī 'Amir (al-Rāhib) that he was being washed by the angels (1412 below and IH, 568).

183. The name of the goddess al-'Uzzā means "the mighty one."

184. Qur. 3.153; Pickthall's translation has been lightly modified to correspond to al-Ṭabarī's understanding of the verse.

near al-A'waṣ. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, together with 'Uqbah b. 'Uthmān and Sa'd b. 'Uthmān, two men of the Anṣār, fled as far as al-Jal'ab, a mountain in the neighbourhood of Medina, near al-A'waṣ.[185] They stayed there for three days, and then came back to the Messenger of God. They claimed that he said to them, "On that day you were scattered far and wide." [1412]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: Ḥanẓalah b. Abī 'Āmir, he whom the angels cleansed, met Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb in battle. He had gained the better of Abū Sufyān when Shaddād b. al-Aswad, who was known as Ibn Sha'ūb, seeing him poised over Abū Sufyān, struck and killed him. The Messenger of God said, "Your companion (meaning Ḥanẓalah) is being cleansed by the angels. Ask his family what this is about." When they asked his wife, she replied, "He went out to battle in a state of ritual impurity when he heard the call to battle." The Messenger of God said, "That is why the angels were cleansing him."

Shaddād b. al-Aswad said of his killing of Ḥanẓalah:

Verily I protect my companion and myself
with a thrust swift as a sunbeam.

Extolling his endurance on that day and the way in which Ibn Sha'ub Shaddād b al-Aswad came to his assistance against Ḥanẓalah, Abū Sufyān said:

Had I wished, my thoroughbred bay horse could have rescued me,
and I should owe no thanks to Ibn Sha'ūb.
My colt kept a short distance from them
from morning until near sunset
I was fighting them and calling out, "Men of Ghālib!"
and driving them off with unbending strength[186]
So weep, and pay no attention to those who reprove you, [1413]
And do not weary of tears and lamentation.

185. There is a reference to the conduct of 'Uthmān, the later caliph, in W, 278f. W,277 says Sa'd b. 'Uthmān, an Anṣārī, was the first to inform those in Medina that Muḥammad was dead.

186. Ghālib was the son of Fihr (Quraysh) from whom nearly all the clans of Mecca were descended; see Watt, *Mecca*, 7.

For your father and his brothers who followed one another to death,
for they are worthy of their share of tears
My soul's grief has been consoled by the fact that
I have killed every noble of the Banū al-Najjār
A noble stallion of Hāshim, and Muṣʿab
who was not fearful in war.[187]
If I had not slaked my soul's thirst for vengeance on them,
my heart would have been grieved and scarred
They retired, their companies dead,
covered with sword wounds, bleeding and dejected.
Stricken by those who were not equal to them in blood,
nor similar to them in quality.[188]

He was answered by Ḥassān b. Thābit:[189]

[1414] You have spoken of the proud-necked stallions of the people of Hāshim
but you have not hit the mark in the falsehood you have uttered
Do you marvel that you have killed Ḥamẓah from them,
a noble, whom you name a noble?
Did they not kill ʿAmr, ʿUtbah and his son,
Shaybah, al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn Ḥabīb
On the morning when al-ʿĀṣ challenged ʿAlī,
and he surprised him with a sharp blow which drenched him with blood?

Shaddād b. al-Aswad, speaking of the benefit he had conferred upon Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb in coming to his rescue, said:

If not for my being present and defending you, Ibn Ḥarb,

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187. The claim to have killed the nobles of the clan of al-Najjār (of Medina) seems exaggerated. The stallion of Hāshim is Ḥamzah, and Musʿab is a Muslim from the Meccan clan of ʿAbd al-Dār.

188. He presumably means that the Muslims were inferior in quality to those who killed them.

189. See *Dīwān*, ed. Arafat, i.446; ii.315. The Meccans killed at Badr and mentioned here by Ḥassān include ʿAmr (who is Abū Jahl), ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah, al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah, Shaybah b. ʿUtbah, and al-ʿĀṣ b. Saʿīd; but the others are not clearly identifiable.

you would have been found speechless on the day when
we fought in the mountain valley.
If I had not wheeled my horse round in the mountain
valley,
hyenas and rabid dogs would have mangled your limbs.

Replying to Abū Sufyān's words, "My colt kept a short distance from them," al-Ḥārith b. Hishām,[190] who thought he was alluding to him as he had fled from Badr, said:

If you had seen what they did at the pool of Badr, [1415]
You would have gone back with a heart which would be
terror-struck as long as you lived.
Or mourning-women would have risen up to bewail you,
and you would not care about the loss of a loved one.
I requited them later for Badr with its like,
mounted on a swift, smoothly-moving, galloping
horse.

Mutilation of the Muslim Dead

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī)—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: Hind bt. 'Utbah and the women who were with her stopped to mutilate the Messenger of God's dead companions, cutting off their ears and noses until Hind was able to make anklets and necklaces of them. She gave her own anklets, necklaces, and earrings to Waḥshī, the slave of Jubayr b. Muṭ'im. Then she ripped open Ḥamzah's body for his liver and chewed it, but she was not able to swallow it and spat it out. Then she climbed a high rock and screamed at the top of her voice the lines of verse which she had spoken when they took possession of the booty they had seized from the companions of the Messenger of God.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to Ḥassān, "Ibn al- [1416]

190. Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah, a full brother of Abū Jahl, had fled from Badr; he became a Muslim at the conquest of Mecca.

Furay'ah,[191] I wish you had heard what Hind was saying and seen her insolence as she stood on a rock reciting *rajaz*-poetry against us and recounting how she had treated Ḥamzah." Ḥassān said, "By God, I was watching the javelin falling as I was on top of Fāri' (meaning his 'stronghold'), and I said to myself, 'By God, this is a weapon which is not one of the weapons of the Arabs.' It seemed to be falling towards Ḥamzah, but I did not know. Tell me some of what she said, and I will deal with her for you." 'Umar recited part of what she had said to him, and he satirized Hind as follows:[192]

The vile woman was insolent, and she was habitually base,
since she combined insolence with disbelief.
May God curse Hind, distinguished among Hinds, she with the large clitoris,
and may he curse her husband with her.
Did she set out for Uḥud on an ambling camel,
among the army on a saddled camel-colt?
A slow-paced camel which would not move,
whether scolded or rebuked.
Spur on your mount with your backside, Hind,
and soften sinews, pounding them with a stone
Her backside and her genitals are covered with ulcers
as a result of prolonged swift travel in the saddle.
[1417] Her companion continued to treat her
with water which she sprinkled and with *sidr*-leaves.
Did you set out hastily in search of vengeance
for your father and your son on the day of Badr?
And for your uncle, who was wounded in the backside, lying in his blood,
and your brother, all of them coated in dust in the well?
And did you forget a foul deed which you committed?
Hind, woe to you, the shame of the age.

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191. Al-Furay'ah bt. Khunays was the mother of Ḥassān b. Thābit. The form of address is respectful and is a relic of the former matriliny at Medina.

192. *Dīwān*, ed. Arafat, i.384f. The kinsmen for whom she sought vengeance were her father 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah, her stepson Ḥanẓalah b. Abī Sufyān, her uncle Shaybah b. Rabī'ah and her brother al-Walīd b. 'Utbah.

And you went back humbled, without obtaining
vengeance on us and without victory.
Slave girls claim that they give birth
to a small child as a result of fornication.

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī)—Hārūn b. Isḥāq— Muṣ'ab b. al-Miqdām—Isrā'īl: Then Abū Sufyān went up to the Muslims.

According to Ibn Wakī'—his father—Isrā'īl— Abū Isḥāq—al-Barā': Then Abū Sufyān came up to us and said, "Is Muḥammad among you?" The Messenger of God said, "Do not answer him the first two times." Then he said three times, "Is Ibn Abī Quḥāfah[193] among you?" but the Messenger of God said, "Do not answer him." Then he said three times, "Is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb among you?" but the Messenger of God said, "Do not answer him." Then he turned to his companions and said, "These people must have been killed, for if they were alive they would have answered." Then 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb could not restrain himself, and said, "You lie, enemy of God. God has preserved for you that which will disgrace you." Then Abū Sufyān said, "Be exalted, Hubal, be exalted, Hubal!"

Then the Messenger of God said, "Answer him!" "What shall [1418]
we say?" they asked. "Say, 'God is most exalted and most lofty,'" he replied. Abū Sufyān said, "We have al-'Uzzā, and you have no 'Uzzā (mighty one)." The Messenger of God said, "Answer him." "What shall we say?" they asked. "Say, 'God is our Lord, and you have no lord,'" he replied. Abū Sufyān said, "A day for the day of Badr. War has its ups and downs. You will find that some of your dead have been mutilated. I did not command it, nor did it displease me."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq:[194] When 'Umar answered Abū Sufyān, Abū Sufyān said, "Come here, 'Umar." The Messenger of God said to him, "Go to him, and see what he wants." So he went, and Abū Sufyān said to him, "In God's name, 'Umar, tell me; have we killed Muḥammad?" "No, by God," said 'Umar, he is listening to what you are saying now."

193. Abū Bakr.
194. IH, 583; but the following passage about al-Ḥulays is on p.582.

He replied, "You are more truthful and more upright than Ibn Qamī'ah in my opinion." This was referring to Ibn Qamī'ah's having claimed that he had killed Muḥammad. Then Abū Sufyān called out and said, "Some of your dead have been mutilated. By God, I neither approved of this nor was I displeased with it, and I neither forbade it nor commanded it."

Al-Ḥulays b. Zabbān, the brother of the Banū al-Ḥarith b. 'Abd Manāt, who was then the chief of the Aḥābīsh, had passed by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb as he was striking the side of Ḥamzah's mouth with the point of his spear and saying, "Taste that, you rebel!" Al-Ḥulays said, "Banū Kinānah, can this be the chief of Quraysh acting as you see with the dead body of his cousin?" "Keep it quiet," Abū Sufyān said. "It was a slip."

When Abū Sufyān and those with him left, he shouted out, [1419] "Your rendezvous is Badr next year." The Messenger of God said to one of his companions, "Say, 'Yes, it is a rendezvous between us and you.'" Then the Messenger of God sent 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, saying, "Go out following in the tracks of the enemy, and see what they are doing and what they intend doing. If they are leading their horses and riding their camels, they are making for Mecca, but if they are riding their horses and leading their camels, they are making for Medina. By the one who has my soul in his hands, if they are making for Medina, I shall go to them there and take the field against them!"

'Alī said, "So I went out in their tracks to see what they were doing. They mounted their camels, led their horses and set off for Mecca.[195] The Messenger of God had said, 'Whichever it is, keep it to yourself until you come to me.' But when I saw them setting off for Mecca, I came shouting, unable to conceal what the Messenger of God had commanded me to conceal because of the joy I felt at seeing them leaving Medina for Mecca."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'ah al-Māzinī, the brother of the Banū al-Najjār: While the people were occupying themselves with their dead, the Messenger of God said, "Who will look for me to see weather Sa'd b. al-Rabī' is among the living or the dead?" Sa'd was the brother of the Banū

195. The following words spoken by 'Alī are not found in IH.

al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. A man of the Anṣār offered to look on be-
half of the Messenger of God. When he found Sa'd lying wounded [1420]
among the dead, and himself at the point of death, he said to him, "The Messenger of God has commanded me to see for him whether you are among the living or the dead." He replied, "I am among the dead. Give the Messenger of God my greetings, and tell him that Sa'd b. al-Rabī' says to him, 'May God give you the best reward that any prophet has been given in his community.' Give your people my greetings, and tell them that Sa'd b. al-Rabī' says to them, 'You have no excuse in God's sight if anybody reaches your Prophet while you have an eye that blinks.'" Sa'd died soon after, and the man went to the Messenger of God and told him the story.

Then, as I (Ibn Isḥāq) have been told, the Messenger of God went out in search of Ḥamzah b 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and found him at the bottom of the wadi; his belly had been ripped open and his liver removed, and he had been mutilated by the cutting off of his nose and ears.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr: When the Messenger of God saw Ḥamzah in that condition, he said, "If it were not that Ṣafiyyah[196] would grieve, or that it would become a *sunnah* (standard practice) after me, I would leave him so that he would find his way into the bellies of wild beasts or the crops of birds. If God gives me victory over Quraysh at any time, I shall mutilate thirty of their men!" When the Muslims saw the grief and rage of the Messenger of God at what had been done to his uncle, they said, "By God, if one day we are victorious over them, we shall mutilate them in a way
which none of the Arabs has ever mutilated anybody." [1421]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq —Buraydah b. Sufyān b. Farwah al-Aslamī—Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī—Ibn 'Abbās; and (also) Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah —Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. 'Umārah—al-Ḥakam b. 'Utaybah—Miqsam —Ibn 'Abbās: God revealed concerning these sayings of the Messenger of God and his companions, "If ye punish, then punish with the like of that wherewith ye were afflicted.

196. Ṣafiyyah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was Ḥamzah's full sister and Muḥammad's aunt.

But if ye endure patiently, verily it is better for the patient . . ." to the end of the Sūrah.[197] So the Messenger of God forgave, was patient, and forbade mutilation.

Ibn Isḥāq says: I have been told that Ṣafiyyah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came up to look at Ḥamzah, who was her full brother. The Messenger of God said to her son, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, "Go to meet her and turn her back so that she does not see what has happened to her brother." Al-Zubayr met her and said to her, "Mother, the Messenger of God commands you to go back." She said, "Why? I have heard that my brother has been mutilated, but that is a small thing for the sake of God, and I am fully resigned to what has happened. I shall accept God's will and be patient if God will." Al-Zubayr went to the Messenger of God and told him this, and he said, "Let her come." She came to (Ḥamzah), looked at him, prayed over him, exclaimed, "We belong to God and to him do we return," and prayed for his forgiveness. Then the Messenger of God gave orders for him to be buried.

[1422] According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: 'Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, the son of Umaymah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who had Ḥamzah as his maternal uncle, was mutilated in the same way as Ḥamzah, except that his liver was not ripped out. Some of his family claim that the Messenger of God buried him along with Ḥamzah in one grave; but I have only heard that from his family.

Various Accounts Concerning Uḥud

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq —'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah—Maḥmūd b. Labīd:[198] When the Messenger of God went out to Uḥud, Ḥusayl b. Jābir—who was al-Yamān, the father of Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān —and Thābit b. Waqsh b. Za'ūrā', who were very old men, were sent up into the strongholds with the women and children. One of them said to

197. Qur. 16.126–8. Al-Ṭabarī has a fuller *isnād* for this section than IH.

198. IH, 577. Al-Yamān was a nickname (*laqab*) given to Ḥusayl because he (or an ancestor) had incurred blood-guilt in his own tribe and fled to Medina, where he became a confederate of the clan of 'Abd al-Ashhal, which like all the Anṣār was reckoned to the group known as al-Yamān. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah*, s.v. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān.

the other, however, "What are you waiting for, confound you? By God, neither of us has more of his life left than it takes a donkey to drink. We will both be corpses today or tomorrow, so let us take our swords and join the Messenger of God, and perhaps God will grant us martyrdom with the Messenger of God." So they took their swords and went out, entering the ranks without anyone being aware of them. Thābit b. Waqsh was killed by the polytheists, but Ḥusayl b. Jābir al-Yamān was killed by Muslims who failed to recognise him and rained sword blows on him. Ḥudhayfah said, "This is my father." They said, "By God, we did not recognise him," and they spoke the truth. "May God forgive you," said Ḥudhayfah, "for he is the most merciful of the merciful." The Messenger of God wanted to pay him blood-money, but [1423]
Ḥudhayfah distributed his blood-money as alms to the Muslims, which increased the Messenger of God's high regard for him.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah:[199] One of the (Anṣār) called Ḥāṭib b. Umayyah b. Rāfi' had a son called Yazīd b. Ḥāṭib, who was wounded on the day of Uḥud and brought dying to his people's settlement. The people of the settlement gathered round him and the Muslim men and women began to say, "Rejoice, Ibn Ḥāṭib, at the good news of Paradise." Ḥāṭib was an elderly man who had grown old in the Jāhiliyyah, and his being a Hypocrite appeared that day, for he said, "What are you congratulating him on? A Garden of rue?[200] By God, you have deluded this lad into losing his life, and stricken me with grief at his death."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: There was among us a stranger, whose origins were unknown, called Quzmān. When anybody mentioned his name, the Messenger of God used to say, "He is one of the people of Hell-fire." On the day of Uḥud he fought hard, and killed eight or nine polytheists with his own hand, being bold, brave, and redoubtable. Finally he was disabled by his wounds and was carried to the settlement of the Banū Ẓafar. Some Muslims began to say, "You have fought valiantly today,

199. IH, 578; W, 263. Ḥāṭib and his son belonged to the clan of Ẓafar, but Ḥāṭib seems to have had some connection with the Jewish clan of Qurayẓah (W, 511).

200. Rue (*ḥarmal*) was placed in tombs at the feet of the dead.

Quzmān, so rejoice!" "What have I to rejoice about?" he answered. "By God, I only fought for the honour of my people; but for that, I would not have fought." When the pain of his wounds
[1424] became too severe, he took an arrow from his quiver,[201] slit his wrists, and bled to death. The Messenger of God was told of this, and said, "I testify that I am truly the Messenger of God."

Among those who were killed on the day of Uḥud was Mukhayrīq the Jew. He was one of the Banū Tha'labah b. al-Fiṭyawn.[202] On that day he said, "O Jews, by God you know that it is your duty to go to Muḥammad's aid." They replied, "Today is the Sabbath." He said, "There is no Sabbath," and took up his sword and his equipment. Then he said, "If I am killed, I leave my property to Muḥammad to do with as he will." Then he went out to the Messenger of God and fought along with him until he was killed. The Messenger of God said, as I have been told, "Mukhayrīq is the best of the Jews."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq:[203] Some of the Muslims carried their dead to Medina and buried them there. Then the Messenger of God forbade that and said, "Bury them where they fell."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—his father, Isḥāq b. Yasār—some *shaykhs* of the Banū Salimah:[204] The Messenger of God said on that day when he ordered the burial of the dead, "Look out for 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Harām. They were close friends in this world, so

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201. The rest of this sentence and also the following sentence are not in IH, 578. Al-Wāqidī has two accounts of the death of Quzmān (223f.; 263) and gives more information. He was reckoned to the clan of Ẓafar but his origin was unknown, and he had no wife or child. Like Ḥāṭib b. Umayyah he was reckoned a Hypocrite. He went out to fight because the women of Ẓafar taunted him with cowardice. By committing suicide he condemned himself to Hell. There are many references to the story in theological contexts because it is taken as an example of predestination and of Muḥammad's foreknowledge of that. This is the reason for Muḥammad's testifying below.

202. Tha'labah was an important group of Jews in Medina, but they may have been Arabs who had accepted Judaism, since they also had links with the tribe of Ghassān; see Watt, *Medina*, 193.

203. IH, 585f.

204. IH, 586; the sentence about Mu'āwiyah, the later caliph, is not in IH.

put them in one grave." When Muʿāwiyah dug the canal, they were exhumed, and their bodies were as supple as though they had been buried the day before.

Then the Messenger of God left to go back to Medina. He was met, as I have been told, by Ḥamnah bt. Jaḥsh, who was given the [1425] news of the death of her brother ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh. She said, "We belong to God and to him do we return," and prayed for his forgiveness. Then she was given the news of the death of her maternal uncle Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and repeated these words. Then she was told of the death of her husband Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, and she screamed and wailed. The Messenger of God said, "The woman's husband occupied a special place in her heart," because he saw her steadfastness at the death of her brother and uncle and her screaming over her husband.

The Messenger of God passed by a settlement of Anṣār of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal and Ẓafar and heard sounds of lamentation and women weeping. The Messenger of God's eyes filled with tears and he wept, but then he said, "Yet Ḥamzah has no women weeping for him." When Saʿd b. Muʿādh and Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr came back to the settlement of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, they told their women to gird themselves up and to go and weep for the Messenger of God's uncle.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī ʿAwn—Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ: The Messenger of God passed by a woman of the Banū Dīnār whose husband, brother, and father had been killed fighting along with the Messenger of God at Uḥud. When she was told of their deaths, she said, "What about the Messenger of God?" They said, "He is well. God be praised, he is as you would wish him to be." She said, "Show him to me, that I may look upon him." He was pointed out to her, and when she saw him she said, "Every loss is bearable now that I have seen you safe." Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: When the Messenger of God got [1426] back to his family, he gave his sword to his daughter Fāṭimah and said, "Wash the blood off this, my daughter." Then ʿAlī gave her his sword and said, "Wash this one too, for by God it has served me well today." The Messenger of God said, "If you have fought well, Sahl b. Ḥunayf and Abū Dujānah Simāk b. Khara-

shah fought well with you."[205] They assert that when 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib gave Fāṭimah his sword, he said:

Fāṭimah, take the sword which is not blameworthy,
for I am neither cowardly nor blameworthy.
By my life, I fought for love of Muḥammad
and in obedience to a Lord who is merciful to his servants.
With my sword in my hand which I was brandishing like a meteor,
hacking with it freedman and noble alike.
I continued in this way until my Lord dispersed them,
and until we had slaked the thirst for vengeance of every forbearing man.

When Abū Dujānah took the sword from the hand of the Messenger of God, he fought fiercely with it. He used to say, "I saw a person stirring up the enemy to a fury, so I made my way over there and attacked with my sword; then she wailed, and I realised that it was a woman. I respected the Messenger of God's sword too much to strike a woman with it." Abū Dujānah said:

I am he with whom my friend made a compact
as we were at the foot of the mountain near the date-palms
[1427] That I would not stand forever among those in the rear ranks,
so strike with the sword of God and the Messenger!

The Messenger of God returned to Medina on Saturday, the day of the battle at Uḥud.

The Expedition of Ḥamrā' al-Asad

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh—'Ikrimah:[206] The day of Uḥud was on

205. It is not clear why these two men are singled out for mention. They are named together as receiving some of the goods of the clan of al-Naḍīr because they were poor (1453 below; IH,654).

206. IH, 588–90, but without the first *isnād*; W, 334–40. The retreat of the Meccans showed that they had been roughly handled by the Muslims, even if the Muslim casualties had been higher, and that they were not in a position to attack the "strongholds" of Medina and so benefit from such advantage as they had gained. Muḥammad presumably realized this, and his march out to Ḥamrā' al-Asad was primarily a display of strength to the enemy and a way of boosting the morale of the Muslims after their losses; see Watt, *Medina*, 28f.

Saturday, halfway through Shawwāl. On the following day, which was Sunday, 16 Shawwāl (March 24, 625), the Messenger of God's crier called out to the people to go in pursuit of the enemy, but added that nobody was to join the force except those who had been present at the battle the day before. Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Harām[207] spoke to him and said, "O Messenger of God, my father left me behind to look after my seven sisters and said to me, 'My son, it is not right for me and you to leave these women without a man among them, and I am not one to give you the precedence over myself in fighting along with the Messenger of God; you must stay behind to look after your sisters.' So I stayed behind to look after them." The Messenger of God gave him permission, and he went out with him. The Messenger of God's only purpose in this expedition was to lower the morale of the enemy; by going out in pursuit of them, he wanted to give them the impression that his strength was unimpaired, and that the Muslims' casualties had not weakened their ability to engage [1428] in fighting.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abd Allāh b. Khārijah b. Zayd b. Thābit—Abū al-Sā'ib, the *mawlā* of 'Ā'ishah bt. 'Uthmān: One of the Messenger of God's companions from the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal said, "I and my brother were present at the battle with the Messenger of God, and we came back wounded. When the Messenger of God's crier called on us to go out in pursuit of the enemy, I said to my brother and he said to me, 'Shall we miss the chance of taking part in an expedition with the Messenger of God? We have no beast to ride, and both of us are badly wounded.' So we went out with the Messenger of God. I was less severely wounded than he was, and at times when his wounds were too much for him I carried him, while at other times he walked, until we reached the spot where the other Muslims were."

The Messenger of God went out until he reached Ḥamrā' al-Asad, which is eight miles from Medina, and stayed there three days—Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday (March 25–27, 625)—and then went back to Medina.

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207. Jābir's father had been killed at Uḥud and, as recorded above (1414), buried in one grave with 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ. Jābir took part in many later expeditions.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq —ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm: Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿī passed by (the Messenger of God). The Khuzāʿah, both Muslims and polytheists, were trusted allies of the Messenger of God in Tihāmah, having made an agreement with him that they would not conceal from him anything that happened there. At that time Maʿbad was a polytheist. "O Muḥammad," he said, "the losses among your companions which you have endured are grievous to
[1429] us, and we hope that God will preserve you despite these losses." Then he left the Messenger of God at Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad and went to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and his men at al-Rawḥāʾ. They had decided to return to the attack against the Messenger of God and his companions. They argued, "We killed a proportion of Muḥammad's companions, including leaders and nobles, and now we have turned back home before exterminating them. Let us return to Medina for the rest of them and finish them off." When Abū Sufyān saw Maʿbad, be said, "What is going on over there, Maʿbad?" He replied, "Muḥammad has come out at the head of his companions in pursuit of you, leading an army the like of which I have never seen. They are burning with anger against you. Those who stayed away on the day when you fought and have repented of what they did have gathered round him. I have never seen the like of their fury against you." "What are you saying, confound you?" he said. "By God," replied Maʿbad, "I do not think you will leave here before seeing the forelocks of their cavalry." "By God," he said, "we have decided to attack them again to exterminate the remainder of them." "I advise you against that," said Maʿbad. "By God, what I saw has prompted me to compose some verses about it." "What are they?" Abū Sufyān asked. Maʿbad said:

My riding-camel was almost knocked over by the noise
when the earth was flowing with troops of short-haired horses,
Pounding along carrying noble lions who are not idle
in battle, nor clumsy or weak.
[1430] I continued running, thinking that the earth was tilting,
when they brought up a leader who is never deserted,

And I said, "Woe betide Ibn Ḥarb when he meets them,
when the valley is seething with men."
I give an open warning to the people of the sanctuary (of Mecca),
to every intelligent and reasonable man of them,
Of the army of Muḥammad, whose riders are far from contemptible,
and my warning is no idle prattle.

This was enough to turn back Abū Sufyān and his men.

When a party of riders from (the tribe of) 'Abd al-Qays went past (Abū Sufyān), he said to them, "Where are you making for?" They replied, "We are making for Medina." "Why?" he asked. "For provisions," they said. "Will you give Muḥammad a message from me," he said, "and I will load these camels of yours with raisins in 'Ukāẓ later on, when you get there?" They agreed, so he said, "When you go to him, tell him that we have resolved to march against him and his companions and to exterminate the remainder of them."

The party of riders passed by the Messenger of God while he was in Ḥamrā' al-Asad and told him what Abū Sufyān had threatened, but he only said, "God is sufficient for us, the best in whom to trust."

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: Then the Messenger of God left for Medina after the third day. Some specialists in historical reports (*akhbār*) claim that the Messenger of God captured Mu'āwiyah b. al-Mughīrah b. Abī al-'Āṣ and Abū 'Azzah al-Jumaḥī on his way to Ḥamrā' al-Asad.[208] When he went on that expedition he left Ibn [1431]
Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina.

208. There is no mention of this in Ibn Isḥāq, but IH has a long addition to Ibn Isḥāq in which he gives several variants (590f.). According to W, 332–4, and one of IH's accounts this Mu'āwiyah, who was maternal grandfather of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik, had fled from the battle of Uḥud and taken refuge with 'Uthmān the later caliph, to whom Muḥammad granted security for him for three days; but he mistook the route back to Mecca and after the three days were over fell into the hands of some Muslims and was killed. Abū 'Azzah 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān (or 'Umayr) was captured at Badr, but, because he was a poor man with five daughters, Muḥammad allowed him to go free without a ransom on condition

The Sons of 'Alī, etc.

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was born, halfway through the month of Ramaḍān (about March 1, 625).

In this year also, Fāṭimah became pregnant with al-Ḥusayn; it is said that there were only fifty days between her giving birth to al-Ḥasan and her conceiving al-Ḥusayn.

In this year also, it is said that Jamīlah bt. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy conceived 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥanẓalah b. Abī 'Āmir, in Shawwāl (which began March 17, 625).[209]

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he did not fight against him (IH, 471). Before the battle of Uḥud, the Meccan leader Ṣafwān b. Umayyah prevailed on him to join the expedition, promising to enrich him or, of he was killed, to provide for his daughters (1385 above; IH, 556). It is not stated how he came to be captured by the Muslims, but when he was brought to Muḥammad the latter ordered his execution because he had given his word and broken it (IH, 591, from Ibn Hishām only). On p.1402 'Alī is said to have killed him. See also W, 101f., 201, 308f.

209. Jamīlah, the daughter of the leading Hypocrite 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy, was the wife of the Ḥanẓalah killed at Uḥud and washed by the angels (1412 above). His death occurred only six days after the month began.

The Events of the Year 4

(June 13, 625–June 1, 626)

Then the fourth year of the Hijrah commenced.

The Expedition of al-Rajī', in Ṣafar (July–August, 625)[210]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: After Uḥud a group of men from 'Aḍal and al-Qārah came to the Messenger of God and said to him, "O Messenger of God, some of us are good Muslims; please send a few of your companions back with us to instruct us in the faith, teach us to recite the Qur'ān, and teach us the laws of Islam." The Messenger of God agreed and sent six men back with them, Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī, the confederate of Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Khālid b. al-Bukayr, the confederate of the Banū [1432]
'Adī b. Ka'b, 'Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abī al-Aqlaḥ, the brother of the

210. IH, 638–48; W, 354–63; Watt, *Medina*, 33f. According to al-Wāqidī, the tribe of Liḥyān were seeking vengeance for the killing of their chief Sufyān b. Khālid al-Hudhalī, and they paid the men of 'Aḍal and al-Qārah to ask for instructors; but this raises difficulties about dating. 'Aḍal and al-Qārah were subclans of al-Hūn b. Khuzaymah and included in the Aḥābīsh.

Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, Khubayb b. 'Adī the brother of the Banū Jaḥjabā b. Kulfah b. 'Amr b. 'Awf, Zayd b. al-Dathinnah, the brother of the Banū Bayāḍah b. 'Āmir, and 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāriq, a confederate of the Banū Ẓafar from (the tribe of) Balī. The Messenger of God put Marthad b. Abī Marthad in charge of them, and they set out with the delegation. When they got to al-Rajī', a watering place belonging to (the tribe of) Hudhayl, in a district of Ḥijāz in the upper part of al-Had'ah, the (delegation) betrayed the (Muslims) and called Hudhayl to their assistance against them. The (Muslims) who had bivouacked for the night were taken completely by surprise by men with swords in their hands; they took up their swords to fight them, but the (men) said, "By God, we do not want to kill you. We only want to get some (money) for you from the people of Mecca. We swear to you by God's covenant that we will not kill you." Marthad b. Abī Marthad, Khālid b. Bukayr, and 'Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abī al-Aqlaḥ said, "By God, we will never accept a compact or contract from a polytheist," and then fought until they were all killed. Zayd b. al-Dathinnah, Khubayb b. 'Adī, and 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāriq, however, were soft and
[1433] yielding, desiring life, and surrendered; they were made prisoners and taken to Mecca to be sold there.

When they got as far as al-Ẓahrān, 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāriq broke loose from his bonds, and seized his sword. His captors kept well back from him, but threw stones at him until they had killed him. They buried him at al-Ẓahrān. As for Khubayb b. 'Adī and Zayd b. al-Dathinnah, their captors took them to Mecca and sold them there. Khubayb was bought by Ḥujayr b. Abī Ihāb al-Tamīmī, the confederate of the Banū Nawfal, on behalf of 'Uqbah b. al-Hārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal, Ḥujayr being the brother of al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir by his mother; this was so that 'Uqbah might kill him in revenge for his father. Zayd b. al-Dathinnah was bought by Ṣafwān b. Umayyah in order to kill him in revenge for his father, Umayyah b. Khalaf.

When 'Āṣim b. Thābit was killed, Hudhayl had wanted his head in order to sell it to Sulāfah bt. Sa'd b. Shuhayd,[211] because she had

211. See 1405 above. Sulāfah was the wife of Ṭalḥah b. Abī Ṭalḥah, whose clan 'Abd al-Dār were responsible for guarding the Meccan standard. In defence of the standard Ṭalḥah and four sons were killed.

vowed, when he killed her son at Uḥud, to drink wine from his skull if she ever got hold of his head. He was protected by hornets, however, and when these prevented the men from reaching him, they said, "Leave him until evening; then the hornets will leave him and we can take him." But God sent a flood in the wadi which lifted up ʿĀṣim's body and carried it away. ʿĀṣim had made a covenant with God that no polytheist should touch him and [1434] that he would never touch a polytheist, for fear of being defiled. When the news that the hornets had protected him reached ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, he used to say, "How wonderful! God protected his believing servant! ʿĀṣim swore that no polytheist would ever touch him, and that he would never touch a polytheist in his life, and God protected him from this after his death just as he abstained from contact in his life."

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: Other authorities than Ibn Isḥāq have a different account of this expedition. One variant version is that of Abū Kurayb—Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn al-ʿAmrī—Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl —ʿAmr or ʿUmar b. Asīd—Abū Hurayrah: The Messenger of God sent out a group of ten men, putting ʿĀṣim b. Thābit in command of them, and they travelled until they reached Had'ah. There somebody told a clan of (the tribe of) Hudhayl called the Banū Liḥyān about them. The latter sent a hundred archers against the Muslims. This force found the remains of the Muslims' food, which had consisted of dates. "These are the date-stones of Yathrib," they said, and followed the Muslims' tracks. When ʿĀṣim and his companions became aware of them, they withdrew to a hill, but the others surrounded them and called on them to surrender, giving them their word that they would not kill them. ʿĀṣim said, "By God, I will not surrender on the word of an infidel. O God, inform your prophet about us." Ibn al-Dathinnah al-Bayāḍī, Khubayb, and another man gave themselves up, and the enemy removed the bowstrings from their bows and tied them up with them. When they wounded one of the three, he said, "By God, is this the beginning of treachery? By God, I will not follow you!"—they beat him until he died. Then they took Khubayb and Ibn al-Dathinnah to Mecca. Khubayb they handed over to the [1435] sons of al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf, as it was he who had killed al-Ḥārith at Uḥud. While he was with al-Ḥārith's daughters, he borrowed a razor from one of them to shave himself

with before being killed. The woman, who had a son who was just beginning to walk, was thunderstruck to see Khubayb with the boy on his knee and the razor in his hand. She screamed, but Khubayb said, "Are you afraid that I will kill him? Treachery is not one of our customs."

The woman said later, "I never saw a more virtuous captive than Khubayb. At a time when there was no fruit in Mecca, I saw him with a bunch of grapes in his hand which he was eating; it was indeed sustenance which God bestowed on Khubayb."

One section of Quraysh sent asking for a part of 'Āṣim's body to be brought to them, since he had left his mark on them at Uḥud; but God sent a swarm of hornets which guarded his body, and they were not able to take any part of him.

When they took Khubayb out of the *ḥaram* (sacred area round Mecca) to kill him, he asked to be allowed to pray two *rak'ahs;* they left him, and he prayed two prostrations. After that, it be-
[1436] came the *sunnah* for those about to be executed to pray two *rak'ah*s. Khubayb said, "If it were not that they would say I did not want to die, I would have prayed longer.

I do not care which side it comes from; my death is for God."

Then he said:

"This is for God himself, and if he will
he will bless the limbs of a mangled corpse.
O God, count them by number and take them one by one!"

Then Abū Sirwa'ah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf took him out and beheaded him.

According to Abū Kurayb—Ja'far b. 'Awn—Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl—Ja'far b. 'Amr b. Umayyah—his father—his grandfather:[212] The Messenger of God sent him alone to Quraysh as a spy. He said, "I came to the cross to which Khubayb was bound, frightened that someone might see me, climbed up it, and untied Khubayb. He fell to the ground, and I withdrew a short distance. Then I turned round, and I could not see a trace of Khubayb—it was as though

212. According to the isnād on 1437f. the great-grandfather (*jadd*) is 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī. The subtribe of Ḍamrah was part of Banū Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah and had grounds close to Mecca.

the earth had swallowed him up. Nothing has been heard of Khubayb to this day." [1437]

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī)—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Zayd b. al-Dathinnah was sent to al-Tan'īm by Ṣafwān b. Umayyah along with a *mawlā* of his called Nisṭās who was to take him outside the *ḥaram* and then kill him. A group of Quraysh, among whom was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, gathered around Zayd, and when he was brought forward to be killed Abū Sufyān said to him, "I call on you in God's name to tell me the truth, Zayd; do you not wish that Muḥammad was here in your place, so that we could execute him, and that you were at home among your family?" "By God," he replied, "I do not even wish that Muḥammad, at home as he is now, should be hurt by a thorn prick in order that I could be at home among my family." Abū Sufyān used to say, "I never saw anyone love another person so completely as Muḥammad's companions love Muḥammad." Finally Nisṭās killed him.

The Mission of 'Amr b. Umayyah against Abū Sufyān[213]

The story of 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī, when he was sent by the Messenger of God to kill Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb.

When the men whom the Prophet had sent to 'Aḍal and al-Qārah were killed at al-Rajī' and the news reached the Messenger of God, he sent 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī and one of the Anṣār to Mecca, ordering them to kill Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ja'far b. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī—his father—his great-grandfather, that is 'Amr b. Umayyah, whose account is as follows: After the death of Khubayb and his companions, the Messenger of God sent me together with one of the Anṣār, saying, "Go to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and kill him." I and my companion set out. I had a camel and he had not, and he had a weakness in his foot, so I carried him on my camel until we [1438]

213. This story is not in our text of Ibn Isḥāq, and Ibn Hishām (992) says the latter omitted it and gives a version from another unspecified source. Al-Ṭabarī, however, ascribes his version (1437–41) to Ibn Isḥāq. See also Guillaume, xlii, 790n.

reached the valley of Ya'jaj. Then we hobbled our camel in the bottom of a ravine and climbed up. I said to my companion, "Come with me to Abū Sufyān's house, as I am going to try to kill him. You keep watch, and if a patrol comes or something alarms you, get back to your camel, mount it, return to Medina, and go to the Messenger of God and tell him what has happened. You can leave me to my own devices, because I know the town well, am bold, and have strong legs."

When we entered Mecca I had with me the like of an eagle's secondary feather—meaning his dagger—which I had ready to kill anybody who laid hold of me. My companion said to me, "Shall we make a start by circumambulating the Ka'bah seven times and praying two *rak'ah*s?" I said to him, "I know the people of Mecca better than you do. When it gets dark, they sprinkle their courtyards with water and sit in them; and I am better known there than a piebald horse."

But he kept on pestering me until in the end we went to the Ka'bah, circumambulated it seven times, and prayed two *rak'ah*s. When we came out we went past a group of men sitting together, and one of them recognized me and shouted out at the top of his voice, "That is 'Amr b. Umayyah!" The Meccans rushed after us, saying "By God, 'Amr b. Umayyah has not come here for any good purpose! By the God by whom we swear, he has never come here except for some evil purpose!" ('Amr had been a cutthroat and a desperado before accepting Islam).

They set out in pursuit of my companion and myself, and I said
[1439] to him, "Let us get out of here! This is just what I was afraid of! We will never reach Abū Sufyān now, so save your own skin." We left at full speed, took to the hills, and hid in a cave, where we spent the night. In this way we gave them the slip, and they had to return without us. As we went into the cave, I concealed the entrance with stones, saying to my companion, "Let us wait here until the hue and cry has died down; they are sure to hunt for us the rest of the night and all tomorrow until the evening." I was still in the cave when, by God, 'Uthmān b. Mālik b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Taymī came up riding proudly on his horse. He kept coming nearer and nearer, riding proudly on his horse, until he reached the entrance to our cave. I said to my companion, "This is Ibn Mālik. By God, if he sees us, he will tell everyone in Mecca about

us!" So I went out and stabbed him below the breast with my dagger. He gave a shout which all the Meccans heard, and they came up to him while I went back to my hiding place, went in and said to my companion, "Stay where you are!" The Meccans hastily followed the shout, and found him on the point of death. They asked him, who had wounded him. "'Amr b. Umayyah," he replied, and died. They could not find anything to show them where we were, and merely said, "By God, we knew that he came for no good purpose." The death of their companion impeded their search for us, for they carried him away. We remained in the cave for two days until the pursuit had died down and then went out to al-Tan'īm, where Khubayb's cross was. My companion said to me, "Shall we take Khubayb down from his cross?" "Where is he?" I said. "You can see him over there," he said. "Very well," I [1440] said, "but leave it to me, and keep well away from me." The cross was watched over by a guard, so I said to the Anṣāri, "If you are afraid of anything, make your way to your camel, mount it, go to the Messenger of God, and tell him what has happened." I went quickly to Khubayb's cross, untied him, and carried him on my back, but I had gone no more than forty paces when they spotted me. At once I threw him down, and I will never forget the sound his body made when it fell. They ran after me, and I took the path to al-Ṣafrā' and managed to throw them off. They went back, while my companion made his way to his camel, mounted it, went to the Prophet and told him what had happened to us. I proceeded on foot until I was overlooking Ghalīl Ḍajnān. There I went into a cave with my bow and arrows. While I was in it a tall one-eyed man from the Banū al-Dīl b. Bakr came in driving some sheep. He said, "Who is there?" and I said, "One of the Banū Bakr."[214] He said, "I am from the Banū Bakr, one of the Banū al-Dīl." Then he lay down next to me, and raised his voice in song:

> I will not be a Muslim as long as I live,
> and will not believe in the faith of the Muslims.

I said, "You will soon see!" Before long the beduin went to sleep and started snoring, and I went to him and killed him in the most

214. 'Amr's tribe of Ḍamrah was part of Bakr, as was also al-Dīl.

dreadful way that anybody has ever killed anybody. I leant over him, stuck the end of my bow into his good eye, and thrust it down until it came out of the back of his neck. After that I rushed
[1441] out like a wild beast and took to the highway like an eagle, fleeing for my life. First, I came to such and such a village, then to Rakūbah, and then to al-Naqī'. At this place there were two Meccans whom Quraysh had sent to spy out how things were with the Messenger of God. I recognized them and called on them to surrender. "Shall we surrender to you?" they said; so I shot an arrow at one of them and killed him, and then called on the other to surrender. He did so and I tied him up and took him to the Messenger of God.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Sulaymān b. Wardān—his father—'Amr b. Umayyah: When I came to Medina, I went past some shaykhs of the Anṣār. "By God," they said, "that is 'Amr b. Umayyah!" Some boys heard what they were saying and rushed to the Messenger of God to tell him. I had tied my prisoner's thumbs together with my bowstring, and the Messenger of God looked at him and laughed so that his back teeth could be seen. Then he questioned me and I told him what had happened. "Well done!" he said, and prayed for me to be blessed.

Muḥammad's Marriage to Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah[215]

In this year, in the month of Ramaḍān (which began February 4, 626), the Messenger of God married Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah, known as "the Mother of the Poor," a woman of the Banū Hilāl. He consummated his marriage to her in the same month and settled twelve *ūqiyyah*s and a *nashsh* on her as a dowry. She had previously been married to al-Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith, who had divorced her.[216]

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215. This Zaynab, who is not to be confused with Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, belonged to Banū Hilāl, part of the nomadic tribe of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. After her divorce from Ṭufayl, a Muslim of the Meccan clan of al-Muṭṭalib, she married his brother 'Ubaydah, who was killed at Badr. See i.1775f. below and Watt, *Medina*, 396.

216. The *ūqiyyah* is usually rendered "ounce" and the *nashsh* is half of that. Zaynab's dowry consisted of this weight of gold or silver presumably.

The Story of Bi'r Ma'ūnah[217]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: In this year there occurred the disaster of the expedition sent out by the Messenger of God which was killed at Bi'r Ma'ūnah.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: [1442] (After the battle of Uḥud) the Messenger of God remained in Medina for the rest of Shawwāl, and Dhū al-Ḥijjah (of year 3) and Muḥarram (of year 4) (late March 625 to early July 625). The polytheists had charge of the pilgrimage that year. Then in Ṣafar (which began July 13, 625), four months after Uḥud, he sent out the men of Bi'r Ma'ūnah. The reason was as follows.

According to (Ibn Isḥāq)—my father, Isḥāq b. Yasār—al-Mughīrah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, and also 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm and other scholars: Abū Barā' 'Āmir b. Mālik b. Ja'far, the "Player with spear-heads," who was the chief of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, came to the Messenger of God in Medina and presented him with a gift. The Messenger of God declined to accept it, saying, "Abū Barā', I do not accept presents from polytheists, so become a Muslim if you want me to accept it." Then he expounded Islam to him, explained its advantages for him and God's promises to the believers, and recited the Qur'ān to him. He did not accept Islam, but was not far from doing so, saying, "Muḥammad, this matter of yours to which you call me is good and beautiful. If you were to send some of your companions to the people of Najd to call them to your religion, I would hope that they would respond to you." The Messenger of God said, "I fear that the people of Najd would do them some harm." Abū Barā' replied, "I will guarantee their protection, so send them to call people to your religion." The Messenger of God thereupon sent al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, the brother of the Banū Sā'idah, "he who hastens to death," at the head of forty of the best Muslims from his companions; among them were al-Ḥārith b. Ṣimmah, Ḥarām b. Milḥān, the brother of the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār, 'Urwah b. Asmā' b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamī, [1443] Nāfi' b. Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī, and 'Āmir b. Fuhayrah, the

217. See also IH, 648–52; W, 346–52; Watt, *Medina*, 31–3; *EI*², art. Bi'r Ma'ūna (C. E. Bosworth).

mawlā of Abū Bakr, together with other named men from the best of the Muslims.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl—Anas b. Mālik: The Messenger of God sent al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr with seventy riders. They went on until they halted at Biʾr Maʿūnah, which lies between the territory of the Banū ʿĀmir and the *ḥarrah* of the Banū Sulaym, near to both of them but closer to the latter. After halting, they sent Ḥarām b. Milḥān to ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl[218] with a letter from the Messenger of God. When Ḥarām arrived, ʿĀmir did not even look at the letter but rushed on him and killed him. Then he called on the Banū ʿĀmir to aid him against the Muslims, but they refused to do what he asked them, saying, "We will not betray Abū Barāʾ. He has entered into a compact with them and given them his protection." ʿĀmir then called on some clans of the Banū Sulaym, ʿUṣayyah, Riʿl, and Dhakwān, to come to his aid against the Muslims, and they responded to his request. They set out and took the Muslims by surprise, surrounding them while they were dismounted and encamped. The Muslims, on seeing them, snatched up their swords and fought them until they themselves were killed to the last man, except for Kaʿb b. Zayd, the brother of the Banū Dīnār b. al-Najjār. The enemy left Kaʿb at the point of death, but he was pulled out from among the slain and survived, eventually being killed at the battle of the Trench (in 5/627).

ʿAmr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī and one of the Anṣār belonging to the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf were out with the grazing camels and only realized what had happened to their companions from the birds which were hovering over the camp. "By God," they said, "these birds mean something." They went up to see and found their companions lying in their blood, while the horsemen who had killed them stood close by. The Anṣārī said to ʿAmr b. Umayyah,
[1444] "What do you think we should do?" He said, "I think that we should go to the Messenger of God and tell him what has happened." The Anṣārī said, "I do not want to leave a place in which al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr has been killed, and I do not want people to

218. ʿAmir b. Ṭufayl was the nephew of Abū Barāʾ and also had a position of leadership in the tribe, but the precise details are not known. The tribe refused to support ʿAmir in disregarding the protection (*ijārah*) granted by Abū Barāʾ.

say that I did so." He then fought against the enemy until he was killed. The latter took 'Amr b. Umayyah prisoner, but when he told them that he was from Muḍar 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl set him free, after cutting off his forelock. He freed him, so he claimed, because of an oath taken by his mother.

'Amr b. Umayyah proceeded towards Medina until, when he was at al-Qarqarah in the upper part of Qanāt, two men of the Banū 'Āmir came up and halted next to him in the shade, where he was. The 'Āmirīs had a compact of protection with the Messenger of God which 'Amr b. Umayyah did not know about. When they dismounted he asked them who they were, and they replied that they were from the Banū 'Āmir. He let them be until they were asleep, but then rushed on them and killed them, thinking that he had taken vengeance on them for the companions of the Messenger of God who had been killed by the Banū 'Āmir. When he came to the Messenger of God he told him what had happened, and the Messenger of God said, "You have killed two men for whom I shall have to pay blood-money." Then he added, "This is the doing of Abū Barā'. I was opposed to sending out this party and apprehensive about it."[219] Abū Barā' heard of this and was distressed by 'Āmir's betrayal of him and by the disaster which had befallen the Messenger of God as a result of his guaranteeing the protection of the party of Muslims. One of those who was killed was 'Āmir b. Fuhayrah.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq —Hishām b. 'Urwah—his father: 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl used to say, "Which of them is the man whom I saw being raised up between heaven and earth after his death until I saw the heavens beneath him?" They said, "That was 'Āmir b. Fuhayrah."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq [1445]
—one of the Banū Ja'far, one of the sons of Jabbār b. Sulmā b. Mālik b. Ja'far: Jabbār was one of those who were present that day

219. The reason why Muḥammad had to give blood-money for two to Banū 'Āmir, while claiming none for the men he had lost, is presumably that the latter were actually killed by tribesmen of Sulaym, even if 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl had asked them to do so and was "morally responsible" according to Western ideas. Abū Barā' was at most responsible for exaggerating his own ability to protect, but he felt disgraced because his grant of protection had been betrayed. Hence the poem below by Ḥassān b. Thābit.

with 'Amir, but he accepted Islam later on. He used to say, "One of the things which summoned me to Islam was that I struck one of them that day between his shoulders with my spear. I saw the spearhead coming out of his breast, and I heard him say as I speared him, "I have won, by God!" I said to myself, "What has he won? Have I not killed the man?" Later on I asked what he had said, and was told, "He meant he had won martyrdom." "By God," I said, "he has won."

Ḥassān b. Thābit said,[220] inciting the sons of Abū Barā' against 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl:

O sons of Umm al-Banīn, have you not been dismayed,
although you are the highest of the people of Najd,
By 'Āmir's scornful behaviour to Abū Barā'
in betraying his guarantee of protection; for a mistake is not like a deliberate act.
Say to Rabī'ah who ever strives,
what have you done in the course of time since I was with you?
Your father is the man of war Abū Barā'
and your maternal uncle, Ḥakam b. Sa'd, is glorious.

On the same subject, Ka'b b. Malīk said:

The betrayal of Abū Barā''s guarantee of protection
has spread far and wide in every direction
[1446] It is like Musahhab and his father's sons
by al-Radh in the region of Suwā'
O sons of Umm al-Banīn, did you not hear
the call for help at evening time
And the raising of the cry? Nay, you heard it,
but you knew that it was a true battle.
The bags of the Banū Kilāb are not empty
of blame for faithlessness, nor those of the Quraṭā'.
'Āmir, 'Āmir of shameful acts of old,
you have not gained comprehension or splendour

220. See his *Dīwān*, i.232f., ii.174–7; the verses are in a different order there. Umm al-Banīn ("mother of the sons") was the mother of Abū Barā' and had four other sons. Ḥakam b. Sa'd was her brother and Rabī'ah the son of Abū Barā'. The following verses by Ka'b b. Mālik are not in IḤ.

Have you betrayed the Prophet, when of old you used
to hasten to shameful acts under the open sky?
You are not like the protector of Abū Duwād,
nor like al-Asadī, the protector of Abū al-'Alā'
But your shame is an ancient sickness,
and the sickness of treachery, be assured, is worst of all.

When these words of Ḥassān and Ka'b reached Rabī'ah, the son of 'Āmir Abū Barā', he attacked 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl and thrust at him with his lance, but the lance was deflected and failed to kill him. 'Āmir fell off his horse and said, "This is the doing of Abū Barā'. If I die, I give the right to avenge my death to my uncle,[221] and he is not to be held to account for it; but if I live, I shall make my own decision about what has happened to me."

According to Muḥammad b. Marzūq—'Amr b. Yūnus—'Ikrimah—Isḥāq b. Abī Ṭalḥah—Anas b. Mālik: The companions of the Prophet whom he sent to the people of Bi'r Ma'ūnah, were either forty or seventy, I do not know. 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl al-Ja'farī was in control of that watering place. This company of companions of the Prophet travelled until they came to a cave overlooking the watering place. There they settled down, and then said to one another, "Which of us will deliver the Messenger of God's letter to the people of this watering place?" One of them, Ibn Milḥān the Anṣārī, I think, said, "I will deliver the Messenger of God's letter." He reached a group of tents, in front of which he sat down, and said, "People of Bi'r Ma'ūnah, I am an envoy of the Messenger of God to you. I testify that there is no deity but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger. So believe in God and His Messenger." A man came out of a tent flap with a spear and struck him with it in one side so that it came out at the other side. He said, "God is most great. I have won, by the Lord of the Ka'bah." Then they followed his tracks backwards until they came to his companions in the cave, and 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl killed them all. [1447]

According to Isḥāq—Anas b. Mālik: God revealed concerning them as part of the Qur'ān, "Tell our people of us. Verily we have

221. That is, to Abū Barā', presumably. If 'Amir b. al-Ṭufayl lives, it will still be open to him to seek vengeance.

met our Lord, and He has been pleased with us and we have been pleased with Him." Later it was abrogated and removed from the Qur'ān, but for a time we had recited it.[222] God then revealed, "Think not of those, who are slain in the way of Allah, as dead. Nay, they are living. With their Lord they have provision, jubilant."

According to Al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd—his father—al-Awzā'ī—Isḥāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ṭalḥa al-Anṣārī—Anas b. Malīk: The Messenger of God sent to 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl al-Kilābī seventy of the Anṣār. Their commander said, "Stay where you are until I bring you news of the people." When he came to them he said, "Will you grant me security so that I can tell you about the message of the Messenger of God?" They said, "Yes," but while he was with them one of them suddenly stuck his spear into him. He
[1448] said, "I have won, by the Lord of the Ka'bah." 'Āmir said, "I am sure that he must have companions," so they followed his tracks backwards until they came to them and killed them. Nobody escaped except for one man.

Anas says: We used to recite, as part of what was abrogated, "Tell our brethren of us, that we have met our Lord, and he has been pleased with us and we have been pleased with him."

The Expulsion of the Banū al-Naḍīr[223]

In this year, the fourth year of the Hijrah, the Prophet expelled the Banū al-Naḍīr from their settlements.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] says: The cause of this was, as we have mentioned above, that 'Amr b. Umayyah, as he returned from the expedition sent out by the Messenger of God to Bi'r Ma'ūnah, killed two men to whom had been given a promise of protection by the Messenger of God. It is said that 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl wrote to the Messenger of God, "You have killed two men whom you had given a promise of protection, so send their blood-money." The Messenger of God went to Qubā' and then turned towards the Banū al-Naḍīr to seek help from them in the payment of the

222. For this revelation not in the Qur'ān see Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*,[2] Leipzig 1909, i.246–8. The following verse is Qur. 3.169.

223. IH, 652–61; W, 363–83; Watt, *Medina*, 211f.

blood-money. With him there were a group of Emigrants and Anṣār, including Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Alī and Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: The Messenger of God went out to the Banū al-Naḍīr to ask for their help in the payment of the blood-money for those two men of the Banū 'Āmir whom 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī had killed. This was because he had entered into an obligation to protect them, as I have been told by Yazīd b. Rūmān. The Banū al-Naḍīr and the Banū 'Āmir were joined by a treaty and a compact, and when the Messenger of God came to them to ask for their help in the payment of the blood-money for those two men, they said, [1449] "Yes, Abū al-Qāsim,[224] we will give you the help which you want and which you have asked from us." Then they spoke privately with one another, and said, "You will never find this man in such a situation again." The Messenger of God was sitting by the wall of one of their houses, and they said, "Who will go on the roof of this house and drop a stone on him and kill him, and so relieve us of him?" 'Amr b. Jiḥāsh b. Ka'b, who was one of them, came forward to do this, and said, "I am your man." Then he went up to the roof to drop the stone on him as arranged. The Messenger of God was with a number of his companions, including Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Alī, and news of what the people intended came to him from Heaven. He got up and said to his companions, "Do not leave until I come to you." He went back to Medina, and when his companions thought that he had been gone a long time they got up to look for him. Then they met a man coming from Medina and asked him about the Messenger of God. He said, "I saw him going into Medina." When his companions came to him, the Messenger of God told them the story of the treachery intended by the Jews and ordered them to get ready to fight them and march against them. He then led his men against the Banū al-Naḍīr and halted in their quarter. They fortified themselves against him in their strongholds, but he ordered the date-palms to be cut down and set fire to. They shouted, "Muḥammad, you have forbidden damage to property and have blamed those who

224. The *kunyah* of Muḥammad; al-Qāsim was the eldest of his sons by Khadījah but died at an early age.

perpetrated it: what is the idea of cutting down date-palms and setting fire to them?"

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: As for al-Wāqidī, he says that when they conspired together to drop the stone on the Messenger of God, Sallām b. Mishkam told them not to do so, and warned [1450] them that it would mean war, adding that Muḥammad knew what they intended. They ignored his advice, however, and ʿAmr b. Jiḥāsh went up to the roof to roll the stone over. News of this came to the Prophet from Heaven, and he got up as though he wished to relieve himself. His companions waited for him, but he was gone for a long time. The Jews began to say, "What has delayed Abū al-Qāsim?" and his companions left. Kinānah b. Ṣūriyā' said, "News of what you intended has reached him."

When the Messenger of God's companions returned they went to him and found him sitting in the mosque. They said, "O Messenger of God, we waited for you but you did not come back." "The Jews intended to kill me," he replied, "and God informed me of it. Call Muḥammad b. Maslamah to me." When Muḥammad b. Maslamah came, he was told to go to the Jews and say to them, "Leave my country and do not live with me. You have intended treachery." Muḥammad b. Maslamah went to them and said, "The Messenger of God orders you to depart from his country." They said, "Muḥammad, we never thought that a man of al-Aws would come to us with such a message." "Hearts have changed," he replied, "and Islam has wiped out the old covenants." "We will go," they said.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy sent a message to the Banū al-Naḍīr saying, "Do not go. I have two thousand men from the beduin and those of my own people who are united around me. Stay, and they will enter battle with you, as will Qurayẓah." Kaʿb b. Asad, however, the guarantor of the Banū Qurayẓah's compact with the Messenger of God,[225] heard of this and said, "No man of the Banū Qurayẓah shall break his compact as long as I am alive." Sallām b. Mishkam said to Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, "Ḥuyayy, we (our tribe) are eminent among our people (the Jews) by virtue of our wealth; accept what Muḥammad has proposed before you have to accept

225. Kaʿb b. Asad had signed the agreement with Muḥammad on behalf of Banū Qurayẓah. Sallām and Ḥuyayy were leaders of al-Naḍīr.

what is worse than that." "What is worse than that?" he asked. "The seizure of our wealth, the enslavement of our children, and the killing of our fighting men," he replied. Ḥuyayy refused to accept his advice, however, and sent Judayy b. Akhṭab to the Messenger of God to say, "We will not leave our settlements; so do what you see fit." [1451]

The Messenger of God magnified God and the Muslims magnified God with him. Then he said, "The Jews have declared war." Judayy then went to Ibn Ubayy to ask for support from him. He said, "I found him sitting among a number of his companions while the Prophet's crier was calling men to arms. His son, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, came in as I was with him, took up his arms, and ran out.[226] I despaired of Ibn Ubayy's help, and told Ḥuyayy of all this. He said, "This is a clever trick of Muḥammad's." The Messenger of God marched against the Banū al-Naḍīr, and besieged them for fifteen days. In the end they made peace with him on the condition that the Messenger of God would not shed their blood and that their property and their coats of mail would be his.

According to Muḥammad b. Sa'd—his father—his paternal uncle—his father—his father—Ibn 'Abbās: The Messenger of God besieged them (the Banū al-Naḍīr) for fifteen days until he had reduced them to a state of utter exhaustion, so that they gave him what he wanted from them and made peace with him. The terms were that he would not shed their blood, would expel them from their lands and their settlements, and would send them to Adhri'āt in Syria, providing for every three of them a camel and a water-skin.

According to Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā—Muḥammad b. Thawr—Ma'mar—al-Zuhrī: The Prophet fought them until he made peace with them on condition that they evacuated Medina. He expelled them to Syria but allowed them to keep what their camels could carry, except for their coats of mail ("coats of mail" means weapons).

Resumption of Ibn Isḥāq's narrative. [1452]

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226. 'Abdallāh, the son of 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy, the leading Hypocrite, was a fervent Muslim who said he was ready to kill his father if Muḥammad commanded it; here he answers Muḥammad's call to arms.

A group of the Banū 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, including 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, Wadī'ah, Mālik b. Abī Qawqal, Suwayd, and Dā'is had sent a message to the Banū al-Naḍīr saying, "Stand firm and hold out, for we will not desert you. If they fight you, we will fight along with you, and if you are driven out, we will leave with you." So they waited patiently, but the group with Ibn Ubayy did nothing, and God cast fear into the hearts of Banū al-Naḍīr so that they asked the Messenger of God to spare their lives and allow them to leave Medina. The condition was to be that they could keep as much of their property as their camels could carry, with the exception of their coats of mail. The Messenger of God agreed to this and they took away as much of their property as their camels could carry. Some of them were destroying their houses down to the lintel of the door, putting even that on the back of their camels, and going off with it.

They went to Khaybar, and some of them went to Syria. Among their nobles who went to Khaybar were Sallām b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq, Kinānah b. al-Rabī' b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq, and Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab. When they settled in Khaybar its inhabitants submitted to them.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr: They loaded their camels with their wives, children and property, and there were tambourines, pipes, and singing girls behind them. Among them was Umm 'Amr, wife of 'Urwah b. al-Ward al-'Absī, whom they had bought from him.[227] She was one of the Banū Ghifār. They went with a splendour and a glory the like of which had never been seen from any [1453] tribe in their time.

The Banū al-Naḍīr left their property to the Messenger of God, and it became his personal property, to do with it as he wished. He divided it among the first Emigrants, to the exclusion of the Anṣār, except that Sahl b. Ḥunayf and Abū Dujānah Simāk b. Kharashah spoke of their poverty and he gave them some of it.[228] Only two of the Banū al-Naḍīr became Muslims, Yāmīn b. 'Umayr b. Ka'b, who was the nephew of 'Amr b. Jiḥāsh, and Abū Sa'd b. Wahb; they were allowed to keep their property when they accepted Islam and in this way they preserved it.

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227. IH, 653. The story of Umm 'Amr Salmā is told more fully in W, 376.
228. See 1426 above and n.205.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: It is said that when the Messenger of God went out to fight the Banū al-Naḍīr he left Ibn Umm Maktūm in charge of Medina. His banner was borne on that occasion by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Other Events

In this year, in Jumādā al-Ūlā (which began October 9, 625), there died 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, who was six years old. The Messenger of God prayed over him, and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān went down into his grave.

In this year also, early in Sha'bān (which began January 6, 626), there was born al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī.

The Expedition of Dhāt al-Riqā'

There is a difference of opinion as to which of his expeditions took place after that against the Banū al-Naḍīr.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God remained in Medina after the expedition against the Banū al-Naḍīr for the two months of Rabī' and part of the month of Jumādā (from August 11 to late October, 625). Then he went on an expedition into Najd, directed against the Banū Muḥārib and the Banū Tha'labah, part of Ghaṭafān, and reached Nakhl.[229] This [1454] was the expedition of Dhāt al-Riqā'. They met there a number of Ghaṭafān; the armies approached one another, but no fighting took place, because they feared one another. The Messenger of God then led the Muslims in the Prayer of Fear, and left with them.

As for al-Wāqidī, he asserts that the Messenger of God's expedition to Dhāt al-Riqā' was in Muḥarram in Year Five of the Hijrah (which began July 2, 626). He says that it was called Dhāt al-Riqā' because the mountain after which it was named, Dhāt al-Riqā' (the patchwork mountain) had black, white, and red patches on it. The Messenger of God left 'Uthmān b. 'Affān in charge of Medina during this expedition.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq

229. IH, 661–5; W, 395–402.

—Muhammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr and Muḥammad (meaning b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān)—ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr—Abū Hurayrah: We went out with the Messenger of God to Najd. When we were at Dhāt al-Riqāʿ in the region of Nakhl he met a number of Ghaṭafān. No fighting took place between us, but our army was afraid of the enemy, and the rules for the Prayer of Fear were revealed. The Messenger of God divided his companions into two parts; one group stood facing the enemy while the other stood behind the Messenger of God. He magnified God and they all magnified God. Then he and those behind him performed a *rakʿah* and prostrated themselves. On standing up, they walked back to the ranks of their companions, while these returned and themselves prayed a *rakʿah*. When this party stood up (after their first *rakʿah*), the Messenger of God prayed a further *rakʿah* with
[1455] them, and at the end of it they sat down. Those who had been facing the enemy then came back and prayed the second *rakʿah*. When they had all sat down, the Messenger of God pronounced the greeting to both parties together.[230]

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: The accounts of the way in which the Messenger of God led this prayer at the valley of Nakhl vary so much that I do not like to mention them here, for fear that this book may be unduly prolonged. We shall mention them, God willing, in our book entitled *The Simple Exposition of the Provisions of the Laws of Islam*,[231] in the chapter on the Prayer of Fear.

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār—Muʿādh b. Hishām—his father—Qatādah—Sulaymān al-Yashkurī: I asked Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh about the shortening of the prayer, on which day it was revealed or on which day it took place. Jabīr said, "We set off to intercept a caravan belonging to Quraysh which was coming from Syria. When we got to Nakhl one of the enemy came to the

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230. The details can be followed in a general account of Ṣalāt such as that in *EI*[1], section 2. To "magnify" God is to say "God is very great" (*Allāhu akbar*). The *rakʿah* is the cycle of acts and words which is repeated two, three, or four times according to the hour of the day—only twice for obvious reasons in the Prayer of Fear. The Ṣalāt also has an introductory section and a closing section, the latter concluding with the greeting ("Peace be with you") pronounced first to one's right then to one's left.

231. This work does not appear to be extant, if indeed it was ever written; see *GALS*, i.218.

Messenger of God and said, 'Muḥammad!' 'Yes?' he said. 'Are you afraid of me?' 'No.' 'Who will protect you from me?' he asked. 'God will protect me from you,' he said. Then the man drew his sword and threatened him.

"After this the Messenger of God gave the command to leave that place and take up arms, and then the call to prayer was made. The Prophet of God led one group of the army in prayer while another group guarded them. Those nearest to him he led in prayer for two *rak'ah*s, and then this group went back and occupied the positions of the other group. This second group meanwhile came and were led in prayer for two *rak'ah*s while the others guarded them. Then the Prophet gave the greeting to all. In this way the Prophet performed four *rak'ah*s while each half of his army performed only two *rak'ah*s. This was the day on which God gave a revelation concerning the shortening of prayer when the believers were ordered to take up arms."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq —'Amr b. 'Ubayd—al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī—Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī: A man of the Banū Muḥārib called so-and-so b. al-Ḥārith said to his people of Ghaṭafān and Muḥārib, "Shall I kill Muḥammad for you?" They said, "Yes, but how are you going to kill him?" "I will do it by surprise," he said. He went to the Messenger of God as the latter was sitting with his sword in his lap, and said, "Muḥammad, may I have a look at your sword?" He said, "Yes." So the man took it and unsheathed it, and then started brandishing it, intending to kill him with it; but God restrained him. Then he said, "Muḥammad, are you not afraid of me?" "No," he said, "why should I be afraid of you?" "Are you not afraid of me with the sword in my hand?" he asked. "No," he replied, "God will defend me from you." At that he sheathed the sword and returned it to the Messenger of God. On this event, God revealed, "O ye who believe! Remember Allāh's favor unto you, how a people were minded to stretch out their hands against you but He withheld their hands from you. . . ."[232] [1456]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq —Ṣadaqah b. Yasār—'Aqīl b. Jābir—Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī:

232. Qur. 5.11.

We went out with the Messenger of God on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqāʿ in the neighbourhood of Nakhl. At one point, one of the Muslims killed a polytheist woman. When the Messenger of God was on his way back to Medina, her husband, who had been away and had returned, on being told what had happened, swore that he would not rest until he had wrought bloodshed among Muḥammad's companions. He set out, following the Messenger of God's tracks. When the Messenger of God halted for the night
[1457] he said, "Who will keep watch for us tonight?" One of the Emigrants and one of the Anṣār volunteered, saying, "We will, O Messenger of God." He told them to station themselves at the top of the pass. The Messenger of God and his companions had halted further down the pass towards the valley bottom. When the two reached the top of the pass, the Anṣārī asked the Emigrant, "Which part of the night would you like me to stand watch for you—the first part or the second part?" "Stand watch for the first part for me," he said, and lay down and went to sleep, while the Anṣārī stood up to pray. The woman's husband now came, saw the standing figure, realised that he was the lookout for the army, and shot an arrow which hit him. The Anṣārī pulled the arrow out, put it down, and remained standing in prayer. The man shot a second and a third arrow at him, but exactly the same thing happened. Finally the Anṣārī, after bowing and prostrating himself, woke up his companion with the words, "Sit up, I have been wounded." The Emigrant leapt to his feet. When the man saw the two of them, he knew that they were alerted to his presence, [and fled].[233] When the Emigrant saw the Anṣārī's bloodstained condition he exclaimed, "God Almighty! Why did you not wake me up the first time he shot at you?" "I was in the middle of reciting a *Sūrah*," he replied, "and I did not want to break off without finishing it. When he kept shooting at me I completed a *rakʿah* and woke you up. By God, but for the fact that I would have lost an outpost which the Messenger of God had ordered me to hold, the man could have killed me before I would have broken the *Sūrah* off uncompleted."

233. The words "and fled" have been added from IH's text; he also has a dual instead of the plural in al-Ṭabarī.

The Expedition of al-Sawīq (or Badr al-Mawʿid)[234]

This is the Prophet's second expedition to Badr, which he undertook to keep his appointment with Abū Sufyān.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: After the Messenger of God had returned to Medina from Dhāt al-Riqāʿ, he remained there for the rest of Jumādā al-Ūlā, Jumādā al-Ākhirah, and Rajab (late October 625 to early January 626). Then in Shaʿbān (which began January 6, 626) he went out to Badr to meet Abū Sufyān and halted there for eight days, waiting for him. Abū Sufyān came out with the Meccans and halted at Majannah in the region of Murr al-Ẓahrān—or, according to some people, went through ʿUsfān, after which he decided to go back. "Men of Quraysh," he said, "only a fertile year in which you can pasture your animals on the bushes and drink their milk will be any good to you. This is a year of drought, and I am going to go back, so you go back too." They all went back, and the people of Mecca called them "the army of *sawīq* (barley-meal)," saying, "You only went out to drink barley-gruel."[235] [1458]

The Messenger of God stayed at Badr waiting to keep his rendezvous with Abū Sufyān. Makhshī b. ʿAmr al-Ḍamrī, who had made a treaty with him on behalf of the Banū Ḍamrah during the expedition to Waddān, came to him and said, "Have you come to meet Quraysh at this watering place, Muḥammad?" "Yes, O brother of the Banū Ḍamrah," he said; "nevertheless, if you wish, we will release you from your treaty with us and then fight you until God decides between us." "No, by God, Muḥammad," he replied, "we want no such thing from you."

The Messenger of God remained, waiting for Abū Sufyān, and Maʿbad b. Abī Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿī passed by him, having seen where he was as he galloped past on his she-camel, and said:

She was frightened away by Muḥammad's two companies [1459]

234. IH, 666–8; W, 384–91.
235. See n.153 above.

and a date-stone from Yathrib like a raisin,
Hurrying along in the hereditary faith of her fathers,
having made the water of Qudayd my meeting place
And the water of Ḍajnān hers tomorrow morning.

As for al-Wāqidī, he says that the Messenger of God urged his companions to take part in an expedition to Badr in order to meet Abū Sufyān, whom he had promised on the day of Uḥud to meet there for battle in a year's time. This was in Dhū al-Qa'dah (which began April 4, 626). Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd al-Ashja'ī had come to Mecca to perform the *'umrah* (lesser pilgrimage) and was asked by Quraysh which direction he had come from. When he said, "From Yathrib," Abū Sufyān asked, "Did you see Muḥammad making any movements?" He replied, "I left him making preparations for an expedition against you." This was before Nu'aym became a Muslim.

Abū Sufyān said to him, "Nu'aym, this is a year of drought, and only a year in which our camels can graze on shrubs and we can drink their milk will be suitable for us. Since the time for our rendezvous with Muḥammad has come, go to Medina, delay them, and make them think that we are coming with such a huge army that they will not be able to withstand us. In that way it will be they who break the agreement; and I would prefer that to our breaking it. Do this, and you shall have ten camels which I shall place in Suhayl b. 'Amr's custody for safekeeping." So Suhayl b. 'Amr came to them, and Nu'aym said to Suhayl, "Abū Yazīd, will you be responsible for these camels so that I can go to Muḥammad and delay him?" He agreed, and Nu'aym set out. When he arrived in Medina he found the people preparing themselves, so he mingled unobtrusively with them and would say, "This is not sensible. Was not Muḥammad personally wounded? Were his companions not killed?" In this way he delayed them, and when
[1460] the Messenger of God heard of it, he said, "By him in whose hand my soul rests, even if nobody goes out with me, I shall go out alone." Then God set the Muslims' understanding on the right path, and they set out to trade, earning two *dirhams* for every *dirham* laid out. They did not meet any enemy, and this expedition was known as "*Badr al-maw'id*" (Badr of the Rendezvous).

Badr was the site of one of their markets in pre-Islamic times, and they assembled there for eight days once a year.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: The Messenger of God left 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥah in charge of Medina.

Other Events

Al-Wāqidī says: In this year, the Messenger of God married Umm Salamah bt. Abī Umayyah[236] and consummated the marriage in Shawwāl (which began March 6, 626). In this year also, the Messenger of God commanded Zayd b. Thābit to study the Book of the Jews, saying, "I fear that they may change my Book."

In this year, the polytheists were in charge of the Meccan Pilgrimage.

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236. Umm Salamah Hind belonged to the Meccan clan of Makhzūm; her previous husband, Abū Salamah, also of Makhzūm, had been killed at Uḥud.

Abbreviations

EI[1], *EI*[2]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London and Leiden, first edition, second edition.

GALS: C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literaturs*, Supplementband I, Leiden 1937.

IH: Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1859, 1860.

Qur.: Qur'ān (Pickthall's translation—see Bibliography).

W: Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, 3 vols. with continuous paging, London 1966.

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The definite article, the abbreviation b. (for ibn, son) and bt. (for bint, daughter), and everything in parentheses are disregarded for the purposes of alphabetization. Where a name occurs in both the text and the footnotes on the same page, only the page number is given.

(The Arabic article al- is neglected in the alphabetical arrangement. Abbreviations: 'AA. = 'Abd Allāh; M. = Muḥammad. An asterisk after a name indicates that it occurs only in the isnāds, the chains of transmitters.)

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME VIII

The Victory of Islam

TRANSLATED BY MICHAEL FISHBEIN

The Victory of Islam
Volume VIII
Translated by Michael Fishbein

This volume covers the history of the Muslim community and the biography of Muḥammad in the middle Medinan years. It begins with the unsuccessful last Meccan attack on Medina, known as the Battle of the Trench.

Events following this battle show the gradual collapse of Meccan resistance to Islam. The next year, when Muḥammad set out on pilgrimage to Mecca, the Meccans at first blocked the road, but eventually a ten-year truce was negotiated at al-Ḥudaybiyah, with Muḥammad agreeing to postpone his pilgrimage until the following year. The Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyah was followed by a series of Muslim expeditions, climaxing in the important conquest of Khaybar. In the following year Muḥammad made the so-called Pilgrimage of Fulfillment unopposed.

Al-Ṭabarī's account emphasizes Islam's expanding geographical horizon during this period. Soon after the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyah, Muḥammad is said to have sent letters to six foreign rulers inviting them to become Muslims. Another example of this expanding horizon was the unsuccessful expedition to Mu'tah in Jordan.

Shortly afterward the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyah broke down, and Muḥammad marched on Mecca. The Meccans capitulated, and Muḥammad entered the city on his own terms. He treated the city leniently, and most of the Meccan oligarchy swore allegiance to him as Muslims.

Two events in the personal life of Muḥammad during this period caused controversy in the community. Muḥammad fell in love with and married Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, the divorced wife of his adopted son Zayd. Because of Muḥammad's scruples, the marriage took place only after a Qur'ānic revelation permitting believers to marry the divorced wives of their adopted sons. In the Affair of the Lie, accusations against Muḥammad's young wife 'Ā'ishah were exploited by various factions in the community and in Muḥammad's household. In the end, a Qur'ānic revelation proclaimed 'Ā'ishah's innocence and the culpability of the rumormongers.

This volume of al-Ṭabarī's *History* records the collapse of Meccan resistance to Islam, the triumphant return of Muḥammad to his native city, the conversion to Islam of the Meccan oligarchy, and the community's successful weathering of a number of potentially embarrassing events in Muḥammad's private life.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME VIII

The Victory of Islam

MUḤAMMAD AT MEDINA

A.D. 626–630/A.H. 5–8

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME VIII

The Victory of Islam

translated and annotated
by

Michael Fishbein

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

In his monumental work al-Ṭabarī explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators. The thirty-ninth volume is a compendium of biographies of early members of the Muslim community, compiled by al-Ṭabarī; although not strictly a part of his *History*, it complements it.

The *History* has been divided here into thirty-nine volumes, each of which covers about 200 pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the

chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, like Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as "dirham," and "imām," have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation is aimed chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

BSOAS: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
EI[1]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 1st edition. Leiden, 1913–42
EI[2]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd edition. Leiden, 1960–
GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums,* Leiden, 1967–
IH: Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh,* ed. M. al-Saqqā et al., Cairo, 1936
W: al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī,* ed. Marsden Jones, London, 1966

Translator's Foreword

This volume deals with the history of the Muslim community from A.H. 5 to the first part of A.H. 8, roughly the middle of A.D. 626 to the beginning of 630. During this time, the position of Muḥammad and of the community acknowledging his prophethood and following the religion embodied in the Qur'ān changed dramatically. At the beginning of the period the Meccan pagans with their allies mounted a direct attack against Medina; by the end of the period Mecca itself had capitulated, and most of its influential leaders had become at least nominal Muslims. Medina itself had become a purely Muslim polity. The last remaining Jewish tribe, the Banu Qurayẓah, had been defeated and annihilated, and the internal Arab opposition (the so-called "hypocrites" led by 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy) had disintegrated. There were signs that Muḥammad had begun to think about the future of Islam within and beyond the Arabian peninsula. Although the factual basis of the stories of Muḥammad's letters to the rulers of the Byzantine, Persian, and Ethiopian empires and their satellites in the Arabian peninsula during this period cannot be determined, Muslim military expeditions to destinations in northern Arabia (Dūmat al-Jandal and Khaybar) and the penetration into Byzantine territory that ended with the battle of Mu'tah give evidence of expanding political horizons. In short, although Muḥammad and Islam at the beginning of the period could still be seen as a local phenomenon, by the end of the period Muḥammad was, as one of his former opponents put it, "the king of the Ḥijāz."

Although the political developments of the period are well-documented in al-Ṭabarī's account, there is less material about the doctrinal development of Islam. Some incidents may have become part of the traditional biography of Muḥammad because of their ramifications for Islamic law. Muḥammad's marriage to the divorced wife of his adoptive son Zayd and the punishment meted out to those involved in spreading false rumors about the chastity of Muḥammad's young wife 'Ā'ishah had legal ramifications and as such merited inclusion, despite the sensitivity of the subject. The arrangements made concerning the conquered lands of Khaybar became important precedents for the treatment of conquered agricultural land in the early years of the caliphate and beyond. As for the letters to foreign rulers, one can say that they document the direction in which later Muslims believed Muḥammad's sense of universal mission developed during this period. Finally, the text of Muḥammad's speech after the conquest of Mecca contains interesting theological, as well as legal, material.

Muḥammad's Marriages

The marriage to Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, with which al-Ṭabarī's account of the events A.H. 5 begins, was unlike Muḥammad's previous marriages. These had either cemented friendships with leading Muslims (such were the marriages to 'Ā'ishah bt. Abī Bakr in A.H. 1 and to Ḥafṣah bt. 'Umar in A.H. 3) or involved Muslim widows in need of support and protection (such were the marriages to Sawdah bt. Zam'ah, whom Muḥammad married while still at Mecca, Umm Salamah bt. al-Mughīrah in A.H. 4, and Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah in A.H. 4). At the time of his marriage to Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, Muḥammad was married probably to four women (there is question about the date of his marriage to Juwayriyah, who was captured in a raid dated by al-Wāqidī in A.H. 5, but which al-Ṭabarī, following Ibn Isḥāq, places in A.H. 6). The account given by al-Ṭabarī, drawn from al-Wāqidī (who uses material from 'Ā'ishah) and the Egyptian scholar Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā, but not from Ibn Isḥāq, portrays the marriage as growing out of strong physical attraction. Zaynab, who was Muḥammad's cousin, had been married by Muḥammad's arrangement to Muḥammad's freed slave Zayd b. Ḥārithah, who lived in Muḥammad's household and came

to be regarded as his adoptive son—so that he was regularly addressed as Zayd, son of Muḥammad. Whether the marriage between Zayd and Zaynab was a *mésalliance* from the beginning is speculation, though the account maintains that Zayd was not reluctant to divorce his wife and allow her to marry Muḥammad. Muḥammad is portrayed as reluctant to proceed with the marriage because of scruples about whether marrying one's adopted son's former wife violated the prohibited degrees of marriage. Arab customary practice recognized kinship relations not based on blood ties: fosterage (having nursed from the same woman) was one such relationship; the question whether adoption fell into this category must have been unclear among Muslims. The marriage did not take place until after a Qur'ānic revelation was received, giving permission for believers to marry the divorced wives of their adopted sons. One can see this as part of the development of Islamic family law—a rejection of the legal fiction that a stepparent has a blood relationship with his ward that could affect the physical relationship of marriage. The account presented by al-Ṭabarī is forthright about the strength of the attraction and its role in the marriage. Similar frankness appears in the account in A.H. 6 of Muḥammad's marriage to Juwayriyah, "a sweet, beautiful woman, who captivated anyone who looked at her" (the words are 'Ā'ishah's). She had been captured during a raid on the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq and, in accordance with custom, became the slave of one of her captors. The latter agreed to free her in exchange for a sum of money. Juwayriyah approached Muḥammad for help, and the latter, captivated by her beauty, offered her "something better" than payment of the price of her freedom—namely, marriage with himself. Other marriages during this period were to Rayḥānah bt. 'Amr, captured in the attack on the Banū Qurayẓah in A.H. 5 (she apparently remained a concubine, rather than a full wife); Māriyah the Copt in A.H. 6 or 7 (she was a gift from the ruler of Egypt); Umm Ḥabībah bt. Abī Sufyān in A.H. 6 or 7 (she was the widow of a Muslim emigrant to Ethiopia); Ṣafiyyah bt. Ḥuyayy in A.H. 7 (she was captured in the conquest of Khaybar); and Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith in A.H. 7 (she was a widow and the sister-in-law of Muḥammad's uncle al-'Abbās; the marriage, contracted while Muḥammad was in a state of ritual consecration in connection with the lesser pilgrimage, had legal ramifications).

The Battle of the Trench (al-Khandaq)

The previous major engagement between the Muslims and the Meccan pagans, the battle of Uḥud, had ended inconclusively in Shawwāl of A.H. 3 (March 625). The Muslims had suffered heavier casualties than in any previous engagement (the figure seventy is given), but the Meccans also had suffered casualties and had returned home without pressing for a more decisive conclusion. Muslim morale had been badly shaken. The next major assault by the Meccans on Medina—it was to be the last—took place two years later, in Shawwāl of A.H. 5 (February 627). According to the composite account in al-Ṭabarī, the initial stimulus came from a group of Jews from the expelled Medinan tribe of Banū al-Naḍīr. They went to Mecca and promised to aid Quraysh against their common enemy, and they also enlisted the help of the north Arabian tribe of Ghaṭafān. Because the attack included these Jewish and north Arabian allies of the Meccans, it came to be known as the attack of "the Allied Parties" (*al-aḥzāb*). The Meccans and their allies considerably outnumbered the Muslims (the figure of 10,000 attackers against 3,000 Muslim defenders is given), and the Meccans had come with horses. The Meccan position, however, was less commanding than it might appear. The remaining Jews of Medina (the Banū Qurayẓah) sided only reluctantly with the attackers; Muḥammad thus was able to trick the Meccans into believing that the Medinan Jews intended to betray them. The allies from Ghaṭafān proved ready to be bought off by an offer of a third of the year's date harvest. Finally, employing a strategy suggested by a Persian convert, Salmān, the Muslims had constructed a defensive trench along the northern approaches to Medina (the southern approach, being mountainous, needed no fortification), and this trench could not be jumped by the Meccan horsemen. After nearly a month of standing in position, their provisions low and the weather taking its toll, the Meccans retreated, their morale broken. They never again attempted an assault on Medina.

The Attack on the Banū Qurayẓah

An immediate consequence of the failure of the Meccan attack was the extermination of the Jewish tribe of Banū Qurayẓah for their support of the Meccans, however lukewarm it had been.

Several motives for Muḥammad's behavior can be seen. There was strategic fear that the Banū Qurayẓah might continue to be open to the blandishments of their coreligionists. There was a religious element too. Although the Banū Qurayẓah were clients of the Arab tribe of al-Aws, the leader of al-Aws deputed to pass judgment on them (Sa'd b. Mu'ādh) decided to reject the claims of the Banū Qurayẓah as his clients and to act "for the sake of God." This seems to indicate a feeling that the continued religious opposition of the Jews made coexistence with them within Medina impossible. The brutality of the punishment (extermination of all adult males, rather than expulsion or enslavement) points to darker motives of ethnic hatred and vengeance, and this dark side can be seen in the fury with which the attack was launched. According to the account from Ibn Isḥāq, the Angel Gabriel himself came to Muḥammad immediately after the withdrawal of Quraysh and forbade him to lay down his arms: he was to hasten immediately to attack the Banū Qurayẓah, and the angels would fight also. This supernatural element indicates something beyond political calculation. It also points to the fact that the treatment of the Banū Qurayẓah was unique and did not become a precedent for subsequent Muslim treatment of the Jews, which, as demonstrated by the fate of the Jews of Khaybar in A.H. 7, was more lenient. Although the Jews of Khaybar had been involved in compromising relations with the Meccan pagans, they were allowed to remain on their land and work it as sharecroppers for their new Muslim overlords. Only in the caliphate of 'Umar were they forced to leave, and then as free men.

The Slander against 'Ā'ishah

The events of A.H. 6 included a number of expeditions. The expedition against the Banū Liḥyān, allies of Quraysh, involved a considerable force of men sent to avenge the murder of a number of Muslims. The expedition to Dhū Qarad was in reprisal for a raid by Ghaṭafān. The expedition to al-Muraysī' against the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq can be seen as a demonstration of Muslim control of the coastal caravan route to Syria. The military and political aspects of the raid were, however, overshadowed by an incident involving Muḥammad's young wife 'Ā'ishah. The first-person narrative by

'Ā'ishah of how she accidentally was left behind by the returning Muslim caravan, her rescue by a young Muslim rider, the rumors that this generated, and her eventual vindication in a Qur'ānic revelation forms one of the most interesting narratives of this section of al-Ṭabarī. 'Ā'ishah, who must have told the story to a scholar years later (note her asides about how little she weighed at the time, how insignificant she felt herself to be, and the primitive toilet arrangements in Medina), comes across as a talented *raconteuse*, with a good deal of psychological finesse and a sense of time's changes. The narrative deserves careful literary, as well as historical, attention.

Relations with Mecca from al-Ḥudaybiyah to the Conquest

In Dhū al-Qa'dah of A.H. 6 (March-April 628), about a year after the Meccan retreat from Medina after the battle of the Trench, Muḥammad decided to set out with a body of his followers to perform the rites of the lesser pilgrimage (*'umrah*) in Mecca. The framework of al-Ṭabarī's account of the episode is drawn from Ibn Isḥāq, with added details from a variety of other sources. For all its richness, it says almost nothing about Muḥammad's motives or the political calculations involved. Al-Wāqidī's account (W, II, 572) attributes the initial inspiration to a dream, but al-Ṭabarī does not include this detail. Under customary Arab religious practice the Meccans should have allowed the pilgrimage. The months of Dhū al-Qa'dah and Dhū al-Ḥijjah were sacred months in which fighting was banned, and Mecca itself was sacred territory throughout the year. However, the Muslims had been known to violate the sacred months, and the attitude of the new religion toward the Meccan sanctuary, bound up as it was with the old pagan dispensation, must have been a matter of question to the Meccans. On the other hand, such a pilgrimage implied that Islam did not intend to do away with Mecca's religious significance and that a modus vivendi might even be reached between Mecca and the Muslim community. The extent to which Muḥammad expected the Meccans to come round to his side, now that they had apparently despaired of conquering Medina, cannot be determined

from the account. He traveled in pilgrim garb and brought animals for sacrifice to demonstrate his peaceful intentions, but he also traveled with a large party of men, which, according to one account, was armed. The Meccans put up a show of force and blocked the main road. Muḥammad managed to evade them, cross a difficult pass, and encamp on the border of the Meccan sacred territory, at al-Ḥudaybiyah, but he did not attempt to enter. Messengers came and went between the two sides, and eventually a compromise was reached, although there were tense moments when rumors of Meccan treachery against the Muslim negotiators spread and it seemed that the negotiations would break down. At one such moment, Muḥammad summoned his followers to renew their allegiance to him in what came to be known as "the Pledge of Good Pleasure" (*bayʿat al-riḍwān*). The agreement finally reached at al-Ḥudaybiyah between Muḥammad and the Meccans contained something for each side. Muḥammad agreed to a ten-year halt to hostilities against Mecca. The Meccans could therefore resume the caravan trade to Syria on which their economy was based but were bound not to attack the Muslims. In return, they agreed to allow Muḥammad to make the pilgrimage the following year, provided that he came unarmed and stayed only three nights. Muḥammad, for his part, agreed not to accept converts who came from Mecca without the permission of their guardians. In return for this concession, the Meccans agreed to allow any Arab tribes who desired to ally themselves with Muḥammad to do so, even if by implication this meant abandoning a previous alliance with Quraysh. In effect, Muḥammad had extracted recognition as an equal from Quraysh. Although some members of the community showed their disappointment at turning back without entering Mecca, the disappointment gave rise to no organized opposition. The days of the "hypocrites" were over. In any case, a series of expeditions, climaxing in the conquest of the oasis of Khaybar to the north, diverted the attention of the community. In the following year, Muḥammad made the lesser pilgrimage unopposed.

According to the sources used by al-Ṭabarī, within a month after the conclusion of the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyah Muḥammad dispatched letters to six foreign rulers, inviting them to become

Muslims. The implication is that the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyah was the beginning of a period of Muslim diplomatic activity. The historical basis of this assumption is unclear. While there is much to suggest that Muḥammad was interested in expanding his sphere of influence northward, which would place him in contact with the Byzantine and Persian spheres of influence; that he received reports of the Byzantine-Persian war then drawing to its conclusion, just as Byzantine intelligence received reports of events in the Arabian peninsula; and that he knew of the usefulness of Arab tributary states to these empires, the actual letters are clearly literary fictions. They are comprehensible from the point of view of Islamic law, in terms of the obligation to summon non-Muslims to Islam before invading their territory, but in their laconic wording they would have been incomprehensible to their recipients. Only one of the letters, that to the Ethiopian negus, contains significant individuating material; however, that material (of a christological nature) uses Qur'ānic language that would have been readily available to later Muslims. The reply by the negus (the only reply quoted), with its offer to come personally, is clearly apocryphal.

Another example of Muḥammad's interest in the north is the expedition that set out for Syria and was defeated by Byzantine troops and their Arab allies at Mu'tah in Jordan during the month of Jumādā I, A.H. 8 (August-September 629). Al-Ṭabarī's account, which relies almost entirely on Ibn Isḥāq, says nothing about the causes of the expedition. Al-Wāqidī (W, II, 755) indicates that the immediate occasion was the killing by Shuraḥbīl b. 'Amr al-Ghassānī (the Banū Ghassān were allies of the Byzantines) of a messenger whom Muḥammad had sent to the ruler of Buṣrā in Syria. Thus, although the motive for this mission to Buṣrā remains a mystery, the immediate motive for the expedition was retaliation. The deaths of Muḥammad's adoptive son Zayd b. Ḥārithah, his cousin Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, and 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah were a blow, but the total Muslim casualties were extremely light. Al-Ṭabarī gives no figures, but al-Wāqidī lists only eight men.

Shortly after the return of the unsuccessful expedition to Mu'tah, the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyah broke down when violence erupted between the Banū Bakr, allies of Quraysh, and the Banū

Khuzāʿah, allies of Muḥammad. A group of Quraysh armed and supported the Banū Bakr, who killed several of the Banū Khuzāʿah. A tribesman of the Khuzāʿah then made his way to Medina and called on the Muslims for aid. He was favorably received. Realizing the gravity of the situation, Abū Sufyān himself made his way to Medina to attempt to repair the treaty. He was unsuccessful. Soon Muḥammad had set out with an army for Mecca. Further negotiations took place near Mecca between Abū Sufyān and Muḥammad, who was poised to enter Mecca by force. In the end, it was Abū Sufyān who, by accepting Islam and Muḥammad's terms, made it possible for Muḥammad to enter Mecca with a minimum of fighting. The internal politics of Mecca that led Abū Sufyān to make such a volte-face must be pieced together from other historical accounts. Muḥammad did not demand that the Meccans convert to Islam. He promised safety to anyone who entered the area around the Kaʿbah, anyone who stayed within the doors of his house, and anyone who took refuge in Abū Sufyān's house. A few diehards fought, a few fled the city, but most of the Meccans accepted the inevitable. Muḥammad entered the city and pronounced a general amnesty, with the exception of six men and four women who were guilty of particular crimes. After a sermon delivered by the door of the Kaʿbah, he declared the Meccans "free" (by convention they were legally his slaves as prisoners of war). This was followed by a ceremony in which the Meccans swore allegiance to Muḥammad as Muslims.

Thus, in a period of four years, Muḥammad had gone from being besieged in Medina by the Meccans and their allies to being the master of Mecca. It was a tremendous change of fortune, though one should not exaggerate the extent of his success. Islam had not yet made significant inroads into the tribes of central Arabia, which could pose a threat even to the combined forces of Medina and Mecca, as they did later in A.H. 8 at the battle of Ḥunayn. Muḥammad's religious policy was quite cautious at first. There was no attempt at this date to make the Meccan pilgrimage an exclusively Islamic rite. Pagans were allowed to make the pilgrimage this year and the following year. But the victory of Islam in Arabia, an object of faith alone in A.H. 5, had become a realistic possibility in A.H. 8.

Al-Ṭabarī: His Sources and Methods

As in the earlier sections of his *History* dealing with the life of the Prophet, al-Ṭabarī in this section relies mainly on the biography of the Prophet composed by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767).[1] Al-Ṭabarī, who was born in A.H. 224 or 225 (winter of A.D. 839), studied the bulk of this material early in his life, when he was a student of Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd in Rayy (near modern Tehran). Ibn Ḥumayd had studied the work with Salamah b. al-Faḍl, also of Rayy, who in turn had studied it with the author, Ibn Isḥāq. This means that al-Ṭabarī had access to the work in a version antedating the version that has survived to modern times, the abridgment and recension made by 'Abd al-Malik b. Hishām (d. 218/834). The typical *isnād* for al-Ṭabarī's citations therefore runs "Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq," to which al-Ṭabarī frequently appends the *isnād* found in Ibn Isḥāq. Al-Ṭabarī also studied other recensions of Ibn Isḥāq's work. For example, at page 1630 of the *History* we find the *isnād*, "Abū Kurayb—Yūnus b. Bukayr—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq." This refers to al-Ṭabarī's study of Ibn Isḥāq's book under the Kūfan scholar Abū Kurayb (d. 248/862), who transmitted the recension made by Yūnus b. Bukayr (d. 199/815). Al-Ṭabarī's citations from Ibn Isḥāq are extensive and preserve virtually all the significant material of the original, as comparison with the surviving text of the *Sīrah* will show.

The main other work cited by al-Ṭabarī in this section is the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* by the Medinan historian Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823 in Baghdād). His attitude toward this work was very different from his attitude toward Ibn Isḥāq's. In a notice preserved in Yāqūt's biographical encyclopedia, *Irshād al-arīb*,[2] al-Ṭabarī is quoted as saying that he considered al-Wāqidī unreliable as a transmitter of *ḥadīth* and therefore quoted him in his work on Qur'ānic exegesis only when he referred to "history, biography, or Arab stories" and only when the material could be found only in his work; he quoted no legal traditions from al-Wāqidī. A

1. The work is commonly known by the title *Sīrah* or *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, which is the title of the recension of the work prepared by Ibn Hishām. Ibn Isḥāq's original three-volume work was entitled *Kitāb al-maghāzī* and consisted of three parts: *al-Mubtada'*, *al-Mab'ath*, and *al-Maghāzī*. See *EI*², s.v. Ibn Isḥāḳ.

2. Translated in Rosenthal, "General Introduction," p. 110.

comparison between the material from al-Wāqidī quoted in the *History* and the text of the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* demonstrates al-Ṭabarī's cautious use of al-Wāqidī. Al-Ṭabari rarely quotes al-Wāqidī fully. Many details, sometimes crucial ones, are omitted. I have therefore drawn attention to parallels to al-Wāqidī in the footnotes of my translation. Unfortunately, no English translation of this text exists at the present time.

To the material derived from these two main sources al-Ṭabarī added material derived from his studies with many leading scholars of his time. Franz Rosenthal's "General Introduction" to the first volume of this series is the most convenient place for the English reader to gain an idea of the scope of this material. The work of Fuat Sezgin in the first volume of his *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* should also be consulted for its thorough presentation of the Islamic scholarship on which al-Ṭabarī drew.

A Note on the Text

The translation follows the text of the Leiden edition, which appeared in installments between 1879 and 1898 under the general editorship of M. J. de Goeje. The section here translated (A.H. 5–8) appears in Volume I/3, pages 1460–1654, which was edited by the Dutch scholar Pieter de Jong of Utrecht, after the death in 1881 of Professor Otto Loth of Leipzig, to whom the section was originally assigned. De Jong edited I, 1083–2015. The following manuscripts were available for pages 1460–1654: Istanbul, Köprülü 1042 (siglum C in the *apparatus*), part of a three-volume set copied in Cairo in 651 A.H., covering the entire section; Codex Muir (siglum M) in the British India Office library, covering the section to page 1480; and Codex Spitta (siglum S) in the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, covering the entire section. Thus de Jong had at least two manuscripts for this section, and for the first twenty pages he had three with which to work. In addition, he carefully collated the text with parallel passages in the standard collections of *ḥadīth*, Ibn Hishām, al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, and later historians such as Ibn al-Athīr. The result is a text with few real problems.

Al-Ṭabarī's *History* was reedited in Egypt by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1960), who used the printed Leiden text as a basis

but consulted a few additional manuscripts, none of which contained the text for the section translated here. Nevertheless, I have consulted the Cairo edition for its useful explanatory notes and have noted where its text differs from that of ed. Leiden because of editorial decision or possible misprint.

I have indicated parallel passages, especially in the works of Ibn Hishām and al-Wāqidī, occasionally in other works. I do not pretend that this is a complete list of parallels. Given the selective nature of al-Ṭabarī's work for this period, the historian must supplement it with readings in other surviving Arabic works. In addition to Ibn Hishām and al-Wāqidī, the material on the life of the Prophet in Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt* and in al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf* is particularly rich.

For the conversion of Islamic dates I have used the standard tables of F. Wüstenfeld and E. Mahler. These follow the later Arabic convention of assuming that the present purely lunar Islamic calendar with no intercalated months was in force from the first year of Muḥammad's residence in Medina, almost certainly a false assumption. The custom of intercalating extra months to keep the lunar months in phase with the seasons was followed by the pre-Islamic Arabs, as by the Jews, and was forbidden only in the tenth year of the Hijrah. It is therefore likely that three or four of the Islamic years from 1 to 10 contained an extra month. As we do not know in what years such months were added, we have no way of working out exact correspondences. Furthermore, as the introduction of dating by the Islamic era occurred during the caliphate of 'Umar, the dating of events of the Prophet's lifetime was often a matter on which there was disagreement. This was frequently the case with some of the minor expeditions, which are mentioned by Ibn Hishām without dates in a separate section at the end of the *Sīrah*.

I wish to express my appreciation to four previous translators in this series who blazed a well-marked trail. To use Arabic terminology, I have used their works through *wijādah* (finding them) but without *ijāzah* (license to transmit personally bestowed by a master on a pupil). To Franz Rosenthal of Yale University, the translator of Volume I of this series, all English-speaking students of al-Ṭabarī owe a great debt of gratitude, especially for his masterful "General Introduction." M. V. McDonald and W. Montgomery

Watt, who translated and annotated Volume VII, have done much to clarify the complicated tribal politics of the period. Ismail K. Poonawala, my colleague at the University of California at Los Angeles and the translator of Volume IX, helped especially with the *isnāds*. For the inevitable errors and shortcomings, I alone bear responsibility.

Michael Fishbein

The Events of the Year 5

(June 2, 626–May 22, 627)

Muḥammad's Marriage to Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh

In this year the Messenger of God married Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh.[1] [1460]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī][2]—'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir al-Aslamī[3]—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān,[4] who said:

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1. Zaynab was the daughter of Muḥammad's paternal aunt Umaymah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb, a member of the tribe of Asad b. Khuzaymah, who had settled in Mecca and become a confederate of the Banū Umayyah of the 'Abd Shams clan of Quraysh. Muḥammad had arranged her marriage to his freedman and adopted son, Zayd b. Ḥārithah. Cf. *EI*[1], s.v. Zainab bint Djaḥsh; Lings, *Muhammad*, 40; Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation*, 87–89.

2. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī (b. 130/747 in Medina, d. 207/823 in Baghdād) was a major historian and author of *Kitāb al-maghāzī* on the military campaigns of the Prophet. See *GAS*, I, 294–97.

3. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir al-Aslamī Abū 'Āmir al-Madanī was a traditionist who died in Medina in 150/767–68 or 151/768. As a transmitter of *ḥadīth* he was considered "weak." See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 275–76.

4. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān al-Anṣārī al-Māzinī was a scholar who taught in Medina. He died in 121/738–39 at the age of seventy-four. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 507–8.

The Messenger of God came to the house of Zayd b. Ḥārithah.[5] (Zayd was always called Zayd b. Muḥammad.) Perhaps the Messenger of God missed him at that moment, so as to ask, "Where is Zayd?" He came to his residence to look for him but did not find him. Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, Zayd's wife, rose to meet him. Because she was dressed only in a shift, the Messenger of God turned away
[1461] from her. She said: "He is not here, Messenger of God. Come in, you who are as dear to me as my father and mother!" The Messenger of God refused to enter. Zaynab had dressed in haste when she was told "the Messenger of God is at the door." She jumped up in haste and excited the admiration of the Messenger of God, so that he turned away murmuring something that could scarcely be understood. However, he did say overtly: "Glory be to God the Almighty! Glory be to God, who causes hearts to turn!"

When Zayd came home, his wife told him that the Messenger of God had come to his house. Zayd said, "Why didn't you ask him to come in?" She replied, "I asked him, but he refused." "Did you hear him say anything?" he asked. She replied, "As he turned away, I heard him say: 'Glory be to God the Almighty! Glory be to God, who causes hearts to turn!'"

So Zayd left, and, having come to the Messenger of God, he said: "Messenger of God, I have heard that you came to my house. Why didn't you go in, you who are as dear to me as my father and mother? Messenger of God, perhaps Zaynab has excited your admiration, and so I will separate myself from her." The Messenger of God said, "Keep your wife to yourself." Zayd could find no possible way to [approach] her after that day. He would come to the Messenger of God and tell him so, but the Messenger of God

5. Zayd b. Ḥārithah was brought to Mecca as a slave by a nephew of Muḥammad's first wife, Khadījah. The nephew sold Zayd to Khadījah, who gave him to Muḥammad before the beginning of his calling as a prophet. Although Zayd's father later came to Mecca to free his son, Zayd refused to leave Muḥammad, who subsequently freed him and adopted him. Zayd came to be known thereafter as Zayd b. Muḥammad. He was a very early convert to Islam and emigrant to Medina; fought at Badr, Uḥud, and the Trench; was present at al-Ḥudaybiyah; and commanded several expeditions. He died as one of the commanders of the expedition to Mu'tah in A.H. 8. See *EI*[1], s.v. Zayd b. Ḥārithah.

would say to him, "Keep your wife." Zayd separated from her and left her, and she became free.[6]

While the Messenger of God was talking with 'Ā'ishah,[7] a fainting[8] overcame him. When he was released from it, he smiled and said, "Who will go to Zaynab to tell her the good news, saying that God has married her to me?" Then the Messenger of God recited: "And when you said unto him on whom God has conferred favor and you have conferred favor, 'Keep your wife to yourself . . .'"—and the entire passage.[9] [1462]

According to 'Ā'ishah, who said: "I became very uneasy because of what we heard about her beauty and another thing, the greatest and loftiest of matters—what God had done for her by giving her in marriage. I said that she would boast of it over us."

According to 'Ā'ishah, who said: "Salmā, the maidservant of the Messenger of God, went out to inform Zaynab of this, and [Zaynab] gave [Salmā] some anklets that she was wearing."[10]

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6. Sc. from any impediment to marriage. Ordinarily this implied abstinence from conjugal relations with the former husband for a time (*'iddah*) long enough to establish that the woman was not pregnant by him, thereby removing any uncertainty about the paternity of any future children. The passage implies that Zayd divorced Zaynab.

7. The marriage of Muḥammad to Abū Bakr's daughter 'Ā'ishah was arranged after the death of Khadījah and three years before the emigration to Medina. 'Ā'ishah was only six years old at the time, and the marriage was not consummated until seven or eight months after the Hijrah, when 'Ā'ishah was about ten years old (v. al-Ṭabarī, I, 1261). She was very beautiful and remained Muḥammad's favorite wife. See *EI*², s.v. 'Ā'ishah bt. Abī Bakr; Abbott, *Aishah the Beloved of Muhammad*; and Spellberg, *Politics, Gender, and the Islamic Past.*

8. Arabic *ghashyah*, a swoon or fainting spell; literally "a covering": here signifying an episode of revelation (*waḥy*). See *EI*¹, s.v. *waḥy*, for a description of such episodes.

9. Qur'ān 33:37. The verse continues: "'. . . and fear God.' And you did hide in your mind that which God was to bring to light, and you did fear mankind whereas God had a better right that you should fear Him. So when Zayd had performed the necessary formality [of divorce] from her, We gave her unto you in marriage, so that [henceforth] there may be no sin for believers in respect of wives of their adopted sons, when the latter have performed the necessary formality [of release] from them. The commandment of God must be fulfilled." Cf. the commentary on the passage in al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XXII, 10–11.

10. The pronouns in the Arabic are ambiguous regarding who gave whom the anklets. My translation is suggested by a similar incident at p. 109, below, where another prospective bride of the Prophet gives the bearer of the good news a gift out of joy.

According to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā[11]—Ibn Wahb[12]—Ibn Zayd,[13] who said: The Messenger of God had married Zayd b. Ḥārithah to Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, his paternal aunt's daughter. One day the Messenger of God went out looking for Zayd. Now there was a covering of haircloth over the doorway, but the wind had lifted the covering so that the doorway was uncovered. Zaynab was in her chamber, undressed, and admiration for her entered the heart of the Prophet. After that happened, she was made unattractive to the other man.[14] So he came and said, "Messenger of God, I want to separate myself from my companion." Muḥammad asked: "What is wrong? Has anything on her part disquieted you?" "No, by God," replied Zayd, "nothing she has done has disquieted me, Messenger of God, nor have I seen anything but good." The Messenger of God said to him, "Keep your wife to yourself, and fear God." That is [the meaning of] the Word of God:[15] "And when you said unto him on whom God has conferred favor and you have conferred favor, 'Keep your wife to yourself, and fear God.' And you did hide in your mind that which God was to bring to light." *You did hide in your mind* [the thought] that "if he separates himself from her, I will marry her."

The Expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal and Other Events

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year he mounted an expedition
[1463] against Dūmat al-Jandal[16] in the month of Rabī' I.[17] The reason for

11. Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā was born in 170/787 and died in 264/877. He was Egypt's leading scholar in the fields of *ḥadīth* and Qur'ān reading. Al-Ṭabarī studied with him in Egypt. See *GAS*, I, 38 (which identifies this *isnād* as pointing to a Qur'ān commentary by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam); and F. Rosenthal, in "General Introduction," 27.

12. 'Abdallāh b. Wahb b. Muslim al-Fihrī al-Qurashī was born in Egypt in 125/743 and died in 197/812. He was a traditionist, Qur'ān commentator, and jurist, and was a student of Mālik b. Anas. See *GAS*, I, 466.

13. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam al-'Adawī of Medina (d. 182/798) was known primarily as a Qur'ān commentator. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 177–78; *GAS*, I, 38.

14. I.e., God caused her to become unattractive to her husband Zayd. Cf. Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation*, 88.

15. Qur'ān 33:37.

16. Dūmat al-Jandal is an oasis in northern Arabia at the head of Wādī Sirḥān. It was inhabited by the Banū Kinānah subtribe of the Banū Kalb, plus some Christian Arabs. The present town of al-Jawf is on the site. See *EI*², s.v. Dūmat al-Djandal.

17. Rabī' I of A.H. 5 began on 31 July 626. Parallels: IH, III, 213 (tr. Guillaume, 449); W, I, 402–4 (fuller version).

it was that word reached the Messenger of God that a host had assembled there and had approached his territories; so the Messenger of God mounted an expedition against them and reached Dūmat al-Jandal, but he had no clash with the enemy. He left Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭah al-Ghifārī in charge of Medina.

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: In this year the Messenger of God made a truce with 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn[18] that the latter might pasture his herds in Taghlamān and its vicinity.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far—his father [Ja'far b. Maḥmūd]:[19] This was because 'Uyaynah's lands became affected by drought. The Messenger of God therefore made a truce, so that 'Uyaynah might pasture his herds in Taghlamān as far as al-Marāḍ.[20] The land there had become lush with pasturage because of a rain cloud that had arrived. The Messenger of God made a truce with him that he might pasture his herds there.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year the mother of Sa'd b. 'Ubādah[21] died while Sa'd was journeying with the Messenger of God to Dūmat al-Jandal.

The Battle of the Trench

In this year the battle of the Messenger of God at the trench took place in the month of Shawwāl,[22] according to Ibn Ḥumayd[23]—

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18. 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfah was leader of the Banū Fazārah subdivision of the tribe of Dhubyān (itself part of Ghaṭafān). See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 91–92; and *EI*², s.v. Fazāra.

19. Parallel: W, II, 552. Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Maslamah al-Anṣārī al-Ḥārithī was a frequent informant of al-Wāqidī, providing information from his father. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 106.

20. Al-Marāḍ was about 36 Arab miles from Medina, in the area of al-Ṭaraf (present-day al-Ṣuwaydirah) on the road to Iraq, according to al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā'*, 578–79, 604.

21. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah of the Banū Sā'idah clan was a leader of the tribe of al-Khazraj of Medina. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 475–76.

22. Shawwāl of A.H. 5 began on 23 February 627. For general background, the article Khandak in *EI*² by W. Montgomery Watt may be consulted, as well as Hamidullah, *The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, 29–36.

23. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd b. Ḥayyān al-Rāzī al-Tamīmī died in al-Rayy in 248/862. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127–31; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, II, 259–64.

Salamah[24]—Ibn Isḥāq.[25] What brought on the battle of the Messenger of God at the trench, according to what has been reported, was what happened because of the expulsion of the Banū al-Naḍīr from their settlements by the Messenger of God.[26]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Rūmān[27] (a *mawlā* of the family of al-Zubayr)—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr;[28] and [according to] someone whom I do not doubt—'Ubaydallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik,[29] al-Zuhrī,[30] 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatā-
[1464] dah,[31] 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm,[32] Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī,[33] and others of our learned men

24. Salamah b. al-Faḍl al-Anṣārī died in 191/806. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 153–54.

25. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār, born in Medina ca. 85/207, died in Baghdād in 150/767, was the most influential of the early biographers of the Prophet. His *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, in its recension by Ibn Hishām, d. 218/834, generally known as *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, or simply the *Sīrah*, became the standard treatment of the events of the Prophet's life. See *EI*², s.v. Ibn Isḥāq; Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (tr. of Ibn Hishām's *Sīrah*), pp. xiii-xli; *GAS*, I, 288–90.

26. For the expulsion of the Jewish tribe of Banū al-Naḍīr in the previous year, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1448–53. The tribe had left for Khaybar and Syria to the north, forfeiting their property in Medina. See *EI*², s.v. Naḍīr, Banū 'l-.

27. Yazīd b. Rūmān al-Asadī (d. 130/747) was a *mawlā* (a client, i.e., a freed slave or a person of non-Arab origin) of the al-Zubayr family and author of a book about the Prophet's campaigns. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 325; *GAS*, I, 284.

28. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām al-Asadī (b. between 23/643 and 29/649, d. 94/712–13) was the son of a prominent companion of the Prophet and the younger brother of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, whose challenge to the caliphate of the Umayyads ended with his death in 73/692. He became one of the most respected authorities of Medina on traditions and early Islamic history. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 180–85; *GAS*, I, 278–79; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 76–95.

29. Abū Faḍālah 'Ubaydallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik al-Anṣārī (d. 97/715 or 98) is identified by al-Ṭabarī (I, 1364) as "one of the most learned of the Anṣār." See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 44–45; *GAS*, I, 276–77.

30. Muḥammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī (b. 50/670 or 51, d. 124/742) was a celebrated traditionist and historian. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 445–51; *EI*¹, s.v. al-Zuhrī; *GAS*, I, 280–83; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 95–121.

31. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah al-Anṣārī (d. 120/737) was known as an authority on the campaigns of the Prophet. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 53–54; *GAS*, I, 279–80.

32. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Madanī was born in 60/679 (or in 56) in Medina and died in 130/747 (or 135). He was a transmitter of historical reports and traditions, which he received from his father (died 120/737) and from Anas b. Mālik. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 164–65; *GAS*, I, 284.

33. Muḥammad b. Ka'b b. Sulaym al-Qurazī (d. 118/736), the son or grandson of a convert to Islam from the Banū Qurayẓah, was known primarily as a commentator on the Qur'ān. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, V, 272–73; VII/2, 193; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 420–22; *GAS*, I, 32.

[the report of each has been combined in this account of the Trench, some of them relating what others do not relate]:[34] The account of the trench is as follows. A group of Jews, including Salām b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq al-Naḍarī,[35] Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab al-Naḍarī, Kinānah b. al-Rabī' b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq al-Naḍarī, Hawdhah b. Qays al-Wā'ilī, and Abū 'Ammār al-Wā'ilī, along with a group of men from the Banū al-Naḍīr and a group from the Banū Wā'il,[36] were the ones who assembled parties of men against the Messenger of God. They went to the Quraysh in Mecca and invited them to make war on the Messenger of God. They said, "We will be with you against him until we root him out." The Quraysh said to them: "People of the Jews, you are the people of the first scripture,[37] and you have knowledge about the subject on which we and Muḥammad have come to differ. Is our religion better or his?" "Your religion is better," they said, "and you are closer to the truth than he."

They are the ones concerning whom God revealed: "Have you not seen those to whom a portion of the scripture has been given, how they believe in idols and false deities, and how they say of those who disbelieve, 'These are more rightly guided than those who believe'?"—until the words, "Hell is sufficient for [their] burning."[38]

When they said this to Quraysh, the latter were pleased by what they said and embarked enthusiastically on what they invited them to do, namely, make war on the Messenger of God. They determined to do it and decided on a time for it.[39] Then the same

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34. Parallel: IH, III, 214 ff.; tr. Guillaume, 450 ff.

35. I.e., of the Jewish tribe of Banū al-Naḍīr.

36. The Banū Wā'il were a clan of the Aws Manāt of Medina. They seem to have lived among the Jews; here they are treated as if they were Jews. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 154, 164.

37. I.e., the Torah.

38. Qur'ān 4:51–55. For "idols and false deities" the Arabic reads *al-jibt* and *al-ṭāghūt*." Commentators disagreed on the exact meaning. Al-Sha'bī said that the words meant "they believe in enchantment and the devil." Ibn 'Abbās thought the words referred specifically to Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab and Ka'b b. al-Ashraf or that these two Jews prostrated themselves before the gods of Quraysh in order to induce Quraysh to join with them in a league against Muḥammad. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 373, s.v. *jibt*.

39. For *itta'adū* "decided on a time," Ms. S reads *ista'addū* "prepared themselves."

group of Jews set out and came to [the tribe of] Ghaṭafān,[40] a division of Qays 'Aylān, and called on them to make war on the
[1465] Messenger of God. The Jews told them that they would be with them against him and that Quraysh had followed them and had decided on the matter. So they responded favorably. Quraysh set out under the leadership of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb;[41] Ghaṭafān set out under the leadership of 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfah b. Badr with the Banū Fazārah, al-Ḥārith b. 'Awf b. Abī Ḥārithah al-Murrī with the Banū Murrah, and Mas'ūd b. Rukhaylah b. Nuwayrah b. Ṭarīf b. Suḥmah b. 'Abdallāh b. Hilāl b. Khalāwah b. Ashja' b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān with those of his fellow tribesmen from Ashja' who followed him. When the Messenger of God received word of them and what they had determined to do, he laid out a trench to protect Medina.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī], who said:[42] The person who advised the Messenger of God about the trench was Salmān.[43] It was the first combat that Salmān saw with the Messenger of God. He was a free man at this time. He said, "Messenger of God, in Persia, whenever we were surrounded, we would dig a trench to protect ourselves."

Resumption of the account of Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God worked [at building the trench] in order to inspire the Muslims with hope of reward, and they set to work on it. He toiled at it, and
[1466] they toiled. Certain men of the hypocrites[44] hung back from the

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40. Ghaṭafān was a group of North Arabian tribes to the east of Medina and Mecca in the land between the Ḥijāz and the Shammar Mountains. Among its divisions were 'Abs, Ashja', and Dhubyān—the latter with its divisions Fazārah (the tribe of 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn), Murrah, and Tha'labah. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 91–95; *EI*², s.v. Ghaṭafān.

41. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayyah, of the clan of 'Abd Shams of Quraysh, was a prominent Meccan merchant. See *EI*², s.v. Abū Sufyān.

42. Parallel: W, 445.

43. For the religious quest and conversion to Islam of Salmān, a Persian landowner's son who had gone to Syria to learn about Christianity and then to Arabia to investigate prophecies of a new religion, see IH, I, 214–22; tr. Guillaume, 95–98; *EI*¹, s.v. Salmān al-Fārisī.

44. The *munāfiqūn* "hypocrites, waverers"—Brockett in *EI*², s.v., prefers the rendering "dissenters"—were nominal Muslims who secretly opposed many of Muḥammad's policies. 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy was said to be their leader. See also Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 180–91.

Messenger of God and from the Muslims in their work. They began pretending to be too weak to work and slipping away to their families without the knowledge or permission of the Messenger of God. As for the Muslims, whenever some matter of unavoidable necessity befell any of them, he would mention it to the Messenger of God and ask leave to attend to his need, and the Messenger of God would grant him leave. Having attended to his need, the person would return to the work he had been doing—this from a desire for good and because he reckoned on a reward for his work. Concerning this, God revealed: "They only are the true believers who believe in God and His Messenger and, when they are with him on some common enterprise, go not away until they have asked leave of him"—until the words "and ask for them forgiveness of God. Lo! God is forgiving, merciful."[45] This verse was revealed about all those believers who were people who reckoned [on a reward in the world to come], desired good, and obeyed God and His Messenger. God then said, referring to the hypocrites who would slip away from work and depart without leave from the Messenger of God: "Make not the calling of the Messenger among you as your calling one of another"—until the words "He knows your condition."[46] [That is, He knows your condition with regard to truthfulness or lying.] The Muslims worked at the trench until they had finished it solidly. As they were working, they improvised a work song[47] about a Muslim who used to be called Ju'ayl but whom the Messenger of God had named 'Amr. They said:

After he had been Ju'ayl, he named him 'Amr;
and to the once needy man he was backing.

Whenever they came to the word "'Amr," the Messenger of God would say "'Amr"; whenever they said "backing," the Messenger of God would say "backing." [1467]

45. Qur'ān, 24:62.
46. Qur'ān, 24:63–64.
47. Arabic: "they recited a verse in *rajaz*" [the meter used for extemporized poems]. See Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, I, 80. The name change to which the verse alludes may have been made to improve Ju'ayl's morale, as his name appears to be a diminutive of *ju'al* "dung beetle." In W, 447, Ju'ayl is said to have been "pious but ugly." Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 49.

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār[48]—Muḥammad b. Khālid Ibn 'Athmah[49]—Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Awf al-Muzanī[50]—his father ['Abdallāh b. 'Amr][51]—his father ['Amr b. 'Awf],[52] who said: The Messenger of God laid out the trench in the Year of the Parties,[53] from the Fortress of the Two Shaykhs (*ujum al-shaykhayn*) on the side of the Banū Ḥārithah[54] until it reached al-Madhād.[55] He divided it up forty cubits between each ten [men].[56] The Emigrants[57] and the Anṣār[58] disputed over Salmān the Persian, who was a strong man. The Anṣār said, "Salmān is one of us." The Emigrants said, "Salmān is one of us." So the Messenger of God said, "Salmān is one of us, the People of the Household."[59]

According to 'Amr b. 'Awf: I, along with Salmān, Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān, al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī, and six of the Anṣār, was in a 40-cubit [section of the trench]. We dug beneath

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48. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Bashshār b. 'Uthmān b. Dāwūd al-'Abdī (b. 167/783 in al-Baṣrah, died 252/866) was considered a reliable transmitter of traditions. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 70–71; *GAS*, I, 113–14.

49. For Muḥammad b. Khālid, who was called Ibn 'Athmah after his mother 'Athmah, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 142–43.

50. Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Awf al-Yashkurī al-Muzanī (died between 150/767 and 160/777 in Medina) was generally considered a weak transmitter of *ḥadīth*. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 421–23.

51. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Zayd al-Muzanī was a transmitter of *ḥadīth* generally considered sound. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 339–40.

52. 'Amr b. 'Awf al-Anṣārī was present at the Battle of Badr and died during the caliphate of 'Umar. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 85–86.

53. Years were named after their most prominent events: hence Year of the Hijrah and Year of the *Aḥzāb* (the parties, confederates, or allied clans that attacked Medina in this year). Sūra 33 of the Qur'ān, *Sūrat al-Aḥzāb*, is named for them.

54. The Banū Ḥārithah, a clan of the al-Aws, had land on the northeast side of Medina. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 152 (map); Hamidullah, *Battlefields*, 26, 32 (photograph of a mosque on the site).

55. Al-Madhād was a stronghold belonging to the Banū Ḥaram of the Banū Salimah clan of al-Khazraj (see al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā'*, 603). It lay to the west of Mt. Sal' (see map in Hamidullah, *Battlefields*, 31).

56. I.e., he divided the work so that ten men were responsible for digging each 40-cubit section (approximately 60 feet).

57. The Emigrants (*al-muhājirūn*) were the followers of Muḥammad who had migrated from Mecca to Medina with him. See *EI*², s.v. Muhādjirūn.

58. The Anṣār ("helpers") were Muslims from Medina, primarily from the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj. See *EI*², s.v. Anṣār.

59. Arabic *ahl al-bayt* designates the Prophet's household.

Dhūbāb[60] until we reached al-Nadā.[61] Then God caused a white rock to emerge from the bottom of the trench, a flint that broke our iron implements and exhausted us. So we said, "Salmān, go up to the Messenger of God and inform him about this rock—either [1468] that we may turn aside from it, for the place to turn aside is near, or that he may give us his order about it—for we do not wish to deviate from his plan."

Salmān climbed out and went to the Messenger of God, who was pitching a Turkish-style round tent[62] nearby, and said: "O Messenger of God, who are as dear to us as father and mother, a white rock came out of the trench, a flint that broke our iron implements and exhausted us, so that we can make no impression small or great on it. Give us your order concerning it, for we do not wish to deviate from your plan." The Messenger of God went down into the trench with Salmān, and we nine climbed up onto its side. The Messenger of God took the pickaxe from Salmān and struck the rock a blow that cracked it, and a flash of lightning shot out, illuminating everything between the two tracts of black stones—that is, Medina's two tracts of black stones[63]—like a lamp inside a dark room. The Messenger of God shouted, "God is greatest!"—a shout of victory—and the Muslims, too, shouted, "God is greatest!" Then the Messenger of God struck it again and cracked it, and a flash of lightning shot out, illuminating everything between Medina's two tracts of black stones—like a lamp inside a dark room. The Messenger of God shouted, "God is greatest!"—a shout of victory—and the Muslims, too, shouted, "God is greatest!" Then the Messenger of God struck it a third time and broke it, and a flash of lightning shot out, illuminating

60. Dhūbāb (or Dhubāb) was located to the north of Mt. Sal'. According to al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā'*, 552, it became the site of the Mosque of the Banner. See Hamidullah, *Battlefields*, 32, for a photograph of the site.

61. The reading al-Nadā is uncertain; see the apparatus of ed. Leiden.

62. As noted in ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CL, "Turkish-style round tent" (*qubbah turkiyyah*) is an apparent anachronism, at least as regards the adjective "Turkish." Note, however, that the Prophet's tent at the time of the conquest of Mecca (p. 177, below) is called a *qubbah*, which normally implies a round tent. In any case, that this is not a very great anachronism is shown by a report from A.H. 16 (al-Ṭabarī, I, 2444) indicating that the Arab conquerers of al-Madā'in found *qibāb turkiyyah* "Turkish round tents" containing baskets of treasure.

63. Medina is surrounded by black lava flows called *ḥarrah* or *lābah*.

everything between Medina's two tracts of black stones—like a lamp inside a dark room. The Messenger of God shouted, "God is greatest!"—a shout of victory—and the Muslims, too, shouted, [1469] "God is greatest!" Then he took Salmān's hand and climbed out. Salmān said: "You are as dear to me as father and mother, Messenger of God! I have seen something I never saw before." The Messenger of God turned to the men and asked, "Did you see what Salmān says?" They said: "Yes, Messenger of God, you who are as dear to us as father and mother; we saw you strike and lightning come out like waves. We saw you shout 'God is greatest,' and so we shouted 'God is greatest.' We saw nothing else." "You have spoken truly," he said. "I struck my first blow, and what you saw flashed out, so that the palaces of al-Ḥīrah[64] and al-Madā'in[65] of Kisrā lit up for me from it as if they were dogs' teeth, and Gabriel informed me that my nation would be victorious over them. Then I struck my second blow, and what you saw flashed out, so that the palaces of the pale men in the land of the Byzantines lit up for me from it as if they were dogs' teeth, and Gabriel informed me that my nation would be victorious over them. Then I struck my third blow, and what you saw flashed out, so that the palaces of Ṣan'ā'[66] lit up for me from it as if they were dogs' teeth, and Gabriel informed me that my nation would be victorious over them, [saying]: "Rejoice; victory shall come to them! Rejoice; victory shall come to them! Rejoice; victory shall come to them!" So the Muslims rejoiced and said: "Praise be to God! The promise of One who is true and faithful! He has promised us victory after tribulation." So when the allied clans came up, the believers said: "This is what God and His Messenger promised us. God and His Messenger have spoken truly." And it only increased them in faith and surrender.[67] But the hypocrites said: "Do you not wonder? He

64. Al-Ḥīrah, on the west bank of the Euphrates, southeast of the present Najaf in Iraq, was the capital of the pre-Islamic Arab vassal state of the Sasanian empire governed by the Banū Lakhm (Lakhmids). See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥīra.

65. Al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon), on the Tigris about 20 miles south of the site of later Baghdād, was the winter capital of the Sasanian emperors, who in Arabic are normally given the title Kisrā (from Persian Khusraw, the name of several rulers in the dynasty). See *EI*², s.v. al-Madā'in.

66. At this time Ṣan'ā' in Yemen was ruled by a Persian governor. One of the palaces was presumably the famous Ghumdān, said to have been twenty stories tall. See *EI*¹, s.v. Ṣan'ā.

67. Cf. Qur'ān 33:22.

discourses to you, raises your hopes, and promises you false things. He tells you that from Yathrib[68] he can see the palaces of al-Ḥīrah and al-Madā'in of Kisrā and that they will be conquered by you—and this while you are digging the trench and cannot go forth!" So the following [verse of the] Qur'ān was revealed: "And [1470] when the hypocrites and those in whose hearts is sickness were saying, 'God and His Messenger promised us naught but delusion.'"[69]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—someone not to be doubted—Abū Hurayrah:[70] When these cities were conquered in the time of 'Umar,[71] 'Uthmān,[72] and afterward, [Abū Hurayrah] used to say, "Conquer for yourselves whatever seems good to you; for, by the One who holds Abū Hurayrah's soul in His hand, you have conquered no city, neither shall you conquer any until the Day of Resurrection, but that Muḥammad was given its keys beforehand."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: The people of the trench were 3,000.

When the Messenger of God had finished the trench, Quraysh came and encamped where the stream beds meet at Rūmah, between al-Juruf and al-Ghābah,[73] with 10,000 of their Aḥābīsh[74] and those of the Banū Kinānah and people of Tihāmah[75]

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68. Yathrib was the old name of Medina.

69. Qur'ān 33:12.

70. Abū Hurayrah, a companion of the Prophet, is said to have acquired his nickname ("the man with the kitten") because he kept a kitten to play with while he herded his goats. He came to Medina in A.H. 7. Later he became noted as a prolific narrator of traditions. See *EI*², s.v. Abū Hurayra.

71. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ruled as caliph from 13/634 to 23/644.

72. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān ruled as caliph from 23/644 to 35/656.

73. IH, III, 219 reads "Zaghābah," for al-Ghābah. Al-Ṭabarī's reading of al-Ghābah is noted by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. Zaghābah. Yāqūt implies that al-Ṭabarī chose his reading because he believed a place called "Zaghābah" was unknown; Yāqūt then cites *ḥadīth* to show that such a place was known. Al-Ghābah was eight miles north of Medina. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v.; Hamidullah, *Battlefields*, 31 (map).

74. Aḥābīsh (plural of *uḥbūsh* or *uḥbūshah*) means "companies or bodies of men not all of one tribe." They consisted of a number of small clans or subtribes allied with Quraysh. The most important was Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah; others were al-Muṣṭaliq (of Khuzā'ah) and al-Hūn (of Khuzaymah, with subdivisions 'Aḍal and al-Qārah). The thesis of Henri Lammens that they were Abyssinian slave mercenaries is mistaken. Cf. *EI*², s.v. Ḥabash; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 153–56; *Muhammad at Medina*, 81–83.

75. Tihāmah is the Red Sea coastal plain of the Arabian peninsula.

who followed them. Ghaṭafān and the people of Najd who followed them came and encamped at Dhanab Naqamā, beside Uḥud.[76] The Messenger of God and the Muslims went out and set their backs toward Sal'[77] with 3,000 of the Muslims. There he pitched his camp, with the trench between him and the enemy. He commanded that the children and women should be taken up into the strongholds.[78]

[1471] The enemy of God, Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, went out and came to Ka'b b. Asad al-Quraẓī, who was the possessor of the treaty and covenant of the Banū Qurayẓah.[79] Ka'b had made a truce with the Messenger of God for his people, making a contract and covenanting with him on it. When Ka'b heard Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, he shut his fortress in his face. Ḥuyayy asked to be allowed in, but Ka'b refused to open to him. Ḥuyayy called to him, "Ka'b, open to me!" "Woe to you, Ḥuyayy," answered Ka'b, "you are a man who brings bad luck! I have made a treaty with Muḥammad and will not break the pact that exists between me and him. I have seen nothing but faithfulness and truth on his part." Ḥuyayy said: "Woe to you! Open to me, and I will speak to you!" "I will not do it," said Ka'b. Ḥuyayy said, "By God, you have shut me out only on account of your gruel,[80] lest I should eat any of it with you." This angered the man, so that he opened to him. Ḥuyayy said: "Woe to you, Ka'b! I have brought you everlasting might and an overflowing sea. I have brought you Quraysh, with their leaders and chiefs, and have caused them to encamp where the stream beds meet at Rūmah;

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76. Uḥud, where a battle between the Muslims and Meccans had taken place in Shawwāl 3 A.H. (March 625), is about a mile north of Medina. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v.; Hamidullah, *Battlefields*, 22, 31 (maps).

77. Sal' was a hill in the central area of Medina. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v.; Hamidullah, *Battlefields*, 31 (map).

78. "Medina was at first not a compact town, but a collection of scattered settlements, surrounded by groves of date palms and cultivated fields. For defense, therefore, a large number of forts or strongholds (*āṭām*, sing. *uṭum*; also *ājām*, sing. *ujum*) had been constructed, perhaps 200 in all. In these the local inhabitants took refuge in times of danger." M. Watt in *EI*², s.v. al-Madīna, p. 994.

79. The Banū Qurayẓah were one of the three main Jewish tribes of Medina, with lands toward the southeast of the oasis; see *EI*², s.v. Ḳurayẓa. On this treaty, cf. W, 454–56, which implies that it was a document written by Muḥammad and that Ḥuyayy, having persuaded Ka'b to go over to his side, tore it up.

80. *Jashīshah* was a gruel of coarsely ground wheat or barley, sometimes with the addition of dates and meat. See Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 425.

and Ghaṭafān, with their leaders and chiefs, and have caused them to encamp at Dhanab Naqamā beside Uḥud. They have made a treaty and covenant with me not to withdraw until they root out Muḥammad and those who are with him." Ka'b b. Asad said to him: "By God, you have brought me everlasting humiliation—a cloud that has already shed its water, that thunders and lightens but has nothing in it. Woe to you! Leave me to continue with Muḥammad as I am now, for I have seen nothing from Muḥammad except truth and faithfulness." But Ḥuyayy kept wheedling[81] Ka'b until he yielded to him, Ḥuyayy having given him a promise [1472] and oath by God that "if Quraysh and Ghaṭafān retreat without having killed Muḥammad, I will enter your fortress with you, so that whatever happens to you shall happen to me." So Ka'b b. Asad broke his treaty and renounced the bond that had existed between him and the Messenger of God.

When the news reached the Messenger of God and the Muslims, the Messenger of God sent out Sa'd b. Mu'ādh b. al-Nu'mān b. Imru' al-Qays (one of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal who at that time was the chief of al-Aws), Sa'd b. 'Ubādah b. Dulaym (one of the Banū Sā'idah b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj who at that time was the chief of al-Khazraj[82]), and with them 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah[83] (a member of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj) and Khawwāt b. Jubayr (a member of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf), and said: "Go and see whether what has reached us about these men is true or not. If it is true, speak to me in words that we can understand but that will be unintelligible to others, and do not break the strength of the people. But, if these men remain loyal to the pact between us and them, announce it to the people."

So they went out and came to them. They found them engaged in the worst of what had been reported about them. They slan-

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81. Literally, "kept twisting [the fur of] the upper part and the fore part of the hump"; the metaphor is of a refractory camel that must be massaged and coaxed before it will allow the nose rein to be attached. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VI, s.v. *ghārib*.

82. Al-Aws and al-Khazraj were the two most important Arab tribes of Medina (as opposed to the Jews); see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 151 ff. (genealogical table, p. 154); and *EI*[1], s. vv. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh, Sa'd b. 'Ubāda.

83. 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah was a leader of his clan and a poet. He was one of the Medinans who pledged allegiance to Muḥammad at the Second Pledge of 'Aqabah, a year before the Hijrah. He fought at Badr, Uḥud, and the Trench and was killed at Mu'tah in A.H. 8. See *EI*[2], s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa; *GAS*, II, 292–93.

dered the Messenger of God and said, "There is no treaty between us and Muḥammad and no covenant." Sa'd b. 'Ubādah reviled them, and they reviled him—Sa'd was a man with a sharp temper.
[1473] So Sa'd b. Mu'ādh said to him, "Stop reviling them, for the disagreement between us and them is too serious for an exchange of taunts." The two Sa'ds and the men with them went back to the Messenger of God and, having greeted him, said, "'Aḍal and al-Qārah!" [They meant that it was] like the treachery of 'Aḍal and al-Qārah to the companions of the Messenger of God who were [betrayed] at al-Rajī', Khubayb b. 'Adī and his companions.[84] The Messenger of God said: "God is greatest! Rejoice, people of the Muslims!"

Soon the trial became great, and fear intensified. Their foe came at them from above them and below them, so that the believers were beset with fears of all kinds.[85] The hypocrisy of some of the hypocrites became evident. Mu'attib b. Qushayr, a member of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, said, "Muḥammad was promising us that we should eat up the treasures of Kisrā and Caesar, and now none of us can go out to relieve himself!" Aws b. Qayẓī, one of the Banū Ḥārithah b. al-Ḥārith, said, "Messenger of God, our houses lie exposed to the enemy"[86]—he had been put up to this by certain

84. For the story of how a group of men from the clans of 'Aḍal and al-Qārah came to Muḥammad in Medina in A.H. 4 and asked for men to instruct them in Islam and how, after Muḥammad had sent six men back with them (including Khubayb b. 'Adī), they betrayed the six to the pro-Meccan Liḥyān subtribe of Hudhayl (which had a vendetta against the Muslims) at the watering place of al-Rajī', see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1431–37; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 33–34; and *EI*², s.v. Liḥyān. For an account of Muḥammad's eventual retaliation, see p. 42 [I, 1501], below.

85. The sentence is virtually a paraphrase of Qur'ān 33:10. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, ad loc. (XXI, 71), those who came "from above" refers to 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn, who came from the highlands of Najd, and those who came "from below" refers to Quraysh from Mecca. The final phrase in al-Ṭabarī, *ḥatta ẓanna al-mu'minūna kulla ẓannin*, parallels the Qur'ānic *wa-taẓunnūna billāhi al-ẓunūna*, generally translated as if the verb *ẓanna* meant "thinking unsubstantiated thoughts, making vain suppositions." But with the omission of *billāhi*, "concerning God," it seems more natural to translate according to another meaning of the idiom *ẓann al-ẓunūn*. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 86: "*s'abandonner aux pensées les plus douloureuses*, se dit en parlant de celui qui est rempli de crainte."

86. Cf. Qur'ān 33:13.

chiefs of his tribe—"therefore give us leave, and let us return to our dwelling place, for it lies outside Medina."

The Messenger of God and the polytheists[87] stayed in their positions for over twenty nights—nearly a month—with no warfare between the troops, except for the shooting of arrows and the siege.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah and Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī:[88] When the trial became great for the people, the Messenger of God sent to 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn and al-Ḥārith b. 'Awf b. [1474] Abī Ḥārithah al-Murrī, the two leaders of Ghaṭafān, and offered them a third of the date harvest of Medina on condition that they and their followers go back, leaving the Messenger of God and his companions. The truce between the two sides progressed to the point of drawing up a written document, but there was no witnessing or firm determination to make peace; it was only a matter of maneuvering. So the two of them acted as they did. When the Messenger of God was about to act, he sent to Sa'd b. Mu'ādh and Sa'd b. 'Ubādah, gave them an account, and asked their advice. The two said, "Messenger of God, is it something you would like us to do, or is it something God has commanded you to do that we must do, or is it something you are doing for us?" He answered: "Indeed, it is for you. By God, I am doing it only because I saw that the Arabs had shot at you from a single bow[89] and had dogged you from every side; so I wanted somehow to avert their furor from you for a time." Sa'd b. Mu'ādh said: "Messenger of God, we and these people used to be polytheists, associating [other divinities] with God and worshiping idols, and we neither worshiped God nor knew him; and they did not hope to eat a single date of ours except in hospitality or by buying. Now that God has conferred Islam on us, guided us to it, and strengthened us with your presence, shall we give them our wealth? We have no need for this! By God, we

87. *Mushrikūn*, those who associate other divinities with Allāh, is the regular Qur'ānic term for pagans.

88. Parallel with more details: W, 477–80.

89. I.e., were unanimous against you. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VII, 2575, for the proverb.

will offer them only the sword, until God judge between us and them." "As you wish," said the Messenger of God. So Sa'd took the sheet and erased the writing on it. Then he said, "Let them do their utmost against us."

[1475] The Messenger of God and the Muslims remained besieged by their enemy. There was no fighting between them, except that some horsemen of Quraysh—among them were 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd b. Abī Qays (a member of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy), 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl and Hubayrah b. Abī Wahb (both from Makhzūm), Nawfal b. 'Abdallāh, and Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās (a member of the Banū Muḥārib b. Fihr) clad themselves for battle.[90] They rode out on their horses and passed by the Banū Kinānah and said: "Get ready for warfare, Banū Kinānah. Today you shall know who are the real horsemen." Then they advanced toward the trench and halted by it. When they saw it, they said, "By God, this is a stratagem that the Arabs have never employed." They headed to a place where the trench was narrow and struck their horses, so that they rushed through it and carried them round onto the marshy ground between the trench and Sal'. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib went out with a band of Muslims and blocked the gap through which they had driven their horses. The horsemen rode at a fast pace toward them. 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd had fought at the Battle of Badr[91] until he was immobilized by wounds, and therefore he had not been present at Uḥud. When the Battle of the Trench took place, he went forth wearing a mark, so that his position would be visible. When he and his horsemen drew to a halt,[92] 'Alī said to him, "'Amr, you used to swear to God that if a man of Quraysh ever summoned you to one of two alternatives, you would accept one of them from him." "Yes," he replied. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said, "I summon you to God, to His Messenger, and to Islam." He replied, "I have no need of this." So 'Alī said, "Then I
[1476] summon you to fight." 'Amr said: "Why, O son of my brother? By God, I do not want to kill you." 'Alī said, "But I, by God, want to kill you." 'Amr then became very angry. He jumped from his

90. Parallel with many more details: W, 470–72.

91. At the Battle of Badr in 2/642, a Muslim force from Medina defeated a large Meccan force; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1282–338.

92. IH, III, 225, adds: "He said, 'Who will come out for single combat?' 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib came out to him."

horse, hamstrung it[93] (or he struck it on its face), and advanced toward 'Alī. The two fought in single combat with each other, and 'Alī killed 'Amr. His horsemen went away in a rout and rushed through the trench in flight. Two men were killed along with 'Amr: Munabbih b. 'Uthmān b. 'Ubayd b. al-Sabbāq b. 'Abd al-Dār (he was hit by an arrow and died of it in Mecca) and Nawfal b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Mughīrah of the Banū Makhzūm. Nawfal plunged into the trench and became trapped in it. They pelted him with stones. He said, "People of the Arabs, a slaying better than this!" So 'Alī went down and killed him. The Muslims took his body. They asked the Messenger of God to sell them his body. The Messenger of God said: "We have no need for his body or its price. Do with it as you like." So he left them to do as they pleased with it.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Abū Laylā 'Abdallāh b. Sahl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sahl al-Anṣārī[94] (a member of the Banū Ḥārithah): At the time of the Battle of the Trench, 'Ā'ishah, the Mother of the Faithful,[95] was in the fortress of the Banū Ḥārithah, one of Medina's strongest fortresses, and the mother of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh was there with her.

According to 'Ā'ishah: That was before the curtain[96] was imposed on us. Sa'd [b. Mu'ādh] passed by wearing a coat of mail

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93. A horse was hamstrung when its rider resolved not to attempt escape but to fight to the death.

94. His exact dates are unknown. His name is also given as Abū Laylā b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sahl al-Anṣārī, and he is said to have been a reliable transmitter. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 215.

95. On the title "Mother of the Faithful" conferred on Muḥammad's wives, see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 286–87.

96. Arabic: *ḥijāb*, "anything that veils, conceals, hides, covers, or protects" (Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 516). Originally, the word designated the curtain that was set up in Muḥammad's house to separate his wives from the view of unrelated male visitors; in later usage it was applied to a veil or article of clothing concealing any Muslim woman's features and thereby protecting her from the desire of men. The institution of such a curtain in Muḥammad's house is usually dated to this year, A.H. 5, and sometimes connected with the behavior of certain guests at the wedding of the Prophet and Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh. Qur'ān 33:53 enunciates the injunction: "O believers, enter not the houses of the Prophet, except leave is given you for a meal, without watching for its hour. But when you are invited, then enter; and when you have had the meal, disperse, neither lingering for idle talk; that is hurtful to the Prophet, and he is ashamed before you; but God is not ashamed before the truth. And when you ask his wives for any object, ask them from behind a curtain (*ḥijāb*); that is cleaner for your hearts and theirs." 'Ā'ishah's account of the so-

tucked up so that his entire forearm was exposed, with his lance in
[1477] his hand. He was running about with it and reciting:

Wait a little, and Ḥamal shall be present at the fray:
There is no harm in death when one's time is come.[97]

His mother said to him, "Hurry up, son; by God, you are late!"

According to 'Ā'ishah: I said to her, "Umm Sa'd,[98] I wish Sa'd's coat of mail were ampler than it is." I feared for him where the arrow struck him. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh was shot with an arrow, and the median vein of his arm was cut.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: The arrow was shot by Ḥibbān b. Qays b. al-'Ariqah (one of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy). When he hit Sa'd, Ḥibbān said: "Take that! I am Ibn al-'Ariqah." Sa'd replied: "God make your face sweat[99] in hellfire! O God, if Thou hast saved any portion of the warfare with Quraysh, save me for it; for there are no men against whom I would rather strive than men who hurt Thy Messenger, called him a liar, and cast him out. O God, if Thou hast set warfare between us and them, grant me martyrdom, and do not let me die until Thou make my eye see its desire upon the Banū Qurayẓah."

According to Sufyān b. Wakī'[100]—Muḥammad b. Bishr[101]—Muḥammad b. 'Amr[102]—his father ['Amr b. 'Alqamah][103]—

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called "Affair of the Lie" in A.H. 6 (p. 59, below) implies that by that date seclusion of the Prophet's wives was in force. On the development of regulations concerning the modest behavior expected from Muḥammad's wives, see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 284–87; *EI*², s.v. Ḥidjāb; and Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation*, 90–94, 127–31.

97. The verse was proverbial. Commentators give various identifications for Ḥamal (whose name sometimes appears as Jamal).

98. I.e., "Mother (*umm*) of Sa'd," using the form of address (*kunyah*) that names a person after his or her first son.

99. *'Arraqa* ("make sweat") is a pun on the name al-'Ariqah.

100. Sufyān b. Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Kūfī died in 247/861; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 123–24.

101. Muḥammad b. Bishr b. al-Farāfiṣah b. al-Mukhtār, a Kūfan scholar, died in 203/818. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 73–74.

102. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. 'Alqamah b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī died in 144/761–62 or 145/762–63. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 375–77.

103. For 'Amr b. 'Alqamah b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī of Medina (exact dates not known), see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 79–80.

'Alqamah[104]—'Ā'ishah, who said: I went out at the time of the [1478]
Battle of the Trench following the footsteps of the people. Suddenly, as I was walking, I heard footsteps on the ground behind me. Turning around, I saw Sa'd; so I sat down on the ground. With him, carrying his shield, was his brother's son, al-Ḥārith b. Aws [who, according to Muḥammad b. 'Amr, had been present at Badr with the Messenger of God]. Sa'd was wearing an iron coat of mail, but the extremities of his limbs stuck out of it—he was one of the biggest and tallest of men. I feared for Sa'd's limbs. He passed by me reciting:[105]

Wait a little, and Ḥamal shall reach the fray:
    How fair is death when one's time is come!

After he passed me I stood up and hurried into a walled garden where there were a group of Muslims. Among them were 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and a man wearing his *tasbighah* [according to Muḥammad [b. Hishām], a *tasbighah* is a *mighfar*[106]], so that only his eyes could be seen. 'Umar said: "You are very brave! Why have you come? How can you tell?—perhaps there may be a retreat or trouble." By God, he kept scolding me until I wished the earth would split open for me to enter it. Then the man threw back the *tasbighah* and revealed his face. It was Ṭalḥah,[107] and he said [to 'Umar]: "You have talked too much! What flight and what retreat, except to God?" Sa'd b. Mu'ādh was shot with an arrow that day by [1479]
a man named Ibn al-'Ariqah, who said: "Take that! I am Ibn al-'Ariqah." Sa'd said, "God make your face sweat in hellfire![108] He had hit his median vein and cut it. [According to Muḥammad b. 'Amr: Some have said that whenever a person's median vein is

104. Ed. Cairo, index, identifies him as 'Alqamah b. Qays al-Nakha'ī. He was supposedly ninety years old when he died sometime between 61/680 and 63/683. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 276–78. However, the rest of the *isnad* points to 'Alqamah b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī. See note 153, below.

105. Literally, "reciting verse in *rajaz* meter."

106. I.e., "a portion of the mail of the coat of mail, that is conjoined to the helmet, and protects the neck"—Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1299.

107. For a biography of Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, a member of the Quraysh clan of Banū Taym b. Murrah, who accompanied Muḥammad on the Hijrah and distinguished himself at the Battle of Uḥud, see *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭalḥa. The incident reveals Ṭalḥah's coolness toward 'Umar and his closeness to 'Ā'ishah, elements that would be important in his subsequent career.

108. See note 99, above.

cut, it keeps oozing blood until the person dies.] Sa'd said, "O God, do not let me die until Thou make my eye see its desire upon the Banū Qurayẓah"—in the Time of Ignorance[109] they had been his confederates and clients.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—someone not to be doubted—'Ubaydallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik, who used to say: No one hit Sa'd with an arrow that day but Abū Usāmah al-Jushamī, a confederate of the Banū Makhzūm. God knows best what actually happened.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr[110]—his father, 'Abbād, who said:[111] Ṣafiyyah[112] bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was in Fāri', the fortress of Ḥassān b. Thābit.[113]

According to Ṣafiyyah, who said: Ḥassān was with us there with the women and children. A man from the Jews passed by us and began to circle the fortress. The Banū Qurayẓah had gone to war and had broken their pact with the Messenger of God. There was no one between us and them to defend us—the Messenger of God and the Muslims, being face to face with the enemy, could not leave them to come back to us when anyone came at us. So I said:
[1480] "Ḥassān, this Jew, as you see, is circling the fortress. By God, I fear he will point out our exposed places to the Jews who are to our rear while the Messenger of God and his companions are too busy to attend to us. So go down to him and kill him." He replied: "God forgive you, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib! You know I am not the man to do it." When he said that to me and I saw that nothing could be expected from him, I girded myself, took a club, and, having gone down from the fortress to the man, I struck him with

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109. Arabic, "in the *jāhiliyyah*," the "time of ignorance" before Islam. See *EI*², s.v. Ḏjāhiliyya.

110. Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām is said to have died at the age of thirty-six, but no exact date is given. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 234–35.

111. On 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 98. Parallels: IH, III, 228 (tr. Guillaume, 458); *Aghānī*, IV, 15 (ed. Cairo, IV, 1378).

112. Muḥammad's paternal aunt; the daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's last marriage, she was slightly younger than Muḥammad.

113. Ḥassān b. Thābit of the tribe of al-Khazraj in Medina was the most prominent of the poets supporting Muḥammad. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥassān b. Ṯhābit; *GAS*, II, 289–92.

the club until I killed him. When I had finished with him, I returned to the fortress and said: "Ḥassān, go down to him and strip him"—only his being a man kept me from stripping him. Ḥassān replied, "I have no need for his spoils, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib."[114]

According to Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God and his companions continued in the fear and distress that God has described [in the Qur'ān], because their enemies had leagued together against them and had come at them "from above them and below them."[115] Then Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd b. 'Āmir b. Unayf b. Tha'labah b. Qunfudh b. Hilāl b. Khalāwah b. Ashja' b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān came to the Messenger of God and said, "I have become a Muslim, but my tribesmen do not know of my Islam; so command me whatever you will." The Messenger of God said to him: "You are only one man among us. Make them abandon [each other], if you can, so that they leave us; for war is deception."

Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd therefore set out and came to the Banū Qurayẓah—he had been their drinking companion in the Time of Ignorance—and said to them, "Banū Qurayẓah, you know my affection for you and the special tie between myself and you." "Yes," they said, "you are not a person whom we doubt." He said to them: "Quraysh and Ghaṭafān have come to make war on [1481]
Muḥammad, and you have backed them against him. The position of Quraysh and Ghaṭafān is not like yours. The land is your land. Your wealth, your children, and your women are in it; you cannot move from it to another. The wealth, children, women, and land of Quraysh and Ghaṭafān are elsewhere; so they are not in a position like yours. If they see an opportunity and booty, they will take it; if it turns out otherwise, they will return to their lands and

114. The editor of ed. Cairo adds the following note: "According to al-Suhaylī, people infer from this tradition that Ḥassān was very cowardly. One scholar disputes this and denies it on the ground that the tradition has a broken chain of transmission. He says that if it were true, Ḥassān would have been mocked for it: for he used to compose satirical verses against such poets as Ḍirār and Ibn al-Ziba'rā, and they would engage in polemics and reply to him; yet no one ever berated him for cowardice or branded him a coward. This indicates the weakness of Ibn Isḥāq's tradition. If the tradition is true, perhaps he was sick that day with an illness that prevented him from being present at the fighting."

115. See note 85, above.

leave you exposed to this man in your land, and you will have no strength to deal with him if he is left to deal with you alone. So do not fight on the side of the men [of Quraysh and Ghaṭafān], until you take from them hostages from their nobles, to be in your hands as surety for you that they will fight Muḥammad with you until you have fought it out with him." They said, "You have given good counsel and advice."

Nu'aym then set out and came to Quraysh. He said to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and the men of Quraysh who were with him: "People of Quraysh, you know my affection for you and how I have separated from Muḥammad. Word has come to me of something that I consider it my duty to pass on to you as a matter of sincere advice; but keep to yourselves what I say." "We will," they said. "Then know," he said, "that the Jews have regretted what they did regarding relations between them and Muḥammad. They have sent to him, saying: 'We regret what we have done. Will you be satisfied with us if we take nobles from the tribes of Quraysh and Ghaṭafān and give them to you, so that you can behead them? Then we will be on your side against any of them that remain.' He has sent them word saying yes. So if the Jews send to you asking for hostages from your men, do not give them a single one of your men."

[1482] Then Nu'aym set out and came to Ghaṭafān. He said: "People of Ghaṭafān, you are my stock and my kin, the dearest of people to me. I think you have no doubts about me." "Truly spoken," they said. He said, "Keep to yourselves what I say." "We will," they said. Then he spoke to them as he had spoken to Quraysh, warning them as he had warned Quraysh.

Thus, on a Sabbath eve in the month of Shawwāl of the year 5, by the favor of God toward His Messenger, Abū Sufyān and the chiefs of Ghaṭafān sent to the Banū Qurayẓah 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl with a group of men from Quraysh and Ghaṭafān. They said to the Banū Qurayẓah: "We are not in a place where one can stay. Our camels and horses have perished. Come out to do battle tomorrow morning, so that we can fight it out with Muḥammad and finish matters between us and him." The Banū Qurayẓah sent back word to Quraysh, saying: "Today is the Sabbath, a day on which we do no labor. One of us violated it once, and you know what befell

him.[116] Moreover, we will not fight on your side until you give us some of your men as hostages to be in our hands as surety to us until we fight it out with Muḥammad; for we fear that if the warfare tests your mettle and the fighting becomes difficult for you, you will hurry back to your lands, leaving us with the man in our land, and then we shall have no strength to deal with Muḥammad."

When the messengers brought back to them what the Banū Qurayẓah had said, Quraysh and Ghaṭafān said, "You know, by God, that what Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd told you is indeed true." So they sent to the Banū Qurayẓah, saying: "By God, we will not give you a single one of our men. If you want to fight, come out and fight." When the messengers reached them with this message, the Banū Qurayẓah said [to each other]: "What Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd told you is indeed true! The men [of Quraysh and Ghaṭafān] only want to fight. If they find an opportunity, they will take it; if not, they will [1483] hurry back to their lands and leave you exposed to this man in your lands." So they sent to Quraysh and Ghaṭafān, saying, "By God, we will not fight on your side until you give us hostages." Quraysh and Ghaṭafān refused. God caused them to abandon each other. Then God sent against them in the bitter cold winter nights a wind that began overturning their cooking pots and blowing away their tents. When word of their disagreement and how God had disrupted their unity reached the Messenger of God, he called Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān and sent him to them by night to see what the enemy was doing.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Ziyād[117]—Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī, who said: A young man of al-Kūfah[118] asked Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān, "Abū

116. See note 127, below.

117. Yazīd b. Ziyād [dates unknown; the name is also given as Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, or Yazīd b. Ziyād b. Abī Ziyād] of Medina was a *mawlā* of 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'ah al-Makhzūmī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 328.

118. The Muslim garrison city of al-Kūfah was founded ca. 17/638 in the caliphate of 'Umar on the Euphrates near the older city of al-Ḥīrah; see *EI*², s.v. This report portrays Ḥudhayfah as being asked many years later, after the conquest of Iraq and the settlement of al-Kūfah, by a young Kūfan (*fatā* implies a man who has recently reached military age) to recall the events of the battle.

'Abdallāh,[119] you saw the Messenger of God and accompanied him?" "Yes, nephew," he replied. The young man asked, "How did things go with you?" "By God we toiled!" said Ḥudhayfah. The young man said, "By God, had we lived in his time, we would not have left him to walk on the ground; we would have carried him on our necks." Ḥudhayfah said: "Nephew, by God, I can see us with the Messenger of God at the trench. He prayed part of the night, then turned to us and said, 'Who is a man who will go up and see for us how the enemy is doing?'—the Messenger of God stipulated for him that he should come back—'and God shall cause him to enter paradise.'[120] Not a man stood up. Again the Messenger of God prayed part of the night and turned to us and said the same words, but not one of us stood up. Again the Messenger of God prayed part of the night and turned to us and said, 'Who is a man who will go up and see for us how the enemy is doing and then come back?'—the Messenger of God stipulated
[1484] that he should return—'and I will ask God that he may be my companion in paradise.' But none of the men stood up, so intense were the fear, the hunger, and the cold. When no one stood up, the Messenger of God called me. I had no choice but to stand up when he called me. He said, 'Ḥudhayfah, go and enter among the enemy, and see what they are doing; make no disturbance, and come back to us.'

"So I went and entered among the enemy. The wind and God's hosts[121] were taking their toll on them, allowing not a cooking pot, fire, or tent of theirs to stay put. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb stood up and said, 'People of Quraysh, let every man see who is sitting next to him.' So I took hold of the hand of the man who was beside me. I asked who he was, and he gave his name. Then Abū Sufyān said: 'People of Quraysh, by God you are not in a place where one can stay. Horses and camels have perished. The Banū Qurayẓah have

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119. Abū 'Abdallāh is Ḥudhayfah's *kunyah* (nickname). Since the verbs in the question are in the second person plural, the young man must have meant something like, "Did you *and the people of your generation* see the Messenger of God?"

120. I.e., he would be assured of paradise even though he had not died a martyr's death.

121. God's hosts (*junūd Allāh*) apparently refers to angels (so according to al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XXII, 81). Cf. Qur'ān 33:9, "O you who believe! Remember God's favor to you when there came against you hosts, and We sent against them a great wind and hosts (*junūdan*) you could not see."

broken their promise to us. Words hateful to us have come to us from them, and you can see what we have suffered from this wind. By God, no pot of ours stays put, no fire of ours keeps burning, and no tent of ours holds together. So saddle up, for I am leaving!' Then he went over to his camel, which was hobbled, seated himself on it, and struck it. It jumped up with him, standing on three legs, for its hobble was untied only after it stood up. Had it not been for the injunction of the Messenger of God to me that I should not cause any disturbance until I came to him—and I wanted to—I would have killed him with an arrow."

Ḥudhayfah continued: "I went back to the Messenger of God. He was standing, praying in a woolen wrapper woven with a camel-saddle pattern that belonged to one of his wives. When he saw me, he sat me at his feet and threw the edge of the wrapper over me. Then he bowed down and prostrated himself, but I disturbed him. After he pronounced a greeting,[122] I told him the [1485] news. Ghaṭafān heard what Quraysh had done, and they hastened back to their lands."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said: The next morning, the Prophet of God left the trench and went back to Medina with the Muslims, and they laid down their weapons.

The Expedition against the Banū Qurayẓah[123]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī: At noontime Gabriel,[124] wearing a cloth-of-gold turban, came to the Messenger of God on a mule with a brocade-covered saddle. He said, "Have you laid down your arms, Messenger of God?" "Yes," he replied. Gabriel said: "The angels have not laid down their arms! I have just returned from pursuing the enemy. God commands you, Muḥammad, to march to the Banū Qurayẓah. I, too, will betake myself to the Banū Qurayẓah."[125]

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122. I.e., either after he pronounced the salutation to the guardian angels with which Islamic prayers end or after he greeted Ḥudhayfah.

123. Parallels: IH, III, 233–54 (tr. Guillaume, 461–69); W, II, 496–531.

124. Gabriel (Jibrīl) was the angel who brought revelations to Muḥammad (cf. Qur'ān 2:97). See *EI*², s.v. Djabrā'īl.

125. IH, III, 233, and W, II, 497, add "and will shake them."

The Messenger of God commanded a crier to announce to the people that whoever would heed and obey should not pray the afternoon prayer until they were in [the territory of] the Banū Qurayẓah. The Messenger of God sent 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ahead with his banner to the Banū Qurayẓah, and the people hastened to it. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib marched and, having approached the fortresses, heard foul words from them about the Messenger of God. He went back and met the Messenger of God on the way and said, "Messenger of God, it would be better for you not to go near these most wicked men." "Why?" he asked, "I think you have heard them insult me." He said, "Yes, Messenger of God." He said,[126] "If they had seen me, they would not have said anything of the sort."

When the Messenger of God had approached their fortresses, he
[1486] said: "You brothers of apes![127] Has God shamed you and sent down his retribution on you?" They said, "Abū al-Qāsim,[128] you have never been one to act impetuously."[129]

Before reaching the Banū Qurayẓah, the Messenger of God passed his companions at al-Ṣawrān.[130] "Has anyone passed you?" he asked. "Yes, Messenger of God," they replied. "Diḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī[131] passed us on a white mule with a brocade-covered saddle." The Messenger of God said, "That was Gabriel, sent to the Banū Qurayẓah to shake their fortresses and cast terror into their hearts."

When the Messenger of God came to the Banū Qurayẓah, he halted at one of their wells in a part of their territory called Bi'r

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126. Ed. Cairo omits "He said," making the next sentence a continuation of 'Alī's words.

127. The Qur'ān contains references to how God punished a group of Jews who violated the Sabbath by changing them into apes; cf. Qur'ān 2:65, 5:60, and 7:166. See pp. 24, above, and 30, below, where the Jews themselves allude to the legend.

128. Abū al-Qāsim (father of al-Qāsim) was Muḥammad's *kunyah* (a familiar name usually derived from the name of the bearer's first male child).

129. Arabic: *mā kunta jahūlan.* On the meanings of the root *j-h-l*, which includes both the ideas of ignorance and of violent, blind, or impulsive action, see Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 201–8; and Blachère et al., *Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais*, I, 1845–46.

130. According to al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā'*, 575–76, the place was located at the farther end of al-Baqī', alongside the road to the Banū Qurayẓah.

131. Diḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī was traditionally represented as a rich merchant of such beauty that the Angel Gabriel assumed his features. When he arrived in Medina, all the women were said to have come out to see him. See *EI*², s.v. Diḥya.

Annā,[132] and the men joined up with him. Some men came to him after the last evening prayer. They had not prayed the afternoon prayer because of what the Messenger of God had said—that no one should pray the afternoon prayer until in [the territory of] the Banū Qurayẓah because of the warfare against them that was incumbent on them. They refused to pray because the Prophet had said "until they reach the Banū Qurayẓah"; so they prayed the afternoon prayer there after the last evening prayer. God did not find fault with them in His Book, nor did the Messenger of God reprimand them for it. (This report is according to Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—his father [Isḥāq b. Yasār][133]—Ma'bad b. Ka'b b. Mālik al-Anṣārī.[134])

According to [Sufyān] b. Wakī'—Muḥammad b. Bishr—Muḥammad b. 'Amr—his father ['Amr b. 'Alqamah]—'Alqamah—'Ā'ishah, who said: The Messenger of God pitched a round tent over Sa'd in the mosque.[135] He laid down his arms—that is, when he had come back from [the Battle of] the Trench—and the Muslims, too, laid down their arms. Then Gabriel came to [1487]
him and said: "Have you laid down your arms? By God, the angels have not yet laid down their arms! Go out to them, and fight them!" The Messenger of God called for his breastplate and put it on. Then he went out, and the Muslims went out too. When he passed by the Banū Ghanm,[136] he said, "Who passed by you?" They replied, "Diḥyah al-Kalbī passed by us." (His demeanor, beard, and face were likened to Gabriel's.) Then he encamped by [the Banū Qurayẓah]. (Sa'd was in his tent that the Messenger of God had pitched over him in the mosque.) He besieged them for a month or for twenty-five nights. When the siege became too severe for them, they were told to submit to the judgment of the Messenger of God. Abū Lubābah b. 'Abd al-Mundhir gave a sign that it would mean slaughter. So they said, "We will submit to the judgment of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh." The Messenger of God said, "Submit

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132. Also vocalized Unā.

133. Isḥāq b. Yasār, the father of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, was a *mawlā* of Qays b. Makhramah. He was considered a very reliable transmitter. His exact dates are not known. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 257.

134. The brother of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik al-Anṣārī. See *GAS*, I, 276–77.

135. To shelter Sa'd b. Mu'ādh while he was recuperating from his wound.

136. A clan of the al-Aws; see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 154.

to his judgment." So they submitted. The Messenger of God sent to him a donkey with a saddle padded with palm fiber, and he was mounted on it.

According to 'Ā'ishah: His wound had healed, so that nothing of it was visible except what looked like a ring.

Resumption of the account of Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God besieged them twenty-five nights, until the siege exhausted them and God cast terror into their hearts. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab had entered among the Banū Qurayẓah in their fortress when Quraysh and Ghaṭafān had gone back leaving them; this he did in fulfillment of his compact with Ka'b b. Asad. When they became certain that the Messenger of God would not depart from them until he
[1488] had fought it out with them, Ka'b b. Asad said to them: "People of the Jews, you see what has befallen you. I shall propose three alternatives to you. Take whichever one you will." "What are they?" they asked. He said: "That we follow[137] this man and believe him; for, by God, it has become clear to you that he is indeed a prophet sent [from God] and that it is he whom you used to find [mentioned] in your book. Then you will be secure in your lives, your property, your children, and your wives." They said, "We will never depart from the law of the Torah or exchange it for another." "Since you reject this proposal of mine," he said, "come let us kill our children and wives and go out to Muḥammad and his companions as men who brandish swords, leaving behind us no impediments to worry us, until God judges between us and Muḥammad. If we die, we shall die having left nothing behind us for which we fear; if we win victory, by my life we shall find women and children." They said: "Kill these poor ones? What would be the good of living after them?" He said: "Since you have rejected these proposals of mine, tonight is the night of the Sabbath. Perhaps Muḥammad and his companions feel themselves safe in it. Go down; perhaps we can take Muḥammad and his companions by surprise." They said, "Profane our Sabbath and do on it what none of our predecessors has ever done, except those you know about—and they were transformed in a way that you surely know?" He said, "No man among you has ever for a single night shown sound judgment since his mother bore him!"

137. Variant, "swear allegiance to."

Then they sent to the Messenger of God, saying, "Send us Abū Lubābah b. 'Abd al-Mundhir, one of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf"[138]— [1489]
they[139] were confederates of al-Aws—"so that we can ask his advice in this affair." The Messenger of God sent him to them. When they saw him, the men rose to meet him, and the women and children rushed to grab hold of him, weeping before him, so that he felt pity for them. They said to him, "Abū Lubābah, do you think we should submit to Muḥammad's judgment?" "Yes," he said, but he pointed with his hand to his throat, that it would be slaughter. [Abū Lubābah [later] said, "By God, as soon as my feet moved, I knew that I had betrayed God and His Messenger."] Abū Lubābah rushed away at a loss. Before coming to the Messenger of God, he tied himself to one of the pillars in the mosque, saying, "I will not leave this spot until God forgives me for what I have done." He promised God that he would never set foot on the territory of the Banū Qurayẓah. "Never," he said, "shall God see me in a land where I betrayed God and His Messenger." When news of him reached the Messenger of God—Abū Lubābah was slow in coming to him, and the Messenger of God deemed him late—he said, "Had he come to me, I would have sought forgiveness for him; but, since he has done what he did, I cannot release him from his place, until God forgives him."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Qusayṭ:[140] The forgiving of Abū Lubābah was revealed to the Messenger of God while he was in the apartment of Umm Salamah.[141] Umm Salamah said, "I heard the Messenger of God laughing at daybreak; so I said, 'Why are you laughing, Messenger of God?—may God make you laugh heart-

138. 'Amr b. 'Awf was a clan of al-Aws.

139. I.e., the Banū Qurayẓah; on the alliance between the Banū Qurayẓah and al-Aws, see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 214.

140. Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Qusayṭ died in 122/740 at the age of ninety. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 342–43.

141. Muḥammad married Umm Salamah Hind bt. al-Mughīrah, whose husband, Abū Salamah, had died of wounds after the Battle of Uḥud, in 4/626; see Poonawala, *Last Years*, 132, [I, 1771]. Muḥammad's wives lived in separate apartments of his residence, which was adjacent to the mosque in Medina. He is said to have spent a night with each of them in turn; cf. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 284, 396.

ily!'[142] He replied, 'Abū Lubābah has been forgiven.' I said, 'Shall I not announce the good news to him?' 'Yes,' he said, 'if you will.'" So Umm Salamah stood at the door of her chamber (it was before
[1490] the curtain was imposed on them) and said: "Abū Lubābah, rejoice! God has forgiven you." The people swarmed toward him to release him, but he said: "No, by God! Not until the Messenger of God is the one who releases me with his own hand!" And so, when he went out for the morning prayer, he released him.

According to Ibn Isḥāq: Tha'labah b. Sa'yah,[143] Usayd[144] b. Sa'yah, and Asad b. 'Ubayd—a group of men from the Banū Hadl,[145] not from the Banū Qurayẓah or al-Naḍīr (their genealogy was superior to that), but cousins of the men in question—became Muslims the night that Qurayẓah submitted to the judgment of the Messenger of God. During that night, 'Amr b. Su'dā al-Quraẓī went out and passed by the guards of the Messenger of God—Muḥammad b. Maslamah al-Anṣārī was in charge of them that night. When the latter saw 'Amr, he said, "Who is it?" "'Amr b. Su'dā," he replied. 'Amr had refused to go along with the Banū Qurayẓah in their treachery toward the Messenger of God. "Never," he had said, "will I act treacherously toward Muḥammad." Having recognized him, Muḥammad b. Maslamah said, "O God, do not deprive me of [forgiveness for][146] the lapses of the noble"—and he let him pass. 'Amr went his way and spent that night in the mosque of the Messenger of God in Medina. Then he went away, and no one knows to this day into which of God's lands he went. His story was mentioned to the Messenger of God,
[1491] who said, "He was a man whom God rescued for his loyalty."

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142. *Aḍḥaka Allāhu sinnaka*—literally, "may God make your tooth laugh"; i.e., may He make you laugh or smile heartily, so that you reveal your side teeth. The teeth immediately behind the four eyeteeth were called *ḍawāḥik* ("laughers") because they became visible in laughter or smiling; see *Lisan*, IV, 2558.

143. So vocalized by ed. Leiden; perhaps to be vocalized "Sa'iyyah," as by the editor of W, II, 503.

144. So vocalized by IH and ed. Cairo. Ed. Leiden prefers the vocalization "Asīd" on the basis of al-Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, 299.

145. On the clan of Hadl, which had become closely connected to the Banū Qurayẓah, see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 193–94.

146. Understanding *iqālah*, as in W, 504; IH, III, 238; cf. ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CCCL.

According to Ibn Isḥāq: Some men allege that he was bound with an old frayed rope along with the Banū Qurayẓah who were bound when they submitted to the judgment of the Messenger of God. In the morning his rope was cast aside, and no one knew where he had gone. Then the Messenger of God said this saying about him. But God knows best [what really happened].

According to Ibn Isḥāq: In the morning, they submitted to the judgment of the Messenger of God. The al-Aws jumped up and said: "Messenger of God, they are our clients (*mawālī*), not clients of al-Khazraj. You know what you did the other day with the clients of al-Khazraj!" (Before besieging the Banū Qurayẓah, the Messenger of God had besieged the Banū Qaynuqā', who were confederates of al-Khazraj.[147] They had submitted to his judgment. 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl[148] had asked him for them, and he had given them to him.) Therefore, when the al-Aws spoke to him, the Messenger of God said, "People of al-Aws, will you not be satisfied if one of your own men passes judgment on them?" "Yes," they said. So he said, "It shall be entrusted to Sa'd b. Mu'ādh." The Messenger of God had placed Sa'd b. Mu'ādh in the tent of a Muslim[149] woman named Rufaydah in his mosque. She used to nurse the wounded and earn merit for herself by serving Muslims who were impoverished. When Sa'd was struck by the arrow in the ditch, the Messenger of God said to his tribesmen, "Put him in Rufaydah's tent, so that I can visit him from nearby."[150] When the Messenger of God appointed him judge over the Banū Qurayẓah, his tribesmen came to him and lifted him onto a donkey on which they had put a leather cushion, for he was a stout man. They brought him to the Messenger of God, saying, [1492]
"Abū 'Amr,[151] treat your clients well; for the Messenger of God has put you in charge of the matter only that you may treat them well." After they had plied him with many such requests, he said,

147. For the campaign in 2/624 against the Jewish tribe of Banū Qaynuqā' and their expulsion, see Watt and McDonald, *Foundation*, 85–87 [I, 1359–62].

148. 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy, a leader of al-Khazraj and one of the leading men of Medina, had become a Muslim but was usually deemed to be a "hypocrite" (*munāfiq*) because of his opposition to some of Muḥammad's decisions; see *EI*², s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy.

149. IH and ed. Cairo: "a woman of Aslam."

150. Muḥammad's house adjoined the mosque.

151. Addressing Sa'd by his *kunyah*.

"The time has come for Sa'd for the sake of God not to be influenced by anyone's reproach." Then one of his tribesmen who was with him went back to the dwelling place of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal and announced to them the death of the men of the Banū Qurayẓah before Sa'd b. Mu'ādh reached them because of the words he had heard from him.

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: When Sa'd reached the Messenger of God and the Muslims, the Messenger of God said (according to Ibn Wakī'—Muḥammad b. Bishr—Muḥammad b. 'Amr—his father—'Alqamah, in a report that he attributed to Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī,[152] who said: When he—that is, Sa'd—came into sight, the Messenger of God said), "Arise and go to your master (*sayyid*)" (or he said "to the best of you"), "and help him dismount." The Messenger of God said [to Sa'd], "Pass judgment on them." He replied, "I pass judgment on them that their fighters shall be killed and their children made captives and that their property shall be divided." The Messenger of God said, "You have passed judgment on them with the judgment of God and the judgment of His Messenger."

Resumption of the account of Ibn Isḥāq: As for Ibn Isḥāq, he said in his report: When Sa'd reached the Messenger of God and the Muslims, the Messenger of God said, "Arise and go to your master." So they arose and went to him and said, "Abū 'Amr, the Messenger of God has entrusted you with your clients (*mawālī*), so that you may pass judgment on them." Sa'd said, "God's oath and covenant be upon you in this matter, that the judgment on them shall be what I judge!" "Yes," they replied. He said, "And
[1493] upon the one who is here"—[this he said] in the direction of the Messenger of God, while turning away from the Messenger of God out of respect for him. The Messenger of God said, "Yes." Sa'd said, "I pass judgment on them that the men shall be killed, the property divided, and the children and women made captives."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b.

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152. Abū Sa'īd Sa'd b. Mālik b. Sinān al-Khudrī al-Anṣārī (the Banū Khudrah were a small group in the Banū al-Ḥārith clan of al-Khazraj; cf. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 167), a companion of the Prophet, used to give legal opinions in Medina. He died ca. 63/682–83. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 124, 127; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 78–80.

Mu'ādh—'Alqamah b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī,[153] who said: The Messenger of God said to Sa'd, "You have passed judgment on them with the judgment of God from above seven heavens."[154]

According to Ibn Isḥāq: Then they were made to come down, and the Messenger of God imprisoned them in the dwelling of al-Ḥārith's daughter, a woman of the Banū al-Najjār.[155] The Messenger of God went out into the marketplace of Medina (it is still its marketplace today) and had trenches dug in it; then he sent for them and had them beheaded in those trenches. They were brought out to him in groups. Among them were the enemy of God, Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, and Ka'b b. Asad. the head of the tribe. They numbered 600 or 700—the largest estimate says they were between 800 and 900. As they were being taken in groups to the Messenger of God, they said to Ka'b b. Asad, "Ka'b, what do you think will be done to us?" Ka'b said: "On each occasion you do not understand. Do you not see that the summoner does not discharge [anyone] and that those of you who are taken away do not come [1494]
back? By God, it is death!" The affair continued until the Messenger of God had finished with them.

Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, the enemy of God, was brought. He was wearing a rose-colored[156] suit of clothes that he had torn all over with fingertip-sized holes so that it would not be taken as booty from him, and his hands were bound to his neck with a rope. When he looked at the Messenger of God, he said, "By God, I do not blame myself for being hostile to you, but whomever God forsakes is forsaken."[157] Then he turned to the people and said:

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153. 'Alqamah b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī was born during the lifetime of the Prophet. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 280–81.

154. The phrase, which uses the Hebrew loanword *raqī'* for "heaven," is usually taken to mean, "You have judged with the judgment of God [written on the preserved tablet] above the seven heavens"; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1137.

155. The Banū al-Najjār were the most numerous clan or clan group among al-Khazraj; see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 165–66.

156. Arabic *fuqqāḥiyyah* refers either to the color of the garments (that of the desert flower called *fuqqāḥ*; Lane, *Lexicon*, VI, 2424), or to a kind of embroidery (IH, III, 241).

157. Here and in the verses that follow I read *man yakhdhuli llāhu*, rather than *man yakhdhuli llāha*, the voweling of edd. Leiden and Cairo, which would mean "whoever forsakes God." Ḥuyayy, who remained a Jew to the end, certainly would not have considered hostility to Muḥammad to be a forsaking of God. Furthermore, *khadhala* (fail to aid, forsake) and its opposite *naṣara* (aid) are normally

"People, there is no injury in God's command. It is the book of God, His decree, and a battlefield of great slaughter ordained against the Children of Israel." Then he sat down and was beheaded. Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Tha'labī said:

By your life, Ibn Akhṭab did not censure himself [for his action],
but whomever God forsakes is forsaken.
He fought until he made his soul attain its vindication,
and he strove to the utmost seeking glory.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr[158]—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—'Ā'ishah, who said: Only one of their women was killed. By God, she was by me, talking with me and laughing unrestrainedly while the Messenger of God was killing their men in the marketplace, when suddenly a mysterious voice[159] called out her name, saying, "Where is so and so?" She said, "Here I am, by God." I asked, "Alas, what is wrong?" She said, "I shall be killed." "Why?" I
[1495] asked. She said, "A misdeed[160] that I committed." She was taken away and beheaded. ('Ā'ishah used to say: I shall never forget my wonder at her cheerfulness and much laughter, even when she knew that she would be killed.)

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī: Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās came to al-Zabīr b. Bāṭā al-Quraẓī, whose familiar name was Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Al-Zabīr had done Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās a favor in the Time of Ignorance [before Islam]. (According to Muḥammad [b. Isḥāq]: One of al-Zabīr's descendants told me that he had done him this favor at the battle of Bu'āth.[161] He had captured him but had cut off his forelock and released him.) Thābit came to al-Zabīr, now an

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predicated of God. Cf. Qur'ān 3:154: "If God helps you, none can overcome you; but if He forsakes you, who then can help you after Him?"

158. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr died between 110/728–29 and 120/738. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 93.

159. Arabic *hātif*, a voice from an unseen source, often with supernatural overtones.

160. Arabic *ḥadathun aḥdathtuhū* (literally, "a happening or a novelty that I caused to happen") usually has a negative sense; see Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 528.

161. The battle of Bu'āth, the climax of the war of Ḥāṭib between Medina's two Arab tribes, al-Aws and al-Khazraj, took place ca. A.D. 617, shortly before the Hijrah and was fought in the territory of the Banū Qurayẓah. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 155–58; *EI*², s.v. Bu'āth.

old man, and said, "Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, do you recognize me?" Al-Zabīr replied, "Can someone like me fail to recognize someone like you?" Thābit said, "I want to repay you for your favor to me." Al-Zabīr said, "Truly the noble man repays the noble!" Thābit then went to the Messenger of God and said: "Messenger of God, al-Zabīr did me a favor and I owe him a debt of gratitude. I wish to repay him for it. Grant me his life." The Messenger of God said, "It is yours." So Thābit went to him and said: "The Messenger of God has granted me your life. It is yours." He replied, "An old man with no family and no children—what will he do with life?" So Thābit went to the Messenger of God and said, "Messenger of God, his family and children?" "They are yours," he said. So Thābit went to him and said: "The Messenger of God has given me your wife and your children. They are yours." He replied, "A household in the Ḥijāz with no wealth—how can they survive?" So Thābit went to the Messenger of God and said, "His wealth?" "It is yours," he said. So Thābit went to him and said: "The Messenger of God has given me your wealth. It is yours." He replied, "O Thābit, how fares it with the one whose face was like a Chinese mirror in which the virgins of the tribe viewed [1496] themselves—Ka'b b. Asad?" Thābit said, "He has been killed." "And how fares it," he said, "with the chief of the settled folk and the nomads, Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab?" Thābit said, "He has been killed." "And how fares it," he said, "with our vanguard when we attacked and our defense when we wheeled round,[162] 'Azzāl b. Shamwīl?" Thābit said, "He has been killed." "And how fares it," he said, "with the two assemblies?" [He meant the Banū Ka'b b. Qurayẓah and the Banū 'Amr b. Qurayẓah.] Thābit said, "They have gone to their death." He said: "Then I ask you for the sake of the favor I once did for you to join me to my kinsmen, for by God there is no good in living after them. I will not wait patiently for God, not even [the time needed] to take the bucket of a watering trough, until I meet my dear ones." So Thābit brought him forward, and he was beheaded. When what he said—"until I meet my dear ones"—was reported to Abū Bakr, he said, "He will meet them, by God, in the fire of Gehenna, there to dwell forever and

162. Arabic *kararnā*; IH, III, 243, reads *fararnā*, "we fled"; W, II, 519, reads *wallaw* "they turned back." Al-Wāqidī gives the name as Ghazzāl b. Samaw'al.

forever." Concerning this, Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās said, mentioning al-Zabīr b. Bāṭā:

My obligation has been acquitted: I was generous and was
patient, when the folk turned away from patience.
Zabīr of all men had the greatest claim to gratitude
on me; therefore, when his wrists were tied with a thong,
I came to the Messenger of God, that I might untie him;
and the Messenger of God to us was a flowing sea.[163]

The Messenger of God had commanded that all of them who had reached puberty should be killed.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—
[1497] Ayyūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'ah[164] [a member of the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār]: Salmā bt. Qays, the mother of al-Mundhir and sister of Salīṭ b. Qays, was one of the maternal aunts of the Messenger of God. She had prayed with him facing both of the *qiblah*s[165] and had sworn allegiance to him after the manner of women.[166] She asked him for [the life of] Rifā'ah b. Shamwīl al-Quraẓī, who had come of age. He had taken refuge with her and had previously been one of their acquaintances. She said: "Prophet of God, you are as dear to me as my father and mother! Give me Rifā'ah b. Shamwīl, for he has said that he will pray and eat camel meat.[167] He gave him to her, and thus she saved his life.

According to Ibn Isḥāq: Then the Messenger of God divided the wealth, wives, and children of the Banū Qurayẓah among the Muslims. On that day he made known the shares of horsemen and shares of foot soldiers, and he deducted from these shares the fifth

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163. I.e., granted the request. The sea is a metaphor for generosity.

164. His name is also given as Ayyūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. His exact dates are not known. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 408.

165. The *qiblah* is the direction that Muslims face in prayer. Originally Muḥammad followed the practice of the Jews in facing Jerusalem, but changed the *qiblah* to the direction of the Ka'bah in Mecca during A.H. 2 (see Watt and McDonald, *Foundation*, 24–25 [I, 1279–81]; the change is alluded to in Qur'ān 2:136 ff.). In other words, Salmā's conversion to Islam took place before the change in the *qiblah*. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳibla.

166. Arabic: *bāya'athu bay'ata al-nisā'i*—this was the term for a pledge of allegiance in which no obligation to fight was involved.

167. Camel meat is permitted under Islamic dietary regulations but prohibited under Jewish regulations.

(*khums*).[168] A horseman received three shares: two shares for the horse and one share for its rider. A foot soldier who had no horse received one share. The cavalry at the battle with the Banū Qurayẓah numbered thirty-six horses. It was the first booty (*fay'*)[169] in which shares were allotted and from which the *khums* was deducted; and according to its precedent (*sunnah*) and the procedure of the Messenger of God in it divisions of booty took place and precedent was followed in [succeeding] expeditions. However, if a man had horses with him, he appointed shares only for two horses.

Then the Messenger of God sent Sa'd b. Zayd al-Anṣārī (a member of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal) with some of the captives from the Banū Qurayẓah to Najd, and in exchange for them he purchased horses and arms. The Messenger of God selected for himself from their women Rayḥānah bt. 'Amr b. Khunāfah, a woman from the [1498]
Banū 'Amr b. Qurayẓah, and she remained his concubine; when he predeceased her, she was still in his possession.[170] The Messenger of God offered to marry her and impose the curtain (*ḥijāb*) on her, but she said, "Messenger of God, rather leave me in your possession [as a concubine], for it is easier for me and for you." So he did so. When the Messenger of God took her captive, she showed herself averse to Islam and insisted on Judaism. So the Messenger of God put her aside, and he was grieved because of her. Then, while he was with his companions, he heard the sound of shoes behind him and said, "This must be Tha'labah b. Sa'yah coming to bring me tidings of Rayḥānah's acceptance of Islam." He came to him and said, "Messenger of God, Rayḥānah has become a Muslim"—and it gave the Messenger of God joy.

After the affair of the Banū Qurayẓah had ended, the wound of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh broke open. The account of this is as follows, according to Ibn Wakī'—Ibn Bishr—Muḥammad b. 'Amr—his father—'Alqamah (in a report that he attributed to 'Ā'ishah): After Sa'd b. Mu'ādh had passed judgment as he did on the Banū Qurayẓah, he prayed, saying: "O God, Thou knowest that there

168. The *khums* was the one-fifth of booty reserved to Muḥammad under Qur'ān 8:14 (said to have been revealed after the battle of Badr) to be used for communal purposes; see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 232, 255.

169. On the development of the term *fay'* ("chattels taken as booty") see *EI*², s.v.

170. I.e, she never became a full wife. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 92–94.

are no men against whom I would rather fight and strive than men who called Thy Messenger a liar. O God, if Thou hast saved any portion of warfare with Quraysh for Thy Messenger, save me for it; but if Thou hast cut off the warfare between him and them, take me to Thee." So his wound broke open. The Messenger of
[1499] God returned him to the tent he had pitched over him in the mosque.

'Ā'ishah said: The Messenger of God, Abū Bakr, and 'Umar came to him. By the One holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand, I could tell Abū Bakr's weeping from 'Umar's even while I was in my chamber. They were, as God has said, "merciful among themselves."[171]

'Alqamah asked ['Ā'ishah], "Mother [of the Faithful],[172] how did the Messenger of God behave?" She replied: "His eye did not weep for anyone. When his grief for someone became intense or when he was upset, he would only take hold of his beard."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: At the Battle of the Trench only six Muslims and three polytheists were killed. At the battle with the Banū Qurayẓah, Khallād b. Suwayd b. Tha'labah b. 'Amr b. Balḥārith b. al-Khazraj was killed: a millstone was thrown onto him and badly crushed him. Abū Sinān b. Miḥṣan b. Ḥurthān, a member of the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah, died while the Messenger of God was besieging the Banū Qurayẓah and was buried in the cemetery of the Banū Qurayẓah. After the Messenger of God returned from the trench, he said, "Now we shall attack them"—meaning Quraysh—"and they will not attack us"—and thus it was, until God granted His Messenger the conquest of Mecca.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, the conquest of the Banū Qurayẓah took place in the month of Dhū al-Qa'dah or in the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.[173] Al-Wāqidī, however, has said that the Messenger of God attacked them a few days before the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah. He asserted that the Messenger of God commanded that furrows should be dug in the ground for the Banū Qurayẓah. Then he sat

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171. Qur'ān 48:29.
172. See note 95, above.
173. Dhū al-Qa'dah of A.H. 5 began on 24 March 627; Dhū al-Ḥijjah began on 23 April.

down, and 'Alī and al-Zubayr began cutting off their heads in his presence. He asserts that the woman whom the Prophet killed that day was named Bunānah, the wife of al-Ḥakam al-Quraẓī—it was she who had killed Khallād b. Suwayd by throwing a millstone on him. The Messenger of God called for her[174] and beheaded her in retaliation for Khallād b. Suwayd. [1500]

There is disagreement over the date of the Prophet's expedition against the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. This was the expedition called the expedition of al-Muraysī'—al-Muraysī' being the name of a watering place belonging to [the tribe of] Khuzā'ah, near Qudayd toward the coast.[175] According to Ibn Isḥāq (as transmitted to us by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq), the Messenger of God attacked the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq [clan] of Khuzā'ah in Sha'bān of the year 6 of the Hijrah.[176] Al-Wāqidī has said that the Messenger of God attacked al-Muraysī' in Sha'bān of the year 5 of the Hijrah.[177] He asserted that the Battle of the Trench and the battle with the Banū Qurayẓah took place after al-Muraysī'—referring to the warfare with the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā'ah. Ibn Isḥāq (as transmitted to us by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq) asserted that the Messenger of God returned after concluding the affair of the Banū Qurayẓah at the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah or at the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. He remained in Medina during Dhū al-Ḥijjah, Muḥarram, Ṣafar, and the two months of Rabī'.[178] During the year 5, the polytheists were in charge of the pilgrimage.

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174. For ed. Leiden's *da'ā bihā* ("called for her"), ed. Cairo reads *da'ā lahū* ("prayed for him"—i.e., for Khallād).

175. The place, about 15 kilometers from Medina, was the site of the shrine to Manāt at al-Mushallal. See the article by T. Fahd in *EI*², s.v. Manāt.

176. Sha'bān of A.H. 6 began on 16 December 627.

177. Sha'bān of A.H. 5 began on 26 December 626. For al-Wāqidī's account, see W, I, 404 ff. Cf. al-Ṭabarī's account p. 51, below. Cf. also Hamidullah, *Battlefields*, 29–30, who argues for the earlier dating.

178. Roughly from 23 April 627 (the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 5) to 17 September 627 (the end of Rabī' II, 6).

The Events of the Year 6

(May 23, 627–May 10, 628)

The Expedition against the Banū Liḥyān[179]

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The Messenger of God set out
[1501] during Jumādā I[180] at the end of six months from the conquest of the Banū Qurayẓah to the Banū Liḥyān, seeking [vengeance] for the men [who were betrayed] at al-Rajī', Khubayb b. 'Adī and his companions.[181] To take the enemy by surprise, he pretended to be setting out for the north.[182] He left Medina and traveled by Ghurāb, a mountain near Medina, on his way north, then by Makhīḍ[183] and al-Batrā'.[184] Then he veered to the left and, having passed Yayn and Ṣukhayrāt al-Yamām,[185] his route led him directly by the main road to Mecca. He traveled quickly and halted at Ghurān, where there were settlements of the Banū

179. Parallels: W, II, 535–37; IH, III, 279–81 (tr. Guillaume, 484–86).
180. Jumādā I of A.H. 6 began on 18 September 627.
181. See note 84, above.
182. Arabic *al-sha'm* means both "north" and "Syria."
183. IH, III, 279: al-Maḥīṣ; but Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VII, 411, records Makhīḍ with reference to this passage and gives Maḥīṣ as a place within Medina (VII, 401).
184. Al-Batrā' is a mountain about 150 miles northwest of Medina, about midway between Medina and Tabūk; it is not to be confused with the ancient Nabatean city of Petra, which has the same name in Arabic.
185. In W, II, 536, the names are given as Bīn and Ṣukhayrāt al-Thumām, respectively.

Liḥyān. (Ghurān is a valley between Amaj and 'Usfān[186] extending toward a village called Sāyah.) He found that they were on the alert and had taken secure positions on the mountain tops. After the Messenger of God had halted there and failed to take them by surprise as he intended, he said, "If we went down to 'Usfān, the Meccans would think that we had come for Mecca." So he set out with two hundred riders of his companions and halted at 'Usfān. He sent out two horsemen of his companions. They reached Kurā' al-Ghamīm[187] and then returned, and he turned back.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq (who transmitted the report about the expedition against the Banū Liḥyān from 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah and 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, who transmitted it from 'Ubaydallāh b. Ka'b): Then the Messenger of God returned to Medina. He had stayed only a few nights before 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfah b. Badr al-Fazārī with horsemen of [1502]
Ghaṭafān raided the milch camels of the Messenger of God at al-Ghābah.[188] Tending them were a man of the Banū Ghifār[189] and his wife. They killed the man and carried off the woman with the camels.

The Expedition to Dhū Qarad

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah, 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, and someone whom I do not doubt—'Ubaydallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik (each of whom transmitted part of the report about the expedition to Dhū Qarad): The first person to know about them[190] was Salamah b.

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186. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VI, 173–74, locates 'Usfān at two stages or 33 Arab miles from Mecca on the road to Medina. The name is preserved by a modern town about 50 miles northwest of Mecca.

187. Kurā' al-Ghamīm was a mountain on the edge of a lava field eight miles from 'Usfān; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VII, 226.

188. For al-Ghābah, see note 73, above. Parallels: W, II, 537–49; IH, III, 281–89 (tr. Guillaume, 486–90).

189. The Banū Ghifār, a subdivision of the Banū Ḍamrah b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah, lived in the Ḥijāz between Mecca and Medina. They became allies of the Muslims and eventually embraced Islam. Some of them must have settled within Medina. Cf. p. 5, above, where Muḥammad is said to have left Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭah al-Ghifārī in charge of Medina during his absence. See *EI*², s.v. Ghifār.

190. I.e., the raiding party from Ghaṭafān mentioned in the previous paragraph.

'Amr b. al-Akwa' al-Aslamī.[191] He set out for al-Ghābah early in the morning, with his bow and arrows suspended from his shoulder, accompanied by a slave of Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh.[192]

However, the account of this expedition of the Messenger of God from Salamah b. al-Akwa' [himself dates it] after his return to Medina from Mecca in the Year of al-Ḥudaybiyah.[193] If that is correct, the events narrated on the authority of Salamah b. al-Akwa' must have taken place either in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of A.H. 6 or in the beginning of A.H. 7, because the return of the Messenger of God from Mecca to Medina in the Year of al-Ḥudaybiyah took place in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of A.H. 6. Thus, nearly six months separate the date given by Ibn Isḥāq for the expedition to Dhū al-Qarad and the date transmitted from Salamah b. al-Akwa'.

The account of Salamah b. al-Akwa' [is as follows]. According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā[194]—Abū 'Āmir al-'Aqadī[195]—'Ikrimah b. 'Ammār al-Yamāmī[196]—Iyās b. Salamah[197]—his father [Salamah b. al-Akwa'], who said: We returned to Medina with the Messenger of God—that is, after the peace of al-Ḥudaybiyah. The Mes-
[1503] senger of God sent out his camels with Rabāḥ, the slave of the Messenger of God, and I went out with him with a horse belonging to Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh. When we woke up in the morning, we saw that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Uyaynah had raided the camels of the Messenger of God, driving off all of them and killing their herdsman. I said: "Rabāḥ, take this horse and get to Ṭalḥah. Tell the

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191. Salamah is more frequently called "Ibn al-Akwa'," after his grandfather's nickname ("having a prominent or deformed wrist"). Known for his bravery, Salamah died in 74/693–94 when he was about eighty. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 150–52.

192. The reading of ed. Cairo, "Ṭalḥah b. 'Abdallāh," is probably a misprint. At I, 1507, ed. Cairo agrees with ed. Leiden in reading "Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh."

193. In accordance with the custom of naming years after their most important event, A.H. 6 came to be known as the Year of al-Ḥudaybiyah, after the episode narrated at pp. 67 ff., below.

194. Al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā al-Jurjānī died in 263/876 in his eighties. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 324–25.

195. Abū 'Āmir 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Amr al-'Aqadī died in 204 or 205/819–21. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 409–10.

196. 'Ikrimah b. 'Ammār al-'Ijlī Abū 'Ammār al-Yamāmī was born in al-Baṣrah and died in 159/775–76. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 261–63.

197. Iyās b. Salamah b. al-Akwa' al-Aslamī Abū Salamah was born in Medina and died there in 119/737 at the age of seventy-seven. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 388–89.

Messenger of God that the polytheists have raided his camels." Standing on a hill, I faced Medina and shouted, "A raid!"[198] three times. Then I set out after the enemy, shooting arrows at them and saying these *rajaz* verses:

I am Ibn al-Akwa'!
Today is the day for the mean [to receive destruction].[199]

By God, I kept shooting at them and hitting their riding animals. Whenever one of their horsemen came back toward me, I would go to a tree, sit beneath it, and shoot at him and hit his mount. Whenever the mountain [track] narrowed and they went into a narrow place, I would climb the mountain and pelt them with stones. I kept doing this, by God, until I had set behind me every one of the Messenger of God's camels that God had created and they had left me free to do as I pleased with them. They had cast off more than thirty spears and thirty cloaks to lighten themselves, and I placed stones to mark everything they cast off so that the Messenger of God and his companions would notice it. Finally they came to a narrow place on a pass, and 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn b. [1504]
Badr came to them bringing help. They sat down for a midmorning meal, and I sat down on a ridge above them. 'Uyaynah looked and said, "What is it I see?" They said: "This fellow has given us trouble. By God, he never left us since dawn, shooting at us until he rescued everything that was in our hands." 'Uyaynah said, "Four of you get up and attack him." Four of them made for me. When they came within speaking range, I said, "Do you recognize me?" "Who are you?" they asked. I said: "Salamah b. al-Akwa'! By Him who has honored Muḥammad, I will overtake every one of you that I pursue, but none shall pursue me and overtake me." One of them said, "I don't think so!"

They went back, and I did not leave my place until I saw the horsemen of the Messenger of God coming through the trees. The

198. Arabic: *yā ṣabāḥāh*, literally, "O my morning!" or "O what a morning!" See Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1642, for the idiom.

199. Arabic: *al-yawmu yawmu l-ruḍḍa'i*, literally, "today is the day of the ones who suck." In pre-Islamic Arab folklore one sign of stinginess (one of the lowest of vices in Bedouin society) was for a man to suck the teats of his milch camel rather than milk it, so that the sound of milk streaming into the bucket would not attract guests. See Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1098.

first of them was al-Akhram al-Asadī; following him came Abū Qatādah al-Anṣārī, and after him was al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad al-Kindī.[200] I took hold of the rein of al-Akhram's horse and said: "Akhram, the men are few. Be on guard against them; don't let them cut you off before the Messenger of God reaches us with his companions." Al-Akhram said, "Salamah, if you believe in God and the Last Day and know that Paradise is real and that the Fire is real, do not stand between me and martyrdom!"

I let him go. He and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Uyaynah met. Al-Akhram hamstrung 'Abd al-Raḥmān's horse, but 'Abd al-Raḥmān
[1505] thrust at him with a spear and killed him. 'Abd al-Raḥmān then shifted onto his horse. Abū Qatādah overtook 'Abd al-Raḥmān and thrust at him and killed him. 'Abd al-Raḥmān had hamstrung Abū Qatādah's horse, so Abū Qatādah shifted onto al-Akhram's horse. They left in flight.

According to Salamah: By Him who honored Muḥammad, I followed them, running on foot until I could not see any of Muḥammad's companions behind me, or even their dust. Before sunset they turned aside into a canyon called Dhū Qarad where there was water to drink, for they were thirsty. They saw me running after them, and I drove them away so that they tasted not a drop of it. Then they went up into the mountain trail of Dhū Athīr. One of them turned back to attack me, and I shot him with an arrow that landed in his shoulder blade. I said, "Take that!":[201]

I am Ibn al-Akwa'!
Today is the day for the mean [to receive destruction].

He said, "My al-Akwa' of early this morning?" "Yes," I said, "you enemy of your own soul!" Then I saw two horses on the trail, and I led them back toward the Messenger of God. My uncle 'Āmir met me after dark with a skin of watered milk and one of water. I made my ablutions, prayed, and drank; then I came to the Messenger of

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200. He was also called al-Miqdād b. 'Amr; cf. IH, III, 282 (tr. Guillaume, 487). See *EI*², s.v. al-Miqdād b. 'Amr.

201. We should follow ed. Cairo in reading the words "Take that!" as part of the verse, which would then form a complete hemistich of *rajaz* meter: *khudhhā wa_na_bnu_l-'akwa'ī*. However, on p. 48, below, the same verse is introduced with the words "Take that from me" (*khudhhā minnī*), which could not form part of the verse metrically.

God, who was at the watering place from which I had driven them at Dhū Qarad. Behold, the Messenger of God had taken the camels [1506] I had rescued from the enemy and each spear and cloak. Bilāl[202] had slaughtered a female camel from the ones I had rescued from the foe and was roasting some of its liver and hump for the Messenger of God. I said, "Messenger of God, let me choose a hundred men and follow the enemy, so that not one of them shall remain." The Messenger of God laughed until his back teeth became visible and could be clearly seen [in the light of the fire];[203] then he said, "Would you do it?" I said, "Yes, by Him who has honored you!" The next morning the Messenger of God said, "Now they are being received as guests in the country of Ghaṭafān."

A man then came from Ghaṭafān and said that so and so "slaughtered a camel for them. When they had stripped off its skin, they saw dust; so they said, 'The enemy is upon you,' and left fleeing."

The next morning the Messenger of God said, "Our best horseman today has been Abū Qatādah, and our best foot soldier has been Salamah b. al-Akwa'." The Messenger of God gave me the share of a horseman and the share of a footman. Then the Messenger of God mounted me behind him on al-'Aḍbā'.[204] While we were traveling, a footman of the Anṣār who was unbeatable at running began saying, "Is there no one who will race?" He said this several times. When I heard him, I said, "Do you not honor a generous man and fear a noble man?" He said, "No, unless he be the Messenger of God." So I said: "Messenger of God, you are as dear to me as my father and mother! Permit me to race the man." "If you wish," he said. So I leaped down and ran. I held back for one

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202. Bilāl, an Ethiopian slave, tortured by his pagan master for accepting Islam, was rescued by Abū Bakr and became the first muezzin of the Muslim community. See *EI*², s.v. Bilāl b. Rabāḥ.

203. Arabic *nawājidh* could be used for the wisdom teeth, all the molars, or the teeth next to the eye teeth. The lexicographers were concerned about the possibility of Muḥammad's laughing immoderately. See the discussion in Lane, *Lexicon*, VIII, 2769. Instead of ed. Leiden's (*badā aw bānat nawājidhuhū*) "his back teeth became visible or could be clearly seen," I translate ed. Cairo (*badā wa-qad bānat nawājidhuhā* [*fī ḍaw'i al-nār*]). The bracketed words are from the parallel text in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (3:1433–41).

204. Al-'Aḍbā' ("slit-eared," or "short in the foreleg") was Muḥammad's she-camel; see Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 2071.

or two hills,[205] then I caught up with him and slapped him be-
[1507] tween the shoulders. "I've beaten you, by God," I said. "I don't think so!" he said.[206] So I beat him back to Medina. We stayed there only three nights before setting out for Khaybar.[207]

Resumption of the account of Ibn Isḥāq:[208] Salamah b. al-Akwa' was accompanied by a slave of Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, and with the slave was a horse of Ṭalḥah's that he was leading. When Salamah went up into al-Wadā' Pass,[209] he saw some of [the raiders'] horsemen; so he looked in the direction of Sal' and shouted, "A raid!" Then he set out at full speed after the enemy—he was like a beast of prey. Having overtaken them, he began to turn them away with arrows. When he shot, he would say, "Take that from me"—

I am Ibn al-Akwa'!
Today is the day for the mean [to receive destruction].

Whenever the horses came toward him, he fled and attacked them from the side. Whenever he could shoot, he would shoot and say, "Take that"—

I am Ibn al-Akwa'!
Today is the day for the mean [to receive destruction].

One of their men said, "Our little al-Akwa' it is at the beginning of the day!"[210]

When a report of Ibn al-Akwa''s shout reached the Messenger of God, he sounded the alarm in Medina. The horsemen all came following one another to the Messenger of God. The first of the

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205. The text in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim is fuller: "I held myself back from him for one hill or two to save my breath; then I ran on his heels. I held back from him for one hill or two; then I sprinted and overtook him"; see ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CCLVI.

206. Following ed. Leiden (*in aẓunnu*); ed. Cairo reads *innī aẓunnu*, "I think so."

207. See pp. 116–24, below, for an account of the expedition to Khaybar in A.H. 7.

208. This continues the report begun at al-Ṭabarī, I, 1502, above.

209. *Thaniyyat al-Wadā'* ["Farewell Pass"] was the pass over which the road to Mecca left Medina. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 25; photograph in Hamidullah, *Battlefields*, 10.

210. The text is uncertain. Ed. Leiden reads, *ukayyi'unā huwwa awwala l-nahāri*, which is what I have translated. This seems to be a contemptuous rejoinder, using the diminutive form of the name *al-Akwa'*. Ed. Cairo has a different reading, which also puns on the name: *a-wa-yakī'unā huwwa* . . . (and will he sting, or butt, us . . .).

horsemen to reach him was al-Miqdād b. 'Amr. The first horseman to stand by the Messenger of God after al-Miqdād from the Anṣār was 'Abbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh b. Zughbah b. Za'ūrā (a member of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal); then came Sa'd b. Zayd (one of the Banū Ka'b b. 'Abd al-Ashhal), Usayd b. Ẓuhayr (a member of the [1508] Banū Ḥārithah b. al-Ḥārith, but there is uncertainty about him), 'Ukkāshah b. Miḥṣan (a member of the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah), Muḥriz b. Naḍlah (a member of the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah), Abū Qatādah al-Ḥārith b. Rib'ī (a member of the Banū Salimah), and Abū 'Ayyāsh (that is, 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. Ṣāmit, a member of the Banū Zurayq). When they had gathered round the Messenger of God, he appointed Sa'd b. Zayd as their commander and said, "Set out in pursuit of the enemy until I catch up to you with men."

According to a report that has come to me from members of the Banū Zurayq, the Messenger of God said to Abū 'Ayyāsh, "Abū 'Ayyāsh, why don't you give this horse to a man who rides better than you, so that he can overtake the enemy?"

According to Abū 'Ayyāsh, who said: I replied, "Messenger of God, I am the best rider among the people!" Then I struck the horse, but I swear to God that before it had run fifty cubits it threw me. So I marveled about how the Messenger of God had said, 'Why don't you give it to someone who rides better than you?' and about how I had said that I was the best rider among the people."

Some of the Banū Zurayq asserted that the Messenger of God gave Abū 'Ayyāsh's horse to Mu'ādh b. Mā'iṣ (or 'Ā'idh b. Mā'iṣ) b. Qays b. Khaldah, who was an eighth man. Some people count Salamah b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa' as one of the eight and reject Usayd b. Ẓuhayr of the Banū Ḥārithah; however, Salamah on that day was not a horsemen: he was the first to overtake the enemy on foot. So the horsemen set forth in pursuit of the enemy and met them.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq— [1509] 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: The first horseman to overtake the enemy was Muḥriz b. Naḍlah of the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah (Muḥriz was called al-Akhram and was also called Qumayr). When the alarm was sounded, a horse belonging to Maḥmūd b. Maslamah started running around in its enclosure when it heard the neighing of the horses—it was a specially tended, well-rested horse. Some of the women of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal said [to him] when he saw the horse running around in the enclosure,

dragging the trunk of the palm tree to which it had been tied, "Qumayr, would you like to ride this horse—you see how it is—and catch up with the Messenger of God and with the Muslims?" He said yes; so they gave it to him, and he set out on it. The horse being rested, it did not cease to outstrip the [other] horses until it reached the enemy. Muḥriz stopped before them and said, "Halt, you sons of vile slave women, until the Emigrants and Anṣār riding after you catch up with you!" One of them attacked him and killed him. The horse wheeled round, and they could not stop it until it stood by its pen among the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal. No other Muslims were killed. The name of Maḥmūd's horse was Dhū al-Limmah.[211]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—someone whom people do not doubt—'Ubaydallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik al-Anṣārī: Muḥriz in fact was riding a horse called al-
[1510] Janāḥ[212] belonging to 'Ukkāshah b. Miḥṣan. When Muḥriz was killed, al-Janāḥ was taken as booty. When the horsemen met, Abū Qatādah al-Ḥārith b. Rib'ī of the Banū Salimah killed Ḥabīb b. 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn, covered him with his cloak, and rejoined the men. When the Messenger of God approached with the Muslims, there was Ḥabīb covered with Abū Qatādah's cloak. The people exclaimed, "Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return!"[213] and said that Abū Qatādah had been killed; but the Messenger of God said, "It is not Abū Qatādah, but someone killed by Abū Qatādah; he has put his cloak on him so that you will know that he did it." 'Ukkāshah b. Miḥṣan overtook Awbār and his son 'Amr b. Awbār, who were riding on one camel, and ran them through with a spear, killing both of them. They rescued some of the camels. The Messenger of God traveled until he halted at the mountain of Dhū Qarad, and the people came to him in groups. The Messenger of God made camp and stayed there a day and a night. Salamah b. al-Akwa' said to him, "Messenger of God, if you sent me out with a hundred men, I would rescue the remaining animals and seize the enemy by their necks." The Messenger of God said, as I have been informed, "They are now being given

211. *Dhū al-limmah* means "having a long lock of hair."
212. *Al-janāḥ* means "wing."
213. Qur'ān 2:156, traditionally said in times of misfortune.

their evening drink in [the territory of] Ghaṭafān." The Messenger of God divided the meat of one camel among each hundred of his companions. They stayed there, and then the Messenger of God returned to Medina. He stayed there part of Jumādā II and Rajab; then he raided the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq[214] [clan] of Khuzā'ah in Sha'bān of the year 6.[215]

The Expedition against the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq[216] [1511]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah b. al-Faḍl and 'Alī b. Mujāhid[217]—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah, 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān. [Ibn Isḥāq] said, "Each transmitted to me part of the report on the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq." They said: Word reached the Messenger of God that the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq were gathering against him under the leadership of al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār. (Al-Ḥārith was the father of Juwayriyah bt. al-Ḥārith, [who subsequently became] the wife of the Messenger of God.) When the Messenger of God heard about them, he set out toward them and met them at one of their watering places called al-Muraysī', near Qudayd toward the coast. The people advanced toward each other and fought fiercely. God put the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq to flight and killed some of them. He gave their children, women, and property to the Messenger of God as booty—God gave them to him as spoil. A Muslim named Hishām b. Ṣubābah from the Banū Kalb b. 'Awf b. 'Āmir b. Layth b. Bakr was wounded by one of the Anṣār who was a close kinsman of 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit; he mortally wounded him by mistake, thinking he was one of the enemy.

While the people were at that watering place, they brought their animals down to drink. With 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was a hired man of his from the Banū Ghifār named Jahjāh b. Sa'īd, leading his

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214. The name is given sometimes in its full form of Banū al-Muṣṭaliq and sometimes in the abbreviated form of Balmuṣṭaliq. I have normalized to the longer form throughout.

215. Sha'bān of A.H. 6 began on 16 December 627.

216. Parallels: W, I, 404–II, 426 (dated A.H. 5, see p. 41, above); IH, III, 289–96 (tr. Guillaume, 490–93).

217. 'Alī b. Mujāhid b. Muslim al-Rāzī, a historian and traditionist, was born in 100/718 in Rayy and died in 182/798. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 377–78; *GAS*, I, 312.

horse. Jahjāh and Sinān al-Juhanī (a confederate of the Banū 'Awf
[1512] b. al-Khazraj) began crowding each other at the watering place and fought. Al-Juhanī shouted, "People of the Anṣār!" and Jahjāh shouted, "People of the Emigrants!" 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, who had with him a band of his fellow tribesmen including the young lad Zayd b. Arqam,[218] became angry and said: "Have they really done it? They have tried to outrank us and outnumber us in our own lands. By God, the proverb, 'Fatten your dog and he will eat you up!' fits us and [the wearers of] the *jilbāb*[219] of Quraysh to a tee. By God, if we go back to Medina, those who are stronger will drive out the weaker from it."[220] Then he turned to his tribesmen who were with him and said: "This is what you have done to yourselves! You allowed them to settle in your lands and divided your wealth with them. Had you kept from them what you had, by God they would have moved to lands other than yours."

Zayd b. Arqam heard this and took it to the Messenger of God—this when the Messenger of God had finished with his enemies—and he gave him a report. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who was with him, said, "Messenger of God, order 'Abbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh to kill him." The Messenger of God said: "'Umar, how will it be if people start saying that Muḥammad kills his companions? No, announce our departure instead." (It was at an hour when the Messenger of God usually did not break camp.) So the people departed.

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218. Zayd b. Arqam b. Zayd b. Qays b. al-Nu'mān b. Mālik b. al-Agharr b. Tha'labah b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj al-Anṣārī participated in seventeen expeditions with the Prophet. He later emigrated to al-Kūfah and fought on 'Alī's side at Ṣiffīn. He died between 65/784 and 68/688. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 394–95.

219. Arabic: *jalābīb Quraysh* "the shirts (or coarse waist wrappers) of Quraysh." The origin of this apparently derogatory epithet for the Emigrants remains obscure; none of the older Arabic dictionaries explains it. Abū Ḍharr's note printed in most editions of IH, reads: "An epithet that the polytheists applied to the Emigrants who had become Muslims. *Jalālīb* (plural of *jilbāb*) originally means 'coarse waist wrappers.' They used to wrap themselves in them, and so they acquired this nickname." One may see it as a reference to poverty or simply to distinctive dress. At p. 59, below, 'Ā'ishah uses the word to designate the outer garment in which she wrapped herself and lay down while waiting for the departed caravan to notice her absence. See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CLXVII. W. Arafat has argued that the word may be derived from the verb *jalaba* (to import) and may therefore mean "the imported ones." See the note in his article, "A Controversial Incident in the Life of Ḥassān b. Thābit," p. 197 n. 4.

220. Qur'ān 63:8 quotes these words.

Now when 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl heard that Zayd b. Arqam had informed the Messenger of God of what he had heard him say, he went to the Messenger of God and swore, "By God, I did not say what he said, neither did I speak of it." 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy was a great noble among his people; so those who were present with the Messenger of God—companions of his from the Anṣār—said, "Messenger of God, perhaps the lad was mistaken in his [1513] report and did not remember exactly what the man said." They said this out of affection for 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy and to defend him.

After the Messenger of God had mounted and set out, Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr met him and, having greeted him as a prophet and wished him peace, said, "Messenger of God, you have set out at an unheard-of hour at which you usually do not set out." The Messenger of God said to him, "Have you not heard what your companion has said?" "Which companion, Messenger of God?" he asked. "'Abdallāh b. Ubayy," he answered. "And what did he say?" he asked. He replied, "He said that if he returned to Medina, those who are stronger would drive out the weaker from it." Usayd said: "You, by God, O Messenger of God, will drive him out, if you wish. He is the weak one by God, and you are the strong." Then he said: "Messenger of God, be gentle with him. By God, God caused you to arrive at the very moment when his people were stringing precious stones to make him a crown; so he thinks that you deprived him of a kingdom."

The Messenger of God traveled all that day until evening with the people, all that night until dawn, and the first part of the day until the sun hurt them; then he halted with them, and they fell asleep as soon as they felt the touch of the ground. He did this only to distract them from the talk that had taken place the day before—what 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy had said. In the afternoon he set out with the people, marched through the Ḥijāz, and halted at a watering place in the Ḥijāz called Naq'ā', a little above al-Naqī'.[221] When the Messenger of God set out in the afternoon, a strong wind blew on the people, hurting them, and they became fearful about it. The Messenger of God said, "Do not be afraid: it blew only because of the death of one of the great men among the

221. The place is mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam a-buldān*, VIII, 309, as belonging to the tribe of Muzaynah.

[1514] unbelievers." When they reached Medina, they found that Rifā'ah b. Zayd b. al-Tābūt, one of the Banū Qaynuqā', a great man among the Jews and a cave of refuge to the hypocrites, had died on that day. The sura in which God mentions the hypocrites ["When the hypocrites come to you. . . ."] was revealed concerning 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl and those of like mind.[222] When this sura was revealed, the Messenger of God took hold of Zayd b. Arqam's ear and said, "This is he whose ear God has confirmed."[223]

According to Abū Kurayb[224]—Yaḥyā b. Ādam[225]—Isrā'īl[226]—Abū Isḥāq[227]—Zayd b. Arqam, who said: I went out with my paternal uncle on an expedition, and I heard 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl saying to his companions: "Do not spend on those who are with the Messenger of God. By God, if we return to Medina, the stronger will drive out the weaker from it."[228] I mentioned this to my uncle, and my uncle mentioned it to the Messenger of God. The latter sent for me; I spoke to him, and he sent to 'Abdallāh and his companions, who swore that they had not said it. The Messenger of God took me to be lying and believed him. I felt grief such as I never had felt, and I sat in the tent. My uncle asked, "What did you intend, acting so that the Messenger of God deemed you to be lying and hated your action?" Then God revealed [the sura that begins], "When the hypocrites come to you." The Messenger of God sent to me and recited it; then he said, "God has confirmed your truthfulness, Zayd."

Resumption of the account of Ibn Isḥāq: 'Abdallāh, the son of

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222. Qur'ān, Sura 63, entitled *al-Munāfiqūn*, "The Hypocrites."

223. I.e., God has confirmed the truth of what he said he heard. Cf. ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. DLXIII.

224. Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-'Alā' b. Kurayb al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī died in 248/862. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 385–86.

225. Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. Ādam b. Sulaymān al-Umawī al-Aḥwal was born ca. 140/757 in al-Kūfah and died in 203/818. He was a respected scholar of *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, and Qur'ān. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 175–76; *GAS*, I, 520.

226. Isrā'īl b. Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī al-Kūfī was born in 100/718 and died in 162/778. See al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, VII, 20–25; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 261–63.

227. Abū Isḥāq 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh al-Hamdānī, the grandfather of Isrā'īl b. Yūnus, died between 126 and 129/743–47 at the age of ninety-six. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 261–63.

228. See note 220, above.

'Abdallāh b. Ubayy, got word of what had happened involving his father.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq— [1515]
'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl came to the Messenger of God and said: "Messenger of God, I have been told that you want to kill 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy because of what has been reported to you concerning him. If you are going to do it, command me to do it and I will bring you his head. By God, al-Khazraj know that there has never been among them a man more dutiful to his father than I. I am afraid that you may order someone else to do it and that he may kill him; and then my soul will not allow me to look on the slayer of 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy walking among the people: I would kill him, killing a believer to avenge an unbeliever, and thereby enter the Fire [of Hell]." The Messenger of God said, "No, we will be gentle with him and associate with him on friendly terms as long as he stays with us." Thus, after that day whenever he did anything objectionable, it was his own tribesmen who reproved him, corrected him, censured him, and threatened him. When word of how they were behaving reached the Messenger of God, he said to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: "What do you think, 'Umar? By God, had I killed him the day you ordered me to kill him, prominent men would have been upset, who, if I ordered them today to kill him, would do so." 'Umar said, "Now by God I know that what the Messenger of God ordered had more of a blessing in it that what I would have ordered."

Miqyas b. Ṣubābah came from Mecca, pretending to have become a Muslim, and said: "Messenger of God, I have come to you as a Muslim. I have come to seek blood money[229] for my brother, who was killed by mistake." The Messenger of God ordered him to be paid blood money for his brother Hishām b. Ṣubābah. He stayed briefly with the Messenger of God; then he attacked his

229. Arabic *diyah*: a specified amount of money or goods due in cases of homicide or other injuries to physical health unjustly committed upon the person of another. The payment for homicide was normally 100 camels, payable to the aggrieved family. The payment terminated all further vengeance. See *EI*², s.v. Diya.

brother's slayer, killed him, and left for Mecca as an apostate. He said while he was traveling:[230]

[1516] It has sated my soul that he has spent the night laid to rest in
the valley,
with blood from his neck veins staining his two garments.
Before I killed him, soul's griefs
assailed me and forbade me the smoothness of beds.
With him I discharged my vengeance; I took my retaliation,
and was the first to return to the idols.
By [killing] him I took vengeance by force,[231] and I made to pay
blood money for him
the princes of the Banū al-Najjār and the lords of Fāri'.[232]

Miqyas b. Ṣubābah also said:

I rained down on him a blow that settled accounts: because of it
there was a dripping
of the belly's fresh blood that overspread him and flowed
away.
And I said, as death came over his features,
"You cannot be safe from the Banū Bakr when they are
wronged!"

Many of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq were wounded on that day. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib killed two of them: Mālik and his son. The Messenger of God took many captives, and they were divided among all the Muslims. Juwayriyah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār, [who became] the wife of the Prophet, was one of the captives.

[1517] According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr—'Urwah—the Prophet's wife 'Ā'ishah, who said: When the Messenger of God divided the captives of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, Juwayriyah bt. al-Ḥārith fell to the share of Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās (or to a cousin of his), and

230. Ed. Cairo: "He said in a poem," reading *fī shi'r*, for ed. Leiden's *fī safarihī*. Parallel text of this and the following poem with variants: W, I, 408; IH, III, 293–94 (tr. Guillaume, 492).

231. Thus ed. Leiden (*tha'artu bihī qahran*); al-Wāqidī, Ibn Hishām, and ed. Cairo read *fihran* ("I avenged Fihr with him"). Since Fihr was one of the early members of Quraysh, the line would then refer to exacting vengeance for his brother, a member of Quraysh, from the Banū al-Najjār of Medina.

232. Fāri' was one of the fortresses of Medina; see p. 22, above.

she contracted with him for her freedom.[233] She was a sweet, beautiful woman who captivated anyone who looked at her. She came to the Messenger of God seeking his help in the matter of her contract. By God, as soon as I saw her at the door of my chamber, I took a dislike to her, and I knew that he would see in her what I saw. She went before him and said, "Messenger of God, I am Juwayriyah, the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār, the chief of his tribesmen. You can see what misfortune has befallen me. I have fallen to the share of Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās (or his cousin) and have contracted with him for my freedom. I have come to you to ask your aid with my contract." He said to her, "Would you like something better than that?" She said, "What is it, Messenger of God?" He said, "I will pay your contract and marry you." She said, "Yes, Messenger of God," and he said, "I do so." When the news got out to the people that the Messenger of God had married Juwayriyah bt. al-Ḥārith, they said, "Relatives by marriage of the Messenger of God!" and they set free those in their possession. When he married her, a hundred families of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq were freed. I know of no woman who was a greater blessing to her people than she.

An Account of the Lie[234]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said: The Messenger of God then set out on his way back from that journey (according to what my father Isḥāq [b. Yasār] transmitted to me from al-Zuhrī—'Urwah—'Ā'ishah). When he was near Medina ('Ā'ishah was along on that journey of his), the authors of the [1518]
lie said about her what they said.

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233. Arabic *kātabathu 'alā nafsihā*: she made a contract with him (written or otherwise) that she would pay a certain sum as the price of herself and be free on payment of it (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, VII, 2590). The practice (called *mukātabah*, "manumission by contract") is recommended by the Qur'ān (24:33) for any slave who wishes it. Cf. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 42f., 129f.; and *EI*², I, 30, s.v. 'Abd.

234. Parallels: W, II, 426–40; IH, III, 297–307 (tr. Guillaume, 493–99); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ed. Boulaq), V, 52; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XVIII, 68–77. Cf. Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation*, 94–95; and Spellberg, *Politics, Gender, and the Islamic Past*, 61–99.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—'Alqamah b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab,[235] 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah[236] (al-Zuhrī said, "Each transmitted to me part of this account, some remembering more of it than others, and I have assembled for you everything they transmitted to me").

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr—his father—'Ā'ishah; also, [Muḥammad b. Isḥāq]—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī—'Amrah bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān[237]—'Ā'ishah ([Muḥammad b. Isḥāq] said: "The report of each has been assembled in the account of 'Ā'ishah's story about herself, when the authors of the lie said about her what they said. Each contributed to her account as transmitted from all these people. Some
[1519] of them relate what others do not. Each was a reliable informant concerning her, and each related about her what he had heard.")

'Ā'ishah said: Whenever the Messenger of God planned a journey, he had his wives draw lots among themselves; whichever one's lot came out, he took her with him. When the raid on the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq took place, he had his wives draw lots as he used to do; my lot came out over theirs, and the Messenger of God took me along. Women in those days used to eat only enough to stay alive; they were not bloated with meat so as to become heavy. While my camel was being saddled, I would sit in my litter; then the men who were to bind my litter onto my camel would come and carry me: they would take hold of the bottom of the litter, lift it, and place me on the back of the camel. Then they would tie it with its ropes, take hold of the camel's head, and set out with it.

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235. Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab b. Ḥazn al-Makhzūmī was born in 13/634 and died in 94/713 in Medina. He was a scholar of genealogy, history, traditions, and law and was closely connected with the caliph 'Umar. Al-Zuhrī was one of his students. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 84–88; *GAS*, I, 276.

236. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah died in the 90's/708–18. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 23–24, which quotes al-Ṭabarī's favorable opinion of him.

237. 'Amrah bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'd b. Zurārah al-Anṣāriyyah was highly regarded as a transmitter of material from 'Ā'ishah. The caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz is said to have asked for a written collection of her reports from 'Ā'ishah. She died in 98/716–17 (or later) at the age of seventy-seven. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 438–39.

When the Messenger of God had finished with his journey on that occasion, he turned back to return. When he was near Medina, he made camp and, having spent part of the night there, announced the departure. When the people had mounted, I went out to attend to a need of mine.[238] On my neck was a necklace of mine with onyx beads from Ẓafār.[239] When I was finished, it came undone from my neck without my noticing. When I returned to the encampment, I felt for it on my neck and did not find it. The people had already begun to leave. I retraced my steps to the place to which I had gone and looked for the necklace until I found it. While I was away, the men who used to saddle the camel for me came and finished saddling it. Assuming that I was in the litter as [1520] usual, they took hold of the litter, lifted it up, and tied it onto the camel, not doubting that I was in it. Then they took hold of the camel's head and set out. When I came back to camp, not a soul was there[240]—the people had departed. So I wrapped myself in my outer garment (*jilbāb*) and lay down in the place to which I had gone. I knew that if they missed me, they would return for me. By God, while I was lying down, Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal al-Sulamī passed by me—he had lagged behind away from the camp to attend to a need of his and had not spent the night with the people in camp. When he saw my form, he approached and stood near me and recognized me, for he used to see me before the curtain (*ḥijāb*) was imposed on us.[241] When he saw me, he said, "'Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return!'[242]—is it she who travels in the litter of the Messenger of God?" I was wrapped up in my garments. "What has caused you to stay behind?—may God have mercy on you!" he asked, but I did not talk to him. Then he brought the camel near and said, "Mount—may God have mercy on you!"—and he kept back from me. I mounted, and he came and took hold of the camel's head and set out with me, hastening in pursuit of the party. By God, we did not overtake them, neither

238. I.e., to relieve herself.
239. The city of Ẓafār, near Sanʿā' in Yemen (not to be confused with Ẓafār on the coast of Oman), was famous for its onyx. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, VI, 85–86.
240. Literally, "not a caller and not a responder."
241. See note 96, above.
242. See note 213, above.

was I was missed until morning. The people halted and, when they had settled down, the man came into view leading me. Then the authors of the lie said about me what they said, and the camp was disturbed; yet, by God, I knew nothing about it.

Then we came to Medina, and I immediately came down with a severe complaint. Nothing about the matter reached me, but the story reached the Messenger of God and my parents. My parents said not a word to me about it; however, I missed some of the
[1521] kindness toward me of the Messenger of God. Whenever I complained of an illness, he would be merciful to me and treat me with kindness, but he did not do so at the time of that complaint of mine, and I missed it. When he came to see me while my mother was nursing me, he would say "How is she?" and nothing more. Finally, troubled by his apparent coldness toward me, I said, "Messenger of God, I wish you would allow me to move to my mother's, so that she could nurse me." "Do what you like," he said. So I moved to my mother's, knowing nothing of what had happened, and after some twenty days I recovered from my pain.

We were Arab folk. We did not have in our houses these privies that the foreigners have; we loathed and disliked such things. Instead, we would go out into the fields of Medina. The women would go out every night to attend to their needs. One night I went out to attend to my needs along with Umm Misṭaḥ, the daughter of Abū Ruhm b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf (her mother, the maternal aunt of Abū Bakr, was the daughter of Ṣakhr b. 'Āmir b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym). By God, as she was walking with me, she tripped over her garment and said, "May Misṭaḥ stumble and fall!" I said, "By the life of God, what a bad thing to say about an Emigrant who was present at Badr!"[243] She replied, "Daughter of Abū Bakr, hasn't the news reached you?" "What news?" I asked. She told me what the authors of the lie had been saying. I asked, "Has this really happened?" "Yes," she said, "by God, it really has happened." By God, I was unable to do what I had to do. I went back and kept crying until I thought that the crying would split my liver. I said to my mother: "May God forgive you. People spoke the things they spoke and you heard what you heard, yet you mention
[1522] nothing of it to me!" She said: "Dear daughter, take it lightly. By

243. See note 91, above.

God, whenever a beautiful woman married to a man who loves her has rival wives, they always gossip about her, and people do the same."

The Messenger of God stood up among the people to preach without my knowing about it. He said: "People, why are some men hurting me regarding my family and saying falsehood about them?[244] By God, I know only good about them. People are saying this about a man about whom, by God, I know only good and who has never entered any of my apartments except in my company."

The main offense lay with 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl and some men of al-Khazraj, along with what Misṭaḥ and Ḥamnah bt. Jaḥsh had said. Ḥamnah's sister, Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, was the wife of the Messenger of God.[245] Ḥamnah therefore spread her rumors trying to hurt me for the sake of her sister Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, and I became distressed by it.

When the Messenger of God had finished his speech, Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, a member of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal,[246] said: "Messenger of God, if they belong to al-Aws, we will take care of them for you; if they belong to our brothers, al-Khazraj, give us your command. By God, they deserve to have their heads cut off!"

Sa'd b. 'Ubādah stood up—previously he was thought to be a righteous man—and said: "You lie! By God's life, their heads shall not be cut off. By God, you have said these words only because you already know that they belong to al-Khazraj; had they been your tribesmen, you would not have said it." Usayd said: "You lie, by [1523] God's life! But you are a hypocrite arguing for hypocrites." The men jumped up at each other, so that violence almost took place between the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj.

The Messenger of God descended [from the pulpit] and came in to see me. He called 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Usāmah b. Zayd and asked their advice. Usāmah spoke in praise, saying, "Messenger of God, they are your family, and we know nothing but good about them,[247] and this is lying and falsehood." As for 'Alī, he said:

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244. The pronoun "them" is in the feminine plural, indicating that "my family" is a polite way of saying "my wives."

245. IH adds: "None of his wives but she could rival me in status. As for Zaynab herself, God protected her; but Ḥamnah bt. Jaḥsh spread her rumors. . . . "

246. The Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal were a division of al-Aws.

247. As before, "them" (feminine plural) refers to Muḥammad's wives.

"Messenger of God, women are many, and you can get a replacement. Ask the slave girl; she will tell you the truth." So the Messenger of God called Barīrah to question her. 'Alī went up to her and struck her hard, saying, "Speak the truth to the Messenger of God." "By God," she said, "I know nothing but good. The only fault I ever found in 'Ā'ishah is that, when I was kneading my dough and ordered her to watch it, she fell asleep over it, and the pet sheep[248] came and ate it."

Then the Messenger of God came into my room. My parents were with me, along with a woman from the Anṣār. I was crying, and she was crying with me. Having seated himself, he praised and lauded God and then said: "'Ā'ishah, as you know, people have been saying things. Fear God, and if you have committed an evil deed such as people say, repent to God, for God accepts repentance from his servants." By God, as soon as he said that, my tears diminished, so that I felt nothing of them. I waited for my parents to reply to the Messenger of God, but they did not speak. I swear to
[1524] God, I considered myself too lowly and unimportant for God, who is mighty and exalted, to reveal a Qur'ān[249] about me to be recited in mosques and used in worship; but I hoped that the Messenger of God would see something in a dream whereby God, knowing my innocence, would refute [the accusations] about me or that he would be given a message. As for a Qur'ān to be revealed about me, by God, I considered myself too lowly for that.

When I saw that my parents did not speak, I said, "Will you not reply to the Messenger of God?" They said to me, "By God, we do not know what to reply to him." (I swear to God, I know of no family that suffered what the family of Abū Bakr suffered during those days.) When they were unable to speak on my behalf, my eyes filled with tears and I wept. "By God," I said, "I will never repent to God of that which you have spoken of. By God, if I confess to what people are saying, so that you believe me—and God knows that I am innocent of it—I shall be saying what did not

248. Arabic: *dājin*, an animal (usually a sheep or goat) that one keeps in one's house.

249. I.e., a Qur'ānic revelation, a single passage of Qur'ān to be recited in liturgical worship; see Bell and Watt, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 135–36.

happen; and if I deny what you are saying, you will not believe me." Then I tried to recall the name of Jacob, but I could not remember it; instead, I said: "As the father of Joseph said, 'Comely patience! And God it is whose help is to be sought in that which you describe.'"[250]

By God, before the Messenger of God left the place where he was sitting, there came over him from God what used to come over him. They covered him with his garment and set a leather cushion under his head. As for me, when I saw that happen, by God I did not become very frightened or troubled, for I knew that I was innocent and that God would not wrong me. As for my parents, by the One who holds 'Ā'ishah's soul in His hand, as soon as the Messenger of God came to, I thought their souls would depart for fear that confirmation of what people had said would come from God.

The Messenger of God came to and sat up. [Drops of sweat] were falling from him like silver beads on a day of hail. He began wiping the perspiration from his brow and said: "Rejoice, 'Ā'ishah! God has revealed your innocence." I said, "To God's praise and your[251] blame!" Then he went out to the people and preached to them. He recited to them the Qur'ān that God had revealed concerning me. He gave orders concerning Misṭaḥ b. Uthāthah, Ḥassān b. Thābit, and Ḥamnah bt. Jaḥsh (they were among those who had spoken evil openly) and they received their prescribed flogging.[252] [1525]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—his father [Isḥāq b. Yasār]—some men of the Banū al-Najjār: Umm Ayyūb, the wife of Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd, said to her husband,

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250. Qur'ān 12:18.

251. The pronoun is plural.

252. Literally: "they were beaten with their *ḥadd*." *Ḥadd*, meaning "hindrance, impediment, limit, boundary," is used in the plural in the Qur'ān to designate the restrictive ordinances of God (*ḥudūd Allāh*). In Islamic jurisprudence, *ḥadd* is a technical term for the punishment of certain acts that have been forbidden or sanctioned by punishments in the Qur'ān and have thereby become crimes against religion. These are unlawful intercourse (*zinā*), false accusation of unlawful intercourse (*qadhf*), wine drinking (*khamr*), theft (*sariqah*), and highway robbery (*qaṭ' al-ṭarīq*). The punishment for false accusation of unlawful intercourse was set at eighty lashes by Qur'ān 24:4, which some say was revealed on this occasion (see al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XVIII, 59–60, ad loc.). See *EI*², s. vv. Ḥadd, Ḳadhf; Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 179.

"Abū Ayyūb, don't you hear what people are saying about 'Ā'ishah?" "Yes," he replied, "and it is falsehood. Would you, Umm Ayyūb, do such a thing?" She said, "No, by God, I wouldn't do it." "And 'Ā'ishah," he said, "is better than you, by God!"

When the Qur'ān was revealed, God mentioned the authors of the slander who spoke their evil, saying: "Those who came with the slander are a band of you"—and the rest of the verse.[253] This refers to Ḥassān b. Thābit and his companions who said what they said. Then God said, "Why, when you heard it, did the believers, men and women, not of their own account think good thoughts?"—and the rest of the verse.[254] That is, [why did they not speak] as Abū Ayyūb and his wife spoke? Then He said: "When you received it on your tongues"—and the rest of the verse.[255]

When this was revealed concerning 'Ā'ishah and those who had said what they said about her, Abū Bakr, who had been supporting Misṭaḥ because of his close kinship with him and his poverty, [1526] said, "By God, I will never support Misṭaḥ with anything or help him in any way after what he said about 'Ā'ishah, making us suffer as we did." Then God revealed concerning this: "Let not those of you who possess bounty and plenty swear off giving kinsmen"—and the rest of the verse.[256] Abū Bakr therefore said, "By God, I want God to forgive me"—and he restored Misṭaḥ's support that he had been paying him, saying, "By God, I will never withdraw it from him."

Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'aṭṭal advanced on Ḥassān b. Thābit with a sword when he learned what Ḥassān was saying about him. In addition, Ḥassān had composed poetry with insinuations against

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253. Qur'ān 24:11: "Those who came with the slander are a band of you; do not reckon it evil for you; rather it is good for you. Every man of them shall have the sin that he has earned charged to him; and whosoever of them took upon himself the greater part of it, him there awaits a mighty chastisement."

254. Qur'ān 24:12, which continues: "and say, 'This is a manifest calumny'?"

255. Qur'ān 24:15: "When you received it on your tongues, and were speaking with your mouths that whereof you had no knowledge, and reckoned it a light thing, and with God it was a mighty thing."

256. Qur'ān 24:22: "Let not those of you who possess bounty and plenty swear off giving kinsmen and the poor and those who emigrate in the way of God; but let them pardon and forgive. Do you not wish that God should forgive you? God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate."

Ibn al-Mu'aṭṭal and the Arabs of Muḍar[257] who had become Muslims. He had said:[258]

The [wearers of the] *jilbāb*[259] have become strong and
numerous,
and Ibn al-Furay'ah[260] has become [as alone as] an
[ostrich's] egg in the land.[261]
Bereft of her son is the mother of the one whose companion I
become,[262]
or [of anyone who] becomes caught in the claws of a lion.
For my victim, the one whom I take early in the morning,
no blood money shall be paid and no revenge [shall be
taken].
Not even the sea, when the wind blows from the north,
so that it becomes heaped up and spatters the shore with
foam,
Is more overwhelming ever than I, when you see me [1527]
amaze with [my] rage[263] like a cloud that brings amazing
[amounts of] hail.

Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'aṭṭal therefore advanced on him with a sword, struck him, and said (according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq):

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257. I.e., the Emigrants of Quraysh. Muḍar was a large grouping of North Arabian tribes including Qays 'Aylān, Hudhayl, Khuzaymah, Asad, Kinānah, Quraysh, Ḍabbah, and Tamīm. See *EI*[1] Suppl., s.v. Rabī'a and Muḍar. Ḥassān b. Thābit belonged to al-Khazraj of Medina.

258. Parallels: *Aghānī*, IV, 11–13 (with narrative of the circumstances of the poem's composition, variant readings, and six additional lines); *Dīwān*, I, 284–86 and II, 212–13 (twelve verses and extensive comment); W, II, 436; IH, III, 304–5. See also W. Arafat, "A Controversial Incident."

259. See note 219. An alternate reading, preferred by Arafat in his edition of the *Dīwān* is *khalābīs*, "a mixed multitude, scum."

260. I.e., Ḥassān b. Thābit, whose mother was named al-Furay'ah. Cf. *Aghānī*, IV, 2.

261. Arabic *bayḍat al-balad* is a common metaphor for isolation or insignificance, although it can also mean something precious. See Arafat, "A Controversial Incident," 197.

262. Ed. Cairo (change of vocalization): "you become."

263. The interpretation follows the suggestion in the notes to the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit concerning the meaning of *farā*, *yafrī*. See *Dīwān*, II, 212–13; Lane, *Lexicon*, VI, 2391.

Receive the sword's edge from me: I am
a young man who, when I am satirized, am no poet.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī:[264] Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās (a member of the Banū al-Ḥārith[265] b. al-Khazraj) assaulted Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'aṭṭal because of his having struck Ḥassān, and, having tied Ṣafwān's hands to his neck, set out with him for the territory of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah met him. "What is this?" he asked. Thābit replied: "Hasn't the striking of Ḥassān b. Thābit with the sword made you indignant? By God, I think it nearly killed him!" 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah said to him, "Does the Messenger of God know anything about what you have done?" He replied, "No, by God." 'Abdallāh said: "You have acted too boldly. Release the man!" So Thābit b. Qays released him. They came to the Messenger of God and told him what had happened. He called on Ḥassān and Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'aṭṭal [to speak]. Ibn al-Mu'aṭṭal said, "Messenger of God, he insulted me and satirized me, so that rage overcame me and I struck him." The Messenger of God said to Ḥassān, "Ḥassān, have you treated my own tribesmen harshly because God has guided
[1528] them to Islam?" Then he said, "Ḥassān, treat well[266] the one who struck you." "I will, Messenger of God," he answered.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith: In compensation for [the blow], the Messenger of God gave [Ḥassān] Bayraḥā,[267] which today is the palace of the Banū Ḥudaylah in Medina. It had been the property of Abū Ṭalḥah b. Sahl, who donated it to the Messenger of God, who in turn gave it to Ḥassān for his blow. He also gave him Sīrīn, a Coptic slave girl, and she bore him 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān.

'Ā'ishah used to say: They inquired about Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'aṭṭal

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264. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī, died ca. 120/738, was the grandson of an Emigrant. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 5–7.

265. The tribal name is abbreviated here to Balḥārith. I have normalized it to Banū al-Ḥārith throughout, which is the form used later in the sentence.

266. Arabic: *aḥsin yā Ḥassān*. Muḥammad is punning on Ḥassān's name, which comes from the same root as the verb *aḥsana*, "do good, treat well."

267. Variant (al-Wāqidī, *Aghānī*): Bayraḥā'.

and found him to be an impotent man who had no intercourse with women. He was killed afterward as a martyr [in battle].

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ḥamzah:[268] 'Ā'ishah's account was given on the Pilgrimage of Fulfillment.[269]

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The Messenger of God stayed the months of Ramaḍān and Shawwāl in Medina. He set out to perform the lesser pilgrimage (*'umrah*) in Dhū al-Qa'dah of the year 6.[270]

The Prophet's Lesser Pilgrimage from Which the Polytheists Turned Him Back: The Story of al-Ḥudaybiyah[271]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—al-Ḥakam b. Bashīr[272]—'Umar b. Dharr al-Hamdānī[273]—Mujāhid:[274] The Prophet made three lesser pilgrimages, all of them in [the month of] Dhū al-Qa'dah, returning from each of them to Medina.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: The Prophet set out to make the lesser pilgrimage in Dhū al-Qa'dah, [1529] not intending to make war. He had called on the Arabs and Bedouin desert dwellers who were around him to help by setting out

268. On the Medinan transmitter 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ḥamzah b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr al-Asadī Abū Ḥamzah see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 434.

269. Arabic: *'umrat al-qaḍā'*, the lesser pilgrimage that Muḥammad performed in 7/629 (called the Pilgrimage of Fulfillment because it took the place of the pilgrimage he had been prevented from making). See pp. 133–38, below.

270. Ramaḍān of A.H. 6 began on 14 January 628, Shawwāl on 13 February, and Dhū al-Qa'dah on 13 March.

271. Parallels: W, II, 571–633; IH, III, 308–27 (tr. Guillaume, 499–510). Al-Ḥudaybiyah was a small town with a well one stage from Mecca and nine stages from Medina. It was on the edge of the Meccan *ḥaram* or sacred territory. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥudaybiya.

272. Perhaps the same as the Kūfan scholar al-Ḥakam b. Bishr b. Sulaymān al-Nahdī whom Ibn Ḥajar lists as one of the sources consulted by Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 424.

273. 'Umar b. Dharr b. 'Abdallāh b. Zurārah al-Hamdānī was a Kūfan who died ca. 153/770. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 444–45.

274. Abū al-Ḥajjāj Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī was born ca. 21/642 in Mecca and died in 104/722. He was a student of Ibn al-'Abbās and author of a commentary on the Qur'ān. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 42–44; *GAS*, I, 29.

with him, for he feared that Quraysh would oppose him with fighting or turn him away from the [Holy] House[275]—which they did. Many of the Bedouins were slow in coming to him. The Messenger of God, the Emigrants and Anṣār who were with him, and the Arabs who joined him set out. He took sacrificial animals with him and put on pilgrim garb[276] so that people would have no apprehension about his fighting and would know that he had come only to visit and venerate the House.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—al-Miswar b. Makhramah[277] and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam,[278] who said: The Messenger of God set out in the Year of al-Ḥudaybiyah, intending to visit the House, not intending to fight. He drove with him seventy fattened camels. The party numbered seven hundred men; each fattened camel was for ten men.

However, according to Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā[279] (who transmitted his report to us from Muḥammad b. Thawr[280]—Ma'mar[281]—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—al-Miswar b. Makhramah); and according to Ya'qūb[282] (who transmitted his report from Yaḥyā b.

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275. Arabic: *al-bayt*, the Ka'bah.

276. Arabic *aḥrama*: "he entered the state of *iḥrām*," a state of ritual consecration marked by the wearing of a simple two-piece garment and abstention from cutting the hair, shedding blood, sexual relations, and a number of other activities. See *EI*², s.v. Iḥrām.

277. Al-Miswar b. Makhramah b. Nawfal al-Zuhrī was the nephew of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf through his mother. Born in 2/623–24 in Mecca, he was taken to Medina in 8/629–30 and died in 64/683–84 in Mecca. He was a close friend of 'Umar. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 151–52.

278. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah, was governor of Medina under Mu'āwiyah and became caliph in 64/684, reigning nine months. He died in Ramaḍān 65/685. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 91–92; *EI*², s.v.

279. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Ṣan'ānī (cf. p. 74, below, where the same isnād occurs in fuller form) died in 245/859 in al-Baṣrah, where al-Ṭabarī met him. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 289; Rosenthal, *General Introduction*, 20.

280. Muḥammad b. Thawr al-Ṣan'ānī died ca. 190/805. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 87.

281. Abū 'Urwah Ma'mar b. Rāshid, born in 96/714 and died in 154/770, a pupil of al-Zuhrī, was a historian and traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 243–46; *GAS*, I, 290–91.

282. I.e., Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī (cf. the fuller version of the same *isnād* at p. 74, below) was born in 166/782 and died in 252/866. See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XIV, 277–80; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 381–82.

Sa'īd[283]—'Abdallāh b. Mubārak[284]—Ma'mar—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—al-Miswar b. Makhramah and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, both of whom said]: The Messenger of God set out from al-Ḥudaybiyah with between thirteen and nineteen hundred[285] of his companions. [The [same] report then follows.]

According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—Abū 'Āmir [al-'Aqadī]—'Ikrimah b. 'Ammār al-Yamāmī—Iyās b. Salamah—his father [1530]
[Salamah b. al-Akwa'], who said: We came to al-Ḥudaybiyah with the Messenger of God. We were fourteen hundred.[286]

According to Yūsuf b. Mūsā al-Qaṭṭān[287]—Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik and Sa'īd b. Shuraḥbīl al-Miṣrī—al-Layth b. Sa'd al-Miṣrī[288]—Abū al-Zubayr[289]—Jābir,[290] who said: On the day of al-Ḥudaybiyah we were one thousand and four hundred.

According to Muḥammad b. Sa'd[291]—his father—his paternal

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283. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Farrūkh al-Qaṭṭān, who was born in 120/737 and died in 198/813, was a pupil of Sufyān al-Thawrī. See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XIV, 135–44; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 216–20; *GAS*, I, 75.

284. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak b. Wāḍiḥ al-Ḥanẓalī al-Tamīmī, who was born in 118/736 and died in 181/797, was a traditionist, historian, and Sufi. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 382–87; *EI*², s.v. Ibn al-Mubārak; *GAS*, I, 95.

285. Following the text of ed. Leiden (*fī biḍ'a 'ashrata mi'atan*). The reading of ed. Cairo (*fī biḍ'ata 'ashara wa-mi'atin*, "with between thirteen and nineteen and one hundred," i.e., with between 113 and 119) seems to be a misprint.

286. For ed. Leiden's *arba'a 'ashrata mi'atan* (14 hundred), ed. Cairo reads *arba'ata 'ashara wa-mi'atun* (14 and a hundred, i.e., 114).

287. Yūsuf b. Mūsā b. Rāshid b. Bilāl al-Qaṭṭān Abū Ya'qūb was born in al-Kūfah, lived in Rayy, then went to Baghdād, where he died in Ṣafar of 253/867. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 425.

288. Al-Layth b. Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fahmī Abū al-Ḥārith (born in Qalqashandah, Egypt, in 94/713, and died in 175/791) was one of the most famous traditionists and jurists of his time. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 459–65; *EI*², s.v. al-Layth b. Sa'd; *GAS*, I, 520.

289. Abū al-Zubayr Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Tadrus al-Asadī, a traditionist, died in 126/743 or 128. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 440–43; *GAS*, I, 86–87.

290. I.e., the companion of the Prophet, Jābir b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr al-Khazrajī, one of the Medinans who swore allegiance to Muḥammad at the first Pledge of 'Aqabah. See *GAS*, I, 85.

291. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Manī' al-Baṣrī al-Zuhrī (known as "Kātib al-Wāqidī" after his teacher) was born in al-Baṣrah in 168/784 and died in 230/845 in Baghdād. He was the author of *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, containing biographies of the Prophet and of his companions. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 182–83; *GAS*, I, 300–301.

uncle—his father—his father—Ibn 'Abbās,[292] who said: The people who swore allegiance under the tree were one thousand five hundred and twenty-five.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā[293]—Abū Dāwūd[294]—Shu'bah[295]—'Amr b. Murrah,[296] who said: I heard 'Abdallāh b. Abī Awfā say: "On the Day of the Tree we were one thousand three hundred. Aslam[297] was an eighth of the Emigrants."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-A'mash[298]—Abū Sufyān[299]—Jābir b. 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī, who said: We, the people of al-Ḥudaybiyah, were fourteen hundred.[300]

According to al-Zuhrī: The Messenger of God set out. When he
[1531] was at 'Usfān, Bishr b. Sufyān al-Ka'bī met him and said: "Messenger of God, Quraysh have heard about your journey and have gone out with their 'foals and dams.'[301] They have put on leopard skins and encamped at Dhū Ṭuwā,[302] swearing by God that you shall never enter the city in defiance of them. Khālid b. al-

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292. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās (or al-'Abbās), a cousin of the Prophet, was born three years before the Hijrah. He spent much of his life at al-Ṭā'if as a scholar and authority on Qur'ān interpretation. He died in 68/687 (or in 69 or 70). See *GAS*, I, 25–28; *EI*², s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās.

293. Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā Abū Mūsā al-Baṣrī died ca. 252/866. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 425–27.

294. Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Jārūd al-Ṭayālisī was born in 133/750 and died in 203/818 or 204. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 182–86; *GAS*, I, 97–98.

295. Shu'bah b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Baṣrī died in 160/776. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 233–34.

296. 'Amr b. Murrah b. 'Abdallāh al-Murādī al-Kūfī died ca. 118/736. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 102–3.

297. Aslam was a division of Khuzā'ah with territory to the west of Medina and Mecca. On the Emigrant status of members of other non-Medinan tribes than Quraysh who adhered to Muḥammad, see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 86.

298. Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Asadī al-A'mash died in 148/765. See al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, 154; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 123.

299. For Abū Sufyān b. Sa'īd b. al-Mughīrah al-Thaqafī, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 112; *GAS*, I, 63–64, 85.

300. For ed. Leiden's *arba'a 'ashrata mi'atan* (14 hundred), ed. Cairo reads *arba'ata 'ashara wa-mi'atan* (14 and a hundred, i.e., 114).

301. Arabic: *al-'ūdh al-maṭāfīl*, literally, "[camels] that have recently foaled and [camels] that have foals with them." The commentators take the phrase as figurative for "women and children"; see Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 2193, s.v. *'ā'idh*.

302. At place near Mecca, sometimes vocalized Dhū Ṭawā; not the same as the valley where Moses is said to have met God (Qur'ān 20:12, 79:16); see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VI, 64.

Walīd[303] is with their horsemen, whom they have sent forward to Kurā' al-Ghamīm."[304]

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: Some have said that Khālid b. al-Walīd on that day was with the Messenger of God as a Muslim.

A Report That Khālid b. al-Walīd Was Already a Muslim

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Ya'qūb al-Qummī[305]—Ja'far (i.e., Ibn Abī al-Mughīrah)[306]—Ibn Abzā,[307] who said: When the Messenger of God set out with camels for sacrifice and reached Dhū al-Ḥulayfah,[308] 'Umar said to him, "Messenger of God, will you without arms or horses enter the territory of people who are at war with you?" So the Prophet sent to Medina and left no horses or weapons there untaken. When he approached Mecca, they prohibited him from entering; so he marched to Minā[309] and halted there. His spy brought him word, saying, "'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl has come out against you with five hundred men." The Messenger of God said to Khālid b. al-Walīd, "Khālid, here is your paternal uncle's son come against you with horsemen." Khālid said, "I am the sword of God and the sword of His Messenger!"—he received the name *Sword of God* on that day—"Messenger of God, direct me wherever you wish!" He sent him in command of horsemen, and he met 'Ikrimah in the canyon and routed him, so that he drove 'Ikrimah back into the walled gardens of Mecca. 'Ikrimah returned again, and Khālid routed him, driving him back into the

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303. On the later military career of Khālid b. al-Walīd see *EI*², s.v.

304. See note 187, above.

305. Ya'qūb b. 'Abdallāh al-Qummī died in 174/790. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 390–91.

306. Ja'far b. Abī al-Mughīrah al-Khuzā'ī al-Qummī is listed without dates in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 108.

307. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abzā is listed without exact dates in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 132–33.

308. Dhū al-Ḥulayfah is six or seven miles from Medina on the way to Mecca; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 329.

309. Minā is located in a narrow valley about five miles east of Mecca and lies on the traditional pilgrimage route between Mecca and 'Arafāt. See *EI*², s.v. Minā.

walled gardens of Mecca. 'Ikrimah returned a third time, and
[1532] Khālid routed him, so that he drove him back into the walled gardens of Mecca. God revealed concerning him: "It is He who restrained their hands from you, and your hands from them, in the hollow of Mecca, after He made you victors over them"—until the words "painful punishment."[310] Having made the Prophet victor over them, God restrained him from them on account of remnants of the Muslims who remained in Mecca after He had made Muḥammad victor over the Meccans; for God did not want the horsemen to trample them unwittingly.

Resumption of the account of Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God said: "Woe to Quraysh! War has eaten them up! What would they lose if they left me to deal with the rest of the Arabs? If the Arabs defeat me, that will be what they want. If God makes me prevail over [the Arabs], [Quraysh] can enter Islam en masse; or, if they do not, they can fight, having regained their strength. What do Quraysh think? By God, I shall not cease to strive against them for the sake of that with which God has sent me until God makes it prevail or this side of my neck becomes separated."[311] Then he said, "Who is a man who will lead us forth on a way other than the one on which they are?"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: A man from Aslam said, "I will, Messenger of God." He took them on a rough and rugged path among canyons. When they emerged from it—it was exhausting for the Muslims—and reached level ground at the end of the valley, the Messenger of God said to the people, "Say, 'We ask God to forgive us, and we repent to him.'" They did this. The Messenger of God said, "By God, this is the [petition for] 'putting down' [a heavy burden of

310. Qur'ān 48:24–25. The passage continues: "God sees the things you do. They are the ones who disbelieved, and barred you from the Holy Mosque and the offering, detained so as not to reach its place of sacrifice. If it had not been for certain men believers and certain women believers whom you knew not, lest you should trample them, and there befall you guilt unwittingly on their account (that God may admit into His mercy whom He will), had they been separated clearly, then We would have chastised the unbelievers among them with a painful chastisement."

311. I.e., until death; see Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1409.

sin][312] that was offered to the Children of Israel and which they did not say." [1533]

According to Ibn Shihāb [al-Zuhrī]: Then the Messenger of God gave orders to the people, saying, "Turn right, amid the salt-bush,[313] on a path that will bring [the army] out over al-Murār Pass[314] to the descent of al-Ḥudaybiyah below Mecca." So the army traveled that path. When the horsemen of Quraysh saw the dust of the army and that the Messenger of God had turned away from their path, they galloped back to Quraysh. The Messenger of God set out, but when he entered al-Murār Pass, his camel kneeled down. The people said, "She has balked." "She has not balked," he said, "and that is not her nature; but the One who restrained the elephant from Mecca has restrained her.[315] I will grant to Quraysh any matter to which they invite me today asking me to show kindness to kindred." Then he told the people to halt. He was told, "Messenger of God, there is no water in the valley for us to halt by." So he took an arrow out of his quiver and gave it to one of his companions; the man went down into an old well, inserted the arrow into the middle of it, and the water flowed abundantly, so that the people quenched their thirst and halted there.

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312. Arabic: *al-ḥiṭṭatu allatī 'uriḍat 'alā Banī Isrā'īl.* The consonants *ḥ.ṭ.h* (read as *ḥiṭṭatun*) occur in Qur'ān 2:58 and 7:161, where God commands the Children of Israel to say the word *ḥ.ṭ.h* (*ḥiṭṭatun*) as a sign of humility or repentance. The word caused difficulty; a few commentators even suggested that it was a foreign word, though curiously none seems to have referred to Hebrew *ḥeṭ'* "sin," or to *ḥaṭā'āh* and *ḥaṭṭāt*, "sin, sin offering" (see Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, I, 237–39). Most explained it as a noun derived from the verb *ḥaṭṭ*, "set down (e.g., a load)," and as meaning "a petition for the putting down of a heavy burden from one; or, of the heavy burden of sin" (see Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 592). James Bellamy suggests reading *khiṭ'atan* (this involves no change in the underlying unpointed text of the Qur'ān, where the dots distinguishing *ḥ* and *kh* were not written and *hamzah* was not indicated). Grammatically, the word would be a *maṣdar* to an understood finite verb: *khaṭi'na khiṭ'atan*, "we have truly sinned" (cf. Bellamy, "Some Proposed Emendations," 566–67).

313. Arabic: *ḥamḍ*, any of a variety of shrubs with salty leaves on which camels can feed; see Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 644.

314. Thaniyyat al-Murār (Bitter-Bush Pass) is mentioned by Yāqūt (*Mu'jam al-buldān*, VIII, 3) but not located precisely.

315. Ca. A.D. 570 (the year of Muḥammad's birth), God is said to have thwarted an attack on Mecca that included an elephant: the elephant is said to have balked at advancing toward Mecca (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 941). The event is commemorated in Sura 105 of the Qur'ān. See *EI*², s.v. al-Fīl.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—a person of learning—a man from Aslam: The person who went down into the old well with the arrow of the Messenger of God was Nājiyah[316] b. 'Umayr b. Ya'mar b. Dārim. He was the driver of the sacrificial camels of the Messenger of God.

[1534] A certain person of learning alleged to me that al-Barā' b. 'Āzib[317] used to say, "I was the one who went down with the arrow of the Messenger of God."

Aslam recited some verses of poetry that Nājiyah composed, [saying,] "We thought he [viz. Nājiyah] was the one who went down with the arrow of the Messenger of God." Aslam alleged that a slave girl from the Anṣār came with her bucket while Nājiyah was in the well drawing water for the people. She said:

O drawer of water, my bucket is near you:
I saw the people praising you,
Speaking well of you, and glorifying you.

Nājiyah replied while he was in the well drawing water for the people:

A Yemeni slave girl knows
that I am the water drawer and that my name is Nājiyah:
Many a broad, blood-sprinkling wound
have I struck under the breast of the enemy.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Ṣan'ānī—Muḥammad b. Thawr—Ma'mar—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah [b. al-Zubayr]—al-Miswar b. Makhramah; and according to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān—'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak—Ma'mar—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah—al-Miswar b. Makhramah and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who said: The Messenger of God halted at the edge of al-Ḥudaybiyah at a seasonal pool with a little water. The people were able to draw only small amounts of water before exhausting it, and so they complained of thirst to the Messenger of God. He drew an arrow from his quiver and commanded them to

316. IH, III, 310, inserts "b. Jundab."
317. For the later life of al-Barā' b. 'Āzib b. al-Ḥārith al-Awsī, who became a partisan of 'Alī and died in al-Kūfah ca. 72/691, see *EI*², s.v. al-Barā' b. 'Āzib.

set it in the pool. By God, the pool continued to flow abundantly for them until they departed from it. [1535]

While they were there, Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī came to them with a band of his tribesmen from Khuzā'ah. (They were the faithful friends of the Messenger of God among the people of Tihāmah.) Budayl said: "I left Ka'b b. Lu'ayy and 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy encamped at the all-season wells of al-Ḥudaybiyah with their 'foals and dams.'[318] They intend to fight you and turn you away from the House." The Prophet said: "We have not come to fight anyone; we have come to make the lesser pilgrimage. War has exhausted and harmed Quraysh. If they wish, we will grant them a delay, and they can leave me to deal with the people.[319] If I am victorious, if they wish to enter that which the people enter[320] they can do so; if not, they will have rested and recovered their strength. If they refuse [the delay], by Him who holds my soul in His hand, I shall fight them for the sake of this affair of mine until the side of my neck becomes separated[321] or God effects his command." Budayl said, "We will inform them of what you say."

Budayl then set out and went to Quraysh and said: "We come to you from this man. We have heard him make a statement—if you want us to present it to you, we will." The foolish among them said, "We have no need for you to say anything to us from him." But someone intelligent among them said, "Present what you have heard him say." So he said, "I heard him say the following"—and he told them what the Prophet had said. 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī stood up and said, "My people, are you not the father?" "Yes," they said. "And am I not the son?" he asked. "Yes," they said.[322] "And do you doubt me?" he asked. "No," they said. "Do you not know," he said, "that [once] I called on the people of 'Ukāẓ[323] for assistance; and, when they gave me no help,

318. See note 301, above.
319. I.e., the Arabs.
320. I.e., Islam.
321. See note 311, above.
322. As the next report indicates, 'Urwah's mother, Subay'ah bt. 'Abd Shams, was from Quraysh, while his father, Mas'ūd, was from the tribe of Thaqīf from al-Ṭā'if.
323. 'Ukāẓ was the site of a yearly market a day's journey from the city of al-Ṭā'if and three days from Mecca (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VI, 203).

[1536] I came to you with my family and children and those who obeyed me?" "Yes," they said. (According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī, who said in his report of this incident: 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd was the son of Subay'ah bt. 'Abd Shams.)

Resumption of the account of Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā and Ya'qūb: 'Urwah said: "This man has offered you a sensible proposal. Accept it, and let me go to him." They said, "Go to him." So 'Urwah went to the Prophet and began speaking to him. The Prophet spoke as he had spoken to Budayl. Then 'Urwah said: "Muḥammad, tell me: if you extirpate your tribesmen, have you ever heard of any of the Arabs who destroyed his own race before you? And if the contrary comes to pass,[324] by God I see both prominent people and rabble who are likely to flee and leave you." Abū Bakr said, "Go suck the clitoris of al-Lāt!"—al-Lāt[325] was the idol of Thaqīf, which they used to worship—"Would we flee and leave him?" "Who is this?" asked 'Urwah. They said, "Abū Bakr." 'Urwah said, "By the One who holds my soul in His hand, were it not for a favor you did me for which I have not repaid you, I would answer you."[326]

'Urwah [again] began speaking to the Prophet. As often as he spoke to him, he took hold of his beard. Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah was standing next to the Prophet with his sword, wearing a mail neck-protector, and whenever 'Urwah extended his hand toward
[1537] the Prophet's beard, al-Mughīrah struck his hand with the lower end of the scabbard and said, "Take your hand away from his beard!" 'Urwah raised his head and asked, "Who is this?" They said, "Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah." 'Urwah said, "Treacherous man, am I not trying to rectify your act of treachery?" (During the Time of Ignorance[327] al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah had accompanied some men and killed them and taken their money. Later he had come

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324. I.e., if Quraysh prove too powerful for you.

325. Al-Lāt (called *al-Ṭāghiyah*, the dominator) was a female fertility and warrior goddess worshiped especially at al-Ṭā'if. See *EI*², s.v. al-Lāt; and T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, 111–20.

326. The favor was that Abū Bakr had helped 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd pay the blood money with which 'Urwah had ended the feud caused by his nephew, al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah. See W, II, 595.

327. See note 109, above.

and accepted Islam. The Prophet had said, "As for your Islam, we accept it; but the money is money of treachery for which we have no need."[328]

'Urwah began looking at the companions of the Prophet. "By God," he said, "if the Prophet coughs up a bit of phlegm and it falls onto the hand of one of them, he rubs his face and skin with it. If he gives them an order, they vie with each other to be the first to carry it out. If he performs ablutions, they almost fight over the water he used for them. If they speak in his presence, they lower their voices and do not look sharply at him out of respect for him."

'Urwah went back to his comrades and said: "My people, by God I have gone as an envoy to kings. I have gone as an envoy to Kisrā, Caesar, and the Negus,[329] but, by God, never have I seen a king whose companions respect him as Muḥammad's companions respect Muḥammad. By God, if he coughs up a bit of phlegm and it falls onto the hand of one of them, he rubs his face and skin with it. If he gives them an order, they vie with each other to be the first to carry it out. If he performs ablutions, they almost fight over the water he used for them. If they speak in his presence, they lower their voices and do not look sharply at him out of respect for him. [1538] He has offered you a sensible proposal; accept it!"

Then a man from Kinānah[330] said, "Let me go to him." "Go to him" they said. When he came in sight of the Prophet and his companions, the Prophet said: "This is so and so. He is from a people who venerate sacrificial camels; so send them out to him." They were sent out to him. People went out to meet him shouting [the pilgrim's cry] *labbayka*.[331] When [the man from Kinānah] saw that, he said: "Praise God! These people should not be turned away from the House."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī, who said in his report: Then they sent to him al-Ḥulays b. 'Alqa-

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328. The parallels in IH, III, 313 (from al-Zuhrī), and in W, II, 595–98 (very elaborate), tell how al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, the nephew (or perhaps grandnephew) of 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd, once killed thirteen men and took their money, causing a feud that his uncle 'Urwah ended by paying blood money for the slain men.

329. The rulers of Persia, Byzantium, and Ethiopia respectively.

330. Kinānah (b. Khuzaymah) was a tribe near Mecca. See *EI*², s.v. Kināna.

331. Literally, "at your service [O Lord]," an ancient ritual chant used by pilgrims to Mecca in pre-Islamic times and preserved in the Islamic pilgrimage.

mah (or b. Zabbān), who was the chief of the Aḥābīsh[332] at that time. He was one of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah. When the Messenger of God saw him, he said: "Surely this man is from a people who devote themselves to piety. Send the sacrificial victims toward him for him to see." When he saw the sacrificial victims streaming toward him from the side of the valley with their necklaces and having eaten away their hair from being penned up so long, he returned to Quraysh without having reached the Messenger of God, so greatly was he impressed by what he had seen. "People of Quraysh," he said, "I have seen what it is not lawful to turn away: sacrificial victims with their necklaces, having eaten away their hair from being long penned up away from their place [of sacrifice]." They said to him, "Sit down; you are only a Bedouin who knows nothing!"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—
[1539] 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: Al-Ḥulays became angry at this and said: "People of Quraysh, by God, not on these terms did we became your confederates! Not on these terms did we league together with you—that you should turn away from the House of God those who have come to venerate it! By Him who holds the soul of al-Ḥulays in His hand, you shall leave Muḥammad free to accomplish what he came for, or I will leave, taking every last man of the Aḥābīsh!" They said to him: "Wait! Leave us alone, Ḥulays, until we obtain terms for ourselves with which we can be satisfied."

Resumption of the account of Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā and Ya'qūb: One of them named Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ stood up and said to them, "Let me go to him." "Go to him!" they said. When he came into view, the Prophet said: "This is Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ. He is a dissolute man." Mikraz came and began speaking to the Prophet, but while he was speaking to him, Suhayl b. 'Amr came. (According to Ayyūb[333]—'Ikrimah:[334] When Suhayl came, the Prophet said, "Your business has now become easy for you."[335])

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332. See note 74, above.

333. Ayyūb b. Abī Tamīmah Kaysān al-Sakhtiyānī was born in 66/685 (or 68) and died in 131/748. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 397–99; *GAS*, I, 87–88.

334. 'Ikrimah, a *mawlā* of Ibn 'Abbās and one of the most distinguished transmitters, is said to have died around 104–7/722-25 at the age of eighty. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 263–73; and *EI*², s.v. 'Ikrima.

335. Arabic *sahula* "it has become easy" is a pun on the name Suhayl.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umārah al-Asadī[336] and Muḥammad b. Manṣūr[337] [the wording of the account belongs to Ibn 'Umārah]—'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā[338]—Mūsā b. 'Ubaydah[339]—Iyās b. Salamah b. al-Akwa'—his father [Salamah b. al-Akwa'], who said: Quraysh sent Suhayl b. 'Amr, Ḥuwayṭib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, and Ḥafṣ b. Fulān to the Prophet to make peace with him. When the Messenger of God saw that Suhayl b. 'Amr was among them, he said: "God has made your business easy for you. The men intend to gain access to you by their kinship[340] with you and intend to ask you for peace. Send forth the sacrificial animals and proclaim the [pilgrim's cry of] *labbayka*; perhaps that will soften their hearts." So they cried out *labbayka* from throughout the camp until their voices resounded with the call.

Then [the three emissaries of Quraysh] came and asked him for [1540]
peace. When the people had made peace and while there were among the Muslims some of the polytheists and among the polytheists some of the Muslims, Abū Sufyān plotted treachery against him. Suddenly the valley was flowing with men and weapons.

According to Iyās [b. Salamah]—Salamah [b. al-Akwa']: I came bringing six of the polytheists, they being armed, I leading them, and they having no power to do any good or any mischief. I brought them to the Prophet, and he neither plundered nor killed, but forgave.

As for the report of al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—Abū 'Āmir [al-'Aqadī]—

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336. For Muḥammad b. 'Umārah b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 359–60.

337. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Dāwūd b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭūsī Abū Ja'far al-'Ābid lived at Baghdād and died in 254/868 or 256/870 at age eighty. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 472.

338. 'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā b. Bādhām/Bādhān was born in 128/745 and died in 213 or 214/828–29. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 50–53.

339. Mūsā b. 'Ubaydah b. Nashīṭ b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith al-Rabadhī Abū 'Abd al-'Azīz was born in Medina and died in 152/769 or 153. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 356–60.

340. This may allude to the fact that Muḥammad's second wife, Sawdah bt. Zam'ah, whom he married shortly after the death of Khadījah, had been the sister-in-law of Suhayl b. 'Amr. Although Suhayl (the head of the Banū 'Āmir clan of Quraysh) remained a pagan, his brother, al-Sakrān b. 'Amr, had become a Muslim and took part in the second Muslim emigration to Ethiopia. After al-Sakrān's death, Muḥammad married his widow. See *EI*[1], s.v. Sawda bint Zam'a.

'Ikrimah b. 'Ammār al-Yamāmī—Iyās b. Salamah—his father [Salamah b. al-Akwa']), it is that [Salamah] said: After we and the people of Mecca had made peace with each other, I went to the tree, cleared away its thorns, and lay down in its shade. Four polytheists, people of Mecca, came to me and began speaking evil of the Messenger of God. Finding them hateful, I moved to another tree. They hung up their weapons and lay down. While they were lying there, suddenly someone called out from the lower part of the valley: "Help, Emigrants! Ibn Zunaym has been killed." I drew my sword, ran at the four—they were lying down—and took their weapons, which I made a bundle in my hands. Then I said, "By Him who honored Muḥammad, if any of you raises his head, I will strike off his skull."[341] I led them away to the Messenger of God.
[1541] My uncle 'Āmir brought in a man clothed in mail named Mikraz from the al-'Abalāt.[342] We made them stand before the Messenger of God along with seventy of the polytheists. The Messenger of God looked at them and said, "Let the first violating [of the peace] be theirs"—and he pardoned them. Thus God revealed: "It is He who restrained their hands from you, and your hands from them, in the hollow of Mecca."[343]

Resumption of the account of Muḥammad b. 'Umārah and Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, from 'Ubaydallāh [b. Mūsā]: Salamah [b. al-Akwa'] said: We rushed toward those of our side who were in the hands of the polytheists, and we rescued every one of our men who was in their hands. We overpowered those of their side who were in our hands. Then Quraysh sent Suhayl b. 'Amr and Ḥuwayṭib and put them in charge of their [side of the] peace; the Prophet sent 'Alī for his [side of the] peace.

According to Bishr b. Mu'ādh[344]—Yazīd b. Zuray'[345]—Sa'īd[346]—Qatādah,[347] who said: We were told that one of the

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341. Literally, "I will strike off that wherein are his two eyes."

342. Al-'Abalāt was a division of the clan of Banū Umayyah al-Ṣughrā of Quraysh (*Lisan*, IV, 2790).

343. Qur'ān 48:24.

344. Bishr b. Mu'ādh al-'Aqadī, with whom al-Ṭabarī studied in al-Baṣrah, died in or before 245/859. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 458.

345. Abū Mu'āwiyah Yazīd b. Zuray' al-Baṣrī was born in 101/720 and died in 182/798. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 325–28.

346. Sa'īd b. Abī 'Arūbah died in the 150s (ca. 772). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 63–66.

347. Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Qatādah b. Di'āmah b. Qatādah al-Sadūsī (born 60/679, died 118/736) was a Qur'ān commentator and scholar of poetry, genealogy, and

companions of the Prophet, a man named Zunaym, had gone up into the pass from al-Ḥudaybiyah and that the polytheists shot and killed him. The Messenger of God sent out horsemen, and they brought him twelve horsemen of the unbelievers. God's Prophet asked them: "Do I owe you any treaty obligations? Do I owe you any protection?" "No," they replied. Then the Messenger of God released them. God revealed concerning this the [following words of] Qur'ān: "It is He who restrained their hands from you, [1542] and your hands from them, in the hollow of Mecca"—until the words, "He sees the things you do."[348]

As for Ibn Isḥāq, he has mentioned that Quraysh sent Suhayl b. 'Amr only after a message that the Messenger of God had sent to them with 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—a certain man of learning: The Messenger of God summoned Khirāsh b. Umayyah al-Khuzā'ī and sent him to Quraysh in Mecca, mounting him on a camel of his called al-Tha'lab,[349] to inform their dignitaries from him of why he had come. Quraysh, however, hamstrung the camel of the Messenger of God that Khirāsh was riding. They intended to kill Khirāsh, but the Aḥābīsh protected him; so they released him, and he returned to the Messenger of God.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—someone I do not doubt—'Ikrimah, the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Abbās: Quraysh sent forty or fifty of their men and commanded them to surround[350] the camp of the Messenger of God in order to injure[351] for themselves some[352] of his companions; however, these men were taken prisoner and brought to the Messenger of God. He pardoned them and released them. They had thrown stones and shot arrows into the camp of the Messenger of God.

Then the Prophet summoned 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, to send him to Mecca to inform the dignitaries of Quraysh from him of why he

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history. The *isnād* is to a Qur'ān commentary by him. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 351–56; *GAS*, I, 31–32.

348. Qur'ān 48:24.

349. The name means "fox."

350. Arabic *yuṭīfū* can also mean "go around, circumambulate."

351. Arabic *yuṣībū* has a range of meanings from "obtain" through "injure," and even "kill."

352. IH, III, 314, reads "one."

had come. 'Umar said: "Messenger of God, I fear for my life from Quraysh. There is no one of the Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b[353] in Mecca who will protect me now that Quraysh know of my hostility and roughness to them. But I can recommend to you a man they will like better than me—'Uthmān b. 'Affān."[354] So the Messenger of God summoned 'Uthmān and sent him to Abū Sufyān and the dignitaries of Quraysh, to inform them that he had come not for
[1543] war but only to visit the House and venerate its sanctity. 'Uthmān set out for Mecca. When he entered Mecca (or before he entered it), Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ met him and, dismounting from his animal, mounted 'Uthmān in front of him and rode [on the same animal] behind him. He protected 'Uthmān until the latter had delivered the message of the Messenger of God. 'Uthmān hastened to Abū Sufyān and the powerful men of Quraysh and informed them of the message with which he had been sent from the Messenger of God. When 'Uthmān had finished the message of the Messenger of God to them, they said to him, "If you wish to circumambulate the House, do so." He replied, "I will not do it until the Messenger of God circumambulates it." Quraysh then imprisoned him, and a report reached the Messenger of God and the Muslims that 'Uthmān had been killed.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: When the Messenger of God received a report that 'Uthmān had been killed, he said, "We will not leave until we fight it out with the enemy"—and he summoned the people to swear allegiance. Thus the Pledge of al-Riḍwān[355] took place under the tree.

According to Ibn 'Umārah al-Asadī—'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā—Mūsā b. 'Ubaydah—Iyās b. Salamah—Salamah b. al-Akwa', who

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353. The Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b were 'Umar's clan. They belonged to the group of less influential clans known as Quraysh al-Ẓawāhir ("of the outskirts"), whose quarters were far from the central area of Mecca.

354. 'Uthmān was a member of the influential clan of Banū Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams (the clan of Abū Sufyān) and would thus be a more respected emissary. As the sequel shows, 'Uthmān was immediately taken under the protection of his cousin, Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah.

355. I.e., the Pledge of [God's] Being Well Pleased [with the Muslims], alluding to the verse of Qur'ān revealed concerning the occasion (Qur'ān 48:18), as explained in the next paragraph. Watt in his *EI*[2] article on al-Ḥudaybiya calls it the Pledge of Good Pleasure.

said: While we were returning from al-Ḥudaybiyah, the Prophet's crier announced: "People, an oath of allegiance! An oath of allegiance! The Holy Spirit[356] has descended!" So we hastened to the Messenger of God, who was under an acacia tree, and swore allegiance to him. This was what God referred to when He said: "God was well pleased with the believers when they were swearing allegiance to you under the tree."[357] [1544]

According to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bayān[358]—Muḥammad b. Yazīd[359]—Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid[360]—'Āmir,[361] who said: The first to swear the Pledge of al-Riḍwān was a man from the Banū Asad named Abū Sinān b. Wahb.

According to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Ibn Wahb—al-Qāsim b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar[362]—Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir[363]—Jābir b. 'Abdallāh: They were fourteen hundred on the day of al-Ḥudaybiyah.[364] [Jābir] said: We swore allegiance to the Messenger of God while 'Umar was holding his hand under the tree, which was an acacia. We swore allegiance to him—except al-Jadd b. Qays al-Anṣārī, who hid under the belly of his camel.

Jābir said: We swore allegiance to the Messenger of God that we would not flee; we did not swear allegiance to him to the death.

Another account of this is as follows. According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—Abū 'Āmir—'Ikrimah b. 'Ammār al-Yamāmī—Iyās b. Salamah b. al-Akwa'—his father [Salamah b. al-Akwa']: The Prophet summoned the people to swear allegiance at the foot of the tree. I swore allegiance to him among the first of the people;

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356. Arabic: *rūḥ al-qudus*, normally referring to the Angel Gabriel as the intermediary who delivered the Qur'ānic revelations to Muḥammad.

357. Qur'ān 48:18.

358. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bayān died in 244/858. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 111.

359. Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Kulā'ī Abū Sa'īd al-Wāsiṭī was a *mawlā* of Syrian origin who died in 188/803–4. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 527–28.

360. Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid al-Aḥmasī, a *mawlā* known for his superior knowledge of reports from al-Sha'bī, died in 146/763. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 291–92.

361. Abū 'Amr 'Āmir b. Sharāḥīl b. 'Amr al-Sha'bī, a member of the South Arabian tribe of Hamdān, was born in al-Kūfah in 19/640, and died in 103/721. In addition to political activity, he was a transmitter of *ḥadīth* and a major source for later historians. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 65–69; *EI*[1], s.v. al-Sha'bī; *GAS*, I, 277.

362. Al-Qāsim b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ b. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb died between 150/767 and 160/776–77. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 320–21.

363. Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir b. 'Abdallāh al-Taymī died ca. 130/747–48 at the age of seventy-six. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 473–75.

364. Ed. Cairo: "they were fourteen and a hundred"—i.e., 114.

then he received more and more pledges of allegiance, until, when he was in the middle of the people, he said, "Swear allegiance, Salamah!" I said, "I did swear allegiance to you, Messenger of God, among the first of the people." He said, "Again!" Seeing me unarmed, the Prophet gave me a [shield of the kind called] *ḥajafah* or *daraqah*.[365] The Messenger of God received the people's pledges of allegiance until, having arrived at the last of them, he said, "Aren't you going to swear allegiance, Salamah?" I said, "Messenger of God, I did swear allegiance to you among the first of the people and in the middle group." "Again!" he said. So I swore allegiance to him for the third time. The Messenger of God said, "Where are the *daraqah* and[366] *ḥajafah* that I gave you?" I said, [1545] "My uncle 'Āmir came up to me without a weapon, and I gave it[367] to him." The Messenger of God laughed and said, "You are like the one who said of old, 'O God, help me find a friend who shall be dearer to me than myself.'"

Resumption of the account of Ibn Isḥāq: The people swore allegiance to the Messenger of God. None of the Muslims who were present on the occasion hung back except al-Jadd b. Qays, a member of the Banū Salimah. Jābir b. 'Abdallāh used to say: "It is as if I could see him now, clinging to the armpit of his camel. He had taken refuge there to hide from the people by means of her." Word then came to the Messenger of God that the report about 'Uthmān was false.

According to Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī: Quraysh then sent Suhayl b. 'Amr, a member of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy, to the Messenger of God. They instructed Suhayl: "Go to Muḥammad and make peace with him. Let the only provision of the peace with him be that he shall go away from us this year; for, by God, the Arabs must never say that he entered our territory by force."

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365. Both terms, which can be synonymous, refer to a shield made of heavy animal skins without wood. Insofar as the dictionaries distinguish between them, the *ḥajafah* was taken to be the native Arab shield made of layered camel hides, while the *daraqah* was said to be made of hippopotamus or crocodile skins imported from Ethiopia. See Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 520; III, 872.

366. The parallel in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, reads "your *ḥajafah* or *daraqah*"—ed. Leiden, note.

367. The pronoun *-hā* (feminine singular or collective plural, but not dual) implies that only one shield was given.

Suhayl b. 'Amr approached. When the Messenger of God saw him coming, he said, "The people [of Quraysh] intended peace when they sent this man." When Suhayl reached the Messenger of God, he spoke for a long time. The two men negotiated with each other, and peace was made between them. When the matter had been arranged and only the writing of the document remained, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb jumped up and went to Abū Bakr and said, "Abū Bakr, isn't he the Messenger of God?" "Yes," he replied. "And are we not Muslims?" he asked. "Yes," he replied. "And are they not polytheists?" he asked. "Yes," he replied. "Then why," asked 'Umar, "should we grant what is detrimental to our religion?" Abū Bakr said, "'Umar, stick to what he says,[368] for I bear witness that he is the Messenger of God." 'Umar said, "I, too, bear witness that he is the Messenger of God."

'Umar then went to the Messenger of God and said, "Messenger of God, are you not the Messenger of God?" "Yes," he replied. [1546] "And are we not Muslims?" asked 'Umar. "Yes," he replied. "And are they not polytheists?" he asked. "Yes," he replied. "Then why," asked 'Umar, "should we grant what is detrimental to our religion?" He replied: "I am God's servant and messenger. I will never disobey His command, and He will not allow me to perish." ['Umar used to say, "I continued to fast, give alms, pray, and free slaves because of what I did on that day, for fear of the words I had spoken, until I hoped it would be set right."]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Buraydah b. Sufyān b. Farwah al-Aslamī[369]—Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī—'Alqamah b. Qays al-Nakha'ī—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who said: Then the Messenger of God summoned me and said, "Write, 'In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate.'" Suhayl said: "I do not know this one.[370] Write rather, 'In Thy name, O God.'" So the Messenger of God said, "Write, 'In Thy name, O

368. Literally, "hold closely to his stirrup." See Lane, *Lexicon*, VI, 2246, s.v. *gharz* for the idiom.

369. Buraydah b. Sufyān b. Farwah al-Aslamī is mentioned as a *tābi'ī* (but without dates) in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 433–34.

370. Suhayl's objection is to the peculiarly Muslim formula, "the Merciful and Compassionate," (cf. the parallel in W, II, 610, "I do not know 'the Merciful [al-Raḥmān]'") not to the invocation of God under the name Allāh. Suhayl's formula itself uses the name Allāh.

God'"—and I wrote it. Then he said, "Write, 'This is that whereon Muḥammad the Messenger of God has made peace with Suhayl b. 'Amr.'" Suhayl b. 'Amr said: "If I testified that you are the Messenger of God, I would not fight you. Write rather your name and the name of your father." So the Messenger of God said, "Write: This is that whereon Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh has made peace with Suhayl b. 'Amr. The two have agreed on these terms: that warfare shall be laid aside by the people for ten years, during which the people shall be safe and refrain from [attacking] each other; that whoever shall come to the Messenger of God from Quraysh without the permission of his guardian, [Muḥammad] shall return him to them; that whoever shall come to Quraysh from those who are with the Messenger of God, they shall not return him to [Muḥammad]; that there shall be between us a breast bound [to fulfill the terms of this writing];[371] that there shall be neither clandestine theft nor betrayal;[372] and that anyone who wishes to enter into treaty and pact with the Messenger of
[1547] God may do so, and anyone who wishes to enter into treaty and pact with Quraysh may do so." [The Khuzā'ah jumped up and said, "We have a treaty and pact with the Messenger of God." The Banū Bakr jumped up and said, "We have a treaty and compact with Quraysh."][373] "You shall go back, leaving us this year and not entering Mecca against us. When the next year comes, we will go out, away from you, and you shall enter Mecca with your companions and stay there for three nights: you shall have with you the weapons of a rider, with the swords in scabbards; you shall not enter with other weapons."

While the Messenger of God was writing the document—he and

371. Arabic: *anna baynanā 'aybatan makfūfatan*, literally "a receptacle closed [or tied up]." The phrase is enigmatic. Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 2206, lists three quite different explanations. The first is that it means there shall be between us as it were a receptacle closed and fastened by its loops over its contents—i.e., a breast bound to fulfill the terms of the treaty. Another interpretation is that as a receptacle is tied up so shall evil be tied up between the two sides. Yet another interpretation is that there shall be sincere friendship between the two sides (a friend being often compared to a receptacle in which one can deposit one's secrets).

372. Arabic: *lā islāla wa-lā ighlāla*, thus interpreted by Abū Dharr's commentary on the *Sīrah*. Alternatively, the two terms may be taken as referring to secret and open violations.

373. This notice anticipates the violence between the Banū Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah (allies of Quraysh) and the Banū Khuzā'ah (allies of Muḥammad) in A.H. 8, which precipitated the Muslim conquest of Mecca. See p. 160, below.

Suhayl b. 'Amr—suddenly Abū Jandal, the son of Suhayl b. 'Amr, came walking with short steps in shackles. He had escaped to the Messenger of God. The companions of the Messenger of God had set out not doubting that they would conquer, because of a vision the Messenger of God had seen. Therefore, when they saw what they saw—the peace, the retreat, and the obligations the Messenger of God had taken on himself—the people felt so grieved about it that they were close to despair. When Suhayl saw Abū Jandal, he went up to him, struck him on the face, and grabbed him by the front of his garment. "Muḥammad," he said, "the pact was ratified between me and you before this fellow came to you." "You are right," he replied. Suhayl began pulling and dragging [his son Abū Jandal] by the front of his garment to return him to Quraysh. Abū Jandal began screaming at the top of his voice, "People of the Muslims, shall I be returned to the polytheists for them [1548] to torment me for my religion?" This made the people feel even worse. The Messenger of God said: "Abū Jandal, count on a reward, for God will give you and those who are oppressed with you relief and a way out. We have made a treaty and peace between ourselves and these people; we have given them and they have given us a promise, and we will not act treacherously toward them."

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb jumped up with Abū Jandal, walking beside him, and saying, "Be patient, Abū Jandal! They are only polytheists, and the blood of any of them is no more than the blood of a dog!" He held the hilt of his sword close to him. ('Umar used to say, "I hoped he would take the sword and strike his father with it, but the man was too attached to his father.")

When the writing was finished, he had some of the Muslims and some of the polytheists witness the peace: Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, 'Abdallāh b. Suhayl b. 'Amr, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Maḥmūd b. Maslamah (a member of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal), Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaf (a polytheist, a member the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy), and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who wrote—he was the writer of the document.

According to Hārūn b. Isḥāq[374]—Muṣ'ab b. al-Miqdām,[375] and

374. Hārūn b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī died in 285/898. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 2–3.

375. Muṣ'ab b. al-Miqdām al-Khath'amī al-Kūfī died in 203/818. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 165–66.

according to Sufyān b. Wakī'—his father [Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ];[376] each of the two said: according to Isrā'īl—Abū Isḥāq—al-Barā', who said:[377] The Messenger of God set out to perform the lesser pilgrimage during Dhū al-Qa'dah. The people of Mecca refused to allow him to enter Mecca until he made a pact with them that he would stay there [only] three days. When he wrote the document, [1549] he wrote, "This is what Muḥammad the Messenger of God has agreed to." They said, "If we knew that you are the Messenger of God, we would not prevent you; but you are Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh." He replied, "I am the Messenger of God, and I am Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh." He said to 'Alī, "Erase 'Messenger of God.'" "No," he replied, "by God, I will never erase *you*!" So the Messenger of God took the document—he did not write well—and wrote "Muḥammad" in place of "the Messenger of God."[378] Then he wrote: "This is what Muḥammad has agreed to: he shall not enter Mecca with weapons, except swords in scabbards; he shall not depart from its people taking anyone who wants to follow him; and he shall not hinder any of his companions who wants to stay in Mecca." When Muḥammad entered Mecca and the time elapsed, they came to 'Alī and said to him, "Tell your master to leave us, for the time has elapsed." So the Messenger of God left.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Muḥammad b. Thawr—Ma'mar—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—al-Miswar b. Makhramah; and according to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd—'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak—Ma'mar—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah—al-Miswar b. Makhramah and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam in the story of al-Ḥudaybiyah:[379] When the Messenger of God had finished his pact, he said to his companions, "Arise, sacrifice, and shave." By

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376. Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ b. Mulayḥ (or Malīḥ) al-Ru'āsī Abū Sufyān was born ca. 129/746 in al-Kūfah. Regarded as one of the leading *ḥadīth* scholars of his time, he died ca. 197/812. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 123–31; *GAS*, I, 96–97.

377. Parallel in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ed. Būlāq), III, 154.

378. The text as it stands is illogical. The parallel in al-Bukhārī omits "Muḥammad" (yielding, "he wrote [something] in place of 'the Messenger of God'"). As the Leiden editor notes, one could restore the logic of the passage by assuming that the treaty as originally drafted began, "This is what the Messenger of God has agreed to" (omitting "Muḥammad"). The sense of the report thus would be that Muḥammad replaced "the Messenger of God" with "Muḥammad."

379. Parallel: al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ed. Būlāq), III, 167.

God, not a man stood up until he had said it three times. When no one stood up, he arose and went into [the tent of] Umm Salamah and told her what he had encountered from the people. Umm Salamah said to him: "Prophet of God, do you approve of this? Go out, and speak not a word to any of them until you have slaughtered your fattened camel and summoned your shaver to shave you." He arose, went out, and spoke not a word to anyone until he [1550] had done this. He slaughtered his fattened camel and called his shaver, who shaved him. When they saw this, they rose up and slaughtered, and they began to shave each other, until they almost killed each other for grief.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The person who shaved him that day—according to my information—was Khirāsh b. Umayyah b. al-Faḍl al-Khuzā'ī.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ[380]—Mujāhid—Ibn 'Abbās, who said:[381] On the day of al-Ḥudaybiyah, some men shaved [their heads] and others shortened [their hair by cutting it]. The Messenger of God said, "God will have mercy on those who shave." They asked, "And those who shorten, Messenger of God?" He replied, "God will have mercy on those who shave." They asked, "And those who shorten, Messenger of God?" He replied, "God will have mercy on those who shave." They asked, "Messenger of God, and those who shorten?" He replied, "And those who shorten." They asked, "Messenger of God, why did you explicitly mention mercy for those who shave and not those who shorten?" He replied, "Because they did not doubt."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid—Ibn 'Abbās, who said: Among the victims that he sacrificed the year of al-Ḥudaybiyah, the Messenger of God sacrificed a camel stallion belonging to Abū Jahl[382] which had a silver nose ring, and this he did to anger the polytheists.

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380. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ died in 131 or 132/748–50. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 355; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 54–55. Sezgin (*GAS*, I, 20) argues that Ibn Abī Najīḥ was the author of a commentary on the Qur'ān commentary of Mujāhid.

381. Parallel: IH, III, 319 (tr. Guillaume, 505).

382. Abū Jahl (or Abū al-Ḥakam) 'Amr b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah, the leader of the Banū Makhzūm clan of Quraysh, was a prominent opponent of Muḥammad.

Resumption of the account of al-Zuhrī that we have mentioned previously: Then the Prophet returned to Medina.

In his account, Ibn Ḥumayd (on the authority of Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī) adds that al-Zuhrī used to say: No victory greater than this one had been won previously in Islam. There had been only fighting when the people met together; however, when the [1551] truce took place, and war laid down its burdens, and all the people felt safe with each other, they met with each other in conversation and debate, and no one possessing understanding was told about Islam but embraced it. Thus, in those two years as many or more entered Islam as had been in it before.

All [transmitters of the account] from al-Zuhrī—'Urwah—al-Miswar and Marwān say: When the Messenger of God arrived in Medina, Abū Baṣīr, a man from Quraysh, came to him.

According to Ibn Isḥāq in his report:[383] Abū Baṣīr 'Utbah b. Asīd[384] b. Jāriyah, a Muslim, was one of those confined in Mecca. When he came to the Messenger of God, Azhar b. 'Abd 'Awf and al-Akhnas b. Sharīq b. 'Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafī wrote concerning him to the Messenger of God and sent a man from the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy along with a *mawlā* of that clan. The two brought the letter of al-Azhar and al-Akhnas to the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God said: "Abū Baṣīr, you know what we have given these people. Breaking a promise is not right in our religion. God will give you and those who are oppressed with you relief and a way out."

Abū Baṣīr departed with the two men. When he was at Dhū al- [1552] Ḥulayfah, he sat against a wall, and his two companions sat with him. Abū Baṣīr said, "Is this sword of yours sharp, O tribesman of the Banū 'Āmir?" "Yes," he replied. "May I look at it?" he said. "If you wish," he replied. Abū Baṣīr unsheathed it, attacked the man with it, and killed him. The *mawlā* hurried away and came to the Messenger of God while the latter was sitting in the mosque. When the Messenger of God caught sight of him, he said, "This man has seen something fearful." When he reached the Messenger

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Presumably, the camel had been captured at the Battle of Badr, where Abū Jahl had been killed. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 1187; *EI*², s.v. Abū Djahl.

383. IH, III, 323–24 (tr. Guillaume, 507–8); parallel in W, II, 624–29.

384. Ed. Cairo: Usayd. Al-Dhahabī, *al-Mushtabih*, 12, gives Asīd as the name of Abū Baṣīr's father.

of God, the latter asked, "Alas, what has happened to you?" The man replied, "Your companion killed my companion." By God, while the man was still there, Abū Baṣīr appeared girded with the sword and halted before the Messenger of God, saying: "Messenger of God, your obligation has been fulfilled and has been discharged from you.[385] You surrendered me and returned me to them, but God rescued me from them." The Prophet said: "Woe to his mother! A kindler of war's fire"—Ibn Isḥāq, in his account, said "a stirrer up of war"—"if he had men with him!" When Abū Baṣīr heard this, he knew that he would return him to them. So Abū Baṣīr went out and encamped at al-'Īṣ,[386] in the vicinity of Dhū al-Marwah, on the coast of the sea, on the route that Quraysh used to take to Syria. The words that the Messenger of God had spoken to Abū Baṣīr—"Woe to his mother! A stirrer up of war if he had men with him!"—were reported to the Muslims who were confined in Mecca, and they went out to Abū Baṣīr at al-'Īṣ. Abū Jandal b. Suhayl b. 'Amr escaped and joined Abū Baṣīr. Nearly seventy such men gathered around him, and they harassed Quraysh. By God, whenever they heard of a caravan of Quraysh that had set out for Syria, they intercepted it, killed the men, and took their goods. Quraysh therefore sent to the Prophet, imploring him for the sake of God and the bond of kinship to send word to them that whoever came to him would be safe.[387] So the Messenger of God gave them refuge, and they came to him in Medina.

Ibn Isḥāq added in his account: When word of how Abū Baṣīr had killed their companion from the Banū 'Āmir reached Suhayl b. 'Amr, he leaned his back against the Ka'bah and said, "I will not remove my back from the Ka'bah until they pay blood money for this man."[388] Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb said: "By God, this is foolishness. By God, no blood money will be paid for him." He said it three times. [1553]

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385. Ibn Hishām: "and God has discharged it for you."

386. Al-'Īṣ is said to be four nights' journey from Medina and two nights' journey from Dhū al-Marwah (a village in Wādī al-Qurā, the long valley extending north from Medina toward Syria)—see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 23.

387. I.e., he would not be returned to Mecca.

388. As the leader of the Banū 'Āmir, Suhayl b. 'Amr had responsibility for demanding compensation for the murder of a fellow clansman.

According to Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā and Ya'qūb in their account:[389] Believing women then came to him (that is, the Messenger of God). God therefore revealed to him: "O believers, when believing women come to you as emigrants"—until the words, "to the ties of unbelieving women."[390] On that day 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb divorced two women who had been his wives in polytheism. Thus, He forbade them to send the women back, but commanded them to return the bride price at that time. (A man asked al-Zuhrī, "Was that because of conjugal relations?" "Yes," he replied.[391]) Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān married one of the women; Ṣafwān b. Umayyah married the other.

Ibn Isḥāq added in his account: Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayṭ emigrated to the Messenger of God during that period. Her brothers, 'Umārah and al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah, went to the Messenger of God to ask him to return her to them according to the treaty made between him and Quraysh at al-Ḥudaybiyah, but he did not do so: God had rejected it.

Ibn Isḥāq also said in his report: Among those who divorced [their unbelieving wives] was 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who divorced
[1554] his wives Quraybah bt. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah (Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān married her afterward in Mecca while both of them were still polytheists) and Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Amr b. Jarwal al-Khuzā'iyyah,[392] the mother of 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar (Abū Jahm b. Ḥudhāfah b. Ghānim, one of her tribesmen, married her in Mecca while both of them were still polytheists).

According to al-Wāqidī:[393] In this year, in the month of Rabī'

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389. Parallel: al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ed. Būlāq), III, 127.

390. Qur'ān 60:10. The passage reads: "O believers, when believing women come to you as emigrants, test them. God knows very well their belief. Then, if you know them to be believers, return them not to the unbelievers. They are not permitted to the unbelievers, nor are the unbelievers permitted to them. Give the unbelievers what they have expended (on them); and there is no fault in you to marry them when you have given them their due. Do not hold fast to the ties of unbelieving women."

391. I.e., the bride price (*ṣadāq*), being the husband's payment to the woman for sexual rights, should be returned to indemnify the unbelieving husband for the loss of his now Muslim wife.

392. IH, II, 327, reads: Umm Kulthūm bt. Jarwal (omitting 'Amr). The Leiden editor prefers Ibn Hishām's reading.

393. Parallel with fuller text: W, II, 550.

II,[394] the Messenger of God sent out 'Ukkāshah b. Miḥṣan with forty men to al-Ghamr.[395] Among them were Thābit b. Aqram and Shujā' b. Wahb. He traveled quickly, but the enemy became aware and fled. He encamped by their water and sent out scouts. They captured a spy who guided them to some of their cattle. They found two hundred camels and brought them down to Medina.

In this year the Messenger of God sent out Muḥammad b. Maslamah with ten men in Rabī' I.[396] The enemy lay in wait for them until he and his companions went to sleep. Before they suspected anything, there was the enemy. The companions of Muḥammad b. Maslamah were killed; Muḥammad escaped wounded.

According to al-Wāqidī:[397] In this year the Messenger of God dispatched the raiding party of Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ to Dhū al-Qaṣṣah in the month of Rabī' II with forty men. They traveled through the night on foot and reached Dhū al-Qaṣṣah just before dawn. They raided the inhabitants, who escaped them by fleeing [1555] to the mountains, and took cattle, old clothes, and a single man. He became a Muslim, and the Messenger of God released him.

In this year a raiding party led by Zayd b. Ḥārithah went to al-Jamūm.[398] He captured a woman of the Muzaynah named Ḥalīmah, who guided them to an encampment of the Banū Sulaym, where they captured cattle, sheep, and prisoners. Among the prisoners was Ḥalīmah's husband. When Zayd brought back what he had taken, the Messenger of God granted to the woman of Muzaynah her husband and her freedom.

In this year a raiding party led by Zayd b. Ḥārithah went to al-'Īṣ in Jumādā I.[399] During it, the property that was with Abū al-'Āṣ b.

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394. Rabī' II of A.H. 6 began on 20 August 627.

395. Al-Ghamr was a watering place belonging to the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah to the east of Medina in the Yamāmah (central Arabia); see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VI, 304.

396. Rabī' I of A.H. 6 began on 21 July 627. Parallel with fuller text: W, II, 551–52, where the destination of this raid, like the following one, is given as Dhū al-Qaṣṣah of the Banū Tha'labah and 'Uwāl (subtribes of Ghaṭafān), a night's march east of Medina.

397. Parallel with fuller text: W, II, 552. Another account (perhaps the same raid) of a raid by Abū 'Ubaydah to the coast is in IH, IV, 632–33 (tr. Guillaume, 673).

398. The nature and date of this raid are uncertain.

399. Jumādā I of A.H. 6 began on 18 September 627. Parallel (with fuller text): W, II, 553–55.

al-Rabī' was taken. He asked the Prophet's daughter Zaynab to grant him refuge, and she did so.[400]

In this year a fifteen-man raiding party led by Zayd b. Ḥārithah went to al-Ṭaraf in Jumādā II against the Banū Tha'labah.[401] The Bedouins fled, fearing that the Messenger of God had set out against them. Zayd took twenty camels from their herds. He was away four nights.

In this year a raiding party led by Zayd b. Ḥārithah went to Ḥismā in Jumādā II.[402] According to [al-Wāqidī]—Mūsā b. Muḥammad—his father [Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm], who said: The beginning of this incident was when Diḥyah al-Kalbī came back from the court of Caesar,[403] who had presented Diḥyah with gifts of merchandise and clothing. When Diḥyah reached Ḥismā, men from Judhām[404] intercepted him and robbed him, leaving him
[1556] with nothing. He came to the Messenger of God even before entering his own house [in Medina] and informed him. The Messenger of God then sent Zayd b. Ḥārithah to Ḥismā.

In this year 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb married Jamīlah bt. Thābit b. Abī al-Aqlaḥ. She was the sister of 'Āṣim b. Thābit. Jamīlah bore him 'Āṣim b. 'Umar; then 'Umar divorced her. Yazīd b. Jāriyah

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400. Zaynab was Muḥammad's daughter by Khadījah, his first wife, and her marriage to Abū al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd Shams, an influential merchant, had taken place before Muḥammad began to receive revelations. Although Abū al-'Āṣ remained a pagan, Zaynab continued to live with him in Mecca even after Muḥammad's emigration to Medina. After Abū al-'Āṣ was captured at the Battle of Badr, it was arranged that he would be released in return for Zaynab's leaving him and coming to Medina. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 1347–51; IH, II, 651–60 (tr. Guillaume, 313–18); Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 20–24; *EI*[1], s.v. Zainab bint Muḥammad.

401. Jumādā II of A.H. 6 began on 18 October 627. Parallel: W, II, 555. According to Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II, 63) al-Ṭaraf was a watering place near al-Marāḍ, before al-Nakhīl, thirty-six miles from Medina; according to IH, IV, 616, it was near Nakhl on the road to Iraq.

402. Parallel with fuller text: W, II, 555–60. Ḥismā was on the route to Syria, west of Tabūk. Another account, probably of the same raid, can be found in IH, IV, 612–16 (tr. Guillaume, pp. 662–64). See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 43f.

403. On Diḥyah's mission to the court of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, who was in Palestine at the time, see pp. 100, 104–6, below.

404. Judhām was a nomadic tribe on the borders of the Byzantine empire. They ranged from places like Madyan, 'Ammān, Ma'ān, and Adhruḥ as far south as Tabūk and Wādī al-Qurā. They were among the Arab allies of the Byzantines. See *EI*[2], s.v. Djudhām.

married her after him, and she bore him 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd, who was 'Āṣim's half-brother through his mother.

In this year a raiding party led by Zayd b. Ḥārithah went to Wādī al-Qurā[405] in Rajab.[406]

In this year a raiding party led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf went to Dūmat al-Jandal in Sha'bān.[407] The Messenger of God said to him, "If they obey you, marry the daughter of their king." The people became Muslims, and therefore 'Abd al-Raḥmān married Tumāḍir bt. al-Aṣbagh. She became the mother of Abū Salamah [b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf]. Her father was their chief and king.[408]

In this year the people suffered a severe drought. The Messenger of God therefore led the people in prayers for rain in the month of Ramaḍān.[409]

In this year a raiding party led by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib went to Fadak in Sha'bān.[410] According to [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far[411]—Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah,[412] who said: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib set out for Fadak with a hundred men against a clan of the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr. This was because the Messenger of God had received information that a force of theirs intended to aid the Jews of Khaybar. 'Alī traveled toward them by night and lay in wait during the day. He captured a spy, who confessed to them that he had been sent to Khaybar to offer the people their aid on condition that they would give them the date harvest of Khaybar.

In this year a raiding party led by Zayd b. Ḥārithah set out [1557]

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405. Wādī al-Qurā ("the Valley of the Villages") was a fertile valley stretching north from Medina on the road to Syria; see *EI*[1] s.v. Wādī 'l-Ḳurā.

406. Rajab of A.H. 6 began on 16 November 627.

407. For Dūmat al-Jandal, see note 16, above. Sha'bān of A.H. 6 began on 16 December 627. Parallel with fuller text: W, II, 560–62; IH, IV, 631–32 (tr. Guillaume, 672).

408. His full name was al-Aṣbagh b. 'Amr al-Kalbī. See *EI*[2], II, s.v. Dūmat al-Djandal.

409. Ramaḍān of A.H. 6 began on 14 January 628.

410. Parallel with fuller text: W, II, 562–63. Fadak was a village near Khaybar, north of Medina. See *EI*[2], s.v. Fadak.

411. Ed. Cairo, index, identifies him as 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Zuhrī, based on the *isnād* in al-Ṭabarī, I, 1081.

412. Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah b. al-Mughīrah al-Thaqafī, a contemporary of al-Zuhrī, was an expert on the biography of the Prophet. He died in 128/745. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 392; *GAS*, I, 283. (Ed. Cairo's reading "b. 'Uqbah" is a misprint.)

against Umm Qirfah in the month of Ramaḍān.[413] During it, Umm Qirfah (Fāṭimah bt. Rabī'ah b. Badr) suffered a cruel death. He tied her legs with rope and then tied her between two camels until they split her in two. She was a very old woman.

Her story is as follows. According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, who said: The Messenger of God sent Zayd b. Ḥārithah to Wādī al-Qurā, where he encountered the Banū Fazārah. Some of his companions were killed there, and Zayd was carried away wounded from among the slain. One of those killed was Ward b. 'Amr, one of the Banū Sa'd b. Hudhaym:[414] he was killed by one of the Banū Badr [b. Fazārah]. When Zayd returned, he vowed that no washing [to cleanse him] from impurity should touch his head until he had raided the Fazārah.[415] After he recovered from his wounds, the Messenger of God sent him with an army against the Banū Fazārah. He met them in Wādī al-Qurā and inflicted casualties on them. Qays b. al-Musaḥḥar al-Ya'murī killed Mas'adah b. Ḥakamah b. Mālik b. Badr and took Umm Qirfah prisoner. (Her name was Fāṭimah bt. Rabī'ah b. Badr. She was married to Mālik b. Ḥudhayfah b. Badr. She was very old woman.) He also took one of Umm Qirfah's daughters and 'Abdallāh b. Mas'adah prisoner. Zayd b. Ḥārithah ordered Qays to kill Umm Qirfah, and he killed her cruelly. He
[1558] tied each of her legs with a rope and tied the ropes to two camels, and they split her in two. Then they brought Umm Qirfah's daughter and 'Abdallāh b. Mas'adah to the Messenger of God. Umm Qirfah's daughter belonged to Salamah b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa', who had taken her—she was a member of a distinguished family among her people: the Arabs used to say, "Had you been more powerful than Umm Qirfah, you could have done no more."[416] The Messenger of God asked Salamah for her, and Salamah gave

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413. Parallels with fuller text: W, II, 564–65; IH, IV, 617–18 (tr. Guillaume, 664–65).

414. Ibn Hudhaym is Ibn Hishām's correction (accepted by the Leiden editor) of Ibn Isḥāq's original reading "Ibn Hudhayl."

415. This implies that he vowed to abstain from sexual relations, since the word for "major ritual impurity" (*janābah*) refers specifically to the impurity contracted by sexual relations, which requires full washing of the body.

416. The proverb is discussed in Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, II, 151 and 710.

her to him. He then gave her to his maternal uncle, Ḥazn b. Abī Wahb, and she bore him 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥazn.

The other version of the story of this expedition—from Salamah b. al-Akwa'—is that its commander was Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah.[417] According to al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā—Abū 'Āmir—'Ikrimah b. 'Ammār—Iyās b. Salamah—his father [Salamah b. al-Akwa'], who said: The Messenger of God appointed Abū Bakr as our commander, and we raided some of the Banū Fazārah. When we came near the watering place, Abū Bakr ordered us to halt for a rest. After we prayed the dawn prayer, Abū Bakr ordered us to launch the raid against them. We went down to the watering place, and there we killed some people. I saw a group of people, women and children among them, who had almost outstripped us to the mountain; so I sent an arrow between them and the mountain. When they saw the arrow, they stopped, and I led them back to Abū Bakr. Among them was a woman of the Banū Fazārah [1559] wearing a worn-out piece of leather.[418] With her was her daughter, among the fairest of the Arabs. Abū Bakr gave me her daughter as booty. When I returned to Medina, the Messenger of God met me in the market and said, "Salamah—how excellent the father who begot you!—give me the woman." I said, "Messenger of God, I like her, by God, and I have not uncovered her garment." He said nothing to me until the next day, when he met me in the market and said, "Salamah—how excellent a father begot you!—give me the woman." I said: "Messenger of God, I have not uncovered her garment. She is yours, Messenger of God." The Messenger of God sent her to Mecca, and with her he ransomed some Muslim captives who were in the hands of the polytheists. (This version of the story comes from Salamah.)

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: In this year a raiding party led by Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihrī set out against the members of the Banū 'Uraynah who had killed the herdsman of the

417. Parallel in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 197.

418. Her garment is called a *qash'*. *Lisān*, V, 3637, cites this tradition without the words "of leather" and argues that the word means "old, worn-out fur." Another meaning is "a piece of old, worn-out leather," which fits in this version. See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CDXXIV.

Messenger of God and driven off camels in Shawwāl of the year 6.[419] The Messenger of God sent Kurz with twenty horsemen.

The Missions to Foreign Rulers

In this year the Messenger of God sent out messengers.[420] He sent out six persons in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah,[421] three of them setting out together: Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta'ah of Lakhm, a confederate of the Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, to al-Muqawqis;[422] Shujā' b. Wahb of the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah, a confederate of Ḥarb b. Umayyah and veteran of Badr, to al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shimr al-
[1560] Ghassānī;[423] and Diḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī to Caesar.[424] He sent out Salīṭ b. 'Amr al-'Āmirī (of 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy) to Hawdhah b. 'Alī al-Ḥanafī,[425] and he sent out 'Abdallāh b. Ḥudhāfah al-Sahmī to Kisrā,[426] and 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī to the Negus.[427]

As for what Ibn Isḥāq has alleged (according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq), it is: Between [the truce of] al-Ḥudaybiyah and his death, the Messenger of God dispersed some of his companions to the kings of the Arabs and the foreigners to call them to God.

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419. Shawwāl of A.H. 6 began on 13 February 628. Parallel with fuller text: W, II, 568–71; cf. IH, IV, 640–41 (tr. Guillaume, 677–78)—apparently the same events.

420. Parallel: IH, IV, 606–8 (tr. Guillaume, 652–59); Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 15–86. For a discussion of the historicity of these reports, see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 345–47.

421. Dhū al-Ḥijjah of A.H. 6 began on 12 April 628.

422. Al-Muqawqis was the Arabic term for the Melkite (i.e., Byzantine) patriarch of Alexandria. Its derivation from the name of Patriarch Cyrus ("of the Caucasus"), who arrived in Egypt in 631, is discussed by K. Öhrnberg in *EI*², s.v. al-Muḳawḳis. If this derivation of the name is correct, this account, which places the mission in 627–28, involves an anachronism.

423. Ed. Cairo vocalizes the name as Shamir. The mission was to the ruler of the Banū Ghassān, an Arab tribal kingdom with its capital at Buṣrā (Bostra) in Syria. The Ghassānids were Monophysite Christians and ruled a client state of the Byzantine Empire. See *EI*² s.v. Ghassān.

424. I.e., the Byzantine emperor.

425. I.e., the chief of the Banū Ḥanīfah b. Lujaym (part of Bakr b. Wā'il), a tribe in al-Yamāmah (central Arabia) centered on the town of al-Hajr. Hawdhah was apparently a Christian and was aligned with the Persians, for whom he conducted caravans. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥanīfa b. Ludjaym.

426. Kisrā (Persian "Khusrau," Greek "Chosroes") was the Arabic designation for the ruler of the Sassanian (Persian) Empire. See *EI*², s.v. Kisrā.

427. Negus (Arabic *al-Najāshī* from Ge'ez *nägäsi*) was the Arabic term for the ruler of Ethiopia. See *EI*², s.v. al-Nadjāshī.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb al-Miṣrī:[428] [Yazīd b. Ḥabīb al-Miṣrī] found a letter containing a list of those whom the Messenger of God sent to the kings [of the unbelievers][429] and what he said to his companions when he sent them out. [Yazīd] sent the letter to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī via a trustworthy countryman of his, and al-Zuhrī recognized the letter [as genuine]. The letter stated that the Messenger of God went out to his companions one morning and said to them: "I have been sent as a mercy and for all. Therefore, convey [the message] from me, and God shall have mercy on you. Do not become disobedient to me as the disciples became disobedient to Jesus the son of Mary." They asked, "Messenger of God, how were they disobedient?" He replied: "He called [them] to the like of what I have called you to. Those whom he sent close by were pleased and accepted; those whom he sent far off were displeased and refused. Jesus complained of their behavior to God, and when they awoke the next morning, each of them could speak the language of the people to whom he had been sent. Then Jesus said, 'This is an affair that God has determined for you; so go forth!'"

According to Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God gave his companions different destinations. He sent Salīṭ b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Wudd (a member of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy) to Hawdhah [1561]
b. 'Alī, the ruler of al-Yamāmah. He sent al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā[430] (a member of the Banū 'Abd al-Qays), the ruler of al-Baḥrayn; and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ[431] to Jayfar b. Julandā al-

428. Abū Rajā' Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb (Suwayd) al-Azdī al-Miṣrī was born in 53/672 and died in 128/745. He composed a history of the conquest of Egypt and was a teacher of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 318–19; *GAS*, I, 341–42.

429. The reading of the Leiden editor (*al-khā'ibīn*, "those disappointed, who suffer loss," occasionally a synonym for *kāfirīn* "unbelievers") is conjectural. Of the two manuscripts, one gives the word's unpointed ductus, which could also be read as *al-jānibayn*, "of both sides," or, in the larger sense, "of all sides or directions"—cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 466a. The other manuscript reads *al-nās* ("of the people"). Ibn Hishām reads "kings of the Arabs and foreigners."

430. Al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, chief of the tribal division Dārim of Tamīm, was in close relation with the Persian empire and controlled the market of Ḥajar (now al-Ḥasā) and Baḥrayn. See *EI*², s.v. al-Baḥrayn.

431. Cf. the notices below, pp. 142 and 143 [I, 1600 and 1601], dating this event and the coming of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to Medina as a Muslim in A.H. 8. Cf. *EI*², s.v. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.

Azdī and 'Abbād b. Julandā al-Azdī, the rulers of 'Umān. He sent Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta'ah to al-Muqawqis, the ruler of Alexandria. Ḥāṭib delivered to him the letter of the Messenger of God, and al-Muqawqis gave the Messenger of God four slave girls, including Māriyah, the mother of Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God sent Diḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī (and al-Khazrajī)[432] to Caesar, who was Heraclius, the king of the Romans.[433] When Diḥyah brought him the letter of the Messenger of God, he looked into it and then placed it between his thighs and his flanks.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah b. Mas'ūd—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās—Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, who said:[434] We were merchant folk. The warfare between us and the Messenger of God had prevented us from journeying, so that our wealth became depleted. After the truce between us and the Messenger of God, we feared that we might not encounter security.[435] I set out for Syria with a group of merchants of Quraysh. Our specific destination was Gaza, and we arrived there at the time of Heraclius' victory over the Persians who were in his land—he expelled them and regained from them his Great Cross, which they had carried off.[436] Having accomplished this against them

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432. Arabic: *al-Kalbī thumma al-Khazrajī*: "of the tribe of Kalb and of the subdivision Khazraj" (cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, I, 293). Cf. the genealogy given in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 161–62: Diḥyah b. Khalīfah b. Farwah b. Faḍālah b. Zayd b. Imru' al-Qays b. al-Khazraj b. 'Āmir b. Bakr b. 'Āmir al-Akbar b. 'Awf al-Kalbī. Ed. Cairo emends *al-Khazrajī* to *al-Khazjī* (the *Qāmūs* lists al-Khazj b. 'Āmir as an ancestor of Diḥyah).

433. The Byzantine emperor Heraclius (Arabic Hiraql) ruled 610–41. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳayṣar, for a list of all the versions of the account of this embassy.

434. Parallel: *Aghānī*, VI, 94–96.

435. Arabic: *lam na'man an lā najida amnan*. Ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. cxx, renders this as *persuasum nobis fuit nos securitatem inventuros*, which would mean, "we were convinced that we should find/encounter security." The compilers of the *Glossarium* apparently took the second negative as pleonastic. I do not think it is. The sense of this passage and of the similarly worded one at p. 103, below, is that Abū Sufyān feared a possible violation of the truce.

436. "In 627 Heraclius invaded the Persian empire, and in December of that year won an important victory near ancient Nineveh, but had to retreat shortly afterwards. In February 628, however, the Persian emperor was assassinated, and the son who succeeded him desired peace. By about March 628 Heraclius could regard himself as victorious, but the negotiations for the evacuation of the Byzantine

and having received word that his cross had been rescued from them (he was staying at Ḥimṣ[437]), he set out from there on foot in thanksgiving to God for restoring it to him, to pray in Jerusalem.[438] Carpets were spread out for him, and fragrant herbs were strewn on them.[439] When he reached Jerusalem and performed his worship—with him were his military commanders and the nobles of the Romans—he arose troubled one morning, turning his gaze to the sky. His military commanders said to him, "By God, you have arisen troubled this morning, O King." "Yes," he replied, "I was shown in a dream last night that the kingdom of the circumcision will be victorious." They said to him: "O King, we know of no nation that practices circumcision but the Jews, and they are under your control and authority. Send to all over whom you have authority in your lands and command them to behead all the Jews under their control, and be rid of this care." By God, even as they were debating this proposal, a messenger from the ruler of Buṣrā[440] arrived leading an Arab—the kings used to send each other reports—and said: "O King, this man of the Arabs, the people of sheep and camels, will report about something marvelous that happened in his country. Ask him about it." When the messenger of the ruler of Buṣrā had brought the man to Heraclius, the latter said to his interpreter, "Ask him what was this event that happened in his country." So he asked him, and the man said: "A man has appeared among us claiming to be a prophet. Some people have followed him and believed him; others have opposed him, and between them there have been bloody battles in many places. That was their state when I left them." After he had given Her- [1562]

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empire by the Persians were not completed until June 629. In September 629 Heraclius entered Constantinople as victor, and in March 630 restored the Holy Rood to Jerusalem." (Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 113–14). See also Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 103–4.

437. Ḥimṣ (Emesa) is in Syria, approximately halfway between Damascus and Aleppo. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥimṣ.

438. I have used the conventional name for the city. The Arabic reads Bayt al-Maqdis ("House of the Holy Place") in this sentence and Īliyā' (from Aelia, the name the Romans gave the city after its recapture in A.D. 70) in the next sentence. Perhaps Bayt al-Maqdis here refers specifically to the Temple area or to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳuds.

439. I.e., he vowed to walk to Jerusalem, but tempered the rigor of the vow by having herb-strewn carpets spread along the way.

440. See note 423, above.

aclius his report, the latter said, "Strip him!" They stripped him, and behold he was circumcised. Heraclius said: "This, by God, is what I was shown [in the dream]; not what you say! Give him his garment, and be gone!"

[1563] Then Heraclius summoned his chief of police and said to him, "Turn Syria upside down for me, until you bring me someone from the people of this man"—he meant the Prophet. By God, while we were still at Gaza, his chief of police assaulted us and said, "Are you are from the people of this man in the Ḥijāz?" "Yes," we said. "Off to the king with us!" he said. So we set out with him. When we reached the king, he said, "Are you from the kindred of this man?" "Yes," we said. "Which of you," he asked, "is closest to him in kinship?" "I am," I said. I swear to God, I never saw a man I should consider more astute than that uncircumcised one—Heraclius, that is. "Bring him near," he said. He seated me before him and seated my companions behind me; then he said: "I will question him. If he lies, refute him." By God, had I lied, they would not have refuted me; however, I was a lordly person, too noble to lie. Also I knew that, if I lied, the least of the matter was that they would hold it against me and speak of it concerning me; so I did not lie to him.

Heraclius said, "Tell me about this man who has emerged among you claiming what he claims." I began minimizing his importance to him and disparaging him. "O King," I said, "do not worry about him. His importance is too small to affect you." Paying no attention to this, he said, "Tell me whatever I ask you about him." I said, "Ask whatever you wish." He said, "What is his lineage among you?" I said, "Pure—the best of us in lineage." He asked, "Tell me: has anyone from his family ever said the like of what he says, so that he would be imitating him?" "No," I said. He said, "Did he have authority among you, of which you then stripped him, so that he brought this discourse in order that you might restore to him his authority?" "No," I said. He said, "Tell me about his followers among you, who they are." I said, "The weak, poor, young boys, and women. As for those of his people
[1564] who have years and honor, none of them has followed him." He said, "Tell me about those who follow him: Do they love him and adhere to him, or do they fall out with him and abandon him?" I said, "No man has followed him and then abandoned him." He

said, "Tell me how the war between you and him is going." I said, "Variously—sometimes it is his luck to prevail against us, and sometimes our luck to prevail against him." He said, "Tell me, does he act treacherously?" (I found nothing in what he asked me about him in which I could impugn [Muḥammad's] character except that.) I said, "No; we are in a state of truce with him, and [yet] we fear he may act treacherously."

By God, Heraclius paid no attention to what I had said but repeated the conversation to me. He said: "I asked what his lineage was among you, and you stated that he was pure, one of your best in lineage; but that is how God chooses a prophet when He chooses one—He chooses him only from the best of his people in lineage. I asked you whether anyone from his family had ever said what he says, so that he would be imitating him; and you said no. I asked you whether he had had authority among you, of which you stripped him, so that he brought this discourse, seeking thereby to regain his authority; and you said no. I asked you about his followers, and you stated that they were the weak, poor, juveniles, and women; but such have been the followers of the prophets in every age. I asked you about those who follow him, whether they love him and adhere to him or fall out with him and abandon him, and you stated that no man follows him and then abandons him; but such is the sweetness of faith. It does not enter a heart and then depart from it. I asked you whether he acts treacherously, and you said no. And so, if you have told me the truth about him, he shall surely wrest from me this very ground under my feet. Would that I were with him that I might wash his feet! Depart to [1565] your business!" So I left his presence, clapping my hands together and saying, "O worshipers of God, the affair of the son of Abū Kabshah[441] has become serious. Now the kings of the Greeks[442] fear him in their domain in Syria!"

441. I.e., Muḥammad. The dictionaries give various explanations of why the Meccan pagans nicknamed Muḥammad "the son of Abū Kabshah." Abū Kabshah is supposed to have been a man from the tribe of Khuzā'ah who abandoned the idolatry of Quraysh and worshiped instead the star Sirius. The pagans called Muḥammad "son of Abū Kabshah" because he, like Abū Kabshah, had departed from their manner of worship. Others say that Abū Kabshah was the nickname of Muḥammad's maternal grandfather, Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf, or that Abū Kabshah was the husband of Muḥammad's wet nurse. See *Lisān*, V, 3812.

442. Arabic: *banū al-aṣfar* "sons of yellow"; various explanations are given in

Heraclius received the following letter from the Messenger of God via Diḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Heraclius, the ruler of the Romans. Peace to whoever follows right guidance!
>
> To proceed: Submit yourself, and you shall be safe.[443] Submit yourself, and God shall give you your reward twice over.[444] But, if you turn away, the sin of the Husbandmen shall be upon you.[445]

According to Sufyān b. Wakī'—Yaḥyā b. Ādam—'Abdallāh b. Idrīs[446]—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah—Ibn 'Abbās—Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, who said: When the truce between us and the Messenger of God took place in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyah, I set out for Syria as a merchant. (Abū Sufyān then mentioned a report similar to the one transmitted on the authority of Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah, except that he added at the end of it: He took the letter and put it between his thighs and flanks.)

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, who said: A Christian bishop whom I met in the time of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān[447] told me that he was acquainted with that affair involving the Messenger of God and Heraclius and his

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addition to the reference to the comparatively light complexion of the Greeks. See Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1699.

443. Arabic: *aslim taslam*. The meaning of this lapidary and punning utterance is usually given as "Become a Muslim (or accept Islam), and you shall be safe." However, because the broader meaning of the verb *aslama* is "resign, or submit oneself [to God]," and the remainder of the letter contrasts submission and turning away, I have translated "submit yourself" to preserve the logic of the letter.

444. I.e., in this world and in the next.

445. The Arabic text adds a gloss: "i.e., the bearing of it." The sin of the Husbandmen (*akkārūn*) may allude to the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen in Matthew 22:33–41 (Guillaume's suggestion). The word *akkārūn* is a Syriac or Aramaic loanword; cf. Payne Smith, *Syriac Dictionary*, 17, s.v. *akkārā*, "ploughman, husbandman," which is "often metaphorical of the apostles, of ministers of evil, etc." The precise allusion is unclear to me.

446. 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs, a judge of al-Kūfah, lived from ca. 115/733 to 192/807. See al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, III, 266–69; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 144–46.

447. The Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān ruled from 65/685 to 86/705.

intelligence.[448] According to the bishop: When Heraclius received the letter of the Messenger of God via Diḥyah b. Khalīfah, he took it and put it between his thighs and flanks. Then he wrote to a man in Rome who used to read from the Hebrew what they used to read,[449] mentioning the affair of the man, describing him, and [1566] informing him of what he had received from him. The ruler of Rome wrote back to him: "He is indeed the prophet we have been awaiting. There is no doubt about it. Follow him, and believe him."

Heraclius then gave orders to gather the commanders of the Romans for him in a palatial building,[450] and he ordered its doors to be closed on them. He looked down on them from an upper chamber of his—he was mortally afraid of them—and said: "People of the Romans, I have assembled you for something good. I have received this man's letter calling me to his religion. By God, he is indeed the prophet whom we have been awaiting and whom we find in our books. Come, let us follow him and believe him, that our life in this world and the next may be secure." Without exception they snorted angrily and hastened to the doors of the building to leave it, but they found that they had been locked. Heraclius said, "Bring them back to me"—he was mortally afraid of them—and he said: "People of the Romans, I spoke to you the speech I spoke to see how steadfast you are in your religion because of this affair that has occurred. Now I have seen what gladdens me on your part." They fell down in obeisance to him; he ordered the doors of the building to be opened, and they departed.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—a learned person: Heraclius said to Diḥyah b. Khalīfah when the latter brought him the letter of the Messenger of God: "Alas, by God, I know that your master is a prophet who has been sent and that he is the one whom we have been awaiting and whom we find in our book, but I am mortally afraid of the Romans; but for that, I

448. Translating *wa-'aqlihī*, the voweling of ed. Leiden; ed. Cairo vowels *wa-'aqalahū*, "and he understood it."

449. The exact sense of the Arabic, *kāna yaqra'u min al-'ibrāniyyati mā yaqra-'ūnahū*, is unclear. Perhaps it means not only knowledge of the Hebrew language, but knowledge of specific prophecies of an Arabian prophet contained in the Bible.

450. Arabic: *daskarah*.

would follow him. Go to Ḍaghāṭir[451] the bishop, and tell him of the affair of your master; for he, by God, is greater among the Romans than I, and his word has more authority with them. See
[1567] what he says to you."

So Diḥyah went to Ḍaghāṭir and told him what he had brought to Heraclius from the Messenger of God and to what he was summoning him. Ḍaghāṭir said: "Your master, by God, is a prophet who has been sent. We know him by his description, and we find him by name in our books." Ḍaghāṭir then went inside, laid off the black robes he was wearing, put on white ones, took his staff, and came out before the Romans while they were in the church. "People of the Romans," he said, "a letter has come to us from Aḥmad,[452] summoning us to God. I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Aḥmad is his servant and messenger." As one man they leaped up, attacked him, and beat him to death. When Diḥyah returned to Heraclius and told him the news, Heraclius said to him, "I told you that we are in mortal fear of them—and Ḍaghāṭir, by God, was greater in their estimation, and his word more authoritative than mine!"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Khālid b. Yasār—a very old Syrian, who said: When Heraclius was about to leave the land of Syria for Constantinople because of the report he had received about the Messenger of God, he assembled the Romans and said: "People of the Romans, I shall present certain matters to you. Consider what I have decided." "What are they?" they asked. He said: "You know, by God, that this man is a prophet who has been sent. We find him in our book. We know him by the description whereby he has been described to us. Let us

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451. Ed. Cairo: Ṣaghāṭir.

452. Aḥmad must be taken as a proper name synonymous with Muḥammad. Etymologically, both words are adjectival forms from the root *ḥ-m-d* ("praise") and both mean "highly, or most praised." Ḍaghāṭir's behavior implies that he expects his audience to recognize the name Aḥmad. Cf. Qur'ān 61:6, where Jesus says to the Jews that he brings "good tidings of a messenger who comes after me, whose name is Aḥmad"—or one might translate, "whose name is more praiseworthy." Al-Ṭabarī, I, 1141, records a tradition (placed on the lips of one of the pre-Islamic monotheists of Mecca) predicting the coming of a prophet Aḥmad from the descendants of Ishmael. (Cf. Watt, "His Name is Aḥmad," *Muslim World*, xliii (1953): 110–17.) Another speculation about allusions to Muḥammad's name in the Christian scriptures is recorded in IH, I, 232–33 (tr. Guillaume, 103–4). See also *EI*², s.v. Aḥmad.

follow him, that our life in this world and the next may be secure." They said, "Shall we be under the hands of the Arabs, when we are mankind's greatest kingdom, most numerous nation, and best land?" He said, "Then let me give him tribute[453] each year, so that I can avert his vehemence from me and find rest from his warfare by means of money that I give to him." They said: "Shall [1568] we concede to the Arabs [our own] humiliation and abasement by a tax[454] that they take from us, when we are mankind's most numerous nation, greatest kingdom, and most impregnable land? By God, we will never do it!" He said, "Then let me make peace with him on condition that I give him the land of Syria and that he leave me with the land of al-Sha'm." [The land of Syria was the land of Palestine, Jordan, Damascus, Ḥimṣ, and whatever of the land of Syria was on this side of al-Darb,[455] while they considered whatever was beyond al-Darb to be al-Sha'm.[456]] They said to him: "Shall we give him the land of Syria, when you know that it is the navel of al-Sha'm? By God, we will never do it!" They having refused him, he said, "By God, you shall see that, if you hold back from him, you will be defeated in your own city." Then he mounted a mule of his and departed. When he came in sight of al-Darb, he turned toward the land of al-Sha'm and said, "Peace be with you, land of Syria!"—a farewell salutation—and galloped back to Constantinople.

According to Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God sent Shujā' b. Wahb, a member of the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah, to al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shimr al-Ghassānī, the ruler of Damascus.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī: He wrote to him via Shujā':

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453. Arabic *jizyah*, later the technical term for the poll tax paid by members of protected minorities, here is used in the general sense of tribute. See *EI*², s.v. Djizya.

454. Arabic: *kharj*.

455. Ancient Derbe, a town near the Cilician Gates, the principal pass between Anatolia and Syria. See Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 866.

456. Arabic al-Sha'm, which normally means Syria or Damascus, here seems to be used in the generic sense of "the north." The word used for Syria is Sūriyah. The passage seems to have puzzled the Arabic transmitters, who added the parenthetical note of explanation.

> Peace be with whoever follows right guidance and believes in it. I call you to believe in God alone, Who has no partner, and your kingdom shall remain yours.

Shujā' b. Wahb brought the letter to him, and he read it to them. Al-Mundhir said: "Who can wrest my kingdom from me? It is I who will go against him!" The Prophet said, "His kingdom has perished."[457]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: The
[1569] Messenger of God sent 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī to the Negus concerning Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib[458] and his companions, writing the following letter for him to take:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to the Negus al-Aṣḥam, king of the Ethiopians. May you be at peace! I praise to you God, the King, the Most Holy, the Peace, the Keeper of Faith, the Watcher,[459] and I bear witness that Jesus the son of Mary is the Spirit and Word of God, which He cast into the goodly and chaste Virgin Mary, so that she conceived Jesus; whom God created from His Spirit and breathed into him, even as He created Adam by His hand and breathed into him. I call you to God alone, Who has no partner, to continued obedience to Him, and that you follow me and believe in what has come to me; for I am the Messenger of God.
>
> I have sent you my cousin Ja'far and a group of Muslims with him. When he comes to you, show them hospitality, and do not oppress; for I call you and your armies to God. I have communicated sincere advice. Accept my advice! Peace be upon whoever follows right guidance!

The Negus wrote back to the Messenger of God:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. To Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, from the Negus al-

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457. Another possible translation, "May his kingdom perish!"

458. A cousin of Muḥammad and brother of 'Alī, he had emigrated to Ethiopia with a group of Muslims to avoid persecution in Mecca. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 1180–84; IH, I, 321–41 (tr. Guillaume, 146–55); *EI*², s.v. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib.

459. Cf. Qur'ān 59:23.

Aṣḥam b. Abjar. Peace be upon you, O Prophet of God, and God's mercy and blessings—from God, other than Whom there is no god; Who has guided me to Islam.

To proceed: I have received your letter, O Messenger of God, containing what you said about Jesus. By the Lord of heaven and earth, Jesus does not exceed by a whit[460] what you said—he is as you have said. We have acknowledged [as true[461] the message] wherewith you have been sent to us, and we have treated your cousin and his companions hospitably. I bear witness that you are the Messenger of God, speaking truly and confirming truth. I have sworn allegiance to you and sworn allegiance to your cousin. I [1570] have submitted myself at his behest to God, the Lord of the worlds. I have sent my son Arhā b. al-Aṣḥam b. Abjar to you. I have power only over myself. If you want me to come to you, I will, O Messenger of God; for I bear witness that what you say is true. Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God.

According to Ibn Isḥāq: I was told that the Negus sent his son with sixty Ethiopians in a ship. When they were in the middle of the sea, their ship sank, and they perished.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī], who said: The Messenger of God sent a message to the Negus that he should marry to him Umm Ḥabībah, the daughter of Abū Sufyān, and should send her to him along with the Muslims who were with him. To inform Umm Ḥabībah of the marriage proposal, the Negus sent a slave girl of his named Abrahah to her. Umm Ḥabībah was so overjoyed by the news that she gave Abrahah some of her silver jewelry and a ring.[462] The Negus commanded Umm Ḥabībah to appoint someone as her agent to give her in marriage, and she appointed Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ. He gave her in marriage: the Negus spoke on behalf of the Messenger of God, and Khālid spoke [for Umm Ḥabībah] and gave Umm Ḥabībah in mar-

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460. Arabic: *thufrūq*, the round part of the covering at the base of a date, where it joins the stalk.

461. For this interpretation of *'arafnā mā bu'ithta bihi ilaynā*, see ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CCCLVIII, which tranlates *'arafa mā qāla* as *pro recto agnovit*.

462. Arabic: *awḍāḥ, fatakh*. The first term refers either to silver jewelry made from coins or to anklets; the second term refers to unjeweled rings for the fingers or toes.

riage. The Negus called for 400 dinars as her bride gift and handed them to Khālid b. Sa'īd. When the money came to Umm Ḥabībah—it was Abrahah who brought it—Umm Ḥabībah gave her fifty *mithqāls*,[463] saying, "I gave you that[464] when I possessed nothing, but now God, Who is mighty and exalted, has brought
[1571] this!" Abrahah said, "The king has commanded me not to take anything from you and to return to you what I took from you"—and she returned it.[465] "I am the mistress of the king's ointments and garments. I believe Muḥammad the Messenger of God and trust in him. All I ask you is to greet him for me." Umm Ḥabībah said that she would. [Abrahah said,] "The king has ordered his women to send you the aloes wood and ambergris they have." The Messenger of God used to perceive it on her and in her quarters, and he did not disapprove of it.

According to Umm Ḥabībah, who said: We departed in two ships, and he sent sailors with us. We landed at al-Jār[466] and rode animals to Medina. We found that the Messenger of God was at Khaybar, and some went out to him. I stayed in Medina until the Messenger of God returned and I entered his presence. He used to question me about the Negus. I greeted him from Abrahah, and he responded to her greeting.

When Abū Sufyān learned that the Prophet had been married to Umm Ḥabībah, he said, "That stallion's nose is not to be restrained!"[467]

In this year, the Messenger of God sent the following letter to Kisrā[468] via 'Abdallāh b. Ḥudhāfah al-Sahmī:

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463. Usually *mithqāl* is a synonym for *dīnār*, although a smaller coin may be intended.

464. I.e., the silver jewelry and ring mentioned above.

465. Ed. Cairo: "and I have returned it" or "I hereby return it" (making these words part of the speech of Abrahah).

466. Al-Jār, on the bay of Buraykah south of modern Yanbu', was a Red Sea port a day's journey from Medina; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 34–36; *EI*², s.v. al-Djār.

467. For the proverb, see Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, II, 869; *Lisān*, V, 3551 (s.v. q-d-') and 3595 (s.v. q-r-'). The meaning is that he is a match not to be rejected as unequal to the bride. The *Lisān* explains: "One would bring a thoroughbred camel mare to someone who had a stallion and ask him to have his stallion service the mare, but if he led out a stallion with no pedigree, one would strike it on the nose to signify that one did not want it."

468. See note 426, above.

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Kisrā, the ruler of Persia. Peace be with whoever follows right guidance, believes in God and His Messenger, and testifies that there is no god but God and that I am the Messenger of God to all mankind, to warn whoever is alive.[469] Submit yourself, and you shall be safe. If you refuse, the sin of the Magians[470] shall be upon you.

Kisrā tore up the letter of the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God said, "His kingdom has been torn up."[471]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb, who said: He sent 'Abdallāh b. Ḥudhāfah b. Qays b. 'Adī b. Sa'd b. Sahm to Kisrā the son of Hurmuz, the king of Persia, with the following letter: [1572]

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Kisrā, the ruler of Persia. Peace be upon whoever follows right guidance, believes in God and His Messenger, and testifies that there is no god but God alone, Who has no partner, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger. I summon you with the summons of God; for I am the Messenger of God to all mankind, to warn whoever is alive, and that the word may be fulfilled against the unbelievers.[472] Submit yourself, and you shall be safe. If you refuse, the sin of the Magians shall be upon you.

When Kisrā read it, he tore it up and said, "He writes this to me when he is my servant!"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—al-Zuhrī—Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf:[473] 'Abdallāh b. Ḥudhāfah delivered the letter of

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469. Cf. Qur'ān 36:69.
470. Arabic: al-Majūs, the ordinary word for Zoroastrians. See *EI*², s.v. Madjūs.
471. Alternative translation: "May his kingdom be torn up!"
472. Cf. Qur'ān 36:69.
473. As mentioned earlier, p. 95, above, Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf was the son of the Emigrant 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf by Tumāḍir bt. al-Aṣbagh al-Kalbiyyah. He died ca. 94/712–13. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 115–18.

the Messenger of God to Kisrā. When the latter had read it, he tore it in half. When the Messenger of God heard that he had torn his letter, he said, "His kingdom has been torn up."[474]

[Muḥammad b. Isḥāq] then resumed the report of Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb, who said: Kisrā then wrote to Bādhān, who was governor of Yemen, saying, "Send two strong men of yours after this man in the Ḥijāz, and have them bring him to me." So Bādhān sent his steward Bābawayh, who was a scribe and accountant, with the [1573] writ of Persia, and with him he sent a Persian named Khurrakhusrah.[475] He wrote a letter to be taken by them to the Messenger of God, commanding him to go back with the two men to Kisrā. He said to Bābawayh, "Go to this man's land, speak to him, and bring me a report about him." So the two men set out. Having reached al-Ṭā'if,[476] they found some men of Quraysh at Nakhib[477] in the territory of al-Ṭā'if and asked them about him. They said that he was at Medina. The men of Quraysh were delighted and glad to have met the two men; they said to one another: "Rejoice! Kisrā, the king of kings, has become his enemy. You have become rid of the man."

The two men set out and reached the Messenger of God. Bābawayh addressed him, saying: "The shah of shahs and king of kings, Kisrā, has written to King Bādhān, commanding him to send someone to you to bring you to him. Bādhān has sent me to you so that you may go back with me. If you do, he will write concerning you to the king of kings on your behalf and will keep him from you. If you refuse, you know who he is! He will destroy you, destroy your people, and lay waste to your lands."

Now the two men had come before the Messenger of God having shaved their beards but left their mustaches, so that he disliked looking at them. He turned to them and said, "Alas, who ordered you to do this?" They said, "Our lord"—meaning Kisrā—"ordered us to do it." The Messenger of God said, "But my Lord

474. See note 471, above.
475. So vocalized by ed. Cairo.
476. The city of al-Ṭā'if lies in the mountains about forty miles southeast of Mecca. See *EI*[1] s.v., Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v.
477. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VIII, 272, lists a valley by this name in al-Ṭā'if.

has ordered me to leave my beard and clip my mustache."[478] Then he said to them, "Go away, and come to me tomorrow."

Then a message from heaven came to the Messenger of God that God had incited against Kisrā his son Shīrawayh. He had killed him in such and such a month, on such and such a night of the month, after such and such hours of the night had passed.[479] God [1574] incited his son Shīrawayh against him, and he killed him.

According to al-Wāqidī: Shīrawayh killed his father, Kisrā, the eve of Tuesday, the 10th day of Jumādā I of the year 7, at the sixth hour of the night.[480]

Resumption of the account of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb: He summoned the two men and told them the news. They said: "Do you know what you are saying? We have reproved you for what is less than this. Shall we write this on your authority and report it to the king?"[481] "Yes," he said, "report it to him from me, and tell him that my religion and my dominion shall reach as far as the kingdom of Kisrā has reached and extend to the utmost reach of camel's pad and horse's hoof. Say to him, 'If you submit yourself,[482] I will give you what you possess and make you

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478. For a list of *ḥadīths* on the subject see Wensinck, *Concordance*, III, 91, s.v. *shārib*.

479. The text has been corrupted by the copyist. I have translated the reconstruction proposed by the Leiden editor.

480. Al-Wāqidī's date (15 September 628) conflicts with a previously cited tradition (al-Ṭabarī, I, 1009), according to which Muḥammad learned of the death of Kisrā (i.e., Khusrau II Parvīz, ruled 591–628) "on the day of al-Ḥudaybiyah"—i.e., sometime in Dhū al-Qa'dah (began 13 March 628) of A.H. 6. This corresponds closely to the date of the deposition of Khusrau II in February 628 in a coup involving Khusrau's son, Kavādh II Shērōē (Qubādh II Shīrawayh), and generals exasperated by Khusrau's refusal to conclude peace with the Byzantine emperor Heraclius after his military defeats. Shīrawayh's letter, quoted in the next paragraph, alludes to the army's discontent. The exact date of Khusrau's death is unknown. The *History of Heraclius* by the Armenian bishop Sebeos says he was killed immediately. A tradition preserved in al-Ṭabarī, I, 1045–61, has Shīrawayh prepare a detailed indictment of Khusrau's misdeeds, to which Khusrau replied—implying a lapse of time between the deposition and the killing of Khusrau. Shērōē/Shīrawayh ruled only briefly (six or eight months) and was dead by the fall of 628. See Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 493–97; *Cambridge History of Iran*, III/1, 170; and Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 103.

481. I.e., to the governor of Yemen, who is given the title of *malik* (king) in the Arabic.

482. Or, "if you become a Muslim."

king over your people, the Abnā'.'"[483] Then he gave Khurrakhusrah a belt containing gold and silver that one of the kings had given him. The two men departed from him. They came to Bādhān and told him the news. He said: "By God, this is not the language of a king. I think the man is a prophet as he says. Let us await the event of what he has said. If it proves true, there is no disputing that he is indeed a prophet who has been sent. If it does not prove true, we shall consider what to do concerning him." Soon Bādhān received Shīrawayh's letter, which said:

> To proceed: I have killed Kisrā. I killed him only out of zeal for Persia, because he allowed himself to kill its nobles and detain them on the frontiers. When you receive this letter of mine, secure for me the obedience of those who are with you. See to the man about whom Kisrā wrote to you, and do not provoke him until you receive my order concerning him.

When Shīrawayh's letter reached Bādhān, he said, "This man is indeed a messenger," and he became a Muslim, and the Abnā'—
[1575] those from Persia who were in Yemen—became Muslims with him. (The people of Ḥimyar[484] used to call Khurrakhusrah Dhū al-Mi'jazah, because of the belt that the Messenger of God gave to him. 'Belt' in the language of Ḥimyar is *mi'jazah.* His sons today take their surname from it: [sons of] Khurrakhusrah Dhū al-Mi'jazah.) Bābawayh said to Bādhān, "Never have I spoken to a man more awesome to me than he was." Bādhān said, "Does he have picked troops?" "No," he replied.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year he wrote to al-Muqawqis, the ruler of the Copts, summoning him to Islam, but he did not become a Muslim.

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: When the Messenger of God

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483. The Abnā' ("Sons") were the Persian residents of Yemen, descendants of the Persians said to have come with Sayf b. Dhī Yazan. They were also called Abnā' al-Aḥrār ("Sons of the Free"). See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CXLII; *EI*², s.v. al-Abnā'.

484. Ḥimyar was a south Arabian tribe whose kingdom flourished before Islam. Here it is used loosely for Yemen.

returned to Medina from the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiyah, he remained there for the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah and part of al-Muḥarram (according to the account of Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq). The polytheists were in charge of the pilgrimage in that year.

The Events of the Year 7

(May 11, 628–April 30, 629)

The Expedition to Khaybar[485]

Then the year 7 began. The Messenger of God set out for Khaybar[486] in the remainder of al-Muḥarram, leaving Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭah al-Ghifārī in charge of Medina. He traveled and halted with his army at a valley called al-Rajī',[487] encamping between the people of Khaybar and [the tribe of] Ghaṭafān (according to the account from Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq) to prevent the latter from aiding the people of Khaybar, for they were going to back them against the Messenger of God.

It has been reported to me that, when Ghaṭafān heard that the
[1576] Messenger of God had encamped near Khaybar, they assembled because of him and set out to aid the Jews against him. Having traveled a day's journey, they heard a sound behind them in their possessions and families. Thinking that the enemy had come at them from behind, they turned back and stayed with their families and possessions, leaving the way to Khaybar open to the

485. Parallels: W, II, 633–705; IH, III, 328–53 (tr. Guillaume, 510–23).

486. Khaybar is an oasis about 95 miles (150 km) north of Medina. Its inhabitants at this time were mostly Jews engaged in agriculture and commerce. L. Veccia Vaglieri's article in *EI*², s.v. Khaybar, discusses the attack and its motives.

487. This is not to be confused with the similarly named al-Rajī' near al-Ṭā'if, where a small party of Muslims was betrayed in A.H. 4 (see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1473); see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, IV, 228–29.

Messenger of God. The Messenger of God began taking herds and property bit by bit and conquering Khaybar fortress by fortress. The first of their fortresses that he conquered was the fortress of Nā'im. Maḥmūd b. Maslamah was killed at it—a millstone was hurled on him from it and killed him. Next was al-Qamūṣ, the fortress of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq. The Messenger of God took some of its people captive, including Ṣafiyyah bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab (the wife of Kinānah b. al-Rabī' b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq) and two daughters of her paternal uncle. The Messenger of God chose Ṣafiyyah for himself. Diḥyah al-Kalbī had asked the Messenger of God for Ṣafiyyah; when the latter chose her for himself, he gave Diḥyah her two cousins. The captives of Khaybar were divided among the Muslims. Then the Messenger of God began taking the fortresses and property that were closest to him.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—a member of the Aslam: The Banū Sahm, who were a part of Aslam,[488] came to the Messenger of God and said, "Messenger of God, by God we have been struck by drought and possess nothing." But they found that the Messenger of God had nothing to give them. So the Prophet said: "O God, Thou knowest their condition—that they have no strength and that I have nothing to give them. Open to them [for conquest] the greatest of the fortresses of Khaybar, the one most abounding in food and fat meat." The next morning God opened the fortress of al-Ṣa'b b. Mu'ādh for them [to conquer]. There was no fortress in Khaybar more abounding in food and fat meat than it. [1577]

After the Messenger of God had conquered some of their fortresses and taken some of the property, they reached their fortress[489] of al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim, which was the last of the fortresses of Khaybar to be conquered. The Messenger of God besieged the inhabitants between thirteen and nineteen nights.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—

488. See note 297, above.

489. IH, III, 332, reads "their two fortresses"; cf. p. 123, below. The confusion may be due to the division of the oasis into three regions (al-Naṭāh, al-Shiqq, and al-Katībah), each containing several fortresses and separated from the other regions by wadis, lava fields, or swamps. See *EI*², s.v. Khaybar.

'Abdallāh b. Sahl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sahl (a member of the Banū Ḥārithah)—Jābir b. 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī, who said: Marḥab the Jew sallied forth from their fortress[490] fully armed, reciting the following verses in *rajaz* meter:

Khaybar knows well that I am Marḥab,
    whose weapon is sharp, a warrior tested.
Sometimes I thrust with spear; sometimes I strike with sword.
    When lions advance in their rage,
My territory is territory unapproachable.

He said, "Is there anyone who will come out for single combat?" The Messenger of God said, "Who will take him on?" Muḥammad b. Maslamah stood up and said: "I will take him on, Messenger of God. By God, I have had a relative slain and seek revenge, for they killed my brother yesterday." The Messenger of God said: "Arise and go to him! O God, help him against him!" When each drew
[1578] near the other, an ancient *'ushar* bush[491] came between them. Each of them began using it as a refuge from the other; but, whenever one took refuge in it, the other would cut with his sword the part of it separating him from his adversary. Finally each was exposed to the other, and the bush between them came to be like a man standing, with no branches between the two. Then Marḥab attacked Muḥammad and struck him. Muḥammad warded him off with his shield,[492] and Marḥab's sword landed in the shield, which gripped it and held it fast. Muḥammad b. Maslamah struck him and killed him.

After the death of Marḥab, his brother Yāsir came forth reciting the following verses:

Khaybar knows well that I am Yāsir,
    whose weapon is sharp, a warrior-raider.
When lions advance swiftly
    and raiders shrink from my assault,
In my territory death is a dweller.

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490. For a photograph of the ruins traditionally identified as Qaṣr Marḥab (Marḥab's Castle), see Hamidullah, *Battlefields*, 51.

491. Identified as *Asclepias gigantea* (giant swallowwort) and described in Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 2051.

492. Arabic: *daraqah*; see note 365, above.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Hishām b. 'Urwah:[493] Al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām went out against Yāsir. Al-Zubayr's mother, Ṣafiyyah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, asked, "Messenger of God, is he going to kill my son?" "No," he replied, "your son will kill him, God willing." Al-Zubayr went out reciting:

Khaybar knows well that I am Zabbār,[494]
chief of folk who do not turn back and flee;
A son of defenders of glory, a son of the best.
Yāsir, let the unbelievers' host not deceive you:
Their host is like a slow-moving mirage.

Then the two met, and al-Zubayr killed him. [1579]

According to Ibn Bashshār—Muḥammad b. Ja'far—'Awf[495]—Maymūn [Abū 'Abdallāh][496]—'Abdallāh b. Buraydah[497]—Buraydah al-Aslamī,[498] who said: When the Messenger of God encamped at the fortress of the people of Khaybar, he gave the banner to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Some of the people set out with him, and they encountered the people of Khaybar. 'Umar and his companions were put to flight. When they returned to the Messenger of God, 'Umar's companions accused him of cowardice, and he accused them of the same. The Messenger of God said, "Tomorrow I shall give the banner to a man who loves God and His Messenger and whom God and His Messenger love." The next day, Abū Bakr and 'Umar vied for the banner, but the Messenger of God called 'Alī, who was suffering from inflamed eyes, and, having spat on his eyes, gave him the banner. Some of the people set

493. Hishām b. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, the son of 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, was born ca. 61/680 in Medina and died in 146/763 in Baghdād. He was a transmitter of traditions and a jurist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 48–51; *GAS*, I, 88–89.

494. *Zabbār* ("extremely strong") is an intensive adjective from the root of his name. The line ends in a pun, also conditioned by the need for a rhyme.

495. 'Awf b. Abī Jamīlah al-A'rābī lived from 59/678 to 146 or 147/763–65. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 166–67.

496. Identified by the index to the Cairo ed. as Abū 'Abdallāh Maymūn, the *mawlā* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah.

497. 'Abdallāh b. Buraydah b. al-Ḥuṣayb al-Aslamī, supposedly born in 16/637, died as judge of Marv, perhaps as late as 115/733. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 157–58.

498. Buraydah b. al-Ḥuṣayb al-Aslamī died between 60 and 64/679–84. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 432–33.

out with him. When 'Alī met the people of Khaybar, there was Marḥab reciting his verses:

Khaybar knows well that I am Marḥab,
    whose weapon is sharp, a warrior tested.
Sometimes I thrust with spear; sometimes I strike with sword,
    when lions advance in burning rage.

He and 'Alī exchanged two blows. Then 'Alī struck him on his head, so that the sword bit firmly into it.[499] The people of the army heard his blow. Even before the last of the people had joined 'Alī, God gave him and them the victory.

According to Abū Kurayb—Yūnus b. Bukayr[500]—al-Musayyab b. Muslim al-Awdī—'Abdallāh b. Buraydah—his father [Buraydah b. al-Ḥuṣayb], who said: The Messenger of God often had migraines and would remain a day or two without coming out. When the Messenger of God encamped at Khaybar, he came down with
[1580] migraine and did not come out to the people. Abū Bakr took the banner of the Messenger of God, set out and fought vigorously, and then came back. Then 'Umar took it, fought with even more vigor than the first fighting, and then came back. When the Messenger of God was informed of this, he said, "By God, tomorrow I shall give it to a man who loves God and His Messenger, whom God and His Messenger love, and who will take it in humble obedience."[501] Because 'Alī was not there, the Quraysh[502] vied for it, each of them hoping to be its bearer. In the morning, 'Alī came on his camel and made it kneel down near the tent of the Messenger of God. He was suffering from inflamed eyes and had ban-

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499. Literally, "bit into it with its teeth." Perhaps this alludes to the tradition that 'Alī's sword, Dhū al-Faqār, had notches or ridges or that it was two-pointed. Cf. *EI*², s.v. Dhu'l-Faḳār. Another possibility, suggested by the parallel below (p. 121), is that the sword "bit into the [rear] teeth of it [viz. his head]."

500. Yūnus b. Bukayr b. Wāṣil al-Shaybānī (died 199/815) transmitted a recension of Ibn Isḥāq's biography of the Prophet, later condensed by Ibn Hishām. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 434; *GAS*, I, 146, 289.

501. Arabic *'anwatan*, which can also mean "by force" or "by compulsion." It is possible that the second "it" refers, not to the banner, but to another feminine word left to be understood from the context, such as "the city" (*al-madīnah*)—cf. p. 121 below, where the word occurs. In that case, the fact that Khaybar fell to the Muslims "by compulsion" had legal implications for the disposition of the booty and the status of the inhabitants.

502. I.e., the Emigrants.

daged them with a strip of Qaṭarī cloth.[503] The Messenger of God asked, "What is wrong?" 'Alī replied, "My eyes are still inflamed." The Messenger of God said, "Come near me." 'Alī came near him, and he spat in his eyes. The pain departed immediately. He gave 'Alī the banner, and 'Alī set out with it. He was wearing a suit of reddish purple whose fringes[504] were of two colors, white and red.

When 'Alī came to the city of Khaybar, Marḥab, the master of the fortress, came out wearing a safflower-dyed Yemeni neck protector (*mighfar*) and a stone in which he had bored holes like a helmet on his head. He was reciting the following verse:

Khaybar knows well that I am Marḥab,
    whose weapon is sharp, a warrior tested.

'Alī recited:

I am he whose mother named him Lion:[505]
    I will mete you out sword blows by the bushel—
A lion in thickets, powerful, mighty.

They exchanged two blows. Then 'Alī struck him a swift blow [1581]
that split the stone, the neck protector, and his head and landed in his rear teeth; and he took the city.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan[506]—a member of his family—Abū Rāfi',[507] the *mawlā* of the Messenger of God, who said: We went out with 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, when the Messenger of God sent him forth with his banner. When he approached the fortress, its inhabitants came out against him, and he fought them. One of the Jews hit him and knocked his shield out of his hand; so 'Alī picked up a door that was by the fortress and shielded himself with it. It remained in his hand while he fought until God granted him victory; then he threw it aside when he was finished. I can see myself with seven

503. A kind of reddish cloth ornamented with large figures; see ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CDXXVII.

504. Arabic: *khaml*, perhaps "nap."

505. Arabic *ḥaydar*. The word used for lion in the last line of the poem is *layth*, another of the many synonyms in Arabic for the lion. See *EI*², s.v. Asad.

506. Identified in ed. Cairo, Index, as 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

507. His name was Ruwayfi'. See the biography given in Poonawala, *Last Years*, 143 [I, 1778–79].

other men in a group straining to turn that door over and unable to do it.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: After the Messenger of God conquered al-Qamūṣ, the fortress of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq, Ṣafiyyah bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab was brought to him, and another woman with her. Bilāl, who was the one who brought them, led them past some of the slain Jews. When the woman who was with Ṣafiyyah saw them, she cried out, struck her face, and poured dust on her head. When the Messenger of God saw her, he said, "Take this she-devil away from me!" He commanded that Ṣafiyyah should be kept behind him and that his cloak should be cast over her. Thus the Muslims knew that the Messenger of God had chosen her for himself. The Messenger of God said to Bilāl (according to what I have received) when he saw
[1582] the Jewish woman doing what he saw her do, "Are you devoid of mercy, Bilāl, that you take two women past their slain men?"

When Ṣafiyyah became the bride of Kinānah b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abī Ḥuqayq, she dreamt that a moon had fallen into her lap. She told her vision to her husband, and he said, "That is only because you are wishing for the king of the Ḥijāz, Muḥammad"—and he gave her face a slap that blackened her eye. She was brought to the Messenger of God with the traces of it still there; he asked her what it was, and she told him this story.

According to Ibn Isḥāq: Kinānah b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq, who had the treasure of the Banū al-Naḍīr,[508] was brought to the Messenger of God, who questioned him; but he denied knowing where it was. Then the Messenger of God was brought a Jew who said to him, "I have seen Kinānah walk around this ruin every morning." The Messenger of God said to Kinānah: "What do you say? If we find it in your possession, I will kill you."[509] "All right," he answered. The Messenger of God commanded that the ruin should be dug up, and some of the treasure was extracted from it. Then he asked him for the rest of it. Kinānah refused to surrender it; so the Messenger of God gave orders concerning him to al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, saying, "Torture him until you root out

508. See note 26, above.
509. Ed. Cairo: "shall I kill you?"

what he has." Al-Zubayr kept twirling his firestick in his breast[510] until Kinānah almost expired; then the Messenger of God gave him to Muḥammad b. Maslamah, who beheaded him to avenge his brother Maḥmūd b. Maslamah.

The Messenger of God besieged the people of Khaybar in their two fortresses of al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim. Finally, when they were certain that they would perish, they asked him to banish them and spare their lives, which he did. The Messenger of God had already taken all the property—al-Shiqq, Naṭāh, al-Katībah, and all their [1583] fortresses—except what belonged to those two fortresses. When the people of Fadak[511] heard of what they had done, they sent word to the Messenger of God, asking him to banish them and spare their lives, and they would leave him their property; and he did so. Among the men who mediated between them and the Messenger of God in the matter was Muḥayyiṣah b. Mas'ūd, a member of the Banū Ḥārithah. When the people of Khaybar surrendered on these terms, they asked the Messenger of God to employ them on the properties for a half share. They said, "We know more about them than you and are better cultivators of them." So the Messenger of God made peace with them for a half share, provided that "if we want to make you leave, we may." The people of Fadak made peace with him on similar terms. Khaybar became the booty (*fay'*) of the Muslims; Fadak belonged exclusively to the Messenger of God, because the Muslims had not attacked its people with horses or camels.[512]

When the Messenger of God rested from his labor, Zaynab bt. al-Ḥārith, the wife of Sallām b. Mishkam, served him a roast sheep. She had asked what part of the sheep the Messenger of God liked best and was told that it was the foreleg. So she loaded that part with poison, and she poisoned the rest of the sheep, too. Then she brought it. When she set it before the Messenger of God, he took the foreleg and chewed a bit of it, but he did not swallow it. With him was Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr, who, like the Messenger of

510. Possibly (as Guillaume translates the parallel from Ibn Hishām), "he kindled a fire" with his firestick on his chest (not, however, with flint and steel, as Guillaume would have it). The firestick (*zand*) was a stick of wood that could be twirled rapidly in an indentation in a second piece of wood to produce fire.

511. See note 410, above.

512. This echoes the language of Qur'ān 17:64.

God, took some of it; Bishr, however, swallowed it, while the Messenger of God spat it out, saying, "This bone informs me that it has been poisoned." Then he summoned the woman, and she confessed. He asked, "What led you to do this?" She said: "How [1584] you have afflicted my people is not hidden from you. So I said, 'If he is a prophet, he will be informed; but if he is a king, I shall be rid of him.'" The Prophet forgave her. Bishr b. al-Barā' died of the food he had eaten.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Marwān b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Sa'īd b. al-Mu'allā,[513] who said: The Messenger of God said during the illness from which he died—the mother of Bishr b. al-Barā' had come in to visit him—"Umm Bishr, at this very moment I feel my aorta being severed[514] because of the food I ate with your son at Khaybar." The Muslims believed that in addition to the honor of prophethood that God had granted him the Messenger of God died a martyr.

According to Ibn Isḥāq: After the Messenger of God had finished with Khaybar, he returned to Wādī al-Qurā and besieged its people for some nights; then he returned to Medina.

The Expedition of the Messenger of God to Wādī al-Qurā

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Thawr b. Zayd[515]—Sālim, the *mawlā* of 'Abdallāh b. Muṭī'[516]—Abū Hurayrah, who said: After we returned with the Messenger of God from Khaybar to Wādī al-Qurā, we halted late in the afternoon toward sunset. With the Messenger of God was a slave lad of his whom Rifā'ah b. Zayd al-Judhāmī (and al-Ḍubaybī)[517] had given

513. Marwān b. 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd b. al-Mu'allā al-Anṣārī al-Zurqī Abū 'Uthmān is listed in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 95, as being from Medina, but without dates.

514. The expression *qaṭa'a abharahū* "it severed his aorta" need not be taken literally; it is used metaphorically for extreme pain. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 266.

515. Thawr b. Zayd al-Dīlī was a *mawlā* born in Medina who died in 135/752–53. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 31–32.

516. Sālim Abū al-Ghayth, *mawlā* of Ibn Muṭī', is listed without dates in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 445.

517. I.e., of the al-Ḍubayb subdivision of the tribe of Judhām. One manuscript reads al-Ḍabīnī, which is also possible.

him. Suddenly, as we were setting down the saddle of the Messenger of God, a stray arrow came and hit the slave, killing him. We said, "May he enjoy Paradise!" But the Messenger of God said, "No; by Him who holds Muḥammad's soul in His hand, his cloak is now being burnt on him in the Fire!" He had pilfered it from the booty of the Muslims at the battle of Khaybar. Having heard these words, one of the companions of the Messenger of God came to him and said, "Messenger of God, I took two thongs for my sandals." He replied, "Two similar ones of fire will be cut for you!" [1585]

During this journey, the Messenger of God and his companions overslept the dawn prayer until the sun had already risen.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, who said: After the Messenger of God had left Khaybar and was on the road, he said late at night, "Who will watch for dawn for us, so that we can sleep?" Bilāl said, "I will watch for you, Messenger of God." So the Messenger of God halted, and the people halted, and they went to sleep. Bilāl stood praying. Having prayed for a time, he leaned against his camel and turned himself in the direction of the dawn to watch for it, but his eye overcame him and he fell asleep. It was only the touch of the sun that woke them. The Messenger of God was the first among his companions to wake from sleep, and he asked, "What have you done to us, Bilāl?" "Messenger of God," he replied, "what overcame your soul overcame mine also." "You are right," he said. Then the Messenger of God led [his camel] a short distance and made it kneel down. He performed ablutions, and the people also performed them. Then he commanded Bilāl to give the call to prayer, and he led the people in worship. After he had recited the peace,[518] he turned to the people and said, "If you forget the prayer, pray it when you remember it; for God says, 'Perform the prayer on remembering Me.'"[519]

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518. I.e., after he had finished praying: the ritual of *ṣalāh* ends with a twofold salutation, "Peace be upon you and God's mercy," usually explained as being recited by the worshiper to the attending angels at his right and left.

519. Qur'ān 20:14. The usual translation is "perform the prayer for/of [Arabic *li-*] My remembrance." However, the context implies reference to the time of prayer, not its purpose. Beside indicating purpose, *li-* can mark the time from which or at which something took place. Cf. Wright, *Grammar*, II, 151.

[1586] According to Ibn Isḥāq: The conquest of Khaybar took place in Ṣafar.[520] Some Muslim women were present with the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God gave them small gifts from the booty, but he did not assign them a share.

The Affair of al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ al-Sulamī

After Khaybar had been conquered, al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ al-Sulamī (and al-Bahzī)[521] said to the Messenger of God: "Messenger of God, I have property in Mecca with my wife Umm Shaybah bt. Abī Ṭalḥah"—she was his wife, and he had a son, Mu'arriḍ b. al-Ḥajjāj, by her—"and property dispersed among the merchants of Mecca. Give me leave to go, Messenger of God." The Messenger of God gave him leave. Then al-Ḥajjāj said, "It will be necessary for me for me to say [something]."[522] "Say [whatever you want]," [523] he said.

According to al-Ḥajjāj, who said: I departed and arrived in Mecca. On the mountain trail at al-Bayḍā'[524] I met some men from Quraysh who were eager to hear news and were asking about what had happened to the Messenger of God. They had heard that he had gone to Khaybar and knew that it was the leading town of the Ḥijāz in fertility, defenses, and men; so they were seeking news. When they saw me, they said: "Al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ!"—they had not learned that I had become a Muslim—"He, by God, must have news! Tell us what has happened to Muḥammad; for we have heard that that cutter [of kinship ties][525] has marched against Khaybar, a town of Jews and the most fertile land in the Ḥijāz."

I said, "I have heard about that, and I have news that will make you happy." They clung to the sides of my camel, saying, "Out with it, Ḥajjāj!" So I said: "They have been handed a defeat like no
[1587] defeat you have ever heard of. His companions have suffered

520. Ṣafar, A.H. 7, began on 10 June 628.

521. I.e., of the Bahz subdivision of the Banū Sulaym.

522. I.e., to lie. Al-Ḥajjāj may be intentionally avoiding the bluntness of the ordinary word for lying.

523. The bracketed words are from the parallel in W, II, 702.

524. According to Yāqūt (*Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 335), al-Bayḍā' is another name for Tan'īm, just outside the sacred territory (*ḥaram*) encircling Mecca.

525. Arabic: *al-qāṭi'*, "the cutter," which can be a shortened way of saying *qāṭi' al-raḥim*, "cutter, i.e., breaker of ties of kinship," or *qāṭi' al-ṭarīq*, "cutter of the road, i.e., highwayman." Either meaning would fit the context.

slaughter like no slaughter you have ever heard of. Muḥammad himself has been taken prisoner, but they have said, 'We will not kill him, but will send him to Mecca, so that they can kill him in their midst for those of their men whom he killed.'"

So the men went and proclaimed it in Mecca, saying: "Here is news for you! Muḥammad is on the way. All you have to do is wait for him to be brought to you to be put to death in your midst."

I said, "Help me collect my property in Mecca from my debtors; for I want to go to Khaybar and get something from Muḥammad's defeated army and companions before the merchants beat me to what there is." So they went and collected my property as quickly as I have ever heard of its being done. I went to my wife and said: "My property!"—for I had property of mine left with her. "Perhaps I can reach Khaybar and take advantage of the opportunities to buy before the merchants beat me to it."

When al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib[526] heard the news—it was reported to him on my authority—he came and stood beside me while I was in one of the merchants' tents and said, "Ḥajjāj, what is this news you have brought?" I said, "Can you keep to yourself what I entrust to you?" "Yes," he replied. I said, "Leave me, and I will meet you in private; for I am in the midst of collecting my property, as you see." So he went away from me. When I had collected everything belonging to me in Mecca and was ready to leave, I met al-'Abbās and said, "Keep what I say to yourself for three nights, Abū al-Faḍl,[527] for I fear pursuit; then say whatever you want." "I will," he said. I said: "By God, I left your nephew [1588] married to their king's daughter, Ṣafiyyah bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab. He has conquered Khaybar and plundered what it contains. It has become his and his companions'." "What are you saying, Ḥajjāj?" he said. I said: "It is so, by God! Keep my secret. I have become a Muslim and have come only to get my property for fear that it may be taken from me by force. After three days have passed, make what you know public; for the matter, by God, is as you would like it to be."

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526. Al-'Abbās was Muḥammad's uncle. According to al-Ṭabarī, I, 1344, he became a Muslim sometime before the Battle of Badr but had been forced to fight on the Meccan side at that battle, professing his Islam openly only after he was captured. See *EI*², s.v. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

527. Abū al-Faḍl is the *kunyah* of al-'Abbās.

On the third day, al-'Abbās put on a suit of clothes, perfumed himself, took his stick, left his house, went to the Ka'bah, and circumambulated it. When people saw him, they said, "Abū al-Faḍl, this, by God, is composure in the face of a searing misfortune!" "No," he replied, "by Him by whom you swore, Muḥammad has conquered Khaybar and has been made the husband of the daughter of their king. He has taken its wealth and what was in it; they have become his and his companions'." "Who brought you this news?" they asked. He said: "The one who brought you what he brought you. He came among you as a Muslim, took his property, and left to join the Messenger of God and his companions and be with him." They said: "Help, servants of God! The enemy of God has escaped! By God, had we known, we should have had a bone to pick with him." Soon the news of it reached them.

The Division of the Spoils of Khaybar

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, who said: The property of Khaybar—[the fortresses of] al-Shiqq, Naṭāh, and al-Katībah—was divided as follows. Al-Shiqq and Naṭāh were among the shares of the Muslims. Al-Katībah was the fifth of God, the fifth of the Prophet, the share of kinsmen, orphans, the needy, and the wayfarer, food for the
[1589] wives of the Prophet, and food for the men who had mediated the peace between the Messenger of God and the people of Fadak[528] (they included Muḥayyiṣah b. Mas'ūd, whom the Messenger of God gave from it thirty camel loads of barley and thirty camel loads of dates). Khaybar was divided among the people who had been at al-Ḥudaybiyah, both those who were present at Khaybar

528. It is unlikely that the *ands* in the original connect equal units, implying (as Guillaume translates the parallel in Ibn Hishām) that the spoils of al-Katībah were divided into five equal parts—one-fifth for God, one-fifth for the Prophet, one-fifth for relatives, orphans, the needy, and wayfarers, one-fifth for the Prophet's wives, and one-fifth for the mediators between him and Fadak. Qur'ānic usage normally treats the one-fifth (*khums*) of God and the one-fifth of the Prophet as synonymous (e.g., Qur'ān 8:41: "a fifth is for God and for the Messenger and for the kinsman and orphans and the needy and the wayfarer"; similarly Qur'ān 59:7). The most likely meaning is that al-Katībah as a whole was treated as constituting the fifth of the booty reserved for Muḥammad to divide for special uses ("the fifth of God"). This interpretation is followed by Vaglieri, in *EI*², s.v. Khaybar, summarizes the varying traditions about the division of the spoils of Khaybar.

and those who were absent. Only Jābir b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥarām al-Anṣārī was absent, and the Messenger of God allotted him a share like that of those who were present.

After the Messenger of God had finished with Khaybar, God cast fear into the hearts of the people of Fadak when they received news of what God had brought upon the people of Khaybar; so they sent to the Messenger of God to make peace with him for a half share of Fadak. Their messengers came to him in Khaybar [or on the way,[529] or perhaps after he had arrived in Medina], and he accepted their terms. Fadak became the property of the Messenger of God exclusively, because no horses or camels had been spurred against it.[530]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, who said: The Messenger of God used to send 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah to the people of Khaybar to estimate the quantity of the date harvest [to be divided] between the Muslims and the Jews. He would make his estimate for them; and if they said, "You have wronged us," he would say, "If you wish, it[531] is yours; and if you wish, it is ours." So the Jews used to say, "By this man heaven and earth stand firm!"[532] 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah acted as their assessor for only [one year];[533] then he was killed at Mu'tah. Jabbār b. Ṣakhr b. Khansā' of the Banū Salimah became their assessor after 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah. The Jews continued on these terms, and the Muslims found no fault with their sharecropping until, in the lifetime of the Messenger of God, they [1590] attacked 'Abdallāh b. Sahl of the Banū Ḥārithah and killed him. The Messenger of God and the Muslims became suspicious of them because of him.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: I asked Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī how the Messenger of God's grant to

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529. For "on the way" (*bi-al-ṭarīq*), IH reads "in al-Ṭā'if" (*bi-al-Ṭā'if*).

530. The language is similar to Qur'ān 59:7.

531. Apparently, "this heap." I.e., he divided the harvest into two heaps and gave the Jews the choice of which they wanted.

532. The pronoun *hādhā* ("this") refers, as is usual, to a person ('Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah). Guillaume's finding of a direct echo of *Pirqē Ābhōth* 1:19 (he translates as if *hādhā* meant "this foundation") is unlikely, although some echo of the Jewish topos of "things on which heaven and earth rest" is possible.

533. The bracketed words, which are syntactically necessary, are from the parallel in IH, III, 354.

the Jews of Khaybar of their date palms, when he granted them the palm trees with the proviso of a tax on them, had taken place: did he concede them these terms as established [only] until his death, or for some necessity did he grant them to them without such a proviso? Ibn Shihāb informed me that the Messenger of God conquered Khaybar by force after fighting. Khaybar was something that God gave as booty to His Messenger. The Messenger of God took one-fifth of it and divided [the remainder] among the Muslims. Those of the inhabitants who surrendered did so on condition that they should be expelled after having fought. The Messenger of God summoned them and said, "If you wish, we will deliver these properties to you on condition that you shall work them and that their produce shall be divided between us and you; I will allow you to remain as long as God allows you to remain." They accepted, and they worked the properties on those terms. The Messenger of God used to send 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah; he would divide the produce and assess it fairly for the inhabitants. After the death of the Prophet, Abū Bakr after the Prophet confirmed the properties in their hands on the same terms of sharecropping on which the Messenger of God had dealt with them. When Abū Bakr died, 'Umar confirmed the sharecropping arrangement in the beginning of his term as commander; then, however, 'Umar was informed that the Messenger of God had said during his final illness, "Two religions cannot coexist in the Arabian peninsula."[534] 'Umar investigated the matter until trustworthy evidence reached him;[535] then he sent to the Jews, saying: "God has given permission for you to be expelled; for I have received
[1591] word that the Messenger of God said that two religions cannot coexist in the Arabian peninsula. Let anyone who has a treaty from the Messenger of God bring it to me, and I will carry it out for him. Let any Jew who has no treaty from the Messenger of God make ready to leave." Thus 'Umar expelled any of them who had no treaty from the Messenger of God.

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: Then the Messenger of God returned to Medina.

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534. Cf. the proverb (al-Maydani, II, 268): *lā yajtami'u faḥlāni fī shawl*, "Two stallions cannot live side by side in a herd."

535. Or, "until a trustworthy transmitter informed him."

Various Notices

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year the Messenger of God returned his daughter Zaynab to Abū al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī'. This took place in Muḥarram.[536]

In this year Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta'ah came back from al-Muqawqis bringing Māriyah and her sister Sīrīn, his female mule Duldul, his donkey Ya'fūr, and sets of garments. With the two women al-Muqawqis had sent a eunuch, and the latter stayed with them. Ḥāṭib had invited them to become Muslims before he arrived with them, and Māriyah and her sister did so. The Messenger of God lodged them with Umm Sulaym bt. Milḥān. Māriyah was beautiful. The Prophet sent her sister Sīrīn to Ḥassān b. Thābit, and she bore him 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān.

In this year the Prophet had the pulpit[537] made on which he used to preach to the people: he had it made with two steps and his seat. Others say that it was made in the year 8, which we[538] think is the reliable report.

In this year the Messenger of God sent 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb with thirty men against the "rear" of Hawāzin[539] at Turabah.[540] He set out with a guide from the Banū Hilāl. They traveled by night and [1592] hid by day. However, word reached Hawāzin and they fled. 'Umar returned without having encountered any fighting.

In this year a raiding party led by Abū Bakr b. Quḥāfah went to Najd in Sha'bān.[541]

According to Salamah b. al-Akwa': We raided with Abū Bakr in that year. According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: An account of this has been given earlier.[542]

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536. Muḥarram of A.H. 7 began on 11 May 628. Cf. pp. 93–94 and note 400, above. Apparently, Abū al-'Āṣ became a Muslim after his release, so that Zaynab could become his wife again.

537. See *EI*², s.v. Minbar, for a discussion by J. Pedersen of the derivation of the term and the various traditions about how the pulpit was introduced.

538. I.e., al-Wāqidī and his authorities.

539. The rear (*'ajuz* or *'ujz*) of the north Arabian tribe of Hawāzin consisted of the tribe's smaller divisions: Jusham, Naṣr, and Sa'd b. Bakr; see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 99; *Lisān*, IV, 2819; and *EI*², s.v. Hawāzin. Parallel: W, II, 722.

540. Turabah was south of Mecca; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 374.

541. Sha'bān of A.H. 7 began on 4 December 628.

542. See p. 97, above.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year a thirty-man raiding party led by Bashīr b. Sa'd[543] went to the Banū Murrah at Fadak in Sha'bān.[544] His companions were killed,[545] and he was carried away wounded with the dead. Then he returned to Medina.

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: In this year a raiding party led by Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh went to al-Mayfa'ah in the month of Ramaḍān.[546]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, who said:[547] The Messenger of God sent Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh al-Kalbī to the land of the Banū Murrah. During the raid, Usāmah b. Zayd and one of the Anṣār killed Mirdās b. Nahīk, an ally [of the Banū Murrah] from the al-Ḥuraqah [clan of the tribe] of Juhaynah.

According to Usāmah: When we overcame him, he said "I testify that there is no god but God," but we killed him before we left. When we came to the Messenger of God, we told him the story, and he said, "Usāmah, who will [say] to you 'There is no god but God'?"[548]

According to al-Wāqidī:[549] In this year the raiding party led by
[1593] Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh went to the Banū 'Abd b. Tha'labah. Accord-

543. On this Medinese companion of the Prophet (a member of al-Khazraj), see *EI*², s.v. Bashīr b. Sa'd.

544. Parallel: W, II, 723–26.

545. Or "wounded": Arabic *uṣība*, "were hit," is ambiguous. The parallel in al-Wāqidī implies many, but not all, were killed.

546. Ramaḍān of A.H. 7 began on 2 January 629. Al-Mayfa'ah is in Najd. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II, 86) locates it beyond Baṭn Nakhl (which Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 221, places "close" to Medina), toward al-Naqirah (which Yāqūt, VIII, 308, locates where the road from Iraq divides into two branches, one to Medina and one to Mecca; the modern toponym Nuqra in central Saudi Arabia may be the same place), eight post stages from Medina.

547. Parallel: IH, IV, 622–23 (without *isnād*).

548. I think this is the simplest interpretation of *man laka bi-lā ilāha illā Allāh*. Cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, II, 163C; Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 240. Guillaume (p. 667) translates "who will absolve you from ignoring the confession of faith?"—which I think is too complicated. The idiom normally means "who will bring/get/procure something for someone?" Muḥammad's rebuke to Usāmah would therefore mean that if he kills prisoners who recite the Muslim creed, no one will ever bring him (i.e., say to him) these words and thus accept Islam in his presence.

549. Parallel: W, II, 626–27.

ing to al-Wāqidī—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far—Ibn Abī 'Awn[550]—Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah, who said: Yasār, the *mawlā* of the Messenger of God, said, "Messenger of God, I know where the Banū 'Abd b. Tha'labah can be taken by surprise." He sent with him Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh with 130 men. They raided the Banū 'Abd, drove off camels and sheep, and brought them back to Medina.

In this year a raiding party led by Bashīr b. Sa'd went to Yumn and Jināb in Shawwāl of the year 7.[551] According to [al-Wāqidī]—Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sa'īd[552]—Sa'd b. 'Ubādah—Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Zayd, who said:[553] What prompted this raiding party was that Ḥusayl b. Nuwayrah al-Ashja'ī, who had been the guide of the Messenger of God to Khaybar, came before the Prophet. The Prophet asked him, "What news do you bring?" He said, "I left a large gathering of Ghaṭafān at al-Jināb: 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn has summoned them to march against you." So the Prophet summoned Bashīr b. Sa'd, and the guide, Ḥusayl b. Nuwayrah, went with him. They captured camels and sheep. A slave belonging to 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn met them, and they killed him. Then they encountered 'Uyaynah's army, which was put to flight. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Awf[554] met 'Uyaynah as he was fleeing and said, "The time has come, 'Uyaynah, for you to give up what you[555] plan."

The Lesser Pilgrimage of Fulfillment

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said:[556] When the Messenger of God returned to Medina from Khaybar, he

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550. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abī 'Awn al-Dawsī was born in Medina and died in 144/761–62. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 438.

551. Yumn (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VIII, 524) was a watering place of Ghaṭafān between Baṭn Qaww and Ru'āf, on the road between Taymā' and Fayd; al-Jināb was near Khaybar (ibid., III, 130–31).

552. A Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Abū 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Urdunnī (or al-Yamāmī) of Syrian origin—possibly they are two different men—is listed without dates in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 251.

553. Parallel: W, II, 727–31.

554. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Awf al-Murrī, the leader of the Banū Murrah, seems to have been an ally of 'Uyaynah; cf. the parallel in W, II, 729; also Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 94.

555. Variant, "we."

556. Parallel: IH, IV, 370 (tr. Guillaume, 530).

[1594] stayed there the months of Rabīʿ I, Rabīʿ II, Jumādā I, Jumādā II, Rajab, Shaʿbān, Ramaḍān, and Shawwāl,[557] sending out expeditions and raiding parties during the period. Then in Dhū al-Qaʿdah,[558] the month in which the polytheists had turned him back [in the previous year], he set out to perform the "Lesser Pilgrimage of Fulfillment" in place of the lesser pilgrimage from which they had turned him back.[559] The Muslims who had been with him on that lesser pilgrimage of his set out with him. It was the year 7. When the people of Mecca heard of it, they made way for him. The Quraysh spoke among themselves of how Muḥammad and his companions were in difficulty, distress, and want.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmārah[560]—al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtaybah[561]—Miqsam[562]—Ibn ʿAbbās, who said: They stood in rows at the House of Assembly (*Dār al-Nadwah*)[563] to look at the Messenger of God and his companions with him. When the Messenger of God entered the mosque, he put his cloak under his right arm and threw the bottom of it over his left shoulder,[564] leaving his right arm uncovered. Then he said, "May God have mercy on a man who today has shown them his

557. I.e., from 9 July 728 (the beginning of Rabīʿ I) to 1 March 729 (the end of Shawwāl).

558. Dhū al-Qaʿdah of A.H. 7 began on 2 March 629.

559. See pp. 67 ff., above. The phrase *ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ* implies that it was seen as making up for the interrupted pilgrimage of the previous year. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳaḍāʾ. It was sometimes called *ʿumrat al-qaḍiyyah* (the Lesser Pilgrimage of the Pact—so on p. 138, below) to imply that there was no obligatory making up, merely the fulfilling of a bargain struck at al-Ḥudaybiyah the previous year. See Burton, *An Introduction to the Ḥadīth*, 14.

560. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿUmārah died in 153/752. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 304–8.

561. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtaybah al-Kindī lived from around 47–50/667–70 to about 113–15/731–33. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 432–34; *GAS*, I, 65–66, 403.

562. Abū al-Qāsim Miqsam b. Bujrah (*mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal) died in 101/719. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 288–89; *GAS*, I, 65.

563. The House of Assembly (Dār al-Nadwah), to the north of the Kaʿbah, was where the Meccan leaders gathered to deliberate and transact common business. See *EI*², s.v. Dār al-Nadwa.

564. The procedure is expressed by the Arabic phrase *iḍṭabaʿa bi-ridāʾihī*. As Lane (*Lexicon*, V, 1766) notes, it frees the right arm and shoulder for work. One might see it as a symbolic gesture proclaiming the worshiper's readiness to serve the deity.

own strength." He touched the stone at the corner[565] and set out at a quick walk,[566] his companions going at the same pace with him. Then, when the House[567] had hidden him from the people and he had touched the southern corner, he walked until he touched the Black [Stone]; then he went at a quick walk in similar fashion for three circuits. He walked the remainder of the circuits.[568] Ibn 'Abbās used to say: "People used to think that it[569] was not incumbent upon them—that the Messenger of God had done it only because of those people of Quraysh, on account of what had been reported to him about them.[570] However, when he performed his Farewell Pilgrimage,[571] he trotted [those circuits],[572] and it became *sunnah*[573] to do so."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: When the Messenger of God entered Mecca on that lesser pilgrimage, he entered it while 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah was holding his camel's nose-ring and reciting:[574] [1595]

Make way, ye sons of unbelievers, for him:
    I am a witness that he is His Messenger.
Make way: for all good is in His Messenger.
    O Lord, I believe in what he says.
I know that God's truth is in accepting it.

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565. The Black Stone at the corner of the Ka'bah. "He touched (*istalama*) it," may also mean "he kissed it, or wiped it with his hand." The verb implies a ritual gesture, and the dictionaries are uncertain of its derivation; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1413.

566. Arabic: *yuharwil*, going at the pace called *harwalah*, between a walk and a run.

567. I.e., the Ka'bah.

568. I.e., the four circuits remaining of the total of seven. See *EI*[1], s.v. 'Umra.

569. I.e., the quick walk.

570. I.e., to impress Quraysh that he was not exhausted, as they had rumored.

571. In A.H. 10 (February–March 632); cf. al-Ṭabarī, I, 1751 ff.

572. Arabic: *ramala*, usually taken to be synonymous with *harwala* and to refer to the same gait between a walk and a run; see Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1159.

573. *Sunnah* (from *sanna*, to institute) originally meant "a way of acting or conduct . . . instituted by former people, and . . . pursued by those after them"—Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1438. The Islamic community applied the word to the normative actions and sayings of Muḥammad handed down within the community. See also, Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam*, 123–98.

574. Further discussion of the poem, its variants, and attributions of it to other poets may be found in the *Dīwān* of 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah, 101–2.

We have killed you in accordance with[575] its interpretation,
As we have killed you in accordance with its revelation,
with striking that removes the head from its resting place
and makes friend forget his friend.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Abān b. Ṣāliḥ[576] and 'Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ—'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ[577] and Mujāhid—Ibn 'Abbās: The Messenger of God married Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith on this journey while he was in a state of ritual purity; al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib married her to him.[578]

According to Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God stayed in Mecca three nights. On the third day, Ḥuwayṭib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Abī Qays b. 'Abd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl came to him with a
[1596] group of Quraysh: Quraysh had deputed Ḥuwayṭib to make the Messenger of God leave Mecca. They said to him, "Your allotted time is up; so depart from us!" The Messenger of God said to them: "How would it harm you if you left me and I celebrated the wedding feast among you? We would prepare food for you, and you would attend it." They said, "We do not need your food; so depart from us!" The Messenger of God departed, leaving behind Abū

575. Arabic: *'ala ta'wīlihī*, can also be rendered "over its interpretation," and the next hemistich "over its revelation." My translation preserves the possibility that the verses could have been addressed to the pagan Meccans on this occasion. IH, IV, 371–72, however, accepts the translation "over." After quoting the verse (omitting the hemistich "I am a witness . . ."), Ibn Hishām pronounces only the first two verses genuine: the last two verses, he argues, must have been pronounced on another occasion because "the polytheists had not accepted the revelation, and one fights over interpretation only with those who have already accepted the revelation."

576. Abān b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Umayr b. 'Ubayd al-Qurashī, a *mawlā*, was born in 60/679–80 and lived until ca. 110/728–29. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 94–95.

577. Abū Muḥammad 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ Aslam al-Qurashī was born in 27/647 and died in 114/732. He was a Qur'ān commentator and expert on law. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 199–203; *GAS*, I, 31.

578. Maymūnah, at this time a widow, was the sister of Umm al-Faḍl, the wife of al-'Abbās, Muḥammad's uncle. The authenticity of this tradition, which implies that it is permissible to contract (but not consummate) a marriage while one is in the state of ritual purity (*iḥrām*) necessary for performance of the pilgrimage (*'umrah* or *ḥajj*), was a subject of controversy among early Islamic schools of law. The various opinions are summarized by Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 153. See also *EI*², s.v. Maymūna bint al-Ḥārith; Burton, *An Introduction to the Ḥadīth*, 78–81.

Rāfi' his *mawlā* to take charge of Maymūnah. Abū Rāfi' brought her to him at Sarif,[579] and the Messenger of God consummated his marriage with her there. The Messenger of God commanded that they should find a substitute for the sacrificial camels—he himself also found a substitute with them. Camels being scarce for them, he permitted them [to sacrifice] cattle. The Messenger of God returned to Medina in Dhū al-Ḥijjah and stayed there the remainder of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (the polytheists were in charge of the pilgrimage that year), Muḥarram, Ṣafar, and both months of Rabī'.[580] In Jumādā I he sent out his expedition to Syria, which came to grief at Mu'tah.

According to al-Wāqidī—Ibn Abī Dhi'b[581]—al-Zuhrī, who said: The Messenger of God commanded them that they should perform the lesser pilgrimage in the following year in fulfillment of [or, to make up for] the lesser pilgrimage of al-Ḥudaybiyah and that they should bring sacrificial animals.

According to [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. Nāfi'[582]—his father [Nāfi'][583]—Ibn 'Umar,[584] who said: This lesser pilgrimage was not a fulfillment [or a making up]; rather, it had been stipulated that the Muslims should perform the lesser pilgrimage in the following year in the month in which the polytheists turned them back.

According to al-Wāqidī: The statement of Ibn Abī Dhi'b is preferable to us because they had been prevented [the previous year] and had not reached the Ka'bah.

According to al-Wāqidī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b.

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579. Sarif is close to Mecca. Yāqūt (*Mu'jam al-buldān*, V, 70f.) gives the distance as six, seven, nine, or twelve miles.

580. I.e., he remained in Medina roughly from 1 April 629 to 5 September (the end of Rabī' II).

581. Ibn Abī Dhi'b is Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mughīrah, a judge of al-Kūfah, who died in 159/776. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 303–7; *GAS*, I, 204.

582. 'Abdallāh b. Nāfi' al-'Adawī was a *mawlā* born in Medina. He transmitted *ḥadīth* from his father, Nāfi', the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar, and died in 154/771. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 53–54.

583. Nāfi', the *mawlā* of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, died in 119 or 120/737–38. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 412–15.

584. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (a son of the caliph 'Umar) died in 73/692. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 228–29; *EI*², s.v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar.

Mawhab[585]—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, who said: The Messenger of God drove sixty fatted camels on the Lesser Pilgrimage of the Pact (*'umrat al-qaḍiyyah*).

[1597] According to [al-Wāqidī]—Mu'ādh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī[586]—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah, who said: He carried arms, helmets, and spears and led a hundred horses. He appointed Bashīr b. Sa'd to be in charge of the weapons, and Muḥammad b. Maslamah to be in charge of the horses. When Quraysh received word of this, it frightened them. They sent Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaf, who met him at Marr al-Ẓahrān.[587] [The Messenger of God] said to him: "Young or old, I have never been known but for keeping a promise. I do not want to bring in weapons against them, but the weapons will be close to me." Mikraz returned to Quraysh and informed them.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year the raid of Ibn Abī al-'Awjā' al-Sulamī on the Banū Sulaym took place in Dhū al-Qa'dah.[588] The Messenger of God sent him against them with fifty men after he returned from Mecca, and he set out against them.

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: According to what I have received from Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr:[589] The Banū Sulaym met him during it, and he and his companions all were killed.

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: However, al-Wāqidī alleges that he escaped and returned to Medina, but his companions were killed.[590]

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585. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mawhab is listed without dates in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 29.

586. For Mu'ādh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 193–94.

587. Marr al-Ẓahrān, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VIII, 21, is either one stage or five miles from Mecca.

588. Thus the manuscripts, but it is an error for "Dhū al-Ḥijjah," which is given in al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd, Nuwayrī, and others, and which the sequence demands; cf. al-Ṭabarī, I, 1596. [Ed. Leiden note].

589. The tradition does not appear in the surviving recensions of the *Sīrah*.

590. Parallel: W, II, 741.

The Events of the Year 8

(MAY 1, 629–APRIL 19, 630)

In this year (as alleged by al-Wāqidī—Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Qatādah[591]—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr) Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God, died.

The Expedition against the Banū al-Mulawwiḥ

In Ṣafar of this year the Messenger of God sent Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh al-Laythī on a raid to al-Kadīd against the Banū al-Mulawwiḥ.[592] [1598]

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The report of this raiding party and of Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh was transmitted to me by Ibrāhīm

591. Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Qatādah, the grandson of the companion Abū Qatādah, seems to be mentioned in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 360 as having transmitted *ḥadīth* from his father 'Abdallāh. The name of 'Abdallāh's second son, Yaḥyā, appears to have dropped out of the text of Ibn Ḥajar by haplography.

592. Ṣafar of A.H. 8 began on 31 May 629. The Banū al-Mulawwiḥ (also vocalized as al-Mulawwaḥ) were a part of the Banū Layth (in turn a part of Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt) with territory west of Medina. Al-Kadīd is in the Ḥijāz, twenty-four miles from Mecca (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VII, 224). Parallels: W, 750–52; IH, IV, 609–12 (tr. Guillaume, 660–62).

b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī[593] and Sa'īd b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd.[594] (Ibrāhīm said he had received his report from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd;[595] Sa'īd b. Yaḥyā said he had received his report from his father [Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd].) We also received this report from Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah. All [these reports] are from Ibn Isḥāq—Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah b. al-Mughīrah—Muslim b. 'Abdallāh b. Khubayb al-Juhanī[596]—Jundab b. Makīth al-Juhanī,[597] who said: The Messenger of God sent out Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh al-Kalbī (of the Kalb [subdivision] of Layth) against the Banū al-Mulawwiḥ in al-Kadīd and commanded him to raid them. Ghālib set out; I was in his raiding party. We traveled on until, when we were at Qudayd,[598] we encountered al-Ḥārith b. Mālik, known as Ibn al-Barṣā' al-Laythī. We took him, but he said, "I came only to become a Muslim." Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh said, "If you have indeed come as a Muslim, it will not harm you to be bound for a day and night; if you have come for another purpose, we shall [thereby] be safe from you." So he secured him with a rope and left a little black man who was with us in charge of him, saying: "Stay with him until we pass by you. If he gives you trouble, cut off his head."

We continued on until we came to the bottomland of al-Kadīd and halted toward evening, after the midafternoon prayer. My companions sent me out as a scout. I went to a hill that gave me a view of the settlement and lay face down on the ground. It was just before sunset. One of their men came out, looked, and saw me
[1599] lying on the hill. He said to his wife: "By God, I see a shape on this hill that I did not see at the beginning of the day. See whether the dogs may not have dragged away one of your utensils." She looked and said, "By God, I am not missing anything." He said, "Hand me

593. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī was originally from Ṭabaristān and died ca. 250/864. See al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, VI, 93–96; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 123–25.

594. Sa'īd b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Umawī died in 249/863. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 97–98.

595. Abū Ayyūb Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ al-Umawī al-Kūfī was born ca. 114/732. He later moved to Baghdād, where he died in 194/809. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 213–14; *GAS*, I, 293.

596. Muslim b. 'Abdallāh b. Khubayb al-Juhanī is mentioned without dates in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 133.

597. Jundab b. Makīth b. Jarād b. Yarbū' al-Juhanī was a companion of the Prophet. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 118.

598. Yāqūt (*Mu'jam al-buldān*, VII, 38) locates Qudayd near Mecca. Al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā'*, 595, calls it "a large village with abundant water on the road to Mecca."

my bow and two of my arrows." She handed them to him, and he shot me with an arrow and hit my side. I pulled it out, put it down, and did not move. Then he shot me with the other and hit the top of my shoulder. I pulled it out, put it down, and did not move. He said: "By God, both my arrows penetrated it. If it were a living thing,[599] it would have moved. Go after my arrows in the morning and get them, so that the dogs do not chew them up for me."

We gave them time until their herds had come back from pasture in the evening. After they had milked the camels, set them to rest by the watering trough, and had stopped moving around, after the first part of the night had passed, we launched the raid on them. We killed some of them, drove away the camels, and set out to return. Meanwhile, the party carrying the people's appeal for aid set out to the tribe to get help.

We traveled quickly. When we passed by al-Ḥārith b. Mālik (Ibn al-Barṣā') and his companion, we took him with us. The party summoned to aid the people came at us. They were too powerful for us. However, when only the bottom of Qudayd Canyon was between us and them, God sent clouds from out of the blue, although we had seen neither rain nor clouds before that, and the result was [a torrent] that no one could risk [crossing]. We saw them looking at us, none of them able to risk it or advance, while we quickly drove off the camels. We took them up to al-Mushallal[600] and then brought them down from it, and we eluded the tribesmen with what we had taken. I shall never forget the [1600]
rajaz verses that one of the Muslims recited as he was driving the camels from behind:

Abū al-Qāsim[601] refuses to let you remain out all night
in [pasture] whose plants are moist and luxuriant,
their tops golden like the color of something gilded.

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599. Reading *zā'ilah*, as suggested by ed. Leiden "Addenda et emendanda," ad loc. The original Leiden reading (echoed by ed. Cairo) was *rabī'ah*, "a scout."

600. Al-Mushallal is a mountain overlooking Qudayd; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VIII, 67. Al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā'*, 607, calls it a mountain pass (or trail) overlooking Qudayd and refers to the shrine to the goddess Manāt located there. See p. 188, below, for the report of its destruction. Cf. *EI*², VI, 373–74, s.v. Manāt, and T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, 123. Fahd locates al-Mushallal seven Arab miles (ca. fifteen kilometers) from Medina, but Yāqūt and al-Samhūdī give no distance.

601. Abū al-Qāsim ("Father of al-Qāsim") was the *kunyah* of Muḥammad, taken from the name of his first male child; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1128.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—a man from Aslam—a shaykh of Aslam: The battle cry of the companions of the Messenger of God that night was "Kill! Kill!"

According to al-Wāqidī: The raiding party led by Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh consisted of between thirteen and nineteen men.

Other Notices

In this year the Messenger of God sent al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā al-'Abdī[602] and wrote to him a letter containing the following:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad the Prophet, Messenger of God, to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā: Peace be upon you! I praise to you God, save Whom there is no god.
>
> To proceed: I have received your letter and your messengers. Whoever prays our prayer, eats of our sacrifice, and turns to our *qiblah* is a Muslim: permitted to him is what is permitted to Muslims, and incumbent on him is what is incumbent on Muslims. Incumbent on whoever refuses is [the payment of] tax.[603]

The Messenger of God made peace with them on condition that the Zoroastrians should be required [to pay] tax, that their sacrifices should not be eaten, and that one should not marry their women.

In this year the Messenger of God sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to Jayfar
[1601] and 'Abbād, the sons of Julandā, in 'Umān. The two believed in the Prophet and affirmed what he had brought. He exacted the poor rate[604] on their wealth and collected tax (*jizyah*) from the Zoroastrians.

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602. See note 430, above.

603. Arabic: *jizyah*, "the tax that is taken from the free non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim government, whereby they ratify the compact that ensures them protection" (Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 422). Cf. *EI*², s.v. Djizya.

604. Arabic: *ṣaddaqa*, he collected *ṣadaqah*, "a gift to the poor for the sake of God." Later usage distinguished *ṣadaqah* from *zakāh*, the obligatory payment by Muslims of a fixed portion or their wealth for the poor, but here *ṣaddaqa* clearly refers to the collection of an obigatory payment; such instances are not uncommon in early usage. See Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1668; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 369–72.

In this year a twenty-four-man raiding party led by Shujā' b. Wahb went to the Banū 'Āmir in the month of Rabī' I.[605] He launched a raid on them and took camels and sheep. The shares [of booty] came to fifteen camels for each man.

In this year a raiding party led by 'Amr b. Ka'b[606] al-Ghifārī went to Dhāt Aṭlāḥ. He set out with fifteen men, and when he reached Dhāt Aṭlāḥ he encountered a large force of men whom they summoned to Islam. They refused to respond and killed all of 'Amr's companions. He[607] managed to get away and returned to Medina.

According to al-Wāqidī: Dhāt Aṭlāḥ is in the direction of Syria. Its people belonged to [the tribe of] Quḍā'ah.[608] Their head was a man named Sadūs.

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and Khālid b. al-Walīd Go to Medina as Muslims

In this year 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ came to the Messenger of God as a Muslim, having accepted Islam at the court of the Negus. With him came 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥah al-'Abdarī and Khālid b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah. They came to Medina at the beginning of Ṣafar.[609]

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The circumstances of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ's becoming a Muslim were as follows (according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb—Rāshid,

605. Rabī' I of A.H. 8 began on 29 June 629.

606. The name is given thus in the manuscripts of al-Ṭabarī and in the later historian Ibn al-Athīr. The correct reading, Ka'b b. 'Umayr, is preserved in Ibn Sa'd, and in W, II, 752, and IH, IV, 621 (tr. Guillaume, 667). See ed. Leiden, note *ad loc.*

607. Al-Ṭabarī implies that 'Amr was the man who escaped. Al-Wāqidī has: "The companions of the Prophet . . . fought very hard, until they were killed; one of them, who was wounded among the dead, escaped and managed to get away after nightfall"—similarly in Ibn Sa'd.

608. Quḍā'ah was a group of Arab tribes of obscure origin. Of its main divisions, Juhaynah controlled the coastal caravan route between Syria and Mecca, while Balī was located farther to the north, from Wādī Iḍam and Taymā'. Other divisions included 'Udhrah and Kalb. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳuḍā'a; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 110–11.

609. Ṣafar of A.H. 8 began on 31 May 629.

the *mawlā* of Ibn Abī Aws[610]—Ḥabīb b. Abī Aws,[611] who said
[1602] that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ himself had spoken in his hearing, saying]:[612]
When we returned with the allies from the [Battle of the] Trench, I gathered some men of Quraysh who thought as I did and would heed my words. I said to them: "You know, by God, that I think Muḥammad's enterprise will prevail in an extraordinary manner. I have formed an idea: What do you think of it?" "What is your idea?" they asked. I said: "I think we should join the Negus and stay at his court. If Muḥammad defeats our people, we shall stay with the Negus; for it will be preferable for us to be under the power of the Negus than under the power of Muḥammad. If our people are victorious, we are people whom they know, and only good will come to us from them." They said, "This is good counsel indeed." So I said, "Gather up things that we can present to him as gifts." The gift he liked most from our land was tanned hides; so we gathered up many tanned hides for him. Then we set out, and we came to him. While we were at his court, by God, 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī came to him, sent to him by the Messenger of God in the matter of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib and his companions. 'Amr went before him and then came out of his presence. I said to my companions: "This is 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī. Perhaps I should go before the Negus and ask him for him. Perhaps he will give him to me and I can cut off his head. If I do it, Quraysh will think I have rendered them a service by killing Muḥammad's messenger."

So I went before the Negus and prostrated myself to him as I used to do. "Welcome to my friend!" he said. "Have you brought me something from your country as a gift?" "Yes, King," I said, "I have brought you many tanned skins." I presented them to him; they pleased him, and he desired them. Then I said to him: "O
[1603] King, I have seen a man who left your presence. He is the messenger of a man who is our enemy. Give him to me, so that I may kill him, for he has killed some of our dignitaries and best men." The Negus became angry and, reaching out with his hand, struck

610. Rāshid, the *mawlā* of Ḥabīb b. Aws (or b. Abī Aws), was Egyptian. He is listed without dates in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 225.

611. Ḥabīb b. Abī Aws (or b. Aws) al-Thaqafī participated in the conquest of Egypt. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 177.

612. Parallels: W, II, 741–50; IH, III, 276–79 (tr. Guillaume, 484–85).

his nose such a blow with it that I thought he had broken it. Had the earth split open for me, I would have entered into it for fear of him! I said, "By God, O King, had I thought the matter would displease you, I would not have asked it of you." He said, "Will you ask me to hand over to you the messenger of a man to whom comes the Great *Nāmūs*,[613] who used to come to Moses, for you to kill him?" I said, "O King, is he indeed such?" He said: "Alas for you, 'Amr! Obey me, and follow him! By God, he is right and will be victorious over whoever opposes him, even as Moses was victorious over Pharaoh and his hosts." I said, "Will you accept my oath of allegiance to him for Islam?" "Yes," he said. He extended his hand, and I swore allegiance to him for Islam. Then I went out to my companions, my outlook having changed, but I concealed my acceptance of Islam from my companions.

Then I set out, intending to go to the Messenger of God to accept Islam. I met Khālid b. al-Walīd—it was before the conquest [of Mecca]. He was coming from Mecca. I asked him, "Where to, Abū Sulaymān?" "By God," he replied, "the trail has become straight! The man is indeed a prophet. By God, I am going to become a Muslim. How much longer [can one delay]?" I said, "By God, I [too] have come only to become a Muslim!" So we came to the Messenger of God. Khālid b. al-Walīd went first, became a Muslim, and swore allegiance. Then I approached and said, "Messenger of God, I will pledge allegiance to you on condition that you forgive me my earlier sin; I will not mention what came later."[614] The Messenger of God said, "'Amr, swear allegiance; for acceptance of Islam entirely cuts off what went before it, and emigration,[615] too, entirely cuts off what went before it." So I swore allegiance to him and departed. [1604]

613. Arabic *nāmūs*, is derived (through Syriac *nāmūs*) from Greek *nómos*, "law" (i.e., the Pentateuch or Law of Moses); but Arabic uses it in this phrase as a title of the Angel Gabriel, and it is so glossed in al-Ṭabarī, I, 1151. See *EI*², s.v. Nāmūs.

614. This interpretation is grammatically more likely than Guillaume's, "on condition that my past faults are forgiven and no mention is made of what has gone before." In the parallel in W, III, 745, 'Amr describes himself as having been so awed by the occasion that he forgot to mention all his sins: "As soon as I sat before him I was unable to raise my eyes to him from embarrassment. I swore allegiance to him on condition that my earlier sin should be forgiven me; the later one(s) did not enter my mind."

615. Arabic: *hijrah*.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—someone I do not doubt: 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥah b. Abī Ṭalḥah was with the two of them and accepted Islam when they did.

Other Events of the Year 8 of the Hijrah

Among the events of this year, the Messenger of God sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in Jumādā II to al-Salāsil in the territory of [the tribe of] Quḍā'ah with 300 men.[616] The circumstances were as follows. According to reports, the mother of al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il[617] was a woman from Quḍā'ah. It has been reported that the Messenger of God wanted to win them over by that, and he therefore sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, along with men of eminence among the Emigrants and Anṣār. 'Amr asked the Messenger of God for reinforcements, and the latter reinforced him with Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ in charge of the Emigrants and Anṣār, including Abū Bakr and 'Umar, with 200 men. The total number of men was 500.

The Expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsil

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, who said: The Messenger of God sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to the territory of Balī and 'Udhrah to seek their assistance [for an expedition] to Syria. The circumstances were as follows. The mother of al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il was a woman from [the tribe of] Balī. The Messenger of God therefore sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to
[1605] them to try to gain their good will. When 'Amr was in the territory of [the tribe of] Judhām at a watering place called al-Salāsil (the expedition therefore came to be called Dhāt al-Salāsil[618])—when he was at the place, he became afraid and sent to the Messenger of God, asking him for reinforcements. The Messenger of God sent to him Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ with the first Emigrants, including Abū Bakr and 'Umar. When he sent out Abū 'Ubaydah, he said to him, "Let the two of you not disagree!" Abū 'Ubaydah set out.

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616. Jumādā II of A.H. 8 began on 26 September 629. Parallels: W, III, 769–74; IH, IV, 623–26 (tr. Guillaume, 668–69).

617. Al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il was the father of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.

618. I.e., [the Expedition] Pertaining to al-Salāsil. According to Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II, 94) the site was ten-days' journey north of Medina.

When he reached 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, the latter said to him, "You have come only to reinforce me." Abū 'Ubaydah said to him: "'Amr, the Messenger of God said to me, 'Let the two of you not disagree.' Even if you disobey me, I will obey you." 'Amr said, "Then I am your commander, and you are merely a reinforcement to me." Abū 'Ubaydah replied, "Have your way." So 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ led the men in worship.[619]

The Expedition Known as al-Khabaṭ

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year the expedition known as al-Khabaṭ took place.[620] Its commander was Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ. The Messenger of God dispatched him in Rajab[621] of this year with 300 Emigrants and Anṣār toward [the tribe of] Juhaynah. During the expedition they suffered such severe dearth and distress that they divided up the dates by number.

According to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān[622]—his uncle, 'Abdallāh b. Wahb[623]—'Amr b. al-Ḥārith[624]—'Amr b. Dīnār[625]—Jābir b. 'Abdallāh, who said: We set out with an expedition. We were 300 men, with Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ as our commander. Hunger beset us, so that for three months we ate leaves that we beat down from the trees. Then a sea creature came forth, called an ambergris whale, and we continued eating it for half a month. One of the Anṣār slaughtered some camels; then he slaughtered again the next day. Abū 'Ubaydah forbade him, and he stopped. ['Amr b. [1606]

619. Leading worship was a sign of authority.

620. Parallel: W, II, 774–77; IH, IV, 632–33 (tr. Guillaume, 673). The raid took its name not from a place, but from the shortage of provisions. *Khabaṭ* means "leaves that have been made to fall from a tree by its being beaten with a staff or stick, used as food for camels" (Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 698).

621. Rajab of A.H. 8 began on 25 October 629.

622. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb died in 264/877. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 54–55.

623. 'Abdallāh b. Wahb b. Muslim al-Fihrī was born in Egypt in 125/743 and died there in 197/812. He was a pupil of the jurist Mālik b. Anas. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 71–74; *GAS*, I, 466.

624. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ya'qūb b. 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī, a *mawlā* of Qays Abū Umayyah al-Miṣrī, was of Medinese origin. He was born ca. 90/708–9 and died ca. 148/765–66. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 14–15.

625. 'Amr b. Dīnār al-Makkī Abū Muḥammad al-Athram al-Jumaḥī was born in 46/666–67 and died in 126/743–44. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 28–30; *GAS*, I, 594 and Index.

Dīnār said that he heard Dhakwān Abū Ṣāliḥ say that the man was Qays b. Sa'd.)

'Amr [b. al-Ḥārith] said that he received a similar report from Bakr b. Sawādah al-Judhāmī[626]—Abū Jamrah[627]—Jābir b. 'Abdallāh, except that [in it] he said: They became exhausted. Qays b. Sa'd was their commander, and he slaughtered nine riding camels for them.

He also said: They had been sent on an expedition to the sea-coast, and the sea cast up a creature to them. They stayed near it for three days, eating of it, making jerky, and scooping out its fat. When they returned to the Messenger of God, they told him what Qays b. Sa'd had done, and the Messenger of God said that generosity was the nature of that family. Concerning the whale he said, "If we knew that we could reach it before it began to smell, we should like to have some of it." [The narrator of this version] did not mention the leaves beaten down from the trees or anything except that.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhlad[628]—Ibn Jurayj[629]—Abū al-Zubayr—Jābir b. 'Abdallāh, who said: The Prophet provisioned us with bags of dates. Abū 'Ubaydah doled them out to us handful by handful, then date by date. We would suck on them and drink water with them until night. Finally, when the contents of the bags were exhausted, we collected leaves beaten down from the trees. We became very hungry. Then the sea cast up a dead whale for us. Abū 'Ubaydah said, "Hungry ones, eat!"—and we ate. Abū 'Ubaydah would set up one of its ribs, and
[1607] a rider on his camel could pass under it. Five men could sit in its eye socket. We ate and oiled ourselves until our bodies became healthy, and we came away fat. When we returned to Medina (so said Jābir), we mentioned this to the Prophet, and he said: "Eat a sustenance that God brought out for you. Do you have any of it

626. Bakr b. Sawādah b. Thumāmah al-Judhāmī died in North Africa during the caliphate of Hishām (reigned 105/724 to 125/743). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 483–84.

627. Abū Jamrah al-Ḍuba'ī died ca. 128/745. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 431–32.

628. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhlad, called Abū 'Āṣim al-Nabīl, lived from 122/740 to between 212 and 214/827–29. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 450–53; *EI*², Suppl., I, s.v. Abū 'Āṣim al-Nabīl.

629. Ibn Jurayj, 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, was born in 80/699 and died in 150 or 151/767–68. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 402–6; *GAS*, I, 91.

with you?" We had some of it with us. He sent one of the people to get it, and he ate some of it.

According to al-Wāqidī: It was called the expedition of *al-Khabaṭ* because they ate leaves beaten down from the trees (*khabaṭ*) until the linings of their mouths were like those of camels that have pastured on thorn trees.

Expeditions Involving Ibn Abī Ḥadrad and Abū Qatādah

In Sha'bān of this year[630] the Messenger of God sent out a party of men under the command of Abū Qatādah.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī[631]—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī, who said:[632] I married a woman from my tribe, promising her a nuptial gift (*ṣadāq*) of 200 dirhams. Then I came to the Messenger of God to seek his assistance with my marriage. He said, "How much did you set as the nuptial gift?" I said, "Two hundred dirhams, Messenger of God." "Praise God!" said he, "if you could take dirhams from a creek bed, you could not have gone higher! By God, I have nothing with which to help you."

I waited a few days. Then a man named Rifā'ah b. Qays or Qays b. Rifā'ah from the Banū Jusham b. Mu'āwiyah arrived with a large group from Jusham.[633] He encamped at al-Ghābah[634] with his tribesmen and companions, intending to gather [the tribe of] Qays to make war on the Messenger of God. He was a man of name and standing in [the tribe of] Jusham. The Messenger of God summoned me and two other Muslims and said, "Go out to this man and either bring him to us or bring us a report and information [1608] about him." He presented us with an emaciated old camel and mounted one of us on it. By God, it was so weak that it could not stand up with him until the men propped it up from behind with

630. Sha'bān of A.H. 8 began on 24 November 629.

631. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Qays al-Anṣārī Abū Sa'īd, who died in 143/760, was a Medinan judge who later served under al-Manṣūr in al-Hāshimiyyah in Iraq. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 221–24; *GAS*, I, 407.

632. Parallels: W, II, 777–80; IH, IV, 629–31 (tr. Guillaume, 671–72).

633. The Banū Jusham were a division of the large tribe of Hawāzin. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 99.

634. See note 73, above.

their hands, and then it raised itself, though barely. Then he said, "Make do with her, and take turns riding."

We set out, armed with arrows and swords. We approached the encampment at evening as the sun was setting. I hid myself in one place and commanded my two companions to hide themselves somewhere else near the men's encampment. I told them, "If you hear me shout 'God is greatest!' and attack the encampment, shout 'God is greatest!' and attack with me."

By God, we kept watching for some heedlessness on their part or some way to strike them until night fell over us and the time of the darkness of the night prayer passed. One of their herdsman who had gone out in the area in the morning was late coming back, so that they became worried about him. Their leader, Rifāʿah b. Qays, stood up, took his sword, put [its belt] on his neck, and said: "By God, I am going to follow the tracks of this herdsman of ours. Some evil must have befallen him." Some of his companions said: "By God, do not go. We will take care of it for you." He said, "By God, no one but I shall go." They said, "And we with you!" "By God," he said, "none of you shall follow me!" He set out and passed by me. When he came within range, I shot him with an arrow and put it into his heart. By God, he spoke not a word. I leaped at him and cut off his head. Then I rushed toward the encampment and shouted "God is great!" My two companions rushed and shouted "God is great!" In no time at all, those who were in the encampment were shouting "Save yourself!" and "Quick, quick!" and taking all they could—wives, children, and any property light enough to carry. We drove away a great herd of [1609] camels and many sheep and goats and brought them to the Messenger of God. I brought him Rifāʿah's head, which I carried with me. The Messenger of God gave me thirteen camels from that herd as aid, and I consummated my marriage.

As for al-Wāqidī, his account is as follows. According to al-Wāqidī—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah—his father [Yaḥyā b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah[635]]: The Prophet sent Ibn Abī Ḥadrad in this party with Abū Qatādah. The party consisted of

635. Yaḥyā would be the son of Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah, a companion of the Prophet, who died during the early part of Muʿāwiyah's reign (from 41/661 to 60/680). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 248–49.

sixteen men, and they were away fifteen nights. Their shares [of booty] were twelve camels [for each man], each camel being accounted equal to ten sheep or goats. When the people fled in various directions, they took four women, including one young woman who was very beautiful. She fell to Abū Qatādah. Then Maḥmiyah b. al-Jaz' spoke of her to the Messenger of God, and the Messenger of God asked Abū Qatādah about her. Abū Qatādah said, "I purchased her from the spoils." The Messenger of God said, "Give her to me." So he gave her to him, and the Messenger of God gave her to Maḥmiyah b. Jaz' al-Zubaydī.

In this year the Messenger of God sent Abū Qatādah with a company of men to raid the lowland of Iḍam.[636]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Qusayṭ—Abū al-Qa'qā' b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī (some authorities give the chain of transmission as Ibn al-Qa'qā'—his father—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrad),[637] who said: The Messenger of God sent us to Iḍam. I set out with a group of Muslims, including Abū Qatādah al-Ḥārith b. Rib'ī and Muḥallim b. Jaththāmah b. Qays al-Laythī. We set out and came to the lowland of Iḍam. This was before the conquest [of Mecca]. 'Āmir b. al- [1610]
Aḍbaṭ al-Ashja'ī passed us by on a young camel of his. He had a bit of food with him and a skin of sour milk. As he passed us, he greeted us with the greeting of Islam;[638] so we held back from him. But Muḥallim b. Jaththāmah attacked him because of some quarrel between them, killed him, and took his camel and food. When we returned to the Messenger of God and told him the story, the [following passage of] Qur'ān was revealed concerning us: "O believers, when you are journeying in the path of God, be discriminating"—and the rest of the verse.[639]

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636. Parallels: W, II, 796–97; IH, IV, 397 and 626–29 [tr. Guillaume, 544, 669–71]. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 281, lists a number of places with the name, both in the Ḥijāz and Central Arabia. Iḍam is probably to be located at the present Wādī al-Ḥamḍ, which enters the Red Sea 50 kilometers south of al-Wajh in northwestern Arabia. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥamḍ, Wādī al-.

637. In the present recension of Ibn Hishām's *Sīrah*, the isnād reads: Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Qusayṭ—al-Qa'qā' b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrad—his father 'Abdallāh.

638. I.e., *al-salāmu 'alaykum*, "Peace be upon you!"

639. Qur'ān 4:94, which continues: "and do not say to him who offers you a greeting, 'You are not a believer,' seeking the chance goods of the present life."

According to al-Wāqidī: The Messenger of God sent out this party only when he set out for the conquest of Mecca in the month of Ramaḍān.[640] They numbered eight men.

The Expedition to Mu'tah[641]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: After the Messenger of God returned to Medina from Khaybar, he stayed in Medina for the two months of Rabī'; then, in Jumādā I,[642] he sent out his expedition to Syria whose members met with disaster at Mu'tah.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, who said: The Messenger of God sent his expedition to Mu'tah in Jumādā I of the year 8. He put Zayd b. Ḥārithah in command of the men and said, "If Zayd b. Ḥārithah is killed, Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib shall be in command of the men; if Ja'far is killed, 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah shall be in command." The men equipped themselves and made ready to set out. They numbered 3,000. When the time for their departure came, the people said goodbye to the commanders of the Messenger of God, wishing them safety and bidding them farewell. When 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah said goodbye with the other
[1611] commanders of the Messenger of God who were doing so, he wept. They said to him, "What is making you weep, Ibn Rawāḥah?" He said, "By God, I have no love of this world or excessive love for you, but I heard the Messenger of God recite a verse from the Book of God that mentioned the Fire [of Hell]—'Not one of you there is, but he shall go down to it; that for thy Lord is a thing decreed, determined'[643]—and I do not know how I can come out after going down." The Muslims said, "May God accompany you, defend

640. Ramaḍān of A.H. 8 began on 23 December 629.

641. Parallels: W, II, 755–69; IH, IV, 373–89 (tr. Guillaume, 531–40). Mu'tah is a village in the area known as al-Balqā' (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VIII, 190). The modern town of Mu'tah, Jordan, about 10 km south of Karak and 20 km east of the southern end of the Dead Sea, is on the site. See *EI*², s.v. Mu'ta, for a bibliography of the Arabic and Byzantine sources.

642. I.e., he remained in Medina from about 29 June to 26 August, dispatching the expedition to Mu'tah in the month that began on 27 August 629.

643. Qur'ān 19:71.

you, and bring you back to us in good health." Then 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah recited:[644]

But I ask the Merciful One for pardon,
and for a sword blow that makes a wide wound that shoots out foaming [blood];
Or a deadly thrust by a thirsty one,
by a lance that pierces right through the guts and the liver;
So that people shall say, when they pass my grave:
"God guided you aright, O warrior who followed the right way."

Then the men made ready to depart. 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah went to the Messenger of God and said goodbye to him. The men set out, and the Messenger of God went out to see them off; having bidden them farewell, he returned from them. 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah recited:[645]

May [He who is] Peace supply the place [of the departing ones]
to a man to whom I bade farewell
among the palm trees—the best escort and friend!

They journeyed on and encamped at Mu'ān[646] in the land of Syria. The men learned that Heraclius had encamped with 100,000 Byzantines at Ma'āb[647] in the territory of al-Balqā'. Joined to him were Arab auxiliaries from [the tribes of] Lakhm, Judhām, Balqayn, Bahrā', and Balī, numbering 100,000 and commanded by a man from [the tribe of] Balī and of the subdivision Irāshah, named Mālik b. Rāfilah.[648] When the Muslims received word of

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644. Other sources, variants, and commentary on the poem may be found in the *Dīwān* of 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah, 88.

645. For variants and commentary see *Dīwān* of 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah, 100. The line is a prayer that God (here paradoxically addressed by his name al-Salām, Peace) may supply the place of the departing men. The opening formula is a variant on a common formula of consolation for the loss of a relative—*khalafa Allāhu 'alayka* ("may God supply the place [of the one you have lost]"). See Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 792.

646. The name is also given as Ma'ān, which is the form used for the city in modern Jordan that perpetuates the name.

647. This is the ancient town of Rabbath Moab, now al-Rabbah, a dozen kilometers north of Karak in Jordan. See Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 494–95, 509–10; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VII, 249–50; *EI*², VII, s.v. Mu'ta.

648. Ibn Hishām: Zāfilah.

[1612] this, they stayed at Mu'ān two nights, considering what to do. They said: "We will write to the Messenger of God and inform him of the number of our enemy. Either he will reinforce us with men or he will give us his command that we should return to him." 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah encouraged the men, saying: "Men, by God, what you loathe is the very thing you came out to seek—martyrdom. We do not fight the enemy by number, strength, or multitude; we fight them only by this religion with which God has honored us. Go forward, for it is one of two good things: victory or martyrdom." The men said, "By God, Ibn Rawāḥah has spoken the truth." So the men went forward. Concerning how they held back, 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah recited the following verses:[649]

We urged our horses on from the fortresses of Qurḥ,[650]
    their packs crammed with grass.
Because of the flintstone we shod them with hide
    as slippery as if its surface were leather.[651]
They stayed two nights at Mu'ān,
    and energy replaced their fatigue.
Then we went forth with steeds given free rein,[652]
    the simoom breathing in their nostrils.
No, by my father! Ma'āb—we will come to it
    though Arabs and Romans be in it.
We set their reins in order, and they came
    grim-faced, the dust being a second color for them,[653]

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649. The poem, with significant variants, occurs in IH, IV, 375–76 (tr. Guillaume, 533) and in later texts. See *Dīwān* of 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah, 102–4.

650. Qurḥ was a market town in Wādī al-Qurā, the valley stretching north of Medina toward Syria. The verse is quoted in Yāqūt's article on Qurḥ (*Mu'jam al-buldān*, VII, 48–49). Ibn Hishām's text reads: "We urged on our horses from Aja' and Far'"—two mountains in the territory of the tribe of Ṭayyi'.

651. The line was obscure to the commentators. On journeys over stony ground the Arabs normally "shod" their camels and horses with protective "boots" of leather.

652. Arabic *musawwam* has a variety of meanings: pastured, sent forth, or marked (with brands or distinguishing colors).

653. The commentator suggests that the color of dust mixed with the color of their coats, forming a pattern that looked like *barīm*, a two-colored rope used by women as an ornament. Perhaps the meaning is less specific and refers to patches of dust covering the coats of the horses and making them appear dappled. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 195.

Bearing a clamorous [army]: as if the helmets in it, [1613]
when their tops became apparent, were the stars.
A life of ease and contentment
our spears have divorced, to marry or remain unmarried.

Then the people proceeded on their way.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—Zayd b. Arqam, who said: I was an orphan under the care and protection of 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah. He set out on that journey of his, mounting me behind him on the back of his camel saddle. By God, as he traveled by night, I heard him recite these verses of his:[654]

When you have delivered me and carried my saddle
a four-day's journey after al-Ḥisā',[655]
May yours be an easy life, and may blame pass away from you—
and may I not return to my family behind me.
May the Muslims come and leave me
in the land of Syria, where I desire to remain.
May you be led back by men who, having close relationship
to the Merciful One, are cut off from kindred.
There I shall care neither for the spathes of rain-watered palms
nor for palm trees whose roots are irrigated.

When I heard him recite the verses, I wept. He tapped me with the whip and said: "What's wrong, little fellow? God is going to reward me with martyrdom, and you are going back between the two horns of the camel saddle!" Then 'Abdallāh said in one of his poems in *rajaz* meter:[656]

O Zayd, Zayd of the swift, lean camels,[657] [1614]
the night has become protracted; so dismount—may you be guided!

654. For other sources of the poem, variants, and commentary, see *Dīwān* of 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah, 79–80. The verses are addressed to his riding camel.

655. *Al-Ḥisā'*, meaning "a flow of water that disappears under the sand but can be reached by digging," is modern Wādī al-Ḥasā at the southern end of the Dead Sea; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 274–75, quoting this verse.

656. Text and discussion in *Dīwān* of 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah, 99–100.

657. The editor of the *Dīwān* explains this as a compliment—i.e., Zayd who knows how to take care of such camels.

The men journeyed on. When they were within the boundaries of al-Balqā',[658] they were met by Heraclius' armies of Romans and Arabs at a village of al-Balqā' called Mashārif. When the enemy drew near, the Muslims withdrew to a village called Mu'tah, and the two sides encountered each other there. The Muslims disposed their forces: in command of their right wing they set a man from the Banū 'Udhrah named Quṭbah b. Qatādah; in command of their left wing they set a man from the Anṣār named 'Abāyah[659] b. Mālik. The two sides met and fought. Zayd b. Ḥārithah fought with the banner of the Messenger of God until he perished among the enemy's javelins. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib took up the banner and fought with it. When the fighting forced him into difficulties from which he could not extricate himself, he leaped from his sorrel mare, hamstrung it, and fought the enemy until he was killed. Ja'far was the first Muslim to hamstring his horse in the time of Islam.[660]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah and Abū Tumaylah[661]—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād—his father ['Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr]—his foster-father, who was from the Banū Murrah b. 'Awf and went on the expedition to Mu'tah and who said: By God, it is as if I could still see Ja'far when he leaped from his sorrel mare, hamstrung her, and fought the enemy until he was killed. When Ja'far was killed, 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah took up the banner and advanced with it on horseback. He kept urging his soul to obey. He hesitated a bit, and then he said:[662]

I swear, soul, that you shall become obedient
    willingly, or you shall be compelled.
[1615] If men raise a clamor and utter cries,
    why do I see you averse to Paradise?
Too long have you been at ease!

658. Al-Balqā' is the old Arabic name for most of modern Jordan, roughly the plateau between Wādī al-Zarqā' (or Jabbok) in the north to Wādī al-Mūjib (or Arnon) in the south. In Byzantine times, the Arnon formed the boundary between the province of Arabia and Palestina Tertia. See *EI*², s.v. al-Balḳā'.

659. Ibn Hishām notes that the name is also given as 'Ubādah.

660. See note 93, above.

661. For Abū Tumaylah Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 293–94.

662. For other sources of the poem, variants, and commentary, see *Dīwān* of 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah, 108–9.

Are you anything but a drop of moisture in an old water skin?

He also said:[663]

My soul, unless you are killed, you will die:
this is the destiny of death by which you have been tried.
You have been granted what you wished:
If you act as those two did, you will have been guided aright.[664]

Then he dismounted. When he had dismounted, a cousin of his brought him a joint of meat, saying, "Strengthen yourself with it, for you have endured much in these days." Having taken it from the cousin's hand, he took a bite of it. Then he heard the rushing of the troops. "And you are [still] in this world!" he said—and he threw the meat away. Then he took up his sword, advanced, and fought until he was killed. Thābit b. Aqram, of the Banū al-'Ajlān,[665] then took up the banner. He said, "O Muslims, agree on a man from among yourselves!" They said, "You!" He said, "I cannot do it." So the people agreed on Khālid b. al-Walīd. When he [1616] took the banner, he fended off the enemy and tried to deflect them.[666] Then he withdrew and there was a withdrawal [by the enemy] from him, so that he got away with his forces.

According to al-Qāsim b. Bishr b. Ma'rūf[667]—Sulaymān b. Ḥarb[668]—al-Aswad b. Shaybān[669]—Khālid b. Sumayr,[670] who

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663. Ibid., 87 (with additional verses).

664. The reference is to Zayd b. Ḥārithah and Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, who died carrying the Prophet's banner.

665. The name is also given as Thābit b. Arqam. The Banū al-'Ajlān (here abbreviated as Bal'ajlān) were a subdivision of Balī.

666. The textual witnesses are evenly divided between *ḥāshā*, "he tried to divert," and *khāshā*, "he was cautious or wary" of them (and therefore turned away and withdrew); see ed. Leiden note *ad loc.*

667. For al-Qāsim b. Bishr [b. Aḥmad] b. Ma'rūf see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 308.

668. Sulaymān b. Ḥarb b. Bujayl al-Azdī al-Wāshiḥī Abū Ayyūb was born in 140/757–58. Of Baṣran origin, he served as judge in Mecca, then returned to al-Baṣrah, where he died in 224/839. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 178–80.

669. Al-Aswad b. Shaybān al-Sadūsī al-Baṣrī Abū Shaybān died in 165/781–82. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 339–40.

670. Khālid b. Sumayr (or Shumayr) al-Sadūsī al-Baṣrī is listed without dates in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 97.

said: 'Abdallāh b. Rabāḥ al-Anṣārī,[671] whom the Anṣār had instructed [in religious matters], once arrived in our midst. The people came to him, and he said that he had received a report from Abū Qatādah, the horseman of the Messenger of God, who said: The Messenger of God sent out the Army of Commanders[672] and said, "Your commander is Zayd b. Ḥārithah; if he is killed, it is Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib; and if Ja'far is killed, it is 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah." Ja'far jumped up and said, "Messenger of God, I will not go if you appoint Zayd commander over me." "Go," he replied, "for you do not know what is best."

So they set out. After they had been away for some time, the Messenger of God ascended the pulpit. He ordered that the call to congregational prayer should be given, and the people gathered to hear the Messenger of God. He said: "A gate to good fortune! A gate to good fortune! A gate to good fortune! I bring you news of your campaigning army. They have set out and have met the enemy. Zayd has died a martyr's death"—he prayed for forgiveness for him. "Then Ja'far took up the banner and attacked the enemy until he died a martyr's death"—he testified that he had attained martyrdom and prayed for forgiveness for him. "Then 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah took up the banner and planted his legs firmly until he died a martyr's death"—he prayed for forgiveness for him. "Then Khālid b. al-Walīd took up the banner: he was not one of the commanders, but he showed himself to be a real commander." Then the Messenger of God said, "O God, he is one of Thy swords,
[1617] and Thou wilt aid him." From that day on, Khālid was named "the Sword of God." Then the Messenger of God said: "Hasten to reinforce your brothers! Let none of you hang back." So they went forth to fight both on foot and mounted. It was in a time of extreme heat.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, who said: When the Messenger of God received word of the death of Ja'far, he said, "Last night Ja'far, with two wings whose forefeathers were stained with blood, passed by among a

671. 'Abdallāh b. Rabāḥ al-Anṣārī Abū Khālid, of Medinese origin, moved to al-Baṣrah. He died ca. 90/708–9. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 206–7.

672. *Jaysh al-umarā'*: apparently a title given to the Mu'tah expedition because of the presence of close relatives of Muḥammad appointed as commanders.

band of angels, all of them headed for Bīshah." [Bīshah is] a place in Yemen.[673]

Quṭbah b. Qatādah al-'Udhrī, the commander of the Muslims' right wing, attacked Mālik b. Rāfilah, the commander of the Arab auxiliaries, and killed him.

A woman soothsayer[674] from Ḥadas, having heard of the approach of the army of the Messenger of God, said to her people, who were a clan of Ḥadas known as the Banū Ghanm:[675] "I warn you of a folk with narrow eyes, who look askance, who lead horses whose tails have been cut off, and who spill blood copiously." They heeded her words and separated from the rest of Lakhm. Afterward, they remained the wealthiest [clan] of the Ḥadas. Those who felt the heat of battle that day were the Banū Tha'labah clan of Ḥadas, and afterward they remained few in number.

After Khālid b. al-Walīd withdrew with the men, he returned, bringing them back.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, who said: When they were about to enter Medina, the Messenger of God and [1618] the Muslims met them. The young boys ran to meet them, and the Messenger of God came with the men on a mount. "Take up the boys," he said, "and have them ride. Give me Ja'far's son." 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far was brought, and the Messenger of God took him and mounted him in front of him.

The people began to throw dust at the army, saying, "Fleers in the way of God!" But the Messenger of God said: "They are not fleers. God willing, they are ones who will turn to fight again."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—'Āmir b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr[676]—some

673. Bīshah is located at the junction of the routes from al-Ṭā'if and al-Riyāḍ to Abhā, Najrān, and southwest Arabia. See *EI*², s.v. Bīsha.

674. Arabic: *kāhinah*. See *EI*², s.v. Kāhin.

675. Ḥadas was a section of the tribe of Lakhm settled in Byzantine Syria. The woman's words that follow are in rhymed prose (*saj'*), which is typically used for such mantic utterances.

676. 'Āmir b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām al-Asadī Abū al-Ḥārith transmitted *ḥadīth* from his father and from his maternal uncle Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hishām (his mother was Ḥantamah bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān). He died about the same time as the caliph Hishām in 125/742–43. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 74.

members of the family of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām[677] [namely, his maternal uncles]—Umm Salamah, the wife of the Prophet: Umm Salamah said to the wife of Salamah b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah,[678] "Why don't I see Salamah attending worship with the Messenger of God and with the Muslims?" "By God," she replied, "he cannot leave the house! Every time he goes out, people shout, 'Did you flee in the way of God?' So he has stayed in his house and does not go out."

In this year the Messenger of God went on expedition against the people of Mecca.

The Conquest of Mecca[679]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: After sending his expedition to Mu'tah, the Messenger of God stayed in Medina during Jumādā II and Rajab.[680] Then the Banū Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah assaulted [the tribe of] Khuzā'ah while the latter were at a watering place called al-Watīr belonging to Khuzā'ah
[1619] in Lower Mecca. The cause of the strife between the Banū Bakr and the Banū Khuzā'ah was a man from the Banū al-Ḥaḍramī named Mālik b. 'Abbād. This man of the Banū al-Ḥaḍramī had a covenant of protection at that time with al-Aswad b. Razn.[681] Mālik set out on a journey as a merchant. When he was in the middle of Khuzā'ah territory, the Khuzā'ah assaulted him, killed him, and took his property. The Banū Bakr therefore attacked and killed a man from Khuzā'ah. Just before Islam, the Khuzā'ah in turn assaulted Salmā, Kulthūm, and Dhu'ayb, the sons of al-Aswad b. Razn al-Dīlī—they were the leading men and dignitaries

677. Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī, a member of an important Meccan family, fought on the pagan side at the battles of Badr and Uḥud. He was the nephew of the Prophet's wife Umm Salamah bt. al-Mughīrah and became a Muslim at the time of the conquest of Mecca.

678. I.e., to her nephew's wife. Umm Salamah was the daughter of al-Mughīrah.

679. Parallels: W, II, 780–871; III, 873–75; IH, IV, 389–428 [tr. Guillaume, 540–61].

680. I.e., from 26 September [the beginning of Jumādā II] to 23 November 629 [the end of Rajab].

681. I.e., with one of the chiefs of Kinānah, al-Aswad b. Razn al-Dīlī, the Banū al-Dīl being a part of the Banū Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah.

of the Banū Bakr—and killed them at 'Arafah, by the border markers of the sacred territory.[682]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—a man from the Banū al-Dīl, who said: In pagan times two payments of blood money would be paid for each of the sons of al-Aswad, while a single payment of blood money would be paid for us; and that because of their excellence [compared with us].[683]

Matters stood thus between the Banū Bakr and Khuzā'ah when Islam intervened to separate them and occupy people's minds. When the peace of al-Ḥudaybiyah was concluded between the Messenger of God and Quraysh (this information is according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Muslim b. 'Abdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr—al-Miswar b. Makhramah, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, and other learned men of ours), among the terms they imposed on the Messenger of God and that he granted to them was that whoever wanted to enter into a treaty and pact with the Messenger of God [1620] might do so, and whoever wanted to enter into a treaty and pact with Quraysh might do so. The Banū Bakr entered into a pact with Quraysh, and Khuzā'ah entered into a pact with the Messenger of God.

The truce having been concluded, the Banū al-Dīl of the Banū Bakr took advantage of it against Khuzā'ah. To retaliate for the sons of al-Aswad b. Razn they wanted to kill the persons from Khuzā'ah who had killed their men. Nawfal b. Mu'āwiyah al-Dīlī set out with the Banū al-Dīl (at that time he was leader of the Banū al-Dīl, though not all the Banū Bakr followed him). He made a night raid on Khuzā'ah while the latter were at their watering place of al-Watīr, and they killed a man [of the Khuzā'ah]. They tried to drive each other away and fought. Quraysh aided the Banū Bakr with weapons, and some members of Quraysh fought on their side under cover of darkness until they drove Khuzā'ah into the sacred territory.

According to al-Wāqidī: Among the members of Quraysh who helped the Banū Bakr against Khuzā'ah that night, concealing

682. Mecca is surrounded by a sacred territory (*ḥaram*) in which killing is prohibited. The murderers killed their victims just outside this territory.

683. The addition is from Ibn Hishām.

their identity, were Ṣafwān b. Umayyah, 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl, Suhayl b. 'Amr, and others, along with their slaves.

Resumption of the account of Ibn Isḥāq, who said: When they reached the sacred territory, the Banū Bakr said: "Nawfal, we have entered the sacred territory. Be mindful of your God! Be mindful of your God!" To which he replied blasphemously: "Today he has no God![684] Banū Bakr, take your revenge! By my life, you steal in the sacred territory; will you not take your revenge in it?"

The night that the Banū Bakr attacked the Khuzā'ah at al-Watīr, they killed a man of Khuzā'ah named Munabbih. Munabbih was a man with a weak heart. He had gone out with a tribesman of his [1621] named Tamīm b. Asad. Munabbih said to him: "Tamīm, save yourself! As for me, by God, I am a dead man whether they kill me or spare me, for my heart has ceased beating." Tamīm ran away and escaped; Munabbih they caught and killed. When the Khuzā'ah entered Mecca, they took refuge in the house of Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī and the house of one of their *mawlās* named Rāfi'.

When Quraysh leagued together [with the Banū Bakr][685] against Khuzā'ah and killed some of their men, breaking the treaty and covenant that existed between them and the Messenger of God by violating the Khuzā'ah, who had a pact and treaty with him, 'Amr b. Sālim al-Khuzā'ī, one of the Banū Ka'b,[686] went to the Messenger of God in Medina. This was one of the things that prompted the conquest of Mecca. 'Amr stood before the Messenger of God while he was in the mosque sitting among the people, and he recited:

O God, I will remind Muḥammad
of the venerable alliance of our father and his father.
Parent were we, and you were child;[687]

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684. I.e., "Today *I* have no God," referring to himself in the third person, as is frequent in oaths; see ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CXXI.

685. Addition from IH, IV, 394.

686. The Banū Ka'b b. 'Amr were a subdivision of Khuzā'ah.

687. Cf. the variant in IH, IV, 394: "You were progeny, and we were parent." According to the note in IH, ad loc., this refers to the fact that the mother of the Banū 'Abd Manāf (which included the Prophet's clan of the Banū Hāshim and the clans of 'Abd Shams, al-Muṭṭalib, and Nawfal) was a woman from Khuzā'ah. Quṣayy, the father of 'Abd Manāf, likewise had a mother from the Khuzā'ah. For

then we became Muslims and did not withdraw our hand.
Help, Messenger of God, with ready help!
Summon God's worshipers to come with assistance!
Among them the Messenger of God has come forth [1622]
bright as the full moon—waxing, ascending.
If he is wronged, his face takes on a dusky hue,
among an army huge like the sea that runs foaming.
Quraysh have violated the promise to you;
they have broken the solemn covenant with you.
They have set a watch for me at Kadā'[688]
and have said that I can call on no one.
Most contemptible are they and fewest in number.
They attacked us at al-Watīr while we were praying at night,
Killing many of us while we were bowing and prostrating ourselves.

(By this he was saying that they had killed them after they had become Muslims.) When the Messenger of God heard this, he said, "You have received help, 'Amr b. Sālim!" Then a cloud appeared to the Messenger of God in the sky, and he said, "This cloud signals the beginning of help for the Banū Ka'b."

Then Budayl b. Warqā' set out with a group of men from Khuzā'ah. They came to the Messenger of God in Medina and told him what had befallen them and how Quraysh had backed the Banū Bakr against them; then they departed to return to Mecca. The Messenger of God had told them, "I think you will see Abū Sufyān come to strengthen the pact and extend the term." As Budayl b. Warqā' and his companions traveled, they met Abū Sufyān at 'Usfān: Quraysh had sent him to the Messenger of God to strengthen the pact and extend the term, for they had become fearful of what they had done. When Abū Sufyān met Budayl, he said, "Where have you come from, Budayl?"—for he guessed that [1623] he had gone to the Messenger of God. Budayl said, "I traveled with the Khuzā'ah along this shore and along the bottom of this val-

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wālid as referring either to a male or female parent (the latter without the feminine termination), see Lane, *Lexicon*, VIII, 2967, s.v.

688. Kadā' is a mountain overlooking Mecca from the north; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VII, 220.

ley." Abū Sufyān asked, "Didn't you go to Muḥammad?" "No," he replied.

When Budayl set out for Mecca, Abū Sufyān said, "If in fact he went to Medina, he will have fed his camel date pits there." So he went to the place where his camel had rested, picked up some of its droppings, crumbled them, and saw date pits in them. "I swear by God," he said, "Budayl went to Muḥammad!"

Abū Sufyān then set out and went to the Messenger of God in Medina. Abū Sufyān [first] visited his own daughter, Umm Ḥabībah bt. Abī Sufyān.[689] When he was about to sit on the bed of the Messenger of God, she folded it up to stop him. He said, "My daughter, by God, I don't know whether you think I am too good for this bed or you think it is too good for me." She said: "It is the bed of the Messenger of God, and you are an unclean polytheist. I did not want you to sit on the bed of the Messenger of God." He said, "My daughter, by God, evil came over you after you left me."

Then he went out and came to the Messenger of God. He spoke to him, but the Messenger of God gave him no reply. Then he went to Abū Bakr and asked him to speak to the Messenger of God for him, but Abū Bakr said, "I will not do it." Then he went to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and spoke to him. 'Umar said: "I intercede for you with the Messenger of God! By God, if I found only ant grubs [to eat], I would fight you!" Abū Sufyān then left and went to see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God, was with him, and with her was al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, a young child crawling before her. Abū Sufyān said: "'Alī, you are the nearest of the men to me in kinship and the closest of them in relationship. I
[1624] have come with a request, and I will not go back empty-handed as I came. Intercede for us with the Messenger of God!" He said: "Woe to you, Abū Sufyān. By God, the Messenger of God has determined on a matter about which we cannot speak to him." Abū Sufyān then turned to Fāṭimah and said, "Daughter of Muḥammad, don't you want to command your little son here to make peace among the people,[690] so that he will be lord of the

689. Cf. the account of her marriage to Muḥammad at pp. 109–10, above.

690. The sense of the passage depends on the fact that Arabic *yujīru bayna al-nās*, means literally, "extend protection among the people (so that neither side commits aggression against the other)" but also has the extended sense of "procure

Arabs forever?" "By God," she said, "my little son is not old enough to make peace among the people, and no one can do so against the will of the Messenger of God." Abū Sufyān said [addressing 'Alī]: "Abū al-Ḥasan, I see that matters have become difficult for me. Give me advice!" 'Alī said to him: "By God, I know of nothing that will be of any use to you. However, since you are the lord of the Banū Kinānah, go and make peace among the people, and then return to your country." Abū Sufyān asked, "Do you think that will be of any use to me?" "No, by God," replied 'Alī, "I do not think so, but I can find nothing else for you to do." So Abū Sufyān stood up in the mosque and said, "People, I hereby make peace among the people." Then he mounted his camel and departed.

When Abū Sufyān came to Quraysh, they asked, "What is your news?" He said: "I went to Muḥammad and spoke to him; and, by God, he gave me no reply. Then I went to Ibn Abī Quḥāfah and got nothing good from him. Then I went to Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, whom I found to be the most hostile of them. Then I went to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, whom I found to be the mildest of them. He advised me to do something that I have done, but, by God, I do not know whether it will be of any use to me or not." They asked, "What did he command you?" He replied, "He commanded me to make peace among the people, and I did it." They asked, "Has Muḥammad approved it?" "No," he said. "Woe to you!" they said. "By God, he did no more than play with you. What you have said is of no use to us." Abū Sufyān replied, "No, by God, I found nothing else to do."

The Messenger of God commanded the people to prepare for travel, and he commanded his family to make his travel preparations. Abū Bakr visited his daughter 'Ā'ishah while she was moving some of the travel gear of the Messenger of God. "Daughter," asked Abū Bakr, "has the Messenger of God commanded you to make preparations for him to travel?" "Yes," she said, "so make yourself ready to travel!" "Where," he asked, "do you think he intends to go?" She said, "By God, I do not know." [1625]

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or mediate peace"—see ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CLXXV; Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 483; *EI*², s.v. Djiwār.

Then the Messenger of God informed the people that he would travel to Mecca. He commanded them to prepare themselves quickly, and he said, "O God, keep spies and news from Quraysh until we take them by surprise in their territory." So the people made preparations for travel. Ḥassān b. Thābit al-Anṣārī composed the following verses to rouse the people, mentioning the killing of the men of Khuzā'ah.[691]

I received word, though I was not present, that in the plain of Mecca
are men of the Banū Ka'b whose necks were cut
At the hands of men who did not unsheathe their swords,
and [there were] many slain men whose graveclothes were not hidden [in earth].[692]
Would that I knew whether my help [to Khuzā'ah] will harm Suhayl b. 'Amr—with its heat and its punishment—
And Ṣafwān, an old camel the edge of whose anus has been cut.
For this is the time for war—its milking girth has been firmly tied.[693]
You will not be safe from us, son of Umm Mujālid,
when it is milked, yielding pure milk, and its teeth become strong.
[1626] So do not become impatient with it! Our swords
have a fall the gate of which opens to reveal death.

Ḥassān's words, "at the hands of men who did not unsheathe their swords," refer to Quraysh; "son of Umm Mujālid" refers to 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr and others of our scholars, who said: When the Messenger of God had decided to go to Mecca, Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta'ah wrote a letter to

691. For variant readings, one additional verse, and comment, see *Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit*, I, 296–97, and II, 218.

692. I.e., they were killed indirectly by Quraysh, who, although they did not draw their own swords, aided the Banū Bakr. The second part of the verse refers to the dead who remained unburied.

693. The metaphor is complex: the *'iṣāb* is a cord used to tie the leg of the camel during milking. War is not only compared to a camel (a common metaphor) but to a camel ready to be milked, so that war (the death-bringer) is compared paradoxically to milk (the sustainer of life).

Quraysh informing them of the decision of the Messenger of God to go to them, and he gave the letter to a woman. (Muḥammad b. Ja'far alleged she was from [the tribe of] Muzaynah; others asserted that she was Sārah, a *mawlāh* of one of the sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.) He paid her to deliver it to Quraysh. She put it on her head, twisted the hair on the sides of her head over it, and set out carrying it. But word of what Ḥāṭib had done came to the Messenger of God from heaven, and he sent out 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, saying, "Overtake a woman with whom Ḥāṭib has sent a letter to Quraysh warning them of what we have decided about them." The two went out and overtook her at al-Ḥulayfah, al-Ḥulayfah of Ibn Abī Aḥmad.[694] They made her dismount and searched her saddle, but found nothing. 'Alī b. Abī [1627]
Ṭālib said to her: "I swear that the Messenger of God did not lie, nor have we lied. You shall produce this letter to me, or we will strip you." When she saw that he was serious, she said, "Turn away from me." He turned away from her, and she untied the sidelocks of her head, took out the letter, and handed it to him. He brought it to the Messenger of God.

The Messenger of God summoned Ḥāṭib and said, "Ḥāṭib, what made you do this?" He said: "Messenger of God, by God, I am a believer in God and His Messenger. I have not changed or altered. But I was a man with no roots or clan among the people, while I had family and children among them.[695] And so I did them this favor for their sake." 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, "Messenger of God, let me cut off his head, for the man has played the hypocrite." The Messenger of God said: "How do you know, 'Umar? Perhaps God looked down on those who were at Badr[696] on the day of the battle and said, 'Do what you will, for I have forgiven you.'" Concerning Ḥāṭib, God revealed: "O believers, take not My enemy and your

694. If the reading al-Ḥulayfah is correct (and is the same place as the well-known Dhū al-Ḥulayfah), she was overtaken about six miles from Medina. Ibn Hishām reads al-Khalīqah, which is 12 miles from Medina (cf. al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā'*, 542, 546). The identification of the place as belonging to "Ibn Abī Aḥmad" renders both identifications doubtful.

695. I.e., the Meccans.

696. For the presence of Ḥāṭib at the Battle of Badr, see W, I, 140, 154; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 314.

enemy for friends"—to the words, "to Thee we turn," and the end of the story.[697]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah b. Mas'ūd—Ibn 'Abbās, who said: Then the Messenger of God went on his journey and left Abū Ruhm Kulthūm b. Ḥuṣayn b. Khalaf al-Ghifārī in charge of Medina. He departed on the tenth day of the month of Ramaḍān.[698] The Messenger of God fasted,
[1628] and the people fasted with him. When he was at al-Kadīd, between 'Usfān and Amaj, the Messenger of God broke his fast. He proceeded on and encamped at Marr al-Ẓahrān with 10,000 Muslims. [Members of the tribe of] Sulaym numbered 700, [members of the tribe] of Muzaynah 1,000, and in all the tribes there were a number of men and Muslims. The Emigrants and Anṣār went forth all together with the Messenger of God; not one of them hung back from him. When the Messenger of God encamped at Marr al-Ẓahrān, reports had been kept hidden from Quraysh; no news was reaching them about the Messenger of God, and they did not know what he would do. That night, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, and Budayl b. Warqā' went out to seek news, hoping to find a report or hear of one.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-'Abbās b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'bad b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib[699]—Ibn 'Abbās: Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib met the Messenger of God along the way. Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith[700] and 'Abdallāh b. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah[701] had met the Mes-

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697. Qur'ān 60:1–4. The passage uses the story of Abraham and his followers as an example of the enmity between believers and nonbelievers: "You have a good example in Abraham, and those with him, when they said to their people, 'We are quit of you and that you serve, apart from God. We disbelieve in you, and between us and you enmity has shown itself, and hatred for ever, until you believe in God alone. . . . Our Lord, in Thee we trust; to Thee we turn.'"

698. 10 Ramaḍān of A.H. 8 fell on 1 January 630.

699. Al-'Abbās b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'bad b. 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī of Medina is mentioned without dates in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 120. According to *Tahdhīb*, VI, 39, his grandfather, Ma'bad, was the brother of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās.

700. Abū Sufyān [al-Mughīrah] b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's cousin [son of his paternal uncle], was a poet and had written satires against Muḥammad. See W, II, 806–12; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VII, 86–87; *GAS*, II, 275.

701. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah was the half-brother of Muḥammad's wife Umm Salamah by Muḥammad's paternal aunt 'Ātikah bt. 'Abd al-

senger of God at Nīq al-'Uqāb, between Mecca and Medina.[702] They sought to have an interview with the Messenger of God, and Umm Salamah spoke to him about them, saying, "Messenger of God, the son of your paternal uncle and the son of your paternal aunt and relative by marriage!" He said: "I have no need for the two. As for the son of my paternal uncle, he injured my honor; as for the son of my paternal aunt and my relative by marriage, he is the one who said what he said to me in Mecca." When word of this came out to them—Abū Sufyān [b. al-Ḥārith] had a young son of his with him—he said, "By God, he shall let me in, or I will take the hand of this son of mine and we will go into the open country until we die of thirst and hunger." When this was reported to the Messenger of God, he softened toward the two of them. He gave permission, and they came before him and became Muslims. Abū Sufyān [b. al-Ḥārith] recited to him the following verses, which he composed about his becoming a Muslim and to excuse himself for what he had done in the past:[703] [1629]

By my life, the day I carried a banner
that the horsemen of al-Lāt[704] might overcome the horsemen of Muḥammad,
I was like a perplexed traveler in a dark night;
but now the time has come when I am guided and find the way.
A Guide other than myself guided me; there overcame me,

Muṭṭalib. His sceptical arguments against Islam during Muḥammad's days in Mecca—they are said to have grieved Muḥammad greatly—are recorded in IH, I, 298 (tr. Guillaume, 134–35). After his conversion, he was killed fighting as a Muslim at the siege of al-Ṭā'if in A.H. 8/630—see IH, IV, 486 (tr. Guillaume, 591).

702. A place between Mecca and Medina, near al-Juḥfah; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VIII, 360.

703. The poem should be read in connection with the first of the two accounts in al-Wāqidī of the conversion of Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith, which is quite different from the second account (the one that al-Ṭabarī includes). In al-Wāqidī's first account, Abū Sufyān repeatedly attempted to find favor with Muḥammad on the eve of the conquest of Mecca but was not successful until his wife interceded for him during the women's pledge of allegiance after the conquest. He subsequently accompanied Muḥammad to the Battle of Ḥunayn against the tribes of Hawāzin and Thaqīf (the latter from the town of al-Ṭā'if). Thus the poem apparently refers to events that took place after the conquest of Mecca and cannot belong to the conversion story given by al-Ṭabarī.

704. See note 325, above.

with God, one whom I had expelled utterly.
I used to shun and diligently keep my distance from
Muḥammad;
yet I was called related to Muḥammad, though I did not
declare my kinship.[705]
They—what sort are they? Whoever does not profess their false
opinion,
though he be of sound judgment, is blamed and ridiculed.
I wanted to please them, but I could not adhere [to him]
with the people, so long as I was not guided in every place
of abode.
Say then to Thaqīf that I do not want to fight them,
and say this to Thaqīf: "Threaten others than me."
I was not in the army that overcame 'Āmir;
it did not happen because of my tongue or my hand:
[It was] tribes that came from far away lands—
strangers who came from Suhām and Surdad.[706]

[1630] Some have alleged that when he recited to the Messenger of God the words, "there overcame me, with God, one whom I had expelled utterly," the Prophet struck his chest and said, "You expelled me utterly?"[707]

According to al-Wāqidī:[708] When the Messenger of God set out for Mecca, some said his destination was Quraysh, some said it was Hawāzin, and some said it was Thaqīf. He sent to the tribes, but they hung back from him, and he appointed no one to military commands and displayed no banners. Then, when he reached Qudayd, the Banū Sulaym met him with horses and full arma-

705. According to material in W, II, 811, this refers to an occasion when Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith fled to the court of the Byzantine emperor. Asked to identify himself, he gave his name as Abū Sufyān, son of al-Ḥārith, son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The emperor immediately said, "If you are telling the truth, you must be the cousin of Muḥammad, the son of 'Abdallāh, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib." Impressed by the fact that although he had fled from Muḥammad's reach and was so far away, he was known to the emperor only by his relation to Muḥammad, Abū Sufyān began to doubt the truth of paganism and lean toward Islam.

706. Suhām (also vocalized as Sahām) and Surdad were two places in Yemen. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, V, 67, 184.

707. As the parallel in W, II, 811, makes clear, the sentence is a rhetorical question. In al-Wāqidī, Muḥammad adds, "Rather, God has utterly expelled *you*!"

708. Cf. W, II, 812 ff.

ment. 'Uyaynah [b. Ḥiṣn][709] joined the Messenger of God at al-'Arj with a group of his companions. Al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis[710] joined him at al-Suqyā. 'Uyaynah said: "Messenger of God, by God I see neither the implements of war nor preparation to enter a state of consecration. Where then are you heading, Messenger of God?" The Messenger of God said, "Where God wills." The Messenger of God ordered that the information be kept ambiguous, and he encamped at Marr al-Ẓahrān. Al-'Abbās met him at al-Suqyā, and Makhramah b. Nawfal met him at Nīq al-'Uqāb. When he encamped at Marr al-Ẓahrān, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb came out with Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām.

According to Abū Kurayb—Yūnus b. Bukayr—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās[711]—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās, who said:[712] When the Messenger of God encamped at Marr al-Ẓahrān, al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, the Messenger of God having departed from Medina: "Woe to Quraysh! If the Messenger of God surprises them in their territory and enters Mecca by force, it means the destruction of Quraysh forever." So he seated himself on the white mule of the Messenger [1631] of God and said, "I will go out to al-Arāk;[713] perhaps I shall see a firewood gleaner, or someone bringing milk, or someone coming in who will enter Mecca and inform them where the Messenger of God is, so that they will go to him and ask him for a promise of safety."

[Continuing, al-'Abbās related:] So I set out. By God, while I was going through al-Arāk seeking what I had come out to find, I heard the voices of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, and Budayl b. Warqā', who had come out in search of information about the Messenger of God. I heard Abū Sufyān say, "By God, I have never seen fires like those I see today!" Budayl said, "These, by God, are the fires of Khuzā'ah gathered for war." Abū Sufyān said,

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709. Cf. W, II, 803–4.

710. Al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis was said to be the first Muslim from the tribe of Tamīm. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 137–38.

711. Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās died ca. 140/757. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 341–42.

712. Parallel: *Aghānī*, VI, 97–98.

713. Wādī al-Arāk [Arāk-Tree Valley] is a valley near Mecca; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 169.

"Khuzā'ah are too lowly and abject for that." Recognizing his voice, I said, "Abū Ḥanẓalah!"[714] He said, "Abū al-Faḍl!"[715] "Yes!" I said. He said: "At your service, may my father and mother be your ransom! What news do you have?" I said: "Here is the Messenger of God behind me. He has come against you with a force you cannot resist—10,000 Muslims." "What," he asked, "do you command me?" I said, "Mount the rump of this mule, and I will ask the Messenger of God to grant you a promise of safety; for, by God, if he gets hold of you, he will cut off your head." He mounted behind me, and I set out with him, urging the mule of the Messenger of God toward the Messenger of God. Whenever I passed one of the fires of the Muslims, they looked at me and said, "The uncle of the Messenger of God on the mule of the Messenger of God!" Finally, I passed the fire of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said: "Abū Sufyān! Praise be to God, who has delivered you up without treaty or covenant!" He ran toward the Prophet, and I urged the
[1632] mule, Abū Sufyān riding behind me, until I jumped off at the door of the tent, having outdistanced 'Umar by as much as a slow mount can outdistance a slow man. 'Umar went before the Messenger of God and said: "Messenger of God, here is Abū Sufyān, the enemy of God. God has delivered him up without treaty or covenant. Let me cut off his head!" I said, "Messenger of God, I have granted him protection." Then I sat by the Messenger of God and took hold of his head. I said, "By God, no one but I shall speak confidentially to him today." When 'Umar kept speaking to him at length, I said: "Take it easy, 'Umar! By God, you are doing this only because he is from the Banū 'Abd Manāf; if he had been from the Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b,[716] you would not have said this." He said: "Take it easy, 'Abbās! By God, your [conversion to] Islam, the day you became a Muslim, was more pleasing to me than the conversion of [my father] al-Khaṭṭāb would have been, had he become a Muslim; for I know that your [conversion to] Islam was more pleasing to the Messenger of God than that of al-Khaṭṭāb would have been, had he become a Muslim." The Messenger of God said:

714. Abū Ḥanẓalah is the *kunyah* of Abū Sufyān.
715. Abū al-Faḍl is the *kunyah* of al-'Abbās.
716. The Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b were 'Umar's clan.

"Go, for we have promised him safety. Bring him to me tomorrow morning."

So 'Umar took Abū Sufyān back to his dwelling. In the morning, he brought him to the Messenger of God, who, when he saw him, said, "Alas, Abū Sufyān, hasn't the time come for you to know that there is no god but God?" Abū Sufyān said: "May my father and mother be your ransom! How concerned you are for your kin, how forbearing, and how generous! By God, I think that if there were another god along with God, he would have availed me somewhat." "Alas, Abū Sufyān," he said, "hasn't the time come for you to know that I am the Messenger of God?" Abū Sufyān said: "May my father and mother be your ransom! How concerned you are for your kin, how forbearing, and how generous! As for this matter, there is something of it in my mind."

{Al-'Abbās continued his narrative, saying:} So I said to him: "Woe to you! Recite the testimony of truth before, by God, your head is cut off!" And he recited the *shahādah*.[717]

The Messenger of God said to al-'Abbās, when Abū Sufyān recited the *shahādah*, "Go back, 'Abbās, and detain him by the spur of the mountain in the narrow part of the valley until the troops of God pass by him.[718] [1633]

[Al-'Abbās continued his narrative, saying:] So I said to him, "Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a man who loves glory. Grant him something that shall be [a cause of glory for him] among his clansmen." He said, "Yes; whoever enters the house of Abū Sufyān shall be safe; anyone who enters the sanctuary[719] shall be safe; and anyone who locks his door behind him shall be safe."

I went out and detained Abū Sufyān by the spur of the mountain in the narrow part of the valley, and the tribes passed by him. He would ask, "Who are these, 'Abbās?" I would say, "Sulaym," and he would say, "What have I to do with Sulaym?" A tribe would pass by him, and he would ask, "Who are these?" I would say, "Aslam," and he would say, "What have I to do with Aslam?"

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717. I.e., the formula of testimony or profession of faith whereby one becomes a Muslim: "There is no god but God; Muḥammad is the Messenger of God."

718. The parallel in IH, IV, 403, adds: "and he sees them," implying that the purpose is to impress Abū Sufyān.

719. Arabic: *masjid*, here meaning the area around the Ka'bah in Mecca; in later usage, a mosque. On the development of the term see *EI*², s.v. Masdjid.

Juhaynah would pass by him, and he would say, "What have I to do with Juhaynah?" Finally, the Messenger of God passed by with *al-Khaḍrā'*,[720] the squadron of the Messenger of God, composed of Emigrants and Anṣār in iron [armor], with only their eyes visible. He asked, "Who are these, Abū al-Faḍl?" I said, "This is the Messenger of God amid the Emigrants and Anṣār." He said, "Abū al-Faḍl, your nephew's kingdom has become great!" I said: "Woe to you! It is prophethood."[721] He said, "All right then." I said, "Go join your people now, and warn them!"

Abū Sufyān departed in haste. When he reached Mecca, he shouted in the sanctuary, "People of Quraysh, behold Muḥammad has come upon you with forces you cannot resist." "What then?" they asked. He said, "Anyone who enters my house will be safe." They said, "Alas, what will your house avail us?" He said, "Anyone who enters the sanctuary will be safe, and anyone who locks his door behind him will be safe."

[1634] According to 'Abd al-Wārith b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith[722]—his father ['Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith][723]—Abān al-'Aṭṭār[724]—Hishām b. 'Urwah—'Urwah [b. al-Zubayr], who wrote [the following letter] to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān:[725] To proceed: You wrote to me asking about Khālid b. al-Walīd, whether he fought on the day of the conquest, and under whose command he fought. As regards Khālid on the day of the conquest, he was on the side of the Prophet. When the Prophet traveled the Marr basin heading for Mecca, Quraysh had already sent Abū Sufyān and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām to meet the Messenger of God, not knowing, when they sent the two, where the Prophet was heading, whether to them or to al-Ṭā'if—that was at the time of the con-

720. The name means "green, greenish black, tawny" and is said to be derived from the appearance of their armor; see Ibn Hishām's comment, IH, IV, 404 [tr. Guillaume, 548, and note ad loc.].

721. I.e., not secular kingship such as had been claimed by powerful Arab chieftains in the past. On the disapproval of kings and kingship in early Islam, see *EI*², s.v. Malik.

722. 'Abd al-Wārith b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith died in 252/866. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 390.

723. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith b. Sa'īd al-'Anbārī al-Baṣrī died in 206 or 207/821–22. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 327–28.

724. For Abān b. Yazīd al-'Aṭṭār al-Baṣrī, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 101–2.

725. See note 447, above.

quest. Abū Sufyān and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām asked Budayl b. Warqā' to follow—they wanted him to accompany them. They were only Abū Sufyān, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, and Budayl. When [Quraysh] sent them to the Messenger of God, they said to them, "Let us not be approached from behind you; for we do not know against whom Muḥammad intends to go, whether he intends to go against us, against Hawāzin, or against Thaqīf." Between the Prophet and Quraysh there was a peace made on the day of al-Ḥudaybiyah, with a pact and a fixed period of time. The Banū Bakr were in that peace on the side of Quraysh. Then a group of the Banū Ka'b and a group of the Banū Bakr fought with each other. Among the terms on which the Messenger of God and Quraysh had made peace was that there should be neither betrayal nor clandestine theft.[726] Quraysh aided the Banū Bakr with weapons, and the Banū Ka'b suspected Quraysh. That is why the Messenger of God attacked the people of Mecca. During this expedition of his, he met Abū Sufyān, Ḥakīm, and Budayl at Marr al-Ẓahrān. They had no idea that the Messenger of God had encamped at Marr until they sud- [1635]
denly came upon him. When they saw him at Marr, Abū Sufyān, Budayl, and Ḥakīm went before him in his dwelling at Marr al-Ẓahrān and swore allegiance to him. After they swore allegiance to him, he sent them ahead of him to Quraysh, to summon them to Islam. I have been told that he said, "Whoever enters the house of Abū Sufyān shall be safe"—his house was in the upper part of Mecca—"and whoever enters the house of Ḥakīm"—it was in the lower part of Mecca—"shall be safe, and whoever locks his door and withholds his hand shall be safe."

After Abū Sufyān and Ḥakīm left the presence of the Prophet heading for Mecca, he sent al-Zubayr after them, gave him his banner, and appointed him commander over the horsemen of the Emigrants and Anṣār. He commanded him to plant his banner in the upper part of Mecca at al-Ḥajūn.[727] He said to al-Zubayr, "Do not depart from where I have commanded you to plant my banner until I come to you." [The Messenger of God entered [Mecca] from there.] He commanded Khālid b. al-Walīd, along with those of [the tribe of] Quḍā'ah and the Banū Sulaym who had become Muslims

726. See p. 86 and note 372, above.
727. Al-Ḥajūn is a mountain overlooking Mecca.

and some people who had become Muslims only a short time before, to enter through the lower part of Mecca—that was where the Banū Bakr were, whom Quraysh had called on for aid, the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt, and the Aḥābīsh[728] whom Quraysh had commanded to be in the lower part of Mecca. So Khālid entered against them by the lower part of Mecca.

I have been told that the Prophet said to Khālid and al-Zubayr when he dispatched them, "Fight only those who fight you." When Khālid came upon the Banū Bakr and the Aḥābīsh in the lower part of Mecca, he fought them, and God put them to flight. That was the only fighting that took place in Mecca. However, Kurz b. Jābir, one of the Banū Muḥārib b. Fihr, and Ibn al-Ash'ar, a man from the Banū Ka'b—the two were among al-Zubayr's
[1636] horsemen—took the road to Kadā'.[729] They did not take the route that al-Zubayr took, which he had been commanded to take. They encountered a squadron of Quraysh on the slope of Kadā' and were killed. There was no fighting by al-Zubayr in the upper part of Mecca. The Prophet arrived from there. The people stood before him to swear allegiance to him, and so the people of Mecca became Muslims. The Prophet stayed among them half a month, no more—until Hawāzin and Thaqīf came and encamped at Ḥunayn.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ: When the Prophet sent his army in divisions from Dhū Ṭuwā, he commanded al-Zubayr, who was in charge of the left wing, to make his entry with some of the forces by way of Kudā.[730] He commanded Sa'd b. 'Ubādah to make his entry with some of the forces by way of Kadā'. Some scholars assert that when Sa'd was sent out, he said as he made his entry, "Today is the day of battle; today the sacred territory is deemed profane."[731] Hearing this, one of the Emigrants said: "Messenger of God, hear what Sa'd b. 'Ubādah has said! We fear that he may assault Quraysh." The Messenger of God said to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib:

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728. See note 74, above.

729. See note 688, above.

730. Kudā (distinct from Kadā', with which it is sometimes confused, as shown by the *apparatus criticus* of the Leiden edition) is a mountain in the lower (i.e., southern) part of Mecca. Kadā' is in the upper (i.e., northern) part. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, VII, 220–21; map in *EI*², VI, 163.

731. The slogan is in rhymed prose (*saj'*).

"Overtake him, and take the banner. You be the one who takes it in!"

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ: The Messenger of God commanded Khālid b. al-Walīd to enter the lower part of Mecca by way of al-Līṭ[732] with some of [1637] the forces. Khālid was in charge of the right wing, which included Aslam, Ghifār, Muzaynah, Juhaynah, and other [tribes] of the Arabs. Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ advanced with the line of Muslims, moving toward Mecca in front of the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God entered by way of Adhākhir[733] and halted in the upper part of Mecca: there his round tent was pitched.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ and 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: Ṣafwān b. Umayyah, 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl, and Suhayl b. 'Amr had gathered men at al-Khandamah[734] to fight. Ḥimās b. Qays b. Khālid, a member of the Banū Bakr, was readying weapons before the Messenger of God entered Mecca and set it in order. His wife said to him, "Why are you readying what I see?" He said, "On account of Muḥammad and his forces." "By God," she replied, "I think nothing can stand up to Muḥammad and his forces." He said, "By God, I hope to make some of them serve you!" Then he said:

If you advance today, I have no excuse!
    Here is full panoply: a long-bladed spear,
    and a two-edged [sword] quick to be drawn.

He took up a position at al-Khandamah with Ṣafwān, Suhayl b. 'Amr, and 'Ikrimah. When the Muslims, forces of Khālid b. al-Walīd, met them, they skirmished. Kurz b. Jābir b. Ḥisl b. al-Ajabb b. Ḥabīb b. 'Amr b. Shaybān b. Muḥārib b. Fihr and Khunays[735] b. [1638] Khālid (who is al-Ash'ar) b. Rabī'ah b. Aṣram b. Ḍabīs b. Ḥarām b. Ḥabashiyyah b. Ka'b b. 'Amr (an ally of the Banū Munqidh) were killed. The two were among the horsemen of Khālid b. al-Walīd, but they became separated from him and took a different route

732. I.e., by the main thoroughfare from the south. See Hamidullah, *Battlefields*, 39.

733. The vocalization Adhākhir is given by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 158–59.

734. Al-Khandamah is a mountain east of Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 470–71; map in *EI*², VI, 163.

735. Ms. C and ed. Cairo: Ḥubaysh.

from his. Both of them were killed. Khunays was killed before Kurz b. Jābir. Kurz set him in front of him[736] and, reciting the following verses of *rajaz*, fought until he was killed:

A light-complexioned woman of the Banū Fihr,
spotless of face, spotless of breast, knows
that today I will strike to protect Abū Ṣakhr.

(Khunays was nicknamed Abū Ṣakhr.) Of [the tribe of] Juhaynah, Salamah b. al-Maylā', one of the horsemen of Khālid b. al-Walīd, was killed. About twelve or thirteen of the polytheists were killed, and then the polytheists were routed. Ḥimās left the scene in flight. He entered his house and said to his wife, "Lock my door behind me." "And where," she asked, "is what you used to say?" So he said:

[1639] Had you been present at the battle of al-Khandamah,
when Ṣafwān fled and 'Ikrimah fled;
While Abū Yazīd[737] was standing like a pillar,[738]
and the Muslims met them with swords
That cut off every arm and skull
with their blows, with only battle cries to be heard;
Behind us their roaring and snarling—
you would not have spoken the least word of blame.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: When the Messenger of God ordered his commanders to enter Mecca, he charged them to kill no one except those who fought them; however, he gave charge concerning a group of men whom he named: he ordered that they should be killed even if they were found under the curtains of the Ka'bah. Among them was 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ b. Ḥubayb b. Jadhīmah b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. The Messenger of God ordered that he should be killed only because he had become a Muslim and then had reverted to being a polytheist. He fled to 'Uthmān, who was

736. I.e., mounted him in front of him. This seems to be the sense of *bayna rijlayhi*, "between his legs."
737. Abū Yazīd refers to Suhayl b. 'Amr.
738. Arabic: *ma'tamah*. The reading is explained in ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, pp. CII–CIII.

his foster-brother,[739] and 'Uthmān hid him. 'Uthmān later brought him to the Messenger of God after the people of Mecca had become calm. He asked the Messenger of God to grant him a promise of safety. The Messenger of God is said to have remained [1640] silent for a long time and then to have said yes. After 'Uthmān had taken him away, the Messenger of God said to his companions who were around him, "By God, I kept silent so that one of you might go up to him and cut off his head!" One of the Anṣār said, "Why didn't you give me a signal, Messenger of God?" He replied, "A prophet does not kill by making signs."

Also among them was 'Abdallāh b. Khaṭal, a member of the Banū Taym b. Ghālib. The Messenger of God ordered that he should be killed only for the following reason: He was a Muslim, and the Messenger of God had sent him to collect alms,[740] sending with him one of the Anṣār. With him went a *mawlā* of his, also a Muslim, to serve him. He halted at a resting place and commanded the *mawlā* to slaughter him a goat and make him a meal; then he went to sleep. When he woke up, the *mawlā* had done nothing for him; so he attacked him and killed him. Then he reverted to being a polytheist. He had two singing girls, Fartanā and another with her. The two used to sing satire about the Messenger of God; so the latter commanded that the two of them should be killed along with him.

Also among them was al-Ḥuwayrith b. Nuqaydh b. Wahb b. 'Abd b. Quṣayy. He was one of the men who used to molest the Messenger of God in Mecca.

Also among them was Miqyas b. Ṣubābah. The Messenger of God commanded that he should be killed only because he had killed the member of the Anṣār who had killed his brother by mistake and had then returned to Quraysh as a renegade.

Also among them were 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl and Sārah, a *mawlāh* of one of the sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. She was one of those who used to molest the Messenger of God in Mecca. 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl fled to Yemen. His wife, Umm Ḥakīm bt. al-

739. I.e., the same woman had nursed them as infants.

740. Arabic *ṣadaqah* (here translated as "alms") is ambiguous. In later usage it usually refers to voluntary contributions. In early usage, however, it is often a synonym for the obligatory contributions known as *zakāh*. See the references in note 604, above.

Ḥārith b. Hishām, became a Muslim. She asked the Messenger of God to grant 'Ikrimah a promise of safety, and he did so. She set out to find him and then brought him to the Messenger of God. 'Ikrimah, as people relate, used to say that what brought him back to Islam after his departure for Yemen was—in his own words: I
[1641] was about to set sail for Ethiopia. When I came to board the ship, its captain said, "Servant of God, do not board my ship until you declare God to be one and repudiate any peers to Him; for I fear that if you do not do so, we shall perish in it." So I asked, "Does no one board until he declares God to be one and repudiates all others?" "Yes," he said, "no one boards until he clears himself." So I asked: Why then should I depart from Muḥammad? By God, this is the very message he brought to us: that our God on the sea is [the same as] our God on land! At that moment I came to know Islam, and it entered into my heart.

'Abdallāh b. Khaṭal was killed by Sa'īd b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī and Abū Barzah al-Aslamī: the two shared in his blood. Miqyas b. Ṣubābah was killed by Numaylah b. 'Abdallāh, a man of his own clan. The sister of Miqyas said:

By my life, Numaylah shamed his clan
and distressed winter guests by [killing] Miqyas.
How excellent it was for one to see a man like Miqyas
in times when no food was prepared even for women in childbirth![741]

As for Ibn Khaṭal's two singing girls, one was killed and the other fled. The Messenger of God later was asked to grant her a promise of safety, and he did so. [As for Sārah, he was asked to grant her a promise of safety, and he did so.][742] She lived until someone in the

741. The line is proverbial for a time of such famine that no food is prepared even for those in greatest need of it, or when everyone looks out only for himself. Cf. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, I, 217. The meaning is that Miqyas was generous even in times of extreme hardship.

742. The Leiden editor restored the sentence from the parallel in IH, IV, 411. The text in the manuscripts of al-Ṭabarī implies that it was one of the singing girls (Fartanā, according to Ibn al-Athīr) who later was trampled to death. The loss of the sentence (if it ever existed in the text of al-Ṭabarī) must have taken place early, since the later historian Ibn al-Athīr reflects the loss. The account in W, III, 860, accords with the text without the sentence. According to al-Wāqidī, Sārah was killed, as was one of the singing girls; the other singing girl (cf. the next paragraph

time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb caused his horse to trample her at al-Abṭaḥ[743] and killed her. Al-Ḥuwayrith b. Nuqaydh was killed by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

According to al-Wāqidī: The Messenger of God commanded that six men and four women should be killed. Of the men, [al-Wāqidī] mentioned those whom Ibn Isḥāq named. The women he mentioned were Hind bt. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah, who became a Muslim and swore allegiance; Sārah, the *mawlāh* of 'Amr b. Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf, who was killed on that day; Quraybah, who was killed on that day; and Fartanā, who lived until the caliphate of 'Uthmān. [1642]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Umar b. Mūsā b. al-Wajīh—Qatādah al-Sadūsī: Having halted by the door of the Ka'bah, the Messenger of God stood up and said: "There is no god but God alone; He has no partner. He has fulfilled His promise and helped His servant. He alone has put to flight the parties who leagued together. Behold, every alleged claim of hereditary privilege, or blood, or wealth is abolished,[744] except the custodianship of the Ka'bah and the right of supplying water to pilgrims.[745] Behold, the one slain by an error that is like intention, [by] whip or staff—for both cases the blood money shall be made rigorous: [a hundred camels],[746] forty of them with their foals in their wombs. People of Quraysh, God has taken from you the haughtiness of the Time of Ignorance and its pride in ancestors. Mankind is from Adam, and Adam was created from dust." Then the Messenger of God recited:[747] "O mankind, We have created

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of al-Ṭabarī) was granted a pardon; only to die of a broken rib in the time of 'Uthmān (not 'Umar).

743. Al-Abṭaḥ (*abṭaḥ* is a wash, a broad, dry stream bed with pebbles and gravel) is an area north of Mecca on the way to Minā. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 85–86; map in *EI*², VI, 163.

744. Literally, "is [as dust] under these my feet." Cf. al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-balāghah*, 496: "'Put it under your feet' means 'turn from it.'"

745. On the custodianship (*sidānah*) of the Ka'bah and the right of supplying water (*siqāyah*) to pilgrims, see *EI*², s.v. Ka'ba. Muḥammad's uncle, al-'Abbās, was confirmed in his possession of the *siqāyah*. The custodianship of the Ka'bah was given to 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥah.

746. The addition from the parallel in Ibn Hishām is not strictly necessary, since the Arabic *diyah mughallaẓah* "blood money that is made hard, rigorous, or severe" regularly implies a total of 100 camels. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, VI, 2283.

747. Qur'ān 49:13.

you male and female, and made you nations and tribes, that you may know one another. Surely the noblest among you in the sight of God is the most god-fearing of you"—to the end of the verse. "People of Quraysh and people of Mecca, what do you think I intend to do with you?" "Good," they said, "[for you are] a generous fellow tribesman and the son of a generous fellow tribesman!" Then he said, "Go, for you are 'those whose bonds have been loosed.'"[748] Thus the Messenger of God emancipated them,
[1643] although God had enabled him to take their persons by force and they were his booty. Therefore the people of Mecca are known as *al-Ṭulaqā'* (Those Whose Bonds Have Been Loosed).

The people assembled in Mecca to swear allegiance to the Messenger of God in Islam. As I have been informed, he sat for them on al-Ṣafā.[749] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was below the Messenger of God, lower than the place where he sat, administering the oath to the people. He received from them the oath of allegiance to the Messenger of God, to heed and obey God and His Messenger to the extent of their ability. That was the oath he administered to those who swore allegiance to the Messenger of God in Islam.

When the Messenger of God was finished with the men's swearing of allegiance, the women swore allegiance. Some of the women of Quraysh assembled before him. Among them was Hind bt. 'Utbah, veiled and disguised because of her offense and what she had done to Ḥamzah; for she feared that the Messenger of God would punish her for her offense.[750] When the women approached to swear allegiance to him, the Messenger of God said, as I have been informed, "You are swearing allegiance to me on condition that you will associate nothing with God as a partner." Hind said:

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748. Arabic *ṭulaqā'* (plural of *ṭalīq*), meaning "a captive having his bond loosed from him," or "a man freed from slavery, emancipated," became a technical term for those Quraysh who became Muslims at the time of the conquest of Mecca. See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CCCXLII.

749. Al-Ṣafā was a low hill to the southeast of the Meccan sanctuary. Together with its neighboring hill to the north, Marwah, it still forms part of the sacred terrain of the pilgrimage as the site of the *sa'y* or ritual running between al-Ṣafā and Marwah to commemorate Hagar's frantic search for water for her son Ismā'īl (Ishmael). See Peters, *The Hajj*, 18–19.

750. For the part of Abū Sufyān's wife Hind in mutilating the bodies of the Muslims slain at the Battle of Uḥud, including the body of Muḥammad's uncle Ḥamzah, see al-Ṭabarī, I, 1415; IH, III, 91–92 (tr. Guillaume, 385–86); and *EI*², s.v. Hind bt. 'Utba.

"By God, you are imposing something on us that you are not imposing on the men. We will grant it to you." He said, "Do not steal." She said, "By God, I used to take one trifle or another from Abū Sufyān's property, and I do not know whether it was permitted for me or not!" Abū Sufyān, who witnessed what she was saying, said, "As for what you took in the past, you are absolved regarding it." The Messenger of God said, "Surely you are Hind bt. 'Utbah!" She replied: "I am Hind bt. 'Utbah. Forgive what is past—may God forgive you." He said, "Do not commit adultery." She said, "Messenger of God, does a free woman commit adultery?" He said, "Do not kill your children." She said, "We raised them when they were young, and you killed them at the Battle of Badr when they were grown; so you and they know better about it!" 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb laughed immoderately at her words. The [1644]
Messenger of God said, "Do not bring slander that you invent now and henceforth."[751] She said: "Bringing slander is truly ugly. Sometimes it is better to pass over a thing." He said, "Do not disobey me in a good action." She said, "We have not taken our seats in this place intending to disobey you in a good action." The Messenger of God said to 'Umar, "Receive their oath of allegiance." The Messenger of God prayed for their forgiveness, and 'Umar received their oath of allegiance; for the Messenger of God would not shake hands with women or touch a woman, nor would any woman touch him, except one whom God had made permissible to him [through marriage] or one too closely related for him to marry.[752]

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751. The Arabic: *bayna aydīkunna wa-arjulikunna* "between your hands and your feet" [here translated as "now and henceforth," following the suggestion of the Leiden editor, *Glossarium*, p. DLXX] is obscure. The phrase occurs in Qur'ān 60:12, which contains a series of injunctions that echo the ones that Muḥammad imposes here. Commentators on the verse see the phrase as referring to a woman's foisting of a bastard child or foundling on her husband. The Leiden editor rejects this possibility because the phrase also occurs in masculine contexts. Another possibility is that it means "of your own doing"—hands and feet being a metonymy for the entire person.

752. Normally the oath of allegiance was sealed by a handclasp. Because of Muḥammad's scruples about contact with women, the actual administration of the oath was left to 'Umar. Women whose degree of relationship falls within the forbidden degrees of marriage (*dhāt maḥram*) are considered to be part of a man's extended family, and therefore he and they may mix more freely than may a man and an unrelated woman.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Abān b. Ṣāliḥ (as one scholar informed him): The women's oath of allegiance took place in two ways. A vessel containing water would be set before the Messenger of God. When he proposed the oath to them and they took it, he dipped his hand in the vessel and took it out; then the women dipped their hands in it. Later, he would propose the oath to them; and when they accepted his conditions, he would say, "Go, for I have accepted your oath of allegiance"—and that was all he did.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year Khirāsh b. Umayyah al-Ka'bī killed Junaydib b. al-Adla' al-Hudhalī (his name, according to Ibn Isḥāq, was Ibn al-Athwa' al-Hudhalī).[753] Khirāsh killed Junaydib because of a blood feud that had occurred during the Time of Ignorance. The Prophet said: "Khirāsh is murderous! Khirāsh is murderous!"—thus reproaching him. The Prophet commanded [the tribe of] Khuzā'ah to pay blood money for the slain man.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr (Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said, "I know nothing of the latter except that he transmitted traditions to
[1645] me from 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr"), who said:[754] Ṣafwān b. Umayyah left for Juddah to set sail from there to Yemen. 'Umayr b. Wahb said: "Prophet of God, Ṣafwān b. Umayyah, the lord of his people,[755] has left fleeing from you to hurl himself into the sea. Therefore—may God grant you peace—give him a promise of

753. IH, IV, 414–16, gives two variants of the name: first (in the main text of Ibn Isḥāq), Ibn al-Athwa', and then (in a note by Ibn Hishām) Ibn al-Akwa'. Parallel: W, II, 843–46.

754. The story, which is included to illustrate Muḥammad's forbearance and mildness, depends on one's knowing something of the past history of two prominent leaders of Quraysh. In A.H. 2, 'Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī, whose son Wahb had been captured by the Muslims at the Battle of Badr, went to Medina to assassinate Muḥammad with support from his cousin Ṣafwān b. Umayyah al-Jumaḥī (who agreed to support 'Umayr's family if the attempt came to grief; cf. al-Ṭabarī, I, 1352–54). 'Umayr was so impressed by Muḥammad's foreknowledge of his intentions that he converted to Islam on the spot and returned to Mecca to cause difficulties for the pagans. Ṣafwān, on the other hand, remained a pagan, commanded a Meccan contingent at the Battle of Uḥud in A.H. 3 (cf. Watt and McDonald, *The Foundation*, 105–7 [I, 1384–86]), and later went out of his way to purchase a captive Muslim and have him killed to avenge his father, Umayyah b. Khalaf, who had been killed at Badr (cf. ibid., pp. 144, 147 [I, 1433, 1437]).

755. I.e., the Banū Jumaḥ clan of Quraysh.

safety!" "He shall be safe," replied the Prophet. 'Umayr said, "Messenger of God, give me something whereby he may know your promise of safety." So he gave 'Umayr the turban he had been wearing when he entered Mecca. 'Umayr set out with it and, having overtaken Ṣafwān as he was about to set sail at Juddah, said to him: "Ṣafwān, may my father and mother be your ransom! I beg you for God's sake not to destroy yourself. Here is a promise of safety from the Messenger of God which I have brought to you!" Ṣafwān said: "Woe to you! Go away, and do not talk to me!" 'Umayr said: "Ṣafwān, may my father and mother be your ransom! The most excellent of men, the most righteous, the most forbearing, and best of them is the son of your paternal aunt.[756] His strength is your strength, his honor your honor, and his dominion your dominion." Ṣafwān said, "I am in mortal fear of him." 'Umayr said, "He is too forbearing and generous for that." So 'Umayr brought Ṣafwān back with him and came before the Messenger of God with him. Ṣafwān said, "This man asserted that you have given me a promise of safety." "He spoke truly," said the Messenger of God. Ṣafwān said, "Give me two months to decide what to do." He replied, "You have four months to decide about it."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī: Umm Ḥakīm bt. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām (the wife of 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl) and Fākhitah bt. al-Walīd (the wife of Ṣafwān b. Umayyah) became Muslims. Umm Ḥakīm asked the Messenger of God to grant a promise of safety to 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl, and he did so. She [1646]
then joined 'Ikrimah in Yemen and brought him back. When 'Ikrimah and Ṣafwān became Muslims, the Messenger of God confirmed the two women as wives of the two men as they had been originally.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: When the Messenger of God entered Mecca, Hubayrah b. Abī Wahb al-Makhzūmī and 'Abdallāh b. al-Ziba'rā al-Sahmī fled to Najrān.[757]

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756. IH, IV, 418: "your paternal uncle."

757. Najrān, near the northern border of Yemen, is about 180 miles south of Mecca.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit al-Anṣārī, who said: Ḥassān [b. Thābit] let fly a single verse, no more, against 'Abdallāh b. al-Ziba'rā in Najrān:[758]

May you never be deprived of a man whose hatred has made
you inhabit
Najrān in a life that is scanty and base!

When Ibn al-Ziba'rā learned of this, he returned to the Messenger of God. He said when he became a Muslim:

O Messenger of the King, my tongue
shall repair what I rent when I was perishing;
When I was trying to outstrip Satan in the way of the wind[759]—
and whoever turns aside with Satan shall perish.
My flesh and my bones have believed in my Lord,
and my soul is witness that you are the warner.
[1647] I will restrain from you—there is a clan
descended from Lu'ayy—all of them are in error.[760]

As for Hubayrah b. Abī Wahb, he stayed there as an unbeliever. When he learned that his wife, Umm Hāni' bt. Abī Ṭālib (her given name was Hind), had become a Muslim, he said:[761]

Does Hind miss you? or is she far from asking about you?
Such is absence—her ties and [then] her turning away.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said: The total number of Muslims present at the conquest of Mecca was 10,000. There were 400 of the Banū Ghifār, 400 from Aslam, 1,003 from Muzaynah, 700 from the Banū Sulaym, and 1,400 from

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758. The verse occurs in IH, IV, 418 (tr. Guillaume, 556). See *Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit*, I, 140–41, and II, 214. Guillaume, noting that the version in the *Dīwān* consists of three verses, comments, "It looks almost as though Ḥassān's grandson knew that they [viz. the extra two verses] had been grafted on to Ḥassān's line and resented the impertinence."

759. Variant: "in the way of error."

760. The text of the verse appears to be corrupt. The parallel in IH, IV, 419, reads: "I will drive away from you there a clan descended from Lu'ayy, all of whom are in error." Lu'ayy was an ancestor of most of the clans of Quraysh.

761. The line is the beginning of a longer poem, seven lines of which are quoted by W, II, 849, and eleven lines by IH, IV, 420–21 (tr. Guillaume, 557).

Juhaynah; the remainder were from Quraysh, the Anṣār and their allies, and groups of Arabs from the Banū Tamīm, Qays, and Asad.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year the Messenger of God married Mulaykah bt. Dāwūd al-Laythiyyah. One of the Prophet's wives came to Mulaykah and said to her, "Are you not ashamed to marry a man who killed your father?" She therefore "took refuge [in God]" from him.[762] She was beautiful and young. The Messenger of God separated from her. He had killed her father the day of the conquest of Mecca.

The Destruction of Idolatrous Shrines

In this year, five nights before the end of Ramaḍān, Khālid b. al-Walīd destroyed al-'Uzzā in the lowland of Nakhlah.[763] Al-'Uzzā was an idol of the Banū Shaybān, a subdivision of Sulaym, allies of the Banū Hāshim. The Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā used to say it was their idol. Khālid set out for it, and then he said, "I have destroyed it." [The Messenger of God] said, "Did you see anything?" "No," said Khālid. "Then," he said, "go back and destroy it." So Khālid returned to the idol, destroyed its temple, and broke the idol. The keeper began saying, "Rage, O 'Uzzā, with one of thy fits of rage!"—whereupon a naked, wailing Ethiopian woman came out before him. Khālid killed her and took the jewels that were on her. Then he went to the Messenger of God and gave him a report of what had happened. "That was al-'Uzzā," he said, "and al-'Uzzā will never be worshiped [again]." [1648]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq, who said:[764] The Messenger of God sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to [deal with] al-'Uzzā, who was at Nakhlah. She was a temple venerated by the tribes of Quraysh, Kinānah, and all Muḍar.[765] Her keepers were of

762. Arabic: *ista'ādhat minhu*. This apparently alludes to pre-Islamic practice whereby a wife could repudiate her husband before the consummation of marriage by pronouncing the words *a'ūdhu billāhi minka*, "I seek refuge with God from you." For a discussion of three instances reported by Ibn Sa'd in which arranged tribal marriages were terminated by this formula, see Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation*, 111–12.

763. Parallel: W, III, 873–74. 25 Ramaḍān of A.H. 8 fell on 16 January 630. Nakhlah is close to Mecca, on the way to al-Ṭā'if. On the cult of the goddess al-'Uzzā, see *EI*[1], s.v. al-'Uzzā; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 163–82.

764. Parallel: IH, IV, 436–37 [tr. Guillaume, 565].

765. See note 257, above.

the Banū Shaybān, a division of the Banū Sulaym, allies of the Banū Hāshim. When the master of the temple heard that Khālid was coming to deal with al-'Uzzā, he hung his sword on her and climbed the mountain near which al-'Uzzā was located. As he went up he said:

O 'Uzzā, attack with an attack that hits no unvital place,
against Khālid! Throw down thy veil, and gird up thy train!
O 'Uzzā, if today thou wilt not slay Khālid,
bear a swift punishment, or become a Christian!

Having reached al-'Uzzā, Khālid destroyed her and returned to the Messenger of God.

According to al-Wāqidī:[766] In this year [the idol] Suwā' was destroyed.[767] He was at Ruhāṭ[768] and belonged to [the tribe of] [1649] Hudhayl. He was a stone. The person who destroyed it was 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. When he reached the idol, the keeper asked him, "What do you want?" 'Amr replied, "To destroy Suwā'." The keeper said, "You cannot destroy him." 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said to him, "You are still in falsehood." 'Amr destroyed him but found nothing in his treasury. Then 'Amr said to the keeper, "What do you think?" He replied, "I have become a Muslim, by God."

In this year [the idol] Manāt was destroyed by Sa'd b. Zayd al-Ashhalī at al-Mushallal.[769] It belonged to [the tribes of] al-Aws and al-Khazraj.

The Expedition against the Banū Jadhīmah

In this year the expedition of Khālid b. al-Walīd against the Banū Jadhīmah took place.[770] The following is an account of events concerning him and them according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who said:[771] The Messenger of God had sent

766. Parallel: W, II, 870.
767. On the cult of the Suwā', see Fahd, *Panthéon*, 155–56.
768. Ruhāṭ was a place three nights from Mecca in the direction of Medina; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, IV, 341.
769. On al-Mushallal see note 600, above. Manāt, one of the ancient deities of the Semitic pantheon, was a goddess of destiny and fate. See *EI*², s.v. Manāt; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 123–28.
770. See *EI*², s.v. Djadhīma b. 'Āmir.
771. Parallels: W, III, 875–84; IH, IV, 428–36 (tr. Guillaume, 561–65).

out detachments to the areas around Mecca to summon people to God; he did not command the detachments to fight. One of those whom he sent out was Khālid b. al-Walīd, whom he commanded to travel through the lowlands of Tihāmah to summon people; he did not send Khālid to fight. Khālid, however, mistreated the Banū Jadhīmah and killed some of them.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abbād b. Ḥunayf[772]—Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn,[773] who said: After he conquered Mecca, the Messenger of God sent out Khālid b. al-Walīd to summon people; he did not send him to fight. With him were Arabs of the tribes of Sulaym, Mudlij, and other tribes. They halted at al-Ghumayṣā', a watering place of the Banū Jadhīmah b. 'Āmir b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah, by their main body. Now the Banū Jadhīmah in the Time [1650] of Ignorance had killed 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf (the father of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf) and al-Fākih b. al-Mughīrah.[774] The two had come from Yemen as merchants; when they had halted among the Banū Jadhīmah, the latter had killed them and taken their possessions. When Islam came and the Messenger of God sent out Khālid b. al-Walīd, Khālid traveled and halted at that watering place. When the Banū Jadhīmah saw him, they took up their weapons. Khālid said to them, "Put down your weapons, for the people have become Muslims."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—a certain scholar—a man from the Banū Jadhīmah, who said: When Khālid commanded us to put down our weapons, one of our men, named Jaḥdam, said: "Alas for you, Banū Jadhīmah! It is Khālid. By God, after you lay down your weapons, it will be nothing but leather manacles, and after leather manacles it will be nothing but the smiting of necks. By God, I will never lay down my weapon!" Some of his fellow tribesmen took him and said: "Jaḥdam, do you

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772. Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abbād b. Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī al-Awsī is listed without dates in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 448–49.

773. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, surnamed Muḥammad al-Bāqir, was the fifth imam of the Shī'ah. He was born in 57/676 and died between 114/732 and 126/743. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 350–52; Momen, *Introduction to Shi'i Islam*, 37–38.

774. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf was a Meccan who became a Muslim, emigrated to Medina, and fought at Badr. See al-Ṭabarī, I, 1325–27. Al-Fākih b. al-Mughīrah, as mentioned below, was the paternal uncle of Khālid b. al-Walīd.

want to cause our blood to be shed? The people have become Muslims. The war has ended, and the people are at peace." The people did not desist from him until they had taken away his weapon and had laid down their weapons because of what Khālid had said.

After the Banū Jadhīmah had laid down their weapons, Khālid ordered that their hands should be tied behind their backs; then he put them to the sword, killing some of them. When the news reached the Messenger of God, he raised his hands to heaven and said, "O God, I declare to Thee that I am innocent of what Khālid b. al-Walīd has done." Then he summoned 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and said, "'Alī, go out to these people, look into what has happened to them, and make an end to the ways of the Time of Ignorance." 'Alī set out and came to them; with him he had money that the Mes-
[1651] senger of God had sent with him. He paid the Banū Jadhīmah blood money and compensation for their property that had been taken, down to a dog's water bowl; there remained no life or property for which he did not pay compensation. Because he had some money left over, 'Alī said to them when he finished, "Do any of you still have lives or property for which you have not been compensated?" "No," they replied. He said, "Then I give you the remainder of this money as a precaution for the Messenger of God with regard to what he does not know and you do not know." Having done this, he returned to the Messenger of God and gave him a report. "You have done right and well," he said. Then the Messenger of God turned toward the *qiblah*, standing and raising his hands until the whiteness under his shoulders could be seen, saying three times, "O God, I declare to Thee that I am innocent of what Khālid b. al-Walīd has done."

According to Ibn Isḥāq: Someone who excuses Khālid said that Khālid said: "I did not fight until 'Abdallāh b. Ḥudhāfah al-Sahmī commanded me to do so. He said, 'The Messenger of God has commanded you to kill them[775] because of their resistance to Islam.'"

When they laid down their weapons, Jaḥdam, seeing what Khālid was doing to the Banū Jadhīmah, said to them: "Banū Jadhīmah, all is lost! I warned you of what you have fallen into."

775. The parallel in IH, IV, 430 (tr. Guillaume, 562), reads "to fight them."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Salamah,[776] who said: According to the report that I have received, an exchange took place over this between Khālid b. al-Walīd and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān said to Khālid, "You acted in the time of Islam according to the ways of the Time of Ignorance." Khālid replied, "I only took vengeance for your father." 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf said: "You are lying. I have already killed my father's murderer. You only took vengeance for [1652] your paternal uncle, al-Fākih b. al-Mughīrah." This developed into a quarrel between them. When it was reported to the Messenger of God, he said: "Take it easy, Khālid. Leave my companions alone; for, by God, though you had a mountain of gold the size of Uḥud and spent it for the sake of God, you would in no wise become the equal of one of my companions."

According to Sa'īd b. Yaḥyā al-Umawi—his father [Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd]; and according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah; both accounts coming from Ibn Isḥāq—Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah b. al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas b. Sharīq—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī—Ibn 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī—his father, 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrad, who said: I was among Khālid's horsemen that day. One of their young men—he was among the prisoners, his hands were tied to his neck with a rope, and some women were gathered not far from him—said to me, "Young man!" "Yes," I said. He said: "Will you take hold of this rope and lead me by it to these women, so that I can entrust them with a needful matter of business? Then you can bring me back to do as you all please with me." I said, "By God, what you have asked is a small thing." I took hold of his rope and led him by it until I had brought him to stand near them. He said, "Farewell, Ḥubayshah, as life runs out!"[777]

Tell me: when I sought you and found you [1653]
at Ḥalyah,[778] or found you at al-Khawāniq,
Was it not right for a lover to be rewarded

776. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Salamah al-Mājishūn al-Taymī, a *mawlā* of the al-Munkadir family, died in 106/724–25. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 243.

777. The poem, with variants, may also be found in W, III, 879; IH, IV, 433–34; and Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 107. In the first line, "you" (plural) refers to the tribe of the beloved.

778. Ḥalyah is a valley in Tihāmah. Its upper part belonged to Hudhayl, its lower part to Kinānah. Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 331.

who tasked himself to travel in the nights and in the noonday heat?
No guilt was mine when I said, our people being together,
"Requite with affection before some misfortune occurs!"
Requite with affection before remoteness becomes great;
before the commander takes the departing loved one far away.
For I have divulged no secret lodged with me;
neither has anything pleased my eye after your face.
Now the misfortune that has befallen the people occupies my mind,
and there is no memory except that of a tender lover.

She replied, "And you—may you be made to live ten and seven years uninterrupted and eight right after them!" Then I took him away. He was brought forward and beheaded.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Abū Firās b. Abī Sunbulah al-Aslamī—some of the old men [of the Banū Aslam]—some who were present there, who said: She went up to him when he was beheaded, and she threw herself down on him and kept kissing him until she died beside him.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah b. Mas'ūd, who said: The Mes-
[1654] senger of God stayed in Mecca after its conquest for fifteen nights, shortening the prayers.[779]

According to Ibn Isḥāq: The conquest of Mecca took place ten nights before the end of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 8.[780]

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779. Arabic: *yaqṣuru al-ṣalāh*, normally applied to the abbreviation of prayers allowed when one is on a journey (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, VII, 2533). The implication is that Muḥammad did not consider his residence in Mecca permanent and intended to return to Medina.

780. I.e., 20 Ramaḍān (11 January 630).

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME IX

The Last Years of the Prophet

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY ISMAIL K. POONAWALA

The Last Years of the Prophet
Volume IX
Translated and Annotated by Ismail K. Poonawala

This volume deals with the last two and a half years of the Prophet's life. In addition to the three major expeditions to Ḥunayn, Ṭa'if, and Tabūk, it describes in detail the circumstances surrounding the illness from which he died and the subsequent crisis of leadership faced by the nascent Muslim community. The author depicts with admirable fairness all the various opinions and divisions that existed within the community. He also presents a vivid picture of the Prophet's physical appearance, his personal life, and his marriages. Among other topics discussed in this volume are all the deputations that came to Medina; a summary of all the expeditions and raiding parties; and his scribes, freedmen, horses, camels, goats, swords, coats of mail, and so on. It also covers the apostasy of Musaylimah, Aswad, and Ṭulyaḥah and the Prophet's attempts to deal with them.

The translation not only preserves the original lively flavor of al-Ṭabarī but also, in its annotations, draws extensively on both parallel Arabic sources and the intensive research of recent years. Readers who seek a deeper understanding of the Prophet's personality and of the reasons for antagonisms engendered among various factions will find this volume most informative.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME IX

The Last Years of the Prophet

THE FORMATION OF THE STATE

A.D. 630–632/A.H. 8–11

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME IX

The Last Years of the Prophet

translated and annotated
by

Ismail K. Poonawala

University of California, Los Angeles

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others which cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

This volume covers approximately the last two and a half years of the Prophet's life. Al-Ṭabarī's account is full of graphic details and vivid descriptions which makes it delightful to read. In many instances, the narrative seems as though it must have been experienced directly. The animated dialogues, turns of phrases in reported speech, moments of humor—all these seem redolent of his literary talent. An effort has been made in the translation to preserve the original flavor without sacrificing the English idiom.

Al-Ṭabarī's account of this period is derived mainly from Ibn Isḥāq's (d. ca. 150/767) *Sīrah*, one of the main sources for the subject. The original version of the *Sīrah*, which was transmitted through several *riwāyahs*, did not survive.* What we have is an abbreviated, annotated version edited by Ibn Hishām (d. ca. 218/833) based on the *riwāyah* of Ziyād al-Bakkā'ī (d. 183/799), who lived in al-Kūfah. The *Sīrah* version used by al-Ṭabarī, on the other hand, is based on the *riwāyah* of Salamah b. Faḍl al-Abrash al-Anṣārī (d. 191/806), who lived in al-Rayy. This explains the variants, as al-Ṭabarī's text is carefully collated with Ibn Hishām's *Sīrah*. Despite a number of variants and some minor additions and omissions, it is worth noting that, on the whole, there is remarkable agreement between the two *riwāyahs*. The stories of

*Segments of this original work found in the Qarawiyyīn library of Fez (transmitted through the *riwāyah* of Yūnus b. Bukayr), and the Ẓāhiriyyah library of Damascus (transmitted through the *riwāyah* of Muḥammad b. Salamah al-Ḥarrānī), edited by Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, have been consulted and collated.

Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī and 'Adī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭayyi', the account of the Tamīm deputation, and the Prophet's letter to the kings of Ḥimyar, are just a few cases in point.

Al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823) is another authority very frequently quoted by al-Ṭabarī. All these references are collated with his *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*. The latter provides more details, especially about the expeditions. The story of 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, who came to the Prophet and accepted Islam after the siege of al-Ṭā'if, is also more graphically depicted. It is from al-Wāqidī that we learn that the people were not happy when the Prophet decided to end the siege of al-Ṭā'if and depart without the victory. He further states that they had to be persuaded by Abū Bakr and 'Umar that the Prophet in so doing was merely acting under divine instructions. All the verses revealed about the expedition of Tabūk are likewise listed separately.

In addition to Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrah* and al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, the translation is collated with Ibn Sa'd's (d. 230/845) *al-Ṭabaqāt*, especially the biography of the Prophet in the first two volumes, and with the first volume of al-Balādhurī's (d. ca. 279/892) *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, dealing with the Prophet's life. A number of other sources, such as Ibn Shabbah's (d. 262/875) *Ta'rīkh al-Madīnah al-munawwarah*, al-Ya'qūbī's (d. 284/897) *Ta'rīkh*, al-Mas'ūdī's (d. 345/956) *Murūj al-dhahab* and *al-Tanbīh wa'l-ishrāf*, Ibn al-Athīr's (d. 630/1233) *al-Kāmil*, and Ibn Kathīr's (d. 774/1373) *al-Sīrah* have been consulted. All the major variants as well as additions in the above sources have been noted in the footnotes. Minor variants of verbal forms, prepositions, and differences of words of nearly the same meaning, which do not radically affect the translation, have been ignored. Full references to Ibn Isḥāq, al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd, and al-Balādhurī are given at the first citation in each context. Although I have benefitted greatly by A. Guillaume's translation of the *Sīrah*, it is not referred to in the footnotes simply to save space, except where the comments are made expressly by him.

Most of the authorities listed in the *isnāds* are identified from the standard biographical dictionaries, such as Ibn Sa'd's *al-Ṭabaqāt*; Dhahabī's (d. 748/1347) *al-'Ibar*, *Mīzān*, and *Tadhkirah*; and Ibn Ḥajar's (d. 852/1449) *al-Iṣābah*, *Tahdhīb*, and *Lisān*. All the geographical areas and place names have likewise been identified

from the works of al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945), al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), and Yāqūt (d. 626/1229). Genealogies of the tribes and clans have been verified from the works of Hishām al-Kalbī (d. ca. 204/819) and Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064). For historical geography and topography, recent works of A. Musil, H. Sr. J. B. Philby, Ḥ. al-Jāsir, and A. al-Wohaibi have been consulted. For the life of the Prophet, the biographies of F. Buhl, T. Andrae, W. M. Watt, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, and M. Rodinson have been referred to. On disputed questions, every effort has been made to cite the latest opinion or interpretation.

Finally, I would like to thank Vincent Cornell for reading a major part of the translation, and for giving his thoughtful suggestions, amendations, and criticisms. I also wish to thank Hasanuddin Hashmi for elucidating some difficult and obscure passages. For any inadequacies, I alone am responsible.

I would like to thank Ahmed Nassef and Mohammad Atho Mudzhar for their help in proofreading.

February 20, 1987
Los Angeles, California

Ismail K. Poonawala

The Events of the Year 8 (cont'd)

(May 1, 629–April 19, 630)

An Account of the Messenger of God's Expedition against the Hawāzin[1] *and the Battle of Ḥunayn*[2] [1654]

Concerning the affairs of the Messenger of God, the Muslims, and the [clans of] Hawāzin, we have received an account on the authority of both ʿAlī b. Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahḍamī[3] and ʿAbd al-Wārith b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith[4]—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad [b. ʿAbd al-

1. A large North Arabian tribe or a group of tribes. They were bitterly hostile to Quraysh because of the trade rivalry between Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, since they were either the inhabitants of the latter city or in close alliance with its people. *EI*², s.v. Hawāzin; Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 115. See below n. 11.

2. A deep and irregular valley where the great battle took place. It is situated at a day's journey from Mecca on the road to al-Ṭāʾif. *EI*², s.v. Ḥunayn; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 42–43. Watt's remarks in his *Muhammad at Medina*, 70–72, give proper perspective to this expedition, as both Hawāzin and Thaqīf were old enemies of Quraysh due to the trade rivalry. Lings, *Muhammad*, 304–6, gives a vivid description of the battle.

3. ʿAlī b. Naṣr b. ʿAlī b. Ṣahbān b. Abī al-Jahḍamī al-Baṣrī died in 187/802–3. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 390.

4. Died in 252/866–67. Ibid., VI, 443–44.

Wārith][5]—Abān al-ʿAṭṭār[6]—Hishām b. ʿUrwah[7]—ʿUrwah:[8] The Prophet had been staying in Mecca[9] during the year of its conquest for only a fortnight[10] when [he received the news that the clans of] Hawāzin and Thaqīf[11] [were marching against Mecca and] had already encamped at Ḥunayn intending to fight him. Ḥunayn is a valley next to Dhū al-Majāz.[12] Both the aforementioned tribes had assembled before [their march] after hearing about the Messenger of God's departure from Medina,[13] thinking that he was intending [to invade] them. When they learned that he had occupied Mecca, Hawāzin marched against him [to Mecca] with their women, children, and possessions. Their leader was Mālik b. ʿAwf[14] from the Banū Naṣr.[15] [The clans of] Thaqīf joined forces with them and encamped at Ḥunayn intending to fight the Prophet. When the Prophet, still in Mecca, was informed about them he decided to march against them.[16] He met them at Ḥunayn, and God, the Great and Mighty, inflicted defeat on

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5. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Saʿīd al-ʿAnbarī al-Baṣrī died ca. 206/821–22. Ibid., VI, 327–28; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, I, 344.

6. Abān b. Yazīd al-ʿAṭṭār al-Baṣrī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 101–2.

7. Hishām b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr died ca. 164/780–81. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 133; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 48–51; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, I, 144–45 (died in 146/763); Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 88; Duri, *Rise*, 46, 78, 143, 147.

8. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr, whose mother was Asmāʾ bt. Abī Bakr, died in 94/712–13. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 31–35; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, I, 62–63; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 278–79; Duri, *Rise*, passim.

9. See *EI*², s.v. Makka; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 203 ff.

10. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 364): Twelve days.

11. A tribe settled in the district of al-Ṭāʾif which was their urban center. Most of the Thaqīf consider themselves descendants of Hawāzin, probably due to their common interests and geographical proximity. *EI*¹, s.v. Thaḳīf; Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 118.

12. A marketplace of Hudhayl about 6 km from ʿArafah. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 180; Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, IV, 1185; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 55.

13. See *EI*², s.v. al-Madīna; Philby, *Pilgrim*, 50–92, gives a good description of its surroundings.

According to Wāqidī, Ibn Saʿd, and Ibn al-Athīr, Hawāzin and Thaqīf decided to march against Mecca because they feared that after the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet might confront them. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 364.

14. A Bedouin chief of the powerful Qaysī tribes of Hawāzin who owed his fame to the battle of Ḥunayn. He was thirty years old when he commanded the forces of Hawāzin and Thaqīf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 885; *EI*², s.v. Mālik. b. ʿAwf; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 268.

15. A Group of Hawāzin tribes. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 115.

16. The Prophet left Mecca on Saturday, the seventh of Shawwāl and reached Ḥunayn on Tuesday evening, the tenth of Shawwāl. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 108.

them. God has mentioned this battle in the Qur'ān.[17] Since they had marched with their women, children, and flocks, God granted them as booty to His Messenger, who divided the spoils among those Quraysh who had [recently] embraced Islam. [1655]

Ibn Ḥumayd[18]—Salamah[19]—Ibn Isḥāq:[20] When Hawāzin heard about the Messenger of God and that God had given him victory over Mecca, Mālik b. 'Awf al-Naṣrī gathered [his people] together. With Hawāzin, all of Thaqīf joined him, followed by all Naṣr and Jusham,[21] Sa'd b. Bakr,[22] and a few people from the Banū Hilāl.[23] These [clans] were the only ones from Qays 'Aylān[24] who participated [in Ḥunayn]. Neither Ka'b[25] nor Kilāb[26] from Hawāzin participated, and no one of any importance from [these tribes] took part in the battle. Among Jusham was Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah,[27] a very old chieftain whose only use [for the others] was to derive blessing from his counsel and his knowledge of war because he was an experienced old chieftain. Thaqīf had two leaders: Qārib b. al-Aswad b. Mas'ūd [b. Mu'attib][28] over the Aḥlāf

17. Because of their great number, the Muslims were elated, and one of the companions remarked, "Today we will not be overpowered on account of small numbers." Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 889; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 108 (it was Abū Bakr who made the above remark); Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 365 (it was either Abū Bakr or someone else); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, II, 263 (it was the Prophet himself who made the above remark).

After the initial setback, the Muslims rallied around the Prophet and won the battle. Qur'ān 9:25–26, stating that the Muslims were elated with joy at their great numbers, was revealed after the victory. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, I, 224.

18. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd b. Ḥayyān al-Rāzī al-Tamīmī died in al-Rayy in 248/862. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127–31; Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 259–64.

19. Salamah b. al-Faḍl al-Anṣārī died in 191/806. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 153–54.

20. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār, one of the main authorities on the life of the Prophet, died in Baghdād ca. 150/767. *EI*², s.v. Ibn Isḥāḳ; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 288–90; Duri, *Rise*, passim.

21. A group of Hawāzin tribes. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 116; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 270.

22. A group of Hawāzin tribes. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 265.

23. A group of Hawāzin tribes. Ibid., 273.

24. One of the two subdivisions of Muḍar reckoned as constituting the sons of 'Adnān, the so-called Northern Arabs. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 92; *EI*², s.v. Ḳays 'Aylān.

25. A clan of Hawāzin. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 288–92.

26. A clan of Hawāzin. Ibid., 282–88.

27. A leader of the Banū Jusham, and one of the most powerful Bedouin opponents of Muḥammad, was considered as the greatest *fāris* poet. *EI*², s.v. Durayd b. al-Ṣimma; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 267–68.

28. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

(confederates),[29] and Dhū al-Khimār Subayʿ b. al-Ḥārith [b. Mālik][30] called al-Aḥmar b. al-Ḥārith, over the Banū Mālik.[31] The general command was in the hands of Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī.

When Mālik [b. ʿAwf] decided to march against the Messenger of God, he took with his men their possessions, wives, and children. After making camp at Awṭās,[32] the men gathered around him. Among them was Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah, who was carried in
[1656] a howdah (*shijār*).[33] As soon as he had encamped he inquired what valley they were in. When he was told that it was Awṭās, he said: "What a wonderful place for cavalry! Neither a rugged hill, nor a soft lowland full of dust. But why do I hear the groaning of camels, the braying of asses, the bleating of sheep, and the crying of children?" They told him that Mālik b. ʿAwf had brought his men's children, wives, and possessions. He inquired where Mālik was and summoned him.[34] Then he said, "O Mālik, you have become the leader of your people. Indeed, this is a battle which will have great consequences. Yet why do I hear the groaning of camels, the braying of asses, the bleating of sheep, and the crying of children?" When Mālik replied that he had brought them with the men, Durayd inquired the reason. Mālik explained [that his purpose in bringing them] was to put every man's family and possessions behind him, so that he would fight [to the death] in their defense. Durayd made a sound[35] [indicating his dismay] and said, "By God, [you are] a sheep-tender. [Do you think] that anything will turn back a fleeing man? If everything goes in your favor, nothing will help you except a man with his sword and lance; if it goes against you, then you will be disgraced with your family and possessions." [Then Durayd inquired][36] what had hap-

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29. Thaqīf is subdivided into two branches: al-Aḥlāf and Banū Mālik. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 374; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. ḥ-l-f.

30. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

31. Corrected from Wāqidī. Text: Dhū al-Khimār Subayʿ b. al-Ḥārith over the Banū Mālik, and his brother al-Aḥmar b. al-Ḥārith over the Banū Hilāl.

32. A valley in the Hawāzin territory where the battle of Ḥunayn took place. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, I, 212: Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 281.

33. It signifies the wooden frame of the howdah which when covered becomes a howdah. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. sh-j-r.

34. As in S. Text: He was summoned.

35. Wāqidī: Durayd clasped his hands. I prefer this reading.

36. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

pened to Ka'b and Kilāb. When he was told that not a single person from those two clans were present, he said, "Bravery and ardor are missing. Were it a day of noble and lofty deeds, Ka'b and Kilāb would not have stayed away. I wish that you had done what they have done!" Then he asked what clans were with them. When told [that they were] 'Amr b. 'Āmir and 'Awf b. 'Āmir, he replied, "Those two clans are recently formed branches of the Banū 'Āmir[37] and can neither be useful nor harmful. O Mālik, you have done no good by sending forward the best troops of Hawāzin [1657] [to meet] the main body of the cavalry. Dispatch them to the high and inaccessible parts of their land and meet the apostates (*al-ṣubbā'*)[38] on horseback. If the battle goes in your favor, those in the rear can join you, and if it goes against you, you will have saved your families and possessions."[39] Mālik replied, "By God, I won't do [it].[40] You are an old, senile man, and your senility has affected your judgment. O people of Hawāzin, you will either obey me, or I will lean on this sword until it comes out of my back." He detested giving Durayd any say or credit in the matter. [The people responded by saying that they would obey him.][41]

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37. A clan of Hawāzin. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 272, 281.

38. *Al-Ṣābi'ūn*, pl. of *al-Ṣābi'*, is used in the Qur'ān 2:62; 5:69, 22:17, but not the pl. *al-Ṣubbā'*. Various explanations have been given as to who they were. The Sabaeans mentioned in the Qur'ān, and placed along with the Jews and Christians, are apparently the Mandaeans, a Judaeo-Christian sect practicing the rite of baptism in Mesopotamia. They were also called Christians of John the Baptist. The pagan Sabaeans of Ḥarrān may have adopted this name to secure toleration accorded by the Qur'ān. *EI*[1], s.v. al-Ṣābi'a; Andrae, *Mohammed*, 108–9; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 146; Blachère, *Coran* (the above verses). For *al-Ṣābi'ah* today see *al-Majallah: The International News Magazine of the Arabs*, no. 354, Nov. 19–25, 1986, 49–53.

The lexicographers and some commentators of the Qur'ān, on the other hand, explain that the term means one who departs from his religion to another. They further state that this appelation was first given to Muḥammad because he departed from the religion of Quraysh, and that it was applied later to those who embraced Islam. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 145–47; Ṭabarsī, *Majma'*, I, 126; Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. ṣ-b-'; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ṣ-b-'; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, II, 61–63 (gives slightly different explanation).

39. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 886–89) states that Durayd was very old and had almost lost his eyesight. Despite his warning, the Hawāzin stayed with Mālik because they feared that if they disobeyed him, Mālik, being a young man, might kill himself, and then they would be left with an old man, Durayd, who might not fight.

40. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

41. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

Durayd, therefore, retorted by saying that the [coming] battle was one he would not witness [as a warrior] and would not miss, [and recited]:

Would that I were young!
    I would ride gently and advance
Leading long and bushy-haired steeds
    As if they were young ewes.

Durayd was the chief of the Banū Jusham, their leader and the noblest of them, but old age had overtaken him to the point that he had become feeble. His full lineage was Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah b. Bakr b. ʿAlqamah b. Judāʿah b. Ghaziyyah b. Jusham b. [1658] Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr b. Hawāzin. Then Mālik told his men that when they saw the foe they should break their scabbards and charge them as one man.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Umayyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān: [I was told] that Mālik b. ʿAwf sent out spies to keep watch and to obtain intelligence of the enemy, but that they came back with their joints dislocated. When Mālik, expressing his distress, asked what had happened to them, they said, "We saw white men on black and white horses, and, by God, before we could resist we were struck as you see."[42] [This news], however, did not deter Mālik from pursuing the course he intended.

Ibn Isḥāq states: When the Messenger of God heard about Hawāzin and Thaqīf, he sent ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī[43] to them and ordered him to mingle with the crowds and to stay there until he could gather information about them and bring back news of them. Ibn Abī Ḥadrad, therefore, went and mingled with them and stayed with them until he learned that they had decided to fight the Messenger of God. He also learned about the dispositions of Mālik and Hawāzin and what they had decided. He then returned and informed the Messenger of God. The Mes-

42. They were three men. Mālik detained them on their return, fearing that his men might be scared at the news. He then sent another person to gather intelligence and he too met with the same fate. Wāqidī, *Maghāzi*, III, 892; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 108.

43. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 108.

senger of God called for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb[44] and informed him about what Ibn Abī Ḥadrad had told him. Thereupon 'Umar said that he was lying. Ibn Abī Ḥadrad replied, "O 'Umar, you may accuse me of lying, but you denied the truth for a long time."[45] 'Umar said, "O Messenger of God, do you not hear[46] what Ibn Abī Ḥadrad says?" The Messenger of God answered, "You were in error and God guided you, O 'Umar."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn:[47] When the Messenger of God [1659] decided to march against Hawāzin, he was told that Ṣafwān b. Umayyah[48] had armor and weapons. Therefore, he sent to him, although he was at that time a polytheist, saying, "Lend us these weapons of yours so that we may fight our enemy tomorrow." Ṣafwān said to the messenger, "[Are you demanding them] by force, O Muḥammad?" The Messenger of God replied, "[No,] just [lend them] to us as a loan and a trust until such time as we return them to you." Ṣafwān said that in that case he did not have any objection and gave one hundred coats of mail with an adequate supply of arms. They allege that the Messenger of God asked him to provide for its transport and that he complied with the request.

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī states: Thus it became a *sunnah*[49] that a loan with a guarantee [of its return] must be returned [or paid back].[50]

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44. He was the second caliph and is considered the second founder of Islam. He was assassinated in 23/644. See *EI*[1], s.v. 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

45. Ibn Isḥāq: O 'Umar, if you accuse me of lying, then many a time you have denied the truth. You have accused the one who is better than me [i.e., the Prophet] of lying. Wāqidī: You accuse me of lying, then many a time you have denied the truth.

46. Wāqidī: Do you hear?

47. The fifth Shī'ī imām, and a recognized authority on tradition, was the grandson of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. On account of his learning he was given the honorific title *al-Bāqir* (one who goes deep into things). See *EI*[1], s.v. Muḥammad b. 'Alī.

48. He fought the Muslim army entering Mecca, then surrendered. He died during 'Uthmān's caliphate (23–35/644–56). Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 25–110 passim, III/1, 167; III/2, 79, 95; IV/1, 15, 146, 147; V, 16, 338.

49. Usually, it means exemplary behavior, custom, or practice. Generally, it is used as *sunnah* of the Prophet, meaning his deeds, utterances, and unspoken approval of something. These actions and sayings of the Prophet were later established as legally binding precedents. See *EI*[1], s.v. Sunna.

50. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, II, 122; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 632.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr:[51] The Messenger of God marched with two thousand Meccans and ten thousand of his companions [who had marched with him and][52] with whose support God had facilitated the conquest of Mecca. Thus they were twelve thousand in all. The Messenger of God placed 'Attāb b. Asīd b. Abī al-'Īṣ b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams[53] in charge of Mecca [to look after] the men who stayed behind while he proceeded to confront Hawāzin.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah[54]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir[55]—his father [Jābir b. 'Abdallāh]:[56] When we approached the valley of Ḥunayn, we descended through a valley of the Tihāmah[57] [which was] wide and sloping. We descended gradually in the twilight of daybreak after the enemy had preceded [us].[58] We were waylaid by them in its bypaths, sidetracks, and narrow passes. They had collected [themselves] and were fully prepared. By God, were we frightened! As we were descending, the squadrons made their assault upon us like one man. [Our] people were routed and fled, no one turning around to look back at the other. The Messenger of God withdrew to the right [of the valley] and cried, "Where are you, O men? Come to me! I am the Messenger of God! I am Muḥammad the son of 'Abdallāh!" [It was of] no avail. The camels bumped

[1660]

51. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī died in 130/747–48, or 135/752–53. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 164–65; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 284; Duri, *Rise*, 27, 34.

52. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

53. He was a young man from the clan of Umayyah and had accepted Islam after the Meccans surrendered. He kept his position until his death in 13/634 (according to Wāqidī), or in 22/642–43 (according to Ṭabarī). Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 105; V, 330; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 89–90.

54. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah al-Anṣārī, who transmitted the traditions from Jābir b. 'Abdallāh and Anas b. Mālik, was one of the early scholars of the *sīrah* and died ca. 120/738. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 26; V, 257; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 53–54; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 279–80; Duri, *Rise*, 27, 34.

55. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 153.

56. A companion of the Prophet, and one of the main transmitters of traditions, who swore allegiance to the Prophet at the first 'Aqabah meeting. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 114, states that he did not leave behind any progeny; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 433–34.

57. The narrow strip of lowland along the southwestern coast of Arabia is called the Tihāmah, and its greatest breadth is in the hinterland of Jiddah. *EI*[1], s.v. Tihāma.

58. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

into one another and the men ran away except a few from among the *Muhājirūn*,[59] the *Anṣār*,[60] and [the Prophet's] own family, who remained with the Messenger of God. Among the *Muhājirūn* who stood firm with him were Abū Bakr[61] and 'Umar; from his family were 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,[62] al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib[63] and his son al-Faḍl,[64] Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith,[65] Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith,[66] Ayman b. 'Ubayd (who is Ayman b. Umm Ayman),[67] and Usāmah b. Zayd b. Ḥārithah.[68]

A man of Hawāzin on a red camel [who was carrying] in his hand a black banner mounted on the head of a long lance was leading his men. When he overtook someone, he pushed him

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59. The Emigrants, an appellation applied in the Qur'ān to those followers of Muḥammad who had migrated from Mecca to Medina with him. *EI*[1], s.v. Muhādjirūn.

60. The Helpers, the designation of those who supported Muḥammad in Medina. *EI*[2], s.v. Anṣār.

61. He was the first caliph and died in 13/634. See *EI*[2], s.v. Abū Bakr.

62. Cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, first Shī'ī imām and fourth caliph, was assassinated in al-Kūfah in 40/661. See *EI*[2], s.v. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; *EIr*, s.v. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭāleb.

63. An uncle of the Prophet who had participated in warfare against the Muslims at Badr. He joined Muḥammad as he was marching on Mecca and died ca. 32/653. *EI*[2], s.v. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

64. He took part in washing of the Prophet (see Ṭabarī below, I, 1830). The authorities differ as to when he died; some state that he died during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, while others state that he died during the caliphate of 'Umar. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 375–76; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 280.

65. He was the Prophet's cousin. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 109, 112; IV/1, 11; VIII, 32, 34. Ibn Isḥāq adds the name of his son [Ja'far] to the above list, but Ibn Hishām comments that according to some authorities it was Qutham, the son of al-'Abbās. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 85–86.

66. He was the Prophet's cousin and died at the beginning of 'Umar's caliphate. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 109; IV/1, 10, 31, 32–33; VIII, 31; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 253–54.

Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 365, adds the following names to this list: 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Zubayr, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

67. He is Ayman b. 'Ubayd b. Zayd al-Khazrajī (from Balḥārith of Khazraj), hence Wāqidī lists him with the *Anṣār*. His mother Umm Ayman used to look after Muḥammad as a child. She had accompanied Āminah, Muḥammad's mother, to Medina when she visited her family. She died shortly after the Prophet's death. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 922; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 73; II/1, 109; Dhahabī, *'Ibar*, I, 13.

68. The son of Zayd b. al-Ḥārithah, the Prophet's freedman, was born in the fourth year of the mission. Just before his death, the Prophet put him in command of an expedition to avenge his fallen father at Mu'tah (see Ṭabarī below, I, 1794). *EI*[1], s.v. Usāma b. Zayd; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 473–76.

with his lance. When the people escaped from his lance he lifted it to those behind him so that they would follow him. When [the Muslims] were put to flight and the uncouth fellows from Mecca who were with the Messenger of God saw [the Muslims] in total disarray, some of them spoke [in such a way as to disclose] the hatred they had harbored [against one another]. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb[69] said, "Their stampede will not stop until they reach the ocean!" He had the divining arrows with him in his quiver. Kaladah b. al-Ḥanbal,[70] who was present with his half-brother Ṣafwān b. Umayyah b. Khalaf, shouted, "Indeed, sorcery is useless today." Ṣafwān, who was at that time [still] a polytheist during a
[1661] grace period granted him by the Messenger of God, said to him, "Shut up! May God smash your mouth! By God, I would prefer to be ruled by a man from Quraysh rather than a man from Hawāzin!"

Shaybah b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Talḥah,[71] a brother of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār,[72] said, "Today I will avenge my father's death [from Muḥammad][73] (for his father was killed at Uḥud).[74] Today I will kill Muhammad. I made for the Messenger of God in order to kill him,[75] but something happened. I was overcome by a state of

69. He was a prominent Meccan merchant and an arch opponent of Muḥammad. When the Prophet marched on Mecca, he came out and submitted, and the Prophet guaranteed safety to those who took refuge with him. He died ca. 32/653. *EI*², s.v. Abū Sufyān.

70. His mother was a black woman. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 910; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 338.

71. He had taken a vow with Ṣafwān, after they had joined the Muslims marching to Ḥunayn, that they would avenge themselves upon Muḥammad. The reason for that was that Ṣafwān's father Umayyah b. Khalaf was killed at Badr, while Shaybah's father 'Uthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥah was killed at Uḥud. Wāqidī describes vividly how Shaybah made for the Prophet in order to kill him, but he was protected by his uncle 'Abbās from the right and by his cousin Abū Sufyān from the left. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 909–10; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 28.

72. A clan of Quraysh and the descendants of 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 4, 17; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 125–28; see below (n. 1370 to Ṭabarī, I, 1827).

73. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

74. A mountain about three miles north of Medina, celebrated for the battle fought there in 3/624–25 which ended unfavorably for the Muslims, *EI*¹, s.v. Oḥod; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 22–28 (gives its topography and a map of the battlefield).

75. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Ibn al-Athīr: I went around him to kill him.

inertness and was unable to do it. I then realized that he was protected from me."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī[76]—Kathīr b. al-ʿAbbās[77]—his father al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib: I was with the Messenger of God, holding the bit of his white mule which I myself had inserted into the mule's mouth. I was a big man with a strong voice. The Messenger of God was saying when he saw his men in disarray, "Where are you, O men?" When he saw that they did not pay heed [to him] he said, "O ʿAbbās, cry loudly, 'O community of the *Anṣār*, O comrades of the Acacia Tree (*al-samurah*)!'"[78] ʿAbbās did as requested and they answered, "Here we are, here we are!"[79] Each man would try to turn his camel but could not do so; then he would take his armor and throw it on [his camel's] neck, take his sword and shield, and leap from his mount, letting it go its own way. Then he would follow the voice until he came to the Messenger of God. Finally, a hundred men gathered around [the Prophet]; they confronted the enemy, and fought.[80] At first the cry was "O for the *Anṣār*! [i.e., help the *Anṣār*]" and finally "O for Khazraj!"[81] They were steadfast in the battle, and the Messenger of God, standing in his [1662]
stirups, looked down at the brave warriors as they were fighting and said, "Now, the fighting is fierce (*ḥamiya al-waṭīs*)."[82]

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76. Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī, a celebrated traditionist and a historian, died in 124/742. *EI*[1], s.v. al-Zuhrī; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 280–83; Duri, *Rise*, passim.

77. He was a traditionist and a skilled *faqīh*. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 2.

78. Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 109) adds: O people of *Sūrat al-Baqarah*.

Al-Samurah, considered as an abode of a deity, was a sacred tree. The sanctuary of *al-ʿUzzā*, an old Arabian goddess, in the valley of Nakhlah (on the road from al-Ṭāʾif to Mecca), consisted of three *samurah* trees, in one of which she had revealed herself. It was also a tree under which the pledge of *al-Riḍwān* took place at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyah. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, III, 330; *EI*[1], s.v. al-ʿUzzā; Ryckmans, *Religions*, 8, 15; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 33, 35, 46, 51.

79. Wāqidī, and Ibn Saʿd: They turned back as if they were camels yearning for their young ones, saying, "Here we are, here we are!"

80. The group consisting of thirty-three *Muhājirūn* and sixty-seven *Anṣār* was proclaimed by Gabriel as "The Hundred Steadfast People." Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 900–902.

81. One of the two main Arab tribes in Medina, who were more enthusiastic Muslims than the other tribe of al-Aws. *EI*[1], s.v. Khazradj.

82. Literally, it means the oven became vehemently hot. It is used as a proverb for a fierce fighting. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ḥ-m-y.

Hārūn b. Isḥāq[83]—Muṣ'ab b. al-Miqdām[84]—Isrā'īl[85]—Abū Isḥāq[86]—al-Barā':[87] Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith was leading the Prophet's mule [by its halter] on the day of Ḥunayn. When the polytheists overwhelmed [the Muslims], the Prophet got off his mount and started reciting verses (in the *rajaz* meter):

I am the Prophet, it is no lie,
    I am the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib!

No man stronger than him was ever seen.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir—his father Jābir b. 'Abdallāh: While that man from Hawāzin, the banner-holder on his camel, was doing what he did, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and a man from the *Anṣār*[88] came down making for him. 'Alī came upon him from behind and hamstrung his camel so that it fell on its backside; the *Anṣārī* jumped on the man and struck him a blow which cut off his foot[89] and half of his shank, and he was thrown from his saddle.[90] The men fought and, by God, when those who had fled returned they found captives [already] bound. The Messenger of God turned to Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was one of those who stood fast with him that day and who became an excellent Muslim when he embraced Islam, as he was holding the

83. Hārūn b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī died in 285/898. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 2–3.

84. Muṣ'ab b. al-Miqdām al-Khath'amī al-Kūfī died in 203/818–19. Ibid., X, 165–66.

85. Isrā'īl b. Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī al-Kūfī died in 162/778. Ibid., I, 261–63; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, I, 214–15; idem, *Mīzān*, I, 208–10.

86. Abū Isḥāq 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh al-Sabī'ī al-Kūfī died in 127/745. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 63–67; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, I, 114–16; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 283.

87. Al-Barā' b. 'Āzib b. al-Ḥārith al-Awsī al-Anṣārī was a companion of the Prophet. He espoused the cause of 'Alī and fought with him at the Battle of the Camel, Ṣiffīn, and Nahrawān, and died in al-Kūfah ca. 72/691–92. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/2, 80–83; VI, 10; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 425–26; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 63; *EI*², s.v. al-Barā' b. 'Āzib.

88. He was Abū Dujānah. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 902.

89. S: Which sent his foot flying.

90. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 902, adds that another man from the Hawāzin came to his rescue, but he too was killed. 'Alī, Abū Dujānah, Ayman, and 'Uthmān were fighting in front of the Prophet.

crupper of the [Messenger of God's] saddle and asked who it was. He replied, "Your mother's son,[91] O Messenger of God."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: [1663] The Messenger of God turned and saw Umm Sulaym bt. Milḥān[92] who was with her husband Abū Ṭalḥah.[93] She had wrapped her waist with a garment and was pregnant with [her son] 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ṭalḥah. She had her husband's camel with her and was afraid that it would overpower her, so she drew its head close to her and put her hand in its halter with the nose-ring. The Messenger of God cried, "[Are you] Umm Sulaym?" She replied, "Yes, may you be ransomed with my father and with my mother, O Messenger of God! Kill those who flee from you as you kill those who fight you, for they deserve it." The Messenger of God replied, "Rather, God will suffice, O Umm Sulaym." She had a dagger in her hand. Her husband [was amazed and] asked her what it was, and she replied, "A dagger. I took it with me. If a polytheist had come close to me I would have slit open [his belly] with it!" He said, "O Messenger of God, do you hear what Umm Sulaym says?"

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ḥammād b. Salamah[94]—Isḥāq b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ṭalḥah[95]—Anas b. Mālik:[96] On the day of Ḥunayn, Abū Ṭalḥah alone took the spoils of twenty men whom he had killed.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—his father [Isḥāq b. Yasār][97]—Jubayr b. Muṭ'im:[98] Before the people fled and

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91. "Mother" is used here in the sense of a grandmother. It is also said that he answered, "Your brother, may my father and mother be your ransom, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith." Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 900.

92. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 902–4; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 86; V, 53–54.

93. He was an archer and fought with the Prophet at Badr, Uḥud, and other battles. He died in 34/654–55. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 64–66.

94. Ḥammād b. Salamah b. Dīnār al-Baṣrī died in 167/783–84. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 11–16.

95. He was an *Anṣārī* and died ca. 132/749–50. Ibid., I, 239–40.

96. A companion of the Prophet and one of the most prolific traditionists died in al-Baṣrah between 91/709 and 93/711. He was given by his mother to the Prophet as a servant after the *hijrah* when he was ten years old. *EI*², s.v. Anas b. Mālik.

97. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 257.

98. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im b. 'Adī b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf accepted Islam after the conquest of Mecca and died between 56/675–76 and 59/678–79. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 360; VIII, 39–40; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 63–64.

men were [still] fighting one another I saw something like a black striped garment descending from the sky until it dropped between us and the enemy. I gazed, and lo, it was [a mass of] black ants strewn [everywhere], which filled the valley. I had no doubt that they were angels and that the enemy would be routed.[99]

[1664] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: After Hawāzin were routed, the killing of the Banū Mālik from among Thaqīf was heavy and seventy of them were killed beneath their banner.[100] Among those [killed] were 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥubayyib, grandfather of Ibn Umm Ḥakam b. Abī Sufyān.[101] Their banner was with Dhū al-Khimār. When he was killed, 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh took it and fought by it until he was killed too.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āmir b. Wahb b. al-Aswad b. Mas'ūd: When [the news of] 'Uthmān's death reached the Messenger of God he said, "May God deprive him of His mercy! He used to hate the Quraysh."

'Alī b. Sahl[102]—Mu'ammil[103]—'Umārah b. Zādān[104]—Thābit[105]—Anas [b. Mālik]: On the day of Ḥunayn, the Prophet was riding a white mule called Duldul.[106] When the Muslims fled, the Prophet said to his mule, "Duldul, cling [to this place]!" The mule laid its belly on the ground. The Prophet took a handful of dust and tossed it in the faces of the enemy, saying, "*Ḥā Mīm*,[107]

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99. The angels fought with the Muslims at Badr and their sign was white turbans flowing behind them. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 285–86; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 905–6.

100. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 907, states that a hundred of them were killed.

101. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 380.

102. 'Alī b. Sahl b. Qādim, also called Ibn Mūsā al-Ḥarashī, died in 261/874–75. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 329.

103. Mu'ammil b. Ismā'īl al-'Adawī died in 206/821–22. Ibid., X, 380–81.

104. 'Umārah b. Zādān al-Ṣaydalānī al-Baṣrī. Ibid., VII, 416–17.

105. Thābit b. Aslam al-Banānī al-Baṣrī died in 123/740–41 or 127/744–45. Ibid., II, 2–4.

106. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 897; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 109; see Ṭabarī below, I, 1783.

107. At the battle of Badr, the Prophet took a handful of small pebbles, turned toward Quraysh, and threw at them, saying, "May God render their faces ugly!" Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 280.

Ḥā Mīm are the beginning letters of *sūrah* 46. Scholars differ widely in their interpretation of these mysterious letters at the beginning of certain *sūrah*s. Some

they will not be victorious!"[108] The polytheists retreated; no sword was drawn, no arrow was shot, and no lance was thrust.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah b. al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas:[109] With 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh, his young, uncircumcised Christian slave was [also] killed. While one of the *Anṣāris*[110] was plundering the slain of Thaqīf, he stripped the slave and found that he was uncircumcised. He yelled at the top of his voice, "[O you Arabs,][111] God knows that [1665] Thaqīf are uncircumcised!" Mughīrah b. Shu'bah[112] seized him by his hand, for he was afraid that [this news] about them would get out among the Arabs. He swore by his parents and begged him not to say it [to anyone], for the man concerned was only a Christian slave of theirs. He then started to uncover the slain and showed him that they were circumcised.

The Aḥlāf's banner was with Qārib b. al-Aswad b. Mas'ūd. When they were routed, he leaned it against a tree, and fled with his cousins and his people; hence only two men of the Aḥlāf were slain, one called Wahb from the Banū Ghiyarah,[113] the other

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see them as abbreviations of God's names, while others see them as abbreviations of the *basmalah*. Yet some others offer a variety of explanations ranging from mystical signs to numerical values.

Western scholars, beginning with Nöldeke, have also attempted various explanations, none satisfactory or convincing. Nöldeke (*Geschichte*, 215f.) suggested that they were the initials of the owners of the manuscripts used by Zayd when he first compiled the Qur'ān. Later he abandoned this hypothesis and adopted a view that they were meaningless symbols (Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, II, 68–78). Loth ("Korancommentar") advocated an abbreviation theory, that is, that the letters are cabalistic symbols standing for certain key words and phrases in the *sūrahs* and that they are part of the revelation. Bellamy ("Mysterious letters") proposed that those letters are abbreviations for the *basmalah*. Watt, *Bell's introduction*, 61–65; Blachère, *Introduction*, 140–49.

108. Wāqidī: They will be vanquished, by the Lord of the Ka'bah. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 113) reports that when the Prophet tossed dust in the faces of the enemy, their eyes became full of dust and they heard a rattling sound.

109. He was a *faqīh* in Medina and died in 128/745–46. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 392.

110. According to Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 911, he was Abū Ṭalḥah.

111. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq. Wāqidī: O you the *Anṣār*, I swear by God . . . .

112. He is known as one of the chief *dāhiyyahs* (one who could get himself out of the most hopeless difficulty) of his time and died between 48/668 and 51/671. *EI*[1], s.v. al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba.

113. The Banū Ghiyarah b. 'Awf b. Thaqīf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 377; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 268.

called al-Julāḥ[114] from the Banū Kunnah.[115] When [the news] of al-Julāḥ's death reached the Messenger of God he said, "Today the leader of Thaqīf's youth has been slain except for Ibn Hunaydah." "Ibn Hunaydah" was al-Ḥārith b. Aws.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: After the polytheists were defeated, they came to al-Ṭā'if[116] while Mālik b. 'Awf was with them. Some of them encamped in Awṭās, while the Banū Ghiyarah[117] of Thaqīf went toward Nakhlah.[118] The Messenger of God's cavalry followed those who went to Nakhlah, but not those who took to the narrow passes. Rabī'ah b. Rufay' b. Uhbān b. Tha'labah b. Rabī'ah b. Yarbū' b. Sammāl[119] b. 'Awf b. Imr al-
[1666] Qays, who was called Ibn Ladh'ah after his mother, overtook Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah and seized his camel by its halter, thinking that he was a woman because he was in a howdah. But lo, it was a man. He made the camel kneel down beside him and [found that] the man was very old. He was Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah, [but] the young man did not know him. Durayd asked him what he wanted to do with him. The young man replied that he wanted to kill him. Durayd asked him who he was, and he replied that he was Rabī'ah b. Rufay' al-Sulamī. He then struck him with his sword, but to no effect. Thereupon Durayd said, "What a poor weapon your mother has armed you with! Take this sword of mine that is at the rear of the saddle in the howdah and strike me with it above the spine but below the brain, for I used to slay men in that way. Then when you go to your mother inform her that you have killed Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah. By God, how many times I have protected your women!" The Banū Sulaym allege that Rabī'ah said, "When I delivered him the blow, his clothes fell open, and lo, his perineum and the interior of his thighs were like paper from riding horses unsaddled." When Rabī'ah returned to his mother, he in-

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114. Wāqidī: Al-Lajlāj.

115. Ibn Isḥāq: Banū Kubbah. The Banū Kunnah were from the Ghāmidī tribe of Yemen. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 907; Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. gh-m-d.

116. A town seventy-five miles southeast of Mecca about five thousand feet above sea level in the mountains of Sarāt. *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭā'if; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 43–45.

117. S and Wāqidī: Banū 'Anazah.

118. A valley about two nights' journey from Mecca. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 127, 173; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1304; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 277.

119. S and Ibn Ḥazm (*Jamharah*, 262): Simāk.

formed her that he had killed [Durayd] and she said, "By God, he set free three mothers of yours."[120]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The Messenger of God sent [his men] in pursuit of those who went toward Awṭās. Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kindī[121]—Abū Usāmah[122]—Burayd b. 'Abdallāh[123]—Abū Burdah[124]—his father [Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī]:[125] When the Prophet came from Ḥunayn, he sent Abū 'Āmir [al-Ash'arī][126] with an army to Awṭās. He encountered Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah [1667] and killed him[127] and God routed Durayd's companions.

Abū Mūsā [al-Ash'arī]: The Messenger of God sent me with Abū 'Āmir. When Abū 'Āmir was hit by an arrow, which stuck in his knee, shot by a man from the Banū Jusham,[128] I came to him and said, "O uncle, who shot you?" Pointing to the man, he said, "That one is my killer! You see him, that one shot me!" Abū Mūsā went after him and overtook him, but when the man saw

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120. Wāqidī adds: "At one early morning and sheared off your father's forelock." The youth replied, "I was not aware of [it]."

121. Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Masrūq al-Kindī al-Kūfī died in 258/871–72. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 355–56.

122. Ḥammād b. Usāmah b. Zayd al-Qurashī al-Kūfī died in 201/816–17. Ibid., III, 2–3.

123. Burayd b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Burdah b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī. Ibid., I, 431–32.

124. Abū Burdah 'Āmir b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī was one of the first *qāḍīs* of al-Kūfah and died in 103/721–22 or 104/722–23. *EI*², s.v. al-Ash'arī, Abū Burda.

125. He was from Yemen, and after accepting Islam migrated to Abyssinia and returned to Medina on the conquest of Khaybar. He is known as a lukewarm supporter of 'Alī, whom he represented as an arbiter after the battle of Ṣiffīn, but he was outwitted by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. He died ca. 42/662–63. *EI*², s.v. al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā.

126. He had accepted Islam before the conquest of Mecca. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/2, 75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 144.

127. It conflicts with the preceding report that Durayd was killed by Rabī'ah b. Rufay'. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 97, comments that the person who killed Durayd was 'Abdallāh b. Qunay' b. Uhbān b. Tha'labah b. Rabī'ah. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 366, reports that Abū 'Āmir was killed by Ibn Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah, who in turn was killed by al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ash'arī.

128. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 99–100, states that he was shot by two brothers, al-'Alā' and Awfā, sons of al-Ḥārith from the Banū Jusham b. Mu'āwiyah. One arrow hit his heart, while the other hit his knee. Abū Mūsā attacked and killed both of them. Ibn Hishām adds another note describing Abū 'Āmir's bravery and states that he was challenged to a duel by ten men, all of them brothers. Abū 'Āmir accepted the challenge, killed nine of them and allowed the tenth, who later became a Muslim, to escape. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 915–16, reports a similar story and states that Abū 'Āmir killed nine contestants but was killed by the tenth. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 109.

him he fled. Abū Mūsā pursued him, calling out [loudly], "Aren't you ashamed of (yourself)? Aren't you an Arab? Won't you make a stand?" So he turned back. They confronted each other and exchanged two blows. Abū Mūsā killed him with his sword and returned to Abū 'Āmir telling him that God had killed his enemy. Abū 'Āmir asked him to remove the arrow [from his knee], and when he removed it water flowed from [the wound]. So he said [to Abū Mūsā], "O my nephew, go to the Messenger of God, give him my salutation (*salām*), and ask him to seek (God's) forgiveness for me." He then appointed Abū Mūsā in charge of the army and died shortly thereafter.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: It is alleged that Salamah b. Durayd was the one who shot Abū 'Āmir with an arrow that hit him in his knee and killed him. Salamah b. Durayd said in this regard:

If you ask about me I am Salamah,
The son of Samādīr[129] to one who observes closely.
I smite with the sword the heads of the Muslims.

Samādīr was his mother; hence he traced his descent to her.

[1668] After his defeat, Mālik b. 'Awf fled and stopped with some of his horsemen at a narrow pass on the road, asking them to wait until the weak ones and the others had caught up with them. They stopped there until the men from the defeated army caught up with them.[130]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—one of the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr: That day, the Messenger of God said to the horsemen whom he sent [in pursuit] that if they could get hold of Bijād, a man from the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr, then they should not let him escape, for he had done something evil.[131] When the Muslims seized him they herded him with his family and his sister al-Shaymā' bt. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā,[132] foster-sister

129. The name of his mother. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 365. It means weakness of sight, or else it signifies an affliction resembling vertigo. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. s-m-d-r; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. s-m-d-r.

130. For more details about Mālik's escape, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 916–17.

131. Ibid., III, 913, states that he had brutally dismembered a Muslim and then set the dead body on fire.

132. She used to carry and look after the Prophet as a child. Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 25; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 69.

of the Messenger of God, [like cattle] and treated her roughly. She told the Muslims that she was the foster-sister of the Messenger of God, but they did not believe her until they brought her to the Messenger of God.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Abū Wajzah Yazīd b. 'Ubayd al-Sa'dī:[133] When Shaymā' was brought to the Messenger of God, she said, "O Messenger of God, I am your foster-sister."[134] He said, "What is the proof of that?" She replied, "The bite you gave me on my back when I carried you at my hip." The Messenger of God acknowledged the proof, spread out his robe for her and asked her to sit on it. He then gave her the choice either to live with him in affection and honor or to go back to her people with compensation. She replied that she would prefer to return to her folk and he complied with her wish. The Banū Sa'd b. Bakr [1669] allege that the Messenger of God gave her a slave called Makḥūl and a slave girl.[135] She married them off, one with the other, and their progeny survives to this day.

Ibn Isḥāq: The following men were martyred at Ḥunayn:

From the Banū Hāshim[136] of Quraysh: Ayman b. 'Ubayd, the son of Umm Ayman, the Messenger of God's freed bondmaid.

From the Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā:[137] Yazīd b. Zama'ah b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad.[138] His horse, called al-Janāḥ, threw him and he was killed.

From the *Anṣār*: Surāqah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Adī b. Bal'ajlān [or Banū al-'Ajlān].[139]

From the Ash'ariyyūn:[140] Abū 'Āmir al-Ash'arī.

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133. Died in 130/747–48. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 349.

134. As in S and Ibn Isḥāq. Text: Sister. Lings, *Muhammad*, 306–7, gives a lively description of the meeting.

135. Before she left, she embraced Islam and the Prophet gave her three slaves, a slave girl, and a number of animals. For details, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 913–14.

136. The Banū Hāshim are the descendants of Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, the great-grandfather of the Prophet. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 4; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 14–17; *EI²*, s.v. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf. Wāqidī lists Ayman b. 'Ubayd among the *Anṣār*, which is more correct; see above, n. 67.

137. They are the Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 19; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 117–25.

138. He is not listed by Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 922. Instead of him, he lists Ruqaym b. Thābit al-Anṣārī.

139. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 109; VIII, 310.

140. A South Arabian tribe, descendants of al-Ash'ar, whose name was Nabt b. Udad b. Zayd b. Yashjub. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 273; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 397–98.

The captives of Ḥunayn, along with their possessions, were brought to the Messenger of God, Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Qārī[141] overseeing the spoils. The Messenger of God then ordered that the captives and their possessions be taken to al-Ji'rānah[142] and held there in custody.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When the defeated men of Thaqīf came to al-Ṭā'if, they shut the gates of the city and made preparations for war. Neither 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd[143] nor Ghaylān b. Salamah[144] witnessed Ḥunayn or the seige of al-Ṭā'if, [because] they were in Jurash[145] learning the use of the testudo (*al-dabbāb* and *al-ḍubūr*)[146] and the catapult (*al-majānīq*).

[The Siege of al-Ṭā'if]

'Alī b. Naṣr b. 'Alī [al-Jahḍamī]—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith—'Abd al-Wārith b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith—his
[1670] father—Abān al-'Aṭṭār—Hishām b. 'Urwah—'Urwah: When he had finished at Ḥunayn, the Messenger of God and his companions went directly to al-Ṭā'if and encamped there for a fortnight, waging war against Thaqīf.[147] Thaqīf fought the Muslims from behind the fort and none came out in the open. All of the surrounding people surrendered and sent their delegations to the Messenger of God. After besieging al-Ṭā'if for a fortnight, the

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141. Ibn Isḥāq: Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī; Wāqidī, and Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 266): Budayl b. Waraqā' al-Khuzā'ī.

142. A well about 24 km from Mecca on the way to al-Ṭā'if. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 120; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 384 (where it is said that the Iraqis pronounce it al-Ji'irrānah); Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 142.

143. He was the uncle of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah and was married to Abū Sufyān's daughter. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 52–53; II/1, 70; IV/1, 184; IV/2, 25; V, 369–70, 373; VIII, 175. See Ṭabarī below, I, 1687.

144. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 52, 53; V, 369.

145. A town about 40 km southeast of Abhā. Jāsir, *Sarāt*, 42–49. Both Bakrī (*Mu'jam*, II, 376) and Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, II, 126) list it as being in Yemen; however demarcation of the borders between the Yemen and the Ḥijāz was a problem. Cf. Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 45–46. See n. 603, Ṭabarī, below, I, 1730.

146. *Dabbāb* is a machine made of skins and wood. It is used in war, propelled to the lower part of the fortress in order to make a breach therein, while the *ḍubūr* is a part of the *dabbāb* (testudo) that defends the men entering into the *dabbāb* from what is thrown upon them from above. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. d-b-b, ḍ-b-r.

147. Khālid b. al-Walīd was sent as the vanguard with cavalry from Sulaym. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 923. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/I, 114, states that the Thaqīf had stored enough provisions to last them for a whole year.

Prophet left and halted at al-Jiʿrānah where the captives of Ḥunayn were held with their women and children. It is alleged that those captives taken from the Hawāzin numbered six thousand with women and children. When he reached al-Jiʿrānah, the delegations of Hawāzin came to the Prophet and embraced Islam. Therefore, he set all their women and children free and decided to make the lesser pilgrimage [directly[from al-Jiʿrānah. The month was Dhū al-Qaʿdah. After that, the Messenger of God returned to Medina, put [ʿAttāb b. Asīd][148] in charge of Mecca, and asked him to perform the greater pilgrimmage with the people and to ensure their safety. [He also left behind with him Muʿādh b. Jabal][149] to instruct [the people] in Islam. When he reached Medina, the delegations of Thaqīf arrived, brought the dispute (mentioned earlier) before him, and gave him the oath of allegiance, which consisted of a document that they wrote and signed with him.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb:[150] The Messenger of God journeyed from Ḥunayn to al-Ṭāʾif by the way of Nakhlat al-Yamāniyyah,[151] Qarn,[152] al-Mulayḥ,[153] and Baḥrat al-Rughāʾ[154] of Liyyah.[155] There he built [i.e., at Baḥrat al-Rughāʾ] a mosque and prayed in it. After he arrived that day, he permitted [1671]
retaliation for homicide. That was the first time [this practice]

148. Corrected by me. Text: Abū Bakr. It conflicts with all other sources and with al-Ṭabarī's own statement that ʿAttāb b. Asīd was appointed by the Prophet over Mecca. See n. 53 above and Ṭabarī below, I, 1685. It was ʿAttāb who led the people for the greater pilgrimage also. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/I, 105; V, 330.

149. Addition from text in Ṭabarī, below, I, 1685. The text in this place seems to be badly corrupted. Muʿādh b. Jabal al-Anṣārī was a prominent companion of the Messenger of God. He died in the plague of ʿAmwās in Syria in 18/639–40 when he was thirty-eight. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 107–9; III/2, 120–26.

150. ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 180; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 48–55.

151. A valley about a night or two nights' journey from Mecca toward the Yemen. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, IV, 1304; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 277–78.

152. Qarn al-Thaʿālib, about twenty-four hours' journey from Mecca, was a meeting place for the people of Najd. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1067; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 332.

153. A valley near al-Ṭāʾif. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1167–68; IV, 1259; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 196.

154. A place in the district of al-Ṭāʾif. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, I, 229; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 346.

155. A valley about 13 km east of al-Ṭāʾif. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 120–21; Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1167–68; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 30; Jāsir, *Sarāt*, 10–11.

was allowed in Islam. A man of the Banū Layth[156] had killed a man of Hudhayl,[157] so the Messenger of God killed him. While he was in Liyyah, the Messenger of God ordered that the fortress of Mālik b. 'Awf be demolished.[158] He then followed a road called al-Ḍayqah [i.e., the narrow, strait].[159] As he was passing through it he inquired about its name. When he was told that it was al-Ḍayqah, he said, "No, rather it is al-Yusrā [i.e., the easy]." Then he went by Nakhb[160] and halted under a lote tree called al-Ṣādirah near the property of a man of Thaqīf. The Messenger of God sent word to him either to come out or else his walled garden would be destroyed.[161] He refused to come out, so the Messenger of God ordered the walled garden to be destroyed.[162]

Then the Messenger of God went on until he halted near al-Ṭā'if and pitched his camp there. Some of his companions were killed by arrows, because the camp had been placed very close to the walls of al-Ṭā'if and the arrows were reaching them.[163] The Muslims were unable to get through its wall, for [the inhabitants] had shut the gate against them. When his comrades were killed by arrows, the Prophet moved to higher ground and pitched his camp near where his mosque stands today. He besieged them for some twenty days.[164] He had two of his wives with him, one of

156. The Banū Layth b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 36; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 180, 183, 465.

157. A tribe of northern Arab descent that occupied much of the territory west and east of Mecca and up into the mountains toward al-Ṭā'if. It was closely related to Kinānah and consequently to Quraysh. *EI*², s.v. Hudhayl. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 924, states that the man of Layth, who had killed a man from the Hudhayl, was apprehended and brought before the Prophet. The people gathered and quarrelled in the Prophet's presence, so he turned the man over to the men of Hudhayl who killed him.

158. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 925, states it was burnt.

159. It is often used for a narrow *wādī*, perhaps impassable when in flood. Serjeant, "Translation," 9.

160. A valley near al-Ṭā'if. Bakrī (*Mu'jam*, IV, 1301–2); Nakhib; Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, V, 275): Nakhib or Nakhab.

161. Wāqidī: Burnt.

162. Wāqidī: Burnt.

163. Al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir had pointed out to the Prophet that the camp was very close to the fortress. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 925–26.

164. Ibn Hishām: It is said for seventeen days. Wāqidī: Some state eighteen days, others nineteen days, and yet others fifteen days. Ibn Sa'd: eighteen days.

whom was Umm Salamah bt. Abī Umayyah.[165] Al-Wāqidī states that the other was Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh.[166] He pitched two tents for them and prayed between the tents as long as[167] he stayed there. After Thaqīf surrendered, ʿAmr b. Umayyah[168] b. Wahb b. Muʿattib b. Mālik built a mosque over the place where the Messenger of God had prayed. There was a column in that mosque about which [1672] it is alleged that the sun never rises over it any day without a creaking noise being heard from it.[169] The Messenger of God besieged Thaqīf and fought them bitterly. Both sides shot arrows at each other[170] until the day when the wall of al-Ṭāʾif was stormed (*shadkhah*).[171] [That day] a number of the Messenger of God's companions went under a testudo and advanced up to the wall [to make a breach in it].[172] Thaqīf showered them with scraps of hot iron, so they came out from under [the testudo], and Thaqīf shot them with arrows, killing some of them. The Messenger of God then ordered that the vineyards of Thaqīf be cut down, and the men fell upon them, cutting them down.[173]

Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah went up to al-Ṭāʾif and cried out to Thaqīf to assure their safety so that they could speak to them. When they guaranteed them safety, they called upon the women of Quraysh and Banū Kinānah[174] to come out to them, for they were afraid that they would be taken cap-

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165. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1771.

166. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1772–73.

167. Hisch and Ibn Isḥāq: Then; Wāqidī, Ibn Saʿd: As long as.

168. Corrected from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, Wāqidī, and Ibn Ḥazm (*Jamharah*, 268). Text: Abū Umayyah b. ʿAmr.

169. Wāqidī adds: More than ten times, hence the people considered that noise [a form of] glorification of God (*tasbīḥ*).

170. Ibn Hishām (*Sīrah*, IV, 126) adds: The Messenger of God shot at them with catapults. A person whom I trust related to me that the Messenger of God was the first to use the catapult in Islam, as he employed it against the people of al-Ṭāʾif.

171. Its literal meaning is to break or crush. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. sh-d-kh.

172. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Wāqidī. The testudo and the catapult were brought by the Muslims, cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 923, 927; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 366, 367.

173. For a different version, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 928–29.

174. A large Muḍarī tribe (Kinānah b. Khuzaymah b. Mudrikah b. al-Yās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān), which had its camping grounds in the territory around Mecca. Quraysh derived their origin from them. See *EI*², s.v. Kināna.

tive, but they refused [to come out]. Among them were Āminah bt. Abī Sufyān,[175] who was married to 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd, by whom she had [the son] Dāwūd b. 'Urwah.[176]

Al-Wāqidī[177]—Kathīr b. Zayd[178]—al-Walīd b. Rabāḥ[179]—Abū
[1673] Hurayrah:[180] When fifteen days of siege had passed at al-Ṭā'if, the Messenger of God consulted Nawfal b. Mu'āwiyah al-Dīlī[181] and asked his opinion about continuing [the siege]. He replied, "O Messenger of God, [they are like] a fox [hiding] in its den. If you persist [in your siege], you will capture it, and if you leave it, it will not harm you."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: It has been reported that the Messenger of God said to Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah while he was besieging Thaqīf in al-Ṭā'if, "O Abū Bakr, I saw [in a dream] that I was presented with a large bowl filled with butter and that a cock pecked at it and spilt it." Abū Bakr replied, "O Messenger of God, I don't think that you will attain what you desire from them today." The Messenger of God responded that he did not think so either.[182]

Then Khuwaylah[183] bt. Ḥakīm b. Umayyah b. Ḥārithah b. al-

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175. According to Ibn Hishām and Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 175), she was Maymūnah bt. Abī Sufyān. Āminah was married to someone else, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 129; VIII, 68.

176. Ibn Isḥāq adds two more names: And al-Firāsiyyah bt. Suwayd b. 'Amr b. Tha'labah, whose son was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qārib, and al-Fuqaymiyyah Umaymah, daughter of the intercalator Umayyah b. Qal'. Cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 929. When those women refused to come out, Ibn al-Aswad b. Mas'ūd spoke to Abū Sufyān and al-Mughīrah about saving his own property from destruction. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 126; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 926–27.

177. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, an early Arab historian, died in 207/823 in Baghdād. *EI*[1], s.v. al-Wāḳidī; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 294–97; Duri, *Rise*, passim.

178. Kathīr b. Zayd al-Aslamī died during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (136–58/754–75) Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 413–15.

179. Walīd b. Rabāḥ al-Dawsī died in 117/735. Ibid., XI, 133.

180. Although he embraced Islam less than four years before the Prophet's death, he is noted as a prolific narrator of traditions. He died between 57/676–77 and 59/678–79. *EI*[2], s.v. Abū Hurayra.

181. He had fought against the Muslims at Uḥud, and accepted Islam after the conquest of Mecca. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 81; II/1, 114; III/2, 57, 85, 119.

182. Dreams and their interpretations play an important role in the biography of the Prophet; see Fahd, *Divination*, 247ff.

183. Both Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 935) and Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 292; VIII, 113) give her name as Khawlah. Khuwaylah is a diminutive form. Her husband

Awqaṣ al-Sulamiyyah, wife of 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn, requested the Messenger of God that if God granted him victory over al-Ṭā'if, he would give her the jewelry of Bādiyah bt. Ghaylān b. Salamah,[184] or that of al-Fāri'ah bt. 'Uqayl,[185] for they were the most be-jeweled[186] women of Thaqīf.

Ibn Isḥāq: It has been reported that the Messenger of God told her, "And if [the victory] over Thaqīf is not granted to me, O Khuwaylah?" Khuwaylah left and told 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [what had happened], so he came to the Messenger of God and asked him whether what Khuwaylah had said was true. The Messenger of God replied, "Yes, I said it." [Thereupon 'Umar] said, "Is [victory] over them not to be granted, O Messenger of God?" On [1674] hearing the Messenger of God's answer [in the affirmative], 'Umar asked if he should give the order to depart, and after receiving permission he announced the departure.[187]

When the people began to move out, Sa'īd[188] b. 'Ubayd b. Asīd[189] b. Abī 'Amr b. 'Ilāj al-Thaqafī cried out that [al-Ṭā'if] was holding out [against the siege]. 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn[190] responded, "Yes, admirably and nobly!" One of the Muslims[191] said to him, "May God smite you, O 'Uyaynah! Do you praise the polytheists for holding out against the Messenger of God while you [yourself] have come to assist him?" He replied, "By God, I did not come to fight Thaqīf with you, but I wished Muḥammad to be victorious over al-Ṭā'if, so that I might obtain a slave girl from Thaqīf whom

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'Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn was one of the early converts and a very pious person. He died in 3/624–25 in Medina. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 90, 114–15, 136; III/1, 286–92, 298.

184. She was later married to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 933, 935; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 90.

185. As vocalized in the text. In other sources it is not vocalized and could be 'Aqīl.

186. Wāqidī: Prettiest.

187. Some people were not happy to depart without the victory. Both Abū Bakr and 'Umar had to convince them that the Prophet was acting according to revelation. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 936–37; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 115; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 73.

188. Wāqidī: Sa'd.

189. C: Asad; Wāqidī: Asīd b. 'Amr.

190. 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī had fought several times against the Muslims. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 932–33 (story about his hypocrisy); Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; II/1, 45, 47, 51–52, 58, 87, 110–11, 115–16; III/1, 65.

191. Wāqidī: 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.

I might make pregnant[192] so that she might bear me a son, for Thaqīf are clever people (*manākīr*)."[193]

At al-Ṭā'if, twelve of the Messenger of God's companions were martyred, seven from Quraysh, one from Banū Layth, and four from the *Anṣār*.[194]

[The Division of the Booty Captured at Ḥunayn and Gifts of Conciliation]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Then the Messenger of God left al-Ṭā'if and went [by way] of Daḥnā[195] until he halted at al-Ji'rānah with the Muslims who were with him. When he marched to al-Ṭā'if, he had sent the captives of Hawāzin to be detained in al-Ji'rānah. Thus the delegations of Hawāzin came to him there. The Messenger of God held six thousand captives from the children and women, and innumerable camels and sheep.[196]

[1675] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Amr b. Shu'ayb—his father[197]—his grandfather 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b.

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192. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Wāqidī: Whom I might tread.

193. This is a pun, a play on the word *manākīr*, because its singular *munkar* generally means an action disapproved by sound intellect, or deemed to be bad, or anything pronounced to be abominable by the law. Here it is not used in this general sense but as *rajul*^{un} *nakir*^{un}, meaning a man who possesses intelligence with cunning. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. n-k-r; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. n-k-r.

Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 937): For Thaqīf are gifted with a blessing (*mubārakūn*). He further states that, when 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb informed the Prophet what 'Uyaynah had said, he smiled and said, "[The man exhibits] an acceptable foolishness." (He is an agreeable fool.)

Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīrah*, IV, 127–28) states that during the siege of al-Ṭā'if some of the slaves came out, embraced Islam, and were set free by the Prophet. Cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 931–32 (they numbered from thirteen to nineteen).

194. For their names, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 129; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 938.

195. Wāqidī adds: Then passed by Qarn al-Manāzil and Nakhlah. Daḥnā is a district of al-Ṭā'if. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 545–46; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 444.

196. According to Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq, and it concurs with what is stated earlier (see Ṭabarī, I, 1670). Text: Held a large number of captives from the women and children of Hawāzin, six thousand camels, and an immense number of sheep. According to Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 943–44), there were six thousand captives, twenty-four thousand camels, and about forty thousand sheep. In addition to that, the Muslims captured four thousand *ūqīyah*s [about 1/12 *raṭl* or forty dirhams to the *ūqīyah*; see n. 983 below] of silver. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110.

197. Shu'ayb b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 356.

al-'Āṣ:[198] The deputation of Hawāzin came to the Messenger of God while he was in al-Ji'rānah and embraced Islam. Then they said, "O Messenger of God, we are of noble origin and we are kinsfolk. The disaster which has befallen us is not hidden from you. Please show us favor, since God has granted you favor." Then a man of Hawāzin from [the clan of] the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr (it was this clan who nursed the Messenger of God) called Zuhayr b. Ṣurad[199] and nicknamed Abū Ṣurad, stood up and said, "O Messenger of God, among the detainees are your paternal and maternal aunts and the ones who suckled you and looked after you. Had we provided al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shimr[200] or al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir[201] with foster-parents[202] and then got into the situation in which you now hold us, we could hope for his favor and kindness. [We know that] you are the best of protectors."[203] Then he recited [the following] verses:

Have mercy on us, Messenger of God, out of generosity,
for you are the man [from whom] we hope and treasure
[as our own].
Grant favor to [your] kinfolk[204] whom fate has frustrated,
and whose fortunes are shattered by the
vicissitudes of fate.

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198. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ accepted Islam before his father and died ca. 65/684–85. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 125; III/1, 180, 181; V, 132; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 337–38; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, I, 41–42; Duri, *Rise*, 78, 93, 98n.

199. He headed the Hawāzin delegation which consisted of fourteen men. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 72; II/1, 111.

200. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn [*Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, II, 221] suggests the reading "Shamir." Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 325.

He was a Ghassānid king to whom the Prophet sent a letter inviting him to accept Islam. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 17; III/1, 66. About the Prophet's correspondence with foreign rulers, see below Ṭabarī, I, 1741, n. 677. The Ghassānids, the clients and auxiliaries of Byzantium, were swept away by the Muslim conquest of Syria, see *EI*[2], s.v. Ghassān; Shahîd, "Pre-Islamic Arabia," 22.

201. He was the last king of the house of the Lakhmids, the Arab client-kingdom of the Persians. *EI*[1], s.v. Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir; *EI*[2], s.v. Lakhm.

202. Ibn Hishām: Another tradition states: Had we shared our salt with.

203. C: The best of hosts.

204. *Bayḍah* literally means an egg. It is used metaphorically to signify a woman, likening her thereto in color and in respect of her being protected. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. b-y-ḍ.

The Messenger of God said, "Are your sons and wives dearer to you or your possessions?" They replied, "O Messenger of God, you have given us the choice between our honor and our posses-
[1676] sions, so give us back our wives and sons, for they are dearer to us." He said, "As for what I and the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib have [of your goods], they are yours. When I have prayed [the noon prayer][205] with the people, then [stand up and][206] say, 'We ask the Messenger of God's intercession with the Muslims, and the Muslims' intercession with the Messenger of God for our sons and wives.' I will then give them to you and will request [the Muslims] on your behalf." When the Messenger of God had prayed the noon prayer with the people, they stood up and spoke as he had asked them, and he did what he had promised to do. The *Muhājirūn* said that what was theirs was the Messenger of God's, and the *Anṣār* said the same. Al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis [al-Tamīmī],[207] however, said that as far as he and the Banū Tamīm[208] were concerned, [they would not agree to give up their share]. 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn also refused on behalf of himself and the Banū Fazārah,[209] and so did 'Abbās b. Mirdās [al-Sulamī][210] for himself and the Banū Sulaym.[211] The Banū Sulaym, however, said, "[Yes],[212] what is ours is the Messenger of God's." Therefore, 'Abbās said to them that they had rendered him a coward. Then the Messenger of God said, "He who holds to his share of these captives shall have six camels for every captive from the first booty we take." So the Muslims returned the women and children to their kinsfolk.[213]

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205. Addition from Wāqidī.

206. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

207. Addition from S and Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 36, 40, 85, 145; II/1, 110–11, 116). He was a Bedouin chief.

208. For the Banū Tamīm, see Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 59; Ibn, Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 207, 466–67.

209. A branch of Qays. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 92, 130; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 255–59.

210. Addition from S. He was a leader of 'Abs b. Rifā'ah of Sulaym, and was renowned as a warrior and as a poet. He died during the caliphate of 'Uthmān (23–35/644–56). *EI*², s.v. 'Abbās b. Mirdās; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 242–43.

211. They are a branch of Qays. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 92, 122; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 261–64.

212. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

213. For further details, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 952; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 111–12.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Abū Wajzah Yazīd b. 'Ubayd al-Sa'dī: From the captives of Ḥunayn, the Messenger of God gave 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib a slave girl called Raytah bt. Hilāl b. Ḥayyān b. 'Umayrah b. Hilāl b. Nāṣirah b. Quṣayyah b. [1677]
Naṣr b. Sa'd b. Bakr; and he gave 'Uthmān b. 'Affān[214] a slave girl called Zaynab bt. Ḥayyān b. 'Amr b. Ḥayyān; and he gave 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb a girl whom 'Umar gave to [his son][215] 'Abdallāh.[216]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Nāfi'[217]—'Abdallāh b. 'Umar: The Messenger of God gave 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb a slave girl from the captives of Hawāzin and 'Umar gave her to me. I sent her to my maternal aunts from the Banū Jumaḥ[218] to prepare [and get her ready][219] for me until I had circumambulated the Ka'bah and returned to them, wanting to take her when I returned. When I had finished and came out of the mosque, the men were rushing away. When I asked the reason why, they told me that the Messenger of God had given them back their wives and children. I told them that that girl of theirs was with the Banū Jumaḥ and that they should go and get her, so they went and took her. As for 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn, he had taken an old widow of Hawāzin and said when he took her, "I see that she is an elderly lady of standing in the tribe. Perhaps her ransom might be high." When the Messenger of God returned the captives for six camels each, 'Uyaynah refused to return her. Zuhayr Abū Ṣurad told him to let her go, for her mouth was neither cold nor were her breasts swelling; she could not conceive, her milk was not rich, and her husband would not care. After Zuhayr had told him this, he returned her for six camels.[220] They allege that

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214. The third caliph whose assassination in 35/656 led to the first civil strife in Islam. See *EI*[1], s.v. 'Othmān b. 'Affān.

215. Addition from Hisch and Ibn Isḥāq.

216. 'Abdallāh, son of the second caliph, was one of the prominent personalities of the first generation of Muslims and a frequently quoted authority for traditions. He died in 73/693. *EI*[2], s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar. Most of the companions received a slave girl. For details, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 943–44.

217. A freedman of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 109, 121, 123, 125–26, 133.

218. They are Jumaḥ (= Taym) b. 'Amr b. Huṣayṣ b. Ka'b b. 'Adī. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 105; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 159.

219. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

220. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 952–54, gives a different version and states that in the beginning her son offered to pay a ransom of a hundred camels, but 'Uyaynah,

[when] 'Uyaynah met al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis he complained to him
[1678] about it, so he said, "By God, you did not take her as virgin[221] in her prime nor even full-figured in her middle age!"

The Messenger of God asked the Hawāzin delegation about Mālik b. 'Awf and what he did. They told him that he was in al-Ṭā'if with Thaqīf. The Messenger of God told them to inform him that if he came to him embracing Islam, he would restore his family and possessions to him and give him a hundred camels.[222] When Mālik was informed about it, he left al-Ṭā'if. He was afraid that Thaqīf might imprison him if they knew what the Messenger of God had said about him, so he ordered that his mount be prepared for him and that a horse be brought to him in al-Ṭā'if. He slipped away at night, came [to the place] where his mount was tethered,[223] mounted his horse, and rode off until he overtook the Messenger of God in al-Ji'rānah or Mecca. The Messenger of God returned him his family and property and gave him a hundred camels. He embraced Islam and became a good Muslim. The Messenger of God put him in charge of his kinfolk and the tribes around al-Ṭā'if who had embraced Islam. [Those tribes were] Thumālah, Salimah, and Fahm.[224] Then he began to fight Thaqīf with them; their flocks could not come out [of al-Ṭā'if] without being raided by him and he tightened the noose around them.[225] Abū Miḥjan b. Ḥabīb[226] b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaqafī said:

Enemies have dreaded our vicinity,
    but now the Banū Salimah are engaged in warring and plundering us.
Mālik brought them on us,
    breaking his covenant and solemn word.

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wanting a higher price, declined the offer. Finally, he had to release her without any ransom.

221. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: Of fair complexion.

222. Mālik's family were brought to Mecca and were lodged with their relatives. His possessions were also kept aside and were not divided with the other booty. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 954–55; Lings, *Muhammad*, 310.

223. It was in Daḥnā. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 955.

224. All the three were clans of Azd. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 210, 211; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 376–79.

225. From those raids, Mālik used to send the *khums* to the Prophet. Once he sent a hundred camels and then a thousand sheep. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 955.

226. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 930, 932, 935): Ḥubayb. He was one of the leaders of Thaqīf.

They raided us in our settlements,
though we were men who retaliated.[227]

(This is the end of Abū Wajzah's report. To return to the report of 'Amr b. Shu'ayb:)[228] After the Messenger of God had completed the return of the captives of Ḥunayn to their families, he rode [1679] away and the people[229] followed him, saying, "O Messenger of God, divide our booty of camels and small cattle among us," until they forced him back against a tree and his mantle was pulled away from him.[230] He said, "O men, give me back[231] my mantle! By God, if I had as many sheep as the trees of the Tihāmah I would have divided them among you. You have not found me miserly or cowardly or a liar." Then he stood near his[232] camel and took a hair from its hump and holding it aloft in his fingers said, "O men, by God, I do not have anything of your booty, even to this hair, except the fifth, and that fifth will be returned to you. So bring back the needle and the thread, for dishonesty will be a shame, a flame,[233] and a disgrace on the Day of Judgment."[234] A man from the *Anṣār* came with a ball of hair thread, and said, "O Messenger of God, I took this ball to make a pad for my sore camel." He replied, "As for my share in that, you can keep it." The man said, "If it has come to that, I don't want it," and he threw it away.[235] (This is the end of 'Amr b. Shu'ayb's report.)

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: The Messenger of God gave [gifts] to those "whose hearts were to be reconciled (*al-mu'allafa qulūbuhum*),"[236] who were certain

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227. For Mālik's reply, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 956.

228. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1675.

229. Wāqidī: On the way the Bedouins kept on asking him.

230. Either it was caught by the tree or was pulled away by the Bedouins.

231. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: Bring back my mantle to me. Cf. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 140; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1246; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 183.

232. As in C. Text and Ibn Isḥāq: Near a camel.

233. It means a flame of hell-fire.

234. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 366.

235. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 135, relating another story, states that when the Prophet ordered his men to return whatever they might have taken, even to a needle, 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib returned the needle which he had taken.

236. It is used in the Qur'ān 9:60, where it states: "Charity is [meant] only for the poor, the needy, those working at [collecting and distributing] it, those [possible converts] whose hearts are being reconciled [to yours], for freeing captives and those who are in debt, and in the cause of God, and for the wayfarer, as a

men of eminence, in order to conciliate them and to win over their hearts.[237] He gave a hundred camels each to the following:[238] Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb; his son Muʿāwiyah;[239] Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām;[240] al-Nuḍayr[241] b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah b. ʿAlqamah, a brother of the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār; al-ʿAlāʾ b. Ḥārithah al-Thaqafī,[242] an ally of the Banū Zuhrah;[243] al-Ḥārith b. Hishām;[244] Ṣafwān b. Umayyah; Suhayl b. ʿAmr;[245] Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Abī Qays;[246] ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn; al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis al-Tamīmī; Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī. These men [became known as] "Men of the Hundreds." He gave less than a hundred camels to the following men

[1680]

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duty imposed by God." The term is applied here to certain tribal chiefs and influential men whose loyalty the Prophet endeavored to secure by lavish gifts given out of the *khums*. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 944, 948; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. a-l-f; Lings, *Muhammad*, 308–9.

Watt (*Muhammad at Medina*, 74, 348–52) argues that the above Qur'ānic term cannot be applied to the men who received gifts at al-Jiʿrānah. Its application to the leading Meccans, who received fifty or a hundred camels, was probably the work of the "pious opposition" in Medina during the Umayyad period in the early part of the second/eighth century.

237. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: And to reconcile through them their people.

238. See the list compiled by Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 73–74.

239. He was the first Umayyad caliph. *EI*[1], s.v. Muʿāwiya. Abū Sufyān's son Yazīd also received a hundred camels. In addition to those camels, both the brothers and their father also received forty *ūqīyahs* each of silver. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 944–45; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 75, states that the mention of Abū Sufyān's sons is doubtless a device to conceal the favor shown to him by Muḥammad.

240. He was a nephew of the Prophet's wife Khadījah. He asked for more camels and so was given some. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 945 (he got three hundred); Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 179; II/1, 97, 110; III/1, 27; IV/1, 6, 45 (he got two hundred).

241. Ibn Isḥāq: Al-Ḥārith; Ibn Hishām: Nuṣayr, it is possible that his name was al-Ḥārith. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 331–32, 352, gives his name as al-Nuḍayr b. al-Ḥārith B. ʿAlqamah b. Kaladah b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy.

242. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110 (he got fifty).

243. A clan of Quraysh. The Prophet's mother was from this clan. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 50–51, 82, 137; II/1, 8; Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 4, 20; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 128, 464.

244. Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓah b. Murrah died in 18/639. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 946; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110; III/1, 167; V, 1.

245. He headed the Meccan delegation which negotiated the treaty of Ḥudaybiyah. His son ʿAbdallāh had accepted Islam and had migrated to Abyssinia. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 946; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 42, 70, 71, 88, 98, 110; III/1, 295–96.

246. He was one of the witnesses for the treaty of Ḥudaybiyah. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 946; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 25, 71, 88, 97, 110.

of Quraysh: Makhramah b. Nawfal b. Uhayb al-Zuhrī;[247] 'Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī;[248] Hishām b. 'Amr,[249] a brother of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.[250] The exact number [of camels] given to them is not preserved,[251] but it is known, as alleged, that it was less than a hundred. He gave fifty camels to Sa'īd b. Yarbū' b. 'Ankathah b. 'Āmir b. Makhzūm[252] and to al-Sahmī.[253] He gave 'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī some camels,[254] but he was not pleased with them and reproved the Messenger of God saying:

It was pillage that I acquired, [1681]
by charging on my colt in the rugged plain.
And I kept the people awake lest they should sleep.[255]
When they slept I kept watch.
My pillage and that of al-'Ubayd[256]
is parceled out between 'Uyaynah[257] and al-Aqra'.[258]
In battle I repel the enemy,
leaving myself unprotected. Yet I was given nothing
except a few young camels,
to the number of their four legs!
Neither Ḥiṣn nor Ḥābis
excel Mirdās[259] in the assembly,
and I am not inferior to either of them.
He whom you demean today will not be exalted.

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247. His mother was a granddaughter of Hāshim. He was a genealogist, and the Prophet gave him fifty camels. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 946 (some authorities state that he did not get any); Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110; III/1, 212; VIII, 35, 161–62, 180 (he got fifty).

248. He had fought against the Muslims at Badr. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 10 (not mentioned among those who received gifts); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 161.

249. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 946; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110 (he got fifty).

250. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 166.

251. Ibn Isḥāq: I do not remember [exactly] what was given to them, but I know that it was less than a hundred.

252. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 946; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110.

253. Ibn Hishām: His name was 'Adī b. Qays.

254. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 946–47) states that he was given four camels; Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 110) on the other hand, states that he got forty.

255. And I urged the warriors to journey in the night: Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 947); he also gives the Prophet's comment on this poem.

256. The name of his horse.

257. He is 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn. See above.

258. He is al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis. See above.

259. He is the poet's father.

The Messenger of God said [to them], "Go and cut off his tongue from me," so they gave him more [camels] until he was satisfied. This was what the Messenger of God meant by his order "to cut off his tongue."[260]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith:[261] One of the companions of the Messenger of God[262] said to him, "O Messenger of God, you have given 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn and al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis a hundred camels each and left out Ju'ayl b. Surāqah al-Ḍamrī."[263] He replied, "By Him in whose hand is my soul,[264] Ju'ayl b. Surāqah is better than an entire world
[1682] full of men like 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn and al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis; but I have treated them generously so that they may embrace Islam, and I have entrusted Ju'ayl b. Surāqah to his Islam."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Abū 'Ubaydah b. Muḥammad[265]—Miqsam Abū al-Qāsim,[266] manumitted slave of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal:[267] I went with Talīd b. Kilāb al-Laythī to 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ while he was circumambulating the Ka'bah with his sandals in his hand, and we asked him whether he was present when the Tamīmī man spoke to the Messenger of God on the day of Ḥunayn. He replied affirmatively, saying that a man from the Banū Tamīm called Dhū al-Khuwayṣirah came and stood by the Messenger of God as he was giving gifts to the people and said, "O Muḥammad, I have seen what you have done today." The Messenger of God replied, "Well, what did you see?" He said, "I don't think you have been

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260. Cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 184; other sources supporting this interpretation are indicated.

Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 137–38, states that the Prophet gave gifts to some people of Quraysh and other tribal chiefs because they had accepted Islam. His list, as well as that of Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 945–46, contains some additional names.

261. His grandfather was a *Muhājir* and he died ca. 120/738. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 5–7.

262. Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 180–81): Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

263. He was one of the early converts and a destitute one of the *Muhājirūn*. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 180–81.

264. Ibn Isḥāq: Muḥammad's soul.

265. Abū 'Ubaydah b. Muḥammad b. 'Ammār b. Yāsir. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, XII, 160–61.

266. He died in 101/719–20. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 217, 346–47; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 288–89.

267. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died in 79/698–99 or 84/703. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 30; V, 217, 346–47; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 180–81.

fair." The Messenger of God became angry and said, "Woe to you! If justice is not to be found with me, then with whom is it to be found?" 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked the Messenger of God to allow him to kill the man, but he said, "No, leave him, for he will have a following that will penetrate so deeply into religion that they will come out of it as an arrow comes out of the target; one looks at the head and there is nothing on it; then one looks at its butt end and there is nothing on it; [then one looks at its notch and there is nothing on it].[268] It passed through [the target] before flesh and blood could stick to it."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī: A similar account is reported, and the man's name is Dhū al-Khuwayṣirah al-Tamīmī.[269]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: It is reported on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī[270] that the man who uttered the above words was speaking to the Messenger of God about the booty which 'Alī had sent to the Messenger of God from Yemen, which he distributed among a group consisting of 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn, al-Aqra' [b. Ḥābis], and Zayd al-Khayl.[271] Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī then affirmed that the man was Dhū al-Khuwayṣirah.[272] [1683]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: A companion of the Prophet[273] who was present at Ḥunayn with him said, "By God, I was wearing rough sandals and riding my mount by the side of the Messenger of God. When my camel crowded his, the toe of my sandal hit the Messenger of God's leg and hurt him. He hit my foot with the whip and said, 'You have hurt me, get behind me!' and so I went behind. The following day, the Messenger of God was looking for me, and I thought it was because I had hurt his leg the day before, so I went

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268. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq and Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 948–49; he gives a slightly different version).

269. Ibn Isḥāq adds another chain of authorities to the same account.

270. Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī al-Anṣārī used to give legal opinions in Medina and died in ca. 63/682–83. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 124, 127; V, 132; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 78–80.

271. Zayd al-Khayl b. Muhalhil, known as Zayd al-Khayr, was the head of the Ṭayyi' delegation. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 59–60. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1747–48.

272. For a different version, see Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 540–41.

273. Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī: Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 939–40; he also gives additional stories. This incident happened while the Prophet was returning from al-Ṭā'if to al-Ji'rānah. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 179–80.

expecting [a reprimand]; but he said, 'Yesterday you hit my leg and hurt me, and I hit your foot with the whip. Because of this I have called you to recompense you for it,' and he gave me eighty female sheep for the one blow he struck me."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah—Maḥmūd b. Labīd[274]—Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī: When the Messenger of God had distributed those gifts among Quraysh and the Bedouin tribes, and the *Anṣār* got nothing from it, this group of *Anṣār* took [the matter] to their hearts and talked volubly about it until one of them said, "By God, the Messenger of God has joined his kinsfolk!"[275] Sa'd b. 'Ubādah[276] went to the Messenger of God and said, "O Messenger of God, this group of *Anṣār* have a grudge against you for what you did with the booty and how you divided it among your own people, and by giving great
[1684] gifts to the Bedouin tribes while this group of *Anṣār* got nothing." He said, "Where do you stand in this matter, O Sa'd?" He said, "I stand with my kinsfolk." The Prophet said, "Then gather your people in [this][277] enclosure." Sa'd went out and did so, and when a number of the *Muhājirūn* came, he allowed some to come in and sent back the others. When all of them had assembled, he went and informed the Prophet, who came to them. After due praise and exaltation of God, he addressed them saying: "O community of *Anṣār*, what is this talk I hear about you? [What is] the grudge you have harbored in your hearts [against me]? Did I not come to you when you were erring and God guided you; [were you not] needy and then made rich by God; [were you not] enemies and [did not] God reconcile your hearts?" They answered, "Yes

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274. Maḥmūd b. Labīd al-Awsī al-Anṣārī died ca. 96/714–15 in Medina. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 65–66.

275. Wāqidī [*Maghāzī*, III, 956 ff.] adds: At the time of war we are his companions, but at the time of distribution [of spoils] his clan and people. We would like to know whether this is from God or his personal view. If it is from God, we will be patient, but if it is his personal view, then we will censure him. When this news reached the Messenger of God, he became very angry.

276. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah al-Khazrajī, who was present at the second pledge of al-'Aqabah, was a champion of Islam and several times had acted as standard-bearer in the expeditions. After the death of 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy, he became undisputed head of the Khazraj and was proposed by the *Anṣār* as their head after the Prophet's death. When Abū Bakr was elected caliph, he refused to give him his oath of allegiance and left Medina for Ḥawrān, where he died ca. 15/636–37. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 250; *EI*[1], s.v. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1817f.

277. Addition from: Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Wāqidī.

indeed, God and His Messenger are gracious and kind." He said, "Why do you not answer me [directly], O *Anṣār*?" They said, "What shall we answer you, O Messenger of God? Kindness and graciousness belong to God and His Messenger." He said: "Now then, by God, had you wished you could have said—and you would have spoken the truth and have been accepted as truthful—'You came to us [when your message] was rejected [by the Quraysh] and we believed in you; [you were] forsaken and we assisted you; [you were] evicted and we sheltered you; [you were] needy and we comforted you.' O *Anṣār*, you harbor a grudge [against me] because of the worldly things by which I conciliate a people so that they may embrace Islam, while I entrust you to your Islam. Are you not pleased, O *Anṣār*, that people should take away sheep and camels while you go back to your homes with the Messenger of God?[278] By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muḥammad, were it not for the migration (*hijrah*),[279] I would have been one of the *Anṣār* myself. If all the people went one way and the *Anṣār* another, I would take the way of the *Anṣār*.[280] O [1685] God, have mercy on the *Anṣār*, their sons and their sons' sons!" The people wept until the tears ran down their beards and said that they were pleased with the Messenger of God as their lot and good fortune. Then the Messenger of God departed and they dispersed.[281]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Then the Messenger of God left al-Ji'rānah to make a lesser pilgrimage,[282] and ordered

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278. Some of the *Anṣār* said, "God forgive the Messenger of God! He is giving to Quraysh and leaving us out, yet our swords are dripping with their blood." Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 274; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1367–68; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim.

279. The migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina in September 622. *EI*², s.v. Hidjra.

280. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 275; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1368; transmitted by Bukhārī and Muslim.

281. Lings, *Muhammad*, 311–12. Ibn Hishām (*Sīrah*, IV, 140–41) has reproduced a poem of Ḥassān b. Thābit reproaching the Prophet for giving away those gifts to the Quraysh while the *Anṣār* got nothing. Contrary to Ibn Hishām's view, some authorities state that the poem in question was composed on the occasion of the conquest of Mecca, expressing the *Anṣār*'s displeasure because the Prophet gave precedence to the Banū Sulaym and to Khālid b. al-Walīd over the *Anṣār* when the Muslims entered Mecca. See *Dīwān of Ḥassān*, I, 265–66.

282. He left al-Ji'rānah on Tuesday evening, the eighteenth of Dhū al-Qa'dah for the lesser pilgrimage, returned to al-Ji'rānah and then left on Thursday for Medina. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, III.

that the rest of the booty be held back in Majannah,[283] which is [located] near Marr al-Ẓahrān.[284] When the Messenger of God completed the lesser pilgrimage and returned to Medina, he appointed ʿAttāb b. Asīd in charge of Mecca.[285] He also left behind with him Muʿādh b. Jabal[286] to instruct the people in religion and to teach them the Qur'ān. He was followed by the remainder of the booty. The Messenger of God's lesser pilgrimage was in Dhū al-Qaʿdah, and he arrived in Medina in the same month or in Dhū al-Ḥijjah.[287] The people made the pilgrimage that year as the Arabs used to do. ʿAttāb b. Asīd made the pilgrimage with the Muslims that [same] year, which was 8/630. The people of al-Ṭāʾif persisted in their polytheism and obstinacy within their city from the time the Messenger of God departed from it in Dhū al-Qaʿdah [of the year 8/March 630] until the month of Ramaḍān of the following year/January 631.

Al-Wāqidī states that when the Messenger of God distributed the spoils among the Muslims in al-Jiʿrānah, every man got four camels and forty sheep, while each horseman received an additional share for his horse.[288] The Messenger of God arrived in Medina from this expedition toward the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah/April 630.

[1686] In this year, the Messenger of God sent ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ[289] to collect alms (*ṣadaqah*)[290] from Jayfar and ʿAmr,[291] the two clans

283. It was one of the marketplaces in pre-Islamic Arabia near a mountain, called al-Aṣghar, about 24 km from Mecca. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 180; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 58–59.

284. A town on the route between Medina and Mecca about thirteen miles from the latter. It is now called Wādī Fāṭimah. Ḥarbī, *Manāsik*, 464—65; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 151–56, 337ff.

285. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, IV, 143, states that his allowance was a dirham a day.

286. Wāqidī adds: And Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

287. Ibn Hishām comments that the Prophet arrived in Medina on the twenty-fourth of Dhū al-Qaʿdah.

288. The horseman received 12 camels and 120 sheep. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 949.

289. He was known as the most wily politician of his time, but his real fame was due to his conquest of Egypt. He died ca. 42/663. *EI*², s.v. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ.

290. *Ṣadaqah* is used in two different senses: (1) as synonymous with *zakāt*, which is obligatory and its amount is fixed (it is used in this sense in the Qur'ān 9:58, 103); and (2) in the sense of voluntary almsgiving. Here it is used in the former sense. *EI*¹, s.v. Ṣadaḳa; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ṣ-d-q. See Watt's comments on *zakāt* and *ṣadaqah* in his *Muhammad at Medina*, 369–72.

291. Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 18); Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmūʿah*, 128): ʿAbd; Ibn Ḥazm (*Jamharah*, 384): ʿAbbād. Both the brothers were heads of the ruling group, the Julandā, in ʿUmān and had accepted Islam.

of al-Julandā from the Azd.[292] They allowed 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to collect the alms [without interference], and so he collected it [only] from the rich and returned [what he took] to the poor. He collected the poll tax (*jizyah*)[293] from the Zoroastrians (*al-Majūs*)[294] who were indigenous to that region, while the Arabs lived in the surrounding countryside.

In the same year, the Messenger of God married al-Kilābiyyah who was called Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān.[295] When she was given the choice [to select between this world and the hereafter] she preferred this world. It is said that she asked the Messenger of God's protection, so he left her. Ibrāhīm b. Wathīmah b. Mālik b. Aws b. al-Ḥadathān[296] narrated on the authority of Abū Wajzah al-Sa'dī that the Prophet married her in Dhū al-Qa'dah.

In this year, in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, Māriyah[297] gave birth to Ibrāhīm, and the Messenger of God entrusted him to Umm Burdah bt. al-Mundhir b. Zayd b. Labīd b. Khidāsh b. 'Āmir b. Ghanm b. 'Adī b. al-Najjār (her husband was al-Barā' b. Aws b. Khālid b. al-Ja'd b. 'Awf b. Mabdhūl b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. 'Adī b. al-Najjār) for nursing.[298] Māriyah had received Salmā, freed bondmaid of the Messenger of God, who went to Abū Rāfi'[299] and informed him that Māriyah had given birth to a son. Abū Rāfi' then announced the good news to the Messenger of God, who gave him a gift of a slave. When Māriyah gave birth to a son, the Messenger of God's wives became very jealous.

(*Jamharah*, 384): 'Abbād. Both the brothers were heads of the ruling group, the Julandā, in 'Umān and had accepted Islam.

292. An ancient Arab tribe in the highlands of 'Asīr and in 'Umān. *EI*², s.v. Azd.

293. A tax levied on the *ahl al-dhimmah* (i.e., the possessors of a written scripture) in an Islamic state.

294. *EI*², s.v. Madjūs.

295. See below, n. 903 to Ṭabarī, I, 1774.

296. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 101–2.

297. She was a Coptic maiden sent by the Muqawqis to Muḥammad in 6/627–28 as a gift of honor, and the Prophet made her his concubine. *EI*², s.v. Māriya. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1775, 1777.

298. For details see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 86–93; Lings, *Muhammad*, 315; and below, n. 910 to Ṭabarī, I, 1775.

299. He was Salmā's husband. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/1, 86–93.

[1687]

The Events of the Year 9

(April 20, 630–April 8, 631)

In this year, the deputation of the Banū Asad[300] reportedly came to the Messenger of God. They said, "O Messenger of God, we came [to you] before you could send a messenger to us." Concerning their statement, God revealed: "They bestow a favor upon you [Muḥammad] that they have embraced Islam. Say: 'Do not count your embracing Islam as a favor to me; nay but rather God confers a favor upon you, in that He has guided you to the faith'."[301]

In this year, the deputation of Balī[302] came in the month of Rabīʿ I [June 18–July 17, 630] and stayed with Ruwayfiʿ b. Thābit al-Balawī.[303]

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300. A North Arabian tribe which occupied a spacious region extending right across Arabia from Medina to the Euphrates. *EI*², s.v. Asad.

301. Qur'ān 49: 17. It refers to the Bedouins who were offering their submission more from self-interest than from sincere belief in Islam. Some commentators state that those verses were revealed about the Bedouins of Banū Asad. Wāḥidī, *Asbāb*, 281; Ṭūsī, *Tafsīr*, IX, 355; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, I, 223; Blachère, *Coran*, 550.

302. A branch of Quḍāʿah. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 329; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 440–42; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, II, 323–25; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 287.

303. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 83; III/2, 35; IV/2, 73; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 287.

In this year, the delegation of the Dāriyyūn from Lakhm[304] came. There were ten of them.

According to al-Wāqidī, in this year, 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī came to the Messenger of God and accepted Islam.[305] I have received the following account about 'Urwah on the authority of Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: When the Messenger of God departed from the people of al-Ṭā'if, 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd b. Mu'attib followed in his wake until he caught up with the Prophet before he reached Medina. 'Urwah then embraced Islam and asked the Prophet that he might return to his people as a Muslim. The Messenger of God said, so his[306] folk report, "They will fight you,"[307] for the Messenger of God knew the proud spirit of resistance that was in them. 'Urwah responded: "O Messenger of God, I am dearer to them than their firstborn."[308] He was indeed loved and obeyed by his people, so he went out summoning his people to Islam and hoping that they would not oppose him because of his position among them. When he appeared above them from his upper balcony, after having already summoned them to Islam and announcing to them his [new] [1688]
religion, they shot arrows at him from every direction. One arrow struck ['Urwah] and killed him. The Banū Mālik allege that one of their men, whose name was Aws b. 'Awf,[309] brother of the Banū Sālim b. Mālik, killed him. But the Aḥlāf allege that one of their men called Wahb b. Jābir from the Banū 'Attāb b. Mālik killed him. 'Urwah was asked, "What do you think about your blood [being shed]?"[310] He replied: "[It is] an honor which God has

304. A clan of Lakhm. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 442; *EI*², s.v. Lakhm. For the delegates' names, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 75; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 287.

305. He returned from Jurash after the Prophet had left al-Ṭā'if [see Ṭabarī, above, I, 1669]. It is said that he was inspired by God to embrace Islam, so he went to Medina and accepted Islam. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 960ff., narrates his story with graphic detials. See also Lings, *Muhammad*, 313.

306. As in Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq. Text: Their folk.

307. Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 470): I am afraid that they might kill you.

308. Hisch., Ibn Hishām: Eyesight; Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 52): Their firstborn children. Ibn Shabbah (in another version): If they find me asleep, they will not awaken me [i.e., disturb me].

309. Later on he came to the Prophet with the Thaqīf delegation and accepted Islam. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 373–74.

310. It means: Should it be avenged? 'Urwah belonged to the Aḥlāf group (see Ṭabarī, above, I, 1655, n. 29), and his clan took up arms to avenge his blood, but he instructed them not to fight and gave up his blood for the sake of God. See Wāqidī for details.

bestowed on me and [an act of] martyrdom to which God has led me. I am only like the martyrs killed with the Messenger of God before he departed from you; so bury me with them." They did so and allege that the Messenger of God said about him that he was among his [own] folk like Yā Sīn[311] was among his.[312]

In this year, the deputation of the people of al-Ṭā'if came to the Messenger of God. It is said that they came in the month of Ramaḍān [December 12, 630–January 11, 631].

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: After killing 'Urwah, Thaqīf held out a few months. Then they deliberated among themselves [and determined][313] that they did not have the strength to fight the Arabs surrounding them who had given their oath of allegiance [to the Messenger of God], and who had accepted Islam.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah b. al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas b. Sharīq al-Thaqafī: 'Amr b. Umayyah, brother[314] of the Banū 'Ilāj, had shunned 'Abd Yālīl b. 'Amr,[315] and there was ill feeling between the two. 'Amr b. Umayyah was one of the most cunning of the Arabs. He ambled over to 'Abd Yālīl b. 'Amr and entered his dwelling place. He then sent word to him that 'Amr b. Umayyah said, "Come out to me." 'Abd Yālīl said to the messenger: "Woe to you! Has 'Amr sent
[1689] you?" The messenger replied: "Indeed, he is standing here in your dwelling place." 'Abd Yālīl then retorted, "I would not have thought that of 'Amr. He knows how to protect himself better than that." [So he came out],[316] and when he saw 'Amr he welcomed him. 'Amr said: "We have been dealt a situation from which there is no escape (*hijrah*).[317] Indeed, you have seen what

311. These are the mysterious letters at the beginning of the Qur'ān *sūrah* 36, generally construed as a title of the Prophet. Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XV, 4–5; Blachère, *Coran*, 469 (abbreviation of *yā insān*, i.e., O men!). See also above (Ṭabarī, I, 1664, n. 107).

312. Ibn Shabbah adds: Who called his people to God and they killed him.

313. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

314. Wāqidī: One of.

315. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 371. *Yālīl* was a name of a divinity, cf. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 197–99.

316. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Wāqidī.

317. The author makes a pun on this word as it has different meanings. The common meaning is attached to the Prophet's emigration from Mecca to Medina, but it is not intended here.

has transpired as regards this man [i.e., the Messenger of God]. All the Arabs have embraced Islam and you do not have the strength to make war against them, so consider your situation." Thereupon, Thaqīf deliberated among themselves, some saying to one another, "Don't you see that your herd is not safe, and none of you can dare go out without being cut off [from the town]." They deliberated [further] and decided to send a man to the Prophet as they had [previously] sent 'Urwah. They spoke to 'Abd Yālīl b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr, who was of the same age as 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd, but he declined to undertake the task. Fearing that he would be dealt with as was 'Urwah on his return, he said, "I am not doing anything until you send someone with me." Thus they agreed to send two men from the Aḥlāf and three from the Banū Mālik. There were six [all told]: 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Bishr b. 'Abd Duhmān, brother of the Banū Yasār; Aws b. 'Awf, brother of the Banū Sālim [b. 'Awf];[318] Numayr b. Kharashah b. Rabī'ah, brother of Balḥārith;[319] and from the Aḥlāf, al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr b. Wahb b. Mu'attib and Shuraḥbīl b. Ghaylān b. Salimah b. Mu'attib.[320] 'Abd Yālīl then departed with them as leader of his folk and in charge of their affairs. He took them [i.e., the other five] with him because he feared he would be dealt with as was 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd, and he hoped that each man among them would keep his [own] clan occupied on their return to al-Ṭā'if.

When they drew close to Medina and dismounted at Qanāt,[321] they met al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah taking his turn at pasturing the mounts of the Messenger of God's companions (the task of pasturing the mounts was taken up in turn by each of the companions). When he saw them, al-Mughīrah left the mounts [with the Thaqafīs][322] and dashed off to give the Messenger of God the good tidings that they were coming to him. Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq met him[323] before he reached the Messenger of God, so he informed [1690]

318. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.
319. Ibn Isḥāq: Banū al-Ḥārith.
320. There were additional people in the delegation, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 963; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 283–84.
321. One of the three valleys of Medina. Ḥarbī, *Manāsik*, 411; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 1096; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 401.
322. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Wāqidī.
323. Wāqidī adds: At the door of the mosque.

Abū Bakr that a group of riders from Thaqīf had arrived with the intention of giving the oath of allegiance and embracing Islam, so that conditions might be set down for them and put in writing [in the presence of] the Messenger of God, guaranteeing [safety] to their folk, their land, and their possessions. Abū Bakr begged al-Mughīrah: "I swear by God on your behalf, don't beat me to the Messenger of God, so that I might be the first to break this news to him." Al-Mughīrah complied with this request, so Abū Bakr went to the Messenger of God and informed him that a group of riders from Thaqīf had arrived. Following that, al-Mughīrah[324] went back to his [Thaqafī] companions and brought the mounts back with them. He taught them how to greet the Messenger of God, as they were only used to the pagan salutation. [Narrators] allege that when they came to the Messenger of God, he erected a dome-shaped tent for them in the vicinity of his mosque (*fī nāḥiyat masjidihi*).[325] Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ[326] acted as intermediary between them and the Messenger of God until their treaty was written, and it was Khālid who drafted the treaty with his own hand. They would not eat the food sent to them from the Messenger of God until Khālid ate of it. [This behavior continued] until they embraced Islam, rendered their oath of allegiance and completed the drafting of their treaty.

Among the things which they had requested of the Messenger of God was that he should leave *al-Ṭāghiyyah* [i.e., the idol *al-Lāt*][327] alone, and not demolish it for three years. The Messenger of God refused that request of theirs, but they continued to ask

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324. Al-Mughīrah went to the Prophet after Abū Bakr. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 964.

325. That is, because the Prophet spent most of his time in the courtyard of his mosque; it was here that he received delegates, conducted business, and addressed his followers. The mosque was, in fact, the center for the secular as well as the religious life of the community.

Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 965, states that the delegates stayed with al-Mughīrah and three tents were erected in the mosque so that they would sit there and observe the Muslims while praying and reciting the Qur'ān. Cf. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 502.

326. He was a rich member of the Umayyad clan. According to some traditions, he was the fourth convert to Islam and served the Prophet as one of his scribes. He refused to recognize Abū Bakr and offered his support to 'Alī. He died in 13/635. *EI*², s.v. Khālid b. Sa'īd; Jafri, *Origins*, 53.

327. The terms *al-Ṭāghiyyah* (literally means insolent or tyrannical), *al-Ṭāghūt*, and *Rabbah* (sovereign) were used for the idol *al-Lāt*. It was an old Arabian god-

him to do it for a year or two, and he kept on refusing.[328] Finally, they asked if he could desist for a single month after their return [home], but the Messenger of God declined to allow the idol to remain for any specified time. [By persisting in their request] and showing their desire to leave [the idol alone], they were seeking to [1691] be safe from the fools among them [as well as from] their women and children. They did not wish to alarm their fellow tribesmen by destroying the idol until Islam had entered their [hearts]. The Messenger of God not only refused that request but sent Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, who subsequently demolished it. In addition to leaving *al-Ṭāghiyyah*, they had asked that they be exempted from prayer and from smashing their idols with their own hands. The Messenger of God responded, "As for smashing your idols with your own hands, we shall let you off, but as for prayer there is no good in a religion which has no prayer." They said. "O Muḥammad, we will give in to you on this issue even though it is demeaning."[329]

When they had embraced Islam and the Messenger of God had drawn up their treaty for them, he appointed 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ[330] to be their leader, although he was the youngest among them. This was because he was the most zealous in his desire to study Islam and to learn the Qur'ān. Abū Bakr told the Messenger of God, "O Messenger of God, indeed I have seen this youth to be the most zealous among them in his desire to study Islam and to learn the Qur'ān."[331]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah: When they left the Messenger of God and turned toward their home-

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dess whose sanctuary was near al-Ṭā'if, where a white stone, hung with all sorts of decorations, was her symbol. *EI*², s.v. al-Lāt; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ṭ-gh-a; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, III, 25–29; Ryckmans, *Religions*, 15; Andrae, *Mohammed*, 17; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 111–20.

328. As in Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq. Text: And he refused.

329. The delegation asked that they be exempted from several other things, such as the interdictions on adultery, *ribā* (usury), and wine, which they considered troublesome obligations. Cf. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 502–3; Buhl, *Leben*, 332; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 306.

330. According to Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 966), Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, VII/1, 26–27), and Ibn Shabbah, he had secretly embraced Islam soon after his arrival in Medina, and used to visit the Prophet, Abū Bakr and Ubayy b. Ka'b to learn the Qur'ān.

331. After accepting Islam, they fasted the remainder of Ramaḍān. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 185–86; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 968.

land, the Messenger of God dispatched Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah to demolish *al-Ṭāghiyyah*. The two traveled with the deputation until they approached al-Ṭā'if, at which point al-Mughīrah asked Abū Sufyān to precede him. Abū Sufyān re-
[1692] fused, saying, "Go to your kinsfolk yourself,"[332] and stayed at his estate in Dhū al-Harm.[333] When al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah entered [al-Ṭā'if], he mounted the idol and struck it with a pickaxe while his folk, the Banū Mu'attib, stood by him, fearing that he might be shot at or struck as 'Urwah had been. The women of Thaqīf came out with their heads uncovered and said, lamenting the [loss of the] idol [i.e., the goddess]:

Oh, shed tears for the protector![334]
Ignoble ones have forsaken her,
those not competent in wielding swords.

He said: While al-Mughīrah was striking the idol with the axe, Abū Sufyān was saying, "Alas for you, alas!"[335] When al-Mughīrah had demolished it, he took its treasure and ornamentation and sent [it] to Abū Sufyān. Its ornamentation was made up of various items, while its treasure consisted of gold and onyx. The Messenger of God had previously instructed Abū Sufyān to pay the debts of 'Urwah and al-Aswad, the sons of Mas'ūd,[336] from the property of *al-Lāt*, so he discharged their debts.[337]

In this year, the Messenger of God carried out the military expedition to Tabūk.[338]

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332. That is, because al-Mughīrah was a Thaqafī from al-Ṭā'if.

333. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1352. It is also said that it was 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's estate in al-Ṭā'if. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 403.

334. It is in rhymed prose. For Ibn Hishām's comment, see *Sīrah*, IV, 186.

335. As in C, Cairo, and Ibn Isḥāq. Text: Alas for you, welcome (*ahlan*) to you!

336. After the death of 'Urwah, his son Abū Maliḥ and his cousin Qārib b. al-Aswad left al-Ṭā'if, went to Medina, and embraced Islam. Before the Thaqīf delegation left Medina, they had requested the Prophet that the debts of their fathers be paid from the treasure of *al-Lāt*. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 186–87; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 962, 971; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 370.

337. On their return home, the delegation was received with hostility, and it took two or three days before the people of al-Ṭā'if abandoned the idea of waging war against the Prophet. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 969–71. For the text of the treaty, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 187; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 973. Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 306, states that the actual text of this treaty is lost.

338. A town on the northern frontier of Arabia beyond which Byzantine territory began. It was a way station on the pilgrim route between Damascus and Medi-

An Account of the Military Expedition to Tabūk

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: After his return from al-Ṭā'if, the Messenger of God stayed in Medina from Dhū al-Ḥijjah to Rajab [May 19–October 14, 631]; then he ordered the people to prepare for a military expedition against the Byzantines.[339]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq on the authority of al-Zuhrī, Yazīd b. Rūmān,[340] 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr and 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah and others: Everyone transmitted what he had learned about the expedition to Tabūk and some people reported what others did not. All the reports agree, however, that the Mes- [1693]
senger of God ordered his companions to prepare for the military expedition against the Byzantines.[341] This was a season when people were hard pressed; the heat was oppressive and the country was passing through a dry spell. At the time, fruit was ripe and shade was dearly sought. People love to stay where they have shade and fruit [trees], and find leaving them distasteful. The Messenger of God would seldom go out on a military expedition without alluding to a destination and announcing [publicly] that he meant [a place][342] other than that intended. The Tabūk expedition was the exception, in that he explained [the particulars of the expedition openly] to the people. This was because of the long distance, the difficult season, and the enemy's numerical superiority. He wanted the people to be fully prepared, so he ordered

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na. For its topography, pictures, and historical geography, see Musil, Ḥeǵâz, 161–70, 318–21; Philby, *Midian*, 113ff.; Jāsir, *Shimāl*, 423ff., 488–90; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 272–76; *EI*[1], s.v. Tabūk,

339. It was the largest and the best-equipped army the Prophet had ever led. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 1002, 1041) and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 368) state that thirty thousand people took part in it. Lings, *Muhammad*, 317–19, gives a vivid description. For the Prophet's northern policy, see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 105–17; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 309ff.

340. Yazīd b. Rūmān al-Asadī died in 130/747–48. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 325.

341. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 989–92, 1019, states that the Prophet had received the news that the Byzantines were gathering troops and threatening to attack Medina. After reaching Tabūk, the Prophet discovered that the information he had received was exaggerated and decided to return to Medina. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 368.

For the question as to whether Muḥammad was trying to liberate the Arab auxiliary army in the service of the Emperor, or was trying to expand Islam beyond the boundaries of Arabia, see Buhl, *Leben*, 322–23; Andrae, *Mohammed*, 168.

342. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

them to make ready and informed them that his objective was the Byzantines. They prepared themselves despite their dislike for that approach and what it entailed, as well as their respect for the Byzantines and their fighting ability.

One day, while the Messenger of God was making preparations for this expedition, he said to Jadd b. Qays,[343] brother[344] of the Banū Salimah:[345] "Would you like, O Jadd, to fight the Banū Aṣfar (sons of the Yellow/Red One)[346] this year?" He said: "O, Messenger of God, please excuse me [from this] and do not tempt me. By God, my folk know no better admirer of women than I. I fear that if I see the women of the Banū Aṣfar I shall not be able to control myself." The Messenger of God turned away from him saying, "I excuse you." It was about al-Jadd that the following verse was revealed: "Among them is a man who says, 'Grant me exemption [to stay at home] and tempt me not [into trial].' Have they not already fallen into trial? Indeed hell encompasses the unbelievers."[347] ["Tempt me not"] meant that he feared tempta-
[1694] tion from the women of the Banū Aṣfar. But was it not [also] temptation that he had fallen into, by staying behind [while] the Messenger of God [went to battle]? By falling prey to human desires, he had fallen into a greater temptation. Indeed, hell is at his back.

One[348] of the hypocrites, feeling an aversion to battle, being

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343. Although he had accepted Islam, he was a hypocrite. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 73; III/2, 112.

344. Ibn Isḥāq: One of.

345. A clan of Khazraj. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 358.

346. Wāqidī: Would you like, O Abū Wahb, to join us this year [in an expedition]? Perhaps you might capture a woman of the Banū Aṣfar.

The Byzantines were called Banū Aṣfar by the Arabs in contrast to *aswad* (black), a description of non-Arabs as light-skinned. The genealogists were not satisfied with the color explanation and considered Aṣfar, (Ṣefō of Genesis 36:II) the grandson of Esau (in the Septuagint, Genesis 36, 10) and the father of Rūmīl (Genesis 36, 11), as the ancestor of the Rūm. *EI*², s.v. Aṣfar; Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, I, 243; Lewis, *Muslim discovery*, 141. Ibn Ḥazm (*Jamharah*, 511), on the other hand, states that the Banū Aṣfar were the descendants of 'Īṣab b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, who lived in the mountains of al-Sharāt between Syria and al-Ḥijāz.

347. Qur'ān 9:49. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 286–89; Ṭūsī, *Tafsīr*, V, 270–71; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, I, 224; Blachère, *Coran*, 219. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 992–93, states that his son 'Abdallāh, who had fought with the Muslims at Badr and who was a half-brother of Mu'ādh b. Jabal, exchanged harsh words with his father for his refusal to participate in the expedition.

348. Ibn Isḥāq: A group of hypocrites. According to Wāqidī, he was Jadd b. Qays.

skeptical of the truth, and spreading false rumors about the Messenger of God, said to another that they should not go out in the heat. With regard to them, God revealed: "They said, 'Do not march out in the heat'; say, 'The heat of hell is far more intense, if only they understand!' So, let them laugh a little, for they will weep more in retribution for [the sins] they have accumulated."[349]

The Messenger of God went ahead earnestly with his preparations for the expedition and ordered the men to get ready quickly. He urged and persuaded the people of means [to help in meeting] the expenses and [to provide] mounts for the cause of God. The men of means provided mounts [in anticipation of] God's reward. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān spent a huge sum, more[350] than anyone had ever done, on this expedition.

Seven Muslims, known as "The Weepers," from among the *Anṣār* and others, came to the Messenger of God and asked him to provide them with mounts, for they were without means. He said: "I do not have any mount to provide you with." They turned back and their eyes flowed with tears out of grief that they had not the wherewithal to meet the expense [of the expedition].[351]

[Ibn Isḥāq] states: I have received a report that Yāmīn b. 'Umayr b. Ka'b al-Naḍrī met Abū Laylā 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b and 'Abdallāh b. Mughaffal as they were weeping, and asked, "What makes you cry?" They responded, "We went to the Messenger of God [asking him] for mounts, but he had none to give us and we do not have anything to sustain us in order to go forth with him." Thereupon he gave them a camel upon which water was carried [from a well], so they mounted it. He provided them with some [1695]
dates, and they went off with the Messenger of God.[352]

Some Bedouins who had excused themselves [from going] came

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349. Qur'ān 9:81–82. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1069; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 399–403; Ṭūsī, *Tafsīr*, V, 311–13; Blachère, *Coran*, 224. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 160–61, states that the hypocrites used to assemble in the house of Suwaylim, the Jew, keeping men back from joining the expedition.

350. Ibn Isḥāq: No one had ever spent like him. Ibn Hishām states that 'Uthmān had spent one thousand dīnārs on this expedition. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 991, gives a list of people who contributed toward the expenses and states that 'Uthmān provided for a third of the army. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 368.

351. Qur'ān 9: 92. For their names, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 161.

352. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 994; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 112.

to apologize, but God would not accept their excuse. I have been told that they were from the Banū Ghifār,[353] and Khufāf b. Imā' b. Raḥḍah was one of them.

When the Messenger of God was prepared and determined to set off, a number of Muslims, whose intentions had prevented them from [following] the Messenger of God, lagged behind without any doubts or misgivings. Among them were Ka'b b. Mālik b. Abī Ka'b,[354] brother of the Banū Salimah; Murārah b. al-Rabī', brother of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf; Hilāl b. Umayyah, brother of the Banū Wāqif[355] and Abū Khaythamah, brother of the Banū Sālim b. 'Awf.[356] They were sincere people whose Islam was beyond reproach.

After the Messenger of God had set out, he pitched his camp by Thaniyyat al-Wadā',[357] whereas 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl[358] pitched his camp separately below him facing Dhubāb,[359] a mountain in al-Jubbānah below Thaniyyat al-Wadā'. [The narrators] allege that the latter's camp was not the smaller of the two camps. When the Messenger of God set out, 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy stayed behind with the hypocrites and waverers.[360] 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy was a brother of the Banū 'Awf b. al-Khazraj; 'Abdallāh b. Nabtal was a brother of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf; and Rifā'ah b. Zayd b. al-Tābūt was a brother of the Banū Qaynuqā'. They were the

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353. A clan of Kinānah. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 42; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 186.

354. He was one of the poets supporting the Prophet and was from the clan of Salimah of Khazraj. He died between 50/670 and 55/675. *EI²*, s.v. Ka'b b. Mālik; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 293–94.

355. The Banū Wāqif were the allies of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 344.

356. The Banū Sālim b. 'Awf were a clan of Khazraj. Ibid., 354.

For those who stayed behind, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 997–98; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 119.

357. A narrow pass in a mountain overlooking Medina through which one enters the city. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 269–70; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1372; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 86; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 10.

358. He was a chief of Sālim, a section of the 'Awf clan of the Khazraj. The sources suggest that but for the emigration of Muhammad he might have been the leader of Medina. Although he had accepted Islam, he was not a devoted Muslim and had the reputation of being the leader of the hypocrites. He died shortly after the Prophet's return from this expedition. *EI²*, s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy.

359. Dhubāb or Dhibāb, a mountain near Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 609; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 3.

360. Most of them were afraid to fight the Byzantines. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 995–96.

chief men among the hypocrites[361] and were doing harm to Islam and its people by their artful machinations.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Amr b. 'Ubayd[362]—al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī:[363] Concerning them, God revealed: "They had [1696] sought to stir up sedition before, and turned things upside down for you, [but truth came out in the end and God's will prevailed, even though they did not like it]."[364]

Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God left 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib behind to look after his family and ordered him to stay with them, and he left Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭah, a brother of the Banū Ghifār, in charge of Medina.[365] The hypocrites spread false rumors about 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, saying that he had been left behind because he was a burden to the Messenger of God and he wanted to relieve himself of him. [After] hearing [these accusations] 'Alī took his weapons and set off until he caught up with the Messenger of God while he was [camped][366] in al-Jurf,[367] saying, "O Prophet of God, the hypocrites allege that you have left me behind because you found me burdensome and wanted to get rid of me." He replied, "They lied. I left you behind because of [what I have left][368] behind, so go back and represent me in my family and yours. Are you not pleased, O 'Alī, that you are in the same position in relation to me as Aaron (Hārūn) was in relation to Moses (Mūsā), except that there will be no prophet after me?"[369] 'Alī returned to Medina and the Messenger of God went on his expedition.

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361. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 274ff.

362. 'Amr b. 'Ubayd b. Bāb, also known as Ibn Kaysān al-Tamīmī, died ca. 142/759–60. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 70–75.

363. He was a famous preacher of the Umayyad period in al-Baṣrah and died in 110/728. *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 591–94.

364. Qur'ān 9: 48. See also Wāḥidī, *Asbāb*, 172; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 283–86; Ṭabarsī, *Majma'*, III, 35–36.

365. According to another report, it was Muḥammad b. Maslamah al-Anṣārī. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 162; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 995; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 44, 77, 119; IV/2, 54. In addition to above reports, Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 235–36, cites another report according to which 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was put in charge of Medina.

366. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

367. Located about 6 km from Medina on the way to Syria where the Muslims used to camp before going out on an expedition, Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 377; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 128.

368. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

369. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 300; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, VII, 120; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 242; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1340.

Some days after the Messenger of God had set out, Abū Khaythamah,[370] a brother of the Banū Sālim, returned to his family on a hot day. He found his two wives in huts [made of palm sticks] in his garden [of palm trees surrounded by a fence]. Each had sprinkled her hut and cooled water for him in it and prepared food for him there. When he entered the garden, he stood at the door of the hut and looked at his wives and what they had prepared for him and said, "The Messenger of God is exposed to the heat of the sun and the blowing of the winds, while Abū
[1697] Khaythamah is in cool shade, [has] cool water, prepared food, and rests with a pretty woman[371] in his estate. This is not fair." Then he added, "By God, I will not enter either of your huts, but will join the Messenger of God; so get some provisions ready for me." They did so and he brought forth his camel upon which water was carried [from a well] and mounted it. He set out in search of the Messenger of God until he overtook him where he had camped in Tabūk. 'Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī,[372] who was also looking for the Messenger of God, had overtaken Abū Khaythamah on the way, so they traveled together. When they approached Tabūk, Abū Khaythamah said to 'Umayr b. Wahb, "I have done wrong. If you don't mind, stay behind me until I go to the Messenger of God." 'Umayr complied with his request. When Abū Khaythamah drew near the Messenger of God as he halted in Tabūk, the people called [the Prophet's] attention, saying that a rider was approaching on the way. The Messenger of God said, "[It must] be Abū Khaythamah!" They said, "O Messenger of God, he is, by God, Abū Khaythamah." Having dismounted he came and greeted the Messenger of God, who responded by saying, "Woe to you, O Abū Khaythamah!" He then informed the Messenger of God what had happened and [the Prophet] spoke to him well and invoked a blessing upon him.[373]

When the Messenger of God passed by al-Ḥijr,[374] he halted and

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370. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 998–99; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 119.

371. Wāqidī: With two pretty women.

372. Wāqidī states that he overtook Abū Khaythamah at Wādī al-Qurā.

373. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 164, has reproduced the verses composed by Abū Khaythamah on this occasion.

374. An ancient ruined site in northwestern Arabia near Madā'in Ṣāliḥ. It was a commercial town second only to Petra in importance during the Nabatean period.

the people drew water from its well. Having departed from there, the Messenger of God said, "Do not drink any of its water nor perform ablutions with it. If you have used it for making dough, then eat none of it, and feed it to the camels. Let none of you go out at night alone except with a companion."[375] The people did as the Messenger of God had ordered them, except for two men from the Banū Sā'idah:[376] one went out to relieve himself, while the other went to look for his camel. The one who had gone out to [1698] relieve himself was choked on his way, and the other who had gone to look for his camel was carried away by the wind and was thrown to earth at the two mountains of Ṭayyi'. When the Messenger of God was informed about them he said, "Did I not forbid you from going out alone without a companion?" He then prayed for the one who was choked on his way and he recovered, and the other who was thrown to earth at the two mountains of Ṭayyi' was presented to the Messenger of God by a man of Ṭayyi' when he arrived in Medina.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] states that the story of the two men was reported by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—al-'Abbās b. Sahl b. Sa'd al-Sā'idī.[377]

When the people woke up in the morning and had no water, they complained to the Messenger of God. So he prayed, and God sent a cloud, which rained so much so that they not only quenched their thirst but carried away all the water they needed.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: I said to Maḥmūd b. Labīd,[378] "Did the people recognize hypocrisy among them?" He replied, "Yes, by God, if a

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Several water wells are located in that plain. The Qur'ān relates that it was inhabited by a godless people, and the Prophet forbade his soldiers to refresh themselves at these wells, because it was an accursed spot. *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥidjr; Ryckmans, *Religions*, 12; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 77–80.

Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 165, states that when the Messenger of God passed by al-Ḥijr he covered his face with his cloak and urged his camel on, saying, "Do not enter the dwellings of those who sinned unless you are lamenting, for fear that you may meet with the same fate that befell them." Cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1007.

375. Because it was very windy. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1006.

376. A clan of Khazraj. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 187; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 365, 472.

377. He died ca. 120/738. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 118.

378. He was an *Anṣārī* from the *tābi'ūn* or "followers" and used to give legal opinions in Medina. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 132; IV/2, 79.

man knew that hypocrisy [exited] in his brother, father, uncle, or his kinsfolk, they would cover it up for each other." Then Maḥmūd said, "Some of my clansmen have informed me that a hypocrite, whose hypocrisy was notorious,[379] used to go with the Messenger of God wherever he went. When the incident of rain happened at al-Ḥijr and the Messenger of God prayed as he did, and God sent a cloud which rained until the people were satisfied, we went to him and said, 'Woe to you! Is there anything more to say after this?' He replied, '[It was] a passing cloud!'"

Then the Messenger of God moved on. On the way his camel
[1699] strayed and his companions went in search of it. There was a man called 'Umārah b. Ḥazm[380] with the Messenger of God who was present at al-'Aqabah[381] and Badr[382] and who was the uncle of the Banū 'Amr b. Ḥazm. In his camp was Zayd b. Luṣayb[383] al-Qaynuqā'ī[384] who was a hypocrite. Zayd, while he was in 'Umārah's camp and 'Umārah was with the Messenger of God, said, "Does not Muḥammad allege that he is a prophet and informs you of news from heaven when he doesn't know where his camel is?"[385] The Messenger of God said while 'Umārah was with him, "A man has said that this Muḥammad tells you that he is a prophet and alleges that he informs you of heavenly matters when he doesn't

379. According to Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1009, he was Aws b. Qayẓī or Zayd b. al-Luṣayt.

380. He was present at the second 'Aqabah and was killed in the battle of the Yamāmah in 12/633. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 67; III/2, 50–51, 77, 140; VIII, 117.

381. A mountain pass between Minā and Mecca, where the Prophet had secret meetings with the Medinese at the pilgrimages of the year 621 and 622 which paved the way for his subsequent migration to Medina. In 621, at "the first 'Aqabah," twelve people were present, and in 622, at "the second 'Aqabah," seventy-three people were present who promised to defend Muḥammad, if necessary, by arms. *EI*², s.v. 'Aḳaba; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 239–54; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 7–8.

382. A town and a marketplace southwest of Medina, a night's journey from the coast and at the junction of a road from Medina with the caravan route from Mecca to Syria, where the first great battle of Islam was fought in Ramaḍān 2/March 624. *EI*², s.v. Badr; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 13–21, gives topographical details and a map of the battlefield.

383. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, Wāqidī: al-Luṣayt. Ibn Hishām: al-Luṣayb. Wāqidī states that he was a Jewish convert to Islam.

384. Qaynuqā' was one of the three main Jewish tribes of Medina. After they were expelled, a few of them embraced Islam and some of them were hypocrites. *EI*², s.v. Ḳaynuḳā'.

385. It was the Prophet's camel *al-Qaṣwā'*. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1009. See Ṭabarī, below (I, 1784).

know where his camel is. By God, I know nothing except that which God has taught me, and He has indicated to me where it is. It is in the[386] valley on such-and-such a mountain trail. It is caught up in a tree by its halter; so go and bring it to me." They went and brought it. 'Umārah b. Ḥazm returned to his camp[387] and said, "By God, what a wonderful thing the Messenger of God has just told us about something said by someone of which God has informed him." He then repeated the words as uttered by Zayd b. al-Luṣayb. A man who was in the camp of 'Umārah but was not present with the Messenger of God, exclaimed, "By God, Zayd uttered those words [just] before you came." Consequently, 'Umārah advanced on Zayd beating him on the neck and saying, "O servants of God, by God, a great distressing thing happened in my camp and I did not know of it. [Addressing Zayd] Get out of my camp, O enemy of God, and do not accompany me." Some people allege that Zayd repented after that, while others say that he was suspected of evil until he died.

Then the Messenger of God continued his march and men began to fall behind. When they told the Messenger of God that so-and-so had fallen behind, he responded, "Leave him, for if there is any good in him God will unite him with you; if not, God has relieved you of him." Finally, it was reported to him that Abū Dharr[388] had fallen behind and his camel had delayed him. He said, "Let him be, for if there is any good in him God will join him to you; if not, God has relieved you of him." Abū Dharr remained on his camel until it slowed down with him. Then he took his baggage, lifted it onto his back and started following the trail of the Messenger of God. When the Messenger of God had halted at one of his halting places, an onlooker called his attention to a lonely man walking on the way. The Messenger of God said that he wished it was Abū Dharr. When the people looked attentively, they said that it was indeed Abū Dharr. The Messenger of God said, "May God have mercy on Abū Dharr! He walks alone, will die alone, and will be raised alone." [1700]

386. Hisch. Ibn Isḥāq: This valley.
387. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Wāqidī. Text: To his family.
388. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, a companion of the Prophet, was noted for his humility, asceticism, and religious learning. He died in 32/652–53 and is considered one of the four pillars of the early Shī'ah. *EI*², s.v. Abū Dharr; Jafri, *Origins*, 52.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Buraydah b. Sufyān al-Aslamī[389]—Muḥamad b. Ka'b al-Quraẓī:[390] When 'Uthmān exiled Abū Dharr, he came down to al-Rabadhah[391] where he died and there was no one with him except his wife and slave. [Abū Dharr] instructed them to wash him and to wrap him in a shroud and lay him on the open road and to tell the first caravan that passed by that he was Abū Dharr, a companion of the Messenger of God, and that they should help [his wife and slave] bury him. When he died, they did [as they were told] and put his body on the open road. 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd[392] had been approaching that place with a group of men from Iraq on a lesser pilgrimage when suddenly they noticed the bier on the road,[393] the camels nearly treading on it. [Abū Dharr's] slave went to them and said, "This is Abū Dharr, the Messenger of God's companion. Help us to bury
[1701] him." 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd broke into tears saying, "The Messenger of God spoke the truth. You will walk alone, die alone, and be raised alone." Then he and his companions got down and buried him, and he told them Abū Dharr's story and what the Messenger of God had said to him on his way to Tabūk.[394]

A band of hypocrites, among them Wadī'ah b. Thābit, a brother[395] of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, and a man from Ashja',[396] a confederate of the Banū Salimah called Makhshī[397] b. Ḥumayyir,

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389. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 173; VI, 172; VII/1, 84, Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 433–34.

390. He was from the Banū Qurayẓah. It was probably his father or grandfather who was converted to Islam. He died between 108/726–27 and 120/738. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 272–73; VII/2, 193; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 420–22.

391. A village about three days' journey from Medina on the way to al-Ḥijāz. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 633–37; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 24.

392. He was one of the early converts to Islam and became famous as a reader of the Qur'ān. He is also known for his Qur'ānic exegesis and is regarded as the head of the Kūfan transmitters. *EI²*, s.v. Ibn Mas'ūd.

393. Ibn Isḥāq: In the middle of the road. Wāqidī: On the open road.

394. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 161–75, gives the same account with additional *isnād*. Cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1000–1001. After citing Wāqidī's report, Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, V, 55–56) gives another report which states that Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī and Mālik al-Ashtar, who were passing through al-Rabadhah in a caravan from al-Kūfah, performed the last rites of Abū Dharr.

395. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 1003): One of. He also gives two additional names.

396. A clan of Ghaṭafān. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 249.

397. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Mukhashshin (all the subsequent occurences are the same.)

were going[398] with the Messenger of God as he was proceeding to Tabūk. Some of them said to others, "Do you think that fighting the Banū Aṣfar is like fighting others?[399] By God, it looks to me as if you will be tied with ropes tomorrow in order to intimidate and frighten the faithful." Makhshī b. Ḥumayyir[400] said, "By God, I wish I could swear before a judge that every one of us should be flogged a hundred lashes if we could escape from God's revealing a verse about us because of what you have said."[401]

The Messenger of God, as it was reported to me, said to 'Ammār b. Yāsir,[402] "Overtake that band, for they have forged lies, and ask them what they said. If they deny it, tell them, 'Yes indeed, you said such-and-such.'" 'Ammār went and told them [what the Prophet had said], and they came to the Messenger of God making excuses. The Messenger of God had stopped on his camel, and Wadī'ah b. Thābit started speaking while he held its girth: "O Messenger of God, we were simply playing and speaking nonsense." Then God revealed about them: "And if you question them, then assuredly they will say, 'We were only speaking nonsense and playing.'"[403] Makhshī b. Ḥumayyir said, "O Messenger of God, my name and my father's name have withheld me [from attaining honor]."[404] The man who was pardoned in the above verse was Makhshī b. Ḥumayyir,[405] and so he was called [1702]

398. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Were pointing to.

399. Ibn Isḥāq: Is like fighting the Arabs (with each other)?

400. Wāqidī: Al-Julās b. Suwayd.

401. It suggests the powerful influence of the Qur'ānic verses. The Qur'ān 9:64, states: "The hypocrites fear lest a *sūrah* be revealed concerning them to notify them as to what is in their hearts. Say: Mock on; God will bring forth what you dread."

402. He and his wife were early converts to Islam and suffered severe tortures. He is known for his learning, great piety, and devotion to Islam. He lost his life at Ṣiffīn in 37/657 and is considered one of the four pillars of the early Shī'ah. *EI*², s.v. 'Ammār b. Yāsir; Jafri, *Origins*, 52.

403. Qur'ān 9:65. Wāḥidī, *Asbāb*, 174–75; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 332–35; Blachère, *Coran*, 222. Ṭabarsī, *Majma'*, III, 44–46, states that a band of fourteen men tried to ambush the Prophet near a mountain pass while he was returning from Tabūk. Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 236–37.

404. *Makhshī* means a person who is feared, and *Ḥumayyir* is a diminutive form of *ḥimār*, meaning a little donkey.

405. Qur'ān 9:66, states: "Make no excuses! You have disbelieved following your profession of faith. If We should pardon one faction of you, We will still punish another faction since they have been such criminals." "One faction" in the above verse means one person, and he was Makhshī. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 336.

'Abd al-Raḥmān.[406] He asked God to make him die as a martyr in a place not known [by anyone]. He was killed on the day of al-Yamāmah[407] and no trace of him was found.

When the Messenger of God reached Tabūk, Yuḥannah b. Ru'bah, governor of Aylah,[408] came to him, made a treaty with him, and offered him the poll tax (*jizyah*). The people of Jarbā'[409] and Adhruḥ[410] also offered him the poll tax, and the Messenger of God wrote a document for each of them which is still in their possession.

Then the Messenger of God summoned Khālid b. al-Walīd[411] and sent him to Ukaydir at Dūmah.[412] This was Ukaydir b. 'Abd al-Malik, a man from Kindah[413] who was a king of Dūmah and a Christian. The Messenger of God told Khālid that he would find him hunting wild cows. Khālid b. al-Walīd rode out until he came

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406. Wāqidī adds: Or 'Abdallāh.

407. Al-Yamāmah is a district in central Arabia where the battle of al-Yamāmah was fought between the Muslims led by Khālid b. al-Walīd, and the Banū Ḥanīfah led by "the false prophet" Musaylimah. The Muslims were victorious but suffered heavy losses. *EI*[1], s.v. Yamāma; Philby, *Heart of Arabia*, II, 31–34; Hitti, *History*, 141.

408. A seaport at the north end of the Gulf of 'Aqabah near the biblical site of Ezion-geber and Elath. It was an important way station on the pilgrim route between Egypt and Mecca. Now it is called al-'Aqabah. *EI*[2], s.v. Ayla; Buhl, *Leben*, 327–28; Musil, *Ḥeǵâz*, 81–87; Jāsir, *Shimāl*, 461; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 43–51, 315ff.

For the treaty, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 169; Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 87–89.

409. It was an ancient fortress situated on the Roman road leading from Buṣrā to the Red Sea, about one mile north of Adhruḥ. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 118–19, states that its inhabitants were Jews. *EI*[2], s.v. Djarbā'.

410. It was a Roman camp between Ma'ān and Petra in the Judhām country and was visited by the caravans of Quraysh. It became famous in Islamic history on account of the arbitration conference which took place there after the battle of Ṣiffīn. *EI*[2], s.v. Adhruḥ. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1032, has reproduced the treaty. Cf. Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 90–91.

411. He had fought against the Muslims at Uḥud but was converted to Islam in 6/627 or 8/629. He became one of the well-known commanders at the time of the early Islamic conquests and died in 21/642. *EI*[2], s.v. Khālid b. al-Walīd.

412. Dūmat al-Jandal, an oasis at the head of the Wādī Sirḥān, linking central Arabia and the mountains of Ḥawrān and Syria, is situated on the route between Damascus and Medina. The entire basin with its settlements is now called al-Jawf. *EI*[2], s.v. Dūmat al-Djandal. For its topography and historical geography, see Musil, *Arabia*, 157–64, 458–74, 531–53; Jāsir, *Shimāl*, 99ff., 528–33. This expedition against Dūmah was the third.

413. A South Arabian tribal group that spread all over Arabia in the fifth and sixth centuries from the south to the center to the north, and played a decisive role in the history of Arabia before the rise of Islam. *EI*[2], s.v. Kinda.

within sight of his fort. It was a moonlit summer night and Ukaydir was on the roof terrace with his wife. The wild cows had been scratching the palace gate with their horns all night. His wife asked him if he had ever seen anything like that, and he said, "No indeed." Then she said, "Who would allow this?" He responded, "No one." He then came down and called for his horse, which was saddled. A group of men from his family, among them his brother Ḥassān, took their hunting spears, mounted [their horses], and rode off. On their way they encountered the Messenger of God's cavalry, and [Ukaydir] was seized and his brother Ḥassān was killed. Ḥassān was wearing a silk brocade gown woven with gold in the form of date-palm leaves. Khālid stripped him of it and sent it to the Messenger of God before his arrival.[414]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah—Anas b. Mālik: I saw Ukaydir's gown when it was brought to the Messenger of God. The Muslims were feeling [1703] it with their hands and admiring it. The Messenger of God said, "Are you amazed at it? By Him in whose hand is Muḥammad's soul, the kerchiefs of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh[415] in paradise are better than this."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Khālid brought Ukaydir to the Messenger of God, who spared his blood and made peace with him on the condition that he paid the poll tax.[416] Then he released him, and he returned to his village.

[Now the report goes back to Yazīd b. Rūmān at the beginning of the military expedition to Tabūk.] [See Ṭabarī, I, 1692, above] The Messenger of God stayed in Tabūk no more than ten nights

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414. It was sent with 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1026. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 36–37, 48; II/1, 119–20; III/2, 13; Buhl, *Leben*, 328.

415. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh died in 5/627 as a result of injuries suffered during the siege of Medina when he was thirty-siven years old. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, III, 262–64; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 2–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 84–85; *EI*[1], s.v. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh.

The tradition states: A silk robe was presented to the Messenger of God, and his companions began to feel it with their hands and marvel at its softness, so he said, "Do you marvel at the softness of this? Sa'd b. Mu'ādh's headband in paradise is better and softer than it." Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 272; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1365; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim.

416. According to one report, Ukaydir surrendered peacefully. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 190. For the text of the treaty, its translation, and comments, see Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 246–47; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 362–65.

and departed, returning to Medina. On the way there was water issuing from a rock in a valley called *al-mushaqqaq* (i.e., the cracked, furrowed),[417] enough to quench the thirst of two or three riders. The Messenger of God ordered that whoever should get there before him must not draw any water from it until he came. A number of hypocrites[418] got there first and drew the water that was there. When the Messenger of God came and halted, he found no water. He inquired as to who had got there first, and was told that so-and-so had. He exclaimed, "Did we not forbid them to draw any water from it until we came?" He then cursed them and invoked God against them. Then he alighted and put his hand under the rock, and water started to sprinkle into his hand as God willed. He then sprinkled the rock with that water, rubbed it with his hand and prayed as God willed him to pray. The water gushed forth, as one who heard it said, with the sound of thunder. The
[1704] people drank and drew water from it for their needs, and the Messenger of God said, "Those[419] of you who live will indeed hear about this valley that it is more fertile than others in its vicinity."

The the Messenger of God proceeded until he halted in Dhū Awān,[420] a town an hour's daytime journey from Medina. The people who had built the Mosque of Dissent (*masjid al-ḍirār*) had come to him while he was preparing for Tabūk, saying, "O Messenger of God, we have built a mosque for the sick and needy and for rainy and cold nights, and we would like you to visit us and pray for us in it."[421] [The Prophet] said that he was on the verge of traveling, and was preoccupied, or words to that effect, and that when he returned, God willing, he would come to them and pray for them in it.

When he stopped in Dhū Awān, news of the mosque[422] came to him, and he summoned Mālik b. al-Dukhshum, a brother of the

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417. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 135; Jāsir, *Shimāl*, 595–96.

418. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1039, names four hypocrites who got there first.

419. Hisch.: If you live, or those of you who live.

420. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, I, 208–9; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 275. Some ruins located about 4 km from Medina were said to be of the Mosque of Dissent. Philby, *Pilgrim*, 86.

421. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1045–46, names five persons who had come to the Prophet with the invitation to visit the mosque. Cf. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 52–55.

422. Wāqidī adds: And the people who built it came to him from the heaven.

Banū Sālim b. 'Awf, and Ma'n b. 'Adī, or his brother 'Āṣim b. 'Adī, brothers of the Banū al-'Ajlān,[423] and said, "Go to this mosque whose owners are unjust people and destroy and burn it." They went out briskly[424] until they came to the Banū Sālim b. 'Awf who were Mālik b. al-Dukhshum's clan. Mālik said to Ma'n, "Wait for me until I bring fire from my people." He went to his kinsfolk and took a palm branch and lighted it. Then both of them ran until they entered the mosque, its people inside, set fire to it and destroyed it and the people dispersed.[425] Concerning them it was revealed in the Qur'ān: "And those who have taken a mosque for [working] mischief and disbelief, as well as disunion among the faithful and as an outpost for those who already fought God and His Messenger, will swear, 'We desired nothing but good.' God witnesses what sort of liars they are."[426]

Those who built [the mosque] were twelve men:[427] Khidām[428] b. Khālid from the Banū 'Ubayd b. Zayd, one of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, (the Mosque of Dissent was built as an extension onto his house); Tha'labah b. Ḥāṭib from the Banū 'Ubayd, attributed to [1705]
the Banū Umayyah b. Zayd;[429] Mu'attib b. Qushayr from the Banū Ḍubay'ah b. Zayd; Abū Ḥabībah b. al-Az'ar from the Banū Ḍubay'ah b. Zayd; 'Abbād b. Ḥunayf, the brother of Sahl b. Ḥunayf, from the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf; Jāriyah b. 'Āmir and his two sons Mujammi' and Zayd; Nabtal b. al-Ḥārith from the Banū Ḍubay'ah; Baḥzaj from the Banū Ḍubay'ah; Bijād b. 'Uthmān from the Banū Ḍubay'ah; and Wadī'ah b. Thābit from the Banū Umayyah, the clan of Abū Lubābah b. 'Abd al-Mundhir.

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423. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 35–36.

424. Wāqidī adds: On foot.

425. Wāqidī states that the fire was set after the evening prayer.

426. Qur'ān 9:107. The Prophet had received some information which made him suspect the ulterior motives of the builders of this mosque. Probably they were linked to those who had planned an attempt on the Prophet's life when he was returning from Tabūk. It was also suspected that they were acting in concert with Abū 'Āmir, an opponent of the Prophet. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 281–83; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 468–75; Ṭabarsī, *Majma'*, III, 72–73; Buhl, *Leben*, 329; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, I, 224–25; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 186–88; Blachère, *Coran* 227–28; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 314–15.

427. Wāqidī states that it was built by fifteen men.

428. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 277): Khidhām.

429. Banū Umayyah b. Zayd and Banū Ḍubay'ah b. Zayd were clans of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf of Aws. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 322.

The Messenger of God arrived in Medina [and found that] a group of hypocrites had stayed behind. From among the Muslims, Ka'b b. Mālik, Murārah b. al-Rabī', and Hilāl b. Umayyah had also stayed behind, but without doubt or hypocrisy. The Messenger of God ordered that no one should speak to the three.[430] Then the hypocrites who had stayed behind came to him making excuses and swearing oaths so he forgave them, but neither God nor His Messenger ever absolved them from guilt. The Muslims refrained from speaking to those three until God revealed: "God has forgiven the Prophet and the Emigrants (*Muhājirūn*) and the Helpers (*Anṣār*) who followed him in the hour of difficulty, after the hearts of a section of them were about to swerve aside; He then turned to them [in His mercy]; surely He is kind and compassionate with them. As for the three who were left behind [he did not forgive them], until, when the earth became straitened for them, despite all its breadth, and their souls became straitened, so that they thought there was no shelter from God except in Him, He then turned to them, that they might also repent; surely God accepts repentance, and is all-compassionate. O believers, fear God, and be with those who are truthful."[431]

The Messenger of God returned to Medina from Tabūk in the month of Ramaḍān. In that month, the deputation of Thaqīf, those whose report has been mentioned before, came to him.

[An Account of the People Who Accepted Islam]

[1706] In this year (i.e., A.H. 9), the Messenger of God dispatched 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib with an army (*sariyyah*)[432] to the land of Ṭayyi' in the month of Rabī' II.[433] He raided them and took captives and seized

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430. For details, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 175–81; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1049–56; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 119; Lings, *Muhammad*, 320.

431. Qu'rān 9:117–19. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIV, 539–57; Blachère, *Coran*, 229.

432. The term *sariyyah*, pl. *sarāyā*, is applied to an army sent by the Prophet in contradistinction to *ghazwah* (pl. *ghazawāt*, also *maghāzī*, meaning raiding expedition), wherein the Prophet himself participated. Originally it was applied to a portion of an army marching by night; it could consist of from five persons to four hundred. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. s-r-y.

433. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 290–91; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 984–89; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 172; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 382, 522. It is known as the *sariyyat 'Alī* to *Fulus* (or *Fals*, or *Fils*), which was an idol in Najd worshipped by Ṭayyi'. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 273–74; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, III, 48–49; Ryckmans, *Religions*, 9, 17; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 75–77.

two swords that were in the temple, one called *"rasūb"*[434] and the other *"mikhdham."*[435] The two swords were well-known and were presented to the temple by al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shimr.[436] ʿAdī b. Ḥātim's[437] sister was among the captives.

Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]: The reports about ʿAdī b. Ḥātim that have reached me do not specify time and do not mention what al-Wāqidī reported concerning ʿAdī b. Ḥātim's sister being taken as a captive by ʿAlī.[438]

Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā [al-Baṣrī][439]—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar[440]—Shuʿbah[441]—Simāk:[442] I heard ʿAbbād b. Ḥubaysh [al-Kūfī][443] reporting from ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, who said: The Messenger of God's cavalry came, or the Messenger of God's messengers came, and they took my paternal aunt and some other people captive and brought them before the Prophet, where they were lined up. [My aunt] said "O Messenger of God, the man who should speak for me [*wāfid*][444] is far away, my son has been separated [from me], and I am an old woman of no service [to anyone]. Be kind to me and God will be kind to you, O Messenger of God." He said, "Who is the man who should speak for you?" "ʿAdī b. Ḥātim," she said. He said, "[The one] who fled from God and His Messenger." He then granted her request, and a man next to her, who was apparently ʿAlī, told her to ask him for a mount. She asked for one and the Messenger of God ordered it for her.

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434. A sword that penetrates into, or disappears in, the thing struck with it. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. r-s-b.

435. A sharp sword. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. kh-dh-m. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 988, states that there were three swords and three coats of arms. The third sword was called *al-Yamānī*.

436. See Ṭabarī above I, 1675, n. 200.

437. He was a son of the celebrated poet Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī and was a supporter of ʿAlī. He died in 68/687–88. *EI*², s.v. ʿAdī b. Ḥātim.

438. According to Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 988–89, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim fled as he got the news of ʿAlī's expedition. It was ʿAdī's sister who was taken as a captive. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 60, states that according to some reports, she was captured during Khālid's expedition. Cf. Lings, *Muhammad*, 315–16.

439. Died ca. 252/866. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 425–27.

440. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Hudhalī al-Baṣrī died ca. 193/808–9. Ibid., IX, 96–98.

441. Shuʿbah b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Baṣrī died in 160/776–77. Ibid., IV, 338–46.

442. Simāk b. Ḥarb al-Kūfī died in 123/740–41. Ibid., IV, 233–34.

443. Ibid., V, 91.

444. *Wāfid* is a man coming to a king, or to a great man, as an ambassador. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. w-f-d; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. w-f-d. For its original meaning, see Fahd, *Divination*, 241.

'Adī b. Ḥātim: She came to me and said, "You have done something which your father would not have done. Go to him [i.e., the Messenger of God] with earnestness and fear. So-and-so went to him and he was treated properly." So I went to him and lo, a woman and two boys, or a boy, were with him. [Then the narrator [i.e., 'Abbād b. Ḥubaysh] recounted their closeness [of relationship] to the Prophet.][445] And so I knew that he was neither
[1707] like Khusraw [*Kisrā*][446] nor like Caesar [*Qayṣar*].[447] He said to me, "O 'Adī b. Ḥātim, what made you flee from saying, 'There is no God except Allāh'? Is there any God except Allāh? What made you flee from saying, 'God is great'? Is there any thing greater than Allāh?" So I embraced Islam and saw in his face that he was rejoicing.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Shaybān b. Sa'd al-Ṭā'ī: It has been reported to me that 'Adī b. Ḥātim of Ṭayyi' used to say, "No Arab disliked the Messenger of God when he first heard about him more than I. As far as I was concerned, I was a noble man, a Christian, traveling about among my people and collecting the fourth part of their spoils [*mirbā'*].[448] I professed my own religion, and the way I was treated was as if I were a king among my people. When I heard the Messenger of God I disliked him and said to an Arab slave of mine who was herding my camels, 'May you have no father![449] Prepare for me some docile, fat, and old camels, and keep them near me. When you hear of Muḥammad's army treading this country, inform me.'" He did that, and one morning he came to me and said, "O 'Adī, whatever you were going to do when Muḥammad's cavalry should descend upon you, do it now, for I have seen banners and when I inquired about them I was told that they were Muḥammad's army." I asked him to bring my camels, which he did, and I took my family and children and told him that I would join my fellow

445. The reference is to Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter, and her two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.

446. An Arabic form of the Persian Khusraw, used especially for the Sāsānid kings. *EI*², s.v. Kisrā.

447. An Arabic name for the Roman and Byzantine emperor. *EI*², s.v. Ḳayṣar.

448. See below, n. 456.

449. It is used as a proverb for an imprecation and rough speech against whom it is addressed; however, it is not said with the desire of its having effect, but rather on an occasion of intense love. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. a-b-w.

Christians in Syria. I traveled to al-Jūshiyyah[450] and left one of Ḥātim's daughters in that settlement. When I reached Syria I stayed there.

The Messenger of God's cavalry followed me when I turned away from [that settlement] and took Ḥātim's daughter among the captives. She was brought to the Messenger of God among the [1708] captives of Ṭayyi' and he received the news of my flight to Syria. Ḥātim's daughter was put in the enclosure by the door of the mosque where the captives were detained.[451] When the Messenger of God passed by her she went to him and, being an intelligent woman, said, "O Messenger of God, [my] father is dead, and the man who should speak for me has gone away. Grant me a favor and God will grant one for you." "Who is the man who should speak for you?" he asked. When she replied that it was 'Adī b. Ḥātim he exclaimed, "The one who has fled from God and His Messenger." Then he walked away and left her. On the following day he passed by her[452] while she was in despair. A man behind [the Prophet] motioned her to go to him and speak (to him). She went to him and said, "O Messenger of God, [my] father is dead, and the man who should speak for me is absent. Be kind to me and God will be kind to you." He replied, "I have done so, but do not rush to leave until you find someone of your own people whom you can trust and take you to your country, then call on me." She states: I asked about the man who had motioned to me to speak and was told that it was 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. I stayed until some riders from Balī or Quḍā'ah[453] came. What I wanted was to go to my brother in Syria. I went to the Messenger of God and said, "O Messenger of God, a group of my people who are trustworthy and reputable have arrived." He provided me with clothing, put me on a mount and gave me money, and I departed with them until I arrived in Syria.

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450. As in C, Ibn Isḥāq, and Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, II, 185). Text, and Ibn Hishām: al-Ḥūshiyyah. Al-Jūshiyyah is a place between Najd and Syria.

451. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 988, states that she was lodged with Ramlah bt. al-Ḥārith.

452. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: And exactly the same thing happened. On the third day he passed by her and she was in despair. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 989, states that her request was granted on the fourth day.

453. A South Arabian tribe. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 274, 279; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 440.

[1709] ʿAdī said: By God, I was sitting among my family when I saw a woman riding in a howdah pointing to me and leading her way to us. I exclaimed, "[Is it] Ḥātim's daughter?" and it was she. When she got to me she reviled me, saying, "You, the unjust one who broke with your relatives, you carried away your family and children and abandoned your father's (little) daughter[454] and honor." I replied, "O [my] little sister, do not say anything except good, for by God, I have no excuse. I did do what you stated." Then she dismounted and stayed with me. Because she was a prudent woman, I asked her what she thought of [the Prophet]. She replied, "By God, I think that you should join him forthwith, for if the man is a prophet, then the one who joins him first will have an exquisite virtue; and if he is a king, you will not be humbled in the glory of the Yemen, you being what you are." I said, "By God, this is a good suggestion," and so I left until I came to the Messenger of God in Medina. I went to him while he was in his mosque and greeted him, and he asked who I was. When I said that I was ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, he got up and took me to his house. By God, as he was leading me an old feeble woman ran to him and asked him to stop. He stopped for a long while as she spoke to him of her needs. I said to myself, "By God, this is no king." Then he continued until we entered his house, reached out for a leather cushion stuffed with palm fibers and threw it to me, saying, "Sit on this." I said, "No, rather you sit on it." He said, "No, you," and so I sat on it and he sat on the ground. I said to myself, "By God, this is not the way a king conducts himself." Then he said "Now, ʿAdī b.
[1710] Ḥātim, are you not half Christian and half Sabaean (*rakūsī*)?"[455] I replied, "Yes." "Didn't you go among your people collecting the fourth part of their spoils?"[456] he asked. When I admitted it, he said, "But that is not lawful for you in your religion." I said, "Certainly, it is true," and realized that he was a prophet sent by

454. The diminutive form is used to express endearment. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: *Baqiyyah* [i.e., remainder, survival] of your father.

455. A term applied to a person who professes a religion which is a mixture of Christianity and the Sabaeans (*al-Ṣābiʾah*), see Ṭabarī, above, I, 1657, n. 38. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. r-k-s.

456. According to the Arab lexicographers, pre-Islamic practice was to allot one-quarter of the booty to the leader as commander-in-chief. It was also the South Arabian practice. In Islam, one-fifth of the booty was set aside for God before the general division. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. r-b-ʿ; Beeston, *Warfare*, 15.

God who knows what is not known. Then he said, "O 'Adī b. Ḥātim, perhaps it is the poverty that you see which prevents you from embracing this religion, but, by God, [so much] wealth will soon flow among them that there will not be enough people to take it. Perhaps it is because you see how few they are and how many are their enemies which prevents you from joining this religion. But by God, you will hear of a woman traveling on her camel from al-Qādisiyyah[457] to visit this House [i.e., the Ka'bah][458] without fearing [any one] except God. Perhaps it is because you see that others have kingship and power, but, by God, soon you will hear that the white castles of Babylon (*Bābil*)[459] have been conquered." Then I embraced Islam.

'Adī b. Ḥātim used to say that two things [mentioned above by the Prophet] occurred and that the third remained, but, by God, that too would certainly come to pass. I have seen the white castles of Babylon being conquered, and I have seen a woman traveling on her camel from al-Qādisiyyah to this House to make the pilgrimage without any fear. By God, the third will happen and wealth will flow until there will not be anyone to take it.

Al-Wāqidī: In this year, the deputation of the Banū Tamīm[460] came to the Messenger of God.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah and 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: 'Uṭārid b. Ḥājib b. Zurārah b. 'Udas[461] al-Tamīmī came to the Messenger of God in a large [1711] deputation with the nobility of Tamīm. Among them were al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis; Zibriqān b. Badr al-Tamīmī, one of the Banū Sa'd;

457. A place southwest of al-Ḥīrah and south-southwest of where al-Kūfah was later founded. It is famous as the site of the Muslim victory over the Sāsānids between 14/635 and 16/637. *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳādisiyya.

458. *EI*², s.v. Ka'ba.

459. *EI*², s.v. Bābil. Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 267–68, gives different versions of what the Prophet said to 'Adī. One version states: O 'Adī b. Ḥātim, the last hour will come only when the treasures of *Kisrā* and *Qayṣar* would have been conquered . . . the last hour will come only when a woman would travel on her camel, from al-Ḥīrah [to Mecca] to circumambulate the Ka'bah, without protection . . . the last hour will come only when a man carrying a sack of money would roam [about the country] and would not find anyone who would take it.

460. An Arab tribe. *EI*¹, s.v. Tamīm. The following account of a challenge to a boasting competition, including the poem of Ḥassān, seem to be the product of later years. See Arafat, "An interpretation"; Monroe, "Poetry."

461. Ibn Ḥazm (*Jamharah*, 232): 'Udus. He was from the clan of Banū 'Abdallāh b. Dārim of the Tamīm.

'Amr b. al-Ahtam; al-Ḥutāt b. so-and-so;[462] Nu'aym b. Zayd;[463] and Qays b. 'Āṣim, a brother of the Banū Sa'd. With them was 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfah al-Fazārī.[464]

Al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis and 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn had been with the Messenger of God when Mecca was conquered[465] and [466] al-Ṭā'if was besieged. When the deputation of the Banū Tamīm came, they were with them. As the deputation entered the mosque, they called out to the Messenger of God from behind the [inner] apartments, "Come out to us, O Muḥammad."[467] That loud call of theirs annoyed the Messenger of God, and he came out. They said, "O Muḥammad, we came to compete with you in boasting, so allow our poet and orator [to start]." He replied, "Yes I permit your orator, let him speak." 'Uṭārid b. Ḥājib stood up and said: "Praise be to God who granted us His favors and who is worthy of praise. [It is He] who has made us kings and has granted us great wealth with which we are generous, and has made us the mightiest people of the East, the greatest in number, and best armed; so who among the people is our equal? Are we not the leaders of men and their superiors? Let him who competes with us enumerate what we have enumerated. Had we wished we could have said more, but we are too modest[468] to speak much of what He has

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462. Ibn Isḥāq: Al-Ḥabḥāb b. Yazīd. Ibn Hishām: Al-Ḥutāt b. Yazīd. Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 527): Al-Ḥuthāt b. Yazīd. For their genealogy, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 206–7.

463. Ibn Shabbah adds: Qays b. al-Ḥārith.

464. There were more than eighty people in the delegation. The reason of their coming is explained by Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 404; II/1, 116, as follows:

The Tamīmīs had attempted to prevent the Khuzā'ah tribe from paying the alms to the Prophet's agent. Although the Khuzā'ites were able to drive the Tamīmīs away, the Prophet's agent fled back to Medina. Subsequently, the Prophet sent a force of fifty horsemen under the leadership of 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn to punish the Tamīmīs. In a surprise raid, 'Uyaynah captured about fifty men, women, and children and brought them back to Medina. It was then that the delegation came. When their women and children saw them, they began to cry. This explains the sense of urgency and impatience displayed by the delegation in their attempt to reach the Prophet.

465. Ibn Isḥāq adds: And at the battle of Ḥunayn.

466. Ibn Shabbah adds: [The battle of] Ḥunayn [was fought], and.

467. The delegation on its arrival in Medina passed by the Tamīmī prisoners. When the women and children saw them, they burst into tears, hence the delegation went hurriedly to the mosque calling the Prophet from behind the inner apartments.

468. C and Ibn Shabbah: We are afraid to elongate.

granted us, and we are known [for that].[469] Now, I will say that you may bring forward the like of our speech and anything better than ours." Then he sat down.

The Messenger of God said to Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās,[470] a [1712]
brother of Balḥārith[471] b. al-Khazraj, "Get up and answer the man's speech." Thābit got up and said:[472] "Praise belongs to God who created heaven and earth and carried out His command therein, and His knowledge encompasses His Throne. Nothing exists but by His bounty. By His power He made us kings and chose the best of His creation as a prophet who is the noblest in lineage, the most truthful in speech, and the best in noble descent. He sent down to him His book and entrusted him with His creatures. He was the chosen one of God from the worlds. Then he summoned people to faith, and the Emigrants from his people and his kinsfolk believed in the Messenger of God. They are the most noble people in lineage, the most prominent, and the best in deeds. Then the first of creation to answer and respond to God when the Messenger of God summoned them were ourselves. We are the Helpers of God and the viziers of His Messenger, and we fight people until they believe in God. He who believes in God and His Messenger has protected his life and possessions [from us]; as for one who disbelieves, we will fight him forever in the cause of God and killing him is a small matter to us. I say this and ask God's forgiveness for myself and the believing men and the believing women. Peace be upon you."

Then they said, "O Muḥammad, permit our poet [to speak]," and he did. Al-Zibriqān b. Badr got up and said:

We are the nobles, no tribe can match us,
from us are the kings and in[473] our midst houses
of worship are built.
How many tribes have we plundered and subjugated,
for excellence in glory is to be sought after!

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469. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Shabbah.

470. He was the Prophet's orator and a scribe. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 35, 40, 82; II/1, 46, 116; III/1, 284; V, 22; VIII, 83, 262, 326.

471. Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Shabbah: Banū al-Ḥārith.

472. Ibn Shabbah gives a slightly different version of Thābit's speech.

473. Ibn Hishām: And we collect the fourth [of the spoils].

[1713] In times of drought when no tattered clouds are seen,
we feed meat to the hungry in our banquet halls.
You can see leaders coming to us humbly from every land,
and we feed them.[474]
We are delighted to slaughter a herd of camels for our guests,
when they come to us they eat their fill.
You will see not a tribe whom we challenge,
except in submission or with its head nearly cut off.
We scorn others but none scorns us,
similarly, we are exalted in pride.
He who would challenge us [in these matters] knows us,
so he withdraws his challenge, and the news is listened to seriously.

Ḥassān b. Thābit[475] was absent [at the time], so the Messenger of God sent for him. Ḥassān said: When the runner came and informed me that the Messenger of God had called me to answer the Banū Tamīm's poet, I went to him while reciting:[476]

We protected the Messenger of God when he settled down
among us,[477] whether Ma'add liked it or not.[478]
We defended him when he dwelt among our houses,[479]
with our swords against every transgressor and
oppressor, in a unique house whose glory and wealth[480]
is in Jābiyat al-Jawlān[481] among the foreigners.
Is glory [nothing] but the reiteration of domination
and generosity, and the dignity of kings and the enduring
of great misfortunes?

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474. Ibn Hishām: And we are obeyed.

475. The "Poet Laureate" of the Prophet was a Khazrajī and died ca. 40/659. *EI*², s.v. Ḥassān b. Thābit; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 289–92; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 37; SI, 67.

476. See *Dīwān of Ḥassān*, I, 109–10.

477. *Dīwān*: We aided and sheltered the Prophet Muḥammad.

478. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and *Dīwān*. Text: From every Ma'addī [Arab] tyrant and oppressor. Ma'add, son of 'Adnān, a descendant of Ismā'īl, the son of Ibrāhīm, is considered as the ancestor of the Northern Arabs. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 9.

479. *Dīwān*: We aided him when he dwelt among us.

480. *Dīwān*: In a unique tribe whose source and honor.

481. A village in the district of Damascus toward al-Jawlān. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 355; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 91–92; he cites the above verses.

When I came to the Messenger of God and the tribal poet [of Tamīm] had recited what he recited, I replied in the same pattern and rhyme. [1714]

When al-Zibriqān b. Badr had finished his recitation, the Messenger of God said to Ḥassān, "Arise, O Ḥassān, and answer the man for what he has said." Ḥassān recited:[482]

The nobles are from Fihr[483] and their sister tribes;
they have shown a way of life to be followed.
Everyone who fears God
and does all manner of good commends them.[484]
They are a people such that when they fight they harm
their enemies, and when they help their adherents
they benefit.
That is their nature and not a newly acquired habit;
be informed[485] that the worst of personal traits is
innovation.
If there are people who surpassed them and came after
them, then every preceding people would
have precedence.
People do not repair what their hands have destroyed in
defense, nor do they destroy what they have repaired.
If they compete with others, they win by virtue of their [1715]
precedence; if weighed against the people of glory
and generosity, their scales are heavy.
Chaste are those whose chastity is mentioned in
revelation; they are not rapacious[486] nor can greed
harm them.
They are not stingy with an act of generosity toward a
neighbor,[487] nor are they touched by the stain of
covetousness.
When we declare war on a tribe, we do not creep
silently, like a calf crawling to the wild cow.

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482. See *Dīwān of Ḥassān* I, 101–3.
483. He is the ancestor of Quraysh. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 12.
484. *Dīwān*: Is pleased with them and with the mission they have begun.
485. *Dīwān*: Indeed.
486. As in the *Dīwān*. Text: Not disposed by nature.
487. *Dīwān*: A client.

We stand tall when the claws of war reach us,
when the hordes are humbled by its nails.
They do not boast[488] when they overpower their enemy,
and if they are beaten, they neither languish nor despair.
In battle, when death is at hand,
they are like lions of Bīshah[489] with crooked claws.
[1716] Take what they give you willingly when they are angered,
and think not about what they withheld.
To fight them is to plunge into poison[490] and ruin,
so do not antagonize them.
How noble are a people who[491] have the Messenger of God
in their midst, when [other] factions and parties
become divided![492]
I dedicate my eulogy to them from my heart,
aided in its beloved task by an eloquent and ready tongue,
For they are the best of all people
in matters both grave and gay.

When Ḥassān b. Thābit had finished his speech,[493] al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis said,[494] "By my father, this man has a helper. Indeed, his orator and his poet are better than ours and their voices are louder[495] than ours." When they were through, they embraced Islam and the Messenger of God gave them valuable gifts. [Before com-

488. *Dīwān*: They do not rejoice.

489. As in the *Dīwān*. Text and Ibn Isḥāq: Ḥalyah. Bīshah, a place about five days' journey from Mecca toward Yemen, is known for its lions. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, I, 293–94; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 529. For its topography see Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, 28ff.

490. *Dīwān*: A bitter tree. A kind of tree when pressed issues a juice resembling milk which spirts into the eyes and produces an effect like that of a flame of fire and weakens the sight.

491. *Dīwān*: Whose leader is the Messenger of God.

492. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: And parties differ.

493. For additional poetry, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 211–12.

494. Ibn Shabbah's version states that both al-Aqraʿ and ʿUyaynah consulted with each other before accepting Islam. The report further states that both of them were among those "whose hearts were to be reconciled," hence the Messenger of God gave them a hundred camels each. Next, ʿAbbās b. Mirdās's verses are cited. It is obvious that this passage is an interpolation, see Ṭabarī, above, I, 1681 (distribution of the booty of Ḥunayn).

495. Ibn Isḥāq: Sweeter.

ing to the Messenger of God] they had left 'Amr b. al-Ahtam [who was the youngest of them][496] behind with their mounts. Qays b. 'Āṣim, who hated 'Amr b. al-Ahtam, said, "O Messenger of God, there is a man among us with our saddle bags who is but a young boy," and he belittled him. The Messenger of God, however, gave him the same as he had given the others. When 'Amr heard that Qays b. 'Āṣim had [belittled him], he satirized him, saying:

When you defamed me to the Prophet you exposed [1717]
yourself; you neither spoke the truth nor hit the mark.
If you hate us, well, Byzantine[497] is your origin,
but the Byzantines do not harbor hatred
against the Arabs.
We have ruled and our authority is ancient, but yours[498]
is left behind at the root of the rump and the tail.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Rūmān: Concerning them, God revealed: "Surely those who call unto you from behind the private apartments [i.e., the Banū Tamīm], most of them have no sense."[499] This is a preferable reading.

Al-Wāqidī: In this year, 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl died. He got sick during the last days of Shawwāl and died in Dhū al-Qa'dah. His illness lasted for twenty days.[500]

In this year, a letter from the kings of Ḥimyar[501] [announcing] their acceptance of Islam arrived to the Messenger of God with

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496. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

497. *Rūm* in Arabic meant the land of the Rhomaeans or Byzantines. *EI*[1], s.v. Rūm.

498. Ibn Isḥāq:
We ruled you voluntarily but your authority
is sitting on the tail and showing its teeth.

499. Qur'ān 49:4. Wāḥidī, *Asbāb*, 274–77; Ṭabarsī, *Majma'*, V, 129–30; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte*, I, 220; Blachère, *Coran*, 548.

500. Although he was the chief opponent, the Prophet, in a conciliatory spirit, visited him before he died and attended his funeral. Some Muslims, especially 'Umar did not like it and protested to the Prophet. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1057–60; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 863–64; Lings, *Muhammad*, 321–22; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 315.

501. Ḥimyar was one of the last ancient southwest Arabian kingdoms which ruled Yemen before its conquest by the Muslims. They claim Qaḥṭānī descent. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 176, 274; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 432–38; Shahid, "Pre-Islamic Arabia," 6f.

their messenger in the month of Ramaḍān. [Those kings were] al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Kulāl, Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Kulāl, and al-Nuʿmān, prince of Dhū Ruʿayn.[502]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr: On his return from Tabūk, a letter from the kings of Ḥimyar [announcing] their Islam came to the Messenger of God
[1718] with their messenger. [They were] al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Kulāl, Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Kulāl, and al-Nuʿmān, prince of Dhū Ruʿayn, Hamdān,[503] and Maʿāfir.[504] Zurʿah Dhū Yazan[505] sent Mālik b. Murrah al-Rahāwī with [news of] their acceptance of Islam and their abandonment of polytheism and its followers.

Then the Messenger of God wrote to them:[506] "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, and His Prophet to al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Kulāl, Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Kulāl, and al-Nuʿmān, prince of Dhū Ruʿayn, Hamdān, and Maʿāfir. I praise God to you. There is no God except Him.

"Now then: Your messenger reached us on our return from Byzantine territory and met us in Medina. He conveyed your message and told us your news and informed us of your [acceptance of] Islam and your killing of the polytheists. Indeed, God has guided you with His guidance. If you [wish to] do well and obey God and His Messenger [you must] perform prayers, pay the *zakāt* tax,[507] give God's fifth of booty,[508] the share of His Mes-

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502. It is a name both of a district and a clan in the southwest of Yemen. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 90, 98, 101. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 20, 84; V, 386–87.

503. It is a name both of a district and a well-known large Arab tribe of Yemen. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, *passim*; *EI*[2], s.v. Hamdān.

504. A district at the beginning of the Sarāt mountains in Yemen. The inhabitants of that district are known as al-Maʿāfir b. Yaʿfur. Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, I, 67, 68, 71, 98, 99.

505. A Ḥimyarī king. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 386.

506. A transcription of this letter on parchment in Himyarite characters was discovered in Beirut. See Cohen, "Manuscrit"; Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmūʿah*, 180–84.

507. It is one of the principal obligations of Islam. This tax is levied on definite kinds of property and is distributed among eight categories of persons as stated in the Qurʾān 9:60, *EI*[1], s.v. Zakāt; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 557–611; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], I, 371–416.

508. "Know that with anything you may acquire as spoils, a fifth of it belongs to God and the Messenger, close relatives and orphans, paupers and the wayfarer, if you believe in God and what We have sent down to Our servant. . ." Qurʾān 8:41. Maghniyyah, *Fiqh*, 220–23.

senger, his selected portion (*ṣafiyy*),[509] and alms (*ṣadaqah*)[510] to the poor, which is incumbent on the faithful. [The required *zakāt* is:] from land one tenth of that watered by springs and rain, and one twentieth of that watered by the leathern bucket;[511] from camels, a milch camel for every forty camels, and a young male camel for every thirty camels; a sheep for every five camels; two sheep for every ten camels;[512] one cow for every forty cows; a bull calf or a cow calf for every thirty cows;[513] a sheep for every forty sheep at pasture.[514] This is God's ordinance, which He has made obligatory on the faithful with regard to alms. If anyone adds more thereto, it is to his credit. He who professes this and bears witness to his Islam and helps the faithful against the polytheists [1719] is one of the faithful with his rights and obligations as theirs, and has the protection of God and His Messenger. If a Jew or a Christian embraces Islam, then[515] he has the same rights and obligations as the faithful. He who holds fast to his religion, Judaism or Christianity, is not to be tempted from[516] it. It is incumbent on him to pay the poll tax: for every adult, male or female, free or slave, one full dīnār (denarius),[517] or its value in *al-ma'āfir*,[518] or its substitute in clothes. He who pays that to the Messenger of God has the protection of God and His Messenger, and he who holds back from it is the enemy of God and His Messenger.

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509. It signifies the portion of the spoils, which the chief chooses for himself before the division. It could be anything from armor to a horse, a camel, or a slave, and it is taken out before the *khums*. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 514–18; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ṣ-f-y.

510. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1686, n. 290.

511. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 259; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 567; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 380.

512. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 252–53; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 565–67; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 378–79.

513. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 254.

514. Ibid., I, 252–53; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 565–67; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 378–79.

515. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq add: He is among the faithful and.

516. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: He should not be dissuaded from it.

517. *EI*², s.v. Dīnār.

518. C: *Al-Ma'āfirī*. *Ma'āfir*, without the relative adjective ending in *yā'*, is also used meaning *Ma'āfirī* cloth. *Ma'āfir* enjoyed a certain reputation as weavers. According to legend, Tubba' As'ad Kāmil was the first to cover the Ka'bah with *Ma'āfir* cloths. The poll tax of a dīnār of full weight of the *Ma'āfir* standard could also be paid in articles of clothing of that *Ma'āfir* material. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. '-f-r; *EISupp*, s.v. Ma'āfir.

"Now then: The Messenger of God, Muḥammad the Prophet, has sent to Zur'ah Dhū Yazan that when my messengers Mu'ādh b. Jabal, 'Abdallāh b. Zayd,[519] Mālik b. 'Ubādah,[520] 'Uqbah b. Namir,[521] and Mālik b. Murrah[522] and their companions come to you, I commend them to your good care. Collect the alms and the poll tax from your districts and hand them over to my messengers. Their leader is Mu'ādh b. Jabal, and let him not return unless he is satisfied. Muḥammad witnesses that there is no god but God and that he is His servant and messenger.

"Mālik B. Murrah al-Rahāwī has reported to me that you were the first from Ḥimyar to embrace Islam and that you have killed[523] the polytheists, so rejoice at your good fortune. I order
[1720] you to treat Ḥimyar well. Do not be treacherous and do not forsake each other. The Messenger of God is the master of [both] your rich and your poor. Alms are neither lawful to Muḥammad nor to his family; it is a purifying tax to be spent on poor Muslims and the wayfarer. Mālik has conveyed only the necessary information but has kept [others'] secrets to himself, so I order you to treat him well. I have sent to you some of the most virtuous of my people, the most religious and the most learned, so I order you to treat them well, for he [i.e., Mu'ādh b. Jabal] will be accountable for them. May the Peace, Mercy, and Blessings of God be on you."

Al-Wāqidī: In this year, the deputation of Bahrā'[524] [consisting of] thirteen men came to the Messenger of God, and they stayed with al-Miqdād b. 'Amr.[525]

In this year, the deputation of the Banū al-Bakkā'[526] came.

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519. 'Abdallāh b. Zayd al-Khazrajī was the one who was inspired with the call to prayer (*adhān*). He also acted several times as a scribe of the Prophet and died in 32/652–53. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 87.

520. Ibid., V, 387.

521. Ibid.

522. Ibid., VI, 18; his name is given as Mālik b. Murārah al-Ruhāwī.

523. Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmū'ah*, 182): You have deserted.

524. They are the Banū Bahrā' b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥāfī, a clan of Quḍā'ah. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 440–41; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 66.

525. He was a Bahrānī from South Arabia and was the only (or one of the two) Muslim horseman at Badr. He was one of seven early converts and is considered one of the four pillars of the early Shī'ah and died in 33/653–54. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 114–16; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, IV, 1480; Jafri, *Origins*, 52.

526. A clan of the Banū 'Āmir. The delegation consisted of three people. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 47–48; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 151.

In this year, the deputation of the Banū Fazārah[527] arrived. They were some ten men. Among them was Khārijah b. Ḥiṣn.

In this year, the Messenger of God mourned the loss of the Negus (*al-Najāshī*) who died in the month of Rajab, in the year 9/630.

In this year, Abū Bakr made the pilgrimage with the people. Abū Bakr departed from Medina with three hundred people and took with him five camels [for sacrifice], while the Messenger of God sent twenty camels [for sacrifice].[528] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf[529] also made the pilgrimage and sacrificed.

The Messenger of God sent 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib immediately after Abū Bakr had left. He overtook him at al-'Arj,[530] and ('Alī) read the declaration of dispensation (*al-Barā'ah*)[531] on the day of sacrifice at al-'Aqabah.[532]

I have received an account on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn[533]—Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal[534]—Asbāṭ[535]—al-Suddī:[536] When these verses [1 to 40 from *Sūrat al-Barā'ah*] were revealed, the Messenger of God sent them with Abū Bakr and appointed him [1721] as leader of the pilgrimage. After Abū Bakr had reached al-Shajarah of Dhū al-Ḥulayfah,[537] 'Alī followed him and took those verses

527. They are the Banū Fazārah b. Dhubyān b. Baghīd b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 255.

528. For details, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1076–78.

529. He was a prominent early convert from the Banū Zuhrah of Quraysh. He was one of the six members of the *shūrā* who played a key role in the selection of 'Uthmān and he died in 31/652. *EI*², s.v. 'Abd al-Raḥmān; Jafri, *Origins*, 58–79.

530. A village near Medina on the way to Mecca. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 930–31; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 98–99.

531. According to C. Text adds: On him. See Qur'ān, *sūrah* 9. The title of the Dispensation (or Release) comes from the opening verse which states: "Dispensation [comes] from God and His Messenger for those idolaters with whom you have made a treaty." The alternate title of Repentance is found in verses 5, 11, and 103. This episode later became a cause of conflict between the Shī'īs and the Sunnīs. Tendentious reporting is reflected in the following report of al-Suddī.

532. A place about 4 km from Mecca where the pilgrims throw pebbles. See Ṭabarī, above I, 1699, n. 381.

533. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-'Āmirī al-Baghdādī died in 261/874–75. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 121–22.

534. Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Qurashī died in 214/829–30 or 215/830–31. Ibid., I, 81.

535. He is Asbāṭ b. Naṣr al-Hamdānī. Ibid., I, 211–12.

536. Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suddī died in 127/744–45. Ibid., I, 313–14.

537. A place about 12 km from Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 464–65; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 325.

from him, so Abū Bakr came back to the Prophet[538] and said, "O Messenger of God, may you be ransomed with my father and mother! Was anything revealed about me?" "No," he replied, "but no one except me or someone from my family should communicate [the declaration of dispensation].[539] Aren't you pleased, O Abū Bakr, that you were with me in the cave,[540] and that you shall be my companion at the cistern?"[541] "Yes, indeed, O Messenger of God," he answered, and left as the head of the pilgrims, while ʿAlī announced the declaration of immunity. ʿAlī stood up on the day of sacrifice[542] and announced, saying: "No polytheist shall come near the Holy Mosque after this year,[543] and no one shall circumambulate the House [i.e., the Kaʿbah] naked. Those who have a covenant between themselves and the Messenger of God will have his covenant until [the end of] its term.[544] These are the days of eating and drinking [i.e., celebration]. God will allow only the one who is Muslim to enter Paradise." [The polytheists] said, "We declare ourselves free from your covenant and that of your cousin except to strike." Then the polytheists went back blaming each other and saying, "What will you do? The Quraysh have accepted Islam, and so you had better embrace Islam."

I have received an account on the authority of al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad[545]—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abān[546]—Abū Maʿshar[547]—Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī and others: The Messenger of God sent Abū Bakr as a leader of the pilgrimage in the year 9/631 and sent ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to read thirty or forty verses from *Sūrat al-*

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538. According to both Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīrah*, IV, 188–90), and Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 1077), Abū Bakr did not return to Medina. See also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 297; *idem.*, *Tanbīh*, 237; Lings, *Muhammad*, 323.

539. Balādhurī's (*Ansāb*, I, 383) report ends here.

540. The reference is to the Qurʾān 9:40.

541. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 222; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1322–23.

542. The tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah is called *yawm al-naḥr* (the day of sacrifice) when animals are sacrificed. A rock near ʿAqabah was held to be the most auspicious site for sacrifice, but sacrifice could be made anywhere in Minā.

543. Qurʾān 9:28; Blachère, *Coran*, 216.

544. Qurʾān 9:4; Blachère, *Coran*, 212–13.

545. Al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad b. Abī Usāmah al-Tamīmī died in 282/895–96. Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, II, 619–20; idem, *Mīzān*, I, 442–43.

546. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abān al-Umawī al-Kūfī died in 207/822–23. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 329–31.

547. Abū Maʿshar Ziyād b. Kulayb al-Tamīmī al-Kūfī died ca. 120/738. Ibid., III, 382.

Barā'ah to the people, giving the polytheists four months to travel in the land. 'Alī read the proclamation of dispensation on the day of 'Arafah[548] thus giving the polytheists [the remaining] twenty days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and the months of Muḥarram, Ṣafar, Rabī' I, and ten days of Rabī' II. He also read it to them in their settlements, stating that no polytheist would be allowed for the pilgrimage after that year and that no one would be allowed to circumambulate the House naked.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, alms (*al-Ṣadaqāt*) were made obligatory, and the Messenger of God dispatched his agents to collect them.[549] [1722]

In this year, the following verse was revealed: "Take alms from their wealth to purify them."[550] The reason for its revelation was the story about the affair of Tha'labah b. Ḥāṭib mentioned by Abū Amāmah al-Bāhilī.[551]

Al-Wāqidī: In this year, the Messenger of God's daughter Umm Kulthūm[552] died in Sha'bān, and she was washed by Asmā' bt. 'Umays and Ṣafiyyah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. It is said that she was washed by the *Anṣārī* women, among whom was a woman called Umm 'Aṭiyyah. Abū Ṭalḥah descended into her grave.

In this year, the deputation of Tha'labah b. Munqidh came.[553]

In this year, the deputation of Sa'd Hudhaym[554] came.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Salamah b. Kuhayl[555] and

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548. 'Arafah or 'Arafāt is a plain about 21 km east of Mecca and is the site of the central ceremonies of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. The day of 'Arafah is the ninth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. On that day, the pilgrims halt in the plain of 'Arafah, in front of the *jabal al-raḥmah* and pray, without which the *ḥajj* is not valid. The halt lasts from the moment after midday until sunset. *EI*², s.v. 'Arafāt; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥadjdj.

549. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1084–85.

550. Qur'ān 9:103; Blachère, *Coran*, 227.

551. Tha'labah b. Ḥāṭib al-Anṣārī, who was a poor man, once requested the Prophet to pray for him, saying that if he became rich he would look after the needy. After he became rich, he changed and even refused to give alms. For details, see Wāḥidī, *Asbāb*, 175–76.

552. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 297; al-Dhahabī, *'Ibar*, I, 5; *EI*¹, s.v. Umm Kulthūm. See Ṭabarī, below I, 1767, n. 876; idem, *Dhuyūl*, 498.

553. They were four people, and they embraced Islam. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 43.

554. A clan of Quḍā'ah. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 447–48; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 65.

555. Salamah b. Kuhayl al-Kūfī died ca. 121/739. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 155–57.

Muḥammad b. al-Walīd b. Nuwayfiʿ [al-Asadī][556]—Kurayb,[557] a freed slave of Ibn ʿAbbās—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās: The Banū Saʿd b. Bakr sent Ḍimām b. Thaʿlabah to the Messenger of God.[558] He came and made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque, hobbled it, then entered the mosque as the Messenger of God was sitting with his companions. Ḍimām was a robust and hairy man with two forelocks. He came forward until he stood over the Messenger of God and said, "Which of you is ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's son?" The Messenger of God replied, "I am the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib." Ḍimām asked, "[Are you] Muḥammad?" He replied, "Yes." Ḍimām said, "O son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, I am going to ask
[1723] you [something] and will speak rudely about the matter, so don't take it amiss." [The Prophet] replied, "I will not, so ask what comes to your mind." Ḍimām said, "I adjure you by God, your God, the God of those who went before you, and the God of those who will come after you, has God sent you as a messenger to us?" [The Prophet] replied, "O God! Yes." Ḍimām then adjured him to answer the following questions: "Has He ordered you to command[559] us to worship Him alone and not to associate anything with Him and to renounce these rival deities which our forefathers used to worship instead[560] of Him? Has He ordered you to command us to pray these five prayers?" [The Prophet] replied, "O God! Yes." Then Ḍimām began to mention the obligatory acts of Islam one by one, *zakāt* tax, fasting, pilgrimage, and all the laws of Islam, and adjured him to answer. When he was finished he said, "I testify that there is no god but God alone. Who has no associate, and I testify that Muḥammad is His[561] Messenger; and that I will discharge these obligations, and will avoid what you have forbidden me from doing; I will neither add to nor diminish [anything] from them." Then he withdrew to his camel.[562] When

556. Ibid., IX, 504.
557. Kurayb b. Abī Muslim al-Hāshimi died in 98/716–17 in Medina. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 211; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 433.
558. According to Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 43–44, he came to Medina in Rajab 5/627–28.
559. Ibn Shabbah (*Taʾrīkh*, II, 522): That we worship Him alone [who] has no associate.
560. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: Along with Him.
561. Ibn Shabbah adds: His servant and.
562. Ibn Isḥāq adds: Returning home.

he turned away, the Messenger of God said, "If [this] man with the two forelocks is sincere, he will go to Paradise."

Ḍimām came to his camel, freed it from its hobble, and traveled until he came to his people, who gathered around him. The first thing he said was, "How evil are *al-Lāt* and *al-ʿUzzā*!"[563] They said, "Refrain from this, O Ḍimām; beware of white leprosy (*baraṣ*), beware of true leprosy (*judhām*), and beware of madness!" He replied, "Woe to you! Both [*al-Lāt* and *al-ʿUzzā*] can neither heal nor harm. God has sent a messenger and has sent down to him a book. By means of it I seek to deliver you from your present state [of ignorance]. [As for me], I bear witness that there is no god except God, the One without a partner, and that Muḥammad is [1724] His servant and messenger. I have brought to you what he has commanded you to do and what he has forbidden you from doing." By God, before the evening was over that day [there was] not a single man or woman in his tribe who had not become Muslim. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās said that they had not heard of any tribal delegate better than Ḍimām b. Thaʿlabah.

563. *Al-ʿUzzā* is an old Arabian goddess, whose name means "the Strong, the Powerful." Her main sanctuary was in the valley of Nakhlah. In Mecca, she formed a trinity with *al-Lāt* and *Manāt* and they were called the three "daughters of Allāh." Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, III, 30–42. See Ṭabarī, above I, 1161, n. 78.

The Events of the Year

10

(April 9, 631–March 28, 632)

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, in the month of Rabī' II (it is said in the month of Rabī' I, or in Jumādā I), the Messenger of God sent Khālid b. al-Walīd with an army of four hundred to the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b.[564]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: The Messenger of God sent Khālid b. al-Walīd in the month of Rabī' II, or Jumādā I, in the year 10/631 to the Balḥārith[565] b. Ka'b in Najrān, [566] and ordered him to invite them to Islam for three days before he fought them. If they should respond to him [with the acceptance of Islam], then he was to accept it from them,[567] and to stay with them and teach them the Book of God, the *sunnah* of His prophet, and the requirements of Islam (*ma'ālim al-islām*); if they should decline, then he was to fight them.

564. A clan of a South Arabian tribe. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 416–17. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 72; II/1, 122.

565. Ibn Isḥāq: Banū al-Ḥārith.

566. Name of a town and a district in northern Yemen. *EI*[1], s.v. Nadjrān. For its topography see Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, 213ff.

567. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: And if they declined he was to fight them.

Khālid departed and came to them, sending out riders in every direction inviting them to Islam and saying, "O people, accept Islam, and you will be safe." So they embraced Islam and responded to his call. Khālid stayed with them, teaching them Islam, the Book of God, and the *sunnah* of His prophet.[568]

Then Khālid wrote to the Messenger of God:[569] "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, to Muḥammad the Prophet, the Messenger of God, from Khālid b. al-Walīd. Peace be upon [1725] you, O Messenger of God, and God's mercy and blessings. I praise God unto you, the only God. Now then: O Messenger of God, God bless you. You sent me to the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b and ordered that, when I came to them, I should not fight them for three days and that I should invite them to Islam. [You also ordered that] if they accepted it, I should accept it from them and teach them the requirements of Islam, the Book of God, and the *sunnah* of His Prophet. If they did not accept Islam, I was to fight them. I came to them and invited them to Islam for three days as the Messenger of God commanded me, and I sent riders among them [announcing], 'O Banū al-Ḥārith, embrace Islam, and you will be safe.' They have surrendered and did not fight, and I am staying in their midst ordering them [to do] what God has ordered, forbidding them from [doing] what God has forbidden, and teaching them the requirements of Islam and the *sunnah* of the Prophet until the Messenger of God writes to me. Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God, and God's mercy and blessings."

The Messenger of God wrote to him:[570] "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, from Muḥammad, the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to Khālid b. al-Walīd. Peace be upon you. I praise God, the only God, unto you. Now then: Your letter has reached me via your messenger[571] with the news[572] that the Banū al-Ḥārith [b. Ka'b][573] surrendered before they fought[574] and re-

568. Addition in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: For that was what the Messenger of God had ordered him to do if they accepted Islam and did not fight.
569. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 131.
570. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 132.
571. As in Ibn Isḥāq and Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmū'ah*, 132). Text: Messengers.
572. Hisch. and Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmū'ah*): Informing [me].
573. Addition from Ḥamīdullāh.
574. Hisch., Ḥamīdullāh: Before you fought them.

sponded to your invitation to Islam and pronouncement (of[575] the *shahādah*) that there is no god except God alone, who has no associate, and that Muḥammad is His Servant and Messenger. God has guided them with His guidance, so give them good tidings and warn them and return, and let their deputation come with you. Peace be upon you, and God's mercy and His blessings."

Then Khālid b. al-Walīd came back to the Messenger of God and with him came the deputation of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b. Qays b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Yazīd b. Qanān Dhū al-Ghuṣṣah, Yazīd b. [1726] 'Abd al-Madān,[576] Yazīd b. al-Muḥajjal, 'Abdallāh b. Qurayẓ[577] al-Ziyādī, Shaddād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Qanānī, and 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḍabābī were among the delegation. When they came to the Messenger of God, he saw them and asked who those people were, because they looked like Indians. He was told that they were the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b. When they stood before the Messenger of God, they greeted him and said, "We testify that you are the Messenger of God and that there is no god but Allāh." He replied, "And I testify that there is no god but Allāh, and that I am the Messenger of God." Then he said, "You are the ones who when driven away would push forward." They became silent and none of them answered him. He repeated it three times and none of them replied. When he repeated it the fourth time Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Madān replied, "Yes, O Messenger of God, we are the ones who, when driven away, pushed forward," and he repeated it four times. The Messenger of God said, "Had Khālid b. al-Walīd not written to me that you had surrendered and had not fought, I would have thrown your heads underneath your feet." Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Madān answered, "By God, O Messenger of God, we did not eulogize you, nor did we eulogize Khālid." "Then whom did you eulogize?" he asked. They said, "We exalted God who guided us through you." "You have spoken the truth," he said, and then asked them, "With what did you overpower those who fought you in pre-Islamic times (*al-jāhiliyyah*)?"[578] "We did not prevail over anyone," they replied. "Yes, indeed, you did prevail over

575. Hisch., Ḥamīdullāh: And they pronounced.
576. Ibn Sa'd adds: 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Madān.
577. Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Sa'd: Qurād.
578. See *EI*², s.v. Djāhiliyya.

those who fought you," he said. They replied, "O Messenger of God, we used to overpower those who fought us because we were the sons of slaves and[579] were united, not divided, and never [1727] committed an injustice against anyone." "You have spoken the truth," he said, and appointed Qays b. al-Ḥuṣayn as their leader.[580]

The deputation of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b returned to their people at the end of Shawwāl or the beginning of Dhū al-Qa'dah. After their return there did not pass but four months before the Messenger of God died.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: I have received an account on the authority of 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: After the deputation of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b returned, the Messenger of God sent 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī and later someone from the Banū al-Najjār[581] to instruct them in religion, to teach them the *sunnah* and the requirements of Islam, and to collect alms from them. The Messenger of God wrote a letter for 'Amr entrusting him with his commands. [It read]:[582]

"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a declaration from God and His Messenger. 'O you the believers, fulfill your contracts.'[583] [This is a] deed from Muḥammad, the Prophet, to 'Amr b. Ḥazm when he sent him to the Yemen. He orders him to fear God (*taqwā*) in all his doings for 'Surely God is with those who are god-fearing, and those who are doers of good.'[584] He commands him to observe the truth as God has commanded, that he should give the people tidings of good (*al-khayr*), command them to follow it, teach them the Qur'ān, instruct them in religion, and forbid them [from wrongdoing], because 'None but the purified shall touch the Qur'ān.'[585] [He]

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579. We were . . . and: Omitted from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.

580. According to Ibn Sa'd, the Prophet gave him twelve *ūqīyahs* [of silver] as a gift.

581. 'Amr b. Ḥazm was from the Banū Najjār, a clan of al-Khazraj. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 21; V, 49–50; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 347–49.

582. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 173–77, where it is analyzed into twenty-two themes.

583. Qur'ān 5:1.

584. Ibid., 16:128.

585. Ibid., 56:79.

should inform the people of their privileges and obligations and be gentle to them when right is with them, but be severe with them when they are unjust, for God abhors injustice and forbids it, and states, 'Surely the curse of God shall rest upon the evildoers.'[586]

"He should give the people good news of paradise and the way to attain it,[587] and should warn them of hell-fire and the way to earn it. [He] should court the friendship of the people until they comprehend religion and should teach them the rites of pil-
[1728] grimage, its practices, its obligations, and what God has commanded about it with regard to the greater pilgrimage (*al-ḥajj al-akbar*)[588] and the lesser pilgrimage (*al-ḥajj al-aṣghar*), the latter being the *'umrah*.[589] [He must] prohibit people from praying in one small garment unless it be a garment whose ends[590] could be doubled over the shoulders.[591] [He must] forbid them from wrapping themselves in one garment which would expose [what decency requires to be concealed][592] and forbid men to braid their hair when it is long on the back of the head. [He must] forbid them from appealing to tribes and kinsfolk when there is a dispute among them, but let their appeal be to God alone who has no associate. He who does not appeal to God but [instead] to tribes and kinsfolk should be smitten with the sword, so that the appeal is made to God alone who has no associate. [He must] command the people to perform the ablution thoroughly with plentiful water—washing the face, washing the hands and the forearms up to the elbows, washing the feet up to the ankles, and rubbing [the wet hands] on the head as God has commanded.[593]

"He orders him to offer prayer at the appropriate times with proper bowing and humility; the morning prayer at daybreak, the

586. Ibid., 11:18.
587. Hisch., Ḥamīdullāh: And its distinguished mark.
588. For the *ḥajj*, see *EI*[2], s.v. Ḥadjdj.
589. See *EI*[1], s.v. 'Umra.
590. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq. Text: End.
591. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq. Text: Shoulder.
592. The tradition states: None of you should pray in a single garment of which no part comes over his shoulders. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 236–40; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 153–55. Transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim.
593. For details, see Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 125–34; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 82–87.

noon prayer at noon when the sun declines, the afternoon prayer when the sun is declining, the sunset prayer when the night approaches (it should not be delayed until the stars appear in the sky), and the evening prayer at the beginning of the night.[594] [He must] order them to go to the congregational prayer when they are summoned, and to wash the whole body (*ghusl*) before going [to the congregational prayer].[595]

"He orders him to take God's fifth from booty and those alms enjoined on the faithful from landed property—one tenth from the land watered by streams[596] and rain, and one twentieth from land watered by a leathern bucket; two sheep for every ten camels [1729] and four sheep for every twenty camels; a cow for every forty cows and a bull or a cow calf for every thirty cows; one sheep for every forty sheep at pasture. This is the ordinance of God which He has enjoined on the faithful concerning alms. He who adds thereto earns merit. A Christian or a Jew who embraces Islam sincerely, out of his own accord, and follows the religion of Islam, is among the faithful with the same privileges and the same obligations. He who holds fast to his Christianity or Judaism is not to be seduced[597] from it. On every adult, male or female, free or slave, [the poll tax] is one full dīnār, or its substitute (*'arḍuhu*)[598] in clothes. He who pays [the poll tax] has the protection of God and His Messenger, and he who withholds it is the enemy of God, His Messenger, and all the faithful."

Al-Wāqidī: When the Messenger of God died, 'Amr b. Ḥazm was his agent (*'āmil*) in Najrān.

Al-Wāqidī: In this year, the deputation of Salāmān came to the Messenger of God in Shawwāl. They were seven people headed by Ḥabīb al-Salāmānī.[599]

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594. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 184ff.; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 118ff.

595. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 427–40; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 284–92.

596. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmū'ah* 175). Text: *Al-Ba'l*. It signifies what imbibes with its roots, without irrigation or rain; or palm trees growing in land whereof the supply of water is near to the surface, so that it needs no irrigation. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. b-'-l. See Ṭabarī above, I, 1718.

597. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmū'ah*, 175): Not to be turned from it.

598. It means width but is also used meaning compensation, substitute. (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. '-r-ḍ). Ibn Isḥāq: *'iwaḍuhu* [i.e., substitute].

599. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 67, states that everyone in the delegation received five *ūqīyahs* [of silver] as a gift. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 295.

In this year, the deputation of Ghassān[600] came in Ramaḍān.

In this year, the deputation of Ghāmid came in Ramaḍān.[601]

In this year, the deputation of al-Azd headed by Ṣurad b. ʿAbdallāh came, and they were ten odd.[602]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr: Ṣurad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azdī came to the Messenger of God with the deputation from al-Azd, embraced Islam, and be-
[1730] came a good Muslim. The Messenger of God invested him with authority over those of his people who had embraced Islam and ordered him to fight the polytheists from the tribes of the Yemen with them. Ṣurad b. ʿAbdallāh then left with an army by the Messenger of God's command and alighted at Jurash,[603] which at that time was a closed city inhabited by Yemenī tribes. Khathʿam[604] had sought refuge with them, and when they heard that the Muslims were marching they shut themselves in it. The Muslims besieged them for about a month but the tribes refrained from coming out of the city. Ṣurad withdrew from them, appearing to return. While he was near a mountain called Kashar,[605] the inhabitants of Jurash, thinking that he had fled from them, came out in pursuit of him. When they overtook him he turned on them and inflicted a heavy loss on them.

The people of Jurash had sent two of their men to the Messenger of God while he was in Medina to explore and see [what was taking place]. One evening, after the afternoon prayer, while they were with the Messenger of God, he inquired in what country Shakar was. The two men from Jurash got up and replied, "O Messenger of God, there is a mountain in our country called Kashar, and the people of Jurash call it likewise." "It is not Kashar but Shakar," he replied. They said, "What is [the news] of it, O Messenger of God?" He replied, "Camels brought for sacrifice to God [at Mecca] are being slaughtered there now." Then the two

600. Ibn Saʿd. *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 71–72, states that the delegation accepted Islam, but they kept their conversion secret because their people did not accept Islam. See also Ṭabarī, above, I, 1675, n. 200.

601. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 76–77. They were ten.

602. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 71; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 295.

603. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1669, n. 145.

604. A South Arabian tribe related to Azd. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 387, 390. See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 78.

605. Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Saʿd: Shakar. For Shakar, see Jāsir, *Sarāt*, 45–46.

men sat with Abū Bakr, or with 'Uthmān, who said to them, "Woe to you! The Messenger of God has just now announced to you the death of your people, so go to him and ask to pray to God to remove [that affliction] from your people." They went and did so, and he did pray for them. Then they left the Messenger of God and returned to their people, and discovered that they were killed on the day Ṣurad attacked them, which was the very day and at the very hour in which the Messenger of God had uttered those words.

The deputation of Jurash returned to the Messenger of God and [1731] embraced Islam, and he declared the environs of their city to be a sanctuary (*ḥim*^{an}) with well-known marks[606] for horses, mounts, and ploughing oxen. Anyone who pastured his cattle elsewhere (other than in the sanctuary), then his cattle could be seized and destroyed with impunity.[607] A man from al-Azd said with regard to that raid that Khath'am used to attack Azd in pre-Islamic times and used to invade them in the sacred month:

O what a raid! We never raided before with such success,
with mules, horses, and asses,
Until we came to Ḥumayr in its strongholds—
where Khath'am had assembled and were given warnings.
If I could satisfy the thirst for revenge which I carried,
I should not care whether they followed Islam
or were infidels.

In this year, the Messenger of God dispatched 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib with an army to the Yemen in Ramaḍān.[608]

Abū Kurayb[609] and Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Hayyāj[610]—Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azajī[611]—Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf[612]—his fa-

606. It refers to the landmarks, probably whitewashed cairns. Ryckmans, *Religions*, 9; Serjeant, "Translation," 6.
607. For the document, see Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 242–43.
608. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 290–91; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1079–83; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 122.
609. Muḥammad b. al-'Alā' b. Kurayb al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī died in 248/862. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 385–86.
610. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Hayyāj al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī died in 255/869. Ibid., IX, 362–63.
611. Ibid., XI, 250 (al-Azjī al-Kūfī).
612. Died in 198/813–14. Ibid., I, 183.

ther[613]—Abū Isḥāq—al-Barā' b. 'Āzib:[614] The Messenger of God sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to the people of the Yemen inviting them to Islam, and I was among those who went with him. He persisted in the matter for six months, but they did not respond, so the Messenger of God sent 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and ordered him that
[1732] Khālid and those who were with him should return, but if any of them would like to follow him he should allow them. Al-Barā' said, "I was one who followed 'Alī, and as we reached the borders of the Yemen the people got the news. They gathered around him and 'Alī led us in the morning prayer. When he had finished [the prayer], he lined us up in one row. Then he moved before us, praised and extolled God, and then read to them the letter of the Messenger of God.[615] All of Hamdān embraced Islam in one day, and he wrote to the Messenger of God about it. When the Prophet read 'Alī's letter he fell down, prostrating himself to God.[616] Then he sat up and said, 'Peace be upon Hamdān, peace be upon Hamdān!' [After the conversion of Hamdān] the people of the Yemen followed in succession with their acceptance of Islam."

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, the deputation of Zubayd[617] came to the Prophet with their acceptance of Islam.[618]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib[619] came to the Messenger of God with men from the Banū Zubayd and embraced Islam. He had told Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādī when the Messenger of God's news reached them: "O Qays, you are the leader of your tribe today. We have been told that a man from Quraysh called Muḥammad has appeared in the Ḥijāz[620] and claims that he is a prophet. So come with us in order that we may learn about him. If he is a prophet as

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613. Yūsuf b. Isḥāq b. Abī Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī died in 157/773–74. Ibid., XI, 408–9.

614. He was from the tribe of Khazraj and an ardent supporter of 'Alī. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 364; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, I, 155; Jafri, *Origins*, 52.

615. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 132–33.

616. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 300.

617. A clan of Yām of Hamdān. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 227, 229: Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 394.

618. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 64; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 297–98.

619. He was a famous warrior and poet of a noble Yemenite family. After the Prophet's death he apostatized, supported al-Aswad al-'Ansī, and fought against the Muslims. He was taken captive but was freed later. Probably he was killed at al-Qādisiyyah or Nihāwand. *EI*², s.v. 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib.

620. The northwestern part of Arabian Peninsula. *EI*², s.v. Ḥidjāz.

he says, then it will not be hidden from you, and when we meet him we will follow him. If he is other than that we shall know about him." But Qays b. Makshūḥ declined and called ['Amr b. Ma'dīkarib's] idea foolish. Thereupon 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib rode off and came to the Messenger of God, attested his truthfulness, and embraced Islam. When Qays learned about it he criticized 'Amr and threatened[621] him, saying that he had gone against him and rejected his counsel. With regard to that, 'Amr said:

On the day of Dhū Ṣan'ā' I counseled you, [1733]
    counsel which was plainly upright.
I counseled you to fear God,
    practice goodness, and come to its understanding.
Out of worldly desires you went off,
    like a donkey[622] beguiled by its lust.
He wished to meet me on a horse,
    which I ride like a lion,
Wearing a wide coat of mail glittering like a pool,
    whose water is purified against hard level ground.
Mail that repels lances with their heads bent,
    with broken shafts flying around.
If you had encountered me,
    you would have encountered a lion with a flowing mane.
You would confront a lion
    with rough claws and lofty back,
Vying with his rival for glory;
    if the rival heads for him he grasps him in his arms,
Seizes him and lifts him up,
    throws him down and kills him,
Dashes out his brains and shatters him,
    tears him apart and devours him,
Admitting none a share in what
    his teeth and claws could take.[623]
Whenever he feeds on the prey,
    he is received coolly.

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621. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq. Text: Became vigilant.
622. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: A little donkey.
623. The following verses are omitted from Ibn Isḥāq. Ibn Hishām states that some of the above verses were recited differently to him.

He shakes like the shaking of a stallion,
whose drink is covered with foam,
[1734] Become afflicted with gnats,
and deprived of reaching his country.
Do not wish to encounter me,
wish for someone else with soft shoulders.
Provide me with a country for him,
where the people around him will be numerous.

'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib stayed with his people the Banū Zubayd while Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī[624] was their chieftain. When the Messenger of God died, 'Amr apostatized and said:

We found Farwah's reign the worst of reigns,
a donkey sniffing at dirt.[625]
If you had looked at Abū 'Umayr,
you would have seen him like a caul filled with filth
and treachery.

Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī had come to the Messenger of God in this year [i.e., 10/631] before the coming of 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib, disassociating himself from the kings of Kindah.[626]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī came to the Messenger of God, withdrawing himself from the kings of Kindah[627] out of hostility toward them. Shortly before [the advent of] Islam, there was a battle between Murād[628] and Hamdān wherein the latter gave a sound thrashing to the former in an encounter called *al-razm*.[629] The person who led Hamdān over Murād was al-Ajda' b. Mālik, who put them to disgrace on that day. Concerning that [engagement], Farwah b. Musayk said:

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624. He headed the Murād delegation, and the Prophet appointed him as the head of the Murād, Zubayd, and Madhḥij. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, I/2, 63–64.

625. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: *Thafr*. It means the vulva of an animal of prey. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. th-f-r.

626. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 295–97.

627. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: And distancing himself from them.

628. A clan of Madhḥij. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 258; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 406.

629. Hisch., and Ibn Isḥāq: *Al-Radm*. *Razm* means death, while *radm* means a thing that intervenes between two other things, an obstruction, a barrier. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. r-d-m.

If we are victorious, we were victors of old,[630] [1735]
and if defeated, we were not defeated before.[631]
If we are killed,[632] it is not (because of) cowardice,
but (because of) our fate and the bait[633] of others.
Likewise is the fate whose wheel turns
now for and now against.
When it is with us we are delighted and rejoice in it,
though its opulence has shielded us for years.
When the wheel of fate turns,
those who were envied are found ground to pieces,
And those who were envied with the turn of fate
will find the turn of time deceptive.
If kings remained forever we would be immortal,
and if the noble endured we would endure.
But those leaders of my people are annihilated,
like the annihilation of previous generations.

When Farwah b. Musayk headed for the Messenger of God, separating himself from the kings of Kindah, he said:

When I saw the kings of Kindah turning away,
like a man's foot letting him down by his leg's sinew,
I turned to my camel, leading the way to Muḥammad,
hoping for the virtues and good earth of Medina.

When he reached him, the Messenger of God asked him, "It has [1736]
been reported to me, O Farwah, that you were upset at what happened to your people on the day of *al-razm*." He replied, "O Messenger of God, what befell my people on that day would upset any person if it happened to his people." The Messenger of God answered that if it were so, Islam would bring only good to his people, and appointed him [as a leader] over Murād, Zubayd, and

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630. Additional verse in Ibn Isḥāq:
They passed by Lufāt with sunken eyes,
tugging at reins as they turned.
Lufāt is a place name in the Murād country.

631. Ibn Isḥāq:
. . . if we are conquered we were not conquered before.

632. Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn al-Athīr:
And our nature is not cowardice.

633. Ibn al-Athīr: And the good fortune of others.

Madhḥij[634] and sent with him Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ in charge of the alms. Khālid remained with Farwah in his country until the Messenger of God died.

Abū Kurayb and Sufyān b. Wakīʿ[635]—Abū Usāmah—Mujālid[636]—ʿĀmir—Farwah b. Musayk: The Messenger of God asked me, "Are you distressed about your people's encounter with Hamdān?" "Yes, by God, it annihilated my kinsfolk and near relatives," I replied. He said, "It is better for those who survived."

In this year, the deputation of ʿAbd al-Qays[637] arrived.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Al-Jārūd b. ʿAmr b. Ḥanash b. al-Muʿallā, a brother of ʿAbd al-Qays, who was a Christian, came to the Messenger of God with a deputation of ʿAbd al-Qays.[638]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār[639]—al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī]: When al-Jārūd reached the Messenger of God, he spoke to him, and the Messenger of God proposed Islam to him, invited him to embrace it, and made him desirous of Islam. He answered, "O Muḥammad, I followed a religion, and now if I
[1737] leave it for yours will you guarantee my religion?"[640] The Messenger of God replied, "Yes, I guarantee that what God has guided you to is better than that [i.e., which you practice]." So he and his companions embraced Islam. Then they asked the Messenger of God for mounts, and when he replied that he had none they said, "O Messenger of God, between us [i.e., Medina] and our country there are some stray beasts that strayed from their owners. Can we ride them to our country?" He replied, "No, beware of them. Indeed, it [leads to] hell-fire."

Al-Jārūd then left for his people. He was a good Muslim, steadfast in his religion until he died, having lived through the period

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634. A South Arabian tribe. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 176, 258; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 476–77.

635. Sufyān b. Wakīʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Kūfī died in 247/861. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 123–24.

636. Mujālid b. Saʿīd al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī died in 144/761–62. Ibid., X, 39–41.

637. A branch of Rabīʿah. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 141, 168; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 295–96.

638. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 54, states that they stayed in Medina for ten days and the Prophet gave them gifts before they departed. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298.

639. Al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār, Abū Saʿīd al-Baṣrī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 275–76.

640. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq. The text is without the interrogative particle.

of apostasy (*al-riddah*).[641] When some of his people who had embraced Islam went back to their earlier religion with al-Gharūr[642] al-Mundhir b. al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, al-Jārūd stood up, confessed his Islam and invited them back to it saying, "O people, I testify that there is no god but God, and Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger. I am done with him[643] who does not pronounce the *shahādah*."

The Messenger of God had sent al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā al-'Abdī before the conquest of Mecca,[644] and he embraced Islam and became a good Muslim. Al-Mundhir died after the Messenger of God but before the apostasy of the people of al-Baḥrayn,[645] while al-'Alā', who was the Messenger of God's *amīr* (deputy) over al-Baḥrayn, was with him.

In this year, the deputation of the Banū Ḥanīfah[646] came.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The deputation of the Banū Ḥanīfah came to the Messenger of God and among them was Musaylimah b. Ḥabīb,[647] the arch liar. They stayed with the daughter of al-Ḥārith,[648] a woman of the *Anṣār* from the Banū Najjār.[649]

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641. It is generally translated as "the wars of apostasy," because in the traditional sources it is reported as a religious movement directed against Islam. This view was first challenged by Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, VI, 7–37), and Caetani (*Annali*, II, 549–831), who argued that it was essentially political in nature. The leaders of the *riddah*, often called "the false prophets," represented themselves as possessing prophetic aspirations; hence it was not wholly devoid of religious character. Cf. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 147–48. Its character and extent are analyzed by Shoufani, *al-Riddah*, 71–106.

642. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Gharūr b. al-Mundhir.

643. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: I regard him an infidel.

644. According to Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 19, 27–28, 41, the Prophet sent al-'Alā' to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, who was Khusraw's governor over al-Baḥrayn after he had returned from al-Ji'rānah. See also Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 112–15.

645. In pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, this name was applied to the mainland of Eastern Arabia, embracing the oases of al-Qaṭīf and Hajar (al-Ḥasā). Later, it was restricted to the archipelago offshore. *EI*², s.v. al-Baḥrayn.

646. A large section of this ancient Arab tribe revolted against Medina under Musaylimah. *EI*², s.v. Ḥanīfa. For the delegation, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 55–56; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298.

647. Musaylimah, diminutive of Maslamah (which was his real name), was the theocratic lord of a sacred *ḥaram*. According to one report, he had set up this sacred enclave in Yamāmah before the Prophet's *hijrah*. He thus controlled an extensive area of the eastern Arabia. *EI*¹, s.v. Musailima; Serjeant, "Early Arabic Prose," 127.

648. She was Ramlah bt. al-Ḥārith. Ibn Sa'd.

649. A clan of Khazraj. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 185, 186; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 347–52.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: I have received an account
[1738] on the authority of some of our Medinese scholars: The Banū Ḥanīfah brought Musaylimah to the Messenger of God, veiling him with a garment, while the Messenger of God was seated among his companions, holding a palm branch with some leaves on its upper end. When he approached the Messenger of God while being veiled with garments, he spoke to him [and asked][650] [for a gift]. The Messenger of God replied, "If you had asked me for this palm branch which I hold, I would not have given it to you."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—a shaykh of the Banū Ḥanīfah from the people of al-Yamāmah:[651] The story of Musaylimah differs from the one mentioned before. [This shaykh] alleged that the deputation of the Banū Ḥanīfah came to the Messenger of God and left Musaylimah behind with their baggage. When they embraced Islam, they mentioned to the Prophet where he was, saying, "O Messenger of God, we have left behind a companion of ours to guard our camels and baggage." The Messenger of God ordered for him the same as he had ordered for them, saying, "His position, guarding the property of his companions, is not worse than yours." This is what the Messenger of God meant.

Then they left the Messenger of God and brought Musaylimah what the Prophet had given him.[652] When they reached al-Yamāmah, Musaylimah (the enemy of God) apostatized, posed as a prophet, and played the liar, saying, "I have been made a partner with him [i.e., Muḥammad] in the affair." He then said to his deputation, "Did not the Messenger of God say to you when you mentioned me to him that my position is no worse than yours? What could it mean except that he knew I have been made his associate?"[653] Then he began to speak in rhyming speech (*saj'*)[654] and in imitation of the Qur'ān: "God has bestowed favors upon the pregnant woman; He has brought forth from her a living being

650. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.

651. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1702, n. 407.

652. Ibn Sa'd adds: Musaylimah said, "The Prophet knows that after him the authority belongs to me."

653. He is said to have proposed sharing power over Arabia. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1749.

654. It was used for expressing an oracle. Fahd, *Divination*, 151–53.

that moves from between the bowels and peritoneum."[655] He rid them of the burden of prayer, and permitted them to drink wine and fornicate and so forth, [yet][656] he acknowledged the Messenger of God as a prophet. The Banū Ḥanīfah agreed with him on that. God knows best what the truth was. [1739]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, the deputation of Kindah headed by al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī arrived.[657]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī: Al-Ash'ath b. Qays came to the Messenger of God with sixty[658] riders from Kindah, and went to him in his mosque. They had combed their locks and darkened their eyelids with kohl, and were wearing striped robes (of the Yemenī fabric) bordered with silk. When they entered, the Messenger of God asked, "Have you not embraced Islam?" "Yes, indeed," they answered. "Why, then, is this silk hanging round your necks?" he asked. So they tore it off and threw it away. Then al-Ash'ath said, "O Messenger of God, we are the sons of those who eat bitter herbs and so are you."[659] He smiled and said, "Ascribe this ancestry to al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith." Both were merchants. When they traveled in Arab lands and were asked who they were, they would reply that they were sons of those who ate bitter herbs, and were proud of that because Kindah were kings. Then the Messenger of God said, "We are the sons of al-Naḍr b. Kinānah. We neither follow our mother's [line of descent] nor disown our father's." Al-Ash'ath b. Qays said, "Do you know, O men of Kindah, by God, if I hear a man saying [such a thing] after today, I will thrash him with the prescribed punishment of eighty strokes."[660]

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655. He followed the *kāhin* style of rhymed prose and looked to the Heaven for revelation, and preached in the name of *al-Raḥmān*. See Serjeant, "Early Arabic Prose," 127–28.

656. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.

657. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 64, states that they were ten odd, while Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 298, states that they were sixty.

658. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Eighty.

659. Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 547): "O Messenger of God, we think that you are from us [i.e., having the same ancestry]." The Messenger of God replied, "We are the sons. . . ."

660. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq (*Sīrah*, IV, 232–33): "Are you finished, O men of Kindah? By God, if I hear a man saying [such a thing], I will thrash him with eighty

Al-Wāqidī: In this year, the deputation of Muḥārib[661] came.

In this year, the deputation of al-Rahāwiyyūn[662] came.

[1740] In this year, the deputation of al-ʿĀqib and al-Sayyid[663] from Najrān came, and the Messenger of God wrote a peace treaty for them.[664]

In this year, the deputation of ʿAbs[665] came.

In this year, the deputation of Ṣadif[666] arrived and rendered their full [homage] to the Messenger of God at the Farewell Pilgrimage.

In this year, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī[667] came in [the month of] Shaʿbān.

In this year, Abū ʿĀmir al-Rāhib died at the court of Heraclius [the Byzantine emperor], so Kinānah b. ʿAbd Yālīl and ʿAlqamah b. ʿUlāthah disputed about his inheritance. [Heraclius] decided in favor of Kinānah b. ʿAbd Yālīl, saying that both were city dwellers while ʿAlqamah b. ʿUlāthah was a tent dweller.

In this year, the deputation of Khawlān[668] came. They were ten people.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb:[669] During the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyah[670] and before [the conquest of]

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strokes." Ibn Hishām adds a long note stating that al-Ashʿath b. Qays was, from his mother's side, a descendant of "the eater of bitter herbs."

661. A branch of ʿAbd al-Qays. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 297. See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 43; they were ten; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298.

662. A clan of Madhḥij, a South Arabian tribe. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 412–13. See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 76; they were fifteen; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298.

663. Al-ʿĀqib, whose name was ʿAbd al-Masīḥ al-Kindī, was the head of the delegation. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 84–85; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 293–95.

664. The treaty is reproduced by Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmūʿah*, 140–58.

665. A branch of Ghaṭafān (Qays ʿAylān). Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 92, 132; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 250–52. See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 41–42; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298.

666. A branch of Ḥaḍramawt. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 461. See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 64–65; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298.

667. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1706.

668. A South Arabian tribe of great antiquity. After the death of the Prophet, they at first joined the revolt against Medina, but were brought back to Islam by an expeditionary force. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 61; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 298; *EI*², s.v. Khawlān.

669. His name was Suwayd al-Azdī, and he died in 128/745–46. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 318–19.

670. It is known after the village situated on the edge of the *ḥaram* (sacred territory) of Mecca where the truce was negotiated and signed. *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥudaybiya.

Khaybar,[671] Rifāʿah b. Zayd al-Judhāmī[672] al-Ḍubaybī came to the Messenger of God, presented him a slave, and embraced Islam. He became a good Muslim, and the Messenger of God gave him a letter addressed to his people. In it was written: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a letter from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Rifāʿah b. Zayd. I have sent him to his people in general and those who have joined them [in Islam] to invite others to God and His Messenger. Whoever responds belongs to the party of God and His Messenger, and whoever turns away will have two months' truce."[673] When Rifāʿah came to his people they responded and embraced Islam. Then they went to al-Ḥarrah (the volcanic tract, lava field),[674] the Ḥarrah of al-Rajlāʾ,[675] and camped there.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—one who could be trusted from the men of Judhām who were knowledgeable: When Rifāʿah b. Zayd came [to his people][676] with the Messenger of God's letter [1741] inviting them to Islam, they responded. Soon [the following incident happened]. When Diḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī, who was returning from Caesar,[677] the Byzantine king,[678] [to whom he] was sent by the Messenger of God with some of his merchandise,[679]

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671. A famous oasis and settlement about 150 km from Medina, which owes its renown to the events which took place during its conquest in the year 7/628–29. *EI*², s.v. Khaybar. For its topography and historical geography, see Doughty, *Travels*, II, 77ff.; Philby, *Midian*, 31ff.; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 48–52; Jāsir, *Shimāl*, 217ff.; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 113–19.

672. Judhām is an Arab tribe which claims descent from Kahlān b. Sabāʾ of Yemen. They had settled in pre-Islamic times on the borders of Byzantine Syria and Palestine. *EI*², s.v. Djudhām.

673. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, II, 557; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 82–83. See also Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmūʿah*, 233–34.

674. Doughty, *Travels*, glossary of Arabic words.

675. A place in the Judhām country. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 436; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 246.

676. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.

677. The mission of Diḥyah must have been in the summer of 6/627, since a punitive expedition to punish the Judhām plunderers was sent around October 627. Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 16; IV/1, 184–85), on the other hand, states that Diḥyah was sent by the Prophet in the year 7/628–29 inviting the Byzantine king to Islam. See also Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmūʿah*, 83–86.

It is one of the six embassies sent by the Prophet to the rulers of the surrounding countries inviting them to embrace Islam. This story is not accepted by the scholars as it stands; see Buhl, *Leben*, 294–98; Caetani, *Annali*, I, 725–39; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 43–44, 345.

678. Probably the Byzantine governor nearest to Arabia.

679. Probably the Byzantine presents to Muḥammad.

reached a valley called Shanār,[680] al-Hunayd b. 'Ūṣ[681] and his son 'Ūṣ b. al-Hunayd al-Ḍulay'ī, a clan of Judhām, attacked him and seized everything that he had. This news reached some people of the Banū Ḍubayb, the kinsfolk of Rifā'ah who had embraced Islam. They responded and went after al-Hunayd and his son; al-Nu'mān b. Abī Ji'āl of the Banū Ḍubayb was among them. When they encountered them, a skirmish followed. On that day, Qurrah b. Ashqar al-Ḍifārī, who traced his ancestry from the clan of al-Ḍulay', said, "I am the son of Lubnā." He shot al-Nu'mān b. Abī Ji'āl with an arrow, hitting him in his knee, saying, "Take it, I am the son of Lubnā." He had a mother who was called Lubnā. Ḥassān b. Mallah al-Ḍubaybī had been a friend of Diḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī before that [incident] and had taught him the *Umm al-Kitāb* [i.e., the first chapter of the Qur'ān]. They rescued what was in the hands of al-Hunayd and his son 'Ūṣ and restored it to Diḥyah. Then Diḥyah left and came to the Messenger of God, informed him what had happened, and sought that he be allowed to kill al-Hunayd and his son.

The Messenger of God sent Zayd b. Ḥārithah with a force against them, which was what provoked the raid of Zayd on Ju-
[1742] dhām. All of Ghaṭafān of Judhām, Wā'il,[682] those of Salāmān, and Sa'd b. Hudhaym[683] had set out when Rifā'ah b. Zayd came with the Messenger of God's letter and camped in al-Ḥarrah (the volcanic tract) of al-Rajlā', while Rifā'ah b. Zayd was in Kurā' Rabbah[684] with some people of the Banū al-Ḍubayb, not knowing [what had happened]. At the same time, the rest of the Banū al-Ḍubayb were in a valley [of Madān][685] in the region of the volcanic tract where it stretches to the east.

Zayd b. Ḥārithah's army approached from the direction of al-Awlāj[686] and raided al-Faḍāfiḍ[687] from the direction of the vol-

680. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 65–66): Reached [a place called] Ḥismā. See also Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 446–48.
681. Ibn Sa'd: B. 'Āriḍ, and his son 'Āriḍ.
682. A clan of Judhām. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 245.
683. A clan of Balī. Ibid., 330.
684. A place in the Judhām country. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1122.
685. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.
686. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 282.
687. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Al-Māqiṣ. They are place names, see Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 1025.

canic tract. They rounded up the cattle and men they found, and killed al-Hunayd and his son and two men from the Banū al-Aḥnaf[688] and one from the Banū Khaṣīb.[689] When the Banū al-Ḍubayb and the army, who were in the flat plain of Madān,[690] heard about [the raid], Ḥassān b. Mallah, Unayf b. Mallah, and Abū Zayd b. ʿAmr rode to them. Ḥassān rode on Suwayd b. Zayd's horse called al-ʿAjājah, and Unayf on Mallah's horse called Righāl, and Abū Zayd on his own horse called Shamir. They went on until they approached the army, at which time Abū Zayd[691] said to Unayf b. Mallah, "Hold back from us and leave, for we are afraid of your tongue." So he left and held himself back. The two had hardly left him when his horse began to scrape the ground and jump. He said [to the horse], "I am more withholding from the two men than you are from the two horses," and he slackened the reins until he overtook them. They said to him, "If you are going to do what you have done, then spare us your tongue and don't bring us bad luck today." They agreed among themselves that only Ḥassān b. Mallah should speak. Now they had a word [1743] which they learned from one another in the pre-Islamic days. If someone wanted to strike with his sword he said *"thūrī."*[692] When they approached the army, the men came running to them and Ḥassān told them that they were Muslims. The first man to meet them was riding a deep black horse with his lance stretched out as if he had fixed it on the withers of his horse, and was saying, "Forward, overtake," while he advanced, leading the others. Unayf said *"thūrī,"* and Ḥassān told him to take it easy. When they stood before Zayd b. Ḥārithah, Ḥassān said, "We are Muslims." Zayd replied, "Then recite the *Umm al-Kitāb*." When Ḥassān recited it, Zayd b. Ḥārithah said, "Proclaim to the army that God has forbidden us their land except from those who were unfaithful to their covenant."

Ḥassān b. Mallah's sister, the wife of Abū Wabr b. ʿAdī b. Umayyah b. al-Ḍubayb, was among the prisoners. Zayd told him

688. Hisch., Ibn Hishām: Al-Ajnaf.
689. Both Banū Aḥnaf and Banū Khaṣīb are clans of Judhām. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 245.
690. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, IV, 1200 [Mudān]; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 74.
691. Addition in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: And Ḥassān.
692. Addition in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Or *būrī*.

to take her and she clung to his waist. Umm al-Fazr of al-Ḍulayʿ said, "Are you going away with your daughters and leaving behind your mothers?" One of the Banū Khaṣīb said, "She is from the Banū al-Ḍubayb and their tongues cast spells all day long." Someone from the army heard that and told Zayd b. Ḥārithah about it, so he ordered that the hands of Ḥassān's sister be loosed from his waist and told her to sit with the daughters of her uncle until God decided about them. So, they [i.e., Ḥassān's party] went back and [Zayd] forbade the army to go down into the valley whence they had come. They [i.e., Ḥassān's party] passed the night with their people and milked the camels of Suwayd b. Zayd at nightfall. After they had drunk their night draught of milk, they rode off to Rifāʿah b. Zayd (among those who went were Abū
[1744] Zayd b. ʿAmr, Abū Shammās b. ʿAmr, Suwayd b. Zayd, Baʿjah b. Zayd, Bardhaʿ b. Zayd, Thaʿlabah b. ʿAmr,[693] Makhrabah[694] b. ʿAdī, Unayf b. Mallah, and Ḥassān b. Mallah), until they came to Rifāʿah b. Zayd in the morning in Kurāʿ Rabbah in the plain of the volcanic tract by a well there in Ḥarrat Laylā.[695] Ḥassān b. Mallah said to him, "You sit milking goats while the women of Judhām are dragged off as prisoners. The letter which you have brought with you has deceived them." Rifāʿah asked for his camel and began to saddle it while reciting:

"Are you alive or do you call the living?"

In the early morning, they and he, with Umayyah b. Ḍafārah, the brother of the slain Khaṣībī, left the plain of the volcanic tract and journeyed for three nights to the plains of Medina. When they entered the city and arrived at the mosque, a man looked at them and said, "Don't make your camels kneel—otherwise their legs will be cut off." So they dismounted while the camels were standing. When they came to the Messenger of God, he saw them and waved them with his hand to advance [toward him] from behind the people. As Rifāʿah began to speak, a man [from the gathering] got up and said, "O Prophet of God, these men are sorcerers," and repeated it twice. Rifāʿah replied, "May God forgive him who does not treat us well today." Then he handed over the letter to the

693. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Zayd.
694. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Mukharribah.
695. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 436; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 247–48.

Messenger of God which he had written for him, saying, "It falls short of your [dignity], O Messenger of God; it was written long [1745] ago but its violation is very recent." The Messenger of God asked a young man to read it openly. When he had read it, he asked what had happened. After they had told him the news, he said, "What am I to do about the slain?" and repeated it three times. Rifāʿah replied, "You, O Messenger of God, know best. We do not make unlawful what you consider to be lawful and we do not make lawful what you consider to be unlawful." Abū Zayd b. ʿAmr said, "Release, O Messenger of God, those who are alive and overlook those who are dead." He answered, "Abū Zayd spoke the truth. O ʿAlī, ride with them." ʿAlī replied, "O Messenger of God, Zayd will not obey me." He replied, "Take [this] sword of mine," and gave him his sword. Then ʿAlī told him that he did not have a beast to ride. The Messenger of God mounted him on a camel called al-Mikḥāl belonging to Thaʿlabah b. ʿAmr, and they departed. Suddenly a messenger from Zayd b. Ḥārithah appeared on a camel of Abū Wabr called al-Shamir. They dismounted from him and he asked ʿAlī, "What have I done?" ʿAlī replied, "It is their property, they recognized it and took it back." They continued until they met the army at Fayfāʾ al-Faḥlatayn[696] and took back the property which was in their possession, even to a woman's saddle cloth from beneath a saddle.[697]

The Deputation of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah[698]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatādah: The deputation of the Banū ʿĀmir came to the Messenger of God, and among them were ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl, Arbad b. Qays b. Mālik[699] b. Jaʿfar, and Jabbār b. Sulmā[700] b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar. These [1746] three were the chiefs and mischief-makers (*shayāṭīn*) of the tribe. ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl[701] came to the Messenger of God intending to

696. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 237.
697. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, IV, 264–65, cites a poem of Abū Jiʿāl.
698. A branch of Hawāzin. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 93; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 272–73.
699. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Jaz' b. Khālid b. Jaʿfar. Ibn Saʿd: Arbad b. Rabīʿah b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar.
700. Ibn Isḥāq: Salmā.
701. The enemy of God: Addition in Ibn Isḥāq. He was responsible for the massacre of the Muslim deputation at Biʾr Maʿūnah. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, III, 193 ff.; Lings, *Muhammad*, 322–23.

act perfidiously. His people had urged him to embrace Islam because others had embraced it, but he said, "By God, I have sworn that I would not cease [to attain power] until the Arabs follow me. Am I to follow the footsteps of this youth from Quraysh?" Then he said to Arbad, "When we[702] come to the man, I will divert his attention from you, and as I do that, cleave him with the sword." When they came to the Messenger of God, ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl said, "O Muḥammad, can I [talk to you] privately?"[703] He replied, "No, by God, [I will not talk to you] until you believe in God alone." [ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl] repeated his request for privacy and went on talking to him, expecting that Arbad would act as he had told him, but Arbad did not return a word in reply. When ʿĀmir saw that Arbad did not respond, he again repeated his request and the Messenger of God gave him the same reply. When the Messenger of God refused, he said, "Then, by God, I will fill the land with red horses[704] and men against you." When he turned away, the Messenger of God said, "O God, protect me from ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl."[705] On their return, ʿĀmir said to Arbad, "Woe to you, Arbad! What happened to that with which I had charged you? By God, there was no man on the face of the earth whom I feared more than you, but by God, I shall never fear you after today."
[1747] "May you have no father, don't be hasty with me," Arbad replied, "By God, whenever I tried to do what you had asked me to do, you got in my way so that I could not see anything but you. Was I to strike you with the sword?" ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl said:[706]

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702. As in Ibn Isḥāq. Text: I.

703. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 51–52, gives a different version. He states: ʿĀmir asked, "What would I get, O Muḥammad, if I accept Islam?" "You have the same rights and obligations as the Muslims," the Prophet replied. He asked, "Would you invest me with authority after you?" "That is neither for you nor for your people," the Prophet answered. He asked, "Would you grant me [authority] over tent dwellers and [you] exercise [authority] over city dwellers?" "No," the Prophet replied, "but I would appoint you as commander of the cavalry, because you are a warrior." He said, "Then, by God, I will fill . . ." Cf. Ibn Shabbah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 515–21, for a similar version. Ibn al-Athīr's (*Kāmil*, II, 298–99) report is similar to that of al-Ṭabarī.

704. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Ibn Shabbah (according to one report): Horses.

705. Ibn Saʿd adds: Give guidance to the Banū ʿĀmir and spare Islam of ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl! Ibn Shabbah: O God, if you cannot guide ʿĀmir, then protect me from him!

706. The following verses are omitted from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.

The Messenger sent what you see, as if
we were intending to raid the troops of horsemen.
Our horses became lean while bringing us to Medina,
and they killed the *Anṣār* in their midst.

While they were on their way back to their country, God afflicted ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl's neck with a fatal disease [a tumor] and killed him while he was in the house of a woman from the Banū Salūl.[707] He began to say, "O Banū ʿĀmir, a lump like the lump of a young camel, and death[708] in the house of a woman from the Banū Salūl!" When they buried him, his companions left for the country of the Banū ʿĀmir. When they arrived there, their people came to them and asked Arbad what had happened. He replied, "Nothing, by God. He [i.e., Muḥammad] called on us to worship something. I wish he were near me now, and I would shoot him with this arrow of mine and kill him." A day or two after he had uttered those words, he went out with his camel to sell[709] it, and God sent a thunderbolt which scorched him and his camel.[710] Arbad b. Qays was brother of Labīd b. Rabīʿah by the same mother.

The deputation of Ṭayyiʾ came to the Messenger of God and talked to him, and he proposed Islam to them. Their leader, Zayd al-Khayl,[711] was among them.[712] They embraced Islam and became good Muslims. [1748]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—some men of Ṭayyiʾ: The Messenger of God said, "Every Arab man that has been spoken of to me in the highest terms has fallen short of what was said about him after I met him except Zayd al-Khayl. Indeed, all that was

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707. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 282, states that he died in 5/626–27. The Banū Salūl was a clan related to the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah noted for its meanness. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 271–72.

708. And death: Omitted from Ibn Isḥāq. Ibn Hishām: A lump like the lump of a camel, and death in a Salūlī house. ʿĀmir's saying is used proverbially where one of the two things is more wicked than the other. Maydānī, *al-Amthāl*, II, 57–58.

709. Ibn Isḥāq: With his camel behind him. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 282.

710. Ibn Hishām cites some Qurʾānic verses [13:9–14] revealed concerning Amir and Arbad. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, IV, 215–19, quotes elegies of Labīd b. Rabīʿah for the death of Arbad.

711. *Al-Khayl* means horses, cavalry.

712. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 59–60, states that they were fifteen men; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 299.

said about him does not render full justice [to all his attainments]." Then [the Prophet] named him Zayd al-Khayr,[713] granted him Fayd[714] and some lands with it, and wrote a document for him to that effect. As he left, returning to his people, the Messenger of God said that he hoped Zayd would escape the fever of Medina. The Messenger of God called it something other than fever and other than *umm mildam*,[715] but [the reporter] could not ascertain which. After Zayd had reached one of the watering places in Najd[716] called Fardah,[717] he was struck with the fever and died there. When he felt that his end was near he said:

Are my kinsfolk setting out eastward tomorrow,
    while I am to be left in a house in Fardah of Najd?
Oftentimes if I fell sick, women would visit me,
    not worn out, but tired by the journey.

When he died, his wife took the documents granted to him by the Messenger of God and burnt them[718] in the fire.

In this year, Musaylimah wrote to the Messenger of God alleging that he was his associate in prophethood.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr:
[1749] Musaylimah b. Ḥabīb, the arch-liar wrote to the Messenger of God:[719] "From Musaylimah the Messenger of God to Muḥammad the Messenger of God. Peace be upon you. Indeed, I have been made a partner with you in authority. To us belongs half of the land and to Quraysh the other half, but Quraysh are a transgressing people."[720] This letter was brought to the Messenger of God by two couriers.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—a Shaykh of Ashjaʿī. Ibn Ḥumayd states: As for ʿAlī b. Mujāhid,[721] he reports from Abū

713. *Al-Khayr* means good, excellent.
714. A place name. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1032–35; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 282–83.
715. A kind of fever. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. l-d-m.
716. The highlands of Arabia, above the coastal plain, the upper part of which is formed by the Tihāmah and the Yemen and the lower by Syria and Iraq. *EI*[1], s.v. Nedjd; Musil, *Northern Neǵd* (for its topography).
717. A place name. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1017–18; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 248–49.
718. Ibn Saʿd: Tore them into pieces.
719. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmūʿah*, 256–57.
720. Ibn Shabbah (*Taʾrīkh*, II, 572): Because [Quraysh] are just people.
721. Died after 182/798. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 377–78.

Mālik al-Ashja'ī[722]—Salamah b. Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd al-Ashja'ī[723]—his father Nu'aym:[724] I heard the Messenger of God saying to the two couriers after they had read Musaylimah's letter, "What do you say about it?" They replied that their answer was what [Musaylimah] had said. "By God," he replied, "were it not that messengers are not to be killed I would have beheaded you."[725] Then he wrote to Musaylimah:[726] "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Musaylimah the arch-liar. 'Peace be upon him who follows [God's] guidance.'[727] Now then: 'Surely the earth belongs to God, who bequeaths it to whom He will among His servants. The ultimate issue is to the God-fearing.'"[728] This was at the end of the year 10/632.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: It is said that the pretension of Musaylimah and of those who falsely alleged prophethood during the time of the Prophet actually took place after the Prophet had returned from his pilgrimage called the "Farewell Pilgrimage" and during the illness in which he died.[729]

'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'īd al-Zuhrī[730]—his uncle Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm[731]—Sayf b. 'Umar.[732] Al-Sarī[733] wrote about it to me [i.e., al-Ṭabarī], saying that he had received an account on the authority of Shu'ayb b. Ibrāhīm al-Tamīmī—Sayf b. 'Umar al-Tamīmī al-Usayyidī—'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd b. Thābit b. al-Jidh' al-Anṣārī— [1750]
'Abdallāh b. Ḥunayn,[734] the Messenger of God's freedman—Abū

722. His name is Sa'd b. Ṭāriq al-Kūfī, and he died ca. 140/757–58. Ibid., III, 472–73.
723. He was a companion of the Prophet. Ibid., IV, 159.
724. Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd al-Ashja'ī died during 'Uthmān's caliphate (23–35/644–56), or at the Battle of the Camel. Ibid., X, 466.
725. Ibn Shabbah gives a different version.
726. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 257.
727. Qur'ān 20:47.
728. Ibid., 7:128.
729. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 299–300.
730. 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd [not Sa'īd] al-Zuhrī, a great-grandson of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, died in 260/873–74. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 15–16.
731. Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhrī died in 208/823–24. Ibid., XI, 380–81.
732. Sayf b. 'Umar al-Tamīmī al-Kūfī, who represents the Iraqi historical school, died in 180/796. Ibid., IV, 295–96; Duri, *Rise*, 7, 46–47, 140, 143, 144, 154.
733. Al-Sarī b. Ismā'īl al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 459–60.
734. Died during the reign of Yazīd II (101–5/720–24). Ibid., V, 193–94.

Muwayhibah,[735] the Messenger of God's freedman: When the Prophet returned to Medina after performing the Pilgrimage of Completion [or Perfection of Religion] (*ḥajjat al-tamām*),[736] he began to have a complaint of illness. As travel was allowed [after the pilgrimage], the news of the Prophet's illness spread; so both al-Aswad[737] and Musaylimah leapt at [the opportunity and claimed prophethood for themselves]—the former in the Yemen and the latter in al-Yamāmah, and their news reached the Prophet. After the Prophet had recovered, Ṭulayḥah[738] leapt at [the opportunity and claimed prophethood] in the land of the Banū Asad. Then in Muḥarram the Prophet complained of the pain from which he died.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The Messenger of God dispersed his representatives to every land where Islam had entered to collect the alms (*al-ṣadaqāt*).

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: The Messenger of God sent out his officials and representatives to every district wherein Islam had set foot to collect the alms. He sent al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah to Ṣan'ā',[739] and al-'Ansī rebelled against him while he was there. He sent Ziyād b. Labīd, a brother of the Banū Bayāḍah al-Anṣārī, to Ḥaḍramawt. He sent 'Adī b. Ḥātim to collect the alms from Ṭayyi' and Asad. He sent Mālik b. Nuwayrah to the Banū Ḥanẓalah. He divided [the task of collecting] the alms from the Banū Sa'd between two of their own men: [Zibriqān b. Badr and Qays b. 'Āṣim, each in charge of a district].[740] He sent al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Baḥrayn, and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to Najrān to collect their alms and bring their poll tax to him.

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735. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180.

736. It was during this pilgrimage that the verse "Today I have perfected your religion, and completed My favor toward you, and have consented to grant you Islām as a religion," (Qur'ān 5:3) was revealed. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 135. See Tabarī, below, I, 1794.

737. Al-Aswad b. Ka'b al-'Ansī, from Madhḥij, was a leader of the first *riddah* in the Yemen. His occupation of Ṣan'ā' lasted only a month or two, for he is said to have died before the Prophet, *EI*[2], s.v. al-Aswad.

738. Ṭulayḥah b. Khuwaylid, one of the tribal leaders, who headed the *riddah* as a prophet, gained the support of the Banū Fazārah and an important section of Ṭayyi' and joined the revolt in Central Arabia. *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭulaiḥa.

739. The capital city of Yemen. *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣan'ā'.

740. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 301).

When the month of Dhū al-Qa'dah started this year, that is, the year 10/632, the Prophet made preparations for the pilgrimage and ordered the people to get ready. [1751]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qāsim[741]—his father[742]—'Ā'ishah the Prophet's wife:[743] The Prophet departed for the pilgrimage on the twenty-fifth of Dhū al-Qa'dah.[744] Neither he nor the people talked of anything but the pilgrimage, until when he was in Sarif[745] and had driven with him the sacrificial animals as some nobles had also done, he ordered the people to remove their pilgrim garments, except for those who had brought the sacrificial animals [with them].[746] That day my menses started. He called on me while I was weeping and said, "What is the matter with you, O 'Ā'ishah? Are you in your menses?" "Yes," I replied, "I wished I had not come with you on this journey this year." "Don't do that," he said, "Don't say that, for you can carry out [all the rites] performed by a pilgrim except that you will not circumambulate the Ka'bah." The Messenger of God entered Mecca and his wives and everyone who did not have a sacrificial animal with him took off the pilgrim

741. Died ca. 126/743–44. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 254–55.

742. Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq died ca. 106/724–25. Ibid., VIII, 333–35.

743. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1767; *EI*², s.v. 'Ā'ishah bint Abī Bakr.

744. Ibn Hishām adds: The Prophet appointed Abū Dujānah al-Sā'idī—others say Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭah al-Ghifārī—over Medina.

745. About six miles from Mecca. Ḥarbī, *Manāsik*, 465–66; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 735–36.

746. Those without the sacrificial animals should be content with the *'umrah*, because those who perform the pilgrimage must sacrifice an animal.

Before the pilgrim arrives in Mecca, he puts on the *iḥrām*. He is then *muḥrim*, in a state of holiness. The rites on arrival at Mecca are the same for all, for the *ḥajj* is in a way an *'umrah*, which is a rite of visiting the Ka'bah and the Holy Places around it. The *'umrah* consists of circumambulating the Ka'bah seven times (*ṭawāf*), praying two *rak'ahs* facing the *Maqām Ibrāhīm* and the Ka'bah, and walking [fast] (*sa'y*) seven times between Ṣafā and Marwah. What follows after it depends on the intention of the pilgrim made at the time of assuming the *iḥrām*. If he intended to perform either the *ḥajj* alone (*ifrād*), or the *'umrah* and the *ḥajj* together (*qirān*), then in neither case does he relinquish the state of holiness after having performed the rites of arrival. If he wants to perform the *'umrah* first and then to enjoy the freedom of a normal life (*tamattu'*), not resuming the state of holiness again until the last minute (i.e., on the eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah), he deconsecrates himself by having a few locks of hair cut off. In this case, he will have to offer a sacrifice within the sacred territory within a specified period. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 203ff . . .

garment. On the day of sacrifice, beef[747] was brought to me and put in my house. When I asked what it was, they said that the Messenger of God had sacrificed some cows on behalf of his wives. On the night of *ḥaṣbah*,[748] he sent me with my brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr to perform the *ʿumrah* from al-Tanʿīm[749] in place of the *ʿumrah* which I had missed.[750]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ibn Abī Najīḥ:[751] The Messenger of God had sent ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to Najrān and met him in Mecca while he was still in a state of *iḥrām*. [When he arrived,] ʿAlī went into Fāṭimah,[752] the Messenger of God's daughter, and found that she was not in her pilgrim garments and was prepared [to receive him]. He asked her, "What is the matter
[1752] with you, O daughter of the Messenger of God?" She replied, "The Messenger of God ordered us to remove the pilgrim garments, so we did." Then he went to the Messenger of God. After he had finished reporting about his journey, the Messenger of God told him to go and circumambulate the Kaʿbah and remove the pilgrim garments as his companions had done. He replied, "O Messenger of God, I have decided to sacrifice an animal as you did." He said, "Remove the pilgrim garments as your companions have done." ʿAlī replied, "O Messenger of God, when I put on the pilgrim garments I said, 'O God, I will invoke your name over a

747. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: A large portion of beef.

748. It is the following day of the last throwing of pebbles in the valley of Minā, or the night after the days called *Ayyām al-tashrīq*, that is, the fourteenth night of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ḥ-ṣ-b.

749. A place about four miles from Mecca. Ḥarbī, *Manāsik*, 467; Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, I, 321; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 49–50.

750. Ibn Isḥāq adds: When the Messenger of God ordered his wives to remove the pilgrim garments, they asked him, "What prevents you, O Messenger of God, from doing the same with us?" "I have sent my sacrificial animals and have matted my hair [*labbada shaʿarahu*, means the pilgrim, in the state of holiness, puts upon his head some kind of gum so that his hair become compacted together and might not become shaggy, Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. l-b-d]," the Prophet replied, "so I shall not be free from the *iḥrām* until I sacrifice my animals."

Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1092, also states that the Prophet performed both the *ʿumrah* and the *ḥajj* together. For a different opinion, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 369.

751. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ died in Mecca in 132/749–50. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 355; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 54–55.

752. Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet and Khadījah, wife of ʿAlī, mother of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, was the only daughter of the Prophet to have survived him by six months and to enjoy great renown. *EI*², s.v. Fāṭima. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1767, 1825.

sacrifice as your servant and Messenger does.'" [The Prophet] asked ['Alī] whether he had a sacrificial animal, and when he replied that he did not have one, the Messenger of God made him a partner in his sacrificial animal. 'Alī retained his pilgrim garments with the Messenger of God until both of them had completed the pilgrimage and the Messenger of God slaughtered the animals on behalf of them both.[753]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Amrah[754]—Yazīd b. Ṭalḥah b. Yazīd b. Rukānah: When 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib came from the Yemen to meet the Messenger of God in Mecca, he hurried to him and left one of his companions in charge of his army. That man dressed some of the men[755] in the army with linen clothes that were entrusted to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. When the army approached [Mecca], he went out to receive them and found that they were dressed in the linen clothing. "Woe to you," he said, "what is this?" "I dressed them so that they might look handsome when they came to the people," the man replied. 'Alī asked him to remove [the clothing] before he came to the Messenger of God. He did so and returned them to the booty, but the army expressed resentment at their treatment.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ma'mar b. Ḥazm[756]—Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ka'b b. 'Ujrah—his paternal aunt Zaynab bt. Ka'b b. 'Ujrah [1753]
who was married to Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī—Abū Sa'īd [al-Khudrī]: When the people [i.e., the army] complained [about the behavior] of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Messenger of God stood up to address us, and I heard him say, "O people, do not complain of 'Alī. By God, he is too tough in the matters of God or in the way of God [to be blamed]."[757]

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753. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 370, states that the Prophet had brought with him a hundred camels, sixty of which he sacrificed himself and 'Alī the remainder. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 200, considers the above report, without any reason, a Shī'ī legend.

754. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 241–42.

755. Ibn Isḥāq: Every man.

756. He was *qāḍī* of Medina during the reign of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (99–101/717–20). Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 297.

757. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 301; Lings, *Muhammad*, 335.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ: Then the Messenger of God proceeded to perform his pilgrimage, showing the people its rites and teaching them its customs.[758] Then he addressed them in a speech and elucidated [certain things]. After he had praised and glorified God, he said, "O people, listen to my words. I do not know whether I shall ever meet you again in this place after this year. O people, your blood and your property are sacrosanct until you meet your Lord, just as this day and this month of yours are sacred. Surely you will meet your Lord and He will question you about your deeds. I have [already] made this known. 'Let he who has a pledge return it to the one who entrusted him with it;'[759] all usury is abolished,[760] but 'your capital belongs to you. Wrong not and you shall not be wronged.'[761] God has decreed that there will be no usury, and the usury of ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is abolished, all of it.[762] All blood shed in the pre-Islamic days is to be left unavenged. The first such claim I revoke is that of Ibn Rabīʿah[763] b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib,[764] who was nursed among the Banū Layth[765] and was slain by the Banū Hudhayl. His is the first blood shed in the pre-
[1754] Islamic days with which I shall set an example. O people, indeed Satan despairs of ever being worshipped in this land of yours. He will be pleased, however, if he is obeyed in a thing other than that, in matters you minimize. So beware of him in your religion, O people, 'Intercalating a month is an increase of unbelief whereby the unbelievers go astray; one year they make it profane, and hallow it another, [in order] to agree with the number that God has hallowed, and so profane what God has hallowed, and hallow what God has made profane.'[766] Time has completed its cycle [and is] as

758. For details, see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1097–1102; Lings, *Muhammad*, 332–35.

759. Qur'ān 2:283; 4:58.

760. Ibid., 2:279.

761. Ibid.

762. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, 1103): All the usury of pre-Islamic days is abolished. The first such usury I abolish is that of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

763. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 1103, 1111): Iyās b. Rabīʿah. Ḥamīdullāh (*Majmūʿah*, 307): ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿah.

764. It was Rabīʿah's infant son Ādam who was killed in pre-Islamic days. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/1, 32; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 254.

765. Wāqidī: The Banū Saʿd.

766. Qur'ān 9:37. For the Islamic calendar, see Ryckmans, *Religions*, 13; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 547–48.

it was on the day that God created the heavens and the earth. 'The number of the months with God is twelve: [they were] in the Book of God on the day He created the heavens and the earth. Four of them are sacred,'[767] the three consecutive [months][768] and the Rajab, [which is called the month of][769] Muḍar,[770] which is between Jumādā [II] and Sha'bān."[771]

"Now then, O people, you have a right over your wives and they have a right over you. You have [the right] that they should not cause anyone of whom you dislike to tread your beds; and that they should not commit any open indecency (*fāḥishah*).[772] If they do, then God permits you to shut them in separate rooms and to beat them, but not severely. If they abstain from [evil], they have the right to their food and clothing in accordance with custom (*bi'l-ma'rūf*). Treat women well, for they are [like] domestic animals ('*awān*[in]) with you and do not possess anything for themselves. You have taken them only as a trust from God, and you have made the enjoyment of their persons lawful by the word of God, so understand and listen to my words, O people. I have conveyed the Message, and have left you with something which, if you hold fast to it, you will never go astray: that is, the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet.[773] Listen to my words, O people, for I have conveyed the Message and understand [it]. Know for certain that every Muslim is a brother of another Muslim, and that all Muslims are brethren. It is not lawful for a person [to take] from his brother except that which he has given [1755] him willingly, so do not wrong yourselves. O God, have I not

767. Qur'ān 9:36.

768. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 1112) adds: Dhū al-Qa'dah, Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and Muḥarram. [It is in the Prophet's address on the Day of Sacrifice.]

769. Addition from Wāqidī.

770. It was so called because Muḍar used to treat it as sacred with the utmost dignity. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. r-j-b.

771. Wāqidī adds: The month [consists of] twenty-nine and thirty days.

772. It means an immoral act or a sexual offense. It seems that the pre-Islamic Arabs cared little for adultery, provided it was not performed openly. The Prophet's prohibiting a man, long absent from his home, to return to his family at night, is corroborated by Ibn Mujāwir, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 26. It also concurs with the confinement prescribed in the Qur'ān 4:15, but it contravenes the punishment prescribed in the Qur'ān 24:2. Philby, *Sheba's Daughters*, 46; idem, *Arabian Highlands*, 28; Serjeant, "Translation," 9; idem, "Early Arabic Prose," 121–22. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1821, n. 1321.

773. The *sunnah* of His Prophet: Omitted from Wāqidī.

conveyed the message?" It was reported [to me][774] that the people said, "O God, yes," and the Messenger of God said, "O God, bear witness."[775]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr[776]—his father ʿAbbād:[777] The man who used to repeat the Messenger of God's words loudly to the people when he was on ʿArafah was Rabīʿah b. Umayyah b. Khalaf. The Messenger of God would say to him. "Say: O people, the Messenger of God says, do you know what month this is?" and they would say, "The sacred month." Then he would say, "Say to them: God has made your blood and your property sacrosanct until you meet your Lord, like the sanctity of this month of yours." Then he said [to him], "Say: the Messenger of God says, O people, do you know what land this is?" Rabīʿah would call out loudly and they would say, "The Holy Land." He would say, "Say: God has hallowed your blood and your property until you meet your Lord like the sanctity of this land of yours." Then he said, "Say: O people, do you know what day this is?" Rabīʿah repeated [this] to them and they said, "The day of the Greater Pilgrimage." He said, "Say: God has made your blood and your property sacrosanct until you meet your Lord like the sanctity of this day of yours."[778]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ: When the Messenger of God stood on ʿArafah he said, "This station is for the mountain that is above it, so all of ʿArafah is a station." When he stood on Quzaḥ on the morning of al-Muzdalifah he said, "This station and all of al-Muzdalifah is a

774. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

775. In his "L'allocution," Blachère has shown that this address deals with certain general problems, probably paraphrased from the Prophet's sayings on different occasions. The versions of Ibn Isḥāq, Wāqidī, Ibn Saʿd, and Ṭabarī are, more or less, consistent in content. Blachère has pointed out seventeen themes in this address. See also Ḥamīdullāh, Majmūʿah, 306–9.

776. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 234–35.

777. Ibid., V, 98.

778. Ibn Isḥāq adds [with a different *isnād*]: "O people, God has given everyone his due. Testamentary bequests to an heir are not permitted. The child belongs to the bed and the adulterer must be stoned. He who claims as father him who is not his father, or a client claims a master (*mawlā*) who is not his master, is cursed by God, the angels, and the mankind. Neither repentance (*ṣarf*) nor ransom (*ʿadl*) shall be accepted from him by God." Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ʿ-d-l; ṣ-r-f.

station." Then when he had slaughtered [the sacrificial animals] in the slaughtering place [in Minā][779] he said, "This slaughtering place and all of Minā is a slaughtering place." The Messenger of [1756] God completed the pilgrimage, showed the people its rites, and taught them what was required of them for their pilgrimage, [including] the stations, the throwing of pebbles,[780] the circumambulation of the Ka'bah, and what God had permitted them [to do] and what He had forbidden them [from doing]. It was the Farewell Pilgrimage (*ḥajjat al-wadā'*)[781] and the Pilgrimage for Conveying the Message (*ḥajjat al-balāgh*),[782] because the Messenger of God did not make any pilgrimage after that.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The military expeditions (*ghazawāt*)[783] in which the Messenger of God personally participated were twenty-six. Some say that they were twenty-seven. Those who maintain the number as twenty-six count the Prophet's expedition to Khaybar and the expedition from there to Wādī al-Qurā[784] as one, because after accomplishing the victory he did not return from Khaybar to his abode but marched from there to Wādī al-Qurā. Those who say that [the expeditions] were twenty-seven

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779. Quzaḥ, Muzdalifah, and Minā are sacred places visited by the pilgrim during the pilgrimage. Minā is a place in the hills east of Mecca on the road from it to 'Arafah. Muzdalifah is a place halfway between Minā and 'Arafah where the pilgrims returning from 'Arafah spend the night. see *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj; *EI*¹, s.v. Minā, Muzdalifa.

780. For its interpretation, see Fahd, *Divination*, 188–95.

781. It is so called because the Prophet bade farewell to the people and died shortly thereafter. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 368; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 240.

782. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 240, states that it is so called because the Prophet announced that time had completed its cycle and was as it had been on the day that God created the heavens and the earth. [Probably, he implies the cancellation of intercalating a month.]

Ibn Sa'd states that the Muslims call this pilgrimage the *ḥajjat al-islām*. It was probably so-called because the Ka'bah and other sacred precincts were now purified of all pagan presence and heathen rites. It was made clear that all rites were now dedicated to Allāh and to His worship. The Prophet had taken every opportunity to free the rites from their pagan associations. His performance of the rites during this pilgrimage became a *sunnah* to be followed by the faithful. Cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1089; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 368, See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1794.

783. See above, n. 432.

784. An ancient town and a prosperous region in the northern Ḥijāz on the old trading route from South Arabia to Syria, where the Egyptian and Syrian pilgrim caravans to Mecca also converge. It is now called al-'Ulā. *EI*¹, s.v. Wādī 'l-Ḳurā; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 293–300, 315ff.

count the Khaybar expedition as one and the Wādī al-Qurā expedition as another, making the number as twenty-seven.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: The total number of military expeditions in which the Messenger of God personally took part were twenty-six.[785] The raid on Waddān,[786] which is the expedition of al-Abwā',[787] was the first, [followed by] the expedition of Buwāṭ[788] in the direction of Raḍwā.[789] Then [the following]: the expedition of al-'Ushayrah,[790] in the valley of Yanbu';[791] the first expedition at Badr in pursuit of Kurz b. Jābir; the [great][792] battle of Badr in which the chiefs of Quraysh and their nobles were slain and [many] were captured; the expedition of the Banū Sulaym, [which continued] until he reached their watering place al-Kudr;[793] the expedition of al-Sawīq in pursuit of Abū Sufyān until he reached Qarqarat al-Kudr; the expedition of Ghaṭafān toward Najd, which is the expedition of Dhū Amarr;[794] the expedition of Baḥrān,[795] a
[1757] mine above al-Furu' in the Ḥijāz; the expedition of Uḥud;[796] the expedition of Ḥamrā' al-Asad;[797] the expedition of the Banū al-Naḍīr;[798] the expedition of Dhāt al-Riqā' of Nakhl;[799] another expedition at Badr; the expedition of Dūmat al-Jandal;[800] the ex-

785. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Twenty-seven. For details, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*; and Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 287–371; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 339–43.

786. A settlement about eight miles from al-Abwā'. Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 290–92.

787. A place name on the route between Medina and Mecca where the Prophet's mother was buried. Ḥarbī, *Manāsik*, 453–56; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 35–40.

788. A mountain in the direction of Raḍwā. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, I, 283; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 503.

789. A chain of the Tihāmah mountains about seven *marāḥil* from Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 655–59; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 51.

790. A place between Mecca and Medina in the direction of Yanbu'. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 127.

791. A place near Raḍwā. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1402; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 449–50.

792. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq.

793. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1119; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 441–42.

794. A place in Najd. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, I, 192–93; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 252–53.

795. About four nights' journey from Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, I, 228; III, 1020–21; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 252.

796. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1661, n. 74.

797. A place about 16 km from Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 468; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 301.

798. One of the three Jewish tribes settled in Medina. *ShEI*, s.v. Naḍīr.

799. A place about three days' journey from Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 664–65; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 56.

800. See Ṭabarī, above I, 1702, n. 412.

pedition of al-Khandaq[801] [the siege of Medina]; the expedition of the Banū Qurayẓah;[802] the expedition of the Banū Liḥyān of Hudhayl;[803] the expedition of Dhū Qarad;[804] the expedition of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā'ah;[805] the expedition of al-Ḥudaybiyah, during which he did not intend to fight but the polytheists blocked the passage [to Mecca for the lesser pilgrimage]; the expedition of Khaybar; he performed the lesser pilgrimage, the Lesser Pilgrimage of Fulfillment ('*umrat al-qaḍā'*);[806] the Expedition of the Conquest (the conquest of Mecca); the expedition of Ḥunayn; the expedition of al-Ṭā'if; the expedition of Tabūk. He actually fought in nine of them: Badr, Uḥud, al-Khandaq, Qurayẓah, al-Muṣṭaliq, Khaybar, the conquest of Mecca, Ḥunayn, and al-Ṭā'if.

Al-Ḥārith[807]—Ibn Sa'd[808]—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah—his father—his grandfather:[809] The Messenger of God carried out twenty-six expeditions. Then he cited a report similar to that of Ibn Ḥumayd on the authority of Salamah [as cited above].

Muḥammad b. 'Umar: The Messenger of God's expeditions are well-known and [their number is] agreed upon. No one disputes about their number, which is twenty-seven, but the authorities differ among themselves with regard to their sequence.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mu'ādh b.

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801. Khandaq means a ditch, a trench. It is applied to the "Expedition of the Khandaq," because the Muslims foiled a Meccan attempt to storm Medina by digging a trench at those parts of the city which were open to attack by cavalry. *EI*², s.v. Khandak.

802. One of the three Jewish tribes of Medina. *EI*², s.v. Ḳurayẓa.

803. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 58.

804. A well about two nights' journey from Medina toward Khaybar. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 321–22. It is also known as the "Expedition of al-Ghābah."

805. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 196. It is also called the "Expedition of al-Muraysī'," after the name of a well.

806. So-called because in the previous year when the Prophet left Medina intending to make the lesser pilgrimage, the Quraysh blocked his way, and subsequent negotiations resulted in the truce of Ḥudaybiyah. His intention was, however, fulfilled the following year when he made the lesser pilgrimage.

807. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1721, n. 545.

808. Muḥammad b. Sa'd al-'Awfī died in 276/888. Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh*, V, 322–23.

809. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah, a companion of the Prophet, died during the early part of Mu'āwiyah's reign (41–60/661–80). Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 248–49, IX, 199, states that Muḥammad b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Abī Ḥathmah transmitted from him.

Muḥammad al-Anṣārī[810]—Muḥammad b. Thābit al-Anṣārī:[811] Ibn 'Umar was asked how many expeditions the Messenger of God carried out and he said, "Twenty-seven campaigns." Then it was said to him, "In how many did you participate with him?" He replied, "Twenty-one; the first was al-Khandaq and I missed six. I was eager to take part and offered myself to the Prophet for all of them, but he turned me down and did not permit me [to take part] until al-Khandaq."

Al-Wāqidī states that the Messenger of God fought in eleven
[1758] expeditions. He mentioned nine of them, which I have reported on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq, enumerating with them the expedition of Wādī al-Qurā. He stated that he fought there with his slave Mid'am, who was shot by an arrow and killed. Al-Wāqidī [also] states that he fought on the day of al-Ghābah and that some of the polytheists as well as Muḥriz b. Naḍlah were killed on that day.

Disagreement about the Number of the Armies and the Raiding Parties (Sarāyā) Sent by the Messenger of God[812]

Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr: The armies and the raiding parties sent by the Messenger of God between the time he came to Medina and the time in which he died number thirty-five:[813] The expedition of 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith to the tribes of Thaniyyat al-Marah,[814] which is a well in the Ḥijāz; the expedition of Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib to the coast in the direction of al-'Īṣ[815] [some people date Ḥamzah's expedition before that of 'Ubaydah's]; the expedition of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ to al-Kharrār[816] in the Ḥijāz; the expedition of

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810. Ibid., X, 193–94.

811. Ibid., IX, 84.

812. See above, n. 432. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 339–43, has given a comprehensive list of those expeditions.

813. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: Thirty-eight. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 304) states: It is said thirty-five, or forty-eight. For details, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 371–84, lists about sixty.

814. A valley in the Tihāmah. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 612–13; IV, 1209.

815. A valley containing several villages on the Red Sea. Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 81–83.

816. A watering place of the Banū Ḍamrah. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 492.

'Abdallāh b. Jaḥsh to Nakhlah;[817] the expedition of Zayd b. Ḥārithah to al-Qardah,[818] one of the wells in Najd;[819] the expedition of Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī to al-Rajī';[820] the expedition of al-Mundhir b. 'Amr to Bi'r Ma'ūnah;[821] the expedition of Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ to Dhū al-Qaṣṣah[822] on the way to Iraq; the expedition of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Turabah[823] in the country of the Banū 'Āmir; the expedition of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to the Yemen; the expedition of Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh al-Kalbī, the Kalb of Layth, to al-Kadīd,[824] [where] he inflicted losses on the Banū al-Mulawwaḥ; the expedition of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to the Banū 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd, the inhabitants of Fadak;[825] the expedition [1759]
of Ibn Abī al-'Awjā' al-Sulamī to the land of the Banū Sulaym where he and all of his companions were killed; the expedition of 'Ukkāshah b. Miḥṣan to al-Ghamrah;[826] the expedition of Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Asad to Qaṭan,[827] one of the wells of the Banū Asad toward Najd, where Mas'ūd b. 'Urwah was killed; the expedition of Muḥammad b. Maslamah, a brother of the Banū al-Ḥārith, to al-Quraṭā'[828] of Hawāzin; the expedition of Bashīr b. Sa'd to the Banū Murrah in Fadak; another expedition of Bashīr b. Sa'd to Yumn[829] and Jināb,[830] [which are] towns in the land of

817. A valley, later known as the "Bustān of Ibn 'Āmir," was the last major halt before Mecca on routes from al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, Najd, and the Yemen. Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 166–83.

818. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 1062; it is spelled *al-Qardā*.

819. Addition in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq; The raid of Muḥammad b. Maslamah on Ka'b b. al-Ashraf.

820. A well of Hudhayl between Mecca and al-Ṭā'if. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 641–43; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 29.

821. A watering place between Mecca and Medina. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 302.

822. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 1076–77; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 366.

823. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, I, 308–9.

824. A place between Mecca and Medina. Ibid., IV, 1119.

825. An ancient town in the northern Ḥijāz, near Khaybar, which was a colony of Jewish agriculturists. It owes its fame in Islamic history to the fact that its surrender was obtained through an agreement between the Prophet and its inhabitants, and that it gave rise to a disagreement between Fāṭimah and Abū Bakr. It is now known as al-Ḥā'iṭ. *EI*², s.v. Fadak. For its historical geography, see Jāsir, *Shimāl*, 295ff., 510. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1825, n. 1355.

826. A well near Medina, in the direction of Najd. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 212.

827. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 1083–84.

828. A clan of the Banū Bakr of Kilāb. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 56; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 282.

829. Yumn or Yamn is a well of Ghaṭafān. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 449.

830. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 395–96; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 164.

Khaybar (it is said that Yumn and Jabār[831] are lands in the land of Khaybar); the expedition of Zayd b. Ḥārithah to al-Jamūm[832] in the land of the Banū Sulaym; another expedition of Zayd b. Ḥārithah to Judhām in the land of Ḥismā[833] (its report has been cited before); another expedition of Zayd b. Ḥārithah to Wādī al-Qurā, where he encountered the Banū Fazārah; the expedition of ʿAbdallāh b. Rawāḥah to Khaybar twice,[834] on one occasion of which God killed Yusayr b. Rizām.

It is reported about Yusayr b. Rizām, the Jew, that he was gathering Ghaṭafān in Khaybar to attack the Messenger of God, so the latter sent ʿAbdallāh b. Rawāḥah with a number of his companions, among whom were ʿAbdallāh b. Unays, an ally of the Banū Salamah. When they came to him they spoke to him, made promises, treated him nicely, and said, "If you come to the Messenger of God he will give you an assignment and honor you."
[1760] They continued [urging him] until he went with them, accompanied by a number of Jews. ʿAbdallāh b. Unays mounted him on his camel and rode behind him. When he was in al-Qarqarah,[835] about six miles from Khaybar, Yusayr b. Rizām regretted going to the Messenger of God. ʿAbdallāh b. Unays perceived his intention as he was getting ready to draw his sword, so he leapt at him and struck him with his sword, severing his leg. Yusayr hit him with a stick (with a crooked head) of *shawḥaṭ*[836] wood which was in his hand, aiming at his head. God killed Yusayr, and each one of the Messenger of God's companions fell upon their Jewish traveling companions and killed them, except for one person who escaped on his mount.[837] When ʿAbdallāh b. Unays came to the Messenger of God the Prophet spat on his head wound, and it did not fester or hurt him.

The expedition of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAtīk to Khaybar where he killed

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831. Jubār: in Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 363; and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 98.
832. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 394.
833. It is after Wādī al-Qurā. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 258–59.
834. The following report forms a separate account in Ibn Isḥāq and is not included in the summary.
835. It is Qarqarat al-Kudr. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 1065–66.
836. A species of tree in the Sarāt mountains from which bows are made. The name varies according to the excellence of the place of growth, and *shawḥaṭ* is that which grows on the lowest part of the mountain. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. sh-ḥ-ṭ.
837. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: On his foot.

Abū Rāfi'. Between the battles of Badr and Uḥud, the Messenger of God sent Muḥammad b. Maslamah with his companions to Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, and they killed him. The Messenger of God sent 'Abdallāh b. Unays to Khālid b. Sufyān b. Nubayḥ al-Hudhalī while he was in Nakhlah or 'Uranah[838] preparing to attack the Messenger of God and killed him.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr[839]—'Abdallāh b. Unays:[840] The Messenger of God called me and said, "It has reached me that Khālid b. Sufyān b. Nubayḥ al-Hudhalī is gathering a force to attack me. He is either in Nakhlah or 'Uranah, so go to him and kill him." I replied, "O Messenger of God, describe him to me so that I might know him." He said, "When you see him he will remind you of Satan. [A sure] sign between you and him is that when you see [1761] him you will feel a shudder." I went out, girding on my sword, until I came to him while he was in howdah with the women, seeking a halting place for them at the time for afternoon prayer. When I saw him I found him to be as the Messenger of God had described. I advanced toward him, but fearing that there might be acrimony between me and him which would distract me from the prayer, I prayed, making gestures with my head as I walked toward him. When I got to him he asked who I was, and I replied, "An Arab who has come to you because he has heard about you and your gathering [a force] against this fellow [i.e., Muḥammad]." He said, "Yes, I am doing that." I walked a short distance with him and when it was feasible for me I struck him with my sword and killed him. Then I departed, leaving his women to throw themselves at him. When I came to the Messenger of God and greeted him, he looked at me and asked, "Is the objective accomplished?" I replied, "I have killed him." "You have said the truth," he replied. Then he stood up and went[841] into his house and gave me a stick, saying, "Keep this stick with you O 'Abdallāh b. Unays." When I went out with it the people asked me what that stick was. I told them that the Messenger of God had given it to me and asked me to keep it with me. They told me to go back

838. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 935.
839. He died between 110/728–29 and 120/738. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 93.
840. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 35–36; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 151.
841. Ibn Isḥāq: And took me to his house.

to him and ask him the reason for that. So I went back to him and said, "O Messenger of God, why did you give me this stick?" He replied, "[As a] sign between me and you on the day of resurrection. There will be a few men at that time who will carry sticks tied to their waists (*al-mutakhaṣṣirūn*)." 'Abdallāh, therefore, fastened the stick to his sword, where it remained with him until his death, when he ordered that it should be fastened to his body with the shroud and buried with him.

(Now the report goes back to 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr who states:) The expedition of Zayd b. Ḥārithah, Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, and 'Abd-
[1762] allāh b. Rawāḥah to Mu'tah[842] in the land of Syria;[843] the expedition of Ka'b b. 'Umayr al-Ghifārī to Dhāt Aṭlāḥ[844] in the land of Syria, where he and his companions were killed; the expedition of 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn to the Banū al-'Anbar of the Banū Tamīm. It is reported by them that the Messenger of God sent 'Uyaynah to them, who raided them, killed some of their people, and took the others captive.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah: 'Ā'ishah said to the Messenger of God, "O Messenger of God, I must free a slave of the sons of Ismā'īl." He replied, "These captives of the Banū al-'Anbar are coming now. We will give you one, and you can set him free." Ibn Isḥāq states: When their captives were brought to the Messenger of God, a deputation of the Banū Tamīm rode with them until they arrived before the Messenger of God. Among them were Rabī'ah b. Rufay', Sabrah b. 'Amr, al-Qa'qā' b. Ma'bad, Wardān b. Muḥriz, Qays b. 'Āṣim, Mālik b. 'Amr, al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis, Ḥanẓalah b. Dārim, and Firās b. Ḥābis.[845] Among their women who were taken captive on that day were Asmā' bt. Mālik; Ka's bt. Arī; Najwah bt. Nahd; Jumay'ah bt. Qays; and 'Amrah bt. Maṭar.

(The report goes back to 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, who states:) The expedition of Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh al-Kalbī, the Kalb of Layth, to
[1763] the land of the Banū Murrah, in which Mirdās b. Nahīk, an ally of

842. A village near Syria. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 219–20.
843. Ibn Isḥāq adds: In which all were killed.
844. A place after Wādī al-Qurā. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 218.
845. Addition in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: They spoke to the Messenger of God about the captives. [The Prophet] liberated some and accepted ransom for others. 'Abdallāh b. Wahb; his two brothers; Shaddād b. Firās; and Ḥanẓalah b. Dārim were among the Banū al-'Anbar who were killed that day.

theirs from al-Ḥuraqah of Juhaynah, was killed by Usāmah b. Zayd and a man of the *Anṣār*.[846] It is he about whom the Prophet said to Usāmah, "Who will absolve you [from ignoring] the *shahādah*?" The expedition of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to Dhāt al-Salāsil;[847] the expedition of Ibn Abī Ḥadrad and his companions to the valley of Iḍam;[848] another expedition of Ibn Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī to al-Ghābah;[849] the expedition of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. The Messenger of God sent an army to the seashore commanded by Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, which was the expedition of al-Khabaṭ.

Al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: The armies and the raiding parties sent by the Messenger of God were forty-eight.

Al-Wāqidī states: In this year, in [the month of] Ramaḍān, Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī came to the Messenger of God accepting Islam, so he sent him to *Dhū al-Khalaṣah* [an idol],[850] which he demolished.

In this year, Wabar b. Yuḥannas came to the descendants of the Persian soldiers (*al-abnā'*) living in the Yemen, inviting them to Islam. He stayed with the daughters of al-Nu'mān b. Buzurj [Buzurg], who embraced Islam. He sent word to Fayrūz al-Daylamī, who embraced Islam, and [he also sent word] to Markabūd and his son 'Aṭā', as well as to Wahb b. Munabbih.[851] Wahb b. Munabbih and 'Aṭā' b. Markabūd were the first to collect (*jama'a*) the Qur'ān in Ṣan'ā'.

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846. Ibn Isḥāq: Usāmah said: When I and a man from the *Anṣār* overtook him and attacked him with our weapons, he pronounced the *shahādah*, but we did not stay our hands and killed him. When we came to the Messenger of God we told him what had happened and he said, "Who will absolve you [from ignoring] the *shahādah*?"

847. A watering place in the Judhām country. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 744.

848. It is near Medina. Ibid., I, 165–66.

849. It is near Medina. Ibid., II, 521–24; III, 989. See above, n. 804.

850. A sacred stone worshiped by the tribes of Daws, Khath'am, Bajīla, the Azd of the Sarāt mountains and the Arabs of Tabālah. The sanctuary was in Tabālah at a place called al-'Ablā' between Mecca and the Yemen. As a rallying point for a good many tribes, the sanctuary was called *al-Ka'bah al-Yamāniyyah* in contrast to the Meccan sanctuary, which was called *al-Ka'bah al-Shāmiyyah*.

In the lower part of Mecca there was an idol bearing the name of *al-Khalaṣah*, but it is not certain whether it can be identified with the above divinity. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, III, 42–45; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. kh-l-ṣ; Jāsir, *Sarāt*, 338ff.; *EI²*, s.v. Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa.

851. He is probably the ancestor of Wahb b. Munabbih, who died in 114/732 and is known for his accounts of the Yemenite history and tales of the ancient Israelites. Duri, *Rise*, passim.

In this year, Bāzān embraced Islam and sent [a messenger] to the Prophet with his acceptance of Islam.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] states: The above report [about the *sarāyā*] is at variance with what is reported by 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr [that the *sarāyā* were thirty-five] and those who stated that the Messenger of God's expeditions were twenty-six.

Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-'Alā'—Yaḥyā b. Ādam[852]—
[1764] Zuhayr[853]—Abū Isḥāq—Zayd b. Arqam:[854] I heard that the Messenger of God carried out nineteen expeditions, and that he made one pilgrimage after he emigrated [to Medina]. He did not make any pilgrimage other than the Farewell Pilgrimage. Ibn Isḥāq mentioned a pilgrimage at the time of the conquest of Mecca. Abū Isḥāq states: I asked Zayd b. Arqam, "How many expeditions did you take part in with the Messenger of God?" He replied, "Seventeen."

Ibn al-Muthannā—Muḥammad b. Ja'far—Shu'bah—Abū Isḥāq: 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī went out with the people to pray for rain. He offered two *rak'ah*s and then prayed for rain. That day I met Zayd b. Arqam. There was only one person between me and him. I asked him, "How many expeditions did the Messenger of God undertake?" "Nineteen," he replied. I asked, "How many did you participate in with him?" "Seventeen," he replied. I asked, "What was the first expedition he carried out?" He said, "Dhāt al-'Usayr, or al-'Ushayr." Al-Wāqidī alleges that [the report] is erroneous.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Isrā'īl—Abū Isḥāq al-Hamdānī: I asked Zayd b. Arqam, "How many expeditions did you participate in with the Messenger of God?" "Seventeen expeditions," he replied. I asked, "How many expeditions did the Messenger of God carry out?" "Nineteen expeditions," he replied.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—al-Wāqidī: When I narrated this report to 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far, he said, "This is the chain of narrators for the people of Iraq, who state [the affair] thus. The first expedition in which Zayd b. [al]-Arqam took part was al-Muraysī', while he was still a young boy. He was present in the expedition of Mu'tah as a

852. Died in 203/818–19. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 175–76.

853. Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiyah died ca. 172/788–89. Ibid., III, 351–52.

854. He was a companion of the Prophet and died in 66/685–86 or 68/687–88. Ibid., III, 394–95.

rear man for 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥah, and only participated with the Prophet in three or four expeditions." [1765]

That which al-Ḥārith reported to me is also reported from Makḥūl. [This report is received on the authority of] Ibn Sa'd—Ibn 'Umar—Suwayd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz—al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir[855]—Makḥūl: The Messenger of God carried out eighteen expeditions, out of which he personally fought in eight. The first of them was Badr, then Uḥud, then al-Aḥzāb, and then Qurayẓah.

Al-Wāqidī states: Both of these reports, that of Zayd b. al-Arqam and of Makḥūl, are wrong.

Report about the Messenger of God's Pilgrimages

'Abdallāh b. Ziyād—Zayd b. al-Ḥārith—Sufyān al-Thawrī[856]—Ja'far b. Muḥammad[857]—his father [Muḥammad al-Bāqir]—Jābir: The Prophet made three pilgrimages, two before the Emigration and one after. [The latter was also performed] with the lesser pilgrimage ('*umrah*).[858]

'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bayān[859]—Isḥāq b. Yūsuf[860]—Sharīk[861]—Abū Isḥāq—Mujāhid[862]—Ibn 'Umar:[863] The Messenger of God performed two '*umrah*s before performing the pilgrimage. When this report reached 'Ā'ishah, she said, "The Messenger of God performed four '*umrah*s.[864] 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar knew that. One of [the '*umrah*s] was with the pilgrimage."

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855. Died in 132/749–50. Ibid., X, 457.

856. Died in 161/777–78. Ibid., IV, 111–15.

857. He is the sixth Shī'ī imām, who died in 148/765 in Medina. See *EI*², s.v. Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ.

858. Some authorities state that he made one pilgrimage before the Emigration, while others state that he made two. Wāqidī (*Maghāzī*, III, 1088–89) considers the report that the Prophet made only one pilgrimage from Medina, known as *ḥajjat al-wadā'*, to be more authentic. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 429.

859. Bayān: Corrected from Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 111; he died in 244/858–59. Text: Banān.

860. Died in 195/810–11. Ibid., I, 257.

861. Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī al-Kūfī died ca. 177/793–94. Ibid., IV, 333–37.

862. Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī died ca. 101/719–20. Ibid., X, 42–44.

863. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1677, n. 216.

864. They are: '*umrat al-Ḥudaybiyyah* in A.H. 6, '*umrat al-qaḍā'* in A.H. 7, '*umrat al-Ji'rānah* in A.H. 8, and the '*umrah* with the Farewell Pilgrimage in A.H. 10. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1088, enumerates the first three only. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 429.

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Sharīq: I heard my father saying: I have received an account on the authority of Abū Ḥamzah—Muṭarrif[865]—Abū Isḥāq—Mujāhid: I heard Ibn ʿUmar saying that the Messenger of God performed three *ʿumrah*s. When [this report] reached ʿĀʾishah, she said that Ibn ʿUmar knew that he performed four, and that one of them was combined with the pilgrimage.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr[866]—Manṣūr[867]—Mujāhid: Once ʿUrwah b.
[1766] al-Zubayr and I entered the mosque while Ibn ʿUmar was sitting near ʿĀʾishah's room. We asked him, "How many *ʿumrah*s did the Prophet perform?" "Four," he replied, "One of them was in Rajab."[868] We disliked contradicting and refuting him, but we heard the noise of ʿĀʾishah in the room cleaning her teeth with the *siwāk*.[869] ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr said, "O my mother, O Mother of the Faithful, do you not hear what Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān says?" "What does he say?" she asked. He replied, "He says that the Prophet performed four *ʿumrah*s, and that one of them was in Rajab." She replied, "May God treat Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān with mercy! The Prophet did not perform any *ʿumrah* when he was not present, and he did not perform [any] *ʿumrah* in Rajab."

Report about the Messenger of God's Wives, Those Who Survived Him, Those Who Left Him, the Reason for Which They Left, and Those Who Died before Him

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Hishām b. Muḥammad:[870] My father reported to me that the Messenger of God married fifteen women

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865. Muṭarrif b. Ṭarīf al-Ḥarithī died between 133/750–51 and 143/760–61. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 172–73.

866. Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḍabbī died in 188/803–4. Ibid., II, 75–77.

867. Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir al-Kūfī died in 132/749–50. Ibid., X, 312–15.

868. *ʿUmrah* during the month of Rajab was considered solemn by the Quraysh. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 201.

869. A piece of stick (from a tree called *arāk*) with which the teeth are cleaned, the end of it being made like a brush by chewing it. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. s-w-k.

870. Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī died in 204/819 or 206/821 in al-Kūfah. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI, 196–97. The *isnād* implied here is: His father—Abū Ṣāliḥ—Ibn ʿAbbās. The same *isnād* is cited in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*. See also *EI*², s.v. Kalbī, Hishām b. Muḥammad.

and consummated his marriage with thirteen. He combined eleven at a time and left behind nine.[871]

He married Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā in pre-Islamic days when he was twenty and some years old.[872] She was the first [woman] whom he married. Before that she was married to 'Atīq[873] b. 'Ābid b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm. Her mother was Fāṭimah bt. Zā'idah b. al-Aṣamm b. Rawāḥah b. Ḥajar b. Ma'īṣ b. Lu'ayy. From 'Atīq she gave birth to a girl,[874] after which he died. She was then married to Abū Hālah b. Zurārah b. Nabbāsh b. Zurārah b. Ḥabīb b. Salāmah b. Ghuzayy b. Jurwah b. Usayyid b. 'Amr b. Tamīm, who was of the Banū 'Abd [1767] al-Dār b. Quṣayy. From Abū Hālah she gave birth to Hind bt. Abī Hālah,[875] after which he died. When the Messenger of God married [Khadījah], she had Hind bt. Abī Hālah with her. She bore eight children with the Messenger of God: al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib, al-Ṭāhir, 'Abdallāh, Zaynab, Ruqayyah, Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭimah.[876]

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871. Ibn Hishām (*Sīrah*, IV, 293): He married thirteen women and left behind nine. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 307), reporting on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī, gives the same account as that of Ṭabarī. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 580. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 393–99, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 223–33, give a comprehensive list. The latter tries to justify Muḥammad's nine wives (at the same time) by the Qur'ānic verse 4:3, by adding the numbers two, three, and four. The sequence of his marriages, as given by Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 227–50, is as follows: First Khadījah, then Sawdah, then 'Ā'ishah, then Ḥafṣah, then Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah, then Umm Ḥabībah, then Umm Salamah, then Zaynab b. Jaḥsh, then Juwayriyyah, then Ṣafiyyah, and then Maymūnah.

872. Muḥammad's age at the time of his marriage with Khadījah is generally given as twenty-five, but some sources state that he was twenty-one, or thirty. Her age, on the other hand, is generally given as forty; however, according to some reports she was either twenty-eight or two years older than Muḥammad. She died in Ramaḍān, tenth year of the mission (or three years before the Emigration). Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 7–27; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 581.

873. Ibn Hishām: Utayyiq. Ibn Isḥāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 229): 'Atīq b. 'Ā'idh.

874. Ibn Hishām adds: And 'Abdallāh. Ibn Sa'd adds: Called Hind, hence she was called Umm Hind.

875. Ibn Hishām adds: And Zaynab bt. Abī Hālah. Ibn Isḥāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 229): [From Abū Hālah] she gave birth to a boy and a girl.

876. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 202, names three male children as al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, and al-Ṭayyib. Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 229, cites two reports: (i) it states that she gave birth to seven children, four female and three male, al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, and al-Ṭayyib; (ii) it states that she gave birth to six children, four female and two male, al-Qāsim, and 'Abdallāh. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 307, names eight children as given in Ṭabarī, but Ibn Sa'd lists seven and states that 'Abdallāh was

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The Messenger of God did not marry another woman during the life of Khadījah until she passed away. When she died, the Messenger of God got married, but [opinions] differ as to whom he married first after Khadījah. Some say that it was 'Ā'ishah bt. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, while others say that it was Sawdah bt. Zam'ah b. Qays b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Wudd b. Naṣr. As for 'Ā'ishah, when he married her she was very young and not yet ready for consummation,[877] whereas Sawdah was already married before. Before the Prophet, her husband was al-Sakrān b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams. Al-Sakrān was one of the emigrants to Abyssinia (*al-Ḥabashah*), who became a Christian and died there. The Messenger of God married her while he was in Mecca.[878]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] states: All those knowledgeable about the Messenger of God's life agree that the Messenger of God consummated his marriage with Sawdah before [consummating his marriage with] 'Ā'ishah.

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also called Ṭāhir. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 581–83, also names three male children: al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib, and al-Ṭāhir. They died in their infancy: al-Qāsim and Ṭāhir before the mission, while Ṭayyib after the mission. Some scholars state that Ṭāhir and Ṭayyib are names of 'Abdallāh. Zaynab, the eldest daughter, was married to her cousin Abū al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī'ah before the mission. Her husband fought against the Muslims at Badr and was taken captive. She died in 8/629. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib married her daughter Amāmah after the death of Fāṭimah.

Both Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthūm were betrothed to Abū Lahab's sons before the mission, but were divorced after the revelation of *sūrah* 111. Ruqayyah was later married to 'Uthmān. After her death in Ramaḍān 2/624, Umm Kulthūm was married to 'Uthmān in Rabī' I, 3/624, and she died in Sha'bān 9/631. Fāṭimah, born five years before the mission, was the youngest daughter and survived her father for a few months. For details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 7–27; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 396–407; Ṭabarī, *Dhuyūl*, 493–94, 498–99; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 233–36; *EI*[2], s.v. Khadīdja.

877. She was six years old when the Prophet married her in Shawwāl, tenth year of the mission. The marriage was consummated in Shawwāl in Medina when she was nine years old. She died in Ramaḍān 58/678. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 39–56; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 409–21.

878. Ibn Isḥāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 238) states that the couple returned to Mecca and al-Sakrān died there while he was a professing Muslim. The Prophet married her in Ramaḍān, tenth year of the mission. At one time, during the later Medinan period, the Prophet divorced her, but she came back pleading and he agreed to take her back. She died in 23/644 or at a later date. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 35–39; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 407–8; *EI*[1], s.v. Sawda bint Zam'a.

The Reason Why the Messenger of God Asked for the Hands of Both ʿĀʾishah and Sawdah in Marriage and the Received Reports as to with Whom He First Contracted the Marriage

Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī[879]—his father[880]—Muḥammad b. ʿAmr—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib[881]—ʿĀʾishah: When Khadījah died, Khawlah bt. Ḥakīm b. Umayyah b. al-Awqaṣ, wife of ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn, who was in Mecca, said [to the Messenger of God], "O Messenger of God, will you not marry?" He replied, "Whom?" "A maiden," she said, "if you like, or a non-maiden." He replied, "Who is the maiden?" "The daughter of the dearest creature of God to you," she answered, "ʿĀʾishah bt. Abī Bakr." He asked, "And who is the non-maiden?" "Sawdah bt. Zamʿah b. Qays," she replied, "she has [long] believed in you and has followed you." [So the Prophet] asked her to go and propose to them on his behalf. [1768]

She went to Abū Bakr's house, where she found Umm Rūmān, mother of ʿĀʾishah, and said, "O Umm Rūmān, what a good thing and a blessing has God brought to you!" She said, "What is that?" Khawlah replied, "The Messenger of God has sent me to ask for ʿĀʾishah's hand in marriage on his behalf." She answered. "I ask that you wait for Abū Bakr, for he should be on his way." When Abū Bakr came, Khawlah repeated what she had said. He replied, "She is [like] his brother's daughter. Would she be appropriate for him?" When Khawlah returned to the Messenger of God and told him about it he said, "Go back to him and say that he is my brother in Islam and that I am his brother [in Islam], so his daughter is good for me." She came to Abū Bakr and told him what the Messenger of God had said. Then he asked her to wait until he returned.

Umm Rūmān said that al-Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī had asked ʿĀʾishah's hand for his son, but Abū Bakr had not promised anything. Abū Bakr left and went to Muṭʿim while his wife, mother of the son for

879. Died in 249/863. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 97–98.
880. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Abān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ died in 194/809–10. Ibid., XI, 213–14.
881. Died in 104/722–23. Ibid., XI, 249–50.

whom he had asked ʿĀʾishah's hand, was with him. She said, "O son of Abū Quḥāfah, perhaps we could marry our son to your daughter if you could make him leave his religion and bring him
[1769] in to the religion which you practice." He turned to her husband al-Muṭʿim and said, "What is she saying?" He replied, "She says [what you have just heard]." Abū Bakr left, [realizing that] God had [just] removed the problem he had in his mind. He said to Khawlah, "Call the Messenger of God." She called him and he came. Abū Bakr married [ʿĀʾishah] to him when she was [only] six years old.

Then Khawlah left and went to Sawdah, saying, "O Sawdah, what a good thing and a blessing has God brought to you!" She said, "What is that?" Khawlah replied, "The Messenger of God has sent me with a marriage proposal." Sawdah said, "I want you to go to my father and tell him about it." Khawlah states: He was a very old man and had stayed away from the pilgrimage. I went to him and greeted him with the pre-Islamic salutation and told him that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had sent me to ask for Sawdah's hand in marriage. "A noble match," he replied, "What does your friend[882] say?" "She likes it," Khawlah replied. He said, "Call her to me." She was called and he said, "O Sawdah, [this woman] alleges that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib has sent her to propose marriage to you, which is a noble match. Do you wish that I marry you to him?" "Yes," she replied. Then he called for him. [The Prophet] came and he married her to him. Her brother ʿAbd b. Zamʿah came from the pilgrimage and [when he found out about the marriage] began to pour dust over his head. After he had embraced Islam he said, "I was a fool who poured dust over his head the day the Messenger of God married Sawdah bt. Zamʿah."

ʿĀʾishah states: We came to Medina and Abū Bakr took up quarters in al-Sunḥ among the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. The Messenger of God came to our house and men and women of the *Anṣār* gathered around him. My mother came to me while I was being swung on a swing between two branches and got me down.
[1770] Jumaymah, my nurse, took over and wiped my face with some water and started leading me. When I was at the door, she stopped

882. As in IA [Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah*]. Text: His friend.

so I could catch my breath. I was then brought [in] while the Messenger of God was sitting on a bed in our house. [My mother] made me sit on his lap and said, "These are your relatives. May God bless you with them and bless them with you!" Then the men and women got up and left. The Messenger of God consummated his marriage with me in my house when I was nine years old. Neither a camel nor a sheep was slaughtered on behalf of me. Only Sa'd b. 'Ubādah sent a bowl of food which he used to send to the Messenger of God.

'Alī b. Naṣr—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith—'Abd al-Wārith b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad—his father—Abān al-'Aṭṭār—Hishām b. 'Urwah—'Urwah: He wrote to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān[883] stating that he had written to him about Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid, asking him about when she died. She died three years or close to that before the Messenger of God's departure from Mecca, and he married 'Ā'ishah after Khadījah's death. The Messenger of God saw 'Ā'ishah twice—[first when] it was said to him that she was his wife (she was six years old at that time), and later [when] he consummated his marriage with her after coming to Medina when she was nine years old.

(The report goes back to Hishām b. Muḥammad. See above, I, 1766.) Then the Messenger of God married 'Ā'ishah bt. Abī Bakr, whose name is 'Atīq b. Abī Quḥāfah, who is 'Uthmān, and is called 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Uthmān b. 'Āmir b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murrah. [The Prophet] married her three years before the Emigration, when she was seven years old, and consummated [1771] the marriage when she was nine years old, after he had emigrated to Medina in Shawwāl. She was eighteen years old when he died. The Messenger of God did not marry any maiden except her.

Then the Messenger of God married Ḥafṣah bt. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Riyāḥ b. 'Abdallāh b. Qurṭ b. Ka'b.[884] Before that she was married to Khunays b. Ḥudhāfah b.

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883. He was the fifth Umayyad caliph (65–86/685–705). *EI*², s.v. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

884. The Prophet married her in Sha'bān 3/February 625 before the battle of Uḥud. She was his fourth wife. One day, when she returned from her father's house, she found the Messenger of God with Māriyah in her house and burst into hysterical behavior. The situation was further aggravated by 'Ā'ishah's chattering tongue. According to Ibn Isḥāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 240) the Prophet had divorced her once but then took her back. She died in Sha'bān 45/665. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*,

Qays b. 'Adī b. Sa'd b. Sahm[885] who was a Badrī, for he was present at Badr with the Messenger of God. He was the only one from the Banū Sahm to be present at Badr, and she did not bear any children with him.

Then the Messenger of God married Umm Salamah, and her name is Hind bt. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm.[886] Previously, she was married to Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm,[887] who was present at Badr with the Messenger of God. He was an intrepid warrior of his clan and died of wounds suffered on the day of Uḥud. He was the Messenger of God's cousin [son of the Prophet's paternal aunt] and foster brother, whose mother was Barrah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. She bore with him 'Umar, Salamah, Zaynab, and Durrah.[888] When Abū Salamah died, the Messenger of God said nine *takbīrah*s [during the prayer over him]. When he was asked whether he was distracted or had forgotten [the proper number], he replied, "I was neither distracted nor had I forgotten. Even if I had said a thousand *takbīrah*s [during the prayer] over Abū Salamah, he was worthy of it," and he prayed for the surviving members of his family. The Messenger of God married [Umm Salamah] in the year 3/624,[889] before the battle of al-Aḥzāb. Salamah, son of Abū Salamah, married the daughter of Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.[890]

VIII, 56–60; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 423–27; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 230–31; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 317–20; *EI*², s.v. Ḥafṣa.

885. He died in 2/624. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 285–86; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 214–15.

886. Both she and her husband were early converts to Islam and had migrated to Abyssinia. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 60–67, gives an interesting conversation between her and the Prophet when the latter proposed marriage to her. According to some authorities, she died in Dhū al-Qa'dah 59/679, while according to others she died after the massacre of Karbalā'. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 429–32; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 308; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VIII, 221–25.

887. He died because of injuries suffered at Uḥud. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 170–72.

888. Hisch., Ibn Hishām: Ruqayyah.

889. The date given by Ibn Sa'd and Balādhurī that the Prophet married her in Shawwāl 4/626 seems to be more likely, because the battle of Uḥud took place in Shawwāl 3/625 and Abū Salamah died thereafter.

890. On his conversion the uncle of the Prophet became one of the bravest champions of Islam. He was slain fighting heroically at Uḥud. *EI*², s.v. Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

Then the Messenger of God married Juwayriyyah[891] bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār b. Ḥabīb b. Mālik b. Jadhīmah, who is al-Muṣṭaliq b. Sa'd b. 'Amr, in the year of al-Muraysī' [i.e., the expedition against the Banū Muṣṭaliq] (the year 5/626–27). Previously, she was married to Mālik b. Ṣafwān Dhī al-Shafr b. Abī Sarḥ b. Mālik b. al-Muṣṭaliq, but did not bear any children with him. She was chosen (*ṣafiyyah*) by the Messenger of God for himself on the day of al-Muraysī' [from the captives and at which time], he freed her and married her.[892] She asked the Messenger of God to release what was in his possession from her people, and he did so. [1772]

Then the Messenger of God married Umm Ḥabībah[893] bt. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb. She was [previously] married to 'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur b. Ṣabirah b. Murrah b. Kabīr b. Ghanm b. Dūdān b. Asad. Both she and her husband were among the emigrants to Abyssinia. Her husband embraced Christianity and tried to make her follow him, but she refused and maintained her religion. He died as a Christian, so the Messenger of God sent [his marriage proposal] to the Negus. The Negus said to [her husband's] companions, "Who is more entitled [to take care] of her?" They said, "Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ." The Negus said [to Khālid], "Marry her to your Prophet." He did so and the Negus gave her four hundred dīnārs as dowry (*mahr*). It is, however, said that the Messenger of God asked 'Uthmān b. 'Affān for her hand in marriage, and after he allowed [the Prophet] to marry her, the Messenger of God sent to the Negus for her. The latter gave her dowry

891. Ibn Sa'd: Her name was Barrah and the Prophet gave her a new name, Juwayriyyah.

892. Both Ibn Hishām and Wāqidī state that she had fallen to the lot of Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās al-Anṣārī. She was very beautiful, and she haggled with him to write a written contract with her that she should pay a certain sum as the price of herself, and on the payment thereof be free. Probably, he was unwilling to part with her, hence she went to the Messenger of God asking for his help in the matter. He said, "Would you like something better than that?" "What is that?" she asked. "I will pay the sum on your behalf and marry you," he replied. "Yes," she answered, and he married her.

Another version of the story states that her father came to the Messenger of God with the ransom and accepted Islam. The Messenger of God gave her back to her father, she accepted Islam, and he asked her father for her hand in marriage. She died in 50/670 or 56/676. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 295–96; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 410–12; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 83–85; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 441–42.

893. Ibn Hishām and Ibn Sa'd add: Whose name was Ramlah.

on behalf of the Messenger of God and sent her back to him.[894]

Then the Messenger of God married Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mūr b. Ṣabirah.[895] Previously, she was married to Zayd b. Ḥārithah b. Sharāḥīl, freedman of the Messenger of God, but she did not bear any children with him. [It was] about her that God
[1773] revealed: "When you said to him whom God had blessed and you had favored, 'Keep your wife to yourself and fear God,' you concealed within yourself that which God was about to reveal. You feared other men, but it is more fitting that you should fear God. When Zayd had accomplished the necessary [formality of divorce] from her, We gave her in marriage to you, so that there should not be any fault for the believers in respect to the wives of their adopted sons, after they have performed the necessary formality [of divorce] from them. And God's command must be fulfilled."[896] God married her to him and sent Gabriel concerning that matter. She used to boast to the other wives of the Prophet, saying, "I am the most honored among you because of the One who gave me in marriage and the one who was my intermediary [i.e., Gabriel] (*akramukunna waliyy*[an] *wa akramukunna safīr*[an]).'"[897]

Then the Messenger of God married Ṣafiyyah bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab b. Sa'yah b. Tha'labah b. 'Ubayd b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. Abī Ḥabīb b. al-Naḍīr. Previously, she was married to Sallām b. Mishkam b. al-Ḥakam b. Ḥārithah b. al-Khazraj b. Ka'b b. al-

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894. The Prophet married her in 7/628–29 and she died in 44/664–65. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 68–71, provides more details of the marriage. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 438–40.

895. She was the Prophet's cousin and he married her in Dhū al-Qa'dah 5/627. She died in 20/641, and it is said that she was the first one to die from among his wives. For details see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 114; VIII, 71–82; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 433–37; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VII, 667–70; Lings, *Muhammad*, 337.

896. Qur'ān 33:37. This marriage of the Prophet has been discussed widely. According to some, it served as a legal test case against the prevailing notion of adoption. Andrae, *Mohammed*, 153–54; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 238–41.

897. It refers to her marriage. She states that God was her *walī*, who gave her away in marriage, and that Gabriel was the intermediary (*safīr*). Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 435.

Ibn Sa'd reports: One day Zaynab [bragging about herself] said to the Prophet, "I am not, O Messenger of God, like other wives of yours. All of them were married to you either by their fathers, brothers, or guardians except me. It was God who gave me in marriage to you." See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 309; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 226–27.

Khazraj. After his death she was married to Kinānah b. al-Rabī' b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq, who was killed by Muḥammad b. Maslamah at the Prophet's order. He was struck on the neck until he died. When the Prophet scrutinized the captives on the day of Khaybar, he threw his cloak over Ṣafiyyah. Thus she was his chosen one (*ṣafiyyah*)[898] on the day of Khaybar.[899] Then he proposed Islam to her and she accepted, so he freed her. That was in the year 6/627–28.

Then the Messenger of God married Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn b. Bujayr b. al-Huzam b. Ruwaybah b. 'Abdallāh b. Hilāl. Previously, she was married to 'Umayr[900] b. 'Amr of the Banū 'Uqdah b. Ghiyarah b. 'Awf b. Qasī, who was [from] Thaqīf. She did not bear any children with him, and she was the sister of Umm al-Faḍl, wife of 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The Messenger of God married her in Sarif during his Lesser Pilgrimage of Fulfillment ('*umrat al-qaḍā*').[901] Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib married her to him.

The Messenger of God married all the women we have mentioned [above], and when he died all of them except Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid were alive.[902] [1774]

The Messenger of God married a woman of the Banū Kilāb b. Rabī'ah called al-Nashāt bt. Rifā'ah. The Banū Kilāb were the

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898. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1718, n. 509.

899. According to one report, she fell in the lot of Diḥya al-Kalbī, and the Prophet bought her from him. She died in 50/670 or 52/672. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 85–92; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 442–44.

900. Ibn Hishām: She was married to Abū Ruhm b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 444): She was married to Abū Sabrah b. Abī Ruhm. Ibn Hishām further adds: It is said that it was she who gave herself to the Prophet because she received his marriage proposal while she was on her camel. She said, "The camel and what is on it belongs to God and His messenger." So God revealed: "A believing woman who bestows herself upon the Prophet, provided the Prophet wants to marry her." [Qur'ān 33:50]. See also *EI*[1], s.v. Maimūna.

It is said that the one who bestowed herself upon the Prophet was Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, or Umm Sharīk Ghaziyyah bt. Jābir. Others state that it was a woman from the Banū Sāmah b. Lu'ayy and that the Prophet postponed the matter.

901. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 94–100, gives a long report whether the Prophet was in the state of *iḥrām* or not when he married her. See also Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 247–48. She died in 61/680–81, and it is said that she was the last of the Prophet's widows to die.

902. Ibn Hishām: The Messenger of God consummated his marriage with eleven women, two of whom died before him: Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid and Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah.

allies of the Banū Rifā'ah of the Qurayẓah. [The authorities] differ about her.[903] Some call her Sanā and trace her lineage as Sanā[904] bt. Asmā' b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamiyyah, while others say that she is Sabā bt. Asmā' b. al-Ṣalt of the Banū Ḥarām of the Banū Sulaym. They say that she died before the Messenger of God consummated his marriage with her. Some, ascribing her lineage, state that she is Sanā bt. al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥārithah b. Hilāl b. Ḥarām b. Sammāl b. 'Awf al-Sulamī.

The Messenger of God married al-Shanbā' bt. 'Amr al-Ghifāriyyah, whose tribe were also the allies of the Banū Qurayẓa. Some [authorities] allege that she was a Quraẓiyyah, and that her lineage is not known because the Banū Qurayẓah perished. It is also said that she was a Kināniyyah. She menstruated when she entered [the house of] the Messenger of God, and [the Prophet's son] Ibrāhīm died before she took her ritual purification bath. She said, "If he were a prophet, the person who is dearest to him would not have died," so the Messenger of God dismissed her by [giving her] divorce.[905]

The Messenger of God married Ghaziyyah[906] bt. Jābir of the Banū Abī Bakr b. Kilāb. [The news of] her beauty and skill had reached the Messenger of God, so he sent Abū Usayd al-Anṣārī al-Sā'idī asking her hand in marriage. Being in a state of infidelity
[1775] when she came to the Prophet, she said, "I was not consulted [about this marriage], and I seek refuge from you in the name of God." He replied, "One who seeks God's protection is inviola-

903. Her name is given differently by different authorities, such as Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, 'Amrah bt. Yazīd, al-'Āliyyah bt. Ẓabyān, and Sabā bt. Sufyān.

Ibn Hishām states: "[Among the women whom the Prophet married but did not consummate the marriage was] 'Amrah bt. Yazīd al-Kilābiyyah. Being recently in a state of infidelity, when she came to the Messenger of God she sought refuge from him. The Prophet replied, '[One who seeks God's protection] is inviolable,' and returned her to her folk." He further adds: "Others state that the one who sought God's refuge was a woman of Kindah, a cousin of Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān. It is said that when the Messenger of God summoned her, she said, 'We are a people to whom others come, we go to none.' The Messenger of God returned her to her people." Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 100–112, 159–60; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 454–55; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 587; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VIII, 64.

904. Sabā, or Shanbā: in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 309.

905. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 309; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 580. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.

906. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 310): 'Adhiyyah, or 'Arabah. Ibn Sa'd: She is called Umm Sharīk.

ble," and returned her to her people.[907] It is said that she was from Kindah.

The Messenger of God married Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān b. al-Aswad b. Sharāḥīl b. al-Jawn b. Ḥujr b. Mu'āwiyah al-Kindī. When he went to her he found that she was suffering from leprosy, so he gave her a compensation [for divorce], provided her [with some provision], and returned her to her people. It is also said that it was al-Nu'mān who sent her to the Messenger of God and that she defamed him.[908] When she went to him she also sought refuge from him, so he sent her to her father saying, "Is she not your daughter?" He replied that she was. The Prophet said to her, "Are you not his daughter?" She replied that she was. Al-Nu'mān said, "Take her, O Messenger of God, she is . . . ," and he praised her excessively. He replied that she would never be useful. The Messenger of God did with her what he did with al-'Āmiriyyah. It is not known whether it was because of her pronouncement or that of her father that the Messenger of God said that she would never be useful.

God granted Rayḥānah bt. Zayd of the Banū Qurayẓah to his Messenger [as booty].[909] Māriyah the Copt was presented to the Messenger of God, given to him by al-Muqawqis, the ruler of Alexandria, and she gave birth to the Messenger of God's son Ibrāhīm.[910] These were the Messenger of God's wives; six of them were from the Quraysh.[911]

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907. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 110–12, gives quite a different account. It was she who gave herself to the Prophet and the Qur'ānic verse 33:50 refers to her. Because the Prophet did not marry her, she did not marry anyone else. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 422.

908. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 102–5, states that Nu'mān came to the Prophet, accepted Islam and offered his daughter in marriage. It was in Rabī' I, 9/630, but when the Prophet entered into her presence she sought God's refuge, so he divorced her. For a slightly different version, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 456–57.

909. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 92–94) and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 453–54) state that the Prophet freed her after she accepted Islam and married her in Muḥarram 6/627. She died soon after the Prophet's return from the Farewell Pilgrimage. See also Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, III, 256.

910. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 153–56, and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 448–53, for details about Māriyah and Ibrāhīm.

911. Ibn Hishām: Among the Prophet's wives, six were Qurayshite: Khadījah, 'Ā'ishah, Ḥafṣah, Umm Ḥabībah, Umm Salamah, and Sawdah. The Arab women and others were seven: Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith, Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah, Juwayriyyah bt. al-Ḥārith, Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān, and 'Amrah bt. Yazīd. Ṣafiyyah bt. Ḥuyayy was a non-Arab.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] states: Among the marriages not mentioned by Hishām [b. Muḥammad] in this report is the one related from the Messenger of God according to which he married Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah. She is the one called *Umm al-Masākīn* (Mother of the Poor),[912] [and was] from the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. She is Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Manāf b. Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. Previously, she was married to al-Ṭufayl[913] b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib, brother of 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith. She died in Medina while she was married to the Messenger of God. It is said that no one from the Messenger
[1776] of God's wives died while he was alive except her, Khadījah, Sharāf bt. Khalīfah (sister of Diḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī),[914] and al-'Āliyyah bt. Ẓabyān.[915]

Ibn 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam[916]—Shu'ayb b. al-Layth[917]—'Uqayl[918]—Ibn Shihāb [al-Zuhrī]: The Messenger of God married al-'Āliyyah,[919] a woman of the Banū Abī Bakr b. Kilāb. He gave her gifts [compensation for divorce] and left her. He [also] married Qutaylah bt. Qays b. Ma'dīkarib, sister of al-Ash'ath b. Qays, but he died before consummating his marriage with her,[920] and she

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912. Ibn Hishām adds: Because of her kindness to them. Ibn Sa'd: She was called by that name in pre-Islamic days.

913. Ibn Hishām: Previously, she was married to 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf, and before that to Jahm b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith, who was her cousin. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 82): She was married to Ṭufayl, and after he divorced her she married 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith. The Prophet married her in Ramaḍān 3/625, and she died eight months later. Cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 241; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 429.

914. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 115, lists her among those to whom the Prophet proposed but did not marry. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 460, states that she died before the marriage was consummated. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 587, states that she was the maternal aunt of Khawlah bt. Hudhayl and that she died on her way to Medina.

915. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 310, states that the Prophet married her and then divorced her. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 586–87.

916. It could be either of the two brothers Muḥammad or 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The former died in 268/881–82 and the latter in 257/870–71. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 208; IX, 260–62.

917. Died in 199/814–15. Ibid., IV, 355–56.

918. 'Uqayl b. Khālid b. 'Aqīl al-Umawī died ca. 141/758–59. Ibid., VII, 255–56.

919. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 455, states that al-'Āliyyah bt. Ẓabyān b. 'Amr of the Banū Kilāb was divorced because she used to peep through her door at the people in the mosque.

920. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 105–6, states that her brother al-Ash'ath b. Qays

apostatized from Islam with her brother. He [also] married Fāṭimah bt. Shurayḥ.[921] It is reported from Ibn al-Kalbī that the Messenger of God married Ghaziyyah bt. Jābir, who is [called] Umm Sharīk. She was previously married and had a son called Sharīk from [the first husband], so she was called by that surname [of relationship]. When the Prophet went to her he found her to be an old woman, so he divorced her.[922] She embraced Islam and used to call on the Qurashī women and invite them to Islam. It is said that he married Khawlah bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrah b. Qabīṣah b. al-Ḥārith.[923]

The [above] is reported on the authority of al-Kalbī—Abū Ṣāliḥ[924]—Ibn ʿAbbās. With the same chain of authority [it is reported] that Laylā bt. al-Khaṭīm b. ʿAdī b. ʿAmr b. Sawād b. Ẓafar b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj approached the Prophet while his back was to the sun, and clapped him on his shoulder. He asked who it was, and she replied, "I am the daughter of one who competes with the wind. I am Laylā bt. al-Khaṭīm. I have come to offer myself [in marriage] to you, so marry me." He replied, "I accept." She went back to her people[925] and said that the Messenger of God had married her. They said, "What a bad thing you have done! You are a self-respecting woman, but the Prophet is a woman-izer.[926] Seek an annulment from him." She went back to the Prophet and asked him to revoke the marriage and he complied with [her request].[927] [It is reported] without the above chain of authorities that the Prophet married ʿAmrah bt. Yazīd,[928] a woman of the Banū Ru'ās b. Kilāb. [1777]

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offered her in marriage to the Prophet while she was still in Ḥaḍramawt; but by the time she left the Yemen, the Prophet had died.

921. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 310): Fāṭimah bt. Sara'. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.

922. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 110–12, gives a different account and lists her among the women to whom the Prophet proposed but did not marry. It was she who gave herself to the Prophet and the Qur'ānic verse 33:50 refers to her.

923. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 114–15, states that she died on her way to Medina. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 460; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 587.

924. Abū Ṣāliḥ Mīzān al-Baṣrī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 385–86.

925. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 459): To her womenfolk.

926. Balādhurī: The Messenger of God has many wives. We fear that you will be jealous and he might invoke [God] against you and you will be ruined.

927. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 107–8, for more details.

928. This name is given by Ibn Sa'd as one of the names of the Kilābī woman (see

An Account of Those Women to Whom the Prophet Proposed But Did Not Marry

Among them was Umm Hāni' bt. Abī Ṭālib, whose name is Hind. The Messenger of God proposed marriage to her but did not marry her because she said that she was with child.[929] He asked the hand of Ḍubā'ah bt. 'Āmir[930] b. Qurṭ b. Salamah b. Qushayr b. Ka'b b. Rabī'ah b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah in marriage from her son Salamah b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah. He said that he would seek her permission. [Salamah] came to her and told her that the Prophet had proposed to her. She said, "What did you tell him?" He replied, "I told him [to wait] until I sought your permission." She said, "Has permission to be sought for the Prophet? Go back and marry him [to me]." He went back but the Prophet did not say anything because he was informed that she was too old.[931] Reportedly, it is said that he proposed to Ṣafiyyah bt. Bashshāmah, sister of the one-eyed al-'Anbarī. She was taken as a captive, so he allowed her to choose between him and her husband. She chose her husband and he sent her back.[932] He proposed to Umm Ḥabīb[933] bt. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, but discovered that al-'Abbās was his foster-brother; Thuwaybah had nursed them both. He asked for the hand of Jamrah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḥārithah[934] in marriage, [but] her father—so it is reported—said

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above). Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 456, and Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 580, give her name as 'Amrah bt. Yazīd al-Ghifāriyyah. The Prophet married her, but when he discovered that she had leprosy he divorced her. For a similar report see Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 248.

929. She said that because of her young child, she would not be able to do justice to her husband. For details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 108–9; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 459.

930. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 310): Sā'ah bt. 'Umar.

931. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 109–10; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 460, states that in pre-Islamic days she had circumambulated the Ka'bah naked because she did not have the special clothes. In pre-Islamic days, if the Arabs did not have the garments of the *Ḥums*, then they would circumambulate the Ka'bah either in their ordinary clothes (which had to be discarded afterwards) or they would go round naked. Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 81–82; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 214–15.

932. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 110; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 459.

933. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 310) and Ibn Kathīr (*Sīrah*, IV, 598): Umm Ḥabībah. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 462–63. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd. For a different version see Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 248–49.

934. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 462; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 310–11; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 598. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.

that she was suffering from something, although [in reality] she was not. When he returned, he found that she had already been afflicted with leprosy.[935]

An Account of the Messenger of God's Slave Concubines

They were Māriyah bt. Sham'ūn, the Copt, and Rayḥānah bt. Zayd al-Quraẓiyyah, who, it is said, was of the Banū al-Naḍīr. An [1778] account of them has been given above.

935. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 106–7, 113–14, mentions Mulaykah bt. Ka'b al-Laythī, Bint Jundub, and Sabā bt. al-Ṣalt among the women whom the Prophet married but did not consummate the marriage and then divorced them. Khawlah bt. Ḥakīm and Amāmah bt. Ḥamzah were among the women to whom the Prophet proposed but did not marry.

The Events of the Year 10 (cont'd)

(April 9, 631–March 28, 632)

An Account of the Messenger of God's Freedmen

Among them were [the following]: Zayd b. Ḥārithah[936] and his son Usāmah b. Zayd, whose account we have mentioned before.

Thawbān.[937] The Messenger of God set him free but he remained with [the Prophet] until his death. Then he settled in Ḥimṣ (Homs),[938] where he had a house which was bequeathed [to him] as a religious endowment. It is reported that he died in the year 54/673–74, during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah. Some [authorities] state that he lived in al-Ramlah[939] and that he did not have any progeny.

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936. He was bought from Syria and sold to Khadījah who presented him to Muḥammad. His father came to Mecca to buy his freedom, but Zayd refused to leave Muḥammad, who thereupon freed him and adopted him. He was one of the very first converts to Islam and died in 8/629 as commander of the Mu'tah expedition. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 467–73; *EI*[1], s.v. Zaid b. Ḥāritha. For Usāmah, see Ṭabarī, above I, 1660, n. 68.

937. Thawbān b. Bujdud was from the Yemen. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 67, 180; II/2, 20; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 480–82; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 621.

938. A town in Syria between Damascus and Ḥalab (Aleppo). *EI*[2], s.v. Ḥimṣ.

939. A town in Palestine, 25 miles from Jerusalem. *EI*[1], s.v. al-Ramla.

Shuqrān.[940] He was from Abyssinia and his name was Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAdī. [The authorities] disagree about his affair. It is reported on the authority of ʿAbdallāh b. Dāwūd al-Khuraybī that the Messenger of God inherited him from his father, while others state that he was from Persia and was named Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥawl b. Mihrbūdh. His lineage, according to those who ascribe to him a Persian ancestry, is alleged to be Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥawl b. Mihrbūdh b. Ādharjushnas b. Mihrbān b. Fīrān b. Rustam b. Fīrūz b. Māy b. Bahrām b. Rashtharī. It is alleged that [his ancestors] were landowners (*dahāqīn*) of al-Rayy.[941] It is reported on the authority of Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī,[942] who said that Shuqrān belonged to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, that the latter presented him to the Prophet. He left behind offspring, the last of whom was Ma'ubā, a man from his progeny who lived in Medina and who had descendants in al-Baṣrah.[943]

Ruwayfiʿ.[944] He was Abū Rāfiʿ, The Messenger of God's freedman. His name was Aslam, [but] some state that his name was Ibrāhīm. [Authorities] differ about his affair. Some state that he belonged to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and that the latter presented him to the Messenger of God, who set him free, while others state that Abū Rāfiʿ belonged to Abū Uḥayḥah Saʿīd b. [1779]
al-ʿĀṣ al-Akbar and that his sons inherited him. Three of them set free their share of him and all of them were killed on the day of Badr, when Abū Rāfiʿ was present with them. Khālid b. Saʿīd donated his share of him to the Messenger of God, who set him free.

His son al-Bahī, whose name was Rāfiʿ,[945] and his brother ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Rāfiʿ. Al-Bahī used to serve ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as

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940. He participated in Badr and was in charge of the captives, and died during ʿUmar's caliphate. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 105; Ibn Saʿd *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; III/1, 34; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 478–79; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 626–28.

941. An ancient town in Persia, situated near the present capital Tehran. *EI*[1], s.v. al-Raiy.

942. He was the governor of al-Baṣrah for his brother ʿAbdallāh b. Zubayr and was killed in battle against the Umayyads in 72/691. *EI*[1], s.v. Musʿab b. al-Zubair.

943. A town in lower Mesopotamia which grew out of the military camp built by the caliph ʿUmar. *EI*[2], s.v. al-Baṣra.

944. Ibn Saʿd *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; IV/1, 51, 52; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 618–19. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 477–78, 482–83), on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī, states that Abū Rāfiʿ Aslam belonged to ʿAbbās, while Rāfiʿ (or Ruwayfiʿ) belonged to Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ.

945. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2 180; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 621–22.

a scribe.[946] When 'Amr b. Sa'īd[947] became the governor of Medina, he called al-Bahī and asked him, "Who is your master?" When he answered, "The Messenger of God," he was flogged a hundred times. Again he was asked, "Whose freedman are you?" He replied, "The Messenger of God's freedman," and was again flogged a hundred times. Every time he was asked whose freedman he was he continued to give the same answer until he had been flogged five hundred times. Then he was asked, "Whose freedman are you?" and replied, "Your master's." When 'Abd al-Malik[948] killed 'Amr b. Sa'īd, al-Bahī b. Abī Rāfi' said:

The oath was correct and did not become crippled but
harmed its enemy.
An oath which spilled Ibn Sa'd's lifeblood.
He is the son of a rebellious father[949] again and again,
but is related to a family whose ancestors were good.

Salmān al-Fārisī,[950] surnamed Abū 'Abdallāh, who was from the inhabitants of the village of Iṣbahān.[951] It is said that he was [actually] from the village of Rāmhurmuz,[952] fell into captivity at the hands of some people of Kalb, and was sold to some Jews in the district of Wādī al-Qurā. He made a written contract with his Jewish master that he should pay a certain sum as his ransom, and on the payment thereof be free. The Messenger of God and the Muslims helped him [to meet his contractual obligations]

946. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 483) states on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī that 'Alī's scribe was 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Rāfi'.

947. He was an Umayyad governor of Mecca, and in 60/680 was appointed by Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah as governor of Medina. *EI*², s.v. 'Amr b. Sa'īd.

948. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was the fifth Umayyad caliph and reigned from 65/685 to 86/705. *EI*², s.v. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

949. It is a pun on the word Ibn al-'Āṣ (the name of 'Amr's father) and Ibn al-'Āṣī ("son of a rebellious father").

950. One of the most popular figures in Muslim legend; he was an ardent supporter of 'Alī and died ca. 35/655–56. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 485–89; *EI*¹, s.v. Salmān al-Fārisī; Jafri, *Origins*, 52.

951. Iṣfahān (in the Persian form), a town and province in Persia. *EI*², s.v. Iṣfahān.

952. Ibn Isḥāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 66) and Ibn Hishām (*Sīrah*, I, 228): From a village called Jayy. Both the sources state that Salmān was betrayed and sold into slavery by a party of Kalbite merchants whom he accompanied from Syria to Arabia. Rām-Hormoz (in the Persian form), a town and district in Khūzistān about fifty-five miles southeast of Ahwāz. *EI*¹, s.v. Rām-Hormuz.

until he was set free. Some Persian genealogists state that Salmān was from the villages of Sābūr[953] and that his name was Mābih b. Būdhakhshān b. Dih Dīrih.

Safīnah,[954] the freedman of the Messenger of God. He belonged to Umm Salamah, who set him free on the condition that he should serve the Messenger of God during his lifetime. It is said that he was black. [Authorities] disagree about his name. Some state that his name was Mihrān, while others state that his name was Rabāḥ. Some of them state that he was Persian and his name was Sabīh [or Subayh] b. Mārqīh [or Mārqayh]. [1780]

Anasah,[955] nicknamed Abū Musarraḥ or Abū Masrūḥ, was a slave boy [born among the Arabs] of al-Sarāt.[956] [The people] used to ask his permission [to see] the Messenger of God when the latter sat [to receive the visitors]. He was present at Badr, Uḥud, and all the expeditions of the Messenger of God. Some state that he was of Persian descent, that his mother was Abyssinian and his father Persian, and that his father's name in Persian was Kardaway b. Asharnīdah b. Adawhar b. Mihrādar b. Kaḥankān, of the Banū Mihjwār b. Yūmāst.

Abū Kabshah.[957] His name was Sulaym. It is said that he was a slave boy [born among the Arabs] of Mecca. It is [also] said that he was a slave boy [born among the Arabs] of the land of Daws.[958] The Messenger of God bought him and set him free. He was present at Badr, Uḥud, and other expeditions with the Messenger of God. He died the very day 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb succeeded to the caliphate, in the year 13/634–35.

Abū Muwayhibah.[959] It is said that he was a slave boy [born

953. Shāpūr [in Persian], the name of the ancient capital of the Shāpūr Khūra district of Fārs. *EI*[1], s.v. Shāpūr.

954. Ibn Sa'd *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 480; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 623–26.

955. He participated in Badr and died during Abū Bakr's caliphate. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 9, 24, 146, 153; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 478; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 619.

956. A chain of mountains which run along the western side of the Arabian plateau. *EI*[1], s.v. Sarāt.

957. He participated in Badr. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 24, 153; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; III/1, 33; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 478; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 637–40.

958. The tribes of Daws were the furthest north of the Azd Sarāt group. *EI*[2], s.v. Azd.

959. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; II/2, 9, 10; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 483–84; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 640. See Ṭabarī, below, I, 1799.

among the Arabs] of Muzaynah,[960] who was bought by the Messenger of God and set free.

Rabāḥ al-Aswad.[961] [The people] used to obtain his permission [in order to see] the Messenger of God.

Faḍālah,[962] the freedman of the Messenger of God, who reportedly [later] settled in Syria.

Mid'am,[963] the freedman of the Messenger of God. He was a slave of Rifā'ah b. Zayd al-Judhāmī,[964] who presented him to the Messenger of God. He was killed at Wādī al-Qurā on the day that
[1781] the Messenger of God halted there. He was hit by an arrow from an unknown quarter which killed him.

Abū Ḍumayrah.[965] Some Persian genealogists allege that he was a desendant of the king Kushtāsib of Persia, and that his name was Wāḥ b. Shīraz b. Bīrūwīs b. Tārīshmih b. Māhwash b. Bākmihrīr. Others state that he was among those who fell to the Messenger of God's lot during one of his expeditions and that [the Prophet] set him free and drafted a document to that effect. He is the grandfather of Abū Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḍumayrah b. Abī Ḍumayrah. The document [of manumission] was long in the hands of his grandchildren and his family. When Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh came to the ['Abbāsid caliph] al-Mahdī,[966] the document was with him. The caliph took it, placed it on his eyes, and awarded him three hundred dīnārs.

Yasār.[967] He was, reportedly, a Nubian. He fell to the Messenger of God's lot during one of his expeditions, and he set him free. He was killed by al-'Uraniyyūn, who raided the Messenger of God's milch camels.[968]

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960. A branch of Tamīm. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 59, 88.

961. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180, 184; II/1, 59; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 484; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 622. See Safīnah above.

962. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; he was from the Yemen; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 480; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 629–30.

963. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 631; he was born in Ḥismā, in the Syrian desert.

964. Or of Farwah b. 'Amr al-Judhāmī: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 484.

965. Abū Ḍamrah or Abū Ḍumayrah was of Arab descent. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 484. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 635–36; he was from the Yemen.

966. The third 'Abbāsid caliph reigned from 158/775 to 169/785. *EI*², s.v. al-Mahdī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad.

967. He fell to the Prophet's lot on the expedition of Qarārat al-Kudr. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 183; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; II/1, 67, 86; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 479–80; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 633.

968. See Ṭabarī, below, 1784.

Mihrān.[969] He narrated traditions from the Messenger of God.

The Messenger of God also had a eunuch called Mābūr,[970] who was presented to him by al-Muqawqis with two slave girls; one of them was called Māriyah, whom he took as a concubine, and the other [was called] Sīrīn,[971] whom he gave to Ḥassān b. Thābit after Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal had committed an offense against him.[972] Sīrīn gave birth to a son called ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān. Al-Muqawqis had sent this eunuch with the two slave girls in order to escort them and guard them on the way [to Medina]. He presented them to the Messenger of God when they arrived. It is said that he was the one [with whom] Māriyah was accused of [1782]
[wrongdoing], and that the Messenger of God sent ʿAlī to kill him. When he saw ʿAlī and what he intended to do with him, he uncovered himself until it became evident to ʿAlī that he was completely castrated, not having anything left at all of what men [normally] have, so [ʿAlī] refrained from killing him.

While the Messenger of God was laying siege to al-Ṭāʾif, four slaves came out to him, whom he set free. Abū Bakrah[973] was among them.[974]

An Account of the Messenger of God's Scribes

It is reported that ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān used to write for him at times, while ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Khālid b. Saʿīd, Abān b. Saʿīd,[975] and al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī[976] also used to write at times. It is said that the first person to write for him was Ubayy b. Kaʿb,[977] and that

969. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 631. See Safīnah above.

970. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 153; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 630–31.

971. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 153; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 630; she was called Shīrīn.

972. Ṣafwān, who was the accused party in the scandal against ʿĀʾishah, assaulted Ḥassān because of the latter's part in spreading the rumors. Whether Ṣafwān did it out of a sense of personal injury or on the Prophet's orders to stop the gossipers is not clear, but it seems certain that Ṣafwān went unpunished for this assault. The Prophet's gift to Ḥassān seems to be an act of reconciliation. See Arafat, "Controversial incident."

973. His name was Nufayʿ b. Masrūḥ. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 931, 932; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 114, 115; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 489–506.

974. More freedmen are listed in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 180; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 482, 483, 484, 485, 506; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 616–40.

975. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 154; IV/2, 77; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 669.

976. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/2, 76–79; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 692.

977. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, *passim*; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 670–71.

when he was absent Zayd b. Thābit[978] wrote for him. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Ṣarḥ[979] used to write for him. He apostatized from Islam and later returned to Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca. Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and Ḥanẓalah al-Usayyidī[980] [also] wrote for him.[981]

The Names of the Messenger of God's Horses

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah—his father:[982] The first horse owned by the Messenger of God was the one he bought in Medina from a man of the Banū Fazārah for ten *awāq*.[983] Its name as given by the Bedouin was *al-Ḍaris*,[984] but the Messenger of God named it *al-Sakb*.[985] The first expedition he undertook on it was Uḥud. At that time, the Muslims did not have any other horse except the one belonging to Abū Burdah b. Niyār,[986] which was called *Mulāwiḥ*.[987]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: I asked Muḥam-

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978. He is best known for the collection of the Qur'ān and died ca. 45/665–66. *EI*[1], s.v. Zaid b. Thābit; Watt, *Bell's Introduction*, 40ff.; Blachère, *Introduction*, 30ff.

979. He is supposed to have arbitrarily altered the revelation, or to have boasted of doing so after his apostasy from Islam; hence the Prophet, after the conquest of Mecca, wanted to execute him, but 'Uthmān succeeded in obtaining pardon for him. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 531–32; *EI*[2], s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd.

980. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 673–75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 134–35.

981. For the detailed list of *kuttāb al-waḥy*, see Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 669–97.

982. It is worth noting that, except the first two transmitters (i.e., al-Ḥārith and Ibn Sa'd), the remaining chain of authorities are the same in Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt*. Ibn Sa'd reports directly from Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī while al-Ṭabarī (in this case) reports indirectly from al-Wāqidī through al-Ḥārith.

983. *Awāq*, pl. of *ūqīyah*, is a measure of weight. Hinz, *Masse und Gewichte*, 34. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 174.

984. It means a man having set his teeth on edge, or angry by reason of hunger. It also implies stubbornness. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ḍ-r-s.

985. *Al-Sakbā'*: Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 509. It means a swift or an excellently running horse, and is likened to water pouring forth. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. s-k-b. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 314.

986. He was present at the second pledge of 'Aqabah and fought at Badr. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/2, 25.

987. It means a slender horse or one having excellent and large bones. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. l-w-ḥ.

mad b. Yaḥyā b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathmah about *al-Murtajiz*,[988] and he said that it was the horse [the Messenger of God] purchased [1783]
from a Bedouin for whom Khuzaymah b. Thābit bore witness. The Bedouin was from the Banū Murrah.[989]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ubayy b. 'Abbās b. Sahl[990]—his father[991]—his grandfather:[992] The Messenger of God had three horses: *Lizāz*,[993] *al-Ẓarib*,[994] and *al-Luḥayf*;[995] they were presented to him by al-Muqawqis, Rabī'ah b. Abī al-Barā', and Farwah b. 'Amr al-Judhāmī. The Messenger of God rewarded Rabī'ah b. Abī al-Barā' [for *al-Luḥayf*] with camels [that were taken in payment of *zakāt*] from the herds of the Banū Kilāb.

Tamīm al-Dārī presented a horse called *al-Ward*[996] to the Messenger of God, and he gave it to 'Umar, who rode it in the cause of God and [later] found out that it was sold [in the market].[997]

Some [authorities] allege that the Messenger of God had a horse called *al-Ya'sūb*[998] in addition to the horses I have mentioned.

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988. It was so-called because of the intense but pleasing sound of its neighing. The name of the Bedouin was Sawād b. al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. r-j-z. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 509; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 314.

989. Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 36, 44. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 174.

990. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 186–87.

991. 'Abbās b. Sahl b. Sa'd al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī died *ca.* 120/738. Ibid., V, 118.

992. It is said that Sahl was the last companion of the Prophet to die in Medina *ca.* 91/709–10. Ibid., IV, 252–53. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 174–75.

993. *Lizāz* is a piece of wood with which the door is fastened, hence it is applied to one who cleaves to a thing. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. l-z-z. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 314.

994. Literally, it means a stone projecting from a mountain and having a sharp point. The horse was so-called because of its strong body, like a rock. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 314; Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. ẓ-r-b.

995. As in Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 175), Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 314), Ibn Kathīr (*Sīrah*, IV, 713), and Fīrūzābādī (*Qāmūs*, s.v. l-ḥ-f). Text: *Lukhayf*. *Luḥayf* was so called because it used to cover the ground with its big tail. *Lakhf*, on the other hand, means a delicate foam. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 509–10.

996. A horse of a bright, or yellowish, bay color, or of a red color inclining to yellow. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. w-r-d.

997. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 510) adds: So, he took it back.

998. It is used for a horse when it is likened for the slenderness of its body to a certain flying thing. It also means a blaze or a white mark on a horse's face. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. '-s-b; Lane, *Lexicon* s.v. '-s-b. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 314, states that it was so-called because it was the best horse of the Prophet, like the king of the bees (*ya'sūb*).

The Names of the Messenger of God's Mules

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm[999]—his father:[1000] *Duldul*,[1001] the Prophet's mule, was the first mule seen in Islam. It was presented to him by al-Muqawqis with a donkey called *'Ufayr*.[1002] The mule survived until the time of Mu'āwiyah.

Al-Hārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ma'mar[1003]—al-Zuhrī: *Duldul* was given to the Prophet by Farwah b. 'Amr al-Judhāmī.[1004]

[1784] Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah[1005]—Zāmil b. 'Amr: Farwah b. 'Amr gave the Prophet a mule called *Fiḍḍah*[1006] and he gave it to Abū Bakr [along with] his donkey *Ya'fūr*.[1007] The donkey died after his return from the Farewell Pilgrimage.

The Names of the Messenger of God's Camels

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī—his father: *Al-Qaṣwā'*[1008] was from the camels of the Banū al-Ḥarīsh,[1009] and was bought with another camel by Abū Bakr for eight hundred dirhams (drachmas). The Messenger of God bought it from Abū Bakr for four hundred

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999. Died *ca.* 151/768. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 368–69.

1000. Died *ca.* 120/738. Ibid., IX, 5–7.

1001. *Daldala* means one who moves his head and limbs in walking. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. d-l-l.

1002. A diminutive form of *a'far*. It had slight white color. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 511; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 315. It was also called *Ya'fūr*, meaning dust-colored. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. '-f-r. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 175–76.

1003. Ma'mar b. Rāshid al-Azdī died *ca.* 152/769. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 243–46.

1004. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 175.

1005. Died in 162/778–79. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 27–28.

1006. It means silver. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 175.

1007. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 511, states that it was given by Farwah b. 'Amr al-Judhāmī.

1008. A slit-eared she-camel. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. q-ṣ-y.

1009. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 511) and Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 315): Al-Ḥuraysh; Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 176): Al-Ḥarīs. The Banū Ḥarīsh were a clan of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah.

[dirhams],[1010] and it remained with him until it died. It was the camel on which he emigrated [from Mecca to Medina].[1011] When he came to Medina it was seven years old [*rabā'iyyah*].[1012] Its name was *al-Qaṣwā'*, *al-Jad'ā'*,[1013] or *al-'Aḍbā'*.[1014]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ibn Abī Dhi'b[1015]—Yaḥyā b. Ya'lā—Ibn al-Musayyib:[1016] Its name was *al-'Aḍbā'* and it had a slit on the side of its ear.

The Names of the Messenger of God's Milch Camels

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mu'āwiyah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Rāfi': The Messenger of God had milch camels which were raided by the Bedouins [while they were grazed] in a thicket (*ghābah*).[1017] They were twenty and the Messenger of God's family lived on [their milk]. Every evening, two big waterskins filled with milk were brought to him. Among those camels were some which yielded abundant milk. [They were] *al-Ḥannā'*,[1018] *al-Samrā'*, *al-'Arīs*, *al-Sa'diyyah*, *al-Baghūm*,[1019] *al-Yasīrah*, and *al-Rayyā*.[1020] [1785]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Hārūn b. Mu-

1010. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 511) adds: The more reliable report is that it was given to the Prophet by Abū Bakr.

1011. Ibid., I, 266.

1012. It means the tooth between the central incisor (*thaniyyah*) and the canine tooth (*nāb*), which determines the age for camels of about seven years old. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. r-b-'.

1013. A she-camel having the sixth or the fourth part of her ear cut off. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. j-d-'.

1014. A slit-eared she-camel or a she-camel with a "short foreleg." Ibid., s.v. '-ḍ-b. It was the same camel which got lost during the Tabūk expedition and which 'Alī rode to Mecca to deliver *al-Barā'ah*. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 190; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1009, 1077.

1015. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Dhi'b died ca. 158/774–75. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 303–7.

1016. Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī died in 100/718–19. Ibid., IV, 84–88.

1017. A dense forest of tamarisk bushes at the extreme north end of the Medinan oasis in the broad sandy bed of Wādī al-'Aqīq. Philby, *Pilgrim*, 75.

1018. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 315): *Al-Ḥasnā'*.

1019. A she-camel uttering a yearning cry for her young one. Ibid.

1020. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 177); *Al-Dabbā'*.

ḥammad[1021]—his father[1022]—Nabhān,[1023] freedman of Umm Salamah: I heard Umm Salamah saying that the diet, or the greater part of the diet, of the Messenger of God's family consisted of milk. The Messenger of God had milch camels in the thicket which he allotted to his wives. Among them was a milch camel called *al-'Arīs*. From it [Umm Salamah] used to get whatever amount of milk she desired. 'Ā'ishah had a milch camel called *al-Samrā'* which used to yield abundant milk, unlike that of Umm Salamah. The herdsman later brought the milch camels to a nearer pasture in the district of al-Jawwāniyyah,[1024] after which they were brought to the women's houses in the evening and were given to them to be milked. [The Messenger of God's][1025] milch camel was more abundant in milk than the two milch camels [of 'Ā'ishah and Umm Salamah], being almost equal to them or more.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Abd al-Salām b. Jubayr—his father: The Messenger of God had [seven][1026] milch camels which were kept at Dhū al-Jadr[1027] and al-Jammā'[1028] and their milk was brought to him. [One of the] milch camels was called *Muhrah*.[1029] It was given [to him] by Sa'd b. 'Ubādah from the herd of the Banū 'Uqayl[1030] and was abundant in milk. *Al-Rayyā*[1031] and *al-Shaqrā'* were bought from the Banū 'Āmir in the Nabatean (*al-Nabṭ*)[1032] market. *Al-Burdah, al-Samrā', al-'Arīs, al-Yasīrah,* and *al-Ḥannā'* were milked every night and their milk was brought to him. The Prophet's slave named Yasār [who looked after those camels] was killed [during the Bedouins' raid].[1033]

1021. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 10.
1022. Muḥammad b. Bakkār b. Bilāl al-'Āmilī died in 216/831. Ibid., IX, 416.
1023. Loc. cit.
1024. A village near Medina. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 175.
1025. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 177.
1026. Addition from ibid., I/2, 178. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 512): Ten.
1027. A place in Medina. Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, II, 371.
1028. A place near Medina. Ibid., II, 393–94.
1029. Addition in Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 178): A milch camel called *al-Shaqrā'*, a milch camel called *al-Dabbā'*. The *Muhrah* was sent by Sa'd . . . .
1030. Ibn Sa'd: 'Aqīl.
1031. Ibn Sa'd: *Al-Dabbā'*.
1032. They are the Arabs who lived in ancient times in Arabia Petraea. *EI*[1], s.v. Nabataeans. Shahīd, *Rome and the Arabs*, 5, 19; idem, *Byzantium and the Arabs*, 23.
1033. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1781.

The Names of the Messenger of God's Milch Sheep (Manā'iḥ)[1034] [1786]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Zakariyā' b. Yaḥyā—Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh from the descendants of 'Utbah b. Ghazwān: The Messenger of God's milch sheep were seven: *'Ajwah, Zamzam, Suqyā, Barakah, Warisah,*[1035] *Aṭlāl,*[1036] and *Aṭrāf.*[1037]

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad [b. 'Umar]—Abū Isḥāq—'Abbād b. Manṣūr[1038]—'Ikrimah[1039]—Ibn 'Abbās: The milch goats of the Messenger of God were seven in number, and they were tended by Ibn Umm Ayman.[1040]

The Names of the Messenger of God's Swords

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah[1041]—Marwān b. Abī Sa'īd b. al-Mu'allā: The Messenger of God took three swords from the armor of the Banū Qaynuqā'[1042] which were called *Qala'ī,*[1043] *Battār* ["very sharp"], and *al-Ḥatf* ["death"].[1044] After that he had *al-Mikhdham* ["sharp"],[1045] and *Rasūb* ["that is wont to sink"], which he took from [the property of] *al-Fils* [a shrine].[1046]

It is said that when the Messenger of God came to Medina he

1034. Plural of *manīḥah,* means a milch sheep or goat that is lent for the sake of her milk for a certain period and then restored to the lender. Lane, *Lexicon,* s.v. m-n-ḥ.

1035. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil,* II, 315): *Warasah.*

1036. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt,* I/2, 178) and Balādhurī (*Ansāb,* I, 514): *Iṭlāl.*

1037. Ibn Sa'd, and Balādhurī: *Iṭrāf.*

1038. Died in 152/769. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb,* V, 103–5.

1039. 'Ikrimah b. Khālid b. al-'Aṣ. Ibid., VII, 258–59.

1040. For further details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt,* I/2, 178–79.

1041. Died in 162/778–79. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb,* XII, 27–28.

1042. One of the three Jewish tribes of Yathrib (Medina). *EI*², s.v. Ḳaynuḳā', Banū.

1043. *Qala'a* means to pluck out, to extirpate. *Qala'ī* is called after a place al-Qala'ah known for its swords. Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* I, 522; Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs,* s.v. q-l-'.

1044. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil,* II, 316): *Al-Khīf* [feared]. The editor states in the footnote that *"al-Ḥatf"* is a variant reading.

1045. It was formerly the sword of al-Ḥārith al-Ghassānī. Lane, *Lexicon,* s.v. kh-dh-m.

1046. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1706, n. 434.

[1787] had two[1047] swords with him. One was called *al-ʿAḍb* ["sharp"], with which he participated at Badr.[1048] The sword called *Dhū al-Faqār*[1049] was obtained as booty at Badr. It had [previously] belonged to Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj.

The Names of the Messenger of God's Bows and Lances

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Marwān b. Abī Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallā: The Messenger of God took three lances and three bows from the weapons of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ. The names of the bows were *al-Rawḥāʾ*,[1050] a *shawḥaṭ* bow called *al-Bayḍāʾ* ["white"], and a yellow bow called *al-Ṣafrāʾ* [made] of *nabʿ*[1051] wood.

The Names of the Messenger of God's Coats of Mail

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Marwān b. Abī Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallā: The Messenger of God took two coats of mail from the weapons of the

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1047. Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 171) and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 521): He had one sword with him which was handed down to him from his father. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 316, seems to be reporting from al-Ṭabarī.

1048. Balādhurī states that it was given by Saʿd b. ʿUbādah.

1049. *Dhū al-faqār* means "having the vertebrae of the back." It is the most celebrated sword of the Prophet and, afterwards, of ʿAlī. It had previously belonged to al-ʿĀṣ b. Munabbih, who was slain at Badr by ʿAlī, who gave it to the Prophet. It was so named because there were small, beautiful hollows or scallops in the edge, for more easy cleaving of coats of mail. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. f-q-r. For further details, see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 171–72; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 521; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 707–8.

According to the Shīʿī belief, this sword, the coats of mail, and other weapons of the Prophet were inherited by ʿAlī and the imāms as a token of their being the rightful successors of the Prophet. Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, I, 232–36.

1050. It means "most conducive to ease, or wide." Probably it is called after a place name, Rawḥāʾ, about 75 km from Medina toward Mecca. Ḥarbī, *Manāsik*, 444–46; Al-Wohaibi, *Hijaz*, 226–30.

1051. A species of tree of which bows are made. *Shawḥaṭ* and *nabʿ* are one; the name varies according to the excellence of their places of growth. What is upon the summit is called *nabʿ*, while what is in the depressed tract by its base is called *shawḥaṭ*. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. sh-ḥ-ṭ. See Ṭabarī, above I, 1760, n. 836.

Banū Qaynuqā': one was called *al-Sa'diyyah*[1052] and the other *Fiḍḍah* ("silver").

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mūsā b. 'Umar—Ja'far b. Maḥmūd[1053]—Muḥammad b. Maslamah:[1054] On the day of Uḥud I saw the Messenger of God [wearing] two coats of mail, *Dhāt al-Fuḍūl*[1055] and *Fiḍḍah*; I saw him on the day of Khaybar [wearing] two coats of mail, *Dhāt al-Fuḍūl* and *al-Sa'diyyah*.[1056]

The Names of the Messenger of God's Shields

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—'Attāb b. Ziyād[1057]—'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak[1058]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir:[1059] I heard Makḥūl saying: The Messenger of God had a shield with a sculptured image of a ram's head which he disliked, and one morning when he woke up, God caused that image to disappear [from the shield].[1060] [1788]

The Messenger of God's Names

Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā[1061]—Ibn Abī 'Adī[1062]—'Abd al-Raḥmān (that is, al-Mas'ūdī)[1063]—'Amr b. Murrah[1064]—Abū

1052. It is called after a place near Medina known for its coats of mail. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. s-'-d.

1053. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 106.

1054. A companion of the Prophet. Ibid., IX, 454–55.

1055. It was so-called because it had redundant portions or ampleness. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. f-ḍ-l. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 521, 523, states that either this coat of mail or *al-Fiḍḍah* was presented to the Prophet by Sa'd b. 'Ubādah.

1056. On the day of Ḥunayn, the Prophet wore two coats of mail, *al-Mighfar* and *al-Bayḍah*. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 897; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 172–73; II/1, 109.

1057. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 92.

1058. Died in 181/797–98. Ibid., V, 382–87.

1059. Ibid., VI, 297–98.

1060. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 173.

1061. Died ca. 252/866. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 425–27.

1062. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'Adī died ca. 194/809–10. Ibid., IX, 12–13.

1063. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh al-Mas'ūdī died in 160/776–77. Ibid., VI, 210–12.

1064. 'Amr b. Murrah b. 'Abdallāh al-Murādī al-Kūfī died ca. 118/736. Ibid., VIII, 102–3.

'Ubaydah[1065]—Abū Mūsā [al-Ash'arī]: The Messenger of God named himself to us [in various ways] from which we remember him saying, "I am Muḥammad the [one who is praised], Aḥmad [the most praiseworthy], *al-Muqaffī* [the follower], *al-Ḥāshir* [the gatherer], *Nabī al-tawbah wa'l-raḥmah*[1066] [the Prophet of repentance and mercy].

[Muḥammad] Ibn al-Muthannā—Abū Dāwūd[1067]—Ibrāhīm (that is, Ibn Sa'd)[1068]—al-Zuhrī—Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im[1069]—his father:[1070] The Messenger of God told me, "I have several names. I am Muḥammad, Aḥmad, *al-'Āqib* [the last in succession], and *al-Māḥī* [the obliterator]." Al-Zuhrī states: *Al-'Āqib* is the one after whom there is no one [i.e., no prophet], and *al-Māḥī* is the one through whom God will efface infidelity.[1071]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Yazīd b. Hārūn[1072]—Sufyān b. Ḥusayn[1073]—al-Zuhrī—Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im—his father: The Messenger of God said, "I am Muḥammad, Aḥmad, *al-Māḥī*, *al-'Āqib*, and *al-Ḥāshir*, who will gather mankind at his feet."[1074]

Yazīd [b. Hārūn] states: I asked Sufyān [b. Ḥusayn] what *al-'Āqib* meant, and he replied [that it meant] the last prophet.

1065. Abū 'Ubaydah b. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān al-Kūfī. Ibid. XII, 159.

1066. As in Muslim (Ṣaḥīḥ, VII, 90), and Tabrīzī (*Mishkāt*, III, 132; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], II, 1239; transmitted on the authority of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī). Text, Ibn Isḥāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 123) and Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 632): *Wa'l-malḥamah* [one who predicts future events that were to happen before the Last Hour]. Another version in Ibn Shabbah reads: *Nabī al-raḥmah wa-nabī al-malḥamah*.

1067. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī died ca. 203/818–19. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 182–86.

1068. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd al-Zuhrī died ca. 183/799. Ibid., I, 121–23.

1069. Ibid., IX, 91–92.

1070. Jubayr b. Mut'im b. 'Adī died ca. 58/677–78. Ibid., II, 63–64.

1071. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, 132; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1239; transmitted both by Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of Jubayr b. Muṭ'im. Cf. also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 392.

1072. Died ca. 206/821–22. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 366–69.

1073. Ibid., IV, 107–9.

1074. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 631: Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 132; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1239.

The Messenger of God's Characteristics [1789]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī 'Adī—al-Mas'ūdī—'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Hurmuz[1075]—Nāfi' b. Jubayr[1076]—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: The Messenger of God was neither tall nor short. [He had] a large head and beard, the palms of his hands and his feet were calloused, [he had] large joints, his face [had] a reddish tinge, the hair of his breast was long, and when he walked he bent forward as if he were descending a slope. I have never seen anyone like him before or since.[1077]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī[1078]—Mujamma' b. Yaḥyā[1079]—'Abdallāh b. 'Imrān[1080]—a man of the *Anṣār* (whom 'Abdallāh b. 'Imrān did not name): I asked 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib while he was seated in the mosque of al-Kūfah, leaning his back against the wall and carrying his sword, "Describe for me the characteristics of the Messenger of God." He replied, "The Messenger of God was of a white complexion with a reddish tinge, [with] deep-black and large [eyes],[1081] and long eyelashes. The hair of his breast was thin, his cheeks were smooth, and his beard was thick and long as if his neck were a silver pitcher. The hair from the upper part of his chest to his navel ran like a branch cut off from a tree. He did not have any other hair on his chest or in his armpits. The palms of his hands and his feet were calloused. When he walked, [he walked] as though he were descending a slope or as though he were falling from a rock. When he turned around he turned completely;[1082] his turn was neither short nor long, and [he turned] neither like a weak nor like a mean person. The perspiration on his face [looked] as if it were pearls, and the fragrance

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1075. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 133.

1076. Nāfi' b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im b. 'Adī died in 99/717–18. Ibid., X, 404–5.

1077. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 386ff.; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 135; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1242. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 121; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 209–10.

1078. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr died in 203/818–19. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 254–55.

1079. Ibid., X, 47–48.

1080. Ibid., V, 343.

1081. Addition from Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 120.

1082. Ibn Sa'd: He was neither short nor long, neither weak nor mean.

of his sweat was better than musk.[1083] I have never seen anyone like him before or since."

Ibn al-Muqaddamī[1084]—Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Qays, who is
[1790] called Abū Zukayr,[1085] states: I heard Rabī'ah b. Abī 'Abd al-Raḥmān[1086] recalling from Anas b. Mālik that the Messenger of God was commissioned [by God] when he was at the beginning of his fortieth year. He remained in Mecca ten years and in Medina ten years, and died at the beginning of his sixtieth year, when there were not twenty white hairs in his head and beard. He was neither very tall nor very short; he was neither pure white nor of dark complexion; and his hair was neither curly nor long.[1087]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Yazīd b. Hārūn—al-Jurayrī:[1088] I was with Abū al-Ṭufayl circumambulating the Ka'bah, and he said, "No one who saw the Messenger of God is alive except me." I asked him, "Did you see him?" He replied, "Yes." I asked, "What were his characteristics?" He answered, "He was white, good-looking, and of moderate stature."[1089]

The Seal of Prophethood Which He Had

Ibn al-Muthannā—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhlad[1090]—'Azrah b. Thābit[1091]—'Ilbā'[1092]—Abū Zayd:[1093] The Messenger of God said to me, "O Abū Zayd, come close to me and wipe my back," and[1094]

1083. Ibn Sa'd, and Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 607): The pungent musk (or the musk of the utmost excellence).

1084. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Muqaddamī died in 234/848–49. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 79.

1085. Ibid., XI, 274–75.

1086. Died ca. 136/753–54. Ibid., III, 258–59.

1087. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 133; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1240; transmitted both by Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of Anas b. Mālik.

1088. Sa'īd al-Jurayrī. Ibn Ḥajar. *Tahdhīb*, XI, 366.

1089. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 134; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1241; transmitted by Muslim. For further details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 120–31; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 602–17.

1090. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhlad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Shaybānī died ca. 214/828–30. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 450–53.

1091. Ibid., VII, 192.

1092. 'Ilbā' b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī al-Baṣrī. Ibid., VII, 273–74.

1093. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 131): Abū Rimthah. 'Amr b. Akhṭab b. Rifā'ah, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, was a companion of the Prophet. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 4.

1094. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 131): I went close and wiped his back.

he uncovered his back. I touched his back, and then put my finger[1095] on the seal and touched it. ['Ilbā'] states: I said [to Abū Zayd], "What is the seal?" He replied, "[It is] a collection of hair on his shoulders." [1791]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Bishr b. al-Waḍḍāḥ Abū al-Haytham[1096]—Abū 'Aqīl al-Dawraqī[1097]—Abū Naḍrah:[1098] I asked Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī about the seal which the Prophet had, and he said that it was like a protruding lump of flesh.[1099]

His Bravery and Generosity

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ḥammād b. Wāqid[1100]—Thābit[1101]—Anas: God's Messenger was one of the best of men, the most generous of men, and the bravest of men. [One night the people of] Medina were frightened and went in the direction of the sound. Lo and behold, they found the Messenger of God on an unsaddled bare-backed horse belonging to Abū Ṭalḥah! He had a sword with him and had gone there before them and was saying, "O people, don't be afraid, don't be afraid." Then he said, "O Abū Ṭalḥah, we found it [could run like] a great river." Before that the horse was slow-paced, but no horse outstripped it after that.[1102]

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī[1103]—Ḥammād b. Zayd[1104]—Thābit—Anas: The Messenger of God was the bravest most generous of men. [One night when the people of] Medina were frightened and went in the direction of the sound, he freed Abū Ṭalḥah's horse from fright and rode on it bare-backed, with-

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1095. Ibn Sa'd: My fingers.

1096. Died in 221/836. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 462.

1097. Bashīr b. 'Uqbah al-Nājī was called Abū 'Aqīl al-Dawraqī. Ibid., I, 465–66.

1098. Al-Mundhir b. Mālik, Abū Naḍrah al-Baṣrī, died ca. 108/726–27. Ibid., X, 302–3.

1099. For various descriptions of the seal, see Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, I, 148; III, 132–33; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 96; II, 1239–40; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 131–33; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 625.

1100. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 21.

1101. Thābit b. Aslam al-Banānī died ca. 123/740–41. Ibid., II, 2–4.

1102. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 139–40; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1245–46; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of Anas. For a different report, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 306.

1103. Died in 198/813–14. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 279–81.

1104. Died in 179/795–96. Ibid., III, 9–11.

out a saddle, with a sword swung on his neck, and said, "We found it [could run like] a great river," or "it is like a great river."

[1792] *The Description of His Hair and Whether He Used to Dye It or Not*

Ibn al-Muthannā—Muʿādh b. Muʿādh[1105]—Ḥarīz b. ʿUthmān[1106]—Abū Mūsā—Muʿādh: I have never seen a person from the inhabitants of Syria to whom I could give preference over [the Prophet]. We went to ʿAbdallāh b. Busr, and I said to him while I was with my companions, "Did you see the Messenger of God? Was he an old man?" He put his hand on the part between his chin and the edge of his lower lip and said, "There was a white hair [among a few hairs] between his lower lip and his chin."

Ibn al-Muthannā—Abū Dāwūd—Zuhayr[1107]—Abū Isḥāq—Abū Juḥayfah:[1108] I saw the Messenger of God's white [tuft of] hair on his lower lip. He was asked, "Like what you have now, O Abū Juḥayfah?" He replied, "I pare and feather arrows."[1109]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Khālid b. al-Ḥārith[1110]—Ḥumayd:[1111] Anas was asked whether the Messenger of God dyed his hair. He replied, "The whiteness of the Messenger of God's hair did not become intense, but Abū Bakr dyed his with henna and *katam*[1112] and ʿUmar dyed his with henna."[1113]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī ʿAdī—Ḥumayd: Anas was asked whether the Messenger of God dyed his hair, and he replied, "Grey hair was not seen on him, except for nineteen or twenty

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1105. Muʿādh b. Muʿādh al-ʿAnbarī al-Baṣrī died in 196/811–12. Ibid., X, 194–95.

1106. Died ca. 163/779–80. Ibid., II, 237–41.

1107. Zuhayr b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī died in 162/778–79. Ibid., III, 348–50.

1108. Wahb b. ʿAbdallāh, called Abū Juḥayfah al-Suwāʾī, died ca. 74/693–94. Ibid., XI, 164.

1109. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 137.

1110. Died in 186/802. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 82–83.

1111. Ḥumayd b. Abī Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl died ca. 142/759–60. Ibid., III, 38–40.

1112. A herb used for hair dye. Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. k-t-m.

1113. Tabrīzī [*Mishkāt*, II, 501; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], I, 937]: Anas replied: "If I had wanted to count the grey hairs on his head, I could have done so," adding that he did not dye his hair. In another version, Anas added that both Abū Bakr and ʿUmar dyed their hair. It is transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim. For other reports, see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 135–36.

white hairs in the front part of his beard. He was not blemished with grey hair." It was said to Anas, "Is [having grey hair] a blemish?" He replied, "All of you dislike it. Abū Bakr dyed [his white hair] with henna and *katam* and 'Umar dyed his with henna."

Ibn al-Muthannā—Mu'ādh b. Mu'ādh—Ḥumayd—Anas: The Prophet did not have more than twenty grey hairs.[1114] [1793]

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Raḥmān [b. Mahdī]—Ḥammād b. Salamah[1115]—Simāk[1116]—Jābir b. Samurah:[1117] There was no white hair on the Messenger of God's head except for a few hairs in the place where the hair of his head was parted. When he annointed it with oil he covered it.[1118]

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Sallām b. Abī Muṭī'—'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Mawhib:[1119] A wife of the Prophet entered [the house] and brought out to us the Messenger of God's hair dyed with henna and *katam*.[1120]

Ibn Jābir b. al-Kurdī al-Wāsiṭī—Abū Sufyān—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḥumurah[1121]—Ghaylān b. Jāmi'[1122]—Iyād b. Laqīṭ[1123]—Abū Rimthah:[1124] The Messenger of God used to dye [his hair] with henna and *katam*, and his hair used to reach his shoulders. [Commenting on the reliability of narrators in the above chain, al-Ṭabarī states:] There is doubt with regard to Abū Sufyān.

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Ibrāhīm [i.e., Ibn Nāfi']'[1125]—Ibn Abī Najīḥ—Mujāhid—Umm Hāni': I saw the Messenger of God and he had four [braided] locks of hair.[1126]

1114. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 622–23.
1115. Died in 167/783–84. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 11–16.
1116. Simāk b. Ḥarb al-Kūfī died in 123/740–41. Ibid., IV, 232–34.
1117. Died ca. 74/693–94. Ibid., II, 39–40.
1118. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2 136.
1119. Died in 160/776–77. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 132–33.
1120. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 395, on the authority of 'Abdallāh b. Mawhib, states: I entered [the house] of Umm Salamah and she brought out to me the Messenger of God's hair dyed with henna and *katam*. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 139; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 618; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, II, 501; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 937; transmitted by Bukhārī on the authority of Ibn Mawhib.
1121. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 443–44.
1122. Died in 132/749–50. Ibid., VIII, 252–53.
1123. Ibid., I, 386–87.
1124. He was a companion of the Prophet. Ibid., XII, 97.
1125. Ibid., I, 174.
1126. For a further description of his hair, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 133–35.

Report about the Beginning of the Messenger of God's Illness in Which He Died, and What He Did Just Prior to It When He was Bewailed [for His Approaching Death]

Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]: God states: "When comes the help of God, and victory, and you see men entering God's religion in multitudes, then glorify your Lord and seek His forgiveness. Verily He is forgiving."[1127] We have mentioned before what the Messenger
[1794] of God's instructions were to his companions during his pilgrimage called "The Farewell Pilgrimage (*ḥajjat al-wadāʿ*)," "The Pilgrimage of Completion [or Perfection of Religion] (*ḥajjat al-tamām*)," and "The Pilgrimage for Conveying the Message (*ḥajjat al-balāgh*),"[1128] its rites and his last Will and Testament to them. This I have cited before in his address which he delivered to them during that pilgrimage. Then the Messenger of God returned from his journey, after he had performed the pilgrimage, to his residence in Medina toward the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah and stayed there during the remainder of that month as well as during Muḥarram and Ṣafar.

1127. Qur'ān, *sūrah* 110.
1128. See Ṭabarī, above, 1756.

The Events of the Year

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(March 29, 632–March 17, 633)

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: I have received an account on the authority of Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'ah:[1129] In the year 11/632, during the month of Muḥarram,[1130] the Messenger of God ordered the people to undertake an expedition to Syria. He put Usāmah, the son of his freed slave Zayd b. al-Ḥārithah, in command over them, ordering him to lead the cavalry into the territory of al-Balqā'[1131] and al-Dārūm[1132] in the land of Palestine. The people got ready and the first emigrants[1133] went forth all together with him. As the people were preparing for the expedition, the Prophet began to suffer from the sickness by which God took him to what honor and compassion He intended

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1129. Died in 143/760–61. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 155–56.

1130. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1117; and Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 136, state that the Messenger of God ordered the expedition on the twenty-fifth of Ṣafar.

1131. A name given by the Arab authors either to the whole of the Transjordanian territory or to the middle part of it. Its geographical meaning is restricted to the limestone plateau between the Wādī al-Zarqā' and the Wādī al-Mūjib. *EI*², s.v. al-Balqā'.

1132. Name of a coastal plain of Palestine, *EI*², s.v. al-Dārūm.

1133. The prominent emigrants, such as Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, were asked by the Prophet to join the expedition. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1118; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 136; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 474.

for him. [It took place] toward the end of Ṣafar or at the beginning of Rabīʿ I.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿīd al-Zuhrī[1134]—his uncle Yaʿqūb[1135]—Ibrāhīm[1136]—Sayf b. ʿUmar[1137]—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd b. Thābit b. [1795] al-Jidhʿ al-Anṣārī—ʿUbayd b. Ḥunayn,[1138] freedman of the Prophet—Abū Muwayhibah, freedman of the Messenger of God: After performing the Pilgrimage of Completion (*ḥajjat al-tamām*) the Messenger of God returned to Medina, [which made] travel permissible [for the people]. He ordered them to undertake an expedition, put Usāmah b. Zayd in charge of it, ordering him to go from Ābil al-Zayt,[1139] the land of the Arabs that is near *mashārif al-Shām*,[1140] to the territory in Jordan (*al-Urdunn*).[1141] The hypocrites criticized [the leadership of Usāmah], so the Prophet refuted them, [stating] that indeed he was worthy of [the command]. If they criticized [Usāmah's leadership], then indeed they had criticized his father before, although Zayd was qualified to command.[1142] The news that the Prophet was suffering from sickness spread in the land as travel became permissible. Both al-Aswad and Musaylimah seized upon [the opportunity to claim the prophethood for themselves] in the Yemen and al-Yamāmah, respectively, and their news had reached the Prophet. After he had recovered [from his illness], Ṭulayḥah seized upon [the opportunity to claim the prophethood for himself] in the country of Asad. In Muḥarram the Prophet complained of the pain by which God took him.

Ibn Saʿīd [al-Zuhrī]—his uncle Yaʿqūb—Sayf [b. ʿUmar]—Hi-

1134. Died in 260/873–74. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 15–16.

1135. Died in 208/823–24. Ibid., XI, 380–81.

1136. Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī died ca. 183/799. Ibid., I, 121–23.

1137. He represents the Iraqi historical school and died in 180/796. Duri, *Rise*, 46–47, 140, 154.

1138. A client of the Banū Zurayq, who died in 105/723–24. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 63–64.

1139. A place name. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 50.

1140. The highlands of Syria. Ibid., V. 131.

1141. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Urdunn.

1142. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1118–19, states that some of the *Muhājirūn* also criticized Usāmah's leadership. When ʿUmar conveyed the criticism to the Prophet, he became very angry, went to the pulpit and addressed the people urging them to dispatch the army of Usāmah. This happened on Saturday, the tenth of Rabīʿ I. Cf. also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 136; II/2, 40–42; Lings, *Muhammad*, 339.

shām b. 'Urwah—his father: Toward the end of Muḥarram the Messenger of God complained of the pain by which God took him.

Al-Wāqidī states: The Messenger of God's pain started two days before the end of Ṣafar.[1143]

'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'īd [al-Zuhrī]—his uncle [Ya'qūb]—Sayf b. 'Umar—al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd al-Nakha'ī—'Urwah b. Ghaziyyah al-Dathīnī[1144]—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Fayrūz b. al-Daylamī[1145]—his father:[1146] The first apostasy (*riddah*)[1147] in Islam took place in the Yemen, while the Messenger of God was alive, at the hands of Dhū al-Khimār 'Abhalah b. Ka'b (that is, al-Aswad) among the commonalty of Madhḥij after the Farewell [Pilgrimage]. Al-Aswad was a soothsayer and a juggler. He used to show them [1796] wondrous things captivating the hearts of those who listened to his speech. The first time he [claimed the prophethood] was [after] his coming out of the Khubbān cave. It was his residence [because] he was born and brought up there. Madhḥij corresponded with him, promising him Najrān. They attacked [Najrān] and expelled 'Amr b. Ḥazm and Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ [the Prophet's agents], giving al-Aswad the position occupied by the latter two. Qays b. 'Abd Yaghūth attacked Farwah b. Musayk, [the Prophet's agent] over Murād, and expelled him placing al-Aswad in his stead. 'Abhalah [al-Aswad] did not stop at [the subjugation of] Najrān but marched to Ṣan'ā' and occupied it. The news of his rising and occupation of Ṣan'ā' was conveyed to the Prophet. It was the first news about him that the Prophet received from Farwah b. Musayk. Those people of Madhḥij who remained faithful to Islam joined Farwah, and they [gathered] at al-Aḥsiyah. Al-Aswad neither corresponded with Farwah nor sent [any messenger] to him, because there was no one with the latter who would have caused trouble for him. His hold over the Yemen was [thus] complete.

'Ubaydallāh [al-Zuhrī]—his uncle Ya'qūb—Sayf [b. 'Umar]—Ṭalḥah b. al-A'lam—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: The Prophet had or-

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1143. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1117, states that it was Wednesday, the following day after he had appointed Usāmah in charge of the expedition.

1144. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 448.

1145. Ibid., IV, 448.

1146. Ibid., VIII, 305. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 282–87, for what follows.

1147. See Ṭabarī, above I, 1737, n. 641.

dered the expedition of Usāmah, but it did not go well because of his illness and because both Musaylimah and al-Aswad had renounced [his authority]. The hypocrites did much [to criticize] Usāmah's leadership. When [the criticism] reached the Prophet, he went out to the people while his head was wrapped around because of the pain, which had increased due to the dream he had seen [while he was] in ʿĀ'ishah's house, saying, "Last night I saw what a sleeping person sees, that in my two upper arms there were two golden armbands. I disliked them so I blew on them, and they flew away [in the air]. I interpreted the armbands to mean these two arch liars,[1148] the possessor of al-Yamāmah and[1149] the possessor of the Yemen. It has reached me that some people speak [ill of] Usāmah's leadership. By my life, if they crit-
[1797] icize his leadership, then they have criticized the leadership of his father before. If his father was worthy of command, then he is [equally] worthy of it. Dispatch the expedition of Usāmah![1150] May God curse those who make the tombs of their prophets as places of worship [*masājid*]!" Usāmah went out [with his army], camped at al-Jurf, and the people began to gather in the army. Ṭulayḥah rose [in rebellion], so the people acted slowly and deliberately. The Messenger of God's [disease] became violent, so the expedition was not accomplished. The people were looking at each other until God took His Prophet's soul.

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā wrote to me [i.e., al-Ṭabarī] stating that he has received an account on the authority of Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm al-Tamīmī—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Saʿīd b. ʿUbayd, Abū Yaʿqūb—Abū Mājid al-Asadī—al-Ḥaḍramī b. ʿĀmir al-Asadī: [When] Abū Mājid asked Ḥaḍramī concerning Ṭulayḥah b. Khuwaylid's affair, the latter replied: [After] we received the news of the Prophet's illness, it reached us that Musaylimah and al-Aswad had gained ascendency over al-Yamāmah and the Yemen, respectively. Soon thereafter, Ṭulayḥah claimed the prophethood while [Usāmah's] army was [still] at Samīrā'. The commonalty [of Asad] followed Ṭulayḥah and his hold became consolidated. He sent his brother's son Ḥibāl to the Prophet, inviting him to make peace with him

1148. Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 573) adds: Musaylimah.

1149. Ibn Shabbah adds: Al-ʿAnsī. For the importance of dreams, see Ṭabarī, above, I, 1673, n. 182.

1150. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 384, 474.

and informing him about his news. Ḥibāl said that the one who visits Ṭulayḥah is Dhū al-Nūn, and he named [that spirit] an angel.[1151] Then Ḥibāl, [introducing himself], said that he was the son of Khuwaylid. The Prophet replied, "May God kill you and deprive you of the *shahādah*!"

'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'īd [al-Zuhrī]—his uncle Ya'qūb—Sayf [b. 'Umar]—Sa'īd b. 'Ubayd—Ḥurayth b. al-Mu'allā: The first person who wrote to the Prophet about the news of Ṭulayḥah was Sinān [1798] b. Abī Sinān. He was [the Prophet's agent] over the Banū Mālik while Quḍā'ī b. 'Amr was [the Prophet's agent] over the Banū al-Ḥārith.

'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'īd [al-Zuhrī]—his uncle [Ya'qūb]—Sayf [b. 'Umar]—Hishām b. 'Urwah—his father: The Messenger of God waged war against the false prophets by sending messengers. He sent a messenger to some of the descendants of the Persian soldiers in the Yemen (*al-abnā'*) instructing them [to get rid of] al-Aswad by artful contrivance. He [further] instructed them to seek help of some people whom he named from the Banū Tamīm and Qays, sending [word] to the latter to help the former. They did [as instructed]. The means of [escape] for those who apostatized were cut off, and they were attacked [while they were] in a state of waning. Since they were isolated, they were occupied with themselves. Al-Aswad was killed while the Messenger of God was [still] alive, a day or a night before the latter's death. Ṭulayḥah, Musaylimah and the likeness of them were driven away by the messengers.

Despite his illness, the Messenger of God was not distracted from the command of God and the defense of His religion.[1152] He sent Wabar b. Yuḥannas to Fayrūz, Jushaysh al-Daylamī, and Dādhawayhi al-Iṣṭakhrī; Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh to Dhū al-Kalā' [Sumayfi'][1153] and [Ḥawshab][1154] Dhū Ẓulaym; al-Aqra' b. 'Abdal-

1151. The pre-Islamic Arabs believed in the demon of poetry, and they thought that a great poet was directly inspired by demons. Similarly, a *kāhin* (soothsayer) and an *'arrāfah* (sorceress) were supposed to have a spirit (*shayṭān* or *tābi'*), who visited them. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 162; Ṭabarī, I, 1864 (al-Aswad al-'Ansī was a *kāhin* with a *shayṭān* and a *tābi'*); Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 35, 44, 45; Fahd, *Divination*, 72–75, 91ff.

1152. See Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'ah*, 284–85.

1153. Addition from Ḥamīdullāh.

1154. Addition from Ḥamīdullāh.

lāh al-Ḥimyarī to Dhū Zūd and Dhū Murrān; Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjlī to Thumāmah b. Uthāl;[1155] Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah al-Tamīmī al-ʿAmrī to Qays b. ʿĀṣim and al-Zibriqān b. Badr; Ṣalṣal b. Shurahbīl to Sabrah al-ʿAnbarī, Wakīʿ al-Dārimī, ʿAmr b. al-Maḥjūb
[1799] al-ʿĀmirī and ʿAmr b. al-Khafājī of the Banū ʿĀmir; Ḍirār b. al-Azwar al-Asadī to ʿAwf al-Zirqānī of the Banū al-Ṣaydāʾ and Sinān al-Asadī al-Ghanmī[1156] and Quḍāʿī al-Daylamī; Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd al-Ashjaʿī to Ibn Dhī al-Liḥyah and Ibn Mushaymaṣah al-Jubayrī.

Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf[1157]—al-Ṣaqʿab b. Zuhayr[1158]—the jurists of al-Ḥijāẓ: The Messenger of God suffered from the pain caused by the disease which took his life toward the very end of Ṣafar while he was in the house of Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah and ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī—ʿUbayd b. Jubayr, a freedman of al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ—Abū Muwayhibah, a freedman of the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God sent for[1159] me in the middle of the night, saying, "O Abū Muwayhibah, I have been ordered to seek forgiveness for the [dead] inhabitants of al-Baqīʿ [cemetery],[1160] so come with me." I went with him, when he stood before them he said, "Peace
[1800] be upon you, O people of the graves! Happier are you in your state than the people [here] in their present state![1161] Dissension (*fitan*)[1162] has come like segments of a pitch dark night one after the other, the last being worse than the first." He then turned to me, saying, "O Abū Muwayhibah, I have been given the keys of the treasuries of this world, long abode in it, then Paradise. I have been given the choice between it and meeting my Lord and Para-

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1155. See ibid., 56–57.

1156. Ḥamīdullāh: Al-Qanmī.

1157. One of the earliest historians, who died in 157/774. *EI*², s.v. Abū Mikhnaf; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 308–9; Duri, *Rise*, passim.

1158. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 432.

1159. Ibn Shabbah (*Taʾrīkh*, I, 87): Woke me up.

1160. Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Shabbah: Of this al-Baqīʿ [cemetery]. See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 9–10; Lings, *Muhammad*, 337–38.

1161. Ibn Shabbah and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 544) add: [I wish] you knew from what God has saved you!

1162. Generally, it means sedition whereby some good or evil quality is put to the test.

dise, so[1163] I have chosen meeting my Lord and Paradise." I said, "May you be ransomed with my parents! Take the keys of the treasuries of this world and long life in it followed by Paradise." He replied, "No, by God, O Abū Muwayhibah, I have chosen meeting my Lord and Paradise." He prayed for the [dead] inhabitants of al-Baqīʿ [cemetery] and left. Then the illness during which[1164] he died began.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq; and Ibn Ḥumayd—ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—Ibn Isḥāq—Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtbah—Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī—ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah [b. Masʿūd][1165]—ʿĀʾishah, the Prophet's wife: [When] the Messenger of God returned from al-Baqīʿ [cemetery] he found me suffering from headache and crying, "Alas, O my head!" He said, "Nay, by God, O ʿĀʾishah, rather alas, O my head!" Then he said, "It would not distress you if you were to die before me so that I would take care of you[r body], wrap you in the shroud, pray over you, and bury you." I replied, "By God, it seems to me that if you were to do that you would return to my house and would make a marriage feast with one of your wives."[1166] The Messenger of God smiled, [then] his pain came to him, all of it, as he was going the round of his wives until he was overwhelmed by it while he was in Maymūnah's house.[1167] He called [1801] his wives, asking their permission to be nursed in my house. They permitted him, so the Messenger of God went out [walking][1168] between two men of his family, al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās, and another man with his feet dragging on the ground, while his head was wrapped around until he entered my house.

ʿUbaydallāh [b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah] states: [When] I narrated

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1163. So . . . Paradise: Omitted from Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn Saʿd. It is an example of oneiromancy; cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 284.

1164. Ibn Isḥāq: Through which God took him began. Ibn Shabbah, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 87–91, 94–95, adds other reports, stating that that night the Prophet was with ʿĀʾishah. Andrae, *Mohammed*, 171.

1165. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq. He died ca. 94/712–13. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 23–24.

1166. As it indicates, ʿĀʾishah very often assumed a jesting tone. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 10–11; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 541, 544; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 207–8; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], II, 1308; Andrae, *Mohammed*, 171–72; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 204; Lings, *Muhammad*, 338.

1167. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 11, 30.

1168. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

this story of 'Ā'ishah to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, he asked, "Do you know who the [other][1169] man was?" "No," I said. He replied, "[He was] 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, but[1170] 'Ā'ishah could not bring herself to speak well of him, although she was able to do it."[1171]

Then the Messenger of God's illness intensified, the pain became fierce, so he said, "Pour seven skins of water over me from different wells so that I may go out to the people and instruct them." 'Ā'ishah states: We made him sit in a tub (*mikhḍab*) belonging to Ḥafṣah bt. 'Umar and poured water over him until he began saying, "Enough, enough."[1172]

Ḥumayd b. al-Rabī' al-Kharrāz—Ma'n b. 'Īsā[1173]—al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abdallāh b. Iyās al-Laythī al-Ashja'ī—al-Qāsim b. Yazīd[1174]—'Abdallāh b. Qusayṭ—his father—'Aṭā'—Ibn 'Abbās—his brother al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās: The Messenger of God sent for me, so I went, found him ill, and his head wrapped around.[1175] He asked me to take his hand and I did so until he [walked and] sat on the pulpit [in the mosque]. Then he asked me to call the people, [I did so] and they gathered round him. He said, "O people,
[1802] I praise God, the only God, unto you. Now then: Your rights are dear to me[1176] so whomever I have flogged on his back with a whip, here is my back—let him avenge; and whomever I have reviled, here is my honor—let him retort.[1177] Malice is neither my nature nor characteristic of me.[1178] Indeed, the most loved of you to me is the one who claims his right from me [if he is the aggrieved party],[1179] or that he should absolve me [from it] so that

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1169. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Balādhurī.

1170. But . . . it: Omitted from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

1171. 'Ā'ishah's grudge against 'Alī stemmed from the incident of the slander against her [Qur'ān 24:10–20], when 'Alī had advised the Prophet to divorce her. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, III, 313–14; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, II, 430; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 29. For recent works, see Abū al-Naṣr, *'Alī wa 'Ā'ishah*; al-Afghānī, *'Ā'ishah wa 'l-siyāsah*.

1172. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 29.

1173. Died in 198/813–14. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 252–53.

1174. Ibid., VIII, 341–42.

1175. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 45, for some variations.

1176. I am only a human being: Addition in Ibn Sa'd.

1177. Ibn Sa'd adds: And whose property I might have taken [unknowingly], here is my property: let him take [compensation].

1178. Ibn Sa'd: No person should say that he is afraid of enmity and malice from the Messenger of God, because they are neither my nature nor my property.

1179. Addition from Ibn Sa'd.

I shall meet the Lord while I am content.[1180] I see that this is not enough until I stand before you several times."

Then he got down [from the pulpit], prayed the *ẓuhr* (midday) prayers, returned and sat on the pulpit repeating what he had said earlier. A man stood up saying, "O Messenger of God, you owe me three dirhams." He said, "O Faḍl, give him [three dirhams]," and I did. Then he sat and said, "O people, he who has a pledge let him return it and not profess the disgrace of this world, because the disgrace of the present world is easier [to bear] than the disgrace of the world to come." A man stood up saying, "O Messenger of God, I owe [you] three dirhams which I took unfaithfully from the cause of God." He asked, "Why did you do it?" "I was in need of it," the man replied. He said, "O Faḍl, take [three dirhams] from him." Then he said, "O people, he who is afraid of himself for something, let him stand up so that I will pray for him." A man stood up saying, "O Messenger of God, I am a liar, a late riser, and [one who acts] impudently." The Messenger of God said, "O God, bless him with truthfulness and faith and remove lethargy from him, if he is determined!" Another man [1803] stood up saying, "By God, O Messenger of God, I am a liar, a hypocrite, and there is no act which I did not commit." 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stood up and said that the man had disgraced himself. The Prophet said, "O son of al-Khaṭṭāb, the disgrace of this world is easier [to bear] than the disgrace of the world to come. O God, bless that man with truthfulness and faith, and make his affairs good!" 'Umar thereupon asked the Prophet to speak to that man.[1181] The Messenger of God smiled and said, "'Umar is with me and I am with him." Referring to that man,[1182] the Prophet said, "Follow 'Umar after me, wherever he might be."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—Ayyūb b. Bashīr:[1183] The Messenger of God went out while his head was wrapped around and sat in the pulpit. The first thing he said was a prayer for the men of Uḥud, asking God's forgiveness for them and prolonging the prayer. Then he said, "God has given one of his servants the choice between this world and that which is with

1180. Ibn Sa'd: I am exonerated.
1181. Cairo: 'Umar said a word.
1182. Cairo: After me the truth is with 'Umar wherever he might be.
1183. Died ca. 65/684–85. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 396.

Him, and the servant has chosen the latter." Abū Bakr understood and knew that the Prophet meant himself, so he cried, saying, "Nay, we and our children will be your ransom!" The Prophet replied, "Gently, Abū Bakr!" [Then he added],[1184] "Look at these doors that open on to the mosque. Close them except the one which is from Abū Bakr's house,[1185] for I know no one who is a better friend to me with regard to generosity than he."[1186]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh[1187]—some one from the family of Abū Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallā: That day the Messenger of God said in his speech,
[1804] "If I were to take a friend from among mankind, I would take Abū Bakr as a friend, but comradeship and brotherhood in the faith [continue] until God unites us in His presence."

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb[1188]—his uncle ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb[1189]—Mālik [b. Anas][1190]—Abū al-Naḍr[1191]—ʿUbayd b. Ḥunayn—Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: One day the Messenger of God sat in the pulpit, saying, "God has given a servant the choice between obtaining whatever he desires of the splendor of this world and that which is with God, and he has chosen that which is with God." Abū Bakr wept, saying, "May our fathers and mothers be your ransom, O Messenger of God!" Al-Khudrī states: We were surprised at Abū Bakr, [some] people said, "Look at this old man, [when] the Messenger of God informs [us] about a servant who has been given the choice, he says, 'May our fathers and mothers be your ransom.'"[1192] The Messenger of God was the one who was given the choice and Abū Bakr informed us of it. The Messenger of God said, "The most gracious person to me, with his comradeship and wealth, is Abū Bakr. If I were to take a friend

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1184. Addition from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 547).

1185. Ibn Hishām [Another tradition states], and Balādhurī: Except Abū Bakr's door. Cf. Lings, *Muhammad*, 338.

1186. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 25.

1187. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 212–13.

1188. Died in 264/877–78. Ibid., I, 54–56.

1189. Died in 197/812–13. Ibid., VI, 71–74.

1190. A jurist and founder of the Mālikī school of jurisprudence died in 179/795. *EI*², s.v. Mālik b. Anas; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 457–64.

1191. He is Sālim b. Umayyah and died in 120/738. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 431–32.

1192. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 202; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1303; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim.

[with me] I would take Abū Bakr, but Islamic brotherhood [remains]. No aperture in the mosque except that of Abū Bakr will be left [open]."[1193]

Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Ṣabāḥ al-Hamdānī—Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Muslim b. Ja'far al-Bajalī: I heard 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Iṣbahānī from Khallād al-Asadī: 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd states: Our beloved Prophet announced his [approaching] death a month before he died. When the separation drew near, he gathered us in the house of our mother 'Ā'ishah, looked at us intensely while his eyes were shedding tears, and said, "Welcome to you. May God [1805] treat you with compassion, shelter you, protect you, exalt you, benefit you, give you success, assist you, preserve you, and receive you [kindly]! I enjoin you to fear God and entrust you to Him. I appoint Him as successor over you and entrust you to Him. 'Verily I am to you [from Him] a warner and an announcer of good tidings.'[1194] 'Rise not up against God'[1195] in His land and among His creatures, for He has stated to me and to you: 'That is the mansion of the Hereafter, We give it to those who desire neither exaltation in the earth nor corruption. The future belongs to the pious.'[1196] He [also] stated: 'Is there not a place in Hell for the arrogant?'"[1197]

We asked, "When is your appointed time (*ajal*)?" "The separation [from you] and return to God and the Lote Tree[1198] have drawn closer," he replied. We asked him who would wash him and with what [cloth] he should be wrapped. He replied that he should be washed by his closest relatives and that he should be wrapped in the clothes he was wearing, or in a white Egyptian cloth, or in Yemenī dress (*ḥullah Yamāniyyah*).[1199] Then, we asked him who would lead the prayer over him. He said, "[Go] slowly. May God forgive you and reward you with goodness on

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1193. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 24, 25–26.
1194. Qur'ān 11:2.
1195. Ibid., 44:19.
1196. Ibid., 28:83.
1197. Ibid., 39:60.
1198. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 46) adds: And the Garden of Repose, the Exalted Companion, the brimming cup, the wholesome life.
1199. A wrapper for the whole body, generally consisting of three garments: a shirt, an *izār*, and a *ridā'*. The Yemenī garment is said to be the best kind of grave clothing. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ḥ-l-l.

behalf of your prophet!" We wept, as did he, and he said, "After you have washed and wrapped me in the shroud, put me on my bed in this house of mine on the edge of my grave, then go out for a while. The first one to pray over me would be my companion and friend Gabriel (*Jibrīl*), then Michael (*Mīkā'īl*), then *Isrāfīl*. [He will be] followed by the angel of death with a great multitude of angels in their entirety. After that, you are to enter group by group, pray over me, and pronounce your salutations. Do not hurt me by beating yourselves, nor by mournful and vehement cries. Let the male members of my family start praying over me, followed by their women, then you, and convey my salutation to
[1806] yourselves. I testify to you that I have conveyed my salutation to those who rendered their oath of allegiance to me for my religion from today until the Day of Judgment." We asked him who would lower him into the grave, he replied, "The members of my family, together with many angels, who will see you but you will not see them."

Aḥmad b. Ḥammād al-Dūlābī[1200]—Sufyān—Sulaymān b. Abī Muslim[1201]—Sa'īd b. Jubayr[1202]—Ibn 'Abbās: Thursday, what a Thursday![1203] He said: The Messenger of God's pain became so severe that he said, "Give me [pen and paper][1204] so that I may write a document for you and you will never go astray after me."[1205] His companions wrangled over it,[1206] and it did not befit them to carry on a dispute before a prophet. Some people said, "What's the matter with him? Is he talking nonsense?[1207] Ask

1200. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 25–26.

1201. Ibid., IV, 218.

1202. Died in 95/713–14. Ibid., IV, 11–14.

1203. Then he wept until his tears wet the pebbles. He was asked, what about Thursday, and he replied: Addition in Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 205–6; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1306; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim. Cf. also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 562.

1204. Addition from Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 36, who states that this incident happened on Thursday when the Messenger of God's pain became severe. Balādhurī, and Tabrīzī: An inkpot and a shoulder blade.

1205. Ibn Sa'd, and Tabrīzī: After that.

1206. Balādhurī: They said, "Do you see him talking nonsense?" and [started] wrangling among themselves. The Messenger of God became grieved and annoyed and asked them to leave.

1207. The Prophet was not happy with 'Umar because he did not cooperate with him when he asked for pen and paper. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 36–38; Buhl, *Leben*, 353: Momen, *Shī'i Islam*, 15–16. The Shī'īs claim that the Prophet wanted to make a written testament favoring 'Alī's succession as head of the nascent Islamic state but that 'Umar foiled his plan. See Mirzā, *al-Balāgh*, I, 254–86.

him for an explanation." [When] they went back, repeating [those remarks] to him, he replied, "Leave me [alone], the state I am in is better than that for which you are calling me." He charged them with three things: "Expel the polytheists from the Arabian Peninsula; give presents to the delegation[s] as I used to do."[1208] [Sa'īd b. Jubayr states that Ibn 'Abbās] became silent about the third [command] intentionally, or that he said that he had forgotten it.

Abū Kurayb[1209]—Yaḥyā b. Ādam[1210]—Ibn 'Uyaynah[1211]—Sulaymān al-Aḥwal[1212]—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: Thursday! [Al-Ṭabarī states:] Then he narrated a report like that of Aḥmad b. Ḥammād [mentioned above], except that he said, "It did not befit them to dispute with a prophet."

Abū Kurayb and Ṣāliḥ b. Sammāl—Wakī'—Mālik b. Mighwal—Ṭalḥah b. Muṣarrif[1213]—Sa'īd b. Jubayr—Ibn 'Abbās: Thursday, what a Thursday! [Sa'īd b. Jubayr states:] Then I looked at Ibn 'Abbās' tears flowing on his cheeks as if they were a chain [1807]
of pearls, [saying:] The Messenger of God said, "Bring me a tablet (*lawḥ*) and an inkpot (*dawāt*), or a plank of the shoulder blade (*katīf*) and an inkpot, so that I can write for you a document, after which you will not go astray." Some [people] said that the Messenger of God was talking deliriously.

Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb—his uncle 'Abdallāh b. Wahb—Yūnus—al-Zuhrī—'Abdallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik[1214]—Ibn 'Abbās: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib went out from the Messenger of God during his illness in which he died. The people asked him, "O Abū Ḥasan, how did the Messenger of God wake up?" "By the grace of God he woke up [and he had] recovered [from his illness]," he replied. Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib held him by his hand and said, "Don't you see[1215] that in three days you will be 'a slave [to be punished with] the club' ('*abd al-'aṣā*)?[1216] It seems to me that the Messenger of God will die from this sickness of his,

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1208. This was the Messenger of God's practice. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 38ff.
1209. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 212.
1210. Died in 203/818–19. Ibid., XI, 175–76.
1211. Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah died in 198/813–14. Ibid., IV, 117–22.
1212. Ibid., IV, 188.
1213. Died ca. 112/730–31. Ibid., V, 25–26.
1214. Died ca. 98/716–17. Ibid., V, 369.
1215. Ibn Isḥāq: By God, O 'Alī, you will be in . . . .
1216. It is an idiom used contemptuously for a despicable person. Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 19–20.

for I know [how] the faces of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's sons look at the time of death. So return[1217] to the Messenger of God, and ask him who will get this authority.[1218] If it is to be with us, we shall know that, if it is to be with others, he[1219] will command accordingly and entrust [that person] with us." 'Alī replied, "By God, if we asked the Messenger of God and he denied it to us, the people will never give it to us. By God, I[1220] will never ask the Messenger of God."[1221]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—'Abdallāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik[1222]—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: That day 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib went out from the Messenger of God. [Al-Ṭabarī states:] Ibn Ḥumayd mentioned a report similar to the above report except that in his account he stated [al-'Abbās' saying]: "I swear by God that I recognized death in the Messenger of God's
[1808] face as I used to recognize it in the faces of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's sons. So let us go to the Messenger of God; if this authority is to be with us, we shall know it, and if it is to be with others, we will ask [the Prophet] so that he will enjoin the people to treat us well." [Ibn Ḥumayd] also added in that account: The Messenger of God died that day when the heat intensified at noon.[1223]

Sa'īd b. Yaḥyā al-Umawī[1224]—his father[1225]—'Urwah—'Ā'ishah: The Messenger of God said to us, "Pour seven skins of

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1217. So let us go: Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 38), and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 565). See also Lings, *Muhammad*, 341.

1218. Ibn Sa'd adds: After him.

1219. Ibn Sa'd: We will speak to him, so that he will entrust [that person] with us.

1220. Ibn Sa'd: We. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 583, states on the authority of Jābir b. 'Abdallāh that 'Abbās wanted to give his oath of allegiance to 'Alī, but the latter seemed to be overconfident that nobody would usurp what he considered to be his right. The commentator of *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 51–52, reports that after Abū Bakr was elected in the *Saqīfah*, attempts were made to bribe 'Abbās so that he would not support 'Alī's claim.

1221. 'Abbās is reported to have warned 'Alī against participating in the *Shūrā* so that he could maintain his freedom of action, but 'Umar's provisions for the council precluded such a course of action. Here again, 'Abbās reminded 'Alī of what he had told him during the Prophet's illness. See Ṭabarī, I, 2780; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 925–26.

1222. Died ca. 97/715–16. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 369.

1223. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 38–39, for other reports.

1224. Died ca. 249/863. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 97–98.

1225. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ al-Umawī died in 194/809–10. Ibid., XI, 213–14.

water from seven different wells over me so that I may go out to the people and instruct them."[1226]

Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Ja'far—'Urwah—'Ā'ishah: We poured seven skins [of water] over him and he found some relief. He went out, prayed with the people, addressed them and sought God's forgiveness for the martyrs of Uḥud. Then he urged them to take care of the *Anṣār*, saying, "Now then: O community of the Emigrants, you will go on increasing, but the *Anṣār* will not grow [greater in size] than what they are today. They are my intimates with whom I sought shelter, so honor their nobles and overlook those (of them) who do ill."[1227] He [added], saying, "One of God's servants has been given the choice between this world and that which is with God, and he has chosen the latter." No one except Abū Bakr perceived that the Prophet meant himself, so he cried. The Prophet said to him, "Gently, O Abū Bakr!" [Then addressing the people he said:] "Shut these doors that open on to the mosque except the door of Abū Bakr, for I know no one who is a better friend to me with regard to generosity than he."

'Amr b. 'Alī[1228]—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān[1229]—Sufyān[1230]—Mūsā b. Abī 'Ā'ishah—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah— [1809]
'Ā'ishah: We forced the Messenger of God to take medicine during his illness. He said not to force him, but we said that the sick man does not like medicine. After he recovered, he said [addressing us, the women], "Let no one remain in the house until [every one of you] has been forced to take this medicine except al-'Abbās, for he did not agree with you what you did."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq (in an account we have quoted from him [see Ṭabarī, above, I, 1800]) on the authority of al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh—'Ā'ishah: Then the Messenger of God came down [from the pulpit], entered his house and the pain came, all of it, until he was exhausted. Some of his wives, Umm Salamah, Maymūnah, and some of the wives of the Muslims, among whom was Asmā' b. 'Umays, gathered round

1226. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 42.
1227. Ibid., 42–44; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 275–76; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1368–69; transmitted by Bukhārī.
1228. Died in 249/863. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 80–82.
1229. Died in 198/813–14. Ibid., XI, 216–20.
1230. Sufyān b. Sa'īd al-Thawrī died in 161/777–78. Ibid., IV, 111–15.

him, while his uncle al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was with him. They agreed to force him to take medicine. Al-ʿAbbās said, "Let me force him," and [the Messenger of God] was forced.[1231] After the Messenger of God recovered he asked who had done that with him. They said that it was his uncle al-ʿAbbās. Pointing in the direction of Abyssinia, the Prophet said, "This is a medicine brought by women from that country." When he asked why they had done it, al-ʿAbbās replied, "O Messenger of God, we were afraid that you might have pleurisy (*dhāt al-janb*)."[1232] He replied, "That is a disease with which God would not afflict me. Let no one remain in the house until he is forced to take this medicine except my uncle." Although Maymūnah had fasted, she was forced to take it because of the Messenger of God's oath as a retribution for what they had done [to him].[1233]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr[1234]—ʿUrwah—ʿĀʾishah: When they said that they were afraid that he might have pleurisy, he said, "It is from
[1810] Satan and God would not inflict it on me."

Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaqʿab b. Zuhayr—the jurists of al-Ḥijāz: When the Messenger of God's illness from which he died grew severe until he became unconscious, all of his family (i.e., his wives, his daughter [Fāṭimah], al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib) gathered [round him]. Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays said, "This pain of his is nothing but pleurisy, so force him to take medicine." We did so, and, after he had recovered, he inquired who had done that to him. When they replied that [it was] Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays who thought that he might have pleurisy, he said, "May God protect me from such an affliction! I am more honorable to Him than [that I should have] such [a disease]."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Saʿīd b. ʿUbayd al-Sabbāq[1235]—Muḥammad b. Usāmah b. Zayd[1236]—his father Usāmah b. Zayd: When the Messenger of God's illness became

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1231. Ibn Isḥāq: And they forced him.
1232. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. j-n-b.
1233. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 31–32; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 545–46; Buhl, *Leben*, 353.
1234. Died between 110/728–29 and 120/738. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 93.
1235. Ibid., IV, 61.
1236. Ibid., IX, 35.

severe, I and the people came down [from where we were encamped] to Medina and went[1237] to the Messenger of God. As he was tongue-tied, he began to lift his hand toward heaven and put it down upon me, so I understood that he was praying for me.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh—'Ā'ishah: Very often I used to hear the Messenger of God say, "God never takes a prophet's life without giving him the choice."[1238]

Abū Kurayb—Yūnus b. Bukayr[1239]—Yūnus b. 'Amr[1240]—his father [Abū Isḥāq 'Amr al-Sabī'ī]—al-Arqam b. Shuraḥbīl:[1241] I asked Ibn 'Abbās, "Did the Messenger of God make a will?" "No," he replied. I asked, "How was that?" He replied: The Messenger of God asked for 'Alī, but 'Ā'ishah said, "[I wish] you had [1811] asked for Abū Bakr!" Ḥafṣah said, "[I wish] you had asked for 'Umar!" So all of them gathered before the Messenger of God. He asked them to disperse, for he would call them if there should be any need, and they went away. [At another time] the Messenger of God asked whether the time for prayer had drawn close. They said, Yes. When he ordered that Abū Bakr should lead the people in prayer 'Ā'ishah said, "He is a delicate man, so order 'Umar." He did that,[1242] but 'Umar replied, "I will not lead while Abū Bakr is present." So Abū Bakr led [them in prayer]. The Messenger of God got some relief [from the pain], so he went out [to the mosque]. When Abū Bakr heard his movement, he stepped backward, so the Messenger of God pulled at his clothes asking him to stand in his place. He sat down [near Abū Bakr] and recited from where Abū Bakr had left off.

1237. Ibn Isḥāq: And I went. This was on Sunday. For details see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1119–20; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 137; II/2, 41.

1238. Ibn Isḥāq adds: When the Messenger of God was on the point of death, the last word I heard him saying was, "[Nay], rather the Exalted Companion is from paradise." I said, "Then, by God, he is not choosing us." I knew that he used to tell us, "A prophet does not die until he has been given the choice." For further details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 27–28.

1239. He is one of the main transmitters of Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrah* and died in 199/814–15. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 434–36; Duri, *Rise*, 33n., 36.

1240. Died ca. 158/774–75. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 433–34.

1241. Ibid., I, 198–99.

1242. Some traditions state that 'Umar led the people in prayer, but when the Messenger of God heard his voice he expressed his disapproval and asked for Abū Bakr. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 21–22; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 554–55.

Ibn Wakī'—his father[1243]—al-A'mash[1244]—Abū Hishām al-Rifā'ī—Abū Mu'āwiyah and Wakī'—al-A'mash; and 'Īsā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Īsā[1245]—al-A'mash—Ibrāhīm—al-Aswad—'Ā'ishah: During the Messenger of God's illness during which he died, a call for prayer was given. He ordered that Abū Bakr should lead the people in prayer. I said, "Abū Bakr is a tender-hearted man. When he will stand in your place, he might not be able to bear [the idea of taking your place]."[1246] He repeated his order nevertheless. When I repeated my objection,[1247] he became angry and said, "You are like Joseph's women companions (*ṣawāḥib*)." Ibn Wakī' states: "[You are like] Joseph's women companions (*ṣawāḥibāt*); order Abū Bakr to lead the people in prayer." Then, he came out while he was being supported between two men,[1248] and his feet were dragging on the ground. Abū Bakr stepped backward when the Prophet approached him. The Messenger of God motioned him to
[1812] stand in his place, while he sat down and prayed sitting at the side of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr followed the Prophet in his prayer, and the people followed Abū Bakr in their prayers. [Al-Ṭabarī]: The [exact] words in [the above account] are that of 'Īsā b. 'Uthmān.

Al-Wāqidī: I asked Ibn Abī Sabrah,[1249] "How many times did

1243. Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ died ca. 196/811–12. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 123–31.

1244. Ibid., XI, 123.

1245. Died in 251/865. Ibid., VIII, 220.

1246. In another version, 'Ā'ishah said: Abū Bakr is a tender-hearted man who weeps a lot when he recites the Qur'ān, so order 'Umar to lead the people in prayer! Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 18. In a different version reported by Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 554, it was Abū Bakr himself who suggested that let 'Umar lead the prayer. See also Lings, *Muhammad*, 339.

1247. Another version states: The reason for my objection was that the people might not like a person taking the Prophet's place. I felt that nobody would take his place without being regarded by the people as a portent of evil. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 18, 20.

1248. According to ibid., II/2, 19–20, they were either 'Abbās and 'Alī or al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās and Thawbān. All the reports that Abū Bakr was asked by the Prophet during his last illness to lead the prayer are tendentious and inconsistent. They are used by the Sunnīs to argue the succession in favor of Abū Bakr (see n. 1290 below). For the Shī'ī refutation see al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *al-Urjūzah*, 73–76, 267–68. Although the phrase "Joseph's women companions" is in the plural, it is meant to be in the singular, that is, for 'Ā'ishah. She is compared to the Egyptian official's wife who tried to seduce Joseph. See Mirzā, *al-Balāgh*, I, 235–54, where older sources are given.

1249. Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 23. He died in 162/778–79. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 27–28.

Abū Bakr lead the prayers?" "Seventeen times," he replied. I asked, "Who informed you?" "Ayyūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'ah,[1250] on the authority of a man among the companions of the Prophet," he replied.

Al-Wāqidī—Ibn Abī Sabrah—'Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl.[1251]—'Ikrimah: Abū Bakr led the prayers for three days.[1252]

Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam[1253]—Shu'ayb b. al-Layth[1254]—al-Layth[1255]—Yazīd b. al-Hād[1256]—Mūsā b. Sarjis[1257]—al-Qāsim[1258]—'Ā'ishah: Before the Messenger of God died, I saw a bowl of water near him. He used to put his hand in the bowl and then wipe his face with it, saying, "O my Lord, help me [to overcome] the severity of the agony of death (*sakrat al-mawt*)."

Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-'Asqalānī[1259]—Ādam[1260]—al-Layth b. Sa'd—Ibn al-Hād—Mūsā b. Sarjis—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—'Ā'ishah: Before the Messenger of God died I saw . . . [al-Ṭabarī:] and narrated the same [aforecited] report, except that he stated: The agonies of death (*sakarāt al-mawt*).[1261]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—Anas b. Mālik: [1813]
On Monday, the day on which the Messenger of God died,[1262] he went out [of his house] to the people [in the mosque] while they were praying the morning prayer. He lifted the curtain, opened the door, came out, and stood at 'Ā'ishah's door.[1263] The Muslims

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1250. On the authority of 'Abbād b. Tamīm: Addition in Ibn Sa'd.

1251. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 380–81: 'Abd al-Majīd b. Sahl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf(?)

1252. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, II/2; 23; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 556.

1253. Died in 268/881–82. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 260–62.

1254. Died in 199/814–15. Ibid., IV, 355.

1255. Layth b. Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fahmī died in 175/791–92. Ibid., VIII, 459–65.

1256. Died in 139/756–57. Ibid., XI, 339–40.

1257. Ibid., X, 345.

1258. Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr died between 101/719–20 and 112/730–31. Ibid., VII, 333–35.

1259. Died in 260/873–74. Ibid., IX, 149.

1260. Ādam b. Abī Iyās died ca. 220/835. Ibid., I, 196.

1261. *Sakarāt* is a plural of *sakrah*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. s-k-r.

1262. Ibn Isḥāq: The day on which God took the Messenger of God.

1263. Ibn Sa'd's report (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 18, 19) states that the Messenger of God lifted the curtain of his room and stood looking at us. His face [looked] like a leaf of a book (*muṣḥaf*). He then smiled.

were almost distracted from their prayers with joy when they saw the Messenger of God. He motioned [to them][1264] with his hand[1265] to continue their prayers, and smiled with joy when he saw their appearance in their prayers. I had never seen the Messenger of God in better shape before. Then he returned, and the people departed thinking that the Messenger of God had recovered from his illness. Abū Bakr [also] went back to his family in al-Sunḥ.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh[1266] b. Abī Mulaykah: On Monday, the Messenger of God came out to morning prayer with his head wrapped around while Abū Bakr was leading the people in prayer. When the Messenger of God came out, the people were delighted in looking at him. Abū Bakr knew that the people would not [be distracted from prayer] except for the Messenger of God, so he withdrew from his place. The Messenger of God pushed him in the back telling him to lead the prayer. He sat on the right side of Abū Bakr and prayed while seated. After he had completed the prayer, he turned to the people and spoke to them, raising his voice until it could be heard from outside, saying, "O people, the fire has been kindled, and dissension (*fitan*) has set in like segments of a dark night. By God, you cannot lay anything to my charge. I did not make anything lawful for you except what was made lawful by the Qur'ān. I did not make anything unlawful for you except what was forbidden by the Qur'ān." After he had finished his speech, Abū Bakr said to
[1814] him, "O Prophet of God, I see that this morning, with the grace of God and His bounty, [you have recovered] as we desire. Today is the day of Bint Khārijah.[1267] May I go to her?"[1268] Then the Messenger of God went to [his house] and Abū Bakr left for his family in Sunḥ.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtbah—al-Zuhrī—ʿUrwah—ʿĀ'ishah: That day, after the Messenger of God

1264. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.
1265. With his hand: Omitted from Ibn Isḥāq.
1266. ʿUbaydallāh: Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 32.
1267. She was from Balḥārith of al-Khazraj. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 17.
1268. "Yes," [the Messenger of God] replied: Addition in Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 558–59.

had gone to the mosque, he returned[1269] and lay down in my lap. A man from the family of Abū Bakr[1270] came to me, and he had a fresh *siwāk* in his hand. The Messenger of God looked at it in such a way that I knew [that] he wanted it.[1271] I took it, chewed it until I had softened it and gave it to him. He rubbed his teeth with it more energetically than I had [ever][1272] seen him doing it before. Then he put it down, and I found him getting heavy in my lap. When I looked into his face his eyes were fixed while he was saying, "Nay, the most Exalted Companion is that of paradise." I said, "By Him who sent you with the truth, you were given the choice, and you have chosen," and he died.[1273]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. al-Zubayr[1274]—his father 'Abbād:[1275] I heard 'Ā'ishah saying, "The Messenger of God died on my bosom during my turn, and I did not wrong anyone in regard to him.[1276] It was because of my ignorance and youthfulness that the Messenger of God died while he was in my lap. Then I laid his head on a pillow and got up beating my chest and slapping my face along with the women.

An Account of the Day on Which the Messenger of God Died and His Age [1815]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: There is no disagreement among those knowledgeable about the day on which the Messenger of God died. [They agree that] it was Monday in the month of Rabī' I. They disagree, however, as to which Monday [it was that] he died. [An account of what] some of them said [is as follows].

1269. To me: Addition in Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq. And entered my room: Addition in Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 30.

1270. In a different version, Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit., states that he was 'Ā'ishah's brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

1271. I asked, "O Messenger of God, do you want me to give it to you?" "Yes," he replied: Addition in Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

1272. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq. Lings, *Muhammad*, 341.

1273. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 548.

1274. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 234–35.

1275. 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Ibid., V, 98.

1276. Some traditions state that the Messenger of God died on 'Alī's bosom. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 30, 49–51.

Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaq'ab b. Zuhayr—the jurists of al-Ḥijāz: The Messenger of God died at noon on Monday, the second of Rabī' I. The oath of allegiance was given to Abū Bakr on Monday, the very day on which the Prophet died.

Al-Wāqidī: [The Messenger of God] died on Monday, the twelfth of Rabī I.[1277] He was buried the following day around midday, after the sun had declined, and this day was Tuesday.[1278]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] The Messenger of God died while 'Umar was present and Abū Bakr was in al-Sunḥ.[1279]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib[1280]—Abū Hurayrah: When the Messenger of God died, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stood up saying, "Some of the hypocrites allege that the Messenger of God is dead. By God, he is not dead, [1816] but has gone to his Lord as Moses b. 'Imrān went and remained hidden from his people for forty days. Moses returned after it was said that he had died. By God, the Messenger of God will [also] return[1281] and will cut off the hands and feet of those who allege that he is dead."

When the news [of the Prophet's death] reached Abū Bakr, he came and dismounted near the door of the mosque [where] 'Umar was speaking to the people. He paid no attention to anything and went [straight] to the Messenger of God in 'Ā'ishah's house where he was lying in a corner covered by a striped garment of the Yemenī fabric. Abū Bakr went close [to the Prophet], uncovered his face, kissed him, then said, "With my father may you be ransomed, and with my mother! Indeed, you have tasted the death which God had decreed for you. No [other] death will ever overtake you." Then he replaced the cloth on [the Prophet's] face and went out as 'Umar was speaking to the people. He said, "Gently, O 'Umar, [and] be silent!" 'Umar refused [to be silent] and kept on speaking. When Abū Bakr saw that he would not listen, he went forward to the people [speaking]. When they heard his

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1277. For different reports, see Ibid., II/2, 57–58; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 568.

1278. Some reports state that he was buried on Wednesday. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 58; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 568.

1279. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 52–53.

1280. Died ca. 93/711–12. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 84–88.

1281. As Moses returned: Addition in Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

words, they came to him and left 'Umar. After praising God and extolling Him, he said, "O people, those who worshipped Muḥammad, [must know that] Muḥammad is dead; those who worshipped God, [must know that] God is alive [and] immortal." He then recited the verse: "Muḥammad is only a messenger; and many a messenger has gone before him. So if he dies or is killed, will you turn back on your heels? He who turns back on his heels will do no harm to God; and God will reward the grateful."[1282] By God, it was as if the people did not know that this verse was revealed to the Messenger of God until Abū Bakr recited it that day. The people took it from him, and it was [constantly] in their mouths. 'Umar said, "By God, as soon as I heard Abū Bakr recite [1817] it, my legs betrayed me so that I fell to the ground, and my legs would not bear me. I knew that the Messenger of God had indeed died."[1283]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr[1284]—Mughīrah[1285]—Abū Ma'shar Ziyād b. Kulayb[1286]—Abū Ayyūb—Ibrāhīm: When the Messenger of God died, Abū Bakr was not present, and he came after three [hours].[1287] No one dared to uncover the Messenger of God's face until his exterior turned ashen. [When] Abū Bakr [came, he] uncovered [the Prophet's] face, kissed [his forehead] between his two eyes, and said, "With my father may you be ransomed, and with my mother! How good you were while alive, and how good you are when you are dead!" Then he went out, praised God and extolled Him, saying, "Whoever worships God, God is alive and immortal; whoever worships Muḥammad, Muḥammad is dead." Then he recited: "Muḥammad is only a messenger; and many a messenger has gone before him. So if he dies or is killed, will you turn back on your heels? He who turns back on his heels will do no harm to God; and God will reward the grateful."[1288] 'Umar was telling [the people that] the Prophet was not dead and he was

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1282. Qur'ān 3:144.

1283. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 54–55. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 563, 565–66.

1284. Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḍabbī died in 188/804. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 75–77.

1285. Mughīrah b. Miqsam al-Ḍabbī died ca. 134/751–52. Ibid., X, 269–71.

1286. Died ca. 120/738. Ibid., III, 382.

1287. The specification of number [*tamyīz*] is missing. It could be three hours, three prayers, or three deputations. See 'Abd al-Maqṣūd, *al-Saqīfah*, 16.

1288. Qur'ān 3:144.

threatening to kill [those who maintained that the Prophet was dead].

The *Anṣār* gathered in a roofed building (*saqīfah*)[1289] of the Banū Sāʿidah to render their oath of allegiance to Saʿd b. ʿUbādah. This news reached Abū Bakr, so he came to them with ʿUmar and Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, asking [them] why [they had gathered]. They replied, "Let us have a ruler (*amīr*) from us and another from you." Abū Bakr said, "The rulers (*umarāʾ*) will be from us, and the viziers (*wuzarāʾ*) from you." Abū Bakr then added, "I am pleased [to offer] you one of these two men: ʿUmar or Abū ʿUbaydah. Some people came to the Prophet asking him to send a trustworthy man with them. The Messenger of God said that he
[1818] would send a truly trustworthy man with them, and he sent Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ. I am pleased [to offer] you Abū ʿUbaydah." ʿUmar stood up saying, "Who among you would be agreeable to leave Abū Bakr whom the Prophet gave precedence?"[1290] and he gave him the oath of allegiance. The people followed [ʿUmar]. The *Anṣār* said, or some of them said, "We will not give the oath of allegiance [to anyone] except ʿAlī."

Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr—Mughīrah—Ziyād b. Kulayb: ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb came to the house of ʿAlī. Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and some of the *Muhājirūn* were [also] in the house [with ʿAlī]. ʿUmar cried out, "By God, either you come out to render the oath of allegiance [to

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1289. A rectangular building of one storey consisting merely of a number of pillars with a clay roof, but open at all sides. It seems to have been the clan's gathering place. Serjeant, "Translation," 10.

Abū Bakr's election took place in this building, hence the event surrounding his election is named "The Saqīfah" after it. Following the Prophet's death, the *Anṣār*, who had grown resentful of the growing influence of the Quraysh, met there to deliberate on the critical leadership crisis that had arisen. The common view among the early Muslim historians is that the crisis was averted by the resolute action of three prominent *Muhājirūn*: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and Abū ʿUbaydah, and that their success was facilitated by the jealousies among the *Anṣār*. The sources, as pointed out by Lammens, "Triumvirate," also suggest an alliance between those three *Muhājirūn*. Moreover, all of them, being close advisers to the Prophet, carried considerable influence and prestige in the emerging Islamic polity. For an analysis of the early sources and an intelligent reconstruction of the events, see Jafri, *Origins*, 27–57. Shoufani, *al-Riddah*, 48–70, who has reexamined the earlier sources, states that Abū Bakr was elected mainly because he was supported by the newly converted Meccan aristocracy. See also Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 327–28; Momen, *Shiʿi Islam*, 18–20.

1290. The reference is to Abū Bakr's leading the prayer. See n. 1248 above.

Abū Bakr], or I will set the house on fire." Al-Zubayr came out with his sword drawn. As he stumbled [upon something], the sword fell from his hand, so they jumped over him and seized him.[1291]

Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā al-Ḍarīr—Abū 'Awānah[1292]—Dāwūd b. 'Abdallāh al-Awdī[1293]—Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥimyarī:[1294] When the Messenger of God died, Abū Bakr was in a detached part of Medina. He came, uncovered [the Prophet's] face, and kissed him, saying, "May my father and mother be your ransom! How good you are both living and dead! [I swear] by the Lord of the Ka'bah that Muḥammad is dead." Then he went to the pulpit and found 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb standing [there], threatening the people and saying, "The Messenger of God is alive and not dead. He will [return], go out after those who spread lies about him, cut off their hands and strike their necks and crucify them." Abū Bakr asked him to be silent, but he refused to listen, so Abū Bakr spoke, saying that God had revealed to His Prophet: "Verily, you will die, and so will they. Then on the Day of Resurrection you will [1819] dispute before your Lord."[1295] [Then] he said: "Muḥammad is only a messenger; and many a messenger has gone before him. So if he dies or is killed, will you turn back on your heels? He who turns back on his heels will do no harm to God; and God will reward the grateful.[1296] He who [formerly] worshiped Muḥammad, [then] the deity whom he worshiped is dead. He who [formerly] worshiped God, Who has no associate, [then] God is alive [and] immortal." Some people from among the companions of Muḥammad, whose

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1291. Although the timing of the events is not clear, it seems that 'Alī and his group came to know about the *Saqīfah* after what had happened there. At this point, his supporters gathered in Fāṭimah's house. Abū Bakr and 'Umar, fully aware of 'Alī's claims and fearing a serious threat from his supporters, summoned him to the mosque to swear the oath of allegiance. 'Alī refused, and so the house was surrounded by an armed band led by Abū Bakr and 'Umar, who threatened to set it on fire if 'Alī and his supporters refused to come out and swear allegiance to Abū Bakr. The scene grew violent and Fāṭimah was furious. For details, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 582–86; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 116; (Pseudo-) Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah*, I, 19–20; Ṭabarsī, *Iḥtijāj*, I, 108–9; *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 21, 45, 46, 47, 50, 56; Jafri, *Origins*, 50–51; Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, 19.

1292. Died ca. 176/792–93. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 116–20.

1293. Ibid., III, 191.

1294. Ibid., III, 46.

1295. Qur'ān 39:31–32.

1296. Ibid., 3:144.

time we had reached, affirmed that they did not know that those two verses were revealed until Abū Bakr recited them that day.

Then, a man suddenly came running and said, "Listen to me, the *Anṣār* have gathered in a roofed building (*ẓullah*)[1297] of the Banū Sā'idah to give their oath of allegiance to one of their men. They say: Let us have a ruler from us and let Quraysh have another from them." Abū Bakr and 'Umar rushed away (as though each of them led the other) until they came to them. 'Umar wanted to speak but Abū Bakr stopped him so he said, "I will not disobey the Prophet's successor (*khalīfah*) twice in a day." Abū Bakr spoke and did not leave out anything that was either revealed about the *Anṣār* or was said by the Messenger of God with regard to their fine qualities. He said, "You know that the Messenger of God said, 'If the people took one way and the *Anṣār* another, I would take *Anṣār*'s path.' O Sa'd, you know that the Messenger of God had said, while you were sitting, that Quraysh were the masters of this authority. The righteous follow their kind, and the wicked follow theirs." Sa'd replied, "You have spoken the truth. We are the viziers and you are the rulers."[1298] 'Umar said, "Stretch out your hand, O Abū Bakr, so that I may give you the oath of allegiance." Abū Bakr replied, "Nay, rather you, O 'Umar. You are stronger than I [to bear the responsibility]." 'Umar was indeed the stronger of the two. Each of them wanted the other to stretch his hand so that he could strike the bargain with him.[1299] 'Umar stretched Abū Bakr's hand saying, "My power is for you with your power," and the people gave their oath
[1820] of allegiance. They demanded confirmation of the oath, but 'Alī and al-Zubayr stayed away. Al-Zubayr drew his sword (from the scabbard), saying, "I will not put it back until the oath of allegiance is rendered to 'Alī." [When] this news reached Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the latter said, "Hit him with a stone and seize the

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1297. Literally, it means a thing which covers or protects one overhead as a building, or a cloud. It is a roofed building, like *Saqīfah* (see n. 1289 above). Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ẓ-l-l. Cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 136.

1298. Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir replied [to Abū Bakr's speech], "No. By God, we will never accept that. Let us have a ruler from us and another from you." Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 55.

1299. *Ḍaraba 'alā yadihi* is an idiom meaning to strike a bargain, or to ratify the sale. When two persons were bargaining, it was a custom for one of them to put his hand upon the other's in ratifying the bargain. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ḍ-r-b.

sword."[1300] It is stated that 'Umar rushed [to the scene], brought them forcibly [while] telling them that they must give their oath of allegiance willingly, or unwillingly. So they rendered their oath of allegiance.

An Account of the Saqīfah[1301]

'Alī b. Muslim[1302]—'Abbād b. 'Abbād[1303]—'Abbād b. Rāshid[1304]—al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah—Ibn 'Abbās:[1305] I used to teach 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf [how] to read the Qur'ān. 'Umar made the pilgrimage,[1306] and we did so with him. While I was waiting in a station (*manzil*) in Minā, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf came to me saying, "Today I saw a man[1307] who came to the Commander of the Faithful [i.e., 'Umar] and said, 'I have heard so-and-so[1308] saying: If the Commander of the Faithful is dead I would give my oath of allegiance to so-and-so,'[1309] The Commander of the Faithful said that he would get up among the people that evening and warn them against the group of people who want to usurp their power." I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, the pilgrimage brings together the riffraff and the rabble; they are the ones who will dominate over your assem-

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1300. Zubayr was in Fāṭimah's house. See n. 1291 above; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 116; *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 56–57.

1301. The following account of the *Saqīfah*, especially the speech of 'Umar, is analyzed and compared with other sources by Jafri, *Origins*, 29ff. Ṭabarī also gives another account of the *Saqīfah* on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf, see I, 1837–45.

1302. Died in 253/867. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 382–83.

1303. Ibid., V, 95–96.

1304. Ibid., V, 92–93.

1305. The account of *Saqīfah* is reported by Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, IV, 307–11, on the following chain of authorities: 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr—al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh—Ibn 'Abbās.

1306. During the last pilgrimage made by 'Umar: Ibn Isḥāq.

1307. Ibn Isḥāq: I wish you could have seen a man.

1308. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 581, this was Zubayr, and the person whom he wanted to hail as caliph was 'Alī. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, on the other hand, reports that the person who said it, according to al-Jāḥiẓ, was 'Ammār b. Yāsir or, according to *ahl al-ḥadīth*, Ṭalḥah; but the person they wanted to hail as caliph was 'Alī. It was thus 'Alī's name that made 'Umar disturbed and caused him to deliver a fiery speech.

1309. Ibn Isḥāq adds: By God, the oath of allegiance given to Abū Bakr was nothing but a *faltah* [an event that happened without consideration], which was ratified [later]. 'Umar became angry and said. . . .

bly.[1310] I am afraid lest you should say something today which they might neither heed, nor remember, nor put it in its context and spread it everywhere; so wait until you[1311] come to Medina [which is][1312] the place of refuge [*dār al-hijrah*] and a seat of the *sunnah*. [There] you can confer privately with the Messenger of God's companions,[1313] both the Emigrants and the *Anṣār*. You
[1821] can say what you will with firmness, they will retain your words and interpret them properly." He replied, "By God, I will do it at the first opportunity which I get in Medina."

After we arrived in Medina,[1314] I journeyed on Friday at midday [to listen to] the report which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had narrated to me. I found that Saʿīd b. Zayd had already preceded me [to the mosque],[1315] so I sat at his side near the pulpit, my knee to his knee. Immediately after the sun had declined, ʿUmar came. As he was coming I said to Saʿīd, "The Commander of the Faithful will say something today from this pulpit which he has not said[1316] before." Saʿīd became angry, retorting,[1317] "What is he going to say that he has not said before?" When ʿUmar sat in the pulpit, the muezzin[1318] called to prayer. After the muezzin had finished his call to prayer, ʿUmar stood up. He praised God, extolled Him and said, "Now then: I want to say something which has been decreed that I should say.[1319] He who takes heed of it, understands it and will remember it. Let him relate it wherever he goes, [but] he who takes no heed of it, I do not permit him to lie [to someone that I did not say it]. God sent Muḥammad with truth and revealed the Book to him. The verse concerning the stoning [of adulterers] was among [the verses] which were revealed to him.[1320] The Messenger of God stoned [adulterers], and we

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1310. Your proximity: Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

1311. Kos: We.

1312. Addition from Ibn Isḥāq.

1313. Ibn Isḥāq: With the people of knowledge (*ahl al-fiqh*) and the nobles.

1314. Ibn Isḥāq: We arrived in Medina toward the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

1315. Ibn Isḥāq: I found Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl sitting in the corner of the pulpit.

1316. Ibn Isḥāq: Since he succeeded [to the caliphate].

1317. Ibn Isḥāq: Saʿīd was annoyed at me and said, "What may he perhaps say that he has not said before?"

1318. As in Kos. Text: Muezzins. It seems that with the increasing population of Medina, especially since ʿUthmān's caliphate, more than one muezzin were employed. Cf. Ibn Shabbah, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 958ff.

1319. Ibn Isḥāq adds: I do not know, perhaps my appointed time (*ajal*) is close.

1320. Ibn Isḥāq adds: We read it; it was taught to us, and we heeded it.

stoned them after him. I am afraid that as time becomes prolonged some people might say that they do not find stoning in God's Book, and [thereby] they might go astray by forsaking an obligatory act (*farīḍah*) revealed by God.[1321] We used to say:[1322] 'Do not detest your ancestors for it is infidelity to do so.'[1323]

"It has reached me that someone[1324] of you said, 'If the Commander of the Faithful[1325] is dead, I will give the oath of alle-

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1321. Ibn Isḥāq adds: Stoning in the Book of God is a penalty laid on married men and women who commit adultery, if evidence stands, or confession is made, or [it] results in pregnancy.

The alleged verse about stoning read: "Do not detest your ancestors, for it is infidelity to do so. If an adult man (*al-shaykh*) or woman (*al-shaykhah*) commit adultery, stone them without exception as a chastisement from God. God is Mighty and Wise." It is suggested that this verse was a part of the Qur'ān, and that it originally belonged to *sūrah* 33, but was later abrogated. See Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, I, 248–52, where older sources are cited. Schacht doubts that the verse is genuine and states that the traditions relating to it and the mention of 'Umar are clearly tendentious. He suggests that stoning was introduced from Jewish law. *EI*[1], s.v. Zinā'.

Burton (*Collection of the Qur'ān*, 72–86, 134ff.) contends that the *ḥadīth* about the stoning penalty for adultery and the stoning verse, classified in the third category of *naskh* (i.e., *naskh al-tilāwah dūna al-ḥukm*, the suppression of a Qur'ānic verse without prejudice, however, to the continuing validity of its ruling for legal purposes), were most probably fashioned by the dictates of Islamic legal science, *uṣūl al-fiqh*. He further contends that the latter has also shaped Islamic accounts of the history of the collection of the Qur'ānic texts, in which the Prophet is said to have been deliberately excluded from the task of collecting revelations because *naskh* (withdrawal) was a possibility as long as he lived.

In the Qur'ān 24:2, scourging is prescribed as a punishment for adultery. It states: "Flog both the adulterous woman and the adulterous man with a hundred lashes, and do not let any pity for either of them deter you from [complying with] God's law, if you believe in God and the Last Day." Both the flogging and stoning remained as a punishment combined with a year's banishment. In some traditions and the system of law, stoning and flogging are separated as punishment (*ḥadd*) for adultery in two categories of criminals, whether they are *muḥṣan* (an adult in possession of his faculties, who is free and has had sexual intercourse in a legal marriage) or not. Generally, the non-*muḥṣan* is flogged, while the *muḥṣan* is flogged and then stoned, or stoned.

Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, II, 439–40, 712–13; III, 1115, states that the Prophet prohibited a man long absent from his home to come to his family at night. One of his followers disobeyed his command and returned to his family, and discovered a man with his wife. The cases mentioned by Wāqidī do not suggest that the parties involved were stoned. See also Qur'ān 4:15, 25; Ṭabarī, above, I, 1754, n. 772.

1322. Ibn Isḥāq: We used to read in what we read from the Book of God.

1323. Ibn Isḥāq adds: Indeed, the Messenger of God said, "Do not praise me lavishly as Jesus, son of Mary, was praised, and say: The servant of God and His messenger."

1324. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 581): Al-Zubayr.

1325. Ibn Isḥāq: If 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Cf. Balādhurī.

[1822] giance to so-and-so.'[1326] Let a man not deceive himself by saying that the oath of allegiance given to Abū Bakr was an event that happened without consideration (*faltah*).[1327] Admittedly it was so, but God averted its evil. There is none among you like Abū Bakr to whom people would have submitted.[1328] It is our information that when God took His prophet, 'Alī, al-Zubayr, and those who were with them stayed away from us in the house of Fāṭimah;[1329] the *Anṣār*, all of them, stayed away from us;[1330] and the *Muhājirūn* gathered round Abū Bakr. I told him that we should go to our brothers the *Anṣār*, so we rushed off, making for them. Two pious fellows[1331] who had been present at Badr met us,[1332] asking where we were going. When we told them that we were going to our brothers the *Anṣār*, they asked us to go back[1333] and to decide our affair among ourselves. We replied, 'By God, we will go to them.' We came to them as they had gathered in the hall of the Banū Sā'idah. In their midst was a man enwrapped in a cloak. When I asked who he was and what was his position, they said that he was Sa'd b. 'Ubādah and that he was ill.[1334] Then, a man from them stood up.[1335] After he had praised God he said, 'We are the Helpers[1336] (*al-Anṣār*) and the squadron of Islam, while you, O men of Quraysh,[1337] are a family of our Prophet[1338]

1326. Balādhurī: We will give the oath of allegiance to 'Alī. Indeed, the oath of allegiance given to Abū Bakr was a *faltah*. (*Faltah* means a sudden, unexpected event without deliberation. See *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 26; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. f-l-t.)

1327. Ibn Isḥāq adds: But it was ratified.

1328. Ibn Isḥāq adds: An oath of allegiance rendered by an individual to a man without consulting the Muslims has no validity for either of them; both are in danger of being killed [i.e., subject to the death penalty].

1329. See above, n. 1291.

1330. Ibn Isḥāq: The *Anṣār* opposed us and gathered with their nobles in the *Saqīfah* of the Banū Sā'idah.

1331. For their names, see Ṭabarī, below, I, 1824.

1332. Ibn Isḥāq adds: Telling us what [their] people had decided.

1333. Ibn Isḥāq: They said that there was no need for them to approach [the *Anṣār*], and they should decide their affair [among themselves].

1334. For his speech and as to what was transpiring in that gathering, see Ṭabarī, below, I, 1837–39.

1335. Ibn Isḥāq: After we had sat down, their speaker [stood up] pronouncing the *shahādah*. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 113, he was Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās.

1336. Ibn Isḥāq: The Helpers of God.

1337. Ibn Isḥāq: O *Muhājirūn*.

1338. Ibn Isḥāq: Family of ours.

who have come to us journeying leisurely in search of herbage and sustenance.' ['Umar] said: When I saw that they wanted to cut us off from our root and wrest authority from us,[1339] I wanted to make a speech which I had composed in my mind.[1340] As I used to treat Abū Bakr with gentle courtesy to some extent, [and considered] him more sober and gentler[1341] than me, I conferred with [1823] him about [the speech]. When I wanted to speak he said, 'Gently!' so I did not like to disobey[1342] him. He stood up, praised God, extolled Him and did not leave anything [from his speech], which I myself had composed in my [own] mind if I had spoken, but that he expressed it, or [expressed it] in a better way [than I would have done].

"He said: 'Now then: O men of the *Anṣār*, you deserve all the fine qualities that you have mentioned about yourselves, but the Arabs will not recognize this authority except in this clan of Quraysh, for they represent the best in lineage and standing.[1343] I am pleased [to offer] you one of these two men; render your oath of allegiance to any one of them you like.' [Thus saying,] he took hold of my hand and that of Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ.[1344] By

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1339. Ibn Isḥāq adds: After [their speaker] had finished, I wanted to speak.

1340. Ibn Isḥāq adds: Which pleased me.

1341. Hisch.: Knowledgeable.

1342. Hisch., Kos, and Ibn Isḥāq: To make him angry.

1343. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 582, cites the speech of Abū Bakr which shows how he argued against the *Anṣār*. He states: "We are the first people to accept Islam. We are in the center among the Muslims with respect to our position, and we are the noblest with respect to our lineage, and we are the nearest to the Messenger of God in relationship. You are our brethren in Islam and our partners in religion . . . . The Arabs will not submit themselves except to this clan of Quraysh. . . . You had better not compete against your *Muhājirūn* brethren for what God has decreed for them."

1344. Ibn Isḥāq adds: Who was sitting between us. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 113–14, adds: Both of them declined and said, "By God, we cannot take precedence over you while you are the companion of the Messenger of God and the second of the two [in the cave at the time of the *hijrah*]." Abū 'Ubaydah put his hand upon Abū Bakr's hand and 'Umar did the same [in ratifying their bargain]. The Meccans who were with them did the same. Then Abū 'Ubaydah cried, "O people of the *Anṣār*, you were the first to help [the Prophet] so do not be the first to change and convert [back to paganism]." Next, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf stood up and said, "O people of the *Anṣār*, although you have the merits, you do not have among you [anyone] like Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Alī." [Thereupon] Mundhir b. al-Arqam stood up saying, "We do not deny the merits of those you have mentioned. Indeed, there is among

God, I liked everything he said except the last words. I would have preferred myself to be sent forward and my head struck off—if it were not considered a sin—rather than to be appointed a ruler over a people of whom Abū Bakr was one.

"After Abū Bakr had finished his speech, a man from the *Anṣār*[1345] stood up saying, 'I am their much-rubbed little rubbing post and their little palm tree loaded with fruit.[1346] Let us have a ruler from us and another from you, O men of Quraysh.' ['Umar] said,[1347] "Voices rose and clamorous speech waxed hotter. I feared [total] disagreement so I said to Abū Bakr, 'Stretch out your hand [so that] I may give you the oath of allegiance.' He did so and I gave [him] the oath of allegiance; the *Muhājirūn* followed and then the *Anṣār*. [In so doing] we jumped on Sa'd b. 'Ubādah so someone said that we had killed him. I said, '[May] God kill him!'[1348] By God, nothing was mightier than the rendering of the oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr. We feared that if [we] left [without rendering the oath of allegiance], no agreement would be hammered out later. It was either to follow the *Anṣār* in what we did not like, or else to oppose them, which would have led to disorder (*fasād*)."

[1824] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr: One of the two men from the *Anṣār* whom Abū Bakr and 'Umar met on their way to the *Saqīfah* was 'Uwaym b. Sā'idah, whilst the other was Ma'n b. 'Adī, a brother of the Banū

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you a person with whom, if he seeks this authority, none will dispute [i.e., 'Alī]." It seems that at this stage Ḥubāb b. Mundhir al-Anṣārī proposed a compromise solution as stated by 'Umar.

1345. He was al-Ḥubāb b. Mundhir. Ṭabarī, I, 1840, 1844; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 581–82, 584; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, I, 316.

1346. It means: I am one of those by means of whose counsel people seek relief, like the mangy camels seek relief from their mange by rubbing themselves against the post. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, I, 47–48; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. j-dh-l.

1347. Ṭabarī, I, 1841, records 'Umar's reply to Ḥubāb's proposal as follows: How preposterous! Two [swords] cannot be accommodated in one sheath. By God, the Arabs will never accept your rule, since their Prophet is not from you, but they will not reject the rule of one from whom is their Prophet. If anyone refuses our authority, we will [produce] a clear rebuttal and an evident proof. Who would dispute us with regard to Muḥammad's authority and rule except the falsely guided one, or the erring one, or the damned one, when we are his close associates and kinsfolk? Cf. also *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 52–53.

1348. What follows is omitted from Ibn Isḥāq.

al-'Ijlān. As for 'Uwaym b. Sā'idah, we have heard that when the Messenger of God was asked who were the people about whom God said: "Therein [i.e., in a mosque] are men who love to be purified; and God loves those who purify themselves,"[1349] he replied that the best of them was 'Uwaym b. Sā'idah. As for Ma'n, it has reached us that when people wept over the Messenger of God's death and said that they wished that they had died before him because they feared that they would be subjected to temptations after him, he said, "By God, I do not wish to die before him, so that I can bear witness to his truth when he is dead, as I did when he was alive." Ma'n was killed in the battle of al-Yamāmah, the battle against Musaylimah, the arch-liar, as a martyr during Abū Bakr's caliphate.

'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'īd al-Zuhrī—his uncle Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. 'Umar—al-Walīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ẓaybah al-Bajalī—al-Walīd b. Jumay' al-Zuhrī: 'Amr b. Ḥurayth asked Sa'īd b. Zayd, "Were you present at [the time of] the Messenger of God's death?" "Yes," he replied. 'Amr asked, "When was the oath of allegiance given to Abū Bakr?" "The [very] day the Messenger of God died," he replied. "People disliked to be left [even] part of the day without being [organized] into a community (*jamā'ah*)." 'Amr asked, "Did anyone oppose him?" "No [one] except an apostate (*murtadd*), or the one who was about to apostatize," he replied. "It was because God rescued them from the *Anṣār*." 'Amr asked, 'Did anyone from the *Muhājirūn* stay away?' "No, they followed [1825]
one another to give their oath of allegiance without being summoned," he replied.

'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'īd [al-Zuhrī]—his uncle [Ya'qūb]—Sayf [b. 'Umar]—'Abd al-'Aziz b. Siyāh[1350]—Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit:[1351] 'Alī was in his house when he was approached and was told that Abū Bakr had sat to receive the oath of allegiance. He went out immediately in the shirt [worn beneath the clothes] he was wearing without the waist-wrapper, or the outer wrapping garment, out of

1349. Qur'ān 9:108.
1350. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 340–41.
1351. Died in 119/737. Ibid., II, 178–80.

dislike that he might be late. He gave the oath of allegiance,[1352] sat with Abū Bakr, and sent for his clothes. When [the clothes] were brought he put them on and stayed in [Abū Bakr's] assembly.

Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍirārī—'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām[1353]—Ma'mar[1354]—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah—'Ā'ishah: Fāṭimah and al-'Abbās came to Abū Bakr demanding their [share of] inheritance of the Messenger of God. They were demanding the Messenger of God's land in Fadak and his share of Khaybar['s tribute].[1355] Abū Bakr replied, "I have heard the Messenger of God say: 'Our [i.e., the prophets' property] cannot be inherited and whatever we leave behind is alms [i.e., to be given in charity]. The family of Muḥammad will eat from it.'[1356] By God, I will not abandon a course which I saw the Messenger of God practicing, but will continue doing it accordingly." Fāṭimah shunned him and did not speak to him about it until she died. 'Alī buried her at night and did not permit Abū Bakr to attend [her burial].[1357] While Fāṭimah was alive, 'Alī held respect among the people. After she died, their

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1352. A close scrutiny of the early sources suggests that 'Alī refused to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr for six months, that is, for as long as Fāṭimah was alive. After her death and with the eruption of rebellion among the Arab tribes, 'Alī might have been compelled to become reconciled with Abū Bakr. Jafri, *Origins*, 59; Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, 20.

1353. Died in 211/826–27. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 310–15.

1354. Ma'mar b. Rāshid al-Azdī died ca. 152/769. Ibid., X, 243–46.

1355. Fadak was allocated to Muḥammad, because it had been acquired by treaty. The inhabitants, according to the treaty, were to remain there while giving up half their lands and half the produce. Fāṭimah maintained that Fadak, like Muḥammad's fifth share (*khums*) of the produce from Khaybar, should come to her as her father's heiress. This question of inheritance soon became one of the most debated issues in the conflict between the Shī'īs and the Sunnīs. For its subsequent history, see *EI*², s.v. Fadak. See also Ṭabarī, above, I, 1759, n. 825.

1356. Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, III, 209; Mishkat (trans. Robson), II, 1310; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim. The Shī'īs refute this tradition, saying that it contradicts the Qur'ānic teachings on family inheritance.

It was the first and most important step taken by both Abū Bakr and 'Umar in their attempts to displace the Banū Hāshim, and especially 'Alī, from their prerogatives in the leadership of the Muslim polity. Acceptance of this claim of inheritance based on family ties would have opened the door widely to 'Alī's right to the succession. Moreover, the income from both these sources was considerable, and it would have given some leverage to 'Alī. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 176–218; Jafri, *Origins*, 14–16, 63. For Fāṭimah's reply and refutation, see Ṭabarsī, *Iḥtijāj*, I, 119–49.

1357. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 196–97; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 29; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 117; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 250.

attention turned away from him.[1358] Fāṭimah continued to live for six months after the Messenger of God's [death] and then died.

Ma'mar: A man asked al-Zuhrī, "Did 'Alī not give his oath of allegiance for six months?" "No, nor anyone of the Banū Hāshim until 'Alī rendered his," he replied.[1359] When 'Alī saw that the people's attention had turned away from him, he begged for reconciliation with Abū Bakr. He sent to the latter, [asking him] to visit him, and [requesting] that nobody should accompany him. 'Alī disliked that 'Umar should come with Abū Bakr, for he knew 'Umar's rudeness. 'Umar said [to Abū Bakr], "Don't go alone." Abū Bakr replied, "By God, I will go alone. It is not possible that [the Banū Hāshim] might do anything to me," and he went. He entered into 'Alī's presence while the Banū Hāshim had gathered with him. 'Alī stood up, praised God and extolled Him with what is due to Him. Then he said, "It is neither the denial of your good qualities nor the rivalry of good, which God has given you, that prevented us from giving you the oath of allegiance, but the fact that we considered that we have a right in this authority which you have monopolized." 'Alī then mentioned his relationship with the Messenger of God and the rights of the Banū Hāshim. He continued speaking until Abū Bakr wept. After 'Alī stopped, Abū Bakr pronounced the *shahādah*, praised God, extolled Him with what is due to Him, then said, "By God, the relationship of the Messenger of God is dearer to me [too]. I reach [him] through my relationship [to him]. By God, I did not fall short of doing what was requisite with regard to this property [i.e., the Prophet's inheritance], which became [a dispute] between you and me except for good. I had heard the Messenger of God saying: 'Our [i.e., the prophets' property] cannot be inherited and whatever we leave behind is alms [i.e., to be given in charity]. The family of Muḥammad will eat from it.' God forbid that I should recall a thing which the Messenger of God did without doing it, God willing!" 'Alī said that he would render the oath of allegiance that evening. After Abū Bakr had prayed the noon prayers, he approached the people and excused 'Alī with his apology. 'Alī stood up, lauded the right [1826]

1358. *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 22; also reported by Bukhārī and Muslim.

1359. Most of the authorities state that 'Alī did not render his oath of allegiance until after Fāṭimah's death. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 116; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 308; *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 22.

of Abū Bakr by mentioning his fine qualities and his precedence and went to him, giving the oath of allegiance. The people came
[1827] to 'Alī saying that he had done the right thing.[1360] 'Ā'ishah said: The people got close to 'Alī when he came close to what was right [i.e., in rendering his oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr].

Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Ṣafwān al-Thaqafī[1361]—Abū Qutaybah[1362]—Mālik (that is Ibn Mighwal)—Ibn al-Jarr: Abū Sufyān[1363] said to 'Alī, "What is the matter, that this authority had been vested in a least-known clan of Quraysh?[1364] By God, if you wish, I will fill [the whole space] with men and horses." 'Alī replied, "O Abū Sufyān, for a long time you have been at war with Islam and the Muslims, but you have been unable to do any harm. We find Abū Bakr worthy of this authority."[1365]

Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī—Umayyah b. Khālid[1366]—Ḥammād b. Salamah[1367]—Thābit:[1368] When Abū Bakr succeeded [the Prophet], Abū Sufyān said, "What has Abū Faṣīl[1369] to do with us? Indeed, the authority belongs to the Banū 'Abd Manāf."[1370] [When his son Yazīd became the governor], it was said to

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1360. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 586. This report is on the authority of 'Ā'ishah.

1361. Died ca. 252/866. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 337–38.

1362. Died ca. 200/815–16. Ibid., IV, 133–34.

1363. Some reports state that, being appointed by the Prophet as his agent over Najrān, he was not present in Medina when the Prophet died. Wāqidī, on the other hand, affirms that he was in Medina. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 529, 589.

1364. Abū Bakr came from the inconspicuous clan of Taym, which was never a major factor in the power struggle among the rival clans of Quraysh. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 4–8, 16–20.

1365. 'Alī probably declined Abū Sufyān's offer of support because it would have destroyed the nascent Islamic polity. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 588; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 116; *Nahj al-balāghah*, II, 44–45; Momen, *Shi'i Islam*, 19–20.

1366. Died ca. 200/815–16. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 370–71.

1367. Died in 167/783–84. Ibid., XI, 11–16.

1368. Thābit b. Aslam al-Banānī died ca. 127/744–45. Ibid., II, 2–4.

1369. Literally, it means a young camel when weaned from her mother. Here it implies that the clan to which Abū Bakr belonged was not a distinguished clan of Quraysh.

1370. Quṣayy, the great ancestor of Muḥammad, is regarded as the founder of the city of Mecca as distinct from a mere encampment around the sanctuary of the Ka'bah. He was the effective ruler of Mecca during his lifetime and also became the master of the Ka'bah holding all the important offices, such as *sidānah* (guardianship), *rifāḍah* (feeding), and *siqāyah* (providing water). His descendants 'Abd al-Dār inherited much of his power, but in the course of time the family was split and challenged by 'Abd Manāf. It nearly led to fighting, but a compromise was reached whereby 'Abd al-Dār retained nominal privileges and 'Abd Manāf was

him, "Your son has been entrusted with the authority," and he replied, "He made close his ties of kinship by behaving with kindness."[1371]

Hishām—ʿAwānah: When people gathered to give their oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr, Abū Sufyān came while at the same time saying, "By God, I see a cloud of smoke (*ʿajājah*),[1372] which nothing but blood will clear. O family of ʿAbd Manāf, where is Abū Bakr that he should be the master of your affairs! Where are ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās, the two weak (*mustaḍʿafān*)[1373] and lowly ones (*adhillān*)?" He [then] said [to ʿAlī], "O Abū Ḥasan, stretch out your hand so that I may give you the oath of allegiance," but ʿAlī declined, so he began to cite appositely the proverbial verses of al-Mutalammis:

No one remains in a state of ignominy that is intended
for him, except the two despicable things: a domestic ass
and a wooden peg [of a tent].[1374]
The former is turned back to his state of ignominy by a
piece of worn-out rope, while the latter's head is broken
and no one mourns.

ʿAlī rebuked him, saying, "By God, you do not intend anything but [to stir up] dissension (*fitnah*). For long you have desired evil for Islam. We do not need your advice." [1828]

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given the substance of power. Both the Hāshimites and the Umayyads were branches of ʿAbd Manāf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah* I, 130ff.; Guillaume, *Life*, 52ff.; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 48ff.; Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, I, 103ff.; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 5, 7, 30; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 62–64; Ḥamīdullāh, "al-Īlāf"; Cook, *Muhammad*, 12–13.

1371. Abū Sufyān is said to have made the same remark when ʿUmar appointed Muʿāwiyah as the governor of Syria after the death of Yazīd. Ibn Shabbah, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 837.

1372. It also means low, ignoble people. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ʿa-j-j.

1373. Both the terms (the weak and lowly) are used here sarcastically. *Mustaḍʿaf* means literally "one who is deemed weak." It occurs in the Qurʾān 4:75, 97–98, 127; 8:26, in the sense of "oppressed." Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 156ff., 197, lists a group of early converts under the title *al-Mustaḍʿafūn*, that is, those who were clanless and without protection. The term was thus used for poorly defended lower classes. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 339; Guillaume, *Life*, 143; Serjeant, "Translation," 11; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 128–29; Cook, *Muhammad*, 51–52.

1374. The proverbs state: "More vile than a wooden peg in a plain," "More vile than the ass," "More vile than a chained donkey." Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, I, 511–12, 516; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. w-t-d, ʿ-y-r.

Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Muḥammad al-Qurashī: When the oath of allegiance was rendered to Abū Bakr, Abū Sufyān said to ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās, "You are two despicable ones," and began reciting the [following] proverbial verses:

A domestic ass knows the disgrace,
but a free man and a well-built camel, soft in the joints, detest it.
No one bears an unjust state that is intended for him,
except the two despicable things: a domestic ass and a wooden peg.
The former is turned back to his state of ignominy by a piece of worn-out rope, while the latter's head is broken and no one mourns.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—Anas b. Mālik: The following day after Abū Bakr was given the oath of allegiance in the *Saqīfah*, he sat in the pulpit. ʿUmar stood up and spoke before him. After praising God and extolling Him with what is due to Him, he said, "O people, yesterday I said something to you that[1375] was based on my own opinion. I neither found it in God's book[1376] nor was it something by which the Messenger of God had enjoined me;[1377] but I thought[1378] that the Messenger of God would conduct our affairs until he was the last of us [alive]. God has left His book, by which He guided His Messenger, with you. If you hold fast to it God will guide [you] as He guided him. God has vested your affairs in the hands of the best one among you, the companion of the Messenger of God, 'the second of the two when both of them were in the cave,'[1379] so arise and give [him][1380] the oath of allegiance." The people gave

1375. That . . . opinion: Omitted from Ibn Isḥāq. Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 56): That was not [correct] as I said.

1376. Ibn Saʿd: The Book revealed by God.

1377. C: Us.

1378. Ibn Saʿd: But I had hoped that the Messenger of God would live [as] he had said, and that he would be the last of us [alive]. God chose for His messenger that which was with Him rather than that which was with you. Hold fast to this book, by which God guided your messenger, and you will be guided as the Messenger of God was guided.

1379. Qur'ān 9:40.

1380. Addition from Hisch.

Abū Bakr their oath of allegiance in public after the one rendered [1829]
in the *Saqīfah*.

Then Abū Bakr spoke. After praising God and extolling Him with what is due to Him, he said, "Now then: O people, I have been put in charge of you although I am not the best of you. Help me if I do well; rectify me if I do wrong. Truthfulness is loyalty and falsehood is disloyalty. The weak among you shall be strong in my eyes until I ensure his right, God willing; and the strong among you shall be weak in my eyes until I wrest the right from him, God willing. No one from you should refrain from fighting in the cause of God, because if it is forsaken by a people, God will smite them with disgrace.[1381] Foul things never become widespread in a people but God brings calamity upon them. Obey me as long as I obey God and His Messenger; if I disobey them, you are not bound to obey me. Perform your prayers. May God have mercy on you!"

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh[1382]—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abdallāh: I was walking with 'Umar during his caliphate while he set about some business of his. He had a whip in his hand, and we were alone. As he was talking to himself he swished the outer side of his leg with his whip. Turning to me he said, "Do you know, O Ibn 'Abbās, what prompted me to speak[1383] as I did when the Messenger of God died?" "No, I do not know, O Commander of the Faithful," I replied. "You know it better." He said, "By God, nothing prompted[1384] me [to utter those words] but that I used to read the following verse: 'We have set you up as a moderate nation so that you [1830]
may act as witness for mankind, as the Messenger is a witness for you.'[1385] By God, I thought that the Messenger of God would remain among his people until he could witness for them to their last deeds. That was what prompted me to say what I said."[1386]

1381. Hisch., C, and Ibn Isḥāq: If a people refrain from fighting in the cause of God, God will smite them with disgrace. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 590–91.

1382. Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās died ca. 140/757–58. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 341–42.

1383. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Balādhurī [*Ansāb*, I, 568]. Text: Speak this.

1384. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: What prompted me was that.

1385. Qur'ān 2:143.

1386. During one of the conversations between 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbās, the former said, "What prevented 'Alī from coming out with us?" Ibn 'Abbās replied, "I

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: After the oath of allegiance was rendered to Abū Bakr, people came to prepare the Messenger of God's burial. Some [of the authorities] state that the burial took place on Tuesday, that is, the following day of the Messenger of God's death, while the others state that he was buried three days after his death. The report of some of those authorities has already preceded.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh,[1387] and others who relate from 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās, Qutham b. al-'Abbās, Usāmah b. Zayd, and Shuqrān, freedman of the Messenger of God, were the ones who took charge of the washing of the Prophet. Aws b. Khawlī, one[1388] of the Banū 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, said to 'Alī, "I adjure you by God, O 'Alī, [where is] our share in regard to the Messenger of God?" Aws was one [of the companions of the Messenger of God][1389] who had participated in Badr. 'Alī allowed him to enter, so he came in[1390] and was present at the Messenger of God's washing. 'Alī made the Prophet's body to rest upon his breast and 'Abbās, al-Faḍl, and Qutham turned him over along with 'Alī. Usāmah and Shuqrān were the ones who poured water [over him],[1391] while 'Alī washed him, having rested him against
[1831] his breast. The shirt was still on the Prophet's body; 'Alī rubbed him from the outside without touching the Messenger of God's

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do not know." 'Umar said, "O son of 'Abbās, your father is an uncle of the Messenger of God and you are [the Prophet's] cousin, so what prevented the Quraysh [from supporting] you?" Ibn 'Abbās answered, "I do not know." Then 'Umar said, "But, I know, they dislike your authority." Ibn 'Abbās replied, "[But] why? We are [always] good to them." 'Umar added, "O God, pardon me! They did not like having both the prophethood and the caliphate combined in your family, which would have made you proud and arrogant." This conversation not only reveals 'Umar's attitude toward 'Alī but also clearly indicates that he was aware of the importance of the idea of inherited sanctity. On another occasion, the same subject is discussed between the two, but the second dialogue is more intense and lively. When Ibn 'Abbās answers back, 'Umar loses his temper. See Ṭabarī, I, 2769–71.

1387. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 421–23.

1388. C: Brother.

1389. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

1390. And sat down: Addition in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 569).

1391. Addition from Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq.

[body directly] with his hands while he was saying, "With my father may you be ransomed, and with my mother! How excellent you are in life and in death!"[1392] The Messenger of God's body did not look like what an ordinary corpse would look like.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād—his father ʿAbbād [b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr]—ʿĀʾishah: When they wanted to wash the Prophet, they disagreed about it, saying that they did not know whether they should remove his clothes as they do with their dead, or wash him with his clothes on. When they disagreed, slumber overtook them[1393] so that everyone's chin was sunk on his chest. Then a speaker—it is not known[1394] who he was—spoke from a corner of the house: "Wash the Prophet with his clothes on." They got up and washed the Messenger of God with his shirt on, pouring water on the shirt, and rubbing him with the shirt. ʿĀʾishah used to say, "Had I known regarding my duty at the beginning what I knew at the end, none but his wives would have washed him."[1395]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn—his father [Muḥammad al-Bāqir]—his [father] ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn. Ibn Isḥāq states that he has [also] received this account on the authority of al-Zuhrī—ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn: After the Messenger of God was washed, he was shrouded in three garments: two of Ṣuḥār[1396] make and [the other] a striped cloak (*burd*[in] *ḥibarat*[in]),[1397] one wrapped over the other.[1398]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh—ʿIkrimah, freedman of Ibn ʿAbbās—ʿAbdallāh b. [1832]
ʿAbbās: Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ and Abū Ṭalḥah Zayd b. Sahl

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1392. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 60–63; Lings, *Muhammad*, 344.

1393. Ibn Isḥāq: God cast a [deep] sleep upon them.

1394. Ibn Isḥāq: None knowing.

1395. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 59–60; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 569–70. This sentence is omitted from Ibn Isḥāq.

1396. A seaport on the coast of ʿUmān known for its textile industry. *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣuḥār. Lane (*Lexicon*, s.v. ṣ-ḥ-r), states that it is a kind of garment made in Ṣuḥār, a town in Yemen. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1090, states that on the Farewell Pilgrimage the Prophet made his *iḥrām* in two Ṣuḥārī garments. Other texts, such as Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 571, state that he was dressed in three Saḥūlī garments instead of Ṣuḥārī ones. Saḥūl is a town in Yemen, still known for its clothes. See Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, III, 727; Serjeant, "Translation," 10.

1397. A kind of garment made in Yemen. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ḥ-b-r.

1398. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 63–67; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 572.

were the two men [in Medina][1399] [who used to dig graves]. The former used to dig [graves] as the Meccans dig them, while the latter, who used to dig for the Medinans, used to make a niche in them. When they decided to dig [a grave] for the Messenger of God, al-'Abbās called two men, told one of them to go to Abū 'Ubaydah and the other to go to Abū Ṭalḥah, [saying], "O God, choose for your[1400] messenger." The one who had been sent for Abū Ṭalḥah found him and brought him, so he dug the grave with the niche for the Messenger of God.

After the preparations for the Messenger of God's burial had been completed on Tuesday, he was laid upon his bed in his house. The Muslims had disagreed about the place of his burial. Some said that they should bury him in his mosque while the others said that [they should bury him][1401] with his companions.[1402] Abū Bakr said, "I have heard the Messenger of God saying that no prophet died but he was buried where he died," so the bed on which he died was removed, and a grave was dug beneath it.[1403] [Then] the people passed by the Messenger of God praying over him in groups, first the men, then the women, then the children, and[1404] [finally] the slaves. No one led the people in prayers over him. The Messenger of God was buried in the middle of the night of Wednesday.[1405]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Fāṭimah bt. Muḥammad b. 'Umārah, wife of 'Abdallāh (that is, the son of Abū Bakr)—'Amrah bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'd b. Zurārah—'Ā'ishah,
[1833] Mother of the Faithful: We did not know of the Messenger of God's burial until we heard the sound of the pickaxes (or mattocks) in the middle of the night of Wednesday.[1406]

1399. Addition from Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 74.

1400. Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq: The Messenger of God.

1401. As in Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 71). Text: He should be buried.

1402. Ibn Sa'd adds: In al-Baqī' [cemetery]. For further details, see idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 70–72.

1403. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 573.

1404. It is omitted from Hisch., Ibn Isḥāq, and Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 68–70).

1405. Some traditions state that he was buried on Tuesday. Ibid., 78–79.

1406. Probably because of this report, Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 328–29, thinks that the Prophet was buried by his family the same night in the house of 'Ā'ishah. The reason for their hurried action was to avoid any ceremony in which Abū Bakr, leading the funeral rites, might appear as the Messenger of God's appointed successor.

Ibn Isḥāq states: Those who descended into the Messenger of God's grave were 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās, Qutham b. al-'Abbās, and Shuqrān, freedman of the Messenger of God. Aws b. Khawlī implored 'Alī in the name of God, asking for his share regarding the Messenger of God. 'Alī permitted him to descend [into the grave] with the others.[1407] After the Messenger of God was laid in his grave and the earth was laid over him, Shuqrān, the Messenger of God's freedman, took a garment which the Messenger of God used to wear and spread out (for sitting), and tossed it[1408] in the grave saying, "By God, no one shall ever wear it after you," so it was buried with the Messenger of God.

Ibn Isḥāq states: Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah used to claim that he was the last man to be with the Messenger of God. He used to say, "I took my ring, threw it in the grave and said, my ring has fallen. I threw it intentionally so that I might touch the Messenger of God and be the last person to be with him."[1409]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—his father Isḥāq b. Yasār—Miqsam, Abū al-Qāsim, freedman of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal—his master 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith:[1410] I made a lesser pilgrimage with 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib during the [caliphate] of 'Umar or 'Uthmān. 'Alī stayed with his sister Umm Hāni' bt. Abī Ṭālib. After he had finished his lesser pilgrimage, 'Alī returned and I poured [water][1411] for him [to perform] the major ritual purification, which he did. After he had finished the purification, some Iraqis came to him and said, "O Abū al-Ḥasan, [1834] we have come to ask you about a matter on which we would like you to give us information." He said, "I suppose that al-Mughīrah tells you that he was the last person to be with the Messenger of God." They said that, indeed, that was the reason they had come to ask him. 'Alī said that al-Mughīrah lied. The last man to be with the Messenger of God was Qutham b. al-'Abbās.[1412]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān[1413]—al-

1407. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 577. Some traditions add the names of Usāmah b. Zayd and Ṣāliḥ, the Messenger of God's freedman, to the list of those who descended into the grave. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 76–77.

1408. Hisch., Kos, and Ibn Isḥāq: And buried it.

1409. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 77–78; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 578.

1410. Died between 79/698–99 and 84/703. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 180–81.

1411. Hisch. and Ibn Isḥāq: [Water] was poured for him.

1412. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 78.

1413. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 399–401.

Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh—'Ā'ishah: The Messenger of God was wearing a black cloak (*khamīṣah*)[1414] when his pain became severe. Sometimes he would put it over his face, at times he would put it off, saying, "May God fight the people who took the graves of their prophets as places of worship (*masājid*)!", warning his community against such a practice.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān—al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah—'Ā'ishah: The last injunction enjoined by the Messenger of God was that no two religions be left in the Arabian Peninsula. The Messenger of God died on the twelfth of Rabī' I/June 7, 632, the very day on which he came to Medina as an emigrant,[1415] so he completed a full ten years of his migration.

The Disagreements about His Age When He Died

Some [authorities] state that he was sixty-three years old. Those who state that [are as follows].

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ḥajjāj b. al-Minhāl[1416]—Ḥammād (that is, Ibn Salamah)—Abū Jamrah[1417]—Ibn 'Abbās: The Messenger of God stayed in Mecca for thirteen years while the revelation came
[1835] to him and ten years in Medina. He died while he was sixty-three years old.

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ḥajjāj b. al-Minhāl—Ḥammād—Abū Jamrah—his father:[1418] The Messenger of God lived for sixty-three years.

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Wahhāb[1419]—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd:[1420] I heard Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib say, "The revelation came to the Messenger of God while he was forty-three years old. He stayed ten

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1414. A garment made of cloth woven from wool and silk with two ornamental or colored borders, or a black cloak; worn by older people. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. kh-m-ṣ.

1415. His arrival in Medina was on Monday, the twelfth of Rabī' I. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 263.

1416. Died ca. 217/832. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 206–7.

1417. Died ca. 128/745–46. Ibid., X, 431–32.

1418. 'Imrān b. 'Isām died ca. 83/702. Ibid., VIII, 134–35.

1419. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam died ca. 250/864. Ibid., VI, 447.

1420. Ibid., XI, 215–16. For a similar report see Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 114.

years in Mecca, ten years in Medina, and died while he was sixty-three."

Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-ʿAsqalānī[1421]—Ādam[1422]—Ḥammād b. Salamah—Abū Jamrah al-Ḍubaghī—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Messenger of God was called to his mission when he was forty. He stayed in Mecca for thirteen years while he was receiving revelation and [stayed] in Medina for ten years. He died when he was sixty-three years old.

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Wahb[1423]—his uncle ʿAbdallāh[1424]—Yūnus[1425]—al-Zuhrī—ʿUrwah—ʿĀʾishah: The Messenger of God died while he was sixty-three.[1426]

The others state that he was sixty-five. Those who state that [are as follows].

Ziyād b. Ayyūb[1427]—Hushaym[1428]—ʿAlī b. Zayd[1429]—Yūsuf b. Mihrān[1430]—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Prophet died while he was sixty-five.[1431]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Muʿādh b. Hishām[1432]—his father[1433]—Qatādah[1434]—al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī]—Daghfal (that is, Ibn Ḥanẓalah):[1435] The Prophet died while he was sixty-five.

Yet others state that he was sixty years old. Those who state that [are as follows]. [1836]

Ibn al-Muthannā — Ḥajjāj[1436] — Ḥammād[1437] — ʿAmr b. Dī-

1421. Died in 260/873–74. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 149.
1422. Ādam b. Abī Iyās died ca. 220/835. Ibid., I, 196. For a similar report see Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 114.
1423. Died in 264/877–78. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 54–56.
1424. ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb b. Muslim died in 197/812–13. Ibid., VI, 71–74.
1425. Yūnus b. Yazīd died in 159/775–76. Ibid., XI, 450–52.
1426. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 82; he considers this report to be the most authentic; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 579.
1427. Died in 252/866. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 355; his death date given in the text as A.H. 152 seems to be incorrect because he was born in A.H. 166.
1428. Died in 183/799. Ibid., XI, 59–64.
1429. Died ca. 129/746–47. Ibid., VIII, 322–24.
1430. Ibid., XI, 424–25.
1431. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 82.
1432. Died in 200/815–16. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 196–97.
1433. Hishām b. Abī ʿAbdallāh died ca. 152/769. Ibid., XI, 43–45.
1434. Qatādah b. Diʿāmah died ca. 117/735. Ibid., VIII, 351–56.
1435. Ibid., III, 210–11.
1436. Ḥajjāj b. Ibrāhīm died after 213/828. Ibid., II, 195–96.
1437. Ḥammād b. Zayd died in 179/795–96. Ibid., III, 9–11.

nār[1438]— 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr: The Messenger of God was called to his mission while he was forty and died while he was sixty.[1439]

Al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr—'Ubaydallāh—Shaybān—Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr[1440]—Abū Salamah:[1441] I have received an account on the authority of [both] 'Ā'ishah and Ibn 'Abbās that the Messenger of God remained in Mecca for ten years while the Qur'ān was revealed to him and [remained] in Medina for ten years.

The Day and the Month in Which the Messenger of God Died

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Walīd al-Jurjānī—Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭaybah—'Ubaydallāh—Nāfi'—Ibn 'Umar: The Prophet put Abū Bakr in command of the pilgrimage in the year 9/631 and explained to him its rites. The following year, that is the year 10/632, the Messenger of God made the Farewell Pilgrimage, returned to Medina and died in Rabī' I.

Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī[1442]—Mūsā b. Dāwūd[1443]—Ibn Lahī'ah[1444]—Khālid b. Abī 'Imrān[1445] Ḥanash al-Ṣan'ānī[1446]—Ibn 'Abbās: The Prophet was born on Monday and he received the revelation on Monday. The boycott by Quraysh [of the Banū Hāshim] was lifted on Monday and [the Messenger of God] left Mecca, emigrating to Medina, on Monday. He arrived there on Monday and died on Monday.

[1837] Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Ḥakīm[1447]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sharīk[1448]—his father[1449]—Ibn Isḥāq—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm[1450]—his father:[1451] The Messenger

1438. Died ca. 125/742–43. Ibid., VIII, 28–30.
1439. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 81.
1440. Died ca. 129/746–47. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 268.
1441. Died ca. 94/712–13. Ibid., XII, 115–18.
1442. Died ca. 249/863. Ibid., I, 123–25.
1443. Died ca. 216/831. Ibid., X, 342–43.
1444. Died ca. 174/790–91. Ibid., V, 373–79.
1445. Died ca. 129/746–47. Ibid., III, 110–11.
1446. Died in 100/718–19. Ibid., III, 57–58.
1447. Died in 261/874–75. Ibid., I, 61.
1448. Died in 227/841–42. Ibid., VI, 194.
1449. Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh died ca. 177/793–94. Ibid., IV, 333–37.
1450. Died ca. 135/752–53. Ibid., V, 164–85.
1451. Died ca. 110/728–29. Ibid., XII, 38–40.

of God died on the twelfth of Rabīʿ I/June 7, 632,[1452] on Monday, and was buried on the night of Wednesday.

Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān [b. Ḥakīm]—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. Sharīk]—his father—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr: Muḥammad b. Isḥāq went to ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr, who asked his wife Fāṭimah to narrate to him what she had heard from ʿAmrah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. She said, "I heard ʿAmrah saying that she had heard ʿĀʾishah saying that the Prophet of God was buried on the night of Wednesday, and that they did not know about it until they heard the sound of the pickaxes."[1453]

1452. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 568. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 205, on the other hand, states that it must be Monday, the twenty-third of Rabīʿ I, which corresponds to June 8, 632. According to Haig's *Comparative tables*, the corresponding date given above in the text is correct.

1453. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 568.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME X

The Conquest of Arabia

TRANSLATED BY FRED M. DONNER

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Volume X

Translated by Fred M. Donner

Volume X of al-Ṭabarī's massive chronicle is devoted to two main subjects. The first is the selection of Abū Bakr as the first caliph or successor to the Prophet Muḥammad following the Prophet's death in 632 C.E. This section of the *History* reveals some of the inner divisions that existed within the early Muslim community and sheds light on the interests and motivations of various parties in the debates that led up to Abū Bakr's acclamation as caliph.

The second main subject of Volume X is the *riddah* or "apostasy" —actually a series of rebellions against Muslim domination by various tribes in Arabia that wished to break their ties with Medina following the Prophet's death. The *History* offers one of the more extensive collections of accounts about this early sequence of events to be found in the Arabic historical literature. It provides richly detailed information on the rebellions themselves and on the efforts made by Abū Bakr and his Muslim supporters to quell them. It also tells us much about relationships among the tribes of Arabia, local topography, military practice, and the key personnel, organization, and structure of the early Islamic state.

The successful suppression of the *riddah* marked the transformation of the Muslim state from a small faith community of importance only in West Arabia to a much more powerful political entity, embracing all of the Arabian peninsula and poised to unleash a wave of conquests that would shortly engulf the entire Near East and North Africa. The *riddah era* is, thus, crucial to understanding the eventual appearance of Islam as a major actor on the stage of world history.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME X

The Conquest of Arabia

THE RIDDAH WARS

A.D. 632–633 / A.H. 11

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l mulūk)

VOLUME X

The Conquest of Arabia

translated and annotated
by

Fred M. Donner

The University of Chicago

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into thirty-eight volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by

only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

Aghānī: al-Iṣfahānī, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, *Kitāb al-aghānī*

B: Berlin Mss. of al-Ṭabarī (nos. 9414–22), used by editors of Leiden edition; Ms. 9416 covers the *riddah*

BGA: *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*

C: Istanbul ("Constantinople") Ms. Köprülü 1040 of al-Ṭabarī, used by editors of Leiden edition

Cairo: al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, Cairo edition

EI[2]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960–

Emendanda: M. J. De Goeje, *Annales quod scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir al-Ṭabarī: Introduction, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1901, p. DLXXIII–DCCCIII

Glossary: M. J. De Goeje, *Annales quod scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir al-Ṭabarī: Introduction, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1901, p. CI–DLXXII

IK: Possibly a reference to passages in Ibn Khallikān's *Wafāyāt al-aʿyān* cited by P. De Jong, editor of this section of text in the Leiden edition. In the introduction to the Leiden edition (see *Glossary*, p. LXIII) Ibn Khallikān is mentioned in the *stemma* of manuscripts, but no mention of Ibn Khallikān or any other source to which the siglum IK might refer is included in discussion of the manuscripts and sources used by De Jong (pp. LII–LIII).

Kos: J. K. L. Kosegarten, ed., Greifswald partial edition of al-Ṭabarī, cited in notes to Leiden edition

TAVO: *Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients*, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1977–

Text: al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, Leiden edition

Translator's Foreword

This volume of al-Ṭabarī's *History*, corresponding to pages 1837–2016 in the prima series of the Leiden edition, covers only part of the year A.H. 11/A.D. 632–33. It is devoted to two main themes: the *saqīfah* incident, during which the young Muslim community selected a leader following the death of Muḥammad, and the wars of the *riddah* or apostasy, during which the first caliph, Abū Bakr, led the government in Medina as it subjected all of Arabia. Some accounts of the *saqīfah* incident are also found at the end of volume IX of the translation (pp. 1820ff. of the text); on the other hand, all al-Ṭabarī's material on the *riddah* wars is included in volume X, constituting the overwhelming bulk of it.

Both the *saqīfah* incident and the *riddah* were crucial events in the development of the early Islamic state. Immediately after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, the community of Muslims in Medina was in danger of falling apart. Old tribal tensions and rivalries among the Prophet's closest supporters, which the Prophet himself had been able to keep under control by the force of his personality and the authority of his message, threatened to break once again into the open. The Medinan *Anṣār*, or "Helpers" of the Prophet, and the *Muhājirūn*, or "Emigrants" who had come with the Prophet from Mecca, had sometimes felt keen rivalry toward one another. Early converts to Islam and old supporters of the Prophet—both *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār*—resented some of the late converts from Mecca, who had been shown great favor by the Prophet in his last years, despite

their long and bitter opposition to him and his message. Upon the Prophet's death, some of the leading clans of the Medinan *Anṣār* gathered to plan for their future and were on the verge of selecting one of their number to be leader of the Medinan Muslims, assuming that the Meccan Muslims would choose another chief for themselves. The gathering—which took place on a portico (*saqīfah*) of one of the Medinan clans, hence the name of the incident—was visited by a few of Muḥammad's earliest Meccan followers, who pleaded successfully for a unified leadership. The result was the acclamation of Abū Bakr, an early Meccan convert and close confidant of the Prophet, to be the first caliph (*khalīfah* "successor," sometimes "vicegerent").

In agreeing to recognize Abū Bakr as their leader following the Prophet's death, the Muslims also decided that they were to continue not only as a religious community but also as a unified polity. This decision was of the utmost importance. Had they decided otherwise, it is fair to assume that Islam would never have spread as it did, for the initial Islamic conquest movement was not primarily the expansion of a new faith, but rather the expansion of a new state—albeit a state whose coalescence was intimately linked with the new faith, which would come to be called Islam. It was under the shelter of this state ruled by Muslims that Islam first struck deep roots outside Arabian soil; without this shelter, Islam might well have remained a purely local Arabian cult, very different from what it eventually became as a result of its later evolution in the highly cultured regions of Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and Iran.

If the *saqīfah* incident can be taken as the moment when Muslims committed themselves to being a unified political community, the *riddah* wars can be seen as the first test of that commitment. Even as the core of the Muslim community—the Prophet's Meccan and Medinan followers—was deciding to remain under united leadership, many other groups whom the Prophet had brought into his community in various parts of Arabia were deciding to end their submission to Medina. Some tribes claimed that they wished to remain Muslims in the religious sense—by performing prayer, for example—but would not send to Abū Bakr the tax payments that Muḥammad had requested of them in his last years. Others repudiated both the

political and the religious leadership of Medina; they wished simply to go their own way, now that the Prophet was dead, in some cases choosing to follow other figures who claimed, like Muḥammad, to be prophets (and whom the Muslim tradition, naturally, condemns as "false prophets"). Still others, it seems, hoped simply to take advantage of the turmoil in Medina to raid the town, enriching themselves with plunder and ending what they perhaps felt to be vexatious demands for tribute. All of these movements are termed *riddah* "apostasy" by the Muslim sources, even in cases where the opponents of Medina showed no desire to repudiate the religious aspects of the faith. Abū Bakr vowed to fight them all until they were subdued and dispatched several armies to deal with the main rebellions. Indeed, the campaigns did not limit themselves to the reconquest of Arabian tribes that had previously had some contact with Muḥammad; they spilled over the whole of Arabia, and many tribes and groups that had had no contact with the Prophet at all, and who certainly had not been allied to or subjected by him, were conquered for the first time. The Arabic sources classify these wars, too, as wars against the *riddah*, even though they involved neither apostasy nor rebellion—only resistance to expansion of the new islamic state based in Medina.[1] The *riddah* wars constitute, in effect, the first chapter in the early Islamic conquest movement that led to the establishment throughout the Near East of a new imperial state ruled by Arabian Muslims.

The large amount of space that al-Ṭabarī dedicated to the *riddah* wars reflects the importance accorded the *riddah* theme in early Islamic historiography. It was a theme closely related to the theme of *futūḥ* (conquest by the Islamic state), which dominates the next several volumes in this translation of al-Ṭabarī. Both the *riddah* and the *futūḥ* were seen retrospectively by Muslims as signs of God's favor for the new Islamic faith, which is why they became such central themes in early Islamic historiography. But, unlike the *futūḥ* theme, the secondary

1. There are occasional passages where this classification is not enforced, however; e.g., I, 1961 top (from Sayf), which carefully distinguishes "apostates" from "non-apostates who were still unbelievers."

purpose of which was to explain and justify the Muslims' sovereignty over their non-Muslim subjects, the *riddah* theme was intended to affirm the superiority of the companions of the Prophet (*ṣaḥābah*) and of certain tribes and lineages over others.

In relating the stories of the *saqīfah* and the *riddah*, al-Ṭabarī relied on existing narratives conveyed to him by his predecessors in the historiographical enterprise—above all on the Kūfan compiler Sayf b. 'Umar, whose accounts make up about 90 percent of this volume. As in other parts of al-Ṭabarī's history, then, very little in this volume represents original material written by al-Ṭabarī himself. This approach is hardly surprising, for al-Ṭabarī was first and foremost a traditionist and subscribed to the principle that true knowledge was what had been received via sound transmission from reliable earlier authorities, who had been closer to the events described. In the face of such transmitted evidence, al-Ṭabarī would have argued, what could later ideas made without support of sound transmission be but rank speculation? This does not mean, however, that al-Ṭabarī simply repeats everything he receives from his predecessors or that he had no point of view of his own. On the contrary, it seems clear that al-Ṭabarī screened his accounts carefully and so projected his particular interpretation of events by editorial manipulation, arrangement, and omission.[2]

Because of this method, al-Ṭabarī's point of view often becomes clear only when his treatment of a particular episode is compared with that of other compilers. For example, in relating the episode of Mālik b. Nuwayrah and the tribe of Tamīm, al-Ṭabarī tells us relatively little about how Mālik, who had been appointed tax agent over the Banū Ḥanẓalah by the Prophet, came to be considered a quasi-apostate and how he earned his nickname "al-Jafūl." These things are related much more fully by other compilers, like al-Diyārbakrī and al-Balansī. On the other hand, al-Ṭabarī dwells at length on Mālik's eventual death while captive in the hands of the troops of Khālid b. al-Walīd. He also focuses on Khālid's hasty marriage with Mālik's widow, on

2. On this aspect of al-Ṭabarī's editorial work, see the pioneering study by M. G. S. Hodgson, "Two Pre-Modern Muslim Historians."

the angry reaction of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to this act, and on Abū Bakr's handling of the case. The latter issues are legal and political ones but, above all, questions of personal morality and its relation to political authority, which often seems to be what interested al-Ṭabarī most. When compared with the accounts in al-Balansī (pp. 50ff.), for example, al-Ṭabarī's narratives, derived from Sayf b. ʿUmar, read like an effort to divert the reader's attention from the questionable behavior of Mālik b. Nuwayrah that led to his captivity in the first place. This might be considered simply another example of Sayf's desire to exculpate his tribe, Tamīm, for responsibility for the *riddah*, as noted long ago by Wellhausen.[3] On the other hand, Sayf's account—unlike that in al-Balansī—also exonerates Khālid b. al-Walīd from direct personal responsibility for killing Mālik. The point here is not to show that one or another of these alternative points of view is better but simply to demonstrate how al-Ṭabarī and other authors were able to guide their readers' attention to the issues—and perhaps, to the conclusions—that they wished by means of editorial manipulation and selection.

Al-Ṭabarī uses the "cut and paste" method of *khabar* history,[4] in which discrete accounts (*akhbār*, sing. *khabar*) on specific events are arranged one after another to provide fuller treatment of events. Because synthetic reformulation of material from various sources is eschewed, the compilation often suffers from poor coordination of the narrative and contains little, if any, analysis at all. For example, al-Ṭabarī likes to begin his examination of the *riddah* of a particular tribe (person, group) by relating what contacts, if any, that tribe had had with the Prophet Muḥammad and Islam before the Prophet's death. This material is presumably included to establish for certain that the tribesmen were, in fact, apostates who had given up the true faith after having acknowledged it. However, it is often not clearly set off from accounts of the *riddah* proper, so that it may be confusing to the reader, who encounters information about the events of the *riddah* in the year 11 and about events in

3. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 1–7.
4. The term is that of F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (2nd ed. Leiden: 1968), pp. 66ff.

earlier years jumbled together in successive *akhbār*.[5] In other instances, the straitjacket of *khabar* history sometimes leads al-Ṭabarī to mention in an incidental way characters who only later receive a proper introduction into the narrative. For example, in relating Ṭulayḥah's rebellion, ʿUyaynah b. al-Ḥiṣn is mentioned along with Ṭulayḥah (p. 62, below), without any clarification of who ʿUyaynah was and what role he played in the *riddah*; this comes only later (p. 68, below). As a given body of material may be covered in several different *akhbār*, moreover, overlaps, repetitions, verbatim repeats, and the like are common, even in different accounts by one and the same transmitter.[6] Of course, between accounts related on the authority of different transmitters, overlaps are often multiple and extensive.

The disjointed nature of al-Ṭabarī's presentation becomes especially clear when we compare his text with others in search of parallels. Frequently, al-Ṭabarī's accounts do not provide a very complete or balanced overview of a particular event from the narrative point of view. His accounts of the battles at Buzākhah, Butāḥ, and even al-Yamāmah, though including much, also leave out much, knowledge of which is nonetheless implied or assumed in the accounts he does include. This means that accounts in other sources often provide the key to understanding the meaning of obscure or elliptical references in al-Ṭabarī's narratives.

On the other hand, al-Ṭabarī also sometimes includes material not found elsewhere; for example, his several accounts comparing miracles performed by the Prophet with failed efforts by Musaylimah to duplicate them (p. 110, below, from Sayf) do not occur in the other sources I have consulted.

Al-Ṭabarī's heavy reliance on the narratives of Sayf b. ʿUmar in recounting the events of this volume warrants some comment here. Sayf has been severely criticized by Wellhausen and other scholars for the apparent tribal chauvinism and chronological absurdity of his accounts, which these scholars

5. See, for example, I, 1892–93 on Ṭulayḥah's rebellion and its background.
6. An example is the phrase *bi'sa ʿawadtum anfusakum*, introduced in two accounts of Ibn Isḥāq, at pp. 118 and 122, below.

have dismissed as "historical novels" of little value to the modern historian.[7] Recently, a number of scholars have softened this criticism considerably, arguing that some of Sayf's presumed shortcomings are merely reflections of the kind of popular narrative he collected, that the chronology of other authors has little more claim to veracity than that of Sayf, and that his narratives do not so much contradict accounts by other transmitters, as they complement them by viewing events from a completely different vantage point.[8]

Sayf's narratives on the *riddah* (and on the conquests to follow) were evidently the fullest available to al-Ṭabarī. Other transmitters, like Ibn Isḥāq and Abū Mikhnaf, also provided al-Ṭabarī with some material, but its bulk is dwarfed by that coming via Sayf. It may be that al-Ṭabarī preferred Sayf's material because it conformed to the political and theological perspective that he himself wished to convey.[9] On the other hand, we must recall that al-Ṭabarī, as a traditionist, would have insisted that his sources meet the strict standards imposed by traditionists in evaluating transmitted material; one of his main purposes in writing his history seems to have been to establish the writing of history on the same systematic basis found in the study of *ḥadīth*, where the study of transmitted accounts had first been scientifically pursued. Al-Ṭabarī's heavy reliance on Sayf's material, then, can in some measure be taken as an affirmation of its perceived reliability in the eyes of one of the leading intellectual figures of the day.

Al-Ṭabarī's fondness for Sayf poses a definite handicap for the translator, however, because Sayf's narratives are frequently much more difficult to understand—and hence to translate—than those of other transmitters. The accounts of Ibn Isḥāq or of

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7. E.g., Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, pp. 1–7; M. J. De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie*; Murtaḍā al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣāḥābī mukhtalaq*.

8. On chronology, see Donner, *Conquests*, pp. 142ff. Landau-Tasseron, "Sayf b. ʿUmar in Medieval and Modern Scholarship," surveys the literature on Sayf and offers several cogent reasons why his compilations deserve serious consideration as sources.

9. On this aspect of al-Ṭabarī's selection of material, see Donner, "The Problem of Early Arabic Historiography in Syria," esp. pp. 21ff.

Ibn al-Kalbī (from Abū Mikhnaf), for example, often come as welcome interludes of lucidity amid long stretches of Sayf's vexing prose. Without going into great detail, we can note five specific features of Sayf's prose style that make it especially difficult.[10] First, Sayf's narratives often include elliptical phrases that can be virtually opaque unless the fuller context to which the phrase refers is known from another account. Related to this is his penchant for using numerous pronouns in long passages, leaving it unclear at times who or what the antecedent of the various pronouns may be. Second, Sayf sometimes uses a verb in one form to signify an action usually referred to by a verb of another form, for example *wāʿada bi-* (III) for "to threaten" instead of the usual *awʿada bi-* (IV).[11] Third, he sometimes employs known words with unknown meanings or with prepositions not associated with them in the dictionaries.[12] Fourth, verb and subject sometimes seem not in grammatical agreement, or verbs have no apparent subject. Fifth, Sayf sometimes seems to use certain particles, like *ḥattā*, *thumma*, etc., with unorthodox meanings.[13]

These and other anomalies of Sayf's narrative style may be more than just a headache for the translator, however; they may also be clues to the origins of his material. For they suggest that Sayf was not engaged mainly in polishing his narratives into an acceptable literary style but was, rather, intent on relating a variety of stories he had collected from informants hailing from diverse tribes—tribes whose differing dialects may be responsible for the grammatical and stylistic anomalies of Sayf's accounts. We have seen that Sayf was criticized harshly by Wellhausen for presenting a picture of events that favored his own tribe of Tamīm, but the chains of informants Sayf prefaces

10. The following observations are impressionistic and not meant to be either conclusive or exhaustive.

11. This occurs at p. 72. Cf. *ijtāza ʿalā* (p. 92), meaning "to commit aggression against," instead of the usual *jāwaza ʿalā*; *kharraṭa ʿalā* (p. 125), cf. dictionaries' *ikhtaraṭa* "to draw [the sword]"; *aqāma li* (p. 146) "to resist (?)."

12. E.g., *istabraʾa* (p. 105) "to mop up" in military context (?); *ramā bi-* (p. 92) "to shoot" [someone]; *intalaqa bi-* (p. 110) "to take [something] away"; *ikhtalafa bayna* (p. 97) "to serve as intermediary between."

13. E.g., pp. 110, 57 bottom, *thumma* as "so, so that."

to his accounts reveal that his informants came from many tribes in addition to Tamīm, and it seems likely that Sayf (or some of his immediate informants) made a concerted effort to collect tribal oral traditions that had never been written down. Other clues, too, point to possible oral origins of much of Sayf's narrated material—not only the generally rough and disjointed nature of the overall compilation but also such details as occasional lapses into the "narrative present" in tales otherwise couched in the past.[14]

Sayf's rendition of the *riddah* in the Yemen offers an interesting case in point. In general, the section is very confusing, as the material on al-Aswad's rebellion is related in tandem with material on the Prophet's appointment of tax agents and his death in a way that makes the chronological relationship of the different events quite unclear. In fact, al-Ṭabarī includes not one but two quite lengthy narrations of the beginnings of the *riddah* in the Yemen on Sayf's authority (pp. 18–34, 34–38), and, though these two versions of Sayf's have many common features (enough to make each of some help in decoding the other), they also display considerable divergence in detail.[15] Both are cast in an unusually problematic Arabic, and it seems likely that we are faced here with two oral variants of a common tribal tradition about the killing of al-Aswad.

Given the frequent difficulties of Sayf's Arabic, the search for close parallels to his accounts in texts other than al-Ṭabarī offers the hope of finding clearer wordings for awkward phrases. What is most interesting, however, is that the search for parallels reveals that Sayf's Arabic was almost as problematic to medieval

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14. E.g., p. 179, where Sayf has the imperfect, *lā tuḥdithu . . . , lā tajidu. . . .* It is worth noting that Ibn al-Athīr's almost verbatim quote from this passage (*Kāmil*, II, 380) changes the verbs from the imperfect (denoting incomplete action) to the jussive (denoting completed action): *lam yuḥdith . . . lam yajid. . . .*

15. There is actually a third summary of events on Sayf's authority at pp. 158–61, but it is very different from the two noted above.

16. Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 94ff., on the apostasy of *al-ʿarab*, referring to the largely nomadic groups of Sulaym, ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah, Asad, Fazārah, Tamīm, etc., but with separate sections on the apostasy of Kindah and al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī and his followers, both groups of sedentary people. Cf. also Balansī, 5, where the *muhājirūn* say to Abū Bakr, when Usāmah is away, "We don't have the power to fight the Arabs," referring to the nomads of Fazārah.

Arab historians as it is to us. This offers us only the cold comfort of knowing that our problem in deciphering a given passage lies more with the text than it does with our knowledge of classical Arabic; for the parallels often do not assist us at all in our goal of achieving a satisfactory translation of al-Ṭabarī's text.

Passages in most authors who deal with the *riddah* were only occasionally useful in clarifying the precise wording of a passage but were frequently helpful in clarifying the general context of events. Most useful in this respect were al-Balansī, al-Diyārbakrī, and al-Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-buldān*. The longest sustained parallel to al-Ṭabarī's text on the *riddah* is provided by Ibn al-Athīr in his *al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh*, for he relied heavily (indeed, almost exclusively) on al-Ṭabarī for his account. According to De Goeje's *stemma* of the manuscripts of al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr relied on an earlier manuscript, now lost, that was also the source for the Berlin, Oxford, and one of the Istanbul manuscripts on which the Leiden edition of the text was partially based. Ibn al-Athīr is thus occasionally helpful but more frequently frustrating; though long, straightforward passages from al-Ṭabarī are quoted by him verbatim, problematic passages are often simply dropped altogether, and the remnants harmonized into a plausible narrative or condensed in summaries that, though clear in meaning, really represent merely Ibn al-Athīr's commentary on what al-Ṭabarī's text might have meant. Moreover, we do not always agree with Ibn al-Athīr's judgment; at p. 107, for example, Ibn al-Athīr fills in the subject of the phrase *wa kāna yantahī ilā amri-hi* as Musaylima, but it seems to me more likely to refer to Nahār "al-Rajjāl."

Of course, Ibn al-Athīr's evasion of many textual difficulties means that the manuscript he used already contained many of the same problems we face. This may, of course, simply be the result of corruptions creeping into the text in the manner normal in a manuscript tradition, but I think that it is really further evidence that the texts on the *riddah*, particularly those related from Sayf, are in fact archaic—in both origin and language—and hence not well understood already in al-Ṭabarī's day, much less in Ibn al-Athīr's. The fact that virtually all the really problematic spots occur in Sayf's narratives, rather than in

those related by other informants, argues against the random hand of manuscript corruption as the source of most difficulties.

Volume 19 of the Cairo (1975) edition of al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* also has a long section on the *riddah* that is derived, primarily, from al-Ṭabarī. Although a few of al-Nuwayrī's circumlocutions are helpful in establishing the sense of al-Ṭabarī's text, he seems even more determined than Ibn al-Athīr to evade opaque passages.

The problematic nature of many passages in the text has had several practical implications. First and foremost, of course, it means that the translation offered here can be considered only a provisional one. We can hope that someday, when scholars have undertaken a much more thorough examination of the text on the basis of all available manuscripts (and perhaps even on the basis of new manuscripts yet to be discovered), a much surer edition of the text can be prepared, on the basis of which a definitive translation can be prepared. In the meantime, readers must be warned that, despite my efforts and those of several very learned Arabists who kindly agreed to consider rough passages with me, there remains considerable scope for distortion or outright error in this translation.

A second practical implication of the text's complexity is that instead of noting all the many manuscript variants noted by the Leiden edition, I have chosen only a few that seemed to me significant in clarifying the meaning of the passage or in suggesting a plausible different meaning. The reason for this is simply the sheer number of manuscript variants—sometimes exceeding twenty per page. To have included all of them would have added at least two thousand additional notes to the volume, most of little consequence for the translation. The Arabist who uses the translation, however, and who is interested in a particular passage of text must still refer back to the Arabic text itself to see whether or not some variant that I have not noted may bear important implications for his or her work.

I have been most fortunate to have had the kind assistance of several very learned colleagues, who reviewed my translation of problematic passages and suggested a large number of changes. First and foremost I wish to thank Dr. Ella Landau-Tasseron of the Hebrew University, a fine Arabist and without doubt the

leading specialist on the history of the *riddah* in our generation of scholars. With the careful attention she displays in all her work, she reconsidered many thorny passages and offered extensive and meticulously detailed corrections and improvements, both linguistic and historical. My colleagues at Chicago, Dr. Farouk Mustafa and Dr. Wadad al-Qadi, sat with me for many hours and helped me to gain a better understanding of many passages (particularly of poetry) the import of which, or some important nuance of which, had escaped me in part or completely. To all of them I offer my heartfelt thanks for having so generously shared their time (so limited) and knowledge (so extensive) in a way that has immeasurably improved the reliability and accuracy of the translation presented here. As none of these colleagues reviewed the entire text of the translation, however, the errors and oversights that doubtless remain in it must redden my ears alone. I also wish to thank my editor, Dr. Estelle Whelan, who saw this volume through the press.

In closing, I list a few relatively common words, the translation of which from classical Arabic is often problematic, with my explanation of the way I have translated them (or, in some cases, refused to do so). I hope this may help Arabists and general readers alike to get a better sense of some passages where these words are used.

al-ʿarab. I have generally rendered this simply as "Arabs," but the word does not, of course, have the modern nationalist meaning, which has been known only since the nineteenth century. Rather, it means either "nomads," that is, nonsedentary pastoral people,[16] or "speakers of Arabic"; not infrequently, the text is ambiguous as to which meaning is intended, for which reason it seemed advisable to leave the term untranslated.

amr. The basic meaning is either "affair, matter" or "order, command," but it is used in a wide variety of contexts and so requires very flexible rendering. It is variously translated "situation," "cause," "purpose," "something," "leadership", or "authority."

al-nās. Basically "people" (according to *Glossary*, actually "chiefs, noblemen" or "horsemen"), in many cases it is

best translated "the army," always referring to one's own side.

al-qawm. Basically "group, tribe, people," it often means "the enemy," that is, the other side.

dīn. Sometimes rendered "religion," e.g. *dīn Allāh*, p. 56, but sometimes, especially in political contexts, best rendered "obedience." At times *dīn Allāh* seems to mean "obedience to God," especially when *dīn* is juxtaposed with *islām* "submission," as on p. 57.

Fred M. Donner

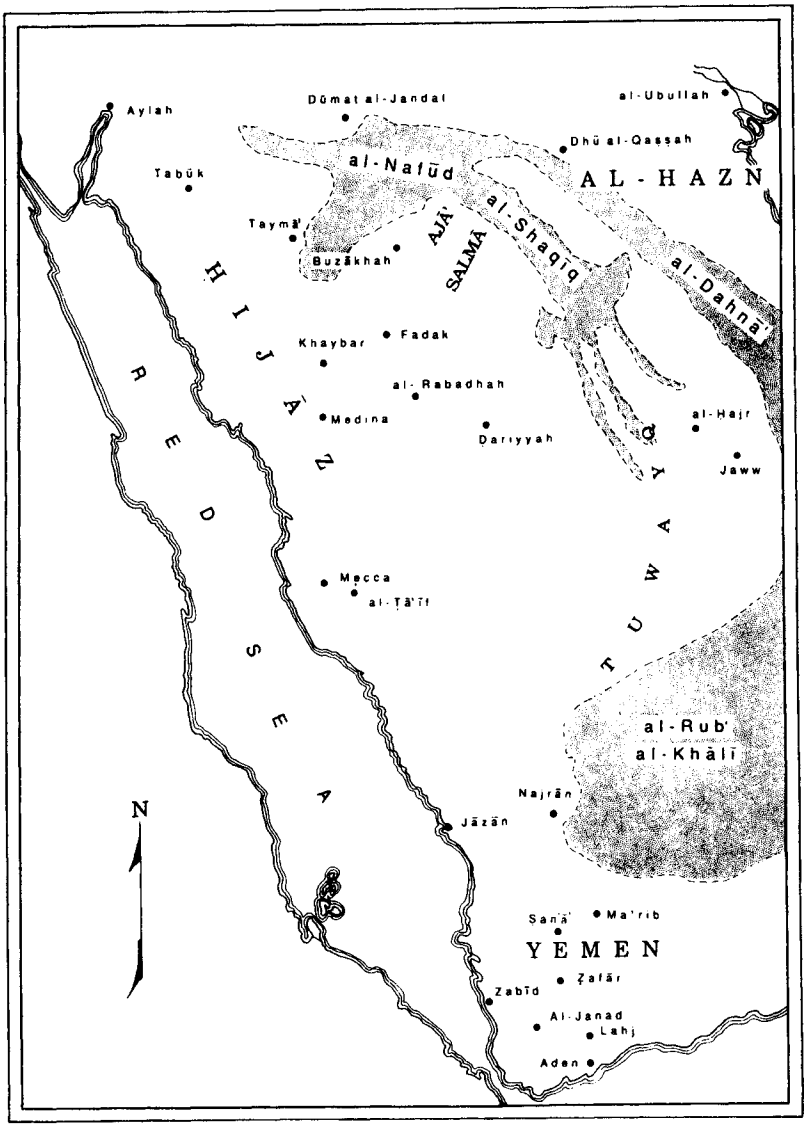

Map 1. Western Arabia at the Time of the Riddah

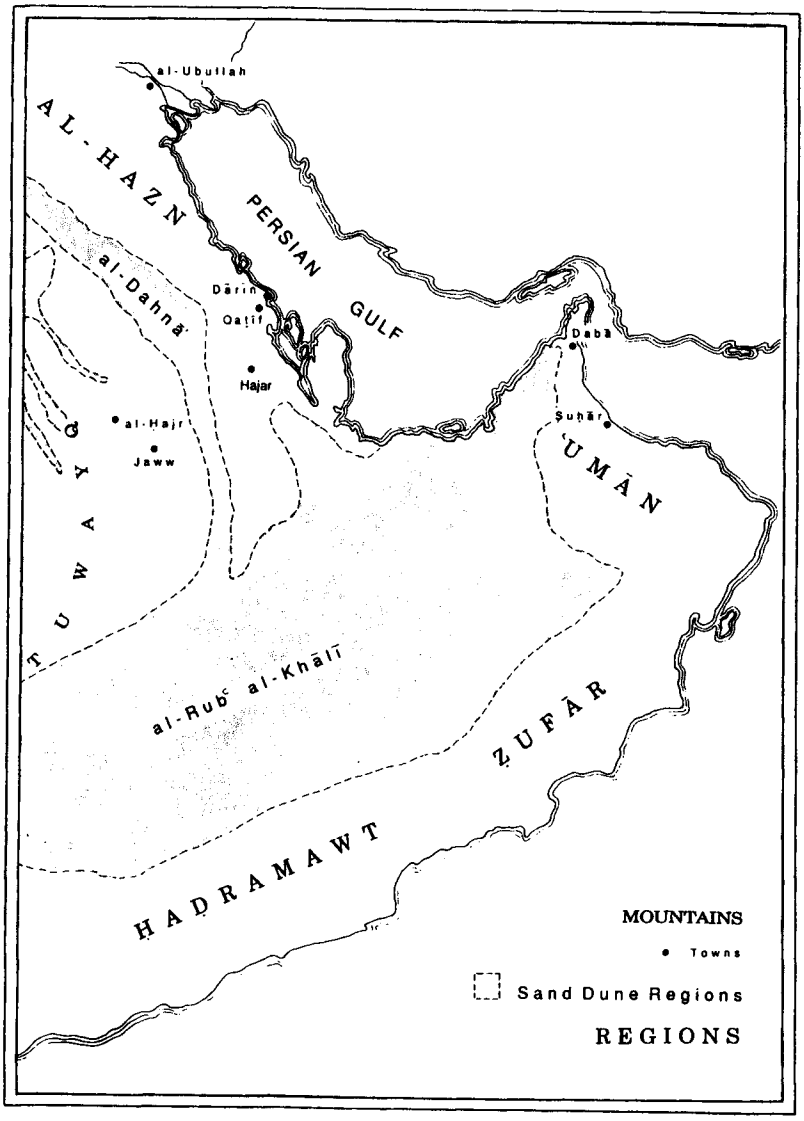

Map 2. Eastern Arabia at the Time of the Riddah

The Events of the Year

I I (cont'd) [1837]

(MARCH 29, 632–MARCH 17, 633)

What Took Place between the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār over the Matter of Leadership at the Portico of the Banū Sā'idah[1]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Amrah al-Anṣārī:[2] When the Prophet passed away, the Anṣār gathered on the portico of the Banū Sā'idah said, "Let us appoint Sa'd b. 'Ubādah[3] to be in charge of

1. The Muhājirūn (often translated as "Emigrants," but see note 81, below, on *hijrah*) were mainly those people of the Meccan tribe of Quraysh—the Prophet's tribe—who emigrated to Medina to join the Prophet's community there, but they included some people of other groups who embraced Islam and settled in Medina; the Anṣār ("Helpers") were the Medinan converts to Islam, comprising mainly the rival Medinan tribes of Aws and Khazraj; the Banū Sā'idah b. Ka'b were a clan of he Khazraj. For an analysis of the traditions on Abū Bakr's election, see Caetani, 521–33.

2. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharh nahj al-balāghah*, I, 302–3, summarizes pp. 1–10; cf. Nuwayrī, 29–31 (as far as p. 15). Cf. Caetani, 514–15.

3. A chief of the Khazraj tribe of Medina and one of the twelve *naqībs*, or guarantors, of the Medinan Anṣār chosen by the Prophet during the meeting at al-'Aqabah, before the *hijrah*; cf. Ibn Sa'd, III/2, 134–35, 142–45.

our affairs after Muḥammad." They made Saʿd come out to them; but he was sick, and after they had gathered he said to his son or to one of his cousins, "Because of my illness I cannot make my words heard by all the people. Take my speech from me and make them hear it." So he spoke, and the man memorized what he said and said [it] in a loud voice so that his
[1838] companions would hear it. After praising and extolling God, he said:

> Company of the Anṣār! You have precedence in religion and merit in Islam that no [other] tribe of the Arabs can claim. Muḥammad remained ten-odd years in his tribe, calling them to worship the Merciful and to cast off idols and graven images, but only a few men of his tribe believed in Him, and they were able neither to protect the Apostle of God, nor to render His religion strong, nor to divert from themselves the oppression that befell them all; until, when He intended excellence for you, He sent nobility to you and distinguished you with grace. Thus God bestowed upon you faith in Him and in His Apostle, and protection for him and his companions, and strength for him and his faith, and battle (*jihād*) for his enemies. You were the most severe people against his enemies who were among you, and the most troublesome to his enemies who were not from among you, so that the Arabs became upright in God's cause, willingly or unwillingly, and the distant one submitted in abject humiliation, until through you God made great slaughter in the earth[4] for His Apostle, and by your swords the Arabs were abased for him.[5] When God took (the Prophet) to Himself,[6] he was pleased with you and consoled by you. [So] keep [control of] this matter to yourselves, to the exclusion of others, for it is yours and yours alone.

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4. Reading *'athkhana . . . fī al-ardi*, instead of the text's and Nuwayrī's (p. 30) *athkhana . . . al-arda*. Cf. Qur'ān 8:67.
5. Translating the verb *dānat* as transitive, rather than intransitive.
6. I.e., at the time of the Prophet's death.

They answered him all together, "Your opinion is right, and you have spoken correctly. We will not diverge from your opinion, and we shall put you in charge of this business. For indeed, you are sufficient for us and satisfactory to whoever is righteous among the believers." But then they began to debate among themselves, and [some] said, "What if the Muhājirūn of Quraysh refuse, saying, 'We are the Muhājirūn and the first companions of the Apostle of God; we are his kinsmen and his friends.[7] So why do you dispute this matter with us after him?'" [Another] group of [the Anṣār] said, "Then we should say, 'let us have a leader from among ourselves, and you a leader from among yourselves,' for we should never be satisfied with less than this leadership." When Saʿd b. ʿUbādah heard this, he said, "This is the beginning of weakness." [1839]

ʿUmar learned of this and went to the Prophet's house and sent to Abū Bakr, who was in the building.[8] Now ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib[9] was working busily preparing the Apostle [for burial], so [ʿUmar] sent a message to Abū Bakr to come out to him. Abū Bakr sent back that he was occupied, but [ʿUmar] sent him another message, saying, "Something has happened that you must attend to in person." So he came out to him, and [ʿUmar] said to him, "Didn't you know that the Anṣār have gathered at the portico of the Banū Sāʿidah intending to put Saʿd b. ʿUbādah in charge of this affair? [Even] the best of them is saying, 'A leader for us and a leader for Quraysh.'" So the two of them hurried toward them; they met Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ,[10] and the three of them marched toward them. [On

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7. *ʿAshīratuhu wa awliyatuhu.* Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 302, has *awliyāʾuhu wa ʿitratuhu*; Nuwayrī, 30, has *ʿashīratuhu wa awliyāʾuhu.*

8. Cf. Ibn Hishām, 1013 (from Ibn Isḥāq), 1015–16; Diyārbakrī, II, 168 (from Ibn Isḥāq); and Ṣanʿānī, V, 442 (al-Zuhrī—ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah—Ibn ʿAbbās). Ibn Hishām, 1015–16, seems to be a condensed version of pp. 3–8.

9. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was the Prophet's cousin and the husband of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima; he would later be the fourth caliph or successor to the Prophet as head of the Muslim community. ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and Abū Bakr, in the preceding sentence, were early converts and close associates of the Prophet and would later serve as the second and first successors of the Prophet, respectively.

10. An early convert to Islam from Quraysh, who played a major role in the Islamic conquest of Syria after the Prophet's death; cf. *EI*², s.v. "Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ" (H. A. R. Gibb). Diyarbakrī, II, 167–68 (from Ibn Isḥāq) makes no

their way] they were met by ʿĀṣim b. ʿAdī and ʿUwaym b. Sāʿidah,[11] who said, "Go back, for it will not be as you wish." But they refused [to turn back] and arrived while [the Anṣār] were gathered.

According to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: We came to them, and I had pieced together[12] a speech that I wanted to deliver to them; but, when I had pushed in among them and was about to begin my address, Abū Bakr said to me, "Easy does it, ʿUmar, until I have spoken; then afterward say whatever you wish." So he spoke [first], and there was nothing that I had wanted to say that he did not come to, or amplify it.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān:[13] Abū Bakr began by praising and extolling God. Then he said, "Verily God sent Muḥammad as an Apostle to His creatures and as a witness to his community, that they should worship God and affirm His
[1840] oneness. For they had worshiped various deities other than Him, alleging that [those deities] were intercessors before Him on their behalf and were beneficial for them. [Those gods] were of carved stone and hewn wood." Then he recited, "And they serve beside God that which can neither harm nor help them, saying: 'These are our intercessors before God.'"[14] And they said, "We worship them only that they may make us nearer to God."[15] [Abū Bakr continued,] "Now the Arabs found it most distressing that they should leave the religion of their forefathers; so from among his tribe God singled out the first Muhājirūn, by having

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mention of him and has only Abū Bakr and ʿUmar proceeding to the Anṣār, but later in the account he mentions the raising of the hands of ʿUmar and Abū ʿUbaydah to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr.

11. The names vary in different accounts. Ibn Hishām, 1016 [Ibn Isḥāq—al-Zuhrī—ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr]; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 293; Ṣanʿānī, V, 445 [al-Zuhrī—ʿUrwah]; and Diyārbakrī, II, 167, give the first name as Maʿn b. ʿAdī; the last gives the second name as ʿUwaymir b. Sāʿidah. Ṣanʿānī, V, 442, gives simply "two righteous men of the Anṣār" and has them saying "Go and settle your affairs among yourselves."

12. Reading *zawwartu* [instead of *zawwaytu* ["I cast off?"] or *rawītu* ["I related"] of the manuscripts], as suggested by De Goeje in *Emendanda*, Ibn al-Athīr *Kāmil*, II, 327; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 293; Ibn Hishām, 1015–16; and Nuwayrī, 32. Ṣanʿānī, V, 443, has *rawwaytu* "I asked [s.o.] to recite"[?].

13. Cf. Nuwayrī, 33–36, as far as p. 8.

14. Qurʾān 10:18.

15. Qurʾān 39:3.

them affirm that he spoke the truth and by their belief in him, and consoling him and enduring patiently with him the harsh insults their tribe [directed] against them and [their tribe], calling them liars. All the people were opposed to [the Muhājirūn] and rebuked them; but they were not distressed by their small numbers or by the hatred of the people for them or by [the people's] single-minded opposition to them, for they were the first who worshiped God on the earth and who believed in God and the Apostle. They are his friends and kinsmen[16] and the most deserving people in this matter after him; only a wrongdoer would dispute that. Oh company of the Anṣār, your superiority in religion and great precedence in Islām are undeniable. May God be satisfied with you as helpers (*anṣār*) for His religion and His Apostle. He made his *hijrah* to you, and the majority of his wives and his companions are among you; so—after the first Muhājirūn—there is no one among us who is in your station. We are the leaders, and you the helpers;[17] matters shall not be settled without consultation, nor shall we decide on them without you."[18]

Then al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jamūḥ[19] stood up and said, "Oh company of the Anṣār, take command of yourselves, for you overshadow [other] people.[20] No one will dare oppose you [1841]
[if you do], nor will the people[21] proceed, except in accordance with your opinion. You are the people of power and wealth, numerous and strong in resistance and experienced, having boldness and courage. The people look only to what you do; so do not differ among yourselves, lest your judgment (*ra'y*) be spoiled and your cause (*amr*) collapse.[22] This one [i.e., Abū Bakr]

16. *'Ashīratuhu*. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 302: *'itratuhu* "his family."

17. *Wuzarā'*, here using *wazīr* in the Qur'ānic sense of "helper, assistant"; cf. Qur'ān 20:29, 25:35.

18. A loose parallel in Ibn Sa'd, III/1, 129, ll. 4ff., makes clear the idea of shared power.

19. A leader of Khazraj, prominent at Badr and other battles of the Prophet. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, III/2, 109–10.

20. Lit., "the people are in your shade and shadow."

21. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 302: "anyone."

22. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 302, has "lest you spoil your affairs (*umūr*) for yourselves."

insisted on what you have heard.[23] So [let us have] a leader from among us, and [they] a leader from among them." At this 'Umar said, "Absolutely not; two cannot come to agreement in a joining.[24] By God, the Arabs will not be content to give you the leadership when their Prophet was not one of you; but they would not prevent their affairs from being led by one of those among whom prophethood [had appeared] and from whom the guardian of their affairs [was chosen]. In that [fact] is manifest argument and clear proof[25] for us against those Arabs who deny [it]. Who would attempt to wrest from us the sovereignty (*sulṭān*) of Muḥammad and his authority (*imārah*), seeing that we are his friends and his kinsmen, except someone advancing falsehood, inclining to sin, or hurtling into destruction?" [But] al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir stood up [again] and said, "Oh company of the Anṣār, take charge of your own affairs[26] and do not listen to what this one and his companions say, for they would do away with your share in this matter. If they refuse to give you what you ask for, then drive them out of this country, and seize control of these matters despite them. For you are more deserving of this authority[27] than they are, as it was by your swords that those who were not yet converted came to obey this religion.[28] I am their much-rubbed little rubbing post, and their propped little palm tree loaded with fruit.[29] By God, if you wish to return it as a stump [then do so!]" 'Umar said, "Then may God kill you!" and (al-Ḥubāb) replied, "Rather may He kill

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23. Lit., "denied everything except what you heard." Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 302, has "If this one has insisted . . . , then let us have. . . ." Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 169 top.

24. This phrase is, at best, laconic. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 302, has "two swords cannot be joined in one scabbard"; Al-Ṣan'ānī, V, 444, has "two swords are not suitable in one scabbard." The idea, in any case, is that one community cannot be led by two people.

25. *Al-sulṭān al-mubīn.*

26. Lit., "grasp upon your hands."

27. *Imārah*; but cf. Nuwayrī, 35 top: *amr* "affair."

28. *Dāna li-hādhā al-dīn man dāna mimman lam yakun yadīnu*, lit., "those who came to obey of those who had not [yet] obeyed came to obey this religion."

29. I.e., "I am sought out by those needing advice as camels with mange seek the scratching post, and I have a numerous family to defend me" (Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. "*jidhl*"). Cf. Ibn Hishām, 1016; Diyārbakrī, II, 168, 169; Nuwayrī, 32 bottom, 35 top.

you!" At this Abū ʿUbaydah said, "Oh company of the Anṣār, you were the first who helped and strengthened, so do not be the first to substitute and change for the worse."[30] [1842]

Then Bashīr b. Saʿd,[31] father of al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, stood up and said, "Oh company of the Anṣār, if indeed by God we were the first in merit in battling the polytheists and in precedence in this religion, we would want by (these deeds) only [to gain] our Lord's pleasure, and obedience to our Prophet, and sustenance for ourselves; it is not appropriate for us to exalt ourselves over [other] people. Let us not seek by it some transitory thing of the world, for indeed God is the One Who provides (such things) for us out of His grace.[32] In truth Muḥammad was from Quraysh, and his people are more entitled to [hold] (authority) and more suitable. I swear by God that He shall never see me contesting this matter (*amr*) with them. So fear God and do not oppose them or dispute with them."

At this Abū Bakr said,[33] "This is ʿUmar, and this is Abū ʿUbaydah; render the oath of allegiance to whichever of them you wish." But they both said, "No, by God, we shall not undertake [to hold] this authority over you, for you are the best of the Muhājirūn, the "second of two when they were in the cave,"[34] and the Apostle of God's deputy (*khalīfah*) over the prayer; and prayer is the most meritorious obedience (*dīn*) of the Muslims. So who should precede you or undertake this authority over you? Extend your hand so we may render the oath of allegiance to you!"

When[35] the two of them went forth to render the oath of allegiance to him, Bashīr b. Saʿd went to him ahead of them and swore allegiance to him [first]. At this al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir shouted to him, "Oh Bashīr b. Saʿd, you are in op-

30. I.e., as the Muslim community was united and strong before, a change to disunity will be a setback.

31. An early follower of Muḥammad from Medina. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, III/2, 83–84.

32. Lit., "God is the benefactor of grace upon us by that."

33. Cf. Al-Dıyārbakrī, II, 168, 169.

34. A quotation from Qur'ān 9:40, considered by Muslim exegetes to refer to an episode when Abū Bakr made the *hijrah* with the Prophet.

35. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 169.

position [to your kinsmen];[36] what drove you to [do] what you have done?[37] Did you envy your cousin[38] the sovereignty?" He replied, "By God, no! But I abhorred contending with a group for a right that God had given them." Now when the Aws saw what Bashīr b. Saʿd had done and what Quraysh had called for and what the Khazraj were demanding by way of giving sovereignty
[1843] to Saʿd b. ʿUbādah, they said to one another [and among them was Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, one of the *naqībs*]:[39] "By God, if once you appoint the Khazraj over you, they will always have the advantage over you on that account, and will never give you any share in it with them. So stand up and render the oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr." So they came forth to him and rendered the oath of allegiance to him. Thus that which Saʿd b. ʿUbādah and the Khazraj had agreed to do was defeated.

Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Khuzāʾī:[40] Aslam[41] approached *en masse* until the streets were packed with them, and they rendered the oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr. ʿUmar used to say, "It was not until I saw Aslam that I was certain we had won the day."[42]

Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.[43] People approached from all sides swearing allegiance to Abū Bakr, and they almost stepped on Saʿd b. ʿUbādah. Some of Saʿd's associates said, "Be careful not to step on Saʿd!" At this ʿUmar said, "Kill him; may God slay him!" Then he stepped on his head, saying, "I intend to tread upon you until your arm is

36. Reading, with Cairo, *ʿaqqatka ʿaqāqī*, for *ʿaqaqta ʿaqāqī* in the text. Cf. Ibn Manẓūr, X, 257, for the idiom.

37. Reading *mā akhrajaka* for *mā aḥwajaka*, as suggested by P. De Jong in notes to text. However, Nuwayrī, 36, has the same reading as the text.

38. I.e., his fellow tribesman of Khazraj, Saʿd b. ʿUbādah.

39. On the *naqībs* see note 2, above. On Usayd, a chief of the Aws tribe who had led them in battle against the Khazraj at the battle of Buʿāth before Islam, see Ibn Saʿd, III/2, 135–37.

40. Cf. Nuwayrī, 36–38, as far as p. 10.

41. A tribe associated with Khuzāʿah, living west and southwest of Medina and among Muḥammad's earliest backers after his arrival in Medina. Cf. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 82ff.

42. Lit., "that I was certain of victory."

43. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 169; Nuwayrī, 36–37.

dislocated."[44] At this Sa'd took hold of 'Umar's beard and said, "By God, if you remove a single hair from it you'll return with no front teeth in your mouth." Then Abū Bakr said, "Take it easy, 'Umar; compassion[45] would be more effective at this point." So 'Umar turned away from him. Sa'd said, "By God, if I had the strength to get up, you would have heard from me in the regions and streets [of Medina], roaring in a way that would make you and your companions take cover; by God, I shall join to you a group among whom you[46] would be a follower, not a leader. [Now] carry me from this place." So they carried him and took him into his house. He was left for several days; then[47] [1844]
he was sent to [and told] that he should come to render the oath of allegiance, for the people [generally] had done so and his tribe as well. But he said, "By God, I shall not do it, before I have shot at you with whatever arrows are in my quiver, and have reddened the head of my spear, and struck you with my sword, as long as my hand controls it. I will fight you with my family and those who obey me of my tribe. I swear by God, [even] if the jinn gathered to you with the people,[48] I would not render the oath of allegiance to you, until I am brought forth[49] before my God and know what my reckoning is."

When Abū Bakr was informed of this, 'Umar said to him, "Pester him until he renders the oath of allegiance." But Bashīr b. Sa'd said, "He has refused; he has made up his mind, and wouldn't render the oath of allegiance to you even if he were

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44. Reading *'aḍudaka* with Cairo edition and *Emendanda*, instead of the text's *'iḍwaka* "your limb." The emendation does not solve all the problems in the text, however, as the context immediately before and after the word refers to Sa'd's head (e.g., "if you remove a single hair from it"), not his arms. In view of this, one might expect here that 'Umar may have threatened to break Sa'd's neck (i.e., dislocate his head?).

45. Or, perhaps, "gentleness" or "tact": *rifq*.

46. Reading with *Emendanda*, instead of "among whom I was a follower" in the text.

47. Ibn Sa'd, III/2, 144, ll. 24ff., provides a close parallel to the remainder of this paragraph and the following one.

48. An echo of the Qur'ānic "men and jinn," meaning all creatures (e.g., Qur'ān 17:88); a loose English rendering might be something like "even if man and beast joined in supporting you."

49. Reading *u'raḍu* with Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 303; Nuwayrī, 37; and Cairo ed.

killed; and he would not be killed without his children and family and a party of his kinsmen being killed with him. So leave him alone; leaving him won't harm you, he is only one man,"[50] So they left him alone. They came to accept the advice of Bashīr b. Saʿd, consulting him whenever it seemed right to them to do so.

Saʿd[51] [b. ʿUbādah] used not to pray in their [daily] prayer or congregate with them [for Friday prayer]; he performed the pilgrimage [to Mecca] but did not press on with them in the multitudes.[52] He continued thus until Abū Bakr died.

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd[53]—his uncle—Sayf b. ʿUmar —Sahl and Abū ʿUthmān—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Khalīfah: When al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir stood up, he drew his sword and said, "I am their much-rubbed little rubbing post and their propped little palm tree loaded with fruit.[54] I am [like] the father of a cub in the lion's den, related to the lion [as son to father]." Then ʿUmar attacked him, striking his hand so that the sword dropped out,
[1845] and picked it up. Then he pounced upon Saʿd [b. ʿUbādah]; and they all fell upon him. The people rendered the oath of allegiance successively [to Abū Bakr]; and Saʿd rendered the oath of allegiance. It was an action taken without consideration, like those of the *jāhiliyyah*.[55] Abū Bakr stood up before them. Someone said, when Saʿd was being trampled, "You have killed Saʿd," to which ʿUmar replied, "God killed him, for he is a hypocrite"; and ʿUmar struck the sword on a stone, breaking it.[56]

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50. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 292, has a similar phrase, but applied to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as the one holding out against Abū Bakr.

51. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 169.

52. Referring to the multitudes surging to and from ʿArafah during the culmination of the pilgrimage rituals on the eighth-tenth days of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

53. Text has Saʿīd; cf. *Emendanda*, Cairo edition, manuscript C of Leiden edition.

54. Cf. p. 6, above.

55. The pejorative term for the pre-Islamic age in Islamic historiography; roughly "age of barbarism," i.e., before the enlightenment of Islam had arrived.

56. The text is difficult, but similar passages help clarify the meaning. In Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 315, ʿUmar seizes the sword of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām as he is about to recognize ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and breaks it on a stone; in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 291, and Nuwayrī, 39, al-Zubayr's sword is taken away and broken on a rock at

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd[57]—his uncle Yaʿqūb—Sayf—Mubashshir—Jābir:[58] Saʿd b. ʿUbādah said to Abū Bakr on that day, "Oh company of Muhājirūn, you begrudge me sovereignty (*al-imārah*), and you and my tribe have compelled me to render the oath of allegiance." At this they replied, "If we had compelled you to division and then you had come to unity (*jamāʿah*) [of your own accord] you would be in a comfortable position; but we forced [you] to unity, so there is no going back on it.[59] If you withdraw a hand from obedience, or divide the union, we will strike off your head."[60]

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd[61]—his uncle—Sayf; and according to al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Ibn Ḍamrah—his father—ʿĀṣim b. ʿAdī: Two days after the Apostle of God's death, Abū Bakr's public crier called out so that the mission [*baʿth*] of Usāmah[62] could be completed: "Up now! No one from Usāmah's army should remain in Medina, but should go out to his camp at al-Jurf."[63] And [Abū Bakr] stood up among the people, praised and extolled God, and said,[64] "Oh people, I am like you. I do not know, perhaps you will impose on me that which the Apostle of God was able to do. God chose Muḥammad above [all] the worlds and protected him from evils; but I am only a follower, not an innovator (*mubtadiʿ*). If I am [1846] upright, then follow me; but, if I deviate, straighten me out.[65] The Apostle of God died with no one of this community having

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ʿUmar's request when al-Zubayr wants to recognize ʿAlī; in Diyārbakrī, II, 169 (from Mūsā b. ʿUqbah), ʿUmar breaks al-Zubayr's sword when he refuses to recognize Abū Bakr. Cf. Caetani, 515–16.

57. See note 53, above.

58. Cf. Nuwayrī, 38.

59. Lit., "there is no cancellation in it." The concept of *jamāʿah*, or political unity of the Muslim community, was from the start an important one in Islamic political discourse.

60. Lit., "we will strike off that in which are your eyes"; cf. Lane, V, 2215.

61. See note 53, above.

62. Usāmah b. Zayd, the Prophet's freedman, was sent by him to raid the Balqāʾ region of southern Syria just before the Prophet's final illness overtook him; cf. Ibn Hishām, 970, 999; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 1117ff.

63. A place three miles from Medina in the direction of Syria (Yāqūt, s.v.).

64. For widely divergent "accession speeches" of Abū Bakr, see Ibn Hishām, 1017; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 314; Ibn Saʿd, III/ 1, 129.

65. Cf. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 314.

a claim against him concerning anything wrongfully taken [for which the punishment would be] one lash of the whip or [even] less. I have a Satan who takes possession of me; so when he comes to me, avoid me so that I may have no [evil] effect [even] on your hair and your skins.[66] You come and go [in this life] at an appointed time, knowledge of which is hidden from you; so if you are able [to ensure] that this appointed time elapses only while you are engaged in good works, do so. But you will only be able to do that through God; so compete in putting off your appointed times, before your appointed times surrender you to the interruption of [your] works. Verily, a tribe that forgets their appointed times, and lets others do the [good] deeds—beware being like them. Haste! Hurry! Salvation! For behind you is one who searches swiftly, an appointed time whose passage is rapid. Beware of death; be forewarned by [your deceased] fathers and sons and brothers, and do not envy the living except on account of that for which you envy the dead."

He also stood up and said, after praising and extolling God: "God only accepts those works through which His countenance was desired; so strive for God in your works. Know that whatever you sincerely direct to God is among your [good] works: obedience you have rendered, or a sin you have overcome, or taxes you have paid,[67] or a good work you have sent forward from ephemeral days to others that endure, to the time of your poverty and need.[68] Servants of God, be forewarned by whoever
[1847] among you has died, and think on those who were before you. Where were they yesterday, and where are they today?[69] Where are the tyrants, and where are those who were renowned for fighting and victory on the fields of war? Time has abased them, and they have become decayed bones upon whom have been perpetuated gossip—"loathsome women for the loathsome men, and loathsome men for the loathsome women."[70] Where are the kings who tilled the earth and cultivated it? They have perished, and mention of them is forgotten, and they have become as

66. I.e., so that I may not harm you in any way.
67. *Ḍarā'ib ataytamūhā.*
68. I.e., to the Day of Judgment.
69. On this theme see C. H. Becker, "Ubi sunt, qui ante nos in mundo fuere."
70. Qur'ān 24:26.

nothing; but God has preserved the consequences [of their evil deeds] against them and cut them off from the desires [of this world], and they have passed away. The deeds [they did] are [still reckoned] their works, but the world is the world of others. We remained after them; and, if we take warning from them, we will be saved, but, if we are deceived by them, we will be like them. Where are the pure ones with beautiful faces, captivating in their youthfulness? They have become dust, and what they neglected to do before has become a source of grief for them. Where are those who built cities and fortified them with walls and made in them wondrous things? They have left them to those who follow after them; those are their residences, empty,[71] while they [themselves] are in the darkness of the grave. "Do you perceive any one of them, or hear a sound from them?"[72] Where are those sons and brethren of yours whom you know, whose appointed times have elapsed? They have arrived according to what they had sent forward, alighting upon it and abiding for misery or happiness after death. Between God, Who has no associate, and between [any] one of His creatures there is no means of access by which He may grant him grace or divert evil from him—unless it be through obedience to Him and following His command. Know that you are requited servants[73] and that what is with Him is only attained through obedience to Him. What seems good is not good if its consequence is [hell]fire, and what seems evil is not evil if its consequence is paradise."[74]

'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd[75]—his uncle—Sayf; al-Sarī—Shu'ayb— [1848]
Sayf—Hishām b. 'Urwah—his father:[76] After the oath of allegiance had been rendered to Abū Bakr and the Anṣār had come together on the matter over which they had differed, he said that Usāma's mission should be completed. Now the Arabs[77] had

71. A paraphrase of Qur'ān 27:52.
72. Qur'ān 19:98.
73. Cf. Qur'ān 37:53.
74. Lit., "There is no good in a good thing that is followed by [hell]fire," etc.
75. See note 53, above.
76. Cf. Caetani, 588–89. Close parallels to the following section (through p. 17) are found in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 334–36; and Nuwayrī, 46–47.
77. Here and a few lines farther on, the word *al-'arab* seems to have the sense of "nomads, bedouins"; see comments on this word in the Foreword.

apostasized, either generally or as particular individuals in every tribe. Hypocrisy appeared, and the Jews and Christians began to exalt themselves, and the Muslims were like sheep on a cold and rainy night because of the loss of their Prophet and because of their fewness and the multitude of their enemy.[78] So the people said to [Abū Bakr], "These[79] are the majority of the Muslims. The Arabs, as you see, have mutinied against you, so you should not separate the troop of Muslims from yourself." At this Abū Bakr replied, "By Him in Whose hands is Abū Bakr's soul, even if I thought that beasts of prey would snatch me away, I would carry out the sending of Usāma just as the Apostle of God ordered. Even if there remained in the villages no one but myself, I would carry it out."

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf; and al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAṭiyyah—Abū Ayyūb—ʿAlī; and al-Ḍaḥḥāk—Ibn ʿAbbās: Then some of the tribes who had been absent in the year of [the truce of] al-Ḥudaybiyah gathered about Medina and rose in rebellion. The people of Medina had gone out in the army of Usāma; so Abū Bakr detained[80] whoever remained of those tribes that had made *hijrah* within their territories,[81] so that they became armed outposts (*masāliḥ*) around their tribes, but they were few.

[1849] ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf; and al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Ḍamrah, Abū ʿAmr, and others—al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī:[82] Before his death, the Apostle of God had imposed a campaign on the people of Medina and those in their vicinity, among them ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He had put Usāmah b. Zayd in charge of them, but the last of them had not yet crossed the

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78. Cf. Balansī, 1, where this phrase is related on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq—ʿĀʾishah; cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 334; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 95; Diyārbakrī, II, 201.

79. I.e., those assigned to the army of Usāmah b. Zayd.

80. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 334, following Mss. C and B of Ṭabarī, has "formed [them] into an army."

81. The text refers to the act of joining the Muslim community, which in the early days was done by emigrating to and settling in Medina. This procedure was called *hijrah*. At some point, the Prophet seems to have allowed certain tribes to become recognized members of the community without making *hijrah* in Medina. On *hijrah* as emigration to a place or to a powerful group in order to secure its protection, see Robert Bertram Serjeant and Ronald Lewcock, *Sanʿā*, ch. 5. "Ṣanʿā' the 'Protected,' *Hijrah*," pp. 39–43.

82. Cf. Nuwayrī, 47–48; Caetani, 589–91.

ditch[83] when the Apostle of God passed away. So Usāmah stopped with the army[84] and said to ʿUmar, "Return to the caliph of the Apostle of God and ask his permission for me to return with the army; for the chiefs of the army are with me along with their forces,[85] and I am uneasy lest the polytheists snatch away the caliph and the Apostle of God's household and the households of the Muslims." The Anṣār added, "And if he insists that we proceed, convey to him our request that he appoint in command of us a man older than Usāmah." So ʿUmar went out on Usāmah's order and came to Abū Bakr and informed him of what Usāmah had said. Abū Bakr replied, "Even if the dogs and wolves were to snatch me off, I would not reverse a decision the Apostle of God had made." Then ʿUmar said, "The Anṣār ordered me to inform you that they would like to request that you put in charge of them a man older than Usāmah." At this Abū Bakr sprang up—he had been seated—and seized ʿUmar's beard, saying, "May your mother be bereft of you and destitute of you, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb! The Apostle of God appointed him, and you order me to dismiss him?" So ʿUmar returned to the army. They said to him, "What did you do?" And he replied, "Proceed, may your mothers be bereft of you! I didn't receive [anything] for your cause from the caliph."

Then[86] Abū Bakr went out until he reached them; he made [1850]
them go forth, and he followed after them on foot while Usāmah was riding and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf[87] led Abū Bakr's mount. Usāmah said to him, "By God, oh caliph of the Apostle of God, either you ride or I shall dismount." But Abū Bakr said, "By God, don't dismount; nor, by God, will I ride. It will not hurt me to get my two feet dusty for an hour in God's way; but, for each

83. The ditch on the edge of Medina, dug during the siege by Quraysh in A.H 7. Cf. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 35ff.

84. Or perhaps "the people" (*al-nās*), here and later in the paragraph. Diyārbakrī, II, 114, states that all the notables (*wujūh*) of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār went on the raid.

85. The editor of text suggests *aw julluhum* "or most of them" for *wa ḥadduhum*; Nuwayrī has *waḥdahum* "by themselves."

86. Cf. Ṣanʿānī, V, 199–200 (no. 9375).

87. An early convert from Banū Zuhra of Quraysh. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf" (M. Th. Houtsma—W. M. Watt).

step the warrior takes, seven hundred beauties are destined for him, and seven hundred steps[88] are made visible to him, and seven hundred sins are lifted from him." Until, when he was done, (Abū Bakr) said to (Usāmah): "If you think you might help me out [by lending me the services of] 'Umar, then do so." So Usāmah gave him permission to do that.[89] Then (Abū Bakr) said, "Oh army, stop and I will order you [to do] ten [things]; learn them from me by heart. You shall not engage in treachery; you shall not act unfaithfully; you shall not engage in deception; you shall not indulge in mutilation; you shall kill neither a young child nor an old man nor a woman; you shall not fell palm trees or burn them; you shall not cut down [any] fruit-bearing tree; you shall not slaughter a sheep or a cow or a camel except for food. You will pass people who occupy themselves in monks' cells;[90] leave them alone, and leave alone what they busy themselves with. You will come to a people who will bring you vessels in which are varieties of food; if you eat anything[91] from [those dishes], mention the name of God over them. You will meet a people who have shaven the middle of their head and have left around it [a ring of hair] like turbans;[92] tap them lightly with the sword. Go ahead, in God's name; may God make you perish through wounds and plague!"[93]

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88. Reference to the steps or stages to, and the beautiful companions in, paradise.

89. That is, Usāmah allowed 'Umar to remain behind with Abū Bakr in Medina, rather than marching on the campaign.

90. Al-Ṣan'ānī, V, 199–200 (no. 9375), has "people who allege that they imprison themselves" (i.e., as monks, for God).

91. The text reads *shay'an ba'da shay'in* "something after something," but this may be a conflation of two separate variant readings: *shay'an* "a thing" and *ba'ḍa shay'in* "some thing."

92. Reference to a monk's tonsure.

93. The text is difficult; Ibn al-Athīr's version, *Kāmil*, II, 336, is identical, and both are closely paralleled by Ṣan'ānī, V, 199–200 (no. 9375). Although these passages are in substantial agreement that Muslims should smite shaven-headed monks with the sword, they do not fit the larger context of the accounts in which they occur, in which Abū Bakr warns the Muslim warriors *not* to abuse certain categories of people, including monks in their cells, thus directly contradicting the passage in question. Ṣan'ānī, V, 200 (no. 9377:—Ma'mar—al-Zuhrī), may preserve a more accurate version: "You will find people who have shaved their heads with the sword, and those who lock themselves up in cells: leave them alone in their sins." The sentence about wounds and plague, missing

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf; and according to ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Hishām b. ʿUrwah—his father:[94] Abū Bakr went out to al-Jurf and followed Usāmah and sent him off. He asked Usāmah for ʿUmar [b. al-Khaṭṭāb], which he agreed to. He told Usāmah, "Do what the Prophet of God ordered you to do: Begin with the Quḍāʿah[95] country, then go to Ābil.[96] Do not fall short in anything that the Apostle of God commanded, but do not hurry because of what you have not [yet] attained of his injunction." So Usāmah advanced quickly to Dhū al-Marwah[97] and the valley[98] and ended up doing what the Prophet had ordered him to do by way of dispersing horsemen among the Quḍāʿah tribes and raiding Ābil. He took captives and booty, and his completion [of the mission] was within forty days, excepting [the time of] his encampment and his return.[99] [1851]

According to al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf; and according to ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Mūsā b. ʿUqbah—al-Mughī-

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in Nuwayrī's account, is Abū Bakr's backhanded way of wishing that all the warriors might attain paradise, as according to Islamic law those who die fighting the infidel and those who die from plague are deemed martyrs whose place in paradise is assured. E. Landau-Tasseron observes that this "blessing" is a reference to the prophetic *ḥadīth*, "My community will vanish through wounds and plague" (personal communication). Caetani, 590–91, observes that variants of this speech appear in *topos*-like fashion in several other contexts and ascribed to different speakers.

94. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 154–55; Nuwayrī, 49; Caetani, 591.

95. A group of tribes living north of Medina as far as Syria, including Juhayna, ʿUdhrah, Balī, Bahrāʾ, Kalb, al-Qayn (Bal-Qayn), Tanūkh, Salīḥ, and Saʿd Hudhaym, as well as Nahd and Jarm in South Arabia and ʿUmān. See *EI*², s.v. "Ḳudāʿa" (M. J. Kister); Caskel, II, 470.

96. Diyārbakrī, II, 154; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 1117ff.; and Yāqūt, s.v. "Ubnā" call this place Ubnā. De Goeje argued that the name Ubnā was a corruption of Ābil, referring to the ancient town of Abila in Gaulanitis: Ibn Rusṭah (*BGA*, VII), 329 note c. Robert Schick, *The Fate of the Christians of Palestine*, s.v. "Ābil," cites Ṭabarī, I, 2081, which places Ābil in association with Zīzāʾ and Qasṭal during the conquest of the Balqāʾ region of Syria; on this basis he argues that Ābil in these accounts of the conquest is not Abila at all but a corruption of Arabic Ubnā, which he therefore localizes near the other two places, just south of modern ʿAmmān. Yāqūt places Ubnā in the Balqāʾ, near Muʾtah.

97. A village in Wādī al-Qurā "the valley of villages," north of Medina (Yāqūt, s.v. "al-Marwah").

98. Presumably Wādī al-Qurā.

99. Diyārbakrī, II, 155: Usāmah raids Quḍāʿah as far as Muʾtah, then raids people of Ubnā; takes booty and captives; kills the killer of his father, Zayd; and returns within forty days.

rah b. al-Akhnas; and according to the two of them—Sayf—ʿAmr b. Qays—ʿAṭāʾ al-Khurasānī: a similar account.

Remainder of the Account Regarding al-ʿAnsī the Liar[100]

According to what we have learned, when Bādhām[101] and the Yemen embraced Islam, the Apostle of God placed in Bādhām's hands the governorship of all the Yemen, putting him in charge of all its districts; and he continued to be the Apostle's governor all the days of his life. The Apostle did not dismiss him from it or from any part of it, nor did he place in it any associate with him, until Bādhām died. After he died, the Apostle divided governorship of the Yemen among a group of his companions.

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿīd[102] al-Zuhrī—his uncle—
[1852] Sayf; and according to al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—his father—ʿUbayd b. Ṣakhr b. Lawdhān al-Anṣārī al-Salmī (who was one of those whom the Prophet sent with the governors of Yemen):[103] in the year 10, after he had performed the "completion pilgrimage"[104] [and after] Bādhām had died, the Prophet accordingly divided up his governorship among the following: Shahr b. Bādhām, ʿĀmir b. Shahr al-Ham-

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100. For the beginning of this account, see Ṭabarī, I, 1795ff.; tr. I. K. Poonawala, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, IX, 164ff. A parallel version of this segment as far as p. 34, is found in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 336–41; another as far as p. 20, is in Nuwayrī, 50–51. Ṭabarī returns to the *riddah* in Yemen, p. 158, below. The rebel's cognomen was "al-Aswad" ("the black one"); his tribe, ʿAns b. Mālik, was a settled tribe of Madhḥij living mainly in the northern highlands of Yemen and in part near Najrān; cf. Caskel, II, 190. On his proper name, see note 172, below.

101. One of the Abnāʾ ("sons"), descendants of Persians sent to Yemen around A.D 570 by the Sasanian king Khusraw Anūshirwān. Balansī, *infra*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*; and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 163, give his name as Bādhān; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 105ff., has Bādhām. On the name (properly Bādhān) see Justi, 56.

102. See note 53, above.

103. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 153.

104. *Hijjat al-tamām*, presumably another term for the Prophet's last pilgrimage of the year A.H 10, more usually called the "farewell pilgrimage" (*hijjat al-wadāʿ*), during which he is reported to have said, "Today I have completed for you your faith." It is apparently also called "pilgrimage of Islam" (*hijjat al-islām*). I thank E. Landau-Tasseron for clarifying the relationship of these terms (personal communication).

dānī,[105] ʿAbdallāh b. Qays Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī,[106] Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ,[107] al-Ṭāhir b. Abī Hālah,[108] Yaʿlā b. Umayyah,[109] and ʿAmr b. Ḥazm;[110] and over the Ḥaḍramawt country Ziyād b. Labīd al-Bayāḍī;[111] and ʿUkkāshah b. Thawr b. Aṣghar al-Ghawthī[112] over the Sakāsik, Sakūn, and Muʿāwiyah b. Kindah.[113] And he sent Muʿādh b. Jabal[114] as teacher to the people of the countries of Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt.

According to ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Abū ʿAmr, *mawlā* of Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥah—ʿUbādah b. Qurṣ b. ʿUbādah b.[115] Qurṣ al-Laythī: The Prophet returned to Medina after completing the pilgrimage of Islam,[116] having arranged the government of the Yemen. He divided it among [a number of] men, making each man unchallenged in his territory. He arranged [also] the command of Ḥaḍramawt, dividing it among

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105. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 83, says merely that he was a Yemeni tribesman, one of the Prophet's governors of Yemen, who later settled in al-Kūfah.

106. Yemeni tribesman who came to the Prophet in 7/628; he later had an important military and political career. See *EI*², s.v. "Al-Ashʿarī, Abū Mūsā" (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

107. An Umayyad of Quraysh, one of the earliest Muslims; the Prophet sent him to Yemen as a collector of taxes with the Yemeni convert Farwah b. Musayk. He later had a controversial military and political career. See *EI*², s.v. "Khālid b. Saʿīd" (H. Loucel).

108. Son of the Prophet's first wife, Khadījah, considered a member of the tribe of Tamīm, which was allied with the ʿAbd al-Dār clan of Quraysh; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 50. Diyārbakrī, II, 153, omits his name from the list.

109. A Tamīmī, ally of the Banū Nawfal of Quraysh, who embraced Islam at the conquest of Mecca. This passage and another from Sayf (p. 158, below) suggest that he was sent to Yemen by the Prophet, but Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 128–29; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, s.v.; and even another account by Sayf (Ṭabarī, I, 2162) suggest that he may not have gone to Yemen until the time of Abū Bakr or ʿUmar.

110. He seems to have been a Khazrajī of Banū al-Najjār from Medina; cf. Caskel, I, Table 186, II, 176. However, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 98–99, provides several alternative genealogies for him.

111. A Khazrajī from Medina, he emigrated to Mecca and embraced Islam before the Prophet's *hijrah* to Medina; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 217; Ibn Saʿd, III/2, 131.

112. Other sources add nothing to what is given here by Sayf.

113. Three tribes of Ḥaḍramawt, genealogically subdivisions of Kindah but at this time politically independent; cf. Caskel, I, Table 233, II, 413, 503.

114. An early Medinan convert to Islam renowned for his religious knowledge; Ibn Saʿd, III/2, 120–26.

115. Reading *ibn* for *ʿan*, following *Emendanda*.

116. *Hijjat al-islām*; cf. note 104, above.

three [persons], each one of whom he made unchallenged in his territory. Over Najrān[117] he appointed ʿAmr b. Ḥazm; Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ he appointed over what was between Najrān and Rimaʿ and Zabīd;[118] ʿĀmir b. Shahr he appointed over Hamdān;[119] over Ṣanʿāʾ, [he placed] Ibn Bādhām; over ʿAkk and the Ashʿarīs,[120] [he placed] al-Ṭāhir b. Abī Hālah; over Maʾrib,[121] [he placed] Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī; and over al-Janad,[122] [he placed] Yaʿlā b. Umayyah. Muʿādh [b. Jabal] was the teacher,
[1853] who used to make the rounds in the district of each governor of the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt.[123] And [the Prophet] appointed to the governorships of Ḥaḍramawt: ʿUkkāshah b. Thawr over the Sakāsik and Sakūn; over Muʿāwiyah b. Kindah, ʿAbdallāh[124] or al-Muhājir,[125] who then fell ill and did not go until Abū Bakr sent him;[126] and over Ḥaḍramawt[127] [he appointed] Ziyād b.

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117. An important town on the northern edge of the Yemen, renowned for its Christian population on the eve of Islam; cf. Yāqūt, s.v.

118. Zabīd was the main town of the Yemeni Tihāmah or coastal plain, situated about 100 km north of the Bāb al-Mandab. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 105, Khālid (or al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah?) governed Ṣanʿāʾ. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 336, does not mention Rimaʿ, a valley leading down to the Red Sea coast about 20 km north of the city of Zabīd and its valley (cf. Yāqūt, s.v. "Zabīd"; Hamdānī, 71; *TAVO* B VII 1; Wilson, 31).

119. Large tribe and territory north of Ṣanʿāʾ: *EI*², s.v. "Hamdān" (J. Schleifer—W. M. Watt); *TAVO* B VII 1.

120. Ashʿar was a tribe of the Tihāmah coastal plain located between Mukhah (Mocha) and Zabīd; ʿAkk lived in the Tihāmah north of Ashʿar. Cf. Caskel, II, 150, 200; *EI*², s.v. "ʿAkk" (W. Caskel).

121. Important town on the eastern desert edge of the Yemeni highlands, ca. 140 km due east of Ṣanʿāʾ (*TAVO* B VII 1); in antiquity the capital of the kingdom of Sabaʾ (Sheba).

122. Large town in Yemen about 200 km due south of Ṣanʿāʾ and, with Ṣanʿāʾ and Ḥaḍramawt, normally one of the three administrative seats of southwestern Arabia (Yāqūt, s.v.).

123. I.e., to teach Qurʾān and prayer?

124. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 146, proposed that this was Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī; note, however, that Abū Mūsā figures as governor of Maʾrib in the immediately preceding list.

125. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 105, identifies this as al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah; he was of the Makhzūm clan of Quraysh and full brother of the Prophet's wife Umm Salamah (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 322–23).

126. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 336–37, suggests that this refers to the Prophet's illness, having delayed the dispatch of the governor.

127. I.e., over the valley of Ḥaḍramawt proper, as opposed to the whole province of the same name?

Labīd al-Bayāḍī, who assumed [also] the governorate of al-Muhājir. So, when the Apostle of God died, these were his governors over the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt, excepting those who had been killed in fighting al-Aswad or had [otherwise] died—those being Bādhām, who died and because of [whose death] the Prophet divided up his governorate, and his son Shahr b. Bādhām, against whom al-Aswad marched to fight him, killing him. This account was [also] related to me according to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf—Abū ʿAmr, *mawlā* of Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥah; then the rest of the account was according to his *isnād* like the account of Ibn Saʿd[128] al-Zuhrī.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf—Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: The first ones who resisted al-ʿAnsī and tried to match his numbers[129] were ʿĀmir b. Shahr al-Hamdānī,[130] in his district, and Fayrūz and Dādhawayh[131] in their districts. Then there followed those who had been assigned commands.

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd[132]—his uncle—Sayf; and according to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—his father —ʿUbayd b. Ṣakhr:[133] While we were in al-Janad,[134] having [1854] laid out for them what [conditions] were necessary and having drawn up agreements between us, a letter arrived from al-Aswad. [It said:] "Oh you who are marching against us: Grasp firmly against us that which you have taken of our land, and hold back that which you have gathered, for we are more entitled to it, as long as you are [in the situation] you are." So we asked the messenger from where he had come. He replied:

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128. Reading with Cairo edition and *Emendanda*; text has Saʿīd.

129. Text: *kātharahu*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 83, has *kābarahu* "strove to overcome him," which makes more sense. Cf. Caetani, 678.

130. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 337, says it was Shahr, not ʿĀmir b. Shahr.

131. Both were of the Abnāʾ and embraced Islam under the Prophet; cf. Ibn Saʿd, V, 389–90. The names are of Middle Persian origin, cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 100, 247 (s.v. Pērōz) and 75–76 (s.v. Dādhōë).

132. See note 53, above.

133. Cf. Nuwayrī, 51–53 (to p. 25); al-Masʿūdī, 276–77; Caetani, 678–80.

134. Reading with Cairo ed. and Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 146, for "with the army" given in the text.

"From the cave of Khubbān."[135] Then he directed himself toward Najrān until he took it ten [days] after coming out [in rebellion], and the bulk of Madhḥij submitted to him.[136] So, while we were taking care of our business and gathering our force, someone came to us and said, "This al-Aswad is in Shaʿūb."[137] Shahr b. Bādhām had gone out against him twenty days after the beginning [of his revolt], and while we were awaiting the news of who would be defeated, we learned that [al-Aswad] had killed Shahr and routed the Abnāʾ[138] and taken possession of Ṣanʿāʾ, twenty-five days from his uprising. Muʿādh [b. Jabal] fled until he passed by Abū Mūsā while he was in Maʾrib, and the two then rushed to Ḥaḍramawt.[139] Muʿādh settled among the Sakūn, and Abū Mūsā among the Sakāsik that are adjacent to al-Mufawwur,[140] with the desert between them and Maʾrib. The other commanders withdrew to al-Ṭāhir [b. Abī Hālah], except for ʿAmr and Khālid,[141] who returned to Medina. Al-Ṭāhir at that time was in the midst of the ʿAkk country, facing Ṣanʿāʾ.[142] Al-Aswad subdued [the territory] between Ṣayhad—the desert of Ḥaḍramawt[143]—to

135. Yāqūt, s.v. "Khubbān," evidently on the basis of this report or one like it, describes it as a village in a valley of the same name near Najrān. Cf. Al-Hamdānī, 101, on *wādī* Khubbān.

136. Or "aided him": *ṭābaqahu*; but the verb often has a sexual connotation; cf. Ibn Manẓūr, X, 211. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 337, has "followed him." Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 155, bottom; Balansī, 151ff. Madhḥij was a large tribe or tribal confederation of the Yemen, which later played an important role in the Islamic conquests in Egypt and Syria. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Madhḥidj" [C. E. Bosworth—G. R. Smith].

137. Yāqūt, s.v.: a high fortress near Ṣanʿāʾ.

138. Cf. note 101, above; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 105.

139. Diyārbakri, II, 156, ll. 9–10.

140. The editor notes that the reading is uncertain. Kosegarten offered "Aẓfūr." Neither al-Mufawwar nor Aẓfūr was known to Hamdānī or Yāqūt. Nuwayrī omitted the phrase.

141. I.e., ʿAmr b. Ḥazm and Khālid b. Saʿīd. Diyārbakrī, II, 156 l. 10, has "ʿAmr b. Khālid."

142. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 337, has "in the mountains of Ṣanʿāʾ." Neither reading is entirely satisfactory from the point of view of content, as the ʿAkk lived not near Ṣanʿāʾ but in the Tihāmah coastal region; cf. two sentences farther on in text and note 120, above.

143. Text, Nuwayrī, 52, and all manuscripts read *ṣ.h.y.d*, and Cairo ed. has Ṣahīd, but this must refer to the well-known desert district. Cf. p. 182, below,

the province of al-Ṭāʾif [to the north], to al-Baḥrayn in the direction of Aden.[144] The Yemen submitted to him, while the [1855] ʿAkk in the Tihāmah were resisting him, and [his movement] began to advance like wildfire. The day he met Shahr [in battle] he had with him seven hundred horsemen, in addition to the camel riders; his commanders were Qays b. ʿAbd Yaghūth al-Murādī,[145] Muʿāwiyah b. Qays al-Janbī,[146] Yazīd b. M.h.r.m., Yazīd b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥārithī, and Yazīd b. al-Afkal al-Azdī.[147] His rule became stable; his order was considered harsh. Some of the coastal districts submitted to him—Jāzān [and] ʿAthr and al-Sharjah and al-Ḥirdah and Ghalāfiqah and Aden;[148] and al-Janad

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where Sayf describes "ṣ.h.y.d" as "the desert between Ma'rib and Ḥaḍramawt"—i.e., Ṣayhad. Cf. Hamdānī, index; and Ibn Manẓūr, III, 260.

144. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 146, notes that no place named al-Baḥrayn is known in the region of Aden. There seems to be some problem with the text here. Perhaps it read "to al-Baḥrayn *and* in the direction of Aden," so that al-Baḥrayn could be taken to refer to the well-known district of that name in eastern Arabia, for the sentence seems at this point to be enumerating regions beyond the Yemen highlands that were following al-Aswad. Cf. Nuwayrī, 50, who states that al-Aswad overcame the area from Ṣanʿā' to ʿUmān to al-Ṭā'if—i.e., the whole southern half of the Arabian peninsula. Cf. also note 148, below. Although in Islamic times the term "al-Baḥrayn" came to be used for the whole east Arabian littoral from the head of the Persian Gulf to ʿUmān, in earlier usage it referred to the largest oasis cluster of northeastern Arabia, ca. 60 km inland from the coast near the modern country called al-Baḥrayn. Its main center was the oasis of Hajar. Cf. Thilo, s.v. "Baḥrayn"; Wüstenfeld, "Bahrein und Jemâma," 175–76.

145. Originally of the tribe of Bajīlah, but an ally of the Murād clan of Madhḥij, for whom he became an important warrior. There is confusion about his name, which sometimes appears as Qays b. Hubayra "al-Makshūḥ," Qays b. ʿAbd Yaghūth b. Makshūḥ, or more commonly, simply Qays b. al-Makshūḥ: cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 105–6; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 337; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 222, 227–28; p. 165, below; and *Emendanda*, where Qays b. Makshūḥ b. ʿAbd Yaghūth is proposed.

146. Caskel, II, 257, lists Janb as a group of Madhḥij living near modern Khamīs Mushayṭ.

147. I have found no other references to any of these three Yazīds.

148. Text has "Ḥāz ʿAthr." These places were along the Red Sea coast north of Aden, as mentioned in Hamdānī, 52, ll. 9–15, which even offers them in the same sequence (in reverse) and clarifies that "Ḥāz" and ʿAthr (also ʿAththar; cf. Hamdānī, 54 l. 11 and index) are two places. There were several places named Ḥāz, Ḥāzzah, etc., in Yemen; they seem to have been situated in the mountains, not along the coast, but their names may have caused a copyist to corrupt the name Jāzān to "Ḥāz." Cf. Hamdānī, index, s.v. "Ḥāz" (there misprinted as "Jāz"!); Wilson, 125–26. On Jāzān (modern Jīzān or Jayzān, in southern Saudi Arabia) see *EI*², s.v. "Djayzān" (G. Rentz).

and then Ṣanʿāʾ to the province of al-Ṭāʾif [and] to al-Aḥsiyah[149] and ʿUlayb.[150] The Muslims dealt with him out of fear;[151] the apostates dealt with him out of disbelief and turning back from Islam. His lieutenant among Madhḥij was ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib.[152] He based his command on a group of warriors; as for the command of his army, it was in the hands of Qays b. ʿAbd Yaghūth, and he put command of the Abnāʾ in charge of Fayrūz and Dādhawayh. Then, after he had made much slaughter in the land, he made light of Qays and Fayrūz and Dādhawayh and married the wife of Shahr,[153] who was Fayrūz's niece. [In Ḥaḍramawt][154] we were on the verge of Muʿādh's marriage into the Banū Bakr, a clan of Sakūn, to a woman named Ramlah, whose maternal uncles were the Banū Zankīl,[155] so
[1856] that they had become fond of us because of his kinship [with them]. Muʿādh admired her greatly; indeed he used to say when he prayed to God, "Oh God, raise me up on Judgment Day with the Sakūn," and sometimes, "Oh God, be forgiving to

149. This toponym was unknown to Hamdānī; Yāqūt knew of it directly from accounts of the *riddah* and related that, when al-Aswad expelled the Prophet's governors in Yemen, Farwah b. Musayk, who had been the Prophet's governor over the Murād clan, set up camp in al-Aḥsiyah. This part of the text, however, is suspiciously similar to a passage several lines earlier that also begins with the phrase "to the province of al-Ṭāʾif" (cf. note 144, above); one wonders whether the otherwise unknown "al-Aḥsiyah" is not actually a copyist's error for al-Aḥsāʾ, the oasis district in the region of al-Baḥrayn, and whether ʿUlayb—the localization of which was evidently a problem for the geographers (see note 150, below)—is not an erroneous reading of ʿAdan/Aden. Or should we, following the principle of *lectio difficilior*, propose that the errors proceeded the other way around, so that al-Aḥsiyah and ʿUlayb came to be misread as al-Aḥsāʾ (then revised to al-Baḥrayn) and Aden? In any case, the possibility that one of these phrases represents a dittography should be noted.

150. Apparently a place in the Tihāmah (Yāqūt, s.v.) or in the Sarāt mountains north of Yemen (Hamdānī, 181 ll. 12ff.), perhaps as far north as Mecca or Medina. Nuwayrī, 52, has "and elsewhere" (*wa-ghayrihā*).

151. Reading *taqiyya*, with *Emendanda*, for *baqiyya* in the text and Nuwayrī.

152. Leading chief, warrior, and poet of the Zubayd clan of Madhḥij, said to have embraced Islam in Medina shortly before the Prophet's death; cf. *EI*[2] s.v. "ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib" (C. Pellat); Caskel, II, 178.

153. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 156 ll. 11–12; Balansi, 151: al-Aswad marries the wife of Shahr's father, Bādhān.

154. At this point an enormous sentence has been broken into several parts in the translation and the clauses rearranged.

155. Thus the text, but probably Zankabīl; cf. Caskel, II, 605.

Sakūn." While we were in this state in Ḥaḍramawt and not free from fear that al-Aswad might march against us or send an army against us, or that some rebel might arise in Ḥaḍramawt demanding what al-Aswad demanded, lo and behold, letters reached us from the Prophet. In them he commanded us to send men to seek out (al-Aswad) by deceit, or to assault him [openly], and to tell about that, on the Prophet's behalf, everyone who desired anything from him. Muʿādh accordingly undertook what he was ordered to do, so that we grew powerful and became confident of victory.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf; and according to ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd—ʿUrwah b. Ghaziyyah al-Dathīnī—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Fayrūz; and according to al-Sarī—Jushaysh[156] b. al-Daylamī; and according to ʿUbaydallāh b. Jushaysh b. al-Daylamī:[157] Wabr b. Yuḥannis[158] came to us with the Prophet's letter, in which he ordered us to stand firm in our religion[159] and to rise up in war and to take action against al-Aswad either by stealth or by brute force.[160] [And he ordered] that we inform on his behalf anyone whom we thought to be of help and obedient; so we did accordingly, and we saw that the matter was difficult. And we saw that (al-Aswad) was resentful toward Qays b. ʿAbd Yaghūth, who was in command of his army. So we said [to ourselves] that (Qays) would be in fear for his life, so he would be ready to be invited[161] [to join our cause], so we invited him, telling him of the matter and informing him on the Prophet's behalf. It was as if we had descended upon him from heaven while he was in perplexity and sadness over his situation, so he responded [affirmatively] to what we wished in [1857]

156. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 338, and Kosegarten have "Jishnas"; but cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 283, s.v. "Jushaysh al-Daylamī." Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 146, proposed Jushnas (< Middle Persian "Gushnasp"). Cf. Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, 186.

157. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 156–57, and Nuwayrī, 53–58, for loose paraphrases of this account as far as p. 33, below. Cf. also Caetani, 680–85.

158. One of the Abnāʾ who embraced Islam; cf. Ibn Saʿd, V, 388–89, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 83; Balansī, 152; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, s.v. His name (Wabr or Wabar or Wabrah?) and exact identity are somewhat confused.

159. Or, possibly, "in our obedience": *dīn*.

160. Lit., "by clashing."

161. *Fa-huwa la-awwalu daʿwatan.*

that. Wabr b. Yuḥannis came to us, and we wrote to the people calling them [to Islam].

Satan told (al-Aswad) something [about this], so he sent to Qays and said, "Oh Qays, [do you know] what this one [i.e., Satan] is saying?" (Qays) said, "[No,] what is he saying?" (Al-Aswad) replied, "He is saying [to me], 'You relied on Qays and honored him, to the point that he had your complete trust[162] and had become like you in power. Then he inclined toward your enemy and schemed after your kingship and because of treachery determined that he would say, "Oh Aswad, oh Aswad, shame, shame!"[163] Pluck the top of him and take from Qays his highest part; if not he will dispossess you or pluck the top of you.'"[164] At this Qays, swearing a [false] oath, said—"Oh Dhū al-Khimār,[165] you are too important to me and too illustrious that I should be envious of you." Whereupon (al-Aswad) said, "How crude of you! Do you [dare] call the angel[166] a liar? The angel spoke the truth; now I know that you have repented because of what (Satan) made known about you."

Then (Qays) went out and, coming to us, said, "Oh Jushaysh and Fayrūz and Dādhawayh, there were words between us; what is [your] opinion?" So we said, "We should be wary." We were in that [state] when (al-Aswad) sent to us, saying, "Did I not honor you above [others in] your tribes? Did (Satan) not keep me informed about you?" To this we said, "Forgive us this time." Whereupon he replied, "Don't let me hear [anything] about you or I shall kill you."[167] So we got away, barely, while he was

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162. Lit., "entered every entering from you." This whole passage, with its quotation within a quotation, is awkward to render.

163. Or perhaps "you prick, you prick"; *yā saw'ah yā saw'ah.*

164. I.e., Satan tells al-Aswad to behead Qays before Qays beheads him. Cf. note 174, below.

165. The text has "By Dhū al-Khimār," but Dhū al-Khimār, "the one with the veil," was the nickname of al-Aswad himself (see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 105), and it seems unlikely that Qays would have sworn an oath on his name. However, making this emendation removes from the sentence the formal oath, which the context requires. Perhaps the original was "By God, Oh Dhū al-Khimār."

166. Al-Aswad here refers to Satan as his "angel." One wonders if the text might originally have had *malik*, "king", instead of *mal'ak* or *malak* ("angel").

167. Reading with Cairo ed., following Kosegarten, for "dismiss you" (*uqīlaka*) in the Leiden text. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 338, avoided the difficulties

in doubt over our situation and that of Qays, and we were in doubt and great danger. Then [news] reached us of the opposition against him on the part of 'Āmir b. Shahr and Dhū Zūd and Dhū Murrān and Dhū al-Kalā' and Dhū Ẓulaym;[168] they wrote to us and offered us help, and we wrote back to them and instructed them not to put anything in motion until we should [1858] arrange the matter thoroughly. They only became agitated over that when the letter of the Prophet arrived. The Prophet wrote to the people of Najrān, to their Arabs and to the non-Arab inhabitants of the country, so they stood firm and regrouped[169] and gathered in a single place. Learning of that, (al-Aswad) sensed disaster. We hatched a plan, and accordingly I went to visit Āzād, (al-Aswad's) wife,[170] saying to her, "Oh my cousin, you know the misfortune this man represents for your people; he has killed your husband, made excessive slaughter among your people, humiliated those who remained of them, and disgraced the women. So might you have some conspiracy against him?" At this she replied, "To what end?" I said, "To expel him." She added, "Or to kill him?" I replied, "Or to kill him." She said, "Yes, by God. God has created no one more hateful to me than he is. He does not attend to what is right [even] for the sake of God, nor does he refrain from what is forbidden[171] for His sake. So when you have resolved [what to do], let me know so that I may inform you of how this may be

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(as usual) and gave the following gist of this passage: "He sent to us, threatening us, so we made excuses to him and barely saved ourselves from him, he being in doubt about us and we being wary of him."

168. Cf. p. 165, below. These are all epithets used as names, evidently referring to South Arabian chiefs. 'Umayr "Dhū Murrān" was a chief of Hamdān who had had written contact with the Prophet (Hamdānī, 99 ll. 4–5; cf. Harding, 542, on the name DMRN in Minaean inscriptions); Dhū al-Kalā' was the most powerful tribe of South Arabia on the eve of Islam, probably represented here by its chief, Samayfa' b. Nākūr "Dhū al-Kalā' al-Aṣghar" (Caskel, II, 236, 510); Dhū Ẓulaym was a clan of the Alḥān b. Mālik tribe that lived southwest of Ṣan'ā', probably represented here by its chief Ḥawshab b. Yazīd (Caskel, II, 152, 322). I could find nothing on Dhū Zūd besides the reference on p. 165, below.

169. Lit., "turned aside."

170. Azād or Azādh had been the wife of Shahr b. Bādhām and was the cousin of Fayrūz; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 6, s.v. "Shahr b. Bādhām." Her name is Iranian (< Azāta "free, noble"); cf. Justi, 54.

171. Or, perhaps, "from womenfolk." Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 338.

accomplished." And so I was going out, [when] all of a sudden there were Fayrūz and Dādhawayh waiting for me. Qays came, and we wanted to rise against (al-Aswad), but then a man [arrived and] said to (Qays), before he could sit with us, "The king summons you." Accordingly (Qays) entered with ten [men] of Madhḥij and Hamdān, so that (al-Aswad) was unable to kill him.

According to al-Sarī in his account: Then ʿAyhalah b. Kaʿb b. Ghawth[172] said, (or, according to ʿUbaydallāh in his account, "ʿAbhalah b. Kaʿb b. Ghawth said")[173] "Do you fortify yourself against me with men? [i.e., "How dare you fortify yourself against me with men?] Did I not tell you the truth, whereas you lie to me? (Satan) says, 'Shame! shame! If you do not cut the hand from Qays he will cut the heights from your head.'"[174] [He
[1859] went on like this], until (Qays) thought that (al-Aswad) would kill him. Whereupon (Qays) said, "Indeed, it was not right for me to kill you, as you are an apostle of God, so do with me what you will. As for fear and terror, I am in both of them [anyway], in dread [that you will kill me].[175] Kill me, for one death is easier for me than deaths I die every day (or, according to al-Zuhrī: and as for your killing me, one death is easier)." At this, (al-Aswad) took pity on (Qays) and sent him out. So (Qays) came out to us and told us [what had happened] and stayed with us and said, "Do your deed."

(Al-Aswad)[176] came out against us with a group, so we stood at attention for him. [Now] at the gate were one hundred cows and camels, so he stood up and drew a line so that they were

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172. I.e., al-Aswad. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 336; and Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 105, state that his proper name was ʿAyhalah, but he was called by his nickname "al-Aswad," "the black," because of his color. Diyārbakrī, II, 155; and Nuwayrī, 49, 55 (as well as Tabarī, I, 1795) also have the form ʿAbhalah.

173. Text has "Oh ʿAyhalah," so that the subject of "he said" must be someone other than al-Aswad. I have followed the suggestion of Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 147, who proposed that the vocative particle "oh" should be dropped, as the context makes it clear that the words spoken immediately after must have been uttered by al-Aswad, not to him.

174. Text has *yaqṭaʿu qunnataka al-ʿulyā* "he will cut off your highest part," i.e., "your head;" Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 339, suggests *raqabataka* "your neck." Cf. note 164, above.

175. This emendation is introduced in the Cairo ed. from Nuwayrī.

176. This seems to be the beginning of another version of the narrative, not very neatly integrated into the story told so far.

situated behind it and he stood before it. Then he cut their throats, [they being] neither corralled nor bound, [but] none of them plunged across the line. Then he let them go, so that they roamed around until they passed away. I have never seen a more repulsive scene than that or a more brutal day. Then he said, "Is what I have learned about you true, Fayrūz?" and he pointed the lance at him. "I had intended to cut your throat, making you follow this beast." At this (Fayrūz) said, "You chose us to be your in-laws and gave us precedence over the [rest of the] Abnā'. [Even] if you had not been a prophet we would not have sold our share with you for anything; so how [could we reject you], after the promise[177] of [both] an afterlife and a present life[178] has been gathered to us by you? You should not believe what you have heard about us, for indeed we are where you wish."[179] At this (al-Aswad) said, "Divide this, as you are most knowledgeable of whoever is hereabouts." Then the people of Ṣan'ā' began to gather to me, so I began to order that the slaughtered camels be given to the clan, the cows to the family, [1860] and the equipment to the needy,[180] until the people of each district[181] had taken their share. Then, before he reached his house—while he was watching me[182]—a man overtook him who denounced Fayrūz to him. (Al-Aswad) was listening closely to him, and Fayruz overheard him while he was saying, "I will kill him tomorrow with his companions, so come to me early in the morning." Then (al-Aswad) turned and, lo and behold, there was (Fayrūz). So he said [to the man], "Shhh!"[183] Then [Fayrūz] informed him of what he had done [by way of distributing the meat], at which (al-Aswad) said, "Excellent work." Then (al-Aswad) struck his riding animal and went in. (Fayrūz) returned

177. Lit., "matter" (*amr*).

178. Nuwayrī, 55, has "a faith" (*dīnan*).

179. I.e., our loyalties are with you.

180. The three terms are *raḥṭ* (clan), *ahl al-bayt* (family), and *ahl al-khallah* (needy), respectively. Nuwayrī, 56, and Cairo edition, following Kosegarten, read "people of the settlements" (*ahl al-ḥillah*).

181. *Nāhiyah*.

182. Or "standing over me" (*wa-huwa wāqifun 'alayya*).

183. Or "hold it!" (*mah!*). Alternatively, we might construe this as "So he said [to Fayrūz], "Yes?" as seems to be suggested by Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 147.

to us and told us the news. At this we sent to Qays, [telling him] that he should come to us. Together they agreed[184] that I should return to the woman to inform her of our decision, so she might tell us what she would order [us to do]. So I went to the woman and said, "What do you think?" She replied, "He is cautious and [closely] guarded. Every part of the palace is surrounded by the guard, except this room; the rear of it is at such-and-such a place on the street, so, when evening has come, break into it; you will then be inside the guard, and nothing will stand in the way of killing him." Then she said, "In [the room] you will find a lamp and weapons." Then I went out; but, when al-Aswad met me coming out of one of his residences, he said to me, "What are you doing here?"[185] and slapped my head so [hard] that I fell down, for he was powerfully built. The woman screamed so that he was startled away from me; but for that he would have killed me. She said, "My cousin came to visit me, but you have treated me meanly!" At this he said, "Shut up, you nobody![186] I hereby give him to you." So she spared me.[187] So I came to my companions, saying, "Help! Get away!" and I told them the news. We were in this state, confused, when all of a sudden [the woman's] messenger came to me, [saying], "Don't give up what
[1861] you were going to do when I left you, for I will continue to be with him until he goes to sleep." So[188] we said to Fayrūz, "Go to her and make sure of her. As for me, there is no way for me to enter after being thrown out [by al-Aswad]."[189] He did so; he was more clever than I. So after she had informed him [of the

184. Lit., "their council agreed."
185. Lit., "What brought you to visit me?"
186. Or, "You bastard!" lit., "May you have no father!"
187. *Fa-tazāyalat ʿannī*. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 147, proposed that the text should read *fa-tazāyala*, with al-Aswad as the subject; De Goeje, *Glossary*, wished to leave the text unchanged and proposed that it meant "she hid herself from me." The act of handing a captive over to a petitioner who had requested him was a common gesture of magnanimity among chiefs of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia. The idea was that the petitioner could decide the captive's fate—either to free him, as in this instance, or to inflict a more hideous punishment on him than the king might have, in the case of a captive who was a personal enemy of the petitioner.
188. The following eight sentences are omitted from Nuwayrī, 56.
189. Lit., "there is no way for me to enter after the prohibition [*al-nahy*]."

plan], he said,[190] "And how may we break into lined rooms?"[191] [She replied,[192]] "We must remove the lining of the room." So the two of them entered and removed the lining, whereupon they locked it and he sat with her as if he were a visitor. Then [al-Aswad] came to visit her and became consumed with jealousy, but she explained to him [Fayrūz's] kinship and foster-relationship with her [and that] he was within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity.[193] At this, [al-Aswad] screamed at him and threw him out, and he brought us the news. When it was evening we put our plan into effect, our partisans having agreed with us [beforehand]. We went ahead before making contact with the Hamdānīs and Ḥimyarīs[194] and broke into the room from the outside. Then we entered and in it was a lamp under a large bowl. We protected ourselves [by letting] Fayrūz, who was the bravest and strongest of us, [go first][195] and said: "Look [and see] what you can see." So he went out, while we were between [al-Aswad] and the guards that were with him in the compound. When [Fayrūz] got near the door of the room, he heard a loud snoring, and, lo, there was the woman, sitting up. Then, when [Fayrūz] stood by the door, Satan made [al-Aswad] sit up and address him with his tongue. He was snoring as he sat and also saying, "I have nothing to do with you, oh Fayrūz!" At this [Fayrūz] feared that if he went back he and the woman would be

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190. Cairo ed. has "she said"; this change would eliminate the need for the emendation introduced later in the sentence [see Note 192, below].

191. *Buyūt mubaṭṭanah*, i.e., rooms having a *biṭānah*, or "lining"; cf. next two sentences. The meaning is obscure. E. Landau-Tasseron suggests that this reference may be to a tent, in which case *biṭānah* means an inner divider or wall hanging, but the general sense of the paragraph is that the house was one with solid walls. Perhaps it is simply a way of saying the "inner sanctum" or personal chambers of the ruler in a palace complex; cf. *The Assyrian Dictionary*, II, s.v. "*bitānu*." The root b–ṭ–n does not seem to be attested in the Sabaic or Sabaean dialect of Old South Arabic.

192. This addition was suggested by Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 147. Cf. note 190, above.

193. I.e., closely enough related to her so that they could not marry, meaning that he was formally a part of her family and could visit her without arousing suspicion or causing disgrace.

194. Ḥimyar b. ʿĀmir was a large South Arabian nation or tribe that had provided the last Yemeni dynasty of rulers. Cf. Caskel, II, 324.

195. *Ittaqaynā bi-Fayrūz*; translation following Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 147.

killed. So he acted first and came on him [from behind as if to mount him] like a camel.[196] He took his head and killed him by breaking his neck and placing his knee on his back and breaking it. Then he got up to go out. At this the woman, thinking that he had not killed him, took hold of his robe saying, "Why[197] are you leaving me?" (Fayrūz) replied, "To inform my companions of his death." Then (Fayrūz) came to us, and we went off with
[1862] him wishing to cut off (al-Aswad's) head; but Satan made him move, tossing about so that (Fayrūz) could not restrain him. Whereupon I said, "[All of you] sit on his chest." So two [of us] sat on his chest, and the woman took hold of his hair. We heard a muttering noise, so I bridled him[198] with a rag, and (Fayrūz) passed the knife over his gullet. At this he bellowed, like the loudest bellowing of a bull that I have ever heard, so that the guards hurried to the door—they were around the compound—and said, "What's this? What's this?" Whereupon the woman replied, "It is [only] the prophet, receiving revelations." Then he passed away.[199]

We stayed up all night discussing among ourselves how to notify our supporters, there being none other [present] than the three of us—Fayrūz, Dādhawayh, and Qays.[200] Consequently we agreed to give our war cry that we had with our supporters, and then to make the call to prayer. When the dawn appeared, therefore, Dādhawayh called out the war cry, terrifying [both] the Muslims and the unbelievers. The guards [of al-Aswad] gathered, surrounding us; then I gave the call to prayer. Their horsemen gathered to the guards, so I called out, "I bear witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of God and that ʿAbhalah[201] is a

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196. The verb *khālaṭa* here means "to approach from the rear," as animals do when copulating. The text reads, literally, "he approached him, while he was like the camel."

197. Lit., "where."

198. I.e., held him by his head.

199. Or perhaps "Then he calmed down," i.e., ceased bellowing, but the context makes it clear that he died at this time. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 340, has "they [i.e., the guards] settled down."

200. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 147, remarked that this passage makes clear that the original version of the story was not narrated by Jushaysh (cf. p. 25, above).

201. I.e., al-Aswad. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 340; Kosegarten; and Manuscript C: ʿAyhalah.

liar," and we threw his head to them. Then Wabr performed the ritual prayer. The men [of al-Aswad] launched an attack, so we called out, "Oh people of Ṣanʿāʾ, whoever has [one of al-Aswad's men] as a visitor, take hold of him, and whoever [of you] has one of them with him, take hold of him." And I called out to whoever was in the street, "Seize whomever you can." [But] then [al-Aswad's men also] snatched up many boys and seized [things]. Then they departed, going out [of the city]; but, when they emerged, seventy of their horsemen and [camel] riders were missing, and lo! the townspeople[202] had brought them to us. [For our part,] we were missing seven hundred household members. Then we wrote to each other, [agreeing] that they should leave for us what they held and that we should leave for them what we held. So they did this, leaving [Ṣanʿāʾ] without winning anything from us. Then they returned to [the [1863]
region] between Ṣanʿāʾ and Najrān. Ṣanʿāʾ and al-Janad became clear [of them], and God made Islam and its people strong.

We contended among ourselves over [who should] command. The companions of the Prophet returned one by one to their governorates, whereupon we agreed that Muʿādh b. Jabal [should hold authority];[203] he had used to lead us in prayer. We wrote to the Apostle of God with the news—that was during the lifetime of the Prophet. The news reached him the same day;[204] [subsequently] our messengers arrived, but the Prophet had died the morning of that day, so Abū Bakr replied to us.

According to ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf; and according to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū al-Qāsim al-Shanawī—al-ʿAlāʾ b. Ziyād—Ibn ʿUmar:[205] The news reached the Prophet from heaven on the night in which [al-Aswad] al-ʿAnsī was killed, that he might bring us the good tidings, so he said, "Al-ʿAnsī was killed

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202. Lit., "people of the houses and streets."

203. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 340–41; Kosegarten; and Manuscript C add "*bi-al-khabar*" or "*bi-khabarihi*," suggesting that the agreement was to let Muʿādh carry the news of the death of al-Aswad to the Prophet. However, two accounts later Muʿādh is clearly still in Ṣanʿāʾ, not a messenger.

204. I.e., the news reached the Prophet miraculously on the same day as al-Aswad's death; see next account. In this passage *laylah* "night" has been translated as "day" because the traditional unit of a day in Arabia began with sundown and was called "a night."

205. Cf. Nuwayrī, 59.

last night; a blessed man of a blessed family killed him." He was asked, "And who [is this]?" He replied, "Fayrūz gained the victory, Fayrūz."

According to ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf; and according to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Mustanīr — ʿUrwah — al-Ḍaḥḥāk —Fayrūz:[206] We killed al-Aswad, and our affairs returned to what they had been, except that we sent to Muʿādh [b. Jabal], coming to mutual agreement upon him [as commander]. So he used to lead us in prayer in Ṣanʿāʾ. We had [high] hopes and expectations, as there remained nothing that displeased us except the matter of those horsemen who were going back and forth between us and Najrān; but by God (Muʿādh) only led us in prayer three times, when the news reached us of the Apostle of God's death; whereupon matters became unsettled and we came to disavow many things we used to acknowledge, and the land became disturbed.

[1864] According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū al-Qāsim and Abū Muḥammad—Abū Zurʿah Yaḥyā b. Abī ʿAmr al-Shaybānī from the province [*jund*] of Palestine—ʿAbdallāh b. Fayrūz al-Daylamī —his father: The Prophet sent them an envoy named Wabr b. Yuḥannis al-Azdī, who resided with Dādhawayh al-Fārisī. Now al-Aswad was a soothsayer who had Satan with him and followed him; so he rebelled and fell upon the king of Yemen, killing its king and marrying his wife. He ruled the Yemen. Bādhām had died before that, leaving his son in charge of his affairs; so (al-Aswad) killed him and married [his wife].[207] At this, Dādhawayh and Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādī and I met with Wabr b. Yuḥannis, the envoy of the Prophet of God, plotting to kill al-Aswad. Subsequently al-Aswad ordered the people to gather in an open area of Ṣanʿāʾ; then he came out so that he stood in their midst, [carrying] with him the javelin of the king. Then he called for the king's horse; and he speared it in the mouth with the javelin and then let it go, so that [the horse] began to run loose in the city as it bled, until it died. [Then] he stood up in the midst of the open area and called for sacrificial

206. Cf. Nuwayrī, 59.

207. The confused syntax and evident repetitions suggest that two or more separate accounts have been combined here. Cf. Caetani, 680–85.

camels from behind the line;[208] whereupon he made them stand with their necks and heads behind the line but not crossing it. Then he met them with his javelin, slitting their throats so that they scattered from him until he was done with them.[209] Then he seized his javelin in his hand, then fell upon the earth in a fit and, raising his head, said that he (that is, his Satan, who was with him) [had told him], "Ibn Makshūḥ is one of the oppressors, oh Aswad; cut off his head."[210] Then he cast his head [down] again to contemplate [and] then raised his head and said that [his Satan] had said, "Ibn al-Daylamī is one of the oppressors, oh Aswad; cut off his right hand and his right leg." Now, when I heard him say that, I said [to myself], "By God, I have no surety but that he might call for me so he could slaughter me with his javelin just as he slaughtered these sacrificial camels." So I [1865] began to hide myself among the people lest he see me, until I went out not knowing in my alarm how I should set out. Then, when I approached my house, one of his people met me and struck me on the neck, saying. "The king summons you, and you sneak off! Go back!" and made me return. When I saw that, I was afraid that he would kill me.

Now hardly ever was any man of us without his dagger, so I slipped my hand in my boot to take hold of my dagger. Then I approached (al-Aswad), wishing to attack him by stabbing him with it until I killed him, and then to kill those with him. But when I drew near him, he saw evil in my face and said, "Stay where you are!" so I stopped. Then he said, "You are the most important of those in this place and the most knowledgeable about the notables of its people, so divide these sacrificial camels among them." [Then] he mounted and left, so I commenced dividing the meat among the people of Ṣanʿāʾ. Whereupon the one who had struck me on the neck came and said, "Give me some of it." But I said, "No, by God, not one bit. Aren't you the one who struck me on the neck?" At this he

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208. Cf. the account on p. 29, above.

209. I.e., presumably those whose throats had been slit ran away from him one by one. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 147 proposed "They fell away on both sides of the line until he was done with them."

210. Lit., "cut the top of his head."

went away angry, so that he came to al-Aswad and informed him of [the treatment] he endured from me and what I had said to him. So, when I had finished, I came to al-Aswad; walking toward him, I overheard the man complaining to him about me, whereupon al-Aswad said to him, "Verily by God I shall slaughter him." Then I said to him, "I have finished what you ordered me to do and have distributed [the meat] among the people." He said, "You have done well" and withdrew; so I left. Then we sent to the king's wife, [saying], "We wish to kill al-Aswad; how [would it be possible] for us [to do so]?" So she sent to me, [saying], "Come on." So I went to her, and she put the servant girl at the door to let us know if (al-Aswad) was coming; and the two of us entered the other house and then dug until we had penetrated [the wall]. Then we came out into the house, letting the curtain drop down; so I said, "Indeed, we shall kill him this very night." Then (the servant girl) said, "Come on!" Then, before I realized it, there was al-Aswad; he had entered
[1866] the house, and there he was with us; whereupon violent jealousy took hold of him, so that he began to strike my neck. I kept him away from me and went out to bring my companions [news] of what I had done. I was sure that our scheme against him was undone; [but] then the messenger of the woman came to us [with her message]: "(Al-Aswad) has not disrupted your plot at all, as long as you are [still] considering [it]. For, after you went out, I said to him, 'Don't you people allege that you are generous and possessors of noble deeds?' He said, 'Of course.' So I said, 'My brother came to greet me and to honor me, and then you fell upon him, striking his neck until you expelled him. So that was your generosity toward him?' And I kept heaping blame on him until he came to blame himself and said, 'He is your brother?' So I told him, 'Yes.' At this he said, 'I didn't realize [that].' So come tonight when you wish."

According to al-Daylamī: So we were reassured. We agreed to come by night, Dādhawayh and Qays and I, in order to enter the farthest house by the breach that we had made. Whereupon I said, "Oh Qays, you are the hero (*fāris*) of the Arabs; enter and kill the man." [But] he replied, "Indeed, powerful trembling overcomes me in the face of harm, so that I fear that I might strike him a blow that would avail nothing. But [rather] you

enter, oh Fayrūz, for you are the youngest and strongest of us." So I laid down my sword with the group and entered to see where the man's head was. There was the lamp shining, and there he was asleep on some bedspreads. He was hidden in them, and I didn't know his head from his feet. [But] there was the woman seated with him; she had been feeding him pomegranate until he fell asleep. So I beckoned to her [to tell me] where his head was, whereupon she pointed to it. Then I began to walk until I stood by his head to see. I don't know whether I had [yet] looked at his face or not when all of a sudden he had opened his eyes and looked at me. At this I said [to myself], "If I go back [1867] [to get] my sword, I fear that he will escape me and get a weapon to ward me off of him." And lo, his Satan had warned him of my being there and had awakened him, and then when he was slow [to wake up] (his Satan) spoke to me through (al-Aswad's) tongue; [for] indeed he was looking [at me] and snoring [at the same time]. So I put my two hands forth toward his head, seizing his head with one hand and his beard with the other and then wrenching his neck so that I broke it. Then I went toward my companions, whereupon the woman took hold of my robe, saying, "Your sister! Your advice!" I said, "By God, I have killed him and have given you rest from him."[211] Then I went to my two companions and told them. They said, "Go back and cut off his head and bring it to us." So I entered [again], whereupon he uttered a groan; so I bridled him[212] to cut off his head and took it to the two of them. Then we all went out until we reached our homes. Wabr b. Yuḥannis al-Azdī was with us. He remained with us until we ascended one of the elevated fortresses, whereupon Wabr b. Yuḥannis uttered the call to prayer. Then we said, "Verily God has killed al-Aswad the liar." At this the people gathered to us, so we threw his head. When the people who had been with him saw [this], they saddled up their horses. Then each one of them began to take with him one of our boys, from among the families with whom they were staying; I saw them in the dawn making the boys ride behind them. So I called to

211. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 340; Balansī, 153.
212. I.e., held his head: *aljamtuhu*.

my brother, who was below me with the people, "Hold fast to whomever you can of them; don't you see what they are doing with the children?" So they took hold of them, so that we detained seventy of their men. They took thirty boys from us; then, when they came into open country, lo and behold, they were missing seventy men. When they [realized that] they were missing their companions, they came to us saying, "Send our companions to us." So we said to them, "Send our sons to us!" So they sent our sons to us, and we sent their companions to them.

[1868] The Apostle of God said to his companions, "God has killed al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī the liar; he killed him through the hand of a man who is one of your brethren and of a tribe that embraced Islam and believed [it] to be true." So we were in the same situation we had been in before al-Aswad reached us. The commanders[213] came to feel secure, and gradually returned; and the people made excuses for themselves, as only recently they had been in the *jāhiliyyah*.[214]

According to ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf; and according to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—his father—ʿUbayd b. Ṣakhr: From first to last, (al-Aswad's) rule was three months.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf, and according to ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Jābir b. Yazīd—ʿUrwah b. Ghaziyyah—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Fayrūz:[215] Between his emergence at the cave of Khubbān and his murder there were about four months; he had been concealing his affair before that, until it came out openly afterward.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Abū Maʿshar, Yazīd b. ʿIyāḍ b. Juʿdubah, Ghassān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, and Juwayriyyah b. Asmāʾ—their teachers:[216] Abū Bakr sent out the army of Usāmah b. Zayd at the end of Rabīʿ I, and [the news of] the murder of al-ʿAnsī came at the end of Rabīʿ I, after the departure of Usāmah. That was the first conquest, [news of] which came to Abū Bakr while he was in Medina.

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213. *Umarāʾ*; i.e., the Prophet's governors.
214. I.e., the age of pre-Islamic heathenism.
215. Cf. Nuwayrī, 59; Caetani, 685.
216. Cf. Nuwayrī, 59; Caetani, 685.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year, that is, year 11, in the [first] half of Muḥarram, the deputation of al-Nakha'[217] came [1869] to the Apostle of God; their leader was Zurārah b. 'Amr. They were the last of the delegations to reach [the Prophet].

In this year the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah died, on Tuesday, the 3rd of Ramaḍān. At that time she was twenty-nine years old or thereabouts. It is said that this was related on the authority of Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh—Isḥāq b. 'Abdallāh—Ābān b. Ṣāliḥ. It is alleged that this was related on the authority of Ibn Jurayj—'Amr b. Dīnār—Abū Ja'far, who said: Fāṭimah died three months after the Prophet.

According to Ibn Jurayj—al-Zuhrī—'Urwah: Fāṭimah died six months after the Prophet. (According to al-Wāqidī, this is the more correct [version].) 'Alī and Asmā' bt. 'Umays[218] washed her [corpse].

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm—'Amrah bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān: Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib[219] prayed [the funeral prayer] for her.

According to Abū Zayd—'Alī—Abū Ma'shar: Al-'Abbās and 'Alī and al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās[220] entered her grave.

In this year 'Abdallāh b. Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfah died. An arrow had hit him [when he was] at al-Ṭā'if with the Prophet; it had been shot by Abū Miḥjan.[221] The wound healed up until Shawwāl, when it became bad again; subsequently he died.

According to Abū Zayd—'Alī—Abū Ma'shar, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, and Juwayriyyah b. Asmā', in the chain of informants

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217. Al-Nakha' b. 'Amr, a clan of the tribe of Madhḥij in southern Yemen. (Caskel, II, 444).

218. An early convert to Islam of the Khath'am tribe, married successively to the Prophet's uncle Ḥamzah, to his cousin Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, to Abū Bakr, and to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; sister of the Prophet's wife Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith. (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 395).

219. One of the Prophet's uncles, eponym of the Abbasid dynasty.

220. Oldest son of al-'Abbās and hence a cousin of the Prophet; his mother was a sister of the Prophet's wife Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith. (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 183).

221. A renowned poet of the Thaqīf tribe of al-Ṭā'if, who embraced Islam only when his town submitted. (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 290).

that I mentioned above:[222] In the year in which the oath of allegiance was sworn to Abū Bakr, the people of Fārs made Yazdagard[223] king over them.

[1870] Abū Jaʿfar said: In this year occurred the battle between Abū Bakr and Khārijah b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī.[224]

According to Abū Zayd—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad in their chain of authorities, which I mentioned above:[225] Abū Bakr remained in Medina after the death of the Apostle of God and after he sent Usāmah at the head of his army to where his father, Zayd b. Ḥārithah,[226] had been killed in Syria. As it was the place to which the Apostle of God had ordered him to march, (Abū Bakr) made no innovation [in doing this]. There had come to him delegations of apostate Arabs, who confirmed [the observance of] prayer but held back [payment of] the alms tax (*zakāt*). But Abū Bakr did not accept this from them and sent them back. He remained [in Medina] until Usāmah b. Zayd b. Ḥārithah arrived forty days after his marching off (some say after seventy days). Then, when Usāmah b. Zayd had come, he left him in charge of Medina and marched out (some say that he left Sinān al-Ḍamrī[227] in charge of Medina). So he marched and encamped at Dhū al-Qaṣṣah[228] in Jumādah I (some say Jumādah II). Now the Apostle of God had sent Nawfal b. Muʿāwiyah al-Dīlī;[229] then

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222. Cf. p. 38, above; Caetani, 715.

223. The last king of the Sasanian dynasty.

224. Leader of the delegation from the Fazārah tribe of the Najd that came to the Prophet shortly after his campaign to Tabūk. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, I/1, 42; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 71–72; and Nuwayrī, 61ff. ("Khārijah b. Ḥuṣayn"). On Fazārah, a tribe of the Ghaṭafān group, see *EI*², s.v. "Fazāra" (W. M. Watt); cf. note 233, below.

225. Cf. Nuwayrī, 61, and p. 38, above; Caetani, 592.

226. The Prophet's freedman and an early convert; originally of the Kalb tribe of Syria, he was sent as leader of a raid on southern Syria toward the end of the Prophet's life. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 224–27.

227. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 359, adds nothing to what we learn here. Ḍamrah b. Bakr was a tribe of Kinānah; cf. Caskel, II, 241.

228. It lies about twenty miles east of Medina on the way to al-Rabadhah, according to al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh* (BGA VIII), 252. (Al-Rabadhah is 175 km east of Medina; see note 271 below.) Yāqūt gives conflicting accounts of Dhū al-Qaṣṣah's location. Cf. Hamdani, 143 l. 21, who lists a "Dhū al-Qiḍḍah" in the vicinity of al-Sharabbah and Zarūd on the road to Iraq.

229. Chieftain of the clan al-Dīl of Kinānah, who, after long resisting the Prophet, joined him late: Caskel, II, 447, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 47. On the

Khārijah b. Ḥiṣn had lit upon him at al-Sharabbah,[230] taking what he had,[231] and subsequently returned it to the Banū Fazārah. So Nawfal returned to Abū Bakr in Medina, in advance of Usāmah's arrival before Abū Bakr.

The first war in the *riddah* after the death of the Prophet was the war of al-ʿAnsī. The war of al-ʿAnsī was in the Yemen. [Next] was the war of Khārijah b. Ḥiṣn, and [that of] Manẓūr b. Zabbān b. Sayyār[232] at the head of Ghaṭafān[233] while the Muslims were unaware. So Abū Bakr repaired to a forest and hid himself in it; then God routed the unbelievers.

According to ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf; and according to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Mujālid b. Saʿīd: After Usāmah had gone away, the land sank into disbelief, and from every tribe either a small group or the whole showed disobedience[234] and apostatized, except for Quraysh and Thaqīf.[235] [1871]

According to ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf; and according to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Hishām b. ʿUrwah—his father:[236] After the Apostle of God had died and Usāmah had departed, the Arabs apostatized, in large or small groups;[237] and Musaylimah and Ṭulayḥah[238] feigned [divine] inspiration, so that the situation

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form of the clan name (al-Dīl, later al-Du'il), see Caskel, II, 234, s.v. "al-Du'il b. Bakr."

230. A place between al-Rabadhah and al-Salīlah in the Ghaṭafān country (Yāqūt, s.v.).

231. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 147, observes that this means the tribute in livestock that Nawfal had gathered.

232. Another chief of Fazārah; he embraced Islam and had marriage ties to close associates of the Prophet before his rebellion. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 420; Caskel, II, 398.

233. Ghaṭafan was a group of tribes east of Medina, including ʿAbdallāh b. Ghaṭafān, ʿAbs, Ashjaʿ, and Dhubyān; Dhubyān included the tribes of Fazārah, Murrah, and Thaʿlabah. Cf. Caskel, II, 274; *EI*², s.v. "Ghaṭafān" (J. W. Fück).

234. *Taṣammarat*, lit., "became avaricious, refused what is demanded." Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 342, has *taḍarramat al-arḍ nāran*, "the land burned fiercely with fire."

235. The main tribe of al-Ṭā'if. Cf. Caetani, 583.

236. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 342–43; cf. Caetani, 583.

237. *ʿAwāmma aw khawāṣṣa*. Similarly, in other passages on p. 42 *ʿāmma* and *khāṣṣa* are rendered as "the bulk of" and "a few of," or "large and small groups of." Caetani, 583, understands *ʿawāmma* as "all of [Ṭayyi' and Asad]."

238. According to Muslim tradition, the "false prophets" in al-Yamāmah and the Najd respectively.

regarding the two of them became serious. The common people of Ṭayyi' and Asad[239] gathered to Ṭulayḥa, and Ghaṭafān apostatized (except for those from Ashja' and the leaders of groups of mixed origins), and they rendered the oath of allegiance to him. Hawāzin[240] remained ambivalent;[241] they withheld [payment of] the *ṣadaqah* tax,[242] except for those from Thaqīf and its party.[243] The bulk of Jadīlah[244] and the weak groups were guided by them. A few of of Banū Sulaym[245] apostatized, and likewise the rest of the people in every place.

The envoys[246] of the Prophet arrived [in Medina] from Yemen and Yamāmah and the territory of Banū Asad, [along with] delegations of those with whom the Prophet had corresponded. His business regarding al-Aswad and Musaylimah and Ṭulayḥah had been carried out by means of reports and letters; so they presented their letters to Abū Bakr, and informed him of the news. At this Abū Bakr said to them, "You will not leave before messengers come from your commanders and from others, with [news of] more cunning and more bitter [things?] than that which you have described, and [reports of] the unraveling of affairs." It was not long before there came to them from every place the letters of the Prophet's commanders, with [news of] the rebellion[247] of some [group], large or small, and of their

239. Ṭayyi' and Asad were neighboring, largely nomadic tribes whose territory was near the "mountains of Ṭayyi'" ('Ajā' and Salmā) in the Najd. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Asad, Banū" (H. Kindermann); Caskel, II, 194, 555; Landau-Tasseron, "Asad from Jāhiliyya to Islām"; idem, "The Participation of Ṭayyī in the *Ridda*."

240. A large confederation of tribes in northern and west-central Arabia that included 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah and Thaqīf, although the latter, who were townsmen, often went their own way, as here. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Hawāzin" (W. M. Watt).

241. Lit., "put one foot forward and held one foot back."

242. Although in later jurisprudence *ṣadaqah* tax came to mean voluntary alms, and thus was little different from *zakāt*, at the time of the *riddah* it meant tribute paid by nomads to the Islamic state. See Simonson, 32–33; Donner, *Conquests*, 251–52, 265, and index.

243. *Liffi-hā*. cf. Ibn Manẓūr, IX, 318.

244. Jadīlah and al-Ghawth were the two main divisions of Ṭayyi', Cf. Caskel, II, 252.

245. A tribe living northeast of Mecca. Cf. Watt, *Medina*, 95–97; Michael Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1989), infra.

246. Cf. Nuwayrī, 62.

247. Lit., "unraveling, coming undone of what had been done," i.e., renunciation of their agreements.

boldly committing aggression against the Muslims. So Abū Bakr combated them with that which the Apostle of God had combated them—with envoys; hence he sent their messengers back with his orders, and sent [further] envoys after the [original] messengers. And he awaited the arrival of Usāmah [before] [1872] clashing with them.[248] The first who clashed were ʿAbs and Dhubyān;[249] they hastened to [clash with] him, so that he fought them before the return of Usāmah.[250]

According to ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf; and according to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿAmr—Zayd b. Aslam:[251] The Apostle of God died while his tax collectors were among the Quḍāʿah. Over the Kalb was Imru' al-Qays b. al-Aṣbagh al-Kalbī of the Banū ʿAbdallāh; and over al-Qayn was ʿAmr b. al-Ḥakam; and over the Saʿd Ḥudhaym was Muʿāwiyah b. Fulān al-Wā'ilī[252]

According to al-Sarī al-Wālibī:[253] Wadīʿah al-Kalbī apostatized with those of Kalb who helped him, whereas Imru' al-Qays remained obedient,[254] and Zumayl b. Quṭbah al-Qaynī rebelled with those of Banū al-Qayn who helped him, whereas ʿAmr remained [obedient]; and Muʿāwiyah apostatized with those of Saʿd Hudhaym who helped him. So Abū Bakr wrote to Imru' al-Qays b. Fulān[255]—he was the grandfather of Sukaynah, daughter of Ḥusayn[256]—to march to[257] Wadīʿah,

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248. Lit., "He awaited in their clashing the arrival of Usāmah."

249. Tribes of Ghaṭafān; cf. note 233, above.

250. The reading of manuscript C is in some ways more coherent: "They made haste in order to fight him before the arrival of Usāmah," i.e., they wished to move quickly so as to attack Abū Bakr before he could consolidate his position.

251. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 343; Caetani, 583.

252. Kos has "al-Wābilī"; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 343, "al-Wālibī." Both are incorrect; cf. Caskel, II, 585, under "Wā'il b. Sa'd Hudhaym."

253. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 343; Caetani, 583–84, 591, a continuation of the preceding account.

254. *ʿAlā dīnihi.*

255. There is some confusion regarding the name. Manuscript C has Imru'al-Qays b. Bilād; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, s.v., has Imru'al-Qays b. ʿAdī b. Aws.... Perhaps "b. Fulān" is a dittography from the name of Muʿāwiyah b. Fulān in the preceding line (cf. preceding account).

256. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet's grandson.

257. I.e., against, reading *li-* with the Cairo edition, rather than *bi-* in the text. The sentence is obscure.

and [he wrote to] ʿAmr to take a stand against Zumayl and against Muʿāwiyah al-ʿUdhrī. So when Usāmah found himself in the midst of the Quḍāʿah country, he deployed the cavalry among them and ordered them to make those who had stood firmly by Islam rise up against those who had turned back from it, so that they fled until they took refuge in Dūmah[258] and gathered round Wadīʿah. Usāmah's cavalry returned to him, whereupon he decamped with them until he raided al-Ḥamqatayn,[259] striking among the Banū al-Ḍubayb of Judhām[260]
[1873] and among the Banū Khaylīl of Lakhm[261] and their party[262] of the two factions.[263] He drove them out of Ābil[264] and returned unharmed and bearing spoil.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad:[265] The Apostle of God died, and Asad and Ghaṭafān and Ṭayyiʾ gathered around Ṭulayḥah, except for the principal leaders of some groups in the three tribes. Asad gathered at Samīrāʾ,[266] and Fazārah and those who follow them[267] of Ghaṭafān to the south of Ṭībah,[268] and Ṭayyiʾ[269] on

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258. Dūmat al-Jandal, an important oasis in northern Arabia, modern al-Jawf. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Dūmat al-Djandal" (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

259. A place on the fringes of the Syrian steppe (Yāqūt, s.v.).

260. The tribe of Judhām lived in the northern Hijāz and Transjordan; al-Ḍubayb b. Qurṭ was one of their main clans. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Djudhām" (C. E. Bosworth); Caskel, II, 243, 263.

261. Text has "Khalīl." Lakhm was a tribe of southern Iraq and southern Syria, absorbed in Syria by Judhām; Khaylīl was a branch of Ghassān associated with the tribe of Lakhm. Cf. Caskel, II, 339; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 147; *Emendanda*; *EI*², s.v. "Lakhm" (H. Lammens–Irfan Shahid).

262. Cf. note 243, above.

263. *Al-qabilayn.*

264. Manuscript C has ʾ.y.l; Kos has Ubnā. See note 96, above.

265. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 344–45 (extending as far as p. 52, below); Caetani, 596–99.

266. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 344, has "Sumayrāʾ," probably owing to confusion with Sumayrah, another place near Mecca; cf. Yāqūt, s.v.v. Samīrāʾ was in the Asad country on the pilgrimage road to Iraq northeast of Mecca.

267. Kos has "those who come to them."

268. Yāqūt identifies this as a village near Zarūd, which was on the Kūfah-Mecca pilgrimage road in the Shaqīq sands. Perhaps it is identical with Ṭābah, a village on the southeast flank of Mt. Salmā in the Asad/Ṭayyiʾ country; cf. the shift of ā to ī in other names, such as Jāzān/Jīzān. On Ṭābah, see Thilo, s.v. and map B.

269. Kos has Ẓaby.

the borders of their territory. Thaʿlabah b. Saʿd and those who followed them of Murrah and ʿAbs[270] gathered at al-Abraq of al-Rabadhah,[271] and people from the Banū Kinānah[272] crowded around them[273] to the point that the country could not sustain them; so they divided into two groups, one group remaining in al-Abraq while the other went to Dhū al-Qaṣṣah. Ṭulayḥah reinforced them with [his brother] Ḥibāl.[274] Ḥibāl was in charge of the people of Dhū al-Qaṣṣah from Banū Asad and those of Layth and al-Dīl and Mudlij[275] who crowded around; and over Murrah in al-Abraq was ʿAwf b. Fulān b. Sinān; and over Thaʿlabah and ʿAbs was al-Ḥārith b. Fulān, one of the Banū Subayʿ. They[276] had sent delegations that came to Medina and stayed with the chiefs of the people; so (the Medinan chiefs), except for ʿAbbās,[277] put them up and interceded for them before Abū Bakr, on condition that (the petitioning tribes) should perform prayer but not pay the alms tax. But God strengthened Abū Bakr's resolution in the truth, and he said: "If they refuse me [even] a hobble, I shall fight them for it."[278] Now, the hobbles of the *ṣadaqah* camels were required with the [camels paid as] *ṣadaqah* from the people who paid *ṣadaqah*; so he refused [their request], whereupon the delegation of those apostates who were near Medina returned to their tribes, [1874] telling them how few the people of Medina were and making them covetous of it. After Abū Bakr had expelled the delegation,

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270. All three tribes were part of Ghaṭafān; cf. note 233, above.

271. Al-Rabadhah was 175 km east of Medina. The epithet "al-Abraq," meaning rough terrain with rock, sand, and clay, is common in composite toponyms; presumably here it refers to a specific spot near al-Rabadhah. Cf. al-Rāshid, *Al-Rabadhah*.

272. Kinānah was a tribe related to Asad, living from near Mecca northeastward to Asad territory. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Kināna" (W. M. Watt).

273. Manuscript C has "lived" (?) (*nasha'at*).

274. Manuscript C has *amara-hum . . . bi-khibālin*.

275. Layth b. Bakr, al-Dīl b. Bakr, and Mudlij b. Murrah were branches of Kinānah; cf. Caskel, II, 376, 416, and note 229, above.

276. Cf. p. 69, below; Diyārbakrī, II, 202 top; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 9, 12 middle.

277. One of the Prophet's uncles and eponymous ancestor of the Abbasid dynasty of caliphs.

278. The rope hobble (*ʿiqāl*) worn by the camels given in payment of the *ṣadaqa* tax. The word also came to mean, by extension, a year's *ṣadaqa* tax itself; cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, part 5, p. 2115, s.v. *ʿiqāl*.

he placed some people on the mountain passes[279] of Medina—ʿAlī al-Zubayr,[280] Ṭalḥah,[281] and ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd[282]—and enjoined[283] the people of Medina to go to the mosque. And he said to them: "The land has sunk into disbelief, and their delegation has seen that you are few and that you would be unaware whether you were approached by day or by night. The nearest of them is [only] a stage[284] from you. The people were hoping that we would accept them and be reconciled with them, but we refused them[285] and dissolved their treaty. So get ready." Consequently they made preparations, and it wasn't three [days] before they came raiding Medina by night, leaving some[286] of their [number] behind in Dhū Ḥusā[287] to serve as reserves for them. The mounted raiders[288] reached the mountain passes by night, while the fighting men were in them; there were people on foot in front of them, so they alerted them and sent news to Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr sent back to them that they should hold their positions; so they did so, while [Abū Bakr] came out to them leading the people of the mosque [mounted] on their water-hauling camels. At this the enemy lost their will;[289] so the Muslims pursued them on their camels until they reached Dhū Ḥusā,[290] whereupon the reserves came out against them

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279. *Anqāb*. Kos: *anṣāb*, "boundary markers" (?); Ibn al-Athīr, *anṣār*, "helpers." Cf. *Glossary*.

280. Al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, early convert from Asad clan of Quraysh, maternal cousin of the Prophet. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 70ff.

281. Talḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh, early convert from the Taym clan of Quraysh. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 152ff.

282. Early convert and close associate of the Prophet from the Hudhayl tribe. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 106ff.

283. IK and Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*: "required."

284. *Barīd*, the distance between courier stops, six to twelve miles; cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.

285. Kos and Manuscript C: "We came to them."

286. IK: "half."

287. A valley near al-Sharabbah in the territory of ʿAbs and the rest of Ghaṭafān; cf. Yāqūt, s.v.; Thilo, s.v. and map C, places it *circa* 160 km east of Medina, just west of al-Rabadhah. Nuwayrī, 63, has "Ḥusā."

288. Reading *al-ghārah*, "horsemen making a raid," for the text's *ghiwār*, "raiding" (rare), as proposed by *Glossary*.

289. IK: "turned back."

290. Manuscript C: Dhū Khushub.

with churning skins that they had inflated and on which they had placed ropes. Then they rolled them with their feet in the faces of the camels, so that each skin rolled in its tether. At this the Muslims' camels took fright while they were [mounted] on them—they do not shy at anything the way they did from those skins—and steered (the Muslims) out of their control until they brought them into Medina; but no Muslim was thrown or wounded, so al-Khuṭayl b. Aws, brother of al-Ḥuṭay'ah b. Aws,[291] said about that:[292] [1875]

My saddle and she-camel are a ransom for Banū Dhubyān,
on the evening when Abū Bakr is stabbed[293] with lances.
But [something] was rolled by the feet so that they feared it,
to a certain degree, no more and no less.[294]
[Even] God has troops who are given a taste of it;[295]
verily they are reckoned in that which is counted among the wonders of the age.

(Al-Zuhrī recited [the end of the last line] as: "among the memorable deeds of the age." According to 'Abdallāh al-Laythī: Banū 'Abd Manāt were among the apostates—they and[296] Banū Dhubyān were involved in that affair at Dhū al-Qaṣṣah and Dhū Ḥusā.)[297]

We obeyed the Apostle of God as long as he was[298] among us,[299]
So, oh worshipers of God, what [is so great about] Abū Bakr?

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291. A famous poet who claimed to be from the 'Abs tribe; cf. *EI*², s.v. "al-Ḥuṭay'ah" (I. Goldziher–C. Pellat); Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 30.

292. Poem text has numerous variant readings not noted here.

293. Reading *yuḥdhā* with the Cairo edition, against *yuḥdā* and other variants in the text.

294. Reading *in yazīdu wa lā yaḥrī* with the Cairo edition, against *in tuqīmu wa lā tasrī* in the text.

295. Literally, "who are made to taste His tasting," perhaps an allusion to Qur'ān 3:185; "every soul tastes death."

296. Reading *hum wa* as proposed by Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 147, and *Emendanda*, rather than *wa hum*, "and they were," as found in text, for 'Abd Manāt was part of Kinānah, not of Dhubyān.

297. The verses following this parenthetical aside are a continuation of those before it, sharing the same meter (*ṭawīl*) and rhyme letter (r).

298. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 8: "lived."

299. IK: "in our midst."

[1876] Will he bequeath [leadership of] us to a young camel (*bakr*)[300]
after him, if he should die?
That would be, in God's name,[301] a disaster.[302]
Why won't you return our delegation in time?
Have you no fear of the blast of braying young camels?[303]
Indeed, the thing they requested of you, and that you denied,
is like dates, or sweeter to me than dates.[304]

So the enemy (*qawm*) thought (the Muslims) weak and sent news to the people of Dhū al-Qaṣṣah, whereupon they advanced against them, relying on those who had brought them the news, they being [still] unaware of God's work, which He wished and desired to be communicated among them. At this Abū Bakr passed the night getting ready by putting the army[305] in order; then he went out in battle order in the last part of that night, marching with al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin[306] on his right flank, and ʿAbdallāh b. Muqarrin on his left flank, and Suwayd b. Muqarrin with the riders at the rear. No sooner had the dawn broken than they found themselves and the enemy on the same plain. They heard neither a footfall nor a voice from the Muslims until (the Muslims) fell on them with the sword, slaying [them] at the end of that night so that, before the upper limb of the sun arose, they had turned their backs to (the Muslims). (The Muslims) plundered them of all their riding camels,[307] and Ḥibāl[308] was killed. Abū Bakr[309] pursued them until he camped

300. Cairo ed: "Will he bequeath it . . . ?" The verse is clearly a satiric comment on Abū Bakr's name, which means "father of the young camel."

301. Ibn Ḥubaysh: "by God's house."

302. Lit., "the one who breaks the back," *qāsimatu al-ẓahri*.

303. Reading *rāghiyat al-bakri* with Cairo, against *rāʿiyat al-bakri*, "herders of young camels," in the text.

304. I.e., it would have been better had you complied with the delegation's requests.

305. *Al-nās*, lit., "the people." For a very different account of this episode, see Diyārbakrī, II, 204.

306. He and his brothers ʿAbdallāh and Suwayd were warriors of the tribe of Muzaynah who had led large groups of their tribe to the Prophet. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 30–31.

307. *Ghalabū-hum ʿalā ʿāmmati ẓahri-him*. . . .

308. Kos and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 345, have "men." Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, II, 347; and pp. 62–63, below. Diyārbakrī, II, 206 bottom, says that he was captured and asked to be executed.

309. Cf. Nuwayrī, 62.

at Dhū al-Qaṣṣah; it was the first conquest. He put in (Dhū al-Qaṣṣah) al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin at the head of a number [of troops] and returned to Medina. The polytheists were humiliated [1877] by (this victory), so the Banū Dhubyān and ʿAbs fell upon those Muslims who were among them and slaughtered them; and those who backed them did as they did. Meanwhile, the [other] Muslims grew stronger through Abū Bakr's battle. Abū Bakr swore that he would certainly make slaughter among the polytheists [in vengeance for] every killing [of a Muslim], and would kill in every tribe [someone] for each of the Muslims whom they had killed, and more. Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah al-Tamīmī[310] said about that:

By early morn Abū Bakr hastened to them
    just as most of them[311] strove toward their death.
He rejoiced supremely at their braying
    while Ḥibāl[312] drooled out his life to them.

He also said:

We set up for them on the left side; then they gathered together in a jumble,[313]
    like the troop of warriors who make their camels kneel on well-watered pastures.
They had no endurance for war, when it arose
    on the morning when Abū Bakr rose up with [his] men.
We approached the Banū ʿAbs by night, at their nearer Nibāj,[314]
    and Dhubyān we scared away with back-breaking losses.

Then they continued that [policy][315] until the Muslims in every tribe were more firm in their religion for it, and [until] the

310. According to Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 213, he had been sent by the Prophet to help the Tamīmī chieftain Qays b. ʿĀṣim resist the "false prophet" Musaylimah.

311. Reading, with Cairo, *julāl*, rather than *ḥalāl* as in the text.

312. IK has "mountains."

313. *Fa-kubkibū*; cf. *kabkaba*, "troop," in the next line, presumably an allusion to Qur'ān 26:94.

314. The nearer of the "two Nibajes" (al-Nibājān) was near Mt. Salmā, about 400 km northeast of Medina; cf. Ibn Manẓūr, II, 372; Yāqūt, s.v. "Nibājān"; Thilo, 76 and Map B.

315. I.e., of severe retaliations; lit., "they did nothing but that."

[1878] fortunes (*amr*) of the polytheists were reversed in every tribe. The *ṣadaqah* tax[316] of [various] people came to Medina by night, [brought by] Ṣafwān and then al-Zibriqān and then ʿAdī[317]—Ṣafwān [arriving] at the beginning of the night, and the second [installment] in the middle of it, and the third at the end of it. The one who announced the good news of [the arrival of] Ṣafwān was Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ,[318] and the one who announced al-Zibriqān was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf,[319] and the one who announced ʿAdī was ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd—or, according to other [traditionists], Abū Qatādah.[320] As each one of them appeared, the people said, "[He is] bringing a warning [about the enemy]!"[321] But Abū Bakr said, "This is a bearer of good tidings, this is a protector, not [someone] worn out [from urgency]." Then, after he had divulged the good news, they said, "Long live[322] the good news you announce!"

That was sixty days after Usāmah's departure; a few days after that, Usāmah[323] came [back to Medina], two months and some days [after his departure]. Thereupon Abū Bakr left him in charge of Medina, saying to him and his army, "Rest, and rest your riding camels." Then he went out, leading those who had gone out to Dhū al-Qaṣṣah and those who had been in the passes

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316. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 203–4.

317. Cf. Balansī, 12, 17–18, Nuwayrī, 62–63. Ṣafwān is probably Ṣafwān b. Ṣafwān, the Prophet's tax agent over the ʿAmr clan of Tamīm; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 23, and p. 85, below. Al-Zibriqān b. Badr, chief of Saʿd-Tamīm, had come to the Prophet with his tribe's delegation and was appointed collector of *ṣadaqah* tax upon his clan of Banū ʿAwf; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 194. ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, a chief of Tayyiʾ, had been appointed by the Prophet as tax collector over parts of the tribes of Asad and Tayyiʾ; cf. *EI*², s.v. "ʿAdī b. Ḥāṭim" (A. Schaade); Landau-Tasseron, "Asad from Jāhiliyya to Islam," 19–20; Landau-Tasseron, "The Participation of Tayyi" in the *Ridda*, *infra*.

318. Important early convert from the Zuhrah clan of Quraysh, sometimes said to have been the third male to embrace Islam. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 97–105; Watt, *Mecca*, 89–90.

319. Another early convert from Banū Zuhrah of Quraysh. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf" (M. Th. Houtsma–W. M. Watt); Watt, *Mecca*, 89–90.

320. Abū Qatādah al-Ḥārith b. Ribʿī al-Salmī al-Anṣārī, of the Khazraj tribe, an early Medinan follower of the Prophet; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 273–75.

321. Text simply has *nadhīr*, "a warner," but the term is used in the military context in the sense of one bringing news of the enemy.

322. Lit., "may it be long."

323. Cf. Nuwayrī, 63.

on that side [of the city]. But the Muslims said to him, "Oh Caliph of the Apostle of God, we beg you by God not to expose yourself [to battle], for if you were to be struck down there would be no order among the people. It would be harder on the enemy if you were to remain [here]. So send a man [in your place]; then if he is struck down you can put another in command." But [Abū Bakr] said, "No, by God, I won't do it; indeed, I will set an example for you myself." Then he marched out in battle order to Dhū Ḥusā and Dhū al-Qaṣṣah, with ʿAbdallāh and Suwayd in their accustomed positions,[324] until they descended upon the people of al-Rabadhah at al-Abraq. They fought, God destroying al-Ḥārith and ʿAwf;[325] al-Ḥuṭay'ah[326] was taken prisoner, and ʿAbs and Banū Bakr[327] fled. Abū Bakr remained a few days at al-Abraq. Banū Dhubyān had dominated the country, but he said, "It is [henceforth] forbidden for Banū Dhubyān to control this country, since God has given it to us [1879] as spoil," and removed it [from their control].[328] Now, when the apostates had been overcome, and entered [once again] the gate [by] which they had [formerly] gone out, and [Abū Bakr] had treated the people leniently,[329] the Banū Thaʿlabah came to encamp in [this country]—it had been their camping grounds—but were kept from it; so they came to Medina, saying, "Why have we been kept from camping in our country?" Whereupon [Abū Bakr] said, "You lie; it is no land of yours, but a gift restored to me [after having been stolen]," and granted them no favor. He reserved al-Abraq for the horses of the Muslims and made the rest of the country of al-Rabadhah a pasture for the people, the Banū Thaʿlabah notwithstanding. Then he reserved all of it for the [camels paid as] *ṣadaqah* tax [to] the Muslims,

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324. Lit., "over what they had been over"; ʿAbdallāh and Suwayd b. Muqarrin, described on p. 48, above, as commanding the left flank and rear, respectively. The third brother, al-Nuʿmān, had been left at Dhū al-Qaṣṣah.

325. On al-Ḥārith and ʿAwf, see p. 45, above.

326. Kos and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 345: al-Khaṭbah.

327. Probably Bakr b. ʿAbdmanāt b. Kinānah, a main segment of this tribe that included many important clans. Cf. Caskel, I, Tables 36ff. and II, 222.

328. *Ajlā-hā*; i.e., Abū Bakr deported the Banū Dhubyān from this territory.

329. The text of this phrase is at best elliptical, perhaps corrupt. Kos has "and damage had become widespread." Here and several lines below "the people" [*al-nās*] refers to the former rebels.

because of a fight that occurred between the people and the collectors of the *ṣadaqah* taxes.[330] So he barred on that account one from the other. After ʿAbs and Dhubyān were broken up, they took refuge with Ṭulayḥah. Ṭulayḥah had encamped at Buzākhah,[331] having traveled to it from Samīrāʾ, and stayed there.

About the battle of al-Abraq, Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah said:

How many a battle have we witnessed at al-Abraq
[victorious] against Dhubyān ablaze in fury?
We brought them an onerous disaster
with the Veracious One[332] when he stopped remonstrating.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd b. Thābit b. al-Jidhʿ and Ḥarām b. ʿUthmān—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Mālik: When Usāmah b. Zayd arrived, Abū Bakr went out, leaving him in charge of Medina. He proceeded until he came to al-Rabadhah, [and] met Banū ʿAbs and Dhubyān
[1880] and a group of Banū ʿAbd Manāt b. Kinānah. Then he met them at al-Abraq, whereupon he fought them so that God put them to flight and routed them. Then he returned to Medina. Now, when the army of Usāmah collected and those around Medina returned to obedience,[333] (Abū Bakr) went out to Dhū al-Qaṣṣah and encamped with them, one stage from Medina in the direction of Najd. Then he divided the army there and tied the banners;[334] he tied eleven banners over eleven armies and ordered the commander of each army to convoke those armed Muslims who had passed by him, leaving some of the armed men to defend their country.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad:[335] When Usāmah and his army had

330. Or perhaps "recipients of the *ṣadaqāh* taxes": *asḥāb al-ṣadaqāt*.

331. A well in the Najd, in Asad or Tayyiʾ country. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Buzākha" (C. E. Bosworth).

332. *Al-Ṣiddīq*, the epithet of Abū Bakr.

333. Or "collected, gathered in numbers," *thāba*.

334. The phrase "to tie a banner [for someone]," used here and in the following sentences, is an idiom also meaning "to appoint [someone] the commander of an army."

335. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 345–46; Nuwayrī, 64–65; Caetani, 601–3.

rested their riding camels and had assembled, and more *ṣadaqah* taxes than they needed had come in, Abū Bakr deployed the expeditionary forces and tied the banners,[336] eleven banners [in all]. He tied a banner for Khālid b. al-Walīd,[337] ordering him [to fight] Tulayḥah b. Khuwaylid, and then when he finished to march against Mālik b. Nuwayrah[338] at al-Buṭāḥ,[339] if he resisted him. [He also tied a banner] for ʿIkrimah b. Abī Jahl,[340] ordering him [to fight] Musaylimah; and for al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah, ordering him [to fight] the armies of [al-Aswad] al-ʿAnsī and to help the Abnāʾ against Qays b. Makshūḥ and those people of Yemen who supported him against them. Then [al-Muhājir] was supposed to pass on to Kindah in Ḥaḍramawt. [He tied a banner] for Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿAṣ, who had come at that time from the Yemen and left his governorship, and sent him to al-Ḥamqatayn in the Syrian heights; and for ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ[341] [to go] to the combined [tribes of] Quḍāʿah and [to] Wadīʿah [al-Kalbī][342] and al-Ḥārith [al-Subayʿī].[343] And [he tied a banner also] for Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan al-Ghalfānī[344] and [1881]

336. I.e., appointed the commanders of various forces.

337. Prominent military commander of the Makhzūm clan of Quraysh and a relatively late convert. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Khālid b. al-Walīd" (P. Crone).

338. Chief of the Yarbūʿ branch of Tamīm, appointed by the Prophet as tax collector over part of Tamīm but said in some (but not all) accounts to have withheld tax after the Prophet's death. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 295–96; Shoufani 82–83; *EI*², s.v. "Mālik b. Nuwayra" (E. Landau-Tasseron).

339. A well in the Najd, in Asad country ca. 400 km east-northeast of Medina. Cf. Yāqūt, s.v.; Thilo, s.v. and map C; *TAVO* B, VII, 1.

340. Fierce opponent of the Prophet from Makhzūm of Quraysh; he fled after conquest of Mecca by the Prophet to avoid execution; later he was pardoned by the Prophet and given important posts. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 4–7.

341. Late convert from the Sahm clan of Quraysh, sent by the Prophet to be tax agent in ʿUmān. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ" (A. J. Wensinck); Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 115–18.

342. Cf. p. 43, above. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 346 omits this name.

343. Cf. p. 45, above. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 346 omits this name.

344. According to Ṭabarī, he was of Ḥimyar; he later served as ʿUmar's governor of ʿUmān and al-Yamāma and participated in the conquest of Iraq (p. 152, below; Ṭabarī I, 2207, 2212). However, Ibn al-Kalbī considers him the same as ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī (see note 403, below); cf. Caskel, II, 328 ("Ḥudhayfah b. Ḥiṣn") and 580 ("ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn"). Tabarī considers them two separate individuals, but the possibility of some confusion should be noted. Ḥudhayfah's *nisbah* "al-Ghalfānī" is otherwise unknown, and is sometimes given in another form (e.g., "al-Qalʿānī"; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 390); moreover, the

ordered him to Dabā;[345] and for 'Arfajah b. Harthamah[346] and ordered him to Mahrah,[347] and commanded the two of them to join, each one of them having in his own province priority over his companion. He sent Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah[348] on the heels of 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl, saying that when he was finished with al-Yamāmah[349] he should betake himself to Quḍā'ah and fight the apostates with his cavalry. And [he tied a banner] for Ṭurayfah b. Ḥājiz[350] and commanded him to [attack] Banū Sulaym and those who backed them of Hawāzin; and [he tied a banner] for Suwayd b. Muqarrin and ordered him to the coastal district of Yemen, and for al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī[351] and ordered him to Baḥrayn. So the commanders set out from Dhū al-Qaṣṣah and encamped on their course [of march], whereupon each commander's army overtook him, he having charged them with his instructions.[352] (Abū Bakr) [also] wrote to all the apostates to whom [a force] had been sent.

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word al-Ghalfānī/al-Qal'ānī could have resulted from misreading the word al-Ghaṭafānī—an appropriate *nisbah* for someone (like 'Uyaynah) from Fazārah, as Fazārah was a section of Ghaṭafān.

345. Market town and former capital of 'Umān. Cf. Yāqūt, s.v.; Muqaddasī (BGA 3), 53.

346. A chief of the Bāriq clan of Khuzā'ah. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 401; Caskel, II, 192.

347. A tribe of southern Arabia between Ḥaḍramawt and 'Umān. Cf. Yāqūt, s.v.; Caskel, II, 382.

348. An ally of the Zuhrah or Jumaḥ clan of Quraysh, of uncertain tribal origin; he was an early convert to Islam. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 391.

349. An oasis district in central eastern Arabia, about 750 km east of Medina, just west of the Dahnā' sands; its main oases were Ḥajr (not to be confused with Hajar) and Jaww. Cf. *TAVO* B, VII, 1, and Thilo, s.v., and Map D, warning against misunderstandings in Yāqūt and other medieval geographers.

350. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 346, has "Ma'n b. Ḥājiz." Ṭurayfah is said to have been a companion of the Prophet by Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 51–52 ("Ṭurayfah b. Ḥajir"), but little information on him survives. Nuwayrī, 65, has "Ma'n b. Ḥājiz—but some say Ṭurayfah b. Ḥājiz. . . ."

351. Al-'Alā', of the South Arabian tribe of al-Ṣadif, had been the Prophet's governor over Baḥrayn; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 7–8.

352. The text leaves ambiguous whether this phrase refers to the commanders instructing the troops or to Abū Bakr's instructing the commanders.

[*Abū Bakr's Letter to the Apostates*][353]

According to al-Sarī—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Mālik: Qaḥdham[354] participated with him in commissioning [the armies] and in writing [the letter to the apostates], so that the letters to the apostate tribes of the Arabs were identical:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From Abū Bakr, caliph of the Apostle of God, to whomever this letter of mine may reach among the commoners and notables who has stood fast in his Islām or who has turned back from it: Peace upon those who follow the [true] guidance and who have not turned back to error and blindness after [having received] the [true] guidance. Verily I praise to you God, other than Whom there is no god. I bear witness that there is no god but God alone, Who has no associate, and that Muḥammad is His Servant and His Apostle; we affirm that which he brought, and that which he denied we declare to be unbelief and strive against it. Now then: Verily God, may He be exalted, sent Muḥammad with His truth to His creation [1882]
> as a bearer of good tidings and as a warner[355] and as one calling [others] to God, with His permission, and as a light-bringing lamp,[356] so that he might warn [all] who live, and so that the saying against the unbelievers might be fulfilled.[357] So God guided with the truth[358] whoever responded to Him, and the Apostle of God, with His permission, struck whoever turned his back to Him until he came to Islām, willingly or grudgingly. Then God took His Apostle to Him, he having carried out God's com-

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353. This material is omitted by Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*; cf. Balansī, 27–29; Nuwayrī, 65–69.

354. He is identified in the index to the Cairo edition as the scribe of Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, but, as the latter was a governor of the late Umayyad period, he cannot be meant here; cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2388, and II, 1739.

355. Cf. Qur'ān 2:119.

356. Qur'ān 33:46.

357. Qur'ān 36:70.

358. Nuwayrī, 66: "to the truth."

mand, and counseled His community, and carried out [the duty] that was upon him; for God had made that clear to him and to the people of Islam in the book that was sent down. Thus He said,[359] "You are dead, and they are dead"; and he said,[360] "We have not made any man before you immortal; so, if you die, should they then be immortal?" And to the believers He said,[361] "Muḥammad is only an apostle. The apostles before him have passed away; so, if he dies or is killed, will you turn on your heels? For he who may turn on his heels will not harm God one whit, but God will reward the grateful." So whoever worshiped Muḥammad, indeed Muḥammad has died; but whoever worshiped God alone, Who has no associate, indeed God is always with you,[362] Living, Eternal. He does not die,[363] nor do slumber or sleep take Him; He guards His cause, takes vengeance on His enemy, and punishes him.

I recommend to you the fear of God and your right share and portion of God[364] and of that which your Prophet brought you; and that you let yourselves be guided by His guidance, and cleave to the religion[365] of God. For indeed, whomever God has not guided is astray,[366] and whomever He has not made safe is afflicted, and whomever God has not helped is forsaken. Whomever God guides is on the right way, and whom-
[1883] ever He allows to go astray is lost. God said,[367] "Whomever God guides is on the right way, but whomever He lets get lost, you will find no friend to guide him";

359. Qur'ān 39:30.
360. Qur'ān 21:34.
361. Qur'ān 3:144.
362. Lit., "God lies in wait for you," meaning that He is everywhere and cannot be evaded—a reference to Qur'ān 89:14.
363. Cf. Qur'ān 2:255.
364. Balansī, 28: "... and I urge you to your right share...."
365. Or, possibly, "obedience": *dīn*.
366. Balansī, 28: "lost," with greater divergence through the remainder of the paragraph.
367. Qur'ān 18:17.

nor will any work of his in the world be accepted until he acknowledges Him; and neither repentance nor ransom[368] will be accepted from him in the afterlife.

I have learned that some of you have turned back from your religion after you had acknowledged Islam and labored in it, out of negligence of God and ignorance of His command, and in compliance with the devil. God said,[369] "When We said to the angels, 'Bow down before Adam,' they bowed down except for Iblīs. He was one of the *jinn*; so he strayed from the command of his Lord. Do you then wish to take him and his offspring as friends to the exclusion of Me, even though they are your enemy? How bad an exchange [that is] for the transgressors!" And He said,[370] "The devil is an enemy to you, so take him for an enemy. He only calls his party that they may be among the people of the flame." I have sent to you someone[371] at the head of an army of the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār* and those who follow [them] in good works. I ordered him not to fight anyone or to kill anyone until he has called him to the cause of God; so that[372] those who respond to him and acknowledge [Him] and renounce [unbelief] and do good works, [my envoy] shall accept him and help him to [do right], but I have ordered him to fight those who deny [Him] for that reason. So he will not spare any one of them he can gain mastery over, [but may] burn them with fire, slaughter them by any means, and take women and children captive; nor shall he accept from anyone anything except Islam. So whoever follows him, it is better for him; but whoever leaves him, will not weaken God.[373] I have

368. *Ṣarf wa'adl*. For different possible meanings of this phrase, see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1682, col. 1 top.

369. Qur'ān 18:50.

370. Qur'ān 35:6.

371. Balansī, 28: "Khālid b. al-Walīd."

372. The text in Balansī, 28–29, differs considerably for the remainder of this sentence, although the general import is the same.

373. Or perhaps "God will not be incapable [of dealing with him]."

[1884] ordered my messenger to read my letter to you in all gathering places.[374] The invitation [to God's cause] shall be the call to prayer. If, when the Muslims make the call to prayer, they do likewise [in response], leave them alone; but, if they do not make the call to prayer [with the Muslims], then grant them no respite. And, if they do make the call to prayer [with the Muslims], ask them what has come over them; then, if they deny [God], grant them no respite, but, if they acknowledge [God], He will accept them and bring them to what they should do.

So the messengers put the letters through before the armies, and the commanders went out, taking with them the treaties:[375]

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a treaty from Abū Bakr, caliph of the Apostle of God, to so-and-so, sent [by Abū Bakr] when he dispatched [people] to fight whoever had repudiated Islam. He requires him to fear God to the utmost of his ability in all his affairs, whether they be secret or public; and he orders him to take God's command seriously, and to strive against those who turn away from Him and turn back from Islām to the desires of the devil,[376] [only] after he has explained to them [why they are to be attacked][377] and called them to the cause of Islam. Then, if they respond, he should restrain himself from them; but if they do not respond, he should launch his attack against them until they acknowledge Him. Then he

374. Or perhaps "... to read my letter in all gathering places of yours." Here it is not clear whether the text refers to the gathering places of the tribes being contacted or to those of the messengers; in the latter instance the party addressed would have shifted from the tribes to the messengers. This shift has already been completed in the next sentence. The parallel version in Balansī, 29, ends with this sentence.

375. Cf. Nuwayrī, 68–69; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 16 l. 18ff., a loose parallel written from Abū Bakr to Khālid b. al-Walīd.

376. Ibn Ḥubaysh: "to error and *jāhiliyya* and the desires (*amānī*) of the devil...." The editor of Nuwayrī suggests "his refuge" or "place of refuge." The rest of the sentence is missing in Ibn Ḥubaysh and in Nuwayrī.

377. *Ba'da an yughdira ilayhim*, lit., "after he has apologized to them."

should inform them of [the duties] that are incumbent upon them and [the advantages] that accrue to them, and should take what is [imposed] on them and give them what they are due. He should not give [those that do not respond] a respite; nor should the Muslims turn back from fighting their enemy. Whoever does respond to God's command and acknowledges Him, he will accept that from him and help him [to accomplish] it in kindness. He should only fight whoever denies God [so as to make him] acknowledge that which has come from [1885] God. So if [someone] has responded to the call, [the Muslim] has no cause to get at him; God shall be his reckoner thereafter in whatever he seeks to conceal.[378] Whoever does not respond to the cause of God shall be killed and fought wherever he may be and wherever he may have come to, as an enemy.[379] [God] shall not accept from [such a] one anything that he may give, except Islam; but whoever responds to Him and acknowledges [Him], He shall accept [it] from him and instruct him. [The Muslim] should fight whoever denies [God]; so, if God lets him prevail over [the unbeliever], he should make slaughter among them by any means, with weapons and fire; then he should divide that which God bestowed as spoil upon him, except for the fifth part, which he should convey to us. And [he should take care] to prevent his companions from rash acts[380] and evil [deeds], and not to introduce into them auxiliary troops[381] until he can get to know them and learn what[382] they are, [making sure that] they should not be

378. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 16: "in his actions."

379. Nuwayrī and Cairo read *ḥaythu balagha murāghima-hu* for the text's *ḥaythu balagha murāghamatan*. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 16, last line: "wherever he learned of their call [to Islam]," *ḥaythu balagha bi-du'ā'i-him*.

380. Lit., "haste," "precipitancy" (*al-'ajalah*).

381. Text has *ḥashw*; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 17, has "a kind of people" (*jins min al-nās*). But cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 43, 4 lines from end, where in another context he speaks of *ḥashw kathīr min al-'arab*, "many Arab (i.e., nomad?) auxiliaries."

382. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 17: "who."

spies,[383] and that the Muslims may not be undermined because of them. And [he should] treat the Muslims justly and deal gently with them in marching and encamping, and should seek them out. And none of (the Muslims) should try to outdo another [in reaching a place]. [The commander] should follow [my] counsel regarding good companionship and gentle speech, as far as the Muslims are concerned.

The Remainder of the Account about Ghaṭafān at the Time of Their Joining with Ṭulayḥah and Other Things Relating to the Affair of Ṭulayḥah

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd—his uncle—Sayf; and accord-
[1886] ing to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad and Badr b. al-Khalīl and Hishām b. ʿUrwah:[384] After ʿAbs and Dhubyān and those attached to them took refuge at al-Buzākhah, Tulayḥah sent to Jadīlah and al-Ghawth [proposing that they] unite with him; so people from the two clans hurried to him, having ordered their tribe to join them, and came before Ṭulayḥah. Meanwhile Abū Bakr sent ʿAdī [b. Ḥātim of Ṭayyiʾ] to his tribe, before sending Khālid out from Dhū al-Qaṣṣah, saying, "Overtake them [so that] they will not be destroyed." So he went out to them and cajoled them.[385] Khālid went out on (ʿAdī's) heels, and Abū Bakr ordered him to begin with Ṭayyiʾ on the flanks [of the mountains],[386] then to head for al-Buzākhah, and then in third place for al-Buṭāḥ, and not to leave [a place] when he finished with a group until he had spoken to (Abū Bakr) and he had ordered him to do so. Abū Bakr let it be known[387]

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383. *ʿUyūn*. Manuscript C has "aid" [*ʿawn*]; Kos has "a wealthy person" [*ghanī*].

384. Balansī, 31; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 346–47; Nuwayrī, 70; Diyārbakrī, II, 205–6 (to p. 62, below); Caetani, 608.

385. Lit., "he twirled [the hair] of the upper parts of the camel's back" (*fatala-hum fī al-dhirwah wa al-ghārib*); on the idiom, see Ibn Manẓūr, XIV, 284, left col., s.v. *al-dhirwah*.

386. *ʿAlā al-ʾaknāf*, that is, on the sides of the "mountains of Ṭayyiʾ" (see note 388, below). Al-Aknāf may be a place name, but more probably it was simply a descriptive term; cf. Yāqūt, s.v.

387. I.e., as a ruse. Cf. p. 63, below.

that he was going out to Khaybar and from it would be going down to gather with him so that he would meet him on the flanks of Salmā.[388] So[389] Khālid went out, skirting al-Buzākhah, and inclined toward Aja', letting it be known that he would be going out to Khaybar[390] and then gathering with them. That made the Ṭayyi' hold back and be slow [in joining] Ṭulayḥah; meanwhile, 'Adī reached them and invited them [to Islam]. At this they said, "We will never render the oath of allegiance to Abū al-Faṣīl." So he said: "There has come to you a group who would violate your womenfolk. Indeed, you will [have to] nickname him 'the Greatest Stud.'[391] So it is your business." At this they said to him, "Then meet the army [of Khālid] and protect us from it so that we can extricate those of us who went to al-Buzākhah [to join Ṭulayḥah]; for, if we break with Ṭulayḥah while they are in his hands, he will kill them or take them hostage."

So[392] 'Adī met Khālid while he was in al-Sunḥ,[393] saying "Oh [1887]
Khālid, hold back from me[394] for three days; there should gather to you five hundred warriors with whom you may strike your enemy. That is better than that you should hasten them to the Fire and be distracted by them." So [Khālid] did that, whereupon 'Adī returned to [the tribe of Ṭayyi']. They had sent their tribes-

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388. *Bi-al-'aknāf, 'aknāf Salmā.* Salmā and Aja' [next line] were the "two mountains of Ṭayyi'" [modern Jabal Shammar] in the Najd, about 400 km northeast of Medina. Cf. *EI*², s.vv. "Adja' and Salmā" [W. Caskel]; Thilo, s.v.v. and maps A and B. Cf. Balansī, 21.

389. Cf. Nuwayrī, 71 [—Ibn al-Kalbī].

390. An important oasis town in the northern Ḥijāz. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Khaybar" [L. Veccia Vaglieri].

391. The account turns around a play on words. Abū Bakr literally means "father of the lively young he-camel"; a *bakr* is young and strong, perhaps several years old, and the word is commonly used as a name. The Ṭayyi' refer to him pejoratively as "Abū al-Faṣīl"; Faṣīl, never used as a name, means "newly weaned camel," presumably implying inexperience, weakness, and helplessness. The *faḥl* or stallion [here translated "stud"] is a byword for strength and vigor; hence the use of the word to designate the most highly esteemed poets as "*fuḥūl al-shu'arā'*," etc. Cf. p. 53.

392. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 18, citing Wāqidī, has an interesting variant version of this section. Cf. Nuwayrī, 71.

393. Yāqūt knows this as a place in the Najd, but his localization is clearly derived from this account. Cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 148; *Emendanda*.

394. I.e., from his tribe, Ṭayyi'. Kos has "from us."

men[395] to [those of them who had joined Ṭulayḥah], so that they reached them as reinforcements from Buzākhah. But for that, they would not have been left alone.[396] Then ʿAdī returned to Khālid with [news of] their Islām,[397] and Khālid set out toward al-Ansur,[398] intending [to confront] Jadīlah. At this ʿAdī said to him, "Ṭayyiʾ is like a bird, and Jadīlah is one of the wings of Ṭayyiʾ. So give me a few days' time; perhaps God will recover Jadīlah just as he recovered al-Ghawth." So [Khālid] did so. ʿAdī went to them and kept after them until they rendered the oath of allegiance to him, whereupon he brought [Khālid] [news of] their Islam. A thousand of their mounted warriors joined the Muslims. So [ʿAdī] was the best person born in the country of Ṭayyiʾ and the greatest of [the tribe], with regard to the blessing he brought upon them.

As for Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī,[399] he alleged that, when Usāmah and those of the army who had been with him returned, Abū Bakr became earnest about fighting the apostates and went out with the men. He [remained] with them until he encamped at Dhū al-Qaṣṣah, one stage from Medina toward the Najd. There he put his armies in battle order, and then sent Khālid b. al-Walīd [to be] over the men. He put Thābit b. Qays[400] over the Anṣār, ordered him to [join] Khālid,[401] and ordered [Khālid] to head for Ṭalḥah[402] and ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn[403] while the two of them were at Buzākhah, one of the wells of Banū

395. Lit., "their brothers" [*ikhwāna-hum*].

396. I.e., Ṭulayḥah would not have let them go.

397. Perhaps here and several lines farther on we should translate "their submission."

398. According to Yāqūt, a well of Ṭayyiʾ, this side of the sands (i.e., west of the sands of Nafūd and Shaqīq).

399. Cf. Baladhurī, *Futūḥ*, 95–96; Nuwayrī, 71–72; Caetani, 608–9.

400. Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās, orator of the Anṣār and of the Prophet; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 229–30.

401. I.e., to join Khālid's army as a subordinate commander.

402. I.e., Ṭulayḥah, here given in its regular form, rather than in the usual pejorative diminutive.

403. A chief of Fazārah; he opposed the Prophet at the Battle of the Ditch (Khandaq), later embraced Islam, then joined Ṭulayḥa in apostasy. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, ʿUyaynah was a by-name of Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan al-Ghalfānī (see note 344, above); Caskel, II, 580. Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 390, IV, 166–67, clearly consider them different people.

Asad. (Abū Bakr)[404] let it be known that he would go with those who were with him to meet (Khālid), [coming] from the direction of Khaybar; that was a ruse, as he had sent all the army with Khālid, but he wished to let the enemy know that in order to frighten them; then he returned to Medina. Khālid[405] b. al- [1888]
Walīd marched until, when he came near the enemy, he sent out as scouts ʿUkkāshah b. Miḥṣan[406] and Thābit b. Aqram, one of the Banū al-ʿAjlān and an ally of the Anṣār.[407] When the two of them got near the enemy, Ṭulayḥah and his brother Salamah came out to take a look.[408] As for Salamah, it was not long before he killed Thābit. Ṭulayḥah called to his brother when he saw that he had finished off his opponent, [saying], "Help me with [my] man, for he is getting the better [of me].[409] So they teamed up against (ʿUkkāshah) until they killed him; then they went back. Khālid advanced with the men until they passed the slain Thābit b. Aqram, unaware of him until the riding camels stepped on him with their feet. That distressed the Muslims greatly; then they looked, and lo, there prostrate before them was ʿUkkāshah b. Miḥṣan. So the Muslims were overcome with grief at that, and said, "Two of the leaders of the Muslims and two of their horsemen have been killed." So Khālid turned toward Ṭayyiʾ.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Saʿd b. Mujāhid—al-

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404. The narrative shifts to direct speech (of Abū Bakr) for the first part of this sentence, but it has been converted to indirect speech in the translation to make it fit more smoothly with the rest of the account.

405. Here begins a parallel with Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 347; cf. Baladhurī, *Futūḥ*, 96; Diyarbakrī, II, 207 (< Ibn Isḥāq); Balansī, 38–39; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 21 bottom (< Ibn Isḥāq); Ibn Ḥubaysh, 21–22 (Wāqidī).

406. An Asadite, ally of ʿAbd Shams (Umayyah clan of Quraysh) before Islam, an early settler in Medina, and one of the most prominent early companions of the Prophet, who promised him entry into paradise. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 1–2.

407. Banū ʿAjlān was a branch of the Ḥijāz section of the Balī tribe. Thābit was an early convert in Medina; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 220; Caskel, II, 546.

408. Lit. "to see and to ask." At this point Nuwayrī, 72, inserts the following passage: "The two of them [Khālid and Salamah] met them both [ʿUkkāshah and Thābit], whereupon Salamah challenged Thābit to single combat, and ʿUkkāshah challenged Ṭulayḥah."

409. *ʿAkil*, "devouring." See *Glossary*, s.v. Balansī, 39; Diyārbakrī, II, 207; and Ibn Ḥubaysh, 21–22 have "for he is killing me."

Muḥill b. Khalīfah—ʿAdī b. Ḥātim: I sent to Khālid b. al-Walīd, [saying]: "March to me and remain with me a few days, so that I might send to the tribes of Ṭayyiʾ and gather for you from them more [men] than you have with you. Then I will accompany you to your enemy." So he marched to me.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbd al-Salām b. Suwayd—one of the Anṣār: When Khālid saw how grief-stricken his companions were over the killing of Thābit and ʿUkkāshah, he said to them, "Would you like me to repair with you to one of the tribes of the Arabs, whose numbers are great, whose [1889] might[410] is strong, and among whom no one has apostatized from Islam?" To which the men replied, "And what tribe do you mean, what an excellent tribe it is, by God?" He said, "Ṭayyiʾ." At this they said, "May God give you success, what a good idea you have had!" So he went with them and stayed with the army among Ṭayyiʾ.

According to Hishām—Judayl b. Khabbāb[411] al-Nabhānī of Banū ʿAmr b. Ubayy: Khālid advanced until he encamped at Uruk,[412] the city of Salmā.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Isḥāq: He encamped at Ajaʾ, whereupon he put [the army] in order for war; then he marched until the two [forces] met at Buzākhah, while Banū ʿĀmir,[413] under their chiefs and leaders, were nearby listening and waiting expectantly [to see] who would be defeated.[414]

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Saʿd b. Mujāhid—elders of his tribe:[415] We asked Khālid that we [be allowed to] protect

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410. Or perhaps "weapons" or "valor": *shawkah*.

411. Kos has Judayl b. Jāb (?). Nabhān was a branch of the Ghawth clan of Ṭayyiʾ, but no lineage of ʿAmr b. Ubayy is listed in it; cf. Caskel, I, table 257, II, 439.

412. Yāqūt, s.v. "Uruk," confirms that Uruk is the city of Salmā (perhaps deriving his information from this account) and claims that it was in Ghaṭafān country.

413. Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah, a large tribal group of central Arabia that included such tribes as Kilāb, Kaʿb, ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿah, Hilāl, and Numayr, among others. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa" (W. Caskel).

414. Cf. Balansī, 6.

415. His tribe was Ṭayyiʾ. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 347; Caetani, 609.

him against Qays,[416] for Banū Asad were our allies, so he said, "By God, Qays is not the weaker of the two powers; direct yourself at whichever of the two tribes you wish." Then ʿAdī said: "If [even] the closest of my family and the closest of my tribe left this religion,[417] I would fight them because of it; so should I abstain from fighting Banū Asad because of their [former] alliance [with my tribe]? No, by the Eternal God, I will not!" At this, Khālid said to him: "Fighting against either of the two parties is [still] holy war (*jihād*). Do not oppose the [1890] opinion of your companions; [rather], proceed to one of the two parties and conduct (your companions) to the enemy they are most enthusiastic to fight."

Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbd al-Salām b. Suwayd: The horsemen of Ṭayyiʾ used to meet the horsemen of Banū Asad and Fazārah before the arrival of Khālid among them, and they would exchange words without fighting. Asad and Fazārah would say, "No, by God, we will never render the oath of allegiance to Abū al-Faṣīl," whereupon the horsemen of Ṭayyiʾ would say to them, "I bear witness that [Abū Bakr] will fight you until you [will be willing to] call him "father of the greatest stud."[418]

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. Yazīd b. Rukānah—ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah:[419] When the men fought, ʿUyaynah fought energetically on the side of Ṭulayḥah at the head of seven hundred of Banū Fazārah. Ṭulayḥah was wrapped up in a cloak of his in the courtyard of one of his hair tents, pretending to prophesy for

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416. Qays ʿAylān (or Qays b. ʿAylān) was a broad genealogical grouping that included the tribes of Ghaṭafān, Sulaym, Hawāzin, ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah, and others. Cf. Caskel, II, 462, s.v. "Qays b. al-Nās"; *EI*², s.v. "Ḳays ʿAylān" (W. M. Watt). Presumably in the present context it is meant as a reference to Fazārah, as suggested by Landau-Tasseron, "The Participation of Ṭayyiʾ in the Ridda," 63. In this account the Ṭayyiʾ ask Khālid not to line them up against Asad, their former allies, when the battle is closed, but rather against Fazārah (E. Landau-Tasseron, personal communication).

417. Kos and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 347, have "If this came down on those who are the closest of my family . . . ."

418. Cf. p. 61 and note 391, above, for an explanation of the plays on words.

419. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 347–48; Baladhuri, *Futūh*, 96; Balansī, 35–36; Diyārbakrī, II, 207 top; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 20 middle; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 21; Nuwayrī, 72–73; Caetani, 614–15.

them while the men were fighting. After the warfare had shaken ʿUyaynah and the fighting had become severe, he returned to Ṭulayḥah and said to him, "Has Gabriel come to you yet?" He replied that he had not, so (ʿUyaynah) returned to fight until, when the fighting became severe and the warfare shook him [again], he returned to him and said: "You bastard![420] Has Gabriel come to you yet?" (Ṭulayḥah) replied, "No, by God." ʿUyaynah was uttering an oath:[421] "How long will it be, by God? It has worn us out!"[422] Then he returned to fight, until, when [the revelation] came, he returned to him and said, "Has Gabriel come to you yet?" (Ṭulayḥah) said that he had, so he asked, "So what did he say to you?" He replied, "He told me that I have a millstone[423] like his millstone, and a story[424]
[1891] that you shall not forget." ʿUyaynah said, "I think God knew that there would be a story you would not forget, Oh Banū Fazārah, in this way; so turn away, for by God this one is a liar."[425] So they turned away, and the men were routed. Whereupon they came to Ṭulayḥah, saying, "What do you order us [to do]?" Now he had made his horse ready near him, and prepared a camel for his wife al-Nawār, so when they came to him and asked him what he ordered them to do, he stood up, jumped on his horse, and carried his wife to save her. [Then] he said, "Whoever of you can do as I have done and save his family, let him do so." Then he traveled by al-Jūshiyyah[426] until he

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420. Lit., "May you have no father!"

421. *Yaqūlu . . . ḥilfan.* E. Landau-Tasseron suggests that the text should perhaps be emended to *yaqūlu . . . ʿalafan,* "he said rudely." (personal communication).

422. *Qad balagha minnā.*

423. *Raḥā.* The word has many significations—mill, molar tooth, high rugged ground, breast, tribe, chief, or any of several other meanings; see Ibn Manẓūr, XIV, 314.

424. Baladhuri, *Futūḥ,* 96: "a day"; Balansi, 36: "an effect"; Diyarbakri, II, 207 and Ibn Ḥubaysh, 21: "a matter."

425. Diyarbakri, II, 297, and Ibn Ḥubaysh, 21, have: "'. . . a matter you will not forget, Oh Fazārah, in this way'—and he pointed to them [standing] under the sun. 'This one, by God, is a liar . . .'." Ibn Ḥubaysh, 20, has "By God, I think we will have a story we won't forget."

426. Reading with Nuwayrī, 73; text has "al-Ḥawshiyyah." Al-Jūshiyyah was, according to Yāqūt (s.v. "Jūsiyyah," second half of article), a town between Najd and Syria.

reached Syria. His gathering scattered, and God killed some of them. Banū ʿĀmir had been near them with their leaders and chiefs, and those tribes of Sulaym and Hawāzin were [also] in that state, but when God inflicted upon Ṭulayḥah and Fazārah that which befell them, those [tribes] came, saying, "We enter into that which we had left, and we believe in God and His Apostle, and we accept His sovereignty over our property and ourselves."

Abū Jaʿfar said, the reason for the apostasy of ʿUyaynah and Ghaṭafān and those who apostatized of Ṭayyiʾ was [as follows]:

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd—his uncle—Sayf, and according to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam—Ḥabīb b. Rabīʿah al-Asadī—ʿUmārah b. Fulān al-Asadī:[427] Ṭulayḥah [1892] had apostatized in the lifetime of the Apostle of God, and had asserted a claim to prophecy, so the Prophet sent Ḍirār b. al-Azwar[428] to his tax agents[429] over the Banū Asad [to find out] about that, and ordered them to stand firm in that [matter] against all who apostatized. So they perturbed Ṭulayḥah and made him afraid. The Muslims encamped at Wāridāt,[430] while the unbelievers encamped at Samīrāʾ, and the Muslims continued growing [in numbers] and the unbelievers decreasing until al-Ḍirār determined to march on Ṭulayḥah, so that he took everyone[431] who remained peaceably, except for a blow that he struck [at Ṭulayḥah] with the cutting sword. But [the sword] shrank from him,[432] at which [news of this] spread among the army. Then, while they were in that state, the Muslims received the news of the death of their Prophet. People in the army said

427. Diyarbakri, II, 260; Nuwayrī, 69–70; Caetani, 606–607.

428. A warrior and poet of Asad; the Prophet appointed him tax agent over the Banū al-Ṣaydāʾ of Asad and Banū al-Dīl. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 39–40.

429. *ʿUmmāl*; sometimes the word seems to mean "governor" in a more general sense.

430. A place northeast of Samīrāʾ; cf. Yāqūt, s.v. and Thilo, s.v.

431. Reading with Kos and Cairo edition. The sentences that follow are confused; Nuwayrī, 70, evidently in an attempt to smooth them out, has the following: "... so that he took everyone by surrender. Then he agreed to deliver a blow with a sword, so he shrank from him. [News of] that blow spread among the army, but they said, 'The weapons will not affect Ṭulayḥah.' So while the army was in that state, the news of the Prophet's death reached them...."

432. I.e., the sword miraculously did not harm Ṭulayḥah.

about that blow, "Weapons will not affect Ṭulayḥah." So from that day forth the Muslims knew decreasing [of numbers], and people scattered to Ṭulayḥah and his situation was in the ascendant.[433] Dhū al-Khimārayn ʿAwf al-Jadhamī[434] approached so that he encamped opposite us. Thumāmah b. Aws b. Lām al-Ṭāʾī[435] sent to him, "With me are 500 of Jadīlah, so, if something should happen to you unexpectedly, we are at al-Qurdūdah[436] and al-Ansur just this side of the sands. And Muhalhil b. Zayd sent to him, "With me are the army (*ḥadd*) of al-Ghawth, so if
[1893] something should happen to you unexpectedly, we are on the flanks [of the mountains] facing Fayd.[437] Ṭayyiʾ showed nothing but benevolence toward Dhū al-Khimārayn ʿAwf because there had been an alliance in the *jāhiliyyah* among Asad and Ghaṭafān and Ṭayyiʾ; then, some time before the sending of the Prophet, Ghaṭafān and Asad gathered against Ṭayyiʾ and forced them to leave the territory they had had in the *jāhiliyyah*, [both] Jadīlah and Ghawth. ʿAwf disliked that, so he broke with Ghaṭafān. The two tribes followed one another in emigration. ʿAwf sent to these two tribes of Ṭayyiʾ, renewing their alliance, and undertook to help them, so that they [were able to] return to their territories. That distressed Ghaṭafān; but, when the Apostle of God died, ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn stood up among Ghaṭafān saying, "I no longer recognize the boundaries of Ghaṭafān since the termination of what was between us and Banū Asad, so I will renew the alliance that was between us of old and follow Ṭulayḥah. By God,[438] it is preferable for us to follow a prophet from our two allies than to follow a prophet from Quraysh. [In any

433. Diyarbakri, II, 160, and Nuwayrī, 70, gloss this passage, but the idea there also is clearly that the death of the Prophet strengthened Ṭulayḥah and weakened the Muslims.

434. Jadhīmah was a clan of Asad. Little information is available on Dhū al-Khimārayn, "the one with two veils"; cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen* VI, 148; Landau-Tasseron, "The Participation of Ṭayyiʾ," 58–59; Landau-Tasseron, "Asad," 21.

435. Lām b. ʿAmr was a branch of the Jadīlah clan of Ṭayyiʾ; cf. Caskel, II, 376.

436. Yāqūt, s.v. "al-Qurdūdah" offers a variation of this sentence but provides no further information on its location.

437. Or "at Al-Aknāf facing Fayd." Fayd is a well-known oasis on the Mecca-Kūfa road, just east of Mt. Salmā. Cf. Yāqūt, s.v.; Thilo, s.v. and Map B.

438. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 342.

case] Muḥammad has died, whereas Ṭulayḥah remains." Then they agreed with his opinion, so he did [as he had proposed], and so did they. So when Ghaṭafān gathered to assist Ṭulayḥah, Ḍirār and Quḍāʿī and Sinān[439] and whoever [else] had undertaken some of the Prophet's work among Banū Asad fled to Abū Bakr. Those who had been with them were scattered, so they gave Abū Bakr the news and told him to exercise caution.[440] Then Ḍirār b. al-Azwar said, "I have seen no one, other than the Apostle of God,[441] who is more likely[442] to carry out widespread war than Abū Bakr; for [when] we began to tell him [of it], it was as if we had informed him of something to his advantage, [1894] not [something] detrimental to him."

The delegations of Banū Asad and Ghaṭafān and Hawāzin and Ṭayyiʾ[443] came to him, and the delegations of Quḍāʿah encountered Usāmah b. Zayd, whereupon he led them to Abū Bakr; so they gathered in Medina, staying with the chiefs of the Muslims on the tenth [day] after the death of the Apostle of God. Then they proposed to do the ritual prayer, provided that they be exempted from the *zakāt*. A council of those who were lodging them agreed to accept that, so that they might attain what they desired. Every one of the chiefs of the Muslims lodged someone of them, except al-ʿAbbās. Then they came to Abū Bakr to inform him of their tidings and of what their council had agreed on. But Abū Bakr did not [agree],[444] for he refused [to accept] anything except what the Apostle of God had accepted. They refused [these terms], so he sent them back, giving them respite of a day and a night [to leave], whereupon they dispersed to their tribes.

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439. Quḍāʿī b. ʿAmr was the Prophet's tax agent over the Banū al-Ḥārith of Asad, cf. Ṭabarī I, 1798; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 305. Sinān b. Abī Sinān b. Miḥsan al-Asadī was an ally of ʿAbd Shams (Umayyah—Quraysh) and an early convert to Islam; he was the Prophet's tax agent over the Banū Mālik of Asad; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 358. On Quḍāʿī and Sinān, cf. Landau-Tasseron, "Asad," 19.

440. Or "vigilant." Kos and Manuscript B omit the phrase.

441. Kos omits this phrase.

442. *Amla'a* "fuller," hence "more suitable, more capable, more inclined to," as suggested by *Glossary*.

443. Cf. pp. 44–45, and notes.

444. *Illā mā kāna min Abī Bakr.*

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ḥajjāj—ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb:[445] The Apostle of God had sent ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to Jayfar[446] upon his return from the farewell pilgrimage.[447] Then the Apostle of God died, while ʿAmr was in ʿUmān; so he came until, when he reached al-Baḥrayn, he found al-Mundhir b. Sāwī[448] on the point of death. Whereupon al-Mundhir said to him, "Advise me with regard to my wealth in a matter that will be to my benefit and not to my detriment." He replied, "Give your real property as an almsgiving (*ṣadaqah*)[449] that will continue after you." So he did that. Then (ʿAmr) left him and marched among the Banū Tamīm;[450] then he went from them to the territory of Banū ʿĀmir and stayed with Qurrah b. Hubayrah,[451] while Qurrah
[1895] was playing for time,[452] and all the Banū ʿĀmir likewise, except for a few.[453] Then (ʿAmr) marched until he came to Medina; at this Quraysh gathered about him and asked him [for information]. So he informed them that armies were gathered together from Dabā to where he had reached them. At this they dispersed and formed circles.[454] ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb came to greet ʿAmr, and passed by a circle while they were [talking] about what they

445. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 352–53; Balansi, 43; Diyarbakri, II, 208; Caetani, 584.

446. Jayfar b. al-Julandā of the Azd tribe and his brother ʿAbd were corulers in ʿUmān who embraced Islam upon receiving a letter from the Prophet; cf. Caskel, II, 104, 256 (s.v. "ʿAbd b. al-Julandā"); Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 313, Shoufani, 36–37. Their father, al-Julandā b. al-Mustakir, had founded the dynasty at Ṣuhār; cf. Caskel, II, 264; J. C. Wilkinson, "The Julandā."

447. The Prophet's final pilgrimage to Mecca, AH 10. Cf. note 104, above.

448. A chief of the Dārim clan of Tamīm, he was the Prophet's tax agent over al-Baḥrayn; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 417; Caskel, II, 430.

449. Reading the verb as *taṣaddaq* instead of the text's *ṣaddiq*. The term *ṣadaqah* is here used in the later sense as alms, rather than as a tax imposed on nomads; cf. note 242, above.

450. Tamīm b. Murr was a powerful tribe of central and northeastern Arabia; they had close ties to Mecca on the eve of Islam. Cf. Watt, *Medina*, 137–40; Caskel, II, 544; M. J. Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm," *JESHO* 8 (1965), 113–63.

451. Chieftain of Banū Qushayr, a part of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah; he embraced Islam late in the Prophet's life, and was sent by him as tax agent over his tribe. Cf. Caskel, II, 473; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, s.v.

452. Lit., "putting a foot forward and holding a foot back."

453. *Al-khawāṣṣ*. Kos, manuscript C, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, omit the clause of exception.

454. I.e., circles formed to discuss the news.

had heard from ʿAmr. In that circle were ʿUthmān [b. ʿAffān], ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib], Ṭalḥah [b. ʿUbaydallāh], al-Zubayr [b. al-ʿAwwām], ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. ʿAwf], and Saʿd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ].[455] When ʿUmar drew near them, they fell silent; so he said, "What are you [talking] about?" But they did not answer him, so he said, "How well I know what you are meeting secretly about!" At this Ṭalḥah grew angry and said, "By God, oh Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, then tell us about the unseen!" He replied, "No one knows the unseen except God; but I think you were saying how much you fear for Quraysh because of the Arabs, and how likely (the Arabs) are not to affirm this cause." [When] they said that he was right, he continued, "Do not fear this situation. By God, I am more afraid of what you might do to the Arabs than I am of what the Arabs might do to you! If you were to go into a hole in the ground, oh company of Quraysh, the Arabs would enter it after you. So be God-fearing in regard to them." He passed on to ʿAmr and greeted him, and then returned to Abū Bakr.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Hishām b. ʿUrwah—his father:[456] Upon his return from ʿUmān after the death of the Apostle of God, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ stayed with Qurrah b. Hubayrah b. Salamah b. Qushayr. Around him was an army of obscure groups (*afnāʾ*) of Banū ʿĀmir. (Qurrah) slaughtered for him[457] and honored his dwelling, and then, when (ʿAmr) wished [to resume] traveling, Qurrah met with him privately and said to him, "Hey you, the Arabs will not be pleased with you by the [demand for] tribute (*al-itāwah*). If you spare them the taking of their wealth, [1896] they will listen to you and obey, but if you deny [that] I do not think they would gather to you." At this ʿAmr replied, "Have you become an unbeliever, Oh Qurrah?" Now around (Qurrah) were the Banū ʿĀmir, and (Qurrah) hated to make the fact that they were following [him] known, lest they should deny following him, with the result that he would end up in a

455. All leading early converts to Islam, and later the six members of the council that selected ʿUthmān to be the third caliph.

456. Cf. Balansī, 44–45; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 352–53.

457. I.e., slaughtered animals for a feast.

disastrous [situation]. So he said, "We shall send you back to your old ways (he had been a Muslim). Let's set a date between us and you [to do battle]." Whereupon ʿAmr said, "Do you threaten us[458] with the Arabs and [try to] frighten us with them? Your alliance is [no better than] your mother's knick-knacks![459] By God, I shall make the cavalry trample you!"[460] And he came to Abū Bakr and the Muslims and gave them the news.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When Khālid was done with the matter of Banū ʿĀmir and their taking the oath of allegiance accepting [the conditions] that he imposed on them,[461] he bound ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn and Qurrah b. Hubayrah to send them to Abū Bakr. When they came before him,[462] Qurrah said to him, "Oh Caliph of the Apostle of God, I had been a Muslim, and I have a witness to that—to my Islam—in ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, [for] he passed by me, whereupon I honored him and showed favor to him and protected him." So Abū Bakr summoned ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, saying, "What do you know about the affairs of this [man]?" Thereupon (ʿAmr) told him the story until he got to what (Qurrah) had said to him regarding the *ṣadaqah* tax,[463] [at which] Qurrah said to him, "Let that be enough for you, may God have mercy on you!" [But] (ʿAmr) said, "By God, not until I have informed him of everything that you said." So he related [it] to him, but Abū Bakr pardoned (Qurrah) and spared his life.

[1897] According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. Yazīd b. Rukānah—ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah:[464] Those who saw ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn with

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458. Reading *a-tūʿidunā* with Cairo ed. and manuscript B for *a-tuwāʿidunā* in the text.

459. Text: *ḥifsh*; Cairo: *ḥafsh*, meaning "your mother's lowly hut," or "incense box" or "box for spindles," etc., in any case, intended as a denigration of Qurrah's promise.

460. Reading with the Cairo edition.

461. Cf. pp. 66–67, above, on ʿĀmir's oath of allegiance; Caetani, 621–22.

462. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 353; Baladhuri, *Futūḥ*, 97; Balansi, 47–48; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 26–27.

463. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*: *zakāt*.

464. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 348; Balansi, 47; Diyarbakri, II, 208; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 25; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 167; Nuwayrī, 74; Caetani, 622.

his hands bound to his neck with a rope informed me that the boys of Medina used to prick him with palm branches, saying, "Oh enemy of God, have you become an unbeliever after [acknowledging] your faith?" Whereupon he would say, "By God, I never believed in God." But Abū Bakr pardoned him and spared his life.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf:[465] The Muslims took a man of Banū Asad, so he was brought to Khālid at al-Ghamr.[466] He was knowledgeable about the affairs of Ṭulayḥah, so Khālid said to him, "Tell us about him and about what he says to you." Whereupon he alleged that among the things he brought [as revelation] was: "By the doves and the wild pigeons, by the famished sparrow hawk, they fasted[467] before you by years, may our kingship reach Iraq and Syria."[468]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Yaʿqūb Saʿīd b. ʿUbaydah:[469] When the people of al-Ghamr took refuge at al-Buzākhah, Ṭulayḥah stood up among them. Then he said, "I order you to make a millstone with handles,[470] with which God can grind up[471] those whom He will, and upon which He may throw down those whom He will." Then he put his armies in battle order. After that he said,[472] "Send two horsemen on two dark horses of Banū Naṣr b. Quʿayn,[473] bringing you a spy." So they sent out two horsemen of Banū Quʿayn, whereupon he and [his brother] Salamah went out as two lookouts.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd b. Thābit b. al-Jidhʿ—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb[474]—those of the [1898]

465. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 348–49; Nuwayrī, 70; Caetani, 605.

466. A well of Asad, evidently just south of Mt. Aja'; cf. Yāqūt, s.v.; Thilo, s.v. and Map B.

467. Text and Nuwayrī, 70: "stood surety" (?); we read with Cairo edition.

468. This passage, like the one at the end of the next paragraph, is couched in rhymed prose reminiscent of the Qur'ān; unlike the Qur'ān, however, the doggerel attributed to Ṭulayḥah has a ludicrous or comic effect.

469. Cf. Balansi, 33, from third sentence onwards; Caetani, 605–6.

470. *Raḥan dhātu ʿuran.*

471. Lit., "strike, smite": *aṣāba.*

472. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 19, l. 16f.

473. A clan of Asad, closely related to Ṭulayḥah's clan. Cf. Caskel, II, 446 and Table 50; Landau-Tasseron, "Asad," 2.

474. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 349 top; Caetani, 617–18.

Anṣār who witnessed Buzākhah: At Buzākhah Khālid did not capture a single family; the families of Banū Asad were guarded. (According to Abū Yaʿqūb: [the families of Asad were] between Mithqab and Falj,[475] and the families of Qays were between Falj and Wāsiṭ.[476]) So no sooner were they defeated than they all recognized Islām out of fear for [their] off-spring, and protected themselves from Khālid by honoring his demands,[477] and claimed [assurances of] safety. Ṭulayḥah[478] went on until he descended among Kalb at al-Naqʿ;[479] then he embraced Islām and remained staying among Kalb until Abū Bakr died. He embraced Islām there when he had learned that Asad and Ghaṭafān and ʿĀmir had embraced Islām. Then he went out toward Mecca to make the *ʿumrah*[480] during the reign of Abū Bakr, and passed by Medina. At this Abū Bakr was told that this was Ṭulayḥah; but he said, "What should I do to him? Leave him alone; for God has guided him to Islam." Ṭulayḥah continued toward Mecca and performed his *ʿumrah*. Then he came to ʿUmar to render the oath of allegiance when he assumed the caliphate. So ʿUmar said to him, "You are the murderer of ʿUkkāshah and Thābit; by God, I do not like you at all." To which he replied, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, why are you troubled by two men whom God ennobled by my hand,[481] when He did not disgrace me through their hands?" So ʿUmar accepted the oath of allegiance from him; then he said to him, "You imposter, what is left of your soothsaying?" He replied, "A puff or two in the bellows." Then he returned to the territory of his tribe and remained in it until he left for Iraq.

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475. Yāqūt is vague on Mithqab, there being several places with the name. Falj (or Baṭn Falj) is a wide valley in northeast Arabia, stretching toward Baṣrah in Iraq; cf. Yāqūt, s.v., Thilo, s.v. and Map B.

476. Wāsiṭ is, again, difficult to localize, since many places bore this name.

477. *Ittaqaw Khālidan bi-ṭalabatihi*. Cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 148.

478. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 348; Baladhuri, *Futūh*, 96; Nuwayrī, 74–75.

479. Kalb b. Wabarah was a strong tribe of the Quḍāʿah confederation in northern Arabia and the Syrian steppe. Cf. Caskel, II, 368; *EI*², s.v. "Kalb b. Wabara" (J. W. Fück). No information on the location of al-Naqʿ is listed in the standard geographical sources.

480. The "lesser pilgrimage" to Mecca.

481. I.e., by making them martyrs.

The Apostasy of Hawāzin, Sulaym, and ʿĀmir [1899]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl and ʿAbdallāh:[482] As for Banū ʿĀmir, they played for time while they looked to see what Asad and Ghaṭafān would do. So when they were surrounded while Banū ʿĀmir was under their leaders and chiefs, Qurrah b. Hubayrah was among Kaʿb[483] and their allies, and ʿAlqamah b. ʿUlāthah among Kilāb[484] and their allies. Now ʿAlqamah had embraced Islam and then apostatized in the time of the Prophet; then he went out after the [Prophet's] conquest of al-Ṭāʾif until he reached Syria. So when the Prophet died, (ʿAlqamah) came back hurriedly so that he encamped among the Banū Kaʿb, playing for time. Abū Bakr learned of that, so he sent a raiding party to him, putting al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr[485] in command of it. He said, "Oh Qaʿqāʿ, march until you raid ʿAlqamah b. ʿUlāthah. Perhaps you will take him [captive] for me or kill him; [but] know that the [only] remedy for a tear is to stitch it up, so do what you must." So he went out at the head of this raiding party until he raided the spring where ʿAlqamah was. (ʿAlqamah) was still holding back, so he made an effort to outdistance them on his horse and escaped them.[486] His family[487] and his children embraced Islām, so (al-Qaʿqāʿ) carried off his wife and his daughters and his [other] womenfolk and those men who stood fast, who protected themselves from him through submission (*islām*). Then he brought them before Abū Bakr, whereupon ʿAlqamah's children and his wife denied that they had assisted him while they were staying in [his] household. That was all (Abū Bakr) learned;[488] and

482. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 349; Caetani, 603–4, 619–20.

483. Kaʿb b. Rabīʿah was the subsection of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah to which Qurrah's tribe, Qushayr, belonged.

484. Kilāb b. Rabīʿah was a tribe of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah group residing in west central Arabia, east of Medina. ʿUlāthah was a chief of Kilāb, whom the Prophet made a special effort to win over following the conquest of Mecca in AH 8.

485. A poet and warrior of the ʿAmr clan of Tamīm, he later occupies a prominent role in Sayf's accounts of the Islamic conquests. Cf. Ella Landau-Tasseron, "Sayf Ibn ʿUmar in Medieval and Modern Scholarship," 16.

486. Cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 148.

487. Cf. Balansi, 48; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 27 top.

488. I.e., he learned no incriminating information about them.

[1900] they said, "What is our fault in what ʿAlqamah did in this [situation]?" So (Abū Bakr) set them free. Afterward (ʿAlqamah) submitted,[489] so (Abū Bakr) accepted that from him.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿAmr and Abū Ḍamrah—Ibn Sīrīn: A similar account.[490] After the defeat of the people of Buzākhah, Banū ʿĀmir came, saying, "Let us enter that which we had left," so he[491] made an agreement with them on [the same terms] that the people of Buzākhah from Asad and Ghaṭafān and Ṭayyiʾ had agreed to before them. They gave him their hands[492] to Islam. The only thing he would accept from anyone of Asad or Ghaṭafān or Hawāzin[493] or Sulaym or Ṭayyiʾ was that they bring him those who during their apostasy had burned the people of Islām and mutilated them[494] and waged aggression against them; so they brought them to him, whereupon he accepted that from them [as atonement] except for Qurrah b. Hubayrah[495] and some people with him whom he fettered. He mutilated those who had waged aggression against Islām by burning them with fire, smashing them with rocks, throwing them down from mountains, casting them headlong into wells, and piercing them with arrows; and he sent Qurrah and the [other] prisoners[496] and wrote to Abū Bakr, "Banū ʿĀmir has come forward after being reluctant, and entered Islām after awaiting [the outcome of things]. I have accepted nothing from anyone, whether he fought me or made peace with me, until he brought me whoever waged aggression against the Muslims; those I have killed by every means of slaughter. And I have sent you Qurrah and his companions."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿAmr—Nāfiʿ: Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid, "May that which God has granted you by way of blessings increase for you! Fear God in your affairs, for

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489. Or: embraced Islām.
490. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 350; Caetani, 620–21.
491. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, says "Khālid."
492. This refers to the traditional hand clasp symbolizing the *bayʿah*, or oath of allegiance.
493. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, has ʿĀmir.
494. Here and below, *maththala*, "to mutilate" or "to punish severely."
495. Cf. Wathīma, 7/46.
496. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, adds: "and Zuhayr."

verily God is with those who are pious and who do good works. [1901]
Take seriously the command of God and be not remiss; for you shall not be victorious over anyone who fought the Muslims unless you fight him and, by punishing him as an example, warn another. So kill whomever you like of those who showed enmity to God or who opposed Him, [if] you think there will be some benefit in doing so." Hence (Khālid) remained in al-Buzākhah for a month, going 'round about it[497] and returning to it in pursuit of those [evildoers]; so that some of them were burned and some cut to pieces and some smashed with rocks and some thrown from mountaintops. He brought Qurrah and his companions, but they did not encamp, nor was there said to them what had been said to ʿUyaynah and his companions,[498] because they were not in the same situation and had not done the things [the companions] had done.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl and Abū Yaʿqūb:[499] The shattered remnants of Ghaṭafān[500] gathered at Ẓafar.[501] With them was Umm Ziml Salmā, daughter of Mālik b. Ḥudhayfah b. Badr; she resembled her mother Umm Qirfah, daughter of Rabīʿah b. Fulān b. Badr.[502] Now Umm Qirfah had been [married] to Mālik b. Ḥudhayfah and bore him Qirfah, Ḥakamah, Jurāshah,[503] Ziml, Ḥuṣayn, Sharīk, ʿAbd, Zufar, Muʿāwiyah, Ḥamalah, Qays, and Laʾy. As for Ḥakamah, the Apostle of God killed him on the day ʿUyaynah b. Ḥiṣn raided the livestock of Medina; Abū Qatādah [actually] killed him. So those shattered remnants rallied around Salmā; she was as renowned as her mother [had been], and she had Umm Qirfah's [1902]
camel, so (Ghaṭafān) encamped with her. Then she stirred them

497. Lit., "ascending and descending from it."
498. Cf. p. 73, above.
499. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 350; Caetani, 623–24.
500. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, has "Ghaṭafān and Ṭayyiʾ and Sulaym and Hawāzin and others." Cf. list on p. 78, below.
501. Yāqūt, s.v., places this near Ḥawʾab on the Baṣrah-Mecca road, but the localization is probably derived from this account; cf. p. 78 and note 505, below.
502. Her name was Fāṭimah bt. Rabīʿah b. Badr; a paternal cousin of Mālik b. Ḥudhayfah. Cf. Caskel, I, Table 130; II, 246 and 477; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*.
503. Caskel, I, Table 130, has "Khurāshah."

up and commanded them to make war, and marched about at the head of them summoning them to make war on Khālid, until they [all] gathered about her. They became encouraged on that account, and solitary remnants congregated to them from every side. ([Back] in the days of Umm Qirfah, (Salmā) had been taken captive and had fallen to ʿĀʾishah, who then set her free, so that [Salmā] used to be with her. Subsequently [Salmā] returned to her own tribe. Now one day[504] the Prophet called on them and said, "Verily, one of you [women] will make the dogs of Ḥawʾab[505] bark." Salmā caused that to happen when she apostatized and demanded that vengeance.) Then she marched about between Ẓafar and al-Ḥawʾab to gather [followers] to herself, whereupon every company of vanquished warriors and every oppressed person from those clans of Ghaṭafān and Hawāzin and Sulaym and Asad and Ṭayyiʾ rallied to her. So when Khālid learned of that, while he was engaged in exacting vengeance and taking *ṣadaqah* tax and calling people [to Islām] and calming them down, he marched to the woman. Her situation had grown grave and her case was serious, so he fell upon her and her followers; then they fought intensely while she was standing on her mother's camel with the same bravery as [her mother]. People began to say, "Whoever goads her camel shall have one hundred camels because of her fame." [Many] noble families of Khāsiʾ[506] and Hāribah[507] and Ghanm[508] perished on that day, (Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī] said: Khāsiʾ is a clan of Ghanm.) and

504. That is, one day when she was still in ʿĀʾishah's household.

505. Ḥawʾab was a well on the Baṣrah road in the territory of Banū Abū Bakr b. Kilāb, south of Ḥimā Ḍariyyah, 325 km east of Medina. Cf. Yāqūt, s.v. and Thilo, s.v.

506. Cairo has Jās; *Emendanda* proposes Jalas; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 148 suggests Jāsī, a branch of Dhubyān, and says that Ṭabarī's note equating them with Ghanm is not right. Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, relates "al-Jāsī" to a branch of Fazārah—Lawdhān, but no one else knows of it. Perhaps we should read Jassās [b. ʿAmr], the name of a family of Fazārah; cf. Caskel, II, 260 and Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* (Cairo 1971), 256.

507. Hāribah b. Dhubyān was a declining branch of Dhubyān (Caskel, II, 279).

508. Possibly Ghanm b. ʿAbdallāh of Ghaṭafān. The Cairo edition (index) identifies it as Ghanm of Banū Ḥadas, but according to Ibn al-Kalbī, Ḥadas was a clan of Lakhm from Transjordan, and seems to have included no subclan named Ghanm. (Caskel, II, 290).

among the people [many] were struck down of Kāhil.[509] Their fighting was intense until some horsemen gathered around [Salmā's] camel, wounding it and killing her. Around her camel were slain a hundred men. (Khālid) sent [news of] the victory, so that it arrived about twenty days after [the arrival of] Qurrah. [1903]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Sahl and Abū Ya'qūb:[510] The story of al-Jiwā' and Nā'ir[511] was that al-Fujā'ah Iyās b. 'Abd Yālīl[512] came to Abū Bakr saying, "Assist me with weapons and order me [to fight] whomever you wish of the apostates." So (Abū Bakr) gave him weapons and gave him his command. But he disobeyed his command with regard to the Muslims, going out until he camped at al-Jiwā', and he sent Najabah[513] b. Abū al-Maythā' from the Banū al-Sharīd[514] and ordered him against the Muslims. So he launched them in a raid against every Muslim amongst Sulaym, 'Āmir and Hawāzin. Abū Bakr learned of that, so he sent to Ṭurayfah b. Ḥājiz[515] ordering him to gather [men] to himself and to march against (al-Fujā'ah); and he sent 'Abdallāh b. Qays al-Jāsī[516] to him by way of reinforcement, so he [went]. Then the two of them rose up against (al-Fujā'ah) and pursued him, so he began to seek shelter from the two of them until they caught up with him at al-Jiwā', whereupon they fought. Najabah was killed and Fujā'ah fled, so Ṭurayfah followed him and took him captive, sending him to Abū Bakr. [When] he was brought to Abū Bakr he

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509. Presumably Kāhil b. Asad; cf. Caskel, II, 368. However, *kāhil* may have a more general sense, meaning "those upon whom [people] relied."

510. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 350–51; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 98; Caetani, 624–25; Balansi, 130ff. Balansī links al-Jiwā' to the story of Abū Shajarah; see pp. 81ff., below.

511. According to Yāqūt, al-Jiwā' was a well in the Ḥimā Ḍariyyah, ca. 325 km east of Medina. Yāqūt's localization of Nā'ir is derived from this account.

512. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 98: "al-Fujā'ah, who was Bujayr b. Iyās b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī." Caskel, II, 228–29 and 247: Bujayrah b. Iyās of Banū 'Āmirah of Sulaym, noting that the manuscript of Ibn al-Kalbī has "Baḥīrah."

513. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 350: Nukhbah.

514. Sharīd b. Riyāḥ was a branch of Sulaym (Caskel, II, 527).

515. Of Sulaym; cf. Shoufani, 138. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 51 ("Ṭurayfah b. Ḥājir") adds nothing to Ṭabarī's account.

516. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 351: al-Jāshī. Manuscript B: no points. Manuscript C: Jāsī of Qays. Cf. note 506, above.

ordered a fire to be kindled with much firewood in the prayer yard (*muṣallā*) of Medina and threw him, with arms and legs bound, into it.

According to Abū Jaʿfar—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr, regarding the affair of al-Fujāʾah:[517] A man of Banū Sulaym came to Abū Bakr. He was Iyās b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd Yālīl b. ʿUmayrah b. Khufāf, called al-
[1904] Fujāʾah. He said to Abū Bakr, "I am a Muslim, and I want to fight[518] those unbelievers who have apostatized; so give me a mount and help me." So Abū Bakr mounted him upon camels and gave him weapons, whereupon he went forth indiscriminately against the people, Muslim and apostate [alike], taking their property and striking whoever of them tried to resist. With him was a man of Banū al-Sharīd named Najabah b. Abī al-Maythāʾ. So when Abū Bakr received news of him, he wrote to Ṭurayfah b. Ḥājiz: "The enemy of God al-Fujāʾah came to me, alleging that he was a Muslin, and asked me to empower him over those who apostatized from Islām, so I mounted him and armed him. Then absolutely certain information reached me that the enemy of God has gone forth indiscriminately against the people, the Muslim and the apostate [alike], taking their property and killing whoever of them opposes him. So march against him with whatever Muslims are with you until you kill him or take him [captive] to bring to me." Ṭurayfah b. Ḥājiz duly marched against (al-Fujāʾah). Then when the people met they shot arrows back and forth, whereupon Najabah b. Abī al-Maythāʾ was killed by an arrow shot at him. So when al-Fujāʾah saw the earnestness of the Muslims, he said to Ṭurayfah, "By God, you are no more entitled to command than I am; you are a commander of Abū Bakr, and I [likewise] am his commander." At this Ṭurayfah said to him, "If you are telling the truth, then lay down your weapons and depart with me to Abū Bakr." So he went out with him. Then when the two of them approached Abū Bakr, he ordered Ṭurayfah b. Ḥājiz to take him out to this clearing[519] and burn him in it with fire. So Ṭurayfah took him

517. Balansī, 126–28; Caetanı, 625.
518. *Jihād*, lit. "to strive against."
519. *Al-baqīʿ*; perhaps a reference to Baqīʿ al-Gharqad, the famous Muslım cemetery in Medina.

out to the prayer yard and kindled a fire for him and threw him into it.

Khufāf b. Nudbah [Khufāf b. ʿUmayr][520] said, in reference to al-Fujāʾah and what he did:

Why did they take his weapons to fight him [1905]
even though those are sins in the eyes of God?
Their religion [*dīn*] is not my religion,[521] but I am not one causing error,[522]
until Shamām[523] marches to al-Ṭarāt.[524]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr:[525] Some of Sulaym b. Manṣūr had rebelled and returned [to being] unbelievers, while others had stood fast in Islām with a commander of Abū Bakr's over them named Maʿn b. Ḥājiz, one of the Banū Ḥāritha.[526] So when Khālid b. al-Walīd marched against Ṭulayḥah and his companions, he wrote to Maʿn b. Ḥājiz to march with those of Banū Sulaym who had stood fast with him in Islām, [so that they might join] with Khālid. So [Maʿn] marched, leaving in charge of his duties[527] his brother Ṭurayfah b. Ḥājiz. Abū Shajarah b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā[528] had joined the apostates at the head of those of Sulaym who did so. He was the son of al-Khansāʾ,[529] and said:[530]

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520. A black poet and warrior of Banū Sharīd; he fought on the Prophet's side at Ḥunayn and did not defect from Islam. Nudbah was his mother's name, ʿUmayr his father's. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 118–19; Caskel, II, 348.

521. An allusion to Qurʾān 109:6.

522. Cairo: "I am not [one] of them." Cairo notes that the Aṣmaʿiyyat has "I am not an unbeliever."

523. A mountain of Bāhilah, ca. 200 km west of al-Yamāmah. Cf. Yāqūt, s.v.; Ibn Manẓūr, XII, 327; Thilo, s.v. and Map D.

524. A well-known mountain in Najd, according to Yāqūt, s.v. The sense of the verse is that the speaker would never cause error, not until one mountain moved to another.

525. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 351; Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 97–98; Balansī, 126; Caetani, 579.

526. A brother of Ṭurayfah b. Ḥajīz of Sulaym, and one of the Prophet's tax agents over part of his tribe. Cf. Shoufani, 138–39.

527. *ʿAmal*, i.e., collection of tax.

528. Cf. Wathīmah, 10/49–50; Caskel, II, 168, s.v. "ʿAmr b. ʿAbdalʿuzzā" poet of Sulaym.

529. A famous poetess of Sulaym and early convert to Islam, proper name Tumāḍir bt. ʿAmr; cf. Caskel, II, 546.

530. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 101 [no. 609], s.v. "Abū Shajarah al-Sulamī."

So if she asked about us on the morning of Murāmir[531]
As I would have asked about her if I had been distant from her,
The encounter of Banū Fihr[532]—their encounter[533]
on the morning of al-Jiwā' was a necessity, so I fulfilled it.
I restrained for them my soul, and steered my filly
into the melée until the dark bay in her reddened.
When she shied away from some courageous armed man I wanted,
I turned her chest toward him and guided her on.

When he apostatized from Islām, Abū Shajarah said:[534]

[1906] The heart has given up youthful folly and amorousness by ridding itself of its love for Mayyah and has held back,
and agreed with those who found fault with her; then it [was able] to see [the truth].
The yearning to be close [to her] of [that] boyish foolishness has become,
like her love of us, estranged.
And the yearning for joining with them,
just like her ties with us, has been severed.
Oh, you who brag about the numerousness of his tribe,
[what good is that] when it is your fate [as part?] of them to be humiliated and conquered?
Ask the people about us on every day of calamity
whenever we met [in battle], clad in mail or unprotected.
Did we not give the disobedient horse his bit,
and make stabs in the battle when death has spread [its] desolation?

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531. Cf. *Emendanda* and Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 148. Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 97 has Khālid meeting Sulaym at "Jaww Qurāqir" or al-Nuqrah, but De Goeje notes that the text should probably read "Jaww Murāmir." On this basis Wellhausen suggested that Murāmir/Jaww Murāmir should probably be identified with al-Jiwā' (see following lines). For this line, Ibn Ḥajar has "If Salmā asked on the morning about a man."

532. Banū Fihr b. Mālik, that is, Quraysh. Cf. Caskel, II, 246.

533. Ibn Ḥajar has "The melée (*ṭi'ān*) among the Lu'ayy b. Ghālib." Lu'ayy is another way of referring to most of Quraysh, specifically the "Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ" or "inner Quraysh" of the city of Mecca; cf. Caskel, II, 246, and Watt, *Mecca*, 5ff.

534. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 351.

When opposing him [was] a great and well-armed troop that shakes its lance,
you see the black mixed with white, and the coats of mail, [glinting] in their ranks.
So I quenched the thirst of my lance from Khālid's squadron,
and I hope after it that I may live long.

Then Abū Shajarah embraced Islam, and entered into that which the people had entered. He came to Medina in the time of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Anas al-Sulamī—men of his tribe, and according to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl and Abū Yaʿqūb and Muḥammad b. Marzūq, and according to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Qays al-Sulamī:[535] [Abū Shajarah] made his camel kneel in the high ground of the Banū Qurayẓah. Then he came to ʿUmar while he was giving the destitute some *ṣadaqah* tax and dividing it among the poor of the Arabs, so he said, "Oh commander of the believers, give [some to] me, for I [1907] am needy." [ʿUmar] said, "And who are you?" [When] he said that he was Abū Shajarah b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā al-Sulamī, [ʿUmar] replied, "Abū Shajarah! Oh enemy of God, are you not the one who said: 'So I quenched the thirst of my lance from Khālid's squadron, and I hope after it that I may live long'?" Then he began to strike [Abū Shajarah] on the head with the whip, until he outran him, returned to his she-camel, and rode off on her. Then he made her go at an easy pace[536] in the Ḥarrat Shawrān[537] on his way back to the territory of Banū Sulaym, and said:

Abū Ḥafṣ[538] was stingy to us with his favor,
though everyone who shakes a tree some day gets leaves.[539]

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535. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 351–52; Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 98; Balansī, 131–32; Caetanī, 579–80.

536. *Asnada-hā*, cf. Ibn Manẓūr, III, 221, left col.

537. According to Yāqūt, s.v. "Shawrān," a valley in Sulaym country 3 miles from Medina; also a mountain on the left when leaving Medina for Mecca. Cf. Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*, 5f.

538. I.e., ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

539. *Waraq*, "leaves," also means "silver" or "silver coins."

He continued to oppress me until I abased myself to him
and fear kept [me] from some covetousness.[540]
When I dreaded[541] Abū Ḥafṣ and his police[542]—
for an old man sometimes is consumed with fear[543] and loses his judgment—
Then I turned to her while she was charging ahead,[544]
[running] like the flushed-out prey for which no leaf [of cover] grows.[545]
[1908] I steered her forward to the path of Shawrān;
indeed, I scolded her [to go faster] as she went.
Flint of the mountains of Abānī[546] flies from her soles,[547]
as silver is selected out[548] by the money changer.
When confronted by an open desert, she contends with it
rashly; if you ask her to be quick, her soles[549] hardly touch the ground.
Her hindquarters are impatient with her forequarters [when running];
she is fleet of foot, thrusting her neck [forward].

Banū Tamīm and the Affair of Sajāḥ bt. al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. ʿAṭiyyah b. Bilāl—his father and Sahm b. Minjāb:[550] The situation among Banū

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540. Balansī, 132, has "and wearisome distance kept [me] from some goal" (*wa ḥāla min dūna baʿḍ al-bughyati al-shuqaqu*).

541. Balansī, 133, has "met."

542. *Shurṭah*.

543. Balansī, 133, has "sometimes strikes."

544. *Jānıḥah*; i.e., he turned to his she-camel to escape. Cf. Ibn Manẓūr, II, 429.

545. Numerous divergent readings of this half-line exist, none of which is entirely satisfactory, as noted by the editor.

546. Two mountains in Fazārah country northeast of Medina. Cf. Yāqūt, s.v. "Abān" and "Abānān."

547. Balansī, 133: "She flies, vehemently driving (? *mardā*) her paces from her soles."

548. Balansī, 133: "scrutinized." Balansī ends with this verse.

549. Cf. Ibn Manẓūr, X, 75, s.v. "khuruq."

550. Cf. Nuwayrī, 75–77 (as far as p. 90, below); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 353–55, who adds Sahm b. Minjāb to the list of tax collectors (as far as p. 94,

Tamīm was that the Apostle of God died, having sent among them his tax collectors (*ʿummāl*), such that al-Zibriqān b. Badr was [placed] over al-Ribāb[551] and ʿAwf and the Abnāʾ,[552] and Qays b. ʿĀṣim[553] was over Muqāʿis[554] and the Buṭūn clans, and [1909]
Ṣafwān b. Ṣafwān and Sabrah b. ʿAmr[555] were over Banū ʿAmr, the former over Bahdā and the latter over Khaḍḍam,[556] two tribes of Banū Tamīm; and Wakīʿ b. Mālik[557] and Mālik b. Nuwayrah over Banū Ḥanẓalah,[558] the former over Banū Mālik and the latter over Banū Yarbūʿ. When the news of the death of the Prophet came to Ṣafwān, he struck out for Abū Bakr with the *ṣadaqah* taxes of Banū ʿAmr, of which he was in charge, and with that of which Sabrah had charge. Sabrah remained among his tribe in case some misfortune should overcome the tribe.[559] Qays had remained silent [waiting] to see what al-Zibriqān might do, while al-Zibriqān was reproving him; and scarcely did

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with much poetry and most difficult spots omitted); Caetani, 628–35, 646–47; cf. also pp. 139–40, below.

551. A group of tribes, most of them closely allied to Tamīm, including Banū Ḍabbah b. ʾUdd and ʿAdī, Taym, ʿUkl, and Thawr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. ʾUdd; cf. Caskel, II, 8 and 486.

552. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb was the section of Saʿd b. Zaydmanāt b. Tamīm to which Zibriqān belonged. The Abnāʾ ("sons") was the collective term for eight other lineages of Saʿd b. Zaydmanāt b. Tamīm, not including Kaʿb and ʿAmr, who together were known as "al-Buṭūn" (Caskel, I, Tables 75 and 77, and II, 230).

553. Renowned as a man of tact and good judgment; of Muqāʿis/Tamīm, he came in the Tamīm delegation to the Prophet, who praised him as "lord of the nomads" (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 219).

554. Muqāʿis was probably a lineage of Saʿd/Tamīm, although Sayf presents it as an alliance of Tamīm clans; cf. Caskel, II, 431.

555. He had been in the Tamīm delegation to the Prophet, according to Ibn Isḥāq (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 259–60).

556. ʿAmr b. Tamīm was one of the main nomadic sections of the tribe; Cf. Caskel, II, 8 and 184–85. Ibn al-Kalbī knows neither Bahdā nor Khaḍḍam; the former may be Bahdalah b. ʿAwf, a lineage of the Saʿd/Tamīm (Caskel, II, 220). ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam qabāʾil al-ʿarab* (Beirut, 1968) I, 247, identifies a Khaḍḍam b. al-ʿAfīr b. Tamīm.

557. Ibn Ḥajar, *Isābah*, s.v., citing Sayf b. ʿUmar and Ṭabarī, says he was of the Dārim clan of Tamīm.

558. Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik was a group of Tamīm clans including Mālik and Yarbūʿ (Caskel, II, 298).

559. Reading *li-ḥadathin ʾin nāba al-qawma*, along with Cairo, instead of Leiden's *li-ḥadathi arbābin*, which generated problematic "solutions" from both Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, VI, 148) and De Goeje (*Emendanda*). Cairo's reading seems to derive from Nuwayrī, 75 bottom.

(Qays) flatter him before al-Zibriqān impugned him for his good fortune and high standing.[560] Qays said while he was waiting to see what he would do to oppose him when he was stalling on him, "Woe to us from the son of the "Uklī woman![561] By God, he has slandered me so that I do not know what to do. If I had followed Abū Bakr and brought the *ṣadaqah* tax to him, (al-Zibriqān) would have slaughtered (the camels)[562] [I had collected as tax] among the Banū Sa'd and blackened my name[563] among them; [on the other hand,] if I had slaughtered them among the Banū Sa'd, (al-Zibriqān) would have come to Abū Bakr and blackened my name with him." So Qays determined to divide it among the Muqā'is and the Buṭūn, and did so; while al-Zibriqān determined on full payment, so he followed Ṣafwān with the
[1910] *ṣadaqah* taxes of al-Ribāb and 'Awf and al-Abnā' until he brought them to Medina, saying in reference to Qays:

I paid in full the several camels[564] [due to] the Apostle, when the collectors [of *ṣadaqah* tax] had refused,
and not a camel had been paid [to him] by its trustee.[565]

The clans dispersed, and evil flared up [among them] and they kept each other busy, one occupying another; then Qays repented after that, so when al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī drew near him he sent out its *ṣadaqah* tax[566] and received (al-'Alā') with it. Then (Qays) went out with him, and said about that:

Indeed! Send Quraysh news of me by letter,
since evidence of the deposits [of tax] has come to them.

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560. Reading *ḥaẓwah*, "high standing," along with Cairo, instead of *khaṭwah* in the text.

561. Presumably al-Zibriqān's mother was of the tribe of 'Ukl, a part of the confederation of al-Ribāb. The antecedents of the many pronouns in this sentence are uncertain; presumably Qays was waiting to see what al-Zibriqān would do.

562. The *ṣadaqah* tax or tribute was paid in camels or other livestock.

563. Reading *yusawwidu-nī*, with text and Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 148, rather than *Emendanda's yasūdu-nī*, "conquered/overcame me."

564. *Adhwād*. The singular (*dhawd*) is defined variously as a number of camels between two and nine, or between three and thirty, etc.

565. Cf. p. 140, below for a more complete version of this poem.

566. I.e., presumably the *ṣadaqah* camels Qays had once collected among the Muqā'is and Buṭūn clans of Tamīm, but had redivided among them.

In this circumstance ʿAwf and the Abnāʾ were kept busy by the Buṭūn, and al-Ribāb by Muqāʿis; and Khaḍḍam were occupied by Mālik, and Bahdā by Yarbūʿ. Sabrah b. ʿAmr was in charge of Khaḍḍam; that was what he had been appointed over as successor for Ṣafwān.[567] Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Niyār[568] was in charge of Bahdā and al-Ribāb.[569] ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān[570] was in charge of Ḍabbah, and ʿIṣmah b. Ubayr[571] was in charge of ʿAbd Manāt. In charge of ʿAwf and the Abnāʾ was ʿAwf b. al-Bilād b. Khālid of Banū Ghanm al-Jushamī,[572] and over the Buṭūn was Siʿr b. Khufāf. Reinforcements from Banū Tamīm used to come to Thumāmah b. Uthāl,[573] but when this situation arose among them, they returned to their tribes; but that put Thumāmah b. Uthāl at a disadvantage until ʿIkrimah [b. Abī Jahl] came to him and stirred him up, so he did not do anything [before ʿIkrimah arrived].[574] Then while people in the country of Banū Tamīm were in that [state], some of them having busied themselves with others so that [each] Muslim [among] them was face to face with those who played for time and waited [to see what would happen] and face to face with those who doubted, Sajāḥ bt. al-Ḥārith came upon them by suprise, having arrived from the [1911]

567. I.e., when Ṣafwān left to see Abū Bakr (cf. p. 85, above).

568. Traceable only in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, s.v., which adds no new information.

569. Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, VI, 148) noted that al-Ribāb should probably be struck from the text here, as al-Ribāb consisted of Ḍabbah and ʿAbd Manāt, mentioned in the following sentence (see *Emendanda*); but all manuscripts seem to have the word. Perhaps we should assume that the original intent was "*bi-l-Ribāb*" and that the *waw* was missing before the name of ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān, as it actually is in the Cairo edition; this would yield the translation, "Among al-Ribāb, ʿAbdallāh . . . was in charge of Ḍabbah . . . ," etc. For Bahdā, read, probably, Bahdalah; cf. note 556 above.

570. A Tamīmī who came to the Prophet with his father, probably Ṣafwān b. Ṣafwān; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 186 and note 317, above.

571. A delegate to the Prophet from his tribe, Banū Taym b. ʿAbd Manāt of al-Ribāb; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 408–9.

572. Jusham b. Awf was a clan of Saʿd/Tamim; cf. Caskel, I, Table 77 and II, 268.

573. Of the Ḥanīfah tribe of eastern Arabia, he was captured by the Muslims; later he embraced Islam and was pardoned. He then seems to have been involved in cutting off Mecca's supply of grain from eastern Arabia on behalf of the Prophet. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 246–48; F. M. Donner, "Mecca's Food Supplies and Muḥammad's Boycott," 262.

574. Cf. p. 53, above on ʿIkrimah being sent against Musaylimah.

Jazīrah. She and her clan had been among Banū Taghlib.[575] She was leading splinter groups of Rabīʿah, among them al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān[576] at the head of Banū Taghlib and ʿAqqah b. Hilāl at the head of al-Namir[577] and Wattād b. Fulān[578] at the head of Iyād[579] and al-Salīl b. Qays at the head of Banū Shaybān.[580] So a grave matter faced them, more serious than what the people were [already] involved in, because of Sajāḥ's attack upon them and because of their disagreements and squabbles over what divided them. About this ʿAfīf b. al-Mundhir[581] said:

Did he not come to you by night with the news
of that which the chiefs of Banū Tamīm encountered?
From their chiefs men called on each other,
and they were among the noblest and best.
They forced them out, after they had had [their own] territory,
into empty quarters and retreat.[582]

Sajāḥ bt. al-Ḥarith b. Suwayd b. ʿUqfān and the offspring of her father ʿUqfān were among the Banū Taghlib. Then, after the death of the Apostle of God she pretended to be a prophetess in the Jazīrah among the Banū Taghlib, whereupon al-Hudhayl complied with her and left Christianity, and [also complied]

575. A major tribe of the Rabīʿah group, living between eastern Arabia northward into southern Iraq and the Euphrates fringes. Cf. Caskel, II, 27–28 and 541–42.

576. I have not been able to trace further any of these three leaders of Rabīʿah—al-Hudhayl, ʿAqqah, and Wattād.

577. Al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ was a minor tribe of Rabīʿah, closely affiliated with Taghlib. Cf. Caskel, II, 444.

578. Nuwayrī, 76: Ziyād b. Fulān.

579. A Christian tribe of eastern Arabia, southern and central Iraq. Cf. Caskel, II, 359–60; *EI*², s.v. "Iyād" [J. W. Fück].

580. Bishr "al-Salīl" b. Qays was brother of the more famous Bisṭām, chief of the Hammām b. Murrah clan of Shaybān. Shaybān was the most powerful tribe of the Bakr b. Wāʾil confederation [part of Rabīʿah], occupying the lower Euphrates steppe region. Cf. Caskel, II, 507 and 524; F. M. Donner, "The Bakr b. Wāʾil Tribes . . . ," 22ff. Cf. pp. 90–91, below, where ʿAqqah is called maternal uncle of Bishr.

581. A poet of ʿAmr b. Tamīm; cf. Balansī, 141, 143, and 146. I am grateful to Dr. Landau-Tasseron for these references. Cf. Landau-Tasseron, "Sayf ibn ʿUmar," 20.

582. Because of the requirements of rhyme, the poem has *khīm* for *khaym*, "retreat, withdrawal."

with those chiefs who advanced with her to raid Abū Bakr. When she got as far as al-Ḥazn,[583] she sent letters to Mālik [1912]
b. Nuwayrah and called him to an alliance; whereupon he answered her, turned her back from her raiding, and incited her against clans of Banū Tamīm. She said, "Yes, so pursue your business with whomever you think [right]; for I am only a woman from Banū Yarbūʿ, so if there is to be [any] sovereignty, it shall be yours."[584] Then she sent to Banū Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah inviting them to an alliance; whereupon ʿUṭārid b. Ḥājib[585] and the chiefs of Banū Mālik went out as fugitives until they came as guests among the Banū al-ʿAnbar,[586] [staying] with Sabrah b. ʿAmr. They had disliked what Wakīʿ [b. Mālik] had done, and those like them of Banū Yarbūʿ, having disliked what Mālik [b. Nuwayrah] had done, went out until they came as guests to al-Ḥuṣayn b. Niyār among the Banū Māzin.[587] Then when her messengers came to the Banū Mālik demanding alliance, Wakīʿ agreed to that; so Wakīʿ and Mālik and Sajāḥ joined, having made an alliance one with another, and agreed to fight the people. They said, "With whom should we begin? With Khaḍḍam or Bahdā[588] or with ʿAwf and the Abnāʾ or with al-Ribāb?" They held back from Qays [b. ʿAṣim] because of what they saw of his indecision, hoping earnestly for him.[589] Then she said, "Prepare your mounts, and get ready for booty, then raid al-Ribāb, for there is no veil before them."[590] Sajāḥ headed for the wells[591] until she encamped there and said to them, "The Dahnāʾ[592] is the barrier of Banū Tamīm, and when [1913]

583. A high plateau in northeastern Arabia, near the fringes of Iraq. Cf. Yāqūt, s.v. and Thilo, s.v.

584. Both Mālik and Sajāḥ were originally from Yarbūʿ.

585. Of the Dārim clan of Tamīm, led a delegation or Dārim to the Prophet (Caskel, II, 580).

586. ʿAnbar b. Yarbūʿ was Sajāḥ's clan of Tamīm (Caskel, II, 189).

587. Probably Māzin b. Mālik, a clan of Banū ʿAmr b. Tamīm. Cf. Caskel, I, Table 82, and II, 406.

588. Probably Bahdalah; cf. note 556, above.

589. I.e., hoping that he would join their cause.

590. Sajāḥ's statement is couched in rhymed prose.

591. Or "for al-Aḥfār"; Yāqūt mentions a place with this name, but gives no precise location.

592. An extensive tract of waterless sand desert in the Najd; at the time of the

casualties press them, al-Ribāb will not delay in taking refuge in al-Dajānī[593] and sand deserts (*al-dahānī*); so let some of you encamp there."[594] At this, "al-Jafūl," that is, Mālik b. Nuwayrah,[595] headed for al-Dajānī and encamped in it. Al-Ribāb heard of this, so they gathered to it, [both] their Ḍabbah and ʿAbd Manāt [clans]. Now Wakīʿ and Bishr[596] were responsible for [battling] Banū Bakr of Banū Ḍabbah, and ʿAqqah was responsible for [fighting] the Thaʿlabah b. Saʿd b. Ḍabbah, and al-Hudhayl [b. ʿImrān] was responsible [for fighting] the ʿAbd Manāt; so Wakīʿ and Bishr met Banū Bakr of Banū Ḍabbah [in battle], whereupon the two were routed, and Samāʿa[597] and Wakīʿ and Qaʿqāʿ[598] were taken prisoner, and many were killed. So Qays b. ʿĀṣim said regarding that [event]—that being the first that there appeared in him any remorse:[599]

It is as if you never witnessed Samāʿa when he raided
and Qaʿqāʿ did not rejoice, while Wakīʿ was thwarted.
I saw that you had accompanied Ḍabbah unwillingly,
[as though] having a painful scab on both sides,
The releaser of prisoners whose march was foolish.
All of their business is on the rocks.

Then Sajāḥ and al-Hudhayl and ʿAqqah let Banū Bakr go because of the alliance between her and Wakīʿ; ʿAqqah [more-

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riddah wars, territory of the Tamīm. Cf. Thilo, s.v.; *EI*², s.v. "Dahnāʾ" (C. D. Mathews).

593. A place in eastern Arabia; cf. Hamdānī, 168, l. 19.

594. Again, (loosely) rhymed prose.

595. According to Diyarbakri, II, 209 and Balansī, 51, he earned his nickname (meaning "the refunder") because he sent the camels collected as *ṣadaqah* tax back to the tribes after the Prophet's death.

596. Presumably Bishr "al-Salīl" b. Qays; cf. note 580, above.

597. Caskel, II, 510, thinks this may be Samāʿah b. ʿAmr of Dārim/Tamīm.

598. Cairo ed. (index) indentifies him as al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Maʿbad, chief of the Dārim clan of Tamīm; he was in the Dārim delegation to the Prophet, and famed for his generosity. Cf. Caskel, II, 465; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, s.v. It is not clear, however, whether al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Maʿbad played any role in the *riddah*. Landau-Tasseron believes that there were two men of Tamīm named al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, one a kinsman of Sajāḥ's who backed the *riddah*, the other of the ʿAmr-Tamīm who remained loyal to Medina. The latter would be the person mentioned here: cf. Landau-Tasseron, "Sayf ibn ʿUmar," 16.

599. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 355 clarifies: "remorse over having held back the *ṣadaqah* tax from Abū Bakr."

over] was the maternal uncle of Bishr. [Sajāḥ] said, "Kill al-Ribāb and they will make a treaty with you and release your [1914]
prisoners. You should carry to them their blood prices, and the others will praise the consequence of their decision." So Ḍabbah released the prisoners to them and paid the blood price for the slain, and they went out from them. Then Qays recited [verses] about that, reproaching them for the truce of Ḍabbah, and supporting Ḍabbah and reproving[600] them. No one of ʿAmr or Saʿd or al-Ribāb had joined the affair of Sajāḥ; from all of these [clans], they yearned only [to be aligned with] Qays, until he showed support for Ḍabbah and began to show regret. No one from Ḥanẓalah aided them except Wakīʿ and Mālik, and their assistance was an alliance on [condition] that they help one another and gather together to one another. About this Aṣamm al-Taymī[601] said:

A sister of Taghlib came to us and then considered weak[602]
the armies[603] from among the nobles of our ancestor's tribe.
And she planted a call [to join her] firmly among us, out of stupidity,
although she was one from the great foreign tribes.[604]
We did not accept from them even what an ant could carry in its mouth,[605]
nor would she embrace [Islam] if she came to us.
May your sound judgment be folly and error
the evening you gathered troops together for her!

Then Sajāḥ went out heading the armies of the Jazīrah until she
reached al-Nibāj, whereupon Aws b. Khuzaymah al-Hujaymī[606] [1915]

600. Reading *taʾnīban* with the Cairo edition and (possibly) the Berlin manuscript, instead of the text's *taʾbīnan* and other manuscript variants. "Supporting" here is *isʿād*, lit., "rendering happy." The verses are omitted from the text.

601. The poet Aṣamm b. Wallād b. Khuzaymah, of Taym al-Ribāb; cf. Caskel, II, 201.

602. *Istahadda*; possibly "threatened," as proposed by *Glossary*.

603. Possibly "flocks." Arabic *jalāʾib*.

604. *ʿAmāʾir ʾākhirīnā*, lit., "great tribes of [people] other than us."

605. I.e., we accepted nothing from them.

606. I have not been able to trace him further. Hujaym was a clan of the B. ʿAmr/Tamīm; cf. Caskel, I, Table 84 and II, 286.

launched a raid against them leading those who crowded to him from Banū ʿAmr, so that al-Hudhayl was taken captive by a nomad of Banū Māzin[607] named Nāshirah. ʿAqqah was taken prisoner by ʿUbdah al-Hujaymī. They stopped fighting on condition that they return the prisoners to one another and that they turn back from them and not pass against the[ir will],[608] so they did that. So they repulsed her and bound her and the two of them to an agreement that they withdraw from them and that they would not cross the[ir territory] except with their permission.[609] Then they fulfilled [their promises] to them, but it continued [to burn] in the soul of al-Hudhayl against the Māzinī until, when ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān was killed, he gathered a troop and launched a raid against Safār[610] while Banū Māzin was there; so Banū Māzin killed him and shot him at Safār.[611]

When[612] al-Hudhayl and ʿAqqah returned to (Sajāḥ) and the chiefs of the people of the Jazīrah had gathered, they said to her, "What do you order us [to do] now that Mālik and Wakīʿ have bound their two tribes to treaties so that they will not help us and will let us do no more than cross their territory, and [now that] we have made a treaty with this[613] tribe?" So she replied, "Al-Yamāmah." At this they said, "The might of the people of al-Yamāmah is great, and the situation of Musaylimah has become rough." But she said, "Betake yourselves to al-Yamāmah, fly in with the flapping of the dove, for it is a gallant raid, no blame shall attach to you after it."[614]

[1916] Then she rushed upon Banū Ḥanīfah. Musaylimah learned

607. *Rajulun min Banī Māzin thumma min banī wabar.* Although this construction is a common way of expressing a man's clan and subclan, I find no "Banū Wabar" among Māzin or anywhere else.

608. [*An*] *lā yaṭtāzū ʿalayhim*, i.e., that they not pass through the territories of Aws against their will; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, II, 335: *wa lā yaṭiʾu arḍa Awsin*, "and not come to the land of Aws."

609. *Lā yattakhidhū-hum ṭarīqan illā min warāʾihim.*

610. A watering place of Banū Māzin in the desert southeast of al-Baṣrah (Yāqūt, s.v.).

611. We should perhaps read *qātalathu* for *qatalathu*: "Banū Māzin fought him. . . ."

612. Cf. Nuwayrī, 77–78 (to p. 93); Caetani, 646–47.

613. Presumably meaning Banū Māzin.

614. Rhymed prose.

of that and was afraid of her; he feared that, if he busied himself with her, Thumāmah would get the better of him in Ḥajr, or Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah or the tribes that were around them. So he sent gifts to her, and then wrote to her requesting her pledge of security for his life so that he could come to her. At this she made the armies encamp at the wells, granting him permission and offering him security, so he came to her as a delegation at the head of forty people of Banū Ḥanīfah. Now she was knowledgeable about Christianity, having learned from the knowledge of the Christians of Taghlib, so Musaylimah said, "Half of the earth is to us, and half would be to Quraysh if they had acted rightly; but God has returned to you the half which Quraysh rejected, and has given it to you, even though it would have been to [Quraysh] had she accepted." [Sajāḥ] said, "The half is not returned except by those who incline,[615] so carry the half to the cavalry you see as if they were dying of thirst."[616] So Musaylimah said,[617] "God listened to whomever He listened to, and made him yearn for good when he yearned, and His cause is still arranged in everything that delights him. Your Lord saw you and gave you life and preserved you from loneliness, and saved you and gave you life on the day of His religion; for us some prayers of the company of the pious, neither miserable nor licentious, staying up at night and fasting by day; indeed your Lord is great, the Lord of the clouds and the rain."[618] And he said also, "When I saw their faces they were comely, and their complexions were clear, and their hands were soft; I said to them, 'You shall not come to women, nor drink wine, but [1917] you are the company of the pious fasting by day and costing a day.' So praise be to God! Verily life came to where you live; ascend to the King of heaven. [Even] if it[619] were only a mustard seed, a witness would take care of it who would know what is [hidden] in the breasts; but most people in it [will meet]

615. *Man ḥanaf*; a pun on the name of Banū Ḥanīfah.
616. Reading, with Nuwayrī, 78 and Cairo, *ka al-sahafi*. Rhymed prose.
617. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 35, ll. 7ff.
618. Rhymed prose.
619. I.e., one's good [or bad?] deeds.

perdition."[620] Among the laws that Musaylimah prescribed for them was that whoever produced a single son as progeny should not come to a woman unless[621] that son should die; then he should [again] seek [to procreate] children until he produced [another] son, and then forbear [again]. So he had forbidden women to anyone who had a male child.

According to Abū Jaʿfar—authorities other than Sayf:[622] When Sajāḥ descended upon Musaylimah he locked the fortress in front of her, so Sajāḥ asked him to come down. He replied, "Then put your companions away from you"; so she did that. Then Musaylimah said, "Erect a domed tent (*qubbah*) for her and perfume it, perhaps it will make her think of sex."[623] So they did so; then when she entered the tent, Musaylimah came down and said, "May ten [men] stop here and ten stop there." Then he studied with her,[624] saying, "What has been revealed to you?" But she replied, "Do women usually begin? Rather, you: what has been revealed to you?" He replied, "Do you not see how your Lord has done with the pregnant woman,[625] He has brought forth from her a soul that strives, from between the
[1918] belly skin and the waist." She said, "What else?" He said, "It was revealed to me, 'Verily God created women as vulvas, and made men for them as husbands, so we insert into them fat cocks,[626] then we withdraw them when we wish, so they may

620. Reading, with Mss. B and C and Cairo, *wa-li-'akthar al-nāsi fīhā al-thubūr*, as do *Emendanda*.

621. Lit., "until."

622. Nuwayrī, 78–80, as far as p. 95, below; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 355–57, close parallel until p. 97, with gaps; Caetani, 647–48.

623. Or, possibly, "perhaps she will mention marriage (*al-bāh*)." Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 355: "he perfumed it so that the sweet scent would make her think of intercourse."

624. Diyārbakrī, II, 159, in a loose paraphrase has *tadārasā al-nubuwwah*, "the two of them studied prophecy together." Balansī, 62 and Ibn Ḥubaysh, 34, top, have Musaylimah say, *taʿālī natadārasu al-nubuwwah ayyunā ahaqqu*, "come, let us study which of us is more entitled to [claim] prophethood."

625. Diyarbakri, II, 158: "Verily, God has bestowed grace on the pregnant woman."

626. Text has *fuʿs*, not found in Ibn Manẓūr. We follow Nuwayrī and Cairo, which read *quʿs*, (pl. of *aqʿas*); Cairo, citing Aghānī, glosses this as *gharāmīl*, "coarse penises." Cf. Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 177 (s.v. *aqʿas*), "with chests protruding and backs in."

produce for us a kid."[627] She said, "I bear witness that you are a prophet." He said, "Do you want me to marry you, so that I may devour[628] the Arabs with my tribe and your tribe?" She replied that she did. [So] he said,

Why don't you go to fuck,
as the bed has been prepared for you?
If you wish, in the house,
or, if you wish, in the closet.
If you wish we shall take you thrown on your back,
or, if you wish, on [all] fours.
If you wish, with two-thirds of it,
or, if you wish, with all of it.

She said, "No, rather with all of it." He said, "Revelations came to me about that." So she remained with him three days, and then returned to her tribe, whereupon they said, "What do you think?" She replied, "He was in the right, so I followed him and married him." They said, "And did he give you anything as a dowry?" She said that he had not, so they said, "Go back to him, for it is disgraceful for one like you to return without a dowry." So she returned to him, whereupon when Musaylimah saw her he locked the fortress and said, "What do you want?" She said, "Give me something as dowry." He replied, "Who is your [1919] muezzin?" She told him it was Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Riyāḥī,[629] so he said, "Bring him to me." So (Shabath) came, whereupon (Musaylimah) said, "Call out among your companions that Musaylimah b. Ḥabīb, the Apostle of God, has unburdened you of two of the prayers that Muḥammad imposed upon you—the last evening prayer and the dawn prayer." Among her companions were al-Zibriqān b. Badr and 'Uṭārid b. Ḥājib and the likes of them.

According to al-Kalbī—informants of Banū Tamīm:[630] Most of Banū Tamīm in the sands did not pray the two [prayers]. Then she went back, and with her were her companions, among them

627. As always with Musaylimah's alleged revelations, rhymed prose.
628. Nuwayrī, 79: "conquer" or "humble" the Arabs.
629. Riyāḥ was another clan of Yarbū', Sajāḥ's subtribe of Tamīm.
630. Cf. Nuwayrī, 80.

al-Zibriqān b. Badr, ʿUṭārid b. Ḥājib, ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam,[631] Ghaylān b. Kharashah,[632] and Shabath b. Ribʿī. So ʿUṭārid b. Ḥājib said,[633]

Our prophetess entered the evening[634] a female whom we visited,[635]
while the prophets of the people entered the morning as males.

And Ḥukaym b. ʿAyyāsh "al-Aʿwar" al-Kalbī[636] said, rebuking Muḍar on account of Sajāḥ and mentioning Rabīʿah:[637]

They brought you a steadfast religion, and you brought
verses copied in a knowing book.

Continuation of the Account of Sayf[638]

(Musaylimah) made a treaty with (Sajāḥ) on condition that he deliver to her half of the revenues of al-Yamāmah; she refused
[1920] [to accept] unless he delivered the [installment of the] first year in advance, so he conceded that to her. He said, "Leave behind someone who can collect the advance payment for you, and go back yourself with half of [this] year['s share]." Then he returned and carried to her the half, so she carried it off and returned to the Jazīrah, leaving al-Hudhayl and ʿAqqah and Wattād[639] so that the remaining half might be paid. Then they were taken

631. ʿAmr b. Sinān "al-Ahtam" ("the toothless") was a poet and member of the Tamīm delegation to the Prophet. He became a follower of Sajāḥ, but later embraced Islam. On him see *EI*², s.v. "ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam" (A. J. Wensinck-Ch. Pellat); Caskel, II, 184.

632. Of Banū Ḍabbah. Cf. Caskel, II, 270.

633. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 34.

634. Balansi, 62: the morning. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 34: the forenoon.

635. *Nuṭifu bi-hā*; sometimes with prurient intent.

636. Poet of Kinānah b. Awf branch of Kalb; probably lived in the second half of the first century A.H. Cf. Caskel, II, 331.

637. Muḍar and Rabīʿah were the two main genealogical divisions of the "North Arabs," portrayed as two sons of Nizār. The Kalbite (South Arab or Qaḥṭānī) poet reproaches the North Arabs, who included Sajāḥ's tribe of Tamīm and her allies of Ribāb and Ḍabbah.

638. Cf. Nuwayrī, 80; Caetani, 648.

639. Text, Cairo, Nuwayrī, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, have Ziyād; see *Emendanda* and p. 88, note 578, above.

by surprise by Khālid b. al-Walīd's approach to them, so they dispersed.

Sajāḥ remained among Banū Taghlib until Muʿāwiya transferred them in his day, in the "year of union."[640] When the people of Iraq agreed [to recognize] Muʿāwiyah [as caliph] after ʿAlī, Muʿāwiyah took to expelling from al-Kūfah those who had been most vehement in the cause of ʿAlī, and to settle in their homes those people of Syria and al-Baṣrah and the Jazīrah who were most vehement in his own cause; it is they who were called the "transfers"[641] in the garrison towns. So he expelled Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr b. Mālik[642] from al-Kūfah to Īliyāʾ[643] in Palestine, and petitioned him to settle in the residences of his paternal relatives, Banū ʿUqfān,[644] and to transfer them[645] to [the properties of] Banū Tamīm. So he transferred them from the Jazīrah to al-Kūfah and settled them in the residences of al-Qaʿqāʿ and his relatives. [Sajāḥ] came with them and became a good Muslim.

Al-Zibriqān and al-Aqraʿ[646] went out to Abū Bakr and said, "Make over to us the *kharāj*.[647] of al-Baḥrayn and we will guarantee for you that no one from our tribe will repudiate [Islām]." So [Abū Bakr] did that and wrote the document. The one who acted as middleman for them was Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh. They called upon witnesses, among them ʿUmar; but when the document was brought to ʿUmar, he looked at it [1921]

640. *ʿĀm al-jamāʿah*: the year 40 AH/AD 660–661, so called because the Muslim community came together in recognizing Muʿāwiyah, ending the political division of the first civil war. *Pace* Caetani, 648; see Abū Zurʿah al-Dimashqī, *Taʾrīkh*, 188 (no. 101) and 190 (no. 105).

641. *Al-nawāqil*.

642. Cf. notes 485 and 598, above.

643. I.e., Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem).

644. ʿUqfān b. Suwayd was a clan of Yarbūʿ residing in al-Kūfah; cf. Caskel, II, 574; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 350.

645. Presumably Banū Taghlib.

646. Cf. Nuwayrī, 80–81. Al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis, chief of Dārim clan of Tamīm, was the first Tamīmī to go to the Prophet, during the conquest of Mecca; he was put in charge of the *ṣadaqah* of Banū Ḥanẓalah. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis" (M. J. Kister).

647. In classical juristic usage, *kharāj* is a kind of land tax, but such clear-cut systematization of terminology was not yet in force during the *riddah* wars; perhaps "tribute" is a better rendering. For a recent discussion of the development of tax terminology, see Simonsen, *Studies*.

without witnessing it. Then he said, "No, by God, absolutely not!" and tore up the document and erased it. Ṭalḥah became angry at this, so he went to Abū Bakr saying, "Are you the commander or is ʿUmar?" Whereupon (Abū Bakr) replied, "ʿUmar is, except that obedience is owed to me." So he calmed down. The two of them witnessed with Khālid all the battles up to al-Yamāmah;[648] then al-Aqraʿ went to Dūmah with Shuraḥbīl.

Al-Buṭāḥ and Its Story

According to al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. ʿAṭiyyah b. Bilāl:[649] When Sajāḥ returned to the Jazīrah, Mālik b. Nuwayrah held back and repented and became perplexed over his situation. Wakīʿ and Samāʿah[650] knew the shamefulness of what they had done, so they returned to the fold and behaved humbly.[651] The two of them extracted the *ṣadaqah* taxes and came out with it to meet Khālid; so Khālid said, "What caused you to make an alliance with these people?" Whereupon they replied, "Some blood vengeance we were in the course of pursuing among the Banū Ḍabbah; they were days of preoccupation and opportunities." About that Wakīʿ said:

Do not reckon me a renegade, for indeed I
was constrained when the fingers were being bent for me.[652]
[1922] But I guarded the bulk of Mālik
and watched until my eyes gave out on me.[653]
So when Khālid came to us with his battle standard
the payments reached him first[654] at Buṭāḥ.

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648. Or, perhaps, "even al-Yamāmah."
649. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 357; Nuwayrī, 82; Caetani, 652–53.
650. Cf. p. 90, above.
651. Lit., "returned a good returning and were not haughty," reading *wa-lam yataʃabbarā* with text. *Emendanda* proposes *lam yataḥayyarā*, "they were not perplexed."
652. I.e., even as I was being counted among the renegades (by the bending of fingers as a way of counting), I was being held back by others from declaring my allegiance to Islam.
653. Lit., "until the ocular veins grew dark on me."
654. I.e., payment of *ṣadaqah* reached Khālid at Buṭāḥ before the people who paid it themselves arrived? (*takhaṭṭat ilayhi*).

In the country of Banū Ḥanẓalah the only hateful [situation] that remained was that of Mālik b. Nuwayrah and those who surrounded him at al-Buṭāḥ. He was perplexed and worried.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl—al-Qāsim and ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb:[655] When Khālid wanted to march, he left Ẓafar mopping up[656] Asad, Ghaṭafān, Ṭayyiʾ, and Hawāzin; so he marched heading for al-Buṭāḥ this side of al-Ḥazn, while Mālik b. Nuwayrah was there. His situation became doubtful to him, and the Anṣār hesitated [to join] Khālid and held back from him saying, "These were not the caliph's orders to us; the caliph charged us to stand fast until he wrote to us after we had finished with al-Buzākhah and mopped up [opposition in] the people's territory." Whereupon Khālid said, "He did not charge you with this; rather, he charged me to proceed, and I am the commander and the one to whom communications come. Even if there reached me no letter nor any command of his, I would [1923] seize any opportunity that I perceived before informing him of it, if I thought that by informing him the opportunity would slip away from me.[657] Likewise, if we were tempted by some situation about which we had no instructions from him, we would not fail to consider what was the most desirable option before us and then to act on it. Now this Mālik b. Nuwayrah is right opposite us and I am heading for him with those who are with me of the Muhājirūn and those who follow in good works; I shall not force you." Khālid proceeded and the Anṣār repented and urged one another on, saying, "If the group achieves good [results], it is a good you will be excluded from; and if some misfortune befalls them, the people will shun you for it." So they agreed to join with Khālid, and dispatched messengers to

655. Cf. partial parallel in Diyarbakri, II, 209 top; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 357–58; Balansī, 50–51; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 28 (from Wāqidī); Ibn Ḥubaysh, 28 (from Ibn Isḥāq); Nuwayrī, 82–83; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 66–67; Caetani, 650.

656. Here and below, *istabraʾa* + direct object. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 58 (<Ibn Isḥāq).

657. I.e., by causing delay while waiting for the caliph's reply. The syntax is problematic; see the discussion of the sentence in J. Bellamy, "Arabic Yerses from the First/Second Century: The Inscription of ʿEn ʿAvdat," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 35 (1990), 76, note 6, with other references and translations.

him, whereupon he waited for them until they joined him. Then he marched until he reached al-Buṭāḥ, but found no one there.

According to Abū Jaʿfar—al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb. b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Khuzaymah b. Shajarah al-ʿUqfānī—ʿUthmān b. Suwayd—Suwayd b. al-Mathʿabah al-Riyāḥī:[658] Khālid b. al-Walīd arrived in al-Buṭāḥ, whereupon he found no one there; [1924] he found that Mālik had dispersed them among their flocks[659] and forbidden them to gather when he became perplexed over his situation. [In doing so] he said, "Oh Banū Yarbūʿ, we have disobeyed our commanders, inasmuch as they called us to this religion, whereas the people held us back from it, so that we have neither prospered nor succeeded. I have reconsidered this situation and found it feasible for them without any managing (*siyāsah*). For lo, the situation is one that the people do not manage. Beware of acting in a hostile manner against a group having a mandate [from God to exercise authority];[660] so disperse to your territories and enter into this cause." So they dispersed accordingly to their flocks,[661] and Mālik went out until he returned to his residence. When Khālid reached al-Buṭāḥ, he scattered portions of the army and ordered them to summon [the people] to Islām, and to bring to it whoever had not [yet] responded; and if he resisted, to kill him. [This] was part of that with which Abū Bakr had charged him:[662] "When you encamp someplace, make the call to prayer and the *iqāmah*.[663] Then, if the people make the call to prayer and the *iqāmah*, leave them alone; but if they do not do so, there is no [course] but to raid them. [In that case] kill them by every means, by fire or whatever else. And if they respond to you in the call to Islām, then question them [further]; if they affirm [payment of] the alms tax,

658. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 358, intermittent parallel; Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 98–99; Nuwayrī, 83; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 67; Caetani, 653–55.

659. Here and below, *amwāl*, lit., "properties." It can refer to flocks or to real property.

660. *Qawmun ṣuniʿa lahum*.

661. Or, perhaps, "properties, lands" (*amwāl*).

662. Cf. Balansi, 53; Wathīmah, 15/56.

663. The *iqāmah* is the second call to prayer, not broadcast publicly to notify people at large, but made to the faithful gathered in the mosque to indicate that prayer is about to begin.

then accept that from them; but if they deny it, then there is no [course] but to raid them without any word [of warning]."

Then[664] the cavalry brought Mālik b. Nuwayrah to [Khālid], along with some people of Banū Thaʿlabah b. Yarbūʿ, of ʿĀṣim [1925] and ʿUbayd and ʿArīn and Jaʿfar.[665] The raiding party disagreed about them; among them was Abū Qatādah, who was one of those who testified that they had made the call to prayer and the *iqāmah* and had performed the prayer. So when they disagreed about them, [Khālid] ordered that they be locked up, on a cold night against which nothing was sufficient [for warmth]. [The night] began to get colder, so Khālid ordered a crier to call out, "Keep your captives warm." Now in the Kinānah dialect, when one says, "*adfiʾū al-rajul*," it means "keep him warm" or "wrap him up," but in the dialects of others it means 'kill him."[666] So the people thought, since [the word] meant 'kill" in their dialect, that he wanted them killed, so they did so; Ḍirār b. al-Azwar killed Mālik. Khālid heard the outcry, so he went out after they had finished with them; whereupon he said, "If God desires something, He effects it."

The people disagreed about them.[667] Abū Qatādah said [to Khālid], "This is your doing." At this Khālid countered him with rough speech,[668] whereupon [Abū Qatādah] became angry and proceeded to Abū Bakr. At this Abū Bakr became angry at [Abū Qatādah] until ʿUmar spoke to him on his behalf, but [Abū Bakr] would only be content if [Abū Qatādah] returned to [Khālid]; so [Abū Qatādah] returned to [Khālid], so that he came to Medina with him.

Khālid married Umm Tamīm bt. al-Minhāl,[669] and abstained [1926]

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664. Cf. Balansi, 54–55; Nuwayrī, 83–84; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 67.

665. Subclans of Thaʿlabah b. Yarbūʿ of Tamīm; cf. Caskel, I, Table 69. Banū ʿUbayd genealogically included ʿĀṣim; perhaps ʿUbayd here is used to refer to all clans other than ʿĀṣim.

666. Evidently the crier was a Kinānī. The text is confused here, although the meaning is clear. See *Glossary*; *Emendanda*; Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. *dafaʾa*; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 149; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 358.

667. I.e., about whether their deaths were reprehensible.

668. Or, perhaps, "pelted him with stones" [*zabara-hu*].

669. The slain Mālik b. Nuwayrah's wife: cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, s.v. "Mālik b. Nuwayrah"; Diyarbakri, II, 209, calling her "Umm Mutammim."

from her so that the period between her menstruations should elapse.[670] Now the Arabs used to find [the taking of] women abhorrent in war, and condemn it. ʿUmar said to Abū Bakr, "In the sword of Khālid there really is forbidden behavior; and even if this [story about Mālik's execution] were not true, it is necessary for you to take retaliation on him." He pestered him about that, but Abū Bakr did not take retaliation on [any of] his tax agents or commanders.[671] Then he said, "Tell me, ʿUmar, (Khālid) sought to clear something up but [in the process] made a mistake;[672] so stop berating him. (Abū Bakr) paid the blood price for Mālik and wrote to Khālid to come before him; so he did that to explain his story, whereupon (Abū Bakr) pardoned him and accepted [his explanation]. But (Abū Bakr) did censure him over [his] marriage to[673] one whom the Arabs considered it disgraceful [to marry] in that way.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Hishām b. ʿUrwah—his father:[674] A group from the raiding party testified that they [themselves] had made the call to prayer and done the *iqāmah* and prayed, whereupon [the people being raided] had done likewise; whereas others testified that nothing like that had occurred, so that [those raided] were killed. [Mālik's] brother,[675] Mutammim b. Nuwayrah, came begging Abū Bakr for [permission to seek vengeance for] his blood and requesting him to make [the guilty parties] captive; but he wrote to him rejecting [their] capture. ʿUmar pressed him to dismiss Khālid, saying, "In his sword there really is forbidden behavior," whereupon he replied, "Oh ʿUmar, I will not sheathe a sword that God has drawn against the unbelievers."

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670. The idea being to wait until after she had menstruated before consummating the new marriage, thus removing any doubt about the paternity of eventual children; an allusion to the *ʿiddah* or "waiting period" enjoined by Islamic law. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Idda" (Y. Linant de Bellefonds).

671. *kāna . . . ʿlā yuqīdu min ʿummāli-hi wa-lā wazaʿati-hi.*

672. *taʿawwala fa-ʾakhṭaʾa.* Cf. Balansi, 54, Ibn Ḥubaysh, 29: *in kāna Khālidun taʾawwala amran fa-ʾakhṭaʾa-hu.* Hoenerbach translates "er hat eine Erklärung gesucht und sich dabei geirrt." (Wathīmah, 12/53).

673. Cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 149; *Emendanda.*

674. Cf. Diyarbakrī, II, 209; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 67–68; Caetani, 655.

675. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, II, 359, different story.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Khuzaymah—ʿUthmān—Suwayd:[676] Mālik b. Nuwayrah was one of the hairiest of people. Now the men of the army used the heads [of the slain captives] to hold up their cooking-pots, and there was no head among them whose skin the fire did not reach except Mālik's; the pot became well-cooked but his head did not cook because of the amount of hair on it, the hair preventing [the fire's] heat from reaching the skin. Mutammim described him in verse, mentioning his slenderness.[677] ʿUmar had seen him when he came to the Prophet, so he said, "Was he really like that, Oh Mutammim?" He replied, "As for what I said, yes."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq:[678] Among Abū Bakr's instructions to his armies was [this]: "When you come upon one of the peoples' abodes, and then hear the call to prayer in it, desist from its people until you have asked them for what reason they were hostile. But if you do not hear the call to prayer, then launch a raid such that you kill and burn."[679] Among those who testified that Mālik [b. Nuwayrah][had embraced] Islām was Abū Qatādah al-Ḥārith b. Ribʿī, a brother of Banū Salimah. He made a vow to God that he would never witness a war with Khālid b. al-Walīd after [1928] that. He used to relate that when they came upon a group they would watch them under cover of night so that the group took up arms. "Then[680] we would say, 'We are Muslims,' 'whereupon they would say, 'We too are Muslims.' [So] we would say, 'Then what is the meaning of your weapons?' They would say, 'And what is the meaning of your weapons?' whereupon we would say, 'If you are as you say, then put your weapons down.' So they would put them down; then we would pray and they would pray."

676. Cf. Diyarbakrı, II, 209; Balansı, 54; Wathīmah, 12/52; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 29; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 68, which ıncludes a couplet by Mutammim omıtted in Ṭabarī.

677. Dr. Landau-Tasseron informs me that in *jāhilī* poetry slenderness is considered a praiseworthy characterıstic, since it reveals that the person feeds his neighbor while remaıning hungry himself.

678. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 29 top (Ibn Isḥāq); Isfahānī, XIV, 68; Caetani, 655–56.

679. Cf. pp. 57, 59, above.

680. Cf Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 359; Balansi, 51 (both fragmentary).

Khālid used to excuse himself for killing [Mālik] [on the grounds] that [Mālik] had said, when he was interrogating him, "I think your companion[681] was only saying such and such." (Khālid) said, "And why didn't you reckon him a companion of yours?" Then he made him come forward and struck off his head and those of his companions. Then, when ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb learned of their murder, he spoke of it with Abū Bakr repeatedly, saying, "The enemy of God transgressed against a Muslim man, killing him and then leaping upon his wife." Khālid b. al-Walīd[682] approached [Medina] on his return until he entered the mosque, wearing a robe of his on which was iron rust, and with his head wrapped in a turban of his in which arrows had become planted. So when he entered the mosque, ʿUmar went to him and pulled the arrows from his head and smashed them. Then he said, "What hypocrisy, to kill a Muslim man and then leap upon his wife! By God, I would pelt you with stones."[683] Khālid b. al-Walīd did not speak to him, and thought that Abū Bakr would only have the same opinion about him as ʿUmar, until he entered upon Abū Bakr. When he entered upon him, he told
[1929] him the story and Abū Bakr pardoned him and forgave him without punishment for whatever had happened in his recent campaign. So Khālid went out when Abū Bakr favored him. ʿUmar was seated in the mosque, so he said, "Come to me, you son of the world!"[684] From this, ʿUmar knew that Abū Bakr had favored him, so he did not speak to him and went into his house.

The one who killed Mālik b. Nuwayrah was ʿAbd b. al-Azwar al-Asadī.[685]

According to Ibn al-Kalbī, the one who killed Mālik b. Nuwayrah was Ḍirār b. al-Azwar.[686]

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681. I.e., the Prophet, as a gloss in Isfahānī, XIV, 68 makes clear.

682. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, II, 359, fragment; Nuwayrī, 84–85.

683. The punishment for adultery in classical Islamic law. See Joseph Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 15–16.

684. Or: "one with the cloak": *b. umm Shamlah*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 359 has "b. Umm Salamah."

685. According to Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 334, same as Ḍirār b. al-Azwar; according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Isābah*, s.v., Ḍirār's brother.

686. Cf. Wathīmah, 12/52.

Remainder of the Story of Musaylimah the Liar and His Tribe of the People of al-Yamāmah

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad:[687] When Abū Bakr sent ʿIkrimah b. Abī Jahl against Musaylimah and sent Shuraḥbīl after him, ʿIkrimah made haste and strove to precede Shuraḥbīl so that he might secure [for himself] the fame [of having made war.][688] He attacked [Musaylimah's followers], whereupon they defeated him. Shuraḥbīl remained on the road where[689] the news reached him. ʿIkrimah wrote to Abū Bakr about his situation, so Abū Bakr wrote to him, "Oh Ibn Umm ʿIkrimah, let me not see you, nor should you see me in this situation; nor should you turn back, thereby weakening the army. Forge ahead so that you assist Ḥudhayfah and ʿArfajah, fighting along with them the people of ʿUmān and Mahrah. And if the two of them are occupied, proceed yourself; then march with your army mopping up those whom you pass until you meet al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah in [1930]
the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt." And [Abū Bakr] wrote to Shuraḥbīl ordering him to stay put until his [further] order should reach him. Then he wrote to him several days before directing Khālid to al-Yamāmah: "When Khālid reaches you, then you will be unoccupied if God wills, so betake yourself to Quḍāʿah so that you and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ may be against those of them who have denied and resisted [Islām]." So when Khālid arrived before Abū Bakr from al-Buṭāḥ, Abū Bakr was pleased with Khālid, listened to his excuse, and accepted [it] from him, and believed him and was pleased with him and directed him against Musaylimah. The army went campaigning with him; Thābit b. Qays[690] and al-Barāʾ b. Fulān[691] led the Anṣār, Abū Ḥudhayfah[692] and Zayd[693]

687. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 360–61; Nuwayrī, 89–90.
688. Lit., "that he might take away its reputation."
689. Ibn al-Athīr: "When." Kos, Manuscript B, Nuwayrī: "until."
690. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 39 top, p. 116, below, for different arrangement.
691. Perhaps al-Barāʾ b. Mālik; cf. p. 118, below.
692. Abū Ḥudhayfah b. ʿUtbah was an early convert to Islam from the Umayyah clan of Quraysh and an emigrant to Abyssinia; later killed at al-Yamāmah. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 170.
693. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* identifies him as Zayd b. al-Khattāb, who was the older half-brother of the future caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb and one of the first Muhājirūn. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 228–29.

led the Muhājirūn, and leading the tribes was a man over each tribe. Khālid hurried to reach the men of the army at al-Buṭāḥ, and awaited the levy that was being raised in Medina; then, when it reached him, he went forth until he came to al-Yamāmah. Banū Ḥanīfah were at that time numerous.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ—a man:[694] The number of Banū Ḥanīfah in those days were 40,000 fighting men in their villages and adjacent tracts. So Khālid marched until, when he drew near them, he made some cavalry bear down on ʿAqqah and al-Hudhayl and Wattād,[695] who had stayed [behind to take care of] the tribute that Musaylimah had given out to them so that they might take it to Sajāḥ. He [also] wrote to the tribes of Tamīm about (ʿAqqa, al-Hudhayl and Wattād), so that (the Tamīmīs) drove them away
[1931] and expelled them from the Arabian peninsula. Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah hurried and did what ʿIkrimah had done; he tried to precede Khālid by fighting Musaylimah before Khālid could reach him; but he was struck by disaster, so he refrained from fighting. So when Khālid reached him he reproached him. Khālid only relied on those cavalry out of fear that (the enemy) would come upon him from behind while they were on the outskirts of al-Yamāmah.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd b. Thābit—someone who informed him—Jābir b. Fulān:[696] Abū Bakr reinforced Khālid with Salīṭ,[697] so that he would support him against anyone who might come upon him from behind. So (Salīṭ) went out; then, when he drew near Khālid, he found those cavalry who had gone repeatedly to[698] that country had scattered and fled. So he stayed close to them, as reinforcement. Abū Bakr used to say, "I do not appoint[699] the people of Badr;[700] [rather] I

694. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 361; Nuwayrī, 90.

695. Reading thus instead of Ziyād in the text, as *Emendanda*: cf. p. 88.

696. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 361; Nuwayrī, 90.

697. Nuwayrī, 90 identifies him as Salīt b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams al-ʿĀmirī al-Qurashī. According to Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 344, Salīt b. ʿAmr, brother of Suhayl b. ʿAmr, was one of the first Muhājirūn, and the Prophet had sent him in AH 6 or 7 to Hawdhah b. ʿAlī and Thumāmah b. Uthāl al-Ḥanafī.

698. *Intābat*. Cf. Ibn Manẓūr, I, 775.

699. *Lā astaʿmilu*.

700. One wonders if the text here originally read "nomads" (*ahl al-wabar*); cf. Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 264 and note 44.

leave them to meet God with the best of their works. For truly God delivers more and better [things] through them and through the upright among the nations (*umam*) than He achieves victory through them." [But in his caliphate] ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to say, "By God, I make them [truly] partners; and may I be imitated [in doing this]."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam—ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr—Uthāl al-Ḥanafī, who was with Thumāmah b. Uthāl: Musaylimah used to treat everyone gently and be amicable with him, and it did not occur to the people to know evil from him. With him was Nahār "al-Rajjāl" b. ʿUnfuwah;[701] [1932] he had emigrated to the Prophet, recited the Qur'ān, and become knowledgeable in religion; so (the Prophet) had sent him as a teacher to the people of al-Yamāmah, and to stir up discord against Musaylimah and strengthen the situation of the Muslims. He was more [a cause of] sedition[702] among the Banū Ḥanīfah than was Musaylimah; he swore to (Musaylimah) that he had heard Muḥammad say that he was made a partner with him. Consequently (people) believed (Musaylimah) and responded to [his call]. They ordered him to write to the Prophet, and promised him that they would support him against (the Prophet) if (the latter) did not accept. Now, Nahār al-Rajjāl b. ʿUnfuwah would not say anything, but only followed him in it, and ending up [doing what he suggested]. [Among Muslims] the call to prayer used to be made [in the name of] the Prophet, and it was declared in the call to prayer that Muḥammad was the Apostle of God. The one who used to make the call to prayer for (Musaylimah) was ʿAbdallāh b. al-Nawwāḥah, and the one who used to make the *iqāmah* for him was Ḥujayr b. ʿUmayr,[703] who [also] made the declaration [of prophethood] to him. [But] when Ḥujayr was about to make the declaration, Musaylimah would

701. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 361; Nuwayrī, 85–86; Caetani, 639. The name is uncertain; cf. p. 117, below, "al-Rahhāl." Diyārbakrī, II, 189 and 211 has "al-Dajjāl." Balansi, 58–59 and Ibn Ḥubaysh, 30 bottom have "al-Rajjāl"; but Ibn Ḥubaysh, 63 bottom, suggests that there were two brothers, named al-Rajjāl and al-Rahhāl or al-Dajjāl, both killed at al-Yamāmah.

702. *Fitnah*.

703. Possibly Ḥujayr b. ʿUmayr, poet of the Usayyid clan of Tamīm: cf. Caskel, II, 329.

say, "Speak clearly, Ḥujayr!" So he would raise his voice and exert himself in declaring himself and Nahār veracious, and in imputing error to those who had embraced Islām.[704] His dignity made a great impression upon them.

(Musaylimah)[705] erected a sacred enclave in al-Yamāmah, restricting it and imposing it upon the people so that it was respected. Now there were situated within that sacred enclave the villages of the Aḥālīf[706]—sections of Banū Usayyid[707] whose abode was in al-Yamāmah; so the place of their abode came to be in the sacred area. (The Aḥālīf are Sayḥān, Numārah, Nimr, and al-Ḥārith, sons of Jurwah).[708] So if (the Yamāmans) had abundant fruits, (Banū Usayyid) raided the orchards[709] of the
[1933] people of al-Yamāmah and defiled the sacred enclave. If (the Yamāmans) got wind that they had entered (the sacred enclave), they withdrew from (Usayyid) in fear; but if they were not aware of them, that was what (Usayyid) wanted.[710] That happened (to the Yamāmans) frequently, until they asked (Musaylimah) for help against them. At this (Musaylimah) said, "I am expecting something to come to me from heaven about you and them." Then he said, "By the darkest night, by the blackest wolf, by the mountain goat, Usayyid has not defiled a sacred thing."[711] So they replied, "Is it not forbidden to desecrate the holy enclave

704. The text about the calls to prayer is difficult; either we must assume several unmarked changes of subject, or assume that the sentence relates to Nahār's and Ḥujayr's change of sides. The former assumption has been adopted here. Cf. the version of the story in Ibn Ḥubaysh, 34 bottom and 35 middle: Ḥujayr would say the call to prayer in Muhammad's name, and then say "Musaylimah is . . ." and stop. So one of Musaylimah's followers would say, "Speak clearly, Ḥujayr!" Whereupon he would say, "Musaylimah is the Apostle of God." Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, condenses Ṭabarī's version, but also attempts to show Hujayr vacillating in his call to prayer.

705. Cf. Nuwayrī, 86–88 (as far as p. 111, below); Caetani, 639–41.

706. Or "confederates."

707. A section of Banū 'Amr b. Tamīm.

708. Of these only al-Ḥārith b. Jurwah conforms to the information in Caskel I, Table 83, where the other sons of Jurwah are Juwayy, Sahm, and Shurayf. Ibn Ḥazm, 20, has Jurdah b. Usayyid, and the sons are different again. Ibn Durayd, 130, has a Banū al-Ḥārith b. Juhwah. Kos has S.yjān. On Jurwah b. Usayyid, cf. Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm," 146.

709. *Thimār*, lit., "the fruits."

710. I.e., they could raid the oasis undisturbed.

711. Rhymed prose.

and to ruin property?" Then (Usayyid) went back to raiding and (the Yamāmans) went back to complaining, so he said, "I am expecting something [more] to come to me." Then he said, "By the obscure night, by the restless wolf, Usayyid never cut anything, neither succulent nor dry."[712] At this they replied, "Aren't date palms succulent? Yet they cut them off; aren't garden walls dry? Yet they tore them down." So he said (to the Yamāmans), "Go! Return, for you have no claim." Among the things that he recited to them about (Usayyid) was: "Banū Tamīm is a tribe of purity, an independent tribe with nothing reprehensible about them and [who pay] no tribute [to anyone]; let us be allies of protection with them in goodness as long as we live, let us protect them from every person, then when we die their fate will be to the Merciful One (*al-Raḥmān*)." And he [also] used to say, "By the goats, by their kinds, by the most remarkable of them—the black ones and their milk, by the black goat, by the white milk, indeed it is the wonder of pure milk, adulterating milk has been forbidden, so what you have, do not mix milk with dates." And he used to say,[713] "Oh frog, [1934] daughter of a frog, croak what you croak, your upper part is in the water and your lower part in the mud, do not bar any person drinking, nor make the water turbid." And he used to say, "By the women who scatter seed at planting, by the women reaping at harvest, by the women who winnow wheat, by the women who grind flour, by the women who break bread, by the women who break bread into crumbs, by the women who gobble mouthfuls of grease and fat, you[714] have been favored over the people of the hair [tents],[715] nor shall the settled people[716] take pre-

712. Rhymed prose. Nuwayrī, 87 offers "powerful wolf" as a gloss.

713. Authors wishing to ridicule Musaylimah are fond of quoting this passage from his alleged revelations; cf. p. 133, below; Diyārbakrī, II, 158, 210 bottom; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 32, 34, 61; Ibn at-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 361–62; Balansī, 117–18; Nuwayrī, 87.

714. Here and subsequently the verbs and pronouns are masculine plural; i.e., the passage is addressed to Musaylimah's followers in general, not to women in particular.

715. I.e., over the nomads; *ahl al-wabar*.

716. *Ahl al-madar*.

cedence over you, defend your cultivated land,[717] shelter the one seeking favor, and oppose the oppressor."[718]

There[719] came to (Musaylimah) a woman of Banū Ḥanīfah called Umm al-Haytham, saying, "Our date palms are tall[720] and our wells are dried up; so pray to God for our water and our palms as Muḥammad prayed for the people of Hazmān." Whereupon (Musaylimah) said, "Oh Nahār, what is she talking about?" So (Nahār) explained, "The people of Hazmān came to Muḥammad complaining of how far away their water was; and their wells were dried up and their palms very tall. So he prayed for them, so that their wells overflowed and every date palm that was expired leaned over so that its branches, that is its top, [1935] touched the ground so that it struck roots; then it was cut from below, so that it once again had blooming palm shoots growing upward."[721] (Musaylimah) said, "And what did he do with the wells?" (Nahār) replied, "He called for a bucket full of water and then prayed for them into it. Then he rinsed with a mouthful of it and spat it into it, whereupon they took it away to empty it into those wells; then they watered their palms with it, doing with the aged [palm] what I described to you,[722] whereas the other [palms] remained [as they were] until they aged."[723] So Musaylimah called for a bucket of water and prayed for them into it. Then he rinsed with some of it and spat [it] into it, so they took it and poured it into their wells, whereupon the waters of those wells sank into the ground and their palms became barren;[724] but that only became evident after his defeat.

Nahār said to (Musaylimah), "Ask[725] blessings upon the newborns of Banū Ḥanīfah," at which he said to him, "What is

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717. *Rīf*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, has *rīq*, "saliva"; Abbott, citing al-Kīlānī, *al-Duʿāt*, 56, suggests *rafīq*, "companion."

718. Perhaps "the adulterer": *al-bāghī*.

719. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 362; Caetani, 639.

720. I.e., and therefore hard to harvest.

721. The sentence is awkward; cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 149.

722. Aged palm = *al-muntahā*; i.e., it was bent over to the ground so that the top struck roots, etc.

723. *Ilā intihāʾi-hi*.

724. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 158.

725. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 33, l. 13ff; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 362; Nuwayrī, 88.

this 'asking for blessings'?" [Nahār] replied, "Whenever a newborn was born among the people of the Ḥijāz, they used to bring him to Muḥammad, whereupon he would rub his palate with a date pit[726] and anoint his head." No child was brought to Musaylimah for such treatment, however, but that he would gnash the teeth and speak defectively; but that [only] became apparent after his defeat.

They said, "Search out their walled gardens, as Muḥammad used to do, to pray in them." So he entered one of the gardens of al-Yamāmah and washed in it; whereupon Nahār said to the owner of the garden, "Why don't you water your garden with the wash water of al-Raḥmān until it was irrigated and drenched, [1936] just as Banū al-Mahriyyah, a family of Banū Ḥanīfah, did?" (Now a man of al-Mahrīyyah had come to the Prophet, and taken his wash water and carried it with him to al-Yamāmah and poured it into his well. Then he drew it out and used it for irrigation. His land [formerly] used to be parched, but [thereafter] it was quenched and satisfied, so that you would find only tall greenery.) So [the owner] did so, whereupon [his land] became once again wasteland, [and] its pasture would not grow.[727]

A man came to (Musaylimah) saying, "Pray to God for my land, for it is saline, just as Muhammad prayed for a man of Sulaym on behalf of his land." At this (Musaylimah) asked, "What is he talking about, oh Nahār?" So (Nahār) said,[728] "A man of Sulaym whose land exuded salty water came to (Muḥammad), so he prayed for him and gave him a bucket of water and spat into it for him; whereupon he poured it out into his well. Then he drew some, and it had become sweet and good." So (Musaylimah) did the same, whereupon the man left and did with the bucket just as the man of Sulaym had done; but his land drowned, its moisture did not dry up, and its fruit did not ripen.[729]

A woman fetched him to come to some date palms of hers, to

726. A ritual used to invoke blessings on newborns; cf. Avner Gil'adi, "Some Notes on *Tahnīk* in Medieval Islam."
727. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 158.
728. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 33, ll. 22ff.
729. Cf. Balansi, 63.

pray for them on her behalf; then she cut off all their date clusters on the day of ʿAqrabāʾ.[730] They had learned [that Musaylimah was a fraud], and it had become clear to them, but the wretch overcame them.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Khulayd b. Zufar al-
[1937] Namarī—ʿUmayr b. Ṭalhah al-Namarī:[731] His father came to al-Yamāmah and said, "Where is Musaylimah?" At this people said, "Careful! [Call him] the Apostle of God!" So he replied, "No, [not] until I have seen him." So when he came to him he said, "You are Musaylimah?" He replied, "Yes." He said, "Who comes to you?" [Musaylimah] replied, "Raḥmān." He asked, "Does [he come] in light or in darkness?" He replied, "In darkness." Whereupon he said, "I bear witness that you are a liar and that Muḥammad tells the truth; but a liar of Rabīʿah is dearer to us than a veracious person of Muḍar." So he was killed with [Musaylimah] at the battle of ʿAqrabāʾ.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Kalbī: the same [account], except that he said, "A liar of Rabīʿah is dearer to me than a veracious person of Muḍar."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalhah b. al-Aʿlam—ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr—a man of them:[732] When Musaylimah learned of Khālid's approach, he established his army at ʿAqrabāʾ. He called the people together to fight and people began to go out against him. Mujjāʿah b. Murārah[733] went out at the head of a raiding party, seeking blood revenge he had among Banū ʿĀmir and Banū Tamīm.[734] He feared that he might die, and hastened

730. The decisive battle between the Muslims and the followers of Musaylimah; cf. below, pp. 118ff.

731. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 362; Caetani, 641–42.

732. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 362; Diyārbakrī, II, 211; Balansī, 71–72; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 36 middle.

733. Caskel, II, 419 and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 300–301 have him linked to different clans of the tribe of Ḥanīfah. He is said to have come to the Prophet, who gave him tracts of land (*aqṭaʿa-hu*) in al-Yamāmah—perhaps actually only confirming his previous ownership; cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 93. Since Khawlah bt. Jaʿfar (see text, below, and note 736) was of al-Dūl, it seems likely that Mujjāʿah was of this clan also. Nuwayrī, 90: Mujjāʿah b. Murārah b. Salmā.

734. Balansī, 71 and 117, and Ibn Ḥubaysh, 36 say Banū Numayr—possibly Numayr b. Usayyid, a clan of ʿAmr b. Tamīm. Cf. Caskel, II, 450.

to the task. As for their[735] blood revenge among Banū ʿĀmir, Khawlah bt. Jaʿfar[736] was among them, so they kept him from her; but he abducted her [anyway]. As for his blood revenge among Banū Tamīm, [it was about] camels they took from him. Khālid received Shurahbīl b. Ḥasanah and then sent him ahead, and ordered Khālid b. Ḥulān al-Makhzūmī[737] over the vanguard; and he put over the two wings Zayd[738] and Abū Ḥudhayfah. Musaylimah put over his two wings al-Muḥakkam[739] and al-Rajjāl; then Khālid marched, along with Shurahbīl, until, when [1938]
he was a day's march[740] from the army of Musaylimah, he attacked Jubaylah Hujūʿ[741] with forty [men]—according to those who diminish [the numbers]—or sixty [men]—according to those who augment [them]. Lo and behold, there was Mujjāʿah and his companions; sleep had overcome them while they were returning from the Banū ʿĀmir country, having passed by them and extricated Khawlah bt. Jaʿfar, who was with them. They stopped for a brief rest this side of the lowest part of the pass[742]—the pass of al-Yamāmah; whereupon they found them asleep, with the leads of their horses in their hands under their cheeks, unaware that the army was near them. So they woke them up and said, "Who are you?" They said, "This is Mujjāʿah and these are Ḥanīfah." They replied, "And who are you, may God not give you life?" Then they tied them up and waited until Khālid b. al-Walīd came to them, and brought them to him. Khālid thought that they were coming to him to meet him and to take

735. Cairo: "his."

736. Khawlah bt. Jaʿfar, the "Ḥanifite woman" (*al-hanafiyya*), became the wife of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib after the death of his first wife, the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 11, l. 24.

737. Possibly Khālid b. al-ʿĀs b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah, who later served as governor of Mecca for ʿUmar and ʿUthmān. Cf. Caskel, I, Table 23 and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 85–86.

738. Cairo index identifies him as Zayd b. Ḥārithah; but possibly Zayd b. al-Khattāb; cf. p. 105, above. Diyārbakrī, II, 211 has Zayd b. al-Khattāb, Abū Ḥudhayfah b. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah, with other individuals and posts listed being different from version in the text.

739. Al-Muhakkam b. al-Ṭufayl, a Ḥanafī: cf. Caskel, II, 421; Wathīmah, 19/60.

740. Lit., "the march of a night."

741. Manuscript B, Cairo: "Jubaylah Hujūm."

742. *Thaniyyah*, "mountain pass" or possibly "mountain."

precautions against him in his business.[743] So he said, "When did you hear about us?" They replied. "We weren't aware of you; we were only returning from a [raid for] blood vengeance of ours among those around us of Banū ʿĀmir and Tamīm." (If they had been wise, they would have said, "We [wished to] receive you when we heard of you.") So (Khālid) ordered that they be killed. They were all ready to give their lives protecting Mujjāʿah b. Murārah; so they said, "If you wish good or evil with the people of al-Yamāmah tomorrow, spare this one and do not kill him." So Khālid killed them and kept Mujjāʿa imprisoned with himself, as a hostage.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah—ʿIkrimah—Abū Hurayrah and ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd—Abū Saʿīd—Abū Hurayrah: Abū Bakr had sent to al-Rajjāl to come to him and receive
[1939] his charge; then he sent him to the people of al-Yamāmah, being of the opinion that he was being truthful when he responded to him. According to Abū Hurayrah:[744] I was sitting with the Prophet in a group of us among whom was al-Rajjāl b. ʿUnfuwah, when (the Prophet) said: "Truly there is among you a man whose molar tooth, [when he is] in the fire, will be larger than [Mount] Uḥud."[745] [Eventually] the group passed away, and only al-Rajjāl and I remained [alive], so I was afraid because of this until al-Rajjāl rebelled with Musaylimah and testified that he was a prophet.[746] The dissension[747] of al-Rajjāl was more serious than the dissension of Musaylimah. Abū Bakr[748] sent Khālid

743. I.e., he thought they were coming to conclude a truce with him.

744. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Isābah*, s.v. "al-Rajjāl."

745. Cf. p. 118. The *hadīth* occurs in Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, II, 1445 (no. 4322). The meaning is that the body of the unbeliever who has gone to hell will be enlarged so that it will suffer more; the molar tooth will be larger than Mt. Uhud, by Medina, and the rest of the body enlarged proportionately. Many variants are listed in Wensinck, *Concordance*, III, 508. I thank Dr. Iftikhar Zaman for clarifying this *hadīth* for me.

746. Although the text does not indicate as much, it seems likely that the account of Abū Hurayrah ends here, and that the following paragraph is transmitted not by him but by ʿIkrimah and Abū Saʿīd.

747. *Fitnah*. E. Landau-Tasseron notes that the word here is close to "its original meaning, i.e., an error caused by Satan's temptation" (personal communication). For a clearer sense of what the sentence means, see p. 120, below.

748. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 211 top.

against them, so he marched until, when he reached the pass of al-Yamāmah, he encountered Mujjāʿah b. Murārah, a chief of Banū Ḥanīfah, with a company from his tribe, intending to raid the Banū ʿĀmir[749] in search of blood vengeance. They were twenty-three horsemen and cameleers. They had stopped for a brief rest; but Khālid took them by surprise at night in their camp, whereupon he asked, "Whence did you hear about us?" To which they replied, "We had not heard about you, we had only gone out to exact a blood vengeance due to us from the Banū ʿĀmir." So Khālid ordered that their heads be cut off, sparing Mujjāʿah. Then he marched to al-Yamāmah, but Musaylimah and the Banū Ḥanīfah went out when they heard of [the approach of] Khālid and encamped at ʿAqrabāʾ, whereupon he alighted there with them. Now (ʿAqrabāʾ) was on the outskirts of al-Yamāmah this side of the flocks[750] with the cultivated land of al-Yamāmah at their backs. Shuraḥbīl b. Musaylimah said,[751] "Oh Banū Ḥanīfah, today is the day of vigilance; today, if you are defeated, [your] womenfolk will be carried off on horseback as captives, and will be taken as wives without being demanded in marriage.[752] So fight for your reputations and defend your women." So they fought at ʿAqrabāʾ. The standard[753] of the [1940]
Muhājirūn was with Sālim,[754] the *mawlā* of Abū Ḥudhayfah, but (the Muhājirūn) said, "Do we have anything to fear from you for our own sake?"[755] At this he replied, "What a bad bearer of

749. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 36 middle: Banū Numayr.

750. *Dūn al-amwāl*; possibly we should translate *amwāl* as "property," but the meaning proposed would place ʿAqrabāʾ in a logical defensive situation—far enough out to defend the cultivated land (*rīf*), but still firmly within the territory controlled by the Banū Ḥanīfah and/or its pastoral allies.

751. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 362–63; p. 131, below; Nuwayrī, 91.

752. Reading *ghayr khatībāt* with Cairo, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 149, and *Emendanda*; possibly "without being honored" or "not esteemed" (*ghayr haziyyāt*), as in text, Nuwayrī, 91, and Ibn Ḥubaysh, 45 bottom.

753. Cf. p. 105, above and p. 121, below; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 39 top, 40 bottom.

754. A Persian slave from Istakhr, he was one of the favored companions; he was later freed, then adopted, by Abū Ḥudhayfah. One of the most knowledgeable reciters of Qurʾān. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 245–47.

755. The *Muhājirūn* ask Sālim if he thinks he is able to defend their battle standard effectively, or whether he fears he may be incapable of doing it well enough, in which case it is a matter of concern to all of them.

the Qur'ān I would be, then!" The standard of the Anṣār was with Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās,[756] and the nomads (*al-ʿarab*) were [organized] according to their standards, and Mujjāʿah was prisoner with Umm Tamīm in her tent. The Muslims were dealt a setback, and people[757] from Banū Ḥanīfah entered upon Umm Tamīm and wanted to kill her, but Mujjāʿah stopped them, saying, "I am her protector; what an excellent, noble-born woman she is!" So he kept them from her. The Muslims returned, wheeling around against them so that Banū Ḥanīfah was put to flight. At this al-Muḥakkam b. al-Ṭufayl said,[758] "Oh Banū Ḥanīfah, enter the walled garden; meanwhile I will defend your backs." So he fought behind them for an hour; then God killed him (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr[759] killed him). The unbelievers entered the garden; Waḥshī killed Musaylimah just as a man of the Anṣār was striking him, so he shared with him in it.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: a similar account to this account of Sayf, except that he said:[760] When it became morning Khālid called for Mujjāʿah and those who had been taken with him, and said: "Oh Banū Ḥanīfah, what do you have to say?" They replied, "We say, 'A prophet from us and a prophet from you.' So[761] he put them to the sword, until when there remained of them [only] a man called Sāriyah b. ʿĀmir[762] and Mujjāʿah b. Murārah, Sāriyah said to (Khālid), "Oh man, if you wish good or evil in this town
[1941] tomorrow,[763] then spare this man," meaning Mujjāʿah. So Khālid ordered that he be bound in irons; then he sent him to

756. Cf. Balansī, 76.

757. Cf. p. 118, below, and parallels noted there; also Ibn Ḥubaysh, 42, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 363, which have the story as here.

758. Cf. Balansī, 94; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 45 bottom, 47 top.

759. Son of the first caliph.

760. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 35 middle; Caetani, 642.

761. Cf. Balansī, 72.

762. Ibn Ḥubaysh: Sāriyah b. Maslamah b. ʿĀmir; Caskel, I, Table 156, II, 511: Sāriyah b. ʿAmr of Yarbūʿ clan of Ḥanīfah. According to Caskel, Sāriyah b. Maslamah was not son of ʿĀmir/ʿAmr, but of ʿUbayd b. Thaʿlabah b. Yarbuʿ . . . Ḥanīfah.

763. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 35: "if you wish good or evil with the people of al-Yamāmah."

his wife, Umm Tamīm, and said, "Look after him well." Then he proceeded until he encamped at al-Yamāmah upon a dune overlooking al-Yamāmah, and established his army in it. The people of al-Yamāmah came out with Musaylimah; he had sent ahead with his vanguard al-Raḥḥāl b. ʿUnfuwah b. Nahshal (According to al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Ḥumayd [spells the name] thus, with "ḥ," [not al-Rajjāl as other authorities have it]).[764] Al-Raḥḥāl was a man of Banū Ḥanīfah who had embraced Islām and recited the *Sūrah* of The Cow.[765] Then when he came to al-Yamāmah, he testified to Musaylimah that the Apostle of God had made him a partner in authority, so he was more significant in [sowing] discord[766] among the people of al-Yamāmah than was Musaylimah [himself]. The Muslims were asking about al-Raḥḥāl, fearing that he would dull their cause with the people of al-Yamāmah through his Islām. Then he met them with the first of the army squadrons. Khālid b. al-Walīd, while he was sitting upon his seat in the company of the notables of the people, the people being at their battle stations, had said while he looked at the flashing swords among Banū Ḥanīfah, "Oh company of Muslims, rejoice, for God has protected you from the cause of your enemy. The force has withdrawn, if God wills." At this al-Mujjāʿah looked while he was behind him bound in irons, and then said, "No, by God, but it is the Indian swords; they feared that they would shatter, so they exposed them to the sun so that they would be flexible for them";[767] and it was as he said. Then when they met the Muslims, the first who met them was al-Raḥḥāl b. ʿUnfuwah, whereupon God killed him.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—a chief of Banū Ḥanīfah—Abū Hurayrah: The Apostle of God said one day while Abū Hurayrah and Raḥḥāl b. ʿUnfuwah [1942]

764. On the name cf. p. 107, above.

765. The second, and longest, of the chapters or *sūrah*s of the Qur'ān; presumably this means that he could recite it from memory.

766. *Fitnah*.

767. Cf. Balansī, 77, Diyārbakrī, II, 211 bottom: "so that they [we] could meet them." Ibn Ḥubaysh, 39: "to warm up their blades" (*li-taskhuna mutūna-hum*), for the morning was cold. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 47 bottom; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 88.

were in a group meeting with him, "Oh company, the molar tooth of one of you in hellfire on the Day of Judgment will be larger than Uḥud."[768] Abū Hurayrah said, "The group passed away and only Raḥḥāl b. ʿUnfuwah and I survived, whereupon I remained frightened because of this until I heard of the rebellion of Raḥḥāl, at which I felt secure and knew that what the Apostle of God had said was true." Then the people met [in battle],[769] and no war of the Arabs had ever met them like [this] war;[770] so the people fought intensely until the Muslims were put to flight and Banū Ḥanīfah reached Mujjāʿah and Khālid, so that Khālid left his tent. The people[771] entered the tent in which Mujjāʿah was with Umm Tamīm, and a man attacked her with a sword; whereupon Mujjāʿah said, "Stop! I am her protector, and what an excellent, noble-born woman she is! Attack the men!" So they reduced the tent to tatters with swords. Then the Muslims called to one another; such that Thābit b. Qays said, "How bad is that to which you have made yourselves accustomed,[772] oh company of Muslims! Oh God, I have nothing to do with what these ones worship,"[773] [meaning the people of al-Yamāmah], "and I have nothing to do with what these ones do" [meaning the Muslims]. Then he waded into battle with his sword until he was killed. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, when the people became removed from their saddles, said, "There is no retreating after al-Raḥḥāl." Then he fought until he was killed. Then al-Barāʾ b. Mālik,[774] brother of Anas

768. Cf. p. 114, above.

769. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 363; Diyārbakrī, II, 212.

770. I.e., they had never seen the Arabs (i.e., nomads) fighting this intensely before.

771. Cf. Balansī, 78, 79; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 39–40, Nuwayrī, 91–92.

772. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 363: *bi'sa mā ʿawwadtum anfusa-kum*; Diyārbakrī, II, 212, Balansī, 79: *bi'sa mā ʿawwadtum anfusa-kum al-farār*; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 45 bottom: *bi'sa mā ʿawwadtum al-aʿrāb*, said by ʿIyād b. Bishr; Nuwayrī, 92, has *bi'sa mā daʿawtum anfusakum ilayhi*, which means "how bad is that to which you have summoned yourselves."

773. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 363: "I have nothing to do with what these ones do."

774. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 215–16; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 364; Balansī, 90–91; Nuwayrī, 92–93.

b. Mālik,[775] stood up; now whenever he faced battle, he used [1943]
to be overcome by tremors so that men [had to] sit upon him;
then he would shake violently beneath them until he urinated
in his trousers. When he urinated he would be aroused as a lion
is aroused. Now when he saw what the people had done, he was
overcome in this manner so that the men sat upon him; then,
after he had urinated, he sprang up saying, "Where [are they], oh
company of Muslims? I am Barā' b. Mālik, come on with me!"
A group of the rear guard of the army returned and fought the
enemy until God killed them and they reached Muḥakkam
al-Yamāmah, who was Muḥakkam b. al-Ṭufayl. When the fight-
ing reached him, (Muḥakkam) said,[776] "Oh company of Banū
Ḥanīfah, now the noble-born women will be carried off unwill-
ingly behind [the riders as captives], and will be taken as wives
without being requested in marriage.[777] So display whatever
nobility you have." Then he fought intensely; 'Abd al-Raḥmān
b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq shot him with an arrow, hitting him in his
throat and killing him.

Then[778] the Muslims advanced until they made them take
refuge in the walled garden, the "garden of death," in which was
the enemy of God, Musaylimah the liar. So al-Barā' said, "Oh
company of Muslims, throw me onto them in the garden," but
the people told Barā' that they would not do so. Whereupon he
said, "By God, you surely shall cast me upon them in it!" So he
was hoisted up until, when he overlooked the garden from the
wall, he leapt down, fighting them from the gate of the garden
in order to open it for the Muslims. The Muslims entered
upon them in [the garden] and they fought until God killed
Musaylimah the enemy of God. Waḥshī,[779] *mawlā* of Jubayr b.

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775. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, has "Asad b. Mālik." Anas b. Mālik, an Ansārī and early companion of the Prophet, was considered an important source of prophetic traditions: cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 127–29; *EI*², s.v. "Anas b. Mālik," (A. J. Wensinck and J. Robson).

776. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 216; Balansī, 93–94.

777. Cf. p. 115, above.

778. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 364; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 46 top, 47; cf. references at p. 125, below.

779. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 216; Balansī, 95.

Muṭʿim,[780] and a man of the Anṣār were partners in killing him, both of them striking him; as for Waḥshī, he thrust his javelin against him, whereas the Anṣārī struck him with his sword. Waḥshī used to say, "Your Lord knows which of us killed him."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—
[1944] ʿAbdallāh b. al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās b. Rabīʿah—Sulaymān b. Yasār—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar:[781] I heard a man crying out that day, saying, "The black slave killed him."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah—ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr: Al-Rajjāl was opposite Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, so when their two battle lines drew near, Zayd said, "Oh Rajjāl, God! God! For by God, you have abandoned the faith. Truly what I summon you to is nobler for you and greater for your present life." But he refused; so the two drew [their swords]. Then al-Rajjāl and the zealous supporters of Musaylimah's cause among the Banū Ḥanīfah were killed; but [the enemy] encouraged one another and each group attacked [those] in its vicinity, so that the Muslims retreated as far as their camp. Then they fell upon them, cutting the tent ropes, slashing them, and busying themselves with the army. They struggled with Mujjāʿah, intending [to seize] Umm Tamīm, but he protected her, saying, "How excellent is the mistress of the tent!"

Zayd and Khālid and Abū Ḥudhayfah urged each other on and the people backed them up with words.[782] Now it was a day of south wind with lots of dust, so Zayd said, "No, by God, I will not speak today, until either we defeat them or I meet God so that I may tell him of my devotion.[783] Grit your teeth, oh

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780. Wahshī b. Ḥarb, an Abyssinian slave, was one of Mecca's blacks; he was famed for having killed the Prophet's uncle Ḥamzah at the battle of Uhud. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 83–84. Jubayr b. Mutʿim, of the clan of Nawfal of Quraysh, was a diplomat famed for his forbearance and firm, calm manner (*ḥilm*); he embraced Islam relatively late, at the conquest of Mecca or just before. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 271–72.

781. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 364–65; Diyārbakrī, II, 216; Nuwayrī, 95.

782. Lit., "the people spoke," which is hardly clear. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 149 considered "the people spoke" to be a "fairly unnecessary preparation" for Zayd's statement, "I will not speak today."

783. Lit., "tell Him of my evidence (*ḥujjatī*)," i.e., make evident my devotion to Him through my martyrdom.

people, and strike your enemy and proceed straight ahead." So they did that, driving them back to their ranks until they made retreat farther than they had advanced from their army [in the first place].[784] Zayd was killed. Thābit spoke, saying, "Oh company of the Muslims, you are the party of God, and they are the parties of Satan; glory is to God and to His Apostle and to His parties. Advise me as I advise you." Then he began striking among them [with the whip] so that he drove them on. Abū Ḥudhayfah said, "Oh people of the Qur'ān, ornament the Qur'ān with [your] deeds." Then he drove them on until he penetrated them. [Then] he was struck down. Khālid b. al-Walīd attacked, saying to his bodyguards, "Let no one approach me from behind," until [when] he was opposite Musaylimah, he sought his opportunity and lay in wait for Musaylimah. [1945]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Mubashshir b. al-Fuḍayl—Sālim b. 'Abdallāh: When Sālim was given the battle standard on that day, he said, "How acquainted I am with the reason why you gave it to me! You said a bearer of the Qur'ān,[785] and [that] he should stand fast just as the bearer of it before him stood fast, unto death." They replied, "Yes." Then they said, "Look how you should [do it]." At this he said, "What a bad bearer of the Qur'ān I would be if I did not stand fast!" The standard bearer before him had been 'Abdallāh b. Ḥafṣ b. Ghānim.[786]

According to 'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd b. Thābit and Ibn Isḥāq: When Mujjā'ah said to the Banū Ḥanīfah, "Attack the men,"[787] and after a group of the Muslims had incited one another to fight, (Banū Ḥanīfah) affected a show of generosity and all the Muslims did likewise. Some of the companions of the the Apostle of God made addresses. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, "By God, I shall not speak until I am victorious or until I am killed.

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784. The Arabic phrase is awkward, but I believe it means this. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 363, ll. 15–16.

785. I.e., one who had memorized and could recite all or a large part of the holy text.

786. Cf. pp. 105 and 115–16, above, and Balansī, 79. According to Balansī the standard bearer had been Zayd b. al-Khattāb.

787. See the earlier account in which this episode occurs, pp. 117–18, above.

Do as I do!" Then he attacked, and his companions attacked [also]. Thābit b. Qays said, "How bad is that to which you have accustomed yourselves, oh company of Muslims! Now get away from me,[788] so that I can show you [how to] fight!" Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb was killed.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mubashshir—Sālim:[789]
[1946] When ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar returned [to ʿUmar], ʿUmar said, "Why weren't you killed before Zayd?[790] Zayd has died and you are still alive." Whereupon he replied, "I coveted that that should come to pass, but my soul drew back, whereas God honored him with martyrdom."

According to Sahl, [ʿUmar] said: "What brought you [back] even though Zayd was killed? Why didn't you hide your face from me?" [ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar] said, "He asked God for martyrdom, and it was given to him. I strove that it should be sent to me, but I was not granted it."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah b. al-ʾAʿlam—ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr:[791] The *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār* accused the people of the desert of cowardice, and the people of the desert accused them of cowardice, saying to one another, "Organize yourselves separately[792] so that we may shun those who flee on the day [of battle], and may know on the day [of battle] from where we are approached [by the enemy]."[793] So they did that. The settled people said to the people of the desert, "We know more about fighting settled people than you do." Whereupon the people of the desert replied, "Settled people do not excel at fighting, and do not know what war is; so you will see, when you organize us separately, from where weakness comes." So they organized separately. No day [of battle] more intense or

788. *Hākadhā ʿannī.*
789. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 365–66.
790. Zayd was ʿUmar's brother; ʿAbdallāh, ʿUmar's son.
791. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 363–64.
792. Here and in the following passages, *imtāza*, lit., "distinguish, discriminate." The subsequent passages make it clear that the idea was to place members of particular groups together, so that the relative performance of each group in battle would be more readily apparent.
793. I.e., so that we may know who has failed to hold the enemy confronting him.

greater in casualties was ever seen than that day. It was not known which of the two groups inflicted heavier casualties [on the enemy], but the wounded were more numerous among the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*[794] than they were among the people of the desert, and those who survived were always in distress.[795] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr[796] shot al-Muḥakkam with an [1947] arrow, killing him while he was delivering a speech; whereupon he cut his throat. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb killed al-Rajjāl b. ʿUnfuwah.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Yarbūʿ—his father—a man of Banū Suḥaym[797] who witnessed [the battle] with Khālid:[798] The advantage on that day was sometimes against the Muslims and sometimes against the unbelievers. When the fighting became intense, Khālid said, "Oh people, organize separately so that we may know the valor of each clan and know from where we are approached [by the enemy]." So the people of the settlements and of the desert organized themselves separately; the tribes of the desert people and of the settled people organized themselves separately, the descendants of each ancestor standing behind their banner to fight together. On that day the people of the desert said, "Now the killing will grow intense among the weaker flock";[799] then the killing did become intense among the people of the settlements. Musaylimah stood firm, and he was in the eye of the storm;[800] at which Khālid realized that it would not abate except through the death of Musaylimah, as long as the Banū Ḥanīfah took no heed of the death of those who had been killed among them. Thereupon Khālid came out against the enemy until, when he was opposite the [enemy] line, he put out a challenge for single combat and raised his lineage, saying, "I am the son of al-Walīd

794. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 364: among the *Muhājirūn*, *Anṣār*, and the villagers.

795. I.e., they were in the most intense fighting.

796. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 365.

797. Probably Suḥaym b. Murrah, a branch of Ḥanīfah: Caskel, II, 516.

798. Cf. preceding account and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 363–63; Nuwayrī, 92.

799. Reading *ajzaʿ*, "flock," with Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 149, *Emendanda*, and Cairo, for the text's *ajdhaʿ*.

800. Lit., "their mill turned around him."

the experienced,[801] I am the son of ʿĀmir and Zayd," and he shouted their battle slogan of that day. Their slogan that day was "Oh Muḥammad!" So he killed everyone who came out against him in single combat. All the while he was reciting,

I am the son of chiefs, and my sword is the Vehement,
all the greater when rage overcomes you.

Whatever came out in single combat against him he defeated. The Muslims fought intensely and effectively.[802] Then, when Khālid drew near to Musaylimah, he called out [to him]. Now
[1948] the Apostle of God had said, "With Musaylimah is a devil that he does not disobey, and whenever (the devil) comes to him, he foams [at the mouth] such that his cheeks are two gobs of froth; (Musaylimah) never forms the intention of doing any good thing, but (this devil) diverts him from it. So when you should see this opening[803] with him, seize the opportunity!"[804] So when Khālid drew near to (Musaylimah), he was searching for that. He saw [Musaylimah] standing fast with the [battle] swirling around him, and he knew that it would not cease unless (Musaylimah) was killed. So he called to Musaylimah, searching for his opening, upon which (Musaylimah) answered him. Then (Khālid) showed Musaylimah some things he liked, saying, "If we agree to half, then which half would you give us?"[805] Now when he was considering his answer, he had turned his face away in seeking advice, but his devil for bade him to accept; so he turned his face away [another] time because of that.[806] Khālid followed him closely on his mount to overtake him, so that he retreated and [his followers] yielded. Then Khālid incited the army, saying, "Here you are! Don't let them go!" They rode closely after them, and routed them. As Musaylimah stood up after the people had fled from him, some people said,[807] "Where

801. *Al-ʿawd*, "the aged"; cf. Ibn Manẓūr, III, 321.
802. Lit., "The mill of the Muslims turned, and ground."
803. *ʿAwrah*, lit., "opening in the defenses of an enemy," or possibly, "shameful thing."
804. Lit., "do not forgive him his error!"
805. A reference to Musaylimah's alleged offer to divide the earth with the Prophet; cf. p. 133, below and p. 93, above.
806. The text of this sentence is awkward.
807. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 216; Balansī, 94.

is what you used to promise us?" To which he replied, "Fight for your own reputations!"

Al-Muḥakkam[808] cried, "Oh Banū Ḥanīfah, the garden! the garden!" Now Waḥshī was coming upon Musaylimah while he was foaming [at the mouth], barely able to stand and unthinking from the fit [that had overtaken him], so he bared his lance on him and killed him. The people stormed upon them [in] the "garden of death" from its walls and gates, so that 10,000 fighting men[809] were killed in the battle and the "garden of death."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Hārūn and Ṭalḥah—ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb and Ibn Isḥāq: After they had organized themselves separately and had stood fast and Banū Ḥanīfah had retreated, the Muslims pursued them, killing them until they got them to the "garden of death." Then they differed [in opinion] regarding the killing of Musaylimah there; some say that he was killed in it, whereupon (the Banū Ḥanīfah) entered it and (the Muslims) locked them in it and surrounded them. Al-Barāʾ b. Mālik[810] screamed, "Oh company of Muslims, lift me onto the wall so that you may throw me onto them." So [1949] they did that, with the result that, when they placed him on the wall, he was thunderstruck at what he saw, and called out, "Lower me [back] down." Then he said, "Lift me up," so they did that again. Then out of fear he said, "Ugh to this!" and asked to be lifted up again. Whereupon when they placed him upon the wall, he leapt upon them to fight them by the gate, until he had opened it for the Muslims, who were by the gate on the outside. At this (the Muslims) entered [the garden]; then he locked the gate upon them and threw the key over the wall. So they fought more bitterly than has ever been seen. Those of them who were in the garden perished after Musaylimah had been killed. Banū Ḥanīfah had said to him,[811] "Where is what you used to promise us?" To which he had replied, "Fight for your own reputations!"

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808. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 364; Nuwayrī, 92.

809. That is, on the Muslim side.

810. Cf. p. 119, above; Diyārbakrī, II, 214–15, who attributes this episode to Abū Dajānah; Balansī, 87, another version; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 45, another version; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 46.

811. Cf. p. 125, above.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Hārūn and Ṭalḥah and Ibn Isḥāq: When someone cried out that the black slave had killed Musaylimah, Khālid went out with Mujjāʿah shackled in irons to show him Musaylimah and the banners of his army. He came across al-Rajjāl and said, "This is al-Rajjāl."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq:[812] When the Muslims had finished with Musaylimah, Khālid was approached and informed [of this], so he went out, taking Mujjāʿah in irons with him in order to show him Musaylimah. Then he began to show him the slain until he passed Muḥakkam b. al-Ṭufayl—he was a corpulent, comely man—whereupon Khālid said, "This is your companion." He replied, "No, by God, this one is better than he and more noble; this is Muḥakkam al-Yamāmah."

Then[813] Khālid continued showing him the slain until he entered the garden, upon which he rummaged through the bodies for him; then lo, there was a small, yellowish, flat-nosed man, whereupon Mujjāʿah said, "This is your companion, whom you have finished off." So Khālid said to Mujjāʿah, "This is your companion, who did with you what he did." He replied, "[So] it was, oh Khālid; but, by God,[814] only the most expeditious of the people came [against] you; the majority of the
[1950] people are [still] in the fortresses." At this Khālid said, "Woe to you, what are you saying?" He replied, "By God, it is the truth; so come on, let me conclude a treaty with you in exchange for [the safety of] my tribe."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ḍaḥḥāk—his father: There was a man of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ḥanīfah, named al-Aghlab b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥanīfah, who had the thickest neck of anyone of his time. When the polytheists had been defeated on that day and the Muslims surrounded them, he pretended he was dead. Then, when the Muslims were inspecting the slain, a man of the *Anṣār* named Abū Baṣīrah and some people

812. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 365; Diyārbakrī, II, 217 bottom; Balansī, 104; Nuwayrī, 93.

813. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 365; Diyārbakrī, II, 218; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 54–55; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 104; Nuwayrī, 93–94.

814. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 365; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 47, 55; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 90; Balansī, 104–5.

along with him came upon [al-Aghlab]. When they saw him lying among the slain, taking him for dead, they said, "Oh Abū Baṣīrah, you are always claiming that your sword is exceedingly sharp; so cut the head off this dead al-Aghlab. If you cut it off, everything we have learned about your sword will be true." So he unsheathed it and then strode toward him. Now they were sure he was dead, but when (Abū Baṣīrah) drew near him, (al-Aghlab) sprang up to run away from him. Abū Baṣīrah followed him and began saying, "I am Abū Baṣīrah al-Anṣārī!"[815] Al-Aghlab began to run quickly and the distance between them only increased; every time Abū Baṣīrah said that, al-Aghlab would say, "What do you think of the running of your brother the unbeliever?" until he escaped.[816]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad:[817] When Khālid had finished with Musaylimah and the army, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr said to him, "March with us and the army to encamp against the fortresses." But he replied, "Let me [first] deploy the cavalry in order to catch those who were not in the fortresses; then I will see [what] my opinion [is]." Thereupon he deployed the cavalry, so that they rounded up what they found of livestock[818] and women and children, and attached this[819] to the army. He ordered a march to encamp against the [1951] fortresses, so Mujjāʿah said to him,[820] "By God, only the most expeditious of the people came [against] you, and the fortresses are full of men. So come on, make a truce with my following." So he made a truce with him including everything short of [their] persons. Then he said, "I will go out to them to ask their advice, and we will look into this matter; then I will return to you." So Mujjāʿah entered the fortresses, in which were

815. The pre-Islamic Arabs customarily identified themselves to their enemies in the course of battle, often as a form of boasting: "I am so-and-so, take this blow!" (E. Landau-Tasseron, personal communication).

816. Cf. Ibn Durayd, *Al-Ishtiqāq*, 184, for a slightly different version and a *Muhājir* as the hero.

817. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 218.

818. *māl*; perhaps, "property."

819. Cf. Manuscript B and Nuwayrī, 94: "attached them."

820. Cf. p. 126, above, and references there.

nothing but women and children and worn-out elders and weak men. So he dressed the women in iron breastplates and ordered them to let down their hair[821] and to make themselves visible from the tops of the fortresses until he should return to them. Then he went back and came to Khālid, saying, "They have refused to permit what I arranged. Some of them had a commanding view of you, in opposing me.[822] They [will] have nothing to do with me." At this, Khālid looked at the peaks of the fortresses, which had become black.[823] Now the war had worn the Muslims down, and the encounter had become drawn out, and they yearned to return in triumph, and did not know what might happen if there were in [the fortresses] men and fighting. There had been killed on that day 360 of the *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār* of the people of the chief city of Medina.

According to Sahl:[824] Of the *Muhājirūn* not of the people of Medina, and of the children of companions [of the Prophet],[825] 300 of the former and 300 of the latter [were killed, totaling] 600 or more. Thābit b. Qays was killed on that day. A man of the polytheists killed him; his foot was cut off, so his killer threw it
[1952] and killed him.[826] Of Banū Ḥanīfah were killed in the plain at ʿAqrabāʾ 7,000, and 7,000 in the "garden of death," and in pursuit something like that [number]. Ḍirār b. al-Azwar said regarding the battle day of al-Yamāmah:[827]

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821. Presumably young men (e.g., warriors) wore their hair long and flowing, whereas women and older men had their hair bound up and covered.

822. Mujjāʿah suggests that the people in the fortress could see the strength of Khālid's forces, and implies that they rejected Khālid's offer because they were not intimidated by his forces.

823. I.e., with people.

824. The text of the following paragraph—especially the numbers—is confused. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 365: "360 of *Muhājirūn* and *Ansār* of the people of Medina had been killed, and of the *Muhājirūn* of places other than Medina, [another] 360."

825. *al-tābiʿūn bi-ihsān*, lit., "those who follow in good works," refers to the offspring of the *Muhājirūn*, *Ansār*, and other "companions of the Prophet" (*sahāba*).

826. Cairo and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, has "his foot was cut off, so Thābit took it and beat (the attacker) with it until he killed him."

827. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 65, which has verses 1, 3, 4, and 5, as well as four additional verses.

If the south wind were asked about us, it would tell;
in the evening 'Aqrabā' and Malham[828] flowed.
And it flowed in the side branches of the watercourse, so that its rocks
dribbled in it from the people with blood.
In the evening, the spear is not satisfied with its place,
nor the arrows, except the bone-cleaving Mashrafī[829] sword.
So if you seek unbelievers free of blame,
[oh] south wind, indeed I am a follower of the faith, a Muslim.
I strive[830] [in God's way], because striving (*jihād*) is [itself] booty, and God knows best the man who strives.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq:[831] Mujjā'ah said what he did to Khālid because he had told him, 'Come on, so that I conclude a treaty with you in exchange for [the safety of] my tribe," [saying this] to a man whom the war had exhausted, and with whom many leaders of the people had been struck down. He had weakened, and yearned for rest and truce. So he said, "Come on, so that I may reconcile you," and then made a truce with (Khālid) on condition [of paying] gold, silver, suits of mail, and half the captives. Then he said, "I shall go to the tribe to present them what I have arranged." So he [1953] went out to them and said to the women, "Put on the armor and then make yourselves visible from atop the fortresses." So they did that; then he returned to Khālid. Now Khālid thought that what he had seen on the fortresses, wearing armor, were men, so when (Mujjā'ah) got to Khālid he said, "They rejected [the conditions] upon which I made a truce with you. But if you wish, I will arrange something and then entreat the tribe [to accept it]." (Khālid) said, "What is it?" He replied, "That you should take from me one quarter of the captives, and let a

828. A fortified village in a date-palm oasis, ca. 75 km northwest of Ḥajr: Thilo, s.v.; Yāqūt, s.v.; *TAVO* B VII 1. Ibn Ḥubaysh reads "in the evening 'Aqrabā' flowed with blood."

829. So called because they were made in the highlands (*mashārif*) of Syria or Yemen. Cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, IV, 1537 and 1539.

830. Ibn Ḥubaysh: we strive.

831. Cf. Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, II, 365; Diyārbakrī, II, 218; Nuwayrī, 94.

quarter of them go."[832] Khālid said, "Done," and [Mujjāʿah] said, "Agreed, then." Subsequently, after the two of them were finished, the fortresses were opened and lo! there was no one in them but women and children. Whereupon Khālid said to Mujjāʿah, "Woe to you! You deceived me!" He replied, "[They were] my own kinsmen, I had to do what I did."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf:[833] The second [thing] Mujjāʿah said on that day [was], "If you wish to accept from me half the captives and [all] the gold and silver and suits of mail and the horses, I shall entreat [my tribe to accept], and will draw up a truce between me and you." So Khālid did that, making an agreement with him on condition of [payment of] the gold, silver, suits of mail, and horses, and of half the captives, and of a garden of Khālid's choice in every settlement and of a farm of Khālid's choice; whereupon they concluded the truce mutually on those terms. Then he released him and said, "You[834] have three [days] to choose: by God, if you do not complete and accept I shall attack you; then I shall never accept from you any terms except death." So Mujjāʿah came to them and said, "Accept for now." But[835] Salamah b. ʿUmayr al-Ḥanafī replied, "No, by God, we shall not accept. We shall send to
[1954] people of settlements and to slaves [for reinforcement], and we shall fight and not make terms with Khālid. For the fortresses are strong and the food plentiful, and winter has come." So Mujjāʿah said, "You are an unlucky man, and you are kidding yourself; [in fact] I deceived the people[836] so that they would agree with me in the truce. Does there remain among you anyone worth anything or who has any [power of] resistance [left]? I went ahead of you [in making the truce] only [to act] before what Shurahbīl b. Musaylimah said should befall you."[837]

So Mujjāʿah went out as the seventh of seven [men] until he came to Khālid and said, after he had affirmed what they had

832. I.e., an additional quarter?
833. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 47, 55; Nuwayrī, 94–95.
834. The pronoun is plural, indicating that Khālid is addressing these words to Mujjāʿah's tribe, not to Mujjāʿah himself.
835. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 55–56; Balansī, 107.
836. I.e., the Muslims.
837. Cf. p. 115, above, for Shurahbīl's warning.

approved, "Write your document." So he wrote: "This is what Khālid b. al-Walīd made a truce with Mujjāʿah b. Murārah and Salamah b. ʿUmayr and So-and-so and So-and-so about: he bound them to [payment of] gold, silver, half the captives, suits of mail, horses, a garden in every village, and a farm on condition that they embrace Islam.[838] Then you will be secure in God's safety; you will have the protection of Khālid b. al-Walīd and the protection of Abū Bakr, successor of the Apostle of God, and the protections of the Muslims in good faith."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah—ʿIkrimah—Ibn Hurayrah: When Khālid made a truce with Mujjāʿah, he did so on [condition of payment of] gold, silver, coats of mail, and every garden that pleased us in every district, and half of those enslaved;[839] but they rejected that, so Khālid said, "You have three days to decide." Then Salamah b. ʿUmayr said, "Oh Banū Ḥanīfah, fight for your reputations and do not make a truce on any terms, for the fortress is strong, the food plentiful, and winter has come." To this Mujjāʿah replied, "Oh Banū Ḥanīfah, obey me and defy Salamah—for he is an unlucky man—before [the fate] of which Shuraḥbīl b. Musaylimah spoke befalls [1955] you, before the women are carried off against their will on the backs of horses and are taken to wife without being demanded in marriage."[840] So they obeyed him and renounced Salamah, and accepted his decision.

Now[841] Abū Bakr had sent Salamah b. Salāmah b. Waqsh[842] with a letter to Khālid, ordering him, if God had given him victory, to execute everyone of Banū Ḥanīfah over who[se face] a razor had passed. So he arrived, but found that [Khālid] had concluded a truce with them. Then Khālid observed [the truce] for them and kept to [the terms] that were in it. Banū Ḥanīfah were made to congregate before Khālid for the oath of allegiance and to renounce what they had formerly done. Khālid[843] was in

838. Or: "on condition that they submit."
839. *al-mamlūkīn*, i.e., the captives of war.
840. Cf. p. 115, and note 752, above.
841. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 365; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 56; Balansī, 108.
842. An early Medinan convert to Islam from the Aws tribe; later appointed governor of al-Yamāmah by ʿUmar: Caskel, II, 505; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 336–37.
843. Cf. Balansī, 113–14.

his camp, so when they gathered, Salamah b. ʿUmayr said to Mujjāʿah, "Ask permission for me to have an audience with Khālid, so that I may speak to him about a matter of mine that concerns him and for advice"; but he had resolved to assassinate him. So [Mujjāʿah] spoke to him so that he gave him permission [to enter]; then[844] Salamah b. ʿUmayr approached with the sword hidden in his clothing, intending [to carry out] what he wished. At this, [Khālid] said, "Who is this approaching?" Mujjāʿah replied, "This is the one I spoke to you about, to whom you gave permission [to enter]." Khālid said, "Get him away from me!" So they expelled him from (Khālid's) presence; then they searched him and found the sword on him, whereupon they cursed and vilified him and tied him up. They said, "You wanted to destroy your tribe, by God! You wanted nothing less than that Banū Ḥanīfah be extirpated and [their] children and women be captive, by God! If Khālid had known that you carried weapons, he would have killed you. We are not free from fear that, if he learns of it, he may yet kill the men and take the women captive for what you did, reckoning that it was done in
[1956] consultation with us." So they bound him and put him in the fortress. Banū Ḥanīfah continued to make their renunciation of what they had previously done and to make their conversion to Islam. Salamah promised them that he would do nothing else if they would forgive him, but they refused, for they did not feel safe accepting a promise from him on account of his stupidity. Then one night he escaped and headed for the camp of Khālid; so the guards cried out to him. Banū Ḥanīfah were terrified and pursued him. They caught up with him in one of the gardens, whereupon he attacked them with his sword; so they surrounded him in the rocks. He passed the sword around his own throat, cutting his jugular veins. Then he fell into a well and died.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Yarbūʿ—his father: Khālid concluded a treaty with all of Banū Ḥanīfah except those who were in al-ʿIrḍ and al-Qurayyah;[845] they were

844. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 57–58.

845. Al-ʿIrd (Wādī Ḥanīfah) was the fertile main valley of the Yamāmah district. Al-Qurayyah was an oasis village ca. 60 km northwest of Ḥajr. Cf. Yāqūt, s.vv; Thilo, s.vv; TAVO B VII 1.

taken captive when the raiding parties were sent out. So he sent to Abū Bakr 500 [persons] of those who had undergone the division [of booty] from al-ʿIrḍ and al-Qurayyah, of the Banū Ḥanīfah or Qays b. Thaʿlabah or Yashkur.[846]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq:[847] Then Khālid said to Mujjāʿah, "Give me your daughter in marriage." At this, Mujjāʿah said to him, "Take your time. You are destroying my reputation, and with mine, yours, in [the eyes of] your leader." [But Khālid] said, "Marry [her] to me, man!" so he did. News of that reached Abū Bakr, whereupon he wrote him a bloodcurdling letter:[848] "Upon my life, oh son of Khālid's mother, are you so free as to marry women, while in the court of your house is the blood of 1,200 men of the Muslims that has not yet dried?" When Khālid looked into the letter he began to say, "This is the work of the little left-handed man," meaning ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Now Khālid b. al-Walīd had sent a delegation of Banū Ḥanīfah to Abū Bakr. They came before him, so Abū Bakr said to them, "Woe to you! What made you do [1957] what you did?"[849] They replied, "Oh successor of the Apostle of God, what you learned about what befell us was a man, upon whom and upon whose tribe God bestowed no blessing." He responded to that, "What was it that attracted you to him?" They said, "He used to say, [850] 'Oh frog, croak, croak, you do not bar the one drinking, nor do you make the water turbid; to us[851] half the earth, and to Quraysh half the earth, but Quraysh is a tribe that commits aggression.'" Abū Bakr said, "May God be exalted and woe to you! This talk comes neither from sacredness nor from piety, so where does it get you?"

When[852] Khālid b. al-Walīd was done with al-Yamāmah, his

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846. Both Qays and Yashkur were tribes of the Bakr b. Wāʾil group, genealogically related to Ḥanīfah, who lived near al-Yamāmah. Cf. Donner, "Bakr," 17–18.

847. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 218 bottom; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 56; Balansī, 109; Nuwayrī, 96.

848. Lit., "a letter dripping blood."

849. Lit., "What is this that made slip from you what slipped?"

850. Cf. p. 109, above.

851. Cf. Balansī, 57, 118.

852. Cf. Nuwayrī, 97.

camp in which he used to meet people was Ubāḍ, one of the watercourses of al-Yamāmah. Then he moved to one of its watercourses called al-Wabar,[853] and it became his camp in it.

The People of al-Baḥrayn, the Apostasy of al-Ḥuṭam, and Those Who Joined with Him in al-Baḥrayn

Abū Jaʿfar said: Among the things we learned about the people of al-Baḥrayn and the apostasy of those who apostatized among them is the following:

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd—his uncle Yaʿqūb b. Ibrā-
[1958] hīm—Sayf:[854] Al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī went out toward al-Baḥrayn. Part of the story of al-Baḥrayn was that the Prophet and al-Mundhir b. Sāwī fell ill in one and the same month; subsequently al-Mundhir died a little after the Prophet, and the people of al-Baḥrayn apostatized after [his death]. As for ʿAbd al-Qays,[855] they returned [to the fold]; but Bakr[856] persisted in their apostasy. The one who persuaded ʿAbd al-Qays to turn back was al-Jārūd.[857]

According to ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Ismāʿīl b. Muslim—al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan:[858] Al-Jārūd b. al-Muʿallā came to the Prophet, seeking him out, so he said, "Embrace Islām, oh Jārūd!" But Jārūd answered, "I [already] have a religion."[859] The Prophet replied to him, "Oh Jārūd, your religion is really nothing; it is not a religion." So Jārūd said to him, "And if I were to embrace Islam, then whatever consequence [that might have] in

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853. Yāqūt has "Wabarah," a village of al-Yamāmah; Hamdānī, 102, has "Wabrah."

854. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 368; Nuwayrī, 99–100; cf. note 53, above.

855. A major tribe of eastern Arabia, partly settled and partly nomadic, centered in the island Uwal (modern Bahrayn) and Qatīf on the coast. See *EI*², s.v. "ʿAbd al-Ḳays" (S. M. Stern).

856. I.e., the Bakr b. Wāʾil tribes; the rebel al-Ḥuṭam was of a Bakrī tribe, Qays b. Thaʿlaba (cf. p. 137, below).

857. Bishr "al-Jārūd" b. al-Muʿallā was a Christian of ʿAbd al-Qays who came to the Prophet in AH 10 and embraced Islam. His name is given variously. Cf. p. 137, below; Caskel, II, 227, s.v. "Bishr b. ʿAmr al-Jārūd"; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 260–61.

858. Cf. Nuwayrī, 99.

859. *Dīn*.

Islam would be your responsibility?"[860] (The Prophet) replied that it was so. So he embraced Islām and remained in Medina until he became learned [in the faith]. Then, when he wanted to leave, he said, "Oh Apostle of God, can we find among one of you camels on which we might reach [our destination]?" He replied, "We have no camels." He said, "Oh Apostle of God, I shall find on the road some of these strays." (Muḥammad) replied, "They are the burning of hellfire; beware of them!"[861]

When[862] (al-Jārūd) came to his people, he invited them to Islām, whereupon they all responded to him. Then it was only a short time before the Prophet died and they apostatized; ʿAbd al-Qays said, "If Muḥammad had been a prophet, he would not have died," and they apostatized. (Al-Jārūd) learned of that, so he sent to them to gather them together; then he stood up to address them, saying, "Oh company of ʿAbd al-Qays! I shall question you about things, so tell me about them if you know about them, and do not respond if you do not know." They [1959] replied, "Ask about whatever crosses your mind." He said, "Do you know that, in the past, God had prophets?" They said, "Yes." He went on, "[And] do you know it [from what you have learned from others], or have you seen it [with your own eyes]?" They said, "No, rather we know it [from others]." He continued, "Then what became of them?" They replied, "They died." He said, "In truth, Muḥammad has died just as they died, and I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His Servant and His Apostle." They said, "And we [also] bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His Servant and His Apostle, and that you are our chief and the best of us." So they stood firm in their Islām, and did not extend

860. *Famā kāna min tabiʿatin fī al-islām fa-ʿalayka.* Cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 149.

861. According to Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, II, 551 col. 3, this refers to the tradition stating that "the stray animals of the believer are a cause of the burning of hellfire," i.e., that anyone taking possession of the Muslims' stray beasts is in danger of hellfire. Hence in the preceding sentences, one must assume that the Prophet is stating only that there were no riding camels actually in the town at the moment, the Muslims' extra mounts being allowed to roam freely in the surroundings of Medina.

862. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 368; Balansī, 136–37; Caetani, 584–85.

[their hands in evil to anyone], nor was [an evil hand] extended toward them; they did not get involved between the rest of Rabīʿah,[863] on the one hand, and al-Mundhir[864] and the Muslims, on the other. Al-Mundhir was busy with them [for the rest of] his life; then, after al-Mundhir died, his companions were besieged in two places until al-ʿAlā' saved them.

Abū Jaʿfar said: as for Ibn Isḥāq, he said the following about that, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When Khālid b. al-Walīd was finished with al-Yamāmah, Abū Bakr sent al-ʿĀlā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī. Al-ʿĀlā' was the one whom the Apostle of God had sent to al-Mundhir b. Sāwī al-ʿAbdī, with the result that al-Mundhir embraced Islām. So al-ʿĀlā' stayed with them as commander for the Apostle of God. Then al-Mundhir b. Sāwī died in al-Baḥrayn after the death of the Apostle of God. Now ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ was in ʿUmān, the Apostle of God passing away while ʿAmr was there, whereupon ʿAmr approached, passing by al-Mundhir b. Sāwī while he was on the point of death. So [ʿAmr] visited him, so that al-Mundhir said to him, "How much of his property did the
[1960] Apostle of God assign to the dying person[865] of the Muslims at the time of his death?" ʿAmr replied, "He used to stipulate a third." He said, "Then what do you advise me to do with a third of my property?" ʿAmr replied, "If you wish, you may divide it among your close kinsmen, assigning it by way of welfare; or, if you wish, you may grant it as *ṣadaqah*, thereby assigning it as an inviolable grant of alms that will be paid after you to those upon whom you bestowed it." [Al-Mundhir] said, "I would not like to make my property into something restricted, like the *baḥīrah*, the *sā'ibah*, the *waṣīlah*, and the *ḥāmī*;[866] rather, I shall divide it and transmit it to those to whom I bequeath it,

863. ʿAbd al-Qays was classified genealogically as part of Rabīʿah b. Nizār.

864. I.e., al-Mundhir b. Sāwī of ʿAbd al-Qays.

865. Lit., "the dead person." The question involves how much of his property the dying person was allowed to distribute to heirs of his choice.

866. Cf. *Qur'ān* 5:103. The words refer to four types of camels which, for various reasons, it had been prohibited during the *jāhiliyyah* to ride, to milk, to eat their flesh, to restrict in grazing, etc. These customs were prohibited by Islām. For the details, see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, 187 (s.v. *baḥīrah*); IV, 1481 (s.v. *sā'ibah*); II, 652 (s.v. *ḥāmī*); and Ibn Manẓūr, II, 729 (s.v. *waṣīlah*).

that they may do with it as they please." So ʿAmr used to marvel because of what he said.

Rabīʿah[867] apostatized in al-Baḥrayn among those Arabs[868] who apostatized, except for al-Jārūd b. ʿAmr b. Ḥanash b. al-Muʿallā, who stood firm in Islām along with those of his tribe who were with him. When he learned of the death of the Apostle of God and of the apostasy of the Arabs, he stood up and said, "I bear witness that there is no god but God; and I bear witness that Muḥammad is His Servant and His Apostle; and I declare those who do not [so] bear witness to be unbelievers." Rabīʿah gathered in al-Baḥrayn and apostatized, saying, "Let us return the kingship[869] to the family of al-Mundhir."[870] So they proclaimed al-Mundhir b. al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir to be king. He[871] used to be called al-Gharūr ("the deceiver"); but when he had come to embrace Islām, and the people had embraced Islām and the sword had subdued them, he used to say, "I was not the deceiver, I was the deceived."

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd—his uncle—Sayf—Ismāʿīl b. Muslim—ʿUmayr b. Fulān al-ʿAbdī:[872] After the Prophet died, al-Ḥuṭam b. Ḍubayʿah, a tribesman of Banū Qays b. Thaʿlabah, [1961] rebelled with those of Bakr b. Wāʾil who followed him into apostasy, and with nonapostates who were still unbelievers who gathered ʿround him, until he alighted at al-Qaṭīf[873] and Hajar. He stirred up al-Khaṭṭ[874] and those Zuṭṭ and Sabābijah[875] in it to

867. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 73; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 46; Nuwayrī, 100.

868. Here and below, possibly "nomads."

869. Ibn Ḥubaysh: "the kingship has returned. . . ."

870. Presumably the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīrah, the most prominent of whom, al-Mundhir III (ruled A D 503–554) is referred to here; the last Lakhmid king was al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir (IV), ruled 580–602, whose son is mentioned in the next sentence. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Lakhmids" (I. Shahid); Wathīmah, 24/66.

871. Cf. p. 146, below, with different opinion on the name; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 368; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 84; Balansī, 145–46.

872. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 368–69; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 46; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 83; Nuwayrī, 100–101. Cf. note 53, above.

873. Large oasis on Persian Gulf coast, possibly the ancient Gerrha. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Al-Ḳaṭīf" (G. Rentz).

874. The east Arabian coastal strip in Baḥrayn and ʿUmān; cf. Yāqūt, s.v.; *EI*², s.v. "Al-Khaṭṭ" (A. Grohmann); Wüstenfeld, 181.

875. Text has "Sayābijah." The Zuṭṭ and Sabābijah were people of Indian origin who had settled around the Persian Gulf littoral (and later in Baṣrah); cf.

rebel, and sent an army to Dārīn.[876] So they rose up on (al-Ḥuṭam's) behalf, in order to put ʿAbd al-Qays between him and them. (ʿAbd al-Qays) was opposed to (these rebels), reinforcing al-Mundhir[877] and the Muslims. And (al-Ḥuṭam) sent to al-Gharūr b. Suwayd,[878] brother of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, and dispatched him to Juwāthā,[879] saying, "Stand fast, for if I am victorious I shall make you king in al-Baḥrayn, so that you may be like al-Nuʿmān in al-Ḥīrah." He sent[880] to Juwāthā; then he besieged [the Muslims] and pressed them, so that the siege became intense upon them. Among the besieged Muslims was one of their righteous men, called ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥadhaf, one of the Banū ʿAbū Bakr b.Kilāb.[881] Now he and they were extremely
[1962] hungry, so that they were on the verge of dying. About that ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥadhaf said,[882]

Make a messenger reach Abū Bakr
and all the young men of Medina.[883]
Do you want to come to the aid of the noble tribe,[884]
sitting in Juwāthā, besieged?
[It is] as if their blood [is] on every path
[like] the rays of the sun, bedazzling those who watch.
We relied on the Merciful One;[885] Indeed
we found that forbearance [is] for those who rely [on Him].[886]

Manẓūr, II, 294 and VII, 308; Balādhūrī, *Futūḥ*, 162 ("Sayābijah"); Pellat, *Milieu basrien*, 40–41.

876. A small island with port off the Arabian coast near al-Qaṭīf. Cf. Thilo, s.v.

877. I.e., al-Mundhir b. Sāwī.

878. Cf. Iṣfahānī, XIV, 46 and 48 on his name.

879. Citadel of 'Abd al-Qays in al-Khaṭṭ. Cf. Thilo, s.v.; Yāqūt, s.v.; Wüstenfeld, 176, 178, 181.

880. *Ba'atha*; one expects something like *dhahaba*, "he went."

881. A branch of the Kilāb of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah; cf. Caskel, I, Table 94 and II, 222.

882. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 71; Balansī, 139; Isfahanī, XIV, 46–47. Wathīmah, 25/67–68 drops verse 3, and adds after the last verse here: "We said: we were content with God as Lord/and with Islam as a religion we were content."

883. Ibn Ḥubaysh and Balansī: "and all the residents of Medina."

884. Balansī: of a small troop.

885. *al-raḥmān*.

886. Ibn Ḥubaysh: "profit [is] for those . . .;" Balansī, Wathīmah, Ibn al-Athīr, II, 369 and Iṣfahānī, XIV, 47: "victory [is] for those . . . ."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. ʿAṭiyyah b. Bilāl—Sahm b. Minjāb—Minjāb b. Rāshid:[887] Abū Bakr sent al-ʿĀlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī to be in charge of fighting the apostates in al-Baḥrayn. So when he approached it and was opposite al-Yamāmah, Thumāmah b. Uthāl joined him with the Muslims of Banū Ḥanīfah, from Banū Suḥaym[888] and from the people of the settlements of the rest of Banū Ḥanīfah; he had been waiting in uncertain expectation. (Abū Bakr) had dispatched ʿIkrimah to ʿUmān and then to Mahrah, and he had ordered Shuraḥbīl [1963] to remain where he was until Abū Bakr's order should reach him, then [to go to] Dūmah[889] to raid the apostates of Quḍāʿah with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. As for ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, he was raiding Saʿd and Balī;[890] and he ordered this one to [march against] Kalb, and mixed groups joined to them. Then, when (al-ʿĀlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī) drew near us[891] while we were in the high part of the country, there was no one of al-Ribāb or ʿAmr b. Tamīm who had a horse who did not lead (his horse) beside him, going out to receive (al-ʿĀlāʾ). As for Banū Ḥanẓalah, they played for time. Mālik b. Nuwayrah was in al-Buṭāḥ with groups with whom we contended,[892] and Wakīʿ b. Mālik was in al-Qarʿāʾ[893] with groups that contended with ʿAmr.[894] As for Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt,

887. Cf. pp. 76–86, above; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 369; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 47; Nuwayrī, 101.

888. Suhaym b. Murrah, a branch of Ḥanīfah, lived in the oases of al-Jaww, Malham, and Qurrān; cf. Caskel, II, 516.

889. Dūmat al-Jandal, a town in northern Najd, modern al-Jawf. Text is awkward; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 149, wanted to delete Dūmah; editor, on basis of comparison with Ṭabarī, I, 2083, wanted to retain it.

890. I.e., the tribes of Saʿd Hudhaym b. Zayd and Balī, both of the northern Ḥijāz, or Saʿd Allāh of Balī and the rest of the tribe? Cf. Donner, *Conquests* 102–5.

891. The narrator, Minjāb b. Rāshid, was of Banū Ḍabbah, part of the confederation of al-Ribāb, closely connected with Tamīm; cf. Caskel, I, Table 90 and II, 408.

892. Cf. p. 53, above: Khālid b. al-Walīd is ordered to move against Mālik b. Nuwayrah at Buṭāḥ. The narrator now portrays himself and his group, al-Ribāb, as part of the Muslims.

893. A stop on the Mecca-Kufa road near the fringes of Iraq, in northernmost Arabia; cf. Yāqūt, s.v.

894. The identity of the ʿAmr is unclear. E. Landau-Tasseron (personal communication) suggests that he cannot be ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, but might be ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam, on whom see note 631, above.

they were two divisions: ʿAwf and the Abnāʾ obeyed al-Zibriqān b. Badr, standing firm in their Islām; they were free of fault and defended it. The Muqāʿis and the Buṭūn [on the other hand] listened but did not comply, except for those with Qays b. ʿĀṣim, for he divided the *ṣadaqah* taxes that had been gathered to him among the Muqāʿis and the Buṭūn when al-Zibriqān marched[895] with the *ṣadaqah* taxes of ʿAwf and the Abnāʾ. ʿAwf and the Abnāʾ were occupied [in fighting] with the Muqāʿis and the Buṭūn, but when Qays b. ʿĀṣim saw how al-Ribāb and ʿAmr [b. Tamīm] had received al-ʿĀlāʾ, he regretted his earlier hasty actions; whereupon he received al-ʿĀlāʾ by making ready what he had divided from the *ṣadaqah* taxes. He shunned the business he had been involved in [before] and drove [the *ṣadaqah* camels] so that they reached him.[896] [Then Qays] went out with (al-ʿĀlāʾ) to fight the people of al-Baḥrayn. He recited poetry
[1964] about that, as did al-Zibriqān about his *ṣadaqah* tax when he sent it to Abū Bakr. Al-Zibriqān said about that:

I paid in full the several camels [due to] the Apostle, when
[other] collectors of *ṣadaqah* tax had refused,
and not a camel had been returned [to him] by its trustee.[897]
Together we defended (the tax) from all the people;
the enemy's shooting at [it while it is with] us does not harm it.
So I paid it, in order not to betray my covenant—
lean camels, their backs not [yet] broken in for riding.
By doing so I sought piety and the glory of its reputation,
[against a time] when the boastful [man] of a company vies with my kind.
In truth I am from a clan which, when their efforts[898] are reckoned,
their living and their dead[899] see glory in it.
Neither their young nor their old have been humbled,
they are firmly anchored and their breasts are pure.

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895. I.e., marched to Abū Bakr.
896. I.e., reached al-ʿAlāʾ.
897. Cf. p. 86, above.
898. *Saʿyu-hum*; Kos has *shaʿbu-hum*, "their people."
899. Lit., "their living and their graves."

I claimed my due from an ungrateful clan;
their barking and mewing did not turn my sword back.
For God, I have entered [the domain] of kings, and many a knight
I speared whenever the cavalry's raiding became intense.

So I broke through their front line[900] with a bloody thrust, [1965]
in such a way that he who wished for life injures it.[901]
Many a spectacle of bravery[902] have I borne witness to, not
idle in it; but today its fate is turned away.
I see my fear of the enemies as [a kind of] daring;
we weep[903] whenever the inmost thought of the soul is exposed.

Qays said, upon bringing the *ṣadaqah* tax to al-ʿĀlāʾ:

Send Quraysh a letter from me, you two,
when proofs of the payments have reached them.
Many a time, over the ages, have I brought them to the sides of a well,
driving every covetous man of evil conduct to despair [of seizing] them.
I found[904] that my father and maternal uncle were safe
in a plain in which those whom I fended off did not alight.

So al-ʿAlāʾ honored him. There[905] went out with al-ʿAlāʾ as many [men] from ʿAmr and Saʿd and al-Ribāb as [there were regular troops in] his army. He crossed the Dahnāʾ[906] with us until when we were in the heart of it, with the whistling hills and sighing dunes to the right and left, and God wished to show us his signs. (Al-ʿAlāʾ) dismounted and ordered the people to [1966]

900. Lit., "I opened her first one."
901. I.e., the one who flees to save his life damages his reputation by fleeing.
902. Reading *mashhad ṣadq* for the text's *mashhad ṣidq*; cf. Ibn Manẓūr, X, 196, for *ṣadq* as "bravery." Or, perhaps, something like "moment of truth?"
903. Reading with Manuscript C, rather than "he weeps" in the text and Cairo.
904. Reading with Cairo, for the text's "I gave generously to . . . ."
905. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 369–70; Isfahānī, XIV, 47; Nuwayrī, 101–3.
906. A long, narrow stretch of sand desert in east-central Arabia, separating al-Yamāmah from Baḥrayn. Cf. *EI*², "al-Dahnāʾ" (C. D. Matthews).

dismount, whereupon the camels bolted from fright in the depths of the night, so that there remained with us neither camel, nor provisions, nor a water bag, nor a tent, unless he came upon it in the middle of the sands, that [happening] when the army had dismounted but before they had unpacked [the camels]. I have not known a group that was so beset by anxiety as we were, one of us appointing another his executor.[907] The herald of al-ʿAlāʾ cried out, "Assemble!" So we gathered to him; then he said, "What is this that has appeared among you and overcome you?" Whereupon the people answered, "How can we be blamed, [seeing that] even if we reach the morrow, the sun will not have waxed hot before we will have become [the subject of] a story?"[908] But he replied, "Oh people, do not be afraid. Are you not Muslims? Are you not on the path of God? Are you not the helpers of God?[909] They said, "Indeed." He went on, "Then rejoice, for by God, He will not forsake someone in a situation like yours." The herald called for the morning prayer when the dawn arose, some of us doing our ablutions with sand and others still being in a state of ritual purity.[910] After he had performed his prayer, he assumed a kneeling position and the people kneeled; then he exerted himself in praying, and they with him. Whereupon a mirage of the sun [as if reflecting off water] shimmered for them, so he turned to the row [of people] and said, "A scout to see what this is!" So (the scout) did so; subsequently he returned saying, "[It is] a mirage." Whereupon he occupied himself [again] with praying. Then it shimmered for them again, but the same thing happened. Then it shimmered for them a final time, whereupon (the scout) said, "Water!" So he got up, and the people got up, and we walked to it until we encamped at it and drank it and washed. The day was not
[1967] advanced before the camels approached, driven from every

907. I.e., in anticipation of death.
908. I.e., before we will have died.
909. *Ansār Allāh.*
910. Ablutions with sand or dust (*tayammum*) are permitted when there is insufficient water to do normal ablutions by washing. Those who were still in a state of ritual purity at the morning prayer had, by implication, not slept the night before, as sleep causes the believer to enter the state of lesser impurity, necessitating ablutions before prayer.

side; then they kneeled for us, so each man went to his mount and took it. We had not lost [so much as] a thread.[911] We watered them and made them drink the second drinking after the first drinking, and we watered ourselves; then we left.[912] Abū Hurayrah was my companion, so when we had left that place he said to me, "How [well] do you know the location of that water?" So I replied, "I am one of the best of the Arabs as guides to this country." He said, "Be with me so that you may bring me straight upon it." So I came back to it, bringing him to that same place; but lo, there was no pool there, nor any trace of the water. So I said to him, "By God, if I had not seen the water I would have told you that this was the place; I have not seen any drinking water in this place before today." But lo, there was a small water bag, filled up. Whereupon [Abū Hurayrah] said, "Oh Abū Sahm, this is the place, by God; and for this I returned and brought you back. I filled my water bags, then I placed them on the edge[913] saying [to myself], 'If this was some act of [divine] grace and a sign [from God] I shall know, and if it was [merely] rainfall[914] I shall know.' Lo! It is an act of grace!" So he praised God. Then we marched until we came to Hajar.

Al-ʿAlāʾ[915] sent to al-Jārūd and to another man to betake themselves to ʿAbd al-Qays so that they could attack al-Ḥuṭam from [districts] adjacent to them. [Al-ʿAlāʾ] went out with those who came with him and those who came to him, until he attacked him from what is adjacent to Hajar. All the polytheists gathered to al-Ḥuṭam except the people of Dārīn, and all the [1968]

911. I.e., although the camels were wandering untended all night, nothing was lost from their baggage.

912. Diyārbakrī, II, 221 offers a somewhat different miracle story, involving the sudden appearance of rain clouds.

913. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 369, adds "of the pool"; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 47, adds "of the valley."

914. The text reads *ghiyāthan*, "divine aid," but the context of the story clearly requires some test between divine grace and accidental encounter of natural water, the idea being that naturally occurring water would still be there when Abū Hurayrah returned. I suspect that the text originally read *ghaythan*, "rain," and have translated accordingly. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 369, has *ʿaynan*, "a spring," which in unpointed texts would appear identical with *ghaythan*. The whole phrase is missing in Iṣfahānī.

915. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 370; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 47–48; Nuwayrī, 103.

Muslims gathered to al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī. The Muslims and the polytheists dug trenches; they used to fight in turns and return to their trench. They were thus for some months.[916] While[917] the people were [in that state], one night the Muslims heard a tremendous racket in the camp of the polytheists, like the clamoring of a rout or of fighting; so al-ʿAlāʾ said, "Who will bring us news of the enemy?" Whereupon ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥadhaf said, "I will bring you news of the enemy." Now his mother was a woman of ʿIjl; so he went out until, when he drew near their trench, they seized him and said to him, "Who are you?" So he related his genealogy for them, and began calling, "Oh Abjar!" At this, Abjar b. Bujayr[918] came and identified him; then he said, "What is your business?" So [ʿAbdallāh] replied, "May I not perish among the Lahāzim![919] Why should I be killed while there are all around me troops of ʿIjl, Taymallāt, Qays, and ʿAnazah? Is al-Ḥuṭam playing tricks on me, while strangers[920] of the tribes and you are witnesses? Stop it!" He said, "By God, I think you are the worst nephew to your uncles tonight." So he said, "Let me go[921] and give me [something] to eat, for I am dying of hunger." So he brought
[1969] food for him, whereupon he ate. Then he said, "Give me provisions and a riding camel and let me go to my home." He said that to a man overcome by drink, who did so. He mounted him on his camel, and gave him provisions, and let him [go]. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥadhaf went out until he entered the camp of the Muslims; then he informed them that the enemy was drunk. So the Muslims went out against them so that they rushed upon their camp, putting them to the sword at will. [The enemy] rushed into the trench in flight. [Some] were thrown down,

916. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil,* and Nuwayrī: "a month."

917. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 71ff.; Balansī, 139–40; Nuwayrī, 103–4.

918. Thus text, but we should probably read Abjar b. Jābir, a Christian chieftain of ʿIjl, as given by Balansī. Cf. Caskel, II, 134; Donner, "Bakr," 31.

919. Lahāzim was an alliance of the Bakrī tribes of ʿIjl, Qays b. Thaʿlabah, and Taymallāt b. Thaʿlabah with the ʿAnazah b. Asad b. Rabīʿah, a non-Bakrī tribe. Cf. Donner, "Bakr," 17 and 32.

920. *Nuzzāʿ*; people living in a tribe under protection who are not of the tribe itself. Cf. Ibn Manẓūr, VIII, 350.

921. *Daʿnī min hādha.*

[others] escaped; [some stood] dumbfounded, [and were] killed or taken prisoner. The Muslims seized what was in the camp, no man escaping except with what was on him. As for Abjar, he fled; whereas al-Ḥuṭam became confused and mixed up, and his courage left him. So[922] he went up to his horse while the Muslims were all around them slaying them, in order to ride it; but when he placed his foot in the stirrup, he was unable to proceed. Then ʿAfīf b. al-Mundhir, one of the Banū ʿAmr b. Tamīm, passed him while al-Ḥuṭam was calling for help, saying, "Isn't there a man of Banū Qays b. Thaʿlabah who will lift me onto my mount?" Then he raised his voice, so that (ʿAfīf) recognized his voice; whereupon he said, "Abū Ḍubayʿah?" (Al-Ḥuṭam) replied, "Yes." He said, "Give me your foot so that I may lift you up." So he gave him his foot so he could lift him, but he struck it from the side (with his sword), severing it from the upper leg, and left him. At this (al-Ḥuṭam) said, "Finish me off!" Whereupon (ʿAfīf) replied, "I do not want you to die until I have made you suffer." Now with ʿAfīf were a number of his father's offspring; they were killed that night. Al-Ḥuṭam began [1970]
to say to every Muslim who passed by him in the night, "Would you like to kill al-Ḥuṭam?", saying that even to those he did not know, until Qays b. ʿĀṣim passed him. So he said that to him, whereupon (Qays) turned to him and killed him. Then, when he saw that his thigh had been severed,[923] he said, "Oh vile one! If I had known what [a wound] he had, I would not have touched him." After the Muslims had secured the trench against the enemy, they went out in search of them, pursuing them. Qays b. ʿĀṣim caught up with Abjar; but Abjar's horse was stronger than the horse of Qays, so when he feared that he might escape him, he speared him in the hamstring, severing the tendon while the sciatic nerve remained unharmed; so that did it.[924] ʿAfīf b. al-Mundhir said,

If the tendon pulses [with the heartbeat] the sciatic nerve does not;
not everyone who falls knows about that.

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922. Cf. Balansī, 140–41.
923. So text; i.e., that the lower leg had been severed from it.
924. *fa-kānat rāddah.*

Did you not see that we subdued their guards
in the lineage of ʿAmr, and noble al-Ribāb?

ʿAfīf b. al-Mundhir took al-Gharūr b. Suwayd prisoner, so al-Ribāb negotiated with him on his behalf; his father was the nephew of Taym, and they asked him to grant him protection. So he said to al-ʿAlāʾ, "I have taken this one under my protection." (Al-ʿAlāʾ) said, "And who is he?" He replied, "Al-Gharūr." (Al-ʿAlāʾ) said [to al-Gharūr], "You misled these [people]!" (Al-Gharūr) replied,[925] "Oh king, I am not the deceiver (*al-gharūr*), rather the deceived." (Al-ʿAlāʾ) said, "Embrace Islam!" So he embraced Islām and remained in Hajar. Al-Gharūr
[1971] was his proper name; it was not a nickname. ʿAfīf killed al-Mundhir b. Suwayd b. al-Mundhir.

In[926] the morning Al-ʿAlāʾ divided the spoils. He awarded some of the men of valor garments as booty; among those who were awarded booty were ʿAfīf b. al-Mundhir, Qays b. ʿĀṣim, and Thumāmah b. Uthāl. As for Thumāmah, he was given as booty some garments among which was a robe with ornamental borders of which al-Ḥuṭam had been very proud; he sold the garments.

The majority[927] of those who fled headed for Dārīn, and then rode boats to it; the rest returned to the country of their tribe. So al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī wrote to those among them of Bakr b. Wāʾil who had stood by their Islām, and sent to ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās[928] and to ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Aswad[929] to stick to what they were doing and to waylay the apostates on every road.[930] He ordered Misma[ʿ931] to surprise them, and sent to Khaṣafah al-Taymī and al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī,[932] so that they took up positions against them on the road. Some

925. Cf. p. 137, above.
926. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 370; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 48.
927. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 371; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 48–49.
928. A Muslim of Banū ʿIjl; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, s.v.
929. Possibly ʿAmr b. al-Aswad b. ʿĀmir (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 84); he is, however, said to have been one of the martyrs at al-Yamāmah.
930. Or "in every way."
931. Possibly Misma[ʿ] b. Shaybān of Qays b. Thaʿlabah: cf. Caskel, II, 409.
932. Chieftain of Shaybān and early ally of Muslims in Iraq. Cf. *EI*[2], s.v. "Al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha" (F. M. Donner).

of [the fugitives] repented, so [the Muslims] accepted them and included them [in their forces]. Others refused and were stubborn; they were prevented from returning [to Islam], so they went back where they had come from until they crossed over to Dārīn. Thus God gathered them [all] in it. A man of Banū Ḍubayʿah b. ʿIjl called Wahb said about that, reproaching those of Bakr b. Wāʾil who apostatized:

Do you not see that God tests his creatures
so that [some] peoples become wicked even as [another] group becomes pure?
God disgraces peoples afflicted by immorality;
Zayd al-Ḍallāl and Maʿmar fell upon them.[933]

Al-ʿĀlāʾ remained lodged in the camp of the polytheists until [1972]
the letters came back to him from those of Bakr b. Wāʾil to whom he had written, and he had learned from them of [their] support for God's cause and zeal[934] for His religion. So when he had gotten what he desired from them in this regard, he felt sure that nothing untoward would take him from behind on the part of anyone of the people of al-Baḥrayn. He summoned the people to Dārīn; then he gathered them together and addressed them, saying: "God gathered for you in this sea the troops[935] of the devils and those fleeing in fright from the war; He has shown you His signs on land, so that you may consider them on the sea. So arise against your enemy, then cross the sea to them.[936] For in truth, God has gathered them." At this they said, "We shall do it, and by God we shall not feel any fear after [what happened in] the Dahnāʾ as long as we live." So he set out and they did likewise until, when they reached the seashore, they plunged in, [mounted upon] whinnying stallions, pack camels, bellowing mules, and braying donkeys, the rider and the infantryman [alike]. [Al-ʿAlāʾ] gave a call, and so did they; his call and

933. According to p. 151, below, Zayd amd Maʿmar were the killers of al-Ḥuṭam; this, of course, contradicts the account in pp. 144–46, in which ʿAfīf b. al-Mundhir and Qays b. ʿĀṣim are responsible for al-Ḥuṭam's death.

934. Literally, "passionate anger" [*ghaḍab*].

935. Or "companies, parties" [*aḥzāb*].

936. Lit., "make the sea broad [or ask it to be broad] to them."

theirs was, "Oh Most Merciful of forgivers! Oh Noble One! Oh Mild-tempered One! Oh Unique One! Oh Everlasting One! Oh Living One! Oh Reviver of the dead! Oh Living One! Oh Eternal One! There is no God but Thee, oh our Lord!"[937] Then they all passed over that gulf, by the will of God, walking as if on soft sand upon which was water that [only] covered the hooves of the camels.[938] In truth, between the coast and Dārīn is a trip of a day and a night for a ship of the sea under some conditions. So they reached it and fought so intensely that they did not leave anyone there to relate [what had happened]. They took as captives the offspring [of the vanquished] and drove off the
[1973] flocks. The booty of the horseman reached 6,000,[939] and that of the foot soldier 2,000. They crossed over to them and marched on that [same] day;[940] then when they were done, they returned as they had come so that they crossed [back]. About that ʿAfīf b. al-Mundhir said:[941]

Did you not see that God subdued His ocean,
and has sent one of the momentous happenings down among the unbelievers?
We called on Him Who divided the seas, so He brought us
something more amazing than the dividing of the first seas.

After al-ʿAlāʾ returned to al-Baḥrayn and Islām became established in it, and Islām and its people grew strong and polytheism and its people were abased, those who had something [evil] in their hearts engaged in evil rumors, so the rumor mongers spread their lies. They said, "That one, Mafrūq,[942] has

937. The epithets given in the call are all among the Qurʾānic "beautiful names" of God.

938. Cf. Balansī, 143; Diyārbakrī, II, 221, gives a different version of this miraculous crossing.

939. Presumably dirhams, a silver coin.

940. Cairo, without explanation of source, has "they passed the night and marched the next day."

941. Cf. Diyārbakrī, II, 221; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 49; Balansī, 143.

942. Al-Nuʿmān "Mafrūq" b. ʿAmr of Banū Abū Rabīʿah of Shaybān of Bakr is said to have died ca. 615 at Yaum al-ʿUẓālah (Yawm Iyād); Cf. Caskel, I, Table 149, and II, 451; Balansī, 141, whose editor confirms it to have been Mafrūq b. ʿAmr al-Shaybānī. E. Landau-Tasseron suggests that either the person referred to here is a descendant of the deceased Mafrūq, or the narrator uses the name of a

gathered his kinsmen of Shayban and Taghlib and al-Namir." But groups of Muslims said to them, "Then the Lahāzim will take care of them for us." Now the Lahāzim at that time had agreed to assist al-ʿAlāʾ, and they obeyed [him]. About that ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥadhaf said:[943]

Do not threaten us with Mafrūq and his family;
if he comes to us, he shall suffer among us the fate[944] of al-Ḥuṭam.
In truth, that clan of Bakr, even if it is numerous,
is [nonetheless] one of the communities entering the fire.
Outside the palm grove are horses, and inside it [1974]
are horses, heavily laden with young men leading camels.

Al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī allowed the people to go home, so the people returned, except those who desired to stay. Then[945] we headed home, and Thumāmah b. Uthāl headed home until, when we were at a spring of the Banū Qays b. Thaʿlabah, they saw Thumāmah with the robe of al-Ḥuṭam on him; they hid a man with him, saying, "Ask him how [his robe] came to be his, and whether he or someone else killed al-Ḥuṭam." So [the man] came to him and asked him about it, whereupon [Thumāmah] replied, "I was awarded it as booty." [The man] said, "Were you the one who killed al-Ḥuṭam?" He replied, "No; but I wish I had killed him." [The man] asked, "Then how is it that this robe is with you?" He replied, "Didn't I just tell you?" At this [the man] returned to them to tell them [what he had said], so they gathered to him; then they went to [Thumāmah] and surrounded him. Whereupon he said, "What do you want?" They said, "You are the killer of al-Ḥuṭam." [Thumāmah] replied, "You lie; I am not his killer, but I was given it as booty." They said, "Is anyone but the killer awarded the spoil [of a slain man]?" [Thumāmah]

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dead tribal hero [personal communication]. Cf. Landau-Tasseron, "The Participation of Ṭayyiʾ in the *Ridda*," 63, which describes how a hero of the tribe, Zayd al-Khayl, appears in some accounts about the *ridda*, even though he had died before it began.

943. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 72; Balansī, 141–42, which reverses order of verses 2 and 3.

944. *Sunnah*.

945. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 370–71; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 49.

replied, "[The robe] was not on him; it was found in his baggage." [But] they said, "You lie!" and struck him down.

With[946] the Muslims in Hajar was a monk; then he embraced Islām on that day, so he was asked, "What induced you to embrace Islām?" He replied, "Three things. I feared that God would transform me into something hideous after it if I did not do it; a flood in the sands and the smoothing of the highest parts of the sea;[947] and a prayer that I heard in their camp on the winds by dawn." They said, "What was it?" He said, "Oh God, You are the Compassionate, the Merciful; there is no God other than You; [You are] the Original, nothing was before You; the Enduring, not forgetful; the Living, Who does not die; Creator of what is seen and what is not seen; and each day, You are
[1975] [employed] in [some] affair; Oh God, You know everything, without learning." Then I knew that a group was not aided by the angels unless they were in God's cause." The companions of the Apostle of God used to listen to that Hajarī thereafter.

Al-ʿAlāʾ wrote to Abū Bakr, "Now then: God, may He be blessed and exalted, made the Dahnāʾ flow for us in an inundation the western side of which could not be seen.[948] And He showed us a sign and a wonderful example after [our] anxiety and distress, so that we might praise God and glorify Him. So pray to God and ask His assistance for His armies and those who help His religion." So Abū Bakr praised God and prayed to Him, and said: "The Arabs still say, when speaking of their country, that when Luqmān[949] was asked whether they should dig the Dahnā" [for water] or leave it, he forbade them and said, 'The well rope does not reach it, and one is not refreshed.' In truth the case of this inundation is one of the great signs; we have not heard of it among any nation before. Oh God, appoint among us a successor to Muḥammad!"[950] Then al-ʿAlāʾ wrote to him

946. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 371; Iṣfahānī, XIV, 49.

947. A reference to the miracles related at pp. 143 and 148, above.

948. Meaning that the pool was so large one could not see across it; the Muslims were, according to the story, coming from the east; cf. p. 143, above.

949. A legendary pre-Islamic hero and sage. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Luḳmān" (B. Heller—N. A. Stillman).

950. *Ikhlif Muḥammadan fīnā.*

about the defeat of the people of the trench and the killing of al-Ḥuṭam by Zayd and Maʿmar:[951] "Now then: God, may His name be blessed, robbed the enemy of their wits and took away their good fortune[952] by means of a drink that they took by day; then we rushed upon their trench against them, but found them drunk, so we killed them except for those who fled. Al-Ḥuṭam was killed." So Abū Bakr wrote [back] to him, "Now then: If you learn anything further about the Banū Shaybān b. Thaʿlabah like what you have learned [already], and the rumor mongers plunge into it, then send an army to them to crush them, and [1976] scatter in flight with them whoever is behind them." But they did not gather, nor did those rumors of theirs come to anything.

The Apostasy of the People of ʿUmān and Mahrah and the Yemen

Abū Jaʿfar said:[953] Differences of opinion exist regarding the date of the Muslims' war [with] these [people]. According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: al-Yamāmah and the Yemen and al-Baḥrayn were conquered and the armies sent to Syria in they year 12. According to Abū Zayd—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madāʾinī—Abū Maʿshar, Yazīd b. ʿIyāḍ b. Juʿdubah, Abū ʿUbaydah b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUbaydah, Ghassān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Juwayriyyah b. Asmāʾ—their teachers according to their chains of authority, and from others among the scholars of the people of Syria and Iraq: The conquests among all the apostates by Khālid b. al-Walīd and others were in the year 11, except for the affair of Rabīʿah b. Bujayr,[954] which was in the year 13. The story of Rabīʿah b. Bujayr al-Taghlibī is that Khālid b. al-Walīd, according to what was said in this account of his which I mentioned, was in al-Muṣayyakh and al-Ḥaṣīd;[955] then Rabīʿah rose up [in

951. Text has Misma'; but cf. p. 147 and note 933, above. The form Ma'mar must be the correct one because the poem on p. 147 ends in *r*. Cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 149; *Emendanda*.

952. Or "took away their power" (*adhhaba rīḥahum*).

953. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 372.

954. A chief of Taghlib; cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2072.

955. Two places in southern Iraq conquered by Khālid b. al-Walīd, at which time the uprising of Rabīʿah b. Bujayr occurred. Cf. Ṭabarī I, 2068–2070; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 110–11.

rebellion] with a group of apostates. So [Khālid] fought him,
[1977] plundering and taking captives. He gained [as booty] a daughter of Rabīʿah b. Bujayr, so he took her captive. He sent the captives to Abū Bakr; subsequently Rabīʿah's daughter became the possession of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

As for the case of ʿUmān, according to al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad and al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim and Mūsā al-Jalyūsī—Ibn Muḥayrīz:[956] In ʿUmān appeared Laqīṭ b. Mālik al-Azdī,[957] "the one with the crown." During the *jāhiliyyah* he used to be a rival of al-Julandā, and he preached something like what whoever was a prophet preached. He seized ʿUmān as an apostate and forced Jayfar and ʿAbbād[958] to take refuge in the mountains and the sea; so Jayfar sent to Abū Bakr informing him about that and asking him [to send] an army against him. At this, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq sent Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan al-Ghalfānī of Ḥimyar[959] and ʿArfajah al-Bāriqī of the Azd, al-Ḥudhayfah to ʿUmān and ʿArfajah to Mahrah. He ordered the two of them, when they agreed, to combine against those to whom they had been sent, and to begin in ʿUmān, Hudhayfah [having precedence] over ʿArfajah on his front, and ʿArfajah [having precedence] over Ḥudhayfah on his front. So they set out supporting one another. [Abū Bakr] ordered them to march quickly until they should come to ʿUmān. Then, when they were near it, they corresponded with Jayfar and ʿAbbād and acted on their counsel; so they proceeded to what they had been ordered to. Now Abū Bakr had sent ʿIkrimah against Musaylimah in al-Yamāmah; and he sent Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah after him, and named al-Yamāmah to him [as his goal]. He commanded the two of them [to proceed] just as he had commanded
[1978] Ḥudhayfah and ʿArfajah; but ʿIkrimah strove to precede Shuraḥbīl and sought the favor of victory. Then Musaylimah defeated him, so he drew back from Musaylima and wrote to Abū Bakr

956. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 372.
957. Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 76; Balansī, 148.
958. Text and Cairo have ʿAbbād, here and subsequently; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, has ʿIyādh. The proper form may be ʿAbd: cf. p. 70 and note 446, above; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 76; Caskel, II, 104; Wilkinson, "The Julanda."
959. Balansī, 147, has Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān al-Azdī sent by the Prophet.

with the news. Shuraḥbīl stood firm where the news reached him. Abū Bakr wrote to Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah to remain in the nearest part of al-Yamāmah until his [further] order should come to him, and gave up making him go to the front he had [originally] sent him to. He wrote to 'Ikrimah, censuring him for his excessive haste and saying, "I shall neither see you nor hear you until after [some act of] valor. Go to 'Umān in order to fight the people of 'Umān; assist Ḥudhayfah and 'Arfajah. Each one of you is in charge of his cavalry; Ḥudhayfah is in charge of the army as long as you are in his district.[960] When you have finished, go on to Mahrah; then let your course from it be to the Yemen until you meet up with al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah in the Yemen and in Ḥaḍramawt. Crush whoever has apostatized between 'Umān and the Yemen. Let me learn of your valor." So 'Ikrimah proceeded on the heels of 'Arfajah and Ḥudhayfah, leading those who were with him, so that he joined the two of them before they had reached 'Umān. He[961] had made an agreement with them that, after finishing, they would follow the opinion of 'Ikrimah in marching on with him[962] or staying in 'Umān. Then, after they had joined [forces] and were near 'Umān in a place called Rijām,[963] they corresponded with Jayfar and 'Abbād. Laqīṭ learned of the approach of the army, so he gathered his troops and set up camp at Dabā. Jayfar and 'Abbād came out of the places where they had been and set up camp at Ṣuhār.[964] The two of them sent to Ḥudhayfah, 'Arfajah, and 'Ikrimah [inviting them] to come to them; so they came to them both in Ṣuhār. Then they mopped up those who adjoined them until they were satisfied with [the loyalty of] those who were near them. They wrote to chiefs who were with Laqīṭ, [1979] starting with a chief of Banū Judayd;[965] they exchanged cor-

960. *fī 'amalihi.*

961. Presumably Abū Bakr imposing an agreement on the three commanders, 'Arfajah, Ḥudhayfah, and 'Ikrimah; the pronoun "them" is plural, not dual.

962. I.e., on to Mahrah and the Yemen. The text hereabouts is not always lucid.

963. A long red mountain on the western fringe of 'Umān: cf. Thilo, s.v.

964. A seaport and sometimes capital of 'Umān, where a Sasanian garrison was stationed on the eve of Islam: cf. Yāqūt, s.v.; Wilkinson, "The Julanda," 99.

965. Probably Judayd b. Ḥāḍir, a large subdivision of the 'Umānī tribe of Daws—Azd.

respondence until they became dispersed from him. They fell upon Laqīṭ, meeting [him] at Dabā. Laqīṭ had gathered the families and then put them behind their lines to provoke them to battle and to protect their womenfolk. Now Dabā is the chief town (*miṣr*) and the most important marketplace. So they fought intensely at Dabā. Laqīṭ was prevailing over the army; but while they were in that situation, the Muslims having experienced disorder and the polytheists anticipating victory, there came to the Muslims their great reinforcements from Banū Nājiyah,[966] led by al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid, and from ʿAbd al-Qays, led by Sayḥān b. Ṣūḥān,[967] and scattered individuals of ʿUmān from Banū Nājiyah and ʿAbd al-Qays. Thus[968] God strengthened the people of Islam through them, and weakened through them the polytheists; so the polytheists turned their backs in flight, so that 10,000 of them were killed in the battle. (The Muslims) pursued them so that they made great slaughter among them and took the offspring prisoner and divided the flocks[969] among the Muslims. They sent the fifth [of booty] to Abū Bakr with ʿArfajah. ʿIkrimah and Ḥudhayfah were of the opinion that Ḥudhayfah should remain in ʿUmān so as to facilitate matters and to calm the people down.[970] The fifth [of booty] amounted to 800 heads;[971] and they plundered the marketplace completely. So ʿArfajah marched to Abū Bakr with the fifth of the captives and the plunder, while Ḥudhayfah remained to calm the people down. He invited the tribes around ʿUmān to settle what God had restored as booty to the Muslims and the expatriates[972] of ʿUmān. ʿIkrimah marched on with the people; he started with Mahrah, about which ʿAbbād al-Nājī said:

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966. A branch of the old Quḍāʿī tribe of Jarm that had, before Islam, taken up independent residence in ʿUmān. Cf. Caskel, II, 442.

967. Cf. Caskel, II, 502.

968. Cf. Nuwayrī, 104–5.

969. Or "property" (*amwāl*).

970. Balansī, 149, says 700 captives, with Hudhayfah conducting them to Medina while ʿIkrimah remained in Dabā.

971. I.e., 800 people captured? Or 800 head of livestock?

972. *Shawādhib* (sing. *shādhib*), "those separated from their homeland."

By my life, Laqīṭ b. Mālik was met by [1980]
an evil that would make foxes shamefaced.
He challenged in battle Abū Bakr and those who praise [God],
whereupon there were thrown down
two strands of his mighty torrent.
The first one did not thwart him, and the enemies were not defeated;
but then his cavalry took away the straying camels.

The Account of Mahrah in the Uplands[973]

After [974] ʿIkrimah and ʿArfajah and Ḥudhayfah had finished with the apostasy of ʿUmān, ʿIkrimah went out with his army toward Mahrah. He asked those around ʿUmān and the people of ʿUmān for assistance, and marched until he reached Mahrah, with men of Nājiyah, al-Azd, ʿAbd al-Qays, Rāsib,[975] and Saʿd of Banū Tamīm[976] whom he had asked to help him, until he fell upon the territories of Mahrah. He met in [that country] two groups[977] of Mahrah. The first of them was in a place of the land of Mahrah called Jayrūt;[978] that region had been filled up as far as Naḍadūn, [Jayrūt and Naḍadūn being] two of the plains of Mahrah. They were led by Shakhrīt,[979] a man of Banū Shakrāt. As for the other [group], they were in the uplands. Now all of Mahrah had obeyed the leader of this group, which was led by al-

973. *Al-najd.*
974. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 373–74.
975. A branch of Jarm, which like Nājiya had settled in ʿUmān before Islām. Cf. Caskel, II, 211, 259, s.v. "Ǧarm"; 485.
976. *Saʿd min banī Tamīm.* Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 149 felt that text should read simply "Saʿd Tamīm," [i.e., referring to Saʿd b. Zaydmanāt b. Tamīm]; in the *Emendanda*, De Goeje proposed that the text should read simply "Saʿd" [referring to Saʿd Hudhaym] and that *min banī Tamīm* should be dropped. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 373, has, in fact, only "Saʿd," and also omits mention of al-Azd.
977. Here and elsewhere in the paragraph, *jamʿ*, lit., "gathering," refers to a military force, particularly one of bedouins.
978. Neither Jayrūt nor the next toponym, Naḍadūn, are known to Hamdānī; Yāqūt's information about them is derived from this account and so adds nothing.
979. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 373: Sikhrīt.

Muṣabbaḥ, one of the Banū Muḥarib,[980] and all the people were
[1981] with him except those who were with Shakhrīt. So the two of them were in disagreement, each one of the two chiefs calling upon the other to [support] him, and each one of the two armies desiring that victory should be to their chief. That was how God helped the Muslims and strengthened them against their enemy, and weakened [the enemy].

Now when ʿIkrimah saw how few were those with Shakhrīt, he invited him to return to Islām. It was at the beginning of the call,[981] so (Shakhrīt) responded to him; in this way God weakened al-Muṣabbaḥ. Then (ʿIkrimah) sent to al-Muṣabbaḥ inviting him to Islām and to return from his unbelief; but he was deceived by how many there were with him, and moved further away because of Shakhrīt's situation.[982] So ʿIkrimah marched against him, and Shakhrīt marched with him; then they and al-Muṣabbaḥ met in the uplands, and fought more intensely than the fighting at Dabā. Then God put the armies of the apostates to flight and killed their leader. The Muslims pursued them, so that they killed of them what they wished and seized [as captives] what they wished. Among what they seized [as captives] were 2,000 noblewomen. Then ʿIkrimah set aside the fifth of the booty and sent the fifth with Shakhrīt to Abū Bakr, and divided the [remaining] four-fifths among the Muslims.[983] ʿIkrimah and his army grew stronger through the camels and goods and weapons [taken as booty]. ʿIkrimah remained so that he could muster them for whatever [purpose] he wished. The people of the Najd congregated—the people of Riyāḍ al-Rawḍah,[984] the people of the seacoast, the people of the

980. Several tribes with this name exist, most notably a branch of ʿAbd al-Qays in al-Baḥrayn; also bearing this name are branches of Quraysh, Qays (both Ḥijāz tribes) and ʿAnazah (of northeastern Arabia).

981. I.e., the beginning of the period when Islām was preached to the tribes of Arabia by the Muslims.

982. That is, since Shakhrīt had joined Islām, his rival al-Muṣabbaḥ distanced himself from it.

983. During the *riddah* and Islamic conquests, the one-fifth share of booty that in pre-Islamic times had been the share of the raid leader was set aside for the caliph to use for the good of the Muslim community.

984. Thus Yāqūt; text has "Riyāḍat al-Rawḍah." Cf. *Emendanda* and pp. 177–79, below.

islands, the people of [the lands of] myrrh and frankincense,[985] the people of Jayrūt, Ẓuhūr al-Shiḥr, al-Ṣabarāt, Yanʿab, and Dhāt al-Khiyam[986]—to take the oath of allegiance to Islām. Then he wrote about that with a herald—he was al-Sāʾib, one of the Banū ʿĀbid of Makhzūm—so he came to Abū Bakr with [news of] the conquest, and Shakhrīt arrived after him with the fifths [of booty]. About that ʿUljūm al-Muḥāribī said: [1982]

May God punish Shakhrīt and the splinter groups of Haysham
and Firḍim,[987] since groups from every quarter came to us.
A punishment deserved, [for] he had taken no heed of protection,[988]
and he did not hope for it in the way that relatives do.
Oh ʿIkrimah, but for the gathering of my tribe and their deeds,
indeed the places [where you could go] would have seemed confining to you.
We would have been like someone who lets a palm [of one hand] follow its mate;[989]
the vicissitudes [of fate] would have descended upon us in time.

985. Or "the people of al-Murr/al-Marr and Labbān." Text and Yāqūt have "al-Labbān." However, neither Hamdānī nor Yāqūt know of a place called al-Murr/al-Marr, and Yāqūt's entry for "al-Labbān" simply notes that it is in Mahrah and mentioned in the *riddah*, so his information is probably derived from this very account. The Mahrah and Ḥaḍramawt districts were, of course, well known as sources of myrrh (*al-murr*) and frankincense (*al-lubān*).

986. The four preceding toponyms are known to Yāqūt only as "places in the Mahrah mentioned during the *riddah*"; presumably, he got his information on them from this account.

987. Firḍim b. al-ʿUjayl was, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, from Mahrah (Caskel I, Table 328 and II, 247). Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 149, proposes to read "Qirḍim"; authorities are divided.

988. *Lam yurāqib li-dhimmatin*. Cf. the phrase *lā yarqubu fīhi illan wa-lā dhimmatan*, "he treated him ruthlessly"; Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Arabic*, 352. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 373, has "took no heed of his religion (*li-dīnihi*)." Presumably the verse refers to Shakhrīt's betrayal of his tribe, Mahrah.

989. I.e., we would have wrung our hands?

Account of the Apostates in the Yemen

Abū Jaʿfar said: according to al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah—ʿIkrimah and Sahl—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad:[990] The Apostle of God died while over Mecca and its territory were ʿAttāb b. Asīd[991] and al-Ṭāhir b. Abī Hālah, ʿAttāb over Banū
[1983] Kinānah and al-Ṭāhir over ʿAkk.[992] That was [because] the Prophet had said, "Put the governorship of ʿAkk among the descendants of his ancestor Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān."[993] Over al-Ṭāʾif and its territory were ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ[994] and Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī,[995] ʿUthmān over the settled people and Mālik over the nomads, the hinder parts of Hawāzin.[996] Over Najrān and its territory were ʿAmr b. Ḥazm and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb,[997] ʿAmr b. Ḥazm over prayer and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb over the *sadaqah* taxes. Over [the territory] between Rimaʿ and Zabīd as far as the border of Najrān was Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ. Over all of Hamdān was ʿĀmir b. Shahr, and over Ṣanʿāʾ was Fayrūz al-Daylamī, supported by Dādhawayh and Qays b. Makshūḥ. Over al-Janad was Yaʿlā b. Umayyah, and over Maʾrib was Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī. Over the Ashʿarīs in addition to ʿAkk was al-Ṭāhir b. Abī Hālah. Muʿādh b. Jabal used to instruct the people, making the rounds in the district of every governor.[998]

Then al-Aswad sprang upon them during the life of the Prophet, so the Prophet waged war against him by means of

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990. Cf. p. 19, above; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 374–75; Caetani, 569–70, 581–82.

991. An Umayyad and late convert to Islam who had been appointed governor of Mecca by the Prophet. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "ʿAttāb b. Asīd."

992. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*: ʿAkk and the Ashʿarīs. Cf. below, in this paragraph.

993. Maʿadd was the supposed ancestor of all North Arabs. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Maʿadd" (A. Grohmann—G. R. Smith).

994. A member of the tribe of Thaqīf of al-Ṭāʾif, he converted late, just before the Prophet's conquest of his city; he was earnest in teaching the Qurʾān. Cf. Caskel, II, 579; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 272–74.

995. A chief of the Naṣr b. Muʿāwiyah clan of Hawāzin. Cf. Caskel, II, 387.

996. *Aʿjāz Hawāzin*.

997. Abū Sufyān, father of the Umayyad caliph Muʿawiyah, was head of the Umayyah clan of Quraysh at the time of the Prophet; he opposed the Prophet until his conversion to Islam just before the conquest of Mecca. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb" (W. M. Watt).

998. *Fi ʿamali kulli ʿāmilin*.

envoys and letters until God killed him and the cause of the Prophet returned to what it had been one night before the Prophet's death. However, the arrival [of the Prophet's commanders in Yemen][999] did not stir up the people since the people were prepared for it. Then, when [news of] the death of the Prophet reached them, the Yemen and the countries[1000] rebelled. The horsemen of al-ʿAnsī had been in a commotion in [the country] between Najrān and Ṣanʿāʾ on the side of that sea, not taking refuge with anyone nor anyone taking refuge with them. So ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib [was] opposite Farwah b. Musayk,[1001] and Muʿāwiyah b. Anas[1002] [was] leading the fugitive soldiers of al-ʿAnsī, wavering. None of the governors of the Prophet returned [to Medina][1003] after the death of the Prophet, except ʿAmr b. [1984]
Ḥazm and Khālid b. Saʿīd. The rest of the governors took refuge among the Muslims. ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib confronted Khālid b. Saʿīd, so he seized as booty from him [ʿAmr's sword] "The Persistent." The messengers returned bearing the news, and Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh[1004] and al-ʾAqraʿ b. ʿAbdallāh[1005] and Wabr b. Yuḥannis came back. So until such time as Usāmah b. Zayd returned from Syria—that was estimated at three months—Abū Bakr waged war against all the apostates [only] by means of envoys and letters, just as the Apostle of God had done, except for the affairs of the people of Dhū Ḥusā and Dhū al-Qaṣṣah.[1006] Then the first clash upon the return of Usāmah was this.[1007] So

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999. Cf. pp. 33 and 38, above. The text is problematic; Wellhausen, (*Skizzen*, VI, 149–50) and De Goeje (*Emendanda*) disagree on rendering and reading. I have followed De Goeje.

1000. I.e., the surrounding districts? (*al-buldān*).

1001. Of the Murād group of the tribe of Madhḥij, he came to the Prophet at the end of the latter's life and was sent by him over Madhḥij; cf. Caskel, II, 245; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 180–81.

1002. Of the tribe of Sulaym; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah* s.v.

1003. Cf. p. 22, above.

1004. Chief of Bajīlah who came to the Prophet in his last year and was put at head of his tribe by him. Cf. Caskel, II, 218; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 279–80.

1005. Of Ḥimyar; sent by the Prophet to Dhū Murrān. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, s.v.

1006. In these two instances, Abū Bakr resorted to military confrontation; cf. pp. 40ff., above.

1007. I.e., Dhū al-Qaṣṣah. Cairo, following Kosegarten, reads "the first people to clash . . . were they."

he went out to al-Abraq. He did not face a tribe directly to defeat them; rather, he incited those among them who had not apostatized against the others. So, with a group of the *Muhājirūn* and the *Ansār* and those who had been aroused among the non-apostates, [Abū Bakr] vanquished those [rebels] who were close to them, until he took care of the last of the business of the army[1008] without asking the [former] apostates for help [against the remaining rebels]. The first who wrote to him was ʿAttāb b. Asīd; he wrote to him about the pursuit of those who had stood firm in Islām by those in his governorship who had apostatized, while ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ [wrote] of the pursuit of those who had stood firm in Islām by those who had apostatized among the people in his governorship. As for ʿAttāb, he sent Khālid b. Asīd[1009] against the people of the Tihāmah, for there had gathered in it groups from Mudlij; and there congregated to them scattered persons from Khuzāʿah[1010] and splinter groups from Kinānah, commanded by Jundab b. Sulmā,[1011] one of the Banū Shannūq of Banū Mudlij.[1012] In the governorship (*ʿamal*) of ʿAttāb there was no gathering besides this, so they met at al-
[1985] Abāriq, whereupon [Khālid b. Asīd] dispersed them and killed them. The slaughter was great among the Banū Shannūq, so that they remained weak and few in number [after that]. The governorship[1013] of ʿAttāb became free [of rebels], and Jundab escaped. Then Jundab said about that:

1008. *Ākhiri ʾumūr al-nās*, i.e., the last rebels opposing the Muslims. The sentence is difficult; cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 150; *Emendanda*.

1009. ʿAttāb's brother; he embraced Islam at the time of the conquest of Mecca and was one of those Meccans given special favors by the Prophet in order to win them over; they were called those "whose hearts were reconciled." Cf. Caskel, II, 341; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 76.

1010. An old tribe living between Mecca and Medina, formerly dominant in Mecca before being displaced by Quraysh. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Khuzāʿa" (M. J. Kister); Caskel, II, 350.

1011. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 374, has Salmā.

1012. Shannūq b. Murrah, a section of Kinānah, was, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, not part of Mudlij b. Murrah, but rather a lateral affiliate. Cf. Caskel, I, Table 44, and II, 416 and 526. The conflation may have been introduced to explain the verses below.

1013. *ʿUmālah*.

I repented and knew with certainty in the morning that I
had come to something the disgrace of which remains on a man.
I bear witness that there is nothing beside God.
Banū Mudlij, God is my Lord and my Protector.[1014]

ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ sent a force against Shanūʾah.[1015] There had gathered in it groups of Azd and Bajīlah and Khathʿam,[1016] led by Ḥumayḍah b. al-Nuʿmān.[1017] In charge of the people of al-Ṭāʾif was ʿUthmān b. Rabīʿah.[1018] So they met in Shanūʾah; then they routed those groups and they dispersed from Ḥumayḍah. Ḥumayḍah fled into the countryside, whereupon ʿUthmān b. Rabīʿah said about that:

We broke up their groups while the pool filled with dust,
and the niggardly clouds may promise relief deceitfully.
A lightning-cloud[1019] flashed when we met,
then those flashings returned as rainless clouds.

The Wicked People of ʿAkk

Abū Jaʿfar said:[1020] The first rebellion in the Tihāmah after the [death of the] Prophet was [that of] ʿAkk and the Ashʿarīs. [1986]
[The story of] that was that, when the death of the Prophet reached them, scattered remnants of them gathered; then scattered remnants and large groupings[1021] from the Ashʿarīs

1014. Reading *jāriyā* with Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 150 and *Emendanda*, against *jāru-hā*, "its Protector" in the text and Cairo.

1015. A district in Yemen. Cf. Yāqūt, s.v.

1016. All three were tribes of the Sarāt region (modern ʿAsīr) of southwest Arabia; Khathʿam was closely associated with Bajīlah. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Azd" (G. Strenziok), "Badjīla" (W. M. Watt), and "Khathʿam" (G. Levi della Vida).

1017. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2218: a Bāriqī (of Azd).

1018. According to Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 371, he was from Quraysh and among the emigrants to Abyssinia; according to Caskel, I, Table 115 and II, 579, he was of Hawāzin.

1019. *Bāriq*; perhaps "sword." In either case, evidently a pun on the name of Ḥumayḍah's clan, Bāriq.

1020. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 375.

1021. Reading *khiḍamm* with *Emendanda*, against *khaḍḍama* in text and Cairo; cf. Ibn Manẓūr, XII, 83. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 150 proposed *ḥakam*. Cf. also Caetani, 582.

came to them, so they joined with them. Then they remained on al-Aʿlāb,[1022] the coastal road. Parties of men under no leader congregated to them. So al-Ṭāḥir b. Abī Hālah wrote about this to Abū Bakr, and marched against them, writing also about his marching against them—with him was Masrūq al-ʿAkkī[1023]—until he came to those parties of men on al-Aʿlāb; then they met and fought, whereupon God routed them. They slaughtered them by every means; the roads stank because of their slaughter. Their killing was a great conquest.

Abū Bakr responded to al-Ṭāhir before [al-Ṭāhir's] letter about the conquest could come to him: "Your letter has reached me, in which you inform me that you have marched against the wicked people in al-Aʿlāb and that you have asked Masrūq and his tribe for assistance. You are right, so hurry [to deliver] this blow; do not deal gently with them. Occupy al-Aʿlāb until the road of the wicked people should become secure and [until] my order should reach you." So those groups of ʿAkk and those who congregated to them have been called to this day "the wicked people," and that road has been called "the road of the wicked people." Al-Ṭāhir b. Abī Hālah said about that:

By God, if not for God, other than Whom there is no thing,
the ʿAthāʿith[1024] would not have been dispersed in the rugged hills.
My eye had never seen a day like the one I saw
beside the sweat of horses among the groupings of the wicked people.
[1987] We slew them from the hilltop of Khāmir[1025]
as far as the red sodden plains strewn with mud dredged from wells.[1026]

1022. Yāqūt knows this as a toponym, but evidently gets his information solely from this account. Cf. Ibn Manẓūr, I, 627, which defines *ʿilb* as "barren place."

1023. Cf. Wathīmah, 31/74, which has "Masrūq b. Dhī al-Ḥarb al-Hamdānī al-Arḥabī."

1024. Possibly a nickname applied to the Shahrān, an important lineage of the tribe of Khathʿam, because several of their chiefs bore the name ʿAthʿath. Cf. Caskel, II, 205; Ibn Manẓūr, II, 168 left.

1025. A mountain in the ʿAkk country, according to Yāqūt, s.v.

1026. Yāqūt, s.v. "Khāmir," reads "having ʿAthāʿith."

We seized as booty the flocks of the wicked ones by force,
fighting openly; we took no heed of the din of battle.

Ṭāhir encamped on the "road of the wicked ones," along with Masrūq leading 'Akk, awaiting Abū Bakr's order.

Abū Ja'far said:[1027] When the [news of the] death of the Apostle of God reached the people of Najrān—they were at that time 40,000 fighting men of Banū al-Af'ā,[1028] the community who were in (Najrān) before Banū al-Ḥārith[1029]—they sent a delegation [to Abū Bakr] to renew the pact. So they came to him, whereupon he wrote for them:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: this is a document from the servant of God, Abū Bakr, successor of the Apostle of God, to the people of Najrān. He affords them protection from his army and himself, and decrees for them the protection[1030] of Muḥammad, except that which Muḥammad the Apostle of God had revoked on God's command regarding their lands and the lands of the Arabs, that two religions should not dwell in them. Thereafter he gave them protection for their persons, their communities, the rest of their properties,[1031] their dependents, their horses,[1032] those absent of them and those present, their bishop and their monks and their churches wherever they might be; and for what their hands possess whether little or much. They owe what is incumbent upon them; if they pay it, they will not be compelled to emigrate, nor tithed, [1988]
> nor shall a bishop be changed from his bishopric or a monk from his monastic life. He shall fulfil for them everything that the Apostle of God granted them in

1027. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 375; Caetani, 582–83.

1028. Presumably descendants of al-Af'ā ("Viper") b.al-Ḥusayn, a legendary judge in Najrān; cf. Caskel, II, 142.

1029. Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b (Bal-Ḥārith) was a tribe of the Najrān area allied to Madhḥij; they had negotiated with the Prophet, but later backed al-Aswad. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b" (J. Schleifer); Caskel, II, 308.

1030. *Dhimmah*.

1031. Possibly "flocks": *amwāl*.

1032. Possibly simply "troops": *'ādiyah*.

writing, and everything that is in this document by way of the protection of Muḥammad, the Apostle of God, and the covenant of the Muslims. They owe [the Muslims] advice and righteousness in those just duties that are incumbent upon them. Al-Miswar b. ʿAmr and ʿAmr, the client of Abū Bakr, were witnesses [to this agreement].

Abū Bakr sent Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh back and ordered him to summon those from his tribe[1033] who had remained firm in the cause of God, and then to ask those who could reinforce them for help, so as to fight with them those who had turned away from the cause of God. He ordered him to come to Khathʿam so that he could fight those who rebelled out of zealous attachment[1034] to Dhū al-Khalaṣah[1035] and those who wished to restore it [as their deity], until God should kill them and those who participated with them in that. Then he was to direct himself toward Najrān, to remain in it until (Abū Bakr's) orders should reach him. So Jarīr went out, carrying out that which Abū Bakr had commanded him to do. No one opposed him[1036] except some men leading a small number [of followers]; so he killed them and pursued them. Then he directed himself to Najrān, and resided in it awaiting the order of Abū Bakr.

(Abū Bakr) wrote to ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ to impose on the people of al-Ṭāʾif [the raising of] an army, each district [contributing] according to its ability, and to put in command over them a man in whom he had confidence and whose intentions[1037] he trusted. So he imposed twenty men [as a contribution] on each district, and put his brother in command of them. (Abū Bakr) wrote to ʿAttāb b. Asīd to impose on the

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1033. I.e., from Bajīlah.

1034. Lit., "out of anger" (*ghaḍaban*).

1035. A pagan shrine of Bajīlah, Khathʿam, Daws, Azd, and other tribes of al-Sarāt, located near Tabālah, 300 km southeast of Mecca. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Dhū al-Khalaṣa" (T. Fahd).

1036. Or "detained him?" Text and Cairo read *lam y-q-rr lahu*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 375, has *lam y-q-m*; the editor notes that Ibn Khaldūn has *lam y-m-r bihi*.

1037. *Nāhiyah*.

people of Mecca and its district 500 reinforcements, and to send over them a man in whom he had confidence. So he named [1989] those whom he would send and put Khālid b. Asīd in command of them. He appointed the commander of each tribe, and they stood at the ready for Abū Bakr's order to reach them and for al-Muhājir to come to them.

Apostasy of the People of the Yemen a Second Time

Abū Jaʿfar said: Among those of them who apostatized a second time was Qays b. ʿAbd Yaghūth b. Makshūḥ.[1038]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf:[1039] The story of Qays in his second apostasy was that when the news of the Apostle of God's death came to them, [the pact] was violated and he worked for the killing of Fayrūz and Dādhawayh and Jushaysh. Abū Bakr wrote to ʿUmayr Dhū Murrān and to Saʿīd Dhū Zūd and to Samayfaʿ Dhū al-Kalāʿ and to Ḥawshab Dhū Ẓulaym and to Shahr Dhū Yanāf,[1040] ordering them to stick to their position[1041] and to undertake the cause of God and of the people, and promising them soldiers: "From Abū Bakr, successor of the Apostle of God, to ʿUmayr b. Aflaḥ Dhū Murrān, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀqib Dhū Zūd, Samayfaʿ b. Nākūr Dhū al-Kalāʿ, Ḥawshab Dhū Ẓulaym, and Shahr Dhū Yanāf. Now then: assist the Abnāʾ against whosoever opposes them, defend them, and obey Fayrūz and apply your utmost effort with him, for I have appointed him [governor]."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd—ʿUrwah b. Ghaziyyah al-Dathīnī:[1042] After Abū Bakr was appointed, he put Fayrūz in command. Before that, they had relied [1990] upon one another—(Fayrūz) and Dādhawayh and Jushaysh and Qays.[1043] He wrote to some of the chiefs of the people of the

1038. On his name, see note 145, above.

1039. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 375–76.

1040. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 376 has "Dhū Niyāf." On these "Dhūs" see p. 27 and note 168, above.

1041. Lit., "to stick to that in which they were," i.e., to stand fast in Islām.

1042. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 376–77 (parallels Ṭabarī through p. 169).

1043. I.e., no one had been in overall command, each leader being equal and supporting the others as need required.

Yemen. When Qays heard about that, he wrote to Dhū al-Kalāʿ and his companions, "The Abnāʾ are interlopers in your country and foreigners among you. Even if you leave them, they will not cease to be against you. I have come to hold the opinion that I should murder their chiefs and expel them from our country." But they declared themselves clear [of the matter], such that they did not conspire with him nor assist the Abnāʾ, but kept aloof, saying, "We have nothing to do with this. You are their responsibility and they are your responsibility."[1044] So Qays lay in wait for them and prepared to kill their chiefs and to expel their common [followers]. Then Qays corresponded with those defeated Laḥjī troops who were roaming about, while they were going up and down through the country, waging war against all who opposed them. Qays corresponded with them in secret and ordered them to hurry to him, [proposing] that his cause and their cause should be one and that they should unite in exiling the Abnāʾ from the lands of the Yemen. So they wrote [back] to him responding [favorably] to him, and informed him that they were hastening to him. The people of Ṣanʿāʾ were taken by surprise, [learning of it] only with the news of their drawing near it.[1045] Then Qays came to Fayrūz about that, as though he were terrified of this news, and came to Dādhawayh and consulted the two of them in order to confuse them so that they would not suspect him; so they took that into consideration and had confidence in him. Then[1046] Qays invited them to a meal the next day, starting with Dādhawayh, and [asking] Fayrūz next and
[1991] Jushaysh [after him]. So Dādhawayh went out to call on (Qays); but when he did so, (Qays) fell upon him quickly and killed him. Fayrūz went out to go [to Qays also] until, when he was drawing near, he overheard two women talking between the rooftops. One of them said, "This one will be killed just as Dādhawayh was killed." So he met the two of them; then he turned aside until he could see the people, high up, gathered together. [When]

1044. Lit., "You are their companion . . ." etc. The idea is that Qays and the Abnāʾ must settle their relationship themselves.

1045. Lit., "Nothing took the people of Ṣanʿāʾ by surprise except the news of their drawing near it."

1046. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, 77; he says Fayrūz escaped to Abū Bakr.

they were told of Fayrūz's turning back, they went out running [in pursuit]. Fayrūz ran to meet Jushaysh, whereupon he went out with him heading toward the mountain of Khawlān,[1047] for they were the maternal relatives of Fayrūz. The two of them preceded the horsemen to the mountain. Then the two of them climbed down and up the mountain, wearing only plain boots, so that their feet were cut before they arrived. They reached Khawlān, and Fayrūz entrenched himself among his maternal relatives and swore not to wear plain boots. The horsemen returned to Qays. Then he rose in rebellion in Ṣan'ā' and occupied it, and collected what was around it, playing for time.[1048] The horsemen of al-Aswad came to him. Now after Fayrūz had taken refuge with his maternal kinsmen of Khawlān, so that they guarded him and the people flocked to him, he wrote to Abū Bakr with the news. Then Qays said, "What is Khawlān, and what is Fayrūz, and in what abode have they taken refuge?" The common people of the tribes to whose leaders Abū Bakr had written sided with Qays, whereas the leaders remained withdrawn.[1049] Qays sought out the Abnā', dividing them into three subdivisions. Those who remained he safeguarded, and their families he safeguarded.[1050] The families of those who had fled to Fayrūz he divided into two groups; one of them he sent to Aden so that they could be carried [away] by sea, and the other was carried away by land. To all of them he said, "Go to your country!" With them he sent someone to make them go. The family of al-Daylamī was among those who were made to go away by land; the family of Dādhawayh were among those who were made to go away by sea. So when Fayrūz saw that the [1992]
majority of the people of the Yemen had gathered to Qays, and that the families had been marched [into exile], and [that] he had exposed them to plunder, and [that] he had not found any way to separate himself from his camp in order to save them, and when (Fayrūz) learned what Qays had said out of contempt for him

1047. A tribe and mountain district southeast of Ṣan'ā' in Yemen; cf. Caskel, II, 345; Wilson, 158; Yāqūt, s.v.

1048. Lit., "advancing a foot and withdrawing a foot."

1049. I.e., neutral?

1050. Or "those who remained he settled (*aqarra*)" etc.

[and for his] maternal relatives and the Abnā', he said, by way of tracing his lineage and boasting, and mentioning the departure on a desert voyage:[1051]

Call, you two, for the departure of a woman to the palm-filled sands,
and speak to her, so that there would be no blame on me.
What the enemies say did not harm them, even if they said much;
he came to his tribe with neither excess nor stinginess.
So desist from a woman on the road that is stretched out
toward the object of her desire, as the sands seek the sands.
Even if, indeed, our residence was in Ṣan'ā',
ours are the offspring of a tribe from whose noble chiefs my offspring are.
In truth, strong and stubborn Daylam, after hardship,
refused the life of ease and chose the heat over shade.
Most of the lush places of Iraq belonged
to my close kin, when the cooking pots of Kisrā were boiling.[1052]
My lineage [I trace to] a brave one; no matter how much I have grown, my station [in life]
is just like the end of every stick, at the root.
[1993] (My ancestors) left my way level, and they fortified
my mountain roads with good sayings and abundant noble deeds.
Our glory is not from the ignorance[1053] of those of enmity;
God insisted on being glorious despite ignorance.
(The enemy) did not divert us in times of peace from the family of Aḥmad,[1054]
nor did they detract from Islām since they embraced Islām before me.
And if a bucketful of [the deeds of] my tribe had sprinkled me,
I would want my bucketful to drown them.

1051. The departure on a desert voyage (*ẓu'n*) is a common part of the classical *qaṣīda* or ode.
1052. I.e., in the heyday of Kisrā.
1053. Or "barbarity, coarseness": *jahl*.
1054. I.e., from Islām; Aḥmad = Muḥammad.

Fayrūz continued in his war and devoted himself to it. He sent a messenger to the Banū ʿUqayl b. [Kaʿb b.] Rabīʿah b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah[1055] [informing them] that he was taking refuge with them and asking them for reinforcements and assistance in bearing down on those who were disturbing the households of the Abnāʾ. And he sent a messenger to ʿAkk, asking them for reinforcements and assistance against those who were disturbing the households of the Abnāʾ. So ʿUqayl mounted—they were led by a man of the allies called Muʿāwiyah—so that they confronted the cavalry of Qays and then rescued those families. They killed those who were making them march into exile and barred them from the villages until Fayrūz returned to Ṣanʿāʾ. ʿAkk, led by Masrūq, sprang up to march until they rescued the families of the Abnāʾ, and barred them[1056] from the villages until Fayrūz returned to Ṣanʿāʾ. ʿUqayl and ʿAkk reinforced Fayrūz with men. After their reinforcements reached him among those who had gathered to him, he went out at the head of those who had congregated to him and those who had reinforced him [1994] from ʿAkk and ʿUqayl; then he clashed with Qays, so that they met before Ṣanʿāʾ. Then they fought, whereupon God routed Qays at the head of his tribe and those who had risen up. So he departed in flight with his army until he returned with them; they returned to the place in which they had hurried when they fled after the murder of al-ʿAnsī. Qays was in command of them. The faction of al-ʿAnsī, and Qays with them, were in a commotion between Ṣanʿāʾ and Najrān. ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib was facing Farwah b. Musayk in obedience to al-ʿAnsī.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAṭiyyah—ʿAmr b. Salamah:[1057] Part of the affair of Farwah b. Musayk was that he had come to the Apostle of God as a Muslim. About that he said:

1055. A powerful and wide-ranging tribe of the ʿĀmir group, centered around Jabal Ṭuwayq in central Arabia. Cf. Caskel, II, 365, s.v. "Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir."

1056. Presumably referring to those who had been marching the Abnāʾ families into exile, but who are not mentioned in this sentence as they are in the preceding one. It seems probable that this repeat of the earlier phrase constitutes a dittography, rather than part of Ṭabarī's original text.

1057. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 377.

When I saw the kings of Ḥimyar, they shied away
like the leg whose sciatic nerve betrayed it.[1058]
I steered my she-camel before Muḥammad;
I desire benefits and good praise for her.

Among the things the Apostle of God said to him was, "Did what befell your tribe on the day of al-Razm displease you, oh Farwah, or please you?" He replied, "Anyone whose tribe was afflicted as much as my tribe was afflicted on the day of al-Razm would dislike that." (Now the day of al-Razm was [a battle] between (Murād) and the Hamdān over Yaghūth, an idol that was sometimes with the former and sometimes with the latter. Then Murād desired to take sole control of it from (Hamdān) during their time; but Hamdān slaughtered them and their chief, al-Ajdaʿ, the father of Masrūq.) So the Apostle of God said, "Indeed, that only increased their good standing in Islām." Whereupon (Farwah) replied, "It would please me if that were [so]." So the Apostle of God appointed him over the *ṣadaqah* taxes of Murād and whoever resided with them or dwelt in their
[1995] territory.[1059] ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib had abandoned his tribe, Saʿd al-ʿAshīrah, leading Banū Zubayd[1060] and its allies, and he joined (Murād) and embraced Islam with them; he was in charge of them.[1061] Then, when al-ʿAnsī apostatized and most people of Madhḥij followed him, Farwah withdrew, leading those who stood fast in Islām with him, whereas ʿAmr was one of those who apostatized. So al-ʿAnsī appointed him deputy and put him opposite Farwah so that he was facing him. Each one of them stayed put because of his counterpart's being in plain view, so the two of them exchanged poetry. ʿAmr said, mentioning the command of Farwah and denouncing it:

We have found the kingship of Farwah to be the worst of kingships;
[he is] an ass whose nostrils sniff some filth.

1058. I.e., made it unable to walk because of pain.

1059. *Dār.*

1060. Saʿd al-ʿAshīrah was a confederation within Madhḥij, and Zubayd a section within Madhḥij living a sedentary life in the Wādī Tathlīth. Cf. Caskel, II, 493 and 608.

1061. *wa kāna fī-him.*

Whenever you saw Abū ʿUmayr,
you were looking upon the amniotic bag of foulness and afterbirth.[1062]

So Farwah responded to him:

Some talk has reached me from Abū Thawr;
Of old he used to run among the mules.
God used to hate him before
for what there was of foulness and afterbirth.

While the two of them were doing that, ʿIkrimah came to Abyan.[1063]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl—al-Qāsim and Mūsā b. al-Ghuṣn—Ibn Muḥayrīz:[1064] Then ʿIkrimah went out from Mahrah, marching towards the Yemen, until he came to Abyan. With him were many people from Mahrah, Saʿd b. Zayd,[1065] al-Azd, Nājiyah, ʿAbd al-Qays, and Ḥudbān of Banū Mālik b. Kinānah[1066] and ʿAmr b. Jundab from al-ʿAnbar.[1067] [1996] Then he gathered al-Nakhaʿ after he struck those of them who had retreated, and said to them, "What was your position[1068] in this matter?" At this they told him, "During the *jāhiliyyah* we were the people of a religion,[1069] not dealing [with people] the way some of the Arabs used to deal with others. All the more so since we have come to a religion whose merit we recognize and which we have come to love."[1070] Whereupon he asked about them, [and found that] the situation was as they said. Their

1062. Or "treachery" (*al-ghadr*); also in poem immediately following.

1063. A place in the mountains near Aden; also a place on the coast near Aden and a district near ʿAden; cf. *EI*², s.v. "Abyan" (O. Löfgren); Yāqūt, s.v.

1064. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 377 bottom.

1065. Either the tribe of Saʿd b. Zaydmanāt of Tamīm, or Saʿd Hudhaym b. Zayd.

1066. Ḥudbān b. Jadhīmah was part of Mālik b. Kinānah; cf. Caskel, I, Table 47, II, 327.

1067. ʿAmr b. Jundab was a branch of Banū ʿAnbar of ʿAmr b. Tamīm; cf. Caskel I, Table 81, II, 173.

1068. Lit., "how were you . . . ?"

1069. *dīn*; presumably meaning here a revealed religion such as Christianity, not pre-Islamic Arabian polytheism.

1070. *Fa-kayfa binā idhā ṣirnā ilā dīnin ʿarafnā faḍlahu.*

common people stood fast [in the faith], and those of their notables who had withdrawn fled. ('Ikrimah) purged[1071] al-Nakha' and Ḥimyar and remained so they could gather 'round him. When 'Ikrimah descended upon the Yemen, Qays b. 'Abd Yaghūth fled to 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib; but after he had joined him, a dispute broke out between them and they found fault with one another. Then 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib said, reproaching Qays for his treachery toward the Abnā' and his killing of Dādhawayh, and mentioning his flight from Fayrūz:

You acted treacherously and did not do well in faithfulness; no one can
endure [such] deeds except the one who is accustomed.
How could Qays exalt himself
if he were to compete with a [truly] noble leader?

And Qays said:

I was faithful to my tribe and, preparing for action, I gathered [to meet] a company
that struck 'Amr and Marthad despite the tribes.
When I met the Abnā', I was to them
like a lion who aspires to lionhood through might.

And 'Amr B. Ma'dīkarib said:

Dādhaway[h] is not [a source of] glory for you;
rather, Dādhaway[h] disgraced what must be protected.
And Fayrūz by morning spread affliction among you
and remained in your groups and sought refuge.

[1997] *The Story of Ṭāhir When He Marched to Reinforce Fayrūz*

Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī said: Abū Bakr had written to Ṭāhir b. Abī Hālah and to Masrūq to go down to Ṣan'ā' and to assist the Abnā'; so the two of them went out until they came to Ṣan'ā'. and he wrote [also] to 'Abdallāh b. Thawr b. Aṣghar[1072] to gather

1071. *Istabra'a.*
1072. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2136: of Ghawth (Ṭayyi').

to himself the Arabs and those people of the Tihāmah who responded to him, and then to remain in his place until his command should reach him. Now[1073] [the story of] the first apostasy of ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib was that he had been with Khālid b. Saʿīd, but he clashed with him and responded [favorably] to al-Aswad. So Khālid b. Saʿīd marched against him until he encountered him; then they exchanged two blows. Khālid struck (ʿAmr) on his shoulder, severing the harness for his sword, which fell, and the blow reached his shoulder. ʿAmr struck (Khālid), but did not produce any effect. Then when Khālid wished to [strike him] a second time, (Amr) dismounted and climbed up into the mountains [in flight]. (Khālid) plundered him of his horse and his sword, "The Persistent"; ʿAmr took refuge among those to whom he fled.

Now the estate of the family of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ the Elder became the property of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ the Younger;[1074] then, after (Saʿīd the Younger) was appointed [to govern] al-Kūfah, ʿAmr [b. Maʿdīkarib] offered him his daughter [in marriage], but he did not accept her. (Saʿīd) came to (ʿAmr) in his house, bringing a number of swords that Khālid had taken in the Yemen. Whereupon (Saʿīd) said, "Which of them is 'The Persistent'?" (ʿAmr) said, "This one." [So] he said [to ʿAmr], "Take it, it is yours." So he took it. Then he saddled a mule of his and struck the pad [with the sword], severing it and the saddle, and making the mule hurry. Then he returned it to Saʿīd, saying, "If you had visited me in my house and it was mine, I would have given it to you. But I cannot accept it since it fell."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd— [1998]
ʿUrwah b. Ghaziyyah and Mūsā—Abū Zurʿah al-Shaybānī:[1075] When al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah left Abū Bakr—he was among the last who left—he took the Mecca road. So he passed by it, whereupon Khālid b. Asīd followed him; and he passed by al-

1073. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 377.

1074. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ the Younger, of the Umayyah clan of Quraysh, was grandson of Saʿīd the Elder; Cf. Caskel, II, 500.

1075. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, II, 377–78. Text, following Mss, has "al-Saybānī," but cf. p. 34.

Ṭā'if, upon which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ followed him. Then he continued on until, when he was opposite Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh, he joined him to him[self]; and ʿAbdallāh b. Thawr joined him when he was opposite him. Then he came to the people of Najrān, upon which Farwah b. Musayk joined him. ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib abandoned Qays [b. ʿAbd Yaghūth] and approached in response until he entered upon al-Muhājir without any [pledge of] protection. So al-Muhājir tied him up, and he tied up Qays, and wrote of their situation to Abū Bakr and sent the two of them to him. Then, when al-Muhājir marched from Najrān to the Lahjites[1076] and the cavalry gathered against those fugitive soldiers, they demanded protection. But he refused to give them security, whereupon they separated into two groups. So al-Muhājir encountered one of [the two groups] at ʿAjīb,[1077] destroying them. His cavalry found the other on the "road of the wicked ones," destroying them and the cavalry of ʿAbdallāh. He killed the scattered remnants on every byway.

Then Qays and ʿAmr were brought before Abū Bakr; so he said, "Oh Qays, did you wage aggression against the servants of God, killing them and adopting as followers the apostates and polytheists, to the exclusion of the believers?" Now he intended
[1999] to kill him if he found a clear case. Qays denied that he was in any way involved in the affair of Dādhawayh, for that deed had been done in secret, of which there was no evidence. So [Abū Bakr] shrank from [taking] his blood. To ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib [Abū Bakr] said, "Aren't you ashamed that you are every day defeated or captive? If you had aided this religion, God would have exalted you." Then he released him, and returned the two of them to their tribes. ʿAmr said, "There is no avoiding it; verily I shall consent [to embrace Islam], and not recant."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Mustanīr and Mūsā: Al-Muhājir marched from ʿAjīb until he descended upon Ṣanʿā'. He commanded that the scattered [men] of the tribes who had

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1076. *Al-Lahjiyyah.* Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 150, wished to read this as "al-Rāfiḍah." Laḥj is a town in southwestern Arabia, ca. 25 km northwest of Aden, and surrounding district. Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Laḥdj" [G. R. Smith].

1077. Yāqūt, doubtless basing his remark on this account, describes it only as "a place in Yemen."

fled should be pursued, so they killed those of them they could by every means. He did not pardon [any] rebel; [but] he accepted the penance of those who repented without rebellion. They did that to the extent that they saw [justification in] the actions [of the repenting people], and [to the extent that] they held some hope [of finding] them. He wrote to Abū Bakr about his entry into Ṣanʿāʾ and about the consequences of that.

The Account of Ḥaḍramawt during Their Apostasy

According to Abū Jaʿfar—al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Ṣalt—Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt:[1078] [When] the Apostle of God died, his governors over the country of Ḥaḍramawt [were] Ziyād b. Labīd al-Bayāḍī over Ḥaḍramawt, ʿUkkāshah b. Thawr[1079] over the Sakāsik and Sakūn, and al-Muhājir over Kindah. [Al-Muhājir] was [still] in Medina; he did not go out until [after] the Apostle of God died; so Abū Bakr sent him afterward to fight those in the Yemen, and to continue on afterward to his governorship (*ʿamal*). [2000]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū al-Sāʾib ʿAṭāʾ b. Fulān al-Makhzūmī—his father—Umm Salamah and al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah:[1080] [Al-Muhājir] had held back from [the raid on] Tabūk, so the Apostle of God returned angry with him. While Umm Salamah[1081] was washing the head of the Apostle of God, she said, "How can I enjoy anything[1082] while you are angry with my brother?" Then she noticed some pity on his part, so she nodded to her manservant; then she left him, and he remained with the Apostle of God seeking[1083] [al-Muhājir's] forgiveness until he forgave him and became pleased with him and appointed

1078. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 378.

1079. Text has ʿUkkāshah b. Miḥṣan, but this seems an error; cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 150 and pp. 19–20, above. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 378, has ʿUkkāshah b. Abī Umayyah, presumably a conflation with the name of al-Muhājir [b. Abī Umayyah] on the next line.

1080. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 378.

1081. One of the Prophet's wives, sister of al-Muhājir. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 588.

1082. Lit., "How can anything profit me?" Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*: "How can life profit me?"

1083. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*: mentioning.

him over Kindah. Subsequently (al-Muhājir) fell ill and was unable to go out [to his governorship], so (the Apostle) wrote to Ziyād to occupy his governorship for him. (Al-Muhājir) became well afterward; then Abū Bakr confirmed his command and ordered him to fight whoever was between Najrān and the farthest [corner] of the Yemen. For that reason, Ziyād and ʿUkkāshah were slow to fight the Kindah, as they were waiting for him.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad:[1084] The cause of the apostasy of Kindah and[1085] their responding [favorably] to al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī, so that the Apostle of God cursed the four kings,[1086] was [as follows]: When they had embraced Islām before their apostasy and all the people of the Ḥaḍramawt country had embraced Islām, the Apostle of God, among what was being imposed by way of *ṣadaqah* taxes, had ordered that the *ṣadaqah* tax of part of Ḥaḍramawt be assigned among the Kindah, and he assigned the *ṣadaqah* tax of the Kindah among part of the Ḥaḍramawt; [likewise he assigned] part of the [tax of] Ḥaḍramawt among the Sakūn, and [the tax of] the Sakūn among part of the Ḥaḍramawt. Then some people of Banū Walīʿah[1087] said, "Oh Apostle of God, we are not possessors of camels; do you think (Ḥaḍramawt) would send (the tax) to us on pack camels?" So he asked [Ḥaḍramawt] what they thought was proper.[1088] They said, "We
[2001] shall look [into it], and if they really have no camels we shall do it." Now after the Apostle of God had died and that time came,[1089] Ziyād summoned the people to [fulfill] that. So they gathered to him, whereupon Banū Walīʿah said [to Ḥaḍramawt], "Pay us [the camels] as you promised the Apostle of God!" But they (Ḥaḍramawt) said, "You have pack camels, so go on!"[1090]

1084. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 378–79.

1085. Reading with Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, and Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 150.

1086. On the "four kings" of Kindah, cf. p. 180, below.

1087. A clan of Kindah, according to Ibn Manẓūr, VIII, 411 and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*.

1088. The text is awkward. Lit., "So he said, 'If you think proper.'"

1089. Presumably the time when the payment of tax was due. *Wa jāʾa dhālika al-ibbān*.

1090. I.e., "so go get it yourselves."

At this (Banū Walīʿah) became angry and quarreled with them, to the point that they quarreled with Ziyād [also], saying to him, "You are [siding] with them, against us." Subsequently the Ḥaḍramīs refused [to send any *ṣadaqah*] while the Kindīs insisted, so they returned to their homes and bided their time. Ziyād kept aloof from (the Ḥaḍramīs), waiting for al-Muhājir. When al-Muhājir reached Ṣanʿā' and wrote to Abū Bakr about everything that he had done, he remained [there] until the reply to his letter came from Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr wrote to him and to ʿIkrima that they should march until they reached Ḥaḍramawt, and confirm Ziyād over his governorship, and permit those who were with them from [the country] between Mecca and the Yemen to return home, unless a group preferred *jihād*, [in which case] he would reinforce him with ʿUbaydah b. Saʿd. So he did [that]. Then al-Muhājir marched from Ṣanʿā' heading for Ḥaḍramawt, and ʿIkrimah marched from Abyan heading for Ḥaḍramawt; so the two of them met at Ma'rib. Then they entered the desert from Ṣayhad[1091] until they fell upon Ḥaḍramawt, one of them staying with al-Ashʿath[1092] and the other with Wā'il.[1093]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—his father—Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt:[1094] When the Kindīs returned [to their homes] and became obstinate and the Ḥaḍramīs became obstinate, Ziyād b. Labīd administered the *ṣadaqah* taxes of Banū ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiyah himself, approaching them while they were in al-Riyāḍ[1095] and collecting the *ṣadaqah* tax from the first of them whom he reached, a youth called Shayṭān b. Ḥujr. He admired one of the young she-camels of the *ṣadaqah* tax and called for fire and put the branding iron to her. Now the she- [2002]
camel belonged to the brother of al-Shayṭān, al-ʿAddā' b. Ḥujr,

1091. Text has Ṣahīd, manuscripts have other variants. Cf. note 143, above.

1092. Text has "al-Aswad"; cf. *Emendanda*.

1093. Perhaps Wā'īl b. Ḥujr al-Ḥaḍramī, said by Ibn al-Athīr to have been appointed by the Prophet over the chiefs (*aqyāl*) of Ḥaḍramawt; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 81–82.

1094. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 379–81 (through, p. 185, below); Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 100; Balansī, 161–62.

1095. Or "the meadows." Cf. p. 156, above, on Riyāḍ al-Rawḍah.

who owed no *ṣadaqah* tax; but his brother had made a mistake when he gave her out [in payment], thinking that she was another [camel]. So al-ʿAddā' said, "This is Nugget," [calling the camel] by her name. At this al-Shayṭān said, "My brother is right; I only gave her to you because I thought she was another. So release Nugget and take another, for she is not one to be relinquished." But Ziyād thought that that was [merely] a pretext of his, and accused him of unbelief and of being estranged from Islām and of intending evil; so he grew hot [with anger], and the two men did also. So Ziyād said, "No, she will not be given up. She is not yours; the branding-iron of the *ṣadaqah* has fallen upon her and she has become God's property.[1096] There is no way to return her, so may Nugget not weigh upon you like al-Basūs."[1097] At this al-ʿAddā' called out, "Oh family of ʿAmr in al-Riyāḍ! I am being wronged and oppressed! Contemptible is whoever is destroyed in his own abode!" He called out, "Oh Abū al-Sumayṭ!" So Abū al-Sumayṭ Ḥārithah b. Surāqah b. Maʿdīkarib[1098] approached and headed for Ziyād b. Labīd while he was standing [there], and said to him, "Let this youth have his she-camel, and take a [different] camel in her place, for it is only a camel instead of [another] camel." But (Ziyād) said, "There is no way to [do] that." At this (Abū al-Sumayṭ) replied, "That [would be so only] if you were a Jew"; and he turned to her and released her tether. Then he struck her on the side, sending her off.[1099] He stood up near her while saying:

She is protected by an old man with white hair on his cheeks,
mottled as the robe is mottled.

So Ziyād ordered some youths of Ḥaḍramawt and al-Sakūn on
[2003] him; they roughed him up and trampled him and handcuffed him and his companions and took them hostage, and they seized

1096. *ḥaqq Allāh.*

1097. *Fa-lā takūnanna Shadharatun ʿalaykum ka-l-basūs.* Probably a reference to the she-camel of al-Basūs bt. Munqidh, the killing (or wounding) of which precipated a bitter feud between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib, according to legend. This she-camel became proverbial for something unlucky (*ash'amu min nāqat al-Basūs*). Cf. *EI*², s.v. "Al-Basūs" (J. W. Fück); Ibn Manẓūr, VI, 28.

1098. Cf. Balansī, 161–62.

1099. Or perhaps, "making her get up" (*fa-baʿatha-hā*).

the she-camel and fettered her as she had been. About that Ziyād b. Labīd said:

A whole company of riders could not protect Nugget [from being taken],
but the old man may turn it back. . . .[1100]

The people of al-Riyāḍ cried out to one another and called each other. Banū Muʿāwiyah [b. Kindah] became angry on behalf of Ḥārithah and openly showed their attitude. The Sakūn became angry on behalf of Ziyād, as did the Ḥaḍramawt, and they stood together to defend him. There gathered two great armies [drawn] from the former and the latter. Banū Muʿāwiyah did not initiate anything because of the existence of their captives, and [so] the companions of Ziyād did not find any pretext for taking on the Banū Muʿāwiyah. Then Ziyād sent to them: "Either put down [your] weapons or give notice of war." So to this they replied, "We shall never put down [our] weapons, until you have sent our [captive] companions." To this Ziyād said, "They shall never be sent until you disperse in abasement and shame. Oh most wicked of people, are you not inhabitants of Ḥaḍramawt, and protected neighbors[1101] of al-Sakūn? Then what can you be and do in the abode of Ḥaḍramawt and at the side of your masters, [except follow them]?" The Sakūn said to [Ziyād], "Rush the group, for only that will disengage them." So he rushed upon them by night, killing some of them, and they fled in groups, going in every direction. Ziyād quoted, when morning found him in their camp:

I was not a man to start war unjustly,
but, when they refused, I was obliging in the War of Ḥāṭib.[1102]

After the group had fled, he let the three people go; and Ziyād returned to his residence in victory. After the captives returned [2004]

1100. The second hemistich reads: *wa al-shaykhu qad yathnī-hi urjūb*. The final word is unknown; cf. manuscript C, which has *arḥūb* or *urḥūb*.

1101. *jīrān*.

1102. The War of Ḥāṭib was a major clash among the Arab clans of Medina on the eve of Islam, which ended indecisively in the bloody battle of Buʿāth. Cf. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 156–58.

to their companions, they chided them so that they incited one another to fight, saying, "This country is not fit for us or for them until it becomes free for one of the two groups." So they gathered and formed an army together, and called for withholding the *ṣadaqah* tax. But Ziyād left them [alone], and did not go out against them; so that they left off marching against him. He sent al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr[1103] to them, and he kept seeking reconciliation of what divided them from Ziyād, Ḥaḍramawt, and al-Sakūn, until they calmed one another down. This was the second secession; about that al-Sakūnī said:

By my life—and my life is not something taken lightly!—
Banū ʿAmr could draw bitter things from it.
You lied; by the house of God, you do not hold it back from
Ziyād after we had come to Ziyād as equals.

They remained a little while after that; then Banū ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiyah especially went out to the reserved places of pasture[1104]—to pastures that they had restricted [from public use]. So Jamad encamped in a reserved pasture, Mikhwaṣ in a reserved pasture, Mishraḥ and Abḍaʿah[1105] in others, and their sister al-ʿAmarradah in a reserved pasture. The Banū ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiyah were under these leaders,[1106] and Banū al-Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiyah encamped in their reserved pastures, such that al-Ashʿath b. Qays encamped in a reserved pasture, and al-Simṭ b. al-Aswad[1107] in a pasture. All of [Banū] Muʿāwiyah agreed to withhold the *ṣadaqah* tax and resolved unanimously to apos-

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1103. Two individuals bear this name: one, an Anṣārī, participated in the conquest of Tabūk and may have been ʿUmar's governor of al-Urdunn; the other, of Sakūn, was commander of the army sent against Mecca by the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I in the early AD 680s. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, s.vv.

1104. *Maḥājir* (sing. *maḥjar*). The following three words, *ilā ʿaḥmā' ḥamawhā*, appear to be a gloss clarifying the meaning of *maḥjar* in terms of the more familiar word *ḥimā*, which has the same meaning.

1105. The four kings of Banū Walīʿah/Banū Muʿāwiyah b. Kinda, who embraced Islam and then apostatized. Cf. Caskel, II, 409 (s.v. "Mišraḥ b. Maʿdikarib"); p. 176, above; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 101.

1106. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 380: "They were the four kings, the chiefs of ʿAmr whom the Apostle of God had cursed."

1107. Chief of Kindah; his deeds are confused with those of his son Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ. Cf. Caskel, II, 523; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, s.v.v.

tatize, except for Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ and his son; the two of them stood up among the Banū Muʿāwiyah and said, "By God, this is disgraceful for tribes of free men. [For] noble men, even when [committed] to a doubtful [cause], consider themselves more noble than to change from it to a better one, out of fear of the disgrace [of changing sides]. How, then, [can you countenance] turning back from what is proper and true to [2005] what is false and shameful? Oh God, we do not help our tribe with this! We regret their joining together to this day"—meaning the day of the she-camel and the day of the secession.

Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ and his son, al-Simṭ, went out until they came to Ziyād b. Labīd and joined him. Ibn Ṣāliḥ and Imru' al-Qays b. ʿĀbis[1108] [also] went out until they came to Ziyād and said to him, "Attack the enemy by night, for groups of al-Sakāsik have joined them, and a group of al-Sakūn and isolated individuals from Ḥaḍramawt have hurried to them. Perhaps we may deliver to them a blow that will bequeath enmity between us and draw a distinction between us. If you refuse, we fear that the people will drift from us to them, while the enemy are raiding the place of those who have come to you, hoping [to conquer] those who remained [behind]." At this, he said, "Carry out your plan." So[1109] they gathered their troop and came on (the Banū ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiyah) by night in their reserved pastures, finding them sitting around their fires. They knew whom they wanted, so they fell upon the Banū ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiyah from five directions in five groups, for they were the majority of the enemy and the strongest[1110] of them. Thus they struck down Mishraḥ, Mikhwaṣ, Jamad,[1111] Abḍaʿah, and their sister al-ʿAmarradah. The curse [of the Prophet] reached them. They killed many, and those who could do so fled. Banū ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiyah were so weakened that they [never] recovered after it.

1108. Poet of Kindah, said to have come to the Prophet in a delegation of his tribe and to have remained loyal to Medina during the *riddah*.

1109. Cf. Balansī, 163.

1110. Or, perhaps, "bravest" or "best armed": *shawkatu-hum*, lit., "their thorn."

1111. Balansī: Jamd.

Ziyād took away the captives and the flocks,[1112] and took a road that brought them to the army of al-Ashʿath and the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiyah. So when they passed by them in it, the womenfolk of Banū ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiyah asked Banū al-Ḥārith for help, and called to him: "Oh Ashʿath! Oh Ashʿath! Your maternal aunts! Your maternal aunts!" At this, Banū al-Ḥārith became stirred up to rescue them. This [was] the third [secession]. Al-Ashʿath said:

I defended Banū ʿAmr after their troop had come
with more goats and more prisoners than the day of al-Buḍayḍ.[1113]

[2006] Now al-Ashʿath knew that Ziyād and his army, if they learned of that, would not desist from [attacking] him nor from Banū al-Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiyah and Banū ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiyah; so he gathered to him[self] Banū al-Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiyah and Banū ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiyah and those who obeyed them of al-Sakāsik and small groups[1114] of whatever tribes were around them. Those tribes who were in Ḥaḍramawt became estranged from one another because of this battle. Ziyād's companions stood firm in obedience to Ziyād, and Kindah was unyielding; so after the tribes had become estranged from one another, Ziyād wrote to al-Muhājir and the people[1115] corresponded with him, meeting him with the letter after he had crossed Ṣayhad,[1116] a desert between Ma'rib and Ḥaḍramawt. He left ʿIkrimah in charge of the army and hurried ahead with the fastest troops. Then he marched until he came upon Ziyād, whereupon he rushed upon Kindah, who were led by al-Ashʿath, so that they met in the reserved pasture (*maḥjar*) of al-Zurqān[1117] and fought in it.

1112. Or "property" (*amwāl*).

1113. Possibly a watering place in Ṭayyi' country in north central Arabia; cf. Yāqūt, s.v.

1114. *Khaṣā'iṣ*. This rendering seems more natural to me than that proposed by De Goeje, "[people of] huts"; cf. *Glossary*, s.v. "Khaṣā'iṣ."

1115. Or "the army": *al-nās*.

1116. Mss. B and C have Ṣahbadh and Ṣahyad, respectively, but cf. note 143, above.

1117. Yāqūt's information on al-Zurqān is derived from this account.

Consequently Kindah were defeated and killed. They went out in flight and took refuge in al-Nujayr,[1118] having repaired and fortified it [beforehand]. Al-Muhājir said regarding the day of the reserved pasture of al-Zurqān:

We were at Zurqān when you were dispersed by
a sea that drives firewood in its waves.
We slew you in your reserved pasture
until you rode off out of fear of us,
To a fortress the easiest [part] of whose [conquest] is
capturing the offspring and driving them off at a brisk pace.

Al-Muhājir marched with the people from the reserved pasture of al-Zurqān until he descended upon al-Nujayr, the Kindah [2007] having gathered there and fortified themselves in it. With them were those whom they had asked for help from al-Sakāsik and isolated individuals from al-Sakūn and Ḥaḍramawt. Now al-Nujayr is at [the intersection of] three roads; so Ziyād descended upon one of them, and al-Muhājir upon another, and the third was [free] for them to come and go until ʿIkrimah should arrive with the army. Then he settled (ʿIkrimah) upon that [third] road, so that he cut off (Kindah's) supplies and repulsed them. He divided the cavalry among Kindah and ordered them to crush them. Among those whom he sent was Yazīd b. Qanān of Banū Mālik b. Saʿd;[1119] so he killed those who were in the settlements of Banū Hind[1120] as far as Barahūt.[1121] Among those whom he dispatched to the coast were Khālid b. Fulān al-Makhzūmī and Rabīʿah al-Ḥaḍramī; they killed the people of Maḥā and other clans. Kindah learned what had befallen the rest of their people while they were in their fortress, so they said, "Death is better than the situation you find yourselves in [now]; shear your forelocks, so that you are like a people who have given your souls to God—so may He be gracious to you, and

1118. A famous old fort in Yemen; cf. Hamdānī, 87, 203. Yāqūt, s.v. gives, in a long entry, a summary of the events of this chapter of the *riddah*, but little additional information on al-Nujayr.

1119. A branch of Zaydmanāt of Tamīm; cf. Caskel, I, Table 75 and II, 394.

1120. A branch of Kindah; cf. Caskel, I, Table 234 and II, 283.

1121. An old well in lower Ḥaḍramawt; cf. Hamdānī, 128, 201.

may you return [from God] with His blessings! Perhaps He will assist you against these tyrants." So they sheared their forelocks and made a pact, agreeing that no one of them would flee leaving another behind. Their poet began to recite *rajaz*[1122] in the middle of the night from the top of their fortress:

A morning of evil for Banū Qatīrah[1123]
and for the commander from Banū al-Mughīrah.[1124]

The Muslims' poet, Ziyād b. Dīnār, took to replying to them:

Do not threaten us and endure the confinement.
We are the cavalry of the child of al-Mughīrah.
In the morning the tribe shall be victorious.

[2008] When it was morning, they went out against the people, killing in the courtyards of al-Nujayr until there were many slain opposite each one of the three roads. On that day, 'Ikrimah began to recite *rajaz*, saying:

I pierce them while I am in haste,
A piercing that I will repeat[1125] [when] on the way back.

He also said:

My word was spent; indeed it has effect,
And everyone who seeks my protection is protected.

So Kindah was vanquished, they having killed many of them.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad:[1126] After al-Muhājir had finished with the enemy, 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl came as a reinforcement for him. So Ziyād and al-Muhājir said to those who were with them, "Your brethren have arrived as reinforcement for you [only] after you had [completed] the conquest; but let them share in the booty [anyway]." So they did that and allowed

1122. A common form of verse in iambic meter.

1123. Qatīrah b. Ḥarithah was a branch of Sakūn/Kindah; cf. Caskel, II, 468. Balansī, 164ff., vocalizes the name "Quṭayrah." However, the rhyme makes it obvious that Qaṭīrah is the correct form.

1124. The clan of Makhzūm (of Quraysh) to which 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl belonged; cf. Caskel, I, Tables 22 and 23; *EI*², s.v. "Makhzūm" (M. Hinds).

1125. Reading with Cairo, instead of "that I confess" in the text.

1126. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 382.

those who joined them to share [the booty], recommending that to each other. They sent the fifths [of booty] and the captives [to Medina]; the heralds marched so that they got there before them. (The heralds) were spreading the news among the tribes and reading to them [news of][1127] the conquest.

According to al-Sarī: Abū Bakr wrote to al-Muhājir with al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah:[1128] "If this letter of mine reaches you before you have achieved victory, then—if you conquer the enemy—kill the fighting men and take the offspring captive if you took them by force, or let them fall under my verdict.[1129] If [on the other hand] you have [already] concluded a treaty with them before (my letter reaches you), then [let it be] on condition that you expel them from their abodes; for I am averse to leaving intact in their homes enemies who have done what they did. Let them know that they had done evil, and let them taste the offensiveness of some of what they did."

According to Abū Jaʿfar:[1130] When the people of al-Nujayr saw [2009]
that the Muslims' supplies were not cut off and they ascertained that (the Muslims) would not turn back from them, their souls were filled with fear. They feared being killed, and the leaders feared for themselves. If they held out until al-Mughīrah should arrive, they would have been saved because they had [concluded] a treaty for the third time on condition of being expelled. Al-Ashʿath hurried to go out to ʿIkrimah with an assurance of protection. (Al-Ashʿath) did not trust anyone else. That was because (ʿIkrimah) was married to Asmāʾ bt. al-Nuʿmān b. Abī al-Jawn;[1131] he had become engaged to her while he was in al-

1127. Ms. B adds *kitāb*, "the letter" or "the book" (about the conquest). Cf. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 150 on *bashīr* as "heralds."

1128. A felon from al-Ṭāʾif who fled to Medina and attached himself to the Prophet's entourage as bodyguard and military commander; later employed as emissary and governor by the caliphs. Cf. Caskel, II, 419–20.

1129. *Ḥukm*. I.e., let them surrender unconditionally, so that they fall under my verdict.

1130. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 381.

1131. *Emendanda* proposes "... al-Nuʿmān b. al-Jawn," but sources vary on the name; Cf. Caskel, II, 451 ("al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiya"); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 396–98; Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 102–5; and p. 190, below. Asmāʾ was a noble Kindite woman whose marriage to the Prophet was never consummated. Subsequently she married both al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah and ʿIkrimah b. Abī Jahl.

Janad[1132] awaiting al-Muhājir, so her father presented her to him before they set out. So ʿIkrimah conveyed (al-Ashʿath) to al-Muhājir and asked him to grant him protection for his life and nine people with him, on condition that he should stand as surety for them and their families if they would open the gate for them. So he complied with his [request] in this, and said, "Go away so as to save yourself; then bring me your letter so I may seal it."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Isḥāq al-Shaybānī—Saʿīd b. Abī Burdah—ʿĀmir:[1133] (Al-Ashʿath) came to him and requested protection for his family, his property, and nine of those whom he wished, on condition that he would open the gate for them so that they could enter in upon his tribe. Whereupon al-Muhājir said to him, "Write down what you want, and be quick about it"; so he wrote his pledge of security and one for them. Among them were his brother and his paternal cousins and their families; but, in [his] haste and perplexity, he forget [to include] himself. Then he brought the letter, whereupon (al-Muhājir) sealed it and went back, letting those [mentioned] in the letter go their way.

According to Al-Ajlaḥ and al-Mujālid: When the only thing remaining was for (al-Ashʿath) to write himself [into the pledge of security], [someone named] Jaḥdam pounced upon him with a blade and said, "Your life unless you write me [into it!]" So he wrote him [into it] and left himself out.

According to Abū Isḥāq:[1134] After (al-Ashʿath) opened the
[2010] gate, the Muslims rushed upon (al-Nujayr), not letting any combatant go, but rather killing them by cutting off their heads while in captivity. One thousand of the women of al-Nujayr and al-Khandaq were counted up, and guards were placed among the captives and booty. Kathīr[1135] agreed with them [in their recounting of events].

According to Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt:[1136] After the gate had been

1132. Or: "with the army." Cf. p. 190, below.
1133. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 381.
1134. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 381.
1135. See following *sanad*.
1136. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 381–82.

opened and whoever was in al-Nujayr had been finished off and after what God had bestowed on (the Muslims) as booty had been calculated, (al-Muhājir) summoned al-Ashʿath with those persons [he had mentioned], and called for his document. Then he reviewed them and pardoned those who were [mentioned] in the document;[1137] but lo, al-Ashʿath was not [named] in it. At this al-Muhājir said, "Praise be to God, who made your star to miss,[1138] oh Ashʿath, oh enemy of God! I had been wishing that God would abase you." Then he bound him in ropes and intended to kill him. But ʿIkrimah said to him, "Grant him a postponement and send him to Abū Bakr, for he is more knowledgeable about judging [cases such as] this. If a man forgot to write his [own] name but was promised good treatment by word of mouth,[1139] does (the oversight) nullify (the promise)?" To this al-Muhājir replied, "His case is perfectly clear, but I will follow [your] advice and show it preference."[1140] He granted him a postponement and sent him to Abū Bakr along with the captives. So he was with them, the Muslims and the captives from his tribe [alike] cursing him. A woman of his tribe called him "favor of fire,"[1141] a Yemenite phrase by which they call a traitor. Now al-Mughīrah was perplexed one night because that was God's will. So he came with the enemy [still stained] with blood and the captives, on camels. The captives and prisoners marched and the group reached Abū Bakr with [news of] the conquest and with the captives and prisoners. Then (Abū Bakr) called for al-Ashʿath, whereupon he said,[1142] "Banū Walīʿah led you astray; you would not lead them astray, [for] they do not think enough of you [to do] that. [So] they were destroyed and destroyed you. Aren't you afraid [to rebel, seeing] that something of the [2011] message of the Apostle of God had reached you? What do you

1137. Lit., "he declared them legal" (*ajāza*).

1138. I.e., who brought you bad luck.

1139. Lit., "he was the friend of conversation."

1140. Reading, with the text, *u'thiru-hā* rather than the *Emendanda*'s *u'thiru-hu*.

1141. *ʿUrf al-nār*.

1142. The text of Abū Bakr's comment is problematic, and the Cairo and Leiden editions offer slightly different readings, neither of which is entirely lucid.

think I should do with you? He replied, "I have no idea what you are thinking; you know best what you think." (Abū Bakr) said, "I think you should be killed." (Al-Ashʿath) replied, "I am the one who persuaded the adversary[1143] [to spare] ten [people], so that my blood should not be licit." (Abū Bakr) said, "Did they empower you [to do so]?" He replied, "Yes." (Abū Bakr) said, "Then you brought them what had been entrusted to you, whereupon they placed [their] seal upon it?" He replied, "Yes." (Abū Bakr) said, "Peace is required after sealing of a document only for those [named] in the document; before that, you were only a negotiator." Then, when he feared that (Abū Bakr) would fall upon him, (al-Ashʿath) said, "And do you reckon there to be some good in me? Then release me and forgive my misbehavior, accept my Islām and do with me as you have done with others like me, and return my wife to me"—he had been engaged to Umm Farwah bt. Abī Quhāfah[1144] when he [first] came to the Apostle of God, whereupon (Abū Bakr) had married him [to her], but withheld her [from him] until he should come a second time; then the Apostle of God had died and al-Ashʿath had done what he did, so he feared that she would not be returned to him—"[should you do these things], you will find me the best of the people of my land in the religion of God." So (Abū Bakr) spared him[1145] and accepted [this] from him. He returned his wife to him, and said, "Go, and let me hear [only] good about you," and let the people alone so that they went away. Abū Bakr divided the fifth [of booty] among the people, and the army distributed the four-fifths [among themselves].

Abū Jaʿfar said: According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr: After al-Ashʿath was brought before Abū Bakr, he said, "What do you think I should do to
[2012] you? For you know what you have done." He replied, "You should be gracious to me and release me from the irons and marry your sister to me, for I have come back and embraced Islām." So Abū Bakr said, "Done," and married him to Umm

1143. *Qawm*; here, referring to the Muslims.
1144. Abū Bakr's sister; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 208.
1145. Lit., "relinquished to him [claim to] his blood."

Farwah bt. Abī Quḥāfah. (Al-Ash'ath) was in Medina until the conquest of Iraq.

Continuation of the Report of Sayf

When[1146] 'Umar acceded [to the caliphate], he said, "It is disgraceful that one of the Arabs should own another, God having enriched [us] and conquered the non-Arabs." He consulted about ransoming the captives of the Arabs from the *jāhiliyyah* and Islam (except for the woman who had borne a child to her master), and made the ransom of each person seven camels and six camels,[1147] except for Ḥanīfah and Kindah, on whom he lightened [the ransom] because of the slaughter of their men, and [except for] those who were not able [to pay] the ransom because of their great number,[1148] and the people of Dabā. So their men searched for their womenfolk in every place.[1149] Then al-Ash'ath found two women among the Banū Nahd[1150] and the Banū Ghuṭayf.[1151] [The story of] that was that he stopped among them, asking after "Raven" and "Eagle," so he was told, "What do you intend with that?" He replied, "At the battle of al-Nujayr, the eagles and ravens and wolves[1152] and dogs snatched away our women." Whereupon Banū Ghuṭayf said, "This is 'Raven.'" He asked, "What is his position among you?" They replied, "Under protection."[1153] He said, "Good, then," and departed. 'Umar said, "No one shall be master of an Arab,"[1154] because of that which he and the Muslims agreed upon.

1146. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 382.

1147. I.e., six or seven camels per captive. Kos has "six young camels"; lacking in B.

1148. Reading, with *Emendanda*, *li-fi'āmihim* for the text's *li-qiyāmihim*.

1149. Although the word *sabāyā* ("captives") can apply to captives of either gender, the passage implies that the majority of captives were women.

1150. Nahd b. Zayd was a Quḍā'ah tribe with branches in Syria and Yemen. Cf. Caskel, II, 443.

1151. Ghuṭayf b. 'Abdallāh was a prominent clan of Murād. Cf. Caskel, II, 275.

1152. Manuscript C: flies.

1153. *Fī al-ṣiyānah*, lit., "in keeping."

1154. *Lā mulka 'alā 'arabiyyin*; here the word *'arab* seems to mean not "nomad," but rather something like "speaker of Arabic."

They[1155] said: Al-Muhājir looked into the case of the woman whose father, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Jawn, had offered her to the Apostle of God, whereupon he described her as having never been ill.[1156] But (the Prophet) returned her, saying, "We have no
[2013] need of her," after he had seated her in front of him; he said, "If she had any merit with God, she would have become ill." Then al-Muhājir said to ʿIkrimah, "When did you marry her?" He said, "While I was in Aden; she was given to me in al-Janad,[1157] whereupon I traveled with her to Maʾrib. Then I brought her to the army,[1158] whereupon some of them said, "Leave her! For she is not fit to be desired." Others said, "Don't leave her!" So al-Muhājir wrote to Abū Bakr asking him about that, whereupon Abū Bakr wrote back to him, "Her father, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Jawn, came to the Apostle of God, having beautified her for him, so that (the Apostle) ordered him to bring her to him. After he had brought her to him, he said, 'I give you in addition [the good news] that she has never suffered pain.'" At this (the Apostle) said, "If she had any merit with God, she would have become ill. He disliked her, so you should dislike her [also]." Then he sent her away.

A number [of women] remained among Quraysh [as captives] after ʿUmar ordered the ransoming of the captives. Among them was Bushrā bt. Qays b. Abī al-Kaysam; she was with Saʿd b. Mālik,[1159] to whom she bore [his son] ʿUmar. [Another] was Zurʿah bt. Mishraḥ, with ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās,[1160] to whom she bore ʿAlī.

Abū Bakr wrote to al-Muhājir, giving him the choice [of the governorship] of the Yemen or Ḥaḍramawt; whereupon he chose the Yemen. So the Yemen was under two commanders, Fayrūz and al-Muhājir. Ḥaḍramawt was [also] under two commanders, ʿUbaydah b. Saʿd over Kindah and al-Sakāsik, and Ziyād b.

1155. I.e., the narrators of the account.

1156. Lit., "she had never complained" [*innahā lam tashtaki qaṭṭ*]. This is again Asmāʾ bt. al-Nuʿmān, cf. p. 185, above, and note 1131. Note that al-Muhājir is said to have married her after the Prophet and before ʿIkrimah.

1157. Or "with the army (*al-jund*)." Cf. pp. 185–86, above.

1158. *Al-ʿaskar.*

1159. I.e., Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

1160. Cousin of the Prophet, later famed as Qurʾān commentator.

Labīd over Ḥaḍramawt. Abū Bakr wrote to the governors of the apostasy:[1161] "Now then: The dearest to me of those whom you have brought into your cause are those who did not apostatize. So gather together whoever did not apostatize, then garner [2014] recruits[1162] from them; but grant leave to whoever [of them] wishes to depart.[1163] Do not ask aid of a [former] apostate in fighting against an enemy."

Al-Ashʿath b. Miʾnās al-Sakūnī, lamenting the people of al-Nujayr, said:[1164]

By my life—and my life has not been easy to me—
I was really niggardly concerning the slain.
No wonder, except the day lots were cast among them;
after them, fate is not secure for me.
Would that the flanks of the people were under their flanks;
after them, no female walked with an embryo.
I am like the she-camel whose young one has died who, when frightened, came up
to her dummy calf[1165] as she cried out in yearning for her young one.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mūsā b. ʿUqbah—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Khalīfah: There arrived before al-Muhājir two singing women. One of them sang reviling the Apostle of God, so he cut off her hand and pulled her front tooth. Then Abū Bakr wrote to him: "I have learned what you did regarding the woman who sang and piped with abuse of the Apostle of God. If you had not beaten me to (punishing her), I would have ordered you to kill her, for the punishment [for abuse] of prophets is not like [other] punishments. So whoever does [something like] that among [2015] those claiming to be Muslims is [actually] an apostate; or among

1161. That is, to the governors (*ʿummāl*) placed over tribes, some of whom had apostasized.

1162. *Ṣanāʾiʿ*, lit., "protegés."

1163. I.e., those who do not wish to join the army should not be required to do so.

1164. Cf. Wathīmah, 29/72, which has the same first half-line but is different thereafter.

1165. *Baww*, the skin of the deceased young stuffed with grass and made available to soothe the mother.

those claiming to be at peace with the Muslims[1166] is [actually] at war [with them] and a traitor." Abū Bakr wrote to him about the woman who had sung satirizing the Muslims, "Now then: I have learned that you cut off the hand of a woman because she sang satirizing the Muslims, and that you pulled her front tooth. If she was among those who claim [to have embraced] Islam, then [it is] good discipline and a reprimand, and not mutilation.[1167] If she was a *dhimmī* woman, by my life that which you forgave [by way] of polytheism is greater [than what she was punished for]. If I had [had a chance to] precede you [to punishment] in [a cause] like this, I would have done something loathsome; so undertake to be gentle and beware of mutilation among the people, for (mutilation) is an offense and generates fear [among the people], unless [made] in chastisement [for a crime]."

In this year[1168]—I mean year 11—Muʿādh b. Jabal left the Yemen, and Abū Bakr appointed ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb judge. He was in charge of judgeship for the entire time of (Abū Bakr's) caliphate.

In (this year)[1169] Abū Bakr put ʿAttāb b. Asīd in charge of the pilgrimage ceremonies, according to those upon whom ʿAlī b. Muḥammad based his account, whose names I mentioned beforehand in this book of mine.[1170] [But] according to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: [Another] group said no, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf led the people on pilgrimage in the year 11, upon Abū Bakr's ordering him to do that.

1166. *Muʿāhid*, a non-Muslim who has concluded a pact (*ʿahd*) with the Muslims recognizing their superiority and agreeing to pay tribute. The discussion here uses the vocabulary of, and betrays the influence of, second and third century AH classical Islamic jurisprudence.

1167. The terms involved are *adab*, *taqdimah*, and *muthlah*.

1168. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 383; Caetani, 685.

1169. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 383.

1170. Cf. p. 38, above, for full *isnād* of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XI

The Challenge to the Empires

TRANSLATED BY KHALID YAHYA BLANKINSHIP

The Challenge to the Empires
Volume XI
Translated by Khalid Yahya Blankinship

Although this volume deals with the part of al-Ṭabarī's History covering the years 12 and 13 (633-35), in the caliphates of Abū Bakr al-Siddīq and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the narratives contained in it, which are lengthy and detailed, are concerned with the first Muslim conquests in Iraq and Syria. Although it might be expected, therefore, that this volume would be a basic source for these conquests, the actual value of the bulk of the reported traditions is in considerable doubt because most of the material is derived from a later Kūfan traditionist, Sayf b. ʿUmar (d. 170-93/786-809), who apparently exaggerated and distorted his material considerably. Indeed, Sayf's transmissions clearly reveal the tendency of his party, an anti-Shīʿite faction based on the Arab Mudar tribal group in al-Kūfah that had lost out with the fall of the Umayyads and the coming of the ʿAbbāsids to power. Although Sayf's transmissions thus have limited value as far as the earliest conquests themselves are concerned, they are of the utmost value in revealing the content and character of Islamic historical debates in the late 2nd/8th century. In addition, they permit us to elucidate and reconstruct an early harmonizing tendency in Islam that undoubtedly had a significant effect on the way later Muslims viewed their earliest history.

The translation is preceded by an introduction analyzing the tendencies of Sayf and his party as revealed in this volume. Extensive notes accompany the text for the benefit of historians in other fields, as well as of Islamic specialists.

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XI

The Challenge to the Empires

A.D. 633–635/A.H. 12–13

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XI

The Challenge to the Empires

translated and annotated
by

Khalid Yahya Blankinship

Temple University

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into thirty-nine volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

CHI: *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968–.

EI[1]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 4 volumes and supplement. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–38.

EI[2]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954–.

GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967–.

Translator's Foreword

This volume of al-Ṭabarī's history covers the years 12–13 A.H. (633–35 C.E.), including most of the reign of the caliph Abū Bakr (reigned 11–13/632–34) and the beginning of that of the caliph ʿUmar (reigned 13–23/634–44). It thus deals with one of the most crucial points in the history of Islam, when the early Medinan state established by the Prophet Muḥammad was transformed into a much larger empire through the Muslim conquest of the Fertile Crescent. Because the whole volume is devoted exclusively to only two years of history, one would expect its accounts to be more detailed than other parts of al-Ṭabarī, and indeed they are. They are also far more detailed than most other early, partially independent accounts that have come down to us, such as those of Ibn Khayyāṭ (d. 240/854), al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), and al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 282/895). As a result, the material contained in this volume constitutes one of the most important of the basic sources that must be considered for the early Islamic conquests, for the bulk of the volume is concentrated exclusively on the earliest Muslim military campaigns in the Fertile Crescent.

These campaigns fall into two distinct sections: the campaigns against the Persians in Iraq (pp. 1–70, 116–24, 173–224, total 128 pages) and those against the Romans in Syria (pp. 73–116, 124–29, 158–73, total 63 pages). Most of the reports consist of long, detailed prose descriptions of various battles; poetry is scarce. However, there is also occasional information about the peace terms agreed to by the conquered populations and other administrative arrangements subsequent to the conquest. The reports dealing with Iraq

provide details on the exploits of the renowned Khālid b. al-Walīd, who first subdued the region around the future al-Baṣrah in the south (pp. 1, 7–19), then conquered the vicinity of al-Ḥīrah, near the future al-Kūfah in the center (pp. 2–7, 19–57, 70), and finally took the outlying areas of Dūmat al-Jandal (pp. 57–60, 70) and the Euphrates River up to the Roman border (pp. 60–70). Then the Syrian campaign is connected with that of Iraq through a description of Khālid's march through the desert to Syria to reinforce other Muslim troops already there (pp. 109–17, 122–26). As with the Iraqi campaigns, the invasion of Syria is treated as a series of thinly connected episodes built up around the individual battles fought there: al-Yarmūk (pp. 83–104), Marj al-Ṣuffar (pp. 81–83, 109), Ajnādayn (pp. 126–29), Fiḥl (pp. 160–65, 170–72), and the siege of Damascus (pp. 160–61, 165–69). Some information is also offered about subsequent administrative arrangements. Finally, the scene returns to campaigns and countercampaigns on the central front in Iraq (pp. 116–22, 173–224), building toward the decisive Battle of al-Qādisiyyah, which is covered in the next volume of this series, Volume XII.

It is important that the reader note that for several of the battles or campaigns described in this volume alternative versions appear only in Volume XII. They include the campaigns of al-Ubullah (Volume XII, pp. 161–72), al-Yarmūk (pp. 132–35), and Ajnādayn (pp. 185–89). These passages also must be consulted to obtain a complete picture of the information that al-Ṭabarī has to offer on the earliest conquests.

Most of the twenty pages in this volume that are not concerned with campaigns in Iraq and Syria contain miscellaneous accounts inserted on the occasion of Abū Bakr's death. They include the notice on the caliph's death itself (pp. 129–38), personal biographical notes about him (pp. 138–41, 149–53), a listing of his officials (pp. 142–45), and reports on his appointment of ʿUmar as his successor (pp. 145–49). Finally, very short notices appended at the end of each year list governors, leaders of the pilgrimage, and deaths of a few notables (pp. 70–72, 224–25). The volume contains little material on the establishment of the basic institutions of the Islamic caliphate, which must have been in process at the time. Whatever administrative, social, and economic information may be found occurs only incidentally.

Although the reports in this volume are quite detailed for what they do cover, they must be carefully scrutinized for their sources and content before we can be satisfied that they do in fact contain accurate information, as the better part of three centuries separated al-Ṭabarī, who died in 310 (923), from the events he described here. Although he scrupulously cited his sources and can be shown to have often quoted from them almost verbatim, these sources themselves can be traced with certainty only to an earlier stage in the collection of Islamic history, represented by the writers Ibn Isḥāq (d. 151/767), Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822), and Sayf b. ʿUmar (d. 170–93/786–809). From the first three, all of whom are cited in this volume, there are works extant that enable us to assess their tendencies to some extent, as well as to verify their use of their own sources. For an assessment of the value of their transmissions, the reader is referred to the relevant articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and other secondary literature.

It is the fourth writer extensively quoted by al-Ṭabarī, Sayf b. ʿUmar, with whom we are mainly concerned here. As his work survives principally in the transmission of al-Ṭabarī and those who took from him and is found nowhere in independent form, he has unfortunately been rather ignored in modern criticism. Yet it is Sayf's lengthy reports that fill most of the pages of this and several other volumes. The historical evaluation of this volume therefore depends to a large extent on our assessment of the nature of Sayf's reports and al-Ṭabarī's use of them, and it is to these problems that we must turn our attention.

Abū ʿAbdallāh Sayf b. ʿUmar al-Usayyidī al-Tamīmī was a Kūfan traditionist who died in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–93/786–809).[1] Other than the possibility that he was accused of *zandaqah* (Manichaeism) in the inquisition (*miḥnah*) that began under al-Mahdī in 166 (783) and continued into the time of al-Rashīd,[2] nothing is known of his life, except what can be determined from his traditions. As he is alleged to have transmitted from at least nine

1. The sources on Sayf include the following: Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, II/1, 278; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn*, I, 345; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 106; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 255; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 66; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 295–96.

2. On the *miḥnah* itself, see Ṭabari, III, 517, 522, 548–51, 604, 645; Vajda, "Zindīqs," 173–229. On the accusation against Sayf, see Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn*, I, 345–46; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 255–56; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 296.

traditionists who died in 140–46 (757–63), and even from two who died in 126–28 (744–46), he may have been elderly when he died. This is also suggested by the possibility that Abū Mikhnaf, who died considerably earlier than Sayf, in 157 (774), may have quoted from him.[3] Sayf's work was originally recorded in two books, *Kitāb al-futūḥ al-kabīr wa-al-riddah* and *Kitāb al-jamal wa-masīr ʿĀʾishah wa-ʿAlī*, which are now lost but survived for a number of centuries after Sayf's own lifetime.[4] They made an enormous impact on the Islamic historical tradition, especially because al-Ṭabarī chose to rely mainly on them for the events of 11–36 (632–56), a period that spanned the reigns of the first three caliphs and included all the early conquests of Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and Iran. Although al-Ṭabarī also quoted other sources in this volume, as we have indicated, the overwhelming bulk of his material for this period is from Sayf. Indeed, it is also probable, though not certain, that he has reproduced the vast majority of Sayf's work. Sayf is only rarely cited by other writers independently of al-Ṭabarī.[5]

Generally, Sayf's description of the conquests transmitted in this and other volumes of al-Ṭabarī emphasizes the heroism of the Muslim warriors, the hardships they endured, and the toughness of their opponents, features that seem plausible enough and are also found in other conquest narratives beside those of Sayf. However, Sayf's narratives differ in the extent to which he introduces traditions not found elsewhere, often reporting them from transmitters not otherwise known. These unique narratives frequently contain fantastic or legendary motifs to an extent far greater than is found in the versions of other historians. Although the fantastic and tendentious nature of Sayf's reports has often been noted, for example, by Julius Wellhausen,[6] the exact value of his corpus as a primary source has never been assessed in detail.

Clearly, Sayf's exaggerated traditions cannot have been entirely invented by him, for they were intended to be convincing as history to an audience that had a certain knowledge of its own immediate past. Sayf thus has to deal with subjects and personages already familiar to his hearers in ways that would not offend them. This lim-

3. ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa-miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 10 n.
4. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 106.
5. One certain instance is Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 5–6, 9–10, citing Sayf four times.
6. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, 3–7.

ited the possibilities of invention. Furthermore, the very exaggerated nature of Sayf's traditions suggests a preceding period of oral transmission. As Sayf himself was clearly a writer of prose compositions, it is most unlikely that the characteristics suggesting oral transmission are his own contribution; it is more probable that they go back to his sources.

The exaggerated language characteristic of oral transmission in Sayf is especially apparent in the narratives of the conquest of Iraq, which have a clear tribal origin and bias. These narratives can be traced mostly to two rival groups, the Rabīʿah and the Tamīm, whose enmity had originated in pre-Islamic times. That Sayf should present the traditions of the Rabaʿī opponents of his own Tamīmī tribal group might appear laudably fair and impartial, but he had his own reasons for including them. Probably by Sayf's time the old tribal differences had less impact, as new groups around the ʿAbbāsids gained power. The old tribal army divisions that had formed the elite under the Umayyads rapidly lost influence and may have tended to forget their differences and close ranks to hold onto whatever privileges their lineages still entitled them to. Sayf thus may have preferred to bring all tribal traditions together without untoward prejudice, in order to gain a wider hearing.

Another characteristic of Sayf's work that may have been partly derived from the tribal tradition is the favoritism for Iraq that he expressed, and in particular for the city of al-Kūfah. This is hardly surprising, as Sayf was a Kūfan and relied almost exclusively on Kūfan informants. This pro-Iraqi bias is reflected, for example, in the much greater space he devoted to the conquest of Iraq, and especially the neighborhood of al-Kūfah, compared with that devoted to Syria. It is also manifest in the exaggerated role that he attributed to Khālid b. al-Walīd in the conquest of Syria (pp. 86–90, 94–99, 102–4, 111–17, 166–67, 170), for Khālid and the troops that he brought with him are characterized as Iraqis (pp. 88, 90, 116). In Sayf's account Khālid is improbably assigned the command and credited with the victory at the Battle of al-Yarmūk (pp. 89–90, 94–95, 97–98, 102, 104), though other sources attributed this victory to Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ.[7] The length to which Sayf went to prove that Khālid, rather than Abū ʿUbaydah, had held command on that day, even to

7. E.g., Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 118.

the extent of claiming that the message appointing Abū ʿUbaydah had arrived immediately *after* the battle (p. 95), probably indicates special pleading, even though his version is paralleled by traditions with a similar motif but referring to different battles (pp. 159–61). But Sayf has remolded these traditions for his own purposes and pushed the date of al-Yarmūk to 13 (634), two years earlier than that given in all other sources, precisely in order to accommodate his claim of Khālid's command, as it was most likely known to Sayf's hearers that the caliph ʿUmar had dismissed Khālid on his accession, so that he could not have been in command as late as 15 (636). Because Khālid had initiated the conquest of Iraq, he is represented in Sayf's pro-Iraqi traditions as the standard bearer of that province, though there really could as yet have been no question of the Muslim troops' identifying themselves with either Syria or Iraq, a later development.

In general, the tribal traditions transmitted by Sayf are most unconvincing in detail. Even Fred Donner, who reacts against the tendency to denigrate Sayf,[8] nevertheless denounces his "Battle of Buwayb" (pp. 196–213) as a complete fabrication.[9] In another instance that falls outside this volume, that of the alleged conquest of Khurāsān in 18 (639), the entire narrative is a palpable fabrication of tribal tradition and is of interest only as evidence that that tradition was current in Sayf's time, not as a real source for the events that it purports to cover.[10] Furthermore, the geographical extent of the earliest conquests has also been improbably exaggerated, indicating deep penetration of the Iraqi plain even before the defeat of the main Persian armies.[11]

Although Sayf clearly drew on tribal traditions and possibly other, more reputable sources for much of his narrative, he nevertheless appears also to have made a considerable personal contribution to

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8. Donner, *Conquests*, 143–44, 303 n. 36, 306 n. 94, 317 n. 212, 319 n. 247, 333 n. 118, and esp. 338 n. 179.

9. Donner, *Conquests*, 198–200.

10. Ṭabarī, I, 2680–93; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 15, dismisses Sayf's report as "Arab legend" in a single sentence.

11. For example, the assertion that Khālid b. al-Walīd advanced toward Kaskar on the Tigris already in his first raid. See pp. 15–20, below. However, as both Abū Mikhnaf (p. 5, below) and Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 100–2, contain similar reports drawn from independent sources, they cannot have been created by Sayf, however much he may have embroidered on the battle scenes; rather, they belong to the tribal tradition.

the traditions that he transmitted. It would be most useful to assess what this contribution is, because then we could isolate some of the elements that have been added to the tradition later. But such an assessment has never been made, because the partisan tendencies of Sayf, though they must have existed, have never been adduced, even though his corpus in al-Ṭabarī provides plenty of suggestive material.

As Sayf lived under the early ʿAbbāsids, it might logically be thought that his work shows the same pro-ʿAbbāsid and therefore anti-Umayyad tendencies that are generally alleged for historians of the ʿAbbāsid period. It might further be thought than any pro-Umayyad snippets in his reports might go back to earlier sources that he borrowed from. Actually, neither is the case. Despite certain concessions to the ʿAbbāsid dynasty,[12] the work of Sayf b. ʿUmar is propelled mainly by other concerns entirely: opposition to the extreme claims of the ʿAlids and justification of all the Companions of the Prophet.

Although he hailed from al-Kūfah, the crucible of early Shīʿism, Sayf belonged to a completely anti-Shīʿī undercurrent, representing the Kūfan faction that had earlier opposed the rebellions of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and Zayd b. ʿAlī.[13] This undercurrent was generally represented by Arabs from the Muḍar tribal group, which had been favored by the Umayyads. Sayf was an Usayyidī and therefore a member of the main branch of the Tamīm, which, along with the rest of the Muḍar, had stood by the Umayyads in Khurāsān.[14] With the advent of the ʿAbbāsids, an event that Sayf probably witnessed, a party had come to power that ultimately derived its legitimacy from ʿAlid claims, even though the ʿAlid party itself rejected the ʿAbbāsid parvenus. With the fall of the Umayyads, the public cursing of ʿAlī was stopped, and instead the ʿAlids were free to curse the opponents of ʿAlī, many of whom had been Companions of the Prophet. But

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12. E.g., when al-ʿAbbās alone of all the Medinan Muslims is reported to have piously refused to receive delegations from the *riddah* tribesmen; Ṭabarī, I, 1873.

13. This is indicated by his quotation from sources involved in the killing of al-Ḥusayn (pp. 204, 206, 216, 222). Sayf's partisanship also suggests that the factions of early Islam persisted longer in the original kin groups than has generally been recognized.

14. On Muḍar's loyalty to the Umayyads in Khurāsān, see Blankinship, "Tribal Factor," 596–600.

ʿAlid legitimist claims had been disappointed by the ʿAbbāsids' usurpation of what the ʿAlids considered their rightful place, and ʿAlid supporters could, of course, not publicly criticize the new dynasty. Therefore, in order to vent their frustrations, the partisans of ʿAlī laid blame in ever more strident tones on those Companions of the Prophet who had deprived ʿAlī of the succession in the first place: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, the Umayyads, and the Quraysh in general.

It was in this heated atmosphere that Sayf b. ʿUmar rushed to the defense of those Companions attacked by the ʿAlids and produced a narrative of the conquests and first civil war meant to justify them. Placing new material in the framework of the received historical tradition of his time, he reshaped the story of the early caliphate to prove the blamelessness of all the Prophet's Companions. In seeking to counteract the early Companions' later mistakes, he portrayed the harmoniousness of their earlier relations and showed how they had fought hard against the non-Muslims in the conquests. At the same time he blackened the non-Arab opponents of Islam to show the Muslims' superiority and to emphasize their unity against the non-Muslims. Sayf thus represented the early conquests in a picture of harmonious cooperation among all the Arab tribes against the Persians and the Romans, quite unlike the picture that was being promoted in circles sympathetic to Shīʿism. Those tribal traditions emphasizing the struggle against the non-Muslim Persians clearly suited his purpose. At the same time it must be remembered that Sayf's anti-Shīʿī tendency did not extend to casting aspersions on the careers of ʿAlī or his supporters. Rather, Sayf also sought to justify ʿAlī and to exculpate him from all blame.

The egregious tendentiousness of Sayf's corpus comes out most plainly in other volumes of al-Ṭabarī, in such episodes as Saqīfat Banī Sāʿidah (Tabari, I, 1844–50), the burial of ʿUthmān (3049–50), and the tale of ʿAbdallāh b. Saba' (2858–59, 2922, 2928, 2942–44, 2954, 3027, 3163–65, 3180). In each of these instances, other versions that do not confirm Sayf's own are available for comparison and reveal the impudence of his "daring constructions."[15] The material in this volume, on the other hand, is often unparalleled elsewhere and thus more difficult to criticize. Nevertheless, Sayf's par-

15. For this phrase, see Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya*, pp. 81–82.

tisanship can be recognized here as well when his reports are carefully scrutinized.

Sayf's tendencies are most clearly revealed in this volume in his reports glorifying the Companions of the Prophet. But which Companions receive the most such attention? The first beneficiaries of his encomia are the Quraysh, precisely the group that was being most denounced by the ʿAlids. To counteract such talk, Sayf bestowed military commands and roles on Qurashīs that are not attested elsewhere and appear unlikely in view of the tendency for celebrated early Companions to remain at Medina, possibly as a result of a deliberate policy, while the conquests were carried on by a select set of military leaders, many of whom had embraced Islam only in the last few years of the Prophet's life and some of whom either were not Qurashīs or were associated with the marginal Qurashī clan of Fihr. Much of this material seems to be a direct addition to the tradition by Sayf himself in the interests of defending the Qurashī Companions, especially early ones, against ʿAlid accusations. This is a likely supposition because many of the military roles mentioned for such Qurashīs are mentioned nowhere else but in Sayf's reports.[16] Sayf also appended longer military careers to the lives of certain non-Qurashī Companions.[17]

The same is also true of certain alleged participants in the Battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn in 36–37 (656–58). Some of them were said to have been Companions; others were not, but Sayf endowed them with military roles in the conquests not attested elsewhere. He did so particularly for those who fought against ʿAlī, which confirms his anti-ʿAlid and pro-Umayyad tendency. He never attacked pro-ʿAlid Companions directly, however, for his paramount concern, as with later Sunnīs, was the justification of *all* the Companions, or, if that

16. In this volume he exaggerated the role of Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihrī, to whom only Sayf attributed a role on the Iraqi front (pp. 28, 30, 43, 117); his purpose was to endow Iraq with more Companions of the Prophet. Other Qurashīs whose roles were exaggerated include ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd (p. 90), Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī (p. 91), Ṣafwān b. Umayyah al-Jumaḥī (p. 91), Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb al-Umawī (pp. 93–94, 100), and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, actually a Qurashī *mawlā* (p. 92). The motif of the justification of those Qurashīs who became Muslims only at the conquest of Mecca in 8 (630) is particularly evident in the report featuring ʿIkrimah b. Abī Jahl and his fictitious son, on pp. 99–100.

17. Those in this volume include al-Zibriqān b. Badr al-Tamīmī (pp. 53, 60). ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah al-Bahrānī (p. 93), and Ghālib b. ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī (pp. 201, 209).

proved impossible, at least the greatest number possible. As the ʿAlid party had already provided justification for the supporters of ʿAlī,[18] Sayf probably felt that it was the supporters of the Umayyads and the Zubayrids whose reputations were most in need of defense.[19]

Beside exaggerating the roles of certain Companions in the early conquests, Sayf also embellished his work with the exploits of other, imaginary Companions and with heroes whom he invented, especially to represent his own tribal group. The most outstanding of these fabrications is al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, a hero and alleged Companion of the Prophet, who is, not surprisingly, said to be a member of Sayf's own subtribe, the Usayyid (in this volume, pp. 8, 24, 36, 40, 42–43, 45, 48, 60–63, 65, 90, 95, 166, 168,). His being an Usayyidī suggests that his fabrication is owing to Sayf himself and not to any of Sayf's alleged sources, as none of the latter is identified as an Usayyidī. In addition, many other persons supposedly belonging to the Tamīm tribal group appear to be fabrications, some of them having stereotypical names that suggest almost playful invention, like "Wrap, the son of Skirt," "Spring Herbage, the son of Rain, the son of Snow," and "Sea, the son of the Euphrates."[20] The reader will find dozens of persons who are named only in Sayf's traditions recorded in this volume.

Not all the invented personages are Muslim Arabs, however, for in order to glorify further the exploits of the Arab conquerors, Sayf attributed exalted lineages to many of the opponents whom they conquered. Thus, one finds that most of the Persians mentioned are

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18. However, Sayf nonetheless endowed certain of ʿAlī's partisans with military roles in the early conquests that are not attested elsewhere. Those mentioned in this volume include Mālik al-Ashtar b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakhaʿī (pp. 100, 168), Saʿd b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām al-Khazrajī (p. 109), al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān al-Dhuhlī (p. 117), Maʿbad b. Aktam al-Khuzāʿī (p. 117), ʿUrwah b. Zayd al-Khayl al-Ṭāʾī (p. 209), and possibly ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Awsī (pp. 190, 193–94).

19. Among those who fought against ʿAlī's party and who were attributed military roles in the early conquests in Sayf's reports alone, this volume includes Rabīʿah b. ʿIsl al-Yarbūʿī (p. 48), Dhū al-Kalāʿ al-Ḥimyarī (pp. 77, 81, 92, 165, 168, 172), Abū al-Aʿwar b. Sufyān al-Sulamī (pp. 91, 164, 168, 170, 172), Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Sukūnī (p. 92), Ḥawshab b. Yazīd al-Hamdānī (p. 92), Masrūq b. Ḥarmalah al-ʿAkkī (pp. 93, 165, 168), Qabāth b. Ashyam al-Laythī (pp. 93–94), Bishr b. ʿIṣmah al-Muzanī (p. 164), ʿAlqamah b. Ḥakīm al-Kinānī (pp. 165, 168), ʿAmr b. Shimr (p. 168), and Shabath b. Ribʿī al-Riyāḥī (p. 203).

20. On Sayf's fabricated personages in general, see al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa-miʾah ṣaḥābī*, which is entirely devoted to twenty-three Tamīmīs whom Sayf is said to have fabricated; most of them are mentioned in this volume.

linked with the Sāsānian royal house by improbable genealogies (e.g., pp. 120, 182). Shahrbarāz, Khusraw II's general whose usurpation of the throne had been suppressed shortly before the conquest is said to have been a member of the royal family (p. 117). Scions of other defunct families also appear, like the Ghassānids of Buṣrā (pp. 58–59, 115); the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīrah, who had disappeared more than thirty years before (p. 58; cf. p. 216; see also Ṭabarī, I, 1960–61, 2226); and even the family of Bahrām Chūbīn, the Persian usurper who had been decisively suppressed almost forty-five years earlier than the conquest (p. 53)!

Beside having fabricated many of the personages who appear in his transmissions, it also appears that Sayf fabricated the names of many, perhaps most, of his alleged authorities. In fact, medieval Muslims already had noticed that most of his authorities were *majhūlūn*, or unknowns, the quality of whose transmissions could not be verified because no information about them existed.[21] In view of the enormous corpus of medieval Muslim biographical literature, it is very strange that nothing can be discovered about most of Sayf's immediate sources, especially as they were apparently from al-Kūfah, a major center for the recording of the Islamic tradition. In the case of other transmitters of Sayf's generation, it occasionally happens that an unknown authority will appear, but, in the case of Sayf, the majority appear to be unknown. Given the shared traits found in many of Sayf's traditions that we can attribute with some confidence to Sayf himself, it would appear that many of his alleged "authorities" are simply his own inventions.

Frequently it seems that these invented "authorities" served as intermediate links between Sayf and earlier genuine traditionists

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21. *Majhūlūn* authorities contained in this volume and claimed by Sayf to have transmitted directly to him include ʿAmr b. Muḥammad, al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah al-Asadī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-Aḥmarī, Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam al-Ḥanafī, ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Bakkāʾī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sawād b. Nuwayrah, Ziyād b. Sarjis al-Aḥmarī, Sufyān al-Aḥmarī, Baḥr b. al-Furāt al-ʿIjlī, al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim al-Kinānī, Abū Sufyān Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Mubashshir b. Fuḍayl, Sahl b. Yūsuf, Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī, al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd al-Nakhaʿī, al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī al-Ḍabbī, and Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Ḥamzah b. ʿAlī b. al-Muḥaffiz. Of these, only Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam and Ḥamzah are named elsewhere than in Sayf's *isnāds*. On pp. 106–7 we are presented with the incredible information that the al-Muhallab and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, both included in this list, actually participated in the early conquests with Khālid. That would make them about 150 years old when they were transmitting to Sayf!

whose authority Sayf wished to use to bolster his own inventions. Had Sayf himself alleged to have transmitted from, say, the famous al-Shaʿbī, the fraud would have been quickly discovered, for Sayf was probably a notorious and controversial celebrity in his own time. Had he claimed to have transmitted from one of al-Shaʿbī's known pupils, he would also have been denounced had he deviated from that pupil's tradition. But, when he alleged an unknown pupil of al-Shaʿbī as his intermediary, no one could offer a sure proof against his forgery based on the chain of transmission alone, especially when the generation of Sayf had passed from the scene.

For example, in this volume, Sayf cited ʿAmr b. Muḥammad as transmitting from al-Shaʿbī (pp. 1, 7, 13, 17, 19–20, 25, 38–39, 47, 83, 176), Sufyān al-Aḥmarī as transmitting from Māhān (pp. 39, 41, 45, 48), Sahl b. Yūsuf as transmitting from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (pp. 79, 81, 173, 175), and Mubashshir b. Fuḍayl as transmitting from Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh (pp. 81, 175). From this list we can see that Sayf normally used his invented "authority" only a few times as a link to a proven traditionist from an earlier generation; more often, he cited these same immediate "authorities" of his by themselves, without carrying the chain of transmission back farther. But from his few citations of reliable earlier traditionists as sources for his own "authorities" he gained tremendously in credibility, for he made it appear that they were the students of earlier great traditionists. As a result, when he subsequently cited ʿAmr, without carrying the chain of authority back to al-Shaʿbī, he gave the impression that the transmission must have come from al-Shaʿbī or at least must have been something the latter would have approved, while at the same time he made himself safe from the accusation that he had put something into al-Shaʿbī's mouth.

Beside fabricating intermediaries, it appears that Sayf sometimes extended a chain of transmitters back an additional generation by adding the nameless father of the earliest transmitter to the beginning of the chain (e.g., p. 37). These persons are frequently unknown in any source, even though Sayf's named authority is known, which suggests that Sayf gratuitously introduced the authority's parent in order to strengthen his documentation.

Sayf often quoted from well-attested authorities also and sometimes offered chains of transmitters whose existence in every generation can be documented from *rijāl* books or other sources. But he

usually cited these "real" authorities only for brief passages, whereas the bulk of his reports he attributed to what Donner called the "MTZMAS group": Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Ziyād, al-Muhallab, ʿAmr, and Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān,[22] only the last of whom is a well-attested transmitter; in fact, he does not even properly belong in the group, as he is infrequently quoted, compared to the others.[23] It thus appears that Sayf cited reliable authorities to give the impression that he was using a wide variety of informants, while he created his own version of events using the names of mostly imaginary informants whom he had invented or whose material, even if it actually came from such persons, he reworked freely. As he apparently did not even quote his reliable informants accurately, he was roundly condemned in the Sunnī tradition for having foisted falsehoods on trustworthy transmitters.

Although up to this point we have portrayed Sayf's reports as totally devoid of historical relevance for the period they claim to cover, the picture may not be entirely bleak, for Sayf of necessity transmitted much authentic material in which he embedded his fabrications, which otherwise would not have carried conviction with his audience. However, that material is difficult to disentangle and generally may be entertained as historical evidence only when corroborated by another source.

A couple of examples may be given, both for authentic material in Sayf and for the difficulty of distilling it from the invented. First, Alois Musil was convinced that Sayf's transmissions were reliable because of their geographical plausibility.[24] Based on Musil's research, one will have to admit at least the real existence of most of the places mentioned by Sayf. However, this proves not that the alleged association of these places with particular historical events is also accurate, but only that he based his reports in many cases on accurate geography.

A second testimony in favor of Sayf's work's containing some authentic material is the frequency with which he cited names of in-

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22. Donner, *Conquests*, pp. 139, 317 n. 212, 336 n. 158.

23. It must be admitted that Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam is cited once in Ṭabari, I, 3139, in an *isnād* through others than Sayf; however, this single instance hardly constitutes adequate documentation for the enormous quantity of Sayf's transmissions from him, many of which Sayf may have fathered onto his alleged source.

24. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 566–73; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 306–14.

dividuals who are attested independently in other early Muslim historical or literary works. Such personages are much less likely to be fabrications than those found only in Sayf's reports. Their presence suggests that it may be possible to separate some authentic information from Sayf's fabrications. An example is the list of participants in the Battle of al-Yarmūk (pp. 90–94). Although not all those named may actually have fought at that battle, most seem indeed to be attested elsewhere as at least having taken part in some phase of the conquest of Syria. The list, which may actually predate Sayf, can therefore be cited as corroborative evidence, except where those named can otherwise be shown not to belong there, as in the case of the ubiquitous al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, whom Sayf himself had presumably inserted.

Generally Sayf's transmissions compare unfavorably with those of more authentic transmitters of tradition like Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn al-Kalbī, and Abū Mikhnaf. This is not to deny that their transmissions also involve many problems, but they are nonetheless superior to those of Sayf. Their reports nearly always are very terse, representing almost all that remains of the older tradition, whereas Sayf's work represents huge, tendentious elaborations in support of his own political stance. For example, whereas Ibn Isḥāq's account of al-Yarmūk (Ṭabarī, I, 2347–49) is brief,[25] Sayf's report is much longer (pp. 83–104).

The matter can be taken a step farther if we consider the transmissions of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī (d. 314/926), another Kūfan, who lived a century later than Sayf. Ibn Aʿtham dropped all pretense of citing sources, preferring to combine whatever sources he used with his own creative writing in one unified and seamless version. Although, like Sayf, he may have preserved some authentic material, it is buried in his wildly tendentious reshaping of the story. His account of al-Yarmūk is more than fifty pages long.[26] In Ibn Aʿtham's work Muslim defeats like the Battle of the Bridge, described poignantly by Sayf (pp. 188–93), have been absurdly turned into Muslim victories.[27] The Persian commander, Jābān, improbably claimed by Sayf to have been captured and then to have escaped by a ruse (pp.

25. Or see Ibn al-Kalbī's even briefer version, cited in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 118.
26. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 218–71.
27. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 168–74.

180–81), not only remained captive in Ibn A'tham's version but became a Muslim as well.[28] Thus the fanciful Kūfan tradition of the conquests grew, perhaps encouraged by the need for the constantly repressed and downtrodden city of al-Kūfah to recover a modicum of military self-esteem through the elaboration of a glorious, if mythical, past.

Like the work of Ibn A'tham, the transmissions of al-Ṭabarī from Sayf contained in this volume belong more to the realm of historical romance than to that of history. But, unlike early tribal or national epics, which arose entirely in an oral milieu and were notoriously devoid of interested messages, the work of Sayf arose in the highly articulated political environment of the 'Alids' controversy with their opponents and is thus filled with ideological content and tendentiousness. Its nearest parallel outside Muslim history is perhaps to be sought in the Late Roman *Historia Augusta* (c. 395 C.E.), itself a work by a single polemicist who was on the losing side in an ideological struggle. Like Sayf, that anonymous Latin writer strove to present personages whom he identified as being of his own party in earlier times in a favorable light by retrojecting his own fabrications about them into the past. Like Sayf's work, the *Historia Augusta* contains some authentic matter that it may be possible to disengage from the mass of fabrications and alterations.[29]

This assessment of Sayf in no way undermines the authority of other early Muslim writers whose works may have an entirely different character, just as the Late Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus is in no way affected by the fraud of the *Historia Augusta*. On the contrary, it is greatly to the credit of the medieval Sunnī Muslims who assessed the quality of traditions in the *rijāl* books that they unanimously rejected Sayf's authority in the most absolute way possible. They did so despite the fact that his traditions could have been used to back their emerging Sunnī consensus on early Islamic history. This suggests that their condemnation of Sayf's traditions was motivated by a concern for the truth, rather than by a wish to gain advantage in the partisan arena of the time. They realized that his transmissions were exaggerated and fraudu-

28. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 166.

29. On the *Historia Augusta*, see Syme, *Ammianus*; Syme, *Emperors*; Syme, *Historia Augusta*; and Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers*.

lent, and they said so. In fact, the condemnation of Sayf by the medieval Muslim *ʿulamāʾ* ought to serve as a reminder to modern scholars that ancient and medieval texts were not always dictated by the prevailing political or religious climate and that the search for truth had its place in earlier times as well as in our own.

Finally, it should be remembered that Sayf's work remains important, even though his traditions have been shown to be largely unhistorical. For, although they may cast only a limited amount of light on the early Islamic conquests, they constitute one of the most important sources of the early ʿAbbāsid period for the development of Sunnī attitudes toward early Muslim history, as well as for the emergence of polemic between Sunnī and Shīʿī. In particular, they enlighten us on the position of the minority anti-ʿAlid party in al-Kūfah and provide details of the party's attitude toward many individual historical personages.

There remains the question why the generally sober al-Ṭabarī adopted Sayf's versions wholesale in his history, probably to the detriment of other versions that were still available in his time but that may have perished partly because of his ignoring them in favor of Sayf. Although a final answer cannot be given here, it seems likely that Sayf's transmissions fulfilled two important desiderata in al-Ṭabarī's mind. First, his versions agreed with al-Ṭabarī's ideological position for he, too, was a *jamāʿī* Sunnī who preferred to minimize the strife among the early Muslims. Al-Ṭabarī thus handed on Sayf's transmissions, even though he can hardly have been unaware of the latter's poor reputation, which had already developed before his time. Perhaps he felt that he did not have to be as meticulous about historical transmissions as he might have been about normative *ḥadīth*s. In a couple of instances al-Ṭabarī showed an awareness of Sayf's weakness, once when he denied Sayf's story of Khālid b. al-Walīd's conquest of al-Baṣrah (pp. 14–15) and once again when he changed Sayf's dating of the alleged Tamīmī conquest of Khurāsān (Ṭabarī, I, 2680).

But in describing the conquests generally al-Ṭabarī scarcely deviated from Sayf's reports. This brings us to the second attraction that Sayf may have had for al-Ṭabarī: detail. Sayf's transmissions are almost always far more verbose than parallel reports of more sober traditionists. This characteristic probably not only made them preferable to al-Ṭabarī but may have seemed a guarantee of their accu-

racy. Living in medieval times, al-Ṭabarī did not, in the majority of instances, have available to him the modern critical tools that would have enabled him to discover Sayf's tendentiousness. And, after all, Sayf's reports have continued to receive the approbation of a minority of scholars even up to the present.[30]

As for the translation itself, I have tried to be as literal as possible while keeping to readable English. Owing to the elliptical nature of the Arabic, I have frequently had to add words where pronouns were meant to be understood. In many other instances I have had to repeat a noun or name in order to make the reference clear. In all other instances in which I have added something to the text to make it more understandable, I have put the addition in brackets [ ]. Words enclosed in ordinary parentheses ( ) are part of the original text, except for Common Era dates, which are also in parentheses. Furthermore, I have striven to make the footnotes as comprehensive as possible, identifying each proper name at its first occurrence. To identify a name, the reader should find its first occurrence in the index; the relevant footnote should lie on the first page in the text on which that name appears.

One matter of word choice requires a bit of explanation. In this volume I have chosen to refer to the East Romans and their empire as Roman, rather than Byzantine. I have done so, despite the prevalence of the contrary practice for this period, for three reasons. First, it seems to be that "Roman" is more consonant with the prevailing trend of allowing peoples to be known by their own self-designation. Certainly the East Romans would have resented any implication that they were not Romans and would have viewed the term "Byzantine" as pejorative, as indeed it is. Second, although the division of the history of the Roman Empire into "Roman" and "Byzantine" phases may be convenient for scholars who wish to label their narrow specializations accordingly, it actually represents a western European perspective, in which it is considered that, after Rome "fell" in 476 C.E., all that went on in the East was purely secondary and very remote. It seems better to stress the continuity of Rome in the East. Finally, even if the term "Byzantine" were to be applied to that phase of the East Roman Empire when it had lost most of its non-Greek territories and ceased to be as multinational as before, say af-

30. Crone, *Slaves*, 9, 206 n. 51.

ter 717 C.E., the term would still not be appropriate to that empire in the early seventh century C.E., the period covered in this book. At that time the Romans still held, however tenuously, vast areas of Syrian, Egyptian, Punic, Berber, Armenian, and Latin population, and the extent of their rule differed little from what it had been in the mid-fifth century C.E., a period for which the designation "Roman" is generally accepted.

I wish to extend my thanks to the Ṭabarī Translation Project for the opportunity to translate, annotate, and publish this work. I also give my thanks to my wife for her patience and support while I was working on this volume.

Khalid Yahya Blankinship

Genealogical Table of the Later Sāsānians as Represented by Sayf b. ʿUmar

(Names mentioned only in Sayf's transmissions and apparently invented by him are underscored).

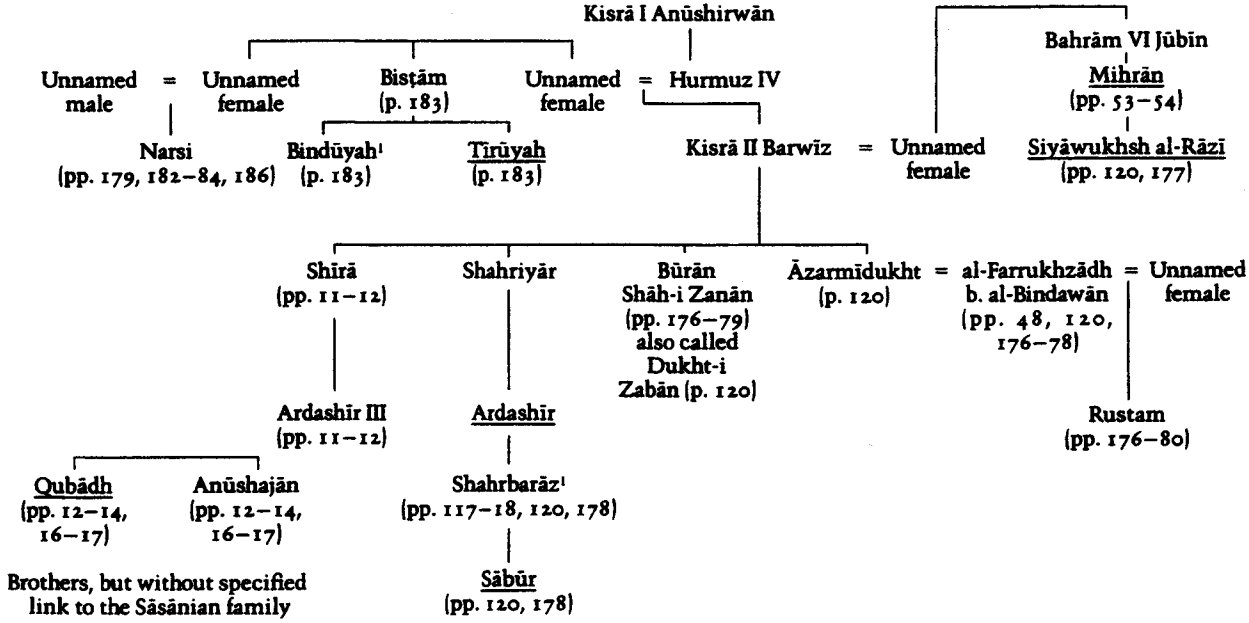

[1]Falsely located in the genealogy

Genealogical Table of the Later Sāsānians as Attested in Sources Other than Sayf b. ʿUmar

(Names are given in Arabic form; all dates are C.E.)

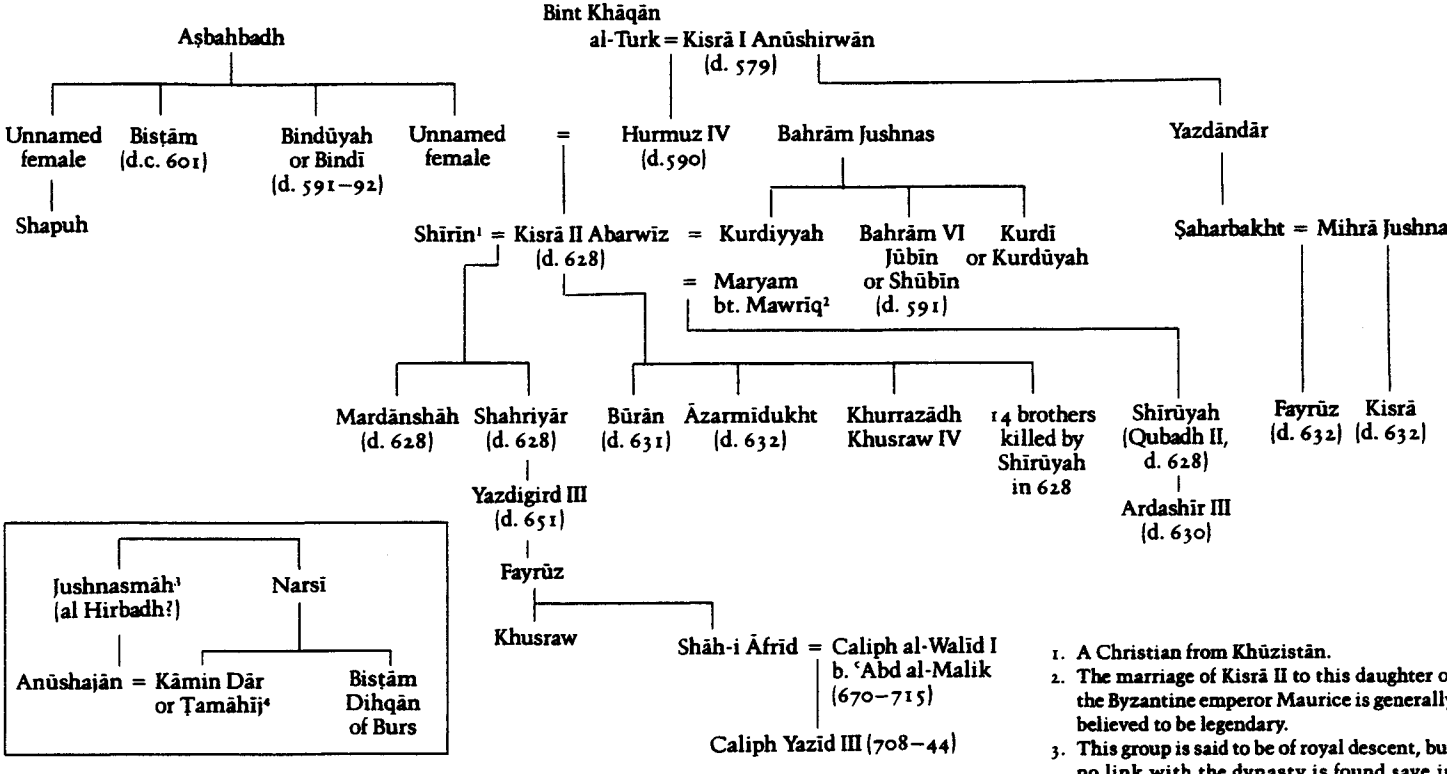

1. A Christian from Khūzistān.
2. The marriage of Kisrā II to this daughter o the Byzantine emperor Maurice is generall believed to be legendary.
3. This group is said to be of royal descent, bu no link with the dynasty is found save i Sayf's accounts (p. 182); Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 100, 114.
4. Of Nahr al-Mar'ah.

Sources: Ṭabarī, I, 993–98, 1045–67, 2245, 2253, 2346; II, 1518, 1874; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 318, 325, 418, 560; Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, *I*, 176–98; Christensen, *L'Iran*, 438–40, 470, 487–96; Frye, *History*, 335–37, 361; Morony, *Iraq*, 185–86; *CHI*, III, 176, 547, 988; Sebeos, *History*, 21–22.

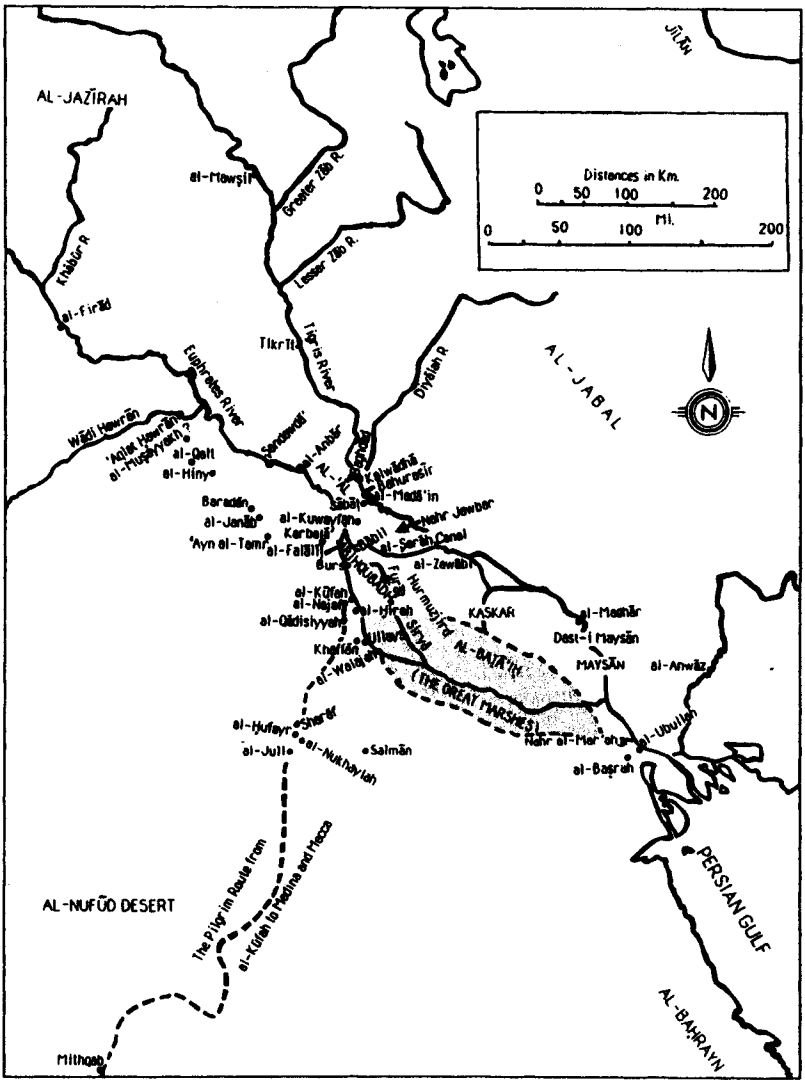

Map 1. Iraq at the Time of the Muslim Conquest.

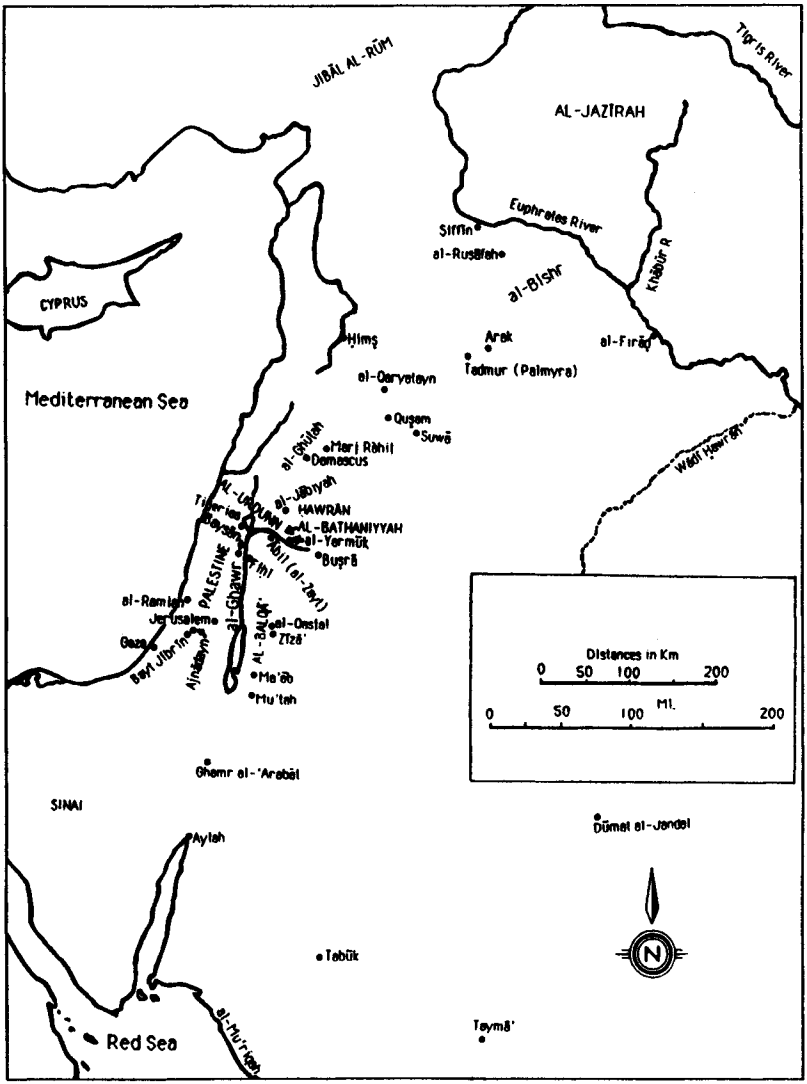

Map 2. Syria at the Time of the Muslim Conquest.

The Caliphate of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq

The Events of the Year [2016]

12

(March 18, 633–March 6, 634)

Abū Jaʿfar:[1] When Khālid[2] was done with the business of al-Yamāmah,[3] Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq wrote to him while Khālid was still there.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd al-Zuhrī[4] — his uncle[5] — Sayf b. ʿUmar[6] — ʿAmr b. Muḥammad[7] — al-Shaʿbī:[8] [Abū Bakr wrote,] "Go on toward

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1. That is, Ṭabarī.

2. That is, Khālid b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī, the famous conqueror. The actual extent of his role in the conquests of Iraq and Syria described in this volume is in dispute. Patricia Crone, in *EI*², s. v. Khālid b. al-Walīd, is too one-sided, rejecting Khālid's participation in the conquest of Iraq at all. The fact that Khālid is a major hero in the historical traditions of Iraq certainly suggests ties there that can have come only from his early participation in its conquest.

3. The modern region of Najd in Arabia, where Khālid had just defeated the Ḥanafī pseudo-prophet Musaylimah. See Ṭabarī, I, 1929–57.

4. Abū Faḍl al-Baghdādī, 185–260/801–74, a descendant of the famous Companion ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and twice judge of Iṣfahān. He resided in Sāmarrāʾ. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 15–16. He compiled a book on the conquests of Khālid b. al-Walīd. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 107.

5. Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, d. 208/824. Of Medinan origin, he was a transmitter and historian at Baghdad. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 15; XI, 380–81.

6. Al-Usayyidī, d. between 170/786 and 193/809, the famous Kūfan-Baghdādī transmitter of sagas of the conquests whose reports have often been impugned. See Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 3–7; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 311–12; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 295–96; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 255–56; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ wa taʿdīl*, IV, 278; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn*, I, 345–46; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 106; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 66.

7. One of Sayf's numerous informants who otherwise are unknown and untraceable and hence possibly invented. This ʿAmr often is named as the mediator of reports that Sayf attributes to al-Shaʿbī.

8. Abū ʿAmr ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Ḥimyarī, d. between 103/722 and 109/727, the famous Kūfan traditionist. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 246–56; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*,

Iraq until you enter it. Begin with the gateway to India, which is al-Ubullah.[9] Render the people of Persia (*Fārs*)[10] and those nations under their rule peaceable."

ʿUmar b. Shabbah[11]—ʿAlī b. Muhammad,[12] by the chain of transmitters previously mentioned—those I recorded in that chain: Abū Bakr sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to the territory of al-Kūfah, in which was al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī.[13] Khālid departed in al-Muḥarram 12 (18 March–16 April 633), going by way of al-Baṣrah, where Quṭbah b. Qatādah al-Sadūsī[14] was.

Abū Jaʿfar—al-Wāqidī:[15] There is a difference of opinion about the matter of Khālid b. al-Walīd. One view holds that he went straight from al-Yamāmah to Iraq, whereas another states that he returned from al-Yamāmah to Medina and then went to Iraq from Medina, going by way of al-Kūfah until he reached al-Ḥīrah.[16]

V, 65–69. For an analysis of his tendencies, see Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya*, 28–31, 33–34, 37–44, and passim.

9. Ancient Apologos, on the site of present-day Iraqi al-Baṣrah, a few miles up the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab from the Persian Gulf. Its position as the chief port of Iraq probably earned it the title "the gateway to India." See Ṭabarī, I, 2377; *EI*[1], s.v. al-Obolla; Le Strange, *Lands*, 47; Donner, *Conquests*, 329 n. 66. Donner notes that it is unlikely that Khālid b. al-Walīd had anything to do with the conquest of al-Ubullah, which was actually accomplished by ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān somewhat later. However, Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 100–1, records Khālid's campaign in the vicinity of al-Baṣrah independently of Sayf, which suggests that Khālid at least may have led a raid there although ʿUtbah actually reduced the area. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 418–22, mentions Khālid's prior presence in the vicinity of al-Baṣrah but gives the major role in its conquest to ʿUtbah.

10. Although this word often refers to the mountainous province of southwestern Iran centered around Shīrāz, which was the homeland of the Sāsānian dynasty, its meaning here and elsewhere appears to encompass the whole Sāsānian kingdom. In such cases I have used its English cognate *Persia* to translate.

11. Abū Zayd, the *mawlā* of the Banū Numayr, c. 172–262/788–876, well-known historian and traditionist from al-Baṣrah. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 125; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 345–46.

12. Al-Madāʾinī, d. between 215/830 and 230/845. See *EI*[2], s.v. al-Madāʾinī.

13. The famous tribal leader from northeastern Arabia, d. 14/635 or later. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 147; II, 438; Donner, *Conquests*, 181–83, 189–95, 197–200, 202–3, 377–78, 380–81.

14. He is sometimes called Suwayd b. Quṭbah b. Qatādah. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 75–76; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 100–1, 114; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 295; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 90; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 257; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 237–38; Donner, *Conquests*, 181, 330 n. 71, 411.

15. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, d. 207/823. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Wāḳidī; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 111.

16. Important town on the west bank of the Euphrates, capital of the defunct Lakhmid kingdom. See *EI*[2], s.v. al-Ḥīra; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 102–3, esp. n. 57.

Ibn Ḥumayd[17]—Salamah[18]—Ibn Isḥāq[19]—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān:[20] Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid b. al-Walīd, ordering him to go to Iraq. Khālid went on his way toward Iraq, until he stopped at certain towns [2017] in al-Sawād[21] called Bāniqyā,[22] Bārūsmā,[23] and Ullays.[24] Their people made peace with him. The man who made peace with him on their behalf was Ibn Ṣalūbā.[25] That took place in the year 12. Khālid accepted the *jizyah*[26] from them and wrote a document for them, which read:

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. From Khālid b. al-Walīd to Ibn Ṣalūbā al-Sawādī, whose residence is on the bank of the Euphrates:[27] You are safe by the guarantee of God (for he had spared his blood by paying the *jizyah*) and you have paid one thousand dirhams for yourself and for those having to pay the land tax and head tax[28] and those who are in your two towns, Bāniqyā and Bārūsmā. I have accepted it from you, and those of the Muslims who are with me are satisfied with this amount from you. You have the solemn guarantee (*dhimmah*) of God, the guarantee of

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17. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd, d. 248/862, a traditionist of al-Rayy. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127–31.

18. Ibn al-Faḍl, d. 191/807, traditionist, historian of *maghāzī*, and judge of al-Rayy. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 153–54.

19. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, d. 151/768, the famous historian and biographer of the Prophet. See *EI*², s.v. Ibn Isḥāḳ.

20. Medinan traditionist, d. 141/758. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 399–401.

21. The alluvial plain of Iraq, especially central Iraq. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Sawād; Morony, *Iraq*, 121, 127 map.

22. Aramaic Beth Neqya, north of al-Ḥillah. See Morony, *Iraq*, 148–49, 177 n. 48.

23. Aramaic Beth Rushme, north of al-Ḥillah, though Morony places it between the two branches of the Euphrates; Le Strange has it east of the eastern branch. See Morony, *Iraq*, 147–48, 177 n. 48; Le Strange, *Lands*, 70, 81, map II. Donner, *Conquests*, 334 n. 127, expresses doubts about its exact location.

24. If this town was near the other two just named, it must have been north of al-Ḥillah in the district called Bihqubādh (Veh-Kavat); otherwise it was south of al-Ḥīrah. It has been considered the ancient Vologesias. See Morony, *Iraq*, 127 (map), 152; Donner, *Conquests*, 329 n. 66. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 288, 293, places it firmly about 35 km. southeast of al-Ḥīrah on the west bank of the Euphrates at the present town of al-Shāṭi'.

25. Buṣbuhrā b. Ṣalūbā, the Aramaean Christian *dihqān* of the districts. See Morony, *Iraq*, 148–49, 173–74. Called Ibn Ṣalūtā in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 101.

26. Tax paid by non-Muslims to the Muslims to guarantee the peace. See *EI*², s.v. Djizya.

27. See *EI*², s.v. al-Furāt.

28. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, CCXVII, DCXI.

Muḥammad, and the guarantee of the Muslims regarding that. Witnessed by Hishām b. al-Walīd.[29]

Then Khālid went on with those in his company until he reached al-Ḥīrah, whose nobles came out to him with Qabīṣah b. Iyās b. Ḥayyah al-Ṭā'ī.[30] Kisrā[31] had made Qabīṣah the governor of al-Ḥīrah after al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir.[32] Khālid said to him and his companions: "I call you to God and to Islam. If you respond to the call, then you are Muslims: You obtain the benefits they enjoy and take up the responsibilities they bear. If you refuse, then [you must pay] the *jizyah*. If you refuse the *jizyah*, I will bring against you tribes of people who are more eager for death than you are for life. We will then fight you until God decides between us and you."

[2018] Qabīṣah b. Iyās answered, "We have no need to fight you; rather, we will keep to our religion and pay you the *jizyah*." Thus he made peace with the Muslims, agreeing to pay ninety thousand dirhams. This was the first *jizyah* agreed to in Iraq: al-Ḥīrah and the villages for which Ibn Ṣalūbā made the agreement.

Abū Ja'far — Hishām b. al-Kalbī:[33] When Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid b. al-Walīd while the latter was in al-Yamāmah, that he [should] set out for Syria, he also commanded him to begin with Iraq, so that he might pass through it. Khālid then began his journey from al-Yamāmah, going along until he reached al-Nibāj.[34]

Hishām — Abū Mikhnaf[35] — Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Ḥamzah b. 'Alī[36] —

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29. Khālid's brother. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 323.

30. This appears to be a mistake for Iyās b. Qabīṣah, who ruled 602–11 in succession to al-Nu'mān III as the last prince of the Sāsānian tributary state of al-Ḥīrah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 361; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 101. Conceivably that Iyās could have had a son Qabīṣah who was present here, but that is doubtful in view of the confusion about this personage in the sources. See Donner, *Conquests*, 329 n. 67.

31. Arabic name of the Sāsānian king Khusraw II Parwīz (590–628 C.E.).

32. Last Lakhmid ruler of al-Ḥīrah, c. 580–602 C.E. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir.

33. Ibn Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib, d. 206/821, the great scholar, historian, and genealogist. See *EI*[2], s.v. al-Kalbī; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 108ff.

34. Although several possible localities with this name exist, the one meant here is that on the route from al-Baṣrah to al-Yamāmah, deep in the desert. The Bakr and the Tamīm fought over it before Islam, and it was thus in Arab territory, not under Persian control. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 255–56.

35. Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā, d. 157/774, the well-known Kūfan historian. See *EI*[2], s.v. Abū Mikhnaf.

36. He is further identified as Ḥamzah b. 'Alī b. Muḥaffiz on p. 211, below, but does not seem to be found elsewhere.

a man from the Bakr b. Wā'il:[37] Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah traveled until he reached Abū Bakr. Al-Muthannā said, "Give me command over those of my people who are nearby, and I will fight those Persians who border me and will cover my district." Abū Bakr acceded to his request. Al-Muthannā then came back, collected his men together, and began to raid the district of Kaskar[38] one time and the lowest Euphrates another time. Khālid b. al-Walīd stopped at al-Nibāj while al-Muthannā was encamped at Khaffān.[39] Khālid b. al-Walīd wrote to al-Muthannā [ordering] that the latter come to him and also sent al-Muthannā a letter from Abū Bakr enjoining him to obey Khālid. At this, al-Muthannā rushed to Khālid by fast horse until he caught up with him. The Banū ʿIjl[40] claim that one of their men named Madhʿūr b. ʿAdī[41] went forth with al-Muthannā. Madhʿūr contended with al-Muthannā [over the command], so that the two of them wrote to Abū Bakr. The latter wrote back to al-ʿIjlī, bidding him to go with Khālid to Syria, while he confirmed al-Muthannā in his command. Al-ʿIjlī reached Egypt, where he enjoyed a noble estate and an important position. His house there is well known today.

Khālid pressed on. Jābān,[42] the governor of Ullays, opposed him. Khālid sent against him al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah, who fought and defeated Jābān, killing most of his troops beside a canal there called [2019]
Blood Canal (*nahr dam*) because of that battle. Khālid then made peace with the inhabitants of Ullays. [After this] he went on until he neared al-Ḥīrah. The cavalry of Āzādhbih,[43] who was the commander of the Sāsānian cavalry[44] stationed in outposts along the

37. The most important part of the Rabīʿah group of tribes, the Bakr were located in northeastern Arabia. They tended to be more sedentary than their nemesis, the Tamīm. They played a big role in the conquest of Iraq. See *EI*², s.v. Bakr b. Wā'il.

38. A major district east of the Great Swamp between the Euphrates and Tigris. See *EI*², s.v. Kaskar; Le Strange, *Lands*, 39, 43, 80, map II; Morony, *Iraq*, 155–59.

39. The modern Qaṣr al-Qā'im, a spring and favorite campground on the edge of the desert west of the Euphrates, 22 km. southeast of al-Qādisiyyah. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 284, and accompanying map of northern Arabia.

40. A Rabīʿah tribe later prominent in al-Kūfah and evidently already found in the vicinity before Islam. See *EI*², s.v. ʿIdjl; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 141; II, 24–26, 353.

41. On him, see Donner, *Conquests*, 181–82, 330 n. 74, 365, 378, 383, 398.

42. Attested independently as well in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 108. See also Morony, *Iraq*, 187.

43. The *marzubān* of al-Ḥīrah. See Donner, *Conquests*, 180, 329 n. 67; Morony, *Iraq*, 187.

44. Lit., "Kisrā's cavalry."

frontier between the Sāsānian domains and the Arabs, came out to fight Khālid. They met the Muslims at the confluence of the rivers. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah went against the Iranian cavalry, and God routed them. When the people of al-Ḥīrah saw that, they came out to receive Khālid. Among them were ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAmr b. Buqaylah[45] and Hāniʾ b. Qabīṣah.[46]

Khālid asked ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, "From where do you come?" He replied, "From my father's back." Khālid asked, "From where did you come out?" ʿAbd al-Masīḥ answered, "From my mother's womb." Khālid said, "Woe to you! On what are you standing?" He replied, "On the ground." Khālid said, "Woe to you! What are you in?" ʿAbd al-Masīḥ responded, "In my clothes." Khālid said, "Woe to you! Do you comprehend (*taʿqil*)?" He replied, "Yes, and I register (*uqayyid*) too."[47] Khālid said, "I only ask you." ʿAbd al-Masīḥ said, "And I answer you." Khālid then asked, "Are you for peace or war?" ʿAbd al-Masīḥ replied, "For peace." Khālid went on, "Then what are these fortresses that I see?" ʿAbd al-Masīḥ answered, "We built them for the foolish, in order to confine him, until the mild-tempered comes to restrain him."[48]

Then Khālid said to them, "I call you to God, to His worship, and to Islam. If you accept, you obtain the benefits we enjoy and take up the responsibilities we bear. If you refuse, then [you must pay] the *jizyah*. If you refuse the *jizyah*, then we will bring against you a people who love death more than you love drinking wine." They answered, "We have no need to fight you." He made peace with them on [the payment of] one hundred and ninety thousand dirhams.[49] It

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45. Al-Azdī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 207; II, 126; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 297; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 485; Donner, *Conquests*, 183, 331 n. 83; Morony, *Iraq*, 176.

46. Hāniʾ b. Qabīṣah b. Hāniʾ b. Masʿūd al-Shaybānī. Abū ʿUbaydah says he already was an important leader at the time of the Battle of Dhū Qār, but that statement also could refer to his grandfather. See Ṭabarī, I, 1028–29; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 149; II, 279; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 297; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 293–94; Donner, *Conquests*, 183, 331 n. 84.

47. This contains an untranslatable play on the two words, both of which mean "to bind or tie," in addition to their other meanings.

48. This story appears in a slightly different form in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 297, and also is repeated below, p. 33.

49. Elsewhere the payment of al-Ḥīrah is said to have been eighty, eighty-four, or one hundred thousand dirhams, the latter possibly rounded up from the former figures, which have the authority of Yaḥyā b. Ādam. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 297–98. This report would seem to represent the mathematical sum of two versions giving ninety and one hundred thousand as the amount.

was the first *jizyah* that was borne to Medina from Iraq.

After this Khālid descended on Bāniqyā. Buṣbuhrā b. Ṣalūbā made peace with him on the payment of one thousand dirhams and a hooded cloak (*ṭaylasān*). Khālid wrote a document for them.

Khālid made peace with the inhabitants of al-Ḥīrah in exchange for their agreeing to scout,[50] which they did. [2020]

Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Saʿīd[51]—al-Shaʿbī: The Banū Buqaylah[52] read to me the letter of Khālid b. al-Walīd to the inhabitants of al-Madāʾin:[53]

> From Khālid b. al-Walīd to the rulers of the Persians: Peace be upon whosoever follows right guidance. Praise be to God, Who has scattered your servants, wrested your sovereignty away, and rendered your plotting weak. Whoever worships the way we worship, faces the direction we face in prayer, and eats meat slaughtered in our fashion, that person is a Muslim who obtains the benefits we enjoy and takes up the responsibilities we bear. Now then, when you receive this letter, send me hostages and place yourselves under my protection. Otherwise, by Him other than Whom there is no god, I will most certainly send against you a people who love death just as you love life.

When they read this letter, they became astonished. That was in the year 12.

Abū Jaʿfar: As for others beside Ibn Isḥāq, Hishām, and those I have mentioned before, regarding the matter of Khālid and his march to Iraq, they include what was reported by [the following]:

ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd al-Zuhrī—his uncle—Sayf b. ʿUmar—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—al-Shaʿbī: When Khālid b. al-Walīd was done with al-Yamāmah, Abū Bakr wrote to him, "God has given you victory; therefore, go into Iraq until you meet ʿIyāḍ."[54] He also wrote to ʿIyāḍ

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50. Kos. has *help* here instead, which is also possible.

51. Al-Hamdānī, d. 144/762, a Kūfan traditionist. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 103; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 39–41.

52. Of the Azd. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 207; II, 312 (under al-Ḥārith b. Subain Buqaila).

53. The former Sāsānian capital of Ctesiphon east of the Tigris.

54. ʿIyāḍ b. (ʿAbd) Ghanm b. Zuhayr al-Fihrī, the famous conqueror of upper Mesopotamia, d. 20/641. His mention here would imply that Khālid's orders were to enter Iraq from the middle or south, then pass through it to the north, possibly following

b. Ghanm when he was between al-Nibāj and al-Ḥijāz, "Go until you reach al-Muṣayyakh.[55] Begin with it, then enter Iraq from its uppermost part and penetrate it until you meet Khālid. Let both of you permit whoever wants to return to do so. And do not open the campaign with mutual aversion." When the letter came to Khālid and
[2021] ʿIyāḍ, they allowed men to return according to the command of Abū Bakr. The people of Medina and its vicinity went back, leaving the forces of the two commanders bare. Therefore they sought reinforcements from Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr reinforced Khālid with al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī.[56] Abū Bakr was told, "Are you reinforcing a man whose troops have deserted him with [only] one man?" Abū Bakr answered, "An army in which there is the like of this man will not be defeated." He also reinforced ʿIyāḍ with ʿAbd b. ʿAwf al-Ḥimyarī.[57] Abū Bakr wrote to the two commanders, saying, "Call to arms those who fought against the apostates (*ahl al-riddah*)[58] and those who have remained steadfast to Islam after the Prophet. Do not let anyone who had apostatized campaign with you until I give my opinion." The campaigns of conquest (*al-ayyām*) did not subsequently see any apostate [participating].

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the Euphrates. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 35; II, 360; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 398; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 131, 142, 158; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 165–66, 174, 176–77, 204–10, 221, 225, 236, 409; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 48, 50; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 39–40.

55. The actual location of this place is doubtful, as it may lie in either Syria or Iraq. A middle course would place it on the Euphrates toward Syria. See Donner, *Conquests*, 312 n. 163, 333 nn. 113–14; Morony, *Iraq*, 192. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 311, places it at ʿAyn al-Arnab, a desert spring about 42 km. west of Hīt on the Euphrates.

56. Though often referred to in this volume, he is probably a legendary character invented to glorify Sayf's tribal group, the Tamīm, and in particular his subtribe, the Usayyid. The fact that he is made out to be an Usayyidī like Sayf suggests that Sayf rather than his informants is responsible for inventing him. This al-Qaʿqāʿ is absent from the genealogy books, and there is no evidence for his existence outside of Sayf's reports, as shown in Donner, *Conquests*, 365, 370, 390–91, 406, 409–10, 430. Reports mentioning al-Qaʿqāʿ, like this one, usually contain legendary glorifications. See al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 71–146, and *ʿAbdallāh b. Saba*ʾ, 161–81. He is the alleged brother of the commander ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr al-Usayyidī, whose existence is independently attested in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 108, 110. The existence of this ʿĀṣim may have suggested the invention of al-Qaʿqāʿ.

57. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 99, gives *b. Ghawth*. He is unknown from any source other than Sayf, from whom Ibn Ḥajar's report is probably derived.

58. On the so-called Apostasy Wars of the year 11/632–33, see Volume X of this translation series.

When the letter came to Khālid appointing him to command in Iraq, he wrote to Ḥarmalah,[59] Sulmā,[60] al-Muthannā, and Madhʿūr, ordering them to join him. He also ordered them to bring their troops against al-Ubullah on an appointed day, which he named. That was because Abū Bakr, in his letter, [had] commanded Khālid when he entered Iraq to begin with the gateway to the people of Sind and India, which today is al-Ubullah. Then Khālid gathered to arms whoever was between him and Iraq. In this way he mobilized eight thousand from the Rabīʿah and the Muḍar,[61] adding them to the two thousand who were already with him. After that he came with this ten thousand to [add to] the eight thousand who were with the four amīrs, meaning by the four amīrs al-Muthannā, Madhʿūr, Sulmā, and Ḥarmalah. Thus he met Hurmuz[62] with eighteen thousand men.

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf b. ʿUmar—al-Muhallab al-Asadi[63] —ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh,[64] and Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam[65]—al-Mughī-

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59. Ḥarmalah b. Murayṭah al-ʿAdawī of the Tamīm, mentioned only by Sayf. See Donner, *Conquests*, 417, 425, 434. His name and that of his father are both terms for garments, meaning approximately "Wrap, the son of Skirt," which suggests a legendary invention. The inclusion of the two Tamīmīs illustrates Sayf's anxiety to show the role of the Tamīm in the conquest, which in fact was accomplished more by the Rabīʿah, in conjunction with certain Ḥijāzī tribes. Al-ʿAskarī gives a detailed analysis, in which he denies Ḥarmalah's existence. See al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 245–60.

60. Sulmā b. al-Qayn al-ʿAdawī of the Tamīm, always mentioned by Sayf in conjunction with Ḥarmalah, as here, and also said to be an imaginary figure; see previous note. However, his mention by Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 67; II, 509, with a complete genealogy shows that he was not invented by Sayf but already existed in the Tamīmī tribal tradition and could have been a real person.

61. Two of the great tribal groupings of the Arabs, the Rabīʿah and the Muḍar represent the two major branches of the Nizār or Maʿadd. This genealogical connection could be brought forth to jusify an alliance in case of need, but more often the Rabīʿah were at odds with the Muḍar in Islamic times. The Rabīʿah generally derived from settled or partly settled tribes of eastern Arabia and Iraq, whereas the Muḍar tended to represent the nomads of northern Arabia. See *EI*[1], *Supplement*, s.v. Rabīʿa and Muḍar.

62. This commander appears only in Sayf and probably is a fabrication of the tribal tradition, as Caetani, *Annali*, II, 957 n. 3, holds. The name may have been suggested by that of the *mawlā* Hurmuz, who was captured at ʿAyn al-Tamr and whose descendants lived in al-Baṣrah in early ʿAbbāsid times. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 102.

63. Ibn ʿUqbah, unknown except in Sayf's *isnāds*.

64. Al-Aḥmarī, unknown except in Sayf's *isnāds*.

65. Al-Ḥanafī; he occurs almost exclusively in Sayf's *isnāds* and very frequently is

[2022] rah b. ʿUtaybah:[66] Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid b. al-Walīd, when he made him commander on the Iraqi front, enjoining him to enter it from its lowest reaches. [He also wrote] to ʿIyāḍ, when he made him commander on the Iraqi front, that he [should] enter it from its uppermost part. Then they would race to al-Ḥīrah, and whoever reached al-Ḥīrah first would become the commander of the other. He also said, "When you have joined each other at al-Ḥīrah, have broken the defenses to Persia, and are sure that the Muslims will not be attacked from behind, let one of you cover the Muslims and his comrade [by staying] at al-Ḥīrah. Let the other attack God's enemy and your enemy among the Persians in their own house and the abode of their power: al-Madā'in."

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: Khālid wrote to Hurmuz before the latter's going forth with Āzādhbih, the ancestor of al-Zayādhibah[67] who are in al-Yamāmah. Hurmuz was then the commander of that front. [Khālid's letter read,] "Now then, embrace Islam so that you may be safe, or else make a treaty of protection for yourself and your people and agree to pay the *jizyah*. Otherwise, do not at all blame anyone but yourself, for I have brought you a people who love death as you love life."

Sayf — Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam — al-Mughīrah b. ʿUtaybah, who was the judge of the people of al-Kūfah: When Khālid departed from al-Yamāmah for Iraq, he divided his troops into three groups. He did not send them by one way. Rather, he sent out al-Muthannā, with his guide Ẓafar, two days ahead of him. Then he sent out ʿAdī b. Ḥātim[68]

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quoted by him in this and other volumes of Ṭabarī. For his full name, see Ṭabarī, I, 221, below. Al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa mi'ah ṣaḥābī*, 274, 278, points out, however, that this Ṭalḥah is attested as a transmitter in an *isnād* other than through Sayf; the one such case of this that I have come across is in Ṭabarī, I, 3139, which would show that he is not one of Sayf's inventions. Ḥanẓalah b. al-Aʿlam, who appears in Ṭabarī, I, 3249, is probably a Ḥanafī and in the right generation to be Ṭalḥah's brother.

66. Al-Mughīrah b. ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās al-ʿIjlī. He was appointed the judge of al-Kūfah by either ʿUmar b. Hubayrah (gov. 103–5/722–24) or Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh (gov. 105–20/724–38). See Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, 23–24.

67. Presumably a plural of al-Zādhabī or rather al-Zādhabihī. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, VI, 228; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 488 (al-Zādhabihī).

68. Son of the famous pre-Islamic poet Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī, who was renowned for his generosity. ʿAdī was the most important leader of the Ṭayyi' in early Islam. See *EI²*, s.v. ʿAdī b. Ḥātim; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 256; II, 139; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 402; Donner, *Conquests*, 33, 178–79, 195, 201, 243, 371, 385, 387.

and ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr[69] and their guides Mālik b. ʿAbbād[70] and Sālim b. Naṣr, one before the other by a day. Finally, Khālid and his guide Rāfiʿ [2023] set out. Khālid had set for all of them a redezvous at al-Ḥufayr,[71] where they were to combine and fight their enemy. The gateway of India was the most important and the most strongly guarded of the entrances into Persia, and its commander would fight the Arabs on the land and the Indians at sea. (Al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-Aḥmarī — to whom the Ḥamrāʾ attribute their origin and are thus called Ḥamrāʾ Siyāh[72] — also participated with Khālid).

When Khālid's letter reached Hurmuz, he sent the news to Shīrā b. Kisrā[73] and to Ardashīr b. Shīrā[74] and mobilized his forces. Then he hastened to al-Kawāẓim[75] with those of his forces who were first

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69. Al-Usayyidī, whose alleged brother is al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī. ʿĀṣim's existence is rejected as legendary by al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 149–78, and *ʿAbdallāh b. Sabaʾ*, 182–85; however, his participation in a raid against Jūbarah (or Jawbarah) in the Kaskar district is attested in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 108, in a report from Ibn Isḥāq, which would show that this ʿĀṣim was not fabricated by Sayf, though Sayf has exaggerated his role. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 110, mentions his participation at the disastrous Battle of the Bridge. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 196, also reports his presence at al-Qādisiyyah. Donner, *Conquests*, 370, 378, 390, 406, 425, summarizes the list of reports about him, all of which probably derive from Sayf except that of Ibn Khayyāṭ.

70. Al-Awsī of the Anṣār. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 177; II, 384. Not mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar in *Iṣābah* or by Maqdisī in *Istibṣār*.

71. The first stage on the pilgrimage route from al-Baṣrah to Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 277.

72. This implies that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh in fact may be a legendary eponymous ancestor, for the Ḥamrāʾ were certainly not all descended from one male ancestor contemporary with Khālid b. al-Walīd. On the Ḥamrāʾ, see Morony, *Iraq*, 197, 243. However, note that the texts on which he relies are drawn exclusively from Sayf's reports in Ṭabarī and that these texts contain exaggerated legendary matter regarding "al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr," who is made the commander of the Ḥamrāʾ.

73. An anachronism representing Shīrūyah, who ruled as Qubādh II over the Sāsānian empire in February–September 628 C.E., before dying of the plague. Christensen, *L'Iran*, 487–91; *CHI*, III/1, 170; Caetani, *Annali*, II, 951 n. 1, 957 n. 4.

74. An anachronism representing Ardashīr III, who reigned over the Sāsānian realm September 628 – April 630. See Morony, *Iraq*, 72. According to *CHI*, III/1, 170–71, however, he had already been killed in June 629. Also Ardashīr appears as an adult in Sayf's reports, whereas he actually seems to have been a very young child. See also Christensen, *L'Iran*, 491–92; Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran*, 337, 361; Caetani, *Annali*, II, 957 n. 4, 963 n. 1.

75. The same as (al-)Kāẓimah, a watering place containing many wells of brackish water two stages south of al-Baṣrah on the road to al-Baḥrayn. It also was the southern extremity of the great trench dug by the Sāsānian king Sābūr II Dhū al-Aktāf (309–

to arrive, in order to meet Khālid, sending ahead his fast horses, but he did not find it to be Khālid's trail. However, Hurmuz learned that the Muslims had set a rendezvous at al-Ḥufayr; therefore he changed his line of march, preceding them[76] to al-Ḥufayr. Hurmuz stopped there to arrange his forces. He put in charge of his two wings[77] two brothers named Qubādh and Anūshajān,[78] who shared a common descent with Ardashīr and Shīrā from Ardashīr the Great.[79] The Persians bound themselves together in chains. Those who did not favor that said to those who did, "You have chained yourselves for your enemy! Do not do so, for this is an evil omen." Those chained answered the others, saying, "As for you, you are telling[80] us that you intend to flee."

When the news reached Khālid that Hurmuz was at al-Ḥufayr, he turned his troops toward Kāẓimah.[81] That reached Hurmuz, who then hastened to precede Khālid to Kāẓimah and reached it exhausted. Hurmuz was one of the worst of the governors of that frontier in his treatment of the Arabs, so that all the Arabs were enraged at him. He had become a proverbial paragon of wickedness to them, [2024] so that they would say, "More wicked than Hurmuz" and "More ungrateful than Hurmuz."

Hurmuz and his troops ordered their ranks, binding themselves with chains. The water was in their hands. Khālid, coming against them, stopped in a waterless place. His men spoke to him about that; therefore, he commanded his herald to say, "Will you not make camp and put down your baggage, then fight them over the water?

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79 C.E.) as far as Hīt on the Euphrates to keep the Arabs out of Iraq. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 431; Caetani, *Annali*, II, 957 n. 7.

76. Text: *yubādiruh*; read: *yubādiruhum*, as in Ms. C.

77. Text: *mujannabatih*; read: *mujannabatayh*, as in Kos., IH², and Ibn Kathīr.

78. Qubādh is found only in Sayf's transmissions and is possibly an embellishment. But Anūshajān was evidently a member of one of the prominent Persian noble families of al-Sawād. He is called the son of Jushnasmā = Gushnasp Māh, who may have held the rank of *hirbadh*. See Ṭabarī, I, 2245; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 119 (where he is called al-Nūshajān); Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 418; Morony, *Iraq*, 186.

79. Founder of the Sāsānian royal house, he ruled 224–41 C.E. See Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran*, 292, 294. The tradition that the family of Anūshajān was a branch of the Sāsānian royal house also is found independently in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 114, with reference to his first cousin Ṭamāhīj.

80. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI.

81. Apparently the same as al-Kawāẓim just mentioned. See note 75, above.

For, by my life, the water will most assuredly go to the more persistent of the two forces and the most noble of the two armies." Then the baggage was put down while the cavalry was standing by. The infantry came forward and then advanced against the enemy until it met them and the two sides fought. God sent a cloud, which left [puddles of] water[82] behind the Muslims' line, thereby giving them strength. When the daylight shone forth, there was no chained man in the valley.

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Bakkāʾī:[83] Likewise. Both this and the preceding *isnāds* report: Hurmuz sent his men treacherously to trick Khālid, and they plotted with him to do that. Thus Hurmuz went forth while different men [of his] called out, "Where is Khālid?" Meanwhile, Hurmuz had made an arrangement with his horsemen [to surprise Khālid]. When Khālid showed himself[84] Hurmuz dismounted and summoned him to individual combat. Khālid dismounted and walked over to Hurmuz. They met, exchanging a couple of blows. When Khālid seized him closely, Hurmuz's bodyguards attacked treacherously and pursued Khālid. But that did not keep Khālid from killing Hurmuz. Al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr attacked Hurmuz's bodyguards, laying them low,[85] while Khālid was fighting them. The Persians were defeated. The Muslims rode hard in pursuit of them until night. Khālid collected their equipment, which included the chains. These were a camel load, a thousand pounds (*raṭl*). The battle was called Dhāt al- [2025]
Salāsil.[86] Qubādh and Anūshajān escaped.

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ʿAmr b. Muḥammad — al-Shaʿbī: The Persians made their conical caps (*qalānis*) suit the level of their ranks in their tribes (*ʿashāʾir*). Those of the highest nobility had caps worth one hundred thousand dirhams. As Hurmuz was from among the highest nobility, his cap was worth one hundred

82. Text: *mā*; read: *māʾ*.
83. Another name known only from Sayf's *isnāds*.
84. Text: *nazal*; read: *baraz*, as in IH.
85. Text: *anāmūhum*; read: *anāmahum*.
86. This battle, which is found only in Sayf, has the same name as the expedition of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī in the year 8/629, where it refers to a place. Probably Sayf has only taken a popular etymology that would suggest itself for that battle and created another battle out of it. On ʿAmr's expedition, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 623–24; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 769–74; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 131.

thousand. Abū Bakr gave it as spoil to Khālid. It was inlaid with jewels. The highest nobility among the Persians is to be from [one of] the seven houses.[87]

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah[88] — Ḥanẓalah b. Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah:[89] When those sent out in pursuit came back on that day, Khālid's herald called [on the troops] to break camp. Khālid went with his forces, followed by the baggage train, until he stopped at the site of the present great bridge at al-Baṣrah. Qubādh and Anūshajān had escaped. Khālid sent news of the victory and what was left of the spoils (*akhmās*), as well as the elephant, [to Medina] and also proclaimed the victory to his men. When Zirr b. Kulayb[90] brought the elephant along with the spoils and it was led around in Medina so that the people might see it, the weak among the women would say, "Is what we are seeing from among God's creatures?" for they considered it invented. Then Abū Bakr sent it back with Zirr.

When Khālid stopped at the site of the present great bridge at al-Baṣrah, he sent al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah in pursuit of the enemy. He also sent Maʿqil b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī[91] to al-Ubullah to collect its money and captives for him. Maʿqil went forth until he reached al-Ubullah and then collected the money and captives.

Abū Jaʿfar: This story about al-Ubullah and its capture differs from what is known to the biographers and differs from what the
[2026] true traditions have brought [us].[92] For the conquest of al-Ubullah was only in the days of ʿUmar, when it was accomplished at the hands of ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān[93] in the year 14 (635–36) of the *hijrah*.

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87. Text: *buyūtāt*; read: *al-buyūtāt*, as IH.

88. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sawād b. Nuwayrah, another transmitter unknown except in the *isnāds* of Sayf's reports. The element *b. Sawād* in his nomenclature suggests "a son of the soil of Iraq." For his full name, see p. 221, below.

89. Possibly an imaginary transmitter made up by Sayf. See al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 238–39.

90. Mentioned only by Sayf. Donner, *Conquests*, 373, 434.

91. Brother of al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin, the Muslim commander at Nihāwand. Also said to have been killed at Nihāwand. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 19; Donner, *Conquests*, 328 n. 64, 371, 429.

92. Al-Ṭabarī here takes the rare and unusual step of denouncing Sayf's story of the conquest of al-Ubullah by Khālid b. al-Walīd as false. This is remarkable because he has just spent several pages relating this same story. However, it must be admitted that some of the points of Sayf's story also are related by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 100–1, with *isnāds* from others than Sayf.

93. Al-Māzinī of the Qaysī Māzin b. Manṣūr, a confederate of the Quraysh, d. 17/638, an early Muslim and Companion of the Prophet. His leadership of the conquest

We will mention this matter and the story of its conquest when we reach that [time], God willing.

Continuation of the report of Sayf—Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah—Ḥanẓalah b. Ziyād: Al-Muthannā went along until he reached the canal of the woman (*nahr al-mar'ah*),[94] where he came to the fortress in which the woman was [holding out]. He left al-Muʿannā b. Ḥārithah[95] to besiege her in her castle. Meanwhile, al-Muthannā moved against the man, besieging him. Al-Muthannā stormed their positions by force, killing them and dividing up their property as spoil. When the woman heard that, she made peace with al-Muthannā and became a Muslim. After that al-Muʿannā married her.

Khālid and his amīrs did not move the peasants during any of their conquests, because Abū Bakr had instructed him beforehand [not to do so]. Thus he took captive the children of the fighters who had been acting on behalf of the Persians but left alone those of the peasants who had not resisted, making a covenant of protection for them.

On the day of Dhāt al-Salāsil and al-Thiny,[96] the share of a horseman [in the spoils] reached one thousand dirhams, whereas that of a foot soldier was a third of that.

The Battle of al-Madhār[97]

[This battle] occurred in Ṣafar 12 (17 April – 15 May 633). In those days people would say, "The Ṣafar of Ṣafars,[98] in which every mighty

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of al-Ubullah and founding of al-Baṣrah are well attested in many sources. See *EI*[1], s.v. ʿOtba b. Ghazwān; Donner, *Conquests*, 411–13; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 98–99, VII, 5–8; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 113–15; Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 163; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 121, II, 577; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 260–61.

94. A canal that led into the Tigris from the west a little north of al-Ubullah. Donner, *Conquests*, 179, 329 n. 66. Her name is given as Ṭamāhīj or Kāmin Dār. She is called the wife of Anūshajān and variously described as the daughter of Khusraw II, which is unlikely, or of Khusraw II's alleged relation Narsī. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 100, 114; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 418; Morony, *Iraq*, 186. The canal's mention as Nahr al-Murrah in Ibn Khayyāṭ is a mistake, but Ibn Khayyāṭ's version also states, in contrast to Sayf's typically bloody version given here, that the woman made peace with the Muslims for twelve thousand dirhams.

95. Al-Muthannā's possibly legendary brother, known only from Sayf's reports. Donner, *Conquests*, 382, 397–98.

96. The same as al-Madhār in the next report. Al-Thiny refers to a canal there.

97. This place also actually was conquered by ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān later, so that Sayf's report here is chronologically improbable. See Morony, *Iraq*, 127 (map), 160; Donner, *Conquests*, 329 n. 66.

98. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 292–93, insists that this phrase shows that this battle actually occurred in October 633.

oppressor was slain upon the confluence of the rivers."

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Ziyād[99] and al-Muhallab—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-Aḥmarī; but in the version of al-Sarī[100]—Shuʿayb[101]—Sayf (the report is from Sayf)—al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah,
[2027] Ziyād b. Sarjis al-Aḥmarī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-Aḥmarī, and Sufyān al-Aḥmarī:[102] Hurmuz had written to Ardashīr and Shīrā with the news of Khālid's letter to him about his setting out from al-Yamāmah against him. Ardashīr[103] supplied Hurmuz with Qārin b. Qaryānis.[104] Qārin went forth from al-Madā'in to reinforce Hurmuz until, when he came to al-Madhār, word of the defeat reached him, as well as those who were fleeing from it. They encouraged each other to [return to the] fight, the remnants of [the forces of] al-Ahwāz[105] and Fārs saying to the remnants of al-Sawād and al-Jabal,[106] "If you split up, you will never join together again afterward. Therefore join together to go back [to fight] once more. These are the king's reinforcements, and this is Qārin. It may be that God will give us victory and cure us of our enemy, so that we may regain some of that which they took from us." They followed this advice, making camp[107] at al-Madhār. Qārin put Qubādh and Anūshajān in charge of his two wings.[108]

Al-Muthannā and al-Muʿannā brought back the news to Khālid. When the news reached Khālid about Qārin, he divided the spoils among those to whom it had been granted by God and also distributed a certain amount from the [state's] fifth. He then sent al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah[109] to Abū Bakr with the rest of the fifth and the news of the victory, as well as the report about the enemy's gathering by the twisting stream (*thiny*), both those of them needing help and those

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99. Ibn Sarjis al-Aḥmarī, another informant of Sayf whose name occurs only in Sayf's *isnāds*.

100. Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā, as elsewhere in Ṭabarī.

101. Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 106.

102. Unknown except in Sayf's *isnāds*.

103. Or Shīrā.

104. Vocalization conjectural.

105. The capital of Khūzistān in southwestern Iran. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ahwāz.

106. The mountainous region of Media in western Iran, centered around Hamadhān. See *EI*², s.v. Djibāl.

107. Text: *ʿaskar*; read: *ʿaskarū*, as IH and Cairo ed.

108. Text: *mujannabatih*; read: *mujannabatayh*, as Kos., IH, and Ibn Kathīr.

109. ʿUthmān's notorious half-brother and governor of al-Kūfah, he died at al-Balikh near al-Raqqah in the reign of Muʿāwiyah. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 138–40; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 637–38.

coming to the rescue. (The Arabs call every river[110] *nahr*, a twisting stream *thiny*. Khālid went forth, going along until he descended on Qārin with his masses of troops at al-Madhār. The two sides met while Khālid was in battle formation. They fought with rage and rancor. Qārin came out to challenge the Muslims to individual combat. Khālid and Abyaḍ al-Rukbān[111] Maʿqil b. al-Aʿshā b. al-Nabbāsh[112] responded to the challenge, racing for him. Maʿqil beat Khālid to Qārin and killed him, while ʿĀṣim slew Anūshajān[113] and ʿAdī slew Qubādh. Qārin's nobility had lapsed. After him the Muslims did not fight anyone whose nobility had lapsed among the Persians. An [2028] enormous number of the Persians were slain. At this the Persians gathered their ships together, so that the waters kept the Muslims from pursuing them.

Khālid stayed at al-Madhār. He turned over the spoils to those who had taken them [in combat], as much as these spoils amounted to. He divided [the four-fifths of] the spoils [that the troops were entitled to among them] and also gave out of the fifths to those who had been tried in battle. Then he sent the rest of the fifths with a delegation under Saʿīd b. al-Nuʿmān[114] of the Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb.[115]

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—Abū ʿUthmān:[116] Thirty thousand were slain on the night of al-Madhār, aside from those who were drowned. If not for the water [obstructing the Muslims' pursuit], they would have been wiped out completely. Those who escaped did not get away except weaponless or virtually so.

Sayf — ʿAmr and Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: The first to encounter Khālid when he descended on Iraq was Hurmuz at al-Kawāẓim. Then he stopped on the Euphrates on the Tigris bank,[117] finding no

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110. Or, "canal."

111. Lit., "the white horseman."

112. Cited only by Sayf, in this report. Donner, *Conquests*, 373.

113. Text: al-Anūshajān; read: Anūshajān.

114. Cited only by Sayf. Donner, *Conquests*, 374.

115. The text is not entirely clear, but it appears that Khālid is portrayed as distributing some of the fifth of the spoils to which the government was entitled among those who had stood out in the battle.

116. Either Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī or Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī, neither of whom is found anywhere except in the *isnāds* of Sayf in Ṭabarī. For their complete names, see pp. 87, 94, 107, 193, below; and Ṭabarī, I, 2226.

117. This odd phrase appears to mean that Khālid, after having been at al-Kawāẓim, in the relative safety of the desert south of al-Baṣrah, ventured to cross the Eu-

treachery and having an easy time there. Then came al-Thiny. He did not meet anyone after Hurmuz but that the subsequent battle was greater than that which had preceded it, until he came to Dūmat al-Jandal.[118] He increased the share of a horseman in the spoils on the day of al-Thiny above what it had been at Dhāt al-Salāsil. Khālid remained at al-Thiny, taking captive the families of the [enemy's] troops and those who had helped them. But he left the peasants alone, as well as whoever agreed to pay the *kharāj*[119] among all the people after they had been summoned [to do so]. All that had been conquered by force, but nevertheless they were invited to pay the *kharāj*.[120] They responded favorably, returned, and came under the protection of the Muslims, while their land became theirs. This
[2029] is how what had not been divided [as spoils] was treated, but, if it had been divided, it was not [returned].

Among the captives were Ḥabīb Abū al-Ḥasan, that is, the father of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,[121] who was a Christian, as well as Māfannah,[122] the *mawlā*[123] of ʿUthmān, and Abū Zayd, the *mawlā* of al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah.[124]

Khālid put Saʿid b. al-Nuʿmān in charge of the troops and Suwayd b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī[125] in charge of the *kharāj*.[126] He commanded

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phrates to the other bank, the one nearer to the Tigris and thus called the *Tigris bank*. This is confirmed by the context, which shows that he was exercising caution in the new environment. The whole report occurs also in the context of his campaign up the lower Tigris.

118. The present oasis of al-Jawf in northern Saudi Arabia, to which Khālid is said to have gone on his departure from Iraq for Syria. See *EI*², s.v. Dūmat al-Djandal.

119. The land tax, but often used in historical texts interchangeably with *jizyah*. See *EI*², s.v. Kharādj.

120. Text: *al-jizā'*; read: *al-kharāj*, as Ms. C.

121. The famous early scholar of al-Baṣrah, who lived 21–110/642–729. But his father's name is more usually given as Yasār. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 263–70.

122. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 414; XII, 309, provides the information that Māfannah was a woman's name.

123. A *mawlā* is basically a client of an Arab tribe. In the Jāhiliyyah *mawlās* appear to have been most often freed slaves, as is the case here. But in Islamic times, in the wake of the early conquests, it became normal for a non-Arab embracing Islam to enroll in an Arab tribe under the sponsorship of a tribal member as his *mawlā*, and this latter sense of *mawlā* as client became more widespread than the first meaning. The second meaning is virtually ignored in *EI*¹, s.v. Mawlā.

124. These two *mawlās* do not seem to appear elsewhere.

125. Brother of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Muqarrin, he particpated in the conquest of Tihāmah, settled in al-Kūfah, and took part in later campaigns in Iraq and Iran. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 19; Donner, *Conquests*, 87, 371, 406, 428–29, 438.

126. Text: *al-jizā'*: read: *al-kharāj*.

the latter to scatter his agents about and put his hand on the tax money. Then he waited for his enemy, gathering intelligence.

The Battle of al-Walajah[127]

Next, [the Battle of al-Walajah] occurred in Ṣafar 12 (17 April – 15 May 633). Al-Walajah is among the districts directly adjoining Kaskar.

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ʿAmr and Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: When Khālid was done with al-Thiny and the news reached Ardashīr, the latter sent forth al-Andarzaghar,[128] who was a Persian from among the mixed-bloods of al-Sawād.

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Ziyād b. Sarjis — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh; and al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah, Ziyād b. Sarjis, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh: When news of the defeat of Qārin and the army at al-Madhār reached Ardashīr, he sent al-Andarzaghar, who was a Persian from among the mixed-bloods of al-Sawād and one of its inhabitants. However, he was not among those who had been born at al-Madāʾin, nor had he grown up there. Ardashīr then sent Bahman Jādhūyah after him with an army, [2030] commanding him to cross the path of al-Andarzaghar. Before that al-Andarzaghar had been in charge of the frontier of Khurāsān. Al-Andarzaghar set out, going from al-Madāʾin until he came to Kaskar. Then he passed beyond it to al-Walajah. Bahman Jādhūyah followed after him, taking another way, going through the middle of al-Sawād. Of those between al-Ḥīrah and Kaskar both the Arabs of that quarter and the *dihqāns*[129] mustered to join al-Andarzaghar. These camped beside his camp at al-Walajah. When those forces he desired had joined him and become complete, [the strength] he possessed pleased him, so that he resolved to march against Khālid.

When the news about al-Andarzaghar and his encampment at al-Walajah reached Khālid while he was at al-Thiny, he commanded [his forces] to decamp. He left behind Suwayd b. Muqarrin, ordering him to stay at al-Ḥufayr, and also sent forward to those whom he had left behind on the lowest reaches of the Tigris, commanding them to

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127. See Donner, *Conquests*, 329 n. 66; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 293, places it at ʿAyn Dāhik near the Euphrates about 52 km. southeast of al-Ḥīrah.

128. Unidentified.

129. Local notables of the Sāsānian empire and its former territories in the caliphate. See *EI*², s.v. Dihḳān.

be wary and to avoid negligence and overconfidence. He then went forth with the rest of his troops toward al-Walajah until he attacked al-Andarzaghar, his troops, and those who had gathered to him. They fought a hard battle, greater than the battle of Thiny.

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad — [130] Abū ʿUthmān: Khālid attacked al-Andarzaghar at al-Walajah in Ṣafar. They fought a hard battle there so that the two sides thought that their ability to persevere had been exhausted. Khālid considered his ambush too slow. He had laid an ambush for the enemy on two sides. These forces were commanded by Busr b. Abī Ruhm[131] and Saʿīd b. Murrah al-ʿIjlī.[132] When the ambush came out from two directions, the ranks of the Persians were defeated and they turned in flight. Khālid then took them from the front and the ambush from behind, [2031] so that no man among them saw his companion being slain. Al-Andarzaghar escaped from his defeat but died of thirst.

Khālid stood up to speak, making the men desire the land of the Persians and shun the land of the Arabs. He said, "Do you not regard [your] food like a dusty gulch? By God, if struggle for God's sake and calling [people] to God were not required of us, and there were no consideration except [our] livelihood, the [wise] opinion would [still] have been that we strike this countryside until we possess it and that we leave hunger and decrease to whoever of those too slow to join your enterprise possesses them."

Khālid behaved among the peasants as he had previously. He did not kill them but took captive the children of the warriors and those who had aided them. He called on the inhabitants of the land to pay the *jizyah* and accept protection. Then they withdrew.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf, and ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ʿAmr — al-Shaʿbī: On the day of al-Walajah Khālid fought in single combat a Persian who was equal to a thousand men and slew him. When he was done, he leaned on him and called for his midday meal.

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130. Text: *bn*; read: *ʿan*. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUthmān is unknown except in this *isnād*, whereas Muḥammad — Abū ʿUthmān is frequent. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI.

131. Al-Juhanī, apparently found only in reports derived from Sayf. See Donner, *Conquests*, 373, 385, 403. His mention in Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 164, probably also derives from Sayf.

132. Of the ʿAbdallāh b. Sayyār b. Asʿad branch of the ʿIjl. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 501.

Among those taken from the Bakr b. Wā'il he captured a son of Jābir b. Bujayr[133] and a son of ʿAbd al-Aswad.[134]

About Ullays, Which Is on the Euphrates Itself

Abū Jaʿfar — ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah[135] — Abū ʿUthmān, and Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam — al-Mughīrah b. ʿUtaybah; and al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh — Abū ʿUthmān and Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam — al-Mughīrah b. [2032]
ʿUtaybah: When on the Day of al-Walajah Khālid had taken captive certain of the Christians of the Bakr b. Wā'il who had helped the Persians, the [other] Christians among their people became enraged on their account. Therefore they corresponded with the Persians, and the Persians wrote back to them. Subsequently, they gathered at Ullays under the command of ʿAbd al-Aswad al-ʿIjlī. The fiercest people against those Christians were the Muslims of the Banū ʿIjl: ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās,[136] Saʿīd b. Murrah, Furāt b. Ḥayyān,[137] al-Muthannā b. Lāḥiq,[138] and Madhʿūr b. ʿAdī.

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133. Al-ʿIjlī. He founded an important political lineage, as his grandson Ḥajjāj b. Abjar was active in al-Kūfah from c. 35–72/656–91. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 159; II, 250, 291.

134. ʿAbd al-Aswad b. Ḥanẓalah b. Sayyār al-ʿIjlī, a chief of the ʿIjl. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 157, II, 122.

135. Unknown except in this *isnād*. Probably a mistake for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, whom Sayf often uses to transmit from Abū ʿUthmān, caused in this text by the proximity of Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam in this same *isnād*.

136. He is apparently the father of al-Mughīrah b. ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās, the judge of al-Kūfah often cited by Sayf. Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 346, calls him the most noble ʿIjlī in al-Kūfah. Ibn al-Kalbī confirms his participation in the conquest of Persia. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 157; II, 577 (under ʿUtaiba b. ʿAbdal]; Donner, *Conquests*, 383.

137. A *ḥalīf* of the Sahm clan of the Quraysh, he is reported to have been the guide for a Qurashī caravan to Iraq led by Abū Sufyān. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 50; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 346, has a caravan to Syria, which would seem less probable, owing to the lack of connection of the ʿIjl with that land. He is said to have become a Muslim at the Battle of al-Khandaq in 5/627, when he was captured as a Meccan spy. The Prophet Muḥammad is said to have given him an estate in al-Yamāmah. Later he moved to al-Kūfah, where his descendants continued to live. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 157, II, 247; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 40; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 201; Donner, *Conquests*, 203, 383.

138. He is referred to by Ṭabarī only here. However, Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 485, notes that he was the harshest of men against the Christians of the Bakr b. Wā'il in Khālid's campaign in Iraq, a motif that he attributes to Ṭabarī but that does not appear here.

Ardashīr wrote to Bahman Jādhūyah, who was at Qusyāthā.[139] Bahman was the spokesman (*rāfid*) of Persia on one day out of their month. They divided their months so that each month consisted of thirty days. On each day the Persians had a [different] spokesman, who was appointed to speak for them before the king. Their spokesman was Bahman on the second day of the month.[140] [Ardashīr wrote to Bahman,] "Go until you come to Ullays with your army and those of the Persians and Arab Christians who have joined you." Bahman Jādhūyah sent Jābān ahead, urging speed on him. But he also said, "Hold yourself and your troops back from fighting the enemy until I catch up with you, unless they attack you first." Thus Jābān went off toward Ullays, while Bahman Jādhūyah went to Ardashīr to see him in person and consult with him about what he wanted to command. When he found him sick he stayed over, leaving Jābān alone on that front. Jābān advanced until he came to Ullays, making camp there in Ṣafar (17 April–15 May 633). Those garrisons that faced the Arabs came to him, as well as ʿAbd al-Aswad with the Arab Christians of the Banū ʿIjl, the Taym Allāt,[141] the Ḍubayʿah,[142] and the outlying Arabs from the people of al-Ḥīrah. Jābir b. Bujayr was a Christian who supported ʿAbd al-Aswad.

[2033]

When Khālid had been informed of the concentration of ʿAbd al-Aswad, Jābir, Zuhayr,[143] and those who had rallied to them, he arose to face them. Khālid did not know of Jābān's approach, so that he was not concerned except about the Arabs and Christians of the area (*ḍāḥiyah*) who had gathered against him. Thus he advanced. When he appeared to Jābān at Ullays the Persians said to Jābān, "Shall we hasten against them, or shall we feed the men the midday meal in order to show them that we are not concerned about them, then attack them after finishing?" Jābān replied, "If they have left you

139. A place on the left bank of the Euphrates near al-Ḥīrah, identical to Quss al-Nāṭif and Bāqusyāthā, mentioned elsewhere in al-Ṭabarī. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 306.

140. Translated according to the note in the Leiden edition.

141. A tribe of the Bakr b. Wāʾil. See *EI*[1], s.v. Taimallāh; see also Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 190–91, for the variety of genealogies offered for the Bakrī Taym.

142. A tribe of the Bakr b. Wāʾil later prominent in al-Baṣrah. It would seem from the existence of a separate Ḍubayʿah b. Rabīʿah that the Ḍubayʿah were originally independent of the Bakr but later joined them. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 292–93, 319–21; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 70.

143. Unidentified.

alone, making light of you, then make light, but I think they will hasten against you and quickly divert your attention from the food." But his men disobeyed him, for they spread out carpets, put out the food, and invited each other to eat, so that they came to the meal in groups.

When Khālid reached them he halted, ordering the baggage to be set down. When it had been put down he went to face them. Khālid personally appointed certain troops to guard his rear. Then he came forward[144] in front of the line and called out, "Where is Abjar?[145] Where is ʿAbd al-Aswad? Where is Mālik b. Qays?" [The last was a man from the Jidhrah].[146] These men all shrank back from him, except for Mālik, who came forth to fight in single combat. Khālid asked him, "O son of a filthy woman, what made you dare show yourself to me from among them, though there is no faithfulness in you?" Then he struck him and killed him.

Khālid thus turned the Persians away from their food before they had eaten. Jābān said, "Did I not tell you, O people? By God, I have never felt anxiety on account of any [enemy] chief until today." As [2034] they were unable to eat, [the Persian troops], to display their toughness, said, "We will leave our food until we finish with them; then we will come back to it." Jābān replied, "Nevertheless, I think, by God, that you have only put it aside for them,[147] though you do not perceive. Therefore now obey me. Poison it, so that, if it is for you, it will be the easiest way to die, whereas, if it is against you, [at least] you will have done something to justify yourselves." They answered, "No!" [believing themselves] to have the strength to defeat the Muslims.

Jābān put ʿAbd al-Aswad and Abjar in charge of his two wings. Khālid had kept to combat formation during the previous days. The two sides fought fiercely. The polytheists were increased in rabidity and ferocity because they expected Bahman Jādhūyah to come.

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144. Text: *nadar*; read: *badar*, as Ms. C. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, CXXIX, DCXI.

145. Perhaps Abjar b. Jābir b. Bujayr al-ʿIjlī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 159; II, 250, 291.

146. Text: Jadhrah; read: Jidhrah. This is the Jidhrah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān, a Bakrī clan. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 142; II, 262. Mālik b. Qays seems not to be mentioned elsewhere.

147. That is, the Persians' Muslim enemy.

Therefore, they persevered against the Muslims to the extent that it was in God's knowledge that He would bring them to do so.

The Muslims raged against them. Khālid said, "O God, if You deliver their shoulders to us, I will obligate myself to You not to leave any one of them whom we can overcome until I make their canal run with their blood." Then God defeated them for the Muslims and gave their shoulders to them. Khālid then commanded his herald to proclaim to the men, "Capture! Capture! Do not kill any except he who continues to resist." As a result, the cavalry brought prisoners in droves, driving them along. Khālid had detailed certain men to cut off their heads in the canal. He did that to them for a day and a night. They pursued them the next day and the day after, until they reached al-Nahrayn[148] and the like of that distance in every direction from Ullays. And Khālid cut off their heads.

Al-Qaʿqāʿ and others like him said to Khālid, "Even if you were to kill all the population of the earth, their blood would still not run. Blood has not done more than glistened ever since it was forbidden
[2035] to flow and the earth was forbidden to dry blood. Therefore send water over it, so that you may fulfill your oath." Khālid had blocked the water from the canal. Now Khālid brought the water back, so that it flowed with spilled blood. Owing to this, it has been called Blood Canal to this day. Others, among them Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah,[149] said, "It has reached us that the earth, when it had dried the blood of Adam's son, was then forbidden to dry [spilled] blood, and blood was forbidden to flow except enough to congeal."

When the enemy had been defeated and driven from their camp and the Muslims had returned from pursuing them and entered that camp, Khālid stood over the food and said, "I give it to you as spoils; it is yours." He also said, "The Prophet of God, if he came upon prepared food, would offer it as spoils." Thus the Muslims sat down to eat it for their dinner at night. Those who had never seen [settled] countryside and did not know of flat bread (*ruqāq*) would say, "What are these white patches?" Those who knew it would answer them, saying jokingly, "Have you heard of 'soft living' (*raqīq al-ʿaysh*)?"

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148. A subdistrict on the lower Nahr Sūrā in Bihqubādh, east of the Euphrates. It disappears after the conquest. See Morony, *Iraq*, 149. But see note 234, below.

149. He is Zaḥm b. Maʿbad b. Sharāḥil b. Sabʿ b. Ḍubārī al-Sadūsī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 225; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 50; VII, 55; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 159.

The others would respond, "Yes." Then those who knew would say, "This is it; therefore it has been named *ruqāq*." The Arabs would call it *qirā*.[150]

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—al-Shaʿbī—an informant—Khālid: On the day of Khaybar, the Prophet of God gave the people as spoils bread, stew, roast meat, and whatever other than that they would put into their bellies without becoming sated.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah: On the river were mills that ran with water red [with blood] for three days, grinding grain for the troops, who were eighteen thousand or more. Khālid sent the news by a man called Jandal from the Banū ʿIjl. A tough [2036] guide, he brought to Abū Bakr the news of the conquest of Ullays, the amount of spoils, the number of captives, how the spoils (*akhmās*) had been divided, and who had done great deeds of valor. When he came to Abū Bakr and the latter, noticing his toughness and the solidity of the news he had brought, said, "What's your name?" the man said, "Jandal." Abū Bakr said, "How wonderful, Jandal!

The soul of ʿIṣām has made ʿIṣām black
and accustomed him to attack and daring."[151]

Abū Bakr then commanded that he be given a girl from among those captives, and she subsequently bore him a child.

The enemy's dead reached seventy thousand,[152] most of them from Amghīshiyā.[153]

Abū Jaʿfar—ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd—his uncle: I asked about Amghīshiyā by al-Ḥīrah and was told [it is] Manīshiyā.[154] I then told Sayf, who said, "These are two [different] names."

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150. Meaning "hospitality" or "a meal served to a guest."

151. This line is from al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī. See Leiden text, note c. The ʿIṣām referred to here is ʿIṣām b. Shahbar al-Jarmī, the chamberlain of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, the last Lakhmī king of al-Ḥīrah. See al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī, *Dīwān*, 105–6; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, IX, 172; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 327; II, 359; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 544; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 259–60.

152. This legendary fabrication of Sayf, representative of his anti-Iranian sentiment, is quoted by Morony, *Iraq*, 191.

153. A fortress at the junction of the Furāt Bādaqlā canal and the Ḥīrah branch of the Euphrates, hence near al-Ḥīrah, though its exact location is uncertain. Morony, *Iraq*, 152; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 293–94. Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī puts it near modern al-Ghamas and al-Shanafiyyah. Ṣ. al-ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfah."

154. Cairo ed. has "Manishiyā," possibly based on Ms. C.

The Affair of Amghīshiyā

[It was] in Ṣafar, and God gave the Muslims spoil without horses.

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad — Abū ʿUthmān and Ṭalḥah — al-Mughīrah: When Khālid was done with the Battle of Ullays he decamped and came to Amghīshiyā. He had taken the defenders by surprise, so that they left their property and fled, scattering in al-Sawād. From that day there have been bonded laborers [2037] (*sakarāt*)[155] in al-Sawād. Khālid commanded that Amghīshiyā be demolished, along with everything in it. It was a military center (*miṣr*) like al-Ḥīrah. The Furāt Bādaqlā ended in it. Ullays was one of its subordinate military posts. The victors took spoils in it the like of which they never obtained again.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Baḥr b. al-Furāt al-ʿIjlī[156] — his father:[157] The Muslims did not obtain as spoils between the battles of Dhāt al-Salāsil and Amghīshiyā anything like what they took at Amghīshiyā. The share of a horseman reached one thousand five hundred [dirhams], aside from the additional spoils allotted to those who had stood out.

All informants together: When news of that reached Abū Bakr, he said, reporting to them what had come to him, "O people of the Quraysh! Your lion has attacked the [enemy's] lion and overcome him, [taking away] the pieces of his prey. Women are incapable of ever giving birth[158] to the like of Khālid."

The Day of al-Maqr[159] *and the Mouth of Furāt Bādaqlā*[160]

Abū Jaʿfar — al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad — Abū ʿUthmān and Ṭalḥah — al-Mughīrah: Al-Āzādhbih had been the gover-

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155. This word appears to be related to the more familiar Arabic root *s-kh-r*, itself taken perhaps from Aramaic in this meaning. A gloss in the Cairo ed. from Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, supports this explanation.

156. Unknown except for his mention here and in one more report shortly after this. His name, which means "Sea, the son of the Euphrates River," would seem another of Sayf's topical inventions, like Ḥarmalah b. Murayṭah (see note 59, above) and al-Rabīʿ b. Maṭar b. Thalj "Spring Herbage, the son of Rain, the son of Snow." See al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 265–68.

157. Perhaps suggested by the name of al-Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjlī, who chronologically could not have had a son who transmitted to Sayf.

158. Text: *yunshiʾū*; read: *yansulna*, as in Kos. and Cairo ed.

159. Apparently an unidentified place.

160. A canal flowing out of the Euphrates, perhaps near the present Abū Ṣukhayr

nor (*marzubān*) of al-Ḥīrah from the times of Kisrā up to that day. They[161] used not to support each other except by permission of the king. Al-Āzādhbih had reached [the rank of] "half noble," and the value of his tall cap[162] was fifty thousand [dirhams]. When Khālid had destroyed Amghīshiyā and its people had become bonded laborers (*sakarāt*) to the landlords (*dahāqīn*) of the villages, al-Āzādhbih realized that he would not be left alone. Therefore he began to consider his situation and prepare for war with Khālid. He first sent forth his son and set out himself after him, until he encamped outside al-Ḥīrah. He commanded his son to dam the Euphrates. After he had departed from Amghīshiyā, carrying the infantry in boats along with the spoils and baggage, Khālid was surprised to find his boats running aground. This greatly alarmed his men. The boatmen said, "The Persians have broken the dams of the canals, causing the water to flow in other than its accustomed course. The water will not come to us unless we dam the canals up again." Khālid then hurried with his cavalry toward the son of al-Āzādhbih. When some of Khālid's horse encountered the son of al-Āzādhbih by Fam al-ʿAtīq,[163] they surprised the Iranians just at the moment that the latter thought themselves safe from Khālid's attacking them. Khālid laid them low in their battles.[164] After this he immediately departed. But the news had reached al-Āzādhbih, whom Khālid encountered along with his troops at the mouth of Furāt Bādaqlā. When they fought each other Khālid laid the Persians low, broke the dikes of the Euphrates, and blocked up the entrances to the canals, so that the water returned to its natural course. [2038]

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad—Abū ʿUthmān and Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah and Baḥr—his father; and ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Muḥammad—Abū ʿUthmān and Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah: When Khālid had defeated the son of al-Āzādhbih at the mouth

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south of al-Ḥīrah, then running parallel to the river until it reentered it at an unknown distance downstream. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 293–95.

161. Apparently, the governors.

162. Ar. *qalansuwwah*. This would appear to be the type of headgear worn by Persian and Mesopotamian officials and nobles since early antiquity. It also is parallel to, if not the same as, the high crowns of the kings shown on Sāsānian coins. See Morony, *Iraq*, 186–88; *EI*², s.v. Libās.

163. According to Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 295, this was at the modern Abū Ṣukhayr, in the gardens of Jaʿārah, on the Euphrates southeast of al-Ḥīrah. The various canals originated from here, so that Fam al-ʿAtīq actually was the starting point of the ʿAtīq canal from the Euphrates.

164. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI.

of Furāt Bādaqlā, he headed for al-Ḥīrah, commanding his companions to follow him and going on until he encamped between al-Khawarnaq[165] and al-Najaf.[166] Khālid reached al-Khawarnaq when al-Āzādhbih had already crossed the Euphrates, fleeing without a fight. He was impelled to flight only by the news that reached him about the death of Ardashīr, as well as the defeat of his own son. Al-Āzādhbih's camp was between al-Ghariyyayn[167] and al-Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ.[168] When Khālid's forces had completely gathered to him at al-Khawarnaq, he went forth from the camp [there] in order to camp at the site of al-Āzādhbih's camp between al-Ghariyyayn and al-
[2039] Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ.

Meanwhile the people of al-Ḥīrah had taken to their fortifications for defense. Khālid sent horsemen from his camp into al-Ḥīrah, putting a man from among his commanders in charge of each fort, that he might besiege its defenders and engage them in battle. Thus, Ḍirār b. al-Azwar[169] laid siege to al-Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ, in which was Iyās b. Qabīṣah al-Ṭā'ī. Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb[170] besieged Qaṣr al-ʿAdasiyyīn, in which was ʿAdī b. ʿAdī,[171] who was killed. Ḍirār b. Muqar-

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165. A place about 17 km. southeast of al-Najaf containing a Sāsānian palace. See *EI*², s.v. al-Khawarnaḳ; Le Strange, *Lands*, 75–76; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 104–6, esp. n. 59.

166. A place in Iraq 10 km. west of al-Kūfah. Although later a famous city owing to its possession of the shrine of ʿAlī, at this time it was probably of no importance, if it existed at all. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Nadjaf; Le Strange, *Lands*, 76–78.

167. Lit. "the two ruined towers." These were located in the suburbs of al-Kūfah and gave their name to their locale. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 196–200.

168. One of the forts of al-Ḥīrah. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 287–88, 295.

169. Al-Asadī. A Companion of the Prophet, he is variously said to have died at al-Yamāmah in 11/632, Ajnādayn in 13/634, or Ḥarrān later and to have participated at al-Yarmūk in 15/636 and the conquest of Damascus. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 55; II, 242; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 292; VI, 39; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 117, 300, 317; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 86, Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 208–9; Donner, *Conquests*, 359, 367, 369, 388.

170. Al-Fihrī, he was a poet, fought for the Meccans at Uḥud and became a Muslim on the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. He was said to have been killed in the Battle of al-Yamāmah in 11/632, although Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 94, does not list him among the dead there. He seems to have been mentioned on the Iraqi front only by Sayf, though others said he went to Syria and died there. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 34; II, 242; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 407; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 448; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 40–41, 136, 254–55, 297, 319, 328–30, 334; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, VII, 28–29; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 209–10; Donner, *Conquests*, 372, 401, 405.

171. This character, along with Zayd b. ʿAdī and the latter's father, ʿAdī al-Awsaṭ, appears to be mentioned only by Sayf. Probably ʿAdī b. ʿAdī is meant to be the brother of Zayd, owing to their collocation in the tradition. See below p. 30. As ʿAdī al-Awsaṭ, their father, is said to have been slain at Dhū Qār, he cannot be the same as the famous

rin al-Muzanī,[172] who was the tenth of ten brothers, besieged Qaṣr Banī Māzin, where Ibn Akkāl[173] was, while al-Muthannā laid siege to Qaṣr Ibn Buqaylah, inside of which was ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ.[174] The Muslims invited all of them [to terms], giving them a day's grace, but the people of al-Ḥīrah refused obstinately, so that the Muslims skirmished with them.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd—his uncle—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim[175] —a man from the Banū Kinānah[176] [Abū Jaʿfar said that ʿUbaydallāh's version was thus], and [also] al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim—a man from the Banū Kinānah: Khālid had enjoined his commanders to begin by calling on [the enemy to surrender]. If they accepted, they accepted, but if they refused, the commanders should give them a day's respite [before attacking]. Khālid also said, "Do not give your enemy access to your ears, thus lying in wait for you to meet with disaster, but rather fight them, and do not turn the Muslims away from the struggle with their enemy."

The first of the commanders to start the battle after the day when the enemy had been given a respite was Ḍirār b. al-Azwar, who was in charge of fighting the people of al-Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ. They arose in the morning to find themselves besieged. Ḍirār called on them [to choose] one of three things: Islam, payment of *jizyah*, or resistance. They chose resistance, shouting to each other, "Use ceramic rollers [2040]
[*al-khazāzīf*]!" Thereupon Ḍirār said, "Stand back so that what they throw will not reach you, until we see what they are shouting about." Immediately the top of the fortress was filled with men

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Ḥīran poet ʿAdī b. Zayd al-Marʾī, who also had a son named Zayd but was killed by al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir c. 600 C.E., long before Dhū Qār. It is not impossible that it was the poet and his son who suggested the names for this later alleged family, especially given the propensity for Sayf's traditions to show famous throwbacks to the Jāhiliyyah as embellishments. On ʿAdī b. Zayd al-Marʾī and his son, see Ṭabarī, I, 1016–29; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, II, 18–43; *EI*², s.v. ʿAdī b. Zayd.

172. Mentioned only by Sayf, who often seems to create brothers of more famous persons. See Donner, *Conquests*, 372. Only six brothers are listed by Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 18–19.

173. Unidentified, but he appears below (p. 35) as Ḥīrī b. Akkāl. The first name, identifying him as a Ḥīran, seems merely a means of filling in the absence of a real first name for him in the tradition.

174. Probably the same as ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAmr b. Buqaylah. See p. 6 and note 45, above.

175. Al-Kinānī. Only mentioned in Sayf's *isnāds*.

176. An important branch of the Muḍar concentrated in the Ḥijāz. See *EI*², s.v. Kināna.

[wearing] suspended bags, [from which] they pelted the Muslims with *khazāzīf*, which are ceramic rollers (*madāḥī*).[177] Ḍirār then said, "Bombard them!" At this, the Muslims drew near them, raining arrows upon them and thus clearing the tops of the walls.

Then the Muslims launched their attack against those [outside] who belonged to the people in the fortresses. The commander of each group of troops greeted his men with the like of that in the morning, so that they conquered the [enemy's] houses and monasteries (*dayrāt*) and slew many [of them]. The priests and monks therefore called out, "O people of the fortresses, it is only you who are killing us!" At this, the people of the fortresses shouted, "O Arabs, we now accept one of the three [choices]. Therefore, renew your [peaceful] summons to us and hold back from attacking us until you inform Khālid."

At this Iyās b. Qabīṣah and his brother went forth to Ḍirār b. al-Azwar, while ʿAdī b. ʿAdī and Zayd b. ʿAdī went out to Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb. ʿAdī al-Awsaṭ[178] was the one whose mother had sung his eulogy and who had been killed on the Day of Dhū Qār.[179] ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and Ibn Akkāl went forth, the first to Ḍirār b. Muqarrin, the other to al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah. The commanders sent them to Khālid but kept their positions.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad — Abū ʿUthmān, and Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah: The first one who sought peace was ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Qays b. Ḥayyān b. al-Ḥārith, who is Buqaylah. He was named Buqaylah only because he had come out to his people
[2041] wearing two green cloaks, so that they said, "O *ḥāri*,[180] you are noth-

177. The exact form and purpose of these is obscure, but they were probably cylindrical household implements of some kind. See al-Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīt*, s.v. *m-d-y*, *kh-z-f*.

178. The father of ʿAdī b. ʿAdī and Zayd b. ʿAdī. See note 171, above.

179. A waterhole belonging to the Bakr b. Wāʾil, where occurred the famous battle in which the Arabs of the Bakr tribes crushingly defeated the Persians, thus prefiguring the later Islamic conquests. It took place sometime between 604 and 611 C.E. See *EI*², s.v. Dhū Ḳār; Ṭabarī, I, 1015–37; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 482–90. It was located between al-Kūfah and Wāsiṭ, nearer to the former west of the Euphrates. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 293–94. Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 169 n. 95, 236, and *Arabia Deserta*, 503, identifies it with the present Abū Ghār, which in *Middle Euphrates*, 102, 106, he locates near al-Ḥīrah.

180. Thus the Leiden text. This word caused earlier writers considerable difficulty. If it is interpreted as the vocative of the participle of *ḥarā*, *yaḥrī*, it could mean "decreasing." Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 485 n. 3, suggests that it be read Ḥārith, Buqaylah's name.

ing but a little green herb (*buqaylah*)!" and that name stuck. ʿAmr sent them, the chiefs, to Khālid, each accompanied by a confidant, in order that he might make peace with the people of each fortress through the mediation of its commander.

Khālid met the party of each fortress among them separately, without the others. He began with the companions of ʿAdī, saying, "Woe to you! You are not Arabs! Why do you seek vengeance from the Arabs or the Iranians? Why do you seek vengeance from fairness and justice?" ʿAdī answered him, "Indeed we are pure Arabs, and others arabicized."[181] Khālid continued, "If you were as you say, you would not have opposed us and detested our business." ʿAdī told him, "That we have no tongue but Arabic most certainly proves what we say." Khālid said, "You have said the truth." Then he continued: "Choose one of three things. You may enter our religion, in which case you will enjoy what we enjoy, and you will bear the obligations we bear, whether you arise and migrate [with us] or stay in your dwellings. Otherwise, there is payment of the *jizyah*, or else resistance and fighting. By God, I have brought you a people who are more covetous of death than you are of life." ʿAdī replied, "Rather, we will give you the *jizyah*." At this Khālid said, "May you perish! Woe to you! Disbelief is a desert that makes one lose his way. It is the foolish [one] among the Arabs who follows it."

At this point, two guides met Khālid, one of them an Arab. Khālid left aside the Arab and employed the Iranian instead.[182]

The people of al-Ḥīrah then made peace with him for 190,000 [dirhams],[183] and they kept that [agreement]. They also gave him gifts. He sent [the news of] the conquest and the presents to Abū Bakr

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181. Here the pure Arabs are *ʿArab ʿāribah*, whereas the arabicized are *mutaʿarribah*. This twofold division was basic to the early Arab Muslim genealogical scheme. According to the version favored by the Yemen tribes, the Arabs descended from Qaḥṭān were *al-ʿāribah*, the pure, original Arabs, and those descended from ʿAdnān, who in turn was distantly descended from Abraham's son Ishmael, were only arabicized Arabs, called *al-mustaʿribah*. See Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Qaṣd wa amam*, 12–14; *Inbāh*, 57–58. However, another version, less favorable to the Yemen, stated that *al-ʿāribah* had become entirely extinct long before, so that all present Arabs were only *mustaʿribah*. See Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Qaṣd wa amam*, 11–12; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 8–9. Here, however, Sayf's intention seems to be to show that the Christian natives of al-Ḥīrah, although they spoke Arabic, were the result of a more recent mixing of Arab and non-Arab elements and thus unlike the pure Arabs coming from the desert.

182. The purpose of these guides is obscure.

183. See p. 6, and note 49, above.

with al-Hudhayl al-Kāhilī. Abū Bakr accepted them as a part of the *jizyah* payment, writing to Khālid, "Reckon their gifts for them as a
[204] part of the *jizyah*, unless they are [already] part of the *jizyah*. Take the rest of what is due and strengthen your troops with it."

Ibn Buqaylah said:

Do I see, after the Mundhirs,[184] freely grazing livestock
herded at al-Khawarnaq and al-Sadīr?[185]
And after the horsemen of al-Nuʿmān, do I graze
a young camel[186] between Murrah[187] and al-Ḥufayr?
We have become after the death of Abū Qabūs[188]
like a herd of sheep[189] on a rainy day.
The tribes from Maʿadd divide[190] us up
openly like the shares of a slaughtered beast.
We used to be [such] that no sacred thing of ours would be coveted,
so that we were like an excellent, milk-giving udder.[191]
We give what is due after the tax (*kharāj*) of Kisrā
and the payment of the Banū[192] Qurayẓah and al-Naḍīr.[193]

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184. The former Lakhmid kings of al-Ḥīrah, who had possessed the greatest of the Arab kingdoms before their sudden downfall in 602 C.E. See *EI*², s.v. Lakhmids.

185. Two Sāsānian-period palaces at al-Ḥīrah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 75–76. On al-Sadīr, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 201–2, where the first four lines of this poem are quoted.

186. Or "gardens." See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI.

187. Unidentified place.

188. Text: Qubays; read: Qabūs, as Kos. This is a shortening of Qābūs by poetic license. Abū Qābūs is al-Nuʿmān III b. al-Mundhir IV (d. 602 C.E.), the last king of al-Ḥīrah.

189. Or "like the mange of goats." See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, CLXI–CLXII, DCXI.

190. Or "have divided." See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI.

191. Ar. *ka-ḍarrat al-ḍarʿ al-fakhūri*. The meaning does not seem entirely satisfactory, but the words *ḍarrah* and *ḍarʿ* are connected by Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *ḍ-r-r*, and Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *ḍ-r-r*, where both terms give the sense of udder. In this line of poetry the implication appears to be that, when the Ḥīrans were strong, no one could dare even to covet their possessions, let alone attack them, while at the same time they were inexhaustibly generous.

192. Text: *min*; read: *Banī*, with Yaʿqūbī and M. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXI.

193. Two of the Jewish tribes of Medina who contended with the Prophet. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳurayẓa; *EI*¹, s.v. Nadīr (Banu'l).

Such is time: its turning [brings] ups and downs,
a day of misfortune or joy.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim — a man from the Banū Kinānah; and Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq[194] with the like of it from him: They would come to Khālid, entrusting ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ [2043] with their needs. Khālid asked, "How old are you?" ʿAmr answered, "Hundreds of years." Khālid continued, "What is the strangest thing you have seen?" ʿAmr replied, "I saw the towns connected in a line between Damascus and al-Ḥīrah, so that a woman could go forth from al-Ḥīrah with no provisions except a loaf of bread." Khālid smiled and said, "Do you have anything from your old age except its effect?[195] You are senile, by God, O ʿAmr!"

Then Khālid came to the people of al-Ḥīrah and said: "Has it not reached me that you are wicked, deceitful plotters? Why do you obtain your needs through a senile man who does not know whence he has come?" ʿAmr ignored him but wished to show him from himself that by which he could know his mind and prove the soundness of what he had told him. He therefore said, "By your right, O amīr, I most certainly know whence I came." Khālid asked, "Then where did you come from?" ʿAmr asked, "More recently or earlier?" Khālid said, "Whatever you want." ʿAmr said, "From my mother's womb." Khālid then asked, "Where are you going?" ʿAmr said, "Ahead of me." Khālid said, "What is that?" ʿAmr said, "The afterlife." Khālid asked, "From where is your farthest step?" ʿAmr said, "From my father's loins." Khālid asked, "What are you in? ʿAmr replied, "In my clothes." Khālid asked, "Do you comprehend?" ʿAmr answered, "Yes, by God, and I register, too."[196]

Thus Khālid found him, when he had tested him, to be a sage. The people of his town were more knowing about him: Khālid said, "A land has killed its ignorant one, but its knowing one has killed a land. The people know best what is among them." ʿAmr said, "O

194. Abū Isrāʾīl Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hamdānī al-Sabīʿī, he was an important Kūfan traditionist of mixed reputation who died in the period 152–59/769–76. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 228; II, 597; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 363; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 433–34.

195. Text: *ʿuqlatun*; read: *ʿamaluhu*, as in Cairo ed.

196. See p. 6, above.

amīr, the ant knows better than the camel what is in its own house."

Muḥammad[197] — Abū al-Safar[198] — Dhū al-Jawshan al-Ḍibābī:[199] [These] agree with this report from this place.

[2044] Al-Zuhrī:[200] A man from al-Ḍibāb agrees with them about this report.

All these: With Ibn Buqaylah was a servant who had a pouch tied around his loins. Khālid took the pouch and poured its contents into his palm. He inquired, "What is this, O ʿAmr?" ʿAmr answered, "This, by the faith of God, is poison of an hour." Khālid asked, "Why do you fill your pouch with poison?" ʿAmr replied, "I am afraid that you might follow other than what I prefer. I have reached my term of life, and death is dearer to me than any evil thing that I might bring upon my people and my town." After saying, "No one dies until he comes to his allotted time," Khālid declared, "In the name of God, the best of names, the Lord of the earth and the Lord of the heaven, by Whose name no sickness harms, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful!" At this, those present reached for him to stop him from [taking] it, but he was too swift for them and swallowed it. Then ʿAmr said to them, "By God, O Arabs, you will possess whatever you want as long as there is one of you, O generation!" When he came to the people of al-Ḥīrah, he said, "I have not seen anything clearer in good fortune than today."

Khālid refused to write any agreement for them except on condition of the handing over of Karāmah bt. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ to Shuwayl [as a hostage]. That was hard for the Ḥīrans to bear, but she said, "Make it easy for yourselves and hand me over, for I will ransom myself." Thus they did, and Khālid wrote the agreement between him and them, [as follows:]

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. This is the covenant that Khālid b. al-Walīd has made

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197. Probably this is Sayf's informant Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh again.

198. Saʿīd b. Yaḥmad al-Hamdānī al-Thawrī; he was a Kūfan traditionist regarded as reliable. He died in 112–13/730–31. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 299; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 96–97.

199. Abū Shamir al-Kilābī, whose son Shamir was one of the killers of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Dhū al-Jawshan transmitted one tradition from the Prophet. See Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 297; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 222–23, *Iṣābah*, I, 485. The last source shows considerable doubt about his actual identity.

200. The same as the al-Zuhrī on p. 1, above; see also note 4.

for ʿAdī and ʿAmr,[201] the two sons of ʿAdī, ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, Iyās b. Qabīṣah, and Ḥīrī b. Akkāl. (ʿUbaydallāh said [the name of the last was] Jabrī. These men were the leaders (*nuqabāʾ*) of the people of al-Ḥīrah, who accepted their role and enjoined it on them.) Khālid has given them a covenant in return for one hundred ninety thousand dirhams payable annually, for the *jizyah* of those working in this world, [including] their monks and priests, except for those among them who have no work, cut off from worldly life, abandoning it (ʿUbaydallāh reported here, "Except for those having no work, cut off from worldly life, abandoning it.") or[202] [those who are] traveling, abandoning the worldly life. Khālid promises that he will protect them. If he does not protect them, then they have no obligations until he does protect them. If they commit betrayal in deed or in word, then the [Muslims'] conscience is free of [any obligation to] them. [2045]

This was written in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal of the year 12 (16 May–14 June 633), and the document was given to the people of al-Ḥīrah.

When the people of al-Sawād rebelled after the death of Abū Bakr they made light of the agreement and caused it to be lost, rebelling among those who had rebelled. The Persians dominated them. When al-Muthannā conquered them for the second time they offered [to accept] the same terms [again]; however, al-Muthannā did not respond favorably, but answered them with an additional condition. When al-Muthannā was driven back from the land, they rebelled [again] among those who rebelled and assisted [the revolt], making light of the agreement and causing it to be lost. When Saʿd[203] conquered the land and they [once again] offered the same agreement, he asked them [to accept] one of two conditions, but they did not re-

201. Previously, on p. 30, above, Zayd b. ʿAdī had been mentioned. Perhaps ʿAmr here is a confusion with the name of ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ.

202. Text: *wa*; read: *aw*, as Kos. and Cairo ed.

203. That is Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ Mālik al-Zuhrī, the victor of al-Qādisiyyah and the conqueror of central Iraq, who also founded the city of al-Kūfah. He was governor of al-Kūfah from its foundation to 20/641 and again in 25/646. He died at al-ʿAqīq near Medina in 50/670 or 55/675. See *EI*², s.v. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 20; II, 495; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 137–49; VI, 12–13.

spond to either. He therefore imposed [conditions] on them, investigating what he deemed that they could bear [paying]. He imposed on them [a tax of] four hundred thousand [dirhams], aside from the choice spoils (*ḥarazah*).[204] [ʿUbaydallāh reported, "Other than *al-kharazah*."][205]

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf and al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim al-Kinānī—a man from the Banū Kinānah; and Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq: Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh[206] was among those who had gone out to Syria with Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī.[207] Jarīr asked Khālid leave [to go] to Abū Bakr in order to speak to him about his people, to collect them to him, for they were scattered among the Arabs, and to deliver them. Khālid b. Saʿīd gave him permission. On coming to Abū Bakr, Jarīr mentioned to him a promise from the Prophet. He brought forth witnesses to that promise and requested that the ca-
[2046] liph effect it. But Abū Bakr became angry and said to Jarīr, "You see our work and what we are doing to help the Muslims against those two lions who are before them, the Persians and the Romans. Then you force me to pay attention to what will not avail me in place of what I am content with for [the sake of] God and His Prophet. Leave me and go to join Khālid b. al-Walīd so that I may see what God decrees on these two fronts." At this, Jarīr went forth until he came to Khālid when the latter was at al-Ḥīrah. Thus Jarīr did not participate in anything that occurred in Iraq, except for what happened after [the conquest of] al-Ḥīrah, nor was he present at any of Khālid's battles with the apostates (*ahl al-riddah*).

Regarding the battles of al-Ḥīrah, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr said:

God has provided slain victims by the Euphrates abiding
and others in the midst of the enclosing sand hills.

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204. As is apparent from pp. 40 and 184, below, this refers to the property abandoned by either members of the defunct Sāsānian dynasty or those nobles who had fled with them.

205. This term, meaning "gem" in the singular, appears to fit the context less well.

206. Al-Bajalī; he was famous not only for his participation in the early conquests and the founding of al-Kūfah but also for his role on ʿAlī's side in the First Civil War. He is said to have died at Qarqīsiyā' in 51/671. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 222, II, 258; Donner, *Conquests*, 68, 175, 178, 196–98, 200–2, 216, 242–43, 260, 369, 381–82, 387, 407, 409, 432, 438; Crone, *Slaves*, 114.

207. Al-Umawī al-Qurashī, d. 13 (635). An early Muslim, he appears to have been somewhat headstrong and to have disagreed with both Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. See *EI*², s.v. Khālid b. Saʿīd; Donner, *Conquests*, 87, 113–14, 116–17, 135, 358, 360, 365–67.

And we trampled Hurmuz at al-Kawāẓim,
and at al-Thiny [we trampled] the two horns of Qārin by the running torrents.
And on the day when we surrounded the castles, there followed directly
for spacious al-Ḥīrah one of the turns of time.
We brought them down from their castles when their throne had almost [2047]
begun to topple through the act of the transgressing coward.
We bombarded them with kindness after they had seen
the evening draught of deaths around those extremities,
On the morning on which they said, "We are a people who went down
to the countryside from the land of the Arabs of firm counsel."[208]

What Happened after al-Ḥīrah

ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd al-Zuhrī—his uncle—Sayf—Jamīl al-Ṭāʾī[209]—his father:[210] When Shuwayl was given Karāmah bt. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, I said to ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, "Are you not astonished by Shuwayl's asking for Karāmah bt. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ in spite of his low status (*ḍaʿf*)?" He responded, "He has always praised her immoderately." Shuwayl said, "That occurred because when I heard the Prophet of God naming those towns that would be given to him, he included al-Ḥīrah among those which would be given, as if the terraces of its fortresses were the molars of dogs. I knew [from this] that he had been shown it and that it would be conquered. Thereupon I brought up the matter of the request with him."[211]

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208. That is, they claimed to be nomadic Arabs who had become sedentarized.

209. Jamīl b. Zayd. As a traditionist, he was considered weak, though some important people like Sufyān al-Thawrī transmitted from him. Although he is said to have been either a Kūfan or a Baṣran, his associations seem to have been mainly with al-Kūfah, and Sayf's claim to have transmitted from him only confirms this. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 114.

210. Unknown. Ibn Ḥajar's article on Jamīl does not mention any transmission from his father. It would appear that Sayf has tacked "his father" on to the end of an *isnād*, as he may have done in many other cases as well.

211. This report appears to mean that Shuwayl heard the Prophet listing the towns that would be conquered, information that he was given by God. Knowing that Karā-

[2048] ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ʿAmr and Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī; and al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: When Shuwayl came to Khālid, he said "I heard the Prophet of God mentioning the conquest of al-Ḥīrah, so I asked him for Karāmah. He answered, 'She is yours if it is taken by force.' " His claim was attested to [by witnesses]. According to that, Khālid made peace with the Ḥīrans provided they delivered[212] Karāmah to him. But it was hard for her family and town to bear what had befallen her, and they considered the danger great. But Karāmah said, "Do not risk [resistance], but rather be patient. What do you fear for a woman who has reached eighty years of age? This is only a foolish man; he saw me when I was in my youth and supposed that [my] youthfulness would last."

Therefore they turned her over to Khālid, and Khālid gave her to Shuwayl. She said, "What do you need from an old woman such as you see? Ransom me." Shuwayl replied, "No, only by my own judgment." She said, "You may decide freely." He said, "I would not belong to Umm Shuwayl if I lowered your [price] below one thousand dirhams." Karāmah [pretended to] consider that too much in order to deceive him, but then she brought it to him. Thus she returned to her family. When the people heard about that, they rebuked him, so that he declared, "I did not think that any number was greater than a thousand." But they insisted that he quarrel with them, so that he said, "My intention was [to demand] the largest amount possible. They have stated that there are numbers greater than a thousand." Khālid said, "You wanted something, but God wanted something else. We will go by what is visible and will leave you with your intention, whether you be lying or telling the truth."

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr — al-Shaʿbī: When Khālid conquered al-Ḥīrah, he prayed the prayer of victory, [which is] eight prostrations (*rakaʿāt*) without any interruption in them.[213] Then he went away, saying "When I fought on the Day of Muʾtah,[214] nine

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mah was in al-Ḥīrah and that al-Ḥīrah was in the list, he requested that he be given her as part of his booty when the town was captured. Shuwayl does not appear in the *Sīrah* or in Ibn Ḥajar's *Iṣābah*. See the next report.

212. Text: *fa dafaʿahā*; read: *bi-dafʿihā*, as Kos.

213. Normally, *ṣalāh* is broken after at most every four *rakaʿāt*, when the leader of the worship says *salām* to his right and left.

214. The famous Muslim long-distance raid of the year 8/629 into modern Jordan east of the Dead Sea, in which Khālid b. al-Walīd is said to have saved the Muslim army. However, there is some doubt about the actual nature of this raid, as the sources

swords were broken in my hand, but never did I encounter a people like those I met from among the Persians. And I never met among the Persians a people like those of Ullays."

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ʿAmr and al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: Khālid performed the prayer of victory and then went away. After this, he reported the like of al-Sarī's version. [2049]

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf; and al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid[215] — Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim,[216] who came with Jarīr to Khālid: We came to Khālid at al-Ḥīrah when he was wearing his sword, which pulled his robe tight around his neck. He was offering worship in it alone. Then he went away, saying, "Nine swords were broken in my hand on the Day of Muʾtah. Then a broad-bladed Yamanī sword lasted in my hand, and it has not ceased to be with me."

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—Abū ʿUthmān, Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam—al-Mughīrah b. ʿUtaybah, al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim—a man from the Banū Kinānah, and Sufyān al-Aḥmarī — Māhān:[217] When the people of al-Ḥīrah had made peace with Khālid, Ṣalūbā b. Nasṭūnā,[218] the ruler of Quss al-Nāṭif[219] went forth

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report very few martyrs by name, other than the three top commanders. See Watt, *Medina*, 53–55; *EI*[1], s.v. Muʾta.

215. A *mawlā* of the Aḥmas of the Bajīlah and a miller by trade, he was a very famous Kūfan traditionist, who was regarded as reliable by such *muḥaddithūn* as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Bukhārī, owing to his transmissions from al-Shaʿbī. He transmitted particularly plentifully from Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, who is mentioned in this *isnād*. He is said to have transmitted between three hundred and five hundred *ḥadīth*s. He died in 145–46/762–63. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 344; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 651; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 291–92.

216. Abū ʿAbdallāh Qays b. Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAwf b. ʿAbd al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf al-Bajalī al-Aḥmasī, a Kūfan traditionist who nevertheless transmitted traditions from many Companions of the Prophet who never left Medina. He is said to have been on his way to render allegiance to the Prophet when the latter died. He is also claimed to have preferred ʿUthmān and to have attacked ʿAlī, wherefore many of the early Kūfan transmitters avoided quoting from him. In spite of this, he generally enjoyed a high reputation later. He died in the period 84–98/703–17. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 36, 67; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 425; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 247–48; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 386–89; *Iṣābah*, III, 267, 271–72.

217. Apparently Māhān Abū Sālim al-Ḥanafī, a Kūfan traditionist who was executed in 83/702 by al-Ḥajjāj. This would make him a little early for Sayf's *isnād*, but Sayf is not meticulous about chronology. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 25–26.

218. Unidentified.

219. The same as Qusyāthā or Bāqusyāthā on the west bank of the Euphrates opposite al-Marwaḥah not far from al-Kūfah. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 306.

until he entered Khālid's camp, whereupon he made peace with him for Bāniqyā and Basmā,[220] guaranteeing to him all that was in them and their lands from the bank of the Euphrates. He also contracted for himself, his family, and his people to pay ten thousand dīnārs, other than the choice spoils, the spoils of Kisrā.[221] In addition, every person had to pay four dirhams [as capitation tax]. A document was written up for them. Both sides were faithful to the charter, which
[2050] was not to apply should Persia [re]conquer [the concerned lands] by treachery.

Al-Mujālid joins the other transmitters regarding the [text of] the charter [as follows]:

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a document from Khālid b. al-Walīd to Ṣalūbā b. Nasṭūnā and his people. I give you a covenant on condition [of payment] of the *jizyah* in return for protection. [This is a requirement] for whoever is able [to pay in] both Bāniqyā and Basmā, in the amount of ten thousand dīnārs, aside from the chosen spoils, the wealthy according to the amount of his wealth, and the poor according to the extent of his poverty, every year. You have been made your people's representative; they have accepted you. I and those with me have accepted. I am satisfied, and your people are also satisfied. Therefore, you have a guarantee of security and protection, so that, if we protect you, we are entitled to the *jizyah*, but, if not, then not until we do protect you. Witnessed by Hishām b. al-Walīd, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥimyarī,[222] and Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabīʿ,[223] and written in Ṣafar 12 (17 April–15 May 633).

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220. Probably the same as Bārūsmā. See p. 3, above.

221. Text: *kharazah*; read: *ḥarazah*, as on p. 36, above.

222. This would seem to be a mistake for al-Bajalī, as Ms. IH somewhat clumsily tried to emend. However, it is possible that Sayf was trying to emphasize that Jarīr al-Bajalī did not participate in the earliest conquests, as he does elsewhere, e.g., p. 36, above. Note that in this list only this Jarīr is identified by a tribal surname.

223. Al-Usayyidī and a Companion of the Prophet; he was sent by the latter to al-Ṭāʾif, fought later at al-Qādisiyyah and Nihāwand, settled in al-Kūfah, abandoned ʿAlī at the Battle of the Camel, and then went to Qarqisiyāʾ, where he died in the reign of Muʿāwiyah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 83; II, 298; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 8, 95–96; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 55; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 77, 120; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 359–60; Donner, *Conquests*, 369, 393, 430.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—Abū ʿUthmān—Ibn Abī Muknif,[224] Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah, and Sufyān—Māhān; also ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad — Abū ʿUthmān, and Ṭalḥah—al-Mughīrah: The *dihqāns* were waiting for Khālid, watching what happened to the people of al-Ḥīrah. When the relations between the people of al-Ḥīrah and Khālid stayed in order and the Ḥīrans fulfilled the agreement, the *dihqāns* of al-Milṭāṭayn[225] came to him. Thus, Zādh b. Buhaysh, the *dihqān* of Furāt Siryā,[226] and Ṣalūbā b. Nasṭūnā b. Buṣbuhrā came to him. [It is given thus in the version of al-Sarī; however, ʿUbaydallāh says Ṣalūbā b. Buṣbuhrā and Nasṭūnā.] These men made peace with him for [2051]
the lands from al-Falālīj[227] to Hurmuzjird[228] for two million [dirhams]. [However, ʿUbaydallāh in his version says one million heavy[229] [dirhams].] In addition, the Muslims received whatever had belonged to the family of Kisrā and those who, along with them, had left their homes and thus were not parties to the peace agreement. Khālid set up his tent in his camp and wrote out a charter for them, [as follows:]

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a charter from Khālid b. al-Walīd to Zādh b. Buhaysh and Ṣalūbā b. Nasṭūnā. You have a guarantee of security and must pay the *jizyah*. You are guarantors of those whom you have been chosen to represent of the people of lower and central Bihqubādh.[230] [ʿUbaydallāh says: You are responsi-

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224. Unidentified and considered to be a fabrication by ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 87.

225. The banks of the Euphrates in the vicinity of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 192; Donner, *Conquests*, 180.

226. A subdistrict of lower Bihqubādh east of al-Falālīj and west of Hurmuzjird. See Morony, *Iraq*, 149. Zādh is not mentioned elsewhere.

227. Two districts between the two arms of the Euphrates just above the Great Swamp and extending to the modern al-Fallūjah in the north; west of the lower Nahr Sūrā. See *EI*², s.v. Fallūdja and al-Fallūdja; Le Strange, *Lands*, 74, 81; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 125 n. 67; Morony, *Iraq*, 149.

228. A subdistrict of lower Bihqubādh east of Furāt Siryā. See Morony, *Iraq*, 149–50.

229. Or "received," according to other manuscript evidence.

230. Bihqubādh consists of a large district divided into three subdivisions on the east bank of the medieval Euphrates, which is the modern Ḥillah branch. The most detailed discussion is in Morony, *Iraq*, 147–51. See also *EI*², s.v. Bihḳubādh; Le Strange, *Lands*, 81.

ble for the *jizyah*[231] of those whom you have been chosen to represent.] [The *jizyah* is] two million [dirhams] to be paid every year by[232] everyone who is able, other than what is required of Bāniqyā and Basmā. You have given satisfaction to me and the Muslims, and we have given satisfaction to you, to the people of lower Bihqubādh, and to whoever has joined with you of the people of central Bihqubādh, regarding your possessions, that there is in them nothing belonging to the family of Kisrā or those who fled with them. Witnessed by Hishām b. al-Walīd, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥimyarī, Bashīr b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah, and Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabīʿ, and written in Ṣafar 12 [17 April–15 May 633].

Khālid b. al-Walīd sent out his agents (*ʿummāl*) and support
[2052] troops. He sent as agents [the following]: ʿAbdallāh b. Wathīmah al-Naṣrī[233] stayed at the upper part of the district at al-Falālīj to offer protection and collect the *jizyah*. Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh was in charge of Bāniqyā and Basmā. Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah was in charge of al-Nahrayn and stayed at al-Kuwayfah[234] by Bānbūrā.[235] Suwayd b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī was sent to Nistar[236] and stayed at al-ʿAqr,[237] which is called ʿAqr Suwayd to this day and was not named for Su-

231. Text: *ḥarb*; read: *jizyah*, as Cairo ed. See also Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

232. Text: *thumma*; read: *ʿan*, as IH and Cairo ed. See also Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

233. Sayf later places him in the North African campaign in 27/648. See Ṭabarī, I, 2814.

234. Also known as Kuwayfat Ibn ʿUmar for ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who stayed there when he was out of favor for slaying the alleged assassins of his father without a hearing. It was near Bazīqiyā, which, according to Ibn Rustah, *Aʿlāq*, 182, lay 10 km. south of the Nahr Kūthā and 15 km. north of Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 496; Le Strange, *Lands*, map II. This would place it near to Bārūsmā according to Le Strange. But Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 412, followed by Morony, *Iraq*, 149, would place it near al-Ḥillah in Bihqubādh.

235. Described by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 331, as a place near al-Ḥīrah, but his report parallels that of Sayf here and may be derived from it.

236. A subdistrict of lower Bihqubādh, possibly north of Furāt Siryā on the Great Sarāt Canal, a part of the Nahr Sūrā. See Morony, *Iraq*, 149–50; *EI*², s.v. Bihḳubādh.

237. ʿAqr Bābil, near the site of Babylon on the east side of the east branch of the Euphrates. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 136; Morony, *Iraq*, 150.

wayd al-Minqarī.[238] Uṭṭ b. Abī Uṭṭ[239] was sent to Rūdhmistān,[240] staying at a place on a river; that river was named after him and thus is called Nahr Uṭṭ[241] to this day. Uṭṭ is a man of the Banū Sa'd b. Zayd Manāh.[242] Those were the agents for [the collection of] the *kharāj* in the time of Khālid b. al-Walīd.

The frontiers in the time of Khālid were at al-Sīb.[243] Khālid sent out Ḍirār b. al-Azwar, Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah, Ḍirār b. Muqarrin, al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr, Busr b. Abī Ruhm, and 'Utaybah b. al-Nahhās.[244] They took up quarters at al-Sīb in the midst of his dominion. These were the commanders of the frontiers of Khālid. Khālid ordered them to raid and to be persevering. Thus they penetrated into what was beyond that [place] up to the bank of the Tigris.

[The same authorities] report: When Khālid had conquered one of the two sides of al-Sawād, he called for a man from among the inhab- [2053]
itants of al-Ḥīrah and sent with him a letter to the Persians, who were then at al-Madā'in disputing and supporting [different parties] because of the death of Ardashīr. However, they did send Bahman

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238. Suwayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who fought against al-Mukhtār in al-Kūfah in 66/685, defended it again against Shabīb b. Yazīd in 76/695, and was rewarded with the governorship of Ḥulwān in 77/696. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 76; II, 519.

239. His existence is denied by al-'Askarī, *Khamsūn wa mi'ah ṣaḥābī*, 277–79, and *'Abdallāh b. Saba'*, 187, as he is found only in reports derived from Sayf. His mention in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 110, appears to be derived only from Sayf.

240. A subdistrict of lower Bihqubādh. See Morony, *Iraq*, 149–50. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 317, gives it as Dawraqistān, which is clearly wrong, as it refers to a place in Khūzistān.

241. Mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 317, as a place near al-Ḥīrah, but the report is clearly derived from Sayf, showing no independent knowledge.

242. One of the three great branches of the great northeast Arabian tribe of the Tamīm. The others are the Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik, which is divided into the Ḍārim and the Yarbū', and the 'Amr b. Tamīm. See *EI*[1], s.v. Sa'd al-Fizr; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 59; II, 9, 497.

243. Lit., "the watercourse." Although several places with this name are mentioned, here it refers to two subdistricts, upper and lower Sīb, in the *ṭassūj* of Sūrā near Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah north of al-Ḥillah and east of the east branch of the Euphrates. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 293; Le Strange, *Lands*, map II. In this volume, it normally appears in reference to a specific canal, presumably that from which the district took its name.

244. The first three persons on this list are attested in sources other than Sayf, though not, except for al-Muthannā, in this campaign; the presence of the latter four appears to be fictitious.

Jādhūyah[245] down to Bahurasīr.[246] It was as if he were in charge of the vanguard [of a larger force]. Accompanying Bahman Jādhūyah was al-Āzādhbih with others like him. Khālid also called on Ṣalūbā to provide a man and then sent two letters with the two men. One of the men was to be sent to the elite; the other was to go to the commoners. One of them was a Ḥīran; the other was a Nabaṭī.[247] When Khālid asked the messenger from al-Ḥīrah, "What is your name?" the latter replied, "Murrah." Khālid then said, "Take the letter and bring it to the Persians, so that God may make their life bitter, or that they may become Muslims[248] and turn to God in repentance." Khālid also asked the messenger of Ṣalūbā, "What is your name?" He answered, "Hizqīl." Khālid said, "Then take the letter," also saying, "O God, wipe them out!"[249] [Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid and others reported a like version.] [The texts of] the two letters:

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. From Khālid b. al-Walīd to the kings of Persia. Praise be to God Who dissolved your order, made your plotting weak, and divided you among yourselves. Had he not done that to you, it would have been worse for you. Therefore, enter into our faith; we will leave you and your land alone and pass beyond you to others different from you. If not, that will happen [anyway], even though you loathe [it], by force, at the hands of a people who love death just as you love life.

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. From Khālid b. al-Walīd to the governors (*marāzibah*) of

245. This man is mentioned by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 109, in connection with the Battle of the Bridge. Ibn Khayyāṭ calls him Bahmān b. Khurhurmuzān (voweling of last word is conjectural). Presumably both Jādhūyah and Khurhurmuzān are derived from a single original word, as they resemble each other somewhat in the Arabic script. As Ibn Khayyāṭ's report is derived from Ibn Isḥāq, this Bahman must not be an invention of Sayf, though Sayf may have introduced him into contexts where he did not originally exist, as here. Sayf's version of Bahman's role in the Battle of the Bridge (see below pp. 188–93) may be profitably compared with Ibn Khayyāṭ's.

246. Original Pahlavī name is Veh-Ardashīr. This city, a part of the Sāsānian capital complex of al-Madāʾin, was a round, walled city on the west bank of the Tigris and already in decline by the time the Muslims came. See *EI*², s.v. al-Madāʾin; Le Strange, *Lands*, 34–35, map II.

247. This term, meaning "Nabataean," is used to refer to the non-Arab Syriac-speaking population of the Fertile Crescent. See *EI*¹, s.v. Nabataeans.

248. Or "surrender."

249. Both comments to the messengers are plays on their respective names.

> Persia. Embrace Islam so that you may be safe. If not, make a covenant of protection with me and pay the *jizyah*. Otherwise, I have brought you a people who love death just as you love drinking wine. [2054]

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah — Abū ʿUthmān; and al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh — Abū ʿUthmān, al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah, Ziyād b. Sarjis — Siyāh,[250] and Sufyān al-Aḥmarī — Māhān: The *kharāj* was brought to Khālid within fifty nights. Those who had guaranteed payment and those who were the chief men of the country districts (*rasātīq*) were hostages in his hands. Khālid gave all of that to the Muslims, who were thereby strengthened in their affairs. The Persians were left split by the death of Ardashīr regarding the kingship but in agreement on fighting Khālid and supporting each other [in that]. The Persians stayed like that for a year, while the Muslims were penetrating up to the Tigris. The Persians held nothing between al-Ḥīrah and the Tigris, nor did any of them have a guarantee of security except for those who had written to Khālid and received a written charter from him. The rest of the people of al-Sawād were either in flight, defending themselves in fortresses, or fighting [in the field]. The agents for collecting the *kharāj* were asked for written acknowledgments and would write releases for those liable to pay the *kharāj* out of one prototype:

> In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. Release is given to whoever is from such-and-such from the *jizyah* for which the amīr Khālid b. al-Walīd made peace with them. I have received that for which Khālid made peace with them. Khālid and the Muslims are a united force for you against whoever changes Khālid's peace. As long as you acknowledge the *jizyah* and refrain [from breaking the agreement], your security will be guaranteed and your peace kept. We will be faithful to you. [2055]

They made to witness for them those companions whom Khālid had caused to witness: Hishām, al-Qaʿqāʿ, Jābir b. Ṭāriq,[251] Jarīr, Bashīr,

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250. Perhaps representing the father of Sayf's dubious ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-Aḥmarī.

251. Jābir b. Ṭāriq b. Abī Ṭāriq b. ʿAwf al-Aḥmasī al-Bajalī, he was a Companion of the Prophet who occasioned a *ḥadīth*. He fought at al-Qādisiyyah and settled in al-Kūfah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 212.

Ḥanẓalah, Azdādh,[252] al-Ḥajjāj b. Dhī al-ʿUnuq,[253] and Mālik b. Zayd.[254]

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—ʿAṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith[255]—ʿAbd Khayr:[256] Khālid departed after the people of al-Ḥīrah had written a document that he approved stating, "We have paid the *jizyah* for which Khālid, the good servant [of God], and the Muslims, God's good servants, made a covenant with us, on condition that they and their commander protect us from aggression from the Muslims or others."

Al-Sarī, in what he has written for me — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith — ʿAbd Khayr — Hishām b. al-Walīd: Khālid was finished . . . ; then the rest of the report is like the report of ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd.

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf; and also al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf —ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Siyāh[257]—Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit[258]—Ibn al-Hu-

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252. Azdādh b. Fasā'ah al-Fārisī, the Persian *mawlā* of Baḥīr b. Raysān al-Ḥimyarī. One of his traditions transmitted by other than Sayf appears in the collection of Ibn Mājah, so that he does not appear to be a fabrication of Sayf. But his status as Companion is denied by the best authorities, including al-Bukhārī and Abū Ḥātim. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 29. As his patron Baḥīr b. Raysān appears only as a governor of Yemen for Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah and is later mentioned in connection with al-Kūfah at the time of al-Mukhtār's revolt in 66/686, it seems that the reference to Azdādh here is chronologically far out of place. See Ṭabarī, II, 277, 601.

253. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Khuwaylid al-Aḥmasī, a noble of the Bajīlah, he governed one of the subdistricts of al-Ḥīrah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 223; II, 291; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 312.

254. Mentioned only by Sayf, apparently once. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 485, gives his name as Mālik b. Yazīd, but derives the report from Sayf; thus it is unlikely that this Mālik was a Companion of the Prophet. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 396, lists two Mālik b. Yazīds and twenty Mālik b. Zayds but provides little information about them, so that one of them may be the one meant here.

255. Abū Rawq al-Hamdānī; he was a Kūfan transmitter generally deemed reliable who also wrote a *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 227; II, 205; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 369; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 418 (giving his *nisbah* as al-Ashʿarī); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 224.

256. ʿAbd Khayr b. Yazīd al-Khaywānī of the Hamdān; he was a Kūfan transmitter who fought for ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn. See Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 136, 342, 353; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 221; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 96; *Tahdhīb*, VI, 124–25.

257. The *mawlā* of the Asad; he was a Kūfan transmitter of tradition and had a good reputation but is said to have been a leader of the Shīʿah. He lived with Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit and died in the time of al-Manṣūr. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 363; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 340–41.

258. A Kūfan *mawlā* of the Banū Kāhil of the Asad and a well-known transmitter of tradition with a fair reputation; he died in 119/737 at the age of seventy-three. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 320; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 178–80.

dhayl al-Kāhilī,[259] a similar version: Khālid commanded the two messengers whom he sent out to bring him the news. Khālid stayed [2056] in office for a year, residing at al-Ḥīrah, traveling around and about before his departure for Syria. Meanwhile, the Persians were overthrowing kings and enthroning others, there being no defensive effort except at Bahurasīr. That was because Shīrā b. Kisrā had slain all his [male] relatives descended from Kisrā b. Qubādh;[260] then the people of Persia had risen after Shīrā and after Ardashīr his son and killed all [the descendants of the kings] between Kisrā b. Qubādh and Bahrām Jūr.[261] After that, they remained unable to agree on anyone to make king.

ʿUbaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ʿAmr and al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: In the period between his conquest of al-Ḥīrah and his departure for Syria, Khālid b. al-Walīd continued for more than a year to deal with the work of ʿIyāḍ that had been reported to him. Khālid declared:

> If not for what the caliph entrusted me with, I would not have saved ʿIyāḍ. He was grieving and causing grief at Dūmah. There was nothing left to do except to conquer Persia. It was behavior (*sunnah*) like the behavior of women. The caliph had enjoined him not to invade their land further as long as any of their organized forces were behind him. And the Persians [then] had a force at al-ʿAyn,[262] another at al-Anbār,[263] and another at al-Firāḍ.[264]

When Khālid's dispatches fell into the hands of the people of al-Ma-

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259. Unidentified.

260. The Sāsānian king Khusraw I Anūshirwān, who reigned 531–79 C.E.

261. The Sāsānian king Bahrām V, who reigned 420–38 C.E.

262. ʿAyn al-Tamr. An oasis 61 km. west of Karbalāʾ and due south of al-Ramādī, it was administratively part of upper Bihqubādh. Its inhabitants were of the Taghlib, Namir, and Asad. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAyn al-Tamr; Le Strange, *Lands*, 65, 81; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 361–63, 365, esp. n. 92; *Middle Euphrates*, 297–98, 307–8; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 176–77.

263. A large town on the Euphrates strategically situated at the head of the irrigation system of central Iraq. See *EI*², s.v. al-Anbār; Le Strange, *Lands*, 65–66; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 295–97.

264. Identified by Musil as al-Furḍah, then further identified with the ruins of al-Ṣāliḥiyyah 48 km. northwest of Abū Kamāl on the Euphrates. The same as ancient Roman Dura Europus, which marked the Roman-Persian frontier. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 10–13, 252, 313.

dā'in, the women of Kisrā's family spoke up, so that al-Farrukhzādh
[2057] b. al-Bindawān[265] was put in charge until such time as Kisrā's family agreed on a man [to make king], if they could find him.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh—Abū 'Uthmān, Ṭalḥah — al-Mughīrah, al-Muhallab — Siyāh, and Sufyān — Māhān: Abū Bakr had charged Khālid to approach Iraq from below and 'Iyāḍ to approach Iraq from above, [saying]:

> Whichever of you two is first to al-Ḥīrah, he is the amīr of al-Ḥīrah. Then when you have joined forces at al-Ḥīrah, God willing, routed the forces between the Arabs and Persia, and are safe from the Muslims being attacked from behind, let one of you stay at al-Ḥīrah while the other attacks the Persians. Fight them patiently for the sake of what you have in your hands. Seek God's help and protect yourselves from His wrath. Prefer the matter of the afterlife to this world so that you may obtain the benefits of both, and do not prefer this world lest you be denied both. Be watchful [to uphold] that which God has cautioned you about: abandon sins and hasten to repentance. Do not by any means persist [in sinning] and delay repentance.

Khālid kept what he had been commanded [to do], stationing himself at al-Ḥīrah. The lands between al-Falālīj and the lower Sawād came under his control. At that time, he divided the Sawād of al-Ḥīrah among Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥimyarī, Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah, Khālid b. al-Wāshimah,[266] Ibn Dhī al-'Unuq, Uṭṭ, Suwayd, and Ḍirār.[267] He divided the Sawād of al-Ubullah between Suwayd b.
[2058] al-Muqarrin, Ḥasakah al-Ḥabaṭī,[268] al-Ḥuṣayn b. Abī al-Ḥurr,[269] and Rabī'ah b. 'Isl.[270] He confirmed [the placement] of the forces on the frontiers and left al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr as his deputy in charge of al-Ḥīrah. Then Khālid departed for 'Iyāḍ's province to settle what was

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265. Mentioned only in transmissions from Sayf in this volume; otherwise unidentified.

266. Unidentified.

267. But which Ḍirār?

268. As he does not occur in other sources, he is called an invention of Sayf by al-'Askarī, *'Abdallāh b. Saba'*, 187.

269. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Mālik al-'Anbarī of al-Baṣrah, he founded a lineage in that city. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 81; II, 336.

270. Of the 'Amr b. Yarbū' of the Tamīm, a Baṣran, he fought on the side of 'Ā'ishah at the Battle of the Camel in 36/656, then was governor of Herat for Mu'āwiyah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 68; II, 479.

between them and to help him. He went by way of al-Fallūjah until he stopped at Karbalā',[271] where ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr was in charge of the garrison. Al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis[272] was in command of Khālid's vanguard because al-Muthannā was [then] in charge of a frontier post facing al-Madā'in. The Muslims would raid the Persians, reaching the bank of the Tigris, both before Khālid's departure from al-Ḥīrah and after he had left to help ʿIyāḍ.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Rawq—someone who was present with them, giving a similar account, until the point where he said: Khālid stayed at Karbalā' some days. ʿAbdallāh b. Wathīmah complained to him of the flies. Khālid told him, "Be patient for I want only to empty the [enemy's] armed posts that ʿIyāḍ had been commanded to deal with, so that we might settle the Arabs in them. By this the Muslims' troops will be safe from being attacked from the rear, and the Arabs coming to us will be sheltered and not have to sink in the sand. Thus the caliph has commanded us, and his opinion equals the support of the [whole] community." A man of the Ashjaʿ[273] said regarding Ibn Wathīmah's complaint:

My mount has been detained in Karbalā'
and in al-ʿAyn until its fat [part] has become thin.
If she slackly moves from a kneeling place, she returns to it;
by the life of her father, I most certainly despise her. [2059]
There keeps her from the water of every drinking place
a company of flies whose eyes are blue.

Al-Anbār, Which Is Dhāt al-ʿUyūn, and Kalwādhā[274]

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and their companions: Khālid b. al-Walīd went forth with that mobilization in which

271. The site of al-Ḥusayn's martyrdom. See *EI²*, s.v. Karbalā'.

272. Al-Mujāshiʿī al-Dārimī, of a noble Tamīmī lineage, he is said to have become a Muslim in Medina before the fall of Mecca in 8/630, more likely in the year of delegations, 9/631. He is alleged to have been the cause of the revelation of Qur'ān 49:4–5. Migrating to al-Baṣrah, he participated in many conquests in Iraq and Iran and conquered al-Jūzjān in northern Afghanistan in 32/652–53. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 61; II, 191; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 288, 294, 358, 447; II, 153, 161; IV, 246, 273, 282; VII, 37; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 78, 503–4; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, III, 89–94; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 58–59.

273. A Muḍarī subtribe and army regiment, one of the main branches of the Ghaṭafān. See *EI²*, s.v. Ghaṭafān; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92.

274. The seat of a subdistrict on the east bank of the Tigris not far south of Baghdād. See *EI²*, s.v. Kalwādhā; Le Strange, *Lands*, 32, 80.

he left al-Ḥīrah. Al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis was in command of his vanguard. When al-Aqraʿ stopped at the last stage on the way to al-Anbār, a group of the Muslims had camels about to give birth but could not halt, finding no escape from proceeding forward with their camels in labor following them. When departure was commanded, they tied up the teats of the camels with young and carried the newborn camels on the rumps of others, for the newborns could not bear walking, and thus they came riding to al-Anbār.

Meanwhile, the people of al-Anbār had fortified themselves and built a ditch to stop the enemy, while they stayed high up in their castle. The commander of those troops was Shīrzādh, the governor of Sābāṭ,[275] who was the most sensible Persian on that day, as well as the most lordly and best liked among the people, both Arabs and Persians. The Arabs of al-Anbār that day called out from the wall, "Evil has overtaken al-Anbār by morning: a [grown] camel carrying its young one, and a camel[276] whose seeking of shelter has made it strong." Shīrzādh asked, "What are they saying?" When it was explained to him, he said, "As for these, they have pronounced against
[2060] themselves a sentence [of defeat]. That is because, if a people pronounce a sentence against themselves, its effect tends to stick to them. By God, if Khālid had not [already] passed by, I would have made peace with him."

While they were talking, Khālid came to the vanguard and approached the ditch. Fighting broke out.[277] Khālid would become impatient regarding it if he saw it or heard of it. He came to his archers to give them instructions, saying, "I see groups of people [here] who have no knowledge of warfare. Therefore shoot at their eyes; do not aim elsewhere." The archers shot one volley of arrows, then continued. As a result, a thousand eyes were put out on that day, so that that battle was named Dhāt al-ʿUyūn. The people shouted to one another, "The eyes of the people of al-Anbār have gone!" Shīrzādh asked, "What are they saying?" Then it was explained to him. He said, "*Ābādh, ābādh,*"[278] and sent a messenger to Khālid requesting

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275. A part of the Madā'in complex of cities, it lay on the west bank of the Tigris 5 km. south of Veh-Ardashīr = Bahurasīr. See *EI*², s.v. al-Madā'in.

276. Text *ḥiml*; read: *jamal*, as in Ms. B and Cairo ed.

277. Or "He started the fighting." See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

278. This is a Persian expression meaning "Good! Bravo!" See Steingass, *Persian Dictionary*, 3.

peace with a condition that Khālid did not accept, so that he sent back Shīrzādh's messengers empty-handed.

Khālid came to the narrowest place in the trench with the army's weakest camels, which he slaughtered and then threw into the ditch, filling it up. Then he launched an assault across the ditch, the weak camels' [bodies] being the bridges for his troops. The Muslims and the polytheists came together in the ditch, but the enemy recoiled into their fortress. Shīrzādh sent messengers to Khālid, [again] requesting peace according to what he wanted. [This time] Khālid accepted his request, including the condition that he leave Shīrzādh's way free, delivering him with a group of light cavalry to the Persian lines,[279] but without letting them take any goods or valuables with them. Thus Shīrzādh departed.

When he came to Bahman Jādhūyah and told him the news, Bahman blamed him. Shīrzādh answered,

> I was among a people who had no minds! Their origin is from the Arabs. I heard them at their coming pronouncing upon themselves a sentence [of defeat]. Rarely does it happen that a people pronounce a sentence against themselves but that it takes effect upon them. Then the troops fought against the Muslims, but these put out a thousand eyes among our troops and the inhabitants of the land. At this, I knew it was sounder to make peace.

When Khālid and the Muslims had become secure at al-Anbār, [2061]
and the inhabitants of al-Anbār, feeling safe, had come forth, Khālid saw that they wrote in Arabic and were learned in it. He asked them, "What are you?" They replied, "A group of Arabs who settled amid a group of Arabs [who were here] before. The first of them settled al-Anbār in the days of Bukhtinaṣṣar,[280] when he allowed the Arabs. Thereafter they did not leave it." Khālid then asked, "From whom did you learn writing?"[281] They answered, "We learned writing from the Iyād."[282] They quoted the saying of the poet:[283]

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279. Lit., "a safe place for him."

280. Arabic for Nebuchadnezzar = Nabu-kudurri-uṣur, the famous king of Babylon who ruled 605–561 B.C.E. See *EI*², s.v. Bukh-Naṣ(ṣ)ar.

281. Lit., "the book."

282. An Arab tribe living in many widely dispersed locations west of the Euphrates. See *EI*², s.v. Iyād.

283. These lines are attributed to Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafī in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 47.

My people are the Iyād, if they were nearby,
or if they had stayed, even though their camels would have become thin,
A people who gained the broad expanse of Iraq when
they went off all together, as well as gaining the script[284] and the pen.

Khālid also made peace with those around al-Anbār. He began with the inhabitants of al-Bawāzīj.[285] The people of Kalwādhā also sent a messenger to him to make an agreement. He wrote out a charter for them and they became his confidants beyond the Tigris. Then the people of al-Anbār and the areas around it rebelled as a part of what would happen between the Muslims and the various nations of polytheists, except for the people of al-Bawāzīj, for they remained loyal just as did the people of Bāniqyā.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, that is, Ibn Siyāh—Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit: No one in al-Sawād obtained a treaty before the battle except for the Banū Ṣalūbā, who are the people of al-Ḥīrah, Kalwādhā, and some of the towns on the Euphrates. Then these betrayed their agreements until they were invited to accept a guarantee of security [even] after they had committed betrayal.

[2062] Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Qays:[286] I asked al-Shaʿbī, "Was al-Sawād taken by force?" He answered, "Yes, including all the land except for some of the castles and fortresses. For some of these made peace on terms with their besieger,[287] whereas some were conquered outright." Then I inquired, "Did the people of al-Sawād obtain a security agreement that they concluded before the flight?" He replied, "No, but after they were called on [to accept an agreement], when they had shown willingness to pay the *kharāj* and it was taken from them, their security then became guaranteed."

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284. Or, "the cut sheet," referring to writing material, as in Ibn Hishām.

285. Here Bawāzīj al-Anbār, near the town of al-Anbār, is meant, rather than the distant Bawāzīj on the upper Tigris. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 301, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 503, it was conquered not by Khālid, but by Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī, certain of whose *mawlās* settled it.

286. Apparently Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Qays al-Asadī al-Wālibī, a Kūfan traditionist who transmitted from al-Shaʿbī. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 361; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 412–13.

287. Lit., "him," with no antecedent.

About ʿAyn al-Tamr

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, and Ziyād: When Khālid was done with al-Anbār, it being thoroughly under his control, he left al-Zibriqān b. Badr[288] as his deputy in charge of it. Khālid then headed for ʿAyn al-Tamr, where at that time there were Mihrān b. Bahrām Jūbīn[289] with a great force of Persians and ʿAqqah b. Abī ʿAqqah[290] with a mighty force of Arabs from the Namir,[291] Taghlib,[292] Iyād, and those who rallied to them.

When they heard of Khālid, ʿAqqah said to Mihrān, "Arabs are more knowledgeable about fighting Arabs. Therefore, leave Khālid to us." Mihrān said, "You have spoken the truth. By my life, you are indeed more knowledgeable about fighting the Arabs, just as you indeed are our equals in fighting the Persians." Thus he deceived ʿAqqah and used him for defense [against the Muslims]. Mihrān then said, "There they are for you! If you need us, we will help you." When ʿAqqah had marched off toward Khālid, the Persians asked Mihrān, "What made you say these words to this dog?" Mihrān replied, "Let me be, for I sought only what is better for you and worse for them. There have come against you those who have slain your

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288. Ḥuṣayn b. Badr al-ʿAwfī of the Saʿd Tamīm. He was appointed by the Prophet to collect the *ṣadaqah* of part of the Tamīm and the Ribāb. He stayed in the desert later, though he frequently visited al-Baṣrah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 77; II, 335, 606.

289. This would be a son of Bahrām Chūbīn, the general who rebelled against Khusraw II Parwīz 590–91 C.E. and is enumerated as Bahrām VI in the list of Sāsānian monarchs. In view of the fact that the rebellion was put down and its adherents executed, it is unlikely that anyone from this family would reemerge as a commander of a frontier garrison at this late date. Rather, this is probably another case of Sayf's adorning his reports with invented personages of illustrious ancestry, a tendency that also occurs with the reappearance of the defunct dynasty of al-Ḥīrah in Ṭabarī, I, 2226. On Bahrām Chūbīn, see Theophylact, *History*, 101–2, 150, 152–53, and passim; Pseudo-Sebeos, *History*, 14–16, 18–20, 29, 31–32.

290. ʿAqqah b. Qays al-Namarī, the defender of ʿAyn al-Tamr, who was captured and executed by Khālid. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 167; II, 191.

291. Al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ, a smaller branch of the Rabīʿah who originated in southern Yamāmah, then migrated in the wake of the Taghlib to al-Jazīrah, where they were located partly at Raʾs al-ʿAyn on the Khābūr River. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 141; II, 444.

292. One of the two branches of the Wāʾil, the other being the Bakr, the Taghlib were located in the Jazīrah. They opposed Islam and clung to Christianity for a long time. See *EI*[1], *Supplement*, s.v. Taghlib; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 27–28, 541–42.

kings and routed your crack troops. I am warding them off with
[2063] these Arabs. If our Arabs defeat Khālid, it is your victory. If it is the other way, you will not be reached by them until they have become exhausted. Then we will fight them while we are strong and they are weakened." At this, they admitted the excellence of his view.

Thus Mihrān stuck to the spring, while ʿAqqah confronted Khālid on the road. In charge of ʿAqqah's right was Bujayr b. So-and-So,[293] one of the Banū ʿUtbah[294] b. Saʿd b. Zuhayr.[295] On his left was al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān.[296] Between ʿAqqah and Mihrān was half a day's journey.[297] Mihrān was in the fortress with the mobile troops of Persia, while ʿAqqah was on the road of al-Karkh[298] in a defensive position.

Khālid came upon him while putting his troops in battle formation. Khālid completed readying his troops for battle and then said to his two wings, "Hold back for us what the enemy has, for I am going to charge." He personally assigned covering forces and then charged while ʿAqqah was arranging his lines. Khālid engaged him in close combat and took him prisoner. ʿAqqah's line was defeated without fighting, the Muslims taking many of them prisoner. Bujayr and al-Hudhayl fled, with the Muslims in pursuit. When the news reached Mihrān, he fled with his troops and abandoned the fortress. When the defeated remnants of ʿAqqah's forces, both Arabs and Persians, reached the fortress, they rushed into it, taking refuge there.

Khālid approached with the Muslim troops to besiege the fortress. He had with him ʿAqqah as a prisoner and ʿAmr b. al-Ṣaʿiq.[299] The

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293. Bujayr b. al-ʿAbd b. ʿAlqamah, the grandfather of ʿAlī's wife Umm Ḥabīb al-Sahbāʾ. See Ibn al-Kalbi, *Ǧamharat*, I, 164; II, 228.

294. Text: ʿUbayd; read: ʿUtbah. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

295. A clan of the Saʿd b. Zuhayr of the Taghlib. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 164; II, 578.

296. Al-Taghlibī from al-Jazīrah; he seems to be featured only in reports from Sayf, who improbably alleges that he was a follower of the Tamīmī false prophetess Sajāḥ, who was really from the Taghlib. This seems to be an attempt to remove the stigma of Sajāḥ's resistance to Islam from the Tamīm by transferring it to their Taghlibī rivals. See Ṭabarī, I, 1911, 1913, 1915, 1920, 1930.

297. Ar. *rawḥah aw ghadwah*, lit. "a going home at night or a going forth in the morning."

298. A common Iraqi place name. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 447. None of the specific Karkhs that he lists fit here.

299. Apparently ʿAmr b. Khuwaylid al-Ṣaʿiq al-Kilābī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 96; II, 176; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 297; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 166. His death does not seem to be reported except in this place.

enemy hoped that Khālid would be like those of the Arabs who would raid [and withdraw], but when they saw Khālid was intent [on taking them], they asked for a safe-conduct. But Khālid refused any but his own terms, and they agreed to this readily. When they opened [the gates], Khālid handed them over to the Muslims, who bound them.[300] Khālid commanded that ʿAqqah, who had been their protector, be beheaded so that the prisoners might despair of life. When the prisoners saw him thrown onto the bridge, they despaired of life. Then Khālid called for ʿAmr b. al-Ṣaʿiq, who was beheaded as well. Khālid beheaded all the men of the fortress and took possession [2064] of all that their fortress contained, seizing as spoils what was in it.

Khālid found in their church forty boys who were studying the Gospel behind a locked door, which he broke down in getting to them. He asked, "What are you?" They replied, "Hostages." He divided them among the Muslims who had performed outstandingly in battle. They included Abū Ziyād, the *mawlā* of the Thaqīf,[301] Nuṣayr, the father of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr,[302] Abū ʿAmrah,[303] the grandfather of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā the poet,[304] Sīrīn,[305] the father of Muḥammad b. Sīrīn,[306] Ḥurayth, and ʿUlāthah.[307] Abū ʿAmrah went to

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300. See Cairo ed., n. 2.

301. Unidentified.

302. The later conqueror of North Africa and Spain, he died in 97/716. His father, Nuṣayr, was the commander of Muʿāwiyah's guard. They usually are considered to have been *mawlās* of the Lakhm, but other identifications also exist. See *EI*[1], s.v. Mūsā b. Nuṣair; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, V, 318–29; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *Taʾrīkh al-maghrib al-ʿarabī*, 238–56.

303. An Arab, al-Shaybānī of the Murrah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān, he founded a famous family in Medina, celebrated by the great poet al-Farazdaq. See ʿAṭwān, *Sīrah*, 73–75.

304. An accomplished traditionist, poet, and orator, he was the tutor of Ayyūb, son of the caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik. This was an important post, as Sulaymān was grooming Ayyūb for the succession when the latter died in 98/716. ʿAbdallāh continued to be a companion of the Umayyad caliphs, including ʿUmar II and Yazīd II, but fell afoul of Hishām. He lived until at least 126/744. See ʿAṭwān, *Sīrah*, 77–82. See also note 658, below.

305. According to Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 146, he was taken captive at Jarjarāyā, not ʿAyn al-Tamr. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 303, reconciles the two reports by making him a visitor from Jarjarāyā in ʿAyn al-Tamr at the time of the capture. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 176, has the information that Sīrīn was Ibn Sīrīn's mother, rather than his father, which may represent an attempt to harmonize the conflicting traditions.

306. The *mawlā* of the Anṣār, one of the most famous traditionists of his time; he lived in al-Baṣrah. His dates are 33–110/654–729. See Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 146; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 214–17.

307. These two men are unidentified.

Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah,[308] Ḥurayth to a man from the Banū ʿIbād,[309] ʿUlāthah to al-Muʿannā, and Ḥumrān[310] to ʿUthmān.[311] They also included ʿUmayr and Abū Qays,[312] who retained his family relationship (*nasab*) as one of the old *mawlās* of the Syrians. Nuṣayr was considered one of the Banū Yashkur,[313] whereas Abū ʿAmrah was considered one of the Banū Murrah.[314] These captives also included Ibn Ukht al-Namir.[315]

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Abū Sufyān

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308. Reportedly an early Muslim, he is said to have been of the marginal al-Ghawth (or Ṣūfat al-Rabīṭ) b. Murr b. Udd, who were confederates of the Jumaḥ of the Quraysh, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 532; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 299. However, according to another tradition, he was the son of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-Muṭāʿ al-Kindī but was attributed to his mother Ḥasanah, a *mawlāh* of the Jumaḥ. This tradition also states that Shuraḥbīl was himself a confederate of the Qurashī Zuhrah clan. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 514; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 325; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 162. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 214, gives both versions but prefers that of Ibn al-Kalbī. In any case, he was associated with the Qurashī nobles. He participated in the conquest of Syria and died in 18/639.

309. This tribal grouping from al-Ḥīrah contained settled Christian elements from various origins. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 111; Trimingham, *Christianity*, 156, 171, 225, 278.

310. Ḥumrān b. Abān al-Namarī; he was actually the captive of a Fazārī, who sold him to ʿUthmān. He became one of the secretaries or the chamberlain of ʿUthmān during the latter's caliphate. ʿUthmān became angry with him for an indiscretion, whereupon Ḥumrān moved to al-Baṣrah, where he lived in the quarter of al-Jufrah and was one of the leaders of the pro-Umayyad party against al-Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr in 71/692. After al-Muṣʿab was killed he was able to take power briefly as governor of al-Baṣrah for the Umayyads. He also is said to have taken power in al-Baṣrah for the Umayyads on the abdication of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī at the beginning of 41/661, which would appear to be a retrospective duplication of the later occasion. He is further said to have been a Syriac speaker, to have had a Jewish mother, and to have been given his Namarī genealogy by his descendants. See Ṭabarī, I, 2923–24, 3030, II, 11, 799, 801, 817–18, 837; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 167; II, 332; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 283; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 195, 342; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 432; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 176.

311. That is, Ibn ʿAffān the caliph. See Note 310, above.

312. These two men are unidentified.

313. The Yashkur were an important subgroup of the Bakr b. Wāʾil, who were settled mostly in the oases of al-Yamāmah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 26, 592.

314. The Murrah b. ʿAwf, a subgroup of the Ghaṭafān who were later prominent in al-Jazīrah. See *EI*², s.v. Ghaṭafān; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92, 127; II, 19–20, 433. However, the family of Abū ʿAmrah are usually considered to have belonged to the Shaybān. See notes 303 and 304, above.

315. Ibn Ukht al-Namir is al-Sāʾib b. Yazīd al-Kindī. His tribal designation is in some doubt, however. Both he and his father are usually considered to have been Companions. Some have held Ibn Ukht al-Namir to have been the last Companion alive in Medina, dying in 82/701 or later. His paternal uncle was al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, the early governor of al-Baḥrayn. The caliph ʿUmar is said to have put him in charge of the market of Medina. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 239; II, 499; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 12–13; *Tahdhīb*, III, 450–51.

Also it is most striking that this list does not include Yasār, the grandfather of the

Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,[316] and al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah: When al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah came from Khālid to Abū Bakr bringing what Khālid had sent with him of the fifths [of the spoils reserved for the state], Abū Bakr sent him on to ʿIyāḍ as support. Al-Walīd came to ʿIyāḍ when the latter was besieging the enemy and they were besieging him, having seized the road from him. Al-Walīd advised him, "Circumspection in some cases is better than numerous troops. Send a message to Khālid asking him for reinforcements." ʿIyāḍ did so. His messenger came to Khālid just after the Battle of al-ʿAyn asking for help. Khālid rushed a letter to ʿIyāḍ from him, [saying,] "From Khālid to ʿIyāḍ. I am coming to you.

Hold [them] off a little, for there will come to you milch camels
bearing lions wearing worn-out clothes, regiments following
upon them regiments."

Dūmat al-Jandal [2065]

[The same transmitters]: When Khālid was done with ʿAyn al-Tamr, he left in charge of it ʿUwaym b. al-Kāhil al-Aslamī[317] and then marched forth in the same formation with which he had entered al-ʿAyn. When the people of Dūmah heard that Khālid was marching against them, they sent [messages] to their allies among the Bahrāʾ,[318] the Kalb,[319] the Ghassān,[320] the Tanūkh,[321] and the Ḍa-

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historian Ibn Isḥāq. This could be because Sayf did not want to include in this glorious ancestry the dean of the more sober Medinan school of historians. For other, different lists of the captives of ʿAyn al-Tamr, see Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 102; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 395; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 176.

316. Al-ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 154, 274, considers him a fabrication by Sayf because he appears only in Sayf's *isnāds*.

317. Unidentified.

318. A tribe belonging to the Quḍāʿah, they were already concentrated in northern Syria and the reaches of the Euphrates at the time of the Islamic conquest. See *EI*², s.v. Bahrāʾ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 88–89, 220.

319. The great Syrian tribe of the Quḍāʿah that tended to hold a dominant position under the Umayyads, it dominated a large territory in the Syrian Desert stretching from Dūmat al-Jandal to Palmyra. See *EI*², s.v. Kalb b. Wabara; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 76–79, 369; Donner, *Conquests*, 106–7.

320. This tribe, which was basically established in southern Syria, particularly in the area of the present state of Jordan, is best known for the sixth century C.E. Roman client state that it had founded east of the Jordan river, with its capital at Buṣrā al-Shaʾm (ancient Bostra). The Banū Ghassān were Monophysite Christians, so that, although here they are portrayed as resisting the Muslims, the actual extent of their support for the Romans is doubtful. See *EI*², s.v. Ghassān; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 176; II, 35–38, 273; Donner, *Conquests*, 107–8.

321. An Arab tribal confederation not linked closely with either the Maʿadd or the

jāʿim.[322] Even before Wadīʿah[323] had come to them with the Kalb, the Bahrāʾ, and his supporter Ibn Wabarah b. Rūmānis,[324] and Ibn al-Ḥidrijān[325] had come to them with the Ḍajāʿim, and Ibn al-Ayham[326] with groups of the Ghassān and the Tanūkh, they caused grief to ʿIyāḍ and suffered from him as well.

When word of Khālid's approach reached them, their two leaders, Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik[327] and al-Jūdī b. Rabīʿah,[328] disagreed [about what to do]. Ukaydir said, "I am the most knowledgeable of people about Khālid. No one is better omened than he, nor sharper in war. No people, regardless of whether they are few or many, ever see Khālid's face but that they flee from him. Therefore obey me and make peace with the enemy." But they refused him, so that he said, "I will never conspire with you to make war on Khālid. It is your affair." Then he went on his way. That [word] reached Khālid, who sent out ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr to stop Ukaydir. ʿĀṣim captured Ukaydir, who said, "I have not met other than the amīr Khālid." When he was brought to Khālid, the latter had him beheaded and took the property that had been with him.

Yemen, the Tanūkh lived between al-Ḥīrah and al-Anbār on the Euphrates, with other branches in Qinnasrīn and around Aleppo. See *EI*[1], *Supplement*, s.v. Tanūkh; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 297; II, 80–84, 544–45.

322. Phylarchs of the Arab marches for the Romans before the Ghassānids, also possibly associated with northern Syria, as they were of the Salīḥ, a branch of the Quḍāʿah. See *EI*[1], s.v. Salīḥ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 326; II, 86, 240, 296. See also note 433, below.

323. Unidentified.

324. Al-Kalbī. Wabarah was the half brother of the last Lakhmid king of al-Ḥīrah, al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, through their mother. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 290; II, 581; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 267. Possibly this Ibn Wabarah is simply another adornment to the narrative.

325. Neither of the two al-Ḥidrijāns found in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 323, nor the one in Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 327, seems remotely connected with this personage.

326. Jabalah b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī, the last ruler of the Ghassānid client state of the Romans. He embraced Islam but afterward reverted to Christianity, retiring to an estate in Cappadocia, where his descendants long flourished. Caskel places his reversion to Christianity after the Battle of the Yarmūk. See *EI*[2], s.v. Djabala b. al-Ayham; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 193; II, 248; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 125–27, 132.

327. Al-Sukūnī al-Kindī. He was the Christian prince of Dūmat al-Jandal who was forced to pay tribute by the Prophet's expedition of 9/631 to Tabūk. At the Prophet's death in 11/632 he stopped and either migrated or was forced to migrate toward al-Ḥīrah, near which he built a new Dūmah, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 241; II, 566–67. This suggests that the Dūmah in question here may have been nearer to al-Ḥīrah than Dūmat al-Jandal, which would better fit Khālid's itinerary in the text. See also Ṭabarī, I, 1702–3, 2374; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 526.

328. Unidentified.

Khālid then went along until he besieged the people of Dūmah, who were commanded by al-Jūdī b. Rabīʿah, Wadīʿah al-Kalbī, Ibn Rūmānis al-Kalbī, Ibn al-Ayham, and Ibn al-Ḥidrijān. Khālid put Dūmah between his own troops and the troops of ʿIyāḍ. The Christian Arabs who had reinforced the people of Dūmah surrounded the [2066]
fortress of Dūmah, for the fortress could not hold them. When Khālid was secure, al-Jūdī came out, bringing Wadīʿah. They marched against Khālid, while Ibn al-Ḥidrijān and Ibn al-Ayham went forth against ʿIyāḍ. They fought, and God defeated al-Jūdī and Wadīʿah at the hands of Khālid, while ʿIyāḍ defeated those facing him, and the Muslims pursued them. As for Khālid, he seized al-Jūdī most strongly, while al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis took Wadīʿah. The rest of the people recoiled into the fortress, which could not hold them [all]. When the fortress was full, those inside shut the fortress against their comrades, who remained around it, cut off. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr said, "O Banū Tamīm,[329] the Kalb are your confederates. Be charitable[330] to them and offer protection to them, for you cannot do [anything else] like it for them." They did [as he said], and the reason they were saved on that day was ʿĀṣim's advice to the Banū Tamīm concerning them.

Khālid came against those who had retreated toward the fortress and slew them until he blocked the gate of the fortress with them. Also, Khālid had al-Jūdī beheaded. Then he had the [other] captives beheaded, except for the captives from the Kalb, for ʿĀṣim, al-Aqraʿ, and the Banū Tamīm said, "We have given them a guarantee of safe-conduct." Therefore, Khālid released them to them, but he said, "What is the matter between me and you? Do you keep the custom of the Jāhiliyyah[331] and neglect the commandment of Islam?" ʿĀṣim answered him, "Do not begrudge them well-being, and do not let the devil possess them (*yuḥawwizhum*)."[332] Then Khālid ap-

329. A great tribal grouping of northeastern Arabia, the Tamīm represented the archetypical Arab nomads more than nearly any other group. They consisted of three main branches—the Saʿd, the Ḥanẓalah, and the ʿAmr—clans not belonging to these groups joined later. They were strongly represented in al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah, and Khurāsān. See *EI*[1], s.v. Tamīm b. Murr; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 59; II, 7–10, 544.

330. Text: *āsirūhum*; read: *āsūhum*, as in Ms. IH and Cairo ed.

331. The pre-Islamic period, especially in Arabia, often translated as "the Age of Ignorance," "ignorance" meaning ignorance of Islam; thus the term is used today to refer to what is un-Islamic. See *EI*[2], s.v. Djāhiliyya.

332. Another possible translation, based on the text of IK, is "do not give them over to the devil's possession."

proached the gate and did not leave it until he had torn it out. The Muslims rushed in upon the enemy, killing the troops and making captives of the children, whom they kept with those who were left over. Khālid purchased the daughter of al-Jūdī, who[se beauty] was
[2067] extolled. Khālid remained at Dūmah but sent al-Aqraʿ back to al-Anbār. When Khālid was returning to al-Ḥīrah and had gotten near enough to reach it by morning, al-Qaʿqāʿ made the people of al-Ḥīrah welcome him; thus, they went out to meet him in celebration. Certain of them would say to others, "Pass on by us, for this is liberation from evil."

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and al-Muhallab: While Khālid was staying at Dūmah, the Persians [only] made suppositions about him, but the Arabs of al-Jazīrah,[333] being angry on account of ʿAqqah, wrote to them. As a result, Zarmihr[334] went forth from Baghdādh[335] with Rūzbih,[336] and the two of them headed for al-Anbār and set a meeting at Ḥuṣayd and al-Khanāfis.[337] Al-Zibriqān, who was in command at al-Anbār, wrote to al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, who was at that time Khālid's deputy in charge of al-Ḥīrah. Al-Qaʿqāʿ sent out Aʿbad b. Fadakī al-Saʿdī,[338] giving him charge of al-Ḥuṣayd, and also sent out ʿUrwah b. al-Jaʿd al-Bāriqī,[339] giving him charge of al-Khanāfis. He said to the two of them, "If you see any forward troops, advance boldly [against them]." They went forth
[2068] and blocked the two Persians from [entering] the countryside, shut-

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333. The area between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, inhabited at this time mostly by the Rabīʿah. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Djazīra.

334. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf in this section.

335. Text: Baghdād; read Baghdādh, as elsewhere. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII. The mention of the ʿAbbāsid capital here is possibly an anachronism.

336. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf in this section.

337. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 134 n. 70, 309–10, based on Sayf's traditions, locates al-Khanāfis at al-Kāẓimayn, the modern northern suburb of Baghdād, 55 km. east of al-Anbār, though placing al-Ḥuṣayd closer to ʿAyn al-Tamr. The sparseness of the textual evidence and the doubtful value of Sayf's transmissions renders these possibilities uncertain, however.

338. Mentioned only by Sayf. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 110; ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 87, 89, 340.

339. Al-Azdī, enumerated as one of the Prophet's Companions and a transmitter of tradition. After settling in Syria, he much later was sent to al-Kūfah by ʿUthmān, where he was one of the latter's opponents. He must have lived a long time, for he is also reported to have been an informant for al-Shaʿbī at al-Kūfah. See Ṭabarī, I, 2921; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 247; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 476.

ting them up. Rūzbih and Zarmihr [did not engage] the Muslims while waiting for those of the Rabīʿah who had corresponded with them to gather, for they had been corresponding with each other and had agreed on a time to meet.

When Khālid returned from Dūmah to al-Ḥīrah, on the eve of his departure, and that [news] reached him, when he had laid plans to attack the people of al-Madāʾin, he disliked disobeying Abū Bakr and adding anything to his instructions. Therefore, he hastened to send al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr and Abū Laylā b. Fadakī against Rūzbih and Zarmihr. These two preceded him to ʿAyn al-Tamr. A letter came to Khālid from Imruʿ al-Qays al-Kalbī, [340] saying that al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān had gathered troops at al-Muṣayyakh and Rabīʿah b. Bujayr[341] was encamped at al-Thiny[342] and at al-Bishr[343] with troops. Both were angry on account of ʿAqqah and were heading for Zarmihr and Rūzbih. Khālid went forth with al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis in command of his vanguard, leaving ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm as his deputy in charge of al-Ḥīrah. He followed the route of al-Qaʿqāʿ and Abū Laylā to al-Khanāfis until he reached them at al-ʿAyn. Then he sent al-Qaʿqāʿ to Ḥuṣayd, putting him in command of the troops, and he sent Abū Laylā to al-Khanāfis. Khālid said [to the two of them], "Push them so that they may be gathered along with those who called on them for help in seeking revenge. And, if not, then attack them." But the two [Persian commanders] refused except to remain in their positions.

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340. Imruʾ al-Qays b. al-Aṣbagh of the Banū ʿAbdallāh; according to Sayf, he was the Prophet's agent in charge of taxes for the Kalb. Tumāḍir bt. al-Aṣbagh al-Kalbiyyah, also of the Banū ʿAbdallāh and the mother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf's son Abū Salamah, may have been his sister, but no Imruʾ al-Qays appears among the sons of al-Aṣbagh in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 282. Therefore we may be faced with another of the siblings of distinguished persons with whom Sayf is wont to embellish his reports. See Ṭabarī, I, 1872; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 63; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb*, I, 107; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 267.

341. Al-Taghlibī, attested in an *isnād* other than from Sayf in Ṭabarī, I, 1976–77. Otherwise, outside Sayf's reports he figures only as the father of ʿAlī's concubine al-Sahbāʾ. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 164; II, 288, refers to the father of al-Sahbāʾ as Ḥabīb b. Bujayr. For his daughter, see note 369, below.

342. On the southern slope of Jabal Bishrī in the Syrian desert, it is still known as Jubaylat al-Thiny. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 312.

343. The earlier form of the name of the present Jabal Bishrī in the Syrian desert west of Dayr al-Zawr. See *EI*², s.v. al-Bishr; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 312.

Ḥuṣayd

When al-Qaʿqāʿ saw that Zarmihr and Rūzbih made no move, he set
[2069] off toward Ḥuṣayd. Rūzbih was in charge of those Arabs and Persians whom al-Qaʿqāʿ passed by. When Rūzbih saw that al-Qaʿqāʿ intended [to attack] him, he sought reinforcements from Zarmihr, who came to his aid in person, leaving al-Mahbūdhān[344] in charge of his troops. The two sides met at Ḥuṣayd and fought. God slew the Persians in great numbers. Al-Qaʿqāʿ killed Zarmihr, and Rūzbih was also killed. ʿIṣmah b. ʿAbdallāh, one of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ṭarīf of the Banū Ḍabbah,[345] killed him. ʿIṣmah was one of *al-bararah*. Every clan (*fakhdh*) that migrated in toto is called *al-bararah*, whereas every group that migrated out of a tribe (*baṭn*) is called *al-khiyarah*.[346] Thus the Muslims consisted of *khiyarah* and *bararah*. On the Day of Ḥuṣayd the Muslims captured many spoils. The remnants of Ḥuṣayd retreated to al-Khanāfis and gathered there.

Al-Khanāfis

[The same transmitters]: Abū Layla b. Fadakī set out with those already with him and those who had joined him for al-Khanāfis. The defeated remnants of Ḥuṣayd had retreated to al-Mahbūdhān. When al-Mahbūdhān perceived [that], he and those with him fled, retreating to al-Muṣayyakh, where al-Hudhayl b. ʿImrān was. Abū Laylā met no treachery at al-Khanāfis. They sent the news to Khālid together.

Al-Muṣayyakh of the Banū al-Barshāʾ[347]

[The same transmitters]: When the news reached Khālid about the defeat of the forces at al-Ḥuṣayd and the flight of those at al-Khanā-

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344. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf in this place.

345. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf. As the Ḍabbah were a part of the Tamīm tribal division to which Sayf also belonged, the reports of ʿIṣmah's rather exaggerated and otherwise unattested exploits should not appear surprising. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 482; Donner, *Conquests*, 195, 198, 373, 383, 436, 438.

346. The term *al-bararah* literally means "the righteous," and *al-khiyarah* means "the best."

347. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 141; II, 224, and Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 314, the Banū al-Barshāʾ are Shaybān, Dhuhl, and Qays, the sons of Thaʿlabah, three subtribes of the Bakr b. Wāʾil. However, their genealogy suggests that this group might have been associated with the Taghlib originally, which would better fit the

fis, he wrote to his own forces, appointing for al-Qaʿqāʿ, Abū Laylā, Aʿbad,[348] and ʿUrwah a night and an hour on which they were to meet at al-Muṣayyakh, which is between Ḥawrān[349] and al-Qalt.[350] Khālid departed from al-ʿAyn, heading for al-Muṣayyakh on camels, avoiding horses. He stopped at al-Janāb,[351] then al-Baradān,[352] then [2070]
al-Hiny,[353] from which he then departed. When it was that [appointed] hour on the night of the rendezvous they all came together at al-Muṣayyakh. Then from three directions they attacked al-Hudhayl, those with him and those who had fled to him, when [all of] them were asleep and slew them, though al-Hudhayl escaped with a few men. The ground was filled with the slain. The Muslims could liken them only to prostrated sheep.

Ḥurqūṣ b. al-Nuʿmān[354] had given the non-Muslims sincere advice and excellent counsel, but they had not benefited from his warning. Ḥurqūṣ b. al-Nuʿmān said before the attack:

Did the two of them not give me to drink before the horses of Abū Bakr?

and so on. Ḥurqūṣ was married to a woman of the Banū Hilāl[355] called Umm Taghlib. She was killed on that night along with ʿUbādah b. Bishr, Imruʿ al-Qays b. Bishr, and Qays b. Bishr, who are the Banū al-Thawriyyah[356] of the Banū Hilāl.

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geographical location here on the upper Euphrates. Curiously, the following report reveals the inhabitants of al-Muṣayyakh not to have been of the Rabīʿah at all, let alone of the Bakr or the Taghlib.

348. Abū Laylā and Aʿbad are not the same person. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 110, understands them as brothers.

349. Possibly ʿAqlat Ḥawrān in the Wādī Ḥawrān, in the Syrian Desert 27 km. southwest of Alūs on the Euphrates. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 311–12.

350. Possibly the wadi of Abū Jaltah, about 45 km. southwest of Hīt. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 310–11.

351. Possibly the spring of al-ʿAṣībiyyah, 27 km. north-northwest of ʿAyn al-Tamr. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 311.

352. A large waterhole still having the same name, 10 km. beyond al-ʿAṣībiyyah. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 311.

353. A site 60 km. northwest of al-Baradān, also still bearing the same name. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 311.

354. Either al-Bahrānī or al-Namarī. See Donner, *Conquests*, 312 n. 163, 333 n. 113.

355. A nomadic Qaysī tribe from western Najd, the Hilāl emigrated out of their homeland less than the other Qaysī tribes in this period. See *EI*², s.v. Hilāl (tribe); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92; II, 15, 282.

356. This family and its members do not seem to be identifiable or to appear elsewhere.

On the Day of al-Muṣayyakh, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh killed, among the Namir, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Abī Ruhm b. Qirwāsh, one of the Aws Manāh of the Namir,[357] who, along with Labīd b. Jarīr,[358] had a written document from Abū Bakr attesting their [profession of] Islam. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā's statement reached Abū Bakr, who had [re]named him ʿAbdallāh on the night of the attack. Abū Bakr said, "Glory be to You, O God, the Lord of Muḥammad!" He paid the blood money for ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, just as he paid it for Labīd, both of them having been slain in the battle. He also said, "But that is not required of me if they joined the fight against the Muslim army (*ahl al-ḥarb*)." He also appointed guardians to look after their children. ʿUmar held their slaying against Khālid, in addition to his killing of Mālik, that
[2071] is, Ibn Nuwayrah.[359] But Abū Bakr said, "The like of this is what those who dwell next to an army will find in their lands." ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā had said:

I say when the morning brings an attack,
"Glory be to You, O God, the Lord of Muḥammad.
Glory be to my Lord, there is no god but He,
the Lord of the lands and the Lord of newcomers."[360]

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAṭiyyah — ʿAdī b. Ḥātim: We attacked the people of al-Muṣayyakh. A man appeared there called by his name Ḥurqūṣ b. al-Nuʿmān of the Namir. Around him were his sons and his wife. In their midst was a vat of wine, with which they were busy. The family said to Ḥurqūṣ, "Who will drink at this hour and in the latter part of the night?" He replied, "Drink a parting draft, for I do not think that you will drink wine after it. Here is

357. For the Aws Manāh, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 167. The element *Qirwāsh* could be a confusion with the *Qawqān* that appears in Ibn al-Kalbī's tree, for the consonantal outlines of the two words in Arabic are similar.

358. Almost certainly the same as the Labīd b. ʿUtbah al-Namarī mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 167; II, 375, for the latter was also of the Aws Manāh and was slain by Khālid. The appearance of the element *Jarīr* in his name presumably is a confusion with the name of Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī, who also appears in this report.

359. He was a chief of the Tamīmī Yarbūʿ who was killed by Ḍirār b. Mālik al-Azwar during the Riddah wars of 11/632. ʿUmar held his killing against Khālid b. al-Walīd, and it became a famous episode. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 69; II, 393; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 75, 83–84; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 530; Ṭabarī, I, 1750, 1880, 1909, 1912, 1921–24, 1926–27, 1963; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 357.

360. Possibly, the *lands* in the line may refer to Iraq with its original inhabitants, whereas the *newcomers* (lit., "those who come to water") may refer to the Arab Muslim migrants to it.

Khālid at al-ʿAyn, while his troops are at Ḥuṣayd. He has heard about our mustering and will not leave us alone." Then he said:

Will you not drink before the disaster,
a little after the people have been puffed up with abundant dregs
And before our deaths, which by fate will strike [2072]
at a time that will neither increase nor decrease.

Certain of the horsemen hastened toward him while he was in the middle of that and struck his head, [knocking] him into his vat. We took his daughters captive and slew his sons.

Al-Thanī[361] *and al-Zumayl*[362]

Rabīʿah b. Bujayr al-Taghlibī had descended on al-Thanī and al-Bishr out of anger for ʿAqqah and set an appointed time to meet Rūzbih, Zarmihr, and al-Hudhayl. After Khālid had struck the forces at al-Muṣayyakh with what he struck them with, he went to al-Qaʿqāʿ and Abū Laylā, commanding them to set out ahead of him. On the night on which they parted, he appointed for them a time when they would come together, attacking the enemy from three directions, as he had done to the forces at al-Muṣayyakh. Then Khālid went forth from al-Muṣayyakh, stopping at Ḥawrān, then al-Ranq,[363] then al-Ḥamāh,[364] which today belongs to the Banū Junādah b. Zuhayr[365] of the Kalb, then al-Zumayl, which is al-Bishr including al-Thanī, both of which today are east of al-Ruṣāfah.[366]

Khālid started at al-Thanī, which he and his companions, coming together from three directions, attacked by night along with those who had gathered to [defend] it and had come to it, as well as those young men[367] who had joined in a motley group [there] for that [purpose]. The Muslims unsheathed their swords against them, and no

361. Same as al-Thiny, note 342, above.

362. Identified by Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 312, with the rise of al-Zumaylī in the flatland north of Jabal Bishrī.

363. Emended by Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 312–13, to al-Rathqah, a waterhole about 140 km. northwest of ʿAqlat Ḥawrān.

364. Unidentified place.

365. This is the Junādah b. Suḥbān b. Imruʾ al-Qays b. Zuhayr. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 285; II, 265.

366. Ancient Sergiopolis, the famous city 40 km. south of the Euphrates in Syria. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Ruṣāfa; Musil, *Palmyrena*, 260–72.

367. Text: *al-shaʾn*; read: *al-shubbān*, as IH and Cairo ed.

one of that army escaped to deliver the news. Khālid took the children captive, sent God's fifth to Abū Bakr with al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAwf b. al-Nuʿmān al-Shaybānī,[368] and divided the spoils and the captives [among his troops]. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib bought the daughter[369] of Ra-
[2073] bīʿah b. Bujayr al-Taghlibī, taking her [for himself], and she bore him ʿUmar[370] and Ruqayyah.[371]

Al-Hudhayl, when he had escaped, took refuge at al-Zumayl with ʿAttāb b. So-and-So,[372] who was at al-Bishr with a large force. Khālid attacked them at night with an attack like the last one, from three directions. They had already heard the news about Rabīʿah. They were slain in great numbers, unlike the numbers killed before. The Muslims got from them what they wanted. Khālid had taken an oath that he would most certainly seek out the Taghlib in their own homeland. Khālid divided their spoils among the men and sent the fifths to Abū Bakr with al-Ṣabbāḥ b. So-and-So al-Muzanī.[373] In the fifths were the daughter of Muʾdhin al-Namarī,[374] Laylā bt. Khālid,[375] and Rayḥānah bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrah.[376]

Then Khālid turned from al-Bishr toward al-Ruḍāb,[377] where Hilāl b. ʿAqqah[378] was. His troops had deserted him when they heard of

368. Meant to be the son of the ʿAwf b. al-Nuʿmān mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 147; II, 211, this al-Nuʿmān seems to be mentioned only by Sayf.

369. Umm Ḥabīb al-Sahbāʾ. Ibn al-Kalbī calls her the daughter of Ḥabīb b. Bujayr and, with Ibn Saʿd, reports she was captured at ʿAyn al-Tamr. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 164; II, 535; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 20; V, 117; al-Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 42.

370. He had an extensive progeny. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 20; V, 117; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 80; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 66–67. He lived into the reign of al-Walīd I. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 42–43.

371. ʿUmar's twin sister, she married her paternal first cousin Muslim b. ʿAqīl, to whom she bore at least three sons. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 45.

372. Unidentified.

373. Unidentified.

374. Unidentified.

375. Unidentified.

376. Al-Taghlibiyyah; she is supposed to have been the daughter of a famous Taghlibī leader who flourished c. 610 C.E. She is not mentioned elsewhere, however. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 163; II, 286; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 336.

377. Probably a place at or near al-Ruṣāfah is meant. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 50; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 313.

378. Al-Namarī, the son of ʿAqqah b. Qays, who had already been killed at ʿAyn al-Tamr. See above, pp. 53–55. In Ibn Isḥāq's report, p. 124, below, however, his name is given as Hilāl b. ʿAqqah b. Bishr. Probably Qays, not Bishr, is correct, as Bishr is probably owing to a corruption introduced by the name of Jabal al-Bishr that occurs in his story here. See Ṭabarī, I, 1911, etc.; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 167.

Khālid's approach, and Hilāl drew back from it, so that Khālid did not meet any treachery there.

Al-Firāḍ

Then, after al-Ruḍāb and his surprise attack on the Taghlib, Khālid headed for al-Firāḍ. Al-Firāḍ is [on] the border of Syria, Iraq, and al-Jazīrah. He completed the fast of Ramaḍān on that journey,[379] in which the attacks and battles had been continuous, one after another[380]—the *rajaz*[381] poets often speak of them—connected with whatever battles had gone before. [2074]

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah, as well as ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—a man from the Banū Saʿd—Ẓafar b. Dahī,[382] and al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah: When the Muslims came together at al-Firāḍ, the Romans became hot and angry and sought help from the nearby outposts of the Persians, who had also become hot and angry and sought reinforcements from the Taghlib, Iyād, and Namir.[383] These supplied them with reinforcements, then came to blows with Khālid, so that when the Euphrates was between them they said, "Either cross over to us, or we will cross over to you." Khālid answered them, "Rather, cross over to us." They said, "Then back away so that we may cross." Khālid replied, "We will not do [that], but cross over downriver from us." That was in the middle of Dhū al-Qaʿdah of the year 12 (21 January 634).

The Romans and the Persians said to one another: "Keep your sovereignty in your own hands. This is a man who is fighting on the basis of religion. He has intelligence and knowledge. By God, he will most definitely be victorious, whereas we will most certainly fail." But they did not profit from that [advice] and crossed the river below Khālid. When their lines were complete, the Romans said, "Wear distinctive emblems so that we may know from which of us came

379. That puts him on his way to al-Firāḍ on 1 Shawwāl 12 (9 December 633).

380. Or "like pearls on a string."

381. One of the Arabic poetic meters, the only one allowing for couplets instead of continuous rhyme. See *EI*[1], *Supplement*, s.v. Radjaz.

382. Vocalization of Dahī conjectural. His mention in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 243, is culled entirely from Sayf.

383. J. W. Fück, in *EI*[2], s.v. Iyād, considers the claim that Khālid defeated all these groups together dubious.

what was good or bad today," and they did [this]. Thereupon, they fought a long, hard battle. Then God defeated the enemy. Khālid said to the Muslims, "Press your pursuit of them. Do not grant them any respite." The cavalry commander would corner a group of them with the spears of his men; having collected them, they would kill them. On the day of al-Firāḍ, one hundred thousand were slain in the battle and the pursuit.

After the battle Khālid stayed at al-Firāḍ for ten [days], then announced[384] the return to al-Ḥīrah on 25 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (31 Janu-
[2075] ary 634). He commanded ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr to lead them on their journey and ordered Shajarah b. al-Aʿazz[385] to take charge of the rear. Khālid himself gave out that he was in the rear.

Khālid's Pilgrimage[386]

Abū Jaʿfar: Khālid set out as a pilgrim from al-Firāḍ on 25 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (31 January 634) but kept his pilgrimage a secret. He had with him a number of his companions. He wandered through the land randomly until he arrived at Mecca by dead reckoning. That came to him easily, in a way that it would not come to either guide or wolf.[387] He traveled on one of the roads of the people of al-Jazīrah; no stranger way nor one more appropriate[388] than it, despite its difficulty, has been seen. Therefore his absence from the troops was short, so that the last of them had not arrived in al-Ḥīrah before he came to them in the company of the commander of the rear whom he had appointed, and the two of them arrived together. Khālid and his companions had shaven their heads. His pilgrimage was unknown except to those in the rear whom he had told about that. Abū Bakr did not learn of that until later, when he reproached him for it. His punishment was that he was sent to Syria.

Khālid's journey from al-Firāḍ [crossed] the width of the land randomly by his own reckoning. The road from al-Firāḍ passed through

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384. Text: *adhina*; read: *ādhana*.

385. His mention in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 165, derives only from Sayf, which shows that he was unknown except in Sayf's report. It is possible that his name was either confused with or suggested by that of the poet Abū Shajarah b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā al-Sulamī, who returned to Islam in 11/632 and might have joined Khālid's forces. On Abū Shajarah, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 5; IV, 101.

386. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 314.

387. Text: *rībāl*; read: *riʾbāl*, with Cairo ed.

388. Text: *ashadd*; read: *asadd*. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

Mā' al-ʿAnbarī,[389] then Mithqab,[390] then ended at Dhāt al-ʿIrq.[391] [2076]
The road then headed east from there, bringing him from ʿArafāt[392] to al-Firāḍ. That road is named al-Sudd.[393] A letter from Abū Bakr came to him when he had just returned to al-Ḥīrah from his pilgrimage. It ordered him to Syria, bringing him both nearer and farther.

Abū Jaʿfar — his authorities: The letter of Abū Bakr came to Khālid at al-Ḥīrah when he had just returned from his pilgrimage. It said,

> Go until you reach the Muslim armies at al-Yarmūk,[394] for they are distressed and causing distress. Do not by any means return to the like of what you have done, for your worry will not, with God's help, worry the masses of the troops, and your method of removing the people's distress will never remove it. May your intention[395] and your favored position gladden you, Abū Sulaymān! Therefore, complete [your work], so that God may make [it] complete for you. Do not by any means let self-admiration enter you, so that you lose and fail. See that you do not rely upon any work [of yours], for God controls the bestowal of favor, and He is the Owner of reward.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭā' b. al-Bakkā'ī — al-Muqaṭṭaʿ b. al-Haytham al-Bakkā'ī[396] — his father: The veterans

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389. Unidentified.

390. In the territory of the tribe of Asad, it is to be located near al-Buzākhah, which was an area about 50 km. southwest of Ḥā'il, according to Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 222–23. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 54, is not very helpful.

391. Properly Dhāt ʿIrq, it is a station two stages (about 90 km.) northeast of Mecca just below the Ḥijāz escarpment on the pilgrimage route from al-Kūfah. It is also the *mīqāt* for the pilgrims coming from Iraq, meaning that they must don the pilgrim's garb there, if not before. See Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik*, 27; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 125, 132, 147, 186, 190; Ibn Rustah, *Aʿlāq*, 179–81; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān*, 26–27; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 34; Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm*, 78, 106, 109.

392. The famous plain some 22 km. east of Mecca where the pilgrims assemble annually on 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah. See *EI*², s.v. ʿArafa.

393. Possibly this name refers to the mountain al-Sudd in the territory of the Ghaṭafān. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 197.

394. This is the river, still bearing the same name, that separates the present-day states of Syria and Jordan. It was the site of the decisive battle that gave the Muslims control of Syria. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Yarmūk; Ṭabarī, I, 2347–49; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 118–19, Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 218–71.

395. Or "prosperity" (Ar. *naʿmah*), following Ms. IH.

396. He is mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 107; II, 277, as al-Haytham al-Muqaṭṭaʿ b. Hubayrah; therefore the name given here is probably a confusion.

of the battles of the conquest among the people of al-Kūfah would make threats at Muʿāwiyah[397] upon [hearing] certain things that reached them. They would say: "What does Muʿāwiyah want? We are the men of Dhāt al-Salāsil!" They would name what was between it and al-Firāḍ without mentioning what was after, out of contempt for what was after in comparison to what occurred before.

ʿUmar b. Shabbah — ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to the last-mentioned *isnād*: Khālid b. al-Walīd came to al-Anbār. They made
[2077] peace with him on condition of [their] evacuating, but then they gave him something he was content with, so that he confirmed them [in their possessions]. He also raided the market of Baghdādh[398] from the district (*rustāq*) of al-ʿĀl.[399] He sent al-Muthannā to attack a market in which there was a gathering of the Quḍāʿah[400] and the Bakr, and he took what was in the market. Then he[401] went to ʿAyn al-Tamr and took it by force, killing and taking captives. He sent the captives to Abū Bakr. They were the first Persian captives to come to Medina. He then went to Dūmat al-Jandal, where he killed Ukaydir and took captive the daughter of al-Jūdī. After this, he returned and stayed at al-Ḥīrah. All this was in the year 12.

In this year ʿUmar married ʿĀtikah bt. Zayd.[402]

In it Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī[403] died.

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397. This is the caliph Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, who reigned 40–60/661–80. See *EI*[1], s.v. Muʿāwiya.

398. This would appear to be the predecessor of Baghdād, the ʿAbbāsid capital on the west side of the Tigris.

399. That is, from the west. Ustān al-ʿĀl consisted of a large district containing the territory on the ʿĪsā Canal between al-Anbār and Baghdad. It appears to have been much larger that a *rustāq*, being rather an *ustān*. See Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 7, 235; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān*, 199; Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm*, 133; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 70–71; Le Strange, *Lands*, 80; Morony, *Iraq*, 145. On the usage of *ustān* and *rustāq*, see Morony, *Iraq*, 129, 534, 536.

400. A great Arab tribal grouping, the Quḍāʿah basically represented the original tribes of northwestern Arabia and Syria. See *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳuḍāʿa; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Gamharat*, I, 274; II, 73–76, 470; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Inbāh*, 59–64; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 8, 440.

401. That is, Khālid.

402. A close relative of ʿUmar from the same Qurashī clan, the ʿAdī, she was successively the wife of ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr, ʿUmar's brother Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿUmar himself, and finally al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. ʿIyāḍ b. ʿUmar was her son. She died after 36/656. See *EI*[2], s.v. ʿĀtika; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 356–57; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 277, 349, 365–66.

403. Kannāz b. al-Ḥuṣayn, he fought for Islam at Badr, was present at the conquest of Mecca, and died at Medina at the age of sixty-six. He was said to have been a confederate of Ḥamzah, the Prophet's uncle, and thus was counted among the Quraysh.

In it Abū al-ʿĀṣī b. al-Rabīʿ[404] died in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (6 February–6 March 634). He made al-Zubayr[405] the executor of his will. ʿAlī married his daughter.[406]

In it ʿUmar bought his *mawlā* Aslam.[407]

There is a disagreement about who led the pilgrimage in this year. Some say Abū Bakr led it.

Those Who Say Abū Bakr Led the Pilgrimage

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaʿqūb, the *mawlā* of the Ḥuraqah[408] — a man from the Banū Sahm[409] — Ibn Mājidah al-Sahmī:[410] Abū Bakr made the pilgrimage

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See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 138; II, 369; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 139, 153; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 678; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 47; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 270, 354; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 177.

404. A noble Qurashī, the husband of the Prophet's eldest daughter Zaynab, he became a Muslim in 6/627. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 121–23.

405. The well-known Companion, cousin of the Prophet's wife Khadījah, husband of Abū Bakr's daughter Asmāʾ, father of the anti-Umayyad ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, he is best known for his role in the Battle of the Camel in 36/656, in which he was slain fighting ʿAlī. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām.

406. This daughter, Umāmah, born before 8/630, died before 61/680, had for her mother Zaynab, the eldest daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad, and thus had the Prophet's blood in her veins. Later ʿAlī married her, and she bore him Muḥammad al-Awsaṭ, who died young. When ʿAlī had died, her distant Hāshimī cousin al-Mughīrah b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib married her to prevent Muʿāwiyah from doing so. She bore a son, Yaḥyā, to al-Mughīrah. She also remained al-Mughīrah's wife for more than twenty years and went into exile with him at al-Ṣafrāʾ, where both died. The existence of her children leaves the possibility that descendants having the Prophet's blood from other than the line of Fāṭimah may exist, though none is attested in the *nasab* books. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 400; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 253; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 236–37; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 16. Interestingly, Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 22, specifically denies that Umāmah had any children, and on p. 88 he claims that Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib has no descendants in the male line.

407. An important transmitter of tradition, with access to the house of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, he seems to have died c. 64/684 in Syria. He is said to have been of Ethiopian origin, specifically from the Cushitic Beja people, but also, with less probability, to have been among the captives from ʿAyn al-Tamr. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 10–11; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 99; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 266.

408. A Medinan transmitter of tradition with a fair reputation, he died in 132/750 or, less probably, 139/756. His patrons the Ḥuraqah are the Banū Ḥamīs b. ʿAmir b. Thaʿlabah b. Mawdūʿah b. Juhaynah. See Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, IV, 129; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 293; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 186–87.

409. One of the clans of the Quraysh of Mecca. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 4; II, 498; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 5–7, 94.

410. ʿAlī b. Mājidah, he transmitted from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Little seems to be known about him. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 463; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 375.

in his caliphate in the year 12, when I had viciously fought a boy from my family. The boy bit my ear, cutting off a piece of it, or I bit his ear and cut off a piece of it. Our matter was referred to Abū Bakr, who said, "Take the two of them to ʿUmar so that he can look [into it]. If one causing the injury has reached adulthood, then let ʿUmar punish him." When we were brought to ʿUmar he said: "By my life, this one has certainly reached adulthood. Call a cupper for me!"
[2078] When he mentioned the cupper ʿUmar said, "Did I not hear the Prophet say, 'I gave my maternal aunt a boy. I hope that God will give her a blessing in him. I have forbidden her to make him into a cupper, a butcher, or a goldsmith.'" Then he punished the other boy.[411]

Al-Wāqidī—ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar[412] — Abū Wajzah Yazīd b. ʿUbayd[413] — his father:[414] Abū Bakr made the pilgrimage in the year 12. He appointed ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān as his deputy in charge of Medina.

Some authorities report that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb led the pilgrimage in the year 12.

Those Who Say ʿUmar Led the Pilgrimage

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Some people say that Abū Bakr did not make the pilgrimage in his caliphate and that in the year 12 he sent either ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf[415] to take charge of the [pilgrimage] season.

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411. This entire report also appears in Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, 17, where the text differs only slightly. Interestingly, Ibn Ḥanbal's report does not specify the year. His version is also distinguished by a different chain of transmitters from Ibn Isḥāq on down.

412. A descendant of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. His family was in the service of the early ʿAbbāsids, when two of his first cousins [or brothers] held high posts in the administration of Medina. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 360.

413. An Arab *mawlā* of the Saʿd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin, he was a Medinan poet and traditionist, who died in 130/748. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XI, 79–85; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 349.

414. Improbably said to have been a contemporary of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XI, 79–80.

415. Al-Zuhrī, one of the great Companions of the Prophet and a part of the Qurashī aristocracy. He is credited especially with a major role in the election of the caliph ʿUthmān. He left an enormous progeny of some twenty sons and at least eight daughters who are named in the sources. Many of these were later transmitters of tradition who always were sure to emphasize his role, as did also his other relatives at Medina, like Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī and al-Miswar b. Makhramah. He died in 32/653 at the age of seventy-two. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 124–37; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 265–73; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 131–35; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 416–17.

The Events of the Year 13

(March 7, 634–February 24, 635)

This year Abū Bakr sent the armies to Syria after his return from Mecca to Medina.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: When Abū Bakr returned from the pilgrimage of the year 12, he prepared the armies [to go] to Syria. He sent out ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī[416] in the direction of Palestine.[417] ʿAmr took the road of al-Muʿriqah[418] to Aylah.[419] Abū Bakr [2079]

416. Al-Sahmī. He earned fame for his military exploits, particularly the conquest of Egypt, which he then governed twice. He embraced Islam in 8/629. He supported Muʿāwiyah in the civil war and is supposed to have played an important role in the arbitration that followed Ṣiffīn. He died in office in 43/663. His mother was from the ʿAnazah. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 409–11; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 2–3.

417. Ar. Filasṭīn. Although this is a well-known geographical term, it should be noted that the boundaries of late Roman Palestine were not the same as those of the modern territory established under the British Mandate. Roman Palestine consisted of three provinces, Palaestina Prima, Secunda, and Salutaris, embracing some territory east of the Jordan and also extending into what is now southern Lebanon. Early Muslim Filasṭīn, however, basically consisted of only the Roman Palaestina Prima, extending from the Mount Carmel ridge in the north to Gaza and the desert in the south. Any specific report in this volume could refer to either the wider Roman or the narrower early Muslim definition. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, 26–35; *EI*², s.v. Filasṭīn; also see map in this volume.

418. Lit. "the sweat causing." It is the road from Mecca to Syria via the humid Red Sea coast. See Caetani, *Annali*, II, 1121 n. 3; Donner, *Conquests*, 115.

419. A town at the northern end of the Gulf of ʿAqabah, located just to the northwest of the present Jordanian city of al-ʿAqabah. See *EI*², s.v. Ayla; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 549.

also sent out Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān,[420] Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ,[421] and Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah, who was one of the Ghawth, commanding them to follow the Tabūk[422] road to al-Balqāʾ,[423] [approaching] from the higher part of Syria.

ʿUmar b. Shabbah — ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to the *isnād* that I have previously mentioned — his authorities who have been mentioned before: Then Abū Bakr sent the troops to Syria at the beginning of the year 13. The first standard that he assigned was the standard of Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī. Then he removed him before he had gone, appointing Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān [instead]. He was the first of the commanders who set out for Syria. They went forth with seven thousand [troops].

Abū Jaʿfar — Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr:[424] The reason for Abū Bakr's removal of Khālid b. Saʿīd was that Khālid b. Saʿīd, on coming from Yemen after the death of the Messenger of God, held back for two months from rendering the oath of allegiance to him. Khālid would say, "The Messenger of God gave me a command and did not remove me after that until God took him." Khālid had met ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and

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420. Al-Umawī al-Qurashī. He was the elder brother of Muʿāwiyah, with whom he embraced Islam in 8/630. Afterward, he governed Syria for ʿUmar for a rather brief period until his death in 18/639. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Gamharat*, I, 8; II, 596; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 405–6; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 124–26; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 103, 130, 157; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 656–57.

421. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Fihrī of the Quraysh. He was one of the earliest Muslims and greatest Companions. He played an important role in the election of Abū Bakr. Later, he governed Syria until his death of the plague at the age of fifty-eight in 18/639 at ʿAmwās in Palestine. See *EI*², s.v. Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Djarrāḥ; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 384–85; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 252–54. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 122, makes him the overall commander on the Syrian front from the outset. On the exact route he took to Syria, see Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 100–1.

422. An important city in the northernmost Ḥijāz of Saudi Arabia, it has kept its original name. See *EI*¹, s.v. Tabūk.

423. Basically al-Balqāʾ is the plateau east of the Jordan River, corresponding roughly to the modern state of Jordan. In early Islamic times it was both a region and an administrative district. Its capital was ʿAmmān. It included at the minimum the land from the Wādī al-Zarqāʾ in the north to the Wādī al-Mūjib in the south. Thus it appears to have corresponded partially to the defunct Ghassānid phylarchy. See *EI*², s.v. al-Balqāʾ; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 77; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 326; Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm*, 187; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 489; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 32–35, 41.

424. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, he was a Medinan traditionist from a family of early traditionists and jurists and therefore well placed to transmit the Medinan tradition. He died in 130/748 or 135/753. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 164–65.

said, "O Banū ʿAbd Manāf,[425] you have willingly renounced your [right to] command; others have taken it up." As for Abū Bakr, he did not hold it against him, but, as for ʿUmar, he harbored a secret grudge against him on account of it. Then Abū Bakr sent the troops forth to Syria. The first man he put in command of a division (*rubʿ*) of them was Khālid b. Saʿīd. But ʿUmar took to saying, "Are you going to put him in command even though he has done what he has done and has said what he has said?" He kept on [about it] with Abū Bakr until the latter dismissed him and appointed Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān to command. [2080]

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mubashshir b. Fudayl[426] — Jubayr b. Ṣakhr, the Prophet's guard[427] — his father: Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī was in Yemen at the time of the Prophet, being [still] there when the Prophet died. He came [to Medina] a month after his death wearing a silken robe. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib encountered him. ʿUmar shouted at those with him: "Rip up his robe! Can he wear silk and be left alone, in peace, in the midst of our men?" At this they ripped up his robe. Khālid said: "O Abū Ḥasan! O Banū ʿAbd Manāf! Have you been defeated regarding it?" ʿAlī answered, "Is it a power struggle that you prefer or a caliphate?" Khālid responded, "No one will struggle over this matter who is more deserving of it than you, O Banū ʿAbd Manāf." ʿUmar said to Khālid: "May God break your teeth! By God, (if) a liar will not cease talking about what I have said, then he will harm only himself." After this ʿUmar reported to Abū Bakr what Khālid had said. When Abū Bakr assigned the commands for the fight against the apostates, he included Khālid among those whom he appointed. ʿUmar [sought to] prevent him from doing that, saying: "He is bound to fail. He is too impulsive (*ḍaʿīf al-tarwīʾah*). He has indeed told such a lie that whoever propagates it or talks about it will not leave the earth.[428] Therefore

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425. The Banū ʿAbd Manāf were the branch of the Quraysh from which the Prophet's family, the ʿAlids, the Umayyads, and the ʿAbbāsids were all derived. Here Khālid b. Saʿīd, who also was one of them, is taunting them for allowing Abū Bakr to become ruler, for the latter was not of the ʿAbd Manāf, who had hitherto possessed the command. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳuraysh; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 5–7, 13, 17.

426. Apparently yet another transmitter mentioned only by Sayf.

427. Unidentifiable, but evidently not a Companion. Perhaps his title is meant to indicate he was the guardian of the Prophet's tomb. His only other mention is in Ṭabarī, I, 2575, where he transmits from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who lived c. 6/627 to 70–73/689–692. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 53.

428. Ar. *lā yufāriq al-arḍa mudlin bihā aw khāʾiḍun fīhā*. This obscure phrase

do not seek his aid." But Abū Bakr did not go along[429] with him, rather putting Khālid in command of support troops at Taymā'.[430] He followed 'Umar in part of his affair and resisted him in part.

Al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — Abū Isḥāq al-Shaybānī[431] — Abū Ṣa-
[2081] fiyyah al-Taymī[432] [of the] Taym b. Shaybān, Ṭalḥah — al-Mughīrah, and Muḥammad — Abū 'Uthmān: Abū Bakr commanded Khālid to stay at Taymā'. He went forth in a detachment until he stopped at Taymā'. Abū Bakr had ordered him not to leave it, to summon those around him to join him, to accept only those who had not apostatized, and to fight only those who fought against him until he received a different command. Thus he remained, and large numbers [of troops] joined him. The Romans, on hearing of the hugeness of that army, levied forces in Syria from the adjoining Arabs to send against the Muslims. Khālid b. Sa'īd wrote to Abū Bakr about that and about the gathering of those whom the Romans had mobilized and those who had joined them from the Bahrā', the Kalb, the Salīḥ,[433] the Tanūkh, the Lakhm,[434] the Judhām,[435] and the Ghassān, from the near side of Zīzā'[436] at Thuluth.[437] Abū Bakr wrote back to him: "Advance, and do not flinch. Seek God's help."

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would seem to imply that Khālid's supporters should not be allowed to set out in further military campaigns.

429. Text: *yuḥtamal*; read: *yaḥtamil*, with Cairo ed. and Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

430. An important oasis in the northern Ḥijāz between Khaybar and Tabūk, it has retained the same name to the present. See *EI*[1], s.v. Taymā'.

431. Sulaymān b. Abī Sulaymān Fayrūz, the *mawlā* of the Shaybān. He was a Kūfan traditionist, who died between 129/747 and 142/759, probably nearer to the former, in which case Sayf can barely have transmitted from him. He enjoyed a high reputation. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 345; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 641; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 197–98.

432. Unidentified.

433. An Arab tribe concentrated in the region of Ḥawrān in Syria, the Salīḥ seem to be little mentioned after this time and perhaps were absorbed by other groups. See *EI*[1], s.v. Salīḥ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 279; II, 86, 507. See also note 322, above.

434. The ruling tribe of al-Ḥīrah in Iraq; the Syrian branch of the Lakhm seems to have migrated as early as the fourth century C.E. to the area of Ḥawrān, al-Jawlān, and Palestine, where it was absorbed by the Judhām. See *EI*[2], s.v. Lakhm; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 176; II, 53–56, 375–76; Donner, *Conquests*, 105–6.

435. A major Arab tribe of Palestine, Transjordan, and northwestern Arabia at the time of the conquest and later. See *EI*[2], s.v. Djudhām; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 176; II, 53–56, 264; Donner, *Conquests*, 105–6.

436. A village in central Jordan east of the Dead Sea, less than 30 km. south of 'Ammān on the pilgrimage route; it is now al-Jīzah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 163–64; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 393, 554–55.

437. Unidentified.

Thus Khālid set off toward them. When he had drawn near them they split up, abandoning their camp, whereupon Khālid made camp there. Nearly all those who had gathered against him entered Islam. Khālid wrote to Abū Bakr about that, and Abū Bakr wrote back to him, "Advance, but do not make any attacks, so that you will not be assaulted from the rear." Therefore he set off with those who had gone forth with him from Taymā' and those who had joined him from the edge of the sand[438] until they stopped in the area between Ābil,[439] Zīzā', and al-Qasṭal.[440] One of the Roman patricians called Bāhān[441] came against him, but Khālid defeated him, slaying his [2082] troops. He wrote about that to Abū Bakr and asked him for reinforcements.

The first of the recruits of Yemen and what is between Mecca and Yemen had come to Abū Bakr, among them Dhū al-Kalā'.[442] Also 'Ikrimah[443] came back to him, having campaigned with those who

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438. This presumably refers to the great Nufūd Desert of northwestern Arabia.

439. That is, Ābil al-Zayt, which is mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 50; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 382. Its site is near the present village of Ḥartā in northernmost Jordan just south of the Yarmūk River.

440. A town of al-Balqā' 25 km. south of 'Ammān and hence directly adjacent to Zīzā'. Though the existing fort there dates from Umayyad times, the town most likely already existed before, especially as the name seems to reproduce the Latin *castellum*. Numerous Qasṭals exist in greater Syria. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 347; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 483; Creswell and Allan, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 173–77.

441. This Roman general, who is called Baanes by Theophanes, was probably of Armenian origin (Bāhān = Vahan). He may have joined Herakleios when the latter passed through Armenia in his fight against the Sāsānians, for he is first recorded defeating the Persians in northern Iraq in late Rajab 6 (early December 627). Later, at the Yarmūk, he was defeated and killed, though Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 15, says that he escaped and fled Herakleios's wrath by becoming a monk at Mount Sinai. Dissensions caused by him may have contributed to the defeat, though it would seem unlikely that he would have been declared emperor as asserted by Theophanes. See Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 23, 37–38; Stratos, *Byzantium*, II, 58–72, 206–9. He is identified by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 118, who erroneously calls him Hāhān, as a Persian who became a Christian, which lends some support to an Armenian origin for him. On Theophanes's dating being off by a year, see Theophanes, *Chronicle*, xvii–xviii.

442. Samayfa' b. Nākūr al-Ḥimyarī, of the leading family of Yemen, embraced Islam before the Prophet's death, settled in Ḥimṣ, and later fought for Mu'āwiyah at Ṣiffīn, where he fell. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 236, 510; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 266; III, 261, 264; V, 18; VII, 440; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 219–20, 222; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 434; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 492–93; Crone, *Slaves*, 95.

443. 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl 'Amr al-Makhzūmī. He was the son of the Prophet's most irreconcilable opponent and himself remained an opponent of Islam until after the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. After he embraced Islam, however, he threw into it much of the energy that had characterized his earlier opposition, was entrusted by Abū Bakr

had been with him from Tihāmah,[444] ʿUmān, al-Baḥrayn,[445] and al-Sarw.[446] Abū Bakr wrote on their behalf to those in charge of taxes (*al-ṣadaqāt*) that they replace those who asked to be replaced. All of the troops asked to be replaced, so the army was named the Replacement Army (*jaysh al-bidāl*).[447] Then they went to Khālid b. Saʿīd.

At this point Abū Bakr became anxious on account of Syria, whose matter caused him concern. Abū Bakr had sent ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī back to a post to which the Messenger of God had appointed him—that of [overseeing] the taxation of the Saʿd Hudhaym,[448] the ʿUdhrah,[449] and those associated with them of the Judhām and the Ḥadas[450]—before his going to ʿUmān. Then he departed for ʿUmān with a promise that his office would be restored to him when he returned. Abū Bakr fulfilled that promise. When he became anxious about Syria, Abū Bakr wrote to ʿAmr, saying, "I have restored you to the office to which the Messenger of God appointed you once and

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with a grand campaign in which he circled the Arabian Peninsula during the Riddah wars, and was martyred fighting for the faith at Ajnādayn, Marj al-Ṣuffar, or al-Yarmūk, the first being perhaps the most likely. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 17; II, 353; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 404; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 310–11; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 20–21, 63, 98, 104, 107, 118–19; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 72–75, 78–80, 82–84, 121, 123; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 496–97.

444. The coastal plain of Arabia adjoining the Red Sea. Tihāmah is clearly set off from the interior by the great Ḥijāz escarpment that extends along the length of Arabia. Tihāmah is mostly a desert plain, hot and humid. See *EI*[1], s.v. Tihāma; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 63–64.

445. The coastlands of Arabia fronting on the Persian Gulf. The modern eastern province of Saudi Arabia, also called al-Aḥsāʾ, makes up most of this territory. Its capital was Hajar, in the vicinity of modern al-Dammām. Early Islamic Baḥrayn is not to be confused with the modern usage, which confines the term to the present-day island state of al-Baḥrayn. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 346–49.

446. Lit., "the escarpment." It refers to the great west Arabian escarpment adjoining the Red Sea. It begins in Yemen and gradually declines in height from there north to Syria. Many specific al-Sarws are identified, but here it should be taken as meaning (north) Yemen in general. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 204–5 (al-Sarāh, which means the same), 217–18.

447. The passage is obscure. It appears that ʿIkrimah's troops were sent home and that he received replacements, which he then led to Syria. Thus Caetani, *Annali*, II, 1180–81. Those in charge of taxation were also in charge of recruitment. Perhaps each tribe had to furnish a certain quota. Alternatively, the text may mean that those who volunteered were sent to Syria, and all did so.

448. A Quḍāʿah tribe of northwestern Arabia associated with the ʿUdhrah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 330; II, 91–92, 494; Donner, *Conquests*, 102–3, 105–6, 109.

449. A Quḍāʿah tribe of the northern Ḥijāz, they were concentrated around Wādī al-Qurā, extending to Tabūk and Taymāʾ. See *EI*[2], s.v. ʿUdhra; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 330; II, 91–93, 565–66; Donner, *Conquests*, 88, 102–3, 105–6, 109.

450. A large subtribe of the Lakhm. Their territory before Islam lay in Transjordan. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 247; II, 290; Donner, *Conquests*, 105–6, 109.

named you once more, when you were sent to ʿUmān. [I have done this] in fulfillment of the promises of God's Messenger, so that you have taken it up once and then again. I would like, Abū ʿAbdallāh, to devote you entirely to that which is better fo you in your [present] life and your return to God, unless that which you have now is preferable to you." ʿAmr wrote back to him, "I am one of the arrows of Islam, and you, after God, are the one who shoots them and collects them. Look for the strongest, most fearsome, and best of them and aim at something with it, if [news] comes to you from some direction." He also wrote to al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah with the like of that, and [2083]
he replied expressing preference for going forth to fight (*jihād*).

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Sahl b. Yūsuf[451] — al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad:[452] Abū Bakr wrote to ʿAmr and to al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah, who was in charge of half of the tax district of the Quḍāʿah. Abū Bakr had seen them off when he sent them to collect taxes. He gave each a single piece of advice:

> Fear God in secret and in open, for "Whoever keeps his duty to God, God makes for him a way out and bestows provision on him from whence he does not expect";[453] "And whoever keeps his duty to God, God forgives his sins and makes his reward great."[454] For keeping one's duty to God is the best admonishment God's worshipers can give to one another. You are on one of God's paths. On that path may you not be diverted from, abandon, or be careless regarding those things that hold support for your religion and protection for your affairs. Therefore neither flag nor slacken.

He also wrote to the two of them: "Appoint deputies in charge of your offices. Call to arms those in the areas around you." Thus ʿAmr put ʿAmr b. So-and-So al-ʿUdhrī[455] in charge of the upper part (*ʿulyā*)

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451. Al-Salamī of the Salimah b. Saʿd of the Anṣār; he may have been the grand-nephew of the pro-ʿUthmān Anṣārī poet Kaʿb b. Mālik, a connection that would fit Sayf's pro-ʿUthmān tendencies. His identity and existence are in some doubt, however. Ṭabarī, I, 2574; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 90; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 98–99.

452. The grandson of the caliph Abū Bakr and hence an authority on the latter, al-Qāsim was one of the famous traditionists and scholars of Medina. His father was Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (10–38/631–58), the partisan of ʿAlī who participated in the revolution against the caliph ʿUthmān, but al-Qāsim can hardly have known him. He lived 36–106/656–725. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 187–94; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 279; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 333–35.

453. Qurʾān, 65: 2–3.

454. Qurʾān, 65: 5.

455. Unidentified.

of Quḍāʿah,[456] while al-Walīd appointed Imruʾ al-Qays to take charge of the district of Quḍāʿah adjoining Dūmah. They also summoned the people to arms, so that many men came to join them. Then they awaited the command of Abū Bakr.

Abū Bakr preached a sermon to the people. He praised God and lauded His Messenger and said:

> Every affair has factors that bring it together. Whoever reaches [an understanding of] them, they suffice him.
> [2084] Whoever works for God, God protects him. You must [work] earnestly and deliberately, for deliberation is more likely to accomplish goals. Is it not the case that anyone who has no faith has no religion, that whoever has no account of good deeds gets no goodly reward, and that whoever has no intention has no [reward for his] work?[457] Indeed, the reward in God's book for *jihād* in God's path is something for which a Muslim should love to be singled out. It is a commerce that God has pointed out, by which God has saved [people] from humiliation, and through which He has bestowed nobility in this world and the next.

Abū Bakr then supplied ʿAmr with some of those who had mustered to those who had gathered about him and put him in command of Palestine, ordering him [to take] a certain road that he specified. He also wrote to al-Walīd, ordering him to al-Urdunn[458] and supplying him with some of those available. He also summoned Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, putting him in command of a large army that included most of those who had mustered to Abū Bakr. Among his troops were Suhayl b. ʿAmr[459] and the like of him from the people of Mecca.

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456. This probably is the area of the northern Ḥijāz near the Red Sea, where ʿAmr had close relations with the Quḍāʿah tribe of Balī, which was the tribe of his grandmother and one of his wives. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 408, 411; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 111, seems to err in asserting that ʿAmr's mother was also from the Balī.

457. On the reward for works being according to intention, see the famous *ḥadīth* in Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 2.

458. A division (*jund*) of Syria with its capital at Tiberias, al-Urdunn was probably derived from the Roman province of Palaestina Secunda but did not exactly correspond to it. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Urdunn (second part); Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik*, 58–59; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 327–28; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 78; Muqaddasi, *Taqāsīm*, 161–64; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 147–49; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 30–32.

459. Al-ʿĀmirī of the ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy of the Quraysh. He embraced Islam in 8/630 after Ḥunayn. Participating in the conquest of Syria, he died there of the plague in 18/639 or else at Marj al-Ṣuffar or al-Yarmūk. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 404–5; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 417–18; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 123; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 93–94.

Abū Bakr saw them off on foot. He also put Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ in charge of [some of] those who had gathered and put him in command of Ḥimṣ.[460] Abū Bakr went out with him; his two commanders [also] walked, the troops being with the two of them and behind them. Abū Bakr admonished each of the two.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Sahl — al-Qāsim, Mubashshir — Sālim,[461] and Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī — Khālid and ʿUbādah:[462] When al-Walīd came to Khālid b. Saʿīd to support him, when the troops of the Muslims whom Abū Bakr had supplied him with came — they were named the Replacement Army — and when Khālid had heard about the commanders and their coming to him, he attacked the Romans, seeking credit for himself but exposing his rear. The commanders hastened to fight the Romans. Bāhān feigned flight from him, recoiling with his army on Damascus. Khālid attacked [2085] with his army, which included Dhū al-Kalāʿ, ʿIkrimah, and al-Walīd, until he stopped at Marj al-Ṣuffar[463] between al-Wāqūṣah[464]

460. The Emesa of Roman times, it is still one of the largest cities of Syria. In early Islamic times the name also applied to its province (*jund*). See *EI*², s.v. Ḥimṣ; Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik*, 61; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 324–25; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 302–4; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 25, 35–36, 39.

461. This is a reference to Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who died in 106/725. In the preceding parallel *isnād* Sayf—Sahl—al-Qāsim, Sayf quotes an unidentifiable and probably fictional transmitter to link himself with the famous grandson of Abū Bakr; here he probably is doing the same to link himself with the famous grandson of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. On Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh, see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 195–201; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 357; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 436–38.

462. These two transmitters, who are always cited together by Sayf in this volume, appear to be Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Kalāʿī al-Ḥimsī (d. 104–8/721–26) and ʿUbādah b. Nusayy al-Kindī al-Urdunnī (d. 118/736), as suggested in Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 164, 309. These identifications appear plausible in view of their biographies, which reveal them to have been important Syrian traditionists. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 455–56; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, V, 89–91; VII, 217–18; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 536–41; V, 323–24; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 118–20; V, 113–14. Donner, *Conquests*, 134, 317 n. 211, appears unaware or unconvinced of their identities, however, and indeed they are never fully identified in Sayf's reports; nor do the *rijāl* books ever say that they transmitted to Abū ʿUthmān, Sayf's *rāwī* here. Sayf may have wanted to imply that his reports were derived from these outstanding traditionists without having actually to say so. In other instances he has attributed reports to famous, reliable traditionists through unknown persons of his own invention.

463. A plain extending south of Damascus, near Tall Shaqhab. See *EI*², s.v. Mardj al-Ṣuffar; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 504. It was the site of a famous battle mentioned here and on pp. 107, 109, below. For the battle, see also Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 104. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 150, has turned the apparent Muslim defeat in this battle into a victory, led by Khālid b. al-Walīd no less, in which not a single Muslim was either killed or wounded!

464. The present-day village of al-Yāqūṣah at al-Yarmūk. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Yarmūk. The report of Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 354–55, seems to be derived wholly from Sayf.

and Damascus. But the outlying forces of Bāhān surrounded him, blocking the roads against him without his knowing of it. Also Bāhān marched against him. He found Khālid's son Saʿīd b. Khālid[465] leading his men and seeking bounty (*yastamṭir*).[466] The Romans killed them. When the news reached Khālid he left, fleeing with a troop on bare animals (*jarīdah*), as those of his companions who could escaped on the backs of the horses and the camels, having been driven from their camp. The rout of Khālid b. Saʿīd did not end until he had reached Dhū al-Marwah.[467] Meanwhile, ʿIkrimah stayed with the troops to offer rear-guard protection. He repelled Bāhān and his soldiers from them, [keeping them] from pursuing him. He also stayed near Syria.

Meanwhile, Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah had come [to Abū Bakr] as an emissary from Khālid b. al-Walīd. Abū Bakr summoned the men to [join] him, then placed him in charge of al-Walīd's district and set out with him to give him counsel. When Shuraḥbīl came to Khālid [b. Saʿīd] he marched away with Khālid's troops, except for a few. [At the same time other] troops mustered to Abū Bakr, who put Muʿāwiyah in command of them and ordered him to join Yazīd. Muʿāwiyah then set out, [going] until he caught up with Yazīd. When Muʿāwiyah marched past Khālid, he took away the rest of Khālid's men.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Hishām b. ʿUrwah[468] — his father: ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb did not cease speaking to Abū Bakr about Khālid b. al-Walīd and about Khālid b. Saʿīd. Abū Bakr refused to listen to ʿUmar regarding Khālid b. al-Walīd saying, "I will not put away a sword that Allāh has drawn against the unbelievers." But he

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465. His mother was Ḥamīnah (or, improbably, Umayyah) bt. Khalaf b. Asʿad al-Khuzāʿiyyah. Saʿīd was born in Ethiopia when many of the Muslims went there to escape persecution by the Quraysh about 615 C.E., which would make him very young at the time of Marj al-Ṣuffar. See Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 126; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 45.

466. Lit., "asking for rain."

467. A place in Wādī al-Qurā in the Ḥijāz. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 14, 128–29, 779; Donner, *Conquests*, 114.

468. Hishām b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām al-Asadī al-Qurashī, the nephew of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr and the grandnephew of the Prophet's wife ʿĀʾishah. He was well placed to transmit traditions in Medina and was one of the most important traditionists of his generation. Like many of the early traditionists from noble Qurashī families, he was the son of a slave mother. He visited al-Kūfah three times and finally became one of the companions of al-Manṣūr in Baghdād, where he died. He lived c. 61/680 to 145–46/762–63. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 321; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 248; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 48–51.

listened to ʿUmar with regard to Khālid b. Saʿīd after the latter had done his deed.

ʿAmr took the coastal road, and Abū ʿUbaydah followed the same route. Yazīd took the Tabūk road, and Shuraḥbīl went by the same [2086] path. Abū Bakr named the chief cities of Syria for them [as objectives]. He knew that the Romans would divert their attention; therefore he desired to have the descending one ascend and the ascending one descend, so that they would not forsake one another.[469] It turned out as he had supposed, and they achieved what he had wanted.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr — al-Shaʿbī: When Khālid b. Saʿīd came to Dhū al-Marwah and the news [of that] came to Abū Bakr, he wrote to Khālid, "Remain where you are, for, by my life, you are one who plunges forward then shrinks back in fear, ever seeking to save [yourself] from deep difficulties that you do not wade into [intending] what is right, nor do you persevere for it." When afterward, Abū Bakr gave permission to him to enter Medina, Khālid said, "Pardon me." Abū Bakr replied, "Is it to be stupid prattle, even though you are a man of cowardice in warfare?" When Khālid had gone from his presence, Abū Bakr said, "ʿUmar and ʿAlī were more knowledgeable about Khālid. If only I had listened to them about him, I would have feared[470] him and avoided him."

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mubashshir and Sahl; and Abū ʿUthmān — Khālid, ʿUbādah; and Abū Ḥārithah:[471] The commanders led the whole of the army toward Syria. ʿIkrimah served as a covering force for the army. The Romans heard about that, so they wrote to Herakleios.[472] Herakleios went forth until he stopped at Ḥimṣ, where he prepared troops to [face] the Muslims and mobilized his

469. This would appear to mean that he had them fan out to fill in the gaps along the front so that the different divisions could support one another more easily in the event of a Roman attack.

470. Or "been ashamed to use."

471. Muḥriz b. Jāriyah (or Ḥārithah) b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd Shams al-ʿAbshamī al-Qurashī, he was said to have governed Mecca for ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and to have been killed in the Battle of the Camel in 36/656. Sayf's frequent citations from him are probably owing to the fact that his descendants had settled in al-Kūfah and were prominent there. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 159; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 153; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 78; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 368. The same person also is mentioned as one of the witnesses against Ḥujr b. ʿAdī in 51/671 in Ṭabarī, II, 132. For the identification of Abū Ḥārithah as Muḥriz, see Ṭabarī, I, 2573, which appears decisive; cf. Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIV.

472. Ar. Hiraql. The Roman emperor, ruled 610–41 C.E. The best native source for his reign is Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 6–40.

forces against them. He intended that the different Muslim forces would be too busy to cooperate, owing to the number of his troops and the excellence of his men. He sent his full brother Theodore[473] against ʿAmr. When Theodore set out toward the Muslims with ninety thousand [men], Herakleios sent out a rear guard, [which went along] until the commander of the rear guard camped at Tha-
[2087] niyyat Jilliq[474] in the highest part of Palestine. He also sent Jurjah[475] b. Tawdhurā[476] toward Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, so that he encamped facing him. In addition, he sent out al-Durāqiṣ,[477] who confronted Shurabīl b. Ḥasanah. He sent al-Fīqār[478] b. Nasṭūs in command of sixty thousand against Abū ʿUbaydah.

The Muslims dreaded them, as all the Muslim divisions together amounted to only twenty-one thousand, beside ʿIkrimah, who had six thousand. They all expressed their fears to ʿAmr by letter and messenger, saying, "What should we do?" He wrote letters back to them, sending them by messenger, saying: "The best plan is to join together. That is because the likes of us, if we combine, will not be beaten owing to [our] fewness. On the other hand, if we split up, there will not remain a man among us with enough troops to defeat any of those who are before us and are ready for us, for each of our divisions." Therefore, they set a time [to be] at al-Yarmūk in order to combine forces there.

Abū Bakr had also received letters like those they had sent to ʿAmr. His reply came back to them with the like of ʿAmr's view saying:

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473. Ar. Tadhāriq. A genuine character attested in history, he defeated the Persians in Anatolia in 5–6/626–27, supervised the Persian withdrawal from the occupied lands of the Roman empire in the Near East in 7–8/628–29, and was defeated by the Muslims in 13–14/634–35, though after Abū Bakr's death. See Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 22, 29, 37.

474. Most likely to be the present village of Jillīn in southern Ḥawrān in Syria. See *EI*², s.v. Djillik. It could be considered part of Palestine as it lay on the border of the former Roman province of Palaestina Secunda, which was to become the Muslim *jund* of al-Urdunn.

475. Text: *Jarajah*; read: *Jurjah*, as in Mss. B and IH; surely it is a form of George.

476. Vocalization based on Theodore. Thus the whole name is probably George, son of Theodore. He is also mentioned by Ibn Isḥāq in Ṭabarī, I, 2347.

477. Unidentified.

478. As explained in the notes to the Leiden text, this is probably the title *bikarios*, Latin *vicarius*. A *bikarios* was attached to the *patrikios* as an assistant in the early fifth century C.E., and therefore was of lower rank. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 609.

Combine, so that you may be one army. Meet the armies of the polytheists[479] with the army of the Muslims, for you are God's helpers. God comes to the aid of those who support Him and deserts those who show ingratitude to[480] Him. The likes of you will not be destroyed on account of [your] small numbers. Rather, ten thousand or more than ten thousand will be destroyed if they are attacked from the rear. Therefore take precautions about the rear. Join together at al-Yarmūk under your separate banners.[481] Let every man among you unite[482] with his companions. [2088]

[News of] that reached Herakleios, who wrote to his *patrikioi*:[483] "Combine against them. Camp the Romans in a place rich and generous, with a wide space for pursuit, [but] with [only] a narrow way of escape. Theodore is in overall command, Jurjah is in charge of the vanguard, Bāhān and al-Durāqiṣ are in charge of the two wings, and al-Fīqār is in charge of mobilization (*ḥarb*). Be of good cheer, for Bāhān is an effective reinforcement for you." They did [as the emperor had commanded] and camped at al-Wāqūṣah, which is on the bank of al-Yarmūk. The wadi became a trench for them, as it was a deep ravine between two mountains and could not be crossed. Bāhān and his companions wanted only for the Romans to recover their senses and behave in a nonaggressive manner toward[484] the Muslims, so that their courage might return to them.

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479. Although the Romans were Christians and therefore People of the Book (*ahl al-dhimmah*) and thus properly speaking not polytheists, they often are referred to as such in these passages of Sayf. It is difficult to tell whether or not this reflects the development of Muslim-Christian polemic in Sayf's time, but it is not unlikely, given the increasingly ideological content of the struggles of the early ʿAbbāsid period. For the development of some of this polemic, see Sahas, *John of Damascus*, passim; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 232–33.

480. Or "disbelieve in."

481. Lit., "in mutual support." See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *s-n-d*.

482. Text: *li-yuṣalli*; read: *li-yaṣil*, with Mss. IH[1], Kos., and IA. The other reading, which is preferred by the Leiden and Cairo eds., based on Ms. IH[2], would mean "lead his companions in worship," which does not appear to fit the context.

483. Ar. *baṭāriqah*, Latin *patricii*. It was an honorary title, revived by Constantine for his closest associates, but it gained greater meaning when it was added to the nomenclature of the supreme military commander, a *magister utriusque militiae*, in 415 C.E. In Justinian's time (527–65 C.E.) there were five such *magistri*, but it is not clear whether they yet held the title of *patrikios*. See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 106, 176, 178, 192, 609.

484. Or perhaps "find out the qualities of."

The Muslims moved from the camp where they had joined forces and camped against the Romans, right in front of them, on their route. The Romans had no route except against the Muslims. ʿAmr said, "O people, rejoice! By God, the Romans are surrounded! It rarely has happened that anything good comes to he who is surrounded." Thus the Muslims remained before them, on their road and their [only] way out, during Ṣafar 13 (6 April – 4 May 634) and the two months of Rabīʿ (5 May – 2 July). The Muslims were able neither to do anything against the Romans nor to reach them, the ravine — which is al-Wāqūṣah — being behind them and the trench before them. The Romans could not go forth at all but that the Muslims prevailed against them, until the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal (5 May – 3 June) had gone by.

[2089] Meanwhile, the Muslims had requested reinforcements from Abū Bakr, informing him of the situation in Ṣafar. He then wrote to Khālid [b. al-Walīd] to join them and commanded him to leave al-Muthannā in charge of Iraq. Khālid came to them in Rabīʿ.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, ʿAmr, and al-Muhallab: When the Muslims had camped at al-Yarmūk and requested reinforcements from Abū Bakr, he said, "Khālid is for it," and thereupon sent a message to him while he was in Iraq, asking him and urging him to get going. Thus it was that Khālid came through. Khālid came to the Muslims, while Bāhān came to the Romans, having sent ahead before him the deacons, monks, and priests to incite desire [for victory] in the Romans and to urge them to fight. The arrival of Khālid coincided with the arrival of Bāhañ. Bāhān led his forces out like a powerful [leader]. Khālid took charge of fighting him, while the [other] commanders fought those in front of them. Bāhān was defeated, and the [other] Romans followed one another successively into defeat, plunging into their trench [in flight]. The Romans saw a good omen in Bāhān,[485] and the Muslims rejoiced in Khālid. The Muslims fought in a ferocious rage, and the polytheists fought with vehement anger. The latter numbered one hundred forty thousand, of whom eighty thousand were bound, forty thousand of these chained and forty thousand tied with turbans.[486] They were

485. This reference seems out of place, but it means that, before the battle, the Romans were cheered by the arrival of Bāhān, as is clear from p. 160, below.

486. This was to prevent their fleeing in the face of danger or defeat.

eighty thousand cavalry and eighty thousand infantry.[487] The Muslims who had been present [at first] numbered twenty-seven thousand, until Khālid came with nine thousand, whereupon they became thirty-six thousand.

Abū Bakr became ill in Jumādā al-Ūlā (3 July–1 August). He died in the middle of Jumādā al-Ākhirah (16 August 634), before the victory by ten days.[488]

Al-Yarmūk [2090]

Abū Jaʿfar: Abū Bakr had assigned to each one of the commanders in Syria a district (*kūrah*) [to conquer]. Thus he assigned Ḥimṣ to Abū ʿUbaydah b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Jarrāḥ, Damascus to Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, al-Urdunn to Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah, and Palestine to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī and ʿAlqamah b. Mujazziz.[489] When the latter two had accomplished their mission in Palestine ʿAlqamah stayed on, and ʿAmr[490] went to Egypt. When the commanders were about to enter Syria a large enemy force attacked each commander among them. Thus they agreed in their opinion to join together in one place and meet the combined force of the polytheists with the combined force of the Muslims. When Khālid saw the Muslims fighting under separate banners he said to them, "Are you interested, O chiefs, in something by which God will strengthen his religion, and through which neither loss nor harm will come to you either with it or from it?"

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī—Khālid and ʿUbādah: There came to it[491] with the commanders and the four divisions (*junūd*) twenty-seven thousand [men], in addition to three thousand from the defeated remnants of Khālid b.

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487. These numbers do not add up to the alleged total of one hundred forty thousand. Probably there is a scribal error. In any case, the numbers are fanciful.

488. This version thus dates the Battle of al-Yarmūk to 5 Jumādā al-Ākhirah 13 (6 August 634).

489. Al-Mudlijī al-Kinānī. He was put in charge of several expeditions by the Prophet and the early caliphs, beginning in 9/630, until he was killed in a seaborne attack on Ethiopia in 20/641. His father's name is also given as Muḥarriz. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 44; II, 154; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 639–40; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 163; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 505–6.

490. ʿAmr is not mentioned in the text here, but the addition is demanded by the context.

491. That is, al-Yarmūk.

Saʿīd whom Abū Bakr appointed Muʿāwiyah and Shuraḥbīl to command. There were also ten thousand in the reinforcements of the
[2091] people of Iraq with Khālid b. al-Walīd. This was beside six thousand who remained with ʿIkrimah as a rear guard after Khālid b. Saʿīd. Thus they [all] amounted to forty-six thousand.

The Muslims did all their fighting under separate banners, each division and its commander [operating independently], with no one in overall command, until Khālid came to them from Iraq. The troops of Abū ʿUbaydah at al-Yarmūk were next to the troops of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī, and the troops of Shuraḥbīl were next to the troops of Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. Thus Abū ʿUbaydah might conduct public worship with ʿAmr and Shuraḥbīl with Yazīd, whereas ʿAmr and Yazīd would not conduct public worship with Abū ʿUbaydah and Shuraḥbīl [all together]. Khālid b. al-Walīd arrived when they were in that situation. He encamped separately and held public worship for the people of Iraq. Khālid found the Muslims hard pressed by the Roman reinforcements under Bāhān, whereas he found the Romans cheered by their reinforcements.

But, when they met, God defeated them, to the extent that he forced them and their reinforcements to seek refuge in the trench,[492] for which al-Wāqūṣāh was one of the borders. They stayed in their trench for almost a whole month, while the priests, deacons, and monks urged them on and bewailed to them [the fate of] Christianity, so that, upon reflecting, they went forth into the battle, after which there was no battle like it, in Jumādā al-Ākhirah (2–30 August). When the Muslims perceived their sally and desired themselves to go forth under their separate commanders, Khālid b. al-Walīd went out among them. He praised God and lauded Him and then said:

> This is a day from among the days of God. There should be in it neither pride nor wrongdoing. Make your striving sincere, seeking God by your work, for this day also has what lies beyond it. Do not fight any people in a formation and ar-
> [2092] rangement under separate banners and dispersing your-

492. Text: *khanādiq*; read: *al-khandaq*, with Kos. This change is demanded by the following reference to "borders" in the singular and also accords with the rest of the text. On trench warfare, see *EI*², s.v. Khandak.

> selves [along a line], for that is neither legitimate nor ought it to be. Those behind you, if they knew what you know, would keep you from [doing] this. In those areas about which you have not received [explicit] instructions, act according to what you believe would be the opinion of your ruler and what he would prefer.

They responded: "Give [it to us]! What is the [right] opinion?" He answered:

> Abū Bakr sent us [as separate commands] only because he thought that things would be easy for us, but, if he knew what has happened and is happening, he would have brought you together. Your situation is severer for the Muslims than that which has descended upon them and more helpful to the polytheists than their reinforcements. I have learned that this world has divided you from one another. God, God! Each man among you has received sole assignment of one of the cities for himself. It will not reduce his province for him if he admits the superior authority of one of the divisional commanders, nor will it increase his province if they submit to him. The appointment of one of you as overall commander will not diminish you [in stature] with God or with the caliph of God's Messenger. Let us get to it, for these [enemies] have readied themselves [for us]. This is a day of consequences. If we drive them back to their trench today, we will not cease driving them back. If, on the other hand, they defeat us, we will not succeed afterward. Come on, then, let us take the overall command by turns. Let one of us be in command today, another tomorrow, and another after tomorrow, so that each of you commands [at some time]. Leave me to take charge of you today.

Thus they put Khālid [temporarily] in command, considering it like the sallies of their troops, but the matter went on longer than what they had thought. The Romans went out in a formation the like of which those seeing [it] had never seen before. Khālid also went forth in a battle order that the Arabs had not used before: He set forth with between thirty-six and forty closely packed cavalry

squadrons (*kardūs*).[493] He said: "Your enemy is numerous and terrible. There is no battle order more numerous to eyesight than
[2093] squadrons."

Thus he deployed his center into squadrons and put Abū ʿUbaydah there. He also put his right into squadrons, with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī in charge of it and Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah in it. He arranged his left into squadrons as well, with Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān in command. In command of one of the Iraqi squadrons was al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr. Madhʿūr b. ʿAdī also commanded a squadron, ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm a squadron, Hāshim b. ʿUtbah[494] a squadron, Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah[495] a squadron, and Khālid a squadron.

Commanding the defeated remnants of Khālid b. Saʿīd, Diḥyah b. Khalīfah[496] held charge of a squadron, Imruʾ al-Qays a squadron, Yazīd b. Yuḥannis[497] a squadron, Abū ʿUbaydah a squadron, ʿIkrimah a squadron, and Suhayl a squadron. Furthermore, ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Khālid,[498] who on that day was eighteen years old, commanded a

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493. These would appear to be battalion-sized units, based on the numbers given, perhaps akin to the tribal regiments, but Sayf's information is not trustworthy. Their appearance here is almost certainly an anachronism, as Marwān b. Muḥammad is explicitly credited with initiating the use of *karādīs* in the second (eighth) century. See Ṭabarī, II, 1941, 1944; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 373.

494. Al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, the newphew of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. He embraced Islam in 8/630, commanded at Jalūlāʾ in 17/638, settled in al-Kūfah, and was killed fighting on ʿAlī's side at Ṣiffīn in 38/658. See *EI*², s.v. Hāshim b. ʿUtba; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 20; II, 280; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 127, 132, 219–21; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, 103–4, 114–16; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 593–94; Donner, *Conquests*, 119, 137, 207, 362, 400, 405, 409–10.

495. Al-ʿAmrī al-Tamīmī. He is mentioned only by Sayf. See Donner, *Conquests*, 365. He is meant to represent the father of Sayf's alleged authority Ḥanẓalah b. Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah, mentioned on p. 000. ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 227–41, identifies him as one of Sayf's fabrications for the glorification of the Tamīm tribal grouping. Sayf's Usayyid clan was a part of the ʿAmr Tamīm.

496. Al-Kalbī. He was allegedly sent as an emissary to the Roman emperor in 7/628, migrated to Syria, and died in al-Mizzah near Damascus c. 50/670. A variant tradition alleges that he became a Muslim only in the time of Abū Bakr. See *EI*², s.v. Diḥya; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 288; II, 232; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 234, 607, 612–13; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 249–51; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 47, 51, 74; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, V, 221–23; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 473–74; Donner, *Conquests*, 137, 366.

497. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kūfī. It is curious that a Kūfan should be mentioned among the defeated remnants of Khālid b. Saʿīd. Perhaps this is a further embellishment by Sayf. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 664; Donner, *Conquests*, 366.

498. The son of Khālid b. al-Walīd and a Khathʿamī woman, he later served Muʿāwiyah as governor of Ḥimṣ, bore his standard at Ṣiffīn, and died of poison at Ḥimṣ in 46/666. His role at al-Yarmūk is found only in Sayf's report, which is doubtful, as he otherwise first appears as a commander in the reign of ʿUthmān. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd

squadron, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah[499] a squadron, Ṣafwān b. Umayyah[500] a squadron, Saʿīd b. Khālid[501] a squadron, Abū al-Aʿwar b. Sufyān[502] a squadron, and Ibn Dhī al-Khimār[503] a squadron.

On the right ʿUmārah b. Makhshī b. Khuwaylid[504] commanded a squadron, Shuraḥbīl a squadron, [in which] Khālid b. Saʿīd was with [2094]

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al-Raḥmān b. Khālid; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 23; II, 129; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 324–27; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 198, 222, 240–41; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 67–68 (discounting Sayf's version); Donner, *Conquests*, 366.

499. Al-Fihrī. He is chiefly famous for having led many of the original Muslim conquests in northern Syria, al-Jazīrah, and Armenia. Later he led one of Muʿāwiyah's wings at Ṣiffīn. Said to have been born in Mecca c. 620 C.E., he died in Armenia or Damascus in 42/662. If his birth date is accurate, he can hardly have fought at al-Yarmūk or commanded conquests soon after. Perhaps his birth date was invented to explain how he could have been a Qurashī but not a Companion. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥabīb b. Maslama; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 34; II, 289; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 409–10; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 447; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 149, 157–58, 169, 222, 237; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 132 (improbably subordinated to Khālid b. al-Walīd), 161, 174, 176–77, 189, 207–8, 219, 221, 225, 228, 234–39, 241; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 309; *Tahdhīb*, II, 190–91; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 44; Donner, *Conquests*, 150, 153, 247, 363.

500. Al-Jumaḥī. He was the son of one of the Prophet's inveterate opponents who had been slain at Badr. His wife was a daughter of Abū Sufyān. Ṣafwān became a Muslim in 8/630, visited Medina to make *hijrah*, then returned to Mecca, where he died in 36–42/656–662. As it is denied that he participated in any campaigns, his presence at al-Yarmūk, which is found only in Sayf, probably is yet another of the latter's attempts to improve on the reputations of Companions unpopular with the Shīʿah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 24; II, 535; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 388; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 187–88.

501. This same Saʿīd, the son of Khālid b. Saʿīd, had already been slain by the Romans according to another report of Sayf; see p. 82, above; cf. note 465, above.

502. ʿAmr b. Sufyān al-Sulamī, a confederate of Abū Sufyān who seems to have become a Muslim even after Ḥunayn, which makes his status as Companion doubtful (Bukhārī makes no mention of it). He figured as a commander in several campaigns, especially naval ones, including that against Cyprus in 26/647 and the very significant victory over the emperor Constans II off Lycia in 34/655. A supporter of Muʿāwiyah, he fought for the latter at Ṣiffīn, was with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Egypt, and settled in the *jund* of al-Urdunn. See *EI*², s.v. Abu'l-Aʿwar al-Sulamī; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 219, 222; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 123; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 540–41; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 45; Donner, *Conquests*, 136–38, 363.

503. Only found in Sayf, this name would appear to refer to a son of ʿAbhalah al-Aswad Dhū al-Khimār b. Kaʿb al-ʿAnsī, the false prophet of Yemen who appeared in the Riddah period. However, another, perhaps more likely candidate for the father of this man is Subayʿ (or Sabʿ) Dhū al-Khimār b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik (al-Thaqafī? al-Hilālī?), who was killed fighting against the Muslims at Ḥunayn in 8/630. See *EI*², s.v. al-Aswad b. Kaʿb al-ʿAnsī; Ṭabarī, I, 1655, 1664; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 272; II, 199; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 885, 907, 911; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 437; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 62.

504. Al-Ḍamrī. He concluded peace with the Ḍamrah for the Prophet, then later fought in Syria. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 42; II, 572; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 185. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 517, is taken from Sayf.

him, ʿAbdallāh b. Qays[505] a squadron, ʿAmr b. ʿAbasah[506] a squadron, al-Simṭ b. al-Aswad[507] a squadron, Dhū al-Kalāʿ a squadron, Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj[508] another, Jundab b. ʿAmr b. Ḥumamah[509] a squadron, ʿAmr b. So-and-So[510] a squadron, and Laqīṭ b. ʿAbd al-Qays b. Bajrah, the confederate of the Banū Ẓafar from the Banū Fazārah,[511] a squadron.

On the left Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān held command of a squadron, al-Zubayr a squadron, Ḥawshab Dhū Ẓulaym[512] a squadron, Qays b. ʿAmr b. Zayd b. ʿAwf b. Madhbūl b. Māzin b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah b. Ḥawāzin,

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505. Apparently the famous Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī is intended. An Iraqi who governed al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, he died at al-Kūfah or Mecca between 41/661 and 53/673. As he is not otherwise attested in Syria, he is most unlikely actually to have taken part there, so that his presence in this list is probably another of Sayf's pro-Iraqi embellishments. In Ṭabarī, I, 2523, Sayf even says that ʿUmar made him governor of the Syrian coast, which is certainly false. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ashʿarī, Abū Mūsā; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 359–60; Donner, *Conquests*, 176, 212, 215–16, 366, 417, 420–21, 433, 436, 438.

506. Al-Sulamī. He dubiously claimed to have been one of the very earliest Companions. He joined the Prophet toward the end of the latter's mission, perhaps c. 7/629 or more probably 9/631. He settled in Ḥimṣ. Sayf later claims a post for him in Syria. See Ṭabarī, I, 1166, 1168, 2523, 2526; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 125; II, 167; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 403; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 5–6; Donner, *Conquests*, 366.

507. Al-Kindī. He also settled in Ḥimṣ, where he, or at least his son, became one of the most important men in the city. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 236; II, 513; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 115; Donner, *Conquests*, 132, 139, 150, 363; Crone, *Slaves*, 101.

508. Al-Sakūnī al-Kindi. He settled in Egypt and supported ʿUthmān, then Muʿāwiyah, in the first civil war. From Egypt he campaigned against the Sudan and North Africa. He died in 52/672. His alleged participation at al-Qādisiyyah is probably an embellishment by Sayf, meant to show harmony and cooperation between the Companions of Syria and Iraq, as well as to refute Shīʿī criticism of prominent pro-Umayyad Syrians. See Ṭabarī, I, 2220–22; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 178, 218, 241, 247–49; Kindī, *Wulāh wa quḍāh*, 12, 15, 17–19, 21, 27–30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 431; Donner, *Conquests*, 207, 367, 396.

509. Al-Dawsī, the confederate of the Banū Umayyah, said to have been martyred at Ajnādayn, in which case he could not have fought at al-Yarmūk. His daughter married ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 215; II, 266; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 249; Donner, *Conquests*, 359, 363.

510. This could be anyone.

511. Mentioned only by Sayf, as indicated by Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 330; Donner, *Conquests*, 367. The Ẓafar here are a branch of the Aws of the Anṣār. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 152, 154, 161–62.

512. Ḥawshab b. Yazīd al-Hamdānī. He was from Ḥimṣ and fell fighting for Muʿāwiyah at Ṣiffīn in 37/657. His participation at al-Yarmūk is mentioned only by Sayf. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 232; II, 322; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 220, 222; Donner, *Conquests*, 367.

the confederate of the Banū al-Najjār,[513] a squadron, ʿIṣmah b. ʿAbdallāh, the confederate of the Banū al-Najjār from the Banū Asad,[514] a squadron, Ḍirār b. al-Azwar a squadron, Masrūq b. So-and-So[515] a squadron, ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah b. Bahz, the confederate of the Banū ʿIṣmah,[516] a squadron, Jāriyah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ashjaʿī, the confederate of the Banū Salimah,[517] a squadron, and Qabāth[518] a squadron. Abū al-Dardāʾ[519] was the judge, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb[520] was the preacher [2095]

513. One of the earliest Companions from the Anṣār, he is said to have attended the swearing of allegiance at al-ʿAqabah by Mecca before the *hijrah*, then to have fought at Badr, and is last mentioned at al-Khandaq in 5/627. All other sources give him a straight Najjārī genealogy. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 185; II, 457; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 26, 164, 447; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 458, 613, 705; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 517; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 244; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 83; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 251; Donner, *Conquests*, 367.

514. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf. See Donner, *Conquests*, 367.

515. Masrūq b. Ḥarmalah al-ʿAkkī. He seems to have been mentioned only by Sayf in the conquests, but other sources mention his siding with Muʿāwiyah in the first civil war. Presumably, then, Sayf's description of Masrūq's early military activities is meant to palliate his other, later role. See Ṭabarī, I, 1986–87, 1993, 1997, 2399–2400; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 507; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 408; Donner, *Conquests*, 367.

516. Al-Bahrānī (or al-Sulamī), the confederate of the Lawdhān of the Aws. He fought at Badr and disappears from the sources after Uḥud. Only Sayf has him at al-Yarmūk and gives his allegiance as belonging to a Banū ʿIṣmah, the identity of whom cannot be discerned; probably the name results from a copyist's error in which there was confusion with the just-mentioned ʿIṣmah b. ʿAbdallāh. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 177, 328; II, 578; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 168; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 695; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 554; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 453; III, 103; Donner, *Conquests*, 367.

517. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf, as shown by Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 218; Donner, *Conquests*, 367. The Salimah were a tribe of the Anṣār. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 152, 154, 169.

518. Qabāth b. Ashyam (Qays) al-Laythī al-Kinānī. After fighting at Badr against the Muslims he embraced Islam about 8/630, settled in Ḥimṣ, and shed blood in defense of the caliph ʿUthmān's house in Medina in 35/656. See Ṭabarī, I, 967, 3016; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 36; II, 454; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 411; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 221–22; Donner, *Conquests*, 362 (under Qiyātha).

519. ʿUwaymir (or ʿĀmir) b. Zayd al-Khazrajī, a famous Companion who settled in Damascus, where he transmitted many traditions before his death in 31–32/651–52. No military exploits of his are recorded except by Sayf. See *EI*², s.v. Abu'l-Dardāʾ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 188; II 165; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 391–93; Donner, *Conquests*, 131, 136, 367.

520. An outstanding opponent of Islam until the fall of Mecca, he is often portrayed in an advisory capacity thereafter until his death in 32/653 at a great age. He was the father of the caliph Muʿāwiyah. His ties with Syria before Islam are widely reported. See *EI*², s.v. Abū Sufyān; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 8; II, 536; Donner, *Conquests*, 96, 362.

(*qāṣṣ*),[521] Qabāth b. Ashyam was in charge of reconaissance, and ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd[522] was the paymaster (*ʿalā al-aqbāḍ*).

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah, and, similarly, Abū ʿUthmān: The Qurʾān reciter (*qāriʾ*) was al-Miqdād.[523] It was from the practice followed by the Prophet of God after Badr[524] that Sūrat al-Jihād be read before a battle, and it is al-Anfāl.[525] The people did not cease doing this after that.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī — Khālid and ʿUbādah: One thousand of the Prophet's Companions participated at al-Yarmūk, among them about one hundred who had been at Badr. Abū Sufyān would go about, stopping at the squadrons to say: "God, God! You are the defenders of the Arabs and the supporters of Islam. They are the defenders of the Romans and the supporters of polytheism. O God, this is a day from among your days. O God, send down your help to your worshipers."

A man said to Khālid, "The Romans are so numerous and the Muslims so few." Khālid answered: "How few are the Romans, and how many the Muslims! Armies become numerous only with victory and few only with defeat, not by the number of men. By God, I would love it if the roan horse were cured of the pain in its hooves, and if the enemy were twice as many." His horse's hooves had become abraded during his journey.

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521. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳāṣṣ.

522. Al-Hudhalī, the confederate of the Qurashī Zuhrah. He was one of the humbler early Muslims and later appeared, after his migration to al-Kūfah, aligned with ʿAlī and opposed to ʿUthmān. The latter is said to have brought him back to Medina, abused him, and put him under a kind of house arrest until his death in 32/653. Ibn Masʿūd's fame has reverberated down through the ages owing to his crucial role in the transmission of tradition to the next generation in al-Kūfah, the crucible of the earliest Islamic writing and systematization of Islamic legal thinking. No military roles are attested for him in the conquests except in Sayf's reports. See *EI*², s.v. Ibn Masʿūd; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 58, II, 114; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 150–61, VI, 13–14; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 36–37; Donner, *Conquests*, 243, 367.

523. Al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr al-Kindī or al-Ḥaḍramī, the confederate of the Zuhrah, he also was one of the famous early Muslims of humble origin who had great popularity later. He died near Medina at seventy in 33/654. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 328; II, 408; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 161–63; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 483–84; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 454–55.

524. The famous first victory of the Muslims over the Quraysh in 2/624. See *EI*², s.v. Badr.

525. The usual name of the eighth *sūrah* of the Qurʾān. Note that originally this also may have included the ninth *sūrah*, al-Tawbah, as well, for the latter is not separated from the former by a *basmalah*. See Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, II, 171; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, II, 331.

Khālid then commanded ʿIkrimah and al-Qaʿqāʿ, who were in charge of the two wings of the center, to start the battle. Al-Qaʿqāʿ recited some verses of *rajaz*, saying: [2096]

If only I could meet you in the chase,
Before the harsh violence of the numerous, oncoming army,
While you are among your reddish bay horses assembled for the chase.

ʿIkrimah said:

The light-spirited among the girls has learned
that I by noble deed offer protection.

The battle began, the troops fought, and the cavalry pursued one another. They were in the midst of that when the post arrived from Medina. The horsemen took the post rider, asking him what news there was, but he told them only that things were normal. He also told them about reinforcements. But he [actually] had come only to report the death of Abū Bakr and the appointment of Abū ʿUbaydah to command. They brought him to Khālid, and the rider informed him of the news about Abū Bakr, giving it to him in secret. He also [2097] told him what he had told the troops. Khālid said, "You have done well; therefore stay." He took the letter, putting it in his quiver. He feared that, if he displayed that, its effect would spread among the troops. Maḥmiyah b. Zunaym,[526] who was the messenger, stayed with Khālid.

Jurjah went forth until he was between the two [front] lines. He called out for Khālid to come out to him. Leaving Abū ʿUbaydah in his place, Khālid went out to Jurjah and stood right beside him between the two lines, so that the necks of their mounts touched. One of them had given a guarantee of safe-conduct to the other. Jurjah said: "O Khālid, tell me the truth and do not lie to me, for the free-born does not lie, and do not try to deceive me, for the noble-natured does not try to deceive one who is acting kindly by God. Did God send down a sword from heaven on your Prophet, giving it to him, so that you do not draw it against a people but that you defeat them?" Khālid answered, "No." Jurjah asked, "Then why are you named 'the Sword of God?'" Khālid replied:

526. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 487.

> God sent us His Prophet, who summoned us, but we all avoided him and removed ourselves far away from him. Then some of us believed him and followed him, whereas others distanced themselves from him and called him a liar. I was among those who called him a liar, distanced themselves from him, and fought him. Then God gripped our hearts and our forelocks, guiding us by him, so that we followed him. The Prophet said [to me], "You are a sword among the swords of God, which God has drawn against the polytheists," and prayed for victory for me. Thus I was named "the Sword of God" according to that, for I am the harshest of the Muslims against the polytheists.

The Roman said, "You have told me the truth."

Then Jurjah continued with him, "O Khālid, tell me what you are calling me to." Khālid answered, "To witnessing that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger, and to the acknowledgment of that which he brought from God." The Roman continued, "And he who does not accept [your religion]?" Khālid replied, "Then [they must pay] the *jizyah* payment, and we will protect them." The Roman went on, "And if he does not pay it?" Khālid said, "We give him warning of war; then we fight him."
[2098] Jurjah asked, "What is the rank of he who joins you and responds positively to you regarding this matter today?" Khālid answered, "Our rank is one regarding that which God has imposed on us, both the noble among us and the humble, both the first of us and the last." Then Jurjah asked yet again, "Does he who joins you today, O Khālid, obtain the same amount of payment and supplies as you do?" Khālid said, "Yes, and better." The Roman went on, "And how can he be your equal, when you have preceded him [in joining Islam]?" Khālid replied:

> We came into this affair and gave the oath of allegiance to our Prophet when he was [still] living among us, when the revelations (*akhbār*) of heaven would come to him and he would tell us about the books[527] and show us the verses (*āyāt*).[528] It was imperative for anyone who saw what we saw and heard what we heard to embrace Islam and swear alle-

527. That is, the heavenly books or divine revelations.
528. This can also mean "signs."

giance. But you have not seen the wonders and proofs that we saw, nor have you heard what we heard. Therefore whoever among you enters into this affair sincerely and with [true intention] is better than we.

Jurjah said, "By God, you have indeed told me the truth and not tried to deceive me or to persuade me with a friendly tone." Khālid said: "By God, I have indeed told you the truth. I do not bear any hostility toward you or toward anyone among you. God is indeed the master of what you have asked about." Jurjah said, "You have spoken the truth to me." He turned his shield over and inclined toward Khālid, saying, "Teach me Islam." Therefore Khālid brought him to his tent and poured over him a skin of water. Then Jurjah made two prostrations (*rakʿatayn*) of worship.

The Romans attacked when Jurjah had gone over to Khālid, for they thought Jurjah was making a charge. They drove the Muslims from their positions, except for those covering them, ʿIkrimah and al-Ḥārith b. Hishām.[529] Khālid rode, and Jurjah was with him, while the Romans were in the midst of the Muslims. The troops called to each other and regrouped, and the Romans retreated to their positions. Khālid then marched with them until the two sides were striking each other with swords. Khālid and Jurjah kept smiting the enemy from before sunrise until the sun had inclined toward set- [2099]
ting. Then Jurjah was struck down, without having performed any worship in which he prostrated himself, except for the two prostrations by which he had embraced Islam. The troops performed the first worship[530] (*al-ūlā*) and the midafternoon worship by sign.[531]

The Romans weakened. Khālid rushed upon the enemy with the center until he was between their cavalry and their infantry. The battle site had a wide space for pursuit [but only] a narrow way of es-

529. Al-Makhzūmī, the brother of Abū Jahl and first cousin of Khālid b. al-Walīd. He embraced Islam at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630 and took part in the conquest of Syria, where he died in the plague of 18/639, or else at al-Yarmūk. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 404; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 301–2; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 60, 119, 130; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 120–21; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 293–94.

530. Evidently the noon worship (*ẓuhr*).

531. This means that, with the battle going on, the men did not assemble for the formal worship in the usual way but performed their assigned worship in some unspecified symbolic way. Usually *ṣalāt al-khawf*, the "fear prayer," involves shortening the worship ritual, delaying it, or doing it in turns; but the term also may mean performing it by sign, especially from an animal's back. See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīh*, II, 17–19; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīh*, I, 277–78, 334–6; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 130–31.

cape.[532] When their horsemen found a way to go they went, leaving behind their infantry in their battle order. Their horses went along, speeding away with their riders into the desert. The [Muslim] troops delayed their worship so that they worshiped after the victory. When the Muslims saw the Roman cavalry heading to escape, they opened [their ranks] for them [to pass] and did not impede them. Thus they went on and scattered throughout the country.

Khālid and the Muslims rather advanced on the infantry, breaking them as if a wall had been pulled down on them. Then they were attacked in their trench. Khālid rushed against them in it, so that they headed for al-Wāqūṣah until the bound [men] and the others of them fell into it. Those who were bound who feared for themselves pulled into it those who persisted in fighting. Thus one would pull in ten who could not bear his [weight]. As often as two fell in, the rest were weaker. One hundred twenty thousand plunged into al-Wāqūṣah, eighty thousand bound and forty thousand unfettered, beside those who were killed in the battle among the cavalry and infantry. The share [in the spoils] of a cavalryman on that day was one thousand five hundred [dirhams]. Al-Fīqār and some of the Roman nobles wrapped themselves up in their mantles (*barānis*) and then sat down, saying, "We do not like seeing such a day of evil, because we have not been able to see a day of joy, and because we have not suc-
[2100] ceeded in protecting Christianity." They were struck down while wrapped in their mantles.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān—Khālid and ʿUbādah: Khālid awoke the morning after that night in the tent of Theodore. When he entered the trench he took up quarters in it, while his cavalry surrounded it. The troops fought until the morning.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abū ʿUthmān al-Ghassānī — his father:[533] On that day, ʿIkrimah b. Abī Jahl said, "[Would] I fight the Messenger of God in every place, yet flee from you today?!" Then he called out, "Who will take an oath [to fight] to the death?" Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and Ḍirār b. al-Azwar gave him their oaths of allegiance [on that condition], along with four hundred of the Muslim notables and horsemen.[534] They fought in front of Khālid's tent until they all

532. This echoes the words of Herakleios on p. 85, above.

533. There is no independent evidence for his existence or for that of his son.

534. Or "knights." But this word seems too loaded with medieval Christian connotations.

were disabled with wounds. Many were killed, though some recovered, including Ḍirār b. al-Azwar. ʿIkrimah was brought wounded to Khālid after the men had arisen. Khālid put ʿIkrimah's head on his thigh. [He was also brought] ʿAmr b. ʿIkrimah,[535] and he put his head on his leg. He began to wipe their faces and let water dribble into their throats while saying, "Ibn al-Ḥantamah[536] claimed that we would not die as martyrs."

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿUmays[537]—al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[538]—Abū Umāmah,[539] who participated at al-Yarmūk along with ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit:[540] The women fought on that day during

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535. Alleged son of ʿIkrimah b. Abī Jahl, to whom Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 311, credits no offspring, rather specifically denying that ʿIkrimah had any children. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 145, has ʿUmar for ʿAmr b. ʿIkrimah but may have derived his report from Sayf.

536. That is, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Al-Ḥantamah bt. Hāshim b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmiyyah was his mother. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 347.

537. ʿUtbah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd al-Hudhalī, the great-grandson of Ibn Masʿūd and a Kūfan traditionist in early ʿAbbāsid times. He enjoyed a good reputation. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 366; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 97.

538. A *mawlā* of the family of Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb al-Umawī and a Damascene transmitter of tradition. According to differing reports, he was either the *mawlā* of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah or of Juwayriyyah bt. Abī Sufyān. He participated in an attack on Constantinople and died in 112/730. His reputation as a transmitter is weak. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 449–50; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 322–24.

539. Al-Ṣudayy b. ʿAjlān al-Bāhilī, he settled in Syria and fought at Ṣiffīn, probably for Muʿāwiyah, despite a report to the contrary, for he died at Ḥimṣ. A visitor to the caliph al-Walīd I, he was known as the last of the Companions alive in Syria. His birth date was either c. 617 C.E., or 25/646, according to two variant versions, the latter of which would exclude his having been either a Companion or probably even having fought at Ṣiffīn. Although not featured in the *Sīrah*, he is reported by Abū Mikhnaf to have been sent out to fight a Roman force in al-ʿArabah during the conquest of Syria. He died in 86/705. Caskel thinks two Abū Umāmahs, a Companion and a traditionist, have been conflated. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 539; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 411–12; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 382; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 130, 177, 318; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 419–24; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 182; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 420–21; Donner, *Conquests*, 115–16.

540. Al-Khazrajī, one of the few important Anṣār in the conquest period. He was one of the *naqīb*s appointed by the Prophet for Medina, fought in all the Prophet's famous battles, then migrated to Syria, where he died in Palestine at al-Ramlah or Jerusalem in 34/655 at the age of seventy-two. He governed Ḥimṣ under ʿUmar and participated in the conquest of Egypt and the Cyprus campaign of 28/649. He reportedly expressed opposition to Muʿāwiyah during the latter's governorship. This would not be surprising in view of Muʿāwiyah's hostility to the Anṣār. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 189; II, 559; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 387; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 157, 166, 180; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 156–58, 161, 166–67, 181–82; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 209–17; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 268–69; Donner, *Conquests*, 153–54, 364.

one round of fighting. Juwayriyyah bt. Abī Sufyān[541] was wounded[542]
[2101] during one round and was with her husband[543] after heavy fighting. On that day Abū Sufyān's eye was hit. Abū Ḥathmah[544] removed the arrow from his eye.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd[545]—Arṭāh b. Juhaysh:[546] Al-Ashtar[547] took part at al-Yarmūk and did not participate at al-Qādisiyyah. A man of the Romans went forth on that day and said, "Who will fight [me] in single combat?" Al-Ashtar went forth against him. They exchanged a couple of blows, whereupon he said to the Roman, "Take that, for I am the Iyādī lad!" The Roman responded: "May God increase the likes of you among my people! Why, by God, if you were not of my people, I would have supported[548] the Romans, but now I will not help them!"

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān and Khālid:[549] Among those who were struck down among the three thousand killed at the Battle of al-Yarmūk were ʿIkrimah, ʿAmr b. ʿIkrimah, Salamah b.

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541. She first married al-Sāʾib b. Abī Ḥubaysh b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, who was captured at Badr, became a Muslim in 8/630 at the conquest of Mecca, and died in the reign of Muʿāwiyah. Later she married ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Umayyah al-Aṣghar b. ʿAbd Shams. No children of hers are mentioned in the sources. On these persons, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 19; II, 499; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 239; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 125, 151; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 9, 394; Donner, *Conquests*, 365.

542. Text: *kharajat*; read: *juriḥat*, with Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII.

543. See note 541, above.

544. Ibn Ḥudhayfah al-ʿAdawī al-Qurashī. He embraced Islam in 8/630. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 26; II, 321; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 370, 374; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 41–42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 42.

545. Al-Nakhaʿī. He is mentioned only by Sayf and hence is regarded by ʿAskarī, *Khamsūn wa miʾah ṣaḥābī*, 115–16, 133, 142, 193, as a fabrication by Sayf, and this is not unlikely.

546. Unidentified but probably intended as a Nakhaʿī to serve as the link between the Nakhaʿī al-Ashtar in the report and al-Mustanīr.

547. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakhaʿī, a Kūfan leader and strong supporter of ʿAlī, who made him governor of Egypt. He is alleged to have been poisoned when going there to take up his post in 37–38/658–59. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ashtar; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 213; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 181, 218, 232; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 482; Donner, *Conquests*, 153, 207, 241, 364, 394.

548. Text: *la-zurt*; read: *la-āzart*, an emendation suggested in note to the Leiden ed. and followed by the Cairo ed.

549. Perhaps this bracketing of one of Abū ʿUthmān's main sources with him in the same level of the *isnād*, coupled with the omission of Khālid's constant companion in the *isnād*, ʿUbādah, means that the text is corrupt here.

Hishām,[550] ʿAmr b. Saʿīd,[551] and Abān b. Saʿīd.[552] Khālid b. Saʿīd was disabled, and it is unknown where he died afterward. [Other casualties included] Jundab b. ʿAmr b. Ḥumamah al-Dawsī, al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr,[553] Ḍirār b. al-Azwar, who was wounded but survived, Ṭulayb b. ʿUmayr b. Wahb of the Banū ʿAbd b. Quṣayy,[554] Habbār b. Sufyān,[555] and Hishām b. al-ʿĀṣī.[556]

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550. Al-Makhzūmī, he seems to have been a Muslim by 7/629. He usually is said to have been martyred at Ajnādayn or Marj al-Ṣuffar; only Sayf puts him and the others in this list at al-Yarmūk. Thus it would appear that Sayf has adapted this martyrs' list for his purposes, naming them as victims of al-Yarmūk, which is the first of his Syrian battles, just as the other sources put them at Ajnādayn, the first of those sources' Syrian battles. On Salamah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 23; II, 504; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 322, 383; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 302–3; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 147; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 68–69; Donner, *Conquests*, 357, 368.

551. Al-Umawī al-Qurashī. Despite the statement that he was one of the early Muslims, he seems only to have taken part in those battles occurring from the fall of Mecca in 8/630 onward. He is said to have governed Wādī al-Qurā for the Prophet and to have been slain at Ajnādayn, Marj al-Ṣuffar, or Fiḥl, according to sources other than Sayf. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 9; II, 183; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 174–75; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 72, 104, 118; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 40, 135; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 539; Donner, *Conquests*, 357, 360, 363.

552. Al-Umawī al-Qurashī. He embraced Islam in 7/629. Being literate, he was one of the Prophet's secretaries and is said to have governed al-Baḥrayn for him. He is also said to have been slain at Ajnādayn or Marj al-Ṣuffar or else to have died in 27/648 or 29/650. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 9; II, 101; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 174–75; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 73, 104, 118; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 99, 127, 135, 580, 582; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 147; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 13–14; Donner, *Conquests*, 357, 360, 368.

553. Actually ʿAmr b. Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr al-Dawsī, he also is stated to have been martyred at Ajnādayn. Ibn al-Kalbī also confused ʿAmr with his father, who already had perished fighting against Musaylimah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 214; II, 185, 558; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 91; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 225–26, 544; Donner, *Conquests*, 358–59, 364, 368, 373.

554. Son of the Prophet's paternal aunt Arwā, an early Muslim and a veteran of Badr. He was killed at Ajnādayn according to all the sources other than Sayf. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 18; II, 559; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 123–24; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 147; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 233–34; Donner, *Conquests*, 357, 368.

555. Al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī. He is said to have been an early Muslim. He is reported in the other sources to have died at Ajnādayn or even Muʾtah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 22; II, 276; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 338; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 147; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 609; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 559; Donner, *Conquests*, 358, 368.

556. Al-Sahmī al-Qurashī, brother of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī and one of the earliest Muslims. He is said by other sources to have died at Ajnādayn. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 25; II, 284; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 409; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 104; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 116, 135; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 126–27, 132; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 604; Donner, *Conquests*, 357, 368.

[2102] Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr b. Maymūn[557]—his father:[558] A man from among the Romans of the Arabs[559] met Khālid when he arrived in Syria as aid for the troops at al-Yarmūk. He said: "O Khālid, the Romans are in a numerous assemblage, two hundred thousand or more. If you think you should fall back on your rear guard, then do so." Khālid answered: "Are you going to frighten me with the Romans? By God, I would love it if the roan horse were cured of the pain in its hooves and if the enemy were twice as many."[560] Then God defeated them through him.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd — Arṭāh b. Juhaysh: Khālid said on that day: "Praise be to God, Who decreed death for Abū Bakr, although he was dearer to me than ʿUmar. And praise be to God, Who gave the authority to ʿUmar and then obliged me to love him, even though he was more distasteful to me than Abū Bakr."

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and ʿAmr b. Maymūn: Herakleios had made a pilgrimage before the rout of Khālid b. Saʿīd. The pilgrimage was to Jerusalem. While he was there word reached him that the troops were nearby him. Therefore he assembled the Romans and said: "I believe it is best if you do not fight those people but rather make peace with them. By God, that you give them half of what Syria produces and take half, [provided that] the mountains of Rome [*jibāl al-rūm*][561] remain with you, is better for you than that they overpower you in Syria and share with

557. Al-Jazarī. He died 145–48/762–65 in al-Kūfah or al-Raqqah. He had a good reputation as a traditionist. He is said to have had charge of the army roll of al-Jazīrah while his father was governor there for ʿUmar II. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 478; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 108–9. See note 558, below.

558. Maymūn b. Mihrān al-Jazarī, *mawlā* of the Naṣr. Born c. 40/661, he grew up in al-Kūfah but c. 81/700 moved to al-Raqqah, whence his *nisbah*, al-Jazarī, referring to al-Jazīrah. Originally called a supporter of ʿAlī like most Kūfans, his affinities were with the Qaysī tribes of al-Jazīrah, which tended to be anti-ʿAlid, so that he changed his position in favor of ʿUthmān. He served as treasurer to the Jazīran governor Muḥammad b. Marwān, then was put in charge of taxation and justice in al-Jazīrah by the caliph ʿUmar II. He was one of the most knowledgeable religious scholars in the time of the caliph Hishām, and his career most interestingly combines political and religious roles. He died in 117/735. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 477–79; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 390–92.

559. "Romans of the Arabs" refers to the Syrian Arab tribes supporting Rome.

560. This sentence is repeated on p. 94, above.

561. This can refer to hardly any other than the Taurus Mountains above Cilicia in Anatolia, which formed the border between the Muslims and the East Roman Empire for centuries. In Herakleios's mouth it is a retrospective anachronism.

you the mountains of Rome." At this, his brother snorted, his brother-in-law (*khatanuh*) also snorted, and those around him split from him. When he saw them disobeying him and talking back to him, he sent forth his brother, nominated the commanders, and directed a division toward every [enemy] division. When the Muslims had combined Herakleios ordered the Romans to make one broad, [2103] well-fortified collective camp. Thus the Romans encamped at al-Wāqūṣah, while the emperor went off to stay at Ḥimṣ. When he heard that Khālid had appeared at Suwā[562] and carried off its inhabitants and their possessions and that he had gone on to Buṣrā,[563] conquering it and permitting a virgin [to be ravished or seized], he said to those sitting with him: "Did I not tell you, 'Do not fight them'? You have no staying power with these people. Their religion is a new religion that renews their persistence, so that no one will stand up to them but he will be tested." They responded, "Fight for your religion, and do not make the people out to be cowards, but rather decide what you are responsible for." Herakleios said, "What do I seek except to increase your religion?"

When the Muslim troops encamped at al-Yarmūk the Muslims sent [a message] to the Romans, saying: "We would like to speak to your commander and meet him. Therefore allow us to come to speak to him." The Romans informed him, and he gave the Muslim delegation permission. Abū ʿUbaydah, Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān as the messenger, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, Ḍirār b. al-Azwar, and Abū Jandal b. Suhayl[564] came to him. The emperor's brother had on that day thirty tents (*rawāq*) and thirty pavilions (*surādiq*), all of them of silk. When they reached them, they refused to enter [the tents] to see him, saying, "We do not consider silk to be lawful; therefore come forth to us." He came out to carpets that had been spread out. That reached Herakleios, who said: "Did I not tell you that this was the

562. It is identified by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 79 n. 20, 336 n. 81, 556, 558, as Sabʿ Biyār, a waterhole in the Syrian desert 150 km. east-northeast of Damascus and 101 km. south-southwest of Palmyra, located in the Wādī Suwā, which has apparently kept the same name.

563. Still a large town in southern Syria bearing the same name, it was the ancient Bostra, seat of the Ghassānid phylarchs allied with the Romans. As such it was an important target. See *EI*², s.v. Boṣrā.

564. Al-ʿĀmirī al-Qurashī. An early Companion of the Prophet, he died in Syria in 18/639. In some traditions he has been confused with his brother ʿAbdallāh. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 27; II, 257; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 405; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 419–20; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 322–23; IV, 34.

beginning of the humiliation? As for Syria, it is no good (*sha'm*).[565] Woe to the Romans from the ill-omened child born in Syria!" Peace was not attained between them and the Muslims. Therefore Abū 'Ubaydah and his companions went back, making their own arrangements with each other, so that it became a fight to victory.

[2104] Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muṭarraḥ[566]—al-Qāsim—Abū Umāmah; and Abū 'Uthmān—Yazīd b. Sinān—men of the Syrians and their authorities: On the day that Khālid took over the command God defeated the Romans by nightfall. The Muslims directed themselves toward the steep abyss, taking what was in the [Romans'] camp. God slew their outstanding men, their chiefs, and their horsemen.[567] God killed Herakleios's brother, and Theodore was taken.[568] The rout reached Herakleios while he was before Ḥimṣ. He departed, putting it between him and them.[569] He appointed a commander for it, leaving him behind in it, just as he had already appointed a commander for Damascus.

When the Muslims defeated the Romans they sent out horsemen to track them down. When Abū 'Ubaydah assumed command after the rout [of the Romans][570] he announced departure, so that the Muslims left, marching until they had established their encampments at Marj al-Ṣuffar.

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565. This is a dialectical variant of *shām*, the plural of *shāmah*, a beauty mark, which here is related to the connected word *shīmah*, meaning a quality. This sentence and the next make a play on the root *sh-'-m*. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.vv. *sh-'-m*, *sh-y-m*.

566. Ibn Yazīd al-Asadī al-Kinānī, a Kūfan transmitter who also was considered one of the Syrians, possibly owing to his having been one of the Syrian Qaysī immigrants to al-Kūfah under the Umayyads. He had a poor reputation. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 171–72.

567. Or "knights."

568. According to Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 38, the Theodore present at al-Yarmūk was not Herakleios's brother but another Theodore, the Sakellarios (Keeper of the Purse). This is confirmed by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 118, who calls him the Sakellarios, a eunuch of Herakleios. See note 882, below.

569. Either the defeated Roman remnants or the Muslims.

570. That Abū 'Ubaydah would have assumed command so soon after a victory while the victorious Khālid was still present seems unlikely. Far more probably Abū 'Ubaydah was in command from the very beginning, but Sayf or the tradition behind him, at pains to show the superiority of the Iraqis over the Syrians, has concealed his true role in order to exaggerate the role of Khālid. In historical traditions other than those of Sayf, Abū 'Ubaydah, not Khālid, was the commander at al-Yarmūk. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 118; Donner, *Conquests*, 361–62.

Abū Umāmah: Having two horsemen with me, I was sent out to reconnoiter from Marj al-Ṣuffar until I entered al-Ghūṭah.[571] I pried around in it between its houses and its trees. One of my two companions said, "You have reached to where you were commanded. Therefore go back, and do not cause us to perish." I responded, "Stay in your place until morning comes to you or until I come to you." Then I went along until I wended my way to the city gate. There was not a soul to be seen on the earth. I removed my mare's bridle, hung her nosebag on her, and leaned on my spear. Then I put my head down and did not perceive [anything] until [I heard] the key being moved in the gate to open it. I arose and performed the morning worship;[572] [2105] then I mounted my horse and attacked it.[573] I stabbed the gatekeeper, killing him.[574] Then I turned away, going back. They came out to search for me but then left me alone out of fear that I would have an ambush [ready]. I found my way to my nearer companion, whom I had commanded to stay. When they saw him they said, "This is an ambush. He has reached his ambush." Thus they went away. My companion and I traveled until we found our way to our other companion. Then we went on until we came to the Muslims.

Abū ʿUbaydah had resolved not to depart until ʿUmar's advice and command came to him. When it came to him the Muslims departed, [traveling] until they encamped before Damascus. Abū ʿUbaydah left Bashīr b. Kaʿb b. Ubayy al-Ḥimyarī[575] behind at al-Yarmūk with a cavalry force.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd[576]—Abū Saʿīd[577]—

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571. The cultivated area around Damascus. See *EI*², s.vv. Ghūṭa, Dimashḳ.

572. *Ṣalāt al-fajr*, which is between first light and sunrise.

573. Or "him," apparently referring either to the gate or the gatekeeper, who has not yet been mentioned.

574. This indicates that Abū Umāmah was trying to get out of the city at the time to make the rendezvous with his impatient companion. Down to the thirteenth–fourteenth/nineteenth–twentieth centuries, the gates of Near Eastern cities usually were closed from dusk to dawn.

575. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf, according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 159.

576. The grandson of Abū Saʿīd Kaysān al-Maqburī and not ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd b. Thābit b. al-Jidhʿ al-Anṣārī, as is suggested by the index of the Leiden edition, p. 324. See note 577, below.

577. Kaysān al-Maqburī, *mawlā* of Umm Sharīk al-Laythiyyah and a Medinan transmitter of traditions, who died in 100/719 or, according to other reports, between 123/741 and 126/744. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, III, 168; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 38; VIII, 453–54, who shows that he transmitted to his grandson, as in this *isnād*.

Qabāth: I was in the delegation about the victory of al-Yarmūk. We had gained wealth and much spoil. The guide brought us to the waterhole of a man whom I had followed in the Jāhiliyyah, when I came of age and became aware of myself, to learn from him. When I was shown who he was I came to him and told him [my purpose]. He said, "You have done right." He turned out to be one of the daring brigands of the Arabs. Every day he would eat the rump of a slaughtered camel with its condiment and an amount equal to that [of meat] other than the rump. Nothing would be left over from it, except enough to nourish me. He would raid the tribe (*ḥayy*) and leave me nearby, saying,
[2106] "If a *rajaz* poet comes by reciting *rajaz* saying such-and-such, I am that [man]." He became crippled while he was with me. I stayed in that condition until he gave me a portion of wealth, which I brought to my family. It was the first property I obtained. Then I became the leader of my people and reached the level of the Arabs' [leading] men.

When we were brought by that waterhole I recognized it and asked about his house, but they did not know it, though they said he was alive. [His] sons whom he had begotten after me were brought to me. After I told them my story, they said, "Come to us tomorrow morning, for he is as close as possible to what you would like in the morning."[578] I came to them in the morning and was ushered in to him. He was brought forth from his bedchamber and seated for me. I did not cease jogging his memory until he remembered. He listened attentively and began to delight in the conversation, asking me to feed him more of it, so that our sitting drew long and we became burdensome to their boys. Therefore they frightened him with certain things he was frightened of, so that he would enter his bedchamber. That suited his mind. He said, "It used to be that I could not be frightened." I said, "Of course." I gave him [something] and left no one from his family without bestowing on him what was fitting. Then I departed.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Saʿīd al-Maqburī: Marwān b. al-Ḥakam[579] said to Qabāth, "Are you older or [was] God's Messen-

578. That is, "he is sharper in the morning."

579. The founder of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyads, he reigned briefly as caliph 65–66/684–85. Because of later opposition to Marwānid rule, he often is made the scapegoat of vitriolic attacks in the historical tradition; especially he is blamed for having stirred up the first civil war, in which he is made to have played an evil role in his position as secretary to his first cousin, the caliph ʿUthmān. See *EI*², s.v. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

ger?" Qabāth answered, "God's Messenger is greater, but I am older." Marwān said, "What is your earliest memory?" Qabāth replied, "The dung of the elephant[580] when it was a year old." Marwān continued, "What is the strangest thing that you have seen?" Qabāth answered: "A man from the Quḍāʿah. When I came of age and became aware of myself I sought a man whom I could be with and learn from. I was directed to him." Then he told this story. [2107]

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: When the troops set out Abū Bakr went forth with Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān to give him advice. Abū Bakr walked while Yazīd rode. When he had completed his admonition, he said: "Farewell. I leave you in God's keeping." Then he turned back, while Yazīd went on, taking the Tabūk road. Then Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah followed him, then Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ in charge of a division[581] as a reinforcement for the two of them, all following that road. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī went forth until he encamped at Ghamr al-ʿArabāt.[582] The Romans meanwhile camped at Thaniyyat Jilliq in uppermost Palestine with seventy thousand [men] under Theodore, Herakleios's full brother. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī wrote to Abū Bakr to inform him about the matter of the Romans and to ask him for reinforcements. Also Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī set forth. He was seeking bounty on a rainy day at Marj al-Ṣuffar in the land of Syria when the louts [*aʿlāj*] of the Romans gathered against him, killing him. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī had already written to Abū Bakr to inform him about the matter of the Romans and seek reinforcements.

Abū Jaʿfar — Abū Zayd — ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to the *isnād* that I have mentioned before: Just days after Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān had gone forth heading for Syria, Abū Bakr sent out Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥa-

580. This refers to the elephant that accompanied Abrahah on his attempt to capture Mecca, an event mentioned in the 105th *sūrah* of the Qur'ān. Modern scholars believe that this campaign must have taken place c. 555 C.E. or earlier, though Muslim tradition holds that it coincided with the year of the Prophet's birth, c. 571 C.E. See *EI*², s.v. al-Fīl.

581. Lit., "a fourth." The term is probably used here because there were four divisional commanders, hence four divisions, that prefigure the later four divisional districts of Syria under the early Umayyads, the *junds* of Filasṭīn, al-Urdunn, Damascus, and Ḥimṣ.

582. A place in the Wādī ʿArabah two marches north of Aylah, which lay just northwest of the modern port of al-ʿAqabah in Jordan. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAraba; Le Strange. *Palestine*, 441; Donner, *Conquests*, 115–16. Thus ʿAmr's line of march lay on the "low road," following the coast to Aylah, then the bottom of ʿArabah until he ascended into the Palestinian Naqab (Negev) to the west.

[2108] sanah. (He is Shuraḥbīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muṭāʿ b. ʿAmr from the Kindah.[583] It is also said [he was] from the Azd.[584]) He set out with seven thousand; then Abū ʿUbaydah [set out] with seven thousand. Yazīd stopped in al-Balqāʾ, Shuraḥbīl stopped in al-Urdunn, or, it is said, Buṣrā, and Abū ʿUbaydah camped at al-Jābiyah.[585] Then Abū Bakr reinforced them with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī, who encamped at Ghamr al-ʿArabāt. At that time the people desired to wage *jihād*. They would come to Medina, and Abū Bakr would direct them to Syria. Among them were those who would go with Abū ʿUbaydah, and among them were those who would go with Yazīd. Every group went with whom it liked.

[The same authorities]: The first peace agreement that happened in Syria was the peace agreement of Maʾāb,[586] which is a tribal meeting place, not a city. Abū ʿUbaydah passed by them on his way to Syria. It is a village of al-Balqāʾ. They fought him but then sought peace, and he made a peace agreement with them. The Romans massed together in al-ʿArabah in the land of Palestine. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān sent against them Abū Umāmah al-Bāhilī, who routed that massed army.

[The same authorities]: The first warfare that occurred in Syria after the expedition of Usāmah was in al-ʿArabah; then they went to al-Dāthinah[587] — it is also said al-Dāthin. Abū Umāmah al-Bāhilī defeated the enemy, killing a *patrikios* among them. Then occurred

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583. A great Yemenī tribe later prominent in Syria as well as Egypt and al-Kūfah. See *EI*², s.v. Kinda; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 47–53, 371–72.

584. Another great Yemenī tribal grouping having two main branches: the Azd al-Sarāh located in ʿAsīr and the Azd ʿUmān of ʿUmān, the latter apparently being added to the former in the Islamic period. See *EI*², s. v. Azd; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 41–44, 217.

585. An important place in the early Islamic history of Syria, Jābiyah lies some 80 km. south of Damascus, just north of Nawā. See *EI*², s.v. Djābiya; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 460–61; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 91–92.

586. This is the ancient town of Rabbath Moab, now al-Rabbah, a dozen kilometers north of al-Karak. Interestingly, the very early Armenian writer Pseudo-Sebeos, *History*, 123–24, states that the Arabs began their invasion of Syria from "Moabite Rabbath, at the borders of Ruben's [land]." This accords not only with the tradition cited here but also with the tradition asserting that the first expedition to Syria, which was sent by the Prophet himself, reached Muʾtah, a place about a dozen kilometers south of al-Karak. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, 494–95, 509–10; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 134; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 31; Donner, *Conquests*, 116, 314 n. 188.

587. A village near Gaza. Variant accounts give its name as al-Dabiyyah or al-Dābiyah, the latter being the same as al-Dāthinah, with different pointing of the Arabic letters. Possibly it was ancient Anthedon. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, 437; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 130; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 417; Donner, *Conquests*, 115.

Marj al-Ṣuffar, in which Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī was martyred. Adrunjār[588] came against them with four thousand [troops] while they were off guard, so that Khālid and a number of the Muslims were martyred.

Abū Jaʿfar: It has also been said that the one killed in this battle was a son of Khālid b. Saʿīd and that Khālid retreated when his son was killed, so that Abū Bakr sent Khālid b. al-Walīd as overall com- [2109] mander over the commanders who were in Syria; these he joined to his forces. Khālid departed from al-Ḥīrah in Rabīʿ al-Ākhir of the year 13 (4 June–2 July 634) with eight hundred [men].[589] It is also said five hundred. He left behind in charge of his province al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah. The enemy met him at Ṣandawdāʾ,[590] but he conquered them and left Ibn Ḥarām al-Anṣārī[591] behind there. He also met an assemblage at al-Muṣayyakh and al-Ḥuṣayd led by Rabīʿah b. Bujayr al-Taghlibī, defeated them, and took captives and spoils. He went on, going into the desert from Qurāqir[592] to Suwā. He raided the people of Suwā, taking their possessions and slaying Ḥurqūṣ b. al-Nuʿmān al-Bahrānī.[593] Then he came to Arak,[594] whose people made a

588. Greek *droungários*, the title of a high-ranking military officer, who might command a division or a fleet. See Ostrogorsky, *History*, 251. It is first mentioned by Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 68, referring to the year 79–80/698–99. Probably better read as *al-Durunjār*.

589. The itinerary for Khālid's march from Iraq to Syria suggested by this report follows a northern route not far from the Euphrates, then descending on Damascus via Palmyra. It thus contrasts with the route given by Sayf on p. 113, below, which passed through Dūmat al-Jandal far to the south. The northern route suggested here is favored by Caetani, *Annali*, II, 1192–1236, and opposed by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 553–73. Donner, *Conquests*, 119–27, does not favor one route over the other. The route given in Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 135–36, closely follows that presented here.

590. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 34 n. 23, identifies it as the shrine of al-Mushayhid about 5 km. east of the present Iraqi city of al-Ramādī, on the right bank of the Euphrates. See also Donner, *Conquests*, 121, 180, 185; Morony, *Iraq*, 221, 224 n. 55.

591. Saʿd b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām al-Khazrajī, said to have fought at Uḥud and much later to have fought for ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 284–85; 32; Donner, *Conquests*, 422 (under Saʿīd). On his family's connection with Ṣandawdāʾ, see Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 300.

592. It is identified by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 555, as Qulbān Qirājir, a waterhole on the eastern border of the Wādī Sirḥān some 37 km. east-southeast of Kāf in al-Qurayyāt district of northernmost Saudi Arabia and 500 km. southwest of ʿAyn al-Tamr. This is considered plausible by Donner, *Conquests*, 123. However, Qurāqir could also be an unknown place whose name is now lost.

593. He is called al-Namarī on p. 64, above.

594. A town in the Syrian Desert 25 km. east-northeast of Tadmur (Palmyra); it is now called Rakah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 153; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 395; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 565.

peace agreement with him. He also came to Tadmur,[595] whose people had fortified themselves but then made a peace agreement with him. Then he came to al-Qaryatayn,[596] where he fought the inhabitants, conquered them, and took spoils. He also came to Ḥuwwārīn,[597] fought the inhabitants, defeated them, killed, and took captives. He came to Quṣam,[598] where the Banū Mashjaʿah[599] of the Quḍāʿah made a peace agreement with him. He came to Marj Rāhiṭ[600] and raided the Ghassān on the day of their Easter {24 April 634},[601] slaying and taking captives. He sent Busr b. Abī Arṭāh[602] and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah against al-Ghūṭah. They came to a church, where they took the men and the women captive and drove the children to Khālid.

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595. The ancient Palmyra (biblical Tadmor), it still bears the same Arabic name of Tadmur and lies 140 km. east of Ḥimṣ. It used to belong to the Kalb. See *EI*[1], s.v. Palmyra; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 540–42. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 140–41, details Khālid's attack.

596. A town in the Syrian desert about halfway between Tadmur and Damascus; it still has the same name. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, 79, 481.

597. It is a settlement in the Jabal Sanīr and in any case near al-Qaryatayn, with which it is confused in one report. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 315–16; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 456, 481; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 564.

598. Identified by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 563, with the Roman station of Casama, which he further identifies with Khān al-Manqūrah, some 31 km. south-southeast of al-Qaryatayn and 95 km. east-northeast from Damascus.

599. A minor branch of the Quḍāʿah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 279 (under Masǧaʿa b. at-Taim), II, 403.

600. A plain about 25 km. east-northeast of Damascus near ʿAdhrāʾ. It is considered part of al-Ghūṭah. See *EI*[2], s.v. Mardj Rāhiṭ; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 21–22; V, 101; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 69, 503–4; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 558, 560.

601. The Islamic date for this Easter is 19 Ṣafar 13, which does not accord with the other dates given in the text. On this, see Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 563.

602. Text: Arṭāh; read: Abī Arṭāh. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXII–DCXIII. He is Busr b. Abī Arṭāh al-ʿĀmirī al-Qurashī. A young Companion of the Prophet, he first appeared—apart from this tradition—in the reinforcements sent by the caliph ʿUmar from Medina to assist in the conquest of Egypt in 20/641. Later he settled in Damascus, supported Muʿāwiyah against ʿAlī in the first civil war, fighting at Ṣiffīn, after which he was sent to track down ʿAlī's followers in the Ḥijāz and Yemen, where he gained an evil reputation for the executions he perpetrated and methods he followed. He often campaigned against the Romans and became governor of al-Baṣrah. He died after 52/672, when he last campaigned. See *EI*[2], s.v. Busr; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 28; II, 230; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 44, 412, 424, 426–29, 459–60, 462, 503–4, 507; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 409; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 439; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 136, 222, 227, 230, 238, 259, 382; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 154–63; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, III, 223–28; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 147–48; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 44, 48, 52.

[Abū Jaʿfar]:[603] The letter of Abū Bakr came to Khālid at al-Ḥīrah when he had just returned from his pilgrimage. It said, [2110]

> Journey until you reach the Muslim armies at al-Yarmūk, for they are distressed and causing distress. Do not by any means return to the like of what you have done, for your worry will not, with God's help, worry the masses of the troops, and your method of removing the people's distress will never remove it. May your intentions and your favored position gladden you, Abū Sulaymān! Therefore complete [your work], so that God may make [it] complete for you. Do not by any means let self-admiration enter you, so that you lose and fail. See that you do not rely upon any work [of yours], for God controls the bestowal of favor, and He is the Owner of reward.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Bakkāʾī — al-Muqaṭṭiʿ b. al-Haytham[604] al-Bakkāʾī — his father: The veterans of the battles of the conquest among the people of al-Kūfah would make threats at Muʿāwiyah upon [hearing] certain things that reached them. They would say: "What does Muʿāwiyah want? We are the men of Dhāt al-Salāsil!" They would name what happened between it and [the battle at] al-Firāḍ without mentioning what followed, out of contempt for what came after in comparison to what occurred before.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr b. Muḥammad — Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm[605] — Ẓafar b. Dahī; Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh — Abū ʿUthmān; Ṭalḥah — al-Mughīrah; and al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-Aḥmarī: Abū Bakr had sent Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī to Syria at the time he sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to Iraq. He enjoined on him the like of what he had enjoined on Khālid [b. al-Walīd]. Khālid b. Saʿīd went along until he descended on Syria, but

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603. This paragraph and the one following it are an almost exact repetition of text found on pp. 69–70, above.

604. Text: *ʿAṭāʾ ʿan al-Haytham*; read: *ʿAṭāʾ al-Bakkāʾī ʿan al-Muqaṭṭiʿ b. al-Haytham*, as in the *isnād* on p. 69, above.

605. None of the fifteen Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīms mentioned in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 213–23, seems to fit this *isnād* chronologically; therefore the Isḥāq here must be considered an unknown person mentioned only by Sayf.

he did not make an assault. [Rather], he summoned [more] people,
[2111] becoming mighty, so that the Romans feared him and recoiled from him. He did not persevere in [following] Abū Bakr's command but entered the land in small detachments, although the Romans pretended to fall back before him, until they drew him to al-Ṣuffar. Then they turned on him after he had come to feel safe. They found his son Saʿīd b. Khālid seeking bounty and slew him, him and those with him. When the news came to Khālid he set out in flight until he came to the open country (*barr*)[606] and stopped at some place. The Romans gathered at al-Yarmūk and encamped there. They said, "By God, we will indeed keep Abū Bakr too busy with himself to come into our land with his horses." Khālid b. Saʿīd wrote to Abū Bakr about what had happened. At this, Abū Bakr wrote to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī, who was in the land of the Quḍāʿah, [commanding him] to go to al-Yarmūk, and he did. He also sent Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, ordering each of them to raid and said, "Do not penetrate to the extent that any of your enemy are behind you." Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah came to Abū Bakr from one of the victories of Khālid. Abū Bakr dispatched him toward Syria with a division. He also nominated each man of the commanders of the divisions to a district in Syria.

They came together to al-Yarmūk. When the Romans saw their coming together, they regretted what had been manifested by them[607] and forgot with what they had been threatening Abū Bakr. They were concerned, their concern being themselves. They[608] distressed them, and they[609] were distressed by them. Then they encamped at al-Wāqūṣah. Abū Bakr said, "By God, I will certainly make the Romans forget the whisperings of the devil about Khālid b. al-Walīd." Thus, he wrote to him this letter—which is above this report—and commanded him to appoint al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah
[2112] as his deputy over Iraq with half of the troops. "And if God conquers Syria for the Muslims, return to your province in Iraq." Khālid sent the fifths [of the spoils to Medina], except what had been given out

606. It would seem that "desert" is implied by the word *barr* in such reports.
607. That is, their braggadocio.
608. Perhaps meaning the Muslims.
609. Perhaps meaning the Romans. The text is obscure and possibly corrupt. See notes to Leiden text.

to the troops, with ʿUmayr b. Saʿd al-Anṣārī,[610] and [informed the caliph] about his setting out for Syria. Khālid summoned the guides and departed from al-Ḥīrah going to Dūmah. Then he struck into the open country to Qurāqir.

Then he said,[611] "How is there a way for me by which I will emerge behind the Roman forces, for if I face them directly, they will block me from relieving the Muslims?" All of the guides said, "We know only a route that does not bear armies, which the lone rider takes. Do not by any means expose the Muslims." Khālid nonetheless resolved on it, but no one responded to him in that except for Rāfiʿ b. ʿAmīrah,[612] [who did so] in extreme fear. Therefore Khālid stood up in their midst to say, "Do not by any means let your ways be diverse, nor your certainty weakened! Know that aid comes according to the level of the intention, and reward according to the level of the account.[613] The Muslim ought not to care about something he falls into, considering God's aid to him." They said, "You are a man for whom God has brought together the good; it is your affair." Thus they complied with his wishes, resolving on, being satisfied with, and desiring the like of what Khālid desired. He commanded them to take enough water to drink (*li-al-shafah*)[614] for five [nights' journey].[615] He also gave orders to the commander of each cavalry troop

610. Of the ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Mālik b. al-Aws, he was one of the very few Anṣār to play a major role in the conquests, campaigning against the Romans in al-Jazīrah, Cilicia, and Cyprus. He also governed Ḥimṣ for ʿUmar and al-Jazīrah for ʿUthmān. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 178; II, 569; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 402; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 158; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 161, 182, 185, 194, 209–12, 216, 219; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 281–82; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 32.

611. Here begins the detailed story cited by al-Ṭabarī of Khālid's famous march across the desert. Considerable effort has gone into trying to show which route he took. See Caetani, *Annali*, II, 1192–1236; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 553–73; Donner, *Conquests*, 120–27. See also pp. 109–10, above.

612. Ibn Abī Rāfiʿ al-Ṭāʾī, he is said to originally have been a Christian. He embraced Islam in 8/629. Later he was a tribal leader of the Sinbis branch of the Ṭayyiʾ in al-Kūfah. He died 23/644. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 256; II, 483; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 624–25; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 131; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 136–38; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 497–98; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 497–98; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 89.

613. Ar. *ḥisbah*. A variant reading has *ḥasanah*, meaning "good deed," so that reward would be "according to the level of the good deed." In meaning this parallels the famous canonical *ḥadīth* in Bukhārī, I, 2.

614. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda, et Emendanda*, CCCXIII–CCCXIV.

615. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 556, 569–70, explains that this means six stages, not five, because they would be camping in the desert five nights.

as to the amount of water to give to the horses. Each leader made thirsty enough of the older female camels to suffice him, then gave them to drink once and yet again. Then they made the camels prick up their ears [from thirst],[616] covered [their mouths] with bags (*kamaʿūhā*),[617] and left their backs free [of loads].[618] Then they rode from Qurāqir, going into the desert to Suwā, which is on the other side of
[2113] it in Syria. When they had traveled for a day, they pressed the water out of the stomachs of ten of those camels for every group of horses, mixing what was in their stomachs with whatever milk there was. Then they gave the horses to drink and themselves took a swallow for a drink. They did that for four days.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥaffiz b. Thaʿlabah[619] — his informant from the Bakr b. Wāʾil: Muḥriz b. Ḥarīsh al-Muḥāribī[620] told Khālid, "Put the morning star on your right eyebrow, then head for it; you will get to Suwā." He was the best guide among them.

Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī — Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah, agreeing with them: When he reached Suwā and feared that the heat of the sun would overcome them, Khālid called out to Rāfiʿ, "What [news] do you have?" He answered, "Good. You have attained a copious source, for you are upon water." He urged them on, though he was perplexed [and] bleary eyed. He continued, "O people, look for two eminences that look like a pair of female breasts, then come to them." They said, "Two eminences." He went up on them both and said, "Strike to the right and to the left for a box-thorn like the seat of a man."[621] They found its root and said, "A root, but we do not see any tree." He said, "Dig wherever you will." They stirred up the dust [to find] small quantities of water and swampy ground with sweet

616. See Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 570. On p. 554, however, he suggests that their ears were caused to tremble from thirst.

617. Or, "tied up their mouths." See Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 554, 557, 570.

618. See Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 570, who also suggests that this implies that the camels' urethras were bound up so they could not urinate.

619. This man seems to be quoted only by Sayf. However, his alleged father is the well-attested Kūfan who carried al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī's head to Damascus. See note 1001, below.

620. From Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 486, it appears that this is his only historical mention. The notice, which contains the same report as here, comes from Abū Ismāʿīl Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azdī's *Futūḥ al-Shaʾm*, and this probably derives ultimately from Sayf.

621. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 571, suggests that this means "a low, round shrub."

water under the sand. Rāfiʿ said, "O Commander, by God, I have not come to this waterhole for thirty years. I only came to it once before, when I was a boy, with my father." Thus they prepared themselves and then attacked, the enemy not believing that any army could [2114] cross [the desert] to them.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr b. Muḥammad — Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm — Ẓafar b. Dahī: Khālid led us to attack from Suwā to Muṣayyakh Bahrāʾ in al-Quṣwānā,[622] one of the waterholes. We took al-Muṣayyakh and the Namir by morning when they were unawares, and when a company were drinking in the face of the morning, while their cupbearer was singing to them, saying,

Should you two not rouse me in the morning before the army of Abū Bakr?

Then his head was cut off and his blood was mixed with his wine.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr b. Muḥammad, by his *isnād* that has already been mentioned: When the Ghassān heard of Khālid's going out against Suwā and its destruction, and his raid on Muṣayyakh Bahrāʿ and its destruction, they assembled at Marj Rāhiṭ. [Word of] that reached Khālid, who had already left the Roman frontier fortresses and their armies on the border of Iraq behind him, so that he now lay between them[623] and the Yarmūk. He directed himself toward them,[624] going forth from Suwā after he had returned to it with the captives of the Bahrāʾ. He stopped at al-Rummānatayn,[625] which were two markers of the road, then he stopped at al-Kathab,[626] until he came to Damascus, then Marj al-Ṣuffar. On it, he met the Ghassān under al-Ḥārith b. al-Ayham.[627] He overthrew

622. Voweling uncertain. Possibly the same as the Quṣwān mentioned in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 366, as it is attributed to the Bakrī Taym or the Saʿd Tamīm. This place is identified by Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 311, as the modern region of al-Qāsī due west of Hīt in the desert on the south side of the Ḥawrān valley. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 138, gives al-Kawāthil as the name at this place in Khālid's itinerary.

623. That is, the Roman forces in Iraq.

624. That is, the Ghassān at Marj Rāhiṭ.

625. According to Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 572, this name denotes two low, natural domes east of Damascus that now are unidentifiable.

626. Emended by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 572, to *kathīb*, it denotes a low, sandy mound east of Damascus, now unidentifiable.

627. This appears to be the only mention of such a person. It could either be a mistake for Jabalah b. al-Ayham, as is likely, or else an otherwise unknown brother of Jabalah along the lines of the brothers Sayf provides for other famous men. On Jabalah, see note 326.

their camp and their families and stayed on the plain for some days. He sent Abū Bakr the fifths [of the spoils] with Bilāl b. al-
[2115] Ḥārith al-Muzanī.[628] Then he went out from the plain until he came to the canal of Buṣrā, which was the first city in Syria that was conquered by Khālid and those with him of the troops of Iraq. After that, he set forth from it and came to the Muslims at al-Wāqūṣah. He was in command of nine thousand when he fought the enemy there.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and al-Muhallab: When Khālid returned from his pilgrimage, the letter of Abū Bakr came to him, [commanding him] to go forth with half of the troops and to leave al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah in charge of the remaining half and saying, "Do not by any means take brave [men] unless you also leave behind brave [men] for him too. When God grants you victory, bring them back to Iraq, and yourself with them, for then you will be governing your province." Khālid had the Companions of God's Messenger brought to his presence and appropriated them for himself, not al-Muthannā. He rather left to al-Muthannā numbers of men from among those he was satisfied with (*ahl al-qanāʿah*) who were not Companions. Then he looked at those who remained, pulling out those who had come to the Prophet in delegations or otherwise, and left to al-Muthannā their numbers from the people with whom he was satisfied. Then he divided the army into two halves.

Al-Muthannā said, "By God, I will not keep to other than the execution of Abū Bakr's command in its totality regarding having in [my] company half of the Companions, or a part of the half. By God, I do not hope for victory except by them. Wherefore then do you denude me of them?" When Khālid saw that, after having held back from him, he provided al-Muthannā with replacements from among the Companions until he was satisfied. Among those whom he gave him as replacements from among them were Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjlī,

628. An important tribal leader, he was a Muslim by 6/628, was assigned land by the Prophet near Medina, commanded the Muzaynah regiment at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, took part at al-Qādisiyyah, and later moved to al-Baṣrah, before dying in 60/680 at eighty years of age. See Ṭabarī, I, 2574–75; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 226; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 276, 425–26, 571, 799–800, 820, 896, 1014, 1029; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 272, 291, 339; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 273; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 13–14; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 182; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 164.

Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah and al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān[629] the two Dhuhlīs, Maʿbad b. Umm Maʿbad al-Aslamī,[630] ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Awfā al-Aslamī,[631] al-Ḥārith b. Bilāl al-Muzanī, and ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī, so that, when al-Muthannā was satisfied and had taken what he needed, Khālid withdrew and went off toward his destination. Al-Muthannā accompanied him as far as Qurāqir, then returned to al-Ḥīrah in al-Muḥarram [13] (7 March–5 April 634). [2116]

Al-Muthannā remained in his [seat of] authority, putting his brother in the outpost he had been in on al-Sīb. In place of Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, [he put] ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās, in place of Ḍirār b. al-Azwar [he put] Masʿūd,[632] his other brother, and he filled the places of all those commanders who had departed with men like them from the people of sufficiency (*ahl al-ghanāʾ*). He also appointed Madhūr b. ʿAdī to one of those positions.

Meanwhile, the Persians found order, one year after Khālid had come to al-Ḥīrah, a little after Khālid's departure—that was in the year 13—under Shahrbarāz b. Ardashīr b. Shahriyār,[633] one of the relatives of Kisrā, then of Sābūr.[634] He sent against al-Muthannā a

629. He probably became a Muslim in 9/631. Subsequently, he participated in the wars of conquest. However, all transmissions showing him in the conquests are through Sayf, including his part in the imaginary conquest of Khurāsān that Sayf attributed to the year 17/638. In 36/656 he was the commander of the Kūfan Dhuhl at the Battle of the Camel, where he fell. See Ṭabarī, I, 2231, 2474, 2477, 2682, 3202–3; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 154; II, 307; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 277.

630. Maʿbad b. Aktam al-Khuzāʿī, he was ʿAlī's messenger to Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī in al-Kūfah at the beginning of 36/656. See Ṭabarī, I, 1458–59, 3089; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 197; II, 204 (under ʿĀtikah bt. Khālid), 380; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 338–40, 388–89; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 102, 210; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 60; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 39; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 438.

631. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlqamah al-Khuzāʿī, he embraced Islam by 6/628 and later migrated to al-Kūfah, where he was the last Companion of the Prophet alive. He is said to have died as late as 80–87/699–706. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 201; II, 106; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 21; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 382; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 264–65; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 279–80.

632. Unattested except in the transmissions of Sayf in this volume.

633. The nomenclature of this alleged Persian shows Sayf's method in conflating names of famous persons to produce new persons with which to adorn his stories. Shahrbarāz is the general of Khusraw II who was not part of the royal house. There is no precedent for his unusual name. See Ṭabarī, I, 1061–64; Christensen, *L'Iran*, 492. Ardashīr is borrowed from the short-lived Ardashīr III b. Shīrūyah, who was overthrown and killed by Shahrbarāz. See Ṭabarī, I, 1061–62, and above p. 11 and note 74. Shahriyār was the father of Yazdigird III who himself never held the throne. See below, p. 222 and note 1054. No such collocation of royal Persian names exists outside of Sayf's transmissions.

634. This appears to refer to the earlier Persian King Shāpūr II (309–79 C.E.).

huge army commanded by Hurmuz Jādhūyah[635] containing ten thousand men and an elephant. The forward posts wrote to al-Muthannā about his approach. Al-Muthannā left al-Ḥīrah [heading] toward him, joining the forward garrisons to himself. He put in charge of his two wings al-Muʿannā and Masʿūd, the two sons of
[2117] Ḥārithah. He waited for Hurmuz at Bābil.[636] Hurmuz Jādhūyah approached, his two flanks being commanded by al-Karukbadh[637] and al-Kharukbadh.[638] He wrote to al-Muthannā, "From Shahrbarāz to al-Muthannā. I have sent against you an army consisting of the rabble of the Persians who are nothing but keepers of chickens and swine. I am not going to fight you except with them." Al-Muthannā answered him:

> From al-Muthannā to Shahrbarāz. You are one of two men: either an oppressor, which would be worse for you and better for us, or else a liar, and the greatest of liars in punishment and shame both with God and with people are kings. But what sensible opinion shows me is that you have been forced to use only the rabble; therefore, praise be to God who has thrown back your intrigue on the keepers of chickens and swine.

The Persians were taken aback by his letter. They said, "Shahrbarāz is only weakened by the ill omen of his place of birth and the baseness of his upbringing," for he used to live in Maysān,[639] and certain countries are a disgrace to those who inhabit them. They told him, "You have encouraged our enemy against us by what you wrote to them. When you write to anyone, consult [first]."

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635. See Hurmuz and Bahman Jādhūyah above, pp. 9–13, 16–19, 22–23, 37, 43–44, 51. This new collocation would appear to be either an accidental or intentional juxtaposition of the aforementioned names.

636. The site of ancient Babylon, it lies east of the Euphrates just north of the present al-Ḥillah. See *EI*², s.v. Bābil; Le Strange, *Lands*, 71–72.

637. Text: al-Kawkabad: read: al-Karukbadh, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

638. Text: al-Khūkabad; read: al-Kharukbadh, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII. Owing to the similarity of their forms, it is possible that these two names or titles are a doublet of the same original. The persons bearing them appear to be unknown except in Sayf's reports, as is the case with most of the Persians he names.

639. The large district on the lower Tigris between Kaskar and al-Baṣrah. See the detailed article in *EI*¹, s.v. Maisān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 43, 80, map II; Morony, *Iraq*, 127, 159–63; Donner, *Conquests*, 159–60.

They met at Bābil and fought each other a fierce battle on the nearer bank of al-Ṣarāh[640] on the first road. Then al-Muthannā and some of the Muslims came against the elephant by turns, for it had scattered the ranks and the squadrons, and they gained its slaughter, [2118] killing it. They then defeated the Persians. The Muslims pursued them, killing them until they had brought them beyond their frontier outposts. They remained in these, but the pursuers continued to follow the defeated remnants until they reached al-Madā'in.

ʿAbdah b. al-Ṭabīb al-Saʿdī[641] spoke [poetry] regarding that. ʿAbdah had migrated (*hājar*)[642] owing to the migration of a wife of his, so that he participated in the Battle of Bābil. When she had caused him to despair, he returned to the desert and declaimed:[643]

Is the rope of Khawlah after the parting still joined,
or are you, living far away from her, [only] preoccupied?
Lovers have days that they remember,
and the course of a journey, before the departure, had its imagined appearance.
Khuwaylah[644] has settled among a group with whom I am acquainted[645]
before al-Madā'in; among them are the rooster and the elephant.
They strike the heads of the Persians in open daylight;
among them are horsemen who are neither weaponless nor sway in the saddle.

And so on. Al-Farazdaq,[646] when he was enumerating the noble

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640. This is the Great Ṣarāh Canal, which branched off from the Euphrates just above Bābil and carried water due east as far as the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 72–73, map II.

641. ʿAbdah b. Yazīd al-Ṭabīb al-ʿAbshamī, the poet. See Ṭabarī, I, 2292; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 78; II, 134; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 262; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 163–64.

642. That is, he migrated from the Arabian peninsula to the conquered lands, here to Iraq.

643. Lines 1, 3, and 4 of this poem are also found in Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 163. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 75 (al-Madā'in), has all four lines plus one more. Both vary from Ṭabarī's text.

644. The diminutive for Khawlah.

645. Or, "I visited."

646. The famous Baṣran Tamīmī poet, he died in 110/728 or 112/730. See *EI*², s.v. al-Farazdaḳ.

[2119] houses of the Bakr b. Wā'il and mentioned al-Muthannā and his killing of the elephant, [said]:[647]

The house of al-Muthannā, who slew the elephant by force,
is at Bābil, for the sovereignty of Bābil belongs to a horseman.

Shahrbarāz died at the time of the defeat of Hurmuz Jādhūyah. The Persians quarreled amongst themselves. The lands of the Sawād between the Tigris and Burs[648] remained in the hands of al-Muthannā and the Muslims. Then the Persians agreed after Shahrbarāz on Dukht-i Zabān,[649] the daughter of Kisrā, but no order of hers was carried out, she was deposed, and Sābūr b. Shahrbarāz[650] was made king.

When Sābūr b. Shahrbarāz became king, al-Farrukhzādh b. al-Bindawān took charge of his affairs. He asked Sābūr to marry him to Āzarmīdukht,[651] the daughter of Kisrā, and so he did, but she became angry at that and said, "O cousin, would you marry me to my slave?" He replied, "Be ashamed of such talk, and do not repeat it to me again, for he is your husband!" Therefore, she sent a message to Siyāwukhsh al-Rāzī,[652] who was one of the treacherous killers among the Persians, and complained to him about what she feared. He said to her, "If you dislike this, do not go back to him about it. Rather, send a message to Sābūr, telling him to have al-Farrukhzādh come to you. I will protect you from him." She did so, and Sābūr did so. Siyāwukhsh readied himself. When it was the night of the wedding, al-Farrukhzādh approached and went inside, where Siyāwukhsh unleashed himself on him, slaying him and those with him. Then he rushed out with her to Sābūr. She came into his presence, and they went in to him and killed him. Āzarmīdukht bt. Kisrā became queen, and the Persians were occupied with that.

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647. A version of the complete poem is found in Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, II, 666–70.

648. Now called al-Biris, it was the ancient Borsippa and presently shows extensive ruins. It is located 21 km. southwest of Bābil between the two branches of the Euphrates. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 38 n. 30, 39, 245–46, 276, 278, and accompanying map of northern Arabia (h 20); Morony, *Iraq*, 148, 174.

649. Mentioned only in this place by Sayf.

650. Mentioned only by Sayf. See note 633.

651. She reigned a year and a half, or probably less, in about 630–32 C.E. See Ṭabarī, I, 1064–65; Christensen, *L'Iran*, 493; Frye, *History*, 337; *CHI*, III, 171.

652. Siyāwukhsh b. Mihrān b. Bahrām Shūbīn, he is allegedly the grandson of the usurper Bahrām VI (590–91 C.E.). He probably is yet another imaginary scion of a pre-Islamic house said to have been conquered by the Muslims in the early campaigns. Sayf improbably claims that he was the king of al-Rayy in 22/643. See Ṭabarī, I, 2447, 2653–54. His alleged father Mihrān is mentioned above, pp. 53–54. See note 289.

News about Abū Bakr was slow in reaching the Muslims. Al-Muthannā made Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah his deputy in charge of the Muslims and put Saʿīd b. Murrah al-ʿIjlī in his place in the forward outposts. Al-Muthannā set out to go to Abū Bakr [first] in order to tell him the news about the Muslims and the polytheists, [second] to ask his permission to seek the help of those whose had clearly shown their repentence and their regret from among the people of apostasy (*ahl al-riddah*) who had asked his permission to join campaigns, and [third] to inform him that he had not left behind anyone more able than they to fight the Persians, to wage war on them, and to help the immigrants (*muhājirīn*).[653] He arrived at Medina when Abū Bakr had fallen ill. [2120]

After Khālid had set out for Syria, Abū Bakr fell ill with the illness from which he was to die within months. Al-Muthannā arrived when he had become better. Abū Bakr entrusted [the succession] to ʿUmar. When al-Muthannā told him the news, he said, "I must consult ʿUmar." When ʿUmar came, he said to him,

> Listen, O ʿUmar, to what I say to you, then act according to it. I hope to die on this day of mine. (That was a Monday.) If I die, do not by any means let the evening enter before you have summoned the men [to go] with al-Muthannā. If I delay until the night, do not by any means let the morning come before you summon the men [to go] with al-Muthannā. Do not let any catastrophe at all, even if it is great, keep you from the matter of your religion and your Lord's counsel. You saw what I did on the day the Messenger of God died, and the people were never stricken with the like of it. By God, if I were to weaken in the affair of God and the affair of His Messenger, He would abandon me and punish me, so that Medina would be consumed by fire.[654] If God grants victory to the commanders in Syria, return the troops of Khālid to Iraq, for they are its people, the governors of its affairs alone, and the people of violence and courage against the enemy.

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653. Here this term seems clearly to mean the Muslims fighting in Iraq, rather than its better-known usage, referring to the Qurashīs who had migrated from Mecca to Medina.

654. This would appear to be an allusion to the Battle of al-Ḥarrah, called *Ḥarrat al-Nār*, "the Ḥarrah of the Fire," which was so disastrous to the Medinans. It took place in 63/683 and witnessed the slaughter of many of the descendants of noble Qurashī and Anṣārī lineages. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥarra; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 289–314.

[2121] Abū Bakr died at night. ʿUmar then buried him at night and said prayers over him in the mosque. He also summoned the men to [join] al-Muthannā after Abū Bakr had been interred. ʿUmar said, "Abū Bakr knew that it would annoy me to put Khālid in charge of warfare in Iraq when he ordered me to send back his troops but left aside mention of Khālid himself."

Abū Jaʿfar: The matter of Abū Bakr reached Āzarmīdukht when one half of al-Sawād was under his control. Then he died, and the Persians were diverted by internal affairs from removing the Muslims from al-Sawād in the time between the rule of Abū Bakr to the accession of ʿUmar and the return of al-Muthannā with Abū ʿUbayd[655] to Iraq. At that time, most of the troops of the people of Iraq were at al-Ḥīrah and the outposts on al-Sīb, whence raids brought them to the bank of the Tigris. The Tigris was a barrier between the Arabs and the Persians. This is the story of Iraq during the reign of Abū Bakr, from its beginning to its end.

Continuation of the Report of Ibn Isḥāq

Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid when the latter was at al-Ḥīrah, commanding him to reinforce the forces in Syria with the strong among those he had with him, and to lead them forth, leaving behind to be in charge of the weak a man from among them. When the letter of Abū Bakr came to Khālid with that [message], Khālid said, "This is the work of al-Uʿaysir, the son of Umm Shamlah[656] — meaning ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb — who has envied me that the conquest of Iraq should be at my hand." Khālid set out with the strong among his men and sent the weak and the women back to Medina, the city of
[2122] the Messenger. He put in charge of them ʿUmayr b. Saʿd al-Anṣārī. Khālid left behind al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī in command of those of the Rabīʿah and other groups who had embraced Islam.

Then he went along until he stopped at ʿAyn al-Tamr and raided its people, making gains from them. He also took up positions before a fortress there in which Kisrā had stationed troops, until he got

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655. Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī, he is the father of al-Mukhtār, the famous Shīʿī rebel in al-Kūfah 65–67/685–87. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 118; II, 561; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 108–10; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 307–10; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 161–62; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 130–31; Donner, *Conquests*, 174, 191–94, 211, 223, 375.

656. That is, "the little left-handed one, the son of temporal joys."

them to come out and cut off their heads. He took many captives from ʿAyn al-Tamr and from among the sons of those garrison troops and sent them to Abū Bakr. Among those captives were Abū ʿAmrah, the *mawlā* of the Shaybān,[657] who was the father of ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Abī ʿAmrah;[658] Abū ʿUbayd, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿallā of the Anṣār, from the Banū Zurayq;[659] Abū ʿAbdallāh, the *mawlā* of the Zuhrah;[660] Khayr, the *mawlā* of Abū Dāwūd al-Anṣārī, who was also one of the Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār;[661] Yasār, who was the grandfather of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, the *mawlā* of Qays b. Makhramah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf;[662] Aflaḥ,[663] the *mawlā* of Abū Ayyūb al-

657. Text: *Shabbān*; read: *Shaybān*.

658. Al-Shaybānī, he was born c. 30/651 in Medina, where he was part of the Umayyad circle, being a companion of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān. Subsequently, he fled to Damascus with the Umayyads, in 64/684. He accompanied ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to Egypt during the latter's governorship but returned to Damascus after his patron's death. He later became an important adviser to the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, representing him in an embassy to the Roman emperor Leo III in 100/719, after which no more is heard of him. He married a sister of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, the conqueror of North Africa and Spain. He also was a poet. See ʿAṭwān, *Sīrah*, 75–77. See also notes 303–4 above.

659. A Medinan, he was also killed at the Battle of al-Ḥarrah in 63/683. His name is given by Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 87, as Abū ʿAbdallāh ʿUbayd, the *mawlā* of ʿUbayd b. al-Muʿallā. However, as ʿUbayd b. al-Muʿallā is said to have fallen at Uḥud in 3/625, it is impossible for a *mawlā* taken captive in 13/634 to have belonged to him. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 561; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 126; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 459–60; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 182; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 447. Probably the name of the *mawlā*, ʿUbayd, has been confused with that of the son of al-Muʿallā who was actually his master. Al-Muʿallā b. Lawdhān himself is only a name and thus probably was never a Muslim, except in Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 306, where he probably is mistakenly named among the slain at Uḥud. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 192; II, 410; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 447–48.

660. Text: Zahrah; read: the Zuhrah, referring to the Qurashī clan of the Zuhrah. This Abū ʿAbdallāh is unidentified.

661. Abū Dāwūd ʿUmayr b. ʿĀmir was a participant at the battle of Badr and Uḥud. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 24, 80, 95, 142, 149, 164; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 633, 705; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 518; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 88; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 58. Khayr is unidentified.

662. Qays b. Makhramah was a noble Qurashī who would appear to have already been a Muslim by 7/629, when he was given a share of the spoils of Khaybar. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 15; II, 461; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 694–95; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 351; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 92; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 9, 102; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 302; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 259–60.

663. This Aflaḥ was one of the famous early traditionists of Medina, where he died, possibly in 63/683 at the Battle of al-Ḥarrah. However, some sources state that it was his son Kathīr who fell there, which would appear more probable. His master Abū Ayyūb is said to have freed him and bestowed on him a fortune of forty thousand dirhams. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 86–87, 298–99; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 313; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 368–69.

Anṣārī, who was also one of the Banū Mālik b. al-Najjār;[664] and Ḥumrān b. Abān, the *mawlā* of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. Khālid b. al-Walīd also slew Hilāl b. ʿAqqah b. Bishr al-Namarī and hanged him on a tree at ʿAyn al-Tamr.

Then Khālid proposed to go into the desert from Qurāqir, which was a waterhole belonging to the Kalb, to Suwā, which was a waterhole belonging to the Bahrāʾ. Between them was five days' journey. Khālid was unfamiliar with the route, wherefore he sought a guide. He was introduced to Rāfiʿ b. ʿAmīrah al-Ṭāʾī. Khālid said to him, "Set off with the men." Rāfiʿ answered him, "You will not find that [route] bearable with the horses and the baggage. By God, even the lone rider fears for himself from it. No one travels along it without exposing himself to danger. It is five long nights, during which no water is to be obtained, while it is also easy to lose the way." Khālid
[2123] said to him, "Woe to you! By God, I have no alternative to that. A strict order from the commander has come to me about that. Therefore, command as you see fit." He responded, "Take much water. Whoever of you can make the ears of his camel prick up from [want of] water, let him do it, for they are murderous wastes, except for what God prevents. Find me twenty huge, fat old camels for slaughter." Khālid brought them to him. Rāfiʿ busied himself with them, making them thirsty until he had exhausted them from thirst. Then he brought them to water so that they would drink, until, when they were full, he directed himself to them, cutting off their lips and then tying them up with bags, so that they could not ruminate. Then he left their backs free [of loads]. Then he said to Khālid, "Go."

Khālid set out in his company, making haste with his horses and baggage. Every time he stopped at a campsite, he pressed the water out of the stomachs of four of those old camels. He took what was in their paunches and gave it to the horses to drink. Then the men drank from what water they had carried with them. When Khālid grew fearful for his companions on the last day in the desert, he said to Rāfiʿ b. ʿAmīrah, who was bleary-eyed, "Woe to you, O Rāfiʿ!

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664. Khālid b. Zayd, one of the most famous of the Anṣār, he was a supporter of ʿAlī, for whom he fought against the Khārijites in 38/658 and whom he served as governor of Medina. He is best known, however, for his death in a campaign against the Romans in 49–52/669–72 or, in one less probable report, 55/675. See *EI*², s.v. Abū Ayyūb; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 186; II, 343; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 93, 366, 368–69; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 484–85; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 77, 223, 232, 248; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 403–5; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 405–6.

What [news] do you have?" Rāfiʿ answered, "You have reached a copious source, God willing." When they came near the two eminences, he said to the men, "Look. Do you see a bush of boxwood like the seat of a man?" They replied, "We do not see it." He said, "We belong to God and to him we return![665] Then you have perished, by God! And I have perished too, you bastards! Look!" When they searched again, they found it; it had been cut down, but a part of it remained. When the Muslims saw it, they shouted, "God is Greater!" Rāfiʿ b. ʿAmīrah also shouted, "God is Greater!" Then they dug at its root. They dug and uncovered a spring, from which they drank until they had quenched their thirst. After that, campsites [with water] were continuous. Rāfiʿ said, "By God, I never came to this waterhole but one time: I came to it with my father when I was a boy." A Muslim poet said:[666]

Rāfiʿ's eyes are God's; how was he guided? [2124]
He went into the desert from Qurāqir to Suwā
Not giving the camels drink for five days; when the army traversed it, it wept.
No human being was seen to traverse it before you.

When Khālid reached Suwā, he attacked its inhabitants, who were of the Bahrāʾ, before morning. Some people among them were drinking wine, which they had in a vat. They were gathered around it, while their singer was singing:[667]

Will you two not give me another drink before the army of Abū Bakr?
Perhaps our deaths are near, though we do not know.
Will you two not give me another drink in the glass, again giving me reddish-colored, pure, flowing wine?
Will you two not give me another drink of the best dark wine, of the good-quality wine that diverts from the cares[668] of the soul?

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665. Qurʾān 2: 156.

666. These lines are also cited without attribution in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 131, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 271; IV, 318.

667. Five of these lines, with one slight variation, are found in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 427; the first of them is cited in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 132. Both sources attribute them to Ḥurqūṣ.

668. Following Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

I suspect that the Muslims' horses and Khālid
will come upon you before morning from al-Bishr.[669]
Will you not go before they fight [you],
and before the pubescent girls go forth from the tent?

They claim that that singer of theirs was slain in the attack, and that his blood flowed into that vat.

Thereafter, Khālid continued in the direction in which he was
[2125] going until he attacked the Ghassān at Marj Rāhiṭ. Then he went on until he stopped at the canal of Buṣrā, which was being besieged by Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah, and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. They all came together against it and besieged it until Buṣrā made a peace agreement on terms of the *jizyah*. Thus God conquered for the Muslims. It was the first of the cities of Syria to be conquered in the caliphate of Abū Bakr. Then they went all together to Palestine to support ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī. ʿAmr was encamped at al-ʿArabāt in al-Ghawr[670] of Palestine. The Romans heard about them and withdrew from Jilliq to Ajnādayn.[671] Theodore, the full brother of Herakleios, commanded them. Ajnādayn is a town between al-Ramlah[672] and Bayt Jibrīn[673] in the land of Palestine. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī set out when he heard about Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah, and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, so that he met them and they gathered at Ajnādayn in order to mass against the Romans.

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669. This line would support Caetani's contention that Khālid came via the region of Jabal Bishrī to the northeast rather than by the route suggested by Musil.

670. Al-Ghawr is the deep rift valley extending from the headwaters of the Jordan River through the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf of ʿAqabah. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ghawr; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 15, 30–32, 52–53, 67–68; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 216–18.

671. Site of the first battle between the Muslims and Romans in the conquest of Palestine, its exact location is uncertain but somewhere on the plain of southwestern Palestine, perhaps about 25 km. west-southwest of Jerusalem, south of the present village of Bayt Jimāl. See *EI*², s.v. Ajnādayn; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 389; Donner, *Conquests*, 129, 315 n. 189. Ṭabarī, I, 2398–2402, and Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 103–4, give other versions of this battle. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 143–48, has an exaggerated and distorted version putting Khālid b. al-Walīd in command even here.

672. A large town founded c. 86/705 by Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik and still extant, it was the administrative center of early Muslim Palestine. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Ramla; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 15, 28, 39, 41, 303–8; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 69–70.

673. Also Bayt Jibrīl, ancient Betogabra-Baetogabris-Eleutheropolis, it lies 35 km. west-southwest of Jerusalem. It was populated by the Judhām. See *EI*², s.v. Bayt Djibrīn; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 15, 28–29, 39, 41, 64, 380, 412–13; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 519.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr[674]—ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr: The Romans were commanded by one of their men called al-Qubiqulār,[675] whom Herakleios had made his deputy over the commanders in Syria when he had returned to Constantinople. It was to him that Theodore went with those Roman forces that were with him. But the scholars of Syria claim that the Romans were commanded by none other than Theodore. God knows best.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr—ʿUrwah: When the two armies drew near to each other, al-Qubiqulār sent forth an Arab man. [I have been told that that man was one of the Quḍāʿah from the Tazīd b. Ḥaydān[676] called Ibn Hazārif.[677]] He said, "Go in among those people. Stay among them a day and a night, then bring me information about them." Thus, an Arab man went in among them unquestioned. He stayed among them a day and a night, then came back to al-Qubiqulār, who asked, "What did you find out?" He answered, "By night, [they are] monks, by day, horsemen. If a son steals their property, they cut off his hand; if he commits adultery, they stone him to establish the right among them." Al-Qubiqulār said, "If you have told me the truth, the interior of the earth is better than meeting these on its surface. I wish that my fortune from God will be that he will separate me from them, neither helping me against them, nor helping them against me." Then the troops marched against each other and fought. When al-Qubiqulār had seen what he saw of fighting the Muslims, he said to the Romans, "Wrap my head in a robe." They [2126]

674. Al-Asadī al-Qurashī, he was a Medinan scion of the famous Zubayrī house and a traditionist of good reputation. He died 110–20/728–38. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 184; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 250; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 93.

675. Text: al-Qubuqlār; read: al-Qubiqulār, as suggested by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, 323. The Greek *koubikoulários*, Latin *cubicularius*, is a title rather than a name; it designated a chamberlain, who usually was nonmilitary and a eunuch. See Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 566–70. But in the troubles of the seventh century, eunuchs could command troops as well, as attested in Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 43, for the year 27–28/648–49. This *koubikoulários* would seem to be identified with the Sergios of Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 37, and perhaps also with the eunuch on p. 36.

676. Closely related to the Maḥrah in the genealogical tree, but apparently from the Syrian Arabs. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 328; II, 545.

677. Unidentified and apparently not mentioned elsewhere.

asked him, "Why?" He said, "[It is] the day for the miserable that I do not want to see. I have not seen in this world a day worse than this." The Muslims cut off his head while he was wrapped up. Ajnādayn occured on 28 Jumādā al-Ūlā of the year 13 (30 July 634). A group of the Muslims were slain on that day, including Salamah b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah, Habbār b. al-Aswad b. ʿAbd al-Asad,[678] Naʿīm b. ʿAbdallāh al-Naḥḥām,[679] Hishām b. al-ʿĀṣī b. Wāʾil, and a group of others from the Quraysh. (We were not given the names of any of the Anṣār[680] who were killed in it.)

[2127] In this year, Abū Bakr died on 21 or 22 Jumādā al-Ākhirah (22–23 August 634).

Continuation of the Report of Abū Zayd

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to his *isnād*, which has been mentioned before: Khālid came to Damascus, and the governor of Buṣrā massed [his forces] against him. Khālid set out against him, he and ʿAbū ʿUbaydah. Adrunjār met them, and Khālid triumphed over them, defeating them so that they entered their fortress and sought a peace agreement. He made peace with them on condition that [they pay] a dīnār for each person every year, and a *jarīb*[681] of wheat. Then the enemy came back against the Muslims. The Muslims' troops came all together to Ajnādayn. The two sides met on Saturday, 28 Jumādā al-Ūlā 13 (30 July 634).[682] The Muslims were victo-

678. This is an apparent mistake for Habbār b. *Sufyān* b. ʿAbd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī, whose martyrdom at Ajnādayn is corroborated by a number of sources, though Muʾtah also is mentioned. The better-known Habbār b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib was a different individual. See note 555.

679. Al-ʿAdawī al-Qurashī, he is said to have been one of the earliest Muslims. Other versions put his death at Muʾtah or al-Yarmūk. Though an early Muslim, he did not leave Mecca for Medina until 6/628. He was said to have been employed collecting the tax of a part of the Khuzāʿah at the end of 8 or the beginning of 9/630. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 26; II, 448 (under Nuʿaym); Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 973–74; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 258–59, 343–44; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 293; IV, 72, 138–39; V, 170–71; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 380; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 567–68.

680. The Medinan Arabs, who entirely embraced Islam in the Prophet's lifetime and formed the backbone of his forces. See *EI*², s.v. Anṣār; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 151–91.

681. A measure of area, 1592 square meters. See Morony, *Iraq*, 100, 103, 531. But it is also, as here, a dry measure equal to four *aqfizah*. See Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *j-r-b*. A *qafīz* varies from 496 to 640 liters.

682. The day of the week matches with the date.

rious, and God defeated the polytheists. Herakleios's deputy was killed, and men from among the Muslims were martyred. Then Herakleios came back against the Muslims. They met at al-Wāqūṣah. The Muslims fought them, and the enemy fought the Muslims. [News of] Abū Bakr's death, and also Abū ʿUbaydah's appointment, came to them while they were arrayed in battle formation. This battle occurred in Rajab (31 August–29 September 634).

[Abū Bakr's Illness and Death]

Abū Zayd—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to his *isnād*, which has been mentioned before: Abū Bakr died at the age of sixty-three years on Monday, 21 Jumādā al-Akhirah (22 August 634).[683] The cause of his death was that the Jews fed him poison in a grain of rice; it is also said in porridge (*jadhīdhah*). Al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah[684] took some with him, then held back. He said to Abū Bakr, "You have eaten food [2128] which has been poisoned, the poison of a year." Abū Bakr died after a year, having been sick for fifteen days. He was told, "If only you would send for the doctor." He responded, "He has already seen me." They said, "What did he say to you?" Abū Bakr answered, "That I should do what I want."

Abū Jaʿfar: ʿAttāb b. Asīd[685] died at Mecca on the day on which Abū Bakr died. Both were poisoned together, then ʿAttāb died at Mecca.

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683. The day of the week matches with the date.

684. Al-Thaqafī. He is renowned as a famous doctor who had studied medicine at Jundīsābūr and also was a Companion of the Prophet and especially of Abū Bakr. He may have embraced Islam at the fall of al-Ṭāʾif in 8/630. Ibn Abī Ḥātim denied that he ever became a Muslim. See *EI*², *Supplement*, s.v. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 118; II, 308; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 931–32, 1116; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 147, 198, 247; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 485; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 489–90; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 288–89.

685. Al-Umawī al-Qurashī, he was born after 600 C.E. He was appointed governor of Mecca by the Prophet in 8/630, even though he had only just become a Muslim. He held the post until his death. A variant version puts his death c. 23/644 rather than 13/634, as here. The English word *tabby* derives ultimately from his name. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAttāb; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 8; II, 204; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 6, 889, 959; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 413, 440, 500, 605; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 145; III, 187; V, 446; VIII, 262; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 187, 312, 418; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 56, 58, 63, 72, 99, 107; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 451–52.

Other authorities[686] on the cause of Abū Bakr's illness, which he died of, include al-Ḥārith[687]—Ibn Saʿd[688]—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Usāmah b. Zayd al-Laythī[689]—Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah[690]—ʿAmr[691]—his father;[692] Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh[693]—al-Zuhrī[694]—ʿUrwah—ʿĀʾishah;[695] and ʿUmar b. ʿImrān b.[696] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥ-

686. Of these three *isnāds*, all go through Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī, the third transmitter in the first *isnād*.

687. Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāmah, he was a transmitter of Ibn Saʿd's traditions who died in 282/895. See *EI*², s.v. Ibn Saʿd.

688. Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Baṣrī, he was a famous transmitter of the traditions of al-Wāqidī. His great work *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* is still extant and often cited in these pages. He lived c. 168–230/784–845. See *EI*², s.v. Ibn Saʿd.

689. Actually a *mawlā* of the Layth, he was an important Medinan transmitter whose authority was impugned by many scholars but nevertheless deemed trustworthy by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. He died at an age over seventy in 153/770. Al-Dhahabī and Ibn Ḥajar allege that he is different from Usāmah b. Zayd b. Aslam, the grandson of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's *mawlā* Aslam, but it appears from their biographies that the two are either the same person or were two persons whose stories have become confused. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 413; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 662; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 174–75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 207–10.

690. Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah b. ʿAmr al-Aslamī, he was a Medinan transmitter with a mixed reputation. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 248; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127.

691. Apparently this is ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ al-Sahmī al-Qurashī, a noble Ḥijāzī traditionist of mixed reputation who died at al-Ṭāʾif in 118/736. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 25; II, 184; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 243; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 411; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 516; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 48–55.

692. Shuʿayb b. Muḥammad, he was a resident of al-Ṭāʾif and Medina. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 25; II, 530; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 243; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 411; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 356–57, VIII, 51–55.

693. Ṭabarī, *Index*, 517, identifies this person as Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. ʿUmar b. Dirham, the *mawlā* of the Asad, who died in 203/819 and hence was nearly contemporary with al-Wāqidī. Although al-Wāqidī did quote from him, he is not the Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh meant here, for there is no evidence he quoted from al-Zuhrī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 254–55. Rather, the Muḥammad here is Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī, the nephew of the great al-Zuhrī and a Medinan traditionist of mixed reputation. This nephew was murdered in 152/769 or 157/774. He is the only Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh attested as transmitting both from al-Zuhrī and to al-Wāqidī. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 274; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 278–80.

694. Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, c. 50–124/670–742, he was one of the most famous early Islamic scholars. He migrated from Medina to Damascus in 81/700, where he was on intimate terms with the Umayyads, especially the caliph Hishām, whose children he tutored. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Zuhrī; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 20; II, 424; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 388–89; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 274; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 445–51.

695. That is, ʿĀʾishah bt. Abī Bakr, daughter of the first caliph and wife of the Prophet. She was born in 614 C.E. (or earlier) and died in 58/678. See *EI*², s.v. ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 374–78; also, note 766.

696. Text: *ʿan*; read: *b.*, as Ṭabarī, I, 2730, and *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

mān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq[697] — ʿUmar b. al-Ḥusayn, the *mawlā* of the family of Maẓʿūn[698] — Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr:[699] Abū Bakr first began to get sick when he bathed on Monday, 7 Jumādā al-Ākhirah (8 August 634),[700] which was a cold day. Thus, he contracted a fever for fifteen days, during which he did not go forth for congregational worship. He commanded ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to lead the worship. The people would come in to visit him, though he grew worse each day. He was staying in his house, which God's Messenger had given him, which faces the house of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān today. ʿUthmān had compelled them to be constantly with Abū Bakr in his illness. Abū Bakr died on the eve of Tuesday,[701] 21 Jumādā al-Ākhirah of the year 13 of the *hijrah* (22 August 634). His caliphate lasted two years, three months, and ten days.

Abū Maʿshar: His caliphate was two years and four months less four days.

He died at the age of sixty-three years. That is agreed on by all the reports. He lived the lifespan of the Prophet. Abū Bakr was born three years after the elephant.

Ibn Ḥumayd — Jarīr[702] — Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd[703] — Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab:[704] Abū Bakr by his caliphate completed the lifespan of the [2129]

697. A great-great grandson of the caliph Abū Bakr. Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 278–79, describes his genealogy only down to his father ʿImrān, omitting this ʿUmar himself, who does not seem to be attested elsewhere.

698. Text: Maṭʿūn; read: Maẓʿūn. This ʿUmar was Abū Qudāmah al-Makkī, the *mawlā* of ʿĀʾishah bt. Qudāmah b. Maẓʿūn of the famous Meccan family of the Jumaḥ clan of the Quraysh. He is said to have served as the judge of Medina and was renowned for his piety and trustworthiness as a traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 433–34. Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, I, 268, reports that he was judge of Mecca under al-Manṣūr or al-Mahdī.

699. A Medinan transmitter of tradition who is held to be reliable, he was a son of the famous ʿĀʾishah bt. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh and was named for his maternal grandfather. His sister married the caliph al-Walīd I. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 278–79; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 17–18.

700. The day of the week matches with the date.

701. The Islamic day begins at sunset, so that he actually died on a Monday, as on p. 129.

702. Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Qurṭ al-Ḍabbī, 107–10/725–28 to 188/804, he was a traditionist with a fair reputation. He was born in a village near Iṣfahān, grew up in al-Kūfah, and then migrated to al-Rayy, where he became judge. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 75–77.

703. Al-Najjārī al-Anṣārī, he was a very famous Medinan traditionist and judge at Medina (in 126/744), al-Ḥīrah, and al-Hāshimiyyah near Baghdād (in 143/760 to his death in 143–46/760–63). See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 186; II, 589; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 554, 645; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, I, 178–79; III, 241–45; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 63; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 221–24.

704. Al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī, 15–19/636–40 to 93–94/712–13, he was a Medi-

Messenger of God. He died at the age of the Prophet.

Abū Kurayb[705] — Abū Naʿīm[706] — Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq — Abū al-Safar — ʿĀmir[707] — Jarīr:[708] I was with Muʿāwiyah when he said, "The Prophet died when he was sixty-three years old, Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three years old, and ʿUmar was killed when he was sixty-three years old."

Abū al-Aḥwaṣ[709] — Abū Isḥāq[710] — ʿĀmir b. Saʿd[711] — Jarīr: Muʿāwiyah said, "God's Messenger was taken when he was sixty-three years old, ʿUmar was killed when he was sixty-three years old, and Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three years old."

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, in the report from which I have drawn: Abū Bakr's rule lasted two years, three months, and twenty days, and it is also said ten days.

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nan scholar of major importance in the transmission of tradition from the Companions. He often is considered the most important figure of the generation after the Companions. He is said to have been whipped by the governor of Medina for refusing to render allegiance to ʿAbd al-Malik's sons in 84/703, just as he is similarly reported to have been lashed for refusing to pay allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr in 68/688. He married the daughter of Abū Hurayrah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 22; II, 501; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 379–84; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 345–46; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 123, 335, 377, 407; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 84–88.

705. Muḥammad b. al-ʿĀlāʾ b. Kurayb al-Hamdānī, 170–248/786–862, he was an important Kūfan traditionist with a good reputation. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 414; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 385–86.

706. Text: Nuʿaym; read: Naʿīm, as is the common Arabic name today. He was al-Faḍl b. ʿAmr, nicknamed Dukayn, b. Ḥammād b. Zuhayr b. Dirham al-Mulāʾī, the *mawlā* of the family of Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymī, and an influential scholar of al-Kūfah. He lived 130–219/748–834. See *EI*², s.v. Abū Nuʿaym; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 400–1; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 783; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 270–76.

707. According to Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 305, he is ʿĀmir b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, who indeed is attested as a transmitter of tradition in Medina. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 264; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 63–64. See also note 711, below. It is curious but not exceptional to find a Medinan transmitter like this in the middle of a Kūfan *isnād*.

708. That is, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī, d. 51/671. See note 206, above.

709. Sallām b. Salīm, the *mawlā* of the Ḥanīfah, he was a Kūfan scholar of good reputation who died in 179/795. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 379; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 719; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 282–83.

710. ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sabīʿī al-Hamdānī, c. 33/654 to 126–29/744–47, he was a very important Kūfan traditionist with a fair reputation. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 228; II, 167; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 313–15; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 63–67.

711. Text: Saʿīd; read: Saʿd, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII. He is ʿĀmir b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī. See above, note 707.

Who Washed Abū Bakr, His Shroud, Who Prayed over Him, the Time of His Funeral Prayer, and the Time at Which He Died

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Mālik b.[712] Abī al-Rijāl[713]—his father[714]—ʿĀʾishah: Abū Bakr died between the worship of sunset and that of total darkness.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ[715]—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh[716]—ʿAṭāʾ[717] and Ibn Abī Mulaykah:[718] Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays[719] said, "Abū Bakr said to me, 'Wash me.' I said, 'I cannot bear that.' He said, "Abd

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712. Text: *ʿan*; read: *b.*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

713. Text: al-Raḥḥāl; read: al-Rijāl. This Mālik was a Medinan transmitter who is identified only in the article on his father in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 295. See note 714, below.

714. Abū al-Rijāl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥārithah al-Najjārī al-Anṣārī, he was a Medinan transmitter of tradition with a mixed reputation. He was called Abū al-Rijāl, "the father of the men," because he had ten sons. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 488; VIII, 480; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 60; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 627; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 295–96; XII, 94.

715. Abū Tumaylah, the *mawlā* of the Anṣār, he was a traditionist from Marw who was considered trustworthy. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 375; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 293–94.

716. It is hard to say which Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh this might be. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 517, proposes al-Anṣārī, but even that does not narrow the field sufficiently. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 247–88.

717. The famous Meccan jurist ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ, the *mawlā* of the Quraysh, 27/646 to 114–15/732–33. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 467–70; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 510; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 199–203.

718. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Zuhayr al-Taymī al-Qurashī, he was a famous Meccan traditionist of good reputation who served as judge of al-Ṭāʾif for Ibn al-Zubayr. He died in 117–18/735–36. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 119; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 472–73; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 293; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 516; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, I, 261–62; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 306–7.

719. Al-Khathʿamiyyah, she is possibly the most important woman of early Islam after Khadījah and ʿAʾishah. She was successively the wife of a Hilālī, then ʿAlī's brother Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, and then the two caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿAlī. One of the earliest Muslims, she migrated with her husband Jaʿfar to Ethiopia, where they remained for about twelve years representing the Prophet's interests. Her sons Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar (See Ṭabarī, I, 3012, 3094, 3139) and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, brought up in ʿAlī's household, participated in the killing of the caliph ʿUthmān. She was also the center of a genealogical marriage nexus, being related through her sisters to the Prophet's uncles Ḥamzah and al-ʿAbbās, as well as to the early conqueror Khālid b. al-Walīd. She lived until at least 38/658. See *EI*², *Supplement*, s.v. Asmāʾ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 226; II, 198; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 280–85; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 44, 80–82, 277; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 234–36; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 231; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 322, 380–81.

al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr[720] will help you by pouring the water.'"

Al-Ḥārith — Muḥammad b. Sa'd — Mu'ādh b. Mu'ādh[721] and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī[722] — al-Ash'ath[723] — 'Abd al-Wāḥid
[2130] b. Ṣabirah[724] — al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq willed that his wife Asmā' wash him, and that if she could not, that his son Muḥammad[725] help her.

Ibn Sa'd — Muḥammad b. 'Umar: This report is weak, for Muḥammad was only three years old on the day Abū Bakr died.

Ibn Wakī'[726] — Ibn 'Uyaynah[727] — 'Amr b. Dīnār[728] — Ibn Abī Mu-

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720. Abū Bakr's eldest son, who only embraced Islam about 8/630. Later, he fought for his sister 'Ā'ishah at the Battle of the Camel, after which he returned to Mecca, where he died 53–58/673–78. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 128 (under b. 'Atīq); Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 276, 278; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, 399–402; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 407–8 (under b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān).

721. Al-'Anbarī, 117/735 or 119/737 to 195–96/811–12, he was a scholar of al-Baṣrah with a good reputation who also served twice as judge of that city, in 170/786 and from 181/797 to 191/807. His judgeship was stormy. He was the first follower of Abū Ḥanīfah to hold that position and opposed the Mu'tazilah. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 293; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 514, 708, 738, 749, 754; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, II, 137–42, 147–54; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 194–95.

722. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Muthannā b. 'Abdallāh b. Anas b. Mālik, 118/736 to 212–15/827–30, he was an important Baṣran traditionist with a good reputation. He served as judge of al-Baṣrah 191–92/807–8, then moved to Baghdād, where he was judge at 'Askar al-Mahdī, then took charge of the *maẓālim* court, then was judge of al-Baṣrah again 198–99/814–15. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 294–95; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 516, 738–39, 749, 758, 778; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, II, 154–55, 157–61; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 33; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 274–76.

723. Al-Ash'ath b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ḥumrānī, the *mawlā* of Ḥumrān b. Abān, he was a Baṣran traditionist with a good reputation. He died in 142/759 or 146/763. He seems to have opposed the Qadariyyah. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 276; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 357–59.

724. Unidentified and mentioned only in this one place in al-Ṭabarī.

725. Infamous as one of the killers of the Caliph 'Uthmān, he lived 10–38/631–58. He was a strong partisan of his stepfather 'Alī, whom he served as governor of Egypt until he was executed by Mu'āwiyah's forces. See *EI*[1], s.v. Muḥammad (b. Abī Bakr); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 423; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 277; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 189–90, 203, 213, 218, 232; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 472–73.

726. Sufyān b. Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Rawāsī al-Kilābī, he was a Kūfan traditionist with a poor reputation who died in 247/861. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 394 (noticing only his father); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 123–25.

727. Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah b. Abī 'Imrān, the *mawlā* of the Hilāl, he was a Kūfan traditionist of excellent reputation who moved to Mecca in 163/780, remaining there for the rest of his life. He lived 107–98/725–814. His father was a tax agent for Khālid al-Qasrī. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 497–98; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 493, 758; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 117–22.

728. The *mawlā* of Bādhān of the Abnā', who were apparently associated with the Jumaḥ of the Quraysh, he was a Meccan traditionist of excellent reputation who died in 125–26/743–44. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 479–80; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 556; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 28–30.

laykah — ʿĀʾishah: Abū Bakr asked her, "In how many [layers] was the Prophet shrouded?" She said, "In three robes." He said, "Wash these two robes of mine—they were worn out—and buy me another robe." I said, "O father, we are wealthy." He said, "O daughter, the living have more right to the new than the dying. Only these two are for the liquid pitch and pus."[729]

Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd[730] — his father[731] — al-Awzāʿī[732] — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim:[733] Abū Bakr died in the evening, after the sun had set, on the eve of Tuesday,[734] and he was buried at night on the eve of Tuesday.

Abū Kurayb — ʿAththām[735] — Hishām — his father: Abū Bakr died on the eve of Tuesday and was buried at night.

Abū Zayd — ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to his *isnād*, which has been mentioned before: Abū Bakr was carried on the litter on which God's Messenger had been carried. ʿUmar prayed over him in the Mosque of God's Messenger. ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, Ṭalḥah,[736] and

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729. Ar. *muhlah wa ṣadīd*. This refers to torments of hell in Qurʾān 14: 16; 18: 29; 44: 45; 70: 8.

730. Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd b. Mazyad al-ʿUdhrī, 169–70/786–87 to 269–71/882–84, a traditionist of Bayrūt with a good reputation who followed the school of al-Awzāʿī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 131–33.

731. Al-Walīd b. Mazyad al-ʿUdhrī, c. 126/744 to 203/818–19, he was the great Bayrūtī transmitter of the juristic school and tradition of al-Awzāʿī. See *EI*², s.v. al-Awzāʿī; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 150–51.

732. Abū ʿAmr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr, 88–157/707–74, though other death dates varying from 151/768 to 158/775 are given. He is the founder of the great Syrian school of Islamic jurisprudence associated with his name. Possibly descended from captives from Sind, or otherwise an authentic Arab from the Hamdān, he seems to have been born in Damascus. He is said to have been appointed judge of Damascus by the caliph Yazīd b. al-Walīd in 126/744. He settled in Bayrūt toward the end of his life. See *EI*², s.v. al-Awzāʿī; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 488; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 666; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, III, 207; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 238–42.

733. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, the son of the famous Madanī *faqīh*. His mother was Quraybah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, his father's first cousin. Respected for his piety and well known as a traditionist, he may have caused the removal of Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik from the governorship of Medina when he complained to the caliph Hishām about him in 118/736. He died either in 126/744 or 131/749. By misreading the text of Wakīʿ, Caskel has wrongly made him judge of Medina in 150–55/767–72, a position actually held by his son. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 130; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 279–80; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 557; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 254–55.

734. That is, "on Monday night."

735. Text: Ghannām; read: ʿAththām. He is Abū ʿAlī ʿAththām b. ʿAlī al-Kilābī, d. 194–95/810–11, who was a Kūfan traditionist enjoying a sound reputation. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 392; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 754; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 105–6.

736. Ṭalḥah al-Khayr b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymī al-Qurashī, d. 36/656, he was one of the early Companions known chiefly for his later political roles in the *shūrā* council

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr entered his tomb. ʿAbdallāh[737] also wanted to enter his tomb, but ʿUmar said to him, "Your duty has already been fulfilled."

Abū Jaʿfar: Abū Bakr made a last request according to [the following]:

Al-Ḥārith — Ibn Saʿd — Muḥammad b. ʿUmar — Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah[738] — ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh, that is, Ibn ʿUrwah[739] — ʿUrwah and al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: Abū Bakr commanded ʿĀʾi-
[2131] shah that he be buried next to the Prophet. When he died, [a grave] was dug for him, and his head was placed by the shoulders of God's Messenger. The grave was joined with the grave of the Prophet. Thus, he was buried there.

Al-Ḥārith — Ibn Saʿd — Muḥammad b. ʿUmar — Ibn ʿUthmān[740] — ʿĀmir b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr:[741] Abū Bakr's head was placed at

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that elected the caliph ʿUthmān and his participation in the Battle of the Camel, where he was killed fighting against ʿAlī. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭalḥa; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 556; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 214–25; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 280–91; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 229–30.

737. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-ʿAdawī al-Qurashī, born c. 612 C.E., died 73–74/693–94, he was the son of the second caliph and a famous Medinan traditionist of outstanding reputation for scrupulousness and honesty. *EI*[2], s.v. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 26; II, 120; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 142–88; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 348, 350–51, 356–57; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 347–50.

738. Actually, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sabrah b. Abī Ruhm al-ʿĀmirī al-Qurashī, 102–62/721–79. He was a Medinan traditionist with a rather poor reputation, perhaps because of his participation in politics. He was judge of Medina 133/751 or 136/753–54 to 141/758. He was a tax collector for the northern Arabian tribal districts of Ṭayyiʾ and Asad, whose money he turned over to the anti-ʿAbbāsid rebel Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah. For this he was imprisoned by al-Manṣūr, but later freed owing to his role in stopping a slave rebellion in Medina. Still later, he settled in Baghdād, where he served as judge for al-Mahdī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 27; II, 222; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 428–30; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 634, 681, 686; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, I, 200–2, 224; III, 253–54; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 27–28.

739. Al-Asadī al-Qurashī, he was a rather obscure member of the great Zubayrī family of Medina and was a Zubayrī on both sides, his mother being Umm Ḥakīm bt. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 469–70.

740. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 373, 409, suggests that this is ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar b. Mūsā b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar al-Taymī al-Qurashī, a blue-blooded Medinan traditionist who was judge of al-Baṣrah 169–70/785–87, but who died later in Medina. On him, see Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 290–91; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 698; Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, II, 133–37; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 482–83. However, al-Wāqidī is not said to have transmitted from him but is specifically said to have transmitted from ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. Hāniʾ, the *mawlā* of ʿUthmān, a rather obscure Medinan who was quoted by the Kūfans. This ʿAmr is also mentioned in the next *khabar* here. On him, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 79.

741. Al-Asadī al-Qurashī, he was a pious member of the Zubayrī family who died in 121/739. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 243; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 524, 532; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 74.

the shoulders of God's Messenger and ʿUmar's head at Abū Bakr's loins.

ʿAlī b. Muslim al-Ṭūsī[742]—Ibn Abī Fudayk[743]—ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. Hāniʾ[744]—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: I went into ʿĀʾishah's presence and said, "O mother, reveal to me the tomb of the Prophet and his two companions." She then revealed to me three tombs, neither raised high nor cleaving to the ground, laid out in the basinlike depression inside of the red court. I saw that the tomb of the Prophet was put in front, Abū Bakr's tomb was at his head, and ʿUmar was at the leg of the Prophet.

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—ʿAmr b. Abī ʿAmr[745]—al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanṭab:[746] The tomb of Abū Bakr was made flat like the tomb of the Prophet. Water was sprinkled on it. ʿĀʾishah carried out the mourning for him.

Yūnus[747]—Ibn Wahb[748]—Yūnus b. Yazīd[749]—Ibn Shihāb—Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab: When Abū Bakr died, ʿĀʾishah carried out the mourning for him. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb approached until he stood at the door. He forbade the women to weep for Abū Bakr, but they refused to stop. [2132]
ʿUmar said to Hishām b. al-Walīd, "Go inside and bring me the

742. He was a Khurāsānī who settled in Baghdād. He lived 160–253/777–867. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 382–83.

743. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Abī Fudayk Dīnār, the *mawlā* of the Dīl, he was a Medinan traditionist with a fair reputation. He died in 199–200/815–16. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 437; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 762; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 61.

744. See note 740, above.

745. The *mawlā* of al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanṭab, he was a Medinan traditionist with a mixed reputation. He died in 144/761. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 281–82; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 82–84.

746. Actually, al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥanṭab al-Makhzūmī, a blue-blooded Qurashī, he was a Medinan traditionist with a mixed reputation. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 22; II, 439; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 339; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 129; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 178–79.

747. Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Mūsā al-Ṣadafī 170–264/787–877. He was an Egyptian traditionist with a good reputation who was especially famed for his knowledge of the readings of the Qurʾān. He was wrongfully imprisoned by the ʿAbbāsid governor of Egypt 228–35/843–50. Kindī, *Wulāh wa quḍāh*, 454–56, 470–71, 475, 506; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 481; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 440–41.

748. ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb b. Muslim, the *mawlā* of the Qurayṣh, 125–97/743–813. He was the greatest Egyptian traditionist of his generation, having a mostly favorable reputation. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 518; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 71–74.

749. Al-Aylī, the *mawlā* of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. He was one of the main transmitters of al-Zuhrī's traditions; however, his reputation as a traditionist is mixed. He died in upper Egypt in 159/776. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 520; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 484; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 450–52.

daughter of Abū Quḥāfah, the sister of Abū Bakr."[750] When she heard that from ʿUmar, ʿĀʾishah said to Hishām, "I forbid my house to you." But ʿUmar said to Hishām, "Go on in, for I have given you permission." Thus, Hishām entered and brought out Umm Farwah, the sister of Abū Bakr, to ʿUmar, who raised his whip over her and gave her a number of blows. The weeping women scattered when they heard that.

Abū Zayd—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to his *isnād*: When he was suffering the illness from which he died, he quoted:

Every owner of camels is succeeded by an heir,
and every owner of spoil is despoiled.
Every owner of absence comes back,
but the one absent because of death does not come back.

His last words were, "My Lord, take me as a Muslim and join me with the righteous."

Abū Bakr's Appearance

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Shuʿayb b.[751] Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq[752]—his father—ʿĀʾishah: When she was in her howdah and saw a man from among the Arabs passing by, she said, "I have not seen a man more like Abū Bakr than this one." We said to her, "Describe Abū Bakr." She said, "A slight, white man, thin-bearded and bowed. His waist wrapper would not hold but would fall down around his loins. He had a lean face, sunken eyes, a bulging forehead, and trembling knuckles."

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, in his version whose *isnād* I have mentioned
[2133] before: He was white mixed with yellowness, of good build, slight, bowed, thin, tall like a male palm tree (*ʿatīq*), hook-nosed, lean-faced, sunken-eyed, thin-shanked, and strong-thighed. He used to

750. Umm Farwah, Abū Bakr's much younger half-sister, the wife of al-Ashʿath b. Qays al-Kindī and mother of his children, Muḥammad, Isḥāq, Ismāʿīl, Ḥubābah, and Quraybah. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 249; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 482–83; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 484–85.

751. Text: *ʿan*; read: *b.*, as Ṭabarī, I, 2730, and *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

752. He was a minor Medinan transmitter of mixed reputation. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 277; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 17; also, note 699, above.

dye himself with henna and black dye (*katam*). When he died, Abū Quḥāfah was living at Mecca. On hearing the news of his death, he said, "A weighty misfortune!"

Abū Bakr's Genealogy, His Name, and What He Was Known by

Abū Zayd — ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to his *isnād*, which has already been mentioned: They agree that the personal name (*ism*) of Abū Bakr was ʿAbdallāh, and that he was called ʿAtīq only owing to his handsomeness. (But some say that he was called that because the Prophet told him, "You are liberated (*ʿatīq*) from the [hell]fire.")

Al-Ḥārith — Ibn Saʿd — Muḥammad b. ʿUmar — Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Ṭalḥah[753] — Muʿāwiyah b. Isḥāq[754] — his father[755] — ʿĀʾishah: She was asked, "Why was Abū Bakr named ʿAtīq?" She answered, "The Prophet looked at him one day and said, "This is the man God has freed from the fire." The personal name of his father was ʿUthmān, his *kunyah*[756] being Abū Quḥāfah.[757] Abū Bakr is ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murrah b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik. His mother is Umm al-Khayr bt.

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753. Al-Taymī al-Qurashī, died 164/781, he was a Medinan transmitter with a poor reputation and the grandson of the famous Ṭalḥah of the first civil war. He circulated an anti-ʿAlid tradition, which is not surprising in view of his ancestry. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 164; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 287; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 204; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 254–55.

754. Al-Taymī al-Qurashī, the first cousin of the preceding and also a grandson of Ṭalḥah, he enjoyed a fair reputation as a traditionist. Although he is called a Kūfan, as he may have settled in al-Kūfah, he was certainly of Medinan origin. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 166; VI, 339; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 134; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 202.

755. Isḥāq b. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymī al-Qurashī, he was a Medinan who was considered a reliable transmitter. By 51/671, he seems already to have moved to al-Kūfah, where he signed the document condemning Ḥujr b. ʿAdī. He also was appointed by the caliph Muʿāwiyah in 56/676 to supervise the collection of taxes in Khurāsān but died at al-Rayy on the way. See Ṭabarī, II, 132, 178; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 166; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 268 (where he is misnamed Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Ṭalḥah); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 238.

756. The *kunyah* is a special nickname used by Arabs to this day meaning "the father of so-and-so" or "the mother of so-and-so." (Ar. *Abū* for men and *Umm* for women). See *EI*², s.v. Kunya.

757. He is said to have survived as a pagan until the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, whereupon he became a Muslim. He is said to have died in 14/635 at the age of ninety-seven. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 578; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 405–6; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 275; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 460–61.

Ṣakhr b. ʿĀmir b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murrah.[758]

Al-Wāqidī: His personal name is ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Quḥāfah, whose personal name is ʿUthmān b. ʿĀmir. His mother is Umm al-Khayr, whose personal name is Salmā bt. Ṣakhr b. ʿĀmir b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murrah.

Hishām, according to what has been transmitted to me from him:
[2134] The personal name of Abū Bakr is ʿAtiq b. ʿUthmān b. ʿĀmir.

Yūnus — Ibn Wahb — Ibn Lahīʿah[759] — ʿUmārah b. Ghaziyyah:[760] I asked ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim about the personal name of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. He answered, "[It is] ʿAtīq. They were three brothers, the sons of Abū Quḥāfah, ʿAtīq, Muʿtaq, and ʿUtayq."[761]

The Names of Abū Bakr's Wives

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad — his informant and those of his authorities whom I have mentioned: In the Jāhiliyyah, Abū Bakr married Qutaylah.[762] [Al-Wāqidī and al-Kalbī agree with him in that. All three say:] She is Qutaylah bt. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd b. Asʿad b. Jābir b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. She bore him ʿAbdallāh[763] and Asmāʾ[764]

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758. Of the same Qurashī clan as Abū Quḥāfah, she is reputed to have embraced Islam early and to have died before her husband. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 294; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 447.

759. ʿAbdallāh b. Lahīʿah b. ʿUqbah al-Ḥaḍramī, 96–174/715–90. He was a most famous traditionist of Egypt with a mixed reputation. He served as the first chief judge of Egypt appointed by the caliph 155–64/771–80. *EI*², s.v. Ibn Lahīʿa; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 516–17; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 714; Wakiʿ, *Quḍāh*, III, 235–36; Kindī, *Wulāh wa quḍāh*, 368–70; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 475–83; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 373–79.

760. Al-Najjārī al-Anṣārī, d. 140/757, he was a Medinan traditionist with a fair reputation. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 641; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 178; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 422–23.

761. This collocation of three sons with similar names would appear to be a fictional genealogical motif. Abū Bakr's alleged brothers are not otherwise attested to and have no other role in the tradition. They are not mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21, nor Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 275.

762. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 169; VIII, 249; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 276, where her genealogy differs somewhat from that given here. As she is scarcely mentioned in the sources and omitted by Ibn Ḥajar, it would appear that she never embraced Islam and thus perhaps died before 610 C.E.

763. He was famous for bringing supplies to the Prophet and Abū Bakr when they were hiding in the cave on the eve of the *hijrah* to Medina. He was injured at the siege of al-Ṭāʾif and died later, in 11/632–33. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 930–31, 938; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 485–86; II, 486; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 275, 277; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 283–84. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 108, assigns him a completely different mother than Qutaylah al-ʿĀmiriyyah.

764. Nicknamed Dhāt al-Niṭāqayn, she was one of the most important early Mus-

He also married in the Jāhiliyyah Umm Rūmān bt. ʿĀmir b. ʿAmīrah b. Dhuhl b. Duhmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kinānah.[765] Certain authorities say that she is Umm Rūmān bt. ʿĀmir b. ʿUwaymir b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAttāb b. Udhaynah b. Subayʿ b. Duhmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kinānah. She bore him ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿĀʾishah. All of these four of his children were born in al-Jāhiliyyah from his two wives whom we have named.[766]

Under Islam, he married Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays, who had previously been the wife of Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.[767] She is Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays b. Maʿd b. Taym b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb b. Mālik b. Quḥāfah b. ʿĀmir b. [2135] Rabīʿah b. ʿĀmir b. Mālik b. Nasr b. Wahb Allāh b. Shahrān b. ʿIfris b. Ḥalf b. Aftal, who is Khathʿam. She bore him Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr.

He also married under Islam Ḥabībah bt. Khārijah b. Zayd b. Abī Zuhayr of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.[768] Her pregnancy had just appeared when Abū Bakr died, and after his death she bore him a daughter, who was named Umm Kulthūm.[769]

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lim women, for she was not only the daughter of Abū Bakr and thus ʿĀʾishah's elder sister, but also the wife of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and the mother of several of his children, including ʿAbdallāh, the leader of the Zubayrīs in the second civil war. She died in 73/693. See *EI*², s.v. Asmāʾ; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 249–55; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 236; 275–76; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 232–34; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 229–30.

765. Abū Bakr was her second husband. She embraced Islam early, then migrated to Medina, dying there in 6/628. Another genealogy also is offered for her. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 276–77; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 276; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 448–52; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 450–52.

766. This statement appears to contradict the alleged age of ʿĀʾishah of nine years at the time of the consummation of her marriage to the Prophet in Shawwāl 1 (April–May 623), for which see al-Balādhurī, *Ansab*, I, 409–11; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 359–60. Even if she was born at the end of the Jāhiliyyah period, in 609 C.E., she would have been at least thirteen solar years old by the year 1/622–23.

767. Jaʿfar al-Ṭayyār, the brother of the caliph ʿAlī, c. 590 C.E.–8/629. He was one of the most important early Muslims, leading them in Ethiopia, where he headed the Muslim mission c. 615 C.E.–7/628, until he returned at the time of the Khaybar campaign. Shortly afterward, he was slain at Muʾtah. See *EI*², s.v. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 5; II, 254; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 34–41; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 39, 80–81; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 210–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 237–38.

768. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 360; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 116, 134; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 272–74; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 269–70.

769. She was born after her father's death in 13/634. She married Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh, to whom she bore two sons and a daughter, the famous ʿĀʾishah bt. Ṭalḥah. Umm Kulthūm then married ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Makhzūmī, to whom she bore four children. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 462; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 278, 283, 318; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 493.

The Names of His Judges, Secretaries, and Tax Officials

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mukharrimī[770] — Abū al-Fatḥ Naṣr b. al-Mughīrah[771] — Sufyān — Misʿar:[772] When Abū Bakr took power, Abū ʿUbaydah said to him, "I will take care of finance — meaning taxes [*jizāʾ*] — for you." ʿUmar said, "I will take care of judicial matters for you." Though ʿUmar stayed [in office] for a year, not even two men came to him.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad — those whom I have named — certain authorities: Abū Bakr made ʿUmar his judge during his caliphate. He stayed in office for a year, but no one brought any dispute to him.

[Certain authorities]: Zayd b. Thābit[773] served as his secretary. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān provided him with information and reported to him who had come. They say that ʿAttāb b. Asīd was his governor of Mecca. ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣī[774] was in charge of al-Ṭāʾif,[775] al-Mu-

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770. Probably this is Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak al-Qurashī, died 254–60/868–74, a Baghdādī traditionist who was the judge of Ḥulwān. See Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, XII, 132, 134; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 272–74. But there is also another, slightly earlier, Mukharrimī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmmār b. Sawādah al-Ghāmidī, 162–242/779–856, a Baghdādī traditionist who moved to al-Mawṣil, who is a possible candidate. On him, see Wakīʿ, *Quḍāh*, III, 185; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 265–66. In view of al-Ṭabarī's own birthdate of 224/839, the former is more likely for him to have quoted directly.

771. Unidentified and mentioned only in this place in al-Ṭabarī.

772. Misʿar b. Kidām b. Ẓahīr al-Hilālī, he was a Kūfan traditionist of excellent reputation who died in 152–56/769–73. He was one of the Murjiʾah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 110; II, 409; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 364–65; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 662; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 113–15.

773. Al-Najjārī al-Khazrajī, he was among the most outstanding of the Anṣār and also served as the Prophet's secretary. He is most famous for his claimed role in redacting the ʿUthmānic text of the Qurʾān. Later, he was one of the few Anṣār to support the caliph ʿUthmān. He died between 42/662 and 56/676, possibly in 45/665. See *EI*[1], s.v. Zaid b. Thābit al-Najjārī; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 186; II, 603; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 358–62; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 71–73; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 551–54; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 561–62.

774. Al-Thaqafī, he was the first of his tribe to rise to prominence in Islam. He held the governorship of al-Ṭāʾif, his native city, 9–15/630–36, then was governor of al-Baḥrayn and ʿUmān 15–29/636–50, whence he campaigned in Iran. After this, he resided in al-Baṣrah until he died in 51/671 or 55/675. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 119; II, 579; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 508–9; VII, 40; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 72, 107, 123, 134–35, 145–46, 151, 154, 156, 163–64, 167, 171; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 529; *Futūḥ*, 70, 99–100, 387, 432; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 82, 136, 151, 156, 190; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 460; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 104.

775. One of the largest cities in Saudi Arabia, about 90 km. by road east of Mecca on the top of the Ḥijāz escarpment. In early Islamic times, it was also an important town, the capital of the Thaqīf. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭāʾif.

hājir b. Abī Umayyah[776] was in charge of Ṣanʿāʾ,[777] Ziyād b. Labīd[778] was in charge of Ḥaḍramawt,[779] Yaʿlā b. Umayyah[780] was in charge of Khawlān,[781] Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī was in charge of Zabīd[782] and Rimaʿ,[783] Muʿādh b. Jabal[784] was in charge of al-Janad,[785] and al- [2136]

776. Al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashī, he was the first cousin of Khālid b. al-Walīd and half-brother of Umm Salamah, the Prophet's wife. The Prophet appointed him to be in charge of the Kindah and al-Ṣadif, but later he was transferred to Ṣanʿāʾ. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣanʿāʾ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 23; II, 420; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 600; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 316; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 72, 98, 107; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 456, 529; *Futūḥ*, 82–83, 121–23, 125, 127; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 465–66.

777. The capital of Yemen, then as now. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣanʿāʾ.

778. Al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī, he was one of the Medinans who became Muslims before the *hijrah* and subsequently participated in all the Prophet's battles. Appointed governor of Ḥaḍramawt by the Prophet, he may have remained in charge of it until the end of ʿUmar's reign. Later he opposed the caliph ʿUthmān. He died after 40/661. See Ṭabarī, I, 2796; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 192; II, 607; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 600; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 598; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 72, 98, 107; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 83, 120–23, 125; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 81, 136, 148–49, 186; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 564–65; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 176–77; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 558–59.

779. This extremely ancient term, which is even found in the Old Testament (Gen. 10:26), continues to this day to denote the region of eastern Yemen. See *EI*[2], *Supplement*, s.v. Ḥaḍramawt.

780. Al-ʿAdawī al-Tamīmī, he was a confederate of the Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf of the Quraysh and embraced Islam at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. He was first sent by Abū Bakr to collect the taxes of the district of Khawlān, which had revolted. (Some sources wrongly give Ḥulwān.) He governed Ṣanʿāʾ for a long time, 14–35/635–56. At the Battle of the Camel, he sided with ʿĀʾishah, but he is said to have been killed at Ṣiffīn in 38/658 fighting for ʿAlī. However, this reversal might be apocryphal, as it is omitted by many early sources. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣanʿāʾ; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 67; II, 590; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 1012; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 107, 196; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 119, 123; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 136, 181, 186, 205, 210; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 661–64; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 668–69.

781. The name of a Yemenī tribe which also denotes two districts, one southeast of Ṣanʿāʾ, the other northwest of Ṣaʿdah. The former, called *Khawlān al-ʿĀliyah*, appears to be the one meant here. It seems to have contained the city of Dhimar. See *EI*[2], s.v. Khawlān; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, II, 56–57, 345–46; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 137–38, 142, 148, 192, 248; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 407; V, 69 (Mikhlāf Dhī Jurrah wa Khawlān).

782. This is the still-extant town bearing the same name in the coastal plain of Yemen between Taʿizz and al-Ḥudaydah. See *EI*[1], s.v. Zabīd; Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Taqwīm*, 88–89.

783. This is a wadi north of Zabīd. See *EI*[1], s.v. Zabīd.

784. Al-Khazrajī, he was one of the most famous of the Anṣār, becoming a Muslim before the *hijrah* and subsequently taking part in all the Prophet's battles, until the Prophet sent him to Yemen in 9/631. He died of the plague at al-Uqḥuwānah in the *jund* of al-Urdunn in 18/639 at the age of thirty-eight. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 190; II, 409; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 583–90; VII, 387–89; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 24, 72–73, 130; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 83–88, 165, 179, 186, 278; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 355–61; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 136–41; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 426–27.

785. A district and town of Yemen which lay some 48 *farsakh*s (under 300 km.)

ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī[786] was in charge of al-Baḥrayn. He sent Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh to Najrān.[787] He also sent ʿAbdallāh b. Thawr, one of the Banū Ghawth,[788] to the district of Jurash.[789] He sent ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm al-Fihrī to Dūmat al-Jandal. In Syria were Abū ʿUbaydah, Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah, Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī, each of whom was in command of a division, with Khālid b. al-Walīd in overall command of them.

Abū Jaʿfar: He was generous, lenient, and knowledgeable about the genealogies of the Arabs. Khufāf b. Nadbah[790] (Nadbah is his mother, his father being ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥārith) said in his eulogy of Abū Bakr:[791]

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south of Ṣanʿāʾ, just north of Taʿizz, between Dhimār and Zabīd. It was inhabited by groups of the Kindah and Maʿāfir. See Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 140, 143–44; Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm*, 53, 70, 87, 90, 105, 113; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 169–70; Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Taqwīm*, 90–91.

786. The confederate of the Umayyads, he embraced Islam early and was appointed by the Prophet c. 8/629 to al-Baḥrayn. ʿUmar then made him governor of al-Baṣrah, but he died on his way there in 14/635, or, less probably, in 21/642. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 576, 600, 607; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 359–63; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 97–98, 107, 110–11, 113, 154; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 95–104, 108; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 84, 136, 147, 151, 156–57; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 146–48; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 497–98.

787. A district in the south of Saudi Arabia in the mountains of ʿAsīr on the border with Yemen. In early Islamic times, it contained inhabitants from the Madhḥij, Hamdān, and Azd. See *EI*[1], s.v. Nadjrān.

788. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 286, shows that this ʿAbdallāh was mentioned only by Sayf, which means that this important report on the governorships of Yemen may be derived from Sayf rather than from al-Madāʾinī's authorities. ʿAbdallāh's equally unknown brother ʿUkkāshah is said to have been the Prophet's governor for the Sakūn and Sakāsik in Yemen, but according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 494, this also is only from Sayf. For Sayf's reports on them, see Ṭabarī, I, 1852–53, 1997–2000.

789. Near Najrān, between Bīshah and Ṣaʿdah in ʿAsīr. See Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 133, 135, 188, 248; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 126–27; Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Taqwīm*, 83, 94–95. However, it might make more sense to identify it with the present Baljurashī in Bilād Ghāmid, halfway between al-Ṭāʾif and the Yemenī border. This is because otherwise there is no governorate between al-Ṭāʾif and Najrān, and because Jurash is mentioned as belonging to Mecca rather than to Ṣanʿāʾ, which would seem to place it north of Najrān.

790. Al-Sulamī, his mother was an Abyssinian slave, and he was one of the four famous black Arabs (*aghribat al-ʿArab*). An opponent of al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī, he also fought the Ghaṭafānī tribes of Fazārah and Murrah before Islam. He is said to have been the standard-bearer of the Sulaym at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630 and to have participated in the Battle of Ḥunayn. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 122; II, 348; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, I, 247; III, 226–27; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XVI, 139–46; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 434–37; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 452–53.

791. The last two lines are cited in a variant version in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, I, 247, along with two other completely different lines. Seven lines are cited in Suyūṭī, *Khulafāʾ*, 86, also including the last two here.

Munificent, the possessor of favor and the possessor of the reprehended,[792]
sharer of benefit, whose courtyard is spacious,
To [his] praise, [there exists] in his house clearly visible
a fine basin whose incoming source does not betray it.[793]
By God, there will not overtake his days
either a barefoot possessor of a waist-wrapper or the possessor of a cloak.[794]
Whoever tries to overtake his days
will be striving alone[795] on a great plain.

Al-Ḥārith — Ibn Saʿd — ʿAmr b. al-Haytham Abū Qaṭan[796] — al-Rabīʿ[797] — Ḥayyān al-Ṣāʾigh:[798] The inscription of Abū Bakr's signet ring was, "How excellent a possessor of power God is!" [2137]

[Certain authorities]: Abū Quḥāfah did not live after Abū Bakr but for six months and some days. He died in al-Muḥarram 14 [25 February–26 March 635] at Mecca at the age of ninety-seven years.

[His Appointment of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as His Successor]

During the illness of which he died, Abū Bakr arranged for ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to succeed him in the caliphate. It is reported that, when he wished to make the arrangement for him to succeed, he called in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf.

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792. This refers perhaps to his power to inflict punishment.

793. The basin refers to his store of beneficence. The incoming source (*izāʾ*) not betraying the basin means that his beneficence is endless and does not dry up. For this difficult verse, see Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *ʾ-z-y*.

794. That is, either the poor or the rich.

795. Text: *al-shadd*; read: *al-shadhdh*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

796. Al-Zabīdī, c. 121–98/739–814, he was a Baṣran traditionist of good reputation who transmitted from Abū Ḥanīfah. He was also considered a Qadarī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 114–15.

797. Probably al-Rabīʿ b. Ṣubayḥ, the *mawlā* of the Tamīm, a Baṣran traditionist who died in Sind in 160/777. He had a mixed reputation. As he transmitted from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, this could owe to Qadarī tendencies. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 277; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 41–42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 247–48.

798. Abū Jabalah Ḥayyān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Dārimī, he was a Baṣran traditionist who was considered unreliable, probably because of his Qadarī tendencies. He probably was a student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 622–23; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, II, 369.

Ibn Sa'd — al-Wāqidī — Ibn Abī Sabrah — 'Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl[799] — Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān:[800] When death descended on Abū Bakr, he summoned 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and said, "Inform me about 'Umar." 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "O successor (*khalīfah*) of God's Messenger, he is, by God, a better man than your opinion of him. But there is a roughness in him." Abū Bakr said, "That is because he sees me as weak. If I entrust him with the affair, he will leave behind much of his present behavior. O Abū Muḥammad, I have done it in haste. It appears to me, if I get angry at the man for something, he shows me his concurrence about it, but if I ease up toward him, he shows me vehemence over it. Do not mention, O Abū Muḥammad, anything of what I have said to you." 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "Of course."

Then Abū Bakr summoned 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and said, "O Abū 'Abdallāh, inform me about 'Umar." 'Uthmān responded, "You are better informed about him." Abū Bakr said, "Let me decide that, O Abū 'Abdallāh." 'Uthmān said, "O God, my knowledge about him is that what he does in private is better than what he shows openly, and that there is no one like him among us." Abū Bakr said, "May God have mercy on you, O Abū 'Abdallāh. Do not mention anything that I have mentioned to you." 'Uthmān said, "I will do [as you said]." Abū Bakr said to him, "If I abandoned him, I would not neglect you. I do not know whether he would give it up. The choice is
[2138] his whether [or] not to take charge of anything of your affairs. I wish I had been free of [being in charge of] your affairs and that I had been among those who have passed on of your predecessors, O Abū 'Abdallāh. Do not by any means mention anything of what I have said to you about the matter of 'Umar nor about what I have summoned you for."

Ibn Ḥumayd — Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ — Yūnus b. 'Amr — Abū al-Safar: Abū Bakr looked out over the people from his enclosure while

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799. 'Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, the son of a concubine, he was a Medinan traditionist with a good reputation. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 272; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 380–81.

800. Al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, he is the son of the great Companion 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and Tumāḍir bt. al-Aṣbagh al-Kalbiyyah, the princess from Dūmat al-Jandal. He was in charge of justice and security at Medina 49–54/669–74. An important Medinan traditionist, he died in 93–94/712–13 at the age of seventy-two. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 20; II, 106; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 155–57; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 267; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 276, 407; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, I, 116–18; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 115–18.

Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays was steadying him with tatooed hands. He said, "Will you be satisfied with him whom I have left as [my] successor over you? For, by God, I do not shun the effort [to reach] the best opinion, nor have I appointed a relative. I have designated ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as my successor; therefore, hear him and obey." They responded, "We hear and obey."

ʿUthmān b. Yaḥyā[801] — ʿUthmān al-Qarqasānī[802] — Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah—Ismāʿīl—Qays: I saw ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb while he was sitting with the people, a piece of writing in his hand, and saying, "O people, hear and obey the speech of the successor of God's Messenger when he said, 'I have not ceased to admonish you.'" He had with him a *mawlā* of Abū Bakr named Shadīd[803] who had a piece of writing on which was the appointment of ʿUmar as successor.

Abū Jaʿfar—al-Wāqidī—Ibrāhīm b. Abī al-Naḍr[804]—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith:[805] Abū Bakr summoned ʿUthmān to him in private and said to him, "Write, 'In the name of God, the all-Compassionate, the Merciful. This is what Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah has enjoined on the Muslims. Now then. . . .'" At this point, he fainted, losing consciousness. ʿUthmān wrote, "Now then, I have appointed ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as my successor over you. I have not neglected [2139]
the best among you." Then Abū Bakr awoke and said, "Read [it] to me." When he read [it] to him, Abū Bakr said, "God is Greater," and then went on, "I see that you were afraid that the people would quarrel if I died suddenly in my coma." ʿUthmān said, "Yes." Abū Bakr said, "May God reward you kindly for the sake of Islam and its people!" Abū Bakr confirmed [the text] from this place.

Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā — Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bukayr[806] — al-

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801. Unidentified, not otherwise mentioned, and possibly confused with the identical next name.

802. He is Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā al-Ṣayyād, d. 258/872. Although he died fifty-eight solar years after Ibn ʿUyaynah, he is reported to have transmitted from him. See Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, X, 384.

803. Unidentified and not mentioned elsewhere.

804. He is Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Abī Umayyah, nicknamed Bardān, the *mawlā* of ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymī of the Quraysh. He was a Medinan traditionist with a fair reputation. He lived c. 79–80/698–99 to 153–54/770–71. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 120–21.

805. Al-Taymī al-Qurashī. A Medinan traditionist who was considered trustworthy, he died in 119–21/737–39. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 21; II, 423; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 295; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 524, Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 5–7.

806. The *mawlā* of the Makhzūm of the Quraysh, 154–231/771–845. He was an Egyptian traditionist with a mostly good reputation. He was best known as a major

Layth b. Sa'd[807] — 'Ulwān[808] — Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān — 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf[809] — his father: He went in to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq during his sickness of which he died and found him worried. 'Abd al-Raḥmān said to him, "You have arisen, praise be to God, cured." Abū Bakr said, "Do you think so?" He answered, "Yes." At this, Abū Bakr said:

> I have entrusted your affairs to him who I feel is the best of you. Each of you is inflamed with anger by that, for each wants the succession to be his instead. You have seen that the world has opened up. When it opens up, it continues to come on until you adopt curtains of silk and pillows of silk brocade, and are pained to lie on Adharī[810] wool as any one of you [now] is pained to sleep on thorns. By God, that any one of you be brought forth to have his head chopped off, for
> [2140] [something] other than the penalty for a mortal sin, would be better for him than plunging into the depths of this life. You will be the first to lead people astray tomorrow, so that you will turn them from the way to the right and left. O guide of the way, it is either the light of dawn or evil![811]

I said to him,

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transmitter of al-Layth's traditions. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 518 (bare mention); Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 796; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 391; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 237–38.

807. Al-Fahmī, he lived 94–175/713–92. He was one of the great traditionists of Egypt, enjoying an outstanding reputation. His family orginally were Iranians from Iṣfahān. His father was a *mawlā* of the Quraysh who enrolled in the Fahmī regiment of the army in Egypt. Al-Layth himself was born at the village of Qarqashandah, about 25 km. from al-Fusṭāṭ. He visited Iraq in 161/778. In 167/784 his prestige was so great that he when he complained to the caliph about the judge in Egypt, the latter was removed from office. See *EI*², s.v. al-Layth b. Sa'd; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 517; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 715; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, III, 223, 236; Kindī, *Wulāh wa Quḍāh*, 89–90, 128, 132, 134, 365–66, 371–73, 384; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 423; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 459–65.

808. 'Ulwān b. Dāwūd, the *mawlā* of Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī, d. 180/796, he was a traditionist whose transmissions were rejected by later scholars. The variant name 'Ulwān b. Ṣāliḥ, which is given for him, owes to a confusion with that of Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, who follows him in this *isnād*. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 108–10 (where the report mentioned here is criticized); Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, IV, 188–90.

809. Al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, he was a minor Medinan traditionist of the great Zuhrī family. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 20; II, 571; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 271; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 473.

810. That is, of Adharbayjān. See note in Cairo ed.

811. Text: *al-baḥr*; read: *al-bujr*. See note in Cairo ed., which has corrected it to *al-bajr*; but see Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *b-j-r* for correct vocalization.

Calm down, may God have mercy on you, for this will only cause you a relapse in your condition. Regarding your matter, the people are [divided] between only two men, either a man who has viewed [things] as you have and is thus with you, or else a man has opposed you and thus is your adviser and companion as you like. We have not known you to desire other than the good. You have not ceased to be a righteous man and one who sets matters aright. You do not grieve for anything from this world.

Abū Bakr said,

Indeed, I do not grieve for anything from this world, except for three [things] which I did that I wish I had left aside, three that I left aside which I wish I had done, and three about which I wish I had asked God's Messenger. As for the three that I wish I had left aside, I wish that I had not thrown open the house of Fāṭimah[812] to reveal something, even though they had locked it with hostile intent. I wish that I had not burned al-Fujā'ah al-Sulamī[813] and that I had quickly killed him or forbearingly let him go. I wish, on the day of Saqīfat Banī Sā'idah,[814] that I had thrown the matter upon the neck of one of the two men [meaning 'Umar and Abū 'Ubaydah] so that one of them would have become the Commander [of the Faithful] and I would have been his minister (*wazīr*). As for those I left aside, I wish that on the day I was brought al-Ash'ath b. Qays[815] as a prisoner I had cut off

812. The daughter of the Prophet, c. 604 C.E.–11/632. On her, see *EI*², s.v. Fāṭima. The story in question here seems to refer to the attempt to compel 'Alī and Fāṭimah to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr as caliph. What they are hiding here is not clear, however. See Ṭabarī, I, 1822, 1825–26; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 585–87.

813. He is Bujayrah b. Iyās b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd Yālīl, who was burned for treason. See Ṭabarī, I, 1903–5; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 122; II, 228–29; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 117, 123.

814. The meeting hall of the Banū Sā'idah in Medina, where Abū Bakr was acknowledged as caliph upon the death of the Prophet. On it, see Ṭabarī, I, 1817–25, 1837–45; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 656–60; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 615–17; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, V, 8; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 579–84, 589; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 136–38. This enormously important event led to the establishment of the caliphate, with all the political and other consequences that entailed. Abū Bakr here is expressing scruples about the responsibility of government that he has borne.

815. Al-Kindī, he was an important prince in Ḥaḍramawt who embraced Islam in the Prophet's lifetime. After the latter's death, however, he rebelled and had to be sub-

his head, for I imagine that he does not see any evil but that he helps it along. I also wish, when I sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to fight the people of apostasy, that I had stayed at Dhū al-Qaṣṣah,[816] so that if the Muslims had triumphed, they
[2141] would have triumphed, but if they had been defeated, I would have been engaged or [provided] reinforcement. Furthermore, I wish, when I sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to Syria, that I had sent ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Iraq; thereby, I would have stretched forth both of my hands in God's path. (He stretched forth both his hands.) I also wish that I had asked God's Messenger with whom the government rests, so that no one would contend about it. I wish I had asked him whether the Anṣār have a share in the government. I wish I had asked him about the inheritance of the brother's daughter and the paternal aunt, for I have some doubts in my mind about the two of them.[817]

Yūnus — Yaḥyā: Then ʿUlwān came to us after the death of al-Layth. I asked him about this report. He transmitted it to me just as al-Layth had transmitted [it], letter by letter. He informed me that he himself had transmitted it to al-Layth b. Saʿd. I asked him about his father's name. He informed me he was ʿUlwān b. Dāwūd.

Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Murādī[818] — ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-

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dued by force. After he was forgiven, he fought in Syria, then went to Iraq, where he became prominent in al-Kūfah. His tepid support for ʿAlī in the first civil war often was cited as the cause of the latter's defeat. He died in 40–41/661–62, but left behind a great progeny that continued to have influence in al-Kūfah. *EI*², s.v. al-Ashʿath; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 236; II, 381 (under Maʿdīkarib b. Qais); Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, passim; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 22–23; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 228; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 51–52; Crone, *Slaves*, 110.

816. A place about 38 km. from Medina on the way to al-Rabadhah. From there Abū Bakr had dispatched his armies in all directions to fight against the Riddah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 366.

817. The rights of the brother's daughter or the paternal aunt to inherit are not dealt with in the relevant Qurʾānic verses, Qurʾān 4: 11–12, 176. This problem considerably exercised the minds of early Muslim legal specialists and is treated in various books of *fiqh*. A very detailed treatment can be found in Ibn Qudāmah, *Mughnī*, VI, 317–26, 329–35.

818. Possibly this is Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf al-Tirmidhī, who is specifically reported to have transmitted from ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Miṣrī. This is despite the fact that this Tirmidhī has al-Sulamī rather than al-Murādī for his tribal *nisbah*, according to the *rijāl* books. He is considered reliable and died in 280/893, so that he could have transmitted to al-Ṭabarī. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 484; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 256; IX, 62–63.

Miṣrī[819] — al-Layth — ʿUlwān b. Ṣāliḥ[820] — Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān — Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf[821] — Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq: Then he reported a similar version. Ḥumayd did not say about it that he got it from his father.

Abū Jaʿfar: Before he became occupied with the affairs of the Muslims, Abū Bakr was a merchant. His dwelling was at al-Sunḥ,[822] then he moved to Medina.

Al-Ḥārith — Ibn Saʿd — Muḥammad b. ʿUmar — Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah — Marwān [b. ʿUthmān] b.[823] Abī Saʿīd b. al-Muʿallā[824] — Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab; Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. [2142]
Ibrāhīm[825] — his father — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣabīḥah al-Taymī[826] — his father;[827] ʿUbaydallāh[828] b. ʿUmar[829] — Nāfiʿ[830] — Ibn ʿUmar; Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh — al-Zuhrī — ʿUrwah — ʿĀʾishah; Abū Qudāmah ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad — Abū Wajzah — his father; and another as well, who had transmitted to me some of it (the reports of certain of them are mixed with the reports of others): ʿĀʾishah said:

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819. The *mawlā* of the Juhaynah, d. 222–23/837–38, he was the secretary of al-Layth b. Saʿd and was an Egyptian traditionist with a mixed reputation. Though he is said to have been born in 173/789; that is impossible, as it precedes his patron's death by only two years. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 518; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 787; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 440–45; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 256–61.

820. A mistake for b. Dāwūd.

821. Al-Zuhrī al-Qurashī, yet another of the great Medinan family of traditionists. He died in 95/714 or, less probably, 105/723, at the age of seventy-three. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 153–55; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 266; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 489; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 45–46.

822. A district in Medina less than 2 km. south from the Prophet's house and city center. At that time, it contained the dwellings of the Ḥārith of the Khazraj. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 265; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 152 (map), 167.

823. Text: *ʿan*; read: *b.*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

824. Al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī, he was a minor Medinan transmitter with a mixed reputation. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 92; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 95.

825. Al-Taymī al-Qurashī, died 151/768, he was a Medinan traditionist with a poor reputation. See Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 218–19; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 368–69.

826. Unidentified and appears only here in al-Ṭabarī.

827. Unidentified.

828. Text: *ʿAbdallāh*; read: *ʿUbaydallāh*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

829. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-ʿAdawī al-Qurashī, he was one of the seven great jurists of Medina. He died in 147/764. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 362; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 651; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 38–40.

830. The *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar, he is the most famous transmitter of Ibn ʿUmar's traditions and was considered the exemplar of the highest reliability by al-Bukhārī. He died in 117–20/735–38. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 412–15.

My father's dwelling was at al-Sunḥ with his wife Ḥabībah bt. Khārijah b. Zayd b. Abī Zuhayr of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. He had built himself a room from palm leaves. He did not add to that up to the time he moved to his dwelling in Medina. He continued to reside there at al-Sunḥ for six months after he had received the oath of allegiance. He would go by foot to Medina. Occasionally, he would ride on a horse he had, wearing a waist wrapper and a worn-out cloak. He would come to Medina to lead the people in public worship. When he finished the evening worship (*'ishā'*), he would return to his family at al-Sunḥ. When he was present, he would lead the people in their worship; when he was not present, 'Umar would lead them in it.

He would spend Friday morning at al-Sunḥ dyeing his head and his beard, then he would go forth according to the time of the Friday worship, in which he would lead the people. He was a man of commerce. He would go forth early every day to the market, where he would sell and buy. He had a flock of sheep that would go home to him. Sometimes, he would go forth with it himself; sometimes, it would be taken care of, so that it was pastured for him. He also would milk the sheep for the community. When he was rendered the oath of allegiance as caliph, a girl from the community said to him, "Now the ewes of our house will not be milked for us." Abū Bakr
[2143] heard her and said, "On the contrary. By my life I will most definitely milk them for you. I certainly hope that what I have entered into will not turn me away from my previous habit." When he would milk for them, he sometimes would say to a girl from the community, "O girl, would you like me to tend [your sheep] for you, or to leave them to pasture by themselves?" Sometimes she would say, "Tend [them]"; other times she would say, "Leave [them]." Whichever of those she said, he would do.

He remained like that at al-Sunḥ for six months, then he came down to Medina to reside in it and look after his responsibilities. He said, "No, by God, trading will not set right the affairs of the people. Only my devoting myself exclusively to them and looking after their business will set them aright. My dependents must have what will make them prosper." Thus, he abandoned trade and expended of the Muslims' money enough to make him prosper and make his dependents prosper day by day.

He would also make the greater and the lesser pilgrimages. That which they had allocated for him every year was six thousand dirhams. When death came to him, he said, "Give back what we have of the Muslims' money, for I will not acquire anything of this property. My land which is in such-and-such a place is given to the Muslims as compensation for what I have acquired of their property." He transferred that to ʿUmar, along with milch camels, a slave who was a blade whetter, and velvet worth five dirhams. ʿUmar said, "He has caused troubles for those after him."

Abū Zayd—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—those whom I have mentioned his transmitting from them: Abū Bakr said, "Figure out how much I have spent from the treasury since I was put in charge and settle it for me." They found it amounted to eighty thousand dirhams during his rule.

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — al-Zuhrī — al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays: Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh went in to [see] Abū Bakr and said, "Have you made ʿUmar your successor [as ruler] over the people, even though you have seen the way the people are treated by him [even] when you are with him? How then will he [2144] be if he is alone with them, after you have met your Lord and He asks you about those you were responsible for?" Abū Bakr, who was lying down, said, "Sit me up," and they sat him up. He then answered Ṭalḥah, "Is it with God that you frighten me [or is it with God that you scare me]? When I meet God my Lord, and He questions me, I will say, 'I have left the best of your people as a successor in charge of your people.' "

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. ʿAbdallāh] b. al-Ḥuṣayn:[831] The like of that.

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831. Al-Tamīmī, he is an unidentified transmitter cited in Ṭabarī, I, 1205, 1237, 1454, 2182, and here. He also appears in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 99, 424. In all cases, he transmits to Ibn Isḥāq, sometimes from ʿUrwah, and thus is probably a Medinan.

The Caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

The Events of the Year

13 (cont'd)

(March 7, 634–February 24, 635)

Abū Jaʿfar: We have already mentioned the time of Abū Bakr's appointment of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [as his successor] in the caliphate, as well as the time of Abū Bakr's death, and [said] that ʿUmar led the prayer over him, and that he was buried on the night of his death before the people arose. When ʿUmar arose on the morning after that night, the first thing he did and said was [as follows]:

Abū Kurayb — Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh[832] — al-Aʿmash[833] — Jāmiʿ b. Shaddād[834] — his father:[835] When ʿUmar was made caliph, he climbed the pulpit to say, "I am going to say words to which you must say 'Amen.'"

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832. The *mawlā* of Wāṣil b. Ḥayyān al-Aḥdab al-Asadī, 95–100/714–19 to 192–94/808–10, he was a Kūfan traditionist with a good reputation. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 386; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 34–37.

833. Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mihrān, the *mawlā* of the Kāhil of the Asad, 60–61/680–81 to 148/765, he was a famous Kūfan traditionist of Iranian origin. See *EI*², s.v. al-Aʿmash; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 342–44; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 222–26.

834. Al-Muḥāribī, died 118–28/736–46, he was a Kūfan traditionist of good reputation. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 318; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 572; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 56–57.

835. Unidentified.

The first speech that ʿUmar uttered when he was made caliph was [as follows]:

Abū al-Ṣāʾib[836]—Ibn Fuḍayl[837]—ʿIyāḍ[838]—Ḍirār[839]—Ḥuṣayn al-Murrī:[840] ʿUmar said, "The likeness of the Arabs is only to a camel led by the nose following its leader; therefore, let its leader look where he leads. As for me, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah, I will indeed bring them along on the road."

ʿUmar—ʿAlī—ʿĪsā b. Yazīd[841]—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: The first letter written by ʿUmar when he took charge was to ʿAbū ʿUbaydah, putting him in charge of Khālid's army and [saying],

[2145] I admonish you to fear God, Who lasts while what is other than Him perishes, Who has guided us from losing our way and brought us forth from the darkness to the light. I have put you in charge of the army of Khālid b. al-Walīd. Therefore, take on their work, which is a responsibility for you. Do not advance the Muslims to destruction hoping for spoil,

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836. Salm b. Janādah b. Khālid al-Suwāʾī of the Suwāʾah b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah, 174–254/790–868, he was a Kūfan traditionist of good reputation. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 128–29.

837. Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān, the *mawlā* of the Ḍabbah, d. 194/810, he was a Kūfan traditionist of good reputation who was a Shīʿī supporter and even considered to be an extreme Shīʿī. He was said to be of Greek descent. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 389; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, IV, 9–10; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 405–6.

838. Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII, suggests this name should be omitted, as it is in the *isnād* in Ṭabarī, I, 2735, but the name also could have dropped out of the latter *isnād*. The sixty-year gap in the death dates of the Ibn Fuḍayl and the Ḍirār in this *isnād* might suggest a necessary intermediate link. On the other hand, Ibn Ḥajar's biographies of Ibn Fuḍayl and Ḍirār both state that Ḍirār transmitted directly to Ibn Fuḍayl, and no suitable ʿIyāḍ can be identified who fits between them. See the preceding and following notes.

839. Abū Sinān Ḍirār b. Murrah al-Shaybānī, d. 132/750, he was a Kūfan traditionist with a good reputation. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 338; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 457.

840. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 141, proposes that this may be al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥumām al-Murrī the poet, but this identification is doubtful, as this al-Ḥuṣayn seems to have barely survived into the Islamic era, for his son sought largesse from Muʿāwiyah. Such a person certainly would not have been able to transmit to Ḍirār b. Murrah, and it also is unlikely that he would be a source for ʿUmar's sayings. Thus, Ḥuṣayn al-Murrī here must remain unidentified. On the poet, see Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 123–29.

841. Al-Laythī, d. before 179/795, he was a Medinan transmitter of history, but his *ḥadīth* was rejected. Under al-Mahdī, he was accused of Qadarī tendencies. Later, he was brought by the Caliph al-Hādī to Baghdād, where he entertained that ruler and was lavishly rewarded. See Ṭabarī, III, 534, 565–66, 589–90, 592–93; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 36; II, 358; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 171; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 327–28; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, IV, 408–10.

nor make them camp in a place before you [first] scout it out for them and learn from where it might be attacked. Do not send out a raiding party except in a company of men. Do not by any means expose the Muslims to destruction. God has tested you through me and has tested me through you. Therefore, shut off your sight from this world and divert your heart from it. Do not at all let it destroy you as it destroyed those before you, whose deaths you have seen.

[The Expedition of Fiḥl[842] *and the Conquest of Damascus]*

ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—those whom I have mentioned their transmitting from them where I began the section on Abū Bakr: Shaddād b. Aws b. Thābit al-Anṣārī,[843] Maḥmiyah b. Jazʾ,[844] and Yarfaʾ[845] brought [the news of] Abū Bakr's death to Syria. They hid the news from the people until the Muslims had won, when they were at al-Yāqūṣah[846] fighting their Roman enemies. That was in Rajab [31 August–29 September 634]. They informed Abū ʿUbaydah about the death of Abū Bakr, his appointment to take charge of the war in Syria, and ʿUmar's subordinating the [other] commanders to him and removing Khālid b. al-Walīd.

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842. Now Ṭabaqat Fiḥl in Jordan, it lies east of the Jordan River, about 12 km. southeast of Baysān. Fiḥl was the ancient Pella of the Dekapolis and had remained one of the more important towns in the area. Extensive ruins exist and are being excavated. See *EI*², s.v. Fiḥl. For the battle, see Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 104; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 189–95.

843. Al-Najjārī al-Khazrajī. The nephew of the Prophet's poet Ḥassān b. Thābit, he was a Companion of the Prophet, then went forth to participate in the conquest of Syria. In 41/662 or 58–59/678–79, he died at the age of seventy-five (or ninety-five) and was buried in Jerusalem, where his family remained prominent and where his tomb later became an object of veneration. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 186; II, 522; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 401; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 274; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 182; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 135; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 54; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 139–40; Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, II, 63.

844. Al-Zabīdī, the confederate of the Jumaḥ of the Quraysh, he was an early Muslim, migrated to Ethiopia, fought at Badr, and is doubtfully said to have participated in the conquest of Egypt. He often was responsible for dividing the booty. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 270; II, 383; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 410, 524, 697, 780; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 328; II, 361; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 64, 75, 133; IV, 59, 198–99, 261; VIII, 277; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 495; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 388.

845. The *mawlā* of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and his chamberlain. See Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 158; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 672–73.

846. A variant of al-Wāqūṣah.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When the Muslims had finished with Ajnādayn, they went on toward Fiḥl in the land of al-Urdunn, where the Roman rejectionists (*rāfiḍah*)[847] had gathered. The Muslims were under their commanders, Khālid b. al-Walīd being in charge of the army's vanguard. When the Romans had descended on Baysān,[848] they broke the dams of its streams so that they would
[2146] overflow. Because it was a ground having a seasonal marsh, it became mud. After that, they encamped at Fiḥl, Baysān being between Palestine and al-Urdunn. When the Muslims swept over it, not knowing what the Romans had done, their horses became mired in the mud, so that they met with difficulty in it, but then God delivered them. Baysān was named "the place of thick mud" (*dhāt al-radaghah*) owing to what the Muslims encountered in it. Then they rushed upon the Romans, who were at Fiḥl. They fought, and the Romans were defeated. The Muslims entered Fiḥl, while the Roman rejectionists fled to Damascus. [The Battle of] Fiḥl was in Dhū al-Qaʿdah of the year 13 (27 December 634 – 25 January 635), six months into the caliphate of ʿUmar.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf led the people in that pilgrimage.

Then the Muslims went on to Damascus, Khālid b. al-Walīd being in charge of the vanguard of the troops. The Romans had gathered at Damascus under a man called Bāhān. ʿUmar had removed Khālid b. al-Walīd and appointed Abū ʿUbaydah to command all the troops. The Muslims and the Romans met in the environs of Damascus and fought a severe battle. Then God defeated the Romans, so that the Muslims made gains at their expense. The Romans went inside Damascus and shut its gates. The Muslims settled down before it, besieging it, until Damascus was conquered and its inhabitants payed the *jizyah*. Meanwhile, the letter had come to Abū ʿUbaydah appointing him and removing Khālid. Abū ʿUbaydah was too embarrassed to read the letter to Khālid until Damascus had been taken and the peace agreement made by Khālid, the document being written in his name. When Damascus made peace on terms, Bāhān, the Roman commander who had fought the Muslims, withdrew to Her-

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847. That is, those who rejected paying the *jizyah*, preferring to fight.

848. An important town in Palestine, the ancient Skythopolis, the only one of the Dekapolis cities to be located west of the Jordan, it lay some 30 km. south of Lake Tiberias. Like Fiḥl, it remained one of the important towns of the region. See *EI*², s.v. Baysān.

akleios. The fall of Damascus was in the year 14 in Rajab (21 August – 19 September 635). Abū ʿUbaydah publicly revealed his appointment as commander and Khālid's dismissal when the Muslims had met, they and the Romans, at a town called ʿAyn Fiḥl between Palestine and al-Urdunn and fought a hard battle at it. Then [2147]
the Romans withdrew to Damascus.

As for Sayf, according to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abū ʿUthmān — Khālid and ʿUbādah: He mentions in his report that the post came to the Muslims from Medina with [the news of] the death of Abū Bakr and the appointment of Abū ʿUbaydah as commander while they were at al-Yarmūk, the fighting having started between them and the Romans. He told a different story of al-Yarmūk and Damascus from what Ibn Isḥāq told. I am going to mention some of what he has related about that.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad — Abū ʿUthmān — Abū Saʿīd: When ʿUmar took office, he was pleased to let Khālid b. Saʿīd and al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah enter Medina, although Abū Bakr had forbidden them [to do so] owing to the flight they had made. ʿUmar also sent them back to Syria, saying, "Let [word of your] sufficiency[849] reach me about you; I am putting you to the test. Join whichever of our commanders you like." They joined the troops, with whom they were tried and showed their adequacy.

The Report about Damascus According to Sayf

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abū ʿUthmān — Khālid and ʿUbādah: When God had defeated the army of al-Yarmūk and the forces of al-Wāqūṣah had fallen to pieces, when the dividing of the spoils had been completed, the fifths sent off, and the delegations dispatched, Abū ʿUbaydah appointed Bashīr b. Kaʿb b. Ubayy al-Ḥimyarī as his [2148]
deputy in charge of al-Yarmūk, so that he would not be taken unawares by a countermaneuver, nor would the Romans cut him off from reinforcements.[850] Abū ʿUbaydah went along until he came to al-Ṣuffar, wishing to pursue the defeated remnants and not knowing whether they were massing together or splitting up. The information came to him that they had recoiled to Fiḥl. The news also came

849. Text: *ʿanāʾ*; read: *ghanāʾ*, as Cairo ed. and Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIII.

850. Or, "supplies."

to him that reinforcements had come to the forces at Damascus from Ḥimṣ. Because he did not know whether to start with Damascus or with Fiḥl in the country of al-Urdunn, he wrote to ʿUmar about that and waited for the answer, staying at al-Ṣuffar. When [news of] the victory of al-Yarmūk came to ʿUmar, he confirmed the commanders in the offices to which Abū Bakr had appointed them, except for what happened with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī and Khālid b. al-Walīd. He put Khālid under Abū ʿUbaydah's command and ordered ʿAmr to aid the people by bringing the warfare to Palestine and taking charge of the campaign in it.

As for Ibn Isḥāq, he states regarding the subject of Khālid and ʿUmar's dismissal of him [the following].

Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq: ʿUmar dismissed Khālid only owing to words that Khālid had spoken — according to what they claim. ʿUmar did not cease being wroth with him and disliking his behavior during the whole time of Abū Bakr, owing to his battle with Ibn Nuwayrah and what he had done in fighting against him. When ʿUmar succeeded to the caliphate, the first words he spoke were [those of] Khālid's dismissal. He said, "He will never govern any province for me." ʿUmar wrote to Abū ʿUbaydah, "If Khālid admits that he is a liar, then he remains commander over what he has charge of. But if he does not admit that he is a liar, then you are commander of what he had charge of. Then pull his turban off his head and confiscate half of his property."

[2149] When Abū ʿUbaydah mentioned that to Khālid, he said, "Grant me a delay so that I may consult with my sister regarding my affair." Abū ʿUbaydah did so. Khālid went in to his sister Fāṭimah bt. al-Walīd,[851] who was the wife of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, and mentioned that to her. She commented, "By God, ʿUmar does not like you at all. He only wants you to admit that you are a liar in order to remove you." At this, he kissed her head, saying, "You have spoken the truth, by God." Thus, Khālid continued as he had before, refusing to call himself a liar. Bilāl, the *mawlā* of Abū Bakr,[852] went to Abū ʿUbay-

851. She had embraced Islam in 8/630. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 261; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 303, 322; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 385.

852. Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, the famous Ethiopian freedman of Abū Bakr, he is best known as the first *muʾadhdhin* in Islam. He was one of the early Muslims of the Meccan period. Later, he migrated to Syria, where he died at Dārayyā in 18/639 or 20–21/641–42. See *EI*², s.v. Bilāl b. Rabāḥ; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, passim; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 317–18, 506–7, 509, 588–89, 632, 682; II, 207, 336, 340, 413, 632; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 385–86; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 141–44; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 165.

dah to ask, "What have you been commanded regarding Khālid?" Abū ʿUbaydah replied, "I have been commanded to pull of his turban and to divide his property with him." He then split his property with him until there remained only his two sandals [to be divided]. Abū ʿUbaydah said, "This one is useless without the other one." Khālid said, "Certainly. I am not one to disobey the Commander of the Faithful; therefore, do what seems appropriate to you." Thus, he took one sandal and gave him the other sandal. Then Khālid came to ʿUmar at Medina after his dismissal.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Muḥammad b. ʿAmr[853] b. ʿAṭā'[854]—Sulaymān b. Yasār:[855] Whenever ʿUmar passed by Khālid, he would say, "O Khālid, bring forth the property of God from under your buttocks!" Khālid would say, "By God, I have no property." When ʿUmar persisted, Khālid said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, what is the value of what I have gained under your authority? Forty thousand dirhams." ʿUmar said, "I hereby take that from you for forty thousand dirhams." Khālid said, "It is yours." ʿUmar said, "I accept it." Khālid did not have property other than military equipment and slaves. An account of that was made, and its value reached eighty thousand dirhams. ʿUmar took half of that, giving him forty thousand dirhams. He took the money. ʿUmar was told, "O Commander of the Faithful, if only you would return [2150] Khālid's property to him." ʿUmar said, "I am only a trader for the Muslims. By God, I will never return it to him." ʿUmar felt that he had avenged himself on Khālid when he did that to him.

The continuation of the report of Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān—Khālid and ʿUbādah: When ʿUmar received the letter from Abū ʿUbaydah [asking] about how he should begin, he wrote to him:

> Now then, begin with Damascus and march against it, for it is the fortress of Syria and the capital of their kingdom. Divert the forces at Fiḥl with cavalry that will be before them at their throats, and [likewise divert] the forces of Pal-

853. Text: *ʿUmar*; read: *ʿAmr*.

854. Al-ʿĀmirī al-Qurashī. It also is said, less probably, that he was a *mawlā* of the ʿĀmir. He was said to be a reputable transmitter. He died in Medina in 125/743 at the age of eighty-three. He is said to have been a Qadarī. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 425; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 546; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 373–75.

855. The *mawlā* of Maymūnah al-Hilāliyyah, the Prophet's wife, he was one of the seven famous jurists of Medina. He lived 24–27/645–48 to 94–109/713–27. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 174–75; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 479, 499; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 228–30.

estine and Ḥimṣ. If God conquers Fiḥl before Damascus, then that is what we would like. If its conquest is delayed until God conquers Damascus, then put enough forces in Damascus to secure it and then leave it, going, you and the rest of the commanders, until you attack Fiḥl. If God grants you victory, then go away, you and Khālid, to Ḥimṣ. Leave behind Shuraḥbīl and ʿAmr, charging them with al-Urdunn and Palestine. The commander of each district and army is to be in charge of the troops until they exit from his province.

Abū ʿUbaydah sent off to Fiḥl ten commanders: Abū al-Aʿwar al-Sulamī, ʿAbd ʿAmr b. Yazīd b. ʿĀmir al-Jurashī,[856] ʿĀmir b. Ḥathmah,[857] ʿAmr b. Kulayb of the Yaḥṣub,[858] ʿUmārah b. al-Ṣaʿiq b. [2151] Kaʿb,[859] Ṣayfī b. ʿUlbah[860] b. Shāmil,[861] ʿAmr b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAmr,[862] Libdah b. ʿĀmir b. Khathʿamah,[863] Bishr b. ʿIṣmah,[864] and ʿUmārah b. Makhshī,[865] the troops' leader. With each man were five [subordinate] commanders. The leaders were made up of the Companions, so that they would not find anyone who would take that [post] away from them. They went from al-Ṣuffar until they encamped near Fiḥl. When the Romans saw that the troops were making for them, they unleashed the waters around Fiḥl, so that the ground became muddy and then thick with mud. The Muslims were perplexed by that. Eighty thousand horsemen were shut up in it by the Muslims. The

856. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 430.

857. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 249 (under b. Khaythamah).

858. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 12.

859. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place.

860. Or, ʿUlyah.

861. Muʿāwiyah appointed him governor of Qinnasrīn, according to Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 128. However, it is doubtful whether Qinnasrīn was separated from Ḥimṣ until late in Yazīd I's reign. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 156; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 197.

862. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place.

863. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 325.

864. Al-Muzanī. A Companion of the Prophet, he was a Kūfan who joined Muʿāwiyah and fought for him at Ṣiffīn. See Ṭabarī, I, 3305–6; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Gamharat*, I, 88; II, 227; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 269–70, 278; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 147–48; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 153; *Lisān*, II, 26–27.

865. Text: Mukhashshⁱⁿ; read: Makhshī, as on p. 91, above.

first besieged forces in Syria were the troops of Fiḥl, then the troops of Damascus.

Abū ʿUbaydah sent out Dhū al-Kalāʿ until he was [positioned] between Damascus and Ḥimṣ as a covering force. He also sent out ʿAlqamah b. Ḥakīm[866] and Masrūq, who were [positioned] between Damascus and Palestine. [Their] overall commander was Yazīd, who set out. Abū ʿUbaydah also departed from al-Marj. He sent Khālid b. al-Walīd forward. In command of his two wings were ʿAmr and Abū ʿUbaydah [himself]. ʿIyāḍ commanded the cavalry, and Shuraḥbīl was in charge of the infantry. They advanced on Damascus, whose defenders were commanded by Nasṭās b. Nasṭūrus.[867] They besieged the forces of Damascus, camping in its environs. Abū ʿUbaydah was in charge of one side, ʿAmr another, and Yazīd yet another.

Herakleios at that time was at Ḥimṣ, the city of Ḥimṣ being between him and them. The Muslims besieged the forces of Damascus for about seventy days, putting them under a hard siege, with [2152] marches, exchanges of fire, and ballistas, while the defenders held the city hoping for aid. Herakleios was near them, and they had asked him for reinforcements, although Dhū al-Kalāʿ was between the Muslims and Ḥimṣ, one night's journey from Damascus, as if he was heading for Ḥimṣ. The cavalry of Herakleios came to aid the forces of Damascus, but the cavalry that was with Dhū al-Kalāʿ caused them grief and distracted them from the [main] Muslim force, so that they drew back and encamped before him. Meanwhile, the forces in Damascus were still in the same condition. When the forces of Damascus were certain that the reinforcements would not reach them, they became cowardly, weak, and disheartened. On the other hand, the Muslims became more desirous of [conquering] them. Before that, the Muslims had viewed their campaigns as raids: if cold set in, the men went back.

The Pleiades settled [in the west][868] while the enemy were persisting [in resistance]. At that point, their hope was cut off, and they re-

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866. Al-Firāsī al-Kinānī. He later settled at al-Ramlah in Palestine and supported Muʿāwiyah at Ṣiffīn. See Ṭabarī, I, 2399–2400, 2407, 2501, 3058; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 507; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 199; Donner, *Conquests*, 136, 139, 349.

867. Text: Nusṭūs; read: Nasṭūrus, as Cairo ed., but with first vowel changed from *u* to *a*. This man is mentioned only by Sayf.

868. Ar. *saqaṭ al-najm*. For this meaning, see Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *n-j-m*. This yields a date of about Jumādā I 14/June–July 634 for the siege being at least started

gretted having entered Damascus. A child was born to the *patrikios* who was in charge of the troops in Damascus. He held a celebration for it, so that the people ate and drank, neglecting their posts. None of the Muslims noticed that, except for what came from Khālid, for he did not sleep nor allow [his men] to sleep. Nothing of the affairs of the enemy was concealed from him; his spies were intelligent, and he was interested in what was around him. He had equipped himself with ropes in the form of ladders and lassoes.

When it was the evening of that day, he rushed forth with troops he had of those whom he had brought against the enemy. He led them at the start of his day, he and al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, Madhʿūr b. ʿAdī, and those of his companions who were like him. They said, "When you hear our cry of 'God is Greater' on the wall, climb up to us and rush the gate." When he came to the gate that was near him, he and his advancing companions, they threw the ropes at the battlements. On their backs were waterskins on which they crossed their trench. When two lassoes of theirs were secured, al-Qaʿqāʿ and Madhʿūr [2153] climbed them. Then they did not leave any rope but that they secured it and the lassoes to the battlements. The place from which they stormed in was the most impregnable place around Damascus, as most of it was water, and it was the hardest to enter. They came all together for that, so that none of those who had joined Khālid remained but that he had climbed [the wall] or drawn near the gate, until, when they had sat upon the wall, he sent down almost all his companions and also went down himself, leaving behind a force to defend that spot for those ascending. He then ordered them to shout "God is Greater."

When those on top of the wall shouted, the Muslims rushed at the gate, while many men turned to the ropes, leaping onto them. Khālid reached the first of those before him and slew them. After that, he went down to the gate and killed the gatekeepers. The forces of the city were aroused and the rest of the people terrified. They took to their posts, not knowing what was the matter. The forces on

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and in progress. Such a date would appear to contradict Donner's conclusion about the "reconstruction" of Abū ʿUthmān transmitted by Sayf giving Shawwāl/November–December as the date of Damascus's fall after a siege of about seventy days, for that would be impossibly late. See Donner, *Conquests*, 137, 317 n. 224. Rather, the settling of the Pleiades in the west would seem to support the more usual dating of Rajab/August–September as the date of Damascus's fall, as given by Ibn Isḥāq below, p. 169, and al-Wāqidī in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 146.

each side were occupied with those before them. Khālid b. al-Walīd and those with him cut the locks on the gates with swords to open [them] for the Muslims. The entering Muslims advanced on the enemy until not a[n enemy] fighter remained of those at Khālid's gate that had not been killed. When Khālid had pressed the attack against those before him and obtained by force what he wanted from them, those who escaped retreated to the forces at the gates before the other Muslim commanders.

The Muslims had called on them to divide the city into halves, but they refused and banished [the offer]. Therefore the Muslims were simply astonished when the enemy openly professed to them [a desire] for peace. The Muslims responded favorably to them and accepted [it] from them. The enemy opened the gates for them, saying, "Enter, and protect us from the troops at that gate." Thus the forces before each gate entered under a peace agreement for what adjoined them, and Khālid entered into what adjoined him by force. Khālid and the [other] commanders met in the middle of the city; this one slaying indiscriminately and plundering, and this [other] in peace and seeking to quiet. They considered Khālid's section as if it was under a peace agreement, so that is was treated as territory taken [2154] peacefully.[869]

The peace agreement with Damascus was conditioned on the division of the money and the real estate, and [the payment of] a dīnār for each person. The Muslims divided the booty, Khālid's troops being treated on an equal footing with the troops of the rest of the commanders. Each household and those who remained in the peace agreement had to pay a *jarīb* [of grain] for every *jarīb* of land. What had belonged to the kings and those who went away with them was held in trust as the common property of the conquerors [*fayʾ*].[870]

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869. Territory taken peacefully enjoyed far more rights than that taken by force. The implication here is that the Iraqis were cheated out of their rightful spoils in Syria. On the difference between territory taken peacefully and that taken by force, see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 29; Hall, *Termination of Hostilities*, 3–4 and passim.

870. This means that the government did not allow the conquering troops to divide the land as booty among themselves and then scatter throughout the countryside as proprietors, which would have destroyed their cohesion and military effectiveness. Instead, the government held the land in trust and paid the troops only fixed stipends as their share of the income. This enabled the government to maintain control over the land and the troops, the latter being kept in the military cities [*amṣār*] where they could be mobilized quickly. See *EI*², s.v. Fayʾ; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 29–31, 43–44; Shaban, *History*, I, 46–50.

They gave a share to Dhū al-Kalāʿ and those with him, to Abū al-Aʿwar and those with him, and to Bashīr and those with him.

They also sent the good news to ʿUmar. ʿUmar's reply came to Abū ʿUbaydah, [saying,] "Send the Iraqi troops to Iraq, and command them to hurry to Saʿd b. Mālik." Thus, he put Hāshim b. ʿUtbah in command of the Iraqi troops, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr in charge of the vanguard, and ʿAmr b. Mālik al-Zuhrī[871] and Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir[872] in charge of the two wings. After Damascus, they made the journey to Saʿd. Hāshim set out for Iraq with the Iraqi forces. The commanders set off toward Fiḥl. Hāshim's troops were ten thousand, except for those who had been lost, so that they made up their total from others who had not been of them [originally], among them Qays and al-Ashtar. ʿAlqamah and Masrūq set out for Jerusalem,[873] encamping on the way to it. At Damascus, a number of the leaders of the Yemenīs remained with Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, including ʿAmr b. Shimr b. Ghaziyyah,[874] Sahm b. al-Musāfir b. Hazmah,[875] and Mushāfiʿ b. ʿAbdallāh b. Shāfiʿ.[876] After Damascus had been captured, Yazīd sent Ḍihyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī with cavalry to Tadmur and Abū al-Zahrāʾ al-Qushayrī[877]

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871. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. ʿUtbah b. Nawfal b. Uhayb, a cousin Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, he later fought at Jalūlāʾ in 16/637. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 20; II, 179; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 325; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 82, has ʿAmr b. ʿUtbah b. Nawfal as his name.

872. Al-Usayyidī al-Tamīmī, he fought at al-Qādisiyyah and in Persia. See Ṭabarī, I, 2269–70, 2294, 2479, 2554, 2569, 2610, 2619, 2649, 2683–84; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 83; II, 486; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 503; Donner, *Conquests*, 195, 384, 392, 430–31.

873. Here called Īliyāʾ = Aelia Capitolina, the Latin name given to it by the Emperor Hadrian.

874. According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 115, he does not seem to have an existence outside of Sayf's traditions, unless he is to be identified with the ʿAmr b. Shimr present at Ṣiffīn in Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, passim. On the other hand, he could be a mistake for ʿAmr b. Ghaziyyah al-Khazrajī, although this latter is not described elsewhere as being in Syria. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 10.

875. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 117.

876. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place.

877. A like-named person elsewhere is a direct informant of Sayf for events connected with Ḥimṣ, as befits his tribal *nisbah*. Because Sayf died after 170/786, this informant would either have to be a different person than the one mentioned in the text here, or else, more probably, Sayf has retrojected the name of his informant back to the early conquests. He also is mentioned as a poet celebrating the conquests, but with no indication as to his date. No Abū al-Zahrāʾ al-Qushayrī is known outside the transmissions of Sayf. See Ṭabarī, I, 2391, 2395–96, 2573; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 77, 81.

to al-Bathaniyyah[878] and Ḥawrān.[879] The inhabitants made peace [2155]
agreements with both of them according to the peace agreement of Damascus. The two of them took charge of conquering the lands to which they were sent.

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: The capture of Damascus occurred in the year 14 in Rajab (21 August–19 September 635). Also, the Battle of Fiḥl happened before [the capture of] Damascus, for only the rejectionists of Fiḥl went to Damascus, to which the Muslims pursued them. (He claims that) the Battle of Fiḥl occurred in the year 13, in Dhū al-Qaʿdah (27 December 634–25 January 635) of it.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Thus.

As for al-Wāqidī, he claims that the capture of Damascus occurred in the year 14, as Ibn Isḥāq stated. He also claims that the Muslims' siege of it lasted six months. He further claims that the Battle of the Yarmūk happened in the year 15. He claims that Herakleios pulled back in this year after the Battle of the Yarmūk, in Shaʿbān (8 September–6 October 636), from Antioch to Constantinople, and that there was no battle after al-Yarmūk.

Abū Jaʿfar: I have previously noted what has been related from Sayf from those he transmitted from, that the Battle of al-Yarmūk fell in the year 13, that the post came to the Muslims at al-Yarmūk with [the news of] Abū Bakr's death on the very day on which, late in it, the Romans were defeated, and that ʿUmar commanded them, after they were finished with al-Yarmūk, to go to Damascus. He claims that Fiḥl was after Damascus and that there were battles after that between the Muslims and the Romans besides that [one], before Herakleios went away to Constantinople. I will relate them, God willing, in their [appropriate] places.

In this year, I mean the year 13, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb dispatched
Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī to Iraq, where he perished, accord- [2156]
ing to al-Wāqidī.

But according to Ibn Isḥāq: The Day of the Bridge, the Bridge of Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī, occurred in the year 14.

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878. Ancient Batanaea, it is a large district in the extreme south of modern Syria. Its capital was Adhriʿāt, now Darʿah. Al-Bathaniyyah lay mostly to the north of Adhriʿāt. See *EI*², s.v. al-Bathaniyya.

879. This today is taken to be the whole southern area of modern Syria from Damascus to the Jordanian border, but anciently the term was more restricted in usage, indicating mainly the region east and northeast of Adhriʿāt. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥawrān.

The Affair of Fiḥl According to Sayf

Abū Jaʿfar: At this point, we will relate the matter of Fiḥl, though the report that relates it contains the differences of opinion that I have mentioned regarding the conquests of the army of Syria. In fact, among the disagreeable aspects [of this study] is the occurrence of such a difference as the one I have noted about the date of this battle, [a difference that arose] because of the nearness [in time] of some of those [battles] to others. As for what Ibn Isḥāq has related about that and told its story, it has already been mentioned. But as for [Sayf, see as follows].

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī and Abū Ḥārithah al-ʿAbshamī: After the capture of Damascus, the army left Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān behind with cavalry in Damascus while they went on toward Fiḥl under the command of Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah. He sent forth Khālid in command of his vanguard, Abū ʿUbaydah[880] and ʿAmr in charge of his two wings, Ḍirār b. al-Azwar in charge of the cavalry, and ʿIyāḍ in command of the infantry. They did not like going against Herakleios while eighty thousand [of the enemy] were behind them. They knew that those before Fiḥl were the shield of the Romans, who were looking to
[2157] them, and that Syria would [surrender] peacefully after they [were defeated]. When they reached Abū al-Aʿwar, they sent him forward to Tiberias,[881] so that he besieged its forces, which then went to Fiḥl in al-Urdunn. When Abū al-Aʿwar had descended on the forces of Fiḥl, they withdrew to Baysān.

After this, Shuraḥbīl encamped at Fiḥl, while the Romans were at Baysān. Between them and the Muslims lay those waters and mires. They wrote to ʿUmar with the news while telling themselves to stay, for they did not want to depart from Fiḥl until the reply to their letter came back to them from ʿUmar. Nor could they advance against their enemy [from] where they were because of the mires that lay between them. The Arabs named that campaign Fiḥl, Dhāt al-Rada-

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880. In this version, because they are in the district of al-Urdunn, which is Shuraḥbīl's province, Abū ʿUbaydah is demoted to a mere subordinate while Shuraḥbīl commands, perhaps reflecting local tradition.

881. Ar. *Ṭabariyyah*, it was founded and named in honor of the Roman emperor Tiberius. Since that time it has enjoyed a continuous existence. At the time of the conquest, it appears to have been the capital of the Roman province of Palaestina Secunda, on which the Islamic jund of al-Urdunn was based. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭabarīya.

ghah, and Baysān. The Muslims found in the countryside better than that which the polytheists enjoyed. Their supplies were continuous and their pasturage luxuriant, which made them negligent of the enemy. Saqallār b. Mikhrāq[882] commanded the enemy. Hoping that the Muslims would be caught unawares, they came against them, but the Muslims had not felt secure from [the possibility of] their attacking, which put them in a state of alert. Shuraḥbīl neither went to sleep for the night nor awoke in the morning except that he was in battle formation.

When the Romans made for the Muslims, they came on them unexpectedly and were not equal to them. At Fiḥl, the Romans fought the like of the hardest battle they had ever fought at night and at day until the [second] night. When the night brought darkness upon them, as they had lost their way, they were defeated while they were lost. Their chief, Saqallār b. Mikhrāq, was struck down. The one who was next to him [in command] among them was Nasṭūrus.[883] The Muslims won the best and most beneficial triumph. They then rode after the Romans, believing that the enemy had a direction and a hard, even ground [through which to escape]. But they found the Romans to be lost, not knowing what direction to take. Their defeat [2158] and their being lost delivered them to the mud, which they rode into. When the first of the Muslims caught up with them, they had become mired; thus, the Muslims bore down on them. No imploring hand restrained them as they ran them through with spears. This was the [real] defeat at Fiḥl: their deaths were in the heavy mud. Eighty thousand were struck down; none escaped except the [occasional] fugitive. God was acting for the Muslims even though they disliked it: they disliked the flooding, but it turned out to be a help to them against their enemy and an overwhelming burden[884] [on them] from God, so that they might increase in insight and earnest purpose. They divided among themselves the spoils that God had given to them. Abū ʿUbaydah went off with Khālid from Fiḥl to

882. He is the same as the eunuch Theodore the Sakellarios whom Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 37–38, makes the Roman commander at al-Yarmūk. See note 568, above. Only Sayf gives him a role at Fiḥl.

883. Mentioned only in this place, the name possibly is an abridgement of Nasṭās b. Nasṭūrus, found on p. 165, above.

884. Text: *anāh*; read: *ināʾah*, as suggested in the notes to the Leiden ed.

Ḥimṣ. They also took Samīr[885] b. Kaʿb[886] away with them and departed with Dhū al-Kalāʿ and those with him, leaving behind Shuraḥbīl and his forces.

Baysān

When Shuraḥbīl was finished with Fiḥl, he marched with his forces, including ʿAmr, against the forces at Baysān, descending on them while Abū al-Aʿwar and the commanders with him were besieging Tiberias. The news had reached the various regions of al-Urdunn about the [fate] Damascus had met and what Saqallār and the Romans had met at Fiḥl and in the heavy mud, as well as the march of Shuraḥbīl against them, along with ʿAmr, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, and Suhayl b. ʿAmr, heading for Baysān. The Romans fortified themselves in every place. Shuraḥbīl led the troops against the forces at Baysān. They besieged them for some days, then the Romans came out against them. The Muslims fought them, killing those who had come out against them, and then made a peace agreement with the rest of the forces there. That was accepted according to the Damascus peace agreement.

[2159]

Tiberias

When the news reached the people of Tiberias, they made a peace agreement with Abū al-Aʿwar on the condition that he take them to Shuraḥbīl. He did so, so that the Muslims made peace with them and the people of Baysān according to the Damascus peace agreement. By this they would share their dwellings in the cities and those surrounding areas belonging to them with the Muslims, leaving half to the latter whereas they would collect in the other half. A dīnār had to be paid for every person annually. For every *jarīb* of land a *jarīb* of wheat or barley had to be paid, whichever of those had been planted. There were [other] items in that [agreement], which they stipulated as conditions for peace. While the leaders and their horse settled in, as the peace terms for al-Urdunn were carried out, the re-

885. Text: *Sumayr*; read: *Samīr*, as the modern name. Although Sumayr is also conceivable, the simple form should be used where it is elsewhere attested.

886. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 81.

inforcements scattered in the cities of al-Urdunn and its villages. A letter about the conquest was dispatched to ʿUmar.

Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sawād, Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam, and Ziyād b. Sarjis, according to their *isnād*: The first thing ʿUmar did was to summon the men with al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī to fight the Persians before the dawn worship on the night on which Abū Bakr died. Then, when he arose, the people rendered the oath of allegiance, whereupon he repeated his call to the men to fight Persia. The people came in succession to give the oath of allegiance. They finished in three days; every day, he would summon them, but no one would heed the call to go against Persia. The Persian front was among the most disliked and difficult of the warfronts for them, because of the strength of the Persians' sovereignty, their military force, their might, and their subjection of the nations.

When it was the fourth day, ʿUmar repeated his summons to the [2160]
men to [go to] Iraq. The first to respond to the summons were Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd and Saʿd b. ʿUbayd al-Anṣārī, the confederate of the Banū Fazārah,[887] who had fled on the Day of the Bridge. After that, [various] fronts were offered to him, but he refused [any] but Iraq, saying, "God, be He Exalted and Mighty, has counted [my] flight there against me, but it may be that He will bring me back to the attack in it." After this, the people came one after another [to volunteer].

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah spoke, saying, "O people, this front is not at all too great for you, for we have gone through the middle of the countryside of Persia and wrested the best two parts of the Sawād from them, dividing it equally with them and attaining [our goal] at their expense. Those who went before us took risks

887. Al-Awsī, he was famous for collecting the Qur'ān. He fought at Badr and was slain at al-Qādisiyyah. His relationship with the Fazārah is not mentioned in any other source, nor is his participation in the conquest of Syria. However, his son ʿUmayr later governed part of Syria for the caliph ʿUmar. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 178; II, 497; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 159; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 688; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 458; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 121; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 321; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 280–81; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 31; Donner, *Conquests*, 376, 401, 410.

against them, and it will have, God willing, what comes after it."[888]

ʿUmar also stood up among the people to say,

> The Ḥijāz is not a home for you except for foraging; its inhabitants do not survive in it except by that. Where are the impulsive migrants for the sake of God's promise? Travel in the land that God has promised you in the Book to make you heirs to, for He has said, "That he may make it [Islam] triumph over all religion."[889] God is the One who grants victory to His religion, strengthens His helper, and commits to His people of the inheritances of the nations. Where are the righteous worshippers of God?

The first to answer the call was Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd. Then the second was Saʿd b. ʿUbayd or Salīṭ b. Qays.[890] When that expedition had gathered, it was suggested to ʿUmar, "Put a man from among the early Muslims of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār in command of them." ʿUmar answered,

> No, by God, I will not do so. God has exalted you only owing to your priority [in Islam] and your hastening against the enemy. But if you become fainthearted and dislike encountering [the enemy in battle], then those who preceded you in repelling [the enemy] and answered the summons are more deserving of the leadership. By God, I will not give command of you to anyone but the first of you to answer the summons.

[2161]

Thereupon, he called Abū ʿUbayd, Salīṭ, and Saʿd, saying [to the latter two], "As for the two of you, had you preceded him, I would have put you in charge and you would thereby have obtained what is yours by seniority." He made Abū ʿUbayd the commander of the army. He said to Abū ʿUbayd, "Listen to the Companions of the Prophet, making them partners in the matter. Do not launch an of-

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888. That is, "This setback will, God willing, be followed by a victory." This may refer to the Muslim defeat at the Battle of the Bridge, or some other setback.

889. Qur'ān 9: 33; 48: 28; 61: 9.

890. Al-Najjārī al-Khazrajī, he fought at Badr and the Prophet's later battles. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 185; II, 508; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 24, 141, 163, 514, 700, 896; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 495, 704; II, 244; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 512; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 107; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 105, 307–8, 310; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 43–44; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 72; Donner, *Conquests*, 376–77 (wrongly calls him Salāṭ).

fensive campaign hastily until you have ascertained the facts and [see] it is war, for only a coolheaded man who knows opportunity and restraint will do well in war."

A man from the Anṣār: ʿUmar said to Abū ʿUbayd, "Nothing has kept me from making Salīṭ the commander except for his hastening to war, for whoever hastens to war is lost, unless with clear reason. By God, if not for his haste, I would have made him the commander, but only the coolheaded does well for war."

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm — Sayf b. ʿUmar — al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah came to Abū Bakr in the year 13. He sent him off with troops whom he summoned three times without anyone heeding his call until Abū ʿUbayd answered it, then Saʿd b. ʿUbayd. When he answered the call, Abū ʿUbayd said, "I am for it." Saʿd then said, "I am for it," because of a deed he had done. Salīṭ also spoke. It was suggested to ʿUmar, "Make their commander a man from among the Companions." ʿUmar replied, "The Companions excel [others] only in their hastening against the enemy and their fulfilling the responsibilities of those who are slow.[891] If a group did as they have done and found it too burdensome [to campaign], then those who heed the summons [to war], whether lightly or heavily armed, are more deserving of the command than they. By God, I am going to send out only the first to heed the call to be in charge of them." Thus, he put Abū ʿUbayd in command and gave him instructions for his army. [2162]

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm — Sayf b. ʿUmar — Sahl — al-Qāsim; and al-Mubashshir — Sālim: The first expedition sent out by ʿUmar was the expedition of Abū ʿUbayd. Then he sent out Yaʿlā b. Umayyah to Yemen, commanding him to evacuate the people of Najrān, according to the instructions of the Prophet in his [last] illness regarding that, and according to the instructions of Abū Bakr regarding that in his [last] illness. He said:

> Come to them, do not tempt them away from their religion, then remove those among them who keep to their religion. But confirm the Muslims [in their residence]. Survey the land of each of them whom you remove, then offer them a choice of countries [to which to emigrate], informing them

891. Text: *abā*; read: *anā*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, CDLV, DCXIV.

that we are removing them according to the injunction of God and His Messenger, "Two religions ought not to be left in the Arabian peninsula."[892] Therefore let them depart, whoever among them keeps to his religion. Then give them land equivalent to their land, in recognition of their right against ourselves and in fulfillment of [our] guarantee of security to them, according to what God has commanded regarding that, in exchange between them and their Yemenī and other neighbors for that which has gone to their neighbors in the countryside.

Al-Namāriq[893]

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl and Mubashshir, according to their *isnād*; and Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: Abū ʿUbayd went forth, having with him Saʿd b. ʿUbayd, Salīṭ b. Qays, one of the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, and al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah, one of the Banū Shaybān, then one of the Banū Hind.

[2163] Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid and ʿAmr — Al-Shaʿbī and Abū Rawq: As often as the people would quarrel among themselves at al-Madāʾin, Būrān bt. Kisrā[894] would act as an honest arbiter among them until they composed their differences. When al-Farrukhzādh b. al-Bindawān was slain and Rustam[895] came forward to kill Āzarmīdukht, she acted as an arbiter until she brought forth Yazdigird.[896] Abū ʿUbayd arrived when Būrān was the arbiter and Rustam was in charge of warfare. Būrān had presented the Prophet

892. A very similar, though not identical, text of this *ḥadīth* is reported in Mālik, *Muwattaʾ*, 556. Variants of the same idea are found in Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 120–21; IX, 26, and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 15, 87. See also Wensinck, *Handbook*, 118 (under Jews).

893. A place near al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 304.

894. Or, Būrāndukht. She was queen of Persia after the overthrow of the usurper Shahrbarāz, c. 629–30 C.E. As she actually preceded her sister Azarmīdukht, her mention here is out of place. See Ṭabarī, I, 1039, 1061, 1063–64; Christensen, *L'Iran*, 492; Frye, *History*, 337, 361.

895. He was an army commander who became the real ruler on deposing Azarmīdukht in 632 C.E. He presided over the Sāsānian disintegration and was killed at al-Qādisiyyah in 16/637. See Christensen, *L'Iran*, 493–94, 496.

896. This is Yazdigird III, the last Sāsānian monarch of Iran. He was quite young at his accession to the throne. He reigned 632–51 C.E., when he was killed outside of Marw after losing the last corner of his empire. See Christensen, *L'Iran*, 493–503; Frye, *History*, 337–38, 361.

with a gift that he accepted. She was an opponent of Shīrā for a year, then she followed him, and they came together on the condition that he would be the chief but would make her arbiter.

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their *isnād*: When Siyāwukhsh killed Farrukhzādh b. al-Bindawān and Āzarmīdukht became queen, the Persians disputed among themselves and were diverted from the Muslims, during the whole absence of al-Muthannā, until he came back from Medina. Būrān sent the news to Rustam and urged him to set out. He was in charge of the Khurāsān frontier and advanced until he stopped at al-Madāʾin. He defeated every army of Āzarmīdukht that he met. Then they fought at al-Madāʾin, where Siyāwukhsh was defeated and besieged, and Āzarmīdukht was besieged as well. Then Rustam captured it, killing Siyāwukhsh, putting out the eye of Āzarmīdukht, and establishing Būrān.

She invited him to manage the affairs of the Persians, whose weakness and decline she complained about to him, on condition that she would entrust him with the rule for ten years, then sovereignty would belong to the family of Kisrā, if they found any of their male offspring, and if not, then to their women. Rustam said, "As for me, I hear and obey, seeking neither recompense nor reward. If you honor me by doing something for me, you are the masters of what you do. I am naught but your arrow and the willing [instrument] of your hands." Būrān replied, "Come to me in the morning." When he came to her in the morning, she summoned the governors (*marāzibah*) of Persia and wrote for him, "You are in charge of the armed forces of Persia. There is no one above you save God, be He Mighty and Majestic, according to our pleasure and in submission to your judgment. Your judgment is applicable to them as long as it leads to the protection of their land and their being united rather than divided." At this, she crowned him and commanded the Persians to hear and obey him. Persia submitted to him after the coming of Abū ʿUbayd. [2164]

The first thing that ʿUmar did the night of the death of Abū Bakr was to announce [extraordinary] congregational worship, then summon the men [for service], but they dispersed without anyone responding. Then he summoned them on the fourth day, and Abū ʿUbayd was the first of the men to respond favorably on the fourth day. After that, the men followed in succession. ʿUmar selected a

thousand men from the inhabitants of Medina and its environs and made Abū ʿUbayd their commander. It was suggested to ʿUmar that he put one of the Companions of the Prophet in charge of them, but he said, "No, by God, O Companions of the Prophet, I will not summon you [for service], so that you may rely on others who heed the call to do it, while I put you in command of them. You are preferred only owing to your hastening to [serve in] a like case, but if you rely on others, then they surpass you. Rather, I am going to make the first of you who heeds the call your commander." He then hurried al-Mu-
[2165] thannā on his way, saying, "Go on ahead until your troops arrive."

The first thing ʿUmar did in his caliphate along with his receiving the oath of allegiance was to dispatch Abū ʿUbayd, then to dispatch the people of Najrān, then to call on the people who had apostatized [to serve]. These last came in haste from every direction. ʿUmar threw them into Syria and Iraq. He also wrote to the forces at al-Yarmūk, "Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ is in charge of you." He wrote to Abū ʿUbaydah, "You are in command of the men. If God grants you victory, send away the forces of Iraq to Iraq, along with whoever would like [to go] among your reinforcements, for they [latterly] joined you." The first victory [news of] which came to him was al-Yarmūk, twenty days after the death of Abū Bakr. Among the reinforcements to al-Yarmūk in the time of ʿUmar was Qays b. Hubayrah,[897] who returned with the forces of Iraq, although he was not of them, having only gone forth to campaign when ʿUmar allowed former apostates to campaign.

Meanwhile, Persia's attention was diverted from the Muslims by the death of Shahrbarāz. Shāh-i Zanān[898] held the sovereign power until they agreed on Sābūr b. Shahrbarāz b. Ardashīr b. Shahriyār. But then Āzarmīdukht rebelled against him, killing him and al-Farrukhzādh, and became queen, while Rustam b. al-Farrukhzādh was

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897. Al-Murādī, he is also known as Qays b. al-Makshūḥ and said really to have been a Bajalī who was a confederate of the Murād. He was a very important tribal leader who participated in the Riddah but later gained the distinction of fighting both in Syria and in Iraq. Probably the Qays b. al-Makshūḥ al-Bajalī who was killed fighting for ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn was the same man, whose *nisbah* has become confused. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 223, 271; II, 459, 461; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 258–59; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 583; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 99, 120; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 126–27, 160, 314–15, 317, 320; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 414; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 244–47; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 260, 274–75; Donner, *Conquests*, 119, 207, 211, 262–63, 339 nn. 193–94, 363, 394–95, 409, 433.

898. This title, which appears to mean "ruler of women," must refer to Queen Būrāndukht.

in Khurāsān in charge of its frontier. The news came to him from Būrān.

Al-Muthannā arrived in al-Ḥīrah with ten [men]. Abū ʿUbayd caught up with him after a month. Al-Muthannā stayed in al-Ḥīrah for fifteen nights. Rustam wrote to the *dihqān*s of al-Sawād that they rebel against the Muslims. He insinuated into every district [*rustāq*] a man to stir up its inhabitants. Thus he sent Jābān to al-Bihqubādh al-Asfal, and he sent Narsī[899] to Kaskar. He also appointed a day for them and sent troops to strike at al-Muthannā. When [news of] that reached him, al-Muthannā drew back his forward posts to himself and put himself on his guard. Acting with [2166]
haste, Jābān, who was staying at al-Namāriq, rebelled. As the districts rebelled one after another, Narsī, who was staying at Zandaward,[900] also revolted. The inhabitants of the districts from the uppermost Euphrates to its lowest part rebelled. Al-Muthannā went forth with a force until he stopped at Khaffān, so that he might not be approached from the rear by something he would dislike. He remained there until Abū ʿUbayd came to him.

Abū ʿUbayd was then in command of the troops. He stayed at Khaffān for some days so that his men could recuperate. Meanwhile, many men had joined Jābān. Abū ʿUbayd went forth after the men had massed with their backing. He set them in battle formation, putting al-Muthannā in charge of the cavalry, Wāliq b. Jaydārah[901] in charge of his right flank, and ʿAmr b. al-Haytham b. al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī[902] in charge of his left flank. Jābān's two wings were com-

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899. He is supposed to be the son of Khusraw II's maternal aunt, which would make him a relation of the discredited Bisṭām family that led the revolt of 591–601 C.E., but this connection of his with the royal family is found only in Sayf's report here. On him and his alleged family connections, see Morony, *Iraq*, 185–86. Although his existence is guaranteed by Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 318, 560, and Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 176, both of which report his son Bisṭām b. Narsī, he is still alive only in Sayf's version. Probably Narsī and his alleged royal connection are a fictional reconstruction of Sayf.

900. A district and town of south central Iraq. According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 154, and Donner, *Conquests*, 158–59, it lay near Kaskar, and the city of Wāsiṭ was built from it, but Morony, *Iraq*, 157–58, places it between Kaskar and Hurmuzjird in the district of Bihqubādh.

901. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf. The name is very strange, as neither of its components seems to be found elsewhere either. See Donner, *Conquests*, 378.

902. He is mentioned only by Sayf and in this one place. This ʿAmr is apparently meant to be the brother of Qays b. al-Haytham b. Qays b. al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī, an early governor of Khurāsān from a preeminent family of al-Baṣrah. As this Qays died after 64/684, it is unlikely that he could have had a brother in the early conquests. Therefore, ʿAmr here may be another of Sayf's embellishments. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 123; II, 459; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 22.

manded by Jushnas Māh[903] and Mardānshāh.[904] The Muslims descended on Jābān at al-Namāriq. The two sides fought a hard battle. God defeated the Persians. Jābān was captured by Maṭar b. Fiḍḍah al-Taymī,[905] and Mardānshāh was captured by Aktal b. Shammākh al-ʿUklī.[906] As for Aktal, he beheaded Mardānshāh, but as for Maṭar
[2167] b. Fiḍḍah, Jābān tricked him so that he escaped from him, by [paying] something so that he let him go. But the Muslims took him and brought him to Abū ʿUbayd, telling him Jābān was the king [*malik*][907] and advising him to kill him. He replied, "I am afraid to kill him when a Muslim man has guaranteed his safety. The Muslims in their mutual affection and support are like a body: what applies to a part of them applies to them all."[908] They said, "But he is the king." He replied, "Even if he is, I will not act treacherously." Therefore, they let him go.

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Ṣalt b. Bahrām[909] — Abū ʿImrān al-Juʿfī:[910] Persia gave Rustam command of her armed forces for ten years. It also gave him the sovereign power.[911] He was an astrologer who understood the stars. When someone asked him,

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903. That is, the Gushnasp [Stallion] of Media = al-Jibāl. He occurs only in one other place, in Ṭabarī, I, 2253, also in a report from Sayf, except that, as Jushnasmā, he also is attested as the father of Anūshajān and the brother of Narsī in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 418. Because only Sayf gives him a role in the conquest period, and because his son's activity is attested in al-Balādhurī, he may already have been dead, so that his appearance here at this late date is perhaps apocryphal. See also Morony, *Iraq*, 186 n. 27.

904. This Mardānshāh is found only in the reports of Sayf in this volume, as he is killed here. He is confused with another Mardānshāh, called Dhū al-Ḥājib, however. See Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 540; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 308, 314, 372.

905. He seems later to have fought at al-Qādisiyyah, though he is not attested in the best early sources. See Donner, *Conquests*, 378, 383, 398.

906. He allegedly was cited by the caliph ʿAlī as an example of correct Arabic. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Gamharat*, I, 86; II, 151; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 123; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 110.

907. This title normally means "king," but in some of Sayf's reports here, it seems rather to have the sense of "general."

908. This closely parallels a famous canonical *ḥadīth*. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 431–32.

909. Abū Hāshim al-Taymī, he was a minor Kūfan traditionist who had a generally good reputation although he was considered one of the Murjiʾah. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 354; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 317; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 432–33.

910. Unidentified.

911. Or, "made him king," but none of the sources suggest that Rustam himself was actually king. See note 907.

"What has called you to this task when you see what you see?" he replied, "Greed and the love of honor." He corresponded with the inhabitants of al-Sawād and insinuated among them leaders, who led them in rebellion against the Muslims, after he had promised them that the commander in charge of them would be the first one who rebelled. Thus, when Jābān rebelled in Furāt Bādaqlā, the people revolted after him. The Muslims fell back upon al-Muthannā at al-Ḥīrah, whence he headed for Khaffān. He remained at Khaffān until Abū ʿUbayd, who was the commander of al-Muthannā and the others, came to him, while Jābān encamped at al-Namāriq. Abū ʿUbayd set out toward him from Khaffān. The armies met at al-Namāriq, and God defeated the Persians, the Muslims getting from them what they wanted.

Maṭar b. Fiḍḍah, who was attributed to his mother [in his filiation], and Ubayy,[912] on seeing a man who was wearing ornaments, attacked him and took him captive. They found him to be an old man. Ubayy considered him to be worth little, but Maṭar desired his ransom. Thus they agreed that the spoils of his equipment should belong to Ubayy, but the capture of his person belonged to Maṭar. When Maṭar had possession of him free and clear, he said [to Maṭar], "You, O Arabs, are a people of good faith. Will you not guarantee my safety, and I will give you two beardless, nimble boys for your deed, [2168] as well as such-and-such." Maṭar answered, "Yes." The Persian went on, "Bring me into the presence of your king so that he may witness to that." He did so, bringing him before Abū ʿUbayd, and it was done for him in that way, Abū ʿUbayd confirming [it]. Then Ubayy stood up among men from the Rabīʿah. As for Ubayy, he said, "I captured him! He is without a guarantee of safe-conduct." As for the others, they recognized him and said, "This is the king, Jābān. It is he who has met us with this army." Abū ʿUbayd responded, "What do you think I should do, O men of Rabīʿah? Should your compatriot guarantee his safety and then I kill him? I take refuge with God from that."

Abū ʿUbayd divided the spoils, among which was much perfume. After handing out the booty, he sent the fifths off with the man who had divided the portions.

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912. Unidentified.

Al-Saqāṭiyyah[913] *in Kaskar*

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm — Sayf b. ʿUmar — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād — Abū ʿUbayd:[914] When they were defeated, they took the way to Kaskar to take refuge with Narsī — Narsī was the son of Kisrā's maternal aunt, and Kaskar was an estate of his. Al-Nirsiyān[915] was also his. He would protect it: neither did humanity eat [of] it, nor did anyone plant it besides them or the king of Persia, except for those whom they honored with something from it. That among their acts was remembered among the people, for this property of theirs was a protected reserve (*ḥimā*). Rustam and Būrān said to him, "Go off to your estate to protect it from your enemy and our enemy. Be a man." — Thus when the Persians were defeated on the Day of al-Namāriq and the defeated remnants were headed toward Narsī, who was in his camp, Abū ʿUbayd called for breaking camp, saying to the light horse[men], "Pursue them so that you make them
[2169] enter Narsī's camp or else annihilate them in the land from al-Namāriq to Bāriq[916] to Durtā."[917] ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr said regarding that:

By my life, and my life is not easy for me [to offer],
the folk of al-Namāriq were indeed greeted in the morning with humiliation
At the hands of men who migrated in their Lord's direction,
searching for them between Durtā and Bāriq.

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913. An unindentified place supposed to be in the district of Kaskar. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 226; Donner, *Conquests*, 192, 334 n. 127.

914. This reference to Abū ʿUbayd in the *isnād* would appear misplaced, but Sayf sometimes does trace his traditions back to eyewitnesses without an intervening link.

915. An estate in the district of Kaskar. See Morony, *Iraq*, 186.

916. A watering place in Iraq described roughly in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 319, as between al-Qādisiyyah and al-Baṣrah, but belonging to al-Kūfah. Therefore, it was on the desert road between al-Qādisiyyah and al-Baṣrah, nearer to the former. See Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 359–60.

917. A place near Qaṭrabbul by Baghdād. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 449. From Bāriq to Durtā thus means from west of the Euphrates up to the Tigris, hence, across all Mesopotamia. Because Durtā lies far to the north of Bāriq, however, it is somewhat odd that it is referred to even metaphorically regarding a campaign fought in the Kaskar district to the southeast. Probably the following lines of poetry did not originally refer to this campaign.

We slew them in what is between Marj Musalliḥ[918]
and al-Hawāfī[919] on the road of al-Badhāriq.[920]

Abū ʿUbayd went along after leaving al-Namāriq until he descended on Narsī in Kaskar. At that time, Narsī was in the lowest part of Kaskar. Al-Muthannā was in the battle formation with which he fought Jābān. Narsī's two flanks were commanded by the two sons of his maternal uncle, who were the two sons of the uncle of Kisrā, Bindūyah[921] and Tīrūyah,[922] the two sons of Bisṭām.[923] The people of Bārūsmā, Nahr Jawbar,[924] and al-Zawābī[925] were with Narsī, having joined his army. When the news of Jābān's defeat came to Būrān and Rustam, they sent a messenger to al-Jālinūs.[926] [News of] that reached Narsī and the people of Kaskar, Bārūsmā, Nahr Jawbar, and al-Zāb,[927] who hoped that he would get to them before the battle.

But Abū ʿUbayd rushed them, so that they met below Kaskar at a place called al-Saqāṭiyyah, where they fought a fierce battle in barren

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918. Its location is unknown and it appears not to be mentioned except here. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 129, where these lines are also cited.

919. Another place whose location is unknown and appears cited only in these lines. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 419.

920. No reference to this place appears to exist elsewhere.

921. Text: Bindawayh; read: Bindūyah, to approximate the reconstructed Middle Persian pronunciation.

922. Text: Tīrawayh; read: Tīrūyah.

923. Bisṭām's sister was Khusraw II's mother, so that these persons, Narsī, Bindūyah, and Tīrūyah, are alleged by the passage to be connected with the Sāsānian house. But as this Bisṭām fought against Khusraw II for ten years (c. 591–601 C.E.) in a devastating civil war for the Persian crown, it is not likely that any of Bisṭām's relatives would enjoy later prominence, least of all his own sons, especially as there is no mention of this family after c. 601 C.E. except in the reports of Sayf b. ʿUmar. Probably this is another instance of Sayf adorning his reports with claimed descendants of defunct pre-Islamic noble houses. See Ṭabarī, I, 993–94, 996; Sebeos, *History*, 60–61, 63, 65–66; Theophylact, *History*, 153 n. 77, etc.; Christensen, *L'Iran*, 439–41.

924. A subdistrict of Veh-Artakhshatr along the Nahr Malik and Kūthā canals between al-Madāʾin and Bihqubādh. Nahr Jawbar probably lay below the Kūthā canal. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 80, map II; Donner, *Conquests*, 163; Morony, *Iraq*, 127, 144.

925. The Zāb canal system parallel to the Tigris below Baghdād and also below Nahr Jawbar. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 37–38, 73, 80, map II; Morony, *Iraq*, 127, 146.

926. A general with a Greek name, probably indicating a Christian, but not necessarily a Greek, background, who was killed at al-Qādisiyyah. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 109, 119, 121; Morony, *Iraq*, 187.

927. The same as al-Zawābī.

deserts. Then God defeated Persia. Narsī fled, losing his camp and land. Abū ʿUbayd devastated what was around their camp in Kaskar
[2170] and gathered up the spoils. He saw a great amount of foodstuffs; therefore, he sent a messenger among those Arabs who were near him so that they might carry away what they wished. Thus the storerooms of Narsī were taken. They were not happier with anything that was stored up than they were with what was at al-Nirsiyān, for Narsī had kept it [for his own use], and their kings had helped him in it as well. Thus they divided it up and began to feed the peasants from it. They sent the fifth to ʿUmar, writing to him, "God has fed us with food that the Kisrās kept as their private stock. We wanted you to see it, in order that you may remember God's blessing and his favor."

Abū ʿUbayd remained fixed, but he sent al-Muthannā away to Bārūsmā, while sending Wāliq to al-Zawābī and ʿĀṣim to Nahr Jawbar.[928] They defeated those who had massed and ravaged [the land], taking captives as well. Among that which al-Muthannā ravaged and took captives [from] was the people of Zandaward and Basrīsā.[929] Abū Zaʿbal[930] was among the captives of Zandaward. That army fled to al-Jālinūs. Among those whom ʿĀṣim took captive were the inhabitants of Bītīq[931] in Nahr Jawbar. Among those whom Wāliq took captive was Abū al-Ṣalt.[932] Farrūkh and Farwandādh[933] went forth to al-Muthannā, seeking [to pay] the *jizyah* and a guarantee of protection for their land, and he brought them to Abū ʿUbayd. One of them was [from] Bārūsmā and the other Nahr Jawbar. They paid him four [dirhams] for each person, Farrūkh for Bārūsmā, Farwandādh for Nahr Jawbar, and likewise al-Zawābī and Kaskar. We guaranteed [the safety of] their men to them on condition that they hurried [pay-

928. This last expedition is specifically confirmed by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 108–9, in a report from Ibn Isḥāq that must have been already in circulation before Sayf's work. But he says it was ʿAmr b. Zayd al-Khayl who took al-Zawābī.

929. Possibility a corruption of Basūsiyā. See pp. 198, 204, below and Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIV.

930. Unidentified and mentioned only here by Sayf. Donner, *Conquests*, 379, incorrectly states that he took captives at Zandaward.

931. Unidentified and mentioned only here by Sayf.

932. Although Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 288, claims he is the father of the al-Ṣalt b. Bahrām mentioned on p. 180, above, such an identification is chronologically implausible. Otherwise, he is an unknown person.

933. These two persons are mentioned only here by Sayf. See Morony, *Iraq*, 108, 148, 200.

ment]. They did so and thus were at peace [with the Muslims]. Farrūkh and Farwandādh brought Abū ʿUbayd a vessel containing the varieties of the foods of Persia, including [sundry] dishes, sweets [2171] made from dates, cream, and starch, and other things. They said, "This is hospitality with which we are honoring you and a meal for you." He asked, "Have you also offered hospitality to the troops and given them a meal like it?" They replied, "It would not be easy, but we will do it." They were waiting only for them to face the arrival of al-Jālinūs and what he would do. Therefore Abū ʿUbayd said, "We do not need that which the troops cannot do," and returned it. Abū ʿUbayd then went forth until he stopped at Bārūsmā, where [the news of] the march of al-Jālinūs reached him.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī al-Ḍabbī:[934] Al-Andarzaghar b. al-Kharukbadh[935] brought him the like of what Farrūkh and Farwandādh had brought. He asked, "Have you also offered hospitality to the troops and given them a meal like it?" They replied, "No." He said, "We do not need it. Abū ʿUbayd would be the worst man if he accompanied people from their homeland to spill their blood for him, or not to spill [it], then gave himself preference in something he [alone] would obtain. No, by God, he should only eat from what God has given as booty to the Muslims the like of what their average person eats."

Abū Jaʿfar—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: The like of this report that Sayf has transmitted from his authorities regarding ʿUmar's dispatch of al-Muthannā and Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd to Iraq to wage war on those of the unbelievers who were in it and [regarding] their wars and those who fought against them. However, he said [the following differently.

Ibn Isḥāq:] When Jālinūs and his troops were defeated and Abū ʿUbayd entered Bārūsmā, he camped, he and his men, at one of its villages that was able to hold them. Food was prepared for Abū ʿUbayd and brought to him. When he saw it, he said, "I am not one to eat this [alone] without the Muslims." They said to him, "Eat, for [2172] there is none of your men but that he will be brought the like of this or better where he is staying." Thus he ate. When they came back to

934. Another of the sources frequently quoted by Sayf who is otherwise wholly unknown.

935. Text: al-Khūkabadh; read: al-Kharukbadh, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIV.

him, he asked them about their food, and they told him about the food that had come to them.[936]

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their *isnād*: Jābān and Narsī had sought reinforcements from Būrān, who then supplied the two of them with al-Jālinūs leading the army of Jābān. He was commanded to begin with Narsī, then to fight Abū ʿUbayd afterward. But Abū ʿUbayd hastened against him, leading his army off before al-Jālinūs had drawn near. When he was near, Abū ʿUbayd confronted him. Al-Jālinūs stopped at Bāqusyāthā[937] in Bārūsmā. Abū ʿUbayd rushed upon him with the Muslims, his forces in battle formation. They met at Bāqusyāthā. The Muslims defeated them, al-Jālinūs fled, and Abū ʿUbayd remained [where he was], having won that land.

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Mujālid, Ziyād, and al-Naḍr, according to their *isnād*: Those *dihqāns*, who had been expecting [al-Jālinūs] and were terrified and afraid for themselves, all together brought him [word of] what the army had been able to do.

As for al-Naḍr and Mujālid: Abū ʿUbayd said, "Did I not tell you
[2173] that I would not eat except what those with me could from those whom you have conquered?" They said, "No one is left who has not been brought enough of this in their saddles to satiate him or better." When the people had gone home, he asked them about the hospitality of the inhabitants of the land, and they told him. They had been remiss only at first [because they were] expecting [al-Jālinūs] and were afraid that the Persians would punish [them].

As for Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When he had learned, he accepted [it] from them and ate. He also sent a message to a group who would eat with him as his guests to invite them to the food, for the Muslims had obtained food that the Persians served to guests. Those invited did not realize that the inhabitants had brought Abū

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936. Although this report seems to differ little from the report of Sayf on this point, in fact Sayf's version probably shows a tendentious secondary development, for Sayf has Abū ʿUbayd haughtily refusing the Persians' hospitality, which was described as only a deceitful trick to buy time in any case. This reconstruction owes to Sayf's pro-Arab and anti-Shuʿūbī tendencies, which caused him always to portray the Persians in the worst possible light.

937. The same as Quss al-Nāṭif. See note 219, above.

ʿUbayd anything, but rather supposed that they were being invited to Abū ʿUbayd's kind of rough living to which they used to be invited. However, they disliked leaving aside what had been brought to them of that [Persian spoils] and said to the messenger, "Tell the commander that we do not desire anything besides what the *dihqān*s have brought to us." But he sent a message to them, "It is much food from the foods of the Persians, in order for you to see how it compares with what you have been brought. It includes thin cakes (*qarw*),[938] herbs, young pigeons, roast meat, and mustard." ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr said regarding that and the guests he had with him:

If you have thin cakes, herbs, and young pigeons,
    Ibn Farrūkh has roast meat and mustard.
And pastry thin like sheets rolled up
    on bits of meat in which are herbs and young pigeon.

He also said:

We visited the people of Kisrā at al-Baqāyis[939] in the morning
    with a morning draught not from the wine of al-Sawād.
We visited them in the morning with every iron-clad youth [2174]
    and lightly equipped swift runner among the charging horses.

Then Abū ʿUbayd departed, sending al-Muthannā ahead and marching in battle formation until he arrived in al-Ḥīrah.

Al-Naḍr, Mujālid, Muḥammad, and his companions: ʿUmar came to Abū ʿUbayd to say,

> You will come to the land of cunning, deceit, treachery, and insolence. You will come to a people who have ventured upon evil, which they have learned, whereas they have pretended to forget good, of which they are ignorant. Therefore, see how you will be. Keep your tongue and by no means give away your secret, for the possessor of the secret, as long as he keeps it, is fortified: he will not be approached from a direction he does not like, whereas if he causes it to be lost, then he is lost.

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938. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, CCLXVII–CCLXVIII, CDXXIII.

939. That is, Bāqusyāthā, altered by poetic license to fit the meter.

The Battle of al-Qarqus, Which Is Also Called al-Quss, Quss al-Nāṭif, the Bridge, and al-Marwaḥah[940]

Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī—al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their *isnād*: When al-Jālinūs returned to Rustam, along with those of his troops who had escaped, Rustam asked, "Which of the Persians is the strongest in fighting the Arabs in your opinion?" They answered, "Bahman Jādhūyah." Therefore he dispatched him along with elephants. He also sent back al-Jālinūs with him and said to him, "Send al-Jālinūs ahead. If he returns to the like of his defeat, then cut off his head." Bahman Jādhūyah advanced, having with him the Great Standard (*dirafsh*
[2175] *kābiyān*),[941] the standard of Kisrā, which was made of tiger skins to a length of eighty cubits by a width[942] of twelve cubits. Abū ʿUbayd advanced to stop at al-Marwaḥah, where the tower and the bend in the river are. Bahman Jādhūyah sent a message to him, "Either you cross over to us, and we will allow you to cross, or else you let us cross over to you." The men said, "Do not cross, O Abū ʿUbayd! We will prevent you from crossing." They also told him, "Say to them that they should cross over." Among the harshest of the people against him regarding that was Salīṭ. But Abū ʿUbayd was unyielding and left aside the [wise] opinion, saying, "They will not risk death more than we. Rather, we will cross over to them." Thus, they crossed over to the enemy, who were in a narrow site with regard to both pursuit and flight.

They fought for a day, Abū ʿUbayd having with him between six and ten [thousand men], until, when it was the day's end and a man from among the Thaqīf[943] considered the victory to be slow [in coming], he drew the men [closer] together. The two sides struck each other with swords. Abū ʿUbayd struck the elephant, while the elephant hit Abū ʿUbayd. The swords had worked quickly among the

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940. This place, which is on the west bank of the Euphrates opposite Quss al-Nāṭif, is referred to only in Sayf's reports. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 111–12. For the Battle of the Bridge, see Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 109–10. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 168–71, has absurdly turned this battle into a Muslim victory.

941. Also mentioned independently in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 109.

942. The words for width and length in the text have been reversed to correspond to English idiom.

943. A famous Arab tribe whose homeland was centered at al-Ṭāʾif, they were second in rank to none but their early allies, the Quraysh, whom they continued to serve in Umayyad times. See *EI*[1], s.v. Thaḳīf; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92; II, 16–17, 553.

Persians, of whom six thousand were struck down in the melee. Only defeat remained and was expected [by them]. But when Abū ʿUbayd was hit and the elephant stood upon him, the Muslims fled and then continued in flight. The Persians rode down on them. A man from the Thaqīf, getting to the bridge first, cut it. The troops then reached it, while the swords were taking them from behind, and fell into the Euphrates. They struck down four thousand of the Muslims on that day between those drowned and killed. Al-Muthannā protected the troops, as did ʿĀṣim, al-Kalaj al-Ḍabbī,[944] and Madhʿūr, until they repaired the bridge and brought the men across. Then they [themselves] crossed in their traces. They stayed at al- [2176]
Marwaḥah, while al-Muthannā lay wounded, and also al-Kalaj, Madhʿūr, and ʿĀṣim, who were the protectors of the troops along with al-Muthannā. Many of the men fled, taking their own way, and so disgraced themselves and felt ashamed of what had happened to them. [News of] it reached ʿUmar from certain of those who had sought refuge in Medina. He said, "Worshippers of God! O God, every Muslim is absolved of his oath to me. I am the party of every Muslim. May God have mercy on Abū ʿUbayd; if he had crossed and then taken refuge on the riverside or had he retreated to us, not trying to defy death, we would have been his party [of supporters]."

Meanwhile, as the Persians were trying to cross, the news came to them that the people of al-Madāʾin had revolted against Rustam, breaking that which was between them and him. They became two parties, al-Fahlūj[945] against Rustam and the Persians against al-Fayruzān.[946]

Forty nights intervened between the Battle of al-Yarmūk and the Bridge. The one who brought the news of al-Yarmūk was Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥimyarī. The one who brought the news of the Bridge was

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944. The ancestor of Hubayrah b. al-Ashʿath, he is mentioned by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 110, as well as Ṭabarī, I, 2343, 2433, 2446. This could be the Hubayrah b. al-Ashʿath al-Ḍabbī mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 89; II, 285, but no ancestor named al-Kalaj is found in his genealogy. There is an al-Kalaḥ b. al-Ḥārith, found in the Dhuhl, however, in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 154; II, 368. Hubayrah's ancestry also goes back to a Dhuhl clan of the Ḍabbah. It thus appears possible that a part of the Dhuhl may have joined the Ḍabbah at some early date.

945. Defined in Ṭabarī, I, 2608, as the people from between al-Bāb (Darband ?) and Ḥulwān in the region of al-Jibāl in western Iran.

946. He is mentioned plentifully in Sayf's reports but very little elsewhere and not at all in al-Balādhurī. See Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 453; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 121; Morony, *Iraq*, 192–93.

ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd[947] al-Anṣārī,[948] who was not the one who saw the vision.[949] When he reached ʿUmar, ʿUmar was on the pulpit. ʿUmar called out for the news, "O ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd!" He responded, "The sure news has come to you," then he ascended the pulpit to ʿUmar and gave it to him secretly. Al-Yarmūk was in the days of Jumādā al-Ākhirah (2–30 August 634), and the Bridge was in Shaʿbān (30 September–28 October 634).

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Mujālid and Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān:[950] Rustam charged Bahman Jādhūyah, who was Dhū al-Ḥājib,[951] with fighting Abū ʿUbayd. He sent back with him al-Jālinūs, who had with him the elephants, among them a white elephant on which was a palm tree [emblem]. He advanced leading the large
[2177] army. Abū ʿUbayd had confronted him until he reached Bābil. When he reached it, Abū ʿUbayd retreated until he put the Euphrates between the two of them and camped at al-Marwaḥah. Then, Abū ʿUbayd had cause for regret when the enemy descended on him to say, "Either you cross over to us, or else we cross over." At this he swore that he would definitely cross the Euphrates to them and that he would indeed rectify what he had done. Salīṭ b. Qays and other important men adjured him, "The Arabs have not met the like of these Persian troops since they have been in existence, for they have concentrated against us and confronted us in numbers and equipment with which no one among them has met us [before]. You have brought us to a site from which we can retreat, take refuge, and

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947. Text: Zayd; read: Yazīd, as most references.

948. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥuṣayn (or Ḥiṣn) al-Khaṭamī al-Awsī, he was a Companion of the Prophet who subsequently migrated to al-Kūfah. He is said to have supported ʿAlī but nevertheless was later made governor of al-Kūfah by Ibn al-Zubayr in 64–66/684–86, after which he died. He is also said to have briefly governed Mecca for him. He was born c. 613 C.E. See Ṭabarī, II, 467, 509–10, 512–13, 535, 537, 542–44, 548–49, 570, 592, 600–2; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 182; II, 121; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 18; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 110, 325; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 391; Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 269; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 382–83; Donner, *Conquests*, 377.

949. This is ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Rabbih al-Ḥārithī al-Khazrajī. Some variations exist as to his exact name. He fought at Badr and other early battles and died in Medina in 32/653 at the age of sixty-four. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 536–37; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 311–12; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 312; III, 132–33.

950. Abū Saʿd al-Aʿwar, the *mawlā* of Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān al-ʿAbsī, he was a famous Kūfan traditionist with a poor reputation who died 141–49/758–67. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 354; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 157–58; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 79–80.

951. Lit., "the possessor of the eyebrow." The title is elsewhere assigned to Mardānshāh, who was probably not the same person. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 119–20; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 308, 314.

[later] come back from flight to counterattack." Abū ʿUbayd replied, "I will not do so. You have become cowardly, by God." The messenger for what was between Dhū al-Ḥājib and Abū ʿUbayd was Mardānshāh al-Khaṣī.[952] He told them that the Persians were reproaching them [for their weakness]. At this, Abū ʿUbayd became more cantankerous. He rebutted his advisers and called Salīṭ a coward. Salīṭ said, "By God, I am bolder than you in spirit. We have given you our view, and you will come to know."

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī—al-Agharr al-ʿIjlī:[953] While Abū ʿUbayd was encamped on the bank of the Euphrates at al-Marwaḥah, Dhū al-Ḥājib advanced until he stood on the bank of the Euphrates at Quss al-Nāṭif and said, "Either you cross over to us, or else we will cross over to you." Abū ʿUbayd replied, "Rather we will cross over to you." Ibn Ṣalūbā secured the bridge for the two sides together. Before that, Dawmah,[954] the wife of [2178]
Abū ʿUbayd, had seen a vision when she was at al-Marwaḥah. [In it,] a man came down from heaven with a vessel containing a drink that Abū ʿUbayd and Jabr,[955] along with men from his family, drank. She told Abū ʿUbayd about it, and he said, "This is martyrdom!" Abū ʿUbayd expressed his will to the people, saying, "If I am killed, Jabr is in command of the troops. If he is slain, so-and-so is in command of you." [He went on] until he had made commanders out of those who had drunk from the vessel according to the order that he spoke. Finally, he said, "If Abū al-Qāsim is killed, then al-Muthannā is in charge of you." Then he led the troops forward, so that both he and they crossed over to the enemy.

The ground could scarcely hold the people on it as the troops joined battle. When the horsemen beheld the elephants upon which was the palm tree [emblem], the horses wearing coats of mail, and the horsemen wearing distinctive emblems (*shuʿur*), they saw something unknown, the like of which they had not seen. Thus, when the Muslims charged against them, their horses would not advance, whereas when the enemy charged the Muslims with the elephants

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952. That is, "the Eunuch."

953. Possibly Abū Muslim, the Kūfan traditionist who transmitted from Abū Hurayrah, who also may be the same as al-Agharr b. Salīk (or Ḥanẓalah), another Kūfan who also transmitted from Abū Hurayrah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 364–66.

954. Unidentified and apparently reported only by Sayf.

955. Jabr b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī, he was his father's second-in-command. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 109.

and bells hung around the horses' necks, they split the Muslims' squadrons; the horses would not stand up to them but rather shied away. The Persians also shot them through with arrows. Pain bit the Muslims, and they became unable to reach the enemy. Abū ʿUbayd dismounted, as did the troops, then they marched to them and struck them with swords. Whenever the elephants charged a company, they would push them back, so that Abū ʿUbayd called out, "Encompass the elephants, rip open their stomachs, and dump off those riding them." He leaped upon the white elephant, attached himself to its underside, and ripped it open, whereupon those on it fell. The troops did likewise. They did not leave an elephant but they pulled off its saddle and slew its company. The elephant lunged at Abū ʿUbayd, who struck its trunk (*mishfar*)[956] slightly with his sword, but the elephant held him back with its foot,[957] while Abū ʿUbayd tried to get at it. Then it struck him with its foot so that he fell down. After that, the elephant hit him and stood on him.

[2179] When the troops saw Abū ʿUbayd under the elephant, the hearts of some of them became faint. The one who had been designated commander after him took up the standard and fought the elephant until it moved aside from Abū ʿUbayd, whom he dragged to the Muslims, who carefully protected his corpse. The commander tried to get at the elephant, but it held him off with its foot as it had done with Abū ʿUbayd. The elephant then hit him and stood on him. Seven [men] from the Thaqīf followed one another in succession, each one taking up the standard and fighting until he died. Then al-Muthannā took up the standard. The troops fled.

When ʿAbdallāh b. Marthad al-Thaqafī[958] saw what Abū ʿUbayd and his successors met and what the troops did, he preceded them to the bridge, which he cut, saying, "O people, die as your commanders have died, or else win!" The polytheists drove the Muslims back onto the bridge. The troops grew fainthearted and jumped into the Euphrates, where those who did not persevere [in fighting] drowned, while the enemy hurried [to smite] those who persevered. Al-Muthannā and some of the Muslims' horsemen gave the troops cover. He called out, "O people, we will protect you; therefore, cross at your ease. Do not be taken aback, for we will not move from here

956. Though the Arabic clearly means "lip," perhaps "trunk" better fits the context.

957. Lit., "hand."

958. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf in this place.

until we see you on that side, and do not drown yourselves." They found the bridge, with ʿAbdallāh b. Marthad standing on it, preventing the men from crossing. They took him and brought him to al-Muthannā, who beat him and asked, "What led you to do what you did?" He answered, "So that they would fight." Those who had crossed summoned some peasants [to help]. They joined the vessel that had been cut away to its other vessels, whereupon the people crossed. The last one killed at the bridge was Salīṭ b. Qays. Al-Muthannā crossed and protected his side, but his troops were in disarray. Dhū al-Ḥājib eagerly desired them, but he was unable to get to [2180] them. When al-Muthannā crossed, the people of Medina dispersed from him until they reached Medina, though some of them avoided it, remaining in the deserts. Al-Muthannā remained with a few [men].

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — a man — Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī:[959] On that day, four thousand perished either killed or drowned, and two thousand fled, leaving three thousand. When Dhū al-Ḥājib heard about the outbreak of civil violence in Persia, he turned back with his army. That was a cause of their dispersing from him. Al-Muthannā was wounded, links from his chain mail having become embedded in him where the spear had torn them.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid and ʿAṭiyyah: The like of it.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid, ʿAṭiyyah, and al-Naḍr: The troops of Medina, when they made their way to Medina, told about those who went about in the land out of shame for the defeat. That was hard for ʿUmar to bear, and thus he was merciful to them.

Al-Shaʿbī: ʿUmar said, "O God, every Muslim has a right to my help. I am the party of every Muslim. Whosoever meets the enemy and reckons something in the matter to be hard, I will be a party [of supporters] for him. May God have mercy on Abū ʿUbayd; if he had retreated to me, I would have been a party [of supporters] for him." Al-Muthannā sent the news to ʿUmar with ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd, who was the first to come to ʿUmar.

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: The like of Sayf's report about the matter of Abū ʿUbayd, Dhū al-Ḥājib, and their war. However, he said [the following differently.

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959. This transmitter, though having a name similar to the often-quoted Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī, must be different from him. However, both are unattested in works other than those of Sayf.

Ibn Isḥāq:] Dawmah, the mother of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd saw
[2181] [in a vision] that a man descended from heaven. He had a vessel in which was a drink from paradise such a sleeper sees, and Abū ʿUbayd, Jabr b. Abī ʿUbayd, and men from his family drank from it.

[Ibn Isḥāq] also: When Abū ʿUbayd saw what the elephant was doing, he asked, "Is there any way to kill this beast?" They answered, "Yes, if its trunk is cut off, it will die." Therefore, he attacked it, striking its trunk and cutting it off, but the elephant knelt on him, killing him.

[Ibn Isḥāq] also: When the Persians turned back, al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah camped at Ullays. The troops scattered, making their way to Medina. The first to reach Medina with news of the troops was ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Khaṭamī, who told the people.

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr — ʿAmrah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[960] — ʿĀʾishah, the Prophet's wife: I heard ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb when ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd arrived calling for the news, "O ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd!" He was inside of the mosque and passing by my door when he asked, "What do you have [to report], O ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd?" He replied, "The news has come to you, O Commander of the Faithful." When he reached him, he told him the news about the troops. I have not heard of a man who witnessed something and then reported it who was more reliable in his report than he. When the defeated remnants of the troops arrived and ʿUmar saw the grief of the Muslims of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār on account of the flight, he said, "Do not grieve, O Muslims.
[2182] I am your party. You have only retreated to me."

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. ʿAbdallāh] b. al-Ḥuṣayn and others: Muʿādh al-Qāriʾ, one of the Banū al-Najjār,[961] was among those who participated in it and fled on that day. When he read this verse, "And whoever turns his back to them on that day, except if maneuvering for battle or turning aside to join a company, has brought God's anger on himself.

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960. She is ʿAmrah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿd [or Asʿad] b. Zurārah al-Najjāriyyah al-Khazrajiyyah of the Anṣār, a Medinan traditionist of excellent reputation who specialized in transmitting from ʿĀʾishah. She died in 98–106/717–24 at the age of seventy-seven. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 480–81; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 438–39.

961. Abū Ḥalīmah Muʿādh b. al-Ḥārith, he was a Companion who was said to have fought first at al-Khandaq in 5/627. He is said to have been killed at the Battle of al-Ḥarrah in 63/683 at the age of sixty-nine, but is not mentioned in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 307–10. See Maqdisī, *Istibṣār*, 75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 427–28.

His final refuge is hell, which is the worst fate,"[962] he wept, whereupon ʿUmar said to him, "Do not weep, O Muʿādh. I am your company, and you have only retreated to me."

Lesser Ullays

Abū Jaʿfar — al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm — Sayf b. ʿUmar — Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah, Ṭalḥah, Ziyād, and ʿAṭiyyah: Jābān and Mardānshāh went forth until they took to the road, thinking that the Muslims would have scattered. They did not know what had reached Dhū al-Ḥājib about the discord among the Persians. When the Persians had scattered and Dhū al-Ḥājib had gone forth after them, al-Muthannā, having heard of the action of Jābān and Mardānshāh, left behind ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr as his deputy and went forth with light cavalry, heading toward the two of them. They supposed that he was in flight, wherefore they opposed him, but he took them both prisoner. The people of Ullays rebelled against the troops of the two commanders and brought those troops as prisoners [to al-Muthannā], who gave the Ullaysīs a treaty of protection. He brought forward the two commanders to say, "You two deceived our commander, lying to him and inciting him!" Then he beheaded them and beheaded the prisoners, whereupon he went back to his [2183] camp.

Abū Miḥjan[963] fled from Ullays and did not return with al-Muthannā.

Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh, Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabīʿ, and a group [of others] asked Khālid for permission [to go] while at Suwā. He permitted them, so that they came to Abū Bakr. Jarīr mentioned his request to him, whereat he said, "In our condition?" and delayed [responding to] him about it. When ʿUmar became the ruler, he summoned him to show proof, which Jarīr then demonstrated. Then ʿUmar wrote for

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962. Qur'ān, 8: 16.

963. Abū Miḥjan ʿAmr b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr al-Thaqafī, he embraced Islam in 9/631. He was a celebrated poet who is the hero of a small epic in which he is punished by the caliph ʿUmar for drinking wine but redeems himself by fighting bravely at al-Qādisiyyah. He later died in Ādharbayjān or Jurjān. See *EI*², s.v. Abū Miḥdjan; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 118; II, 174; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 926, 930–32, 935, 955; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 515; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 109; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 308–9, 316–17, 319; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XXI, 137–43; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, IV, 182–87; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 173–76 (criticizing Sayf); Donner, *Conquests*, 376, 385, 400.

him to his taxgathering agents among all of the Arabs, "Whoever has in his district anyone who belonged to the Bajīlah[964] in the Jāhiliyyah and has remained in it in Islam, that being recognized, send him to Jarīr." Jarīr appointed a place for them [to meet] between Iraq and Medina. When Jarīr was granted his request to bring forth the Bajīlah from among the people, he collected them together. When they were brought forth to him, he ordered them to an appointed meeting in the land between Mecca, Medina, and Iraq. Their gathering completed, ʿUmar said to Jarīr, "Go forth until you join al-Muthannā." Jarīr said, "Rather, Syria." ʿUmar said, "Rather, Iraq, for the forces in Syria have become strong against their foe." But he refused until ʿUmar compelled him. When they had gone forth to [join] Jarīr and he had ordered them to meet at the appointed time, ʿUmar gave him compensation for having compelled him and to benefit him, making over to him a quarter of the fifth of what God had bestowed on them as spoils in their campaigns. This was for him, those who gathered to him, and those who had been brought forth to him from among the tribes. He said [to them], "Come to us on your way." Thus, they came to Medina, then they departed from it for Iraq, as reinforcements for al-Muthannā. He also sent forth ʿIṣmah b. ʿAbdallāh of the Banū ʿAbd b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḍabbī with those of the Banū Ḍabbah[965] who followed him. He had also written to the former apostates (*ahl al-riddah*), but none came in Shaʿbān (30 September–28 October 634) except those whom he dispatched to al-Muthannā.

[2184] *Al-Buwayb*[966]

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their *isnād*: Al-Muthannā sent [a summons] to those rein-

964. They were a Yemenī tribe scattered in the mountains of al-Sarāh, in what is now southern Saudi Arabia. They played a role in the conquest of Iraq and were active there subsequently, especially at al-Kūfah. See *EI*², s.v. Badjīla; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 221; II, 45–46, 219.

965. They were an important tribal grouping of northeastern Arabia originating in the area southwest of modern al-Kuwayt. They were a part of the Ribāb confederacy, but later became a tribal regiment at both al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, where they were included in the Tamīm tribal division though they were not originally a part of the Tamīm. See *EI*², s.v. Ḍabba b. Udd; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 59; II, 11, 240.

966. This battle is reported only by Sayf, who either has elaborated it out of Ibn Isḥāq's tradition given below, pp. 213–15, or has further embroidered an already-elaborated tribal tradition emanating from the Rabīʿah, as is perhaps more likely. Even

forcements who were near him, so that they came to him all together in a huge mass. [News of] that reached Rustam and al-Fayruzān, as the spies brought it to them, as well as bringing [information about] what [further] reinforcement the Muslims were expecting. At this, the two of them agreed to send forth Mihrān al-Hamadhānī,[967] until the two of them considered their view [of matters further]. Thus, Mihrān set out with the cavalry, his two superiors having ordered him to attack al-Ḥīrah.

The news reached al-Muthannā while he was encamped at Marj al-Sibākh[968] between al-Qādisiyyah and Khaffān with those Arabs who had reinforced him because of the news of Bashīr and Kinānah.[969] Bashīr was at that time in al-Ḥīrah. Al-Muthannā thoroughly probed Furāt Bādaqlā and sent a message to Jarīr and those with him, [saying,] "Something has come to us that we cannot stand against until you reach us, so therefore hurry to catch up with us. Your appointed meeting [place] is al-Buwayb." Jarīr was reinforcing him. He also wrote to ʿIṣmah and those with him—ʿIṣmah was likewise reinforcing him — and to every leader who had provided him with the like of that, "Take the way of al-Jawf,"[970] so that they followed the route of al-Qādisiyyah and al-Jawf, while al-Muthannā followed the route through the middle of al-Sawād, coming out in al-Nahrayn, then going on to al-Khawarnaq. ʿIṣmah came out at al-Najaf, along with those following his route with him. Jarīr came out in al-Jawf, along with those following his route with him. Then they came to al-Muthannā, who was at al-Buwayb, while Mihrān was across the Euphrates in front of him.

Thus, the Muslims' troops gathered at al-Buwayb, which is near the present location of al-Kūfah. Al-Muthannā was in command. They faced Mihrān and his troops. Al-Muthannā asked a man from

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Donner, *Conquests*, 198–200, who is reticent about attacking Sayf's traditions elsewhere, doubts that the battle took place at all. Ibn Khayyāṭ makes no mention of it.

967. His father was Mihribundādh or Bādhān. He was killed in 14/635. He is mentioned twice in poetry quoted by Abū Mikhnaf. See Ṭabarī, I, 2378; II, 152, 1038; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 311, 419. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 162, says he was killed at al-Nukhaylah by al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān al-Ḍabbī and Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī.

968. Unidentified.

969. The referent of this name is unknown. It could be an error, for Ms. IH[1] reads *kitābihi*, which would mean "his letter." But see Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIV.

970. Evidently it is a place in the desert west of al-Ḥīrah, certainly not the well-known modern al-Jawf in northern Arabia.

[2185] the inhabitants of al-Sawād, "What is the piece of land that Mihrān and his troops are on called?" The Sawādī replied, "Basūsiyā."[971] Al-Muthannā went on, "Mihrān's [efforts] have not availed and he has perished!" Al-Muthannā camped at a site that is al-Basūs and remained in his place until Mihrān wrote to him, "Either you cross over to us, or we cross over to you." Al-Muthannā answered, "Cross over." Thus, Mihrān crossed over and descended on the shore of the [same] side of the river as the Muslims. Al-Muthannā asked that man, "What is this piece of land that Mihrān and his troops descended on called?" The man replied, "Shūmiyā."[972] That was in Ramaḍān (29 October–27 November 634).

Al-Muthannā called out to the troops, "Rush upon your enemy," whereupon the two sides attacked one another. Al-Muthannā had put his troops in battle formation, giving command of his two flanks to Madhʿūr and al-Nusayr.[973] ʿĀṣim was in charge of the light cavalry, and ʿIṣmah was in charge of the skirmishers. When the two sides were arranged for battle, al-Muthannā stood up among the troops to speak, saying, "You are fasting. As fasting makes [one] weak and feeble, I believe it would be wise for you to break your fast. Then, with food, you will be strong enough to fight your enemy." They said, "Certainly," and broke their fast.

Al-Muthannā noticed a man ready for his chance to spring forth from the line. He asked, "What is the matter with this [man]?" They answered, "He was among those who fled from the advance on the Day of the Bridge and [now] intends to seek death in battle." Al-Muthannā thereupon hit him with his lance, saying, "You bastard, stick to your place! If your equal comes against you, then save your companion from him, but do not seek death in battle." The man replied, "I am indeed deserving of that," and settled down, sticking to the line.

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971. A place near al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 423.

972. A place beside al-Kūfah on the Euphrates where the *dār al-rizq*, which was storehouse, armory, and treasury, was located at a later date. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 374; Morony, *Iraq*, 63. The element *shūm* might also imply "ill-omened," which may have inspired its inclusion in the story.

973. Al-Nusayr b. Daysam b. Thawr al-ʿIjlī. He participated in the conquests of Iraq and Iran as far as Nihāwand, then is last reported by Sayf to have been governor of Hamadhān in 34–35/655–56. See Ṭabarī, I, 2484, 2616, 2628, 2648, 2928, 3058; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 160; II, 453; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 304–5; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 133–34; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 584; Donner, *Conquests*, 373, 386, 434–35.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Isḥāq al-Shaybānī: The like of it.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAṭiyyah, and Sufyān al-Aḥmarī—al-Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: When the army of the Bajīlah was collected, ʿUmar said, "Come to us on your way." Thus, the leaders of the Bajīlah and their delegation set out to [go to] him, leaving the mass [of troops] behind. ʿUmar asked them, "To which of the fronts would you prefer to go?" They replied, "Syria, for our brethren by marriage are in it." He then said, "Rather Iraq, for Syria has enough [forces already]." He did not cease insisting to them and they refusing him until that was decided on and he assigned them a quarter of the fifth of what God had bestowed on the Muslims as booty, in addition to their [proper] share of the booty. He appointed ʿArfajah[974] to be in charge of those of the Bajīlah who had been residing among the Jadīlah,[975] and Jarīr[976] to be in charge of those who were living among[977] the Banū ʿĀmir[978] and others. Abū Bakr had put him in charge of fighting the people of ʿUmān, along with several others, and then brought him back when he campaigned by sea. Then ʿUmar gave him charge of the main part of the Bajīlah. He said, "Heed this one,"[979] and said to the others, "Heed Jarīr." [2186]

Jarīr said to the Bajīlah, "Do you acknowledge this one, even though he has brought in among us what he has brought?" For the Bajīlah were wroth with ʿArfajah on account of a woman from

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974. ʿArfajah b. Harthamah b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā al-Bāriqī al-Azdī, he was probably born in al-Sarāh, as he commanded the Bajīlah although he himself was of the Azd. After helping to suppress the Riddah in ʿUmān, he campaigned in southern Iraq, then fought at al-Qādisiyyah, and later was the first Muslim governor of al-Mawṣil. See Ṭabarī, I, 1881, 1929, 1977–80, 2269, 2382, 2472, 2477, 2481, 2548, 2552; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 202; II, 192; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 407–10, 419, 476 (under Harthamah b. ʿArfajah); Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 162, 164; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 481; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 474–75; Donner, *Conquests*, 86–87, 196–97, 216, 382, 399, 417, 425.

975. A smaller tribal grouping consisting of the ʿAdwān and the Faḥm, and associated in the genealogy with the Bāhilah and the Ghanī. Their original homeland was at al-Barām northeast of Mecca and east of Medina about 120 km. on the road to Najd. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92; II, 22, 252; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 243–44; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 366–67 (under al-Barām).

976. Text: Jarīrun; read: Jarīran, as Cairo ed.

977. Text: *min*; read: *fī*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXIV.

978. A great tribal grouping of nomadic tribes located between al-Ḥijāz and Najd in west central Arabia extending as far as 44° E. See *EI²*, s.v. Banū ʿĀmir (b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92; II, 13–16, 163–64.

979. That is, ʿArfajah.

among them. Therefore, they met and came to ʿUmar to say, "Relieve us of ʿArfajah." He replied, "I will not relieve you of the earliest of you in migration and Islam and the greatest of you in bravery and doing good." They went on, "Put in charge of us a man from among us. Do not put us under an interloper among us." ʿUmar, thinking that they were rejecting ʿArfajah's [true] genealogy, said, "Look at what you are saying!" They said, "We are saying what you will hear."

ʿUmar sent a message to ʿArfajah saying, "These have asked me to relieve them from you. They have claimed that you are not from them. What do you have [to say]?" He answered, "They have spoken the truth, nor would it please me to be from them. I am a man of the Azd, then of the Bāriq,[980] of a house whose number is countless and of a noble lineage that is unmixed." ʿUmar said, "What an excellent group the Azd are! They take their share of the good and the evil." ʿArfajah said, "It befell me that the evil increased dangerously
[2187] among us, although our house is one. Thus, as we had shed blood, so that some among us needed to take revenge from others, I separated myself from them because I was afraid of them. Then I [came to] be among these [Bajalīs], ruling them and leading them. They are resentful of me because of a matter that occurred between me and their *dihqān*s. They have envied me and treated me ungratefully." ʿUmar said, "It will not harm you to separate from them when they do not like you." He then appointed Jarīr in his place, bringing together the Bajīlah under him. He also revealed to Jarīr and the Bajīlah that he would send ʿArfajah to Syria; that made Jarīr like Iraq.

Jarīr led his people forth as reinforcements for al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah until he stopped at Dhū Qār. Then he went up until, when he was at al-Jull[981] and al-Muthannā was at Marj al-Sibākh, the news came to al-Muthannā about the report of Bashīr, who was at al-Ḥīrah, that the Persians had sent forth Mihrān, who had set out from al-Madāʾin heading toward al-Ḥīrah. Al-Muthannā sent messages to Jarīr and ʿIṣmah urging [them to come] with haste. ʿUmar had exacted a promise from them not to cross any body of water nor any bridge except after a victory. They gathered at al-Buwayb. The two

980. A subtribe of the Azd al-Sarāh from southwestern Arabia. Part of this group migrated to al-Kūfah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 202, II, 224.

981. A place deep in the desert some 170 km. south of al-Kūfah on the road from al-Qādisiyyah to Mecca, it still has the same name. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 155–56; Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 236 and accompanying map of northern Arabia (k 19).

armies gathered on the east shore of al-Buwayb. Al-Buwayb had been a sink [for overflow from] the Euphrates on days of flooding in Persian times; it flowed into al-Jawf. The polytheists were at the site of Dār al-Rizq,[982] and the Muslims were at the location of the Sakūn.[983]

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. ʿUmar—ʿAṭiyyah and al-Mujālid, according to their *isnād*: The warriors of the Banū Kinānah and the Azd came to ʿUmar seven hundred strong altogether. He asked them, "Which front is preferable to you?" They answered, "Syria, our brethren by marriage, our brethren by marriage!" He said, "That [front] you have already taken care of. Iraq, Iraq! Leave aside a country that God has reduced in power and number. Turn your faces to fighting a people who possess various kinds [2188] of livelihood, for it may be that God will give them to you as an inheritance along with your share of that, so you will live with whoever of the people is living." Then Ghālib b. so-and-so al-Laythī[984] and ʿArfajah al-Bāriqī said, each to his own people, among whom he had stood up, "O brethren, heed the Commander of the Faithful in what he deems [necessary] and put into effect for him that [mission] that he has lodged in you." They responded, "We obey you and heed the Commander of the Faithful in what he deems [necessary] and desires." Then ʿUmar prayed for good for them, saying it to them. He made Ghālib b. ʿAbdallāh the commander of the Banū Kinānah and dispatched him. He made ʿArfajah b. Harthamah the commander of the Azd, most of whom were from the Bāriq. They rejoiced at the return of ʿArfajah to them. Each of them set forth leading his people until they both came to al-Muthannā.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and ʿAmr, according to their *isnād*: Hilāl b. ʿUllafah al-Taymī[985] went forth with those of

982. Identified with Shūmiyā on p. 198, above.

983. Presumably the later location of the quarter of al-Kūfah that contained the dwellings of the Sakūn branch of the Kindah.

984. Ghālib b. ʿAbdallāh, he led several campaigns for the Prophet. Although Sayf alone mentions him later, Ibn al-Kalbī says that he fell at Fadak in the Prophet's lifetime. However, Ibn Ḥajar considers this a mistake. See Ṭabarī, I, 1364, 1592–93, 1597–98, 1600, 1758, 1762, 2233; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 37; II, 271; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 5–6, 723–24, 726–27, 750, 752; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 622; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 45, 72; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 76, 78; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, III, 183; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 183–84; Donner, *Conquests*, 385, 388–89, 402.

985. Of the Taym al-Ribāb, he is one of those claiming to have killed Rustam, the Persian commander, at al-Qādisiyyah. Though he is found mainly in traditions that definitely or probably have come through Sayf, Ibn Khayyāṭ attests his existence by

the Ribāb[986] who had gathered to him until he came to ʿUmar, who put him in command of them and sent him off, so that he reached al-Muthannā. Ibn al-Muthannā al-Jushamī[987] — the Jusham of the Saʿd[988] — also went forth until he came to ʿUmar, who sent him out, appointing him commander of the Banū Saʿd. He also came to al-Muthannā.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī; and ʿAṭiyyah, according to their *isnād*: ʿAbdallāh b. Dhī al-Sahmayn[989] came with men from the Khathʿam.[990] ʿUmar made him their commander and sent him to al-Muthannā. He went out in his direction until he reached him.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and ʿAmr, according to their *isnād*: Ribʿī[991] brought men from the Banū Ḥanẓalah.[992] ʿUmar

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an independent *isnād* once. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 85; II, 418, 437, omits him, though he includes two other sons of ʿUllafah, both of whom fought as Khārijites against ʿAlī. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 120, 123; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 317; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 165; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 186; Donner, *Conquests*, 385, 397, 408.

986. A confederacy of Muḍar tribes from northeastern Arabia that included the Taym, ʿAdī, and Thawr b. ʿAbd Manāh b. Udd, as well as the ʿUkl and the Ḍabbah b. Udd. This confederacy was then in alliance with the Saʿd Tamīm. See *EI*², s.v. Ḍabba b. Udd; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 85–87, 89–91; II, 10, 486.

987. Unidentified and not mentioned elsewhere.

988. A small subtribe of the Saʿd Tamīm that combined with other small Saʿdī groups to form the Abnāʾ. Because the Jusham's members evidently were scattered among several larger groups, they have differing genealogies: Jusham b. Saʿd, Jusham b. ʿAbshams b. Saʿd, Jusham b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbshams b. Saʿd, Jusham b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd, Jusham b. al-Ḥārith al-Aʿraj b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd, and Jusham b. Rabīʿah al-Ḥibāq b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd, of which only the first appears to represent the Jusham as an independent unit within the Saʿd. The extremely large number of other Jushams, mostly clans rather than individuals, points to an earlier larger grouping having been scattered among many tribes. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 75, 78; II, 267–69. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, III, 278–81, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 227–28, do not even mention any Jusham of the Tamīm, as these were probably early absorbed into other Tamīmī groups.

989. Apparently mentioned only in Sayf's traditions in al-Ṭabarī. See Ṭabarī, I, 2225, 2329, 2335, 2552, 2633; Donner, *Conquests*, 196, 385, 402, 435.

990. A large tribe located in ʿAsīr. One of its branches, the Shahrān, still resides in its original homeland. See *EI*², s.v. Khathʿam; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 221, 224–26; II, 45–46, 345.

991. Ribʿī b. Ḥuṣayn al-Riyāḥī of the Ḥanẓalah Tamīm, he is wrongly identified in Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 189, as Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir al-Usayyidī of the ʿAmr Tamīm. Crone, *Slaves*, 118, has also mixed up the two Ribʿīs. Actually, Ribʿī al-Riyāḥī seems to appear only in this one place in the tradition. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 68; II, 487; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 525, and next two notes.

992. One of the three great branches of the Tamīm, the Ḥanẓalah included the two large subdivisions of the Dārim and the Yarbūʿ, each of which contained a number of clans that became tribal regiments under the Islamic state. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 59; II, 8–9, 298.

made him their commander and dispatched them. They went along until he brought them to al-Muthannā. His son Shabath b. Ribʿī[993] [2189] led them after him. Men from the Banū ʿAmr[994] came to him as well. He made Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir b. Khālid al-ʿAnūd their commander and sent him to join al-Muthannā. When men from the Banū Ḍabbah came to him, he arranged them in two divisions, putting Ibn Hawbar[995] in command of one of the two divisions and al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān[996] in command of the other. Qurṭ b. Jammāḥ[997] came to him leading the ʿAbd al-Qays,[998] and ʿUmar sent him forward.

All: Al-Fayruzān and Rustam agreed to send forth Mihrān to fight al-Muthannā. The two of them sought permission from Būrān. When they needed something, they would approach her chamberlains so that they might speak with her about it. They said what they thought, informing her of the size of the army. The Persians

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993. Al-Riyāḥī al-Tamīmī, he had a spectacular career. Doubtfully said to have started as a *muʾadhdhin* of the false prophetess Sajāḥ, he became a Muslim and migrated to al-Kūfah, where he became an important leader. Later, he enthusiastically supported ʿAlī against ʿUthmān, but after Ṣiffīn became a Khārijite and fought against ʿAlī at al-Nahrawān. Still later, he was among those who urged al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī to come to al-Kūfah, but then deserted him and actually fought against him. He remained a leader, surviving until at least 68/687–88, after which he seems to have died peacefully. In this case, we once again see Sayf emphasizing the role of a prominent anti-ʿAlid in the early conquests. In view of Shabath's role in the second civil war, any significant role for him in the conquests over fifty years earlier is improbable. See Ṭabarī, I, 1919, 3148, 3265, 3270–72, 3274–76, 3349, 3380, 3387–88; II, 27, 104, 133, 234, 256–57, 272, 329–30, 343–44, 347, 535, 614, 619, 621–24, 626, 629–32, 649–50, 652, 654–55, 657, 703–4, 716, 718, 759, 761; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 68; II, 521; Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣiffīn*, 97–98, 187–88, 195, 197, 199, 205, 294; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 216; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 216–17, 221; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 119; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 223; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 223; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 163; Crone, *Slaves*, 118; Donner, *Conquests*, 385.

994. The ʿAmr b. Tamīm, they constituted the third and smallest of the major branches of the Tamīm tribal grouping. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 59; II, 10, 184–85.

995. Presumably a Ḍabbī, he is further unidentified and found only in Sayf's transmissions. See also Ṭabarī, I, 2619; Donner, *Conquests*, 195, 383, 434.

996. Al-Ḍabbī, he was slain by al-Mukhtār's followers in al-Kūfah in 66/686. He is yet another anti-ʿAlid leader whose role in the conquests is displayed prominently in Sayf's transmissions. See Ṭabarī, II, 633, 750; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 89; II, 429; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 311, 389; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 162; Donner, *Conquests*, 195, 384, 397, 410.

997. Al-ʿAbdī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 170; II, 472; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 311, 317; Donner, *Conquests*, 195, 385, 403.

998. A great tribal group of the Rabīʿah in eastern Arabia in al-Aḥsāʾ, they formed the smallest of the five later army divisions (*akhmās*) in al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd al-Qays; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 141; II, 28–29, 127.

used not to send out many expeditions until the matter of the Arabs came up. When the two of them told her of the great size of the army's numbers, she asked, "Why will the Persians not go forth against the Arabs as they used to go forth before today? Why do you two not send forth [expeditions] as the kings used to send forth before today?" They replied, "Fear was with our enemy at that time but is among us today." She supported them, knowing what they had brought her [was true].

[2190] Thus, Mihrān went along with his army until he encamped on the nearer side of the Euphrates, while al-Muthannā and his army were on the [opposite shore] of the Euphrates, the Euphrates being between them. Anas b. Hilāl al-Namarī[999] came to reinforce al-Muthannā with men from the Namir who were Christians and traders (*jullāb*) who brought horses. Ibn Mirdā al-Fihr al-Taghlibī, who is ʿAbdallāh b. Kulayb b. Khālid,[1000] came leading men from the Banū Taghlib who were Christians and traders who brought horses. When they saw the Arabs camping beside the Persians, they said, "We will fight with our people." Mihrān said, "Either you cross over to us, or else we will cross over to you." The Muslims responded, "Cross over to us." They then departed from Basūsiyā for Shūmiyā, which is the site of Dār al-Rizq.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥaffiz — his father:[1001] When they were permitted to cross, the Persians descended on Shūmiyā, the site of Dār al-Rizq and put themselves into battle formation there. Then they advanced against the Muslims in three lines. Each line had an elephant, with their infantry before their elephant. They came on shouting. Al-Muthannā declared, "What you hear is cowardice. Therefore, remain silent and consult

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999. He is apparently mentioned only in Sayf's transmissions. See Donner, *Conquests*, 336 nn. 158 and 163, 385.

1000. Despite his generous nomenclature, he appears only in Sayf's report in this place. See Donner, *Conquests*, 336 nn. 158 and 163, 384.

1001. Muḥaffiz (or Muḥaffir) b. Thaʿlabah b. Murrah al-ʿĀʾidhī, a Kūfan, he signed the document approving the execution of Ḥujr b. ʿAdī and his companions in 51/671. Later, he was infamous for bringing the head of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī to Damascus in 61/680. See Ṭabarī, II, 133, 375–76, 380; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 30; II, 421; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 441; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 174. It is extremely interesting that Sayf quotes such a person as a source. Not only is this yet another indication of Sayf's anti-ʿAlid tendency, but it also is a sign of the anti-ʿAlid countercurrent that continued to exist in the mainly pro-ʿAlid city of al-Kūfah.

by whispering." They approached the Muslims, coming at them from the direction of Nahr Banī Sulaym,[1002] approximately the site [2191] of the present Nahr Banī Sulaym. When they drew near, they marched slowly, while the Muslims' line was between the present Nahr Banī Sulaym and what is behind it.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Al-Muthannā's two flanks were commanded by Bashīr and Busr b. Abī Ruhm, while the light horse was commanded by al-Muʿannā. Masʿūd had charge of the infantry. Before that day, al-Nusayr commanded the skirmishers. Madhʿūr was in charge of the covering force. Mihrān's two flanks were commanded by Ibn al-Āzādhbih the governor of al-Ḥīrah and Mardānshāh. When al-Muthannā went forth, he went about among the ranks, charging them with obligation to himself while on his horse, al-Shamūs. It was called al-Shamūs owing to its mild temper and cleanness. When he mounted it, he would fight, for he would not ride it except to fight, keeping it in reserve as long as there was no battle. He reviewed the battle standards one by one, spurring them on, giving them his command, and setting them in good spirits by [reminding them of] the best of their qualities as an incentive to them. To each of them he would say, "I earnestly hope that the Arabs will not be ruined because of you today. By God, nothing will please me on my own account today except what pleases me on account of all of you." They responded similarly. Al-Muthannā was judicious in [both] word and deed. He would mix with the people in both hard and fair circumstances. No one among them could criticize him in either word or deed. Then he said, "I am going to shout 'God is Greater' three times. Therefore, prepare yourselves; then attack on the fourth [shout]."

But when he shouted the first "God is Greater" the Persians anticipated them, attacking them in haste and falling upon them with the first "God is Greater." When the battle slowed down for a while, al-Muthannā noticed gaps in certain of his lines. At this, he sent a man to them to say, "The commander greets you in peace and says, 'Do not put the Muslims to shame today.'" They said, "Of course," [2192] and redistributed themselves in a balanced way. Before that, they

1002. An unidentified canal probably located in the Sulaym quarter of the later, expanded al-Kūfah.

had been looking at him while he was pulling at his beard because of what he beheld from them. Thus they paid attention to a matter that no one of the Muslims had brought [before them] on that day. Then they cast a glance at him and saw him laughing in joy. The people [concerned] were the Banū ʿIjl.

When the battle became prolonged and severe, al-Muthannā directed himself to Anas b. Hilāl to say, "O Anas, you are an Arab man even if you do not follow our religion. When you see me attack Mihrān, attack with me." He also told Ibn Mirdā al-Fihr the like of that. Both of them[1003] responded. Al-Muthannā then charged Mihrān, pushing him back until he went into his right wing. Then the Muslims fell upon them, so that the two centers joined [in combat] and dust rose up, while the wings fought as well. Neither the polytheists nor the Muslims were able to break free to aid their commander. Masʿūd was brought out of the battle wounded on that day, along with other Muslim commanders. He had said to them, "If you see us struck down, do not leave off what you are doing, for the army will retreat and then turn away. Stick to your battle formation. Add your help to the strength of those near you." The Muslims' center wreaked pain in the polytheists' center. A boy from the Taghlibīs who was a Christian slew Mihrān and mounted his horse. Al-Muthannā assigned his spoils to the commander of his horsemen. Likewise, if a polytheist was leading the horses of a man and was then killed and despoiled, the spoils went to the commander of the one who did the killing. He had two commanders, one of whom was Jarīr and the other was Ibn al-Hawbar. The two of them divided his arms.

[2193] Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥaffiz—his father Muḥaffiz b. Thaʿlabah: Young men from the Banū Taghlib brought horses [to sell]. When they saw the two armies meet on the Day of al-Buwayb, they said, "We will fight the Persians with the Arabs." One of them struck down Mihrān on that day, while Mihrān was astride a reddish bay horse of his armored with a yellow coat of mail, with a crescent between its eyes and crescents of brass on its tail. The boy mounted Mihrān's horse and then, tracing his origin, [said,] "I am the Taghlibī boy; I have slain the governor!" Jarīr and Ibn al-Hawbar came to him with their people and, taking his leg, made him descend.

1003. Text: *ajābahu*; read: *ajābāhu*, as Ms. IH and note to the Leiden ed.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān: Jarīr and al-Mundhir participated in it and disputed over his arms, bringing their contention to al-Muthannā for a decision. He assigned his arms [to be divided] between them, and his belt and two bracelets [to be divided] between them. Then the Muslims annihilated the polytheists' center.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abū Rawq: By God, whenever we would come to al-Buwayb, we would see in the area between the site of al-Sakūn and the Banū Sulaym[1004] heaps of white bones, including heads and limbs, from which a warning would be taken. Certain of those who participated in it told me that they guessed them to be one hundred thousand. They were not effaced until they were buried by the rubble[1005] of houses.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Al-Muthannā stood his ground when the dust rose up until the dust cleared away. The polytheists' center had been annihilated. Meanwhile, the flanks had dashed against each other. When they saw that [2194] he had removed the center and annihilated its troops, the flanks — the Muslims' flanks — were strengthened against the polytheists and began to make the Persians turn their backs [in flight]. Meanwhile, al-Muthannā and the Muslims in the center were praying for victory for them. He also sent them someone to incite them, saying, "Al-Muthannā says, 'Your customs are [preserved] in the likes of you. If you support God, he will support you,' "[1006] until they defeated the enemy. Al-Muthannā raced them to the bridge, preceding them, and took the Persians, who scattered on the shore of the Euphrates, [some] going upstream and [some] going downstream. The Muslims' cavalry took them by turns until they killed them, then piled them in heaps. No battle between the Arabs and Persians left more enduring remains than this. When Masʿūd b. Ḥārithah was carried wounded from the battlefield on that day, having been struck before the rout, those with him were weakened. Seeing that, he said, in spite of his serious wounds, "O tribe of the Bakr b. Wāʾil! Raise up your standard, may God raise you up! Do not by any means let

1004. The Sulaym b. Manṣūr were a major nomadic Muḍarī tribe whose lands originally were located east of Medina. Later, they played a prominent role in Iraq and Khurāsān. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 92; II, 18–19, 517.

1005. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, CCXLII, DCXV.

1006. Qurʾān 47: 7.

my prostration frighten you." Anas b. Hilāl al-Namarī fought on that day until he was carried wounded from the battlefield. Al-Muthannā carried him from it, joining him and joining Masʿūd to himself. Qurṭ b. Jammāḥ al-ʿAbdī fought so [hard] on that day that he broke spears and cut swords. He also killed Shahrbarāz,[1007] one of the Persian *dihqān*s who was the commander of Mihrān's light cavalry.

When they were done, al-Muthannā sat down before the people, after finishing, so that he might speak to them and they to him. Whenever a man would come to speak, he said to him, "Tell me about yourself." Qurṭ b. al-Jammāḥ told him, "I slew a man and
[2195] found the smell of musk [coming] from him. I said, 'Mihrān!' hoping that it would be he, but it turned out to be the Master of the Horse Shahrbarāz. By God, I did not think him anything, for he was not Mihrān." Al-Muthannā said,

> I have fought the Arabs and the Persians in both the Jāhiliyyah and Islam. By God, one hundred of the Persians in the Jāhiliyyah were indeed stronger to me than one thousand of the Arabs. But today one hundred of the Arabs are indeed stronger to me than one thousand of the Persians. God has taken away their credibility and rendered their trickery weak. Therefore by no means let a [large] number that you see, nor a great multitude, nor tightly drawn bows, nor long arrows scare you, for, if they are attacked quickly so that they cannot use them, or if they lose them, they are like dumb beasts: wherever you direct them, they go.

Speaking to al-Muthannā, Ribʿī said, "When I saw the fighting and its heat slowing down, I said, 'Protect yourselves with your shields as hiding places, for they are going to attack you. Persevere for two assaults, and I promise you victory in the third.' They answered my [wish], by God, so that God fulfilled my promise." Ibn Dhī al-Sahmayn said in his speech, "I said to my companions, 'I heard the commander reciting and mentioning terror in his recita-

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1007. This alleged person appears only in this one place in Sayf's traditions. He probably is an invention imitating the name of Khusraw II's general and the later ill-fated usurper of 629 or 630 C.E., for the name does not appear to have been a common one, but rather was an exceptional title.

tion. He did not mention it except for the excellence that he possesses. Follow your standard. Let your horse protect your foot, then attack. There is no breach of promise in God's word.' God carried through his promise to them, and it was as I had hoped." ʿArfajah said in his speech,

> We drove a regiment of them to the Euphrates. I hoped that God would permit them to drown and thereby console us for the disaster of the Bridge. When they had begun to be in difficult straits, they counterattacked against us. We [2196] fought them hard until certain of my people said, "If only you were to hold back your standard." I responded, "The responsibility for advancing it is mine." I charged with it against their rear guard [commander], killing him. Then they turned toward the Euphrates in flight, but none of them reached it alive.

Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir b. Khālid said, "I was with my father on the Day of al-Buwayb."

Al-Buwayb was named the Day of the Tens. One hundred men were enumerated, each of whom had killed ten in the battle on that day. ʿUrwah b. Zayd al-Khayl[1008] was among those who killed nine. Ghālib, leading the Banū Kinānah, was also of those who killed nine. ʿArfajah, leading the Azd, was among those who killed nine. The polytheists were slain in the area between the present al-Sakūn and the shore of the Euphrates, the east bank of al-Buwayb. That was because of al-Muthannā, at the time of the rout, beat them to the bridge, taking it against them, so that they scattered to the right and the left. The Muslims pursued them into the night and the next day into the [second] night.

Al-Muthannā regretted having taken the bridge. He said, "I indeed made a mistake, whose evil was averted by God, when I raced them to the bridge and cut it so that they were put in hard straits. I will not repeat it, nor do you repeat it or imitate my example, O peo-

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1008. Al-Ṭāʾī, he fought at al-Qādisiyyah, participated in further conquests in Iran, and later fell in Daylam. He is also said to have survived until ʿAlī's reign and to have fought on his side at Ṣiffīn, but there is no mention of this in Ibn Muzāḥim. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 257; II, 575; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 108–10; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 307–8, 389–90; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 476; Donner *Conquests*, 378, 385, 431, 438.

ple, for it was a slip from me. One ought not to put anyone in hard straits unless it is someone who cannot defend himself." Some of the Muslims' outstanding men who were among the wounded died, including Khālid b. Hilāl[1009] and Masʿūd b. Ḥārithah. Al-Muthannā prayed over them, giving them precedence over the spear blades and swords and saying, "By God, it indeed makes my sadness easier that they took part in al-Buwayb and fought boldly and patiently, neither [2197] becoming anxious nor shrinking [from the fight], and that there is in martyrdom an atonement that allows their sins to pass."

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Al-Muthannā, ʿIṣmah, and Jarīr gained on the way (*ʿalā ẓahr*)[1010] the stores of Mihrān as spoils, including sheep, flour, and cattle. They sent these to the families of those who had come from the people of Medina whom they had left behind at al-Qawādis,[1011] and to the families of those who had fought in the earliest battles (*ahl al-ayyām*) before them. They were at al-Ḥīrah. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. Buqaylah was the guide for those who had gone with the portion [of the stores] belonging to the families who were at al-Qawādis. When the women saw them from afar and saw the horses, they screamed, supposing it to be an attack, and stood up to defend the children with stones and poles. ʿAmr declared, "Such is fitting for the women of this army." They gave them the good news of the victory, saying, "This is [just] the beginning." Al-Nusayr was in charge of the horsemen who brought them the stores. He stayed with his horses in order to protect them, while ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ returned to spend the night at al-Ḥīrah.

On that day, al-Muthannā said, "Who will lead the men in pursuit until he reaches al-Sīb?" Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh stood up in the midst of his men to say,

> O people of the Bajīlah! You and all those who participated in this battle are equal in priority, excellence, and gallantry. But no one among them will obtain tomorrow the like of what you will obtain from this booty, for yours is a quarter of the fifth, by [the order of] the Commander of the

1009. Unidentified and mentioned only in this place by Sayf. Donner, *Conquests*, 385, speculates that he might be the brother of the Anas b. Hilāl al-Namarī mentioned on pp. 204, 206, 208, above.

1010. This phrase is obscure. It might also mean "through the victory."

1011. Probably it is meant to be the same as al-Qādisiyyah.

Faithful. Therefore, do not let anyone be faster against this enemy nor fiercer against him than yourselves, for [the sake of] that which is yours from him, and [to show] a good intention toward that which you hope for. For you are only waiting for one of the two best things: either martyrdom and paradise, or else spoils and paradise. [2198]

Al-Muthannā was hard on those who, having been defeated on the Day of the Bridge, wanted to seek death in battle. Then he said, "Where is the one who was so ready [to fight] yesterday and his companions? Heed the call [to follow] the tracks of these people to al-Sīb! Get at your enemy with what will enrage him, for, 'it will be better for you and greater in reward. And ask God's forgiveness, for God is the Forgiving, the Merciful.' "[1012]

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ḥamzah b. ʿAlī b. Muḥaffiz—a man from the Bakr b. Wāʾil: The first man to heed al-Muthannā's call on that day and follow their tracks was the one who had been ready to fight and his companions. He had wanted to go forth from the Muslims' battle line to [fight] the enemy the day before, waiting for his chance and being ready. Al-Muthannā commanded the bridge to be tied in place for them. Then he sent them forth in pursuit of the enemy. The Bajīlah followed them, while the Muslims' cavalry spurred on every horse. Thus they dashed along in pursuit of them until they reached al-Sīb. There did not remain in the Muslim army any participant in the Battle of the Bridge but that he went forth with the cavalry. They took a great amount of cattle, captives, and other goods as spoils, which al-Muthannā divided among them, giving preference to the gallant ones from all the tribes. He allotted to the Bajīlah on that day the fourth of the fifth, [dividing it] among them equally. He sent the [other] three-quarters of it off with ʿIkrimah.[1013] God cast terror into the hearts of the Persians. The leaders who had [2199] led the men in the pursuit wrote to al-Muthannā. ʿĀṣim, ʿIṣmah, and Jarīr wrote, "God has delivered, protected, and turned over to us what you have seen. There is nothing near the people (*qawm*);[1014]

1012. Qurʾān 73: 20, with the addition of "for you."

1013. There is no clue to who this might be. Despite Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 390, it can hardly be ʿIkrimah b. Abī Jahl, whom Sayf has killed on the Syrian front and who is never reported elsewhere in any source on the Iraqī front.

1014. This probably means that the enemy could expect no support, for *qawm* is more commonly used for hostile forces than for friendly ones. Alternatively it could

therefore you may permit us to advance." When he gave them permission, they raided until they reached Sābāṭ. The forces in Sābāṭ fortified themselves against them. They raided the villages near it. The men in the fortress at Sābāṭ rained arrows down on them from their fortifications. The first to enter their fortress were three leaders: ʿIṣmah, ʿĀṣim, and Jarīr. Parties from among all the men followed them. Then they turned away, going back to al-Muthannā.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith: When God caused Mihrān to perish, the Muslims were able to attack the area of al-Sawād between them and the Tigris. Therefore they plowed into[1015] it, not fearing any trick nor meeting any opposition in it. The Persians' garrisons mutinied and, retreating to their [lines], sought refuge in Sābāṭ. It pleased them to abandon what was beyond the Tigris. The Battle of al-Buwayb was in Ramaḍān 13 (29 October – 27 November 634). God slew Mihrān and his army in it. The Muslims crammed the two sides of al-Buwayb with bones so that it became level. Nothing has effaced them save the dust in the times of the civil war, nor is anything stirred up there but that they discover something of them. It is between al-Sakūn, Murhibah,[1016] and Banū Sulaym. In the times of the Sāsānians, it used to be a backwater of the Euphrates that flowed into al-Jawf. Al-Aʿwar al-ʿAbdī al-Shannī[1017] said:

[2200] The home[land] of the tribe is aroused with sorrows for Aʿwar,
and has taken Khaffān as a substitute after ʿAbd al-Qays.[1018]
He has shown us there, the whole affair being complete,
for at al-Nukhaylah[1019] are the slain ones of Mihrān's army,

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mean that the Muslims' were facing no resistance, which would seem better to fit the context.

1015. Or, "took the best part of."

1016. A quarter of the later al-Kūfah.

1017. Not further identified, he appears only here in Sayf's traditions in al-Ṭabarī.

1018. Here ʿAbd al-Qays seems to refer to the tribe's homeland in eastern Arabia.

1019. The al-Nukhaylah meant here, according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 278–79, is a waterhole on the right side of the road near al-Mughīthah and al-ʿAqabah, 11 km. from Juwayy, west of Wāqiṣah, and 5 km. from al-Ḥufayr. Judging by the locations of Wāqiṣah and al-ʿAqabah, which still have the same names, this puts it more than 155 km. south-southwest of al-Kūfah on the pilgrimage road to Mecca. However, Sayf's al-Nukhaylah appears to be right at al-Kūfah and on the Euphrates. This latter al-Nukhaylah by a river is also described in the report of Ibn Isḥāq on p. 214, below. See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 299, 310–11, 314, 389; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 162; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Bul-*

The times when al-Muthannā went against them with the horses,
so that the army of the Persians and Jīlān[1020] was slaughtered.
He rose up against Mihrān and the army that was with him,
until he annihilated them in pairs and singly.

Abū Jaʿfar: Ibn Isḥāq has said on the subject of Jarīr, ʿArfajah, and al-Muthannā, and al-Muthannā's fighting Mihrān other than was Sayf has related of reports about them. He has reported on them [the following].

Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When [news of] the disaster of the men at the bridge reached ʿUmar and their defeated remnants had reached him, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī came to him from Yemen with a party of the Bajīlah and ʿArfajah b. Harthamah. ʿArfajah, who was the lord of the Bajīlah at that time, was a confederate of theirs from the Azd. ʿUmar spoke to them saying, "You have learned of what catastrophe befell your brothers in Iraq. Go to them. I will send out to you whoever is from among you in the Arab tribes, thereby bringing them together for you." They said, "We will do so, O Commander of the Faithful. Send out to us the Qays Kubbah,[1021] Suḥmah,[1022] and ʿUraynah."[1023] They were tribes of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah. ʿUmar made ʿArfajah b. Harthamah their commander, but Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī became angry because of that. He said to the Bajīlah, "Speak to the Commander of the Faith- [2201]
ful." Thus, they said to ʿUmar, "You have put in charge of us a man who is not of us." He then sent a message to ʿArfajah to ask, "What are these [men] saying?" He answered, "They have told the truth, O Commander of the Faithful. I am not of them, but rather I am a man of the Azd. In the Jāhiliyyah, we shed blood among our own people

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dān, 162–63; Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 234, and accompanying map of northern Arabia (k 19, l 19); Donner, *Conquests*, 198.

1020. Persian Gīlān, it is the Iranian district lying at the southwest corner of the Caspian Sea around the city of Rasht. See *EI²*, s.v. Gīlān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 5, 172–75, maps I and V.

1021. The Qays Kubbah b. al-Ghawth, they lived among the Kilāb of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah, but they are accounted a part of the Bajīlah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 223; II, 460.

1022. The Suḥmah b. Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Qudād b. Thaʿlabah b. Muʿāwiyah b. Zayd, they were a subbranch of the Bajīlah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 223; II, 516; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, VII, 89–91; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 534.

1023. The ʿUraynah b. Nadhīr, they mostly lived among the Kilāb of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah, but they are accounted part of the Bajīlah, being a subdivision of the Qasr. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 222; II, 574.

and therefore joined the Bajīlah, among whom we reached the [degree of] authority you have heard about." ʿUmar said to him, "Stay firm in your position and repel them as they repel you." ʿArfajah replied, "I will not do so, nor will I go with them." ʿArfajah went to al-Baṣrah after it was settled, abandoning the Bajīlah. ʿUmar appointed Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh as commander of the Bajīlah. His appointment brought them to al-Kūfah. ʿUmar joined his people from the Bajīlah to him.

Jarīr advanced until, when he passed near to al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah, al-Muthannā wrote to him, "Come to me, for you are only a reinforcement for me." Jarīr wrote back to him, "I will not do so unless the Commander of the Faithful orders me to do that. You are a commander, and I am a commander." Then Jarīr headed toward the bridge. Mihrān b. Bādhān, who was one of Persia's great men, met him at al-Nukhaylah, having crossed the bridge to him. They fought a hard battle. Al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān b. Ḍirār al-Ḍabbī attacked Mihrān, stabbing him so that he fell from his horse. Then Jarīr rushed upon him to cut off his head. After that, they quarreled over his spoils, finally coming to an agreement about it. Jarīr took his arms, while al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān took his belt.

[Abū Jaʿfar]: I have been told that Mihrān, when he met Jarīr, said:

If you ask about me, I am Mihrān;
for those who do not recognize me, I am the son of Bādhān.[1024]

I rejected that [report] until one of the knowledgeable scholars whom I do not accuse [of weakness] told me that he was an Arab who had grown up with his father in Yemen when the latter was governor for
[2202] Kisrā. I no longer rejected that [report] when [this latter information] reached me.

Al-Muthannā[1025] wrote to ʿUmar to denounce Jarīr. ʿUmar wrote back to al-Muthannā, "I would not put you in charge of a man from the Companions of Muḥammad," meaning Jarīr. ʿUmar sent Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ to Iraq with six thousand [men] whom he had appointed him to command. He also wrote to al-Muthannā and Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh that the two of them join Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. He made Saʿd the

1024. This Bādhān is meant to represent the last Persian governor of Yemen, who is said already to have embraced Islam in 10/631. For Bādhān of Yemen, see *EI²*, *Supplement*, s.v. Bādhām, Bādhān.

1025. Ibn Isḥāq's report probably resumes here.

commander of the two of them. Sa'd went along until he stopped at Sharāf,[1026] and al-Muthannā and Jarīr went along until they joined his camp. Sa'd wintered there, while troops gathered to him. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah died.

The text reverts to the report of Sayf.

Al-Khanāfis

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their *isnād*: Al-Muthannā penetrated deeply into al-Sawād, leaving Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah behind at al-Ḥīrah. He sent Jarīr to Maysān and Hilāl b. 'Ullafah al-Taymī to Dast-i Maysān.[1027] He strengthened the frontier posts with 'Iṣmah b. so-and-so al-Ḍabbī, al-Kalaj al-Ḍabbī, 'Arfajah al-Bāriqī, and the likes of them among the Muslims' leaders. He began by stopping at Ullays, which was one of the villages of al-Anbār.[1028] This expedition is called "the latter expedition of al-Anbār" and "the latter expedition of Ullays." Two men importuned al-Muthannā, one of them from al-Anbār, the other from al-Ḥīrah, each one pointing out to him a market. As [2203] for the Anbārī, he directed him to al-Khanāfis, while the Ḥīrī directed him to Baghdādh. Al-Muthannā said, "Which of the two is before the other?" They answered, "Between them are some days." He went on, "Which of them is more immediate?" They replied, "The market of al-Khanāfis is a market to which the people come all together. The Rabī'ah meet at it while the Quḍā'ah protect them."

Thus, al-Muthannā prepared himself for it, so that when he reckoned that he would reach it on its market day, he rode toward them, attacking al-Khanāfis on its market day. In it, there were two groups of horsemen from the Rabī'ah and the Quḍā'ah, the Quḍā'ah under

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1026. A place in the desert some 155 km. to the south-southwest of al-Kūfah on the pilgrimage route, it still retains the same name. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 331; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 109 n. 60, 289, 358; *Northern Neǧd*, 193–95, 212, 232–33, 236, and accompanying map of northern Arabia (k 19); Donner, *Conquests*, 203, 298 n. 83.

1027. This was a district of Iraq not identical with Maysān. It was above Maysān and al-Madhār and constituted the most northerly of Maysān's four districts. Its capital was Basāmatā. See *EI*[1], s.v. Maisān; Morony, *Iraq*, 160–61.

1028. This can hardly be the same Ullays as mentioned before, for al-Anbār is far to the northwest of al-Ḥīrah. Most likely, there is a confusion in Sayf's sources about where Ullays actually was.

Rūmānis b. Wabarah[1029] and the Rabīʿah under al-Salīl b. Qays.[1030] They were the guards. Al-Muthannā tore down the market and what was in it and despoiled the guards [of their weapons]. Then he went back toward where he started, until he came suddenly to the *dihqān*s of al-Anbār in the early light of that day (*yawmahu*).[1031] They fortified themselves against him, but when they recognized him, they came down to him, bringing him fodder and supplies and also bringing him guides to show him Baghdādh, for his objective was the Baghdādh market. He came against them in the morning.

The Muslims were penetrating deeply into al-Sawād while al-Muthannā was at al-Anbār, as they launched attacks in the area between lower Kaskar, the lower Euphrates, and the bridges of Mithqab[1032] as far as ʿAyn al-Tamr and the region belonging to it in the land of al-Falālīj and al-ʿĀl.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥaffiz—his father: A man from the inhabitants of al-Ḥīrah said to al-Muthannā,

> Shall I not show you a village to which the merchants of Madāʾin Kisrā[1033] and al-Sawād come? They gather there
> [2204] once a year and have with them valuables like the public treasury. These are the days of their market. If you are able to attack them without their noticing [your approach], you will obtain there wealth that will be riches for the Muslims and by which they will be strengthened against their enemy for as long as they live.

Al-Muthannā asked, "How far is it from Madāʾin Kisrā?" The man answered, "Part of a day or most of a day." Al-Muthannā went on, "How can I get to it?" They said,

> We bid you, if you set out for it, to take the land route until you get to al-Khanāfis, for the people of al-Anbār will make their way to it, giving information about you so that the people of the market will feel secure. Then you turn to stop at

1029. Or, "Ibn Wabarah b. Rūmānis," as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXV. See above, p. 58.

1030. Al-Dhuhlī, he traveled from Iraq to al-Yamāmah to join the retinue of the false prophetess Sajāḥ. See Ṭabarī, I, 1911; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 144; II, 507.

1031. This would appear to mean "on the same day," but that does not seem to fit the context.

1032. Apparently an unidentified place in al-Sawād and not the same as the desert place named on p. 69.

1033. The same as al-Madāʾin.

al-Anbār, in order to take guides from the *dihqān*s. Then you go along in the dark of the night from al-Anbār so that you come against them in the morning, greeting them with an early morning attack.

Therefore, he went forth from Ullays until he came to al-Khanāfis. Then he turned aside until he came back upon al-Anbār. When its ruler became aware of him, he withdrew inside his fortress, as he did not know who he was, that being at night. When he recognized him, he came down to him. Al-Muthannā offered him food, intimidated him, and told him to keep his secret, saying, "I intend to raid. Therefore, send with me guides [to show me the way] to Baghdādh, so that I may raid from it as far as al-Madā'in." The ruler said, "I will come with you." Al-Muthannā said, "I do not want you to come with me. Rather, send with me one who is a better guide than you." The ruler suppled them with food and fodder and sent guides with them. They traveled until, when they were at the midpoint [of their journey], al-Muthannā asked them, "How far is this village from me?" They answered, "Four or five *farsakh*s." He then asked his men who would volunteer for guard duty, and a group volunteered. He said to them, "Keep your wits sharp as guards."

When he stopped to camp, he said, "O people, stay, eat, make ablutions, and prepare yourselves." He sent out reconnaissance parties, which held up the people [in the vicinity] so that the Muslims would precede the news [about them]. When they were done, he sent [forces] toward the enemy in the latter part of the night. Then he crossed over to them and greeted them in the morning in their markets. He put them to the sword, killing, while the Muslims took what they wanted. Al-Muthannā said, "Take only the gold and the silver. Do not take more goods than one of your men can carry on his mount." The people of the markets fled. The Muslims filled their hands with the yellow, the white,[1034] and the free[1035] of everything. Then he went out to fight again until he stopped on Nahr al-Saylaḥīn[1036] by al-Anbār. On making camp, he addressed the people, saying, "O people, camp, take care of your wants, and be prepared to [2205]

1034. That is, the gold and the silver.

1035. That is, captives.

1036. The modern Ṣāliḥiyyīn, it is a canal that lies about 26 km. west of Baghdād and 36 km. east of al-Anbār. Not to be confused with the other al-Saylaḥūn near al-Ḥīrah. See Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 72, 216; Muqaddasī, *Taqāsīm*, 134; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 134 n. 70, 248, 253–55.

march, praising God and asking Him for safety. Then, retreat in a hurry." They did so, but he heard a whispering among them saying, "How fast the enemy are in pursuing us!" At this, he said,

> Give each other counsel of goodness and obedience to duty, and do not counsel each other to crime and rebelliousness.[1037] Look into matters and weigh them carefully, then speak, for the alarm has not yet reached their city. Should it reach them, terror would prevent them from pursuing you, for raids create fears that spread outward from them for a day into the night. Should the guards pursue you upon actually seeing you, they would not overtake you, because you are on full-blooded Arabian horses, until you have reached your camp and your army. If they were to overtake you, I would fight them for the sake of two [purposes]: the seeking of reward and the hope of victory. Therefore have confidence in God and keep a good opinion of him, for God has supported you in many situations, even though they be more numerous than you. I will keep you informed about myself, as well as about my [feigned] shrinking back and what I intend thereby. The caliph of God's Messenger, Abū Bakr, bade us to shorten our halting, to hasten our turning again to the at-
[2206] tack during raids, and to speed ourselves in another direction.

He advanced with them — they had their guides to convey them across the deserts and the canals — until he brought them to al-Anbār. The *dihqān*s of al-Anbār received them with hospitality and rejoiced at his safe return, for he had promised to treat them well if their affairs remained in good order for them according to what the Muslims liked.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When al-Muthannā returned from Baghdādh to al-Anbār, he sent al-Muḍārib al-ʿIjlī[1038] and Zayd[1039] off to al-Kabāth,[1040] where Fāris al-

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1037. The wording recalls Qurʾān 58:9.

1038. Al-Muḍārib b. Yazīd, he appears only in Sayf's reports here and in Ṭabarī, I, 2269, 2478, 2655–56. His mention in Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 164, probably derives from Sayf. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 422; Donner, *Conquests*, 383, 398, 438.

1039. Unidentified.

1040. A marketplace in Mesopotamia belonging to the Taghlib, according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 433, whose notice is probably drawn from Sayf's report.

ʿUnāb al-Taghlibī[1041] was ruling, and then set out in their tracks. The two men reached al-Kabāth. The people had scattered, emptying al-Kabāth, whose whole population were of the Banū Taghlib. The Muslims rode in their tracks, sending out forces in pursuit of them that overtook their rear, while Fāris al-ʿUnāb protected them, keeping them safe for an hour, then fleeing. At this, the Muslims slew their rear, making much [slaughter]. Al-Muthannā returned to his camp at al-Anbār. The deputy [left] in charge of the Muslims was Furāt b. Ḥayyān. When al-Muthannā returned to al-Anbār, he sent off Furāt b. Ḥayyān and ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās, commanding them both to attack groups of the Taghlib and the Namir at Ṣiffīn.[1042] Then he followed them [himself], leaving ʿAmr b. Abī Sulmā al-Hujaymī[1043] behind in charge of the troops. When they drew near Ṣiffīn, al-Muthannā, Furāt, and ʿUtaybah split up. The inhabitants of Ṣiffīn fled, crossing the Euphrates to al-Jazīrah,[1044] where they fortified themselves. Al-Muthannā and his troops exhausted their provisions, so that they resorted to their mounts, except for those that were needed, and ate them, even their feet, their bones, and their skins. They they overtook a caravan of the people of Diyāf[1045] and Ḥawrān. They killed the non-Muslims and, striking three persons [2207] from the Banū Taghlib who were guards, took the caravan. It was an excellent showing.

Al-Muthannā said to them, "Guide me." One of them responded, "Give me a guarantee of security for my family and my property and I will show you a band of the Taghlib from whom I set out today." Al-Muthannā gave him the guarantee and went with him for the day, until, when it was evening, he assaulted the [Taghlibī] group. Just then, their livestock were returning from the watering place, while the people were sitting in the courtyards of their dwellings. At this point, he unleashed his attackers, who killed the warriors, took the

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1041. Unidentified and found only in this place in al-Ṭabarī.

1042. The site of the famous later battle of 37/658 between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah, it is located on the right bank of the Euphrates between al-Raqqah and Bālis. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣiffīn. The appearance of the name here is probably retrospective, given Sayf's preoccupation with this battle and the justification of its participants.

1043. Al-Tamīmī, he is not further identified and apparently mentioned only here in al-Ṭabarī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 114; Donner, *Conquests*, 384.

1044. That is, to the north bank.

1045. Text Dabā; read: Diyāf, as Cairo ed. and Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXV. Diyāf was a place in al-Jazīrah or Syria. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 494–95.

dependents captive, and drove off their property. They turned out to be the Banū Dhī al-Ruwayḥalah.[1046] Those of the Rabīʿah who were among the Muslims bought the captives with their share of the spoils and freed their captives. The Rabīʿah were not used to taking captives, whereas the Arabs took captives from each other in their Jāhiliyyah.

Al-Muthannā was informed that most of those going about in the country had gone to seek pasturage on the shore of the Tigris. Thus, al-Muthannā set forth. Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan al-Ghalafānī[1047] was in charge of his vanguard in all of these campaigns of his after al-Buwayb. Al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAwf b. al-Nuʿmān and Maṭar,[1048] the two Shaybānīs, were in command of his two wings. He sent Ḥudhayfah after the fleeing enemy and followed him. They overtook them at Tikrīt,[1049] a little before it, whence they pursued them while they were fording the water. They obtained the amount of livestock they wanted, to the extent that each man received five animals and five captives. Al-Muthannā took a fifth of the property, carrying it until he came to the people at al-Anbār.

Furāt and ʿUtaybah had gone off in their own directions until they attacked Ṣiffīn, where the Namir and the Taghlib were under their various standards. They attacked them, throwing a band of them
[2208] into the water. These pleaded with them, but they did not leave off

1046. These are perhaps the ʿĀmir Dhū al-Rujaylah b. Mālik b. Jusham b. Bakr of the Taghlib, as no Dhū al-Ruwayḥilah are known, whereas the Arabic written form of Dhū al-Rujaylah differs only by a single letter. In fact, one ms. of IH has al-Ruwayjilah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ǧamharat*, I, 164; II, 161.

1047. This *nisbah* also variously is given as al-ʿAlqāʾī, al-ʿAlaqānī, or al-Qalʿānī. None of these names is found in Ibn al-Athīr's *Lubāb*, despite Ibn Ḥajar's preference for al-ʿAlqāʾī based on an alleged reading from Ibn al-Athīr. Whatever Sayf may have meant, al-Balādhurī describes this Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan as an Azdī from the al-Bāriq clan. He is famous chiefly for having subdued ʿUmān during the Riddah and having subsequently governed it, possibly until 17/638. If he did remain in ʿUmān while the conquest of Iraq was taking place, it is unlikely he could have played the great role in the latter that Sayf attributes to him. See Ṭabarī, I, 1880, 1929, 1977–80, 2269, 2273, 2292, 2389, 2426, 2481, 2548, 2552, 2565, 2570; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 107; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 92–93; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 148, 156, 164; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 278–79; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 317; Donner, *Conquests*, 86, 386, 403, 426.

1048. Probably the same as Maṭar b. Fiḍḍah al-Taymī introduced on p. 180–81, above.

1049. This is still a large town in Iraq, located on the Tigris about 155 km. north of Baghdād. See *EI*[1], s.v. Tikrīt. That the Muslims should pursue the Persians so far north even before the Battle of al-Qādisiyyah had taken place is hardly possible.

from [attacking] them. They started calling out to them, "Drowning, drowning!"[1050] ʿUtaybah and Furāt began to instigate the men, calling out to them, "A drowning for a burning!" reminding them of one of their battles in the Jāhiliyyah in which they had burned up a group of the Bakr b. Wāʾil in a certain swampy thicket. Then, having drowned them, they turned away, going back to al-Muthannā. When the men had returned to their camp at al-Anbār, and the expeditions and raiding parties had come together there, al-Muthannā led them down to al-Ḥīrah[1051] and camped in it.

ʿUmar used to have spies in every army. As ʿUmar was informed by writing of what took place on those expeditions, he heard what ʿUtaybah and Furāt had said at the battle of the Banū Taghlib and the water. He sent a message to the two of them, asking them [about it]. They informed him that they had said that because it was a proverbial saying and that they had not said it to seek revenge for the Jāhiliyyah. He asked them to swear an oath, and they swore that they had meant by that only [to use] a proverbial saying and to strengthen Islam. He believed them and sent them back, so that they came to al-Muthannā.

What Stirred Up the Matter of al-Qādisiyyah

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sawād b. Nuwayrah — ʿAzīz b. Miknaf al-Tamīmī, then al-Usayyidī;[1052] Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam al-Ḥanafī — al-Mughīrah b. ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās al-ʿIjlī; and Ziyād b. Sarjis al-Aḥmarī — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sābāṭ al-Aḥmarī:[1053] The Persians said to Rustam and al-Fayruzān, who were in charge of the Persians, [2209]

1050. That is, "We are going to drown."

1051. Text: *al-Jazīrah*; read: *al-Ḥīrah*, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXV.

1052. Text: *Usaydī*; read: *Usayyidī*.

1053. An otherwise unknown name that occurs only here. Probably the name is an invention, as the element "b. Sābāṭ" suggests "a son of the town of Sābāṭ." This town was part of the Madāʾin complex of cities and in fact is mentioned in this report. It also is possible that the name was suggested by that of the attested Meccan traditionist ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sābiṭ, who died in 118/736 and therefore was of the same generation as the name proposed here. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 180–81. Elsewhere Sayf has not been above inserting bogus but reasonable-sounding names.

> To where are you being carried? Dispute has not left you alone, so that you have weakened the Persians and made their enemies greedy for them. The two of you have not reached such rank that Persia will concur with you in this opinion and that you expose it to perdition. After Baghdādh, Sābāṭ, and Tikrīt, there is only al-Madāʾin. By God, either you two truly unite, or else we will indeed begin with you before any malicious gloater rejoices at our misfortune.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥaffiz—his father: When the Muslims were plunging deeply into al-Sawād, the Persians said to Rustam,

> What are you waiting for, by God, unless it is for us to be beset [by misfortune] and destroyed? By God, none but you brought this weakness upon us, O leaders! You have divided the Persians and held them back from [dealing with] their enemy. By God, if killing you would not lead to our own annihilation, we would have hastened to kill you this hour. If you do not cease, we will most certainly destroy you and then perish ourselves having been cured of you [at least].

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Al-Fayruzān and Rustam said to Būrān bt. Kisrā, "Write down for us the women of Kisrā and his concubines, and the women of the family of Kisrā and their concubines." She did so, and then forwarded that to them in a written document. Thereupon they sent forth [troops] to seek them, until not a woman remained among them but that they brought her. They took them in place of the men, putting them under torture to ask them to point out any male from the descendants of
[2210] Kisrā, but no one of them was found among these women. They said — or someone among them said, "There remains only this boy called Yazdigird, who is of the sons of Shahriyār b. Kisrā[1054] and whose mother is from the people of Bādūrayā."[1055] They sent [troops] to her, who arrested her on account of him. She had lodged him in the days of Shīrā, when the latter gathered the females in al-Qaṣr al-

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1054. The son and father of Persian kings, but never king himself and hardly more than a link in the Sāsānian family tree. See Ṭabarī, I, 1044, 2883.

1055. A district just west of Baghdād extending from the ʿĪsā and Ṣarāh canals in the north to the Ṣarṣar canal in the south. See *EI*², s.v. Bādūrayā; Le Strange, *Lands*, 31, 66–67, 80, map II; Morony, *Iraq*, 145–46.

Abyaḍ and killed the males. She arranged an appointed time with the boy's maternal uncles, then lowered him to them in a basket. Thus, they [now] asked her about him and arrested her on his account until she showed them where he was. They sent [men] to him, who brought him forth, then, having agreed upon him, they made him king when he was twenty-one years old. Persia felt secure [once more]. As they flocked in, the chiefs competed with one another in [offering] him obedience and aid. He named divisions for every outpost that Kisrā had held, or every frontier position. Thus, he named the divisions of al-Ḥīrah, al-Anbār, the outposts, and al-Ubullah.

That [news] about them and their agreeing on Yazdigird reached al-Muthannā and the Muslims. They wrote to ʿUmar about what they were expecting from those in their midst. The letter did not reach ʿUmar before the people of al-Sawād had rebelled (*kafar*), both those of them who had an agreement [with the Muslims] and those of them who had no agreement. Al-Muthannā led forth his own garrison until he stopped at Dhū Qār. The [other] troops came gradually to [gather] in a single camp in al-Ṭaff,[1056] until ʿUmar's letter came to them:

> Now then, go out from the midst of the Persians and scatter in the waters which lie next to the Persians on the borders of your land and their land. Do not leave among the Rabīʿah anyone, nor among the Muḍar nor their confederates anyone of the courageous, nor any horseman, but that you bring him with you. If they come willingly, [fine,] if not, draft them. Bring the Arabs around to earnestness, for the Persians are in earnest. Meet their earnestness with your earnestness. [2211]

Al-Muthannā encamped at Dhū Qār, and [other] troops camped at al-Jull and Sharāf as far as Ghuḍayy.[1057] (Ghuḍayy is before al-Baṣrah.) Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh was at Ghuḍayy, and Sabrah b. ʿAmr al-ʿAnbarī[1058] and those who had followed his example of those he had

1056. This was the desert plateau west of al-Kūfah, elevated above the flood plain of Iraq. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Ṭaff; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 35–36.

1057. A watering place in the desert near al-Baṣrah belonging to the ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 207.

1058. He is attested by Ibn Isḥāq as a member of a Tamīmī delegation to the Prophet. In 36/656, he is reported to have been governor of al-Yamāmah, perhaps for ʿAlī. See Ṭabarī, I, 1762, 1798, 1909–10, 1912, 3132; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 621; Ibn

charge of [were spread] as far as Salmān.[1059] They formed [a line of] fortified posts in the waters of al-Ṭaff[1060] from their beginning to their end. These were able to see each other and could support each other if something occurred. That was in Dhū al-Qaʿdah of the year 13 (27 December 634–25 January 635).

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their *isnād*: The first act that ʿUmar undertook when he heard that the Persians had made Yazdigird king was to write to the Arab officials in charge [of taxation] of the [settled] districts and the [nomadic] tribes. That was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 13 (25 January 635–24 February 635), when he went forth to the pilgrimage. He made the pilgrimage during all the years of his [reign]. [He wrote,] "Do not leave anyone who has a weapon, a horse, courage, or sound counsel but that you select him and then send him to me. Hurry, hurry!" The messengers went to those to whom he had sent them at the time when he went forth to the pilgrimage. First, those tribes that lived near to Mecca and Medina came to him. As for those who resided from Medina as far as the midpoint between him and Iraq, they came to him at Medina after he had returned from the pilgrimage. As for those who were farther away than that, they joined al-Muthannā [directly]. As for those who came to ʿUmar, they urgently informed him about those behind him.[1061]

Al-Ḥārith — Ibn Saʿd — Abū Maʿshar; and Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah
[2212] — Ibn Isḥāq: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf led the pilgrimage in the year 13.

Al-Muqaddamī[1062] — Isḥāq al-Farwī[1063] — ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar — Nāfiʿ — Ibn ʿUmar: ʿUmar put ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf in charge of

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ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 76–77; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 13. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 311, a Sabrah b. ʿAmr b. Ahnān b. Dithār b. Faqʿas was accounted one of the poets of the Arabs.

1059. This is yet another waterhole near Wāqiṣah and Sharāf. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 239; Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 186 n. 100, 230, 236.

1060. Text: al-ʿIrāq; read: al-Ṭaff, as Cairo ed. and Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXV.

1061. This sentence would seem to refer to those who brought the alarm to ʿUmar from Iraq in the first place.

1062. Text: al-Maqaddī; read: al-Muqaddamī, as Ṭabarī, *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXV. He is Abū ʿUthmān Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAlī b. ʿAṭā' b. Muqaddam, the *mawlā* of the Thaqīf, d. 264/878, who came from a Baṣran family of traditionists but moved to Baghdād. See Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, XII, 393.

1063. Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Farwah, the *mawlā* of the family of the Caliph ʿUthmān, d. 226/841, he was a Medinan tradition-

the pilgrimage in the year in which he began to rule; thus, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān led the pilgrimage. Then ʿUmar led the pilgrimage himself during all the years of his [reign] after that.

In this year—according to what has been reported—ʿUmar's governor of Mecca was ʿAttāb b. Asīd. ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣī was in charge of al-Ṭāʾif, Yaʿlā b. Munyah was in charge of Yemen, Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan was in charge of ʿUmān and al-Yamāmah, al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī was in charge of al-Baḥrayn, Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ was in charge of Syria, and al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah was in charge of the frontier of al-Kūfah and that part of its land which had been conquered. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—according to what has been reported—was in charge of the judiciary. It has also been said that during his reign ʿUmar had no judge.

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ist with a fair reputation. His traditions from ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar, who predeceased him by at least seventy-seven years, are criticized in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 248. See also Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, X, 202; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 198–99.

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Index

This index contains all proper names of persons, places, and tribal and other groups found in the translator's foreword and the text, as well as certain technical terms used in the text. It also includes proper names mentioned in the footnotes, except for names of modern persons and places, authors and titles of books in bibliographical references, and geographical names used only to identify individuals (e.g., "of al-Kūfah") or to locate sites (e.g., "15 km. west of the Euphrates"). Judgeships and other political offices mentioned in the footnotes are, however, indexed in the references under specific cities. If an indexed item occurs only in a footnote, the page number is followed by "n." in the index; otherwise, only the page number is given.

The definite article and the abbreviations b. (for ibn "son of") and bt. (for bint "daughter of") are ignored in alphabetization. Roman numerals given to monarchs are also ignored for purposes of alphabetization. Most Muslim figures are alphabetized only according to their first names. Certain persons, however, are alphabetized by their family names or those names by which they are best known. In many instances cross-references are provided.

Persons whose existence is attested only in the transmissions of Sayf b. 'Umar are marked with an asterisk.*

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XII

The Battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine

TRANSLATED BY YOHANAN FRIEDMANN

The Battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine
Volume XII
Translated by Yohanan Friedmann

The present volume of the History of al-Ṭabarī deals with the years 14 and 15 of the Islamic era, which correspond to A.D. 635-637. The nascent Islamic state had just emerged victorious from the crisis that followed the Prophet's death in 632 and had suppressed what was known as the *riddah* ("apostasy") rebellion in the Arabian peninsula. Under the leadership of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second caliph, or successor to the Prophet Muḥammad, the Muslims embarked on the conquests that would soon transform the whole of the Middle East and North Africa into an Arab empire. Most of the present volume describes the battle of al-Qādisiyyah, which took place on the border between the fertile Iraqi lowlands *(al-sawād)* and the Arabian desert and resulted in the decisive defeat of the Persian army. The Muslim victory at al-Qādisiyyah heralded the downfall of the Sasanian dynasty, which had ruled Persia and Mesopotamia since A.D., the third century; it also paved the way for the conquest of Iraq and facilitated Islamic expansion into Persia and beyond.

The volume also deals with the conquest of Syria and Palestine and the expulsion of the Byzantines from those regions. Particular attention is devoted to the traditions related to the conquest of Jerusalem at the hands of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the first Muslim prayer on the Temple Mount, and its transformation into an Islamic sanctuary.

The volume contains colorful descriptions of the various battles, expatiations on the bravery of the Muslim warriors, and portrayals of the futile negotiations between the parties before the beginning of hostilities. It thus provides the reader with a fascinating insight into the later Muslim traditions related to these crucial events of early Islamic history.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XII

The Battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine

A.D. 635–637/A.H. 14–15

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa 'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XII

The Battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine

translated and annotated
by

Yohanan Friedmann

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

State University of New York Press

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS *(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)* by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839 923), here rendered as *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 39 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission *(isnād)* to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn

Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as sirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

BGA	*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*
CHI	*The Cambridge History of Iran*
EI[1]	*Encylopaedia of Islam*, first edition
EI[2]	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition
GAL	C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. Leiden, 1937–49.
GAS	F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Leiden, 1967–.
IC	*Islamic Culture*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
REI	*Revue des Études Islamiques*
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
SI	*Studia Islamica*
WI	*Die Welt des Islams*
WKAS	M. Ullmann *et al.*, *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*. Wiesbaden 1957–.

Translator's Foreword*

I

Most of the present volume, which describes a part of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's reign, deals with the battle of al-Qādisiyyah, in which the Muslims decisively defeated the Persians. This victory heralded the downfall of the Sasanian dynasty, paved the way for the conquest of Iraq, and facilitated Islamic expansion into Persia and beyond. Al-Qādisiyyah is located to the southwest of the ancient city of al-Ḥīrah, on the border between the fertile Iraqi lowlands (*al-sawād*) and the Arabian desert. Ṭabarī's text (which records the accounts of Ibn Isḥāq, al-Wāqidī, and predominantly that of Sayf b. ʿUmar),[1] confronts the reader with manifold historical problems. Even such a basic question as the date of the battle is not easily solved: Ṭabarī's sources give the date as 14, 15, or 16/635–37.[2] Many of the places through which the troops moved on their way to the battlefield and in which the skirmishes occurred cannot be identified with sufficient precision, and it is therefore impossible to elucidate many tactical aspects of the battle.[3] The size of the armies involved in the fighting presents another baffling problem: The data for the Sasanian army vary between 30,000 and 210,000; in the early sources, the Muslims are said to have numbered between 6,000 and 12,000, but

*Unless otherwise specified, all references in the introduction are to Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I.

1. But not of ʿAwānah b. al-Ḥakam, as suggested by L. Veccia Vaglieri in her article "al-Ḳādisiyya" in *EI*². For recent evaluations of Sayf as a historian, see A. Duri, *Historical Writing*, index; and Ella Landau-Tasseron, "Sayf Ibn ʿUmar."

2. See pp. 2377, 2349; cf. *EI*², "al-Ḳādisiyya," 386a–b.

3. Cf. Donner, *Conquests*, 204.

a later source, al-Mas'ūdī, speaks of 38,000 or 88,000 Muslim warriors.[4] As far as the historicity of Ṭabarī's description is concerned, the material presently available is unlikely to yield results beyond those attained by Veccia Vaglieri, Donner, Noth,[5] and other scholars. It therefore seems advisable to refer the reader to their work and to use this introduction in order to highlight other aspects of Ṭabarī's fascinating text.

II

It seems that a considerable segment of the material included in this volume was suitable to be used by storytellers (*quṣṣās*) in order to capture the attention of their listeners.[6] This is especially the case with regard to the parables related by the Persian general Rustam in order to convince the Muslims to retreat;[7] King Yazdagird's parable of the eagle and the birds;[8] the description of the magicians' contest at the court;[9] the numerous instances in which Muslims outwitted Persians in debate, deed, or combat; and the story of the bull who, while being hidden in the thicket by his owner, suddenly speaks out in order to disclose his location and enable the Muslims to lead him away, presumably to his death.[10] Descriptions of extreme personal bravery are of a different character but equally captivating, and it is noteworthy that some commanders are made to say in their exhor-

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4. These rather disparate numbers constitute two versions given in the various editions of Mas'ūdī's *Murūj*. The figure 38,000 appears in the first edition (Paris, 1861–67, IV, 208), as well as in the edition of C. Pellat (Beirut, 1970, III, 55). The higher figure appears in the edition published in Beirut in 1965, II, 312. The two versions are graphically fairly similar in the Arabic script, which is probably the reason for the discrepancy. See also Donner, *Conquests*, 203–5; *EI²*, s.v. "al-Ḳādisiyya," 386a. G. H. A. Juynboll has recently suggested that one should divide all these numbers by a coefficient of 100 in order to arrive at a plausible description of events. See Juynboll, *Conquests*, xiii–xvi.

5. Noth, *Studien*, should be consulted particularly with regard to the historical reliability of the material, as well as with regard to the various recurrent themes in Ṭabarī's account. Noth has used numerous passages included in the present volume for his analyses. See, for instance, *Studien*, 72–73, with regard to pp. 2235 and 2251 of Ṭabarī's text.

6. See *EI²*, s.v. "Ḳāṣṣ" (Ch. Pellat). See also F. Rosenthal's pertinent observation about the "colorful novelistic presentation of the events" by such traditionists as Sayf b. 'Umar in *Muslim Historiography*, 166; and Duri, *Historical Writing*, 144–45.

7. See pp. 2281–83, 2352.

8. See p. 2248.

9. See pp. 2252–53.

10. See p. 2234.

tations to the troops that the exploits performed by the Muslims in the impending battle will be related in festivals forever and ever.[11] We may mention the harrowing story of a Muslim who, though disemboweled, continued to fight until his death;[12] the poem in which a warrior who lost his leg enjoins himself to endure and not let the lost leg divert his attention from the battle;[13] and the poem in which the hero pledges to continue using his hand in combat, though three of its fingers have just been cut off.[14] The heroism and military prowess of certain Muslims seem all the more impressive when their indomitable deeds are related and extolled by their captured enemies.[15]

Considerable space is devoted by Ṭabarī to the encounters between the Persian leaders and several Muslim delegations and individuals who were either invited to the Persian court to negotiate a solution to the conflict or sent by ʿUmar in order to invite the king to embrace Islam. In these discussions, said to have been held at the royal court or at Rustam's military headquarters, there are several recurrent themes. The Persians treat the Muslims with contempt, speak derisively about their weapons, expatiate on their poverty and primitive way of life, and assert that they do not have the military might required to take on such an empire as that of the Persians.[16] Anachronistic echoes of Shuʿūbī arguments can clearly be discerned in the speeches said to have been addressed to the successive Muslim delegations. The Persians also threaten the Muslims with death and destruction if they seek to accomplish their goals by military means.[17] At the same time, Yazdagird and Rustam make repeated attempts to dissuade the Muslims from embarking on such a course by promises of material gain if they will desist from their warlike intentions.[18] Their arguments are supported by an ostentatious display of luxury and abundance at the court.[19]

The most noticeable feature of the Muslim response to this arro-

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11. See p. 2294, above; cf. p. 2293, above.
12. See p. 2310.
13. See pp. 2328–29.
14. See p. 2410.
15. See pp. 2263–64.
16. See pp. 2236, 2275, 2279, 2280, 2352.
17. See p. 2337.
18. See pp. 2240, 2267, 2276, 2281.
19. See pp. 2270, 2274.

gant display of opulence is studied contempt. Ignoring orders to dismount before entering into Rustam's presence, the Muslims contemptuously ride their horses on the luxurious carpets of the Persians. On other occasions they plunge their spears into the carpets and cushions, tearing them to shreds. Their rugged and shabby appearance is brought into sharp relief when contrasted with the luxury and finery of their rivals.[20]

Responding to speeches delivered by the Persians, the Muslims freely admit that the conditions in which they lived in the pre-Islamic period (*al-Jāhiliyyah*) were primitive, claiming, however, that this has lost all significance because these conditions had undergone a substantial transformation for the better with the coming of Islam.[21] The Muslim spokesmen counter the threats of the Persians with the repeatedly expressed conviction that Muslims who die on the battlefield will be rewarded in Paradise and that those who survive will prevail over their enemies.[22] The Persians are offered the three classical options: to embrace Islam, to pay the poll tax, or to be attacked and defeated.[23] None of the Persian suggestions of material support is acceptable; unlike the pre-Islamic Arabs, the Muslims do not fight for worldly possessions or in order to improve their standard of living. Their only objective is to spread the new faith of Islam.

Ṭabarī's account of the battle and of the events surrounding it contains several episodes of a symbolic nature. These are introduced at various stages in order to assure the listener or the reader that the outcome of the war will be favorable to the Muslims. In several cases these indications gain increased credibility by being associated with Persian dignitaries. It is King Yazdagird who perceives a disastrous omen in a few words used in his discussion with a Muslim delegation.[24] In another episode, Yazdagird places a load of soil on a Muslim's neck and drives him out of the capital city of al-Madāʾin, together with his companions. The king's intention is to humiliate the Muslims, but Rustam's interpretation is different: He perceives

20. See pp. 2270–71, 2273.
21. See pp. 2241–42, 2268, 2283–84, 2352–53.
22. See pp. 2237, 2242.
23. See pp. 2240, 2242, 2272, 2273, 2284, but see Noth, *Studien*, 131ff.; and Crone, *Slaves*, 208–9 n. 68.
24. See p. 2239.

it as a symbol that the Muslims have taken hold of the keys to the Persian kingdom and "carried the country away."[25] Another event of symbolic nature occurs in the heat of battle. A westerly wind of gale force, which is traditionally described as having destroyed the rebellious community of ʿĀd in the legendary past, topples the sunshade from Rustam's throne. The significance is clear: God is about to destroy the infidel kingdom of Persia, as he had destroyed the sinful community of ʿĀd.[26] The Persian defeat is also indicated when Rustam dreams of an angel who seals the Persian weapons, surrenders them to ʿUmar, or takes them up to heaven.[27] Furthermore, Ṭabarī uses the astrological knowledge attributed to Rustam in order to convey to the reader the feeling that the defeat of the Persians is being predicted by the stars and is therefore inescapable.[28] Rustam is made to play a double role; on the one hand, he is loyal to his king and does his best to save the empire by trying to persuade the Arabs to desist and return to their land. When these efforts fail, he leads his army into battle. On the other hand, he is keenly aware of the fact that his efforts will be of no avail and that the Persian empire is doomed.

III

A much smaller segment of the present volume deals with battles against the Byzantines and the conquest of Syria and Palestine.[29] As in the case of al-Qādisiyyah, the chronology of these events is largely uncertain.[30] Ṭabarī describes the battles of Marj al-Rūm;[31] the conquest of the northern Syrian cities of Ḥimṣ (Emesa)[32] and Qinnasrīn;[33] the conquest of Caesarea on the Palestinian coast;[34] and the battle of Ajnādayn.[35] Following these defeats of the Byzantines, Emperor Heraclius decided to leave Syria, asserting that his departure

25. See pp. 2242–44. Cf. Yusuf, "Qadisiyya," 15.
26. See p. 2236; and *EI*², s.v. "ʿĀd" (F. Buhl).
27. See pp. 2266, 2286.
28. See pp. 2251, 2253, 2266.
29. Cf. Donner, *Conquests*, 148–51.
30. Cf. Donner, *Conquests*, 146.
31. See pp. 2389–90.
32. See pp. 2390–92.
33. See pp. 2393–94.
34. See pp. 2397–99.
35. See p. 2400.

was final: No Byzantine would return to Syria until the end of days, except in fear.[36] Parallel to the case of al-Qādisiyyah, Ṭabarī's text reflects a sharp perception of the historical significance of these events for the expansion and durability of Islam.[37]

A chapter of special interest deals with the surrender of Jerusalem to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.[38] The problem of ʿUmar's visit to Jerusalem and of its historicity has been extensively discussed in two recent articles by H. Busse[39] and cannot be taken up here. Suffice it to say that in Ṭabarī's text ʿUmar's conquest of the city is predicted by a Jew, yet one of the most important actions ascribed to ʿUmar during his visit to the city reflects the disengagement of Islam from Judaism; The Muslims are enjoined to pray in the direction of Mecca alone, and the veneration of the Rock is prohibited. Fulfilling another prediction, ʿUmar cleans the rubbish with which the Byzantines are said to have covered the Temple after its destruction. In this way he restores the Temple Mount to its purity and at the same time transforms it into a sanctuary of Islam.[40] The Islamization of Jerusalem has to be considered in conjunction with other developments in Islamic ritual that had similar significance. The change of the *qiblah* from Jerusalem to Mecca[41] and the abolition of the obligatory fast of the tenth of Muḥarram, which had been established after the *hijrah* in imitation of the Jewish Day of Atonement,[42] have to be considered in this context.

IV

Some of the most important material included in this volume deals with various matters of an economic and legal nature. The conquest of the fertile lowlands of Iraq (*al-sawād*) raised the question of the legal status of the land and its inhabitants. The issue was complicated by the fact that the conquest of the area was effected in two stages. The early campaigns of Khālid b. al-Walīd — the so-called

36. See p. 2396.
37. For the great importance ascribed by the Arabs to the battle of al-Qādisiyyah, see p. 2364.
38. See pp. 2403–9.
39. "ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb"; "ʿOmar's Image."
40. For a critical interpretation of this episode, see Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 5–6.
41. See pp. 1279–81; *EI*², s.v. "Ḳibla" i. (A. J. Wensinck).
42. See p. 1281; *EI*², s.v. "ʿĀshūrāʾ" I (A. J. Wensinck).

ayyām—are estimated to have taken place in the spring or summer of 12/633.[43] In the wake of his victories, Khālid b. al-Walīd concluded treaties with the people of al-Ḥīrah and several other localities. These treaties stipulated payment of the poll tax and, in one case, obliged the inhabitants to spy on behalf of the Muslims.[44] The later battles, among which al-Qādisiyyah takes pride of place, occurred sometime between 14 and 16/635–38. The legal question was whether there should be any difference in the status of the inhabitants who made peace treaties with Khālid b. al-Walīd and who had fulfilled their obligations accordingly and those whose lands were overrun in the second stage of the conquest and who did not have any treaties with the conquering Muslims. According to the historical tradition recorded by Ṭabarī, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, the commander of the Muslim forces in al-Qādisiyyah, implemented the treaties that Khālid b. al-Walīd had concluded earlier. With regard to the inhabitants of the *sawād* who did not have treaties, Saʿd asked ʿUmar to make a ruling. Describing the behavior of the inhabitants during the fighting, he discerned several groups among them: those who stayed in their abodes, those who left and later claimed that they had been forcibly recruited into the Persian army, those who abandoned their land without giving any explanation for their move, and those who surrendered to the Muslims without a fight.[45] The underlying assumption of his discourse is that abandoning the land at the time of the fighting is prima facie a hostile act and that an explanation is necessary in order to induce the Muslims to disregard it or to view it in a different light.[46] Saʿd made it clear that it was, nevertheless, in the best interest of the Muslims to gain the goodwill of the entire population. ʿUmar's reply made ostensible distinctions between the various groups, but its salient point was the grant to Saʿd of power to treat all inhabitants of the *sawād*, even those who had abandoned their land in order to assist the Persians, in the same way: to conclude a treaty that would allow them to keep their land and oblige them to pay the poll tax.[47] This development is best summarized in a tradition recorded by Ibn Sallām: "The people of

43. See Donner, *Conquests*, 178.
44. See pp. 2019–20, 2044–45, 2049–50; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 244–45.
45. These groups are, of course, not mutually exclusive.
46. Cf. p. 2467.
47. See pp. 2368–71.

the *sawād* did not have a treaty. But when the poll tax was levied on them, [*ipso facto*] a treaty with them came into being" (*lam yakun li-ahl al-sawād ʿahd fa-lammā ukhidhat minhum al-jizyah ṣāra lahum ʿahd*).[48] ʿUmar resisted the demands made by some prominent Muslims—Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, the *muʾadhdhin* of the Prophet, and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām are mentioned among them—to divide the land conquered by force among the warriors. He preferred that the original inhabitants retain possession of the land, so that the taxes imposed upon them would serve as a perennial source of income for the Muslim community.[49] Only the property of the royal family and of its active supporters and some areas in public use (such as the properties of the Zoroastrian fire temples) became *fayʾ*, "solid booty," and were to be divided among the Muslims. It was, however, impractical to put this division into effect because the areas in question were scattered over the entire *sawād*. They were therefore administered collectively on behalf of those who were entitled to shares in them (*ahl al-fayʾ*).[50]

These were, in broad terms, the economic and legal arrangements that are said to have been concluded with the original population of the conquered Iraqi lowlands.[51] Ṭabarī's historical tradition speaks also about the economic arrangements made within the Muslim community. These are subsumed under the heading of the pay system (*ʿaṭāʾ*) and the military register (*dīwān*).[52] Seniority in Islam was in most instances the criterion according to which the amount of pay was determined. Those who embraced Islam early enough to participate in the battle of Badr in 2/624 received five thousand dirhams. Those who joined the Prophet between Badr and al-Ḥudaybiyyah (6/628) received four thousand each. With each successive stage of conversion the amount decreased: The lowest payment was determined for those who joined Islam and the Muslim army at various times after the battles of Yarmūk and al-Qādisiyyah. Muslims who acquitted themselves exceptionally well (*ahl al-balāʾ*) received

48. Ibn Sallām, *Amwāl*, 140 § 379. Cf. Noth, "Zum Verhältnis," 157.

49. See Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, 67–73, 86–87; Ibn Sallām, *Amwāl*, 57–59; Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-siyar*, III, 1039–40; Duri, "Taxation," 139–40; Forand, "Status."

50. See pp. 2371–72, 2468–69; Shaban, *History*, 49–50.

51. For a discussion of the emergence of these traditions in the Umayyad period, rather than at the time of the conquest, see Noth, "Zum Verhältnis," 162. See also Schmucker, *Untersuchungen*, 96ff.

52. See pp. 2411–14.

higher pay. Several significant exceptions were made: The Prophet's uncle al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib received the highest sum mentioned. This tradition seems to be an element in the glorification of al-ʿAbbās common to ʿAbbāsid historians.[53] The Prophet's two grandsons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn; Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī; and Salmān al-Fārisī received sums equal to that awarded to the participants in the battle of Badr, though none of them belonged to this group. A similar exception was made for the wives and the concubines of the Prophet.

Distribution of booty also looms large in Ṭabarī's narrative. One of the principles followed by Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was to award to every warrior the spoils of his slain enemy. ʿUmar considered this course of action to be conducive to the morale of the troops, and he confirmed it even when Muslims had killed Persian notables and acquired spoils of reportedly enormous value.[54] In several instances these Muslims are said to have sold their valuable spoils for large sums of money.[55]

V

In preparing this volume, I have attempted to make the annotation meaningful to students of Arabic and Islam as well as to non-Arabists. Wherever possible, I have prepared short biographies of persons who play significant roles in the narrative but are not included in such standard reference works as *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. I have also tried to highlight the ideas that are, in my opinion, implied in the text. In some cases I found it possible to elucidate obscurities of Ṭabarī's text by reference to parallel Arabic sources. I trust that Islamicists will bear with me for including in this introduction and in the notes material that they may deem superfluous and that non-Arabists will not be taken aback by the philological nature of certain notes intended primarily for the benefit of their Arabist colleagues.

Finally, I should like to thank Professor M. J. Kister for being generous as usual with his time, advice, and unrivaled erudition. Thanks are due also to Professor A. Arazi, with whom I discussed several poems included in this volume. Dr. A. Elʿad read the pas-

53. See *EI*², s.v. "al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib" (W. M. Watt).
54. See pp. 2340, 2342–43.
55. See pp. 2324, 2337, 2340.

sages on the conquest of Jerusalem and shared with me some of his insights. I am also indebted to Professor C. E. Bosworth and to Dr. E. Whelan for their painstaking editorial work. Needless to say, the responsibility for any imperfections, errors of judgment, or infelicities of style is mine alone.

Yohanan Friedmann

The Caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (cont'd)

The Events of the Year [2212]

14

(FEBRUARY 25, 635–FEBRUARY 13, 636)

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: ʿUmar set out on the first day of the month of Muḥarram of the year 14 (635) and halted near a spring called Ṣirār.[1] He established a camp there as the people did not know whether he wanted to go farther or to stay.

(When they wanted to ask ʿUmar something, they sent to him ʿUthmān or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. During ʿUmar's reign, ʿUthmān was called a *radīf*. They[2] have said: In the language of the Bedouins the *radīf* is a man (who rides) behind another man (on the back of the same mount); and the Arabs use the word for a [2213] person whom they want (to rule them) after (the death of) their ruler.[3] And, if ʿUthmān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf[4] could not get the in-

1. A place situated three miles from Medina, on the way to Iraq. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 377.

2. The pronoun stands for either the Arab philologists or the Bedouins; both groups were renowned for their knowledge of classical Arabic.

3. For *ridf* (a variant of *radīf*) as a deputy and aid to the kings of al-Ḥīrah, see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *r-d-f*; Jawharī, *Tāj al-lugha*, IV, 1363–64; Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, XIV, 96–98.

4. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf was one of the earliest converts to Islam and an influ-

formation that they wanted, they directed the question for the third time to al-ʿAbbās.][5]

ʿUthmān said to ʿUmar: "What has come to your knowledge? What is it that you want to do?" ʿUmar gave the call for a congregational prayer, the people gathered around him, and he passed the information to them. Then he considered what the people had to say. The troops (*al-ʿāmmah*) said: "Set out and take us with you." [Outwardly] he agreed with their view and did not want to dissociate himself from them without gently changing their opinion [first], and he said: "Prepare yourself and prepare your provisions and equipment, for I am about to set out unless an idea better than that comes up." Then he sent for the men of sound judgment (*ahl al-raʾy*). Prominent companions of the Prophet and Arab notables gathered around him. He said: "Let me have your opinion, for I am about to set out." All of them assembled and unanimously decided that he should stay, send out a man from the companions of the Prophet, and provide him with troops. If the desired victory should be attained, then this is what all of them wanted; if not, he would recall the man and recruit another army. This would enrage the enemy; the Muslims would regain their strength,[6] and God's victory would come through the fulfillment of God's promises.

ʿUmar called for congregational prayer, and the people gathered around him. He sent for ʿAlī, whom he had appointed to be his deputy in Medina, and ʿAlī came to him; and he also sent for Ṭalḥah, whom he had sent to command the vanguard, and he returned to him [as well]. On the two wings of the army he appointed al-Zubayr[7] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. ʿUmar stood up [to address] the people and said:

> Almighty God has united the people of Islam, reconciled their hearts, and made them brethren. In all matters con-

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ential personality in early Islamic history. See *EI*², s.v. "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf" (M. Th. Houtsma and W. M. Watt), and the sources quoted there.

5. This parenthetical passage explains why it was ʿUthmān who asked ʿUmar about his plans.

6. *Irʿawā* means "he returned to the proper condition." The classical dictionaries do not mention the sense in which the word is used here, but de Goeje seems to have been correct in his suggestion, which I have followed. See *Glossary*, CCLXV.

7. Al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām was one of the earliest converts to Islam and a trusted Companion of the Prophet. See *EI*¹, s.v. "Al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām" (A. J. Wensinck), and the sources quoted there.

cerning them, the Muslims are like on body; no part of it remains unaffected by something that afflicts another part.[8] Furthermore, it behoves the Muslims that their matters be decided in consultation among them,[9] or, rather, among the [2214] wise men among them (*dhawū al-ra'y*). The people are subordinate to those who undertake this command. What the latter agree upon and are satisfied with is incumbent upon the people, and the people are subordinate to them in it. And those who undertake this command are subordinate to the wise men: Whatever the latter deem appropriate and are satisfied with concerning battle strategy, the commanders are subordinate to them. O people! I am like one of you, so that the wise men from among you prevented me from setting out, and I saw fit to stay and to send another person [instead of me]. I have summoned for consultation on this matter the commander of the vanguard and the person whom I have left as my deputy in Medina.

[ʿAlī was ʿUmar's deputy in Medina, and Ṭalḥah commanded the vanguard of the army in al-Aʿwaṣ.[10] ʿUmar called both of them (for consultation)].

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān — ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: When ʿUmar came to know that Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd[11] had been killed and that the people of Persia had rallied around someone from the family of Kisrā,[12] he called the Emigrants and the Helpers and set out for Ṣirār. He ordered Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh to move forward to Aʿwaṣ. He appointed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf to command his right wing and al-

8. For a famous *ḥadīth* expressing the idea of Muslim solidarity in a similar way, see Muslim, *Saḥīḥ*, IV, 2000 (*kitāb al-birr wa al-ṣilah wa al-adab, bāb* 17): "The Muslims are like one person: If his eye has a reason for complaint, his entire body complains . . . (*al-muslimūn ka-rajulin wāḥid: idhā ishtakā ʿaynuhu, ishtakā kulluhu . . .*).

9. Cf. Qur'ān 42:38.

10. A place situated a few miles from Medina; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 317.

11. Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī, the father of the famous al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd, embraced Islam during the lifetime of the Prophet. He was killed in Iraq in the battle of the Bridge, which preceded the battle of al-Qādisiyyah. See (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 248–49; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VII, 267–68.

12. Kisrā is the Arabic form of Khusraw and was used by the Arabs as a title for all Sasanian kings. See *EI*², s.v. "Kisrā" (M. Morony).

Zubayr b. ʿAwwām the left wing, and he appointed ʿAlī to be his deputy in charge of Medina. He consulted the troops, and all of them advised him to set out for Persia. He had not engaged in consultation about what happened until he reached Ṣirār and Ṭalḥah returned, so he then consulted the people of sound judgment. Ṭalḥah was one of those who followed the view of the troops, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was among those who advised ʿUmar against it. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said:

> I have never said, and I shall never say, to anyone after the Prophet: "May my father and mother be your ransom!" [Still] I say: "May my father and mother be your ransom!"[13] Let me bear the responsibility for the outcome of this matter.[14] Stay and send an army. In the past, you have seen God's
> [2215] decree concerning you in your soldiers, and you will see it also in the future. If your army is defeated, it is not the same as if you [yourself] were defeated. If you are killed or defeated at the outset, I am afraid that no Muslims will remain in existence."[15]

While ʿUmar was in search of a man [to command an expedition against the Persians], a letter from Saʿd (b. Abī Waqqāṣ), who was in charge of collecting alms in Najd, arrived in the wake of their consultations. ʿUmar said: "Suggest a man." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said: "You have found him." ʿUmar said: "Who is he?" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said: "Saʿd b. Mālik[16] (b. Abī Waqqāṣ), whose claws are like a lion's." The men of judgment went along with this suggestion.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Khulayd b. Zufar — his

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13. Meaning: "I do not hold anyone in such a high regard as I hold you."

14. The expression *ijʿal ʿajuzahā bī* is difficult. For *ʿajuz* (pl. *aʿjāz*) in the sense of "outcome, result" (*ʿawāqib*), see (M.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, III, 185. *Pace* de Goeje, who, *Addenda et Emendanda*, (DCXV), vocalizes *ʿajz* and suggests understanding it as "impotentia."

15. The text reads: "I am afraid that Muslims will not say 'God is the greatest' and 'There is no god except Allāh.'" Cf. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 203: "... if you are defeated or killed, the Muslims will apostatize and will never attest that there is no god except Allāh ..." (... *innaka in tuḥzam aw tuqtal yakfur al-muslimūn wa lā yashhadūna an lā ilāh illā Allāh abadan* ...).

16. Mālik and Abū Waqqāṣ are one and the same person. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was one of the first converts and supporters of the Prophet. He played an important role in the battles of nascent Islam. He considered himself "the first person to shoot an arrow in the way of God." See *EI*[1], s.v. "Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ" (K. V. Zetterstéen); Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/i, 97ff.

father: Al-Muthannā[17] wrote to ʿUmar that the Persians had rallied around Yazdagird, and he informed him about their military expeditions and about the situation of the *ahl al-dhimmah*. ʿUmar wrote to him: "Move to the desert, call upon (the tribes) adjacent to you, and stay close to the Persians on the border between your land and their land until you receive my orders." The Persians attacked the Muslims first, their troops fought them, and the *ahl al-dhimmah* rose against them. Al-Muthannā set out with his men, went to Iraq, and dispersed them all over the country. They established garrisons between Ghudayy[18] and Quṭquṭānah;[19] the garrisons of Kisrā and his forward outposts withdrew, and the situation in Persia settled down. The Persians were stricken with awe and fear. The Muslims set out against them in large numbers and attacked them fiercely, like a lion who struggles with his prey and attacks time and again. The Arab commanders had to hold them back, so that they might wait for ʿUmar's instructions and reinforcements.

According to al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm — Sayf b. ʿUmar — Sahl b. Yūsuf — al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: Abū Bakr had appointed Saʿd (b. Abī Waqqāṣ) to collect the alms of Hawāzin[20] in Najd, and ʿUmar confirmed his appointment. When ʿUmar was recruiting the people, he wrote to Saʿd [as he did to the other governors] and asked him to choose horsemen and [other] armed fighting men, people with sound judgment and valor. Saʿd replied by letter, in which he listed the men whom he was able to gather, with God's help. Saʿd's letter reached ʿUmar after he had consulted the people [in an attempt to select] a man [to command the expedition], and, when Saʿd's name came up, they suggested appointing him. [2216]

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17. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī embraced Islam in the year 9 or 10/630–2 and fought in Iraq under Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Because of the initiatives that he took in the Iraq campaigns, ʿUmar used to say that al-Muthannā "made himself an amīr." He is said to have encouraged the Muslims to wage war against Persia and predicted that it would be an easy one. See (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 299–300; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 766–67.

18. For Ghuḍayy, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 806–7. Ṭabarī, I, 2211, locates it "opposite al-Baṣrah" (*ḥiyāl al-Baṣrah*).

19. Al-Qutquṭānah was a spring situated west of the site where al-Kūfah was later founded. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 137; III, 539, s.v. "Ṭaff"; Morony, *Iraq*, 151; Ṣ. A. ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfah" 246–47.

20. Hawāzin was a large northern Arabian tribe, subdued by the Prophet in the battle of Ḥunayn (Shawwāl 8/January – February 630). See *EI*², s.v. "Hawāzin" (W. M. Watt), "Ḥunayn" (H. Lammens).

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was in charge of collecting the alms of Hawāzin. ʿUmar instructed him, as he instructed others, to choose men of sound judgment and valor, possessing weapons or horses. He received Saʿd's reply, saying: "I have chosen for you one thousand armed horsemen. All are distinguished by valor, sound judgment, and prudence; they are [well known for] protecting the families and the inviolable property of their tribes. They epitomize their people's virtues, and their views are highly respected. They are at your disposal." Saʿd's letter arrived when ʿUmar was consulting the people. They said: "You have found the man." He asked: "Who is he?" They said: "A charging lion." He asked [again]: "Who is he?" They said: "Saʿd." ʿUmar accepted their advice and sent for Saʿd. When Saʿd came, ʿUmar put him in charge of the war in Iraq and admonished him, saying:

> O Saʿd, Saʿd of Banū Wuhayb![21] You must not allow yourself to be deluded into deviation from [the way of] God if it is said: [This is] the uncle of the Messenger of God [and that is] one of his Companions.[22] God will not eradicate one bad thing by means of another but will rather eradicate a bad thing with a good one. For there is no relationship between God and any human being except obedience. In the eyes of God[23] people are equal, regardless of rank; God is their Mas-
> [2217] ter, and they are His servants. They differ from each other in their well-being, and they achieve God's favor by observing [His commandments]. Ponder the way in which the Prophet behaved since the beginning of his mission and until his death; stick to it, because this is the proper behavior. This is my admonition to you! If you disregard it and turn away from it, your endeavor will fail, and you will be one of the losers.[24]

When ʿUmar was about to send Saʿd off, he called him back once again and said:

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21. Wuhayb was Saʿd's grandfather; see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/i, 97 l. 8.
22. That is to say, do not grant favors to anyone, regardless of his kinship or companionship with the Prophet and his consequent standing in Islam.
23. The original reads: *fī dhāt Allāh*.
24. Alluding to Qur'ān 5:7.

I have appointed you to wage war in Iraq. Remember my admonition because you are about to engage in a difficult and hateful matter. None but God will keep [you] safe from [the dangers involved in] it. Make virtue the habit of yourself and of your associates, and seek divine help by means of it. Know that every habit has its requisites, and the requisite of virtue is endurance. You must therefore endure what afflicts you, or afflicts you repeatedly, and fear God. Know that fear of God consists of two things: being obedient to Him and avoiding rebellion against Him. One obeys Him by hating this world and loving the hereafter; one hates Him by loving this world and hating the hereafter. In people's hearts there are realities (*ḥaqā'iq*), which God creates. Two of these are what is secret (*sirr*) and what is publicly proclaimed (*'alaniyyah*). The latter means that [in the eyes of an upright person][25] people who praise him and people who blame him are equal when he acts for the sake of the truth (*an yakūna ḥāmiduhu wa dhāmmuhu fī al-ḥaqq sawā'*).[26] As for what is secret, it becomes known by the appearance of wisdom from his heart on his tongue and by the love of the people. Therefore do not refrain from making yourself loved, for the prophets sought people's love. When God loves someone, He makes him loved; if He hates someone, He makes him hated. Regard your standing in the eyes of the people who joined you in this affair as an indication of your standing in the eyes of God.[27]

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25. De Goeje suggests in a note to this passage that the person intended here is the *amīr*.

26. Equanimity with regard to people's blame or praise is a frequently mentioned characteristic of the ideal Muslim and particularly of the *zāhid*. See, e.g., Ibn Ḥanbal, *Zuhd*, 158; Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, 52 (separate pagination at the end of the book). A similar idea is expressed in the oath of allegiance taken by the early Muslims. They promised to the Prophet "... to speak the truth wherever we are and not to fear anyone's blame, [when acting] for the sake of God (... *an naqūla bi-'l-ḥaqq haythu-mā kunnā wa-lā nakhāfa fī Allāh lawmata lā'imin*). See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 401–2 (*kitāb al-aḥkām*, 43). For further occurrences of this tradition, see Wensinck *et al.*, *Concordance*, s.v. *lawmah*. The same attitude of disregarding blame should be taken by those who apply the punishments prescribed in the Qur'ān (*ḥudūd*); see Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, II, 849 (*kitāb al-ḥudūd, bāb* 3). See also Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 233.

27. Muslim tradition maintains that, if God loves someone, He instructs Gabriel and the people of heaven to love him as well; such a person also gains acceptance on

Then ʿUmar sent him out with the warriors who had joined him in Medina. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ set out from Medina in the direction
[2218] of Iraq with four thousand men. Three thousand came from the Yemen and al-Sarāt.[28] The people of the Sarawāt were led by Ḥumayḍah b. al-Nuʿmān b. Ḥumayḍah al-Bāriqī,[29] and they [belonged to the clans of] Bāriq, Almaʿ, Ghāmid, and the rest of their brethren. The people of al-Sarāt were seven hundred, and the people of Yemen were two thousand and three hundred [fighting men]. Among them was al-Nakhaʿ b. ʿAmr. All of them numbered [in total] four thousand people, including the fighting men, their children, and their wives. ʿUmar came to see them in their camp and wanted all of them to proceed to Iraq, but they insisted on going to Syria. ʿUmar insisted on Iraq; eventually half of the people complied, and he sent them to Iraq, and he sent the other half to Syria.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ḥanash al-Nakhaʿī—his father and others: ʿUmar came to see them in their camp and said: "Honor is abundant among you, O people of Nakhaʿ. Proceed with Saʿd." They wanted to go to Syria. He insisted on Iraq, and they insisted on Syria. So he sent half of them to Syria and the other half to Iraq.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Munstanīr, and Ḥanash: Six hundred of the fighters were from Ḥaḍramawt and al-Ṣadif,[30] commanded by Shaddād b. Ḍamʿaj. One thousand and three hundred were from Madhḥij,[31] commanded by
[2219] three chieftains: Banū Munabbih under ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib;[32] the

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earth. Accordingly, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is said to have been loved by God, in view of the affection that the people displayed toward him. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 2030–31 (*kitāb al-birr wa-al-ṣilah wa-al-adab, bāb* 48).

28. A mountain range parallel to the southwestern coast of the Arabian peninsula. See *EI*², s.vv. "al-ʿArab, Djazīrat" (G. Rentz), 536a, "ʿAsīr" (R. Headley et al.), 707b; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 65.

29. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 130 no. 1850.

30. A region in the Yemen. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 375.

31. For this tribe of Yemeni extraction, see *EI*², s.v. "Madhḥidj" (G. R. Smith—C. E. Bosworth).

32. ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib was a famous warrior and *mukhaḍram* poet of Yemeni extraction. He converted to Islam in 10/631 but after the Prophet's death took part in the *riddah* of al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī, the Yemeni claimant to prophethood. After the suppression of the rebellion he joined the Muslims again and distinguished himself in the battles of al-Qādisiyyah and al-Yarmūk. His poetry and other materials concerning him have been collected in Ṭaʿʿān, *Dīwān*; and in Tarābīshī, *Shiʿr ʿAmr*. Some of ʿAmr's poems reflect his displeasure at the treatment he received from Saʿd

Ju'fī, the brothers of Jaz' allied with the Ju'fī, the Zubayd, the Anas Allāh, and those connected with them under Abū Sabra b. Dhu'ayb; and three hundred men from Ṣudā', Janb, and Musliyah under Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith al-Ṣudā'ī. These are the people of Madhḥij who participated in [the battle of] al-Qādisiyyah, together with those who set out from Medina with Sa'd. One thousand men from Qays 'Aylān [also] set out with him, commanded by Bishr b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilālī.[33]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Ubaydah—Ibrāhīm: The people [who were about to participate in the battle] of al-Qādisiyyah[34] set out from Medina and were four thousand: three thousand from the people of Yemen and one thousand from the rest [of the Arabs].

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Sahl—al-Qāsim: 'Umar accompanied the troops from Ṣirār to al-A'waṣ. Then he stood up to address them and said:

> God has made for you similitudes and clarified for you the words in order to infuse new life into the hearts, because the hearts are dead in their chests until God revives them. Whoever knows something, let him benefit from it. Justice has its signs (*amārāt*) and indications (*tabāshīr*), and these signs are diffidence, generosity, and gentleness. The indication of justice is mercy. God has provided for everything a door and for every door a key; the door of justice is reflection, and its key is piety (*zuhd*). Reflection is remembering death [2220]
> by keeping in mind those who have died and preparing oneself for it by performing the commandments. Piety is taking what is due from everybody who owes it and giving what is due to everybody who has a right to it.[35] Do not grant favor

b. Abī Waqqāṣ; see Ṭa''ān, 99, 108. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 686–93; *EI*², s.v. "'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib" (Ch. Pellat).

33. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 299–300 no. 655.

34. For a description of the battle of al-Qādisiyyah and for an analysis of the historiographical and other problems connected with it, see *EI*², s.v. "al-Ḳādisiyya" (L. Veccia Vaglieri), and the sources mentioned there. See also Yusuf, "Qadisiyya."

35. Recent studies have shown that *zuhd* encompasses not only asceticism but also upright behavior, piety, and integrity in the more general sense. The *zuhd* of a ruler is, according to this passage, upholding justice in society. For a somewhat similar definition of *zuhd*, see Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, II, 199: "... taking a thing from where it is and putting it where it should be" (... *al-zuhd fī al-dunyā huwa ... akh-*

to anyone in this matter. Do not give more than bare livelihood; a person who is not satisfied with this, nothing will make him content. I am between you and God, and nobody is between me and Him. God has obliged me to prevent [your] petitions from reaching Him; bring your complaints therefore to us.[36] Whoever is not able to do this, let him hand the complaint over to someone who can bring it to us; we shall willingly take whatever is due to him on his behalf [and hand it over to him].

Then he ordered Saʿd to begin the march and said: "When you reach Zarūd[37] halt in it, and spread your men in the area around it. Call upon the local people and choose from them men who possess courage, judgment, power, and weapons."

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Sūqah — a man: Four hundred Sakūnīs passed by with the vanguard of the tribe of Kindah, with Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī[38] and Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj, and ʿUmar encountered them. Among them, with Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj,[39] were young men of black complexion and straight hair. ʿUmar turned his face away from them several times until it was said to him: "Do you have anything against these people?" He said: "I am perplexed with regard to them. No Arab tribe more hateful to me than these has ever passed by me." He then let them go, but he frequently mentioned them with hatred, and people were puzzled by ʿUmar's view. Among the Sakūnīs was a per-
[2221] son called Sūdān b. Ḥumrān, who killed ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.[40]

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dhu al-shayʾi min wajhihi wa-waḍʿuhu fī ḥaqqihi). Returning things to their rightful owners is mentioned also in descriptions of the Last Judgment, and the language is similar. See, e.g., Ibn al-Mubārak, *Zuhd*, 497–98 no. 1416. On *zuhd* in general, see also Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Dhamm al-dunyā*, 20–22; Kinberg, "Zuhd." For a translation and discussion of this passage, see Noth, *Studien*, 83–84.

36. The plural pronoun here and in the next two sentences refers to ʿUmar himself.

37. Zarūd was located on the pilgrims' road leading from al-Kūfah to the Ḥijāz. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 928; Thilo, *Ortsnamen*, 116.

38. Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī became governor of Ḥimṣ under the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah and participated in the war against ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, index; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 392 no. 683; *EI²*, s.v. "al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr" (H. Lammens—[V. Cremonesi]); Crone, *Slaves*, 97.

39. Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Sakūnī later participated in the conquest of North Afrika and acquired a position of influence in Egypt. See ([ʿI.] Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 383–84. See also note 42, below.

40. See Ṭabarī, I, 3001, 3018, 3021; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/i, 51.

One of their confederates was Khālid b. Muljam,[41] who killed ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. One of them was Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj,[42] who, together with others, pursued the assassins of ʿUthmān, in order to kill them. Among them were also people who provided shelter and hospitality to the assassins of ʿUthmān.[43]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah—Māhān and Ziyād: ʿUmar reinforced Saʿd, after he had left Medina, with two thousand Yemenis and two thousand armed Najdīs from Ghaṭafān[44] and other tribes of Qays.[45] Saʿd reached Zarūd at the onset of winter and halted there, and the soldiers spread out around the place, in the watering places (*amwāh*) of Tamīm and Asad. He waited for the [fighting] men to gather there and for the instructions of ʿUmar. He chose four thousand warriors from Tamīm and al-Ribāb: three thousand from Tamīm and one thousand from al-Ribāb. He [also] chose three thousand from Asad and ordered them to camp on the border of their land, between al-Ḥazn[46] and al-Basīṭah.[47] They stayed there, between the armies of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥārithah. Al-Muthannā's army consisted of eight thousand men from Rabīʿah: six thousand from Bakr b. Wāʾil and two thousand from the rest of Rabīʿah. He chose four thousand of them after the departure of Khālid (b. al-Walīd); the other four thousand were those who survived the battle of the Bridge. Also with him were two thousand Yemenis of Bajīlah and two thousand from Quḍāʿah and Ṭayyiʾ. These were chosen in addition to

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41. See *EI*², s.v. "Ibn Muldjam" (L. Veccia Vaglieri). The name of ʿAlī's assassin is usually given as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr; see Ṭabarī, I, 3468, and cited article for the various *nisbahs* of Ibn Muljam, including Sakūnī.

42. See Ṭabarī, I, 3392.

43. These details are given in order to explain ʿUmar's negative attitude toward the Sakūnīs: He had a premonition of their future misdeeds.

44. Ghaṭafān is a northern Arabian tribe, belonging to the Qays ʿAylān. See *EI*², "Ghaṭafān" (J. M. Fück).

45. Qays ʿAylān is a large northern Arabian tribe, represented in the genealogies as one of the two subdivisions of Muḍar. See *EI*², s.v. "Ḳays ʿAylān" (W. M. Watt).

46. Several areas in Iraq and the Arabian peninsula were known as al-Ḥazn, or "rough terrain" (*al-ghalīẓ min al-arḍ*). The one intended here is probably Ḥazn Yarbūʿ, in the vicinity of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 260–62.

47. Yāqūt defines *basīṭah* as "flat land, covered with well-formed pebbles, without water or pasture, land of God most remote from population" (*arḍ mustawiyah fīhā ḥaṣan manqūsh aḥsan mā yakūn wa-laysa bihā māʾun wa-lā marʿan abʿadu arḍ Allāh min sukkān*). The place intended here lies between al-Kūfah and Ḥazn Yarbūʿ. See Yāqūt *Muʿjam*, I, 626–27.

those who had been with him before. The Ṭayyiʾ were commanded by ʿAdī b. Ḥātim;[48] the Quḍāʿah by ʿAmr b. Wabarah;[49] and the Bajīlah by Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh.[50] This being the situation, Saʿd wanted al-Muthannā to come to him, and al-Muthannā wanted Saʿd to come
[2222] to him. Al-Muthannā died from injuries that he had suffered in the battle of the Bridge and that had failed to heal. He had appointed Bashīr b. al-Khaṣāṣiyyah[51] to take over his command. Saʿd was at that time in Zarūd. Some notables of Iraq were [at the time] with Bashīr. With Saʿd were a few people from Iraq who had gone as a delegation to ʿUmar. Among them were Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjlī[52] and ʿUtaybah, whom ʿUmar had sent [back to Iraq] with Saʿd.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ziyād—Māhān: This is the reason why opinions differ regarding the number of people [who fought in the battle] of al-Qādisiyyah. Whoever says that they were four thousand means [only] those who had been with Saʿd when he set out from Medina. Whoever says that they were eight thousand means those who gathered at Zarūd. Whoever says that they were nine thousand means [also] the Qaysīs [who joined the army]. Whoever says that they were twelve thousand includes also the three thousand Asadīs from the upper part of al-Ḥazn.

ʿUmar then ordered Saʿd to march forward. He headed in the direction of Iraq while the army concentrated in Sharāf.[53] When ʿUmar

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48. See *EI*², s.v. "ʿAdī b. Ḥātim" (A. Schaade).

49. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 156 no. 6523.

50. Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh, a chieftain of the tribe of Bajīlah, embraced Islam in Ramaḍān 10/December 631 in Medina, together with 150 members of his tribe. ʿUmar entrusted him with keeping together the disunited factions of his tribe. He is said to have been a handsome man and to have received the nickname "the Joseph of this community" (*Yūsuf hādhihi al-ummah*). See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/ii, 77–8; Ṭabarī, I, 1763; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 279–80; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 475–76 no. 1138; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, V, 77–79; Crone, *Slaves*, 114–15.

51. See ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 193–94; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 311 no. 691, 314–15 no. 705; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 463 no. 854, 467–68 no. 866.

52. Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjlī was a member of the tribe of Quraysh who served as spy and scout in Abū Sufyān's wars. He was taken prisoner in one of the early skirmishes between the Muslims and the Meccans (or in the battle of the Ditch). The Prophet spared his life after he embraced Islam. Later he participated in the suppression of the *riddah* in Baḥrayn and settled in al-Kūfah. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/i, 25; IV/ii, 78; VI, 25; and index. See also ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 175–6; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 258 no. 478; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 329–30.

53. Sharāf is an oasis situated 8 miles from al-Aḥsāʾ, in the northeastern part of the Arabian peninsula. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 270.

reached Sharāf, al-Ashʿath b. Qays[54] joined him with one thousand and seven hundred Yemenis.

The number of those who participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah was thirty odd thousand. The number of those who received shares from the spoils of al-Qādisiyyah was approximately thirty thousand.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr—Ziyād—Jarīr: The Yemenis had inclinations toward Syria and the Muḍarīs toward Iraq. ʿUmar said to the Yemenis: "Are your family relationships moore deeply rooted than ours? Why do the Muḍarīs not remember their Syrian ancestors?"

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abū Saʿd b. al-Marzubān — a person who informed him — Muḥammad b. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān: No Arab tribe was more courageous in the war against the Persians than Rabīʿah; the Muslims used to call them "Rabīʿah of the Lion" in addition to the epithet "Rabīʿah of the Horse."[55] The Arabs in the pre-Islamic period used to call the Persians and the Byzantines "Lion."[56] [2223]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah—Māhān: ʿUmar said: "By God, I shall indeed defeat the kings of the Persians by the kings of the Arabs!" He did not fail to send against them any chieftain, any man of judgment, any nobleman, any man of rank, any orator, or any poet—and sent against them the most noble and illustrious people.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr—al-Shaʿbī: ʿUmar wrote to Saʿd when he was about to leave Zarūd: "Send someone you trust to [al-Ubullah, known as] 'the opening for India' (*farj al-Hind*).[57] He will stay in front of it and protect you from any [danger]

54. See *EI*², s.v. "al-Ashʿath" (H. Reckendorf); Ibn Al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 97–99; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 87–89 no. 205; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 359.

55. The tribe of Rabīʿah had been given the epithet "Rabīʿah of the Horse" because, when Nizār, the father of Muḍar and Rabīʿah, distributed their inheritance, he gave the gold to Muḍar and the horses to Rabīʿah. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/i, 30 l. 17; Ṭabarī, I, 1109, 1110; Jawharī, *Tāj al-lughah*, s.vv. "Muḍar," "Rabīʿah"; Ibn Munabbih, *Tījān*, 212–13; Caskel and Strenziok, *Ǧamharat*, II, 481a. Because of their bravery in the wars against the Persians, Rabīʿah acquired the additional epithet "Rabīʿah of the Lion."

56. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2046.

57. *Farj* means literally "an opening." It is used for an area that gives access to a country or a city. It also came to mean a frontier from which Muslims could stage commercial or military expeditions to areas beyond their control. Thus Sind and

that may emerge from there." Saʿd sent al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah[58] with five hundred men. He was opposite al-Ubullah, in Arab land; he then went to Ghuḍayy and camped with Jarīr (b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajalī), who was there at the time.[59]

When Saʿd established his camp at Sharāf he informed ʿUmar of his location and of the locations of his men between Ghuḍayy and al-Jabbānah.[60] ʿUmar wrote to him:

> When you receive this letter of mine, organize the people in groups of ten, and appoint a leader for each group; appoint amīrs for the military units, and arrange them in battle order.[61] Order the Muslim chieftains to come to you, evaluate them in their presence, and then send them to their men, and instruct them to meet at al-Qādisiyyah; and take with you al-Mughīrah b. al-Shuʿbah, together with his horsemen. Then inform me in writing about the situation of the troops.

[2224]

Saʿd sent for al-Mughīrah and the tribal chieftains. They came to him, and he evaluated the troops and arranged them in battle order in Sharāf. He appointed commanders for the military units and appointed group leaders for every group of ten, as was the custom during the lifetime of the Prophet. These units remained in existence until the military payment system (*ʿaṭāʾ*) was introduced.[62]

Khurāsān, or Sijistān and Khurāsān, came to be known as *al-farjāni*, "the two openings" (see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *farj*). The city of Multān in Sind came to be known as *farj bayt al-dhahab*, "the opening for the house of gold," i.e., the place where Muslims gained access to the rich temple of Multān (see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 440). *Farj al-Hind* means, therefore, an area from which an expedition to India may be staged. Al-Ubullah, situated on the Tigris near the head of the Persian Gulf, was known by this and similar epithets; see Ṭabarī, I, 2016, 2021, 2380. See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 341, where al-Ubullah is described as *furḍat al-Baḥrayn wa-ʿUmān wa-al-Hind wa-al-Ṣīn*, i.e., a harbor from which ships sail to the places mentioned. See also *EI*[1], s.v. "al-Obolla" (J. H. Kramers); *Glossary*, s.v. *farj*.

58. See *EI*[1], s.v. "al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba" (H. Lammens).

59. See Ṭabarī, I, 2211.

60. A number of places in the vicinity of al-Kūfah were known by this name. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, ii, 16–17.

61. For an explanation of the term *taʿbiyah*, "battle order," see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 272 (tr. F. Rosenthal, II, 76); Fries, *Heereswesen*, 69ff. Because of its traditional division into five parts, the army was also called *al-khamīs*; see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *kh-m-s*. For a description of the battle order in various armies, see Mubārak Shāh, *Ādāb al-ḥarb*, 322–27 and *passim*.

62. See *EI*[2], s. vv. "ʿAṭāʾ" (Cl. Cahen), "*Dīwān*. i" (A. A. Duri).

Saʿd entrusted the banners to people who were the first to embrace Islam. He divided the people into groups of ten and appointed people of standing in Islam to lead them. He appointed men to be leaders in war and commanders for the vanguard, for the wings, for the rear guard, for the light cavalry (*mujarradāt*),[63] for the scouts, for the footmen and the horsemen. He always moved in battle order and did not deviate from it, except in accordance with ʿUmar's written orders and his permission.

As for the commanders of the flanks (*umarāʾ al-taʿbiyah*), he appointed Zuhrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Qatādah b. al-Ḥawiyyah b. Marthad b. Muʿāwiyah b. Maʿn b. Mālik b. Irthim b. Jusham b. al-Ḥārith al-Aʿraj[64] to command the vanguard. In the pre-Islamic period the king of Hajar[65] had made him a tribal chieftain (*sayyid*) and sent him to the Prophet. Having received permission, Zuhrah marched with the vanguard from Sharāf and arrived at al-ʿUdhayb.[66]

Saʿd appointed ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtamm[67] to command the right wing. ʿAbdallāh was a Companion of the Prophet and was one of [2225]
nine persons who came to the Prophet; Ṭalhah b. ʿUbaydallāh completed their group, which was then numbered at ten persons. They constituted an *ʿirāfah*.[68] He appointed Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ b. Shuraḥbīl al-Kindī[69] to command the left wing. Shuraḥbīl was a young man who had fought the people of the *riddah*, acquitted himself

63. The cavalry mentioned here seems to be "light" in the sense that it is unarmored. See Fries, *Heereswesen*, 42–3, 71. One should also consider the possibility of another meaning: a unit of cavalry that travels without heavy luggage and is not accompanied (and encumbered) by foot soldiers. For this meaning, *jarīdah* or *jarīdat al-khayl* is used. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *jarīdah*; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; de Goeje's *Glossary* to the text; Ṭabarī, I, 2060, ll. 13–14.

64. See (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 206; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 571–72.

65. Hajar was a town in Baḥrayn. See *EI*[1], s.v. "Hadjar" (Fr. Buhl); *EI*[2], s.v. "al-Ḥasā" (F. S. Vidal).

66. See note 92, below.

67. In addition to his participation in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah and in the conquest of al-Madāʾin, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtamm fought in al-Mawṣil and Takrīt. He belonged to the tribe of ʿAbs. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 240–41 no. 4969.

68. *ʿIrāfah* was a group of ten to fifteen persons; see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 187; Fries, *Heereswesen*, 17–18. For the story of the *ʿirāfah* of nine people that was completed by Ṭalḥah, see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/i, 156 ll. 6–10.

69. Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah and in the conquest of Ḥimṣ. He then became governor of Ḥimṣ on behalf of Muʿāwiyah and died there between 36/656–57 and 42/662–63. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/i, 155; (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 391; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 329–30 no. 3874; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 322–23 no. 554.

well, and received recognition for it. In honor he surpassed al-Ashʿath (b. Qays al-Kindī) in Medina, until al-Kūfah was established (*qad ghalaba al-Ashʿath ʿalā al-sharaf fīmā bayna al-Madīnah ilā an ukhtuṭṭat al-Kūfah*).[70] His father had gone to Syria with Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ.

Saʿd appointed Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭah[71] as his deputy. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī al-ʿAmrī[72] was put in command of the rearguard, and Sawād b. Mālik al-Tamīmī commanded the scouts, Salmān b. Rabīʿah al-Bāhilī[73] the light cavalry, Ḥammāl b. Mālik al-Asadī[74] the infantrymen, and ʿAbdallāh b. Dhī al-Sahmayn al-Khathʿamī the horsemen. The commanders of the flanks (*umarāʾ al-taʿbiyah*) were subordinate to the amīr, the group commanders (*umarāʾ al-aʿshār*) to the commanders of the flanks; those entrusted with the flags (*aṣḥāb al-rāyāt*) to the group commanders, the tribal chiefs (*ruʾūs al-qabāʾil*) to the commanders (*quwwād*)[75] and to those entrusted with the flags.

All [transmitters of these traditions] have said: Abū Bakr did not seek help from the apostates in the wars of the *riddah* or in the wars against the Persians.[76] ʿUmar [on the other hand], recruited them but did not appoint any of them to a position of authority.[77]

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70. The text of this passage is dubious, and the translation far from certain. In particular, the phrase *fīmā bayna al-Madīnah ilā an ukhtuṭṭat al-Kūfah* is problematic and could not be translated literally. Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 138) says that Shurabīl vied with al-Ashʿath for supremacy in al-Kūfah; then he was transferred to Ḥimṣ at the request of his father. In ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr (*Usd*, II, 392) we read: *wa-qad taqaddama nasabuhu fī (!) al-Ashʿath b. Qays al-Kindī*. Ibn Ḥajar (*Iṣābah*, III, 330) has only *ghalaba al-Ashʿath ʿalā al-sharq* (read *al-sharaf*). We can say, however, in general, that the passage reflects the rivalry between the former apostates—to whom al-Ashʿath belonged—and the Muslims who had not taken part in the *riddah* rebellion.

71. Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭah, a member of Quḍāʿah and an ally of the Banū Zuhrah in Mecca, settled in al-Kūfah and later participated in the wars against the Khawārij. He died in 60/679–80, 61/680–81, or "after 64/683–84." See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 12; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 95–96; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 244–5 no. 184; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 106–7 no. 198.

72. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 574 no. 4359.

73. Salmān b. Rabīʿah al-Bāhilī was a Companion of the Prophet and participated in the conquest of Syria and Iraq. He was known as "Salmān of the horses" (*Salmān al-khayl*) because he was responsible for the cavalry during the time of ʿUmar. Later he became judge in al-Kūfah. See ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 327; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 136–37 no. 229; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, II, 297.

74. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 119 no. 1818.

75. This rank of command has not been mentioned before.

76. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 1984.

77. But see Ṭabarī, I, 2457; according to a tradition mentioned there, ʿUmar was willing to appoint former apostates to command small units of the army, not exceed-

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid and ʿAmr and Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān: ʿUmar dispatched the physicians [with the army]. He appointed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿah al-Bāhilī, known as Dhū al-Nūr ("the man of light"),[78] to be the judge and entrusted him also with supervising the spoils and dividing them. He made [2226]
Salmān al-Fārisī[79] responsible for the call to prayers and also ordered him to be the scout.[80]

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abū ʿAmr — Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī: The translator [of the army] was Hilāl al-Hajarī and the secretary Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān.[81] When Saʿd completed the organization of the army and appointed reliable and responsible commanders to take care of every matter, he sent a letter to ʿUmar describing what he had done.

Al-Muʿannā b. Ḥārithah[82] and Salmā bint Khaṣafah al-Taymiyyah (of the clan of Taym al-Lāt)[83] came to Saʿd after he had written to ʿUmar about the way in which he organized his troops but before he received ʿUmar's reply and left Sharāf, heading for al-Qādisiyyah. They brought to him the last will (*waṣiyyah*) of al-Muthannā (b. Ḥārithah); he ordered them to rush it to Saʿd while he was still in Zarūd, but they were not able to accomplish this in time because they had been preoccupied by [the affair] of Qābūs b. Qābūs b. al-Mundhir.

The reason for this was that Āzādmard b. Āzādbih[84] sent Qābūs to al-Qādisiyyah, saying to him: "Call upon the Arabs and you will rule those who respond to you, in the tradition of your forefathers."

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ing ten men (*nafar*) each. On the difference between Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in their attitudes to the former apostates, see Shaban, *History*, I, 26ff.

78. See ("I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 292.

79. Salmān al-Fārisī was a Companion of the Prophet who embraced Islam in Medina after the hijrah. As a prototype of the converted Persians, he occupies a prominent place in the Islamic tradition. See *EI*[1], "Salmān al-Fārisī" (G. Levi della Vida).

80. *Al-rāʾid* is the person who marches ahead of the tribe, or the troops, in search of water, good halting places, etc. A classical Arabic proverb says, "The scout does not mislead his people" (*al-rāʾid lā yakdhibu qawmahu*). See Maydānī, *Amthāl*, III, 188.

81. For Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, also known as Ziyād b. Abīhi, see *EI*[1], s.v. "Ziyād b. Abīhi" (H. Lammens).

82. Al-Muʿannā b. Ḥārithah was the brother of al-Muthannā, for whom see note 17, above.

83. Salmā was the widow of al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah. See note 17, above; and 2227, below.

84. Āzādbih was the Persian governor of al-Ḥīrah. See Ṭabarī, I, 2037, 2191; Morony, *Iraq*, 187; Donner, *Conquests*, 180.

Qābūs went to al-Qādisiyyah and wrote to [the tribe of] Bakr b. Wāʾil in the manner of al-Nuʿmān (b. Mundhir Abū Qābūs),[85] cajoling and threatening them. When this came to al-Muʿannā's knowledge, he set out from Dhū Qār,[86] attacked Qābūs at night, and killed him, together with his associates.[87] Then he returned to Dhū Qār, went together with Salmā to Saʿd, and brought to him the will, which included the views of al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah. They reached Saʿd while he was at Sharāf.

In his last will al-Muthannā advised Saʿd not to fight his enemy, and the enemy of the Persians who embraced Islam deep in their land, when their full force was gathered; he should rather fight them
[2227] on their border, the border between the desert of the Arabs and the cultivated land of the Persians. If God should give victory to the Muslims, the land behind the enemy would be theirs. Should the outcome be different, they would fall back to a rear echelon[88] and would find their way more easily; their spirits would be higher in their own land, until God should give them another opportunity to attack.

When the will including the advice of al-Muthannā reached Saʿd, he invoked God's mercy upon him, appointed al-Muʿannā to al-Mu-

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85. Al-Nuʿmān b. Mundhir Abū Qābūs was the last king of al-Ḥīrah, who died at the hands of Khusraw II in, or around, 602. See *EI*[1], s.v. "al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir" (A. Moberg); *CHI*, IV, 3.

86. Dhū Qār was situated near the place where al-Kūfah was later founded. It became famous because it had been the site of a battle in which pre-Islamic Arabs had for the first time gained the upper hand against the Persians. See *EI*[2], s.v. "Dhū Ḳār" (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 10–12.

87. Al-Muʿannā's decisive action seems to have been caused by his apprehension that Qābūs was making an attempt to revive the power of the kingdom of al-Ḥīrah. Qābūs b. Qābūs b. al-Mundhir was the grandson of the last king of al-Ḥīrah and thus a natural candidate to revive its erstwhile power.

88. For *fiʾah* in this sense, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Rowson, *Marwānid Restoration*, 9 (= Ṭabarī, II, 861). See also Ṭabarī, I, 2176, 2180, where ʿUmar describes himself as *fiʾatu kulli muslimin*, i.e., the safe place behind the front to which every Muslim can repair when in danger; and Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 192.

In the preceding sentence, Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, 152) suggested emending *fa-lahum mā warāʾahum* to *lahā mā warāʾahā*, with the translation "this victory will be decisive." As this passage explains why the Muslims should fight near their border rather than deep in the Persian territory, I tend to agree with de Goeje, who rejected Wellhausen's emendation (*Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXVI). Al-Muthannā seems to be saying that, if the Muslims win, the Persian territory will be theirs in any case; if they lose, they will be in a better situation militarily if the battle has taken place near their own land.

thannā's position, and bade his people well. He asked for Salmā's hand, married her, and consummated the marriage.

In the units of the army there were seventy odd men who had participated in the battle of Badr, around three hundred and ten men who were the Prophet's Companions since the Pledge of Good Pleasure (*bayʿat al-riḍwān*),[89] three hundred men who participated in the conquest of Mecca (*fatḥ*), and seven hundred sons of Companions, from all the Arab tribes.

While Saʿd was in Sharāf, he received ʿUmar's letter, expressing an opinion similar to that of al-Muthannā. At the same time ʿUmar wrote also to Abū ʿUbaydah (b. al-Jarrāḥ), and the letters were transmitted to both of them. In the letter to Abū ʿUbaydah ʿUmar ordered him to send six thousand Iraqis and all those who desired to go with them [to join Saʿd's army]. The text of his letter to Saʿd was as follows:

> After the preliminaries (*ammā baʿdu*): Set out from Sharāf in the direction of Persia, together with all the Muslims who are with you. Put your reliance in God and seek His help in all your affairs. Concerning the task in front of you, be aware that you are about to take on a nation that has great numbers and superior equipment. Their courage is great, and they live in a well-defended country. Though it is flat, it is hard of access because of its crevices, flood plains, and torrents,[90] except if you happen to arrive when the water is low. When you encounter the Persians or one of them, attack them first, and beware of waiting until their armies gather. Let them not deceive you, because they are deceitful and crafty, unlike you; you must exert full effort in the struggle against them. [2228]
>
> Al-Qādisiyyah was in the pre-Islamic period a gateway to Persia, in which they kept most of their provisions and essential [supplies] that they desired.[91] It is a spacious, fertile,

89. See Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 50.

90. *Daʾdaʾah*, pl. *daʾādiʾ*, means "sound of stones falling into a stream" (*ṣawtu waqʿi al-ḥijārah fī al-masīl*). See Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, XIV, 237.

91. *Li-mā yurīdūna min tilka al-āṣul* is difficult. De Goeje suggests (*Glossary*, s.v. *a-ṣ-l*) that *āṣul* is to be understood as "war materials." Although this may not be far from the intended meaning, the word *aṣl* does not carry this connotation.

and fortified place, and in front of it are bridges and canals that are difficult to ford. When you arrive there, let your garrisons be near the points of entry. Let your people be on the border between the desert and the cultivated land, on the sandy tracks in between; then stay in your place, and do not move from it. When they find out that you are there, they will be perturbed. They will send against you their infantrymen, horsemen, and all. If you stand firm against your enemy, seek God's reward for fighting him, and intend to be faithful to your trust, then I hope that you will be granted victory and never again will enemies like these assemble against you. And, even if they do, they will do it in disheartened state.

If you lose the battle, the desert will be behind you. You will retreat from the edge of their cultivated land to the edge of your desert; there you will have more courage and will know the terrain better. Your enemies, on the other hand, will be fearful and ignorant of the terrain. Eventually, God will grant you victory over them and provide you with another opportunity to attack.

ʿUmar also wrote to Saʿd a letter stating the date on which he should move from Sharāf: "On such-and-such a day, move out with
[2229] your men and halt between ʿUdhayb al-Hijānāt and ʿUdhayb al-Qawādis.[92] Spread the people eastwards and westwards." Then he received a response from ʿUmar, saying:

Now renew your commitment,[93] admonish your soldiers, and speak to them about [the necessity to have the right] intention and about seeking God's reward. Whoever becomes heedless about these two matters, let him revive them [in his heart]. Stand firm! Help will come from God according

92. ʿUdhayb was a spring situated 4 miles from al-Qādisiyyah. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, III, 626) mentions this letter from ʿUmar as a proof that there were two places bearing this name. For an attempt to identify the exact location of these two places, see Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 111 n. 62. See also Qudāmah b. Jaʿfar, *Kharāj*, 185–86, where ʿUdhayb is described as a garrison (*maslaḥah*) on the border of the desert between the land of the Arabs and the land of the Persians, 6 miles from al-Qādisiyyah. It was a port of entry into the Persian empire for travelers from the Ḥijāz. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, 415; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik*, 173.

93. Literally: "renew the pledge to your heart."

to the [purity of] intention, and reward will come according to what you sought.[94] Be cautious with those who are under your command and with the mission entrusted to you. Ask God to grant you well-being, and say frequently "There is no power and no strength except in God!" (*lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā bi-Allāh*). Inform me in writing about the place where their army confronted you and who is the commander in charge of fighting you. The fact that I do not know what are you up against and what is the situation of your enemy has prevented me from writing to you certain things which I wanted to write, so describe for me the positions of the Muslims and the area between you and al-Madāʾin, and let the description be as [precise as] if I were looking at the place myself. Keep me well informed of your affairs! Fear God, hope for Him, and do not be haughty! Know that God has made a promise to you, has taken this matter upon Himself, and will not break His promise. Be careful not to turn Him away from you, lest He put someone else in your place.

Saʿd wrote to ʿUmar describing the area:

Al-Qādisiyyah is situated between the moat-canal (*al-khandaq*)[95] and al-ʿAtīq.[96] In the area to the left of it there is a dark body of water in a deep valley with entangled vegetation. It extends as far as al-Ḥīrah and runs between two roads. One is on high ground; the other is on the bank of a [2230]
canal called al-Ḥuḍūḍ. Whoever follows it is able to see the

94. The idea is that a Muslim will receive from God reward for his deeds if he has performed them with a pure intention and with the desire to be rewarded. This desire is called *ḥisbah* or *iḥtisāb*. See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 22–23 (*Kitāb al-īmān*, 41) "... the deeds are judged by the intention and the reward sought; every man will be rewarded according to what he intended" (... *inna al-aʿmāl bi-al-niyyah wa-al-ḥisbah wa-li-kulli ʾmriʾin mā nawā*). A tradition attributed to ʿUmar and expressing an idea similar to that in our text reads: "O people, seek reward for your deeds. Whoever seeks reward for his deed will be rewarded for [both] his deed and his desire" (*ayyuhā al-nās iḥtasibū aʿmālakum fa-inna man iḥtasaba ʿamalahu kutiba lahu ajru ʿamalihi wa-ajru ḥisbatihi*). See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *ḥ-s-b*.

95. This canal, or system of canals, ran on the edge of the desert from Hīt on the Euphrates to the head of the Persian Gulf. Its construction is attributed to the Sasanian king Shāpūr II in the fourth century. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 65; Morony, *Iraq*, 152–53; and the sources mentioned there.

96. For an attempt to identify the exact location of this canal, see Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, p. 111 n. 62.

area between al-Khawarnaq[97] and al-Ḥīrah. To the left of al-Qādisiyyah, as far as al-Walajah,[98] there is a flood plain.

All the *ahl al-sawād* who had concluded peace with the Muslims before me now support the Persians, are obedient to them, and are ready to fight us. The person whom they designated to fight against us is Rustam, and other Persians like him. They try to make us act heedlessly and to throw us off balance, and we try to do the same and [also] try to draw them into the open field. God's command will soon be put into effect; His decree will deliver us to the fate that He determines, whether it be for good or for evil. We ask God to decree in our favor and keep us well.

ʿUmar wrote to Saʿd: "I have received your letter and have understood it. Stay where you are until God throws your enemy off balance, and know that other [battles] will follow.[99] If God grants you victory over them, do not stop the pursuit until you force your way into al-Madāʾin. God willing, this will be the destruction of the city." ʿUmar started to pray especially for Saʿd. Others prayed with him for Saʿd and for the Muslims in general.

Saʿd sent Zuhrah (b. al-Ḥawiyyah) forward to camp at ʿUdhayb al-Hijānāt. Then he followed on his tracks and stayed with him there.

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97. Al-Khawarnaq was a castle situated 1 mile east of al-Najaf. According to the Arab tradition, it was built for al-Nuʿmān b. Imriʾ al-Qays, the king of al-Ḥīrah (A.D. 405–33), on the orders of the Sasanian king. The castle became famous in Arab lore because al-Nuʿmān killed Sinnimār, the architect of the castle, in order to prevent the construction of a similarly sumptuous building for someone else. The story gave rise to the proverbial "reward of Sinnimār" *jazāʾ Sinnimār*). See Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, 283. See also *EI*² s.v. "al-Khawarnak" (L. Massignon), Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 490–94. For a description of the ruins of al-Khawarnaq, see Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 104–6.

98. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 939; Donner, *Conquests*, 329 and index.

99. This translation of *iʿlam anna lahā mā baʿdahā* is tentative. It seems to be supported by similar passages, such as *inna hādha yawmun lahu mā baʿdahu min al-ayyām* (Ṭabarī, I, 2611 l. 15, 2613, l. 2). See also I, 2092, ll. 11–12: "This is a day [of battle], which will be followed [by other days]; if we throw them back to their trenches today, we shall keep on throwing them back. But, if they defeat us, we shall not succeed in the future" (*wa hādha yawmun lahu mā baʿdahu. in radadnāhum ilā khandaqihim al-yawm, lam nazal narudduhum: wa-in hazamūnā, lam nufliḥ baʿdahā*).

A. Noth, who has collected and analyzed these passages (*Studien*, 118), agrees with Wellhausen (cf. note 88, above) in suggesting that these expressions indicate the decisiveness of the battle. Although this meaning is implied here, it does not seem to be the primary meaning of the expressions quoted above.

Later he sent him on farther to camp in al-Qādisiyyah, between al-ʿAtīq and the moat-canal, opposite the bridge. Qudays was at that time one mile downstream from the bridge.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Qaʿqāʿ: ʿUmar wrote to Saʿd:

> I have been given the feeling that you will defeat the enemy when you encounter him. Therefore cast your doubts away and choose firm faith[100] instead. Should any one of you joke [2231]
> with a Persian about safe-conduct (*amān*) or approach him with a hint, or say to him a word that the Persian will not understand and will construe as a safe-conduct, then act as if he had been given one. Beware of frivolity. Be faithful, because mistaken faithfulness is virtue,[101] but mistaken betrayal [entails] perdition; it will be a source of your weakness and of your enemies' strength. You will lose your predominance, and they will gain ascendance.[102] I am warning you not to be a disgrace to the Muslims and a cause of their humiliation.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim al-ʿUklī and al-Miqdām b. Abī al-Miqdām — his father — Karib b. Abī Karib al-ʿUklī, who was in the vanguard in the battle days of al-Qādisiyyah: Saʿd sent us forward from Sharāf, and we camped in ʿUdhayb al-Hijānāt. Then he went forth. When he was with us at ʿUdhayb al-Hijānāt, that being at dawn, Zuhrah b. al-Ḥawiyyah set out with the vanguard. When we were able to see ʿUdhayb, which was one of the Persian garrisons, we perceived people on its towers. Wherever we looked, on a tower or between two battlements, we saw a man. We were with the advance horsemen, so we halted until [more of] the troops joined us. We thought that [Persian] horsemen were in ʿUdhayb. We then set out in the direction of ʿUdhayb, and, when we drew near, a man rushed out, running in the direction of al-Qādisiyyah. We finally reached ʿUdhayb, entered it, and found that it had been abandoned. That was the man who appeared to us on the [2232]

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100. Translating *al-yaqīn*, a variant mentioned in the notes, rather than *taqiyyah* of the text.

101. For *baqiyyah* in this sense, see Spitaler, "Baqīja."

102. For *dhahāb rīḥihim*, see Qur'ān 8:46.

towers and between the battlements as a ruse and then hurried to inform the Persians of our arrival. We went out in pursuit but failed to seize him. Zuhrah heard about it and rushed out himself, pursuing him,[103] saying: "If the scout escapes, they will receive the information!" He caught up with him at the moat, stabbed him, and threw him into the moat. The people who participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah admired the courage of this man and his military knowledge; there has never been a spy, in any nation, who stood his ground better or was more resolute than this Persian. If he had not had to run such a great distance, Zuhrah would not have caught up with him and would not have killed him.

The Muslims found in ʿUdhayb spears, arrows, leather baskets (*asfāṭ*), and other useful things.

[Saʿd][104] then dispatched raiding parties and ordered them to attack al-Ḥīrah at night. He placed them under the command of Bukayr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī. Among the warriors was the Qaysī poet al-Shammākh[105] with thirty men well known for bravery and courage. They marched at night, passed Saylaḥūn,[106] and crossed a nearby bridge in the direction of al-Ḥīrah. [There] they heard a loud noise, halted their advance, and lay in ambush to examine the situation. They lay there until a group of horsemen who went ahead of that noise passed by on their way to al-Ṣinnīn.[107] The horsemen did
[2233] not perceive the Muslims; they were merely expecting the [above-mentioned] spy, did not look for the Muslims, and did not pay any attention to them. Their sole aim was to reach Ṣinnīn. The sister of Āzādmard b. Āzādbih, the governor of al-Ḥīrah, was being married to the ruler of Ṣinnīn, a Persian nobleman. The bride was accompanied by an escort, fearful of a lesser [danger] than that which they

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103. The text reads: "... Zuhrah heard about it, followed us, reached us, left us behind, and pursued him."

104. The text is silent with regard to the commander intended.

105. Al-Shammākh, also known as Maʿqil b. Ḍirār, was a *mukhaḍram* poet who belonged to the tribe of Ghaṭafān and is said to have excelled in his descriptions of the bow and the wild ass. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Shiʿr*, 177–79; Jumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 29; *GAL*, I, 37.

106. A considerable part of Yāqūt's entry on Saylaḥūn discusses the morphology of the word. There are also some verses in which the place is mentioned, and it is clear from them that it was in the neighborhood of al-Qādisiyyah. No other significant details can be ascertained from this material. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 218–19; cf. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 108, note and index.

107. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 430; Morony, *Iraq*, index. For a modern attempt to identify Sinnīn, see Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 117–18.

actually encountered.[108] The Muslims were lying in ambush between the palm trees. When a gap opened between the horsemen and the women who accompanied the bride, and the luggage of the party passed by, Bukayr fell upon Shīrzād b. Āzādbih [who was between the luggage and the horses] and broke his back. The horses panicked and dispersed; the Muslims captured the luggage, the daughter of Āzādbih with thirty women of the Persian landowners (*dahāqīn*), and one hundred attendants. The Persians had with them property of unknown value, as well as ivory, all of which Bukayr carried away. In the morning he brought the booty that God had given to the Muslims to Saʿd in ʿUdhayb al-Hijānāt. The Muslims proclaimed loudly: "God is most great!" Saʿd said: "By God, you have exclaimed 'God is most great' like people in whom I perceive glory and strength." Then he distributed the booty among the Muslims, liberally distributing the fifth[109] and giving all the rest to the warriors. They were extremely pleased. Saʿd stationed in ʿUdhayb some horsemen to guard the women, and the guardians of all the womenfolk joined them. He appointed Ghālib b. ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī as their commander.[110]

Saʿd halted in al-Qādisiyyah and camped at al-Qudays.[111] Zuhrah camped opposite the bridge of al-ʿAtīq, which is the present location of al-Qādisiyyah. Saʿd informed [ʿUmar] of Bukayr's expedition and of his camping in al-Qudays. He stayed there for a month. Then he wrote to ʿUmar: [2234]

> The Persians[112] did not send anyone to confront us and did not entrust anyone we know with waging war against us. As

108. This is to say that the escort was not strong enough to take on the Muslim raiding party.

109. For the commander's right to receive one-fifth of the booty, based on Qurʾān 8:41 ("Know that whatever booty you take, the fifth is God's and the Messenger's . . . "), see *EI*², s.v. "*Fayʾ*" (F. Løkkegaard). Saʿd's decision to distribute the fifth, which he was entitled to retain, is an indication of his selfless generosity. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.v. *n-f-l* (XI, 671b).

110. Ghālib b. ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī led several expeditions against Bedouin tribes during the lifetime of the Prophet. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/i, 86, 87–91; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 117, 119, 120; Ṭabarī, index.

111. Yāqūt's entry (*Muʿjam*, IV, 42–43) says only that Qudays is situated in the vicinity of al-Qādisiyyah, quoting the passage from our text together with a verse in which Qudays is mentioned in connection with the battle of al-Qādisiyyah. See also Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 110–11.

112. The text has *al-qawm*. It is noteworthy that in numerous passages translated in this volume *qawm* is used for the enemies, while *nās* is used for the group to

soon as we receive this information, we shall write to you. I am asking God's help. We are near a low-lying stream, wide and winding, beyond which a fearful fight [awaits us]. That we shall be summoned [to engage in this fight] has already been said: "You shall be called against a people possessed of great might."[113]

During his stay in [al-Qudays] Saʿd sent ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr to the lower Euphrates. He went to Maysān,[114] looking for sheep and cattle, but was not able to obtain any. The people in the castles [*al-afdān*][115] kept themselves protected from him and went deep into the thicket. He followed them, encountered a man on the edge of the thicket, and asked him where the cattle and the sheep were, but the man swore that he did not know. It became clear, however, that he himself was the shepherd of the flock in that thicket. A bull exclaimed: "By God, he is lying! Here we are." ʿĀṣim went in, led the bulls away, and brought them to the camp. Saʿd distributed them among the people, and they had ample provisions for a period of time.

This episode came to the knowledge of al-Ḥajjāj during his lifetime, and he sent for a few people who had witnessed it. Nadhīr b. ʿAmr, al-Walīd b. ʿAbd Shams, and Zāhir were among them.[116] Al-Ḥajjāj asked them about it. They said: "Yes, we heard it, saw it, and led the bulls away." He said: "You are lying." They said: "We would react similarly if you had been a witness to it and we had been absent." Al-Ḥajjāj said: "You have spoken the truth. And what did the

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which the speaker or the traditionist belong. In most cases, therefore, *qawm* denotes the Persians or the Byzantines, while *nās* is used for the Muslims. The following passages contain the best examples of this usage: pp. 2314, ll. 1–4; 2327 ll. 10–11, 17; 2339 ll. 4, 10; 2344 ll. 7, 14; 2345 l. 11; 2348 l. 13; 2351 ll. 7–10; 2389 l. 13; 2391 l. 8. See also p. 2395 l. 10, where Heraclius uses *qawm* in speaking about the Muslims; so does Arṭabūn on p. 2399 l. 15. Not all instances collected so far fall into this pattern (e.g., p. 2283 l. 12), and I do not claim general validity for this observation. Nevertheless, if used with due circumspection it can be helpful in understanding the exact meaning of *nās* and *qawm*, which can at times be crucial to the interpretation of a whole passage.

113. Qur'ān 48:16 (Arberry's translation).

114. A city and district on the lower Tigris. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 43, 80; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 714–15; Morony, *Iraq*, 162 and index.

115. The reference is probably to the watchtowers and barracks that the Persians built as garrisons along the *khandaq* on the border between the desert and the cultivated land of Iraq. See Morony, *Iraq*, 153.

116. The grammar is irregular here; the text reads *aḥaduhum*, which is followed by the three names.

people say about it?" They said: ["The people considered it] a good sign, indicating that God was satisfied [with us] and that we shall defeat our enemy." Al-Ḥajjāj said: "By God, such things do not happen except when the people are pious and God-fearing." They said: "By God, we do not know what was hidden in their hearts. As for what we saw, we have never seen people who shunned this world and [2235] despised it more than these. None of them was noted[117] on that day for cowardice, betrayal, or plunder."[118] This was "the Day of the Bulls" (*yawm al-abāqir*).

Saʿd then dispatched raiding parties to the region between Kaskar[119] and al-Anbār.[120] They obtained provisions sufficient for a period of time. He also sent spies to the people of al-Ḥīrah and to Ṣalūba,[121] in order to obtain information about the affairs of the Persians. The spies returned with a report that the king had appointed Rustam b. Farrukhzād al-Armanī to lead the fight against Saʿd and had ordered him to organize an army. Saʿd wrote about it to ʿUmar. ʿUmar replied:

> Do not be perturbed by the information that you receive about them nor by [the army] that they will muster against you. Ask God's help and put your reliance on Him. Send [to the Persian king] people of [impressive] appearance, sound judgment, and endurance, in order to invite him to embrace Islam. God will render this invitation a cause of weakness and defeat for them. Write to me daily!

When Rustam camped in Sābāṭ,[122] they wrote to ʿUmar about it.

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117. For *uʿtudda ʿalā* in a sense close to this, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *ʿ-d-d*.

118. *Ghulūl* is understood as a reference to someone who appropriates spoils that are not lawfully his. See Qur'ān 3:161: "... whoever defrauds, will bring the fruits of his fraud on the Day of Resurrection." Expanding on the verse, tradition maintains that the plunder will hang on the plunderer's neck on the Day of Judgment as a concrete evidence of his transgression. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, IV, 104–7.

119. Kaskar was a district on the Tigris, in the region of Fam al-Ṣilḥ and, later, of al-Wāsiṭ. See Morony, *Iraq*, 155–8; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 274–75.

120. Al-Anbār is a city on the Euphrates, to the west of Baghdad. See *EI*², s.v. "al-Anbār" (M. Streck [A. A. Duri]); Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 367–69; Morony, *Iraq*, 145 and index.

121. The text is phrased as if this were a place name, but it is not to be found in the standard geographical literature as such. In an earlier passage, Ṭabarī (*Taʾrīkh*, I, 2061) speaks of Banū Ṣalūbā and identifies them as "the people of al-Ḥīrah." Cf. Morony, *Iraq*, 174 n. 30.

122. Sābāṭ was one of the seven cities that together constituted al-Madāʾin ("the

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abū Ḍamrah — Ibn Sīrīn and Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid — Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim: When Saʿd learned of Rustam's departure for Sābāṭ, he stayed in his camp waiting for his army to assemble. Ismāʿīl said: Saʿd wrote to ʿUmar: Rustam has established his camp at Sābāṭ, near al-Madāʾin, and has marched toward us.

Abū Ḍamrah said: Saʿd wrote to ʿUmar:

> Rustam has established his campt at Sābāṭ and has marched toward us with horses, elephants, and a large number of Persians. Nothing is more important to me, nor do I remember anything more often than the way in which you wanted me to behave; we ask God's help and put our reliance on Him. I have sent so-and-so [to the king]; they have the qualities that you described.

[2236] According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr, al-Mujālid, and Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān: When Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ received ʿUmar's command with regard to the Persians, he assembled a group of men of pure lineage and sound judgment and another group who had [impressive] appearance, were awe-inspiring, and had sound judgment. The persons of pure lineage, sound judgment, and power of reasoning (*ijtihād*) were al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin,[123] Busr b. Abī Ruhm, Ḥamalah b. Juwayyah al-Kinānī,[124] Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabīʿ al-Tamīmī,[125] Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjlī, ʿAdī b. Suhayl, and al-Mughīrah b. Zurārah b. al-Nabbāsh b. Ḥabīb. Those who had [impressive] bodily

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Cities"). It was situated on the west bank of the Tigris, south of Veh-Ardashir. See *EI*², s.v. "al-Madāʾin" [M. Streck [M. Morony]], with extensive bibliography; Le Strange, *Lands*, 34–35; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 3; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 388; Ṣ. A. ʿAlī, "Madāʾin," 61–62; Oppenheimer *et al.*, *Babylonia*, index.

123. Al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin was a member of the tribe of Muzaynah and embraced Islam in the year 5/626–27. In addition to the battle of al-Qādisiyyah, he participated in the conquest of Persia and was killed in the battle of Nihāwand in 21/641–42. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/ii, 38; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 30–31; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 456 no. 826.

124. For Ḥamalah b. Juwayyah, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 181 no. 2003, where he is listed as Ḥamalah b. Abī Muʿāwiyah al-Kinānī.

125. Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabīʿ al-Tamīmī is said to have been one of the scribes who recorded the revelations of the Prophet and was therefore known as *al-kātib*. He settled in al-Kūfah and moved later to Qarqīsiyā. He died during the reign of Muʿāwiyah. See ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 66–67; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 134–35 no. 1861; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 60 no. 109.

appearance, were awe-inspiring, and had sound judgment were ʿUṭārid b. Ḥājib,[126] al-Ashʿath b. Qays, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān, ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr, ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib, al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah, and al-Muʿannā b. Ḥārithah. Saʿd sent them to invite the king to embrace Islam.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Thaqafī — Umayyah b. Khālid — Abū ʿAwānah — Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān — Abū Wāʾil: Saʿd came to camp at al-Qādisiyyah with the army. He said:

> I do not know, perhaps we are not more than seven thousand men, roughly, and the polytheists are approximately thirty thousand. They said to us: "You have no might or power or weapons. What has brought you here? Turn back!" We replied: "We shall not turn back. We are not the kind of people who turn back." They were laughing at our arrows, saying *dūk dūk*[127] and comparing them with spindles. When we refused to turn back, they said: "Send to us a wise man who will explain to us what brought you here." Al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah said: "I am the man."

He crossed over to them and sat with Rustam on the throne. They were snorting and shouting. Al-Mughīrah said: "This will not increase my honor, nor will it detract from that of your leader." Rustam said: "You are right. What has brought you here?" Al-Mughīrah said: [2237]

> We were a people living in gross error. God sent to us a prophet, guided us through him to the straight path, and gave us sustenance. Among the things He gave us was a seed that grows, so it was claimed, in this country.[128] When we ate it and gave it to our families to eat, they said, "We cannot

126. ʿUṭārid b. Ḥājib was a chieftain of the tribe of Tamīm. Having embraced Islam in the year 9/630–31 (or 10/631–32), he was entrusted with collecting the poor tax (*ṣadaqah*) of his tribe. After the death of the Prophet he joined the rebellion of Sajāḥ, the Tamīmī woman who claimed prophethood. Like numerous other apostates, he reverted to Islam after the suppression of the *riddah*. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/ii, 40; II/i, 116; (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 411; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 507–9.

127. Meaning "spindle" in Persian. The Persians ridiculed the Arab arrows because theirs must have been much thicker. Cf. Schwarzlose, *Waffen*, 281.

128. Persia.

> endure without having this seed. Let us live in this country, so that we can eat from it."

Rustam said: "This being so, we shall kill you!" Al-Mughīrah said: "If you kill us, we shall enter Paradise; if we kill you, you shall enter the Fire; or (alternatively) hand over the poll tax." When al-Mughīrah said: "or hand over the poll tax," they snorted and shouted and said: "There will be no peace between us." Al-Mughīrah said: "Will you cross over to us, or shall we cross over to you [in order to fight]?" Rustam said: "Nay, we shall cross over to you!" The Muslims waited until some Persians crossed over, attacked them, and defeated them.

Ḥuṣayn[129] said: A person from our tribe, named ʿUbayd b. Jaḥsh al-Sulamī, said:

> I observed that we have trampled upon the backs of men who were not touched by weapons but killed by each other.[130] [Then]—as I observed—we found a bag of camphor and thought that it was salt. We had no doubt about it, so we cooked some meat and sprinkled the camphor into the pot. A Christian (*ʿibādī*)[131] who had a shirt with him passed near by and said: "O Arabs, do not spoil your food! The salt of this country is worthless. Would you like to take this shirt in exchange for it?"

We took the shirt from him and gave it to one of our people to wear. We started to walk around him and to admire him, but, when we became acquainted with the clothing [of this country], it became clear that the shirt was worth [only] two dirhams."[132]

[ʿUbayd b. Jaḥsh] said: "I found myself coming close to a man who

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129. Identified by de Goeje as Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *al-rāwī*, on whom see Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 8 no. 25.

130. The sentence describes the confusion of battle, in which men kill each other by trampling or in a similar way.

131. For *al-ʿibād*, the Nestorian Christian community of al-Ḥīrah, see Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs," 598–99.

132. The Muslims felt that they had been deceived when they eventually found out that camphor was an extremely expensive substance, while the shirt was of minimal value. For camphor and its price, see *EI*², s.v. "Kāfūr" (A. Dietrich); Heyd, *Commerce*, II, 594; Ashtor, *Prix et salaires*, 140, 337, 421–22 (no data for Iraq at the time of the Muslim conquest).

had two golden bracelets in addition to his weapon. He came at me; without saying a word to him, I broke his neck." (Then he said:)

> The Persians were defeated and retreated to al-Ṣarāt;[133] we pursued them and they retreated to al-Madā'in. The Muslims were at Kūthā,[134] and the polytheists had a garrison in Dayr al-Mislākh.[135] The Muslims marched toward them, the polytheists were defeated in the ensuing battle and retreated to the bank of the Tigris. Some of them crossed [the Tigris] at Kalwādhā,[136] others below al-Madā'in. The Muslims besieged them so that they did not have anything to eat except their dogs and cats. They slipped out at night and reached Jalūlā'. The Muslims, with Hāshim b. 'Utbah[137] commanding Sa'd's vanguard, caught up with them. The place at which the battle was joined was at some distance from Jalūlā'.[138] [2238]

Abū Wā'il said: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb sent Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān to lead the people of al-Kūfah and Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd to lead the people of al-Baṣrah.

According to al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — 'Amr b. Muḥammad — al-Sha'bī and Ṭalḥah — al-Mughīrah: They[139] went out of the Muslim camp and went to al-Madā'in in order to engage Yazdagird in debate and invite him to embrace Islam. They passed by Rustam and

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133. Al-Ṣarāt was one of the canals connecting the Euphrates and the Tigris, flowing east of al-Anbār. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 377–78; Le Strange, *Lands*, 66; Morony, *Iraq*, 145.

134. An important city in the *sawād*, to the southwest of al-Madā'in. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 68–69; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 317–18; Morony, *Iraq*, index; Oppenheimer *et al.*, *Babylonia*, 175–78.

135. I was not able to identify this locality. Ṣ. A. 'Alī ("Madā'in," 63) places it between Kūthā and Sābāṭ, evidently on the strength of this passage.

136. A city on the eastern bank of the Tigris, not far from the site where Baghdad was later built. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 32.

137. Hāshim b. 'Utbah b. Abī Waqqāṣ of Quraysh embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca. He lost an eye in the battle of Yarmūk, participated in the battles against the Persians, and was killed in the battle of Ṣiffīn in 37/657–58. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 261, 269; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 49–50.

138. Jalūlā' is situated to the northeast of Baghdad. Ṭabarī gives a much more detailed description of this battle in I, 2456ff. See also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 107.

139. Apparently the members of the Muslim delegation appointed by Sa'd to invite Yazdagird to embrace Islam; see p. 2236, above.

reached the gate of Yazdagird ['s residence]. Riding on noble horses, they halted. They had with them horses without riders (*janāʾib*),[140] and all were neighing.[141] They asked permission to enter but had to wait. Yazdagird [meanwhile] consulted his ministers and the nobles of his country as to what to do with the Muslims and what to tell them. The Persians heard about their coming and came to look at them. The Muslims wore short garments (*muqaṭṭaʿāt*) and cloaks (*burūd*, sg. *burd*). They held thin whips in their hands and wore sandals (*niʿāl*, sg. *naʿl*) on their feet.[142] When the Persians made up their minds, the Muslims were allowed to enter into the king's presence.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah—Bint Kaysān al-Ḍabbiyyah — a person who was taken prisoner at the battle of al-Qādisiyyah, became a virtuous Muslim, and was present when the
[2239] Muslim delegation came: The Persians gathered around the Muslims and looked at them. I have never seen ten men who equaled, in their appearance, a thousand others;[143] their horses were striking [the ground with their feet] and made threatening noises at each other. The Persians were vexed by the condition of the Muslims and of their horses.

When they entered into the presence of Yazdagird, he ordered them to sit down. He was a man of bad manners. The first thing that occurred between the king and the Muslims was as follows: The king ordered the translator to take his place between the king and the Muslims. Then he said: "Ask them what they call these garments." The translator asked al-Nuʿmān (b. Muqarrin), who was heading the delegation: "What is the name of your garment?" Al-

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140. The purpose of bringing along additional horses seems to have been to increase the pomp of the delegation and to create the impression of power and abundance. See Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *j-n-b*.

141. Neighing of horses carries special significance in Islamic tradition. When God created the horse, He said: "I gave you my blessing. I shall frighten the polytheists by your neighing . . . " (*bāraktu fīka bi-ṣahīlika urhib al-mushrikīn*). See Ibn Juzayy, *Khayl*, 32. Satan is also said to be vexed by neighing of horses; see Ibn Juzayy, *Khayl*, 37. These traditions may well explain why the neighing of horses is mentioned in our context. The description of the Persians' reaction to the behavior of the horses (p. 2239, above) points in the same direction. See also Ṭabarī, I, 2435 l. 9; and Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-siyar*, I, 83.

142. See *EI*², s.v. "Libās" (Y. K. Stillman and N. A. Stillmann); and Dozy, *Vêtements*, 59–64 (*burd*); 421–24 (*naʿl*); Suyūṭī, *Ahādīth*, 6 (section 15).

143. Cf. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 163, who also stresses the impressive attire of the delegation (*dakhalū ʿalayhi fī aḥsani ziyyin wa ʿalayhim al-burūd wa-al-naʿl*).

Nuʿmān answered: "It is a cloak (*burd*)." The king saw an evil omen in this and said: "He has carried off the world (*burd jahān*)."[144] The Persians became pale and distressed. Then the king said: "Ask them about their footwear." The translator asked: "What is the name of these shoes?" Al-Nuʿmān said: "Sandals (*niʿāl*)." The king reacted as before and said: "Alas, alas (*nāla nāla*) for our country!" Then he asked al-Nuʿmān what he had in his hand. Al-Nuʿmān said: "A whip (*sawṭ*)." (*Sawṭ* means in Persian "burning.") The king said: "They have burned Persia. May God burn them!"[145] The king's augury[146] lay heavy upon the Persians, and they were full of sorrow because of his words.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr—al-Shaʿbī related the same tradition and then added: The king then said: "Ask them: 'Why did you come here? What induced you to attack us and covet our country? Did you muster courage against us because we left you alone and were busy with other matters?'" Al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin said to the members of his delegation: "If you wish, I shall answer on your behalf. If anybody else desires [to speak], I shall prefer him to do so." They said to him: "Speak," and they said to the king: "This man speaks on behalf of us all."

Al-Nuʿmān said:

> God has had mercy upon us and has sent to us a messenger who showed us what is good and ordered us to practice it; he made evil known to us and ordered us to abstain from it. If we should respond to him, he promised us the goodness of this world and of the next. All tribes whom he invited to join him became divided: One group drew near him, and an-

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144. In Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 739, the discussion is not with the king but with Rustam, who says: *bādshāhī burd* "he carried away the kingdom." See also Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 197.

145. The king's play on words is made possible by the different meanings of words that sound similar in Arabic and Persian: *burd* "cloak" (Arabic), "carried" (Persian); *niʿāl* "sandals" (Arabic), *nālah* "lament" (Persian); *sawṭ* "whip" (Arabic), *sūkht* "burned" (Persian).

It is noteworthy that according to the account of Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, VII, 41), which is also attributed to Sayf b. ʿUmar, Yazdagird saw in the Arabs' replies to his questions a good omen, but God transformed it into a bad one (*tafāʾala fa-radda Allāh faʾlahu ʿalā raʾsihi*).

146. Reading *taṭayyuruhu* with Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, 152, and the Egyptian edition, rather than *naẓīruhu* of the Leiden edition.

other remained aloof. Only the elect embraced his religion.
[2240] He acted in this manner as long as God wanted him to act. Then he was ordered to dissociate himself from the Arabs who opposed him, and he began to act [against them]. Willingly or unwillingly, all of them joined him. Those who joined him unwillingly, [eventually] became content, while those who joined him willingly grew more and more satisfied. We all came to understand the superiority of his message over our former condition, which was replete with enmity and destitution. Then he ordered us to start with the nations adjacent to us and invite them to justice. We are therefore inviting you to embrace our religion. This is a religion which approves of all that is good and rejects all that is evil. If you refuse our invitation, you must pay the poll tax. This is a bad thing, but not as bad as the alternative; if you refuse [to pay], it will be war. If you respond and embrace our religion, we shall leave with you the Book of God and teach you its contents,[147] provided that you will govern according to the laws included in it. We shall leave your country and let you deal with its affairs as you please. If you protect yourself against us by paying the poll tax, we shall accept it from you and ensure your safety. Otherwise we shall fight you!

Then Yazdagird spoke, saying:

I know of no other nation on earth that was more miserable, smaller in numbers, and more rancorous than you. We used to entrust the outlying villages with our defense against you, and they were sufficient for the task. The Persians did not attack you, and you had no hope to hold your ground against them. If [your] numbers are now at par [with ours], let it not delude you [into attacking] us. If it is hardship that has caused you [to move against us], we shall allocate provisions for you in order to increase your prosperity. We shall honor your nobles, we shall provide you with clothing, and
[2241] we shall appoint for you a king who will treat you gently.

147. For *aqāma ʿalā* in this sense, see *Glossary* to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*; and Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *q-w-m*.

The Arabs remained silent. Al-Mughīrah b. Zurārah b. al-Nabbāsh al-Usaydī stood up and said:

> O king, these are Arab chieftains of high rank. They are noblemen, diffident in their relationship with other noblemen. Only noblemen can honor other noblemen; only noblemen can enhance the rights of other noblemen, and only noblemen can treat other noblemen with respect. They therefore did not tell you all they had been sent with, and they did not reply to everything you had said. They did the right thing and did nothing except that which would befit people of their kind. Speak, therefore, with me; I shall give you the information, and they shall witness to it.[148] In your description of us, you said things of which you had no knowledge.[149] As for the destitution that you mentioned, there was nobody more destitute that we were. As for our hunger, it was not hunger in the usual sense. We used to eat beetles of various sorts (*khanāfis, jiʿlān*),[150] scorpions, and snakes, and we considered this our food. Nothing but the bare earth was our dwelling. We wore only what we spun from the hair of camels and sheep. Our religion was to kill one another and to raid one another. And if there was among us such as would bury his daughter alive, recoiling from her eating from our food[151] — the our condition in the past had, indeed, been what I mentioned to you.
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> But then God sent to us a well-known man. We knew his lineage, his face, and his birthplace. His land is the choice part of our land. His glory and the glory of his ancestors are

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148. Al-Mughīrah implies that he will not be as reserved and inhibited in his speech as were the other members of the delegation.

149. Meaning that the conditions in which the Arabs lived in the pre-Islamic period were worse than would appear from the king's description.

150. The inferior food of the Arabs was one of the arguments frequently used by the Shuʿūbiyyah in order to deprecate them. Cf. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 152 n. 1. Here it is used to describe the conditions in which the Arabs lived in the Jāhiliyyah and to demonstrate the fundamental transformation that they experienced as a result of the emergence of Islam.

151. The reference is to female infanticide (*wa'd al-banāt*), which was practiced in pre-Islamic Arabia. As in this passage, poverty is usually given as its cause. See, for instance, Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XXX, 8519–20. For Qur'ānic criticism of the custom, see Qur'ān 6:137, 140, 151; 16:58, 59; 17:33. For a novel interpretation, see Lichtenstaedter, "*Gharānīq*."

the most memorable among us. His family is the greatest of our families, and his tribe is the best of our tribes. He himself was the best among us and at the same time the most truthful and the most forbearing. He invited us to embrace his religion. Nobody responded to his call before [Abū Bakr], who was a person of his age[152] and became his successor af-
[2242] ter his death. He spoke, and we spoke; he spoke the truth, and we lied. He grew in stature, and we became deficient. Everything he said came to pass. God instilled in our hearts belief in him and [caused us] to follow him. He stood between us and the Lord of the Worlds. Whatever he said to us was the word of God, and whatever he commanded us to do was the commandment of God. He said: "Your Master says, I am God,[153] alone. I have no partner. I existed when there was nothing. Everything perishes except My face;[154] I created everything and to Me will everything return. My mercy has reached you, and I have sent to you this man in order to show you the way by means of which I shall save you from My punishment after death and cause you to dwell in My Abode, the Abode of Peace."[155]

We witnessed that he brought the truth from God. He[156] said: "Whoever follows you in this [religion] has the same rights and the same obligations as you have, but whoever refuses, offer him (payment of) the poll tax. If he agrees, protect him from everything that you protect yourself from, but whoever refuses [to pay], fight him, and I shall be the judge between you. I shall admit those who are killed to My garden, and to those who survive I shall give victory over their opponents." [Al-Mughīrah continued, addressing the king]:

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152. According to a tradition, Abū Bakr was born three years after "the year of the elephant" and died at the same age as the Prophet: sixty-three years. He was thus three years younger than the Prophet. See Ṭabarī, I, 2128–9. The tradition according to which Abū Bakr was the first person to have embraced Islam is not the only one on this topic; see Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1165ff. for traditions according to which he had been preceded by others.

153. Qurʾān 28:30.

154. Qurʾān 28:88: "Everything perishes except His face."

155. Qurʾān 6:127.

156. The following paragraph is al-Mughīrah b. Zurārah's restatement of ideas from the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*. Although the pronoun refers to God, these are not exact quotations from the Qurʾān.

"If you wish, choose to pay the poll tax out of hand and in humilation.[157] If you wish (to reject this offer), it is the sword, unless you embrace Islam and save your soul."

[The king] said: "Do you [dare to] face me with such things?" [Al-Mughīrah b. Zurārah] said: "I faced only the one who spoke to me. Had somebody else spoken to me, I would not have faced you with this." The king said: "But for the custom not to kill envoys, I would have killed you. I have nothing for you."

Then the king said: "Bring me a load of soil,." And he said: "Load it on the most noble of them and drive him out of the gate of al-Madā'in." [And to the Arabs he said]: "Return to your chief and tell him that I am sending to you Rustam to finish you and your chief off in [2243] the moat of al-Qādisiyyah. He will punish you severely as an example for others. Then I shall send him to your country and make you mind your own affairs in a manner more harsh than that which you suffered at the hands of Sābūr."[158] Then he asked: "Who is the most noble among you?" The Arabs remained silent. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr, who had decided to take the load without consulting anyone, said: "I am the most noble. I am their chief. Load it on me." The king asked: "Is it so?" The Arabs said: "Yes." The king loaded the soil on his neck and drove him out of the hall and out of the building. ʿĀṣim went to his camel, loaded it with the burden, and quickly rode away. All of them traveled to Saʿd. ʿĀṣim overtook them, and, passing near the gate of Qudays, he said: "Bring the tidings of victory to the amīr. God willing, we have won." He went to put the soil in a safe place, then returned, entered to Saʿd, and informed him about the matter. Saʿd said: "By God, rejoice, because God gave us the keys to their kingdom!" ʿĀṣim's companions returned. The strength of the Muslims began to increase day by day, and their enemy grew weaker day by day.

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157. Paraphrasing Qur'ān 9:29. For an exhaustive discussion of the meaning attached in Qur'ānic exegesis to the expression "out of hand" (*ʿan yadin*), see Kister, "ʿAn yadin."

158. The king refers to Shāhpūr b. Hurmuz, who ruled the Sasanid kingdom between A.D. 310 and 379. He is known in the Arab tradition for his military exploits against the Arabs and for his cruel treatment of Arab prisoners of war, whose shoulders he is said to have dislocated. On the strength of this tradition he was dubbed "the man of the shoulders" (*dhū al-aktāf*). See Ṭabarī, I, 838–89, 843–44; Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 517–21; and Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 656–67; for a discussion of this and other interpretations of *dhū al-aktāf*, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 235 n. 2.

The action of the king and the acceptance of the soil by the Muslims lay heavily on the king's associates. Rustam came from Sābāṭ in order to see the king. He asked him what had come to pass between him and the Muslims and what was his opinion of them. The king said: "I did not think that there were among the Arabs men like those whom I saw in my presence. You are not wiser than they are, nor do you have a better presence of mind and ability to reply." He informed Rustam of what the Muslim spokesman had said and added:

> These people spoke to me truthfully. They promised a thing, and they will either achieve it or die for its sake. But I found that the most noble among them was also the biggest fool. When they mentioned the poll tax, I gave him [a load] of soil. He carried it on his head and went out. If he had wanted, he could have guarded himself against it by loading it on somebody else, and I would never have known [who is the most noble among them].

Rustam said: "O king, he is the wisest among them. He saw a good
[2244] omen in this[159] and perceived the matter, while his companions did not."

Rustam left the king's presence dejected and angry. Being an astrologer and a priest, he sent someone to follow the delegation and said to a confidant of his: "If the messenger catches up with them, we have put things right and saved our country. If they outstrip him, God will deprive you of your country and of your sons." The messenger returned from al-Ḥīrah, reporting that they had already gone. Rustam said: "These people have carried your country away without any doubt. Kingship is not an affair for the son of a woman cupper.[160] They have taken the keys to our kingdom."

This was one of the ways in which God infuriated the Persians.

After the delegation set out to meet Yazdagird, the Muslims sent out a raiding party. The party apprehended some fishermen with their catch. Sawād b. Mālik al-Tamīmī went to al-Nijāf.[161] Al-

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159. *Taṭayyara bi-* usually means "he regarded something as a bad omen." Here we have *taṭayyara ilā* in the opposite sense, which does not seem to be listed in the classical dictionaries but was noted by de Goeje in *Glossary*, s.v. *ṭ-y-r*.

160. For the tradition about the birth of Yazdagird to Shahriyār and a cupper slave girl, see Ṭabarī, I, 1044.

161. I am not able to identify this place.

Firāḍ[162] was close to it. He led away three hundred animals, comprising mules, donkeys, and bulls. They loaded the fish upon them, drove them away, and reached the camp in the morning. Saʿd distributed the fish and the animals among the people, liberally distributing the fifth, except for what was given of it to the warriors, and dividing up the captives (*wa-ashama ʿalā al-saby*). This was "the Day of the Fish" (*yawm al-ḥītān*).

Āzādmard b. Āzādbih[163] went in pursuit [of Sawād's raiding party]. Sawād and the horsemen who were with him attacked him and fought him at the bridge of Ṣaylaḥūn.[164] When they were satisfied that the [animals taken as] booty were safe, they followed them and brought them to the Muslims.

The Muslims longed for meat; as for wheat, barley, dates, and other grains, they got hold of quantities sufficient even for a long stay. The objective of the forays was therefore to obtain meat, and the Muslims named their battles accordingly. Among the "meat battles" (*ayyām al-laḥm*) were "the Day of the Bulls" and "the Day of the Fish."

Mālik b. Rabīʿah b. Khālid al-Taymī (from Taym al-Ribāb) al- [2245]
Wāthilī[165] and Musāwir b. al-Nuʿmān al-Taymī al-Rubayyiʿī were sent with another raiding party. They attacked al-Fayyūm[166] and seized camels belonging to Banū Taghlib and Banū al-Namir. They drove the camels and the people of the village out and brought them in the morning to Saʿd. The camels were slaughtered, providing the Muslims with abundant food.

ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith raided al-Nahrayn.[167] They found a great many cattle at Bāb Thawrāʾ;[168] took them across the area of Shīlā,[169] known today as Nahr Ziyād;[170] and brought them to the Muslim

162. Al-Firāḍ is described by Ṭabarī (I, 2073) as "the border area between Syria, Iraq, and the Jazīrah."

163. See note 84, above.

164. See p. 2232 n. 106, above.

165. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 724 no. 7635.

166. A village in the vicinity of Ḥīt on the Euphrates. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 933.

167. Probably a subdistrict of which the main city was Karbalāʾ, but not all the references in the sources point in this direction. See Ṣ. A. ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfah," 234–36; Morony, *Iraq*, 151 and index.

168. I am unable to identify this locality; cf. Ṣ. A. ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfah," 235.

169. According to Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, III, 358), Shīlā was an area near al-Kūfah.

170. An ancient canal in the vicinity of al-Kūfah, named in the Islamic period after Ziyād b. Abīhi, who is said to have reopened it. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 358 and IV, 840–41.

camp. ʿAmr said: "At that time there were only two canals in the area."

More than two years passed between the coming of Khālid (b. al-Walīd) to Iraq and the camping of Saʿd in al-Qādisiyyah. Saʿd stayed there for more than two months, until he achieved victory.

According to the previous chain of transmission:[171] The following events took place between the Persians and the Arabs after the battle of Buwayb. Al-Anūshajān b. al-Hirbidh set out from the rural area of al-Baṣrah in the direction of the people of Ghuḍayy.[172] Four men who were leading various clans of Tamīm confronted him in front of the people of Ghuḍayy. These were al-Mustawrid and ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd, alternately commanding[173] al-Ribāb; Jaz' b. Muʿāwiyah[174] and Ibn al-Nābighah, alternately commanding Saʿd; al-Ḥasan b. Niyār and al-Aʿwar b. Bashāmah, alternately commanding ʿAmr; and al-Ḥusayn b. Maʿbad and al-Shabah, alternately commanding Ḥanẓalah. They killed al-Anūshajān in defense of the people of Ghuḍayy. When Saʿd (b. Abī Waqqāṣ) came, they joined him together with the people of Ghuḍayy and all the clans mentioned above.

[2247][175] According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah and ʿAmr: The people of the *sawād* appealed to Yazdagird b. Shahriyār for help. They sent him a message, saying:

> The Arabs are camping at al-Qādisiyyah in a warlike manner. Nothing can endure their actions since they have camped at al-Qādisiyyah and remain intact. They have ruined everything that was between them and the Euphrates. Nobody remains in this area except in the forts. Animals and food that could not be contained in the forts have been destroyed. The thing that will come next is that they will demand that we come down from the forts. Should help be

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171. See p. 2239, above.

172. See note 18, above.

173. For this meaning of *sānada*, see de Goeje's *Glossary* and Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. The alternating pattern of command explains why Anūshajān was confronted by four commanders only, though eight names are mentioned in the text. See also Ṭabarī, I, 821 ll. 8–10: *fa-qātalāhu mutasānidayni yuqātiluhu hādha yawman wahādha yawman*. See now also M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 152 n. 65.

174. Jaz' (or Jazy) b. Muʿāwiyah b. al-Ḥusayn later became a governor of Ahwāz on behalf of ʿUmar. See ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 282–83; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 474 no. 1151.

175. There is no p. 2246 in the Leiden edition.

slow in coming, we shall surrender [everything] with our own hands.

The chieftains (*al-mulūk*) who had estates in the border area (*al-ṭaff*)[176] [also] wrote to Yazdagird about it and assisted the people of the *sawād* in this matter. They urged him to dispatch Rustam [against the Arabs].

When Yazdagird made up his mind to dispatch Rustam, he sent for him. Rustam entered into his presence, and Yazdagird said to him: "I wish to entrust you with this mission.[177] One must make preparations for an affair according to its magnitude. Today you are the [most prominent] man among the Persians. You see that the people of Persia have not faced a situation like this since the family of Ardashīr[178] assumed power."

It seems that Rustam agreed and praised the king. The king said: "I wish to consider [the information that] you have and to find out what you think. Describe to me the Arabs and their exploits since they have camped in al-Qādisiyyah and describe to me what the Persians have suffered at their hands." Rustam said: "I would describe them as a pack of wolves, falling upon unsuspecting shepherds and annihilating them."

Yazdagird said:

> It is not like that. I put the question to you in the expectation that you would describe them clearly and that then I would be able to reinforce you so that you might act according to the [real situation]. But you did not say the right thing. You must therefore understand what I have to say. The Arabs [2248]
> and the Persians are comparable to an eagle who looked upon a mountain where birds take shelter at night and stay in their nests at the foot of it. When morning came, the birds looked around and saw that he was watching them. Whenever a bird became separated from the rest, the eagle

176. *Al-ṭaff* was used for the part of the Arabian desert that was closest to the cultivated land of Iraq. From there the word acquired the meaning of border area in general; more specifically, al-Ṭaff is also used for the environs of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 539–40; cf. Morony, *Iraq*, 187 and index.

177. Literally: "I wish to send you in this direction."

178. Ardashīr (Artaxerxes) I was the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, which ruled Persia from A.D. the third century until the Muslim conquest. See *CHI*, III, index s.v.

> snatched him. When the birds saw him [doing this], they did not take off out of fear. Whenever a bird became separated from the rest, the eagle snatched him. If they had taken off all at once, they would have repelled him. The worst thing that could happen to them would be that all would escape save one. But if each group acts in turn and takes off separately, they all perish. This is the similarity between them and the Persians. Act according to this.[179]

Rustam said to him: "O king, let me [act in my own way]. The Arabs still dread the Persians, as long as you do not rouse them against me. It is to be hoped that my good fortune will last and that God will save us the trouble. We shall employ the right ruse and follow the right idea in war, because the right idea and ruse are more beneficial than some victories." The king refused and said: "What is it, them, that remains [for us to do]?" Rustam said: "In war, patience is superior to haste, and the order of the day is now patience. To fight one army after another is better than a single [and total] defeat and is also harder on our enemy." But the king was obdurate and refused [to accept Rustam's view]. Hence Rustam set out to establish his camp at Sābāṭ.

Envoys began coming to the king, one after the other, asking him to consider the dismissal of Rustam and the dispatch of somebody
[2249] else around whom the people would rally. Also, spies from al-Ḥīrah and from Banū Ṣalūbā[180] reported these matters to Saʿd, and he wrote about them to ʿUmar.

The cries for help brought to Yazdagird by al-Āzādmard b. al-Āzādbih on behalf of the *ahl al-sawād* grew in number. The king's soul became frightened, and he wanted to protect himself from the war by [dispatching] Rustam. He abandoned all prudence, became impatient and obstinate, and urged Rustam on. Rustam repeated what he had told him before and said:

> O king, abandonment of prudence has forced me to step out of bounds and to vindicate my soul. If I had an alternative, I would not speak these words. I implore you by God, for your

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179. Cf. Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 738–39.

180. Banū Ṣalūbā are identified as "people of al-Ḥīrah, Kalwādhā, and villages on the Euphrates." See Ṭabarī, I, 2061.

sake, for the sake of your people, and for the sake of your kingdom, let me stay in my camp and send al-Jālnūs. If victory will be ours, then all is well; if not, I shall be alert and ready[181] to send someone else.[182] Then, when there is no alternative and we have made them weak and tired, we shall hold our ground against them while we are rested [and in full strength].

But the king insisted on Rustam's departure.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī al-Ḍabbī — Ibn al-Rufayl — his father: Having established camp at Sābāṭ and collected the military equipment, Rustam sent al-Jālnūs commanding the vanguard, with forty thousand men. He said: "Move forward, and do not rush [into battle] without my instructions." He appointed al-Hurmuzān to command his right wing, Mihrān b. Bahrām al-Rāzī his left wing, and al-Bayruzān his rear guard.

Rustam said, in order to raise the morale of the king: "If God gives us victory over them, we shall turn to their kingdom in their land, and we shall keep them busy in their place of origin until they agree to reconciliation or become again satisfied with their erstwhile condition." [2250]

When the delegation of Saʿd returned from their meeting with the king, Rustam had a dream that he disliked and perceived as a bad omen. He did not want to set out and to encounter the Arabs because of it. He lost his equanimity and became confused. He asked the king to send al-Jālnūs and to let him stay so that he might consider what [the Arabs] were doing. He said:

The ability of al-Jālnūs is similar to mine, though they dread my name more than his. If he is victorious, this is what we want; if not, I shall send out someone like him, and we shall ward these people off for some time. The people of Persia still look up to me. As long as I am not defeated, they will act eagerly [on my command]. I am also all this time

181. For the expression *anā ʿalā rijlin* see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 30; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *rijl*.

182. Compare similar considerations in the Muslim camp, with regard to the question whether ʿUmar himself should lead the expedition against Persia. See Ṭabarī, I, 2213–15.

> dreaded by the Arabs; they dread to move forward as long as I do not confront them. But once I do confront them, they will, at last, take heart, and the people of Persia will, in the end, be defeated.

Rustam sent out his vanguard with forty thousand men and himself set out with sixty thousand. His rear guard set out with twenty thousand.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Ziyād, and ʿAmr: Rustam set out with one hundred and twenty thousand men, all of them accompanied by dependents. Together with the dependents they numbered more than two hundred thousand. He set out from al-Madāʾin with sixty thousand men, accompanied by dependents.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Hishām b. ʿUrwah — ʿĀʾishah: Rustam moved against Saʿd in al-Qādisiyyah with sixty thousand men, accompanied by dependents.

[2251] According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Ziyād, and ʿAmr: When the king insisted on [Rustam's] going [into battle], Rustam wrote to his brother and to the chiefs of the people of his country:

> From Rustam to al-Binduwān, the Marzubān of al-Bāb[183] and the arrow of the people of Persia, who is equal to every event, by means of whom God will break up every powerful army and conquer every impregnable fort, and (from Rustam) to those who follow him. Strengthen your forts, prepare [for war], and be ready, as if the Arabs have already arrived in your country to fight for your land and for your sons. I suggested that we should ward them off and thus gain time until their auspicious stars become unlucky, but the king refused.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣalt b. Bahrām—a certain man: When Yazdagird ordered Rustam to set out from Sābāṭ,

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183. Al-Bāb (or Bāb al-Abwāb) is the old name for the city of Darband, on the western shore of the Caspian Sea. It served as a fortification against invasions from the north and as a point of entry for visitors from that direction into the Persian empire. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 437–42; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 369, 415; *EI²*, s.vv. "Bāb al-Abwāb" (D. M. Dunlop): "al-Ḳabḳ" (C. E. Bosworth).

Rustam wrote to his brother a letter similar to the previous one and added:

> Pisces rendered the water turbid; Pegasus (*al-Naʿāʾim*) is in beautiful form, and so is Venus; Libra is balanced, and Mars has disappeared.[184] I think that these people are going to overcome us and to take possession of what belongs to us. The gravest matter that I have seen is that the king has said: "Either you go to [fight] them, or I am going myself." Therefore I am going.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī — Ibn al-Rufayl — his father: The person who encouraged Yazdagird to [2252]
send Rustam was the servant of Jābān, the king's astrologer, who was from the people of Furāt Bādaqlā.[185] Yazdagird sent to him [a message], saying: "What is your view of Rustam's departure and of the war against the Arabs today?" The servant was, however, afraid to speak the truth and lied to the king.

Rustam knew astrology and was unwilling to go forth because of what he knew. For the king it was an easy matter, because [the astrologer] deceived him. The king said to Jābān's servant: "I want you to tell me something that will reassure me with regard to your view." The servant said to Zurnā the Indian: "Tell him." Zurnā said to the king: "Ask me." The king asked him, and Zurnā said: "O king, a bird will draw near and will alight at your palace, and something will drop from his beak on this spot," and he drew a circle. The servant said: "He spoke the truth. The bird is a crow (*ghurāb*), and the thing in his beak is a dirham."

Jābān[186] was informed that the king had been looking for him, so he came and entered into the king's presence. The king asked him about what the servant had said. After some reflection, Jābān said: "He spoke the truth, but he was not accurate. The bird is a magpie (*ʿaqʿaq*), and the thing in his beak is a dirham. It will fall on this

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184. Rustam is described as an astrologer (Ṭabarī, I, 2167). See also Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 164, where another letter of astrological content, also addressed to Rustam's brother, is quoted.

185. Furāt Bādaqlā was a subdistrict (*ṭassūj*) in the vicinity of al-Ḥīrah. See Morony, *Iraq*, 150; Oppenheimer *et al.*, *Babylonia*, 32–33 n. 15, 336 n. 4.

186. In addition to his position at the court, Jābān was the ruler of Ullays. For Ullays, see Donner, *Conquests*, 329 and index.

spot, but Zurnā has lied. The dirham will bounce and come to rest on that spot," and he drew another circle. Before they could get up, a magpie landed on the battlements; a dirham fell from its beak on the first line, bounced, and came to rest on the second line.

The Indian became hostile to Jābān for having exposed his error. A pregnant cow was brought to them. The Indian said: "Its lamb will be black, with a white spot on its forehead (*gharrāʾ*)." Jābān said: "You are lying. It will rather be black with a white spot on its
[2253] tail (*ṣabghāʾ*)." The cow was slaughtered and the lamb extracted. Its tail was between its eyes. Jābān said: "By this Zurnā was deluded."[187] Both[188] encouraged the king to dispatch Rustam, and the king ordered him to go forth.[189]

Jābān wrote to Jushnasmāh[190] saying: "The affair of the Persians is over, and their enemy has prevailed over them. The Zoroastrian kingdom has passed away, the kingdom of the Arabs has emerged victorious, and their religion has gained the ascendancy. Make a contract of protection with them, and do not allow yourself to be deceived. Hurry, hurry before you are taken captive." When he received the letter, Jushnasmāh went out to the Arabs and came to al-Muʿannā. Al-Muʿannā was at al-ʿAtīq with his horsemen. He sent him to Saʿd. Jushnasmāh made a contract [of protection] for himself, for his family, and for those who followed him.[191] Saʿd instructed

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187. For this meaning of the passive form *utiya*, see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *a-t-y* (XIV, 16); and Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *a-t-y*.

188. Jābān and Zurnā, or Jābān and his servant, who increased their credibility by winning the magicians' contest with Zurnā.

189. Fearful of disclosing what the stars had in store for the Persians, the astrologers encouraged the king to send Rustam into battle and presumably made favorable predictions about its outcome. It seems, however, that the choice of the birds in the story by the Muslim traditionist is intended as a hint that their predictions were false and that the Persian empire was doomed. In Arab ornithomancy the crow is considered the worst of all omens. One of the reasons is that the crow did not return to Noah's ark after he had been sent out to report on the situation of the flood. See Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, II, 316; III, 443, 457 (an evil omen if he cries once and a good omen if he cries twice). See also Damīrī, *Ḥayawān*, II, 172–81 (especially 173 last line–174 l. 1). Cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 506–10; Fahd, "Présages." The magpie (*ʿaqʿaq*) was considered evil because popular etymology derived its name from *ʿuqūq* "filial disobedience." The intensity of popular feelings about the magpie can be gauged from the legal controversy over whether a person who set out on a journey, heard the sound of the magpie, and therefore returned should be considered an infidel for believing in ornithomancy or not. See Damīrī, *Ḥayawān*, II, 148–49.

190. Jushnasmāh was one of Jābān's military commanders. See Ṭabarī, I, 2168.

191. Apparently those who surrendered to the Arabs with him.

Jushnasmāh to return [to his place], and he became a spy for the Muslims.

Jushnasmāh presented al-Muʿannā with some *fālūdhaq*.[192] Al-Muʿannā said to his wife: "What is this?" She said: "I think that his miserable wife tried to prepare *ʿaṣīdah*[193] but failed." Al-Muʿannā said: "May misery befall her!"

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Ziyād, and ʿAmr: When Rustam left Sābāṭ, Jābān met him on the bridge and said to him in complaint: "Do you not see what I see?" Rustam said: "I am being led by the nose and can see no alternative except submission."[194] Rustam ordered al-Jālnūs to proceed to al-Ḥīrah. He set out and established his camp in al-Najaf. Rustam set out for Kūthā and wrote to al-Jālnūs and al-Āzādmard: "Capture for me an Arab from the army of Saʿd." Each rode forward by himself, [2254] captured a prisoner, and sent him to Rustam in Kūthā; Rustam interrogated him and then killed him.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī—Ibn al-Rufayl—his father: When Rustam went forth and ordered al-Jālnūs to move in the direction of al-Ḥīrah, he also ordered him to capture an Arab for him. He and al-Āzādmard went out with a raiding party of one hundred men, reached al-Qādisiyyah, captured a man before the Qādisiyyah bridge, and took him away. The Muslims rallied to his rescue but were not able to catch up with the Persians. They managed only to hit some of those who lagged behind. When the Persians reached al-Najaf, they sent the man to Rustam, who was in Kūthā. Rustam said to him: "What brought you here? What

192. Originally a Persian dessert, *falūdhaq* (or *falūdhaj*) was made of crushed almonds and sugar; cf. modern Persian *palūda*; Jawālīqī, *Muʿarrab*, 295; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *f-l-dh*. Arab tradition speaks of ʿAbdallāh b. Judʿān as the first person who introduced the Arabs to this dish after his visit to the Persian king. Our anecdote seems to indicate that it was still not very well known among the Arabs in the first decades of Islam. In later periods it is said to have been considered one of the most exquisite dishes (*min ashraf mā ʿarafūhu min ṭaʿām*). See Jāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, 253. Muslim tradition considers the adoption of *falūdhaq* as a sign of the great prosperity that the Arabs came to enjoy as a result of the conquests (see Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, II, 1108–9, *Kitāb al-aṭʿimah, bāb* 46). For the recipe, see Baghdādī, *Ṭabīkh*, quoted in Rodinson, "Recherches," 149 (with ample bibliography and discussion); *EI*², s.v. "Ghidhāʾ" (M. Rodinson), II, 1067a.

193. *ʿAṣīdah* is porridge made with flour and oil. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *ʿa-ṣ-d*; Rodinson, "Recherches," 141 (with ample bibliography).

194. Both Rustam and Jābān are astrologers and know in advance what the outcome of the conflict will be.

is it that you want?" The man said: "We came to seek what God promised to us." Rustam said: "And what is that?" The man said: "Your land, your sons, and your blood, if you refuse to embrace Islam." Rustam said: "And if you are killed before you accomplish this?" The man said: "God has promised us that He will give those of us who are killed before then a place in Paradise. For those who survive, He will fulfill [the promise] that I mentioned. We are confident and assured." Rustam said: "Have we then been placed at your mercy?" The man said: "Poor Rustam! It is your deeds that have put you [in this situation]. Because of them God has delivered you to us. And let not what you see delude you; you are not fighting human beings but, rather, irrevocable fate." Rustam exploded in anger and ordered the man to be killed.

Rustam left Kūthā and camped at Burs.[195] His men robbed the people of their possessions, raped the women, and drank wine. The Persians[196] cried out to him and complained about the damage to their property and the suffering brought upon their sons. Rustam rose to address his men and said:

[2255] O people of Persia, the Arab spoke the truth. By God, nothing save our deeds has delivered us to them. By God, though we are at war with them, the Arabs treat our people better than you do. God would have given you victory over the enemy and strengthened your position in the land if your behavior had been upright, if you had refrained from injustice, if you had lived up to your commitments and had performed good deeds. But, if you go astray and engage in these [evil] actions, I believe that God will change your circumstances [for the worse], and I am not confident that He will not take His dominion away from you.

Rustam sent his men out to arrest some people against whom complaints were lodged. They were brought to him, and he struck their heads off. Then he rode out and called upon the people to march. He set out and camped opposite Dayr al-Aʿwar.[197] Then he

195. Yāqūt identifies Burs as "a place in Babylon (*Bābil*), in which there are some remnants from [the time of] Nebuchadnezzar. It is on a very high hill." See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 565 l. 24.

196. The text has *ʿulūj*, sg. *ʿilj*, which is a pejorative term.

197. A place on the outskirts of al-Kūfah (*ẓāhir al-Kūfah*; cf. glossary to *BGA*, IV, 294). See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 644; Oppenheimer et al., *Babylonia*, 384 n. 5.

moved down to al-Milṭāṭ[198] and camped on the bank of the Euphrates, opposite the people of al-Najaf, opposite al-Khawarnaq,[199] and near al-Ghariyyān.[200] He summoned the people of al-Ḥīrah, threatened them, and made up his mind to act against them. Ibn Buqaylah[201] said to him: "You cannot have it both ways, [i.e.,] to be unable to help us and at the same time to blame us for defending ourselves and our land." Rustam was reduced to silence.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr—al-Shaʿbī and al-Miqdām al-Ḥārithī—other transmitters mentioned: Rustam summoned the people of al-Ḥīrah (his tent was at that time near the monastery)[202] and said: "O enemies of God! You are pleased that the Arabs have forced their way into our country. You have been spying for them against us. You have reinforced them with money."

The people of al-Ḥīrah wanted Ibn Buqaylah to protect them [2256]
against Saʿd and said to him: "You will be the one to speak to him." Ibn Buqaylah stepped forward and said:

> You have said that we were pleased with the Arabs' coming into the country. What then have they done [to please us]? By which of their actions should we be pleased? Should it be so because they say that we are their slaves? They do not belong to our religion, and they attest that we are destined for Hell. You said that we were spying for them. But why should they be in need of our spying? Your people have fled from them, abandoned the villages to them, and nobody prevents them from moving in whatever direction they please. If they wish, they can go to the right or, if they wish, to the left. You said that we have strengthened them with money. [The truth of the matter is that] we have bribed them with money for fear that we should be taken as prisoners, that we should be plundered, and that our fighting men would be killed. All

198. Al-Milṭāṭ was the name for the area along the Euphrates in the vicinity of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 633.

199. See note 97, above.

200. The Ghariyyān were two high buildings on the outskirts of al-Kūfah. They were built by al-Mundhir b. Imriʾ al-Qays, king of al-Ḥīrah. For the traditions surrounding them, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 790–95.

201. Ibn Buqaylah was one of the leaders (*nuqabāʾ*) of al-Ḥīrah and the first man to sue for peace. He cooperated with the Muslims in various ways. See Ṭabarī, index, s.v. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ.

202. Probably Dayr al-Aʿwar; see note 197, above.

> this has happened because you did not protect us. None of you who confronted the Arabs was able to hold his ground against them. Now we are weaker than you are. I swear that you are preferable to us and have more valor in our eyes. Protect us from the Arabs, and we shall help you. We are like the scum of the *sawād*, slaves of those who prevail!

Rustam said: "The man has spoken the truth on your behalf!"

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Naḍr — Ibn al-Rufayl —his father: Rustam dreamed in the monastery that an angel came, entered the Persian camp, and put a seal on all the weapons.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and his companions and al-Naḍr: When Rustam regained his peace of mind, he ordered al-Jālnūs to march from al-Najaf. He set out with the vanguard and camped between al-Najaf and al-Saylaḥūn. Rustam departed also and camped in al-Najaf. Between the departure of Rustam from al-Madāʾin, his camping in Sābāṭ, his departure from [2257] there, and his confrontation with Saʿd four months elapsed. During this time he did not move forward and did not fight. He was hoping that the Arabs would become disgusted with the place, would become exhausted, and would leave. He disliked the idea of fighting them because he was afraid that he would fare no better than those who [had fought the Arabs] before him. He temporized, but the king rushed him, incited him, and urged him forward; finally, he forced his hand [to engage in battle].

When Rustam camped in al-Najaf, he had the dream again and saw the same angel. With him were the Prophet and ʿUmar. The angel seized the Persian weapons, put a seal on them, and handed them to the Prophet.[203] The Prophet handed them to ʿUmar. When Rustam woke up, his gloom increased. Al-Rufayl noticed it and developed a desire to embrace Islam, and this was the reason for his conversion.

ʿUmar knew that the Persians would temporize with the Muslims. He therefore instructed Saʿd and the Muslims to camp on the border of Persia and to temporize with the Persians indefinitely, in order to throw them off balance. The Muslims camped in al-Qādisiyyah. They made up their minds to be patient and to temporize. God willed to make His light perfect. The Muslims remained [in

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203. Cf. Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar*, 741.

their places] with calm and assurance. They raided the *sawād*, plundered the area around them, and gathered the spoils. They prepared for some protracted maneuvering, and accordingly came prepared to endure until God should grant them victory. ʿUmar supplied them with provisions to supplement what they gained by plunder.

When the Persian king and Rustam saw this, became aware of their situation, and received information about the deeds of the Arabs, the king understood that the Arabs were not going to desist and that, if he were to remain [in his place without doing anything], the Arabs would not leave him alone. He saw fit to send Rustam forth. Rustam saw fit to camp between al-ʿAtīq and al-Najaf, to temporize, and at the same time to engage [the Muslims] in combat.[204] He thought that this was the best thing they (i.e., the Persians) could do until they should achieve the aim of their restraint or until fortune should turn in their favor.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: The raiding parties roamed [the land]. Rustam was in al-Najaf, al-Jālnūs between al-Najaf and al-Saylaḥūn, Dhū al-Ḥājib between Rustam and al-Jālnūs. Al-Hurmuzān and Mihrān were in charge of the two wings, and al-Bayruzān commanded the rear guard. Zād b. Buhaysh, the ruler of Furāt Siryā,[205] commanded the infantrymen, and Kanārā the light cavalry. The army of Rustam consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men. Sixty thousand were accompanied by servants (*shākirī*); from the [other] sixty thousand, fifteen thousand were noblemen accompanied [by dependents]; and they had chained themselves together in order to bear the brunt of the fiercest battle.[206] [2258]

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204. It seems that the intended combat was on a small scale, perhaps only occasional duels between two warriors. For *munāzalah* (also *nizāl* and the special imperative form *nazāli*), see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *n-z-l*; and Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsah*, I, 29.

205. See Morony, *Iraq*, 149–50; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 87–88.

206. Ṭabarī and other Muslims writers report that both the Byzantines and the Persians used to tie some of their soldiers together with chains, so that they could not run away from the battlefield. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135, 303; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, VII, 44; Ṭabarī, I, 2089, 2294, 2337, 2356, 2598, 2632; Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, 83; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 9. Cf. de Goeje, *Mémoire*, 121; Christensen, *Sassanides*, 207; Noth, *Studien*, 122–23.

In a forthcoming article Dr. L. Conrad maintains that the term *silsilah*, which is used in some of these texts, originally referred to a Byzantine military formation. Only later was it taken to mean a chain and a device to prevent soldiers from fleeing

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Qays — Mūsā b. Ṭarīf: The people said to Saʿd: "We are fed up with this place. Move forward." Saʿd scolded the speaker and said: "As your opinion is not needed, do not take the trouble [of offering it]. We shall move forward only on the advice of the people of judgment. Be quiet as long as we do not speak to you." Saʿd sent out Ṭulayḥah[207] and ʿAmr (b. Maʿdīkarib) on a scouting mission without horses. Sawād (b. Mālik al-Tamīmī) and Ḥumayḍah (b. al-Nuʿmān) set out with one hundred men each and raided al-Nahrayn.[208] Saʿd had forbidden them to venture so far. When Rustam received information about the raid, he sent his horsemen against them. When Saʿd heard that Rustam's cavalry had gone in pursuit, he summoned ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr
[2259] and Jābir al-Asadī[209] and sent them after Sawād and Ḥumayḍah, to follow in their trail and to take the same way. He said to ʿĀṣim: "If you join battle with the Persians, you will be the commander." ʿĀṣim encountered them between al-Nahrayn and Iṣṭīmiyā.[210] The Persian horsemen were encircling the Arab raiding party, trying to extract the spoils from their hands. Sawād said to Ḥumayḍah: "Make your choice: either stand up to the Persians and I shall carry away the spoils, or I shall stand up to them and you shall carry away the spoils."[211] Ḥumayḍah replied: "Stand up to them, hold them back, and I shall deliver the spoils for you."

Sawād held out against the Persians, and Ḥumayḍah hastened to leave. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr encountered him. Ḥumayḍah thought that it was another group of Persian horsemen, so he made a turn to avoid them. When they recognized each other, Ḥumayḍah went on with the spoils. ʿĀṣim marched to [the aid of] Sawād. The Persians managed to recover some of the spoils. When they saw ʿĀṣim, they fled. Sawād took possession of what they had recovered and brought the spoils to Saʿd, returning safe and victorious.

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the battlefield. Historically speaking, there were therefore no soldiers who fought fettered (private communication, November 8, 1989).

I thank my former student David Marmer for drawing my attention to Dr. Conrad's work.

207. Ṭulayḥah b. Khuwaylid al-Asadī was an important leader of the *riddah*. See *EI*[1], s.v. "Ṭulaiḥa b. Khuwailid" (V. Vacca); Ṭabarī, I, 1797, 1798, 1871, and index.

208. See note 167, above.

209. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 441 no. 1041.

210. I am unable to identify this locality.

211. The verb *istāqa*, which is used here, indicates that the spoils consisted of cattle and horses.

Ṭulayḥah and ʿAmr had gone forth [from the camp]. Saʿd ordered Ṭulayḥah to confront the camp of Rustam, whereas ʿAmr was ordered to confront the camp of al-Jālīnūs. Ṭulayḥah went alone, while ʿAmr went with a group of men. Saʿd sent Qays b. al-Hubayrah[212] after them and said to him: "If a battle takes place, you will be commander over them." Saʿd wanted to humiliate Ṭulayḥah because of his rebelliousness. ʿAmr, on the other hand, was obedient to him. Qays b. Hubayrah set out, met ʿAmr, and asked him about Ṭulayḥah. ʿAmr said: "I know nothing of him." When they reached al-Najaf from the direction of the valley, Qays said: "What do you intend to do?" ʿAmr said: "I want to raid the nearest part of their camp." Qays said: "With these men?" ʿAmr said: "Yes." Qays said: "By God, I shall not allow you to do this. Are you going to expose [the Muslims] to an intolerable [danger]?" ʿAmr said: "And what say do you have in this?" Qays said: "I have been made commander over you. But [even] if I were not [your] commander, I would not have allowed you to do it." Al-Aswad b. Yazīd attested in the presence of a [2260] number of people: "Saʿd made him commander over you and over Ṭulayḥah, if both of you should happen to be in the same place." ʿAmr said: "By God, O Qays! A time in which you are commander over me will be a time of evil. I prefer to renounce this religion of yours, revert to my former faith, and fight for it until death, rather than suffer you to be my commander another time." He added: "If your master should send you with such a matter again, we shall most certainly dissolve any connection with him." Qays said: "It is up to you the next time."

Qays took ʿAmr back [to camp]. They returned with information [about the enemy], some Persian [captives], and some horses. Each of them complained against the other; Qays complained of ʿAmr's insubordination, and ʿAmr complained of the rude behavior of Qays. Saʿd said: "O ʿAmr! The information that you have brought and your safe return are more pleasing to me than to sustain one hundred ca-

212. Qays b. Hubayrah (or b. Makshūḥ) belonged to the tribe of Murād. The question whether he embraced Islam during the lifetime of the Prophet or later is disputed in the *rijāl* literature. In addition to al-Qādisiyyah, he fought in the battle of Nihāwand and was killed in the battle of Ṣiffīn. In the Jāhiliyyah there was a rivalry between him and ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib; this explains ʿAmr's unwillingness to serve under the command of Qays; see p. 2260, below. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 390; (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 227–8; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 538–41 no. 7318; Caskell and Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 549.

sualties for the price of killing a thousand enemies. Do you intend to go to the Persian battlefield and make an attack against them with one hundred men? I thought that you knew about war more than you do." ʿAmr said: "It is as you say."

Ṭulayḥah went forth and entered the Persian camp on a moonlit night and examined the situation within it. He cut the ropes of a man's tent and led his horse away. Having come out of this camp, he passed near the camp of Dhū al-Ḥājib,[213] wrecked a man's tent, and untied his horse. Then he slipped into the camp of al-Jālnūs, wrecked another man's tent, and untied his horse. Then he left the place and went to al-Kharrārah.[214] The three men—one from al-Najaf, the other from the camp of Dhū al-Ḥājib, and the third from the camp of al-Jālnūs—pursued him. The first man to catch up with him was the Jālnūsī, the second the Ḥājibī, and the third the Najafī. Ṭulayḥah killed the first two and took the last one prisoner. He brought him to Saʿd and informed Saʿd of what had happened. The prisoner embraced Islam, and Saʿd named him "Muslim." He attached himself to Ṭulayḥah and was with him during all the [subsequent] wars of conquest.

[2261]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿAmr—Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī: When ʿUmar sent Saʿd to Persia he instructed him to take with him any man of strength, valor, and leadership whom he should meet in an oasis on his way. If anyone were to refuse to join, he was to take him by force. ʿUmar issued the orders, and Saʿd reached al-Qādisiyyah with twelve thousand men. They consisted of those who participated in [earlier] battles (*ahl al-ayyām*),[215] as well as non-Arabs (*al-ḥamrāʾ*)[216] who had responded to the Muslims and assisted them. Some of them embraced Islam before the fight-

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213. A commander of the Persian army, also known as Bahman Jādhawayhi, who defeated the Muslims in the battle of the Bridge. See Ṭabarī, I, 2174–75, and index, s.v. "Bahman Jādhawayhi."

214. A place near al-Saylaḥūn. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 409.

215. These are the Muslims who fought with al-Khālid b. al-Walīd in the earlier campaigns in Iraq and Syria. See Donner, *Conquests*, 207, and index.

216. For this meaning of *al-ḥamrāʾ* see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *ḥ-m-r*: "The Arabs used [the word] *al-ḥamrāʾ* for the non-Arabs whose complexion is mostly fair, such as the Byzantines, the Persians, and others who lived in their proximity" (*kānat al-ʿArab taqūlu li-ʾl-ʿajam alladhīna yakūnu al-bayāḍ aghlaba alwānihim mithl al-Rūm wa-al-Furs wa-man ṣāqabahum innahum al-ḥamrāʾ*). See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 243–44; Morony, *Iraq*, 197–98.

ing, and some did it afterward. They were allowed to take part in [the distribution of] the spoils and received shares identical with those of the [other] participants in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah, i.e., two thousand [dirhams] each. They asked about the most powerful Arab tribe, and accordingly associated themselves with the tribe of Tamīm.[217]

When Rustam drew near and camped in al-Najaf, Saʿd sent out scouts and ordered them to capture a man whom he could interrogate about the situation of the Persians. The scouts went out, after some disagreement. After all the Muslims had agreed that a scouting party might consist of from one to ten men, they gave their permission, and Saʿd sent out Ṭulayḥah with five men and ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib with the same number. That was on the morning when Rustam had ordered al-Jālnūs and Dhū al-Ḥājib to march forward. The Muslims did not have knowledge of their departure from al-Najaf. When the scouts had marched only slightly more than a *farsakh*,[218] they saw the Persian armed men[219] and their mounts filling the outposts of the Ṭaff region.[220]

Some of them said: "Return to your amīr because he has sent you out on the assumption that the Persians are [still] in al-Najaf, and bring the information to him. Return, lest your emeny be forewarned."[221] ʿAmr then said to his companions: "You are right," but Ṭulayḥah said to his companions: "You are wrong. You were not sent to bring information about their mounts (*sarḥ*) but simply to [2262]
bring back secret information (*khubr*)." They said: "What do you want to do?" Ṭulayḥah said: "I wish to brave the Persians or else to perish." They said: "You are a man with treachery in your soul, but you will not succeed[222] after the killing of ʿUkkāshah b. Miḥṣan.[223]

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217. Literally "they counted themselves among the Tamīm." In other words, they became the *mawālī* of this tribe.

218. A *farsakh* equals approximately 6 kilometers. See Hinz, *Masse*, 62.

219. For *masāliḥ* in this sense, see de Goeje's *Glossary* to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*; and to Ṭabarī.

220. This seems to be the meaning of *ṭufūf* in this context. For al-Ṭaff, see note 176, above.

221. The text uses the plural form of the imperative, and the translation is literal. The meaning is "we should return . . . ," etc.

222. The Muslims doubt that Ṭulayḥah will succeed in becoming a faithful Muslim after his exploits during the *riddah* rebellion. See note 223, below.

223. For another description of this episode, see Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 119–20. In this version Ṭulayḥah's companions explicitly accuse him of the desire to join the Per-

Take us back!" However, Ṭulayḥah refused. Saʿd heard about the departure [of Ṭulayḥah's unit], sent out Qays b. Hubayrah, placed one hundred men under his command, and also appointed him to command the scouting parties if he should meet them. Qays reached them only after they had split up. ʿAmr saw him and said [to his companions]: "Show him your determination." They showed him their desire to embark on a raid, but Qays refused permission. He found that Ṭulayḥah had already left; hence he returned to Saʿd with ʿAmr's scouting party and informed Saʿd about the proximity of the Persians.

Ṭulayḥah went forth on the riverbank, opposite the watering places in the Ṭaff region (*wa ʿāraḍa al-miyāha ʿalā al-ṭufūf*).[224] He slipped into Rustam's camp and remained there during the night, spying, looking, and trying to learn from what he saw. When the night was almost over, Ṭulayḥah passed on his way out by [the tent of] the Persian who he thought was the most noble, on the edge of the camp. None of the Persians had a horse like the one he had, and his white tent was unique. Ṭulayḥah drew his sword, cut the reins of the horse, and tied them to the reins of his own horse. Then he stirred his horse and left the camp in a gallop. When the owner of the horse and the Persian infantrymen became aware of what happened, they summoned each other and rode after him on every available mount.[225] Some of them rushed in his pursuit without saddling their horses. A Persian horseman caught up with Ṭulayḥah at dawn. When he fell upon him and pointed his spear to stab him, Ṭulayḥah made his horse swerve, and the Persian fell on the ground in front of him; Ṭulayḥah then attacked him and broke his back with the spear. Then another Persian caught up with him, and Ṭulayḥah did the same. Then a third Persian came. Having seen the death of his two companions, who were his cousins, he flew into a rage. When he

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sians. They doubt that God will guide Ṭulayḥah back to Islam after he has killed ʿUkkāshah. For the killing of ʿUkkāshah b. Miḥsan by Ṭulayḥah during the *riddah* wars, see Ṭabarī, I, 1888.

224. The text of this passage is dubious and the translation tentative.

225. The text reads *rakibū al-ṣaʿbata wa-al-dhalūla* "they rode both the refractory and the tractable she-camels." This is an example of merismus, a fairly common literary device in Arabic. Cf. such expressions as *al-aswad wa-al-aḥmar*, "the Arabs and the non-Arabs = all humanity"; *al-ins wa-al-jinn*, "people and jinns = all creatures"; *al-layl wa-al-nahār*, "night and day = all the time." See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ṣaʿb*; and Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 243–44.

caught up with Ṭulayḥah and pointed his spear at him, Ṭulayḥah made his horse swerve, and the Persian fell in front of him. Ṭulayḥah [2263] attacked him and urged him to accept captivity. The Persian understood that Ṭulayḥah would [otherwise] kill him and submitted himself as a captive; Ṭulayḥah ordered him to run in front of him, and this is what the Persian did. Now the [other] Persians arrived and saw that the two horsemen had been killed and the third had been taken prisioner. Meanwhile, Ṭulayḥah was now near[226] their (i.e., the Muslim) camp. They left him alone and withdrew.

Ṭulayḥah went forward and reached the Muslim camp, the army being in battle array. The soldiers were alerted and escorted him to Saʿd. When Ṭulayḥah came to him, Saʿd said: "Poor you! What is behind you?"[227] Ṭulayḥah said: "I entered their camp and have spied on them since last night. I captured a man who appears to be the most noble of them, but I do not know whether I am right or wrong.[228] Here he is; question him."

A translator was brought in and stood between Saʿd and the Persian captive. The Persian said: "Will you spare my life if I tell you the truth?" Saʿd said: "Yes. We prefer truthfulness in war to falsehood." The Persian said:

> I shall tell you about this companion of yours before I inform you about those who are with me. I have participated in wars, I have heard about heroes, and I have encountered them from the time when I was a boy until I reached the situation in which you see me now. But I have not seen a man similar to this one, nor have I heard of one like him. This man has crossed two camps [so strong] that heroes had not been courageous enough to take them on. He reached a [third] camp, which consists of seventy thousand men. Each of them is attended by five or ten people, or fewer. He was not content to get out in the same way as he got in; rather, he robbed a prominent horseman of the army, cut the ropes of his tent, and thereby alerted him. All of us were also alerted and went in his pursuit. The first man to catch up with him

226. For *shārafa* in this sense, see de Goeje's *Glossary* to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, s.v.

227. *Mā warāʾaka* is a question frequently addressed to someone who has been sent out to bring some information. See Maydānī, *Amthāl*, III, 188, 240.

228. Regarding the man's standing among the Persians.

was a prominent horseman[229] who equals a thousand, but he killed him. Then another horseman, similar [in prowess] to the first one, caught up with him and was killed as well. Then I myself came. I do not think that I left behind someone who is equal to me, for I was trying to take revenge for
[2264] the two slain men, who were my cousins. I saw that death was imminent, so I submitted myself as a captive.

The prisoner then told Saʿd about the Persians, saying that the army consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, with an equal number of men serving them. The man embraced Islam, and Saʿd named him "Muslim."[230] He then returned to Ṭulayḥah and said: "By God, you will not be defeated as long as you are as faithful, truthful, benign, and charitable as I see you now. I do not need [anymore] to be associated with Persia." On that day, he acquitted himself well.[231]

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Qays — Mūsā b. Ṭarīf: Saʿd said to Qays b. Hubayrah al-Asadī: "You heedless man![232] Go forth and care for nothing of this world until you bring me information about the Persians." Qays set out. Saʿd also sent ʿAmr (b. Maʿdīkarib) and Ṭulayḥah. Qays reached the area opposite to the bridge, marched a little, and came upon a large group of the Persian horsemen, who were emerging from their camp. Rustam had left al-Najaf and halted where Dhū al-Ḥājib had been before. Al-Jālnūs also moved, and Dhū al-Ḥājib camped in his place. Al-Jālnūs went in the direction of Ṭayzanābād,[233] halted there, and ordered the horsemen to move forward.

Saʿd sent Ṭulayḥah and ʿAmr with Qays because of an utterance by ʿAmr that came to his knowledge and because of what ʿAmr had

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229. Literally "the horseman of the people."

230. It was normal practice for converts to abandon their pre-Islamic names and adopt new, Islamic ones.

231. Probably meaning that he displayed valor in battle on the side of the Muslims.

232. The Leiden edition has *ʿāqil* "wise." I am translating *ghāfil* "heedless," using the version preferred by Kosegarten. It seems to give a better sense in the context: Qays is instructed to stop caring for this world, which is, in the Muslim tradition, a characteristic of those who are heedless of their fate in the hereafter.

233. Ṭayzanābād was situated 1 mile from al-Qādisiyyah, on the way to the Ḥijāz. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, III, 569–70) describes it as a resort, surrounded by vineyards, winepresses, trees, and inns. It was a place "of amusement and idleness."

previously said to Qays b. Hubayrah.[234] ʿAmr said: "O Muslims, fight your enemy!" He then started the battle and fought the Persians for a while. Then Qays attacked them, and they suffered a defeat. He killed twelve men and took three prisoners. He took booty, brought it to Saʿd, and provided him with information. Saʿd said: [2265] "These are good tidings. God willing, when you confront the main body of their army and their valiant men, the result will be the same." Then he summoned ʿAmr and Ṭulayḥah and said to them: "What is your view of Qays?" Ṭulayḥah said: "We think that he was the bravest among us," and ʿAmr said: "The amīr has more understanding of men than we have." Saʿd said:

> By means of Islam God has revived us, brought life to hearts that had been dead, and death to hearts that had been alive. I warn you not to prefer the affair of the Jāhiliyyah, lest your hearts die while you are still alive. Stick to obedience and recognize the [people's] rights. Nobody has ever seen people like those whom God has made strong by means of Islam.[235]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and ʿAmr; also Ziyād, Mujālid, and Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān: On the morning that followed his camping in al-Saylaḥūn Rustam ordered al-Jālnūs and Dhū al-Ḥājib to move forward. Al-Jālnūs marched out and halted before the bridge, opposite Zuhrah (b. al-Ḥawiyyah) and next to the commander of the vanguard. Dhū al-Ḥājib camped in his stead in Ṭayzanābād; Rustam camped instead of Dhū al-Ḥājib in al-Kharrārah. He ordered Dhū al-Ḥājib to march forward. When he reached al-ʿAtīq, he turned left. Then, when he was opposite Qudays, he dug a moat. Al-Jālnūs set off and joined him. Saʿd had Zuhrah b. al-Ḥawiyyah commanding the vanguard, and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtamm and Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ al-Kindī commanding the [2266] two wings. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr commanded the light cavalry, another man the archers, another man the footmen, and Sawād b. Mālik the scouts. Rustam's vanguard was commanded by al-Jālnūs; his two

234. Saʿd's anxiety is probably the result of ʿAmr b. al-Maʿdīkarib's unwillingness to accept Qays b. Hubayrah as his commander and his threat to renounce Islam; cf. pp. 2259–60, above.

235. Saʿd demands that past rivalries not be allowed to interfere with the unity of the Muslims.

wings by al-Hurmuzān and Mihrān, his light cavalry by Dhū al-Ḥājib, and his scouts by al-Bayruzān, with Zād b. Buhaysh commanding the footmen.

When Rustam reached al-ʿAtīq, he stopped on its banks, opposite the camp of Saʿd. He assigned to his men their positions, and they occupied them one after the other, until their entire multitude assembled.[236] He remained there during the night, with the Muslims' refraining from attacking them.

According to Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān: When the Persians woke up after spending the night on the bank of al-ʿAtīq, Rustam's astrologer advised Rustam of the vision that he had been shown during the night. He said: "I saw Aquarius in the sky in the form of a bucket emptied of water. I saw Pisces in the form of fish in shallow water and in a state of commotion; and I saw Pegasus (*al-Naʿāʾim*) and Venus shining." Rustam said: "Woe to you! Did you tell anyone about it?" The astrologer said: "No." Rustam said: "Keep it secret!"

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: Rustam was an astrologer and was weeping because of what he saw in his dreams and because of [the visions?] coming to him. When he was in the outskirts[237] of al-Kūfah, he dreamed that ʿUmar entered the Persian camp accompanied by an angel. The angel put a seal on the weapons of the Persians, tied them into a bundle, and handed them to ʿUmar.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid — Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim (who participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah): Rustam had with him eighteen elephants, and al-Jālnūs had fifteen elephants.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī:
[2267] Rustam has with him in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah thirty elephants.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān — another man: Rustam had with him thirty-three elephants, including the white elephant of Sābūr, to whom the (other) elephants kept close; he was the biggest and oldest among them.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Naḍr — Ibn al-Rufayl — his father: Rustam had thirty-three elephants, eighteen of whom

236. I have not translated *yunziluhum fa-yanzilūn*; the meaning seems to be the same as *wa-nazzala al-nāsa wa-mā zālū yatalāḥaqūn*.

237. For *ẓahr* in this sense, see *Glossary* to *BGA*, IV, 294.

were in the central part of the army and fifteen in the two wings.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid, Saʿīd, Ṭalḥah, ʿAmr, and Ziyād: When Rustam woke up after the night which he spent near al-ʿAtīq, he went riding with his horsemen. He observed the Muslims and then went up in the direction of the bridge. Having estimated the number of the Muslims, he stood facing them on the near side of the bridge, and sent them a messenger, saying: "Rustam says to you: Send to us a man who will speak to us, and we shall speak to him." The messenger returned. Zuhrah then sent someone to inform Saʿd of this, and Saʿd sent al-Mughīrah b. al-Shuʿbah to Rustam. Zuhrah accompanied al-Mughīrah to al-Jālnūs, and al-Jālnūs escorted him to Rustam.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Naḍr — Ibn al-Rufayl — his father: Rustam camped near al-ʿAtīq and spent the night there. On the next morning, he went to examine the situation and to estimate the number of the Muslims. He went along al-ʿAtīq in the direction of al-Khaffān[238] until he reached the end of the Muslim camp, and then he went up until he reached the bridge. He observed the Muslims and then came to a place from which he could look at them from above. When he stood on the bridge, he sent a message to Zuhrah, who went toward him until Rustam asked him to stop; he wanted to make peace with the Muslims and give Zuhrah a stipend on the condition that they should depart. He said, among other things:

> You are our neighbors, and some of you have been under our rule. We have given them protection, we have kept all harm away from them, and we have given them many useful things. We have kept them safe among the people living in their desert, we have allowed them to graze their flocks on our pastures and have provided them with supplies from our country. We did not prevent them from trading in any part of our land, since their livelihood was based on this. [2268]

[He was alluding to peace but spoke about the good deeds of the Persians. His purpose was peace, but he did not say so explicitly].

Zuhrah said:

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238. A place in the vicinity of al-Kūfah, on the way to Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 456.

> You have spoken the truth. In the past the situation was as you described it. But our concern is not what the concern of our forbears was, and our desire is different from theirs. We did not come to you looking for things of this world; our desire and aspiration is the hereafter. In the past we were as you said; those of us who came to your country were obedient to you, humbled themselves before you, and sought what was in your hands. Then God sent to us a Prophet, who called us to his Lord, and we responded. God said to His Prophet: "I have given to this community dominion over those who did not embrace my religion. By means of this community I shall take revenge upon those, and I shall make this community prevail as long as they affirm this religion. This is the religion of truth; none will shun it without suffering humiliation, and none will embrace it without gaining honor and strength."

Rustam said: "And of what does it consist?" Zuhrah said: "Its essential pillar[239] is to testify that there is no god except Allāh and that Muḥammad is His messenger, and to affirm what he has brought from God." Rustam said: "Excellent! And what else?" Zuhrah said: "To extricate people from servitude to [other] people and to make them servants of God." Rustam said: "Good. And what else?" Zuhrah said: "Men are sons of Adam and Eve, brothers born of the
[2269] same father and mother." Rustam said: "How excellent is this!" And he added: "If I agree to this matter and respond to you, together with my people, what will you do? Will you return [to your country]?" Zuhrah said: "By God, indeed we will, and we shall never draw near your land except for [purposes of] trade or some necessity." Rustam said: "You have spoken to me truthfully. But, by God, since Ardashīr[240] ascended the throne, the Persians did not allow any lowly person to leave his work. They used to say: 'If they leave their work, they overstep their bounds and become hostile to their nobles.'" But Zuhrah said to him: "We are the best people for the sake of others. We cannot be as you say. We obey God with regard to the lowly, and we are not harmed if someone disobeys God with regard to us."

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239. Literally "Its pillar, without which none of its parts is sound. . . ."
240. See note 178, above.

Rustam went away. He summoned the Persians and spoke to them about this, but they went into a rage and scornfully rejected [Zuhrah's proposals]. Rustam said: "May God curse you and afflict you! May God disgrace the greatest weaklings and cowards among us!" When Rustam left, I [sc. Ibn al-Rufayl] felt sympathy for Zuhrah. I embraced Islam and associated myself with him, and he allotted to me shares in the spoils equally with the participants in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah.

The same tradition was transmitted also by al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: They [also] said: Saʿd sent for al-Mughīrah b. al-Shuʿbah, Busr b. Abī Ruhm, and ʿArfajah b. Harthamah,[241] Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan,[242] Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir,[243] Qirfah b. Ẓāhir al-Taymī al-Wāthilī, Madhʿūr b. ʿAdī al- ʿIjlī,[244] Muḍārib b. Yazīd al-ʿIjlī,[245] and Maʿbad b. Murrah al-ʿIjlī, who was one of the [2270] shrewdest of the Arabs. Saʿd said to them: "I am sending you to the Persians. What do you think of it?" All of them said: "We shall follow your orders to the utmost. Should something which you did not mention come up, we shall consider what is the most appropriate and the most beneficial thing for the people, and we shall tell them." Saʿd said: "This is what prudent people do. Go and prepare yourselves!" Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir said: "The Persians have their own views and their customs. If we all come to them, they will think that we have gone out of our way to honor them, so do not send more than one man." All of them agreed. Ribʿī then said: "Send me," so Saʿd sent him [alone].

Ribʿī set out in order to enter into Rustam's camp. The Persians on the bridge arrested him, and he was sent to Rustam immediately upon his arrival. Rustam consulted the Persian dignitaries and asked them: "What do you think? Should we enter into a contest

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241. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/ii, 78; [ʿI.] Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 401; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 271.

242. Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan al-Qalfānī [or al-Ghalfānī] later became governor of ʿUmān on behalf of Abū Bakr and governor of Yamāmah on behalf of ʿUmar. See [ʿI.] Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 390; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 44 no. 1648.

243. Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir also participated in the battle of Nihāwand and later became governor of Ṭukhāristān. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 454–55 no. 2574; Crone, *Slaves*, 118–19.

244. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VI, 63–64 no. 7867; [ʿI.] Ibn al-Athir, *Usd*, IV, 342.

245. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VI, 125 no. 8011. For a discussion of the historicity or otherwise of this list, see Noth, *Studien*, 95–96.

with him (*a-nubāhī*) or should we treat him with disdain?"[246] All of them decided to treat him with disdain. They displayed ornaments, spread carpets (*busuṭ*) and pillows (*namāriq*), and did not leave any ornament without using it. A gold-plated seat[247] was set up for Rustam, decorated with rugs (*anmāṭ*), and cushions (*wasāʾid*) laced with gold. Ribʿī came in on a hairy, short-legged mare, having with him a polished sword whose scabbard was made of shabby cloth. His spear was bound with a strap of sinew,[248] and he had a shield made of cowhide, whose exterior was of bright color (*aḥmar*), like a thick, round loaf of bread. He also had with him a bow and arrows.

When he entered upon the king,[249] reached him, and reached the edge of the carpets, the Persians said to him: "Dismount!" but Ribʿī drove the horse onto the carpet. [Only] when the horse stood on the carpet did he dismount. He tied the horse to two cushions, tore them up, and put the rope inside them; they could not stop him from doing this but could only treat him with disdain. He knew what their in-
[2271] tention was and wanted to cause them distress. He had a shield shining like a pond,[250] and his coat was the cover of his camel, in which he made a hole, used it as a shield, and tied it to his waist with a bark of reeds. He was the hairiest of the Arabs, and he tied to his head a piece of cloth which was the girth of his camel. On his head he had four locks of hair which protruded like horns of a goat. The Persians

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246. The Persians seem to be considering two alternatives: to enter into a verbal contest with Ribʿī by expatiating on their superiority vis-à-vis the Arabs or to show their contempt for him by an ostentatious display of their finery, which would put his shabby appearance into sharp relief.

247. The text reads *sarīr al-dhahab*, "golden seat," but see Sadan, *Le mobilier*, 51. See this work, *passim*, for materials on *bisāṭ*, *numruq*, and *wisādah*.

248. *Rumḥ maʿlūb* is a spear bound with sinews (*ʿilbāʾ*) taken from a camel's neck. The Arabs used to bind a cracked spear with a fresh and moist sinew, which would then dry out and make the weapon strong and usable again. Cf. Schwarzlose, *Waffen*, 233–34. This carries in our context a special significance: It reflects the rugged ways of the Arabs—which are considered praiseworthy—in contradistinction to the luxury of the Persians. See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 226 (*Kitāb al-jihād, bāb* 83): "The conquests were accomplished by people whose swords were not embellished by gold and silver but by sinews, lead, and iron" (*la-qad fataḥa al-futūḥa qawmun mā kānat ḥilyatu suyūfihim al-dhahab wa-lā al-fiḍḍah wa-innamā kānat ḥilyatuhā al-ʿalābī wa-al-ānuk wa-al-ḥadīd*).

249. Ribʿī is about to meet Rustam, not Yazdagird, but high officials of the Persian empire were frequently called "kings." See Morony, *Iraq*, 186–87.

250. For this meaning of *aḍāt*, see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *ʾ-ḍ-w*; *Glossary*, s.v. *ʾ-ḍ-w*. For the comparison of the shield with a pond, see Schwarzlose, *Waffen*, 348.

said to him: "Lay down your arms," but Ribʿī said: "I have not come to you [on my own initiative] so that I should have to lay down my arms on your orders. You invited me here; and if you do not want me to come as I please, I shall return."

The Persians notified Rustam of this. He said: "Let him come in; he is only one man." Ribʿī came in, leaning on his spear. Its lower end[251] was (as sharp as) the blade. He walked with short steps and pierced their carpets and cushions, so that he did not leave even one cushion or carpet without destroying it and left them torn to shreds. When he came close to Rustam, the guards seized him. He sat on the floor, plunging his spear into the carpets. They said: "Why are you doing this?" Ribʿī said: "We do not like to sit on this finery of yours." Then Rustam spoke to him and asked him: "What has brought you here?" Ribʿī said:

> God has sent us and has brought us here so that we may extricate those who so desire from servitude to the people [here on earth] and make them servants of God; that we may transform their poverty in this world into affluence; and that we may free them from the inequity of the religions and bestow upon them the justice of Islam. He has sent us to bring His religion to His creatures and to call them to Islam. Whoever accepts it from us, we shall be content. We shall leave him on his land to rule it without us; but whoever refuses, we shall fight him, until we fulfill the promise of God.

Rustam said: "And what is the promise of God?" Ribʿī said: "Paradise for him who dies while fighting those who have refused [to embrace Islam] and victory for him who survives."

Rustam said: "I have heard your speech. Are you willing to delay this matter until both parties consider it?" Ribʿī said: "How long a [2272]

251. It may be worthwhile to speculate on the symbolic content of this description. The lower end (*zujj*) of the spear was not normally used to stab the enemy but rather to stick the weapon into the ground. It was therefore a symbol of peaceful intentions. In our context the *zujj* is, indeed, stuck into the ground, but in a way that destroys the objectionable finery of the Persians. That the lower end of the spear is described as being as sharp as the blade may be taken as a hint that peaceful resolution of the conflict is not envisaged. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *z-j-j*; Schwarzlose, *Waffen*, 232, and index; Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣāʾid*, 280–81 (on the *Muʿallaqah* of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, v. 47).

delay would you like? One day or two days?" Rustam said: "No [I wish a longer delay], until we exchange letters with our men of judgment and with the leaders of our people." (He wanted to attract him and to put him off [at the same time].) Ribʿī said:

> The custom that has been established for us by the Messenger of God and put into effect by our leaders is that we should not listen to the enemy nor delay the fight with them for more than three days. We shall therefore go back and leave you alone for three days. Look into your affair and into the affair of your people and choose—within this period—one of three options. Choose Islam, and we shall leave you alone on your land; or choose [to pay] the poll tax, and we shall be content and refrain from fighting you. If you do not need our help, we shall leave you alone; and if you need it, we shall protect you. Otherwise it will be war on the fourth day. We shall not attack you between now and the fourth day unless you attack us. You have my guarantee on behalf of my companions and on behalf of all those [Muslims] whom you see.

Rustam said: "Are you their chief?" Ribʿī said: "No, I am not, but the Muslims are like one body. They are all parts of a whole (*baʿḍuhum min baʿḍin*). The most humble among them can promise protection on behalf of the most noble."[252]

Rustam went into private consultation with the Persian chieftains and said: "What is your opinion? Have you ever heard a statement more lucid and more honorable that the statement of this man?" They said: "May God save you from inclining toward something like that and abandoning your religion to this dog! Did you not see his clothing?" Rustam said: "Woe to you! Do not look at his

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252. This is a reference to the idea that an assurance of safety or protection given by any Muslim is binding on the entire community. See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 296 (*Kitāb al-jizyah, bāb* 10): "The assurance of safety or protection of the Muslims is one; the most humble of them is entitled to take it upon himself" (*dhimmat al-muslimīn wa-jiwāruhum wāḥidah yasʿā bihā adnāhum*). Explaining this tradition, Qasṭallānī (*Irshād*, V, 238) says: "Whoever gives an assurance of safety to someone from the People of War, his assurance is binding on all the Muslims. It is immaterial whether he is lowly or noble, slave or free, man or woman" (*inna kulla man ʿaqada amānan liaḥadin min ahl al-ḥarb jāza amānuhu ʿalā jamīʿal-muslimīn daniyyan kāna aw sharīfan ʿabdan aw ḥurran rajulan aw imraʾatan*). See also Bukhārī, II, 298; Qasṭallānī, *Irshād*, V, 243; and Ṭabarī, *Jihād*, 25ff.

clothing! Look rather at his judgment, his speech, and his conduct. The Arabs attach no importance to clothing and food. They protect their ancestral glory (*aḥsāb*) instead. They are not like you in regard to clothing and they do not see in it what you do." They approached [2273] Ribʿī, took his weapons in their hands, and belittled their worth. He said: "Do you want to show me [your ability] and I shall show you [mine]?" He drew his sword from its rags like a flame of fire. The Persians said: "Sheathe it." Ribʿī complied. Then he shot at a shield (of theirs), and they shot at his leathern shield; their shield was pierced, while his remained intact. Ribʿī said: "O people of Persia, you attach great importance to food, clothing, and drink, whereas we belittle all these." Then he returned, so that they might consider the matter within the allotted time.

On the next morning, the Persians sent a message, saying: "Send this man to us again," but Saʿd sent to them Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan. He came dressed in a similar attire. When he came to the nearest carpet, the Persians said: "Dismount!" He said:

> You would have the right to speak in this fashion if I were to come asking for something. Ask your king whether he wants to ask for something or whether I do. If he says that I came here to ask for something, he is lying and I shall return and leave you. If he says that he wants to ask for something, then I am not coming except as I please.

Rustam said: "Let him come in." Ḥudhayfah came in and stood near Rustam, who was sitting on his seat. Rustam said: "Dismount!" Ḥudhayfah said: "I shall not." When Ḥudhayfah refused, Rustam asked him: "Why have you come rather than the man who was here yesterday?" Ḥudhayfah said: "Our amīr treats us justly in distress as well as in comfort; it is now my turn." Rustam said: "What has brought you here?" Ḥudhayfah said:

> God the Exalted has favored us with His religion and showed us His signs. We have come to know Him after we had denied Him. Then He ordered us to summon the people to one of three options. Whichever you accept will be accepted by us. (If you embrace) Islam, we shall leave you alone. If [you agree to pay] the poll tax, we shall protect you if you need our protection. Otherwise, it is war.

Rustam said: "Or truce till a certain day?" Ḥudhayfah said: "Yes—for three days, beginning yesterday."

When Rustam could not get from Ḥudhayfah anything except that, he sent him away. Then he came to his companions and said:

> Woe to you! Do you not see what I do? The first one came to us yesterday, forced his way into our land, debased what we
> [2274] honor, made his horse stand on our finery, and tied him to it. He came on an auspicious day [for him] and bore away our land and all that is in it to them.[253] He had superior intelligence. The second one came today. He stopped here on an auspicious day, standing on our land before us.

This continued until Rustam and his companions enraged each other. On the next morning, Rustam sent a message, saying: "Send another man to us," so the Muslims sent al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī: When al-Mughīrah reached the bridge and crossed over to the Persians, they detained him and asked Rustam for permission to let him pass. They did not change anything in the setting in order to intensify their disdain. When al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah arrived, the Persians were in their attire, wearing crowns and clothing laced with gold. Their carpets were a bow shot long. Nobody could reach their chief without walking on them all this distance. Al-Mughīrah came in, having four locks of hair on his head. He walked through and sat down with Rustam on his seat and cushion.[254] The Persians fell upon him, seized him violently, dragged him down, and gave him a light beating. Al-Mughīrah said:

> We have heard about your moderation and self-restraint, but I think that there is no nation more excitable and stupid than you are. We, the Arabs, are (all) equal (to each other). We do not enslave each other, except if someone fights against the other [and is taken prisoner]. I thought you treated your people as equals as we do. Instead of what you
> [2275] did, it would have been better if you had informed me that

253. See p. 2244, above.

254. This tradition can be found in Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, 83. According to Abū Yūsuf's version, al-Mughīrah seated himself on Rustam's throne on purpose, in order to provoke his anger.

> some of you are masters over others, that behavior [such as mine] is unacceptable among you, and that we should not engage in it. I have not come [on my own initiative]; you have invited me. Today I have come to know that your affair will come to nought and that you will be defeated. A kingdom cannot be based on such conduct, nor on such minds [as yours].

The lowly people said: "By God, the Arab is speaking the truth." The landowners (*dahāqīn*) said: "By God, he has said things to which our slaves have always been inclined. May God curse[255] our forbears! How foolish they were when they disparaged this nation!"

Rustam made a joke in order to blot out [the impression of] what had been done. He said: "O Arab, the king's attendants sometimes do things with which the king does not agree, but he is soft on them for fear that he would destroy their willingness to do the right thing [in the future]. We are faithful and truthful, the way you want us to be. And what are the spindles that you have with you?"[256] Al-Mughīrah said: "A burning coal does not deteriorate because it is not long." He then competed with them in shooting arrows. Rustam said: "Why is your sword old?" and al-Mughīrah replied: "Its covering is shabby, but its blade is sharp," and he fought a mock fight with them. Rustam said: "Speak, or shall I myself speak?" Al-Mughīrah said: "You are the one who sent for us, so speak!"

Rustam ordered the translator to take his place between them. Rustam began to speak. He praised his people and glorified them, saying:

> We are firmly established in the land, victorious over our enemies, and noble among the nations. None of the kings has our power, honor, and dominion. We triumph over others, and they do not triumph over us, except for a day or two, or a month or two, and this is [only] because of our transgressions. When God takes His revenge to His satisfaction, He will restore our honor and we shall assemble for our enemy [an army which will fight him on] the worst day that [2276]

255. For this meaning of *qātalahu Allāh*, see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *q-t-l*.

256. Cf. p. 2236, above.

ever came upon him. Furthermore, there was never among the people a nation which we considered more contemptuous than you. You were people who lived in misery and privation. We thought nothing of you and held you of no account. When your land was famine-striken and you were afflicted with drought, you sought help in the border area of our country, and we would provide you with dates and barley and send you back. I know that the only cause of what you are doing is the distress which you face in your land. I shall supply your chief with a garment, a mule, and one thousand dirhams. I shall provide every one of you with a load of dates and two garments, and you will then leave our country, for I have no desire to kill you or to take you in captivity.

Al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah began to speak. He praised God, extolled Him, and then said:

God is the creator of everything![257] When somebody makes something, it is [really] He who makes it and it belongs to Him.[258] As for your victories and your firm position in the land and your powerful dominion in the world which you have mentioned with regard to yourself and with regard to the people of your country, we know this and do not deny it. But it is God who has done this to you and entrusted you with it; all this is His, not yours. As for our destitution, privation, and dissension which you mentioned, we know it [also] and do not deny it. It is God who has put us to the test by it and reduced us to this condition. Fortune in this world is transitory; people afflicted with calamities hope for prosperity until they achieve it, and people of prosperity expect that calamities will afflict them.[259] And even if you were grateful to God for what He has bestowed upon you, your gratitude would fall short of what you were given. The inadequacy of [your] gratitude would cause a change of [your]
[2277] condition for the worse. And if we were ungrateful with regard to our tribulations, then the greatest afflictions which

257. Qur'ān 13:18, 39:62.
258. I am translating according to de Goeje's suggested emendation: *wa-huwa lahu*, instead of *wa-alladhī lahu* of the text.
259. I have not translated *wa yaṣīru ilayhā*.

> kept coming at us time and again from God would seem like acts of mercy through which He has alleviated our suffering.[260] But the matter is different from what you think, and we are not the people whom you knew in the past. God has sent to us a messenger. . . .

Then al-Mughīrah mentioned things identical with those which had been related before.[261] When he reached the sentence: "And if you need our protection, then be our slave, and pay the poll tax out of hand, while being humiliated;[262] otherwise, it is the sword," Rustam snorted, flew into a rage, and swore by the sun: "Dawn will not break upon you tomorrow before I kill you all."

Al-Mughīrah went away. Seeking conciliation, Rustam met in private with the Persian [dignitaries] and said:

> How different are these people from you! What is going to happen after this? The first two men came, annoyed you, and caused you distress. Then this one came. There were no differences between them; they followed the same way and held fast to the same matter. By God, these are [veritable] men, whether they speak the truth or lie. By God, if they speak the truth and if their intelligence and secretiveness are such that no difference between them can be discerned, then they are more effective than anybody else in expressing their purpose. Nothing can stand against them.

The Persians wrangled with each other and feigned boldness. Rustam said: "I know that you incline to my words, and all this is dissimulation on your part," but their wrangling intensified.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Naḍr — Ibn al-Rufayl — his father: Rustam sent a man to accompany al-Mughīrah. He said to him: "When he crosses the bridge and reaches his companions, cry out to him: 'The king[263] is an astrologer. He made calculations with regard to you, looked into your affair, and said that one of your eyes would be put out tomorrow.'"[264] The messenger did as he [2278]

260. This is to say that, if the Arabs had been ungrateful to God, He would have brought upon them suffering of such magnitude that their former tribulations would appear merely as acts of His mercy when compared with it.

261. By the Muslims who had met Rustam before al-Mughīrah.

262. Paraphrasing Qur'ān 9:29.

263. The title evidently refers to Rustam.

264. Al-Mughīrah did, indeed, lose an eye in the wars of conquest. According to one

was told to do. Al-Mughīrah said: "You have given me good tidings about my reward. If I did not have to fight polytheists like you in the future, I would have wished that my other eye had gone as well."[265] The messenger saw that the Arabs laughed at what al-Mughīrah said and admired his determination.[266] He returned to the king with his report. Rustam said: "O people of Persia, obey me. I see that God is about to inflict punishment on you. You will not be able to ward it off."

The horses of the Persians and of the Muslims clashed on the bridge and nowhere else. The Persians were incessantly engaging the Muslims in battle, while the Muslims nevertheless left them alone for three days and did not attack them. When the Persians started up the fighting, the Muslims repelled and turned them back.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad — ʿUbaydallāh — Nāfiʿ — Ibn ʿUmar: The translator of Rustam was a man from al-Ḥīrah. His name was ʿAbbūd.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī and Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān: Rustam asked al-Mughīrah to come, and the latter came in and sat down on Rustam's seat. Rustam then summoned his translator, who was an Arab from the people of al-Ḥīrah named ʿAbbūd. Al-Mughīrah said to him: "O wretched ʿAbbūd! You are one of the Arabs. Inform him of what I say in the same way as you inform me of what he says." Rustam said to al-Mughīrah the same things [that had been related before], as did al-Mughīrah. [He said:] "... [you have] one of three options: Islam, in which case you will have the same rights and the same obligations as we have. There will be no difference between us. Or [to pay] the poll tax out of hand, while being humiliated." Rustam asked: "What does 'while being
[2279] humiliated' mean?" Al-Mughīrah said: "It means that a Persian will stand on his feet in order to pay the poll tax to one of us and will

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tradition, this happened in al-Ḥudaybiyyah; according to another, in al-Qādisiyyah. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 261, 302.

265. Classical Islamic literature, and especially the chapters on *jihād*, frequently contains utterances in which the warriors express their desire to be wounded or even killed while fighting the infidels. See, e.g., Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 206 (*Kitāb al-jihād, bāb* 21), and IV, 408 (*Kitāb al-tamannī, bāb* 1), for prophetic traditions on this topic. See also Noth, *Studien*, 129–30.

266. For this meaning of *baṣīrah* see de Goeje's *Glossary*, s.v., and Blachère *et al.*, *Dictionnaire*, I, 646.

267. Muslim jurisprudents and commentators on the Qur'ān are concerned with

praise the Muslim for agreeing to accept it from him."[267] Al-Mughīrah completed his statement and said: "Islam is the option we prefer [you to choose]."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿUbaydah—Shaqīq: I participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah as a young man, after attaining puberty. Saʿd came to al-Qādisiyyah with twelve thousand men, among whom were participants in previous battles (*ahl al-ayyām*). The vanguard of Rustam moved toward us, and then he marched forward with sixty thousand men. When he saw our camp, he said: "O Arabs, send to us a man who will speak to us and we shall speak to him." Saʿd sent to him al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah with a group of people. When they came to Rustam, al-Mughīrah sat down on [Rustam's] seat. Rustam's brother snorted. Al-Mughīrah said: "Do not snort, for this will not increase my honor, nor will it detract from your brother's." Rustam said: "You were people of misery . . . " and continued until he reached the words: "If there is something besides this, let me know."[268] Then Rustam took an arrow from al-Mughīrah's quiver and said: "Do not think that these spindles will be of any avail to you." Responding, al-Mughīrah mentioned the Prophet and said: "Among the things with which God has provided us through the Prophet was a seed which grows in this country of yours. When we gave it to our families to taste, they said: 'We cannot endure without it.' We therefore came in order to let them eat it or else to die." Rustam said: "Die you indeed will, or be killed." Al-Mughīrah said: "In that case, those of us who will be killed will enter Paradise, and those of you whom we shall kill will enter the Fire. Those of us who survive will be victorious over those of you who survive. We give you the choice of three options . . . ," and he com-

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the ways in which the Qurʾānic requirement to humiliate the payer of the poll tax is to be implemented. One of the frequently mentioned devices for achieving this is to have the payer stand while the payee is comfortably seated. This seems to be the background of al-Mughīrah's response to Rustam's question. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, X, 77 last line–78: "The commentators were divided concerning the meaning of humiliation that God intended in this verse (9:29). Some said: 'He (i.e., the *dhimmī*) should pay it standing while the [Muslim] who takes it is sitting (. . . an yuʿṭiyaka wa-huwa qāʾim wa-al-ākhidh jālis).'" See also Fattal, *Le statut*, 286–88, and Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 200. Al-Mughīrah also expresses the idea that the acceptance of the poll tax is a favor that the Muslims do for their non-Muslim subjects, one for which the latter should be grateful.

268. See pp. 2275–76 for Rustam's speech.

pleted his speech. Rustam said: "There will be no peace between us."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and
[2280] Ziyād: Saʿd sent to the Persians the best people of judgment, who numbered three.[269] They went forth and came to Rustam in order to reproach him severely, and said to him:

> Our chief says to you that good neighborliness (*jiwār*) keeps rulers safe. I call upon you to accept what is good for us and what entails well-being for you. If you accept the call of God, we shall return to our country and you shall return to yours. We shall be closely associated with one another, but your land will be yours and your affairs will be in your hands. Whatever you seize beyond your borders will be yours and we shall have no part in it. Should anyone intend [to attack] you or overpower you, we shall come to your help. O Rustam, fear God and do not let your people perish at your hands! Nothing except embracing Islam and expelling Satan from your self by means of it stands between you and the attainment of happiness and prosperity.

Rustam replied:

> I have spoken to a few people from among you. If they had only understood what I said, I would have hoped that you would also understand. Parables are clearer than many a speech, so I shall therefore apply a parable to you. You must understand that you were people whose livelihood was meager and whose appearance was shabby, and the places where you lived were neither fortified nor difficult of access; nor did you insist on getting what was due to you. We did not treat you badly, nor did we stop sharing our wealth with you. Time and again you were forced out of your country [and into ours] by the drought, and we used to provide you with
> [2281] supplies and then send you back home. You used to come to us as hirelings and merchants, and we treated you well. After you partook of our food, drank of our drink, and rested in

269. I am translating according to the version found in ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 361: *wa-kānū thalāthatan*.

> our shade, you described this in favorable terms to your people, invited them to come, and brought them to us. Your relationship with us regarding this is similar to that of a man who had a vineyard and saw a fox in it. [He did nothing] and said: "What is one fox?" The fox went away and called the foxes to this vineyard. When they gathered together, the owner closed behind them the hole through which they had come and killed them. I know that only greed, covetousness, and privation caused you to do this. Go back this year, supply yourselves with provisions, and you can return whenever you are in need, for I have no desire to kill you.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿUmārah b. al-Qaʿqāʿ al-Ḍabbī — a man from Yarbūʿ who was present [at the meeting with Rustam]: Rustam said:

> Many of your people took whatever they wanted from our land; then they were killed or had to run away. He who established this custom among you was better and stronger than you are. You have seen the situation: Whenever they took something, some of them were hurt and some of them escaped and had to abandon whatever they took. With regard to the deeds that you perpetrate, you are like rats who used to come regularly to a jar full of grain. In the jar there was an opening. The first rat went in and stayed there. The other rats began to carry the grain away and to come back [for more]. They spoke to the rat inside about returning but he refused. He became extremely fat, longed for his family, [2282]
> and wanted to show them his excellent condition. The opening was now too narrow for him. He became worried, complained to his companions, and asked them to help him out, but they said: "You cannot get out before you return to the size that you had been before you went in." He starved himself and was full of fear, but, when he finally returned to his former size, the owner of the jar came along and killed him. Get out, therefore, and let not this parable be applicable to you.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Naḍr — Ibn al-Rufayl — his father: Rustam said:

> God never created creatures more covetous and more harmful than flies. O Arabs, do you not see the destruction into which your greed leads you? I shall apply a parable to you. When flies see honey, they fly toward it and say: "He who enables us to reach it will have two dirhams." When they get to it, they refuse to listen to anyone who tries to drive them away. When they plunge into the honey, they drown and become stuck in it, and then they say: "He who extricates us will have four dirhams."

He also said:

> You are like a fox, emaciated and weak, who entered a vineyard through a hole, and used to eat whatever God wanted him to eat. The owner of the vineyard saw his condition and took pity on him. After he stayed in the vineyard for a long time, he became fat, his condition improved, and his leanness disappeared. He began to behave with pride and self-conceit, to fool around in the vineyard, and to destroy more than he could eat. This became unbearable for the vineyard owner, and he said: "I shall not endure this from him." He took a piece of wood, asked his servants to help him, and they went after the fox. The fox began to play tricks with them in the vineyard. When he saw that they did not desist,
> [2283] he tried to get out by means of the hole through which he had entered, but he got stuck in it; the hole was big enough for him when he was lean but too small when he became fat. The vineyard owner caught up with him in this condition and did not cease beating him until he killed him. You came here lean; now you have become somewhat fat. Consider the way in which you will get out.[270]

Rustam also said:

> A man took a basket and put his food in it. The rats came along, pierced a hole in his basket, and got into it. The man

270. Al-Thaʿālibī (*Ghurar*, 739–40) records, in addition to a shorter version of Rustam's parable, the following response of al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah: "'His (i.e., the fox's) being killed after attaining his aim and fulfilling his desire is better than death by hunger and emaciation.' Rustam admired al-Mughīrah's forceful reply and understood that the Arabs were firmly resolved to overcome the Persians." (The word *s-r-y* in this sentence is not clear.)

wanted to block the hole, but was told: "Do not do it, because they will pierce it again. Rather, make a hole opposite it and put in a hollow tube. When the rats come, they will enter it and come out through it, and whenever a rat appears, you can kill it." I have blocked your way and I warn you not to force your way into the tube, for none will emerge from it without being killed. What has caused you to do this? I see neither numbers nor weapons.[271]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: The Muslims spoke, saying:

As for what you have said about our miserable and unsettled situation in the past, you have not grasped its essence.[272] Those of us who died went into the Fire. Those of us who survived lived in distress. While we were in this extremely bad situation, God sent to us a messenger who was one of our own.[273] He sent him to all creatures[274] as a mercy to those whom He wanted to treat with mercy and as a punishment to those who rejected His generosity. The messenger approached us tribe after tribe. Nobody treated him more harshly, nobody denied his message more completely, and [2284] nobody made a greater effort to kill him and to refute what he had brought than his own tribe and, after them, the people who were close to them. All of us eventually agreed to help in this and treated him with hostility. He was a lonely man, who stood alone, and no one except God was with him. Nevertheless, he was given victory over us. Some of us embraced Islam willingly, others as a result of coercion. Then all of us recognized his truth and veracity in view of the miraculous signs that he brought to us. One of the ideas that he brought from our Lord was to wage war against those who were closest to us first. We acted upon it among ourselves and saw that there was no turning away from what he

271. This is to say that neither the numbers of the Muslims nor the weapons at their disposal are sufficient to give them a chance of victory.

272. Meaning that the situation of the Arabs in the pre-Islamic period was even worse than would appear from Rustam's description. Cf. note 149, above.

273. Echoing Qur'ān 3:164: "Truly God was gracious to the believers when He raised up among them a Messenger from themselves . . ." (Arberry's translation).

274. *Al-ins wa-al-jinn*; cf. note 225, above.

had promised us or any revoking of it. The Arabs agreed on this, though their dissension had been such that in the past no one could bring about a reconciliation between them. Now we came to you by order of our Lord, fighting for His sake. We act upon His orders and seek the fulfillment of His promise. We call upon you to embrace Islam and to accept its authority. If you agree, we shall let you alone; we shall return [to our country] and leave with you the Book of God. If you refuse, the only permissible thing for us to do is to engage you in battle unless you ransom yourselves by paying the poll tax. If you pay this, well and good; if not, then God has already bequeathed to us your country, your sons, and your property. Heed, therefore, our advice. By God, we prefer your conversion to Islam to taking your spoils, but we would rather fight you than make peace with you.[275] As for what you mentioned concerning our shabby appearance and our small numbers, [you must understand that] our weapon is obedience to God and our fighting is [based on] endurance. As for the parables that you applied to us, you were using ridicule with regard to [honorable] men, weighty matters, and
[2285] a serious affair. But we shall [also] apply a parable to you. You are like a man who cultivated a tract of land, chose for it the trees and the seeds, and made canals flow through it. He embellished the land with castles and settled peasants on it, intending them to live in the castles and to tend the gardens. The peasants behaved in the castles in a way of which he did not approve and did the same with the gardens. He was patient with them for a long time, but, when they themselves did not feel shame because of what they had done, he asked them to mend their ways. They behaved toward him with haughtiness and conceit, so he expelled them from his land and invited others in their stead. If they should leave the land, they were to be seized and carried away by force. If they should remain, they were to become servants of these [who would come to replace them]. They were ruled by them, not

275. The idea is that, if the Persians do not embrace Islam and do not agree to pay the poll tax, then the Muslims will fight them, rather than make peace with them without securing the payment.

made kings over them, and were humiliated forever. By God, if what we are telling you were not true, and if it were not connected only with this world, we would not have been so patient with your luxurious life and the finery that we have become accustomed to see on you; we would have fought you and taken it away from you by force.[276]

Rustam said: "Will you cross [the canal] to our side, or shall we cross to yours?" The Muslims replied: "Cross to our side." The Muslims left Rustam in the evening. Saʿd ordered them to take up their positions and sent a message to the Persians: "Cross [the canal] as you please." They wanted to cross on the bridge, but he sent a message to them, saying: "By no means! We shall not restore to you something that we took from you by force. Take pains to prepare for yourselves a crossing other than a bridge." Hence the Persians spent the night filling the al-ʿAtīq canal with their chattels.

The Day of Armāth[277]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad—ʿUbaydallāh—Nāfiʿ—al-Ḥakam: When Rustam decided to cross over, he ordered the damming up of al-ʿAtīq opposite Qādis,[278] which then was [2286]
farther downstream than it is today, near ʿAyn al-Shams.[279] They spent the night, until the morning, filling al-ʿAtīq with soil, reeds, and saddles and preparing a crossing through it. It was ready on the next day, after dawn.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: At night Rustam had a dream in which he saw an angel who descended from heaven, took the bows of his companions, put a seal

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276. The last passage of the Muslims' speech reflects the ascetic idea of the absolute worthlessness of this world. Had the world not been worthless, God—or the Muslims—would not have allowed the infidels to enjoy anything of it. Only because of the worthlessness of the world did God and the Muslims allow the Persians to enjoy it until now. For this idea in Ṣūfī literature, see Sarrāj, *Lumaʿ*, 47.

277. The meaning of Armāth in this context is not clear. *Rimth* is a kind of shrub; *ramath* means a raft, a worn-out rope, or the remains of milk in the udder after milking. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, I, 211) does not know why the first day of the battle of al-Qādisiyyah was so called.

278. According to Ṭabarī (I, 2351) Qādis was a village near ʿUdhayb (see note 92, above).

279. ʿAyn al-Shams is a spring between al-ʿUdhayb and al-Qādisiyyah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 793.

on them, and ascended back to heaven with them. Rustam woke up full of anxiety and grief. He called in his close associates and related the dream to them. He said: "God is exhorting us! I wish the Persians would let me take heed! Do you not see that victory has been taken away from us? You see that the enemy is going to gain the ascendancy, and we cannot stand up to them in deed or word. But the Persians, in their insolence, still want to have a fight!" They crossed [the canal] with their baggage and camped on the [other] bank of al-ʿAtīq.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Aʿmash: On "the day of the damming up" [of al-ʿAtīq], Rustam put on two pieces of armor and a helmet. He took his weapons and ordered his horse to be saddled. The horse was brought to him. He mounted the horse without touching [his sides] and without putting his feet into the stirrup. He said: "Tomorrow we shall crush them to pieces." A certain man added, "God willing," but Rustam said: "Even if He is not willing!"

According to al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Rustam said: "The fox makes speeches when the lion is dead." He reminded his companions of the death of
[2287] Kisrā[280] and told them: "I am afraid that this will be the year of the apes."

When the Persians crossed the canal, they arrayed themselves in battle lines. Rustam sat on his throne,[281] and a sunshade[282] was placed on it. He placed eighteen elephants with palanquins (*ṣanādīq*) and men in the center of the army; in the two wings he placed [respectively] eight and seven elephants with palanquins and men. He placed al-Jālnūs between himself and the right wing, and al-Bayruzān between himself and the left wing. Thus the bridge was between two units of horsemen, Muslims and polytheists.

When Yazdagird sent Rustam out, he placed a man at the door of his hall and ordered him to stay near him and to pass any information back to him. Another man was placed where he could be heard

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280. After the murder of Khusraw II in 628 several Persian monarchs were murdered, and it is not clear which one is meant here. See *CHI*, III/i, 170–71.

281. For the Sasanian custom of bringing the royal throne to the battlefield, even when the battle is not directed by the king but by one of his generals, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 211.

282. For *ṭayyārah* in this sense, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v., and de Goeje's *Glossary*, s.v.

from the palace, and another one outside the palace. At each "hearing distance,"[283] Yazdagird placed a man. When Rustam encamped [at Sābāṭ], the man in Sābāṭ said: "He has encamped." The man next to him said the same. [The information was transmitted in this way] until the man standing at the door of the king's hall said it. Yazdagird placed a man at each "hearing distance."[284] When Rustam camped, moved out, or something happened, the man [on the scene] described it; then the man next to him said it until it was said by the man standing at the door of the king's hall. Yazdagird placed men in this manner between al-ʿAtīq and al-Madāʾin. He dispensed with the messenger service,[285] which was the regular way [of gathering information].

The Muslims stood in battle lines. Zuhrah (b. Ḥawiyyah) and ʿĀṣim (b. ʿAmr) were placed between ʿAbdallāh (b. al-Muʿtamm) and Shuraḥbīl (b. al-Simṭ). The commander of the scouts was charged with the attack. Saʿd mixed the warriors from the center with those of the two wings. His herald (*munādī*) proclaimed: "Envy is permissible only in *jihād* for the sake of God. O men, be envious and jealous of each other in matters of *jihād*!"

At that time, Saʿd was not able to ride or sit since he was suffering from boils. He had to lie face down, leaning on a pillow under his chest. From the castle he watched the Muslims and sent written or- [2288]
ders to Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭah, who was in a place lower than his. The Muslim lines were adjacent to the castle. Khālid was somewhat like Saʿd's deputy, except that Saʿd was present and watching.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Qāsim b. al-Walīd al-Hamdānī — his father — Abū Nimrān: When Rustam crossed [al-ʿAtīq], Zuhrah and al-Jālnūs changed places. Saʿd ordered Zuhrah to move to [Shuraḥbīl] Ibn al-Simṭ's place, and Rustam ordered al-Jālnūs to move to al-Hurmuzān's place. Saʿd was suffering from ischial pain (*ʿirq al-nasā*) and from boils and had to lie face down. He appointed Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭah as his deputy, but the people turned against him. Saʿd said: "Carry me to an elevated place and let me observe the army from there." They took him [to such a place] and

283. For this meaning of *daʿwah*, see de Goeje, *Glossary*; several additional examples of this usage are also noted in the *Glossary* to *BGA*, IV, 234.

284. It is not clear to me what is meant by the expression *ʿalā kulli marḥalatayni* in this context.

285. See *EI*², s.v. "Barīd" [D. Sourdel].

he lay down watching the army. The battle line [of the Muslims] was at the foot of the wall of Qudays.[286] Saʿd issued orders to Khālid, and Khālid transmitted them to the troops.

Some of the leading men conspired against Saʿd. He cursed them and said: "By God, if you were not facing the enemy, I would have punished you as an example for others." He imprisoned them and chained them up in the castle; [the poet] Abū Miḥjan al-Thaqafī[287] was among them. Jarīr (b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī) said: "In my oath of allegiance to the Prophet, I pledged to obey any man whom God should appoint to lead us, even if he be an Abyssinian slave." Saʿd said: "From now on nobody will hold the Muslims back from [fighting] their enemy or keep them busy while facing him. [Should this happen again], it would turn into a custom for which my successors would be chastised."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and
[2289] Ziyād: On that day Saʿd addressed those who were under his command. It was on a Monday in the month of Muḥarram in the year 14, after Saʿd vented his rage on those who had opposed Khālid b. al-ʿUrfuṭah. Having praised God and extolled Him, he said:

> God is the Truth. He has no partner in His dominion and His words will never go unfulfilled. God has said: "For We have written in the Psalms, after the Remembrance, 'The earth shall be the inheritance of My righteous servants.'"[288] This land is your inheritance and the promise of your Lord. God permitted you to take possession of it three years ago. You have been tasting it and eating from it, and you have been killing its people, collecting taxes from them, and taking them into captivity. All this is by virtue of [the defeats] that the participants in the previous battles[289] had inflicted upon the Persians. Now this army of theirs has come against you. You are Arab chiefs and notables, the elect of every tribe, and the pride of those who are behind you. If you renounce this world and aspire for the hereafter, God will give you both this world and the hereafter. This will not bring the death of anyone closer. But, if you should be flagging, weak,

286. A place in the neighborhood of al-Qādisiyyah; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 42–43.
287. See note 360, below.
288. Qur'ān 21:105 (Arberry's translation).
289. See note 215, above.

and feeble, then you will lose your predominance and ruin your share in the hereafter.

ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr stood up to address the light cavalry and said:

God has made it permissible for you to fight the people of this land. In the last three years you have been inflicting harm upon them and they have not been inflicting harm upon you. You have the upper hand[290] and God is with you. If you stand firm and fight them with courage, their property, their women, their sons, and their country will be yours; but should you become flagging and weak—and God is your protector from this — this [Persian] army will not spare even a remnant of you for fear that you would bring perdition upon them again. By God! Remember the [previous] days [of battle] and remember what God has bestowed upon you. Do you not see that the land behind you is a desolate desert without a place of hiding or refuge in which one can take shelter and which is inaccessible [to the enemy]? Place your aspirations on the hereafter!"

Saʿd wrote to the [army commanders entrusted with the] flags in the following terms: [2290]

I have appointed Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭah as my deputy. Nothing except the pain that afflicts me recurrently and the boils from which I suffer prevents me from being in his place. I am lying face down, but you can see my body. Listen to Khālid and obey him because he commands you only according to my orders and acts according to my judgment.

The message was read to the troops, and it improved their morale. They finally accepted Saʿd's opinion and urged each other to obey him, agreeing that Saʿd had an excuse [for not leading the army in battle] and becoming content with what he did.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ḥallām—Masʿūd: The commander of each group addressed his companions and made [Saʿd's speech] known to them.[291] They urged each other to obey and

290. See Qur'ān 3:139, 47:35.

291. This translation of *sayyara fīhim* is tentative. Cf. *sā'ir* in the sense of "current, commonly known."

to stand firm and admonished each other [to do good]. Each commander returned to his position with the companions who were with him in the [previous] battles. Saʿd's herald called for the noon prayer and Rustam called out: "*Pādishahān-i marandar*. ʿUmar consumed my liver; may God burn his! He taught the Arabs until they gained knowledge!"[292]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Naḍr—Ibn al-Rufayl:
[2291] When Rustam halted at al-Najaf, he sent a spy to the Muslim camp. He merged with the Arabs in al-Qādisiyyah, as if he were someone who had strayed from them, and he saw them cleaning their teeth with toothpicks before each prayer.[293] Then they prayed and dispersed to their positions. The spy returned to Rustam and informed him about the Muslim way of life. Rustam asked him: "What is their food?" The spy said: "I stayed among them for one night. By God, I did not see any one of them eating anything. They merely suck twigs when they go to sleep in the evening and before they rise in the morning." When Rustam halted between the fort and al-ʿAtīq, he encountered the Muslims after the *muʾadhdhin* of Saʿd had called for the morning prayers. He saw them move and called upon the Persians to mount their horses. He was asked the reason for this, and he said to them: "Do you not see that your enemy has been given the summons and is moving against us?" His spy said: "They are moving in order to pray." He then spoke in Persian, and what follows is its Arabic translation: "In the morning I heard a voice. It was ʿUmar speaking to the dogs and teaching them reason." When they crossed [the canal], they faced the Muslims. The *muʾadhdhin* of Saʿd called for prayer, and Saʿd prayed. Rustam said: "ʿUmar has consumed my liver."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Saʿd sent men of the best judgment, of the greatest valor, and of manifold virtues. Among the men of judgment was the group who
[2292] came to Rustam: al-Mughīrah (b. Shuʿbah), Ḥudhayfah (b. Miḥṣan), ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr, and their companions. Among the people of valor were Ṭulayḥah (b. Khuwaylid), Qays (b. Hubayrah) al-Asadī, Ghālib

292. It is not clear what the meaning of *pādishahān-i marandar* is. De Goeje maintains that the text is corrupt. See his discussion of the matter in *Glossary*, s.v. *marandar*, and Houtsma's suggested emendation in *Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXVII.

293. This is a well-known *sunnah* of the Prophet. See, e.g., Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, I, 237: "I have been commanded to use the toothpick . . ." (*umirtu bi-ʾl-siwāk* . . .), and numerous other references in Wensinck *et al.*, *Concordance*, s.v. *siwāk*.

b. ʿAbdallāh al-Asadī, ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib, and their like. Among the poets were al-Shammākh,[294] al-Ḥuṭayʾah,[295] Aws b. al-Maghrāʾ,[296] and ʿAbdah b. al-Ṭabīb,[297] and he also sent people like them from other groups. Saʿd addressed them before sending them out and said: "Go forth and speak to the people about your obligations and their obligations on the battlefield. You are people of great importance among the Arabs. You are their poets and orators, their men of judgment and valor, and their chieftains. Go therefore to the people, admonish them, and exhort them to fight."

They went out among the people. Qays b. Hubayrah al-Asadī said: "O people, praise God for the guidance that He has given you and for the favor that He has bestowed upon you, so that He may give you more. Remember God's favors and pray to Him at the customary times. Either Paradise or spoils wait in front of you. Beyond this castle there is nothing except desert, wasteland, rough stones, and open country that [even] guides do not cross."

Ghālib said:

> O people! Praise God for the favor that He has bestowed upon you. Ask Him and He will give you more; pray to Him and He will respond. O men of Maʿadd,[298] what excuse do you have today? You are in your fortresses (meaning the horses), and you are in possession of those that do not disobey you (meaning the swords). Remember what the people will say in the future; tomorrow you will be the first about whom people will speak, and [only] then they will speak about those who will follow you. [2293]

Ibn al-Hudhayl al-Asadī said:

> O men of Maʿadd, make your swords your fortresses. Handle your enemies like lions of the forest, be stern like tigers, and

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294. On al-Shammākh, see note 105, above.

295. Jarwal b. Aws al-Ḥuṭayʾah was a famous *mukhaḍram* poet from the tribe of ʿAbs, best known for his satirical poems. See *EI*², s.v. "al-Ḥuṭayʾa" (I. Goldziher [Ch. Pellat]); *GAS*, II, 236–38.

296. Aws b. Maghrāʾ was a *mukhaḍram* poet from the tribe of Tamīm. See Jumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 129, and index; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shiʿr*, 432; *GAS*, II, 381–82.

297. ʿAbdah b. al-Ṭabīb was a *mukhaḍram* poet from the tribe of Tamīm. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Shiʿr*, 456–57; *GAS*, II, 198–99.

298. Maʿadd is considered an ancestor of the northern Arabs; see Caskell and Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, index.

let dust be your armor.[299] Trust in God and lower your eyes.[300] If your swords become blunt—and this happens to them as a result of the [divine] command—throw stones at your enemies, because it is permitted to do with stones what is not permitted to do with iron.

Busr b. Abī Ruhm al-Juhanī said:

Praise God and make your words credible by means of your deeds! You have praised God for the guidance that He has given to you and have declared His oneness. There is no god except Him. You have proclaimed His greatness and believed in His Prophet and in His messengers. Do not die except as Muslims.[301] Let nothing be more worthless in your eyes than this world, because this world makes itself available to those who despise it. Do not incline toward it, lest it run away from you in order to deflect you [from the straight path]. Help God, and He will help you.

ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr said:

O Arabs, you are Arab notables and you stood up to Persian notables. You risk Paradise, while they risk [only] this world. Let them not protect this world more assiduously than you protect the next. Do not do things today that will make you the disgrace of the Arabs tomorrow.

Rabīʿ b. al-Balād al-Saʿdī said:

O Arabs, fight for the religion and for this world. Hasten to forgiveness from your Lord and to a garden whose breadth is as the heavens and the earth, prepared for the God-fearing
[2294] ones.[302] And if the devil depicts the affair [of this war] as formidable [in order to discourage you], remember the stories that will be related about you during the fairs and festivals forever and ever.[303]

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299. Galloping horses raise clouds of dust that are described here as protecting the Muslim warriors.

300. Lowering of the eyes is a sign of modesty; cf. Qur'ān 24:30.

301. See Qur'ān 2:132.

302. Qur'ān 3:133 (Arberry's translation, slightly modified).

303. Literally "as long as there are people who relate stories." Cf. Noth, *Studien*, 87, for a German translation of this and some of the preceding passages.

Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir said:

> God has guided you to embrace Islam, has united you by means of it, and has caused you to experience prosperity. In endurance there is repose; train yourself to endure, so that endurance becomes your habit. Do not fall into the habit of showing unrestrained grief lest this become your habit.

All of them spoke in this vein. The people entered into mutual agreements, made pledges to each other, and roused one another to do their duty. The Persians did the same among themselves: They entered into mutual agreements, enjoined each other to do good, and bound themselves with chains. The number of those who bound themselves was thirty thousand.[304]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: The Persians numbered one hundred and twenty thousand men. They had thirty elephants. With each elephant were four thousand men.

According to al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ḥallām—Masʿūd b. Khirāsh: The battle line of the polytheists was on the bank of al-ʿAtīq, and the battle line of the Muslims was at the wall of Qudays, with the moat behind them. The Muslims and the polytheists were between the moat and al-ʿAtīq. The polytheists had thirty thousand men bound with chains and thirty fighting elephants. There were also elephants on which the leaders were standing and which did not fight. Saʿd ordered Sūrat al-Jihād[305] to be read to the troops and they were learning it.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Saʿd said:

> Stay in your positions and do not move anything before you perform the noon prayer. When you complete the noon prayer, I shall proclaim "God is most great!" Proclaim the [2295]
> same and prepare yourselves. Know that none before you was given [the right to proclaim] "God is most great," and know that it was given to you as a sign of support for you. Then when you hear me proclaiming "God is most great"

304. See note 206, above.

305. There is no sūrah bearing this name in the canonical version of the Qur'ān. As de Goeje noted, ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 364) maintains that the intended sūrah was Qur'ān 8, "The Spoils" (*Sūrat al-anfāl*).

for the second time, proclaim the same and let your equipment be ready. When I proclaim "God is most great" for the third time, proclaim the same, and let your horsemen encourage the people to step forward and charge their adversaries. When I proclaim "God is most great" for the fourth time, all of you must move forward, mingle with the enemy, and say: "There is no power or strength except in God!"

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr b. al-Rayyān — Muṣʿab b. Saʿd transmitted the same tradition.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Zakariyyāʾ — Abū Isḥāq: On the day of al-Qādisiyyah, Saʿd sent to the army a message, saying: "When you hear the cry 'God is most great,' tie the straps of your sandals. When I proclaim 'God is most great' for the second time, get ready. When I proclaim it for the third time, stick doggedly to your purpose[306] and attack."

According to al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When Saʿd performed the noon prayer, he ordered the young man whom ʿUmar ordered to stay with him, and who was a Qurʾān reader, to read Sūrat al-Jihād, and all the Muslims were learning it. He read Sūrat al-Jihād to the military unit that was near him. It was [then] read in every unit. The hearts and eyes of the people became cheerful, and in reading this sūrah they experienced repose (*sakīnah*).[307]

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When the Qurʾān readers finished [their reading], Saʿd proclaimed "God is most great." Those who were close to him did likewise. One after the other, the Muslims proclaimed "God is most great," and they began to move. Then Saʿd proclaimed "God is most great" for the second time, and the Muslims completed their prepa-
[2296] rations. Then he proclaimed it for the third time, and men of valor went forth and started the battle. Men of similar qualities from among the Persians went forth and exchanged blows with the Muslims. Ghālib b. ʿAbdallāh al-Asadī went forth, reciting:

The courageous woman, coming to the garrisons,[308]

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306. The text has *shuddū al-nawājidh ʿalā al-aḍrās*.

307. For the changes that the meaning of the Hebrew word *shekhinah* underwent in Arabic, see Goldziher, "*Sakīna*."

308. Translating *wāridat al-masālih* with Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 208 (= ed. Pellat, II, 55), instead of *wāridat al-masāʾih* of our text.

with white breast and fingers, knows
That I am venom to the fighting warrior
and I bring relief to the grievous and oppressive affair.

Hurmuz, who was one of the kings of al-Bāb[309] and had a crown, went to encounter him. Ghālib took him captive and brought him into Saʿd's presence. Then he returned to the fighting. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr went forth, reciting:

The woman of white complexion and silvery breast,
like silver covered with gold, knows
That I am not a man helped by connections;[310]
any defect will provoke a man like me against a man like you.[311]

ʿĀṣim fought with a Persian man, who ran away from him with ʿĀṣim in pursuit. When he mingled in their battle line, he encountered a horseman with a mule. The horseman abandoned the animal and sought refuge with his companions, who gave him protection. ʿĀṣim carried off the mule with the saddle and the load. When he reached the Muslim lines, it became clear that the man was the king's baker and had with him delicacies for the king: a variety of sweet dishes (*akhbiṣah*)[312] and crystallized (*maʿqūd*) honey. ʿĀṣim brought all this to Saʿd and returned to his position. When Saʿd [2297] looked at it, he said: "Take it to the people of his position," and he said: "The amīr gave this to you, so eat it," and he gave it to them.

When the Muslims were expecting Saʿd to proclaim "God is most great" for the fourth time, Qays b. Ḥidhyam b. Jurthumah, the commander of the footmen of Banū Nahd, stood up and said: "O Banū Nahd, attack (*inhadū*), because you were called Nahd only in order that you should do it."[313] Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭah sent to him a message, saying: "Stop it, or I shall appoint someone else in your place," so Qays stopped.

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309. See note 183, above.

310. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 209 (= ed. Pellat, III, 55), has *nasab* "lineage," instead of *sabab*.

311. *Mithlī ʿalā mithlika yughrīhi al-ʿatab* is not well connected to the preceding material; the text is dubious and the meaning not clear. Some manuscripts of Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, ed. Pellat, III, 55, have *mithlī ʿalā mithlika yughrīhi al-katab*; both editors of Masʿūdī have preferred not to include this line in their text.

312. See Baghdādī, *Ṭabīkh*, 71–74; Rodinson, "Recherches," 148, 150.

313. The name Nahd is derived from the same triliteral root as the verb *nahada* "he attacked."

When the horses and the horsemen fought each other, a man went forth shouting: "Man to man!" (*mard o mard*).[314] ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib, who was opposite him, took up the challenge; he fought him, seized him by the neck, threw him down, and slew him. Then he turned to the people and said: "When a Persian loses his bow, he becomes [stupid like] a goat." Then both sides formed into fighting units.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid — Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim: ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib passed by us between the lines and roused the people, saying: "When a Persian drops his spear, he becomes [stupid like] a goat."

While he was rousing us in this manner, a Persian went forth, stood between the lines, and shot an arrow. He hit the curved part of the bow that ʿAmr was carrying on his shoulders. ʿAmr turned toward the Persian, attacked him, and seized him by the neck. Then he grabbed his belt, lifted him, and threw him down in front of him. Then he carried him farther, and when he drew near us he broke his neck. Then he put his sword on his throat and slew him, hurled his
[2298] corpse down, and said: "This is what you should do to them!" We said: "O Abū Thawr,[315] who is able to do what you are doing?" According to some transmitters [of the last tradition], except Ismāʿīl: ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarīb took from the Persian his two bracelets, his belt, and a brocaded coat[316] that he wore.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid — Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim: The Persians sent in the direction of the tribe of Bajīlah thirteen elephants.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid: The battle of al-Qādisiyyah took place at the beginning of Muḥarram of the year 14. A [Muslim] man went out to the Persians. They said to him: "Direct us!" He directed them toward Bajīlah, and they sent in the direction of Bajīlah sixteen elephants.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When the fighting units came into formation after the [ini-

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314. For the Sasanian custom of starting a battle by challenging the enemy to engage in individual combat, see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 216.

315. Abū Thawr was the *kunyah* of ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib. See *EI*², s.v. "ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib" (Ch. Pellat).

316. For *dībāj* "brocade," see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 113 n. 9; Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 40, and index, s.v. "Brocade."

tial] attack, the elephant drivers attacked the Muslims and drove a wedge between their units. The horses panicked. Bajīlah was on the verge of being annihilated. Their horses and the horses of those who were with them in their positions fled in terror, and only the infantrymen stationed there remained. Saʿd sent a message to the tribe of Asad, saying: "Defend Bajīlah and the men who are attached to them." So Ṭulayḥah b. Khuwaylid, Ḥammāl b. Mālik, Ghālib b. ʿAbdallāh, and al-Ribbīl b. ʿAmr set out with their fighting units. They confronted the elephants so that the drivers turned them [in another direction]. Every elephant was ridden by twenty men.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Qays—Mūsā b. Ṭarīf: When Saʿd called [upon the tribe of Asad] to come to the rescue [of Bajīlah], Ṭulayḥah stood up to address his people and said: [2299]

> O my tribe, the one whose name is mentioned is the trusted one! If Saʿd knew that some other tribe was more suitable than you to help Bajīlah, he would have asked for their help. Attack them first and forcefully! Attack them like ferocious lions! You were called Asad ("lion") only in order that you should act like one. Charge and do not turn back! Attack and do not run away! How excellent is [the tribe of] Rabīʿah! What a feat are they going to accomplish! And of what an adversary are they going to take care! Are their positions going to be accessible? Take care of your positions! May God help you! Attack them in the name of God.

Al-Maʿrūr b. Suwayd and Shaqīq said: By God, they fell upon the Persians, stabbed them, and hit them until we were able to keep the elephants back from Bajīlah. The elephants retreated. A Persian chieftain came out against Ṭulayḥah, but the latter fought him and killed him in no time.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Al-Ashʿath b. Qays stood up and said: "O people of Kindah! How excellent is [the tribe of] Asad! What a feat are they going to accomplish! How quickly do they use today the sword in defense of their positions! Every tribe takes care of [defending] the area next to them, but you await someone who will save you the trouble. I bear witness that today you have not followed well the example of your [2300]

people, the Arabs. They are being killed and are fighting, while you look on, squatting on your knees!"

But at that, ten of them jumped to him and said: "May God vitiate your fortune! You are trying hard to humiliate us, yet we are the most firm in holding our ground. And where have we let down our people, the Arabs? Where have we not lived up to their example? Here we are with you!" Al-Ashʿath b. Qays made a dash at the enemy. The men of Kindah dashed with him and drove away the Persians who were opposite them.

When the Persians saw what the elephants were suffering at the hands of the Asadī unit, they struck the Muslims with their weapons. Commanded by Dhū al-Ḥājib and al-Jālnūs, they attacked the Muslims,[317] who were expecting Saʿd to proclaim "God is most great" for the fourth time. The Persian cavalry, accompanied by the elephants, gathered against Asad. The Asadīs stood their ground. Saʿd proclaimed "God is most great" for the fourth time. The Muslims then moved [to assist] the Asadīs, around whom the fiercest battle was being fought. The elephants attacked the horses on the two wings [of the Muslim army], and the horses were recoiling and swerving aside. The Muslim horsemen insistently asked the infantrymen to urge the horses on.[318] Saʿd sent a message to ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr, saying: "O people of Tamīm, you are owners of camels and horses: Do you not have in store a trick against these elephants?" They said: "We certainly have, by God." ʿĀṣim then summoned some archers from his tribe, as well as men skilled in the use of the sword, and said to them: "O archers, drive the elephant riders away from the Muslim horsemen with arrows!" and he went on to say, "O
[2301] swordsmen, get near the elephants from behind, and cut their girths!"[319] He himself set out to defend the Asadīs, around whom the fiercest battle was being fought. The right and left wings wheeled around not far away. ʿĀṣim's men drew near the elephants, seized

317. The Cairo edition reads *badara* (instead of *badarū*) *al-muslimīna al-shaddata ʿalayhim Dhū al-Ḥājib wa-al-Jālnūs;* in this version Dhū al-Ḥājib and al-Jālnūs would be the subjects of the sentence. The editor does not indicate the basis of this version, and it does not seem to be in any way superior to that of the Leiden edition.

318. Translating *yashmuṣūna* instead of *yashmusūna* of the text. The two roots are interchangeable. See de Goeje's *Glossary,* s.v.; and Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab,* s.v. *sh-m-ṣ.*

319. With which the palanquin is fastened to the elephant's back.

their tails and the ornaments hanging from their litters, and cut their girths. The elephants' trumpeting was intense. On that day, no Persian elephant remained without [his back] being exposed; the elephant drivers were killed, the Muslims faced each other,[320] and the Asad were relieved. The Muslims repelled the Persians to their positions. They fought until sunset, and during a part of the night, and then both sides withdrew. Five hundred Asadīs were killed on that evening, having been the mainstay of the Muslims and ʿĀṣim having been their leader in war and their protector. This was the first day of the battle of al-Qādisiyyah, and it is called the Day of Armāth.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ghusn b. al-Qāsim[321]—a man from Kinānah: The wings [of the Muslim army] wheeled around on the Day of Armāth and the tribe of Asad was engaged in the fiercest fight, so that five hundred of them were killed on that evening. ʿAmr b. Shās al-Asadī[322] recited:

We brought to Kisrā horsemen from the sides of a high mountain, [2302]
and he confronted them with horsemen [of his own].
The horses left them in distress in al-Aqsām [2303]
and in al-Haqwān, for days on end.
We left in Persia many a woman praying
and weeping whenever she sees the new moon.
We killed Rustam and his sons violently,
and the horses raised sand over them.
At the place of our encounter we left
[dead] men[323] who have no intention of moving again.
Al-Bayruzān fled without protecting [his men];
he brought calamity upon his troops.
Al-Hurmuzān was saved by the prudence of his soul
and by the swift running of the horses.

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320. *Taqābala al-nās* probably means that the tribe of Asad, which had been surrounded by the Persians, again came in contact with the other Muslims.

321. For the reading Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim (instead of Ghuṣn ʿ*an* al-Qāsim), see *Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXVII.

322. ʿAmr b. Shās is described as a prolific poet of the pre-Islamic period, who was well respected in his tribe and embraced Islam together with them. Except for his participation in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah little is known of his life. Most material included in the classical sources is of an anecdotal nature. See, e.g., al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XI, 3982–89. The poetry of ʿAmr b. Shās, as well as the scanty biographical material included in the classical sources, has been collected in Jabūrī, *Shiʿr*. See also *GAS*, II, 228.

323. Reading *fiʾāman*, with Jabūrī, *Shiʿr*, 87, instead of *qiyāman*.

The Day of Aghwāth

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Saʿd married in Sharāf Salmā bint Khaṣafah, who had been the wife
[2304] of al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah. He brought her to al-Qādisiyyah. When the Muslim soldiers were wheeling around on the Day of Armāth, he could sit only in an upright, uncomfortable posture or [had to lie] on his belly. Saʿd became restless and began to wander[324] impatiently on the roof of the castle. When Salmā saw what the Persians were doing, she said: "Alas for Muthannā! The horsemen have no [one like] Muthannā today."[325] She said it in the presence of a man (i.e. Saʿd) who was distressed by the actions of his companions and by his own condition. He slapped her face and said: "How far is al-Muthannā from the unit around which the fiercest fight is going on!"[326] He meant the Asad and ʿĀṣim with his horsemen. She said: "Are you both jealous and cowardly?"[327] Saʿd said: "By God, nobody will today accept my excuse if you do not accept it while seeing my condition! The troops have a better reason [than you have] not to accept my excuse." The Muslims remembered it, and when they became victorious there was no poet who did not hold it against Saʿd. Yet he was not a coward, nor was he worthy of blame.

On the next morning, the troops were arranged in battle order. Saʿd put a group of men in charge of carrying the [corpses of the] martyrs and the wounded to al-ʿUdhayb. The wounded were turned over to the women, to be cared for until God should decide their fate. As for the martyrs, they buried them on both sides of the Musharriq valley: the one that was near al-ʿUdhayb and the one that was distant from it. (Musharriq is a valley between al-ʿUdhayb and ʿAyn Shams. Its near side extends to al-ʿUdhayb and its far side beyond it.)[328] The Muslims put off the [resumption of] fighting until the wounded and the dead were carried away.

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324. Translating *yajūlu*, which is a variant reading mentioned by de Goeje, rather than *yaḥūlu* of the text.

325. This is taken as implied criticism of Saʿd's leadership, as compared to that of al-Muthannā, Salmā's late husband.

326. Meaning that al-Muthannā had never been in a military situation so difficult as the one in which this unit finds itself.

327. As noted by de Goeje, *a-ghayratan wa-jubnan?* became a proverb and was included in al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 415–16. It is used to describe a person flawed by two vices.

328. This geographical note by Ṭabarī appears in almost identical form in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 539.

When the camels rose to carry them in the direction of al-ʿUdhayb, the manes of the horses from Syria appeared. Damascus had been conquered one month before the battle of al-Qādisiyyah. When Abū ʿUbaydah received ʿUmar's letter ordering him to divert the Iraqis under Khālid (b. al-Walīd)'s command [to Iraq] without mentioning Khālid himself, he kept Khālid with him and did not let him go.[329] He then dispatched the army, which consisted of six thousand men: Five thousand were from Rabīʿah and Muḍar and one thousand from various southern tribes of Ḥijāz. Abū ʿUbaydah appointed Hāshim b. ʿUtbah b. Abī Waqqāṣ to be their commander. He placed the vanguard in charge of al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr[330] and ordered him to hasten ahead of Hāshim, and he appointed Qays b. Hubayrah b. ʿAbd Yaghūth al-Murādī, who had not participated in the previous battles, to command one of the wings. He joined the army in Yarmūk when the Iraqis were being diverted [to Iraq] and went with them. Abū ʿUbaydah appointed al-Hazmāz b. ʿAmr al-ʿIjlī[331] to command the other wing, and Anas b. al-ʿAbbās[332] to command the rear guard. Al-Qaʿqāʿ traveled quickly, without stopping, and reached the Muslims [of al-Qādisiyyah] on the morning of the Day of Aghwāth. He had instructed his men, whose number was one thousand, to divide into groups of ten; whenever one such unit moved out of sight, they sent another in its wake. Al-Qaʿqāʿ reached the Muslims fighting at al-Qādisiyyah with a group of ten before the rest of his troops. He greeted them, announced the coming of his soldiers, and said: "O Muslims, I have come to you with men [of valor]! If they were in your place and then noticed you, they would envy you the good fortune [of martyrdom] and would attempt to take it all for themselves, leaving nothing for you.[333] So do as I do."

[2305] [2306]

329. See Donner, *Conquests*, 137. For another version of ʿUmar's letter, see Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 158.

330. Al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr belonged to the tribe of Tamīm and was a Companion of the Prophet. He participated in the battle of Yarmūk, as well as in the conquests of Damascus and al-Madāʾin. He had a reputation for extraordinary bravery and was also known for poems in which he described his military exploits. He was the brother of ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr, another participant in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah. See ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 207; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 450–52 no. 7132.

331. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VI, 537.

332. Anas b. al-ʿAbbās belonged to the tribe of Sulaym and embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca. He participated in the battle of Yarmūk and in the conquest of Damascus. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/ii, 49; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 125 no. 271.

333. This should be understood in light of the extremely high value placed on martyrdom in the Islamic tradition. Al-Qaʿqāʿ says, in effect, that, if his men had been

He then stepped forward and called out: "Who is going to fight me?" [The Muslims applied to him the saying of Abū Bakr: "An army that has a man like this will not be defeated." They trusted him.] Dhū al-Ḥājib came out to fight him. Al-Qaʿqāʿ asked: "Who are you?" He said: "I am Bahman Jādhawayhi." Al-Qaʿqāʿ cried out: "Vengeance for Abū ʿUbayd,[334] Salīṭ,[335] and the warriors of the battle of the Bridge!" They fought each other, and al-Qaʿqāʿ killed his opponent. Al-Qaʿqāʿ's horsemen began to arrive group after group, and their arrival lasted until nightfall. The Muslims took heart from the arrival of [al-Qaʿqāʿ's] units, as if no calamity had befallen them on the day before, and as if their battle had started with the killing of the Ḥājibī.[336] For the same reason, the Persians became dejected. Al-Qaʿqāʿ called out again: "Who is going to fight me?" Two men came out to fight him: One of them was al-Bayruzān, and the other al-Binduwān. Al-Qaʿqāʿ was joined by al-Ḥārith b. Ẓabyān b. al-Ḥārith of the Banū Taym al-Lāt. Al-Qaʿqāʿ fought al-Bayruzān, struck him, and cut off his head, and Ibn Ẓabyān fought al-Binduwān, struck him, and cut off his head. The Muslim horsemen gradually became entangled with the Persians. Al-Qaʿqāʿ exclaimed: "O Muslims, strike them with the swords, because men are killed by the swords!"[337] The Muslims roused each other, and all of them rushed toward the Persians, fighting with their swords until the evening. On this day the Persians did not experience anything which they liked, and the Muslims slew a great number of them. On this day also, the Persians did not fight on elephants: Their palanquins had been broken on the previous day. They started repairing them in the morning, but they were not in place until the following day.

[2307] According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: A woman from the tribe of al-Nakhaʿ had four sons who participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah. She said to her sons: "You have embraced Islam and have not exchanged it for anything else; you have

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in the difficult military situation facing the Muslims at al-Qādisiyyah, they would have refused help from anyone, in order not to share the distinction of martyrdom; they would have preferred to keep this distinction jealously and exclusively for themselves.

334. Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd was killed in the battle of the Bridge; see Ṭabarī, I, 2174 ff.; Donner, *Conquests*, 192.

335. Like Abū ʿUbayd, Salīṭ b. Qays was killed in the battle of the Bridge. See Ṭabarī, I, 2179.

336. This name refers to Dhū al-Ḥājib, who was mentioned above.

337. Meaning that the killing of men is what the swords are for.

emigrated [with the Prophet from Mecca to Medina] and no blame has been attached to you; you were not unable to stay in [your] land or forced out of it by drought. Nevertheless, you brought your aged, old mother and placed her in front of the Persians. By God, you are verily the sons of one man and one woman! I have not betrayed your father, nor have I brought disgrace upon your maternal uncle. Go forth and fight the battle from the beginning till the end!" They advanced quickly. When they moved out of her sight, she raised her hands to the sky and said: "O God, protect my sons!" Having acquitted themselves well in battle, they returned to her, with none of them injured. I saw them afterward receiving their pay, two thousand [dirhams] each. Then they came to their mother and gave her their pay;[338] she returned it to them and divided it between them in a just and satisfactory way.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Al-Qaʿqāʿ was assisted on that day by three men from the tribe of Yarbūʿ, the clan of Riyāḥ.[339] Whenever a unit [of his horsemen] appeared, al-Qaʿqāʿ proclaimed "God is most great!" and the Muslims did the same; then he attacked and the Muslims followed suit. The Yarbūʿīs were Nuʿaym b. ʿAmr b. ʿAttāb, ʿAttāb b. Nuʿaym b. ʿAttāb b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr b. Hammām, and ʿAmr b. [2308]
Shabīb b. Zinbāʿ b. al-Ḥārith b. Rabīʿah, one of the Banū Zayd.

On that day a messenger of ʿUmar arrived and brought with him four swords and four horses for distribution among those whose valor in war was the greatest. The messenger called upon Ḥammāl b. Mālik, al-Ribbīl b. ʿAmr b. Rabīʿah (both Wālibīs), Ṭulayḥah b. Khuwaylid al-Faqʿasī[340] (these three belonged to the tribe of Asad), and upon ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī and gave them the swords; then he called upon al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr and the Yarbūʿīs and let them ride the horses. Thus the three Yarbūʿīs received three-quarters of the horses, and the three Asadīs received three-quarters of the swords. Al-Ribbīl b. ʿAmr said concerning this:

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338. Literally "they placed their pay in her bosom." A similar tradition is included in Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 206–7, where the mother is the poetess al-Khansāʾ (for whom see *EI²*, s.v. "al-Khansāʾ" [F. Gabrieli]) and her four sons are martyred in the battle. This tradition has *wa-lā faḍaḥtu ḥālatakum*, instead of Ṭabarī's *wa-lā faḍaḥtu khālakum*. See also Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, XIX, 215–18.

339. See Caskel and Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 68; II, 9.

340. Both Wālibah and Faqʿas were tribal subdivisions of Asad. See Caskel and Strenziok, *Ǧamharat, an-nasab*, I, 50.

The people knew that we were the most deserving of them,
when they seized the sharp, cutting swords.
On the night of Armāth, my horsemen did not cease
defending, group after group, the multitude of tribes;
During the morning hours,[341] till nightfall—
and they became successful till the end of days.[342]

Al-Qaʿqāʿ recited concerning the horsemen:

The pure Arab horses did not know anyone equal to us
on the night of Aghwāth, near al-Qawādis,[343]
[2309] On the night when we went with the lances,
which looked on the troops like a variety of birds ready to take off.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Qāsim b. Sulaym b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saʿdī — his father: The battle began each day with individual combat.[344] When al-Qaʿqāʿ arrived, he said: "O men, follow my example!" and called out: "Who is going to fight me?" Dhū al-Ḥājib came forth against him, and al-Qaʿqāʿ killed him. Then came al-Bayruzān, and al-Qaʿqāʿ killed him as well. Then the troops came from every direction and the battle began. Al-Qaʿqāʿ's kinsmen attacked on that day in groups of ten footmen, on camels that were covered and veiled and with their horses surrounding and protecting the camels. Al-Qaʿqāʿ ordered them to attack the Persian horses between the two battle lines, simulating elephants. The Muslims did to the Persians on the Day of Aghwāth what the Persians had done to them on the Day of Armāth. These camels were not able to withstand anything, yet the Persian horses took fright and fled. The horses of the Muslims pursued them, and when the other Muslim troops saw this they followed their example. On the Day of Aghwāth, the Persians suffered from the camels more than the Muslims had suffered on the Day of Armāth from the elephants.

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341. For grammatical considerations with regard to the expression *ladun ghudwatan*, see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *l-d-n*.

342. For *ukhrā al-layālī al-qhawābiri* in this sense, see Arazi, *Poésie arabe*, 76.

343. Cf. note 278, above.

344. The text has *muṭāradah*. The more usual term for individual combat is *mubārazah* (see Fries, *Heereswesen*, 80), but the description that follows indicates that *muṭāradah* is used here in a similar sense.

A member of the tribe of Tamīm, whose name was Sawād and who was defending his kinsmen,[345] launched an attack, courting martyrdom. He was mortally wounded[346] after he launched the attack, but martyrdom was slow in coming. He stood up against Rustam, determined to kill him, but was himself killed before he could reach him.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Ghuṣn — al-ʿAlāʾ b. Ziyād and al-Qāsim b. Sulaym — his father: A Persian warrior came forth, calling out: "Who is going to fight me?" ʿIlbāʾ b. Jaḥsh al-ʿIjlī went forth against him. ʿIlbāʾ struck the Persian with his sword and pierced his chest, but the Persian struck ʿIlbāʾ with his sword and disemboweled him. Both fell to the ground, the Persian dying immediately. As for ʿIlbāʾ, his bowels spilled out and he could not get up; he attempted to put his bowels back but was unable to do it. Then a Muslim passed by, and ʿIlbāʾ said: "O so-and-so, help me with my belly!" The Muslim put his bowels back, and ʿIlbāʾ held the slit skin of his belly together and rushed toward the Persian lines, without turning his face to the Muslims. Death befell him thirty cubits from the place where he had been struck, in the direction of the Persian lines. He recited: [2310]

I hope I shall receive reward for this from our Lord;
I was one of those who fought well.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Ghuṣn — al-ʿAlāʾ and al-Qāsim — his father: A Persian warrior went forth, calling out: "Who is going to fight me?" Al-Aʿraf b. al-Aʿlam al-ʿUqaylī went forth against him and killed him. Then another Persian came forth and al-Aʿraf killed him as well. Then Persian horsemen surrounded him and threw him down; his weapon dropped to the ground and the

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345. Translating *al-ʿashīrah*, according to the Cairo edition, instead of *al-ʿasharah* of the Leiden text.

346. The text has *qutila* "he was killed," but this does not make sense in the context. The suggested translation is not supported in the classical dictionaries. It is based on an inference from the meaning of *maqtal* "a place in the body where a wound causes death."

This is another instance of an early Muslim warrior's actively seeking martyrdom. Descriptions of such attitudes abound in classical Islamic literature; the Prophet himself is reported to have expressed his desire to experience martyrdom and then to be revived in order to experience it again and again. See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 201 (*Kitāb al-jihād, bāb tamannī al-shahādah*).

Persians seized it. He threw dust into their faces and returned to his companions, reciting [the following verses] concerning this event:

If they take my sword—I am an experienced man,
    victoriously emerging from the calamity.
Verily, I am a defender of my kinsmen,
    riding after my passion, managing the affair.

[2311] According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn—al-ʿAlāʾ and al-Qāsim—his father: Al-Qaʿqāʿ launched on that day thirty attacks. Whenever one of his units appeared, he launched an attack and hit someone. He began to recite verses in the *rajaz* meter[347] and said:

I throw them into disorder by beating;
I stab, hitting the target and causing [blood] to flow.
I hope [to be rewarded] for it by a multitude of people [entering] Paradise.[348]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Al-Qaʿqāʿ killed on the Day of Aghwāth thirty people in thirty attacks. Whenever he launched an attack, he killed a man, the last of these being Buzurjmihr al-Hamadhānī. Al-Qaʿqāʿ recited concerning this:

I dealt him a blow that made his blood spurt
    and froth, like a sun ray.[349]
On the Day of Aghwāth and the night of the Persians,
    I drove the Persians[350] away violently,
So that my soul and my people find abundance.[351]

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347. For a general survey of the classical Arabic poetic meters, see *EI*², s.v. "ʿArūḍ" (G. Weil).

348. The poet entertains the hope that a great number of people from his tribe will be admitted to Paradise as a reward for his valor.

349. For *jayyāshah* in this sense, see Bevan, *Naqāʾiḍ*, 987 ll. 9–14; and *Glossary*, 322; for a description of blood spurting out of the wound and frothing, see Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsah*, I, 329, above. See also de Goeje's *Glossary*, s.vv. *j-y-sh*, *h-d-r*.

350. For *qawm* in this sense see note 112, above.

351. The poem can be found in a different (and to my mind unsatisfactory) version in Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 212 (= ed. Pellat, III, 57). The French translation in the first edition of *Murūj* is also unacceptable.

Al-Aʿwar b. Quṭbah fought Shahrbarāz Sijistān, and they killed each other. Al-Aʿwar's brother recited concerning this:

I have not seen a day more sweet and more bitter, worse[352] and better
than the Day of Aghwāth[353], when the frontier was opened
Without a smile.[354]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād — and[355] Ibn Mikhrāq — a man from Ṭayyiʾ: The horsemen fought on the Day of the Military Units (*yawm al-katāʾib*)[356] from sunrise till midday. Toward the end of the day the [rest of] the troops marched toward each other and fought tumultuously till midnight. The Night of Armāth was called "tranquillity" (*al-haḍʾah*), and the Night of Aghwāth was called "blackness" (*sawād*). The first part [of the night] was also called "blackness." [2312]

On the Day of Aghwāth the Muslims were witnessing victory in al-Qādisiyyah, and they killed the Persian notables. The central part of the Persian horsemen wheeled around, but their infantrymen stood firm. If their horsemen had not launched an attack, Rustam would have been taken prisoner. When the first part of the night passed, the Muslims spent the [rest of the] night in the same way as the Persians spent the Night of Armāth.[357] The Muslims kept on proclaiming their tribal affiliations[358] throughout the evening, until they retired. When Saʿd heard this in the evening, he went to sleep. He said to one of his companions: "If the Muslims persist in proclaiming their tribal affiliations, do not wake me up, because [this

352. Translating *aswaʾa* according to de Goeje's conjecture.

353. The Day of Aghwāth aroused mixed feelings in the heart of the poet; it ended victoriously, but many Muslims, including his brother, had been killed in the fighting.

354. This is a pun on *thaghr*, which means both the mouth (or the front teeth) and the Muslim frontier.

355. Here begins an additional, though partial, chain of transmission.

356. This is apparently another name for the Day of Aghwāth.

357. This sentence is not very clear. It may mean that the Muslims, who were victorious on the Day of Aghwāth, spent the following night celebrating and dividing the spoils, in the same way that the Persians had spent the Night of Armāth, after they had inflicted heavy casualties on the Muslims (five hundred Asadīs had been killed then; see p. 2301, above).

358. The text is *yantamūna*. In a similar description Masʿūdī (*Murūj*, IV, 213; ed. Pellat, III, 58) has *intimāʾ al-nās ilā ābāʾihim wa-ʿashāʾirihim*. See also note 404, below.

means that] they are stronger than their enemy. If they are quiet and the Persians do not proclaim their affiliations, do not wake me, because [this means that] they are equal. If you hear the Persians proclaiming their affiliations, wake me up, because their proclamation portends evil."

They related: The battle intensified during that night.[359] Abū Miḥjan[360] was imprisoned and fettered in the palace. In the evening he went up to Saʿd and asked his forgiveness, but Saʿd repelled him and sent him back. Abū Miḥjan came to Salmā bint Khaṣafah[361] and
[2313] said: "O Salmā, O daughter of the clan of Khaṣafah! Will you do me a favor?" She said: "And what is that?" He said: "Set me free and lend me al-Balqāʾ.[362] By God, if He keeps me safe, I shall come back to you and put my feet back in the fetters." She said: "What have I to do with this?" Abū Miḥjan started again to drag his feet in the fetters, and recited:

It is grievous enough that the horsemen gallop with the spears,
while I am left tied up, with my fetters on.
When I stand up, the iron hurts and the doors
are closed behind me, making the voice of the caller inaudible.
In the past I was a man of much wealth, and I had brothers;
now they have left me alone, having no brother.
By God, I took an oath, which I shall not break:
If [the door] is opened, I shall not visit the wine sellers' shops.[363]

Salmā said: "I have asked God for guidance, and I am satisfied with your oath." So she set him free and said: "As for the horse however, I shall not lend it," and she returned to her house. [Nevertheless,] Abū Miḥjan led the horse out through the palace gate, which was ad-

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359. The text has *sawād*, which is a name of the Night of Aghwāth; see p. 2312, above.

360. Abū Miḥjan was a *mukhaḍram* poet of the tribe of Thaqīf, best known for his addiction to wine and his wine poems. See *EI*², s.v. "Abū Miḥdjan" (N. Rhodokanakis–Ch. Pellat); *GAL*, I, 40; S. I, 70–71; *GAS*, II, 300–2. There is an extensive account of this episode in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XXI, 7225–33. The editor of the *Aghānī* has also provided a list of additional sources in which information about Abū Miḥjan may be found. See also Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 207–9.

361. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VII, 705–6 no. 11311.

362. A horse belonging to Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. See Ibn Juzayy, *Khayl*, 137–40, where the whole episode is related.

363. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Shiʿr*, 252, for a slightly different version of this poem, with full textual apparatus. See also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 212 (= ed. Pellat, III, 58).

jacent to the moat, mounted it, and moved slowly [toward the enemy]. When he was opposite the right wing [of the Muslims], he proclaimed "God is most great!" and attacked the left wing of the Persians, swinging his lance and weapon between the two battle lines. [The transmitters of this tradition] have said that he rode the horse saddled. Saʿīd and al-Qāsim said that he rode it without a saddle. [2314]

Abū Miḥjan then returned behind the Muslim lines, moved to the left wing, proclaimed "God is most great!" and attacked the right wing of the Persians, swinging his lance and weapon between the battle lines. Then he [again] returned behind the Muslim lines, moved to the center, came out in front of the Muslims, and attacked the Persians, swinging his lance and weapon between the two lines. On that night, the Muslim felt deep anguish.[364] They admired Abū Miḥjan, although they did not recognize him and had not seen him during daytime. Some of them said: "These are the [first] companions of Hāshim (b. ʿUtbah) or Hāshim himself."[365] Observing the Muslim troops while lying on the roof of the castle, Saʿd said: "By God, if Abū Miḥjan were not in prison, I would say that this is Abū Miḥjan and the horse is al-Balqāʾ!" Some people said: "If al-Khaḍir[366] were participating in the wars, we would think that the rider of al-Balqāʾ is al-Khaḍir!" Others said: "Had it not been that angels do not participate in fighting,[367] we would think an angel was supporting us." The Muslims did not remember Abū Miḥjan, nor did they take notice of him, because he was in prison.

At midnight the Persians and the Muslims disengaged from each other and retreated. Abū Miḥjan approached [the castle], entered it at the same place where he had gone out, put down [his weapon] and [the saddle] of the horse, placed his feet in the fetters, and recited:

The tribe of Thaqīf know—and this is not boasting— [2315]
that we have the most noble swords among them.

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364. The text here is difficult and de Goeje's vocalization *al-nāsa* does not seem to be the best one possible. I follow Nöldeke's translation, published in his review of Abel, *Abû Miḥjan*, in *WZKM*, II (1888), 81: "... die Leute hatten ... arge Beklemmung gefühlt."

365. See p. 2305 and note 137, above, Hāshim b. ʿUtbah was appointed to command the reinforcements sent to al-Qādisiyyah by Abū ʿUbaydah.

366. For the legendary figure of al-Khaḍir in the Islamic tradition, see *EI*², s.v. "al-Khaḍir" (A. J. Wensinck).

367. But see the traditions about the participation of angels in the battle of Badr in Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, IV, 50ff. (on Qurʾān 3:124–25).

We have the fullest armor,
and we hold our own firmly when they are not willing to stand up.
Every day we act on their behalf;
if they are [too] blind to [see it], ask a man knowledgeable about them.
On the night of Qādis they were not aware of me,
and I did not let the troops notice my departure.
If I am imprisoned, it is my affliction;
if I am released, I shall make [the enemy] taste death.

Salmā said to him: "O Abū Miḥjan, for what reason did this man imprison you?" He said: "By God, he did not imprison me because of a forbidden thing that I ate or drank. But I was drinking in the Jāhiliyyah. Because I am a poet, poetry creeps to my tongue, which sometimes sends it to my lips, and my reputation is damaged because of this; this is why he has put me in prison. I recited:

[2316] When I die, bury me at the foot of a grapevine,
so that its roots will moisten my bones after death.
And do not bury me in the desert,
for I fear that I shall not taste [the juice of] the grapevine after I die.
It will moisten my grave with the wine of al-Ḥuṣṣ,[368] because
I became its captive, after I tried to drive it away.

Salmā was angry with Saʿd on the Night of Armāth, on the Night of Tranquillity, and on the Night of Blackness. When she woke up, she came to him, made up with him, and informed him of what had passed between herself and Abū Miḥjan. Saʿd summoned him, released him, and said: "You are free to go; I shall not punish you for anything you say unless you actually do it." Abū Miḥjan said: "By God, I must never respond to my tongue's desire to describe abominable things."

The Day of ʿImās

According to al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād; and Ibn Mikhrāq—a man from Ṭayyiʾ: On the

368. Al-Ḥuṣṣ is identified as a place near Ḥimṣ. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam* II, 274) mentions that it was famous for its wine, but the only reference adduced by him is this verse of Abū Miḥjan.

morning of the third day, the Muslims and the Persians were in their positions. The area between the two armies — meaning the stony tract (*ḥarrah*) — was like a reddish watercourse (*rijlah ḥamrā'*).[369] The area between the two battle lines was one mile in width. Muslim casualties were two thousand wounded and dead, and the casualties of the polytheists were ten thousand wounded and dead. Sa'd said: "He who wishes will wash the martyrs, and he who wishes will bury them in their blood."[370] [2317]

The Muslims approached the fallen, took care of them, and placed them in the rear. Those who collected the bodies carried them to the graveyards and delivered the wounded to the women. Ḥājib b. Zayd was responsible for the care of the martyrs. For two days, on the Day of Aghwāth and the Day of Armāth, the women and the children were digging graves on both sides of the Musharriq valley.[371] Two thousand and five hundred of those who fought at al-Qādisiyyah and in the previous battles were buried. Ḥājib, some of the martyrs,[372] and the martyrs' kinsmen passed near the trunk of a palm tree between al-Qādisiyyah and al-'Udhayb, there being at that time no other palm tree between these two places. When the wounded were being carried away, they reached this tree. One of them, who was in the state of consciousness, asked to be allowed to stop under it and rest in its shade. Another wounded man, whose name was Bujayr, sheltered in its shade and recited:

O solitary palm tree between Qādis
and al-'Udhayb, be safe and well!

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369. Probably because of the blood spilled in the fighting.

370. Sa'd's statement reflects the different views expressed in Islamic tradition on whether martyrs (*shuhadā'*) have to be ritually washed before burial. According to a tradition reported in the canonical collections, the Prophet ordered the burial of the martyrs of the battle of Uḥud "in their blood" (*idfinūhum fī dimā'ihim*); see Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 337 last line–338, and Wensinck *et al.*, *Concordance*, s.v. *d-f-n*, for further references. The commentators explain this ruling in several ways. Some say that the martyrs' blood will diffuse scent (*yafūḥu miskan*) on the Day of Judgment (and therefore must be left unwashed). Others maintain that the angels perform the ritual washing for the martyrs (Qasṭallānī, *Irshād*, II, 441). The fact that the martyrs are not washed as are the other dead is also said to be an indication of their being alive, according to Qur'ān 3:169 ('Aynī, *'Umdat al-qārī'*, VIII, 154). See also 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, III, 540–48; Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-siyar*, I, 232–37.

The opposite view, which favors the performance of ritual washing for the martyrs, is attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab (Qasṭallānī, *Irshād*, II, 441, and 'Aynī, *'Umdat al-qārī'*, VIII, 154.

371. Cf. note 328, above.

372. The wounded are also considered martyrs.

Another man, whose name was Ghaylān and who belonged to Banū Ḍabbah or to Banū Thawr, recited:

O palm tree on a sand hill, be safe and well!
You are surrounded by plants of *jummān* and *rughl*.[373]

[2318] A man from Banū Taym Allāh, called Ribʿī, recited:

O palm tree on a sand hill, oh hill of gravestones!
May the morning clouds and abundant rain provide you with water!

Al-Aʿwar b. Quṭbah recited:

O riders' palm tree, may you always be fresh and green!
May palm trees always grow around your hill!

ʿAwf b. Mālik al-Tamīmī (or al-Taymī, of Taym al-Ribāb), recited:

O palm tree on a hill near al-ʿUdhayb,
may morning clouds and rainy days provide you with ample water!

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Al-Qaʿqāʿ spent the whole night dispatching his companions to the place from where he parted from them on the previous evening. Then he said: "When the sun rises, come in groups of one hundred each. When one group of one hundred moves out of sight, let another group follow it. Should Hāshim come, then all is well; if not, you will revive the hope and determination of the Muslims."
[2319] They acted accordingly and nobody noticed it. In the morning the Muslims were in their positions, having taken care of their dead and delivered them to al-Ḥājib b. Zayd. The dead of the polytheists lay between the lines, having been neglected, since the Persians had not been attending to their dead. The place where the Persians were was determined by God as a ruse for the sake of the Muslims in order thereby to strengthen them. When the sun rose, al-Qaʿqāʿ was looking out for the horsemen. When their manes appeared, he proclaimed "God is most great!" and the Muslims followed suit and said: "Reinforcements have arrived!" ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr was ordered to

373. See Aṣmaʿī, *Nabāt*, 63; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *r-qh-l*. I have not found references to *jummān*.

do the same [and to proclaim "God is most great!"]. Al-Qaʿqāʿ's men came from the direction of Khaffān.[374] The horsemen advanced; the fighting units went into formation and engaged in battle. The reinforcements were coming one after the other. The last of al-Qaʿqāʿ's men were closely followed by Hāshim (b. ʿUtbah) with seven hundred men. The Muslims informed him of al-Qaʿqāʿ's tactics[375] and described to him what al-Qaʿqāʿ had done in the past two days. Hāshim therefore arranged his men in groups of seventy, and as soon as the last of al-Qaʿqāʿ's men had arrived he went forth with seventy men, among whom was Qays b. Hubayrah b. ʿAbd Yaghūth, who had not participated in previous battles. He came to al-Yarmūk from the Yemen, responded to Hāshim's call [and joined his troops]. Hāshim drew near. When he mingled with the center of the army, he proclaimed "God is most great!" The Muslims followed suit, having taken up their positions. Hāshim said: "The beginning of the battle is individual combat, and then the shooting of arrows." He took his bow, put an arrow on the middle of the string, and pulled it, but [at the same time] his mare raised her head and the arrow pierced her ear. Hāshim said, laughing: "What a bad shot from a man who is being watched by everyone who sees him! What do you think, where would my arrow have reached?" They said: "[It would have reached] al-ʿAtīq!" Having dislodged the arrow, Hāshim spurred his mare on. Then he hit her until she reached al-ʿAtīq, and [2320]
he hit her again until she rushed with him and broke through the Persian lines.[376] Hāshim then returned to his position, while the groups of horsemen continued to arrive and join the first ones.

The polytheists spent the night repairing the litters of their elephants and putting them back in place. By morning they were in their positions. The elephants moved forward, accompanied by infantrymen, who protected them against the possibility of their girths' being cut again.[377] The infantrymen were, in turn, accompanied by horsemen, who protected them. When the Persians

374. A village in the vicinity of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 456.

375. For a suggestion that *ra'y* be interpreted in this way, see Fries, *Heereswesen*, 64.

376. *Takhruquhum* is to be understood in light of the expression *kharaqa ṣaffahum*; see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 258.

377. Cf. p. 2301, above.

wanted to attack a military unit, they moved toward it with an elephant and its escort in order to scare the horses of the Muslims. But they did not succeed in doing this as they had done on the previous day, because the elephant is more ferocious when he is alone and there is no one with him; when he is accompanied, he is more gentle.

The battle went on in this manner till the end of daylight. The battle on the Day of ʿImās was heavy throughout the day, the Arabs and the Persians being equal. When the smallest thing occurred between them, the Persians would shout the information to each other until it reached Yazdagird,[378] and he would send to them the reinforcements that he still had so that the Persians were strengthened by them. He had reinforcements at the postal stations, keeping them [for such an eventuality as] he had faced on the previous day. If God had not favored the Muslims by inspiring al-Qaʿqāʿ in the two days of battle, and if He had not made things easier for them by the arrival of Hāshim, the Muslims would have been routed.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī:
[2321] Hāshim b. ʿUtbah came from the direction of Syria with seven hundred men after the victories at al-Yarmūk and at Damascus, accompanied by Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādī. He hastened with seventy men, among who was Saʿīd b. Nimrān al-Hamdānī.

According to Mujālid: Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim was in Hāshim's vanguard with al-Qaʿqāʿ.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Jakhdab b. Jarʿab — ʿIṣmah al-Wābilī, who took part in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah: Hāshim came from Syria with the Iraqis. He hastened forward with men, almost all of whom were from Iraq, except for very few. Ibn Makshūḥ was among these. When he drew near [al-Qādisiyyah], he hastened forward with three hundred men and reached the Muslims when they were in their positions. His men joined the Muslim battle lines.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: The third day [of the battle of al-Qādisiyyah] was the Day of ʿImās. Among the battle days of al-Qādisiyyah there was none like this, and the two armies emerged from it equal. Everybody endured his suffering patiently; whatever the Muslims inflicted upon the infidels, the infidels inflicted upon the Muslims, and whatever the in-

378. Cf. p. 2287, above.

fidels inflicted upon the Muslims, the Muslims inflicted upon the infidels.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr b. al-Rayyān—Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Saʿd: Hāshim b. ʿUtbah reached al-Qādisiyyah on the Day of ʿImās. He always fought on a mare and never on a male horse. When he stood among the Muslims, he shot an arrow, which hit the ear of his own mare, and said: "What a bad shot it is! What do you think, where would my arrow have reached if it had not hit the horse's ear?" They said: "Such-and-such a place!" He wheeled around, dismounted, left his horse, and went forth hitting the Persians until he reached the place that they mentioned. According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Hāshim was in the right wing. [2322]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr b. al-Rayyān—Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad: We saw that Hāshim b. ʿUtbah was in charge of the right wing. Most of the Muslims were shielded only with saddle cloths across which they fastened leafless palm branches; those who did not have any protection bound their heads with girths.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abu Kibrān—al-Ḥasan b. ʿUqbah: Qays b. al-Makshūḥ said upon his arrival from Syria with Hāshim, standing among those who were next to him:

> O Arabs! God has favored you with Islam and has honored you with Muḥammad; may God pray for him and grant him peace! By the grace of God you have become brethren. Your call is one and you are united. [All this happened] after you had been attacking each other like lions and violently abducting each other like wolves. Help God, so that He may help you! Ask God to grant you victory over the Persians, because He has already fulfilled His promise to give your brethren victory over Syria and to wrest [from their enemies] the excellent castles and palaces [there].

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Miqdām al-Ḥārithī—al-Shaʿbī: ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib said:

> I am about to attack the elephant and those who are around it [meaning the elephant in front of the Muslims]. Do not leave me alone longer than is necessary to slaughter a camel,

for should you be late, you will lose Abū Thawr,[379] and where
[2323] are you going to find for yourselves again someone like Abū Thawr? When you reach me, you will find me with a sword in my hand.

He launched an attack, started fighting them without delay, and was kept out of sight by the dust. His companions said: "What are you waiting for? You are not likely to reach him in time, and, if you lose him, the Muslims will have lost their [choice] horseman." They launched an attack, following which the polytheists let ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib loose after they had thrown him down and stabbed him. He was fighting them, holding the sword in his hand, his horse having been stabbed. When he saw his companions and the Persians disengaged themselves from him, he seized the leg of a Persian soldier's horse. The rider spurred him on, but the horse was agitated [and did not move]. The Persian turned toward ʿAmr and intended to kill him. When the Muslims saw this, they struck him. The Persian dismounted from his horse and hastened to join[380] his companions. ʿAmr said: "Let me have his reins," and they gave the reins to him and he mounted the horse.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mughīrah al-ʿAbdī—al-Aswad b. Qays—their elders who participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah: On the Day of ʿImās, a Persian went forth, stood between the battle lines, and called out in a sonorous voice: "Who is going to fight me?" A man from among us, whose name was Shabr b. ʿAlqamah, and who was short, slender, and ugly, said: "Oh Muslims! This man has dealt with you fairly, but nobody has responded to him and nobody has gone forth to fight him." Then he said: "By God, if it were not that you would treat me with contempt, I would go forth to fight him." When he saw that no one was preventing him from taking his sword and his shield,[381] he went forward. When the Persian saw Shabr, he roared, dismounted near him,
[2324] bore him down, and then sat on his chest and grasped his sword in order to slay him. The halter of the Persian's horse was tied to his

379. This was the *kunyah* of ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib.

380. I am translating *ḥāḍara* according to the gloss in note *h* to this page in the Leiden edition.

381. *Ḥajafah* is a shield made of camel skins sewed one over another. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

belt, and when the Persian drew his sword, the horse swerved so that the halter pulled him and overturned him. While the Persian was being dragged, Shabr trampled upon him. Shabr's companions shouted at him. Shabr said: "Shout as much as you like, but by God I shall not leave him until I kill him and plunder his possessions." Then Shabr slew the Persian, took his possessions, and brought the corpse to Saʿd, who said: "Come to me at the time of the noon prayer." Shabr brought the spoils to Saʿd, who praised God, glorified Him, and said: "I see fit to give him the spoils; whoever actually takes spoils, they are his." Shabr sold [the spoils] for twelve thousand [dirhams].

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When Saʿd saw the elephants' driving a wedge between the Muslim units and doing again what they had done on the Day of Armāth, he sent for Ḍakhm, Muslim, Rāfiʿ, ʿAshannaq, and their Persian companions who had embraced Islam. When they came to him, he asked them whether the elephants have vital organs where a wound would cause death (*maqātil*). They said: "Yes, the trunks and the eyes; when these are gone, the elephants are of no use." Saʿd sent a message to al-Qaʿqāʿ and ʿĀṣim, the two sons of ʿAmr, saying: "Take care of the white elephant for me." All the elephants were following[382] the white one, which was stationed opposite al-Qaʿqāʿ and ʿĀṣim. Saʿd sent a message to Ḥammāl (b. Mālik) and to al-Ribbīl (b. ʿAmr), saying: "Take care of the scabby elephant for me." All the elephants were following the scabby one, which was opposite Ḥammāl and al-Ribbīl. Al-Qaʿqāʿ and ʿĀṣim took two solid but flexible spears, moved forward with the horsemen and footmen, and said: "Surround the elephant in order to confuse him." Meanwhile, al-Qaʿqāʿ and ʿĀṣim were intermingling with the Persians, and [2325]
Ḥammāl and al-Ribbīl did the same. When they came close to the elephants and surrounded them, each elephant looked right and left, preparing to hit the ground with his feet, and while the elephant was distracted by those around him al-Qaʿqāʿ and ʿĀṣim launched an attack and simultaneously pierced the eyes of the white elephant with their spears. The elephant roared, shook his head, threw off his rider, and let his trunk hang down. Al-Qaʿqāʿ struck him and threw

382. This translation takes into account the version of Ibn Ḥubaysh, mentioned in note *l* to this page in the Leiden edition: *al-fiyalah tatbaʿuhu*.

him down. The elephant fell on his side, and the Muslims killed those who were riding him.

Ḥammāl launched an attack, saying to al-Ribbīl: "You have the choice: either strike his trunk and I shall pierce his eye, or you will pierce his eye and I shall strike his trunk." Al-Ribbīl chose to strike the trunk, and while the elephant was distracted by those who surrounded him, Ḥammāl attacked him, his rider fearing only for the girth.[383] These [two Muslims] dealt with the elephant alone. [Ḥammāl] pierced his eye; the elephant sat down on his hindquarters and then stood up. Al-Ribbīl struck him and severed his trunk. The elephant rider noticed al-Ribbīl, however, and slit his nose and forehead with an axe.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: Two men belonging to the Banū Asad, whose names were al-Ribbīl and Ḥammāl, said: "O Muslims, which is the most painful death?" They replied, "To attack this elephant!" Hence al-Ribbīl and Ḥammāl urged their horses on. When the horses rose on their feet, they made them dash at the elephant opposite them. One of them pierced the elephant's eye, so that it trampled upon those who were behind it. The other struck the elephant's trunk, but the elephant's rider dealt him a crippling blow in his face with an axe. Both he and Ribbīl
[2326] escaped. Al-Qaʿqāʿ and his brother attacked the elephant opposite them, putting out its eyes and cutting its trunk. The elephant wandered, bewildered, between the two battle lines. When he came to the Muslim line, they stabbed him, and when he came to the polytheists' line, they goaded him and drove him away.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr — al-Shaʿbī: Among the elephants there were two who were leading the rest. On the Day of al-Qādisiyyah, the Persians sent them to attack at the center of their army. Saʿd ordered al-Qaʿqāʿ and ʿĀṣim from the tribe of Tamīm and Ḥammāl and al-Ribbīl from the tribe of Asad to deal with the two elephants. [This tradition is identical with the previous one, except that it says:] He [survived and] lived afterward.[384] The two elephants screamed like pigs. Then the scabby one, who had been blinded, turned around and jumped into al-ʿAtīq. The other el-

383. Probably because of the Muslim tactics employed on the previous days; cf. p. 2301, above.

384. This seems to refer to the fact that al-Ribbīl survived the injuries that he had sustained while attacking the elephant.

ephants followed him, broke through the Persian lines, and crossed al-ʿAtīq in his wake. They reached al-Madāʾin with their litters, but those who were in the litters perished.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When the elephants departed and the Muslims remained alone with the Persians and the day drew to its end, the Muslims marched forward, protected by the horsemen who had fought earlier in the day. They fought with the swords, with determination and fury, until the evening.[385] [In this fight] the two armies were equal. When the Muslims did what they did to the elephants, the units of the armored camels went into formation, hamstrung the elephants, and repelled them. Concerning this, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr recited:

Maḍraḥī b. Yaʿmar roused my tribe;
how excellent is my tribe when they brandish the spears!
He did not refrain from using them on the day when our troops
protected the clients of the people of Qudays.
When I fought the enemy, I routed him, [2327]
and I encountered great calamities in war:
[I encountered] elephants resembling houses charging forward,
and I put out their eyes!

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When the Muslims reached the end of the day and entered upon the night, the fighting intensified. Both sides endured and emerged equal, with battle cries being heard on both sides. The night was called the Night of Howling (*laylat al-harīr*). After it, there was no night battle in al-Qādisiyyah.

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) has said: According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad b. Qays—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jaysh: On the Night of the Howling, Saʿd sent Ṭulayḥah and ʿAmr (b. Maʿdīkarib) to a crossing [of al-ʿAtīq?] downstream from the camp. He wanted them to stay at the crossing for fear lest the Persians come [and attack him] from there and said to them: "If you find that the Persians have arrived at the crossing ahead of you, stay in front of them. If you find that they do not know about it, stay there until you receive my orders."

385. De Goeje's text reads *fa-iṭṭaladū bihā ḥattā amsaw ʿalā hardin bi-al-suyūfi*; *bi-al-suyūfi* is in apposition to *bihā* and has been omitted from the Cairo edition.

ʿUmar had instructed Saʿd not to put the [former] leaders of the apostates (*ahl al-riddah*) in charge of a hundred men,[386] but when they arrived at the crossing and did not see anybody at it, Ṭulayḥah said: "If only we could cross here [to attack] the Persians from behind!" but ʿAmr said: "Nay, we should cross farther downstream." Ṭulayḥah said: "What I suggest is more beneficial to the Muslims," but ʿAmr said: "You are asking me to do what I cannot do." So they parted company. Ṭulayḥah went alone in the direction of the [Persian] camp across al-ʿAtīq, and ʿAmr went downstream with the companions of both. They then attacked, and the Persians rushed against them.

[2328] Saʿd was apprehensive of what had happened between Ṭulayḥah and ʿAmr and sent after them Qays b. al-Makshūḥ with seventy men. Qays was one of the [former] leaders [of the apostates], and Saʿd was forbidden to put him in command of one hundred men. Saʿd said: "If you catch up with them, you are in command." So Qays went after them. When he arrived at the crossing, he found the Persians repelling ʿAmr and his companions, so the Muslims [who came with Qays] drove [the Persians away] from him. Qays however approached ʿAmr and rebuked him, and they reviled each other. The companions of Qays said to ʿAmr: "Qays has been made commander over you." ʿAmr fell silent, then said: "Is a man whom I fought in the Jāhiliyyah for a lifetime assuming command over me?"[387] and he returned to camp.

Ṭulayḥah moved forward, and when he was opposite the dam,[388] he proclaimed three times "God is most great!" and then he went away. The Persians went in pursuit but did not know which way he had taken. He went downstream, crossed [al-ʿAtīq], came to Saʿd, and reported to him. All this pressed hard on the polytheists. The Muslims were glad but did not know what had happened.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Qudāmah al-Kāhilī—the person who informed him: [There were] ten brothers from Banū Kāhil b. Asad, called the sons of Ḥarb. On that night one of them began to compose *rajaz* poems and said:

I am the son of Ḥarb, and my sword is with me,
I shall hit them with a sharp, glittering sword.

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386. See note 77, above.
387. See pp. 2259–60, above.
388. See p. 2285, above.

When Abū Isḥāq disliked death,[389]
and the soul heaved, on the point of dying;[390]
Endure, ʿIfāq, because this is the passing away!

ʿIfāq was one of the ten brothers. The hip of the author of the poem was hurt on that day, and he recited: [2329]

Endure, ʿIfāq: these are the Persians horsemen;
endure, and do not let a lost leg distract your attention![391]

He died of his wounds on the same day.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Naḍr — Ibn al-Rufayl — his father — Ḥumayd b. Abī Shajjār: Saʿd sent Ṭulayḥah on an errand, but he neglected it, crossed al-ʿAtīq, and went to the Persian camp. When he stood at the barrier in the canal,[392] he proclaimed "God is most great!" three times. He frightened the Persians, and the Muslims were amazed. The two armies disengaged from each other to investigate the matter; the Persians sent [someone] to do it, and the Muslims asked about it. Then [the Persians] returned and restored their battle order, starting to do things which they had not done during the three days of battle. The Muslims were also arrayed in their battle order. Ṭulayḥah started saying [to the Persians]: "May you never lack the man who [resolved] to destroy you!"[393]

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389. Translating *idh kariha al-mawta* with the Cairo edition, rather than *adhkarahu al-mawta* of the Leiden text. This superior reading can also be found in Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 248. Ibn Durayd also says that the *kunyah* Abū Isḥāq refers to Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, who did not take an active part in the battle on account of his illness.

390. Literally "the soul heaved [and reached the clavicles]"; cf. Qur'ān 75:26, where "when [the soul] reached the clavicles" (*idhā balaqhat [al-nafs] al-tarāqī*) is taken to be a sign of imminent death. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XIX, 121.

391. The poet seems to be asking his brother not to be distracted from the fighting by the desire to take care of his wound.

A very similar verse is attributed to Hayyāsh b. Qays al-Aʿwar b. Qushayr, who became famous for his reported bravery at the battle of Yarmūk. The verse reads;

aqdim khidāmu innahā al-asāwirah
wa-lā taqhurrannaka sāqun nādirah.

Khidhām is the name of a horse; Hayyāsh is reported to have lost a leg without being aware of it. See Elad; "'And he who seeks his leg . . . " the verse is quoted on p. 244. See also Jawālīqī, *Muʿarrab*, 69; and Ibn Durayd, *Jamharat al-lughah*, II, 215.

392. See p. 2285, above.

393. By this expression Ṭulayḥah means himself.

Masʿūd b. Mālik al-Asadī, ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī, Ibn Dhī al-Burdayn al-Hilālī, Ibn Dhī al-Sahmayn, Qays b. Hubayrah al-Asadī, and people like them went forth, fought the Persians, and hastened into battle. The Persians stood together, did not charge, and wanted to move only in formation. They sent forward a line with two "ears,"[394] followed by another and a third and a fourth, until their
[2330] lines numbered thirteen in the center and in the two wings. When the horsemen of the [Arab] army moved against the Persians, they shot at them, but this did not change the course in which they were riding. Then the [Persian] units caught up with the [Muslim] horsemen. Khalīd b. Yaʿmar al-Tamīmī al-ʿUmarī was killed on that night. Al-Qaʿqāʿ launched an attack advancing in the direction from which Khālid had been shot. The Muslims were in distress. Then al-Qaʿqāʿ recited:

O Khawṣāʾ, may God water the grave of Ibn Yaʿmar!
When those who were leaving departed, he did not depart.[395]
May God water the land where Khālid's grave is situated,
with rain pouring from thunderous morning clouds!
I took an oath that my sword will not stop slaying them,
and [even] if men withdraw, I shall not do the same.

With the Muslims under their flags, al-Qaʿqāʿ moved against the Persians, without Saʿd's permission. Saʿd said: "O God, forgive him and grant him victory! I have given him permission, though he did not ask for it."[396] The Muslims were in their positions, except those who were forming military units or were fighting the Persians. They were arrayed in three lines. The infantrymen, armed with spears and swords, constituted one line; the second line was made of the archers; and the third one of the horsemen who stood in front of the infantrymen. The right wing and the left wing were arrayed in the same way. Saʿd said: "By God, the thing to do is what al-Qaʿqāʿ did. When I proclaim 'God is most great!' three times, move forward." When he proclaimed "God is most great!" [for the first time], the Muslims prepared themselves, all of them being in agreement with Saʿd. The fiercest battle was raging around al-Qaʿqāʿ and around those who were with him.

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394. *Lahu udhunāni*; see Fries, *Heereswesen*, 72 n. 5.
395. The verse praises Ibn Yaʿmar's perserverance on the battlefield.
396. See p. 2332, below.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā — ʿAmr b. Murrah: Qays b. Hubayrah, who had not participated in any of the battles of al-Qādisiyyah except on this night, stood up among his followers and said: "Your enemy does not want anything except a battle. The sound tactic is that of your commander; it is not good that horsemen attack without being accompanied by infantry. If men move forward and are attacked by a mounted enemy who have [2331] no infantry with them, they will kill their horses, and the horsemen will then not be able to advance against them. Prepare yourselves, therefore, for the attack."[397] They prepared themselves, waiting for the proclamation "God is most great!" and for the attack of the Muslims,[398] while the arrows of the Persians were flying across the Muslim lines.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd — a man who transmitted the tradition to him: Durayd b. Kaʿb al-Nakhaʿī,[399] who held the standard of the tribe of al-Nakhaʿ, said: "The Muslims have prepared themselves for battle. Tonight be the first among the Muslims to reach God and to [engage in] holy war (*al-jihād*), because whoever is first tonight will receive his reward accordingly. Compete with the [other] Muslims for martyrdom and accept death cheerfully. This will more effectively save you from death, if you wish to live; and if not, then it is the hereafter which you wish to attain."

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Ajlaḥ: Al-Ashʿath b. Qays said: "O Arabs, it is not fitting that these Persians should be more courageous in the face of death and more generous in giving up this world [than you are]. Compete with each other [in risking] your children and wives. Do not fear being killed, because being killed is the aspiration of the noble and the destiny of the martyrs." Then he dismounted.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr b. Muḥammad: Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabīʿ and the commanders of the military units (*al-aʿshār*) said: "Dismount, O Muslims, and do as we do. Do not fear the inevitable, for standing firm is safer than taking fright." Ṭulayḥah, Ghālib, Ḥammāl, and the brave men from all the tribes did the same.

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397. "But do not attack yet"; see below.

398. Literally "and for the time that coincides (*muwāfaqah*) with the attack of the Muslims (*al-nās*)."

399. *See Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt*, V, 388; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 387 no. 2397.

[2332] According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr and al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī: Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Qurashī[400] dismounted and all the (Muslim) troops hastily followed each other toward the Persians between Saʿd's proclamations "God is most great!" [They did this because] they thought that he was acting too slowly. When Saʿd proclaimed "God is most great!" for the second time, ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr launched an attack and joined al-Qaʿqāʿ and the tribe of al-Nakhaʿ also launched an attack. All troops except the commanders disobeyed Saʿd and did not wait for his third proclamation, "God is most great!" However, when he proclaimed "God is most great!" for the third time, they moved forward, joined their companions, mingled with the Persians, and faced the night after performing the evening prayer.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Walīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Ṭaybah—his father: On the Night of the Howling, all the Muslims attacked, without waiting with the attack for Saʿd['s instructions]. The first man to launch an attack was al-Qaʿqāʿ. Saʿd said: "O God, forgive him and grant him victory!"[401] Then he kept exclaiming: "O for Tamīm!" for the rest of the night. Then he said: "I see the situation. This is what it requires: When I proclaim "God is most great!" three times, launch the attack!" He proclaimed "God is most great!" once, and the tribe of Asad joined the attack. It was said [to Saʿd]: "Asad has launched an attack." Saʿd said: "O God, forgive them and grant them victory! O for Asad!" [and he kept on saying this] for the rest of the night. Then it was said: "The tribe of al-Nakhaʿ has launched an attack." Saʿd said: "O God, forgive them and grant them victory! O for Nakhaʿ!" [and he kept on saying this] for the rest of the night. Then it was said: "The tribe of Bajīlah has launched an attack." Saʿd said: "O God, forgive them and grant them victory! O for Bajīlah!" Then the Kindīs launched an attack. It was said: "Kindah has launched an attack." Saʿd said: "O for Kindah!" Then the commanders moved forward with those who were waiting for the [third] proclamation, "God is most great!"

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400. Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb belonged to the tribe of Quraysh and was a poet of repute. He fought against the Muslims in the battles of Uḥud and the Ditch. He is reported to have boasted that he killed ten Companions of the Prophet and caused them "to wed the virgins of paradise" (*al-ḥūr al-ʿīn*). Ḍirār embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca. See ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 40; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 483–85 no. 4177.

401. Cf. p. 2330, ll. 8–9.

They fought vehemently until the morning; this was the Night of Howling.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah — his uncle Anas b. al-Ḥulays: I participated in [the battle of] the Night of the Howling. On that night the sound of the steel [swords hitting each other] was like the sound produced by locksmiths, and it went on until the morning. The Muslims were inspired with abundant endurance.[402] Saʿd spent a night the like of which he had never spent before, and the Arabs and the Persians saw things the like of which they had not seen before. The sounds of voices and information [about the events] had not reached Rustam and Saʿd,[403] and Saʿd began to pray, until at sunrise the Muslims proclaimed their tribal affiliation;[404] Saʿd inferred from this that they had the upper hand and that victory was theirs. [2333]

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr b. Muḥammad — al-Aʿwar b. Bayān al-Minqarī: The first thing that Saʿd heard on that night, the thing that was an indication that victory would be theirs in the second, remaining part of the night, was the voice of al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, who recited:

We have killed a crowd or more,
    four, five, and one.
Above the horses' manes we are considered venomous snakes;
    when they died, I prayed fervently.
God is my Lord, and I purposely guard myself from sin.[405]

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr — al-Aʿwar and Muḥammad — his uncle and al-Naḍr — Ibn al-Rufayl: They fought on that night from its beginning till sunrise. They did not speak: their speech was howling, and the night was therefore called the Night of Howling. [2334]

402. For the expression *afragha ʿalayhim al-ṣabra*, see Qurʾān 2:250, 7:126.

403. This seems to mean that the methods of transmitting information devised by the Persians and the Arabs broke down because of the fierce battle. See p. 2287, above.

404. It is difficult to decide what is the best version. The Leiden edition reads *ibtahā* in the sense of *iftakhara* "he boasted." In comparing this passage with p. 2312 ll. 9–13, it seems preferable to read *intamā* "he proclaimed his tribal affiliation," following [ʿI.] Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 373 l. 7; this version is noted in the critical apparatus of the Leiden edition. For another example of this usage of *intamā*, see Ṭabarī, I, 2193 l. 5, and note 358, above.

405. This verse does not seem to be very coherent.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAmr b. al-Rayyān — Muṣʿab b. Saʿd: On that night, Saʿd sent to the [battle] line Bijād, a boy, because he could not find another messenger and said: "See what their situation is." When Bijād returned, Saʿd asked him: "What have you seen, son?" and he replied, "I have seen them playing." Saʿd said: "Or, rather, exerting themselves."

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-ʿAbdī — ʿĀbis al-Juʿfī — his father: A fully armed Persian unit (*katībah*) was in front of [the tribe of] al-Juʿfī on the Day of ʿImās. They moved toward the Persians and fought them with the swords, but they saw that the swords had no effect on the [Persian armor made of] iron, and they retreated. Ḥumayḍa said: "What is the matter with you?" and they replied, "The weapons do not penetrate into them." Ḥumayḍa said: "Stay where you are till I show you; look!" and he attacked a Persian and broke his back with a spear. Then he turned to his companions and said: "I am confident that they will die and you will survive." So then they attacked the Persians and drove them back to their lines.

[2335] According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī: Only seven hundred men from the tribe of Kindah proper participated in this battle, and Turk al-Ṭabarī was opposite them. Al-Ashʿath said: "O men, march against them!" and he marched against them with seven hundred men, drove them away, and killed Turk. Their *rajaz* poet (i.e., the poet of Kindah) said:

"We have left their Turk in the field,
dyed with the splendor of the vein."[406]

The Night of al-Qādisiyyah

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Ṭalḥah and Ziyād: In the morning that followed the Night of al-Qādisiyyah [which is (also) the morning of the Night of Howling; of these battle days, this was the night called the Night of al-Qādisiyyah], the Muslims were exhausted, for they did not close their eyes throughout the night. Al-Qaʿqāʿ walked among the men, saying: "He who resumes the fight against the Persians will defeat them in an hour. Endure for [another]

406. That is to say, blood.

hour and launch the attack, because victory comes with endurance. Prefer endurance to fear." A group of commanders gathered around him and stood up against Rustam, until they became entangled at sunrise with the Persians who were protecting him. When the tribes saw this, some of their men rose [to speak]. Qays b. ʿAbd Yaghūth, al-Ashʿath b. Qays, ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib, Ibn Dhī al-Sahmayn al-Khathʿamī, and Ibn Dhī al-Burdayn al-Hilāli—all stood up and said: "Let not these men be more earnest than you in complying with God's orders, and let them [meaning the Persians][407] not be more daring when facing death. Let their souls not be more generous in giving up this world,[408] and compete with each other [for martyrdom]."[409]

They launched an attack from the area adjacent to them and became entanged with [the Persians] opposite them. A number of men rose up among the tribe of Rabīʿah and said: "You know the Persians best, and you were the most courageous against them in the past.[410] What is it, then, that prevents you from being [even] more courageous today?" The first Persians to retreat at noon were al-Hurmuzān and al-Bayruzān; they retreated but made a stand in the place that they reached. At noon a gap was opened in the center [of the Persian army] and dust covered them. A violent westerly[411] wind blew away the sunshade[412] from Rustam's throne, and it fell into al-ʿAtīq. The dust blew against the Persians. [2336]

Al-Qaʿqāʿ and his companions reached Rustam's throne and top-

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407. Cf. ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 373 l. 19.

408. A similar exhortation is attributed, in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 258, to Qays b. Makshūḥ.

409. The expression *tanāfasūhā* is difficult. The apparent antecedent of the feminine pronoun is *al-dunyā*, but this does not seem to make any sense. Cf. p. 2331 l. 8: *nāfisūhum fī al-shahādah*.

410. See p. 2223, above.

411. The removal of Rustam's sunshade foreshadows his imminent defeat. The choice of the *dabūr* wind for this purpose is significant: It is a wind that is frequently described as destructive, worthless, and bringing no rain with it. The wind that God sent to destroy the ancient nation of ʿĀd, called in the Qurʿān *al-rīḥ al-ʿaqīm*, is said to have been the *dabūr* (or the *janūb*); see *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* on Qurʿān 51:41; and Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVII, 4, on the same verse. The idea is also expressed in a tradition in which the Prophet is reported to have said: "I was helped by the easterly wind, while ʿĀd were destroyed by the westerly one [*nuṣirtu bi-al-ṣabā wa-uhlikat ʿĀd bi-al-dabūr*]." See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 263; and Wensinck *et al.*, *Concordance*, s.v. *dabūr*, for further references.

412. Cf. note 282, above.

pled it. Rustam vacated it when the wind had blown the sunshade away and transferred to some mules which had brought to him certain possessions on that day and were standing [nearby], taking shelter in the shade of one of the mules and of its litter. Hilāl b. ʿUllafah[413] hit the litter under which Rustam was (hiding) and cut its ropes. One of the half-loads fell on Rustam, so that Hilāl did not see him and did not notice him. The load hit Rustam and displaced a vertebra in his spine. His [sleeves][414] diffused scent. He moved toward al-ʿAtīq and threw himself into it, but without any hesita-
[2337] tion, Hilāl went after him and caught him after Rustam had already started to swim. Hilāl stood upright, seized Rustam's leg, and dragged him out to the river's bank, and then struck his forehead with the sword and killed him. Then he dragged him farther and threw him at the feet of the mules. He seated himself on Rustam's throne and exclaimed: "By the Lord of the Kaʿbah, I have killed Rustam! Come to me!" Men gathered around him without noticing or seeing the throne, proclaiming "God is most great!" and calling out to each other.

At this point the polytheists lost heart and were defeated. Al-Jālnūs stood on the barrier and called upon the Persians to cross it. The dust settled. As for those who were chained together, they panicked and threw themselves, one after the other, into al-ʿAtīq. The Muslims stabbed them with their spears, and none of them escaped to tell the story. They numbered thirty thousand. Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb seized the royal flag[415] and was given thirty thousand [dirhams] in exchange for it; its value was one million and two hundred thousand. The Muslims killed in the battle ten thousand men, over and above those whom they had killed on the previous day.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAṭiyyah — ʿAmr b. Salamah: Hilāl b. ʿUllafah killed Rustam on the Day of al-Qādisiyyah.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abu Mikhrāq — Abū Kaʿb

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413. See ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 69.

414. I am translating *nafaḥat ardānuhu miskan* according to the version of Ibn Ḥubaysh, mentioned in the notes to the Leiden edition. Ṭabarī has *nafaḥat miskan*, without a subject for *nafaḥat*. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2194 l. 17.

415. For an explanation of the term *drafsh-i kavyān* (*kābiyān* in Ṭabarī's text), see Christensen, *Sassanides*, 212, 502–4; and *EI*², s.v. "Kāwah" (Ed). A brief description of the flag, which is said to have been made from panther skin and to have measured 8 by 12 cubits, is given in Ṭabarī, I, 2175. See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 252; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, XIX, 215.

al-Ṭā'ī—his father: Before the Night of Howling, two thousand five hundred Muslims were hurt, and six thousand of them were killed on the Night of Howling and on the Day of al-Qādisiyyah; they were [2338] buried in the moat, opposite [the valley of] Musharriq.[416]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When the Persians were defeated, none of them remained between the moat and al-ʿAtīq, and the dead covered the area between al-Qudays and al-ʿAtīq; Saʿd ordered Zuhrah to pursue the [fleeing] Persians. Zuhrah summoned the vanguard; he ordered al-Qaʿqāʿ to pursue those who fled downstream and ordered Shuraḥbīl to pursue those who fled upstream. He ordered Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭah to plunder the dead and to bury the martyrs. Two thousand five hundred martyrs who were killed on the Night of Howling and on the Day of al-Qādisiyyah were buried around Qudays, across al-ʿAtīq, opposite [the valley of] Musharriq, and the martyrs killed before the Night of Howling were buried in Musharriq. The spoils and the wealth were gathered; a quantity such as this had never been gathered, neither before al-Qādisiyyah nor after it.

Saʿd sent for Hilāl [b. ʿUllafah], blessed him, and said: "Where is your man?" He replied: "I threw him under [the feet of] the mules." Saʿd said: "Go and bring him here." When Hilāl brought the corpse, Saʿd said: "Strip it of everything, except that which you want to leave on it." Hilāl took Rustam's spoils and did not leave on him anything.

When al-Qaʿqāʿ and Shuraḥbīl returned, Saʿd told each one of them to pursue those who had been pursued before by the other. One went upstream, the other downstream,[417] until each covered the distance between al-Kharrārah and al-Qādisiyyah.[418]

Zuhrah b. al-Ḥawiyyah went after the Persians. He reached the barrier which the Persians had broken in order to thwart the pursuit. Zuhrah said: "Advance, O Bukayr!" Bukayr hit his mare—he fought only on mares—and said: "Jump, Aṭlāl!" She exerted herself and

416. Cf. pp. 2304, 2317, above.

417. Saʿd's intention seems to have been to check one more time the two escape routs of the Persians. This time, so it appears, al-Qaʿqāʿ went upstream and Shuraḥbīl downstream.

418. According to Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, II, 409), al-Kharrārah is a place near al-Saylaḥūn, in the neighborhood of al-Kūfah. There is no indication of the distance between al-Qādisiyyah and al-Kharrārah.

[2339] said: "Jump, by the Sūrah of the Cow!"[419] Zuhrah, who rode a stallion, and the rest of the horsemen leaped forward[420] and waded the canal. Three hundred horsemen followed. When the horses were afraid [to advance], Zuhrah called out: "O men, take the way of the bridge and move along the opposite side." He set out and the Muslims went to the bridge following him. He then caught up with the Persians, with al-Jālnūs in their rear guard, protecting them. Zuhrah attacked him, they exchanged blows, and Zuhrah killed and plundered him. They killed [the Persians who were] between al-Kharrārah, al-Saylaḥūn, and al-Najaf. In the evening they returned and spent the night at al-Qādisiyyah.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAbdallāh b. Shubrumah — Shaqīq: We forced our way into al-Qādisiyyah in the morning. When we retreated, the time of prayer came along, but the *muʾadhdhin* had been hit. The Muslims quarreled with each other for the right to pronounce the call to prayer, and almost fought it out with the swords. So Saʿd cast lots among them, and the man whose lot was drawn pronounced the call to prayers.

Another account: The Muslims who pursued the Persians upstream of al-Qādisiyyah and downstream returned. The time of prayer came, but the *muʾadhdhin* had been killed, and the Muslims quarreled with each other for the right to pronounce the call to prayer. Saʿd cast lots among them. They stayed [in their places] for the rest of the day and the [following] night, until Zuhrah returned. In the morning all of them gathered, and they did not expect anyone
[2340] else from the army [to return]. Saʿd wrote [to ʿUmar] about the victory, about the number of [the Persians whom the Muslims] killed, and about the number of the Muslims who had been hit. He sent to ʿUmar the names of those whom ʿUmar knew with Saʿd b. ʿUmaylah al-Fazāri.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Naḍr — Ibn al-Rufayl — his father: Saʿd summoned me and sent me to inspect the dead on his behalf and to provide him with the names of the chieftains

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419. Bukayr was the nickname of Bakr b. Shaddākh (or Shaddād) al-Laythī, who was in his youth one of the Prophet's servants. The story of his mare Aṭlāl is related in slightly different versions in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 324–5; Aʿrābī, *Asmāʾ al-khayl*, 83–84; Ghundijānī, *Asmāʾ*, 33–34; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *ṭ-l-l*.

420. Translating *wathaba* of the Cairo edition, instead of *awthaba* of the Leiden text.

among them. I came to him and gave him the information but I did not see Rustam in his place. Saʿd sent for a man from the tribe of Taym whose name was Hilāl and said to him: "Did you not inform me that you had killed Rustam?" Hilāl said: "Yes, I did." Saʿd said: "What did you do with him?" He replied, "I threw him under the feet of the mules." Saʿd said: "How did you kill him?" He gave him the information, saying: "I struck his forehead and his nose." Saʿd said: "Bring him to us." He gave Rustam's spoils to Hilāl. Rustam had thrown off some of his clothing when he rushed into the water. Hilāl sold what was found on Rustam's body for seventy thousand [dirhams]; the value of his headgear (*qalansuwah*)[421] would have been one hundred thousand if Hilāl had been able to take possession of it.[422]

A group of Christians (*al-ʿibād*) came to Saʿd and said: "O commander, we have seen the body of Rustam near the gate of your castle, but he had the head of another man; the blows have disfigured him [beyond recognition]." At this, Saʿd laughed.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: The Daylamīs[423] and the chiefs of the garrisons who responded to the Muslims and fought on their side without embracing Islam said: "Our brethren who became Muslims from the beginning have better judgment and are more virtuous than we are. By God, no Persian will prosper after Rustam's death except those who became Muslims." [2341]

The youngsters of the army went to inspect the dead. They had with them vessels of water. They gave water to the Muslims in whom there was a breath of life and killed the polytheists in whom there was a breath of life. They came down from al-ʿUdhayb at the time of the evening prayer.

Zuhrah went in pursuit of al-Jālnūs. Al-Qaʿqāʿ, his brother, and Shuraḥbīl went in pursuit of the Persians who had fled upstream and downstream. They killed them in every village, in every thicket, and on every river bank, and then returned in time for the noon

421. See Dozy, *Vêtements*, 365–71; *EI²*, s.v. "Libās" (Y. K. Stillman and N. A. Stillman) at V, 734b–735a.

422. Rustam apparently threw away his *qalansuwah* when he made his way into the water.

423. See *EI²*, s.v. "Daylam" (V. Minorsky).

prayer. The commander greeted the Muslims,[424] praised every clan, and mentioned it by name.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān: Zuhrah set out and caught up with al-Jālnūs, who was one of the Persian princes, between al-Kharrārah and al-Saylaḥūn. He was wearing two pairs of bracelets (*qulbāni, yāraqāni*) and two earrings (*qurṭāni*) and was riding an exhausted horse. Zuhrah attacked him and killed him. (Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān also) said: "By God, Zuhrah rode on that day a horse whose reins were made of nothing but twisted rope, like a halter, and its girth was of woven hair. He [2342] brought the spoils of al-Jālnūs to Saʿd. The prisoners who were with Saʿd recognized the spoils and said: 'These are the spoils of al-Jālnūs.'" Saʿd said to Zuhrah: "Has anyone helped you to kill him?" He replied: "Yes." Saʿd said: "Who was it?" He replied: "God." Saʿd thereupon gave him the spoils of al-Jālnūs.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿUbaydah — Ibrāhīm: Saʿd thought that Zuhrah had received an excessive share of the spoils. He wrote to ʿUmar concerning this, and ʿUmar wrote back to him: "Whoever has killed a man, I have given him his spoils." Saʿd gave the spoils to Zuhrah, who sold them for seventy thousand [dirhams].

According to Sayf — al-Barmakān; and al-Mujālid — al-Shaʾbī: Zuhrah caught up with al-Jālnūs. A ball was held up for him, and he did not miss it with an arrow.[425] Zuhrah and al-Jālnūs faced each other. Zuhrah struck al-Jālnūs and threw him down. Now Zuhrah was a noble man;[426] he had been made a tribal chief in the Jāhiliyyah, had acquitted himself well in Islam, and had embraced it early.[427] He was [still] a young man. He put on the armor of al-Jālnūs, the value of which was seventy odd thousand, but when he returned to Saʿd,

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424. The Cairo edition reads *hanna'a al-nāsu amīrahum* "the Muslims greeted their commander." The word order favors this reading, but it is nevertheless unlikely in view of the rest of the sentence, where the commander is clearly the subject.

425. For another case in which the Muslims used a ball as a target, in order to impress the enemy with their marksmanship, see Ṭabarī, I, 2443 ll. 6–11; *pace* Juynboll, *Conquest*, 23. See also Ṭabarī, I, 2353 l. 4.

426. Literally: "He had a forelock (*dhuʾābah*)." *Dhuʾābah* is used metaphorically for nobility and honor. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *dh-ʾ-b* (*ustuʿīra li-al-ʿizz wa-al-sharaf wa-al-martabah*); cf. de Goeje's *Glossary*, s.v.

427. It is unnecessary to add *lahu* and read *wa lahu sābiqah* with the Cairo edition. The main sentence is *li-Zuhrah dhuʾābah . . . wa sābiqah*; the phrase in between is parenthetical.

Saʿd took the spoils away from him and said: "[Why] did you not wait for my permission?" Saʿd and ʿUmar exchanged letters concerning this. ʿUmar wrote to Saʿd: "You will need men like Zuhrah. He endured a great deal and your war is not yet over. You will put him off his mettle[428] and spoil his spirit. Confirm him in the possession of his spoils and give him a stipend that is greater than that of his companions by five hundred [dirhams]."[429]

According to Sayf—ʿUbaydah—ʿIṣmah: ʿUmar wrote to Saʿd: "I know Zuhrah better than you do. He is not a man who would conceal anything from the spoils he has taken. If the man who slandered him to you is lying, let God confront him with a man like Zuhrah, with two bracelets on his arms.[430] To everybody who killed a man, I have awarded the dead man's spoils." Saʿd gave the spoils to Zuhrah, and the latter sold them for seventy thousand. [2343]

According to Sayf—ʿUbaydah—Ibrāhīm and ʿĀmir: Those who acquitted themselves well in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah were given a stipend greater by five hundred [dirhams]; these numbered twenty-five men and included Zuhrah, ʿIṣmah al-Ḍabbī, and al-Kalaj. As for the men who fought in the [former] battles (*ahl al-ayyām*), they received three thousand each and were given more than the people of al-Qādisiyyah.

According to Sayf—ʿUbaydah—Yazīd al-Ḍakhm: It was said to ʿUmar: "Would you put the people of al-Qādisiyyah on a par with them?" He replied: "I cannot put on a par with them anybody who did not [join the army early enough to] fight with them."[431] It was said to him concerning the people of al-Qādisiyyah: "Would you prefer those who live far away to those who fought the Persians close to their homes?" He replied:

> How can I prefer them because of the remoteness of their homes? [Those who live close to the battlefield] are a source

428. Literally "you will break his horn."

429. Ibn Khaldūn considers ʿUmar's decision an example of proper conduct, conducive to the self-reliance and high morale of the troops. See *Muqaddimah*, 126; tr. I, 259.

430. The bracelets are apparently considered a sign of a fearless warrior. Cf. p. 2341, where al-Jālnūs is described as wearing two pairs of bracelets and a pair of earrings.

431. One of the meanings of *adrakahu* is "he lived in someone's time, he lived long enough to reach his time." The suggested translation is derived from this meaning. The men concerned were of course alive at the time of the early battles of Iraq but had not yet joined the Muslim army.

of vexation for the enemy. I have not made both groups equal before I found them to be virtuous; and did the Emigrants (*al-Muhājirūn*) treat the helpers (*al-Anṣār*) in this way because they fought close to their homes?"[432]

According to Sayf — al-Mujālid — al-Shaʿbī and Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān — a man from the tribe of ʿAbs: When Rustam moved from his place, he rode a mule. When Hilāl came close to him, Rustam drew an arrow, pierced Hilāl's leg, fastened it to the stirrup [with the arrow] and said: "Stay where you are (*bi-pāye*)!"[433] Hilāl approached
[2344] him, and Rustam dismounted and got down under the mule. When Hilāl could not get to him, he cut off the mule's load. Then he dismounted and split Rustam's head.[434]

According to Sayf — ʿUbaydah — Shaqīq: On the Day of al-Qādisiyyah we all attacked the Persians, like one man. God defeated them. I found myself signaling to one of the Persian commanders, who came at me, fully armed. I killed him and took whatever was on him.

According to Sayf — Saʿīd b. al-Marzubān — a man from the tribe of ʿAbs: The Persians were afflicted after their defeat in the same way as the Muslims had been afflicted beforehand. They were killed. The situation was such that if a Muslim called a Persian, the Persian would come, stand in front of the Muslim, and the Muslim would kill him. The Muslim would even take the Persian's weapon and kill him with it or order two Persians to kill each other. This happened many times.

According to Sayf — Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq — his father — a man who participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah: Salmān b. Rabīʿah al-Bāhilī saw some Persians sitting under a flag of theirs. They dug a hole for it in the ground, sat under it, and said: "We shall not move from here until we die." Salmān attacked them, killed those who were under the flag, and took their spoils. Salmān was the [choice]

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432. The meaning seems to be that, though most battles of early Islam were fought close to Medina, the home of the Helpers, the Helpers did not receive a lesser share of the spoils than that of the Emigrants.

433. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2356 l. 14, where the expression is translated into Arabic: *kamā anta*. See de Goeje's *Glossary*, s.v. *ka*; and *WKAS*, I, 9a, for numerous references to this usage.

434. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2336 ll. 10ff. According to Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 212, the killer of Rustam was Hilāl b. ʿAlqamah al-ʿUqaylī.

horseman of the Muslims on the Day of al-Qādisiyyah and was one of those who turned against the Persians who had showed further resistance after their defeat. The other one was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿah Dhū al-Nūr ("the man of light"); he turned against other Persians who had [regrouped], forming military units (*takattabū*) and rising up against the Muslims. He crushed them with his horsemen.

According to Sayf — al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim — al-Bahī: al-Shaʿbī said: It used to be said: "Verily, Salmān is more knowledgeable about the joints [of horses] than the slaughterer about the joints of the slaughtered camel." The place that serves today as jail (in al-Kūfah) was the house of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿah. The house that is between this house and the house of al-Mukhtār is the house of Salmān. Al-Ashʿath b. Qays asked for a yard in front of it, and it was given to him. [This yard is included today in the house of al-Mukhtār.] Salmān protested to him: "O Ashʿath, what emboldened you [to act] against me? By God, if you take possession of it, I shall strike you with al-Junthī,"[435] meaning his sword. "Let us see what remains of you after that." Al-Ashʿath gave it up and did not attempt to claim it. [2345]

According to Sayf — al-Muhallab, Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and his companions: Thirty odd [Persian] military units showed resistance after the defeat. They courageously courted death and were ashamed to run away, hence God destroyed them. Thirty odd Muslim chieftains confronted them, rather than pursue the fleeing Persians. Salmān b. Rabīʿah confronted one unit, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿah Dhū al-Nūr confronted another one. A Muslim chieftain confronted each of these units. The men of these Persian units fought in two ways: some of them were cowards[436] and fled, but others stood firm until they were killed. Among the commanders of the units who fled was al-Hurmuzān, who was facing ʿUṭārid;[437] Ahwad, who was facing Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabīʿ, the secretary of the Prophet; Zād b. Buhaysh, who was facing ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr; and Qārin, who was facing al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr. Among those who courageously courted death were Shahriyār b. Kanārā, who was facing Salmān (b. Rabīʿah); Ibn al-Hirbidh, who was facing ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (b. Rabīʿah); al- [2346]

435. Cf. Schwarzlose, *Waffen*, 136.

436. For this meaning of *kadhdhaba* see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *k-dh-b*, I, 709a.

437. For ʿUṭārid b. Ḥājib b. Zurārah b. ʿAdas al-Tamīmī, see note 126, above.

Farrukhān al-Ahwazī, who was facing Busr b. Abī Ruhm al-Juhanī; and Khusrawshnūm al-Hamadhānī, who was facing Ibn al-Hudhayl al-Kāhilī. Saʿd afterward sent al-Qaʿqāʿ and Shuraḥbīl after the Persians who fled downstream and upstream from the camp. He sent Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah after al-Jālnūs.

The Account of Ibn Isḥāq

Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī has said: The narrative returns to the account
[2347] of Ibn Isḥāq. Al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥārithah died and Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ married his wife Salmā bint Khaṣafah; this happened in the year 14/635–36. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb conducted the pilgrimage in that year. Abū ʿUbaydah entered Damascus in that year and spent the winter there. In the summer Heraclius moved with the Byzantines and camped in Antioch, having with him people who had become assimilated among the Arabs[438] from the tribes of Lakhm,[439] Judhām,[440] Balqayn,[441] Balī,[442] and ʿĀmila.[443] These were tribes affiliated to Quḍāʿah[444] and Ghassān,[445] amounting to a great multitude, and a similar number of men from Armenia were also with him. When Heraclius halted in Antioch, he stayed there and sent out al-Ṣaqalār, who was his eunuch. He set out with one hundred thousand warriors, and he had with him twelve thousand men from Armenia, led by Jarajah,[446] and twelve thousand *mustaʿribah* Arabs affiliated with Ghassān and the tribes of Quḍāʿah, led by Jabalah b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī.[447] This whole army was commanded by al-Ṣaqalār, the eunuch of Heraclius. The Muslims, numbering twenty-four thousand and commanded by Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, marched toward them. They confronted each other in al-Yarmūk in the

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438. For *al-ʿarab al-mustaʿribah*, as against *al-ʿarab al-ʿāribah*, see *EI*², s.v. "al-ʿArab, Djazīrat al-" (G. Rentz), at I, 544b. For a discussion of the lineage of some of the tribes mentioned below, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, tr. I, 266.

439. See *EI*², s.v. "Lakhm" (H. Lammens [I. Shahid]).

440. See *EI*², s.v. "Djudhām" (C. E. Bosworth).

441. Balqayn is a contraction for Banū al-Qayn; see *EI*², s.v. "al-Ḳayn" (W. M. Watt).

442. On Balī see *EI*², s.v. "Ḳuḍāʿa" (M. J. Kister), at V, 317b–18a.

443. See *EI*², s.v. "ʿĀmila" (H. Lammens [W Caskel]).

444. See *EI*², s.v. "Ḳuḍāʿa" (M. J. Kister).

445. See *EI*², s.v. "Ghassān" (J. Shahid).

446. Cf. Donner, *Conquests*, 132, 365.

447. The last ruler of the Ghassānid dynasty; see *EI*², s.v. "Djabala b. al-Ayham" (I. Kawar).

month of Rajab of the year 15/July – August 636. The fighting was heavy and the camp of the Muslims was penetrated. When this happened, women from the tribe of Quraysh fought with the swords,[448] competing with the men. Among them was Umm Ḥakīm bint al-Ḥārith b. Hishām.[449]

When the Muslims went to confront the Byzantines, they were joined by men from the tribes of Lakhm and Judhām, but when these last saw the severity of the fighting, they fled and escaped to the neighboring villages and let the Muslims down. [2348]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — Yaḥyā b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr — his father: An [anonymous] Muslim recited when he saw what Lakhm and Judhām did:

The men of Lakhm and Judhām are in flight,
while we and the Byzantines in the meadow fight.
We shall not associate with them if they return after the fight.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — Wahb b. al-Qaysān — ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr: I was with my father, al-Zubayr, during the year of the battle of al-Yarmūk. When the Muslims arrayed themselves for battle, al-Zubayr put on his breast-plate, mounted his horse, and said to two clients of his: "Keep ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr in the camp with you because he is a small boy." Al-Zubayr then set out and took his place among the Muslims. When the Muslims and the Byzantines were engaged in battle, I saw people standing on the hill and not fighting together with the Muslims. I took a horse of al-Zubayr which he had left behind in the camp, mounted it, and rode to these people. I stood with them and said [to myself]: "I shall look and see what are these men doing." And, behold, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was standing there with elders from the tribe of Quraysh who [had embraced Islam] and emigrated [only after] the conquest of Mecca (*muhājirat al-fatḥ*). They were not fighting. When they saw me, they saw only a young boy and did not take any precautions. By God, when the Muslims floundered and the war was going against them and in favor of the Byzantines, they began to [2349]

448. Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 135.

449. Umm Ḥakīm bint al-Ḥārith b. Hishām was for a time a wife of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and gave birth to Fāṭimah, one of his daughters. She had also participated in the battle of Marj al-Ṣuffar. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/i, 190; IV/i, 71.

say: "Go on, O Banū al-Aṣfar!"[450] And when the Byzantines floundered and the Muslims pressed them hard, they said: "Woe to you, O Banū al-Aṣfar!" I became puzzled by what they said. When God defeated the Byzantines and al-Zubayr returned, I told him their story. Al-Zubayr started laughing and said: "May the curse of God befall them! They want only enmity. Will they gain anything if the Byzantines overcome us? We are better for them than they are."

Then God the Exalted granted victory [to the Muslims]. The Byzantines and the armies gathered by Heraclius were defeated. Seventy thousand of the Armenians and of the people who were assimilated among the Arabs (*mustaʿribah*) were killed. God killed al-Ṣaqalār and Bāhān,[451] whom Heraclius had sent forward with al-Ṣaqalār when Bāhān joined him. When the Byzantines were defeated, Abū ʿUbayda sent ʿIyāḍ b. al-Ghanm[452] in their pursuit. He crossed al-Aʿmāq[453] and reached Malaṭyah.[454] The inhabitants of Malaṭyah concluded a treaty with him, agreeing to pay the *jizyah*, and after this, ʿIyāḍ b. al-Ghanm went back. When Heraclius heard of this, he sent for the fighting men [of Malaṭyah] and for the rest of its inhabitants and banished them to his region. He then gave orders for Malaṭyah to be burned.

The following Muslims were killed in the battle of al-Yarmūk: from Quraysh, Banū Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams: ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī, Abān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī; from Banū Makhzūm: ʿAbdallāh b. Sufyān b. ʿAbd al-Asad; from Banū Sahm: Saʿīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays.

At the end of the year 15/636–37 God killed Rustam in Iraq.

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450. For this appellation of the Byzantines, see Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 243; and *EI*², s.v. "Aṣfar" (I. Goldziher).

451. Bāhān was a commander in the Byzantine army, bearing the title *biṭrīq*, "patricius." See Ṭabarī, I, 2081–82, 2088–89, 2091, 2146.

452. ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm was a Companion of the Prophet who participated in the conquest of Syria. After the death of Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ in A.H. 18/639 he was appointed governor of Ḥimṣ, Qinnasrīn, and al-Jazīrah. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 172, and index; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 122; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 164–66.

453. Aʿmāq is mentioned in the *ḥadīth* in connection with the eschatological wars against the Byzantines: "The Hour will not come until the Byzantines camp at al-Aʿmāq." See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 2221. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, I, 316) says that the plural form Aʿmāq may stand for the singular ʿAmq, the alluvial plain of northern Syria, for which see *EI*², s.v. "al-ʿAmḳ" (D. Sourdel).

454. An ancient city near the upper Euphrates, now situated in eastern Turkey. See the detailed article in *EI*², s.v. "Malaṭya" (E. Honigmann [J. Faroghi]). Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, IV, 633–35) does not provide any information about the city in the early Islamic period.

When the troops who fought in the battle of al-Yarmūk finished the battle, they participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah with Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. The reason for this was that Saʿd moved from Sharāf in the direction of al-Qādisiyyah after the winter was over. When Rustam heard this, he himself set out against Saʿd; when this came to Saʿd's knowledge, he wrote to ʿUmar, asking for reinforcements. Hence ʿUmar sent to him al-Mughīrah b. al-Shuʿbah al-Thaqafī [2350] with four hundred men as reinforcements from Medina. He also reinforced him with Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādī with seven hundred men, who came to him from al-Yarmūk. ʿUmar wrote to Abū ʿUbaydah saying: "Help Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, the *amīr* of Iraq, with one thousand of the troops at your disposal." Abū ʿUbaydah complied and appointed ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm al-Fihrī as their commander.

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb conducted the pilgrimage of the Muslims in the year 15/636–37.

The Persian king (*kisrā*) had a garrison in Qaṣr Banī Muqātil.[455] Its commander was al-Nuʿmān b. al-Qabīṣah, who was Ibn Ḥayyah al-Ṭāʾī, the paternal cousin of Qabīṣah b. Iyās b. Ḥayyah al-Ṭāʾī, the governor of al-Ḥīrah. He was in a lookout (*manẓarah*) of his, and when he heard about [the coming] of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, he asked ʿAbdallāh b. Sinān b. Jarīr al-Asadī al-Ṣaydāwī about him. He was told: "He is a man from the tribe of Quraysh." Al-Nuʿmān b. Qabīṣah commented: "If he is a man from the tribe of Quraysh, he is nothing. By God, I shall vigorously fight him. The Quraysh are nothing except slaves of those who hold superior power. By God, they do not protect those whom they should protect and do not leave their land without a protector."[456] ʿAbdallāh b. Sinān al-Asadī was enraged when al-Nuʿmān said this. After some time, he entered upon him while he was asleep, thrust his spear between his two shoulders, and killed him. Then he joined Saʿd and embraced Islam. He recited concerning the killing of al-Nuʿmān b. Qabīṣah:

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455. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, IV, 121–22) mentions Qaṣr Muqātil, which was situated, according to one version, near al-Quṭquṭānah (see note 19, above).

456. This passage is difficult because most dictionaries have *khafīr* only in the active sense of protector, and the first part of the sentence is not intelligible if *khafīr* is understood in this sense. I have followed al-Fayrūzābādī, who says in *Qāmūs*, II, 23): *al-khafīr al-mujār al-mujīr* "the *khafīr* is the protected and the protector."

When the people set out at night,
they left the man of great deeds knocked down in the palace of the Christian;
I approached him under the cover of dust and stabbed him.
In the morning he was lying, blood-stained, in a pool of blood.
[2351] With the spear in his shoulder blade, I am telling him:
"Oh Abū ʿĀmir, you are free from fulfilling your oath!"
By stabbing him, I gave al-Nuʿmān to drink a cup full to the brim;
I served him, with the spear, a potent poison.
I left the beasts of the desert (?)[457] around him,
after he had been a refuge from them for Ibn Ḥayyah.
I have taken care of the duty of Quraysh because their army is not here,
and I have destroyed a long-standing glory of al-Nuʿmān!

When al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah, Qays b. Makshūḥ, and those who were with them reached Saʿd, he marched in the direction of Rustam, of whom he had heard [news].[458] He halted at Qādis, a village near al-ʿUdhayb, and the Muslim troops encamped there. Saʿd stayed in the castle of al-ʿUdhayb. Rustam approached with the armies of Persia, sixty thousand men plus the dependents and the slaves. [This was the number counted for us in his register.] He encamped at al-Qādisiyyah with its bridge[459] between him and Muslims. Saʿd was in his dwelling, full of pain; he was afflicted with severe ulcers. Abū Miḥjan b. Ḥabīb al-Thaqafī was imprisoned in the castle, where Saʿd had jailed him because he drank wine.

When Rustam established camp near them, he sent [a messenger to the Muslims], saying: "Send to me a steadfast man and I shall speak with him." The Muslims sent to him al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah, who came to Rustam after he had divided his hair into four sections. He separated it [by a line running] from the forehead to the neck, and [another one] between his ears. Then he plaited his hair, put on a

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457. I am unable to explain *yaʿrifna* in this context.

458. This is the literal meaning. The sense of the passage seems to be that Saʿd marched toward Rustam, of whose preparations to engage him in battle he had heard.

459. The Leiden edition reads, with the manuscripts, *wa-baynahu wa-bayna al-nās al-ʿAtīq jisr al-Qādisiyyah*, as if al-ʿAtīq were the name of the bridge. Since al-ʿAtīq is the name of a canal (see pp. 2268 l. 8; 2285 l. 15; 2286 ll. 2, 11; 2366 l. 9), it is difficult to interpret the Leiden text. I have translated according to the Cairo edition, which omits al-ʿAtīq.

cloak, and approached Rustam, who was beyond the bridge of al-ʿAtīq[460] on the Iraqi side. The Muslims were on the other side, close [2352]
to al-Ḥijāz, between al-Qādisiyyah and al-ʿUdhayb. Rustam addressed al-Mughīrah, saying:

> O Arabs, you were people afflicted with misery and adversity. You used to come to us as merchants, hirelings, and messengers. You ate from our food, drank from our drink, and took shelter in our shade. Then you went back, invited your companions, and brought them to us. Your case is similar to that of a man who possessed a walled vineyad and saw a fox in it. He said: "What is one fox?"[461] The fox went away and invited [numerous] foxes to the vineyard. When they gathered in it, the man closed the hole through which they had entered and killed them all.[462] O Arabs, I know that the reason which caused you to do this is the adversity which had afflicted you. Return this year [to your land], because you have distracted us from building our country and from dealing with our enemy. We shall load your riding beasts with wheat and dates and shall issue an order to provide you with clothing. Leave our land, and may God keep you well!

Al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah replied:

> Whatever you have mentioned, we were afflicted with an adversity like it or greater. The person whose life was the most virtuous in our mind was one who killed his cousin, took his property, and consumed it. We were eating carrion, blood, and bones. Our situation did not change until God sent to us a Prophet and revealed to him a book, and the Prophet summoned us to God and to the message with which he had been sent. Some of us believed in him and oth- [2353]
> ers denied him. Those who believed in him fought those who denied him. We [all] entered his religion either out of conviction or by coercion when it became clear to us that he spoke the truth and that he was the Messenger of God. He

460. The Leiden edition has *al-jisr al-ʿatīq*, which is difficult. I have translated according to the emendation suggested by the editor in note *l*.

461. Meaning that one fox can do no harm.

462. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2281–82.

> ordered us to fight those who opposed us and informed us that those of us who would be killed for the sake of his religion would be given Paradise and those who would survive would rule and overcome those who opposed them. We therefore call upon you to believe in God and in His messenger and to embrace our religion. If you do this, your country will be yours. None will enter it except those whom you wish to admit. You will be obliged to pay the alms tax (*zakāt*) and the fifth of the booty (*khums*).[463] If you refuse, you will have to pay the poll tax; if you refuse this as well, we shall fight you until God decides between us.[464]

Rustam said to him: "I did not think that I would live to hear such things from you. O Arabs, before tomorrow evening falls, I shall finish with you and kill you all." Then he ordered al-ʿAtīq to be filled up and spent the night filling it with saddle clothes,[465] soil, and reeds until by morning, it had become a beaten road. The Muslims arrayed themselves against Rustam. Saʿd placed Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭah, confederate of the Banū Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams, in command of the Muslims, appointing Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī to command the right wing and Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādī the left wing. Rustam moved against the Muslims and the Muslims moved against Rustam.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Ishāq — ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr: Most Muslims were shielded only with sad-
[2354] dle cloths across which they fastened leafless palm branches in order to protect themselves. What they put on their heads was in most cases only saddle girths: A man would bind his head with the girth of his saddle in order to protect himself. The Persians were clad in iron mail and coats. The fighting was heavy. Saʿd was in the castle, observing [the battlefield], with Salmā bint Khaṣafah, who had been before the wife of al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah. The [Muslim] horsemen were wheeling around, and Salmā was terrified when she saw them do this. She said: "Alas for Muthannā! I have no Muthannā today!" Saʿd became jealous and slapped her face. She said: "Are you

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463. Islamic law stipulates that one-fifth of the booty taken in *jihād* is managed by the state treasury (*bayt al-māl*). For a discussion of the ways in which the *khums* is to be used, see *EI*², s.v. "Bayt al-māl" (N. J. Coulson *et al.*), at I, 1142a.

464. Cf. p. 2283 ll. 12ff., above.

465. Reading *al-barādhiʿ* with the Cairo edition, and with another version of this tradition in Ṭabarī, I, 2286 l. 3, rather than *al-zarʿ*. Cf. de Goeje's note in *Addenda et Emendanda*, DCXVIII.

both jealous and cowardly?"[466] Abū Miḥjan was with Saʿd in the castle of al-ʿUdhayb and observed [the battlefield]. When he saw the horsemen wheel around, he recited:

It is grievous enough that the horsemen gallop with the spears,
while I am left tied up, with my fetters on.
When I stand up, the iron hurts; the doors
are closed behind me and do not respond to the caller.
In the past I was a man of much wealth and brothers;
now they have left me alone, having no brother.[467]

He spoke to Zabrāʾ, the concubine[468] of Saʿd, at whose place he was jailed. Saʿd was on the top of the castle, observing the people [on the [2355]
battlefield]. Abū Miḥjan said: "O Zabrāʾ, set me free! I swear by God and I pledge to you that if I am not killed, I shall certainly return to you, so that you can put the iron back on my feet." She untied him, allowed him to ride Saʿd's horse Balqāʾ, and let him go. Abū Miḥjan set out attacking the enemy. Saʿd was looking on, not sure whether the horse was his or not.[469] When they had finished the battle and God had defeated the armies of Persia, Abū Miḥjan returned to Zabrāʾ and placed his foot in his fetter. When Saʿd came down from the top of the castle, he saw his horse sweating. He understood that she had been ridden. He asked Zabrāʾ about it and she told him Abū Miḥjan's story, whereupon Saʿd set him free.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq: ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah on the side of the Muslims.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Isḥāq — ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad al-Nakhaʿī — his father: I participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah. I saw a young man from among us, from the tribe of al-Nakhaʿ, leading away sixty or eighty Persians.[470] I said: "God has indeed humiliated the Persians."

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466. Cf. note 327, above.

467. See above, pp. 2313–14.

468. *Umm walad*, "mother of a child," is a concubine who has borne a child to her master. See *EI*², s.v. "Umm al-Walad" (J. Schacht).

469. Literally "Saʿd began to recognize his horse and to deny [that] it [was his]" *jaʿala Saʿd yaʿrifu farasahu wa yunkiruhā*), oscillating between the two.

470. *Abnāʾ al-aḥrār*, or *abnāʾ*, was an epithet for the descendants of Persians who emigrated into the Yemen and married there. This passage indicates that it was also used for Persians in general. See J. ʿAlī, *Mufaṣṣal*, III, 528; IV, 556–57.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq — Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid, a client of Bajīlah — Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim al-Bajalī, who participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah on the side of the Muslims: A man from the tribe of Thaqīf was with us on the day
[2356] of al-Qādisiyyah. He joined the Persians as a renegade (*murtadd*) and informed them that the Muslims in the area held by Bajīlah had (the most) courage and valor. We were [only] one-quarter of the Muslims, but they sent against us sixteen elephants and sent only two elephants against the rest. They scattered iron spikes under the feet of our horses and sprayed us with arrows, so that it was as if rain were falling upon us. They tied their horses to each other so that they could not run away.[471]

ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib used to pass by and say: "O Emigrants, be lions! A lion is a man who takes care of his affairs on his own. When a Persian drops his spear, he is nothing but a stupid goat." There was a Persian commander whose arrow never missed the target. We said to ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib: "O Abū Thawr, beware of this Persian, because his arrow never misses the target." ʿAmr turned toward him. The Persian shot at him an arrow which hit his bow. ʿAmr fell upon him, seized him by the neck, and slew him, taking from him two golden bracelets, a gold-plated belt, and a brocade coat.

God killed Rustam and restored[472] to the Muslims his camp and everything in it. The Muslims numbered only six or seven thousand. The man who killed Rustam was Hilāl b. ʿUllafah al-Taymī, who saw Rustam and turned toward him. While Hilāl was going after him, Rustam shot him with an arrow, hit his leg, and fastened it to the stirrup of his saddle, and said in Persian *bi-pāye*, which means in Arabic "Stay where you are!"[473] Hilāl b. ʿUllafah attacked him,
[2357] struck him, and killed him. Then he cut off his head and hung it up. The Persians retreated and the Muslims went in their pursuit, killing them. When the Persians reached al-Kharrārah, they halted, drank wine, and ate. Then they started to wonder why their archery

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471. Cf. note 206, above.

472. The verb *afāʾa* is said to express the idea that, when Muslims take booty, God restores to them only what belongs to them by right. While it is not certain that this was the original significance of the Qurʾānic usage, "restore" seems to approximate the meaning of *afāʾa* in this and similar passages in our text. See *EI*², s.v. "Fayʾ" (F. Løkkegaard).

473. Cf. note 433, above.

was not effective against the Arabs. Al-Jālnūs stepped forward; they raised a ball for him and he started shooting at it and piercing it with arrows. Muslim horsemen caught up with them while they were in this place, and Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah al-Tamīmī attacked al-Jālnūs and killed him. The Persians were defeated and fled to Dayr Qurrah[474] and beyond. Saʿd rushed with the Muslims[475] and encamped in Dayr Qurrah facing the Persians who were there. While in Dayr Qurrah they were joined by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm with his Syrian reinforcements, numbering one thousand men. Saʿd gave ʿIyāḍ and his companions a share in the spoils which the Muslims had taken at al-Qādisiyyah.

Saʿd was in pain because of his ulcers. Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh (al-Bajalī) recited:

I am Jarīr, and my agnomen (*kunyah*) is Abū ʿAmr;
God granted victory while Saʿd was in the castle!

A[nother] Muslim said also:

We were fighting until God granted His victory,
while Saʿd took refuge at the gate of al-Qādisiyyah.
We returned after many women had been widowed,
but there is no widow among the wives of Saʿd!

[Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim al-Bajalī] said: When the verses came to Saʿd's knowledge, he went out to the Muslims, excused himself and showed them the ulcers which he had on his thighs and on his buttocks. Consequently, the Muslims excused him; I swear by my life [2358]
that Saʿd was not considered a coward. Saʿd recited in response to the verses of Jarīr:

I do not wish Bajīlah anything except
that they be rewarded on the Day of Reckoning.
Their horses were confronted with horses,
and [their] horsemen were engaged in combat.
The elephants drew near the ground held by them,
looking like scabby camels.

474. On the outskirts of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 685, 652.
475. The expression *nahaḍa Saʿd bi-ʾl-muslimīn* seems to indicate that Saʿd himself went to the battlefield for the first time in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah.

The Persians fled from Dayr Qurrah to al-Madāʾin, on their way to Nihāwand.[476] They took with them the gold, the silver, the brocade, the clothes, the silk, the weapons, the garments of the king and his daughters. They left everything else behind. Saʿd sent after them Muslim troops in order to seek them out. He dispatched Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭah, who was a confederate of the Banū Umayyah, and sent with him ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm and his companions. He appointed Hāshim b. ʿUtbah b. Abī Waqqāṣ to lead the Muslim vanguard, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī to lead the right wing, and Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah al-Tamīmī to lead the left wing. Saʿd himself remained behind because of the pain with which he was afflicted. When he partially recovered, he followed the troops together with the Muslims who had been with him and caught up with them on this side of the Tigris, near Bahurasīr.[477] When they encamped on the bank of the Tigris and put down their luggage, they looked for a crossing point but
[2359] could not find it. Then a Persian from the people of al-Madāʾin came to Saʿd and said: "I will show you a way by which you can catch up with them before they go far," and he took them to a crossing point at Qaṭrabbul.[478] The first man to cross was Hāshim b. ʿUtbah with his infantrymen. Having crossed the river, he was followed by his horsemen. Then Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭah crossed with his horsemen, followed by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm and his horsemen. Then the Muslims followed one after the other, waded through the river, and crossed it. It has been claimed that this crossing point was not used afterward.

The Muslims then marched on and reached Muẓlim Sābāṭ[479] but were apprehensive that an enemy ambush might be located there. Hence they hesitated and were afraid to enter it. The first person to enter it with his troops was Hāshim b. ʿUtbah. When he moved across it, he made a sign with his sword to the Muslims; they learned thereby that there was nothing to be afraid of. Khālid b. ʿUr-

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476. See *EI*[1], s.v. "Nihāwand" (V. Minorsky). See also Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 827–30; Le Strange, *Lands*, 196–97.

477. A city on the western bank of the Tigris; one of the seven cities constituting al-Madāʾin. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 768–69; *EI*[2], s.v. "Madāʾin" (M. Streck [M. Morony]); Oppenheimer *et al.*, *Babylonia*, 190–91, and index.

478. A village between Baghdad and ʿUkbarah, known for its wine and wine sellers. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 133–35; Morony, *Iraq*, 145–46.

479. Sābāṭ Kisrā is one of the cities of al-Madāʾin. According to Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, III, 3–4; IV, 569) Muẓlim Sābāṭ is related to it, but he does not provide any information as to why it was so called.

fuṭah led them across. Then Saʿd joined the army and they reached Jalūlāʾ,[480] where a Persian unit was situated. There the battle of Jalūlāʾ took place, and God defeated the Persians. In Jalūlāʾ the Muslims took more valuable spoils than in al-Qādisiyyah. A daughter of the Persian king whose name was Manjānah was killed there, but according to another account, it was his son's daughter.

A poet of the Muslims recited:

Many a nice, well-shaped foal,
carries the loads of a Muslim boy.
He takes refuge from hell in the Merciful God,
on the day of Jalūlāʾ and the day of Rustam.
On the day of the march on al-Kūfah he is in the vanguard,
on the day he encounters adversity he is defeated.
The religion of the infidels fell down, lying on its face.

Then Saʿd wrote to ʿUmar about the victory that God granted to the Muslims. ʿUmar wrote to him: "Halt and do not seek further conquest." Saʿd wrote back to him: "This is nothing but a small band of horsemen whom we have pursued;[481] the land is before us.[482] ʿUmar wrote again to Saʿd: "Stay where you are and do not follow them. Establish for the Muslims a place where they can migrate [and settle] (*dār hijrah*)[483] and from which they can wage holy war. Do not place a great river (*baḥr*) between me and the Muslims."[484] Saʿd set- [2360]

480. Jalūlāʾ was a city located to the northeast of al-Madāʾin, on the Diyala river. See *EI*², "Djalūlāʾ" (M. Streck); Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 107. On the crucial battle of Jalūlāʾ, see Morony, *Iraq*, 193–94, 197.

481. See *Glossary*, s.v. *s-r-b*.

482. The meaning seems to be that the Muslims will encounter no difficulty in conquering the land beyond the Euphrates.

483. Cf. Donner, *Conquests*, 227 n. 28 (where "Muslims" should replace "Bedouins").

484. To understand ʿUmar's instructions, one has to keep in mind that the battle of al-Qādisiyyah took place west of the Euphrates and the Muslims were therefore not required to cross any major waterway in order to reach the battlefield. After victory was attained, military logic dictated an advance into the lowlands (*sawād*) of Iraq. Nevertheless, ʿUmar expressed his opposition to the crossing of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 275; Ṭabarī, I, 2483; and Ibn Saʿd *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/i, 2 l. 3. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, I, 637) reports that ʿUmar opposed the building of a city across the Tigris, saying: "There is no use to build a city in a place separated from me by the Tigris" (*lā ḥājata fī shayʾin baynī wa-baynahu Dijlah an tattakhidhūhu miṣran*). It is noteworthy that ʿUmar is also described as opposed to naval expeditions. According to a tradition, he developed this attitude after a Muslim unit that he had sent on

tled the Muslims in al-Anbār,[485] but they did not like it. They were afflicted with fever, and the place was not suitable for them. Saʿd wrote to ʿUmar informing him of this, and ʿUmar replied thus to Saʿd: "No place is suitable for the Arabs except grassland that suits their camels and sheep. Find a plain next to the river and seek a place for the Muslims in it." So Saʿd went forth and halted at Kuwayfat ʿUmar b. Saʿd,[486] but it was not suitable for the Muslims because of the flies and the fever. Saʿd sent a man from the Helpers, whose name was al-Ḥārith b. Salamah [according to another account, he sent ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf, a confederate of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf]. He chose for them the place in which al-Kūfah stands today and established the mosque and the settlement quarters (*khiṭaṭ*) for the Muslims.

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb set out this year for Syria and encamped at al-Jābiyah.[487] He was given victory overy Iliyā, the city of Jerusalem (*madīnat bayt al-maqdis*). In the same year Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ sent Ḥanẓalah b. al-Ṭufayl al-Sulamī to Ḥimṣ; God enabled him
[2361] to conquer this city. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ appointed a man from Kindah, whose name was Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ, to be the governor of al-Madāʾin. He is the man about whom a poet recited:

I wish I were with Saʿd b. Mālik,[488]
with Zabrāʾ,[489] and with Ibn al-Simṭ in the midst of the sea.[490]

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an expedition to Abyssinia was wiped out. See Ṭabarī, I, 2546, 2548, 2595; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 561. For a brief note on this topic, with regard to early Muslim incursions into the Indian province of Sind, see Friedmann, "Minor Problems," 253–55. See also Noth, *Studien*, 24–25.

485. Al-Anbār is located on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and Saʿd's choice therefore does not strictly conform to ʿUmar's instructions. See *EI*², s.v. "al-Anbār" (M. Streck [A. A. Duri]).

486. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, IV, 331) says that Kuwayfat ʿUmar b. Saʿd was situated near Bāziqiyā, in the vicinity of Ḥillah and between the two branches of the Euphrates. For Bāziqiyā, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 608.

487. A city in the Jawlān (Golan), 80 kilometers south of Damascus. It became famous because of the meeting that ʿUmar is said to have held there with his governors. See *EI*², s.v. "al-Djābiya" (H. Lammens [J. Sourdel-Thomine]); Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 3–4.

488. Saʿd b. Mālik and Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ are one and the same person; see note 16, above.

489. Zabrāʾ was one of the wives of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ; see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 126.

490. Probably meaning that with these persons he would feel safe, even in the middle of the sea.

An Account of the People of the Lowlands (ahl al-sawād)

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr — Qabīṣah b. Jābir: A man from among us recited on the Day of al-Qādisiyyah, when victory was attained:

We were fighting until God granted His victory,
while Saʿd took refuge at the gate of al-Qādisiyyah.
We returned after many women had been widowed,
but there is no widow among the wives of Saʿd!

The poem spread among the people and came to Saʿd's knowledge. He said: "O God, the poet is a liar; or he has said what he said out of hypocrisy, out of desire for fame and out of falsehood. [I pray you], cut off his tongue and hand, so that he does not harm me anymore!" Qabīṣah said: "By God, one day the poet was standing between the battle lines. An arrow flew at him in response to Saʿd's prayer and hit his tongue. Half of his tongue withered and he did not utter another word till his death."

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Miqdām b. Shurayḥ al-Ḥārithī — his father: Jarīr recited on that day:

I am Jarīr and my agnomen (*kunyah*) is Abū ʿAmr;
God granted victory while Saʿd was in the castle!

Saʿd looked at him and said: [2362]

I do not wish Bajīlah anything except
that they be rewarded on the Day of Reckoning.
Their horses were confronted with horses,
and [their] horsemen were engaged in combat.
Had it not been for the troops of Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr
and Ḥammāl,[491] they would have been inexorably drawn into retreat.
They defended your troops by stabbing
and hitting, ripping the skin open.
Had it not been for that, you would have been branded as riffraff,
and your troops disabled like flies!

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491. B. Mālik; cf. p. 2308.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Qāsim b. Sulaym b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saʿdī — ʿUthmān b. Rajāʾ al-Saʿdī: Saʿd b. Mālik[492] was the most courageous and the bravest man. He stayed in an unfortified castle between the battle lines and observed the Muslims. If [those in] the battle lines had exposed it even for a short while, it would have been captured in its entirety, but by God, the terror of these days did not cause him distress nor anxiety.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Sulaymān b. Bashīr — Umm Kathīr, the wife of Hammām b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakhaʿī: We were present at the battle of al-Qādisiyyah with Saʿd and with our
[2363] husbands. When he heard that the Muslims had finished [the fighting], we fastened our clothes and armed ourselves with sticks. Then we came to the mortally wounded men[493] [lying on the battlefield]. To those who were Muslims we gave water and we lifted them; those who were polytheists, we finished them off. The youngsters followed us. We charged them with this task and gave them a free hand to do it.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAṭiyyah, who is Ibn al-Ḥārith — a person who lived through these events: No Arab tribe had more women present on the Day of al-Qādisiyyah than Bajīlah and al-Nakhaʿ. In the tribe of al-Nakhaʿ there were seven hundred unmarried women; in Bajīlah there were one thousand. One thousand men from the Arab tribes married the latter and seven hundred the former. Al-Nakhaʿ and Bajīlah were called the kinsmen of the Emigrants. The fact that Khālid, followed by al-Muthannā, Abū ʿUbayd, and the participants of the former battles, prepared the way encouraged them to travel with their belongings. Then after that they encountered great adversity.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, and Ṭalḥah: Bukayr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Laythī and ʿUtbah b. Farqad al-Sulamī and Simāk b. Kharashah al-Anṣārī (who is not the man known as Abū Dujānah) asked a woman in marriage on the Day of al-Qādisiyyah. (The women of the Muslims were with them: seven hundred women were with the tribe of al-Nakhaʿ. They were called the kinsmen of the Emigrants. The Emigrants married them im-

492. See note 16, above.
493. This meaning of *qatīl*, pl. *qatlā*, does not seem to be listed in the dictionaries, but it is unavoidable.

mediately before[494] the victory and after it. They married all of them. [2364]
Seven hundred men from various tribes became attached to them.)

When all the marriages were over,[495] these three men sought the same woman in marriage. She was Arwā bint ʿĀmir al-Hilāliyyah (from the clan of Hilāl, belonging to the tribe of al-Nakhaʿ.) She was the sister of Hunaydah, the wife of al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī. Arwā said to her sister: "Consult your husband and ask him which one of them he deems a suitable match for us." Hunaydah did it after the battle, while they were still in al-Qādisiyyah. Al-Qaʿqāʿ said: "I shall describe them in a poem. Help your sister," then he recited:

If you are desirous of money, marry
    Simāk, who is from the Helpers, or Ibn Farqad.
If you desire a fighter,[496] set your eyes
    on Bukayr, when the horses wheel away from death.
All of them have a place on the peak of glory;
    it is up to you — the matter will become clear tomorrow.

The Arabs between al-ʿUdhayb and ʿAdan Abyan,[497] between al-Ubullah and Aylah,[498] were expecting a battle between them and the Persians at al-Qādisiyyah. They understood that the continued existence of their dominion or its disappearance depended on it. In every town they were attentively listening to [information about] it and were trying to find out what was happening with regard to it. They were so preoccupied with this that when a man wanted to do something, he used to say: "I shall not consider it before I see what is happening with the affair of al-Qādisiyyah." When the battle of al-Qādisiyyah took place, it was the *jinn* who brought the news about it to humans; the news brought by the *jinn* had arrived before that which was brought by men.

A woman appeared one night on a mountain in Ṣanʿāʾ (it is not known who she was) and recited:

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494. For *ḥattā kāna qarīban*, see Reckendorf, *Syntax*, 215.
495. Literally "when the people finished, . . ."
496. Literally "a fight" *ṭiʿān*.
497. According to Muqaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 113), Abyan was located three *farsakhs* from ʿAdan in the Yemen. ʿAdan was related to Abyan because it used to receive its agricultural products from there (Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 85). For other explanations of ʿAdan Abyan, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 110; III, 621–22.
498. A port city at the northern end of the gulf of ʿAqabah; modern Eilat. See *EI*², s.v. "Ayla" (H. W. Glidden).

[2365] May you be blessed on our behalf, O ʿIkrimah bint Khālid!
the best provisions are not the few, the insufficient.
May the rising sun bless you on my behalf
and every swift and solitary camel
And a group of men from the tribe of al-Nakhaʿ,
with beautiful faces, believing in Muḥammad.
They stood up to Kisrā, dealing blows to his soldiers,
with every thin-bladed, Indian sword.
When the call for help was sounded time and again,[499] they laid down
the bare chest
of death,[500] and the night became black.

The people of al-Yamāmah[501] heard a passerby sing the following verses:

We found the Banū Tamīm, who were numerous,
the most steadfast of men on the morning of battle.
They set out with a huge army,[502] dense in formation,
against a tumultuous [enemy army] and drove it away, dispersed.
They are seas [of generosity], but for the Persian kings they are men
like lions of the forests; you would think they were mountains.
They left[503] in Qādis glory and honor

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499. For *thawwaba* in this sense, see Bevan, *Naqāʾiḍ*, III, 302.

500. This verse calls for an explanation. When a camel kneels down, he puts his heavy chest on the ground and bears down on it (see Bevan, *Naqāʾiḍ*, III, 540). In classical Arabic poetry war is metaphorically described in a similar way; it is putting its chest down and crushing whatever happens to be underneath it. See Abū Tammān, *Ḥamāsah*, I, 120:

anakhtum ʿalaynā kalkala ʾl-ḥarbi marratan
fa-naḥnu munīkhūhā ʿalaykum bi-kalkali,

and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 144 l. 5. For the connection between the kneeling camel and this description, see Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsah*, I, 145. See also Abū Tammām, *Naqāʾiḍ*, 66 l. 10; and Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, VII, 47. In this verse the Nakhaʿīs are described as responding to the repeated calls for help and as bearing down on the enemy with the bare chest of death.

501. Al-Yamāmah was a district in central Arabia. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 1026–34; *EI*[1], s.v. "al-Yamāma" (A. Grohmann).

502. For *arʿan* in this sense, see de Goeje's *Glossary*, referring to al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 280 l. 15.

503. Reading *humū tarakū*, a variant mentioned in the Leiden edition, instead of *taraknā*. For a slightly different version of the poem, see Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, VII, 47.

and long battle days on the two mountain slopes.
[They left the Persians'] hands and feet crushed to pieces [2366]
with a rock where they encountered the men.

Poems like this were heard in the entire land of the Arabs.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, and Ṭalḥah: Saʿd wrote [to ʿUmar] about the victory, informing him of the number of the Persians whom they had killed and of the number of Muslims who had been killed. He sent to ʿUmar the names of his acquaintances by the hand of Saʿd b. ʿUmaylah al-Fazārī.

According to the previous chain of transmission, and also according to al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī — Ibn al-Rufayl b. Maysūr: Saʿd's letter read as follows:

> Now, then (*ammā baʿdu*), God granted us victory over the Persians and treated them in the way in which He had treated their coreligionists who preceded them.[504] [Victory came] after a long fight and violent upheaval. They confronted the Muslims with an army such as had never been seen before. God did not allow them to benefit from this, but rather, He deprived them of it and gave it over to the Muslims. The Muslims pursued them on the canals, on the edge of the thicket (*ʿalā ṭufūf al-ājām*), and on the roads. Saʿd b. ʿUbayd, the Qur'ān reader,[505] and so-and-so and so-and-so were killed from among the Muslims. Also killed were Muslims whom we do not know, but God knows them.[506] When night fell, they were whispering the Qur'ān, humming like bees. They were lions among men, and the [real]
> lions did not resemble them. Those who died from among [2367]
> them were not superior to those who survived, except by the virtue of martyrdom, which had not been decreed for the latter.

504. De Goeje understands *sunana man kāna qablahum* against the background of *sunnat al-awwalīn* in Qur'ān 18:56; this was interpreted as divine punishment or annihilation. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XV, 173; Bayḍāwī, *Anwār*, III, 228–29; and de Goeje's *Glossary*, s.v. *m-t-ḥ*.

505. Saʿd b. ʿUbayd was an Anṣārī Companion and fought in the early battles of Islam. He is said to have been engaged in the collection of the Qur'ān during the Prophet's lifetime. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/ii, 30; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 285–86; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 68.

506. And will reward them.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Mujālid b. Saʿīd: When ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb learned that Rustam had established camp at al-Qādisiyyah, he gathered information from the riders about the people of al-Qādisiyyah from morning till midday. Then he went back to his family and home. When ʿUmar met the bearer of news, he asked him: "From where [are you coming]?" The bearer of news replied. ʿUmar said: "O ʿAbdallāh,[507] tell me." The bearer of news said: "God has defeated the enemy!" ʿUmar was jogging along while the other man was riding his she-camel without having recognized ʿUmar. When they entered Medina, the people began to greet ʿUmar as the Commander of the Faithful. The man said: "May God have mercy upon you, why did you not tell me that you were the Commander of the Faithful?" ʿUmar said: "O my brother, you are not to blame."

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, and Ziyād: The Muslims were expecting the arrival of the news bearer and of ʿUmar's orders. They were evaluating the spoils, estimating the numbers of their troops, and putting their affairs in order.

The Iraqi participants in previous battles who fought at al-Yarmūk and Damascus followed one another and returned to reinforce the people of al-Qādisiyyah. They came to al-Qādisiyyah on the next day and on the day following it.[508] The first of them came on the Day of al-Aghwāth and the last on the second day after victory. Reinforcements including [men from] Murād, Hamdān, and other tribes arrived. The Muslims in al-Qādisiyyah wrote about them to ʿUmar
[2368] and asked him what was the proper treatment which should be given to these people;[509] this was the second letter after victory, sent with Nadhīr b. ʿAmr.

When the news of victory reached ʿUmar, he stood in the midst of the Muslims, read to them the letter in which victory was announced,[510] and said:

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507. The name ʿAbdallāh is used for any Muslim whose name is not known to his interlocutor.

508. The following sentence indicates that the "next day" (*al-ghad*) is the second day of the battle, the Day of Aghwāth.

509. Probably about the question whether or not these men were entitled to a share in the spoils.

510. For *fatḥ* in this sense, see *Glossary*, s.v. *f-t-ḥ*.

I am eager to provide for every need as long as the means are sufficient for everyone. Should this not be possible, we shall share our food so that we are equal in the means of subsistence. I wish you to know my feelings with regard to you. I am not your teacher except by what I do. By God, I am not a king so that I should enslave you; I am only a servant of God to whom a trust was offered. If I were to refuse to take it and were to return it to you, and if I were to follow you until you eat and drink to your satisfaction in your homes, I would be happy. If I were to take the trust and invite you to follow me into my home, I would be miserable. I would experience little happiness and feel a great deal of grief. I shall not be forgiven, nor shall I be restored [to my former condition][511] so that I could ask you a favor.

They wrote to ʿUmar [sending the letter] with Anas b. al-Ḥulays:

Some inhabitants of the *sawād* claim to have treaties. Nobody except the people of Bāniqyā,[512] Basmā,[513] and Ullays al-ākhirah[514] stayed [on their land] according to the treaty agreed upon with the Muslims who had fought in the previous battles (*ahl al-ayyām*) and nobody fulfilled it.[515] The [2369]
inhabitants of the *sawād* have claimed that the Persians forcibly recruited them into the army.[516] They did not come to us and did not migrate.

Saʿd wrote [to ʿUmar, sending the letter] with Abū al-Hayyāj al-Asadī [also known as Ibn Mālik]:

The inhabitants of the *sawād* migrated from their land. With regard to those who held fast to their treaty and did not

511. In which I held no public office. The translation of this sentence is tentative.

512. Bāniqyā was a village in the vicinity of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 483–84; Oppenheimer *et al.*, *Babylonia*, index.

513. Basmā was a village in the vicinity of al-Kūfah. See Donner, *Conquests*, 180; Morony, *Iraq*, 151.

514. For Ullays, see Donner, *Conquests*, 329 n. 66.

515. For the treaty concluded by Khālid b. al-Walīd (or by Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī on Khālid's behalf) with the people of Bāniqyā, Basmā, and Ullays, see Ṭabarī, I, 2019, 2049; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 244–45; and Donner, *Conquests*, 180, for additional sources.

516. For this meaning of *ḥasharūhum* see de Goeje's *Glossary* to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*; and Kister, "Some Reports," 3, 6 (n. 22: *nuslimu ʿalā an lā nuḥshara*), 10–11.

help [the enemy] against us,[517] we implemented the agreements made between them and the Muslims who had been here before us. They claimed that [some] inhabitants of the *sawād* proceeded to al-Madāʾin. Make a new ruling for us with regard to those who remained [in their abodes],[518] for those who migrated, and for those who claim to have been forcibly recruited into the [Persian] army, fled away, did not fight, or surrendered. We are in a desirable land; it is empty of its inhabitants and we are few. Those who want to make peace with us are numerous. To gain their goodwill will bring prosperity to us and weakness to our enemy.[519]

ʿUmar stood up in the midst of the people and said:

Those who act according to their passions and are disobedient, their fortune will collapse and they will harm only themselves. Those who follow the *sunnah*, abide by the laws of religion, and adhere to the manifest way—out of desire to obtain what God has in store for people who obey Him—will do the right thing and will be fortunate. This will be so because God the Exalted says: "And they will find what they did present and your Lord will not treat anybody with injustice."[520] The people who fought in the previous battles and those who fought in al-Qawādis[521] took hold of the area close to them. Its inhabitants migrated. Those who stayed [on their land] according to the treaty agreed upon with the Muslims who had fought in the previous battles came to the Muslims [who fought in al-Qādisiyyah]. What is your view of those who claim that they were forcibly recruited into the [Persian] army; of those who did not claim this, did not stay, and migrated; of those who stayed, did not claim anything, and did not migrate; and of those who surrendered?

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517. See de Goeje's *Glossary* to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, s.v. *j-l-b*; and Lane, *Lexicon*, 439b.
518. For this meaning of *tamma*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.
519. Cf. Donner, *Conquests*, 260.
520. Qurʾān 18:47.
521. It seems that this term means the three days of battle in al-Qādisiyyah.

The Muslims unanimously decided that the treaty should be fulfilled with regard to those who had stayed and had refrained [from fighting the Muslims]; their being overwhelmed would only improve their position. Those who made a claim which was accounted genuine or who fulfilled [the conditions of their treaty] would have the status of the former group.[522] If their claim is considered false, the treaty will be revoked and the Muslims will make a new peace treaty with them. [They also decided] that the matter of those who [2370] migrated should be decided at the discretion of the Muslims. If they wish, they will make a treaty with them and [the migrants] will become *ahl al-dhimmah*; if the Muslims wish [otherwise], they will persevere in preventing them from returning to their land and offer them nothing except war. Those who have stayed and have surrendered will be offered the choice between paying the poll tax and exile. The same applies to the peasants.

ʿUmar wrote a reply to the letter brought by Anas b. al-Ḥulays, saying:

> Now, then, God the Exalted has granted in certain cases a dispensation (*rukhṣah*)[523] in every matter, except in just conduct and in the remembrance of God (*dhikr*). As for the remembrance of God there can be no dispensation with regard to it in any event, and only abundance of it is satisfactory.[524] As for justice, there can also be no dispensation with regard to it, neither for relative nor for stranger, neither in adversity nor in prosperity. Even if justice seems to be lenient, it is stronger and more effective in suppressing injustice and falsehood than injustice, even if it seems harsh. It is [also] more effective in uprooting infidelity.
>
> Those inhabitants of *sawād* who held fast to their treaty and did not help the enemy against you in any way have the protection (*dhimmah*) and must pay the poll tax. As for

522. Those who claimed that they had been forcibly recruited but had otherwise fulfilled the conditions of their treaty will be treated in the same way as those who stayed on their land and did not fight the Muslims.

523. For the concept of *rukhṣah* in early Islam, see Kister, "Concessions."

524. Alluding to Qur'ān 33:41: "Oh those who believe, remember God in abundance." The *dhikr* later became an important ritual of Muslim mystics. See *EI*², s.v. "Dhikr" (L. Gardet).

those who claim that they were forced [to leave the land] and did not come to you after the Persians had gone or migrated, do not believe what they have claimed, unless you wish to. If you do not so wish, revoke the treaty and escort them to a place which is secure for them.[525]

ʿUmar replied to the letter brought by Abū al-Hayyāj, saying:

As for those who stayed and did not migrate without having a treaty, they will have the same rights as those who have a treaty because they stayed for your sake and refrained from fighting you, in response to your call. The same applies to the peasants, if they behaved in the same manner. Those who have claimed [to have been forcibly evicted or recruited] will have protection if their claim is considered true. If it is considered false, their treaty will be revoked. As
[2371] for those who assisted [the Persians] and migrated, this is a matter placed by God at your discretion. If you wish, invite them to stay on their land for your sake. They will have protection and will be obliged to pay the poll tax. Should they dislike this, divide among yourselves their property which God has restored to you.[526]

When ʿUmar's letters reached Saʿd b. Mālik[527] and the Muslims, they made offers to those who had migrated from the areas close to them and left the *sawād* to return: They would have protection and would be obliged to pay the poll tax. They returned and became *ahl al-dhimmah* like those who had stayed and held fast to their treaty, but their land tax (*kharāj*) was made heavier. The Muslims gave the same status to those who claimed to have been forcibly evicted and fled; they made a treaty with them, giving those who stayed the status of those who had treaties. The same applied to the peasants.

The Muslims did not include in the peace conditions the property of the royal family, of those who had left [the *sawād*] with them and had not accepted the alternative offer of embracing Islam or paying the poll tax. This property became immovable booty (*fayʾ*) of those

525. Alluding to Qurʾān 8:58 and 9:6.
526. Cf. note 471, above.
527. He is Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ; cf. note 16, above.

to whom God had restored it. This and the first state domains (*ṣawāfī*)[528] became the property of those to whom Allāh had restored them.

The rest of the *sawād* [inhabitants] became *ahl al-dhimmah*. The Muslims imposed upon them the land tax (*kharāj*) which had previously been levied by the Persian king. It was to be paid by every man,[529] proportionately to the property and the land which he possessed. The property that God restored to the Muslims included the property of the Persian royal family and of those who had gone with them, the families of those who had fought on the side of the Persians and their property, the property of the fire temples, the thicket, the marshes, the property of the mail service,[530] and the property of the Persian royal family.[531] It was not feasible to divide the booty that had belonged to the Persian king and to those who had gone with him because it was scattered all over the entire *sawād*. It was administered for those who were entitled to it (*ahl al-fayʾ*) by [2372] people whom they trusted and agreed upon. This is what was debated between the *ahl al-fayʾ*, not the greater part of the *sawād*. When the *ahl al-fayʾ* were in dispute among themselves, the administrators deemed its division between them easy. This is what made the ignorant people confused about the affair of the *sawād*, and, if the intelligent people had supported the ignorant who asked the administrators to divide the *fayʾ*, they would have divided it between them. But the intelligent ones refused [to support the idea], and the administrators followed (the advice of) the intelligent and neglected the views of the ignorant. ʿAlī (b. Abī Ṭālib) and everyone who was asked to divide the *fayʾ* acted in the same way, followed [the advice] of the intelligent, and neglected the views of the ignorant. They said: "[We refrain from dividing the *fayʾ*] so that you do not hit each other in the face."[532]

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528. See Løkkegaard, *Taxation*, index; Duri, "Taxation," 139. It is not clear what is meant by the "first" *ṣawāfī*.

529. Literally "The *kharāj* of Kisrā was [imposed] on the heads of men. . . ."

530. *Mā kāna li-ʾl-sikak* should be understood in light of a parallel passage in Ṭabarī, I, 2468: *mā kāna . . . li-sikak al-burūd*. Cf. Løkkegaard, *Taxation*, 168, 224.

531. In this form the last part of the sentence is redundant: The property of the royal family has already been mentioned. As de Goeje pointed out in his notes, some description of this property seems to be missing.

532. In order to get the better portion. The question whether it was more advisable to divide the conquered lands of Iraq between the warriors or to keep them as a per-

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Qays — ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī: I (Muḥammad b. Qays) said to ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī:[533] "What is the status of the *sawād*?" He replied: "It was conquered by force (*ʿanwatan*) and so was the entire land except for the fortresses. The inhabitants migrated and were then invited to make peace and receive protection. They responded, returned, and became *ahl al-dhimmah*. They are obliged to pay the poll tax, and they enjoy protection. This is the *sunnah*, and this is what the Messenger of God did in Dūmah."[534] The property of the Persian royal family and of those who migrated with them remained the *fayʾ* of those to whom God had restored it.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Ṭalḥah — Sufyān — Māhān: God conquered the *sawād* by force; the same applies to the entire land between the *sawād* and the river of Balkh,[535] except for the fortresses. The inhabitants were invited to make peace and became *ahl al-dhimmah*, and their land remained in their possession. The property of the royal family and of their followers was not included
[2373] in this arrangement; this became the *fayʾ* of those to whom God had restored it. Nothing of the conquests becomes *fayʾ* until it is divided,[536] as is meant by His saying: "Whatever booty you take,[537] i.e., of what you divide among yourselves.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Ismāʿīl b. Muslim — al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ḥasan: Most of what the Muslims conquered is land taken by force (*ʿanwah*); then they invited the inhabitants to return and receive protection. They made them the offer of paying the poll

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petual source of income for the community was debated between ʿUmar and leading Muslims. The view of ʿUmar, who opposed the division, prevailed. See Abu Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, 67–72, 86–87; Ibn Sallām, *Amwāl*, 57–59.

533. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2062 l. 1.

534. See note 541, below. For the issue of the status of the *sawād* lands, see also Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf*, 220.

535. *Nahr Balkh* is the Oxus, in Arabic Jayḥūn. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 713; Le Strange, *Lands*, 434.

536. Those parts of the *sawād* that were not divided among the Muslims but remained the property of the original inhabitants, who were subject to the payment of the poll tax, were therefore not considered part of the *fayʾ*.

537. The first words are part of Qurʾān 8:41, which reads: "Whatever booty you take, one-fifth of it is God's and the Messenger's. . . ." The verse is adduced because it speaks about the division of the booty; it is taken to be a proof that only things that are divided among the Muslims can be considered *fayʾ*. In his commentary on the Qurʾān Ṭabarī also maintains that the verse speaks about booty that is being divided. See Ṭabarī *Tafsīr*, X, 3 ll. 10–11.

tax, and when the inhabitants agreed to this, they extended protection to them.

According to Sayf — ʿAmr b. Muḥammad — al-Shaʿbī: I said to him: "Some people claim that the people of the *sawād* are slaves."[538] He replied:

> On what basis would poll tax be taken from slaves? The *sawād* was taken by force. The same applies to all the land you know, except some fortresses on the mountains and the like. The inhabitants were invited to return, they came back, the poll tax was accepted from them, and they became *ahl al-dhimmah*. Whatever was taken as spoils can be divided, but that which was not taken as spoils whose owners had agreed to pay the poll tax beforehand belongs to them. This is the *sunnah* with regard to it.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Abū Ḍamrah — ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mustawrid — Muḥammad b. Sīrīn: All lands were taken by force, except a few fortresses whose inhabitants concluded a treaty before they were allowed to leave. They — meaning the people who were conquered by force — were invited to return and to pay the poll tax, and they became *ahl al-dhimmah*, both the people of the *sawād* and those of the mountains. This was the way in which the *ahl al-fayʾ* were treated.[539] ʿUmar and the Muslims acted with regard to the poll tax and protection according to the custom enacted by the Messenger of God in this matter. He sent Khālid b. al-Walīd from [2374]
Tabūk[540] to Dūmat al-Jandal and conquered it by force. He took its king Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik captive. He invited him to receive protection and pay the poll tax, after his land had been conquered by force and he himself had been taken prisoner.[541] Khālid did the same

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538. In Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf*, 225, this view is attributed to the jurisprudent Sharīk b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nakhaʿī; for information about him, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 333–37; and Schmucker, *Untersuchungen*, 149.

539. If the text is correct, it means that those entitled to the booty were consistently treated in this way; the land was left in the possession of the inhabitants and not divided among them.

540. Tabūk is a city in the northern part of the Arabian peninsula. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 824–25; and *EI²*, s.v. "Tabūk" (F. Buhl).

541. Dūmat al-Jandal is located in the northwestern part of the Arabian peninsula, at the head of Wādī Sirhān. See *EI²*, s.v. "Dūmat al-Djandal" (L. Veccia Vaglieri); and *EI¹*, s.v. "Djawf al-Sirḥān" (H. von Wissmann *et al.*); for its geographic location, see also *EI²*, s.v. "Badw" (J. Schleifer), map. According to one tradition, the Prophet sent

with the two sons of ʿArīḍ, after they had been captured and claimed to be Ukaydir's friends. He concluded a treaty with them, stipulating payment of the poll tax and protection. In the same way he handled the affair of Yuḥannah b. Ru'bah, the ruler of Aylah.[542] [The things which are customarily done are not according to the traditions transmitted by the few. Whoever relates things other than those done by the just imāms and the Muslims is lying about them and staining their honor.]

According to Sayf — Ḥajjāj al-Ṣawwāf — Muslim, the client of Ḥudhayfah: The Emigrants and the Helpers married women from the *sawād* who belonged to the People of the two Books. If the people of the *sawād* were slaves, the Muslims would not have been permitted to do this. It would not have been permissible for them to marry slave girls belonging to the People of the Book, because God the Exalted says: "Those of you who do not have the means [to marry free, believing women, let them marry your believing slave girls who have come into your possession]."[543] He did not say "their slave girls" [which would mean slave girls] from among the People of the two Books.[544].

According to Sayf — ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī Sulaymān — Saʿīd b. Jubayr: After ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb appointed Ḥudhayfah to be gover-

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Khālid b. al-Walīd on an expedition against it in the year 9/630–31. The town was ruled by Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who was a Christian from the tribe of Kindah. Khālid won the battle, took Ukaydir prisoner, and brought him before the Prophet. The Prophet spared his life, concluded with him a treaty stipulating payment of the poll tax, and set him free. See Ṭabarī, I, 1702–3; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/i, 119–20; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 626. Ukaydir was then killed after an attack launched against Dūmat al-Jandal by Khālid b. al-Walīd in 12/633–34. See Ṭabarī, I, 2065–66, 2077.

It should be noted, however, that, according to another tradition recorded by Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 61–62, quoted by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 627) and Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/ii, 36), Ukaydir embraced Islam; in that case his story would be irrelevant to the issue at hand.

542. For Aylah, see note 498, above. Muslim historians are not aware of any fighting that preceded the conclusion of a treaty and the imposition of the poll tax on Yuḥannah b. Ru'bah. Ṭabarī himself says (I, 1702) that, when the Prophet reached Tabūk, Yuḥannah b. Ru'bah came to him, concluded a treaty, and agreed to pay the poll tax. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 59; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/ii, 28–29, 37.

543. The part of the verse that is in parentheses is not quoted by Ṭabarī.

544. See Qur'ān 4:24. The commentators are not in agreement on whether the verse really forbids Muslims to marry Jewish and Christian slave girls. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, V, 12–13. Ṭabarī's own view in favor of this interpretation is on p. 13 ll. 9–17. Ṭabarī mentions the legality of marriages between Muslims and the *sawād* women in order to prove that the inhabitants of the *sawād* were free *dhimmī*s and not slaves.

nor of al-Madā'in and the number of (unmarried) Muslim women increased, he sent him a message saying: "It came to my knowledge that you have married a woman from al-Madā'in, belonging to the [2375] People of the Book. Divorce her." Ḥudhayfah wrote back to him: "I shall not do it until you inform me whether it is permissible or forbidden, and what is the intention of this [order]." ʿUmar wrote to Ḥudhayfah: "It is indeed permissible, but the non-Arab women are captivating, and if you draw near to them they will wrest you from your wives." Ḥudhayfah said: "[I shall do it] now," and he divorced her.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ashʿath b. Siwār—Abū al-Zubayr—Jābir: I participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah with Saʿd. We married women from the People of the Book, as we did not find many Muslim women. When we returned, some of us divorced them and some of us kept them.

According to Sayf—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī Sulaymān—Saʿīd b. Jubayr: The *sawād* was conquered by force. The inhabitants were invited to return and became *ahl al-dhimmah*, but the property of the royal family and of their followers became booty of those who were entitled to it (*fayʾ li-ahlihi*). This was what the people of al-Kūfah understood; when this understanding was forgotten, their view was taken as referring to the entire *sawād*. But the status of their *sawād* is like that.[545]

According to Sayf—al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd—Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Nakhaʿī: The *sawād* was taken by force. The inhabitants were invited to return, and those who responded were obliged to pay the poll tax and received protection, while the property of those who refused became *fayʾ*. It is not permissible to sell anything of this *fayʾ* between al-ʿUdhayb and the Mountains (*al-jabal*), neither in the *sawād* nor in the Mountains.[546]

According to Sayf—Muḥammad b. Qays—al-Shaʿbī: The same tradition: It is not permissible to sell anything of this *fayʾ* between the Mountains and al-ʿUdhayb. [2376]

According to Sayf—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—ʿĀmir: al-Zubayr,

545. If the text is correct, it probably means that, in contradistinction to the property of the royal family, which became *fayʾ*, most of the *sawād* remained in the possession of its inhabitants, in the way described (see, e.g., p. 2372, below).

546. Meaning the province of Jibāl ("the Mountains"), situated to the east of the Iraqi lowlands. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 185ff.

Khabbāb,[547] Ibn Masʿūd,[548] Ibn Yāsir,[549] and Ibn Habbār received fiefs in the days of ʿUthmān. If ʿUthmān committed an error, then those who accepted the error from him committed a greater one; they are the people from whom we have received our religion.[550] ʿUmar gave a fief to Ṭalḥah,[551] to Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh, and to al-Ribbīl b. ʿAmr. He gave the Dār al-Fīl[552] to Abū Mufazzir and to others from whom we took [our religion]. All the fiefs were freely divided from out of the fifth of the *fayʾ*.

ʿUmar wrote to ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf[553] (sending the letter) with Jarīr: "Now, then, give Jarīr a fief sufficient for his sustenance, no less and no more." ʿUthmān wrote to ʿUmar: "Jarīr brought to me a letter in which you allocated to him a fief sufficient for his sustenance. I did not want to put it into effect before I could contact you in this matter." ʿUmar wrote to him: "Jarīr spoke the truth. Carry out my instructions, but you did well to consult me." ʿUmar [also] gave a fief to Abū Mūsā.[554] ʿAlī gave al-Kurdūsiyyah to Kurdūs b. Hāniʾ and gave a fief to Suwayd b. Ghafalah al-Juʿfī.[555]

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547. Khabbāb b. al-Aratt beloned to the tribe of Tamīm. A blacksmith and sword maker by trade, he was taken prisoner in the Jāhiliyyah and was sold into slavery in Mecca. He was one of the first Muslims and is said to have been severely tortured by the Meccans because of his conversion. After the *hijrah* he participated in the early battles of Islam. He died as a rich man in al-Kūfah in 37/657–58. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 116–18; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 106–8; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 258–59 no. 2212; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 133–34; Goldziher, *Introduction*, 118.

548. See *EI²*, s.v. "Ibn Masʿūd" (J. C. Vadet).

549. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir was born in Mecca to his father (who belonged to the tribe of Madhḥij and had moved to Mecca from the Yemen) and Sumayyah, a slave girl, or *mawlāt* attached to the clan of Makhzūm. After embracing Islam, he was tortured by the Meccans, who tried to force him to renege on his new religion. Tradition makes him the first man to build a mosque in Islam. Having emigrated to Medina with the Prophet, he participated in the battles of nascent Islam. He was killed in the battle of Ṣiffīn at the age of ninety-three. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/i, 176–89; VI, 7–8; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 43–47; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 575–76 no. 5707; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 408–10.

550. It was therefore their responsibility to act properly and not to accept fiefs in a way incompatible with the rules mentioned above.

551. See *EI¹*, s.v. "Ṭalḥah" (G. Levi della Vida).

552. Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 358) mentions a place called Dār al-Fīl in al-Baṣrah.

553. ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf belonged to the tribe of Aws and was one of the Helpers (*anṣār*). ʿUmar put him in charge of the *sawād* lands. He is said to have imposed the poll tax and the land tax on its inhabitants. He died during the reign of Muʿāwiyah. See ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 371; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 483; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 449 no. 5439; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 112–13.

554. For Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, see *EI²*, s.v. "al-Ashʿarī, Abū Mūsā" (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

555. Suwayd b. Ghafalah belonged to the tribe of Madhḥij. He embraced Islam and

According to Sayf—Thābit b. Huraym—Suwayd b. Ghafalah: "I asked ʿAlī for a fief. He said: Write the following: This is a fief given by ʿAlī to Suwayd: the land of Dādhawayhi[556] between this and that point and what God has willed."

According to Sayf—al-Mustanīr—Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd: ʿUmar said: [2377]
"If you conclude a peace treaty with a people, state that you are not responsible to them for the excesses committed by the troops without authorization." So they were writing to those with whom they concluded a peace treaty: "We are not responsible to you for the excesses committed by the troops without authorization."[557]

Al-Wāqidī said: The battle of al-Qādisiyyah and its conquest took place in the year 16/37–38. Some of the people of al-Kūfah say that the battle of al-Qādisiyyah took place in the year 15/636–37. [Al-Ṭabarī] has said: The correct version in our view is that it occurred in the year 14/635–6. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq said: It took place in the year 15/636–37. His account of this has been related.

The Building of al-Baṣrah

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) has said: According to al-Wāqidī's account, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ordered the Muslims in the year 14/635–36 to worship during the nights of Ramaḍān in the mosques of Medina. He wrote to the newly established garrison towns (*al-amṣār*) and ordered the Muslims to do the same.

In this year—meaning the year 14/635–36—ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb dispatched ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān to al-Baṣrah and ordered him to encamp in it with those who accompanied him and to cut off the supplies of the Persians in al-Madāʾin and the vicinity. This is according to the version of al-Madāʾinī. Sayf maintained that al-Baṣrah was es-

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paid the poor tax during the lifetime of the Prophet but came to Medina only after his death. He participated in the battles of Yarmūk and al-Qādisiyyah and was ʿAlī's supporter in the battle of Ṣiffīn. He claimed to have been born in the "Year of the Elephant" (ca. A.D. 570) and is said to have died more than 120 years old in 80, 81, or 82/699–702. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 45–46; (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 379–80; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 270 no. 3723; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 278–79.

556. Dādhawayhi al-Isṭakhrī was of Persian extraction and an inhabitant of the Yemen (cf. note 470, above). In the Islamic tradition he is mentioned as one of the killers of al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī, the Yemeni claimant to prophethood. He was killed by Qays b. Makshūḥ during the *riddah* rebellion. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 390; Ṭabarī, I, 1990–91 and index; (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 129.

557. For this meaning of *maʿarrat al-juyūsh* see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ʿ-r-r*; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān, al-ʿArab*, s.v. *ʿ-r-r* (IV, 556b); and Blachère *et al.*, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *b-r-ʾ*.

tablished in the spring of the year 16/637–38 and that ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān set out for al-Baṣrah from al-Madāʾin after Saʿd had finished [the battles] of Jalūlāʾ,[558] Takrīt,[559] and al-Ḥiṣnān.[560] He was sent there by Saʿd according to ʿUmar's orders.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb: according to ʿUmar b. Shabbah; according to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad — Abū Mikhnaf — Mujālid — al-
[2378] Shaʿbī: Mihrān[561] was killed in the month of Ṣafar in the year 14/ March–April 635. ʿUmar said to ʿUtbah — meaning Ibn Ghazwān:

> God the Exalted has conquered at the hand of your brethren al-Ḥīrah and its vicinity. One of the chieftains of al-Ḥīrah was killed. I do not feel safe that their Persian brethren will not help them. I therefore wish to send you to [al-Ubullah, known as] "the land of India"[562] in order that you may prevent the people of that area from assisting their brethren against your brethren and in order to fight them; it may be that God will grant you victory. So go with the blessing of God. Fear God as much as you can, rule with justice, perform the prayer at the appointed time, and remember God frequently.[563]

ʿUtbah set off with three hundred and ten odd men and was joined by some Bedouins and inhabitants of the desert. He reached al-Baṣrah with five hundred men, more or less, and encamped there in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal or Rabīʿ al-Ākhir of the year 14/635–36. At that time al-Baṣrah was called "the land of India,"[564] and there

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558. See note 480, above.

559. On Takrīt and its conquest in the year 16/637–38, see *EI*[1], s.v. "Takrīt" (J. H. Kramers); Ṭabarī, I, 2474–77; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 861–63.

560. The conquest of al-Ḥiṣnān is mentioned in conjunction with that of Takrīt (see Ṭabarī, I, 2476–77, 2481–82). The exact location of al-Ḥiṣnān is not given by Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, II, 275), who devotes his entry to the grammatical form of the *nisbah* of al-Ḥiṣnān. See, however, ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 408 (and cf. Juynboll, *Conquest*, 55 n. 188), where al-Ḥiṣnān ("the two fortresses") are said to be Nīnawā (= Nineveh) and al-Mawṣil.

561. Mihrān b. Bādhān al-Hamadhānī was a commander in the Persian army. According to another account, he was killed in the battle of Buwayb in the year 13/634–35 (see Ṭabarī, I, 2192, 2199, and index).

562. See Ṭabarī, I, 2223 l. 11, where al-Ubullah is called *farj al-Hind*; cf. note 57, above. For *arḍ al-Hind* as an epithet for al-Ubullah, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 641.

563. Cf. Qurʾān 33:41.

564. See note 57, above.

were white, coarse stones in it.[565] ʿUtbah encamped in al-Khuraybah.[566] [In the area of al-Baṣrah] there were seven villages (*dasākir*): in al-Zābūqah,[567] in Khuraybah, in the area of Banū Tamīm, and in the area of al-Azd. Two were in al-Khuraybah, two in the area of al-Azd, two in the area of Banū Tamīm, and one in al-Zābūqah. ʿUtbah wrote to ʿUmar and described for him the area in which he had encamped. ʿUmar wrote back to him: "Gather the people together in one place and do not scatter them." ʿUtbah stayed there for several months without making any raids and without confronting anyone.

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār—Ṣafwān b. ʿĪsā al-Zuhrī—ʿAmr b. ʿĪsā Abū Naʿāmah al-ʿAdawī—Khālid b. ʿUmayr and Shuwaysh Abū al-Ruqqād: ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb dispatched ʿUtbah [2379]
b. Ghazwān and said to him: "Set out, you and those who are with you. When you reach the farthest part of the Arab land and the closest part of the non-Arab land, then halt." They marched out. When they reached al-Mirbad,[568] they found soft stones (*kadhdhān*) and said: "What are these soft stones (*al-baṣrah*)?"[569] Then they moved on and reached a place in front of a small bridge. There were tall grass and sprouting reeds. They said: "This is the place where you were ordered (to halt),"[570] so they halted short of [crossing into the territory of] the governor of the city of al-Furāt (*ṣāḥib al-Furāt*).[571] Some people came to the governor and said: "A group of men with a banner are here. They are heading toward you." The gov-

565. This is a reference to one of the etymologies of the name al-Baṣrah. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *b-ṣ-r*; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *b-ṣ-r* (IV, 66–7); Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 636–37.

566. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 429–31.

567. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 905.

568. Al-Mirbad, situated to the west of al-Baṣrah, was the town market. Later it became a large residential area of the city, where poets and orators used to have their assemblies. Numerous political meetings were also held there. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, I, 484) says that in his day al-Mirbad was three miles from al-Baṣrah and was a separate town. The area between al-Baṣrah and al-Mirbad, which had been inhabited in the past, was in ruins in Yāqūt's days. For a history of al-Mirbad, with extensive bibliography, see S. A. ʿAlī, "Khiṭaṭ," 282–86; cf. *EI*², s.v. "al-Mirbad" (Ch. Pellat).

569. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 637, where al-Kadhdhān and al-Baṣrah are glossed by each other. See note 565, above.

570. The vegetation indicated that they had reached the boundary between the desert land of the Arabs and the fertile land of the Persians, as commanded by ʿUmar. See above; and p. 2384, below.

571. A city in the vicinity of al-Ubullah, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 341–42; and Donner, *Conquests*, 159–60 and index.

ernor moved out with four thousand horsemen. He said: "They are nothing except what I see.[572] Tie their necks with ropes and bring them to me." ʿUtbah raised his voice and said: "I have participated in warfare together with the Prophet."[573] When the sun declined, ʿUtbah gave the order: "Attack!" They attacked the Persians and killed them all; nobody survived except the governor of al-Furāt, whom they took prisoner. ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān said: "Seek for us a halting place more salubrious than this." It was a hot and humid day. A pulpit was erected for ʿUtbah. He stood up to deliver a sermon and said:

> This world is coming to an end, quickly turning back and passing away. Nothing but a small part of it remains, like a small quantity of water in a vessel.[574] You are about to move from it to the Abode of Permanence.[575] Move with the best things in your possession.[576] I was told that if a rock were to
> [2380] be hurled from the brink of Hell, it would be falling for seventy years. [Nevertheless,] Hell will be filled.[577] Do you wonder at it? I was also told that a walk between two of the gates of Paradise would take forty years, but a day will come when it will be crammed full. In a dream I saw myself as one of seven men in the company of the Prophet. We did not have anything to eat except for leaves of acacia trees, so that our mouths became ulcerated. I picked up a mantle and shared it with Saʿd. There was none among us who has not become

572. Apparently meaning that the Muslims are nothing but ordinary people and the Persians should not be intimidated by them.

573. The rest of ʿUtbah's speech seems to have been omitted.

574. A slightly different version of these sentences is quoted and explained in Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *ḥ-dh-dh*. See also Blachère *et al.*, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *ḥ-dh-dh*, but the meaning given there does not seem to be correct.

The sermon reflects the feeling that the end of the world and the Day of Judgment are imminent. This feeling is frequently expressed in the literature describing the early period of Islam. One of the most widely quoted prophetic traditions that reflects this feeling reads: "I and the Hour have been sent like . . . these two—and he joined his index and middle fingers (*buʿithtu anā wa-al-sāʿah . . . ka-hātayni—wa-qarana bayna al-sabbābah wa-al-wusṭā*). See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, 473 (*Kitāb al-ṭalāq*, 25).

575. Cf. Qur'ān 40:39: "The Hereafter is the Abode of Permanence" (*inna al-ākhirah hiya dār al-qarār*).

576. Meaning the best deeds that one performed in this world and that would serve him well in the Hereafter.

577. With the infinite numbers of infidels and sinners. See Qur'ān 7:17: "I shall fill Hell with all of you."

amīr of a newly established garrison town (*miṣr*). The people will have experience of the amīrs who will follow us.[578]

According to Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, and ʿAmr: When ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān al-Māzinī [from the Banū Māzin b. Manṣūr] set out from al-Madāʾin to the "opening of India" (*farj al-Hind*),[579] he halted at the shore, facing the Arabian peninsula. He stayed there for a while, then moved elsewhere. The people then complained about this until finally, after three attempts at settlement, ʿUmar ordered him to halt in the desert because they disliked the clayey ground. At the fourth time they halted in a stony tract (*al-baṣrah*) (*al-baṣrah* is used for any land of which the stones are gypsum). He ordered them to dig a canal through which water could be made to flow from the Tigris, so they dug a canal for drinking water to al-Baṣrah. The people of al-Baṣrah settled where al-Baṣrah is today, and the people of al-Kūfah settled where al-Kūfah is today, in the same month. As for the people of al-Kūfah they stayed in al-Madāʾin [2381]
before settling in al-Kūfah. As for the people of al-Baṣrah they stayed on the bank of the Tigris but then moved several times until they settled in the desert.[580] Then they went back the distance of a *farsakh*[581] and dug a canal; then they repeated this until they reached the desert and extended the canal [as far as the site of al-Baṣrah].[582] Al-Baṣrah was planned in the same way as al-Kūfah. Abū al-Jarbāʾ ʿĀṣim b. al-Dulaf, of the Banu Ghaylān b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm, was in charge of the settlement of al-Baṣrah.

According to ʿUmar [b. Shabbah?] — al-Madāʾinī — al-Naḍr b. Is-

578. The Leiden text reads *wa-sa-yujarrabūna al-nāsa baʿdanā*. I have translated *al-nās* as "amīrs" in light of a version of ʿUtbaʾs sermon recorded in Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 2278–79 (*Kitāb al-zuhd wa-al-raqāʾiq*, 14). The relevant portion reads there: *wa-sa-takhburūna wa-tujarribūna al-umarāʾa baʿdanā*. Another, and much longer, version of the sermon is recorded by Ibn Saʿd (*Ṭabaqāt*, VII/i, 2), whose text reads: *wa-sa-tujarribūna al-umarāʾa baʿdanā wa-tujarrabūna fa-taʿrifūna wa-tunkirūna*; ll. 27–28. ʿUtbah expresses the idea that the way in which the Muslim community is governed will deteriorate. Prophecy will disappear and will be replaced by kingship (*mulk*). The Muslims will in the future experience rulers worse than those of the early period.

579. An epithet for al-Ubullah. See note 57, above.

580. Reading *badaw* with the Cairo edition, instead of *badaʾū* of the Leiden text.

581. A *farsakh* is approximately 6 kilometers; see Hinz, *Masse*, 62.

582. Literally "Then they went back another *farsakh* and extended the canal; then another *farsakh* and extended the canal; then another *farsakh* and extended the canal; then they reached the desert and extended the canal [to al-Baṣrah]."

ḥāq al-Sulamī — Quṭbah b. Qatādah al-Sadūsī: Quṭbah b. Qatādah[583] was raiding the vicinity of al-Khuraybah, which was a part of al-Baṣrah, just as al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī was raiding the vicinity of al-Ḥīrah. Quṭbah wrote to ʿUmar informing him of his location and telling him that, if he had a small number of men at his disposal, he would defeat the Persians who were in front of him and banish them from their land. The Persians of the area dreaded him because of the battle which had been fought by Khālid (b. al-Walīd) at Nahr al-Marʾah.[584] ʿUmar wrote to him: "I have received your letter saying that you were raiding the Persians in front of you. You did the right thing and have been vouchsafed success. Stay in your place and take good care of your companions until you
[2382] receive my orders." ʿUmar sent Shurayḥ b. ʿĀmir, who belonged to the tribe of Saʿd b. Bakr, to al-Baṣrah and said to him: "Reinforce the Muslims in this area." He came to al-Baṣrah, left Quṭbah there, and set out for al-Ahwāz.[585] When he reached Dāris,[586] which was a Persian garrison, he was killed. Then ʿUmar dispatched ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān.[587]

According to ʿUmar (b. Shabbah?)—ʿAlī—ʿĪsā b. Yazīd—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥudhayfah and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj—ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr: ʿUmar (b. al-Khaṭṭāb) said to ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān when he dispatched him to al-Baṣrah:

> O ʿUtbah, I have appointed you to rule "the land of India,"[588] which is a stronghold of the enemy. I wish that God would spare you the trouble of having to deal with what is around it and that He would help you to overcome it. I wrote to al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī[589] asking him to reinforce you with ʿAr-

583. See (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 206; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 445–46 no. 7125.

584. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 242; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 484; Donner, *Conquests*, 179, 329.

585. Ahwāz refers both to the whole province of Khūzistān and to the city the full name of which is Sūq al-Ahwāz. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 410–14; Le Strange, *Lands*, 232–34; *EI*², s.v. "Ahwāz" (L. Lockhart).

586. See Donner, *Conquests*, 213.

587. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/i, 1–3; (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 363–65; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, 438–39; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 100.

588. An epithet of al-Baṣrah; see Ṭabarī, I, 2378; cf. note 57, above.

589. Al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī was an early convert to Islam. The Prophet sent him to govern al-Baḥrayn and to collect the poor tax there. He participated in the suppression of the *riddah* rebellion in this region. ʿUmar appointed him governor of al-Baṣrah, but al-ʿAlāʾ died on his way to Iraq. The date of his death is variously given as 14/

fajah b. Harthamah.[590] ʿArfajah is a man who knows how to fight the enemy and how to use stratagems against him. When he comes, consult him and let him be your close associate.[591] Summon the people to God; those who respond to your call, accept it from them,[592] but those who refuse must pay the poll tax out of humiliation and lowliness.[593] If they refuse this, it is the sword without leniency. Fear God with regard to what you have been entrusted. Beware lest your soul lures you into haughtiness which will render your brethren[594] disaffected toward you. You have been a companion of the Messenger of God, and through him you became noble after you had been lowly, and through him you became strong after you had been weak until you became an amīr to whom governmental power is entrusted and a ruler to whom obedience is due. Whatever you say is listened to; you command and your order is obeyed. This is, indeed, a blessing if it does not cause you to overstep your limits and does not cause you to behave insolently with those who are inferior to you. Beware of ease of circumstances as you [2383] would beware of sin. In my view, the former is, indeed, the more fearful of the two; it may lead you astray and deceive you. As a result, you may fall into error and end up in Hell. I invoke the protection of God from this upon you and upon myself. People hasten to God, but when this world comes into their view, they seek after it. Seek God, do not seek the world, and beware of the places into which the wrongdoers are hurled down.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—ʿAlī—Abū Ismāʿīl al-Hamdānī [2384] and Abū Mikhnaf—Mujālid b. Saʿīd—al-Shaʿbī: ʿUtbah b. Ghaz-

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635–36 or 21/641–42; the earlier date is incompatible with the tradition regarding his appointment as governor of al-Baṣrah. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 76–79; (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 7–8; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 541 no. 5646.

590. For ʿArfajah b. Harthamah (or b. Khuzaymah) see (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 400; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 271 no. 6781.

591. Reading *wa-qarribhu* for *wa-farribhu*, an evident typographical error.

592. This is to say, accept their conversion as genuine and refrain from fighting them.

593. Cf. Qur'ān 9:29.

594. A possible emendation would be *ākhirataka*, instead of *ikhwataka*: "... which will ruin your Hereafter." Cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, VII, 48 l. 18.

wān came to al-Baṣrah with three hundred men. When he saw a field of reeds and heard the croaking of frogs, he said: "The Commander of the Faithful ordered me to halt at the most distant edge of the Arab desert land and at the nearest point of the cultivated Persian land. This is the place where we must obey the orders of our imām." So he halted at al-Khuraybah. At that time, five hundred Persian horsemen (*asāwirah*) were in al-Ubullah defending the city. Al-Ubullah was a port for ships from China and from less distant places. ʿUtbah moved forward and halted before al-Ijjānah[595] and stayed there for about a month. Then the garrison of al-Ubullah came out to [fight] him, and ʿUtbah stood up against them. He put Quṭbah b. Qatādah al-Sadūsī and Qasāmah b. Zuhayr al-Māzinī[596] in charge of ten horsemen and said to them: "Stay behind us, drive back those (Muslims) who run away, and ward off those [Persians] who may attack us from our rear." Then the two armies confronted each other. They did not fight longer than is necessary to slaughter a camel and divide it; God routed the Persians;[597] they took to flight and withdrew into the city. ʿUtbah returned to his camp and stayed there for a few days. God put fear in the hearts of the people of al-Ubullah; they left the city, carried their light belongings with them, crossed [the Tigris] to the city of al-Furāt, and abandoned al-Ubullah. The Muslims entered the city, captured various goods, weapons, prisoners, and money. They divided the money between them,
[2385] and every man received two dirhams. ʿUtbah put Nāfiʿ b. al-Ḥārith[598] in charge of the spoils of al-Ubullah; he set aside the fifth[599] and divided the rest among those to whom God restored it.[600] He wrote about it [to ʿUmar, sending the letter] with Nāfiʿ b. al-Ḥārith.

According to Bashīr b. ʿUbaydallāh: Nāfiʿ b. al-Ḥārith killed nine men in the battle of al-Ubullah, and Abū Bakrah[601] killed six.

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595. Al-Ijjānah was a lagoon (*qhawr*) at the end of a natural canal (*khawr*) leading to al-Baṣrah from the Tigris estuary. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 356–57; and Le Strange, *Lands*, 43–44.

596. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 527 no. 7291; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 378.

597. For *manaḥahum Allāh aktāfahum*, see Dozy, *Supplément*; and *WKAS*, s.v. *k-t-f*.

598. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 372; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 8.

599. See note 463, above.

600. See note 472, above.

601. Abū Bakrah was a slave in al-Ṭā-'if and embraced Islam when the Prophet laid siege to the city. He died in al-Baṣrah in 51 or 52/671–72. See Ibn Saʿd,

According to Dāwūd b. Abī Hind: The Muslims seized in al-Ubullah six hundred dirhams. Each man took two dirhams, and ʿUmar allocated to the men who took two dirhams at the conquest of al-Ubullah a stipend of two thousand dirhams; these numbered three hundred men.

The conquest of al-Ubullah took place in the month of Rajab or in the month of Shaʿbān of this year.

According to al-Shaʿbī: Two hundred and seventy men participated in the conquest of al-Ubullah. Among them were Abū Bakrah, Nāfiʿ b. al-Ḥārith, Shibl b. Maʿbad,[602] al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah, Mujāshiʿ b. Masʿūd,[603] Abū Maryam al-Balawī, Rabīʿah b. Kaladah b. Abī al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafī, and al-Ḥajjāj.

According to ʿAbāyah b. ʿAbd ʿAmr: I participated in the conquest of al-Ubullah with ʿUtbah. ʿUtbah sent Nāfiʿ b. al-Ḥārith to ʿUmar with the news of the conquest. The people of Dast-i Maysān[604] gathered [an army] against us. ʿUtbah said: "I think that we should march against them." We marched and confronted the governor (*marzubān*) of Dast-i Maysān. We fought him; his companions were defeated and he was taken prisoner, his mantle and belt being seized. ʿUtbah sent him [to ʿUmar] with Anas b. Ḥujayyah al-Yashkurī. [2386]

According to Abū al-Malīḥ al-Hudhalī: ʿUtbah sent Anas b. Ḥujayyah to ʿUmar with the belt of the governor of Dast-i Maysān. ʿUmar said to him: "What is the condition of the Muslims?" Anas said: "The [wealth of this] world has engulfed them, and they are dripping with gold and silver." The people became attracted by al-Baṣrah and came to live there.

According to ʿAlī b. Zayd: When ʿUtbah finished with al-Ubullah, the governor of Dast-i Maysān gathered an army against him. ʿUtbah marched against him from al-Ubullah and killed him. Then he sent Mujāshiʿ b. Masʿūd to the city of al-Furāt. ʿUtbah went to ʿUmar and ordered al-Mughīrah to lead the prayers until Mujāshiʿ returned from al-Furāt. Upon his return, Mujāshiʿ was to be the amīr. Mujāshiʿ defeated the people of al-Furāt and returned to al-Baṣrah.

Ṭabaqāt, VII/i, 8–9; (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 38, 151; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VI, 467–j68; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 469–70; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 628–29.

602. See (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 385; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 377–79 no. 3961.

603. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/i, 19; (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 300; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VI, 325 no. 8499; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 38.

604. For the district of Dast-i Maysān, situated on the lower Tigris, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 714–15; Morony, *Iraq*, 159ff.

Faylakān, a chieftain of Abazqubādh,[605] gathered an army against the Muslims. Al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah set out against him, confronted him at al-Marghāb,[606] and defeated him. He wrote to ʿUmar about the victory. ʿUmar asked ʿUtbah: "Whom did you appoint as governor of al-Baṣrah?" He replied: "Mujāshiʿ b. Masʿūd." ʿUmar said: "You are appointing a bedouin (*rajul min ahl al-wabar*) to rule over town dwellers (*ahl al-madar*)? Do you know what has happened?" ʿUtbah said: "No." ʿUmar informed him of the affair of al-Mughīrah and ordered him to return to his city.[607] ʿUtbah died on his way, and ʿUmar appointed al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah [in his stead].

According to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jawshan: ʿUtbah went away after he killed the governor of Dast-i Maysān, sent Mujāshiʿ to the city of al-Furāt, and appointed him to govern [al-Baṣrah] in his place; after he ordered al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah to lead the prayers until the return of Mujāshiʿ from al-Furāt; and after the people of Maysān gathered an army, al-Mughīrah confronted them, defeated them before the coming of Mujāshiʿ from al-Furāt, and informed ʿUmar of the victory.

According to al-Ṭabarī's *isnād*—Qatādah: The people of Maysān gathered an army against the Muslims. Al-Mughīrah set out against them, leaving the heavy luggage behind. He confronted the enemy on
[2387] this side of the Tigris. Ardah bint al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah said: "I wish we could join the Muslim men and be with them," and she made a banner of her veil. The other women [also] used their veils as flags and set out in the direction of the Muslims. When they reached the Muslims, the polytheists were fighting them. But when the polytheists saw the approaching flags, they thought that reinforcements were coming to the Muslims and took to flight. The Muslims pursued them and killed many of them.

According to Ḥārithah b. Muḍarrib: Al-Ubullah was taken by force, and then ʿUtbah distributed white bread (*kakkah*)[608] to the troops. The same tradition was transmitted by Muḥammad b. Sīrīn.

Al-Ṭabarī has said: Among the prisoners taken at Maysān were

605. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 90–91; and Morony, *Iraq*, 188–89.

606. A canal in the vicinity of al-Baṣrah; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 499 (deals also with other places bearing the same name); Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 364.

607. The text has *ʿamal*, which denotes any area under a governor, *ʿāmil*.

608. See *Glossary*, s.v. and Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *kaʿk*, and the sources quoted there.

Yasār, the father of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,[609] and Arṭabān, the grandfather of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAwn b. Arṭabān.

According to al-Muthannā b. Mūsā b. Salamah b. al-Muḥabbiq—his father—his grandfather: I participated in the conquest of al-Ubullah. A copper pot fell within my share [of the spoils]. When I looked at it closely, I suddenly noticed that it was of gold and contained eighty thousand *mithqāl*s.[610] A letter concerning this was sent to ʿUmar, who replied: "Let Salamah swear by God that on the day when he took it he thought that it was of copper. If he takes the oath, the pot will be given to him. If not, it will be divided among the Muslims." I took the oath and the pot was given to me. Al-Muthannā said: "This is the source of the property which we own today."

According to ʿAmrah bint Qays: When the Muslims set out to fight the people of al-Ubullah, my husband and my son went with them. They took two dirhams and a *makkūk*[611] of raisins each. They marched and when they came opposite al-Ubullah they said to the enemy: "Shall we cross to your side, or will you cross to ours?" The enemy said: "Cross to our side." They took pieces of wood from the *ʿushar*[612] tree, tied them together, and crossed to the enemy side. The [2388] polytheists said: "Do not take on the first of them until the last makes the crossing." When the Muslims reached land, they proclaimed "God is most great!" Then they proclaimed it for the second time, whereupon their mounts rose on their feet. Then they proclaimed it for the third time, and the mounts (of the Persians) began to throw their riders to the ground. We saw heads falling, but we did not see who was striking them off. God granted victory to the Muslims.

According to al-Madāʾinī: Ṣafiyyah bint al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah was the wife of ʿUtbah, and her sister Ardah bint al-Ḥārith was the wife

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609. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (21–110/642–728) was one of the most famous mystics of early Islam. See *EI*², s.v. "Ḥasan al-Baṣrī" (H. Ritter).

610. The *mithqāl* is a unit of weight, used for gold and other precious metals. See Hinz, *Masse*, 1–8.

611. The *makkūk* is a measure of weight. According to Ibn Manẓūr (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *m-k-k*), it was best known among the people of Iraq. The weight of the *makkūk* was not fixed; it changed according to the usage agreed upon in each area (*yakhtalifu miqdāruhu bi-ʾkhtilāfi iṣṭilāḥ al-nās ʿalayhi fī al-bilād*). See Hinz, *Masse*, 44; *EI*², s.v. "Makāyīl" (E. Ashtor), at VI, 118b, 119b.

612. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

of Shibl b. Maʿbad al-Bajalī. When ʿUtbah was appointed governor of al-Baṣrah, the relatives of his wife—Abū Bakrah, Nāfiʿ, and Shibl b. Maʿbad—came with him. Ziyād (b. Abī Sufyān) also joined them. When they conquered al-Ubullah, they did not find anyone who would divide [the spoils] between them, and eventually Ziyād divided the spoils between them. He was fourteen years old and possessed nobility.[613] They allocated for him two dirhams a day.

It was said: The governorship of ʿUtbah in al-Baṣrah was in the year 15/636–37. According to another version, it was in the year 16/637–38, but the first version is more correct. His governorship of al-Baṣrah lasted six months. [Then] ʿUmar appointed al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah as governor of al-Baṣrah. He remained two years in this position, and then certain accusations were directed against him[614] and ʿUmar then appointed Abū Mūsā (al-Ashʿarī). According to another version, ʿUmar appointed after ʿUtbah Abū Mūsā, and after him al-Mughīrah.

In this year, meaning the year 14/635–36, ʿUmar flogged his son ʿUbaydallāh and his companions because they drank wine, and he flogged Abū Miḥjan as well.[615]

In this year ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb led the Muslims in pilgrimage. The governor of Mecca was, according to one version, ʿAttāb b. al-Asīd;[616] Yaʿlā b. Munyah was governor of the Yemen; Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was governor of al-Kūfah; Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ was
[2389] governor of Syria; ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ[617] was governor of Baḥrayn, although according to another version it was al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī; and Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan was governor of ʿUmān.

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613. For *lahu dhuʾābah* see note 426, above.

614. Al-Mughīrah was accused of fornication. For ʿUmar's investigation, which resulted in al-Mughīrah's acquittal and in the punishment of his three accusers, see Ṭabarī, I, 2529–33.

615. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib*, 240–43.

616. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 330; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 358–59; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 429–30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 89–90.

617. ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ, of the tribe of Thaqīf, was appointed governor of al-Ṭāʾif by the Prophet and confirmed in his position by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. He is said to have been instrumental in keeping his tribe loyal to Islam during the *riddah* rebellion. He served also as governor of ʿUmān. The date of his death is given variously as 50/670–71, 51/671–72, or 55/672. See ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 371–73; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 451–52 no. 5445; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 128–29.

The Events of the Year 15

(February 14, 636–February 1, 637)

Ibn Jarīr (al-Ṭabarī) has said: Some traditionists said that in this year Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ established al-Kūfah. Ibn Buqaylah[618] led the Muslims there and said to Saʿd: "I shall lead you to a land free of mosquitoes[619] and beyond the desert."[620] He then led them to the place where al-Kūfah is located today.

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618. For Ibn Buqaylah, see note 201, above.

619. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2360, where it is related that Saʿd abandoned an attempt to establish a city at Kuwayfat ʿUmar b. Saʿd because the area was infested with flies.

620. Literally "a land higher than [where] the mosquitoes [live] and lower than the desert." This phrasing can be understood in view of the Arabic linguistic usage in which travel from the Ḥijāz to Iraq, Syria, and ʿUmān is considered descent (*inḥidār*), whereas movement in the direction of Najd, Ḥijāz, and Yemen is considered ascent (*iṣʿād*). See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *ṣ-ʿ-d* (III, 253). The place suggested by Ibn Buqaylah is therefore "higher," to the south of the mosquito-infested Iraqi lowlands, and "lower," to the north of the Arabian desert. It is another expression of the idea that the Muslims should establish themselves at the beginning of their northward expansion in the borderland between Iraq and the desert. Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 276.

The Battle of Marj al-Rūm[621]

In this year the battle of Marj al-Rūm took place. It so happened that Abū ʿUbaydah set out with Khālid b. al-Walīd from Fiḥl[622] to Ḥimṣ. He marched together with men from al-Yarmūk who had joined them.[623] All of them halted at the camp of Dhū al-Kalāʿ.[624] The news of this reached Heraclius, who dispatched Theodore the Patricius, who established his camp on the plain of Damascus and to the west of the city. Abū ʿUbaydah attacked first Marj al-Rūm and this Byzantine army. The winter took its toll on the Byzantines and many were wounded. When Abū ʿUbaydah established his camp near the Byzantines in Marj al-Rūm, he was opposed on the day of his arrival by Shanas al-Rūmī, who had cavalry similar in size to that of Theodore; it was to serve as a reinforcement to Theodore and as assistance to the people of Ḥimṣ. Shanas established a separate camp, but
[2390] when night descended, the camp was deserted by Theodore. Khālid stood opposite Theodore and Abū ʿUbaydah opposite Shanas. Khālid was informed that Theodore had gone to Damascus, so Khālid and Abū ʿUbaydah agreed that Khālid should pursue him. Khālid pursued him that night with light cavalry. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān was informed of what Theodore had done and confronted him, and they fought each other. Khālid caught up with them while they were fighting and attacked the Byzantines from the rear so that they were killed from all directions[625] and only those who escaped survived. The Muslims seized whatever they wanted: mounts, weapons,[626] and clothes. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān divided this among his companions and the companions of Khālid. Then Yazīd set out for Damascus and Khālid returned to Abū ʿUbaydah after he had killed Theodore. Khālid recited:

We have killed Theodore and Sheodore,

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621. See Donner, *Conquests*, 134, 138.

622. Fiḥl, or Pella, was a town on the east bank of the Jordan, across from Baysān (Bet Sh'an, Scythopolis). See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 853; and Donner, *Conquests*, 130 and index.

623. See Donner, *Conquests*, 138.

624. See Donner, *Conquests*, 136, 138, 367 no. 58.

625. Literally "from the front and from the rear."

626. *Adāt* could mean any instrument or tool but is probably used here in the sense of *adāt al-ḥarb* "tools of war."

And before him we killed Ḥaydar,[627]
And made Ukaydir meet his death.[628]

After Khālid set out to pursue Theodore, Abū ʿUbaydah confronted Shanas. They fought in Marj al-Rūm, and Abū ʿUbaydah killed a great number of the Byzantines, also killing Shanas, and the valley was filled with fallen Byzantines. The ground was stinking because of them. Some Byzantines fled, but Abū ʿUbaydah did not let them escape and pursued them to Ḥimṣ.[629]

The Conquest of Ḥimṣ

Al-Ṭabarī has related according to Sayf (in his book) — Abū ʿUthmān: When the news about the rout of the Byzantines at Marj al-Rūm reached Heraclius, he ordered the commander of Ḥimṣ to march upon Ḥimṣ[630] and said to him: "I have been informed that the food of the Arabs is camel meat and that their drink is camel milk. It is winter now. Do not fight them except on cold days, for none of [2391] those whose principal food and drink is this will survive until the summer." Heraclius set out from his camp to al-Ruhāʾ[631] and ordered his governor to defend Ḥimṣ.[632] Abū ʿUbaydah drew near and encamped around Ḥimṣ, and Khālid came after him and encamped around it as well. The Byzantines attacked the Muslims on every cold day, in the morning and in the afternoon. The Muslims experienced severe cold and the Byzantines experienced a long siege. The Muslims stood firm in their positions; God inspired them with endurance[633] and rewarded them with victory when the winter had lost its grip. The Byzantines on the other hand held fast to the city, hoping that the winter would destroy the Muslims.

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627. Shūdhara is an artificial name, created in order to rhyme with Tūdhara. Although Ḥaydar is a real (Arab) name, it is also used here only for purposes of rhyme.

628. Translating *fayḍa* instead of *ghayḍa*, accepting de Goeje's conjecture in *Glossary*, s.vv. *z-w-r*, and *f-y-ḍ*. About the killing of Ukaydir, see Ṭabarī, I, 2077, cf. note 541, above.

629. For *rakiba aksāʾahum*, see *WKAS*, I, 169, s.v. *kusʾun*.

630. It is not clear where the amīr was at the time.

631. This is Arabic for Edessa; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 103–4.

632. For this meaning of *akhadhahu bi-*, see de Goeje's *Glossary*, p. CVIII; and his *Glossary* to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, s.v. *a-kh-dh*.

633. For the expression *afragha ʿalayhim al-ṣabra*, cf. Qurʾān 2:250, 7:126.

According to Abū al-Zahrāʾ al-Qushayrī — a man from his tribe: The people of Ḥimṣ enjoined each other: "Hold fast, because they are barefooted. When the cold afflicts them, their feet will be cut; this in addition to their (meager) food and drink." The situation of the Byzantines worsened; the feet of some fell off in their shoes. As for the Muslims, not even a toe of theirs was hurt, though they were wearing sandals.[634]

When the winter was over, an old man stood up among the Byzantines and called upon them to make peace with the Muslims. They said: "How can we do this while the king (Heraclius) is powerful and glorious? There is nothing between us and between them."[635] The man left them alone. Then another stood up among them, saying: "The winter is over and hope is lost. What are you waiting for?" They said: "We are waiting for the inflammation of the brain (*al-birsām*),[636] which is latent in the winter and appears in the summer." He said: "These are people who will receive [divine] help. It is better to come to them with an agreement and a covenant than to be taken by force. Accept my suggestion [now] and be praised for it, before you [will have to] accept it and receive blame." But they said: "He is a senile old man, having no knowledge of warfare."

According to elders from Ghassān[637] and Balqayn,[638] God rewarded the endurance of the Muslims during the battle days of Ḥimṣ by sending an earthquake which struck the people of the city. This is how it happened. The Muslims confronted them and proclaimed
[2392] "God is most great!," whereupon the Byzantines in the city were struck with an earthquake. The walls cracked, hence the Byzantines fled in fear to their leaders and men of judgment and to those who called upon them to make peace and had been rejected and humili-

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634. For *khuff* (pl. *khifāf*) "shoe" and *naʿl* (pl. *niʿāl*) "sandal," see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 155–59, 421–24.

635. Probably meaning that no fighting that obliges the Byzantines to sue for peace has occurred. In the account of Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, VII, 52), the Byzantines say here: "Are we to make peace while the king is near to us?" (*a-nuṣāliḥu wa-al-malik minnā qarīb?*)

636. This seems to be the meaning intended here; see Rufus, *Krankenjournale*, 121. I am grateful to Professor Ullmann for his communication on this matter. For other meanings of *birsām*, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 245 (pleurisy); and Blachère, *et al.*, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. (I, 542b; pleurisy or sunstroke). In Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (s.vv. *b-r-s-m*, *m-w-m*), it is glossed by *mūm*, which may mean a kind of smallpox.

637. See *EI*², s.v. "Ghassān" (I. Shahīd).

638. See *EI*², s.v. "Ḳayn" (J. Chelhod).

ated because of this. The Muslims then proclaimed "God is most great!" for the second time. As a result many buildings and walls caved in and the Byzantines fled in fear to their leaders and men of judgment, saying: "Do you not see the punishment of God?" The leaders replied: "Only you can sue for peace." They looked [toward the Muslims] and called out: "Peace, peace!" The Muslims were not noticing what had happened among the Byzantines. They complied and agreed to make peace on the condition that they would receive half of their houses,[639] that they would let the Byzantines retain their property and [the rest of] their buildings[640] and would not occupy them. The Muslims left the buildings for the Byzantines. Some of them made peace according to the conditions included in the peace treaty of Damascus: to pay one dīnār and to provide [to the Muslims a certain quantity of] food for every *jarīb*[641] forever, whether they were prosperous or poor. Others made peace [and agreed to pay] according to their ability. If their property should increase, their payment would grow; if it should decrease, the payment would decrease as well. The peace treaty with Damascus and al-Urdunn was the same; some of them agreed to pay a fixed amount whether they were prosperous or poor, while others agreed to pay according to their ability. They were allowed to take over the area which their rulers had abandoned.

Abū ʿUbaydah dispatched al-Simṭ b. al-Aswad[642] with the Banū Muʿāwiyah, al-Ashʿath b. Miʾnās[643] with the tribe of Sakūn (Ibn ʿĀbis was also with him), al-Miqdād[644] with the tribe of Balī, Bilāl[645] and Khālid with the army, and al-Ṣabbāḥ b. Shutayr, Dhuhayl b.

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639. A very literal translation of *anṣāf dūrihim* would read "half of each of their houses."

640. *ʿAlā an yatruka al-muslimūna amwāl al-Rūm* cannot mean "and that they handed over the treasure of the Greeks"; *pace* Hill, *Termination*, 66 no. 141.

641. *Jarīb* is a measure of land. For its various uses, see Sauvaire, "Matériaux," 485–88; Hinz, *Masse*, 65–66.

642. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 264 no. 3703.

643. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 201 no. 465.

644. Al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr was an early convert to Islam. After the *hijrah* he participated in the battles of the Prophet. In the battle of Badr he earned the reputation of being the first Muslim to fight on horseback. He died near Medina in 33/653–54 at the age of 70. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/i, 114–16; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 409–11; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VI, 202–4 no. 8189; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 285–87.

645. For Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, best known as the *muʾadhdhin* of the Prophet, see *EI*², s.v. "Bilāl b. Rabāḥ" (W. ʿArafat).

ʿAṭiyyah, and Dhū Shamistān. They were inside the city of Ḥimṣ. Abū ʿUbaydah stayed in his camp and wrote to ʿUmar, informing him of the victory, sending fifths of the booty with ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd. After
[2393] Abū ʿUbaydah had sent him, he was informed that Heraclius had crossed the river into the Jazīrah and was in al-Ruhāʾ and was alternating between going into hiding and coming out of it. Ibn Masʿūd came to ʿUmar, who ordered him to return and then sent him to Saʿd in al-Kūfah. Later he wrote to Abū ʿUbaydah: "Stay in your city and summon the strong and sturdy Arabs in Syria. God willing, I shall not neglect sending to you men who will help you."

The Story of Qinnasrīn[646]

According to Abū ʿUthmān and Jāriyah: After the conquest of Ḥimṣ, Abū ʿUbaydah sent Khālid b. al-Walīd to Qinnasrīn. When he camped in the populated area [around it],[647] the Byzantines lead by Mīnās marched against them. Mīnās was a Byzantine chieftain, the greatest man among them after Heraclius. They confronted each other in this area and Mīnās and his companions were killed; they had never suffered a defeat like this.[648] All the Byzantines died together following the death of Mīnās,[649] with none of them surviving. As for the people who lived around Qinnasrīn, they sent a message to Khālid, saying that they were Arabs and had been [forcibly] recruited;[650] it was not their idea to fight Khālid. Khālid accepted this and left them alone.[651] When this came to ʿUmar's knowledge, he said: "Khālid has made himself amīr! May God have mercy on Abū

646. A town in northern Syria, south of Aleppo. See *EI*², s.v. "Ḳinnasrīn" (N. Elisséeff); Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 184–87.

647. For *al-ḥāḍir*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 173 l. 3; 144 l. 2; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 184.

648. The Arabic text reads *fa-qutila Mīnās wa-man maʿahu maqtalatan lam yuqtalū mithlahā*. Although the text states that all Byzantine troops were killed in the battle, the second part of the sentence evidently refers to defeat rather than killing. In the sentence there is a shift in the meaning of *qatala* from "kill" to "subdue." Cf. de Goeje's *Glossary*, s.v. *q-t-l*.

649. For *mātū ʿalā damin wāḥidin*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *d-m-w*.

650. For this meaning of *ḥashara*, see note 516, above.

651. Ibn al-ʿAdīm (*Zubdat al-ḥalab*, I, 26) reports this tradition in a significantly different version, which ends with the words: "[Khālid] killed some of them and left the rest alone (*qatala minhum wa-taraka al-bāqīn*). I tend to prefer Ṭabarī's version; *qabila minhum* is frequent in similar contexts, whereas *qatala minhum*, without an object for the verb, sounds awkward.

Bakr! He had better understanding of people than I have."[652] ʿUmar had dismissed Khālid and al-Muthannā when he assumed office[653] and had said: "I have not dismissed them because of suspicion, but the people venerated them excessively and I was afraid that they would put their trust in them."[654] ʿUmar changed his opinion after the conduct of Khālid at Qinnasrīn.[655]

Khālid marched to Qinnasrīn and encamped there. The people of Qinnasrīn fortified themselves against him. He said: "[Even] if you were in the clouds, God would carry us to you or would bring you down to us." [2394]

The people of Qinnasrīn considered their situation. They remembered the treatment meted out to the people of Ḥimṣ and wanted to make peace on the conditions of Ḥimṣ, but Khālid agreed only on the condition that the city be destroyed, so he destroyed it. Both Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrīn were leveled to the ground.

This time Heraclius retreated. The reason for his retreat was the following: Khālid killed Mīnās and all the Byzantines died with him. When he made an agreement with the people who lived around Qinnasrīn and left the city, ʿUmar b. Mālik appeared from the direction of al-Kūfah and Qarqīsiyā,[656] ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtamm from the direction of Mosul, and Walīd b. ʿUqbah[657] from the land of the

652. The reference is to Abū Bakr's defense of Khālid b. al-Walīd against ʿUmar's criticism. See Ṭabarī, I, 1926.

653. For the dismissal of Khālid b. al-Walīd, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 116, 178; Ṭabarī, I, 2148, 2526–27.

654. Rather than in God, as de Goeje correctly observed in *Mémoire*, 126. See a slightly different version of this tradition in Ṭabarī, I, 2528.

655. See Ṭabarī, I, 2527.

656. A town near the confluence of the Khābūr river and the Euphrates. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 105 (read "on the left bank of the Euphrates") and index; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 65–66.

657. Al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah belonged to a leading Qurashī family. His father fought against the Muslims at Badr and was killed after the battle on the Prophet's orders. Al-Walīd embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca. He served as a collector of the poor tax under the Prophet and under ʿUmar, but the tradition maintains that he did not discharge his duties wholeheartedly. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, who was his half-brother, appointed him governor of al-Kūfah in 25/645–46 but had to dismiss him after he was accused of drunkenness. In addition to his participation in the conquest of Syria, he led an expedition to Ādharbayjān in 28/648–49 (or 24/644–45 or 26/646–47). When the struggle between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah erupted, he did not take an active part in it and retired to al-Raqqah in the Jazīrah. Some traditions maintain, however, that in his poems and letters he incited Muʿāwiyah to fight. He died in al-Raqqah during Muʿāwiyah's reign. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 15; VII/ii, 176–77; Ṭabarī, in-

Banū Taghlib with [men from] Taghlib and Arabs from the Jazīrah.[658] They passed by the cities of the Jazīrah, avoiding the direction of Heraclius. The people of the Jazīrah from[659] Ḥarrān,[660] al-Raqqah,[661] Naṣībīn,[662] and neighboring towns could not know[663] their intention without returning to their people [in the Jazīrah]. The Muslims left in the Jazīrah al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah so that they were not in danger of being attacked from the rear.[664]

Khālid and ʿIyāḍ (b. Ghanm) penetrated the Byzantine territory from the direction of Syria, and ʿUmar (b. Mālik) and ʿAbdallāh (b. al-Muʿtamm) penetrated it from the direction of the Jazīrah. This had never been done before. Then they returned. This was the first penetration of the Byzantine territory in Islamic times; it took place in the year 16/637–38.

Khālid returned to Qinnasrīn and settled in it, and his wife joined him. When [ʿUmar] dismissed him, he said: "ʿUmar put me in charge of Syria. When it became wheat and honey, he dismissed me."[665]

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dex; (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 90–92; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VI, 614–18; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 142–44.

658. Al-Jazīrah, "the island," was a term used for the area between the upper courses of the Euphrates and the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 86ff.; *EI*², s.v. "Djazīra" (M. Canard).

659. Reading *min* instead of *fī*; see note 664, below. The sentence refers to troops from the Jazīrah who participated in the Byzantine siege of Ḥimṣ. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 73 ll. 19–20.

660. For the city of Ḥarrān in the Jazīrah, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 103; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 230–32.

661. For al-Raqqah, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 101–2; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 802–4.

662. For Naṣībīn, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 94–95; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 787–89.

663. *Lam yuqhriḍu gharaḍahum* is difficult; see a parallel passage in Ṭabarī, I, 2500 l. 13: *lam yadrū al-Jazīrah yurīdūna am Ḥimṣ* "they did not know whether they [i.e., the Muslim troops from al-Kūfah] were heading for al-Jazīrah or for Ḥimṣ." A possible emendation of the text could be *lam yaʿrifū gharaḍahum*.

664. Ṭabarī's text of the last two sentences is dubious, and our translation is based on comparison with some parallel passages. Ibn al-ʿAdīm (*Zubdat al-ḥalab*, I, 31) says that the Byzantine troops besieging Ḥimṣ were reinforced by 30,000 men from the Jazīrah, belonging to Tanūkh and other tribes. They inflicted heavy losses on the Muslims. Anxious to alleviate the pressure on the town, ʿUmar instructed Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ to dispatch Muslim troops into the Jazīrah in order to divert the attention of the Jazīrah contingent in the Byzantine army from the people of Ḥimṣ. When information about this troop movement reached Ḥimṣ, the men from the Jazīrah left Ḥimṣ and returned to defend their hometowns. See also Ṭabarī, I, 2500; (ʿI.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 381; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 73; Donner, *Conquests*, 150. This interpretation of our passage necessitates an emendation of the text; see notes 659, 663, above.

665. Bathaniyyah was a place in Syria, known for its wheat. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 493–94; Blachère *et al.*, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *b-th-n*. An extensive discussion of *ḥattā*

Then Heraclius set out for Constantinople. There is disagreement concerning the date of his arrival there and of his departure from Syria; Ibn Isḥāq said that it had been in the year 15/636–37 whereas Sayf said that it had been in the year 16/637–38.

The Departure of Heraclius for Constantinople [2395]

According to Sayf — Abū al-Zahrā' al-Qushayrī — a man from Qushayr: When Heraclius set out from al-Ruhā' and asked its inhabitants to follow him, they said: "We are better off here than with you," and they refused to follow him and separated themselves both from him and from the Muslims.

The first man to cause the dogs of al-Ruhā' to bark and its fowls to be scared[666] was Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah,[667] who was a Companion of the Prophet. [In this expedition?] he was with ʿUmar b. Mālik; they were taking turns in commanding the troops.[668] Ziyād was a confederate of Banū ʿAbd b. Quṣayy.

Before [this incursion] Heraclius set out for Shimshāṭ.[669] When the Muslims reached al-Ruhā', he entered the Byzantine territory and moved toward Constantinople.[670]

A man of the Byzantines who had been a prisoner of the Muslims caught up with Heraclius. Heraclius said to him: "Inform me about these people." The man said: "I shall tell you, and it will be as if you yourself were looking at them. They are horsemen during the day and monks at night.[671] In the area under their responsibility they do not eat except for a price and do not enter a house except with a greeting of peace. They stand up to those who fight them until they

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idhā ṣārat bathaniyyatan wa ʿasalan can be found in Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *b-th-n*.

666. Meaning the first Muslim to make an incursion into this region.

667. Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah of the tribe of Tamīm was a Companion of the Prophet. Muḥammad sent him to fight against Musaylimah and al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī, the prophetic claimants in al-Yamāmah and the Yemen. Later he participated in the battle of Yarmūk, in the incursions into Syria, and in the battles waged by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. He is also known for several poems in which he described the wars against the *ahl al-riddah* and against the Byzantines. See ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 213; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 583; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 83, 137; II, 525.

668. Cf. note 173, above.

669. A city on the Arsanas, or eastern Euphrates. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 116–17; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 319–20.

670. See Donner, *Conquests*, 150.

671. Meaning that they fight during the day and pray at night.

destroy them." Heraclius said: "If you have spoken the truth, they will, indeed, inherit the land on which I stand."

According to ʿUbādah and Khālid: Whenever Heraclius made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, left Syria behind [on his way back], and entered into the land of the Byzantines, he used to turn back and to say: "Peace be upon you, O Syria! This is the farewell of a man who takes leave of you without fulfilling his desire and will return." When the Muslims moved on Ḥimṣ, he crossed the Euphrates and camped at al-Ruhāʾ. He remained there until the people of al-Kūfah appeared, Qinnasrīn was conquered, and Mīnās was killed. When this happened, he retreated to Shimshāṭ. When he left Shimshāṭ in order to cross into the Byzantine territory, he ascended to an elevated place,
[2396] turned back, looked in the direction of Syria, and said: "Peace be upon you, O Syria! This is a farewell after which there will be no reunion. No Byzantine man will ever return to you except in fear until the ill-fated one is born; would that he would not be born! How sweet will be his deeds and how bitter will be their outcome with regard to the Byzantines."[672]

According to Abū al-Zahrāʾ and ʿAmr b. Maymūn: When Heraclius left Shimshāṭ and entered the Byzantine territory, he turned back toward Syria and said: "I used to greet you in the manner of a traveler. Today I am greeting you in the manner of one who departs. No Byzantine man will ever return to you except in fear until the ill-fated one is born; would that he would not be born!" Heraclius moved onward and reached Constantinople, taking with him the people of the fortresses located between Alexandretta and Tarsus so that the Muslims should not be able to move within any populated territory between Antioch and the Byzantine land. He laid the fortresses waste[673] so that the Muslims would not be able to find any-

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672. The "ill-fated one" (*al-mashʾūm*) is the eschatological figure al-Dajjāl, the false Messiah. His appearance is one of the miraculous events expected in the Muslim tradition to take place before the Day of Judgment (*ashrāṭ al-sāʿah*). In some traditions it is related to the defeat of the Byzantines. See, for instance, Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, II, 1370 (*Kitāb al-fitan, bāb 35* no. 4091): "The Dajjāl will not emerge until the Byzantines are defeated (*fa-mā yakhruju al-dajjāl hattā tuftaḥa al-Rūm*). On al-Dajjāl in general see *EI*², s.v. "al-Dadjdjāl" (A. Abel).

The Dajjāl's deeds will be sweet with regard to the Byzantines because he will fight the Muslims; their outcome will be bitter because he will lose the fight.

673. For this meaning of *shaʿʿatha*, see de Goeje's *Glossary* to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, s.v. *sh-ʿ-th*. See also a similar description of these events in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 163–64.

one there. At times Byzantines lay in ambush near the fortresses and launched surprise attacks on those who were lagging behind, and the Muslims had to take precautions against this.

The Conquest of Caesarea[674] *and the Siege of Gaza*[675]

According to Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān and Abū Ḥārithah—Khālid and ʿUbādah: When Abū ʿUbaydah and Khālid departed from Fiḥl on their way to Ḥimṣ, ʿAmr (b. al-ʿĀṣ)[676] and Shuraḥbīl (b. Ḥasanah)[677] [2397] camped at Baysān and conquered it. The province of Jordan (*al-Urdunn*)[678] made peace with them. The Byzantine army gathered at Ajnādayn,[679] Baysān, and Gaza. ʿAmr and Shuraḥbīl wrote to ʿUmar that the Byzantines had divided their forces, and ʿUmar wrote to Yazīd (b. Abī Sufyān) asking him to send them reinforcements[680] and to dispatch Muʿāwiyah to Caesarea. He also wrote to ʿAmr commanding him to confront Arṭabūn,[681] and he wrote to ʿAlqamah b. Mujazziz[682] to confront al-Fīqār.[683] The following is the text of the letter of ʿUmar to Muʿāwiyah:

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674. See *EI*², s.v. "Ḳaysāriyya" (M. Sharon).

675. See *EI*², s.v. "Ghazza" (D. Sourdel).

676. For ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs, whose fame is based mainly on his conquest for Egypt, see *EI*², s.v. "ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ" (A. J. Wensinck).

677. Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah belonged to the tribe of Kindah and was a confederate of the Qurashī clan of Banū Zuhrah in Mecca. He was an early convert to Islam and took part in the early battles of the Prophet. He served as governor over a part of Syria on behalf of ʿUmar. According to one tradition, he had been sent by the Prophet as his envoy to Egypt, where he died. According to another, he died in the plague of ʿAmwās in 18/639–40. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/ii, 118; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 390–91; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 328–29; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 324–25.

678. For the province of al-Urdunn, roughly corresponding to northern Palestine, see *EI*¹, s.v. "al-Urdunn, ii" (Fr. Buhl).

679. For a discussion of the possible location of Ajnādayn, see *EI*², s.v. "Adjnādayn" (H. A. R. Gibb).

680. Literally "to warm their backs with men"; cf. de Goeje's *Glossary*, s.v. *d-f-*².

681. A commander in the Byzantine army. For the derivation of Arṭabūn from *tribunus*, see de Goeje, *Mémoire*, 62; and Jawālīqī, Muʿarrab, ed. Sachau, 11; see also ed. Shākir, 74, where *arṭabūn* is glossed with *al-muqaddam fī al-ḥarb*. Butler (*Arab Conquest*, 195, 215) maintains that the correct reading is Aretion.

682. In addition to his role in the conquest of Palestine, ʿAlqamah b. Mujazziz was sent by ʿUmar on a naval expedition to Abyssinia, an expedition that ended in disaster. Other traditions maintain that it was the Prophet who had ordered ʿAlqamah to raid Abyssinia in 9/630–1 and describe the raid as successful. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 983; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/i, 117–18; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 14; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 559–61.

683. For the derivation of *al-fīqār* from *vicarius*, see de Goeje, *Mémoire*, 62.

> Now, then, I have appointed you to govern Caesarea. Go there and ask God's help against them. Say frequently 'There is no power nor strength except in God.' God is our Lord, our trust, our hope, and our Master; how excellent is the Master and how excellent is the Helper!

The two men reached the places where they were commanded to go. Muʿāwiyah with his soldiers established camp near the people of Caesarea, who were led by A—B—N—Y.[684] He defeated the latter and besieged him in Caesarea. Then the people of Caesarea began to fight Muʿāwiyah, but whenever they fought him he defeated them and compelled them to retreat into their fortress. Finally they attacked him again, emerged from their fortifications, and fought with zeal and self-sacrifice. The number of their fallen during the fighting reached eighty thousand; at the time of their defeat Muʿāwiyah increased the total to one hundred thousand. He sent the news of victory [to ʿUmar] with two men from the Banū al-Ḍubayb, but then he became apprehensive that they would be weak[685] and sent ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlqamah al-Firāsī and Zuhayr b. al-Ḥilāb al-Khathʿamī to follow the first two and to overtake them. [Ibn ʿAlqamah and Zuhayr] caught up with them and passed them while they were asleep. Ibn ʿAlqamah repeatedly recited the following verses:

The two Judhāmīs have made my eye sleepless;
how can I sleep while they are ahead of me,
Traveling in the heat of midday,
the brother of Ḥushaym and the brother of Ḥarām?[686]

[2398] ʿAlqamah b. Mujazziz set out and laid siege to al-Fīqār in Gaza. He began corresponding with him but received no satisfaction. Eventually ʿAlqamah came to al-Fīqār pretending to be ʿAlqamah's messenger. Al-Fīqār ordered a man to wait for him on the way and to kill him when he passed by, but ʿAlqamah became aware of it and said: "I have with me a number of men who share my view. I shall go and bring them to you." Al-Fīqār sent a message to that man in-

684. I am unable to vocalize this name.
685. And unable to make the trip to Medina.
686. These verses are quoted in a slightly different—and better—arrangement in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 142. See also Hitti, *Origins*, 218. According to Balādhurī's version, the first two messengers belonged to the tribe of Judhām, which tallies better with the first verse.

structing him not to attack ʿAlqamah. ʿAlqamah departed and did not return, doing the same thing which ʿAmr did with al-Arṭabūn.[687]

The messengers (*al-barīd*) of Muʿāwiyah brought the news to ʿUmar, who assembled the people and made them spend the night joyfully. He praised God and said to them: "Praise God for the conquest of Caesarea!" Muʿāwiyah kept the Byzantine prisoners with him before the conquest and after it and said: "Whatever Mikhāʾīl[688] does to our prisoners, we shall do to theirs." He thereby dissuaded Mikhāʾīl from molesting the Muslim prisoners until Caesarea was conquered.

The Conquest of Baysān[689] *and the Battle of Ajnādayn*[690]

When ʿAlqamah moved to Gaza and Muʿāwiyah to Caesarea, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs went to confront al-Arṭabūn and passed in front of him. Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah set out with him, commanding the vanguard. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ appointed Abū al-Aʿwar to govern [the province of] Jordan in his stead. He put the two wings of his army in charge of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr and Junādah b. Tamīm al-Mālikī [of the tribe of Mālik b. Kinānah]. He set out and camped near the Byzantines at Ajnādayn. The Byzantines were in their fortifications and trenches, with al-Arṭabūn, the most cunning of the Byzantines, the most far-sighted, and the most harmful, as their commander. He placed a large army in al-Ramlah[691] and a large army in Jerusalem. ʿAmr (b. al-ʿĀṣ) informed ʿUmar of the news. When ʿAmr's letter reached him, he said: "We have sent the Arṭabūn of the Arabs to confront the [2399]
Arṭabūn of the Byzantines. Let us see what the outcome will be!"

At this time, ʿUmar began to dispatch the amīrs of Syria and to provide each commander with reinforcements. When he received ʿAmr's letter informing him that the Byzantines had divided their

687. See p. 2400, below.
688. For a discussion of Mikhāʾīl's identity, see de Goeje, *Mémoire*, 168.
689. See *EI*², s.v. "Baysān" (J. Sourdel-Thomine).
690. See *EI*², s.v. "Adjnādayn" (H. A. R. Gibb).
691. Al-Ramlah was founded only at the beginning of the eighth century C. E. by Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and the statement in our passage is anachronistic.

forces,[692] he wrote to Yazīd (b. Abī Sufyān) to send Muʿāwiyah with his cavalry to Caesarea. He wrote to Muʿāwiyah, appointing him to lead the fighting against the people of Caesarea, and to tie down their forces in order to prevent them from fighting ʿAmr. ʿAmr appointed ʿAlqamah b. Ḥakīm al-Firāsī and Masrūq b. so-and-so al-ʿAkkī[693] to fight the people of Jerusalem. They confronted the people of Jerusalem and prevented them from fighting ʿAmr. ʿUmar sent Abū Ayyūb al-Mālikī[694] to al-Ramlah, which was ruled by al-Tadhāriq. He confronted the two of them.[695]

When the reinforcements reached ʿAmr one after the other, he sent Muḥammad b. ʿAmr to reinforce ʿAlqamah and Masrūq and sent ʿUmārah b. ʿAmr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī[696] to reinforce Abū Ayyūb. ʿAmr stayed in Ajnādayn, without being able to cause al-Arṭabūn to make a mistake. Nor did the envoys bring him satisfaction (either), so he took the matter upon himself and entered upon al-Arṭabūn as if he were an envoy. He told al-Arṭabūn what he wanted, listened to what he said, and looked at his fortifications until he knew what he wanted to know. Arṭabūn said to himself: "By God, it is ʿAmr or a man whose advice ʿAmr follows. Nothing I could do would harm the Muslims more grievously than killing this man." Then he called in a member of his guard and secretly spoke to him about killing ʿAmr. He said: "Go out and stand in such-and-such a place, and when he passes near you, kill him." ʿAmr became aware of this and said:

> You have heard from me and I have heard from you, and I have been impressed by what you have said. I am one of ten men whom ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb sent with this governor in

692. Meaning that the Byzantine army was divided between Ajnādayn, Baysān, and Gaza. See p. 2397, above.

693. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VI, 92–93 no. 7940.

694. Abū Ayyūb al-Mālikī, better known as al-Anṣārī, was a Companion of the Prophet from the Medinan tribe of Khazraj. His fame is based mainly on his participation in the siege of Constantinople during the reign of Muʿāwiyah and on his reported burial there. See *EI*², s.v. "Abū Ayyūb . . . al-Anṣārī" (E. Lévi-Provençal et al.).

695. Al-Tadhāriq is said to have been the brother of the emperor Heraclius. See Ṭabarī, I, 2086, 2107.

It is not clear who the two men whom al-Tadhāriq confronts are. One is clearly Abū Ayyūb al-Mālikī; the other may be ʿUmārah b. ʿAmr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī, who is mentioned in the following paragraph.

696. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 586 no. 5730.

order that we might assist him and he might make us aware of his affairs. I shall return and bring them to you forthwith. [2400] If they view what you suggested as I do, then the members of the army and the amīr will view it in the same way. If they do not view it so, you will allow them to return to safety and you will be able to start your affair.[697]

Al-Arṭabūn said: "Agreed." He called a man, spoke to him secretly, and said: "Go to so-and-so and send him back to me." The man came back, and al-Arṭabūn said to ʿAmr: "Go and bring your companions." ʿAmr went away and decided not to come back. The Byzantine understood that ʿAmr had deceived him and said: "The man has deceived me; he is the most cunning of creatures." ʿUmar came to know about it and said: "ʿAmr got the better of him! How excellent is ʿAmr!"

ʿAmr moved against al-Arṭabūn after he came to know where he could be attacked and what would be his end. They confronted each other, and al-Arṭabūn did not have any other choice. The confrontation took place at Ajnādayn, and the two armies fought a heavy battle, like the battle of Yarmūk, in which many were killed. Arṭabūn was defeated with his men and took refuge in Jerusalem, while ʿAmr camped at Ajnādayn. When Arṭabūn came to Jerusalem, the Muslims did not stand in his way and enabled him to enter the city. Then ʿAmr moved the Muslims to Ajnādayn, and ʿAlqamah, Masrūq, Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, and Abū Ayyūb joined ʿAmr at Ajnādayn.

Arṭabūn wrote to ʿAmr saying: "You are my friend and opposite number; the position you hold among your people is comparable to my position among mine. By God, you will not conquer any part of Palestine after Ajnādayn. Go back and do not be deceived, lest you be defeated like those before you." ʿAmr summoned a man who spoke Greek, sent him to Arṭabūn, and ordered him to behave like a stranger and to disguise himself. He instructed him: "Listen to what he says so that you can give me the information about it when you come back, God willing," and he wrote to Arṭabūn, saying: "I have received your letter. You are my opposite number among your people. If you were not in possession of excellent qualities, you would not be aware of my virtues; but you do know that I am the

697. Probably meaning that he will be able to start the battle, having exhausted all other options.

man destined to conquer this land. I am seeking against you the help of so-and-so and so-and-so and so-and-so (he mentioned some of Arṭabūn's aides); read my letter to them and let them look into what is between me and you."

[2401] The envoy set out in accordance with ʿAmr's orders. He came to Arṭabūn and gave him the letter in the presence of some people, and Arṭabūn read the letter aloud. They laughed and wondered; then they approached Arṭabūn, saying: "From what source do you know that he is not the man destined to conquer this land?" Arṭabūn said: "The name of the man destined to do it is ʿUmar. It is written with three letters."[698] The envoy returned to ʿAmr, who understood now that the man was ʿUmar. He wrote to ʿUmar, asking his help and saying: "I am conducting a difficult and fierce war and [struggling for] a land that has been held and preserved for you. I desire your opinion." When ʿAmr wrote to ʿUmar about this, ʿUmar knew that he was speaking out of knowledge. He summoned the people, set out with them, and camped at al-Jābiyah.[699]

All in all ʿUmar went to Syria four times. The first time he rode a horse; the second time he rode a camel; the third time he failed to reach Syria because the plague was raging, and the fourth time he entered Syria on a donkey.

ʿUmar appointed [ʿAlī to govern Medina in his stead].[700] At the
[2402] time of his departure [from Medina] for the first time he wrote to the amīrs of the provinces and instructed them to meet him at al-Jābiyah on a day which he specified for them. He instructed them to come with light cavalry (*mujarradah*)[701] and to appoint deputies to govern their provinces. They met him where al-Jābiyah came into view. The first man to meet him was Yazīd, then Abū ʿUbaydah, and then Khālid. They were riding on horses and were clad in brocade and silk. ʿUmar dismounted, took stones in his hand, and pelted them. He said: "How quickly were you turned away from your senses! Is it me that you are coming to meet in this attire?[702] You

698. The name ʿUmar consists of three letters in the Arabic script, whereas the name ʿAmr consists of four.

699. See note 487, above.

700. I have augmented Ṭabarī's cryptic text here, in light of ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 389, and the tradition adduced in note g to this page in the Leiden edition.

701. See note 63, above.

702. Knowing ʿUmar's austere demeanor. For a different description of ʿUmar's meeting with his silk-clad commanders, see Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 295.

have been eating well for two years. How quickly has gluttony led you astray! By God, if you did this at the head of two hundred men, I would have replaced you with others." They replied: "O Commander of the Faithful, these are coats, and we have our weapons with us." ʿUmar said: "It is all right, then," and he rode on till he entered al-Jābiyah. ʿAmr and Shuraḥbīl were at that time in Ajnādayn and did not move from their place.

The Conquest of Jerusalem

According to Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh: When ʿUmar reached al-Jābiyah, a Jew said to him: "O Commander of the Faithful, you will not return to your country before God has granted you victory over Jerusalem." While in al-Jābiyah ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb saw an approaching detachment of horsemen. When they came close, they drew their swords, but ʿUmar said: "These are people who are coming to seek an assurance of safety. Grant it to them." They drew near and it became clear that they were people from Jerusalem. They made peace with ʿUmar on the condition that they would pay the poll tax and opened up Jerusalem for him. When ʿUmar was granted victory over Jerusalem, he summoned that same Jew, and it was said to him: "He is, indeed, in possession of knowledge." ʿUmar asked the Jew about the false Messiah, for he was wont to ask about him a great deal. The Jew said to him: "What are you asking about him, O Commander of the Faithful? You, the Arabs, will kill him ten odd cubits in front of the gate of Lydda."[703] [2403]

According to Sālim: When ʿUmar entered Syria, a Jew from Damascus met him and said: "Peace be upon you, O Fārūq! You are the master of Jerusalem. By God, you will not return before God conquers Jerusalem!"[704]

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703. For the killing of al-Dajjāl in the eschatological struggle between him and the true Messiah near the gate of Lydda, see Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, II, 1361 (*Kitāb al-fitan, bāb* 36).

704. For a very different version of the prediction of the conquest of Palestine by the Muslims, see Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 296–97. For an analysis of the differences between the two versions, see Crone, *Slaves*, 207–8 n. 60.

Regarding ʿUmar's epithet al-Fārūq, the Sunni Muslim tradition maintains that ʿUmar was so named because he knew the distinction between truth and falsehood (*farraqa bayna al-ḥaqq wa al-bāṭil*). See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib*, 19. See also now S. Bashear, "The Title 'Fārūq.'"

[The people of Jerusalem] caused distress to ʿAmr and he caused distress to them, but he could not conquer Jerusalem, nor could he conquer al-Ramlah.

While ʿUmar was camping in al-Jābiyah, the Muslims seized their weapons in alarm. ʿUmar asked: "What is it?", and they replied: "Do you not see the horsemen and the swords?" ʿUmar looked and saw a detachment of horsemen brandishing their swords. He said: "They are seeking an assurance of safety. Do not be afraid, but grant it to them." They granted them an assurance of safety and [it became clear that] these were people from Jerusalem. They gave to ʿUmar ... [705] and asked him to give them in writing [the peace terms] for Jerusalem and its region and for al-Ramlah and its region. Palestine was divided into two parts: one part was with the people of Jerusalem, and the other with the people of al-Ramlah. The people of Palestine were [organized in] ten provinces, and Palestine was equal to Syria in its entirety.

The Jew witnessed the conclusion of the peace treaty. ʿUmar asked him about the false Messiah. The Jew said: "He is from the sons of Benjamin. By God, you Arabs will kill him ten odd cubits from the gate of Lydda."

[2404] According to Khālid and ʿUbādah: The peace treaty concerning Palestine was concluded by the populace of Jerusalem and al-Ramlah. The reason for this was that Arṭabūn and al-Tadhāriq had left for Egypt when ʿUmar came to al-Jābiyah; they were subsequently killed in one of the summer expeditions.

It was said that the reason for ʿUmar's coming to Syria was the following: Abū ʿUbaydah besieged Jerusalem. Its people asked him to conclude peace with them on the conditions of the Syrian cities and asked that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb be responsible for the treaty. Abū ʿUbaydah wrote to ʿUmar about it, and ʿUmar made the journey from Medina.

According to ʿAdī b. Sahl: When the Muslims of Syria asked ʿUmar to help them against the people of Palestine, he appointed ʿAlī as his deputy and set out to reinforce them. ʿAlī said: "Where
[2405] are going by yourself? You are heading toward a rabid enemy." ʿUmar said: "I hasten to fight the enemy before the death of al-ʿAbbās. If

705. The object of the verb is missing. The Leiden editor's suggestion is that a word like "obedience" (*ṭāʿah*) or "poll tax" (*jizyah*) was omitted.

you lose al-ʿAbbās, evil will untwist you like the ends of a rope." ʿAmr and Shuraḥbīl joined ʿUmar in al-Jābiyah when the peace [with the people of Palestine] was concluded. They witnessed the writing [of the treaty].

According to Khālid and ʿUbādah: ʿUmar made peace with the people of Jerusalem in al-Jābiyah. He wrote for them the peace conditions. He wrote one[706] letter to all the provinces [of Palestine] except to the people of Jerusalem:[707]

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is the assurance of safety (*amān*) which the servant of God, ʿUmar, the Commander of the Faithful, has granted to the people of Jerusalem. He has given them an assurance of safety for themselves, for their property, their churches, their crosses, the sick and the healthy of the city,[708] and for all the rituals that belong to their religion. Their churches will not be inhabited [by Muslims] and will not be destroyed. Neither they, nor the land on which they stand, nor their cross,[709] nor their property will be damaged. They will not be forcibly converted. No Jew will live with them in Jerusalem. The people of Jerusalem must pay the poll tax like the people of the [other] cities, and they must expel the Byzantines and the robbers.[710] As for those who will leave the city, their lives and property will be safe until they reach their place of safety; and as for those who remain, they will be safe. They will have to pay the poll tax like the people of Jerusalem. Those of the people of Jerusalem who want to leave with the Byzantines, take their property, and abandon [2406]

706. In the sense of "identical"; see the phrase introducing the letter to the people of Lydda, p. 2406, below.

707. The people of Jerusalem received a different letter, which follows here.

708. See note 225, above.

709. Busse ("ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb," 114–15) suggests that this is a reference to the "true cross," taken by the Persians during their invasion of 614 and returned to Jerusalem by Heraclius in 629; cf. Ostrogorsky, *History*, 95, 104; de Goeje (*Mémoire*, 153) and Fattal (*Le status*, 45) translate as if *ṣalīb* were in the plural, like *ṣulbān* above.

710. Ṭabarī has *luṣūt* (sg. *liṣt*) for the usual Arabic *luṣūṣ* (sg. *liṣṣ*). According to Ibn Manẓūr (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *l-ṣ-t*), this is the form of the word in the dialect of Ṭayyiʾ. For the connection between *liṣṣ* and the Aramaic *listīm*, see Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, 284.

their churches and their crosses will be safe[711] until they reach their place of safety. Those villagers (*ahl al-arḍ*) who were in Jerusalem before the killing of so-and-so[712] may remain in the city if they wish, but they must pay the poll tax like the people of Jerusalem. Those who wish may go with the Byzantines, and and those who wish may return to their families. Nothing will be taken from them before their harvest is reaped. If they pay the poll tax according to their obligations, then the contents of this letter are under the covenant of God, are the responsibility of His Prophet, of the caliphs, and of the faithful. The persons who attest to it are Khālid b. al-Walīd, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf,[713] and Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. This letter was written and prepared in the year 15/636–37.

The rest of the letters were identical to the letter of Lydda [which follows]:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is what the servant of God, ʿUmar, the Commander of the
[2407] Faithful, awarded to the people of Lydda and to all the people of Palestine who are in the same category. He gave them an assurance of safety for themselves, for their property, their churches, their crosses, their sick and their healthy, and all their rites. Their churches will not be inhabited [by the Muslims] and will not be destroyed. Neither their churches, nor the land where they stand, nor their rituals, nor their crosses, nor their property will be damaged. They will not be forcibly converted, and none of them will be harmed. The people of Lydda and those of the people of Palestine who are in the same category must pay the poll tax like the people of the Syrian cities. The same conditions, in their entirety, apply to them if they leave (Lydda).

He then sent to them [an army] and divided Palestine between two

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711. I have omitted here the words *ʿalā biyaʿihim wa-ṣulubihim*, "their churches and crosses [will be safe]"; this does not make sense in this place. Cf. de Goeje, *Mémoire*, 153 n. 2.

712. The meaning of these words is not clear; cf. de Goeje, *Mémoire*, 153 n. 3. They are missing in the text of the letter included in Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf*, I, 233.

713. See note 4, above.

men; he put ʿAlqamah b. Ḥakīm in charge of one half and stationed him in al-Ramlah, and he put ʿAlqamah b. Mujazziz in charge of the other half and stationed him in Jerusalem. Each of them stayed in his province with the soldiers who were with him.

According to Sālim: [ʿUmar] appointed ʿAlqamah b. Mujazziz governor of Jerusalem and appointed ʿAlqamah b. al-Ḥakīm governor of al-Ramlah. He placed the soldiers who were with ʿAmr (b. al-ʿĀṣī) at their disposal. He ordered ʿAmr and Shuraḥbīl to join him in al-Jābiyah. When they reached al-Jābiyah, they found ʿUmar riding. They kissed his knee, and ʿUmar embraced them, holding them to his chest.

According to ʿUbādah and Khālid: Having sent the assurance of safety to the people of Jerusalem and having stationed the army there, ʿUmar set out from al-Jābiyah to Jerusalem. He saw that his horse had injuries on its hooves. So he dismounted, and a jade was brought to him and he rode it. The jade shook him, however, so ʿUmar dismounted, hit the jade's face with his mantle, and said: "May God make ugly him who taught you this!" Then he called for his horse to be brought to him, after he had left him unridden for a few days, and treated his hooves. He mounted his horse and rode until he reached Jerusalem.

According to Abū Ṣafiyyah, an elder from Banū Shaybān: When ʿUmar came to Syria, he was brought a jade and rode it. The jade moved in an unstable manner, inclining from side to side. ʿUmar dismounted, hit the jade's face, and said: "May God not teach him [2408]
who taught you this sort of pride!" He had not ridden a jade before that or after that.

Jerusalem and its entire region were conquered by ʿUmar, except for Ajnādayn, which was conquered by ʿAmr (b. al-ʿĀṣi), and Caesarea, which was conquered by Muʿāwiyah (b. Abī Sufyān).

According to Abū ʿUthmān and Abū Ḥārithah: Jerusalem and its region were conquered in the month of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir of the year 16/ May 637.

According to Abū Maryam, the client of Salāmah, who said: I witnessed the conquest of Jerusalem with ʿUmar: He set out from al-Jābiyah, leaving it behind until he came to Jerusalem. He then went on and entered the mosque.[714] Then he went on toward the *miḥrāb*

714. *Al-masjid* refers in this context to the Temple Mount, in keeping with the

of David,[715] while we were with him; he entered it, recited the prostration of David,[716] and prostrated himself, and we prostrated ourselves with him.

According to Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywah—persons who were present at the event: When ʿUmar came from al-Jābiyah to Jerusalem and drew near the gate of the mosque,[717] he said: "Watch out for Kaʿb on my behalf!"[718] When the gate was opened for him, he said: "O God, I am ready to serve you in what you love most." Then he turned to the *miḥrāb*, the *miḥrāb* of David, peace be upon him. It was at night, and he prayed there.[719] It was not long before dawn broke, and then ʿUmar ordered the *muʾadhdhin* to sound the call for prayer.[720] Then he moved forward, led the prayer, and recited Sūrat Ṣād[721] with the people. During the prayer he prostrated himself. Then he stood up and read with them in the second (*rakʿah*) the beginning of Sūrat Banī Isrāʾīl.[722] Then he prayed another *rakʿah* and went away. He said: "Bring Kaʿb to me." Kaʿb was brought to him. ʿUmar said: "Where do you think we should establish the place of prayer?" Kaʿb

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most current interpretation of Qurʾān 17:1, which identifies *al-masjid al-aqṣā*, "the farthest mosque," with Jerusalem. Cf. Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb," 83.

715. For a discussion of the possible meanings of *miḥrāb Dāwūd*, the citadel of David near the Jaffa gate, on the northwestern corner of the old city of Jerusalem or a place on the Temple Mount itself, see Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb," 79–83; Busse, "ʿOmar's Image," 165–66.

716. Qurʾān 38:21–25, where David prostrates himself, repents, and asks God to forgive him.

717. *Masjid* is used here in the sense of the whole *ḥaram* area; a mosque was not yet in existence. I am indebted to my colleague Dr. A. Elʿad for this note.

718. Kaʿb al-Aḥbār was a Yemenite Jew who converted to Islam during the reign of Abū Bakr or ʿUmar and was considered an important transmitter of Jewish traditions into Islamic lore. See Wolfensohn, *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār*. Numerous traditions transmitted by him have been assembled and analyzed in Kister, "Ḥaddithū ʿan banī Isrāʾīl." See also *EI*², s.v. "Kaʿb al-Aḥbār" (M. Schmitz).

719. Busse maintains that, in this tradition, *miḥrāb Dāwūd* refers to the citadel of David. He suggests that ʿUmar's night prayer is a reflection of a Christian custom of praying there at night. See "ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb," 84; Busse, "ʿOmar's Image," 166.

720. The tradition uses the word *iqāmah*, which signifies the second call to prayer, pronounced in the mosque immediately before the service begins. See *EI*², s.vv. "Adhān" (Th. W. Juynboll), "Iḳāma" (Th. W. Juynboll).

721. Qurʾān 38.

722. Qurʾān 17, known also as *Sūrat al-isrāʾ*, "the nocturnal journey." The "further mosque" in the first verse of this sūrah is usually understood as referring to Jerusalem. The verse reads "Glory be to Him, Who carried His servant by night from the Holy Mosque to the Further Mosque the precincts of which We have blessed, that We may show him some of Our signs." (Arberry's translation)

said: "Toward the Rock."[723] ʿUmar said: "O Kaʿb, you are imitating the Jewish religion! I have seen you taking off your shoes." Kaʿb said: "I wanted to touch this ground with my feet." ʿUmar said: "I have seen you. Nay, we shall place the *qiblah* in the front of it; the Messenger of God likewise made the front part of our mosques the *qiblah*.[724] Take care of your own affairs; we were not commanded to venerate the Rock, but we were commanded to venerate the Kaʿbah."

ʿUmar made the front part of the mosque its *qiblah*. Then he stood up from his place of prayer and went to the rubbish in which [2409] the Romans buried the temple (*bayt al-maqdis*) at the time of the sons of Israel. (When he came to the Byzantines, they had uncovered a part but left the rest [under the rubbish].) He said: "O people, do what I am doing."[725] He knelt in the midst of the rubbish and put it by the handful into the lower part of his mantle.[726] He heard behind him the proclamation "God is most great!" He disliked improper behavior[727] in any matter and said: "What is this?" The people said:

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723. The tradition as it appears in Ṭabarī is not very clear and has to be understood in light of a fuller version which can be found in Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf*, I, 236–37. It reads: "Umar said to Kaʿb: 'Where do you think we should place the mosque?' Or he said: '... the direction of prayer?' Kaʿb said: 'Place the mosque behind the Rock, so that the two directions of prayer—that of Moses and that of Muḥammad—merge with one another'" (*fa-qāla ʿUmar li-Kaʿb: ayna tarā an naj̆ʿala al-masjida? aw qāla: al-qiblata. fa-qāla: ij̆ʿalhu khalfa al-ṣakhrati fa-tajtamiʿu al-qiblatāni qiblatu Mūsā wa-qiblatu Muḥammad ...*) In our version Kaʿb responds to ʿUmar's question about the direction of prayer, which is not mentioned in Ṭabarī's text.

See additional sources for this tradition in Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil*, 45–46. See also Kister, "Three Mosques," 194, for another tradition forbidding the combination of the two directions of prayer. It has to be kept in mind, however, that Muslim tradition has also preserved material that treats the Rock in a much more positive way; see, for instance, Wāsiṭī, *Faḍāʾil*, 67ff.

It is noteworthy that the idea of combining the *qiblah* of Jerusalem with that of Mecca can be found also in the traditions describing the customs of the Prophet himself. While still in Mecca, before the *hijrah*, he is said to have prayed "facing Syria, placing the Kaʿbah between himself and Syria" (*wa-kāna idhā ṣallā istaqbala al-Shām wa-jaʿala al Kaʿbah baynahu wa-bayna al-Shām*). See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat*, 228 (= Guillaume, *Life of Muḥammad*, 157–58), Maqdisī, *Faḍāʾil*, 54. For the *qiblah* in general, see *EI*², s.v. "Ḳibla. i" (A. J. Wensinck).

724. The front part of the mosque seems to mean here the southern part of the Temple Mount. The believers pray facing the south, with their backs toward the Rock.

725. Cf. Busse, "ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb," 87–88.

726. For this meaning of *farj*, see de Goeje's *Glossary*, s.vv. *farj*, *birka*. Al-Wāsiṭī (*Faḍāʾil*, 78) has *malaʾa asfala thawbihi min al-mazbalah*.

727. The impropriety seems to lie in proclaiming God's greatness while dealing with rubbish.

"Kaʿb proclaimed 'God is most great!' and the people proclaimed it following him." ʿUmar said: "Bring him to me!" Kaʿb said: "O Commander of the Faithful, five hundred years ago a prophet predicted what you have done today." ʿUmar asked: "In what way?" Kaʿb said:

> The Byzantines (*Rūm*) attacked the sons of Israel, were given victory over them, and buried the temple. Then they were given another victory, but they did not attend to the temple until the Persians attacked them. The Persians oppressed the sons of Israel. Later the Byzantines were given victory over the Persians. Then you came to rule. God sent a prophet to the [city buried in] rubbish and said: "Rejoice O Jerusalem (*Ūrī shalam*)![728] Al-Fārūq[729] will come to you and cleanse you." Another prophet was sent to Constantinople. He stood on a hill belonging to the city and said: "O Constantinople, what did your people do to My House? They ruined it, presented you as if you were similar to My throne and made interpretations contrary to My purpose.[730] I have determined to make you one day unfortified (and defenseless).[731] Nobody will seek shelter from you, nor rest in your shade. [I shall make you unfortified] at the hands of Banū al-Qādhir, Sabā, and Waddān."[732]

By the time it was evening nothing remained of the rubbish.

An identical tradition was transmitted according to Rabīʿah al-Shāmī. He added: "Al-Fārūq came to you with my obedient army. They will take revenge upon the Byzantines on behalf of your people." Regarding Constantinople he said: "I shall leave you unforti-

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728. The use of this unusual form, rather than the common Iliyā or Bayt al-Maqdis, is intended to enhance the air of authenticity that the tradition seeks to infuse into this prophecy.

729. See note 704, above.

730. This meaning of *taʾawwalū ʿalayya*, which is close to that suggested by Busse ("ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭab," 92), seems better than that in Blachère *et al.*, *Dictionnaire*, I, 307b.

731. Ibn Manẓūr (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *j-l-ḥ*) quotes a different version of this tradition and explains *jalḥāʾ* as "having no fort." The basic significance of the root is baldness; hence it came to mean a bull without horns that he can use to defend himself, thus *qaryah jalḥāʾ*, a city without a fort as means of defense.

732. See Ezekiel 27:19–22. Busse ("ʿOmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb," 92 n. 72) suggests reading Dedan, mentioned in Ezekiel together with Qedar and Sheva, instead of Waddān.

fied and exposed to the sun; nobody will seek shelter from you, and you will not cast your shade on anyone."[733]

According to Anas b. Mālik:

> I was present in Jerusalem with ʿUmar. While he was giving food to the people one day, a monk from Jerusalem came to him without knowing that wine had been prohibited. The monk said: "Do you want a drink which will be permissible according to our books [even] when wine is prohibited?" [2410]

ʿUmar asked him to bring it and said: "From what has it been prepared?" The monk informed him that he had cooked it from juice until only one-third of it remained. ʿUmar dipped his finger into it, then stirred it in the vessel, divided it into two halves, and said: "This is syrup (*ṭilāʾ*)." He likened it to resin (*qaṭirān*), drank from it, and ordered the amīrs of the Syrian provinces to prepare it. He wrote to the newly established garrison towns (*amṣār*), saying: "I have been brought a beverage cooked from juice until two-thirds of it were gone and one-third remained. It is like syrup. Cook it and provide it to the Muslims."[734]

According to Abū ʿUthmān and Abū Ḥārithah: Arṭabūn went to Egypt when ʿUmar came to al-Jābiyah. Those who rejected the peace agreement and wanted [to go with him] joined him. Then, when the people of Egypt made a peace agreement [with the Muslims] and defeated the Byzantines, he took to the sea and survived afterward. He commanded the summer expeditions of the Byzantines and con-

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733. Cf. Wolfensohn, *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār*, 27–28.

734. In this tradition ʿUmar is described as giving legitimacy to a beverage that may be problematic because of its affinity with wine. Although the method of preparation does not indicate that the beverage contained alcohol, it is noteworthy that the Muslim tradition preserved prophetic utterances in which *ṭilāʾ* is understood as a euphemism for wine. See Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, III, 450 (and Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, V, 342): "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanm entered upon us, and we discussed *ṭilāʾ*. He said: Abū Mālik al-Ashʿarī told me that he had heard the Prophet saying: 'People from my community will drink wine, calling it by another name.'" For a more outspoken version, see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *ṭ-l-y*: "'People from my community will drink wine and call it by another name,' meaning that they will drink intoxicating cooked date wine (*nabīdh*) and call it a 'syrup' (*ṭilāʾ*), because of their unwillingness to call it 'wine' (*khamr*)."

For traditions stating that two-thirds of the juice must evaporate in cooking before it becomes permissible for the Muslims, see Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, VIII, 328–31, Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, I, 298. See also Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, II, 847 (*Kitāb al-ashribah*, 14), for a tradition very similar to that reported by Ṭabarī.

fronted the commander of the Muslim summer expeditions. Arṭabūn and a man from the tribe of Qays, whose name was Ḍurays, exchanged blows,[735] and Arṭabūn cut the Qaysī's hand.[736] The Qaysī killed him and recited:

Though Arṭabūn of the Byzantines maimed my hand,
there is still some use to it, praise be to God.
Two fingers and a stump,[737] with which I hold straight
the front part of the spear when people are struck with fear.[738]
Though Arṭabūn of the Byzantines cut my hand,
I left his limbs cut to pieces, in return.

Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah recited:

I remembered the long wars against the Byzantines,
when we spent a year full of journeys.
[2411] When we were in the land of Ḥijāz and
a month's journey separated us,[739] with anxieties in between;
When Arṭabūn of the Byzantines defended his country,
a noble chieftain tackled him here and struggled with him;
When al-Fārūq saw that the time [was right] for the conquest of Arṭabūn's land,
he brought forward God's soldiers to attack him.
When they became aware of al-Fārūq and feared his assault,
they came to him and said: "You are of those whom we shall befriend."
Syria threw its buried treasures at his feet,[740]

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735. Ṭabarī has *fa-yakhtalifu huwa wa-rajulun mim Qays*. I have translated according to a parallel version of the story in Tibrīzī's commentary on Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsah*, I, 239, where the Muslim warrior is ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣabrah and the text reads: *fa-ʾkhtalafa huwa wa-ʿAbdallāh ḍarbatayni*. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 11–12 no. 6177, 89 no. 6327. For another occurrence of this idiom, see Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ al-siyar*, I, 174.

736. The rest of the story and the following poem indicate that he cut off only three fingers.

737. Reading *judhmūr* instead of *jurmūz*. This version of the verse, attributed to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣabrah, can be found in Tibrīzī's commentary on Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsah*, I, 239. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *j-dh-m-r*. On ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣabrah, who is counted among the "brigands" (*futtāk*) of Islam, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 89; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 222–26.

738. Meaning that he is still capable of defending his people despite the injury that Arṭabūn inflicted upon him.

739. Presumably from the Byzantines.

740. It is noteworthy that similar descriptions of the earth's throwing up its buried

as well as a life of abundance with countless gains.[741]
He put whatever was between east and west at our disposal,
as inheritance for posterity, gathered by his two-humped camels.[742]
Many a beast of burden that had been unable to carry its load,
[now] carried a burden while being well into pregnancy.[743]

Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah also recited:

When ʿUmar received the letters,[744] he rose
like a proud, young chieftain defending the property of the tribe.
The land of Syria was bursting with people,
desiring the most courageous of men.
When he received (the information) that he received, he responded
with an army to which dissensions bowed their heads.[745]
Spacious Syria brought what
Abū Hafṣ[746] wanted, and even more.
He allotted among them the poll tax,
and every pleasant and commendable gift.

The Introduction of the Pay System (ʿaṭāʾ)[747] *and of the Military Register* (dīwān)[748]

In this year ʿUmar assigned payments to the Muslims and established the [military] registers. He determined the payments accord-

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treasures can be found in the chapters of Muslim tradition dealing with the miraculous events expected to occur immediately before the Day of Judgment: "Earth will throw up oblong pieces of gold and silver, having the size of a column" (*taqīʾu al-arḍ aflādha kabidihā amthāl al-usṭuwān min al-dhahab wa al-fiḍḍah*). See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 701 (*Kitāb al-zakāt, bāb* 18:62); Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, IV, 362 (*Kitāb al-fitan, bāb* 36:2209). See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *th-q-l*, where *aflādh kabidihā* is glossed by *kunūz*. Although one should not read too much into this similarity, it is an indication of the tremendous impression that the newly acquired wealth made on the early Muslims.

741. For this meaning of *maʾkal*, pl. *maʾākil*, see Jawharī, *Tāj al-lughah*, III, 1365, who glosses *maʾkal* by *kasb*.

742. I am translating according to de Goeje's suggestion in *Glossary*, s.v. *qarmal: thabathā* instead of *banathā*.

743. The translation of this verse is tentative and uncertain.

744. Probably meaning letters that bear the news of victory.

745. While de Goeje's suggestion in *Glossary* (s.v. *sh-b-k*), on which my translation is based, is not very convincing, I am at present not able to provide a better one.

746. This is ʿUmar's *kunyah*; cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib*, 9.

747. See *EI*², s.v. "ʿAṭā" (Cl. Cahen).

748. See *EI*², s.v. "Dīwān i" (A. A. Duri).

ing to seniority [in Islam].[749] He gave to Ṣafwān b. Umayyah,[750] al-
[2412] Ḥārith b. Hishām,[751] and Suhayl b. ʿAmr[752] with the people of the conquest (*ahl al-fatḥ*)[753] less than what those who had preceded them received. They refused to accept it, saying: "We do not acknowledge that anybody is more noble than we are." ʿUmar replied: "I have given to you according to your seniority in Islam, not according to your ancestral nobility." They said: "It is all right, then," and they accepted the payment. Al-Ḥārith and Suhayl left for Syria with their families and continued to wage *jihād* until they were killed in one of the frontier points there; but according to another tradition, they died in the plague of ʿAmwās.[754]

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749. Meaning that the payments were determined according to the date on which the person in question embraced the new religion: Those who joined Islam at the earliest date received the largest amount.

750. Ṣafwān b. Umayyah was a prominent member of Quraysh. His father was killed in the battle of Badr, fighting on the side of the Meccans. Ṣafwān also fought in skirmishes against the Muslims and embraced Islam only after the conquest of Mecca. He was given a share in the spoils of the battle of Ḥunayn and became one of the *mu'allafah qulūbuhum* "those whose hearts have been reconciled" (i.e., to Islam, by means of gifts). According to some traditions, Ṣafwān participated in the battle of Yarmūk; according to others, there is no evidence that he ever took part in any battle on the side of the Muslims. He died in Shawwāl 36/March–April 657 (or in 41/661–62, or 42/662–63). See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 332 and index; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 22–23; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 432–34; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 424–25.

751. Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām was a prominent member of the Qurashī clan of Makhzūm. He fought against the Muslims in the battles of Badr and Uḥud. He embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca, participated in the battle of Ḥunayn, and received a share in the spoils. Later he took part in the battles of Fiḥl and Ajnādayn against the Byzantines. According to some traditions, he was killed in the battle of Yarmūk; according to others, he died in the plague of ʿAmwās in 18/639–40. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 329; VII/ii, 126; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 351–52; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 605–8 no. 1506; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 161–62.

752. Suhayl b. ʿAmr was a leading member of Quraysh. He fought against the Muslims in the battle of Badr, was taken prisoner, and was ransomed by his tribe. He was the person who negotiated the treaty of Ḥudaybiyyah with the Prophet. After the conquest of Mecca he switched sides; he took part in the battle of Ḥunayn on the side of the Prophet, though he was still a polytheist. He embraced Islam after this battle and became one of the *mu'allafah qulūbuhum*. After the Prophet's death he urged Quraysh to embrace Islam. Despite his late conversion, he became a pious and devout Muslim; he fought against the Byzantines in Syria and died in the plague of ʿAmwās (or in the battle of Yarmūk). See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 335 and index; ('I.) Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 371–73; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 212–15 no. 3575; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 264–5.

753. Those who embraced Islam only after the conquest of Mecca in 8/630 and did not join the Prophet in the earliest and most difficult period of his activity.

754. A notorious plague that struck Syria and Palestine in the year 18/639–40. See *EI*², s.v. "ʿAmwās" (J. Sourdel-Thomine); Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 139; Donner, *Conquests*, 152.

When ʿUmar intended to establish the military register, ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf[755] said to him: "Begin with yourself!" He said: "No, I shall rather begin with the uncle of the messenger of God, then the next and the next."[756] First he determined the share of al-ʿAbbās. Then he allotted to the participants in the battle of Badr[757] five thousand [dirhams] each. Then he allotted to those [who embraced Islam] after the battle of Badr and till al-Ḥudaybiyyah[758] four thousand each. Then he allotted to those [who embraced Islam] after al-Ḥudaybiyyah and up to the time when Abū Bakr finished the war with the people of apostasy (*ahl al-riddah*) three thousand each. Among them were those who participated in the conquest of Mecca, those who fought for Abū Bakr, and those who participated in the battles (of Iraq and Syria) before al-Qādisiyyah. All these received three thousand each. Then he allotted to the people of al-Qādisiyyah and to those who fought in Syria [after the battle of al-Qādisiyyah] two thousand each. To the people of outstanding bravery from among them he allotted two thousand and five hundred each. It was said to him: "Would you make the people of al-Qādisiyyah equal to those who had fought in the previous battles?"[759] He replied: "I am not in a position to make them equal with those whose rank they had not attained." It was also said to him: "But you have already made those who live far [from the battlefield] equal to those who live close and fought in defense of their homes." He replied: "Those who live close deserve more because they provided assistance in pursuit and constituted an obstruction for the enemy. And did the Emigrants not say the same when we made them equal with the Helpers? The assistance provided by the Helpers was near their homes, and the Emigrants came to them from far away." [2413]

ʿUmar allotted to those [who embraced Islam and joined the Muslim army] after al-Qādisiyyah and al-Yarmūk[760] one thousand [dirhams] each. Then he allotted to the second group of latecomers[761]

755. See note 4, above.

756. In kinship with the Prophet.

757. The first and victorious battle of the Prophet against the Meccans in 2/634. See *EI*², s.v. "Badr" (W. Montgomery Watt).

758. A famous treaty that the Prophet concluded with the Meccans in 6/628. See *EI*², s.v. "al-Ḥudaybiyya" (W. Montgomery Watt).

759. See p. 2343, above.

760. For the battle of Yarmūk, see Donner, *Conquests*, 129ff.

761. *Rawādif*, sg. *rādifah*. For a discussion of this concept, see Donner, *Conquests*, 231ff.

five hundred each; and to the third group[762] three hundred each. Members of each group received equal payment, whether they were strong or weak, Arabs or non-Arabs. To the fourth group he allotted two hundred and fifty dirhams. He allotted to those who came after them, i.e., the people of Hajar[763] and the Christians of al-Ḥīrah (*al-ʿIbād*),[764] two hundred dirhams. He made four persons who had not participated in the battle of Badr equal to the participants: al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn,[765] Abū Dharr,[766] and Salmān. He allotted to al-ʿAbbās twenty-five thousand dirhams, but according to another tradition, twelve thousand.

He gave to the wives of the Prophet ten thousand dirhams each, except those who were slave girls.[767] The Prophet's wives said: "The Prophet did not prefer us to them in the division of his time; make us all equal!"[768] ʿUmar agreed. He gave ʿĀʾishah two thousand dirhams more than to the others because the Prophet loved her,[769] but she did not accept that. He allotted to the wives of the participants in the battle of Badr five hundred dirhams each; to the wives of those who came after them, till al-Ḥudaybiyyah, four hundred each; to the wives of those who came after them, till the battles of Iraq and Syria,

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762. Omitting *baʿdahum* "who came after them."

763. Hajar was a town in Baḥrayn, in eastern Arabia. See *EI*[1], s.v. "Hadjar" (Fr. Buhl); *EI*[2], s.v. "al-Ḥasā" (F. S. Vidal). For the emigration from Hajar to Iraq, see *EI*[2], s.v. "ʿAbd al-Ḳays" (W. Caskel); Morony, *Iraq*, 241.

764. Presumably after they embraced Islam. For another interpretation of *al-ʿibād*, see Donner, *Conquests*, 233 n. 65.

765. Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were the sons of Fāṭimah and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and grandsons of the Prophet.

766. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī was a Companion of the Prophet and is considered in the tradition to be one of the first believers. See *EI*[2], s.v. "Abū Dharr" (J. Robson).

767. *Man jarā ʿalayhā al-milk* has to be understood in light of Qurʾān 4:4: "Marry such women as seem good to you, two, three, four; but, if you fear you will not be equitable, then only one or what your right hand owns" (*aw man malakat aymānukum*). This phrase is normally understood as a reference to slave girls taken captive in war. Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 455) records a tradition according to which ʿUmar allotted to Juwayriyyah (bt. al-Ḥārith) and Ṣafiyyah bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab only 6,000 dirhams (as against 12,000 for the free wives) because they were "part of the booty that God had restored to His prophet" (*mimmā afāʾa Allāh ʿalā rasūlihi*). Cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 83 l. 22, 153 l. 14, 158 l. 3, where these and other slave girls whom the Prophet married are described in similar terms.

768. The question of how the Prophet divided his time among his wives is discussed in Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 121–24.

769. Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 454; on the Prophet's relationship with ʿĀʾishah, see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 39ff.

three hundred each; to the wives of the people of al-Qādisiyyah two hundred each. He made the women after that equal, and he allotted to the boys one hundred dirhams each, equally.[770] Then he gathered sixty poor people and gave them bread to eat; they calculated what they ate and found that it was more than two *jarības*.[771] ʿUmar [2414] allotted to each of them and to his family two *jarības* per month. ʿUmar said before his death: "I planned to make the payments four thousand dirhams each: a man would give one thousand to his family; one thousand he would take with him [while traveling]; for one thousand he would equip himself;[772] and for one thousand he would equip his home (*yataraffaqu bihā*)."[773] But ʿUmar died before he could implement this.

Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī has said: According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, Ziyād, Mujālid, and ʿAmr — al-Shaʿbī; and Ismāʿīl — al-Ḥasan and Abū Ḍamrah — ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mustawrid — Muḥammad b. Sīrīn and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd — Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd — Ibrāhīm and Zuhrah — Abū Salamah: When ʿUmar allotted the payments, he allotted them to the people entitled to share in the immovable booty (*ahl al-fayʾ*) to whom God had restored it. These were the people of al-Madāʾin who moved to al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, Damascus, Ḥimṣ, Jordan, Palestine, and Egypt. He said: "The booty belongs to the people of the newly established garrison towns (*amṣār*) and to those who joined them, gave them assistance and stayed with them. It was not allotted to others. Is it not true that the cities and the villages were populated by them, that the peace treaties were administered by them, the poll tax was paid to them, that they made the frontier safe and that they subdued the enemy?" Then ʿUmar wrote a letter instructing that the payments be given to those who were entitled to them in one sum, in the year 15/636–37. Somebody said: "O Commander of the Faithful, would you leave in the treasury provisions for some [unexpected] eventuality?" ʿUmar said: "This is a sentence which Satan

770. Probably meaning that the allottment for the boys was determined without regard to the time when their fathers had embraced Islam and joined the Muslim army.

771. See Hinz, *Masse*, 38.

772. Presumably with military equipment.

773. Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 451, where the 4,000 dirhams are divided as follows: for traveling, for weapons, for the family, and for the horse and the shoes.

threw into your mouth. May God protect me from its wickedness! It
[2415] would be a temptation to those who will come after me. Nay, I shall prepare for them[774] what God and His Messenger have commanded us [to prepare]: obedience to God and to His Messenger. These are our provisions, and by virtue of these we attained to what you see. If this money is the price of your religion, you will perish."[775]

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, Ṭalḥah, ʿAmr, and Saʿīd: When God granted victory to the Muslims, Rustam was killed, and the news of the victory in Syria reached ʿUmar, he assembled the Muslims and said: "How much of this property can the leader legally keep?" All of them said:

> As for his private needs, his livelihood, and the livelihood of his family, neither more nor less; their garments and his garments for the winter and the summer; two riding beasts for his *jihād*, for attending to his needs, and for carrying him to his pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) and to his *ʿumrah*. Equitable distribution means giving to the valiant people according to their bravery. He will put the people's affairs right, and he will take care of the people at the time of misfortunes and calamities, until these are over. He will deal with those entitled to the immovable booty[776] first.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad — ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar: When ʿUmar received the news about the conquest of al-Qādisiyyah and Damascus, he assembled the people in Medina and said: "I was formerly a merchant, and God provided sufficiently for my family by means of my commerce. Now you have made me preoccupied with your affair. What do you think, how much of this property can I legally keep?" The people suggested a large amount, while ʿAlī (b. Abī Ṭālib) remained silent. ʿUmar said: "What do you say, O ʿAlī?", and ʿAlī replied, "[You can have] what will keep you and your family in a moderately good condition,[777] but you have no
[2416] right to this property beyond that." The people said: "The [right] words are the words of Ibn Abī Ṭālib."

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774. Meaning his successors in the leadership of the community.

775. If your religion is so weak that it depends on leaving this money in the treasury, you will perish.

776. *Ahl al-fayʾ*, meaning the warriors who seized enemy property in battle.

777. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2142–43, where Abū Bakr's income is discussed in similar terms.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad—ʿUbaydallāh—Nāfiʿ—Aslam: A man approached ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and said: "How much of this property can you legally keep?" ʿUmar replied: "What will keep me in a moderately good condition: a garment for the summer and a garment for the winter, a riding beast to take ʿUmar for his pilgrimage and the *ʿumrah*, and a riding beast for his needs and his *jihād*."[778]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mubashshir b. al-Fuḍayl—Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh: When ʿUmar assumed power, he was receiving the living allowance which had been allotted to Abū Bakr. He lived in this condition, but his needs kept increasing. A group of Emigrants, which included ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr got together, and al-Zubayr said: "We should speak to ʿUmar about increasing his income." ʿAlī said: "We have wanted to do it before. Let us go." ʿUthmān said: "This is ʿUmar.[779] Let us try hard to find out what he really thinks. Let us go to Ḥafṣah[780] and ask her in confidence." They entered into her presence and ordered her to inform ʿUmar [of the proposal] in the name of the group, but not to identify anyone of them to ʿUmar until he should agree. Then they left the house. Ḥafṣah met ʿUmar concerning this matter and discerned anger in his face. He said: "Who are they?" She said: "You have no way to know it before I know what you think." ʿUmar said: "If I knew who they were, I would harm them. You stand between me and them. I implore you by God, what was the best garment which the Messenger of God acquired for himself in your house?" Ḥafṣah said: "Two dyed garments in which he used to meet delegations[781] and deliver sermons to the assembled people." ʿUmar said: "And what was the most sumptuous food which he received in your house?" She said: "We baked barley bread. While it was hot, we poured over it [the contents of] the humblest skin,[782] and we made it soft and [2417]

778. The tradition shifts from direct speech by ʿUmar to wording in which ʿUmar is referred to in the third person.

779. Meaning, probably, that, in view of ʿUmar's austere way of life, one cannot speak to him directly about the proposed increase.

780. Ḥafṣah was the daughter of ʿUmar and one of the wives of the Prophet. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 56–60.

781. The reference is to delegations of tribal groups that came to meet the Prophet and embrace Islam, especially in the year 9/630–31, which came to be known as "year of the delegations," *sanat al-wufūd*.

782. *ʿUkkah* is a small skin used to hold clarified butter or honey. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *ʿ-k-k*.

fatty. He tasted it and found it good." ʿUmar said: "And what blanket which he used to spread in your house was the softest?" Ḥafṣah said: "We had a coarse cover which we used to spread in the summer and put under us. When winter came, we spread half of it, and covered ourselves with the other half." ʿUmar said:

> O Ḥafṣah, tell them on my behalf that the Messenger of God was frugal, put the surplus in its proper place, and contented himself with the bare necessities. By God, I am (also) frugal; I shall put the surplus in its proper place and shall content myself with the bare necessities. I and my two companions[783] are like three men who traveled on a road. The first one set out, took his provisions, and reached his destination. The second one followed him, traveled the same road, and reached him. Then the third one went in his footsteps. If he sticks to their road and is content with their provisions, he will reach them and be in their company; but if he travels another road, he will not [be able to] join them.

According to al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAṭiyyah — his companions and al-Ḍaḥḥāk — Ibn ʿAbbās: When al-Qādisiyyah was conquered and certain people of the *sawād* entered into peace agreements, and when Damascus was conquered and the people of Damascus entered into peace agreements, ʿUmar said to the Muslims: "Assemble and let me know your views on the spoils which God has restored to those who fought in al-Qādisiyyah and in Syria." ʿUmar and ʿAlī agreed to follow the Qur'ān and said: "'Whatever God has given to His Messenger from the people of the cities' (meaning the fifth) 'belongs to God and His Messenger' ... *li-Allāhi wa-li-al-rasūli* means *ilā Allāhi wa-ilā al-rasūli*; this means that God commands and the messenger is obliged to divide [the spoils] '... and to the near kinsman, the orphans, the needy [and the traveler, so that it may not be a thing taken in turns among the rich of
[2418] you ...].'"[784] Then they interpreted this in the light of the verse that follows: "It is for the poor Emigrants [who were expelled from their habitations and their possessions, seeking bounty from God and good pleasure]."[785] They took the four-fifths [and divided them] in

783. Meaning the Prophet and Abū Bakr, the first caliph.
784. Qur'ān 59:7.
785. For interpretations of these verses, see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVIII, 25.

the same way as the fifth had been divided among those who received it in the first three divisions. The four-fifths belong to those to whom God gave the spoils. They found proof of this in the verse "Know that, whatever booty you take, the fifth of it is God's and the messenger's."[786] The [four] fifths were divided according to this. ʿUmar and ʿAlī agreed upon this and the Muslims after them implemented it [as well]. ʿUmar began with the Emigrants, then with the Helpers, then with those who followed them, and with those who participated with them in battles and helped them.

ʿUmar then allotted the stipends from the poll tax which was imposed on those who entered [willingly] into peace agreements or were called upon to do so. The poll tax was restored to the Muslims in moderate sums. The poll tax is not to be divided into fifths. It belongs to those who protect the *ahl al-dhimmah*, fulfill the obligations toward them, and to those who join them and assist them, unless they willingly share the surplus [of the poll tax] with others who were not eligible to receive from it what they themselves had received.

Al-Ṭabarī has said: In this year, meaning the year 15/636–37, there were battles according to the report of Sayf b. ʿUmar. According to the report of Ibn Isḥāq, this was in the year 16. We have already mentioned the account of this on his authority. The report of al-Wāqidī is the same.

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786. Qur'ān 8:42.

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Included are names of persons, groups, and places, as well as Arabic terms that recur often in the text or are discussed in the footnotes. An asterisk (*) indicates a figure who is mentioned in the text only as a transmitter. Entries that are mentioned in both text and footnotes on the same page are listed by page number only. Finally, the Arabic definite article al-, *the abbreviation* b. *(for* ibn*), and all material in parentheses have been disregarded in the alphabetizing of entries.*

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XIII

The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt

TRANSLATED BY GAUTIER H. A. JUYNBOLL

The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt
Volume XIII
Translated by Gautier H. A. Juynboll

This volume deals with the aftermath of the decisive battle at al-Qādisiyyah described in the previous volume. First, the conquest of southern Iraq is consolidated; in rapid succession there follow the accounts of the battles at Burs and Bābil. Then in 16/637 the Muslim warriors make for the capital al-MadaᾺin, ancient Ctesiphon, which they conquer after a brief siege. The Persian king seeks refuge in Ḥulwān, leaving behind most of his riches, which are catalogued in great detail. In the same year the Muslim army deals the withdrawing Persians another crushing blow at the battle of JalūlāᾺ.

This volume is important in that it describes how the newly conquered territories are at first administered. As the climate of al-MadaᾺin is felt to be unwholesome, a new city is planned on the Tigris. This is al-Kūfah, which is destined to play an important role as the capital city of the fourth caliph, ᶜAlī. The planning of al-Kūfah is set forth in considerable detail, as is the building of its main features—the citadel and the great congregational mosque.

After this interlude there follow accounts of the conquests of a string of towns in northern Mesopotamia, which bring the Muslim fighters near the border with al-Jazirah. That region is conquered in 17/638. The history of its conquest is preceded by an account of the Byzantines' siege of the city of Ḥimṣ. Also in this year, ᶜUmar is recorded to have made a journey to Syria, from which he is driven back by a sudden outbreak of the plague, the so-called Plague of ᶜAmawās.

The scene then shifts back to southwestern Iran, where a number of cities are taken one after another. The Persian general al-Hurmuzān is captured and sent to Medina. After this, the conquest of Egypt—said to have taken place in 20/641—is recorded.

The volume concludes with a lengthy account of the crucial battle at Nihāwand of 21/642. Here the Persians receive a blow that breaks their resistance definitively.

This volume abounds in sometimes very amusing anecdotes of man-to-man battles, acts of heroism, and bizarre, at times even miraculous events. The narrative style is fast-moving, and the recurrence of similar motifs in the historical expose lends them authenticity. Many of the stories in this volume may have begun as yarns spun around campfires. It is not difficult to visualize an early Islamic storyteller regaling his audience with accounts that ultimately found their way to the file on conquest history collected by Sayf b. ᶜUmar, al-Tabarī's main authority for this volume.

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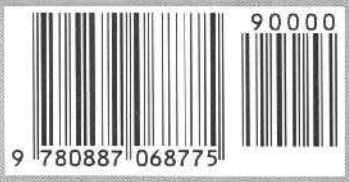

THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XIII

The Conquest of Iraq,
Southwestern Persia, and Egypt

THE MIDDLE YEARS OF 'UMAR'S CALIPHATE

A.D. 636–642/A.H. 15–21

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XIII

The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt

translated and annotated
by

Gautier H. A. Juynboll

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash

(—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

BOS: Bonner Orientalistische Studien.
EI²: Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1960—.
GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Vol 1, Leiden, 1967.
IJMES: International Journal of Middle East Studies.
JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.
JSAI: Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam.
WKAS: Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache, ed. M. Ullmann *et al.*, Wiesbaden, 1970.
ZDMG: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Translator's Foreword

This volume is almost exclusively associated with Sayf b. 'Umar (d. between 170/786 and 193/809), that controversial collector of material mainly dealing with the early conquests. With Oriental scholars in the Middle Ages as well as with western scholars during the last one hundred years or so, Sayf's material has always been a matter of debate as to whether or not it has any historical basis. However, this volume does not offer historical analysis; that I gladly leave to others better qualified. There is only one thing that I should like to dwell on briefly; that is the question of Sayf's seemingly inflated numbers.

If one reads through a volume such as this, one cannot help but wonder from where Sayf got his numbers. Presumably from his authorities. But who is responsible for inflating them? Now, whether it is Sayf himself, or an authority between him and Ṭabarī, or Ṭabarī himself (which seems the least likely), or an authority from Sayf down to the eyewitness of the event, who is responsible for multiplying the original numbers by a certain figure in order to inflate them is a matter of guesswork. In fact anybody qualifies; the question defies answering. But I cannot help feeling that if, just for the sake of argument, we assume that the anonymous multiplier consistently used *one and the same* multiplication coefficient for all the numbers, for sums of money as well as for numbers of soldiers participating in a certain battle, the modern reader would be able to reconstruct Sayf's numbers by dividing them by this same coefficient. The main problem we are left

with, then, is to decide on a hypothetical coefficient which, once applied, reduces Sayf's figures in such a way that the historical account becomes somewhat more plausible.

I have found that the constituting elements of the historical reports presented here become a great deal more believable when a certain division coefficient is applied. Then most of the reports begin to make historical sense, or at least, they cease to be utterly grotesque.

While I was doing the translation, it occurred to me that the figure one hundred could be deemed a suitable coefficient. Every number in a Sayf report divided by one hundred produces a result, the proportions of which are at least believable. Since nearly all Sayf's numbers are above one thousand, this could be done on a wide scale. Suddenly the accounts of "skirmishes" involving 5,000, say, become skirmishes (without quotes) in which only fifty take part, figures of one million dirhams become 10,000 dirhams, etc. Even if there is not a shred of evidence for this surmise, reading an historical account which is in so many other aspects delightful and in which the numbers assume believable proportions is, I think, a much more rewarding pastime than being constantly reminded of the compulsive inflation of the figures due to the interference of a collector/transmitter, who was under the impression that inflated numbers made his story more heroic and thus more popular.

But then, what do we do with figures that produce numbers too low to fit the context when divided by the coefficient one hundred? I have found that figures lower than one thousand, which divided by one hundred no longer make sense, do produce a plausible number when divided by, say, ten.

The figures ten and one hundred are not entirely random. There is one passage in which a certain vacillation with the transmitter in the multiplying of his figures seems to be discernible. See what happens: At a dangerous river crossing, the advance party sent ahead is first described as numbering six hundred, then from them a selection of sixty is made, but in the end the advance party actually identified by name as having established the beachhead comprises six people (plus one anonymous youngster). Six hundred–sixty–six. This last figure begins to make sense. So my choice of the coefficients ten and one hundred seems to work in

this particular context. Is it not tempting to consider this passage, which is presented by Ṭabarī at [p. 2433] below, also as one that allows us a peep into the workshop of our unknown multiplier with a seemingly obvious predilection for the decimal system?

There is another incident, not contained in this volume, but in Volume XII of this series, that conceivably might be taken as an indication that the coefficients one hundred, or with lower figures ten, have something to commend them [see Volume XII, [p. 2305]].

At a certain point in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah, reinforcements of 6,000 troops arrive from Syria to lend support. One of Sayf's heroes, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, leads 1,000 of them to a particular spot, divides his riders into units of ten, and sends them into the fray. These tens, according to the account, make all the difference, and the Muslims, thus "reinforced," carry the day.

One may wonder, then, why the entire force of one thousand was not ordered to attack all at once? The overall outcome of the battle of al-Qādisiyyah could have been decided then and there. But no, it had to be achieved at the hands of units of ten. At the same time, we are asked to believe that units of ten, sent to reinforce an army of tens of thousands, make all that much difference, and if we assume that as large a number as one hundred or more units of ten were mobilized consecutively and sent into battle one after the other, we must realize that that is what the story sets out to convey, although it does not say so in so many words.

If we take this information at face value, we are asked to lend credence to the description of a battle, involving tens of thousands of troops on either side, in which *not* reinforcements totalling 6,000, but small units of ten, determine the outcome. Well, after all the numbers of Persians and Muslims on either side have been divided by one hundred, we are shown a battlefield and a military activity in which fresh injections of ten warriors each may conceivably have swayed the balance in favour of one of the warring parties toward victory, rather than stalemate or defeat. After this division coefficient has been applied, the story is no longer marred by "embellishments" in the shape of inflated numbers, which tend to put the reader off rather than entertain him. Other suitable division coefficients can be expected to give satis-

factory results, as in the case of collectors other than Sayf. Ten and one hundred have worked very well for me in this volume.

For a historiographical evaluation of Sayf's collection, see the recently published translation of A. A. Duri's classic, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs*, index s.v. The *isnāds*, which Sayf frequently uses, are analyzed in Martin Hinds's paper "Sayf b. 'Umar's Sources on Arabia" in *Studies in the History of Arabia*, I/2, 3–16. In his *The Early Islamic Conquests*, 446, F. M. Donner announces the forthcoming publication of a general study on early Arabic historical sources, which may be expected to contain new insights into the Sayf saga. Donner also grapples with the convoluted chronology of Sayf which is very much in evidence in this volume. The final word about this controversial issue has not been said, however.

In this translation, my principal objective has been to make Sayf's (or some other anonymous redactor's) difficult and at times ultra concise Arabic available in *readable* English. On numerous occasions that entailed having to add in parentheses words or phrases meant to facilitate comprehension (although, much to my regret, very many of these parentheses were subsequently removed by an editor). Readers interested in the ancient and often quaint Arabic prose of the original need simply skip these insertions. But by reading it in this way, one will quickly realize that, without the insertions, understanding what the early historian or eyewitness was driving at is no mean task. What makes the Arabic in this volume especially difficult is the often seemingly insoluble mishmash of unidentified pronominal suffixes and subject markers. Suffixes like *–hum*, *–hu*, and *–hā*, as well as their corresponding pronouns, occur by the dozen in relatively brief passages that abound in verbs whose subjects are left unspecified, thereby causing the translator many problems which at first defy solution. I was helped by realizing that many of these difficult passages may have begun as stories told by early Islamic storytellers (*quṣṣāṣ*), who facilitate their audiences' comprehension with the help of gestures. By pointing, for example, in one direction he indicates "the Muslims," in the other direction "the enemy," and so on, whereas in print we may only find the suffix *–hum* used in both cases.

In order to avoid stiltedness as much as possible, I have made

use of the following devices: I have cut up extended parataxis by resorting to hypotaxis conveying the same meaning. That has also entailed translating main clauses as if they were *ḥāl*s or relative clauses. Conversely, I have tried to enhance readability by translating many secondary clauses, *ḥāl*s and *ṣilah*s as main clauses. Thus I have often rendered secondary clauses introduced by *ḥattā* followed by a perfect with "Finally. . . ." Furthermore, in many instances, it seemed a good idea to translate *ḥāl*s as relative clauses and vice versa. But on the whole I have kept close to the original Arabic.

However, with the numerous poetic fragments scattered over this volume, I have taken the liberty of rendering them somewhat more freely. The reason for this, as well as the methods followed, are outlined in Appendix I. Here we also find a running commentary on the verses, as well as less free renderings, where that has been deemed necessary.

Appendix II contains an early twentieth-century plan of the situation around the city of Tustar, once allegedly besieged by Muslim forces, a siege described in this volume. This description tallies so remarkably well with the details given in Sayf's account that I have decided to include it.

Apart from Sayf, whose reports constitute the bulk of this volume, we occasionally encounter Ibn Isḥāq, al-Wāqidī, al-Madā'inī and a few others. But on the whole, this is a Sayfian volume, as the style in which most of the reports are composed makes abundantly clear to those familiar with Ṭabarī's *Annales*. Sayf's material has rarely been drawn upon by other historians. Ibn al-Athīr copied, or better excerpted, Ṭabarī's Sayf material for his own work, but the fact that he left out virtually every passage whose interpretation posed the slightest problem in my view justifies the surmise that Ibn al-Athīr did not himself grasp the meaning, or if he did, perhaps he thought that his readers would not. At any rate, parallel passages in other historical works are few and offer barely any textual overlap that might have helped in the interpretation of Sayf's original. The only other historical work containing extensive Sayf passages is still in manuscript; I mean the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh Ibn Ḥubaysh (d. 584 [1147]). This work is preserved in two manuscripts, one in Berlin and one in Leiden.

Apart from two Istanbul manuscripts containing sections of Ṭabarī's *Annales* called C and Co, which can be considered as fairly defective, Eugen Prym, the editor of the Ṭabarī volume of which this book is a partial translation, had no more manuscript material at his disposal than the manuscripts of Ibn Ḥubaysh's work.

While translating this volume, I have made frequent use of the Leiden Ibn Ḥubaysh (Or. 342). In spite of repeated efforts, I have not been able to obtain microfilms of the Istanbul manuscripts. In the end, I had to make do with Prym's text as it stands. Although I have the greatest admiration for that scholar's obviously phenomenal knowledge of, and feeling for, this ancient Arabic, his edition still contains many passages with which there are some things wrong and which seem to defy any attempt at emendation. Even so, on a few occasions I have proposed corrections duly discussed in the notes.

Of all the friends and colleagues who have given a hand in the solving of the numerous problems encountered in a translation of this kind I shall name here just a few. Thus I should like to thank Peri Bearman (Leiden) and Robert Hillenbrand (Edinburgh) for the care they exercised in going over parts of this translation to rid it of infelicities of style.

But, more than anybody else, Martin Hinds (Cambridge) helped me with constant advice. He read the entire volume and gave me freely of his incomparable expertise. His numerous judicious suggestions and ingenious emendations are scattered throughout the footnotes. He also drew my attention to a number of secondary sources and studies unknown to me, which proved to be valuable in the interpretation of many obscure passages. His untimely death in December of 1988 was a great shock to me, as to all his friends. In deep gratitude and affection I dedicate this volume to his memory.

G. H. A. Juynboll

The Events of the Year

15 (cont'd)

(FEBRUARY 14, 636–FEBRUARY 1, 637)

Now we will enumerate the reports about those battles, that is the battles that took place until the end of the year. As I mentioned, scholars differed about what took place.[1] [2419]

According to al-Sarī[2]—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: 'Umar enjoined Sa'd, when he ordered him to march on al-Madā'in, to leave the women and children in al-'Atīq[3] and to station an army contingent with them. This Sa'd did. 'Umar also charged him to let these soldiers share in whatever booty there was, as long as they followed the Muslims with the latters' families. They said: After the conquest Sa'd stayed two months in al-Qādisiyyah, corresponding with 'Umar concerning the measures he had to take. He dispatched Zuhrah to al-Lisān, that is to Lisān al-Barr, which is like a tongue of land laid

1. From here up to and including the battle at Jalūlā' (p. 2470), the account has been summarized in Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 72 ff, and Morony, *Iraq*, 191–4.
2. For an appraisal of the *isnāds* in this volume, see the translator's foreword.
3. According to Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 71, this is a canal of the Euphrates near the place where al-Kūfah was later built.

down in the countryside.[4] Al-Kūfah is situated there nowadays; previously the main city there was al-Ḥīrah. Al-Nakhīrajān was encamped there. However, he left when he heard that Zuhrah was on his way, and he then joined his companions.

They continued: Among the songs that the children chanted in the camp and the women sang out to them while on the riverbank of al-'Atīq,[5] was something the women also sang in Zarūd,[6] Dhū Qār[7] and other watery places.[8] That was when they were ordered to march again to al-Qādisiyyah[9] in the month Jumādā II. This cryptic song, which the women sang, was like a nonsense verse, because there is no time between the months Jumādā and Rajab (in *rajaz*):

O wonder of all wonders!
    Between Jumādā and Rajab
[2420] There's something that needs doing.
    Have seen it those who've perished.
Buried in dust and clamor.[10]

The Battle of Burs

The transmitter said: After concluding the operations at al-Qādisiyyah and sending Zuhrah b. al-Ḥawiyyah forward at the head of the vanguard to al-Lisān, Sa'd set off. Then he dispatched 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tamm after Zuhrah, next Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ after 'Abdallāh, and finally Hāshim b. 'Utbah after all these. Sa'd had appointed the last-named as his deputy in the area in which Khālid b. 'Urfuṭah was commander. Khālid was given command of the rearguard. Then, in late Shawwāl (November 636), Sa'd set out himself, together with all the Muslims, mounted and well-equipped, God having made available to them all the weapons,

4. This "tongue of land" was formed by two arms of the Euphrates, one leading along al-Ḥīrah, the other was more to the east, see Le Strange, *Lands* map II, and also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 355, see also *WKAS*, II/1, 625, right column, penult.

5. There used to be a village, 'Atīq al-Sājah, which disappeared in the Tigris, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 613.

6. See *ibid.*, II, 928.

7. See *ibid.*, IV, 10.

8. This specification seems to indicate that all these villages were (partly) surrounded by water.

9. Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 74, n. 1, probably correctly, suggests reading al-Madā'in here, as above in line 6 of the Arabic text. See also *Glossarium*, p. DCXIX.

10. See Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, VI, 74, n. 1. For some introductory remarks on how I have translated the poetry in this volume, see Appendix I.

mules and riches found in the Persian camp. Zuhrah marched until he stopped at al-Kūfah. A *kūfah* is a place wholly covered with pebbles mixed with red sand. Then 'Abdallāh and Shuraḥbīl arrived, and Zuhrah set out for al-Madā'in. When he reached Burs, Buṣbuhrā confronted him at the head of a troop of soldiers. They engaged him in a skirmish and Zuhrah routed them. Buṣbuhrā and those men with him fled to Bābil, where those who had escaped from al-Qādisiyyah had gathered together with the rest of their commanders, al-Nakhīrajān, Mihrān al-Rāzī, al-Hurmuzān and their peers. They stayed there, choosing al-Fayruzān to command them. Buṣbuhrā arrived there also, but, having escaped with a spear wound, he died thereof.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī—Ibn al-Rufayl—his father: Zuhrah speared Buṣbuhrā at the battle of Burs. He fell into the river and then died of his wound after [2421] reaching Bābil. When Buṣbuhrā was routed, Bisṭām, the dihqān of Burs, approached Zuhrah and entered into an agreement with him. He made pontoon bridges for Zuhrah and brought him news of those who had assembled at Bābil.

The Battle of Bābil

They said: When Bisṭām brought Zuhrah the news about those who had escaped from al-Qādisiyyah and were now gathered at Bābil, Zuhrah took the time to write[11] this news to Sa'd. When Sa'd stopped with those who were staying with Hāshim b. 'Utbah at al-Kūfah and the news from Zuhrah reached him that the Persians were gathered under the command of al-Fayruzān at Bābil, he sent 'Abdallāh (b. al-Mu'tamm) ahead, followed by Shuraḥbīl and Hāshim. Then he departed with the remaining troops. When he arrived at Burs, he sent Zuhrah ahead, followed by 'Abdallāh (b. al-Mu'tamm), Shuraḥbīl and Hāshim. Then Sa'd followed them. They descended upon al-Fayruzān at Bābil, having said, "We will fight them in strength,[12] before we disperse." Thus they fought at

11. The Arabic has *aqāma wa-kataba*, which may mean "camped and wrote." If we substitute *qāma* for *aqāma*, we might translate "he wrote forthwith."

12. That is the meaning of *dast*, suggested by *Glossarium*. On the basis of the connotations given in Lane, it is feasible to translate also "with cunning." Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v., suggests among other meanings "a round of wrestling," which seems to fit too. But not one of these possibilities can be substantiated.

Bābil and routed the Persians in a shorter time than (required for) taking off one's cloak. The Persians fled in all directions, nothing else mattered to them. Al-Hurmuzān set off toward al-Ahwāz, seized the province and taxed[13] it as well as Mihrijān Qadhaq.[14] Al-Fayruzān moved out with him and then turned up at Nihāwand, where the treasures of the Persian king were stored. Thus al-Fayruzān took Nihāwand and taxed the two regional centres Māhān.[15] Al-Nakhīrajān and Mihrān al-Rāzī retreated toward al-Madā'in until, after they had passed Bahurasīr,[16] they crossed to the other bank of the Tigris; then they cut the pontoon bridge. For several days Sa'd remained in Bābil, where the news reached him that al-Nakhīrajān had deputed Shahriyār, one of the dihqāns of the Gate,[17] over Kūthā with a troop of men. So Sa'd sent
[2422] Zuhrah ahead followed by the main army. Zuhrah marched on until he came upon Shahriyār in Kūthā, having first killed Fayūmān and al-Farrukhān in the region between Sūrā and al-Dayr.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī—Ibn al-Rufayl—his father: Sa'd had sent Zuhrah ahead from al-Qādisiyyah. Zuhrah marched with his soldiers and warriors[18] divided in different formations. Every band of men he met, who had been pursuing the fleeing enemy, was sent ahead. Zuhrah ordered his own men to follow; they were not to pass by any (Persian) whom they caught up with without killing him. Sometimes Zuhrah would stay put until, this time, when he was sent ahead from Bābil, he sent Bukayr b. 'Abdallāh al-Laythī ahead and also Kathīr b. Shihāb al-Sa'dī, the brother of al-Ghallāq. This was

13. This rendering was suggested by *Glossarium*. It seems to me that the translation "he consumed (everything in) it" may not be ruled out.

14. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 698.

15. That is Nihāwand and al-Dīnawar; see *Ibid.*, IV, 405.

16. Bahurasīr is the name of one of the seven "cities" (in Arabic *al-madā'in*) situated on the west bank of the Tigris which, together with six other "cities" (such as Sābāṭ) situated on the east bank, make up the city of al-Madā'in, see *ibid.*, I, 768; Le Strange, *Lands*, 34; see also p 12 below.

17. It is tempting to assume that these are the Persian forerunners of the later Muslim functionaries (guards, chamberlains) the *ḥujjāb* (sing. *ḥājib*), see Morony, *Iraq*, 79–83.

18. This is a meaningless distinction, of course. The Arabic has two terms *jund* and *ḥarb*. One senses that the two groups may constitute specific military units such as "occupation forces" and "assault and defense units." This hunch is based on the contexts in which these words mostly figure, but these connotations are not borne out by evidence from the standard dictionaries.

when Zuhrah crossed the Ṣarāt, so that they would catch up with the rest of the enemy, among whom were Fayūmān and al-Farrukhān; the former was from Maysān, the latter from al-Ahwāz. Bukayr killed al-Farrukhān and Kathīr killed Fayūmān at Sūrā. Then Zuhrah marched on until he passed through Sūrā. He then made camp. Hāshim drew near until he alighted there too. Sa'd also came that way and made camp there. Then Zuhrah was sent ahead and caught up with some men who had been waiting for him between al-Dayr and Kūthā. Al-Nakhīrajān and Mihrān had deputed Shahriyār, the dihqān of the Gate, over their armies and they themselves went to al-Madā'in. Shahriyār remained a while among his troops.

When the Arabs encountered the army of Shahriyār and the vanguard of his cavalry in the neighborhood of Kūthā, Shahriyār came forward and shouted, "Let any man or rider from among you big and strong enough come forward to me in order that I may [2423] teach him a lesson." Zuhrah retorted, "A moment ago I had in mind to meet you in combat, but now that I have heard what you said, I won't send anyone but a mere slave out to you; if you wait for him, he will kill you—God willing—, because of your effrontery. If you flee from him, you flee from a slave!" Thus he baited Shahriyār. Then he ordered Abū Nubātah Nā'il b. Ju'shum al-A'rajī, a courageous Tamīmī, to go out and face his adversary. Each had his spear. Both were of sturdy build, except that Shahriyār was (tall) as a camel. When he saw Nā'il, he flung his spear down in order to grab him by the neck. Nā'il did likewise. They drew their swords and hacked at each other. Then they took each other by the throat and crashed down from their mounts. Shahriyār fell on top of Nā'il like a ton of bricks and held him down under one thigh. He drew his dagger and started to undo the fastenings of Nā'il's coat of mail. Shahriyār's thumb happened to land in Nā'il's mouth and Nā'il crushed the bone in it (with his teeth). He noticed a (momentary) slackening (in his opponent's assault) and, attacking him furiously, whipped him off onto the ground, sat on his chest, drew his own dagger and tore Shahriyār's coat of mail from his belly. Then he stabbed him in his abdomen and side until he died. Nā'il took his horse, his bracelets[19] and his

19. Bracelets were part of the Persian nobility's distinctive accessories, see Morony, *Iraq*, 186.

spoils. The dead man's companions withdrew and fled in all di-
[2424] rections and Zuhrah stayed on in Kūthā until Sa'd arrived there.

Nā'il was brought before Sa'd, who said, "I have taken the following decision with regard to you, Nā'il b. Ju'shum: After you have put on this Persian's bracelets, cloak and coat of mail, I want you to mount his horse." Thus Sa'd assigned to him all that as his booty. Nā'il went aside, put on the captured armor and then came forward to Sa'd, carrying Shahriyār's weapons while riding his mount. Sa'd said to him, "Do not don bracelets except when you are actively engaged in a war; wear them only then." Thus Nā'il was the first Muslim in Iraq to wear bracelets.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: Sa'd stayed in Kūthā for some days. He went to the spot where Abraham used to sit in Kūthā and alighted at the place of the people who used to preach (the religion of) Abraham.[20] Sa'd came to the house in which Abraham had been kept prisoner, he inspected it, invoked God's blessing upon His Messenger, upon Abraham and God's Prophets, and recited, "Those days which we send down alternatively upon the people."[21]

The Story of Bahurasīr in the Month Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the Year 15 (January 637) as Related by Sayf

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr, Sa'īd and al-Naḍr—Ibn al-Rufayl: Then Sa'd sent Zuhrah ahead toward Bahurasīr. Zuhrah left Kūthā at the head of the vanguard until he arrived at Bahurasīr, having had a meeting at Sābāṭ with Shīrazādh, who offered him a truce and the payment of the *jizā'*.[22] Zuhrah sent Shīrazādh to Sa'd and went with him,

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20. This is what it says in the text. Although emending the text should be resorted to only when no other solution seems to present itself, it is indeed tempting to reconstruct this particular passage in such a way that it reads "... people to whom Abraham used to preach." Instead of . . *alladhīna kānū yubashshirūna Ibrāhīma*, the Arabic should then read . . . *alladhīna kāna Ibrāhīmu yubashshiruhum*.

21. The Qur'ānic verse III, 140, pertains allegedly to the successes and adversities of, respectively, the Muslims and the Meccans at the battles of Badr (2/624) and Uḥud (3/625). The verse may be thought of as conveying how Abraham's initial bad luck (see Ṭabarī, II, 263) took a turn for the better later in life.

22. *Jizā'* is a plural of *jizyah*, the tax paid by non-Muslims in exchange for "protection" (in Arabic *dhimmah*). Sayf seems to distinguish between the singular and the plural.

followed by the wings of the army.[23] Hāshim went forth, followed by Sa'd. In the meantime, the contingent formed by Queen [2425]
Būrān[24] had fled from Zuhrah in the vicinity of al-Muẓlim. Hāshim arrived finally at Muẓlim near Sābāṭ and waited for Sa'd to join him. That coincided with the return of al-Muqarraṭ, a tamed lion belonging to the king. Al-Muqarraṭ was chosen from the lions of al-Muẓlim. In al-Muẓlim there were several detachments of (a former) Kisrā, a woman called Būrān. Everyday they used to swear by God, "The kingdom of Fārs shall never perish as long as we live." When Sa'd arrived, Al-Muqarraṭ rushed toward the Muslim forces. Hāshim jumped down from his mount and killed it. Therefore his sword was named the Strong One.[25] Sa'd kissed Hāshim on the head; Hāshim kissed Sa'd's foot. Then Sa'd sent him ahead to Bahurasīr. Hāshim camped at al-Muẓlim and recited, "Had you not sworn previously that you would never perish?"[26] When a part of the night had passed, Sa'd departed and marched against the enemy at Bahurasīr. Every time the cavalry advanced on the way to Bahurasīr, the Muslims staying behind would stop what they were doing and shout, "God is great." They continued in that manner until the last warrior accompanying Sa'd had passed by. In all, he stayed with the army, attacking Bahurasīr for two months, and they crossed the river in the third.

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb led the people on the pilgrimage that year. His governor over Mecca was 'Attāb b. Asīd. Al-Ṭā'if was gov-
erned by Ya'lā b. Munyah, al-Yamāmah and al-Baḥrayn by [2426]
'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ. 'Umān was governed by Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan, and the districts of Syria by Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ. Al-Kūfah and its environs were given to Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, with Abū Farwah[27] in charge of the judiciary there, while al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah had charge over al-Baṣrah and its environs.

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23. Or, conceivably, "horses," see Lane, II, 408.
24. See immediately below and also Morony, *Iraq*, 193.
25. In Arabic, al-Matn; a variant reading has the sword called al-Matīn, which means the same.
26. Q. XIV, 44.
27. *Glossarium*, p. DCXIX, suggests reading Abū Qurrah; this is confirmed by Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, II, 397.

The Events of the Year 16

(FEBRUARY 2, 637–JANUARY 22, 638)

Al-Ṭabarī said: In this year the Muslims entered the city of Bahurasīr and conquered al-Madā'in from which (king) Yazdajird b. Shahriyār fled.

The Remainder of the Account of the Muslims' Entering the City of Bahurasīr

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah and al-Muhallab: When Sa'd descended upon Bahurasīr, he deployed his cavalry, which raided the people, who lived between the Tigris and those of the people along the Euphrates, who had concluded a treaty. These horsemen came upon 100,000 peasants who were duly counted. Each horseman gained control over one peasant, the situation being that everyone living near Bahurasīr was of Persian origin. The peasants dug protective trenches for them. Shīrazādh, the dihqān of Sābāṭ, said to Sa'd, "Do not maltreat them, they are only underlings of the Persians, and would never undertake anything against you. Leave them to me, until you find a (better) solution. So Shīrazādh wrote down their names

for Sa'd, whereupon Sa'd handed them over. Then Shīrazādh told them, "Go back to your villages."

Sa'd wrote to 'Umar, "We have (finally) arrived in Bahurasīr [2427] after what has happened to us on the way from al-Qādisiyyah to here. No one has engaged us in combat. I have deployed the cavalry (in all directions) and I have brought together the peasants from the villages and marshes.[28] Give me your opinion." 'Umar replied, "Whoever of those peasants comes over to you, if they stay put (and) do not assist (your enemies) against you, then that constitutes their guarantee of safety. But whoever flees and you catch him, do with him as you think fit." When this letter reached Sa'd, he let the peasants go. The dihqāns sent messengers to him, whereupon he invited them to embrace Islam and then to return (to wherever they came from) or to pay the *jizā'*, as a consequence of which they would enjoy full protection. One after the other they opted for the latter proposition. But no one entered into the same covenant who belonged to the entourage of the Persian king or his family. There did not remain (in the countryside stretching) from the west (bank) of the Tigris to the country of the Arab tribes one single person who did not live in guaranteed safety or who was not satisfied with the sovereignty of Islam. The Arabs received the *kharāj*. They laid siege to Bahurasīr, bombarding its people with catapults, closing in on them with armoured siege devices and fighting them with all available gear.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Miqdām b. Shurayḥ [2428] al-Ḥārithī—his father: The Muslims descended upon Bahurasīr. The city was protected by trenches, guards and all sorts of military gear. The Muslims bombarded them with catapults and smaller mangonels.[29] Then Sa'd asked Shīrazādh to build catapults, so he set up twenty such devices against the people of Bahurasīr; in this way they kept them busy.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī—Ibn al-Rufayl—his father: When Sa'd arrived at Bahurasīr, the Arabs lay in a circle around it with the Persians secure inside. Occasion-

28. That is how I interpret *ājām*, (lit. "thickets," "brushwoods") in this context; it could conceivably also be interpreted as the plural of *ujum* ("fortress"), but that does not seem to fit here, see Morony, *Iraq*, 189.

29. In this translation, I summarize the explanation of this word given in the margin of the Berlin manuscript of Ibn Ḥubaysh used for the edition.

ally, the Persians would venture outside, walking across the dams overlooking the Tigris in armed platoons, ready to wage battle with the Muslims, but they did not stand up to their besiegers. Finally they (all) came out, infantry and archers, fully resolved to wage battle, and having promised one another not to yield. So the Muslims fought with them and the Persians were not able to stand their ground. They failed in their attempt, turned around and fled. Zuhrah b. al-Ḥawiyyah was wearing a coat of mail with a gash in it. Some people said to him, "If you give the order, you could have this hole stitched up." Zuhrah said, "Why should I?" They answered, "On account of this gash we fear for your safety." Zuhrah replied, "I am a noble man in the eyes of God. Do you think that one Persian arrow from their entire army could be shot in such a way that it actually hits me through this crack and lodges in me?[30] He, Zuhrah b. al-Ḥawiyyah, was the first of the Muslims to be killed that day by an arrow, which lodged in him through that very gash. Some people said, "Pull the arrow out of him." But he said, "Leave me be; I may stay alive as long as it remains there. Perhaps I can make a victim on the other side with a spear thrust, a blow with my sword, or with an arrow."[31] So he rushed forward toward the enemy and, with his sword, he struck Shahrbarāz,[32] a man from Iṣṭakhr, killing him. Then he was surrounded and killed himself.[33] Thereupon his killers withdrew.[34]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd b.
[2429] Thābit—ʿAmrah, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Asʿad—ʿĀʾishah, the mother of the believers: When God had granted victory and Rustum and his men were killed in al-Qādisiyyah and their multitudes dispersed, the Muslims pursued them until they dismounted at al-Madāʾin. In the meantime, groups of Persians had scattered and reached their mountain regions. Their soldiers and cavalry spread in all directions except for the king, who stayed in their city with those Persians who had remained under his orders.

30. This is a tentative rendering of a seemingly corrupt text.

31. I have adopted Wellhausen's reading *ḥazwah*, "arrow," see *Glossarium*, p. DCXX, and Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, XXV (1871) 257.

32. Ibn al-Athīr, II, 397: Shahriyār.

33. Below on p. 20, Zuhrah will emerge again, alive and well

34. In Ibn al-Athīr, II, 397, this final phrase is negated ". and they did not withdraw." Another interpretation might be ". . . were defeated."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Simāk al-Hujaymī—his unknown father and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh—Anas b. al-Ḥulays: While we were besieging Bahurasīr after their sally and subsequent retreat, a messenger appeared (on the battlement) above us who said, "Thus speaks our king to you. Will you agree to a peace agreement that entitles us to (our side of) the Tigris and our mountain and you to your side as far as your mountain; will you not be satisfied with this? (If not), may God never satisfy your appetites!" Then Abū Mufazzir al-Aswad b. Quṭbah, to the surprise of the people, (answered back), God making him utter words of which he did not know the meaning, nor we, for that matter. So the man withdrew (from the battlements) and we saw the Persians crossing the river back to al-Madā'in. "What did you say to him, Abū Mufazzir?," we asked. He replied, "By Him who sent us Muḥammad with the true message. I do not know what it was except that a divine tranquility[35] had come over me; I hope that I, [2430] one day, will be made to speak even better words." So the people continued firing questions at him, until Sa'd heard about this. He came to us and said, "Abū Mufazzir, what did you say? By God, the Persians have all fled!" Abū Mufazzir gave Sa'd the same explanation he had given us.

Then Sa'd rallied the people and marched with them (toward the enemy) while our catapults rained projectiles upon them. Nobody appeared on the city ('s walls) and no one came out toward us except the one man who called out to us that his life be spared. This we granted. He said, "There is no one left, what is holding you back?" Then our men scaled the walls. Thus we conquered the city. We did not find anything or anyone in it except some prisoners whom we brought outside the city in fetters. We interrogated them, as well as that man, as to why the Persians had all fled. They answered, "The king sent a messenger to you, offering you a peace agreement, but you replied to him that there never would be peace between you and us until we would eat honey of Ifrīdhīn[36] mixed with citrons of Kūthā. Then the king said, "Woe unto us, only angels, speaking with their

35. The Arabic word *sakīnah* used here has an equivalent in the Hebrew *shekhinah*.

36. This is perhaps identical to Ifrandīn, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 324, a region between al-Rayy and Naysābūr.

[2431] tongues, descending upon us, would answer us (in this way) on behalf of the Arabs! If this is not as I say (, I'll be damned[37]). This cannot be anything other than words put into the mouth of this man, (i.e., by someone or something else) so that we give up the struggle." Then they fell back upon the other not yet conquered section of the city (of al-Madā'in on the other bank of the river).

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Sa'īd b. al-Marzubān—Muslim gave more or less the same account as that of Simāk; and according to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: When Sa'd and the Muslims entered Bahurasīr, he made the people settle there and the base camp of the army was moved to it. When they attempted to cross the river, they found that the Persians had concentrated all the ships (on the other bank and tied them up all the way) between al-Baṭā'iḥ and Takrīt.[38]

When the Muslims entered Bahurasīr, in the middle of the night, they saw something white. Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb exclaimed, "God is great, this white thing there must be the palace[39] of the king, as God and His messenger have promised us." The people never stopped shouting "God is great!" until dawn. Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah added: That was in the night when they descended upon Bahurasīr.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-A'mash—Ḥabīb b. Ṣuhbān Abū Mālik: We pressed forward toward al-Madā'in, that is Bahurasīr, that part of the city nearest (to us on the west bank of the Tigris) and we besieged their king and his followers until they ate dogs and cats. The report goes on: The Muslim army did not enter (the city), however, until a Persian called out, "By God, there is no one here." Then they moved in and, indeed, there was no one inside.

The Report Concerning al-Madā'in al-Quṣwā, That Is, That Part (on the East Bank of the Tigris) in Which the King Had His Residence

Sayf added: That was in Ṣafar of the year 16 (March 4–April 1,
[2432] 637). The transmitters said: When Sa'd arrived in Bahurasīr, that

37. This elided apodosis was suggested by Prym (. . . *nihil intelligo*).

38. This elaborate interpretation seems to be suggested by the Arabic terms *ḍammū al-sufun*.

39. My hunch that the White Palace may be meant here is prompted by the mention of *al-qaṣr al-abyaḍ* on p. 16 below; see also p. 20.

is, that part of the city (of al-Madā'in on the) near (west bank of the Tigris), he looked for boats to cross with his men to the city (on the eastern or far side of the Tigris). But he did not find any. He found that the Persians had concentrated all the boats (on the eastern bank).[40] So the Arabs stayed in Bahurasīr for several days of that month of Ṣafar, urging Sa'd to make the crossing. Concern for the lives of the Muslims prevented him from making the crossing, until some local people came to him.[41] It was they who showed him a place where one could wade through onto *terra firma*. Sa'd was disinclined at first, and hesitated to do that, when suddenly a rise of the water surprised them. Now, Sa'd had had a dream describing how the horses of the Muslims rushed into a river to cross it, advancing against the rising water (as if spurred) by a gigantic force. Also, in order to have this dream explained, he had set his mind on crossing the river, and that in a year of uninterrupted summer rain! So Sa'd assembled the people, praised God and extolled Him, and said, "Your enemy has taken refuge from you across this river, so you cannot get at them,[42] whilst they can get at you if they want, and engage in skirmishes with you from their boats. Behind you there is nothing, however, that you have to fear an attack from. The veterans of our past battles[43] have protected you against them, wrecked their frontier garrisons and annihilated those who protected them. I think it would be the proper course to embark upon a holy war against the enemy aided by your strong intentions, before unforeseen circumstances prevent you from doing so.[44] Therefore I have decided to cross this river towards them!" Thereupon they all said, "May God decide

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40. The crossing of the Tigris depicted here induced Wellhausen to compare it with a miraculous crossing of a large stretch of seawater during the *riddah* campaign in al-Baḥrayn, see *Skizzen*, VI, 23, 72. I do not think that that is called for; the admittedly risky crossing described in the following pages seems in my opinion perfectly plausible and need not be seen as *Auflockerung der Berichterstattung*, as Noth calls such a device.

41. In Arabic, *a'lāj*, plural of *'ilj*, "non-Arab."

42. I cannot find a suitable rendering for *ma'ahu* in this sentence; if we decide to read *minhu* instead of *ma'ahu*, which does not seem to be substantiated by the available manuscripts, we can render it "across it," that is "across the river."

43. In Arabic, *ahl al-ayyām*; this points to warriors who had been present at battles preceding that of al-Qādisiyyah.

44. Literally, "before the world encircles/besieges you." Some variants listed in the apparatus "to break," "to harvest" and "to arrive at" do not make much sense either. It must be obvious that any rendering is tentative.

to give right guidance to us as well as you. Do as you say you will!"

Sa'd ordered the men to cross, saying, "Who will go first to (take possession of and) keep occupied the city's loading quays for us
[2433] (on the bank of the river[45]), until the (other) warriors can join him, lest the enemy prevent them from reaching the other bank[46])?" So 'Āṣim b. 'Amr, the valiant, volunteered and, after him, six hundred men of tested steadfastness.[47] Sa'd made 'Āṣim their commander, who marched in their midst until he came to a halt on the bank of the Tigris. Then 'Āṣim said, "Who will volunteer to go with me so that we may keep the city's loading quays free from the enemy and give you protection until you have all crossed?" Sixty people showed their willingness, among them Aṣamm from the Banū Wallād and Shuraḥbīl, as well as several equally valiant others. 'Āṣim divided them into two squadrons of cavalry, one consisting of only mares and one of only stallions so that they might be more tractable when urged to swim. Then they plunged into the Tigris with the rest of the six hundred on their heels.

The first to advance on their own, ahead of those sixty, were Aṣamm al-Taym, al-Kalaj, Abū Mufazzir, Shuraḥbīl, Jaḥl al-'Ijlī, Mālik b. Ka'b al-Hamdānī and a young lad from the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b. When the Persians saw them and realized what they were doing, they made for the same horses as those used against Sa'd. Having mounted them, they also plunged into the Tigris, urging them to swim toward the Muslims. They came face to face with 'Āṣim among his vanguard, who had almost come abreast with the loading quays of the city. 'Āṣim shouted, "Use your spears, use your spears! Point them at those horses, aim at their eyes!" Then they became engaged in man–to–man combat, going for one another with their spears, the Muslims aiming at their enemies' eyes. The latter retreated toward the shore with
[2434] the Muslims on their heels, urging their mounts at them, and the

45. In modern military terms this might be called "establishing a beachhead."

46. I have opted for Ibn al-Athīr's reading *'ubūr* instead of *khurūj* (II, 398).

47. In Arabic, *ahl al-najadāt*; according to the *Tāj*, *najdah* is not the sort of courage that urges a warrior to surge recklessly forward into battle, but rather shows his composure in times of *shiddah*, "hardship." Donner (344) interprets "champions"; this does not seem entirely satisfactory.

Persian horsemen unable to withstand the attack. So the Muslims caught up with them on the shore and killed most of them, while some of them got away having lost an eye in the process. Their horses staggered away with them until the loading quays were vacated.

None the worse for wear, the six hundred caught up with those sixty vanguard. When Sa'd saw 'Āṣim in control of the loading quays, he gave permission to his men to take the plunge themselves, calling to them, "Say aloud: We ask God for support, we rely on Him; He suffices us, an excellent guardian is He; there is no power nor strength except in God, the exalted, the great!" Thus the main force of the army followed closely, riding the waves, the otherwise dark colored water of the Tigris throwing up spume. Indeed, the men kept on talking to one another while they swam across, in close-knit groups, without a care, conversing as if they were on the march on dry ground. Thus they surprised the Persians in a way the latter had not thought possible. They were quickly driven (out of the city), leaving behind the bulk of their possessions. The Muslims entered the city in Ṣafar of the year 16 (March 637) and confiscated all that had remained in the royal quarters: three billion (dirhams' worth) and what Shīrōē and those who had come after him had amassed.

Abū Bujayd Nāfi' b. al-Aswad composed the following poem on this event (in *khafīf*):

We urged (our) horses to Madā'in,
    Its waters like its dry land fruitful.
We cleansed the coffers of this Kisrā,
    They fled that day, like he, despairing.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Walīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ṭaybah—his father: When Sa'd camped at the Tigris, a local man came to him and asked, "Why do you stay here? Before three days have passed, Yazdajird may have fled with all his possessions from al-Madā'in." That is what incited Sa'd to sound the call to make the crossing. [2435]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—a certain man—Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī (who reported on) how Sa'd stood up among his men calling upon them to make the crossing in more or less similar terms. Then he said: We covered the Tigris with men,

horses and (other) animals to such an extent that, standing on the bank, you could no longer see the water. Our horses carried us to the enemy, shaking their manes, whinnying. When the Persians saw this, they ran away, no longer concerned with anything. We finally arrived at the White Palace, in which some people had fortified themselves. One of them looked out and addressed us. We called out to them and made them various propositions. We said, "There are three possibilities, from which you may choose whatever you want." They asked, "What are they?" We answered, "Islam first of all; if you embrace our religion, you will have the same privileges and obligations as we. If you reject this, then you may pay the *jizyah*. And finally, if you reject that too, you will have to do battle with us until God decides between us and you." A spokesman for them replied, "We have no use for the first or the last proposition, but we will accept the middle one." Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Aṭiyyah reported a similar account, adding that their ambassador who negotiated with the Persians was Salmān (al-Fārisī).[48]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī—Ibn al-Rufayl: When they had routed the Persians in the water and chased them onto the loading quays, from which they subse-
[2436] quently expelled them too, they took away all their treasures except those which the Persians had been able to send ahead. Three billion (dirhams worth) had been in the king's treasure chambers (in all), and this three times over;[49] half of this had been sent away with Rustum, the other half they left in the treasure chambers.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Badr b. 'Uthmān—Abū Bakr b. Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar: On that day, before asking the bulk of his army to take the plunge, looking at the advance party[50] battling on the loading quays, Sa'd stood up and spoke, "By God, had those

48. Of Persian origin, he is alleged to have gone from his native country to seek out the Prophet. Captured and sold as a slave, he embraced Islam and was manumitted, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 141.

49. Whether or not these last few words belong to the text seems dubious, see *Glossarium*, p. DCXX.

50. Literally, "the protectors," to wit, of a safe landing site for their fellow warriors.

fighters over there been the Kharsā' brigade,[51] the detachment in which were enlisted al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr, Ḥammāl b. Mālik and al-Ribbīl b. 'Amr, and had the Kharsā' fought those Persian horsemen in exactly the same manner as those out there, then that would (also) have been amply sufficient.[52] Now, 'Āṣim's detachment was known as that of al-Ahwāl;[53] Sa'd simply compared the Ahwāl brigade with that of the Kharsā'[54] because of the struggle he witnessed in the water as well as on the beachhead."

The report goes on: Then, after they had taken a series of simple measures against the enemy and at the same time improved their own position, the "beachhead" party shouted across the water,[55] so the Kharsā' brigade[56] moved out and joined up with them. When they and the whole Ahwāl detachment had safely reached the loading quays, Sa'd ordered the rest of the men to plunge into the water. The one who crossed the water alongside Sa'd was Salmān al-Fārisī. While the horses swam the men across, Sa'd said, "God suffices us; an excellent guardian is He; by God, may He grant victory to His agent and may He render His religion victorious and defeat His enemy; if there are no offenders or sinners in His army, their merits alone will defeat the enemy." Then Salmān said, "Islam generates good fortune. By God, crossing [2437] rivers has become as easy for them as crossing the desert. By Him in whose hand Salmān's soul lies, may they emerge from the water in the same numbers in which they entered it!" They crowded the surface so closely that, from the bank, one could no longer see the water. And all the way they chatted, even more so then had they been on land. They got out of the water as Salmān had prayed, having lost nothing and no one having drowned.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Umar Dithār—

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51. Literally "the silent" or "dumb," see Lane, 722, middle column, for several different connotations.

52. I take this to mean: Then they would not have done the job more efficiently.

53. Literally "the horrors."

54. Presumably because they were famous for battling without too much clamor.

55. Translation tentative.

56. Although the Kharsā' brigade is not explicitly mentioned as the subject of the verb "moved out," from a report listed below I deduce that it was they who were the first to follow, see p. 20.

Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī: To the last man, they safely made the crossing except for one man from the tribe of Bāriq called Gharqadah, who slid off the back of his chestnut-colored mare which—I still see it clearly before my own eyes—shook its mane free.[57] While the man floated in the water, al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr urged his horse toward him, grabbed his hand and dragged him along, until they safely reached the bank. The man from Bāriq, himself a very sturdy fellow, said, "Even my own sisters would not be able to give birth to someone like you, Qa'qā'!" It so happened that al-Qa'qā' did have maternal uncles among Bāriq!

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: On that day, nobody lost anything, save a cup, tied (to someone's luggage) with a frayed piece of string that broke, and was swept away in the water. Then the man who was making the crossing alongside the cup's owner said, upbraiding him, "God's decree[58] struck it, so it was lost." The cup's owner answered, "By God, I am just one individual; God would never take away only my cup from among all the people in
[2438] the army." When they had arrived at the other side, they came upon a man who had been one of those who initially had established the "beachhead." This man had gone down to the water's edge, until he met the first of the people emerging from the water. The wind and the waves had tossed the cup to and fro, until it landed on the bank. This man retrieved it with his lance and brought it to the troops. The owner recognized it as his and took it from him, saying to his former companion, "Did I not tell you. . . ?" The cup's owner was a confederate of the Quraysh from 'Anz called Mālik b. 'Āmir, and the one who had said, "Your cup is lost" was called 'Āmir b. Mālik.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Qāsim b. al-Walīd—'Umayr al-Ṣā'idī: When Sa'd urged his men to plunge into the Tigris, they all teamed up in pairs. Salmān was Sa'd's companion, making the crossing at his side. Sa'd said, "That is the decree of the Almighty, the Omniscient."[59] They floated thus in the water, all horses erect, in perfect balance. When a horse would become

57. Presumably from the man clinging to it.
58. In Arabic *qadar;* the alliteration with *qadaḥ* ("cup") is perhaps deliberate.
59. Q. VI, 96; XXXVI, 38; XLI, 12.

tired, it would (suddenly find itself) treading on to an elevation (i.e., in the river bottom) on which it could regain its breath as if it were on firm ground. That was the most astonishing thing that happened in the taking of al-Madā'in. That was the Day of the Water, also called the Day of the (Underwater) Humps.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, Ṭalḥah, 'Amr and Sa'īd: The day they rode the Tigris was called the Day of the (Underwater) Humps, as soon as anyone became tired he would suddenly find himself walking onto an elevation (i.e., in the river bottom) on which he could regain his breath. [2439]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid—Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim: We plunged into the Tigris, which was (at that time of the year) full. When we got to the deepest passages, the water did not reach higher than a horseman's belt, as long as he remained standing (in his stirrups).

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-A'mash—Ḥabīb b. Ṣuhbān Abū Mālik: When Sa'd entered the city on this side of the river (Bahurasīr), and as a consequence its people had destroyed the bridge and concentrated the boats (of which the bridge was made on the other, eastern, bank) the Muslims said, "What are you waiting for at this puddle?"[60] So one man rushed into the water and the others plunged in after him. No one drowned or lost any of his belongings, except one Muslim who lost a cup, the string (tying it to the luggage) had broken. I saw the cup floating in the water.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, al-Muhallab and Ṭalḥah: The defending Persians did not stop fighting on the loading quays until someone came to them who said, "Why are you killing yourselves? By God, al-Madā'in is deserted!"

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: When the unbelievers[61] saw the Muslims and what they had in mind, they sent troops who had to defend (the loading quays) against the Muslims' crossing. The others loaded their animals and fled away from the city. Before

60. The Arabic word is *nuṭfah*, "sperm"; in the present context clearly an insignificant quantity of liquid is meant.

61. The Arabic has *mushrikūn*, which literally means "polytheists." I have opted for "unbelievers" because I think it fits the English translation better.

that, after Bahurasīr had been conquered, Yazdajird had sent the members of his household away to Ḥulwān. Then he himself left later, journeyed until he arrived at Ḥulwān and joined his house-
[2440] hold, Mihrān al-Rāzī and al-Nakhīrajān the former keeper of the treasury at al-Nahrawān having been left in control. But they also departed, with the last troops, carrying as much as they could of the most precious and portable commodities, together with as much as they could possibly carry with them from the treasury. In addition, they took the women and children. However, in the treasure chambers they left behind clothes, other commodities, vessels, trinkets,[62] presents[63] and oils, all of inestimable value. They also left the cattle, sheep, food and drink, which they had held in readiness in case of a siege. The first to enter al-Madā'in were the Ahwāl brigade, followed by the Kharsā' brigade. They spread out over its streets, but they did not encounter or hear anyone but those left in the White Palace. So the Muslim brigades surrounded the Persians and called upon them to surrender. They responded to Sa'd's proposition accepting "protection" in exchange for *jizā'*. One after the other, the inhabitants of al-Madā'in eventually returned to the city on the same conditions, but in this agreement there were no terms pertaining to the royal family or its entourage.

Sa'd took up quarters in the White Palace. He sent Zuhrah at the head of the vanguard in pursuit of those who had fled to al-Nahrawān. So Zuhrah set forth until he arrived at al-Nahrawān. Sa'd[64] dispatched similar numbers in all directions in pursuit of those who had fled.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-A'mash—Ḥabīb b. Ṣuhbān Abū Mālik: On the day of al-Madā'in when the Muslims
[2441] crossed the Tigris, the Persians, staring at them in the water, burst out shouting in Persian, "The devils have come!" [*dīwān āmad*].[65] Then they said to one another, "By God, you and I are

62. The Arabic word is *fuḍūl*, the plural of a word denoting "remainder," "rest." I arrived at my interpretation by inferring that what is left behind as superfluous or dispensable may well have consisted of trinkets. Ibn al-Athīr (II, 400) has *fusūs* "precious stones."

63. In Arabic, *alṭāf*, plural of *laṭaf*, see *Tāj*, s.v. *l-ṭ-f*.

64. Zuhrah can conceivably also be taken as the subject of this sentence.

65. In the Leiden manuscript of Ibn Hubaysh there is a marginal gloss of Abū Bakr b. Sayf (would he be the son of our Sayf?), which reads in translation, "Satan

not about to wage battle with ordinary people, instead, you and I will have to fight nothing but jinn." So they fled.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Aṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith and 'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib—Abū al-Bakhtarī: The Muslims' scout[66] was Salmān al-Fārisī. They had nominated him to the function of middleman[67] with the people of Persia.

'Aṭiyyah said: They had given him the order to invite the people of Bahurasīr to an agreement. The same order was given on the day of the White Palace's siege. So Salmān invited them to an agreement three times in all.

'Aṭiyyah and 'Aṭā' both went on: The words Salmān called out to them ran as follows: "I have the same origin as you, I shall be compassionate toward you; you have three options to which I invite you, which may bring about a peace treaty for you: Either you embrace Islam, then you will be our brethren, you will have the same privileges and obligations as we. Or you pay the *jizyah*. And if these two propositions are not acceptable, then we will declare war on you . . . . likewise[68]; God does not care for the treacherous."

'Aṭiyyah went on: When it was the third day, the people in Bahurasīr refused to accept any proposition, so the Muslims fought them. On the third day in al-Madā'in, however, the occupants of the White Palace gave in and came outside. Sa'd took up his quarters in the White Palace and designated the Great Hall as prayer site.[69] In this hall there were several statues of plaster, but they were left in their place.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah and al-Muhallab, complemented by Simāk al-Hujaymī: The Persian king had sent his household to Ḥulwān, when Bahurasīr was [2442]

has arrived." Notice the singular and compare it with the plural used in the original Persian.

66. In Arabic, *rā'id;* this term denotes originally "someone sent ahead to seek herbage." In a military context it also means "guide" or "reconnoiterer."

67. Literally, "propagandist."

68. A quotation from Q. VIII, 58. This "likewise," here seemingly out of context, makes good sense when the text immediately preceding it in the Qur'ān is considered: "If you fear that people (with whom you have a pact) may betray you, you should throw (that pact) back at them, likewise."

69. For a reconstruction of what this Great Hall (in arabicized Persian, *īwān*) may have looked like and what function it may have had in Sasanian times, see *EI*², s.v. *Īwān* (Grabar).

conquered. When the Muslims crossed the water, the king (and his entourage) left in flight, while his cavalry, at the water's edge, tried to prevent the Muslims and their horsemen from landing. So they and the Muslims fought fiercely, until someone called out to them, "Why get yourselves killed? By God, there is no one left in al-Madā'in!" So they were put to flight, pursued by the Muslim cavalry who rushed into the city. Sa'd made the crossing amidst the remainder of the army.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah and al-Muhallab: The vanguard of the Muslims caught up with the rearguard of the Persians. A certain Muslim called Thaqīf, one of the 'Adī b. Sharīf, caught up with a Persian warrior. He came face to face with him on one of the roads, while the latter was covering his companions' retreat. The Persian spurred his horse into attacking the Muslim, but it refused and would not budge. Then he spurred his horse to flee, but it was recalcitrant. Finally, the Muslim caught up with him, chopped off his head and took his armour as spoils.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Aṭiyyah, 'Amr and Dithār Abū 'Amr: That day a certain Persian horseman from al-Madā'in happened to be in the vicinity of (a village called) Jāzir.[70] He was told that the Arabs had invaded the territory and that the Persians had fled. But, being a self-confident man, he did not pay heed to this news and went on until he entered the house of some of his serfs. They were busily packing their clothes. He said, "What is the matter with you?" They answered, "Hornets have driven us out of our houses and taken possession of them." So this man asked for (a crossbow and) clay bullets to be brought and he started
[2443] shooting at the hornets until he had killed many of them, glued to the walls. Then fear finally struck him. He got up and ordered a serf to saddle a mount for him. The saddlegirth broke, but he quickly refastened it and mounted. Then he left the village and stopped when another man passed him by. This man drove his spear into the Persian saying, "Take this, I am Ibn al-Mukhāriq,[71]" and he killed him. Then he went on his way, not paying heed to his victim.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Sa'īd b. al-Marzubān: In

70. Near al-Nahrawān, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 7.

71. If the name means anything in this context, unfortunately, this could not be established. Form III of *kharaqa* is listed nowhere.

a similar report: the man turned out to be Ibn al-Mukhāriq b. Shihāb.

They said: A certain Muslim warrior met a Persian, together with a band of people who were reproaching one another, saying, "For what are we fleeing?" One of them said to another, "Give me a ball."[72] Then he threw it (at a certain target), not missing it. When he saw this, he and the others headed in another direction, with himself in front. So they went until they came face-to-face with the aforementioned Muslim. The Persian shot the ball at him from a shorter distance than the first time, this time missing him. Then the Muslim went for the Persian and split his skull, saying, "I am Ibn Musharriṭ al-Ḥijārah.[73]" One after the other his companions fled away from the Persian (who lay there slain).

They said: When Sa'd entered al-Madā'in, he saw that it was vacated. Finally, he came to the Great Hall of the king's palace and started to recite, "How many gardens and springs (flowing therein) have they abandoned, how many sown fields and noble habitats, how many comforts in which they took delight! The situation was thus. We bequeathed them (and their properties) to another people[74])." Then he performed a prayer ritual commemorating the conquest; this was no congregational prayer meeting. He performed eight *rak'a*s without pauses between them. He adopted the Great Hall as site for the prayer ritual. There were plaster statues there, of men and horses, but that did not prevent Sa'd, nor the other Muslims, (from praying there) and they were left as they were.

They said: Sa'd performed the prayer ritual on the day he entered the city; that was because he intended to stay there for the [2444]
time being. The first Friday prayer ritual held in Iraq was the one held in congregation in al-Madā'in in Ṣafar of the year 16 (March 637).

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72. In Arabic, *kurah*, obviously some sort of projectile is meant. A polo ball?

73. If, following the edition, we read Musharriṭ, we may interpret this with Lane "scarifier, someone who makes incisions (sc. here in stones, *ḥijārah*)." There is some confusion, though, as to whether we should read a second or a fourth form; the *Tāj*, s.v. *b-z-gh* (that is the synonym suggested by Lane) reads a first. The connotation "twisting," also found in connection with *sharaṭa* IV (see also *sharīṭah* in Lane), does not seem to fit in with *ḥijārah*.

74. Q. XLIV, 25–8. The words in brackets were gleaned from Qur'ān commentaries.

Mention of the Booty Amassed from the People of al-Madā'in

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, 'Uqbah, 'Amr, Abū 'Umar and Sa'īd: Sa'd settled in the Great Hall of the King and dispatched Zuhrah with the order to go straightaway to al-Nahrawān. In addition, he sent similar detachments in every direction to expel the unbelievers and collect the spoils. After three days he moved to the palace. He entrusted 'Amr b. 'Amr b. Muqarrin with control over what was confiscated and ordered him to collect what was in the palace, the Great Hall and the private compounds. He also had to count what the search parties had produced. The inhabitants of al-Madā'in, at the time of the defeat, had quickly snatched up what they could before fleeing in every direction. Not one of them, however, escaped with anything that did not eventually turn up in the camp of Mihrān at al-Nahrawān; not even a piece of string. The search parties chased after them to the extent that they retrieved everything that those fleeing had taken with them; the Muslims brought back what the latter had snatched up in order to add all that to what already had been amassed. The first objects to be collected on that day were from the White Palace, the living quarters of the king and the other compounds of al-Madā'in.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-A'mash—Ḥabīb b. Ṣuhbān: We marched into al-Madā'in and came upon Turkish
[2445] tents filled with baskets sealed with leaden seals. At first, we did not think they would contain anything but food, but later they were found to contain vessels of gold and silver. These were later distributed among the men. At the time, Ḥabīb (b. Ṣuhbān) went on, I saw a man running around shouting, "Who has silver or[75] gold in his possession?" We also came upon large quantities of camphor which we mistook for salt.[76] So we began to knead it (in our dough) until we discovered that it made our bread taste bitter.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī—Ibn al-Rufayl—his father al-Rufayl b. Maysūr: Zuhrah left with his

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75. In the Arabic text we read *bi-ṣafrā'* "with gold." Is this a use of *bi-* referred to in Wright, II, 164, l. 1, sc. *li'l-muṣāḥabah*?

76. Indeed, an easy mistake to make, since both camphor and salt are commonly found as white crystals in nature.

vanguard, ordering them to follow him. Finally, they came to the bridge at al-Nahrawān. The Persians were actually on it, packed together. Suddenly a mule fell into the water. With great effort, the Persians hastened to retrieve it. Zuhrah exclaimed, "I swear by God, there must be something important about that mule. They would not have put in so much effort to retrieve it, nor would they have endured our swords in this dangerous situation, unless there was something special they did not want to give up." And sure enough, on this mule were packed the king's finery, his clothes, gems, swordbelt and coat of mail encrusted with jewelry. The king used to don all these when sitting in state. Then Zuhrah dismounted to fight. Thereupon, after he had routed them, he ordered his men to retrieve the mule. They lifted it (out of the water) and brought its baggage. Zuhrah returned this to the spoils, he and his men still unaware of its contents. On that day Zuhrah recited the following verses in *rajaz:*

My uncles be ransom today for my fighters,
    Recoiling from leaving me there at the river.
They cleft for (the prize of) the mule in the struggle
    With every sword blow the cranial sutures.
The Persians were slain covering their own hillocks, [2446]
    As if they were (nothing but mere) heads of cattle.[77]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Hubayrah b. al-Ashʿath—his grandfather al-Kalaj: I was among those who went out to look for the Persians who had fled. Suddenly I came upon two mule drivers who had repelled the cavalry with arrows. They had nothing but two arrows left. When I persevered in pursuing them, they deliberated, the one saying to the other, "When you shoot him, I'll cover you, or shall I shoot him while you cover me?" So each of them chose to cover the other. The result was that they shot off both arrows. Then I attacked them and killed them. Not realizing what they were carrying, I led the two mules back to our army, where I presented them to the overseer of the spoils. This man was writing down what the warriors brought him and what the treasure chambers and dwellings contained. He said, "Wait a moment,

77. This seemingly simple poem contains a metrical peculiarity and one or two double entendres, which receive detailed treatment in Appendix I.

we will see what you have brought." I began to unload them. On one of the mules there were two baskets containing the crown of the king, which could only be held aloft by two jewel-incrusted props.[78] On the other mule there were (also) two baskets containing the king's garments, in which he used to dress up, brocaded with interwoven gold thread and adorned with gems, as well as other garments made of different fabrics similarly interwoven and adorned.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah and al-Muhallab: Al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr also went out that day in search of those who had fled. He caught up with a Persian covering the retreat of the others. They engaged in combat and al-Qaʿqāʿ slew
[2447] him. At the side of the dead man was a pack animal that carried two leather bags and two bundles, the latter containing five and six swords respectively, the former containing coats of mail. Among these coats of mail, there turned up the one of the king, his helmet, greaves and armplates, as well as the coats of mail of Heraklius,[79] Khāqān,[80] Dāhir,[81] Bahrām Shūbīn,[82] Siyāwakhsh,[83] and al-Nuʿmān.[84] What the Persians had not inherited, they had acquired as spoils, in the days of their raids on Khāqān, Heraklius and Dāhir. As for those of al-Nuʿmān and Bahrām, those were acquired when they dissented from the king and fled. One of the aforementioned

78. The crown was hanging above the king's head by a chain from the ceiling, or perhaps, as seems to be suggested here, from the two props. For more information on royal crowns at the Sasanian court, see Kurt Erdmann, "Die Entwicklung der Sāsānidischen Krone," in *Ars Islamica, XV–XVI* (1951):87–123, Christensen, *L'Iran*, 392–3; R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic world* (Leiden 1972), 23, 28–9 (with pictures).

79. Presumably, this was a trophy captured in the course of the Byzantine campaign into Sasanian territory in the late 620's.

80. This is the title of a foreign monarch; in Ibn al-Athīr, II, 402, he is identified as the king of the Turks.

81. In Ibn al-Athīr, *loc. cit.*, Dāhir is identified as the king of India; on p. 2593 below he is mentioned as the king of Mukrān, or Makrān, the coastal area in southeast Iran, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 329–33. For more on Dāhir, see Yohanan Friedmann, "The Origins and Significance of the Chach Nāma," in *Islam in Asia*, I, Jerusalem, 1984, 23–37.

82. A usurper of the Persian throne, see Morony, *Iraq*, index (Bahrām Chūbīn).

83. Identified by De Goeje as Bahrām Shūbīn's grandson, see Tabarī's general index.

84 He is al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, the last of the Lakhmid kings (d. 602), see Morony, *Iraq*, 220.

bundles contained the swords of the king, Hurmuz,[85] Qubādh[86] and Fayrūz,[87] and the other swords turned out to be those of Heraklius, Khāqān, Dāhir, Bahrām, Siyāwakhsh and al-Nuʿmān.

Al-Qaʿqāʿ brought all these spoils to Saʿd who said, "Pick one of these swords." So al-Qaʿqāʿ selected the one of Heraklius. Saʿd also gave him Bahrām's coat of mail. The rest of this weaponry he distributed freely among the Kharsāʾ brigade, except for the swords of the king and al-Nuʿmān, which were sent to ʿUmar. This was so that the tribesmen, who had previous knowledge of the existence of these swords, would hear of this feat. Thus Saʿd and his men retained as part of the distributable booty[88] those two swords, the king's finery, his crown, and his garments. Then they sent these objects to ʿUmar for the Muslims to see and for the nomadic tribesmen to hear about. In this way, Khālid b. Saʿīd acquired the (famous) sword al-Ṣamṣāmah[89] belonging to ʿAmr b. Maʿdī Karib in the "apostasy" war [*al-Riddah*], Amr's fellow tribesmen asking that their lives be spared as a consequence.[90] [2448]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿUbaydah b. Muʿattib—someone from the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ṭarīf—ʿIṣmah b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḍabbī: I marched among those who left in search of the Persian fugitives. I took a well-traveled path and found myself suddenly face-to-face with a man driving a donkey. When he saw me, he urged it forward, caught up with another man driving a donkey ahead of him and together they surged forward, spurring their donkeys to greater speed. Finally, they came to a stream. Its bridge was broken. They remained standing there until I reached them, then they parted ways. One shot at me, but I pursued and killed him. The other escaped. I returned to the donkeys and

85. Hurmuz is identified by De Goeje as the son of the king.

86. Identified by De Goeje as the son of Fayrūz.

87. Identified by De Goeje as the son of Yazdajird b. Bahrām Gūr.

88. In Arabic, *akhmās*, to be distinguished from *anfāl*, which is the booty handed out *freely* as some sort of special reward to the most deserving warriors, not necessarily in equal portions. Distribution in equal portions of the *khums* (=one-fifth sent to Medina) and the *akhmās* (=four-fifths divided among the participating soldiers) is called in Arabic *qasm* or *iqtisām*, to be distinguished from the handing out of *anfāl*, which is *nafl* or *tanfīl*. See also n. 94 below.

89. This is a sword which does not bend, see Lane, 1724, left column.

90. Conceivably, this last sentence admits of an alternative interpretation: "as a result of which ʿAmr's fellow tribesmen were put to shame."

brought them to the overseer of the booty. He inspected what the one was carrying. It turned out to be two baskets. In one of these there was a golden figure of a horse, saddled with a silver saddle; on its crupper and breast girth there were rubies and emeralds encased in silver. Its bridle was likewise embellished. There also was a figure of a horseman made of silver encrusted with gems. The other basket contained a figurine representing a silver she-camel; on it were a saddlecloth and a strap of gold. It also had a halter or bridle made of gold, all this studded with rubies. On the camel a man, made of gem-encrusted gold, was seated. The king used to attach these two figures to the props used for holding his crown aloft.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Hubayrah b. al-Ashʿath
[2449] —Abū ʿUbdah al-ʿAnbarī: When the Muslims descended upon al-Madāʾin and collected the booty, a man came forward carrying a box. He handed this to the overseer of the spoils who with the others said, "We have never seen anything like it; it is not like anything we have, not even remotely." They asked that man whether he had taken away for himself anything from the contents, whereupon he exclaimed, "Of course not, had it not been for God, I would not have brought this box to you." So they began to realize that this was a man of importance. "Who are you?," they asked, to which the man replied, "I won't tell you in anticipation of your praise, nor anyone else in order to solicit his eulogy. I praise God and am satisfied with His reward." (Still curious,) they had him followed by someone. When he finally reached his people, the man (who had shadowed him) made inquiries as to his identity. He turned out to be ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Qays.[91]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, ʿAmr and Saʿīd: Saʿd said, "By God, the army is truly honest! If it had not been for the prestige of the fighters at Badr[92] earned in the past—and I swear by God, I uphold their merit!—time and again I came across trifles (from the booty amassed at Badr) too many to enumerate, which several of them had kept for

91. He seems a relatively nondescript figure. He plays a minor role in vol. XV of this series.

92. Name of a well where the famous first battle of the year 2 (624) took place between Muḥammad helped by his Medinan following and a far superior Meccan force accompanying a richly laden caravan

themselves, whereas I never heard that the warriors (involved in this battle) did anything of the sort!"

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mubashshir b. al-Fuḍayl—Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh: "By God beside Whom there is no other god, it has not come to our notice that anyone of the fighters present at al-Qādisiyyah wanted this world's riches beside the [2450] Hereafter." Although we did suspect three men, Ṭulayḥah b. Khuwaylid, ʿAmr b. Maʿdī Karib and Qays b. al-Makshūḥ,[93] we ourselves, nor the enemy whom we attacked, had ever seen anything like their honesty and moderation.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Qays al-ʿIjlī—his father: When the king's sword, belt and finery were brought to ʿUmar, he exlaimed, "People who hand in such precious booty are indeed honest!" Then ʿAlī said, "It is your own virtuous conduct that is imitated by the people."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr and al-Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: When ʿUmar saw the king's weaponry, he said, "People who hand in such costly spoils are indeed honest!"

How the Booty Acquired at al-Madāʾin Was Distributed among the People Present at Its Conquest, Who Numbered, as Sayf Claims, in All Sixty Thousand

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, ʿAmr, Saʿīd and al-Muhallab: When Saʿd, after his arrival in al-Madāʾin, had dispatched people in pursuit of the Persians who had fled, the search party reached al-Nahrawān. Then they gradually retreated and the unbelievers marched on to Ḥulwān. After he had set aside the fifth, Saʿd distributed the booty among the people. Every horseman [2451] received a share to the value of twelve thousand (dirhams). In fact, all of them were mounted, no infantry having participated in the conquest. The number of pack animals in al-Madāʾin was large.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī gave a similar account. All the transmitters agree in that he distributed freely

93. All three of these were notorious for having "apostatized," i.e. refused to pay the taxes imposed by Medina, upon the death of the Prophet. They were subdued again during the reign of Abū Bakr in the course of the *Riddah* wars, the so-called "apostasy wars."

from the (remaining four-fifths of the) spoils, without letting only the men who had displayed particular valor have more than their exact share.[94]

They said: Sa'd distributed the houses of al-Madā'in among the people and made them move into them. The man who exercised control over the collecting of the spoils was 'Amr b. 'Amr al-Muzanī. The man in charge of the booty's distribution was Salmān b. Rabī'ah. Al-Madā'in was conquered in Ṣafar of the year 16 (March 637).

They said: When Sa'd invaded al-Madā'in, he firmly established regulations concerning the performance of the prayer ritual, and he also fasted. He issued orders that the people were to come to the Great Hall of the Royal palace. This hall was made into a place of worship for the religious festivals. He had a pulpit erected in it. Sa'd used to perform the prayer ritual in this hall while there were still (Persian) statues standing there. He also used to convene the congregational Friday prayer in it. When a fast was broken, it was commonly said, "Show yourselves, for the established norm concerning the two festivals is that you come into the

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94. This is a difficult passage and perhaps needs some explanation. The "people of particular valor" is my rendering of the Arabic *ahl al-balā'*. On p. 2412 of vol. XII of this series we find in the details of 'Umar's *dīwān* ("stipend register") a reference to them, which permits us to see them as fighters who received more than their normal share from the spoils, because they had especially distinguished themselves in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the main battles in Syria (e.g. al-Yarmūk), but who had *not yet* been mobilized into the Muslim armies fighting the battles immediately *preceding* that of al-Qādisiyyah and its Syrian counterpart. Those battles were called *al-ayyām* (lit. "the days"). In other words, they fell just short of the prestige accorded to the *ahl al-ayyām*.

"Distributing freely" is my rendering of the verb *naffala*. Contrary to the verb *qasama*, which means "dividing into exactly equal shares among. . . ," *naffala* means "giving each according to his individual merits," or "handing out in unequal shares." This interpretation is based on *Tāj*, s.v. *n-f-l*, where we read among other things: *naffalahu tanfīlan faḍḍalahu 'alā ghayrihi* and *naffilū akbarakum ay zīdūhu 'alā ḥiṣṣatihi*, see also Noth, index s.v. *nafal*. On p. 2412 of Vol. XII, where the *ahl al-balā'* were previously mentioned, we read how to the *bārī'* ("excellent") from among them a larger share is allotted. For the fifth form of this root in the *Tāj* we come across the connotation *tabarra'a bi'l- 'aṭā' tafaḍḍala bi-mā lā yajibu 'alayhi*. Finally, in this at first sight obscure, passage, we are lumbered with the terms *wal-lam yajhadhā*, which constitutes Prym's otherwise nearly always judicious vocalization. Contrary to what has been my policy adopted throughout, I had to reject this vocalization, because it does not seem to make sense. I propose to read a fourth form: *wa-lam yujhidhā;* Lane gives for IV also "to give away here and there," see *Tāj*, s.v. *j-h-d*.

open."[95] Sa'd said, "Perform your prayer rituals in the Great Hall." It is reported that he himself did so. He also said, "(Come to the Great Hall for the congregational prayer) no matter whether you happen to be in the very centre of your village."[96]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Amr—al-Sha'bī: When Sa'd had settled in al-Madā'in and had divided the living quarters, he sent for the families[97] and settled them in the houses. These had privies and the like.[98] They stayed on in al-Madā'in until the Muslims had finally finished at Jalūlā', Takrīt and al-Mawṣil. After that they moved to al-Kūfah.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Ziyād and al-Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd shared with them the same account: Sa'd brought together the fifth part of the booty. Therein was included everything with which he wanted to surprise 'Umar: to wit the king's garments, finery, his sword and the like, [2452] and what might delight Arab tribesmen as well, if it fell into their hands.[99] Then he freely distributed[100] from the remaining four-fifths (among the people of valor). After also the more strict division among the rest of the people was carried out and after he had set apart the fifth (destined for Medina), he was left with the *qiṭf*,[101] but dividing that up could not be achieved in any fair way. So Sa'd addressed the Muslims saying, "What do you think, if we were to manage without dividing among us four-fifths of this *qiṭf*, so that we could dispatch it to 'Umar for him to dispose of as he deems fit? For we are of the opinion that it cannot be divided successfully among us, because we (would only end up each of us

95. With this there seems to be an implication that Sa'd wanted to give the congregational aspect of the performance of the prayer ritual more emphasis; history confirms that every nascent religion has benefitted from accentuating this aspect.

96. In other words, far away from the Great Hall.

97. Sc. those families left behind at the 'Atīq, see pp. 1-2 above.

98. That is how I interpret *marāfiq* here, a word which, according to Lane, stands for any appurtenances of a house, such as the kitchen or washing facilities. My choice of the interpretation "privy" may be justified with the occurrence of *kanīf*, plural *kunuf*, in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, III, 312, indicating a "privy" in use with non-Arabs.

99. The intention seems to be that 'Umar might be thus enabled to persuade nomadic tribesmen to convert to Islam more readily.

100. Again we have the term *naffala*, rather than *qasama*, the latter implying a division in strictly equal shares; see n. 94 above.

101. What this *qiṭf* is will be explained below.

owning) a small piece, whereas it would suit the people of Medina admirably."[102] "But of course, we agree," the people answered. So Sa'd sent it to 'Umar as he had found it.

This *qiṭf*, measuring sixty by sixty cubits, was one (gigantic) carpet, one *jarīb*[103] in size. On it were pictures of roads and inlays like rivers; among them were pictures of houses. The edges looked like cultivated lands planted with spring vegetables, made of silk on stalks of gold. Their blossoms were of gold and silver, etc.

When the fifth finally reached 'Umar, he freely distributed from it among certain people and said, "From the main four-fifths of the booty those of the people of valor, who were or were not present at the battle, received their free shares, in all totaling two-fifths.[104] But I am of the opinion that (here in Medina none of) the Medina fifth should be divided up in *free* shares."[105] Then he distributed it in exactly equal shares among those who were entitled to it.[106] Thereupon 'Umar asked, "Advise me as to what to
[2453] do with this carpet." Medina's elders all agreed on one solution and said, "The fighters out there have made that matter over to you,[107] so you do as you think fit." They all agreed on this except 'Alī, who had another suggestion to offer. "Commander of the Faithful," 'Alī said, "the matter stands indeed as they have said,

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102. If my translation is correct, with this there seems an implication that granting this *qiṭf* a permanent place in Medina, for everybody to enjoy, appeared to Sa'd a better solution than cutting it up in so many pieces in al-Madā'in.

103. A *jarīb* is a land measure of 958 m², see Hinz, 60; if we assume it was square, that means that it was a carpet of more than 30 meters long and broad. A cubit is a little over 50 cm in this context. The wording of the following few lines seems defective.

104. This figure of two-fifths may imply *either* that the other two-fifths minus the *qiṭf* were distributed according to the *qasm* method, *or* that two-fifths constituted all the booty distributed among the warriors, the remaining two-fifths representing the value of the *qiṭf*.

105. The text reads *jahadū 'l-khumsa bi'l-nafli*; again I propose to read a fourth form rather than a first (see above, n. 94), or we may deduce that I and IV may have the same meaning: treating booty as to be divided up, not according to the *qasm* method, but rather to the *nafl* method, not in strictly equal shares and commensurate with the achievements or prestige of the recipients.

106. Q. VIII, 41, stipulates that the fifth ("God's share") is to be distributed among the Prophet's relatives, as well as orphans, poor people and travelers, while one-fifth of the fifth, originally destined for the Prophet himself, was now to be deposited in the treasury.

107. The verb used is *ja'ala*, which also implies "giving a soldier his wages."

so there remains no other solution than to ponder this matter somewhat more. If you accept it today as it is, (there does not seem to be anybody who objects, but) tomorrow you will certainly come across people who are entitled to something of the booty that is not in their possession." "You are quite right," 'Umar said, "that is sound advice." So he cut up the carpet and distributed the pieces among them.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr: On the day of the conquest of al-Madā'in the Muslims acquired "the king's spring,"[108] which they found too cumbersome[109] to take along. They had been keeping it ready for use in winter for the time when their provisions were all but exhausted. When they wanted a drinking party, they would sit and drink on this carpet. Then they would feel as if they were sitting in a garden. It was a carpet measuring sixty by sixty (cubits); its background[110] was gold-colored, its brocade was inlaid, the fruits depicted on it were precious stones, its foliage silk and its waters golden. The Arabs used to call it the *qitf*. When Sa'd had divided the booty among them, he was left with this carpet; he could not bring himself to cut it up. So Sa'd gathered the Muslims and said to them, "God has filled your hands, but dividing this carpet is not so easy; nobody could possibly purchase it.[111] Therefore, I consider it a good idea that you should relinquish it freely to the Commander of the Faithful; let him dispose of it as he wants." Thus they decided. When the carpet had reached 'Umar in Medina, he had a dream. He convened the people, praised God and extolled Him, and, having told them what this was all about, he asked them their opinion. Some people suggested that 'Umar keep it for himself, others that he be the arbiter thereof,[112] and still others created disagreement.[113] When 'Alī saw that 'Umar was about to reject each of these suggestions, he stood up, went to him and said, "Why do you pretend not to know or to have doubts? Nothing of this material [2454]

108. *Bahār-i Kisrā* is the Persian name of the carpet the Arabs called *qitf*.

109. The word used here, *thaqula*, has two connotations "to be heavy" and "to be difficult." The double entendre is perhaps intentional.

110. According to Lane, the Arabic word *ard* can mean "carpet."

111. Or "sell it," the Arabic *shirā'* being a *ḍidd* admitting of either interpretation.

112. Translation tentative.

113. Translation tentative.

world really belongs to you except what you have been given and then you spend it all, or the clothes with which you dress yourself which you then wear thin, or the food you eat which you then digest." "You are perfectly right," 'Umar replied. So he cut the carpet up into equal pieces and distributed these among the people. 'Alī also acquired a fragment which he sold for twenty thousand (dirhams). And that was not even the best piece!

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: The one who took charge of the four-fifths, namely those of al-Madā'in, was Bashīr b. al-Khaṣṣāṣiyyah. The one who relayed news of the conquest of the city was Ḥulays, of unknown parentage, from Asad, and the one overseeing the amassing of the plunder was 'Amr (b. 'Amr al-Muzanī). Its distribution was in the hands of Salmān (b. Rabī'ah). They continued: When the carpet had been cut up and distributed among the people, they profusely praised the warriors of al-Qādisiyyah. 'Umar said, "Of all the Arabs, they are the prominent ones, the champions. For them, religion goes hand in hand with many dangers. They are truly the warriors of the early battles and of al-Qādisiyyah and its aftermath."[114] They continued: When the king's finery, as well as his attire when he sat in state and his garments destined for other occasions (he had a number of different ceremonial dresses, one set for every occasion), reached Medina, 'Umar ordered that Muḥallim be brought forward. At that time this man was the most corpulent Bedouin in the region of Medina. Muḥallim was crowned with the royal crown, held aloft on its two wooden props, dressed up in his sashes, necklaces and garments, and seated in front of the people. 'Umar looked at him; so did the people. They saw something magnificent belonging to this material world and its allure. Then Muḥallim stepped out of those and he was dressed up in the next set of regalia. The people looked at all that without interest[115] until all the royal garments

114. The Arabic reads *ahl al-ayyām wa-ahl al-qawādis*; for the first category of people, see p. 13, n. 43 above. Al-Qawādis, which means literally "the Qādisiyyas," I interpreted as comprising the battles of al-Qādisiyyah as well as immediately subsequent battles and skirmishes. See also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 196.

115. This rendering is a tentative one; the Arabic *fī ghayri nū'in* or *naw'in* is listed nowhere in the dictionaries consulted. The *Lisān* suggests "hunger" or "thirst" for *nū'*, which I have used here.

had been tried on. Then Muḥallim was asked to arm himself with the king's weapons and to gird himself with his sword. The people kept staring. Then 'Umar ordered him to take everything off [2455] and said, "By God, people who surrender (such precious objects instead of keeping them for themselves) are truly honest." Then he handed the king's sword to Muḥallim as his share of the spoils and said, "How stupid is the Muslim who is beguiled by material possessions! Surely, does anyone thus beguiled attain anything except less than this his present share or even just as much? What good is there for any Muslim in that which previously harmed the king and was of no use to him? The king did not go beyond devoting himself to what he was told about his afterlife. Thus he gathered riches for the (future) husband of his wife (after his death) or for his daughter's husband or his son's wife. For himself he did not set anything aside. Here a man has provided for himself and has secured that which he does not immediately need in storage, so that that might provide for him later and if not, then in any case for the three (comparable descendants) coming after him. How stupid is he who gathers riches for the sole benefit of his descendants or (simply) for an enemy to scoop up!"[116]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Kurayb—Nāfi' b. Jubayr: At the time when the spoils[117] were brought, while looking at the king's weaponry, garments and finery—together with the sword of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir—'Umar said to Jubayr (b. Muṭ'im), "Verily, people who submit (precious booty such as) this are truly honest. What clan did al-Nu'mān belong to?" Jubayr answered, "The Arabs used to trace his lineage to a few remaining members of Qanaṣ; he was one of

116. This entire speech of 'Umar is quite unclear and my rendering is a tentative one. One wonders whether 'Umar's audience understood one iota of it, that is, if it is historical.

117. The text has *akhmās* "the fifths"; I take this not as an erroneous reading for *khums* "one-fifth," the normal fraction to be sent back to Medina, but I interpret this as implying that, because al-Madīnah received on top of the usual fifth that costly carpet described above, it received spoils to the value of a few That we do not have a simple mistake (*akhmās* instead of *khums*) is borne out by the occurrence of the term *akhmās* describing the al-Madā'in booty sent to Medina also on a later occasion, see p. 36 below. It is, of course, also conceivable that we have to interpret the plural *akhmās* as an indication of the different *khums* parts acquired as a result of different conquests or battles.

the Banū 'Ajam b. Qanaṣ." 'Umar said, "Take his sword," granting it as booty to Jubayr. Not aware of the name 'Ajam, the people always said Lakhm. They went on: 'Umar entrusted Sa'd b. (Abī Waqqāṣ) Mālik with organizing the *ṣalāt* in the territory conquered and leading the military actions in it. Sa'd did so. Furthermore, 'Umar charged al-Nu'mān and Suwayd with the levying of
[2456] the land tax. They were sons of 'Amr b. Muqarrin. Suwayd took charge of the land irrigated by the Euphrates and al-Nu'mān of that irrigated by the Tigris. They also constructed bridges. Then 'Umar sent as overseers—whereupon they resigned—Ḥudhayfah b. Asīd and Jābir b. 'Amr al-Muzanī. Thereupon he sent as overseers of the latter two Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān and 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf.

Ṭabarī said: In this year, I mean the year 16 (637), the battle of Jalūlā' took place. This was reported to me by Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he had been informed by Salamah on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq. Also al-Sarī wrote to me about this, mentioning that Shu'ayb had informed him about this on the authority of Sayf.

The Report about the Battle of Jalūlā' al-Waqī'ah[118]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid—Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim: After we had descended upon al-Madā'in and distributed the spoils that were there, having sent more than[119] one-fifth to 'Umar, and having populated it again with our own people, we stayed there for a while. Then there came to us the news that Mihrān had made his camp in Jalūlā' after he had a trench dug around it, and also that the people of al-Mawṣil had made their camp in Takrīt.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Walīd b. 'Abdallah b. Abī Ṭaybah al-Bajalī—his father, gave the same report with the addition: Sa'd wrote to this effect to 'Umar, who wrote back, "Send Hāshim b. 'Utbah to Jalūlā' with twelve thousand men; give the command over the vanguard to al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr, that over the right wing to
[2457] Si'r b. Mālik and that over the left wing to 'Amr b. Mālik b.

118. See Yaqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 107: *al-waqī'ah* is a word for "onslaught," the battle of Jalūlā' allegedly resulting in large numbers of casualties.

119. The Arabic reads *akhmās* rather than what we would expect, *khums*; see n. 117 above.

'Utbah; place the infantry of the army under the command of 'Amr b. Murrah al-Juhanī."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and Ziyād: 'Umar wrote to Sa'd, "If God defeats the two armies, the army of Mihrān and that of al-Anṭāq, order al-Qa'qā' to march on until he gets to (the region) between the Sawād and al-Jabal[120] at the farthest (position reached by) your armed forces."

'Amr and Sa'īd concurred with the account of the abovementioned transmitters: It was said about the men involved at Jalūlā' that, when the Persians, after their flight from al-Madā'in, finally reached Jalūlā' and the people of Ādharbayjān and al-Bāb were about to go their separate ways from the people of al-Jibāl and those of Fārs, they started to incite one another to fight saying, "If you disperse now, you will never get together again; this is a spot that sends us in different directions. So, come on, let us unite to face the Arabs here and let us fight them. If we win, that is what we want, and if we lose, then we will have performed our duty, thus creating an excuse for ourselves."[121] So they dug a moat and assembled within its perimeter under the command of Mihrān al-Rāzī. Yazdajird had passed through to Ḥulwān, where he alighted. He provided them with men and also left some of his wealth behind (in Jalūlā'). They stayed within their trench, which, except for its exits, was completely surrounded by hedges consisting of wooden pointed stakes.

According to 'Amr—'Āmir al-Sha'bī: Abū Bakr never used to ask anyone from the "people of the apostasy" [*ahl al-Riddah*] to help him in his warfare until he died. 'Umar did request their assistance, but he never entrusted a command to any of them except over a small contingent or even smaller units. He never gave up his custom of entrusting commands to Companions when he found someone worthy enough to wage his war for him. [2458]
And if he did not find anyone (from among the Companions) cut out for this task, then he would readily scout around for a suitable Successor. But, until Islam had become firmly established, no one

120. Al-Jabal (lit. "the mountain"), also called al-Jibāl (the plural of *jabal*) is the name of the mountainous region northeast of the Tigris between Iṣfahān and Hamadhān, see Yaqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 15 f., 22f.; see also Le Strange, *Lands*, ch. XIII. Sawād means "cultivated area (sc. of Iraq)."

121. Or "having showed our valor," see Lane, 256, left column.

who had participated in the "war of the apostasy" was encouraged with a command, their commanders in those wars having been riff-raff in any case.

'Amr, Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, Ṭalḥah and Sa'īd concurred: Hāshim b. 'Utbah departed from al-Madā'in in Ṣafar of the year 16 (March 637) at the head of twelve thousand men, among whom were leading Emigrants and Helpers as well as eminent tribesmen, people who had not joined the "wars of the apostasy," but also those who had. Thus Hāshim marched from al-Madā'in to Jalūlā' in four days, until he arrived at the Persians' camp. He surrounded the camp and besieged them, the Persians at first holding out, not venturing out on sorties, unless they saw an advantage therein. The Muslims charged the Persian fortress in Jalūlā' in eighty raids, God granting them victory on every occasion. They showed themselves to be stronger than the unbelievers in spite of their wooden stakes; so the Persians surrounded themselves with ones made of iron.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Uqbah b. Mukram—Biṭān b. Bishr: When Hāshim swooped down upon Mihrān in Jalūlā', he laid siege to them lying behind their trench. The Persians mounted raids against the Muslims in large numbers and with much clamor. Hāshim made it his custom to tell his men, "The emergency (in which we find ourselves) will be decisive for the future."[122] Sa'd began to reinforce Hāshim's troops with horsemen who, when the last of these had arrived, finally presented themselves to the Muslims and, with them, marched against the enemy. Hāshim stood up among his men and said,
[2459] "Show God your valor, that He may fulfill therewith your recompense and booty. Strive for God." So they went to face the enemy and fought. God sent a whirlwind over them which darkened the enemy('s free observation of the) terrain. The only thing open to them was to try and prevent the Muslims from engaging them in combat. Their cavalry tumbled down into their own trench and did not see any other way out than to make breaches (in the barricades) at the very spot where they were,[123] enabling their

122. In Noth, 118, this expression is identified and analyzed as a *topos*.

123. Sc. presumably not wandering about in the trench until they arrived at one of its thoroughfares.

horses to climb (onto the bank), thus ruining their defense system. A rumor that that was going on reached the Muslims. They looked at the scene and said, "Let us attack them a second time; perhaps we can invade their stronghold or else we are prepared to die in the effort." So, when the Muslims moved in on them a second time, the enemy came out and set up around the trench, facing the Muslims, a barricade of iron-pointed stakes, so as to prevent the Muslim cavalry from attacking them. They left one spot in this barricade open for easy access by which they went out to face the Muslims. These last fought ferociously, more so than they had ever fought before except for the "night of clamor,"[124] only this time with even more determination and speed. Al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr finally took a direction along which he fought his way forward toward the thoroughfare of the Persians' trench. He took up a position there and ordered someone to proclaim the following message: "Listen, Muslim warriors, this is your commander speaking; he has entered the enemy's trench and established a stronghold there. So now you move in on it, and let no one whom you find on your way prevent you from going down into it." He gave this order just to boost the morale of the Muslims. These last attacked, not doubting for a moment that Hāshim had indeed established a position in the trench.[125] Nothing withstood their attack until they ended up at the passage through the trench. Who else but al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr did they find there! He had established himself firmly. The unbelievers started fleeing right and left, away from the clearance facing their trench. They perished in (the iron stakes) which they had set up against the Muslims. Their [2460] horses were injured and they had to return on foot, pursued[126] by the Muslims. Only an insignificant number got away. That day God killed one hundred thousand of them. The whole clearing was covered with corpses, in all directions. Hence Jalūlā' was called Jalūlā' al-Waqī'ah[127] on account of the dead bodies covering it.[128]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥaf-

124. Sc. at al-Qādisiyyah.

125. Again I have adopted the reading of Ibn al-Athīr, II, 405, which in my opinion gives a better text.

126. I read *ittaba'ahum* instead of *atba'ahum*.

127. *Waqī'ah*, as we saw, has the connotation "massacre" or "onslaught."

fiz—his father: I was among the first of the Muslim hordes at the time they entered Sābāṭ and al-Muẓlim nearby.[129] I was also among the first to cross the Tigris and enter al-Madā'in. It was there that I acquired a statue which, had it been divided as booty among all the members of the Bakr b. Wā'il, it certainly would have satisfied them, what with all its precious stones. But I handed it over (to be added to the other spoils). We only stayed a short while in al-Madā'in until the news reached us that the Persians had gathered an immense force against us at Jalūlā'. They had sent their families ahead to al-Jibāl,[130] but had kept their riches with
[2461] them. Sa'd sent 'Amr b. Mālik b. 'Utbah b. Uhayb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra to them.[131] The army of the Muslims that fought at Jalūlā' was twelve thousand strong. The commander of its vanguard was al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr. Also, eminent people and horse-owning knights[132] marched in this army. When they passed Bābil Mahrūdh,[133] its dihqān concluded a peace treaty on the condition that he cover a *jarīb*[134] of land with dirhams (for the Muslim army). This he did, in this way obtaining a safeguard for his people.[135] Then the Muslim army moved on until it confronted the Persians at Jalūlā', where it appeared that these had dug a protecting trench around themselves, and especially their treasury.[136] By the fires

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128. Perhaps the double entendre implied in the verb "to cover" (*jallala*), used in connection with the battle of Jalūlā', a name which is derived from the same root, is quite intentional.

129. Two localities near al-Madā'in, see Yaqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 569.

130. See n. 120 above.

131. He seems to be confused with 'Amr b. 'Utbah b. Nawfal b. Uhayb, who in this context is the general mentioned in Balādhurī; see the note in the text edition.

132. Horses were so valuable, and at the same time so expensive to keep in desert areas, that not all warriors could afford them. Compare the pitifully small number of warriors on horseback participating in the first *maghāzī* listed, for instance, in the *Sīrah* of Ibn Isḥāq.

133. The combination of these two geographical names cannot be explained with the help of Yaqūt, where the one and the other are not mentioned in tandem Above, on p. 2421, a place Bābil was mentioned. Is the story of this peace treaty to be identified with the peace treaty concluded on p. 3?

134. See n. 103 above.

135. See also Yaqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 700.

136. See above p. 2457, where it is related that the king had left some of his treasures behind in Jalūlā'.

they had lit they swore one another solidarity and loyalty that no one was to take to his heels.[137]

The Muslims made their camp near the enemy. Every day troops (dispatched by the king) from Ḥulwān began to arrive at the fortress of the unbelievers. He thus reinforced them with as many people from al-Jibāl as he could find. The Muslims appealed to Sa'd for reinforcements too, which he duly dispatched, three times a contingent of two hundred cavalry. When the Persians became aware of the Muslims' being reinforced, they hastened to wage battle. That day the commander of the Muslim cavalry was Ṭulayḥah, the son of an unnamed father, one of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār. The Persian cavalry commander was Khurrazādh b. Khurrahurmuz. Both armies fought a tremendous battle, the Muslims never having been engaged in anything like it before. They first [2462] used up all the darts and arrows.[138] Then all the spears broke, whereupon they resorted to wielding their swords and battleaxes. Thus they fought all morning until noon. When it was time for the noon prayer ritual, the fighters performed this by just nodding their heads.

(They went on fighting) until, about halfway between noon and the mid-afternoon prayer ritual,[139] one Muslim detachment retreated and another came and took its place. Then, addressing himself to these men, al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr said, "Has this battle scared you out of your wits?"[140] "Yes," they replied, "we wear ourselves out while they rest; when someone is exhausted, he is always afraid that his strength will fail him, unless his place is regularly taken by others."[141] So al-Qa'qā' said, "We will attack them, we will press hard on them, we will not retreat or draw back until God decides between us. So let us charge them as one

137. This is probably a description of a Zoroastrian ritual accompanying the swearing of oaths.

138. The Arabic has *nabl* and *nushshāb*; the first mentioned are short and shot with a crossbow or a bow equipped with an arrow guide, the second are longer and shot with a standard handbow, see J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson, *Saracen archery*, London, 1970, index s.v. and esp. 188.

139. Approximately 2 p.m.

140. Which means, perhaps, ". . . to the point that you want to sneak away?"

141. I base this translation of *yu'qabu* on Lane, 2098, left column, three lines from the top.

man would,[142] until you are actually in the enemy's midst and let no one of you fail to live up to expectations!"[143] He advanced, the enemy's ranks were opened, not a single Muslim warrior budged from the passage through the trench, until the night drew its curtain over them. They ventured right and left. Then Ṭulayḥah, Qays b. al-Makshūh, 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib and Ḥujr b. 'Adī approached among the reinforcements and arrived on the scene as night fell when the Muslims had just stopped fighting. Then al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr had someone make a loud announcement, "Why do you desist from fighting, whilst your commander is actually down in the trench?" Then the unbelievers began to flee and the Muslims attacked again. I[144] go down into the trench,[145] (I enter their camp) and come to a tent in which there are pillows and clothes. Suddenly (I sense the presence of) a human form hidden under some blankets. I tear them away and what do I find? A
[2463] woman, like a gazelle, radiant as the sun! I took her and her clothes and surrendered the latter as booty, but put in a request for the maid, that she may be allotted to me. Thus I acquired her as a concubine; she later bore me a child.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ḥammād al-Burjumī—his otherwise unknown father: That day, Khārijah b. al-Ṣalt chanced upon a figurine of a she-camel of gold or silver, adorned with pearls and rubies, about as big as a young goat when placed on the ground. There was a figure of a rider on it, made of gold and similarly adorned. Khārijah brought both objects (to the spot where the loot was accumulated) and surrendered them.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr, Sa'īd, al-Walīd b. 'Abdallāh, al-Mujālid and 'Uqbah b. Mukram: Hāshim ordered al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr to go after those Persians who had run away, so he searched for them all the way until he got to Khāniqīn.[146] When news of the defeat reached Yazdajird, he traveled from Ḥulwān to al-Jibāl. In the meantime,

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142. That is, in a mass charge.

143. I adopt the interpretation of *takdhīb* listed in *WKAS*, I, 93, right column, below.

144. This is Muḥaffiz, the eyewitness of this account, see pp. 39–40 above

145. Since the Arabic has here and in what follows, the verbs in the imperfect, I have chosen to translate them as a historical present.

146. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 393: a locality between al-Madā'in and Hamadhān.

al-Qa'qā' arrived at Ḥulwān, and this because of something that 'Umar had written to Sa'd, "In case God defeats both armies, that of Mihrān and the one of al-Anṭāq, send al-Qa'qā' ahead until he gets to a region between the Sawād and al-Jabal at the furthest (position taken by) your armed forces. So al-Qa'qā' stopped at Ḥulwān with an army of men from different clans and from the Ḥamrā'[147] and he remained there until there was a general move from al-Madā'in to al-Kūfah. When Sa'd left al-Madā'in for al-Kūfah, al-Qa'qā' joined him. He had entrusted the administration of the border region to Qubādh, one of the Ḥamrā' who originally hailed from Khurāsān, and he had freely handed out booty from the area to those who had been present at its subjugation as well as to some of those who had stayed out at al-Madā'in.

They continued with similar accounts: Then they[148] wrote to 'Umar giving the news of the conquest of Jalūlā' and of al-Qa'qā''s arrival in Ḥulwān, and they asked 'Umar's permission to follow [2464] him to this place. But 'Umar refused, saying, "I wish there was a barrier between the Sawād and al-Jabal stopping the Persians from reaching us, and us from going out to them. The Sawād constitutes quite sufficient cultivable land for us; I prefer peace for the Muslims to plunder." They continued: When al-Qa'qā' was dispatched by Hāshim in pursuit of the Persians who had run away, he overtook Mihrān in Khāniqīn, where he killed him. Then he caught up with al-Fayruzān, but this man jumped (off his horse), letting it go, and clambered out of sight away into the mountains. Al-Qa'qā' made prisoners of war and sent some of them to Hāshim; so the latter and his men allocated these among themselves as part of the booty. The women among them were taken as concubines and bore their Muslim masters children. Since those prisoners of war are associated with Jalūlā', they are called "the captives of Jalūlā'." One of these women taken pris-

147. The Ḥamrā' (literally, "the Red") were Persian defectors who settled with the Muslims in, among other places, al-Kūfah, where they were assigned special living quarters. They occupied a position among the Muslim forces comparable with that of the Asāwirah, Persian cavalry men, who settled among the Muslims in al-Baṣrah. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 280; Pellat, *Le milieu*, 22, 35; Morony, *Iraq*, 197 f.; Juda, 76.

148. Presumably, this word "they" refers to other victorious Muslim warriors who had stayed on in Jalūlā'.

oner was al-Sha'bī's mother, who was first allotted to a man from the Banū 'Abs. She gave birth to a child, but the father died. Then Sharāḥīl took her unto him and she also bore him a child, 'Āmir,[149] who grew up among the Banū 'Abs.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah and al-Muhallab: The chattels[150] of Jalūlā' were distributed among them, each horseman receiving nine thousand (dirhams' worth) and nine animals. Then Hāshim returned to Sa'd with the war booty.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Amr—al-Sha'bī: God singled out as *fay'* booty[151] for the Muslims what they found in the Persians' camp at Jalūlā', what the Persians carried on their persons, as well as all the animals they had stationed there with the exception of a small number. In fact, those who did get away had not been able to take anything of their riches with them. The distribution of all that among the Muslims was in the hands of
[2465] Salmān b. Rabī'ah, who in those days supervised the entire intake of the booty.[152] Therefore the Arab tribesmen used to call him "Salmān of the cavalry," especially since it was to that contingent of the fighting forces that he distributed in strictly equal portions, whereas in the allotment to other warriors he did not take such great pains. Thus he distinguished three different types among the thoroughbreds. The share of each cavalryman at Jalūlā' approached that acquired at al-Madā'in.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Mujālid and 'Amr—

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149. In other words, this 'Āmir is 'Āmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Sha'bī (d. 103–10/721–8), the man who became later one of al-Kūfah's most famous legal experts. Moreover, Ṭabarī has preserved a large number of al-Sha'bī's historical reports.

150. The Arabic word used here is *fay'*, a problematic term. Strictly speaking, it should not have been used here, *fay'* denoting mostly immovable property obtained from the enemy after the concluding of a peace treaty: land, estates, etc., not the movable booty acquired after a fight. See Yahyā b. Ādam, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. Th. W. Juynboll, Leiden, 1896, 3: . . . *al-ghanīmah mā ghalaba 'alayhi al-muslimūna bi'l-qitāl hattā ya'khudhūhu 'anwatan wa'l-fay' mā ṣūliḥū 'alayhi . mina'l-jizyah wa'l-kharāj*. But its use here by al-Sha'bī in the following report may indicate a very early interpretation of the Qur'an *locus*. We might say that we find *fay'* here in its preclassical usage.

151. See previous note; this time not the noun *fay'* but the Qur'ānic verb *afā'a* is used.

152. The Arabic reads here *al-aqbāḍ wa'l-aqsām*; this seems to suggest that the terms convey different notions. We could conceivably read in *aqbāḍ* "all the takings including the fifth to be sent off later to Medina," and in *aqsām* "that part of the booty to be divided up into equal parts among the warriors."

al-Sha'bī: The booty[153] to be distributed among the men at Jalūlā' amounted to thirty million (dirhams minus) the fifth which amounted to six million.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and Sa'īd: Sa'd handed out free gifts[154] from the booty of Jalūlā' to those who had fought most bravely from among those warriors who had actually been present at that battle and also those valiant ones who were out at al-Madā'in. The fifth parts[155] of the booty consisting of gold and silver coins, vessels and garments he sent away with Quḍā'ī b. 'Amr al-Du'alī and he sent the prisoners of war with Abū Mufazzir al-Aswad. So on their way they went.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Zuhrah and Muḥammad b. 'Amr: (Sa'd) sent the fifth parts of the booty away with Quḍā'ī and Abū Mufazzir and the written record with Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. The latter was the one who acted as the people's scribe and entered their names in the *dīwān*. When they had made their way to 'Umar, Ziyād spoke to him about what had happened and he gave him descriptions (of the situation in Iraq). Then 'Umar said, "Are you willing to address the people and tell them the same story as you have told me?" "To my mind," Ziyād [2466]
answered, "there is no one on earth more respected than you; but, apart from you, why should I not be capable of giving this account?" So he stood up among the people and related to them what had happened (to the troops in Iraq), what these had achieved, and also that they were seeking 'Umar's approval to penetrate even more deeply into enemy territory. 'Umar said, "This is truly an eloquent speaker,"[156] and recited the verse (in *khafīf*):

Our forces have loosened
    our tongues with their exploits.

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153. Again the word *ghanīmah*, rather than the word *fay'* used here, would have suited the context better, see n. 150 above.

154. This means, not as part of the distribution into strictly equal portions to be carried out later.

155. In Arabic, *akhmās*; this indicates here probably the fifth parts of the booty acquired at various battles. We might also interpret the plural as referring to the five parts into which the Medina *khums* is divided.

156. Whatever the merit of the hypothesis may be that historians under the 'Abbāsids "purged" early historical accounts of all the *faḍā'il* elements eulogizing

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Zuhrah and Muḥammad—Abū Salamah: When the booty from Jalūlā'[157] was brought to 'Umar, he said, "This should not be hidden in any house until I have divided it." So 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and 'Abdallāh b. Arqam spent the night standing guard over it in the courtyard of the mosque. When morning had come, 'Umar came with a large crowd and took away the covers (which had kept the booty out of sight), they having used mats. When he saw the rubies, chrysalites peridots and (other) gems, he burst into tears. Then 'Abd al-Raḥmān (b. 'Awf) said to him, "Why do you weep, Commander of the Faithful, is this not rather an occasion to be grateful?" Said 'Umar, "No, for heaven's sake, that is not the reason why I cry. By God, He never gave (such as) this to any people without that giving rise to mutual envy and hatred. I pray God that they won't quarrel over it; otherwise fighting will be their lot." 'Umar had agonized over the distribution of all the plunder acquired at al-Qādisiyyah, until the Qur'ānic verse "The spoils God has assigned. . ." (LIX, 7) occurred to him, i.e., in respect of the fifth.[158] So 'Umar assigned that fifth part of the booty to those people who were entitled to it, and he dealt with the fifth from Jalūlā' in exactly the same manner as he
[2467] had done with that of al-Qādisiyyah, namely, convening the elders, asking their advice and obtaining a consensus from the Muslims. But first, among some Medinans he handed out free gifts[159] from that fifth.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, Sa'īd and 'Amr: Sa'd gathered the people living around al-Madā'in and gave orders to count them. They were found to number more than 130,000, comprising more than 30,000 families. He calculated that that amounted to assigning to every Arab warrior (the supervision over) three Persian peasants with their families. Sa'd wrote to that effect to 'Umar. 'Umar wrote back

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the Umayyads and their henchmen, this undeniable glorification of Mu'āwiyah's "adopted brother" escaped deletion.

157. In Arabic, *akhmās;* strictly speaking, this should have read *khums*, see n. 155 above.

158. Sc., the fifth part of the spoils which were to go to the Prophet for him to distribute among himself, his relatives, the orphans, the poor, and eligible travelers.

159. In other words, before distributing the rest in strictly equal portions among those entitled.

saying, "Keep the (local) peasants in their present state except those who are hostile or the ones who ran away from you to your enemy and whom you subsequently captured. Treat the peasants (outside al-Madā'in) in the same way you treated the other peasants before them. When I write to you about (dealing with subjugated) people, always treat them in the same manner."[160] Then Sa'd wrote 'Umar asking him what to do with people who did not farm the land. 'Umar replied, "As for all those who are not peasants, you are to make your own decision concerning them,[161] as long as you have not already acquired their belongings as booty, that is to say, divided that up as such. As for the Persian who is hostile, abandons his land and vacates it, his land shall be yours (to do with as you like). When you summon them (to convert to Islam or else pay the *jizā'*) and you receive the *jizā'* from them and you send them back (to their homesteads even) before the allotment (of the moneys thereby collected), then that constitutes "protection." In addition, if you do not summon them to convert to Islam, then everything they own constitutes lawful booty for you, destined for him whom God has indicated." The people who had been present at the battle of Jalūlā' received the largest share in the territorial booty (*fay'*), appropriating all the *fay'* land beyond al-Nahrawān and sharing with all the other fighters in the *fay'* divided before the Jalūlā' (battle).[162] They confirmed the peasants (on their land) and summoned the stubborn (to conclude a treaty with the Muslims). They imposed a land tax on the peasants and [2468]
on those who, (after having run away first) returned to their land and accepted "protection." They singled out as special booty[163] what had belonged to the king, his family and those of his retinue who had remained stubborn, as destined for those indicated by God. It was not permitted to sell any piece of land situated be-

160. This last imperative is in the plural, an abrupt change from the imperatives in the singular preceding it. If we do not adopt the singular imperative listed in the apparatus as occurring in one manuscript (*fa-ajri*), the plural (*fa-ajrū*), for which Prym opted, may be taken as an indication that 'Umar did not only mean Sa'd to carry out his directives but also other Arabs in leading positions, perhaps including those who were yet to be posted in newly created administrative positions. For more details on tax matters, see Dennett, *Conversion*, 14–42.

161. Or conceivably, everything they own is yours.

162. Or conceivably, this way of an-Nahrawān.

163. The term used is *istiṣfā'*, see *EI*², s.v. *Ghanīma* (Løkkegaard).

tween al-Jabal (in northern Iraq) and the mountains in the land of the Arabs except to those to whom God had granted this as *fay'* land. Similarly, they did not permit any piece of that land among the other people, at least not among those to whom God had not granted it as *fay'* land, namely those who were merely in the employ of the official tenants,[164] to whom (in other words) God had not assigned a share in the *fay'* land. The Muslims preserved *fay'* land in this manner and did not divide it up, because the benefit of a division would not be theirs. The same procedure was applied to marsh lands,[165] fire temple domains, postal stations, to what the king used to own and to the possessions of those who used to associate with him, also to the properties of those who were killed, as well as to stretches of rugged ground. Later on, some evil men asked the Sawād's administrative officers (*wulāt*) to divide that land, but the majority of Arab warriors, having rejected that, prevented them from so doing; then the *wulāt* espoused the majority's view and did not accede to the request saying, "Had it not been for the fact that you would come to blows, then we would have complied." If this request for the division of that land had come about as the result of a joint decision,[166] then it would have been divided among them.

[2469] According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah b. al-A'lam—Māhān: No one of the people of the Sawād, except the inhabitants of some villages that were conquered by force, stuck to the agreement concluded with the Arab veterans, all *sawādīs* violating the agreements except those villages. When these others had been prompted to return (to obedience), they were once more placed under "protection." They had to pay the *jizā'* but enjoyed the Arabs' safeguard in exchange, except those regions formerly belonging to the royal family and those of their entourage, for those

164. This admittedly wordy rendering of the Arabic *mimman yu'āmiluhum* is based on the indication in *Tāj*, VIII, 36, l. 9, that, in Iraq, *mu'āmalah* is the equivalent of the term *musāqāt* used in the Ḥijāz. The latter term denotes some sort of land lease, Schacht, *Introduction*, index; Løkkegaard, *Taxation*, 94.

165. That is how I interpret the expression *ājām* "thicket" (in this case, of reeds) used in tandem with *maghīḍ al-miyāh* "places sometimes inundated, sometimes dry."

166. The Arabic expression used, *'an mala'in*. *Mala'* is "assembly of elders." My translation is based on Lane, 2730, left column.

became *ṣāfiyah*[167] properties, namely, those situated between Ḥulwān and Iraq.[168] From the beginning, 'Umar had been content with the cultivable lands of the Sawād.[169]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah—Māhān: They[170] wrote to 'Umar asking him what to do with the *ṣawāfī*, so he wrote back, "Repair to the *ṣawāfī* that God has singled out for you and distribute their revenues among those whom God has indicated; four-fifths are to go to the army and one-fifth to me for me to distribute among those entitled to it. If the Arab fighters prefer to settle in the *ṣawāfī*, then that is their prerogative." When 'Umar had thus left the decision to them, they thought it best not to scatter over Persian territory.[171] Rather they kept the *ṣawāfī* as a *ḥabīs*[172] belonging to them, which they had someone, whom they all agreed on, administer. They would divide their revenues once every year and they would not have it supervised except by someone they unanimously agreed on. It turned out that they only used to agree on governors holding office in al-Madā'in and later those of al-Kūfah, after they had all moved thither.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Walīd b. Abdallāh b. Abī Ṭaybah—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ṭaybah: 'Umar wrote (to the people in Iraq) a letter, saying, "Take possession of your *fay'* lands, for if you don't, (the normal course of) affairs will grind to a halt because (too) much time has elapsed. By God, I have taken the necessary decision; I ask you[173] to be my witness before them, so [2470]
testify!"

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167. Its plural is *ṣawāfī*; this is a technical term denoting conquered lands and properties placed under special tutelage of the *imām* who, at his discretion, favored with the administration thereof those people who deserved to be rewarded particularly for special services rendered. These lands formerly belonged to either the ruling family of the enemy which, having been defeated, could no longer exert their rights over it, or other enemy families who had either perished or had abandoned their properties definitively. See Hinds, "Alignments," 350; Ṭabaṭabā'ī, *Kharāj*, 8f.

168. Presumably, the area between Ḥulwān and the north bank of the Tigris.

169. See p. 43 above.

170. Presumably, "the Arab leaders in Iraq."

171. In the apparatus and in *Glossarium*, p. CDII, it is suggested to read *an lā yaftariqū fay'a bilādi 'l-'ajam*, that is ". . . not to divide the Persian *fay'* land among themselves."

172. A technical term for an inalienable allotment or bequest, in this case consisting of enemy territory.

173. Presumably Sa'd is meant.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Walīd b. 'Abdallāh—'Abdallāh (b. Abī Ṭaybah): The peasants were to take care of the roads, bridges, markets, tilling of the soil and guide services. Besides, in exchange for protection,[174] they had to pay the *jizā'* commensurate with their economic ability. Also the dihqāns had to afford *jizyah* in exchange for Arab protection and they also had to watch all building activities. Furthermore, it was everyone's duty to show traveling Emigrants the way and receive them hospitably. Being shown hospitality was something God had bestowed upon them as an inherited privilege.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Abd al-'Azīz b. Siyāh—Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit gave a similar account: They said: The conquest of Jalūlā' occurred in Dhū al-Qa'dah of the year 16 on its first day,[175] nine months having elapsed between this event and the conquest of al-Madā'in. They all said: 'Umar's treaty concluded with the people enjoying "protection" stipulated that the state of "protection" would be considered as having ceased should they betray the Muslims to their enemies. Furthermore, if they should revile a Muslim, the terms of the treaty demanded that they would receive a crushing punishment. If they should fight with a Muslim, they would be killed. 'Umar in his turn took it upon himself to guard their safety, although he was not to be held responsible for any ignominious deed committed by passing troops against anyone named in the treaty.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh and al-Mustanīr—Ibrāhīm gave a similar report.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah—Māhān: Of all the Persians at Jalūlā', the people of al-Rayy had the most difficult
[2471] time. They had been the defenders of the local people, but as a result of the battle of Jalūlā' they were wiped out.

They all went on to say: When the fighters at Jalūlā' had returned to al-Madā'in, they settled in their land concessions.[176] All

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174. My rendering of the expression *'an aydīhim* is suggested by Bravmann, *Background*, 199–212 See also Paul G. Forand in *JESHO*, XIV (1971) 32ff.; Dennett, 21.

175. November 24, 637.

176 The Arabic technical term is *qaṭī'ah*, plural *qatā'i'*, see *EI*², s.v. *Ḳaṭī'a* (Cahen). One of the manuscripts has the term *iqṭā'āt* instead of *qaṭā'i'*, this is probably a retrojection of what later also became an administrative term for concessions granted to meritorious servants of the state, who enjoyed, at first, the

of the Sawād had become "protection" territory for them, except those properties formerly belonging to the Persian royal household and their staunch supporters, which God had set aside as *ṣawāfī*.[177] They all went on to say: When the news had reached the Persians of what 'Umar had said and deemed fit in respect of the Sawād and the land beyond, they said, "We'll be content with the same conditions that the Arabs are content with," whereas the Kurds[178] of every township were dissatisfied with the damage done to their arable lands.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd and Ḥakīm b. 'Umayr—Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd: The selling[179] of *ṣawāfī* lands between Ḥulwān and al-Qādisiyyah is not permitted, because they belong to whom God has given them.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Amr b. Muḥammad—al-Sha'bī gave a similar report.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Qays—al-Mughīrah b. Shibl: Jarīr (b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī) once purchased a piece of *ṣawāfī* land situated in the Sawād on the bank of the Euphrates. Thereupon he went to 'Umar and told him. 'Umar, disapproving of the sale, rescinded it and thereupon forbade the selling of any property that had not been divided among those with a right to it.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Qays: I asked al-Sha'bī, "Was the Sawād conquered by force?" "Yes," he said, "all the land, except for some fortresses and strongholds, for some of these concluded peace treaties and some others were simply overpowered." I asked, "Did the people of the Sawād enjoy [2472] a form of 'protection' laid down in a treaty before some of them ran away?" "No," said al-Sha'bī, "but when they were summoned to embrace Islam or else pay tax, and consented to the latter

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revenues out of *kharāj* (land tax levied from the legal owners) minus the tithe imposed by the *zakāt* regulations, and later the usufruct of these concessions, see *EI*², s.v. *Iḳṭā'* (Cahen).

177. See n. 167 above.

178. Wellhausen exclaimed (*Skizzen*, VI, 155), "Was sollen hier die Kurden?" Yes, indeed what! Does this passage suggest that the Sawād had pockets of Kurdish inhabitants? Hinds suggests that we should read *akarah*, the plural of *akkār* "land cultivator."

179 Or "buying"; like *sharā* and *bā'a* (see n. 103 and pp. 47–48 above) *ishtirā'*, which is used here, is a *ḍidd*.

which was duly collected, they then enjoyed official 'protection.'"

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Abd al-'Azīz—Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit: None of the Sawād's inhabitants had an official peace treaty drawn up for them except the Banū Ṣalūbā, and the people of al-Ḥīrah, Kalwādhā, and some villages on the Euphrates. Then they broke faith, whereupon they were summoned to accept official "protection" but this was only after they had broken their agreement. Hāshim b. 'Utbah recited the following lines of poetry on the occasion of the battle of Jalūlā'[180] (in *rajaz*):

The fight at Jalūlā', the battle of Rustum,[181]
And, prior to that, the march on al-Kūfah,
The day of that wide, formidable[182] river[183]
Among other fierce fights of days now gone by,
Have colored my temples with hoar, they look aged,
Like white *thaghām*[184] flowers in honored Arabia.

Likewise, Abū Bujayd (Nāfi' b. al-Aswad) composed about this the following verses (in *ṭawīl*):

On th' day of the kill at Jalūlā' our squadrons
Rushed forward, attacking like glowering lions[185]
They crushed all the Persians, while I killed them off;
So perish, you impure cadavers of Magians!
Al-Fayruzān did get away by the skin
Of his teeth; but Mihrān they slew on th' day skulls were cleft.
They stayed in a spot where they were to meet death,
Interred under whirlwinds of dust.

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180. As everywhere, an attempt has been made to render the following poems in rhythmic English; the admittedly ungrammatical stress mark on the second syllable of Jalūlā' has been placed there just for the sake of the rhythm.

181. He is Rustum b. al-Farrukhzādh, the general of Yazdajird III; the battle referred to is that of al-Qādisiyyah.

182. Literally, it says "holy" or "sacrosanct," but an Arab poet would probably not conceive of a river outside the peninsula as such.

183. This is probably a reference to that successful crossing of the Tigris prior to the conquest of al-Madā'in described above; see pp. 12 ff.

184. A certain white flower with which greying hair is often compared; according to Lane it grows in the mountains of Tihāmah and Najd.

185. See n. 180 above.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al- [2473]
Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: 'Umar had written Sa'd a letter in which he said, "If God conquers Jalūlā' for you, send al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr in pursuit of those who may get away, until he arrives at Ḥulwān, so that he may be able to help those Muslims arriving there later. May God preserve for you your Sawād land!" So when God had defeated the enemy at Jalūlā', Hāshim b. 'Utbah positioned himself there. Al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr went forth in pursuit of the Persian soldiers as far as Khāniqīn with an army of men from different clans as well as from the Ḥamrā'. He made several prisoners and killed off those fighting men he caught up with. Mihrān was slain, but al-Fayruzān escaped. When news of the defeat of the people of Jalūlā' and the death of Mihrān reached Yazdajird, he moved out of Ḥulwān, departing in the direction of al-Rayy. In Ḥulwān he left behind a cavalry squadron under the command of Khusrawshunūm. Al-Qa'qā' drew nearer. When he reached Qaṣr-i Shīrīn,[185a] still a full parasang away from Ḥulwān, Khusrawshunūm marched out toward him, having sent al-Zaynabī, the dihqān of Ḥulwān, ahead. Al-Qa'qā' encountered the latter and they engaged in battle. Al-Zaynabī was killed, with both 'Amīrah b. Ṭāriq and a certain 'Abdallāh[186] contending for the credit of having killed him. So al-Qa'qā' gave that credit as well as the man's spoils to both, for them to divide between themselves. 'Amīrah viewed this with disdain. Khusrawshunūm fled and the Muslims took possession of Ḥulwān. Al-Qa'qā' settled the Ḥamrā' there
and installed Qubādh as their head. Al-Qa'qā' remained there in [2474]
control of the border garrison as well as the *jizā'*, that is, after he had summoned them to convert to Islam or pay tax. Gradually they returned to their homesteads and conceded to pay the *jizā'*, until Sa'd moved from al-Madā'in to al-Kūfah. Al-Qa'qā' joined him there after having left Qubādh in control of the garrison. Qubādh was of Khurāsānī origin.

In this year, I mean the year 16 (637), according to Sayf's account, the conquest of Takrīt (also) took place. That was in the month Jumādā (May–June).

185a. For a description of this palace, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 63.

186. He cannot be identified with certainty. Prym suggests that the name should be deleted. Is he perhaps the son of al-Mu'tamm?

The Account of the Conquest of Takrīt

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and Saʿīd, al-Walīd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Ṭaybah concurred with them: Saʿd wrote a letter (to ʿUmar) concerning the inhabitants of al-Mawṣil, who had rallied under al-Anṭāq and advanced as far as Takrīt. They had dug a trench around themselves in order to defend its lands against Saʿd. He also wrote regarding the people rallying under Mihrān at Jalūlāʾ. So ʿUmar replied concerning the matter of Jalūlāʾ as we have described already, and he also wrote about Takrīt and the rallying of the people of al-Mawṣil under the command of al-Anṭāq, saying, "Send ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtamm forth to al-Anṭāq, set Ribʿī b. al-Afkal al-ʿAnazī over his vanguard, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān al-Dhuhlī over his right wing and Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjlī over his left wing. Furthermore, give the command over the infantry to Hāniʾ b. Qays and that over the cavalry to ʿArfajah b. Harthamah." Thus
[2475] ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtamm set out from al-Madāʾin at the head of five thousand men. He marched to Takrīt until he descended upon al-Anṭāq in four days. This commander had with him, apart from (his) Byzantine contingent, some tribesmen from the Iyād, Taghlib and al-Namir tribes,[187] as well as some local dignitaries. They were all dug in behind trench fortifications. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtamm besieged them for forty days, during which the Muslims stormed them in twenty-four successive attacks. These forces were possessed of less military prowess than the opposition at Jalūlāʾ and were dealt with more easily. (Realizing this), ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtamm dispatched a messenger to the Arab tribesmen (siding with al-Anṭāq), to summon them to embrace his cause and to give him assistance in the fight against the Byzantines, to which they wholeheartedly agreed. When the Byzantines saw that every sortie they made was a failure and that they were routed every time they marched against their enemy, they deserted their leaders and carried their belongings to their boats. Spies from Taghlib, Iyād and al-Namir brought ʿAbdallāh b. al-

187. For the Iyād and their involvement with these Byzantine forces, see *EI*², s.v. Iyād (Fück), for Taghlib and al-Namir, see Caskel, II, 541 f and 444 (an-Namir b. Qāsiṭ). See also W. E. Kaegi, "Heraklius and the Arabs," in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, XXVII (1982):109–33

Mu'tamm news of this and asked him to agree to peace with their fellow tribesmen. They informed him of their (and their fellow tribesmen's) willingness to embrace his cause. Ibn al-Mu'tamm sent word back telling them, "If you seriously desire peace, then testify that there is no god except God and that Muḥammad is His messenger; confirm what he has brought you from God. Then let us know what you think." The spies submitted these conditions to their respective tribes, who sent them back to Ibn al-Mu'tamm asserting they would accept Islam. Ibn al-Mu'tamm then told the delegation to go back to their people with the following order, "As soon as you hear us cry out, God is great!, know that we will have rushed to the gates nearest to us in order to attack the enemy by forcing our way in through them. You yourselves must then take up a position at the gates facing the Tigris, shout at the top of your voices, God is great!, and kill as many defenders as you can. Go now and see to it that your men carry this out." Then [2476] Ibn al-Mu'tamm, with the Muslims, rushed toward those gates facing them and started to shout, God is great! Thereupon the Taghlib, Iyād and al-Namir followed suit, having taken position at the gates assigned to them. But the defenders thought that the Muslims had launched an attack on them from behind, having forced their way in via the gates facing the Tigris. They hastened in the direction of the gates at which the Muslims had taken position, where swordsmen, that is Muslim swordsmen, stopped them in their tracks. But also the swordsmen of Rabī'ah, who had embraced Islam the previous night, (descended upon them) from behind. Of all those who had defended the trench, no one escaped except those of the tribes of Taghlib, Iyād and al-Namir who had converted to Islam.

Before that, 'Umar had enjoined Sa'd, in case the enemy was defeated, to have 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tamm send Ibn al-Afkal al-'Anazī to al-Ḥiṣnān.[188] 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tamm therefore dispatched Ibn al-Afkal al-'Anazī to al-Ḥiṣnān. When the latter was

188. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 275, al-Ḥiṣnān, which means literally "the two fortresses," was the name of a certain locality without indicating where that was. Ibn al-Athīr, II, 408, who for once gives more information than Ṭabarī, says that with these are meant Nīnawā (= Nineveh) and al-Mawṣil, twin cities on the Tigris. Checking this information in Yāqūt, we only find under Nīnawā a single reference to the "two fortresses" (*Mu'jam*, IV, 870, ult.).

about to set out, Ibn al-Muʿtamm said to him, "Try to outrun the news (of the conquest of Takrīt). Travel without taking a rest in the afternoon, or at night for that matter." Along with him, Ibn al-Muʿtamm dispatched the Taghlib, Iyād and al-Namir tribesmen. Ibn al-Afkal positioned them up front under the command of ʿUtbah b. al-Waʿl, one of the Banū Saʿd b. Jusham, Dhū al-Qurṭ, Abū Wadāʿah b. Abī Karib, Ibn Dhī al-Sunayna, who was later to [2477] die of rabies, Ibn al-Ḥujayr al-Iyādī and Bishr b. Abī Ḥawṭ, each one of these commanding his own contingent. They did arrive at al-Ḥiṣnān ahead of the news (that Takrīt had been taken), and when they were at a short distance (from the twin cities), they sent ʿUtbah b. al-Waʿl forward who immediately demanded that victory be conceded to him, in addition to booty and a free opportunity to return.[189] After that, Dhū al-Qurṭ was sent forward, then Ibn Dhī al-Sunayna, Ibn al-Ḥujayr and Bishr. They halted at the gates, after having taken up a position there. The swiftest horsemen approached, with Ribʿī b. al-Afkal hurtling down upon the enemy in al-Ḥiṣnān. No sooner had they drawn up abreast with the cities, than the besieged shouted out their willingness to conclude a peace treaty. Those who were willing to accept a treaty stayed on, while those who refused fled. Finally, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtamm approached. When he had arrived at the cities, he summoned those who had been obstinate until that moment, as well as those who had departed to accept Islam, and he pledged that he would fulfil his promises to those who had stayed on. Gradually, those who had run away returned, those who had stayed behind rejoiced, and all of them were granted "protection" and safety.

They divided the spoils of Takrīt up into lots, each of one thousand dirhams, every mounted soldier receiving three thousand and every infantry man one thousand. Then they sent the fifths away in the care of Furāt b. Ḥayyān and news of the victory (to ʿUmar) with al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān. Ribʿī b. al-Afkal was entrusted with further military operations at al-Mawṣil, and tax gathering was in the hands of ʿArfajah b. Harthamah.

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189. *Qafala* "to return" also conveys the sense that the enemies give the assurance that they will not pursue the retreating Muslim fighters, see *Lisān*, s.v. *q-f-l*.

In this same year, I mean the year 16 (637), the conquest of Māsabadhān also took place.

The Account of the Conquest of Māsabadhān

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah, Muḥammad, Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: When Hāshim b. 'Utbah returned from Jalūlā' to al-Madā'in, the news reached Sa'd that Ādhīn b. al-Hurmuzān had brought together a military force with which he had marched to the plain. Sa'd wrote about this development to 'Umar who wrote back, "Send Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb with an army to stop them; set over its vanguard Ibn al-Hudhayl al-Asadī and over its two wings 'Abdallāh b. Wahb ar-Rāsibī, a confederate of the Bajīlah tribe, and al-Muḍārib al-'Ijlī, son of so-and-so." So Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who was one of the Banū Muḥārib b. Fihr, marched out with a military force with Ibn al-Hudhayl over the vanguard, until he reached the plain of Māsabadhān. The armies came face-to-face at a spot called Bahandaf where they engaged in combat. The Muslims pounced on the unbelievers. Ḍirār took Ādhīn captive and held him. The latter's army was routed, so Ḍirār placed Ādhīn in front[190] and had him beheaded. Then he marched forward in pursuit (of those who had run away) until he came to al-Sīrawān. Thus he took Māsabadhān by force. Its inhabitants scattered in al-Jibāl. Ḍirār summoned them to embrace his cause, to which they consented. He stayed on the spot until Sa'd moved out of al-Madā'in. After receiving the latter's message, he came to al-Kūfah and deputed Ibn al-Hudhayl over Māsabadhān, which was one of the access routes to al-Kūfah. [2478]

In this year, the battle of Qarqīsiyā' also occurred, in the month Rajab (August).

The Account of the Battle That Took Place at Qarqīsiyā' [2479]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah, Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: Hāshim b. 'Utbah returned from Jalūlā' to al-Madā'in. In the meantime, concentrations of people of al-

190. Does that mean "for everybody to see?"

Jazīrah had gathered and assisted Heraklius against the garrison of Ḥimṣ, and they sent a military force to the people at Hīt. Sa'd wrote to this effect to 'Umar, who wrote back, "Send 'Umar b. Mālik b. 'Utbah b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf with an army to fight them. Appoint over its vanguard al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd al-'Āmirī, and Rib'ī b. 'Āmir and Mālik b. Ḥabīb as commanders of its two wings. So 'Umar b. Mālik marched off with his army in the direction of Hīt, having placed al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd over the vanguard, until he descended upon those who had positioned themselves at Hīt, where they had dug themselves in behind a trench. When 'Umar b. Mālik saw their resistance in this trench and how they had found shelter there, he became impatient. He left his tents as they were pitched, with al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd in command of the remaining troops of the besieging forces, and marched out with the other half of his army, taking a direct route until he descended out of the blue on Qarqīsiyā', which he conquered by force. The inhabitants agreed to pay the *jizā'*. Then he wrote to al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd saying, "If those (to whom you are laying siege) agree to a settlement, leave them and let them out. If not, dig a trench around their trench with your gates facing theirs, until I make up my mind (what to do next)." The besieged agreed, however, to consent to a peace treaty, so the besieging warriors joined 'Umar (b. Mālik's) army again, while the locals were united once more with the people of their places of origin.

Al-Wāqidī said: In this same year, 'Umar banished Abū Miḥjan
[2480] al-Thaqafī[191] to Bāḍi'.[192] He went on: Also in this year, 'Umar's son[193] married Ṣafiyyah bint Abī 'Ubayd.[194] He continued: In this year, Māriyah, the *umm walad*[195] of the Messenger of God and the mother of (his son) Ibrahim passed away. 'Umar performed the funeral prayer for her and had her buried in the month Muḥarram

191. For some amusing anecdotes about this man, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VII, 260–5.

192. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* I, 471, this is the name of an island off the Yemen coast.

193. This is 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, who died in 73 (693).

194. She is the sister of the notorious rebel al-Mukhtār.

195. An *umm walad* is a female slave who has borne a child to her master and who automatically becomes a free person upon his death. On Māriyah, see Kaj Öhmberg, "*Māriya al-qibṭiyya* unveiled," in *Studia Orientalia Societatis Fennicae, LV* (1983):14.

(February) in the Baqī'.[196] He went on: Also in this year, the (Islamic) dating system was inaugurated as from Rabī' I/April–May.

He continued: According to Ibn Abī Sabrah—'Uthmān b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Rāfi'—(Sa'īd) b. al-Musayyab: The first to fix the (Islamic) dating system was 'Umar after two and a half years of his caliphate had elapsed. This was written as of the year sixteen after the Hijrah, in consultation with 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[197]

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam—Nu'aym b. Ḥammād—('Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad) al-Darāwardī—'Uthmān b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Rāfi'—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb convened the people and asked them, "From what day shall we start using a new Islamic dating system?" 'Alī answered, "From the day the Messenger of God embarked upon the Hijrah leaving the land of polytheism behind." 'Umar followed this suggestion.

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq b. Abī 'Attāb—Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ṭā'ifī—'Amr b. Dīnār—Ibn 'Abbās: The (Islamic) dating system was (taken as beginning in) the year in which the Messenger of God traveled to Medina and in which 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr was born.

(Ṭabarī says:) In this year, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb led the people on the pilgrimage. According to al-Wāqidī, he had left Zayd b. Thābit in control of Medina. That year 'Attāb b. Asīd was 'Umar's gover- [2481]
nor in Mecca, 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ in al-Ṭā'if, Ya'lā b. Umayyah in Yemen, al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī over al-Yamāmah and al-Baḥrayn,[198] Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan in 'Umān. Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ governed all of Syria for 'Umar and Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was stationed in al-Kūfah. In charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah was Abū Qurrah, while al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah governed al-Baṣrah and the surrounding territory. Rib'ī b. al-Afkal commanded the military operations (still to be carried out) in al-Mawṣil, while

196. The Baqī' is an area in Medina in which their dead were buried.

197. The first day of the Islamic calendar is July 16, 622, the day when the Hijrah from Mecca to Medina is said to have begun

198. Contrary to today, when Baḥrayn is just the island in the Gulf, in those days the name denoted the entire coastal area along the Gulf between al-Baṣrah and 'Umān, as it says in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 506. Al-Yamāmah is the region between al-Baḥrayn and Mecca.

'Arfajah b. Harthamah was in charge of the collecting of its *kharāj*. That is what some experts say; others claim that both military operations as well as *kharāj* were the responsibility of 'Utbah b. Farqad; another opinion has it that all this was in the hands of 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tamm. Finally, 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm al-Fihrī[199] was governor in al-Jazīrah.

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199. The Arabic text has al-Ash'arī, but see *Glossarium*, p. DCXX, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 757.

The Events of the Year 17

(JANUARY 23, 638–JANUARY 11, 639)

In this year the founding[200] of al-Kūfah took place and Sa'd moved there with his people from al-Madā'in, all this according to the account and the transmitted material of Sayf b. 'Umar.

The Reason Why Those Muslims Who Moved from al-Madā'in to al-Kūfah Did So, and the Reason for Their Planning of al-Kūfah, According to Sayf

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: After the conquest of Jalūlā' and Ḥulwān, after al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr's settling in the latter with his men, after the conquest of Takrīt and the twin fortresses (i.e., Nīnawā and al-Mawṣil), and after 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tamm and Ibn al- [2482]
Afkal had arrived there with their men, messengers brought all that news to 'Umar.[201] When 'Umar had seen them, he exclaimed,

200. In Arabic, *ikhtiṭāṭ*.

201. The Arabic original has the nonstructure of an anacoluthon. By disregarding the "and" preceding "approached" (the *wa-* of *qadimat*, l. 2), the sentence is straightened out.

"By God, how different you look from when you set out! Messengers carrying the news of al-Qādisiyyah and al-Madā'in came to me looking exactly the same as at their departure. But you look worn out. What caused that?" "The unhealthiness of that region," they answered. So 'Umar looked into their needs and dismissed them as quickly as possible. Among the messengers of 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tamm there were 'Utbah b. al-Wa'l, Dhū al-Qurṭ, Ibn Dhī al-Sunayna, Ibn al-Ḥujayr and Bishr. All of these drew up a treaty with 'Umar on behalf of the Banū Taghlib. 'Umar agreed with them that those who converted to Islam would have the same privileges and duties as the Muslims. Those who refused to embrace Islam were to pay the *jizā'*. Pressure to accept Islam was to be exerted by the Arab tribesmen only on those tribesmen living in the peninsula itself. The messengers said, "(If that is your condition) then they might flee, cut themselves off (from their kinsmen) and become like Persians; would it not be better if they were to pay the Islamic alms tax (i.e. the *ṣadaqah*)?" "No," 'Umar replied, "nothing other than the *jizā'* (will be levied from them)." "Then, please, make the rate of their *jizā'* the same as the alms tax paid by Muslims, that would be their only wish," they suggested. 'Umar agreed to this on the condition that they would not bring up in a Christian way children whose parents had embraced Islam. They said, "We promise you that." So these Taghlibīs, and those of the Banū al-Namir and Banū Iyād who accepted their leadership, attached themselves to Sa'd[202] in al-Madā'in and, a little later, assisted him in the planning of al-Kūfah, while those who wanted, be they *dhimmī* or Muslim,[203] stayed on in their own lands on the conditions set by 'Umar and concluded for them (by their representatives).

[2483] According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ibn Shubrumah—al-Sha'bī: Ḥudhayfah (b. al-Yamān) wrote to 'Umar telling him that the Arab tribesmen were getting fatter,[204] while their vigor was

202. The technical term for "attach" used here is *hājara*.

203. For a detailed analysis of the conditions of the pact concluded with these Christian Arabs, see A. Noth, "Die literarisch überlieferten Verträge," *BOS*, N.S 27/1.

204. This does not imply that they were in a state of well-being, but rather the opposite.

on the decline and their complexions sallow. Ḥudhayfah was at the time staying with Sa'd.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah and their authorities: 'Umar wrote to Sa'd, "Enlighten me as to what caused the complexion of the Arab tribesmen to change and their flesh (to become flabby)." So Sa'd wrote back, "The unhealthiness of al-Madā'in and the Tigris region has made the tribesmen become flaccid and has definitively changed their complexion." 'Umar replied, "No land suits Arab tribesmen except that which suits their camels. Therefore, dispatch Salmān and also Ḥudhayfah—the two principal scouts of the Muslim army—to reconnoitre; let them look for a suitable place to settle on the edge of the desert and (not entirely surrounded by, but with easy access to) the water,[205] so that no major river or bridge separates you from us here."

There was nothing to do with the army but that Sa'd entrusted it to a special man.[206] So he sent Salmān and Ḥudhayfah away (to survey the area). Salmān went off finally ending up in al-Anbār. He wandered around west of the Euphrates without ever chancing upon a spot with which he was really satisfied, until he came to a place called al-Kūfah. Ḥudhayfah went off, too, wandering around east of the Euphrates, similarly dissatisfied with everything he saw, until he also arrived at this place al-Kūfah. Al-Kūfah was (so called because its soil was) gravel, everywhere the sand was reddish of the sort called "coarse,"[207] mixed with the gravel. A piece of land like that is called a *kūfah*.[208] The two scouts arrived there and found three Christian monasteries, Dayr Ḥurqah, Dayr Umm 'Amr and Dayr Silsilah,[209] with huts made of reeds scattered in [2484]

205. This is the—perhaps somewhat wordy—rendering of the words *barriyyan baḥriyyan;* in *Glossarium*, p. CXXX, it is suggested that the words mean respectively "bordering on the desert, on a river."

206. As so often is the case, this not altogether unambiguous sentence is lacking in Ibn al-Athīr's account which, as a rule, only faithfully follows Ṭabarī's when the interpretation of the text is straightforward and unproblematic.

207. In Arabic, *sihlah*, which also means "gravel."

208. Cf. *WKAS*, I, 439 f.; also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 322. From this last source it appears that the etymology is dubious, however.

209. Nothing else seems to be known about these; this is the only occurrence in Ṭabarī, while Yāqūt does not list them in his *Mu'jam*.

between. The site pleased them both. They alighted and performed a prayer ritual, each of them reciting:

O God, Lord of heaven and what it covers
Lord of the earth and what it carries
By the wind and what it scatters
By the stars and what they topple
By the seas and what they drown
By the demons and what they delude
By the spirits[210] and what they possess

Bless us in this gravelly site and make it an abode of firmnéss.[211]

Thereupon they wrote a report to Sa'd.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān—Umayyah b. Khālid—Abū 'Awānah—Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān: When, on the day of Jalūlā', the enemy had been defeated, Sa'd recalled the army.[212] When 'Ammār (b. Yāsir) had arrived,[213] he left with the forces for al-Madā'in. But they did not like it there. 'Ammār asked, "Do the camels thrive in this place?" "No," was the answer, "because of the mosquitoes." 'Ammār commented, "'Umar once said that Arab tribesmen won't be healthy in a region in which their camels do not thrive." He went on: Therefore 'Ammār departed with the army and in the end settled in al-Kūfah.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Makhlad b. Qays (al-'Ijlī)—his father—al-Yusr b. Thawr:[214] After[215] we had alighted there, the Muslims found al-Madā'in to be insalubrious, being irritated by dust and flies. 'Umar wrote to Sa'd ordering him to send scouts to select a (suitable) site on firm ground but with easy

210. I read *khiṣṣān* ("familiars") instead of *khiṣṣāṣ* ("huts").

211. The cripple rhyme "possess—firmnéss" is meant to resemble the equally cripple rhyme in the Arabic *ajannat-thabāt*. See also n. 180 above, and Appendix I.

212. Literally, it says, "he returned with the army," but that does not fit the known circumstances.

213. This 'Ammār, a stalwart Muslim from the Aws tribe and a confederate of the Makhzūm clan, had been sent by 'Umar to Iraq to give the Arab leaders there a helping hand.

214. This name should probably read (see *Glossarium*, p. DCXX) al-Nusayr b. Daysam b. Thawr al-'Ijlī.

215. Here I have broken up a very long sentence into a number of short ones.

access to the water,[216] ". . . . for Arab tribesmen only thrive in regions where their camels and sheep are doing well." Then [2485] 'Umar asked someone on the spot[217] what the area looked like where the Muslim warriors were operating. So a certain leading Arab tribesman, who had seen (with his own eyes what the situation in) Iraq was like, drew 'Umar's attention to al-Lisān. The elevated site planned for al-Kūfah is called the "Tongue,"[218] because it (is a tongue-shaped stretch of land which) lies between two river arms of the Euphrates (stretching out) all the way to a certain well, namely that of the Banū Ḥadhdhā'. Arab tribesmen used to say, the land "sticks out its tongue in the countryside." What borders on the Euphrates of that tongue of land is called al-Milṭāṭ, and what is alongside al-Ṭīn[219] is called al-Nijāf.[220] Thus 'Umar wrote to Sa'd ordering him to go ahead with the founding of al-Kūfah.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: When Salmān and Ḥudhayfah approached Sa'd informing him about the site of al-Kūfah and, at the same time, a letter from 'Umar containing the same information had arrived, Sa'd wrote to al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr saying, "Leave Qubādh in charge of the warriors at Jalūlā', along with those who initially followed you to join those of the Ḥamrā' who had been with him all the time." Al-Qa'qā' obeyed, and he presently made his way to Sa'd amidst his forces. Sa'd also wrote to 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tamm saying, "Leave in charge of al-Mawṣil that Muslim b. 'Abdallāh who was captured in the course of the battle of al-Qādisiyyah and was one of the Asāwirah[221] who responded to your call to embrace Islam, along with those Asāwirah who are with you." He obeyed and soon made his way among his troops to Sa'd. Sa'd (himself) departed with his forces from al-Madā'in. Finally, in the month Muḥarram of the year 17 (January–February 638),[222] he set up camp at al-Kūfah, fourteen lunar months having elapsed since

216. Again the expression *barrī baḥrī* is used, see n. 205 above.
217. That is, "available in Medina."
218. See above, pp. 1–2.
219. The reading is doubtful; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 571, lists a fortress near al-Ḥīrah with that name.
220. This place name could not be traced.
221. See n. 147 above.

the battle of al-Madā'in. From the start of 'Umar's rule until the
[2486] foundation of al-Kūfah was a period of three years and eight months. It was in the fourth year of his rule in the month Muḥarram of the year 17 of the Muslim calendar that the foundation of al-Kūfah began. The warriors had been given their stipends in al-Madā'in in that same month, before they set out, (while the previous time they had received stipends was) in Muḥarram of the year 16[223] at Bahurasīr.

In Muḥarram of the year 17 the present-day settlement of the Baṣrans was established, that being after three previous temporary camps,[224] from each of which they had departed.[225] Their settling in al-Baṣrah came about in the same month in which the people of al-Kūfah settled.

According to al-Wāqidī—al-Qāsim b. Ma'n: The people settled in al-Kūfah at the end of the year 17/638. He went on: Ibn Abī al-Ruqqād informed me from his father: They settled there, when the year 18 (639) had just begun.

The Account Is Resumed Once More by Sayf

They continued: 'Umar wrote to Sa'd b. (Abī Waqqāṣ) Mālik and 'Utbah b. Ghazwān ordering that they, together with their people, should, every spring season, pasture their animals on the best of the lands under their control, and he ordered that the people be given supplementary allocations[226] in the month Rabī'[227] of every year and their stipends every Muḥarram. They should, furthermore, receive their share in the *fay'* every time when Sirius rises[228] and the revenues are forthcoming. Before settling in al-Kūfah, the people had been paid a stipend twice.

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222 That is, between January 23 and February 21, 638.

223. That is, between February 2 and March 3, 637.

224. The Arabic word mentioned here is *nazalāt*, which I took to be the plural of *nazlah*, the *nomen vicis* of *nuzūl*, mentioned in *Lisān*

225. In the following sentence, I have departed from the Ṭabarī text, because that does not seem to make sense. Instead I have opted for the text as preserved in Ibn al-Athīr, II, 411: *wa 'staqarra manzilluhum fīhā fī al-shahri alladhī nazala ahlu al-Kūfah.*

226. See *EI*², s.v. *ma'ūna* (Crone).

227. It is indeed somewhat confusing that, in this year 17 (638), spring (which is *rabī'* in Arabic) coincided with the months al-Rabī' I and al-Rabī' II

228. That is, in the middle of July, see Lane, 1560. The rising of Sirius, also called the Dog Star, still marks a new season for the Marsh Arabs described by Wilfred Thesiger (*The Marsh Arabs*, Penguin edition, Harmondsworth, 174).

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Makhlad b. Qays—someone from the Banū Asad called al-Maghrūr:[229] When Sa'd had settled in al-Kūfah, he wrote to 'Umar saying, "I have taken up residence on a site covered with pebbles;[230] it is situated between al-Ḥīrah and the Euphrates, one side borders on dry land, the other borders on the water.[231] Dry as well as tender thistles[232] abound [2487] there. I have left a free choice to the Muslims in al-Madā'in; those who have preferred to stay on in the latter, I have left behind there as a garrison. Thus a number of people from different clans have remained (in al-Madā'in), the majority of them being from the Banū 'Abs." According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, 'Amr, Sa'īd and al-Muhallab: When the people destined for al-Kūfah had arrived there, and the people destined to populate al-Baṣrah had settled there, they formed themselves into *'irāfāt*[233] (to find out who was missing) and whoever[234] they had lost track of was thus returned to them.

Then the people of al-Kūfah asked permission to use reeds as building material. The people of al-Baṣrah put in the same request, whereupon 'Umar said, "Living in an army camp is easier for you to mount your military operations from and is more convenient, but I do not like to disagree with you; what is this reed anyway?" They answered, "It is like *'ikrish* (i.e. flax), when it is watered it puts forth stems and produces reeds." 'Umar replied, "You do what you think best." Thus the people of the two garrison cities used reeds as building material. Then fires occurred in al-Kūfah, as well as in al-Baṣrah, the most vehement one occurring in the former. Eighty roof structures[235] were destroyed, not a single stem of reed being spared. That was in the month Shawwāl,[236] the people never stopped talking about it. Sa'd dispatched a few of the victims of those fires to 'Umar to try and obtain the

229. *Glossarium*, p. DCXX: al-Ma'rūr b. Suwayd al-Asadī.
230. In Arabic, *kūfah*.
231. The Arabic expression used here is again *barriyyan baḥriyyan*, see n. 205 above.
232. Presumably making excellent camel fodder.
233. For the units called *'irāfāt* or *'arāfāt*, see Hinds, "Alignments," 347, 349, 351, and *EI*[2] s.v. *'Arīf* (Cahen).
234. I interpret *mā* (lit. "what") as referring to people, rather than to inanimate objects; this constitutes one of the peculiarities of Sayf's usage.
235. This seems the best rendering of *'arīsh*
236. That is, October–November.

latter's permission to use bricks for building. Thus they approached 'Umar with the news about the fire and what losses they had incurred. No detail was left unmentioned; they did not touch on anything without asking his advice. 'Umar said, "Go ahead,
[2488] but let nobody build more than three rooms for himself and do not let one build higher houses than the other. If you adhere to what is generally recognized as proper,[237] you will thrive." With that advice, the delegation returned to al-Kūfah. 'Umar wrote a letter containing similar advice to 'Utbah and the people of al-Baṣrah. The supervision over the settling of the inhabitants of al-Kūfah lay in the hands of Abū al-Hayyāj b. Mālik, while the same task in respect of the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah was undertaken by 'Āṣim b. al-Dulaf Abū al-Jarbā'.

They continued: 'Umar had enjoined the delegation to carry out what he had said, and he ordered the people (in Iraq) not to construct buildings that were higher than the "norm." "But what is this 'norm'?" they had asked. "The 'norm,'" 'Umar said, "is that which keeps you well away from wastefulness but, at the same time, won't make you lose sight of what you are aiming at."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: When they had agreed on the building plan of al-Kūfah, Sa'd sent a message to Abū al-Hayyāj and informed him of 'Umar's letter containing instructions for the roads. 'Umar had ordered that (main) thoroughfares of forty cubits (in width) be planned.[238] In between these[239] there should be (other) roads each thirty cubits wide, and between the former and the latter (again others) twenty cubits wide; finally, the side alleys should be seven cubits wide, no passageway should be narrower than that. The plots of land[240] had to measure sixty cubits (square?) except the one assigned to the Banū Ḍabbah.[241] The people who had insight in those matters assembled to carry out measurements, until Abū al-Hayyāj divided up all the available space among them, when they had decided on a certain plot.

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237. The Arabic has here the major technical term *al-sunna*.

238. That may have been well over twenty meters, see n. 103 above, where the cubit measured a little over fifty centimeters.

239. Or conceivably, "parallel with."

240. The Arabic word used here is *qaṭā'i'*.

241. See *EI*², s.v. Ḍabba (Caskel).

The first thing to be marked out in al-Kūfah and that was subsequently erected, when they had finally decided to make a beginning with building, was the mosque. It was situated in what is now the market area of the soap manufacturers and date sellers. [2489] Its ground plan was traced out. Then a man stationed himself in the center of this ground plan. He was an archer of prodigious strength. He shot (one arrow) to his right and ordered that anyone who wanted could start building for his own beyond where the arrow had landed. (Then he did the same with an arrow that he shot to the left.[242]) Next he shot an arrow straight ahead of him and one in the opposite direction and ordered that anyone who wanted could start building for himself beyond where these two arrows had landed. Thus they left a square for the mosque that the people could enter from all sides.[243] Over its front part,[244] a roof structure was built, that had no (walls at) either side, nor at the front or back. The whole square was meant for the people to congregate in, but in a way that they (need) not stand packed. In the same manner, other mosques were laid out, except the *masjid al-ḥarām;*[245] in those days they did not try to emulate that out of respect for its holiness. The roof structure of al-Kūfah's mosque measured two hundred cubits in width supported by columns of marble. Its ceiling, resembling the ceilings in Byzantine churches, was (taken from a palace formerly belonging) to the Persian kings.[246] They marked (the outer perimeter of) the congregation area by means of a ditch, lest anyone should inadvertently and boldly embark on building inside that perimeter for his own. They built a house for Sa'd, separated from the mosque by a nar-

242. Although this sentence is lacking in the Arabic original, Prym thinks, probably rightly, that it must have been part of the text originally, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 323. Its inadvertently having been omitted in the manuscripts from which Prym worked constitutes in my opinion a clear case of *homoioteleuton*.

243. What follows is riddled with what appear to be architectural terms not explained in the standard dictionaries; while doing this translation I benefitted from O. Grabar, *The formation of Islamic art*, New Haven 1973, esp. 113, and the ground plan of the mosque of al-Kūfah, fig. 35.

244. We will see later (see also Grabar, illustration no. 35) that that is its part facing southwest.

245. That is, the mosque that houses the Ka'bah in Mecca.

246. This interpretation is tentative, but in the equivalent passage in Ibn al-Athīr, II, 412, it is implied that the marble pillars once stood in a Persian royal palace in al-Ḥīrah.

row alley of two hundred cubits (in length).[247] The treasure chambers were incorporated in this house. It is the present-day citadel of al-Kūfah. Rūzbih (b. Buzurgumihr) built it for Sa'd out of baked bricks previously used in buildings of the Persian kings in al-Ḥīrah.

North of the congregation area five main thoroughfares branched out, from the south side four such thoroughfares branched out, while from the east and the west (sides) three such roads were planned. All these roads were marked out (by Sa'd). North of the congregation area, adjacent to it, he settled Sulaym and Thaqīf along two roads, Hamdān along another road, Bajīlah along an-
[2490] other and Taym al-Lāt as well as Taghlib along yet another road. South of the congregation area he settled Banū Asad along one road, with another road separating them from Nakha', who in turn were separated from Kindah by another, while the latter were separated from al-Azd by yet another road. East of the congregation area he settled the Anṣār and Muzaynah along one road, Tamīm and Muḥārib along another, and Asad and 'Āmir along yet another. Finally, west of the congregation area he settled Bajālah and Bajlah along one road, Jadīlah as well as various groups of mixed origin along another, and Juhaynah as well as other groups of mixed origin along yet another. Thus, all those who lived right next to the congregation area as well as all the other people were housed between (the main thoroughfares) and beyond them, the entire territory having been divided up into plots.[248] These, then, were the main thoroughfares; they also built narrower ones that sometimes would run parallel with the former, then merge with them, and yet others that did not merge with the main roads. These last-mentioned roads, however, were less wide. The dwelling places were found in the space beyond and in between these roads. All the roads and paths[249] began at the congregation area and, right there, he settled the "tenths",[250] into which the veterans of the battles

247. That is how this sentence is translated in *Glossarium*, p. DXXVI, but the grammatical structure remains obscure.

248. For a reconstruction of this ground plan, see L. Massignon, in *Mélanges Maspéro*, III, 336–60.

249. This is how I render the secondary plural *ṭuruqāt*.

250. The "tenths" comprised ten subdivisions originally created by Sa'd at Sharāf before the battle of al-Qādisiyyah, see Tabarī, I, 2224, and G. M. Hinds, *The early history of Islamic schism in Iraq*, unpubl. PhD thesis, London 1969, 30 f.

preceding al-Qādisiyyah and those of al-Qādisiyyah and its aftermath[251] had earlier been divided. For those warriors who were at the time manning the border garrisons and that of al-Mawṣil, he held various plots ready until they themselves might come to them. When the first and second waves[252] of newcomers[253] joined the Arab warriors (in al-Kūfah) and swamped them, the people found their plots too cramped. Those groups whose newcomers were particularly numerous, went out and joined them (i.e. outside al-Kūfah), vacating the plots they had occupied, while those groups whose newcomers were few in number, settled those—since they were only few in number—in the homesteads of those who had gone to join their newcomers (i.e. outside al-Kūfah) if the latter had been living next door. If that had not been the case, those staying behind chose for themselves more cramped quarters, thus accommodating their newcomers. The congregation area remained in [2491] this state during the entire period of 'Umar's reign, the tribesmen not coveting it. There was nothing there but the mosque, the citadel and the markets, which were devoid of buildings or even markings (for buildings). 'Umar had said, "Markets are to be organized on the basis of the norms valid for mosques: he who gets to a certain place first, has sole rights to it, until he vacates it to go home or as the case may be until he has sold all his wares." For every newcomer they prepared "reception" camps,[254] everyone arriving there being treated on a basis of equality. Those quarters today are the dwelling places of the Banū al-Bakkā'. (The newcomers stayed there) until they came to Abū al-Hayyāj so that he might attend to them by assigning plots to them where they wanted.

In the plot destined for that purpose, Sa'd built a citadel facing the spot where the *miḥrāb*[255] of the mosque of al-Kūfah is today. He built it and incorporated the treasury in it. He himself lived right next to it. Then, (somewhat later, robbers) dug a tunnel to the

251. See nn. 43 and 114 above.

252. For this rendering, see *Glossarium*, p. CLV.

253. This is, perhaps, the best rendering of *rawādif*, a term that indicates the nomads who came to join their clansmen—relatives or otherwise—in the conquered territories. *Glossarium*, p. CCLXI, calls them "new conscripts." See Hinds, "Alignments," 352 ff; Donner, 231 ff; Morony, *Iraq*, 242.

254. The word used is *munākh* "a place where one's camel is made to kneel down."

255. This is the niche that indicates the direction toward Mecca.

treasure chamber and stole from its contents. Sa'd notified 'Umar of this by letter describing to him the layout of the governor's residence and the treasure chambers vis-à-vis the congregation area as situated north of the building. 'Umar replied, "Move the spot where you actually perform the prayer ritual[256] to a place as close as possible to the building housing the treasure chambers; in so doing, you make it the direction for prayer.[257] For in the mosque there are always people present,[258] day and night, they will act as guards of what is also their treasure." Thus the place where the prayer ritual was performed was brought closer (facing the treasure chambers[259]) and then Sa'd set about building it.[260] A dihqān from the people of Hamadhān, called Rūzbih b. Buzurgumihr, said to him, "I shall build it for you, and I shall also build a citadel for you; I shall make some sort of connection between the one and the other so that they constitute one and the same building." Thus he planned the citadel of al-Kūfah according to a well-considered design. Then Rūzbih commenced building it from baked bricks taken from the ruin of a citadel the Persian kings used to have in
[2492] the neighborhood of al-Ḥīrah,[261] which today is still in its place.[262] Sa'd did not allow this to continue, however. He built the mosque facing the treasure chambers, with the entire length of the citadel being situated to the right of that side of the mosque facing south.[263] Then he extended it to the right, up to the far end of the Square of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib with this square as the prayer direction. Then he extended it yet some more so that the prayer direction of the mosque encompassed the whole square as well as the right side of the citadel.

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256. The Arabic reads *al-masjid*, but my—admittedly wordy—translation is meant to convey the original meaning of the word, which happens to suit the context best.

257. Or rather, ". . . . in so doing you make sure that the building lies in the direction in which the people would look when they pray."

258. It is conceivable that with these people some sort of mosque personnel is meant.

259. Presumably this was done *before* the roof structure on the marble pillars was built.

260. A textual variant admits of the interpretation "and then he looked for someone, an architect, to build it."

261. This ancient city, mentioned a few times before, lay three miles to the west of al-Kūfah.

262. Rendition tentative.

263. That is, the direction of prayer.

The building[264] was supported by pillars made of marble originally from Christian churches[265] belonging to the king. (This roof structure) had no walls, a situation that lasted until the building (complete with walls), as it is today, was constructed in the time of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān at the hands of Ziyād (his adopted brother and governor of Iraq). When Ziyād set out to construct it, he invited several architects who were born in the Jāhiliyyah to come to him. He described to them the location of the mosque, its size and how high he wanted it to reach up into the air, saying, "I want something higher than anything I have ever heard described." Then a certain architect, who had previously been in the service of the king, said to him, "This can only be done when supported by pillars made from blocks of stone quarried at Ahwāz; these blocks have to be pierced and hollowed out, then filled with lead and (held together by) iron bars, so as to enable you to raise the pillars made of these blocks thirty cubits into the air. Then you build a roof over them and, to grant (the whole structure) extra solidity, you build walls on all sides (i.e., supporting the edges of that roof structure)." Ziyād answered, "This is a description of a structure about which I used to have inward discussions that I have never been able to settle."[266]

Saʿd provided the gate of the citadel with a lock. The reason for this was that the markets used to be held nearby right in front of Saʿd's living quarters, the tumult being so deafening as to prevent Saʿd from conducting a normal conversation. When the citadel was built, people began to ascribe things to him he had never said. [2493]
Thus they alleged that Saʿd had said (on one occasion), "Stop that terrible noise!"[267] News of this reached ʿUmar, and also that the people were calling it "Saʿd's citadel." So he called Muḥammad b. Maslamah[268] and sent him to al-Kūfah, saying, "Make for the citadel and burn down that gate, then return to me forthwith." Muḥammad b. Maslamah departed and journeyed until he arrived

264. Sc. the roof structure over the southern part of the mosque.

265. For the relationship of the king with the Christian church, see Morony, *Iraq*, 332–42.

266. After this digression dealing with an event from Ziyād b. Abīhi's governorship of Iraq, some time between the years 661 and 680, the narrative goes back once more to the time of Saʿd, that is, 638.

267. The word for "noise" here is *ṣuwayt*, a diminutive expressing enhancement, *li 't-taʿẓīm*, see Wright, I, 166.

268. For more on this man, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VI, 33–5.

in al-Kūfah. He bought some firewood, brought it to the citadel and burned down its gate. Someone went to Sa'd and told him what had happened. Sa'd said, "This must be a messenger sent here for this very purpose."[269] So he dispatched someone to find out who it was. It was none but Muḥammad b. Maslamah! Immediately, Sa'd sent a message inviting him inside. But he refused. Then Sa'd came outside and invited him in, offering him hospitality. But he refused again. Next Sa'd offered to bear the expenses of the man's staying on in al-Kūfah, but he would not hear of it. Instead he handed Sa'd a letter from 'Umar that read, "It has come to my notice that you have built a citadel and that you have taken possession of it as your personal fortress, it being called 'Sa'd's citadel.' You have even made a gate separating you from the people! However, it is not your property; have you gone insane?[270] Go and find yourself a place to live near the treasure chambers and lock that (if you insist), but don't have a gate in the citadel preventing the people from entering it and depriving them of their right to sit freely with you in counsel even at the time when you choose to leave your quarters." Sa'd swore to Muḥammad b. Maslamah that he had not said what the people had imputed to him. So, instantly, Muḥammad b. Maslamah set out on his return journey. When, in the vicinity of Medina, his provisions had run out, he had to still his hunger with what bark of trees he could find. Suffering from indigestion, he finally approached 'Umar and told him all that had happened. 'Umar asked, "Did you not take anything from Sa'd for me?" Muḥammad answered, "If you had
[2494] wanted that, you should have (said so in the) letter you gave me for him, or you should have given me leave to use my own judgment in this matter." Whereupon 'Umar said, "The most sagacious man is he who displays his own initiative, when he has no directives from his superior to fall back on, or who, without holding back, gives expression to his own views." Then Muḥammad b. Maslamah told 'Umar of the oath Sa'd had sworn and what he had said (on that occasion). Believing Sa'd to be sincere, 'Umar

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269. In my translation I disregard the preposition *min*, which is lacking in manuscript Co.

270. Literally, "it is the citadel of insanity (or wickedness)," or as *Glossarium* suggests "the palace of perversity." I suspect that the reading *khabāl* here is dubious.

said, "He is surely more veracious than those who informed on him or those who told me (all about this)."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Aṭā' Abū Muḥammad, the freedman of Isḥāq b. Ṭalḥah: I used to sit in the great mosque before Ziyād built (the extensions that he added); at that time, (the roof structure) had no walls (i.e. to support it on any side), so that I could see from the mosque the monastery of Hind as well as the gate leading to the bridge.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ibn Shubrumah—al-Sha'bī: When someone was seated in the mosque, one could see from it the gate leading to the bridge.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Umar b. 'Ayyāsh, the brother of Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh—Abū Kathīr: Rūzbih b. Buzurgumihr b. Sāsān came from Hamadhān. He had had control over one of the approaches to the territory of the Byzantines, to whom he sometimes brought arms. The Persian kings made threats against him, so he joined the Byzantines. But he was never sure of his life, until Sa'd b. (Abī Waqqāṣ) Mālik had come (i.e., to Iraq). For him Rūzbih built the citadel and the mosque. Then Sa'd sent him with a letter to 'Umar in which he gave the particulars of the situation. (When he had arrived in Medina), Rūzbih embraced Islam. 'Umar entered his name in the register of stipends and sent him back to Sa'd with a group of professional camel drivers. Professional camel drivers in those days were (from that class of people called) *'ibād*.[271] Rūzbih set out until, when at a place later called Qabr al-'Ibādī,[272] he suddenly died. So the camel drivers dug a grave for him and then they sat down and waited beside the corpse for someone to pass by that route whom they could prevail upon to testify to Rūzbih's having died (a natural death). And, indeed, a group of Bedouins passed along that route, right after they had [2495] finished digging a grave for him at the roadside. So they showed the corpse to those Bedouins, so that they would declare them innocent from having shed Rūzbih's blood and would bear witness to that effect. They named that place the Grave of the 'Ibādī; it was called that on account of these camel drivers (who hailed

271. 'Ibād is the term by which the Christian Arabs of al-Ḥīrah are designated, see Morony, *Iraq*, index s.v. *'ibād*.

272. Literally "the grave of the 'Ibādī."

from the class of the *'ibād*[273]. Abū Kathīr added: "That man, this Rūzbih, was my father, by God." Then I[274] said, "Did you not tell anybody about him?" "No," said Abū Kathīr.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr, Sa'īd and Ziyād: The "tenths"[275] became greatly imbalanced in numbers. Sa'd wrote to 'Umar regarding the possibility of dividing the army up into a more appropriate number of contingents. So 'Umar wrote back, "Yes, by all means." Then Sa'd sent for a number of experts in tribal genealogy, and some clever and sagacious men, among whom were Sa'īd b. Nimrān and Mash'alah b. Nu'aym. These experts redivided the Muslim army into "sevenths," creating seven contingents. Kinānah, with its confederates from among the Aḥābīsh[276] and others, as well as Jadīlah, that is the Banū 'Amr b. Qays 'Aylān, formed one so-called *sub'*.[277] Quḍā'ah, among whom in those days were Ghassān b. Shibām, as well as Bajīlah, Khath'am, Kindah, Ḥaḍramawt and Azd formed (another) *sub'*. Madhḥij, Ḥimyar, Hamdān as well as their confederates formed a (third) *sub'*. Tamīm and all of Ribāb and Hawāzin formed a (fourth) *sub'*. Asad, Ghaṭafān, Muḥārib, al-Namir, Ḍubay'ah and Taghlib formed a (fifth) one. Iyād, 'Akk, 'Abd al-Qays, the people of Hajar[278] and the Ḥamrā'[279] formed a (sixth) *sub'*.[280] This subdivision into seven contingents was maintained during the entire period of the reigns of 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī as well as the better part of that of Mu'āwiyah. Then Ziyād redivided the army into "fourths."

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273. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 28, penult, adds a remark to the effect that the place was called by this name because ". . . it was thought that Rūzbih had been one of those *'ibād*."

274. This is presumably the transmitter of Abū Kathīr, Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh, see p. 2494 above.

275. See n. 250 above

276. See *EI*², s.v. *Ḥabash, Ḥabasha*, final part (Watt).

277. Literally, "one-seventh."

278. The city in the coastal region of al-Baḥrayn is meant, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 953.

279. See n 147 above.

280. A seventh group is lacking. Is that due to a scribal mistake/omission of the manuscript(s) Prym worked from, or should we insert anywhere in this enumeration the words *sub'an wa-ṣārat*, thus creating a seventh one? According to Caskel (*EI*², s.v. *Ḍabba*), the seventh group was made up of Ḍabbah, Bakr and Ṭayyi'. For more speculations, see Morony, *Iraq*, 243.

The Redivision of the People into 'Irāfahs[281] [2496]

The people were divided into units, *'irāfahs*, each of which was entitled to 100,000 dirhams. Every unit consisting especially of veterans of al-Qādisiyyah, comprising forty-three men, forty-three women and fifty children, had 100,000 dirhams (to be distributed among them). Every *'irāfah* of the *ahl al-ayyām*[282] was similarly entitled to 100,000 dirhams, twenty men receiving 3,000 dirhams and twenty women, as well as every child receiving one hundred dirhams each. Every *'irāfah* of the first immigration wave,[283] consisting of sixty men, sixty women and forty children, whose fighting members(?) were each entitled to (?) 1,500, had similarly 100,000 dirhams to divide between them. A similar calculation was applied to other *'irāfahs*. 'Aṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith said: I personally met one hundred *'arīfs*.[284] The people of al-Baṣrah were organized and administered according to the same principles. The stipends were handed out to the commanders of the *sub'*s[285] and the standard bearers, all standards being carried by pure-blooded tribesmen. These passed the stipends on to the *'arīfs*, (other) leaders and chiefs who duly distributed them among the people in their respective dwelling places.

The Conquest of al-Madā'in before the Founding of al-Kūfah

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al- [2497]
Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: The conquests of al-Madā'in comprised the Sawād, Ḥulwān, Māsabadhān and Qarqīsiyā'. The frontier ways of access of al-Kūfah were the following four: Ḥulwān under the command of al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr, Māsabadhān under the command of Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihrī, Qarqīsiyā' under the com-

281. For more information on the unit called *'irāfah* and the function of its administrator (*'arīf*), mainly responsible for the distribution of state stipends among its members, see *EI*[2] s.v. *'Arīf*, and Hinds, "Alignments," 349.

282. That is, the veterans of the battles preceding that of al-Qādisiyyah, see n. 43 above.

283. This comprised the first contingents of *rawādif* to join the Muslim warriors in al-Kūfah, see above p. 71, especially n. 253.

284. See. n. 281 above.

285. See p. 76 above.

mand of 'Umar b. Mālik or 'Amr b. 'Utbah b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf, and finally al-Mawṣil under the command of 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tamm. That situation lasted for some time.[286] Then, after that, Sa'd moved out (sc. of al-Madā'in) to found al-Kūfah and with part of the inhabitants staying behind in al-Madā'in, he ordered the abovementioned people[287] to come and join him in al-Kūfah, after they had appointed those men who were willing to stay behind and assume control as successors commanding the ways of access. Thus al-Qa'qā''s successor over Ḥulwān was Qubādh b. 'Abdallāh, 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tamm's successor over al-Mawṣil was Muslim b. 'Abdallāh, Ḍirār's successor was Rāfi' b. 'Abdallāh and finally 'Umar's was 'Ashannaq b. 'Abdallāh.[288] 'Umar (b. al-Khaṭṭāb) wrote to them instructing them to call in the help of the Asāwirah,[289] as many as they needed, and to exempt them from paying the *jizā'*. Thus they did. When the ground plan of al-Kūfah had been laid out, and the people had obtained permission to start building their dwelling places, they carried their doors with them from al-Madā'in to al-Kūfah and hung them in their new homes. In this way, they made al-Kūfah their base and those (four frontier towns mentioned above) were their ways of access, while they had no control over the adjoining countryside.

[2498] According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Mujālid—'Āmir: In other words, the conquests of al-Madā'in comprised the acquisition of al-Kūfah and its surrounding agricultural area as well as the conquest of the border areas Ḥulwān, al-Mawṣil, Māsabadhān and Qarqīsiyā'. 'Amr b. al- Rayyān—Mūsā b. 'Īsā al-Hamdānī, told a similar report, in which 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb forbade the people of al-Kūfah to venture outside those areas, not allowing them to penetrate further into enemy-held territory.[290]

They all said: Sa'd b. (Abī Waqqāṣ) Mālik ruled over al-Kūfah for

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286. I have divided the following very long sentence into a number of shorter ones, changing the order somewhat.

287. Sc. of those four border towns.

288. This enumeration of four successive "fathers" all being called 'Abdallāh is one more clear example of how the commonest Muslim names were regularly used *either* to conceal someone's unknown parentage *or* to conceal the non-Muslim origin of someone's ancestors. See further Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 145 f.

289. See n. 147 above.

290. See p 45 above.

three and a half years after it had been founded, in addition to the period he had previously spent in al-Madā'in and the period he was 'Umar's governor in the entire area comprising al-Kūfah, Ḥulwān, al-Mawṣil, Māsabadhān and Qarqīsiyā', all the way to (i.e., but not including) al-Baṣrah. While ruling over al-Baṣrah, and while Sa'd ruled al-Kūfah, 'Utbah b. Ghazwān died. He had found his office distressing.[291] In 'Utbah's place 'Umar appointed Abū Sabrah (b. Abī Ruhm al-'Āmirī); then he dismissed Abū Sabrah from al-Baṣrah and employed al-Mughīrah (b. Shu'bah) as his governor. After he had also dismissed al-Mughīrah, he installed Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī in that position.

The Story of Ḥimṣ When the Byzantine Commander Marched on Its Muslim Occupants

In this year, the Byzantines marched on Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ and those warriors from the Muslim army who were with him in Ḥimṣ to make war on them. What happened to the Byzantines and the Muslims, as related in Abū 'Ubaydah's own words, is according to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, 'Amr and Sa'īd: The first time 'Umar allowed the troops in al-Kūfah to venture outside (i.e. to penetrate into enemy-held territory[292]) was when the Byzantines, after having exchanged messages with the inhabitants of al-Jazīrah, marched out heading for Abū [2499]
'Ubaydah and the Muslims in Ḥimṣ. So Abū 'Ubaydah gathered his armed units around him ordering them to make camp in the city square of Ḥimṣ. Khālid also approached from Qinnasrīn. He joined them (sc. in Ḥimṣ) amidst other commanders of armed units. Then Abū 'Ubaydah sought their advice: should they prepare to wage battle or should they fortify themselves inside the city until help might come? It was Khālid who suggested to him to fight the Byzantines, whilst the other Muslim commanders advised him to dig himself in and write to 'Umar.[293] Abū 'Ubaydah took the latter's advice and discarded Khālid's. Then he wrote to 'Umar informing him of the Byzantines' offensive

291. Why he may have done so can be gleaned from Ibn Sa'd, VII 1/3, 10 ff.
292. See n. 289 above.
293. Presumably in order to ask for help and obtain fresh orders.

against him and their keeping the Muslim troops in Syria fully occupied, so that they could not help him.

Of late, 'Umar had concentrated cavalry in every city, in each a contingent commensurate with its size. The horses had been left behind by the Muslim forces to be held ready for some unforeseen contingency. Thus there were in al-Kūfah four thousand horses. So when the news (sc. from Ḥimṣ) reached 'Umar, he wrote to Sa'd b. (Abī Waqqāṣ) Mālik, "Detail the cavalry under the command of al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr and dispatch them forthwith to Ḥimṣ the moment my letter reaches you, for Abū 'Ubaydah is under siege there. Therefore, march on them with the utmost speed." Furthermore, he wrote to him saying, "Dispatch Suhayl b. 'Adī with an armed force to al-Jazīrah; let him make for al-Raqqah, for it is the inhabitants of al-Jazīrah who incited the Byzantines to take up arms against the people of Ḥimṣ. The people of Qarqīsiyā' have a good record. But send 'Abdallāh b. 'Itbān to Naṣībīn.[294] Let both
[2500] these men also find out more about Ḥarrān and al-Ruhā'.[295] Then dispatch al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah at the head of the tribesmen of al-Jazīrah, viz. Rabī'ah and Tanūkh, and send 'Iyāḍ too, for if there is any fighting to be done, I have placed the command over all the forces in the hands of 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm. 'Iyāḍ was originally one of the Muslim warriors in Iraq who had marched out with Khālid b. al-Walīd to help the Muslims fighting in Syria, and he was also one of those who came along when the Iraqi forces left (Syria again) to aid the forces at al-Qādisiyyah; he used to be Abū 'Ubaydah's personal aide.

So on the day 'Umar's letter arrived, al-Qa'qā', at the head of four thousand men, set out toward Ḥimṣ. 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm and the commanders of the al-Jazīrah forces marched out too, taking the road to al-Jazīrah sometimes along the frontier garrisons, at other times bypassing them. Each commander headed toward the district over which he was appointed. Suhayl went to al-Raqqah and 'Umar left Medina in aid of Abū 'Ubaydah, heading for Ḥimṣ until

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294. The edition here repeats the preceding sentence, but Prym points out that it is lacking in the two main manuscripts, and I have accordingly decided to leave it untranslated.

295. The verb used for "to find out more about" is *nafaḍa*, see Lane, 2830, right column, but the reading is dubious; Ibn al-Athīr has the verb *qaṣada* "to go."

he alighted at al-Jābiyah.[296] At first,[297] the people of al-Jazīrah helped the Byzantines and incited them against the Muslims in Ḥimṣ, remaining in close contact with them. But then, when they heard the rumor from those who were scattered in al-Jazīrah[298] that those (mounted) forces had pulled out of al-Kūfah, they[299] did not know whether those Kūfan troops were marching on al-Jazīrah or on Ḥimṣ. So they dispersed to their regions and their brethren and they deserted the Byzantines. After this dispersal, Abū 'Ubaydah viewed the situation no longer as he had done at first, and he again sought Khālid's advice as to whether or not they should venture a sortie. Khālid thought they should. So God granted Abū 'Ubaydah and his men victory over the besiegers.

[Translator's note [2501]

Now follows in the edition an insert covering three pages, which Prym found in the Ibn Ḥubaysh manuscripts, and of which there was no trace in the other manuscripts from which he worked. At first he thought it best to leave it out altogether, but then he decided against that because, as he argued, the information contained in this insert gives details found nowhere else, and he inferred the likelihood of a lacuna in the Ṭabarī manuscript of which C and Co (sc. Prym's principal manuscripts) are (in)direct copies. I see no reason why I should not follow Prym's example, and therefore I insert the translation of these pages forthwith.]

According to Sayf with his *isnād*—Rajā' b. Ḥaywah and others: Heraklius sent an expeditionary force by sea against Ḥimṣ. (Some time ago the Muslim forces[300]) had formed armed units.[301] While 'Alqamah b. Mujazziz and 'Alqamah b. Ḥakīm had entrenched themselves in al-Ramlah and 'Asqalān and their respective environs, Yazīd (b. Abī Sufyān) and Shuraḥbīl (b. Ḥasanah) having

296. A town near Damascus, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 3f. For its importance, see *EI*², s.v. *Dj̱ābiya* (Lammens).

297. I have broken a convoluted sentence into several manageable, shorter ones.

298. In order to make this sentence convey any sense at all, I read *ḥadīthu* instead of *'an ḥadīthi*, a suggestion of M. Hinds.

299. I read *lam* with one manuscript, and not *wa-lam*, as it says in the edition.

300. This translation is based on a marginal gloss in one Ibn Ḥubaysh manuscript.

301. Or "strong points."

done likewise, Heraklius asked the people of al-Jazīrah for help and sought to rouse the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ. But those latter (in Ḥimṣ) sent him a message that read, "We have made a pact with them[302] and we fear that we will not win (if we do as you suggest)." Then Heraklius marched on Abū 'Ubaydah amidst a mighty cavalry force.[303] Abū 'Ubaydah asked Khālid to come and help him, so the latter came with every man he had, not leaving anyone behind. After Khālid had left, the inhabitants of Qinnasrīn went back on their promises made to the Muslims and sided with Heraklius. Most of the people who lived there were sedentary Tanūkh. Nonetheless, every Muslim leader held on to his own district. That shows how courageous the Muslims were.[304] Heraklius closed in on Ḥimṣ, made camp and sent spies (to reconnoiter). The Muslims were unanimous in digging themselves in and writing to 'Umar, except Khālid, who maintained that they should prepare to fight. So they dug themselves in at Ḥimṣ and wrote to 'Umar imploring him to help them. The Byzantines and those who aided them drew nearer and nearer until they alighted close by and surrounded them. The forces from al-Jazīrah (rallying with Heraklius) numbered 30,000, this apart from the Tanūkh and others from Qinnasrīn. Thus they created a truly desperate situation for the Muslims.

The letter reached 'Umar while he was on his way to Mecca for the pilgrimage. He proceeded on his journey but sent the following message to Sa'd: "Abū 'Ubaydah is under siege, forced to stay
[2502] entrenched. (Please) send your Muslim warriors all over al-Jazīrah and harass the Byzantines with your cavalry so that they cannot address themselves properly to the people in Ḥimṣ and their protégés. Help Abū 'Ubaydah with al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr and (further) manpower." So al-Qa'qā' went forth in aid of Abū 'Ubaydah and the cavalry squadrons marched on al-Raqqah, Ḥarrān and Naṣībīn. When they arrived in al-Jazīrah and news of that reached the enemy, while they were (laying siege) to Ḥimṣ, they scurried back to their (respective) cities, which they tried to reach before

302. Presumably the Muslim Arabs who had control over much of the northern part of Syria are meant.

303. That is what I think that *halbah* means in this context; it is not found anywhere in the dictionaries.

304. The translation is dubious, but so is the Arabic text.

the (pursuing) Muslims. Then they dug themselves in, and the Muslims descended upon them in their fortifications. When al-Qa'qā' moved nearer to Ḥimṣ, the members of a certain clan from Tanūkh wrote a letter to Khālid in which they cajoled him and informed him about the situation. Khālid sent a message back saying, "By God, had it not been for the fact that I am under somebody else's orders, I would not have cared whether you had been few or many, whether you would have stayed or whether you would have departed. If you are sincere, you had better disperse, as all the other people of al-Jazīrah have done." They suggested this to the others of Tanūkh, who agreed. Then they sent a message to Khālid, "This is what we propose to you: If you want (us to do as you said), we will do it. But if you want to march against us, then we will flee with the Byzantines." They gave him assurances. But Khālid said, "No, stay, only if we march out against you, then you will flee with the Byzantines." In the meantime, the Muslims said to Abū 'Ubaydah, "The inhabitants of al-Jazīrah have dispersed in all directions, but the people of Qinnasrīn are contrite and have offered to meet us out of their own free will. After all they are Arab tribesmen. Come with us." Meanwhile, Khālid remained silent. So Abū 'Ubaydah said, "Khālid, why do you not say anything?" Khālid answered, "You have always known what I think about this matter, but you did not listen to what I said." Then Abū 'Ubaydah said, "Speak now, I will listen to you and do as you suggest." So Khālid said, "March out with the Muslims. God may have decreased their numbers, while the enemy is still at full combat strength. (But we may not forget that) since we embraced Islam, we only fought to win in the end, so do not be vexed by the enemy's superior forces."

According to 'Alqamah b. al-Naḍr and others: Abū 'Ubaydah assembled the people, praised God and extolled Him and said, "Listen, you men, this is a day that will decide the future.[305] Those of you who will survive this day, your possessions and [2503] homesteads will be undisturbed and, on the other hand, those of you who will die will achieve martyr status. So hold your God in the highest esteem and let nothing, short of polytheism, that is, committed by anyone of you, induce you to abhor death. But turn

305. See n. 122 above.

to God again and offer yourselves up to martyrdom. I testify—and this is no time for lies—that I heard the Messenger of God say: 'He who dies without ever having worshiped other deities but God, will surely enter Paradise.' " Then there was a general rustle among the men as they untied their camels. They marched out, led by Abū 'Ubaydah, who commanded the main body of the army, with Khālid over its right wing and 'Iyāḍ[306] over its left wing, while Mu'ādh b. Jabal stayed behind guarding the gate of the city. Thus they became engaged in combat there, never giving way, when suddenly al-Qa'qā' hurriedly approached with one hundred (horsemen). Then the people of Qinnasrīn began to flee with the Byzantines. The main body of the Muslim army and the right wing grappled with the main body of the enemy's army, one of whose wings had been crushed. The reinforcements joined the Muslim troops which resulted in not a single enemy warrior escaping to tell what had happened. The enemy's left wing all fled in one direction, the last straggler being caught at Marj al-Dībāj.[307] This was where they finally ended up, having broken their weapons and thrown down their furred coats to be less encumbered. But they were overtaken and their belongings were confiscated as spoils of war. When the Muslims had achieved this victory, Abū 'Ubaydah assembled them and delivered the following speech, "Do not flinch now, do not even consider receding in stages from this military operation; for if I had known beforehand that just one of us would survive, I would not have told you this story."[308] The last of the Kūfan horsemen to arrive did so three full days after the battle.[309]

[2500 ~~2503~~] Al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr arrived with the troops from al-Kūfah three days after the battle (sc. of Ḥimṣ) and 'Umar came and made camp in al-Jābiyah. They[310] wrote to 'Umar telling him about the victory and the arrival of the reinforcements three days later and asking him for a decision in this affair. So 'Umar wrote back saying, [2504]

306. This, instead of 'Abbās, is the reading proposed in the errata in *Glossarium*, p. DCXX.

307. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 488, this was a river bed ten miles from al-Maṣṣīṣah, commanding spectacular views.

308. Sc. the tradition ascribed to the Prophet mentioned above.

309. This is the end of the insert from Ibn Ḥubaysh. After this, Ṭabarī's account is resumed.

310. Presumably, Abū 'Ubaydah and Khālid.

"Give them a share in the booty. May God reward the Kūfans with His bounty; they protect their own territory but they also give aid to the inhabitants of other garrison cities."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Zakariyyāʾ b. Siyāh—al-Shaʿbī: Abū ʿUbaydah asked ʿUmar for reinforcements. The Byzantines, followed by the Christians[311] had marched on him and besieged him (sc. in Ḥimṣ). Thereupon ʿUmar left (Medina) and wrote to the people of al-Kūfah. So, on an early morning, 4,000 men on mules leading horses by their sides,[312] hurriedly made their way toward the besieged Muslims. Three days after the battle between Abū ʿUbaydah and his besiegers they arrived (sc. at Ḥimṣ). Abū ʿUbaydah wrote about this to ʿUmar who had finally reached al-Jābiyah. ʿUmar wrote back, "Let them share in the booty, for they rushed out in aid of you and on account of them your enemy dispersed."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah—Māhān: ʿUmar had 4,000 horses at his disposal, held ready for an emergency, which he caused to pass the winter tethered (in the square) south and left of the citadel in al-Kūfah. Hence that spot is called al-Ārī,[313] until this very day. ʿUmar also had them pasture on fresh grazing land between the Euphrates and the built-up area of al-Kūfah alongside the river bend.[314] The Persians called this stretch of land Ākhur al-Shāhijān,[315] which means "the place where the princes have their horses foddered." Its commander was Salmān b. Rabīʿah al-Bāhilī at the head of a group of people from al-Kūfah, who organized races for the horses and made them exercise all year round. In al-Baṣrah there was a similar number of horses, whose commander was Jazʾ b. Muʿāwiyah. In fact, the eight garrison cities, each according to its size, (had a similar cavalry squadron). And when something unforeseen came to pass, a group of horsemen would ride out and grapple with the situation, until [2505] the main body of fighting forces was brought into readiness.

311. Presumably, from among the Arab tribes living in al-Jazīrah.

312. Thus the horses were spared until the moment when speed was required in military action. Then the horses were exchanged for the mules. All this seems to be implied in the Arabic verb used in this context, see Lane, 464, right column.

313. Sc. a stable, or a post to which an animal is tethered.

314. The Arabic word for "bend" used here is *ʿāqūl*. It is also the name of a certain monastery, see Dayr al-ʿĀqūl in Ṭabarī's index.

315. Literally "the stable of the nobles."

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ḥallām—Shahr b. Mālik gave a similar report (adding): . . . and when they had finished (clearing up matters), they would return.

In this year, I mean the year 17 (638), the conquest of al-Jazīrah took place.

The Conquest of al-Jazīrah

The conquest of al-Jazīrah took place according to the account of Sayf (in the year 17 (638)), but Ibn Isḥāq mentioned that it was conquered in the year 19 (640) of the Hijrah. He related among the causes leading to the conquest: According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: 'Umar wrote to Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, "God has conquered Syria and Iraq for the Muslims. So from where you are dispatch an army to al-Jazīrah and put one of the following three, Khālid b. 'Urfuṭah or Hāshim b. 'Utbah or 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm in command." When this letter finally reached Sa'd, he said, "The Commander of the Faithful mentioned 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm's name only as the last possible choice for commander because he harbors a secret wish that I put him in charge. Therefore I shall put him in charge." So he dispatched 'Iyāḍ and an armed force with him. On the same mission he also sent Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, his own son 'Umar b. Sa'd, a young lad without experience in leadership, and 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Bishr al-Thaqafī. That was in the year 19 (640). 'Iyāḍ marched on al-Jazīrah and descended with his troops on al-Ruhā' whose inhabitants concluded a peace treaty with him on the condition that they pay the *jizyah*. Ḥarrān also
[2506] concluded a treaty when al-Ruhā' did, its inhabitants committing themselves to pay the *jizyah*. Then Sa'd sent Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī to Naṣībīn and his son 'Umar to Ra's al-'Ayn among a contingent of cavalry as reinforcements for the Muslims. Sa'd himself moved with the remainder of the Muslim warriors to Dārā and went against it until he had conquered it. Abū Mūsā conquered Naṣībīn; that was in the year 19 (640). Then Sa'd dispatched 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ to southern Armenia,[316] where some fight-

316. The southernmost part of Armīniyā or Armenia, or the fourth part as it is called in Arabic; it is the region due west of Naṣībīn and due north of al-Raqqah. The emperor Justinian (527–65) had divided Armenia into four parts, see Vasiliev, I, 196.

ing occurred in which Ṣafwān b. al-Muʿaṭṭal al-Sulamī died a martyr's death. Then the people of the region concluded a peace treaty with ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ on the condition that they pay the *jizyah*, which amounted to one dīnār for each family (per year). After that the conquest of Qaysāriyyah in Palestine took place. Heraklius fled.

As for Sayf's account, that runs as follows: According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, Ṭalḥah, ʿAmr and Saʿīd: ʿIyāḍ followed in the traces of al-Qaʿqāʿ. The other commanders marched out. . . .[317] That was at the time when ʿUmar wrote to Saʿd instructing him to send al-Qaʿqāʿ with 4,000 troops as reinforcements for Abū ʿUbaydah, whom the Byzantines were marching upon while he was in Ḥimṣ. So the commanders took the road to al-Jazīrah via the border garrisons and other localities. Thus Suhayl b. ʿAdī and his army force followed the route along the border garrisons until they finally reached al-Raqqah. In the meantime the rebellious people of al-Jazīrah had dispersed from Ḥimṣ on their way back to their respective districts, when they heard of the impending arrival of the Kūfan forces. So he (sc. Suhayl) descended upon these people of al-Jazīrah and held them surrounded by his men until they were prepared to make peace with him. This whole process was precipitated, because they said to one another, "We are (caught) between (two fires: on the one hand there are) the Iraqi reinforcements and (on the other hand there are) the Muslim forces in Syria. How can we survive a war against the ones as well as against the others?" So they sent a message concerning that predicament to ʿIyāḍ who, at the time, had made his camp right in the middle of al-Jazīrah. ʿIyāḍ decided to look favorably upon their submission, and they gave the oath [2507] of allegiance to him, which he accepted. The man who actually concluded the treaty with them was Suhayl b. ʿAdī, acting on the order of ʿIyāḍ, because Suhayl was in charge of the actual fighting. They followed the same procedure in respect of the territories they had taken by force—after which the defeated side gave in—as they had used with *dhimmīs*.[318]

317. This last sentence is a well-nigh classic example of an anacoluthon. What these commanders did will be told as from the next sentence.

318. This is a technical term which, for reasons of expedience, I rather leave untranslated. It denotes the "people of protection," adherents of the other main

The second commander to leave (sc. to leave al-Kūfah) was 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Itbān. He traveled along the Tigris until he arrived at al-Mawṣil where he crossed to the other bank to a place called Balad.[319] Then he proceeded towards Naṣībīn. Its inhabitants came out to meet him to offer him peace, acting as the people of al-Raqqah had done. Indeed, harboring the same fears as the latter, they had written to 'Iyāḍ who saw fit to accept their capitulation. Thus 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh concluded a treaty with them, following the same procedure in respect of the territories they had taken by force—after which the defeated side gave in—as followed in the case of *dhimmīs*.

Al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah also left (i.e. al-Kūfah) and marched until he reached the Taghlib and the Arab tribesmen living in al-Jazīrah. All of them, irrespective of whether or not they had become Muslims, threw in their lot with al-Walīd except the members of the Iyād b. Nizār tribe, for they departed with bag and baggage and penetrated into Byzantine territory. Al-Walīd reported all that to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb by letter.

When the inhabitants of al-Raqqah and Naṣībīn had promised obedience, 'Iyāḍ joined the forces of Suhayl and 'Abdallāh (b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Itbān) with his own, marched with all these forces on Ḥarrān and conquered all the territory separating him from that city. When he finally was about to grapple with (the Ḥarrānians) themselves, they protected themselves against potential harm from him by consenting to pay the *jizyah*. 'Iyāḍ accepted this, following the same procedure with them as used with *dhimmīs*, after they had given in upon their defeat.

Then 'Iyāḍ dispatched Suhayl and 'Abdallāh to al-Ruhā', whose inhabitants surrendered to them by consenting to pay the *jizyah*. All other people followed their example, al-Jazīrah thus being the simplest region to keep under control and the easiest to conquer. All this having been so easy was not only an ignominy for those

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faiths (Jews, Christians, etc.), who yield to the authority of Islam in their region and pay *jizyah* in exchange for freedom of religion.

319. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 715, an ancient city upstream from al-Mawṣil, also called Balaṭ.

conquered but also for those Muslims who stayed on among them. 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm composed the following poem (in *kāmil*): [2508]

Who will tell the world that our forces together
have conquered Jazīrah in days of fierce battle?
They gathered those wanting to help from the region,
dispelling from Ḥimṣ the dark threat of besiegers.
Our warriors, the mighty and noble, have driven
the enemy away, leaving cleft skulls behind them.
Defeating the kings of Jazīrah, but failing
to conquer those people who made it to Syria.[320]

When 'Umar arrived at al-Jābiyah and the people of Ḥimṣ were liberated, he sent Ḥabīb b. Maslamah to reinforce 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm, and in that capacity he reached 'Iyāḍ. Abū 'Ubaydah wrote to 'Umar, after his departure from al-Jābiyah, and asked him that 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm be detailed to him, since Khālid was detailed to Medina. Hence 'Umar sent 'Iyāḍ to him, but he dispatched Suhayl b. 'Adī and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh (b. 'Itbān) to al-Kūfah in order to deploy them in the east. Over the non-Arabs of al-Jazīrah 'Umar appointed Ḥabīb b. Maslamah as governor and military commander, and al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah he set over the Arab tribesmen there. Both remained in al-Jazīrah performing their duties.

They went on: When the letter from al-Walīd had reached him, 'Umar wrote to the emperor of Byzantium, "It has come to my notice that a certain group of Arab tribesmen has left our territory and has sought residence in your territory; by God, if you do not drive them back, we will surely dissolve our covenants with the Christians living under Arab sovereignty, and expel them." Hereupon the emperor of Byzantium expelled the Arabs who duly left Byzantine territory. Thus 4,000 of them reimmigrated with Abū

320. The translation of this poem is a tentative one. There are many textual variants preserved, e.g. "tombstones" for "battle" in l. 2. Furthermore, the geographical name al-Jazīrah is repeated no less than four times in as many verses of two hemistichs each. In l. 2 I believe it indicates simply the region; in l. 3 it seems to refer to the Arabs of the region who remained loyal to the Muslim cause, while in ll. 6–7 those inhabitants of al-Jazīrah seem to have been meant who rebelled against that cause. The penultimate hemistich can also be interpreted as "to conquer Jazīrah they beat kings, but they failed (sc. stopped short. . .]."

'Adī b. Ziyād, while the rest lagged behind scattering all over the
[2509] border regions between Syria, al-Jazīrah and Byzantine territory. Every member of Iyād in the land of Arab tribesmen belonged to those 4,000. Al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah refused to accept anything from the Taghlib except complete submission to Islam. But they argued, "As for those who were made chiefs of their clans according to the treaty made with Sa'd, as well as those who have accepted this condition, for them you have the right to demand that; but as for those who did not see a chief appointed over them and who as a consequence did not walk in the footsteps of those who were placed under a chief, what are you going to do with them? So al-Walīd wrote to 'Umar about them. 'Umar replied, "That rule (which you want to impose upon the Taghlib) is only applicable to the Arabian peninsula; there nothing but strict surrender to Islam is acceptable. But leave those Taghlib be, on the condition that they do not bring up their (newborn) children in a Christian fashion and accept it when they do embrace Islam." Thus al-Walīd agreed with the Taghlib that they would not christen their (newborn) babies and that they would not prevent anyone from embracing Islam. Some Taghlibīs conceded this and adopted this rule; others only conceded to pay the *jizā'*. So al-Walīd reached agreement with them on the same conditions as drawn up with the 'Ibād and Tanūkh.[321]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Aṭiyyah—Abū Sayf al-Taghlibī: The Messenger of God drew up a treaty with the delegation of the Taghlib that stipulated that they would not bring up their newborns as Christians. That was the condition imposed upon the delegation as well as on those who had sent them as a delegation, but it was not applicable to members of other tribes. When the time of 'Umar had come, those Taghlib tribesmen who had become Muslims said, "Do not alienate them[322] by imposing the *kharāj* upon them, so that they go away, but double the amount they have to pay as alms tax, which you levy from their
[2510] wealth. In this way, it will have become *jizā'*. For they resent it when *jizā'* are mentioned in the context of the stipulation that they will not christen a newborn child, when its parents have

321. See A. Noth, "Die literarisch überlieferten Verträge," 306 f.
322. That is, the other non-Muslim tribesmen.

embraced Islam." So a Taghlib delegation traveled to 'Umar concerning this matter. When al-Walīd had sent him the heads and leaders of the Christian tribesmen, 'Umar said to them, "Pay the *jizyah*." But they said to him, "Send us to a place where we can be safe. By God, if you impose upon us the *jizā'*, we will certainly enter Byzantine territory, for, by God, you have brought disgrace upon us among the other Arab tribesmen." Then 'Umar said to them, "You yourselves have brought it upon you by holding points of view different from those of your own people among those camp-dwelling tribesmen who opposed Medinan sovereignty and as a consequence brought disgrace upon themselves. But, by God, I insist you pay it, you are contemptible nobodies. If you seek refuge with the Byzantines, I shall certainly write to them about you and I shall come and lead you away into captivity." They said, "Then take something from us, but do not call it *jizā'*." Then 'Umar replied, "As for us, we shall call it *jizā'*; you call it whatever you want." "But, Commander of the Faithful," 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said to him, "did Sa'd b. Mālik not double the amount they had to pay as alms?" "Yes," 'Umar admitted, paying attention to what 'Alī had said. So he contended himself with the *jizā'* (which they were already paying), whereupon the Taghlib delegation returned (to where they were living) with tax matters drawn up in this way.

Nevertheless, among the Taghlib there were many proud and stubborn people who never stopped arguing with al-Walīd. Concerned as to how to deal with them, al-Walīd composed the line (in *ṭawīl*):

O Taghlib, when I shall fasten [2511]
The turban around my head,
You are, O daughter of Wā'il,[323]
indeed as good as dead!

News of this reached 'Umar, who feared that they might harass al-Walīd to the point where he would lose his patience and pounce on them. So he dismissed him and appointed Furāt b. Ḥayyān and Hind b. 'Amr al-Jamalī over them as governors. Al-Walīd left, having entrusted the camel herd he had to one

323. The tribe of Taghlib is called Taghlib b. Wā'il, see Caskel, II, 541. In Arabic, a tribe is usually a feminine concept, see Wright, I, 181, hence "daughter of Wā'il."

Ḥurayth b. al-Nu'mān of the clan of Kinānah b. Taym of the Taghlib tribe. There were one hundred camels in all, but after al-Walīd had departed, he (lost them as a result) of Ḥurayth's cheating.

The conquest of al-Jazīrah took place in the year 17 in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (December–January 638–9).

Also in this year, I mean the year 17 (638), 'Umar left Medina for Syria (and traveled) until he reached Sargh,[324] as Ibn Isḥāq reports on whose authority it reached me via Salamah—Ibn Ḥumayd. I received this report also on the authority of al-Wāqidī.

'Umar's Journey to Syria

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: 'Umar left (Medina) in the year 17 (638) for a campaign in Syria. Then, when he had arrived in Sargh, the commanders of the Muslim armies came to meet him. They told him that the country was diseased, so he returned to Medina with his retinue.

[2512] According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī—'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb—'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: 'Umar left (Medina) to go on a campaign. The Muhājirs and the Anṣār left with him. All the people traveled in close formation until, when they had arrived at Sargh, they were met by the army commanders Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān and Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah, who informed 'Umar that the country was diseased. So 'Umar said, "Assemble before me the first Muhājirs."[325]

He said: Thus I assembled the first Muhājirs for him. 'Umar asked their opinion, but they were divided. Some said, "You set out in a direction in which you wanted to please God, seeking to obey His orders. We think that no tribulation which presents itself to you, should deter you from that purpose." But others said, "This is a veritable affliction that may bring about perdition; we are of the opinion that you should not draw any closer to

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324. A place where the Ḥijāz ends and Syria begins, thirteen days traveling from Medina, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 77.

325. This appellative meant those of the Companions of the Prophet who converted to Islam *before* the Hijrah.

it." When they thus disagreed, he said, "Leave me." Then he ordered that the Muhājirat al-Anṣār[326] be assembled before him, so I convened them before him. 'Umar asked their advice, but they reacted in the same way as the Muhājirs had done. It was as if they had heard what the latter had said and simply copied their remarks. When they thus disagreed, 'Umar ordered them to leave him and said, "Bring me the Muhājirat al-fatḥ of Quraysh."[327] I assembled them before 'Umar, who asked their advice. This time, no two men among them disagreed, but they all said, "Return (to Medina) with the men; this is an affliction that may bring about our ruin." He went on: 'Umar said to me, "Ibn 'Abbās, go amongst the men and cry out the following message: The Commander of the Faithful informs you that, tomorrow morning, he will be early in the saddle. Do you likewise!" He went on: So, the following morning, 'Umar made ready to leave, as did all his men. When they were all gathered together, 'Umar addressed them and said, "Men, I am going back; do likewise." Then Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ said to him, "Are you fleeing from God's providence?" "Yes," 'Umar replied, "I flee from one divine ordinance to another. Don't you see? Suppose a man goes down into a riverbed with two slopes, one fertile, the other barren, does the one who grazes his animals on the infertile slope not do so according to God's ordinance, and does the one who grazes his animals on the fertile one not do so according to God's ordinance?" 'Umar went on, "If somebody other than you had said this, Abū 'Ubaydah, ..."[328] Then he went with him to a spot away from the people. While the men were thus busily readying themselves to depart, suddenly 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf appeared on the scene. He had been following at a distance and had not been present yesterday. He exclaimed, "What on earth is the matter with the [2513]

326. This term presumably meant those Anṣār who, by converting to Islam, had made a *hijrah*, dissociating themselves from strictly tribal affiliations and committing themselves solely to the cause of Islam. In Mālik, II, 895, Bukhārī, IV, 59, and Muslim, IV, 1740, they are simply designated as Anṣār.

327. Literally, "the Muhājirs of the conquest" (that is, of Mecca). This appellative seems to encompass those Meccans who only embraced Islam when circumstances seemed to dictate this, immediately before and after the conquest of Mecca. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, XII, 292.

328. Presumably he might have finished this sentence with words to the effect that he would have punished him. For other possibilities, see *ibid.*, XII, 293.

men?" So he was told. Then he said, "I know something about this which is relevant." 'Umar said, "In our eyes you are a truthful and honest man; what can you tell us?" 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "I heard the Messenger of God say: 'When it comes to your notice that there is a pestilence in a certain country, do not go near it, and if it breaks out while you are in it, do not flee from it then.' Therefore," 'Abd al-Raḥmān concluded "nothing should make you leave this place except those words." 'Umar exclaimed, "God be praised, so leave, all you men!" Then he departed with them.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī—'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Rabī'ah and Sālim, 'Umar's grandson, who related that 'Umar, only on the strength of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf's tradition, decided to return with his men (to Medina). When 'Umar returned, the governors[329] in their turn went back to their respective provinces.

As for Sayf, according to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah, Abū 'Uthmān and al-Rabī': A plague broke out in Syria, Egypt, and Iraq. It was persistent in Syria, but making victims
[2514] among the inhabitants of all the garrison cities who had spent the months of al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar there. Then the plague disappeared. Letters describing this reached 'Umar except from Syria. So 'Umar set out and traveled until, when he was near to it,[330] news reached him that the plague there was more severe than it had ever been. So he said, "As the Companions say, the Messenger of God said: 'If there is a pestilence in a certain country, do not enter it and if it breaks out in a country while you happen to be in it, do not leave it.'" So 'Umar returned (to Medina and stayed there), until the plague had disappeared and the people of Syria had written to him about it. They also wrote about various inheritance matters they were concerned with. 'Umar convened the people in the month Jumādā I of 17 (May–June, 638), and sought their advice on the (conquered) territories, saying, "It seems a good idea to make an inspection trip along the Muslims in their conquered territories in order to see what influence they exert on their surroundings. May I have your advice?" Ka'b al-

329. "Governors" is in Arabic *'ummāl*; they are of course the same men as the "army commanders" (*umarā'*) mentioned above (p. 92). The use of both these titles permits us to draw inferences as to the duties that a "governor" had in early Islam. See further *EI*[2] s.v. *'Āmil* (Duri).

330. That is, the area where Syria proper was supposed to begin.

Aḥbār, who had become a Muslim in that very year of 'Umar's reign and who happened to be present, said, "Where would you like to make a start, Commander of the Faithful?" "Iraq," was 'Umar's reply. Ka'b said, "Do not do that. Evil and good both consist of ten parts. But whereas the one part that is good lies in the east and nine in the west, the one part that is evil lies in the west while the nine other, evil parts lie in the east. The devil and every severe disease are linked with Iraq."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Sa'īd—al-Aṣbagh—'Alī: 'Alī went up to him saying, "Commander of the Faithful, by God, al-Kūfah is a place to which one makes a *hijrah* after the Hijrah;[331] it is the 'dome' of Islam.[332] There will come a day when there is no believer left who does not go there out of longing. God will be made victorious through its inhabitants just as He overcame the people of Lot with stones."[333] [2515]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Muṭarraḥ—al-Qāsim—Abū Umāmah: Then 'Uthmān said, "Commander of the Faithful, the western part of the conquered territories is a land of wickedness; this wickedness is divided into one hundred parts, one part of which is seated in its people and the other parts in the land itself."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Yaḥyā al-Taymī—Abū Mājid: 'Umar said, "Al-Kūfah is the spear of God and the dome of Islam. The tribal chieftains will protect their frontier ways of access and they will give military aid to the garrison cities. The estates[334] of the victims of the plague in 'Amawās[335] are left untended[336] so I will begin (my tour of inspection) there."[337]

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331. The first occurrence of the word *hijrah* is the technical term conveying that one embraces the cause of Islam by giving up one's links with one's tribe and throwing in one's lot with the Muslims. The second occurrence constitutes the emigration on June 22, 622, from Mecca to Medina.

332. The Arabic is *qubbah*; in Lane it is al-Baṣrah which is described by this vague honorific.

333. That is, the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, see Q. LI, 33.

334. This is used here in the sense of that which is inherited by heirs. See next paragraph.

335. 'Amawās (present day Imwas, the Biblical Emmaus) is a district six miles from al-Ramlah along the road to Jerusalem in central Palestine. It is alleged that the plague started there.

336. For this connotation of the Arabic verb *ḍā'a*, see Lane, 1812, middle column.

337. That is, I shall begin my tour in Syria.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Uthmān, Abū Ḥārithah and al-Rabī' b. al-Nu'mān: 'Umar said, "Since the estates of the people who recently died in Syria are left untended, I shall start my tour there. I shall properly divide the estates and I shall take measures for them as I think best. After that I shall return and travel all over the country, renouncing my previous orders to them."[338] (In all,) 'Umar went to Syria four times, twice in the year 16 (637) and twice in 17 (638), but he did not set foot on Syrian soil on the first trip of the year 17 (638).

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Bakr b. Wā'il—Muḥammad b. Muslim (al-Zuhrī): The Messenger of God said, "Taking care is divided into ten parts, nine of which are with the Turks, [2516] one with all the other people. Miserliness is divided into ten parts, nine of which are found with the Persians, one with all the other people. Generosity is also divided into ten parts, nine of which are found with negroes, one with all the other people. Lechery is divided also into ten parts, nine of which are found with Indians, one with all the other people. Bashfulness is also divided into ten parts, nine of which are found in women, and one with all the other people. Envy is also divided into ten parts, nine of which are found with the Arabs and one with all the other people. Lastly, arrogance is divided into ten parts, nine of which are found in the Byzantines and one in all the other people.[339]

Variant Features of the Story of the Plague of 'Amawās[340] and the Uncertainty as to the Year That It Occurred

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: Then the year 18 (639) began, in which the plague of 'Amawās broke out. One after the other the people perished in it. Also Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-

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338. The Arabic reads *anbidhu* "I give up, forswear." Since this does not seem to be in keeping with 'Umar's usual emphasis on the centralization of government, and since the reading is dubious in any case, it is tempting, as Hinds suggests, to read *unaffidhu ilayhim amrī* "I shall transmit my orders to them."

339. This catalogue of popular generalizations is not found in any of the canonical *ḥadīth* collections.

340. For an interesting study on this plague and other epidemics in early Islamic history, as well as a detailed analysis of the technical terms used for describing such calamities, see L. I. Conrad, "*Ṭā'ūn* and *wabā'*. Conceptions of plague and

Jarrāḥ died, the supreme commander (of Syria), as well as Mu'ādh b. Jabal, Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, Suhayl b. 'Amr, 'Utbah b. Suhayl and (many more) noble people.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: The plague of 'Amawās and al-Jābiyah was in the year 18 (639). According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Shu'bah b. al-Ḥajjāj—al-Mukhāriq b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī—Ṭāriq b. Shihāb al-Bajalī: We went to Abū Mūsā (al-Ash'arī), who was in [2517] his home in al-Kūfah, to talk to him. When we were seated, he said, "I am not asking from you that you make light of this matter, for in this house someone succumbed to this disease, but neither do you need to keep away from this town, leaving for the wide and wholesome open spaces of your land until this pestilence abates. I shall tell you what ideas are frowned upon, with which one might try to protect oneself in this respect: that someone who does leave town thinks that, if he had stayed, he would have died, and that someone who does *not* leave and does contract the disease thinks that, if he had left, he would not have been infected. If the veritable Muslim does not think this, then there is no real need for him to leave town or to keep far away from it. I was with Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ in Syria in the year when the plague of 'Amawās broke out. When the disease had become widespread and news of that had reached 'Umar, he wrote to Abū 'Ubaydah in an attempt at inducing him to leave the contaminated area, saying, "Peace be upon you. Listen; a problem has presented itself to me that I urgently need to discuss with you. I implore you that, when you set eyes on this letter from me, you will not put it down until you are actually on your way back to me."

He went on: Abū 'Ubaydah realized only too well that all 'Umar [2518] wanted was to get him out of (this) plague–(stricken country). "May God forgive the Commander of the Faithful," he thought. Then he wrote to 'Umar, "I understand your need for me, Commander of the Faithful, but the fact is that I am surrounded here by an army of Muslim warriors for whom I could not possibly

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pestilence in early Islam," in *JESHO*, XXV (1982): 268–307, idem, "Arabic plague chronologies and treatises: social and historical factors in the formation of a literary genre," in *Studia Islamica*, LIV (1981):51–93.

muster the slightest dislike. I do not want to separate myself from them until God has carried out His divine plan in respect of me and them. Please, absolve me from my duty toward you, Commander of the Faithful, and let me stay here among my soldiers." When 'Umar read this letter, he burst into tears. The people (around him) asked, "Has Abū 'Ubaydah died, Commander of the Faithful?" "No," he replied, "but it is as if he had."

Then 'Umar wrote to him saying, "Peace be upon you. Listen; you have let your men settle in a country that is diseased. (I beg of you), make them depart to more elevated and wholesome surroundings." When this letter had reached Abū 'Ubaydah, he called me to him and said, "Abū Mūsā, I just received this letter from the Commander of the Faithful; see for yourself what he orders. Go and scout around for a suitable site for the army to make camp. I shall follow you later with the troops." So I returned to where I was living in order to get ready for my journey. There I found that the woman I was living with had contracted the disease. I returned to Abū 'Ubaydah immediately and said to him, "By God, in my own household there is a casualty." "Is it perhaps the woman you are living with?" he asked. "Yes," I answered.

He went on: Thereupon Abū 'Ubaydah ordered his camel to be saddled for him and just as he placed his foot in the stirrup, he suffered (an acute attack of) the plague. "By God," he exclaimed, "now I have contracted it." But even so, he himself traveled with his men all the way to al-Jābiyah. Eventually the pestilence abated.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Abān b. Ṣāliḥ—Shahr b. Ḥawshab al-Ash'arī—someone from his
[2519] clan who, after his father had died, was left behind to take care of his mother and an eyewitness of the plague of 'Amawās, (in other words Shahr's) stepfather:[341] When the disease became wide-

341. The Ṭabarī text has Rābah, as if that is the name of a man. In his edition of Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, Ahmad Shākir (in III, no. 1697) proposes that, instead of *'an rābata rajulin min qawmihi*, we read *'an rābbihi rajulin min qawmihi*. The connotation "stepfather" is also listed in Lane, 1005, right column. The following story is also found in a few other sources such as Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, VII, 78 f; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VII, 455. The common link in the different *isnāds* is Muhammad b. Isḥāq. Whether it is he who is responsible for the story, or just for (part of) the wording, cannot be established. The transmitter Shahr b. Ḥawshab (d. between 110–12/728–30), who figures also in the *isnād*, a man of Syrian background who spread many stories of his own making in Iraq, is a far likelier candidate.

spread, Abū 'Ubaydah stood up among his men and delivered the following speech, "Men, this sickness is a mercy from your Lord, a request from your Prophet Muḥammad and it has caused the death of the pious who died before you; I, Abū 'Ubaydah, ask God that He assign to me my share thereof." Suddenly he suffered (an acute attack of) the disease, as a result of which he died. Mu'ādh b. Jabal was appointed as his successor over the people.

He went on: Then, after that, (Mu'ādh) delivered a speech in which he said, "Truly, men, this sickness constitutes a mercy from your Lord, a request from your Prophet and it has caused the death of the pious who died before you; I, Mu'ādh, ask God that He assign thereof a share to my family." Then his son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'ādh, suffered (a sudden attack of) the plague as a result of which he died. Then Mu'ādh stood up and prayed for a share of the disease for himself, after which it smote him in the palm of his hand. Indeed, I saw him looking at his palm, then he kissed the back of his hand and said, "I prefer not to have anything of this world (together) with what (I have) in you (sc. my hand)." When he had died, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī was made his successor over the people. 'Amr stood up to address the people and said, "Men, when this sickness strikes, it spreads like wildfire, so let us run away from it to the mountains." Then Abū Wāthilah al-Hudhalī said, "By God, you are known to us as a liar. While you were still no better than the donkey I sit on, I had already become a Companion of the Prophet. But," he went on, "by God, this time I will not reject what you say. I swear by God, we should not stay here!" Then he departed and the people went with him and scattered in all directions. Eventually God took the plague away from them. He went on: News of this opinion of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī's reached 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and, by God, he did not raise objec- [2520]
tions to it.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq—someone anonymous—Abū Qilābah 'Abdallāh b. Zayd al-Jarmī: From among the words spoken by Abū 'Ubaydah and Mu'ādh b. Jabal it came to my notice that they said, Verily, this sickness constitutes a mercy from your Lord, a request from your Prophet and it has caused the death of the pious who died before you. At this point I used to say, How can the Messenger of God pray for such (a calamity to befall) his community! Someone whose veracity I do not suspect even related to me that he had heard it from the

Prophet's own mouth and also that Gabriel once came to the Messenger of God and said to him, "The perdition of your community will occur as the result of a spear thrust or the plague."[342] Then the Messenger of God began to intone, "O my God, death through the plague!", and so I realized that those were the same words spoken by Abū 'Ubaydah and Mu'ādh.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: When news of the deaths of Abū 'Ubaydah and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān finally reached 'Umar, he put Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān in charge of the forces in Damascus and its *kharāj* and Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah in charge of the forces in al-Urdunn[343] and its *kharāj*. As for Sayf, he claims that the plague of 'Amawās occurred in the year 17 (638).

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Uthmān, Abū Ḥārithah and al-Rabī' via their (respective) *isnād*s: That plague, that is the plague of 'Amawās, was so devastating[344] that nothing resembling it had ever been seen. The enemy ardently wished the Muslims to succumb to it, the hearts of the latter being filled with terror. The death toll was enormous and it persisted a long
[2521] time, so long—months in fact—that the people talked about nothing else.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd—Abū Sa'īd: As a result of this pestilence a rapidly spreading, fatal sickness struck al-Baṣrah. A certain man from Tamīm ordered a Persian servant of his to put his young son—his only child—on a donkey and to bring him to Safawān,[345] where he would shortly join them. The servant left just before daybreak, in time followed by his master, who soon reached a spot overlooking Safawān. As

342. Both "spear thrust" and "plague" are words derived from the same root *t-'-n*. The message conveyed seems to be, "Your community will perish as a result of warfare and disease."

343. This was a large district (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 200 f.) comprising at the time, among other places, Ṣūr, 'Akkā and Ṭabariyyah (present day Tyre, Acre and Tiberias). Al-Urdunn has given rise to the name Jordan.

344. The Arabic word used here is *mūtān*, a word used to indicate a mortal disease that destroys entire herds of sheep or camels.

345. This is a watering place at one day's journeying from al-Baṣrah, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 98 f; the name is said to mean "dust" raised by the prevailing winds there, or "earth" causing the water there to be muddy.

he came closer to his son under the care of his servant, the latter suddenly raised his voice reciting loudly (in *rajaz*):

They 'll never see God outstripped by a donkey,
Or even a thoroughbred spurred on to fly,
For death may surprise the night traveler at dawn.

The man was not quite sure (whether or not he did see his son with his servant) until he had come quite close. But then he saw it was they. He exclaimed, "Curse you, what were you reciting?" "I do not know," the servant replied. Then the master said, "Go back now." Thus the father returned with his son, realizing that he had been made to hear as well as see a sign from God.[346]

He went on: Another man intended to leave for a country in which a plague had broken out. After he had departed, he was overcome by doubt. Suddenly he heard a Persian servant of his, urging the camels with the following song (in *rajaz*):

O you, who are fraught with anxiety, don't fret!
If fever is writ for you, that's what you'll get!

In this year, I mean 17 (638), 'Umar made his last trip to Syria, never to set foot there again, as Sayf has it. As for Ibn Isḥāq's account, that has been mentioned above.

Sayf's Account of 'Umar's Last Trip to Syria and How He Introduced New Ideas for the Well-Being of the Muslims [2522]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Uthmān, Abū Ḥārithah and al-Rabī': Having left 'Alī in charge of Medina, 'Umar departed, taking a group of Companions with him. They made good time, taking the road to Aylah.[347] Finally, when he was near Aylah, he left the track, followed by his servant, and alighted in order to pass water. Then he went back to the track and mounted his servant's camel. A pelt turned upside down was placed on its

346. This is the second time in this translation that someone is introduced who is heard speaking a language he is not supposed to know. Is this a coincidence or do we have here a *topos*? See above, pp. 11 f.

347. This is present day Elat.

saddle. 'Umar gave his servant his own camel to ride. When an advance party of the local population met him, they asked, "Where is the Commander of the Faithful?" "In front of you," 'Umar answered, meaning that he himself was facing them. They went on ahead[348] passing him. Finally 'Umar arrived at Aylah and dismounted. The advance party was told, "The Commander of the Faithful entered Aylah some time ago and dismounted." So at last they made their way to him.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Hishām b. 'Urwah—his father ('Urwah b. al-Zubayr): When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had arrived in Aylah with his following of Muhājirs and Anṣār, he gave a cotton *qamīṣ*[349] of his, which had a tear in the backside as a result of the long journey, to the (local) bishop[350] saying, "Have this cleaned and mended." So the bishop left with 'Umar's *qamīṣ* and had it mended. He also had another one just like it sewn for him, which he brought to 'Umar, who said, "What is all this?" "As for this one here," the bishop answered, "that is the *qamīṣ* you gave me that I had washed and mended; as for the other one, that is a garment[351] I hereby give you as a present." 'Umar in-
[2523] spected it and rubbed its fabric. Then he donned his own *qamīs*, but returned the other to the bishop saying, "The one I am wearing is better in that it absorbs more sweat."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Aṭiyyah and Hilāl—Rāfi' b. 'Umar: I heard al-'Abbās in al-Jābiyah say to 'Umar, "If you practice the following four customs, you deserve the title 'righteous': honesty in money matters, equality in dividing up,[352] keeping your promise and steering clear of disgrace; purify yourself and your people."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Uthmān, al-Rabī' and Abū Ḥārithah each with his own *isnād:* 'Umar divided the allowances and ordained the winter and summer campaigns. He

348. "Ahead," in Arabic *ilā amāmikum*, and "in front of you" or "facing you," in Arabic *amāmakum*, can easily be confused.

349. A *qamīṣ* is a shirtlike, sleeved garment reaching down almost to the ground.

350. See H. Busse, "'Omar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb in Jerusalem," in *JSAI*, V(1984):109 f., who sees in this an association with the story of the investiture of Joshua.

351. The Arabic word used here is the noncommittal *kiswah*.

352. That is, for instance when dividing booty.

manned[353] the frontier roads and observation posts at the border of Syria and he began to make inspection tours in the country, ordaining those measures in every district. He made 'Abdallāh b. Qays governor over the coastal plains of every district; he dismissed Shuraḥbīl (b. Ḥasanah) and appointed Mu'āwiyah (b. Abī Sufyān) as governor in his place. Abū 'Ubaydah and Khālid (b. al-Walīd) were given high commands in the army under the authority of Mu'āwiyah. Shuraḥbīl asked 'Umar, "Did you sack me out of discontent, Commander of the Faithful?" "No," was the reply, "I appreciate you as you are, but I really want a more forceful man."[354] "All right," Shuraḥbīl said, "but, please, clear my name in public, lest I be criticized for a shortcoming (which I do not have)." So 'Umar addressed the congregation and said, "(Listen, you) people, by God, I did not relieve Shuraḥbīl of his functions out of discontent, but I just wanted a more forceful man." He placed the granaries under the supervision of 'Amr b. 'Abasah and ordained all those measures. Then he addressed the people (in a meeting) to say goodbye.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Ḍamrah and Abū 'Amr—al-Mustawrid—'Adī b. Suhayl: When 'Umar had finished seeing to the access routes (to the Ḥijāz) and his other business, he divided the estates of persons recently deceased, letting various heirs who were still alive inherit from various others, and then he presented the estates to the living heirs of every man [2524]
(deceased) among them.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Mujālid—al-Sha'bī: Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām departed (for Syria) amidst seventy of his relatives of whom only four eventually returned. Al-Muhājir b. Khālid b. al-Walīd recited the following lines (in *sarī'*):

Who settles in Syria goes surely to rest there!
    For ev'n if we can't be destroyed by calamities,
It's Syria that killed off the children of Rayṭah,[355]
    Those twenty young knights, their lips' down still
    untrimmed,

353. That is what I think is meant by the verb *sadda* which usually means "to block," "obstruct."

354. Literally, it says, I want a man stronger than a man.

355. She seems to be al-Ḥārith b. Hishām's grandmother.

And likewise their equally noble young cousins!
At such a disaster th' onlooker's perplexed:
Their deaths were all caused by spear wounds and the plague;[356]
That's what we were told by the military scribe.[357]

He went on: 'Umar returned from Syria to Medina in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja. When he was about to depart, he addressed the people in congregation, praised God and extolled Him, and said, "I have been put in charge over you and I have carried out what I had to do in respect of those matters concerning you, which God has entrusted to me. If He wills, we will justly distribute among you the revenues of your *fay'* lands, your living quarters and your raiding assignments.[358] We have given you your due. We have mobilized armed forces for you, we have put your access routes in order. We have indicated places for you to settle. We have extended the revenues of your *fay'* lands for you and of that part of Syria you fought for. We have ordained your foodstuffs for you[359] and we have given orders that you will be given your stipends, allowances and supplementary allocations. He who possesses
[2525] information[360] on a certain issue, should act upon it. Let anyone inform me[361] (about something special he knows), then I myself shall put that into practice, God willing. There is no power except with God."

The hour for the prayer ritual had struck and the people asked 'Umar, "Could you please order Bilāl to call us to prayer?" So

356. Again the Arabic expression *ṭa'n wa-ṭā'ūn* is used; see above, p 100.

357. Is this the function referred to by Morony, *Iraq*, 54?

358. To be ordered to go on a raid was a privilege in view of the anticipated booty. See above, p. 43, where raiding was temporarily suspended.

359. I have opted for *aṭ'imātikum* from the apparatus rather than *aṭmā'akum* in the text.

360. The "information" alluded to, in Arabic *'ilm*, is knowledge of how one should behave in certain circumstances. According to the ancient *sunnah* principle, which dates back to the Jāhiliyyah, one had only to follow the exemplary behavior of a revered ancestor to be certain that one had taken the right course of action. But "knowledge" of these "precedents" was not universal. So, if someone "knew" some solution to a problem, his "knowledge" served others as guiding principle. We find in this Ṭabarī passage the ancient *sunnah* principle alluded to still without a reference to, or an association with, (prophetic) *ḥadīth*. See Juynboll, *Muslim tradition*, 26–30.

361. I have opted for the variant *falyu'limnā* listed in the apparatus. Surely, the contrast *'ilm—'amal* is also apparent in the second sentence, in which verbs, rather than nouns, are used.

'Umar issued the order and Bilāl sang out the call to prayer. There was no one, whose lifetime reached back to the lifetime of the Messenger of God, who did not weep, moistening his beard, when Bilāl's call rang out. 'Umar wept most copiously of all and everyone too young to have seen the Prophet with his own eyes wept all the same, moved by the weeping of the others, with memories of the Messenger of God coming back to him.[362]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Ḥārithah: Khālid remained in control of Qinnasrīn, until he went on that campaign in which he was so successful; he distributed among the others that part of the booty which he had gained for himself.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū al-Mujālid: a similar report. They said: The news reached 'Umar that Khālid once entered the bathhouse where, after he had removed the depilatory agent, he rubbed himself with a thick mixture of safflower[363] and wine. So he wrote to him, saying, "It has reached me that you rubbed your body with wine; but God has forbidden the drinking of wine or its use in any other way just as He has forbidden sins[364] committed in a direct or indirect manner. He has even forbidden the touching of wine unless you cleanse yourself of it immediately, just as He has forbidden you to drink it. So make sure it will not touch your body, for it is filth.[365] And if you are actually still practicing this, (stop doing it immediately and) do not do it again!" Thereupon Khālid wrote to 'Umar, "We have diluted the wine with so much water[366] that it is no longer wine but has become (ordinary) washing water." Then 'Umar wrote to him, "Methinks the descendants of al-Mughīrah[367] have picked up some bad manners, but I pray that God will not destroy you for this." This last letter finally reached Khālid.

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362. For the *topoi* discernible in this story, see H. Busse, *op. cit.*, 106.

363. *Carthamus tinctorius*, a dye used to achieve an orange-red color.

364. The Arabic word used is *ithm*, which also means "wine" as well as "game of hazard." Perhaps a double entendre is intended here.

365. The use of "filth" in this context seems to imply that touching it causes a person to incur a state of ritual impurity.

366. For "diluting wine" Arabic uses the verb "to kill."

367. That is, al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, who was Khālid's grandfather and the eponym of a major subclan of the Makhzūm clan of Quraysh. Caskel, pedigrees 22, 23. See also *EI*², s.v. *Makhzūm* (Hinds).

In this same year, I mean the year 17 (638), Khālid b. al-Walīd and 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm went on a military campaign according to Sayf—his authorities.

An Account of the Campaign of Khālid and 'Iyāḍ

[2526] According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Uthmān, Abū Ḥārithah and al-Muhallab: In the year 17 (638), Khālid and 'Iyāḍ went on a campaign in enemy territory. They journeyed and came upon huge riches. They had set out from al-Jābiyah, from where 'Umar returned to Medina. Abū 'Ubaydah was in charge of Ḥimṣ with Khālid under his command in Qinnasrīn. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān was in control of Damascus, Mu'āwiyah in al-Urdunn, 'Alqamah b. Mujazziz administered Palestine. 'Amr b. 'Abasah was in charge of the granaries and 'Abdallāh b. Qays had the coastal plains under his control. Over every administrative area a governor was appointed. The strong points of Syria, Egypt and Iraq have remained thus until today. It was no longer the case that a community passed from its own administrative area into another's without these forces pouncing on them after the (first) default.[368] For in that case the troops would be sent in. This state of equilibrium was achieved in the year 17/638.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū al-Mujālid, Abū 'Uthmān, al-Rabī' and Abū Ḥārithah: When Khālid had returned and the rumor had reached the general public how much that summer expedition had brought in, people were drawn toward him. Thus people from near and far flocked to Khālid. Among those who did so was al-Ash'ath b. Qays, who went to seek out Khālid in Qinnasrīn. The latter gave him an allowance of ten thousand dirhams. Nothing that went on in Khālid's province remained hidden from 'Umar, who was informed in writing by someone from Iraq about those who departed, while someone

368. The Arabic text has the word *kufr*, literally "unbelief." Not obeying the law of Islam, even in matters such as the paying of taxes, in the eyes of early Muslims constituted an act of "unbelief." Closely associated with this is the appellative of the so-called apostasy wars, in Arabic *riddah*. Just before, and on a larger scale immediately after, the Prophet's death, various Arab tribes started to refuse (*radda*) to pay the alms tax imposed by Muḥammad and, in doing so, became *murtadd* ("apostate"), a word like *riddah* derived from the same root *r-d-d*.

from Syria wrote to him about those who had received an allowance (i.e. from Khālid). Then 'Umar called a courier and dispatched a message with him for Abū 'Ubaydah ordering him to summon Khālid to appear in front of him, to tie him up with his own turban and to take off his cap,[369] until he disclosed to them from what source he had taken the allowance for al-Ash'ath, from his own wealth or from loot that he had acquired. If Khālid stated that it was part of the loot, then thereby it would have been established that he had cheated, and if he claimed that it was part of his own wealth, then he would be earmarked as a squanderer. "Dismiss him from his post in either case and add his administrative area to your own," 'Umar concluded. Abū 'Ubaydah wrote a message to Khālid who promptly made his way to him. Then Abū 'Ubaydah assembled the people and sat in front of them on the pulpit. The courier stood up and said, "Khālid, did you give this ten thousand dirhams allowance out of your own pocket or did you take it from loot acquired during a campaign?" Khālid did not reply even when the courier insisted, while all the time Abū 'Ubaydah remained silent, not speaking a word. Then Bilāl went to him and said, "The Commander of the Faithful has ordered that you be dealt with in the following manner." Then Bilāl took off Khālid's cap and bound him with his own turban, whereupon he said, "Speak up, was it from your own pocket or from loot?" "No," Khālid answered finally, "from my own pocket." Then Bilāl released him, returned his cap to him and, with his own hands, wound the turban around Khālid's head again. This finished, he said, "We hark unto our governors and obey them, and we honor and serve our masters." [2527]

They went on: For a time, Khālid remained bewildered, not knowing whether or not he had been dismissed. Initially, Abū 'Ubaydah did not inform him until, when 'Umar was becoming impatient for Khālid to show up, he pondered the things that had happened. He wrote to Khālid to come to him. So the latter went to Abū 'Ubaydah and said, "May God have mercy upon you, what

369. This was probably in order to humiliate him. The Arabic word is *qalansuwah*, a headdress that the Arabs copied from the Persians. In this early age we have to visualize a skull cap rather than the pointed bonnet, the usual shape of the *qalansuwah* in 'Abbāsid times. See *EI*[2] s.v. *Libās* (Y. K. Stillman), Morony, *Iraq*, 259.

do you want now with me in addition to what you have already done to me! You have always kept something hidden from me that I have wanted to know for so long." Then Abū 'Ubaydah said, "By God, I am not the sort of man to scare you as long as I can avoid it, but now I know that what I have got to tell you is going to scare you."

They continued: Khālid returned to Qinnasrīn, addressed the people of his province in a speech, and took his leave of them. Then he packed and started off to Ḥimṣ, where he gave a speech to the people in which he said goodbye to them. After that he departed in the direction of Medina. Finally, he approached 'Umar and muttered to him, "I complained about you to the Muslims. So help me God, 'Umar, you have treated me like dirt!" "Where did you get all that money?" 'Umar asked. "From the booty that was freely distributed and from sharing in the loot handed out in strictly equal portions; everything over sixty thousand is for you," Khālid answered. So 'Umar assessed the value of Khālid's possessions. The outcome was that twenty thousand (dirhams) were singled out for 'Umar, which he deposited in the treasury. Hereupon 'Umar said, "By God, Khālid, you are a truly honorable man in my esteem, and you are dear to me; after today you will
[2528] never have occasion to blame me for anything."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Abdallāh b. al-Mustawrid—his father—'Adī b. Suhayl: 'Umar wrote to the garrison cities, "I have not relieved Khālid from his post because he has caused me displeasure or because of deceit on his part. But the people were captivated by illusions on account of him, so I was afraid that they would confer too much trust upon him and would consequently be tested. I wanted them to realize that it is God who is the creator of all things and I did not want them to be subject to an illusion."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Mubashshir—Sālim: When Khālid came to him, 'Umar quoted a verse (in *ṭawīl*) alluding (to Khālid):

Although you have done things that no one can do,
Remember it's God who creates and not you![370]

370. Literally "mankind."

Then 'Umar obliged Khālid to pay a certain sum of money and gave him compensation for this. He wrote a letter to the people concerning Khālid in order to absolve him from guilt so that they knew exactly what had happened.

In this year, I mean the year 17 (638), 'Umar performed a *'umrah*.[371] He built the Masjid al-Ḥarām,[372] as al-Wāqidī asserts, and widened it. In all, he stayed in Mecca for twenty days. He demolished the properties of those who refused to sell their homes and he deposited the compensation thereof in the treasury, where it remained until they came and collected it.

Al-Wāqidī continued: The month in which 'Umar performed that *'umrah* was Rajab (July–August 638). He had left Zayd b. Thābit in charge of Medina.

Al-Wāqidī continued: Also in (the course of) this *'umrah*, he ordered the renewal of the boundary markers of the Ḥaram[373] to be carried out by Makhramah b. Nawfal, al-Azhar b. 'Abd 'Awf, Ḥuwayṭib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā and Sa'īd b. Yarbū'.

Al-Wāqidī continued: According to Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh al- [2529]
Muzanī—his father—his grandfather: In the year 17 (638) we approached Mecca in the company of 'Umar (who was on his way to perform) a *'umrah*. He passed the track[374] where he was addressed by the overseers of the wells, who asked him whether they were allowed to build road stations between Mecca and Medina, where hitherto there had not been structures of any sort. 'Umar gave his consent, and stipulated that the wayfarer[375] was even more entitled to shelter and water (than pilgrims).

Al-Wāqidī said: Also in this year, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb married Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Fāṭimah (the daughter of the

371. The Arabic term for the lesser pilgrimage consisting mainly of a visit to, including circumambulations of, the Ka'bah.

372. Islam's holiest sanctuary, the great mosque in Mecca housing the Ka'bah.

373. This is the entire area of Mecca and surroundings closed to non-Muslims.

374. Perhaps this "track" refers to the route generally taken by travelers from Medina to Mecca.

375. The "wayfarer," in Arabic *ibn al-sabīl* ("son of the road"), in Arabian society used to form a special class of people, the preservation of whose well-being was a sacred duty of the (partially) settled. In Islam the *ibn al-sabīl* received his own special share from the fifth set aside from the booty acquired in battle. For an analysis of the connotations of *ibn al-sabīl* in the Jāhiliyyah and early Islam, see Puin, 43–57, and Abū 'Ubayd, *Amwāl*, 416–19.

Messenger of God) and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. 'Umar consummated the marriage in Dhū al-Qa'dah (November–December 638).

Al-Wāqidī continued: In this year, 'Umar put Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī in charge of al-Baṣrah and ordered him to send al-Mughīrah (b. Shu'bah) back to him in Rabī' I (March–April 638). According to Ma'mar (b. Rāshid)—al-Zuhrī—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab: Abū Bakrah, Shibl b. Ma'bad al-Bajalī, Nāfi' b. (al-Ḥārith b.) Kaladah and Ziyād (b. Abīhi) bore witness against him.[376]

Al-Wāqidī went on: According to Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah—his father: (Al-Mughīrah) used to visit Umm Jamīl, a woman from Hilāl. She had had a husband from Thaqīf, called al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ubayd,[377] but he had died some time back. So al-Mughīrah started having an affair with her. The people of al-Baṣrah got wind of this and were shocked. One day al-Mughīrah left (his house) and entered her house, which the people had kept under close observation. The men, who were to testify against him, went together (to this house) and tore away the curtain.
[2530] There he was, making love to her! Abū Bakrah wrote about this to 'Umar (and consequently went to him in Medina to discuss matters).[378] 'Umar heard his voice, (but could not see him for) there was a curtain between him and his visitor. 'Umar asked, "Is it you, Abū Bakrah?" "Yes," the latter said, "Have you come because of something bad having happened?" asked 'Umar. "It is really al-Mughīrah who caused me to come to you," Abū Bakrah answered, and he told 'Umar the whole story. Then 'Umar dispatched Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī (to al-Baṣrah) as the new governor and ordered him to send al-Mughīrah back to him (in Medina). (After Abū Mūsā had arrived in al-Baṣrah), al-Mughīrah presented him with (a servant girl of his called) 'Aqīlah saying, "I have chosen her especially for you." Then Abū Mūsā sent al-Mughīrah back to 'Umar.

Al-Wāqidī continued: According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥam-

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376. In respect of what legal matter will become clear in what follows.

377. In Ya'qūbī, II, 166, 'Atīk.

378. Prym states in the apparatus that, apparently, something from the Ṭabarī text is missing and draws attention to a similar version of this story in Ya'qūbī, *loc. cit.*, showing a considerable textual overlap but containing a seemingly more complete account. This last sentence, added in brackets, is distilled from that account.

mad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm—his father—Mālik b. Aws b. al-Ḥadathān: I was present when al-Mughīrah was brought before 'Umar; al-Mughīrah had a proper wife from the tribe of Murrah. 'Umar said to him, "You have taken leave of your senses, you randy old goat." Then I heard him interrogate al-Mughīrah about the woman with whom he was supposed to have had illicit relations. Mālik b. Aws said: She was called al-Raqṭā', she was from Hilāl, and her late husband had been from Thaqīf.

Ṭabarī said: The reason for what occurred to Abū Bakrah and the testimony he gave against al-Mughīrah is according to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, Ṭalḥah and 'Amr, supported by their respective *isnāds*: What happened in actual fact between Abū Bakrah and al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah was that al-Mughīrah made it his custom to start conversations with Abū Bakrah, but the latter avoided him every time the former did so. At the time, both lived in al-Baṣrah; they were each other's neighbors, with a road separating their houses. Both used to spend time sitting behind their latticed windows[379] opposite one another in their respective houses. Both lattices were fitted with peepholes, the one exactly opposite the other. One day, some people came together in Abū Bakrah's house for a chat at his lattice, when a [2531] (sudden) gust of wind opened the peephole. Abū Bakrah stood up in order to close it. Then—the wind having also opened the peephole of the lattice window opposite—he saw al-Mughīrah lying between the legs of a woman. He said to his visitors, "Come and look!" They got up and looked. Then Abū Bakrah said, "Bear witness!" "Who is she, anyway?" they asked. "Umm Jamīl, the daughter of al-Afqam," Abū Bakrah replied. Umm Jamīl was one of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah tribe; she was al-Mughīrah's mistress, making it her business to offer her services to governors and tribal nobles (*ashrāf*) as some other women did in those days. The men ex-

379. In Arabic *mashrabah*, in modern Arabic *mashrabiyyah*. These latticed windows have for centuries been characterized by woodwork through which the people inside can see what is going on outside, but passersby cannot distinguish what is going on inside the house. Whether or not the same applies to these supposedly seventh-century Baṣran latticed windows mentioned here is hard to establish. But why not? Thesiger describes latticed windows in the *muḍīfs* of the Marsh Arabs in southern Iraq that have the same properties as the oriel-shaped *mashrabiyyahs* found elsewhere. *Muḍīfs* are guesthouses made of bundles of reed according to allegedly age-old designs, see Thesiger, ch. 23.

claimed, "We only saw buttocks, we do not know what she looks like." They kept staring when she stood up. When al-Mughīrah left the house to go to the *ṣalāt*, Abū Bakrah stopped him and said, "You may not perform the prayer ritual with us." Thereupon, they wrote about the affair to 'Umar and exchanged letters with him. 'Umar sent for Abū Mūsā and said to him, "Abū Mūsā, I am going to employ you as governor, I shall send you to a land where the devil has taken up residence, spreading his evil.[380] Stick to what you know is proper and do not change, lest God wreak a change in you!" Abū Mūsā replied, Commander of the Faithful, then help me with a number of Companions of the Messenger of God, Muhājirs as well as Anṣārīs, for I have found them, in this community as well as in those outlying administrative areas, to be like the salt without which no food tastes good."[381] 'Umar informed him, "Seek the help of anyone you care for." So Abū Mūsā asked for twenty-nine men, among whom were Anas b. Mālik, 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn and Hishām b. 'Āmir. Then he departed in their company and journeyed until he came to the Mirbad.[382] (The news) reached al-Mughīrah that Abū Mūsā had alighted at the Mirbad and he
[2532] thought, "By God, Abū Mūsā has not come simply to pay a visit or even for trade purposes, but he has come here in his function of commander." People were going about their business there, when suddenly Abū Mūsā came and approached them. He handed a letter from 'Umar to al-Mughīrah. It was truly the most concise letter ever written by anyone, just four statements with which 'Umar dismissed, censured and ordered the immediate return of one person, and installed another as governor. (It read:)

"Listen. A shocking rumor has reached me. I have sent Abū Mūsā to be governor. Hand all authority over to him. Hurry hither."

'Umar wrote to the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah:

"Listen. I have sent Abū Mūsā to be your governor. He is to

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380. The Arabic has here the expression "the devil has laid eggs and produced young."

381. One is perhaps justified in being reminded of Matthew v, 13, in which the apostles are addressed with the words, "Thou art the salt of the earth." Christians were found everywhere in Iraq of the seventh century and it is feasible that expressions used by them also caught on with adherents of different faiths.

382. Al-Mirbad was the commercial center of al-Baṣrah where caravans stopped, see *EI*[2] s.v. (Pellat).

take away from the affluent among you to give to the poor. Together with you he will fight your enemy. He is to defend your security and to count the revenues of your *fay'* lands. Then he will distribute those among you. Finally, he will rid your roads (of unwanted elements) for you."

Al-Mughīrah presented Abū Mūsā with a slave girl from al-Ṭā'if[383] called 'Aqīlah, saying, "I have chosen her especially for you." She was very attractive. Then al-Mughīrah, and also Abū Bakrah, Nāfi' (b. al-Ḥārith) b. Kaladah, Ziyād (b. Abīhi) and Shibl b. Ma'bad al-Bajalī departed and journeyed until they came to 'Umar. 'Umar confronted them with al-Mughīrah who said, "Ask these nobodies[384] how they saw me; was I facing them or did I have my back toward them? And how did they see the woman, or how could they recognize her? For if they were facing me, how was it that I was not hidden (i.e. from their sight, because the woman was between me and them)? And if I had my back toward them, on what grounds did they permit themselves to spy on me in my own home, making love to my own wife? God in heaven, I have never bedded anyone except my own wife. This Umm Jamīl woman must have looked like her."

Then 'Umar started by asking Abū Bakrah, who testified against al-Mughīrah that he had seen him lying between the legs [2533] of Umm Jamīl, heaving up and down like a kohl[385] stick in its phial. 'Umar asked, "In what position did you see them?" "From behind," he replied. "But how did you establish her identity?" pursued 'Umar. "Standing on my toes, I stretched out my neck,"[386] was the answer. Then 'Umar summoned Shibl b. Ma'bad who testified to the same effect. 'Umar asked him, "Did they have their backs toward you, or did they face you?" "No, they faced me," Shibl answered. Then Nāfi' testified, giving the same testimony as Abū Bakrah. Ziyād, however, did not offer the same testimony saying, "I saw him sitting between the legs of a

383. The Arabic technical term used here is *muwallad(ah)*, which indicates a slave boy or slave girl of foreign background but born and reared among Arabs.

384. Literally, "serfs."

385. Webster: a cosmetic preparation, usually powdered antimony sulfide, used . . . to darken the eyelids.

386. This is how I render the verb *taḥāmaltu*; this connotation was suggested by *Glossarium*. I think the reading is dubious, but the message seems clear.

woman; I saw two painted feet[387] tapping on the floor and two bare buttocks and I heard heavy panting." 'Umar asked, "Did you notice a heaving up and down like a kohl stick in its phial?" "No," Ziyād said. "And did you recognize the woman?" "No, I did not, I must have confused her with somebody else." 'Umar told him, "Step aside." Then he ordered the other three to be flogged according to the Qur'ānic punishment[388] and he recited: "And when they cannot produce witnesses, then they are liars in God's view."[389] Then al-Mughīrah spoke, "Rid me of these nobodies," but 'Umar said, "Be silent, may God strike you dumb, for by God, if their testimony had turned out to be valid, then I would have stoned you with your own stones."[390]

In that year, I mean 17 (638), the conquest of Sūq al-Ahwāz,
[2534] Manādhir and Nahr Tīrā[391] took place according to some; according to others, that was in the year 16 (637) after the Hijrah.

An Account of the Circumstances Leading to the Conquest of al-Ahwāz and of Him Who Carried It Out

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and 'Amr: Al-Hurmuzān was one of the seven noble families among the Persians.[392] His territory was comprised of

387. Women painted their fingers and toes with henna, an ancient custom that persists to this day.

388. The Qur'ānic, fixed penalty for *qadhf*, that is, an unproven, and therefore slanderous, accusation of illicit sexual relations, is eighty stripes for a free person. Proof of fornication is only established on the testimony of at least four male witnesses. If their testimony turns out to be valid and is, subsequently, accepted, the Qur'ānic fixed punishment for *zinā'* (stoning, or one hundred lashes plus in some cases one year of banishment) is meted out to the guilty couple. *Qadhf* is succinctly dealt with in Q. XXIV, 4, "Those who accuse honorable women (of adultery) and then cannot produce four witnesses, give them eighty lashes and never accept their testimony again; those are the evildoers."

389. Q. XXIV, 13.

390. He means probably, ". . . with the stones you then would have coming to you."

391. All three are districts (in Arabic, *kuwar*) in al-Ahwāz, which is the Arabicized name of Khūzistān. The main city in the region of al-Ahwāz is called Sūq al-Ahwāz, which literally means "Market of al-Ahwāz," see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 410 f.

392. See Morony, *Iraq*, 186, for more details on the *ahl al-buyūtāt*, as they are called.

Mihrijān Qadhaq and the districts of al-Ahwāz. These were families who were higher in rank[393] than anybody in Fārs. When al-Hurmuzān was routed at the battle of al-Qādisiyyah, he headed for his territory in the abovementioned region.[394] He went on governing his subjects and fought with them those who attacked them. Al-Hurmuzān used to make raids on the people of Maysān and Dastimaysān[395] from two directions, Manādhir and Nahr Tīrā.[396] 'Utbah b. Ghazwān asked Sa'd for reinforcements, so the latter sent him Nu'aym b. Muqarrin and Nu'aym b. Mas'ūd, ordering them to go to the highest point overlooking Maysān and Dastimaysān until they had reached a position between where al-Hurmuzān (and his people) were and Nahr Tīrā. 'Utbah b. Ghazwān sent Sulmā b. al-Qayn and Ḥarmalah b. Murayṭah out on a certain mission. They were two of the Companions of the Messenger of God, who had made the Hijrah with him; both were from the 'Adawiyyah clan of Ḥanẓalah. They arrived at the border of the land of Maysān and Dastimaysān, at a point between al-Hurmuzān and Manādhir. There they called upon the Banū al-'Ami.[397] So Ghālib al-Wā'ilī and Kulayb b. Wā'il al-Kulaybī [2535]
responded.[398] They had separated from Nu'aym (b. Muqarrin) and Nu'aym (b. Mas'ūd) and turned away from them. Now they went to Sulmā and Ḥarmalah. After they had arrived there, the latter

393. The term "high in rank" is expressed by the Arabic preposition *dūna*, which usually means the opposite "lower," "baser." This seems an example of a *ḍidd*, that is the phenomenon in Arabic that a word has two diametrically opposed connotations, one of which is used most of the time, its opposite rarely. That *dūna* is such a *ḍidd* is confirmed in Lane.

394. In this passage the word *ummah*, usually rendered as "community," occurs twice; I opted here for "territory." See also pp. 3–4 above.

395. These are districts north of al-Baṣrah and west of al-Ahwāz.

396. These are two more districts of al-Ahwāz, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 644, 837.

397. A clan affiliated to Tamīm that had been living among the Persians for some time. See the next note and further down for an explanation of how that came to pass.

398. Literally "they went out" (*kharaja*). In the edition, a pedigree is given allegedly indicating how these two men fitted in their clan and, subsequently, in Tamīm. When compared with Caskel (nos. 59 ff.), this pedigree is not substantiated. But in no. 212 of Caskel, a man, Murrah b. Wā'il, is mentioned who is the reputed ancestor of the Banū al-'Amm or al-'Ami and who is listed as having descended from Azd. Whether or not the Banū al-'Amm, or al-'Ami, were originally Tamīmīs, or only became affiliated to Tamīm by "adopting" Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah as 'forefather' is anybody's guess.

said, "You are from the same tribe[399] therefore you may not desert us. When the day such-and-such has come, rise against al-Hurmuzān. One of us will attack Manādhir, the other Nahr Tīrā and we will kill al-Hurmuzān's fighters. Then we will come to you again. God willing, there is no other enemy than al-Hurmuzān." After the two men from the 'Ami b. Mālik clan had promised their cooperation, they returned to their clansmen who, in their turn, also agreed to help.

Sayf went on: There is a story explaining how this man called al-'Ami[400] came by his name. This al-'Ami was Murrah[401] b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, with whom, as well as with al-Uṣayyah b. Imri' al-Qays, there settled a mixed bunch of people from Ma'add.[402] Those people who were of the opinion that he should not give support to the Persians in controlling al-Ardawān[403] had believed him to be blind[404] to what was
[2536] the proper course of action. Concerning this attitude, Ka'b b. Mālik, his brother—sometimes it is Ṣudayy (b. Mālik) who is mentioned—composed the following verses (in *ṭawīl*):

(Though) once a good man, now our Murrah is blind,
and, deaf to his kinsmen's pleas, he has set out

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399. That is to say, the two of you are descended from the same woman as we, namely al-'Adawiyyah who, according to Caskel, II, 136, is al-Ḥarām bt Khuzaymah b. Tamīm.

400. In the following story, two forms of the name alternate: al-'Ami, with a short *i*, a poetic license for *'amiya* "he was blind," occurring in the poem that follows shortly, and al-'Amī, with long *ī*, as if it is a regular *nisbah*. Caskel (II, 166) lists the clan as the Banū al-'Amm. In Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo 1323–), III, 257, the name is interpreted as "cousins," conveying that the members of the Banū al-'Amm clan are as "dear to us as our own cousins." Whether the clan was, or had become, part of Tamīm, as is suggested in this story, is a matter of controversy. Other sources claim that they originated from Azd, see *Tāj*, VIII, 410, also Caskel, no. 212, and Kaḥḥālah, II, 820 f. See also Juda, 77.

401. Murrah was allegedly the grandfather of Ghālib and the great-grandfather of Kulayb, the two persons mentioned in the pedigree of Prym's apparatus.

402. Ma'add is a collective name for the northern Arab tribes, see *EI*², s.v. *Ma'add* (Watt).

403. This is another name for Khūzistān, the Persian name of the Ahwāz district; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 204.

404. In Arabic *'ammā*, form II of *'amiya* mentioned in n. 400 above. It is also possible to interpret this verb as meaning "they made him blind to the proper course of action." Although the second form of this verb may be used to convey "to consider someone to be blind," neither Lane nor *Glossarium* confirm this.

To settle away from us, spurning his land,
and seek with the Persian lords[405] power and fame.

Because of the first line he, Murrah, was called al-'Ami, and the saying became current: the Banū al-'Ami have deemed him blind[406] to the right course of action because of[407] the support that he gave to the Persians. The Qur'ānic expression, "They have become blind and deaf,"[408] is to be taken in a similar vein. Yarbū' b. Mālik[409] composed the following poem (in *ṭawīl*):

The best of Ma'add realize that it's we
who'll be in the contest the stars of the race[410]
In spite of the enemies[411] we settled ourselves,
Though none of Tamīm did[412] nor any big tribe.
We drove out the lowly,[413] so nothing remained
Which the Persians begrudged us, not even a pin.
If the lands of the noblest of nomads are rich,[414]
we boast of lands richer in water than theirs.

Ayyūb b. al-'Uṣayyah b. Imri' al-Qays recited the following lines (in *ṭawīl*):

Of (all) the tribes we were the first here to settle,
On purpose we did so where large groups would gather.

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405. The term used is Asāwirah, see n. 147 above.
406. Or conceivably "have made him blind to . . ."
407. Or conceivably "through."
408. Q. V, 71; "they" refers to the Jews and Christians.
409. He is another alleged brother of Murrah al-'Ami.
410. Probably a reference to one of the big fairs organized in various places in the peninsula, during which members of different tribes, by entering various contests, tried to outdo one another to the glory of the winner's tribe and the detriment of the loser's.
411. Probably a reference to those former inhabitants of the area who were forced to make room for the Arab settlers.
412. *Glossarium*, p. DCXXI, suggests that we read *wa-lam nunikh* or *yanakh* for *wa-lam yutnakh*. This does not affect the translation given here and is, in fact, required by the meter.
413. The word used is *nabīṭ*, which initially stood for Nabateans, and was later applied to people of mixed origin who settled in southern Iraq, north of al-Baḥrayn, reviled for their lifestyle as petty agriculturalists in small villages scattered over the swampy area known as al-Batā'iḥ and also in the Sawād.
414. Rich in water.

While ruling them, those who came first we did honor,
Henceforth at all times we ruled over all neighbors.

[2537] When that particular night had come, agreed on by Sulmā, Ḥarmalah, Ghālib and Kulayb, al-Hurmuzān being at the time between Nahr Tīrā and Duluth,[415] Sulmā and Ḥarmalah left, very early the following morning, with a fully equipped armed force, and roused Nuʿaym (b. Muqarrin) and Nuʿaym (b. Masʿūd). All of these and al-Hurmuzān came face to face at a spot between Duluth and Nahr Tīrā, Sulmā b. al-Qayn at the head of the warriors from al-Baṣrah and Nuʿaym b. Muqarrin in command of those from al-Kūfah. Then fighting broke out. While they were thus engaged, the reinforcements recruited by Ghālib and Kulayb approached. Then the news that Manādhir and Nahr Tīrā had been taken reached al-Hurmuzān. So God broke his strength[416] and that of his army and defeated him and his troops. The Muslims killed and captured as many as they wanted from them and they pursued them until they came to a halt on the bank of the Dujayl,[417] having occupied all the land this side (i.e. that is west) of the river. They encamped opposite Sūq al-Ahwāz. In the meantime, al-Hurmuzān had crossed the bridge to Sūq al-Ahwāz and taken up residence there. So the Dujayl became the line of demarcation between al-Hurmuzān on the one hand and Sulmā, Ḥarmalah, Nuʿaym (b. Muqarrin), Nuʿaym (b. Masʿūd), Ghālib and Kulayb on the other.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mughīrah al-ʿAbdī—a man from ʿAbd al-Qays called Ṣuḥār: I went to Harim b. Ḥayyān in the region between al-Dulūth and the Dujayl with baskets of dates, for which he could hardly wait. Most of his
[2538] provisions, when stocked up, consisted of dates. When (the regular provisions) ran out, he chose for himself from some of those baskets that he used as provision bags, while his comrades were already on their way. Then he carried these bags and ate from

415. Also spelled Dulūth, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 583, and a few lines down.

416. The unusual combination in the text of *kasara* "to break" and the preposition *fī* "in" looks dubious; see Lane, 961, middle column, ad finem, where *fī* is replaced by *min*; see also *WKAS*, I, 179, right column, l. 38. The meaning seems clear, however.

417. The Dujayl is a river in Khūzistān-al-Ahwāz, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 232. Nowadays it is called Kārūn.

them, giving also to others, wherever he happened to be, in the plains or in the mountains.

They said: When the Muslim warriors invaded al-Hurmuzān's territory and set up their camp close to where he was in al-Ahwāz, he realized that he lacked the manpower to overcome them. So he begged for peace, whereupon they wrote about that proposal to 'Utbah, asking him for directives in this matter. Al-Hurmuzān sent a letter to 'Utbah who, while accepting the proposed peace treaty, answered that al-Hurmuzān was to remain in control of all of al-Ahwāz and Mihrijān Qadhaq with the exception of Nahr Tīrā and Manādhir and that area of Sūq al-Ahwāz that the Muslims had already conquered. What we had liberated from Persian rule would not be returned to them. Sulmā b. al-Qayn placed a garrison[418] in Manādhir under the command of Ghālib, and Ḥarmalah placed one in Nahr Tīrā under the command of Kulayb. They had formerly commanded the forces of al-Baṣrah.

Meanwhile, groups of the Banū al-'Ami left their former dwelling places and took up residence in al-Baṣrah, one group after another. 'Utbah wrote about that to 'Umar and sent a delegation (i.e. from them to 'Umar). Among these were Sulmā, who had been ordered to leave someone in control of his district, as well as Ḥarmalah—both had been Companions of the Prophet—furthermore, Ghālib and Kulayb. Also, other delegations from al-Baṣrah traveled in those days (i.e., to Medina). Upon their arrival, 'Umar[419] ordered them to voice their needs, whereupon each of them said, "As far as the common people are concerned, you are their lord;[420] the only ones (who have demands to make) are our élite." So they voiced their demands beyond those raised by al-Aḥnaf b. Qays,[421] who said:

"Commander of the Faithful, you are the sort of man as they have described; but there is perhaps something that eludes you, [2539] that is our duty to bring to your attention, something that is

418. Or "set up an army camp."

419. The text in Ṭabarī admits also of 'Utbah being the one who gives the order, but the text of Ibn al-Athīr, II, 424, implies clearly that it was 'Umar.

420. Presumably this means "you are directly responsible for their well-being."

421. Al-Aḥnaf b. Qays was a leader of Tamīm in al-Baṣrah, see *EI*², s.v. *al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays* (Pellat). The parallel passage in Ibn al-Athīr, II, 424, leaves out the words *illā mā kāna min*, which means that they asked that al-Aḥnaf be heard as their spokesman. The text in Ṭabarī can conceivably be interpreted in this way too.

connected with the well-being of the common people. But, then, a ruler looks into matters (happening in a spot) from which he is far removed with the eyes and the ears of his informants. We kept on moving from one place to another, until we arrived at a piece of open country. Well, our brothers among the inhabitants of al-Kūfah have settled in a place rich in vegetation,[422] overflowing with sweet springs and lush palm groves; in a never-ceasing flow its fruit produce reaches them. But we, the people of al-Baṣrah, we have settled in a soggy swamp, which does not produce anything. One side faces the desert and the other side gives on to a brackish river. Supplies reach this region like a trickle from an ostrich's gullet. Our houses are crammed, our daily rations poor. Our numbers are large, but our nobles are few in number. Many of us have fought vigorously, but our finances are straitened, while our plots of land are small. In the past God enriched us and increased our land. So may you now enrich us, Commander of the Faithful, and increase the daily rations assigned to us so that we may survive!"

So 'Umar reviewed their dwelling places which they had occupied until they moved out into the desert. Then he gave them the region as their share in the booty and allotted plots to them, also taken from what used to belong to the Persian royal family. Thus all the land between the Tigris and the desert became *fay'*
[2540] land. They divided it among themselves. The other properties of the royal family in the land around al-Baṣrah were thus dealt with in the same manner as the land of al-Kūfah was dealt with: they let those who were interested settle there and divide it up among themselves—where no preference was given to the first or second wave of settlers—after they had singled out one fifth of its revenues for the governor.

The land occupied by the people of al-Baṣrah consisted of two halves, one was divided up into plots; the other was left for the benefit of the armed forces and the community. The *aṣḥāb al-alfayn*,[423] from those who had been present at the battle of al-

422. Literally, it says "in a camel's eye," as Lane (532, middle column, line 1) asserts ". . . a tract abounding with herbage; likened to the *ḥadaqah* 'the black of the eye' of the camel because this is plentifully supplied with moisture."

423. Literally, "the people of two thousand," that is, the people who received annual stipends of two thousand dirhams. In Ṭabarī, I, 2412, l. 14, the veterans of al-Qādisiyyah and Syria are singled out for this amount. See vol. XII of this series.

Qādisiyyah and then had gone to al-Baṣrah together with 'Utbah, were five thousand in number, while in al-Kūfah they numbered thirty thousand. 'Umar increased the numbers of the veterans of al-Baṣrah from those who had displayed valor among the stipendiaries of two thousand dirhams by so many that their numbers became the same as those of al-Kūfah, by adding all those who (had fought) in al-Ahwāz. Then 'Umar decreed, "This young man[424] is to be the leader of the people of al-Baṣrah," and he wrote to 'Utbah in respect of him that he listen to him and make use of his counsel. Then 'Umar sent Sulmā, Ḥarmalah, Ghālib and Kulayb back to Manādhir and Nahr Tīrā, where they had to keep themselves prepared for any eventuality and where they had to set apart the *kharāj*.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and 'Amr: While the people of al-Baṣrah and those who were living under their protection were thus engaged, a controversy flared up, each side putting forth contradictory claims concerning the boundaries of their lands, between al-Hurmuzān on the one hand and Ghālib and Kulayb on the other. Sulmā and Ḥarmalah went there to see what was going on among them and found Ghālib and Kulayb to be in the right and al-Hurmuzān to be wrong. So they separated the quarreling parties. Moreover, al-Hurmuzān went back on his word and withheld what he had accepted to pay. Then he called upon the Kurds to help him, whereupon his army grew in strength. Sulmā, Ḥarmalah, Ghālib [2541] and Kulayb wrote about the designs of al-Hurmuzān, as well as about his unfairness and his broken promise, to 'Utbah b. Ghazwān who, in turn, notified 'Umar about this. 'Umar wrote back, giving him his orders and sent them Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr al-Sa'dī, one of the Prophet's Companions, as reinforcement. 'Umar put him in command of all military operations and of all the land conquered (sc. in al-Ahwāz). Al-Hurmuzān, together with those who were with him, went forth to wage war; Sulmā, Ḥarmalah, Ghālib and Kulayb did likewise until, when they had reached the bridge to Sūq al-Ahwāz, they sent a message to al-Hurmuzān that ran, "Either you cross over to our side, or we to yours."[425] Al-

424. That is, al-Aḥnaf b. Qays.
425. Noth, 121, identifies such phrases as a *topos*.

Hurmuzān answered, "You may cross over to our side of the water." So, when they crossed over the bridge to the other side, fighting broke out while they were still on that part directly facing Sūq al-Ahwāz. In the end, al-Hurmuzān was beaten. He set out in the direction of Rāmhurmuz,[426] took a village called al-Shaghar[427] on the dam of Arbuk[428] and finally alighted at Rāmhurmuz.

Ḥurqūs conquered Sūq al-Ahwāz and took up residence there. Then he entered the mountain region, and the administration of the whole region from Sūq al-Ahwāz all the way to Tustar[429] became well organized. He imposed the *jizyah*, wrote the news about the conquest to 'Umar and sent the fifth parts of the booty acquired in the different areas, dispatching a delegation to carry this to him. 'Umar praised God and asked Him to confer stability upon Ḥurqūs and grant him territorial expansion.

The Companion al-Aswad b. Sarī'[430] on this occasion composed the following lines (in *wāfir*):

The sons of our father[431] have not been neglectful,
But have remained firm among those who obeyed,
Listening to their Lord, while th' enemy revolted
Against Him, with others who heed no command.
[2542] The Magians who'd never been bound to a Scripture
Thus joined in a struggle from which they retreated.
Al-Hurmuzān fled on a steed at a gallop,
Relentlessly hunted by all of our warriors,
Reluctantly leaving the area's capital[432]
On the Day of the Bridge,[433] just as springtime[434] set in.

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426. A city some eighty kilometers due east of Sūq al-Ahwāz; see also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 738.

427. The name of this village, not identified as such in *ibid.*, III, 303, where the term al-Shughr is dealt with, indicates that it was deserted by its inhabitants and left defenseless. See further down.

428. The name of a region in al-Ahwāz, see *ibid.*, I, 185 f

429. Present-day Shushtar, a city some eighty kilometers due north of Sūq al-Ahwāz.

430. Al-Baṣrah's first storyteller and a well-known poet, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 74.

431. This expression is meant to convey that he is proud of his fellow tribesmen from Tamīm

432. Literally, "the navel of al-Ahwāz."

433. That is, the day of the battle on the bridge.

434. The Arabic word *rabī'* used here may in actual fact refer to a number of

As for Ḥurqūṣ, he recited the following lines (in *wāfir*):

We wrested from al-Hurmuzān a whole area
so rich in provisions in every district!
Its dry land and water supply well in balance,
when excellent groves come to early fruition.
This land has a turbulent stream into which pour
tributaries from both sides, always overflowing.

In the same year, I mean the year 17 (638), Tustar was conquered according to Sayf and the report he transmits. Other historians say it was conquered in 16 (637), still others say it was as late as the year 19 (640).

The Conquest of Tustar

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and 'Amr: When al-Hurmuzān had been defeated on the day (of the battle) of Sūq al-Ahwāz, and after Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr had conquered that city, the latter took up residence there. He dispatched Jaz' b. Mu'āwiyah to Surraq[435] in pursuit of al-Hurmuzān, as 'Umar had ordered. 'Umar had charged Ḥurqūṣ, should God conquer the area for them, to send Jaz' after al-Hurmuzān in pursuit, and also to take the direction to Surraq. So Jaz' left on the heels of al-Hurmuzān who, on the run, had taken the direction to Rāmhurmuz. Jaz' ruthlessly killed those enemies (who crossed his path) until he arrived at the village of al-Shaghar, where al- [2543]
Hurmuzān was not able to withstand him. Since al-Shaghar was abandoned by its inhabitants[436] because of its poverty, Jaz' set out for Dawraq, the administrative center of the district of Surraq.[437] The people who lived there were not able to defend the city, so Jaz' took possession of it as "special property"[438] and wrote about it to 'Umar and to 'Utbah. He also mentioned that he had invited those who had fled to pay the *jizā'* and in exchange to accept

different seasons of the year as well as to two months of the Muslim calendar (see Lane, 1018 f.); in other words, the interpretation of this term as indication of time is vague.

435. A district in al-Ahwāz province.

436. See n. 427 above.

437. A place of some importance, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 618 ff.

438. In Arabic, *ṣāfiyah*, the singular of *ṣawāfī*, a term dealt with in n. 167 above.

protection, terms that they accepted. Then 'Umar wrote to Jaz' b. Mu'āwiyah and Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr to hold on to the territory they had conquered and to take up residence there, until orders from him reached them. 'Umar wrote about this to Jaz'[439] in a letter addressed to 'Utbah. Jaz' and Ḥurqūṣ did as they were told. Moreover, Jaz' asked 'Umar's permission to colonize his territory, a request 'Umar granted. So Jaz' had the waterways opened up and the uncultivated land cultivated.

When al-Hurmuzān had arrived in Rāmhurmuz and the province of al-Ahwāz had become crammed full of the Muslims settling in it, even right in front of him, he sought a peace agreement and sent messages to Ḥurqūṣ and Jaz' asking for this. Then Ḥurqūṣ wrote to 'Umar about him. 'Umar in turn replied to him and 'Utbah, ordering the latter to accept al-Hurmuzān's peace proposal on the condition that that territory, which the Muslims had not yet conquered, to wit, Rāmhurmuz, Tustar, al-Sūs, Jundaysābūr, al-Bunyān and Mihrijān Qadhaq[440] (would come under Muslim control). Al-Hurmuzān told them that he accepted these conditions. The commanders of al-Ahwāz set up the administration of the regions assigned to them and al-Hurmuzān complied with the conditions of the peace treaty, gathering taxes for the Muslim commanders while the latter defended him; in case the Kurds of Fārs were to make raids on him, they would help and defend him.

[2544] 'Umar wrote to 'Utbah, "Send me a delegation of ten God-fearing men from the garrison at al-Baṣrah." Thus the men traveled to 'Umar. Among them was al-Aḥnaf who, when he approached 'Umar, was addressed by the latter with the following words, "You are in my eyes someone worthy of my faith in you. I have seen that you have comported yourself like a man; tell me, is it true that the protection granted to the conquered people has been violated? Have they run away because of an injustice done to them, or was there another reason for this?" Al-Aḥnaf answered, "No, on the contrary, it was not because of an injustice; besides,

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439. Or should we translate "to them" and substitute *ilayhimā* for *ilayhi* in l. 6? The dual of *fa'alā* that follows seems to indicate that.

440. All these towns lie roughly at the same distance in a semicircle around Sūq al-Ahwāz. Only the place called al-Bunyān is not clearly defined, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 749.

the people are now living in conditions you would approve of." "Allright then," 'Umar said, "you may return to your camels."[441]

The party went back to the camels. 'Umar looked over their luggage and found a garment, its hem sticking out from a clothes bundle. He smelled it and said, "Which one of you is the owner of this garment?" "I am," al-Aḥnaf replied. Then 'Umar asked him, "How much did you pay for this?" Al-Aḥnaf mentioned a low price, eight dirhams or something like that, lowering the real figure for which he had bought it, which was twelve dirhams. "Could you not have acquired something for less?" 'Umar said, "then you might have spent the remainder in a way that might have benefitted a fellow Muslim! Take pains[442] and spend what you do not need in a proper manner, then you will set your conscience at ease and you will have spent your money well.[443] And do not squander it, so that you will lose your peace of mind as well as your money. If a man only looks after his own desires and indulges them, he will have to face the consequences in the hereafter."[444] Then 'Umar wrote to 'Utbah, "Keep the people far from injustice, fear God[445] and take care lest fortune turn against you because of an act of treachery or concupiscence committed by one of you. For through God you have attained what you have, on the basis of a covenant that He has concluded with you, and He has shown you His grace in matters He reproached you for. So fulfill the covenant with God and carry out His commands; then He will give you help and victory."

News reached 'Umar that Ḥurqūṣ had invaded the mountainous region of al-Ahwāz, while the people kept seeking refuge with him. These mountains are well-nigh impassable, causing those who want to climb them great hardship. Thus 'Umar wrote to him, saying, "It has come to my notice that you have ventured into an impassable region where you cannot be attacked except with difficulty. But take it easy, and do not cause one Muslim or [2545]

441. Literally, "saddles."

442. I take *ḥaṣṣa* to mean the same as *ḥaṣḥaṣa;* this is confirmed in Lane.

443. The intentional double entendre in the Arabic verb *arāḥa* does not seem to be translatable with one English verb.

444. Literally, "he will be compensated (by God)."

445. In Arabic, *wa'ttaqū*, which is a conjecture of Prym; in the apparatus he lists from the Leiden Ibn Ḥubaysh *wa'nqaw* "be pure," which makes equally good sense.

one confederate any hardship. But if you handle your affairs with firmness and caution,[446] you will attain the hereafter, while this material world will be untroubled for you. And let not indifference or hastiness determine your behavior, so that your life on earth is spoiled, and your chances of attaining the afterlife disappear." Then, at Ṣiffīn,[447] Ḥurqūṣ joined those who went off to Ḥarūrā'.[448] He did not change his mind and was killed in the battle of al-Nahrawān[449] on the side of the Ḥarūriyyah.

In that year, I mean 17 (638), the Muslims raided the land of Fārs opposite al-Baḥrayn,[450] as Sayf has asserted and reported.

The Raid into Fārs

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, al-Muhallab and 'Amr: In al-Baṣrah and its environs, comprising in those days the adjacent Sawād and al-Ahwāz, the Muslims had been living in circumstances prevailing until that day:[451] what they had conquered was fully under their control, and the region with which they had concluded a peace treaty was under the control of its inhabitants, who duly paid the *kharāj*, with the understanding that they would not be invaded, enjoying full protection and with al-Hurmuzān being responsible for the terms of the treaty to be observed. 'Umar had said, "With the adjacent cultivated area and al-Ahwāz, the people of al-Baṣrah should be content; I wish there were between us and the people of Fārs a mountain of fire, through which they cannot reach us, nor we them." In the same

446. This translation is suggested in *Glossarium*, p. CCLX.

447. The battle in 37 (657) in which Mu'āwiyah and 'Alī faced one another, and which ended, more or less undecided, with the mutal acceptance of arbitration, a move on the part of 'Alī that led to the desertion of a sizable part of his following, people who first grouped themselves in the village of Ḥarūrā' (hence the name Ḥarūriyyah) and later became generally known as the Khārijites or Khawārij. For more details, see *EI*², s.v. *Ḥarūrā'* (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

448. In Arabic, *Taḥarrara*; this rendering is suggested in *Glossarium*, p. CLXXXVI.

449. This is the battle at which 'Alī dealt the rebelling Khārijites a death blow in 38 (658).

450. For this region, see n. 198 above. For a detailed study of this raid, see M. Hinds, "The first Arab conquests in Fārs," in *Iran*, XXII (1984): 39–53.

451. Presumably this means that these circumstances were about to change shortly.

manner he had expressed himself concerning the people of al-Kūfah, "I wish there were a mountain of fire between them and the Jabal region, through which the people of al-Jabal cannot get at us, nor we at them."

During the reign of Abū Bakr, al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī[452] was administrator of al-Baḥrayn. 'Umar dismissed him and nominated Qudāmah b. al-Maẓ'ūn[453] in his place. Then he dismissed Qudāmah and returned al-'Alā' (to al-Baḥrayn). Al-'Alā' used to feel rivalry for Sa'd, caused by a rift that Fate had struck between them. Al-'Alā' had had very much the upperhand as a result of his exploits in the apostasy wars. However, when Sa'd was victorious at al-Qādisiyyah, had removed the Persian royal family from its palace, had established boundaries of the adjacent cultivated area, had grown in social position and submitted more booty (to Medina) than al-'Alā' had done, the latter was filled with desire to achieve something himself in territory held by the Persians, in the happy expectation that his fortune would take a turn for the better, as had been the case with Sa'd. But al-'Alā' failed to assess the situation properly, for he did not distinguish diligently between the merit of obedience and that of disobedience. [2546]

Abū Bakr had made use of his services as governor and had given him permission to fight the people who had apostatized. Then 'Umar employed him in the same function while forbidding him to venture out overseas. But al-'Alā' did not appreciate the difference between obedience and disobedience and their respective consequences, for he ordered the people of al-Baḥrayn to go on a raid into Fārs. The people jumped at the occasion. Al-'Alā' divided them into several contingents, one commanded by al-Jārūd b. al-Mu'allā, another by al-Sawwār b. Hammām, yet another one by Khulayd b. al-Mundhir b. Sāwī, while the latter was also in charge of the whole fighting force. He ordered them to put out to Fārs without 'Umar's consent. 'Umar never used to allow anyone to go on a raid by ship, objecting to the risk for the fighters, in so doing following the example of the Prophet and Abū Bakr, both of whom never put out to sea for a raid.

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452. For more information about this man, see Ibn Sa'd, IV/2, 76–9.

453. One of the first men to be converted to Islam. Once he was flogged for drinking wine, as Ibn Ḥajar, *Isābah*, V, 423–6, has it.

However, those fighting forces crossed from al-Baḥrayn to Fārs and headed for Iṣṭakhr,[454] where they met the people of Fārs face to face under the command of their Hirbadh,[455] under whose [2547] leadership they had assembled. Then they cut the Muslims off from their ships. Thereupon Khulayd stood up among his people and said, "Listen. When God decrees something, the fate of the people runs parallel with it, until that comes to pass. Through what they have done, they have really not done more than challenge you to fight them. But you have come here with the single purpose of waging war against them. The ships and the land will belong to him who is victorious." (And then he recited,) "Therefore, ask endurance and the prayer ritual to help you, for the (situation) is grave except for those who humble themselves."[456] The people reacted positively to his suggestion and performed the noon *ṣalāt*. Then they moved in the direction of the enemy and fought a hard battle at a place called Ṭāwūs. On that day, al-Sawwār began to declaim a poem in *rajaz* in which he praised his warriors, saying,

O people of ʿAbd al-Qays, on to the struggle!
    Reserve troops have gathered apace in the plains,
Each one of them, skilled in the art of armed battle,
    Rains hefty blows on enemy (heads) with their swords.

(He recited these lines) until he was slain. Then al-Jārūd started to declaim verses in *rajaz*, saying,

If it had been a thing near at hand, I'd have eaten it,
    If it had been a well clogged with mud, I'd have cleared it!
But I shrink from this ocean that's come over us!

(He recited these lines) until he got killed. On that day, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sawwār and al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd hung on to dear life,[457]

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454. The ancient capital of Fārs, in Greek: Persepolis, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 257 f.

455. A functionary of the Zoroastrian fire temple, see Christensen, *L'Iran*, 114.

456. Q. II, 45, this verse can also be interpreted as pointing to the *ṣalāt* being described as a demanding duty except for those who perform it faithfully. My rendering is based upon R. Paret's interpretation (*Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart, 1971, 18). See also Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 2nd impression, Cairo, 1954, I, 261.

457. Rendition tentative. I have not found corroboration for my interpretation of the expression *waliya hayātahumā*. Or should we translate "they fought to their last drop of blood?"

until they died. That same day Khulayd began to recite the following verses in *rajaz*, saying,

O tribe of Tamīm, tell your clans to assemble![458] [2548]
The army of 'Umar has virtually perished.
And each of you should know (the weight) of my words!

(He went on to shout,) "Come hither!" So they did and the armies fought. The people of Fārs were killed in a bloodbath such as they had never before experienced. Then the Arabs moved away, heading for al-Baṣrah, but their ships had been scuttled. So they had no means of transport to return by sea. After that they found that (a Persian named) Shahrak had blockaded the roads against the Muslims,[459] so they had to make camp and defend themselves in the isolated location in which they were.[460] When 'Umar was brought the news of what al-'Alā' had done by sending that army overseas, an idea of what that desperate situation might be like occurred to him, and he was furious with al-'Alā'. He wrote to him to dismiss him from his function, he uttered threats and he ordered him to do something most painful and to take a step most odious: he had to place himself under the command of Sa'd. "Go," 'Umar told him, "join Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ accompanied by your entourage." So, amid his entourage, al-'Alā' left for Sa'd.

'Umar wrote to 'Utbah b. Ghazwān: "Al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī compelled an armed force of Muslims to go overseas, consequently, the inhabitants of Fārs cut them off from returning in their ships. Al-'Alā' has disobeyed me, I do not think he was seeking God's approval with this. Moreover, if they do not get help, I fear that those men marooned in Fārs will be defeated, cut off from help as they are. Therefore, before they are wiped out, send them reinforcements and, once rescued, place them under your supervision."

'Utbah dispatched the reinforcements and told them what 'Umar had written. Those detailed were 'Āṣim b. 'Amr, 'Arfajah b. Harthamah, Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan, Majza'ah b. Thawr, Nahār b. [2549]
al-Ḥārith, al-Tarjumān b. Fulān,[461] al-Ḥuṣayn b. Abī al-Ḥurr, al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, Sa'd b. Abī al-'Arjā', 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sahl and

458. Or "tell (everybody) to come hither together."
459. Presumably, preventing them from finding their way back home over land.
460. For this rendering of *nushūb*, see *Glossarium*, p. DXII.

Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Mu'āwiyah. They marched out among twelve thousand men, riding mules leading horses on their sides. Abū Sabrah b. Abī Ruhm, one of the Mālik b. Ḥisl b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy was in command. Life in the garrisons, meant to assist raiding parties and the sedentary population alike,[462] as well as among the conquered people in al-Ahwāz, was as usual. Thus Abū Sabrah marched out with his men, taking a route along the coast. On the way, he was not met, or resisted by, anyone. Finally, Abū Sabrah came face to face with Khulayd in exactly the same spot as the latter found himself when the enemy, after the battle at Ṭāwūs, had manned the roads against the Muslims. Only the inhabitants of Iṣṭakhr and a few more people from other areas had undertaken to fight them. After they had cut the Muslims off from taking the overland route, thus isolating them, the inhabitants of Iṣṭakhr had asked all the other people of Fārs for military support against them. In this way the Muslims suffered attacks from every region and district.

Then they were joined by Abū Sabrah after the battle of Ṭāwūs, the Muslims thus receiving reinforcements just as the unbelievers, who were under the command of Shahrak, had received theirs. Then they fought, God granting the Muslims victory and killing the unbelievers. The Muslims acquired as much booty from them as they wanted. This was the raid during which the newly conscripted warriors of al-Baṣrah distinguished themselves. They were the best new conscripts of all the garrison cities, the recruits of al-Baṣrah being even better than those of al-
[2550] Kūfah.[463] Then they returned with what they had acquired, for 'Utbah had sent them his orders. He had written to them to come to him in haste, and not to tarry. So they joined him in al-Baṣrah. Warriors originally hailing from al-Baṣrah returned to their Baṣran quarters, and those of the people of Hajar[464] who had been

461. *Tarjumān* means "interpreter," this man's real name was probably something else.

462. I take *-hum* in l. 6 to refer to *masālih* in l. 5 rather than to the preceding *al-dhimmah*, which is used here in the connotation *ahl al-dhimmah*, see Lane, 976, right column, l. 9.

463. This admittedly free rendition is tentative.

464. See n. 278 above.

rescued in Fārs scattered over their tribes, while those from the 'Abd al-Qays clan spread to a place (called) Sūq al-Baḥrayn.[465]

When 'Utbah held al-Ahwāz under control and had subdued Fārs, he asked 'Umar permission to go on the pilgrimage, which was granted. When he had completed the rites, he asked 'Umar to be relieved of his duties, but the latter refused to let him go and he adjured him to return to his governorate. Then 'Utbah offered up a prayer, departed and died in Baṭn Nakhlah,[466] where he was buried. When his news reached 'Umar, he went by that place to pay a visit to 'Utbah's grave, where he said, "It is I who killed you, were it not for the fact that death is set at a fixed hour and described in a 'written book'."[467] Then he praised him for his merits. 'Utbah had not assigned special living quarters to himself as the (other) Muhājirs had done, but his children inherited their quarters from Fākhitah, a daughter of Ghazwān. She was a wife of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. Khabbāb, 'Utbah's client, had adopted his master's conduct and had never sought special living quarters for himself.

'Utbah b. Ghazwān died exactly three and a half years after Sa'd had departed for[468] al-Madā'in. He had left Abū Sabrah b. Abī Ruhm as his successor to govern the people, while his officials were retained in their functions. He left garrisons in Nahr Tīrā, Manādhir, Sūq al-Ahwāz and Surraq, al-Hurmuzān under the conditions of a peace agreement being left in Rāmhurmuz. He also left garrisons in al-Sūs, al-Bunyān, Jundaysābūr and Mihrijān Qadhaq. These were organized after the rescue of those whom al-'Alā' had forced to put out to sea to Fārs and after their settling in al-Baṣrah. They used to be called "the people of Ṭāwūs" after the battle that goes by the same name.

'Umar retained Abū Sabrah b. Abī Ruhm in al-Baṣrah for the [2551]
rest of the year. Then he employed al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah in the second year after 'Utbah's death. Al-Mughīrah remained governor

465. This geographical name is not found in Yāqūt's *Mu'jam*. Does it refer to the spot where the seasonal fairs were held, and can it be considered as the center of al-Baḥrayn, just as Sūq al-Ahwāz is the center of al-Ahwāz?

466. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 667, this is a village near Medina along the route to al-Baṣrah.

467. An allusion to Q. LXXXIII, 9, 20.

468. Rendition tentative. The preposition preceding al-Madā'in is *bi* "at," rather than a preposition we would have expected like *min* "from" or *ilā* "toward."

for the rest of that year and the next one, with no one rebelling against him during his governorate. He was endowed with integrity and he committed no outrage except that which occurred to him and Abū Bakrah.[469] Then 'Umar employed Abū Mūsā to command al-Baṣrah, after which he was transferred to al-Kūfah. Next 'Umar appointed 'Umar b. Surāqah (al-Makhzūmī) governor (i.e. of al-Baṣrah) after which he was also transferred to al-Kūfah, while Abū Mūsā was sent back to al-Baṣrah to administer it for a second time.

In this year, I mean 17 (638), the conquests of Rāmhurmuz, al-Sūs and Tustar took place and, according to what Sayf transmits, al-Hurmuzān was taken prisoner in it.

The Conquest of Rāmhurmuz, al-Sūs, and Tustar

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and 'Amr: Meanwhile, Yazdajird never gave up rousing the people of Fārs, regretting the fiascos for which they had been responsible. While he was in Marw, he wrote to them reminding them of the rancor he bore them and upbraiding them saying, "Have you resigned yourselves, people of Fārs, to the fact that the Arabs have wrested from you the Sawād and the adjacent region and al-Ahwāz! However, they will not be satisfied with that and will go on until they have descended upon you in your own country, and even inside your very houses." Thereupon they stirred and started exchanging letters with the people of al-Ahwāz. They concluded a pact and gave each other promises and pledges to help one another.

Rumors (of this) reached Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr, while Jaz', Sulmā
[2552] and Ḥarmalah were notified by a rumor passed on by Ghālib and Kulayb. Sulmā and Ḥarmalah wrote to 'Umar and to the Muslims in al-Baṣrah, the letter sent by those two being the first to arrive. Thereupon 'Umar wrote to Sa'd saying, "Mount a large expedition to al-Ahwāz under the command of al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin. Hurry and dispatch Suwayd b. Muqarrin, 'Abdallāh b. Dhī al-Sahmayn, Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥimyarī and Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī and let them set up camp right across from where al-Hur-

469. See above, pp. 110–14.

muzān is presently, so that they can get a clear picture of what he is up to." Then 'Umar wrote to Abū Mūsā, "Send a large army into al-Ahwāz and put Sahl b. 'Adī, Suhayl's brother,[470] in charge, and dispatch al-Barā' b. Mālik, 'Āṣim b. 'Amr, Majza'ah b. Thawr, Ka'b b. Sūr, 'Arfajah b. Harthamah, Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sahl and al-Ḥuṣayn b. Ma'bad with him. Abū Sabrah b. Abī Ruhm is to be commander-in-chief of the forces from al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah; everybody who comes to him is to give him support." So al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin marched out amidst his warriors from al-Kūfah, cutting right through the Sawād, until he crossed the Tigris near Maysān. Then he traveled over dry land to al-Ahwāz on mules with horses at their sides, until he came to Nahr Tīrā. He passed through it and then through Manādhir from where he passed on to Sūq al-Ahwāz. He left Ḥurqūs, Sulmā and Ḥarmalah behind and made his way to al-Hurmuzān who, at the time, was in Rāmhurmuz.

When al-Hurmuzān heard that al-Nu'mān was heading toward him, he hastened to organize a counterattack against him, hoping he would cut short (the other's) offensive. Al-Hurmuzān had been anxious to enlist the help of the people of Fārs. They had come to him and the first units of their reinforcements had reached Tustar. Al-Nu'mān and al-Hurmuzān came face to face in Arbuk and fierce fighting broke out. Then God routed al-Hurmuzān for [2553] al-Nu'mān. The former vacated Rāmhurmuz and left it to go to Tustar. Al-Nu'mān moved out of the Arbuk area until he arrived at Rāmhurmuz. Then he went up to Īdhaj,[471] where Tīrawayh[472] offered him a peace agreement, which he accepted. Then he left Tīrawayh, returned to Rāmhurmuz and stayed there.

They said: When 'Umar had written to Sa'd and Abū Mūsā, and al-Nu'mān and Sahl had marched out, al-Nu'mān, amidst the troops from al-Kūfah, outstripped Sahl with his forces from al-Baṣrah and drove out al-Hurmuzān (i.e. from Rāmhurmuz). Amidst his men from al-Baṣrah, Sahl went on until they arrived at Sūq al-Ahwāz through which they wanted to get to Rāmhurmuz.

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470. In a note in the apparatus, it is suggested that it was Ṭabarī himself who identified this Sahl as a brother of Suhayl mentioned above on pp 80, 87.

471. This is the name of the district between al-Ahwāz and Iṣbahān, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 416–17. See also *EI*[2] s.v. *Īdhadj* (Bosworth).

472. The name of the local Persian chief.

While they were in Sūq al-Ahwāz, the rumor about the battle at Rāmhurmuz reached them. The news came that al-Hurmuzān had withdrawn to Tustar. So Sahl and his men left Sūq al-Ahwāz, taking a direct route from Sūq al-Ahwāz to Tustar. Also al-Nu'mān headed from Rāmhurmuz in the direction of Tustar, and Sulmā, Ḥarmalah, Ḥurqūṣ and Jaz' set out too. All of these descended together on Tustar, with al-Nu'mān commanding the forces from al-Kūfah, directly supported[473] by those from al-Baṣrah.

In Tustar, al-Hurmuzān, together with his forces from Fārs, al-Jibāl and al-Ahwāz, held out in trenches. The Arab commanders wrote about this to 'Umar, and Abū Sabrah asked him for reinforcements. So 'Umar sent them Abū Mūsā, who set out in their direction. Thus we see the people of al-Kūfah commanded by al-Nu'mān, those of al-Baṣrah under Abū Mūsā, while Abū Sabrah was in charge of both contingents together. The Muslims besieged the Persians for months and killed many of them. From the day the siege began until the time God conquered Tustar for the Muslims, al-Barā' b. Mālik[474] killed one hundred adversaries, in
[2554] addition to those he slew on other occasions. Among a number of Baṣrans, Majza'ah b. Thawr, Ka'b b. Sūr and Abū Tamīmah killed similar numbers of enemy soldiers. Among the Kūfans there were also some who killed many enemies, for example, Ḥabīb b. Qurrah, Rib'ī b. 'Āmir and 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Aswad. Moreover, during that siege there were a number of enemies wounded that have to be added to the numbers killed by them.

During the siege of Tustar, the unbelievers made eighty sorties against the besiegers, beating them off one time, but being driven back another. This continued until, on the day of the last sally, when bitter fighting had broken out, the Muslims said (sc. to al-Barā'), "Barā', beseech your Lord that He rout them for us." So al-Barā' prayed, "Drive them away from us, my God, and let me die a martyr's death."

He said: Then they put the enemy to flight until they drove them into their trenches, whereupon they dived after them. The

473. *Mutasānid* means either "assisting" or "everyone under his own banner," see Lane, 1443 f.

474. He is noted for an allegedly glorious military career, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 279–82.

enemy fled back to the city. Then the Muslims laid a cordon around it. While they were thus engaged, with the Persian fighters cramming the city, their military efforts wearing them down, a man came to al-Nuʿmān who asked that his life be spared; in exchange he would show the Muslims an entrance into the city via which the Persians could be attacked. (What happened in actual fact was that) an arrow had been shot that landed in the vicinity of Abū Mūsā. (Fastened to it was a message that read,) "I shall put complete trust in you; I ask you to spare my life. In exchange I shall show you a passageway via which you can enter the city. Its conquest may be achieved through this." The Muslims were willing to grant him immunity (which they promised him in a message also shot) with an arrow. Then another arrow was shot in their direction (with a message attached to it that) read, "Attack via the outlet of the water,[475] then you will conquer the city." So he incited and roused (them) in this matter. Then, in answer to his summons, ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Qays, Kaʿb b. Sūr, Majzaʾah b. Thawr, Ḥasakah al-Ḥabaṭī and a large number of other warriors were dispatched to him. They set out for that particular spot in the night. When that man approached him too, al-Nuʿmān charged his companions Suwayd b. al-Mathʿabah, Warqāʾ b. al-Ḥārith, Bishr b. Rabīʿah al-Khathʿamī, Nāfiʿ b. Zayd al-Ḥimyarī and ʿAbdallāh b. Bishr al-Hilālī to go and join him. So they too set out with many warriors and they met with those from al-Baṣrah at that water outlet. Meanwhile, Suwayd and ʿAbdallāh b. Bishr had entered the outlet followed[476] by the men from the one and the other group. [2555]

In the end, when they had assembled in it, while the rest of the warriors outside the city walls were ready to pounce, those inside shouted, "God is great." The Muslims outside also shouted, "God is great," whereupon the gates of the city were thrown open and a sword fight broke out in them. They dispatched every enemy fighter and al-Hurmuzān took refuge in the citadel. Those who had entered the city through the water outlet encircled him in the citadel and when they spotted him and advanced upon him,

475. See Appendix II for a description and a plan of the situation as it was at the beginning of this century.

476. I read an eighth form, *fa'ttaba'ahum*.

he said to them, "What do you want? Perhaps you realize that you and I cannot escape one another.[477] But I still have a quiver with one hundred arrows and, by God, you will not lay a hand on me as long as I have still one arrow left. No arrow of mine will fail to find its target. What benefit is there in taking me prisoner, when I kill or wound one hundred of you first?" "What is it you want then?" they asked. He replied,"I would like to place my hand in yours,[478] leaving the decision with 'Umar to do with me as he [2556] wants." "We agree," they answered, whereupon he threw down his bow and surrendered to them. Next they bound him securely.

The Muslims divided up what God had granted them as *fay'*. Each horseman's share amounted to three thousand (dirhams), while each footsoldier received one thousand.

The man who had shot the arrows drew attention to himself, and he and the man, who had come out of the city in person, came forward, saying, "Who will guarantee us the safety we requested for ourselves and those siding with us?" "Who sided with you then?" the Muslims asked. They said, "Those who bolted their doors against al-Hurmuzān at the time you burst into the city." Then the Muslims granted them immunity.

During that night, many people of the Muslim forces were killed. Among those whom al-Hurmuzān killed personally were Majza'ah b. Thawr and al-Barā' b. Mālik.

They said: Abū Sabrah marched out of Tustar, taking the road to al-Sūs, in pursuit of those who had been defeated and who had fled in that direction. He took al-Nu'mān and Abū Mūsā with him and also al-Hurmuzān was brought along. Finally, they descended upon al-Sūs, the Muslims surrounded the city and wrote to that effect to 'Umar. 'Umar then wrote to 'Umar b. Surāqah that he was to travel to Medina, and he wrote to Abū Mūsā, ordering him to return to al-Baṣrah. In all, he reinstated Abū Mūsā as governor of al-Baṣrah three times in that same year and 'Umar (b. Surāqah) twice. Then 'Umar wrote to Zirr b. 'Abdallāh b. Kulayb al-Fuqaymī to go to Jundaysābūr. Zirr obeyed and arrived there. Abū Mūsā left for al-Baṣrah after he had stayed where he was, waiting for 'Umar's reply. 'Umar put al-Aswad b. Rabī'ah, one of the Banū

477. Literally, the text reads "perhaps you see the straits I and you are in."
478. That is, "I want to surrender."

Rabī'ah b. Mālik, who had the honorific of al-Muqtarib,[479] in charge of the forces in al-Baṣrah. This al-Aswad, as well as Zirr, had been Companions of the Messenger of God. In actual fact, [2557] they were Muhājirs. In the past this al-Aswad had called upon the Messenger of God saying, "I have come in order to draw nearer to God by associating with you." So the Prophet named him al-Muqtarib.[480] Zirr, too, had once called upon the Messenger of God and said to him, "My clan has died out, but our brothers are numerous; please pray God that He bless us." So the Prophet said, "God, restore Zirr's tribe," whereupon their ranks were indeed filled up again.

Abū Sabrah dispatched a delegation (to Medina) among whom were Anas b. Mālik and al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, and he sent al-Hurmuzān with them. They arrived in al-Baṣrah in the company of Abū Mūsā; then they (alone) set out for Medina. When they were about to enter the city, they arrayed al-Hurmuzān in his own finery, dressing him in his brocaded garment stitched through with gold thread. On his head they placed a crown that was called al-Ādhīn[481] and that was encrusted with rubies. They put on his jewelry so that 'Umar and the Muslims would see him in his regalia. Then they paraded him in front of the people on their way to 'Umar's house. But they did not find him there, so they inquired after his whereabouts. They were told, "Just now he was sitting in the mosque to receive a delegation that had come to him from al-Kūfah."

So they left to look for him in the mosque, but they did not find him there either. When leaving, they passed by some local boys who were at play and who asked them, "What are you walking in and out for? If you want to speak to the Commander of the Faithful, he is asleep in the right part of the mosque with his cloak folded under his head for a pillow." 'Umar had sat there to receive the delegation from the inhabitants of al-Kūfah dressed in a hooded cloak.[482] When he had finished talking to them and they had risen from the audience and left him alone, he took off his

479. See further down.
480. That means "he who draws near."
481. If the reading is correct, this is a Persian word meaning "ornament."
482. In Arabic *burnus*, the English "burnoose" or "burnous."

cloak, folded it to make a pillow and went to sleep. So the people from al-Baṣrah, together with the bystanders, went to look for him. Then, when they spotted 'Umar, they sat down at a little distance from him. No one else, asleep or awake, was in the
[2558] mosque (at that time). His whip was dangling from his hand. Al-Hurmuzān asked, "Where is 'Umar?" "There he is," they said, whereupon they gave a sign to the people to keep quiet. Heeding their order, al-Hurmuzān nonetheless asked,[483] "But where are his guards and attendants?" "He has neither," they answered, "nor clerks, nor a chancellery for that matter." "Then he must be a prophet," al-Hurmuzān exclaimed. "No, he is not, but he does the things prophets do," was the reply.

Meanwhile, the number of onlookers had greatly increased and 'Umar awoke because of the din that they made. He sat upright, spotted al-Hurmuzān and asked, "Is that man al-Hurmuzān?" "Yes," was the answer. 'Umar looked closely at him and at what he was wearing, and then he said, "I seek my refuge with God from Hellfire and Him I ask for succor. Praise be to God," he went on, "who has humbled this man and his followers through Islam. Hold on to this religion, my fellow Muslims, and be guided by the guidance that your Prophet has given you. Let this material world not make you reckless, for it is a treacherous world." Then the delegation said, "This is the king of al-Ahwāz, speak to him." "No," 'Umar answered, "not as long as there remains a single item of finery on his body."

So they stripped him of everything he was dressed up in apart from some piece of clothing that covered his nakedness and they made him put on a coarse garment. Then 'Umar said, "Hey, Hurmuzān, how do you look now upon the evil consequences of your perfidy and the outcome of God's command?" Al-Hurmuzān replied, "In the days before Islam, 'Umar, God left things between us and you as they were, so we had the upper hand over you, since He was neither with us nor with you. But when He took your side, you gained the upper hand over us." To this 'Umar replied,

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483. Although this is not borne out by the manuscripts, reading *wa-mā aṣghā al-Hurmuzān*, instead of *wa-aṣghā al-Hurmuzān* as Prym has it, would have given a better text: "Not heeding their order, al-Hurmuzān said . . ."

"You only succeeded in defeating us in the days before Islam because you were united, whereas we were divided. But," 'Umar continued, "what is your excuse or what arguments can you adduce in your defense for going to war against us time after time?"

"I fear that you will kill me before I have told you," al-Hurmuzān answered. "No, do not be afraid," 'Umar assured him. [2559] Then, when al-Hurmuzān had asked for something to drink, he was brought water in a primitive cup. "Even if I were to die of thirst, I could not possibly drink from a cup like this," he cried. So he was brought some water in a vessel he approved of. But then his hand began to tremble and he said, "I am afraid that I will be killed while I am drinking." "No harm will come to you," 'Umar said, "until you have drunk it." Hereupon al-Hurmuzān spilled the water by turning the vessel upside down. "Give him some more," 'Umar ordered, "so that he will not be bothered by thirst when the time of his execution has come."[484]

Then al-Hurmuzān spoke, "I do not need water; what I want is to ask that you grant me immunity." "I shall certainly kill you," shouted 'Umar, but al-Hurmuzān cut him short and said, "But you have already granted me immunity." "You lie," roared 'Umar, but Anas (b. Mālik) intervened and said, "He is right, Commander of the Faithful, you have indeed granted him safety." "Woe unto you, Anas," said 'Umar to him, "should I grant immunity to the killer of Majza'ah and al-Barā'? By God, think of a subterfuge or I shall surely chastise you!"

But Anas maintained, "You did tell him that no harm would come to him before he had told you what you asked him and you also told him that no harm would come to him until he had drunk the water." Then all those who were standing around 'Umar joined in, telling him the same thing. 'Umar approached al-Hurmuzān and said, "You have made a fool of me and, by God, I shall not be hoodwinked by anyone who is not a Muslim."[485] So al-

484. Literally, this sentence reads "Give him some more and do not heap death and thirst upon him together."

485. Contrary to the general rule, we find here a verb VII with the passive meaning "to be cheated," followed by what seems to be the agent introduced by the preposition *li*. This phenomenon is attested also in W. Fischer, *Grammatik des klassischen arabisch*, Wiesbaden, 1972, 98, 138.

Hurmuzān embraced Islam and 'Umar assigned him a stipend of two thousand (dirhams) and permitted him to settle in Medina.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Sufyān Ṭalḥah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Ibn 'Īsā: The day al-Hurmuzān was brought before 'Umar the translator was al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah. (He did all the translating) until the official translator arrived. Al-Mughīrah had been learning some Persian, so 'Umar ordered him, "Ask him: from what region are you?" whereupon al-Mughīrah said, "*Az kudhām ardī'ī?*"[486] "I am a Mihrijānī," al-Hurmuzān replied. 'Umar summoned him to adduce arguments in his own defense. "Shall I speak as someone who will live, or as someone who is about to die?" he asked. "No," 'Umar said, "speak as someone who will live." "You have granted me immunity in that case!" al-Hurmuzān exclaimed. [2560]

Then 'Umar said, "You have played a trick on me and, in wartime, it is for the victim of the trickery used to decide in matters of life and death of the trickster. No, by God, I shall not grant you safety until you have embraced Islam." At that moment, al-Hurmuzān was certain that he had to choose between death and Islam. So he chose the latter and 'Umar duly assigned two thousand dirhams annually from the treasury to him, allowing him to settle in Medina. Then he addressed al-Mughīrah saying, "I see that you are not at all good at speaking Persian. None of you speaks it well enough without simulating, but he who simulates will betray himself(?). Therefore, be on your guard against this language, for it may devitalize our Arabic language." Then Zayd (b. Thābit)[487] came along and talked to al-Hurmuzān, after which he told 'Umar what the Persian had said, and he also informed the latter about what 'Umar had said.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah and 'Amr—al-Sha'bī . . . (and Sayf)[488]—Sufyān (b. Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan

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486. This means, "from what region are you?"

487. This Zayd was reputedly famed for his knack for languages. He is reported to have had a working knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic. He is listed among the Prophet's trusted Companions who allegedly recorded the Qur'ān as it was revealed, and he is also said to have been a legal expert, particularly skilled in the laws of inheritance. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 592–5.

488. The text reads as if al-Sha'bī, as well as a certain Sufyān (whom De Goeje identified in the index as al-Thawrī), had both been pupils of al-Ḥasan. But that

al-Wāsiṭī)—al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī): 'Umar said to the delegation (from al-Baṣrah), "Have the Muslims perhaps done harm to the people living under their protection? Or have they perhaps done things to them that caused them to commence hostilities against you?" "No," they answered, "we only know that we acted in good faith and with decency." 'Umar asked, "Then how did their revolt come about?" But after questioning them, he did not receive any answer from anyone that took away his doubt or through which he gained insight into the situation they described. Only what al-Aḥnaf (told him helped 'Umar to form a clear picture, for he) said:

"Commander of the Faithful, I shall enlighten you. You forbade [2561] us to spread out farther into Persian territory, and you ordered us to stay within the borders of the region that we have under our control. However, the king of the Persians is still alive among them, and they will therefore not cease to contend with us for control of the region, as long as their king is among them. Two kings can never govern simultaneously and agree; the one will inevitably oust the other. I have come to realize that we made one conquest after another solely because of their continuous revolts. It is their king who incites them, and this will always be his line of action until you give us permission to venture out into their land so that we separate him from his subjects and expel him from his kingdom by divesting him of his might and authority.[489] Only then will the hope of the Persians be crushed and will they capitulate."

"By God, you have given me a believable picture, and you have explained the situation to me as it is in reality," 'Umar said. Then he looked into what they were in need of and sent them forth. Next a letter came to 'Umar informing him of the assembling of the Persians at Nihāwand and of how the people of Mihrijān Qadhaq and those of the districts of al-Ahwāz gravitated toward the point of view and the erstwhile ambitions of al-Hurmuzān. That was what prompted 'Umar to give the Muslims permission to venture out into Persian territory.

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solution results in a chronological anomaly. This is clearly a case of an *isnād* ending in two different strains, one with al-Sha'bī and one with al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as oldest authority.

489. For the way in which religious and secular authority were combined in Sasanian kingship, see Morony, *Iraq*, 28–31.

The Conquest of al-Sūs

The historians have different accounts of the conquest of al-Sūs. According to Abū Zayd—al-Madā'inī:[490] When those defeated at Jalūlā' finally reached Yazdajird, who was in Ḥulwān at the time, he summoned his court and the Priest[491] to him and said, "Every time our warriors encounter an enemy force, they suffer defeat at their hands. What do you think we should do?" The Priest answered, "We are of the opinion that you should leave and settle in Iṣṭakhr, for that is the center of the kingdom. Furthermore, keep your treasures with you, and send the soldiers away." Yazdajird
[2562] took his advice and traveled to Iṣbahān. He summoned Siyāh[492] and dispatched him with three hundred men, including seventy Persian aristocrats, with the order to crimp from every village through which they passed as many men as he liked. Siyāh departed, followed by Yazdajird. They finally arrived at Iṣṭakhr, just when Abū Mūsā was laying siege to al-Sūs. So Yazdajird sent Siyāh to al-Sūs and al-Hurmuzān to Tustar. Siyāh then arrived at al-Kalbāniyyah.[493]

Meanwhile, the news of what had happened at Jalūlā' and that Yazdajird had fled to Iṣṭakhr had reached the people of al-Sūs, so they asked Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī for peace. He complied with their request and then he set out for Rāmhurmuz, while Siyāh was still in al-Kalbāniyyah, the military successes of the Muslims weighing him down.[494] He stayed put until Abū Mūsā set out for Tustar. Only then did Siyāh move to take up a position between Rāmhurmuz and Tustar. He stayed there until 'Ammār b. Yāsir was about to step onto the scene.[495]

At this juncture, Siyāh summoned the chiefs who had left Iṣbahān with him, and said to them, "You remember that we used to

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490. He is the famous historian 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, who died in 235 (850). Precious few of his numerous works have been made available in printed editions, see *GAS*, I, 314–15.

491. In Persian *mōbadh*. For his position at the Sasanian court, see Morony, *Iraq*, 281–2, Christensen, *L'Iran*, 112–13.

492. Siyāh al-Uswārī was the chief of the Asāwirah, Persian nobles first mentioned above on p. 2485 and n 147; see Morony, *Iraq*, 198.

493. This is the way De Goeje reads this place name and not al-Kaltāniyyah, as Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 299, lists it.

494. Or ". . . scaring him."

495. See p. 64 above.

talk about these invaders as people who would bring misery and suffering, who would overpower our kingdom and who would have their animals shit all over the courtyards of Iṣṭakhr and its royal pavilions, even tying up their horses in its orchards. They have subjugated our territory as you have seen, never encountering an armed force without defeating it, never stopping at a stronghold without conquering it. Look for yourselves!" "We concur with what you have said," they answered. Then Siyāh went on, "Let everyone of you protect me with his servants and dependents, for I think we should go over to them and embrace their religion."

They sent Shīrawayh with ten of the Asāwirah to Abū Mūsā to convey the conditions upon which they would embrace Islam. So Shīrawayh approached Abū Mūsā and said to him, "We have [2563] developed a liking for your religion. We will become Muslims in the understanding that we will fight against Persians on your side, but not against Arab tribes.[496] If any tribesman engages us in a struggle, you will defend us against him; we settle where we want, mingling with those of you whom we want. You will assign us to the ranks of those with maximum stipends,[497] and the Commander (of the Faithful), who is more elevated in rank than you, will personally enter into a pact with us on these conditions."

"No," Abū Mūsā countered, "you will have exactly the same rights and duties as we have," to which they replied, "We do not agree." Then Abū Mūsā wrote to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who, in turn, wrote back to Abū Mūsā, "Give them what they have asked you," whereupon Abū Mūsā told them this by letter. Thus they accepted Islam and participated with Abū Mūsā in the siege of Tustar, but he saw no application or military efforts on their part.[498] Then he turned to Siyāh with the words, "You one-eyed good-for-nothing, you and your comrades do not comport yourselves as we thought you were capable of." "Yes, but we are not as attached to your religion as you are;" Siyāh replied, "we lack

496. The parallel passage in Balādhurī, 372 f., shows many textual similarities to this account of al-Madā'inī. In Balādhurī, this last sentence is worded in clearer language "we will not participate in intertribal warfare."

497. That is how Hinds, "Alignments," 354, interprets *sharaf al-'aṭā'*.

498. For this connotation of *nikāyah*, see Lane, 3038.

the enthusiasm you have and, living among you, we have no wives to protect, while you have not assigned the most generous stipends to us (i.e. as we stipulated). And whereas we have weapons and animals, you face the enemy not even wearing helmets!"

Abū Mūsā wrote about this incident to 'Umar, who duly replied, "Assign to them the highest possible stipends according to their military record, in fact the largest amount any Arab tribesman is paid." So Abū Mūsā decided that one hundred of the Asāwirah were to receive stipends of two thousand (dirhams), while six of them were even given two thousand five hundred: Siyāh, Khusraw—he was the one who had the nickname Miq-
[2564] lāṣ[499]—Shahriyār, Shahrawayh, Shīrawayh and Afrūdhīn. A poet recited the following verse (in *ṭawīl*):[500]

When 'Umar discovered the extent of their valor
and had been enlightened about their exploits,
He assigned them two thousand, whereas he had given
to 'Akk and to Ḥimyar[501] no more than three hundred!

Al-Madā'inī said: One day, they laid siege to a fortress in Fārs. At the end of the night Siyāh, dressed in Persian attire, stole away (from the camp of the Muslims) and threw himself on the ground just outside the fortress with his garments streaked with blood. When the people in the fortress awoke in the morning, they saw the prone figure of a man, dressed as they were, so they thought that he was one of them whom they had lost (in a previous battle). They opened the gate of the fortress in order to bring the body inside. Suddenly, he jumped up and began to fight them. In the end they abandoned the gate of the fortress and fled. Thus Siyāh

499. This is the word for a camel that fattens in summer and slims in winter. In his youth the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr was given this nickname too, see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 395.

500. For an irregularity in the meter, see Appendix I.

501. For more on these South Arabian tribes, see *EI*², s.v. *'Akk* (Caskel) and Kaḥḥālah, I, 305–6. Concerning the figures two thousand and three hundred, Puin, 173 ff., has some more information on these. Although the amounts vary in different reports, a stipend of two thousand had been the usual amount assigned to veterans of al-Qādisiyyah. The granting of the same amount to Persians may have caused some bitterness or shock. Three hundred has been mentioned as the amount assigned to the third immigration wave of *rawādif*.

conquered it singlehandedly and the Muslims marched in. Other people say that Siyāh performed this deed at Tustar.

On another occasion, they laid siege to a fortress. Khusraw went forth and moved close to it. A man looking down on him from the parapet spoke to him, whereupon Khusraw shot an arrow at him and killed him.

As for Sayf's account, according to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, ʿAmr and Dithār Abū ʿUmar—Abū ʿUthmān: When Abū Sabrah, amid his warriors, descended upon al-Sūs and the Muslims had surrounded it under the command of al-Hurmuzān's brother, Shahriyār, they engaged the Persians several times in fights, during which the forces from al-Sūs made casualties among the Muslims. One day, the monks and clerics,[502] looking down upon them from above, said to them, "Hey, you Arabs, among the things our scholars and ancestors have taught us is the story that no one will ever conquer al-Sūs but the Antichrist, or people who have the Antichrist in their midst.[503] If he is [2565] among you, you will conquer this city, but if he is not, then you might as well save yourselves the trouble of besieging us."

News of the plight of Abū Mūsā reached al-Baṣrah. In lieu of Abū Mūsā, who was laying siege to al-Sūs, al-Muqtarib had been put in charge of the people of al-Baṣrah. Meanwhile, the Persians assembled at Nihāwand. At the head of the people of al-Kūfah, al-Nuʿmān was participating in the siege of al-Sūs with Abū Sabrah, while Zirr, on his part, was closing in on the enemy at Nihāwand. He issued the order to those left behind in al-Kūfah to march under the leadership of Ḥudhayfah and instructed them to join him at Nihāwand. In the meantime, al-Nuʿmān was also preparing himself to march upon Nihāwand, but then he decided to go it alone and, before departing from al-Sūs, he engaged the enemy in combat. Then the monks and the clerics returned (to the battlements) and looked down upon the Muslims, shouting, "Hey, you Arabs, do not bother, for no one will conquer this fortress but the

502. The two Arabic terms used, *ruhbān* and *qissīsūn*, unmistakably point to Christians. See Morony, *Iraq*, ch. 12, for a great deal of material on the Christians under the Sasanids.

503. For more on this enigmatic figure, see *EI*², s.v. *Dadjdjāl* (Abel).

Antichrist, or forces that have the Antichrist in their midst." Thus they shouted at the Muslims, greatly enraging them. (At the time) Ṣāfī b. Ṣayyād was with al-Nuʿmān among his cavalry. The Muslims attacked the enemy with all their forces, saying, "We will fight them before we withdraw." For Abū Mūsā had not yet pulled out. Then Ṣāfī, furious as he was, strode to the gate of al-Sūs and, kicking it with his foot, shouted. "Open up!" And then it blew open![504] The chains snapped, the locks broke and the other gates were opened too. The Muslims stormed inside and the unbelievers surrendered, stretching out their hands, shouting, "Peace, peace," while trying to grasp the hands of their conquerors. These agreed to peace after[505] they had entered the city by force. They divided everything they found into equal portions before they granted them the peace treaty, and then they dispersed.

Al-Nuʿmān pulled out of al-Ahwāz among his Kūfan troops.
[2566] Finally, he arrived at Māh. Abū Sabrah dispatched al-Muqtarib, who set out until he arrived at Jundaysābūr together with Zirr. After entering Māh, al-Nuʿmān stayed there, until the forces from al-Kūfah joined him there. Then he rode with them to the enemy at Nihāwand. When the conquest of al-Sūs had been completed, Ṣāfī returned to Medina where he stayed until he died.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAṭiyyah—the one who reported on the conquest of al-Sūs: Someone said to Abū Sabrah, "Here are the remains of Daniel which are buried in this city." "What concern is that of ours?" Abū Sabrah asked and he left the remains there under the supervision of the local people.

ʿAṭiyyah continued with the same *isnād:* Daniel had stayed on in the coastal regions of Fārs after Nebuchadnezzar's death.[506] Without ever having met anyone from those among whom he

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504. As two manuscripts have it, I read *fa-ṭāra,* instead of *bazārī,* which does not seem to convey more than an obscenity (*baẓr* means "clitoris").

505. In the Arabic, *baʿda mā;* since this passage is meant to convey magnanimity on the part of the Muslims, it is perhaps better to translate "*although* they had entered the city by force"; according to the policies of the day, an enemy who had tried to resist being conquered was not entitled to a peace treaty. Translating *baʿda mā* by "although" seems to be attested in Lane, 225, middle column, 9 lines from the bottom.

506. See II Kings, xxiv, and the Book of Daniel.

lived who had voluntarily embraced Islam,[507] he wanted, when the time of his death had come, to preserve the book of God from those who had never wanted to listen to him or accept his teaching and he wanted to entrust it to his Lord. He called his son and said, "Go to the seashore and cast this book into the sea." The lad took it, clasped it to his breast and disappeared for as long as it would have taken him to go (to the shore) and return. He said to his father, "I have done it." The father asked, "And what did the sea do when the book fell into it?" "I did not see it do anything," the son replied. Then the father burst out angrily and said, "By God, you have not done as I ordered." So once more the lad left his father's house, but he did exactly as he had done before, and he went back saying, "I have done it." How did the sea react when it fell into it?" Daniel asked. "It heaved and surged," was the answer. Then the father became even more furious than the first [2567] time and he said, "By God, you have still not done as I ordered." He adjured his son a third time to go and cast the book into the sea. So the boy left for the seashore and, once there, flung the book into the sea. The sea retreated so that the bottom became exposed. Then the earth split and an abyss of light appeared into which the book vanished. The earth again closed over it and the waters mingled over the bottom. When the son returned for the third time, his father asked him what he had seen. He told him, whereupon the father exclaimed, "Now you have spoken the truth." Daniel died at al-Sūs and there, near his tomb, people used to pray for rain.

When the Muslims conquered the city, Daniel's remains were brought to them, but they left them in the permanent care of the local people. Later, when Abū Sabrah had departed from them and gone to Jundaysābūr, Abū Mūsā came and stayed in al-Sūs. He wrote to 'Umar about Daniel's grave. 'Umar wrote back and ordered him to hide it. So Abū Mūsā had the body wrapped in shrouds and the Muslims buried it. Meanwhile, Abū Mūsā wrote to 'Umar saying that on the body they had found a signet ring that

507. This anachronism of identifying the religion preached by pre-Muḥammadan prophets as Islam is a well-known and frequent feature in stories dealing with those prophets.

they had taken from it. "Return the signet ring to the body," 'Umar wrote back. In the stone of that ring there was the picture of a man between two lions.[508]

In this year, I mean the year 17 (638), the peace treaty of the Muslims with the inhabitants of Jundaysābūr was concluded.

What Happened between the Muslims and the Inhabitants of Jundaysābūr

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Abū[509] 'Amr, Abū Sufyān and al-Muhallab: When Abū Sabrah had finished what he had to do in al-Sūs, he left with his army and marched until he arrived at Jundaysābūr, where Zirr b. 'Abdallāh b. Kulayb was besieging them. They stayed there, engaging the enemy mornings and evenings in combat and they constantly beset them until someone from the camp of the Muslims shot an arrow in their direction with the message that safety would be granted to them. The conquest of Jundaysābūr and that of Nihāwand took place in a
[2568] timespan of two months. Nothing surprised the Muslims more than the fact that at a certain moment the city's gates were opened. Out came the cattle, the markets emptied themselves and the inhabitants scattered in all directions. The Muslims sent a courier after them who had to ask them, "What has come over you?" They answered, "You have shot us an arrow carrying a message that safety would be granted to us. We have accepted this proposition and we have set aside the *jizā'* payments for you in the understanding that you will grant us protection." "But we did nothing of the sort," the Muslims said. "Nor do we lie," the inhabitants of Jundaysābūr countered. So the Muslims asked around among themselves, and then they came upon a slave, called Muknif, who was in actual fact of Jundaysābūri origin. It was he who had written them the message affixed to the arrow. So the Muslims said, "It was but a slave who sent this message." But they said, "We do not know your slaves from your freeborn; safety has been granted to us, so we have immunity

508. The Muslim version of the story of Daniel differs somewhat from that of the Old Testament. See *EI*[2] s.v. *Dāniyāl* (Vajda), and R. G. Khoury, *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam*, Wiesbaden, 1978, 266–83.

509. This word *Abū* should in all probability be deleted, as Prym suggests.

now since we have accepted your proposition, and we have not changed our minds. But act in perfidy, if you want." Then the Muslims turned away and wrote about these events to 'Umar, who duly replied, "God holds the keeping of promises in the highest esteem. As long as you hesitate, you will never be true to your word so that you fulfil your pledge. Grant them their immunity and keep your promises to them." So they fulfilled their promise to them and left them.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and 'Amr: 'Umar allowed the Muslim forces to spread out into Persian territory in the year 17 (638), having finally adopted this strategy from al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, whom he knew for his virtue and sincerity. He separated commanders and their armed contingents from one another, putting the commanders in charge of the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah as well as others over al-Kūfah, the former as well as the latter implementing what 'Umar (himself) had ordered. He gave them permission in the year 17 (638) to spread over Persian territory. So they wandered out in 18 (639). He ordered Abū Mūsā to march from al-Baṣrah to the borderland where the protection of al-Baṣrah ceased. Here he stayed until further notice. [2569]
'Umar sent the banners for those in command out with Suhayl b. 'Adī, the confederate of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal. So Suhayl arrived with the banners and he gave the banner of Khurāsān to al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, that of Ardashīr Khurrah[510] and Sābūr[511] to Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd al-Sulamī and the one of Iṣṭakhr to 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī, the one of Fasā and Darābajird[512] to Sāriyah b. Zunaym al-Kinānī, and the banner of Kirmān[513] remaining with Suhayl b. 'Adī himself. The banner of Sijistān Suhayl gave to 'Āṣim b. 'Amr, one of the Companions of the Prophet, and the one of Mukrān he handed to al-Ḥakam b. 'Umayr al-Taghlibī.

They all marched out in the year 17 (638) and set up camp from where they could move out toward their respective districts. Their campaign was not an easy one until the beginning of the year 18 (639). Then 'Umar reinforced them with fighters from al-

510. This is a district in Fārs of which Shīrāz is the capital, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 199, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 248.
511. Another district of Fārs, see *loc. cit.*
512. See *ibid.*, 290.
513. See *ibid.*, map VII, opposite 323.

Kūfah, sending 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Itbān to Suhayl b. 'Adī, while he sent 'Alqamah b. al-Naḍr, 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Uqayl, Rib'ī b. 'Āmir and Ibn Umm Ghazāl to al-Aḥnaf. He also reinforced 'Āṣim b. 'Amr by sending him 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr al-Ashja'ī, and al-Ḥakam b. 'Umayr he helped with Shihāb b. al-Mukhāriq al-Māzinī.

Some transmitters say: The conquests of al-Sūs and Rāmhurmuz, as well as the transfer of al-Hurmuzān from Tustar to 'Umar, all took place in the year 20 (641).

In this year, I mean the year 17 (638), 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb led
[2570] the people on the pilgrimage. His administrator in Mecca was 'Attāb b. Asīd; his official in Yemen was Ya'lā b. Umayyah. He had put 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ in charge of al-Yamāmah and al-Baḥrayn, in 'Umān Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan, and in Syria those whose names I have mentioned above. In charge of al-Kūfah and the surrounding territory was Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ; Abū Qurrah was in charge of the judiciary there. In al-Baṣrah and the surrounding territory Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī was in command. Above I have mentioned the times when he was relieved from his function and when he was reinstated. Abū Maryam al-Ḥanafī is said to have been in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah. I have mentioned above who was in charge of al-Jazīrah and al-Mawṣil.

The Events of the Year 18

(JANUARY 12, 639–JANUARY 1, 640)

Ṭabarī said: In this year, I mean 18 (639), the people were afflicted by a severe famine and a drought of catastrophic proportions. This is the year that is called the Year of the Drought.[514]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: Then the year 18 (639) began. This was the Year of the Drought in which the epidemic of 'Amawās occurred, during which the people perished, one after the other.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: The Drought was in the year 18 (639).

He continued: In this year the plague of 'Amawās broke out. According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Rabī', Abū al-Mujālid, Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Ḥārithah: Abū 'Ubaydah wrote to 'Umar, "Several Muslims have taken to drinking wine. Among them are Ḍirār (b. al-Azwar al-Asadī) and Abū Jandal (b. Suhayl b. 'Amr). We asked them about this, but they justified their act with a dictum, saying, "We have been given the choice, and so we have [2571]

514. In Arabic *ramādah;* see Lane, 1154, right column, for a catalogue of nuances this name evokes.

chosen."[515] Then someone said[516] to us, "(Do you not remember the verse) 'Will you refrain'?"[517] But that man did not forbid us to drink wine in so many words." Then 'Umar wrote to Abū 'Ubaydah, "This matter is purely between them and me. The Qur'ānic expression 'Will you refrain?' means nothing but 'Stop that practice.'" Then he assembled the people and they all agreed that those who had drunk wine should be given eighty lashes for it, and that they would be held accountable for a 'transgression.'[518] They also agreed that all those who adduced the same dictum to justify their wine drinking should be dealt with in the same manner. If anyone objected, he was to be killed.

'Umar wrote to Abū 'Ubaydah, "Summon all of them. If they claim that wine drinking is permissible, have them killed, and if they claim that it is forbidden, have them flogged with eighty stripes." So Abū 'Ubaydah sent for them and interrogated them in front of all the people. "It is forbidden," they answered. Thereupon he ordered that each one of them be given eighty lashes.[519] So the people who had sinned against this prohibition were to be punished[520] and they repented of their pigheadedness. Then 'Umar said, "People of Syria, may something unexpected occur among you!" whereupon the Drought broke out.

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515. This dictum bears a close resemblance to an expression ascribed to the Prophet *innī khuyyirtu fa'khtartu*, see *Concordance*, II, 93, left column, when he was asked why he did not refuse to lead the prayer ritual at the grave site of an adversary, the leader of the *munāfiqūn*, 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy. See Wāqidī, III, 1068 ff.

516. The subject of "said" is not expressed. There is perhaps the implication that it was Abū 'Ubaydah, but the syntax of the sentence is too confused to infer this.

517. These are the final words of Q. V, 91; the whole verse reads in translation: "The devil only wants to sow animosity and hatred among you through wine and games of chance, and he wants to turn you away from mentioning God and from the prayer ritual; will you refrain?"

518. The Arabic word *fisq* developed into a technical term for "an act of disobedience against God." For more details, see *EI*², s.v. *Fāsiḳ* (Gardet).

519. Strictly speaking, the text says "he flogged them." From what follows, it will become clear that the culprits had the flogging postponed until their return from a campaign against the Byzantines.

520. The Arabic word used is the technical term *hadda* "to inflict a punishment detailed in the Qur'ān." For other Qur'ānic punishments, see *EI*², s.v. *ḥadd* (Schacht).

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Abdallāh b. Shubrumah—al-Sha'bī gave a similar account.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar—Nāfi': When the letter of Abū 'Ubaydah about Ḍirār and Abū Jandal had reached 'Umar, he wrote back about the matter to Abū 'Ubaydah and he ordered him to summon them to appear in front [2572] of the people and to ask them whether wine is forbidden or permissible. "And if they say forbidden, have them be given eighty lashes, and ask them to repent. But if they say permissible, have their heads chopped off!"

Abū 'Ubaydah summoned them to his presence and interrogated them. "No," they said, "wine is forbidden." So he ordered that they be flogged, whereupon they were ashamed and kept to their quarters. But on top of that, Abū Jandal was suffering from a diabolical whispering in his ear.[521] Abū 'Ubaydah wrote to 'Umar, "Abū Jandal is ridden with fear, which cannot be allayed unless God grants him relief through you. Therefore, write to him and set his mind at rest."[522] So 'Umar wrote to Abū Jandal and admonished him. This letter read as follows:

"From 'Umar to Abū Jandal. God will not forgive His being associated with other gods, but He can show forgiveness to whomever He wants for lesser offenses. Repent therefore, raise your head, show yourself again and do not despair, for God says, 'O my servants who have committed an outrage against yourselves, do not despair of God's mercy, for God forgives all sins, He is merciful, compassionate.'"[523]

When Abū 'Ubaydah had read this letter to Abū Jandal, he cheered up again, beaming with happiness. 'Umar wrote similar letters to the others, so they all showed themselves again. Then he wrote to the people in general, "Take good care of yourselves; he whose behavior is in need of correction, make him change his ways, but do not heap disgrace upon anyone, lest tribulations spread among you."

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521. See Lane, 2939 f., for this rendition of *waswasa*.

522. The Arabic verb *dhakkara* is given in Lane as "to remind of what might soften the heart by the mention of rewards and punishments."

523. Q. XXXIX, 53.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh—'Aṭā' gave a similar account, except that there was no mention of 'Umar writing to the people in general that they should not heap disgrace upon one another.

He[524] said: Those (who were to be punished for drinking wine) said, "The Byzantines are busily regrouping themselves. Let us
[2573] therefore attack them, for if God decrees martyrdom for us, then that will be our destiny, and if not, then you (sc. Abū 'Ubaydah,) will embark upon the line of action that 'Umar wants." Thus Ḍirār b. al-Azwar died a martyr's death together with a number of men, but the others (found guilty of wine drinking) survived the campaign and were duly flogged. Whereupon Abū al-Zahrā' al-Qushayrī composed the following lines (in *ṭawīl*):

Have you never witnessed how fate strikes young men
who lack the ability to turn away death?
E'er patient, unruffled I was, until one day
I yielded, with all my friends dead, to the wine.
Then 'Umar, our leader, poured all wine away,[525]
while bibbers were weeping around (empty) presses.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Rabī' b. al-Nu'mān, Abū al-Mujālid Jarād b. 'Amr, Abū 'Uthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī and Abū Ḥārithah Muḥriz al-'Abshamī with their *isnād* and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh—Kurayb: In the reign of 'Umar the people in Medina and its surrounding territory were afflicted by a drought in which the world was awhirl with dust when the wind blew, as if it rained ashes. That is why this year was called the Year of the Drought.[526] 'Umar swore an oath that he would not taste butter,[527] milk or meat, until the people found the world once more covered in herbage from the first rains. So he refrained

524. Presumably he is the transmitter Nāfi', introduced on p. 153 above.

525. The text reads *ramāhā bi-ḥatfihā*; literally, this means "he threw the wine away . . . with its death." The word *ḥatf* is a dubious reading and does not seem to admit of a feasible rendering other than "with its deadly effect (on man)."

526. The word used here for "Drought" is *ramādah*, that for "ashes" *ramād(ah)*, the former in actual fact being derived from the latter.

527. In Arabic *samn*; strictly speaking we should render this "clarified butter," "ghee," see *EI*², s.v. *Ghidhā'* (Rodinson, II, 1057, right column, of the English edition).

from these until the people did see the world sprouting again from the first rains. Then a skin filled with butter was brought to the market and also a skin filled with milk, whereupon a servant of [2574] 'Umar bought these skins for forty (dirhams) and brought them to 'Umar saying, "Commander of the Faithful, God has honored your oath and added to your reward. These two skins, one filled with milk, the other with butter, were brought to the market, so I bought them for forty (dirhams)." But 'Umar said, "You have spent too much on them; give the contents of both away in alms, for I loathe extravagance in my daily food. How can I show true concern for my subjects," he added, "if I am not smitten by what smites them?"

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf al-Salamī[528]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b b. Mālik: This tribulation lasted all during the latter part of the year 17 (638) and the beginning of 18 (638–9). The Drought brought famine, which affected all the people in Medina and the surrounding territory, and spread so much death that the wild animals began to seek food in the settlements of human beings. People even started to slaughter their sheep but then, disgusted with the loathsome appearance of (the meat of) the animals, they would not eat it, although they were starving.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b: In this way the population was suffering while 'Umar was too diffident[529] to approach the people of the garrison cities. One day, Bilāl b. al-Ḥārith al-Muzanī[530] went to 'Umar, asked permission to enter his house, and said, "I am the emissary of the Messenger of God to you. Thus speaks the Messenger to you, "I have always known you as a resourceful[531] man and as someone who was always ready to act. What is the matter with

528. Not al-Sulamī; see M. Hinds, "Sayf b. 'Umar's sources on Arabia," 7 and n. 17.

529. For this interpretation of *maḥṣūr*, see Lane, 582, right column, infra.

530. He was a leading spokesman of his tribe and one of its standard bearers. He was present at the battle of al-Qādisiyyah, see Wāqidī, I, 276.

531. For once I must disagree with De Goeje, who suggests in *Glossarium*, p. CDLXII, that the Arabic word used here (*kayyis*) has the meaning of "happy" or possibly "alert." Ullmann (in *WKAS*, I, 492 f.) does not seem to concur either. The same story is related a second time below.

you now?" 'Umar asked, "When did you dream[532] this?" "Yesterday," was the answer.

Then 'Umar left his house, had someone call the people to a congregational prayer ritual, and performed two *rak'as* with them. After that he stood up and said, "People, I swear to you by God, do you remember that I ever gave you an order that could have been deferred in favor of something better?" "No, by God," [2575] they shouted. "Bilāl b. al-Ḥārith," 'Umar continued, "claims as much." "Bilāl is right," they cried, "ask God and the Muslims (in the garrison cities) for help." 'Umar then sent a messenger to them after he had been hesitant to approach them. He said, "God is great; our suffering has reached its peak and has manifested itself fully. As a rule, people are not permitted to ask for help unless a catastrophe can be warded off from them by doing so." Then 'Umar wrote to the commanders in the garrison cities, "Help the people of Medina and the surrounding territory, for their plight has reached its limit."

Next, he ordered the people to leave the prayer meeting for a supplication for rain ritual.[533] He himself left too, on foot, and he brought al-'Abbās[534] along with him. (Having arrived at the suitable spot,) 'Umar delivered a sermon, a short one, then he performed the prayer ritual. After that he fell down upon his knees and prayed, "God, it is You whom we worship, and You we ask for succor.[535] God, forgive us, have mercy upon us, show us Your satisfaction with us." Then he left, and even before the people had reached their homesteads on their way back they had to wade through pools of water!

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Mubashshir b. al-Fuḍayl—Jubayr b. Ṣakhr—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: For one whole year during 'Umar's reign, the people suffered from drought and their resources dwindled. The members of a family of the Muzaynah Bedouins said to their chief, "We are near exhaustion. Slaughter a sheep for us." "But they have no meat on them!" the chief protested. However, they persisted until he slaughtered a

532. Messages from the Prophet, it is thought, are transmitted via dreams.

533. In Arabic *istisqā'*, an ancient ritual dating back to the Jāhiliyyah, during which one prayed for rain, see *EI*², s.v. *Istisḳā'* (Fahd).

534. Al-'Abbās was an uncle of the Prophet.

535. Q. I, 5.

sheep for them, which was nothing but skin over bleeding bones. "O Muḥammad," he shouted (in despair), whereupon he had a dream in which the Messenger of God came to him and said, "Announce that the rains are coming. Go to 'Umar, give him my greetings and say to him, "I know you intimately, you are one [2576] who keeps his covenant and you vigorously watch your responsibilities, but, 'Umar, be resourceful!"

So this chief left and journeyed until he reached the door of 'Umar's homestead. He said to 'Umar's servant, "Announce the arrival of the emissary of the Messenger of God." Then the servant went to 'Umar and transmitted the message to him, whereupon 'Umar was horror-struck and asked, "Do you think he is insane?" "No," said the servant. "Ask him to come in then," said 'Umar. The man entered the house and related his story to 'Umar. 'Umar left the house, had someone call the people to assemble, climbed the pulpit and said, "I swear to you by him who has guided you to Islam, have you ever witnessed anything from me at which you looked askance?" "No, by God," they shouted, "but why do you ask?" So he told them and they understood the implication. But 'Umar himself did not. Then they said, "The message implies that it has indeed taken you a long time to enact a supplication for rain ritual. Therefore, hold one with us now."

'Umar had someone announce among the people (that a supplication for rain ritual was going to be held). Then he stood up, delivered a sermon, a short one, next he concisely performed two *rak'as* and said, "Our allies were unable to help us, by God, our own strength and vigor were lacking, our own souls could not help us, but there is no vigor or strength except in You, O God. So give us rain, and give the people and their lands a new lease on life."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Rabī' b. al-Nu'mān, Jarād Abū al-Mujālid, Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Ḥārithah, all of them—Rajā' (b. Ḥaywah); Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Ḥārithah added: According to 'Ubādah (b. Nusayy) and Khālid (b. Ma'dān)—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanm: 'Umar wrote to the commanders of the garrison cities requesting them to help the people of Medina and the surrounding territory and asking them for supplies. The first to arrive in Medina amid four thousand camels loaded with foodstuffs was Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ. 'Umar charged him with

the distribution thereof among the people who lived around Medina. After he had finished his task and had returned to 'Umar, the
[2577] latter ordered that four thousand dirhams be given to Abū 'Ubaydah, who said, "Commander of the Faithful, I have no need of this. I only wanted to please God and to help in matters that pertain to Him, and this material world is of no concern to me." But 'Umar said, "Take it, there is no harm in it since you did not ask for it." Abū 'Ubaydah remained adamant, whereupon 'Umar repeated, "Take it, for I once took care of certain matters for the Messenger of God under similar circumstances, whereupon he said the same things to me as I said to you, and I answered in the same manner as you did me. But he pressed it upon me." Then Abū 'Ubaydah accepted the money and left for his province, gradually followed by his men. The people of the Ḥijāz were no longer in need of supplies and fully recuperated with the first rains.

They went on with the same *isnād:* Then in answer to 'Umar's plea for help, there came a letter from 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī which read, "At the time when the Messenger of God first received his mission, a waterway was dug to the Mediterranean that also has an outlet[536] into the Red Sea.[537] But the Byzantines and the Copts have made it unusable.[538] If you want the price of food in Medina to be on the level of that in Egypt, I shall excavate this latter waterway again and build bridges across it."[539] Then 'Umar wrote to 'Amr, "Carry out what you suggested and make haste with it." But the people of Miṣr[540] said to him, "Your *kharāj* is now easy to collect and your ruler is satisfied. However, when this work is finished, the paying of the *kharāj* will be discontinued." 'Amr wrote this to 'Umar mentioning that the restoring of this canal

536. This is a reference to a canal that the Romans had dug between Babylon (Bāb al-Yūn, near present-day Cairo) and the Mediterranean via the Bitter Lakes north of present-day Suez, see Vasiliev, *History*, I, 203, and also *EI*², s.v. *Baḥr al-Ḳulzum* (Becker); furthermore, Butler, 345–8; idem, *Babylon of Egypt*, 34–6, Jabartī, *Ta'rīkh muddat al-Faransīs bi-Miṣr*, Leiden, 1975, ed. tr. S. Moreh, 60/86.

537. Strictly speaking "the Gulf of Qulzum," an ancient town near present-day Suez.

538. Or ". . . have let it silt up (through long neglect)," as Butler (346) has it.

539. In Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, 162 ff, the story of 'Amr reexcavating this canal is related in several versions with many details missing from Ṭabarī's account.

540. Miṣr is the name of Egypt and of a city, see n. 547 below.

might entail the discontinuation of payment of the *kharāj* of Miṣr and its ruination. But 'Umar wrote back to him, saying, "Work at it and make haste. May God lay waste Miṣr for the sake of the prosperity and salvation of Medina." So 'Amr applied himself to his task while in al-Qulzum. (Food) prices in Medina reached the level of those in Miṣr, which derived nothing but comfort from it. The inhabitants of Medina never saw anything like the drought again after it was over, until their trading route via the sea was cut off at the time of the murder of 'Uthmān. Then they became weak, poor and downtrodden.

Ṭabarī said: Al-Wāqidī has said that al-Raqqah, al-Ruhā' and [2578]
Ḥarrān were conquered in this year by 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm and that 'Ayn al-Wardah was taken by 'Umayr b. Sa'd, but in the foregoing I have already mentioned the accounts of those who disagree with him on this. Al-Wāqidī also says that 'Umar transferred *al-Maqām*[541] to the spot in which it now lies in the month Dhū al-Ḥijjah of this year, whereas, before that, it used to be propped up[542] against the Ka'bah itself. Furthermore, he mentioned that during the plague of 'Amawās twenty-five thousand people died.

Ṭabarī said: Some historians say that in this year 'Umar asked Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī[543] to take charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah and Ka'b b. Sūr al-Azdī in al-Baṣrah.

Ṭabarī went on: In this year it was 'Umar who led the people on the pilgrimage, while his governors in the garrison cities were the same as those in the previous year, that is 17 (638).

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541. *Al-Maqām* stands here for *Maqām Ibrāhīm*, a stone, allegedly already venerated in the Jāhiliyyah, on which Abraham is believed to have stood when he built the Ka'bah. See *EI*², s.v. *Ka'ba* (Wensinck-Jomier).

542. The Arabic has *mulṣaq*. Other sources do not throw more light on exactly how the *Maqām* ended up close to, or against, the Ka'bah, after having been washed away from its old place by a flood (Arabic *sayl*) nicknamed Umm Nahshal. See Azraqī, *Kitāb akhbār Makkah*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1858, 275.

543. He was allegedly the most famous judge of early Islam, in charge of the judiciary for the incredibly long period of sixty years in al-Kūfah with one or seven years in al-Baṣrah. He is said to have died sometime between 72 (691) and 99 (718) at an equally incredibly advanced age. In Wakī', *Quḍāt*, II, 189–402, there is a large number of judicial decisions ascribed to him. Schacht, *Origins*, 228 f doubts the historicity of Shurayḥ

The Events of the Year 19

(January 2–December 20, 640)

Ṭabarī said: According to Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—his authority—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: The conquest of Jalūlā' occurred in the year 19 (640) at the hands of Sa'd (b. Abī Waqqāṣ). Al-Wāqidī agrees. Ibn Isḥāq says that the conquest of al-Jazīrah, al-Ruhā', Ḥarrān, Ra's al-'Ayn and Naṣībīn occurred in the year 19 (640).

Ṭabarī went on: In the foregoing we have mentioned the accounts of those who disagreed with them on this issue.

Abū Ma'shar said: In this year, I mean the year 19 (640), Qaysāriyyah was conquered, its governor was Mu'āwiyah b. Abī [2579] Sufyān, all this according to Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—his authority—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar, and al-Wāqidī mentions the same details about this as Abū Ma'shar. As for Ibn Isḥāq, he says that the conquest of the Palestinian city Qaysāriyyah, the flight of Heraklius and the conquest of Egypt all took place in the year 20 (641), as related to me by Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—himself. But Sayf b. 'Umar says that Qaysāriyyah and Egypt were conquered in 16 (637). The account of the conquest of Qaysāriyyah was given above[544] and I shall mention the account concerning Egypt and its conquest in the following, together with the ac-

544. Ṭabarī, I, 2397, translated in vol. XII of this series.

count of those who say that it was conquered in the year 20 (641) and the account of those who disagree on this date.

Ṭabarī said: In this year, I mean the year 19 (640), the Ḥarrat Laylā[545] was ablaze with fires, as al-Wāqidī has it. 'Umar wanted to march out to it with his men,[546] but then he ordered the giving of alms, whereupon the fires went out.

Al-Wāqidī also says that al-Madā'in and Jalūlā' were conquered in this year, but the accounts of those who disagree with him on this have been given above.

'Umar led the pilgrimage in this year. His governors and judges in the garrison cities were the same as in the year 18 (639).

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545. A *ḥarrah* is a stretch of basalt desert that owes its origin to subterranean volcanic action. The Ḥarrat Laylā is such a volcanic field near Medina, but its exact location could not be given in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 250 f. See also *EI*², s.v. *Harra* (Ed.)

546. Presumably to give help to the local inhabitants.

The Events of the Year 20

(DECEMBER 21, 640–DECEMBER 9, 641)

The Campaigns of the Muslims and Other Matters

Ṭabarī said: According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq:
[2580] Egypt[547] was conquered in this year. It was conquered in the year 20 (641). Abū Ma'shar has the same (date); according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—his authority—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—himself: Egypt was conquered in the year 20 (641), the Muslim commander was 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—his authority—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: Alexandria[548] was conquered in the year 25 (646),

547. In Arabic, the name of Egypt is Miṣr. This name has given rise to some confusion, since an ancient city, situated south of the fortress of Bāb al-Yūn (in Greek Babylon), but on the opposite bank of the Nile, was also called Miṣr (see Butler, 221 f.). Bāb al-Yūn eventually became the name the whole settlement on the Nile was known by, including the city of Miṣr, which also comprised a part called al-Fusṭāṭ, or Fusṭāṭ Miṣr. It was here that the Arabs allegedly first set up camp, see Butler, *Babylon*, ch. 3. In the following I shall render the name Miṣr by Egypt when I think the country is meant (in which the city of Alexandria does not seem to have been included), and I shall leave it untranslated when I think this ancient city is meant. However, one cannot always be sure which interpretation is correct.

548. In the following I have preferred this name to the Arabic Iskandarīyyah.

and al-Wāqidī says, as transmitted from him to me by Ibn Sa'd, that Miṣr and Alexandria were conquered in the year 20 (641). Sayf says, according to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—himself: Alexandria was conquered in the year 16 (637).

The Conquest of Miṣr and Alexandria[549]

Ṭabarī said: We have mentioned the different opinions of the historians concerning the year in which the conquest of Miṣr and Alexandria took place. Now we will mention the events leading to their conquest and at whose hands this occurred, including the historians' differences concerning this issue too.

As for Ibn Isḥāq, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—himself: When 'Umar had finished taking measures pertaining to all of Syria, he wrote to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī that he was to march upon Egypt with his army. So 'Amr departed and finally conquered Bāb al-Yūn[550] in the year 20 (641).

Ṭabarī said: There is a difference of opinion about the date of the conquest of Alexandria. Some say that it was conquered in the year 25 (646), two years after the beginning of the caliphate of [2581]
'Uthmān b. 'Affān under the supervision of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq[551]— al-Qāsim b. Quzmān, a man of Egyptian origin—Ziyād b. Jaz' al-Zubaydī, who reported that he was a fighter in the army of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī when Miṣr and Alexandria were conquered: We conquered Alexandria during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in the year 21 (642) or 22 (643). He went on: When we had conquered Bāb al-Yūn, we advanced on all the villages in the countryside lying between Bāb al-Yūn and Alexandria, one after the other, until we ended up in Balhīb, one of those rural villages,

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549. The conquest of Egypt has never been analyzed better, it seems to me, than by Alfred J. Butler in his *The Arab conquest of Egypt and the last years of the Roman dominion*. Here the second edition, printed together with two brief treatises that have also been drawn upon, is used. See the Bibliography.

550. Also called Bābilyūn, that is in Greek Babylon; see n. 547 above.

551. The text reads as if the *isnād* ends in Ibn Isḥāq and as if Ṭabarī mentions a new strand, but I think it more feasible to consider this as one *isnād* running from Ṭabarī via Ibn Isḥāq to the eyewitness, Ziyād b. Jaz'. I therefore propose to delete *wa-* preceding *ḥaddathanī* in l. 2. When verbs like *ḥaddathanī* are preceded by *wa-* in the middle of an *isnād* the compiler of the tradition collection introduces a new *isnād* (strand), which is obviously *not* the case in the present context.

called the Village of Prosperity. In the meantime, the people we had taken prisoner had arrived in Medina, Mecca, and Yemen.

He went on: When we arrived in Balhīb, the ruler of Alexandria[552] sent a message to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī that ran, "(Listen,) you Arabs, in the past, I used to pay the *jizyah* to people who were more hateful to me than you, Persians and Byzantines.[553] If you want me to pay you the *jizyah*, I am agreeable, on the condition that you will return to me all those people from our region whom you have captured.

The eyewitness went on: Then 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī sent that ruler a message that said, "Above me there is a commander without whose consent I cannot do anything. If you want me to suspend hostilities, while you do the same, so that I can write to him about the proposal you have made to me, (I shall certainly do that). If he accepts that condition from you, I will too, and if he [2582] orders me to do something else, I will carry out his order." The man agreed. He went on: So 'Amr b. al-'Āsī wrote to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Our leaders never kept secret for us the letters they wrote. So in this letter he mentioned to him what the ruler of Alexandria had proposed. All the time, the remainder of the Egyptian prisoners had been in our care. Then we stopped at Balhīb and stayed there waiting for 'Umar's letter, which finally arrived. 'Amr read it out to us. In it were the words,

"Listen, I have received your letter, in which you mention that the ruler of Alexandria has proposed to give you the *jizyah* on the condition that you return to him all those prisoners of his region who have been captured. Upon my life, a fixed *jizyah* that comes to us, and will be coming to those Muslims who live after us, is in my view preferable to booty, which seems never to have been there once it is divided up. So you must propose to the ruler of Alexandria that he give you the *jizyah* in the understanding that those of their people who were taken prisoner and who are still in your care, be offered the choice between Islam and the religion of their own people. Should anyone of them opt for Islam, then he belongs to the Muslims, with the same privileges and obligations

552. For more on this ruler, see n 564 below.

553. That is, of course, very unlikely, since the ruler himself was a Byzantine. This is the sort of inconsistency that Butler analyzed so fully, see n. 549 above.

as they. And he who opts for the religion of his own people has to pay the same *jizyah* as will be imposed upon his coreligionists. As for those captives who have been scattered over Arabia and have arrived in Mecca, Medina, or Yemen, those we cannot return and we would not like to enter into a peace treaty with anyone on the condition of a pledge which we cannot fulfill for him."

'Amr sent a message to the ruler of Alexandria informing him of what the Commander of the Faithful had written, whereupon this ruler sent a message back that said, "I agree." [2583]

He went on: Then we assembled all those captives who were still in our care, and the Christians among them were grouped together. Then we began to bring forward every single man from among them and we gave him the choice between Islam and Christianity. When he chose Islam, we all shouted, "God is great," even louder than we had done when that village was conquered, and we gathered him within our ranks. When he opted for Christianity, the Christians would snort and pull him back into their midst, while we imposed the *jizyah* on him. All the time we were subject to great uncertainty as if one of us was about to cross over to the other camp. The eyewitness went on: This is how we went about it, until we had dealt with all of them. Among those who were thus brought forward was Abū Maryam 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.[554] (The transmitter of this eyewitness), al-Qāsim (b. Quzmān) added at this point: I have set eyes on this Abū Maryam; he was the *'arīf*[555] of the Banū Zubayd. The eyewitness went on: We positioned him (i.e., in front of the people) and offered him the choice between Islam and Christianity. Meanwhile, his father, mother and brothers had already opted for Christianity. But Abū Maryam chose Islam, so we made him step into our ranks. However, his father, mother and brothers pounced on him, struggling with us for control of him, until they tore his clothes from his body. Today he is our *'arīf*, as you see. Then God conquered Alexandria for us and we could enter the city. This rubbish heap, which you see,[556] Qāsim, is in the vicinity of Alex-

554. For more on him, see further down.

555. For this function, see n. 233 above.

556. It is indeed rare when the words via which an eyewitness directly addresses someone who listens to his story are preserved. We find it here twice. It seems as if Ziyād b. Jaz' pointed out the rubbish heap to al-Qāsim. It is also conceivable that,

andria. It is meant for garbage.[557] It is enclosed within (a girdle of) stones, (so that) it has not grown or shrunk (in size). He who says something else, for instance that Alexandria and the surrounding villages had no *jizyah* imposed upon them, or that its inhabitants had no pact with us, that man is a liar, by God!"

[2584] Al-Qāsim went on: This account did not fail to give rise to the story that the kings of the Banū Umayyah used to write to their governors of Egypt: "Egypt could only be conquered after we used force.[558] Therefore, the inhabitants are no more than our slaves, whose taxes we can increase if we so desire and with whom we can deal as we want."

Ṭabarī said: As for Sayf, according to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—himself—al-Rabī' Abū Sa'īd, Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Ḥārithah: 'Umar stayed at Īliyā'[559] after its inhabitants had been granted a peace treaty. He entered the city and stayed there a few days. He sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī to Egypt and appointed him governor over it, were God to conquer it for him. Then he dispatched al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām after him as reinforcement and he directed Abū 'Ubaydah to al-Ramādah,[560] ordering him, in case God conquered it for him, to return to his province.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Uthmān—Khālid and 'Ubādah: 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī left for Egypt after 'Umar had returned to Medina. 'Amr journeyed until he arrived at Bāb al-Yūn. Al-Zubayr followed him in his tracks and joined up with him right at the spot where Abū Maryam,[561] the metropolitan of

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at this point, Ziyād showed al-Qāsim a sketch he had made of the situation, if he and his audience were not standing in front of it.

557. In Arabic, *li-kunāsatin*. The Cairo edition of Ṭabarī, IV, 106, has *la-kunāsatun* ". . this rubbish heap is a pile of garbage in the vicinity of Alexandria."

558. This is a reference to the military customs of those days enemies who surrendered and asked for peace had to pay the *jizyah* and were entitled to Muslim "protection" (*dhimmah*), but those who had been subdued by force had all their belongings confiscated, which were distributed as war booty. For a detailed account of this, see D. R. Hill, *The termination of hostilities in the early Arab conquest*, London-New York, n.d.

559. Another name for Jerusalem.

560. There are various places that bear this name, here the one near al-Ramlah seems to be meant, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 813.

561. Butler (513 f.) thinks this is a distortion of Benjamin He abandons this surmise in *Treaty*, 60 f.

Miṣr,[562] met them, in the company of the bishop and some people of purpose.[563] The Muqawqis[564] had sent the metropolitan so that they might defend their land. When ʿAmr reached them, they prepared to fight him. Then ʿAmr sent them a message that read, [2585] "Do not prompt us to come down heavily upon you;[565] in a moment you will realize what you can do best." Thereupon they held their fighters back. ʿAmr sent them another message that said, "I shall come forward, let Abū Maryam and Abū Miryām[566] approach me." They consented to this and they granted one another safe-conduct. Then ʿAmr said to the two Christian prelates, "You two are the ecclesiastics[567] of this region. Listen. God sent Muḥammad with the truth and He ordered him to hold to it. Muḥammad transferred to us every command he was given, then he passed away—May God have mercy upon him—having accomplished everything he had been told to do. The instructions that he left us are crystal clear: among the things he enjoined upon us is that we should do our utmost in admonishing the people with whom we come into contact.[568] Therefore, we call upon you to embrace Islam. He who is willing to do so will be like one of us. To him who refuses, we suggest that he pay the *jizyah* and we will give him ample protection. Our Prophet informed us that we would conquer your lands and he has determined that we

562. The Arabic term *jāthalīq* is arabicized from the Greek *katholikos*. According to Lane, 369, right column, he is the highest ranking in the Christian hierarchy. However, this title was given to the head of the Christian church under the Sasanids (see Vasiliev, I, 121) and should, strictly speaking, not have been given to an Egyptian Christian. See also Butler, *Treaty*, 58 f.

563. The Arabic reads *ahl al-niyyāt*, literally "the people of the intentions." It is not clear who are meant here, but the "intentions" are probably military rather than religious. At any rate, the reading *niyyāt* is dubious.

564. He is a controversial figure. It seems to me that the most authoritative information on him is given by Butler, 508–26, esp. 521. He identifies him as the viceroy and (Melkite) archbishop of Alexandria, appointed by Heraklius. See also his *Treaty*, 54–83.

565. I base this rendering on Lane's interpretation of *iʿdhār* "taking extraordinary pains in exhortation" (1984, left column, below).

566. Presumably that is the name of the bishop present; this is suggested in note *n* of the previous page, 2584, of the edition. The vocalization is that of Ibn Hubaysh.

567. Literally, "the two monks"; perhaps the term is used here to humiliate those addressed.

568. See n. 565 above.

keep you from harm because of our family ties among you. If you accept our proposition, we will give you constant protection. Among the orders we received from our Commander (i.e., in Medina) was the order, "Take the interest of the Copts to heart, for the Messenger of God enjoined their best interests upon us, because they have ties of kinship[569] with us and are therefore entitled to our protection.'"

"It is truly a distant relationship," the prelates answered, "one
[2586] that only prophets can establish. (Hagar[570]) was a well-known and noble woman who was the daughter of our king. She belonged to the people of Manf[571] where the monarchy was established. Then the people of 'Ayn Shams[572] were granted victory over them; they killed them and wrested their kingdom from them, whereupon the people of Manf embarked on a vagrant life. As a result of that she became Abraham's property. He[573] is heartily welcome! Grant us immunity, until we return to you."

'Amr answered, "A man like me cannot be deceived, but I will grant you a delay of three days so that you see how things stand with you and can discuss the matter with your people. If you do not promise to return in time, I shall fight you." "Give us more time," they pleaded, so he gave them one day longer. "Give us

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569. Muslim tradition has it that Hagar, the maidservant of Sarah, by whom Abraham fathered Ishmael (that is, Ismā'īl, the ancestor of the Arabs), was of Egyptian origin. It is reported that, for this reason, the Prophet had enjoined upon his followers to treat the Egyptians well after they had been subjugated, in particular because of this "kinship." The tradition collector Muslim b. Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875) has preserved a Prophetic *ḥadīth* to this effect in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 1970, see also Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 2 f. A variant of this report (see the same sources) has *sihr* "relationship by marriage" instead of "kinship," taken to be a reference to Māriyah, the Coptic wife of the Prophet and the mother of his son Ibrāhīm; see also Balādhurī, 219, and Maqrīzī, I, 24 f.

570. Although the context refers unmistakably to Hagar, the name itself is lacking in Ṭabarī, and was supplied from parallel versions of this story, for instance Ibn al-Athīr, II, 440.

571. The arabicized name of the ancient city of Memphis, see *EI*², s.v. Manf (U. Haarmann).

572. This is a place at three parasangs (18 kilometers) north of al-Fusṭāṭ, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 762 f; it is probably identical with Heliopolis, which seems to have been bigger than the present-day suburb of Cairo bearing that name (see Butler, 231).

573. It is not clear who is meant. If we read *bi-hi* with the edition, the reference may be taken to point to Abraham, the Prophet or 'Amr. If we read *bi-kum* with Ibn Ḥubaysh (see apparatus, n. *f*), "welcome to you" gives an understandable text.

more time," they asked again, so 'Amr gave them one more day. Then they returned to the Muqawqis, who took 'Amr's proposition into consideration. But Arṭabūn[574] refused to accept it and ordered an attack on the Muslims.

The two prelates addressed the people of Miṣr, "As for us, we shall do our best to defend you and we would not return to the Muslims—after all, four days have passed by now during which you came to no harm—were it not for the fact that we hope that therein might lie immunity for you."

Nothing surprised 'Amr and al-Zubayr more than the sudden attack of Farqab[575] one night, but 'Amr was prepared. They confronted the Muqawqis, who was killed with his men. Then the Muslims pursued those who had fled. Thereupon 'Amr and al-Zubayr headed for 'Ayn Shams, where they had their assembly point, and he sent Abrahah b. al-Ṣabbāḥ to al-Faramā,[576] where he duly arrived, and to Alexandria he sent 'Awf b. Mālik, who (also) duly arrived there. Each one of them said to the inhabitants of the [2587] city on which he was ordered to march, "If you surrender, you will be granted immunity." They agreed. Then the Muslims exchanged messages with them and waited there for the Muslim army, (which was at 'Ayn Shams at the time,) to arrive. In the meantime,[577] they took prisoners.

'Awf b. Mālik said, "People of Alexandria, how beautiful is your city." They replied, "Alexander the Great once said, 'I shall build a city that is in need of God and can do without people.' Or he said, 'I shall certainly build a city that is in need of God and can do without people.' That is why its splendor has lasted."

Likewise, Abrahah said to the inhabitants of al-Faramā, "What a ramshackle town this is, people of al-Faramā." "Yes," they answered, "al-Faramā once said, 'I shall build a city that can do

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574. He is the general of the Byzantines. He is described with a few qualities in vol. XII, 2398, of this series. Butler, 215, maintains that his name should read Aretion.

575. This is the name of the Muqawqis according to Sayf. Butler, 516 f. consistently calls him Cyrus, basing himself on Severus of Ushmūnayn; see also his *Treaty*, 54–83. See also the literature cited in Prym's apparatus.

576. Al-Faramā is ancient Pelusium, a town on the Mediterranean shore near the outlet of the eastern branch of the Nile. Butler, 212, doubts the historicity of this mission.

577 Or possibly, "On their way (from 'Ayn Shams to these coastal cities). ."

without God but not without people.' Thus its splendor has faded." Alexander and al-Faramā were brothers.

Ṭabarī said: Al-Kalbī said: Alexander and al-Faramā were brothers. Then he related a similar story in which both cities were associated with the two brothers. In al-Faramā, something collapsed every day and its outward appearance deteriorated, whereas Alexandria kept its gloss.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān: When 'Amr descended upon the Egyptians at 'Ayn Shams, a place governed jointly[578] by Copts and Nubians, and al-Zubayr had joined 'Amr there, the people of Miṣr said to their king, "What do you want to accomplish against warriors who defeated the armies of the Persian king and the Byzantine emperor and overpowered them in their own countries? Conclude a peace treaty with these warriors and enter into a pact with them. Do not resist them and do not order us to resist them." That occurred on the fourth day (since the Muslims' arrival). But (the king) refused.

[2588] So the Muslims attacked them and fought them. Al-Zubayr scaled the wall of the city. When those inside spotted him there, they opened the gate for 'Amr and rushed out, begging for a peace treaty, to which he agreed. But (inside the wall) al-Zubayr fell upon them with force. In the end he passed through the gate, making his way to 'Amr together with the Egyptians. After they had taken care[579] of the casualties, they concluded a treaty. The Muslims took the same measures against those who were overpowered by force as they had taken in the case of those who had surrendered on the condition of a treaty. They were all placed under "protection."

The text of their peace treaty reads as follows:

> In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.
>
> This is the text of the covenant that Amr b. al-'Āṣī has granted the people of Miṣr concerning immunity for themselves, their religion, their possessions, churches, crucifixes, as well as their land and their waterways. Nothing of these will be interfered with or decreased.

578 Or "alternatively"?
579 Or "taken stock of."

Nubians[580] are not allowed to share their homesteads. It is incumbent upon the people of Miṣr, if they agree on the terms of this covenant and when the rise of the Nile water comes to a halt, to afford the *jizyah*, to wit fifty million (dirhams).[581]

They will have to account for the crimes committed by robbers from among them.

If anyone refuses to comply with the terms of this treaty, *jizā'* obligations will be lifted from them commensurate with their numbers, and we will be exempt from awarding protection to those who do so. If their river fails to reach the highest point when the rise of the water has come to a halt, then, commensurate with the losses suffered, their *jizā'* payments will be reduced.

Those Byzantines and Nubians who are willing to accept the same terms as in the covenant with the people of Miṣr will have the same privileges and duties as the latter.

He who refuses to accept these terms and chooses to depart will enjoy immunity, until he has reached his destination where he can be safe, or has moved out of the territory where our authority prevails.

It is incumbent upon them to comply with the following terms: in three instalments, every third part of the year, they will have to afford one third of what they have to pay.

For the terms of this document the covenant of God and His protection, as well as that of His Messenger, that [2589] of the Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, as well as the protection awarded by all the Muslims, are guarantees.

It is incumbent upon the Nubians who have accepted the terms of this treaty that they help (sc. the local government) with so many men[582] and so many horses, in

580. On the Nubians, see Butler, index s.v., especially 432; see also his *Treaty*, 37–46.

581. Butler surmises on reasonable grounds that this amount is a later gloss not to be relied upon, see his *Treaty*, 46–8.

582. Presumably slaves are meant. Butler, *Treaty*, 35, interprets *ra's* as heads (of cattle), but he does mention "contingents of horse and foot" as a possibility

the understanding that no raids will be mounted against them and that they will not be prevented from trade, export or import.

Al-Zubayr, his sons 'Abdallāh and Muḥammad, have witnessed the concluding of this covenant, Wardān[583] has put it down in writing and was present.[584]

All the people of Miṣr entered into this covenant and accepted the peace treaty. Then the horses were rounded up.[585]

'Amr organized al-Fusṭāṭ as a garrison city, whereupon the Muslims took up residence there. Abū Maryam and Abū Miryām presented themselves and spoke to 'Amr about the prisoners captured after the battle. 'Amr said, "Have these prisoners a pact and a covenant with us? Did we not come to an agreement with you two, and were we not attacked the very same day?" Then he kicked them out, whereupon they returned saying, "Everyone you have captured up to the time of our return to you will be placed under your protection!" 'Amr replied, "Would you launch an attack against us while they are under 'protection'?" "Yes," they answered, "we would." Then 'Amr divided those prisoners among his men, who distributed them, whereupon they ended up in the lands of the Arabs.

After that, a messenger approached 'Umar with some fifth parts
[2590] of the war booty.[586] 'Amr sent emissaries (sc. to Medina). 'Umar questioned them and they gave him a complete account, until they touched on the story of the metropolitan[587] and his companion. 'Umar said, "Surely, I think that they showed sense, whereas you acted foolishly, without any sense at all. He who fights you has no immunity, but he who does not fight you, and is subsequently dealt with by you in the same way the villagers[588] were

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elsewhere. He quotes Caetani, who doubts the authenticity of the inclusion of terms concerning Nubians and labels them as anachronisms, *Treaty*, 51. On the whole, Butler, *Treaty*, 53, thinks that the treaty is possibly authentic in its main outline.

583. He was a client of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī, see Ibn Sa'd, VII 2, 201.

584. Presumably when it was signed. Butler, *Treaty*, 35, thinks that the subject of *ḥaḍara* was left unmentioned and translates "and there were present. . "

585. The context does not seem to make clear why.

586. Presumably the fifths of more than one battle or conquest.

587. See n. 562 above.

588. A reference to the prisoners taken in the villages mentioned above on p. 2587.

treated, does have immunity during those five days until they have lapsed." Then he sent messengers in all directions, until all those prisoners who had been captured from among those who had not taken up arms during the five days were returned, except those who had engaged in fighting afterwards. Thus the Muslims sent those captives back to Egypt, one after the other, except those who belonged to that last category.[589]

Meanwhile, some Copts had come to 'Amr's living quarters. He was informed that they had been saying, "How worn out these Arabs look, how little care they take of themselves; we are of the opinion that people like us should not be obedient to people like them." So 'Amr feared that this appearance of the Arab warriors would prompt the Copts to rebellion. Therefore, he ordered that several camels be slaughtered and cooked in water and salt. Then he ordered the army commanders to assemble, after they had notified their troops to do likewise. 'Amr sat down and beckoned to the people of Miṣr to join him. Then the meat and the broth were served. (Servants[590]) handed it out to the Muslims, who began to eat in typically Arab fashion, tearing at the meat with their teeth and slurping the broth, dressed in their woolen cloaks and unarmed. After a while, the people of Miṣr dispersed with [2591] their ambitions and courage boosted.

The next day, 'Amr sent word to the army commanders to come (i.e. to his tent again) with their troops. He ordered them to come dressed in Egyptian clothes and footwear, bidding them that they order their troops to do likewise. They complied. Then 'Amr invited the people of Miṣr again who saw something completely different from what they had seen the previous day: erect figures[591] dressed in Egyptian colors standing by, the Arabs eating Egyptian food, behaving in an Egyptian manner. The Copts dispersed, perturbed this time, muttering, "We have been made fools of!"

'Amr sent word to his army that they had to arm themselves for the roll call to be held the next day. Then he went to the parade

589. Sc. those who had joined in the battle after the five days of truce.

590. The subject is not expressed. Grammatically, the Copts could be the subject, but I do not think that that is meant.

591. Presumably of servants. The dictionaries do not seem to list a connotation for *quwwām* that fits the present context. Conceivably, it could also be "banners" or "standards."

and permitted the Copts to be present. He showed his troops to them and said, "I am aware that you considered yourselves to have panache when you saw the frugality of the Arabs and their simple life style. But I fear lest you perish. Therefore, I wanted to show you what sort of people they really are, under what circumstances they lived in their own country, then what they have come to in yours, and how ready they are for war. They have defeated you, warfare is their life. They were anxious to take [2592] possession of your country even before they appropriated its customs as you saw on the second day. And I also wanted you to realize that those you saw on the third day will not abandon the life you saw depicted on the second day, nor will they resume the lifestyle you saw depicted on the first day." Thereupon the people of Miṣr dispersed saying to one another,[592] "The Arabs have smitten you with this one hero of theirs."

News of these events reached 'Umar, who said to his companions, "By God, 'Amr's military campaign has become truly easy, no more attacks or assaults like the ones in battles against others. 'Amr is indeed a crafty fellow!" Then he installed 'Amr as governor of Miṣr, where he stayed.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Sa'īd al-Rabī' b. al-Nu'mān—'Amr b. Shu'ayb: When 'Amr and the Muqawqis came face to face at 'Ayn Shams and their respective cavalries began to do battle with one another, the Muslims started to swerve some way toward the far end (i.e. of the battlefield), but 'Amr urged them to attack. Then a certain man from Yemen said, "We are not made of stone or iron!" "Shut up, you dog!" 'Amr shouted, but the man retorted, "In that case you are the upper dog."[593]

The transmitter went on: When that contingent began to draw more closely together, 'Amr shouted, "Where are the Companions of the Messenger of God?" Then those Companions who had participated in the evasive action[594] came along and 'Amr roared, "Advance, through you God will grant victory to the Muslims." So they went forward. Among them that day were Abū Burdah and Abū Barzah.[595] The other warriors attacked the enemy, close-

592. Or, conceivably, "to their countrymen upon their return."
593. Literally, "the commander of the dogs."
594. Admittedly, a wordy rendering of *man shahidahā*.
595. They could not be identified with certainty.

ly following the Companions. Then God granted victory to the Muslims who vanquished the enemy in a glorious manner. Miṣr was conquered in the month Rabīʿ I of the year 16 (April 637); there the authority of Islam stood firm. [2593]

On the whole, Islam began to spread over peoples and kings. Thus the people of Egypt started to engulf (Ifrīqiyah[596] and its ruler) al-Ajall,[597] likewise the people in Mukrān overran Rāsil and Dāhir,[598] the people in Sijistān overpowered the Shāh and his nobles, and the people in Khurāsān and Bāb (al-Abwāb)[599] their respective Khāqāns,[600] as well as less powerful nations. ʿUmar held the conquering armies back out of concern for the lives of the Muslims. Had he allowed them to go where they liked, they would have gone anywhere where water was available.[601]

According to ʿAlī b. Sahl—al-Walīd b. Muslim—(ʿAbdallāh) b. Lahīʿah—Yazīd b. Ḥabīb:[602] When they had conquered Miṣr, the Muslims launched an attack on (northern)[603] Nubia. But they returned having sustained injuries and with many people having been blinded because of the Nubians' superior bowmanship. That is why the Nubians were nicknamed "the eye shooters." When ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ governed Egypt, over which ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān had appointed him, he concluded a peace treaty with the Nubians on the condition that they offer a gift, namely a number of people from among them (i.e., to be used as a labor force), whom they were to deliver into the hands of the Muslims. In exchange, every year the Muslims would present them with certain specific foodstuffs and equally well-specified garments.

According to ʿAlī—al-Walīd—Ibn Lahīʿah: ʿUthmān and those governors and commanders who lived after him stuck to this

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596. In this particular context, it is the name of the North African coastal regions west of Egypt; but see *EI*², s.v. *Ifrīḳiya* (Talbi), for the many different definitions of this name.

597. According to a gloss in Ibn Hubaysh (Berlin), this is the title of the ruler of Ifrīqiyah; it means something like "the most noble." He is mentioned once more in a subsequent volume of this series.

598. These are the names of local rulers.

599. This is a city on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, north of Baku. Nowadays it is called Derbent. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 437–42.

600. This is the (Persian) title of local rulers.

601. Literally, "they would have reached every watering place."

602. On this important Egyptian historian, see *GAS*, I, 341 f.

603. In Arabic, Nūbat Miṣr, probably that part of Nubia bordering on Egypt.

peace treaty and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz confirmed it out of consideration and concern for the well-being of the Muslims.

[2594] Sayf said: When the month Dhū al-Qa'dah of the year 16 (November–December 637) had begun, 'Umar stationed the armed forces of Egypt along all the coastal regions, the reason for this being that Heraklius was launching attacks on Egypt and Syria from the sea while he assaulted the people of Ḥimṣ in person. That occurred after three and a half years of 'Umar's reign had elapsed.

Ṭabarī said: In this year, I mean 20 (641), Abū Baḥriyyah al-Kindī 'Abdallāh b. Qays made a raid into Byzantine territory. It is alleged that he was the first to invade it, but another opinion has it that Maysarah b. Masrūq al-'Absī was the first to do so and to return safely, laden with booty.

(Ṭabarī) said: Al-Wāqidī said: In this year, 'Umar dismissed Qudāmah b. Maẓ'ūn as governor from al-Baḥrayn and had him flogged for wine drinking. In the same year, 'Umar installed Abū Hurayrah[604] as governor of al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāmah.

Ṭabarī said: In the same year, 'Umar married Fāṭimah bt. al-Walīd, the mother of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām.

He continued: Also in the same year Bilāl b. Rabāh[605] passed away. He was buried in the cemetery of Damascus.

In the same year, 'Umar relieved Sa'd from the governorship of al-Kūfah on the strength of complaints filed against him. People said that he could not perform the *ṣalāt* properly.

In the same year, 'Umar divided Khaybar[606] among the Mus-

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604. He was reputedly a major Companion of the Prophet, whose role in the dissemination of prophetic *hadīth* has occupied scholars in East and West until the present day. For his biography, see the somewhat uncritical study of him by Helga Hemgesberg, *Abū Hurairа, der Gefahrte des Propheten*, Frankfurt/Main, 1965, and for his alleged role in *ḥadīth* transmission, see Juynboll, *Authenticity*, ch. VII, idem, *Muslim tradition*, 190–206.

605. He is described as a black Ethiopian slave who had embraced Islam very early. After Abū Bakr had bought him from his cruel Meccan master, he manumitted him. Bilāl later became Muḥammad's official *mu'adhdhin*, the man who called the faithful to prayer. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 326 f.

606. Khaybar is an oasis comprising settlements, cultivated soil and palmgroves, ninety-six miles/154 kilometers north of Medina, captured by Muḥammad in 7 (628), it used to be occupied by Jews. See *EI*², s.v. *Khaybar* (Veccia Vaglieri).

lims and expelled the Jews from it. He sent Abū Ḥabībah[607] to Fadak;[608] he granted them half[609] the fruit produce and the value of the land in gold and silver and let them keep that. (The other half he confiscated), then he went to the Jews of Wadī al-Qurā[610] and (confiscated their property) to divide it. Also in this year, 'Umar drove the Jews out of Najrān to al-Kūfah, as al-Wāqidī has it. [2595]

Al-Wāqidī said: In this year, I mean the year 20 (641), 'Umar organized the *dīwāns*.[611] Ṭabarī said: We have already mentioned the accounts of those who disagree on this chronology.[612]

In the same year, 'Umar sent 'Alqamah b. Mujazziz al-Mudlijī overseas to Ethiopia, and this because it was rumored that Ethiopia had made a sudden attack on some border regions of the Islamic domain, but the Muslim forces were annihilated. Then 'Umar imposed upon himself that he would never send anyone again on a mission overseas. As for Abū Ma'shar, according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—his authority—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—himself: The campaign against the land of the blacks was one overseas, in the year 31 (651–2).[613]

Al-Wāqidī said: In the same year, Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr[614] passed away in the month Sha'bān (July–August).

Also in this year, Zaynab bt. al-Jaḥsh[615] died.

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607. Who this man was could not be established with certainty.

608. A village not far from Khaybar, see *op. cit.*, which surrendered to Muḥammad when he marched on Khaybar, as it says in the sources.

609. Ṭabarī's text appears to have a lacuna; my translation is based upon Prym's emendation, which is derived from Balādhurī, 29, 32. See also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 855, and Wāqidī, II, 721, which has *nakhl* "palms."

610. Wādī al-Qurā is a *wādī* running from Medina to Syria in which there were several villages. The Jews who lived there were said not to have been expelled, since Wādī al-Qurā is not part of the Ḥijāz but of Syria.

611. The registers in which stipends, etc. were entered; see the monograph of G. R. Puin.

612. In vol. XII of this series.

613. That is, during 'Uthmān's reign.

614. Usayd was a nobleman from the Jāhiliyyah, who could write Arabic and was an excellent swimmer and archer. He who possessed these qualities was called *al-Kāmil* "the perfect one" He embraced Islam early, see Ibn Sa'd, III/2, 135–7.

615. This Zaynab was the wife of the Prophet's adopted son Zayd b. Ḥāriṯhah. When the Prophet married her, after Zayd had repudiated her, it is reported that

In this year, 'Umar led the pilgrimage. His governors in the garrison cities were the same in this year as in the previous year with the exception of those whom I have mentioned as dismissed or replaced by others. The same applies to his judges, who were the same persons as in the previous year.

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the Qur'ān abolished adoption. Thus Muḥammad could not be accused of incest by marrying his "son's" wife. This episode has been analyzed by western as well as oriental scholars, but with quite different results. For an interesting account of both treatments, see Muhammad Husayn Haykal, *Ḥayāt Muhammad* (first published Cairo 1935, now also in English translation) ch. XVII, latter half.

The Events of the Year [2596]

21

(December 10, 641–November 29, 642)

Ṭabarī said: In this year the battle of Nihāwand occurred as related in the account of Ibn Isḥāq according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—himself. Abū Ma'shar has the same according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—his authority—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar. Al-Wāqidī says likewise. As for Sayf b. 'Umar, he has it that the battle of Nihāwand took place in the year 18 (639), in the sixth year of 'Umar's reign, according to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf.

The Battle of the Muslims and the Persians at Nihāwand[616]

The beginning of this episode was as follows according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: (A basic element) of the story of Nihāwand was that al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin was governor of Kas-

616. For a detailed source analysis of this battle and a comparison with the accounts concerning the conquest of Isfahān, see the fundamental study of Noth, "Iṣfahān-Nihāwand," in *ZDMG*, CXVIII (1968):274–96.

kar.[617] He wrote to 'Umar to inform him that Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ had employed him to levy the *kharāj*. He wrote, "I would have loved to wage Holy War, indeed I am craving it."

Then 'Umar wrote to Sa'd, "Al-Nu'mān has written to me mentioning that you have employed him to gather the *kharāj*. However, he loathes this function and would much rather go and fight in the Holy War. Send him, therefore, to your most important objective, to wit Nihāwand."

He said: In the meantime, the Persians had assembled in Nihāwand under the command of (Bahman Jādhawayh) Dhū al-Ḥājib,[618] a certain Persian. Then 'Umar wrote to al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin, "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. From the servant of God, 'Umar, the Commander of the Faithful, to al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin. Peace be upon you, I praise God to you, beside Him there is no other god. Listen. It has reached me that
[2597] numerous bands of Persians have assembled against you at the city of Nihāwand. When this letter has reached you, I want you to march out against them, by order of God, with His help and His support, together with those Muslims who are with you at present. Do not let your fighters tread on rugged ground lest you bring harm to them, do not deny them their rights lest you have to make up for that to them, and do not make them enter swampy areas. For one Muslim man is dearer to me than one thousand dīnārs. Fare you well."

So al-Nu'mān marched out toward his goal with the most important Companions of the Prophet accompanying him, such as Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī, al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib al-Zubaydī, Ṭulayḥah b. Khuwaylid al-Asadī and Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādī.[619] When al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin finally arrived with his army at Nihāwand, the enemy spread iron spikes over

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617 This is the name of the district that lies between al-Kūfah and al-Basrah. The main town in it in later times is Wāsiṭ, founded half-a-century later, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 39

618. That may mean "he in charge of the screen." Was he a chamberlain? See n 17 above. In other sources, such as Balādhurī, 303, he is called Dhū al-Ḥājibayn "he in charge of the two screens." Elsewhere (below, and Balādhurī, 302) he is Mardānshāh Dhū al-Ḥājib. It should be borne in mind, though, that Dhū al-Ḥājibayn can also mean "he with the (big) eyebrows."

619. For the three last-mentioned, see n. 93 above.

the ground against him. Al-Nuʿmān sent out spies who approached unaware of the caltrops. One of them urged his horse which had just stepped with its leg into a spike forward, but it would not budge. The man dismounted and inspected his horse's foot and then he found the caltrop lodged in its hoof. He brought it to al-Nuʿmān and told him what had happened. Then al-Nuʿmān asked his men what they thought should be done. They answered, "Move away from the position that you have taken here, so that they think that you are fleeing away from them. Then they might come out of their stronghold to pursue you."

Thus al-Nuʿmān moved away from that position. The Persians swept the caltrops out of their path and left their stronghold in pursuit of the Muslims. Then al-Nuʿmān turned around to face them once more. He set up camp, drew up his platoons in battle array and addressed them as follows, "If I am killed, Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān will be your new commander; if he is slain, obey Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh, and if he gets killed too, then Qays b. Makshūḥ will command you."

Al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah was resentful that al-Nuʿmān had not asked him to succeed him. So he went up to al-Nuʿmān and asked him, "What is your plan of action?" Al-Nuʿmān replied, "After I [2598] have performed the noon *ṣalāt*, I shall fight them, because I have seen that the Messenger of God preferred it that way."[620] "If I had been in your place," al-Mughīrah remarked, "I would have engaged them very early in the morning." Then al-Nuʿmān said, "(On several occasions in the past) you may perhaps have engaged the enemy in fighting early in the morning, which did not result in your face being blackened by God,[621] but today happens to be Friday."

So al-Nuʿmān said to his army, "With God's permission, we will first perform the *ṣalāt*, and then we will confront our enemy after the *ṣalāt*." When they had arranged themselves in rows for

620 This is a reference to a *ḥadīth* (Bukhārī, II, 293; Abū Dāwūd, III, 49; Tirmidhī, IV, 160; Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 444 f.). Although ascribed to the Prophet, its originator was most probably Ḥammād b. Salamah (d. 167/784), a fact highlighted by Noth *op. cit.*, 274. A reason why Hammād might have brought this *ḥadīth* into circulation is hard to give. For an account of a later time in the day when the struggle is reported to have started, see below, on pp. 187–88.

621. This is an expression conveying that God renders someone's face expressive of sorrow or displeasure, or "to disgrace" (Lane, 1461, left column).

the prayer ritual, al-Nu'mān spoke to his fighters, "I shall shout 'God is great': after the first time everybody should fasten his sandal straps and adjust his gear. After I have shouted it a second time, everybody should fasten his belt and prepare himself to attack straightaway. After the third time, you must launch an all-out assault against them. I shall attack too."[622]

The Persians went forth, having fastened themselves to one another with chains so that they could not flee.[623] The Muslims attacked them and fought them. Al-Nu'mān was hit by an arrow, as a result of which he died. His brother Suwayd b. Muqarrin wrapped him in his garment and concealed the fact that his brother had been slain, until God granted victory to the Muslims. Then Suwayd gave the standard to Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān. God killed Dhū al-Ḥājib and Nihāwand was conquered. After this, the Persians never amassed an army of that size again.

Ṭabarī said: According to what I was told, 'Umar had sent al-Sā'ib b. al-Aqra', a client of Thaqīf[624] (i.e., to Nihāwand). Al-Sā'ib could write and was good at arithmetic. 'Umar told him, "Join the army there and stay with them. If God grants the Muslims victory, you must divide the booty among them. And set aside the fifth that belongs to God and the fifth of His Messenger. This army has suffered losses. Go into the countryside, for low land is better than elevated land."[625]

Al-Sā'ib said:[626] When God had conquered Nihāwand for the Muslims, they acquired enormous masses of booty. So, by God, I took pains to divide it justly among the fighters, when someone

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622. Or, conceivably, "I shall carry (our standard)." The carrying of flags and standards as a prominent feature in early Muslim war tactics is studied in Juynboll, "The Qur'ān reciter on the battlefield and concomitant issues," in *ZDMG*, CXXV (1975): 11–27.

623. Enemy troops tying themselves up in chains out of cowardice is a *topos* observed in various sources, see Noth, 122, and idem, "Isfahān-Nihāwand," 280.

624. This man was highly praised for his intellectual powers. For more stories about him, see Ibn Hajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 16 f.

625. This seems to suggest that 'Umar advised the Muslim warriors to recuperate from their war effort in the countryside, where they could hide themselves and where they were less conspicuous. The opposition *bāṭin/ẓāhir* is very much in evidence in the opposition *baṭn/ẓahr*. However, this expression as used here could not be traced to other sources.

626. This whole story is interrupted so often by the word *qāla* "he said" that for once I deemed it proper to leave it out altogether in what follows.

from the local people came to me and said, "Will you grant me, [2599]
my wife and my family immunity? For my part I will show you the treasures of al-Nakhīrajān. These are the treasures of the royal family, which will be for you and your commander without anyone else sharing with you in them." "All right," I said, whereupon that man said, "Send someone with me whom I can show where they are." I dispatched someone with him. That man returned to me with two huge baskets filled with nothing but pearls, chrysolites and rubies. When I had finished dividing the booty among the men, I took these two baskets with me and traveled to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, "What happened, Sā'ib?" "Good news, Commander of the Faithful," I answered, "God has granted you the most glorious victory and al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin died a martyr's death." Then 'Umar exclaimed, "Verily, we belong to God and to Him we will return,"[627] and burst into tears, weeping like a child, (bending his head forward so) that I saw the uppermost part of his shoulders above his neck. When I saw how he grieved, I said to him, "By God, Commander of the Faithful, apart from al-Nu'mān nobody who could be considered important died." "The weak are also Muslims," 'Umar retorted, "but He who has honored them with martyrdom knows their prominence and lineage, and of what they achieve. 'Umar, his mother's son, is aware (too)."[628] Then he stood up to enter his house. So I said, "I have enormous riches that I have brought along with me," whereupon I told 'Umar the story of the two baskets. "Bring them to the treasury," 'Umar ordered, "we will see later what we will do with them. And you should once more join your army unit."

So I brought the baskets to the treasury and soon afterwards left [2600]
for al-Kūfah.

The same night that I departed for al-Kūfah, 'Umar rested, but when he awoke the next morning, he dispatched a messenger after me. By God, he only caught up with me the moment I was about to enter al-Kūfah. When I made my camel kneel, he made his camel kneel right beside mine. "Go back immediately to the Commander of the Faithful," he shouted. "He sent me to fetch

627. Q. II, 156.
628. Rendition tentative.

you but I only caught up with you this very moment." "Damn you," I said, "what is all this about and why should I?" "I (honestly) do not know," he answered.

So I rode back with the messenger. Finally, I approached 'Umar, who the moment he spotted me said, "What shall I tell the son of al-Sā'ib's mother, or rather what can he tell me?" "Commander of the Faithful," I asked him, "what is all this about?" "Damn you, by God," 'Umar replied, "hardly had I gone to sleep that night in which you left Medina, when the angels of my Lord came to me to escort me to those two baskets that shone like flames, while the angels said, "We are going to brand you with them." Then I said, "I shall divide their contents into equal shares among the Muslims." Therefore, Sā'ib, go and take them away from me, you bastard, do not let them out of your sight. Sell them so that with the proceeds the stipends and annuities of the Muslims can be paid." Thus I left with the baskets. (Having arrived in al-Kūfah,) I deposited them in the mosque, whereupon the tradesmen descended upon me. It was 'Amr b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmi who bought them from me for two million dirhams. He left with them for the land still under control of the Persians and sold them there for four million. Consequently, he remained ever after the wealthiest man in al-Kūfah.

According to al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān—Asad b. Mūsā—al-Mubārak b. Fuḍālah—Ziyād b. Jubayr—his father (sc. Jubayr b. Ḥayyah): 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to al-Hurmuzān when he granted him immunity, "Do not fear, will you give me advice?" "I will,"
[2601] al-Hurmuzān replied. Thereupon 'Umar said, "Suppose Persia is today like a head and two wings." "Then where is that head?" al-Hurmuzān asked. "In Nihāwand," was the answer, "under the command of Bundār,[629] for he has the royal brigade of the Asāwirah[630] and troops from Iṣbahān with him." "And where are the wings?" al-Hurmuzān asked. 'Umar mentioned a region that I have forgotten. "Cut off the wings," the Persian suggested, "then the head will weaken." "You speak lies, enemy of God," 'Umar

629. This is thought by De Goeje to be a corruption of Mardānshāh (Dhū al-Ḥājibayn), see *Glossarium*, p. DCXXII.

630. See n. 147 above.

retorted, "no, I shall go for the head first, which I shall cut off; when God has struck off the head, the wings will no longer resist Him."

He went on: Then 'Umar intended to march on Nihāwand himself, but his associates said, "For God's sake, may we remind you, Commander of the Faithful, that you intend to march on the élite cavalry of the Persians? If you are slain, the Muslims will no longer have a binding force. But by all means, send military forces." So 'Umar sent men from Medina. One of them was his son 'Abdallāh, but Muhājirs and Anṣār were also among them. Then he wrote to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, "March out with the people of al-Baṣrah," and to Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān, "March out with the people of al-Kūfah," and to both ". . . until you all come together near Nihāwand. When you are assembled," the letter went on, "then your commander will be al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī." When the Muslims gathered at Nihāwand, Bundār, nicknamed the Sturdy One, sent them a message that said, "Detail someone to us so that we may speak to him." So al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah was commissioned.

He went on: It is as if I still see him: a man with long hair and only one eye. They sent him to the Persian commander. When he came back, we questioned him. Al-Mughīrah said," (When I came into their presence,) I learned that a short while ago the Persian commander had sought the advice of his associates by asking them, "For what good reason shall we allow this bedouin to behold our stateliness, grandeur and regality? Or should we present ourselves to him in an unkempt state, hiding from him what we are really like, so that he turns away in disgust?" "No," they shouted, "let us adorn ourselves in the most splendid possible way, in full armor. Let us array ourselves in our gear, and when [2602] we ride against them, our spears and lances will glitter so brilliantly that it will almost affect their eyesight."

(Al-Mughīrah entered and) lo, there was Bundār, with a crown on his head, (stretched out) on a golden throne, with (the nobles) standing around its head end, looking (vainglorious) as devils.[631]

631. In Lane, 1552, middle column, a devil is described in terms of insolence, audacity and pride, among other characteristics. Hence my use of "vainglorious."

Al-Mughīrah continued: I walked a few steps, (shabbily dressed) as I was, and bowed. But I was pushed and held back.[632] "This is not the way emissaries are treated," I protested. But they said, "You are nothing but a dog." "God forbid," I retorted, "among my own people I hold a higher rank than he among his." But they jeered at me, hollering, "Sit down!" pushing me to a place to sit.

He went on: Someone translated for me[633] the words Bundār spoke. "You bedouins, of all people you are the farthest removed from anything that is beneficial; you have been hungry longer than anyone else, you are the most wretched, live in the greatest squalor and in the most remote homesteads. Nothing prevents me from ordering these knights around me to shoot the lot of you with a barrage of arrows[634] except the fear of all your corpses polluting the air, for you are filth. If you go away, we will let you do so, but if you persist, we will show you the spot where you will be slaughtered."

Al-Mughīrah went on: I praised God and extolled Him and then I spoke, "By God, everything you said to describe and characterize us is absolutely correct. It is true, of all people we have the most remote homesteads, our hunger has been most severe, we were the most wretched and we were farther removed from anything beneficial than anyone, until God sent us His Messenger and promised us victory in this world as well as Paradise in the Hereafter. And by God, since His Messenger came to us, we have never experienced anything from our Lord but conquest and victory. Finally, we have come to you, and I swear by God, we will never
[2603] return to that misery until we have vanquished you, acquiring everything you own, or otherwise get killed in your land." Hereupon Bundār said (i.e. to his entourage), "Forsooth, this one-eyed scoundrel has given you a truthful rendering of what he thinks deep down."

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632. In parallel reports (for instance, Balādhurī, 303) the reason why al-Mughīrah was jostled was that he had torn the carpet with his spear and had seated himself next to the Persian general on the latter's throne, apparently just to provoke them.

633. The text has "for him," but I have opted for a suggestion made in the apparatus.

634. This is the translation suggested in *Glossarium* for form VIII of *nazama*.

Al-Mughīrah continued: Then I stood up and I swear that I had rattled the lout[635] with my determination.

Thereupon the Sturdy One[636] sent us a message that said, "Either you cross over to us in Nihāwand, or we will cross over to you." Al-Nuʿmān ordered, "Let us cross over to them."[637]

He[638] went on: I swear by God, I have never seen a spectacle as on that day, the Persians advancing like mountains of steel, having tied themselves[639] to one another lest they flee from the Arabs. In units of seven they had bound themselves to their peers with ropes,[640] and they threw iron spikes behind their backs, thinking that, if someone fled, he would wound himself on the spikes. When al-Mughīrah saw how numerous they were, he said, "I have never seen such vacillation.[641] Our enemies are left free to prepare themselves without any pressure being exerted on them. But I swear, had I been in command, I would not have hesitated a moment to attack them." Al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin, however, was a mild-mannered man, who said to him, "God will see to it that you witness similar battles (sc. in future, in which your preferred tactics are followed). Let your point of view not sadden you or reproach you, for I swear, nothing prevents me from attacking them except something I witnessed from the Messenger of God: When he went on a campaign, he never fought at the beginning of the day, not seeking a speedy outcome, but he waited until the time for the sunset[642] *ṣalāt* had come and the wind had freshened. As a consequence, fighting could be expected

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635. The Arabic has *ʿilj* "strong," "sturdy," "coarse," a term especially used to indicate unbelievers. It is unclear whether *ʿilj* is here an honorific of Bundār or a term of abuse. I have translated it as a double entendre.

636. See previous note.

637. For this *topos*, see n. 425 above.

638. He is Jubayr b. Ḥayyah again, the transmitter of this report introduced above on p. 184.

639. This verb *tawāthaqa* also permits of the translation "they had made promises to one another."

640. For the words *qarana* and *qirān*, see Lane, 2987 f. For the *topos* of enemy troops binding themselves to one another out of cowardice, see n. 623 above.

641. He probably means "in our strategy."

642. Although the text in Ṭabarī does not specify this *ṣalāt* as the one performed at sunset, parallel texts in the *ḥadīth* (referred to above in n. 620) have it coincide with sunset (. . . *hattā tazūla al-shams*).

to be more vigorous. That is really the only reason that holds me back. Almighty God, I beg You to gladden my eyes today with a victory in which there is prestige for Islam and an ignominy in which the unbelievers are humiliated. Then gather me unto You as a martyr after (victory has been won). And now, all of you, say 'Amen' to that. May God have mercy upon you." So we all said, "Amen," and wept.

Then al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin went on, saying, "When I wave my banner, you must hold your weapons ready. When I wave it a second time, you must prepare yourselves for fighting your en-
[2604] emies and when I wave it a third time, let every man attack the enemy nearest to him, secure in the blessing of God."

Meanwhile, the enemy had scattered the iron stakes. Al-Nuʿmān, however, waited until the time of the sunset *ṣalāt* had come and the winds had freshened. Then he shouted, "God is great," whereupon we answered with, "God is great." After that al-Nuʿmān said, "May God answer my prayer and grant me victory." Al-Nuʿmān waved the banner, so we prepared to fight. Then he waved it a second time, whereupon we positioned ourselves facing the enemy. After that he waved it a third time. Al-Nuʿmān shouted, "God is great," and the Muslims did likewise saying, "Victory will be ours with which God will honor Islam and its adherents." Then al-Nuʿmān ordained, "If I am slain, then Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān will lead the troops, and if Ḥudhayfah is slain, then so-and-so, and if he is also killed, then such-and-such." (He went on mentioning names) until he had enumerated seven leaders, the last of whom was al-Mughīrah. Then he waved the banner a third time, whereupon every fighter attacked the enemy nearest to him. By God, on that day I do not know of a single Muslim who wanted to get back to his family; (everybody kept fighting) until he either got killed or defeated his adversary. We attacked as one man, but the enemies stood their ground against us. The only sound we heard was iron clashing on iron, until the Muslims had sustained serious losses. However, when the Persians saw our endurance and our reluctance to leave the battlefield, they lost their confidence. As soon as one man fell down, seven others fell down too, one on top of the other, still being chained together. So all of them were slain, while others sustained injuries from the caltrops that they had spread about

behind them. Al-Nuʿmān shouted, "Bring the banner forward." So we began to move the banner forward. We killed the enemy and routed them. When al-Nuʿmān realized that God had answered his prayer, and when he saw that victory was ours, an arrow was shot at him that struck him in his flank and killed him.

Then Maʿqil, his brother, went to him and covered him with a cloak. He took the banner and joined the fight again. Next he [2605] shouted, "Forward. Let us kill and rout them." When the warriors had assembled, they asked, "Where is our commander?" Then (pointing to the body) Maʿqil said, "Here is your commander. God has gladdened his eye with victory and has sealed this with his martyrdom." After that the warriors gave the oath of allegiance to Ḥudhayfah and also to ʿUmar in Medina, asking (God) to grant him victory and invoking God's blessing upon him, as is done for pregnant women.

News of the victory was recorded in a letter for ʿUmar that was delivered by one of the Muslims. When he had arrived at ʿUmar's abode, he said to him, "Rejoice, Commander of the Faithful, in a victory with which God has honored Islam and His subjects and with which He has disgraced unbelief and its advocates." ʿUmar said, "Praise be to God. Has al-Nuʿmān sent you?" "Prepare yourself (for bad news and God's blessing), al-Nuʿmān (was slain),[643] Commander of the Faithful." ʿUmar burst into tears and cried, "Verily, we belong to God, and to Him we will return,[644] who else was killed, you bearer of bad news?" The man mentioned such-and-such and so-and-so, until he had enumerated many people for him, concluding with the words, "And the others, Commander of the Faithful, you would not know." "It will not hurt them that ʿUmar does not know them. In any case God certainly knows them," ʿUmar said tearfully.

As for Sayf, according to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—himself—Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, Ṭalḥah, ʿAmr and Saʿīd: What precipitated the fighting at Nihāwand was that, after the fighters from al-Baṣrah had overpowered al-Hurmuzān and had forestalled the people of

643. The Arabic expression *iḥtasaba fulānan* conveys that someone may reap a reward from God for his composure upon hearing about the death of someone dear, see Lane, 565, right column, below.

644. Q. II, 156.

Fārs by preventing them from annihilating the army force of al-'Alā'[645] and had trampled them underfoot, the people of Fārs wrote to their king, who was at the time in Marw, to prompt him to take action. The king wrote to the inhabitants of al-Jibāl, namely those of al-Bāb, al-Sind, Khurāsān and Ḥulwān, who were duly roused. They exchanged letters and some even rode to others. They agreed that they would show up at Nihāwand and sort out their matters there.

One after the other, the first contingents of Persians began to arrive at Nihāwand. Qubādh (b. 'Abdallāh al-Khurāsānī), the commander at Ḥulwān, sent news of this to Sa'd, who in turn wrote to 'Umar. Meanwhile, Sa'd was being beleaguered by certain[646] peo-
[2606] ple, who incited against his authority in the time that elapsed between the exchange of letters among the Persians and their assembling at Nihāwand. But the latter were not concerned with the commotion that their maneuvers caused the Muslims. Among those people who recalcitrated was al-Jarrāḥ b. Sinān al-Asadī amidst a group of followers.

'Umar wrote back, "Proof that not everything is in order among you lies in your[647] rising up just at the moment when those who are preparing to fight you are getting ready. But I swear by God, this crisis will not prevent me from looking into your situation first, even if the Persians attack you." Then 'Umar sent Muḥammad b. Maslamah.[648] In the meantime, the Muslim forces were getting ready to fight the Persians, while the Persians were concentrating their forces. Muḥammad b. Maslamah was the overseer of the governors, whose task it was at the time of 'Umar's reign to investigate the administrative measures taken by those against whom complaints had been filed.

So Muḥammad went up to Sa'd to be escorted amongst the inhabitants of al-Kūfah, while deputations meant for the people of the garrison cities were sent in the direction of Nihāwand. Sa'd escorted Muḥammad along the mosques of the people of al-Kūfah.[649] Muḥammad did not address himself in secret to any

645. See above, pp. 129–31

646. Who these people were will become clear further down.

647. Presumably, 'Umar refers only to those malcontents siding with al-Jarrāh.

648. In the past he had also acted as 'Umar's trouble-shooter, see pp. 73–74 above.

649. Various clans and tribal groupings had their own prayer sites, also used for local public meetings.

question raised about Sa'd, since in those days problems related to people's circumstances were never dealt with behind closed doors. Muḥammad did not stop at a prayer site in order to interrogate the people about Sa'd without receiving the answer, "We know nothing but good (about him), we do not wish him to be replaced, we will not say anything that discredits him and we will help no one against him." (All expressed these and similar ideas) except those who supported al-Jarrāḥ b. Sinān and his associates. The last-mentioned had kept silent, not saying anything detrimental, nor had Muḥammad given them permission (to speak for that matter). They had also deliberately abstained from uttering salutations. Finally, the investigation committee reached the abode of the 'Abs. Muḥammad addressed them, "I swear by God, let anyone who knows the truth speak up."

Then Usāmah b. Qatādah said, "If you adjure us, by God, (to be frank with you), Sa'd does not divide the booty equally among us, he does not act justly among his subjects and he does not mount campaigns (sc. that might bring in spoils)." Hereupon Sa'd exclaimed, "By the almighty God, if he has told a deliberate lie for everybody to see and hear, then, God, blind him, give him numerous children,[650] and expose him to tribulations that will make him take leave of his senses!" And indeed, (in the time that followed), Usāmah did become blind. Moreover, in the end he had [2607]
ten daughters, having heard about a woman whom he went to seek out, until he felt his way toward her. Later, when people bumped into him, he would say, "(The state in which I am is the result of) an imprecation of Sa'd, that blessed man."

Then, in conformity with his imprecation, Sa'd addressed (al-Jarrāḥ's) hangers-on and said, "O God, if they have stepped out of line in brazen impertinence with false pretenses, mete out a severe punishment to them." And indeed, the afflictions that befell them were great: al-Jarrāḥ was cut down by sword blows on the day he pounced on al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī to kill him at Sābāṭ,[651] Qa-

650. A reference to one of man's most serious misfortunes, to have many children and little means, expressed in a saying later ascribed to the Prophet: *jahd al-balā' kathrat al-'iyāl ma'a qillat al-shay'*. See Juynboll, "The ḥadīṯ in the discussion on birth-control," in *Actas IV Congresso de estudos árabes e islâmicos*, Leiden, 1971, 373–9.

651. This event is described in more detail in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaqr, Cairo, 1949, 64.

bīṣah (b. Ḍubayʿah al-ʿAbsī) was stoned to death;[652] Arbad was killed as a result of emasculation and blows with sword scabbards. In addition, Saʿd said, "Remember that I was the first man to shed the blood of unbelievers.[653] The Messenger of God asked that both his parents be held ransom for me[654] and that was something he had never done for anyone before. At one time I saw that I comprised one-fifth of the adherents of Islam.[655] And now these yokels from Asad claim that I cannot perform the *ṣalāt* correctly and that I am solely concerned with hunting." Muḥammad (b. Maslamah) took Saʿd and those men from Asad with him back to ʿUmar. When they had arrived at ʿUmar's abode, Muḥammad reported to him, whereupon ʿUmar said, "Woe unto you, Saʿd, how *do* you perform the *ṣalāt*?" "I take my time in performing the first two (*rakʿas*)," Saʿd replied, "and I shorten the last
[2608] two." "But that is merely your own private interpretation,"[656] ʿUmar said and he went on, "Had it not been for their (lack of) circumspection (in their accusations), their line of action would have been clearly (justified)." Then he asked, "Saʿd, who is your deputy in al-Kūfah?" "ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdallāb b. ʿItbān," Saʿd answered. ʿUmar confirmed this appointment and nominated him as governor. The prelude to the battle of Nihāwand and the beginning of deliberations and missions concerned with it occurred during the time of Saʿd's governorship, as for the actual battle, that took place in the time of ʿAbdallāh.

They said: What happened among other things was that the Persians responded to the letter of king Yazdajird and set out for

652. He was an associate of the Shīʿite agitator Ḥujr b. ʿAdī (on him, see *EI*² s.v *Ḥudjr* (Lammens)). For more on Qabīsah, see Ṭabarī, II, 128–43.

653. This is a reference to an incident during which Saʿd is reported to have dealt someone from the (still unbelieving) Quraysh a blow when he and a group of early converts to Islam were harassed during their prayer ritual. See Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *al-Awāʾil*, ed. M. al-Miṣrī and Walīd Qassāb, Damascus, 1975, I, 308.

654. This is a reference to an ancient custom. If someone is about to embark on a dangerous mission, well-wishers pray that a parent be held ransom in order to secure his safety. The Prophet is reported to have said when Saʿd was about to mix in the fray at Uhud, *fidāka abī wa-ummī* "may my father and mother be held ransom for your (safe return)," see Bukhārī, III, 81 Compare also l. 1 of the poem on p. 25 above.

655. He is even recorded as having considered himself one-third of the adherents to Islam, see Bukhārī, II, 439.

656. In other words: This is not the established norm according to which four *rakʿas* should be performed.

Nihāwand. Thus, one after the other, there arrived those living in the territory between Khurāsān and Ḥulwān, those living in the territory between al-Bāb and Ḥulwān and those living in the territory between Sijistān and Ḥulwān. The cavalry of Fārs and of the Fahlūj, the inhabitants of al-Jibāl,[657] joined forces. Those hailing from the territory between Bāb (al-Abwāb) and Ḥulwān numbered thirty thousand troops, those hailing from the territory between Khurāsān and Ḥulwān numbered sixty thousand and those hailing from between Sijistān and Fārs and Ḥulwān numbered sixty thousand. They all assembled under the command of al-Fayruzān and they all set out to him, one after the other.

Mūsā—Ḥamzah b. al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah—Abū Ṭu'mah al-Thaqafī, who was a witness to these events, concurred with the last-mentioned transmitters: The Persians said to one another, "This man, Muḥammad, who has brought this religion to the Arabs, never wanted to undertake anything against us. Then, after his death, they were ruled by Abū Bakr, who did not undertake anything against the Persians either, except on one campaign during which he attacked them.[658] For the rest he concentrated on military maneuvers in that part of the Sawād bordering on Arab territory. Then, after Abū Bakr, the Arabs were ruled by 'Umar. His rule has lasted for some time and he has become so powerful that he could grapple with you and conquer the Sawād and al-Ahwāz little by little.[659] Now he has trampled these territories underfoot, but he will not be satisfied until he has attacked the people of Fārs and the monarchy in the very heart of their country. If you do not rush upon him now, he will certainly launch an offensive against you, after he has destroyed the seat of your monarchy and invaded the heartland of your royal family. The crisis will not be over until you have expelled the last of [2609]
'Umar's warriors from your country and razed their two gar-

657. I have not found another reference to them. But see Paul Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, VII, Stuttgart-Berlin 1936, 829.

658. Probably a reference to the campaign led by Khālid b. al-Walīd, which resulted in the conquest of al-Ḥīrah, a city that had been under a Persian governor for some time. See *EI*², s.v. *al-Ḥīra* (Shahid). For the controversy about Khālid's mission to Iraq, see *EI*², s.v *Khālid b. al-Walīd* (Crone)

659. This connotation for *intaqasa* is suggested in Lane, 2841, middle column, below.

risons.[660] After that you will have to keep 'Umar occupied with (defending) his own country and security."

Thereupon, the Persians concluded pacts and covenants among one another. They exchanged letters about this matter among themselves, pledging to help each other in this. News of this reached Sa'd who had just appointed 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Itbān as his deputy. Having left (al-Kūfah, he went to) meet 'Umar to tell him the news in person. Before that he had notified 'Umar by letter, in which he had said, "The people of al-Kūfah request your permission to spread out into enemy-held territory in order to attack the Persians first." In the past, 'Umar had forbidden the Muslims to invade al-Jabal. But also 'Abdallāh (b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Itbān) as well as other Muslim commanders had written to 'Umar to tell him that a Persian army force of fifty thousand fighters was being concentrated, arguing, "If they march on us before we have mounted an offensive against them first, they will increase in courage and strength. But if we forestall them, that will be to our advantage and to their disadvantage."

The messenger who carried this letter to 'Umar was named Qarīb b. Ẓafar al-'Abdī. After this messenger, Sa'd left al-Kūfah and set out for consultations with 'Umar. When the messenger had presented himself to 'Umar with the letter containing the news, and 'Umar had read it, he asked, "What is your name?" "Qarīb." "And who is your father?" "I am the son of Ẓafar," the messenger replied. 'Umar regarded this as a good omen, saying, "Victory is nigh,[661] if God wills it, for there is no power except in Him."

Then a congregational prayer meeting was announced among the people, who flocked together. Right at this moment, Sa'd presented himself to 'Umar, who saw a favorable omen in the fortuitous presence of Sa'd b. Mālik.[662] 'Umar climbed the pulpit to deliver a speech. He informed the congregation of the news and

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660. A reference to al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah.

661. A play on the messenger's name, *ẓafar* "victory" and *qarīb* "close at hand."

662. Unlike in the case of Qarīb b. Ẓafar, the supposedly good omen in Sa'd b. Mālik's name seems less obvious, but a *yawm sa'd* is a "lucky day" and *mālik* means "master," "possessor" as in Q. I, 4, where God is called *mālik yawm al-dīn* "the master of the Day of Reckoning."

asked the people's advice, saying, "Today is a day that will be [2610] decisive for the future,[663] but one thing is constantly on my mind. I will disclose this to you; therefore, listen to it, inform me of your views and be concise, '. . . and do not quarrel so that you lose heart and your vigor disappears.'[664] Do not use too many arguments and avoid longwindedness, lest you lose sight of your goal[665] and your suggestions turn out to work against you. Is there anyone who proposes that I should march out amidst my men and whomever else I succeed in persuading to follow me, until I have reached a position between our two garrison cities? Shall I call upon them to launch an offensive, while I am there to support them, until God grants them victory and carries out what He desires? If He grants them victory, I suggest that I order the Muslims to pursue the enemy far into his lands and to wrest their monarchy from him." Then 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf stood up among other Companions of the Messenger of God considered to be people of sound judgment, and they deliberated for a while. They said, "We do not think that (you yourself should set out on this campaign), but your authoritative opinion should not be withheld from the Muslim forces (sc. in Iraq)."

Several Arab chieftains, horse-owning knights and eminent leaders held the opposite view, as well as those whose associates had scattered, whose leaders had been killed and who had engaged in military activities even more extensive than the one (that lay ahead). They said, "They[666] have asked you leave to invade enemy territory without asking for your support. Give them your permission, send them your orders and pray for their well-being." The one who was critical of 'Umar's opinion, when he was asked to give his views, was al-'Abbās.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ḥamzah (b. al-Mughīrah)—Abū Ṭu'mah: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib stood up and said, "The people have arrived at the right decision, Commander of the [2611]

663. See n. 122 above.

664. Q. XLVIII, 46.

665. This rendering is suggested in *Glossarium*, p. CDIV, but is not recorded in the available dictionaries. Going by what is given there, one may translate "lest you are swamped by circumstances."

666. Presumably the Muslim fighters in al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah.

Faithful, for they have insight into the circumstances you were informed about by letter. The outcome of this perilous situation will not be determined by victory because of superior numbers in one army or by defeat because of inferior numbers in the other army. No, the determining factors will be His religion, with which He prevails, and His army, which He has made powerful and which He has strengthened with His angels,[667] so that it may achieve its goal. For we can count on a promise from God. God will fulfill His promise and He will grant victory to His army. For them you are the string on which the beads of a necklace are threaded and held together. When the string is broken, all the beads on it will scatter and be lost, and they will never be gathered together again. Although few in number, today the Arabs are numerous and powerful through Islam. So stay (in Medina) and write to the people of al-Kūfah, for they comprise the most eminent leaders of the Arabs as well as those people who do not even pay attention to others who might have a more numerous following, better weapons[668] and greater application than they themselves. Let two-thirds of the people of al-Kūfah march on the Persians, with one-third staying behind. And write to the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah to reinforce those of al-Kūfah with some of their men."

'Umar was delighted with their sound advice and he expressed his admiration for them. Then Sa'd stood up and said, "There is no need to strike such a belligerent note, Commander of the Faithful, the people will march out because they want revenge."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī: When 'Umar had told the people the news (sc. about the Persians concentrating their troops at Nihāwand), and had asked their advice, adding that they should avoid prolixity and not be long-winded lest they lose track of their objectives, he said, "Know that this is a day that will be decisive for the future.[669] Speak up."

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667. This is probably a reference to the celestial hosts that descended from heaven to help the early Muslims in their struggle against the Meccans. See Juynboll, "Fighting angels," in *Ohio Journal of Religious Studies*, II/1 (1974):85–7.

668. This rendering is based on Lane's connotation (525, middle column, 6 lines from the bottom) *dhawū ḥaddin* "possessors of arms." In *Glossarium*, p. CLXXXIII, the connotation "élite troops" is suggested.

669. See n. 122 above.

Then Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh stood up. He was one of the major [2612]
public speakers from among the Companions of the Messenger of God. After he had uttered the formula of the unity of God he said, "Listen. You, Commander of the Faithful, have been fortified by circumstances and tested by tribulations. Your experience has rendered you sound in judgment. Do as you deem fit and proper. We will not withdraw from our obligations to you and we will never tire from serving you. With you rests the decision to be taken in this matter. So, if you give us your orders, we will obey them. If you call upon us, we will oblige. If you give us mounts,[670] we will ride them. Detail us and we will go, lead us and we will be led. For you are in charge of this matter, having been tested, tried and examined.[671] No outcome of God's decree has been revealed to you that was not favorable."

Ṭalḥah sat down. Then 'Umar returned to the pulpit and said, "Today is a day that will be decisive for the future. Speak your minds." After that, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān stood up and, having uttered the formula of God's unity, he said, "Commander of the Faithful, I propose that you write to the people in Syria. Let them march out from their territory. I also propose that you write to the people of Yemen to march out from theirs. Furthermore, I suggest that you, together with the people of these two holy cities,[672] march out in the direction of the two garrison cities, al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, in order to confront the assembled unbelievers with all the Muslim forces. For if you march out with your allies as well as your (Ḥijāzi) followers, then the enemy's forces, although increasingly mobilized, will no longer pose so much of a problem to you. You will be more powerful and numerous, Commander of the Faithful. After the tribal warriors have given their utmost, you will not leave the least bit of your energy unused. You are not the man to carry the goods of this world away for yourself, nor the man to seek refuge from it in a shelter. Today is a day that will be
decisive for the future. Be present at this crucial day with your [2613]
good counsel and your allies, and do not absent yourself from it."

670. Literally, the text reads "if you carry us, we will ride." My rendering is suggested by Lane, 647, left column, lines 4 ff.

671. Instead of the active verbs of the text, I opt for the passives suggested in the apparatus.

672. That is, Medina and Mecca.

At this 'Uthmān sat down. 'Umar returned to the pulpit and said, "Today is a day that will be decisive for the future. Speak your minds." Then 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib stood up and said,

"Listen. If you order the people of Syria to leave their country, Commander of the Faithful, then the Byzantines will pounce on their offspring, and if you order the people of Yemen to leave theirs, the Ethiopians will pounce on their offspring. And if you depart from this land, rebellions may break out against your authority from all sides and regions to the point that what you left behind, namely your wives and children, may become more important to you than what lies ahead of you. Let those tribesmen stay in their garrison cities, and write to the people of al-Baṣrah ordering them to divide themselves into three groups—one to remain behind to protect the women and children, another to remain behind to keep an eye on the conquered people who have treaties with the Muslims, lest they rebel against them, and the third to march out to their brethren in al-Kūfah as reinforcements for the latter. If the Persians lay eyes on you some day in the near future, they will say, 'This is the Commander of the Arabs on whom the whole nation of the Arabs depends,' and that will only increase their desire to defeat you. Thus you will have incited them against you. You also mentioned that the enemy has mobilized; God abhors that even more than you do, and He is more powerful to alter a situation He abhors. And as for the consideration you mentioned—that the enemy is (so) numerous—in the past we never had superior forces, but we fought assured of divine support."

"Yes, indeed," 'Umar exclaimed, "by God, if I leave this land, the whole area may start a rebellion against me from all quarters
[2614] and regions. If the Persians see me in person, they will certainly not leave the battleground (of Nihāwand) and they will surely be reinforced by those who have never given them help (in the past). They will say to their forces, 'This is the man on whom the Arabs depend; if you cut him down, you will have severed the spine of the Arab nation.' Advise me, what man shall I entrust with handling the situation in that border region in the days to come?"

The people answered, "You yourself have better ideas and are more competent to decide." But 'Umar went on, "Give me some

name and let it be someone presently in Iraq." They answered "Commander of the Faithful, you know the people in Iraq and the warriors in your army better than we. They have sent you a delegation; you have seen them and spoken with them." "By God," 'Umar said, "I shall certainly place the command over them in the hands of a man who will surely face the first of their spears when he confronts the enemy in a few days' time." "Whom do you have in mind, Commander of the Faithful?" he was asked. "Al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī," he answered, whereupon they said, "He will be the man to face them."

At that time al-Nu'mān was in al-Baṣrah, surrounded by several army commanders from the people of al-Kūfah, with whom 'Umar had reinforced the people of al-Baṣrah at the time of the insurrection of al-Hurmuzān. They conquered Rāmhurmuz and Īdhaj and helped them against Tustar, Jundaysābūr and al-Sūs. Through Zirr [b. 'Abdallāh] b. Kulayb and al-Muqtarib al-Aswad b. Rabī'ah, 'Umar sent a letter to al-Nu'mān with the news of his appointment: "I have given you the command to fight the enemy. So march out immediately and go on as far as Māh.[673] In the meantime, I have written to the people of al-Kūfah to join you there. When all your troops have assembled under your command, advance on al-Fayruzān and all those people from Fārs and the others who joined him. Pray God to grant you victory, and frequently repeat the words[674] 'There is no power or strength except in God.'"

As to 'Umar's motive for sending al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin to Nihāwand, according to Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Thaqafī—Umayyah b. Khālid—Abū 'Awānah—Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Abū Wā'il: While al-Nu'mān was governor over Kaskar,[675] he wrote to 'Umar, "The way I feel here in Kaskar is like a young, vigorous man who is beside a prostitute who has put on make-up for him and has perfumed herself. I swear to you by God [2615]

673. That is Nihāwand. Māh is the Persian word for chief city, Arabic *qaṣbah*. Because it paid its tribute after the conquest in particular to al-Baṣrah, Nihāwand was called Māh al-Baṣrah. In the same manner Dīnawar was called Māh al-Kūfah. See n. 15 above, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 196 f.

674. A common expression, probably based on Q. 18, 39.

675. See n. 617 above.

that when you have relieved me of my function in Kaskar and have sent me to one of the armies of the Muslims (I shall perform great feats!)"

He said: Then 'Umar wrote to him (saying), "Join the troops at Nihāwand, for you will be their commander."

He said: The armies came face-to-face, and al-Nu'mān was the first to be killed. His brother, Suwayd b. Muqarrin, took the flag (that al-Nu'mān had dropped). Then God granted the Muslims victory, and they, that is the Persians, never assembled a host like that again. Henceforth, the inhabitants of every garrison city launched campaigns against their enemies in the countryside near their cities.

The Account Is Resumed Once More by Sayf

Through Rib'ī b. 'Āmir, 'Umar wrote to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh (b. 'Itbān), "Call up so-and-so many men from al-Kūfah to accompany al-Nu'mān. I have written to him ordering him to go from al-Ahwāz to Māh, and these troops are to join him there. He is to march with them to Nihāwand. I have appointed Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān as their commander until he meets up with al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin. In the meantime, I have written to al-Nu'mān, 'If something happens to you, Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān is to take charge of the troops, and if something happens to Ḥudhayfah, then Nu'aym b. Muqarrin is to be the new commander.'"

[2616] 'Umar sent Qarīb b. Ẓafar back (to Iraq), accompanied by al-Sā'ib b. al-Aqra' as 'Umar's confidential agent. To the latter he said, "If God grants you victory, you must divide the booty that God has made available to them in equal shares among the troops, and do not swindle me out of what is due to me[676] by setting aside worthless goods for me. And if our warriors suffer a disastrous defeat, you and I will never see each other again."

The two emissaries arrived in al-Kūfah carrying 'Umar's letter with his marching orders. Among the people of al-Kūfah, the quickest to respond were the 'newcomers',[677] who were eager to have their faith tested and to be given a share in the booty.

676. That is, the fifth part
677. See n. 253 above for an explanation of the term *rawādif*.

Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān left with the troops accompanied by Nuʿaym. After a while they joined al-Nuʿmān at al-Ṭazar, and they concentrated the cavalry at Marj al-Qalʿah[678] under the command of al-Nusayr (b. Thawr al-ʿIjlī).[679] To Sulmā b. al-Qayn, Ḥarmalah b. Murayṭah, Zirr (b. ʿAbdallāh) b. Kulayb, al-Muqtarib al-Aswad b. Rabīʿah and the Persian commanders, who had settled in the region between Fārs and al-Ahwāz,[680] ʿUmar had written a letter saying, "Prevent the Persians from bothering your brethren and, for that purpose, protect your manpower and your land from all sides. Furthermore, stay at the borders of the area between Fārs and al-Ahwāz, until new orders from me reach you."

Then ʿUmar sent Mujāshiʿ b. Masʿūd al-Sulamī[681] to al-Ahwāz and said to him, "Withdraw from there in the direction of Māh." So off he went. Some time later, when he was near Ghuḍā Shajar,[682] al-Nuʿmān ordered him to stay where he was. Thus Mujāshiʿ made camp between Ghuḍā Shajar and Marj al-Qalʿah. Sul- [2617]
mā, Ḥarmalah, Zirr and al-Muqtarib went forth, ending up at the district borders of Iṣbahān and Fārs, thereby blocking the access routes to be taken by reinforcements from Fārs intended for the enemy at Nihāwand. When the Kūfan troops joined al-Nuʿmān at al-Ṭazar, a letter from ʿUmar, delivered by Qarīb, reached him, that read, "In your army you have the best fighters from the tribes as well as their heroes of long standing.[683] Let them see action rather than those whose experience of warfare is less extensive. Ask for their support and follow their good counsel. Ask advice also from Ṭulayḥah, ʿAmr and ʿAmr,[684] but do not give them any

678. Al-Ṭazar and Marj al-Qalʿah were two localities in al-Jibāl, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 191 f., Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 537, IV, 488.

679. According to De Goeje's index, he may be identified with the man mentioned in n. 214 above.

680. Presumably they are the leaders of Persian deserters, such as the Hamrāʾ and the Asāwirah.

681. A colorful figure whose military career is described in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 767 f.

682. A locality between al-Ahwāz and Marj al-Qalʿah, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam* III, 804

683. Literally "in the Jāhiliyyah."

684. For their full names, see a little further down. Two of these were mentioned above in n. 93 as erstwhile leaders in the *riddah* wars; one ʿAmr, the son of Abū Sulmā, seems a less well-known person.

commanding function." Thereupon al-Nu'mān sent Ṭulayḥah and the two 'Amrs ahead on patrol so that they might furnish him with military intelligence, and he ordered[685] them not to penetrate too deeply into enemy territory. So Ṭulayḥah b. Khuwaylid, 'Amr b. Abī Sulmā al-'Anazī and 'Amr b. Ma'di Karib al-Zubaydī left. When they had been gone for a day and the evening was nigh, 'Amr b. Abī Sulmā returned. "What caused you to turn back so soon?" he was asked. "I was in the land of the enemy," he replied. "A country can kill someone who does not know it, whereas someone who does know a certain country will not die crossing it."[686]

Meanwhile, Ṭulayḥah and (the other) 'Amr pressed on until, by the end of the night, the latter came back too. "What made you return so soon?" people asked him, whereupon 'Amr replied, "We had been gone for a day and a night without spotting anything suspicious, and I began to have fears that the route we had taken would be seized by the enemy."

Ṭulayḥah pressed forward, not paying attention to the other two (and stayed away so long that) the people said to one another, "Maybe he has turned his back on Islam again."[687] So Ṭulayḥah forged ahead, until he finally reached Nihāwand. From al-Ṭazar to Nihāwand is a distance of more than twenty parasangs.[688] He learned the whereabouts of the enemy and gathered intelligence;
[2618] then he himself returned. When he finally came in sight, approaching the Muslim army, the people shouted, "God is great." When he asked them what the commotion was about, they told him about their anxiety for him, but he said, "By God, were religion nothing more than being Arab, I would not be inclined to let these barbarous Persians be slaughtered by us noble Arabs."[689]

Then al-Nu'mān came and sat down with Ṭulayḥah, who told

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685. For this connotation of *taqaddama*, see Lane, 2985, right column.

686. Literally, "whereas someone who does know a certain country can kill it." 'Amr's explanation is couched in two short proverbs. My rendition is based upon an analysis of both proverbs in G. W. Freytag (ed.), *Arabum proverbia*, Bonn 1838–43, II, 271; the reference is Prym's.

687. Literally, "he has apostatized a second time," a reference to his alleged role in the *riddah* wars.

688. Twenty parasangs equal sixty miles; see Lane, 2369, left column, where other numbers are also given.

689. Rendition tentative. Is Ṭulayḥah here at his most cynical?

him everything that had happened and informed him that, between the spot in which they were and Nihāwand, there was nothing that might cause him alarm, in fact there was not a soul. Thereupon al-Nuʿmān issued the order to saddle the animals, and he told the men to line up. To Mujāshiʿ b. Masʿūd he sent word that he was to take charge of the rearguard.[690] Al-Nuʿmān marched at the head of his formations, his brother Nuʿaym leading the vanguard, his brother Suwayd and Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān leading the wings, with al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr in command of the cavalry[691] and Mujāshiʿ commanding the rear. In the meantime, reinforcements from al-Madīnah had joined al-Nuʿmān. Among these were al-Mughīrah (b. Shuʿbah) and ʿAbdallāh (b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb). They ended up at al-Isbīdhahān.[692]

The enemy was stationed in their formations on this side of Wāya Khurd[693] under the command of al-Fayruzān, with al-Zarduq and Bahman Jādhawayh, who had been appointed in the place of Dhū al-Ḥājib, commanding the wings. They had been joined at Nihāwand by everyone from the border regions, including princes and several nobles, who had not participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah or in those battles immediately preceding it. In all, they were no less in number[694] than those who had been present at the battles preceding al-Qādisiyyah, that of al-Qādisiyyah and [2619]
its aftermath.[695] In command of the Persian cavalry was Anūshaq.

When al-Nuʿmān spotted the enemy, he shouted, "God is great." This was repeated by the men who were with him, something that greatly upset the Persians. Halting his mount, al-Nuʿmān ordered that the luggage be unloaded and that the tent[696]

690. Or, conceivably, "to urge the men on from the rear."

691. This word is problematic. De Goeje suggests (*Glossarium*, p. CLXII) "contingent of cavalry." In his partial translation of Ṭabarī, Kosegarten, 257, seems to have opted for "lightly armed footsoldiers" (Latin *velites*). See Lane, s.v. *jarīdah*, but also s.v. *mujarrad*. Below, on pp. 205–6, the context seems to suggest that horses are involved.

692. A locality near Nihāwand; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 239.

693. According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 896, a riverbed near Nihāwand. On p. 209 below it is described as a ravine.

694. Or, conceivably, "more numerous," the preposition *dūna* used here being a *didd*, admitting of two opposite connotations "more than" and "less than."

695. See n. 114 above.

696. Presumably the one from which the battle is directed.

be pitched. So while al-Nuʿmān waited there, his tent was set up. The nobles from al-Kūfah hurried to him to pitch a tent for him, racing each other to get there first. Arriving ahead of their peers were the following fourteen persons: Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān, ʿUqbah b. ʿAmr, al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah, Bashīr b. al-Khaṣṣāṣiyyah, Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabīʿ the secretary, Ibn al-Hawbar, Ribʿī b. ʿĀmir, ʿĀmir b. Maṭar, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥimyarī, al-Aqraʿ b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥimyarī, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī, al-Ashʿath b. Qays al-Kindī, Saʿīd b. Qays al-Hamdānī and Wāʾil b. Ḥujr. Never before had Iraq witnessed such illustrious people setting up a tent (together).

After the luggage had been unloaded, al-Nuʿmān announced that fighting was to begin. They fought for two days, the Wednesday and the Thursday, both armies scoring alternate successes. This took place when seven years of ʿUmar's reign had elapsed, in the year 19 (640). On Friday, the Persians took refuge in their
[2620] trenches with the Muslims encircling them. They launched a fair number of attacks against them, but the Persians fared well, only leaving their trenches when they wanted. This exasperated the Muslims, who feared that the struggle might turn into a lengthy one. Finally, one Friday,[697] the wise men among the Muslims assembled and talked things over, saying, "We see that the enemy is faring well against us." So they raised the matter with al-Nuʿmān and told him their views; then they confronted him (with their point of view,[698]) while he pondered over the very same matter. Finally, he said, "Take it easy; do not leave your position." Then al-Nuʿmān sent for the remaining people of steadfastness[699] and strategic acumen, whereupon they made their way to him. He addressed them as follows,

697. Literally, it says "one day on a Friday of Fridays." This seems to suggest that, after the skirmishes of Wednesday and Thursday mentioned above, the two armies spent one week or more facing each other. Assuming that *jumʿah* is here used in the sense of "congregation," usually *jamāʿah* in Arabic, we may translate "one day at one of the prayer meetings." This solution seems to make more sense, while *jumʿah* in the sense of *jamāʿah* is listed in Lane, 457, middle column, supra.

698. The reading is dubious. The Arabic verb used here is *wāfaqa*, which usually means "to agree with." This does not seem to suit the present context at all, however, and that is why I have opted for a connotation suggested in Lane, 3057, middle column, line 5 (*ṣādafa* "to encounter someone").

699. See n. 47 above.

"You probably witnessed how the unbelievers sought refuge in their fortified trenches and settlements.[700] They do not make sorties unless they feel like it, while the Muslims are unable to stir or incite them to battle unless the Persians let them (do so). You may have also seen how exasperated[701] the Muslims are as a result of the situation in which they find themselves, and how successful the enemy is in that same situation when they make sallies. What is the proper strategy for us to stir them up and lure them into an open confrontation and make them abandon their shilly-shallying?"

The first to speak was 'Amr b. Thubayy.[702] He was at that time the oldest warrior among them, since they only rose to speak in order of seniority. He said, "Their being entrenched is harder for them to bear than the delay of getting to grips with them is for you. Let them be. Do not exert pressure on them to come forth and vie with them in pertinacity. Fight only with those enemies [2621] who attack you."

But all of those assembled rejected this proposal, saying, "We are certain that our Lord will keep His promise to us." Then 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib rose to speak and said, "Attack them, try to defeat them and do not fear them." But again, all the others rejected this suggestion, saying, "All you want us to do is to run with our heads against their walls, but these walls are their friends in need against us."

Then Ṭulayḥah began to speak and said, "Those two have said what they think, but what they suggest is not appropriate. As for me, I think that you should send forth armed horsemen to surround the enemy and shoot at them, feigning to open hostilities and thus inciting them to battle. When the enemy is provoked in this way and they are about to leave their trenches in order to engage our horsemen, these must retreat in simulated flight[703] back to our position. All the time that we have been doing battle

700. The Arabic has *madā'in* "cities," but that seems too grand a rendering in the present context.

701. Or "how constrained they are in their movements."

702. This man is identified by De Goeje with 'Amr b. Abī Sulmā mentioned above on p. 2617.

703. In Arabic, *istiṭrād*, see Lane, 1839, left column, below, for a detailed description of this ancient Arab stratagem.

with them, we have never made use of this stratagem against them. Therefore, if we resort to it now and they see us behaving like this, they may develop the ambition to inflict a crushing defeat upon us and they will not have second thoughts. They will leave their trenches and fight with us, whereupon we will (turn around and) fight them, until God decides between them and us as He likes."

Then al-Nuʿmān ordered al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, the commander of the cavalry,[704] (to do as Ṭulayḥah suggested). Al-Qaʿqāʿ obeyed. At first the Arab cavalry kept themselves at a distance from the Persians, but then they suddenly rushed upon them as if to open hostilities, while gibing[705] at them. When the enemy was about to leave the trenches, al-Qaʿqāʿ withdrew little by little, whereupon, expecting to acquire booty, the Persians did exactly as
[2622] Ṭulayḥah had thought they would. Shouting, "Hurry up, get a move on!" they rushed forth from their trenches. No one stayed behind except those who stood guard for them at the gates. They followed the Arabs closely, until al-Qaʿqāʿ had retreated to the Muslim army, in doing so, partly cutting off the Persians from their prepared positions.

Meanwhile, al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin and the Muslim warriors were drawn up in battle array on that particular Friday.[706] It was still morning. Al-Nuʿmān had issued orders to his men to the effect that they were to remain where they were and not to fight the enemy until he gave permission to do so. Accordingly, they stayed put, hiding behind their shields against the enemy's arrows. The unbelievers advanced upon them, shooting at them and causing many Arabs to sustain injuries. The Arabs complained to one another about this and said to al-Nuʿmān, "Do you not see that we are in a spot? Do you not see what they have to endure from the enemy? What are you waiting for? Give our warriors permission to engage the enemy in combat."

"Take it easy, take it easy," al-Nuʿmān replied, thus soliciting the same complaint from his men several times and each time calming them down with the same words. Then al-Mughīrah

704. See n. 690 above
705. By making a clicking noise with their tongues.
706. I prefer the reading *al-jumʿah* in Co.

said, "Had I been in command here, I know exactly what I would have done." But again al-Nuʿmān answered, "Easy does it—mind your own business! In the past, when you were in command, you did a good job. But God will not forsake us, nor you for that matter. We expect the same result from staying put as you do from rushing forth." So al-Nuʿmān started to postpone doing battle, until that particular hour of the day had arrived in which the Messenger of God preferred facing the enemy in battle, to wit when the sun has begun its decline, shadows lengthen, and [2623] breezes start to blow.[707]

When this hour had almost come, al-Nuʿmān stood up and rode through the army, seated on a dark brown, short-legged hack. He stopped at every banner and, after praising and extolling God, he said:

"You know how far God has honored you with this religion and what victory He has promised you. So far He has realized the neck and the chest of His promise; only the rump and the hind legs remain to be fulfilled.[708] But God will realize His promise and He will make sure that the final stage thereof will follow its initial stage. Remember what has happened, how weak you were, and how much you have achieved in this situation now that you are powerful. At present you are the veritable servants and protégés of God. You know that you are cut off from your brethren in al-Kūfah; you know well how they will benefit if you are granted a glorious victory and what a difficult task awaits them if you are defeated and disgraced. You may have seen what enemies you are facing. You may be aware of your exertions against them and theirs against you. As for what they stake, that is these paltry chattels and the land you see around you, but what is at stake for you is your religion and your nobility.[709] There is no comparison between what you and they put at stake. Surely there is no one who protects his worldly goods as zealously as you protect your religion. The most God-fearing person is he who believes in God, [2624] puts himself to the test and does so wholeheartedly. You have two excellent choices, anticipating either one of two beneficial

707. All these seem to point to approximately 5 p.m.
708. The imagery is derived from the horse.
709. The word *bayḍah* also admits of the interpretation "territory."

courses: everlasting martyrdom in which you will be well provided, or a quick conquest and easy victory.

Every man is to look to the adversary in front of him," he went on, "nobody may leave the grappling with his opponent to his brother, so that the latter is suddenly faced by his brother's adversary as well as his own, for that is ignominious. Even a dog sometimes fights in defense of its mate. Therefore, every one of you is held responsible for the adversary facing him. When I have finished issuing my marching orders, get ready. I shall shout three times 'God is great!' When I shout it the first time, let anyone who is not yet ready get ready. After I have shouted it a second time, everybody is to gird himself with his sword and get himself prepared to rush forward, and after the third time, I shall attack,[710] if God wills it. Then you must attack with me. O God, honor Your religion and grant Your servants victory! Make al-Nuʿmān the first martyr today, so that You may strengthen Your religion and ensure victory for Your servants!"

When al-Nuʿmān had finished doing his rounds among the fighters in their respective positions, and had issued his marching orders to them, he returned to his former position and shouted "God is great!" three successive times, whereupon the troops listened, obeyed and got ready to rush forward, some of them (in their haste) brushing aside others from their path. Al-Nuʿmān charged and so did the troops. The flag that al-Nuʿmān was hold-
[2625] ing swooped down upon the enemy like an eagle.[711] al-Nuʿmān himself was recognizable by his white cloak and bonnet.[712]

The armies fought a tremendous battle with their swords, causing such a clamor that those who heard it had never heard in any battle a din louder than this. In the period between late afternoon and early darkness, they killed so many Persians in this battle that the battlefield was inundated in blood and warriors and animals lost their footing in it. Several Muslim horsemen lost their lives in this way, having slipped in the blood. So too the horse of

710. Or, conceivably, "I shall carry (the banner) forward." Compare n. 622 above.

711. Compare the report in which the Prophet is said to have had a flag called *al-ʿuqāb* "the eagle", see Juynboll, "The Qur'ān reciter on the battlefield and concomitant issues," in *ZDMG*, CXXV (1975):26.

712. For the *topos* of distinctive clothing worn during battle, see also the paper mentioned in n. 667 above.

al-Nuʿmān stumbled and threw off his rider. Thus al-Nuʿmān was killed when his horse lost its footing and he was flung down. Nuʿaym b. Muqarrin took hold of the flag before it fell down, and he covered al-Nuʿmān in a garment. Then he brought the flag to Ḥudhayfah and gave it to him. The banner was already with Ḥudhayfah. He made Nuʿaym b. Muqarrin take his place and he himself took up the position previously occupied by al-Nuʿmān. Then he stuck the banner in the ground. Al-Mughīrah suggested to him, "You must hide the fact that your commander has fallen so that we will see what decision God will take between us and the enemy, lest our forces lose heart."

They fought until the night cast its shadow over the warriors, and the infidels took to their heels. They ran away, with the Muslims constantly harassing them and pursuing them. In the end the enemy forces lost their sense of direction in the dark, so they abandoned that course and directed their steps toward the ravine in which they had made their camp at Isbīdhahān. They fell into this ravine, and nobody tumbled down into it without shouting "*wāyah khurd*." That is why to this day this ravine is called Wāyah Khurd.[713]

In that place, one hundred thousand enemy warriors, or even more, lost their lives, in addition to those who were killed on the battlefield, who were also very numerous. Nobody escaped except a few stragglers. Amidst the slain on the battlefield, al-Fayruzān found a way to safety. Amidst those stragglers he fled in the direction of Hamadhān. Nuʿaym b. Muqarrin pursued him and sent al-Qaʿqāʿ to head him off. Finally, just as al-Fayruzān arrived at the mountain road to Hamadhān, al-Qaʿqāʿ overtook him. This road was chock-full of mules and donkeys loaded with honey, so the animals prevented him from escaping his death. In that mountain pass Al-Qaʿqāʿ killed al-Fayruzān after he had duly defended himself.[714] Hence the Muslims have a saying, "God recruits soldiers even from honey."[715] The Muslims led away the [2626]

713. None of the experts I consulted is sure what the name might mean; Prym pointed out that *wāyah* may mean "woe"; this is supported by D. N. MacKenzie (Göttingen). "Woe has consumed (us)" may then be a tentative interpretation.

714. For this interpretation of *imtanaʿa*, see Lane, 3024, right column, in form V.

715. Prym gives a reference to the proverb listed in Freytag (ed.), *Arabum proverbia*, I, 10: *inna li 'llāhi junūdan minhā 'l-ʿasalu* "God has soldiers, honey is one of them."

animals laden with the honey and all the other goods they carried besides, and marched on. That is why that mountain road is called the Honey Pass. When al-Qaʿqāʿ closed in on al-Fayruzān, the latter dismounted and clambered away in the mountains, since he could not find a passage to ride through them. Al-Qaʿqāʿ clambered after him, pursuing him until he caught him.

With the Muslim cavalry hot on their heels, the vanquished Persian warriors ran on until they arrived at the city of Hamadhān.[716] They entered the city. The Muslims descended upon them and laid a cordon around the city and its immediate vicinity. When Khusrawshunūm[717] saw this, he sought to obtain immunity from the Muslims and he accepted their preconditions, namely that he would surrender to them Hamadhān and Dastabā,[718] and that the Muslims would not be attacked by Persians living in that area. The Muslims accepted the Persians' guarantees and granted them immunity. So the Persians were safe and everyone who had run away returned.

After the defeat of the unbelievers at the battle of Nihāwand, the Muslims entered the city itself and laid a cordon around it and
[2627] its immediate vicinity. They collected the enemy's armor and chattels, and handed them to the overseer of the spoils, al-Sāʾib b. al-Aqraʿ. While the Muslims were thus engaged, operating from their camp and waiting for those of their brethren who were at Hamadhān to make their way to them, the Hirbadh, that is the overseer of the fire temple,[719] came forward seeking immunity. Ḥudhayfah was notified of his arrival (and received him). The hirbadh said, "Will you grant me immunity provided that I tell you what I know?" "All right," Ḥudhayfah replied. Then the hirbadh said, "Al-Nakhīrajān has deposited in my care a treasure of the king. I will produce it on the condition that I, as well as those people I shall name, will be granted immunity." When Ḥudhayfah had given him this guarantee, the hirbadh brought

716. One of the main cities of al-Jibāl lying about forty miles (sixty-four kilometers) north of Nihāwand; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 194 ff.

717. He was a Persian general whom we encountered as the one left in charge of Ḥulwān after the king had vacated that city.

718. A city northeast of Hamadhān, see Le Strange, *Lands*, the map opposite 185.

719. For more details on this functionary, see Morony, *Iraq*, 284 f.

him the royal treasure consisting of gems that the king held in readiness for the deputies of his reign.[720] The Muslims looked into this matter and agreed with one another that they should submit this treasure to 'Umar, so they kept it apart and delayed sending it off, until they had finished amassing all the booty. Then, finally, they sent it away together with the fifths[721] that were due.

Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān distributed shares in the booty equally among his men, the share of a mounted warrior at Nihāwand being six thousand dirhams and that of a footsoldier two thousand. Before that, Ḥudhayfah had handed out free shares[722] from the fifths among those fighters "of tested strength,"[723] who had participated in the battle of Nihāwand and whom he had selected himself. All that remained from the fifths he handed over to al-Sā'ib b. al-Aqra'. Al-Sā'ib took possession of it and departed with it, as well as with the royal treasure, to 'Umar.

After he had written about the victory at Nihāwand to 'Umar, Ḥudhayfah stayed there and waited for 'Umar's reply and orders. His messenger carrying the news of the victory was Ṭarīf b. Sahm, the brother of the Banū Rabī'ah b. Mālik.

When the news had reached the people in charge of Māh (al-Baṣrah) and Māh (al-Kūfah)[724] that Hamadhān had been taken and that Nu'aym b. Muqarrin and al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr had made camp there, they followed Khusrawshunūm's example and corresponded with Ḥudhayfah, who reacted positively to what they were asking. They agreed on accepting Ḥudhayfah's invitation and set out to meet him. But they were deceived by one of them, a man called Dīnār. He was a king[725] (in his own right) but of lesser nobility than the others, all of them being more exalted in status than he, with Qārin[726] the noblest of them all. Dīnār had said to them, "Do not present yourselves to these Arabs in full regalia, [2628]

720. In Arabic, *nawā'ib al-zamān*. I base my rendering on Lane, 1254, middle column, lines 1–3, and Steingass, *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary* (London 1957), 621, left column, above.

721. See nn. 88, 117 above.

722. See nn. 88, 94 above.

723. In Arabic *ahl al-balā'*; see n. 94 above.

724. Two regional centers, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 189, 197, and n. 15 above.

725. See Morony, *Iraq*, 186, for this use of the title "king."

726. See *loc. cit.*, where the noble Persian family of Qārēn is mentioned.

but assume a shabby appearance when you confront them." So they did, but Dīnār acted otherwise; he approached the Arabs dressed up in brocaded garments and jewelry. He paid the Muslims the necessary respect,[727] bringing them presents that they appreciated. So the Muslims concluded a treaty with him while disregarding his (fellow aristocrats, the outcome of this being that) the latter saw no other way than to yield to Dīnār and to accept his authority. That is why Nihāwand came to be called Māh Dīnār.[728]

Ḥudhayfah went by Māh Dīnār. Some time earlier, al-Nuʿmān had concluded a pact with Bahrādhān based on the same conditions as mentioned above. Hence this pact was associated with Bahrādhān. Ḥudhayfah charged al-Nusayr b. Thawr with the taking of a citadel to which a number of people had sought refuge. Al-Nusayr engaged these people in battle and conquered the citadel, which was henceforth associated with him.

In his distribution of the booty of Nihāwand Ḥudhayfah included those left behind in Marj al-Qalʿah and those who were still in Ghuḍā Shajar, as well as the forces occupying the strong points, in the same manner as he had distributed it among those who had participated in the actual battle. This was because the aforementioned three categories of warriors could have been called upon as reinforcements for the Muslims fighting in the battle, so that they would not be attacked from one (unforeseen) direction or another.

In that same night, which was destined for the encounter of the Muslims (and their adversaries at Nihāwand), ʿUmar was restless, [2629] so he left his house to seek further news. In the meantime, a certain Muslim, who had gone out to attend to some business of his and had returned to the city in the dark, was overtaken by a rider, who himself was on his way to Medina. (This was) in the course of the third night after the battle of Nihāwand. The man asked him, "Hey, ʿAbdallāh, where have you come from?" "From Nihāwand," the other answered. "What is the latest news?" the first man asked. "The news is good," the other replied, "God has

727. The text seems corrupt and my rendition is tentative.

728. Literally, "the district of Dīnār." For the exact meaning of the Middle Persian word *māh*, see also Le Strange, *Lands*, 190 n.

granted al-Nuʿmān victory and a martyr's death. The Muslims have divided the booty of Nihāwand among themselves, each mounted warrior receiving six thousand dirhams." The rider accompanied the man until he was swallowed up in the dark in Medina. The first man entered his house and slept. The following morning he started telling this story. The news spread around until it reached ʿUmar, who was as restless as ever. He sent for the man and questioned him, whereupon the other gave him the news. ʿUmar said, "That traveler spoke the truth, and so have you. This was ʿUthaym, the messenger of the jinn; he must have seen the messenger sent by the people at Nihāwand."

Then, somewhat later, Ṭarīf (b. Sahm) came to ʿUmar with the news of the victory. ʿUmar said, "Give me all the news." The man replied, "I have no more information than just the news of the victory. When I left, the Muslims were busily pursuing the enemy and still on full alert." But from ʿUmar he hid everything except that which might please him. After that, ʿUmar went out accompanied by his companions. ʿUmar insisted on receiving more news. Then a rider was pointed out to him. He said to his companions, "Tell me who he is." Then ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān said, "He is al-Sāʾib (b. al-Aqraʿ)," so ʿUmar exclaimed, "Al-Sāʾib?" When al-Sāʾib had come closer, ʿUmar asked him, "What happened to you?" "I have glad tidings for you and news of victory," al-Sāʾib replied. "How did al-Nuʿmān fare?" ʿUmar wanted to know. "His horse stumbled in the blood of the enemies," al-Sāʾib replied, "so he was thrown down and died a martyr's death." ʿUmar went home accompanied by al-Sāʾib. He asked him about the number of Muslims who got killed, so al-Sāʾib told him their number—which was small—and also that al-Nuʿmān was the first to die a martyr's death on the "day of the victory of victories." That is how the men of al-Kūfah and the Muslims referred to that day.[729]

As ʿUmar was entering the mosque, the loads were being taken off (the camels of al-Sāʾib) and deposited in the mosque. ʿUmar [2630] ordered some of his companions, among whom were ʿAbd al-

729. In Ibn al-Athīr, III, 12, we read that the battle of Nihāwand was so called because, after that, the Persians never succeeded in mobilizing such an army again and the Muslims remained in control of their land. Noth, 118, identifies the expression as a *topos*.

Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and ʿAbdallāh b. Arqam, to spend the night in the mosque guarding these loads. He himself entered his house followed by al-Sāʾib b. al-Aqraʿ with these two baskets.[730] The latter gave him the news concerning the two baskets and information about the Muslim warriors. "Son of Mulaykah," ʿUmar said, "by God, the warriors did not know about these baskets and you are no longer there with them to tell them about them. Quickly, go back where you came from. Go to Ḥudhayfah and let him dole out the contents of these baskets in equal shares among those to whom God has granted them as booty." So al-Sāʾib went back again and journeyed until he came to Ḥudhayfah at Māh, where he offered the baskets for sale. In due course he sold them and received four million dirhams for them.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Qays al-Asadī: While they were encamped at Nihāwand, a man called Jaʿfar b. Rāshid said to Ṭulayḥah, "We suffer from lack of supplies. Do you know one more of those wonderful jingles, which might be of use to us?" "Stay where you are," Tulayḥah answered, "I will see what I can do." He took a garment, wrapped himself loosely in it[731] and declaimed,

By far the best news
    Is the dihqān's ewes
(They roam) in a meadow
    Dispelling our sorrow.

[2631] When they entered the enclosure, they found the sheep to be well fed.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Maʿbad al-ʿAbsī and ʿUrwah b. al-Walīd—someone from their tribe: On a certain day, while we were laying siege to the enemy in Nihāwand, they made a sortie against us. They engaged us in close combat and we did not have to wait long before God put them to flight. Simāk b. ʿUbayd al-ʿAbsī pursued one of the enemies who was escorted by

730. See p. 183 above.

731. A reference to Ṭulayḥah's former status as a *kāhin* ("soothsayer") turned false prophet at the time of the *riddah*. For the custom of wrapping oneself in a cloak before uttering the soothsayer's "jingle," which was often, as is the case here, in rhyming prose (*saj'*), see Toufic Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Strasbourg, 1966, 65, esp. n. 2.

eight horsemen. Simāk challenged them to fight him and whoever accepted the challenge was killed. Then Simāk advanced on them, he attacked the man whom the others were escorting and took him prisoner. He divested him of his weapons and called for someone called 'Abd to guard him. When Simāk had entrusted him to 'Abd, the prisoner spoke, "Bring me to your commander to conclude a peace treaty with him in respect of this region and to pay him the *jizyah*. And you yourself may ask your prisoner[732] for whatever you want, for you have been merciful toward me by not killing me. From now on I shall be your servant. If you present me to your king and bring us together, you will find me grateful and you will be like a brother to me."

Then Simāk let him go and granted him immunity. He asked him, "Who are you?" "I am Dīnār," was the answer. The ruling family in those days was that of Qārin.[733]

When he was brought before Ḥudhayfah, Dīnār told him about the valor of Simāk and how many enemies he had killed. He also gave evidence of his own respect for the Muslims. Ḥudhayfah granted him a peace agreement in exchange for payment of the *kharāj*. Thus Māh was called after Dīnār, who entered into a close relationship with Simāk and gave him presents. He used to come to al-Kūfah whenever the collected taxes of his area had to be submitted to the Kūfan governor.

One day during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah, Dīnār came to al-Kūfah, addressed the people there and said,

"Inhabitants of al-Kūfah, from the moment you first came into contact with us, you have behaved irreproachably and you have stayed the same throughout the reigns of 'Umar and 'Uthmān. But thereafter you changed and four qualities have gained the upper [2632] hand among you: niggardliness, deceit, perfidy and narrow-mindedness, although not one of these marked you in the past. I have been watching you and I have found these characteristics in your new generation.[734] I also know where you got them. Deceit you derived from the Nabateans, niggardliness from the Persians, per-

732. I have opted for *min* from Ibn Hubaysh, rather than *'an* in Prym's edition.
733. See n. 726 above.
734. In Arabic: *fī muwalladīkum*. Strictly speaking, a *muwallad* is a person of non-Arab origin who has grown up among Arabs having embraced Islam.

fidy you copied from the Khurāsānians, and narrow-mindedness from al-Ahwāz."

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Amr b. Muḥammad—al-Sha'bī: When the prisoners taken at Nihāwand were brought to Medina, a servant of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, Abū Lu'lu'ah Fayrūz, could not meet any young captive without caressing his head and bursting into tears, wailing, "'Umar has consumed my liver!"[735] Fayrūz was a Nihāwandī whom the Byzantines had taken prisoner in the days of the Byzantine-Persian war and who, after that, had been captured by the Muslims. That is why he was supposed to hail from Nihāwand.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Amr b. Muḥammad—al-Sha'bī: Of those who tumbled into the ravine, eighty thousand lost their lives, while on the battlefield thirty thousand got killed, being chained together,[736] apart from those who were slain when they were pursued (while running for safety). The Muslims numbered thirty thousand (on that day). The city of Nihāwand was conquered in the beginning of the year 19 (640), just after the year 18 (639) had come to a close, after seven years (had elapsed) of 'Umar's caliphate.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, al-Muhallab and Ṭalḥah: The texts of the two documents that al-Nu'mān and Ḥudhayfah presented to the inhabitants of the two regions called Māh read, "In the name of God, the merciful, the
[2633] compassionate. This is the covenant that al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin has granted to the inhabitants of Māh Bahrādhān.[737] He has guaranteed them immunity for their person, their property and their lands; they need not give up any religious custom and they will not be prevented from implementing any of their own laws. They will enjoy protection as long as every year they pay the *jizyah* to the governor in charge. This is incumbent upon every adult in respect of himself and his possessions, each according to his ability. They will also enjoy protection as long as they show the way to travelers, keep the roads in good repair and extend hospitality

735. This expression is supposed to mean (*Glossarium*, p. CDLXIV) "he has caused me great pain."

736. See n. 623 above.

737. See p. 212 above.

for a day and a night to Muslim warriors who pass by and seek refuge with them, and as long as they fulfill their promises and give sound advice. But if they act dishonestly and change their conduct, our obligation to protect them will lapse." Witnesses to this document were 'Abdallāh b. Dhī al-Sahmayn, al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr and Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh (al-Bajalī), and it was written in the month Muḥarram of the year 19 (January 640). (The second document read), "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. This is the covenant that Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān has granted the inhabitants of Māh Dīnār. He has guaranteed them immunity for their person, their property and their lands; they need not give up any religious custom and they will not be prevented from implementing any of their own laws. They will enjoy protection as long as every year they pay the *jizyah* to the Muslim governor in charge. This is incumbent upon every adult in respect of himself and his possessions, each according to his ability. They will also enjoy protection as long as they show the way to travelers, keep the roads in good repair and extend hospitality for a day and a night to Muslim warriors who pass by and seek refuge with them, and as long as they give sound advice. But if they act dishonestly and change their conduct, our obligation to protect them will lapse." Witnesses (to this second document) were al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr, Nu'aym b. Muqarrin and Suwayd b. Muqarrin, and it was written in the month Muḥarram.

They said: 'Umar assigned to each of those who had been present at the battle of Nihāwand, and those newcomers[738] who had fought valiantly, two thousand dirhams, putting them in the same category as the veterans of the battle of al-Qādisiyyah.

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738. For this term, see n. 253 above.

Appendix I

The Poetry and Saj' in This Volume

Throughout this translation I have tried to render the poetry, as well as a few fragments of rhymed prose (*saj'*), into rhythmic English.

The majority of translations of Arabic occasional poetry hitherto published in western languages occurring in works such as this are anything but poetic, and are distinguishable from the surrounding prose only by the way these translations are printed. In the present volume an attempt is made to set off the scattered verses against their backdrop more distinctly than is usually the case in translated histories of this sort.

The poems and one-liners found in this text are on the whole of little artistic merit and constitute no more than the endeavors of alleged eyewitnesses at *Gelegenheitsdichtung*, commemorating mostly military events. But as with all classical Arabic poetry, this poetry has a strict meter and rhyme, and in my translation I have tried to substitute the various meters with something similar that, it is hoped, might be felt to fall easily on anglophone ears. Where possible, I have included rhyme in the one-liners.

In the following pages, I have collected some comments on the poetic fragments in the order in which they appear in this volume. These comments are of a slightly more technical nature and sometimes contain a host of details; that is why I have chosen not to include them in the footnotes.

Pp. 2419f.: The final syllable *-bu* of the first word of line 1 has to be read as long so as to make it fit the *rajaz* meter.

P. 2434: Occasionally I have shortened certain Arabic words or names so as to make them fit the English rhythm, for example, Madā'in for al-Madā'in; I also had to resort to this device in some of the poetic fragments that follow.

Pp. 2445f.: These six lines in my view present by far the most intriguing problem of all the poetry found in this volume.

Before I dwell for some time on a metrical anomaly in ll. 1 and 2, let me make some remarks about ll. 3 to 6.

The word *khiṣām* in l. 3 may be taken as a double entendre, conveying on the one hand "fray" and on the other "squabble (over the distribution of the booty)."

The verb *falaja* in l. 3 also seems to permit two interpretations; constructed with *shu'ūna* as direct object, it means "cleaving" (as in my rendition); on the other hand, constructed with *bi-* it means "acquiring," namely, the mule. Translated thus, ll. 3 and 4 should then be rendered:

They acquired the mule in the struggle
by means of every sharp-cutting blow to the sutures of skulls.

In l. 6, the apparatus gives a variant *ba'run* "dung" for *na'mun* "cattle," which makes equally good sense; I have preferred to read *na'mun*, though, because of the following qualification *mina 'l-an'āmi*, which constitutes a well known stylistic device as described in Wright, II, 136. It is true that the voweling *na'mun* is far less common than *na'amun*, but the former is duly listed in *Lisān al-'arab*, XVI, 64, l. 12.

Finally, ll. 1 and 2 deserve a short digression.

Although I have rendered the first two lines in an equal number of syllables as are found in the rest of the lines, the Arabic originals contain three long syllables more than ll. 3 to 6. Literally translated, ll. 1 and 2 read:

May my maternal and paternal uncles be held ransom for my men;
they recoiled at the river from deserting and surrendering me.

However, since *akhwāl* (maternal uncles) and *a'mām* (paternal uncles) in l. 1, and *khidhlān* (deserting) and *islām* (here: surrendering) in l. 2, are near-synonyms, I chose to ignore them in my translation for the following reasons:

Although I have no evidence for this other than the otherwise unattested peculiarity of three long syllables too many in the first two lines, I contend that these lines may have been "doctored." Who may have been responsible for this "doctoring" is anybody's guess; everyone in the *isnād* qualifies, from the eyewitness(es) to Ṭabarī himself or, conceivably, even a later copyist of a manuscript, from which the presently available manuscripts are (in)directly derived.

In any case, we have here two lines with three long syllables too many to make them fit in with the following four, totally regular, *rajaz* lines. Furthermore, in each of these lines we find two seemingly superfluous near-synonyms of the crucial rhyme bearers *a'māmī* and *islāmī*. Both words happen to comprise three long syllables. Is this just a coincidence, or may we dig into this a little bit more deeply?

Now, it is good practice not to interfere with the original text, any original text, and even if we have to bend over backwards in an attempt to account for seemingly insoluble "peculiarities," that is what we mostly do because that is what we have been taught. In this case, however, we may find some justification for doing our best to restore the regular *rajaz* meter also in the first two lines, because the "peculiarity" of three long syllables extra is recorded nowhere else, as far as I have been able to ascertain. Should this anomaly—as I now term it—turn out to be attested elsewhere, or even to be unexpectedly common, then the following suggested emendation loses its *raison d'être*. But for the time being I feel free to go ahead.

A feasible way to create an orthodox *rajaz* meter in ll. 1 and 2, it seems to me, is to take away the penultimate words, near-synonyms as we saw of the rhyme bearers, as well as the two immediately following particles *wa-* that, without the synonyms, no longer make sense. We then have:

Fidan li-qawmī 'l-yawma — a'māmi
Hum karihū bi 'l-nahri — islāmi

All that remains to be done is to look for a suitable word or particle of one long syllable to insert in the place of —, which stands for the invariably long fourth syllable of the second foot in both lines. But that is a lot easier said than done, as the following may show. The syntax seems to require a preposition.

In l. 1 *min* appears to fit nicely; see Wolfdietrich Fischer, *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1972, 141, l. 18, 163, l. 19, 164, l. 15.

However, in l. 2 the choice is not so easy. *Kariha*, at least in old Arabic, always takes its direct object in the accusative, and the line therefore seems to exclude the insertion of a preposition. We do find in *WKAS*, I, 157, l. 17–18, the object of *kārihun* mentioned as sometimes introduced by *fī*, which would suit admirably, but this is a later usage that is not yet attested in early Arabic.

On the other hand, we might conjecture that we are confronted with a case of contamination. Suppose that *before* it was "doctored" the line read:

hum raghibū *bi 'l-nahri* 'an *islāmi*

and we have exactly the same meaning as

hum karihū bi 'l-nahri . . . islāmi

Whatever the right solution may be, this brings me to the important question: If we assume that the lines were indeed interfered with, what induced the "culprit" to tamper with them at all? Translated literally, the reconstructed l. 2 reads in translation

They hated to desert me at the river

but it could just as well be interpreted as

They were disgusted with my (having embraced) Islam

and that interpretation may, in actual fact, have caused our tamperer to resort to some padding; he selected an equivalent of *islāmī* in the sense of "surrendering," coming up with *khidhlānī*, and inserted it in order to make absolutely sure that the word *islāmī* could not be taken as "my (having embraced) Islam" but only in the sense indicated, in fact prompted, by the insert *khidhlānī*.

Let us suppose that what happened may be reconstructed as

follows: Someone in the *isnād* of the report containing the four *rajaz* lines under scrutiny found two lines that permitted of the interpretation:

> Although these brave warriors of mine were disgusted with the fact that I had embraced Islam, let my uncles be ransom for them today.

Let us furthermore assume that the eyewitness/transmitter felt that he could not let that pass without doing something to the lines in an attempt to do away with this odious ambiguity. Before the advent of Islam, the verb *aslama/yuslimu* usually meant "to surrender" or "to desert," more often than not in a wartime situation, as the majority of occurrences in Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrah*, for instance, seem to indicate. But in later times the verb was almost exclusively used in the connotation "to surrender to the new religion." The obviously ancient usage of *islāmī* in the poem had to be made unequivocally clear to readers no longer familiar with this usage, hence the insert of *khidhlānī wa-*, which in turn resulted in the insertion of *akhwālī wa-*.

Now, it could be argued that the word *islāmī* in the poem could have been substituted by another verbal noun of form IV ending in *-mī*, allowing of the same, or a cognate, interpretation as *khidhlānī*. Did our tamperer think of that solution? A study of the standard dictionaries yields only a limited number of eligible roots and none seem to fit effortlessly. *Idhāmī* and *ighmāmī* both mean "to grieve me," *is'āmī* means "to disgust me" and *i'dāmī* "to put me to death." Any of these four might just have suited the context, but it is my contention, expressed with due caution of course, that it is precisely the occurrence of the slightly ambiguous term *islāmī* that induced our tamperer to try his hand at some, in his eyes probably indispensable, "doctoring," *without* having to rewrite l. 2.

P. 2484: Like the preceding verses, this short piece of rhyming prose (*saj'*) solicits a few comments.

At first glance, it sounds like a pastiche of Qur'ān verses or, to be more precise, verses commonly ascribed to the first Meccan period. This fragment of *saj'*, preserved for us by Ṭabarī, but as far as I was able to ascertain never commented upon, bears all the hallmarks of those early Qur'ān verses that still bespeak the pre-

Islamic setting of *kāhin*s, the soothsayers: oaths taken on heaven, earth, wind and stars, with a loose cadence and a consistent rhyme. For more on early *saj'*, see Wellhausen, *Reste*, 135 f., and Fahd, 159–70.

A few more points deserve our attention, I think.

All but the first and the last line are purely pre-Islamic; the new religion is not yet discernible. The first line may have been purely pre-Islamic as well, but is now provided with an introductory vocative *Allāhumma*[*yā*] *rabba*. . . The second line may also have been "islamicized" by the insertion of *rabba* before *al-arḍi*. In fact, all the following lines may be interpreted as equally well "islamicized" by reading *rabba* between *wa-* and, respectively, *al-rīḥi*, *al-nujūmi*, *al-biḥāri*, *al-shayāṭīni* and *al-khiṣṣāni* (which I read for the nonsensical *khiṣṣāṣi*). Then the lines translate:

Lord of the earth . . .
Lord of the wind . . .
Lord of the stars . . .
Lord of the seas . . . etc.

It looks like a *kāhin*'s formulaic oath partly padded by "islamifying" elements. The final line "Bless us . . ." then seems to round off the oaths with a prayerlike request, no longer built of soothsayers' material but of Islamic ingredients, and it concludes seven short, consistently rhyming lines in *-at* with the cripple *thabāt*. (My stressmark on "firmnèss" is an equally awkward attempt at having it rhyme with "possess").

Who composed this piece of *saj'*? Possible solutions are many but, as yet, incapable of substantiation. Two points should be made:

The piece could be an original part of the Qur'ān that failed to become part of the first tentative redaction then allegedly in the process of being compiled; if the historical accounts about Abū Bakr and 'Umar toying with the idea of compiling the scattered fragments of revelation into one generally recognized corpus have never been satisfactorily authenticated in the eyes of western historians, the *likelihood* that they may have done so is only scorned by those whose skepticism effectively precludes them from arriving at any acceptable *Geschichtsbild* at all.

The piece could be a pastiche of the usual opening lines of an

early Qur'ān chapter dating to what we now call the first Meccan period. Muslims may be prevented from comparing anything with the Qur'ān on an equal basis due to the doctrine of the "inimitableness" of the Holy Book, but western readers may be struck by certain unmistakable similarities:

For l. 1, see Q. XCI, 5: By Heaven and what it has built; see further LXXXV, 1, and LXXXVI, 1.

For l. 2, see XCI, 6: By the Earth and what it has spread.

For l. 3, see LXXVII, 1–2: By the Winds like horses' manes and the mighty hurricanes.

For l. 4, see LIII, 1: By the Star when it sets, see further LXXVII, 8, and LXXXI, 2.

For l. 5, see LXXXI, 6, and LXXXII, 3.

However, the final two oaths have no obvious Qur'ānic equivalents. If such oaths were ever part of it, they were removed by those responsible for our *textus receptus*. The word *shayṭān* in the connotation "inspiring demon" is fairly common in the Qur'ān; compare also the occurrences of the word *qarīn*, which has the same meaning.

In any case, whatever we assume the breeding ground of this piece of *saj'* to be, speculations as to who composed it increase with the whole, or even partial, acceptance of the analytical description given of it in the foregoing.

P. 2528: The two hemistichs contain six derivatives of one root *ṣana'a* "to make."

P. 2536: The first two lines of the first poem contain the stylistic device *paranomasia*, two words from different but similarly sounding roots, juxtaposed because of the homophonous effect. This did not find expression in my translation.

P. 2536: The second poem does not translate easily. In the first place, it contains several rare words whose meanings can only be guessed.

Jumāhir seems to mean "bulky," "thick"; I rendered it here "big" (l. 4).

'Adīd (l. 4), usually meaning "numerous," here seems to be a noun for "large tribe." My rendering (l. 6) ". . . not even a pin" is, to say the least, tentative; *iḥdā 'l-hanāti 'l-bahātiri* means literally "one of the short (insignificant?) problems," and even that is not entirely certain. May we rephrase this line as ". . . so there

remained (hardly) one insignificant problem for us (to solve) among them"? Recapitulating, ll. 5–6 seem to convey: "We drove the Nabateans away from the Persians and so the only thing that we had to solve among them was (hardly more than) an insignificant little problem."

In line 7 we encounter the words *al-'Arab al-'alyā'*, which is an expression for "Arabs living in high places"; here Tamīm are probably meant. See Lane's introduction, XI, n., and 2147, right column. The word *'ulyā* from line 1 can also be understood in this way.

The word *buḥūr* in ll. 7–8, literally "seas," is here used in the connotation "land with green plants and plenty of water," see Lane, 156, right column, *ad finem*.

P. 2564: This *ṭawīl* meter contains an irregularity: the first syllable of the first hemistich is missing. This phenomenon is alluded to in Stanislas Guyard, "Théorie nouvelle de la métrique arabe . . ." in *Journal Asiatique*, VII série, VIII (1876):120, and is called *kharm*; see also G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, 88. In the Leiden manuscript of Ibn Ḥubaysh, this "irregularity" is "rectified" by an added *wa-* preceding *lammā*.

Appendix II

A Modern Description of Tustar

"Attack via the outlet of the water, then you will conquer the city." This hint at a secret entrance into the city of Tustar, nowadays Shushtar, intrigued me enough to look for a modern description and see what truth there was in it. In the following I shall briefly quote my findings:

The "outlet" is probably a tunnel dug in the bank of the river through which water was led into the city at the foot of the rock on which the citadel was built. This outlet, or passageway as it is called in the text, seems still to have been in place when a Dutch scientist, D. L. Graadt van Roggen, gave a detailed description of it in *Mémoires publiés sous la direction de M. J. de Morgan. Tome VII. Recherches archéologiques*, deuxième série, Paris 1905, 177 f [see map provided there].

Under the heading *"Tunnels sous la citadelle"* we read the following remarkable description:

"A environ 300 mètres en amont du pont, on trouve deux tunnels perçant la roche sur laquelle est bâtie la citadelle de Chouster (=Shushtar/Tustar -J.). Ce châteaufort existait certainement avant l'époque sassanide. Nous en voyons, dans Yakout, le récit de la prise par les troupes arabes sur la garnison persane de Yezdegerd III. [This is erroneous; at the time Yazdajird was presumably in Marw, see p. 2551 above, and al-Hurmuzān was the commander of the city -J.] Ces canaux se réunissent à une centaine de mètres au delà du mur d'enceinte de cette forteresse (fig. 471) pour former un

seul canal. . . . Ces tunnels ont de 3 à 4 m.50 de largeur sur environs 100 mètres de longueur; ils étaient munis, d'un cotê, d'*une voie de passage qui est en partie éboulée*" [italics mine -J].

Furthermore, we read in *Early adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia including a residence among the Bakhtiyari and other wild tribes before the discovery of Nineveh* by A. Henry Layard, London 1894, 234:

"The houses [sc. of Shushtar/Tustar -J] are mostly built of stone, and . . . are provided with extensive 'serd-âbs,' or underground apartments, known in Khuzistan as 'shâdrewan,' which are excavated to a considerable depth in the rock, and are ventilated and kept cool by lofty air chimneys."

The word *shâdrewan* used here is the same as *shādhurwān*, a word mentioned in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 848, by which the same water conduit is meant. This connotation is not listed in the major Persian dictionaries.

Figure 1. General plan and detail (above) of Tustar after D. L. Graadt van Roggen, "Notice sur les anciens travaux hydrauliques en Susiane," Délégation en Perse, *Mémoires*, VII, 2e sér., Paris, 1905, 178.

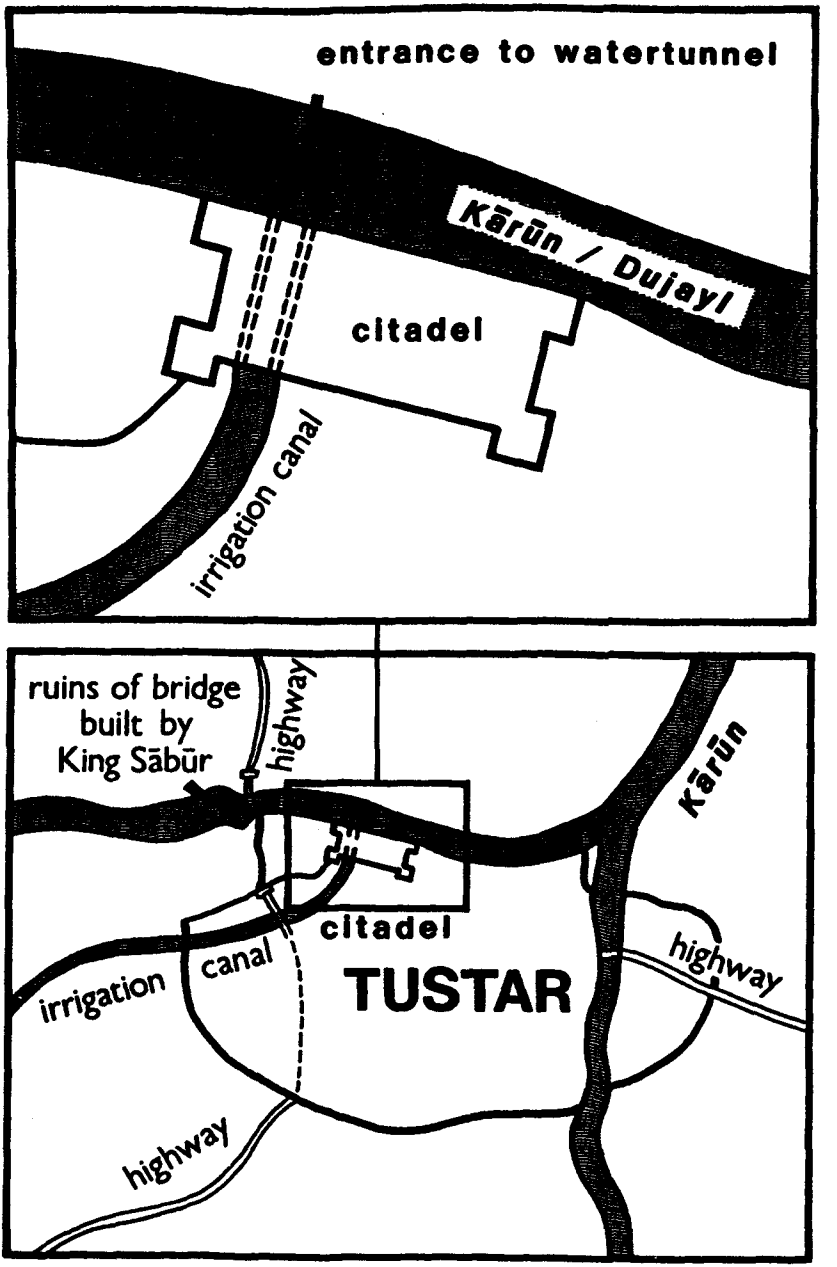

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Index

This index, comprising names as well as concepts, serves at the same time as a glossary of some technical terms. In the alphabetization *b.* (*ibn* "son"), *bt.* (*bint* "daughter"), and the Arabic article *al-* have been disregarded.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XIV

The Conquest of Iran

TRANSLATED BY G. REX SMITH

The Conquest of Iran
Volume XIV
Translated by G. Rex Smith

This volume covers the years 21-23/641-43 of the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. It can be divided into two distinct and almost equal parts: The first concerning the Muslim conquests in Iran and the east, and the second concerning ʿUmar himself, his assassination, and an assessment of the caliph and the man.

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Leaving the Muslim forces on the bank of Indus, Ṭabarī switches his account to Medina, where in 23/643 ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was assassinated by a Christian slave. After full accounts of this deed, the reader is provided with details of the caliph's genealogy, his physical description, his birth date and age, the names of his children and wives, and the period of time he was a Muslim. A lengthy section follows, in which the deeds of ʿUmar are recounted in anecdotal form. There are also quotations from his addresses to his people and some poetic eulogies addressed to him.

The volume ends with ʿUmar's appointment of the electoral council, five senior figures in the Islamic community, to decide on his successor, and the fascinating and historically greatly important account of the workings of the council with all the cut and thrust of debate and the politicking behind the scenes. Thus was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān appointed to succeed ʿUmar.

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translated and annotated
by

G. Rex Smith

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into thirty-nine volumes, each of which covers about 200 pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Tabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The

chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume 1.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

Cairo: al-Ṭabarī, *Ṭa'rīkh*, Cairo edition.
CHIr: *Cambridge History of Iran.*
CHIs: *Cambridge History of Islam.*
EIr: *Encyclopaedia Iranica.*
EI[1]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed.
EI[2]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.
GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums.*
Glossarium: Glossary in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh: Indices, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda.*
SEI: *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam.*
Selection: M. de Goeje, ed., *Selection from the Annals of Tabari.*
Ṭabarī: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, Leiden ed.
Translation: al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī.*

Translator's Foreword

This volume of Ṭabarī's text (I, pp. 2634–2798 of the Leiden edition and IV, pp. 137–241 of the Cairo edition) covers the period 21–23/641–43 and can be divided into two distinct and almost equal parts: the first concerning the conquests under 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in Iran and the east, which gives this volume its title, and the second concerning 'Umar himself, his assassination, and an assessment of the caliph and the man.

The text translated in this volume owes much to Ṭabarī's informant Sayf b. 'Umar, a controversial figure who has occasioned some comment. Although much trusted by Ṭabarī for the early period of Islamic history, Sayf is not used as an informant by others. He has, for example, been accused of presenting inconsistent accounts and of overemphasizing the role of his own tribe, Tamīm. References to assessments of the mysterious Sayf are given below, p. 1 n. 3.

Historical Background

'Umar had assumed the caliphate in 13/634, the immediate successor of the first caliph, Abū Bakr (11–13/632–34). Abū Bakr's first major problem had been how to hold together the young Islamic community that had been built by the Prophet and that immediately after his death threatened to disintegrate. Some tribes of the Peninsula felt no further loyalty to the community and its leader, and they had anyway, increasingly with

their geographical distance from Medina, only tenuous links with Muḥammad and the religion of Islam. This cannot be the place for a detailed discussion of Abū Bakr's determined efforts to bring these tribes back into the fold, efforts that have gone down in history as the so-called Riddah wars or the wars of Apostasy. What can be said with confidence is that these Riddah wars, as the Muslim warriors fighting them moved farther and farther away from the center of Islam and out of the control of the head of the Islamic community (a point to which I shall return below in the context of 'Umar himself), gradually merged into wars of conquest. Whatever one's view of the military activities of the Muslims during the brief caliphate of Abū Bakr, it is true to say that by the time of 'Umar's assumption of the caliphate in 13/634 we are talking only in terms of conquest.

The Conquests

Two fronts initially opened up, the Syrian and the Iraqi. The former attracted less attention from Ṭabarī, who compiled all history in terms of an eastern center with every other area or province on the periphery. Without becoming too involved in the massive problem of the discrepancies in the dates of the conquests (a second point to which I feel compelled to return briefly below), we can probably say that the majority of Greater Syria had fallen to the Muslims by 15/636 and that the Byzantines under Heraclius were in full retreat from the area. On the second front, according to Ṭabarī's accounts, Iraqi towns such as Babylon; al-Madā'in, the old Sasanian capital; and Tikrīt had been taken by the Muslims in the year 16/637–638. Of tremendous importance was the resounding victory secured by the Muslim forces under Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ at al-Qādisiyyah, when a huge Sasanian army under Rustam dissolved in panic. Such a victory left the Sasanian empire to the east vulnerable to attack and penetration by the forces of Islam. As we shall see from Ṭabarī's accounts of the eastern conquests in this volume, they were not slow to take advantage of their success and of the weakness of a once mighty empire. In the following year (17/638–639), again according to Ṭabarī, al-Kūfah was founded as a Muslim garrison town in southern Iraq, and the conquering armies began to raid into the province of Fārs.

Turning aside almost incidentally from his other accounts under the year 20/640–641 to chronicle the events of the conquest of Egypt and Alexandria, Ṭabarī then recounts the details of one further major Muslim victory in the east, the last before the text of which this volume is the translation opens. This victory happened in 21/641 at a place called Nihāwand, east of Baghdad and south of Hamadhān (see map). Sa'd once again led the Muslim forces. The defeated Persians were on this occasion led by their last Sasanian emperor, Yazdajird III, who, however, survived the defeat. His further attempts to undermine the Islamic eastern conquests can be read below. With two such major victories behind them, al-Qādisiyyah and Nihāwand, the Muslims stood poised to penetrate into the territories of the Sasanian empire and beyond. At this point this volume opens.

The following text covers the last two years of 'Umar's life, 21–23/641–643. Under those years Ṭabarī's accounts of the territorial gains of the Muslim armies, who move out of the two garrison towns of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, include such important centers and areas as Isfahān (21/641–642), Hamadhān, al-Rayy, Qūmis, Jurjān, Ṭabaristān, Azerbaijan, Khurāsān (all in 22/642–643), parts of Fārs province, Kirmān, Sijistān, and Makrān as far as the Indus (all listed under 23/643–644, also the year of 'Umar's assassination).

Neither Ṭabarī himself nor his informants were at all interested in military strategy, and it should be stated at the outset that the reader only rarely finds reference to tactics, and then usually of a very primitive kind. The almost stereotyped pattern that emerges is as follows. The Muslim supreme commander reaches his goal; frequently the names of his generals in the van, in the rear, and with the two wings of the army are all given as a prelude to the battle. A siege may ensue; there may even be personal combat to decide the issue, and this frequently provides an interesting anecdote. If battle is actually joined, the divinely guided Muslim army defeats the polytheist enemy. Muslims are occasionally killed, but they are invariably heroes who lay down their life in God's cause and who frequently have a premonition of their fate and prepare for the supreme sacrifice. The enemy may, however, see the strength and moral superiority of the Muslim forces and that is sufficient to bring about a quest for peace without fighting.

The Peace Documents

The several peace documents given verbatim by Ṭabarī in this text are of some interest and would indeed repay deeper study. On the important question of authenticity, perhaps all that can be said in such a brief introduction is that it might be wise to assume that the texts, although presented verbatim, represent the fourth/tenth-century view of what such texts might have said rather than the first/seventh-century original. In particular, the relationship between the circumstances of the peace and the contents of the document itself might perhaps be further investigated. Invariably, in return for their safe-conduct and the freedom to practice their faith and live in accordance with their own laws, the conquered peoples are required to assist the Muslims in various ways. They are required to give sound advice, to provide hospitality, to keep the roads free of highwaymen, to guide the Muslims, and so on. Most important, they must in all cases pay tribute to the Muslims, this payment being imposed on all those above the age of puberty, although at a rate that they can afford to pay. The tantalizing hints in this volume of the associated questions of military service and exemption from the tribute should also be looked at more closely. The document spells out the dire consequences, should the conquered peoples harm the Muslims in any way or break the terms of the document.

Control of the Conquests

With the peace document signed and witnessed, Ṭabarī tells the reader of the Muslim commander's despatch of trusty messengers to inform the caliph in Medina of the victory and to deliver the fifths of the booty for the community treasury in accordance with early established Islamic practice. 'Umar frequently uses the messenger's return to send further directions and military orders to his commanders in the field. Indeed, letters and documents pass freely between caliph and general. The reader should perhaps, however, be aware that 'Umar may not have controlled the Muslim military effort in quite the way in which Ṭabarī's accounts would have us believe. Such reports appear to ignore

entirely the sheer geographical impossibility of delivering documents hundreds of miles in frequently appallingly difficult terrain, perhaps through only half-subdued regions, in short periods of time. The occasional message from Medina is of course possible, but one can perhaps assume that the military and administrative decisions in connection with the conquests that had to be taken were taken by commanders on the spot in the front line.

Dates of the Conquests

One of the greatest problems facing students of early Islamic history is that of the precise dates and chronology of the conquests. It is a problem that can be seen at its most acute in Fred Donner's *The Early Islamic Conquests*, in this case with particular reference to the Syrian front. The serious discrepancies in the dating of campaigns and battles of conquest have even been used to discredit in general the early Muslim sources that touch on the conquest. One can do little more here than to indicate that such a serious problem does exist and that perhaps the reader should beware. It should be stressed, however, that, serious though these discrepancies in the accounts of the conquests, and in particular in the dates provided, undoubtedly are, they certainly cannot be used to discredit the text as a whole.

'Umar—the Caliph and the Man

The second part of the text here translated begins with the graphic account of 'Umar's assassination by a Christian slave, Abū Lu'lu'ah, in 23/643. Several dates are given for his death. We are further presented with his genealogy, physical descriptions, different accounts of his birth date and age, the names of his children and wives, and the period of time that he was a Muslim. A lengthy section follows recounting in anecdotal form the deeds of 'Umar, followed by examples of several of his Friday addresses. Some poetic eulogies are quoted. The volume ends with 'Umar's appointment of the electoral council, five senior figures in the Islamic community, to decide on his successor and the fascinating account of the workings of the council,

with all the cut and thrust of debate and the politicking behind the scenes.

Physically 'Umar was immensely tall, head and shoulders above the crowd. Although he was dark, we are told that his skin was pale and perhaps blotchy. He had a bald patch on the top of his head. He was never elegantly dressed, quite the opposite in fact, and is invariably portrayed in a simple waist wrapper. By natural disposition, he was rough and ready, eating at home inferior food with some greed and toting a stick or whip, which he was never afraid to use on the person. A blow dealt, however, might be regretted later and the victim of his brusque behavior eventually compensated in some way. He was never afraid of stripping down and throwing himself into some hard, sometimes dirty, work, whether it be feeding hordes of the poor in the midday sun or treating camels with tar. He is portrayed as absolutely scrupulous in all his dealings with money. Wealth set aside by the community for the public good was inviolate; he was often personally short of money. Gifts, however insignificant, taken from campaign booty with the approval of the troops on the front and delivered to him in Medina brought only an angry response, sometimes a box round the ears, as the messenger was sent away to return the gift to its rightful place with the rest of the spoils. He could be extremely kind and compassionate and the anecdote of the woman and her starving children, which is given below, is famed as an example of 'Umar's pity toward those suffering great hardship.

The Texts Used and Parallel Texts

The texts used in this translation are those of Leiden and Cairo (see Bibliography). This section of the text in the First Series of the Leiden edition was edited by E. Prym. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm's Cairo text in fact adds little or nothing to Prym's editorial effort, though on occasions it is preferred for the purposes of translation. The Egyptian scholar's punctuation often helps the process of interpretation, though again sometimes it is misleading. Serious problems clearly remain in both editions, although all one's sympathies are fully on the side of Prym, and his editorial endeavors deserve nothing but praise.

Such problematic passages are quoted here in transliteration in footnotes, at times at some length.

The only truly parallel text—and then it does not cover all the ground of the *Ta'rīkh* by any means—is Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*, which is, however, a slavish, verbatim copy of Ṭabarī. It is therefore of very limited use, but I have nevertheless kept the reader informed of the parallel text in the footnotes. Ya'qūbī's *Tārīkh* is extremely thin at this early period, although I have where necessary referred to it in the footnotes. Bal'amī's so-called abridgment of Ṭabarī's text in Persian I have found useful; from time to time it is extremely so, not only clarifying, but even adding to, the Arabic text. Balādhurī's *Futūḥ* has proved invaluable. It is an excellent check on facts and figures, although it frequently presents an entirely different view of a particular conquest. The *'Iqd* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, who was a contemporary of Ṭabarī, quotes the latter's account of the electoral council almost verbatim. References to it have been given in the footnotes, particularly where they help with the interpretation of the text.

The Translation

Two problems in connection with the translation of the text have been dealt with in a manner that requires clarification. The first is the constant use in the original of pronouns—sometimes referring to nouns distant from them, sometimes referring to no noun at all! In this I have followed what seems to be the sensible method of the translator of Volume XV of this series (see his Translation and Editorial Conventions p. xxi). I use parentheses ( ) to surround the noun to which the pronoun refers where merely to use a pronoun in English would be to create ambiguity, possibility even incomprehension. I have also used brackets [ ] to surround any additions supplied for the purpose of a clearer and smoother understanding of the text.

The second problem arises because of the total nonexistence in Arabic of reported or indirect speech. All conversations in the original are in direct speech and always introduced by nothing more precise than *he said/she said/they said*. Where it seems to me important to retain the original direct speech, I have done so.

Where, however, the constant direct speech appears ridiculous, I have not hesitated to convert it to indirect speech. In either case I have also not hesitated to use a little imagination and to introduce verbs like *reply, retort, exclaim,* instead of the ubiquitous *said.*

Footnotes and Bibliography

I have made every endeavor to identify all personal, place, and tribal names found in the text. As for the first, there is a great problem in particular with the narrators whose names appear by the dozens. In this case I have consulted the standard biographical dictionaries. Where persons remain unidentified, I have indicated this clearly in my footnotes. Thanks to the excellent geographical coverage of the eastern part of the Islamic empire by Yāqūt and other geographers and to such studies as Le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate,* among others, place names have not been difficult. Reference works on tribes, too, are on the whole adequate. I have also used the footnotes to add explanations where it seems to me that the text requires them, particularly for the non-Arabist and to quote the original Arabic in transliteration in the cases of problematic and corrupt passages. The bibliography lists those works quoted in the footnotes, with in addition one or two other works that I have found particularly valuable during my work on this translation.

Acknowledgments

There remains the pleasant task of acknowledging the kind assistance of Professors C. E. Bosworth and J. Derek Latham. Both gave extremely generously of their time and effort to read through the manuscript of this volume; both made numerous suggestions for the improvement of the text and the notes. I am enormously grateful to them both. Successive postgraduate seminars in Durham and Manchester have benefited me greatly, and I must finally mention Mushallaḥ al-Muraykhī with particular thanks.

G. Rex Smith

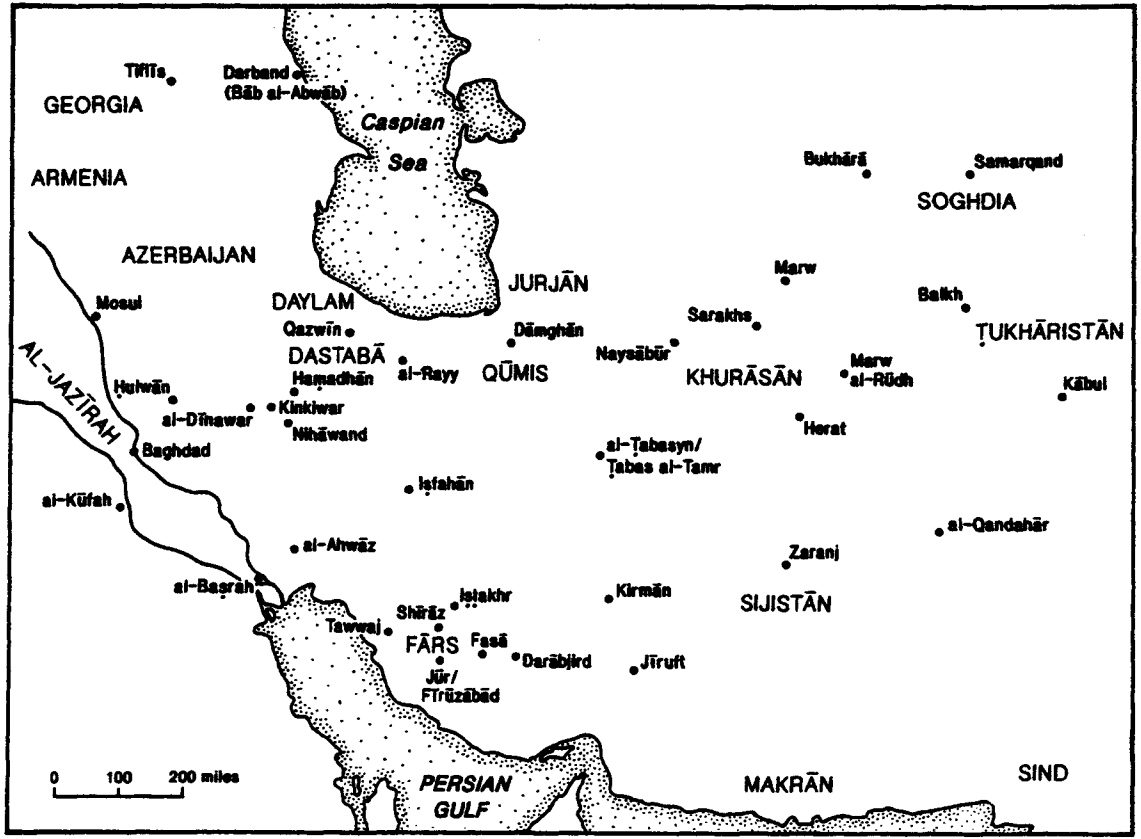

Map I. The Area of the Conquests of Iran, 21–23/641–44

The Events of the Year

21 (cont'd)

(DECEMBER 10, 641–NOVEMBER 30, 642)

In this year 'Umar [b. al-Khaṭṭāb] gave the armies of Iraq the command to seek out those of Persia,[1] wherever they might be. He commanded some of those Muslim troops who were in al-Baṣrah and its surrounding areas to march on the region of Fārs, Kirmān, and Iṣfahān and some of those who were in the district and regions[2] of al-Kūfah [to march] on Iṣfahān, Azerbaijan, and al-Rayy. Some said that 'Umar did this in the year 18 [January 12, 639–January 2, 640]. This is [also] the version of Sayf b. 'Umar.[3] [2634]

1. Fārs here in the text refers broadly to the land of Persia, not specifically the province of that name, indeed including the provinces of Fārs, Kirmān, Iṣfahān, Azerbaijan, and al-Rayy, listed below. The text of this volume thus begins with this general command on the part of the caliph, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, to his forces in Iraq to move eastward and begin the conquest of Iran.

2. For the Persian word *māh*, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 190; Barthold, *Geography*, 208.

3. Sayf b. 'Umar (d. ca. 180/796) appears as the major source for Ṭabarī's account of the conquest of Iran; see Translation, XIII, xiii–xviii; XV, xvi–xvii. See also Hinds, "Sources," 3–16, with an assessment on p. 12; Hinds also discusses Sayf in the context of the conquest of the province of Fārs in "Con-

What Happened in This Year, 21—'Umar's Previously Mentioned Orders to the Two Armies

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr, and Sa'īd:[4] When 'Umar realized that Yazdajird[5] was making war on him every year and when it was suggested to him that he would continue to do this until he was driven out of his kingdom, ('Umar) gave the army permission to penetrate into Persia to wrest from Yazdajird his imperial possessions. He therefore dispatched the commanders of the Basran and Kufan armies after the victory of Nihāwand.[6] Between the appointment of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ[7] [as commander of al-Kūfah] and that of 'Ammār b. Yāsir,[8] there were two [other]

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quest," 39, 47–49; Duri, "Iraq School," 49–50; Duri, *Rise*, especially 46–47. See also Hill, *Termination*, 26–27.

4. Al-Sarī is al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā. It should be noted that he invariably conveys his information in writing. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 460–61; Translation, I, 6–7. Shu'ayb is Shu'ayb b. Ibrāhīm al-Tamīmī. Muḥammad is Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Sawād, first appearing in the account of the year 12/633–634, Ṭabarī, I, 2026; cf. Duri, *Rise*, 140. Ṭalḥah is Ṭalḥah b. al-A'lam al-Ḥanafī, first appearing in the account of the year 11/632–633, Ṭabarī, I, 1796; cf. Duri, *Rise*, 140. Al-Muhallab is al-Muhallab b. 'Uqbah al-Asadī, first appearing in the text in the account of the year 12/633–634, Ṭabarī, I, 2023. 'Amr is 'Amr b. Muḥammad (d. 199/814–815), who first appears in Ṭabarī, I, 380; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 98–99. Sa'īd is Sa'īd b. al-Marzubān, Abū Sa'd al-Baqqāl, who first appears in Ṭabarī, I, 19. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 79–80. All are important sources of Sayf b. 'Umar. Cf. Hill, *Termination*, 20 no. 23.

5. That is, the last Persian emperor, Yazdgard III, son of Shahriyār, who was killed in 31/651. A brief survey of his career is given in Zarrīnkūb, "Conquest," 18–26. See also Spuler, *Iran*, 18–20; Translation XIII, passim. For the Sasanian family tree, see Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, table, 436a. For these and following events, cf. Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 480ff.

6. A town some 40 miles south of Hamadhān (Le Strange, *Lands*, 196), the site of the famous battle earlier in 21/641–642, in which the Muslims won a resounding victory to pave the way for the later conquests of Iran. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2596–2631; Translation, XIII, 179–214; Zarrīnkūb, "Conquest," 16.

7. Sa'd was the Qurashī commander of the Muslim forces at al-Qādisiyyah in 16/637. A relative and Companion of the Prophet, Sa'd had been appointed to lead the forces by 'Umar. See Spuler, *Iran*, 8; Shaban, *History*, 30: Zarrīnkūb, "Conquest," 10; Translation, XIII, passim. Cf. Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 386.

8. Son of the client of Abū Ḥudhayfah of Makhzūm, Companion, and later follower of 'Alī. He died at Ṣiffīn in 37/657. Cf. Shaban, *History*, 69; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 234, 241, etc.; *EI*², s.v. "'Ammār b. Yāsir" (Reckendorf).

commanders, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Itbān,[9] in whose time the battle of Nihāwand took place, and Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah, confederate of B. 'Abd b. Quṣayy,[10] in whose time the order to [2635] penetrate was given. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh was removed and sent elsewhere. Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah, an emigrant, was appointed. But he served for [only] a short time, persistently asking to be relieved. So he was relieved of his post, and 'Ammār b. Yāsir appointed after him. ('Umar) reinforced the army of al-Baṣrah with 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh and that of al-Kūfah with Abū Mūsā [al-Ash'arī],[11] appointing 'Umar b. Surāqah[12] in his place. Standards came from 'Umar to certain individuals in al-Kūfah during the time of Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah.[13] One of (these standards) came to Nu'aym b. Muqarrin.[14] The people of Hamadhān[15] had reneged [on their] peace [agreement], so ('Umar) ordered (Nu'aym) to march on Hamadhān, saying, "If God gives you victory, [go] on beyond, onward to Khurāsān!" ('Umar) also dispatched 'Utbah b. Farqad[16] and Bukayr b. 'Abdallāh,[17] confirming them in charge of Azerbaijan. He divided (the country)

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9. Companion and military commander. See Translation, XIII, 80, 88–89, and passim; also Zarrinkūb, "Conquest," 21, erroneously 'Atabān; Donner, *Conquests*, 436; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VI, 145.

10. For Ziyād, a prominent commander and administrator, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 28; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 213; Donner, *Conquests*, 365 (at Yarmūk). B. 'Abd b. Quṣayy is a tribal division (*fakhdh*) of Kilāb b. Murrah. See Zubayrī, *Quraysh*, 256; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 14; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, II, 726; Caskel, *Gamharat*, I, Table 4.

11. Important Companion and commander, who died ca. 42/662. See Morony, *Iraq*, 433; *EI*², s.v. "Abū Mūsā" (Veccia Vaglieri).

12. That is, over al-Baṣrah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VIII, 26, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 79, both giving little information on this military commander.

13. The dispatch of standards from the caliph to Muslim commanders in the field marked the beginning of a general mobilization eastward of their armies.

14. Nu'aym was, with al-Nu'mān and Suwayd, one of the famous Ibn Muqarrin brothers and heroes of the eastern campaigns. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, X, 178. See also note 26, below.

15. A famous town in the Jibāl, northeast of Baghdad and southwest of al-Rayy, about equidistant from both. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 410–17; Le Strange, *Lands*, 194–95.

16. Al-Sulamī, Companion, military commander, and *kharāj* official. He was the conqueror of Mosul in 18/639. Cf. Translation, XIII, 60.

17. Al-Laythī, first mentioned in the text in the account of the year 14/635–636, when he was appointed military commander. See Ṭabarī, I, 2232. Cf. also Translation, XIII, 4–5.

between them, ordering one of them to take [troops] there from Ḥulwān[18] to [form] the right section [of the army] and the other to take [troops] from Mosul to [form] the left. Thus one was on the right of his colleague and the other on his colleague's left. ('Umar) sent a standard to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh, ordering him to march on Iṣfahān. Now he was courageous, a hero of the
[2636] noble Companions and a prominent Helper, confederate of Banū al-Ḥublā of Banū Asad.[19] ('Umar) reinforced him with Abū Mūsā from al-Baṣrah and appointed 'Umar b. Surāqah commander of al-Baṣrah.

The account concerning 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh is that, when 'Umar heard of the victory at Nihāwand, he determined to give permission [to his armies] to penetrate [further eastward]. He therefore wrote to ('Abdallāh), giving him instructions to march out of al-Kūfah and halt in al-Madā' in;[20] he should call on [the Muslim commanders to volunteer], not select them, and write to him [to inform him that all] this [had been carried out]. 'Umar was intending to despatch him to Iṣfahān. Among those who answered his call [to volunteer] were 'Abdallāh b. Warqā' al-Riyāḥī and 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Warqā' al-Asadī.[21] Those who do not know think one of them was 'Abdallāh b. Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī because of mention of [the name] Warqā'. They were under the [mistaken] impression that (Warqā') was ('Abdallāh al-Riyāḥī's) grandfather. But when he was killed at Ṣiffīn 'Abdallāh b. Budayl b. Warqā' was twenty-four years old and in 'Umar's time he was a young lad.[22]

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18. A well-known town of the Jibāl province. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 290–94; Le Strange, *Lands*, 191.

19. Al-Ḥublā was the nickname of pot-bellied Sālim b. Ghanm b. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, the word meaning "pregnant." Banū al-Ḥublā is a tribal division (*baṭn*) of al-Khazraj. There would appear to be nothing, however, linking al-Khazraj with a Banū Asad. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 166; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 248, 354–55; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, I, 239; Caskel, *Ǧamharat*, I, Table 189.

20. The Sasanian capital, seven leagues below Baghdad on both banks of the Tigris, the twin towns of Ctesiphon and Seleucia. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 74–75; Le Strange, *Lands*, 33.

21. The editor of the Cairo edition enters these two under the name 'Abdallāh b. Warqā' al-Riyāḥī al-Asadī in his index (X, 316). This is their first mention in the text, and no further information on them would appear to be available.

22. Ṭabarī here corrects others (e.g., Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 312) who make the error of suggesting Ibn Budayl was playing a major military role at this time.

When 'Umar heard of 'Abdallāh's departure, he sent Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah [to al-Kūfah]. When he heard of the departure and [continuing] penetration of the troops, he appointed 'Ammār commander, reciting God's words, "And We want to show favor to those who were considered weak on earth, to make them leaders and to make them heirs."[23] Ziyād had been sent in the [2637] middle of Sa'd's period as commander to the office of judge of al-Kūfah after Salmān and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the sons of Rabī'ah,[24] had been relieved [of the post], to act as judge until 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd[25] arrived from Ḥimṣ. Al-Nu'mān and Suwayd, the sons of Muqarrin,[26] had been put in charge on behalf of 'Umar of [the lands] watered by the Euphrates and Tigris, but they asked to be relieved, saying, "Relieve us of a position that is changing and becoming attractive to us like a prostitute!"[27] So he relieved them of their posts, appointing in their places Ḥudhayfah b. Asīd al-Ghifārī[28] and Jābir b. 'Amr al-Muzanī.[29] Then they [too] asked to be relieved, so he relieved them, appointing in their places Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān and

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However, Ṭabarī himself erroneously mentions Ibn Budayl in connection with the conquest of Kirmān (Ṭabarī, I, 2704); see also note 328, below. In 23, when Kirmān was taken by the Muslims, Ibn Budayl would have been only ten years old! Ibn Budayl played a prominent part at the battle of Ṣiffīn in 37/657–658 on the side of 'Alī; see Ṭabarī, I, 3292ff.

23. Qur'ān 28:5. See p. 47, the dismissal of 'Ammār.

24. For Salmān, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 34; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 220–21. For 'Abd al-Raḥmān, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VI, 278–79. See also Donner, *Conquests*, 395–96.

25. Ibn Mas'ūd was a Qur'ān reader who died in 32/652–653; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 27ff.; see also Translation, I, 206 n. 280.

26. For the administrative and military activities of the two brothers, see Translation, XIII, passim. Al-Nu'mān has an entry in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 456–57, and is mentioned by Abū Yūsuf; see Ben Shemesh, *Taxation*, III, 96. For Suwayd, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 279–80. This passage would seem to indicate that they were charged with land survey duties in the areas described; see Ṭabarī, I, 2456, and Translation, XIII, 36, where the land-survey aspect of the appointment is clearer. Cf. also Morony, *Iraq*, 69, 150, 157.

27. This would appear to mean that their official position proved too much of a temptation for them! For the Arabic *mūmisah*, see Bosworth, *Underworld*, I, 20.

28. Ḥudhayfah died 42/662–663; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 219.

29. Jābir is mentioned in Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 236, though with no further details.

'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf,[30] Ḥudhayfah over [the lands] watered by the Tigris and beyond and 'Uthmān over all [the lands] watered by the Euphrates belonging to the Sawād [of al-Kūfah and of al-Baṣrah] together.[31] ('Umar) wrote to the troops of al-Kūfah, [informing them] that he had sent 'Ammār b. Yāsir to them as commander and appointed 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd as teacher and administrative assistant.[32] [He also informed them that] he had appointed Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān in charge of [the lands] watered by the Tigris and beyond, whereas he had appointed 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf in charge of [the lands] watered by the Euphrates.

Iṣfahān[33]

'Ammār arrived as commander in al-Kūfah and 'Umar's letter
[2638] reached 'Abdallāh [b. 'Abdallāh with the order] to march on Iṣfahān, leaving Ziyād in charge of al-Kūfah. 'Abdallāh b. Warqā' al-Riyāḥī was to be over his vanguard and 'Abdallāh b. Warqā' al-Asadī and 'Iṣmah b. 'Abdallāh—that is 'Iṣmah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydah b. Sayf b. 'Abd b. al-Ḥārith[34]—over his two wings. 'Abdallāh marched at the head of the army and came to Ḥudhayfah [b. al-Yamān], who returned to his post. 'Abdallāh left Nihāwand at the head of his followers and those of the army of al-Nu'mān who had departed with him to face [another] army that had assembled against him, [comprising] some of the in-

30. Both renowned for their work in land survey and *kharāj* assessment; see Zarrīnkūb, "Conquest," 20; Morony, *Iraq*, 101, 108, 121; Ben Shemesh, *Taxation*, 80, 87, 93, 97, 100, 103.

31. For the general meaning of al-Sawād, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 24. I have here translated the dual of the Leiden and Cairo texts. The variant reading, al-Sawād, in the singular, however, should be noted, and Abū Yūsuf, when referring to the appointments of Ḥudhayfah and 'Uthmān, also uses the singular, presumably the Sawād of al-Kūfah. See Ben Shemesh, *Taxation*, 80, 87; Morony, *Iraq*, 121. Perhaps the following mention that 'Umar wrote only to the Kufans about his appointments also points to the Sawād of al-Kūfah alone being meant here.

32. In this early period, this seems the most appropriate rendering of *wazīr*; see Morony, *Iraq*, 536.

33. For the conquest of Iṣfahān, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 312–14; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 9; Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 480ff. Cf. Donner, *Conquests*, Appendix N.

34. Ibn Ṭarīf, an early military commander under Khālid b. al-Walīd in Syria, later in the east. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VII, 8.

habitants of Iṣfahān, led by the district governor.[35] In charge of his vanguard was Shahrbarāz Jādhawayh,[36] an important leader (*shaykh*) at the head of a large force. The Muslims and the vanguard of the polytheists met in one of the districts[37] of Iṣfahān, and they fought a hard battle. The leader called for single combat, so 'Abdallāh b. Warqā' came out against him and killed him. The army of Iṣfahān fled. The Muslims named this district Rustāq al-Shaykh, and this is its name to this day. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh called out, "Who's next?!" so the district governor sued for peace, which ('Abdallāh) granted them. This was the first district of Iṣfahān to be taken.

Then 'Abdallāh marched out from Rustāq al-Shaykh in the direction of Jayy and finally arrived there.[38] The ruler in Iṣfahān [2639] was at that time al-Fādhūsafān.[39] ('Abdallāh) settled the army around Jayy. He besieged them, but after a period collecting together a huge army, they came out against him. When they met, al-Fādhūsafān said to 'Abdallāh: "Do not kill my men, and I shall not kill yours. Rather come out against me in single combat. If I kill you, your men will withdraw. If you kill me, my men will make peace with you, but only if no arrow falls on them."[40] So 'Abdallāh came out against him in single combat, saying, "Will you make the [first] attack on me, or shall I on you?" He replied that he would attack. So 'Abdallāh stood still before him, and al-Fādhūsafān made an attack on him, thrusting at him and hitting the pommel of his saddle and breaking it. He also cut through the breast girth and the girth and the saddle

35. *Ustandār* in the text; see *CHIr*, 218; Morony, *Iraq*, 536, suggests Sasanian official in charge of royal property or a crown prince. The first interpretation, however, seems most appropriate to the context. *Chronique*, III, 483, says that the town was governed by a Persian called Pâdouspân. Cf. *EI*[2], s.v. "Bādūspānids" (Nikitine).

36. Cf. Justi *Namenbuch*, 278, where there is brief mention of this Persian general.

37. For the Persian word *rustāq*, see Steingass, *Dictionary*, 575; Morony, *Iraq*, 534.

38. Jayy is the name of one of the two towns making up Iṣfahān; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 202–3; Le Strange, *Lands*, 203–4, 206.

39. Cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 151 n. 2. Cf. also note 35, above.

40. Arabic: *wa-in qatalta-nī sālama-ka aṣḥābī wa-in kāna aṣḥabī lā yaqa'u la-hum nushshābah.*

cloth, and the saddle came away, with 'Abdallāh still on the horse. But he came off, though he was still standing, then regained a firm seat on the horse, riding bareback. ('Abdallāh) told him to stand still, but (al-Fādhūsafān) agreed with him not to fight [further]. He said: "I do not want to fight you [further], for I see you are a perfect man. Rather I shall come back with you to
[2640] your camp and make peace with you. I shall hand over the town to you, allowing anyone who wishes to stay, but [he must] pay tribute, keeping his property, and on condition that you grant anyone whose land you have taken by force equal status with them and they return [to their property]. Anyone who refuses to enter into the same [agreement] as we will go where he wishes, and his land will be yours." ('Abdallāh) replied that he accepted his terms.

Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī arrived [to join] 'Abdallāh from the area of al-Ahwāz[41] when al-Fādhūsafān had already made peace with the latter. All the troops left Jayy and entered into the contract except for thirty Iṣfahānīs who opposed [the majority of] their people. They assembled and made off for Kirmān, along with their dependents, [to join] a group already there. 'Abdallāh and Abū Mūsā entered Jayy, the town of Iṣfahān, and (the former) wrote to 'Umar to this effect. Those who remained rejoiced, whereas those who left regretted [their decision]. 'Umar's reply to 'Abdallāh commanded him to march and join up with Suhayl b. 'Adī[42] to fight with him those in Kirmān. He was also to leave behind in Jayy those who would defend the town. He was to appoint as his deputy over Iṣfahān al-Sā'ib b. al-Aqra'.[43]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—a group of al-Ḥasan's informants, who included al-Mubārak b. Faḍālah—al-Ḥasan[44]—

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41. On the Dujayl, capital of Khūzistān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 284–86; Le Strange, *Lands*, 232–34.

42. Al-Azdī. See the brief entry in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 286.

43. A client of Thaqīf who fought at Nihāwand and was governor of al-Madā'in. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 16ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 249; Translation, XIII, 182 n. 624.

44. Al-Ḥasan is the famous al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (b. 22/641 [Ṭabarī, I, 2646], d. ca. 110/728). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 263–70; *EI*², s.v. (Ritter); Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 591–94. For al-Mubārak (d. ca. 164/780), see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 28–31; Translation, I, 268 n. 641.

Asīd b. al-Mutashammis, the nephew of al-Aḥnaf:[45] I was with Abū Mūsā at the conquest of Iṣfahān, but he was there only in a supporting role.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr, and Sa'īd: the Iṣfahān peace document: [2641]

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful; a document from 'Abdallāh to al-Fādhūsafān and to the people of Iṣfahān and the surrounding areas. You will [remain] in a state of security as long as you pay the tribute. This is imposed upon you annually at a rate within your capacity [to pay]. You will pay it for everyone who has attained puberty to whoever is governor of your region. The Muslim must be guided, be afforded safe passage; he must be given hospitality for a whole day and a night and given a mount, if he is on foot, up to a distance of one stage. You are not to put [anyone] in authority over a Muslim. The Muslims must have your good counsel and be paid what you are obliged [to pay]. You will have safe-conduct as long as you carry out [all these stipulations]. If you go against [this] in any way or if anyone of you goes against it and you do not hand him over, you will have no safe-conduct. Anyone abusing a Muslim will be dealt with severely. If anyone physically abuses him, we shall kill him.

He wrote [this document] and it was witnessed by 'Abdallāh b. Qays [al-Ash'athī], 'Abdallāh b. Warqā', and 'Iṣmah b. 'Abdallāh.

When 'Umar's letter reached 'Abdallāh, in which he was ordered to join up with Suhayl b. 'Adī in Kirmān, he left at the head of a detachment of cavalry. He appointed al-Sā'ib as his deputy and joined up with Suhayl before he arrived in Kirmān.

According to Ma'qil b. Yasār,[46] it was al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin who was in command of the Muslim army when it attacked Iṣfahān.

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45. I find no information on Asīd. Al-Aḥnaf is al-Aḥnaf b. Qays al-Tamīmī, the leader of Tamīm in al-Baṣrah. See *EI*², s.v. "Al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays" (Pellat).

46. Al-Muzanī (d. 60–70/679–689); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 235.

The Account of [the Attack on Iṣfahān]

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm[47] and 'Amr b. 'Alī[48]—'Abd al-
[2642] Raḥmān b. Mahdī[49]—Ḥammād b. Salamah[50]—Abū 'Imrān al-Jawnī[51]—'Alqamah b. 'Abdallāh al-Muzanī[52]—Ma'qil b. Yasār [al-Muzanī]: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb consulted al-Hurmuzān,[53] asking him what he thought; should be begin with Fārs, Azerbaijan, or Iṣfahān? He replied: "Fārs and Azerbaijan are the wings; Iṣfahān is the head. If you cut off one of the wings, the other one [can still] work. But, if you cut off the head, the wings collapse. Begin with the head!" 'Umar went into the mosque while al-Nu'man b. Muqarrin was praying and sat down beside him. When he had finished his prayers, ['Umar] told him that he had a job for him to do. [Al-Nu'mān] replied that, if it was collecting taxes, he was unwilling, but, if it was a military task, [he was willing]. ['Umar] told him that he would be engaged in a military matter. He despatched him to Iṣfahān and wrote to the people of al-Kūfah to give him reinforcements. He arrived in [Iṣfahān], but there was the river between him and [the enemy]. So [al-Nu'mān] sent al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah[54] to them, and he reached them. Their ruler, called Dhū al-Ḥājibayn,[55] was told that the envoy of the Arabs was at the door. So he took counsel

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47. Al-Jūzajānī (d. ca. 256/870); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 181–83; Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 278; Translation, I, 26, note 96.

48. 'Amr b. 'Alī b. Baḥr al-Fallās (d. 249/864); cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 80–82; Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 392; Translation, I, 26 and n. 96.

49. Died 198/814. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 279–81; Translation, I, 201 n. 252.

50. Ḥammād died in 167/783. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 11–16; Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 518.

51. An unidentified narrator.

52. 'Alqamah died in 100/718. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 275.

53. Ruler of Khūzistān, who, after leading much opposition against the Muslim forces, surrendered to 'Umar earlier in 21/641. Only later did he become a Muslim. See Zarrīnkūb. "Conquest," 14–15. See also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 230ff., recounting the same anecdotes on the authority of 'Alqamah and Ma'qil. Cf. also Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 481.

54. A veteran Muslim administrator and commander and a Thaqafī (d. 50/670). See Shaban, *History*, 58, 84, 187; Zarrīnkūb, "Conquest," 19, 21; Translation, XIII, passim.

55. "He of the two eyebrows." See Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 468; Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 226 n. 1. On such names, see Goldziher, "Ueber Dualtitel"; see also Translation, XIII, 180 n. 618.

with his advisers, saying: "What do you think? Shall I sit down to [receive] him in royal splendor?" They replied that he should. So he sat on his throne and put the crown on his head, while the royal princes sat in two ranks, wearing earrings, gold bracelets, and silk-brocade garments. Then [the ruler] allowed (al-Mughīrah) to enter, carrying his lance and shield. He began to [2643] poke at their carpets with his lance to unnerve them.[56] Two men took him by the arms, and he stood before their ruler, who spoke to him, saying: "You Arabs, vehement hunger has afflicted you, so you have left [your homelands]. If you wish, we shall give you provisions, and you can return home." Al-Mughīrah spoke, praising and extolling God; then he said: "We Arabs used to eat corpses and carrion; people used to trample us under foot, not we them. God has sent forth from us a prophet, the best of us in rank, the most truthful in what he says." (And he mentioned the Prophet in the fashion he deserves.) "He made us promises that we discovered were [fulfilled] as he had said. He promised us that we would conquer you and take possession of everything here. I see you are wearing [fine] garb and apparel. I do not think that [the Muslim army] coming after me will go away until they seize them." (Al-Mughīrah) continued: "Then I wondered what if I were to collect up my garments, leap up in one bound, and sit with this huge infidel on his throne! Perhaps [then] he would be unnerved." He continued: "I waited for a time when he was not expecting it and jumped. There I was with him on his throne!" (The account) continues: They seized him, beating him repeatedly with their hands and trampling him under foot. (Al-Mughīrah) continued: I said, "Is this how you treat envoys? We do not act thus. We do not do this with your envoys." The ruler replied, "If you wish, you can cross over to us or we over to you [to fight]."[57] (Al-Mughīrah) said that they would cross over to [the army of Iṣfahān]. He continued: "So

56. *Li-yataṭayyarū*, literally, "so that they might augur evil."

57. An indication that the audience was over and battle would ensue. A similar story involving al-Mughīrah has already appeared in the text in the context of the events leading up to the battle of Nihāwand (Ṭabarī, I, 2601–3). If it is a genuine account in either case, we learn much here and in the anecdote recounted below (about his appointment) of al-Mughīrah, who had clearly failed miserably in his diplomatic mission! He was later appointed governor of al-Kūfah (see p. 4) and remained in office until 'Umar's murder.

[2644] we crossed over against them. They formed themselves into a chains of men, ten in one chain, or five, or three. We drew ourselves out in rank to meet them, and they shot arrows at us, finally rushing in among us." Al-Mughīrah said to al-Nu'mān, "God have mercy upon you, they have rushed in among our men; attack!" But he replied: "You are indeed a man of fine qualities. But I was with the Messenger of God when he went into battle. If he did not fight early on in the day, he would postpone the battle until the sun went down, the winds blew, and victory descended!" Then (al-Nu'mān) said, "I shall wave my standard three times: At the first wave everyone will relieve himself and perform his ablutions; at the second everyone will inspect his weapon and his sandal thong and fasten it tight; at the third attack, with no one turning aside to another. If al-Nu'mān is killed, let no one turn aside to him. I am going to make a single prayer to God. I conjure every one of you to say amen after it: 'O God! Give martyrdom this day to al-Nu'mān in the aid of the Muslims! Grant him victory over (the army of Iṣfahān).'" He waved his standard once, then a second, then a third time. Then he put on his coat of mail and attacked. He was the first man to be struck down.

Ma'qil said:[58] I came over to him and, remembering his conjuring [us all to say amen after his prayer], put a marker over him, then went away. Now [usually] when we kill a man his followers are distracted away from us [to investigate him]. Dhū al-Ḥājibayn fell from his mule, his belly split open, so God put (the Iṣfahānī army) to flight. Then I came [back] to al-Nu'mān, bringing with me a skin containing water. I washed the dust from his face, and he said, "Who are you?" I replied I was Ma'qil b. Yasār. He asked how the army had done. I replied that God had given them victory. He said: "Praise be to God! Write to
[2645] 'Umar about this." And his soul departed. The [Muslim] army, including Ibn 'Umar,[59] Ibn al-Zubayr,[60] 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib[61]

58. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 9, on the same authority.

59. This must be 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who had been sent from Medina to join al-Nu'man's army prior to the battle of Nihāwand; see Ṭabarī, I, 2597, 2601, 2618.

60. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, the famous anticaliph (d. 73/692); see *EI*², s.v. (Gibb).

61. Al-Zubayrī (d. 16/637 or 21/641); cf. *EI*², s.v. (Pellat).

and Ḥudhayfah, rallied to al-Ash'ath b. Qays.[62] They sent for [al-Nu'mān's] concubine[63] and asked her what testament he had left with her. She replied, "Here is a casket containing a document." They took it, and in it was [the following]: If al-Nu'mān is killed, so-and-so [will take over]; if so-and-so is killed, so-and-so [will take over].

Al-Wāqidī[64] said that Khālid b. al-Walīd died during this year—that is 21—in Ḥimṣ. He exhorted [his followers to] continue their support for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.[65]

[Al-Wāqidī] also reported: In [this year] 'Abdallāh and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the sons of 'Amr, and Abū Sirwa'ah made a military expedition and arrived in Egypt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Abū Sirwa'ah drank wine, and something happened to them![66]

[Al-Wāqidī] also reported: In [this year] 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ marched on Anṭābulus, which is Barqah. He conquered it and made peace with its inhabitants on [payment] of 13,000 dinars and [on condition] that they sell off what they wanted of their sons as part of their tribute.[67]

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62. Famous shaykh of Kindah who settled in al-Kūfah and died in 40/661. See Morony, *Iraq*, p. 93; Donner, *Conquests*, 433–34; Mad'aj, *Yemen*, 12, 13, 45–51, and passim; *EI*², s.v. [Reckendorf].

63. Arabic: *umm walad*; strictly speaking a concubine who has given birth to a child by her master; see Translation, XIII, 58.

64. Muḥammad b. 'Umar [d. 207/823], famous author of *K. al-Maghāzī* and a narrator used extensively by Ṭabarī. See Duri, *Rise*, 37ff.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 294–97.

65. Khālid b. al-Walīd was a famous early Islamic general; see *EI*², s.v. [Crone]. This would appear to be the meaning here of *awṣā ilā*. See in particular Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, II, 1551.

66. These are perhaps the sons of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. Abū Sirwa'ah is perhaps Abū Sirwa'ah 'Uqbah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 238–39, XII, 105; Translation, XII, 105; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, IV, 42. There appears to be no record of what exactly happened to the offending pair.

67. Also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 224; and Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 156; and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 170, with the rather strange suggestion that sons were sold, presumably for the purpose of providing military service to the Muslims, as part of a tribute arrangement. Barqah is ancient Barce in present day Libya; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 224–25; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 388; Abun-Nasr, *Maghrib*, 315, map. It is spelled Barqā in Wāqidī, *Futūḥ*, 102. Whereas Balādhurī, ibid. calls Barqah the town of Anṭābulus, Yāqūt, ibid., says the town of Barqah is Anṭābulus.

(Al-Wāqidī) also reported: In (this year) 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb appointed 'Ammār b. Yāsir governor of al-Kūfah, Ibn Mas'ūd treasurer, and 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf in charge of land survey.[68] But the inhabitants of al-Kūfah complained about 'Ammār, and he asked 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to be relieved. (The latter) approached Jubayr b. Muṭ'im[69] in confidence and appointed him governor of al-Kūfah, telling him not to mention it to anyone. But al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah heard that 'Umar had held a private meeting with Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, returned to his wife, and told her to go to the wife of Jubayr b. Muṭ'im and offer her some food [prepared especially] for a journey. She came to her and
[2646] offered her [the food], but she remained silent [at first], then said, "Yes, give me it." When al-Mughīrah had verified all this, he came to 'Umar and said, "God bless you in the one whom you have appointed governor." "What governor have I appointed?" asked 'Umar. So he mentioned that he had appointed Jubayr b. Muṭ'im. 'Umar said, "I do not know what to do!" He [in fact] appointed al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah governor of al-Kūfah, an office in which he remained until 'Umar died.[70]

(Al-Wāqidī) also said: In [this year] 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ sent 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' al-Fihrī,[71] and he acquired Zawīlah by treaty, the whole area between Barqah and Zawīlah being already pacified in Muslim control.[72]

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68. See *EI*², s.v. "Misāḥa" (Bosworth and Pellat).

69. A leader of Quraysh and a genealogist, although appearing in the text mainly as an early narrator; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 63–64. Cf. a slightly different, and more informative, version of the story that follows in Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 485–86. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 59.

70. This anecdote, which represents 'Umar as somewhat weak and indecisive and al-Mughīrah as ambitious and cunning, is also recounted in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 10.

71. Famous Muslim military leader on the North African front, entering the Maghrib in 46/666, and founder of al-Qayrawān. Killed in 64/682 near al-Qayrawān. See Abun-Nasr, *Maghrib*, 68–69; *CHIs*, I, 79.

72. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 224, confirms that 'Uqbah took control of the Maghrib and reached Zawīlah. See also Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 156, who reports the dispatch of 'Uqbah to Nubia. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 159–60, says that Zawīlah was between Bilād al-Sūdān and Ifrīqiyah and also confirms that 'Uqbah took it after the conquest of Barqah. Cf. Hill, *Termination*, 56, erroneously Zāwilah.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd[73]—Salamah[74]—Ibn Isḥāq:[75] There took place in Syria in the year 21 [December 10, 641–November 30, 642] the campaign of the commander, Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān,[76] while 'Umayr b. Sa'd al-Anṣārī[77] was in charge of Damascus, al-Bathaniyyah,[78] Ḥawrān, Ḥimṣ, Qinnasrīn,[79] and al-Jazīrah and Mu'āwiyah in charge of al-Balqā',[80] the Jordan, Palestine, the coastal regions (al-Sawāḥil), Antioch, Ma'arrat Maṣrīn,[81] and Cilicia. At this point Abū Hāshim b. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah b. 'Abd Shams[82] made a peace treaty covering Cilicia, Antioch, and Ma'arrat Maṣrīn.

It was said that in (this year) both al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and 'Āmir al-Sha'bī were born.[83]

Al-Wāqidī said: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb led the pilgrimage this year, leaving Zayd b. Thābit[84] as his deputy over Medina. His governors of Mecca, al-Ṭā'if, the Yemen, al-Yamāmah, Bahrain, [2647] Syria, Egypt, and al-Baṣrah were the same as those in the year 20

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73. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Rāzī (d. 248/862), one of Ṭabarī's teachers in al-Rayy and one of his leading authorities. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 29ff., 79, 242, 253.

74. Salamah b. al-Faḍl al-Azraq (d. after 190/805). He transmitted Ibn Isḥāq's *Maghāzī* and *Mubtada'*. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 153ff.

75. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 150/767), author of the famous *Sīrah*. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 38–46; *EI*², s.v. (Jones).

76. The famous Umayyad governor in Syria and later (41–60/661–680) first Umayyad caliph.

77. Prominent figure in the Syrian conquests. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VII, 163–64.

78. One of the districts of Damascus; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 338. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 32–34.

79. A town south of Aleppo precisely described by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 403; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 486; *EI*², s.v. (Elisséeff).

80. The area south of Damascus, the principal center of which is 'Ammān; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 489; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 34–35.

81. A place that is part of the province of Aleppo; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 155. The same as Ma'arrat Qinnasrīn; see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 39.

82. The maternal uncle of Mu'āwiyah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 261; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iqd*, IV, 398.

83. Ibn Sharāḥīl (d. ca. 103/721), the famous narrator; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 65–69, especially 68. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 341; Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 63, 187, 380.

84. Zayd b. Thābit was a famous Companion, who died in 45/665. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 41–43.

[December 21], 640–December 10, 641.[85] The governor of al-Kūfah was 'Ammār b. Yāsir, who was also in charge of the police.[86] 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd was in charge of the treasury, 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf of the land tax, and Shurayḥ reportedly held the office of judge.[87]

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85. It is in fact necessary to go back to the end of the year 17 (638–39) to find the complete list. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2570; Translation, XIII, 150.

86. For this meaning of *aḥdāth*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 258, with expressions from Balādhurī. See also Hinds, "Conquests," 50 n. 33; *EI*², s.v. (Cahen).

87. That is, Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī, a famous, perhaps "legendary," judge of early Islam (d. 72–99/691–718). See Schacht, *Origins*, 228–29; Translation, XIII, 159 n. 543.

The Events of the Year 22

(November 30, 642–November 19, 643)

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] said: In [this year] Azerbaijan was conquered, according to Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—someone he mentioned—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar:[88] Azerbaijan was [conquered] in the year 22, its commander being al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah. Al-Wāqidī also reported thus.

However, Sayf b. 'Umar said, according to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb: The conquest of Azerbaijan took place in the year 18 of the Hijrah after the conquest of Hamadhān, al-Rayy, and Jurjān and after the ruler of Ṭabaristān[89] had sued for peace with the Muslims. He continued: All this took place in the year 18.[90]

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88. For Aḥmad and Abū Ma'shar, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 292, 796; Translation, I, 6; for Isḥāq (d. 214/829), see *GAS*, 200 n. 245.

89. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 14–15, explains that *isbahbad*, the term used here, is that used in Ṭabaristān as the title of the ruler. See also Morony, *Iraq*, 28.

90. On the question of the date of the conquest of Azerbaijan, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 326; also Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, 156, who gives only the date 22; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 13, under the year 22. For the conquest of Hamadhān, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 309–11 (in the year 23); Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 157 (also in 23); Ibn al-Athīr, ibid., 10, *sub anno* 22.

(Sayf) continued: The reason for the conquest of Hamadhān, so it was claimed, was [as follows]. Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, Ṭalḥah, 'Amr, and Sa'īd had informed (Sayf) that al-Nu'mān was diverted to the two provincial centers [of Nihāwand and al-Dīnawar][91] because the Persians had assembled in Nihāwand. The Kūfans were diverted there too, and they, including Ḥudhayfah, joined up with (al-Nu'mān). When the Kūfans left Ḥulwān and arrived at Māh,[92] they attacked a castle (*qal'ah*) in a field (*marj*) in which was a body of armed men. They forced them to come down—and this was the first [step] in the con-
[2648] quest—and settled cavalry in their place to keep a hold on the castle. They named their camp after the field, calling it Marj al-Qal'ah. Then they marched from Marj al-Qal'ah in the direction of Nihāwand and reached a[nother] castle containing some men. They left al-Nusayr b. Thawr attacking it with [a group of] 'Ijl and Ḥanīfah,[93] and it was called after him. He took it after the victory of Nihāwand, and thus not one 'Ijlī, or one Ḥanafī, was present at Nihāwand; they remained with al-Nusayr stationed at the castle. Nevertheless, when (the Muslims) made a comprehensive assessment of the immovable booty[94] of Nihāwand and the castles, they gave all of them a share in it, as they had given one another support. From that time on they gave a name according to its characteristics to everything they observed between Marj al-Qal'ah and Nihāwand, [that is,] the area they had already passed through, and what they had observed from al-Marj to it. Some riding camels (*rikāb*) jostled together on one of the mountain roads (sing. *thaniyyah*) of Māh, so it was called al-Rikāb, or Thaniyyat al-Rikāb. They came upon another the

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91. That is, the dual of the Persian word *māh* = Arabic *qaṣabah*. The former is south, the latter southwest of Hamadhān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 48; Le Strange, *Lands*, 196–97; Translation, XIII, 4, 199; *EI*², s.v. "Māh al-Baṣra," "Māh al-Kūfa" (Morony). See also note 2.

92. That is, Nihāwand, see note 91.

93. That is, al-Nusayr b. Daysam b. Thawr al-'Ijlī, about whom there is no information. 'Ijl here are presumably 'Ijl b. Lujaym b. Ṣa'b, a tribal division (*baṭn*) of Bakr b. Wā'il, originally occupying an area between al-Yamāmah and al-Baṣrah; see *EI*², s.v. "'Idjl" (Watt). 'Ijl and Ḥanīfah are closely related tribal groups (*EI*², s.v. "Ḥanīfa" [Watt]). See also Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 309, 312; Caskel, *Ǧamharat*, I, Tables 141, 156, 157; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, I, 312; II, 757.

94. Arabic *fay'*. See *EI*², s.v. (Løkkegaard).

track of which went round a rock, so they called it Malwiyyah (twisted). Their original names were obliterated, and they were given names in keeping with their characteristics. (The Muslims) passed by the long mountain overlooking [other] mountains, and one of them said that it was like the tooth of Sumayrah—Sumayrah was a Ḍabbī woman from Banū Mu'āwiyah,[95] one of those who migrated with the Prophet, who had a tooth projecting over her [other] teeth; so this mountain was named after her tooth. Ḥudhayfah had sent Nu'aym b. Muqarrin and al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr[96] in pursuit of the defeated troops of Nihāwand. The two reached Hamadhān, and Khusrawshunūm[97] made peace with them. They left (the Hamadhānīs) and returned; then later he reneged. When 'Umar's agreement with (Khusrawsunūm) arrived among those dispatched by him, (Nu'aym) bade Ḥudhayfah farewell, and Ḥudhayfah did [likewise], (Nu'aym) making for Hamadhān, while (Ḥudhayfah) made to return to al-Kūfah. (The latter) appointed as deputy of Nihāwand and al-Dīnawar 'Amr b. Bilāl b. al-Ḥārith.[98] [2649]

'Umar's letter to Nu'aym b. Muqarrin [included the instruction] to march on Hamadhān, dispatch Suwayd b. Muqarrin in charge of his vanguard and Rib'ī b. 'Āmir and Muhalhil b. Zayd[99]—the latter a Ṭā'ī, the former a Tamīmī—in charge of the wings. So Nu'aym b. Muqarrin went forth with his [army] in formation. He went down Thaniyyat al-'Asal (the Mountain Road of Honey). It had been given this name because of the honey found there after the battle of Nihāwand, where they pursued the defeated troops. [At that time] al-Fayruzān[100] had

95. That is, Ḍabbah b. Shihāb b. Mu'āwiyah, rather than the better-known Ḍabbah b. Udd; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat*, I, Table 309.

96. A Tamīmī hero of both Qādisiyyah and Nihāwand, his exploits are much emphasized by Sayf b. 'Umar. See Ṭabarī, I, 2459–64 and 2626–28; Translation, XIII, passim, in particular 39–43, 209–11; *EI*², s.v. (Zetterstéen).

97. The Persian general; see Morony, *Iraq*, 194.

98. 'Amr b. Bilāl b. al-Ḥārith is unidentified.

99. Rib'ī b. 'Āmir is unidentified. Muhalhil b. Zayd al-Khayl al-Ṭā'ī was a hero of the Riddah wars. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, X, 49.

100. The Persian general in charge of the army defeated at Nihāwand. See Morony, *Iraq*, 192–93, for earlier events in which he played a part.

reached (the road), which was crowded with beasts of burden carrying honey and other things, so he was hemmed in by them until he dismounted. Then he had gone up the mountain. His horse, [being riderless], had gone back down and was pursued and [eventually] taken. When they stopped at Kinkiwar,[101] some of the Muslims' animals were stolen, so it was given the name Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ (Stronghold of Thieves).

Then Nu'aym went down the mountain road and stopped at the town of Hamadhān. But they had already fortified it against (the Muslims), so he besieged (the Hamdhānīs), taking the area between there and Jarmīdhān.[102] (The Muslims) took control of the whole area of Hamadhān. When the inhabitants of the town realized this, they sued for peace [with the request] that he treat them and those who had [originally] complied [with his demand to surrender] exactly alike. This he did and accepted tribute from them for their protection. He divided up Dastabā[103] among a
[2650] group of Kūfans, [comprising] 'Iṣmah b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḍabbī, Muhalhil b. Zayd al-Ṭā'ī, Simāk b. 'Ubayd al-'Absī,[104] Simāk b. Makhramah al-Asadī,[105] and Simāk b. Kharashah al-Anṣārī.[106] These were the first to be appointed governors over the frontier regions[107] of Dastabā and to fight the Daylam.[108]

But, according to al-Wāqidī: The conquest of Hamadhān and

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101. Persian Kangavar, a small town between Hamadhān and Qarmīsīn. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 484, who mentions Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ; Spuler, *Iran*, 127 and end maps; Barthold, *Geography*, 195; *EI*², s.v. "Kinkiwar" (Savory). See also Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 482.

102. Yāqūt's "A place in al-Jabal; I think it is in the regions of Hamadhān" (II, 129) is not very helpful. This must be a small place, not far from the town of Hamadhān.

103. Dastabā is the extensive area between al-Rayy and Hamadhān, and this is clearly what is meant here. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 454; Le Strange, *Lands*, 220. It is given as a town on Map 1, 60–61, of the *CHIr*, IV.

104. Warrior in the eastern conquests. Lived until the end of the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 254; Hill, *Termination*, 125, 129.

105. Died in al-Raqqah in Mu'āwiyah's caliphate. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 254; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 353.

106. Fought at al-Qādisiyyah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 253; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 352–53.

107. *Masāliḥ* the eastern equivalents of the western *thughūr*; i.e., the regions on the edge of Muslim control as they pushed eastward.

108. For the land and its people, see *EI*², s.v. (Minorsky). The territory of Daylam is the highlands of Jīlān.

al-Rayy took place in 23 [November 19, 643–November 7, 644]. According to him also: It is said that Qaraẓah b. Ka'b[109] conquered al-Rayy.

Also according to [al-Wāqidī]—Rabī'ah b. 'Uthmān:[110] The conquest of Hamadhān took place in [the month of] Jumādā I, exactly six months after the murder of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Its commander was al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah.

According to [al-Wāqidī]: It is also reported that the conquest of al-Rayy took place two years before the death of 'Umar. It is also said that 'Umar was killed while his armies were [engaged in hostilities] against it.[111]

To return to Sayf's account: While Nu'aym was at the head of 12,000 troops in the town of Hamadhān, engaged in subduing it, the Daylam, the inhabitants of al-Rayy, and those of Azerbaijan entered into correspondence among themselves. Then Mūtā,[112] at the head of the Daylam, went forth and halted at Wāj Rūdh.[113] Al-Zīnabī Abū al-Farrukhān,[114] at the head of the Rayy army, arrived to join him, and Isfandiyādh, brother of Rustam, did the same at the head of the Azerbaijan army.[115] The commanders of the Dastabā frontier regions[116] fortified themselves and sent to Nu'aym, giving him the news. So he ap- [2651]

109. Qaraẓah b. 'Amr b. Ka'b al-Khuzā'ī died in al-Kūfah during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VIII, 151–52.

110. He died in 154/771. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 266–67; *Tahdhīb*, III, 260; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 170.

111. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 319, says that the final conquest of al-Rayy was carried out by Qaraẓah b. Ka'b al-Anṣārī during the governorship of Abū Mūsā over al-Kūfah on behalf of 'Uthmān; see Zarrīnkūb, "Conquest," p. 23, erroneously Qurẓat. Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 157, agrees, this statement coming under the year 23. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 11–12, who, as always, follows Ṭabarī, mentioning without authority Qaraẓah as conqueror. He mentions too a date of 21 for the conquest. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 170; *Kāmil*, III, 9. 'Umar died from his wounds on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 3, 23/October 13, 644.

112. This Daylamī leader appears as Mūthā in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 341.

113. Wāj [al-]Rūdh is situated between Hamadhān and Qazwīn. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 341, gives the date of the battle as 29.

114. I vocalize this Persian proper name thus after reference to Justi, *Namenbuch*, 386. But see cf. Bal'ami *Chronique*, III, 489, al-Zīnbī; and Hill, *Termination*, 128, etc., al-Zaynabī.

115. Isfandiyādh was the brother of Rustam b. Farrukhzādh, the Persian general defeated at al-Qādisiyyah. See Zarrīnkūb, "Conquest," 10.

116. That is, 'Iṣmah, Muhalhil, and the three Simāks; see above.

pointed Yazīd b. Qays[117] as his deputy and went to do battle against (the Persians) at the head of his army, coming down upon them at Wāj al-Rūdh. They fought together there vehemently; it was a great battle like Nihāwand, not at all inferior. Great, incalculable numbers were killed, and the bloody struggle between them was no less then [other] great battles. They had already written to 'Umar of the amassing [of forces] against them. He was disturbed at this [assembly of troops at Wāj al-Rūdh] and was worried about the [outcome of the] battle. He expected [news] of them coming through and was taken by surprise only by the message bearing the good news [of the victory]. He said, "Is that someone bearing good news (*bashīr*)?" The reply was, "[No], it is 'Urwah!"[118] When he repeated his question, ('Urwah) understood and replied, "[Yes], good news (*bashīr*)!" 'Umar asked if it was the envoy of Nu'aym and was told it was. He asked for the news and was told the good news of the conquest and victory. He gave him [all] the news. ('Umar) praised God and ordered the letter to be read out to the people, and they too praised God. Then Simāk b. Makhramah, Simāk b. 'Ubayd, and Simāk b. Kharashah arrived at the head of the delegations of the Kūfans with the fifths [of booty for the state treasury] to see 'Umar. He asked them their lineage and all three Simāks told him. He said: "God bless you! O God, raise up (*usmuk*)[119] Islam through them and strengthen them through Islam!"

Dastabā and its frontier regions as far as [the town of] Hamadhān were [treated as] part of [the province of] Hamadhān until the envoy returned to Nu'aym b. Muqarrin with the reply from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. [In it he instructed him] to appoint a deputy over Hamadhān, reinforce Bukayr b. 'Abdallāh [in Azerbaijan] by means of Simāk b. Kharashah, proceed to al-Rayy,

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117. A Yemeni Arḥabī from Hamdān; see below. See also Mad'aj, *Yemen*, 124, 141, etc.

118. 'Umar actually said, "*A-bashīr?*" which can mean either "Is that someone bearing good news?" or "Is that Bashīr?" the latter being a man's name. 'Urwah, the messenger, interpreted the question in the latter meaning; hence his reply.

119. 'Umar makes a pun on their name, Simāk. Cf. Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 488.

face their army in battle, and remain there, as it was the most central and unified part of this territory for his purposes. So Nu'aym established Yazīd b. Qays al-Hamdānī in charge of Hamadhān and marched out from Wāj al-Rūdh with his army to al-Rayy. [2652]

Nu'aym recited the following concerning Wāj al-Rūdh:[120]

When I heard that Mūtā[121] and his tribe,
Banū Bāsil,[122] had driven on their Persian armies,[123]
I roused up my armies against them, competing in glory,
that I might deny them with my swords my protection.[124]
We brought upon them our steel [armor]—'twas as if we
were mountains looming up through the branches of the *qalāsim* trees.[125]
When we met them in battle at [Wāj al-Rūdh, the valley] wide
and abundant in trees,
they having already begun to rear up to fight like a champion,
We repelled them at Wāj Rūdh with our force
on the morning we inflicted upon (the Persians) one of the great calamities.[126]
They could not endure for any time at all, as death hovered,
against our sharp spears[127] and cutting swords.
When their forces scattered, they were like
a wall the baked brick of which has crumbled with destroying blows.

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120. Meter *ṭawīl*. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 341, quotes lines 1, 5, 6, 8, and 10.

121. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 341, Mūthā; i.e., the ruler of Daylam.

122. This is the claim that the Daylamites are decended from Bāsil b. Ḍabbah. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 203 ("*wa-Bāsilu bnu Ḍabbah, yuqālu inna al-Daylama min waladi-h*"); Caskel, *Ǧamharat*, I, Table 89.

123. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, has *khuyūl* for *junūd*, "their Persian cavalry."

124. Nu'aym is here saying that he intends to slay them all and thus will not have to make arrangements for their protection (*dhimmah*) after the battle.

125. "Mountains" to signify the strength and bulk of the Muslim forces. I am unable to identify *qalāsim*, nor indeed find this species of tree in the lexica at my disposal.

126. That is, after the defeats of al-Qādisiyyah and Nihāwand, now Wāj (al)-Rūdh.

127. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, reads *bi-ḥaddi* for *li-ḥaddi*.

We killed Mūtā there and his army around him;[128]
there was booty there quickly distributed.[129]
[2653] We pursued them until they took refuge in their side wadis,
slaughtering them as fierce dogs would!
'Twas as if they in Wāj Rūdh and in its wide valley
were sheep killed by the gaping wounds from our spears.[130]

Simāk b. Makhramah's name was given to the mosque of Simāk.[131]

Nu'aym repeated the Hamadhān peace document in their case. He left as his deputy in charge of (Hamadhān) Yazīd b. Qays al-Hamdānī. (Nu'aym) himself marched with his armies and reached al-Rayy. The first Daylamites were [descended] from the Arabs, but Nu'aym disputed (this opinion) with them.[132]

The Conquest of al-Rayy[133]

They report [also]: Nu'aym b. Muqarrin left Wāj Rūdh, having laid it waste, at the head of the army [and made] for Dastabā. He departed thence for al-Rayy when (its inhabitants) had assembled together to [stand against] him. Al-Zīnabī Abū al-Farrukhān came out and met him at a place called Qihā[134] to make peace with him in defiance of the ruler of al-Rayy, once he had seen what the Muslims were like, [comparing their attitude] with the envy of Siyāwakhsh and his family. So (al-Zīnabī) came, together with Nu'aym, while the ruler at that time in
[2654] al-Rayy was [this] Siyāwakhsh b. Mihrān b. Bahrām Shūbīn.[135]

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128. Yāqūt reads *liffa-hu* for *jam'a-hu*.

129. Yāqūt reads *ghānimi* for *'ātimi*.

130. Yāqūt reads *wa-jarri-hi* for *wa-jawwi-hi* in the first hemistich. The second hemistich is fraught with difficulties and the translation tentative: *ḍa'īnun aṣābat-hā furūju al-makhārimi*. Yāqūt reads *aghānat-hā* for *aṣābat-hā*.

131. Masjid Simāk was in al-Kūfah. See Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 284; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, X, 85; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 125.

132. This is how I interpret *wa-kāna awwalu nasli al-Daylami min al-'Arab wa-qāwala-hum fī-hi Nu'aym*.

133. Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 317ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 11; Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 489.

134. A large village between al-Rayy and Qazwīn; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 417.

135. For the man and his ancestors, see Spuler, *Iran*, 16; Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 139 n. 3; Zarrīnkūb, "Conquest," 19; *EIr*, s.v. (Shahbazi).

[Siyāwakhsh] asked the people of Dunbāwand,[136] Ṭabaristān, Qūmis, and Jurjān for their help, saying, "You are already aware that, once these [Muslim troops] have occupied al-Rayy, there will be no place for you." So they [all] mustered to support [Siyāwakhsh]. Siyāwakhsh made to attack [al-Zīnabī]. They met at the foot of the mountain of al-Rayy to one side of the town and did battle there. Al-Zīnabī had said to Nu'aym: "The enemy is numerous, whereas you are at the head of a small army. Send some cavalry with me. I shall take them into their town, [al-Rayy], by a way in that [even] [the locals] do not know. You attack them, for if [the cavalry] [with me also] comes out against them, they will not stand firm against you." So Nu'aym despatched some cavalry with him by night under the command of his nephew, al-Mundhir b. 'Amr.[137] Al-Zīnabī took them into the town without the enemy's knowing, and Nu'aym launched a surprise attack on [the latter] by night and distracted them away from [the defense of] their town. Battle was joined, and [the enemy] stood firm against [Nu'aym] until they heard the cry [of the cavalry], "God is great," behind them. Then they were put to flight and were killed in such numbers as to be reckoned in fathoms.[138] God gave the Muslims at al-Rayy about the same amount of spoils as those at al-Madā'in. Al-Zīnabī made peace with [Nu'aym] for the inhabitants of al-Rayy, and [Nu'aym] [2655]
appointed him governor (*marzaba-hu*) over them. The honor of al-Rayy continued to be greatest among the family of al-Zīnabī, including Shahrām and Farrukhān.[139] The family of Bahrām[140] fell from grace, and Nu'aym destroyed their town, which was called al-'Atīqah (the Old Town); that is, the town of al-Rayy. Al-Zīnabī gave orders for the building of the new town of al-Rayy.

Nu'aym wrote to 'Umar about the victory that God had

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136. The great mountain that dominates Ṭabaristān and a small town, modern Damāvand, to the south of the mountain. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 475; Le Strange, *Lands*, 371.

137. Al-Mundhir b. 'Amr was an early military leader who had fought with the Prophet. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 418–19.

138. Arabic *qaṣab*. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 353; *Glossarium*, CDXXIV.

139. The two sons of al-Zīnabī; see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 276.

140. See note 135.

given him, [dispatching the letter] with al-Muḍārib al-'Ijlī.[141] He also sent the fifth parts [of the booty for the state treasury] with 'Utaybah b. al-Nahhās[142] and Abū Mufazzir,[143] along with some Kūfan notables. ['Umar] sent Simāk b. Kharashah al-Anṣārī to reinforce Bukayr b. 'Abdallāh after al-Rayy had been conquered. So Simāk marched off to Azerbaijan as reinforcement for Bukayr. Nu'aym wrote a document for the inhabitants of al-Rayy:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. The following is what Nu'aym b. Muqarrin has granted to al-Zīnabī b. Qūlah. He has granted him security for the people of al-Rayy and those others with them on [payment of] tribute, as much as each one who has reached puberty can provide annually. They must give good advice and guidance and must not act treacherously or steal. They must provide hospitality to the Muslims for a whole day and a night and show them respect. Anyone who abuses a Muslim or holds him in contempt will be severely punished. Anyone who physically abuses him will be killed. If anyone of them reneges and is not handed over intact, your [whole] community [is deemed to] have reneged.

He wrote [it], and it was witnessed.

[2656] [Nu'aym] was sent messages by the ruler [of Dunbāwand][144] on the subject of peace, offering what would keep him free of [the Muslims], without [Nu'aym's] demanding from him any aid and protection.[145] [Nu'aym] accepted this and drew up a document between the two of them, without any aid [on the part of the people of Dunbāwand] or any assistance against anyone [being made obligatory]. So they got what they asked for as follows.

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141. Al-Muḍārib al-'Ijlī was a Companion or Follower, who has brief entries in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 166–67; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 371.

142. Little information appears to be available on 'Utaybah. See Donner, *Conquests*, 383; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iqd*, I, 283; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, II, 47–48.

143. That is, al-Aswad b. Quṭbah, a poet and warrior who was present at al-Qādisiyyah; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 171; Translation, XIII, 11.

144. The title *maṣmughān* has a religious connotation; see *CHIr*, 199.

145. Arabic, *"fī al-sulḥi 'alā shay'in yaftadī bi-hi min-hum min ghayri an yas'ala-hu al-naṣra wa-al-man'ah."*

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a document from Nu'aym b. Muqarrin to Mardānshāh, ruler of Dunbāwand and the people of Dunbāwand, al-Khuwār,[146] al-Lāriz,[147] and al-Shirriz.[148] You and those who enter [into this agreement] with you will be secure on condition you refrain [from hostile acts] and on condition that you restrain the people of your territory. You will insure yourself [against military action being taken against you] by [paying] 200,000 dirhams, the weight of seven,[149] annually to whoever is governor of your region. You will not be attacked, nor will you be approached save by permission, as long as you remain within these [conditions] [and] unless you renege. If anyone reneges, he will not [be covered by] any agreement, nor will he who does not hand him over.

He wrote [the document] and it was witnessed.

The Conquest of Qūmis[150]

They reported [also]: When Nu'aym wrote of the conquest of al-Rayy, [despatching the news] with al-Muḍārib al-'Ijlī, and when he submitted the fifths [of booty for the state treasury], 'Umar replied to him that he should send Suwayd b. Muqarrin in advance to Qūmis, posting in charge of his vanguard Simāk b. Makhramah, of his flanks 'Utaybah b. al-Nahhās and Hind b. [2657]
'Amr al-Jamalī.[151] Suwayd b. Muqarrin mobilized [his army] and moved from al-Rayy on Qūmis. No one showed him any

146. The westernmost town of Qūmis and the first important place east of al-Rayy. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 394, with no definite article; Le Strange, *Lands*, 367.

147. The MSS are far from clear here, and these place names are doubtful. Al-Khuwār is possible; see note 146, above. I can find no reference to a place called al-Lāriz in the sources at my disposal. But see *EI*², s.v.v. "Lār" and "Lārijān" (Calmard).

148. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 334, has a Shirriz, without the article, but this is a mountain in al-Daylam.

149. That is, every 10 dirhams weighing seven *mithqāls*. See Sauvaire, "Matériaux," 460; see also Hinz, *Masse*, 1ff.

150. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 317ff.

151. An unidentified military leader.

hostility, so he took it peacefully and encamped there. When [his army] drank from a river belonging [to the people of Qūmis] called Malādh,[152] they began to suffer from stiff necks, so Suwayd told them to change their [source of] water until they got used to it like the local inhabitants. They did so and found [the new supply] healthy. Those of [the locals] who had taken refuge in Ṭabaristān and those who had sought safe refuges sent [Suwayd] communications. So he called on them to make peace and [pay] tribute, writing to them as follows:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is the guarantee of safety that Suwayd b. Muqarrin has granted to the people of Qūmis and to their followers, for their persons, their religion, and their possessions, on condition that they pay tribute directly,[153] every one of them who has reached puberty according to his capacity [to pay]; also on condition that they give good, not bad, advice, guide [the Muslims], and give hospitality to any Muslims who settle among them for a period of one day and one night with their ordinary food.[154] If they renege and hold their agreement in contempt, then the convenant no longer applies to them.

He wrote [the document] and it was witnessed.

The Conquest of Jurjān[155]

They reported [also]: Suwayd b. Muqarrin encamped at Bisṭām.[156]
[2658] He wrote to the ruler of Jurjān, Ruzbān Ṣūl.[157] [Suwayd] marched

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152. I cannot identify River Malādh, but it must be in Qūmis.

153. Arabic, "*'an yadin.*" See Qur'ān, IX:29. That is, directly without involving a third party. A number of interpretations are possible as well as the one given here: "willingly," "by ready money," or "in token of subjection." See Bayḍāwī, *Commentarius*, in ibid.; Penrice, *Dictionary*, 164–65. See also Cahen, "Coran IX-29," passim, and Kister "*'An yadin*," passim.

154. See Qur'ān, V:89.

155. Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 334ff.

156. A town less than 50 miles northeast of the capital of Qūmis, Dāmghān, it is the second town of the province. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 421–22; Le Strange, *Lands*, 364–65 and Map V, opposite 185.

157. Ruzbān Ṣūl himself is not further identified. For Ṣūl, see Translation, XXXIII, 44 n. 148.

on [Jurjān] and Ruzbān Ṣūl entered into correspondence with him. [Ruzbān Ṣūl] hastened to make peace with him, [with the provision] that he should pay tribute and that he would save [Suwayd] the trouble of making war on Jurjān; if [Suwayd] were being defeated, [Ruzbān Ṣūl] would give him assistance. [Suwayd] accepted his terms. He was met by Ruzbān Ṣūl before he entered Jurjān, and he went in with him. He encamped there until the collection of the taxes had been carried out and until he had specified [the various] frontier regions [of Jurjān] by name.[158] He allocated the Turks of Dihistān,[159] [to look after] them, removing the tribute from those who remained to defend them and taking taxes from the remainder of the people of [Jurjān]. He drew up a document between them and himself as follows:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a document from Suwayd b. Muqarrin to Ruzbān Ṣūl b. Ruzbān and the people of Dihistān and all of those of Jurjān. You have our covenant, while it is our duty to protect [you], on condition that you pay tribute annually according to your capacity, everyone who has reached the age of puberty. Any one of you whose help we seek shall pay his tribute in the form of assistance he renders instead of his [regular] tribute. The guarantee of safety covers their persons, their possessions, and their religion and laws. Nothing of all this can be broken; it remains in force for them as long as they pay [their dues], guide the traveler, give good advice, provide hospitality to the

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158. I translate the Arabic *kharāj* "taxes." This term and the word *jizyah*, which alone of the two has appeared in the text so far, were undoubtedly synonymous in early Islam, with the meaning of tribute. The terms were later refined in Islamic law and *kharāj* took on the technical meaning of land tax. It should be noted, however, that here both terms are to be found in the same paragraph [and are perhaps not synonymous at all] and that, when it comes to the actual document, only *jizyah* is used. Here, however, Suwayd not only collected the *kharāj*, but also busied himself with the assessment of the frontier regions [*furūj*] of Jurjān, as if for the purpose of levying some sort of tax based on the land. For the two terms, see *EI*², s.v.v. "djizya" and "kharadj" [Cahen]; Ben Shemesh, *Taxation*, 19–20.

159. An area to the north of Jurjān is clearly meant here, although the name is given several locations in Yāqūt. See *Mu'jam*, II, 492; Le Strange, *Lands*, 379–81.

> Muslims, and perpetrate no theft or any treacherous act. He who stays among them has similar rights to theirs. He who leaves remains in safety until he reaches "his place of safety."[160] There is also the condition that anyone abusing a Muslim will be dealt with very severely. Anyone physically abusing him may be killed.[161]

[2659] It was witnessed by Sawād b. Quṭbah,[162] Hind b. 'Amr, Simāk b. Makhramah and 'Utaybah b. al-Nahhās. It was drawn up in the year 18 [January 12, 639–January 2, 640].

But al-Madā'inī[163] reported on the authority of Abū Zayd:[164] Jurjān was conquered in the time of 'Uthmān in the year 30 [September 4, 650–August 24, 651].

The Conquest of Ṭabaristān[165]

(The same sources) continued: The ruler [of Ṭabaristān] sent messages to Suwayd on the subject of a peace on the understanding that they make a formal pact and that (Suwayd) propose terms to him without his being obliged to render help or assistance against anyone. (Suwayd) accepted these terms and gave (the people of Ṭabaristān) what they wanted. He wrote him a document [as follows]:

> In the name of God, the Compassonate, the Merciful. This is a document from Suwayd b. Muqarrin addressed to al-Farrukhān, ruler of Khurāsān in authority over Ṭabaristān and to the ruler (*jīl*) of Jīlān,[166] our [previous] enemy. You will be secure in God's safekeeping on condition that you restrain your robbers and the people

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160. Qur'ān, IX:6.
161. Arabic, "*ḥalla damu-h.*"
162. Sawād b. Quṭbah al-Tamīmī has a brief entry in Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 375, where these events are mentioned.
163. The famous historian 'Alī b. Muhammad (d. ca. 225/839). See Duri, *Rise*, 48ff.; Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 69ff.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 314ff.
164. An unidentified narrator.
165. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 334ff.
166. See *EI*[1], s.v. "Māzyār" (Minorsky). Jīlān was a small province at the west end of the southern Caspian shore. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 201; Le Strange, *Lands*, 172 and Map 5, opposite 185.

on the borders of your territory. You will harbor nobody or nothing we are seeking and you will insure yourself [against military action against you] by [paying] anyone governing your border territory 500,000 dirhams, those [in use] in your territory. If you carry [all] this out, none of us will have a right to attack you, or to invade your territory, or [even] to approach you without your permission. Our way to you, provided that we obtain your permission, will be in safety, just as yours [to us] will be. Do not harbor anybody or anything we are seeking. Do not steal what is ours, [as if acting] against an enemy, or carry out any treacherous act. If you do, there will be no pact between us.

It was witnessed by Sawād b. Quṭbah al-Tamīmī, Hind b. 'Amr al-Murādī, Simāk b. Makhramah al-Asadī, Simāk b. 'Ubayd [2660] al-'Ansī and 'Utaybah b. al-Nahhās al-Bakrī. It was drawn up in the year 18 [January 12, 639–January 2, 640].

The Conquest of Azerbaijan[167]

[The same sources] made [the following] report. When Nu'aym conquered Hamadhān for a second time and marched on al-Rayy from Wāj Rūdh, 'Umar wrote to him, [instructing] him to despatch Simāk b. Kharashah al-Anṣārī to reinforce Bukayr b. 'Abdallāh in Azerbaijan. But [Nu'aym] delayed [the implementation of] this [instruction] until he had taken al-Rayy. Then [Nu'aym] sent [Simāk] from al-Rayy and he marched to join Bukayr in Azerbaijan. Now Simāk b. Kharashah and 'Utbah b. Farqad were two rich Arabs, having [originally] brought their wealth to al-Kūfah. Bukayr had already set off, when he was sent to [Azerbaijan], but, when he came up opposite Jarmīdhāh b. al-Farrukhzādh, fleeing from Wāj Rūdh, advanced on him [and his men]. [This] was the first fighting [Bukayr] encountered in Azerbaijan. They fought and God put [Isfandiyādh's] army to flight; Bukayr took him prisoner. Isfandiyādh asked him whether he preferred peace or war. He replied that he preferred

167. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 325ff; Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 494; *CHIr*, 20.

peace. [Isfandiyādh] said, "Keep me with you, for if I make no peace treaty involving the people of Azerbaijan, nor join [them], they will not stand up to you, but will disperse into the surrounding Caucasus mountains and those of Asia Minor (*min al-Qabj wa-al-Rūm*). Those who can fortify themselves [there] will do so for some time." So [Bukayr] held [Isfandiyādh] with him, keeping him in his control. [All] the area fell to him except
[2661] what was fortified. Simāk b. Kharashah joined him as reinforcement, whereas Isfandiyādh [remained] in [Bukayr's] custody, having taken the regions near him, while 'Utbah b. Farqad had taken those near him. Bukayr said to Simāk, when the latter came to him, joking with him, "What am I to do with you and 'Utbah, with two such rich men?! If I obey my instincts, I shall advance and leave you two behind as deputies. But you can remain with me if you so wish, or you can join 'Utbah if you so wish. I give you a free hand, as I see no alternative but to leave you both and go after something more unpleasant than this!"[168] So [Bukayr] sought permission of 'Umar to be excused, and he wrote to [Bukayr], permitting him to advance on al-Bāb[169] and ordering him to appoint a deputy over his province, [Azerbaijan]. So he appointed 'Utbah deputy over the regions he had conquered. [Bukayr] advanced, having handed over Isfandiyādh to 'Utbah, who took him into his entourage. 'Utbah also appointed Simāk b. Kharashah—not Abū Dujānah[170]—over [that part of] Bukayr's province that he had conquered. 'Umar united the whole of Azerbaijan under 'Utbah b. Farqad.

[The same sources] report [as follows]. Now Bahrām b. al-Farrukhzādh[171] had taken the route to be used by 'Utbah b. Farqad, and he waited for him at the head of his troops until 'Utbah arrived. Battle was joined and 'Utbah defeated [Bahrām] who fled. When the news reached Isfandiyādh, who was in the custody of Bukayr, of Bahrām's defeat and flight, he said, "Now

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168. That is, the enemy.

169. That is, Bāb al-Abwāb or simply al-Abwāb, Darband on the west coast of the Caspian. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 303–6; Le Strange, *Lands*, 180.

170. That is, not the Abū Dujānah Simāk who appears first in Ṭabarī, I, 1395, under the year 3 and several times afterward.

171. An unidentified Azerbaijani ruler.

the peace is complete and war has been brought to an end." So (Bukayr) made peace with (Isfandyādh), and all (the people of Azerbaijan) agreed to this. The country returned to a state of peace. Bukayr and 'Utbah wrote to inform 'Umar of this and sent the fifth of what booty God had granted them. They also [2662] sent out delegations with this news. Bukayr had conquered the regions near him before 'Utbah and peace was [only] complete after 'Utbah's defeat of Bahrām. 'Utbah drew up a document between himself and the people of Azerbaijan in which Bukayr's province was united with his own:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is what 'Utbah b. Farqad, the governor of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Commander of the Faithful, has granted to the people of Azerbaijan, mountains and plains, borders and frontiers, all people of whatever religion, viz., security for their persons, their possessions, their religion and laws, on condition that they pay the tribute according to their capacity [to do so]. There is no [such] obligation for minors, or women, or the chronically poor who have nothing of the present world, or religious devotees remaining in isolation who have nothing of the present world. All this [is granted] to them and to those who live with them. But they are obliged to give hospitality to Muslim soldiers for the period of a day and a night and to guide them. Those who are recruited for military service[172] in any one year are exempt the tribute of that year. He who remains [from now on] shall be granted the same [concessions] and have [the same obligations] as he who has remained [permanently], whereas he who leaves has safe-conduct until he finds his place of refuge.

Jundub[173] wrote down [the document], which was witnessed by Bukayr b. 'Abdallāh al-Laythī and Simāk b. Kharashah al-Anṣārī.

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172. Arabic, "*wa-man ḥushira min-hum fī sanatin.*" It might also be rendered "Those who suffer distress"; that is, drought, crop failure, etc.

173. Jundub is unidentified.

[The document] was drafted in the year 18 [January 12, 639–January 2, 640].

[The same sources] relate [as follows]. In this year also [22; November 30, 642–November 19, 643] 'Utbah brought 'Umar some sweet date mix that he gave him as a gift. Now 'Umar used to require his governors every year to perform the pilgrimage, thereby restraining them from any [act of] tyranny and preventing them from [doing any such thing].

[2663] In this same year [22; November 30, 642–November 19, 643] [the following] took place.

The Conquest of al-Bāb[174]

According to Sayf, they, that is, those whose names I have previously mentioned, reported [as follows]. 'Umar sent Abū Mūsā back to al-Baṣrah and Surāqah b. 'Amr, known as Dhū al-Nūr,[175] to al-Bāb. He appointed over his vanguard 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rabī'ah who was also known as Dhū al-Nūr. He appointed over one of the wings Ḥudhayfah b. Asīd al-Ghifārī and named for the other Bukayr b. 'Abdallāh al-Laythī, who was already facing al-Bāb before Surāqah b. 'Amr reached him. ['Umar] wrote to [Surāqah], [instructing] him to join up with [Bukayr]. ['Umar] also appointed Salmān b. Rabī'ah in charge of the division of the spoils. Surāqah placed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rabī'ah in the van and set out immediately behind him. When he had left Azerbaijan on his way to al-Bāb, he came upon Bukayr at the approaches to al-Bāb. He proceeded slowly with him and entered the region of al-Bāb, as 'Umar had planned it. 'Umar sent him Ḥabīb b. Maslamah[176] as reinforcement, having diverted him from al-Jazīrah. He also sent Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah in [Ḥabīb's] place in charge of al-Jazīrah. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rabī'ah approached the ruler in al-Bāb [he being at that time

174. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*; *CHIr*, 226.

175. Mentioned in Ṭabarī only in the context of the conquest of al-Bāb. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 127; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 264.

176. Al-Fihrī, a Companion who figures quite prominently in military matters in later years under 'Uthmān and who supported the first Umayyad caliph, Mu'āwiyah. He died in 42/662. See Ṭabarī, I, 2808, 2893–94, 3062; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 208–9; *Tahdhīb*, II, 190–91; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 373.

Shahrbarāz, a Persian who was in control of this frontier area and whose origins were from the family of Shahrbarāz, the ruler who had routed the Israelites and driven them out of al-Shām],[177] Shahrbarāz sent him messages and sought safe-conduct to come to him. ('Abd al-Raḥmān) agreed, and he came [2664]
and said, "I am facing a rabid enemy and different communities who are not of noble descent. It is not fitting for the noble and intelligent to assist such people or to ask their help against those of noble descent and origins. Noblemen [stick] close to noblemen, wherever they are. I am certainly not a Caucasian or an Armenian. You have conquered my land and my community. Now I am one of you; I am completely with you and my inclinations are the same as yours. God bless us and you! Our tribute to you will be the military assistance we render you and our carrying out whatever you desire. But do not humiliate us with tribute, so that you render us weak against your enemy." 'Abd al-Raḥmān replied, "There is someone superior to me who has already taken you into his protection; go to him." So he passed him over to Surāqah. When (Shahrbarāz) came to him, he found a similar attitude on his part. Surāqah said, "I accept this for your followers in this enterprise, as long as they continue to be so engaged. But anyone remaining and not moving off [elsewhere] must pay the tribute." (Shahrbarāz) accepted this, and it became the practice for those polytheists who made war on the enemy and for those who had to provide no tribute other than to be ready to fight and were thus exempt from the tribute [altogether] of that particular year.[178] Surāqah wrote to 'Umar [2665]
b. al-Khaṭṭāb on this (point of practice), and he gave him his permission to carry it out and [expressed] his approval of it.

Those territories in the mountainous zone comprised only high ground in which the Armenians remained in readiness for a speedy departure. They were only inhabitants from the immediate vicinity or from more distant parts whose high ground

177. Shahrbarāz, the Persian military commander in question is unidentified. For his ancestors, see Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 290–92, 294ff., 299ff. I am unable to provide further information on the incident mentioned in the text.

178. Arabic, *wa-fī-man lam yakun 'inda-hu al-jizā'u illā an yustanfarū fa-tūḍa'u 'an-hu jizā'u tilka al-sanah*. That is, whether they actually fight or not is immaterial. If they stand ready to fight, they are exempt the tribute.

had been removed from them by raids from lowlanders.[179] The mountain folk among them took to their refuges in their mountains and pulled out of their lowland territories. So only the military and those supporting them or doing business with them remained there. (The Armenians) received a document from Surāqah b. 'Amr [as follows].

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is the safe-conduct Surāqah b. 'Amr, governor of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, has granted to Shahrbarāz, the inhabitants of Armenia, and the Armenians [in al-Bāb]. [He grants] them safe-conduct for their persons, their possessions, and their religion lest they be harmed and so that nothing be taken from them. [The following is imposed] upon the people of Armenia and al-Abwāb, those coming from distant parts and those who are local and those around them who have joined them: that they should participate in any military expedition, and carry out any task, actual or potential, that the governor considers to be for the good,[180] providing that those who agree to this are exempt from tribute but [perform] military service. Military service shall be instead of their paying tribute. But those of them who are not needed for military service and who remain inactive have similar tribute obligations to the people of Azerbaijan [in general]. [These include] guiding and showing hospitality for a whole day. If they perform military service, they are exempt from [all] this.
> [2666] If they abandon [the agreement], they will be punished.

179. The translation of these two difficult, and seemingly corrupt, sentences is tentative. The Arabic reads: *wa-laysa li-tilka al-bilādi allatī fī sāḥati tilka al-jibāli nabakun lam yuqim al-Armanu bi-hā illā 'ala awfāzin wa-innamā hum sukkānun mimman ḥawla-hā wa-min al-ṭurrā'i ista'ṣalat al-ghāratu nabaka-hā min ahli al-qarār.*

180. Arabic, *an yanfirū li-kulli ghāratin wa-yanfudhū li-kulli amrin nāba aw lam yanub ra'ā-hu al-wālī ṣalāḥan.*

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rabī'ah, Salmān b. Rabī'ah and Bukayr b. 'Abdallāh were witnesses. Marḍī b. Muqarrin[181] drafted it and was a witness.

Thereafter Surāqah despatched Bukayr b. 'Abdallāh, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah, Ḥudhayfah b. Asīd, and Salmān b. Rabī'ah to the people of those mountains surrounding Armenia. He also despatched Bukayr to Mūqān,[182] Ḥabīb to Tiflīs,[183] Ḥudhayfah b. Asīd to the people of the mountains of Allān,[184] and Salmān b. Rabī'ah to the other side. Surāqah wrote to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb of the conquest and of the circumstances in which he despatched these people. So 'Umar learned of something that he did not think would be accomplished for him so quickly and without trouble. It was a vast frontier region in which there were large numbers of [enemy] military, and the Persians were waiting to see what (the Muslims) would do and then would cease fighting or carry it on [further]. When they had settled down and come to appreciate the fairness of Islam, Surāqah died, leaving 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rabī'ah as his successor, as all the leaders whom Surāqah had despatched had passed on [to other areas] and none of them had conquered what he had been sent to conquer, with the exception of Bukayr. He had scattered [the people of] Mūqān and then they returned, gradually [agreeing to the payment] of tribute. (Bukayr) drew up a document for them [as follows]:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
> This is what Bukayr b. 'Abdallāh has granted to the

181. This secretary is mentioned only here in the text. He is the brother of Nu'aym and Suwayd. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IX, 168, with a reference to this document.

182. Or Mūghān/Mūghkān. The great plain that extends south of the River Aras along the west coast of the Caspian. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 225; Le Strange, *Lands*, 175–76 and Map 3, 87.

183. Capital of Georgia (Jurjistān) on the upper reaches of the River Kur. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 35–37; Le Strange, *Lands*, 181.

184. Allān is one of the districts of the Khazars, north of Georgia. Yāqūt simply says that it is an extensive area on the edge of Armenia, near al-Bāb, its people bordering the land of the Khazars. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 8–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 179.

people of Mūqān in the Caucasus Mountains: safe-conduct for their possessions, their persons, their religion, and their laws on the payment of tribute, a dinar or its equivalent on every male who has reached puberty. [He must give] sound advice, guidance, and hospitality for a day and a night to the Muslim. They shall have safe-conduct as long as they submit themselves [to these conditions] and give good advice. We also must carry out
[2667] [our obligations] in full, and God's help is to be sought. But, if they abandon this [agreement] and their perfidy becomes evident, they shall have no safe-conduct, unless they hand over every one of those who act perfidiously; otherwise they are [all] aiding and abetting one another.

Al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār,[185] al-Rusāris b. Junādib,[186] and Ḥamalah b. Juwayyah[187] were witnesses. It was drafted in the year 21 [December 10, 641–November 30, 642].

[The same sources] have reported [as follows]. When 'Umar heard of the death of Surāqah and that he had made 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rabī'ah his successor, he confirmed the latter in charge of the frontier region of al-Bāb, ordering him also to attack the Turks. So 'Abd al-Raḥmān set out with his army and passed through al-Bāb. Shahrbarāz asked him what he intended to accomplish, and he replied that he intended [to take] Balanjar.[188] [Shahrbarāz] said, "We are indeed happy that [the people of Balanjar] leave us with al-Bāb." But ['Abd al-Raḥmān] replied, "But we are not happy with this [situation] in our dealings with them until we get at them in their own territory. We have with us men with whose help, if our commander were to allow us to persevere, I would push on to the rampart."[189]

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185. The famous Qaysī poet. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VIII, 101–8.

186. This unidentified witness features only in this place in the text.

187. A Kinānī mentioned only on one other occasion in the text under the year 14; see Ṭabarī, I, 2236.

188. A town in the territory of the Khazars, north of the River Aras. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 489–90.

189. I take this to refer to the great wall—reportedly built by Anūshirvān in the sixth century A.D.—which ran westward from the town of al-Bāb over the mountains to keep out the warring tribes to the north. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 303; Le Strange, *Lands*, 180; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 229.

(Shahrbarāz) asked who they were, and ('Abd al-Raḥmān) told him they were men who had accompained the Messenger of God and who had intentionally become involved in this enterprise.[190] Before Islam they were men of good conduct and honor, and both qualities had [since] increased. They were still so involved; victory was still theirs until some conqueror could change them and until they could be deflected from their attitude by someone changing them. So ('Abd al-Raḥmān) made one attack on Balanjar in the time of 'Umar, during which no woman was widowed and no child orphaned. During the attack on it his cavalry reached as far as al-Bayḍā', no nearer than 200 [2668] parasangs from Balanjar.[191] Then he attacked [again] and survived. Later, in the time of 'Uthmān, he made many attacks. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was killed when the Kufans rebelled during the time 'Uthmān was Commander of the Faithful, because (the latter) appointed as governors former apostates in order to seek to reform them. But this did not reform them; rather they became more disobedient, led as they were by those seeking [only] this present world. They caused a great deal of trouble for 'Uthmān, and he used [the following verse] as an example [of their obstructive behavior]:[192]

I, with regard to 'Amr, was like a man who fattened up his dog,
but he was [nevertheless bitten] by its canine teeth and
scratched by its claws!

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim[193] —a man of B. Kinānah[194]—Salmān b. Rabī'ah: When 'Abd al-

190. The "enterprise" I take to mean Islam itself, although it might refer to the conquests being undertaken by the Muslims.

191. Al-Bayḍā' must be a place name here, although I can trace no further reference to it. A parasang is generally reckoned to be 3 miles, see Hinz, *Masse*, 62, about 6 kilometers.

192. The meter is *ṭawīl*.

193. Al-Kinānī. He first appears as a narrator in the year 11; see Ṭabarī, I, 1977.

194. I here include the editorial addition from the Leiden *apparatus criticus*, because al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim was from Banū Kinānah himself and other similar chains of authority include the added phrase. Banū Kinānah is Kinānah b. Khuzaymah, a large tribal confederation of 'Adnān living in the Hejaz. See Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, III, 996–97.

Raḥmān b. Rabī'ah penetrated [their ranks], God prevented the Turks from attacking him. They remarked, "This man has dared to attack us only because the angels are with them protecting them from death!" So they retired and fortified themselves against him. But he came back with the spoils and victory, and this was during the time 'Umar was Commander of the Faithful. Then he made several attacks on them during the time of 'Uthmān; he was victorious, as he had been [previously]. Then the Kufans rebelled because 'Uthmān appointed as governors former apostates. After this he attacked them. The Turks blamed one another, one saying to another, "They are not dying!"; he replied that they should keep watch. They did so and lay in ambush for them in the thickets. One of them shot at a Muslim unexpectedly and killed him, upon which his men fled. So [the Muslims] attacked him at that point, and battle was joined. [The Muslims] fought hard and somebody cried out into the
[2669] air, "Stand fast, men of 'Abd al-Raḥmān; you are promised paradise!" 'Abd al-Raḥmān fought until he was killed and the two sides stood apart.[195] But then Salmān b. Rabī'ah took up the standard and fought with it. Someone shouted out into the air, "Stand fast, men of Salmān b. Rabī'ah!" Salmān retorted, "Can you see any lack of resolve?!" Then he went forth with the army. Salmān and Abū Hurayrah al-Dawsī[196] attacked Jīlān and passed through it to arrive in Jurjān. The Turks showed their daring after this and felt no restraint in taking up the body of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, using his [name] until now to seek rain.[197]

According to 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib—Maṭar b. Thalj al-Tamīmī:[198] I went in to see 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rabī'ah in al-Bāb, when Shahrbarāz was with him. A man in a state of fatigue

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195. Arabic, "*wa-inkashafa al-nās.*" I take this difficult phrase to indicate a temporary lull in the fighting after 'Abd al-Raḥmān's death. For this meaning of the Arabic verb, see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 470.

196. Famous in particular as a narrator (d. ca. 58/677). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 262–67; *EI*², s.v. (Robson); Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 334.

197. It is a common practice even to this day throughout the Middle East to pray for rain in times of drought. These non-Muslim Turks presumably had some kind of rain-seeking ceremony during which 'Abd al-Raḥmān's name was invoked. See *EI*², s.v. "istiskā'" (Fahd).

198. Maṭar b. Thalj al-Tamīmī, an unidentified narrator. The name means Rain, son of Snow! He appears only in this context in the text.

and emaciation arrived and came in to see 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He sat down next to Shahrbarāz. Now Maṭar was wearing a cloak of striped Yemeni cloth with a reddish ground and black figuring or reddish figuring and a black ground. (The man and Shahrbarāz) questioned one another. Then Shahrbarāz said (to 'Abd al-Raḥmān), "Commander, do you know where this man has come from? I sent him some years ago to the wall[199] to examine what it and the people on the other side of it were like. I gave him great wealth and wrote on his behalf to those [in authority] in [2670] the territories adjoining mine, presenting each with a gift and asking him to write on (my envoy's) behalf to the next one. I gave him a gift for each ruler, and he carried all this out in the case of every ruler until he finally reached the one in whose own land the wall was situated. So (the ruler) wrote on (the envoy's) behalf to his governor of this area, and (the envoy) reached (the governor). (The latter) sent with him his austringer, carrying his eagle, and (the envoy) gave him a piece of silk." (The envoy) reported, "The austringer thanked me, and we eventually arrived at two mountains with a wall in between them that was level with them and even went higher. In front of the wall was a ditch, blacker than night because it was so deep. I looked at all of this and examined it carefully. Then I made to go away. The austringer told me to wait and he would recompense me and that no successive ruler [in this land] ever failed to draw closer to God by bringing with him the best of what he had of this present world and casting it down into this narrow defile. So he cut up a lump of meat that he had with him and threw it into this empty space. The eagle swooped down after it, and he said, 'If she takes it before it falls [to the bottom], there is no [bottom]! But, if she does not, then there is a [bottom there].' The eagle emerged and came to us carrying the meat in her talons. Inside there was a precious stone, which he gave me—and this is it." Shahrbarāz took it, a ruby, and handed it over to 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He looked at it, then returned it to Shahrbarāz, [2671] who said, "This is indeed worth more than this town, al-Bāb. I swear by God, I would rather you be in power than the family of

199. See note 189.

the Persian emperor. Were I in their power and then they heard news of (the ruby), they would snatch it away from me. I swear by God, nothing will stand in your way as long as you remain true to your word and your great ruler does likewise."[200] 'Abd al-Raḥmān turned to the envoy and said, "What was this rampart like?" He replied that [it was like] the garment this man was wearing. And [Maṭar] said, "And he looked at my garment." Maṭar b. Thalj said to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rabī'ah; "The man has certainly told the truth! He has been and seen for himself." He replied, "Yes indeed, he has given a description of iron and brass," and he recited "Bring me pieces of iron" right to the end of the verse.[201] 'Abd al-Raḥmān said to Shahrbarāz, "How much was your gift worth?" He replied, "The value of 100,000 in my own country and 3,000,000 or more in these parts."

Al-Wāqidī claimed that Mu'āwiyah launched a summer campaign this year and penetrated into Byzantine territory at the head of 10,000 Muslims.

Some authorities report that the death of Khālid b. al-Walīd took place this year.

In [this year] Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah[202] and 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān[203] were born.

During this year 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb led the pilgrimage. His
[2672] governor of Mecca was 'Attāb b. Asīd.[204] Ya'lā b. Umayyah[205] [was governor] of the Yemen. Those who were his governors in the previous year whom we have already mentioned [remained] in charge of the rest of the Muslim garrison towns.

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200. That is, the caliph himself, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

201. See Qur'ān, XVIII:94–97. This is the story of Dhū al-Qarnayn (*EI*², s.v. "al-Iskandar" [Watt]), who keeps out Gog and Magog by building between two mountains a wall made of iron and molten brass. The words *sadd* and *radm* used here in the text are both found in this passage in the Qur'ān.

202. The second Umayyad caliph (60–64/680–683).

203. The famous fifth Umayyad caliph (65–86/685–705). See *EI*², s.v. (Gibb).

204. It would seem that 'Attāb b. Asīd b. Abī al-'Īṣ b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams remained governor of Mecca from its conquest by the Prophet in 8/629 right through to this year, 22. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 440 (Guillaume, *Life*, 568); Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 889; *EI*², s.v. (ed.).

205. Ya'lā b. Umayyah/Munyah al-Tamīmī died at Ṣiffīn in 37/657 after twenty-four years as governor in the Yemen. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 399; Rāzī, *Ṣan'ā'*, 69–70; Mad'aj, *Yemen*, 141 and table 4, 148. See also note 781, below.

During this year 'Umar equalized [the material benefits of] the conquests carried out by the Kufans and Basrans.

Information on ['Umar's Division of the Conquered Lands]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr and Sa'īd: 'Ammār b. Yāsir remained as governor of al-Kūfah for a whole year and part of another during the caliphate of 'Umar. 'Umar b. Surāqah, at that time governor of al-Baṣrah, wrote to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, indicating to him how large the population of al-Baṣrah was and how little land tax they received and requesting that he add one of the two Māhs or Māsabadhān to them [as a source of land tax].[206] News of this reached the Kufans, and they asked 'Ammār to write on their behalf to 'Umar, [proposing] that Rāmahurmuz[207] and Īdhaj[208] become theirs [for the purpose of land tax] to the exclusion of (the Basrans), who did not assist them in any way in [fighting against] these two places and who did not join them until they had already conquered them. But 'Ammār replied that he could do nothing about the whole matter. 'Uṭārid[209] said to him, "Why do you not give us [the revenue from] our immovable booty, you slave with the mutilated ear!" He replied, "Now you abuse my good ear!"[210] and he [refused to] write concerning this matter. He was therefore hated by them. When the Kufans were adamant that they should [continue] the dispute concerning the two (places) with the Basrans, certain people gave evidence to (the Basrans) that Abū Mūsā had granted the people of

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206. The two Māhs are Nihāwand and Dīnawar. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 48; Le Strange, *Lands*, 189, 197. Māsabadhān is that part of the Jibāl province due south of Kurdistān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 202 and Map 5, opposite 185.

207. A town a little east of al-Ahwāz in Khūzistān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 17–18; Le Strange, *Lands*, 243.

208. A town a little north of Rāmahurmuz in Khūzistān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 288–89; Le Strange, *Lands*, 245 and Map 2, opposite 25.

209. 'Uṭārid b. Ḥājib b. Zurārah b. 'Udas/'Udus, a leader of Banū Tamīm. He was a member of the Tamīmī delegation to the Prophet in 9/630. See Ṭabarī, I, 1710–11; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 560–61 (Guillaume, *Life*, 628); Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 975.

210. Arabic *la-qad sababta aḥabba udhunayya ilayya*. That is, "I don't want to hear any more of this!" 'Ammār had lost an ear at the battle of al-Yamāmah; see *EI*², s.v. "'Ammār" (Reckendorf).

[2673] Rāmahurmuz and Īdhaj safe-conduct and that the Kufans and the army of al-Nu'mān [b. Muqarrin] had corresponded with them while they were [enjoying this] safe-conduct. 'Umar permitted them to do this to them and for the benefit of the Basrans had his authorization duly witnessed. The Basrans laid claim to certain settlements in Iṣfahān that Abū Mūsā had conquered on this side of Jayy when 'Umar had sent (the Basrans) as reinforcements to (the Kufans) under the command of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Itbān. The Kufans said: "You came to us as reinforcements when we had already conquered the area, but we shared the spoils with you. The covenant is ours; the land is ours." 'Umar confirmed that they were right. Then the Basrans who had taken part in the battles and who were at al-Qādisiyyah took up another matter, saying, "Let them give us our share of their main body of cultivated land and that on its periphery in which we participated with them." 'Umar asked them if they would be satisfied with Māh,[211] at the same time asking the Kufans if they would approve his granting (the Basrans) one of the two Māhs. [212] They replied that he should do as he thought fitting. So he granted them Māh Dīnār[213] with its share for those of them who had taken part in the battles and who were at al-Qādisiyyah as far as the district of al-Baṣrah and Mihrajānqadhaq.[214] All this was for those Basrans who took part in the battles and who were at al-Qādisiyyah. Mu'āwiyah [when he was governor of Syria] was the one who garrisoned Qinnasrīn with a military force from the Iraqs that had refused [to serve 'Alī further] in the latter's time.[215] Qinnasrīn was simply one of the rural districts of Ḥimṣ until Mu'āwiyah made it into a garrison town and garrisoned it with those who had left al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah at that time and he took for them, as their share for the conquests of Iraq, Azerbaijan, Mosul, and al-Bāb, and brought them all together. The population of al-Jazīrah and
[2674] Mosul were at that time floating, mixed with all those of the

211. That is, Nihāwand, also known as Māh al-Baṣrah.
212. That is, Nihāwand and Dīnawar. See note 206, above.
213. Māh Dīnār is Nihāwand. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 49.
214. Mihrajānqadhaq is the second of the two parts of the Jibāl province due south of Kurdistān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 202 and Map V, opposite 185.
215. *Rāfiḍah* is not to be taken here in its later meaning; viz., a term of abuse used by the Sunnīs of the Shī'īs.

two areas [al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah] who had not emigrated [to participate in the conquests]. Al-Bāb, Azerbaijan, al-Jazīrah, and Mosul were conquered by the Kufans.[216] When Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān was appointed governor [of Syria], all this was transferred to those of them who had moved to Syria in the time of 'Alī and to those with whom al-Jazīrah and Mosul were populated who had not emigrated [to participate in the conquests] in the time of 'Alī.

At the time of Mu'āwiyah['s governorship of Syria] the people of Armenia were unbelievers.[217] [Mu'āwiyah] had made Ḥabīb b. Maslamah commander of al-Bāb, he being at that time in Jurzān.[218] He entered into correspondence with the inhabitants of Tiflīs and those mountain areas, but then he fought against them until they indicated their obedience [to him] and obtained an agreement from him. After he had corresponded with them, he wrote to them [as follows]:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From Ḥabīb b. Maslamah to the people of Tiflīs in Jurzān, the land of al-Hurmuz.[219] You are at peace. I commend God to you. There is no other god than He. Your envoy, Taflī, has come to us, has brought your message, and has delivered [the gifts] you sent. Taflī has mentioned that, according to your reckoning, we used not to be one community, and indeed we were not thus until God gave us guidance in the form of Muḥammad and strengthened us with Islam after we had been few, lowly, and ignorant. Taflī has mentioned that you desire [2675]
> to be at peace with us, and those who believe with me and I are not averse to this. I send you 'Abd al-

216. Ṭabarī presents the temporal clause (Arabic, *wa-lammā waliya Mu'āwiyatu bnu Sufyān*), which I have relegated in translation to the following sentence, before the three previous sentences that are explanatory material in parenthesis.

217. Although there had been earlier attacks on Armenia by the Muslim forces, it is clear that the major onslaught, led by Ḥabīb came in 24/645 or 31/652 during the caliphate of 'Uthmān. See Ṭabarī, I, 2808, 2871; Translation, XV, 10–11, 78; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 197.

218. Georgia, regarded by Yāqūt as that part of Armenia the chief town of which is Tiflīs. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 125; Le Strange, *Lands*, Map III, opposite 87; Minorsky, *Studies*, map, 79.

219. That is, the local ruler.

Raḥmān b. Jaz' al-Sulamī,[220] who is one of our most knowledgeable religious and Qur'anic scholars. With him I send my document granting you safe-conduct. If you agree, he will hand it over to you; if you do not, he will "declare war" on you "fairly; God does not love the treacherous."[221]

[The document:]

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a document from Ḥabīb b. Maslamah to the people of Tiflīs in Jurzān, the land of al-Hurmuz, [granting you] safe-conduct for your persons, your possessions, your religious buildings (*ṣawāmi'*), your places of worship, and your prayers, with the imposition of a small tribute, a whole dinar on every household. We [in turn shall have] your good counsel, your help against God's and our enemy, your hospitality for one night for the passerby, [providing] the permitted food and drink of the People of the Book, and guidance along the way insofar as none of you thereby comes to any harm. If you become Muslims, pray, and pay alms; then we shall [all] be brethren within Islam, and [you will be] our clients. But he who turns his back on God, His apostles, His books, and His partisans, we shall "declare war" on you "fairly; God does not love the treacherous."

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid,[222] al-Ḥajjāj,[223] and 'Iyāḍ[224] were witnesses, and Rabāḥ[225] wrote, "And I call God, His angels, and

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220. This scholar remains unidentified, and there is no other mention of him in the text.

221. Qur'ān, VIII:58.

222. That is, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī, son of the famous early Muslim general, Khālid b. al-Walīd. He died in 46/666, supposedly poisoned at the instruction of a jealous Mu'āwiyah. See Ṭabarī, II, 82–83; Translation, XVIII, 88–89.

223. An unidentified witness.

224. Both the Leiden and Cairo indexes indicate that this is 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm al-Fihrī, later governor in the Jazīrah and Muslim leader in Syria, who died after 31/651. See Ṭabarī, I, 2505, 2865–66; Translation, XIII, 86; Translation, XV, 72–73. Ibn al-Athīr (*Usd*, IV, 164–66), however, and Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 269; VII, 398) insist that 'Iyāḍ died in 20/641.

225. A witness mentioned only here in the text.

those who believe to witness; 'God is sufficient as a witness.' "[226]

In this year [22; November 30, 642–November 19, 643] [2676]
'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb reportedly removed 'Ammār from al-Kūfah and appointed Abū Mūsā governor. We have, however, already mentioned above what al-Wāqidī had to say on this subject.[227]

The Reason for [the Dismissal of 'Ammār]

I have already mentioned part of the reason for his dismissal, and [now] I shall report on the remainder. According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—those of his shaykhs I have already mentioned:[228] The people of al-Kūfah, this 'Uṭārid, and others with him wrote to 'Umar about 'Ammār, "He is no commander and cannot cope with the situation in which he finds himself." The Kufans put pressure on him, so 'Umar wrote to 'Ammār, [telling him to] present himself. He set out with a delegation of Kufans, taking with him [only] those whom he considered to be his supporters. But they were more against him than those left behind. He became worried and was asked. "What is worrying you, Abū al-Yaqẓān?" He admitted it was something that he was not proud of, but he had indeed been so afflicted.[229] Now Sa'd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī,[230] the uncle of al-Mukhtār, and Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh[231] were with him, and they spread rumors about him and told 'Umar things [about him] of which he disapproved. So 'Umar dismissed him and gave him no [other] governorship.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Walīd b. Jumay'[232]

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226. Qur'ān, IV:79 and XLVIII:28.

227. See above, note 23.

228. That is, Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab, 'Amr, and Sa'īd. See note 4, above.

229. Arabic, *fa-jazi'a fa-qīla la-hu yā Abā al-Yaqẓān mā hādhā al-jaza'u fa-qāla wa-Allāhi mā uḥmidu nafsī 'alay-hi wa-laqad ubtulītu bi-h.*

230. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 295. Al-Mukhtār is al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, born in the first year of the Hijrah (Ṭabarī, I, 1264; Translation, VII, 10) and leader of the Alid movement in al-Kūfah in 64/683 (Ṭabarī, II, 520ff.; Translation, XX, 105ff.).

231. Al-Bajalī, died ca. 54/674. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 76–77; *Tahdhīb*, II, 73–75; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 279–80; Hill, *Termination*, 103ff.

232. An unidentified narrator.

—Abū al-Ṭufayl:[233] 'Ammār was asked if he was displeased by his dismissal. He replied that he had not in any way been pleased when he was appointed governor, but he was displeased when he was dismissed.

[2677] According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid[234] and Mujālid[235]—al-Sha'bī: 'Umar asked the Kufans which of their two settlements they liked better, that is, al-Kūfah or al-Madā'in. He added, "I am asking you, but I can indeed see in your faces which one of them is preferred." Jarīr replied that the nearer settlement of theirs, [al-Madā'in], was closer to the [fertile] Sawād land, whereas the other was [a place, as if] by the sea, of exhausting, intense heat, with mosquitoes. 'Ammār retorted that he was lying, but 'Umar told him he was a bigger liar than [Jarīr]. ['Umar] also asked them what they thought of their commander, 'Ammār. Jarīr answered that he was indeed inadequate and deficient, with no knowledge of management.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Zakariyyā' b. Siyāh[236]—Hishām b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī:[237] Sa'd b. Mas'ūd said, "You, ['Ammār], have no idea of what [territories] you are governor!" 'Umar asked ['Ammār] of what [territories] he had made him governor. 'Ammār replied "Of al-Ḥīrah and its region."[238] ['Umar] said that he had heard of al-Ḥīrah from merchants going frequently to and from there. ['Umar] asked of what [else he was governor]. ['Ammār] replied, "Of Babylon and its region."[239] ['Umar] said, "You have heard mention of it in the Qur'ān!" ['Umar] further asked of what [else he was governor]. "Of al-Madā'in and its surrounding areas," ['Ammār] replied. ['Umar] asked him if this was the Ctesiphon of the Sasanian emperor, and he replied that it was. ['Umar] asked

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233. 'Āmir b. Wāthilah, a narrator who died in the early second/eighth century. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 82–84.

234. D. 146/763. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 291ff.

235. Mujālid b. Sa'īd b. 'Umayr (d. 144/762). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 39–41.

236. An unidentified narrator.

237. An unidentified narrator.

238. A settlement near al-Kūfah, capital of the Lakhmids and dating from pre-Islamic times. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* II, 328ff.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 75 and Map 2, 25; *EI*², s.v. [Shahid].

239. About 50 miles south of Baghdad in Iraq; Arabic, Bābil. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 309ff.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 72; *EI*², s.v. "Bābil" [Awad].

him of what [else he was governor]. ('Ammār) replied, "Of Mihrajānqadhaq and its region."[240] [Sa'd and his companions] said, "We have already told you that he does not know of what [territories] you have sent him [as governor]. So ('Umar) dismissed ('Ammār). He later summoned him and asked him if he had been displeased when he had dismissed him. ('Ammār) replied that he had been in no way happy when he sent him [as governor], but that he was indeed displeased when he dismissed him. ('Umar) commented, "I knew you were not a governor, but [2678] I gave meaning [to the following]: "We wished to show favor to those who were considered weak on earth, make them examples, and make them the inheritors."[241]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Khulayd b. Dhafarah al-Namarī[242]—his father with an account similar to this and more: ('Umar) asked ('Ammār) if he was inviting approval of himself because of his knowledge of those with whom he had been dealing since his arrival. He added, "You will stop at no limit, 'Ammār, with the result that [this] puts you in a weak position; indeed, if age comes upon you, you will certainly grow weak, and if you are weak, you will indeed be sorely tested. Then ask God for death." Then ('Umar) turned to the Kufans and asked them whom they wanted. They replied, "Abū Mūsā." So ('Umar) appointed him their commander after 'Ammār. He remained their governor for a year. But his servant sold fodder and al-Walīd b. 'Abd Shams[243] heard [Abū Mūsā] say, "I have never kept company with any people without honoring them. Only my association with the witnesses of al-Baṣrah has prevented me from calling them liars.[244] If I befriend you, I shall certainly bring you goodness." Al-Walīd said, "No one other than you has taken away our land; you will certainly not [continue] as our governor." So he and others with him left [al-Kūfah], saying that they had no need of Abū Mūsā. ('Umar)

240. 'Umar had in fact given Mibrajānqadhaq to the Basrans; see p. 44 and note 213, above.

241. Qur'ān, II:102. See p. 44, note 213, above.

242. An unidentified narrator.

243. Al-Walīd b. 'Abd Shams, a Qurashī noble, has brief notices in Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 90, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, X, 311.

244. I am unable to clarify this obscure remark.

asked [them] why. They replied, "He has a servant who deals in the fruits of our land!" So ('Umar) dismissed him and sent him
[2679] to al-Baṣrah. He also sent 'Umar b. Surāqah to al-Jazīrah. He said to the Kufan followers of Abū Mūsā who went with him when he was dismissed, "Do you prefer someone strong and tough or someone weak, but a believer?" But he got no response from them. So ('Umar) went off on his own to a part of the mosque and went to sleep. Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah came to him and stood watch over him until he woke up. Then he said, "You have acted in this way, Commander of the Faithful, only because of something very serious. Has some disaster overtaken you?" He replied, "What is happening is more disastrous than 100,000 who are not pleased with a commander, when he is not pleased with them." And he went on for some time on this subject. (Al-Kūfah was originally founded for 100,000 troops.) ('Umar's) followers came to him and asked him what was on his mind. He told them it was the Kufans whose problem was causing him some distress. 'Umar repeated his request for advice from them as before, and al-Mughīrah gave him his answer. He said, "The weak Muslim's weakness is not in your interests, nor in those of the other Muslims [as well as his own]. His excellence [by being a Muslim] is [only] in his own interests. The strong, tough man's strength is in your interests and those of the other Muslims [as well as his own], whereas his toughness works both against him and in his favor." So ('Umar) sent (al-Mughīrah) [as governor] over (the Kufans).

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh—Sa'īd b. 'Amr:[245] 'Umar, before appointing al-Mughīrah governor, asked what his opinion was of making someone
[2680] governor who was weak, but a Muslim, as opposed to someone strong and tough. Al-Mughīrah replied, "The faith of a weak Muslim works [only] in his own interests, whereas his weakness works against your interests. The toughness of a strong, tough man will work in his own interests and his strength in those of the Muslims." ('Umar) told him he was sending him [as governor to al-Kūfah]. Al-Mughīrah was in this

245. Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, a Qurashī scholar in al-Kūfah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 68.

position until 'Umar died, that is something more than two years. When al-Mughīrah was taking his leave (of 'Umar) to go to al-Kūfah, he said to him, "Let the pious trust you and the wicked fear you, Mughīrah." Later 'Umar wanted to send Sa'd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ] as governor in place of al-Mughīrah, but he was killed before he could do this, leaving the recommendation [that Sa'd should become governor]. Now it was 'Umar's practice and habit to require his governors to make the pilgrimage every year; [this was] for the purpose of good management, to isolate them in this way from their subjects and to provide a time for their subjects to complain and an objective that they could thus accomplish.

In this year [22; November 30, 642–November 19, 643] according to some reports, al-Aḥnaf b. Qays attacked Khurāsān and made war on Yazdajird. Sayf, however, reported that al-Aḥnaf moved against Khurāsān in the year 18 [January 12, 639–January 2, 640].

Yazdajird's Journey to Khurāsān and the Reason for It

Historians (*ahl al-siyar*) differ in the reason [they give] for this and how the whole affair happened. There is Sayf's account of this on the authority of his [previous] authorities. Al-Sarī wrote to me on the matter—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and 'Amr: Yazdajird b. Shahriyār b. Kisrā, who was at that time ruler of Persia, made for al-Rayy when the [2681] forces at Jalūlā'[246] were defeated. A single litter that could fit on to the back of his camel was provided for him, so as the journey progressed, he could sleep and he did not [need to] camp with his army. While he was asleep in his litter, they brought him to a ford. They woke him up so that he might be aware [of what was happening] and not be afraid when the camel forded over, [as he would be] if he were awakened from sleep. But he

246. A town about 70 miles east of Sāmarrā, on the route from Baghdad to Ḥulwān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 156; Le Strange, *Lands*, 62 and Map II, opposite 25. The defeat here referred to is that of the Persians at the hands of the Muslim forces under Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ in 16/637. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 264ff.; Ṭabarī, I, 2456ff. (Translation, XIII, 36ff.); Zarrīnkūb, "Conquest," 13.

reproached (his men), saying, "You were wrong to do this! If you had left me alone, I would have found out how long this [Islamic] community will last. I saw in a dream Muḥammad and myself speaking together alone in the presence of God. (God) told (Muḥammad) that he would give them 100 years' power. He asked for more and (God) made it 110 years. (Again Muḥammad) asked for more and (God) made it 120 years. (Again Muḥammad) asked for more and (God) granted it, but then you woke me up. If you had left me alone, I would have found out how long this community will last!"

When he finally reached al-Rayy, where Ābān Jādhawayh was governor, (the latter) seized him and took him prisoner. (Yazdajird) accused him of acting treacherously toward him. He replied, "No, rather you have abandoned your empire, and it has fallen into the hands of someone else. I [only] want to record everything that is mine and nothing more." He took Yazdajird's seal, produced some parchment and made some written statements and records of every thing he wanted. Then he placed the seal on them and returned it. Later he approached Sa'd, and (the latter) returned to him everything [listed] in his document. When Ābān Jādhawayh treated Yazdajird in this way, the latter
[2682] left al-Rayy for Iṣfahān, expressing a hatred for Ābān Jādhawayh as he fled from him and not trusting him. He decided to go to Kirmān, taking his fire[247] and intending to install it there. Later he decided to make for Khurāsān. He arrived in Marw[248] and settled there, having also brought his fire, for which he erected a building. He set up a cultivated area and built a passage 2 parasangs long from Marw. It was exactly 2 parasangs. He felt secure within himself and secure from approach. From Marw he corresponded with those Persians remaining in those areas not conquered by the Muslims. They expressed their obedience to him, and finally he induced the people of Fārs and followers of

247. Arabic simply reads *nār*, fire. I take this to be some kind of sacred flame used in his practice of Zoroastrianism.

248. A famous town about 240 miles due north of Herat, one of the capitals of the Khurāsān province and standing on the River Murghāb. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, Marw al-Shāhijān, V, 112ff.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 398ff.; *EI*², s.v. (Bosworth).

al-Hurmuzān to rebel [against the Muslims], and the people of al-Jibāl and the followers of al-Fayruzān did likewise. This it was that induced 'Umar to permit the Muslims to penetrate farther. The armies of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah pushed on farther with the result that they decisively conquered the whole area.

Al-Aḥnaf left for Khurāsān, took Mihrajānqadhaq, then left for Iṣfahān, while the Kufans were besieging Jayy. He entered Khurāsān from al-Ṭabasayn[249] and took Herat[250] by force. He appointed as his deputy there Ṣuḥār b. Fulān al-'Abdī,[251] then marched on Marw al-Shāhijān. He dispatched to Naysābūr,[252] there being no intervening battle, Muṭarrif b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr,[253] and to Sarakhs[254] al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān.[255] When al-Aḥnaf drew near to Marw al-Shāhijān, Yazdajird left it for [2683]
Marw al-Rūdh[256] and remained there, while al-Aḥnaf remained

249. For the conquest of Khurāsān, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 403ff. Al-Aḥnaf was approaching from the southwest. The dual form, al-Ṭabasayn, is not infrequently used for one of the two towns called Ṭabas, Ṭabas al-Tamr and Ṭabas al-'Unnāb. The two are about 200 miles apart, al-Tamr in the west, al-'Unnāb in the southwest of Qūhistān. Assuming he could march through the Great Desert, more or less as the crow flies, al-Aḥnaf would have passed through Ṭabas al-Tamr on his way from Iṣfahān to Herat. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 20; Le Strange, *Lands*, 359ff. and Map 8, opposite 335.

250. The famous town in present-day Afghanistan. The town sits on the River Herat in the southwest of the province of Khurāsān and was chief town of one of its quarters. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 396–97; Le Strange, *Lands*, 407–9, 429–31; *EI*², s.v. (Frye).

251. That is, from 'Abd al-Qays. Perhaps his father's name was Ṣakhr, see the Leiden *apparatus criticus*, Ṭabarī, I, 2682, note o. He figures as a narrator under the year 17, Ṭabarī, I, 2537, and later *sub anno* 23, I, 2707, delivering the fifths to the caliph from Makrān. There is brief mention of Ṣuḥār b. Ṣakhr in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 126.

252. In the west of Khurāsān and a chief town of one of its quarters. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 331–33; Le Strange, *Lands*, 382ff. and Map VIII, opposite 335.

253. Al-Ḥarashī. If this is the Basran jurist who died ca. 86/705, he must have been very young at this time. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 173–74; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 288.

254. A town on the River Herat in Khurāsān, situated about 100 miles east of Naysābūr. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 208–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 395ff. and Map 8, opposite 335.

255. Al-Dhuhlī. A Muslim leader who is reported as assuming various military tasks during the conquests. See Ṭabarī, I, 2475, 2477 etc.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 323–25; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 152–53; *Tahdhīb*, 139.

256. About 150 miles south of Marw on the River Murghāb in Khurāsān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 112; Le Strange, *Lands*, 397ff. and Map VIII, opposite 335.

in Marw al-Shāhijān. While he was in Marw al-Rūdh, Yazdajird wrote to the ruler of the Turks (*khāqān*)[257] asking for reinforcements and to the ruler of Soghdia[258] for the same reason. His two envoys to ruler of the Turks and the ruler of Soghdia departed, and he wrote also to the ruler of China asking for assistance. Al-Aḥnaf, when Kufan reinforcements had joined him under the command of four commanders, 'Alqamah b. al-Naḍr al-Naḍrī, Rib'ī b. 'Āmir al-Tamīmī, 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Uqayl al-Thaqafī, and Ibn Umm Ghazāl al-Hamdānī,[259] departed from Marw al-Shāhijān, leaving Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhilī[260] as his deputy there. He marched on Marw al-Rūdh. However, when Yazdajird heard of this, he left for Balkh.[261] Al-Aḥnaf stayed in Marw al-Rūdh, sending the Kufans on to Balkh. Al-Aḥnaf followed on after them; and the Kufans and Yazdajird met in battle in Balkh, and God defeated the latter, who made for the river at the head of his Persian army and crossed it. Al-Aḥnaf joined up with the Kufans, when God had already given them victory. So Balkh was one of the victories of the Kufans.

The combatants of Khurāsān between Naysābūr and Ṭukhāristān,[262] in what used to be the territory of the Persian emperor, followed one after the other to make peace, those who had fled and those who had made fortified positions. Al-Aḥnaf returned to Marw al-Rūdh where he remained, having made Rib'ī b. 'Āmir his deputy in charge of Ṭukhāristān. It is he

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257. For the title *khāqān*, see *EI*², s.v. (Boyle).

258. May be taken in the wider sense to cover the area between the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes, of which Bukhārā and Samarqand were the chief towns, or more narrowly the district around Samarqand. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 409–10; Le Strange, *Lands*, 460ff. and Map IX, opposite 433.

259. Four Muslims leaders sent in 17/638 by 'Umar to reinforce al-Aḥnaf on the eastern front. See Ṭabarī, I, 2569.

260. A Muslim leader who appears in various military roles later in the text. See Ṭabarī, I, 2886–88 etc.

261. Chief town of the fourth quarter of Khurāsān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 479–80; Le Strange, *Lands*, 420ff. and Map VIII, opposite 335.

262. A large district of Khurāsān stretching to the east of Balkh on the south side of the River Oxus. Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 23; Le Strange, *Lands*, 426–27 and Map 8, opposite 335.

about whom al-Najāshī recited the following, linking his name with his mother who was a noble Arab:[263]

Oh, many's the one who is called a young brave who is not really so! [2684]
Oh, Rib'ī b. Ka's is a real young brave![264]
[Standing] tall [above them], when those sitting in the yard of his house
have taken their fill of what is left in his bowl, he gives them to drink.

Al-Aḥnaf wrote to 'Umar of the conquest of Khurāsān and ('Umar) said, "I wish I had not sent an army there. I wish there were a sea of fire between us."[265] 'Alī asked him why and he replied, "The people (of Khurāsān) will burst forth from it on three occasions and they will be destroyed on the third. I prefer that this should happen to its own people rather than to the Muslims!"

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fazārī—Abū al-Janūb al-Yashkurī[266]—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: When 'Umar heard of the conquest of Khurāsān, he said, "I wish there were a sea of fire between us." 'Alī asked him why he was so distressed by its conquest, when it was a joyful occasion. 'Umar said, "Yes, but I . . ." and so on until the end of [2685]
the [preceding] account.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Īsā b. al-Mughīrah[267] and a member of Bakr b. Wā'il called al-Wāzi' b. Zayd b. Khulaydah:[268] When 'Umar heard of al-Aḥnaf's conquest of the

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263. Al-Najashī is Qays b. 'Amr; see Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 73, 76. The meter is *ṭawīl*.

264. Ka's is not only the name of Rib'ī's mother, but, because it means "cup" or "goblet," a pun is intended; he is generous in entertaining his guests with drink.

265. Perhaps a reference to the Zoroastrian religion and its fire worship practiced in pre-Islamic Iran.

266. Two narrators mentioned only here in the text. Abū al-Janūb 'Uqbah b. 'Alqamah al-Yashkurī has a brief notice in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 247.

267. A narrator mentioned only here in the text and who has only a brief notice in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 231–32.

268. A narrator mentioned only here in the text. Bakr b. Wā'il is a large tribal confederation of 'Adnān, the northern Arabs. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 307ff., 469; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, I, 93ff.; *EI*², s.v. (Caskel).

two Marws and Balkh, he said, "He is al-Aḥnaf! He is the lord of the people of the east called by something other than his name!"[269] 'Umar wrote to al-Aḥnaf as follows, "To continue. On no account go beyond the river;[270] keep to this side. You know how you made an entry into Khurāsān, so keep to this method and victory will continue to be yours. Beware of crossing over and dispersing."

When the envoys of Yazdajird reached the ruler of the Turks and Ghūrak,[271] it was not a straightforward matter to give him assistance until he had actually crossed over the river in defeat to meet them. Then it became so, and the ruler of the Turks gave him assistance—for rulers see it as an obligation to assist one another. He came forward at the head of the Turks, assembled the army of Farghānah[272] and Soghdia, and marched them out. Yazdajird returned to Khurāsān and crossed over to Balkh, the ruler of the Turks crossing with him. The Kufan army mustered at Marw al-Rūdh under al-Aḥnaf, and the polytheists left Balkh and fell upon him there. When al-Aḥnaf heard that
[2686] the ruler of the Turks had crossed the River Balkh with the Soghdians to attack him, he went out at night among his troops to see if he could pick up any useful ideas. As he passed by two men who were cleaning fodder, either straw or barley, one of them was saying to the other, "If only the commander would send us up into this mountain, with the river forming a ditch between us and the enemy, the mountain at our backs to prevent our being approached from behind and the fighting thus being on one front, I would hope that God would give us victory!" So (al-Aḥnaf) returned, content at (what he had heard). This was one dark night. In the morning he assembled the army and said, "You are few, whereas your enemy are many. Let them not strike terror into you. 'How often a company that is few in number has overcome a company that is many by God's leave;

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269. Al-Aḥnaf's name was Ṣakhr. See note 45, above.

270. That is, the River Oxus.

271. The text reads Ghūzak, but see Barthold, *Turkestan*. 96 etc., "the *ikhshīd* of Soghd."

272. The province of Farghānah stretched for more than 200 miles along the upper stream of the River Jaxartes. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 253; Le Strange, *Lands*, 476–77 and Map IX, opposite 433.

God is with those who show patience'.[273] Go from here and up this mountain. Place it at your backs; place the river between you and your enemy, and fight them on one front." They did all this, preparing everything that would give them an advantage, [al-Aḥnaf] being at the head of 10,000 Basrans, while there was a similar number of Kufans. The Turks advanced, together with those whom they had collected together, and fell upon [the Muslim forces], attacking them morning and evening and withdrawing at night; this went on for some time while al-Aḥnaf sought intelligence of their nocturnal position. After he had discovered this, he went out one night, acting as a scout for his men until he came close to the camp of the ruler of [2687] the Turks and halted. At the first light of dawn a Turkish cavalryman came forth, wearing his horsetail and beating his drum. Then he positioned himself where someone of his rank positions himself in relation to the troops. Al-Aḥnaf attacked him and the two exchanged spear thrusts. Al-Aḥnaf pierced him and killed him, as he recited the following in the *rajaz* meter:

Every chief has a duty to
    dye his spear [with blood] or [to fight until] it break;
We have a leader here who was made to face up to
    the sword of Abū Ḥafṣ[274] that remains [intact].

Then he stood where the Turk had stood and took his horsetail. Another Turk came out, did exactly as his colleague had done, then stood near him. Al-Aḥnaf attacked him and they exchanged spear thrusts. Al-Aḥnaf pierced him and killed him, as he recited the following in the *rajaz* meter:

The chief takes a high, lofty position,
    keeping away herdsmen if they let [their beasts] pasture.[275]

Then he stood where the second Turk had stood and took his horsetail. A third Turk came out, did exactly the same as the other two had done, then stood near [where] the second [had

273. Qur'ān, II: 250.
274. Abū Ḥafṣ is the *kunyah* of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.
275. *Khullā'*, herdsmen, is the plural of *khālin*; see *Glossarium*, CCXXXII. The hemistitch reads, *wa-yamna'u l-khullā'a immā arba'ū*. Perhaps "let [their beasts] come to water"?

been]. Al-Aḥnaf attacked him and they exchanged spear thrusts. Al-Aḥnaf pierced him and killed him, as he recited the following in *rajaz* meter:

[He ran forward] like al-Shamūs, ready to respond to anything, running at full speed, bad tempered.[276]

[2688] Then al-Aḥnaf went off back to camp. Not one of [his troops] knew anything about this until he returned there and prepared himself [for war].

It was in the nature of the Turks that they did not go out [for battle] until three of their cavalrymen had come forward like these, each one beating his drum. Then, after the third one, they would [all] go out [to do battle]. So on that night the Turks went out after the third horseman had done so, and they came across [all three of] them slaughtered. So the ruler of the Turks found this a bad omen and said, "We have been [here] too long and these men have been killed in a situation such as no one has ever been killed before. There can be no good for us in fighting these men. Let us all retire." So their leaders withdrew. When day broke, the Muslims could see nothing, and news came to them that the ruler of the Turks had retired to Balkh. Yazdajird b. Shahriyār b. Kisrā had originally left the ruler of the Turks in Marw al-Rūdh and departed for Marw al-Shāhijān. Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān and his followers fortified their positions against [Yazdajird], but he besieged them, removing his treasures from where they were kept, while the ruler of the Turks was in Balkh waiting for him. The Muslims suggested to al-Aḥnaf that they should pursue them, but he told them to remain in their position and leave them alone. When Yazdajird had collected together those of his possessions left in Marw, he did not have enough time to collect them all. He intended to make himself the sole possessor [of the treasures], because they were a large

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276. Al-Shamūs is the name of the horse of 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir al-Qurashī. Of an animal the word means "recalcitrant." See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, VI, 113–14; Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, II, 232; Zabīdī, *Tāj*, XVI, 175; Lane, *Lexicon*, VIII, 2770. The expression *nājizun bi-nājiz* originates in the commercial world, meaning, "ready [merchandise] for ready [money]". I translate "ready to respond to anything." For the meaning of *mushāriz*, "bad tempered," "hostile," "quarrelsome," see Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, II, 185; Zabīdī, *Tāj*, V, 361.

part of [all] the treasures of the Persians. He also intended to join the ruler of the Turks, and the Persians asked him what he intended to do. He replied that he wanted to join the ruler of the Turks and remain with him or [go] to China. They told him to tread warily, for this was a bad idea, going to a people in their own country, while abandoning his own land and people. [They told him] he should take them back to (the Muslims), so that they could make peace with them. (The Muslims) were completely faithful, men of religion and in control of (the Persians') land. An enemy ruling over Persians in their own land was a better political arrangement than an enemy ruling over them in his own land, who moreover had no religion, nor would they know how faithful (his people) would be. But he refused [to accept their argument] and they refused [to give in to him]. They told him to leave their treasures alone and they would return them to their own territory and to its ruler. He should not remove them from their land. He [again] refused [to accept their argument]. They told him they would not let him go. They drew on one side and left him alone with his followers. They did battle together and they put him to flight, taking the treasures and assuming complete control over them, abandoning him completely. The (Persian) polytheists wrote to al-Aḥnaf, giving him the news, so the Muslims intercepted them, while the polytheists were in Marw resisting (Yazdajird). They fought (Yazdajird) and caught up with him at the rear of the army, rushing him away from his treasures (*athqāl*). He went off to seek refuge, crossed the river to Farghānah and the Turks. (Yazdajird) remained throughout the time of 'Umar corresponding with (the Persians), and they with him, or at least some of them. So the people of Khurāsān rebelled during the time of 'Uthman['s caliphate].

[2689]

The Persians came to al-Aḥnaf and made peace with him, exchanging agreements with him and handing over the treasures and monies [mentioned above]. They gradually returned to their lands and wealth in as good a state as they had been at the time of the Sasanian emperors. It was as if they were [still] under their rule except for the fact that the Muslims were more worthy of their confidence and acted more justly toward them. So they rejoiced in their condition and were the object of envy. [The

share of the booty that] came to the cavalryman in the battle
[2690] against Yazdajird was like that of the cavalryman at the battle of al-Qādisiyyah.[277]

When the Khurāsānīs threw off their allegiance in the time of 'Uthmān, Yazdajird went and settled in Marw. When he, together with his followers, and the Khurāsānīs fell into disagreement, he took refuge in a mill. (The Khurāsānīs) found him eating from a field around the mill and killed him, throwing him into the river.

When Yazdajird was killed in Marw—he was on that day in hiding in a mill seeking to reach Kirmān—the Muslims and polytheists took possession of his immovable booty. Al-Aḥnaf got to hear of this and left immediately at the head of his army for Balkh, making for the ruler of the Turks and arranging for the dependents and family of Yazdajird to follow with both Muslims and non-Muslims of the Persians, while the ruler of the Turks and the Turks [remained] in Balkh. When (the ruler of the Turks) heard of what had happened to Yazdajird and of the Muslims' departure from Marw al-Rūdh with al-Aḥnaf in his direction, he left Balkh and crossed the river. Al-Aḥnaf arrived and remained in Balkh and the Kufans also settled in the four regions (of Khurāsān).[278] Then he returned to Marw al-Rūdh and remained there, writing to 'Umar of the defeat of the ruler of the Turks and Yazdajird. He also sent the fifths to him, and the [official] delegations [from Khurāsān] reached him.

(The same sources) reported as follows. When the ruler of the Turks, together with the dependents of the family of the Persian emperor or those of them who had made their way with Yazdajird to Balkh, had crossed over the river, they met the messenger of Yazdajird, whom he had sent to the ruler of China

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277. The famous battle that took place in 16/637 and a decisive victory for the Muslim forces over the Persians.

278. I here take the Arabic *kuwar* to indicate the four divisions of Khurāsān. It is true that they were officially known as *arbā'*, the plural of *rub'*, and that these quarters were a later development. My explanation would be that suggesting there were such quarters at this early date is an anachronism and that all that is really meant is that the Kufans settled throughout Khurāsān. For the four quarters of Khurāsān and their chief towns of Balkh, Naysābūr, Marw, and Herat, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 382–83.

and with whom he had sent gifts and who was bringing back a reply to his letter from the ruler of China. They asked him what [2691] had happened to him. He replied that, when he delivered the letter and the gifts to [the ruler], he had presented him in return with what they could see—and he showed them the present he [was carrying]. [The ruler of China] responded to Yazdajird by writing him the following letter, [but only] after he had addressed (the messenger) as follows. "I know that in truth rulers must give aid to [other] rulers against those who overcome them. So describe these people who drove you out of your land to me. I notice that you mention they are few and you are many. Such a small number will not affect you in this way with your great numbers. They can do this only if they are good and you evil." (The messenger) suggested that he ask him whatever he wanted. So he asked him if they kept to their agreement and he replied that they did. (The ruler) asked what they said to them before they made war on them. (The messenger) replied that they called upon us to choose one of three things: [to accept] their faith—and if we do, they treat us as themselves—or [to pay] tribute and [enter] their protection or to be subjected to open warfare. (The ruler) asked about how obedient they were to their leaders. (The messenger) replied that no one was more obedient to him leading them. (The ruler) asked what they permitted and what they forbade, and (the messenger) told him. He asked if they ever forbade what was permitted to them or permitted what was forbidden them. [When] (the messenger) replied that they did not, (the ruler) remarked that they would never perish until they permitted what was forbidden and forbade what was permitted to them. He then asked about their clothes, and (the messenger) told him. [He asked] about their riding animals, and (the messenger) mentioned their pure Arabian horses and described them [to him]. "What fine horses they are!" exclaimed (the ruler). [The messenger then] described camels to him, how they kneel down and go forth to carry [loads]. (The ruler's response was that this was the description of long-necked beasts!) (The ruler of China) sent a letter to Yazdajird with (the messenger) as follows. "I am not prevented from dispatching an [2692] army to you stretching from Marw to China by my not knowing what is proper for me. But if these people described to me by

your messenger were to try, they could demolish mountains; if nothing were to stand in their way, they would wipe me out, as long as they are as described! Make your peace with them therefore and accept some modus vivendi with them. Do not stir them up, as long as they do not stir you up." Yazdajird and the royal family remained in Farghānah in [formal] agreement with the ruler of the Turks.

When the messenger brought to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [news of] the conquest and the delegation [other] news, carrying the booty with them on behalf of al-Aḥnaf, ('Umar) assembled the people and addressed them. He also ordered the conquest document to be read out to them. In his own address, he spoke as follows:

> God, ever blessed and almighty, has mentioned His Apostle and the guidance He sent with him. He promised, for anyone following Him, immediate and future reward [comprising] the goodness of this world and the next. He said, "He it is who sent His Apostle with the guidance and the true religion that He might make it prevail over any [other] religion, even though the polytheists were averse."[279] Praise be to God who has fulfilled His promise and granted His army victory. Yes indeed, God has destroyed the rule of the Magians and disunited them. They do not possess one single span of their territory that can bring harm to a Muslim. Yes indeed, God "has made you heirs to their land, houses,
> [2693] wealth and sons" "in order to see how they behave."[280] Yes indeed, the distance between the garrison towns [of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah] and the border areas [of Persia] is now the same as [that between] you and the two towns in the past, now that [our armies] have penetrated into the land. "God brings His command to pass"[281] fulfills His promise right through to the last. So apply yourselves and He will carry out His agreement with you in full and fulfill His promise to you. Do not rebel, lest

279. Qur'ān, IX:33 and LXI:9.
280. Qur'ān, X:14 and XXX:27.
281. Qur'ān, LXV:3.

God substitute others for you. My only fear for this community is that it will be put in danger by you.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] reported [as follows]. Then the Khurāsānīs from far and near came out in opposition in the time of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, two years into his caliphate. We shall mention the remainder of the news of their break-away movement in its [proper] place, God willing, together with the killing of Yazdajird.[282]

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb led the people on pilgrimage in this year. His governors of the garrison towns then were the same as those in the year 21 [December 10, 641–November 30, 642] except for al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. His governor of al-Kūfah and [official] in charge of the police was al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah and his governor of al-Baṣrah was Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī.

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282. See Ṭabarī, I, 2872ff.; Translation, XV, 78ff.

The Events of the Year 23

(November 19, 643–November 7, 644)

The conquest of Iṣṭakhr[283] took place in [this year] according to the report of Abū Ma'shar. According to Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—someone else—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: The first (campaign of) Iṣṭakhr and [that of] Hamadhān were in the year 23 [643–644]. Al-Wāqidī made a similar report, whereas Sayf said that the conquest of Iṣṭakhr came after the second (campaign of) Tawwaj.[284]

The Conquest of Tawwaj[285]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and 'Amr: The Basran army went forth, those

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283. The ancient town of Persepolis on the River Pulvar in Fārs province. The district of Iṣṭakhr covered the whole of the northern part of Fārs. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 211–12; Le Strange, *Lands*, 275ff. and Map 6, opposite 249.

284. A commercial town in Fārs on or near the River Shāpūr only about 40 miles from the Gulf coast. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 56–57; Le Strange, *Lands*, 259–60.

285. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 386–87; Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 511.

(troops) dispatched to Fārs as commanders there, accompanied by Sāriyah b. Zunaym,[286] and those sent with them beyond, while the army of Fārs was assembled at Tawwaj. But (the Basrans) did not face the army (of Fārs) directly with their own forces; rather each district commander made for his own command and the district to which he had been assigned. This [intelligence] reached the army of Fārs, so they dispersed to their [different] areas—just as the Muslims themselves had done—to defend them. This brought about the defeat of the Fārsīs and the complete dispersal of their forces. The [Fārsī] polytheists regarded all this as a bad omen and it was as if they were staring fate in the face. Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd[287] headed for Sābūr[288] and Ardashīr Khurrah,[289] at the head of his Muslim followers. They and the army of Fārs met at Tawwaj and fought for a long time. God brought about the defeat for the Muslims of those [who [2695]
fought] at Tawwaj and gave the Muslims authority over them. They killed them in every conceivable manner, doing with them whatever they wished. (God) gave (the Muslims) everything in their camp as booty, and they took possession of it. This was the last [battle of] Tawwaj; it never had such military strength after this. The first was that in which the troops of al-'Alā' at the time of [the battle of] Ṭāwūs were rescued, the battle during which they fought together.[290] The first and last battles rival

286. Al-Kinānī, governor and Muslim military leader active in Fārs. See also Ṭabarī, I, 2569; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 244; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 96–98.

287. Al-Sulamī, Companion and Muslim military leader who died in 36/656. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 300; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IX, 87; *Tahdhīb*, X, 38.

288. The Persian Shāpūr or Bīshāpūr, the district of Fārs within the basin of the upper reaches of River Shāpūr. The town is about 40 miles northeast of Tawwaj. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 167–68; Le Strange, *Lands*, 262 and Map VI, opposite 249.

289. One of the five districts of Fārs, of which the chief town is Shīrāz. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 146; Le Strange, *Lands*, 248 and Map VI, opposite 249.

290. Al-'Alā' was governor of Bahrain under the Prophet and the early caliphs and a participant in the Riddah wars. In 17/638 he took a force from Bahrain over to Fārs, and, although launching a successful raid, his ships were lost and he was cut off and had to be rescued. 'Umar dismissed him for this unauthorized attack. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, II, 782; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 576, 600, 607; Donner, *Conquests*, 86, 327; Zarrīnkūb, "Conquest," 21. The battles with the Fārsīs [Ṭabarī, I, 2546ff.] were fought in Ṭāwūs, a place described by Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, IV, 8) as being situated in the coastal region of Fārs.

each other [in importance]. Then (the inhabitants of Tawwaj) were summoned [to pay] tribute and [to make] a compact. So they came back and settled. Mujāshi' divided out the fifth of the spoils and sent them [to 'Umar], sending out a delegation [to him also]. Those bringing the good news [of the victory] and the delegations were provided with gifts[291] and their needs catered for according to a practice instituted by the Messenger of God.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Sūqah[292]—'Āṣim b. Kulayb[293]—his father: We left with Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd to attack Tawwaj. We besieged it and fought (their army) for a long time. We conquered it, seized much booty and killed a great number. I was wearing a torn shirt, so I took a needle and thread and began to mend my shirt.[294] Then I caught sight of a man among the dead who had on a shirt, so I took it, brought it to some water, beat it between two stones until the dirt was
[2696] removed, and put it on. When the spoils had been collected together, Mujāshi' got up to address [us]. He praised and extolled God and said, "Men, do not take what is not yours; anyone who steals will bring what he has stolen on the Day of Resurrection. Return [anything you have stolen], be it only a needle!" When I heard this, I took the shirt off and threw it among the fifth parts [of the booty].

The Conquest of Iṣṭakhr

(The source) continued: 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ[295] made for Iṣṭakhr. He and the army of Iṣṭakhr met at Jūr[296] and fought a

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291. Arabic, "*yujāzūna.*" It might mean "were given sufficient water."

292. An unidentified narrator.

293. A narrator who died in 137/754. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 53ff.

294. For these last two sentences the Arabic reads, "*fa-lammā iftataḥnāhā . . . fa-akhadhtu.*" I have done away with the temporal clause in translation.

295. Al-Thaqafī, a Muslim military leader and one-time governor of al-Ṭā'if, Bahrain and Oman. He died in ca. 55/675. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 372–74; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīd*, VII, 128–29; Ṭabarī, I, 2570, 2830 etc.; Hill, *Termination*, passim.

296. The earlier name for Fīrūzābād, the chief town of the district of Ardashīr Khurrah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 181–82; Le Strange, *Lands*, 255 and Map VI, opposite 249.

long battle. Then God granted them Jūr as a conquest, and the Muslims [also] conquered Iṣṭakhr, having killed a great many of [the enemy] and taken what they wanted, though some [of the enemy] fled. Then 'Uthmān called upon the people to [pay] tribute and to [make] a compact. They therefore sent messages to him, and he to them. Their religious leader[297] and all those who had fled or left responded favorably to his [call]. They gradually came back and yielded to [the payment of] tribute. Now when the enemy fled, 'Uthmān collected together all the booty God had granted them and took out a fifth, sending it to 'Umar, and distributing four-fifths of the booty among the army. They abstained from plundering and delivered up what was in their care, considering this lower world to be of little importance. 'Uthmān mustered them to him and rose to speak. He told them that things would continue to advance and that everyone would remain safe and sound from anything distasteful as long as they did not take what was not theirs. If they did, they would experience something unpleasant, and the much they might have had then would not go as far as the little [2697] they had now.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Sufyān[298]—al-Ḥasan: 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ said on the day Iṣṭakhr [was conquered], "When God wishes a people to prosper, He restrains them and increases their trustworthiness. Hold on to it, for the first thing you lose of your faith is trustworthiness. Once you do lose it, every day something new will be lost to you."

[A Persian called] Shahrak[299] threw off [his allegiance] at the end of 'Umar's caliphate or at the beginning of 'Uthmān's. He roused up the people of Fārs, calling upon them to break [the peace agreement]. So 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ was dispatched against him for a second time, accompanied by reinforcements under the command of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar[300] and Shibl b.

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297. *Hirbadh*, actually a functionary of the Zoroastrian fire temple. See Christensen, *L'Iran*, 144; Morony, *Iraq*, 531.

298. An unidentified narrator.

299. The Perisan governor (*marzbān*) of Fārs. See Zarrīnkūb, "Conquest," 21.

300. Al-Taymī, Companion and Muslim military leader who died in 29/649. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 345.

Ma'bad al-Bajalī.[301] [The Muslim forces and the Fārsīs] met in battle in Fārs. On the battlefield 3 parasangs away from one of their settlements called Rīshahr[302] and 12 from their headquarters, Shahrak said to his son, "Son, where will our lunch be, here or in Rīshahr"? He replied, "Father, if [the Fārsīs] leave us alone, our lunch will be neither here, nor in Rīshahr! It can only be at home.[303] But I certainly do not think they will leave us alone." The two were still talking when the Muslims launched
[2698] their attack. They fought together vehemently. Shahrak and his son were both killed in [the battle] and God caused great slaughter, al-Ḥakam b. [Abī] al-'Āṣ b. Bishr b. Duhmān,[304] the brother of 'Uthmān, being entrusted with the killing of Shahrak.

It was Abū Ma'shar who reported that the first [campaign] for Fārs and the last for Iṣṭakhr took place in the year 28 [September 25, 648–September 14, 649]. He also said that the last [campaign] for Fārs and [that of] Jūr took place in the year 29 [September 14, 649–September 4, 650]. This was also according to Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—someone who heard Isḥāq b. 'Īsā mention this [same report]—Abū Ma'shar.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh al-Marwazī[305]—his father—Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ[306]—'Ubaydallāh[307]—

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301. A Muslim military leader, possibly a Muzanī rather than a Bajalī. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 385.

302. There are two places with this name in Fārs. One near Būshahr [Bushire], the other in the north of the province, just south of the River Ṭāb. It is impossible to know for sure which is meant here. Yāqūt [*Mu'jam*, III, 112–13], however, mentions only the latter and recounts the story of the death of Shahrak, whom he calls Suhrak. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 261, 271 and Map 6, opposite 249.

303. Arabic, *fa-qāla yā abati in tarakū-nā fa-lā yakūnu ghadā'u-nā hāhunā wa-lā bi-Rīshahra wa-lā yakūnanna illā fī al-manzil.*

304. Al-Thaqafī. 'Uthmān employed his brother in a senior military role mainly in the area of Fārs. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 271, gives his full name as Ibn al-'Āṣ b. Nasr b. 'Abd b. Duhmān. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 35, gives Ibn Abī al-'Āṣ b. Bashīr b. Duhmān. Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 362, 386–87; Hill, *Termination*, 122, 135.

305. An unidentified narrator.

306. Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ al-Laythī died before 110/728. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 199–200.

307. 'Ubaydallāh is impossible to identify. 'Ubayd, rather than the 'Abd of the Leiden text is from the Cairo edition and the Leiden *Addenda*. It must be

'Ubaydallāh b. Sulaymān:[308] 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ was sent to Bahrain, so he dispatched his brother, al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ at the head of 2,000 [men] to Tawwaj. The Persian emperor had already fled from al-Madā' in and had reached Jūr in Fārs.

[The source] continued: According to Ziyād, the client of al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ—al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ: Shahrak came at me. 'Ubayd[309] added that he had been sent by the Persian emperor. Al-Ḥakam continued: He came up against me at the head of his troops. Then they came down a mountain road, having donned their armor. I was afraid that my men [2699] would be blinded [by the reflection of the sun off their armor]; so I had the order shouted out that all those wearing a turban should wrap it over their eyes and all those not wearing a turban should close their eyes. I called out that they should dismount, and when he saw this, Shahrak did the same. Then I called out that [my men] should mount, and we stationed ourselves in ranks against [Shahrak's men]. [The latter] also mounted and I put al-Jārūd al-'Abdī[310] in command of the right wing and Abū Ṣufrah of the left; that is, the father of al-Muhallab. [The enemy] attacked the Muslims, but [the latter] put them to flight; I could not hear a single sound from them. Al-Jārūd informed me that the army had disappeared. But I replied that he would see what would happen. Their horses soon returned, riderless, whereas the Muslims were pursuing [the enemy] and killing them. Heads were scattered around in front of me. Now I had with me one of their rulers, called al-Muka'bir,[311] who had deserted the emperor and joined me. I was brought a huge head, and al-Muka'bir told me it was that of al-Azdahāq, meaning

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asked if the text is corrupt here and whether this 'Ubaydallāh and 'Ubaydallāh b. Sulaymān are not one and the same. See next note.

308. Perhaps more correctly 'Ubayd b. Sulaymān. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīd*, VII, 67; Translation, I, 227 n. 402.

309. That is, the same authority as the 'Ubaydallāh b. Sulaymān above in the text; see preceding note.

310. That is, Abū al-Mundhir al-Jārūd b. 'Amr b. Ḥanash b. al-Mu'allā al-'Abdī was a convert from Christianity and a leader of 'Abd al-Qays. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 51, says he died in 21/642, or at Nihāwand, or in 'Uthmān's caliphate. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 260–61; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 53–54.

311. Al-Muka'bir was Āzādh Furūz b. Jushnas. See Justi, *Namenbuch*, 53.

Shahrak.[312] [Finally] they were besieged in the town of Sābūr and (al-Ḥakam) made peace with them. Their ruler was Ādharbiyān[313] and al-Ḥakam asked his assistance in the fight against the army of Iṣṭakhr. [At this point] 'Umar died and 'Uthmān sent 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar in place of (al-Ḥakam) [as commander]. 'Ubaydallāh heard that Ādharbiyān was intending to betray them, so he told him he wanted him to prepare some food for his men and slaughter a head of cattle for
[2700] them, putting its bones on the bowl next to ['Ubaydallāh]. [The latter further] told him that he wanted to suck out the marrow from the bones. (Ādharbiyān) did this and ('Ubaydallāh)—one of the strongest of all men—took hold of a bone that could be chopped up only by means of an axe and broke it in his hand to suck out the marrow. The ruler, [Ādharbiyān], got up, seized his foot and said, "This is the position of one seeking refuge!" So ('Ubaydallāh) granted him a [peace] agreement. 'Ubaydallāh was wounded by a mangonel, but [before he died] predicted to them that they would conquer this town, God willing. [He also urged them] to kill (the enemy) there for a while for his sake. (The Muslims) did this and killed many men.

'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ had joined al-Ḥakam, after he had defeated Shahrak, and he wrote to 'Umar informing him that there was a breach between him and al-Kūfah and that he was afraid that the enemy would attack him through it. The lord of al-Kūfah wrote a similar letter that there was a breach between him and such and such a place. The two letters reached ('Umar) at the same time, so he dispatched Abū Mūsā at the head of 700 [men] and settled them in al-Baṣrah.

The Conquest of Fasā and Darābjird[314]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and 'Amr: Sāriyah b. Zunaym made in the direction

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312. In Persian mythology Azhd Dahāk was the tyrant who overthrew Jamshād and ruled for 1,000 years. He was the personification of evil. See *CHIr*, III, especially pp. 426–27.

313. For Ādharbiyān, see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 42, Arzanbān.

314. Darābjird is the easternmost district of Fārs, and the chief town has the same name. Fasā is a town in the district less than 60 miles west of the town of

of Fasā and Darābjird and finally reached the camp of their (army). He positioned himself against them and besieged them for some time. They then sought reinforcements, themselves rallying together, and the Kurds of Fārs joined them. The Muslims were unexpectedly faced with a serious situation [in the form of] a huge army. On the very eve [of these events], 'Umar saw in a dream (the Muslims') battle and the [large] [2701] number [of enemy forces] at a particular hour of the day. The next day he gave the call for congregational prayers. When the hour arrived that he had noted in his dream, he came out to the (people). The Muslims had been shown to him in a desert area; if they remained there, they would be surrounded. If they retreated to a mountain behind them, they could be attacked only on one front. ('Umar) then stood up and told his people that he had seen these two armies and described their situation. He then declared, "[To] the mountain, [to] the mountain, Sāriyah!" Turning to the (people), he said, "God has armies; perhaps one of them will bring them the message [of my dream]!" When this particular hour did actually arrive on the day, Sāriyah and the Muslims all agreed to make for the mountain. This they did and fought the enemy on one front [only]. God routed (the enemy) for (the Muslims) and they wrote to 'Umar [informing] him of all this, of their capture of the region, of the call of its people [to accept an agreement] and their [consequent] pacification.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Umar Dithār b. Abī Shabīb[315]—Abū 'Uthmān[316] and Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā'[317]—a member of B. Māzin:[318] 'Umar sent Sāriyah b. Zunaym al-Du'alī to Fasā and Darābjird. He besieged [the inhabitants], but they later prepared themselves for war and sought him out in the desert

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Darābjird. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 446; IV, 260–61; Le Strange, *Lands*, 288ff. and Map VI, opposite 249. For the conquests in Balādhurī, see *Futūḥ*, 388–90.

315. An unidentified narrator.

316. Al-Nahdī, famous figure in early Islam who died about 100/718. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 277ff.

317. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' was himself of Māzin of Tamīm. He died in 57/677. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 178–80.

318. That is, Māzin b. Mālik of Tamīm. See Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, III, 1023–24. Cf. preceding note.

area [where he was], outnumbering him and coming against him on every side. 'Umar proclaimed, as he gave the address one Friday, "[To] the mountain, [to] the mountain, Sāriyah b. Zunaym!" When that day came, the Muslims had a mountain to one side; if they took refuge in it, they could be attacked only on
[2702] one front. So they did so. Then (the Muslims) fought them and defeated them. (Sāriyah) took the spoils from them, including a casket containing a precious stone. He asked the Muslims' permission to hand it over to 'Umar as a gift and they agreed, so he sent it off with a man who also [announced news of] the conquest. (Now the envoys and delegations were given gifts and [all] their needs were catered for.) Sāriyah said to (the man), "Borrow what will enable you to reach ['Umar] and what you can leave behind for your family against the gift you [will get from 'Umar]." So the man arrived in al-Baṣrah and did this. Then he left [al-Baṣrah] and came to 'Umar [in Medina]. He found him feeding the people carrying the stick that he used to drive his camel. (The messenger) went toward him, and he turned toward him with (the stick) and told him to sit down. So he sat down and when the people had eaten, 'Umar went off. (The messenger) got up and followed him, so 'Umar thought he was somebody who had not had his fill. He told him, when he had finally got to the door of his house, to come in, already having ordered the baker to take the food tray to where the baking was done for the Muslims. So when he sat down in the house, some lunch was brought for him, bread, olive oil, and coarsely ground salt, and put down. ('Umar) asked [his wife] whether she would come out and eat [with them]. She replied, "I can hear the voice of a man!" He said, "Yes, indeed," to which she replied, "Had you wanted me to show myself off in front of men, you would have bought me another dress!" He said, "Are you not pleased that people say, 'Umm Kulthūm is the daughter of 'Alī and the wife of 'Umar!'" She replied, "A lot of good that does me!" Then 'Umar told the man to come near and eat. "If she were in a good mood, (the food) would be better than what you can see!" So they both ate [together], and when he had finished, the messenger of Sāriyah b. Zunaym exclaimed, "O
[2703] Commander of the Faithful!" He replied that he was very welcome. He then brought him close until their knees were

touching and asked him about the Muslims [in Fārs], then about Sāriyah b. Zunaym. He gave ('Umar) the information. Then he told him of the story of the casket, but ('Umar) took one look at it and shouted at him, "No, I'll give you nothing[319] until you return to this army and make a [fair] distribution among them." And he dismissed him. But he told the Commander of the Faithful, that he had exhausted his camels and borrowed against a gift from him. He asked him to give him what would satisfy him. He would not leave ('Umar) alone until he exchanged his own camel for one of the camels given as alms, and he took his camel and put it with the alms camels. The messenger set off back, an object of anger and denied any gift. He came to al-Baṣrah and [onward to the army and finally] carried out 'Umar's order. [While he was in Medina], people asked him about Sāriyah, about the conquest and whether they had heard anything on the day of the battle. He replied that they had heard, "[To] the mountain, Sāriyah." [He added] that they were almost done for, so they took refuge on it and God granted them the conquest.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Mujālid—al-Sha'bī gave an account similar to that of 'Amr.

The Conquest of Kirmān[320]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and 'Amr: Suhayl b. 'Adī made for Kirmān and was joined by 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Itbān. In charge of the vanguard of Suhayl b. 'Adī was al-Nusayr b. 'Amr al-'Ijlī.[321] [2704]
Now the Kirmānīs had massed against (Suhayl), they having sought assistance in the [region of] the Qufs.[322] They fought (the Muslims) just within their own territory, but God scattered them. (The Muslims) seized the road against them and al-Nusayr killed the [local] governor (*marzbān*). Suhayl advanced along

319. Arabic, *lā wa-lā karāmata.*

320. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, especially 391–92, in which Suhayl b. 'Adī does not feature; Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 516–17.

321. An unidentified military leader.

322. An extensive mountain area to the southeast of Jīraft (see next note). See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 380–82; Le Strange, *Lands*, 317 and Map VI, opposite 249; *EI2*, s.v. "Ḳufṣ" (Bosworth).

what is today the settlement road as far as Jīraft,[323] while 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh [came] from the desert region of Shīr.[324] They seized what camels and ewes they wished, putting a value on the camels and sheep and dividing them up among themselves according to the prices (they would fetch), because the Bactrians were bigger than the Arabians and they did not want to value [them] too highly.[325] They wrote to 'Umar and he replied to them that the Arabian could be valued only according to the amount of meat, (the Bactrian) being [treated] in the same way. [He added that], if they were of the opinion that the Bactrians had more meat, then they should value them more highly, for [prices] can be only in accordance with value.

According to al-Madā'inī—'Alī b. Mujāhid[326]—Ḥanbal b. Abī Ḥarīdah, judge of Qūhistān[327]—the governor of Qūhistān: 'Abdallāh b. Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī[328] conquered Kirmān during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He then went on to al-Ṭabasayn from Kirmān, then came to 'Umar. He said that he
[2705] had conquered al-Ṭabasayn and asked that it be granted to him as a land concession.[329] ('Umar) was willing to do this, but was told it was an important district. He therefore did not grant it to ('Abdallāh) as a land concession. It is [in fact] the gateway [from Kirmān] to Khurāsān.

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323. I take the Arabic *qurā* here to mean the settlements of the Kirmānīs and translate accordingly. There might, however, be a place named al-Qurā, in which case the translation would need amendation to "Suhayl advanced along what is today the road to al-Qurā as far as Jīraft." There is no reference to such a toponym in the geographical sources at my disposal. Jīraft is spelled Jīruft by Le Strange. The town is situated south of the town of Kirmān, and its district was the whole of southern Kirmān province. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 198; Le Strange, *Lands*, 314ff. and Map VI, opposite 249.

324. An unidentified place.

325. That is, instead of the usual division of the animals as spoils by numbers.

326. D. ca. 182/789. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 377ff.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 312.

327. Ḥanbal b. Abī Ḥarīdah is unidentified. Qūhistān is the province to the southwest and west of Khurāsān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 352ff. and Map VIII, opposite 335.

328. Ibn Budayl must in fact have been only ten years old in the year 23; see note 22, above.

329. Arabic verb *aqṭa'a*; see *EI*², s.v. "Iḳṭā'" (Cahen). For al-Ṭabasayn, see note 249, above.

The Conquest of Sijistān[330]

[The same sources] reported as follows: 'Āṣim b. 'Amr[331] made for Sijistān and was joined by 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr.[332] The people of Sijistān met them, and they joined battle just within their own territory. (The Muslims) defeated them, then pursued them and besieged them in Zaranj,[333] crossing through the region of Sijistān at will. (The Sijistānīs) then sought a peace treaty covering Zaranj and [all] the lands (the Muslims) had taken. This they were granted. (The Muslims) also stipulated in the peace treaty they made (with the Sijistānīs) that the desert regions of [Sijistān] should be out of bounds [to the Muslims]. When the latter went out anywhere, they would warn each other for fear they encroach on any of (these desert regions) and so break the [peace agreement]. So the Sijistānīs paid the land tax and the Muslims granted [them what they had requested].[334]

[The districts] of Sijistān were greater and spread further afield than [those of] Khurāsān. (The Muslims) made war [there] against Kandahar,[335] the Turks, and many [different] communities. (Sijistān) covered the whole area between Sind and the river of Balkh.[336] It remained the greater of the two provinces, the more difficult and larger in terms of numbers and fighting men of the

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330. For the conquest, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 392ff.; Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 517ff. Sijistān is the province to the south of Khurāsān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 1902; Le Strange, *Lands*, 334ff. and Maps VII and VIII.

331. Al-Tamīmī, a Muslim military leader renowned for his courage, the brother of al-Qa'qā'. See Ṭabarī, I, 2433ff. etc.

332. An unidentified narrator.

333. The capital of Sijistān, E of Lake Zarah. Cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, III, 138; Le Strange, Lands, 335ff. and Maps VII and VIII. Cf. also Bosworth, *Sīstān* and map, in the district of al-Rukhkhaj.

334. This sentence and the first two of the following paragraph read in Arabic, *fa-tamma ahlu Sijistāna 'alā al-kharāji wa-al-Muslimūna 'alā al-'aṭā' fa-kānat Sijistānu a'ẓama min Khurāsāna wa-ab'ada furūjan yuqātilūna al-Qandahār*. The translation might therefore be, "So the Sijistānīs paid the land tax, while the Muslims on stipends [(the districts) of Sijistān were greater and spread further afield than [those of] Khurāsān], were making war on Kandahar, . . ."

335. Arabic al-Qandahār, east of Zaranj. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 402–3; Le Strange, *Lands*, 347 and Map VIII, opposite 335; Bosworth, *Sīstān*, map.

336. Something of an exaggeration, as a glance at the map in the *CHIr*, 60–61, shows! "The river of Balkh" must be the Oxus, which is in fact north of the town.

[2706] two frontier districts until Mu'āwiyah's time. At that time the ruler (*shāh*) fled from his brother, who was called Zunbīl,[337] to an area called Āmul,[338] and (he and his followers) paid allegiance to Salm b. Ziyād,[339] at that time governor of Sijistān. (The latter) was pleased with this [development], made a pact with (the ruler and his followers), and allowed them to settle in this area. He wrote to Mu'āwiyah about this, indicating that it had been conquered. But Mu'āwiyah replied that his cousin might be pleased, but that he was not and that it was not indeed proper that (his cousin) should be pleased. Mu'āwiyah was asked why this was and replied it was because the area between Āmul and Zaranj was where there were difficulties and trouble. These were people who were wily and treacherous, so there would be discord in future. The very least they would do would be to take over the whole region of Āmul. But Ibn Ziyād concluded an agreement with them. After Mu'āwiyah's death when there was civil war, the ruler rebelled and conquered Āmul. Zunbīl was afraid of the ruler, so he took refuge from him in a particular place in which he remains to this day. But he did not take kindly to this, when the people just ignored him, and he began to covet Zaranj. So he attacked (the town) and besieged (its inhabitants) until reinforcements arrived from al-Baṣrah. Zunbīl and all those who came with him and settled in this area became "a bone in the throat" that has remained unremoved to this day. This region had been subdued until Mu'āwiyah died.

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337. The text has Rutbīl, but cf. Bosworth, *Sīstān*, 34–36. Cf. Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 518.

338. This place must be in or near Sijistān and cannot be either the Āmul in Ṭabaristān or that between Marw and Bukhārā on the Oxus. Perhaps Kābul to the northeast of Sijistān is meant. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 397 and *Addenda*, DCXXIII.

339. Salm, according to Ṭabarī elsewhere (Ṭabarī, II, 391), was appointed governor of Sijistān in 61/680 by Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah (reigned 60–64/680–683), after Mu'āwiyah's death. Yazīd too would have been Salm's cousin, whereas Mu'āwiyah would have been his uncle. It seems we should read Yazīd throughout this passage rather than Mu'āwiyah. Another possible explanation is that Salm's brother, 'Abbād, was appointed governor of Sijistān by Mu'āwiyah about the year 59/679 (Ṭabarī, II, 189), and perhaps he is meant rather than Salm. See also Bosworth, *Sīstān*, 44–45.

The Conquest of Makrān[340]

(The same sources) reported as follows: Al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Taghlibī[341] made for Makrān and finally arrived there. He was [2707] joined by Shihāb b. al-Mukhāriq b. Shihāb[342] and reinforced by Suhayl b. 'Adī and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Itbān themselves. They came to a point just this side of the river[343] where the Makrān army had assembled, halted on its bank, and made camp. Rāsil, their ruler,[344] had the ruler of Sind cross over toward (the Muslims), and he drew near with (his men), facing the Muslims. So they met and fought together at a place on the Makrān side, some days' journey from the river, after the advanced party of (the Makrān army) had arrived and camped there to allow the rest to catch up. God defeated Rāsil and took spoils from him. He permitted the Muslims to despoil his camp. In the battle they killed many and pursued (the remainder), killing them off for some days until they finally reached the river. Then (the Muslims) returned and remained in Makrān. Al-Ḥakam wrote to 'Umar of the conquest and sent the fifths with Ṣuḥār al-'Abdī, also asking ('Umar's) instruction concerning the elephants [that they had captured]. Suḥār brought 'Umar the news and the spoils and 'Umar asked him about Makrān, [for] no one came to him without his enquiring of him about the area from which he was coming. He replied, "Commander of the Faithful, it is a land whose plains are mountains (*jabal*); whose water is scarce (*washal*); whose [only] fruit is poor quality dates (*daqal*); whose enemies are heroes (*baṭal*); whose prosperity is little (*qalīl*); whose evil is long-lasting (*ṭawīl*); what is much there is little; what is little there is nothing; as for what lies beyond, [2708] it is even worse!" "Are you a rhymed prose reciter or someone

340. Brief mention is made of Makrān in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 433ff.; Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 518. Makrān or Mukrān is the large coastal province, mainly arid and economically poor, situated between Kirmān in the west and Sind in the east. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 179–80; Le Strange, *Lands*, 329ff. and Map VII, opposite 323.

341. An unidentified military leader.

342. An unidentified military leader.

343. It is not clear which river is here meant, but it is likely it is the Indus.

344. For Rāsil b. Basāyah, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 438; Lambrick, *Sind*, 158–59; *Fatḥnamah*, 118–19, 124–26.

bringing [accurate] information?!" retorted 'Umar.[345] He said he was really bringing [accurate] information, so 'Umar insisted that not one of his armies should attack (Makrān), as long as he remained in authority. He wrote to al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr and Suhayl, [forbidding] any of their armies from passing beyond Makrān. [He ordered them] to restrict themselves to (territory) on this side of the river and al-Ḥakam to sell the elephants within Muslim territory and distribute the price obtained among all those to whom God had granted the booty of Makrān.

Al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr composed the following on this subject:[346]

Without boasting, those whose provisions were exhausted had their fill of booty brought to them from Mukkurān.[347]
It came to them after total exhaustion and effort, when there was no food to cook during the winter.
The army can place no blame on what I did; nor can my sword or my lance tip be blamed,
On the morn when I had their diverse troops[348] pushed back into extensive Sind and the neighboring regions.
We had a body of troops, in what we wanted obedient, not allowing their [horses'] bridles to be slack.[349]
Were it not for my Commander's veto,[350] we would have passed over to (those) ample[-bodied] whores![351]

Bayrūdh in al-Ahwāz[352]

(The same sources) report: When the [Muslim] cavalry dispersed throughout the various districts, a large force of Kurds and

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345. As the Arabic terms given in the text indicate, Ṣuḥār gave 'Umar his description of Makrān in rhymed prose.

346. The meter of the poem is *wāfir*.

347. A variant spelling of Makrān used to fit the metre of the poem.

348. It should be recalled that the forces opposing the Muslims were a mixture of Makrānīs and Sindīs.

349. That is, they kept their horses and, by implication, themselves under complete control.

350. A reference to 'Umar's express order that the Muslims should penetrate no farther than Makrān.

351. Arabic, *al-bududi 'l-zawānī*, that is, feminine plural, hence the translation. It is a reference to Sind where perhaps the women had such a reputation.

352. A town in the northwest of Khūzistān, north of al-Ahwāz, variously spelled Bayrūdh by Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, I, 526) and Bayrūt and Bīrūdh by Le Strange

others assembled in Bayrūdh. Now 'Umar had already ordered Abū Mūsā, when the (Muslim) armies had left for the outlying areas, to march out to [the areas of] those in compact with al-Baṣrah, so that the Muslims could not be attacked in the [2709] rear. ('Umar) was also afraid that some of his armies might be completely surrounded, or others cut off, or left behind. What ('Umar) was afraid of happened with the assembly of the army of Bayrūdh, when Abū Mūsā had been slow [to act] until they had actually mustered. He then marched out, finally stopping in Ramaḍān in Bayrūdh [to face] the army that had collected there. They met in battle between Nahr Tīrā[353] and Manādhir,[354] when the powerful Persian and Kurdish troops had all come together there, with the purpose of laying traps for the Muslims and effecting a breach in their ranks—(the former coalition) never doubting [that at least] one of the two eventualities [would come to pass]. Al-Muhājir b. Ziyād,[355] having perfumed himself and expressed his willingness to die, rose and said to Abū Mūsā, "Get everyone who is fasting to swear that he will return [from the battle] and break his fast." So (al-Muhājir's) brother returned with others and carried out the provision of the oath. By this he intended simply to distract his brother away from him so that he would not prevent him from exposing himself to death. (Al-Muhājir) advanced and fought until he was killed. God weakened the polytheists, and reduced to a small number and humiliated, they fortified themselves. (Al-Muhājir's) brother, al-Rabī',[356] arrived and, his grief intense, exclaimed [to himself], "O you addicted to this lower world!" Abū Mūsā felt compassion for al-Rabī' because of the effect of his brother's tragic death. So he left him behind at the head of an army in authority over (the habitants). Abū Mūsā [himself] left for Iṣfahān, where he found

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(*Lands*, 241). See also Le Strange, *Lands*, Map 2, opposite 25. For the battle, Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 520.

353. A town standing on the canal of the same name, northwest of al-Ahwāz. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 66; Le Strange, *Lands*, 241 and Map II, opposite 25.

354. Strictly speaking, two towns lying in the fertile regions of al-Ahwāz, just north of the town of al-Ahwāz. See, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* V, 199; Le Strange, *Lands*, 239 and Map II, opposite 25.

355. He has a brief entry in Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 423.

356. He was later governor of Sijistān. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 164.

[2710] the Kufan armies besieging Jayy. Then he made off for al-Baṣrah after the victory of the [Muslim] troops and when God had given victory to al-Rabī' b. Ziyād over the army of Bayrūdh in Nahr Tīrā and [Abū Mūsā] had taken the captives that they had. Abū Mūsā chose some of them for whom there would be a ransom, as a ransom was more profitable to the Muslims than [holding captive] their prominent leaders and their value [in themselves]. He sent delegations and the fifths [to 'Umar]. A man of 'Anazah[357] stood up and asked him to send him in the delegation, but [Abū Mūsā] refused. But [the man] left [nevertheless], charging [Abū Mūsā] falsely, and 'Umar asked [Abū Mūsā] to present himself. ['Umar] brought them together, finding that Abū Mūsā had an excuse except in the matter of his servant.[358] He lessened his authority, but sent him back to his post. But the other he charged with unrighteousness and ordered him not to do such a thing again.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, al-Muhallab and 'Amr: When Abū Mūsā returned from Iṣfahān after the [Muslim] armies had gone out into the various provinces and al-Rabī' had defeated the army of Bayrūdh and [Abū Mūsā] had collected together the captives and their possessions, [the latter] came out next morning to sixty young sons of village headmen,[359] whom he had selected and sent them back in return [for their ransom]. He sent news of the conquest to 'Umar, choosing a delegation [to take it]. A 'Anazī came to him and asked him to write down his name [for inclusion] in the delegation. [Abū Mūsā] replied that he had already registered [names of] those who were more worthy [of participation in the delegation] than he was. So [the 'Anazī] withdrew in anger. Abū Mūsā wrote to 'Umar about the matter of a 'Anazī called Ḍabbah b. Miḥṣan[360]—and he told him all about him. When the letter [brought by] the delegation [with the news of] the

357. This in all probability refers to Banū 'Anazah b. Asad, a large tribal group in central Arabia. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 294; Caskel, *Ǧamharat*, I, Table 172; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, III, 846–47; *EI*², s.v. [Graf].

358. A reference to the slave girl, 'Aqīlah, mentioned, page 81, below.

359. The text has *dihqān*. See *EI*², s.v. [Lambton]. For this anecdote, see Ṭanṭāwī, *Akhbār*, 179ff.

360. The text at last gives us the name of this 'Anazī bedouin.

conquest reached 'Umar, the 'Anazī arrived. He came to 'Umar and greeted him. "Who are you?" ('Umar) asked; and the ('Anazī) told him. ('Umar) told him there was no welcome for him there, to which he replied, "A welcome comes from God! And there is certainly no family [here]!"[361] He returned to ('Umar) on three occasions, ('Umar) repeating what he had said to him, and (he) giving him the same response. Finally on the fourth day, he entered and ('Umar) said, "What are you accusing your commander, [Abū Mūsā], of?" He replied that he had chosen sixty young sons of landowners for himself, and he also had a slave girl called 'Aqīlah who was given a bowl of food for lunch and supper. "None of us can do this and he also has two measures [of grain][362] and two seals," (the 'Anazī) added. He further, [said the 'Anazī], delegated [matters] to Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān,[363] who was governor of al-Baṣrah, and he gave al-Ḥuṭay'ah[364] a gift of a thousand [dirhams]. [2711]

'Umar wrote down everything (the 'Anazī) said and sent for Abū Mūsā. When he arrived, ('Umar) kept him waiting for some days, then summoned him, together with Ḍabbah b. Miḥṣan. He handed the document over to (Ḍabbah), telling him to read what he had written. He read, "He has taken sixty young [captives] for himself." Abū Mūsā replied, "I was shown those who had a ransom [on their head]. I took a ransom for them and divided it out among the Muslims." Ḍabbah agreed that he had not lied, but said that neither had he himself lied. Ḍabbah continued, "He has two measures [of grain]." Abū Mūsā replied, "One for my family with which to feed them and another to give to the Muslims, where they take their provisions." Ḍabbah agreed that he had not lied, but said that neither had he himself lied. When (Ḍabbah) mentioned 'Aqīlah, Abū Mūsā remained silent and made no attempt to justify himself. ('Umar) knew that Ḍabbah had told him the truth. (The 'Anazī) continued that Ziyād was

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361. 'Umar says, *lā marḥaban wa-lā ahlan!* The reply reads, *ammā al-marḥabu fa-min Allāh; wa-ammā al-ahlu fa-lā ahla!*

362. Arabic *qafīz*; see Hinz, *Masse*, 49.

363. The famous governor of the Umayyad Mu'āwiyah and often called Ziyād b. Abīhi. See Shaban, *History*, 86–89.

364. Al-Ḥuṭay'ah is the famous poet born before Islam, Abū Mulaykah Jarwal b. Aws. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, II, 43–62.

in charge of the people's affairs [in al-Baṣrah], but this man did not know what kind of a governor he was. (Abū Mūsā) said, "I found that he was a man of merit and perception, so I handed over responsibility for my governorate to him." "And he gave al-Ḥuṭay'ah a thousand!" (Abū Mūsā) said, "I stuffed his mouth
[2712] with money so he would not revile me!" ('Umar) said, "Now you have done something!"[365] He sent (Abū Mūsā) back [to al-Baṣrah] and told him when he arrived there to send Ziyād and 'Aqīlah to him. This he did. 'Aqīlah arrived before Ziyād, then he came and stood at the door. 'Umar went out while Ziyād was standing at the door, dressed in white linen clothes, and said to him, "What clothes are these?" So he told him. "How much did they cost?" asked ('Umar), and he told him they cost little. ('Umar) believed him and said, "How much is your stipend?" He replied, "Two thousand." ('Umar) asked him what he had done with the first stipend he got. He replied that he had bought his mother and set her free. With the second, [he said], he bought his stepson, a young slave, and set him free. ('Umar) wished him success and questioned him about the ordinances of God, the religious practices and the Qur'ān and found him well versed in religious knowledge. He sent him back, ordering the Basran commanders to follow his advice. He held 'Aqīlah back in Medina. ('Umar) commented, "Indeed Ḍabbah al-'Anazī was angry with Abū Mūsā with some justification, that he came to him, but left him in anger that he received no worldly gain. (Ḍabbah) has told the truth (about Abū Mūsā), but also lied, and his lying has marred his telling the truth. Beware of lying; lying leads [one] into hellfire!"

Now al-Ḥuṭay'ah had met (Abū Mūsā) and he had given him a
[2713] gift during the attack on Bayrūdh. Abū Mūsā had begun to besiege them and attack (the Persians and Kurds), and he finally defeated them. Then he passed on from them, leaving al-Rabī' as his representative among them. Then after the conquest he returned to them and took charge of the division [of the spoils].

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Amr[366]—al-

365. Arabic, *fa-qāla qad fa'alta mā fa'alta!*

366. Abū 'Amr was the client of the unidentified Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥah. See notes 664 and 665, below.

Ḥasan—Asīd b. al-Mutashammis, nephew of al-Aḥnaf b. Qays: I was present with Abū Mūsā on the day Iṣfahān [was taken] at the conquest of the settlements, in charge of which were 'Abdallāh b. Warqā' al-Riyāḥī and 'Abdallāh b. Warqā' al-Asadī. Then Abū Mūsā was sent to al-Kūfah and 'Umar b. Surāqah al-Makhzūmī[367] was appointed governor of al-Baṣrah. Then Abū Mūsā was reappointed governor of al-Baṣrah, and 'Umar died while he was in charge of prayer there. (His) governorship of (al-Baṣrah) was by turns, not continuous. 'Umar would sometimes summon (Abū Mūsā) to send him as reinforcement to one of the armies, and he would carry out that role.

Salamah b. Qays al-Ashja'ī[368] *and the Kurds*

According to 'Abdallāh b. Kathīr al-'Abdī[369]—Ja'far b. 'Awn[370]—Abū Janāb[371]—Abū al-Muḥajjal al-Rudaynī[372]—Makhlad al-Bakrī[373] and 'Alqamah b. Marthad[374]—Sulaymān b. Buraydah:[375] Whenever an army of Believers had been assembled under his [2714] instructions, the Commander of the Faithful appointed as their commander someone versed in religious knowledge and law. [Now such] an army assembled under his instructions, so he despatched Salamah b. Qays al-Ashja'ī in command. ('Umar) addressed [him as follows]:

> Go forth in God's name and fight in God's cause against all those who do not believe in God. If you meet your polytheist enemy, call upon them to take [one of]

367. Following the advice of the Leiden editor, I omit the word *badawī* (or Badrī, according to two MSS), because neither would seem to make sense.

368. Salamah b. Qays al-Asja'ī has a brief notice in Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 339.

369. An unidentified narrator.

370. Ja'far b. 'Awn was a narrator who died in 206–207/821–823. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 101.

371. An unidentified narrator.

372. An unidentified narrator.

373. An unidentified narrator.

374. 'Alqamah b. Marthad al-Ḥaḍramī has an entry in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 272–73.

375. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 174–75, says that Sulaymān b. Buraydah b. al-Ḥasīb al-Marwazī died in 105/723. He must, however, have been a contemporary of 'Umar and Salamah.

three courses of action. Summon them to Islam and if they accept, and choose [to remain] in their lands, they will have alms obligations[376] [to be paid] from their own wealth and have no share in the immovable booty [accruing to] the Muslims. If, [having accepted Islam], they choose to join you, they will have similar privileges and obligations to your own. But if they refuse [to accept Islam], then summon them to [pay] the land tax. If they declare that they will pay the land tax, fight their enemy beyond them and leave them free to pay—but do not impose on them more than they have the capacity [to pay]. If they refuse [to pay the land tax], then fight them, for God will be your helper against them. If they fortify themselves against your [attack] in some fortified place and request you to [allow them] to surrender under the terms of God's and His Apostle's judgment, do not allow them to do so, for you do not know what these judgments are as they affect them. If, however, they request you to [allow them] to surrender under the terms of God's and His Apostle's covenant, do not grant them these, but rather grant them your own covenants. If they fight you, do not act unfaithfully or treacherously; do not inflict exemplary punishment [on them] or kill minors.

Salamah reported [as follows]. We marched on and met up
[2715] with our polytheist enemy and summoned them to [act as] the Commander of the Faithful had instructed. But they refused to accept Islam. So we called upon them to [pay] land tax, but they refused to declare [their willingness to pay], so we fought them and God gave us victory over them. We killed their military, but made their children captive. We collected the spoils together. Now Salamah b. Qays spotted an ornament [among the spoils] and said, "You are not interested in this; would you be willing to send it to the Commander of the Faithful? [We] owe [this] to him and [should go to] some trouble for him." They replied that they would be willing. (Salamah) continued: So he put this

376. Arabic *zakāh*; see *SEI*, s.v. (Schacht).

ornament into a casket and sent off one of his men, saying, "Take it and, when you come to al-Baṣrah, against the gifts the Commander of the Faithful [will give you], buy two baggage camels and load them up with provisions for yourself and your young slave. Then make your way to the Commander of the Faithful."

(The messenger) reported as follows: I did this and came to the Commander of the Faithful as he was feeding lunch to the people, leaning on a stick, as a shepherd does, and walking round the huge bowls, saying, "Some more meat for this lot, Yarfa';[377] [2716] some more bread for these; some more soup for these." When I was pushed [through the crowd] into his presence, he told me to sit down. I did so among those people nearest [to him]. There was some rough food—even the food I had with me was better! When the people had finished, he told Yarfa' to take away his bowls, then he turned away. I followed, and he entered the room of a house. I asked permission to enter and gave my greetings. He gave me permission, and I entered to where he was. He was sitting on a hair cloth leaning against two leather cushions stuffed with palm fibres. He threw one over to me and I sat down on it, [finding myself] in a space inside a vestibule in which there was a compartment with a small curtain. ('Umar) asked [his wife], Umm Kulthūm [to bring us] our lunch. She brought out to him a piece of bread with some olive oil by the side of which was some unground salt. ('Umar) asked Umm Kulthūm to join us and eat some of this [food] with us. She replied, however, that she could hear the voice of a man with [2717] ('Umar). He confirmed that this was true, [adding that] he did not think he was a local.[378] (The messenger) added that this was when he realized that ('Umar) did not know him. (Umm Kulthūm) said, "If you had intended me to come out to join the men, you would have dressed me up, as Ibn Ja'far[379] does his

377. He is 'Umar's personal servant.

378. Implying that she could join the men because the visitor was an outsider and someone who did not know her.

379. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, the nephew of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib died in 80/699 or 85/705. See *EI*², s.v. (Zeterstéen).

wife, as al-Zubayr[380] does his wife, and as Ṭalḥah[381] does his wife!" "Is it not enough for you," replied ('Umar), "that you are called Umm Kulthūm, daughter of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and wife of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar?!" [To me] he said, "Eat; if she were willing [to join us], she would have given you better food than this!" [The messenger] continued: So I ate a little, but the food I had with me was better than this! He ate, and I have never seen a heartier eater than he. No food stuck to his hand or his mouth! Then he asked for drink, and they brought a bowl of a barley-meal drink. "Give the man a drink," said ('Umar). [The messenger] continued: So I drank a little—the barley-meal drink I had with me was better than this! Then he took hold of it and drank down to the dregs,[382] saying, "Praise be to God who has filled us up with food and quenched our thirst!" I said, "The Commander of the Faithful has eaten and drunk his fill. There is something you can do for me, Commander of the Faithful." He asked what it was. I replied, "I am the envoy of Salamah
[2718] b. Qays." ('Umar) said, "Both Salamah b. Qays and his envoy are welcome. Tell me how the emigrants are."[383] "They are as safe and have conquered as many of their enemies as you would wish, Commander of the Faithful." "What are their prices like?" ('Umar) asked. [The messenger] continued: I said, "The very cheapest." "What about their meat?" he asked, "for this is the mainstay of the Arabs; they will never thrive without their mainstay." I replied, "Beef is such and such a price, mutton such and such. On we went, Commander of the Faithful, and we met up with our polytheist enemy. We called upon them to accept Islam, as you commanded us, but they refused. So we called upon them to [pay] land tax, but they refused, so we fought

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380. Al-Zubayr b. al-'Awāmm, the famous Companion, was killed by 'Alī at the battle of the Camel in 36/656 after his revolt with Ṭalḥah (see the next note) and the wife of the Prophet, 'Ā'ishah. A member of the electoral council after the assassination of 'Umar. See Shaban, *History*, 71–72; *CHIs*, 70.

381. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, a Companion also killed with al-Zubayr in 36/656. A member of the electoral council after the assassination of 'Umar. See Shaban, *History*, loc. cit., and *CHIs*, loc, cit. and preceding note.

382. Arabic, *fa-shariba-hu ḥattā qara'a al-qadaḥu jabhata-h*, literally "he drank it until the bowl knocked against his forehead".

383. Arabic, *muhājirūn*. I take this as a euphemism for the Arab troops on the front line.

against them and God gave us victory over them. We killed their military, but took their women captive, and we collected together the spoils. Salamah spotted an ornament among the spoils and said to the men, "You are not interested in this. Are you willing to send it to the Commander of the Faithful?" They replied that they were." I took out my casket. But when he saw the gems, red, yellow and green, he leapt up, put his hand on his waist and said, "May God never, [if I were to accept this,], fill 'Umar's belly again!" (The messenger) continued: The womenfolk thought I was intending to assassinate him, so [2719] they came to the curtain. He said (to the messenger), "Keep what you brought. Yarfa', strike him on the neck!"[384] So I was [re]arranging my casket, while he was striking me on the neck. I said, "Commander of the Faithful, my camels are exhausted. I need replacements." He replied, "Yarfa', give him two baggage camels from the alms. If you meet anyone who has a greater need of them than you, hand them over to him." I said I would obey his orders. He added, "I swear that, if the Muslims disperse to their winter quarters before this is distributed among them, I shall certainly bring about calamity for you and your master!" (The messenger) continued: "So I left and came to Salamah and said, May God not grant His blessing for what you have done to [2720] me in this particular case! Distribute this among the men before some calamity befalls us both." So he did. A gem was sold at 5 and 6 dirhams, although it was worth more than 20,000!

According to al-Sarī's version—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Janāb—Sulaymān b. Buraydah: I met the messenger of Salamah b. Qays al-Ashja'ī who said, "When an Arab army assembled under the instructions of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, . . . ," and then he reported an account similar to that of 'Abdallāh b. Kathīr on the authority of Ja'far b. 'Awn, except that he said in his report, on the authority of Shu'ayb, on the authority of Sayf [with the following variants], "Grant them your own covenants." He continued, "We met up with our Kurdish enemies, and we called upon them . . ."

(The same source) also reported: We collected the spoils

384. That is, to frighten and scold him.

together and Salamah found two boxes of jewels among them, so he put them in a casket.

He also reported as follows: "Is it not enough for you that you are called Umm Kulthūm, daughter of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib, wife of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb?" She replied, "This is of little use to me!" He said [to the messenger], "Eat."

He also reported as follows: They brought a bowl of barley-meal drink. Whenever they moved it, some of its contents fizzed up over [the top]. When they left it alone, it was still. Then he told [the messenger] to drink. So I drank a little—my own drink I had with me was better than this! He took the bowl, drinking
[2721] it down to the dregs, then he said, "You are indeed a poor eater and drinker!"

He also reported as follows: I said, "[I am] the messenger of Salamah." He replied, "Welcome, Salamah and his messenger. It is as if you were a product of his loins. Tell me about the emigrants."

He also reported as follows: Then he said, "May God never, [if I were to accept this], fill 'Umar's belly again!" He continued: The womenfolk thought I had assassinated him, so they drew the curtain. He said, "Strike him on his neck, Yarfa'." So he struck my neck, as I cried out, and exclaimed, "Get out of here and be quick about it!"[385] He continued, "By God, there is no other god but He! If the army disperses to its winter quarters . . . ," and the rest of the account was similar to that of 'Abdallāh b. Kathīr.

According to al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān[386]—Asad b. Mūsā[387]—Shihāb b. Khirāsh al-Ḥawshabī[388]—al-Ḥajjāj b. Dīnār[389]—Manṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir[390]—Shaqīq b. Salamah al-Asadī[391]—the

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385. Arabic, *"al-janā'a wa-aẓunnu-ka sa-tubṭi'u."*

386. An Egyptian narrator who died in 270/884. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 245ff.; Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 416.

387. He died in Egypt in 212/827. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 260.

388. He has an entry in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 366–67.

389. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Dīnār al-Ashja'ī has an entry in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 200–1.

390. Abū 'Attāb Manṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir al-Sulamī died in 132/749. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 312–15.

391. Abū Wā'il, who died in 79/698 or 99/717. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 3; Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 278.

intermediary between 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Salamah b. Qays: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb sent the army to Salamah b. Qays al-Ashja'ī in al-Ḥīrah, saying, "Go forth in God's name . . . ," and he gave an account similar to that of 'Abdallāh b. Kathīr on the authority of Ja'far.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] reported as follows: 'Umar led the wives of the Messenger of God on the pilgrimage this year and this was the last pilgrimage in which he led the people. This is also according to al-Ḥārith[392]—Ibn Sa'd[393]—al-Wāqidī.

('Umar's) death took place during this year, [23; November 19, 643–November 7, 644].

'Umar's Assassination[394] [2722]

According to Salm b. Junādah[395]—Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Thābit b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf[396]—his father—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far[397]—his father—al-Miswar b. Makhramah (whose mother was 'Ātikah, daughter of 'Awf).[398] 'Umar went out one day to wander around the market. He was met by Abū Lu'lu'ah,[399] a young Christian slave of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, who said, "Help me, Commander of the Faithful, against al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, for

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392. Ibn Muḥammad, who died in 282/896. See Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 128; Translation, I, 247.

393. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sa'd, who died in 230/845, the famous author of the *Ṭabaqāt*. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 182ff.; Duri, *Rise*, 40; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 300ff.; *EI*², s.v. "Ibn Sa'd" (Fück); Translation, I, 215 n. 337.

394. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 24ff.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 226ff.; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iqd*, IV, 272; Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 528ff. See also Ṭabarī, *Selection*, which begins at this point in the text.

395. Abū al-Sā'ib Salm b. Junādah died in 254/868. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 128–29.

396. An unidentified narrator.

397. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Zuhrī died in 170/786. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 171.

398. Al-Miswar b. Makhramah died in 64/683. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 234. 'Ātikah was the sister of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. See also Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 429.

399. Abū Lu'lu'ah Fayrūz al-Nihāwandī. He is believed to have originated in Nihāwand, hence his *nisbah*, and to have been captured by the Byzantines during the Perso-Byzantine wars before Islam. He became a Christian when held by the Byzantines. See Ṭabarī, I, 2632.

I pay a great deal of tax." "How much?" enquired ('Umar). "Two dirhams a day," was the reply. "What is your trade?" asked ('Umar). "[I am] a carpenter, stone mason, and smith," he replied. "I do not think your tax is a lot in view of the work you do," ('Umar) said. "I have heard that you claim you could make a mill that will grind by wind power if you wished." He replied that he could. ('Umar) asked him to make him a mill. (Abū Lu'lu'ah) replied, "If you survive, I shall certainly make you a mill that will be the talk of everyone in both East and West!" Then (Abū Lu'lu'ah) left ('Umar), who said [to himself], "[That] slave has just threatened me!" Then he went off home. The next day Ka'b al-Aḥbār[400] came to him and said, "Appoint your successor, Commander of the Faithful, for you are going to die in three days." ('Umar) asked him how he knew this. He replied,
[2723] "I find it in God's book, the Torah." 'Umar said, "Can you actually find 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in the Torah?" (Ka'b) replied, "Indeed no, but I do find a complete description of you and also that your allotted life span has come to an end." (The source) continued: And 'Umar was experiencing no sickness or pain. Next day Ka'b came to him and said, "One day gone and two to go, Commander of the Faithful!" Then he came to him on the day after that and said, "Two days gone, one and a night to go! You have got until tomorrow morning!" That morning 'Umar went out to prayers; he used to assign certain men to [see to] the lines [of those praying] and when they were straight, he would come and proclaim "God is great!" Abū Lu'lu'ah slipped in among the people, carrying in his hand a dagger with two blades and its haft in the middle. He struck 'Umar six blows, one of which was below his navel, and this was the one which killed him. (Abū Lu'lu'ah) also killed Kulayb b. Abī al-Bukayr al-Laythī,[401] who was behind ('Umar). When ('Umar) felt the heat of the weapon, he fell and said, "Is 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf[402]

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400. Ka'b al-Aḥbār was a Yemenite Jewish scholar who converted to Islam in ca. 17/638. He died ca. 35/655. See *EI*², s.v. (Schmitz).

401. Kulayb b. Abī al-Bukayr al-Laythī has an entry in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VIII, minus the Abī, where this event is mentioned.

402. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf was a prominent early Muslim convert and merchant. He died ca. 31/652. See *EI*², s.v. (Houtsma-Watt).

among the crowd?" They said, "Yes, Commander of the Faithful, he is here." ('Umar) said [to 'Abd al-Raḥmān], "Come forward and lead the people in prayer." So 'Abd al-Raḥmān led the people in prayer, while 'Umar lay prostrate. Then he was carried away and brought into his house. He called for 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and said, "I want to appoint you my successor." He replied, "Indeed, Commander of the Faithful, I accept. If you order me, I shall accept [the appointment] from you." ('Umar) said, "What do you want?" ('Abd al-Raḥmān) said, "I beseech you by God. Do you order me to accept this (appointment)?" ('Umar) replied, "No, indeed." ('Abd al-Raḥmān) said, "I shall [2724] never have anything to do with [accepting] (the appointment)." ('Umar) said, "Give me some peace and quiet so that I can appoint those who still met with the Messenger of God's approval when he died. Call 'Alī for me, 'Uthmān, al-Zubayr, and Sa'd." [When they had arrived, he said], "Wait for your brother Ṭalḥah for three [nights]. If he does not come, do what you have to do. If you should take authority over the people, 'Alī, I implore you not to bring them under the power of Banū Hāshim.[403] If you should take authority over the people, 'Uthmān, I implore you not to bring them under the power of Banū Abī Mu'ayṭ.[404] If you should take authority over the people, Sa'd, I implore you not to bring them under the power of your relatives.[405] Off you go! Consult together, then do what you have to do. Let Ṣuhayb[406] lead the people in prayer."

Then he called for Abū Ṭalḥah al-Anṣārī[407] and said, "Stand at

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403. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, a tribal group (*baṭn*) of Quraysh in Mecca to which the Prophet and 'Alī, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, belonged. See Zubayrī, *Quraysh*, 14ff.; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, III, 1207; Watt, *Mecca*, 7; *EI*², s.v. (Watt).

404. 'Uthman also belonged to Quraysh, but through 'Abd Shams, a brother of Hāshim, and Umayyah. Abū Mu'ayṭ was Abān b. Abī 'Amr b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 114.

405. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was a famous figure in early Islam. He fought at Badr and acted as personal bodyguard to the Prophet. He led the Muslim forces in their defeat of the Persians at al-Qādisiyyah. He died in 51/671. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 483–84.

406. Ṣuhayb. b. Sinān was a Byzantine slave emancipated after his move to Mecca. He died in 38/658. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 438–39.

407. Abū Ṭalḥah Zayd b. Sahl al-Anṣārī died in 32/653 or 34/655. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 414–15.

their door and do not let anyone enter into their presence. I commend to the caliph after my death the Helpers, 'Who have made their abode in the city [of the Prophet] and in the Faith,'[408] that he do good to him who does good among them and forgive him who does evil among them. I commend to the caliph after my death the Arabs—for they are the very substance of Islam—that what is their due of alms be taken and assigned to their poor. I commend to the caliph after my death the covenant of the Messenger of God that [non-Muslims] be given a compact faithfully fulfilled. O God, have I done what I ought to do?! I leave the caliph after my death in a cleaner [condition] than the palm of the hand.[409] 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar,[410] go and find out who has murdered me." He replied, "Commander of the Faithful, you
[2725] have been murdered by Abū Lu'lu'ah, slave of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah." ['Umar] exclaimed, "Praise be to God who has never put my fate into the hands of someone who has bowed down to Him on one single occasion![411] Go to 'Ā'ishah, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, and ask her to permit me to be buried with the Prophet and Abū Bakr. If the council is divided, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, you should vote with the majority. If they are [split] three against three, follow the faction that 'Abd al-Raḥmān supports. Allow the people to enter, 'Abdallāh." So the Emigrants and the Helpers came in to see him, offering him their greetings. He would ask them if the [assassination] was the result of some conspiracy among them and they would reply, "God protect [us]!" [The source] continued: Ka'b entered with the others and when he saw him, 'Umar began to recite the following:[412]

Ka'b gave me an evil prediction on three distinct occasions;
there can be no doubt that what Ka'b told me was right.
I am not afraid of death; I shall surely die;

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408. Qur'ān, LIX:9.

409. That is, with no money in the treasury and not keeping back what was due to the Muslims.

410. The famous son of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who died in 73/692. See Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 287; *EI*², s.v. [Veccia Valgieri].

411. That is, a non-Muslim.

412. The meter is *ṭawīl*. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 25, where we find *tawa'adda-nī* instead of *fa-aw'ada-nī* in line 1.

but I am afraid of the one transgression followed by another.[413]

(The source) continued: It was suggested to the Commander of the Faithful that he should call a physician. So one from Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b[414] was summoned and he gave him date wine to drink. But the date wine came back up mixed with blood. (The physican) told [them] to give him milk. (The source) continued: But the milk came back up too, [though] white. It was suggested to the Commander of the Faithful that he should appoint a successor, but he replied that he had already finished [arrangements for this].[415]

He died later, on Tuesday evening, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 27, 23 [November 5, 644]. They took him out early the following day, Wednesday, and he was buried in 'Ā'ishah's house along with the Prophet and Abū Bakr. Ṣuhayb came forward and prayed over him, but before this two of the Companions of the Messenger of God had come forward, 'Alī and 'Uthmān. One came forward from [his position] at his head, the other from [his position] at his feet. 'Abd al-Raḥmān exclaimed, "There is no god but God! How eager you both are to get hold of the caliphate! Are you not aware that the Commander of the Faithful left instructions for Ṣuhayb to lead the people in prayer?" Ṣuhayb came forward and performed this task. (The source) added that all five [members of the electoral council] went down into ('Umar's) grave.[416] [2726]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] said that it is also reported that ('Umar) died at the beginning of al-Muḥarram, 24 [November 7, 644].

The Sources of [the Conflicting Report of 'Umar's Death]

According to al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd[417]—his father: 'Umar was stabbed on Wednesday, Dhū al-

413. The evil prediction itself followed by the assassination?

414. It would seem to be the Yemenite tribe from the Najrān area in question here. They are a tribal group of Madhḥij. Ibn Rasūl, *Ṭurfah*, 35; Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*. I, 326; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, I, 231–32; *EI*², s.v. (Schleifer).

415. That is the appointment of the electoral council (*shūrā*).

416. See page 155, below.

417. An unidentified narrator, the great-grandson of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

Ḥijjah 26, 23 [November 4, 644], and was buried on Sunday morning the beginning of al-Muḥarram, 24 [November 7, 644]. His rule lasted for ten years, five months, and twenty-one nights after the death of Abū Bakr, exactly twenty-two years, nine months, and thirteen days after the Hijrah. The oath of allegiance was given to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān on Monday, al-Muḥarram 3 [November 9, 644]. [The source] continued: I mentioned this to 'Uthmān al-Akhnasī,[418] but he replied, "I think you are very much mistaken! 'Umar died on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 26 [November 4, 644] and the oath of allegiance was given to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 29 [November 7,
[2727] 644]. He began his caliphate on al-Muḥarram, 24."

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—a traditionist—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā[419]—Abū Ma'shar: 'Umar was killed on Wednesday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 26, as the year 23 was coming to a close [November 4, 644]. His caliphate lasted ten years, six months, and four days, then the oath of allegiance was given to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] said: According to al-Madā'inī's version—'Umar [b. Shabbah]—Sharīk[420]—al-A'mash[421] [or Jābir al-Ju'fī][422]—'Awf b. Mālik al-Ashja'ī[423] and 'Āmir b. Abī Muḥammad[424]—some *shaykhs* of his people, and 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān[425]—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī:[426] 'Umar was stabbed on Wednesday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 23 [November 1, 644]. [The source] continued: Others say that it was Dhū al-Ḥijjah 24 [November 2, 644].

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418. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Akhnasī has a brief notice in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 153–54.

419. An unidentified narrator.

420. Ibn 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī, who died ca. 178/793. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 333–37.

421. Sulaymān b. Mihrān, who died ca. 148/765. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 222–26.

422. Ibn Yazīd, who died in 128/745. See Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 517.

423. 'Awf b. Mālik al-Ashja'ī died in Damascus in 73/692. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 156.

424. An unidentified narrator.

425. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Several persons of this name are listed in the biographical dictionaries, and it is not possible to identify the one in question with any certainty.

426. The famous historian Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb, who died ca. 125/743. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 445–51; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 280–83; Duri, *Rise*, especially 98ff., 118–19, and passim.

According to Sayf's version—al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Khulayd b. Dhafarah and Mujālid: 'Uthmān became caliph on al-Muḥarram 3, 24 [November 9, 644]. He went out and led the people in the early evening prayer. He increased [stipends] and sent out envoys, and that practice was thereby established.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Amr—al-Sha'bī: The members of the electoral council agreed upon 'Uthmān on al-Muḥarram 3 [November 9, 644] when the time of early evening prayer had begun and after the call to prayer had been given by [2728]
Ṣuhayb's muezzin. They reached agreement between the first and second calls to prayer.[427] ['Uthmān] went out and led the people in prayer and provided them with an extra 100 [dirhams]. He also sent out delegations to the garrison towns, treating them with generosity. He was the first one to do this.

According to [the same source]—Hishām b. Muḥammad:[428] 'Umar was killed on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 27, 23 [November 5, 644]. His caliphate lasted ten years, six months, and four days.

'Umar's Genealogy[429]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq; according to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar and Hishām b. Muḥammad; according to 'Umar [b. Shabbah]—'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]:[430] They all agreed that 'Umar's genealogy was as follows: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Riyāḥ b. 'Abdallāh b. Qurṭ b. Razāḥ b. 'Adī b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy. His *kunyah* was Abū Ḥafṣ and his mother was Ḥantamah bt. Hāshim b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] said: ['Umar] was called al-Fārūq.[431]

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427. The *iqāmah* is the second call to prayer, after the *adhān*, given by the muezzin and it marks the beginning of the prayer proper. See *SEI*, s.v. "Iḳāma" [Juynboll].

428. Abū al-Mundhir Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā' ib al-Kalbī, the famous historian who died ca. 206/822. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 268–71; Duri, *Rise*, 51ff. and passim; *EI*², s.v. [Atallah].

429. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 26; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 192ff.; Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 533.

430. That is there are three separate chains of authority.

431. Meaning "he who distinguishes between truth and falsehood."

Preceding generations were in dispute about who called him by this name. Some of them have reported that the Messenger of God gave him this name.

The Sources of [the Report that Muḥammad First Called 'Umar al-Fārūq]

[2729] According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Ḥazrah Ya'qūb b. Mujāhid[432]—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm[433]—Abū 'Amr Dhakwān:[434] I asked 'Ā'ishah who gave 'Umar the name al-Fārūq. She replied that it was the Prophet.

Some people reported that the first to call ('Umar) by this name were the People of the Book.

The Sources of [the Report that the People of the Book Did That]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd[435]—his father—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān[436]—Ibn Shihāb: We heard that the People of the Book were the first to call 'Umar al-Fārūq. The Muslims did relate this in their reports, but we have never heard that the Messenger of God made any such reference.

A Description of 'Umar

According to Hannād b. al-Sarī[437]—Wakī'[438]—Sufyān[439]—'Āṣim b. Abī al-Najjūd[440]—Zirr b. Ḥubaysh:[441] 'Umar went out one

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432. He died ca. 150/767. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 394–95.
433. He died in 120/738. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 5–7.
434. Abū 'Amr Dhakwān was 'Ā'ishah's client who died in 63/682. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 220.
435. He died 208/823. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 380–81.
436. He died after 140/757. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 399–401.
437. Hannād b. al-Sarī b. Muṣ'ab b. Abī Bakr who died 243/857. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 70ff.
438. Wakī' b. al-Jarrāḥ b. Malīḥ who died in 197/812. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 123–31; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 96ff.
439. Probably Sufyān b. Sa'īd al-Thawrī, died 161/778 (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 111–15); Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 96.
440. 'Āṣim b. Abī al-Najjūd al-Muqrī, a Kufan Qur'ān reader who died ca. 128/746. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 38–40; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 7.
441. He died ca. 83/702. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 321–22.

festival day or to the funeral of Zaynab,[442] [showing] a dark complexion, very tall, bald, and ambidextrous, walking [head and shoulders above the people] as if he were mounted.

According to Hannād—Sharīk—'Āṣim—Zirr: I saw 'Umar coming to the festival, walking barefoot, ambidextrous, and wearing a striped garment tucked up. He was towering over the people as if he were mounted and was saying, "People, perform [2730] the *hijrah* [with sincerity], and do not pretend to be like those who do!"

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Umar b. 'Imrān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr[443]—'Āṣim b. 'Ubaydallāh[444]—'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Rabī'ah:[445] I noticed 'Umar was a wan man, pale with an overlay of red. [He was also] very tall and with a bald patch.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Shu'ayb b. Ṭalḥah[446]—his father—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad:[447] I heard ['Abdallāh] b. 'Umar describe 'Umar as follows, "He is wan with an overlay of red. Very tall, white-haired, and with a bald patch."

According to al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Khālid b. Abī Bakr:[448] 'Umar used to dye his beard yellow and comb his hair with henna.

His Birth and Age

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Usāmah b. Zayd b. Aslam[449]—his father—his grandfather: I

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442. This is probably Zaynab bt. [al-]Jaḥsh, one of the Prophet's wives, who died in 20/641. Cf. Ṭabarī, I, 2595. 'Umar did however have a wife named Zaynab and also a daughter; see pages 100–1, below.

443. An unidentified narrator.

444. 'Āṣim b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb died at the beginning of the caliphate of Abū al-'Abbās; that is, ca. 132/750. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 46–49.

445. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Rabī'ah died after 80/699. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 270–71.

446. An unidentified narrator.

447. Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad is perhaps the grandson of Abū Bakr who died ca. 105/723. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 333–35.

448. Khālid b. Abī Bakr died in 162/778. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 81–82.

449. Usāmah b. Zayd al-Laythī died in the caliphate of Abū Ja'far; that is, 136–158/754–775. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 207–8.

heard 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb say, "I was born four years before the last great Conflict."[450]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] reported: The early scholars differed on the subject of 'Umar's age: some said that on the day he was killed he was fifty-five years old.

Some of the Sources of [the Report that He Was Fifty-Five Years Old]

According to Zayd b. Akhzam al-Ṭā'ī[451]—Abū Qutaybah[452]—
[2731] Jarīr b. Ḥāzim[453]—Ayyūb[454]—Nāfi'[455]—['Abdallāh] Ibn 'Umar: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was killed when he was fifty-five years old.

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam[456]—Nu'aym b. Ḥammād[457]—al-Darāwardī[458]—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar[459]—Nāfi'—Ibn 'Umar: 'Umar died when he was fifty-five years old.

According to 'Abd al-Razzāq[460]—Ibn Jurayj[461]—Ibn Shihāb: 'Umar died at the age of fifty-five exactly.

Others said he was on the day he died fifty-three years old and some months.

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450. Reference to the last of the four "conflicts" (*fijār*) in pre-Islamic times, that of al-Barrād b. Qays, who killed 'Urwah al-Raḥḥāl during one of the sacred months when no fighting was permitted. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 2341; *EI*², s.v. (Fück).

451. He died in 257/870. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 393.

452. Abū Qutaybah is probably Salm b. Qutaybah, who died in 201/816. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 133–34.

453. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim died in 175/791. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 69–72.

454. Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī died ca. 131/748. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 397–99.

455. Nāfi', the client of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, died ca. 120/738. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 412–15.

456. Al-Miṣrī, the famous Egyptian historian, who died 257/871. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 208; *EI*², s.v. "Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam" (Rosenthal).

457. Nu'aym b. Ḥammād died ca. 229/844. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 458–63; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 104ff.

458. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd al-Darāwardī died in 82/701. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 353–55.

459. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ b. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who died in 147/764. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 89.

460. 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām died 211/827. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 310–15; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 99.

461. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz died in 151/768. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 402–6; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 91.

The Sources of [the Report that He Was Fifty-Three Years Old]

This was reported to me by Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Kalbī.

Yet others said he died when he was sixty-three.

The Sources of [the Report that He Was Sixty-Three Years Old]

Ibn al-Muthannā[462]—Ibn Abī 'Adī[463]—Dāwūd[464]—'Āmir [al-Sha'bī]: 'Umar died when he was sixty-three.

Yet others said he died at the age of sixty-one.

The Sources of [the Report that He Was Sixty-One Years Old]

This was reported to me on the authority of Abū Salamah al-Tabūdhakī[465]—Abū Hilāl[466]—Qatādah.[467]

Yet others said he died when he was sixty. [2732]

The Sources of [the Report that He Was Sixty Years Old]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Hishām b. Sa'd[468]—Zayd b. Aslam—his father: 'Umar died when he was sixty. Muḥammad b. 'Umar reported that this is the most accurate account in our opinion.

It is reported on the authority of al-Madā'inī that 'Umar died when he was fifty-seven.

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462. Abū Mūsā Muḥammad died ca. 252/866. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 425–27.

463. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'Adī al-Qasmalī died ca. 194/810. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 12ff.

464. Probably Dāwūd b. Abī Hind, who died ca. 141/759. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 204ff.

465. Mūsā b. Ismā'īl died in 223/838. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 333–35; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, III, 18–19.

466. An unidentified narrator.

467. Qatādah b. Di'āmah al-Sadūsī died in 117/735. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 351–56; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 31ff.

468. Hishām b. Sa'd died ca. 160/776. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 39–41.

The Names of His Children and Wives

According to Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī] and al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar, and according to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī], all of whose accounts agree, even if there are differences of expression: In the pre-Islamic era 'Umar married Zaynab bt. Maẓ'ūn b. Ḥabīb b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfah b. Jumaḥ. She bore him 'Abdallāh, 'Abd al-Raḥmān the elder, and Ḥafṣah.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī], ('Umar) also married Mulaykah bt. Jarwal al-Khuzā'ī in the pre-Islamic era. She bore him 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar. He became separated from her at the time of the Truce.[469] After 'Umar, Abū al-Jahm b. Ḥudhayfah[470] married her.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī], the mother of Zayd the younger and 'Ubaydallāh, who was killed at the battle of Ṣiffīn[471] [fighting] with Mu'āwiyah, was Umm Kulthūm bt. Jarwal b. Mālik b. al-Musayyib b. Rabī'ah b. Aṣram
[2733] b. Ḍabīs b. Ḥarām b. Ḥabashiyyah b. Salūl b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Khuzā'ah. However, Islam brought about a separation between her and 'Umar.

'Ali b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī] reported that ('Umar) also married Quraybah bt. Abī Umayyah al-Makhzūmī in the pre-Islamic era. He became separated from her also at the time of the Truce. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq[472] married her after ('Umar).

There were also other reports that he married Umm Ḥakīm bt. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm after the advent of Islam. She bore him Fāṭimah, but he divorced her. But al-Madā'inī reported that it was said he did not divorce her.

He also married after the advent of Islam Jamīlah, the sister of

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469. That is, the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyah in 6/627 between the Prophet and the Meccans. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 316ff. (Guillaume, *Life*, 499ff.).

470. Abū (al-)Jahm 'Āmir/'Ubayd b. Ḥudhayfah. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 162–63. No date of death is given in the entry, but he accepted Islam when Mecca was conquered in 8/629. He was renowned as a genealogist.

471. The battle of Ṣiffīn took place between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah in 37/657.

472. A son of the first caliph.

'Āṣim b. Thābit b. Abī al-Aqlaḥ, whose name was Qays b. 'Iṣmah b. Mālik b. Ḍubay'ah b. Zayd b. al-Aws of the Helpers. She bore him 'Āṣim, but he divorced her.

He also married Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, whose mother was Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God. He reportedly gave her 40,000 [dirhams] as a dowry. She bore him Zayd and Ruqayyah.

He also married Luhayyah, a Yemeni woman, who bore him 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Al-Madā'inī reported that she bore him 'Abd al-Raḥmān the youngest. He added that there was a report that [Luhayyah] was a concubine. Al-Wāqidī also said this Luhayyah was a concubine. He added that Luhayyah bore him the middle 'Abd al-Raḥmān. [Al-Wāqidī] also reported that the mother of the youngest 'Abd al-Raḥmān was a concubine. He also had Fukayhah as a concubine, and, according to several reports, she bore him Zaynab. [Al-Wāqidī] also reported that she was 'Umar's youngest child.

He also married 'Ātikah bt. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl. Before him she had been married to 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr.[473] When [2734]
'Umar died, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām married her.

Al-Madā'inī said:[474] ['Umar] asked for the hand of Umm Kulthūm bt. Abī Bakr when she was young, and he sent a message regarding her to 'Ā'ishah. The latter told [Umm Kulthūm] that the [marriage] was up to her. Umm Kulthūm replied that she did not want him. "You are turning down the Commander of the Faithful!" 'Ā'ishah exclaimed. "Yes," [Umm Kulthūm] said, "he leads a rough life and is severe with his womenfolk." So 'Ā'ishah sent a message to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, telling him [of Umm Kulthūm's decision]. "Leave it to me," was his reply. ['Amr] came to 'Umar and said, "Commander of the Faithful, I have heard some news from which I invoke God's name to protect you!" "What is it?" he asked. ['Amr] continued, "You are seeking the hand of Umm Kulthūm bt. Abī Bakr." ['Umar] replied, "Yes, do you think I am not good enough for her or she for me?" ['Amr] said, "Neither, but she is young and

473. A son of the first caliph.
474. See the account in Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 535–36.

grew up with kindness and gentleness under the protection of the Mother of the Believers.[475] You are rough and ready. But we are in awe of you and we cannot turn you away from something that is natural to you. How will it be with [Umm Kulthūm] if she disobeys you on any matter and you punish her physically? You will have taken Abū Bakr's place as his child's [guardian] in a fashion that does not befit you." ['Umar] replied, "But how will all this be with 'Ā'ishah? I have already told her [I am going to marry Umm Kulthūm]." ['Amr] said, "I shall deal with her on your behalf. Also I shall show you someone better than [Umm Kulthūm bt. Abī Bakr], [namely] Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib through whom you will acquire a relationship with the Messenger of God."

Al-Madā'inī said: ['Umar] was seeking the hand of Umm Abān bt. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah. However she did not like him and said, "He closes his door, keeping away any goodness he has [from others];[476] he enters wearing a frown and comes out wearing a frown!"

[2735]

When He Became a Muslim

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] said: It is reported that ['Umar] embraced Islam after forty-five men and twenty-one women.

The Sources of This Report

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh[477]—his father: I mentioned the account about 'Umar to [my son] and he said that 'Abdallāh b. Tha'labah b. Ṣu'ayr[478] had told him that 'Umar embraced Islam after forty-five men and twenty-one women.

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475. That is, 'Ā'ishah, the wife of the Prophet.

476. An accusation of miserliness.

477. Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, who died in 203/818. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 254–56.

478. 'Abdallāh b. Tha'labah b. Ṣu'ayr al-'Udharī died ca. 93/711. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 165.

Some of His Memorable Deeds

According to Abū al-Sā'ib [Salm b. Junādah]—Ibn Fuḍayl[479]—Ḍirār[480]—Ḥuṣayn al-Murrī:[481] 'Umar said, "The Arabs are like a tractable camel that follows its leader. So its leader should watch where he is leading it. By the Lord of the Ka'bah, I shall certainly carry them along the [straight] road.

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm[482]— [2736]
Yūnus[483]—al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī]: 'Umar said, "When I find myself in a position when I feel comfortable, but that means my people have no access [to me], then this [can]not [continue] to be my position; I [must once again] be on the same level as my people.

According to Khallād b. Aslam[484]—al-Naḍr b. Shumayl[485]—Qaṭan[486]—Abū Yazīd al-Madīnī[487]—a client of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān: I was riding behind 'Uthmān b. 'Affān one hot day when there was an extremely hot wind blowing and he came to the alms-animal pen. There was a man wearing a waist wrapper and an upper garment with another wrapped around his head. He was driving camels into the pen; that is, the alms-camel pen. 'Uthmān said, "Who do you think this is?" We finally reached him and he was 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. ['Uthmān] said, "He is indeed 'the strong, the trustworthy one'!"[488]

According to Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Kūfī[489] and 'Abbās b.

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479. Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān al-Ḍabbī died ca. 195/811. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 405ff.

480. Ḍirār is perhaps Ibn Murrah al-Kūfī, who died in 132/749. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 457.

481. An unidentified narrator. For the following reports, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 27ff.

482. It is not possible to provide more information on Abū Sa'īd Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm al-Asadī. See Translation, I, 255.

483. Possibly Yūnus b. 'Ubayd, who died in 140/757. See Juynboll, *Tradition*, 52.

484. Died ca. 249/863. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 171ff.

485. Died ca. 204/820. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 437ff.; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 262.

486. Qaṭan b. Ka'b al-Quṭa'ī appears in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 381–82, but no date of death is given.

487. Abū Yazīd al-Madīnī appears in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 280, as al-Madanī, whose date of death is not given.

488. As mentioned in Qur'ān, XVIII:26.

489. An unidentified narrator.

Abī Ṭālib[490]—Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Muṣ'ab al-Kalbī[491]—'Umar b. Nāfi'[492]—Abū Bakr al-'Absī:[493] I entered the alms-animal enclosure with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. 'Uthmān sat down in the shade to write while 'Alī stood by him, dictating to him what 'Umar was saying. On a very hot day 'Umar was standing in the sun and wearing two black garments, one as a waist wrapper, another wrapped around his
[2737] head, as he counted the alms camels, recording their colors and their ages. 'Alī spoke to 'Uthmān, and I heard him quoting the description of the daughter of Shu'ayb in God's Book, "O father, hire him; the best of those you hire will be the strong, the trustworthy one!" 'Alī pointed at 'Umar and said, "This is 'the strong, the trustworthy one'!"

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Ismā'īl—Yūnus—al-Ḥasan:
[2738] 'Umar said,[494]

> If I live, I shall certainly travel for a whole year among my subjects, God willing. I know that people have needs that do not reach me. Their governors will not refer them to me, nor will they themselves come to me. I shall travel to Syria and stay there two months. Then I shall travel to the Jazīrah and stay there two months. Then I shall travel to Egypt and stay there two months. Then I shall travel to Bahrain and stay there two months. Then I shall travel to al-Kūfah and stay there for two months. Then I shall travel to al-Baṣrah and stay there for two months. Indeed, what a fine year this will be!

According to Muḥammad b. 'Awf[495]—Abū al-Mughīrah 'Abd al-Quddūs b. al-Ḥajjāj[496]—Ṣafwān b. 'Amr[497]—Abū al-Mukhāriq

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490. 'Abbās b. Abī Ṭālib died in 258/871. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 115–16.
491. An unidentified narrator.
492. 'Umar b. Nāfi' al-Thaqafī has a short notice in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 500, which gives, however, no date of death.
493. The text has Abū Bakr al-'Absī, but Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, lists an Abū Bakr al-'Anṣī, associating him with 'Umar b. Nāfi' (see preceding note).
494. Cf. Bal'amī, *Chronique*, III, 538.
495. Died ca. 273/886. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 383ff.
496. Abū al-Mughīrah 'Abd al-Quddūs b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Khawlānī died in 212/827. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 369–70.
497. It is not possible to identify this narrator with certainty.

Zuhayr b. Sālim[498]—Ka'b al-Aḥbār: I stayed with a man called Mālik who was under the protection of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. I asked him how one could get access to the Commander of the Faithful. He replied that there was no door barring the way to ('Umar) or any obstacle, that he would say his prayers, would then sit down, and anyone who wished could talk to him.

According to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Sufyān [b. 'Uyaynah]—Yaḥyā[499]—Sālim[500]—Aslam: 'Umar sent me off with some alms camels to the designated pasturage and I put my baggage on one of the she-camels. When I was intending to lead them away, he asked me to show him them. I did so and he saw my baggage on a fine she-camel in among them and said, "You wretch! You make use of a she-camel that will provide goodness to a Muslim family! Why not a two-year-old camel constantly discharging urine, or a she with little milk?"[501]

According to 'Umar b. Ismā'īl b. Mujālid al-Hamdānī[502]— [2739]
Abū Mu'āwiyah[503]—Abū Ḥayyān[504]—Abū al-Zinbā'[505]—Abū al-Dihqānah:[506] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was told that there was someone from al-Anbār[507] who had some knowledge of the state register [and was asked] if he would take him on as a secretary. 'Umar replied, "In this case, I would be taking on as a confidant [someone] from outside the [community of the] Believers!"

According to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Ibn Wahb[508]—'Abd

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498. He has a brief notice in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 344, although no date of death is given.

499. Yaḥyā b. Kathīr died in 129/746. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 268–69.

500. Sālim b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar died in 106/724. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 438.

501. That is, why do you have to choose a good beast as your baggage camel, when there are inferior ones that could be used?

502. He has a brief notice in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 427–28.

503. Abū Mu'āwiyah Muḥammad b. Khāzim al-Ḍarīr died in 195/810. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 137–39.

504. Perhaps Abū Ḥayyān Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd, who died in 145/762. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 214–15.

505. An unidentified narrator.

506. An unidentified narrator.

507. A town on the Euphrates about 45 miles west of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 257–58; Le Strange, *Lands*, 25 and Map II, opposite 25.

508. 'Abdallāh b. Wahb died in 197/813. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 71–74; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 466.

al-Raḥmān b. Zayd[509]—his father—his grandfather: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb addressed the people and said, "By Him who sent Muḥammad with the Truth, if one camel were to perish untended on the bank of the Euphrates, I would fear that God would hold the Khaṭṭāb family responsible for it." Abū Zayd[510] added that the Khaṭṭāb family meant himself, no one else.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī 'Adī—Shu'bah[511]—Abū 'Imrān al-Jawnī: 'Umar wrote to Abū Mūsā,[512] "There are still prominent men who refer the needs of the people [to me] on their behalf. So honor those prominent men who are in your jurisdiction. It is justice enough for an uninfluential Muslim that he be treated fairly in juridical decisions and in the division [of spoils after being referred to me]."

According to Abū Kurayb[513]—Ibn Idrīs[514]—Muṭarrif[515]—al-Sha'bī: A bedouin came to 'Umar and said, "My stallion camel has both mange and saddle sores; give me a mount." 'Umar replied to him, "Your camel does not have mange and saddle sores!" (The bedouin) turned away, reciting the following:[516]

Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar has sworn by God's name
That no mange or saddle sores have afflicted [my mount].
Forgive him, God, that he has given a false oath!

('Umar) exclaimed, "O God, forgive me!" He called the bedouin back and gave him a [fresh] mount.

[2740] According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Ismā'īl—Ayyūb—Muḥammad: I was informed that a man who was related to 'Umar asked him [for money]. But he chided him and sent him away. People spoke to ('Umar) about him, and he was asked why he

509. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam died in 182/798. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 177–79.
510. Perhaps this is the grandfather, the original source.
511. Shu'bah b. al-Ḥajjāj died in 160/776. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 338–46.
512. His provincial governor in al-Baṣrah.
513. Muḥammad b. al-'Alā' died ca. 248/862. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 385ff.
514. Probably 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs, who died in 192/807 (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 144–46), rather than 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Idrīs, who died in 228/843 (I, 286 n. 760).
515. It is not possible to identify this narrator with certainty.
516. The meter is *rajaz*.

chided him and sent him away when he begged from him. He replied, "He asked me for some of God's money. What will be my excuse if I meet Him when I am a treacherous ruler? Why did he not ask for some of my money?" [The source] added that ['Umar] sent him 10,000 [dirhams].

According to Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Shu'bah—Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn[517]—Ṭāriq b. Shihāb:[518] Whenever 'Umar sent governors in charge of provinces, he would say about them, "O God, I have not sent them to take the property [of the people], nor to abuse them physically. Anyone oppressed by his commander has no commander except me."

According to Ibn Bashshār[519]—Ibn Abī 'Adī—Shu'bah—Qatādah—Sālim b. Abī al-Ja'd[520]—Ma'dan b. Abī Ṭalḥah:[521] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb gave an address to his people and said, "O God, I call You to bear witness to the commanders of the garrison towns that I have sent them only to teach the people their religion and the practice of their Prophet, to distribute among them their spoils and to act with justice. If they have any doubt about any matter, they will refer it to me."

According to Abū Kurayb—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh[522]—Abū [2741]
Ḥaṣīn:[523] Whenever 'Umar appointed his governors, he would go out with them to bid them farewell, saying, "I have not appointed you governor over Muḥammad's community with limitless authority.[524] I have made you governor over them only to lead them in prayer, to make decisions among them based on what is right, and to distribute [the spoils] among them justly. I have not given you limitless authority over them. Do not flog

517. An unidentified narrator.

518. Ṭāriq b. Shihāb al-Bajalī died in ca. 84/703 or 123/741. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 3–4.

519. Muḥammad b. Bashshār died in 252/866. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 70–73.

520. Al-Ashja'ī died ca. 98/716. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 432–33.

521. Ma'dan b. Abī Ṭalḥah has a short notice in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 228, which, however, gives no date of death.

522. He died ca. 194/810. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 34–37.

523. 'Uthmān b. 'Āṣim died ca. 132/750. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 126–28.

524. For the expression *'alā ash'ārī-him wa-abshārī-him*, literally "over their hair and their skins," see *Glossarium*, CCCXII.

the Arab [troops] and humiliate them; do not keep them long from their families and bring temptation upon them; do not neglect them and cause them deprivation. Confine yourselves to the [actual text of the] Qur'ān, and do not frequently cite prophetic traditions. I am your partner." He would also allow vengeance to be taken on his governors. If there was a complaint against a governor, he would bring together the governor and the complainant. If there was a genuine case against (the governor) for which punishment was obligatory, he would punish him.

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm—Sa'īd al-Jurayrī[525]—Abū Naḍrah[526]—Abū Firās:[527] 'Umar b. al-
[2742] Khaṭṭāb made the Friday address and said, "O people, I do not send governors to you to flog you or to take your possessions. I send them to you to teach you your religion and the way you should follow. If anything other than these is done to anyone, he should refer (the matter) to me. By Him in whose hand is my soul, I shall certainly permit the law of retaliation to be used against (any governor)." Up jumped 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and said, "Do you really think you will allow the law of retaliation to be used against any commander appointed over your subjects who disciplines one of them?" ('Umar) replied, "Yes indeed, I shall certainly allow that. Why not, as I have seen the Messenger of God allow the law of retaliation against himself? Do not beat Muslims and humiliate them; do not keep them long from their families and bring temptation upon them; do not deny them their rights and turn them into infidels; do not settle them among thickets so that you lose them."[528]

'Umar reportedly would himself patrol at night, seeking out the Muslims' dwellings and personally finding out how they were faring.

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525. Sa'īd b. Iyās al-Jurayrī died in 144/761. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 5–7.

526. Al-Mundhir b. Mālik al-'Abdī al-'Awqī died ca. 109/728. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 302ff.

527. Abū Firās al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Nahdī has a brief entry in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 201.

528. Perhaps figurative, "do not take them to places they do not know, where they feel ill at ease, and do not lose control of them."

Relevant Information on [ʿUmar's Night Visits]

According to Ibn Bashshār—Abū ʿĀmir[529]—Qurrah b. Khālid[530]—Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Muzani:[531] ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb came to the door of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and knocked on it. His wife came and opened it, saying to him, "Do not enter until [2743] I have entered and sat down." So he did as she had said and entered only after she had told him to do so. He then said, "Is there anything [to eat]?" So she brought him some food and he ate it, while ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was standing saying his prayers. (ʿUmar) asked him to cut them short, so ʿAbd al-Raḥmān then recited the blessing [on the Prophet to finish his prayers]. Turning toward him, he asked the Commander of the Faithful what brought him at that time. (ʿUmar) replied that there was a group of travelers who had stopped in the area of the market and that he was afraid they might be about to be robbed. [He urged ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] to go [with him] and that they should both stand guard over them. So off they went and came to the market. They sat down on some elevated ground to talk and, [when it became dark], saw [the light of] a lamp from afar. ʿUmar said, "Did I not forbid the [use of] lamps after bedtime?" They went off [toward the light] and came across a group of people drinking. (ʿUmar) said [to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān], however, "You go on your way, for I know who it is." In the morning (ʿUmar) sent for (the culprit) and said, "So and so, you and your pals were drinking last night!" He replied, "How do you know, Commander of the Faithful?" (ʿUmar) said, "It was something which I saw with my own eyes." (The man) replied, "Did God not forbid you to spy [on people]?" (The source) continued: So he forgave him.

According to Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Muzanī: ʿUmar banned [the use of] lamps because the mice would take the wicks [to get at the oil] and drop them on the roofs of houses and they

529. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAmr al-ʿAqadī died ca. 205/821. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 409ff.

530. Qurrah b. Khālid al-Sadūsī died ca. 170/786. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 371–72.

531. Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Muzanī died in 108/726. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 484–85.

would catch fire. The roofs of houses at that time were made of palm-branches.

According to Aḥmad b. Ḥarb[532]—Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallāh al-Zubayrī[533]—his father—Rabī'ah b. 'Uthmān—Zayd b. Aslam—his father: I was going with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Ḥarrat Wāqim,[534] and when we reached Ṣirār[535] there suddenly appeared a fire which had been lit. He said, "I think, Aslam,[536] [2744] these people must be riders overtaken by nightfall and cold. Let's go!" So off we went at a good pace and we drew near to them. They were a woman with some young boys, and there was a pot set up over the fire. Her boys were all screaming. 'Umar said, "Greetings, people of the light," not wishing to call them people of the fire.[537] (The woman) returned the greeting. He asked if he might approach. She replied, "Bring us some good or leave [us] alone." ('Umar) asked what was the matter. She told him that nightfall and cold had overtaken them. He asked what was making her children cry. She told him it was hunger. "What is in this pot?" he asked. "Water," she replied, "to keep them quiet until they fall asleep. [I ask] God [to judge] between us and 'Umar!" 'Umar said, "God have mercy upon you, how can 'Umar know anything about you?" She told him, "He is in authority over us, and yet he neglects us." ('Umar) turned to me and said, "Let's go." So off we went at a good pace and reached the flour store. He took out a measure [of flour and put] a ball of fat into it. Then he said, "Let me carry [all this]." But I replied, "I will carry it on your behalf." But he insisted twice or three times, "Let me carry all this," while I was saying, "I will carry it on your behalf." He finally said to me, "Will you carry

532. Perhaps Aḥmad b. Ḥarb al-Ṭā'ī, who died in 263/876. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 23.

533. Died ca. 235/851. See Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 379.

534. The lava field (*ḥarrah*) east of Medina and still known by this name today. See Bilādī, *Mu'jam*, II, 283ff. For this anecdote, see Ṭanṭāwī, *Akhbār*, 439ff.

535. Three miles from Medina into the area of Ḥarrat Wāqim. See Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 124; Bilādī, *Mu'jam*, V, 138ff.

536. That is, the source of the story, Zayd's father.

537. *Aṣḥāb al-nār* would indicate those in Hell, so 'Umar uses the expression *aṣḥāb al-ḍaw'* for this family party.

my burden for me on the Day of Resurrection, you wretch?!" So I allowed him to carry (all the food). He made off and I with him, hastening to get back to (the woman). He gave her this [food], taking some of the flour and saying to her, "Sprinkle [it] over (the contents of the pot), while I stir it for you." He also began to blow beneath the pot—now because he had a large beard, I could see the smoke through it—until it was cooked and [the contents [2745]
of] the pot were fit to eat. He put (the pot) down [off the fire] and said, "Get something for me." So she brought a large bowl and he emptied (the contents of the pot) into it. He then said, "Feed them, while I flatten [the bread in the bowl] for you." And he continued to do this until they were satisfied. Then he left what remained of this [food] with her. He got up and I with him. "God give you a good reward," she said, "you have done better in this matter than the Commander of the Faithful!" He replied, "Speak well [of him], for when you come to the Commander of the Faithful, you will find me there, God willing." He stepped away from her a little, then faced her and lay down as a wild beast does. I told him that he had other things to do, but he did not speak to me until I saw that the children were romping around and laughing, and then they fell quiet and went to sleep. He then got up, praising God, then he turned to me and said, "Aslam, hunger kept them awake and made them cry. I did not want to leave until I could see them doing what I see [now]!"

When 'Umar wanted to order the Muslims to do something that was of benefit to them or to forbid them doing something that was not, he would begin with his own family. He would come to them, exhorting them and threatening [them] not to go against his order. According to Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-'Alā'—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar in Medina —Sālim: When 'Umar went up into the *minbar* and forbade the people from doing something, he would [first] bring together his own family and say, "I have forbidden the people from doing so and so. They all look at you as birds look—that is, at their [2746]
prey—and I swear in God's name that if I find anyone of you doing (whatever is forbidden) I shall double his punishment!"

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] said: ('Umar) was hard on those of dubious reputations and severe in [seeking out] God's truth until he extracted it, but easygoing in what was owed to him until it

was handed over to him and compassionate and full of pity for the weak.

According to 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd al-Zuhrī[538]—his paternal uncle—his father—al-Walīd b. Kathīr[539]—Muḥammad b. 'Ijlān[540]—Zayd b. Aslam—his father: Some Muslims had a word with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and said, "Speak to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, for he has inspired so much fear in us that indeed we cannot look him in the face." 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf mentioned this to 'Umar and he said, "Did they really say this?! I was indeed lenient with them to such as extent that I was afraid of God. I became severe with them to such an extent that I was afraid of God. I swear an oath in God's name that I am more afraid of them than they are of me!"

According to Abū Kurayb—Abū Bakr—'Āṣim [b. Kulayb]:
[2747] 'Umar appointed someone governor of Egypt. While 'Umar was walking through one of the streets of Medina, he heard someone say, "Good heavens, 'Umar, you appoint someone governor who acts treacherously and you say that you have no responsibility in the matter, when your governor is doing so and so!" So ('Umar) sent for (the governor) and when he arrived gave him a staff, a woolen coat, and sheep, saying to the man whose name was 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm,[541] "Pasture them, for your father was a shepherd." Then he called him back and mentioned what had been said [about him]. He added, "What if I send you back!" He returned him to his post, saying, "I must have your word that you will not wear any fine cloth, nor ride an expensive horse (*birdhawn*)."[542]

According to Abū Kurayb—Abū Usāmah[543]—'Abdallāh b. al-

538. 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd al-Zuhrī died in 260/873. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 15–16.

539. Perhaps al-Walīd b. Kathīr al-Makhzūmī, who died in 151/768. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 148.

540. Muḥammad b. 'Ijlān died in 149/766. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 341–43.

541. There is perhaps a play on words here: *ghanam* is used for sheep—a strange gift anyway—and the governor's father was called Ghanm. For 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm, see note 224, above.

542. The word cannot mean "nag" or some such inferior horse here. See Morony, *Iraq*, 211.

543. Ḥammād b. Usāmah died in Baghdad in 244/858. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 1–4.

Walīd[544]—'Āṣim—Ibn Khuzaymah b. Thābit al-Anṣarī:[545] When 'Umar appointed a governor, he would write him a certificate of investiture that would be witnessed by a group of both Emigrants and Helpers, stipulating that he should not ride an expensive horse, or eat white bread, or wear any fine cloth, or prevent the people's needs [from being satisfied].

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muslim b. Ibrāhīm[546]—Sallām b. Miskīn[547]—'Imrān:[548] When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was in need, he would go to the treasurer and ask him for a loan. Sometimes he was short of money, and the treasurer would come to ('Umar) and demand payment of his debt and would insist on its payment. So 'Umar would use his wiles against him. At other times his stipend was disbursed [to him], so he paid back (the debt).

According to Abū 'Āmir al-'Aqadī —'Īsā b. Ḥafṣ[549]—a man of Banū Salimah[550]—Ibn al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr:[551] 'Umar went out one day to go to the *minbar*. He complained of being sick and some honey was prescribed for him, there being a skin receptacle [full of it] in the treasury. He said, "If you give me permission [to take] it, I shall do so; otherwise it is forbidden to me." [2748]

'Umar's Being Called Commander of the Faithful

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] said: The first person to be called Commander of the Faithful was 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Then this practice continued and the caliphs have used (the title) to this day.

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544. Perhaps 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd b. Maymūn, whose date of death is unrecorded in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 70.

545. 'Umārah b. Khuzaymah b. Thābit al-Anṣārī died in 105/723. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 416.

546. It is not possible to identify this narrator with certainty.

547. Died ca. 167/784. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 286ff.

548. It is not possible to identify this narrator with certainty.

549. 'Īsā b. Ḥafṣ died in 157/773. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 208–9.

550. Salimah b. Sa'd, a tribal division (*baṭn*) of the Khazraj, one of the two Arab tribes in Medina in early Islam. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 358–59; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, II, 537.

551. An unidentified narrator.

Information on This Matter

According to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Anṣārī[552]—Umm 'Amr bt. Ḥassān al-Kūfiyyah[553]—her father: When 'Umar assumed power, he was addressed, "O Caliph of the Caliph of the Messenger of God." 'Umar said, "This is too long winded. When another caliph comes along, they will say, 'O Caliph of the Caliph of the Caliph of the Messenger of God!' But you are the faithful and I am your commander." So he was called Commander of the Faithful. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad said: I asked (Umm 'Amr) how many years she had lived. She replied, "133 years."

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ[554]—Abū Ḥamzah[555]—Jābir: Some one addressed 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, "O
[2749] Caliph of God." He replied, "God turn you away [from such a remark]!"[556] (The man) said, "May God make me your ransom!" ('Umar) said, "In that case, God will humiliate you!"[557]

His Institution of the [Islamic] Dating System

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] said: ('Umar) instituted the [Islamic] dating system and recorded it. According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: This was in 16 in Rabī' I [April 637]. I have already mentioned the reason for his recording this and the circumstances surrounding it.[558] 'Umar was also the first to date documents and to stamp them with clay.

He was also the first to assemble the people to one imam to lead them in the special Ramaḍān prayers.[559] He sent out written instructions to the provinces to carry this out. According

552. An unidentified narrator.
553. An unidentified narrator.
554. Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ has no date of death provided in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 293ff.
555. Abū Ḥamzah Muḥammad b. Maymūn al-Sukkārī died ca. 168/785. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 486ff.
556. Arabic, *khālafa Allāhu bi-ka*. A pun with *khalīfah*, caliph, is intended.
557. The man's reply is meant as an apology, but 'Umar is not appeased.
558. See in the text, Ṭabarī, I, 2480; Translation, XIII, 59.
559. Arabic, *tarāwīḥ*, the special prayers said after the evening prayer in Ramaḍān. See *SEI*, s.v. (Wensinck).

to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: This was in the year 14 [February 25, 635–February 14, 636]. He also appointed two public Qur'ān readers, one to lead the men in prayer, the other the women.

['Umar's] Carrying a Whip and His Instituting the State Registers[560]

He was the first to carry a whip and to use it. He was the first to institute the state registers for the people in Islam. He recorded the [names of] people according to their tribes and assigned them stipends. [2750]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Ā'idh b. Yaḥyā[561]—Abū al-Ḥuwayrith[562]—Jubayr b. al-Ḥuwayrith b. Nuqayd:[563] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb sought the advice of the Muslims on the matter of establishing state registers. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib advised him to distribute all the wealth that accrued to him every year, without keeping any. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān remarked on the large amount of wealth that was coming to the people in ample quantities. He said, "If they are not subjected to an official census so that you know who has received [wealth] and those who have not, I am afraid things will get out of hand." Al-Walīd b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah[564] said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, I have been to Syria and seen how the rulers there have instituted a state register and conscripted a regular army. So you do the same." ['Umar] took his advice and summoned 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib,[565] Makhramah b. Nawfal,[566] and

560. For *dīwān*, see Puin, *Dīwān*, passim; *EI*², s.v. [Duri].

561. An unidentified narrator.

562. Abū al-Ḥuwayrith 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiyah died ca. 130/747. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 272–73.

563. Jubayr b. al-Ḥuwayrith b. Nuqayd has a brief notice in Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 270.

564. He is unidentified.

565. 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib was the brother of 'Alī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 254. For this account, see Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 153.

566. Makhramah b. Nawfal b. Ahīb b. 'Abd Manāf al-Zuhrī was the father of al-Miswar and the cousin of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. He died in 54/674. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 337–38.

Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, genealogists of Quraysh, telling them to register people according to their ranks. So they made the registers, beginning with Banū Hāshim,[567] followed by Abū Bakr and his family, then 'Umar and his family as the first two caliphs. When 'Umar looked into (the matter), he said, "I would indeed like it to be thus, but begin with the relatives of the Messenger of God, the closest, then the next, until you register 'Umar in the appropriate place."[568]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Usāmah b. Zayd b. Aslam—his father—his grandfather: I saw
[2751] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, when it was being proposed to him that he should register [the people], with Banū Taym[569] coming after Banū Hāshim and Banū 'Adī[570] coming after Banū Taym, and I could hear him say, "Put 'Umar down in the appropriate place. Begin with the closest related to the Messenger of God, then the next." Then Banū 'Adī came to 'Umar and said, "You are the caliph of the Messenger of God." He replied, "Or the caliph of Abū Bakr and Abū Bakr was the caliph of the Messenger of God." "This is so," they replied, "What if you placed yourself where these people [who are carrying out the registration] place you!" "Excellent, excellent, Banū 'Adī," exclaimed ['Umar], "You want to take advantage of my position![571] You want me to transfer my good fortune to you. No, indeed, [you must wait] until the call comes to you, even if you come last in the register, even if you are registered after everyone else. I have two

567. That is, the Prophet's clan, a division of Quraysh.

568. 'Umar is thus refusing to allow his position as caliph to promote his own name in the register and is insisting that relationship to the Prophet alone should be the criterion of order of listing.

569. Banū Taym b. Murrah, the branch of Quraysh to which Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, the first caliph, belonged, hence its position in the register after Banū Hāshim, the Prophet's branch. See Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 275ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 135ff.; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, I, 138.

570. Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b, the branch of Quraysh to which 'Umar belonged, hence its position in the register after Banū Taym and Banū Hāshim, the branches of Abū Bakr and Muḥammad, respectively. See Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 346ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 150ff.; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, II, 766.

571. 'Umar's exclamation (*bakhin bakhin*) to his own tribe, Banū 'Adī, is sarcastic. The Arabic then reads *aradtum al-akla 'alā ẓahrī*; literally, "You want to eat off my back!".

colleagues who have gone down a [particular] road already.[572] If I am at variance with them, I myself will be led off in another direction. Indeed, we have achieved excellence only in this world, and we can only hope for God's reward in the hereafter for what we have done through Muḥammad. He is our nobility; his family are the noblest of the Arabs, then the closest related to him, then the next. The Arabs are noble through the Messenger of God. Some of them may share many ancestors with him. We ourselves meet his line of descent after [going back] only a few generations, then do not diverge from it as far back as Adam.[573] Moreover, if non-Arabs carry out [good] deeds and we do not, then they are nearer to Muḥammad than we on the Day of Resurrection. Let no one rely on close relationship, rather let him act for God's reward. For he whose effort falls short cannot get ahead by means of his ancestry."

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar— [2752]
Ḥizām b. Hishām al-Ka'bī[574]—his father: I saw 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb carry the Khuzā'ah[575] register and stop at Qudayd.[576] (Khuzā'ah) would come to him there, where all the women, virgin or otherwise, came to him and he would hand over stipends directly to them, then move on and stop in 'Usfān[577] where he would do the same also. [All this he did] until he died.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Zuhrī and 'Abd al-Malik b. Sulaymān[578]—

572. That is, the Prophet and Abū Bakr before him, whose policies, he is explaining, he must at all costs follow.

573. Arabic, *wa-la'alla ba'ḍa-hā [al-'Arab] yalqā-hu ilā ābā'in kathīratin wa-mā bayna-nā wa-bayna an nalqā-hu ilā nasabi-hi thumma lā nufāriqu-hu ilā Ādama illā ābā'an yasīratan.*

574. Ḥizām b. Hishām al-Ka'bī is unidentified.

575. A large tribal group of al-Azd inhabiting the general area of Mecca. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 331; Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 120, 179, 211; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, I, 338–40.

576. An agricultural area north of Mecca, 23 miles from 'Usfān (see next note). See Hamdānī *Ṣifah*, 120, 185; *al-Manāsik*, 415, 457, etc.; Bilādī, *Mu'jam*, VII, 97.

577. An area of cultivation 36 miles from Mecca. See Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 185; Bilādī, *Mu'jam*, VI, 100.

578. An unidentified narrator.

Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd—al-Sā'ib b. Yazīd:[579] I heard 'Umar say three times, "By God, there is no other god but He!" [He added], "Everyone has a right to some of this [community] wealth, whether he has been granted it or not. No one has more right to it than another, except a slave. I am exactly like other people in (this matter of wealth). But we [are eligible] according to our ranks [as derived] from God's book and our allotments from the Messenger of God. [It is] a man's achievement in Islam, his precedence in Islam, his usefulness in Islam, and his need [that count]. If indeed I remain alive, the shepherd where he is on the mountain of Ṣan'ā' shall certainly receive his share of this wealth!"[580]

Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad said that he mentioned this to his father and he knew the account also.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh—al-Zuhrī—al-Sā'ib b. Yazīd: I discovered that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had some horses that had the following brand on their thighs: To be used only in God's
[2753] cause.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Qays b. al-Rabī'[581]—'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib[582]—Zādhān[583]—Salmān:[584] 'Umar said to him, "Am I a king or a caliph?" Salmān replied, "If you collect from Muslim territory 1 dirham—or less or more—then you put it to use other than for what it is by right intended, you are a king, not a caliph." 'Umar wept.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—

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579. Al-Sā'ib b. Yazīd died in the 80s/ca. 700. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 450–51. If this is a correct identification, he must have been very young when he heard 'Umar's words.

580. Ṣan'ā' in the Yemen has in fact two mountains: Nuqum in the east and 'Aybān in the west. See Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 125. Here, however, 'Umar means *anyone anywhere* will receive his fair share of community wealth.

581. Qays b. al-Rabī' died in the late 160s/early 780s. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 391–95.

582. 'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib died in the 130s/747–757. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 203–7.

583. Zādhān is Abū 'Abdallāh/'Umar al-Kindī, who died in 82/701. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 302–3.

584. Salmān al-Fārisī died in the 30s/650s. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 137–39.

Usāmah b. Zayd—Nāfi', the client of Āl al-Zubayr:[585] I heard Abū Hurayrah say, "God have mercy on Ibn Ḥantamah.[586] I saw him in the Year of the Distruction[587] carrying on his back two provision bags with a skin of olive oil in his hand. He and Aslam were taking it in turns. When he saw me, he said, 'Where are you coming from, Abū Hurayrah?' I told him from near at hand, and I began to take my turn to carry. So we all eventually came to Ṣirār where there were about twenty isolated tents of Muḥārib.[588] 'Umar said, 'What has brought you here?' They replied it was exhaustion. They brought out for us some broiled carrion skin that they were eating and some powdered old bones that they were scooping into their mouths with their hands. I saw 'Umar throw his upper garment [over his shoulder], then adjust his waist wrapper. He continued cooking for them until they were satisfied. Then he sent Aslam to Medina and he brought some stallion camels on which he mounted them and set them down in al-Jabbānah.[589] He then gave them clothes, visiting them and others [in similar circumstances] frequently until God relieved the people of this drought."

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar— [2754]
Mūsā b. Ya'qūb[590]—his paternal uncle—Hishām b. Khālid:[591] I heard 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb say, "None of you [women] should sprinkle flour [into it] before the water is hot. Then you can sprinkle a little at a time and stir it in with a stirrer. This makes it more abundant and it is less apt to go lumpy."

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. Muṣ'ab al-

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585. Āl al-Zubayr b. al-'Awāmm is a tribal group (*baṭn*) of Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā of Quraysh. See Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 236ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 121–22; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, II, 467.

586. Ḥantamah was 'Umar's mother, so Ibn Ḥantamah means 'Umar himself. See page 95, above.

587. 'Ām al-Ramādah (the "Year of Destruction") occurred in the year 17 or 18/638–639, a year in which much destruction took place as a result of drought. See Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1154–55; Ṭanṭāwī, *Akhbār*, 140.

588. Muḥārib is probably Muḥārib b. Fihr of 'Adnān, but Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, III, 1042–44, lists several tribes of this name.

589. I take this to be a place name here, as Bilādī (*Mu'jam*, II, 115) indicates that the area near the burial ground of Medina was known by this name. Apart from "burial ground", the word *jabbānah* also means "place of prayer."

590. Mūsā b. Ya'qūb al-Zam'ī's death date is not recorded. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 378ff.

591. An unidentified narrator.

Qarqasāni[592]—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Maryam[593]—Rāshid b. Sa'd:[594] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was brought some wealth and he began to distribute it among the people who all thronged around him. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ pushed his way roughly through the people and reached 'Umar. (The latter) assailed him with his whip, saying, "You come here showing no respect for God's authority on earth! I want to teach you that God's authority will show you no respect!"

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Umar b. Sulaymān b. Abī Ḥathmah[595]—his father: al-Shafā bt. 'Abdallāh[596] said, "I saw some young men walking along at a moderate pace, talking softly." She asked who they were and was told they were ascetics. She said, "When 'Umar spoke, he made [people] hear; when he walked, he moved quickly; when he beat [someone], he brought pain. He in truth was the ascetic!"

[2755] According to 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]—'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir: 'Umar helped a man carry something, so the man blessed him, saying, "May your sons be of benefit to you, Commander of the Faithful!" ('Umar) replied, "Rather may God enable me to do without them!"

According to 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad—'Umar b. Mujāshi':[597] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, "Strength in what one does [comes only] when you do not put off today's deed until tomorrow. Trustworthiness [comes only] when what is kept secret does not run counter to what is made public. Fear God; piety [comes only] through fear; anyone fearing God will be preserved by Him."[598]

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592. Muḥammad b. Muṣ'ab al-Qarqasānī's *nisbah* I vocalize from the Leiden text and from Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, IV, 327), who briefly mentions a place called Qarqasān. His date of death is given in Ibn Ḥajar's *Tahdhīb*, IX, 458–60, as 280 or 288/893 or 901. Cf. Translation, I, 267 n. 633.

593. According to Ibn Ḥajar's *Tahdhīb*, XII, 28–30, Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh died in 256/870, but this does not find universal support. Cf. Translation, I, 217 n. 350.

594. It is not possible to identify this narrator with certainty.

595. An unidentified narrator.

596. An unidentified narrator.

597. An unidentified narrator.

598. Arabic, *man yattaqi Allāha yaqi-hi*.

According to 'Umar—'Alī—'Awānah[599]—al-Sha'bī and someone other than 'Awānah, one adding to what the other had to say: 'Umar used to wander around the markets, reciting the Qur'ān and making judgments among the people wherever litigants caught up with him.

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ[600]—Mūsā b. 'Uqbah:[601] A group of people came to 'Umar and said, "Our family is large and the burden is heavy. Increase our stipends." He replied, "You are responsible (for your own problems)! From God's wealth you have married fellow wives and have taken servants. Yes indeed, I would like to be on a ship[602] with you [2756] out at sea, traveling east and west. It would not then be difficult for those (on board) to appoint one of them as their leader. If he went straight, they would follow him. If he deviated from the right course, they would kill him." Ṭalḥah said, "Why did you not say, 'If he deviated, they would dismiss him.'?" ('Umar) replied, "No, killing is a better deterrent to anyone coming after him. Beware of the young man of Quraysh and the son of their nobleman[603] who always sleeps content and who laughs when angry, dealing with those above him and those below him [in the same way]."

According to 'Umar—'Alī—'Abdallāh b. Dāwūd al-Wāsiṭī[604]—Zayd b. Aslam: 'Umar said, "We used to reckon that someone lending [money] was stingy, but it was only showing friendly concern."[605]

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599. 'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī died ca. 150/767. See Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 89ff.

600. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Dīnār died in 168/785. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 225ff.

601. Mūsā b. 'Uqbah, the famous *maghāzī* writer, died in 141/759. See Duri, *Rise*, 32–33; Guillaume, *Life*, xvi, xliii etc.; Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 131ff., 393ff.

602. Although there seems to be no convincing support for the Cairo reading *fī safīnatin* (singular) rather than the Leiden *fī safīnatayn* (dual), I accept the former as it clearly makes more sense and the following verb *tadhhabu* is singular.

603. The reference here eludes me.

604. He has a short notice in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 200–1, although no date of death is given.

605. Or "[a means of] sharing [wealth]."

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Ibn Da'b[606]—Abū Ma'bad al-Aslamī[607]—Ibn 'Abbās:[608] 'Umar said to a group of Quraysh, "I have heard that you are all sitting apart, no two of you sitting together, until it is asked who so-and-so's friends are, who are the people who usually sit with so-and-so. The result is that meetings are being avoided. I swear by God that this will quickly damage your faith and your honor and will quickly damage also the state of friendship among you. It is indeed as if I can see those who will come after you saying, 'This is so-and-so's opinion; they have divided Islam.' Make your meetings accessible to you all and sit together, for this will make your fellowship last longer and increase your respect for one another. O God, they have had enough of me and I of them. I am fed up with myself and they are fed up with me also. I do not know through which one of us the [real] calamity will come about. But I am aware that they have others on their side, so take me unto Yourself!"

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad[609]—his father: 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'ah[610] took delivery of some mares
[2757] in Medina, but 'Umar forbade him [to keep them]. He was urged to allow him, [but] he said, "I shall only allow him [to keep them] if he brings in fodder from outside Medina." So he kept them tethered and brought in fodder from some land he had in the Yemen.[611]

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Abū Ismā'īl al-Hamdānī[612]—Mujālid: I heard that some people mentioned a certain man to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, saying, "Commander of the Faithful, [he is]

606. An unidentified narrator.

607. Abū Ma'bad Nāfidh al-Aslamī was Ibn 'Abbās's client; he died in Medina in 104/722. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 404.

608. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the cousin of the Prophet and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, died ca. 70/689. See *EI*[2] s.v. [Veccia Vaglieri].

609. An unidentified narrator.

610. He was governor of the Yemen. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 208.

611. It seems unlikely that 'Abdallāh would go all the way to the Yemen to provide fodder, and it should be noted, the word *yaman* is used all over the Arabian Peninsula to indicate the south, whether near or far, just as *al-shām* indicates the north. This may, therefore, mean "in the south [of Medina]."

612. An unidentified narrator.

excellent; he knows nothing of evil." ('Umar) replied, "In this case there is more likelihood of evil happening to him!"[613]

Some Excerpts from His Addresses

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Abū Ma'shar—Ibn al-Munkadir[614] and others, and Abū Mu'ādh al-Anṣārī[615]—al-Zuhrī, and Yazīd b. 'Iyāḍ[616]—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr,[617] and 'Alī b. Mujāhid—Ibn Isḥāq—Yazīd b. 'Iyāḍ[618]—'Abdallāh b. Abī Isḥāq[619]—Yazīd b. Rūmān[620]—'Urwah b. al-Zubayr:[621] 'Umar delivered an address. He praised and extolled God in a worthy manner. Then he reminded the people of God and the last day. He then said,

> O people, I have been appointed over you; were it not for the hope that I shall prove to be the best of you for you, the toughest on you, and best able of you to undertake your constantly changing and preoccupying affairs, I would not have undertaken this [responsibility] from you. Waiting to meet the [day of] reckoning for taking your rights as I do and placing them where I do and for conducting myself among you as I do is enough to preoccupy and sadden 'Umar. My Lord is the One whose help must be sought. For 'Umar no longer trusts in [2758]
> strength and strategem if God does not continue to extend to him His mercy, help and support.

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613. The text of De Goeje's *Selection* ends at this point. See note 394.

614. Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir died ca. 130/748. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 473–75; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 65.

615. His date of death is not given in the biographies. He has an entry in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 168–69.

616. Yazīd b. 'Iyāḍ b. Ju'dubah died in al-Baṣrah during the caliphate of the Abbasid al-Mahdī (158–169/775–785). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 352–54.

617. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī died ca. 135/752. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 164–65.

618. I have retained this name in translation, although there appears to be dittography here.

619. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Isḥāq died in 129/746. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 148. This could, however, be dittography, the "'Abdallāh b." from 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr and the "Isḥāq" from Ibn Isḥāq.

620. Yazīd b. Rūmān al-Asadī died in 130/747. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 325.

621. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, the famous early historian, died ca. 95/714. See Duri, *Rise*, 76–8 and passim; Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 130ff., 395; Sezgin *GAS*, I, 278ff.

Another Address

God has put me in charge of your affairs, because I am aware of what is most advantageous for you in your present situation. I ask God to assist me to carry out (this task) and to preserve me as I do it as He has preserved me in other (tasks) and to inspire me with justice when I make distributions among you in the way He has commanded. I am a Muslim, but am a weak servant, except for as long as God assists me. What I have undertaken in my position as your caliph will never change anything of my nature, God willing. Greatness belongs to God, not to (His) servants. Let none of you say that 'Umar has changed for the worse since he took office. I shall ascertain what is right by myself and I shall proceed [on this basis]. I shall explain to you what I am doing. So any man who has a need, or who suffers any oppression, or who blames us for our behavior, should inform me. I am only a man from among you. You must show piety toward God in your secret and open dealings, and as far as what is inviolable and your honor are concerned. Proclaim what is right on your own and do not compel one another to seek litigation before me, for I show no particular leniency in my dealings with any person. Your welfare is dear to me; your criticism is of concern to me; you are people the general mass of whom are settled dwellers in God's land and people of a region without crops and livestock except for what God provides. God has promised you much bounty. I am responsible for the trust placed in me and for the position I am in. I shall personally inspect closely what faces me at the present time, God willing. I shall not
[2759] delegate responsibility to anyone else. I can do only what is remote from (what immediately faces me at the present time) with the help of trusty supporters and those who give good advice from among you to the people at large. I shall not place my trust in anyone else's hands, God willing.

Another Address

After praising and extolling God and blessing the Prophet, ('Umar) said,

> O people, some greed [breeds a sense of] poverty; some despair [of not getting what one wants breeds a sense of] freedom from want. You bring together what you do not consume and you hope for what you do not attain. You have been placed for a defined period of time in a "deceiving abode."[622] You were dealt with through the revelation in the time of the Messenger of God: those who kept things secret were dealt with according to their secrecy. Those who did things openly were dealt with according to their openness. But [now] show us the best of your character, while God knows your secrets well. For those who show us what is bad,[623] yet claim that what they keep secret is good, will not be believed by us; as for those who show us something good openly, we shall think good of them. You should know that some avarice is a part of hypocrisy. "Spend what is good for yourselves; those who are saved from their own avarice, they are the successful ones."[624]
>
> O people, make good your abode, put your affairs aright, and fear God, your Lord. Do not dress your womenfolk in fine cotton clothes (*qabāṭī*), for [even] if they are not transparent, yet they will allow [the shape of their bodies] to be visualized.
>
> O people, I would indeed like to be delivered on a completely even basis, neither to my advantage nor to my disadvantage. I do also hope that, however long I am permitted to live, I do what is right among you, God willing, and that no Muslim will remain—even if he is in his own home—to whom his right and his share of God's wealth has not come, nor [that] he exerts himself [2760]

622. That is, the lower world. See Qur'ān, III:185.
623. The texts read *shay'an*, which is emended to *sayyi'an*.
624. Qur'ān, LXIV:16.

for it without his having it allotted to him. Put your wealth that God has provided for you in good order. A little [gained] gently is better than much violently. Being killed is one form of death that afflicts the pious and the impious alike. The [true] martyr is he who sacrifices himself [to seek God's reward]. If one of you wants a stallion camel, he should go for a large, tall one. He should strike it with his stick and if he finds it is spirited, he should buy it.[625]

Another Address

God has imposed upon you gratitude and instituted the pilgrimage for you as part of the bounty of the hereafter and this world that He has provided for you, without your asking Him or wishing it from Him. He created you, after you were nothing, for Himself and for you to worship Him. He had the power to make you subservient to the weakest of His creation, but rather He made subservient to you the general mass of His creation. He did not make you subservient to anything other than He. And He "subjected to you what is in the heavens and on earth and made His favors abound upon you, both open and hidden."[626] "He carried you by land and sea."[627] "And He gave you of good things, perchance you might be grateful."[628] Then He made for you hearing and sight. Of God's favors to you are those that He granted to mankind in general and others that He granted exclusively to the people of your faith. These general and special favors are continued during your turn of fortune, your time, and your generation. None of these favors has come to anyone in particular without, if he were to share out what he received among all the people, their

625. The abrupt change of subject may indicate that the camel here is metaphorical, rather than real. The meaning would therefore be: if you want something in life, go for the best and do all you can to acquire it.

626. Qur'ān, XXXI:20.

627. After Qur'ān, XVII:70.

628. Qur'ān, VIII:26.

gratitude for it being difficult for them and their right to have it overburdening them, except with God's help along with faith in God and His Messenger. You are appointed successors on earth and conquerors of its people. God has given your faith victory. No other community who differs from you in faith is left except two: one rendered submissive to Islam and to those who follow it, they paying you tribute, while [the Muslims] take the best of their livelihood, what they have earned and [produced with] the sweat of their brow; they must work hard, while you have the benefit;[629] and a [second] community waiting for God's battles and attacks every day and night. God has filled their hearts with terror. They have no refuge to which they can flee or an escape by means of which they can guard against attack.[630] God's armies came upon them suddenly and right into their own territory. [All this you have been granted] along with an abundance of food, a pouring out of wealth, the repeated dispatch of [victorious] troops and the [successful] defense of the frontier areas with God's permission, together excellent general security better than which this community had not experienced since Islam came into existence—God be praised!—along with the great conquests in every land. With all this, what might the gratitude of the grateful, the utterances of those who mention [God] and the striving of those who strive, along with these favors that are innumerable, incalculable and the debt that cannot be paid except with God's help, mercy, and kindness, achieve? We ask God—there is no other than He—who has conferred this upon us to grant us that we act in obedience to Him and hasten to do what pleases Him. [2761]

Remember, o servants of God, God's favor among you and seek to have an increase in His favor to you and in

629. That is, the Persians in the east, most of whom have been subjugated by the Muslims.

630. That is, the Byzantines in the west, so far subjugated only in Syria.

your meeting places "in twos and singly."[631] God said to Moses, "Bring out your people from the darkness into the light and remind them of God's days."[632] To Muḥammad he said, "Remember when you were few
[2762] and considered weak in the land."[633] Even if, when you were weak and deprived of the goodness of this lower world, you had been following a part of the truth, believing in it, secure in it with knowledge of God and His faith, and thereby hoping for goodness after death, this would be so. But [in fact] you struggled the most for a livelihood [in this world] and were [at the same time] the most confirmed in your ignorance of God. If (Islam) that He [sent] to save you had come without affluence in this world, but were nonetheless a security for you in the hereafter to which you will return, while you continued to struggle for your livelihood as you had before, you would still do your best to hold fast to your share of Islam and put it above others. [All the more is this true], as He has [in fact] combined for you the excellence of the lower world and the bounty of the hereafter. He [then] among you who wishes to combine it for him, I would remind of God who intervenes between [a man and his] heart, charging you to recognize God's right and act accordingly, to force yourselves to obey Him and to combine your pleasure in His favors with a fear of them and their being removed and a feeling of unease because of them and their being changed. For there is nothing that deprives you more of favor than not being grateful for it. Gratitude is a safeguard against [what] the changing fortunes of time [will bring about], a way of increasing favor and establishing a claim to more. [All] this is for God binding upon me in the orders I give you and in the prohibitions I make.

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631. Qur'ān, XXXIV:46.
632. Qur'ān, XIV:5.
633. Qur'ān, VIII:26.

Those Who Have Lamented and Elegized 'Umar—Some of the Elegies Written about Him

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Abū 'Abdallāh al-Burjumī[634]—Hishām b. 'Urwah:[635] A woman weeping for 'Umar said, "Alas, my heart burns for 'Umar; a burning sensation that has spread and filled all mankind!" Another woman said, "Alas, my heart burns for 'Umar; a burning sensation that has spread until it has [2763] become known throughout the whole of mankind!"

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Ibn Da'b and Sa'īd b. Khālid[636]—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān—al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah: When 'Umar died, Ibnat Abī Ḥathmah[637] said, "Alas for 'Umar; he straightened whatever was crooked; he made better anyone suffering pain; he put an end to dissensions; he revived the [true] practices [of religion]; he went out in clean clothes, free from blemish."[638]

According to al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah: When 'Umar was buried, I came to 'Alī, wanting to hear something about 'Umar from him. He came out shaking his head and his beard, having washed himself and wrapped himself in a garment and not doubting that the caliphate would finally be his. He said, "God have mercy on Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb! Ibnat Abī Ḥathmah was right. [In death,] he has taken away the good of [the lower world][639] and escaped from its evil. Oh indeed, she did not [herself] speak; but rather she was inspired."

'Ātikah bt. Zayd b. 'Amr recited the following about 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb:[640]

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634. An unidentified narrator.

635. Hishām b. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr died in 146/763. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 48–51.

636. It is not possible to identify this narrator with certainty.

637. She is unidentified.

638. The speaker delivers her elegy in rhymed prose: *al-awad* (crooked)/*al-'amad* (suffering pain); *al-fitan* (dissensions)/*al-sunan* (religious practices); *al-thawb* (clothing)/*al-'ayb* (blemish).

639. I take this vague feminine pronoun to refer to *dunyā*.

640. The meter is *ṭawīl*. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 30. The poetess 'Ātikah bt. Zayd b. 'Amr had, according to Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVI, 133ff., some famous husbands in her time on whose deaths she composed elegies: Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, 'Umar himself, and Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. See page 101, above.

Fayrūz[641]—may his wealth not be abundant!—has caused me distress
by [the death of] one full of honor,[642] who recited the Book and was obedient to God;
Compassionate to those closest [to him], tough against his enemies,
someone to trust in times of bad fortune and answering [the demands of his people].
Whenever he gave his word, his deeds did not belie his word;
[he was] swift to [perform] good deeds, and not with a frown.

[2764] She also recited as follows:[643]

O my eye, shed all your tears copiously
and weary not of [weeping] for the noble imam.
Fate brought me distress with [the death of] the horseman wearing the badge of courage
on the day when there was agitation and [much] to-ing and fro-ing.
[He was] the protection of his people, their helper against Fate,
the succor of the afflicted and the deprived.
Tell those who are happy and those in distress, "Die!
Fate has given ('Umar) Death's cup from which to drink."

Another woman recited the following, weeping over him:[644]

The women of the tribe will weep for you;
grieving, they will weep,
Scratching their faces, [previously] like
[shining] dinars, [all] pure,
And wearing clothes of grief
after their finery (*qaṣabiyyāt*).

641. That is, Abū Lu'lu'ah, the assassin of 'Umar; see note 399.
642. That is, 'Umar himself.
643. The meter is *khafīf*. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 30.
644. The meter is *hazaj*.

Some of 'Umar's Meritorious Deeds Not Previously Recorded

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Ali b. Muḥammad [al-Madā-'inī]—Ibn Ju'dubah[645]—Ismā'īl b. Abī Ḥakīm[646]—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab:[647] 'Umar went on the pilgrimage and when he was at Ḍajnān,[648] he said, "There is no god but God, the Great, the Sublime, the Giver of what He wishes to whomsoever He wishes. I used to pasture the camels of al-Khaṭṭāb in this wadi, wearing a woolen tunic. [My father] was a harsh man and used to wear me out when I was working and beat me when I slacked off. Now I find myself in a situation in which there is no one between me and God." Then he quoted the following verses as an example [of his own situation]:[649]

There is nothing of what you see whose joy lasts; [2765]
God endures, whereas wealth and children perish.
His treasures have never been of any avail to any Persian ruler,
and 'Ād[650] have tried to achieve eternal life, but they were not eternal.
There is no Solomon, despite the fact that the winds swept for him,[651]
while men and jinn mixed together hastened [to his command].
Where are the rulers to whose gifts
riders came from all directions?
At the inevitable pool of death there
[we] must drink one day, as [others already] have.

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645. Ibn Ju'dubah is Yazīd b. 'Iyāḍ. See note 616, above.

646. Ismā'īl b. Abī Ḥakīm al-Qurashī died in 130/747. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 289.

647. Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab died ca. 94/713. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 84–88; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 276.

648. A small mountain 25 miles north of Mecca on the Medina road. See Bilādī, *Mu'jam*, V, 189–91.

649. The meter is *basīṭ*. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 30.

650. One of the pre-Islamic tribes mentioned in the Qur'ān who refused to accept the message to abandon their gods and worship God. See Qur'ān, XXVI:129, where they are accused by their messenger, Hūd, of "taking to yourselves strongholds, perchance you might live forever."

651. In the Qur'ān (XXXIV:12) Solomon is given the wind by God, and (XXXVIII:36) God made the wind subservient to him.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī—Abū al-Walīd al-Makkī:[652] While 'Umar was sitting down a lame man came up to him leading a limping she-camel. He stopped and recited the following:[653]

You have been made our ruler whereas we are the subjects;
you, 'Umar, are summoned by virtue of your mark of distinction.
When the evil of an evil day falls on its evil men,
[then, by contrast] Muḍar[654] has today placed upon you [the glory] of their noble deeds.

['Umar] exclaimed, "There is no might and power except in God!"[655] The man complained that his she-camel was lame. So
[2766] 'Umar took the she-camel, gave him a red camel as a fresh mount and provisioned him, and he went on his way. 'Umar left later on pilgrimage, and while he was traveling along, he came across a rider who was reciting the following:[656]

No one has ruled over us like you, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb,
[no one] more beneficent to those distant [from you], nor to his friends,
after the Prophet, him of the Book.

So 'Umar prodded him with a stick he was carrying and said, "What about Abū Bakr?"

According to 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ—'Abd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq:[657] 'Umar appointed 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān[658] as governor of Kinānah.[659] He

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652. Abū al-Walīd al-Makkī is Yasār b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 274.

653. The meter is *ṭawīl*.

654. Muḍar is a huge tribal conferation amounting to a very large proportion of all the northern Arab tribes known collectively as 'Adnān. See Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, III, 1107.

655. 'Umar is apologizing for not having done his duty.

656. The meter is *rajaz*.

657. 'Abd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq has a brief notice without date of death in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 428.

658. 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb was the brother of Mu'āwiyah.

659. This is in all probability the large tribal group in the Mecca area, Kinānah b. Khuzaymah. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 11ff., 180; Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 10ff.; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, III, 996–98.

arrived back, bringing some wealth with him. ('Umar) asked him what it was. He said it was wealth he had taken with him and with which he had engaged in business. ('Umar) said, "What are you doing taking wealth with you in this way?" ('Umar) put it in the treasury. Now when 'Uthmān became caliph, he said to Abū Sufyān,[660] "If you demand what 'Umar took from 'Utbah, I shall return it to him." Abū Sufyān replied, "If you contradict your predecessor, the people will think badly of you. Beware of going against your predecessor, lest your successor go against you!"

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Rabī' b. al-Nu'-mān,[661] Abū al-Mujālid Jarād b. 'Amr,[662] Abū 'Uthmān, Abū Ḥārithah,[663] and Abū 'Amr,[664] the client of Ibrāhīm b. Ṭal-ḥah[665]—Zayd b. Aslam—his father: Hind bt. 'Utbah[666] paid her respects to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and asked him for a loan from the treasury of 4,000 [dirhams] with which to engage in business, and at the same time making herself responsible for (the sum). ('Umar) lent her the money and she took it off to the territory of Kalb,[667] where she bought and sold. She heard that Abū Sufyān and 'Amr b. Abī Sufyān[668] had gone to Mu'āwiyah, so she left [2767]
Kalb territory and came to see Mu'āwiyah. (This was when Abū Sufyān had already divorced her.) "What brings you here, mother?" Mu'āwiyah asked. She replied, "To see you, my son. [You know that] 'Umar works only [to please] God. Your father, [I note], has already been to you, and I was afraid that you will give him all sorts of things, as he is worthy of this. But people

660. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was the father of 'Utbah.
661. Al-Rabī' b. al-Nu'mān has a brief entry in Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 165.
662. An unidentified narrator.
663. An unidentified narrator.
664. An unidentified narrator.
665. An unidentified narrator.
666. Hind bt. 'Utbah, wife of Abū Sufyān, mother of Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr (see note 668, below).
667. There are several tribes of this name, but one can perhaps assume Kalb b. Wabarah is meant here, a tribal group (*baṭn*) of Quḍā'ah, by origin a southern, Qaḥṭānī tribe. If this is the case, Hind would have been conducting her business in the northern Ḥijāz and the Jawf area in the north of the Peninsula. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 455ff.; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, III, 990–92; *EI*², s.v. "Kalb" (Fück/Dixon).
668. 'Amr b. Abī Sufyān, brother of Mu'āwiyah and son of Hind.

will not know the source of the wherewithall you had to make the gift, so they will blame you severely, and 'Umar will too and so will never absolve her of the [money] owed [to the treasury]." So [Mu'āwiyah] sent [only] a hundred dinars [from Hind's money] to his father and brother ['Amr], clothed them, and gave them mounts. But 'Amr considered this too much and Abū Sufyān said, "Do not think [it is too much], for Hind has been involved in this gift and was present at a discussion [about it]." So they all returned and Abū Sufyān said to Hind, "Did you make any profit?" "God knows best!" she replied, "I [still] have some business in Medina." When she reached Medina and sold [her goods], she complained about what had been paid out to them. 'Umar said to her, "If the money [you owe] were mine, I would leave it to you. But it is the Muslims' money and this is a discussion in which Abū Sufyān has been involved." So ['Umar] sent for [Abū Sufyān] and detained him until she paid [the money] in full. ['Umar] asked [Abū Sufyān], "How much did Mu'āwiyah give you?" He replied, "A hundred dinars."

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Maslamah b. Muḥārib[669]—Khālid al-Ḥadhdhā'[670]—'Abdallāh b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'ah[671]—al-Aḥnaf: 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr[672] came to 'Umar as he was assigning state stipends to the people. Now ['Abdallāh's] father was killed a martyr at the battle of Ḥunayn,[673] so he said, "O Commander of the Faithful, give me a stipend." But ['Umar] paid no attention to him. So he gave ['Umar] a prod. 'Umar cried, "Ouch!"
[2768] and then turned to him and said, "Who are you?" He told him he was 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr, so ['Umar] said [to his servant], "Yarfa', give him 600." He gave him 500, but ['Abdallāh] did not accept it and said, "The Commander of the Faithful has given orders that I receive 600." And he went back and told ['Umar]. He said, "Give him 600 and a complete garment,

669. An unidentified narrator.
670. An unidentified narrator.
671. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'ah has a brief entry in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 265.
672. It is not possible to identify this man with certainty.
673. This battle took place in 8/629 and the Prophet and his Muslim forces defeated a Meccan army. Ḥunayn is a wadi only about 10 miles from Mecca itself. See Ṭabarī, I, 1654ff.; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, pp. 442ff.; Guillaume, *Life*, 566ff. For the lcoation of the wadi, see Bilādī, *Mu'jam*, III, 70–73.

Yarfa'." So the latter did. ['Abdallāh] put the garment on and threw away what he had been wearing. But 'Umar said to him, "My son, take these clothes of yours for serving your family and [keep] this one to make you look smart!"

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Abū al-Walīd al-Makkī—one of the sons of Ṭalḥah—Ibn 'Abbās: I went with 'Umar on one of his journeys. We were traveling one night, and I came near to him as he struck the front of his saddle with his whip and recited the following:[674]

You have lied, by the house of God! Will Aḥmad be killed[675]
when we have not yet come to his defense with spears and arrows?
Shall we surrender him before we are slain around him
and neglect our sons and spouses?

Then he said, "I ask God for forgiveness [for implying ill of the Prophet's house]!" He went on without speaking for a little while, then he recited as follows:[676]

No she-camel has borne on her saddle
one more pious and more faithful when he makes a covenant than Muḥammad;
One more generous to give away a red and black striped garment
before it is worn out
and who gives away more thoroughbred horses.

Then he said, "I ask God for forgiveness, Ibn 'Abbās! What prevented 'Alī from coming with us?" I replied, "I do not know." He continued, "Ibn 'Abbās, your father is the paternal uncle of the Messenger of God. You are his cousin. What has kept your people from [putting] you [in authority]?" I replied that I did not know. He continued, "But I do know; they do not [2769]

674. The poem was composed by Abū Ṭālib after the battle of Badr. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 24. The meter is *ṭawīl*.

675. The poem was uttered by the dying 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith after the battle of Badr, in fact quoting Abū Ṭālib's composition. The *Sīrah* version [Ibn Hishām, II, 24] reads *yubzā Muḥammadun*, that is, "will Muhammad be maltreated," rather than the Ṭabarī text *yuqtalu Aḥmadu*. The "Aḥmad" of the text means "Muḥammad." See also Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 70.

676. By Anas b. Zunaym al-Dīlī; see Guillaume, *Life*, 559. The meter is *ṭawīl*.

like your being put in charge of them." I said, "Why, when we are good to them?" ('Umar) replied, "O God, [grant] forgiveness. They do not like you to combine the prophethood and the caliphate among yourselves, lest it bring about self-aggrandizement and pride. You will perhaps say, 'Abū Bakr did this.' No indeed, but Abū Bakr did the most resolute thing he could. If he had made (the caliphate) yours, he would not have benefited you despite your close ties of relationship [to the Prophet]. Recite to me what the poet of poets, Zuhayr, composed:[677]

When Qays b. 'Aylān[678] hasten to a glorious goal,
the one who reaches it first is made chief."

So I recited it to him as dawn broke. ('Umar) said, "Recite 'The Event'."[679] So I recited it. Then he dismounted and said his prayers, reciting "The Event" [in them].

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—a source—'Ikrimah[680]—Ibn 'Abbās: As 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and some of his friends were reciting poetry together, one said that so and so was the best poet. Another said that, rather, so and so was the best poet. (Ibn 'Abbās) continued: I arrived and 'Umar remarked, "The most knowledgeable on the subject has just arrived." And he asked, "Who is the best poet, Ibn 'Abbās?" I replied it was Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā. 'Umar asked me to provide some of his poetry that would prove what I had said. I said, "He eulogized a group of Banū 'Abdallāh b. Ghaṭafān as follows:[681]

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677. The meter is *ṭawīl*. The poet is Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, one of the greatest of the pre-Islamic poets. See Tha'lab, *Sharḥ*, 234; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, IX, 146ff. The poem in question is quoted on 147.

678. A large tribal confederation of 'Adnān. The name Qays is synonymous with the northern tribes, 'Adnān. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 468ff., 480ff.; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, III, 972–93; *EI*², s.v. (Watt).

679. Sūrat al-Wāqi'ah, Qur'ān, LVI, the "Event" being the day of Judgment. This is perhaps a more specific reference to "those coming first" (*al-sābiqūna*) in verse 10.

680. A client of Ibn 'Abbās and famous narrator; he died ca. 107/725. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 263–73.

681. A tribal group (*baṭn*) of Sa'd b. Qays b. 'Aylān of 'Adnān, of whom Zuhayr was a member (Shantamarī, *Dīwān*, 150). Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 248–49; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, II, 732–33. For the poem itself, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 31. It does not figure in Zuhayr's *Dīwān*. The meter is *basīṭ*.

If there were sitting above the sun [in a position] of nobility
a people by means of their ancestry or their glory, (Banū 'Abdallāh b. Ghaṭafān) would be they.
[They are] a people whose ancestor is a spearhead; when you examine their pedigree, [2770]
they have an excellent one, as do all their offspring.
[They are] men when they feel safe, jinn when they are afraid,
warriors ready to sacrifice themselves when they come together,
Envied for what good things they have;
may God not remove from them the thing for which they are envied."

"Bravo!" exclaimed 'Umar, "I do not know of anyone more worthy of such poetry than this branch of Banū Hāshim[682] because of the excellence of the Messenger of God and their close relationship to him." I said, "May you be granted lasting success, Commander of the Faithful." ('Umar) said, "Do you know, Ibn 'Abbās, what kept your people from [being put] over (Quraysh) after Muḥammad's death?" I did not want to answer, so I said, "If I do not know, then the Commander of the Faithful will tell me." 'Umar said, "They were unwilling for you to combine the prophethood and the caliphate, lest you magnify yourselves above your own people and be proud. Quraysh made the choice for themselves; they were right and have been granted success." I said, "Commander of the Faithful, if you will permit me and not get angry with me, I shall speak." He allowed me to do so, so I said, "As for your saying, Commander of the Faithful, that Quraysh have made their choice for themselves and that they were right and have been granted success, if Quraysh had made the same choice for themselves as God did for them, then right would be theirs, unrejected and unenvied. As for your saying that (Quraysh) were averse to the prophethood and the caliphate being ours, God has described one people as being averse and said, 'This is because they were averse to what God revealed, so He made their works fruitless.'"[683]

682. That is, Banū al-'Abbās.
683. Qur'ān, XLVII: 9. The Qur'ān is clearly referring to unbelievers.

[2771] 'Umar said, "Far from it indeed,[684] Ibn 'Abbās. I used to hear things about you of which I was reluctant to inquire, lest they bring about your removal from your position with me." I said, "What are they, Commander of the Faithful? If they are right, they should not [be such as to] remove me from my position with you; if they are false, then someone like me will remove the falsehood from himself." 'Umar said, "I have heard that you are saying they have turned (the caliphate) away from you out of envy and injustice." I replied, "When you say out of injustice, Commander of the Faithful, it has already become clear to the ignorant and the thoughtful alike; when you say out of envy, Iblīs was envious of Ādam,[685] and we are his offspring who are envied." 'Umar said, "Far from it! Your hearts, Banū Hāshim, have refused [to show anything] other than unchanging envy and increasing spite and malice." I replied, "Take it easy, Commander of the Faithful; do not describe the hearts of a people from whom God has removed uncleanness, and whom He has purified completely, as being envious and malicious. The heart of the Messenger of God is one of the hearts of Banū Hāshim." 'Umar retorted, "Leave me, Ibn 'Abbās." I said I would comply, but, when I went to get up, he became embarrassed at what he had said to me and said, "Stay where you are, Ibn 'Abbās. I shall tend to your right and approve of what gives you pleasure." I replied, "Commander of the Faithful, I have a right that is incumbent upon you and every Muslim. Anyone who preserves it will achieve good fortune; anyone who does not will lose good fortune." Then he got up and went away.

According to Aḥmad b. 'Umar[686]–Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī[687]—'Ikrimah b. 'Ammār[688]—Iyās b. Salamah[689]—his father: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb passed through the market carrying

684. That is, that Quraysh are in any way attempting to thwart the legitimate rights of the 'Alid family.

685. Iblīs, the Devil, was the angel in Islamic tradition who refused to prostrate himself before Adam. See Qur'ān, VII: 11, 19ff.; XX:115ff.

686. Cairo reads Aḥmad b. 'Amr. It is not possible to identify him with certainty.

687. He died in 205/820. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 382.

688. He died in 159/775. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 261–63.

689. He died in Medina in 119/737. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 388–89.

his whip. He dealt me a blow with it and caught the edge of my garment, saying, "Get out of the way." The following year he [2772] met me and said, "Are you intending to go on the pilgrimage, Salamah?" When I told him that I was, he took me by the hand to his house and gave me 600 dirhams, saying, "Use them to make your pilgrimage, and you should know that they are by way of compensation for the lash that I gave you." I replied, "But I had not remembered it, Commander of the Faithful." "But I had not forgotten it!" he exclaimed.

According to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bayān[690]—Muḥammad b. Yazīd[691]—Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid—Salamah b. Kuhayl:[692] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, "O subjects, you have an obligation to us to give advice on what is unknown and to cooperate in doing good. There is no forbearance (*ḥilm*) dearer to God and more generally advantageous than that of a gentle leader. O subjects, there is no ignorance more hateful to God and more generally evil than that of a harsh leader. O subjects, he who enjoins well-being for someone in his midst, God will bring him well-being from above."

According to Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn[693]—Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—'Īsā b. Yazīd b. Da'b—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Zayd[694]—'Imrān b. Sawādah:[695] I said the morning prayer with 'Umar, and he recited the Subḥān chapter[696] and one other. Then he left. I went off with him, and he asked if there was anything he could do. I told him there was, so he asked me to join him. I did so and, when he entered [his house], he gave me permission [to enter]. There he was on a bed with nothing on it. I told him I wanted to give him some advice. His reply was, [2773] "The person giving good advice is welcome anytime." I said, "Your community finds fault with you on four counts." ('Umar) put the top of his whip in his beard and the lower part on his

690. He died in 244/858. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 111.
691. It is not possible to identify this narrator with certainty.
692. Salamah b. Kuhayl al-Ḥaḍramī died ca. 123/741. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 155–57.
693. He died in 233/848. See Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 341.
694. An unidentified narrator.
695. An unidentified narrator.
696. That is, Qur'ān XVII, usually entitled "The Children of Israel."

thigh. Then he said, "Tell me more." I continued, "It has been mentioned that you declared the lesser pilgrimage[697] forbidden during the months of the [full] pilgrimage. The Messenger of God did not do this, nor Abū Bakr, though it is permitted." He answered, "It is permitted. If they were to perform the lesser pilgrimage during the months of the pilgrimage, they would regard it as being in lieu of the full pilgrimage, and [Mecca] would be a deserted place that year, and the pilgrimage would be celebrated by no one, although it is part of God's greatness. You are right." I continued, "It is also said that you have forbidden temporary marriage,[698] although it was a license [*rukhṣah*] given by God. We enjoy a temporary marriage for a handful [of dates],[699] and we can separate after three nights." He replied, "The Messenger of God permitted it at a time of necessity. Then people regained their life of comfort. I do not know any Muslim who has practiced this or gone back to it. Now anyone who wishes to can marry for a handful [of dates] and separate after three nights. You are right." I continued, "You emancipate a slave girl if she gives birth, without her master's [consenting to] the emancipation."[700] He replied, "I added one thing that is forbidden to another, intending only to do some good. I ask God's forgiveness." I continued, "There have been complaints of your raising your voice against your subjects and your addressing them harshly." He raised his whip, then ran his hand down it right to the end. Then he said, "I am Muḥammad's traveling companion"—he had [in fact] sat behind him at the raid on Qarqarat al-Kudr.[701] "Indeed I pasture [my flocks] well until

697. The pilgrimage that can be undertaken at any time of the year. See *SEI*, s.v. "'umra" [Paret].

698. Temporary marriage, *mut'ah*, is recognized by the Twelver Shī'īs only. See *SEI*, s.v. [Heffening]; Schacht, *Origins*, 266–67; *Introduction*, 163; Coulson, *History*, 110–11, 115–16.

699. Where temporary marriage was permitted, it was carried out in return for a robe or a handful of dates. See *SEI*, loc. cit.

700. The *umm walad* would normally have to wait until her master died before gaining her freedom.

701. A plain in the area of Khaybar, about 6 miles away from the town. The raid does not appear to be dated precisely in the *sīrah* and *maghāzī* literature, but must have been only a short time before the death of the Prophet in 10/632. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 182ff. [Qarārat al-Kudr]; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, II, 618; *al-Manāsik*, 411; Bilādī, *Mu'jam*, VII, 117.

they are satisfied. I water them and quench their thirst. I push back the she-camel that grumbles when milked. I chide the she-camel that does not stick to the road. I keep them moving. I do not drive them too fast. I gather together camels pasturing alone. [2774] I bring up camels lagging behind. I chide often and beat seldom. I raise my stick. I push away with my hand. Were it not for all this, I would be much at fault!" (The source) continued: Mu'āwiyah heard this and said, "He was indeed knowledgeable about their subjects."

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Ibn 'Ulayyah—Ibn 'Awn[702]—Muḥammad: 'Uthmān said, "'Umar used to deny his family and relatives things, seeking God's face, whereas I give freely to my family and relatives, [also] seeking it. No three like 'Umar will ever be met with again."[703]

According to 'Alī b. Sahl[704]—Ḍamrah b. Rabī'ah[705]—'Abdallāh b. Abī Sulaymān[706]—his father: I arrived in Medina and entered one of the houses there. There was 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wearing [only] a striped waist wrapper and smearing the alms camels with tar.[707]

According to Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Raḥmān [b. Mahdī]—Sufyān [b. 'Uyaynah]—Ḥabīb[708]—Abū Wā'il [Shaqīq]: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, "Had I known in the beginning what I know now, I would have taken the excess wealth of the rich and distributed it among the poor Emigrants."

According to Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—[2775] Manṣūr b. Abī al-Aswad[709]—al-A'mash—Ibrāhīm[710]—al-Aswad

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702. An unidentified narrator.

703. That is, only Abū Bakr and 'Umar had such piety, but I, 'Uthmān, cannot compete with them. See Ṭanṭāwī, *Akhbār*, 542.

704. 'Alī b. Sahl al-Ramlī does not figure in the major biographical dictionaries, but see Translation, I, 25, 174 n. 45.

705. Ḍamrah b. Rabī'ah al-Ramlī has a brief entry in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 460.

706. An unidentified narrator.

707. To treat mange, sores, and other skin problems.

708. Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit died in 119/773. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 178–80.

709. Manṣūr b. Abī al-Aswad al-Laythī is given no date of death in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 305–6.

710. Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Nakha'ī died in 96/714. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 177–79.

b. Yazīd:[711] Whenever a delegation came to 'Umar, he would ask them about their leader. They would give a good account of him, so he would ask, "Does he visit your sick?" They would answer that he did, so he would ask, "Does he visit the sick slave?" They would answer that he did, so he would ask, "How does (your leader) treat the weak? Does he sit at his door?" If they replied in the negative regarding any one of these customs, he would dismiss him.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—al-Ḥakam b. Bashīr[712]—'Amr [b. Muḥammad]: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to say,

> There are four matters connected with Islam that I shall never neglect or abandon for anything: the strength in God's wealth and collecting it so that, when we do collect it, we place it where God orders us, and remain, family of 'Umar, with nothing of it in our hands at all. [Second, there are] the Emigrants who are beneath the shadow of swords—they should not be restricted, nor detained away from their families; God's immovable booty should be for them and for their families in abundance, and I shall look after their families until they return. [Third, there are] the Helpers who have already given their share to God and all of them fought the enemy—the good deeds of those who do good among them should be accepted as such, whereas the evil deeds of those who do evil deeds should be passed over without punishment and they should be consulted in the matter. [Fourth, there are] the bedouins who are the original Arabs and the mainstay of Islam—their alms should be taken from them in kind—not a single dinar should be
> [2776] taken from them, nor [even] a dirham—and it should be returned to their poor and wretched.

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ibn Jurayj—Nāfi'—'Abdallāh b. 'Umar: 'Umar said, "I know that all the people [together] are not equal to these two men between whom and Gabriel the Apostle of God was the confidential messenger,

711. Al-Aswad b. Yazīd died ca. 75/694. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 342–43.
712. An unidentified narrator.

receiving the revelations from him and dictating them to them."[713]

The Account of the Electoral Council[714]

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]—Wakī' [b. al-Jarrāḥ]—al-A'mash—Ibrāhīm, and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī[715]—Ibn Abī 'Arūbah[716]—Qatādah—Shahr b. Ḥawshab,[717] and Abū Mikhnaf[718]—Yūsuf b. Yazīd[719]—Abū al-'Abbās Sahl[720] and Mubārak b. Faḍālah—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar, and Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq[721]—'Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī:[722] When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was stabbed, it was suggested to him that he should appoint a successor. "Whom shall I appoint caliph?" was his reply. "If Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ[723] were alive, I would appoint him, and if my Lord questioned me, I would say, ' I heard Your prophet say that (Abū 'Ubaydah) was the guardian of this community.' If Sālim, client

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713. That is, 'Uthmān and 'Alī. Five future caliphs had acted as the Prophet's secretaries: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, and Mu'āwiyah. Abū Bakr was by this time dead; 'Umar is not talking of himself here; and Mu'āwiyah also is not in question.

714. Arabic *shūrā*, the council of six appointed by 'Umar to decide on the succession. See Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 160; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, III, 32ff.; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iqd*, IV, 273ff.; Bal'ami, *Chronique*, III, 546ff.; Ṭanṭāwī, *Akhbār*, 531ff. The reader's attention is also drawn to Abbott, *Papyri*, 80ff. Pp. 83–87 in particular include the different versions of the account of the council, with full references.

715. It is not possible to identify this narrator with certainty.

716. He died in 150/767–776. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 636.

717. Shahr b. Ḥawshab al-Ash'arī died ca. 112/730. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 369–72.

718. Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā died ca. 157/774. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, passim; Duri, *Rise*, 44ff., 143ff.; Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 70, 90.

719. An unidentified narrator.

720. I read tentatively from the Leiden *apparatus criticus* Sahl b. Sa'd al-Sā'idī who died ca. 88/707. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 252ff.

721. It is not possible to identify this narrator with certainty.

722. 'Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī died ca. 75/694. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 109–10.

723. Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ was the famous Companion and military leader on the Syrian front against the Byzantines. He died in Syria in 18/639, shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Muslims. See Shaban, *History*, 31, 43; *EI*², s.v. (Gibb).

[2777] of Abū Ḥudhayfah,[724] were alive, I would appoint him, and if my Lord questioned me, I would say, 'I heard your prophet say that Sālim loves God vehemently.'" Someone said to ('Umar), "I can point to someone, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar." But ('Umar) replied, "God curse you! You were not saying this for God's sake! You wretch! How can I appoint caliph someone who has been unable to divorce his wife! We have no desire [to get involved] in your affairs. I have not found (the caliphate) so praiseworthy that I should covet it for my own family. If things turn out well, we shall have gained our reward from them; but if they turn out badly, then it is enough for the family of 'Umar that [only] one of them should be called to account and held responsible for what happened to Muḥammad's community. I have striven and have kept my own family out. If I succeed in coming out [of all this] even, and no recompense [being given to me], I shall indeed be happy. I shall look [into the matter]: if I do appoint a caliph, then someone better than I has made the appointment; but if I abandon [the idea], someone better than I has [already] done this. God will never neglect His faith."[725]

So (those with him) left and returned in the evening, suggesting to the Commander of the Faithful that he draw up a succession agreement. He replied, "I had decided after talking to you that I would look [into the matter] and appoint someone over you, the most suitable of you to bear you along the true path." And he indicated 'Alī. [He continued], "But I fell into a swoon and saw a man who had entered a garden that he had planted. He began to pick everything, both the young tender plants and the mature ones, clutching them to him and putting them beneath him. I knew that God was in control and was taking 'Umar into His mercy. I do not want to take on the burden (of the caliphate), dead as well as alive. You should [approach] that group of men who the Messenger of God said are 'among the people of paradise.' Sa'īd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b.

724. Sālim figures quite prominently in the early histories, but this is a strange assertion. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 479, 679, 708, etc.; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 9, 148, 154, etc.

725. In the first instance, if he does appoint a caliph, Abū Bakr has already done this. In the second, if he does not, Muḥammad himself did not appoint a caliph. Either way he has a precedent.

Nufayl[726] is one of them. I am not bringing him into the matter, [2778]
but rather the following six: 'Alī and 'Uthmān, sons of 'Abd Manāf,[727] 'Abd al-Raḥmān [b. 'Awf] and Sa'd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ], maternal uncles of the Messenger of God, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, the true friend and cousin of the Messenger of God, and Ṭalḥat al-Khayr b. 'Ubaydallāh.[728] Let them select one of themselves. When they appoint a leader, [you all] should give him good help and support. If he entrusts anyone of you with authority, he should convey to him what is committed to his care."

They left and al-'Abbās[729] said to 'Alī, "Do not get involved with them." He replied, "I do not like dissension [in our family]." [Al-'Abbās] said, "Then you will see something you do not like!" When morning came, 'Umar summoned 'Alī, 'Uthmān, Sa'd, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and said, "I have looked into the matter and consider you to be the chiefs and leaders of the people. This matter will remain among you alone. When the Messenger of God died, he was well pleased with you. I have no fears for you with the people if you remain on the straight path. However, I do fear for you if there is a difference of opinion among you and the people then differ among themselves. Off you go to 'Ā'ishah's room, with her permission, and deliberate. Choose one of you." Then he added, "Do not go to 'Ā'ishah's room; rather stay near at hand." He put down his head, exhausted by the loss of blood.

So they went in and held secret discussions. But then their voices became raised and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar exclaimed loud enough for ['Umar] to hear, "God heavens, the Commander of

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726. Sa'īd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, the brother-in-law of 'Umar, who with his wife, 'Umar's sister, was instrumental in the future caliph's embracing Islam. He died ca. 51/671. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 226, 253.

727. A reference to the fact that both belonged to Quraysh—as did the other four—and represented both its lines through 'Abd Manāf, where the pedigree split: 'Alī was descended from 'Abd Manāf through Hāshim, whereas 'Uthmān was descended from 'Abd Manāf through 'Abd Shams.

728. Al-Zubayr was the son of the Prophet's paternal aunt. I detect no great significance in his calling Ṭalḥah Ṭalḥat al-Khayr, which I take to be a way of expressing endearment.

729. Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the uncle of both the Prophet and 'Alī. See *EI*², s.v. [Watt].

the Faithful is not yet dead!" ('Umar) came to and said, "All of you, stop this! When I am dead, hold your consultations for three days. Let Ṣuhayb lead the people in prayer. Before the fourth day comes you should have your commander from among you. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar will be there as adviser, but he shall
[2779] have nothing to do with the matter [of the actual appointment]. Ṭalḥah shall share with you in the decision. If he comes within the three days, include him in your decision. If the three days go by and he does not come, make the decision nevertheless. Who will deal with Ṭalḥah for me?" "I shall," responded Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, "and he will not give a differing view, God willing." 'Umar said, "I hope he will not give a differing view, God willing. I think one of these two, 'Alī or 'Uthmān, will become leader. If it is 'Uthmān, he is a gentle person; if it is 'Alī, he has a sense of humor. How suitable he is to carry them along the true road! If you appoint Sa'd, he is worthy of the office, but if not, the one appointed should seek his assistance. I have never dismissed him for disloyalty or weakness. How perceptive 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf is! He is disposed to what is right. [He is] rightly guided and has a protector in God. Listen to what he has to say."

('Umar) said to Abū Ṭalḥah al-Anṣārī, "For a long time had God strengthened Islam through you Helpers, Abū Ṭalḥah. Select fifty Helpers and urge them to choose one of them." To al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad[730] he said, "When you put me into my grave, assemble these people in one room to choose one of their number." To Ṣuhayb he said, "Lead the people in prayer for three days. Let into [the deliberations] 'Alī, 'Uthmān, al-Zubayr, Sa'd, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, and Ṭalḥah, if he arrives. Have 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar present, but he shall have nothing to do with the matter [of the actual appointment]. Stay with them and if five agree to approve of one man, but one refuses, smash in his head, or strike it off with a sword. If four agree to approve of one man, but two refuse, cut off the (latters') heads. If three approve
[2780] of one of them, and three approve of another, get 'Abdallāh b.

730. Al-Miqdād b. 'Amr/al-Aswad al-Kindī died in 33/653. See Ibn Ḥajar. *Tahdhīb*, X, 285–87.

'Umar to make a decision. Let whichever party in favor of which he makes his judgment select one of themselves. If they do not accept 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar's judgment, be on the same side as 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Awf. Kill the rest if they do not go along with the general consensus."

So they left. 'Alī said to some Banū Hāshim who were with him, "If your people are obeyed [only] among themselves, you will never be appointed to positions of leadership." Al-'Abbās came to him, and ('Alī) said, "(The caliphate) has slipped from us!"[731] (Al-'Abbās) asked him how he knew. He continued, "('Umar) paired me with 'Uthmān and told us [all] to fall in with the majority. If two approve of one, and two another, [he said], we should be on the same side as 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. Sa'd will not go against his cousin, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who is related by marriage to 'Uthmān. They will all (three) agree in their opinion. 'Abd al-Raḥmān will appoint 'Uthmān to the caliphate, or 'Uthmān will appoint 'Abd al-Raḥmān. If the other two were with me, they would be of no benefit to me, to say nothing of the fact that I have hope only of one of them." Al-'Abbās said to him, "I have never urged you to do anything without your later responding to me by holding back in a way I do not like. When the Messenger of God died, I ordered you to ask him [on his death bed] who should have the rule, but you refused. After (Muḥammad's) death I ordered you to bring the matter to a speedy conclusion, but you refused. When 'Umar nominated you a member of the electoral council, I advised you to have nothing to do with them, but you refused. Just learn one thing from me: whenever people make you a proposal, say no, unless they are appointing you [caliph]. Watch out for these people; they will continue to push us out of the matter [of the caliphate] until someone else takes our [rightful] place. I swear in God's name, no such person will get (the caliphate) without [2781] the help of some evil together with which no good will be of benefit!" 'Alī replied, "If 'Uthmān survives, I shall certainly remind him of what has happened. If he dies, they will certainly take (the caliphate) by turns among themselves. If they do, they

731. That is, Banū Hāshim.

will certainly find me in a position they do not like." Then he quoted the following verses, applying them to his own situation:[732]

I swore by the lord of the mares prancing one evening—
[but] in the morning they came, nimble, hastening to al-Muḥaṣṣab.[733]
"The family of Ibn Ya'mar will certainly stand apart, facing
a bloody place, difficult to drink from, they being the sons of al-Shuddākh.[734]

And he turned and saw Abū Ṭalḥah, but did not like his being there. Abū Ṭalḥah said, "Nothing to be afraid of, Abū al-Ḥasan!"[735]

When 'Umar died and his bier was brought out, both 'Alī and 'Uthmān pretended not to mind which of them would pray over him. But 'Abd al-Raḥman said, "Both of you are candidates for the caliphate. This matter has nothing to do with you. It is for Ṣuhayb whom 'Umar appointed to lead the people in prayer for three (nights) until they can agree on a leader." So Ṣuhayb prayed over ('Umar). When he had been buried, al-Miqdād assembled the members of the electoral council in the house of al-Miswar b. Makhramah—another version is that it was in the treasury and yet another that it was in 'Ā'ishah's room with her permission—five in all, accompanied by Ibn 'Umar and with Ṭalḥah [still] absent. They ordered Abū Ṭalḥah to prevent anyone from disturbing them. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and al-Mughīrah b.
[2782] Shu'bah arrived and sat at the door, but Sa'd threw pebbles at

732. The meter is *ṭawīl*. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 33.

733. A place between Mecca and Minā, nearer to the latter. See *al-Manāsik*, 602; Bilādī, *Mu'jam*, VIII, 43–44.

734. Ya'mar b. 'Awf, nicknamed al-Shuddākh, was during the pre-Islamic period one of the arbitrators of Kinānah who gave a judgment between the tribes of Khuzā'ah and Quṣayy on the question of the Ka'bah. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, III, 28; Zabīdī, *Tāj*, VII, 278–79. The second line is the very tentative rendering of

la-yakhtaliyan raḥṭu bni Ya'mara marī 'an
najī 'an banū l-Shuddākhi wirdan muṣallabā.

'Alī here emphasises his isolation in the face of opposition.

735. Abū al-Ḥasan is 'Alī. This seems to indicate Abū Ṭalḥah's support for the Alid family.

them and made them get up, saying, "You want to say, 'We were there; we were members of the electoral council.'" The electoral council argued about the affair and a great deal of talking went on among them. Abū Ṭalḥah said, "I was more afraid that you would reject (the caliphate) than I was that you would compete for it. No, by Him who has taken away 'Umar's soul, I shall give you no more than the three days that you were ordered. Then I shall sit down in my own house and see what you are up to!"

'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "Which one of you will withdraw from the (race for the caliphate), and undertake to appoint the best of you?" No one answered. So he continued, "I withdraw." 'Uthmān said, "I am the first to accept [this]. I heard the Messenger of God say, '('Abd al-Raḥmān) is trustworthy on earth and will be in heaven.'" All the members, with the exception of 'Alī who remained silent, expressed their approval. So ('Abd al-Raḥmān) said, "What do you say, Abū al-Ḥasan?" ('Alī) replied, "Give me your word you will consider truth paramount, you will not follow your whim, you will not show any preference for a relative, and you will not let the community down." ('Abd al-Raḥmān) said [to the others], "Give me your solemn promises you will stand with me against anyone who reneges [on your final decision] and you will approve of anyone I choose for you. I impose a pact with God upon myself that I shall show no preference for a relative, because he is a relative, nor shall I let down the Muslims." He took a promise from them and similarly gave them his word. ('Abd al-Raḥmān) said to 'Alī, "You say you have most right of those present to the office because of your close relationship [to the Prophet] and your long standing in and the good deeds you have done in the cause of Islam, and you have not, [in saying so], said anything remote [from the truth]. But if you were not involved in the matter and were not here at all, whom would you think of them all has [2783] most right to (the office)?" He replied, "'Uthmān." ('Abd al-Raḥmān) took 'Uthmān on one side and said, "You say you are a shaykh of Banū 'Abd Manāf and related to the Messenger of God by marriage and his cousin, an excellent man of long standing [in Islam]—and you have not said anything remote from the truth and that (the caliphate) cannot therefore be taken from you. But if you were not here, which of the members do

you think has most right to (the office)?" He replied, "'Alī." Then ('Abd al-Raḥmān) took al-Zubayr on one side and addressed him in the same way as he had 'Alī and 'Uthmān. He replied, "'Uthmān." Then ('Abd al-Raḥmān) took Sa'd on one side and spoke to him. He answered "'Uthmān." 'Alī met Sa'd and quoted, "'Fear God by whom you make demands one of another, and the wombs [which bore you]. God is ever watching you.'[736] I am asking you, in the name of the relationship (*raḥim*) of this son of mine[737] with the Messenger of God and that of my paternal uncle, Ḥamzah,[738] with you, not to stand with 'Abd al-Raḥmān, assisting 'Uthmān against me. I have connections 'Uthman does not." 'Abd al-Raḥmān went round at night meeting the Companions of the Messenger of God and those army commanders and nobles who arrived in Medina and consulting with them. Everyone he took to one side gave him instructions to opt for 'Uthmān. Then on the eve of the morning of the deadline, he came to the house of al-Miswar b. Makhramah well into the night and woke him up, saying, "You're asleep, when I have had very little tonight? Off you go and summon al-Zubayr and Sa'd!"

So (al-Miswar) summoned them and ('Abd al-Raḥmān) began
[2784] with al-Zubayr at the back of the mosque under the covering (*ṣuffah*) that adjoins the house of Marwān,[739] saying, "Let the rule go to the sons of 'Abd Manāf!"[740] (Al-Zubayr) said, "I throw in my lot with 'Alī." ('Abd al-Raḥmān) said to Sa'd, "We are cousins. Throw in your lot with me so that I can choose." He replied, "If you choose yourself, that is fine! But if you choose 'Uthmān, then I prefer to support 'Alī. Have yourself accepted [as caliph], give us some respite and raise up our heads." ('Abd al-Raḥmān) said, "Abū Isḥāq, I have withdrawn from (the ca-

736. Qur'ān, IV:1.

737. The text has a singular, "son," presumably al-Ḥasan, who was born from the womb of Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter. The parallel text of the *'Iqd* (IV, 278), however, has a dual, "these two sons of mine"; viz., al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.

738. Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the brother of 'Alī's father, Abū Ṭālib.

739. This is perhaps the young Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the future fourth Umayyad caliph, who died in 65/685.

740. That is, 'Alī and 'Uthmān. See note 727, above.

liphate) on condition that I make the choice. [Even] had I not done so and the choice had come back on me, I would not have wanted (the caliphate). I saw myself in a dream as if in a green meadow rich in fresh herbage.[741] A stallion camel came in—I have never seen such a noble stallion—and passed through like an arrow without paying attention to anything in the meadow right to the other side without stopping. A stallion followed him in immediately after and left the meadow. Then a fine thoroughbred stallion entered, dragging his halter, turning right and left, going where the other two went and leaving. Then a fourth, a stallion camel entered and pastured in the meadow. No indeed, I shall not be the fourth. No one can take the place of Abū Bakr and 'Umar after their death and [then] be approved of by the people." Sa'd replied, "I am afraid that weakness has overcome you. Do as you think best. You know what 'Umar's death bed instructions were."

Al-Zubayr and Sa'd left. ('Abd al-Raḥmān) sent al-Miswar b. Makhramah for 'Alī and talked with him in private for a long time, (the latter) not doubting that he was to be selected for the office [of caliph]. Then ('Alī) left, and ('Abd al-Raḥmān) sent al-Miswar for 'Uthmān, but the call to morning prayer interrupted their private conversation.

According to 'Amr b. Maymūn: 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar told me, [2785]
"'Amr, anyone who tells you that he knows what 'Abd al-Raḥmān discussed with 'Alī and 'Uthmān, does not know what he is talking about! Your Lord's decision fell on 'Uthmān."

When they had said the morning prayers, ('Abd al-Raḥmān) convened the members [of the electoral council] and sent for all the Emigrants and the Helpers of long standing [in Islam] and of excellence and the military commanders who were [in Medina]. They all assembled and there was confusion among the people in the mosque. ('Abd al-Raḥmān) said, "People, everyone wants those of the garrison towns to return to them, having learned

741. The text reads "*Innī urītu ka-rawḍatin khaḍrā'a*" etc. Much neater is Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iqd*, IV, 278, who has *Innī ra'aytu ka-annī fī rawḍatin khadrā'a*. I have translated the latter. In the anecdote that follows the first noble stallion camel represents the Prophet, the stallion camel Abū Bakr, and the fine thoroughbred 'Umar. The fourth represents 'Umar's successor.

who their supreme commander is." Sa'īd b. Zayd said, "We think you are worthy of [the caliphate]." He replied, "Give me some different advice!" 'Ammār [b. Yāsir] said, "If you want the Muslims to be in full agreement, give 'Alī the oath of allegiance." Al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad said, "'Ammār is right; if you give 'Alī the oath of allegiance, we shall say that we are in full agreement with what you are doing." Ibn Abī Sarḥ[742] said, "If you want Quraysh to be in full agreement, give 'Uthmān the oath of allegiance." 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'ah said, "He is right; if you give 'Uthmān the oath of allegiance, we shall say that we are in full agreement with what you are doing." 'Ammār upbraided Ibn Abī Sarḥ, saying, "When did you ever give the Muslims any good advice?!"

Banū Hāshim and Banū Umayyah[743] held talks. 'Ammār said, "O people, God has ennobled us through His Prophet and strengthened us through His religion. How can you take this appointment away from those of the house of your Prophet?" A member of Banū Makhzūm[744] said, "You have gone too far, Ibn Sumayyah! Why should you have anything to do with Quraysh taking the leadership for themselves?"[745] Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ said, "Get it over with, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, before our people fall into civil war." 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, " I have looked into [the matter] and consulted. Do not, members of the electoral council,
[2786] lay yourselves open to criticism." He summoned 'Alī and said, "God's agreement and covenant is binding on you. Will you indeed act in accordance with God's Book, the practice of His Messenger and the example of the two caliphs after him?" ['Alī] replied, "I hope to do this and act thus to the best of my knowledge and ability." ['Abd al-Raḥmān] summoned 'Uthmān and said to him the same as what he had said to 'Alī. ['Uthmān] replied, "Yes." So ['Abd al-Raḥmān] gave him the oath of

742. Ibn Abī Sarḥ was 'Iyāḍ b. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd who died ca. 100/718. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 200–1.

743. That is, the families of 'Alī and 'Uthmān, respectively.

744. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓah, a tribal group (*baṭn*) of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib and Banū Umayyah's chief rival among Quraysh. See Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 299–346; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 141ff., 464; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, III, 1058.

745. Sumayyah was a concubine, and this is therefore an insult. 'Ammār was not of Quraysh. See note 8, above. See also *EI*², s.v. "'Ammār" (Reckendorf).

allegiance. 'Alī said, "You have always been partial in his favor![746] This is not the first time you have banded together against us. But '[my course is] comely patience and God's help is to be asked against what you describe.'[747] You have appointed 'Uthmān only so that the rule will come back to you. 'Every day God exercises power.'"[748] 'Abd al-Raḥmān retorted, "Do not lay yourself open to criticism, 'Alī. I have looked into the matter and consulted the people. They regard no one as the equal of 'Uthmān." 'Alī left, saying, "[God's] decree will come in its time!" Al-Miqdād said, "You have indeed, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, passed up the one who makes decisions based 'on the truth and thereby acts justly.'"[749] ('Abd al-Raḥmān) replied, "I have indeed exerted all my efforts for the Muslims, Miqdād." (The former) said, "If you sincerely did what you did for God's sake, may He reward you as He does those who do good." [But] al-Miqdād said, "I have never seen such things as have been visited upon the people of this house after the death of their Prophet. I am amazed at Quraysh that they have abandoned someone who cannot be matched in my opinion in knowledge and the ability to act justly. What indeed if I were to find supporters against 'Uthmān!" 'Abd al-Raḥmān replied, "Fear God, Miqdād, I am afraid you will cause dissension." Someone questioned al-Miqdād, "God have mercy upon you, who are the people of this house and who is this man?" He replied, "The people of the [2787] house are Banū al-Muṭṭalib and the man is 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib." 'Alī said, "The people are looking to Quraysh, while Quraysh are [also] looking to their own house. (Quraysh) say that, if Banū Hāshim are put in authority over you, (the caliphate) will never leave them; but so long as it is in the hands of [clans] other than (Banū Hāshim) of Quraysh, you will pass it around among yourselves."

Ṭalḥah arrived on the day on which the oath of allegiance

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746. This appears to be what is meant by the Arabic *ḥabawta-hu ḥabwa dahrin*; see *Glossarium*, CCXLV. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iqd*, IV, 279, has *ḥabawta-hu muḥābātan*.

747. Qur'ān, XII:18.

748. Qur'ān, LV:29.

749. See Qur'ān, VII:159, 181.

was given to 'Uthmān. He was asked to give his own oath to 'Uthmān, but asked, "Do all Quraysh approve of him?" and was told they did. He came to 'Uthman and the latter said, "You still have your options open; if you refuse [to give me the oath of allegiance], I shall reject (the caliphate)." Ṭalḥah said, "Will you really reject it?" 'Uthmān replied that he would. Ṭalḥah asked, "Have all the people given you the oath of allegiance?" 'Uthmān replied that they had. (Ṭalḥah) said, "Then I approve; I shall not go against the general consensus." He gave ('Uthmān) the oath of allegiance.

Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah said to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, "You were right to give 'Uthmān the oath of allegiance, Abū Muḥammad." He also said to 'Uthmān, "If 'Abd al-Raḥmān had given the oath of allegiance to anyone other than you, we would not have agreed." But 'Abd al-Raḥmān retorted, "You one-eyed liar! If I had given anyone else the oath of allegiance, you would have done so also and would have said what you say now."

Al-Farazdaq said:[750]

Ṣuhayb led the prayer for three nights; then ('Abd al-Raḥmān) handed over (the caliphate)
to Ibn 'Affān, unlimited authority,
A caliphate [which passed on] from Abū Bakr to his colleague,
[Abū Bakr] rightly guided and ['Umar] under his command—
they were [all] sincere friends."

[2788] Al-Miswar b. Makhramah used to say, "I have never seen a man get the better of a group of people in the matter in which they were engaged more effectively than 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf did of (the electoral council) in this case."

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] said: We [also] have the account of al-Miswar b. Makhramah. According to Salm b. Junādah Abū al-Sā'ib—Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Thābit b. 'Abd al-

750. The meter is *basīṭ*. Al-Farazdaq is the famous poet, Hammām b. Ghālib b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, always associated with al-Akhṭal and Jarīr. Al-Farazdaq died ca. 111/729. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (Blachère); for a more recent assessment of al-Farazdaq and his work, see Jayyusi, "Umayyad Poetry," 401ff. The poet here is eulogizing the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and satirizing Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. Cf. al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, I, 265.

'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf—his father—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far—his father—al-Miswar b. Makhramah, whose mother was 'Ātikah bt. 'Awf, in the account the first part of which I have already given concerning the murder of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: The five, the members of the electoral council, went down into the grave of 'Umar,[751] then left for their homes. But 'Abd al-Raḥmān called them back, so they followed him, and he eventually came to the house of Fāṭimah bt. Qays al-Fihriyyah, sister of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī.[752] Some scholars say she was [not his sister but] his wife, a fine woman, one of perception. 'Abd al-Raḥmān began by saying, "I have perception; you have insight. Listen and you will learn; respond and you will have knowledge. An arrow that, though lacking power, hits the target is better than one, shot too hard, that goes beyond it. A mouthful of cold, brackish water is more beneficial than sweet that brings infection [after drinking]. You are leaders through whom guidance is brought about; [you are] scholars to whom reference [2789] is made. Do not blunt your knives by differing among yourselves, nor put your swords in their scabbards away from your enemies and so make them attain their blood revenge and diminish your deeds. Every term has a prescribed end. Every house has a leader at whose command they rise up and at whose forbidding they desist. Put one of you in charge of your affair, and you will walk slowly [forward] and reach your aim. Were it not for blind dissension and complete error, the perpetrators of which say what they think and upon whom calamity alights, your intentions would not go beyond your knowledge or your deeds beyond your intentions. Beware of the advice given at a whim and the tongue that divides. A stratagem introduced into speech is more effective than swords in a wound. Associate your affairs with someone who has ample strength against whatever befalls, is trustworthy with things unknown whatever descends, is pleased with you and all of you are pleased with him, chosen from among you and

751. See page 93.

752. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī belonged to the Qurashī clan of Fihr. He was later in charge of Damascus, leader of Qays, the northern tribes, and fought against the Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam in 64/684 at the famous battle of Marj Rāhiṭ, where he was defeated and killed. See Ṭabarī, II, 474ff.; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVII, 111; *EI*², s.v. [Dietrich].

[about whom] all of you have the same opinion. Do not obey an evil doer who gives good advice or go against someone rightly guided who gives his assistance. I am making this speech and I ask God for forgiveness for you and for myself."

'Uthmān b. 'Affān spoke next, saying, "Praise be to God who took Muḥammad as a prophet and sent him as a messenger. He told him truthfully of His promise and granted him His help
[2790] against all those distantly or closely related. God has made us his followers, guided by His command. He is our light. We act at His command when personal opinions diverge and our enemies dispute [with us]. Through His bounty God has made us leaders and through our obedience to Him commanders. Our concern does not extend beyond ourselves; no one else will approach us except those who are oblivious to the truth and shrink from the established aim. How preferable it would be if [dissension] were left alone, Ibn 'Awf! How apt that it should be,[753] if your decision is opposed and your call abandoned. I am the first to agree with you and to call to you, answerable and responsible for what I say. I ask God for forgiveness for you and for myself."

Al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām spoke after him, saying, "To continue. He who calls upon God is not ignorant and he who answers Him is not rejected when personal opinions diverge and necks turn. Only one deviating from the truth will not comply with what you say. Only a wretch will abandon that for which you call. Were it not for God's ordinances that were made obligatory and God's regulations that were ordained and are restored to those who keep them and remain alive and do not die, death would be an escape from command and flight would be security from authority. But we must answer God's call and make the established practice prevail, lest we die a death of error and lest we suffer from the blindness of a time of ignorance. I agree with you in that to which you summon [us] and will support you in what you have commanded. There is no power and no strength except in God. I ask God for forgiveness for you and for myself."

Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ then spoke, saying, "Praise be to God who

753. Reading *wa-ajdir*. Cairo reads *wa-aḥdhir*, "how wary we should be of its occurring."

was first and will be last. I praise Him because He has saved me from going astray and opened my eyes to error. Through God's [2791] guidance those who are saved are the winners; through His mercy those who are pure are successful. Through Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh roads are lit up, paths are straight, and all truth prevails, as all falsehood is no more. Beware, members of the electoral council, of lies and the desire of those who are false. Their desires have already dispossessed a people before you. They inherited what you did and they acquired what you did, so God made them enemies and heaped curses upon them. God said, 'Those of the Israelites who did not believe are cursed by David's tongue and that of Jesus, the son of Mary; this is because they disobeyed and transgressed. They did not restrain one another from evil that they committed. How wretched was what they did!'[754] I have scattered [the arrows in] my quiver and taken my winning arrow. For Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh I have adopted [the opinion] of which I approved for myself.[755] I am answerable for him and responsible for what [opinion] I gave on his behalf. The matter is in your hands, Ibn 'Awf, for you to put your effort into it and the good advice you intended. Upon God depends the ultimate destination and to Him shall be the return. I ask for forgiveness for you and for myself and take refuge in God from your opposition."

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib then spoke, saying, "Praise be to God who sent forth Muḥammad as Prophet from among us and as a messenger to us. We are the house of the prophethood, the mine of wisdom, the security of the people of the world, and a salvation for those who ask for it. We have a right; if we are given it, we take it; if we are refused it, we ride the rumps of our camels, though the night journey be long.[756] If the Messenger of God had given us a commission, we would have carried out his agreement; if he had said [something] to us [as a designation], we would have disputed [with others] over it until we die.[757] No

754. Qur'ān, V:78–79.

755. It will be recalled that Ṭalḥah was absent until the final day of the deliberations, and Sa'd now speaks on his behalf.

756. That is, we take it by force.

757. 'Alī is here claiming the succession, but making it clear that there is no explicit delegation from the Prophet.

[2792] one will be faster than I to call for truth and [claim] close kinship. There is no power and strength except in God. Listen to and remember what I have to say. Perhaps you will see swords drawn and agreements broken in this matter after this council, until you become one united group, and some of you become leaders over those in error and over partisans (*shī'ah*) of the ignorant." Then he recited the following:[758]

If Jāsim has perished, I,
because of what Banū 'Abd b. Ḍakhm have done,[759]
Shall [nevertheless] obey anyone [even if he is] unable to find the right way in the desert heat,
knowing well my destination, [guided by] every star.[760]

'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "Which one of you is willing to withdraw from this appointment and appoint someone else?" But they did not respond to his suggestion. He continued, "I withdraw myself and my cousin."[761] So the members gave him the task of settling the matter. At the *minbar* he got them to swear to give the oath of allgiance to whomsoever he gave it, even if he were to give with one hand the oath of allegiance to the other. He remained for three [nights] in his house, which was near the mosque and called today Raḥabat al-Qaḍā' (Courtyard where the Decision was made)—for this reason it was given this name. Ṣuhayb remained also for three [nights] leading the people in prayer.

'Abd al-Raḥmān sent for 'Alī and said to him, "If I do not give you the oath of allegiance, tell me to whom I should." ('Alī) replied, "'Uthmān." Then ('Abd al-Raḥmān) sent for 'Uthmān and asked the same thing of him. ('Uthmān) replied, "'Alī." ('Abd al-Raḥmān) then dismissed them both and summoned al-

758. The meter is *wāfir*. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 37.

759. Jāsim is a section of the Amalekite tribe, Banū 'Abd b. Ḍakhm, from the area of al-Ṭā'if. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XII, 354; Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, IV, 143; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, I, 157; II, 725. Ṭabarī, I, 230, however, places Jāsim in Oman.

760. 'Alī's message through this obscure poem is that, despite having been let down badly by his own people and despite having no one on which to depend, he can nevertheless proceed as he thinks fit, because he knows his goal is a righteous and attainable one.

761. That is, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

Zubayr. He asked (al-Zubayr) the same thing and he replied "'Uthmān." Then ('Abd al-Raḥmān) summoned Sa'd and said, "Whom do you advise me [to support], as we two are not candidates for (the caliphate)?" He replied, "'Uthman." On the third night, ('Abd al-Raḥmān) called, "Miswar!" I replied, "At your service!" ('Abd al-Raḥmān) exclaimed, "You are asleep, [2793] when I have not slept for three [nights]! Go and call 'Alī and 'Uthmān for me. Miswar continued his account: I said, "Which shall I call first, uncle?" He replied, "Whichever one you wish." So I left and came to 'Alī—and he was the one I favored [for the caliphate]—and said, "Will you come to speak with my uncle?" ('Alī) said, "Did he send you to anyone else?" I replied that he had also sent me to 'Uthmān. ('Alī) said, "Which one of us did he order you to come to first?" I replied, "I asked him and he told me whichever one I wished. So I came to you first—you were the one I favored." So he came with me and we reached the place where people sit (*al-maqā'id*), and 'Alī took his seat there. I went in to see 'Uthmān and found him performing the *witr* prayer as dawn came up.[762] I asked him if he would come to speak with my uncle. ('Uthmān) in turn asked me, "Did he send you to anyone else?" I replied that he had also sent me to 'Alī. ('Uthmān) said, "Which one of us did he order you to come to first?" I replied, "I asked him and he told me whichever one I wished. 'Alī is where the people sit." So he came with me and we all went in to see my uncle who was standing in the *qiblah*, praying. He left [his prayers] when he saw us, then he turned to 'Alī and 'Uthmān and said, "I have asked about you and about others. I find that the people regard no one as equal to you two. Will you, 'Alī, give me your oath of office based on God's Book, the practice of His Prophet, and the deeds of Abū Bakr and 'Umar?" ('Alī) replied, "Indeed no, but [only] based on my own effort in all this and in accordance with my own ability." ('Abd al-Raḥmān) turned to 'Uthmān and said, "Will you give me your oath of office based on God's Book, the practice of His Prophet, and the deeds of Abū Bakr and 'Umar?" ('Uthmān) said, "Indeed yes." Then ('Abd al-Raḥmān) made a sign with his

762. The odd number of prostrations performed in prayer at night. See *SEI*, s.v. (Wensinck).

hand to his shoulders[763] and said, "If you will come this way!" So we got up and went to the mosque where someone gave out
[2794] the cry, "Everyone in for prayer!"[764] 'Uthmān [later] said, "I held back, embarrassed by his haste to join 'Alī. I was at the back of the mosque." 'Abd al-Raḥmān appeared wearing the very turban that the Messenger of God had put on him and carrying his sword. He went up into the *minbar* where he stood for a long time. Then he said a prayer that the people did not hear.

('Abd al-Raḥmān) then spoke, "O people, I have questioned you in secret and openly on the question of [who will be] your leader. I have found that none of you regard [anyone else] as equal to one of these two, 'Alī or 'Uthmān. Come forward to me, 'Alī." He did so and stood beneath the *minbar*. 'Abd al-Raḥmān took his hand and said, "Will you give me your oath of office based on God's Book, the practice of His Prophet, and the deeds of Abū Bakr and 'Umar?" He replied, "No, but based on my own effort in all this and in accordance with my own ability." ('Abd al-Raḥmān) let go of ('Alī's) hand and called out, "Come forward to me, 'Uthmān." He took him by his hand, as ('Uthmān) stood where 'Alī had stood, and said, "Will you give me your oath of office based on God's Book, the practice of His Prophet, and the deeds of Abū Bakr and 'Umar?" ('Uthmān) replied, "Indeed yes!" So ('Abd al-Raḥmān) stretched right up to the ceiling of the mosque, his hand still in 'Uthmān's hand. Then he said, "O God, hear and bear witness! O God, I have placed what was my own responsibility in all this upon 'Uthmān." The people crowded round to give 'Uthmān the oath of allegiance, until they reached him at the *minbar*. 'Abd al-Raḥmān sat down where the Prophet sat in the *minbar*, and he sat 'Uthmān down on the second step. The people began to
[2795] give him the oath of allegiance, but 'Alī excused himself. 'Abd al-Raḥmān quoted, "He who breaks his word, does so to his own detriment; he who keeps the agreement he has made with God, He will bring him a great reward."[765] Then 'Alī came back,

763. Thus signifying that they should walk on either side of him.
764. Arabic, *al-ṣalātu jāmi'ah*. See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 216–17.
765. Qur'ān, XLVIII:10.

pushing his way through the people, and gave the oath of allegiance, saying, "Deceit! What deceit!"

'Abd al-'Azīz[766] said, "The reason for 'Alī's mentioning deceit was simply that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had met 'Alī during the period the electoral council was meeting and said, "Abd al-Raḥmān is striving hard. The more you show (your) firm resolution, the less keen he is (that you be appointed). But [the more you say you will act according to] (your) effort and ability, the keener he is (that you be appointed). Then ('Amr b. al-'Āṣ) met 'Uthmān and said, "Abd al-Raḥmān is striving hard. He will indeed give you his oath of allegiance only because of firm resolution. So accept (the offer).' It was for this reason that 'Alī mentioned deceit."[767]

Then ('Abd al-Raḥman) went off with 'Uthmān to the house of Fāṭimah bt. Qays, where he sat down with the people. Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah got up to make a speech, with 'Alī sitting there, "Praise be to God, Abū Muḥammad, who has granted you success! There was indeed no one other than 'Uthmān for (the caliphate)." 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "This is none of your business, Ibn al-Dabbāgh! I could give my own oath of allegiance to no one without your saying what you have just said about him!"

Then 'Uthmān sat at the side of the mosque and called for 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar, who was confined in the house of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. He is the one from whose hand the sword had been snatched after he had killed Jufaynah,[768] al-Hurmuzān, and the daughter of Abū Lu'lu'ah, saying that he was going to kill some of those who were involved in shedding his father's blood, alluding to both the Emigrants and the Helpers. Sa'd had jumped up against him, snatched the sword from his hand and tugged at his hair until he had him on the ground. He held him prisoner in his own house until 'Uthmān brought him out. [2796]
'Uthmān said to a group of Emigrants and Helpers, "Give me your advice on [what to do with] this man who has brought

766. The father of Sulaymān, see the chain of authorities, p. 154, above.

767. 'Amr later appeared as Mu'āwiyah's arbitrator against Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, 'Alī's arbitrator, after Ṣiffīn in 38/659. It appears from this text that he had long been against 'Alī.

768. Jufaynah was a Christian slave from al-Ḥīrah; see p. 163, below.

schism into Islam." 'Alī replied, "I think you should kill him." One of the Emigrants said, "'Umar was killed yesterday; will his son be killed today?" But 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "Commander of the Faithful, God has exempted you from this having happened while you were in authority over the Muslims; rather this took place when you had none." 'Uthmān said, "I am now their master. I have decided that blood money should be paid in this case, and I shall bear the cost from my own money."

A Helper called Ziyād b. Labīd al-Bayāḍī recited the following when he saw 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar:[769]

Ah, you have no way of escape, 'Ubaydallāh,
    no place of refuge from Ibn Arwā[770] and no means of protecting yourself.
You spilled blood indeed, completely unlawfully—
    and killing al-Hurmuzān is a dangerous matter—
For no other reason than that someone said,
    "Do you suspect al-Hurmuzān of [killing] 'Umar?"
When so many things were happening, a fool replied,
    "Yes, do suspect him, since he suggested [it] and gave the command.
The slave's weapon[771] was inside the (Hurmuzān's) house,
    he turning it over [in his hand]. One thing [must] be reckoned in relation to another."

'Ubaydallāh. b. 'Umar complained to 'Uthmān of Ziyād b. Labīd and his poem, so 'Uthmān called in Ziyād b. Labīd and forbade him [from reciting it]. Ziyād recited the following, speaking of 'Uthmān:[772]

Abū 'Amr, 'Ubaydallāh is a hostage—
    have no doubt—for the killing of al-Hurmuzān.
For if you forgive him the offense, [this will be wrong],

769. The meter is *ṭawīl*. Ziyād b. Labīd al-Bayāḍī is unidentified. For the poem, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 37.
770. That is, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, whose mother was Arwā bt. Kurayz.
771. That is, the double-bladed dagger used by Abū Lu'lu'ah to kill 'Umar.
772. The meter is *wāfir*. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 37.

when the circumstances of the crime are [at least] equally balanced.[773]

Will you forgive ['Ubaydallāh], when you have no right to do so?[774]

[As yet] you have no authority to do what you say.[775]

So 'Uthman summoned Ziyād b. Labīd, forbade him [to recite this], and sent him away. [2797]

According to al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd[776]—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab: On the morning when 'Umar was stabbed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr said, "Last evening I passed by Abū Lu'lu'ah, as he was meeting in secret with Jufaynah and al-Hurmuzān. When I came upon them, they sprang up and a dagger with two baldes and its handle in the middle fell out into their midst. Consider [the instrument] with which ['Umar] was killed!" [Abū Lu'lu'ah] had already slipped through the crowd attending the mosque. A Tamīmī[777] went off in search of him and returned to them, having kept after Abū Lu'lu'ah as he left 'Umar, taken him, and killed him. [The Tamīmī] brought the dagger that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr had described. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar heard about this, but held back until 'Umar died. Then he wrapped his garments round his sword, came to al-Hurmuzān, and killed him. When the sword was wounding him, he called out, "There is no god but God." Then ['Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar] passed on to Jufaynah, a Christian from al-Ḥīrah, foster son of Sa'd b. Mālik[778] and whom he had brought to Medina as a result of the peace between himself and [the inhabitants] and to teach him writing. As he held the sword over him, ['Ubaydallah] [struck Jufaynah with it], making the

773. The second hemistich reads *"wa-asbābu al-khaṭā farasā rihāni"*; literally, "two horses racing [neck and neck]". That is, it is a question of timing: was 'Uthman in authority when the crime was perpetrated or not?

774. The first hemistich reads *a-ta'fū idh 'afawta bi-ghayri ḥaqqin*.

775. With some hesitation I follow the *Glossarium*, CXCIX. The Arabic reads *fa-mā la-ka bi-lladhī taḥkī yadāni*.

776. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Mikhnaf, father of Abū Mikhnaf.

777. Tamīm b. Murr, a huge confederation of northern tribal groups inhabiting the general area of Najd, al-Yamāmah and Bahrain. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 207, 466–67; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, I, 126–33.

778. That is, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

sign of the cross between his eyes. Ṣuhayb heard of this and sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to ('Ubaydallāh). He kept at him, saying "[Give me] the sword, by my mother and father!" until he handed it over to him. Sa'd sprang upon him, took him by the hair and they all came to Ṣuhayb.

[2798] *'Umar's Governors in the Garrison Towns*

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's governor of Mecca in the year in which he was killed, that is, 23 [November 19, 643–November 7, 644], was Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Ḥārith al-Khuzā'ī;[779] of al-Ṭā'if, Sufyān b. 'Abdallāh al-Thaqafī;[780] of Ṣan'ā', Ya'lā b. Munyah, confederate of Banū Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf;[781] of al-Janad,[782] 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'ah; of al-Kūfah, al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah; of al-Baṣrah, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī; of Egypt, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ; of Ḥimṣ, 'Umayr b. Sa'd; of Damascus, Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān; and of Bahrain and its neighboring area, 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī.

According to al-Wāqidī, Qatādah b. al-Nu'man al-Ẓafārī[783] died in 23 and 'Umar prayed over him.

In (this year) Mu'āwiyah launched a summer offensive and reached Amorium,[784] accompanied by some of the Companions of the Messenger of God; viz., 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit,[785] Abū

779. I have no further information on Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Ḥārith al-Khuzā'ī. For the following list, see Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 161.

780. Sufyān b. 'Abdallāh al-Thaqafī has a brief entry in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 115–16, although no date of death is given.

781. Ya'lā was more commonly known as Ya'lā b. Umayyah; see note 205. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf was a tribal group (*baṭn*) of Quraysh. See Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 197–205; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 115–17; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam*, III, 1202–3.

782. Al-Janad is very close to, and at the present time a suburb of, the important town of Ta'izz in the southern highlands of the Yemen. It was of great importance in early and medieval times and the seat of one of the three governors in the Yemen, along with Ṣan'ā' and Ḥaḍramawt (not here mentioned). See Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 44, 54–55 and passim; Kay, *Yaman*, end map.

783. Qatādah b. al-Nu'mān al-Ẓafarī fought at Badr, a fact mentioned in the biographies; e.g., Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 357–58.

784. Byzantine Amorion, Arabic 'Ammūriyyah, in the heart of Asia Minor, only approximately 170 miles southeast of Constantinople. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 158; Runciman, *Crusades*, I, Map 176.

785. 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit died in 34/654 or later. He had been present at the battle of Badr. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 111ff.

Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd,[786] Abū Dharr,[787] and Shaddād b. Aws.[788]

In (this year) Mu'āwiyah conquered Ascalon[789] by making peace [with its inhabitants.]

It was reported that Shurayḥ was judge of al-Kūfah in the year in which 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb died; judge of al-Baṣrah was Ka'b b. Sūr.[790] According to Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallāh—Mālik b. Anas[791] —Ibn Shihāb: Abū Bakr and 'Umar had no judge.

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786. Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd died in 50/670 or 55/675. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 90–91.

787. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī died ca. 32/653. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 90ff.; *EI*², s.v. (Robson); Cameron, *Abū Dharr*, passim.

788. Shaddād b. Aws died ca. 64/683. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 315.

789. 'Asqalān on the Mediterranean coast north of Gaza. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 122; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 400–3 and map opposite 14.

790. For Ka'b b. Sūr al-Azdī, see Wakī', *Akhbār*, I, 274ff.

791. Mālik b. Anas was the author of the famous *Muwaṭṭa'* and died in 179/796. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 5–9; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 457–64.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XV

The Crisis of the Early Caliphate

TRANSLATED BY R. STEPHEN HUMPHREYS

The Crisis
of the Early Caliphate
Volume XV
Translated by R. Stephen Humphreys

Before the caliphate of the ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, the Muslim community had grown from strength to strength in spite of a series of major crises—the Hijrah, the death of the Prophet, the Riddah wars, the assassination of ʿUmar by a Persian slave. But ʿUthmān's reign ended in catastrophe. His inability to manage the social and political conflicts that were now emerging among various factions within the community led to his death at the hands of Muslim rebels. The consequences of this tragic event were bitter: not only a century of civil war, but also political and religious schisms of such depth that they have not been entirely healed even now. Most medieval Muslim historians told this story in an overtly partisan manner, but al-Ṭabarī demands more of his readers. First of all, they must decide for themselves, on the basis of highly ambiguous evidence, whether ʿUthmān's death was tyrannicide or murder. But, more than that, they must ask how such a thing could have happened at all; what had the Muslims done to bring about the near-destruction of their community?

Al-Ṭabarī presents this challenge within a broad framework. For, even while the internal crisis that issued in ʿUthmān's death was coming to a head, the wars against Byzantium and Persia continued. The first expeditions into North Africa, the conquest of Cyprus, the momentary destruction of the Byzantine fleet at the Battle of the Masts, the bloody campaigns in Armenia, the Caucasus, and Khurāsān are all here, in narratives that shift constantly between hard reporting and pious legend. Muslim forces retain the offensive, but there are no more easy victories; henceforth, suffering and endurance will be the hallmarks of the hero. Most evocative in the light of ʿUthmān's fate is the moving account of the murder of the last Sasanian king, Yazdagird III—a man betrayed by his nobles and subjects, but most of all by his own character.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XV

The Crisis of the Early Caliphate

THE REIGN OF 'UTHMĀN

A.D. 644-656/A.H. 24–35

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l mulūk)

VOLUME XV

The Crisis of the Early Caliphate

translated and annotated
by

R. Stephen Humphreys

University of Wisconsin, Madison

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash

(—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
EI²: Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition
IJMES: International Journal of Middle East Studies
JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies
SEI: Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam
WKAS: Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache

Translator's Foreword

Ṭabarī as Narrator and Interpreter of 'Uthmān's Regime

When 'Uthmān b. 'Affān acceded to the caliphate in 24/644, he inherited a new but already imposing empire. The main field armies of Byzantium and Sasanian Iran had been crushed, and a rudimentary administration had been established in the newly conquered territories of Arabia, Egypt, and the Fertile Crescent. The struggle to bring Anatolia and the Iranian plateau under Islamic domination continued and was bitterly contested, but Muslim Arab forces retained the offensive on all fronts. Not only wartime booty but also vast tax and tribute revenues were flowing into Medina and the provincial capitals of Kufah, Basrah, Damascus, and al-Fusṭāṭ. Nevertheless, the new Islamic state was already afflicted by serious internal stresses. The caliphate had very little control over its provincial governors and field commanders; the proud tribal leaders (the *ashrāf*) were loath to submit to government authority of any kind. There were resentments over the benefits lavished on some men and not others; there was even rivalry within the inner circle of the Prophet's Companions. Altogether, it is hardly surprising that 'Uthmān governed in an atmosphere of growing tension, and ultimately of crisis.

Political crisis degenerated into open rebellion by troops from Egypt and Iraq, and rebellion ended in the murder of the aged caliph. 'Uthmān's bloody death opened nearly a century of civil

war, Muslim set against Muslim, as a host of factions and sects struggled to reestablish the government of God within the Islamic community. In these struggles, there were momentary victors who succeeded in seizing control of the apparatus of government, but the underlying conflicts and issues were never fully resolved—nor have they been even to this day. One could make a case that the murder of 'Uthmān was the single most formative event in early Islamic history. It was not only a matter of the host of immediate and long-term consequences that flowed from this act. Rather, 'Uthmān's death compelled Muslims to confront crucial questions not only about the mutual claims and obligations of rulers and subjects in Islam, but also about the fundamental nature of the relationship between God and His community. The disparate and conflicting answers that they evolved to these questions became the very substance of Islamic political thought, theology, and law.

In this light, it is no surprise that early Muslim historians devoted extraordinary attention to the caliphate of 'Uthmān, and especially to its final phase. Nor is it surprising that Ṭabarī's account is in some sense the definitive one—not only the largest and most comprehensive, but also the one that most accurately reflects the many controversies surrounding this tragic figure. More fully and precisely than in any other source, we find in Ṭabarī the irreconcilable differences of interpretation and judgment that 'Uthmān's reign engendered among Muslims. As to his own opinion, he remains as always a master of cunning. The naive reader sees a sympathetic and even laudatory portrayal of a rightly guided caliph; the critical reader must confront ambiguity, internal contradiction, and the impossibility of reaching a definitive judgment.[1]

Ṭabarī does not present us with a unified narrative. His text is a complex mosaic of verbatim citations from older sources, most of them compiled in the late second/eighth and early third/ninth centuries. Through the careful juxtaposition of self-contained anecdotes and reports, Ṭabarī is able to present many different perspectives on any given incident or topic. A reader (whether Ṭa-

1. M. G. A. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago and London: 1974), I, 352–53.

barī's contemporary or a modern one) might well suppose that he is thereby obtaining independent testimony on these events, but here caution is in order.

I am persuaded that we cannot accept these texts as direct and authentic (albeit partisan) accounts of the events themselves. Rather, we should regard them as literary constructions that tell us not what actually happened, but rather what 'Uthmān meant to men living a century or more after him. I do not mean that Ṭabarī's narratives are mere inventions; clearly they are in some way rooted in real things that happened to real people. On the other hand, it is not at all clear that we can penetrate to the core of fact that lay behind these stories. On some level, 'Uthmān's reign will always remain veiled in the controversies and values of the later generations who compiled the sources that Ṭabarī used. Ṭabarī's relationship to the reign of 'Uthmān is rather like the relationship of Tolstoy to the Napoleonic Wars. If we had nothing but the novel *War and Peace,* what would we really know about Alexander I, Kutuzov, and Napoleon himself?[2]

Ṭabarī uses a formidable array of sources for his account of 'Uthmān, but three historians provide the bulk of his material. His narrative of the wars in Iran is drawn mostly from 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī (d. 855), either directly or through the transmission of 'Umar b. Shabbah. Al-Madā'inī is himself a compiler and editor of much older materials, but he has imposed a considerable degree of clarity and coherence on his sources. Most remarkable, no doubt, is the long series of narratives on the death of Yazdagird III, the last Sasanian king of Iran.

For events in Iraq and Arabia—the real key to the crises of 'Uthmān's caliphate—Ṭabarī relies chiefly on Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī (d. 823) and the mysterious Sayf b. 'Umar (d. ca. 800). Both of these authorities raise real problems. Al-Wāqidī writes well-organized, concrete narratives, full of telling detail and significant conversations. His informants are for the most part identifiable and even well known. His accounts are in fact a

2. These statements are of course influenced by the arguments of Petersen and Noth, though I am perhaps a degree less skeptical than they. E. L. Petersen, *'Alī and Mu'āwiya in Early Arabic Tradition* (Copenhagen: 1964); Albrecht Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen, und Tendenzen frühislamischen Geschichtsüberlieferung* (Bonn: 1973).

little too good—too well crafted, too pointed. It is clear from other contexts (e.g., the wars of the Prophet) that al-Wāqidī was not above elaborating on older and more austere narratives, and he may be suspected of the same thing here. In addition, he displays a detectable pro-'Alid bias, though that in itself should not disqualify his testimony. In any case, medieval Muslim commentators did not regard him as wholly reliable; perhaps they had better reason for this than we sometimes think.[3]

It is Sayf b. 'Umar who is most troubling, however. Ṭabarī shows a unique fondness for him, in two senses. First, Sayf is the source most heavily used by Ṭabarī for the whole period from the Riddah Wars to the Battle of Ṣiffīn (A.H. 11–37). Second, no one beside Ṭabarī appears to use Sayf at all. There is no obvious way to explain Ṭabarī's preference. It is certainly not explained by the formal characteristics of Sayf's narratives, for he relies on informants who are usually obscure and often very recent. Likewise, he makes heavy use of the "collective report," which blends together in unspecified ways the accounts of several transmitters.[4]

I would suggest that Sayf appealed to Ṭabarī for two reasons. First, Sayf presents a "Sunday school" interpretation of 'Uthmān's caliphate. In his presentation, one sees a profound unity and harmony within the core community of Muslims, a unity and harmony founded on strict fidelity to the legacy of Muhammad. It is unthinkable that men such as those portrayed by Sayf could have been moved by worldly ambition or greed. On the contrary, in Sayf's presentation most conflicts are illusory, a reflection of malicious misinterpretations by later commentators. Where real conflicts did arise among sincere Muslims, they were instigated by outsiders like the notorious 'Abdallāh b. Sabā', a converted Jew from the Yemen.

On this level, at least, Sayf's version of events is obviously a very naive one, and no doubt Ṭabarī perceived that as clearly as we do. Even so, it served a very useful function for Ṭabarī. By making Sayf's reports the visible framework of his narrative, he could slip in the much less flattering interpretations of early

3. I wish to thank Dr. Lawrence Conrad for drawing this issue to my attention.
4. Martin Hinds, "Sayf b. 'Umar's Sources on Arabia," *Studies in the History of Arabia*, I, part 2 (1979), 3–16.

Islamic history presented by his other sources. Ordinary readers would dismiss this dissident testimony as irrelevant, and only a few critical readers would catch his hint and pursue the issues raised by such secondary accounts. In this way, Ṭabarī could say what needed to be said while avoiding accusations of sectarianism. Accusations of this kind were of course no small matter in view of the enormous social and religious tensions in Baghdad during the late ninth and early tenth centuries.[5]

Ṭabarī, I think, found something else almost equally valuable in Sayf's narratives. Sayf is seldom content merely to give a bald account of events. Rather, he uses events as a springboard for overt reflection on religious and moral themes, expressed through the mouths or pens of his protagonists. These reflections tend to be filled with sentimental piety, and I would argue that they were strongly influenced by popular preaching, by the art of the *quṣṣāṣ*, who were so esteemed by ordinary people and so suspect in the eyes of scholars. Such elements of popular piety allowed Sayf's protagonists to emerge as larger-than-life heroes of the faith. More than that, such heroes sanctified the very events in which they were involved, removing these events from the gritty realm of profane strife and bloodshed, transforming them into sacred history.

The events of 'Uthmān's reign could be profoundly disheartening to Ṭabarī's own contemporaries, beset as they were by violence and sectarian conflict on every side. It was easy to lose all hope, to imagine that the venture of Islam had been for nothing. The events of 'Uthmān's caliphate might well suggest that Islam had in fact been betrayed even in the lifetime of the Prophet's Companions. In such a milieu, Sayf's account of 'Uthmān was an antidote to cynicism and despair, for it proclaimed that in the face of schism and rebellion, there were true Muslims who had remained faithful to the covenant that they had assumed under Muḥammad. And whatever evils had since befallen, the deeds of these early heroes stood as a symbol of hope, and a call to steadfastness, even in the gloom of Ṭabarī's troubled age.

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5. Cf. Hodgson, *Venture*, I, 353.

The State of the Text

I have based this translation on the text established by Eugen Prym in the Leiden edition directed by M. J. de Goeje. I have also consulted the recent Cairo edition prepared by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. However, for this part of the text Ibrāhīm used no manuscripts unknown to Prym. To all intents and purposes, then, his text is the same as that of the Leiden edition, though he does incorporate many of the corrections suggested in vol. 14 (*Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*). In addition he supplies punctuation, which is often helpful in unscrambling convoluted passages, as well as a very few emendations of his own.

Prym's text is based on four manuscripts, none of them complete:

1. Istanbul, Köprülü 1041 (C in the apparatus): pp. 2845–2851. According to the colophon, copied in Cairo in 651/1253.[6]
2. Istanbul, Köprülü 1043 (Co): pp. 2799–2892, 2914–2926. A very handsome volume, probably copied for the library of the Ayyubid prince of Mayyāfāriqīn, al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī (618–641/1221–1244).
3. Oxford, Bodleian Marsh 394 (O): pp. 2799–2923, 2940–2944, 2953–2980.
4. Berlin, Sprenger 41 (B): pp. 2897–3065. A very old manuscript, copied in 447/1055.

It should be noted that Prym could not see the important Istanbul manuscripts for himself, but had to depend on transcripts of varying reliability made for the Leiden project. Unfortunately, a trip to Istanbul in the autumn of 1984 only confirmed that no new manuscripts for this part of Ṭabarī are to be found, though the Köprülü volumes would certainly demand direct scrutiny in any

6. De Goeje (*Introductio*, liii ff.) erroneously identifies this volume as Köprülü 1042. In fact, K. 1041 covers the period from A.H. 5 to 65, but with very long gaps between 21 and 61. The pages in this volume are frightfully scrambled, as if they had been tossed into the air and rebound in the order in which they fell to the ground. K. 1042 is a volume of the same size and format, but it is written in a different (and far clearer) hand, and covers the years A.H. 158–302.

future edition.[7] More important, perhaps, is that we are dependent on a single witness (namely, the Berlin manuscript) for long stretches of the text, especially the crucial last eighty-five pages. No doubt many of the textual difficulties in this section of Ṭabarī are connected with that fact.

In order to confirm or clarify the text, as well as to fill in a few missing lines and words, Prym drew on as many parallel texts as were available to him, and de Goeje refers to others in the *Addenda et Emendanda*. Of these Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rīkh* is clearly the most important. In fact, however, Ibn al-Athīr is seldom of much help, since the more obscure passages are either reproduced verbatim or omitted altogether. This fact might suggest that he did not understand them either. In using Ibn al-Athīr, we need to recall that our oldest and best manuscripts were produced in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia between the late twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries—that is, precisely when Ibn al-Athīr was composing his own chronicle. The manuscript tradition available to us is therefore probably the very same one that he used.

A great many relevant texts have been published since the turn of the century, of course, and in an ideal world I would have brought all these to bear. For reasons of practicality, however, I drew only on the *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī (d. 892), which gives us the longest and most important account of 'Uthmān's reign after that of Ṭabarī himself. Balādhurī draws chiefly on Wāqidī, and he therefore provides a useful check on Ṭabarī's use of this important source. However, we cannot expect exact textual parallels, because Balādhurī gives us paraphrases of his sources, whereas Ṭabarī favors verbatim citations.

To sum up, this translation is based on a serviceable Arabic text—certainly the best that could have been produced in de Goeje's day. There is, however, room to try again. A direct examination of the Istanbul manuscripts and the use of parallel texts

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7. I wish to acknowledge the generous support of the American Philosophical Society, which funded my trip to examine the Ṭabarī manuscripts in Istanbul, London, and Oxford in autumn 1984. I hope to publish elsewhere a fuller discussion of the problems raised by these manuscripts.

published since 1900 (e.g., Balādhurī, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, Ibn Ḥubaysh, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Ḥassān b. Thābit) would probably resolve some of the puzzles in the existing text; at the very least, they would provide a broader context for them.

R. Stephen Humphreys

Transliteration and Editorial Conventions

In transliterating Arabic names and terms, I have followed the usage of the *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*, which has become standard in North America.

Two editorial conventions in this translation call for comment:

1. Square brackets [] are used to enclose words and phrases which do not appear in the Arabic text. I have either added such words and phrases for the sake of clarity, or else I have taken them from a parallel text. In the latter case, the source of the words is identified in a footnote.
2. Parentheses () are used for two purposes: (a) to indicate Arabic technical terms or particularly significant expressions in the passage being translated; (b) to specify proper names or other words which are expressed by pronouns in the Arabic text. The antecedents to these pronouns are often very uncertain, especially in the narratives of Sayf b. 'Umar; parentheses allow me to propose a reconstruction of Ṭabarī's meaning while alerting the reader to the ambiguity of the original.

Table 1. 'Uthmān's Lineage

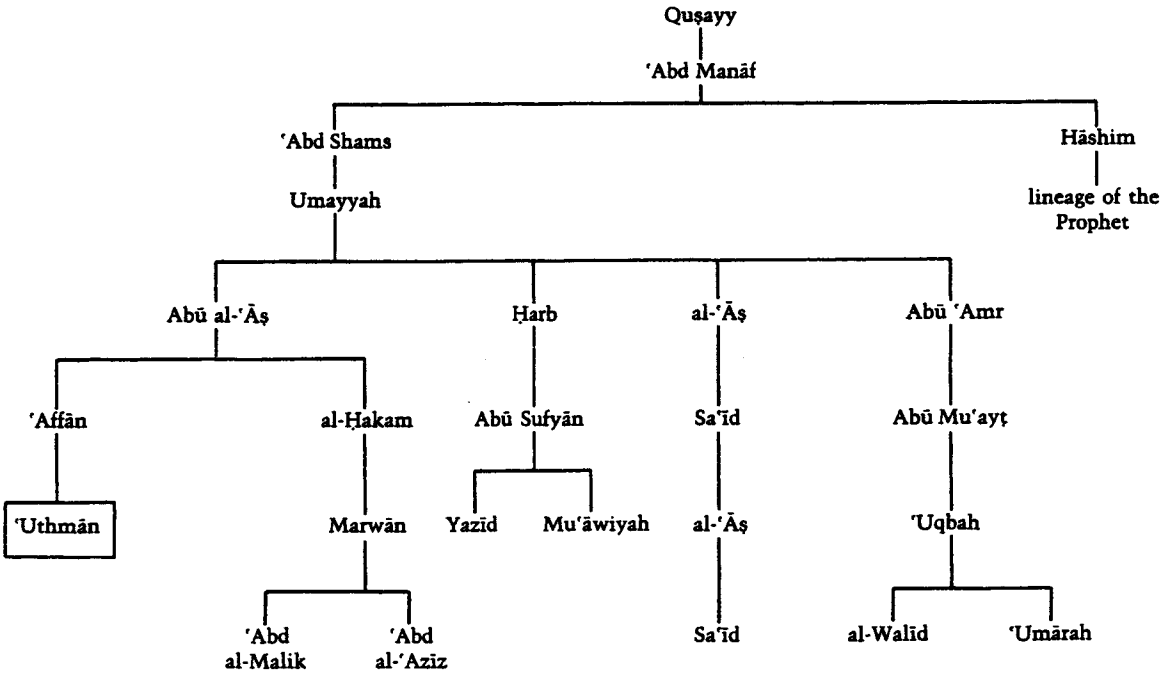

The Events of the Year [2799]

24

(November 7, 644–October 27, 645)

In (this year) the oath of allegiance was rendered to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān as Caliph. There is disagreement as to when the oath was rendered to him. Some authorities (*ba'ḍuhum*) follow the account related to me by al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ—'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Akhnasī. He [Ibn Sa'd] says: according to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallah b. Abī Sabrah—Ya'qūb b. Zayd—his father: The oath of allegiance was rendered to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān on Monday, the next to last day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 23 (November 5, 644).[1] He accepted the Caliphate in al-Muḥarram of the year 24 (November 7–December 6, 644).

1. This implies that al-Muḥarram would begin on Tuesday at sunset. There is a discrepancy between the day of the week and the date of the month here. According to Caetani's tables (*Annali*, VII, 2), Muḥarram 1, 24 should have fallen on Sunday (= November 7); hence the oath of allegiance to 'Uthmān would have taken place on Friday rather than Monday. In this case, I have followed the Julian-Hijri equivalents for the day of the month, disregarding the day of the week. However confused these dates may seem, Ṭabarī appears to have transcribed his

Others follow the account related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—someone who mentioned it[2]—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar: The oath of allegiance was rendered to ʿUthmān in the Year of Nosebleeds, the year 24. It is said [by certain authorities]: This year was called the Year of Nosebleeds only because nosebleeds were a common occurrence among the people during this time.[3]

Others follow the account transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Khulayd b. Dhafarah and Mujālid: ʿUthmān was named Caliph on al-Muḥarram 3 of the year 24 (November 9, 644); then he went out and led the people in the afternoon prayer. He increased [their stipends] and permitted delegations to be sent [to him from the provinces];[4] this was established as a precedent.

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source (al-Wāqidī) accurately, for Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 23, who also follows al-Wāqidī, gives the same ones. The dates of ʿUthmān's election and assumption of office are subjects of considerable confusion, as will become evident below; on this issue see Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 7–8.

2. *ʿamman dhakarahu*. The phrase could also be rendered, "on the authority of someone whom he has mentioned." But cf. the *isnād* of Aḥmad b. Thābit below, p. 25. *Dhakara* normally indicates a written, not an oral, source: "he mentioned in a book."

3. I have consistently rendered *al-nās* as "the people" in this translation. Unfortunately there are other terms (e.g., *qawm, ahl*) that appear to be near-synonyms and which for the sake of English idiom sometimes must be translated as "people," though I have tried to find other equivalents wherever possible. In this section of Ṭabarī, *al-nās* is consistently used to refer collectively to the Muslims, either as a whole or (more commonly) to those involved in a particular incident. The term has strongly positive connotations; normally it is applied to a group that is morally upright and devoted to the ideals of the Community. *Qawm* in contrast is usually negative in tone, implying a group acting in opposition to Islam or (if made up of Muslims) subverting the unity and integrity of the Community. *Qawm* is commonly used in the Qurʾān and elsewhere to mean "a people, nation," and its root meaning is "the fighting men of a tribe." In this section of Ṭabarī, however, *qawm* almost always refers to a small, voluntary association. I have normally translated it as "group" or "band." *Ahl* is a morally neutral term that refers simply to the populace of a certain locality or to the partisans of a given religio-political tendency. Hence, an expression like *ahl al-Baṣrah* can appropriately be translated as "the Baṣrans," though occasionally "the inhabitants/people of Baṣrah" seems better.

4. Presumably in order to swear the oath of allegiance to him on behalf of the officials and troops of the frontiers, and to receive accession donatives from the new Caliph. This and the succeeding text repeat (with identical *isnāds*) reports already cited in connection with the account of ʿUmar's death above: I, 2727, 2728. The latter reads *"wa-waffada ahla al-amṣāri wa-ṣaniʿa fihim"*—"He permitted the inhabitants of the garrison towns to send delegations, and treated them generously."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Amr—al-Sha'bī: The men of the *shūrā*[5] agreed on 'Uthmān on al-Muḥarram 3 (November 9). It was now midafternoon, and the muezzin of Ṣuhayb[6] had called the prayer. They reached [2800] agreement between the call to prayer and its actual inception. Then ('Uthmān) went out and led the people in prayer. He increased [the stipends of] the people by 100 [dirhams] and permitted the inhabitants of the garrison towns (*ahl al-amṣār*) to send delegations; he was the first to do these things.

Others follow the account of Ibn Sa'd—al-Wāqidī—Ibn Jurayj—Ibn Abī Mulaykah: The oath of allegiance was rendered to 'Uthmān on al-Muḥarram 10, three nights after the murder of 'Umar.

The Sermon of 'Uthmān and the Slaying of al-Hurmuzān by 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Badr b. 'Uthmān—his paternal uncle: When the men of the *shūrā* had rendered the oath of allegiance to 'Uthmān, he went out more distressed than any of them. He came to the pulpit of the Messenger of God and preached to the people, praising and extolling God and asking His blessing upon the Prophet. He said: "Verily you are in a transitory abode and in the flower of life, so set forth until the time appointed for your death and aim for the best which you can attain, for you may be met [by your end] morning or evening. Surely this world harbors deceit, 'so let not the present life delude you,' and 'let not the deceitful one delude you

5. The *shūrā* was the electoral council of six men ('Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ—who was not actually present—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān) named by 'Umar on his deathbed in order to choose his successor from among their own number. The *shūrā*'s deliberations and choice of the aged 'Uthmān were matters of intense controversy. See Vol. 14 of the present translation (text, I, 2776–2797).

6. Ṣuhayb al-Rūmī was a freedman, presumably of Greek Christian origin, whom the stricken 'Umar had appointed to lead the prayers while the *shūrā* met *in camera* to determine his successor. The text reads "*mu'adhdhin Ṣuhayb,*" so it is clear that Ṣuhayb himself was not the muezzin.

concerning God.'[7] Consider those who have gone before you, then be in earnest and do not be neglectful, for you will surely not be overlooked. Where are the sons and brothers of this world who tilled it, dwelt in it, and were long granted enjoyment therein? Did it not spit them out? Cast aside this world as God has cast it aside and seek the hereafter, for verily God has coined a parable
[2801] for it and for that which is better. The Almighty has said: 'And strike for them the similitude of the present life: it is as water that We send down out of heaven, [and the plants of the earth mingle with it; and in the morning it is straw the winds scatter; and God is omnipotent over everything. Wealth and sons are the adornment of the present world; but the abiding things, the deeds of righteousness, are better with God in reward, and better in] hope.'"[8] Then the people came forward to render the oath of allegiance to him.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Manṣūr: I heard al-Qumādhbān speaking about the murder of his father. He said: The Persians (*al-'Ajam*) in Medina were taking their ease with one another when Fayrūz[9] passed by my father with a two-bladed dagger. (My father) took it from him and said, "What are you doing with this around here?" Fayrūz said, "I like having it."[10] Now a man saw him, and when 'Umar was struck down, he said, "I saw this (dagger) with al-Hurmuzān; he gave it to Fayrūz." Then 'Ubaydallāh came up and killed (al-Hurmuzān). When 'Uthmān took office, he summoned me and put ('Ubaydallāh) in my hands. Then he said, "My son, this man is the murderer of your father; it is your duty rather than ours to take vengeance upon him, so go and kill him." I went out with him, and there was no one in the land who did not support me and demand that [I take action] against him. I said to them, "Is it up to me to kill ('Ubaydallāh)?" They answered, "Yes." And they reviled 'Ubaydallāh. Then I said, "Is it your place to protect him?"

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7. Qur'ān 31:33; 35:5.

8. Qur'ān 18:42–44. The words in brackets are supplied to complete the passage, cited here (as is usual in medieval Arabic texts) in abridged form.

9. Fayrūz Abū Lu'lu'ah, the murderer of 'Umar.

10. Reading *"ānasū bihi"* in accordance with Ibrāhīm's text and the mss (Oxford Marsh 394, Köprülü 1043), rather than *"abussu bihi,"* a conjectural restoration by the editor (E. Prym) of the Leiden text.

They answered, "No," and they reviled him. Then I left [ʿUbaydallāh] to God's hands and theirs, and they bore me away. By God, I only reached my home carried upon the heads and hands of these men.[11]

The Governorship of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ in Kūfah

In this year, ʿUthmān removed al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah from Kūfah and appointed Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ as governor there, according to the account transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī. He says: ʿUmar had said, [2802]
"I enjoin the Caliph after me to name Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ as governor, for I did not remove him on account of any evil action, and I fear that something of that kind may be attributed to him." The first governor (*ʿāmil*) whom ʿUthmān appointed was Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ in Kūfah. He removed al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah from office, al-Mughīrah being in Medina at that time. Saʿd acted as governor in (Kūfah) for one year and part of another. (ʿUthmān) retained Abū Mūsā (al-Ashʿarī) in office for a number of years.[12]

According to al-Wāqidī—Usāmah b. Zayd b. Aslam—his father: ʿUmar enjoined that his governors (*ʿummāl*) should be maintained in office for a year. When ʿUthmān came to power, he kept al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah in Kūfah for a year and then removed him, naming Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ as his governor [there]. Then he removed him and appointed al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah. If al-Wāqidī is correct about that, then Saʿd's governorship in Kūfah on behalf of ʿUthmān fell in the year 25.

*The Letters of ʿUthmān to His Officials (*ʿummāl*) and Governors (*wulāt*) and to the Common People (*al-ʿāmmah*)*

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah—their usual chain of authorities (*bi-*

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11. Other versions of this story portray ʿUbaydallāh and ʿUthmān in a far more hostile light: see Vol. 14 of the present translation (I, 2795–2797); Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 188; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 75–76.

12. As governor of Baṣrah; see below, p. 34.

isnādihimā): When 'Uthmān took office, he dispatched 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir to Kābul—that is, the province of Sijistān. He stayed in Kābul until he had captured all of it. Now the province of Sijistān was larger than Khurāsān until Mu'āwiyah died; then the inhabitants of Kābul resisted stubbornly.

According to some authorities (*qālū*), the first letter which 'Uthmān wrote to his officials was [as follows]: "To proceed: God has commanded the imāms to be shepherds; He did not direct them to be tax collectors. Indeed at the inception of this Community they were made shepherds and not tax collectors. But your imāms are surely on the verge of becoming tax collectors rather [2803] than shepherds. If they turn out thus, then modesty of manners, integrity, and good faith will be at an end. Verily, the most just conduct is for you to examine the affairs and obligations of the Muslims, so that you may give them what is properly theirs and take from them what they owe. Do likewise as regards the Pact of Protection;[13] give to them what is theirs and take from them what they owe. As to the enemy whom you encounter, faithfully seek God's aid against them."

According to some authorities, the first letter that he wrote to the commanders of the armies in the frontier passes was [as follows]: "To proceed: Verily you are the guardians and protectors of the Muslims, and 'Umar laid down for you [instructions] that were not hidden from us; on the contrary, they were in accordance with our counsel. Let me hear of no change or alteration on the part of any one of you, lest God change your situation and replace you with others. So examine your conduct, for I shall examine what God has required me to examine and watch over."

According to some authorities, the first letter that he wrote to the tax officials (*'ummāl al-kharāj*) was [as follows]: "To proceed: Verily God created mankind in truth, and he accepts naught but

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13. *al-dhimmah*. The treaty made with non-Muslims at the time of the Conquest, guaranteeing them security of life and property and limited freedom of worship in return for submission to Muslim rule. Some of the vast literature on this complex subject is surveyed in the translator's *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Minneapolis: 1988), 233–39. A recent general reference is C. E. Bosworth, "The Concept of Dhimma in Early Islam," in B. Braude and B. Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* (2 vols., New York: 1982), I, 37–51.

the truth. Take what is right and give for it what is right. Strive for integrity! Uphold it and be not the first to violate it, so that you may share what you have acquired with those who come after you. Keep faith, keep faith! Do not wrong the orphan nor one with whom you have made a pact, for God is the opponent of him who wrongs them."

According to some authorities, his letter to the common people was [as follows]: "To proceed: You have attained so much only by strict adherence to sound models [of conduct]. Let not this world turn you away from your proper concerns (*amrikum*), for this Community will become involved in innovation after three things occur together among you: complete prosperity, the attainment of adulthood by the children of captive women, and the recitation of the Qur'ān by both Arabs and non-Arabs (*al-a'ājim*). [2804] The Messenger of God has said, 'Unbelief stems from speaking Arabic badly; if something seems foreign to them, they will do it awkwardly and [thereby] bring about innovation.'"

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Āṣim b. Sulaymān—'Āmir al-Sha'bī: 'Uthmān was the first Caliph to increase the stipends paid to the people by a hundred [dirhams]; this became the usual practice. 'Umar used to pay to every living person among the authorized recipients of stipends (*ahl al-fay'*)[14] one dirham per day during Ramaḍān, and stipulated for the wives of the Messenger of God two dirhams each. He was told, "You should have prepared food for them and brought them to one place to get it." He replied, "Feed the people in their homes." 'Uthmān confirmed what 'Umar had done, but increased [the amount]. He established the [grants of] food for Ramaḍān, saying, "[This is] for the devout worshiper who lingers in the mosque, for the wayfarer, and for the destitute among the people during Ramaḍān."

In this year—that is, the year 24—al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah raided

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14. *Ahl al-fay'*, literally "the people of booty." In the context of the Conquest years, it means those Muslims who were entitled to a regular stipend from the public treasury, whose revenues came from taxes and tribute levied against the "immovable booty" (*fay'*) constituted by the conquered territories and their inhabitants. These stipends were paid to Muslims who had joined the new religion in the time of Muḥammad and to the Arab soldiers who had accepted Islam and participated in the wars of conquest. See F. Løkkegaard, "Fay'," *EI*², II, 869–70.

Ādharbayjān and Armenia, because their inhabitants had repudiated the terms to which they had agreed with the Muslims during 'Umar's reign. [That is] according to the account of Abū Mikhnaf, but other authorities relate that this took place in the year 26.

[2805]

The Campaign of [al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah in Ādharbayjān and Armenia]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ, of the clan of Ghāmid in the tribe of Azd:[15] The campaigns of the Kūfans took place in Rayy and Ādharbayjān; in the two frontier zones there were 10,000 Kūfan warriors, 6,000 in Ādharbayjān and 4,000 at Rayy. In Kūfah itself, there were at that time 40,000 warriors, and every year 10,000 of them would go on campaign to these two frontier zones, so that a man would be subject to one campaign every four years. During his governorship in Kūfah during the reign (*sulṭān*) of 'Uthmān, al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah campaigned in Ādharbayjān and Armenia. (Al-Walīd) summoned Salmān b. Rabī'ah al-Bāhilī, sending him ahead as his vanguard, while al-Walīd set out with the body of the people, with the intention of devoting every effort to [the conquest of] the land of Armenia. He proceeded with the people until he entered Ādharbayjān. He sent 'Abdallāh b. Shubayl b. 'Awf al-Aḥmasī with 4,000 (troops), and he attacked the inhabitants of Mūqān, al-Babar, and al-Ṭaylasān. He seized some of their wealth and cattle, but these people (*qawm*) were on guard, and he took only a few captives from among them before turning back to meet al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah.

[2806] Then al-Walīd made peace with the inhabitants of Ādharbayjān, in return for [a tribute] of 800,000 dirhams, these being the terms which Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān had negotiated in the year 22, one year after the battle of Nihāwand.[16] With the death of 'Umar, they had stopped payment. When 'Uthmān took office and

15. Text: *al-Azdī thumma 'l-Ghāmidī*. See Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, I, 293C.

16. The battle of Nihāwand (21/642) was the Arab victory in the mountain passes leading from Iraq to Hamadhān over Sasanian forces commanded by the king Yazdagird III. This victory opened the Iranian plateau to Arab attack, and brought an end to centrally controlled Iranian resistance to the Arab invaders. It was not the end of the fighting in Iran, which stretched on for more than a decade

al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah became governor of Kufah, (the latter) campaigned until he had trampled them underfoot with (his) army. When they saw that, they submitted to him, beseeching him to maintain for them [the terms of the original] treaty. He did so, taking from them the sums due. He also dispatched a series of expeditions against the enemies of the Muslims roundabout (those who had just submitted). When 'Abdallāh b. Shubayl al-Aḥmasī returned unharmed and bearing plunder from his raid, (al-Walīd) dispatched, in the year 24, Salmān b. Rabī'ah al-Bāhilī against Armenia with 12,000 (troops). He went into the land of Armenia killing and taking prisoners and booty. Then, his hands laden [with plunder], he left and returned to al-Walīd. Al-Walīd now departed, having triumphantly achieved his aims.

The Gathering of Byzantine Forces against the Muslims and the Muslims' Call for Aid from the Kūfans

In this year, according to Abū Mikhnaf, the Byzantines mobilized their forces to such a level that the Muslim armies in Syria sought reinforcements from 'Uthmān.

The Account of That Event

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ al-Azdī: When—during the year 24 according to (Abū Mikhnaf's) chronology—al-Walīd achieved his aims in Armenia in the campaign discussed above, and then entered Mosul, making camp at al- [2807]
Ḥadīthah, he received a letter from 'Uthmān, [as follows]: "To proceed: Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān[17] has written to inform me that the Byzantines have mobilized vast forces against the Mus-

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and was often very bitter, but this was henceforth a matter of local sieges, regional campaigns, guerilla resistance, and the like.

17. At this time governor of Syria, having succeeded his elder brother Yazīd in 639 when the latter had perished during an outbreak of the plague. Mu'āwiyah was the son of the Prophet's most obdurate opponent and had accepted Islam only with the occupation of Mecca in 8/630. In spite of this taint, however, his great talents were recognized by Muḥammad himself and—somewhat reluctantly—by the Caliph 'Umar.

lims; therefore, I have thought it fit that their Kūfan brothers should assist them. When my letter reaches you, send to them, [directly] from the place where my emissary shall find you, a man whose courage, steadfastness, valor, and [devotion to] Islam satisfies you, along with eight or nine or ten thousand (troops). Peace!"

Then al-Walīd stood up amidst the people. He praised and extolled God, then he said: "To proceed: O People, God has in this manner conferred a great blessing upon the Muslims. He has restored to them lands of theirs that had reverted to unbelief and has opened up lands that had not been conquered [before], sending them back safe and sound and fully compensated [for their struggles]. Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds! The Commander of the Faithful has written, commanding me to dispatch between eight and ten thousand of you to reinforce your brothers in Syria, for the Byzantines have gathered their forces against them. In that there will be a mighty recompense and manifest bounty.[18] Go forward then—may God be merciful to you—with Salmān b. Rabīʿah al-Bāhilī."

(Abū Mikhnaf) says: So the people pressed forward, and a third
[2808] day had not elapsed before 8,000 men from among the Kūfans departed, marching until they entered Byzantine territory together with the Syrians. Commanding the Syrian army was Ḥabīb b. Maslamah b. Khālid al-Fihrī, while the Kūfan army was under Salmān b. Rabīʿah al-Bāhilī. They launched attacks against the Byzantine territory; the people seized as many captives as they desired, filled their hands with plunder, and captured numerous fortresses there.

Al-Wāqidī claims that Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ was the one who sent Salmān b. Rabīʿah to the aid of Ḥabīb b. Maslamah. He says: the reason is that ʿUthmān had written to Muʿāwiyah, ordering him to send Ḥabīb b. Maslamah with the Syrians to attack Armenia, and he did so. Then Ḥabīb learned that al-Mawriyān al-Rūmī had set out to meet him with 80,000 Byzantines and Turks.[19] Ḥabīb

18. Qur'ānic allusions to the rewards (both now and hereafter) given by God to those who serve Him faithfully. Cf. Qur'ān 27:16.

19. Al-Mawriyān al-Rūmī: probably the strategos Maurianos or Mavrianos, a Byzantine general in Armenia. Other sources (Sebeos, Theophanes, and Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-Buldān*) state that he was defeated (and perhaps killed) by Ḥabīb b. Maslamah at the Armenian city of Dvin in 653–655—that is, about a decade later

wrote to Muʿāwiyah about this, and Muʿāwiyah [in turn] wrote to ʿUthmān. Thus, ʿUthmān wrote to Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, ordering him to support Ḥabīb b. Maslamah. (Saʿīd) then sent Salmān b. Rabīʿah with 6,000 [troops] to aid him. Ḥabīb was a master of military ruses, and he decided on a night attack against al-Mawriyān. His wife—[known as] Umm ʿAbdallāh bt. Yazīd al-Kalbiyyah—heard him mentioning this, and she said to him, "Where is your rendezvous?" He answered, "At the pavilion of al-Mawriyān or in Paradise." Then he attacked them by night, killing whoever came within his sight. He reached (al-Mawriyān's) pavilion and discovered that his wife had preceded him; she was the first woman among the Arabs to whom a pavilion was assigned [as her share of the booty]. Ḥabīb died and she survived him; al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays [2809]
al-Fihrī took his place as her husband, and she was the mother of his child.

There is disagreement as to who led the pilgrimage in this year. According to some authorities, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf led the pilgrimage this year by order of ʿUthmān; Abū Maʿshar and al-Wāqidī follow this opinion. According to others, however, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān made the pilgrimage this year.

As regards disagreement concerning those conquests, which some people ascribe to the time of ʿUmar and others to the reign of ʿUthmān, I have previously mentioned in this book such differences of opinion under the date of each conquest at issue.

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than Abū Mikhnaf's dating. See Andreas N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Amsterdam: 1975), III, 30, 269. I am indebted to my colleague John M. Barker for these references. Here and elsewhere, "Byzantine" translates *Rūm/Rūmī*—that is, "Roman," which is of course what the Byzantines called themselves—in Greek, *Rhomaioi*.

The Events of the Year 25

(October 28, 645–October 16, 646)

According to the account related to me by Aḥmād b. Thābit al-Rāzī—a traditionist (*muḥaddith*)—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar: The conquest of Alexandria took place in the year 25.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year, Alexandria repudiated its pact, and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ launched a bloody attack on them.[20] We [that is, al-Ṭabarī] have previously cited the report (of this event), mentioning also those who disagree with Abū Maʿshar and al-Wāqidī concerning the date.

[2810] Also according to al-Wāqidī: In this year, ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ sent cavalry forces against the Maghrib. (Al-Wāqidī) says: ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ had previously sent an expedition to the Maghrib. They seized booty, and ʿAbdallāh sought and received permission from (ʿAmr) to raid Ifrīqiyah.[21]

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20. *fa-ghazāhum ʿAmru b. al-ʿĀṣ wa-qatalahum*. Literally, "ʿAmr attacked and killed them."

21. Ifrīqiyah: the Roman-Byzantine province of Africa Proconsularis, essentially the northern half of modern Tunisia.

According to (al-Wāqidī): 'Uthmān led the pilgrimage in this year, appointing a deputy for Medina [during his absence].

Also according to him: In (this year) the fortresses [in Byzantine territory] were conquered, the commander being Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān.

Also according to him: In (this year) was born Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah.[22]

Also according to him: In (this year) the first [attack on] Sābūr took place.[23]

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22. The future Caliph (*regn.* 680–683), especially notorious as the tyrant responsible for the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā' in 61/680. His troops were also accused of sacking Medina in 64/683 and of burning the Ka'bah during the siege of Mecca (broken off at his death) later the same year. On his reign, see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 145–68.

23. *kānat Sābūru'l-ūlā*. Following the emendation in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 86, I have supplied the word *ghazwah* between *kānat* and *Sābūr*.

The Events of the Year 26

(October 17, 646–October 6, 647)

According to Abū Ma'shar and al-Wāqidī, the conquest of Sābūr took place during (this year). (This event) has previously been reported, in accordance with the account of authorities who contradict them on that (point).

Al-Wāqidī says: In (this year), 'Uthmān ordered the stones marking the limits of the sacred territory [around Mecca] to be
[2811] restored.[24]

He also says: In (this year), 'Uthmān added to and enlarged the Sacred Mosque.[25] He purchased [property] from one group of people, while others refused [to sell]. He then demolished [their

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24. *amara 'Uthmānu bi-tajdīdi anṣābi al-ḥarami.* The whole of Mecca, and not merely the Ka'bah itself, was regarded as a *ḥaram*, an inviolable sanctuary under the protection of Allāh. Presumably 'Uthmān took this action because the precise boundaries of the sacred area were no longer clearly marked or were in dispute. Such delimited sacred territories were very common in ancient Arabia; any area generally recognized as protected by some deity was so regarded. In modern South Arabia, similar sanctuaries still existed down to the 1960s at least, under the name of *ḥawṭah*. See R. B. Serjeant, "Haram and Hawtah, the Sacred Enclave in Arabia," in *Mélanges Taha Husain*, ed. A. R. Badawi (Cairo: 1962), 41–58.

25. *al-masjid al-ḥarām.* This is the Ka'bah and the enclosed courtyard around it.

houses] in spite of them and put the prices [which he would have paid them] in the public treasury. When they shouted protests at 'Uthmān, he had them jailed, saying, "Do you know what has emboldened you against me? Only my forbearance! 'Umar did the same thing to you, and you did not scream protests at him." Then 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd spoke with him on their behalf, and they were released.

[Al-Wāqidī] also says: 'Uthmān b. 'Affān led the pilgrimage in this year.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year, 'Uthmān removed Sa'd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ] from the governorship of Kūfah and appointed al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah.

According to Sayf: He removed him from [Kūfah] in the year 25 and made al-Walīd governor there. [Sayf] asserts that ['Uthmān] had removed al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah from Kūfah when 'Umar died, sending Sa'd there as governor ['*āmil*]. He then governed in [Kūfah] on ['Uthmān's] behalf for a year and some months.

The Reason Why 'Uthmān Removed Sa'd from Kūfah and Named al-Walīd His Governor There

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Amr—al-Sha'bī: The first satanically inspired event among the inhabitants of Kūfah—which was the first garrison town in Islam where Satan instigated evil among [its people]—happened [in this way]. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ sought a loan from the public treasury from 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd,[26] and he issued it to him. But when [Ibn Mas'ūd] demanded repayment, [Sa'd] was unable to do so. Words arose between the two of them, to the point that 'Abdallāh sought

26. 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd was one of the earliest Companions of the Prophet and was regarded as one of the principal students and transmitters of the text of the Qur'ān. His personal origins are not entirely clear; he seems to have been a member (or perhaps only a protégé) of the Hudhayl tribe, but to have resided in Mecca as a client of one of the Quraysh clans. Though esteemed for his piety and learning, and present at such crucial battles as Badr (2/624), Uḥud (3/625), and Yarmūk (15/636), he was never assigned a major military or administrative office. He settled in Kūfah soon after its founding, and was made intendant of the public treasury there. With him are associated a number of persons who were prominent in the early pietist, pro-'Alid movement in Kūfah. See J. C. Vadet, "Ibn Mas'ūd," *EI*², III, 873–75.

help from one part (*unās*) of the people in getting the money repaid, while Sa'd asked the assistance of another part in gaining a
[2812] deferral. Thus, (the people) split up into wrangling factions, with one group blaming Sa'd and the other 'Abdallāh.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid—Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim: I was sitting in Sa'd's residence with his brother's son Hāshim b. 'Utbah, when Ibn Mas'ūd came to Sa'd and said, "Hand over the money that you owe!" Sa'd replied, "I think you are just heading for trouble. Are you anyone but the son of Mas'ūd, a slave from the [tribe of] Hudhayl?"[27] Ibn Mas'ūd said, "Indeed so. I am the son of Mas'ūd, by God, while you are the son of Ḥumaynah." Hāshim said, "Yes indeed, and you are both Companions of the Messenger of God, and closely watched [by everyone]." Then Sa'd—a man with a violent temper—threw down a rod that he was holding, raised his hands, and said, "O God, Lord of the heavens and the earth!" 'Abdallāh responded, "Woe to you! Speak with a blessing and do not curse." With that Sa'd said, "No, by God! But for the fear of God, I would call down on you a curse (*da'wah*) that would not miss you." 'Abdallāh hastily turned around and left.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Qāsim b. Walīd—al-Musayyab b. 'Abd Khayr[28]—'Abdallāh b. 'Ukaym:[29] When the argument broke out between Ibn Mas'ūd and Sa'd concerning the loan that 'Abdallāh had extended to him and that Sa'd was unable to repay, 'Uthmān was angry at both of them. He snatched (Kūfah) away from Sa'd and fired him. He was angry at 'Abdallāh but retained him in office. He then ap-

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27. The Hudhayl tribe resided in the hills between Mecca and al-Ṭā'if, and was closely linked genealogically to the Quraysh. They joined Quraysh in opposing Muḥammad, and were only brought over to Islam at the conquest of Mecca in 630. See G. Rentz, "Hudhayl," *EI*², III, 540–41. I take "Ibn Mas'ūd" here not as a name, but literally, "the son of Mas'ūd." There seems no indication that 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd himself was ever a slave, but if he was the son of a man who had been one, that would explain the allusions to his client status as regards both Hudhayl and Quraysh. A further bit of evidence for his father's status: "Mas'ūd" ("Fortunate") would have been a very uncommon name for a full member of a noble Arab tribe.

28. The printed text has Musayyab—'Abd Khayr, but de Goeje (*Introductio*, dcxxv) corrects this in accordance with Köprülü 1043.

29. Following the readings of de Goeje (*Introductio*, dcxxv) and Ibrāhīm, since the mss are uncertain on this name.

pointed as governor al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah, who had been 'Umar's agent (*'āmil*) in charge of the Rabī'ah tribe in the Jazīrah. (Al-Walīd) arrived in Kūfah and did not mount a door on his residence down to the time when he departed from the city.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When 'Uthmān learned of what had been going on between 'Abdallāh and Sa'd, he was angry and planned to take steps against both of them. Then he abandoned that [idea]. He recalled Sa'd and took [from him] what he owed, confirming 'Abdallāh [in his office] and forwarding [the sum due] to him. To replace Sa'd he named as governor (*amīr*) al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah, who had been 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's agent in charge of the Arabs of the Jazīrah. Al-Walīd arrived in the second year of 'Uthmān's caliphate, Sa'd having been governor there for one year and part of another. Once in Kūfah, (al-Walīd) was the most beloved of men among the people and the most courteous in dealing with them. Matters continued thus for five years; there was no door on his residence. [2813]

The Events of the Year 27

(October 7, 647–September 24, 648)

According to the account related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—a traditionist—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar: Among these was the conquest of Ifrīqiyah by ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ. This is the account of al-Wāqidī as well.

The Conquest [of Ifrīqiyah] and the Reason for the Appointment of ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ as Governor of Egypt and ʿUthmān's Removal of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ from (That Province)

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: At ʿUmar's death, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ governed Egypt, while the judgeship there was held by Khārijah b. Ḥudhāfah al-Sahmī. When ʿUthmān took office, he retained both of them for [the first] two years of his caliphate. Then he removed
[2814] ʿAmr from office and appointed ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ as governor.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān: When ʿUthmān took of-

fice, he confirmed 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in his governorship, for he did not depose anyone save on the basis of a complaint [against him] or an [official's] desire to step down apart from any complaint. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd belonged to the army (*jund*) of Egypt, and 'Uthmān put him in command of this army, reinforced him with [additional] men, and sent him off to Ifrīqiyah. With him he sent 'Abdallāh b. Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Qays al-Fihrī and 'Abdallāh b. Nāfi' b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Fihrī. To 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd he said: "If in the coming days God grants you victory in Ifrīqiyah, then from the spoils that God bestows on the Muslims, you will have as your personal share one-fifth out of the [Caliph's] fifth of the moveable booty."[30] He also assigned command over the [Egyptian] army to the two 'Abdallāh al-Fihrī's, reinforced them with [additional] men, and sent them against Spain. He ordered the two of them and 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd to combine forces against the Ajall.[31] Thereafter 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd would remain in his province [namely, Ifrīqiyah] while the other two would continue toward their own province [namely, Spain].

They set forth, traversing Egypt. When they penetrated into the territory of Ifrīqiyah, they were intent on getting to the Ajall, who was accompanied by troops of various origins. The Ajall was killed in battle by 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd, who conquered Ifrīqiyah, both the lowlands and mountains. Then (the inhabitants of Ifrīqiyah) agreed to accept Islam, and their submission [to the Caliphate] was sincere.

'Abdallāh divided up the booty that God had bestowed on them among the army, taking [for himself] one-fifth of the [Caliph's] fifth and sending the remaining four-fifths [of the Caliph's share]

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30. The Qur'ān (8:42) had established that one-fifth of any battlefield spoils should go to the Prophet, to be used for the needs of himself and his family, as well as to assist orphans, the indigent, and travelers. (This was no innovation; the tribal chieftains of ancient Arabia followed a similar custom, though their traditional share was one-quarter). This privilege was retained of course by Muḥammad's successors.

31. The identity of this figure is obscure. Caetani, *Annali*, III, 196, identifies him merely as a Berber prince. His name in this text perhaps reflects some Byzantine title (*al-ajall* means "most noble," hence "nobilissimus"), but the military and administrative significance of this epithet is unclear. If Caetani is correct, the title might have been officially conferred on him as an ally or protégé of the Roman Empire, or it might have been self-bestowed.

back to 'Uthmān with Ibn Wathīmah al-Naṣrī. He established a
[2815] camp on the site of [the future city of] Qayrawān, and dispatched a delegation [to 'Uthmān].

When (his delegates) complained about 'Abdallāh in regard to (the portion of the booty) that he had taken, ('Uthmān) said to them, "I assigned that to him as his personal share. Things used to be done in this way, and I ordered him [to proceed] thus. Now it is up to you: if you are content, he will be permitted [to retain the booty]; and if you are displeased, it will be given back." They replied, "We are indeed displeased," and ('Uthmān) said, "So, it will be given back." He wrote to 'Abdallāh to give back (the disputed booty) and to try to reconcile them. But they said, "Remove him from us, for we do not wish him to hold command over us when such a thing has happened." So 'Uthmān wrote to him [as follows]: "Appoint as your successor in Ifrīqiyah a man who satisfies both you and (the army), and divide up [among them], for God's sake, the fifth that I had granted you as your share, for they are displeased about the booty." 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd did [this] and returned to Egypt, having conquered Ifrīqiyah and killed the Ajall.

(The native allies and converts of Ifrīqiyah) remained among the most orderly and obedient of the provinces;[32] they were the most peace loving and loyal people (*ummah*), up to the time of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, when the Iraqis infiltrated among them. When the Iraqi agents[33] slipped in among them and incited them

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32. A somewhat conjectural translation, since there is no clear antecedent for the subject of the verb in this sentence: *fa-mā zālū min asma'i ahli 'l-buldān wa-aṭwa'ihim. . . .* However, it is clear from the context that Sayf b. 'Umar or his informants have conflated two separate stories here. Up to this point, the Muslims have been Arab garrison troops stationed in Egypt. But beginning with this sentence, he portrays a conflict between Arab garrison troops stationed in Ifrīqiyah (the governor's *jund*) and a body of second-class Muslim militia, who are never explicitly identified but must represent native Berber allies and converts to Islam. It was among these people that Kharijism was to have a special appeal in the mid-second/eighth century.

33. *du'āt ahl al-'Irāq.* A *dā'ī* (pl. *du'āt*) is a "missionary" working as a propagandist and organizer on behalf of some religio-political movement dedicated to the overthrow of the existing order and the restoration of the true community of Muslims. In this case, the Iraqi agents would not represent the Abbasid cause, as one might suppose from the date, but a variety of Kharijite sects. Religio-political dissidence in eighth- and ninth-century North Africa was almost always Kharijite in inspiration.

to rebel, they broke the staff [of unity] and divided themselves into sects even to the present day. The cause of their division is this. They rejected the heretics (*ahl al-ahwā'*), saying, "We shall not oppose the Imams [that is, the Caliphs] because of crimes committed by the governors; we do not hold them responsible for that." The [Iraqi agents] responded, "But [the governors] are only carrying out the orders of the [Imams]." [The people of Ifrīqiyah] said, "We shall not accept that until we have informed ourselves about them."

Thus, Maysarah set out with ten men or so to go to Hishām. They sought permission [to speak with him], but that proved hard to obtain. They came to al-Abrash[34] and said, "Inform the Com- [2816]
mander of the Faithful that our amīr [in Ifrīqiyah] takes both us and his regular troops (*jund*) on campaign. When he gains a victory, he assigns the spoils to them and excludes us, saying, 'They have a better right to it.' We would say, '[This booty] renders our *jihād* the more sincere, since we do not take any part of it. If [the booty] is ours, then they are free to have it. If it is not ours, we do not want it.'" [The delegates] continued: "When we besiege a city, he orders us to advance, but holds back his regular troops. Then we have responded, 'Advance, for this will strengthen the *jihād*; [men] like you support their brothers.' Now we have personally shielded them and supported them [in battle]. Then in addition, they set upon our livestock and began to cut them open to get the unborn lambs, seeking the white skins for the Commander of the Faithful, and killing a thousand sheep for a single skin. We said, 'How small a matter this is for the Commander of the Faithful.' We bore it patiently and permitted them [to do] that. Then in addition, they have deemed themselves so much above us that they take every pretty daughter of ours. We said, 'We do not find this in the Book of God nor in the practice of His Messenger, and we, too, are Muslims.'[35] We would like to know, then, whether the Commander of the Faithful approves of all this or not."

[Al-Abrash] replied, "We shall act [on this matter]." Now when

34. The chamberlain of Hishām.

35. Prym's text gives *lam najid hādhā fī kitābin wa-lā sunnatin*. I have followed the reading of Oxford Marsh 394.

they had waited a long time and their provisions were exhausted, they wrote their names on brief petitions (*riqa'*) and presented them to the ministers of state. They said, "These are our names and lineages. If the Commander of the Faithful asks you about us, inform him." Then, having returned to Ifrīqiyah, they revolted against Hishām's governor, killed him, and seized control of the country. When Hishām heard the news, he asked about the small band [of men who had petitioned him]. Their names were presented to him, and behold, they were the same band who were reported to be in revolt.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—
[2817] Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Immediately after (their campaign in Ifrīqiyah), 'Uthmān sent 'Abdallāh b. Nāfi' b. al-Ḥuṣayn and 'Abdallāh b. Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Qays from Ifrīqiyah to Spain; they arrived there by way of the sea. 'Uthmān wrote [as follows] to those to whom he had delegated authority among the inhabitants of Spain: "To proceed: Only through Spain can Constantinople be conquered. If then you conquer (Spain), you will share the reward of those who conquer (Constantinople). Peace." Ka'b al-Aḥbār[36] said, "Nations (*aqwām*) will cross the sea to Spain and they will conquer it. They will be known by their radiance on the Day of Resurrection."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: They set out accompanied by the Berbers. They came (to Spain) by land and sea, and God bestowed it upon the Muslims and the Ifranjah.[37] They flourished under Muslim rule as did Ifrīqiyah. When 'Uthmān removed 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ, he sent to his province (*ilā 'amalihi*) 'Abdallāh b. Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Qays, and he ruled over it while 'Abdallāh b.

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36. Ka'b al-Aḥbār was a Yemeni Jew who converted to Islam in the reign of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and became a trusted counselor of both 'Umar and 'Uthmān. He is so enmeshed in later legend that it is hard to say anything concrete about him. To him was attributed a vast knowledge of Jewish lore—he was indeed regarded as the main conduit through which this material was introduced into Islam—and he was also looked on as something of a seer. See M. Schmitz, "Ka'b al-Aḥbār," *EI*², IV, 316–17; G. Vajda, "Isrā'īliyyāt," *EI*², IV, 211–12.

37. The identity of the Ifranjah is not clear. Presumably the word (literally, "Franks") is here applied to another Germanic people, the Visigoths, who ruled Spain between the fifth century and the Muslim conquest. It may also refer to that part of the indigenous population that accepted and supported Islamic rule.

Sa'd returned to Egypt. The situation in Spain continued to be like that in Ifrīqiyah until the time of Hishām; the Berbers defended their land; those living in Spain kept their affairs in good order.

According to al-Wāqidī—Ibn Abī Sabrah—Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥarmalah—Kurayb: When 'Uthmān stripped 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ of Egypt, 'Amr was intensely angry and was filled with hatred for 'Uthmān. 'Uthmān now sent 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd with orders to proceed to Ifrīqiyah, and charged the people to undertake [the conquest] of that land. Thus 10,000 [troops] from Quraysh, the Helpers, and the Emigrants set forth.[38] [2818]

According to al-Wāqidī—Usāmah b. Zayd al-Laythī—Ibn Ka'b: When 'Uthmān sent 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd to Ifrīqiyah, the Patrician of Ifrīqiyah Gregory (*Jurjīr*)[39] made peace in return for [a tribute] of 2,520,000 dinars. The Byzantine Emperor dispatched a legate, ordering him to take from (the inhabitants of Ifrīqiyah) 300 *qinṭārs*[40] [of gold], just as 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd had done. So he gathered together the leading men (*ru'asā'*) of Ifrīqiyah and said, "The Emperor has commanded me to take from you 300 *qinṭārs* of gold, the same amount that 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd has taken from you." They answered, "We have no money to give. As for what we once possessed, we have used it to ransom ourselves. As to the Emperor, he is indeed our lord, so let him take the portion of our wealth that used to be lawfully his, on the same terms as we formerly paid him every year." When (the legate) heard this, he

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38. The *Anṣār* ("Helpers") were the Medinese who had accepted Muḥammad's religion and political leadership at the time of the *hijrah*. The *Muhājirūn* ("Emigrants") were those Meccan followers who had gone into exile in Medina with Muḥammad. In this context, Quraysh must refer to those Meccans who had come over to Muḥammad only upon his occupation of the city in 630.

39. The Patrician Gregory was exarch (military governor) of Carthage, and had proclaimed himself emperor with the support of both local Byzantine troops and Berber tribes. (Ironically, the late Emperor Heraclius had also mounted his coup d'état in 610 from Carthage.) For that reason, the Arab invasion described here was something of a godsend to the Imperial government in Constantinople. See G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 118. Cf. the account of Sayf b. 'Umar above, pp. 18–19 (text, I, 2814).

40. A *qinṭār* was equal to 100 *raṭls* ("pounds"), a unit of weight that varied wildly according to region and period, but most commonly approximated 400 grams. Since this story involves a Roman province and emperor, we might suppose that the Roman *librum* of 327.5 grams is the unit intended here. However, the legendary character of this narrative makes any effort at exactitude quite meaningless. See E. Ashtor, "Makāyīl and Mawāzin," *EI*², VI, 117–21.

ordered them to be imprisoned. They sent [for help] to a certain group among their associates (*aṣḥābihim*); they came against (the legate) and broke open the prison, so that the detainees escaped.

The terms on which ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd made peace were 300 *qinṭār*s of gold, and ʿUthmān commanded it [to be turned over] to the family of al-Ḥakam.[41] I [that is, al-Wāqidī] said: "Or to Marwān?" He [that is, Usāmah b. Zayd] replied, "I don't know."

According to Ibn ʿUmar (al-Wāqidī)—Usāmah b. Zayd—Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb: ʿUthmān stripped ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣī of [control over]
[2819] the tax revenues (*kharāj*) of Egypt and made ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd the chief fiscal officer. The two (men) were bitterly at odds. ʿAbdallāh wrote to ʿUthmān saying, "Verily ʿAmr has refused to turn over the tax revenues," while ʿAmr wrote, "Verily ʿAbdallāh has used the stratagems of war against me." ʿUthmān wrote ordering ʿAmr to depart, and gave ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd authority over both the tax revenues and the army. ʿAmr arrived [in Medina] in a fury, and entered ʿUthmān's presence wearing a Yemeni cloak (*jubbah*) filled with cotton. ʿUthmān said to him, "What is the filling of your cloak?" He responded, "ʿAmr." ʿUthmān went on, "I knew that it was filled with ʿAmr. I didn't mean that. I was only asking whether it was cotton or something else."

According to al-Wāqidī—Usāmah b. Zayd—Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb: ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd sent ʿUthmān a sum of money from Egypt that he had amassed. ʿAmr entered ʿUthmān's presence, and ʿUthmān said, "ʿAmr, do you know that those she-camels have given milk plentifully since you left?" And ʿAmr answered, "But their young have perished."

In this year, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān led the pilgrimage.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year occurred the second conquest of Iṣṭakhr, at the hand of ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ.

Also according to him: In (this year), Muʿāwiyah attacked Qinnasrīn.

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41. Al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ was a kinsman of ʿUthmān, but had been one of Muḥammad's bitterest opponents and was sent into exile after the occupation of Mecca. His restoration to respectability under ʿUthmān and the many benefactions showered upon him and his son Marwān were the basis for some of the most serious charges of corruption and nepotism levied against the Caliph. Marwān of course ultimately seized the Caliphate (64–65/684–85), and was the lineal ancestor of all the succeeding Umayyad caliphs in Damascus as well as the amirs of Córdoba after 756.

The Events of the Year 28

(SEPTEMBER 25, 648–SEPTEMBER 13, 649)

According to al-Wāqidī: Among these (events) is the conquest of Cyprus by Mu'āwiyah, who attacked it at the command of 'Uthmān. However, Abū Ma'shar says that [the conquest of] Cyprus took place in the year 33. This was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit—one who related it [to him]—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—(Abū Ma'shar).[42] [2820]

Some authorities say that [the conquest of] Cyprus took place in the year 27. According to their accounts, a body (*jamā'ah*) of the Companions of the Messenger of God attacked it—among them Abū Dharr, 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit and his wife Umm Ḥarām, al-Miqdād, Abū al-Dardā', and Shaddād b. Aws.[43]

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42. The text says simply "*'anhu*." But Köprülü 1043 gives the name "Abū Ma'shar." Cf. the *isnād* of Aḥmad b. Thābit, above, p. 2.

43. On Abū Dharr, see below, pp. 64ff. and note 106; on Abū al-Dardā', see below, p. 65 and note 109.

Muʿāwiyah's Attack on Cyprus

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Rabīʿ b. al-Nuʿmān al-Naṣrī and Abū al-Mujālid Jarād b. ʿAmr—Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywah; and [Sayf—] Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān—Rajāʾ and ʿUbādah and Khālid:[44] In the time of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Muʿāwiyah pleaded with him about naval campaigns (*ghazw al-baḥr*) and the closeness of the Byzantines to Ḥimṣ. He said, "In one of the villages of Ḥimṣ, the inhabitants hear the barking of (the Byzantines') dogs and the squawking of their chickens." [He pressed ʿUmar] until he was on the verge of being won over. So ʿUmar wrote to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, [saying,] "Describe the sea and the seafarer to me, for I am uneasy about it."

According to ʿUbādah and Khālid: When (ʿUmar) informed him
[2821] of the benefits for the Muslims and the damage to the Polytheists to be derived from (naval warfare), ʿAmr wrote back to him [as follows]: "Verily I have seen a great creature [that is, the sea] ridden by a small one [that is, man]. If (the sea) is calm it rends the heart with anxiety, and if it is agitated it leads the mind into confusion. On it certainty shrinks and doubt increases. Those who are on it are like a worm on a twig; if it bends he is drowned, and if he is saved he is astounded." When ʿUmar read (this letter), he wrote to Muʿawiyah [as follows]: "No, by Him who sent Muḥammad with the Truth, I shall never send any Muslim there."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Saʿīd—ʿUbādah b. Nusayy—Junādah b. Abī Umayyah al-Azdī: Muʿāwiyah had written a letter to ʿUmar to provoke his interest in naval campaigns, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful, in Syria there is a village whose inhabitants hear the barking of the Byzantines' dogs and the crowing of their roosters, for (the Byzantines) are directly opposite a certain stretch of the coast of [the district of] Ḥimṣ. Now ʿUmar was doubtful about

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44. This way of constructing the *isnād* is somewhat conjectural, since Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān could be read in conjunction with Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywah. However, two points suggest that Sayf is combining two separate chains of transmission here: (1) in other *isnāds* Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān are direct informants of Sayf; (2) the name Rajāʾ is repeated directly following Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān, this time along with two other informants.

this because (Mu'āwiyah) was the one who advised it. He therefore wrote to 'Amr [as follows]: "Describe the sea for me and send me information about it." 'Amr then wrote to him [as follows]: "O Commander of the Faithful, I have seen a mighty creature ridden by a small one. It is naught but sky and water, and (those who travel upon it) are only like a worm on a twig: if it bends he drowns, and if he is saved he is amazed."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Ḥārithah—'Ubādah—Junādah b. [2822]
Abī Umayyah and Rabī' and Abū al-Mujālid: 'Umar wrote to Mu'āwiyah [as follows]: "We have heard that the Mediterranean Sea (*baḥr al-Sha'm*) surpasses the longest thing upon the earth, seeking God's permission every day and every night to overflow the earth and submerge it. How then can I bring the troops to this troublesome and infidel being? By God, one Muslim is dearer to me than all that the Byzantines possess. Take care not to oppose me. I have given you a command; you know what al-'Alā' (b. al-Ḥaḍramī)[45] encountered at my hands, and I did not give him such categorical orders."

According to certain authorities (*qālū*): The Byzantine Emperor abandoned warfare and entered into correspondence with 'Umar, establishing close relations with him. He asked him for a statement in which all knowledge (*'ilm*) would be united, and 'Umar wrote to him [as follows]: "Love for the people what you love for yourself, and hate for them what you hate for yourself. (This) will bring together all wisdom (*ḥikmah*) for you. And regard the people as your closest concern. (This) will combine for you all understanding (*ma'rifah*)."

The Byzantine Emperor wrote to him again, sending a long-necked bottle: "Fill this bottle for me with everything." So ('Umar) filled it with water and wrote, "Verily this is everything provided by this world." The Byzantine Emperor wrote to him [and asked], "What lies between truth and falsehood?" ('Umar) wrote back, "(There are) four fingers of truth in what the eyes see,

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45. Al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī was Abū Bakr's general in Baḥrayn during the Riddah wars, and later played a role in the Persian wars under 'Umar, who did not really trust him. See Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 86, 327; and E. Shoufani, *Al-Riddah and the Muslim Conquest of Arabia*, 131–34. See also the volumes in this series on Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

while falsehood often lies in what has been heard about without being directly observed." Then the Emperor of the Byzantines wrote to ask him how far it is between the heavens and the earth
[2823] and between the East and the West. 'Umar wrote to him, "A journey of five hundred years, if it were a level road."

According to the narrator: Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [and wife of 'Umar], sent to the Empress of the Byzantines perfume, drinking vessels, and cheap receptacles used for women's things. She inserted this into the official post (*al-barīd*), which conveyed it to her. (This material) having been taken from the post, the wife of Heraclius came and assembled her women, saying: "This is a gift from the wife of the King of the Arabs and the daughter [*sic*] of their prophet." She entered into correspondence with (Umm Kulthūm) and requited her in kind by sending her gifts, among them a superb necklace. Now when the official post brought (these gifts) to 'Umar, he ordered them to be seized and summoned [the people] together to pray. When they had assembled, he prayed two *rak'ah*s with them, and then said, "There is no good in any affair of mine that is decided without consultation. What about a gift that Umm Kulthūm sent to the wife of the Byzantine Emperor, who then sent a gift to her?" Some said, "It is (Umm Kulthūm's) along with what she [already] possesses. The Emperor's wife is neither under a pact of protection (*dhimmah*), so that she should try to conciliate [you] with (this gift), nor is she under your authority so that she should fear you." Others said, "We used to send garments as a gift in order to get something in return; we would send them to be sold and to obtain a [certain] price." Then 'Umar said, "But the envoy was the envoy of the Muslims, and the postal service was theirs. The Muslims are vexed [to see] (the necklace) on her breast." Thus, he ordered it to be returned to the public treasury, while he paid (Umm Kulthūm) the amount of her expenses.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah—Khālid b. Ma'dān: The first to conduct naval warfare was Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān in the time of
[2824] 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. He had sought 'Umar's permission for this but did not obtain it. When 'Uthmān took office, Mu'āwiyah persisted until at last 'Uthmān decided to grant permission. He said, "Do not conscript the people or cast lots among them. Let them decide

for themselves, and whoever chooses [to go on] campaign in obedience [to your call], support and aid him." (Muʿāwiyah) did this, naming as his admiral (*wa'staʿmala ʿalā al-baḥr*) ʿAbdallāh b. Qays al-Jāsī, an ally (*ḥalīf*) of the Banū Fazārah.[46]

(ʿAbdallāh) conducted fifty campaigns on the sea, in both winter and summer, and not one man was drowned or injured. He would call upon God to provide prosperity for his troops and to protect him and his soldiers against misfortune. So he went on, until the time when God decided to afflict him alone. He set out in advance [of his fleet] in a light boat (*qārib*). He reached the seaport in Byzantine territory; at that place beggars besought him for aid, and he gave them alms. A woman from among the beggars returned to her village and said to the men [there], "Do you want to find ʿAbdallāh b. Qays?" "Where is he?" they said. "At the seaport," she answered. "O enemy of God," they said, "how do you know ʿAbdallāh b. Qays?" She scolded them, saying, "You are too feeble for ʿAbdallāh to hide from any one [of you]." Then they rose [2825] up and attacked him. They did battle with one another, and (ʿAbdallāh) alone was struck down.

The sailor [of his boat] got away to (ʿAbdallāh's) comrades [in the main fleet]; they returned and landed under the command of Sufyān b. ʿAwf al-Azdī. He advanced and did battle with (the Byzantines). In a state of anger, he began mocking and abusing his comrades. Then ʿAbdallāh's slave girl said, "Alas, for ʿAbdallāh! He did not speak like that when he was fighting." Sufyān responded, "So how did he speak?" She said, "A sea of troubles, and then it will vanish from us."[47] Thus, (Sufyān) stopped what he had been saying and stuck to "A sea of troubles, and then it will vanish from us." He was struck down among the Muslims on that day, and that ended the era of ʿAbdallāh b. Qays al-Jāsī.[48] Afterwards, the woman [who had reported ʿAbdallāh's presence] was

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46. The text reads al-Ḥārithī, but de Goeje (*Introductio*, dcxxv) corrects to al-Jāsī. The Banū Jās were a clan of Fazārah, a powerful Najdī tribe that had rebelled during the Riddah wars, but was soon compelled to recognize the supremacy of the Caliphate, and then played an honorable part in the Persian campaign. See Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 65, 85, 194, 262.

47. A proverb expressing confidence: see Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, II, 173.

48. In the text, "al-Ḥārithī." I have followed de Goeje's reading, *Introductio*, dcxxv.

asked, "How did you recognize him?" "By his alms," she answered. "He gave in the manner of kings, and was not grasping like the merchants."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān: The woman who had incited the Byzantines against ʿAbdallāh b. Qays was asked, "How did you recognize him?" She answered, "He looked like a merchant, but when I pleaded for alms, he gave to me like a king, and so I knew that he was ʿAbdallāh b. Qays."

(ʿUthmān) wrote to Muʿāwiyah and the [other] provincial officials: "To proceed: See to those matters concerning which you have departed from ʿUmar['s directives], and do not alter them. If you are in doubt about something, refer it to us; we shall convene
[2826] the Community (*ummah*) concerning it and then send (the proper course of action) back to you. Take care to alter nothing, for I shall accept from you only what ʿUmar would accept." That region (*nāḥiyah*) had been falling into disorder in (the period) between the peace treaty [established under] ʿUmar and the regime of ʿUthmān. He would thus send a certain man there and God would conquer it through him, and that [conquest] would be accounted as his. Regarding the conquests [in general], they were credited to the first man who was made governor over them.[49]

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: When Muʿāwiyah attacked Cyprus, he agreed upon peace terms with its inhabitants, according to ʿAlī b. Sahl—al-Walīd b. Muslim—Sulaymān b. Abī Karīmah, al-Layth b. Saʿd, and other shaykhs of the coastal districts of Damascus: The peace terms for Cyprus (*ṣulḥ Qubrus*) consisted of a tribute (*jizyah*) of 7,000 dinars, to be paid to the Muslims every year. (The Cypriots) would also pay the same amount to the Byzantines, and the Muslims would not have the right to interfere in the payment of that tribute to the Byzantines.[50] In addition, (the Muslims) would neither raid (the Cypriots) nor fight

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49. Presumably this paragraph deals with Syria, since Muʿāwiyah is the only person named and *tilka al-nāḥiyah* ("that region") seems to refer to a specific place. The new or restored conquests would then be the northern frontier zone in Cilicia and the Taurus mountains.

50. *Laysa li'l-muslimīna an yaḥūlū baynahum wa-bayna dhālika*. Literally, "It is not for the Muslims to intervene between them and that."

against anyone seeking their protection. (The Cypriots) were obliged to inform the Muslims of any expedition against them by their enemy the Byzantines; moreover, the Imam of the Muslims should appoint the Patrician over them from among themselves.

According to al-Wāqidī: Muʿāwiyah attacked Cyprus in the year 28. The troops in Egypt attacked it also, under the command of ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, until they met up with Muʿāwiyah, who then wielded authority over [all] the Muslims [in this campaign].[51]

According to (al-Wāqidī)—al-Thawr b. Yazīd—Khālid b. Maʿdān—Jubayr b. Nufayr: When we took (the Cypriots) captive I saw Abū al-Dardāʾ weeping, and I said, "Why are you weeping on [2827] a day when God has exalted Islam and its adherents and abased infidelity and its partisans?" He struck my shoulder with his hand and said, "May your mother be bereft of you, Jubayr. How despicable mankind becomes to God when they abandon his commandments. Here was a mighty nation (*ummah*), which dominated (our) people and possessed royal power (*mulk*). Then they abandoned God's commandments; thus they fell into the condition that you see and God subjected them to captivity. If a people (*qawm*) is subjected to captivity, then God has no use for them."

According to al-Wāqidī—Abu Saʿīd: Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān established peace terms with the Cypriots in the reign of ʿUthmān, having been the first to attack the Byzantines [in Cyprus]. In the pact between (Muʿāwiyah) and (the Cypriots) was [the provision] that they would only contract marriages with our enemy the Byzantines with our permission.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah attacked Sūrīyah in Byzantine territory.

In this year, ʿUthmān married Nāʾilah bint al-Farāfiṣah.[52] She was a Christian, but converted to Islam before he consummated the marriage.

According to (al-Wāqidī): In (this year), ʿUthmān built his resi-

51. That is, over the combined Muslim forces from Syria and Egypt on Cyprus.
52. A woman of the tribe of Kalb.

dence [called] al-Zawrā' [that is, "bent," "slanting"] in Medina and brought it to completion.

According to (al-Wāqidī): In (this year), there took place the first conquest of Fārs and the definitive conquest of Iṣṭakhr, under the
[2828] command of Hishām b. 'Āmir.

According to (al-Wāqidī): In this year, 'Uthmān led the pilgrimage.

The Events of the Year 29

(SEPTEMBER 14, 649–SEPTEMBER 3, 650)

In (this year) 'Uthmān removed Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī from Baṣrah, after he had been his governor (*'āmil*) there for six years. As governor, he appointed 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz, who was then twenty-five years of age, and he proceeded (to Baṣrah). It is also said that Abū Mūsā was 'Uthmān's governor in Baṣrah only for three years.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—Muḥārib—'Awf al-A'rābī: Ghaylān b. Kharashah al-Ḍabbī went up to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and said, "Indeed you[53] have a youngster whom you should treat as an adult and appoint as governor of Baṣrah. How long will this old man"—that is, Abū Mūsā—"govern Baṣrah?" Now he had been governor for six years since the death of 'Umar.

(Al-Madā'inī) goes on [as follows]: Thus, 'Uthmān deposed him and sent out 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz b. Rabī'ah b. Ḥabīb b.

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53. Plural: *lakum ṣaghīr*. Presumably he is addressing the tribe of Quraysh, not 'Uthmān alone. See the more elaborate parallel versions below, pp. 35–37.

'Abd Shams. This man's mother was Dajjājah bt. Asmā' al-Sulamī, and he was the son of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān's maternal uncle.

According to Maslamah: He came to Baṣrah in the year 29, at the age of twenty-five.

The Reason for 'Uthmān's Removal of Abū Mūsā [al-Ash'arī] from Baṣrah

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When 'Uthmān took office, he retained Abū Mūsā in Baṣrah for three years, deposing him in the fourth. He appointed 'Umayr b. 'Uthmān b. Sa'd as military commander of Khurāsān, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr al-Laythī from [the tribe of]
[2829] Kinānah[54] as military commander in Sijistān. ('Abdallāh) fought relentlessly there as far as Kābul, while 'Umayr waged war in Khurāsān until he reached Farghānah, compelling every district (*kūrah*) this side of it to come to terms. ('Uthmān) sent 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar al-Taymī to Makrān, and he battled unceasingly until he reached the river.[55] To Kirmān he sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghubays, and a small band to Fārs and al-Ahwāz. He annexed the agricultural hinterland (*Sawād*) of Baṣrah to [the districts under] al-Ḥuṣayn b. Abī al-Ḥurr. Then ('Uthmān) removed 'Abdallah b. 'Umayr [from Sijistān] and put 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir in charge, retaining him there for a year; in turn he deposed ('Abdallāh b. 'Āmir) and appointed 'Āṣim b. 'Amr. He also removed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghubays [from Kirmān] and sent back 'Adī b. Suhayl b. 'Adī.

During the third year [of 'Uthmān's reign], the inhabitants of Īdhaj[56] and the Kurds rebelled. Abū Mūsā called out the people, exhorting them and charging them [to repress the rebellion]. He

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54. The text has Tha'labah; I have followed de Goeje's emendation, *Introductio*, dcxxv.

55. No certain identification is possible. Perhaps the Dasht is meant, which flows into the Indian Ocean near the present border between Iran and Pakistan. Conceivably the text refers to the far more prominent Helmand River, but this stream lies very far north for an army working its way along the Makrān coast.

56. Also known as Māl-Amīr. The chief town of southern Luristan, on the upper Kārūn River. It had originally been subjected to tribute in 17/638, and then had to be reconquered after the battle of Nihāwand (21/642). See C. E. Bosworth, "Īdhadj," *EI*², III, 1015–16; Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 245.

spoke of the merit in making the *jihād* on foot, so that a few men loaded up their animals and agreed to set forth as infantrymen. But others said, "No, by God! We will not hasten to act until we see what he does. If his actions are like his words, then we will do as our comrades have done." When the day came to set out, [Abū Mūsā] sent out his baggage from the governor's palace on forty mules. [The doubters] clung to his bridle and said, "Mount us on some of these extra [animals], and be as eager to go on foot as you asked us to be." He appeased these men until they let go of his animal; then he proceeded forward.

They came to 'Uthmān, however, and asked that he relieve them of [Abū Mūsā]. They said, "We do not wish to say everything we know, but give us [someone else] in place of him." "Whom do you wish?" responded 'Uthmān. Then Ghaylān b. Kharashah said, "Anyone would be as good as this slave who has devoured our land and revived among us the way of the Time of Ignorance. Shall we not free ourselves from an Ash'arī who regards his sovereignty (*mulk*) over the Ash'arī tribesmen as a great thing and belittles sovereignty in Baṣrah? If you make a child or an old man our amir, he will be as good, and anyone of the people in between those two [extremes] will be better than [Abū Mūsā]." Thus, ['Uthmān] summoned 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir and made him governor (*ammarahu*) of Baṣrah. [2830]

['Uthmān] dispatched 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar to Fārs, appointing 'Umayr b. 'Uthmān b. Sa'd as governor over ['Ubaydallāh's former] province. In the fourth year of his reign, he named Umayr[57]b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī as governor of Khurāsān. In the same year, he assigned the governorship of Sijistān to 'Imrān b. al-Faṣīl al-Burjumī and the governorship of Kirmān to 'Āṣim b. 'Amr, who died there.

Fārs burst into rebellion during the regime of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar, and [the rebels] assembled against him in Iṣṭakhr. They clashed at the gate of Iṣṭakhr, and 'Ubaydallāh was killed and his army routed. When 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir heard the news, he called the Baṣrans to arms, and the people marched forth with him, 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ being in command of the vanguard. [The

57. Prym and Ibrāhīm read the name as Umayn, but Köprülü 1043, Ibn al-Athīr, and Balādhurī (*Futūḥ al-buldān*, 395) all give it as Umayr.

two armies) met at Iṣṭakhr, and he slaughtered many of (the reb-
[2831] els), as a result of which they remained submissive thereafter.

('Abdallāh) wrote to 'Uthmān about this event, and the latter wrote back to him naming [the following men] as military commanders in the administrative districts (*kuwar*) of Fārs: Harim b. Ḥassān al-Yashkurī; Harim b. Ḥayyān al-'Abdī, of the [tribe of] 'Abd al-Qays; al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid, of the [tribe of] Banū Sāmah; al-Minjāb b. Rāshid; and al-Tarjumān al-Hujaymī. He also divided Khurāsān among a group of six [men]: al-Aḥnaf [was put] in charge of the two Marws;[58] Ḥabīb b. Qurrah al-Yarbū'ī over Balkh, which was part of the territories conquered by the Kūfans; Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. Zuhayr over Herat; Umayr b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī over Ṭūs; Qays b. al-Haytham[59]al-Sulamī over Nishapur—he was the first to set out [for his district]; and 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim, who was his cousin (*ibn 'ammihi*). Then before his death 'Uthmān combined (all of Khurāsān) under (Qays b. al-Haytham), and when ('Uthmān) died Qays [held authority] over Khurāsān. ('Uthmān) appointed Umayr b. Aḥmar as governor in Sijistān, and then set over it 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah, who belonged to the clan (*āl*) of Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams. At the time of 'Uthmān's death, ('Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah) held authority in (Sijistān), 'Imrān in Kirmān, 'Umayr b. 'Uthmān b. Sa'd in Fārs, and Ibn Kindīr al-Qushayrī in Makrān.[60]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—'Alī b. Mujāhid—his shaykhs: Ghaylān b. Kharashah said to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, "Is there not among all of you some wretch for you to raise up? Is there no beggar for you to enrich? O men of Quraysh, how long will that aged Ash'arī devour these lands?" The old man [that
[2832] is, 'Uthmān] grasped his point and named 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir as governor [of Baṣrah].

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—Abū Bakr al-

58. Marw on the Murghāb River, the administrative center of Khurāsān in Umayyad and early Abbasid times; and Marw al-Rūdh.

59. Text: Hubayrah. De Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxv, gives no authority for his emendation.

60. As the parentheses suggest, this paragraph is full of masculine singular pronouns with no clear antecedents. My reconstruction agrees with that of Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 292–93, who—here as elsewhere—puts little stock in the evidentiary value of Sayf's account.

Hudhalī: 'Uthmān named Ibn 'Āmir as governor of Baṣrah. According to al-Ḥasan: Abū Mūsā said, "To you a youth of great shrewdness is coming. Through his grandmothers and his maternal and paternal aunts he is noble; under him the two armies will be combined."

According to [al-Madā'inī]—al-Ḥasan: When Ibn 'Āmir arrived, the army of Abū Mūsā and the army of 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī were united under him. Now 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ was one of those who had crossed over [to Khūzistān by ship] from 'Umān and Baḥrayn.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: In the time of 'Uthmān, Qays b. al-Haytham sent 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim as his envoy to 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim was much esteemed by 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir, and so he said to the latter, "Write a diploma (*'ahd*) appointing me over Khurāsān should Qays b. al-Haytham leave [that province]." [Ibn 'Āmir] did so and ['Abdallāh b. Khāzim] returned to Khurāsān. When the people heard the news of 'Uthmān's murder and the enemy grew turbulent, Qays said [to Ibn Khāzim], "What do you think, 'Abdallāh?" "In my opinion," ['Abdallāh] responded, "you should leave me [here] as your deputy and not delay your departure, so that you can look into the situation." [Qays] did this, appointing [Ibn Khāzim] as his deputy. Then 'Abdallāh [b. Khāzim] produced his diploma of appointment [from Ibn 'Āmir], and he maintained authority over Khurāsān until the rise of 'Alī. The mother of 'Abdallāh [b. Khāzim] was 'Ajlā; [2833]
and Qays—in anger at how [Ibn Khāzim] had treated him—said, "I had a better right than 'Abdallāh to be the son of 'Ajlā."

According to al-Wāqidī, and according to Aḥmad b. Thābit [al-Rāzī]—one who recounted it [to him]—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: In this year, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir conquered Fārs. As regards the account of Sayf, we have already given it.

In this year—that is, 29 [649–50]—'Uthmān enlarged and widened the Mosque of the Messenger of God [in Medina].[61] He be-

61. On this incident, and the history of this structure in general, see the brilliant though conjectural account of Jean Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine* [Paris: 1947]. Sauvaget gives an exhaustive and very sophisticated account of the textual sources, among which Ṭabarī has only a modest place.

gan construction in Rabīʿ al-Awwal (November 12–December 11). Gypsum [to be used for stucco] was brought to ʿUthmān from Baṭn Nakhl. He built it with cut stone, making its pillars out of blocks of stone [held together] with lead [clamps] and constructing its roof from teakwood. He made it 160 cubits long and 150 cubits wide. He gave it six portals, as in the time of ʿUmar.

In this year, ʿUthmān led the pilgrimage. At Minā[62] he pitched a tent—this was the first tent that ʿUthmān pitched at Minā—and he completed the [rites of] prayer there and at ʿArafah.[63]

[ʿUthmān's Alterations to the Pilgrimage Rites]

According to al-Wāqidī—ʿUmar b. Ṣāliḥ b. Nāfiʿ—Ṣāliḥ, the client (*mawlā*) of al-Taw'amah—Ibn ʿAbbās: The people first began to talk openly about ʿUthmān [in the following circumstances]. During his reign, he had prayed two *rakʿahs* with the people at Minā, but in his sixth year he completed (the prayer rites) [with two additional *rakʿahs*]; more than one of the Prophet's Companions found that blameworthy. This was discussed among those who wished to make difficulties for him, until ʿAlī came to him with
[2834] certain others and said, "By God, there is no commandment new or old [concerning this]. You have observed your Prophet praying two *rakʿahs*, followed by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and you yourself at the beginning of your reign. I do not know upon what this is based."[64] (ʿUthmān) replied, "It is a personal opinion that I hold."

According to al-Wāqidī—Dāwūd b. Khālid—ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAmr b. Abī Sufyān al-Thaqafī—his paternal uncle: ʿUthmān prayed four (*rakʿahs*) with the people at Minā. Then someone

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62. One of the pilgrimage stations outside Mecca, the last place visited by the pilgrims. On 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, they throw stones at a construction called "Jamrat al-ʿAqabah," and later in the day carry out here the ritual sacrifice in commemoration of the sacrifice of Abraham. On the three days following the end of the *ḥajj* proper (*ayyām al-tashrīq*), Minā is visited again by the pilgrims for a new round of ritual stonings. See A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier, "Ḥadjdj," *EI*², III, 36–37.

63. Another of the pilgrimage stations, more commonly called "ʿArafāt," a valley some 25 kms. east of Mecca where the pilgrims congregate on 9 Dhū al-Ḥijjah after the circumambulation of the Kaʿbah and before proceeding to Minā for the ritual stoning and sacrifice. See Wensinck and Jomier, *ibid.*, 35–36; on the prayer rites observed during the Pilgrimage, see Wensinck, "Ṣalāt," *SEI*, 491–99, esp. p. 494.

64. Emending the text to read "*fa-mā adrī mā yarjaʿū ilayhi.*"

came to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and said, "Do you know that your brother has prayed four *rak'ah*s) with the people?" 'Abd al-Raḥmān prayed two *rak'ah*s with his companions and then set out to see 'Uthmān. He said to him, "Did you not pray two *rak'ah*s in this place with the Messenger of God?" ('Uthmān) answered, "Indeed so." "And did you not pray two *rak'ah*s with Abū Bakr?" "Indeed so." "And did you not pray two *rak'ah*s with 'Umar?" "Indeed so." "And did you not pray two *rak'ah*s at the beginning of your caliphate?" "Indeed so," said 'Uthmān. "But listen to me, Abū Muḥammad. I was informed that some of the Yemenis and ill-educated people who made the pilgrimage last year said, 'The ritual prayer consists of two *rak'ah*s for the permanent resident (*al-muqīm*); here is your imam 'Uthmān praying two *rak'ah*s.' In Mecca I am connected with a clan (*ahl*), and I have thought it best to pray four *rak'ah*s out of my fear for the people. In addition, I have taken a wife there, and in al-Ṭā'if I have property, which I sometimes supervise and reside in after the day of return from the Pilgrimage."[65]

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf said, "None of this gives you any excuse. You say that you are connected with a clan, but your wife is in Medina, going and coming as you wish, and living only where you do. You say that you have property in al-Ṭā'if, but between [2835] you and al-Ṭā'if is a three-day journey, and you are not one of the inhabitants of al-Ṭā'if. You say that the Yemenis and others who are making the pilgrimage are returning [home] and saying, 'Here is your imam 'Uthmān praying two *rak'ah*s, and he is a permanent resident.' But revelation would descend on the Messenger of God when Islam was rare among the people, [and yet he prayed two *rak'ah*s], and then Abū Bakr and 'Umar did the same. Thus, Islam became established, and 'Umar prayed two *rak'ah*s with them until he died." 'Uthmān replied, "It is my own personal opinion."

65. 'Uthmān's point is twofold. (1) Many ordinary Muslims were ignorant of the different number of ritual prostrations (*rak'ah*s) connected with the act of prayer at different times. Hence, they would assume that all prayers were to be performed with two *rak'ah*s, although in fact only those who were traveling or on pilgrimage were permitted to abbreviate the usual four *rak'ah*s in that manner. (2) 'Uthmān's property holdings and family ties made him a permanent resident in Mecca and al-Ṭā'if as well as Medina; hence, he felt obligated to observe the complete rite of four *rak'ah*s even during the Pilgrimage season. See note 271 below, and the discussion in Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 261–64.

According to al-Wāqidī: Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went out and met up with Ibn Masʿūd. [The latter said], "Abū Muḥammad, is it different from what we have heard?" "No," he replied. [Ibn Masʿūd] said, "So what shall I do?" [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] said, "You should do what you know [to be right]." Then Ibn Masʿūd said, "Disagreement is an evil. I have heard that he has prayed four *rakʿah*s, and so I prayed four *rakʿah*s with my associates." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf replied, "I have heard that he has prayed four *rakʿah*s, and with my associates I prayed two. But now I shall do as you say; we shall, following him, pray four *rakʿah*s."

The Events of the Year 30

(SEPTEMBER 4, 650–AUGUST 23, 651)

Among these was the campaign of Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ in Ṭabaristān, according to the account related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit—one who related it to him—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar. [2836]

[The same is said by] al-Wāqidī and by 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, on whose authority 'Umar b. Shabbah related that to me.

As for Sayf b. 'Umar, he states that the *ispahbadh*[66] (of Ṭabaristān) had made peace with Suwayd b. Muqarrin based on the understanding that (Suwayd) would not attack (the region) in return for a certain tribute (*māl*) to be paid to him. The report concerning this has been given above, in the time of 'Umar.

It was related to me by 'Umar (b. Shabbah)—'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī: No one attacked (Ṭabaristān) until 'Uthmān b. 'Affān came to power; then Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ attacked it in the year 30 (650–51).

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66. The *ispahbadh* was the military governnor of a major province in the late Sasanian Empire. Khusraw Anushirvan (531–579) had divided the empire into four quarters, each named after a cardinal point of the compass, and appointed an *ispahbadh* over each. For example, Iraq and Mesopotamia constituted the quarter

The Campaign of Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ in Ṭabaristān

It was related to me by 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—'Alī b. Mujāhid—Ḥanash b. Mālik: In the year 30 (650–51), Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ set out on campaign from Kūfah, aiming at Khurāsān, accompanied by Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān and a group of the Companions of the Messenger of God. With him were al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. [At the same time] 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir set out from Baṣrah for Khurāsān. He outstripped Sa'īd and laid siege to Abrashahr.[67] Sa'īd having learned of his siege of Abrashahr, he encamped at Qūmis, which was governed by a peace treaty that Ḥudhayfah had made with (its people) after Nihāwand.

Then Sa'īd came to Jurjān and concluded a treaty with it requiring [a tribute of] 200,000 [dirhams]. Then he came to Ṭamīsah,[68] which is situated between Ṭabaristān and Jurjān; it is a city on
[2837] the shore [of the Caspian] Sea, at the boundaries of Jurjān. Its inhabitants fought him until he performed the prayer of fear.[69] He had said to Ḥudhayfah, "How did the Messenger of God pray?" (Ḥudhayfah) told him, and Sa'īd performed there the prayer of fear while they were fighting.

On that day Sa'īd smote one of the polytheists on the sinews of his shoulder and his sword emerged below (the man's) elbow. He besieged them and they sought safe-conduct (*amān*). He granted it to them with the condition that he would not kill one man among them. Then they threw open the fortress and he put them all to death save one man.[70] He seized the contents of the fortress, and a man from [the tribe of] Banū Nahd came across a basket with a lock; he supposed it contained jewelry. Sa'īd learned of this

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of the West. However, Sasanian provincial administration was extensively revamped under Khusraw Parviz (592–628), so that the scope of the authority of the official named here is not certain. See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 28, 38, 126, 148, 187.

67. Nishapur/Naysābūr. The name Abrashahr seems to have dropped out of use after the fourth/tenth century. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 383.

68. Also known as Ṭamīs; see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 375.

69. The prayer of fear, *ṣalāt al-khawf*, is a shortened ritual performed in the near presence of an enemy. See Wensinck, "Ṣalāt," *SEI*, 496.

70. Thereby observing the letter of the peace terms.

and sent for the Nahdī tribesman. He brought the basket to him; they broke open its lock. Within it they found (another) basket. They opened it, and there was a black cloak rolled up. Spreading it out, they found a red cloak. They unfolded it, and there was a yellow cloak containing two penises, one maroon and one rose-colored. A poet said, ridiculing the Banū Nahd:

The noble-hearted have returned with captives as booty,
while the Banū Nahd have won two penises in a basket,
Maroon and rose-colored, both of ample size.
They thought them spoils; forbid yourself such an error!

Then Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ conquered Nāmiyah, which is not a city but a desert.

It was related to me by 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—'Alī b. Mujāhid—Ḥanash b. Mālik al-Taghlibī: In the year 30 (650–51), Sa'īd campaigned in Jurjān and Ṭabaristān. With him were 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, Ibn al-Zubayr, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. A peasant (*'ilj*) who used to serve them recounted the following to me [namely, Ḥanash]: "I used to bring them the serving tray, and when they had eaten, they ordered me to shake it off and hang it up. Then when evening came they gave me the leftover (food)." [2838]

According to ('Umar b. Shabbah): Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'Aqīl al-Thaqafī, the grandfather of Yūsuf b. 'Umar,[71] perished [while on campaign] with Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ. Yūsuf once said to Qaḥdham, "Qaḥdham, do you know where Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam died?" He replied, "Yes, he found martyrdom in Ṭabaristān with Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ." (Yūsuf) said, "No, he died there while he was [on campaign] with Sa'īd; then Sa'īd returned to Kūfah." Ka'b b. Ju'ayl lauded (Sa'īd), saying:

How excellent was the youth when dust swirled beneath him
and when they alighted from Dastabā—[72]

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71. Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī was one of the most prominent Umayyad governors of Iraq, noted particularly for his unrelenting harshness toward his rivals. He was appointed by the caliph Hishām in 738, and died during the Umayyad civil war in 744. On his career see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 333–35, 357–59, 367–68, 376; Hawting, *First Dynasty of Islam*, 82–83, 93, 96–97.

72. Dastabā was "a large district (*kūrah*) divided between al-Rayy and Hamadhān. One section of it was named Dastabā al-Rāzī, and contained almost

then he was dazzling in his splendor.
Know, fortunate Sa'īd, that if my beast sits down,
I fear it is hamstrung.
[It is] as though you were a lion in a thicket
on the Day of the Cleft,
which left behind the lion in the wood
and went forth into the desert.
[2839] You command what no one before you has ever commanded—
eighty thousand men, [some] with armor and [some]
without.

It was related to me by 'Umar (b. Shabbah)—'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī)—Kulayb b. Khalaf and others: Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ made peace with the inhabitants of Jurjān; then [later on] they became obdurate and manifested unbelief. No one came to Jurjān after Sa'īd, and they closed off that road, so that no one took the road to Khurāsān by way of Qūmis save in fear and dread before the Jurjānīs. The (usual) road to Khurāsān went from Fārs through Kirmān, and the first man to open up the road through Qūmis was Qutaybah b. Muslim when he became governor of Khurāsān.[73]

It was related to me by 'Umar (b. Shabbah)—'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī)—Kulayb b. Khalaf al-'Ammī—Ṭufayl b. Mirdās al-'Ammī and Idrīs b. Ḥanẓalah al-'Ammī: Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ made peace with the inhabitants of Jurjān. At times the Jurjānīs would collect 100,000 [dirhams] and say, "This fulfills our peace treaty." At other times [the sum collected would be] 200,000 or 300,000. Sometimes they would pay this, sometimes not. Then they became obdurate and manifested unbelief, not paying any tribute

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ninety villages. The other section was named Dastabā Hamadhān and was made up of numerous villages; at various times it was called 'Dastabā Qazwīn' because it was attached to the province (*'amal*) of Qazwīn." (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 573)

73. Qutaybah b. Muslim was named to this post in 705 by al-Walīd, and held it until his death in 715; he was the victim of a mutiny by his own troops when he tried to provoke a rebellion against the new Caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik. Qutaybah was the first Muslim general to achieve permanent conquests in Central Asia. On his career see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 429–45 *et passim*; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 185–86; Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, 29–57; M. A. Shaban, *The 'Abbāsid Revolution*, 63–75 *et passim*.

(*kharāj*) until Yazīd b. al-Muhallab came against them.[74] When he arrived there no one could stand against him, and after he had made peace with Ṣūl and conquered al-Buḥayrah and Dihistān, he made peace with the inhabitants of Jurjān in accordance with the treaty of Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ.

In this year—that is, the year 30 (650–51)—'Uthmān removed [2840]
al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah from Kūfah and made Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ governor there, according to Sayf b. 'Umar.

The Reason for 'Uthmān's Removal of al-Walīd and His Appointment of Sa'īd as Governor [in Kūfah]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When 'Uthmān learned of the conflict between 'Abdallāh (b. Mas'ūd) and Sa'd (b. Abī Waqqāṣ), he grew angry with both men and resolved [to deal with] them. Then he abandoned that [notion] and removed Sa'd [alone] from office, recovering [from him] what he owed [to the treasury in Kūfah]. He confirmed 'Abdallāh in office and issued instructions to him. To replace Sa'd as governor he appointed al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah, who had been a fiscal officer (*'āmil*) over the bedouin (*al-'arab*) of the Jazīrah for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. So al-Walīd arrived (in Kūfah) in the second year of 'Uthmān's rule (*imārah*), after Sa'd had been governor there for one year and part of another.

Having arrived in Kūfah, (al-Walīd) was the most beloved among the people and the most courteous [in his dealings] with them. So it was for five years; there was no door on his residence. Then some of the young men of Kūfah put Ibn al-Ḥaysumān al-Khuzā'ī under surveillance, intending to overpower him. He was warned about them and went out against them sword in hand.

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74. Yazīd b. Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah, of the tribe of Azd, was an Umayyad general and governor in the early eighth century. His father had achieved prominence by his bloody suppression of the Kharijite revolts in Iraq in the 690s and was named governor of Khurāsān in 698. Yazīd succeeded his father in that office in 702. He was soon deposed, but was reinstated in 715 to succeed Qutaybah b. Muslim. In 720 Yazīd led a revolt in Baṣrah (where the tribe of Azd was strong) against the new Caliph Yazīd II; at first this revolt ballooned dangerously, but it was quickly suppressed. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 250–51, 257–63, 312–18, 445–48; Hawting, *First Dynasty of Islam*, 69, 73–76.

When he saw their numbers, however, he shouted for help. They said, "Shut up! One blow, and we relieve you from the terror of this night." Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuzāʿī observed them when (Ibn al-Ḥaysumān) shouted at them; they struck and killed him. Then the people surrounded [the place] and seized them. Among others, [the youths] included Zuhayr b. Jundub al-Azdī, Muwarriʿ b. Abī
[2841] Muwarriʿ al-Asadī, and Shubayl b. Ubayy al-Azdī. Abū Shurayḥ and his son bore witness against them, [to the effect] that they had entered (Ibn al-Ḥaysumān's) house, some of them holding back others among the people, and then one of them had killed him. (Al-Walīd) wrote to ʿUthmān about (these young men), and he wrote back to put them to death. Thus, (al-Walīd) executed them at the gate of the Official Palace (*al-qaṣr*) in the square (*al-raḥabah*).

Concerning this (event) ʿAmr b. ʿĀṣim al-Tamīmī said:

Never feed on your neighbors immoderately,
O dissolute men, in the reign (*mulk*) of Ibn ʿAffān.
For Ibn ʿAffān, whom you have put to the test,
has cut off thieves by the well-established law
of [our] Salvation (*al-furqān*);
Without fail he acts in accordance with the Book,
keeping close watch over every neck
and fingertip among them.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd—Abu Saʿīd: Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuzāʿī was one of the Companions of the Messenger of God, and he had moved from Medina to Kūfah in order to be closer to the campaigns [against the infidel]. One night, while he was on his roof, his neighbor suddenly shouted for help. He looked over, and there he was with some Kūfan youths who had plotted against him. They began saying to [this neighbor], "Don't shout! It'll only take one blow for us to finish you off!" Then they killed him. So (Abū Shurayḥ) went to ʿUthmān, returning with his family to Medina. When this story gained wide currency, the collective oath
[2842] (*qasāmah*) was instituted for the first time, and thenceforth the statement of the murder victim's representative (*walī*) was accepted [as a valid accusation] against a [specified] group among

the people, so that the people [as a whole] would abstain from killing.[75]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Kurayb—Nāfi' b. Jubayr: 'Uthmān said, "The collective oath is the responsibility of the accused and his close associates (*awliyā'*). Fifty men among them will be made to swear an oath if there is no clear proof [of the guilt of the accused]. If their collective oath falls short [of the requisite number] or if one man abstains, then their oath is to be rejected and the plaintiffs shall be made responsible for swearing (the oath), and if fifty of them do so, their claim [for retaliation] shall be recognized."[76]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim—'Awn b. 'Abdallāh: Among 'Uthmān's innovations in Kūfah, in addition to the things reported above, is the following. He learned that a public crier, acting on behalf of Abū Sammāl al-Asadī and a small band of Kūfans, would call out when the purveyors came [to the city], "Whoever is here from [the tribe of] Kalb or the Banū Such-and-Such, their tribe (*qawm*) has no assigned residence (*manzil*) in (the city); Abū Sammāl[77] will be responsible for [giving him] a place to stay." So ('Uthmān) took over the site of the house of 'Aqīl, the visitors' house, and the house of Ibn Habbār. The residence of 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd was located among the Hudhayl [tribe] in the place of al-Ramādah; he had lived in the place where his house was, but then turned his house over to be the

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75. *walī al-dam*—According to tribal custom (sanctioned by the Qur'ān), the victim's closest male relative was charged with avenging the blood of his kinsman by finding and putting to death his assailant, or by obtaining a suitable blood price (*diyah*). In Ḥanafī law (originally based on the custom of Kūfah), the *qasāmah* is an oath of innocence sworn fifty times by the inhabitants of a locality that they were not involved in the murder of a person whose corpse was found in their midst. Faced with such an oath, the *walī al-dam* could not demand blood retaliation and would have to settle for the blood price. In Mālikī law (based on the custom of ancient West Arabia), the *qasāmah* is a collective oath (also sworn fifty times) by the kinsmen of the slain man, through which they formally accuse and demand vengeance against an alleged murderer. See J. Pedersen and Y. Linant de Bellefonds, "Ḳasām," *EI*², IV, 689–90.

76. Hence 'Uthmān's ruling reflects—or rather (if we take this account at face value) underlies—both the Ḥanafī and Mālikī conception of the *qasāmah*.

77. Following Ibrāhīm's reading instead of the Leiden text.

guesthouse. Visitors resided in his house in the Hudhayl [quarter] when the area around the mosque became too restricted for them.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Mughīrah b. Muqsim—one who goes back to the time of the learned men of Kūfah: Abu Sammāl's public crier would call out in the marketplace and the Kunāsah,[78] "Whoever is here from the Banū Such-and-Such, and whoever has no assigned quarter (*khiṭṭah*) in (the city)—Abu Sammāl will be responsible for [giving him] a place to stay." So 'Uthmān took over certain residences [to provide] for visitors.

[2843] A similar account was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—a client (*mawlā*) of the clan of Ṭalḥah—Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had named al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah as fiscal officer over the bedouin of the Jazīrah, and he resided among the Banū Taghlib.[79] Now both in the Time of Ignorance and in [the era of] Islam, Abū Zubayd lived among the Banū Taghlib until he converted to Islam. The Banū Taghlib were his relatives on his mother's side [literally, his maternal uncles]; these relatives wronged him in regard to a debt owed to him, so al-Walīd seized on his behalf what was owed him. (Abū Zubayd) was grateful to him for this; he became devoted to him and came to visit him in Medina. Now when al-Walīd became governor of Kūfah, (Abū Zubayd) came greeting and extolling him, just as he was accustomed to do in the Jazīrah and Medina. The last time Abū Zubayd came to pay court to al-Walīd, he resided in the visitors' house (*dār al-ḍīfān*); he would go seek out

78. The *Kunāsah* was originally a dumping ground outside the settled compound in Kūfah, but by Umayyad times it had become a caravan station and open-air market, like the *Mirbad* of Baṣrah. Either this locale had already obtained its new function by the time of 'Uthmān, or the story contains a serious anachronism (not uncommon in Sayf's narratives). See H. Djait, "al-Kūfa," *EI*², V, 347.

79. The Banū Taghlib were a Christian tribe who had long since established themselves along the middle Euphrates; they were pastoralists, but kept sheep and goats rather than camels. After an initial phase of resistance, they joined the Muslim Arab forces during the Conquest period and were given a privileged tax status, but were allowed to maintain their Christian religion until well into the Umayyad period. On them see Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 218–20, 229–32, *et passim*; Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 188, 251–53, *et passim*.

(the governor) and then return [to the visitors' house]. Before this time he was a Christian, but al-Walīd kept after him until, by the end of his governorship, he converted to Islam. His conversion was sincere and, when he became a Muslim, al-Walīd invited him to enter [his entourage], as he was a bedouin and poet at the time.

Now someone came to Abū Zaynab, Abū Muwarri', and Jundub, who were full of bitterness against (al-Walīd) because he had executed their sons; they were keeping a close eye on him. (The informer) said to them, "Do you know that al-Walīd is drinking with Abū Zubayd?" They became excited about this, and Abū Zaynab, Abu Muwarri', and Jundub said to a body of the leading men (*wujūh*) of Kūfah, "This man is your amir; Abū Zubayd is his chosen intimate, and they are both devotees of wine." Now al-Walīd's residence was in the central square (*al-raḥabah*) with [that of] 'Umārah b. 'Uqbah, and had no door. Then (the Kūfan [2844]
notables) arose with (the three accusers) and stormed in upon him from the mosque, for the entryway (of his house) opened into the mosque.[80] Al-Walīd was taken completely by surprise and shoved something under the dais (*al-sarīr*). Without seeking permission, one of (the intruders) reached in and pulled (the object) out. There was a platter of grape seeds and stems, which al-Walīd had pushed aside only out of embarrassment, for they would see his platter with nothing but these leavings. Then (the intruders) got up and went out to the people; some of them began blaming others. When the people heard these things, they began to revile and curse them. Some groups (*aqwām*) were saying, "May God be angry with (the intruder)." But others said, "The Book [of God] compelled him [to do this], and it called upon them to examine [al-Walīd's doings] thoroughly." Now al-Walīd forgave them for this, concealing it from 'Uthmān and taking no steps among the people in regard to it. He disliked arousing dissension among them, so he kept silent about it and bore it patiently.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Fayḍ b. Muḥammad, who says: I saw al-Sha'bī sitting

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80. In most of the early Islamic administrative centers, the governor's residence adjoined the mosque, usually on the *qiblah* side, thus permitting the governor to enter the mosque to lead the prayer without having to go outside. The arrangement is evidently both functional and symbolic.

with Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Walīd—namely, (Walīd) b. ʿUqbah—who was the deputy (*khalīfah*) of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Muḥammad (b. ʿAmr) mentioned Maslamah's campaign,[81] and (al-Shaʿbī) said, "If you could only go back to the time of al-Walīd's campaigns and governorship! If he mounted a campaign against such-and-such [a place], he neither fell short [of his goal], nor did anyone mutiny against him, that is, up to the time he was removed from office. The chamberlain in those times was ʿAbd al-
[2845] Raḥmān b. Rabīʿah al-Bāhilī.[82] And indeed, among the increased benefits that ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān bestowed on the people through (al-Walīd) is that the surplus revenues were distributed to every slave (*mamlūk*) in Kūfah three [times] per month. By this means they were prospering, while their masters (*mawālī*) were not shortchanged of their rations (*arzāq*)."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim—ʿAwn b. ʿAbdallāh:[83] Jundub and a band of men came to Ibn Masʿūd and said, "al-Walīd is addicted to wine." They spread this around until it was generally talked about among the people.[84] Ibn Masʿūd said, "If a man hides something from us, we do not pursue his flaws nor tear open his veil." Now (al-Walīd) sent for Ibn Masʿūd, who came to [see] him; he rebuked him for this (statement), saying: "Would it be acceptable

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81. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik, a son of the famous Caliph. He had a small role in the Umayyad civil war of 743–44 and died with the other Umayyads at al-Saffāḥ's bloody banquet. See Ibn al-Athīr *Kāmil* (Beirut), IV, 519; V, 295, 394, 430. Maslamah, a son of ʿAbd al-Malik by a slave mother, was commander of the unsuccessful siege of Constantinople in 715–17. A few years later, he suppressed the revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, and ultimately succeeded Muḥammad b. Marwān as governor of the Jazīrah and Armenia. His career is sketched in Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 317–19; Hawting, *First Dynasty of Islam*, 73, 76, 83. ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī (d. ca. 721) was a famous traditionist and historian; he lived in Kūfah and is usually identified with a moderate pro-Alid tendency. On him see E. L. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in Early Arabic Tradition* (Copenhagen: 1964), 28–51, *et passim*; G. H. A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition* (Cambridge: 1983), 19–20, 59. These facts suggest that this anecdote should be placed in the 710s.

82. *wa-ʿalā 'l-bābi yawma'idhin ʿAbdu 'l-Raḥmān*. . . This clause appears to be parenthetical, and perhaps represents a marginal gloss incorporated by copyists into the text.

83. Text: ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh. I have followed de Goeje's emendation (*Introductio*, dcxxvi).

84. *ḥattā ṭuriḥa ʿalā alsuni 'l-nāsi*: literally, "until it was thrown onto the tongues of the people."

for a man like you to respond to people who have suffered an unrequited injury as you have responded about me? What am I hiding? Such statements are only made about someone who is under suspicion." Then they heaped abuse on one another and separated in anger, but nothing else passed between them.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: A sorcerer was brought to al-Walīd, and he sent to Ibn Mas'ūd to inquire about the divinely ordained punishment[85] for him. (Ibn Mas'ūd) asked, "How do you know he is a sorcerer?" (Al-Walīd) replied, "This band of men"—that is, the band of men who had brought (the accused man)—"allege that he is a sorcerer." Then he said (to the accusers), "And how do you know that he is a sorcerer?" They replied, "He himself says so." (Al-Walīd) said, "Are you a sorcerer?" "Yes," he answered. (Al-Walīd) said, "And you know what sorcery is?" "Yes," he said, and sprang toward an ass. He began to mount it from its tail, making it appear to them that he was emerging from its mouth and buttocks. "Kill him," Ibn Mas'ūd said. Al-Walīd [2846] rushed off, and they cried out in the mosque that a man was playing with sorcery at al-Walīd's residence.

They approached, and Jundub seized (the opportunity) and stepped forward, saying, "Where is he? Where is he? Let me see him!" Then (Jundub) struck down (the sorcerer), and 'Abdallāh (b. Mas'ūd) and al-Walīd agreed to imprison (Jundub) until (al-Walīd) could write to 'Uthmān. 'Uthmān answered them as follows: "Obtain from (Jundub) an oath in God's name that he did not know your opinion (*ra'y*) regarding (the sorcerer), and that he is telling the truth when he states that he thought the divinely ordained penalty against him had been neglected. Reprimand him and let him go. Direct the people not to act on the basis of [their] personal suppositions nor to carry out the divinely ordained penalties without [authorization from] the government (*al-sulṭān*), for verily we restrain him who is in error and instruct him who does what is right." So (al-Walīd) did this with (Jundub); he

85. *ḥadd*; pl. *ḥudūd*. The punishments ordained in the Qur'ān for a limited number of offenses that "transgress God's limits." These are flogging for fornication, slander against virtuous women, and the drinking of intoxicants; severing of the hand for theft; and execution for highway robbery. See J. Schacht and B. Carra de Vaux, "Ḥadd," *EI*², III, 20–21.

was left alone because he had carried out a divinely ordained penalty.[86]

Jundub's associates were angry on his account and went to Medina. Among them were Abū Khushshah al-Ghifārī and Jaththāmah b. Ṣa'b b. Jaththāmah, and Jundub [went along] with them. They sought al-Walīd's dismissal, but 'Uthmān said to them, "You are acting on the basis of personal supposition; you are in error about Islam, and you are coming here without permission, so go back." Thus he sent them home. When they returned to Kūfah, every man who nursed some grievance, without exception, came to see them. They [all] concurred on one opinion and expressed it publicly. Then they took advantage of al-Walīd's easy manner, for no curtain screened him off [from the public]. Thus, Abu Zaynab al-Azdī and Abu Muwarri' al-Asadī entered [his home] and snatched his signet ring; then they, along with a few individuals [*nafar*] known to be their supporters, went off to 'Uthmān and testified against him.

'Uthmān sent for [al-Walīd], and when he came, he put Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ in charge of him. [Sa'īd] said, "O Commander of the
[2847] Faithful, I adjure you by God [not to act hastily], for by God these two are both aggrieved opponents [of al-Walīd]." ['Uthmān] responded, "That will bring you no harm; we are only acting in accordance with our information. If a man commits a wrong, God is responsible for taking vengeance against him; if a wrong is done to him, God is responsible for requiting him."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abu Ghassān Sakan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥubaysh: A band of Kūfans got together and endeavored to have al-Walīd deposed. Abū Zaynab b. 'Awf and Abū Muwarri' b. Fūlān[87]al-Asadī were deputed to testify against him. So [this group] called on al-Walīd and clung to him assiduously. One day, while they were with him

86. The story is not entirely clear here, even when one identifies the antecedents of all the pronouns. 'Uthmān's intervention is required because Jundub's blow has killed the sorcerer. This intervention demonstrates both 'Uthmān's clemency and his determination to retain authority in his own hands. The version of al-Ya'qūbī [*Ta'rīkh*, II, 190], more concise but clearer, has the sorcerer appearing to enter the animal's buttocks and then reemerge from its mouth.

87. Literally, "the son of so-and-so"; that is, the father's name is not known to the narrator.

in [his] house, al-Walīd fell asleep. Now he had two wives in the bedchamber, separated from the group (*qawm*) by a curtain; one of them was the daughter of Dhū al-Khimār, the other the daughter of Abū 'Aqīl. The group dispersed, but Abū Zaynab and Abū Muwarri' stayed put. One of them took his signet ring, and then both of them left. Al-Walīd awoke [and found] his two wives sitting by his head. Not seeing his signet ring, he asked them about it; however, he found that they knew nothing. Then he said, "Which of the group stayed behind?" "Two men whom we do not know," answered the women, "for they have only recently been coming to visit you." "Describe them," he said. "One of them had a coarse mantle (*khamīṣah*) while the other wore an embroidered cloak (*miṭraf*),[88] and the one with the embroidered cloak was farther away from you," they answered. "[Was he] the tall one?" he asked. "Yes," they answered, "and the one wearing the coarse mantle was closer to you." "[Was he] the short one?" he asked. They responded, "Yes, and we saw his hand touching yours." He said, "That one is Abū Zaynab, and the other is Abū [2848] Muwarri'. They intend some dastardly deed; would that I knew what!" Then he sought for them but could not find them.

[Meantime] the two of them headed for Medina and approached 'Uthmān. With them was a small band made up of men whom 'Uthmān knew to be among those dismissed from [their] offices by al-Walīd. They all spoke to 'Uthmān, and he said, "Who testifies [against al-Walīd]?" "Abū Zaynab and Abū Muwarri'," they answered, "the others are too fearful." So 'Uthmān said, "How did you see [this]?"[89] "We were members of his entourage," they said. "We entered his presence and he was vomiting up wine." ('Uthmān) said, "Only a man who has been drinking wine vomits it up." Then he sent for (al-Walīd). When he entered 'Uthmān's presence, he saw (his two accusers) and recited [this verse]:

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88. These two items of clothing are described in M. M. Ahsan, *Social Life under the Abbasids* (London and New York: 1979), 40–41: "The *miṭraf*, a garment made of silk and richly embroidered, was a large piece of cloth, sometimes so large as to enfold the whole body of the wearer. . . . It was generally worn by rich people and high dignitaries." The *khamīṣah* in contrast "was a long coarse stuff that could be used as a blanket," or "a black square blanket having two borders."

89. Text: *Kayfa ra'aytumā*. It might also mean, "What did he look like to you?"

I had no fear at all regarding a matter where I was alone,
so I did not fear thee prying into such things.

Then al-Walīd swore [his innocence] to ('Uthmān) and told him his story. 'Uthmān said, "We shall carry out the divinely ordained penalty [for wine drinking], and the false witness will bring hellfire upon himself. Suffer patiently, dear brother!" Then he gave the command to Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ and he flogged (al-Walīd)—an act that has left a legacy of enmity between their two sons even to the present day. Al-Walīd was wearing a coarse mantle the day his flogging was ordered, and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ripped it from him.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Ubayd al-Ṭanāfisī—Abū 'Ubaydah al-Iyādī: Abū Zaynab and Abū Muwarri' set out and entered al-Walīd's presence at his house. Two women were there, the daughter of Dhū al-Khimār and the daughter of Abū 'Aqīl, and he was asleep. One of the two women said: "One (of these visitors) bent over him and took his signet ring." (Al-Walīd) asked the two women about it when he woke up, and they said, "We didn't take it." "Who was the last of the group (*qawm*) to remain behind?" asked (al-Walīd). The women responded, "Two men—a short one wearing a coarse mantle
[2849] and a tall one wearing an embroidered cloak—and we saw the one with the coarse mantle bending over you." "That was Abū Zaynab," he said; he set out to look for the two men. Just then they were heading away from a crowd of their associates, while al-Walīd did not understand what they meant to do. The two men came to 'Uthmān and told their story [namely, about al-Walīd's behavior] to him in the presence of the people. So ('Uthmān) sent for al-Walīd; he came, and lo and behold, there were (his two accusers). 'Uthmān summoned them and said, "How do you testify? Do you testify that you saw him drinking wine?" "No," they responded fearfully. 'Uthmān said, "How then [do you testify]?" "We wrung his beard," they said, "as he was vomiting up wine." So ('Uthmān) gave orders to Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ. He flogged (al-Walīd). Thus a legacy of enmity has been left between their two families.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Aṭīyyah—Abū al-'Arīf and Yazīd al-Faq'asī: In regard to al-Walīd, the people were divided into two factions, the ordinary folk (*'āmmah*) on his side, and the elite (*khāṣṣah*) against him. In

regard to this (issue), they were diffident until [the battle of] Ṣiffīn.[90] Then Mu'āwiyah took power (*waliya*) and they began to say, "'Uthmān accused [al-Walīd] without cause." But 'Alī said to them, "In your censure of 'Uthmān, you are really like the man who thrusts a lance through himself in order to kill the rider seated behind him. What was 'Uthmān's sin in regard to a man whom he struck because of his deeds[91] and dismissed from his office? And what was 'Uthmān's sin in what he did regarding us?"[92]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb— [2850]
Sayf—Muḥammad b. Kurayb—Nāfi' b. Jubayr: 'Uthmān said, "When someone is flogged [in accordance with] the divinely ordained penalty and then manifests his repentance, his testimony becomes legally acceptable."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Kibrān—a female client (*mawlāt*) of theirs whom he commended highly: Al-Walīd had brought prosperity to the people, to such a degree that he began to distribute shares (*yuqsimu*) to serving girls and slaves.[93] Both free men and slaves were deeply

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90. One of the most controversial events in Islamic history, Ṣiffīn was a battle in the summer of 37/657 between Iraqi (mostly Kūfan) forces loyal to 'Uthmān's successor 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Syrian forces led by the governor of Syria, Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, who had challenged 'Alī's right to the caliphate on the grounds that he had received his office from the rebels who had murdered 'Uthmān. The battle was inconclusive and led to an even more bitterly disputed arbitration issuing in the formal deposition of 'Alī, though he continued the struggle against Mu'āwiyah until his own death at the hands of an assassin in 40/661. On Ṣiffīn see L. Veccia Vaglieri, "'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib," *EI*², I, 383–84; E. L. Petersen, "'Alī and Mu'āwiyah: The Rise of the Umayyad Caliphate 656–61," *Acta Orientalia*, XXIII (1959), 181–96; M. Hinds, "The Siffin Arbitration Agreement," *JSS*, XVII (1972), 93–102; Hawting, *First Dynasty of Islam*, 28–30.

91. Reading *bi-fi'lihi* instead of *bi-qawlihi*. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvi.

92. Presumably the reference is to 'Uthmān's being chosen by the *shūrā* (electoral council) to succeed 'Umar rather than 'Alī. The point (in opposition to Shi'ite views) is that 'Alī admits that 'Uthmān did nothing wrong to obtain the election.

93. Presumably this means that he began to pay stipends drawn from the taxes paid on the conquered lands not only to the Muslim Arab soldiers (*muqātilah*) but also to persons who, as chattels of these soldiers, could have had no claim to a share of revenues derived from conquest. It might also mean that he distributed actual land shares in the newly conquered territories; on this possibility see Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 241–42. The story is probably a subtle piece of anti-Abbasid or anti-Shu'ūbī propaganda, intending to show that the Umayyads strove to do justice to all believers, whatever their personal status or ethnic origin.

distressed at [his deposition], and the serving girls, clad in mourning garments, were heard reciting:

Woe, al-Walīd has been deposed,
while Sa'īd has brought us hunger;
The measure [of rations] does not increase but shrinks,
and maidservants and slaves are made to starve.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim: When al-Walīd was deposed and Sa'īd named governor, the people used to say:

Let not kingship be far off, since its traits have fled,
nor leadership, when scribes have become chiefs.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah, according to their [usual] chain of transmission: Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ arrived [in Kūfah] in the seventh year of 'Uthmān's caliphate. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ was the best of [the lineage of] al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah, and his family (*ahl*) was numerous and unbroken from generation to generation. When God conquered Syria [for the Muslims], (Sa'īd) went there and resided with Mu'āwiyah, having been an orphan who had grown up under 'Uthmān's care. Now 'Umar was mindful of [the tribe of] Quraysh, and he asked after (Sa'īd) as part of his inquiry into the affairs of the people. He was told, "O Commander of the Faithful, (Sa'īd) is
[2851] in Damascus in the care of one who is looking after him attentively [namely, Mu'āwiyah], and he is mortally wounded.[94] So ('Umar) sent Mu'āwiyah [the following order]: "Dispatch Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ to me in a litter." So (Mu'āwiyah) sent him to ('Umar), though he was desperately ill, and no sooner did he reach Medina than he recovered.

('Umar) said, "Nephew, I have heard of your courage and uprightness; grow [in these qualities] and God will cause you to grow in prosperity." ('Umar) said, "Do you have a wife?" "No," replied (Sa'īd). ('Umar) said, "Abū 'Amr [namely, 'Uthmān], what has kept you from finding a spouse for this young man?" "I did

94. *Huwa bi-Dimashqa 'ahdu 'l-'āhidi bihi wa-huwa ma'mūmun bi'l-mawt.*

offer [a bride] to him," said ('Uthmān), "but he refused." Then ('Umar) went out on a journey into the desert and at last came to a watering place. There he encountered four women. They stood up before him, and he said, "What are you doing, and who are you?" "[We are] the daughters of Sufyān b. 'Uwayf," they answered. Their mother was with them, and she said, "[I am] their mother. Our menfolk have perished, and if the men have perished, the women are lost. So find suitable marriage partners for [these girls]." Thus, ('Umar) married Sa'īd to one of them, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf to another, and al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah to the third. Then the daughters of Mas'ūd b. Nu'aym al-Nahshalī came to ('Umar) and said, "Our men have died and [only] the youths are left, so find suitable marriage partners for us." Thus, he married Sa'īd to one and Jubayr b. Muṭ'im to another, and Sa'īd participated in [marriages with] both of these [families]. His uncles were men of long experience and early precedence in Islam, and had standing with the Messenger of God. Now 'Umar did not die before Sa'īd had become one of the leading men among the people.

Sa'īd came to Kūfah as governor during the caliphate of 'Uthmān. With him, from Mecca or Medina, set out al-Ashtar, [2852] Abū Khushshah al-Ghifārī, Jundub b. 'Abdallāh, and Abū Muṣ'ab b. Jaththāmah. These were among the men who had gone with al-Walīd to accuse him; now they were returning with [Sa'īd]. [Upon arriving in Kūfah] Sa'īd mounted the pulpit. He praised and extolled God, and then said: "By God, I have been sent to you though I did not want to come. But, having been given an order, I found no way to evade carrying it out. Truly dissension (*fitnah*) has raised its snout and eyes, and by God I shall strike it in the face until I suppress it or it defeats me. Truly my soul is troubled today." Then he stepped down.

He inquired about the inhabitants of Kūfah and was preoccupied with their situation. He wrote to 'Uthmān about what he had learned [as follows]: "The affairs of the Kūfans are in turmoil. The nobles among them, the men of distinguished family (*buyūtāt*), and the veterans of the early campaigns (*ahl al-sābiqah wa'l-qudmah*) have been overwhelmed, and the dominant element in these lands are recent immigrants and bedouin who have attached themselves [to the regular forces. It has gotten] to the

point that one does not see a man of noble lineage or experience among the settlers or youth (of this place)."[95] 'Uthmān wrote back [as follows]: "To proceed: Among those to whom God granted the conquest of these lands, give preference to the veterans of the early campaigns. Then let those who settled here because of (those veterans) be subordinate to them, unless the latter regard [their] obligations as a burden and fail to perform them, while (the newcomers) do strive to carry out their duties. Keep everyone in his proper rank, and give them all their due measure. For through knowledge about the people is justice attained."

Then Sa'īd sent to the leading men among the veterans of the
[2853] first battles in Iraq (*ahl al-ayyām*) and of al-Qādisiyyah, saying: "You are the 'faces' of those behind you, and the face speaks on behalf of the body. So convey to us the needs of those who are lacking and in want." Then he placed with them as many late joiners and recent immigrants as he could.[96] He secluded himself with Qur'ān reciters (*qurrā'*) and men devoted to prayer in his

95. A crucial passage for the early history of Kūfah. A major source of social and political tension in the city was the difference in status, pay, and privileges between Arab soldiers who participated in the earliest Iraqi campaigns and those who arrived there after the conquests. In this passage, the former class are termed *ahl al-sābiqah wa'l-qudmah*. *Sābiqah* refers to priority in conversion to Islam, and under 'Umar's administrative system early converts typically enjoyed both higher status and a higher pay scale. A literal translation of the Arabic phrase would thus be "men of religious priority and precedence." The usual terms for the second class are *rawādif*, "those who follow behind, latecomers, recent immigrants"; and *lawāḥiq*, "those who join, attach themselves to others." Such latecomers began to flow into Kūfah (apparently in separate waves or blocs) in 'Umar's last years, but do not seem to have posed an explosive problem until 'Uthmān's time. This issue has been extensively albeit inconclusively discussed in the recent literature; see Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 358–60; Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 231–39; Hinds, "Kūfan Political Alignments and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.," *IJMES*, II (1971), 349, 352–56; Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 44–55 (to be read critically); Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 242, 256.

96. The point here is that these people would be officially recognized as *muqātilah* and as such would be paid stipends (albeit at a reduced rate) from the public treasury. However, they would not be registered as a separate group in their own right, but would be attached to the established tribal and section leaders (the *wujūh*), through whom their pay would be distributed to them. Thus, the newcomers were integrated into the existing administrative structure, but at the same time were locked into a visibly inferior status.

evening gatherings. It was as if Kūfah were dry tinder engulfed by a fire; people kept entirely to their own class, and gossip and rumor were everywhere.

Sa'īd wrote to 'Uthmān about this, and 'Uthmān's herald called out, "The [next] prayer will be performed with the congregation." (The Medinese) assembled, and ('Uthmān) informed them of what he had written to Sa'īd, and what (the latter) had written to him concerning (the Kūfans). He also told them of the gossip and rumor that he had heard. "You have done the right thing," (his hearers) said, "Do not humor (the Kūfans) in this, and do not let them aspire after something for which they are not fit. For if someone undertakes matters in which he is incompetent, he cannot manage them and [instead] corrupts them." Then 'Uthmān said, "People of Medina, prepare yourselves and hold fast, for dissensions (*fitan*) have crept in among you." Then he stepped down [from the pulpit] and repaired to his dwelling. And he quoted [these verses] as a proverb about himself and the kind [of people] who had begun quarreling:

Banū 'Ubayd, have your partisans heard
    what you say, and the poet's verse about you?
If you have heard these things, gird yourselves;
    for javelins have eyes for the unarmored man.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Hishām b. 'Urwah: 'Uthmān had the people learn to recite one line [of the poem], then two lines, and [finally] lines three to five. [2854]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Sa'īd b. 'Abdallāh al-Jumaḥī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar, who says, I heard him [*sic*] say to my father: 'Uthmān assembled the Medinese and said, "Men of Medina, the people are tossing and turning in dissension. By God, I will surely recover your (property) for you so that I may transfer it to you, if you think that is right. Is it your opinion that those who shared with the settlers in Iraq (*ahl al-'Irāq*) in the conquests should go and reside there with them in their lands?" Then ('Uthmān's listeners) rose up and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, how will you transfer to us those lands [in Iraq] that God has given us as booty?" He responded,

"We shall sell it to anyone who wishes in exchange for his [present] holdings in the Ḥijāz."[97]

They were delighted, and God thereby opened up for them an opportunity (*amr*) that they had not counted on. So they dispersed, and by (this means) God gave them deliverance from (dissension). All the lots (*suhmān*) in Khaybar, in addition to his other holdings, were combined together by Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh. Thus, in exchange for his properties in Khaybar and other places, Ṭalḥah purchased al-Nashāstaj, which was part of the assigned share (*naṣīb*) [of conquered land in Iraq] that belonged to those Medinese who had fought at al-Qādisiyyah and Ctesiphon, but had remained [in Medina] without emigrating to Iraq to settle. (Ṭalḥah) also purchased, in exchange for the Well of Arīs, a property (*shay'*) of 'Uthmān's in Iraq. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam purchased the River of Marwān, which at that time was a swampy canebrake, from ('Uthmān) in exchange for a property of his that
[2855] 'Uthmān had given to him. Certain men from the tribes in Iraq who were drawn from the inhabitants of Medina, Mecca, al-Ṭā'if, Yemen, and Ḥaḍramawt, purchased (land in Iraq) in exchange for properties that they had in the Arabian Peninsula.[98] Among that which al-Ash'ath purchased from ('Uthmān), in exchange for a property of his in Ḥaḍramawt, was a holding in Tīzanābādh.

'Uthmān wrote to the inhabitants of the frontier provinces (*ahl al-āfāq*) about this (exchange), about the number of *jarībs* [99]of

97. This and the following paragraphs report a property exchange devised by 'Uthmān to turn public lands in Iraq over to Medinese and Iraqi notables, while obtaining control of some of the wealthiest estates in the Ḥijāz for the caliphate. This policy ensured that the Caliph would have greater revenues under his direct control, while rewarding and presumably reinforcing the loyalty of the leading class in the Muslim community. The ordinary tribesmen in Iraq were of course disadvantaged by this—another cause of the tensions that would ultimately lead to revolt against 'Uthmān. On this exchange see Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 360–62; and M. Hinds, "Kûfan Political Alignments," 359–60. I have been unable to identify the place names given here. As Caetani notes, this account is "singolarmente oscura."

98. *Wa'shtarā minhu rijālun min 'l-qabā'ili bi'l-'Irāqi bi-amwālin kānat lahum fī jazīrati 'l-'Arabi min ahli 'l-Madīnati wa-Makkata wa'l-Ṭā'ifi wa'l-Yamani wa-Ḥaḍramawta.*

99. The *jarīb* was the standard unit of land in Iraq; in the Sawād (alluvial plain) it was equivalent to sixty square cubits—roughly .16 hectares or .4 acres. See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 100–4, 531.

conquered land (*fay'*), and about the conquered land that the inhabitants of the garrison towns had claimed for themselves. (The conquered land) had belonged to the kings, such as Chosroes and Caesar, and to the inhabitants of their dominions who had succeeded them. They had then been abandoned by them. Thus, something was carried out for (the people) that they knew to be good. ('Uthmān) took the [conquered lands] in proportion to the number of the Medinese who had participated in (the conquests in Iraq) and in proportion to their assigned share [of the conquered land]; he then assigned (these lands) to them. They purchased (the newly assigned lands) in exchange for nearby properties in the Ḥijāz, Mecca, the Yemen, and Ḥaḍramawt. (Conquered land in Iraq) was transferred to the inhabitants (of these districts) who were Medinese and who had participated in the conquests.[100]

A similar account was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah, except as follows: Men from every tribe who had property there [that is, in Iraq] purchased this category [of land], for they wished to take it in exchange for their nearby holdings [in Arabia]. Thus, they took possession [of the conquered lands]; this was lawful for them since it was based on mutual agreement with them and with the people [as a whole] and on a confirmation of [their] rightful claims. However, those who were not veterans of the early campaigns[101] did not obtain as much as those who enjoyed priority [in conversion to Islam], precedence in the councils, leadership, and prestige. Then (the men of lower status) censured [such] preferential treatment, regarding it as an act of harshness and contempt. They concealed [their true feelings] concerning this matter, barely letting them become known, since they had no documentary proof (*ḥujjah*) [to support their claims]; the people were against them. [2856]
Now if some late joiner, whether youth, bedouin, or freedman, attached himself to (these malcontents), he would approve of their speech. Thus, (the malcontents) were on the increase and

100. A somewhat conjectural reading of this passage: *wa-akhadha bi-qadri 'iddati man shahadahā min ahli 'l-Madīnati wa-bi-qadri naṣībihim wa-ḍamma dhālika ilayhim fa-bā'ūhu bi-mā yalīhim min 'l-amwāli bi'l-Ḥijāzi wa-Makkata wa'l-Yamani wa-Ḥaḍramawta yuraddu 'alā ahlihā 'lladhīna shahadū 'l-futūḥa min bayni ahli 'l-Madīnati.*

101. *alladhīna lā sābiqita lahum wa-la qudmata.* See above, note 91.

the people were decreasing [in proportion]. As a result, evil prevailed.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Ḥudhayfah was transferred from the Rayy campaign to the campaign against al-Bāb[102] in order to reinforce ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿah, and Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ accompanied him as far as Ādharbayjān. Thus, they lent support to the people. (Saʿīd) remained [there] until Ḥudhayfah came back, and then they both returned [to Kūfah].

In this year—that is, the year 30 (650–51)—the signet ring of the Messenger of God fell from ʿUthmān's hand into the Well of Arīs, which lay some two miles [103]from Medina. It was one of the poorest wells in [yield of] water, but its bottom has not been plumbed until this very hour.

How the Signet Ring Fell from ʿUthmān's Hand into the Well of Arīs

It was related to me by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ḥarashī—Abū Khalaf ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĪsā al-Khazzāz, the associate (*sharīk*) of Yūnis b. ʿUbayd—Dāwūd b. Abī Hind—ʿIkrimah—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Messenger of God decided to write letters to the non-Arabs (*aʿājim*), summoning them to Almighty God. A certain man said to him, "O Messenger of God, they will not accept a letter unless it is sealed." So the Messenger of God ordered a signet ring to be
[2857] fashioned out of iron for him, and he placed it on his finger. Then Gabriel came to him and said, "Take it from thy finger." The Messenger of God did so and ordered another signet ring to be made for him. A new signet ring was thus fashioned for him out of copper, and he placed it on his finger. Then Gabriel said to him, "Take it from thy finger." The Messenger of God did so and ordered a signet ring of silver. A signet ring of silver was fashioned for him, and he placed it on his finger. [This time] Gabriel con-

102. Bāb al-Abwāb, the Caspian seaport of Darband, which stood astride the main corridor through the Caucasus; it marked the northern limits of the early Arab conquests in this region. See D. M. Dunlop, "Bāb al-Abwāb," *EI*², I, 835–36; Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 180.

103. The Arabic mile (*mīl*) is equal to one-third of a *farsakh*—that is, about two km. See W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 63. See also below, note 119.

sented to it, and commanded that "Muḥammad, the Messenger of God" be engraved upon it. Then (Muḥammad) began sealing [his correspondence] with it and writing to those non-Arabs to whom he had decided to write. The inscription on the signet was in three lines.

He wrote a letter to Kisrā b. Hurmuz[104] and sent it with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. 'Umar brought it to Kisrā and it was recited aloud, but he paid no heed to (the Prophet's) letter. 'Umar said, "O Messenger of God, may God make me thy ransom! You sit upon a couch woven out of palm fibers, while Kisrā b. Hurmuz sits upon a throne of gold covered with brocade." The Messenger of God replied, "Are you not content for them to have this world while we have the next?" "May God make me thy ransom," said 'Umar, "I am content." (The Prophet) wrote a second letter and sent it with Diḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī to Heraclius, Emperor of the Byzantines, summoning him to Islam. (Heraclius) recited it aloud, pressed it to himself, and placed it nearby.

Thus, the Messenger of God wore the signet ring on his finger until Almighty God took him. Then Abū Bakr became caliph and wore it until Almighty God took him. Afterwards 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ruled, and he began wearing it until God took him. Then [2858]
after him 'Uthmān b. 'Affān ruled and wore it for six years. He dug a well in Medina to supply water for the Muslims. He was sitting on the edge of the well and began fiddling with the ring and twisting it around his finger. The ring slipped off and fell into the well. They searched for it and [even] drained the well of its water, but without success. ('Uthmān) established a magnificent reward for anyone who could bring it [to him] and became deeply depressed on account of (the lost ring). When he despaired of [finding] the signet ring, he ordered another one like it in form and appearance and made of silver to be fashioned for him.[105] On it was engraved "Muḥammad, the Messenger of God." Then ('Uthmān) placed it on his finger until he perished. When he was

104. Khusraw Parviz or Chosroes II, *regn.* 592–628, not only a symbol of imperial grandeur but also of overweening pride, which brought down not only himself but his kingdom.

105. A somewhat conjectural reading: *amara fa-ṣuni'a lahu khātamun ahkaru mithlahu ḥalaqahu/khilquhu min fiḍḍatin 'alā mithālihi wa-shibhihi.*

murdered the ring disappeared from his hand, and no one knew who had taken it.

The Reports Concerning Abū Dharr [al-Ghifārī][106]

In this year—that is, the year 30 (650–51)—occurred (the events) that have been recorded about the affair of Abū Dharr and Muʿāwiyah, and about Muʿāwiyah's exiling him from Syria to Medina. Many things have been recorded as to why he sent him into exile, most of which I am loathe to mention. As for those who excuse Muʿāwiyah in this (affair), they have told a story (*qiṣṣah*) about it [which runs as follows]:

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī, stating that Shuʿayb had personally recited [it] to him (*ḥaddathahu*) on the authority of Sayf—ʿAṭiyyah—Yazīd al-Faqʿasī: When Ibn al-Sawdā'[107] came to Syria he met Abū Dharr and said, "Abū Dharr, are you not astonished at Muʿāwiyah for saying, 'The public mon-
[2859] eys are God's property.'[108] Verily, everything belongs to God. [It is] as if he intends to seize it [for himself] to the exclusion of the Muslims and to efface the Muslims' names [from the fiscal registers]." Abū Dharr came to (Muʿāwiyah) and said, "What leads you to use the term 'God's property' for the public moneys of the Muslims?" "God be merciful to you, Abū Dharr," responded Muʿāwiyah. "Are we not God's slaves, the public moneys His

106. The matter of Abū Dharr is discussed at length in Caetani, *Annali*, VII, 365—79, with references to the other principal accounts, especially the pro-Shiʿite versions of Yaʿqūbī and Masʿūdī. To these add Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, pp. 52–56, whose account mainly follows the tradition of al-Wāqidī and Abū Mikhnaf. Abū Dharr has always been regarded by Shiʿites as a voice protesting the corruption of ʿUthmān's regime and calling for a restoration of the ascetic piety and social equality of the original community. It is not surprising that Abū Dharr has become a potent figure in the ideology of contemporary Islamic radicals. On his life and significance, see Cameron, *Abu Dharr*.

107. Literally, "son of the black woman." A name for the sinister ʿAbdallāh b. Sabā', a legendary (and perhaps fictitious) figure whom a certain strand of tradition identified as the principal source of political dissension as well as extremist Shiʿite ideas in early Islam. He is supposed to have been a converted Yemeni Jew. This report marks his first appearance in Ṭabarī's chronicle; here and later, Sayf b. ʿUmar is the main authority for his activities. On him see M. G. S. Hodgson, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabā'," *EI*², I, 51.

108. *al-mālu mālu ʾllāh.*

property, the created world His creation, and public authority (*al-amr*) His authority?" (Abū Dharr) said, "Do not use this expression." He continued, "Indeed, I do not say that (the public moneys) do not belong to God, but I shall call them 'the property of the Muslims.'"

(The narrator) continues: Ibn al-Sawdā' came to Abū al-Dardā',[109] who said to him, "Who are you? By God, I think you are a Jew!" Then he came to 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit and attached himself to him. ('Ubādah) brought him to Mu'āwiyah and said, "By God, this is the man who provoked Abū Dharr against you." Now Abū Dharr rose up in Syria and began saying, "O men of wealth, show charity to the poor. To 'those who treasure up gold and silver and do not expend them in the way of God,' declare [that there will be] branding irons from a fire, 'and therewith their foreheads and their sides and their backs shall be branded.'"[110] He persisted in such (statements) until the poor were set aflame and compelled the rich to do this, and until the rich complained about (the behavior) that they were encountering from the people.

Mu'āwiyah wrote [as follows] to 'Uthmān: "Abū Dharr has become a problem for me, and his case has involved such-and-such matters." 'Uthmān wrote him [in response]: "Verily dissension has protruded its snout and eyes and is poised to jump. Do not scrape the scab, but rather dispatch Abū Dharr to me. Send a guide along with him, give him adequate provisions, and treat him gently. Restrain the people and yourself as far as you can, for you will keep control [of affairs] only so long as you keep control of yourself."

So (Mu'āwiyah) sent Abū Dharr away accompanied by a guide. [2860]
When (Abū Dharr) reached Medina and saw the homes (*majālis*) at the foot of Sal',[111] he said, "Declare to the Medinese [that they will suffer] a devastating attack and a terrible war." Then he

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109. Abū al-Dardā' al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī, a Medinese Companion revered for his ascetic piety and his knowledge of the Qur'ān. We are told that he was sent to Damascus to serve as a qāḍī there: in any event, he died and was buried there in 32 (652). See A. Jeffery, "Abū 'l-Dardā'," *EI*², I, 113–14.

110. Qur'ān 9:34–35.

111. Sal' is a hill on the outskirts of Medina, about a kilometer northwest of the Prophet's Mosque.

entered 'Uthmān's presence, and ('Uthmān) said, "Abū Dharr, why are the Syrians complaining about the wounds inflicted by you?" (Abū Dharr) informed him that it was improper to say, "God's property," nor was it proper for the rich to grasp after wealth. ('Uthmān) responded, "Abū Dharr, I must carry out my own obligations and take what is owed by the subjects (*ra'iyyah*). I cannot compel them to be ascetics; rather, I am required to summon them to heed God's commandments and to follow the path of moderation." (Abū Dharr) said, "Then permit me to leave, for Medina is no home for me." ('Uthmān) replied, "And will you replace it save with [someplace] worse?" (Abū Dharr) said, "The Messenger of God commanded me to leave (Medina) when the built-up area (*al-binā'*) reached Sal'." "Well, do as he commanded you," said 'Uthmān.

(The narrator) continues: So (Abū Dharr) set out until he settled in al-Rabadhah, and there he traced out a mosque.[112] 'Uthmān allocated to him a small herd of camels and gave him two slaves (*mamlūkayn*). He also instructed him [as follows]: "Bind yourself to Medina by compact, lest you revert to being a bedouin." (Abū Dharr) did so.[113]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. 'Awn—'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: Fearing [that he might revert to] the bedouin way of life, Abū Dharr traveled repeatedly from al-Rabadhah to Medina, though he loved isolation and seclusion. [Once] he entered 'Uthmān's presence, and there with him was Ka'b al-Aḥbār. (Abū Dharr) said to 'Uthmān, "Be not content that the people refrain from wrongdoing until they strive for the good. One who fulfills the alms tax (*zakāt*) should not confine himself to that until he treats neighbors and

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112. *wa-khaṭṭa bihā masjidan.* A mosque need not be a building, but can be any patch of ground, properly oriented toward Mecca, which has been marked off and set aside for the ritual prayer. The earliest mosques in the great garrison towns of Iraq appear to have been just such open spaces. See J. Pedersen, "Masdjid," *SEI*, 331.

113. Since Abū Dharr was living outside any settled community of Muslims, it was necessary for him to demonstrate his adherence to Islam and his acceptance of the political and religious authority of the Caliph through a formal pact of submission, precisely as Muḥammad had required the bedouin tribes to do during his lifetime. See Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 263–67, for 'Umar's attitudes toward the bedouin.

brothers generously and brings [benefit to his] kinsmen." Ka'b said, "He who fulfills the divine commandment (*farīḍah*) has fully met his obligations." Then Abū Dharr raised his staff and [2861] struck him, cracking open [his head]. 'Uthmān asked (Abū Dharr) for (the staff) and he turned it over to him. ('Uthmān) said, "Abū Dharr, fear God and restrain thy hand and tongue." For (the latter) had said to (Ka'b), "Son of the Jewess, what are you doing here? By God, you will learn from me, or I shall do violence to you."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Ash'ath b. Siwār—Muḥammad b. Sīrīn: Abū Dharr went away to al-Rabadhah on his own account when he saw that 'Uthmān did not incline to him, and Mu'āwiyah expelled his household after him. They set forth to [join] him, taking with them a sack almost too heavy to carry.[114] (Mu'āwiyah) said, "Look at the possessions of this man who proclaims the renunciation of this world!" But (Abū Dharr's) wife responded, "No, by God, it contains neither gold nor silver coins, but only copper ones, so that if his official salary (*'aṭā'*) runs out, he can take some small coins from it for our necessities."

When Abū Dharr settled in al-Rabadhah, the ritual prayer was performed under the leadership of a man who was in charge of the alms tax (*al-ṣadaqah*).[115] He said, "Come forward [to lead the prayer], Abū Dharr." He replied, "No, you go forward, for the Messenger of God said to me, 'Listen and obey, even if a crop-nosed slave be set over you.' You are a slave, though not crop-nosed." This man, a black named Mujāshi', was one of the slaves acquired through the alms tax (*raqīq al-ṣadaqah*).

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Mubashshir b. al-Fuḍayl—Jābir: Every day 'Uthmān be-

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114. *wa-ma'ahum jirābun yuthqilu yada 'l-rajuli.*

115. The word used in the preceding paragraph for alms tax is *zakāt*, while here it is *ṣadaqah*. Both words occur in the Qur'ān as financial obligations owed by the believers as acts of purity and sincerity. The Qur'ānic distinction, if any, between them is not clearly defined. In later times *zakāt* came to refer to the compulsory alms tax levied upon Muslims, while *ṣadaqah* had more the sense of voluntary alms, though it often continued to be an exact synonym for *zakāt*. See T. H. Weir, "Ṣadaḳa," *SEI*, 483–84; and J. Schacht, "Zakāt," *SEI*, 654–56. Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 252, 265, argues that there was a systematic distinction during the Conquest period at least: *ṣadaqah* would refer to the tax on animals levied against Muslim nomads, while *zakāt* meant the tax paid by settled Muslims.

stowed the leg of a slaughtered camel on Abū Dharr and the same on Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj. Both of them had withdrawn from Medina because something they had heard was not explained to them. They tried to understand [this statement] but were bested [in discussion about it].

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—
[2862] Sayf—Muḥammad b. Sūqah—ʿĀṣim b. Kulayb—Salamah b. Nabātah: We set out to perform the Lesser Pilgrimage[116] and came to al-Rabadhah. We looked for Abū Dharr in his house but did not find him. (The people there) said, "He has gone to the watering place." We withdrew and made camp near his house. Then he passed by with a camel's leg, which a servant boy was helping him to carry. He greeted us and then went on to his house. He stayed [there] only briefly before returning. Sitting down before us, he said, "The Messenger of God said to me, 'Listen and obey, even if a crop-nosed Abyssinian be set over you.' I settled at this oasis, and some of the slaves acquired by the Public Treasury (*raqīq māl Allāh*) were in authority over it, and over them was set an Abyssinian, albeit not crop-nosed. I did not know him, but I commend him highly. Every day they have a slaughter camel, and from it I get a leg that I and my household eat." I [namely, the narrator Salamah b. Nabātah] said, "What do you get from the Treasury?" "A small herd of sheep and a troop of camels," he answered. "My servant boy takes care of one, my serving girl the other, and my servant boy will be free at the New Year." (Ibn Nabātah) continues: I said, "Indeed your companions in our presence here are the wealthiest of the people." (Abū Dharr) answered, "Certainly they have no claim on the Public Treasury that I do not equally have."

As for the other (narrators of these events), they recount many things concerning them, repugnant matters that I am loath to repeat.

In this year, according to one (authority), Yazdagird b. Shahriyār fled from Fārs to Khurāsān.

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116. On this ritual see R. Paret, "ʿUmra," *SEI*, 604–6. The *ʿumrah*, in contrast to the *ḥajj* proper, may be performed at any time of year; the rites are those of the earlier stages of the *ḥajj* (circumambulation of the Kaʿbah, running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah), but there is no visitation of the sacred places outside Mecca and no sacrifice at the conclusion of the ceremonies.

[The Flight of Yazdagird from Fārs to Khurāsān]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]—Maslamah—Dāwūd: Ibn 'Āmir arrived in Baṣrah; then he set out for Fārs and [2863]
conquered it. Yazdagird fled from Jūr—which is [the chief town of the district of] Ardashīr-Khurrah[117]—in the year 30 (650–51). Ibn 'Āmir sent Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd al-Sulamī in pursuit, and he followed [Yazdagird] to Kirmān. Mujāshi' made camp with the army at al-Sīrajān,[118] while Yazdagird fled to Khurāsān. According to [al-Madā'inī], [the tribe of] 'Abd al-Qays states that Ibn 'Āmir sent Harim b. Ḥayyān al-'Abdī [in pursuit of Yazdagird], while [the tribe of] Bakr b. Wā'il says that he dispatched Ibn Ḥassān al-Yashkurī. [Al-Madā'inī] says: The soundest [identification] in our opinion is Mujāshi'.

According to 'Alī [b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī]—Salamah b. 'Uthmān, who was an accomplished man—a scholar (*shaykh*) among the inhabitants of Kirmān, and al-Faḍl al-Kirmānī—his father: Al-Mujāshi' set out from al-Sīrajān and followed Yazdagird. While he was at the castle in Bīmand, the one [now] called Qaṣr Mujāshi', they were struck by blizzards. Snow fell and the cold became intense; the snow reached the height of a lance. The army perished, but Mujāshi' and a man with a slave girl were saved. He slit open the stomach of a pack camel, put [the girl] in it and fled. The next day he came back, found her alive, and carried her away. That castle was named Qaṣr Mujāshi' because his army perished in it while he was five or six *farsakhs*[119] from al-Sīrajān.

According to 'Alī [b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī]—Abū al-Miqdām—one of his teachers: Mujāshi' left Tustar[120] in com- [2864]

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117. Jūr, renamed Fīrūzābād in Būyid times, is located about sixty miles due south of Shīrāz. Founded by the first Sasanian king Ardashīr (226–241), it was one of the largest towns of Fārs under that dynasty, and a major link on the road from Iṣṭakhr to the port of Ṣīrāf. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 255–56.

118. Sīrjān was the Sasanian and early Islamic capital of the province of Kirmān down to Būyid times, when the capital was transferred to its modern site. It remained a large and prosperous town until its conquest in 796 (1394) by Timur, who left it in ruins as a punishment for its obstinate resistance to his armies. Sīrjān is located about 100 km. southwest of modern Kirmān. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 300–2.

119. A *farsakh* is the most common unit of distance in medieval Islamic texts, equal approximately to six km. See W. Hinz, "Farsakh," *EI*², II, 812–13.

120. Tustar (or Shushtar) was the second city of the province of Khūzistān,

mand of the Baṣran force. Among them was al-Aḥnaf; he captured, in one sweep during a single morning, 50,000 [horses]. He got to [the one named] al-Ṣafrā' bt. al-Gharrā' bt. al-Ghabrā' first, but 'Umar took her from him when his agents divided up the booty.

'Alī [b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī] states: I said to Naḍr b. Isḥāq, "Abū al-Miqdām has recounted this story." He said, "He has told the truth; I have heard it from several of the [tribesmen of] al-Ḥayy and others." His mare was al-Ṣafrā' bt. al-Gharrā' bt. al-Ghabrā', and he is Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd b. Tha'labah b. 'Ā'idh b. Wahb b. Rabī'ah b. Yarbū' b. Sammāl b. 'Awf b. Imru'ul-Qays b. Buhthah b. Sulaym, and his *kunyah* is Abū Sulaymān.

[Al-Madā'inī] says: In this year, 'Uthmān added the third call to [the Friday prayer and had it proclaimed from] al-Zawrā'; he prayed four [*rak'ahs*] at Minā.[121]

In this year, 'Uthmān led the Pilgrimage.

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located some sixty miles due north of the capital Ahwāz, along the Kārūn River. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 233–36.

121. Al-Zawrā' was 'Uthmān's residence in Medina; see above, pp. 31–32/2827, *sub anno* 28; on his innovations in the prayer at the pilgrimage station in Minā, see above, pp. 38–40/2833–2836, *sub anno* 29.

The Events of the Year [2865]

31

(August 24, 651–August 11, 652)

Among these, according to al-Wāqidī, was the expedition of the Muslims against the Byzantines that is called the Battle of the Masts.

It was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—someone who mentioned it—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: The Battle of the Masts took place in the year 34 (654–55). (Abū Ma'shar) says: In the year 31 (651–52) took place [the expedition] by sea against the blacks[122] and the events that befell Kisrā [that is, the King of Iran, Yazdagird III].

Al-Wāqidī says: The Battle of the Masts and the expedition against the blacks both took place in the year 31 (651–52).

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122. This is a disastrous naval expedition against Abyssinia (*ghazwat al-asāwidah*) led by 'Alqamah b. Mujazziz al-Mudlifī, which other authorities date to the year 20 (641). See Caetani, *Annali*, VI, 366–67, VIII, 94. See also Ṭabarī, I, 2595.

The Account of the Battles [of the Masts and against the Blacks]

According to al-Wāqidī—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah:[123] The Syrians set out under the command of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, all Syria having been unified under him.

The Reason Why (Syria) was Unified under [Mu'āwiyah]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Abd al-Malik, al-Rabī', Abū Mujālid, Abū 'Uthmān, and Abū Ḥārithah: When Abū 'Ubaydah died, he named 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm to succeed him in his governorship (*'amal*). 'Iyāḍ was [both] his maternal uncle and the son of his father's brother. ('Iyāḍ) had been governor (*waliya 'amalan*) in the Jazīrah, but 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb
[2866] had deposed him. So he attached himself to Abū 'Ubaydah in Syria and remained with him. ('Iyāḍ) was generous and famed for his liberality, stinting nothing and refusing no one. 'Umar was told about that, and the people said to him, "You deposed Khālid (b. al-Walīd)[124] and reproved him for being openhanded. Now 'Iyāḍ is the most generous and openhanded of the Arabs, refusing nothing that is asked of him." 'Umar replied, "How long has 'Iyāḍ faced such demands on his own wealth that he should make use of ours? Even so, I have not altered any decision (*amr*) which Abū 'Ubaydah has laid down."

'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm died after Abū 'Ubaydah, and 'Umar named Sa'īd b. Ḥidhyam al-Jumaḥi as military governor of his province (*ammara 'alā 'amalihi*). Afterwards Sa'īd died, and to replace him 'Umar appointed 'Umayr b. Sa'd al-Anṣārī as military governor. 'Umar died while Mu'āwiyah held authority over [the provinces

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123. Reading 'Umar for 'Umayr, in accordance with de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvi.

124. Perhaps the most famous and brilliant Arab general of the Riddah wars and the early Conquests; see P. Crone, "Khālid b. al-Walīd," *EI*², IV, 928–29 (reflects a radical critique of the sources); Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 119–32, 135–42, 173–90, *et passim*.

of] Damascus and Jordan and 'Umayr b. Sa'd over [the provinces of] Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrīn. However, Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān made Qinnasrīn a garrison center for those among the inhabitants of the two Iraqs[125] who came to join him.

When Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān[126] had died, 'Umar named Mu'āwiyah to replace him and announced his death to [his father,] Abū Sufyān. (The latter) said, "Whom have you set over his province ('*amal*), Commander of the Faithful?" "Mu'āwiyah," replied ('Umar). Then (Abū Sufyān) said, "You have treated kinsmen generously." Thus, Jordan and Damascus were combined under Mu'āwiyah. When 'Umar died, Mu'āwiyah held authority over Damascus and Jordan, 'Umayr b. Sa'd over Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrīn, 'Alqamah b. Mujazziz over Palestine, and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ over Egypt.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Mubashshir—Sālim: The first governor ('*āmil*) appointed by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān was Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, in accordance with the testament of 'Umar. Then 'Umayr b. Sa'd was stricken by plague. He was severely weakened by this and sought leave from 'Uthmān to step down and return to his kinsmen. He granted his [2867] request and attached Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrīn to Mu'āwiyah's [sphere of authority].

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān—Khālid b. Ma'dān: When 'Uthmān took office, he confirmed 'Umar's governors in Syria.

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125. In later centuries, at least, "the two Iraqs" would refer to Iraq 'Arabī—that is, the lower Tigris-Euphrates Valley—and Iraq 'Ajamī (also called al-Jibāl), the Zagros highlands to the east that included the great cities of Hamadhān, Iṣfahān, Rayy, and Kermānshāh. Since the only Arab garrison town (not a very important one) in the latter region was Qum, however, Baṣrah and Kūfah are clearly meant here.

126. Yazīd was Mu'āwiyah's elder brother, and Abū 'Ubaydah's successor as governor of Syria. He commanded one of the four principal expeditionary forces sent in 13/634 to undertake the conquest of Syria, and initially was responsible for Transjordan. When Abu 'Ubaydah and several other senior Companions died in the devastating Plague of 'Amwās in 18/639, the supreme command fell to Yazīd. But Yazīd himself died later in 18/639 during the same epidemic. See Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 151–53; and Lawrence Conrad, "The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1981, 201–15, 225–31.

When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlqamah al-Kinānī, who had authority over Palestine, died, (ʿUthmān) attached his province to Muʿāwiyah. ʿUmayr b. Saʿd fell victim to a long-drawn-out illness during ʿUthmān's caliphate and sought his permission to step down. (ʿUthmān) granted his request and attached his province to Muʿāwiyah's [sphere of authority]. Thus, [all] Syria was unified under Muʿāwiyah during [the first] two years of ʿUthmān's caliphate. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ held authority in Egypt in the time of ʿUmar. It was unified under him, and ʿUthmān confirmed him in office at the outset of his caliphate.

Return to al-Wāqidī's Account of the Two Battles Mentioned Above

The Syrians set out under Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, while ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ was in command of the men from the maritime districts (*ahl al-baḥr*).[127]

According to (al-Wāqidī): In that same year, Constantine the son of Heraclius[128] set forth, because of what the Muslims had done to them [that is, the Byzantines] in Africa, in a fleet (*jamʿ*) whose like had not been assembled by the Byzantines since the coming of Islam. They set out in five hundred ships and encountered (the Muslims) under ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd. Some of them provided protection for others, until they yoked together the spars of the Muslims' and Polytheists' ships.

According to Ibn ʿUmar (al-Wāqidī)—ʿĪsā b. ʿAlqamah—ʿAbdal-
[2868] lāh b. Abī Sufyān—his father—Mālik b. Aws b. al-Ḥadathān: I was with them. We met [the enemy] at sea; we had never seen such ships. The wind was against us, so we rode at anchor for an

127. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ had replaced ʿAmr b. al-ʿAṣ as governor of Egypt in 25 (645–646), and the naval forces on this expedition were based in Egypt. The sailors were Egyptian Christians, while the warriors on shipboard were Muslim Arabs garrisoned in Egypt.

128. Heraclius' grandson Constans II Pogonatus (641–668), whose official throne name was Constantine. In spite of numerous military disasters, his reign did see much stiffer and more systematic resistance to the Muslim advance than had heretofore been the case. In ways that we do not as yet fully grasp, his efforts must have laid the foundation for the later consolidation of Byzantine control in Anatolia and the Aegean. On his troubled reign see Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 110–23.

hour; they, too, were anchored nearby. Then the wind abated and we said, "[Let there be] safe passage between you and us." "You and we must all decide on that," they replied.[129] Then we said, "If you like [we shall fight] on the shore, until whoever is the shorter-lived—whether you or us—shall die; but, if you prefer, the sea." (Al-Wāqidī) continues: They gave a snort and said, "The water." We drew up to them and bound the ships fast to one another, until we were striking at one another on both their ships and ours. We fought most bitterly; men fell upon one another, striking with swords and thrusting with daggers upon the ships, until the blood was washed up on shore by the pounding waves. The breakers threw up men's corpses in heaps.

According to Ibn 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Hishām b. Sa'd—Zayd b. Aslam—his father—one who was present on that day: I saw the beach where the wind was driving the waves; upon it was what looked like a great hill of human corpses, and there was more blood than water. A great many Muslims were killed on that day; however, of the unbelievers the number was beyond counting. On that day, the Muslims endured what they had never endured anywhere; then God sent down His aid upon the people of Islam, and [2869]
Constantine turned tail and fled. He was routed due only to the killing and injuries that befell him, for on that day he suffered injuries and lay wounded for some time.

According to Ibn 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Sālim, the client of Umm Muḥammad—Khālid b. Abī 'Imrān—Ḥanash b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṣan'ānī: The first thing heard from Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah[130] occurred while the people were at sea in the year 31 (651–52). When 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ led the people in the afternoon prayer, Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah proclaimed "God is most great!". He raised his voice until the imam 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ had finished. Upon leaving, ('Abdallāh b. Sa'd) asked, "What is this?" He was told, "That is Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah proclaiming God's greatness." So 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd summoned him and said, "What is this innovation and novelty?" (Muḥammad) replied, "This is no innovation or novelty, for there is no

129. *Qālū dhālika lakum wa-lanā minkum.*

130. One of the chief conspirators against 'Uthmān; on his controversial role see below, *sub annis* 34 and 35.

harm in proclaiming the greatness of God." ('Abdallāh) said, "You are not to do it again."

(Al-Wāqidī) continues: Thus Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah was silenced. But when 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd led the prayer at sunset, Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah proclaimed God's greatness even more loudly than before. ('Abdallāh) sent to him [as follows]: "You are a foolish boy. Indeed, by God, were I not uncertain that the Commander of the Faithful would agree, I would drag you away in fetters." Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah replied, "By God, you have no way to do that. If you were determined to do so you could not." ('Abdallāh) said, "Leave off! [It will be] better for you. By God, you are not sailing with us." (Muḥammad) responded, "Shall I sail with the Muslims [at all]?" ('Abdallāh b. Sa'd) said,
[2870] "Go wherever you want."

(Al-Wāqidī) continues: So (Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah) sailed by himself, in a ship with no one but the Copts,[131] until they reached [the site of] the Battle of the Masts. [There] they encountered the Byzantine forces, with 500 or 600 ships and with Constantine the son of Heraclius present among them. (Constantine) said, "Give me your counsel." (His officers) said, "We will observe [the situation] tonight." They passed the night striking their wooden clappers[132] while the Muslims spent the night praying and calling on God.

Then the morning came. Constantine had resolved to do battle, and (the Byzantines) drew their ships into tight formation. The Muslims likewise drew [their ships] up in tight formation and lashed them together. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd formed the Muslims in ranks along the sides of the ships and began ordering them to recite the Qur'ān aloud and to stand fast. The Byzantines jumped into the Muslims' ships and assailed their ranks until they broke them up; they were fighting in disorder.

(Al-Wāqidī) continues: So they fought bitterly. At length God aided the Believers, and they made a great slaughter among the Byzantines, among whom only those who fled made it to safety.

(Al-Wāqidī) continues: 'Abdallāh remained at [the site of] the

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131. That is, the sailors *per se*.

132. The Eastern churches traditionally used wooden clappers to summon people to worship, rather than bells or the human voice.

Battle of the Masts for some days after the enemy (*qawm*) had fled, then turned about to come back. Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah began saying to the army, "Yes, by God, in reality we have left the *jihād* behind us." His listener would ask, "What *jihād*?" Then (Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah) would say, "'Uthmān b. 'Affān has done this and done that." He continued until he had corrupted the people. By the time they approached their own country he had corrupted them, for they were openly saying things that they had not [previously] uttered.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Ma'mar b. Rāshid—al-Zuhrī: Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr set out when 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd did. They publicly [2871] proclaimed the shameful deeds of 'Uthmān and how he had altered and contradicted [the policies] of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and [they declared] that 'Uthmān's blood was lawful. They would say, "('Uthmān) named 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd as governor—a man whose blood the Messenger of God declared to be lawful, and one whose unbelief was revealed in the Qur'ān. The Messenger of God exiled a certain clan (*qawm*) and ('Uthmān) permitted them to return. ('Uthmān) has removed from office the Companions of the Messenger of God and appointed Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ and 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir."[133] Word of this got to 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ, and he said, "You two will not sail with us." Thus, they sailed on a ship upon which there was not a single Muslim.

The Muslims had met the enemy, while these two were the feeblest[134] in battle of [all] the Muslims. People spoke to them about this, but they replied, "How shall we fight alongside a man whose authority it is not right to accept? 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd was appointed by 'Uthmān, and 'Uthmān has done thus and so." Thus, they corrupted the participants in this battle, having censured 'Uthmān in the severest terms. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd sent to them, absolutely forbidding them [to act in this manner]. He said, "By God, were I not uncertain that the Commander of the Faithful would agree, I would punish and imprison you both."

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb passed away, at the age of eighty-eight.

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133. The governors of Kūfah and Baṣrah respectively.
134. Reading *akall* rather than *ankal*. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvi.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year—that is, the year 31 (651–52)—Armenia was conquered by Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī.
[2872] In this year, Yazdagird, the king of Persia (*Fārs*), was killed.

The Cause of [Yazdagird's] Murder

There is a difference of opinion regarding the cause of his murder and how it came about.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (al-Madāʾinī)—Ghiyāth b. Ibrāhīm—Ibn Isḥāq: Yazdagird fled with a tiny escort from Kirmān to Marw. He sought money from its marzubān,[135] but (the latter) refused him. Then (the people of Marw) were afraid for themselves and sent to the Turks, seeking their support against (Yazdagird). (The Turks) came and sprang a nighttime attack against him; they killed his companions, and Yazdagird fled until he came to the home of a millstone cutter on the banks of the Murghāb.[136] (Yazdagird) took shelter with him overnight, and as he slept (the millstone cutter) killed him.

According to ʿAlī (b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī)—al-Hudhalī: Yazdagird came to Marw in flight from Kirmān, and sought money from its marzubān and populace. But they refused him, and in fear of him they sprang a nighttime attack against him. [In spite of what certain authorities allege,] they did not ask the Turks to mobilize an army against him. They killed his companions, while he fled on foot, carrying his belt, his sword, and his crown, until at last he came to the home of a stonecutter on the banks of the Murghāb. When Yazdagird became careless, the stonecutter killed him, took his belongings, and flung his corpse into the Murghāb. In the morning, the people of Marw followed (Yazdagird's) footsteps until they lost track of them at the stonecutter's dwelling. They seized (the stonecutter); he confirmed

135. The *marzubān* or *marzbān* was the military governor of a frontier district under the Sasanian Empire. After the provincial reform of Khusraw Anushirvan, he was theoretically under the authority of the *ispahbadh* in whose quarter his district lay. By the date of this story, obviously, a *marzubān* was usually quite autonomous. See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 28, 131, *et passim*.

136. The Murghāb is the river flowing by Marw; shortly east of the city it flows into a shallow desert basin where it is swallowed up. The river was dammed shortly upstream from Marw, and the resultant lake fed the city's complex of canals. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 397–400.

that he had murdered (the king) and brought out his belongings. Then they killed the stonecutter along with the members of his household, and seized his belongings along with those of Yazdagird. Taking (the king's body) out of the Murghāb, they placed it in a wooden coffin.

According to (al-Madā'inī): One of (my authorities) alleges that they bore (Yazdagird's body) to Iṣṭakhr[137] and that he was buried there at the beginning of the year 31 (651–52). Marw was named "The Lord's Enemy" (*Khudhāh Dushman*). Yazdagird had had [2873] intercourse with a woman there, and she bore him a boy deformed on one side. This (birth) took place after Yazdagird had been murdered, (the boy) being named al-Mukhdaj [that is, "the Deformed."] [A number of] children were born to the latter in Khurāsān, and when Qutaybah (b. Muslim) conquered al-Ṣughd[138]or some other place he found two servant girls. He was told that they were among the children of al-Mukhdaj, so he sent them, or one of them, to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. He [in turn] sent her to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, and to al-Walīd she bore Yazīd b. al-Walīd al-Nāqiṣ [that is, "the Lacking"].[139]

According to 'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī)—Rawḥ b. 'Abdallāh—Khurdādhbih al-Rāzī: Yazdagird came to Khurāsān with Khurrazādh-Mihr, the brother of Rustam. (Khurrazādh-Mihr) said to Māhawayh, the marzubān of Marw, "I have entrusted the king to you." He then left for Iraq. Yazdagird remained in Marw and resolved to depose Māhawayh. Thus, Māhawayh wrote to the Turks, informing them of Yazdagird's flight and his coming to him. He made a compact with (the Turks) to support (the people of Marw) against (Yazdagird), giving them free entry [into Khurāsān].

According to (al-Madā'inī): The Turks reached Marw, and

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137. That is, to the Sasanian dynasty's city of origin in southwestern Iran.

138. Al-Ṣughd, ancient Sogdiana, can be broadly defined as the region between the middle Oxus and Jaxartes Rivers dominated by Bukhārā and Samarqand. More narrowly, it seems to refer to the district of Samarqand. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 460.

139. The future Yazīd III, a would-be reformer whose caliphate lasted a bare six months in 744. If one wishes to accept this story, Yazīd would have been the great-grandson of Yazdagird, albeit through a lineage of minimal prestige. His nickname comes from his having reduced the pay of his soldiers. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 362–69.

Yazdagird went out to meet them with the companions who were with him. He fought them, supported by Māhawayh with the heavy cavalry (*al-asāwirah*) of Marw.[140] Yazdagird made a great slaughter among the Turks, and Māhawayh feared they would flee. Thus, he went over to them with the heavy cavalry of Marw. Yazdagird's troops fled and were killed, while his horse was
[2874] wounded in the course of the evening. He fled on foot until at last he reached a house with a mill on the banks of the Murghāb, staying there two nights while Māhawayh searched in vain for him. Then on the morning of the second day, the millowner entered his house. Seeing the form of Yazdagird, he said, "What are you, human or demon?" (Yazdagird) responded, "Human. Do you have any food?" "Yes," he said, and brought it to him.

Then (Yazdagird) said, "I am a Magian, so bring me what I need to perform my rites!"[141] So the miller went to one of the cavalrymen and sought from him what he needed to perform Magian rites. (The soldier) asked, "What are you going to do with it?" "I have in my house a man whose like I have never seen, and he has sought this from me." (The cavalryman) brought (the miller) before Māhawayh, who said, "This is Yazdagird. Go and bring me his head." The Magian priest (*mawbādh*) said to him, "That is not yours to do. You know that religion and kingship are twins; one of them cannot stand without the other. If you do [this deed], you will defile all that is most sacred."

The people spoke up, looking upon this as a grave enormity. But Māhawayh cursed them and said to the heavy cavalry, "Whoever speaks up, kill him." Then he commanded a number [of men] to go with the miller and kill Yazdagird. They rushed off, but when they saw him they found killing him hateful and refused to do it. They said to the miller, "You go in and kill him." So he entered (Yazdagird's) presence while he slept; he crushed his head with a stone. Then he severed his head, handed it over to

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140. The *asāwirah* (Middle Persian *usvārān*) were the heavy mailed cavalry who constituted the core of the Sasanian army and were its most distinctive element. They carried lances and swords but were most noted as archers, able to launch clouds of arrows against an opponent. Given the cost of their equipment and training, they were inevitably drawn from at least the petty aristocracy. See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 198, 207–8, 528.

141. *Innī muzamzimun fa'tinī bimā azamzimu bihi.*

them, and threw his corpse into the Murghāb. A party (*qawm*) of Marwazīs went out, slew the miller, and razed his mill. The bishop of Marw went and removed the body of Yazdagird from the Murghāb and placed it in a coffin. He bore it to Iṣṭakhr and laid it [2875] in a tomb (*nāwūs*).[142]

According to other authorities—Hishām b. Muḥammad (b. Sā'ib al-Kalbī)—his sources: Yazdagird fled after the battle of Nihāvand, this being the last of (the Arabs') battles [against him], until he happened upon the territory of Iṣfahān. In this place there was a man named Maṭyār; he was one of the dihqāns,[143] who was the one charged with fighting the Arabs when the Persians retreated from (that city). He called (the people of Iṣfahān) before him and said, "If I take charge of your affairs and lead you out against (the Arabs), what will you do for me?" They answered, "We shall acknowledge to you your merit." So he led them out and gained some slight victory over the Arabs, by which he won the esteem of (the Iṣfahānīs) and obtained the highest rank among them. When Yazdagird saw the situation in Iṣfahān and halted there, Maṭyār came to visit him that very day. (Yazdagird's) gatekeeper placed (the king) in seclusion and said to (Maṭyār), "Stay here until I gain permission for you to enter his presence."

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142. *Nāwūs* is derived from Greek *naos*, meaning the inner chamber of a temple where the god's image is placed. Some lexicographers believe that *nāwūs* refers to a Christian burial place; others use it for a sarcophagus. Presumably here it refers to some kind of permanent tomb chamber, either a mausoleum or one cut into the rock.

143. *Dihqān*/pl. *dahāqīn:* literally, "village lord." In Sasanian and early Islamic times, this term referred to the landowners who resided in the villages of Iraq and Iran, and who were the monarch's local fiscal administrators. In Iraq and western Iran, where the monarchy was relatively strong, the dihqans represented the lower levels of the aristocracy. In Khurāsān, however, the situation was more complex. While some dihqans were simply small freeholders and village notables, others were powerful and wealthy figures who governed entire districts. A long text below refers to the *dihqān Marw*—not a petty rural aristocrat in this case, obviously, but the powerful (and presumably autonomous) lord of a major city and oasis. (See above, p. 78 and note 135, where the same figure carries the more precise and prestigious title of *marzubān*). In view of this range of meanings, the best translation might be the comprehensive term "landed aristocracy." In Iraq and western Iran their status began to fall rapidly from the ninth century on, as fiscal rights on the land were increasingly assigned directly to state officials. In modern Persian, *dihqān* simply means "peasant." See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 187–89, 199–208; A. K. S. Lambton, "Dihḳān," *EI*², II, 253–54.

But (Maṭyār) jumped on him, smashing open his head in pride and fury, because he had blocked access to (Yazdagird).

The gatekeeper, all bloody, entered Yazdagird's presence. When Yazdagird looked at him, he was terrified. Within the hour he rode out of Iṣfahān. Since the Arabs were distracted from him by their own concerns, he was advised to go to the uttermost part of his kingdom and remain there for a time. So he betook himself to the district (*nāḥiyah*) of Rayy, and when he approached it the overlord (*ṣāḥib*) of Ṭabaristān went forth to meet him. He described his lands to (Yazdagird) and informed him of their impregnability, saying to him, "If you do not respond favorably to me this very day and then come to me, I shall not receive you or give you refuge." Yazdagird refused, but wrote for him [an appointment to] the office of *iṣpahbadh*, for he had previously held a humbler rank than this.

According to one of (the authorities): Immediately thereupon
[2876] Yazdagird proceeded to Sijistān, and then went from there to Marw accompanied by a thousand men from the heavy cavalry.

According to one of (the authorities): Yazdagird entered the territory of Fārs and dwelt there four years; then he came to the territory of Kirmān and remained there two or three years. Now the dihqān of Kirmān pleaded with him to remain with him. However, (Yazdagird) did not do [that], and asked the dihqān to leave a hostage with him [so as to ensure his personal safety]. The dihqān of Kirmān would give him nothing, and so (the king) would not accede to his request. Then (the dihqān of Kirmān) seized him by the leg, dragged him out, and expelled him from his lands. (Yazdagird) moved on from (Kirmān) to Sijistān, remaining there for some five years. Then he decided to settle in Khurāsān, so that he might reassemble his forces and lead them against those who had robbed him of his kingdom. He went with his escort to Marw, accompanied by hostages taken from among the sons of the dihqāns. With him, among the leading members (of this group), was Farrukhzād. When (Yazdagird) reached Marw, he appealed[144] to the kings for aid and reinforcements. [He wrote in

144. Reading *fīhā* with Köprülü 1043, rather than *minhum* as given in Prym's text.

the same vein] to the Lord (*ṣāḥib*) of China, the King of Farghānah, the King of Kābul, and the King of the Khazars.

At that time the dihqān in Marw was Māhawayh b. Māfanāh b. Fayd, the father of Barāz. Māhawayh put his son Barāz in charge of the city proper (*madīnah*) of Marw, and it was under the latter's authority. Yazdagird decided to enter the city in order to inspect it and its citadel (*quhandiz*), but Māhawayh, fearing his deceitful cunning and treachery, had directed his son not to open (the city) to him if he desired entrance. Yazdagird rode out on the day on [2877 which he intended to enter the city, and made a circuit of the walls. When at last he reached a certain gate and attempted to enter there, Barāz's father shouted to Barāz, "Open!" [But he said this] while he was tightening his belt and signaling [to his son] not to do so. One of Yazdagird's companions spotted this and informed him of it; he sought his permission to behead Māhawayh, saying, "If you do this, affairs in this district will clear up completely for you." But (Yazdagird) refused.

According to one of (the authorities): [It did not happen that way.] Rather, Yazdagird had named Farrukhzād as governor of Marw and ordered Barāz to turn the citadel and the city over to him. However, the city's inhabitants refused [to do] that, because Barāz's father Māhawayh had directed them not to. (Māhawayh) had said to them, "This man [that is, Yazdagird] is no king for you, for he has come to you beaten and wounded, and Marw should not suffer what other districts (*kuwar*) are suffering. Now when I come before you tomorrow [with Yazdagird], do not open the gate." So when he came before them, they did as he had said.

Farrukhzād went and knelt down before Yazdagird, saying, "Marw has proved an intractable problem for you, and these Arabs have caught up with you." (Yazdagird) said, "What is [your] opinion?" (Farrukhzād) replied, "[My] advice is that we get to the country of the Turks and remain there until the situation of the Arabs has become clear to us, for (the Arabs) do not leave a town until they have entered it [as conquerors]." (Yazdagird) said, "I will not do [this], but instead will go back and begin again." Thus, he opposed (Farrukhzād) and did not accept his advice. Yazdagird set out and came to Barāz, the dihqān of Marw, having decided to transfer the dihqānate to Sanjān, the son of his brother.

[2878] Māhawayh, the father of Barāz, learned of that and undertook to destroy Yazdagird. He wrote to Nīzak Ṭarkhān, informing him that Yazdagird had come to him a defeated man. He invited (Nīzak) to come to him in order that they might join hands to seize (Yazdagird), and to make a compact either to kill (Yazdagird) or to enter into a treaty with the Arabs against him. If (Nīzak) would relieve him of (Yazdagird), (Māhawayh) offered to pay him a thousand dirhams per day. He asked (Nīzak) to use a letter to deceive Yazdagird in order to separate him from the main body of his soldiers, thereby leaving him with a weak and powerless segment of his army and personal retinue (*khawāṣṣ*).[145](Māhawayh) said, "In your letter you should inform him of the sincere counsel and aid against his Arab enemies that you have resolved upon, so that he may overcome them. And you should petition him, in a letter sealed with gold, to confer upon you one of the titles belonging to the men of rank. You should also inform him that you will not come to meet him until Farrukhzād parts from him."

Nīzak wrote to Yazdagird in this manner, and, when his letter reached him, he sent to the magnates of Marw and sought their advice. Sanjān said to him, "I do not think it wise to dismiss your army and Farrukhzād for any reason." Abū Barāz [that is, Māhawayh] responded, "On the contrary, I believe that you should
[2879] join Nīzak and accede to his request." (Yazdagird) accepted his advice, dispersed his troops, and ordered Farrukhzād to go to the reedbeds of Sarakhs.[146] Farrukhzād cried out and rent the neckhole [of his garment]. He took a post in his hands, intending to smite Abū Barāz with it. "You murderers of kings," he said, "you have killed two kings [already], and I believe you will be the murderers of this one!" Farrukhzād did not set out until Yazdagird had written a letter to him in his own hand, [as follows]: "This is a letter to Farrukhzād. Verily you have turned Yazdagird, his household, his children, his retinue, and his pos-

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145. *wa-yaḥṣula fī ṭā'ifatin min 'askarihi wa-khawāṣṣihi fa-yakūnu aḍ'afa li-ruknihi wa-ahwana li-shawkatihi*: literally, "so that he would be among a section of his army and his personal retinue, but it would be too weak to be his pillar and too pliant to be his sharp thorn."

146. The marshlands north of the city of Sarakhs; they are formed by the Tajand River as it empties into a shallow basin in the desert. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 395–96.

sessions over safe and secure to Māhawayh, the dihqān of Marw. And hereby I bear witness to this."

Nīzak approached a locality between the two Marws called Ḥulsidān,[147] and, when Yazdagird decided to go out to meet him, Abū Barāz advised him not to meet (Nīzak) bearing arms, lest he suspect his intentions and flee. On the contrary, (Yazdagird) should encounter him with reed pipes and musical instruments. He did so, going out with the escort which Māhawayh had suggested and [even] designated for him. Abū Barāz held back from (Yazdagird), while Nīzak formed his companions into squadrons. When the two men drew near to each other, Nīzak went on foot to receive Yazdagird, while the latter remained on horseback. He commanded that one of his spare horses [be provided] for Nīzak, who mounted it. When (Yazdagird) was in the midst of (Nīzak's) army, the two men halted, and Nīzak said to him, among other things, "Give me one of your daughters in marriage, that I may give you loyal counsel and fight alongside you against your enemy." Yazdagird answered, "You are being insolent with me, you dog!" Then Nīzak was on him with his whip. Yazdagird shouted, "The traitor has betrayed [us]." He fled headlong, while Nīzak's companions laid about with their swords among (Yazdagird's escort), killing many of them.

Yazdagird's flight ended up at a place in the territory of Marw. Dismounting from his horse, he entered the house of a miller and [2880] remained there for three days. Then the miller said to him, "Unhappy man, come out and eat something, for you have fasted for three days now." (Yazdagird) said, "I will only do that in accordance with Magian rites."[148] A man who was one of the Magians (*zamāzimah*) of Marw had brought some wheat for the miller to grind, and the latter spoke to him about performing the Magian rites in his house so that (his guest) might eat. (The man) did so;

147. "The two Marws"—Marw and Marw al-Rūdh (or Marw-i Kūchik, "Little Marw"). The latter is a city some 260 km. to the southeast of Marw, also on the Murghāb River and about halfway on the road to Herat. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 397, 404–5. The reading "Ḥulsidān" is supplied by Ibrāhīm, but the mss are unclear. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 316, gives "Junābadh," but this place is located far to the southwest, about 200 km. south of Nishapur—much too far away to fit the context here.

148. *Lastu aṣilu ilā dhālika illā bi-zamzamatin.*

then, when he had gone back, he heard Abū Barāz mentioning Yazdagird. He asked (Abū Barāz's entourage) about (Yazdagird's) jewelry. They described it for him, and he informed them that he had seen (Yazdagird) in a miller's house—a curly-haired man with joined eyebrows[149] and fine teeth, adorned with earrings and bracelets.

Thereupon (Māhawayh) sent one of the heavy cavalry to take (Yazdagird). If he got hold of him, he had orders to strangle him with a bowstring and then to throw him into the river of Marw. They encountered the miller and beat him so that he would point out (Yazdagird), but he would not do so. He denied to them that he knew where (Yazdagird) had gone. But when they decided to leave him, one man among them said to (his companions), "I detect the odor of musk." He discerned the edge of a silk brocade garment in the water, pulled it toward him, and there was Yazdagird.[150] (Yazdagird) implored (the soldier) not to kill him and not to identify him; [in return] he would give him his signet ring, his bracelets, and his belt. The other said, "Give me four dirhams and I will let you go." Yazdagird responded, "Alas, my signet ring is yours, and its price is beyond counting." But he refused, and Yazdagird said, "I had been told that I would be in need of four dirhams and would be reduced to eating cat food, and I have seen this turn out to be the truth."[151] Then (Yazdagird) took one of his earrings and gave it to the miller as his reward for having concealed him.

[2881] (The miller) drew close to (the soldier) as if to speak to him about something, then described (Yazdagird's) hiding place to him.[152] The man notified his companions and they came to (Yazdagird). Then Yazdagird pleaded with them not to kill him, saying, "Woe to you. Verily we find in our books that he who dares to kill kings will be chastised by God with fire in the nether

149. *rajulun ja'dun maqrūnun:* possibly meaning "a compact and well-made man."

150. There is clearly a minor gap in the narrative at this point; as things stand, Yazdagird's sudden appearance here is quite unexplained.

151. *fa-qad 'āyantu wa-jā'anī bi-ḥaqīqatihi.* The last sentence is not really clear and seems to be missing a word or phrase; see de Goeje, *Introductio,* dcxxvi.

152. Again the narrative is confused. This paragraph seems to repeat some of the action, though not the words, of the one preceding. See Prym's note in the apparatus.

world (*al-dunyā*) for his audacity. So do not kill me; take me to the dihqān [of Marw] or send me off to the Arabs, for they will spare the life of a king like me."

But they took the jewelry he was wearing, put him in a sack and sealed it, and then strangled him with a bowstring and threw him in the river of Marw. The water carried him away until he reached the opening of the Razīq [canal],[153] where he was caught and held by a branch. The bishop of Marw came to him and bore him away. He wrapped him in a musk-scented cloak (*ṭaylasān*), placed him in a coffin, and brought him to Bā'y Bābān below Mājān.[154] Having laid [Yazdagird] in a vaulted chamber (*'aqd*), which had previously served as the bishop's audience hall, he walled it up. Abū Barāz asked about one of the two earrings when he noticed it missing; he seized the person who was pointed out to him and beat him to death. He sent what had been obtained [of Yazdagird's jewelry] to the reigning caliph, and the caliph required the dihqān to reimburse the value of the lost earring.

According to others: [It did not happen that way.] Rather, Yazdagird left Kirmān before the Arabs got there, taking the road through al-Ṭabasayn and Quhistān[155]until he approached Marw with some 4000 men. [His intention] was to recruit troops from the Khurāsānīs and to turn back on the Arabs and fight them. He

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153. South of Marw (that is, upstream) the Murghāb is dammed up and the water is channeled into four canals, which form the district's great oasis. The Razīq is one of these canals, and flows through the walled city. There is a possibility of confusion, since the name Razīq was sometimes given to the river itself. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 398–401.

154. Bā'y (or Bāb) Bābān: presumably a village near Marw, unidentified. Mājān: the principal western suburb of Marw. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 399, 403.

155. Quhistān is a mountainous province in eastern Iran, lying between the Dasht-i Kavīr (Great Desert) on the west and Khurāsān to the north and east. Al-Ṭabasayn is a dual form referring to the two towns in this province named Ṭabas. (1) Ṭabas Gīlakī or Ṭabas al-Tamr (Tabas of the Dates) lies on the western edge of the province, just on the edge of the desert. As its name implies, it was a date-palm oasis. (2) Ṭabas Masīnān or Ṭabas al-'Unnāb (Tabas of the Jujube Tree) lies some eighty km. due east of Birjand in the southeastern part of the province. It was a substantial town but far less important than Ṭabas al-Tamr. Al-Ṭabasayn sometimes refers to a single one of the two towns; in this case Ṭabas al-Tamr must be meant, since it lay on one of the principal roads from Kirmān and was called by Balādhurī the Gate of Khurāsān. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 359–61, 362–63.

was met by two military chiefs (*qā'idān*) in Marw, each filled with hatred and envy towards the other, one named Barāz and the other Sanjān. Both having pledged obedience to him, he took up residence in Marw.

[2882] He made Barāz his special favorite, and Sanjān envied him on that account. Barāz began seeking the ruin of Sanjān and arousing Yazdagird's fury against him. He so defamed and discredited Sanjān that (Yazdagird) resolved to kill him. He divulged his purpose to a woman of his with whom Barāz was in collusion, and she sent to Barāz a woman who declared that Yazdagird had decided to kill Sanjān. What Yazdagird had resolved to do became general knowledge. Sanjān having been warned, he took precautions and gathered around himself a force like Barāz's companions and the soldiers who accompanied Yazdagird. Then (Sanjān) went to the palace where Yazdagird was residing. Barāz learned of this and stayed clear of Sanjān due to the number of his troops. Sanjān's force so dismayed and frightened Yazdagird that he left his palace in disguise and fled on foot in order to save himself.

He walked some two *farsakh*s (twelve km.) until he came to a certain mill. He entered the millhouse and sat down in fatigue and exhaustion. The millowner saw him with his fine bearing, knotted scarf (*ṭurrah*),[156] and noble attire. He spread [a carpet] for him and he sat down; then he brought him food and he ate. (Yazdagird) stayed with him a day and a night. The millowner having requested some compensation from him,[157] he offered him a jewel-studded belt that he was wearing. This the millowner refused to accept and said, "Instead of this belt, I would really be content with four dirhams with which I might eat and drink." But (Yazdagird) informed him that he had no silver currency (*waraq*) with him. So the millowner flattered him until, when he dozed off, he went up to him with an ax, struck his head with it, and killed him. Then he cut off his head, took the garments and belt

156. *Ṭurrah* usually means "fringe," that is, a fringe of hair or the fringe on a piece of cloth. Here it seems to refer to the long scarf knotted onto the headpiece or crown of Sasanian kings. This scarf was one of the insignia of royalty, and symbolized the divine *farr* or effulgence that marked a king as enjoying the favor of Ahura-Mazda.

157. *Fa-sa'alahu ṣāḥibu 'l-raḥā an ya'mura lahu bi-shay'in.* Literally: "The millowner asked him to command something for him."

that he was wearing, and threw his corpse into the river whose water turned his mill. He slit open his belly and in it inserted some tamarisk roots that were growing in that river in order to [2883] keep (Yazdagird's) body where he had thrown it, lest it should be recognized as it floated downstream. For the murderer feared he would be sought along with the spoils that he had taken. Then he fled in haste.

A man from Ahwāz named Iliyā', who was the archbishop (*muṭrān*) of Marw, learned of the murder. He assembled the Christians who were under his authority and said to them, "The King of the Persians has been murdered, the son of Shahriyār son of Kisrā. Now Shahriyār is the child of Shīrīn the Believer[158], whose just conduct and beneficence toward her coreligionists you must know. This king [that is, Yazdagird] had a Christian lineage.[159] [We should note as well] the honor that the Christians obtained during the reign of his grandfather Kisrā, and the good previously received by them during the regime of certain kings among his ancestors. He even built some churches for them and settled [the debts] of some of their coreligionists. It is therefore fitting for us to bewail the murder of this king because of his generosity, [which was] commensurate with the beneficence of his ancestors and his grandmother Shīrīn toward the Christians. Now I think it right that I build a tomb (*nāwūs*) for him and bear his body in honor in order to inter it there."

The Christians answered, "O archbishop, we submit to your command and concur with you in this opinion of yours." Thus, the archbishop ordered a tomb to be built within the Garden of the Archbishops in Marw. He himself, accompanied by the Christians of Marw, went out and took the corpse of Yazdagird from the river, wrapped it, and placed it in a coffin. Then the Christians who were with him bore it on their shoulders until they brought it to the tomb that he had commanded to be built, interred it [2884] therein, and walled up the doorway.

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158. Shīrīn, a princess of Armenian birth, became the queen of Khusraw Parviz (592–628). Her love and fidelity for him became one of the great romantic subjects of New Persian literature, first stated in the final chapters of the *Shāh-nāmeh*, but most fully and movingly elaborated in Niẓāmī's *Khusraw va-Shīrīn*, one of the poems in his *Khamseh*.

159. *Wa-li-hādhā 'l-maliki 'unṣurun fī 'l-Naṣrāniyyah.*

The reign of Yazdagird lasted twenty years, among them four years in peace and quiet and sixteen in fatigue due to the ruthless warfare of the Arabs against him. He was the last king of the lineage of Ardashīr son of Bābak to reign, and after him kingship passed to the Arabs.

In this year—that is, the year 31 (651–52)—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir set out for Khurāsān. He conquered Abrashahr, Ṭūs, Abīward, and Nasā, reaching as far as Sarakhs. In (the same year) he made a peace treaty with the inhabitants of Marw.

[ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir's Campaign in Khurāsān]

It is recounted that when Ibn ʿĀmir had conquered Fārs, Aws al-Tamīmī went before him and said, "May God uphold the amir! Verily this land lies within your grasp, and you have conquered but little of it. Go forward, then, for God is your helper." (Ibn ʿĀmir) replied, "Have we not ordered [the expedition] to set forth?" He disliked showing that he had taken (Aws's) advice.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (al-Madāʾinī)—Maslamah b. Muḥārib—al-Sakan b. Qatādah al-ʿUraynī: Having conquered Fārs, Ibn ʿĀmir returned to Baṣrah. As his deputy in Iṣṭakhr he
2885] appointed Sharīk b. al-Aʿwar al-Ḥārithī, who built the mosque of Iṣṭakhr. A man of the Banū Tamīm entered Ibn ʿĀmir's presence. According to (al-ʿUraynī): We used to say that (this man) was al-Aḥnaf. It is also said [that he was] Aws b. Jābir al-Jushamī—that is, [the clan of] Jusham in [the tribe of] Tamīm.

(The man) said to (Ibn ʿĀmir), "Verily your enemy flees in terror before you and the lands are vast. Set forth, for God is your helper and will glorify His religion." Ibn ʿĀmir mobilized [his forces], ordering the people to outfit themselves for the campaign. He left Ziyād in Baṣrah as his deputy. Proceeding to Kirmān, he led [his troops] to Khurāsān. However, there is a body of authorities (*qawm*) who say that he took the road to Iṣfahān and then went on to Khurāsān.

According to ʿAlī (b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī)—al-Mufaḍḍal al-Kirmānī—his father: The scholars (*ashyākh*) of Kirmān used to recount that Ibn ʿĀmir made camp with the army at al-Sīrajān, then proceeded to Khurāsān. As his deputy in Kirmān, he appointed Mujāshiʿ b. Masʿūd al-Sulamī. Ibn ʿĀmir traveled by way of the

Desert of Rāvar, which is [a distance of] eighty *farsakhs*.[160] Then he went to al-Ṭabasayn, aiming at Abrashahr, which is the [present] city of Nīshāpūr. Al-Aḥnaf b. Qays was in command of his vanguard. [Al-Aḥnaf] led [his forces] to Quhistān and set out for Abrashahr. The Hephthalites, who were the inhabitants of Herāt, came out against him, but al-Aḥnaf routed them in battle.[161] Then Ibn ʿĀmir came to Nīshāpūr.

According to ʿAlī [b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Waʿlah—al-Shaʿbī: Ibn ʿĀmir went by way of the Desert of Khabīṣ, then through Khwāst. It is also said that he went by way of Yazd, then through Quhistān.[162] He placed al-Aḥnaf in the vanguard. [The latter] was met by the Hephthalites, but he routed them in battle and came to Abrashahr, and Ibn ʿĀmir laid siege to it. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ came to Jurjān with the Kūfan army, intending [to proceed to] Khurāsān. But when he learned that Ibn ʿĀmir was besieging Abrashahr he returned to Kūfah. [2886]

According to ʿAlī [b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī]—ʿAlī b. Mujāhid: Ibn ʿĀmir laid siege to Abrashahr, conquering one-half of it by assault. The other half was held by Kanārā, together with half of Nasā and Ṭūs. Ibn ʿĀmir, having failed to get through to Marw, negotiated a peace with Kanārā. [The latter] turned over to him his son Abū al-Ṣalt b. Kanārā and his brother's son Salīm as hostages. [Ibn ʿĀmir] sent ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim to Herāt and Ḥātim b.

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160. Rāvar [in the Arabic text, Rābar] is a town on the western edge of the Dasht-i Kavīr, some 80 miles north of Kirmān. It is not really clear whether "eighty *farsakhs*" refers to the distance from Kirmān or the distance across the desert to al-Ṭabasayn. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 305. The place names and persons mentioned here recapitulate those given above, p. 87 (text, I, 2881), at the beginning of the account of the death of Yazdagird, but here the fugitive Sasanian king is completely absent.

161. *al-Hayāṭilah*. The Hephthalites or "White Huns" were a nomadic people from central Asia, presumably related to the European Huns of Attila. Their ethnic-linguistic background is unclear, but they seem to have been Turkic. In any case, the Hephthalites appeared on the northeastern frontiers of the Sasanian Empire in A.D. the fifth century and proved an extraordinarily dangerous and persistent foe. In the seventh century, Hephthalite elements were permanent settlers in the region of Herāt. See A. D. H. Bivar, "Hayāṭila," *EI*², III, 303–4.

162. This passage indicates as clearly as anything can the uncertainties surrounding Ibn ʿĀmir's route. Khabīṣ, like Rāvar, lies on the western edge of the desert but is 160 km southeast of Rāvar, while Khwāst is roughly the same distance from Ṭabas Gīlakī [al-Ṭabasayn] on the desert's eastern margin. Yazd is 320 km. northwest of Kirmān, 240 km. from Rāvar.

al-Nu'mān to Marw. Ibn 'Amir seized the two sons [*sic*] of Kanārā; they came into the possession of al-Nu'mān b. al-Afqam al-Naṣrī,
[2887] and he manumitted them.

According to 'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī)—Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī—Idrīs b. Ḥanẓalah al-'Ammī: Ibn 'Āmir captured the inner city (*madīnah*) of Abrashahr by assault and conquered the places around it—Ṭūs, Abīward, Nasā, and Ḥumrān. This took place in the year 31 (651–52).

According to 'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī)—Abū al-Sarī al-Marwazī—his father: I heard Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim say: My father negotiated a peace with the inhabitants of Sarakhs. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir had dispatched him against them from Abrashahr, while he himself established a peace treaty with the inhabitants of Abrashahr. (The latter) gave (Ibn 'Āmir) two serving girls of the lineage of Kisrā—Bābūnaj and Tahmīj, or Tamhīj—and he brought them along with him. He dispatched Umayr b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī, and he conquered the places around Abrashahr—Ṭūs, Abīward, Nasā, and Ḥumrān—until he ended up at Sarakhs.

According to 'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī)—al-Ṣalt b. Dīnār—Ibn Sīrīn: Ibn 'Āmir sent 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim to Sarakhs, and he conquered it. Ibn 'Āmir acquired two serving girls of the lineage of Kisrā; he gave one of them to al-Nūshajān,[163] while Bābūnaj died.

According to 'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī)—Abū al-Dhayyāl Zuhayr b. Hunayd al-'Adawī—certain Khurāsānī scholars (*ashyākh*): Ibn 'Āmir dispatched al-Aswad b. Kulthūm al-'Adawī—[that is, from the tribe of] 'Adī belonging to the confederation of Ḍabbah[164]—to Bayhaq, which was part of Abra-
[2888] shahr, being separated from the city proper by sixteen *farsakhs*. Al-Aswad b. Kulthūm conquered it but was killed.

According to (al-Madā'inī): He was a man of distinction in his religion. He was one of the companions of 'Āmir b. 'Abdallāh al-'Anbarī, and 'Āmir used to say, after he had been expelled from Baṣrah, "I grieve for nothing in Iraq except thirsting in the noon-

163. A figure unknown to me, who appears nowhere else in Ṭabarī.

164. *'Adī al-ribāb*. According to Lane's authorities, *al-ribāb* was a name for five confederate tribes who shared a common ancestor in one Ḍabbah. The tribes are variously identified in different sources, but all agree on 'Adī and Taym. E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, III, 1005, col. 1.

day heat,[165] the sonorous harmony of the muezzins, and brethren like al-Aswad b. Kulthūm."

According to 'Alī [b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī]—Zuhayr b. Hunayd—one of his paternal uncles: Ibn 'Āmir conquered Nīshāpūr and proceeded toward Sarakhs. The inhabitants of Marw sued for peace, and Ibn 'Āmir sent them Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhilī. He made peace with Abraz [*sic*], the marzubān of Marw, in return for [a tribute of] 2,200,000 [dirhams].

According to ['Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī]—Muṣ'ab b. Ḥayyān—his brother Muqātil b. Ḥayyān: He made peace with them in return for [a tribute of] 6,200,000 [dirhams].

In this year, 'Uthmān led the people on the Pilgrimage.

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165. *Zimā' al-hawājir.* Presumably he is referring to the pious discipline imposed by the midday prayer.

The Events of the Year 32

(August 12, 652–August 1, 653)

Among these was the expedition of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān to
[2889] the Bosphorus—that is, the straits of Constantinople. He was accompanied by his wife ʿĀtikah bt. Qurṭah b. ʿAbd ʿAmr b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf. [Her name] is also said to be Fākhitah. This was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit (al-Rāzī)—someone who mentioned it—Isḥāq (b. ʿĪsā)—Abū Maʿshar. It is [also] the account of al-Wāqidī.

According to Sayf, in this year Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ named Salmān b. Rabīʿah as his deputy on the frontier (*farj*) at Balanjar,[166] and sent the Syrians to reinforce the army encamped there with Ḥudhayfah. (The Syrians) were commanded by Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī. During (this year) dissension over the command arose between Salmān and Ḥabīb, and the Syrians and Kūfans quarreled with one another about this.

166. Balanjar was in this period the chief political center of the Khazar confederation. Its precise location is uncertain, but it probably lay some 175 km. to the northwest of Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband). After the disastrous campaign recounted below, it was ultimately captured by Umayyad forces ca. 750. See D. M.

[The Disaster at Balanjar]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ʿUthmān wrote to Saʿīd ordering Salmān to attack al-Bāb. [ʿUthmān] wrote also to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿah, who was in command at al-Bāb: "Verily greed and arrogance have made many of the subjects (*raʿiyyah*) reckless. Curtail [your campaign] and do not plunge ahead with the Muslims so boldly, for I fear they may face severe trials." But this [letter] did not restrain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān from his goal and he would not stop short of Balanjar. In the ninth year of ʿUthmān's caliphate, he mounted an expedition, and when he reached Balanjar, [his forces] besieged it, setting up mangonels (*majānīq*) and ballistas (*ʿarrādāt*) against it. However, no one could begin to approach (the city) [2890]
without being captured or killed. [The defenders] dashed out against the people, and during those days Miʿḍad was killed.

Then the Turks [167] agreed [with the inhabitants of Balanjar] on a day [for a combined attack]. The men of Balanjar sallied forth, the Turks came to their support, and they joined battle. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿah—known as Dhū al-Nūr[168]—was struck down, and the Muslims scattered in flight. Those who took the road to Salmān b. Rabīʿah were given sanctuary by him until they left al-Bāb. Those who followed the road to the Khazars and their lands went by way of Jīlān and Jurjān; among these were Salmān

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Dunlop, "Balandjar," *EI*², I, 985. The following account continues the account of the Armenian-Caucasian wars given above, pp. 8–9 [text, I, 2805–2806, *sub anno* 24] on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf through Hishām b. Muḥammad b. Sāʾib al-Kalbī. However, Ṭabarī has here dropped Abū Mikhnaf's narrative in favor of the one constructed by Sayf b. ʿUmar, perhaps because of the overt pietism of Sayf's version of events.

167. Presumably he is referring to the Turkish elite among the Khazars. These were a confederation of steppe peoples that emerged in the northern Caucasus and lower Volga basin in the mid-sixth century, under the leadership of a Turkish *khagan* and aristocracy. After the Arab invasion in the mid-eighth century, their political center was transferred to Atil, near the mouth of the Volga. Allies of the Byzantines during the bitter war against the Sasanians of the early seventh century, they were among the most formidable opponents faced by the Caliphate in the first three Islamic centuries. See C. E. Bosworth, "Ḳabḳ," *EI*², IV, 343–45; W. Barthold and P. B. Golden, "Khazar," *EI*², IV, 1172–75.

168. Both manuscripts as well as Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Kathīr read "Dhū al-Nūn."

al-Fārisī and Abū Hurayrah.[169] This people (*qawm*, i.e., the Khazars) took the body of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and placed it in a casket. It has remained among them, and to this day they ask for rain through him and seek his aid [in battle].

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Dāwūd b. Yazīd—al-Shaʿbī: By God, Salmān b. Rabīʿah knew more about the vulnerable spots on the body than does a butcher about the joints of a slaughter camel.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim—a man of the Banū Kinānah: When the expeditions against the Khazars were taking place one after another, they complained and reproached themselves [in the following words]: "We used to be a nation (*ummah*) that no one would approach until this little nation (*ummah*) came along, and we have not been able to stand up to them." They said to one another, "These [men] do not die, for if they were subject to death they would not hurtle themselves against us." Now no one [among the Muslims] was injured in the expeditions against (the
[2891] Khazars) until the very end of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's campaign. (The Khazars) said [to their soldiers], "Will you not try [to oppose them]?" Thus, they hid themselves in the thickets, and men from the [Muslim] army who were passing by ran into the ambush. They shot at them from (the thickets), killed them, and cut off their heads. Then they summoned one another to war against (the Muslims) and agreed on a day [to attack]. They joined battle, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was killed. This [news] spread quickly among the people and they split into two groups. One group [went] toward al-Bāb, where Salmān (b. Rabīʿah) gave them sanctuary before sending them on, while another group proceeded toward the Khazars, coming to Jīlān and Jurjān. Among them were Salmān al-Fārisī and Abū Hurayrah.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd—his brother Qays—his father: Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, ʿAlqamah b. Qays, Miʿḍad al-Shaybānī, and Abū

169. Two of the most famous Companions and transmitters of the Prophet's sayings. The geography in this and the following anecdote seems rather confused, since Jīlān and Jurjān lie on the southern shores of the Caspian—a very indirect route at best to the lands of the Khazars.

Mufazzir al-Tamīmī were in one tent, while 'Amr b. 'Utbah, Khālid b. Rabī'ah, al-Ḥalḥāl b. Dhurrī, and al-Qartha' were in another. They were all neighbors of one another in the camp at Balanjar. Al-Qartha' used to say, "How beautiful the sheen of blood on one's garments!" And 'Amr b. 'Utbah used to say, addressing a white coat (*qabā'*)[170] that he was wearing, "How beautiful the redness of blood upon your whiteness!" The Kufans attacked Balanjar for years during 'Uthmān's caliphate, and during this time no woman [of theirs] was widowed nor was any youth orphaned through violence[171] until the ninth year [of his reign]. [2892]

But in that year, two days before the battle, Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah saw a gazelle brought to his tent, and he never saw one more beautiful until he was shrouded [for burial] in his blanket. Then he was brought to a grave, at which four persons [were standing], and never did he see a finer and more perfectly level grave until he was interred within it. Now when the people assembled early in the morning [for battle] against the Turks, Yazīd was struck by a stone that smashed his head, and it was as though his clothing was adorned rather than soiled by the blood. Thus, he himself was that gazelle which he had seen, and by that blood upon his coat he became [a figure] of beauty.

One day before the battle, [the Muslims] assembled [for battle] early in the morning, and Mi'ḍad said to 'Alqamah, "Lend me your mantle (*burd*) and I'll tie it around my head." He did this and came to the tower (*burj*) where Yazīd had been struck down. He shot at them, killing [a number] of them. Then (Mi'ḍad) was struck by a ballista stone that crushed his skull. His companions dragged him away, burying him beside Yazīd. 'Amr b. 'Utbah was wounded; he saw his coat as he had longed [to see it], and was killed.

On the day of the battle, al-Qartha' fought until he had been perforated by lance thrusts, and it was as if his coat were a gar-

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170. Ahsan defines the *qabā'* as "a kind of sleeved, close-fitting coat resembling the *qafṭān*, generally reaching the middle of the calf, divided down the front and made to overlap the chest." It seems to have been part of the official attire of viziers in the Abbasid period. Ahsan, *Social Life under the Abbasids*, 41–42.

171. Reading *min qatlin* rather than *min qablu*, as given in Prym's text. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvi.

ment with a white ground and red ornamentation. The people had remained steadfast until he was wounded, but upon his death they fled.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Dāwūd b. Yazīd: On the Day of Balanjar, Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah al-Nakhaʿī, ʿAmr b. ʿUtbah, and Miʿḍad were struck
[2893] down. As for Miʿḍad, he was wearing a mantle of ʿAlqamah's. He was hit by a sliver from a mangonel stone that pierced his head. Thinking it a minor matter, he placed his hand upon it and died. ʿAlqamah washed (Miʿḍad's) blood but it would not rinse out, and he would wear (the bloody mantle) to the Friday prayer. He said, "Miʿḍad's blood upon it makes it all the more precious to me." As to ʿAmr, he wore a white coat and said, "How beautiful blood would be on this!" Then a stone hit and killed him, soaking (the coat) in blood. As for Yazīd, something was dropped on him and killed him. They had dug out and prepared a grave. Upon examining it, Yazīd said, "How fine it is!" It was revealed in a dream[172] that a gazelle, the most beautiful ever seen, was brought to be buried in (the grave), and he was that gazelle. Yazīd was a gentle and handsome man. When ʿUthmān learned of all this, he said, "Verily, we are God's and to Him we return. The people of Kūfah have been betrayed. O God, forgive them and accept them."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Saʿīd (b. al-ʿĀs) named Salmān b. Rabīʿah as his deputy on that frontier and put Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān in command of the campaign with the men of Kūfah. Before this, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿah was in charge on that frontier. In the tenth year [of his caliphate], ʿUthmān reinforced (the Kūfans) with Syrian forces under the command of Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Qurashī. Salmān claimed to be his superior officer, but Ḥabīb rejected this. The Syrians even said, "We are determined to strike down Salmān." At that point the people (*al-nās*) said, "Then by God we shall smite Ḥabīb and put him in prison. And if you refuse [to recognize Salmān] there will be many slain among both you and ourselves.

Concerning this Aws b. Maghrāʾ said:

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172. *Wa-uriya fīmā yarā 'l-nā'imu anna ghazālan . . . jī'a bihi.* See above, p. 97 (text, I, 2892).

If you smite Salmān we shall smite
your beloved one (*ḥabībakum*),
If you make a journey to Ibn ʿAffān so shall we.
If you act rightly, the frontier is our amir's; [2894]
This [man] is an amir advancing with the squadrons.
We were charged to be the frontier's guardians,
Shooting [arrows] and repelling [assaults]
during the nighttime on every frontier.

Ḥabīb decided to assert his authority over the ruler (*ṣāḥib*) of al-Bāb, as the commander of the army used to do when he came from Kūfah.

When Ḥudhayfah perceived [this situation], he agreed [to accept the command], and [the other Muslims] acknowledged [his status]. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān launched three expeditions against [the Khazars],[173] and during the third campaign ʿUthmān was killed. When they learned of his death, [Ḥudhayfah] said, "O God, curse the murderers of ʿUthmān and those who attacked and reviled him. O God, indeed we used to reprove him, and he would reprove us, whenever those who were with him reproved us and we them. But they have taken that as a ladder to rebellion. O God, do not let them die save by the sword!"

In this year ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf died. According to al-Wāqidī—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar—Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtbah: At his death he was seventy-five years old.

According to [al-Wāqidī]: In [this year] al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib died at the age of eighty-eight. He was three years older than the Messenger of God.

According to [al-Wāqidī]: In [this year] died ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Rabbih, to whom [the use of the voice for] the call to prayer was revealed [in a dream].

According to [al-Wāqidī]: In [this year] ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd passed away in Medina. He was buried in al-Buqayʿ. One [authori-

173. A very elliptical and difficult passage. The original reads: *fa-lammā aḥassa Ḥudhayfatu aqarra wa-aqarrū fa-ghazāhā Ḥudhayfatu 'bnu 'l-Yamān thalātha ghazawātin*. In the last clause, the pronominal suffix of *ghazāhā* might also refer to Balanjar. Ibn al-Athīr, obviously uncertain of the precise sense of the passage, contents himself with a loose paraphrase: *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 133.

ty) says that 'Ammār (b. Yāsir) led the funeral prayer for him, while another states that the prayer was led by 'Uthmān.

[2895] According to (al-Wāqidī): In (this year) Abū Ṭalḥah died.

According to Sayf: In (this year) Abū Dharr died.

The Account of the Death of [Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Aṭiyyah—Yazīd al-Faq'asī: When the time for Abū Dharr's death arrived, in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the eighth year of 'Uthmān's caliphate, (the Angel of Death)[174] came down to Abū Dharr. When (Abū Dharr) perceived him he said to his daughter, "Be watchful, my daughter. Look, do you see anyone?" "No," she replied. "My hour is not yet come," he said. Then he ordered her to slaughter and roast a sheep. Then he said, "When those who are to bury me come to you, say to them: 'Abū Dharr adjures you not to ride off until you have eaten.'" Now when her pot had cooked thoroughly, he said to her, "Look, do you see anyone?" "Yes," she answered, "there are riders approaching." He said, "Put me facing the Ka'bah." She did so. He went on, "In the name of God, and by God, and [blessings] on the community (*millah*) of the Messenger of God—may God bless him and give him peace."

Then his daughter went out to meet them, saying, "God have mercy on you. Behold Abū Dharr." "Where is he?" they said. She pointed him out to them—he had already died—saying, "Bury him." They said, "We shall indeed. What a true blessing. By this God has honored us." Now these riders were Kūfans, among them Ibn Mas'ūd. They turned to him, and Ibn Mas'ūd was saying as he wept, "The Messenger of God spoke truly: 'He will die alone and be resurrected alone.'" Then they washed (Abū Dharr's body), wrapped him for burial, performed the prayer for him, and buried him. When they washed to leave, (his daugher) said to them, "Verily Abū Dharr greets you in peace, and he has adjured you not to ride off before you have eaten." So they did this, and carried [his family with them] until they brought them to Mecca. They

174. The text reads *nazala* only, without an explicit subject; I have followed the editor's suggestion (*angelus mortis*). Cf. the account in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 52–56.

announced his death to 'Uthmān, and he attached (Abū Dharr's) daughter to his own household, saying, "God will be merciful to Abū Dharr, and forgive Rāfi' b. Khadīj for his remaining at [2896] home."[175]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Qa'qā' b. al-Ṣalt—a certain man—Kulayb b. al-Ḥalḥāl—al-Ḥalḥāl b. Dhurrī: We set out with Ibn Mas'ūd in the year 31 (651–52), numbering fourteen riders, and ultimately came to al-Rabadhah. There was a woman who met us and said, "Behold Abū Dharr." Now we were completely uninformed about his situation, so we said, "Where is Abū Dharr?" She pointed to a tent, and we said, "What's going on with him?" She said, "He left Medina due to a certain matter that he heard about there, so he went away." Ibd Mas'ud said, "What induced him to [live among] the bedouin?" She said, "Indeed the Commander of the Faithful disliked that, but (Abū Dharr) used to say, '(Medina) is corrupt and abased.'"[176] Then Ibn Mas'ūd turned toward him in tears.

We washed (his body) and wrapped him. Now his tent was permeated with musk, and we said to the woman, "What is this?" "It was a bit of musk," she replied. "When he was brought [here], he said: 'Witnesses will come to the dead man and find the stench [of death] and will not eat. So dissolve that musk in water and sprinkle the tent with it. Receive them hospitably with its scent and cook this meat, for a group of pious men will see me and take charge of my burial, so receive them hospitably.'"

When we had buried him, she summoned us to eat. After eating, we decided to take her with us. Ibn Mas'ūd said, "The Commander of the Faithful is nearby; we will seek his instructions." We came to Mecca and informed him of the news. He said, "God will be merciful to Abū Dharr and forgive him for settling in al-Rabadhah." When he left [Mecca after the end of the Pilgrimage], he took the road to al-Rabadhah and attached (Abū Dharr's) family to his own household. Then he headed for Medina while we went on to Iraq. Our number included Ibn Mas'ūd, Abū Mufazzir al-Tamīmī, Bakr b. 'Abdallāh al-Tamīmī, al-Aswad b. Yazīd al-

175. Rāfi' b. Khadīj: I have been unable to identify this figure.

176. The sentence is a pun: *hiya ba'adun wa-hiya madīnatun. Ba'ad* is literally "distant, remote." *Madīnah* is a feminine adjective, *madīn*, "burdened by debt."

[2897] Nakha'ī, 'Alqamah b. Qays al-Nakha'ī, al-Ḥalḥāl b. Dhurrī al-Ḍabbī, al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd al-Taymī, 'Amr b. 'Utbah b. Farqad al-Sulamī, Ibn Rabī'ah al-Sulamī, Abū Rāfi' al-Muzanī, Suwayd b. Math'abah al-Tamīmī, Ziyād b. Mu'āwiyah, the brother of al-Qartha' al-Ḍabbī, and the brother of Mi'ḍad al-Shaybānī.

In the year 32 (652–53), Ibn 'Āmir conquered Marwarūdh, al-Ṭāliqān, al-Fāryāb, al-Jūzajān, and Ṭukhāristān.

[*'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir's Conquests in Northeastern Iran*]

According to 'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī)—Salamah b. 'Uthmān and others—Ismā'il b. Muslim—Ibn Sīrīn: Ibn 'Āmir dispatched al-Aḥnaf b. Qays to Marwarūdh, and he besieged its inhabitants. They came out and fought, but the Muslims routed them and forced them back into their fortresses. Then (the inhabitants of Marwarūdh) looked out upon them and said, "You Arabs are not what we expected. Had we known what you were like, matters between you and us would be different than they are. Grant us a respite and we will consider now [what we should do]. Go back to your camp (*'askar*)." Thus, al-Aḥnaf returned, going out to them the next morning [to learn of their decision]. They had made ready for war, and one of the Persians emerged from the city with a letter (*kitāb*) and announced, "I am an ambassador; give me safe-conduct." [Al-Aḥnaf] did so. Now he was an envoy from the marzubān of Marwarūdh,[177] [and was also] his nephew and interpreter, and the letter from the marzubān was [addressed]
[2898] to al-Aḥnaf. He read out the letter, which said: "To the commander of the army: We praise God, in whose hand are the turns of fortune, who transfers kingship as He pleases, who lifts up whomever He wishes after abasement and brings down whomever He wishes after exaltation. Verily He has called upon me to arrange peace terms with you on the [same] lines as my grandfather's submission and with the marks of honor and rank that your master (*ṣāḥibkum*) thinks appropriate. So welcome to you, and rejoice. I summon you to peace between you and us, based on [the following conditions]: (1) that I render you a tribute

177. The text has *marzubān Marw*, but presumably Marwarūdh is intended.

(*kharāj*) of 60,000 dirhams; (2) that you confirm me in the possession of what Kisrā, King of Kings, conceded (*aqṭa'a*) to my great-grandfather, when he killed the serpent that was feeding on the people and cutting the roads that connected the lands and villages along with their inhabitants; (3) that you take no tribute whatever from any member of my house; (4) that the office of marzubān not be taken from my house and given to any other. If you do all this for me, I will come forth to you. I have sent you my nephew Māhak to seek a pact with you concerning my requests."

According to (al-Madā'inī): Al-Aḥnaf wrote back to him [as follows]: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Ṣakhr b. Qays, commander of the army, to Bādhān, marzubān of Marwarūdh, and the heavy cavalry (*asāwirah*) and the Persians who are with him. Peace be upon him who follows the Divine guidance, believes truly, and fears God. To proceed: Your nephew Māhak has come before me, striving sincerely on your behalf and informing [me] about you. I have presented (your proposals) to the Muslims who are with me. I and they agree as to what is incumbent upon you. We consent to what you have [2899] sought and laid before me. To wit: you will pay 60,000 dirhams from your plowmen, peasants, and cropland to me and to any commander of the Muslims who is governor (*wālī*) after me. Excepted are those lands that you have mentioned, where Kisrā—the man who wronged himself—conceded them to your great-grandfather, because he had killed the serpent that had done evil in the earth and cut the roads, 'for the earth belongs to God and His Messenger, and he bequeaths [it] to whomever He pleases among His servants.'[178] You, together with the heavy cavalry who are with you, are likewise obliged to aid the Muslims and fight their enemies, if the Muslims so wish and decide. In return you are owed the aid of the Muslims against anyone who fights against those members of your community (*millah*) who follow you. Concerning all this there will be a letter from me, which you will possess after me. And no tribute whatever [will be levied] against you [personally] nor against any relatives from your household. If you become a Muslim and follow the Messenger, you and your brother will have from the Muslims [the same]

178. Qur'ān 7:125.

salary, status, and rations [which the Muslims receive].[179] For this you have my covenant [*dhimmah*], the covenant of my father, and the covenants of the Muslims and their ancestors. The contents of this document have been duly witnessed by Jaz' b. Muʿāwiyah—or, Muʿāwiyah b. Jaz'—al-Saʿdī; Ḥamzah b. al-Hir-
[2900] mās and Ḥumayd b. Khiyār, both men of [the tribe of] al-Māzin; and ʿIyāḍ b. Warqa' al-Usaydī. It was written by Kaysān, protegé (*mawlā*) of the Banū Thaʿlabah, on Sunday in the Month of God, al-Muḥarram." It was sealed by the commander of the army, al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, and the inscription on al-Aḥnaf's seal reads, "We serve God."

According to ʿAlī [b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī]—Muṣʿab b. Ḥayyān—his brother Muqātil b. Ḥayyān: Ibn ʿĀmir made peace with the inhabitants of Marw, and sent al-Aḥnaf with 4,000 [troops] to Ṭukhāristān. He advanced until he made camp at the [present-day] location of the Castle of al-Aḥnaf [in the district of] Marwarūdh.[180] Against him assembled the inhabitants of Ṭukhāristān, al-Jūzajān, al-Ṭāliqān, and al-Fāryāb, constituting three armies of 30,000 (men). News about them and the forces that they had gathered having reached al-Aḥnaf, he sought counsel from the people. They differed among themselves: one person said, "We should return to Marw"; another said, "We should go back to Abrashahr"; another said, "We should remain here and call for reinforcements"; another said, "We should confront them in battle."

According to [al-Madā'inī]: That evening, al-Aḥnaf went out for a walk in the camp and listened to the people's conversation. He was passing by the people in one tent, where a man was kindling a fire under a stew or kneading dough. They were all talking about the enemy. One of them said, "The right choice for the commander [namely, al-Aḥnaf] is to set out in the morning and to meet this nation (*qawm*) in battle, wherever that may happen, for (this) will be more alarming to them." The man with the stew or dough responded, "If he does that, he and all of you will commit a
[2901] blunder. Will you order him to confront the elite forces of the

179. The bracketed words are from Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt*.

180. On Qaṣr al-Aḥnaf, on the Murghāb a day's march from Marwarūdh, see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 405.

enemy by advancing into their territory? [In that case] he would face a great number with but a few men. If they have room to maneuver, they will annihilate us. Instead, the right thing is for him to establish his camp between the Murghāb and the mountain, putting the Murghāb on his right and the mountain on his left. Then the enemy, though they may be many, will only confront him with a number equal to that of his own comrades." Then al-Aḥnaf returned [to his own tent] convinced by what the latter had said. He fixed his camp where he was. Now the people of Marw sent to him, proposing to fight alongside him, but he responded, "I dislike having to seek the aid of Polytheists. Adhere to the terms that we agreed upon with you. For if we are victorious, we shall stand on what we promised you. And if they are victorious over us and fight you, then fight on your own behalf."

According to [al-Madā'inī]: Now the Muslims were performing the afternoon prayer when the Polytheists suddenly fell upon them. But the Muslims fought back staunchly, and the two sides held their ground until the evening as al-Aḥnaf recited the verse of Ibn Ju'ayyah al-A'rajī:

He who most rightly hates not fatal destiny
is a strong youth who has no children.

According to 'Alī [b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī]—Abū al-Ashhab al-Sa'dī—his father: At night al-Aḥnaf and the Muslims encountered the inhabitants of Marwarūdh, al-Ṭāliqān, al-Fāryāb, and al-Jūzajān, fighting with them the whole night through. Then God routed [the enemy], and the Muslims slew them until at last they [2902]
came to Raskan,[181] which is some twelve *farsakh*s from the Castle of al-Aḥnaf. The marzubān of Marwarūdh had delayed bringing the [tribute] in return for which [the Muslims] had made peace with him in order to see how things would turn out for them.

According to [al-Madā'inī]: When al-Aḥnaf gained the victory, he sent two men to the marzubān with orders not to speak to him until they had arrested him. They did [that], and knowing that they would not treat him thus unless they had been victorious, he fulfilled his obligations.

According to 'Alī [b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī]—al-Mufaḍḍal al-

181. Not identified.

Ḍabbī—his father: Al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis went to al-Jūzajān, al-Aḥnaf having sent him with a detachment (*jarīdah*) of cavalry to pursue remnants of the [enemy] forces routed by al-Aḥnaf. (Al-Aqraʿ) fought them and the Muslims ranged far and wide. Some of the [Muslim] cavalrymen were killed, but then God bestowed victory over them upon the Muslims and they routed and killed them. Ibn Kuthayyir al-Nahshalī said, in a long poem:

The rain clouds poured when the struggles
of valiant youths began at al-Jūzajān,
As far as the two castles in the district (*rustāq*) of Khūṭ;
the two bald men (*al-aqraʿān*) commanded them there.

In this year occurred the peace between al-Aḥnaf and the inhabitants of Balkh.

[2903] *[The Peace between al-Aḥnaf and the People of Balkh]*

According to ʿAlī (b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī)—Zuhayr b. Hunayd—Iyās b. al-Muhallab: Al-Aḥnaf advanced from Marwarūdh to Balkh and besieged its inhabitants. They made peace with him in return for [a tribute of] 400,000 [dirhams]. He was satisfied with that, appointing his nephew, Asīd b. al-Mutashammis, as his deputy to collect from them the amount agreed to in the peace treaty. Then he marched on to Khwārazm and remained there until winter assailed him. He asked the opinion of his comrades, and Ḥuṣayn [b. al-Mundhir][182] said to him: ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib has said to you:

If you cannot do a thing, put it aside;
pass it by to get to what you can do.

According to (al-Madāʾinī): So al-Aḥnaf ordered [his forces] to move on, then departed for Balkh. His nephew took charge of the (tribute) agreed to in the peace treaty, and while he was levying [it] from them the festival of Mihrgān[183] came around. They gave

182. The bracketed words are from Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 127, *sub anno* 31.

183. Mihrgān is the autumn festival (16 Mihr/26 October), one of the two chief

him gifts—gold and silver vessels, dīnārs and dirhams, furniture, and garments. Al-Aḥnaf's nephew said, "This is the (tribute) in return for which we made peace with you." "No," they responded, "this is rather something that we do on this day for our ruler in order to conciliate him." (Al-Aḥnaf's nephew) said. "What is this day?" They answered, "Mihrgān." "I do not know what that is," he said. "I hate to refuse (such gifts), for perhaps they are rightfully mine. But I will take them and set them aside until I can look into (the matter)." Thus, he took possession of them. When al-Aḥnaf arrived, he informed him [about the matter], and (al-Aḥnaf) asked (the Balkhīs) about it. They told him what they had told his nephew. (Al-Aḥnaf) said, "I will bring (these gifts) to the commander." Thus, he took them to Ibn ʿĀmir and informed him about them. (Ibn ʿĀmir) said, "Keep them, Abū Baḥr, they are yours." "I have no need of them," replied (al-Aḥnaf). Then Ibn ʿĀmir said, "Take them for yourself, Mismār." [2904]

According to (al-Madāʾinī)—al-Ḥasan: So al-Qurashī seized them greedily.

According to ʿAlī (b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī)—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad al-Murrī—certain shaykhs of the Banū Murrah: As his deputy in Balkh al-Aḥnaf appointed Bishr b. Mutashammis.

According to ʿAli (b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī)—Ṣadaqah b. Ḥumayd—his father: When Ibn ʿĀmir made peace with the inhabitants of Marw and al-Aḥnaf did the same with the inhabitants of Balkh, Ibn ʿĀmir dispatched Khulayd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥanafī to Herat and Bādghīs,[184] which he conquered. Then later they rebelled (*kafarū*) and sided with Qārin.

According to ʿAlī (b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī)—Maslamah—Dāwūd: When al-Aḥnaf returned to Ibn ʿĀmir, the people said to the latter, "No one has been granted such conquests as you—Fārs, Kirmān, Sijistān, and all Khurāsān." Ibn ʿĀmir responded, "I

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festivals of ancient Iran, Nawrūz (New Year in the spring) being the other. See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 73, 201–2.

184. Bādghīs is the fertile district in northwestern Afghanistan lying between the Herāt river (Harī Rūd) and the Murghāb river. It is crossed by several tributaries of the Murghāb, but the main source of water appears to be wells and the rainfall inspired by the Paropamisus mountains on the east. Through it pass the roads connecting Herāt to Marwarūdh. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 412–15; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 47–49.

shall most assuredly manifest my gratitude to God for that by setting forth in a state of consecration from this place in order to perform the Lesser Pilgrimage (*'umrah*). Thus, he performed the rites of consecration in Nishapur for a Lesser Pilgrimage. When he came to 'Uthmān, the latter rebuked him for having consecrated himself in Khurāsān, saying, "You should observe this (rite) strictly at the time when the people consecrate themselves."[185]

According to 'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī)—Maslamah—al-
[2905] Sakan b. Qatādah al-'Uraynī: As his deputy in Khurāsān, Ibn 'Āmir appointed Qays b. al-Haytham, and Ibn 'Āmir departed from (that province) in the year 32 (652–53).

According to (al-Madā'inī): Qārin assembled a great host from the district (*nāḥiyah*) of al-Ṭabasayn and from the inhabitants of Bādghīs, Herāt, and Quhistān, and advanced with 40,000 [men]. [Qays b. al-Haytham][186] said to 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim, "What is your opinion?" (Ibn Khāzim) said, "I think you should leave the country, for I am its governor (*amīr*). I possess a diploma of appointment (*'ahd*) from Ibn 'Āmir: if war breaks out in Khurāsān, I will be its governor." And he produced a document that he had deliberately fabricated.[187] Qays, disgusted by his seditious conduct, left him and the country and came to Ibn 'Āmir. Ibn 'Āmir rebuked him, saying, "You have come to me having abandoned [those] lands in wartime." (Qays) answered, "'Abdallāh (b. Khāzim) came to me with a diploma of appointment from you." Then (Ibn 'Āmir's) mother said to him, "I forbade you to leave

185. On the *'umrah* see above, note 116. On the rites of consecration for pilgrimage to Mecca, see A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier, "Iḥrām," *EI*², III, 1052–53. The rites includes a formal statement of intention, a major ablution, shaving and cutting the hair, and the donning of a distinctive white garment, as well as abstinence from shaving, intercourse, etc. while performing the pilgrimage. The point of 'Uthmān's rebuke is that pilgrims are supposed to assume a state of *iḥrām* only at certain specified places, variously 50 to 200 km. from Mecca. Ibn 'Āmir's piety here is an excessive act that deviates from the established practice of the Muslims.

186. Supplied from a marginal note in Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Kitāb al-Ghazawāt*. See editor's note.

187. Cf. the account of this event given above, p. 37 (text, I, 2832, *sub anno* 29) on the authority of Sayf b. 'Umar. Note that Sayf connects Ibn Khāzim's usurpation not with the revolt of Qārin but with the turbulence following the murder of 'Uthmān.

both of them in one place, precisely because (Ibn Khāzim) would make trouble for (Qays)."

According to (al-Madā'inī): Ibn Khāzim went out against Qārin with 4000 [troops], commanding the people to take grease [with them]. When he drew near (Qārin's) camp, he gave orders to the people, saying, "Let every man of you tie any rag or cotton or wool he has with him around the head of his spear, then soak it with grease—ghee, oil, pitch, or melted fat." Then he moved on until, when evening had come, he sent ahead his vanguard of 600 [men]. He then followed behind them; upon his orders the people set their spear heads ablaze, with some of them taking the flame from others.

According to (al-Madā'inī): His vanguard reached Qārin's camp, coming upon them in the middle of the night. They had sentinels, and (the Muslim vanguard) skirmished with them, sowing utter confusion among them by the night attack while they themselves were secure. Ibn Khāzim approached (the enemy), who saw fires right and left, moving forward and backward, sinking and rising, [2906] but without being able to perceive anyone. They were terrified by this, even as Ibn Khāzim's vanguard was fighting them. Then Ibn Khāzim led the Muslims down upon them. Qārin was slain and the enemy fled, while the Muslims followed them, killing them at will and capturing many prisoners. A shaykh of the Banū Tamīm claims that the mother of al-Ṣalt b. Ḥurayth was one of the captives taken from Qārin['s followers], as were the mothers of Ziyād b. al-Rabī' and 'Awn Abū 'Abdallāh b. 'Awn the jurist.

According to 'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī)—Maslamah: Ibn Khāzim seized Qārin's camp and its contents, and wrote to Ibn 'Āmir of the victory. The latter was pleased and confirmed (Ibn Khāzim) in authority over Khurāsān. He continued in power there until after the Battle of the Camel, when he came to Baṣrah. He was present at the uprising (*waq'ah*) of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, with whom he was staying in the house of Sunbīl.[188]

188. Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī was one of Mu'āwiyah's agents during the first civil war. In 38 (658) he was dispatched to Baṣrah to incite the Tamīm to revolt against 'Alī. The revolt was quashed by 'Alid loyalists from the tribe of Azd, however, and Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī was killed in the fray. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 100, citing Ṭabarī, I, 3414ff., on the authority of al-Madā'inī.

According to ʿAlī (b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī)—al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd—Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī:[189] Qārin assembled a great host against the Muslims, and the Muslims became anxious about their situation. Al-Qays b. al-Haytham said to ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim, "What is your opinion?" He responded, "My opinion is that you cannot handle the great number of those who confront us. Betake yourself to Ibn ʿĀmir and inform him about the vast forces who have assembled against us. As for us, we shall remain in these strongholds and hold them off until you reach us with your reinforcements."

According to (al-Madāʾinī): So Qays b. al-Haytham departed, for as he pondered [this advice], Ibn Khāzim showed [him] a diploma of appointment, saying, "Ibn ʿĀmir has made me governor of Khurāsān." Then (Ibn Khāzim) advanced against Qārin, gaining the victory over him. He wrote of the victory to Ibn ʿĀmir, and the latter confirmed him in authority over Khurāsān. The Baṣrans continued to attack those Khurasānīs who had not negotiated peace terms [with them]; and when they came back [to Baṣrah], they left behind 4000 men to complete the task.[190] (These latter) kept on with this until the civil war (*fitnah*) broke out.

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189. Not the famous Abbasid *naqīb* in Khurāsān. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvii.

190. *Fa-idhā rajaʿū khallafū arbaʿata ālāfin li'l-ʿaqabati.*

The Events of the Year [2907]

33

(August 2, 653–July 21, 654)

In (this year), according to al-Wāqidī, took place Muʿāwiyah's attack on the Castle of the Woman (Ḥiṣn al-Marʾah) in the Malaṭyah district of the land of the Byzantines.

In (this year) took place ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ's second campaign in Ifrīqiyah when its inhabitants repudiated [their] pact (*ʿahd*).

In (this year), according to al-Wāqidī, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir sent al-Aḥnaf b. Qays to Khurāsān, for its inhabitants had rebelled. (Al-Aḥnaf) conquered both [of the cities named] Marw—Marw Shāhjān[191] by a negotiated peace (*ṣulḥan*), and Marw al-Rūd after a bitter struggle. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir followed him out; he laid siege to Abrashahr and occupied it through a negotiated peace.

According to the account related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—someone who related it [to him]—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar: [The conquest of] Cyprus took place in the year 33 (653–

191. On this epithet see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 398.

54). But in the report on Cyprus we have already given the statement of those who contradict (Abū Ma'shar) concerning this.[192]

In (this year) 'Uthmān b. 'Affān sent certain Iraqis into exile in Syria.

The Exile of the Kūfans Whom ['Uthmān] Sent [to Syria][193]

The authorities (*ahl al-siyar*) disagree on this matter.

Sayf's account was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—(Sayf)—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ used to receive visits only from those long settled in Kūfah, the leading men among the veterans of the earliest battles in Iraq (*wujūh ahl al-ayyām*) and of al-Qādisiyyah, the Qur'ān reciters (*qurrā'*)[194]
[2908] among the Baṣrans, and the pious-minded. These were his confidants when he retired [to his private quarters]. Now when he held audience for the people, then everyone might enter his presence. One day he held such an audience and the people came in. While they were seated conversing with one another, Ḥubaysh al-Asadī—whose father's name is unknown[195]—said, "How gener-

192. See above, pp. 25–31 (text, I, 2819–2827, *sub anno* 28). Ṭabarī follows the date given by Wāqidī, while the principal authority for his narrative is Sayf b. 'Umar.

193. Another version of the story, based largely on the tradition of Wāqidī and more sympathetic to the dissidents, is given in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 39–47. Ṭabarī also gives a version derived from Wāqidī, pp. 120–25 (text, I, 2915–2921).

194. *Qurrā'* is a mysterious word. It was long interpreted in both Islamic and Orientalist tradition as "Qur'ān-reciters"—that is, men of piety and religious learning who had memorized the Qur'ān. At first such men provided the ideological cadres for the Muslim forces, but later on they became the nucleus of the irreconcilable Kharijite opposition to "worldly power." But this concept was challenged by M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, pp. 50–55, where he argues that they are the early settlers in Iraq, *ahl al-qurā*, literally, "men of the towns." Shaban's suggestion remains controversial, but has been further explored by Martin Hinds and G. Juynboll. Hinds ("Kûfan Political Alighnments," pp. 357–61) identifies them as those early comers to Iraq who had the fewest followers, and hence possessed the lowest status and received the most meager rewards; however, he still connects them with the term *qāri'*, "Qur'ān-reciter." The literature is accurately but inconclusively reviewed in T. Nagel, "Ḳurrā'," *EI*², V, 499—500. In the present context the traditional interpretation seems to fit reasonably well, as also above, p. 58 (text, I, 2853). Cf. the "respectable classes" here with those mentioned above, pp. 57–58 (text, I, 2852–2853, *sub anno* 30).

195. *Ḥubaysh b. Fulān al-Asadī.* Prym has restored the name as "Khunays,"

ous is Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh!" Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ replied, "If a man possesses a place like al-Nashāstaj,[196] it is only right that he be generous. By God, if I possessed anything like it, God would provide you all with a life of ease."

Then 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥubaysh, who was a young man, said, "By God, I wish that this al-Milṭāṭ[197] were yours"—that is, the Sasanian crown lands alongside the Euphrates adjacent to Kūfah. [The others present] said, "May God seal your mouth! By God, we have something in mind for you!" Then Ḥubaysh said, "[He's only] a boy, don't argue with him."[198] "He desires part of our Sawād for himself," they said. [Ḥubaysh] answered, "And for you he desires many times as much." "He should desire nothing either for us or for himself," they said. "What's wrong with you," said [Ḥubaysh]. "By God, you ordered him to do this," they responded. Then [a group of them] rose up in fury against ['Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥubaysh] and seized him—al-Ashtar, Ibn Dhī al-Ḥabakah, Jundub, Ṣa'ṣa'ah, Ibn al-Kawwā', Kumayl, and 'Umayr b. Ḍābi'.[199] His father [that is, Ḥubaysh al-Asadī] went to his de-

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but "Ḥubaysh" seems much better attested. See 2908, note b, and de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvii. In favor of Prym's reading, however, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 40: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khunays al-Asadī, *ṣāḥib shuraṭihi*.

196. On Ṭalḥah's acquisition of al-Nashāstaj, see above, p. 60 [text I, 2854, *sub anno* 30].

197. Al-Milṭāṭ is the land bordering the Euphrates in the vicinity of Kūfah; al-Muthannā camped there with his army on the eve of the battle of Buwayb. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, IV, 633; other references in Ṭabarī: I, 2185, 2255, 2485.

198. Reading *lā tujāruhu* instead of *lā tujāzuhu*. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvii. The subject of the sentence is somewhat ambiguous; it reads, "*Qāla Ḥubayshun ghulāmun fa-lā tujāruhu.*" Caetani (*Annali*, VIII, 32) takes Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ as the implicit subject and translates as follows: "Disse Sa'īd: 'Khunays é un ragazzo. . . .'" This alters the dialogue's dramatic development, obviously, since Sa'īd becomes the boy's chief defender, but it does not change the general import of the passage—namely, that Ḥubaysh and his son were attacked with little provocation by inveterate malcontents. In any case, I believe that Caetani is in error here: (1) Ḥubaysh (that is, Khunays) is clearly a mature man in the text, not "un ragazzo"; (2) Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 138, paraphrases the sentence to read, *Qāla abūhu ghulāmun fa-lā tujāzuhu*, and "*abūhu*" can only be the subject of "*qāla*."

199. Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, gives fuller versions of two of these names: Ka'b b. Dhī al-Ḥabakah al-Nahdī, and Kumayl b. Ziyād. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvii. Note also that, according to Sayf's account, several of the dissidents here were involved in the conspiracy against Sa'īd's predecessor as governor of Kūfah, al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah. Ṭabarī's list should be compared with the one given in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 40–41.

fense, but they beat both of them unconscious. Saʿīd (b. al-ʿĀṣ) began pleading with them [to stop], but they refused scornfully until they had worked their will upon (their two victims).

The Banū Asad [that is, the tribe of Ḥubaysh and his son] having heard of this, came—Ṭulayḥah among them—and surrounded the [governor's] palace. The tribes (*al-qabā'il*) mounted [their horses] and took refuge [from the Banū Asad] with Saʿīd, saying, "Get us to safety." So Saʿīd went out to the people and said, "O people, a band of men (*qawm*) have quarreled and fought with one another, but now God has bestowed forgiveness [on
[2909] them]." Then (the Banū Asad) backed off and returned [home], continuing their discussions. Saʿīd censured (the assailants of Ḥubaysh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān)[200] and sent them away. When the two men recovered consciousness, he said, "Are you alive?" "Your associates (*ghāshiyah*) have killed us," they replied. "They will not come to call on me again, by God," he said, "now hold your tongues and do not embolden the people against me."[201] And they did [as he said].

When the hopes of those individuals were frustrated, they sat in their homes and busied themselves with spreading rumors until the Kūfans blamed (Saʿīd) for their situation. He [al-Ashtar?] said, "This (man) is your governor (*amīr*), and he has prevented me from stirring anything up. Whoever among you intends to get things moving, let him act." Then the notables and upright men of Kūfah (*ashrāf ahl al-Kūfah wa-ṣulaḥā'hum*) wrote to ʿUthmān to have (the dissidents) expelled. He wrote, "If your council of notables (*mala'*) is agreed on that, then put them in Muʿāwiyah's charge." So they expelled them, and they were led away in humiliation until they reached him, some ten in number.

(The Kūfan notables) having written about this to ʿUthmān, he wrote to Muʿāwiyah [as follows]: "The Kūfans have expelled and sent to you certain innately rebellious individuals. Therefore hasten them along[202] and keep close watch on them. If you observe right conduct in them, then receive them hospitably. But if

200. Reading *fa-sā'ahum* instead of *fa-sa'alahum*. See 2909, note a, and de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvii.

201. Reading *wa-lā tujarri'a 'alayya 'l-nāsa*. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvii.

202. Reading *fa-za'hum* instead of *fa-ru'hum*. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, cclxxxi, dcxxvii.

they are burdensome to you, then send them back to (the Kūfans)." When (the exiles) came to Muʿāwiyah, he welcomed them, housing them in a church named after Mary. In accordance with ʿUthmān's orders, he had them treated as they had been in Iraq, and he began taking the noon and evening meals with them constantly.

One day he said to them, "You are a group of Arabs who possess maturity and eloquence.[203] Through Islam you have attained nobility, conquered the nations (*umam*), and taken possession of their official ranks and their estates. I have learned that you are [2910 embittered against Quraysh. But were it not for Quraysh you would again be abject and despised, just as you used to be. Down to the present day your imāms have been your armor, so do not be without[204] your armor. Today your imāms are patient for your sake in the face of wrongdoing, and they bear the burden of providing for you. By God, you must end [your dissidence] or God will most assuredly put you to the test with (rulers) who impose heavy demands on you and then do not praise you for enduring [them]. Then you will be their accomplices in (the evils) that you have brought upon the subjects (*raʿiyyah*) both during your lifetime and after your death."

Then a man belonging to the band [of exiles][205] said, "As for what you said about Quraysh—in the Time of Ignorance, they were certainly not the most numerous or formidable of the Arabs so that they can frighten us [now]. As for what you said about armor—when the armor is pierced matters will be in our hands."[206]

Muʿāwiyah responded, "Now I recognize you [pl.]. I know that it is simplemindedness which has seduced you into this. You [that is, Ṣaʿṣaʿah] are the spokesman for this band, and I see no intelligence in you. To you I extol the cause (*amr*) of Islam and remind you of it, while to me you recall the Time of Ignorance. I

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203. *Innakum qawmun min 'l-ʿarabi la-kum asnānun wa-alsinatun.*
204. Reading *tashidhdhū* rather than *tasdū*. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvii.
205. Identified as Ṣaʿṣaʿah in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 139.
206. *Fa-inna 'l-junnata idhā ukhturiqat khulīṣa ilaynā*. A conjectural translation; I have followed Caetani's version, which seems to reflect the situation accurately (*Annali*, VIII, 33): "Quanto poi allo scudo, quando sará lacerato, tutto tornerá in mano nostra."

have given you godly admonishment, while you claim that what shields you will be pierced. But what can be pierced has no connection with armor. May God put to shame any band of men (*aqwām*) that glorifies your [pl.] conduct and lauds [it] before your caliph. You must understand—as I doubt you do—that Quraysh was given power and prestige, both in the Time of Ignorance and under Islam, only by Almighty God. (Quraysh) were neither the most numerous nor the most warlike of the Arabs, but among them they were the noblest in public esteem, the purest in lineage, the mightiest in face of danger, the most perfect in manly
[2911] qualities. In the Time of Ignorance, while the people were devouring one another, they abstained [therefrom] only through God. Those whom He has exalted are not scorned, and those whom He has raised up are not thrown down, for He has reserved for them "a sanctuary secure, while all around them the people are snatched away."[207] Do you know of Arabs or non-Arabs, Black or Red, whom fate (*dahr*) has not struck down in their own country and sanctuary by some turn of fortune (*dawlah*), save only Quraysh. For whenever anyone laid a plot against (Quraysh) God abased him,[208] until God willed that whoever honors and follows His religion should be saved from disgrace in this world and an evil return in the next. Therefore He approved the best of His creatures [that is, Muḥammad], and for him He approved companions, the best of whom were [from] Quraysh. Then upon (Quraysh) He erected this royal power (*mulk*), and among them He fixed this caliphal authority (*khilāfah*), and all this is appropriate for no one save them. For God guarded (Quraysh) in the Time of Ignorance while they were yet unbelievers. Do you imagine that He will not protect them now when they have accepted His religion, and when He sheltered them in the Time of Ignorance from the [foreign] kings who used to subjugate you?

I would feel disgust for you [sing.] and your associates even if someone besides you had spoken, but you began. As for you, Ṣaʿṣaʿah, your town (*qaryah*) is surely the worst of Arab towns—the one whose vegetation is most malodorous, whose riverbed is

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207. Qur'ān 29:67.

208. *illā jaʿala Allāhu khaḍḍahu 'l-asfala.* Lit., "except that God put his cheek lowest."

deepest, whose evildoing is most notorious, and whose protégés (*jīrān*) are vilest.[209] No one of noble or humble birth has ever dwelt there without being insulted on that account and without (that fact) being a defect in him. Moreover, they had the ugliest nicknames among the Arabs, the basest marriage ties, and were [2912] the outcasts of the nations. You [yourselves] were protégés in al-Khaṭṭ[210] and lackeys of Persia until the Prophet's call befell you. His summons touched you [sing.] while you were an outcast isolated in 'Umān rather than a resident of Baḥrayn, so that you might share with them in the Prophet's call. You are the worst of your people, to such a degree that when Islam has brought you out [of isolation], mingled you with the people, and lifted you up over the nations that heretofore had dominated you, you begin desiring crookedness in God's religion and inclining towards wickedness and baseness. But that does not derogate from Quraysh; it will neither harm them nor prevent them from fulfilling their obligations. Verily Satan is not heedless of you [pl.]. He has recognized you by the evildoing within your community (*ummah*). Thus, he has aroused the people against you while he casts you down. He knows that he cannot oppose through you any judgment that God has decreed nor any command that God has willed. [He knows also] that you can never cause evil in any affair unless God has disgraced [you] by imbuing you with evil from him."

Then (Mu'āwiyah) got up and left him. They quarreled among themselves and felt humiliated. Some time later, (Mu'āwiyah) came to them and said, "I give you leave [to depart], so go where you will. No, by God, God will certainly neither benefit nor harm anyone through you. You are not men [capable] of benefit or injury, but rather men [full] of blame and hostility. If you desire

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209. *Jār*, pl. *jīrān*—a person who has left his own tribe to seek residence with and the protection of another. Such a "protected neighbor" remains a free man, but obviously enjoys a distinctly lower status than the full members of his adoptive tribe. *Jīrān* here presumably refers to those persons, non-Arabs for the most part, who had come to Kūfah to seek affiliation with one or another of the tribes settled there.

210. Al-Khaṭṭ is the strip of coast along the Persian Gulf running between Baḥrayn and 'Umān. E. Grohman, "al-Khaṭṭ," *EI*², IV, 1130–31. The text alludes to the fact that the Arab tribes of this region were inevitably tributaries if not full subjects of the Sasanian kings.

salvation, adhere to your community [*jamāʿah*]. Let what has sufficed the masses be sufficient for you; let not the bestowing of benefits [upon you] make you arrogant, for the good are not afflicted by arrogance. Go where you will, for I am writing to the Commander of the Faithful about you."

When they had gone, [Muʿāwiyah] called them back and said, "I
[2913] reiterate to you that the Messenger of God was protected [from sin], and he bestowed authority upon me and brought me into his affairs. Then Abū Bakr was named his successor, and he bestowed authority upon me. ʿUmar and ʿUthmān did the same upon their succession. I have not acted on behalf of any of them, nor did any of them put me in authority, without his being satisfied with me. The Messenger of God sought for office only men fully capable of acting on behalf of the Muslims. For [these posts] he did not want men strained beyond their powers, ignorant in [such matters], and too weak for them.[211] Verily God attacks and exacts retribution, deceiving those who have deceived Him. Do not embark upon a matter when you know that your true character is different from your public behavior, for God will not leave you without examining you and revealing your secrets to the people. Almighty God has said, 'Alif, Lām, Mīm. Do the people reckon that they will be left to say, "We believe," and will not be tried?' "[212]

Muʿāwiyah wrote to ʿUthmān [as follows]: "Bands of men [*aqwām*], who possess neither reason nor religion, have come before me. Islam is burdensome to them and justice vexes them. In nothing are they mindful of God, nor do they speak on a basis of proof [*ḥujjah*]. Their only aim is dissidence [*fitnah*] and the wealth of the non-Muslim subjects. God will be the one to test and examine them, then expose and humilate them. They are not [men] who can injure anyone unless they are allied with others. Therefore keep Saʿīd [b. al-ʿĀṣ] and his followers [*man qibalahu*] away from them, for they are no more than troublemakers and slanderous gossipers."[213]

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211. *Wa-innamā ṭalaba rasūlu'allāhi ṣl'm li'l-a'māli ahla 'l-jazā'i 'an 'l-muslimīna wa'l-ghanā'i wa-lam yaṭlub lahā ahla 'l-ijtihādi wa'l-jahli bihā wa'l-ḍu'fi 'anhā.* The meaning of *ijtihād* adopted here is not attested in Lane, but fits the context as well as many senses of the root *JHD*.

212. Qur'ān 29:1.

213. Reading *takthīr* rather than *nakīr*, though either word will do. See 2912, note o, and de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvii.

Then the band [of dissidents] left Damascus. [Some among them] said, "Do not go back to Kūfah, for they will gloat over your problems. Have done with Iraq and Syria, and follow our preference for the Jazīrah." Thus, they sought refuge in the Jazīrah. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd heard of them. Mu'āwiyah had made him governor of Ḥimṣ, while the governor [2914] of the Jazīrah had authority over Ḥarrān and al-Raqqah. ('Abd al-Raḥmān) summoned them and said, "O instruments of Satan, you are not welcome here. Satan has come back exhausted, while you are still full of energy. I do not know whether you people are Arabs or non-Arabs. But may God ruin 'Abd al-Raḥmān if he does not chastise you until he wears you out, lest you speak to me as I heard you have spoken to Mu'āwiyah. I am the son of Khālid b. al-Walīd—the son of a man tested by long experience, and of the man who gouged out the eye of the Secession (*al-riddah*).[214] By God, O Ṣa'ṣa'ah, son of shame, if I learn that anyone among my followers has smashed your nose and then called you a filthy sucker, I will send you off on a very long flight."[215]

He forced them to remain for some months. Whenever ('Abd al-Raḥmān) went out to ride, he had them go on foot. When he passed by (Ṣa'ṣa'ah), he said, "O son of a base-born man, do you know that one who is not reformed by good will be reformed by evil? Why are you not speaking as I have heard that you would speak to Sa'īd and Mu'āwiyah?" (Ṣa'ṣa'ah) and (his associates) would say, "We turn to God in repentence. You abrogate our [offense] and God will abrogate yours." They did not cease doing this until ('Abd al-Raḥmān) said, "God has turned to you in forgiveness," and granted al-Ashtar leave [to go] to 'Uthmān. ('Abd al-Raḥmān) said to them, "As you wish. You are free to go or to remain." Al-Ashtar left and came to 'Uthmān in repentance and regret, renouncing [the previous conduct of] himself and his associates. ('Uthmān) said, "May God preserve you." Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ having come [to Medina], 'Uthmān said to al-Ashtar, "Take up residence where you wish." (Al-Ashtar) replied, "With 'Abd al-

214. On Khālid's role in the Riddah wars, see the present translation, vol. X; P. Crone, "Khālid b. al-Walīd," *EI*², IV, 928–29; Elias Shoufani, *Al-Riddah and the Muslim Conquest of Arabia*.

215. The point is presumably that Ṣa'ṣa'ah would have instigated a quarrel. The translation "filthy sucker" is slightly euphemistic.

Raḥmān b. Khālid." He mentioned ('Abd al-Raḥmān's) beneficence. "That is up to you," said ('Uthmān). Thus, al-Ashtar returned to 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

[2915] According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl—his father—'Āmir b. Sa'd: 'Uthmān sent Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ to Kūfah to serve as governor (*amīr*) there when witnesses formally charged al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah with wine drinking, and he ordered (Sa'īd) to dispatch al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah to him.

According to (al-Wāqidī): Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ arrived in Kūfah and sent to al-Walīd [as follows]: "The Commander of the Faithful orders you to come before him."

According to (al-Wāqidī): (Sa'īd) procrastinated for some days, and then said to (al-Walīd), "Hasten to your brother, for he has ordered me to send you to him."

According to (al-Wāqidī): Sa'īd did not mount the pulpit in Kūfah until he had commanded it to be cleansed [of al-Walīd's vomit]. Certain men of Quraysh, members of the Banū Umayyah, who had gone out to Kūfah with him, pleaded with him and said, "This is disgraceful. By God, if someone besides you had intended to do this, it would be right for you to prevent [him] from it; the shame of this [act] would cling to him forever."

According to (al-Wāqidī): However, (Sa'īd) insisted on doing it and washed the pulpit. He sent to al-Walīd to vacate the governor's palace (*dār al-imārah*). (Al-Walīd) did so, taking up residence in the house of 'Umārah b. 'Uqbah. Then al-Walīd came before 'Uthmān. Having assembled (al-Walīd) and his opponents, ('Uthmān) decided to flog him and inflicted the penalty fixed by God (*al-ḥadd*).

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Shaybān—Mujālid—al-Sha'bī: When Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ arrived in Kūfah, he began to choose the leading men (*wujūh al-nās*) to enter his presence and pass evenings in discussion. One night, the leading men
[2916] of Kūfah were holding conversation in his residence. Among them were Mālik b. Ka'b al-Arḥabī, al-Aswad b. Yazīd and 'Alqamah b. Qays—both of the clan of al-Nakha'—and al-Mālik al-Ashtar with [a number of] men. Sa'īd said, "This Sawād is but a garden for Quraysh." Al-Ashtar replied, "Do you claim that the Sawād, which God made booty for us by our swords, is a garden for you and your tribe (*qawm*)? God gives no additional share in it

even to the most deserving of you; on the contrary, he should be like one of us." And the whole group (*qawm*) spoke in his support.[216]

According to (al-Wāqidī): 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Asadī, who was in command of Sa'īd's guard (*shurṭah*), said, "Do you dispute the governor's statement?" He berated them harshly. Then al-Ashtar said, "Everyone here, this man must not get away from you." They jumped on him and trampled him severely until he passed out. Then he was dragged by the leg, tossed out, and showered with water. When he came to, Sa'īd said to him, "Are you alive? He answered, "Those whom you have chosen for their Islam—so you claim—have killed me." Then (Sa'īd) said, "By God, not one of them will ever attend evening sessions with me again."

(The dissidents) began sitting in their meeting places (*majālis*) and houses, vilifying 'Uthmān and Sa'īd. The people assembled together around them until those who were frequenting them had become numerous. Sa'īd wrote to 'Uthmān informing him about all this, as follows: "There is a gang among the Kūfans"—[here] he gave him ten names—"who are inciting them and banding [2917] together to disgrace you and me and to impugn [the sincerity of] our religion. If their movement gets firmly established, I fear they will become numerous." Thus, 'Uthmān wrote to Sa'īd, [directing him] to send them in exile to Mu'āwiyah, who at that time held authority over Syria, and (Sa'īd) did so. They numbered nine persons, among them Mālik al-Ashtar, Thābit b. Qays b. Munqa', Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakha'ī, and Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Ṣūḥān.

From this point (al-Wāqidī's) account approximates the narrative of al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf (b. 'Umar), except as follows: Ṣa'ṣa'ah said, "If the armor is pierced, will not matters be in our hands?" Mu'āwiyah replied, "The armor will not be pierced, so think about Quraysh in the most favorable manner."[217]

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216. As always, *qawm* is troublesome; it might simply refer to the group of Kūfans assembled here and opposing Sa'īd, or—since those named (including al-Ashtar) mostly belonged to the lineage of al-Nakha'—it might mean "tribe" or "clan." This incident is discussed in Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 241–42, with references to other versions of the story. See also Caetani, *Annali*, VIII, 38–41.

217. A very close parallel to Sayf's version of this exchange, except for Mu'āwiyah's riposte; see above, pp. 115–16 (text, I, 2910). The Arabic text of the

Concerning this, [al-Wāqidī] adds that when Muʿāwiyah returned to them the following year [that is, 34/654–55] and reminded them [of their situation], he spoke as follows: "By God, I do not order you to do anything unless I myself, my household, and my personal retinue (*khāṣṣatī*) have started [doing] it. The Quraysh recognized that Abū Sufyān was the noblest among them and the son of the noblest, save for what God did for His prophet, the prophet of mercy. For indeed God elected him and showed him honor. God did not create upright qualities in anyone
2918] without singling out [the prophet] for the noblest and finest of them. Nor did He create evil qualities in anyone without ennobling him beyond [such things] and keeping him utterly free of them. Now in fact I believe that if the people were sons of Abū Sufyān, they would all be prudent and resolute men."[218]

Ṣaʿṣaʿah replied, "You lie! They are sons to a better man than Abū Sufyān—one whom God created by His own hand, 'into whom He breathed His spirit,'[219] before whom He commanded the angels to bow down. Among [the people] are the pious and the sinner, the stupid and the clever."

That night [Muʿāwiyah] departed from them. Then he came to them the following night and spoke at length among them. He said, "O band of men (*qawm*), answer me properly or be still. Reflect and consider what will bring benefit to you, your households, your tribes, and the whole community (*jamāʿah*) of Muslims. If you seek this, you will prosper and we shall prosper with you." Ṣaʿṣaʿah replied, "You are not worthy of that, nor is your noble rank such that you should be obeyed in defiance of God." [Muʿāwiyah] said, "Did I not begin by commanding you to fear God and obey Him and His prophet, to 'hold fast to His bond, together, and do not scatter.'"[220] "On the contrary," they an-

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last clause is as follows: *fa-ḍaʿ amra Qurayshin ʿalā aḥsani mā yaḥḍuruka.* Lit., "so place the matter of Quraysh on the best of what is present in your mind."

218. *Wa-innī la-aẓunnu anna Abā Sufyāna law walada ʾl-nāsa lam yalid illā ḥāziman.* See de Goeje, *Introductio,* dlxvi, "*walada.*"

219. Qurʾān 32:8.

220. Qurʾān 3:98. The context of this line is highly significant; 3:98, 100–1 reads as follows: "And hold you fast to God's bond, together, and do not scatter; remember God's blessing upon you when you were enemies, and He brought your hearts together, so that by His blessing you became brothers. . . . Let there be one nation of you, calling to good, and bidding to honor, and forbidding dishonor;

swered, "you have commanded schism and opposition to what the Prophet has brought."

[Muʿāwiyah] said, "Well, then, I command you now. If I have done [what you say], I turn to God and His prophet, and I command you to fear Him and obey Him and His prophet, to adhere to the community and to abhor schism, to revere your imams and to direct them so far as you are able to every good thing, and to admonish them gently and graciously concerning anything that comes from them." [2919]

Ṣaʿṣaʿah replied, "And we then command you to resign your office (*ʿamal*), for among the Muslims there is one who has a better right to it than you." [Muʿāwiyah] asked, "Who is that?" [Ṣaʿṣaʿah] answered, "Someone whose father had a higher standing in Islam than did yours, and who himself has a higher standing than you."[221] [Muʿāwiyah] said, "By God, I have some standing in Islam. There were others whose standing surpassed mine, but in my time there is no one better able to do my job than I. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was of this opinion, and had there been a man more capable than I, ʿUmar would not have been indulgent in regard to me or anyone else. Nor have I instituted any innovation that would require me to resign my office. Had the Commander of the Faithful and of the Community of Muslims thought so, he would have written to me by his own hand and I would have stepped down from office. Should God decree that he do this, I hope that he would not decide on someone for this [position] unless [that person] were better. Go easy, or Satan will find what he hopes for and commands in this [situation] and others like it. By my life, if affairs were decided according to your opinion and wishes, things

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those are the prosperers. Be not as those who scattered and fell into variance after the clear signs came to them; those there awaits a mighty chastisement."

221. *Qāla: man kāna abūhu aḥsana qadaman min abīka wa-huwa bi-nafsihi aḥsanu qadaman minka fī 'l-islāmi.* Caetani [*Annali*, VIII, 40] translates *qadam* by "precedenza," but this rendering seems a bit too restrictive. Other words derived from QDM [e.g., *qidam*] do refer to seniority or length of time. *Qadam* [lit., "foot"] can have the general meaning of "merit"—cf. Biberstein Kazimirski, II, 690. Obviously early conversion or seniority in the faith was an important element in one's religious merit, but it was not the only thing that conferred standing on a person. In the present case, Muʿāwiyah's opponents, who seem generally to belong to the tribes of Yemen [especially the Nakhaʿ clan of Madhḥij], hardly converted to Islam earlier than he.

would not go well for the people of Islam either day or night. But (affairs) are determined and directed by God, and 'He attains His purpose.'[222] So come back to what is good and speak of that."

They responded, "You are not fit for that." He said, "By God, in truth it belongs to God to attack and take vengeance. Indeed I fear for you, lest you become so entangled in submission to Satan that submission to Satan and rebellion against the Merciful One will cause you to reside in the abode of humiliation from God's vengeance in the present and (in the abode of) everlasting abasement
[2920] in the future."

Then they jumped on him and seized his head and beard. He said, "Hey, this is not the province of Kūfah! By God, if the Syrians saw what you have done to me, their imām, I could not restrain them from killing you. By my life, you always act the same way." Then he arose from among them and said, "By God, I shall never enter your presence again as long as I live." Then he wrote to 'Uthmān [as follows]: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To the servant of God, 'Uthmān, Commander of the Faithful, from Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. To proceed: O Commander of the Faithful, you sent to me certain bands of men speaking with the tongue of devils, saying things which (these latter) were dictating to them. They come to the people, so they allege, for the sake of the Qur'ān, but they render [it] obscure and ambiguous. Not all of the people understand what they mean to do, for they only desire schism and they bring discord (*fitnah*) nearer. Islam has been a burden to them and has vexed them. The spells of Satan have become fixed in their hearts, and they corrupted many of the people among the Kūfans who were around them. If they remain in the midst of the Syrians, I worry that they may delude them with their sorcery and depravity. Send them back to their garrison town [that is, Kūfah] and let them reside there, where their dissembling first appeared. Peace."

'Uthmān wrote and commanded him to send them back to Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ in Kūfah, and (Mu'āwiyah) did so. But when they re-
[2921] turned they were even more inflammatory [than before]. Sa'īd wrote to 'Uthmān complaining intensely about them, and

222. Qur'ān 65:3.

'Uthmān wrote back to him to send them away to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd, who was governor (*amīr*) in Ḥimṣ. ('Uthmān) wrote to al-Ashtar and his associates [as follows]: "To proceed: I am exiling you to Ḥimṣ. When this letter of mine reaches you, go there, for you do not desist from evil against Islam and its adherents. Peace."

When al-Ashtar read the letter, he said, "O God, ('Uthmān) is the worst of us in his concern for the subjects (*ra'iyyah*) and the one who does most to arouse rebellion among them, so hasten [your] vengeance against him!" Sa'īd wrote to 'Uthmān about that, and al-Ashtar and his associates traveled to Ḥimṣ. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd settled them in the coastal districts (*al-Sāḥil*) and had rations provided for them.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—'Īsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥman—Abū Isḥāq al-Hamdānī: A few individuals from among the nobles of Iraq (*ashrāf ahl al-'Irāq*) gathered in Kūfah to defame 'Uthmān: Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar, Thābit b. Qays al-Nakha'ī, Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakha'ī, Zayd b. Ṣūḥān al-'Abdī, [his brother Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Ṣūḥān],[223] Jundub b. Zuhayr al-Ghāmidī, Jundub b. Ka'b al-Azdī, 'Urwah b. al-Ja'd, 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'ī, [and Ibn al-Kawwā'].[224] Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ wrote to 'Uthmān to inform him about their activities. ('Uthmān) wrote back, ordering him to exile them to Syria and to make them stay in the mountain passes [in Cilicia].[225]

'Uthmān's Exile of Certain Baṣrans to Syria [2922]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Aṭiyyah—Yazīd al-Faq'asī: When Ibn 'Āmir had been governor for three years, he learned that there was a man in [the residential quarter of the tribe of] 'Abd al-Qays who was staying with

223. The name in brackets is supplied by Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā;* see de Goeje, *Introductio,* dcxxvii. With the names supplied here and in note 219, the list totals ten—that is, the number of troublemakers mentioned in Sa'īd's first letter to 'Uthmān above, p. 121 (text, I, 2916).

224. Ibid. *Kawwā'* means "one who cauterizes, brands," but by extension "slanderer." Perhaps Ibn al-Kawwā' should be taken as a pejorative nickname here.

225. *Wa-alzimhum 'l-durūba.* For the translation, see Caetani, *Annali,* VIII, 41. The point of course was to put the dissidents in a place remote from the main political centers.

Ḥukaym b. Jabalah. Now Ḥukaym b. Jabalah was a robber. When the armies would return [from campaign], he would slip away from them and hurry off to Fārs to raid the protected non-Muslims (*ahl al-dhimmah*), treat them wrongfully, sow corruption in the land, and do whatever he desired; then he would come back. The protected non-Muslims and the Muslims both complained about him to ʿUthmān, and he wrote to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir: "Arrest (Ḥukaym) and anyone like him; he is not to leave Baṣrah until you see him acting uprightly." (Ibn ʿĀmir) arrested him and he was unable to leave (the city).

Now when Ibn al-Sawdāʾ came, he resided with (Ḥukaym). A few individuals gathered around him, and Ibn al-Sawdāʾ presented [legal and theological problems] to them without explaining them fully. However, they accepted [what he said] and believed him to be a man of importance. Ibn ʿĀmir sent to him and asked, "What are you?" (Ibn al-Sawdāʾ) informed him that he was a man from among the People of the Book who desired [to convert to] Islam and to live under (Ibn ʿĀmir's) protection. But (Ibn ʿĀmir) said, "That is not what I hear. Get away from me." So he left and came to Kūfah. Then he was expelled from there and established himself in Egypt. He and (his sympathizers in Iraq) began to corre-
[2923] spond with one another, and men were traveling back and forth in great numbers.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Ḥumrān b. Abān had married a woman during her period of waiting, and ʿUthmān punished him severely and compelled them to separate.[226] He exiled (Ḥumrān) to Baṣrah, where he joined the entourage of Ibn ʿĀmir. One day they all discussed going out to ride and calling on ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Qays, who lived in seclusion from the people. Ḥumrān said, "I'll go ahead of you all and inform him [that you are coming]." He set off and entered ʿĀmir's presence while he was reading from the Qur'ān (*muṣḥaf*). (Ḥumrān) said, "The governor (*amīr*) has decided to call on you, and I wished to inform you [of this]." But ʿĀmir

226. On the *ʿiddah*, the period (usually three months) that must elapse between a woman's divorce or widowhood and her remarriage, see Y. Linant de Bellefonds, "ʿIdda," *EI*,², III, 1010–13. A marriage contracted during the *ʿiddah* is null and void and the couple must be separated.

would not break off his reading and pay any attention to him, so (Ḥumrān) rose to go. When he had gotten to the door, he encountered Ibn ʿĀmir and said, "I come to you from a man who does not regard even the lineage of Abraham as superior to himself."

Ibn ʿĀmir then asked to come in; he entered (ʿĀmir's) presence and sat down before him. Then ʿĀmir closed the Qur'ān and spoke with him for an hour. "Surely you will come to visit us," said Ibn ʿĀmir. (ʿĀmir) replied, "Saʿīd b. Abī al-ʿArjā' would enjoy the honor [of such invitations]." Then (Ibn ʿĀmir) said, "Indeed we shall appoint you to office." "Ḥuṣayn b. Abī al-Ḥurr would like government office (*ʿamal*)," said (ʿĀmir). "Then we shall arrange a marriage for you," said (Ibn ʿĀmir). He said, "Women are pleasing to Rabīʿah b. ʿIsl." (Ibn ʿĀmir) said, "This man [that is, Ḥumrān] claims that you do not regard the lineage of Abraham as superior to yourself." Then (ʿĀmir) leafed through the Qur'ān and the first passage he came upon was [this one]: "God chose Adam and [2924]
Noah and the House of Abraham and the House of ʿImrān above all beings."[227] When Ḥumrān was sent back [to Medina], he strove assiduously to discredit (ʿĀmir) in this matter, and [a number of] groups (*aqwām*) testified in support of (Ḥumrān). (ʿUthmān) thus sent (ʿĀmir) into exile in Syria. When (the Syrians) found out the truth about him, they gave him permission [to return to Baṣrah], but he refused and remained in Syria.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ʿUthmān exiled Ḥumrān b. Abān for having married a woman during her period of waiting; he compelled them to separate, flogged him, and sent him off to Baṣrah. When (Ḥumrān) had served some time in exile and (ʿUthmān) received a satisfactory report about him,[228] he gave him permission [to return]. (Ḥumrān) came before (the caliph) in Medina, accompanied by a band of men (*qawm*) who calumnied ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Qays, [saying] that he did not approve of marriage, nor did he eat meat or attend the Friday prayer. Now ʿĀmir was a man who lived in seclusion, and everything he did was done in

227. Qur'ān 3:30.

228. *Fa-lammā atā ʿalayhi ma shāʾa ʾllāhu wa-atāhu ʿanhu ʾlladhī yuḥibbu. . . .* Sayf's taste for difficult constructions and pronouns without clear antecedents is evident here again.

secret. ('Uthmān) wrote to 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir about this matter, and he placed ('Āmir) under Mu'āwiyah's authority.

When Mu'āwiyah came to him he found him agreeable. ('Āmir) had a portion of bread prepared with broth and meat, and ate unfamiliar food. Then (Mu'āwiyah) knew that lies had been told about this man and said, "Do you know why you were expelled [from Baṣrah]?" "No," replied ('Āmir). (Mu'āwiyah) said, "The caliph was informed that you would not eat meat, but I have seen you do so and know that people have lied about you. [He was also told] that you do not approve of marriage or attend the Friday prayer." ('Āmir) said, "As to the Friday prayer, I attend it in the rear of the mosque; then I am among the first of the people to go back home. As for marriage, I have gone out [to find a bride] and I am [now] betrothed. As for meat, you have seen for yourself, but I
[2925] was a man who would not eat animals killed by butchers ever since I saw a butcher dragging a sheep to be slaughtered. Then he placed a knife on its throat and repeated over and over, 'For sale, for sale,' until it dropped dead." (Mu'āwiyah) said, "Go back [to Baṣrah]." "I shall not go back to a place whose people have felt it permissible to behave toward me as they have," ('Āmir) said. "I shall instead remain in this place that God has chosen for me." He used to reside in the coastal districts and would encounter Mu'āwiyah [there]. Mu'āwiyah would frequently ask, "[What] do you need?" And ('Āmir) would reply, "I need nothing." When (Mu'āwiyah) pressed him, he said, "If you gave me back some of Baṣrah's heat, perhaps fasting would be something difficult for me, for in your country it is easy."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān: When the exiles from Kūfah came to Mu'āwiyah, he settled them in a house and then went to see them alone. He and they each spoke, and when they had finished he said, "You were brought here only because of [your own] folly. By God, I perceive neither any relevant speech, clear excuse nor wise forbearance nor forcefulness—and you, Ṣa'ṣa'ah, are the most stupid among them. Do and say what you will so long as you do not neglect anything that God has commanded. Indeed everything can be tolerated from you save rebellion against Him. As for what passes between you and us, you are in command of yourselves."

Then (Muʿāwiyah) saw them later when they were attending the prayer and standing alongside the congregation's preacher (*qāṣṣ al-jamāʿah*).[229] One day he entered their presence as some of them were teaching others how to recite [the Qur'ān], and he said, "In this there is indeed a change from the yearning for the Time of Ignorance that you had when you came to me. Go where you [2926] wish, and know that if you adhere to your community (*jamāʿah*) you will thereby be happier than they, while if you do not adhere to it, you will thereby be more wretched than they. Do no injury to anyone." Then they blessed him [for these words] and extolled him.

Then (Muʿāwiyah) said, "Ibn al-Kawwā', what kind of man am I?" He answered, "[A man of] vast wealth and numerous flocks, possessing sound intuition and profound judgment. A man dominated by forbearance, one of the pillars of Islam. By you a dreaded breach has been closed up." (Muʿāwiyah) said, "Then inform me about the partisans of innovation (*ahl al-iḥdāth*) among the inhabitants of the camp cities [of Iraq], for you are the most intelligent of your associates." (Ibn al-Kawwā') responded, "I have corresponded with them and they with me; they pretend not to know me, but I am acquainted with them. As for the innovators among the Medinese, they are the members of the community (*al-ummah*) most intent on evil and least capable of doing it. As for the innovators among the Kūfans, they are those among the people most likely to discern small shortcomings and most given to the commission of great sins. As to the innovators among the Baṣrans, they arrive united and leave in discord. As for the innovators among the Egyptians, they are the ones among the people who actually do the greatest evil and who most quickly repent. As for the innovators among the Syrians, they are the most obedient of the people to one who guides them aright, and the most rebellious against one who leads them astray."

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229. *Qāṣṣ* is a difficult word. In archaic usage, it can simply refer to the man who recites the bidding prayer (*khuṭbah*) on Friday, and it might mean that here, though this service is identified simply as *ṣalāt*, not specifically as *jumʿah*. More generally, it refers to one who tells edifying sermons and stories or who expounds scripture. After he became caliph, Muʿāwiyah is supposed to have established an official *qāṣṣ* to explicate the Qur'ān, and this might be simply an anachronistic reference to that institution. See Ch. Pellat, "Ḳāṣṣ," *EI*², IV, 733–35.

In this year, 'Uthmān led the people on the Pilgrimage.

Abū Ma'shar claims that the conquest of Cyprus took place in this year, but I have already mentioned those who contradict him in this regard.[230]

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230. See above, pp. 25 (text I, 2820) and 111–12 (I, 2907).

The Events of the Year [2927]

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(July 22, 654—July 10, 655)

In (this year) took place the Battle of the Masts, according to the account related to me by Aḥmad (b. Thābit al-Rāzī)—one who related [it] to him—Isḥāq (b. 'Īsā)— Abū Ma'shar. We have already given the account of this battle and mentioned those who contradict Abū Ma'shar's chronology.[231]

In (this year), the Kūfans drove Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ out of the city.

In (this year), those who were alienated from 'Uthmān b. 'Affān wrote to one another, planning to gather together in order to confront him with (those matters) concerning which they were angry at him.

The Character of the Meeting [to Confront 'Uthmān] and [the Day of] al-Jara'ah[232]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd—Qays b. Yazīd al-Nakha'ī: When Mu'āwi-

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231. See above, p. 71 (text, I, 2865).
232. Bracketed words from Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 147.

yah sent the exiles away, they said, "Iraq and Syria are no home for us; you [*sic*] must choose the Jazīrah." They came there freely, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid went out to meet them. He dealt severely with them, and they humbled themselves before him and submitted to his authority. (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) sent al-Ashtar to ʿUthmān, who received him, saying, "Go wherever you wish." (Al-Ashtar) answered, "I shall return to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān," and he did that.

In the eleventh year of ʿUthmān's caliphate, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ came to confer with ʿUthmān. A year and more before Saʿīd's departure from Kūfah, he had sent out [a number of deputies to the provinces under his authority, as follows]: al-Ashʿath b. Qays over Ādharbayjān; Saʿīd b. Qays over al-Rayy—Saʿīd had held authority
[2928] in Hamadhān but was removed and replaced by al-Nusayr al-ʿIjlī; al-Sāʾib b. al-Aqraʿ over Iṣfahān; Mālik b. Ḥabīb al-Yarbūʿī over Māh;[233] Ḥukaym b. Salāmah al-Ḥizāmī over Mosul; Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh over Qarqīsiyāʾ;[234] Salmān b. Rabīʿah over al-Bāb; al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr as military commandant [in Kūfah];[235] and ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās over Ḥulwān.[236]

Thus, Kūfah was emptied of leaders (*ruʾasāʾ*), save for those who had been stripped of office or afflicted with the spirit of dissension.[237] Then Yazīd b. Qays set out with the intention of deposing ʿUthmān. He entered the mosque and sat down. Those

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233. Māh is an abbreviation for Māh al-Kūfah, a district in the western Jibāl (ancient Media, modern Iranian Kurdistan) subject to the governor of Kūfah. Its boundaries and administrative status fluctuated considerably in the first decades of Islamic rule. See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 141–42.

234. Qarqīsiyāʾ (ancient Circesium) is a modest but strategically situated town, at the confluence of the Khābūr and Euphrates Rivers. It is located about 525 km. northwest of Kūfah. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 105; M. Streck, "Ḳarḳīsiyā," *EI*², 654–55.

235. *Wa-ʿalā ʾl-ḥarbi ʾl-Qaʿqāʿa ʾbna ʿAmrin*. One would expect a place name here, but no "Ḥarb" is noted in any geographical reference. Al-Qaʿqāʿ had been one of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ' most effective generals in the conquest of Iraq. On him see the numerous references in Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, esp. 390–91.

236. Ḥulwān is a strategic city on the frontier between Iraq and the Iranian highlands, located on the main road between lower Iraq and Hamadhān. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 191; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 141 et passim.

237. *Maftūn:* lit., "tried by fire." It can also mean "stricken by insanity." In the present context, however, "affected by *fitnah*" seems best suited to the context. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VI, 2334–36.

with whom Ibn al-Sawdā' had been corresponding there gathered around (Yazīd). Al-Qa'qā' fell upon Yazīd b. Qays and seized him, but he said, "We are only seeking Sa'īd's resignation." (Al-Qa'qā') replied, "That is something that you will not get. Do not sit [here] to discuss this, and (these malcontents) must not come and meet with you. Seek what you really need, and by my life it will be given to you." Then (Yazīd) returned to his house and hired a man, giving him a sum of dirhams and some mules, on condition that he should go to the exiles [in the Jazīrah]. (Yazīd) wrote to them [as follows]: "Do not let my letter out of your hands until you come, for the inhabitants of the garrison town [namely, Kūfah] have joined our cause."

The man (hired by Yazīd) slipped away and came to (the exiles), [to whom] al-Ashtar had already returned. He presented (Yazīd's) letter to them, and they asked, "What is your name?" "Bughthur," he replied. "What is your tribe?" they asked. "Kalb," he said. "A vile predator that disgusts (*yubaghthir*) the soul. We have no need of you," they said.[238] But al-Ashtar disagreed with them, and returned in rebellion [to Kūfah]. When he had gone, his associates said, "God has exiled both us and him. We shall find no escape from what he has done. If 'Abd al-Raḥmān learns about us, he will not believe us and he will not take this lightly." So they followed after (al-Ashtar) but did not join up with him. 'Abd al-Raḥmān learned that they had departed and searched for them in [2929]
the Sawād. Al-Ashtar made the journey in seven [days], the other exiles (*al-qawm*) in ten.

Now one Friday the people unexpectedly found al-Ashtar at the mosque portal, saying, "O people, I have come to you from the Commander of the Faithful 'Uthmān. When I left Sa'īd he was trying to get (the caliph) to cut [the state pension of] your women to a hundred dirhams, and to reduce [the salary] of the long-term veterans (*ahl al-balā'*) among you to 2000.[239] (Sa'īd) was saying,

238. Kalb was a tribe belonging to the Quḍā'ah confederation in southern Syria. There is a pun here, of course, since *kalb* means "dog," not a highly esteemed animal in the Islamic world. On the tribe, see Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 106–7 et passim; J. W. Fück and A. A. Dixon, "Kalb b. Wabara," *EI*², IV, 492–94. On the animal, F. Viré, "Kalb," *EI*², IV, 489–92.

239. The stipend for the veterans of the first Iraqi campaigns (that is, those that took place before the battle of al-Qādisiyyah) had originally been set at 3000

'How important are the noble women (*ashrāf al-nisā'*)? This is just an extra burden on top of the others.'[240] He claims that your conquered lands (*fay'*) are the private garden of Quraysh. I traveled with him a day's march, and he was constantly reciting doggerel about (these matters) up to the time I separated from him:

Woe to the noble women from me—
as strong and violent as though I were a demon (*jinn*).

He has disparaged the people. Men of intelligence have begun to denounce him, and among them he is not needed."

There was a sudden commotion, and Yazīd went out and ordered a public herald to call out, "Whoever wishes to join Yazīd b. Qays in driving out Sa'īd and seeking a new governor, let him act!" The far-sighted, the nobles, and the leading men among the people remained in the mosque, but the others went out. At that time, 'Amr b. Ḥurayth was (Sa'īd's) vicegerent (*khalīfah*), and he mounted the pulpit. Having praised and extolled God, he said, "'Remember God's blessing upon you when you were enemies, and He brought your hearts together so that by His blessing you became brothers. You were upon the brink of a pit of Fire, and He delivered you from it.'[241] Do not revert to an evil from which Almighty God has delivered you. After Islam and its guidance and its practice (*sunnah*), will you not recognize truth and aim straight for its gate?"

Then al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr said, "Will you turn the flood aside from
[2930] its course? Then divert the Euphrates from its channel. How foolish! No, by God, only Mashrafī swords[242] will silence the mob, and they are on the point of being drawn. Then (these people) will bawl like goats and long for their present situation. God

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dirhams per year. See Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 231; Hinds, "Kūfan Political Alignments," 349.

240. *Wa-yaqūlu: mā bālu ashrāfi 'l-nisā'i wa-hādhihi 'l-'ilāwatu bayna hādhayni 'l-idlayni.* The *'ilāwah* is an extra load placed between the two evenly balanced loads (*'idl*) carried on each side of a camel.

241. Qur'ān 3:98–99.

242. *al-mashrafiyyah.* The origin of this term is somewhat obscure, but it seems to refer to the locale—either in the Yemen or close to Syria—in which these swords were made. Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1539.

will never restore (Sa'īd's) authority over them, so endure patiently." "I will endure patiently," ('Amr) said, and went to his house.

Yazīd b. Qays, accompanied by al-Ashtar, went out and established camp at al-Jara'ah.[243] Sa'īd had halted on the road, and then came upon them as they were encamped waiting for him. They said, "We want nothing to do with you." He replied, "What are you quarreling about now? It would have sufficed for you to send one man to the Commander of the Faithful and to put another man in my place. Do a thousand rational men set out against one man?" Then he left them, and they noticed a freedman (*mawlā*) of his on a camel that was worn out [from the journey]. (The freedman) said, "By God, it does not behoove Sa'īd to go back [to Medina]." And al-Ashtar struck off his head.

Sa'īd proceeded until he reached 'Uthmān, whom he informed of the news. ('Uthmān) said, "What do they want? Have they withdrawn their hand from obedience?" (Sa'īd) responded, "They proclaim that they want a change [of governors]." "Whom do they want?" asked ('Uthmān). "Abū Mūsā (al-Ash'arī)," replied (Sa'īd). ('Uthmān) said, "Then we have set Abū Mūsā over them. By God, we shall create no excuse for anyone, nor will we leave them any proof [against us]. We shall endure patiently, as we have been commanded to do, until we attain what they desire."

Those who held sub-governorships (*'amal*) near Kūfah returned [to Medina], as did Jarīr from Qarqīsiyā' and 'Utaybah from Ḥulwān. In Kūfah, Abū Mūsā arose to speak, saying, "O people, do not hasten into such an affair, and do not do such a thing again. Adhere to your community (*jamā'ah*) and cling to obedience. Beware of acting precipitously. Endure patiently, just as if you had a governor (*amīr*)." They responded, "Lead us in prayer." He said, "I will not, unless you heed and obey 'Uthmān b. 'Affān." They replied, "We will heed and obey 'Uthmān." [2931]

It was related to me by Ja'far b. 'Abdallāh al-Muḥammadī—'Amr b. Ḥammād b. Ṭalḥah and 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Īsā—Ḥusayn b. 'Īsā—his father—Hārūn b. Sa'd—al-'Alā' b. 'Abdallāh b. Zayd al-'Anbarī: A body of Muslims gathered together to review the deeds and conduct of 'Uthmān. They concurred in a decision to

243. A place near al-Qādisiyyah; see below, p. 139 (text, I, 2934).

dispatch a man to speak to him and inform him of his blameworthy innovations (*aḥdāth*). To him they sent ʿĀmir b. ʿAbdallāh al-Tamīmī al-ʿAnbarī, who is the one known as ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Qays. (ʿĀmir) came and entered (ʿUthmān's) presence, saying, "A body of Muslims have met together and examined your actions, and they find that you have committed grave misdeeds. So fear Almighty God; turn to Him in repentance and refrain from (such acts)."

ʿUthmān said to him, "Look at this man! The people assert that he is a man learned in the Qur'ān (*qāriʾ*), and then he comes to speak to me about utterly trivial things. By God, he does not know where God is." ʿĀmir responded, "So I do not know where God is?" "Yes, by God," said (ʿUthmān), "you do not know where God is." ʿĀmir said, "Yes, indeed, by God! I know that God is
[2932] lying in watch for you."[244]

Then ʿUthmān sent to Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, to ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, to Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, to ʿAmr b. al-ʿAṣ b. Wāʾil al-Sahmī, and to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir. He brought them together in order to consult with them about his situation, about what had been demanded of him, and about what he had learned from them. When they had assembled at his residence, he said to them, "Every man has ministers (*wuzarāʾ*) and counselors. Now you are my ministers, my counselors, and my trusted men. The people have acted as you see, demanding that I depose my governors (*ʿummāl*), and that I turn away from that which they hate toward that which they love. So decide what you think is right and advise me."

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir said to him, "My advice to you, Commander of the Faithful, is that you command them to undertake a *jihād* that will divert their attention from you, and that you keep them on campaign until they act humbly before you. In this way every one of them will be concerned only about himself, about the saddle sores of his pack animal, and about the lice on his scalp."

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244. Probably an allusion to Qur'ān 89:5–13. "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with ʿAd, Iram of the pillars, the like of which was never created in the land, and Thamud, who hollowed the rocks in the valley, and Pharaoh, he of the tent pegs, who all were insolent in the land and worked much corruption therein? Thy Lord unloosed on them a scourge of chastisement; surely thy Lord is ever on the watch."

Then 'Uthmān came to Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ and asked him for his opinion. He said, "O Commander of the Faithful, if you desire our opinion, cure yourself of the disease and amputate from yourself what you fear. Follow my advice, and you will attain your goal." "What is it?" said ('Uthmān). (Sa'īd) answered, "Every group has leaders. When these are eliminated, they will disperse and will be unable to agree on anything." 'Uthmān said, "This would indeed be the right opinion, were it not for what it involves!"

He approached Mu'āwiyah and said, "What is your view?" He answered, "O Commander of the Faithful, I think it best for you to send your governors back, on condition that they administer their provinces with care, and I will be the guarantor for you of my province."[245]

Then ('Uthmān) came to 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd and said, "What do you think?" He answered, "O Commander of the Faithful, in my opinion the people are greedy. Bestow upon them some of this wealth and their hearts will incline to you."

Then ('Uthmān) approached 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and sought his opinion. He said, "I think that you have perpetrated things against the [2933] people that they detest, so resolve to do justice. If you reject [this course], then make up your mind to abdicate. If you reject [that], then be firm in your resolve and continue straight ahead." 'Uthmān replied, "What is wrong with you? May your scalp crawl with lice! Are you serious about this?" 'Amr refused to answer him for some time, until [the rest of] the assembly (*qawm*) had dispersed. Then 'Amr said, "No, O Commander of the Faithful, you are dearer to me than that, but I knew that the people would hear about the statements of every man among us. I wanted them to learn what I said so that they would trust me, and thereby I would bring you good and ward off evil."

It was related to me by Ja'far—'Amr b. Ḥammād and 'Alī b. Ḥusayn—Ḥusayn—his father—'Amr b. Abī al-Miqdām—'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr al-Zuhrī: 'Uthmān assembled the commanders of the armies (*umarā' al-ajnād*)—Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir, 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ, and

245. *an tarudda 'ummālaka 'alā 'l-kifāyati limā qibalahum wa-anā ḍāminun laka [mā] qibalī.* See de Goeje, *Introductio*, cdlv, sub verbo *kafā*.

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. He said, "Give me your advice, for the people have become as threatening to me as leopards."

Mu'āwiyah said to him, "I advise you to order the commanders of your armies that every one of them should administer his province carefully on your behalf, and I will administer the people of Syria carefully on your behalf." 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir said, "In my opinion you should keep them tied up in these campaigns until every one of them is concerned about the saddle sores of his pack animal. Thus, you will keep them too preoccupied to spread calumnies about you." 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd said, "I advise you to look into what has angered them and give them satisfaction; then you should distribute to them this wealth and divide [it] among them."

Then 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ rose up and said: "O 'Uthmān, you have afflicted the people with men like the Banū Umayyah.[246] You and they have both spoken [in anger], and you and they have both gone astray. So do justice or abdicate. But if you reject [this counsel], be firm in your resolve and continue straight ahead." Then
[2934] 'Uthmān replied, "What is wrong with you? May your scalp crawl with lice! Are you serious about this?" 'Amr remained silent until (the others) had dispersed; then he said, "No, Commander of the Faithful, you are dearer to me than that, but I knew that at the portal there was a band of men (*qawm*). These knew that you had assembled us to obtain our advice, and I wanted them to hear about my statement, so that I might bring you good or ward off evil from you."

Then 'Uthmān sent his governors (*'ummāl*) back to their provinces, commanding them to maintain stringent control of those under their authority and to keep the people tied up on campaigns. He decided also to deny them their stipends, so that they would submit to him and be in need of him. He sent Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ back as governor (*amīr*) of Kūfah, but the Kūfans came forth in arms against him, confronted him, and made him return [to

246. The Umayyad clan of Quraysh, under the leadership of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, had of course been the heart and soul of Meccan opposition to Muḥammad. One of the most persistent and damaging charges against 'Uthmān (at least as represented in our texts) was his favoritism toward these old enemies of the Prophet, who were also his own kinsmen.

Medina]. They said, "No, by God, he will not rule over us while we still bear our swords."

It was related to me by Ja'far—'Amr and 'Alī b. Ḥusayn[247]—his father—Hārūn b. Sa'd—Abū Yaḥyā 'Umayr b. Sa'd al-Nakha'ī: In my mind I can still see al-Ashtar Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī. His face was covered with dust, and he was girt with a sword and saying, "By God, he—that is, Sa'īd—will not enter (our city) against us while we still bear our swords." That was the Day of al-Jara'ah. Al-Jara'ah is a high place near al-Qādisiyyah, and there the Kūfans met (Sa'īd).

It was related to me by Ja'far—'Amr and 'Alī—Ḥusayn—his father—Hārūn b. Sa'd—'Amr b. Murrah al-Jamalī—Abū al-Bakhtarī al-Ṭā'ī—Abū Thawr al-Ḥadā'i, Ḥadā' being a section of [the tribe of] Murād: I came to Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān and Abū Mas'ūd 'Uqbah b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī while they were in the mosque of Kūfah on the Day of al-Jara'ah, where the people dealt with [2935]
Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ as they did. Abū Mas'ūd was treating this as a serious matter and saying, "I do not think [the affair] will be brought to an end without blood being spilled."[248] Ḥudhayfah replied, "By God, it will surely come to an end without producing even a cupping glass of blood. I do not know anything about it today that I did not know when Muḥammad was alive. Verily a man is a follower of Islām in the morning; then in the evening he has nothing to do with it. Then on the morrow he fights the Muslims (*ahl al-qiblah*) and God kills him, so that his heart recoils and he doubles up in fear."[249]

Then I [that is, Abū al-Bakhtarī al-Ṭā'ī] said to Abū Thawr, "Perhaps it was [that way]." He replied, "No, by God, it was not."

[According to al-Ṭabarī:] When Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ returned to 'Uthmān, having been expelled [from Kūfah], he sent Abū Mūsā to

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247. Prym proposes two possible emendations in the *isnād*, both of which seem reasonable in view of the other *isnāds* attached to Ja'far b. 'Abdallāh al-Muḥammadī: either (a) 'Amr and 'Alī—Ḥusayn—his father; or (b) 'Amr and 'Alī b. Ḥusayn—Ḥusayn b. 'Īsā—his father.

248. *Mā arā an turadda 'alā 'aqibayhā ḥattā yakūna fīhā dimā'un.*

249. *fa-ta'luwahu istuhu.* Literally: "so that his buttocks rise above him." This entire passage seems quite obscure.

be governor (*amīr*) in Kūfah, and (the Kūfans) confirmed him in authority over it.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Yaḥyā b. Muslim—Wāqid b. ʿAbdallāh—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr al-Ashjaʿī: (Abū Mūsā) rose up in the mosque during the troubles (*fitnah*) and said, "O people, be still. For I heard the Messenger of God say, 'He who departs [from the Community] when there is an imām over the people'—and by God, he did not say a just imām—'in order to shatter their staff and to break up their community, kill him whoever he may be.'"

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When Yazīd b. Qays caused the people to howl at Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, word of this came to ʿUthmān.
[2936] Then al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr approached (Yazīd) and seized him. (Yazīd) said, "What do you want? Do you have any reason to prevent us from seeking (Saʿīd's) resignation?" (Al-Qaʿqāʿ) replied, "No. [Are you trying to do anything] beside that?" "No," said (Yazīd). "Then seek his resignation," said (al-Qaʿqāʿ). Yazīd summoned his associates from where they were staying, and they drove Saʿīd back [to Medina] and demanded Abū Mūsā [as his successor].

Then ʿUthmān wrote to them [as follows]: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To proceed: I have named as your governor the one whom you have chosen, and I have relieved you of Saʿīd. By God, I will surely expose my honor to your abuse, and wear out my patience, and use every effort to seek reconciliation with you. So do not fail to ask for whatever you desire, so long as it does not involve rebellion against God. Nor should you fail to demand relief from whatever you hate, so long as it does not involve rebellion against God. Thus, I will comply with whatever you desire until you have no argument (*ḥujjah*) against me."

(ʿUthmān) wrote in this vein to the [other] garrison towns. Thus came about the governorship of Abū Mūsā and the expedition of Ḥudhayfah. Abū Mūsā became governor, the governors (*ʿummāl*) returned to their provinces, and Ḥudhayfah proceeded to al-Bāb.

According to al-Wāqidī—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad—his father: In the year 34 (654–55) certain of the Companions of the Messenger of God wrote to others [as follows]: "Come, for if you desire the *jihād*, then the *jihād* is here with us." The people

maligned[250] 'Uthmān and censured him in the harshest language ever used against anyone, while the Companions of the Messenger of God were giving their opinions and listening, and among them no one forbade or prevented this save a few individuals: Zayd b. Thābit, Abū Usayd al-Sā'idī, Ka'b b. Mālik, and Ḥassān b. Thābit.

The people assembled and spoke to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and he entered 'Uthmān's presence and said, "The people stand behind me, and they have spoken to me about you. By God, I do not know what to say to you. I know nothing of which you are ignorant, nor can I point out to you any affair with which you are not well acquainted. Indeed you know what we know. We have not perceived something before you have, so that we must inform you of it. Nor have we gained sole knowledge of anything so that we must bring it to your attention. In no affair have we been assigned greater distinction than you. You have seen and heard the Mes- [2937]
senger of God; you were one of his Companions and became a son-in-law to him. (Abū Bakr) b. Abī Quḥāfah was not better suited than you to act rightly, nor did ('Umar) b. al-Khaṭṭāb enjoy greater merit in any way, and indeed you had a closer blood-relationship to the Messenger of God [than either of them]. You obtained a marriage tie to the Messenger of God such as they never did, nor did they have any precedence over you.[251] Remember God! You are not being given your sight after you were blind, by God, nor are you being instructed after you were in ignorance. Verily the path is manifest and clear, and the signposts of true religion are standing upright.

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250. Reading *kaththara* instead of *kathura*. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxvii; and *WKAS*, sub verbo *kaththara*, p. 61, col. 2.

251. 'Uthmān, like Muḥammad, belonged to the Qurashi lineage of 'Abd Shams—that is, the two men had a common great-great-grandfather in the paternal line. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Abū Bakr were both members of the tribe of Quraysh, but their clans (Makhzūm and Taym respectively) were only remotely connected with Muḥammad. In addition, 'Uthmān's mother, Arwā bt. Kurayz, was the granddaughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib on her mother's side; that is, she and Muḥammad were first cousins. As to marriage ties between the first three caliphs and the Prophet: Abū Bakr's daughter 'Ā'ishah became Muḥammad's favorite wife; 'Uthmān married the Prophet's daughter Ruqayyah, who predeceased her husband; 'Umar had no such links, since Muḥammad thought him too harsh for any of his daughers.

"Know, 'Uthmān, that the best of God's servants in His eyes is a just imām, one who has been guided aright and who himself gives right guidance, for he upholds accepted prescriptions (*sunnah ma'lūmah*) and destroys rejected innovations (*bid'ah matrūkah*). By God, everything is clear. Sound prescriptions stand clearly marked, as do blameworthy innovations. The worst of men in God's sight is a tyrannical imām, one who has gone astray himself and by whom others are led astray, for he destroys an
[2938] accepted prescription and revives a rejected innovation. Verily, I heard the Messenger of God say, 'The Day of Resurrection will be brought by the tyrannical imām; he will have no helper and no advocate, so that he will be cast into Hell, turning about in Hell as the mill turns, and then he will plunge into the fiery flood of Hell.' I tell you to beware of God and His sudden assault and His vengeance, for His punishment is harsh and painful indeed. I tell you to beware lest you be the murdered imām of this Community. Indeed it is said that an imām will be killed in this Community, and that bloody strife will be loosed upon it until the Day of Resurrection, and its affairs will become hopelessly entangled. (God) will leave them as sects (*shiya'*), and they will not see the truth due to the great height of falsehood. They will toss therein like waves and wander in confusion."

Then 'Uthmān replied, "By God, I knew that (people) would be saying what you have said. But by God, if you were in my place I would not have berated you nor left you in the lurch nor shamed you nor behaved foully. If I have favored kinsmen, filled a need, sheltered an impoverished wretch, and appointed as governors men like those whom 'Umar used to appoint, [then what have I done wrong?] I adjure you by God, O 'Alī, do you know that al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah is not there?" "Yes," he answered. ('Uthmān) said, "Do you know that 'Umar made him a governor?"[252] "Yes," he answered. Then ('Uthmān) said, "So why do you blame me for having appointed Ibn 'Āmir, simply because of his close kinship [with me]?"

'Alī said, "I will tell you that everyone appointed by 'Umar b. al-

252. Of Baṣrah, after the resignation of 'Utbah b. Ghazwān, probably in 14/635–636. See Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 217, 264. I admit to finding this reference to al-Mughīrah somewhat puzzling.

Khaṭṭāb was kept under close scrutiny by him.[253] If ('Umar) heard [2939]
a single word concerning him he would flog him, then punish him with the utmost severity. But you do not do [that]. You have been weak and easygoing with your relatives." "They are your relatives as well," answered 'Uthmān. 'Alī said, "By my life, they are closely related to me indeed, but merit is found in others." 'Uthmān said, "Do you know that 'Umar kept Mu'āwiyah in office throughout his entire caliphate, and I have only done the same." 'Alī answered, "I adjure you by God, do you know that Mu'āwiyah was more afraid of 'Umar than was 'Umar's own slave Yarfa'?" "Yes," said ('Uthmān). 'Alī went on, "In fact Mu'āwiyah makes decisions on issues without [consulting] you, and you know it. Thus, he says to the people. 'This is 'Uthmān's command.' You hear of this, but do not censure him."[254] Then 'Alī left him, and 'Uthmān went out on his heels.

Then ('Uthmān) took his seat upon the pulpit and said, "To proceed: For everything there is some bane and in every situation there is some defect. The bane of this Community (*ummah*) and the defect in this [divinely bestowed] beneficence are the maligners and slanderers who let you see what is pleasing to you and conceal what is hateful to you. They talk and talk to you. Men who resemble ostriches follow the first one to make a noise. Their favorite watering place is the one far away; they fail to quench their thirst and they get only the sediment. No leader arises, affairs have worn them out, and they possess no means of gain."

"By God, you have surely blamed me for things like those which you accepted from Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. But he trampled you underfoot, smote you with his hand, and subdued you by his tongue, and so you submitted to him whether you liked it or not. I [2940]
have been lenient with you. I let you tread on my shoulders while I restrained my hand and tongue, and therefore you have been insolent toward me. By God, I am stronger [than he] in kinsmen, I have allies closer at hand, I possess more supporters. It is more

253. *fa-innamā yaṭa'u 'alā ṣimākhihi*: literally, "indeed he would trample on his ear." See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dlix.

254. Reading *tu'ayyiru* instead of *tughayyiru*, in accordance with de Goeje's suggestion. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, ccclxxxiii, sub verbo *'ayyara*, dcxxvii.

fitting for me [than for him] to say 'Come!' and have [men] come to me. I have appointed over you your peers.[255] I have cheerfully lavished benefits upon you. But you have attributed to me a nature that I do not possess and statements that I have not uttered. Restrain your tongues and your slandering and maligning of your rulers (*wulāt*), for I have kept from you a man who would satisfy you with less than these words of mine were he the one [now] speaking to you. Nay, but which of your rights are you deprived of? By God, I have achieved no less than did my predecessors or those about whose [standing in the Community] you have not disagreed. There is a surplus of wealth, so why should I not do as I wish with the surplus? Why otherwise did I become imām?"

Then Marwān b. al-Ḥakam stood up and said [to the assembly], "If you wish, by God, we will cause the sword to judge between us and you—ourselves and you, by God! As the poet has said,

We have exposed our honor to your abuse;
unfit for you are
the overnight encampments which you erect
in the dung lying on the ground.

[2941] 'Uthmān said, "Be still now. Leave to me and my associates anything you have to say concerning this matter. Did I not command you not to speak?" Marwān fell silent and 'Uthmān descended [from the pulpit].

In this year, Abū 'Abs b. Jābir, a veteran of Badr, died in Medina. Two other veterans of Badr also died: Misṭaḥ b. Uthāthah, and 'Āqil b. Abī al-Bukayr, of [the clan of] Banū Sa'd b. Layth, an ally (*ḥalīf*) of the Banu 'Adī.

In this year, the Pilgrimage was led by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

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255. *Wa-laqad a'dadtu lakum aqrānakum.* See de Goeje, *Introductio*, cdxxii, who offers the following interpretation: "*Pares vobis apposui, non quod mihi licuit, numero et auctoritate praepollentes.*"

The Events of the Year 35

(July 11, 655–June 29, 656)

Among these was the encampment of the Egyptians at Dhū Khushub.

Concerning that event, it was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone who related it [to him]—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar: Dhū Khushub took place in the year 35 (655–56). Al-Wāqidī concurs in this.

An Account of the Egyptians Who Went to Dhū Khushub, and the Reason Why Certain Iraqis Went to Dhū al-Marwah

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAṭiyyah—Yazīd al-Faqʿasī: ʿAbdallāh b. Sabāʾ was a Jew from [2942]
Ṣanʿāʾ, and his mother was a black woman. He converted to Islam in the time of ʿUthmān, then roamed about the lands of the Muslims attempting to lead them into error. He began in the Ḥijāz, and then [worked] successively in Baṣrah, Kūfah, and Syria. He was unable to work his will upon a single one of the Syrians; they drove him out and he came to Egypt. He settled among the Egyp-

tians, saying to them, among other things, "How strange it is that some people claim that Jesus will return [to the earth], while denying that Muḥammad will return. Now Almighty God has said, 'He who has ordained the Qur'ān for thee shall surely restore thee to a place of return.'[256] Now Muḥammad is more worthy than Jesus to return."

[Yazīd al-Faq'asī] says: This gained the approval [of his listeners], and so he fabricated for them [the notion of] the Return (*raj'ah*), and they discussed it among themselves.[257] Later on, [Ibn Sabā'] said to them, "Verily there have been a thousand prophets (*nabī*); every prophet has an executor (*waṣī*) and 'Alī was the executor of Muḥammad."[258] He continued, "Muḥammad is the seal of the prophets, and 'Alī is the seal of the executors." Then after that he said, "Who commits a greater wrong than a man who has not carried out the testament of the Messenger of God, who has attacked the executor of the Messenger of God, and who has usurped power over the Community?" Then he told them, "Verily 'Uthmān has taken it without right, while this one [that is, 'Alī] is the executor of the Messenger of God. Therefore champion this cause and set it going. Begin by censuring your governors (*umarā'*). Proclaim publicly the commanding of good and the forbidding of evil,[259] and you will win over the people. Summon them to this cause."

Then he dispersed his agents (*du'āt*) and wrote to those whom he had corrupted in the garrison towns. They returned his corre-

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256. Qur'ān 28:85. I have slightly altered Arberry's rendering to fit the meaning proposed by Ibn Sabā'.

257. The doctrine of the Return or Second Coming—here applied to Muḥammad, but more characteristically to 'Alī or the seventh or twelfth imam—is one of the characteristic doctrines of the *ghulāt* (Shi'ite extremists) in the late seventh and eighth centuries. In spite of the dubious origins of this idea, it was ultimately applied by mainstream Shi'ism to the Twelfth Imam, who remains in a state of occultation until his coming again to usher in the last age. See A. A. Sachedina, *Messianism in Twelver Shiism* (Albany, N.Y.: 1981); Wadad al-Qadi, "The Development of the Term *'Ghulāt'* in Muslim Literature with Special Reference to the Kaysāniyya," *Akten VII Kongr. f. Arabistik u. Islamwissenschaft* (Göttingen: 1976), pp. 295–319.

258. Another characteristic Shi'i doctrine. See W. Madelung, "Imāma," *EI*², III, 1166—67.

259. The fundamental public duty of every adult Muslim; one may not be in position to compel the rulers to obey God's commandments, but one always has the obligation to warn and rebuke wherever sin is observed.

spondence and secretly preached their notions [to others]. In public they proclaimed the commanding of good and the forbidding of [2943
evil. They began sending letters to the garrison towns, filling them with censure of their rulers, while their brethren would write back to them in similar terms. Among [these dissidents] the inhabitants of each garrison town would write about their activities to another garrison town. Those involved would read this aloud in their various garrison towns, until finally they extended this [agitation] to Medina and spread his message throughout the earth. Their real aim was different from the one that they proclaimed in public, and what they kept secret was different from that which they presented openly. Thus, the inhabitants of every garrison town were saying, "We are secure from the trials facing everyone except the Medinese." As the latter became aware of [the agitation] in all the garrison towns, they said, "We are secure from the situation facing the people."

At this point [the narrator] is joined by Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: [The Medinese] came to 'Uthmān and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, have you heard what we hear concerning the people?" He answered, "No, by God. I have only heard about order and security." They continued, "[Certain things] have come to our attention," and they told him what had been communicated to them. Then ['Uthmān] said, "You are my associates (*shurakā'*) and the men of probity (*shuhūd*)[260] among the Believers, so advise me." They responded, "We advise you to send men whom you trust to the garrison towns so that they may bring back their reports to you."

Then he summoned Muḥammad b. Maslamah and dispatched him to Kūfah; he also sent Usāmah b. Zayd to Baṣrah, 'Ammār b. Yāsir to Egypt, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar to Syria. In addition to these, he sent men to various other places. They all returned before 'Ammār and said, "O people, we did not disapprove of anything [which we found during our tours of inspection], nor did the notables (*a'lām*) or commoners (*'awāmm*) among the Muslims." They said also, "The affairs of the Muslims are in good

260. In Islamic law, *shuhūd* are witnesses whose testimony is admissible in court. They must be persons of recognized religious and moral probity, and that seems to be what is at issue here.

order if only their governors (*umarā'*) act equitably among them and keep watch over them."[261] The people waited so long for 'Ammār that they imagined he had been murdered. Then unexpectedly they got a letter from 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ, in-
[2944] forming them that a band of men (*qawm*) in Egypt had focused all their efforts on 'Ammār and won him to their cause. Among these were 'Abdallāh b. al-Sawdā' [that is, Ibn Sabā'], Khālid b. Muljam, Sūdān b. Ḥumrān, and Kinānah b. Bishr.

It was transmitted to me in writing from al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah and 'Aṭiyyah: 'Uthmān wrote to the inhabitants of the garrison towns [as follows]: "To proceed: I require the governors (*'ummāl*) to appear before me during the Pilgrimage season every year, and I have enjoined the Community (*ummah*) to command the good and forbid the evil ever since I took office. Nothing has been demanded from me or from any of my governors that I have not granted. Neither I nor my household claims any priority in rights over the subjects (*ra'iyyah*) save (the rights) bequeathed to them.[262] Now the Medinese have represented to me that some groups are being vilified and others beaten. If then anyone alleges that he has suffered clandestine beatings or verbal abuse, let him come [before me] during the Pilgrimage season and obtain his due, whether it be from me or from my governors. Beyond that, 'be charitable, for God recompenses the charitable.' "[263]

When (this letter) was read out in the garrison towns, it caused the people to weep, and they invoked blessings upon 'Uthmān, saying, "Verily the Community is groaning in labor with evil." 'Uthmān sent to the governors (*'ummāl*) of the garrison towns and

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261. A somewhat conjectural reading: *al-amru amru 'l-muslimīna illā anna umarā'ahum yuqsiṭūna baynahum wa-yaqūmūna 'alayhim.* Caetani's paraphrase (*Annali*, VIII, 111) seems to distort the meaning: "essi riferirono di non aver trovato nulla di anormale o di riprovevole, se non che i governatori erano trattati e giudicati ingiustamente dai loro dipendenti." A parallel to the first clause can be found below (text, I, 2947, l. 16): *kāna 'l-amru amrahum wa'l-nasū taba'un lahum.*

262. *Wa-laysa lī wa-li-'iyālī ḥaqqun qabla 'l-ra'iyyati illā matrūkun lahum.* The problem phrase here is *matrūk lahum.* Presumably it refers to the property and income rights that the Caliph held as head of the Community; these were rooted in the one-fifth share of booty and conquests claimed by the Prophet and his successors. See Qur'ān 9:42; Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 241–43.

263. Qur'ān 12:88.

they came to him: 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir, Mu'āwiyah, and 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd. He also sought the counsel of Sa'īd (b. al-'Āṣ) and 'Amr (b. al-'Āṣ). Then he said, "Woe to you! What is this complaining and protest? By God, I fear that you are rightly accused and that I alone will be reproached for (your misdeeds)." They answered him, "Did you not send [to us], and did we not inform you about the faction [of malcontents]?[264] (Your envoys) returned, did they [2945] not, without having heard anything untoward from anyone? No, by God, (these complainers) have not told the truth or been sincere, and we know of no valid basis for this situation. You are not a man who should allow someone to get you upset about things.[265] All this is mere allegation that should not be taken seriously or inquired into."

('Uthmān) said, "Give me your advice, then." Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ said, "This is a contrived affair, fabricated in secret so that it can be conveyed to some unknowing person. Then he will pass it on, and in this way it will be discussed in their assemblies (*majālis*)." ('Uthmān) said, "What is the remedy for that?" (Sa'īd) replied, "First, seek out these dissidents (*hā'ulā' al-qawm*); then kill those among whom this movement emerges."

'Abdallāh b. Sa'd said, "Take from the people what they owe if you have given them what is theirs, for that is better than neglecting them."[266]

Mu'āwiyah said, "You have made me a governor, and I rule a group of men (*qawm*) about whom you hear nothing but good. Now these two men [that is, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ of Kūfah and 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd of Egypt] know best about their own districts." ('Uthmān) said, "What do you advocate?" (Mu'āwiyah) replied, "Excellent discipline."

('Uthmān) asked, "What do you think, 'Amr?" ('Amr) replied, "In my opinion you are too lenient; you have been lax in dealing

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264. *Alam narja' ilayka 'l-khabara 'an 'l-qawmi.* Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 155, gives a slightly different wording: *alam yarja' ilayka l-khabaru 'an 'l-'awāmmi. 'Awāmm* ("the masses, the common people, the populace") seems to fit better here than *qawm*, which in this portion of Ṭabarī most often refers to a band of men united by a common objective—namely, hostility to 'Uthmān—though in principle it could mean "the Muslim people."

265. *Wa-mā kunta li-ta'khudha aḥadan fa-yuqīmaka 'alā shay'in.*

266. The final clause is a conjectural translation: *fa-innahu khayrun min an tada'ahum.*

with them. You have increased [their stipends] beyond the levels set by 'Umar. I believe that you must follow the path of your two predecessors, showing severity or leniency according to the situation. Severity is the right policy for the man who constantly does evil to the people, while leniency is appropriate for one who deals with the people in good faith. However, you have shown leniency to both without distinction."

Then 'Uthmān arose. Praising and extolling God, he said, "I have heard everything that you have advised me to do. Every affair has an exit door. The present affair has emerged, and on account of it one fears for this Community. The door (out of this affair) is bolted shut, and thus leniency, generous treatment, and the gratification [of desires] will be shown only in conformity
[2946] with the commandments (*ḥudūd*) of Almighty God; for in none of these may one manifest any shortcoming. If something blocks (this door) kindness and generosity [will open it]. By God, (the door out of this affair) will surely be opened. Against me no man has any valid proof, and God knows that I have not neglected any good for the people or for myself. By God, the mill of revolt (*fitnah*) is turning; blessed will 'Uthmān be if he dies without having set it in motion. Restrain the people, bestow their rights upon them, and forgive them. But where God's rights are concerned, do not be lax in regard to those."[267]

When 'Uthmān terminated [the council], he dispatched Mu'āwiyah and 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd to Medina, while Ibn 'Āmir returned [to Iraq] along with Sa'īd. When 'Uthmān was left alone, the caravan leader sang (these verses):

The lean camels knew,
    and the she-camels bent like a bow,
That the amir after him would be 'Alī;
    in al-Zubayr there is a worthy successor,
And the fiery Ṭalḥah is an heir thereto.[268]

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267. This speech is very difficult to construe. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 156, offers only an abridged paraphrase, thus implying that he did not really understand it either.

268. In accordance with the editor of Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 156, and Ibrāhīm, I read *lahā* instead of *lamā* in the following verse: *wa-ṭalḥatu 'l-ḥāmī lahā waliyyu.*

Ka'b (al-Aḥbār) said as he traveled behind 'Uthmān, "By God, the amir after him will be the master of the she-mule," and he pointed to Mu'āwiyah.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Badr b. al-Khalīl b. 'Uthmān b. Quṭbah al-Asadī—a man from the Banū Asad: Mu'āwiyah did not cease to hope for (the caliphate) after he came to 'Uthmān, at the time when (the latter) called his governors together to meet with him during the Pilgrimage season. Then (Mu'āwiyah) departed and the poet chanted:

Verily the amir after him will be 'Alī, [2947]
and in al-Zubayr there is a worthy successor.

Ka'b (al-Aḥbār) said, "You lie; after him will come the master of the gray (she-mule)"—that is, Mu'āwiyah. Mu'āwiyah was informed [of this] and asked (Ka'b) about what he had heard. (Ka'b) said, "Yes, you are to be the amir after him, but you will not obtain (this office) until you deny this statement of mine." This made a profound impression on Mu'āwiyah.

At this point (the authorities previously mentioned) are joined by Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān—Rajā' b. Ḥaywah and others: When 'Uthmān arrived in Medina [after the conclusion of the Pilgrimage], he had the governors return to their provinces. All of them proceeded on, but Sa'īd stayed behind. When Mu'āwiyah bade farewell to 'Uthmān, he left (the latter's) residence attired for the journey, wearing his sword and with his bow on his shoulder. Then (Mu'āwiyah) happened to meet a few of the Emigrants, among them Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Alī.

He rose and greeted them; then he leaned on his bow and said, "You know that this situation has come about because the people are struggling among themselves to achieve supremacy for certain men. There is not one among you but that some member of his clan used to claim leadership over him, dominate him, and decide matters without him, seeking neither testimony nor advice from him. Then at last Almighty God sent His Prophet, through him ennobling those who heeded him. When (the Muslims) turned the leadership over to his successors, they did so through consultation among themselves, assigning superiority on the basis of priority [of conversion], precedence [in religion], and legal judgment (*ijtihād*). If (the Community's leaders) act on that

basis, then they will keep control of matters and the people will submit to them. But if they pay heed to the things of this world and seek them in a struggle for supremacy with one another, they will be deprived of (power) and God will give it back to those who used to lead them. Otherwise, let them beware of the vicissitudes of fortune, for God has the power to alter [His decree], and He can dispose as He wishes of the kingship and authority that are His. I have left among you an old man, so display good will toward him
[2948] and protect him. Thereby you will be more fortunate than he."

Then (Muʿāwiyah) bade them farewell and went on his way. ʿAlī said, "I see no good in this (man)." Al-Zubayr said, "No, by God, there was never anything more distressing to you or us than he was this morning."

It was related to me by ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh—his father—ʿAbdallāh—Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā—Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah: ʿUthmān sent for Ṭalḥah, and I accompanied him. When he entered ʿUthmān's presence, there were ʿAlī, Saʿd (b. Abī Waqqāṣ), al-Zubayr, ʿUthmān, and Muʿāwiyah. Muʿāwiyah praised God and extolled Him as He merits, and then he said, "You are the Companions of the Messenger of God, the best [of His followers] on earth, and those charged with the affairs of this Community. No one other than you can hope for that. You have chosen your companion [as caliph] without compulsion or personal ambition. He has grown old and his life has passed by. If you had waited for decrepitude [to afflict] him, that would be near at hand. However, I hope that he has revered God so that He will allow him to reach that stage of life. Talk has spread, and I fear it for your sakes, for you have not denounced it in any way. You have my aid (in this matter). Do not inspire the people to long for your government, for by God, if they desire that, you will never see them do anything but turn tail and flee."

ʿAlī replied, "What is that to you, and what do you know about it? You have no mother!" (Muʿāwiyah) said, "Leave my mother her place [in the Community]. She is not the worst of your mothers. She accepted Islam and swore fidelity to the Prophet.[269] Now answer me in regard to what I am saying to you."

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269. Muʿāwiyah's mother Hind bt. ʿUtbah had accompanied Meccan forces to the battle of Uḥud in 3/625, as the women of a tribe often did in ancient Arabia.

Then 'Uthmān said, "The son of my brother has spoken the truth. I will tell you in regard to myself and my conduct in office that my two predecessors wronged both themselves and those who followed in their path. Indeed the Messenger of God used to [2949] bestow [public funds] upon his relatives, while my near kinsmen were impoverished and possessed few of life's necessities. Thus, I laid my hands on some of that wealth because of my concern for them. It was my opinion that [this wealth] was mine. Now if you regard that as an error, return [the money]; my authority will be subject to yours."

They replied, "You are right and have done well." They continued, "You gave [public funds] to 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd and to Marwān," alleging that he had given Marwān 15,000 [dirhams] and Ibn Asīd 50,000, and they took [these sums] back from those two. They were satisfied with this and departed content.

Here the narrative reverts to the account of Sayf and his authorities: On the morning that Mu'āwiyah bade farewell to 'Uthmān and departed, he said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, come with me to Syria before you are attacked by men against whom you cannot defend yourself, for the Syrians are steadfastly loyal." ['Uthmān] answered, "I will not exchange my proximity to the Messenger of God for anything, even if my throat is slashed because of that." [Mu'āwiyah] said, "I will send you an army from [Syria], which will remain among the Medinese to confront any ill fortune that may befall Medina or you." ['Uthmān] replied, "With an army quartered among them, I will stint the rations allocated to the neighbors of the Messenger of God, and I will create scarcity for the inhabitants of the Abode of Refuge and Support (*Dār al-Hijrah wa'l-Naṣrah*)." [Mu'āwiyah] said, "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, you will surely be assassinated or attacked." ['Uthmān] responded, "God suffices for me, and what an excellent guardian is He!"[270] Then Mu'āwiyah said, "Little slaughter camels! Where are the slaughter camels?"

When the prophet's uncle Ḥamzah was killed in the fighting she cut open his breast and bit off a piece of his liver—again a traditional gesture of revenge. See Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 581; Guillaume transl., 385.

270. Qur'ān 3:264.

He set out until he came upon the band [of Companions mentioned above], and then he proceeded on.

Now the Egyptians had corresponded with their fellow partisans in Kūfah and Baṣrah, and with all those who had agreed
[2950] with them to rebel against their governors. They fixed a day when their governors would be away, but save for the Kūfans, none of them carried (the scheme) out properly and rose in revolt. In (Kūfah) Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī rebelled and his comrades gathered around him. The military commandant was al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr. He came to (Yazīd), and the people surrounded (Yazīd's followers) and implored them [to break off their revolt].

Then Yazīd said to al-Qaʿqāʿ, "What recourse do you have against me and these men? By God, I submit to authority, and I adhere to my Community (*jamāʿah*) and to them. However, I and those whom you observe are calling for the termination of Saʿīd's governorship. (Al-Qaʿqāʿ) answered, "The elite (*khāṣṣah*) seeks to end a state of affairs with which the masses (*ʿāmmah*) are content." He continued, "That is a matter for the Commander of the Faithful." Then he left them and [their] call for [Saʿīd's] resignation, while they could proclaim nothing else. They encountered Saʿīd and drove him back from al-Jaraʿah. The people concurred in Abū Mūsā [as their next governor] and ʿUthmān confirmed him in office.

When the governors returned [from their meeting in Mecca], the sect of Ibn Sabāʾ (*al-Sabāʾiyyah*) had no way to get to the garrison towns. They wrote their adherents in the garrison towns that they should assemble in Medina in order to decide what they meant to do. They pretended that they were simply "commanding the good" and interrogating ʿUthmān about certain issues. Their aim was for these to circulate among the people and become verified against him.

Thus, they assembled in Medina, and as his envoys ʿUthmān sent two men, one from the clan of Makhzūm and the other from the clan of Zuhr. He said, "Find out what they mean to do and learn all about them." These two men were among those who had won ʿUthmān's respect by their refined behavior (*adab*); they patiently sought the truth and harbored no malevolence. When (the dissidents) saw them, they revealed their secrets to them and informed them of their aims. (ʿUthmān's two envoys) said, "Who

among the Medinese supports you against this man [namely, 'Uthmān]?" "Three persons," they answered. The two men said, "Is there anyone else?" "No," they said. The two (envoys) went on, "So what do you intend to do?" They replied, "We want to mention to ('Uthmān) certain misdeeds that we have planted in the hearts of the people. Afterwards we shall go back to them and claim that we compelled him to confess these things, but that he did not abandon them or repent. Then we will set out in the guise of pilgrims until we reach [Medina]. We will surround him and [2951] depose him, and if he refuses we will kill him." And so it happened.

The two (envoys) returned to 'Uthmān with the news, and he laughed, saying, "O God, preserve these (enemies of mine), for if You do not preserve them, they will be wretched indeed. As for 'Ammār (b. Yāsir), he violently assaulted 'Abbās b. 'Utbah b. Abī Lahab. As for Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, he was highly regarded until he supposed that he was not bound by rights and obligations (*ḥuqūq*). As for Ibn Sahlah, he faces trial and tribulation."

Then ('Uthmān) sent to the Kūfans and Baṣrans, and summoned them to pray in congregation. They assembled before him at the base of the pulpit, and the Companions of the Messenger of God came and surrounded them. Then ('Uthmān) praised and extolled God, and told them the news of this band [of dissidents]. Then the two (former envoys) arose, and all (those present) said, "Kill (the dissidents)! Verily the Messenger of God has said, 'God's curse is on any man who has summoned [others] to join him or anyone else while there is an imām over the people, so put him to death.' And 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, 'I permit you only to kill (such a man), and I am your partner [in that deed].'"

Then 'Uthmān responded, "Nay, but we do our utmost to pardon and accept and enlighten them, and we oppose no one until he violates a divine commandment (*ḥadd*) or manifests unbelief. Now these (dissidents) have mentioned various matters, concerning which you and they are equally well informed. However, they allege that they are bringing (these matters) to my attention in order to compel me [to respond] to them in the presence of those who remain uninformed."

"They say, 'He has performed the complete prayer rite while [2952] traveling [by performing four *rak'ahs* instead of two], when for-

merly this was not done."[271] But in fact I came to a town [namely, Mecca] where my household was residing, [while I had property in al-Ṭā'if], and on account of these two things I carried out the full rite.[272] Is this the case?" (The assembled people) said, "O God, it is so."

"They say, 'You prohibited public use of a grazing reserve.'[273] But by God, (the pasture land) whose use I restricted had already been reserved before me. By God, they [namely, 'Uthmān's predecessors] did not forbid grazing rights to anyone. They only reserved (grazing land) that the inhabitants of Medina had usurped, and they prevented no one from pasturing [his animals]. They used it only for the alms taxes[274] due from the Muslims, guarding them lest there be a dispute between anyone and the official in charge of (the alms tax). But they neither barred nor ejected anyone from it, save those who offered a dirham.[275] I possess no camels save two riding animals; I have no other livestock at all. When I became caliph, I had more camels and sheep than any of the Arabs, and today I have neither sheep nor camels, except for two camels to use for the Pilgrimage. Is this the case?" (The people) said, "O God, it is so."

"(The dissidents) say, 'The Qur'ān used to be [preserved in a number of different] written versions (*kutub*), and you have abandoned all but one.' But verily the Qur'ān is one, and came through one [man]. In this matter I have only followed these.[276] Is this the case?" "Yes," they replied. They sought to have him kill (the dissidents).

"(The dissidents) say that I brought al-Ḥakam back after the

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271. A reference to 'Uthmān's additions to the rites of prayer at Minā during the Pilgrimage; see above, pp. 38–40 (text, I, 2833–2835, *sub anno* 29), and note 65.

272. The phrase in brackets is supplied in accordance with Prym's suggestion; see note a.

273. There is a somewhat fuller parallel account of this dispute in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 38.

274. That is, these taxes (*ṣadaqāt*) had been paid in animals—presumably camels—rather than cash.

275. That is, rich men who tried to gain privileged access to the grazing reserve by bribery. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, cccii.

276. The reference of course is to 'Uthmān's decision to establish a single definitive recension of the Qur'ān, and to destroy the existing versions with their many discrepancies. "These" presumably refers to the board of editors (headed by Zayd b. Thābit) whom he appointed to carry out the task.

Messenger of God had exiled him. Now al-Ḥakam was a Meccan; the Messenger of God exiled him from Mecca to al-Ṭā'if, and then he brought him back. Thus, the Messenger of God both sent him into exile and had him return. Is that the case?" They said, "O God, it is so."

"(The dissidents) say, 'You have appointed youths as governors.' But I only appointed a man who was capable and commanded broad support [namely, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir in Baṣrah]. These (dissidents) are inhabitants of his province, so pay them no heed regarding him.[277] My predecessors appointed younger men than these to office, and people spoke more harshly to the Messenger of God than they have to me in connection with his appointment of Usāmah.[278] Is that the case?" They responded, "O God, it is so. (These dissidents) denounce to the people things that they leave unexplained."

"(The dissidents) say that I gave to Ibn Abī Sarḥ the booty that God bestowed upon him [during the campaign in Ifrīqiyah].[279] But in fact out of the booty that God gave, I only turned over to him one-fifth out of the one-fifth [legally allocated to the caliph]. The amount was 100,000 [dirhams], and Abū Bakr and 'Umar did the same thing. The army claimed to find this reprehensible, and so I have restored to them [the 100,000 dirhams], though it was not really theirs. Is that the case?" They said, "Yes."

"(The dissidents) say that I love my kinsmen and that I make [2953]
gifts to them [from the public treasury]. As to my love, it has not been turned into wrongdoing for their benefit; on the contrary, it is the weightiest of [my] obligations to them. As to [my] gifts to them, what I give them is drawn from my own property; I do not regard the wealth of the Muslims as lawful for myself or for anyone else among the people. I used to give large and much-coveted gifts from my personal property in the time of the Messenger of God, Abū Bakr, and 'Umar, and at that time I was ava-

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277. I have emended the text in accordance with Prym's suggestion, note 1.

278. In 11/632, shortly before his death, Muḥammad put the young Usāmah b. Zayd b. Ḥārithah in command of a raid into the Balqā' (the district around Karak east of the Dead Sea) and al-Dārūm (a fortress just south of Gaza). See Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 776, 970, 999; Guillaume transl., 523, 652, 678. Al-Dārūm: Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 412, 437.

279. On this incident see above, pp. 19–20 (text, I, 2814–2815, *sub anno* 27).

ricious and greedy. Now when I have attained the usual life-span of my family, when my life has reached its end and I have distributed my property among my relatives, do the heretics (*mulḥid*) say such things? Indeed, by God, no one can rightfully say that I have had any garrison town surrender [its] surplus revenues, for I have returned (the surpluses) to them.[280] I have received only the twenty percent [legally allocated to the caliph], and from this I have allowed nothing for myself. The Muslims have taken charge of registering (these revenues) for the proper recipients with no involvement from me, and not a penny of God's wealth has been diverted. Now what is beyond that and what I use to sustain myself I consume only from my own property."

"(The dissidents) say, 'You have given the land to certain men.' As regards these lands, when they were conquered, the Emigrants and Helpers shared in them with (these men). If a man remained any place within these conquered territories, his family followed his lead. If a man has returned to his family [from the conquered lands], that does not negate [his claim to lands] that God has acquired for him. I determined what should be distributed to them out of (the conquests) that God had bestowed upon them. Then, at their request, I purchased (property of equivalent value) for them from [other] men who owned land in Arabia. Then I transferred their share [of the conquered territories] to (these latter), and it is now in their hands."[281]

[2954] 'Uthmān had divided his wealth and lands among the Banū Umayyah, treating his own children as he did the other recipients. He began with the Banū Abī al-'Āṣ, giving the men in the lineage of al-Ḥakam (b. Abī al-'Āṣ) 10,000 [dirhams] each; they

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280. *Wa-innī wa-'llāhi mā ḥamaltu 'alā miṣrin min 'l-amṣāri faḍlan fa-yajūza dhālika liman qālahu wa-laqad radadtuhu 'alayhim.* See de Goeje, *Introductio*, cdiv, sub verbo *faḍl*.

281. This passage refers to 'Uthmān's grants of estates and villages within the conquered territories (Iraq in particular) to powerful individuals. 'Umar had done the same thing, but 'Uthmān was thought to be overly generous in this regard. See Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 241–45. There have been numerous allusions above to this and to the resentment inspired by it. For example, see pp. 58, 59–61, 112–13, 120–21 (text, I, 2852, 2854–2855, 2908, 2916). The last sentence is difficult: *Fa-bi'tuhu lahum bi-amrihim min rijālin ahli 'aqārin bi-bilādi 'l-'Arabi fa-naqaltu ilayhim naṣībahum fa-huwa fī aydihim dūnī.* See Caetani, *Annali*, VIII, 203.

took 100,000 dirhams [altogether]. To his own sons he gave a like amount. [The remainder] was divided among the Banū al-ʿĀṣ, the Banū al-ʿĪṣ, and the Banū Ḥarb.[282]

ʿUthmān's retinue (*ḥāshiyah*) had dealt leniently with those bands [of dissidents]. The Muslims demanded nothing short of putting them to death, while [ʿUthmān] insisted on letting them go. Thus, [the dissidents] departed and returned to their own provinces, having agreed to attack him[283] [when they came back] in the guise of pilgrims in the company of [genuine] pilgrims. They corresponded with one another, saying, "Rendezvous in Shawwāl at the outskirts of Medina." Thus, in Shawwal of the year 12 [of ʿUthmān's reign; April 656] they erected tents in the manner of pilgrims and made camp near Medina.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah and Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān: In Shawwāl of the year 35 [April 656], the Egyptians set out in four companies under the leadership of four commanders. The lowest number cited is six hundred, while the highest is one thousand. Leading the companies were ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUdays al-Balawī, Kinānah b. Bishr al-Tujībī,[284] Sūdān b. Ḥumrān al-Sakūnī, and Qutayrah b. Fulān al-Sakūnī. In command of the whole body of men (*qawm*) was al-Ghāfiqī b. Ḥarb al-ʿAkkī. They dared not inform the people that they were setting off to war and went instead in the guise of pilgrims. Accompanying them was Ibn al-Sawdāʾ [that is, ʿAbdallāh b. Sabāʾ].

The Kūfans [likewise] set out in four companies, led by Zayd b. Ṣūḥān al-ʿAbdī, al-Ashtar al-Nakhaʿī, Ziyād b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī, and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Aṣamm, a member of the tribe of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah. Their numbers were the same as those of the Egyptians, and ʿAmr b. al-Aṣamm was in overall command. [2955]

The Baṣrans set out in four companies, led by Ḥukaym b. Ja-

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282. The lineage of the Umayyad clan—or more strictly, the descendants of ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf—is given in Appendix I, adapted from the tables in Gernot Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680–692)* (Wiesbaden 1982), 253–57.

283. Reading *yaghzuwahu* rather than *yaghzuwahum*. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxviii.

284. Reading "al-Tujībī" instead of "al-Laythī." See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxviii.

balah al-ʿAbdī, Dhurayḥ b. ʿAbbād al-ʿAbdī, Bishr b. Shurayḥ al-Ḥuṭam b. Ḍubayʿah al-Qaysī, and Ibn al-Muḥarrish b. ʿAbd ʿAmr al-Ḥanafī. Their number was the same as that of the Egyptians, and Ḥurqūṣ b. Zubayr al-Saʿdī was in command over them all, save for those among the people who followed after them.

As for the Egyptians, they yearned for ʿAlī [as caliph], while the Baṣrans desired Ṭalḥah and the Kūfans al-Zubayr. They all set out simultaneously. The people had disparate [aims], and every faction (*firqah*) was certain that it would obtain complete success to the exclusion of the other two. Thus, they proceeded until, three days from Medina, a group of men from among the Baṣrans went forward and made camp at Dhū Khushub. A section of the Kūfans made camp at al-Aʿwaṣ, and a group of Egyptians came to join them, having left the main body of (their compatriots) behind at Dhū al-Marwah.[285]

[2956] Ziyād b. al-Naḍr and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Aṣamm traveled back and forth between the Egyptians and Baṣrans saying, "Do not be overhasty or force us to rush, so that we can enter Medina and explore the situation for you. We have in fact heard that (the Medinese) have mobilized their troops against us. By God, if the Medinese fear us and deem it lawful to fight us when they have no solid knowledge about us, they will be even more hostile when they do obtain this, and our movement will fail. On the other hand, if they do not deem it lawful to fight us and we find that what we have heard is false, then we will bring that news back to you." (The Baṣrans and Egyptians) said, "Go ahead."

Thus, the two men entered Medina and met with the wives of the Prophet and with ʿAlī, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr. They said, "We have only come here[286] to seek from this ruler [that is, ʿUthmān] the removal of certain of our governors. We have come only for

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285. Dhū Khushub: "A valley lying a night's journey from Medina, often mentioned in hadith and accounts of the Prophet's campaigns" (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, II, 444—45. Al-Aʿwaṣ: "A locale in the vicinity of Medina, mentioned in accounts of the Prophet's campaigns . . . lying a very few miles from Medina" (*Ibid.*, I, 317). Dhū al-Marwah: "A town in the Wādī al-Qurā; it is also said to lie between Khushub and the Wādī al-Qurā" (*ibid.*, IV, 513). Yāqūt's data are laconic, but they do place all three locales immediately to the north of Medina; al-Aʿwaṣ appears to be closest to the city, Dhū al-Marwah the most distant.

286. *Qāla: innamā naʾtammu hādhā ʾl-bayta wa-nastaʾfī hādhā ʾl-wāliya min baʿḍi ʿummālinā.*

that." The two men sought their permission for the people to enter Medina, but every one of them utterly refused, saying, "Surely an egg will hatch!"[287] Then (Ziyād and 'Abdallāh) returned to (their camp).

Then some Egyptians banded together and came to 'Alī, while a party of Baṣrans came to Ṭalḥah and a few Kūfans to al-Zubayr. Each of these groups said, "If (the loyalists in Medina) render the oath of allegiance to our companion, [well and good].[288] Otherwise, we shall plot against them, shatter their unity and cohesion (*jamā'ah*), and then turn round and take them by surprise."

The Egyptians reached 'Alī while he was with an army at Aḥjār al-Zayt. He was wearing a white-striped cloak and a turban wound from a strip of red Yemeni cloth; he was girt with a sword [2957] but did not have on a shirt. He had dispatched al-Ḥasan to 'Uthmān along with those who had joined him [in his camp]. Thus, al-Ḥasan was staying with 'Uthmān while 'Alī was at Aḥjār al-Zayt. The Egyptians greeted him and presented [their aims] to him. He shouted at them and drove them away, saying, "The upright know that the armies at Dhū al-Marwah and Dhū Khushub have been cursed by the tongue of Muḥammad. Go back, and may God be no friend to you!" They said, "So be it," and thereupon departed from him.

The Baṣrans came to Ṭalḥah while he was with another group of men [encamped] adjacent to 'Alī. He had sent his two sons to [support] 'Uthmān. The Baṣrans greeted him and presented [their aims] to him. He shouted at them and drove them away, saying, "The Believers know that the armies at Dhū al-Marwah and Dhū Khushub and al-A'waṣ have been cursed by the tongue of Muḥammad."

The Kūfans came to al-Zubayr while he was with yet another body of men. He had sent his son 'Abdallāh to [support] 'Uthmān. They greeted him and presented [their aims] to him, and he shouted at them and drove them away, saying, "The Muslims

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287. *Bayḍun mā yufrikhanna.* That is, some evil will occur. See de Goeje, *Introductio,* cccxcix.

288. The Arabic text is elliptical, but the point is clear. Each of the three factions attacking 'Uthmān hopes to gain support for its own candidate for the caliphate: 'Alī, Ṭalḥah, or al-Zubayr respectively.

know that the armies at Dhū al-Marwah, Dhū Khushub, and al-A'waṣ have been cursed by the tongue of Muḥammad."

Then the dissidents (*al-qawm*) departed and made a show of going back [to their homes]. They withdrew from Dhū Khushub and al-A'waṣ until they reached their encampments, situated three days away; they intended for the Medinese to disperse, and then they would turn around and come back. At their departure the Medinese did in fact disperse. When the dissidents reached their encampments, they wheeled around to attack (the Medinese). They took the Medinese by surprise, and all at once the cry "God is most great!" was heard throughout the city. (The dissidents) occupied the sites of the encampments [previously established by 'Alī, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr] and surrounded 'Uthmān. "Whoever restrains his hand [and does not resist us]," they announced, "will be secure."

[2958] 'Uthmān led the people in prayer for some days, but the people stayed in their houses. (The dissidents) prevented no one from discussing [the situation], and so the people, 'Alī among them, came and talked with them. ('Alī) said, "What brought you back after you had changed your minds and gone?" They responded, "We seized a letter [ordering] us to be killed from an official courier."[289] Then Ṭalḥah came and the Baṣrans said the same thing, as did the Kūfans with al-Zubayr. The Kūfans and Baṣrans said, "We are united in supporting and aiding our brothers, as they were promised." Then 'Alī said to them, "How, O men of Kūfah and Baṣrah, did you know what had befallen the Egyptians, for you traveled a certain number of days and then turned back toward us? By God, this is a conspiracy (*amr*) woven [while you were] in Medina." "Explain it however you wish," they said. "We reject this man [namely, 'Uthmān]. Let him be removed from us! He still leads (the people) in prayer, and they perform the prayer behind him. Anyone who wishes comes to visit [him]. In his eyes (the people) are less than dirt." (The dissidents) had not been

289. *Barīd*, the official postal and information service, inherited from Roman and Sasanian usage. The system reached its fullest elaboration under the early Abbasids. The term "*barīd*" normally refers to the institution, but here it clearly indicates an individual courier. See D. Sourdel, "Barīd," *EI*², I, 1045–46.

preventing anyone from discussing [the situation], but they were forming bands in Medina that barred the people from assembling.

'Uthmān wrote to the inhabitants of the garrison towns to seek their aid: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To proceed: Verily Almighty God sent Muḥammad 'with the truth, both good news and warning,'[290] and he conveyed from God what He had commanded him [to say]. Then he departed, having fulfilled the duties laid upon him, and left among us His book, wherein is found what He permits and forbids and a clear statement of the matters that He has foreordained. Thus, he accomplished (these things), both those that God's servants desired and those that they hated.

"Abū Bakr and 'Umar succeeded him, and then I was included in the consultation [on the succession to 'Umar],[291] without any [2959] knowledge [on my part of what would happen] or any dispute as regards the Community's considered opinion. Then the electoral council agreed on me,[292] in accordance with the judgment of its members and the people, without my having sought or desired anything. I have acted toward them in a manner that they fully approve, neither have I submitted to any self-appointed leader, adhered to any innovator, or followed the example of any hypocrite. When affairs came to their conclusion and evil had been betrayed by its own partisans, then malevolence and selfish desires appeared, though no crime or wrongful violence had been committed [by me], but only the carrying out of the Book of God.[293] Lacking any valid proof or excuse, (the malcontents) have in reality sought one goal while publicly proclaiming another. They have blamed me for things that were previously acceptable to them, and for clearly upright conduct (*ashyā'*) consonant with the considered opinion of the Medinese. For years I have forced

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290. Qur'ān 2:113; 35:22.

291. On the electoral process (*shūrā*, "consultation") through which 'Uthmān was named caliph, see Ṭabari, I, 2776–2797.

292. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxviii.

293. *Fa-lammā intahat 'l-umūru wa'ntakatha 'l-sharru bi-ahlihi badat ḍaghā'inu wa-ahwā'u 'alā ghayri ijrāmin wa-lā tiratin fīmā maḍā illā imḍā'a 'l-kitābi.*

myself to be patient with them, and have restrained myself while seeing and hearing [all this].

"Now their insolence toward Almighty God has so increased that they have attacked us in the very precincts of the Messenger of God, in His sanctuary,[294] and in the territory of the Hijrah. Now the Bedouin have returned to them, and (these dissidents) are like the hostile confederates during their battles [against us],[295] or like those who attacked us at Uḥud, save in regard to their public statements. He who can join our cause, let him do so."

The letter reached the inhabitants of the garrison towns, and they set out on camels both stubborn and docile. Muʿāwiyah dispatched Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd sent Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Sakūnī. From among the Kūfans, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr set forth. In Kūfah those who urged support for the
[2960] Medinese included ʿUqbah b. ʿAmr, ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Awfā, and Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabīʿ al-Tamīmī, along with others like them from among the Prophet's Companions. The Successors[296] in Kūfah who urged [support for ʿUthmān] included the disciples (*aṣḥāb*) of ʿAbdallāh (b. Masʿūd)—namely, Masrūq b. al-Ajdaʿ, al-Aswad b. Yazīd, Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUkaym, along with others like them. They would go about (the city) and make the circuit of tribal councils (*majālis*), saying, "O people, today is the time to talk, not tomorrow. Today it is good to examine [the crisis], while tomorrow it will be hateful. Today fighting is law-

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294. Yathrib had been declared a sanctuary (*ḥarām*)—that is, a sacred place where blood feuds were forbidden and whose guardians were inviolate—in a clause of the Constitution of Medina, perhaps around 6/628. See R. B. Serjeant, "The *Sunnah Jāmiʿah*, Pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the *Taḥrīm* of Yathrib," *BSOAS*, XLI (1978), 34–35, 38–40.

295. *Fa-hum ka'l-aḥzābi ayyāma 'l-aḥzābi*. These were the Meccans and their bedouin allies who besieged Medina in the Battle of the Trench in 5/627. ʿUthmān compares his opponents to these implacable enemies of God and His prophet. See Qurʾān 33:20–27.

296. The Successors (*tābiʿun*) are the second generation of Muslims—those who never knew Muḥammad directly and were converted by his Companions, or the children of the Companions. The Successors represent a sort of apostolic succession; as immediate heirs to the faith and doctrine of the Companions, they came to be almost as highly revered as these latter as teachers and exemplars for later generations of Muslims. This passage seems to represent one of the earliest mentions of this group. See V. Carra de Vaux, "Tābiʿ," *SEI*, 557.

ful, while tomorrow it will be forbidden. Rise up, defend your caliph and your affairs."

In Baṣrah, 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn, Anas b. Mālik, and Hishām b. 'Āmir arose along with other Companions of the Prophet like them and made similar statements. Among the Successors [in Baṣrah], Ka'b b. Sūr, Harim b. Ḥayyān al-'Abdī, and others like them were also saying such things.

In Syria, 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit, Abū al-Dardā', and Abū Umāmah rose up with other like-minded Companions of the Prophet to make statements of this kind. Among the Successors Sharīk b. Khubāshah al-Numayrī, Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanm spoke in the same vein. In Egypt Khārijah and others like him arose [to make their voices heard].

Now some of those urging [aid for 'Uthmān] had witnessed the coming (of the dissidents). When they perceived the state of affairs among these latter, they departed for their own garrison towns with that [information] and rose up there [to speak about it].

When it was the hour of the Friday prayer in the mosque of the Messenger of God, which fell immediately after the Egyptians had set up camp, 'Uthmān came forth to lead the people in prayer. Then he stood up on the pulpit and said, "O you enemies! Fear God, fear God! By God, the Medinese know that you have been [2961] cursed by the tongue of Muḥammad, so wipe out your errors by doing what is right. For verily Almighty God only eradicates evil through what is good."

Muḥammad b. Maslamah arose and said, "I bear witness to that." Then Ḥukaym b. Jabalah seized him and forced him to sit down. Zayd b. Thābit stood up and said, "Get the letter [from 'Uthmān to the governor of Egypt] for me." From another side Muḥammad b. Abī Qutayrah stood up beside him and with harsh words made him sit down. Then the dissidents (*al-qawm*) all rose up together and threw stones at the people until they had driven them from the mosque. They threw stones at 'Uthmān until he fell unconscious from the pulpit. He was carried off and brought into his house. Now the Egyptians expected support from only three men among the Medinese, for these had been in correspondence with them: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah, and 'Ammār b. Yāsir. A certain group among the

people prepared themselves to face death; among these were Sa'd b. Mālik, Abū Hurayrah, Zayd b. Thābit, and al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. 'Uthmān firmly instructed them to leave [his house], and they did so. 'Alī came back and entered 'Uthmān's presence after he had fallen [from the pulpit], as did Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, and [all three] expressed their sorrow. Then they returned to their own homes.

[2962] It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Amr—al-Ḥasan: I [namely, Abū 'Amr] said to him, "Did you witness the siege of 'Uthmān?" [Al-Ḥasan] responded, "Yes. At that time I was a youth [and was] in the mosque with associates of mine. When the clamor grew intense, I rose to my knees or stood up. Then the dissidents came and ensconced themselves in the mosque and its environs. A certain group among the Medinese gathered around them, saying that what they had done was distressing, while the dissidents approached the Medinese with threats. As they were thus clamoring around the gate, 'Uthmān arose, and it was as if a fire had been extinguished. He went over to the pulpit and mounted it. He praised God and extolled Him. One man got to his feet and another made him sit down, then yet another arose and someone else forced him to sit down. Then the dissidents rose up and threw stones at 'Uthmān until he fell unconscious. He was carried away and brought to [his house]. For twenty days he led them in prayer, and then they barred him from attending the prayer.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah and Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān: 'Uthmān led the people in prayer for thirty days after [the dissidents] had ensconced themselves in the mosque. Then they barred him from the prayer, and their chief al-Ghāfiqī led the people in prayer. The Egyptians, Kūfans, and Baṣrans submitted to him, while the Medinese dispersed to their walled compounds and stayed in their houses. None of them would venture out or attend any council unless he was wearing a sword whereby he could defend himself from the tyranny of the dissidents. The siege lasted forty days, and during this period the [caliph's] murder took place. [The dissidents] used arms against anyone who resisted them, though heretofore they had refrained [from violence] for thirty days.

As to (authorities) other than Sayf, some of them say that the dissidents' dispute with 'Uthmān and the reasons why they besieged him are correctly described in the account related to me by Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān al-Taymī—his father—Abū Naḍrah—Abū Sa'īd, the client of Abū Usayd al-Anṣārī:[297] 'Uthmān learned of the approach of the Egyptian delegation, and he received them while he was in a village of his outside Medina. He states: When (the Egyptians) heard about him, they approached him at the place where he then was. He says: 'Uthmān did not want them to come to him in Medina—or words to that effect. [2963]

So they came to him and said, "Send for the Qur'ān (*muṣḥaf*)," and he did so. Then they said, "Open to the ninth (chapter)." Now they used to call the Chapter of Jonah the ninth.[298] Then ('Uthmān) recited it until he came to this verse: "Say: Have you considered the provision God has sent down for you, and you have made some of it unlawful, and some lawful? Say: Has God given you leave, or do you forge against God?"[299] They told 'Uthmān to stop and then said to him, "Have you considered the pasture rights that you set aside? Has God given you leave, or do you forge against God?" He replied, "Enough! (This verse) was revealed in connection with such-and-such a matter." He continued, "And as to the reserved pasture, before my time 'Umar set aside pasture for the camels that had been paid as alms tax. When I became caliph, the alms-tax camels had increased in number, and so I increased the reserved pasture in accordance with that fact. Enough." Then they began berating him with the verse, and he would say, "Enough! It was revealed in connection with such-and-such a matter."

The man responsible for transmitting 'Uthmān's words was the same age at that time as you are now—Abū Naḍrah says, "Abū

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297. The following narrative is persistently interrupted by the word *qāla*—that is, "(the narrator) states." I have for the most part omitted these editorial interjections, unless they seem to mark a significant shift in the narrative. However, the new paragraphs in this passage normally begin with such an editorial *qāla*.

298. The text reads *al-sābi'ah*, "the seventh." Cf. de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxviii. In the modern numeration the Surah of Jonah is number ten; presumably the Fātiḥah (number one) was not counted in the earliest times.

299. Qur'ān 10:60.

[2964] Sa'īd would say that to me." Abū Naḍrah said [to Abū Sa'īd], "I am the same age [now] as you were then." (Abū Naḍrah) continued, "At that time my beard had not yet started to grow." I don't know, and perhaps he said on another occasion, "At that time I was thirty years old."[300]

Then they took ('Uthmān) to task for things from which he could find no escape. Recognizing these, he said, "I seek God's forgiveness and turn to Him in repentance." Then he said to them, "What do you want?" They made a compact (*mīthāq*) with him, and he said, "I regard this as valid." They wrote out conditions to be imposed on him. Then ('Uthmān) obligated them to break no rod [namely, of loyalty and obedience] nor to withdraw from unity (*jamā'ah*) so long as he fulfilled their conditions or acted in accordance with what they required of him.

('Uthmān) said to them, "What do you want?" They replied, "We want the Medinese to take no stipend [from the Public Treasury], for this money belongs to those who fight and to those venerable men (*shuyūkh*) who are Companions of the Messenger of God." They were content with this and accompanied him to Medina satisfied [as to their demands]. ('Uthmān) rose and gave the Friday sermon, saying, "By God, I have seen no delegation on earth that is better for my misdeeds than this delegation that has come to me." Another time he said, "I am afraid of this delegation from Egypt. Verily let him who possesses a field go out to his field, and let him who possesses milk animals milk them. You shall have no Treasury payments from us.[301] This money belongs only to those who fight and to those venerable men who are Companions of the Messenger of God." Then the people were angry and said, "This is a trick by the Banū Umayyah."

Then the Egyptian delegation went back satisfied, and while they were on the road [back to Egypt], suddenly they noticed a rider coming up beside them and then leaving them behind. Then he came back toward them and again left them behind, scrutiniz-

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300. This paragraph represents one of Ṭabarī's rare explicit editorial interventions. The point of this somewhat muddled interchange is to demonstrate that the ultimate authority for this story, Abū Sa'īd, was mature enough (between his late teens and thirty) to have given a reliable account of 'Uthmān's statements.

301. *A-lā innahu lā māla lakum 'indanā.*

ing them carefully.[302] They said to him, "What are you doing? Certainly you are engaged on some matter. What is your business?" [The rider] responded, "I am the envoy of the Commander of the Faithful to his governor in Egypt." So they searched him, and there was a letter framed in 'Uthmān's words, with his seal upon it, to his governor in Egypt. [It stated] that he should crucify them or slaughter them or have their hands and feet alternately cut off.[303] Then (the Egyptians) set out and came to Medina. [2965]

They came to 'Alī and said, "Did you not see that the enemy of God [namely, 'Uthmān] wrote such-and-such concerning us? Verily God has made his blood lawful! Rise up against him with us." ('Alī) said, "By God, I shall not rise up with you," until they said, "So why did you write us?" Then he said, "By God, I never wrote anything to you at all." Then they looked at one another, some saying to others, "Is it for this man that you are fighting, or on his account that you are angered?" So 'Alī departed and left Medina for a certain village.

They departed and entered 'Uthmān's presence, saying, "You wrote such-and-such concerning us." ('Uthmān) answered, "There are but two (alternatives). Either you must produce two men from among the Muslims to bear witness against me, or [you must accept] my oath in the name of God, other than Whom there is no god, that I neither wrote nor dictated nor knew [of this letter]." He continued, "Perhaps you know that the letter is [falsely] ascribed to this man [that is, 'Uthmān himself], and it may be that the seal [on the letter] was forged."[304] They responded, "By God, God has made your blood lawful, and you have violated the pact and covenant [which you made with us]." And so they laid siege to him.

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302. Cf. de Goeje, *Introductio*, cccxviii, dcxxviii.

303. An allusion to the Qur'ān 5:37: "This is the recompense of those who fight against God and His Messenger, and hasten about the earth to do corruption there: they shall be slaughtered, or crucified, or their hands and feet shall alternately be struck off, or they shall be banished from the land. That is a degradation for them in this world; and in the world to come awaits them a mighty chastisement."

304. The text of this somewhat puzzling statement reads as follows: *wa-qad ta'lamūna anna 'l-kitāba yuktabu 'alā lisāni 'l-rajuli wa-qad yunqashu 'l-khātamu 'alā 'l-khātami*. Caetani (*Annali*, VIII, 144) settles for a loose paraphrase.

As for al-Wāqidī, he has recounted many things concerning the reasons why the Egyptians went to 'Uthmān and made camp at Dhū Khushub. Among these are things that I have already mentioned, and there are others that I have refused to mention because I find them offensive. Among his various accounts, (al-
[2966] Wāqidī) mentions that it was related to him by 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far—Abū 'Awn, the client of al-Miswar:[305] 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had been 'Uthmān's governor (*'āmil*) in Egypt. Then he stripped him of authority over the tax revenues (*kharāj*) and put him in charge of the public prayers.[306] ('Uthmān) assigned authority over the tax revenues to 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd, and then combined both offices under 'Abdallāh. When 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ arrived in Medina, he launched vitriolic attacks upon 'Uthmān.

One day 'Uthmān sent for him and met with him alone. He said, "Ibn al-Nābighah, how quickly the neckhole of your gown has become louse-ridden! You faithfully carried out your duties as governor for a year previous [to this]. Do you attack me, bearing one countenance in my presence and another in my absence? By God, were it not for a morsel of food [proffered you by my enemies], you would not do that."[307] 'Amr replied, "Indeed much of what the people say and communicate to their rulers is falsehood. So fear God, O Commander of the Faithful, in regard to your subjects." 'Uthmān said, "By God, I appointed you as governor in spite of your faults and all the talk about you." 'Amr responded, "I was governor on behalf of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and at the time of his passing he was well satisfied with me."

'Uthmān said, "If I had controlled you as stringently as 'Umar did, by God, you would act rightly. But I have been lenient with you and so you have been insolent with me. By God, I possess greater glory than you through my next of kin in the Time of Ignorance and before I acquired my present authority." 'Amr replied, "Stop this! Praise be to God, who honored and guided us by

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305. As in the preceding account, this one contains numerous editorial *qālas*, omitted in this translation.

306. That is, he left 'Amr as titular head of the Muslim community in Egypt; presumably he also continued to be commander-in-chief of the garrison stationed there.

307. *Lawlā akālatun mā fa'alta dhālika.* For the sense of this idiom see Lane, I, sub verbo *akl*.

Muḥammad. I saw [my father] al-ʿĀṣī b. Wāʾil and I saw your father ʿAffān, and by God al-ʿĀṣ was nobler than your father!" ʿUthmān was caught short and said, "Why should we be referring to the Time of Ignorance?"

ʿAmr departed, and Marwān entered and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have come to a state of things where ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ can talk about your father!" ʿUthmān replied, "Leave off! If [2967] a man mentions [other] men's fathers, they will mention his father."

Thus, ʿAmr departed from ʿUthmān filled with hatred for him. At one point he came to ʿAlī to incite him against ʿUthmān. Then he approached al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah in succession to incite them. He confronted the Pilgrimage caravan to inform them of ʿUthmān's wrongful innovations. When ʿUthmān was besieged for the first time, (ʿAmr) went from Medina until he reached a property that he owned in Palestine called al-Sabʿ, and took up residence in a castle of his named al-ʿAjlān.[308] He would say, "It is wonderful what we hear about Ibn ʿAffān."

While he was seated in that castle of his, with Salāmah b. Rawḥ al-Judhāmī and his two sons Muḥammad and ʿAbdallāh, a rider passed by them. ʿAmr called out to him. "Where have you come from?" "From Medina," he answered. (ʿAmr) said, "What has that man done?"—that is, ʿUthmān. (The rider) said, "I left him tightly besieged." ʿAmr said, "I am Abū ʿAbdallāh. Perhaps the jackass is breaking wind and the flatiron is in the fire."[309]

(ʿAmr) had not left his seat before a second rider passed by. ʿAmr called out to him, "What has that man done?"—that is, ʿUthmān. "He has been killed," he replied. (ʿAmr) said, "I am Abū ʿAbdallāh. When I rub a scab, I scrape it off.[310] I have been inciting [people] against him, even the shepherd on the mountaintop with

308. According to Yāqūt (*Muʿjam al-Buldān*, II, 19), al-ʿAjlān was an estate belonging to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and located in Bayt Jibrīn, a town situated about two-thirds of the way between Jerusalem and Gaza (i.e., 25 km. from the latter). Yāqūt says that this estate was named after a client of ʿAmr's, but the name is probably an Arabization of Biblical Eglon, whose location fits his data very neatly.

309. A rather crude way of saying that the crisis is imminent and that ʿUthmān is too weak and frightened to oppose it effectively. See Lane, V, 1786, sub verbo *ḍaraṭa*, and Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, II, 248.

310. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, I, 43, and Lane, II, 614, sub verbo *ḥakka*. The meaning is "When I desire an object I attain it."

his flock." Then Salāmah b. Rawḥ said to him, "O leaders of Quraysh, verily there was a strong gate between you and the Arabs and you have broken it down. Whatever led you to do
[2968] that?" ('Amr) said, "We wanted to draw the truth out of the pit of falsehood and to have the people be on an equal footing as regards the truth."

'Uthmān's half-sister on his mother's side, Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayṭ, used to dwell with 'Amr; then he separated from her when ('Uthmān) deposed him.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad—his father: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah were in Egypt inciting [people] against 'Uthmān. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr came [to Medina], while Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah remained in Egypt. When the Egyptians set out [for Medina], 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Udays al-Balawī took 500 (men) with him. Claiming that they intended to perform the Lesser Pilgrimage, they set out in Rajab (January 656). 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd [the governor of Egypt] dispatched a messenger who journeyed eleven nights to inform 'Uthmān that Ibn 'Udays and his comrades were heading toward him, and that Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah had accompanied them as far as 'Ajrūd[311] and then turned back.

In public Muḥammad stated, "This band of men (*qawm*) has set out to perform the Lesser Pilgrimage." But in secret he said, "This band of men has set out to confront their imām. If he abdicates, [well and good], but otherwise they will kill him."

The dissidents (*al-qawm*) proceeded along the way stations [on the road to Medina], bypassing none of them until they established camp at Dhū Khushub. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd's messenger having reached him before they arrived, 'Uthmān said, "This is a band of Egyptians who claim to be performing the Lesser Pilgrimage. By God, I do not believe that is their intention. On the contrary, the people have been taken in by them, and they hasten toward rebellion (*fitnah*). They feel that my life has lasted too long. But by God, if I depart from them, they will wish that every
[2969] day of my life had lasted a year, on account of the bloodshed, the

311. 'Ajrūd: a locale that I have been unable to find.

ancient hatreds, the blatant selfishness, and the overturned commandments that they will witness."

When the dissidents established their camp at Dhū Khushub, the news spread that they intended to kill 'Uthmān if he did not abdicate. At night their envoy came to 'Alī, Ṭalḥah, and 'Ammār b. Yāsir successively. Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah had joined them in writing a letter to 'Alī; they brought this to 'Alī, but he did not examine its contents. When 'Uthmān perceived all this, he came to 'Alī. He entered his house and said, "O cousin, nothing owed to me can be neglected; my kinship [with you] is close, and I have a strong claim upon your support. You see the trouble caused by this band of dissidents when they came to me today.[312] I know that you enjoy prestige among the people and that they will listen to you. I want you to ride out to them and send them away from me. I do not wish them to come before me, for that would be an insolent act toward me on their part. Let others hear of this as well."

'Alī said, "On what grounds shall I send them away?" ('Uthmān) replied, "On the grounds that I shall carry out what you have counseled me to do and thought right, and that I will not deviate from your direction." Then 'Alī said, "In fact I have spoken to you time after time, and you and I have discussed such matters at length.[313] All this is the doing of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, Ibn 'Āmir, and Mu'āwiyah. You have heeded them and defied me." 'Uthmān said, "Then I shall defy them and heed you."

('Alī) thus issued orders to the people, and both Emigrants and Helpers rode forth with him [to meet with the dissidents].

'Uthmān sent to 'Ammār b. Yāsir, telling him to set forth with 'Alī, but he refused. Then 'Uthmān sent to Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and told him that he should go to 'Ammār and direct him to ride out with 'Alī. Sa'd set out and entered 'Ammār's presence. He said, "O [2970]
Abū al-Yaqẓān, will you not go forth with the others, all the more

312. *Wa-qad jā'a mā tarā min hā'ulā'i 'l-qawmi wa-hum muṣabbiḥiyya.*

313. A paraphrase, since the original seems to defeat an exact rendering: *Fa-qāla 'Aliyyun innī qad kuntu kallamtuka marratan ba'da marratin fa-kulla dhālika nakhruju fa-tukallamu wa-naqūlu wa-taqūlu.*

as ʿAlī is going? Set out with him, then, and drive these dissidents away from your imām, for I reckon that you will take no ride more beneficial to you than this one."

ʿUthmān sent to Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt al-Kindī, who was one of his loyal supporters (*aʿwān*), and said, "Follow close behind Saʿd and listen to what he and ʿAmmār say to each other; then come right back to me." Kathīr set out and found Saʿd meeting privately with ʿAmmār in the latter's home. He put his eye up to the keyhole in the door. Without knowing who was there, ʿAmmār came over to him with a staff in his hand and inserted it into the keyhole where Kathīr had placed his eye. Kathīr jerked his eye away from the hole, turned tail, and fled, covering his face. Then ʿAmmār came out, recognized his footprints, and shouted, "You runt, son of a runt's mother, were you spying on me and listening to my conversation? By God, had I known it was you, I would have poked out your eye with this staff, for the Messenger of God permitted that." Then ʿAmmār returned to Saʿd, and Saʿd spoke with him and began trying by every means to turn him away [from his previous opinions]. But the end result of this was that ʿAmmār said, "By God, I shall never drive (the dissidents) away from (ʿUthmān)." Then Saʿd returned to ʿUthmān and informed him of what ʿAmmār had said. ʿUthmān suspected that Saʿd was not giving him sincere advice; Saʿd therefore swore an oath to him in God's name that (ʿAmmār) had tried to incite [him against the caliph], and ʿUthmān accepted [this] from him.

ʿAlī rode out to the Egyptians and sent them away from (ʿUthmān); and they departed and headed back [toward Egypt].

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (al-Wāqidī)—Muḥammad b.
[2971] Ṣāliḥ—ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar—Maḥmūd b. Labīd: When (the Egyptians) established their camp at Dhū Khushub, ʿUthmān told ʿAlī and the Companions of the Messenger of God to send them away from him. So ʿAlī rode out with a few of the Emigrants, among them Saʿīd b. Zayd, Abū Jahm al-ʿAdawī, Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (*sic*!), Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb b. Asīd. The Helpers who set out included Abū Usayd al-Sāʿidī, Abū Ḥumayd al-Sāʿidī, Zayd b. Thābit, Ḥassān b. Thābit, and Kaʿb b. Mālik; they were accompanied by Niyār b. Mikraz from among the Bedouin. Beside these there were thirty other men. ʿAlī and Muḥammad b. Maslamah, in their position as

leaders [of the Medinan delegation], spoke to (the dissidents), and these listened to their statement and turned back.

According to Maḥmūd (b. Labīd)—Muḥammad b. Maslamah:[314] We did not leave Dhū Khushub until they had set out on their journey back to Egypt. They began to say their farewells to me, and I [namely, Muḥammad b. Maslamah] shall not forget the statement of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUdays: "O Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, do you enjoin anything upon us?" I responded, "You should fear God alone, Who has no partner,[315] and you should send those around you away from their imām, for he has promised us that he will return [to what is good] and desist [from what is evil]." Ibn ʿUdays said, "I shall, God willing." Thus, the delegation (*qawm*) returned to Medina.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (al-Wāqidī)—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad—his father: When ʿAlī returned to ʿUthmān, he informed him that they had gone and said to him some things which were on his mind. He said to him, "Know that I am saying more about you than I have said previously." Then he went home. [2972]

ʿUthmān remained at home that day, until Marwān came to him the next day and said, "Speak and inform the people that the Egyptians have gone back, and that what they had heard about their imām was false. Your sermon (*khuṭbah*) will spread throughout the lands before the people can gather against you from their garrison towns [in such numbers] that you are unable to fend them off." ʿUthmān refused to go out, but Marwān kept after him until he went forth and took his seat upon the pulpit.

(ʿUthmān) praised and extolled God, and then said: "To proceed: As to this band of Egyptians, a certain matter concerning their imām had come to their attention. But when they were certain that what they had heard about was false they returned to their own land." Then from one side of the mosque ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ called out to him: "Fear God, O ʿUthmān, for you have borne great dangers, as we have done along with you. Turn to God, and we shall turn to Him!" ʿUthmān shouted back, "So you are over there, Ibn al-Nābighah. By God, your robe has become louse-

314. In the following report numerous editorial *qāla*s have been omitted.
315. Qur'ān 6:163.

ridden since I removed you from office." From another direction someone else shouted, "Turn to God and show repentance. Then the people will restrain themselves from you." 'Uthmān stretched out his hands and turned to face the *qiblah*, saying, "O God, verily I am the first to repent." Then he went back to his house, while 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ proceeded to his residence in Palestine. ('Amr) used to say, "By God, if I were to run across a shepherd I would incite him against ('Uthmān)."

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—'Alī b. 'Umar—his father: 'Alī came to 'Uthmān after the Egyptians had gone and said to him: "Make a statement which the people will testify that
[2973] they have heard from you, and God will be witness as to whether or not you desire to repent in your heart.[316] The provinces are in turmoil against you, and I fear another company of riders may come from Kūfah. You will say, 'Alī, ride out to meet them,' but I cannot go out and get [them] to listen to any excuse. Still other riders will come from Baṣrah, and you will say, 'O 'Alī, ride out to meet them.' If I do not do that, you will think I have betrayed our bonds of kinship and belittled your claims [on me]."

Thus, 'Uthmān went out and preached the sermon in which he laid before the people his heartfelt desire to repent. He arose, praising and extolling God as He merits, and then said: "To proceed: By God, O people, if any one of you has censured [me], he has not done so for anything that is unknown to me. I have done nothing unknowingly. But my soul has raised vain hopes within me and lied to me, and my rectitude has slipped away from me. I heard the Messenger of God say, 'Let him who slips repent, and let him who errs turn back and not persist in his own ruin. Verily he who persists in tyranny is very far from the true path.' Now I am the first to take warning. I ask God's forgiveness for what I have done and I turn to Him. A man like me yearns to repent. When I step down [from the pulpit], let your notables (*ashrāf*) come to me and inform me of their opinion. By God, if the truth turns me into a slave, then I shall tread the slave's path, I shall humble myself like a slave, and I shall be like the bondsman. If he is held in servitude, he shows patience; if he is set free, he is grateful. There is no escape from God save by returning to Him.

316. *Wa-yashhadu Allāhu 'alā mā fī qalbika min 'l-nuzū'i wa'l-ināba*ti.

The best men among you will not fail to draw near me. If my right [2974]
hand refuses, then my left hand will surely obey me."[317]

Then the people had pity on him, and some among them wept. Sa'īd b. Zayd stood up before him and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, no one comes to you who does not support you. Fear God, in your soul fear God, and fulfill what you have said!"

When 'Uthmān descended [from the pulpit], he found Marwān [b. al-Ḥakam], Sa'īd [b. al-'Āṣ], and a few of the Banū Umayyah at his home. They had not been present at the sermon, and when ('Uthmān) took his seat, Marwān said, "O Commander of the Faithful, shall I speak or remain silent?" Then Nā'ilah bt. al-Farāfiṣah, 'Uthmān's wife from the Kalb tribe, said, "Nay, be silent, for they will kill him and accuse him of sin; he has made a public statement from which he cannot rightfully withdraw." Then Marwān came up to her and said, "What does this have to do with you? By God, your father died without knowing how to perform the ablutions correctly." "Go easy, Marwān," she responded, "in mentioning our fathers. You speak lies about my absent father. Indeed your father cannot defend himself [against similar charges]. By God, were (your father) not ('Uthmān's) uncle and would (the caliph) not be distressed, I would tell no lies in informing you about (your father)."

Then Marwān turned away from her and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, shall I speak or be silent?" ('Uthmān) answered, "No, speak." Marwān said, "You are as dear to me as my father and my mother! By God, I wish that you had made this statement [before the people] while you were still strong and invincible, and that I had been the first to be satisfied by it and to aid [you] in
fulfilling it. However, you have said these things when the girth [2975]
has reached the two teats and the torrent has overflowed the hilltops and when a humiliated man has submitted to humiliation.[318] By God, to persist in an error for which you must seek God's forgiveness is better than to repent because you are afraid.

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317. The meaning is that he will force himself to submit to their judgment, however bitter he may find it to do so.

318. The first two clauses are proverbial, meaning that the affair had become distressing and surpassed normal limits. See Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, I, 151, 293; Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1215; V, 1830. The last clause is explained in de Goeje, *Introductio*, ccclxvii.

If you so will, you may seek repentance without acknowledging error. The people have piled up at the gate against you like a mountain." 'Uthmān said, "Go out and speak to them, for I am ashamed to do so."

So Marwān went to the gate, where the people were clambering on top of one another. He said, "Why have you gathered here like looters? Your faces are deformed, and every man is holding the ear of his confederate! Whom are you after? You have come to snatch our power (*mulk*)[319] from us. Go! By God, if you mean us [any harm], you will encounter something distasteful from us,[320] and you will not praise the result of your opinions. Return to your homes, for by God we are not men to be robbed of our possessions."

[2976] The people retreated, and one of them went to see 'Alī and informed him of the news. Then 'Alī came in a rage to 'Uthmān and said, "Surely you have satisfied Marwān, but he is satisfied with you only if you deviate from your religion and reason, like a camel carrying a litter that is led around at will. By God, Marwān is devoid of sense in regard to his religion and his soul. I swear by God, I think he will bring you in and then not send you out again. After this visit I will not come again to chide you. You have destroyed your own honor and you have been robbed of your authority (*amr*)."

When 'Alī departed, ('Uthmān's) wife Nā'ilah bt. al-Farāfiṣah entered and said, "Shall I speak or remain silent?" "Speak," he replied. She said, "I have heard what 'Alī said to you, that he will not return to you, and that you have obeyed Marwān, who leads you wherever he wishes." ('Uthmān) said, "What shall I do?" She responded, "You should fear God alone, Who has no partner, and you should adhere to the practice of your two predecessors [namely, Abū Bakr and 'Umar]. For if you obey Marwān he will kill you. Marwān enjoys no prestige among the people and inspires neither awe nor love. The people have only abandoned you due to Marwān's place [in your councils]. Send to 'Alī, then, and

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319. Or, "our possessions." But "kingship, rulership" seems to fit the context a bit better.

320. *Amā wa'llāhi la-in rumtumūnā la-yamurranna 'alaykum minnā amrun lā yasurrukum.*

trust in his honesty and uprightness. He is related to you, and he is not a man whom people disobey." So 'Uthmān sent to 'Alī, but he refused to come, saying, "I told him I would not return."

Having learned of Nā'ilah's comments about him, Marwān came to 'Uthmān and took a seat before him. He said, "Shall I speak or remain silent?" "Speak," replied ('Uthmān). [Marwān] began, "The daughter of al-Farāfiṣah. . . ." 'Uthmān said, "You [2977]
are not to say a thing about her! How evil is your countenance! By God, she is a better adviser to me than you are." With this Marwān desisted.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Shuraḥbīl b. Abī 'Awn—his father: I heard 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth mention Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. He said: May God disfigure Marwān! 'Uthmān went out to the people and gave them satisfaction. He wept as he stood on the pulpit, and the people wept also, until I saw his beard soaked with tears. He was saying, "O God, I turn to Thee in repentance. O God, I repent, I repent! By God, if it is right for me to become a mere slave, I will be content with that. When I enter my house, all of you come before me, and by God I will not seclude myself from you. On the contrary, I will give you satisfaction in full measure and more, and I will send Marwān and his kin away."

When ('Uthmān) entered [his house], he commanded that the gate be thrown open. When he went into his house, Marwān came to him and worked ceaselessly to delude him, until at last he beguiled him from his better judgment and eradicated his original intentions. For three days 'Uthmān stayed inside and would not go out, for he was ashamed to face the people. Then Marwān went out to the people and said, "May your faces be deformed! Whom are you after? Go back to your homes. If the Commander of the Faithful needs any of you, he will send for him. Otherwise, he will remain in his house."

'Abd al-Raḥmān continues: So I came to 'Alī, and found him [in the mosque] between the [Prophet's] grave and the pulpit.[321] With

321. The principal mosque of Medina was originally the courtyard of the Prophet's own dwelling. When he died he was buried in one corner of the structure. The pulpit stands more or less in the middle on the same side of the mosque. See J. Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine* (Paris, 1947).

[2978] him were 'Ammār b. Yāsir and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, and they were saying, "Marwān has acted badly toward the people." 'Alī came over to me and asked, "Were you present at 'Uthmān's sermon?" "Yes," I said. 'Alī went on, "And were you present when Marwān spoke to the people?" "Yes," I answered. 'Alī said, "God forbid, O Muslims, that if I remain in my house, he should accuse me of abandoning him in spite of his kinship [with me] and his rights. And God forbid that if I speak [to him] and things turn out as he desires, Marwān would trick him[322] and he would become like a captured beast driven by him at will—[all this] despite his advanced age and his having been a Companion of the Messenger of God."

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad continues: ('Alī) kept on until 'Uthmān's envoy arrived and said, "Come with me." 'Alī responded in a loud, angry voice, "Tell him that I will not come before him again."The messenger departed. I tried without success to meet with 'Uthmān two nights later. I asked his servant where the Commander of the Faithful had been, and he said, "He was with 'Alī."

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad continues: So I took my leave and paid a visit to 'Alī. He said to me, "'Uthmān came to me yesterday and began to accuse me of refusing to see him again and of working [against him]. So I said to him, 'After what you said on the pulpit of the Messenger of God, and after [the promises] you gave
[2979] of your own free will, you entered your house, and Marwān went out before the people, reviling and insulting them at your gate.'"

"('Uthmān) responded, saying, 'You have severed the bonds of kinship with me. You have abandoned me and emboldened the people against me.' I [that is, 'Alī] replied, 'By God, I am your strongest defender against the people. But whenever I have brought to you any matter that I think you will find agreeable, (Marwān) brings another. You have heard Marwān speak against me and have invited him to enter your presence.'" Then he left and went home.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad continues: I constantly saw 'Alī avoiding ('Uthmān) and not acting as he formerly had. However, I

322. The reading of this passage is uncertain: *In takallamtu fa-jā'a mā yurīdu yal'ab bihi Marwānu.*

know that he spoke with Ṭalḥah when ('Uthmān) was under siege, to the effect that waterskins should be taken to him. ('Alī) was extremely upset about that, until at last waterskins were brought in to 'Uthmān.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far—Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad: 'Uthmān stood upon the pulpit on Friday, and praised and extolled God. Then a man stood up and said, "Carry out the Book of God." 'Uthmān said, "Sit down." He did so. Three times he stood up, 'Uthmān ordered him to sit down, and he did so. Then they began throwing pebbles until the sky could not be seen. ('Uthmān) fell from the pulpit and was carried off unconscious to his house. One of 'Uthmān's chamberlains (*ḥujjāb*) went out carrying a copy of the Qur'ān and crying out, "Those who have made divisions in their religion and become sects, I am not of them in anything; their affair is unto God."[323] Then 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib entered 'Uthmān's presence while he was still unconscious and the Banū Umayyah were around him. ('Alī) said, "Why, O Commander of the Faithful, have the Banū Umayyah drawn round you like a belt?" They responded, "O 'Alī, you have destroyed us and have brought ill to the Commander of the Faithful. Yea, by God, if you achieve your aims, [2980
then this world will surely become a bitter place for you." Then 'Alī rose up full of anger.

In this year, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān was killed.

The Account of the Murder [of 'Uthmān]

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): In this year, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān was killed. We have mentioned many of the reasons that his murderers cited as an excuse for killing him, and we have avoided mentioning many others that should not be included here. We will now describe how he was killed, how and through whom it began, and who was the first to treat him audaciously before he was murdered.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umār al-Wāqidī—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far—Umm Bakr bt. al-Miswar b. Makhramah—her father:

323. A variant version of Qur'ān 6:160. The text is usually read "thou [that is, Muḥammad] art not of them in anything."

Some camels were brought to 'Uthmān as legal alms (*ṣadaqah*), and he made a gift of them to one of the Banū al-Ḥakam.[324] Having learned of this, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf sent to al-Miswar b. Makhramah and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth. They took the camels, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān (b. 'Awf) then distributed them among the people while 'Uthmān stayed at home.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ—'Ubaydallāh b. Rāfi' b. Naqākhah[325]—'Uthmān b. al-
[2981] Sharīd: 'Uthmān passed Jabalah b. 'Amr al-Sā'idī as he sat in his courtyard holding a rope. Jabalah said, "You hyena. By God, I shall kill you. I shall carry you off on a scab-covered camel and send you to blazing fire." Another time, when 'Uthmān was standing on the pulpit, Jabalah forced him to get off.

It was related to me by Muḥammad (al-Wāqidī)[326]—Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl—his father—'Āmir b. Sa'd: The first man who dared to insult 'Uthmān was Jabalah b. 'Amr al-Sā'idī. Once while he was sitting among his kinsmen holding a rope in his hand, 'Uthmān passed by him. 'Uthmān greeted them as he was passing by, and they greeted him in return. Then Jabalah said, "Why do you answer a man who did such-and-such a thing?" Jabalah then approached 'Uthmān and said, "By God, I will throw this rope around your neck unless you abandon your personal entourage (*biṭānah*)." "What entourage," asked 'Uthmān? "By God, I do not choose favorites among the people." (Jabalah) answered, "Marwān, and Mu'āwiyah, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz, and 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd—all of these you have favored. Among them are men who are condemned in the Qur'ān, men whose blood the Messenger of God has declared lawful." 'Uthmān departed, and the people have continued to talk spitefully about him to this day.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Ibn Abī al-

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324. The Banū al-Ḥakam (the clan from which Marwān stemmed) were of course among the most obdurate opponents of the Prophet. Their association with any act is usually enough to taint it in the eyes of the pious.

325. Perhaps "Nafākhah" or Nuffākhah." See text, 2980, note f.

326. *Ḥaddathanī Muḥammadun.* Presumably he means al-Wāqidī, but there is a difficulty. The term *ḥaddathanī* normally indicates direct oral transmission. However, al-Wāqidī died in 207/823 and so could not have passed this anecdote on to Ṭabarī in that manner.

Zinād—Mūsā b. 'Uqbah—Abū Ḥabībah: One day 'Uthmān was [2982]
preaching to the people when 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have incurred grave dangers, and we have incurred them with you. Repent, and we shall repent." 'Uthmān turned in the direction of Mecca and raised his arms in supplication. Abū Ḥabībah states: I have never seen more men and women weeping than on that day. Afterwards, as 'Uthmān preached to the people, Jahjāh al-Ghifārī came up to him and cried, "'Uthmān, we have brought this old she-camel, and on it there are a robe and a rope. Get down! We will dress you in the robe, throw the rope around your neck, carry you off on the camel, and then throw you into the mountain of smoke." 'Uthmān replied, "May God disfigure you and reveal the ugliness of your deeds." Abū Ḥabībah states: All this happened in front of the people.[327] Then 'Uthmān's favorites and partisans among the Banū Umayyah came up to him and took him home. Abū Ḥabībah states: It was the last I saw of him.

According to Muḥammad (al-Wāqidī)—Usāmah b. Zayd al-Laythī—Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib—his father: I was watching 'Uthmān as he preached leaning on the Prophet's staff—the staff on which (the Prophet), Abū Bakr, and 'Umar used to lean while they preached. Jahjāh said to him, "You hyena, get down off this pulpit!" Seizing the staff, Jahjāh broke it over his right knee. A wood splinter pierced (the knee), and the wound
remained open for so long that it became infected with gangrene, [2983]
and I saw it swarming with maggots. 'Uthmān descended from the pulpit and was taken away. He ordered the staff to be repaired, and it was bound together with a strip of iron. From that day until he was besieged and killed, 'Uthmān went out only one or two times.

It was related to me by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm—'Abdallāh b. Idrīs—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar—Nāfi': Jahjāh al-Ghifārī seized a staff that 'Uthmān was holding and broke it over his knee, and (Jahjāh) was stricken with gangrene in that place.

It was related to me by Ja'far b. 'Abdallāh al-Muḥammadī—'Amr—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār al-Madanī[328]—his paternal

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327. *Wa-lam yakun dhālika minhu illā 'an mala'in min 'l-nāsi.*

328. Ibn Isḥāq is of course most famous for his *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, but he also

uncle ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yasār: When the people saw what ʿUthmān was doing, the Companions of the Prophet in Medina wrote to the Companions who were scattered throughout the frontier provinces: "You have gone forth but to struggle in the path of Almighty God, for the sake of Muḥammad's religion. In your absence the religion of Muḥammad has been corrupted and forsaken. Come then and reestablish Muḥammad's religion." Thus, they came from every direction until they killed (ʿUthmān). When the people turned around to go back after ʿUthmān claimed he had repented, he wrote a letter to ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, his governor (*ʿāmil*) in Egypt, concerning those who had come from Egypt, for they were the most hostile to him of all the provincial garrisons: "To proceed: Look for so-and-so and so-and-so, and behead them if they come to you. Look also for certain
[2984] other men, and punish them in such-and-such a way." These persons included a few of the Companions of the Messenger of God as well as a body of the Successors. His envoy on this occasion was Abū al-Aʿwar b. Sufyān al-Sulamī. ʿUthmān mounted him on one of his camels and ordered him to get to Egypt before the dissidents (*al-qawm*) arrived. Abū al-Aʿwar overtook the Egyptians along the road, and they asked him where he was going. "To Egypt," he replied, and he was accompanied by a Syrian from Khawlān. When they saw him on ʿUthmān's camel, they said, "Are you carrying a letter?" "No," he said. "Why were you sent," they asked. "I don't know," he responded. "You are not carrying a letter," they said, "and you do not know why you were sent. Your situation is suspicious." Then they searched him and found a letter in an empty waterskin. Upon examining the letter, they discovered that some of them were to be executed and others were to be punished in their persons and property. When they saw this they returned to Medina. The people learned about their return and what had happened to them. They came back from all the provinces, and the Medinese rose up in rebellion.

It was related to me by Jaʿfar—ʿAmr and ʿAlī—Ḥusayn—his

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composed a *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*. Ṭabarī cites it only rarely, but a papyrus fragment—dealing with the murder of ʿUmar and the appointment of the electoral council—does survive. This fragment has been studied by Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri, I: Historical Texts* (Chicago: 1957), pp. 80–99. See also J. M. B. Jones, "Ibn Isḥāḳ," *EI*², III, 810–11.

father—Muḥammad b. Sā'ib al-Kalbī: The Egyptians returned to 'Uthmān after having departed from him because a slave (*ghulām*) of his, riding one of his camels, overtook them carrying a letter to the governor (*amīr*) of Egypt [with orders] to kill some of them and crucify others. When they came back to 'Uthmān they said, "This is your slave." He said, "My slave went without my knowledge." They said, "[It is] your camel." He responded, "He took it from the house without my orders." They said, "[This is] your seal." "It was forged," he said.

When the Egyptians arrived, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Udays al-Tujībī said:

They [fem.][329] came from Bilbays and Upper Egypt,
long-necked, their eyes squinting like bows,
Their flanks covered in chain mail. [2985]
They [fem.] demand God's due from al-Walīd, from
'Uthmān and from Sa'īd.
O Lord, send us back with what we seek!

When 'Uthmān saw what had happened to him and how many of the people had been sent against him, he wrote Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān in Syria: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To proceed: The Medinese have become unbelievers; they have abandoned obedience and renounced their oath of allegiance. Therefore send to me the Syrian soldiers who are at your disposal, on every camel you have, whether docile or stubborn." When Mu'āwiyah got the letter, he delayed action on it, for he did not wish to differ openly with the Companions of the Messenger of God, since he knew that they concurred [on this matter]. When 'Uthmān became aware of the delay, he wrote to seek aid from Yazīd b. Asad b. Kurz and the Syrians; he stressed his rightful claims upon them, and mentioned Almighty God's commandment to obey the caliphs, to give them sincere counsel, and to promise them the support of an army or personal entourage (*biṭānah*) against the people (as a whole). He reminded them of what he had endured with them and his good treatment of them. [He said:] "If you can aid me, then hurry, hurry. For the dissidents (*qawm*) are making haste against me." When his letter was read

329. Camels are meant.

out to them, Yazīd b. Asad b. Kurz, of the clan of Qasr in the tribe of Bajīlah, stood up. He praised and extolled God, and then spoke about 'Uthmān, stressing his rightful claims [upon them] and urging them to go to his aid. He commanded them to set out, and a great number heeded him and went with him until, having learned at Wādī al-Qurā[330] of 'Uthmān's murder, they returned.

'Uthmān also wrote 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir a copy of his letter to the Syrians, commanding him to send the Baṣrans to him. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir assembled the people and read 'Uthmān's letter to them. Speakers from among the Baṣrans stood up, urging him to go to
[2986] 'Uthmān's aid. The first among them who spoke was Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd al-Sulamī, at that time the chief (*sayyid*) of the Qays tribe in Baṣrah. Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī also arose and exhorted the people to support 'Uthmān. The people hastened to do that, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir put Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd in command of them. Mujāshi' led them out, but when the people made camp at al-Rabadhah—the vanguard having located in a district of Medina named Ṣirār—they learned of 'Uthmān's murder.

It was related to me by Ja'far—'Amr and 'Alī—Ḥusayn —his father—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār al-Madanī—Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr[331]—his father: The Egyptians in al-Suqyā or Dhū Khushub wrote a letter to 'Uthmān. One of them brought it to 'Uthmān, who did not reply in any way, but ordered him to be ejected from the house. Then six hundred Egyptians marched on 'Uthmān. They were divided into four brigades, and the commander of each carried a banner. The overall command was in the hands of 'Amr b. Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī, one of the Companions of the Prophet, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Udays al-Tujībī. Their letter to ('Uthmān) contained [the following statements]:

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To proceed: Know that 'God changes not what is in a people, until

330. Wādī al-Qurā ("The Valley of Towns") is a long depression stretching northwest from Medina, roughly parallel to the Red Sea coast. As the name implies, several major oasis settlements of the Ḥijāz are located there, and the principal trade route to Syria likewise traversed it.

331. The text reads *Yaḥyā b. 'Abbād 'an 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.* I have followed de Goeje's emendation: *Introductio,* dcxxix.

they change what is in themselves.'[332] So fear God, fear God! You are in a transitory world, and you must seek its fulfillment in a world to come. Do not forget your share in the world to come, and be not tempted by this present life. Know, by God, that we have [2987] been angered for God's sake, and that we find satisfaction in God. Know that we will not remove our swords from our shoulders until you come to us either with frank and unambiguous repentance or with outright falsehood. This is our statement to you, and this is our case against you. God will excuse us for our actions against you. Peace."

The Medinese wrote to 'Uthmān, calling on him to repent, and swearing by God that they would not desist until they killed him or he fulfilled his God-ordained obligations to them.

When ('Uthmān) feared he would be killed, he consulted his advisers and the members of his family (*ahl baytihi*) and said, "You see what the dissidents (*qawm*) have done. What is the way out?" They counseled him to send for 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and to ask him to turn the people away by granting their requests in order to stall them until reinforcements could get to him. 'Uthmān replied, "The dissidents will not be put off. My promises were empty and I did nothing the first time they came.[333] If I give them my promise again they will demand that I fulfill it." Marwān b. al-Ḥakam said, "O Commander of the Faithful, dealing discreetly with them until you gain strength is preferable to struggling with them at close range. Give them what they ask and put them off so long as they delay in regard to you. They rebelled against you, so they possess no binding commitment [from you]."

'Uthmān sent for 'Alī, and when 'Alī arrived he said to him, "Abū Ḥasan, you see what the people have done and you know what I have done. I fear they may kill me. Send them away from me, and I swear to God that I shall requite them for everything they detest, and I will grant them justice against me or anyone else, even if my own blood be shed thereby." 'Alī said, "The people desire your justice more than your death. I see a band of

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332. Qur'an 13:12.

333. *Wahā maḥmilī 'ahdan wa-qad kāna minnī fī qadmatihim 'l-ūlā mā kāna.* See de Goeje, *Introductio*, ccii, sub verbo *ḥamala;* and dcxxix.

men (*qawm*) who will be content only with full satisfaction.
[2988] When they first came to you, you gave them your promise in God's name that you would turn back from everything that they denounced, and thus you [were able to] send them away. Then you failed to carry out any of that. Do not tempt me with anything this time, for I will give them justice against you." "Yes," said 'Uthmān. "Give them justice, and by God I will carry it out in full."

So 'Alī went out to the people and said, "O people, you have demanded justice and [now] it is granted to you. 'Uthmān claims that he will do you justice, whether it be against himself or anyone else, and that he will abandon everything that you detest. Accept this from him and affirm it." The people answered, "We accept it. Make a compact with him for us, for by God, we will not be content with words instead of deeds." 'Alī said to them, "You will have it." Then he entered 'Uthmān's presence and told him the news.

'Uthmān said, "Arrange a delay between them and me so that I will have time to act, for I cannot do away with the things they detest in one day." 'Alī responded, "There can be no delay concerning matters here in Medina. As to matters elsewhere, you may delay as long as it takes your orders to get there." 'Uthmān said, "All right, but give me a delay of three days for affairs in Medina." 'Alī agreed. Then he went to the people and informed them of this. He wrote out a document between (the people) and 'Uthmān that gave him a three-day grace period to do away with every injustice and remove every governor whom they disliked. Then he bound him in this document as tightly as God had ever bound one of His creatures by compact or covenant. ('Alī) had (the document) witnessed by a body of the leading Emigrants and Helpers.

Thus, the people turned back from ('Uthmān) and withdrew until he should fulfill the promises that he had freely given them. But ('Uthmān) began preparing for war and gathering arms. He had already formed a strong army from among the slaves acquired as part of the caliph's one-fifth share.[334] When the three days had

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334. *Wa-qad ittakhadha jundan 'aẓīman min raqīqi 'l-khums.* On the one-fifth share of booty paid to the caliph, see above, note 30.

passed and he had done nothing to alter anything which was hateful to the people or to remove any governor, they revolted against him.

'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī went out to the Egyptians in Dhū Khushub and informed them of the situation. He proceeded with them to Medina, where they sent to 'Uthmān and said, "Did we not leave you when you claimed that you had repented of your unlawful innovations (*aḥdāth*) and turned away from things hateful to us? Have you not given us a compact and covenant before God?" He answered, "I have indeed, and I hold to that." Then ('Amr b. Ḥazm) said, "So what is this letter that we found in the possession of your messenger, written by you to your governor?" ('Uthmān) responded, "I did not write it, and I don't know what you are talking about." They said, "It was your messenger on your camel, a letter [written] by your secretary and bearing your seal."[335] ('Uthmān) replied, "As for the camel, it was stolen. [One man's] handwriting may resemble [another's]. As to the seal, it was forged." [2989]

They said, "We will not act precipitously even though we suspect you. Remove from us your sinful governors and appoint others over us who are not accused [of taking] our lives and property. Respond to our grievances." 'Uthmān said, "How do I look if I name officials whom you desire and remove those hateful to you? Authority (*al-amr*) would then belong to you." They said, "By God, you must either do [what you promised], abdicate, or be killed. See to things yourself or leave [them to us]." But he refused, saying, "I am not one to remove a robe that God has placed upon me." So they besieged him for forty nights, and in the meantime Ṭalḥah led the people in worship.

It was related to me by Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm—Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm—Ibn 'Awn—al-Ḥasan—Waththāb. According to (al-Ḥasan): (Waththāb) was one of those manumitted by the Commander of the Faithful 'Umar, and I saw on his throat the scars of two stab wounds, like a pair of leather thongs, which he had suffered on the Day of the House. According to (Waththāb): 'Uthmān sent me to summon al-Ashtar and he came.[336]

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335. In other reports, 'Uthmān's secretary is identified as Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. For *barīd* as "messenger," see above, note 289.

336. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī, nicknamed al-Ashtar. See L. Veccia Vaglieri,

Ibn 'Awn thinks that Waththāb went on as follows: I laid down a cushion for the Commander of the Faithful and another for [al-Ashtar]. Then ('Uthmān] said, "Ashtar, what do the people want from me?" "You cannot avoid doing one of three things," he said. "What are they?" asked ('Uthmān]. [Al-Ashtar] said, "They ask
[2990] you to choose between [the following]. You may turn their affairs over to them and say, 'This is your affair; choose whomever you will for it.' Second, you may have yourself punished. If you reject these two choices, then this band of men (*qawm*) will kill you." ('Uthmān] replied, "As for my turning their affairs over to them, I am not one to remove a robe that Almighty God has placed upon me."

According to [Ibn 'Awn], other authorities beside [Waththāb] report [the following statement]: "By God, I would rather be brought out and beheaded than remove a shirt that God has placed upon me. I would be abandoning Muḥammad's Community to civil war." According to Ibn 'Awn, this more closely resembles what he said. [Continuing 'Uthmān's statement:] "As for having myself punished, by God, you know that two of my associates were punished before me, and my body cannot endure punishment.[337] As for your killing me, by God, if you kill me you will never again have love for one another, nor will you ever pray together again, nor will you ever be united in fighting an enemy."

Al-Ashtar rose and hurried away, while we remained there for some days. Then a little man came like a wolf, peered in through the door, and then left. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr came with thirteen men and went up to 'Uthmān. He seized his beard and shook it[338] until I heard his teeth chattering. [Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr] said, "Mu'āwiyah was no help to you, nor was Ibn 'Āmir nor your letters." ('Uthmān] said, "Let go of my beard, son of my brother! Let go of my beard!" Then I saw [Ibn Abī Bakr] signaling with his

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"Al-Ashtar," *EI*², I, 704. He was a tribal leader in Kūfah, and one of the bitterest opponents of the governor Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ. See above: pp. 112–21, 125, 132–35 [text, I, 2907–2917, 2921, 2927–2931]. He was one of 'Alī's most ardent supporters until his death in 37/658.

337. Presumably he refers to al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah and someone else. See above, pp. 53–55 [text, I, 2848–2849]. Cf. the longer account in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 29–35, based largely on the testimony of Abū Mikhnaf and [to a lesser degree] al-Wāqidī.

338. *Fa-qāla bihā*. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, cdxxxviii, sub verbo *qāla*.

eye to one of the rebels (*qawm*). He came over to him with a broad iron-headed arrow and stabbed him in the head with it. I [that is, Ibn 'Awn] asked, "Then what happened?" [Waththāb] replied, "They gathered round him and killed him." [2991]

According to al-Wāqidī—Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz—Ja'far b. Maḥmūd—Muḥammad b. Maslamah: I set out with a band of my fellow tribesmen (*qawmī*) to meet the Egyptians. They were led by four chiefs: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Udays al-Balawī, Sūdān b. Ḥumrān al-Murādī, 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'ī—whose name became so dominant that (the force) was called "the army of Ibn al-Ḥamiq"[339]—and Ibn al-Nibā'. I entered their presence as the four of them were in a tent, and I saw that the people (*al-nās*) were following them. I stressed 'Uthmān's rights and the oath of allegiance that lay upon their necks. I filled them with a dread of civil war (*fitnah*), and informed them that ('Uthmān's) murder was a grave matter, concerning which there was much dissension. "Do not be the first to open the gate of discord.[340] He will turn away from those practices for which you have criticized him, and I will be the guarantor of that." The dissidents said, "And what if he does not desist?" I answered, "Then the matter is up to you." They went away satisfied, and I returned to 'Uthmān and said, "Grant me a private audience." He did so. I said, "Fear God, 'Uthmān, fear God for your life! Verily these people have only come seeking your blood, and you see how your associates have abandoned you. Worse, they are going over to your enemy." He expressed his consent and asked God to requite me.

Then I departed from him, but remained [in Medina] so long as God willed. 'Uthmān had spoken [to me] about the Egyptians' return [to Dhū Khushub]; he mentioned that they had come for one thing but had obtained something else and then departed. I wanted to come and rebuke him, but I kept silent. Suddenly someone said, "The Egyptians have arrived and are in al-Suwaydā'." I said, "Is it true, what you say?" "Yes," he replied. 'Uthmān sent to me, for the news had reached him, and the dissi- [2992]

339. Here I follow Caetani, *Annali*, VIII, 175. As emended the sentence would read: *wa-qad kāna hādhā 'l-ismu ghalaba ḥattā kāna yuqālu jayshu 'bni 'l-Ḥamiqi.*

340. Cf. p. 2921, note g.

dents (*qawm*) had made camp in Dhū Khushub at that very moment. ('Uthmān) said, "Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, these dissidents have returned. What should be done about them?" I responded, "By God, I do not know, but I do not think they have come back for any good purpose." ('Uthmān) said, "Go out to them and send them away." "No, by God, I will not," I said. "Why?" he asked. I said, "Because I assured them that you would desist from certain matters, and you have not desisted from a single letter of them." He said, "God is the one whose aid we seek." I went out, while the dissidents came and established themselves in al-Aswāf and laid siege to 'Uthmān.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Udays came to me, accompanied by Sūdān b. Ḥumrān and his two comrades. They said, "Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, do you not know that you spoke to us and sent us away? And you claimed that our companion [that is, 'Uthmān] would cease his reprehensible acts?" "Yes indeed," I said. Then they showed a short letter to me; there was a lead tube, and they were saying, "We found one of the alms-tax camels being ridden by 'Uthmān's slave. We seized his belongings and searched him, and we found this letter on him. It contains the following: 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To proceed: If 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Udays comes to you, give him a hundred lashes. Shave his head and beard, and keep him in confinement until my orders reach you. Do the same with 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq, Sūdān b. Ḥumrān, and 'Urwah b. al-Nibā' al-Laythī.'" I said, "How do you know that 'Uthmān wrote this?" They responded, "Suppose Marwān has done this without 'Uthmān's knowledge. That would be worse, [2993] and he must remove himself from office." They added, "Hurry to him with us. We have spoken to 'Alī, and he has promised us that he will speak with him at the noon prayer."

We came to Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, but he said, "I will not intervene in your affair." We came to Sa'īd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, and he said the same thing. Muḥammad (b. Maslamah) asked, "Where did 'Alī promise you [he would act]?" "He promised us that he would go and see ('Uthmān) at the noon prayer," they answered.

According to Muḥammad (b. Maslamah): I performed the prayer with 'Alī; then he and I entered ('Uthmān's) presence and said, "These Egyptians are at the door, so give them leave [to

come in]." Now Marwān was sitting with him, and he said, "May I be thy ransom. Permit me to speak to them." 'Uthmān responded, "May God leave you openmouthed! Get away from me. You have nothing to say about this matter." So Marwān went out, and 'Alī came in to see him. The Egyptians had told him what they had told me, and 'Alī began to inform ('Uthmān) what they had discovered in the letter. ('Uthmān) started to swear by God that he had not written or known about or sought advice concerning [this letter]. Muḥammad b. Maslamah [that is, the narrator of this incident] said, "By God he is telling the truth. This is Marwān's doing." 'Alī said, "Then have them come in and hear your excuse." 'Uthmān went up to 'Alī and said, "We are kinsmen through the female lineage.[341] By God, if you were in this situation I would extricate you from it. Go out and speak to them, for they will listen to you." But 'Alī replied, "I will not do it. Rather, have them enter so that you may present your excuses to them." ('Uthmān) said, "Have them come in."

According to Muḥammad b. Maslamah: So at that point they entered, but they did not give him the greeting appropriate to a caliph. Then I knew that this was evil itself. We exchanged the usual greetings, and then Ibn 'Udays stepped forward as spokesman for the dissidents. He mentioned what Ibn Sa'd had done in Egypt, recalling his unjust treatment of the Muslims and the protected peoples, and noting his appropriation of the Muslims' booty for himself alone. And when he was told about that, [2994]
he said, "These are the written orders of the Commander of the Faithful." Then they mentioned innovations which ('Uthmān) had instituted in Medina—things opposed by his two predecessors.

[Ibn 'Udays] said, "We journeyed from Egypt seeking nothing but your blood or an end [to these abuses], but 'Alī and Muḥammad b. Maslamah sent us back, and Muḥammad assured us that everything we had complained about would be ended." Then they turned toward Muḥammad b. Maslamah and asked, "Did you tell us that?" According to Muḥammad, "I said that I had." [Ibn 'Udays continued:] "Then we returned to our country, calling

341. *Inna lī qarābatan wa-raḥiman.*

upon Almighty God for help against you, because we had overwhelming proof [for our claims]. Then when we were in al-Buwayb[342] we apprehended your slave and seized the letter under your seal to 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd, in which you order him to flog us, to disfigure us by cutting off our hair, and to imprison us for long terms. Here is your letter."

'Uthmān praised and extolled God. Then he said, "By God I did not write it, I did not order it [to be written], I did not take counsel about it, I did not know about it." According to Muḥammad [b. Maslamah]: 'Alī and I both said, "He is telling the truth." 'Uthmān was relieved at this.

The Egyptians asked, "So who wrote it?" ['Uthmān] responded, "I don't know." [Ibn 'Udays] continued, "Can anyone treat you so audaciously that your slave is sent on a camel paid by the Muslims as alms tax, your seal is forged, and your governor is written to concerning these grave matters, while you know nothing?" "Yes," he replied. They said, "A man like you should not govern. Remove yourself from this office [*amr*], as God has removed you from it." ['Uthmān] replied, "I shall not remove a shirt that Almighty God has placed upon me." The shouting and noise grew louder, and I [that is, the narrator, Muḥammad b. Maslamah] thought that they would not leave without attacking him. Then
[2995] 'Alī arose and went out, and when he stood up I did the same. He told the Egyptians to go and they did so. 'Alī and I each returned to our own homes, but they broke off their siege of ['Uthmān] only when they had killed him.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Fuḍayl—his father—Sufyān b. Abī al-'Awjā': When the Egyptians came the first time, 'Uthmān spoke to Muḥammad b. Maslamah, and he set out with fifty horsemen from among the Helpers. Having reached them at Dhū Khushub, [Muḥammad] sent them away. The dissidents [*qawm*] went as far as al-Buwayb, where they came upon a slave of 'Uthmān carrying a letter to 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd. They turned round and went back to Medina, where al-Ashtar and Ḥukaym b. Jabalah had stayed behind. They

342. "*Buwayb* is the diminutive of *bāb*, meaning a cleft between two mountains. According to Ya'qūb, al-Buwayb is the place where the Ḥijāzīs enter Egypt." [Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, I, 764].

presented the letter, but 'Uthmān denied that he had written it. "This is a forgery," he said. "The letter is written by your scribe," they replied. "Indeed," said ('Uthmān), "but he did not write it on my orders." They said, "The messenger on whom we discovered the letter is your slave." "That is so," he said, "but he set out without my permission." "The camel is your camel," they said. "Yes," he replied, "but it was taken without my knowledge."

They said, "You are either truthful or a liar. If you are lying, you deserve to be deposed because you have unjustly ordered our blood to be shed. If you are telling the truth you deserve to be deposed because of your weakness and neglect, as well as the wickedness of your entourage. It is not right that we allow someone whose commands are ignored due to his weakness and neglect to have authority over us."[343] They continued, "You have beaten some of the Prophet's Companions and others when, in denouncing various acts of yours, they have admonished you and commanded you to return to righteousness. Have yourself chastised, then, in recompense for those whom you have wrongfully beaten." He answered, "The imām both errs and acts rightly. I shall not have myself chastised, because if I accepted retaliation for everyone against whom I have acted in error, I would be [2996] destroyed."

They said, "You have introduced grave innovations, and for them you deserve to be deposed. When people spoke to you about them, you declared your repentance, but then you did the same things again. Then we came to you and you claimed that you would repent and return to righteousness. Muḥammad b. Maslamah remonstrated with us on your behalf and gave us guarantees as to what would happen. But you betrayed him, and he declared that he would have nothing more to do with you. We returned [to Egypt] the first time in order to deprive you of any pretext and to give you every possible excuse, even as we sought the aid of Almighty God against you. Then we intercepted a letter from you to your governor over us, in which you ordered him to kill and mutilate and crucify us. You allege that [this letter] was written without your knowledge. But it was carried by your slave

343. *Lā yanbaghī lanā an natrūka 'alā riqābinā man yuqtaṭa'u mithlu 'l-amri dūnahu li-ḍu'fihi wa-ghaflatihi.*

on your camel, it was written in the hand of your scribe, and it bore your seal. All this has aroused ugly suspicions against you, together with what we already knew about your tyrannical rule, your selfishness in sharing out [booty], your freehanded punishments against the people, and your feigned repentance followed by reversion to error. We went away, but we should not have gone before deposing you and replacing you with a Companion of the Messenger of God—a man who had not introduced the innovations that we have endured from you, and who is not subject to the suspicion that falls upon you. Give back our caliphate and abdicate, for that is our surest recourse against you and your surest recourse against us."

'Uthmān said, "Have you said everything you wanted to say?" "Yes," they answered. He said, "Praise be to God! I praise Him and seek His aid. I believe in Him, I place my trust in Him, and I bear witness that there is no deity save God alone, Who has no partner, and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger. 'He sent him with guidance and the religion of truth, that he may uplift it above every religion, though the unbelievers be averse.'[344] To proceed: You have struck the balance neither in speech nor in
[2997] judgment. As for your telling me to abdicate, I shall not remove a shirt that Almighty God has placed upon me, and by which He has honored me and set me apart from others. However, I will repent and desist [from sin], and I will never again do anything that the Muslims find blameworthy. By God, I am a man who needs God and fears Him."

They said, "Were this the first innovation that you had introduced, and had you then repented and not repeated it, we would have to accept [your repentance] and depart from you. But you know of previous innovations on your part. When we departed from you the first time, neither we nor the man through whom you had excused your conduct [namely, Muḥammad b. Maslamah] suspected that you would write the things that we found in the letter carried by your slave. How can we accept your repentance when we know by experience that as soon as you display repentance for a sin, you do it again? We shall not depart

344. Qur'ān 9:33.

from you [now] until we have deposed you and replaced you. If your supporters—fellow tribesmen (*min qawmika*), kinsmen, or men devoted to you—choose battle, then we shall fight them until we reach you and kill you, or until you dispatch our souls to God."

'Uthmān responded, "As for surrendering my office (*imārah*), I would rather be crucified than give up the mandate (*amr*) of Almighty God and His caliphate (*khilāfatuhu*). As for your statement that you will fight whoever defends me, I shall not order anyone to fight you. Whoever fights for me will not do so on my orders. By my life, if I wished to fight you, I would have written to the commanders of the garrisons,[345] and they would have brought troops and dispatched men [to my aid]. I might also have linked up with my supporters[346] in Egypt or Iraq. Fear God, fear God and save yourselves. If you do not spare my life, if you kill me, you will bring about bloodshed by this affair." Then they departed [2998] from him, warning him that war would come. He sent to Muḥammad b. Maslamah and told him to send them away. [Muḥammad] replied, "By God, I do not lie to God twice in one year."

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. Muslim—Mūsā b. 'Uqbah—Abū Ḥabībah: On the day 'Uthmān was killed, I saw Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ go in to him. Then he came out, saying "To God we belong and to Him we shall return," on account of what he saw at ('Uthmān's) door. Marwān said to him, "Now you are sorry, but you have slain him." I [that is, the narrator Abū Ḥabībah] heard Sa'd say, "I beg God's forgiveness. I did not imagine that the people would dare to demand his blood. I came before him just now, and he made a statement that neither you nor your comrades heard. He renounced all his reprehensible actions and manifested repentance. He said, 'I will not keep on toward ruin, for he who persists in tyranny is very far from the [true] path. I shall repent and desist from evil.'" Marwān said, "If you mean to defend ('Uthmān), you must get Ibn Abī Ṭālib, but he has secluded himself and will not be spoken to."

Sa'd left and went to 'Alī, who was [in the mosque] between the [Prophet's] tomb and the pulpit. He said, "Get up, Abū Ḥasan.

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345. Following the proposed emendation, 2997, note f.
346. *Aṭrāfī*: see de Goeje, *Introductio*, cccxxxix.

May my father and mother be your ransom. By God, I bring you the best news anyone has ever received. Take care of your cousin, deal kindly with him, spare his blood, and the situation will again be as we desire. Your caliph has given [us] satisfaction of his own free will." 'Alī responded, "May God hear him, Abū Isḥāq. By God, I have persisted in defending him until I am filled with shame. But Marwān, Mu'āwiyah, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir, and Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ have dealt with him as you see. When I gave him sincere [2999] counsel and directed him to send them away, he became suspicious of me, until what you now see has happened." While (Sa'd and 'Alī) were thus engaged, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr came and whispered to 'Alī. Then 'Alī took my hand and arose, saying, "What good is his repentance now?" And by God, I [that is, the narrator Abū Ḥabībah] no sooner reached my house than I heard the cry that 'Uthmān had been killed. And by God, we have remained in an evil state down to this day."

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Shuraḥbīl b. Abī 'Awn[347]—Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb—Abū al-Khayr:[348] When the Egyptians set out against 'Uthmān, 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd sent a messenger posthaste to inform him of their departure and to tell him that they were pretending to undertake the Lesser Pilgrimage. The messenger having reached 'Uthmān b. 'Affān with this news, 'Uthmān in turn sent to the Meccans to warn them against these Egyptians and to inform them that (the Egyptians) had slandered their imam. Then 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd set out toward 'Uthmān on the heels of the Egyptians, having sought and received his permission to come to him. Upon reaching Aylah,[349] Ibn Sa'd learned that the Egyptians had returned against 'Uthmān and put him under siege.

Now Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah was in Egypt; when he heard that 'Uthmān was under siege and that 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd had left (the country), he seized power in Egypt, and (the Egyptians)

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347. Emended in accordance with de Goeje. *Introductio*, dcxxix.

348. Marthad b. 'Abdallāh al-Yazanī. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxix.

349. Aylah: Biblical Elath, modern al-'Aqabah. A small port located at the head of the Gulf of 'Aqabah. In ancient and early Islamic times, it was a prosperous center for the Red Sea trade with Syria, as well as the crossroads of the Pilgrimage caravans from Egypt and Damascus. See H. W. Glidden, "al-'Aḳaba," "Ayla," *EI*², I, 314–15, 783–84. There are now important excavations at this site by the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

submitted to his authority. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd turned back toward Egypt, but Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah fended him off. Thus, he made his way to Palestine and resided there until 'Uthmān was murdered.

The Egyptians advanced and made camp at al-Aswāf, and laid siege to 'Uthmān. Ḥukaym b. Jabalah came from Baṣrah with a troop of horsemen, and al-Ashtar arrived with the Kūfans. (All three parties) met in Medina, then al-Ashtar and Ḥukaym b. Jabalah withdrew, so that Ibn 'Udays and his comrades, numbering 500 men, were the ones besieging 'Uthmān. They sustained the [3000] siege for forty-nine days, until at last he was killed on Friday, eighteen nights having passed in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, in the year 35 (17 June 656).

According to Muḥammad (b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī)—Ibrāhīm b. Sālim—his father—Busr b. Sa'īd—'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'ah:[350] I entered 'Uthmān's presence and talked with him for an hour. He said, "Come, Ibn 'Ayyāsh," and he took me by the hand and had me listen to what the people at his door were saying. We heard some say, "What are you waiting for," while others were saying, "Wait, perhaps he will repent." While the two of us were standing there, Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh passed by; he stopped and said, "Where is Ibn 'Udays?" He was told, "He is over there." Ibn 'Udays came over to (Ṭalḥah) and whispered something to him, then he went back to his comrades and said, "Do not let anyone go in to see this man or leave his house."

'Uthmān said to me, "These are Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh's orders." He continued: "O God, protect me from Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, for he has incited all these people against me. By God, I hope nothing will come of it and that his blood will be shed. He has abused me unlawfully. I heard the Messenger of God say, 'The blood of a Muslim is lawful only in three cases: a man who disbelieves after having professed Islam is put to death; a man who commits adultery is stoned; a man who kills except in legitimate retaliation for another is put to death.'[351] So why should I be killed?" Then 'Uthmān went back [into the house].

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350. Reading "Busr" instead of "Bishr," and "'Ayyāsh" instead of "'Abbās," in accordance with de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxix.

351. The last clause is quoted from Qur'ān 5:35. The context is significant in view of the charges laid against 'Uthmān by his opponents (see also below, I,

According to Ibn 'Ayyāsh: I wanted to leave, but they blocked my path until Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr passed by and said, "Let him go." They did so.

According to Muḥammad [b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—Ya'qūb b. 'Abdallāh al-Ash'arī—Ja'far b. Abī al-Mughīrah—Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-
[3001] Raḥmān b. Abzay—his father: I witnessed the day they went in against 'Uthmān. They entered the house through an opening in the residence of 'Amr b. Ḥazm. There was some skirmishing and then they got in. By God, I have not forgotten that Sūdān b. Ḥumrān came out and I heard him say, "Where is Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh? We have killed Ibn 'Affān!"

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Shuraḥbīl b. Abī 'Awn—his father—Abū Ḥafṣah al-Yamāni: I used to belong to a Bedouin. Marwān liked me and purchased me along with my wife and son, and then freed us all. I used to accompany him. When 'Uthmān was put under siege, the Banū Umayyah prepared to defend him, and Marwān entered the [caliph's] residence [and stayed] with him. I too was there. By God, I initiated the fighting among the people by throwing [a stone] from the roof of the house at a man of [the tribe of] Aslam named Niyār and killed him. Then fighting broke out and I descended. The people battled at the door, and Marwān fought until he fell down. I carried him off and brought him into the house of an old woman and locked him in. The people set fires at the doors of 'Uthmān's residence, and one of them was set ablaze. 'Uthmān said, "The burning door only signals something more terrible.[352] None of you must raise his hand [to resist them]. For by God if I were the furthest of you all from them, they would walk over you to kill me, and if I were the closest of you to them, they would not go past me. I will endure patiently, as the Messenger of God enjoined upon me. I shall suffer the death that Almighty God has decreed for me [*kataba lī*]."

Marwān said, "By God, you shall not be killed while I yet hear!" Then, sword in hand, he went toward the door reciting this poem as a proverb:

3023]: "Whosoever slays a soul not to retaliate for a soul slain, nor for corruption done in the land, shall be as if he had slain mankind altogether."

352. *Mā iḥtaraqa 'l-bābu illā limā huwa a'ẓamu minhu.*

The woman with the flowing hair,
the soft palm and fingertips,
Knows that I strike fear in the vanguard, [3002]
on a steed quick as the *qaṭā*-bird in the well-watered valley.[353]

According to Muḥammad [b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Fuḍayl—his father—Abū Ḥafṣah: On Thursday I dropped a stone from the roof of the house and killed a man of [the tribe of] Aslam named Niyār. They sent to 'Uthmān and demanded his murderer. ('Uthmān) responded, "I do not know who killed him." They spent the night before Friday [that is, Thursday evening] berating us like fire. In the morning they attacked, and the first one to climb onto our roofs was Kinānah b. 'Attāb, holding a torch. They way had been opened for him through the house of the Ḥazm clan. Then naphtha-soaked firebrands penetrated [the compound] right behind him. We fought them for a hour, standing on blazing wood. I heard 'Uthmān say to his companions, "After the fire there will be nothing. The wood has burned, the doors have burned. Whoever still obeys me must cling to his own house. The rebels (*qawm*) are only after me. They will repent of killing me. By God, even if they left me alone, I believe I would not wish to live. My health is ruined; my teeth have fallen out and my bones have weakened."

Then he said to Marwān, "Sit down. Do not go out." But Marwān disobeyed him and said, "By God, you will not be killed and no one will get to you while I can yet hear." Then he went out against the people. I said, "I cannot abandon my master," and I went out alongside him to defend him. We were only a few men, and I heard Marwān reciting:

The woman with the flowing hair,
the soft palm and fingertips knows.

Then he shouted, "Who will step forth [against me]?" He raised [3003]
the bottom of his mailed shirt (*dir'*) and tucked it in his belt. Ibn al-Nibā' jumped on him and struck him down from behind with a

353. Not an easy verse; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, VIII, 182. De Goeje's proposed emendation of *azū'u* ("I urge on") instead of *arū'u* ("I frighten") is doubtful, since Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 79, cites the same lines with *arū'u*.

blow on his neck. No pulse could be detected, and I brought him into the house of Fāṭimah bt. Aws, the grandmother of Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAdī. ʿAbd al-Malik and the Banū Umayyah always remembered the clan of al-ʿAdī for that.

It was related to me by Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥakīm—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sharīk—his father—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtbah b. al-Akhnas—Ibn al-Ḥārith b. Abī Bakr—his father, Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām: I can still see[354] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUdays al-Balawī as he was leaning with his back against the mosque of God's Prophet, while ʿUthmān lay besieged. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam emerged and said, "Who will step forth [against me]?" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUdays said to some son of ʿUrwah, "Go fight this man." A tall young slave rose to fight him, seized the edge of his mailed shirt, and stabbed him in his girdle. His thigh was unprotected, and Marwān lunged at him, but ʿUrwah's son struck him on the neck. I can still see him twisting around, and ʿUbayd b. Rifāʿah al-Zuraqī rose up to finish him off. But Fāṭimah bt. Aws, the grandmother of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAdī (*sic*), leaped on him. She had nursed Marwān and his children, and she said, "If you only want to kill the man, he has already been killed. But if you mean to toy
[3004] with his flesh, that is shameful." So he left him alone, and (the Banū Umayyah) were grateful to her ever after. Later on, they appointed her son Ibrāhīm a governor.

According to Ibn Isḥāq: When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUdays al-Balawī set out from Egypt for Medina, he said:

From Bilbays and Upper Egypt (the she-camels) came,
their flanks covered in chain mail,
Demanding God's due against Saʿīd
until they brought back what we sought for.

It was related to me by Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh al-Muḥammadī—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād and ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn—Ḥusayn b. ʿĪsā—his father: When the three days following the Feast of Sacrifice[355] had passed

354. *Ka-annī anẓuru ilā ʿAbda ʾl-Raḥmāni*: lit., "[It is] as if I were looking at ʿAbd al-Raḥmān."

355. *Ayyām al-Tashrīq*, the three days from 11 to 13 Dhū al-Ḥijjah following the ritual sacrifice (ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā), which takes place on 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah. These days represent the holiday at the conclusion of the Pilgrimage rites proper. See A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier, "Ḥadjdj," *EI*², III, 36.

(the rebels) surrounded 'Uthmān's house, but he insisted on retaining his office, and sent to assemble his retainers and close associates (*ḥashamuhu wa-khāṣṣatuhu*). One of the Prophet's Companions, a venerable old man named Niyār b. 'Iyāḍ, arose and called out, "'Uthmān!" ('Uthmān) looked down at him from the roof of his house. (Niyār) reminded him of God and implored him in God's name to dissociate himself from (his evil associates).[356] And while he was speaking, one of 'Uthmān's associates shot and killed him with an arrow. ('Uthmān's opponents) claimed that the man who shot him was Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt al-Kindī, and at this they said to 'Uthmān, "Turn the murderer of Niyār b. 'Iyāḍ over to us that we may kill him in retaliation." He replied, "I will not kill a man who has defended me while you intend to murder me." When they perceived this they rushed at ('Uthmān's) door and set it ablaze. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam emerged from 'Uthmān's residence leading a band of men against them. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ and al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas b. Sharīq al-Thaqafī, the ally of the Banū Zuhrah, both did the same, and the fighting raged fiercely.

They were driven to fight by the news that reinforcements from [3005]
Baṣrah had made camp in Ṣirār, a night's journey from Medina, while the Syrians were approaching as well. Thus, they fought bitterly at the door of the house, and al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas al-Thaqafī attacked the rebels (*qawm*), reciting:

A lovely serving girl,
    Adorned with necklace and anklets,
Knows my skill with the sword blade.

He was assailed in turn by 'Abdallāh b. Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī, who was saying:

If you wield the sword as you say,
    stand fast against a noble opponent who attacks
Bearing a Mashrafī sword with polished edge.

'Abdallāh struck and killed (al-Mughīrah), and Rifā'ah b. Rāfi', of the clan of Zurayq among the Anṣār,[357] charged Marwān b. al-

356. *fa-nashadahu 'llāha wa-dhakkarahu 'llāha lammā i'tazalahum.* For this idiom see Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, II, 339D–340A. See also de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxix.

357. Zurayq was a clan in the tribe of Khazraj, one of the two main Medinese

Ḥakam and struck him down. He drew back from him, thinking he had killed him. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr suffered numerous wounds. ʿUthmān's supporters (*al-qawm*) were routed and retreated toward the palace (*qaṣr*). At the door they held fast and fought a fierce battle there.

In the battle at the door, Ziyād b. Nuʿaym al-Fihrī was killed, along with several other companions of ʿUthmān. The people continued to fight until ʿAmr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī opened the door of his residence, which lay adjacent to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān's. He shouted to the people, and they advanced through his house against (the defenders of ʿUthmān), fighting them in the courtyard of [ʿUthmān's] house until they fled and the door was abandoned to (the rebels). (The defenders) fled into the streets of Medina, while ʿUthmān remained behind with a few associates and members of his household. ʿUthmān was killed, and they were killed along with him.

[3006] It was related to me by Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm—Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān al-Taymī—his father—Abū Naḍrah—Abū Saʿīd, the client (*mawlā*) of Abū Usayd al-Anṣārī: One day ʿUthmān gazed down upon them [from his rooftop] and said, "Peace be upon you." But he heard no reply from any of the people, unless someone perchance responded silently. (ʿUthmān) said, "I adjure you by God, do you know that with my own money I purchased [the well] of Rūmah, highly esteemed for its sweet water, and that I made it available to every Muslim.[358] "Yes," they answered. He said, "Why am I kept from drinking from it, so that I have to break my fasting with salt water? I adjure you by God, do you know that I bought such-and-such a piece of land and added it to the [Prophet's] mosque?" "Yes," they said. He went on, "And do you know anyone among the people except me who is prevented from worshipping there? I adjure you by God, did you hear the Prophet of God mention such things concerning it, or did God mention the like in His clear Book?" Calls for restraint spread, and the people began to say, "Let us go easy with the Commander

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tribes from whom the *Anṣār* were drawn. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 154, 169–70.

358. *Fa-jaʿaltu rishāʾi minhā ka-rishāʾi rajulin min ʾl-muslimīna*. Lit., "I made my rope from it like the rope of any man among the Muslims."

of the Faithful." Then al-Ashtar arose—I do not know whether it was that day or another—and said, "Perhaps ('Uthmān) has deceived you." The people trampled him underfoot and he encountered rough treatment.[359]

Another time I [that is, Abū Sa'īd] saw him looking down at [his opponents]. He exhorted and admonished them, but his exhortations made no impression on them. [His] preaching used to affect the people the first time they heard it, but when it was repeated it had no impact. Then ('Uthmān) opened the door and placed the Qur'ān before him. He did this, having dreamed during the night that God's Prophet was saying [to him], "Break the fast with us tonight."[360]

According to Abū al-Mu'tamir—al-Ḥasan: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr went up to him and seized his beard, saying, "You have behaved toward us in a manner which Abū Bakr would not have done." Then he went out and left him. Another man, named the Black Death, entered ('Uthmān's) presence and throttled him and slapped him.[361] Then he went out and said, "By God, I have never seen anything softer than his throat. By God, I throttled him until I saw his soul shaking in his body like the soul of a jinn." Then he went out.

According to Abū Sa'īd's account: A certain man went in to 'Uthmān, in front of whom lay the Qur'ān, and he said, "The Book of God is between you and me." [The intruder] went for him with his sword; ('Uthmān) protected himself with his hand and it was cut. I do not know whether he sliced [the hand] clear off or cut it without severing it. Then he said, "Yea, by God, this is the first palm which has crossed the Qur'ān." [3007]

According to an account besides that of Abū Sa'īd: Al-Tujībī went in to ('Uthmān) and wounded him with a broad iron-tipped arrow, and his blood dripped on this verse: "God will suffice you for them; He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing."[362] [The blood]

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359. *Fa-waṭi'ahu 'l-nāsu ḥattā laqiya kādhā wa-kādhā.*

360. The motif of 'Uthmān's dream is developed more fully in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 82.

361. Caetani (*Annali*, VIII, 188) translates: "e strangolato il Califfo, lo spaccio con la spada." But in my judgment he is reading too much into the second verb (*khafaqahu*); 'Uthmān is not done away with just yet.

362. Qur'ān 2:131. In the present context the whole verse is significant: "And if

is still on that copy of the Qur'ān and has not been scraped off. According to Abū Sa'īd's account, the daughter of al-Farāfiṣah [that is, 'Uthmān's wife] took her jewelry and placed it in her bosom before he was killed. When he was wounded, or perhaps killed, she wailed over him. One of [the assassins] said, "God fight her! How heavy her buttocks are!" And so I knew that the enemy of God desired only the things of this world.

The version of Sayf [b. 'Umar] is as follows: It was transmitted
[3008] to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Badr b. 'Uthmān—his paternal uncle: The last sermon preached by 'Uthmān before a congregation (*jamā'ah*) was this: "Verily, Almighty God has only given you this world so that through it you might seek the next. He did not give it to you as something to rely on. Verily this world will vanish and the next will endure. Perishable things must not make you heedless and distract you from things everlasting. Prefer that which endures to that which perishes, for this world will pass away, and God is the goal of our journey. Fear Almighty God, for fear of Him is a shield against His evil and a means to dwell with Him. Beware lest God's [favor toward you] be altered; cling to your community (*jamā'ah*) and do not be divided into factions. 'Remember God's blessing upon you when you were enemies, and He brought your hearts together, so that by his blessing you became brothers.' "[363]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Talḥah and Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān: When 'Uthmān had accomplished his aims at that gathering, and he and the Muslims had resolved to endure patiently and to resist [the rebels] through God's power, he said, "May God have mercy on you. Go to the door and have those who have been barred from me join you." He sent to Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, 'Alī, and a number [of others] and ordered them to draw near. They gathered together, and he looked down at them and said, "O people, be seated." So they sat down together, both newly arrived rebels and loyal established residents.[364] Then he said,

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they believe in the like of that you believe in, then they are truly guided; but if they turn away, then they are clearly in schism; God will suffice you for them; He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing."

363. Qur'ān 3:98.

364. *Fa-jalasū jamī'an 'l-muḥāribu 'l-ṭāri'u wa'l-musālimu 'l-muqīmu.* Caetani

"O men of Medina, I commend you to God, and I ask Him to restore the caliphate for you after me. Now, by God, I will not go to see anyone after today, until God has carried out His judgment in my regard. I will certainly leave those outside my door alone, [3009] giving them no pretext that they can use against you to damage God's religion or [the affairs of] this world, until Almighty God disposes of all this as He wishes." He commanded and entreated the Medinese to return [to their homes]. They all went away, save for al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad (b. Ṭalḥah), Ibn al-Zubayr, and others like them. These took their place at [the caliph's] door in accordance with their fathers' command. Many people returned to join them, while 'Uthmān stayed in his house.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān and Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: The siege itself lasted forty nights, while (the rebels) stayed [in Medina] for seventy altogether.[365] Eighteen days after the siege had begun, a band of horsemen made up of tribal leaders (*rukbān min al-wujūh*) arrived and stated that some men from the provinces had prepared to move against (the besiegers)—Ḥabīb from Syria, Mu'āwiyah from Egypt [*sic*], al-Qa'qā' from Kūfah, and Mujāshi' from Baṣrah. On this news, they cut 'Uthmān off from the people and denied him everything, even water. 'Alī had been bringing some of what he wanted.

(The attackers) sought for pretexts [to justify their acts] but none were offered them. During the night, they launched stones into ('Uthmān's) house, in the hope that stones would be thrown at them and they could say, "We have been attacked." 'Uthmān called out to them, "Do you not fear God? Do you not know that there are others besides me in the house?" They replied, "No, by God, we did not throw [anything] at you." "Who threw [stones] at us?" he said. "It was God," they answered. "You lie," he said. "If Almighty God had thrown [stones] at us, He would not have missed us, but you did."

(*Annali*, VIII, 209) translates: "E tutti sederono tanto i recenti ribelli, che i fedeli costanti." But in my opinion the distinction intended is between outsiders and Medinese, not between newly aroused rebels and loyalists of long standing.

365. *Kāna 'l-ḥasru arba'īna laylatan wa-'l-nuzūlu sab'īna.* Caetani (*Annali*, VIII, 209) translates: "L'assedio dura 40 giorni, e gli abitanti della casa erano 70."

'Uthmān looked down [from his rooftop] onto the clan of Ḥazm, who were his neighbors, and dispatched one of 'Amr's sons to 'Alī [with this message]: "They have denied us water. If you can send
[3010] us some, do so." [He sent the same message] to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, and to 'Ā'ishah and the other wives of the Prophet. The first to come to his aid were 'Alī and Umm Ḥabībah. 'Ali came shortly before dawn and said, "O people, neither Believers nor unbelievers act like this. Do not cut off supplies from this man. The Romans and Persians give food and drink to their captives. This man did not resist you, so how can you think it lawful to besiege and kill him?" "No, by God, we will show no mercy,"[366] they answered. "We will not let him eat or drink." Then ('Alī) threw down his turban in the house [and said], "I have done what you asked me to do." He went home.

Then Umm Ḥabībah came on a mule of hers with a saddle containing a waterskin. They said, "This is the Mother of the Faithful, Umm Ḥabībah,"[367] and struck her mule on the face.[367] She said, "The wills of the Banū Umayyah are with this man; I want to meet with him and ask him about this, so that the property of orphans and widows will not be lost." "She is lying," they said. They lunged at her and severed the mule's rope with a sword. The mule ran away with Umm Ḥabībah. Its saddle slipped, but the people got to her and held her [on the animal]. She had almost been killed, and they brought her to her house.

'Ā'ishah prepared to flee by going on the Pilgrimage. She asked her brother (Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr) to accompany her, but he refused. She said, "By God, if I can make it so that God will frustrate their efforts, I will surely do so." Ḥanẓalah the scribe
[3011] came up to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and said, "Muḥammad, the Mother of the Believers asks you to accompany her and you do not. Then Bedouin wolves invite you to do unlawful things and you go along with them." (Muḥammad) replied, "What is that to you, son of the woman of Tamīm?" (Ḥanẓalah) replied, "Son of the woman of Khath'am, if there is a struggle over this affair, the

366. *Wa-lā nu'mata 'aynin*—an idiomatic phrase. See Goeje, *Introductio*, dxxi.
367. The usual appellation for the wives of the Prophet; it is given Qur'ānic sanction in 33:6.

clan of 'Abd Manāf[368] will overpower you in it." Then he departed, saying:

I am astonished at the depths into which the people plunge,
desirous of the Caliphate's end.
Should it disappear, all good would pass from them as well,
and thereafter they would suffer shameful humiliation.
They would be as the Jews or Christians—
they would all alike have lost their way.

He proceeded to Kūfah, and 'Ā'ishah was filled with rancor against the Egyptians. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam came to her and said, "Mother of the Faithful, if you remained [in Medina] they would be more likely to show respect to this man." She responded, "Do you want me to be treated as Umm Ḥabībah was? I find no one who will defend me. No, by God, I am not to be blamed. I do not know what the actions of these people will lead to."[369]

When Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr heard what had happened to 'Alī and Umm Ḥabībah, they stayed in their homes. The clan of Ḥazm[370] continued to bring water to 'Uthmān whenever the guards appointed to maintain surveillance over them were careless.

'Uthmān looked down at the people [from his rooftop] and called to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās. He was summoned, and ('Uthmān) said, "Go. You will command the Pilgrimage this year." Now 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās was among those stationed at the door, and he responded, "O Commander of the Faithful, I prefer the struggle (*jihād*) against these people to the Pilgrimage." But ('Uthmān) entreated him to go, so Ibn 'Abbās departed and commanded the Pilgrimage that year.

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368. 'Abd Manāf comprises both 'Abd Shams (the clan to which the Umayyads belonged) and Hāshim (the Prophet's clan). These two lineages were of course hostile to each other during the Prophet's lifetime, as well as during the succession struggles after 'Uthmān. Here, however Ḥanẓalah asserts that 'Uthmān can count on the combined support of both lineages against the rebels. Cf. note 251 above.

369. *Wa-lā adrī ilā mā yuslimu amru hā'ulā'i.* See de Goeje, *Introductio*, ccxcvi, sub verbo *salima.*

370. In contrast to all previous citations, the Ḥazm clan is here presented as a defender of the embattled Caliph.

'Uthmān turned his will over to al-Zubayr, and he left [the house] with it. Concerning al-Zubayr, there is disagreement over whether he was present at ['Uthmān's] murder or had already
[3012] departed. 'Uthmān said, "'O my people, let not the breach with me move you, so that there smite you the like of what smote the people of Noah.'[371] O God, 'set a barrier between these factions and what they hope for, as was done with the likes of them aforetime.'"[372]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Amr b. Muḥammad: Laylā bt. 'Umays sent to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and Muḥammad b. Ja'far and said, "Verily the lamp consumes itself as it gives light to the people. Do not sin in a matter that you may bring on to someone who has not sinned against you. This matter that you are pursuing today will affect someone else tomorrow. Beware lest your deeds today become a source of grief to you." But they were obstinate and went off in anger, saying, "We will not forget what 'Uthmān has done to us." She was saying, "He did nothing to you except to compel you to obey God."

Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ encountered the two men. There was some hostility between him and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, and he ignored the latter as he was leaving Laylā's house. At that [Muḥammad] recited the following verse to him:

Be quick to show your love for a friend;
be not a shadow stubbornly clinging
to one who betrays [friendship].[373]

Sa'īd responded in kind:

You shall see a well-placed blow from one
exposed to attack and averse to violence.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah and Abū Ḥārithah and Abū

371. Qur'an 11:91.
372. Qur'ān 34:52, but with the initial verb changed from the perfect to the imperative.
373. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 2069, sub verbo *'aḍḍa*.

'Uthmān:[374] The people (*al-nās*) learned that the members of the Pilgrimage caravan all meant to attack the Egyptians and their allies, and to combine this [meritorious act] with the Pilgrimage. [3013] When (the rebels) heard this and learned of the disgust [felt for them] by the men of the garrison towns, Satan gripped them and they said, "Our only way out of this situation is to kill this man. The people will be too preoccupied with that to pay attention to us."

Their only hope of escape was to kill him. They assaulted the door but were held off by al-Ḥasan, Ibn al-Zubayr, Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, and the sons of the Companions who had stayed with them. As they fought with swords, 'Uthmān cried out, "Fear God, fear God! You are absolved from defending me." When they refused [to lay down their arms], he opened the door and went out with shield and sword to hold them back. When the Egyptians saw him they retreated. ('Uthmān's supporters) chased after them, but he restrained them and they withdrew. The situation was distressing for both sides. ('Uthmān) entreated the Companions not to reenter [his residence], but they refused to leave and came back in, and he bolted the door against the Egyptians.

Al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas b. Sharīq had been one of those who made the Pilgrimage, then he hastened [back to Medina] with a number of his fellow pilgrims and reached 'Uthmān before he was killed. He participated in the skirmish, entered the house with the others, and took his place inside the door. "How would we find any excuse before God," he said, "if we abandoned you while we could prevent them [from killing you] until we ourselves die?"

During those days 'Uthmān took up the Qur'ān in tears, praying and keeping the text beside him. When he became fatigued he would sit up and read in it, for people used to regard reciting the Qur'ān as a form of worship. Meantime his defenders (*qawm*), whom he had restrained, were between him and the door. When the Egyptians remained unable to break in though no one was keeping them away from the door, they brought fire and set the

374. Several words seem to be missing in the next two lines. I have followed the paraphrase of this passage in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 174.

door and portico (*saqīfah*) ablaze. The door and portico burned until, as the wood blazed, the portico collapsed onto the door. Then, as 'Uthmān prayed, the men in the house rose up and
[3014] fended off (the assailants). The first to go out against them was al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas, chanting:

A lovely serving girl,
    Adorned with jeweled necklaces,
Knows my skill with the sword blade.
    I will surely defend my friend from you all
With a hard unnicked blade.

Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī went forth, saying:

Their religion is not my religion, and I am not one of them,
    until I journey to the heights of Shamām.

Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah went forth, saying:

I am the son of the man who defended him at Uḥud
    and drove off bands of men in spite of Ma'add.[375]

Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ went forth, saying:

We endured patiently on the Day of the House, as Death
    approached,
    smiting with our swords to defend the son of Arwā.[376]
On the day of terror in the House we came to his aid;
    our sword blows spoke to them for us as Death pierced
    within.

The last to go out was 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. 'Uthmān ordered him to take his [namely, 'Uthmān's] will to his father, and to go to the people in the house and command them to go home. So 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr was the last of them to leave, and he never

375. The battle of Uḥud, fought against Qurashi forces on the outskirts of Medina in 3/625, was a serious setback for the Muslims, and very nearly a disastrous one, since the Prophet was wounded there. However, Ṭalḥah (along with various others) was able to get him to safety. See Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, pp. 574–77; transl. Guillaume, pp. 381–83. Ma'add is the ancestor of the Northern Arabs, to whom Quraysh belonged; here it refers to the latter tribe only.

376. 'Uthmān's mother was Arwā bt. Kurayz. See above, note 251, and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 1.

ceased to laud his own conduct[377] or to tell the people about the final circumstances of 'Uthmān's death.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah and Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān: (The rebels) set the door ablaze as 'Uthmān performed the prayer. He had begun with the verse, "Ṭā Hā. We have not [3015 sent down the Qur'ān upon thee for thee to be unprosperous."[378] He recited quickly and was not distressed by the noise. He proceeded without making an error or stuttering until he completed (his recitation) before they could get to him. Then he returned, sat down in front of the sacred text (*muṣḥaf*), and recited, "Those to whom the people said, 'The people have gathered against you, therefore fear them.' But it increased them in faith, and they said, 'God is sufficient for us; an excellent Guardian is He.'"[379]

Al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas, outside the house with his comrades, chanted these verses:

The woman with the flowing hair,
    The jewels and soft fingertips knows
My oath to my friend is sincere,
    Secured by a glittering sharp-edged blade.
I shall not seek pardon if I break my word.[380]

Abū Hurayrah came up as the people were withdrawing from the house, save for that band that had courted death in a fierce assault. He stood up among them and said, "I am your leader." Speaking in the Himyarite tongue, he said, "*Hādhā yawm ṭāba 'mḍarbu*"—which means, "Now it is lawful and good to fight."[381] And (Abū Hurayrah) called out, "O my people, how is it with me that I call you to salvation and you call me to the Fire?"[382]

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377. *Fa-mā zāla yadda'i bihā.* See de Goeje, *Introductio,* ccxl, sub verbo *da'ā.*

378. Qur'ān 20:1.

379. Qur'ān 3:167. This is part of a section that discusses the battle of Uḥud.

380. *Lā astaqīlu in aqaltu qīlī.* A difficult line, which Caetani (*Annali,* VIII, 214) renders as follows: "[in tale cosa] non mi dichiaro sciolto da obbligo, seppure in altre circostanze io rescinda qualche patto."

381. *Innahu min 'l-qitāli wa-ṭāba.* I have followed de Goeje (*Introductio,* dcxxix) in reading *ḥalla* in place of *min.*

382. Qur'ān 40:44. One of Pharaoh's subjects, converted by the signs of Moses, is trying (in vain) to persuade the king and his counselors to heed the prophet.

On that day Marwān rushed out, shouting, "Which man will oppose me?" A man of the Banū Layth called al-Nibā' stepped forward against him. They traded two blows; Marwān struck him on his lower leg, while his opponent struck him at the base of the neck and threw him down. Marwān fell and lay prostrate and
[3016] each man's comrades dragged him away. The Egyptians said [to 'Uthmān's defenders], "By God, were it not that you would be a decisive proof (*ḥujjah*) against us within the Community (*ummah*), we would kill you, for we gave due warning."[383]

Al-Mughīrah said, "Who will come forth against me?" A man came forward and they set to, as (al-Mughīrah) said:

With the hard sword I smite them,
As the brave youth smites
Who despairs of life.

His opponent responded: [*lacuna*].

The people said, "Al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas has been killed." The man who had killed him said, "Verily we belong to God!" "What is wrong with you?" asked 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Udays. He replied, "While I was asleep, I dreamt that someone came to me and said, 'Announce to the killer of al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas [that he will be] in the Fire,' and (that deed) has been visited upon me."

Qabāth al-Kinānī killed Niyār b. 'Abdallāh al-Aslamī. The people (*al-nās*) stormed the house from the houses around it and occupied it without those stationed at the door having noticed them. The tribesmen (*al-qabā'il*) fell upon their own members [who were defending 'Uthmān] and carried them off after they had been overpowered in trying to defend their caliph (*amīr*). They delegated a man to kill ('Uthmān). Having been appointed for the deed, he entered the house and went in before him. "Abdicate and we will spare you," he said. "Woe to you," replied ('Uthmān). "I have not violated a woman, either in the Time of Ignorance or in Islam. Nor have I sung songs or expressed carnal desires or touched my genitals with my right hand since I swore allegiance to the Messenger of God. I shall not remove a shirt that Almighty God has placed upon me. I shall remain in my appointed place until God bestows honor upon the virtuous (*ahl al-sa'ādah*) and

383. See 3016, note a, and de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxx.

abases the sinners." (The would-be assassin) went out, and they said, "What did you do?" "We are trapped," he responded. "By God, only his murder can save us from the people, but it is not lawful for us to murder him."

Then they sent in a second man, from the Banū Layth. "What tribe does this man belong to?" said 'Uthmān. "[I am] from Layth," he responded. "You are not my companion in death (*ṣāḥibī*)," said ('Uthmān). "How is that?" asked the other. ('Uthmān) said, "Are you not among those persons for whose safety the [3017] Prophet prayed in such-and-such a battle?" "Indeed I was," he answered. "Then you will not lose your way," said ('Uthmān). (The man) went back out and departed from the rebels (*al-qawm*).

Then they sent in a third man, from Quraysh. He said, "'Uthmān, I am your murderer." He answered, "No, such-and-such, you will not kill me." "How is that?" asked (the intruder). He replied, "The Messenger of God sought forgiveness for you in such-and-such a battle. You will not be tempted to sin against forbidden blood." (The man) sought God's forgiveness, went back out, and departed from his comrades.

'Abdallāh b. Salām came forth and stood at the door of the house, forbidding them to kill ('Uthmān). "O my people," he said, "Do not unsheathe God's sword against yourselves. By God, if you draw it you will not put it back in its scabbard. Woe to you! Your government today is based on the whip, and if you kill him it will rest only on the sword.[384] Woe to you! Your city is surrounded by God's angels. By God, if you kill him they will surely forsake it." "What is this to you, son of a Jewess?" they said, and he withdrew.

The last one to go in to ('Uthmān) and then come back to the rebels was Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. 'Uthmān said to him, "Woe to you. Are you angry at God? Have I done you any injury, save to uphold His rightful claims on you?" At this he recoiled and went away.

When Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr came out and they learned that he had failed, Qutayrah al-Sakūnī, Sūdān b. Ḥumrān al-Sakūnī,

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384. *Inna sulṭānakum 'l-yawma yaqūmu bi'l-dirrati fa-in qataltumūhu lā yaqum illā bi'l-sayfi.* That is, the existing political order is based on the Caliph's legitimate right to demand obedience and punish malefactors; if he is overthrown, however, government will be rooted solely in violence and terror.

and al-Ghāfiqī rose up and attacked [ʿUthmān]. Al-Ghāfiqī struck
[3018] him with an iron tool he was carrying and kicked the Qur'ān with his foot. The sacred text flew over, dropping into (ʿUthmān's) hands, and his blood flowed upon it. Sūdān b. Ḥumrān came up to strike him, and Nā'ilah bt. al-Farāfiṣah bent over him and warded off the sword with her hand. He aimed at her and struck off her fingers. As she turned to flee, he fondled her hips and said, "How large her buttocks are!" Then he struck ʿUthmān and killed him. Some of ʿUthmān's slaves entered alongside the rebels (*qawm*) to defend him. ʿUthmān had manumitted certain of them, and when they saw that Sūdān had struck him, one of them fell on him and cut off his head. Qutayrah jumped on the slave and killed him. (The rebels) pillaged the house and drove out those who lived there, then they locked the three dead men inside.

When they went out into the courtyard of the house, another of ʿUthmān's slaves jumped on Qutayrah and killed him. The rebels coursed through the house taking everything they found, even what was on the women. One man, named Kulthūm b. Tujīb, snatched Nā'ilah's head wrap. Nā'ilah turned away, and he said, "Woe to your mother! How full your buttocks are!" A slave of ʿUthmān saw him and killed him, then was killed himself. The rebels shouted to one another: "Every man should keep an eye on his comrades."[385] Within the house they cried out, "Seize the Public Treasury! No one must get there ahead of you!" The guards of the Public Treasury—in which there were but two sacks—heard their voices and said, "Run! These people are only after worldly goods." They fled, while (the rebels) came to the Treasury and pillaged it.

[3019] The people (*al-nās*) were of different minds about the matter.[386] The residents [of Medina] lamented, "We belong to God and to Him we shall return," while the outsiders rejoiced. The rebels (*al-*

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385. *Wa-tanādā 'l-qawmu abṣir rajulun man ṣāḥibuhu.* Caetani (*Annali*, VIII, 216) reads the second verb as *abṣara* and translates: "Il popolo si disse, l'un l'altro: 'Uno ha avuto soddisfazione dell'altro.'" However, I can find no warrant for rendering *abṣara* in this manner.

386. *Wa-māja 'l-nāsu fīhi.* See de Goeje, *Introductio*, cdxcvi, sub verbo *mawj*, and Caetani, *Annali*, VIII, 216. On the key words *tāni'* ("resident") and *ṭāri* ("outsider") in the following sentence, cf. Caetani, *loc. cit.*; and note 364 above (text, I, 2008, ll. 15–16).

qawm) now regretted [their acts]. Al-Zubayr had already left Medina and made camp on the road to Mecca so that he would not witness ('Uthmān's) murder. The news of 'Uthmān's murder having reached him while he was there, he said, "Verily we belong to God and to Him we shall return. May God have mercy on 'Uthmān and avenge him." "The rebels regret their deeds," he was told. [Al-Zubayr] replied, "They planned this and brought it about. 'And a barrier is set up between them and what they desire.'"[387]

The news reached Ṭalḥah, and he said, "May God have mercy on 'Uthmān, and may He avenge both him and Islam." He was told, "The rebels regret their deeds." "May they perish!" he replied, and recited the verse, "They will not be able to make any testament, nor will they return to their people."[388]

'Alī came and was told of 'Uthmān's murder. "May God have mercy on 'Uthmān," he said, "and replace [the evil we have suffered] with good." When he was told, "The rebels regret their deeds," he recited the verse: "Like Satan, when he said to man, 'Disbelieve.'"[389]

Sa'd (b. Abī Waqqāṣ) was sought out while he was in his garden. He had said, "I will not witness his murder." When he learned of his death, he said, "We have taken refuge in something contemptible, and have become contemptible thereby."[390] Then he recited, "Those whose striving goes astray in the present life, while they think that they are working good deeds,"[391] and said, "O God, make them regret this, and seize them."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Mujālid—al-Sha'bī—al-Mughīrah b. al-Shu'bah: I said to 'Alī, "This man is going to be murdered, and if he is killed while you are in Medina, they will hold you responsible. Go and stay in such-and-such a place. If you do this, the people will seek you out, even if you are in a cave in Yemen." But ('Alī) refused.

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387. Qur'ān 34:53.
388. Qur'ān 36:50.
389. Qur'ān 59:16. The whole verse reads: "Like Satan, when he said to man, 'Disbelieve'; then, when he disbelieved, he said, 'Surely I am quit of you. Surely I fear God, the Lord of all Being.'"
390. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, ccxlv, sub verbo *danā*.
391. Qur'ān 18:104.

When 'Uthmān had been under siege for twenty-two days, they set fire to the door. Many people were in the house, among them
[3020] 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and Marwān. "Permit us [to fight]," they said, but he responded, "The Messenger of God has laid an obligation ('*ahd*) on me, and I will suffer it patiently. The rebels would not have set fire to the door of the house unless they were after something more important. I forbid any man to court death in battle." Then all the people left, and he called for the Qur'ān to be brought. Al-Ḥasan was with him as he recited from it, and he said, "Your father is in a grave situation now. I beg of you to leave."

'Uthmān ordered Abū Karib—a man of [the tribe of] Hamdān—and one of the Helpers to stand guard at the door to the Public Treasury, which contained just two sacks of silver coin. When the fire was eventually extinguished,[392] Ibn al-Zubayr and Marwān skirmished with (the assailants). The two men were threatened by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, and when he entered 'Uthmān's presence they both fled. (Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr) seized ('Uthmān's) beard, and he said, "Let go of my beard! Your father would not have grabbed it." So he let go. Then (the rebels) came in and attacked ('Uthmān); one was striking him with the iron tip of his scabbard and another was beating him with his fists. A man with broad iron-tipped arrows came and stabbed him in the throat, and the blood flowed down on the Qur'ān. Even as they did this they were afraid to kill him, but he was old and lost consciousness. Still others came in, and when they saw that he was unconscious, they dragged him away by the leg. Nā'ilah and her daughters screamed. Al-Tujībī drew his sword to plunge it into ('Uthmān's) belly. Nā'ilah shielded him, but (al-Tujībī) cut her hand, then leaned on ('Uthmān's) chest with his sword. 'Uthmān—may God be pleased with him—was murdered before sunset. Someone cried out, "How is it that his blood is lawful and his property forbidden?" So they pillaged everything, and then broke into the Public Treasury. The two guards threw down the keys and fled for their lives, shouting, "Flee! Flee! This is what the rebels (*al-qawm*) are after."

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392. Some words are missing at this point. See text, I, 3020, note d.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, accompanied by Kinānah b. Bishr b. 'Attāb, Sūdān b. Ḥumrān, and 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq, reached 'Uthmān by climbing over the wall from the house of 'Amr b. Ḥazm. They found 'Uthmān, with his wife Nā'ilah, reading the Sūrah of the Cow from the Qur'ān. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr came up to them and seized 'Uthmān's beard. "May God disgrace you, you hyena," he said. 'Uthmān replied, "I am no hyena. I am God's servant and the Commander of the Faithful." Muḥammad said, "Neither Mu'āwiyah nor anyone else has been of any use to you." 'Uthmān said, "Son of my brother, let go of my beard. Your father would not have gripped it like this." Muḥammad replied, "Had my father seen you doing these things, he would have denounced you for them, and I mean to do worse to you than grab your beard." 'Uthmān said, "I seek God's help and support against you." Then (Muḥammad) pierced his forehead with a broad iron-tipped arrow that he was holding. Kinānah b. Bishr raised some arrows of the same kind that he was holding, and plunged them from the base of 'Uthmān's ear down to his throat. Then he fell on him with his sword until he killed him. [3021]

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Abū 'Awn: Kinānah b. Bishr struck his forehead with an iron bar. He pitched forward, face down, and Sūdān b. Ḥumrān al-Murādī beat him after he had fallen and killed him.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Zinād—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith: The one who killed him was Kinānah b. Bishr b. 'Attāb al-Tujībī. The wife of Manẓūr b. Sayyār al-Fazārī used to say: We had gone on the Pilgrimage, and we did not learn of 'Uthmān's murder until, while we were at al-'Arj[393], we heard a man singing in the darkness: [3022]

Yea, the best of the people, save three,
is the one murdered by al-Tujībī who came from Egypt.

393. Al-'Arj: "A mountain pass between Mecca and Medina, on the Pilgrimage road, mentioned along with al-Suqyā by al-Ḥāzimī.: (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, III, 637). Yāqūt mentions another al-'Arj, near al-Ṭā'if, some 78 miles from Medina, but the former seems to be the place intended here.

As to 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq, he jumped on 'Uthmān and sat on his chest—he was still barely alive—and stabbed him nine times. 'Amr said, "I stabbed him three times for God's sake, and six times because of the anger in my breast against him."

According to Muḥammad (b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī)—Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā—Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah: I saw 'Urwah b. Shīyam strike Marwān's neck with his sword on the Day of the House, and he severed one of his neck muscles. Marwān survived, but with a bent neck. Marwān is the one who used to say:

On the Day of the House I did not say to [my] people, "Hold back.
Go easy. Prefer life to death."
Rather I said to them, "Smite
with your swords so that they reach even the man in his prime."[394]

According to Muḥammad al-Wāqidī—Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb—'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Akhnasī: 'Uthmān was under siege
[3023] before the Egyptians' arrival. The Egyptians arrived on one Friday and killed him on the following Friday.

It was related to me by 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Ḥarmalah b. 'Imrān— Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb: Nahrān[395] al-Aṣbaḥī was responsible for 'Uthmān's murder, and he was the one who killed 'Abdallāh b. Busrah. He belonged to the tribe of 'Abd al-Dār.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—al-Ḥakam b. al-Qāsim—Abū 'Awn, the client (*mawlā*) of al-Miswar b. Makhramah: the Egyptians steadfastly abstained from shedding ('Uthmān's) blood and from fighting until ['Uthmān's] reinforcements from Baṣrah and Kūfah in Iraq and from Syria approached. Their coming encouraged the rebels (*al-qawm*) to attack. They learned that detachments had departed from Iraq and from Egypt, the latter sent by Ibn Sa'd. Previously Ibn Sa'd had not been in

394. The last hemistich reads: *bi-asyāfikum kaymā yaṣilna ilā 'l-kahli.* Caetani (*Annali*, VIII, 185) translates: "Battete tanto forte con le vostre spade da giungere fino in mezzo alle spalle." However, *kahl* normally means "in the prime of life," while the word for "the base of the neck" is *kāhil.*

395. The first letter of this name is uncertain: I have followed Ibrāhīm's reading.

Egypt, having fled to Syria. They said, "We must deal quickly with (ʿUthmān), before the reinforcements arrive."

According to Muḥammad (b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī)—al-Zubayr b. ʿAbdallāh—Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh b. Salām: While he was under siege, and (the rebels) had surrounded the house on every side, ʿUthmān looked down upon them and said, "I adjure you by Almighty God, do you know that when the Commander of the Faithful ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was struck down, you beseeched God to bless you and to unite you [in choosing] the best among you [to succeed ʿUmar]? What is your opinion of God, then? Do you say that He did not answer you, and that you were of no importance to him, even though at that time you were the [only] adherents of the truth among his creatures and were of one mind in all your affairs? Or do you say that His religion was of no account to God and He did not care to whom He gave authority over it, even though God was worshipped through this religion, [3024] and its adherents had not yet fallen into schism? [If you say this], then you are turning your responsibilities over to someone else or even neglecting them altogether, and you will be punished [for that].[396] Or do you say that I was chosen without consultation? [If that is so] you are rebellious indeed—and God will abandon the Community (*al-ummah*) if it disobeys Him—for you did not consult among yourselves concerning the imām nor make an effort to discover his reprehensible traits. Or do you say that God did not know what my conduct would be? In some things I have done well and satisfied men of sound religion (*ahl al-dīn*). I have not yet committed any act offensive either to God or to you which God—glory be to Him!—did not know of on the day He chose me and attired me with the garment of His grace. I adjure you by God, do you know of the good actions which God long ago conferred upon me, and through which He has caused me to bear witness to His rights? The struggle against His enemy is [one of His] rights, and it will be the duty of all those who succeed me to undertake what still remains [of this struggle].[397] No, do not kill me, for a

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396. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, ccclxix, sub verbo *ʿaqaba*; and *ibid.*, dlxv, sub verbo *wakala*.

397. *Wa-anshudukum bi-ʾllāhi hal taʿlamūna lī min sābiqati khayrin wa-salafi khayrin qaddamahu ʾllāhu lī wa-ashhadanīhi min ḥaqqihi wa-jihādu ʿaduwwihi*

man may be put to death only in three cases: when he commits adultery, when he disbelieves after accepting Islam, or when he takes another's life except in legitimate retaliation.[398] Verily, if you kill me, you will place the sword upon your own necks, and Almighty God will not lift it from you until the Day of Resurrection. Do not kill me, for if you do, you will never pray together again, nor will you ever join together in sharing out booty (*fay'*), nor will God ever remove dissension from among you."

They replied to him, "You say that after 'Umar, the people asked Almighty God for guidance in choosing someone to rule over them, and having sought God's guidance, they chose you. Truly all God's acts are the best acts, but God—glory be to Him!—has made your case a test for His servants. You refer to your long-standing ties and priority with the Messenger of God. You did indeed possess ties of long-standing and precedence, and you were worthy of authority (*wilāyah*), but since then you have changed and brought about innovations that you are well aware
[3025] of. You mention the trials that will afflict us if we kill you. But it is not right to fail to uphold the truth against you out of fear of discord (*fitnah*) sometime in the future. You say that it is lawful to kill a man only in three cases. But in the Book of God, we find that other men are put to death besides the three named by you. [We find that] the man who spreads corruption in the land is put to death,[399] and likewise the oppressor who fights to continue his oppression and the man who prevents justice (*al-ḥaqq*) in any way and resists it, then scornfully battles against it. You have committed oppression. You have scorned justice, resisting it and preventing it from being carried out. You refuse to exact punishment against yourself for those whom you willfully wronged. You have clung tenaciously to the caliphate (*imārah*) over us, and you have been tyrannical in your legal judgments and in the allocation of booty. If you allege that you were not arrogant towards us, and that those who have risen up to defend you from us are fighting without orders from you,[we say that] they fight only

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ḥaqqun 'alā kulli man jā'a min ba'dī an ya'rifū lī faḍlahā. The text is quite difficult to interpret; cf. Caetani, (*Annali*, VIII, 171), who in fact omits a segment of it.

398. Cf. above, p. 199 (text, I, 3000) and note 351.

399. Qur'ān 5:37.

because you maintain your grip on the caliphate. Were you to abdicate, they would depart without fighting on your behalf."

The Conduct of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān—May God Be Pleased with Him

It was related to me by Ziyād b. Ayyūb—Hushaym—Abū al-Miqdām—al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan: I entered the mosque, and there was 'Uthmān b. 'Affān reclining upon his cloak. Then two water carriers came to him with a dispute, and he judged between them [on the spot].

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Umārah b. al-Qa'qā'—al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had forbidden the notables of Quraysh (*a'lām Quraysh*) who were Emigrants to go out into the conquered territories (*al-buldān*) except with his permission, and [then only] for a set period of time. People complained [that 'Uthmān did not restrain them likewise.] Having heard this, he arose and said: "Verily I have tended Islam carefully, like a camel. It makes its appearance and grows into a young animal ready to ride. Then it passes through its sixth, seventh, and eighth years, and finally becomes a fully mature nine-year-old. Now, do we expect anything but declining vigor from a mature camel? Now surely Islam has reached [3026] maturity, and the Quraysh wish to usurp God's wealth for their own benefit to the exclusion of His [other] servants. Is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb alive? He is not. I shall stand outside the pass of al-Ḥarrah[400] and grip the throats and waist-wrappers of Quraysh so that they tumble into Hellfire."[401]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When 'Uthmān ruled, he did not treat (the notables of Quraysh) as 'Umar had, and thus they traveled throughout the conquered territories. As they observed (these lands) and the things of this world (*al-dunyā*), and as the

400. Shi'b al-Ḥarrah. The Ḥarrah is a broken lava field northeast of Medina, through which one must pass to get to Syria, Egypt, or Iraq. It was the site of the famous battle in 63/683 between the Medinese and an expeditionary force sent by Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah. See L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Ḥarra," *EI*², III, 226–27.

401. The text is obscure; cf. the version in Caetani, *Annali*, VIII, 61.

people in turn saw them, those who were obscure and without power or privilege in Islam attached themselves to (the notables of Quraysh), forming into factions around them.[402] The (Qurashīs) aroused their hopes, and in this manner they acquired precedence. Then they said, "(The Quraysh) are powerful, and we will become known to them and acquire precedence by gaining access to them and attaching ourselves exclusively to them." That was the first flaw to enter Islam, and the first discord (*fitnah*) to appear among the common people (*al-ʿāmmah*) was none other than this.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr—al-Shaʿbī: No sooner had ʿUmar died than the Quraysh were weary of him. He had penned them up in Medina and put restraints on them, saying: "The thing I most fear for this Community is that you will scatter throughout the conquered territories." If one of the Emigrants confined to Medina sought his permission to go on campaign—and (ʿUmar) had not restricted other Meccans in this manner—he would say: "You have obtained your reward by your campaigns with the Messenger of God. It is better for you to avoid entanglement in worldly affairs than to go on campaign now."[403] Now when ʿUthmān took power, he freed them from such restrictions. They betook themselves to the conquered territories, where the people attached themselves to them. Therefore (the Quraysh) preferred (ʿUthmān) to ʿUmar.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mubashshir b. al-Fuḍayl—Sālim b. Abdallāh: When ʿUthmān was caliph, he made the Pilgrimage every year of his
[3027] reign except for the final Pilgrimage. He made the Pilgrimage with the wives of the Messenger of God, as ʿUmar used to do. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf was in his place, and he put Saʿīd b. Zayd in his own place, one at the head of the caravan and the other at its rear, and the people were secure.[404]

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402. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxx.

403. *Wa-khayrun laka min 'l-ghazwi 'l-yawma allā tarā 'l-dunyā wa-lā taraka.*

404. This meaning of this sentence is obscure; presumably it is a vestige of a longer anecdote. On ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf's role as a critic of ʿUthmān's religious practices, see above pp. 38–40 (text, I, 2833–2835).

('Uthmān) wrote to the garrison towns that the Pilgrimage should be performed every year by the governors and by those who had complaints to lodge against them. He wrote to the people of the garrison towns [as follows]: "Command one another to do good and forbid one another to do evil. The believer should not humble himself, for, God willing, I will side with the weak against the strong as long as he suffers oppression." And things continued in this way, until certain factions (*aqwām*) used ('Uthmān) as a means to create schism within the Community (*ummah*).

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: 'Uthmān had not been caliph a year before certain men of Quraysh took over various properties (*amwāl*) in the garrison towns and the people attached themselves to them. This state of things continued for seven years, with every faction (*qawm*) desiring that its leader (*ṣāḥib*) should rule. Then Ibn al-Sawdā' converted to Islam and engaged in theological speculation. Through him the world fell into chaos and baneful innovations arose, and (his followers) claimed that 'Umar was superior to 'Uthmān.[405]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Uthmān b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abbād b. Ḥunayf—his father: When the world fell into chaos and the ability of the people [to act rightly] came to an end, the first forbidden thing to appear in Medina was [the obtaining of auguries by observing] the flight of pigeons and [by] shooting clay pellets. In the eighth year [of his caliphate], 'Uthmān gave authority over these matters to a man from the tribe of Layth, and he clipped their wings and smashed the pellets.[406]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb— [3028]

405. Again Ibn al-Sawdā'—that is, 'Abdallāh b. Sabā'—emerges as the malign *deus ex machina* in Sayf's narrative. See above, pp. 64–65, 145–47 and note 107 (text, I, 2858–2859, 2942–2943).

406. Another obscure passage. I have adopted the general interpretation of Caetani (*Annali*, VIII, 63), though he admits he cannot find any external evidence for soothsaying practices of this kind. His translation of the phrase *sanata thamānin* as "per otto anni" must be rejected, since it contradicts both Arabic grammar and Sayf's theme that the community was troubled by unlawful practices only *after* the "conversion" of 'Abdallāh b. Sabā'.

Sayf—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh[407]—ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb: ʿUthmān was the first to put a stop to [divining the future by observing] pigeons in flight and [by shooting] pellets. When (these practices) appeared in Medina, he put a certain man in charge of them, and he prohibited (the people) from performing them.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—his father: An account similar to the above. Then he added the following: Drunkenness began to occur among the people. ʿUthmān dispatched a patrol armed with staffs to make the rounds among them, and thus he prevented (such behavior) among them. Afterwards (drunkenness) intensified, and ʿUthmān publicly proclaimed the divinely prescribed punishments and protested to the people about (their behavior). They agreed that they should be flogged in cases of wine drinking, and a certain number of them were arrested and flogged.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mubashshir b. al-Fuḍayl—Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh: When unlawful innovations made their appearance in Medina, certain men left to go to the garrison towns as fighters in the Holy War and to be close to the Arabs [who dwelt there]. Some of (these men) came to Baṣrah, others to Kūfah, still others to Syria. (These newcomers) all denounced the sons of the (warriors) who had settled in the garrison towns (*abnāʾ al-muhājirīn bi'l-amṣār*) for evils like those that had arisen among the Medinese. Only the Syrians were exempt from their strictures. They returned in a body to Medina, save for those residing in Syria, and informed ʿUthmān about what they had discovered. Then ʿUthmān stood up in the midst of the people to give the Friday sermon, saying: "O people of Medina, you are the very root of Islam. The people sow corruption only if you do, and they are upright only if you are. By God, by God, by God! If I learn of any innovation on the part of anyone of you, I shall send him into exile without fail. Verily, I do not mean to learn about anyone who has made any statement or demand apart from those [who have already come to my attention]. As to your predecessors, their members used to be

407. Not Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh, as in Prym's text. See de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxx.

cut off without any of them being able to say a word about the evidence for or against him." Henceforth, whenever 'Uthmān [3029] found any of them committing an evil deed or drawing a weapon—whether a staff or something more lethal—he would send him into exile. Their fathers raised a hue and cry over this, until he learned that they were saying, "What an unlawful innovation exile is, albeit that the Messenger of God exiled al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ." ('Uthmān) replied, "Al-Ḥakam was a Meccan, and the Messenger of God exiled him from there to al-Ṭā'if, and afterwards brought him back to his native town.[408] The Messenger of God exiled him for his crimes, and brought him back after having pardoned him. (The Prophet's) successor [namely, Abū Bakr] sent men into exile, as did 'Umar after him. I swear by God, I shall accept pardon from you, and on my part I shall freely extend it to you. [Fearful] things are close at hand, and I desire them to befall neither us nor you. I stand watch anxiously; be yourselves on guard and consider [what may happen]."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd b. Thābit and Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd: Someone asked Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab what had impelled Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah to rebel against 'Uthmān. (Sa'īd) replied: "He was an orphan under the guardianship of 'Uthmān, for 'Uthmān was responsible for the orphans among his kinsfolk and took care of all of them. Then (Muḥammad) asked 'Uthmān to appoint him as a governor when the latter became caliph. 'Uthmān responded, "My son, if I thought you were well-suited for office and you had asked me for a governorship, I would appoint you.[409] But that is not the case." (Muḥammad) said, "Then give me leave to go and find some way to support myself." ('Uthmān) replied, "Go wherever you wish." He outfitted him out of his own possessions, provided him with sustenance, and gave him gifts. Now when (Muḥammad) reached Egypt he became one of those who were

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408. Al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ was the father of Marwān; he was exiled as punishment for his obdurate opposition to the Prophet. The hill town of al-Ṭā'if, better watered and cooler than Mecca, was a common summer residence of the Meccan elite.

409. *Law kunta riḍan thumma sa'altanī 'l-'amala la-'sta'maltuka.* Caetani (*Annali*, VIII, 65) translates as follows: "Se tu fossi stato facile a contentare e m'avessi chiesto una provincia, io te l'avrei data."

angry with (ʿUthmān) because he had refused to appoint them to office.

In regard to ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, (Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab) states: Words were exchanged between (ʿAmmār b. Yāsir) and ʿAbbās b. ʿUtbah b. Abī Lahab.[410] ʿUthmān had both of them beaten. That incident—that is, the affair on account of which they were beaten—has caused bad feeling between the families of ʿAmmār and ʿUtbah up until the present.

[3030] It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd b. Thābit: I asked Ibn Sulaymān b. Abī Ḥathmah [about this incident], and he informed me that it consisted of an exchange of calumnies.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mubashshir: I asked Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh what had impelled Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr to rebel against ʿUthmān. He responded, "Anger and greed." "How is that," I said? He replied, "(Muḥammad) held his place in Islam, but various parties (*aqwām*) deluded him and he coveted [even more]. He had a bold manner and a certain right [to the caliphate] attached to him, but ʿUthmān was contemptuous of him and made no effort to conciliate him.[411] So one thing was added to another, and he became a man despised (*mudhammam*) after having been highly praised (*muḥammad*)."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mubashshir—Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh: When ʿUthmān ruled he was lenient with (the people). He contested claims vigorously but did not void a single rightful claim. So they loved him for his leniency, and that induced them to submit to the commandments of Almighty God.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl—al-Qāsim: Among ʿUthmān's novel acts—and he was regarded with approval for it—is that he struck a man during a quarrel in which the latter had belittled al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. When people brought this up to him, he said, "So, if the Messenger of God shows honor to his uncle, shall I allow con-

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410. ʿAbbās is perhaps the grandson of the infamous uncle of the Prophet cursed in Qurʾān 111.

411. A very obscure passage, *Wa-kānat lahu dāllatun fa-lazimahu ḥaqqun fa-akhadhahu ʿUthmānu min ẓahrihi wa-lam yudhin.*

tempt for him? Anyone who does that is an opponent of the Messenger of God, as is anyone who approves of such an act."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ruzayq b. ʿAbdallāh al-Rāzī—ʿAlqamah b. Marthad—Ḥumrān b. Abān: ʿUthmān sent me to al-ʿAbbās after he had received the oath of allegiance, and I summoned (al-ʿAbbās) before him. He said, "Why have you called me to your service?" (ʿUthmān) replied, "I have never needed you more than I do today." (Al-ʿAbbās) said, "So long as you adhere to five things, the Community will not jerk its nose rings [from your grasp]." "What are they," asked (ʿUthmān)? (Al-ʿAbbās) said, "Abstention from killing, showing affection, pardoning offences, affability, and keeping secrets." [3031]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (al-Wāqidī)—Ibn Abī Sabrah—ʿAmr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī: The older men of Quraysh were passionately fond of *khazīrah*.[412] I was having a supper of *khazīrah* with ʿUthmān, made from some of the best cooked meat I had ever seen. It contained sheep's stomachs, and the broth was made of milk and fat. ʿUthmān said, "What do you think of this food?" "It is the finest I have ever eaten," I replied. He continued, "God have mercy upon Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb! Did you ever eat *khazīrah* with him?" "Yes," I said, "and the morsel almost dissolved in my hand when I went to put it in my mouth. There was no meat in it, and its broth was made of fat without milk." ʿUthmān said, "You are right. By God, ʿUmar fatigued those who followed him, and he would seek to turn them away from these things and towards austerity. No, by God, I do not eat from public funds (*māl al-muslimīn*) but only from my own. You know that I was the wealthiest man of Quraysh and the most single-minded merchant among them. I have never ceased eating soft and delicate foods. I have attained a great age, and it is the most delicate food that I like best. I know of no accusation that anyone can bring against me on account of this."

According to Muḥammad (al-Wāqidī)—Ibn Abī Sabrah—ʿĀṣim b. ʿUbaydallāh—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir:[413] During Ramaḍān, I used to

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412. *Khazīrah* is a staple dish among the bedouin, a sort of stew consisting of cooking broth and pieces of meat, to which salt and flour have been added.

413. The *isnād* is corrected in accordance with de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxx.

break my fast with 'Uthmān, and he would serve us food of finer quality than 'Umar used to. Every night, I saw on 'Uthmān's table lamb and things made with fine flour. I never saw 'Umar eat
[3032] anything made of sifted flour, nor any sheep save old mutton. I spoke to 'Uthmān about this, and he replied, "God be merciful to 'Umar and to those who endure what 'Umar used to endure."

According to Muḥammad (al-Wāqidī)—'Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd b. al-Sā'ib—'Abdallāh b. al-Sā'ib—his father: The first tent I ever saw in Minā was one belonging to 'Uthmān, along with another belonging to 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz. 'Uthmān was the first to add the third call to prayer on Fridays, which was declaimed from al-Zawrā'. 'Uthmān was the first caliph who used sifted flour.[414]

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: 'Uthmān heard that Ibn Dhī al-Ḥabakah al-Nahdī was performing magical spells (*nīranj*). According to Muḥammad b. Salamah: Verily, it was a spell. So ('Uthmān) sent to al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah [in Kufah] to ask him about this. If it was the case, (al-Walīd) was ordered to punish him. Thus, (al-Walīd) summoned (Ibn Dhī al-Ḥabakah) and interrogated him. The latter said, "This is just sleight-of-hand, something to amuse people." Then (al-Walīd) ordered him to be severely chastised. He informed the people about him and read out 'Uthmān's letter to them: "You have all been dealt with earnestly, and you are obligated to be earnest in your conduct, so beware of those who act in jest." Then the people turned against 'Uthmān and wondered at his concern for matters of this kind.

(Ibn Dhī al-Ḥabakah) was angered, and he was one of those who rebelled [against 'Uthmān] and struck him down. Letters were
[3033] written to 'Uthmān about him, and when ('Uthmān) exiled certain persons to Syria, he also exiled Ka'b b. Dhī al-Ḥabakah and Mālik b. 'Abdallāh, who were alike in their religious thought and conduct, to Dunbāwand, because it was a land of sorcery.[415] In regard to this, Ka'b b. Dhī al-Ḥabakah said to al-Walīd:

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414. This paragraph recalls 'Uthmān's liturgical innovations as well as his taste for luxury. Al-Zawrā' was the name of the Caliph's residence; see above, pp. 31–32, 70 and note 121 (text, I, 2827, 2864).

415. Dunbāwand means Damāvand, the great mountain north of Tehran. To its

By my life, if you expel me you will find no path
leading to the downfall which you covet for me.
I have long hoped to return, O son of Arwā,
to come back to what is rightfully mine—a calamity has
snatched that away.
My exile in these lands and my bitter reviling
of God Himself will be brief;
My imprecations against you will be long,
every day and night, in this Dunbāwand of yours.

When Sa'īd (b. al-'Āṣ) became governor, he brought (Ka'b) back [to Kūfah]. He treated him well and wished to help him, but (Ka'b) was ungrateful to him and responded only with evil.

In the time of al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah, Ḍābi' b. al-Ḥārith al-Burjumī borrowed a dog called Qurḥān from a band of the Helpers in order to hunt gazelles. When he failed to return it, the Helpers were disgusted and sought the aid of his fellow tribesmen (*qawmuhu*) against him. These latter banded together against him, snatched the dog from him and returned it to the Helpers. He derided them about this affair in the following words:

The deputation of Qurḥān, not I, has imposed
upon itself a task at which the broad-cheeked woman
perseveres, burdened with fatigue.[416]
They have passed the night in comfort, amply fed, as though
an amir had given them the marzubān's house.
Do not abandon your dog! For it is your mother,
and disrespect to mothers is a grave sin indeed.

On this account they complained about him to 'Uthmān. He [3034]
sent for him, chastised him severely, and threw him in prison, as he was accustomed to do with the Muslims. That was too much for (Ḍābi'), and he stayed in prison until he died there. In regard to

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flank the tyrant Zohhak (al-Ḍaḥḥāq) was chained, and it was also the home of the wonderful *sīmurgh*, the bird which nurtured the infant Zal, Rustam's father. Finally, sorcerers were believed to reside there. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 371. On the Syrian exiles, see above, pp. 112–29 (text, I, 2907–2926).

416. A rather puzzling line, even with de Goeje's proposed reading of *taẓallu* instead of *taḍillu* (*Introductio*, dcxxx): *Tajashshama dūnī wafdu Qurḥāna khuṭṭatan / taẓallu lahā 'l-wajnā'u wa-hya ḥasīru.*

['Uthmān's] assassination, he excused himself to his companions in these words:

I resolved but did not act, though I was on the verge.
Would that I had acted, that I had fled leaving his wives in tears.[417]
By her who speaks, Ḍābi' has died in prison.
Who then opposes him? He has found no one to dispute him.
By her who speaks, God must not send Ḍābi' away.
How excellent is the youth whom you forsake and to whom you contrive excuses!

Because of these events [his son] 'Umayr b. Ḍābi' became an adherent of Ibn Sabā'.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Mustanīr—his brother: I know of no one who rode forth to war against 'Uthmān who was not [eventually] killed. A few individuals banded together in Kūfah—among them al-Ashtar, Zayd b. Ṣūḥān, Ka'b b. Dhī al-Ḥabakah, Abū Zaynab, Abū Muwarri', Kumayl b. Ziyād, and 'Umayr b. Ḍābi'—and they stated: "No, by God, no man can hold his head high[418] so long as 'Uthmān has authority over the people." Then 'Umayr b. Ḍābi' and Kumayl b. Ziyād said, "We shall kill him," and rode forth to Medina. As for
[3035] 'Umayr, he shrank back, but Kumayl b. Ziyād dared to assault ('Uthmān). He was sitting, waiting for [the right moment to strike], when 'Uthmān came up to him and slapped his face. (Kumayl) fell back on his buttocks and exclaimed, "You hurt me, Commander of the Faithful!" ('Uthmān) said, "Are you not a murderer?" "No, by God—apart from Whom there is no god," replied (Kumayl), and he swore [he was telling the truth]. The people gathered around him and said, "We will examine him, O Commander of the Faithful." ('Uthmān) responded, "No, for God has bestowed forgiveness, and I do not wish to learn anything

417. *Hamamtu wa-lam af'al wa-kidtu wa-laytanī / fa'altu wa-wallaytu 'l-bukā'a ḥalā'iluh.* Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 183, gives a variant of this line: *Hamamtu wa-lam af'al wa-kidtu wa-laytanī / taraktu 'alā 'Uthmāna tabkī ḥalā'iluh.*

418. *Lā wa'llāhi lā yarfu'u ra'sun.*

contradicting what he has said." He continued, "If things are as you say, Kumayl, then submit to me"—and he knelt down—"for by God, I can only think that you have designs against me. If you are telling the truth, then may God reward [you] abundantly. But if you are lying, may He abase [you]." [Kumayl] sat up in front of him and said, "Beware!" ('Uthmān) said, "I leave [you to your own devices]."

[Kumayl and 'Umayr] lived on until their longevity was much talked about among the people.[419] Now when al-Ḥajjāj arrived [in Kūfah] he said, "Those enlisted for the expedition of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah should report to their posts; let no one neglect his duty."[420] So 'Umayr [b. Ḍābi'] stood up before him and said, "I am but a frail old man, but I have two strong sons. Send one or both of them in my place." "Who are you," asked al-Ḥajjāj? "I am 'Umayr b. Ḍābi'," he answered. Then [al-Ḥajjāj] said, "By God, forty years ago you rebelled against Almighty God, and I shall make an example of you to the Muslims. You wrongfully defended the man who stole the dog. Your father, when he was in chains, determined [to take revenge against 'Uthmān], and you resolved [to do the same] but then shrank back. Now I am determined to act, and I will not shrink back." And so ['Umayr's] head was struck off.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—a man of the Banū Asad: It is told of ['Umayr b. Ḍābi'] that he had attacked 'Uthmān along with the other assailants. When al-Ḥajjāj came [to Kūfah] and announced [the campaign against the Khārijites], a certain man presented something to him in order to purchase his exemption from military service, and [al-Ḥajjāj] accepted it from him.[421] Now when [al-Ḥajjāj] was named

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419. *Fa-baqiya ḥattā akthara 'l-nāsu fī najā'ihimā.* Caetani [*Annali*, VIII, 68] translates: "E restarono i due [i.e., Kumayl and 'Uthmān], finchè la gente s'affollo meravigliata del colloquio." However, I can find no warrant for rendering *najā'* in this manner. My version is suggested by Ibn al-Athīr's loose paraphrase [*Kāmil* [Beirut], III, 183]: *Wa-baqiya ilā ayyāmi 'l-Ḥajjāji fa-qatalahumā.*

420. Sayf b. 'Umar's taste for unexpected chronological leaps shows up here. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf was made governor of Iraq by 'Abd al-Malik in 75/694, in order to pursue the struggle against the Kharijites. Al-Ḥajjāj at once mounted a massive and ultimately successful campaign for this purpose under the command of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 227–31; Hawting, *First Islamic Dynasty*, 66–67.

421. *Lammā qadima 'l-Ḥajjāju wa-nādā bimā nādā bihi 'araḍa rajulun 'alayhi*

[3036] governor, Asmā' b. Khārijah said, "The matter of 'Umayr has been one of the things worrying me." (Al-Ḥajjāj) asked, "And who is 'Umayr?" "This old man here," he replied. (Al-Ḥajjāj) said, "You have reminded me of the assault, which I had forgotten. Is he not one of those who rebelled against 'Uthmān?" (Asmā') replied, "He is indeed." (Al-Ḥajjāj) continued, "And is there someone else in Kūfah [who was also implicated]?" "Yes," said (Asmā'), "Kumayl." (Al-Ḥajjāj) said, "Bring 'Umayr before me," and he struck off his head. He demanded Kumayl also, but he had fled, so he held the tribe of al-Nakha' responsible in his stead. Al-Aswad b. al-Haytham said to him, "What do you want with an old man? His old age should be enough for you." "Verily, by God," replied (al-Ḥajjāj), "you should hold your tongue with me, or else I will certainly slice off your head." He said, "Go ahead!"

When Kumayl perceived the anguish suffered by his fellow tribesmen, even though they numbered two thousand warriors, he said, "Death is better than fear when two thousand are filled with fear because of me and have been denied [their stipends]." Then he set out and presented himself before al-Ḥajjāj. The latter said to him, "You are a man who harbored evil designs; the Commander of the Faithful did not find you out, and you were not satisfied until you made him subject to reprisal when he fended you off." (Kumayl) answered, "On what grounds will you put me to death? Will you kill me because he was forgiving or because I am yet in good health?" (Al-Ḥajjāj) said, "Adham b. Muḥriz, kill him!" (Adham) said, "Is the reward [for this deed] to be shared between you and me?" "Yes," said (al-Ḥajjāj). Adham replied, "Nay. Rather, you will obtain the reward, while whatever sin there may be will fall upon me." Mālik b. 'Abdallāh, who had been one of those exiled [to Syria],[422] said these words:

The son of Arwā did an injustice to Kumayl;
he pardoned him for it, for the one who seeks to avenge himself is blameworthy.

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mā 'iwaḍa nafsihi. I have followed Caetani's interpretation of this elliptical passage (*Annali*, VIII, 68).

422. See above, pp. 120–29 text, I, 2916 ff.).

(Kumayl) said to him, "I shall not vilify you today for such a thing,
O Abū 'Amr, while you are still imām.
Go easy! By Him Whom Quraysh worships with us [3037]
my head is unlawful to the great man.
In forgiveness there is security
whose excellence is well known among the people, though for retaliation we incur no sin.
Had the Just One ['Umar] known what you do,
he would have forbidden it to you, brooking no dispute."

It was related to me by 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—Suḥaym b. Ḥafṣ: Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was 'Uthmān's business partner (*sharīk*) during the Time of Ignorance. Al-'Abbās b. Rabī'ah said to 'Uthmān, "Write to Ibn 'Āmir on my behalf and ask him to lend me 100,000 [dirhams]." He did write, and (Ibn 'Āmir) gave that sum to him outright. (Ibn 'Āmir) also assigned his house to him, [and it is known as] the House of al-'Abbās b. Rabī'ah nowadays.

It was related to me by 'Umar (b. Shabbah)—'Alī—Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā—Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah: Ṭalḥah owed 50,000 [dirhams] to 'Uthmān. When 'Uthmān went to the mosque one day, Ṭalḥah said to him, "Your money is ready, so take it." ('Uthmān) replied, "It is yours, Abū Muḥammad, to support you in fulfilling the manly virtues."

It was related to me by 'Umar (b. Shabbah)—'Alī—'Abd Rabbihi b. Nāfi'—Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid—Ḥakīm b. Jābir: 'Alī said to Ṭalḥah, "I adjure you by God, send the people away from 'Uthmān."[423] (Ṭalḥah) replied, "No, by God, not until the Banū Umayyah voluntarily submit to what is right."

It was related to me by 'Umar (b. Shabbah)—'Alī—Abū Bakr al-Bakrī—Hishām b. Ḥassān—al-Ḥasan: Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh sold 'Uthmān a property of his for 700,000 [dirhams], and ('Uthmān) brought (the money) over to him. Then Ṭalḥah said, "Surely a

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423. *Anshuduka 'llāha illā radadta 'l-nāsa 'an 'Uthmāna.* Caetani (*Annali*, VIII, 69) has misconstrued the meaning of this phrase, for which see Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, II, 339D–340A.

man who possesses so much wealth and stores it in his own house, in ignorance of what may befall him by the command of
[3038] Almighty God—God, Glory be to Him, has made that man a fool!" That night his messenger plied the streets of Medina dividing up the cash until morning. By morning, (Ṭalḥah) did not have a single dirham left. Al-Ḥasan said: "He came here seeking the dinar and the dirham"—or, according to other reports: "the yellow and the white."

In this year—that is, 35 (656)—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās led the people on the Pilgrimage at 'Uthmān's command. This was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—one who related [it] to him—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

The Reason Why 'Uthmān Ordered 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās to Lead the Pilgrimage in This Year

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī—Usāmah b. Zayd—Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn—'Ikrimah—('Abdallāh) b. 'Abbās: [This took place] when 'Uthmān was under siege for the last time. 'Ikrimah states: I asked Ibn 'Abbās, "Were there two sieges?" Ibn 'Abbās replied, "There were." The first siege lasted for twelve [days]. When the Egyptians appeared, 'Alī met them at Dhū Khushub and induced them to leave. By God, 'Alī was a sincere friend to ('Uthmān), until he aroused 'Alī's anger against him. Marwān, Sa'īd, and their kinsmen began to incite him against 'Alī, so that he would be eager to take offence.[424] They would say, "Had ('Alī) so desired, no one would have spoken to you [as the rebels have]." This refers to the fact that 'Alī used to advise and counsel him and to speak very harshly about Marwān and his kin. The latter used to tell 'Uthmān, "('Alī) treats you like this even though you are his imam, his brother-in-law, the son of his paternal uncle and aunt. What do you suppose he has hidden from you?" Their criticism of 'Alī was so relentless that ('Uthmān) decided to conduct affairs without him.

I [that is, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās] entered ('Alī's) presence on the day I set out for Mecca and mentioned to him that 'Uthmān had called on me to go there. ('Alī) said, "'Uthmān does not seek

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424. *Fa-yataḥammala.* See de Goeje, *Introductio,* cciii–cciv, sub verbo *ḥamala.*

honest counsel from anyone. He has surrounded himself with a [3039]
circle of perfidious advisers. There is not one among them who has not taken possession of some district, devouring its revenues and treating its inhabitants shamefully." I replied to him: "He has ties of kinship [to you] and a claim [to your support]. If you think it right to act independently of him, you should do so, for otherwise you will not absolve yourself [from the consequences of his acts]."

Ibn 'Abbās says, "Now God knows that I saw ('Alī) relent and become gentle toward 'Uthmān, then I would see him greatly distressed."

According to 'Ikrimah—Ibn 'Abbās: 'Uthmān said to me, "Ibn 'Abbās, go to Khālid b. al-'Āṣ in Mecca and tell him that the Commander of the Faithful sends his greetings and says: 'I have been under siege every day since such-and-such a date. I cannot drink except from the brackish water in my house, and I am barred from using a well that I purchased with my own money at Rūmah. Only the people drink there, while I get nothing from it. I can eat only what is in my own house; I am prevented from obtaining anything in the marketplace. As you see, I am under siege.' Command [Khālid b. al-'Āṣ] to lead the people on the Pilgrimage, for there is no one to do it. If he refuses, then you will lead the Pilgrimage."

I reached the Pilgrimage caravan[425] on the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth days [of Dhū al-Ḥijjah]. I came to Khālid b. al-'Āṣ and told him what 'Uthmān had said to me. He replied, "Is that possible in view of the hostility of those whom you see here?" He refused to lead the Pilgrimage and said, "You lead the people on the Pilgrimage, for you are the son of 'Alī's paternal uncle, and this responsibility belongs only to him. You are more worthy [than I] to carry it out on his behalf."

Thus, I led the people on that Pilgrimage. Then at the end of the month I returned to Medina. There I discovered that 'Uthmān had been killed and the people were thronging around 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. When 'Alī saw me he got away from the people and came up to me. Whispering, he said, "What do you think about what has happened? A terrible thing indeed has taken place, as you see,

425. I follow the emendation of de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxx.

something that no one can control." I responded, "In my opinion the people must inevitably turn to you today. I also think that no
[3040] one can receive the oath of allegiance today without being suspected of the murder of this man." However, ('Alī) refused not to have the oath of allegiance sworn to him, and thus he was suspected of ('Uthmān's) blood.[426]

According to Muḥammad (al-Wāqidī)—Ibn Abī Sabrah—'Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl—'Ikrimah: Ibn 'Abbās recounts: 'Uthmān said to me, "I have named Khālid b. al-'Āṣ b. Hishām to be governor in Mecca. The Meccans have heard about what the people have done [here in Medina], and I fear that they will bar him from office. He will refuse [to accept that] and will fight them in the Sanctuary of Almighty God, in which He has established His peace—both (the Meccans) and those people 'who have come from every deep ravine that they may witness things profitable to them.'[427] Therefore I have thought it best to give you authority over the Pilgrimage." Along with all this, ('Uthmān) wrote a letter to the pilgrims, asking them to uphold his rights against those who were besieging him.

Ibn 'Abbās set out and encountered 'Ā'ishah in al-Ṣulṣul.[428] She said, "Ibn 'Abbās, I entreat you by God: abandon this man, sow doubt about him among the people, for you have been given a sharp tongue. Their powers of discernment have been clarified, the beacon light is raised high to guide them, and (the Caliph's associates) have milked the lands that once abounded in good things.[429] I have seen Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh take possession of the keys to the public treasuries and storehouses. If he becomes caliph, he will follow in the path of his paternal cousin Abū Bakr."

According to (Ibn 'Abbās): I said, "O Mother (of the Believers), if

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426. *Fa-abā illā an yubā'aya fa'ttuhima bi-damihi.* Caetani (*Annali*, VIII, 263) translates: "Egli rifiuto il califfato, e fu sospettato (ugualmente)."

427. Qur'ān 22:28–29. The reference is to those performing the Pilgrimage in obedience to God's commandment. Presumably 'Uthmān fears that innocent and pious pilgrims would be caught up in the conflict between Khālid and the Meccans.

428. Al-Ṣulṣul: a locality near Medina, some seven miles south on the road toward Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, III, 413.

429. *Wa-taḥallabū min 'l-buldāni li-amrin qad jamma.* A very puzzling passage, in part because the subject of the first verb is not identified.

some evil were to befall that man [namely, 'Uthmān], the people would seek asylum only with our companion [namely, 'Alī]." She replied, "Be quiet! I have no desire to defy or quarrel with you."

According to Ibn Abī Sabrah: 'Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl informed me that he had made a copy from 'Ikrimah of the letter written by 'Uthmān. Here it is:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From God's servant 'Uthmān, Commander of the Faithful, to the Believers and Muslims. Peace be with you, and to you I praise God—there is no god but He.
>
> To proceed: Verily I call on you to remember Almighty God, who has bestowed benefits upon you, taught you [3041] Islam, guided you away from error, delivered you from unbelief, shown you clear proofs, lavished sustenance upon you, and given you victory over the enemy. "And He has lavished on you His blessings."[430] For verily Almighty God says, and His saying is the truth, "If you count God's blessing, you will never number it; surely man is sinful, unthankful."[431]
>
> The Almighty also says, "O Believers, fear God as He should be feared, and see you do not die save in surrender [that is, as Muslims]. And hold you fast to God's bond, together, [and do not scatter; remember God's blessing upon you when you were enemies, and He brought your hearts together, so that by His blessing you became brothers. You were on the brink of a pit of Fire, and He delivered you from it; even so God makes clear to you His signs; haply so you will be guided. Let there be one nation of you, calling to good, and bidding to honor, and forbidding dishonor; those are the prosperers. Be not as those who scattered and fell into variance after the clear signs came to them;] those there awaits a mighty chastisement."[432]

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430. Qur'ān 32:19.
431. Qur'ān 14:37.
432. Qur'ān 3:97–101. In many of the Qur'ānic citations in this letter, only the opening and closing words are quoted in the text. Ṭabarī's readers, of course, would have been able to supply the missing lines from memory. In certain cases,

He has also said, and His saying is the truth, "O Believers, remember God's blessing upon you, and His compact (*mīthāq*) which he made with you, when you said, 'We have heard and we obey.' "[433]

He has also said, and His saying is the truth, "O Believers, if an ungodly man comes to you with a tiding, [make clear, lest you afflict a people unwittingly, and then repent of what you have done. And know that the Messenger of God is among you. If he obeyed you in much of the affair, you would suffer; but God has endeared to you belief, decking it fair in your hearts, and He has made detestable to you unbelief and ungodliness and disobedience. Those—they are the right-minded,] by God's favor and blessing; God is All-Knowing, All-Wise."[434]

[Remember also] the saying of the Almighty, "Those that sell God's covenant (*'ahd Allāh*) and their oaths for a little price . . . for them awaits a painful chastisement."[435]

He has also said, and His saying is the truth, "So fear God as far as you are able, [and give ear, and obey, and expend well for yourselves. And whosoever is guarded against the avarice of his own soul,] those—they are the prosperers."[436]

He has also said, and His saying is the truth, "Break not the oaths after they have been confirmed [and you have made God your surety; surely God knows the things you do. And be not as a woman who breaks her thread, after it is firmly spun, into fibres, by taking your oaths as mere mutual deceit, one nation being more numerous than another nation. God only tries you thereby; and certainly He will make clear to you upon the Day of Resurrection that whereon you were at variance. If God had willed, He would have made you one nation; but He leads

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therefore, I have supplied the omitted passages [in square brackets] so as to clarify 'Uthmān's meaning.

433. Qur'ān 5:10.
434. Qur'ān 49:6–8.
435. Qur'ān 3:71.
436. Qur'ān 64:16.

astray whom He will and guides whom He will; and you will surely be questioned about the things you wrought. Take not your oaths as mere mutual deceit, lest any foot should slip after it has stood firm and you should taste evil, for that you barred from the way of God, and lest there should await you a mighty chastisement. And do not sell the covenant of God for a small price; surely what is with God—that is better for you, did you but know. What is with you comes to an end, but what is with God abides,] and surely we shall recompense those who were patient their wage, according to the best of what they did."[437]

He has also said, and His saying is the truth, "Obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. [If you should quarrel on anything, refer it to God and the Messenger, if you believe in God and the Last Day; that is better,] and fairer in the issue."[438]

He has also said, and His saying is the truth, "God has promised those of you who believe and do righteous deeds [that He will surely make you successors in the land, even as He made those who were before them successors, and that He will surely establish their religion for them that He has approved for them, and will give them in exchange, after their fear, security: 'They shall serve Me, not associating with Me anything.'] Whoso disbelieves after that, those—they are the ungodly."[439] [3042]

He has also said, and His saying is the truth, "Those who swear obedience to thee swear obedience in truth to God; [God's hand is over their hands. Then whosoever breaks his oath breaks it but to his own hurt; and whosoever fulfills his covenant made with God,] God will give him a mighty wage."[440]

To continue. Almighty God desired for you absolute obedience and unity (*al-samʿ wa'l-ṭāʿah wa'l-jamāʿah*),

437. Qur'ān 16:93–98.
438. Qur'ān 4:31.
439. Qur'ān 24:54.
440. Qur'ān 48:10.

and warned you against rebellion, schism, and discord. He informed you about what your predecessors had done, presenting it to you so that He might have it as proof against you. If you rebel against Him, then accept the counsel of Almighty God and beware of His punishment, for you will never find a community (*ummah*) that has been destroyed save after it has fallen into discord. [Such a community can be saved] only if it has a head who can unite it. If ever you do that, you will not perform the prayer together, your enemy will be given power over you, and you will disagree as to what is lawful or forbidden. If you do that, no true religion (*dīn*) will remain before God—glory be to Him—and you will be divided into sects. Now Almighty God has said to His Messenger, "Those who have made divisions in their religion and become sects, thou art not of them in anything; their affair is unto God, then He will tell them what they have been doing."[441] Verily I enjoin upon you what God has enjoined, and I warn you of His chastisement. For Shu'ayb said to his people (*qawm*), "O my people, let not the breach with me move you, so that there smite you the like of what smote the people of Noah . . . [And ask forgiveness of your Lord, then repent to Him; surely my Lord is] All-Compassionate, All-Loving."[442]

To continue: Verily certain groups (*aqwām*) among those who have been talking in this way have maintained to the people that they but summon [them] to the Book of Almighty God and to the truth, and that they desire neither this world nor any conflict over it. When the truth was presented to them, behold the people were at variance concerning it: among them are those who accept the truth when it is presented to them and [then] turn away from it, and among them are those who abandon the truth and renounce it in this matter, desiring to snatch it without any right. My life has seemed long to them and their

441. Qur'ān 6:160.
442. Qur'ān 11:91–92.

hopes of governing have been deferred, and so they seek to hasten [God's] decree [by murdering me.]

They have written you that they returned [to their homes] on the basis of (certain promises) which I gave them; I am not aware that I have neglected any of my [3043] promises to them. They have been seeking, so they allege, [the enforcement of] the divinely authorized punishments (*al-ḥudūd*).[443] I said, "Inflict them upon those whom you know to have violated any one of them. Inflict them upon anyone near or far who has wronged you." They said, "The Book of God is to be recited aloud." I replied, "Then let him who recites do this, except for one who inserts something that God has not revealed in the Book." They said, "The deprived man ought to be provided for, and the public wealth (*al-māl*) should be expended in such a way that sound custom (*al-sunnah al-ḥasanah*) may be followed thereby. The [caliph's] one-fifth share and the [fixed] alms tax should not be exceeded. Capable and trustworthy men should be placed in authority. The wrongs [suffered by] the people should be charged against those who have committed them." Now I am content with this and have persevered in doing it. I came to the Prophet's wives to speak with them, saying, "What do you command me?" They answered, "You should assign governorships (*tu'ammirū*) to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and 'Abdallāh b. Qays [namely, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī] and leave Mu'āwiyah [in office]. An amir ['Umar?] made him governor before you; he sees to the well-being of his province and his army is content with him. Send 'Amr back [to Egypt], for his army is content with him. Make him governor and he will restore good order in his territory." Now I did all that, and ('Amr) has since then transgressed against me and violated right conduct.

I have written to you and to my associates who have made allegations concerning the matter. They have

443. Emended in accord with de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxx.

sought to hasten God's decree, barred me from the prayer, and kept me from the mosque. They have stolen what they could in Medina. I have written this letter to you at a time when they are giving me one of three choices. First, they may retaliate against me for every man whom I have struck, rightly or wrongly, except that some portion of it will be forgone. Alternatively, I may resign my office (*al-amr*) and they will assign it to someone else. Or finally, they may send to the provincial garrisons (*al-ajnād*) and to the inhabitants of Medina who obey them, and thus declare themselves free of the absolute obedience to me that God has enjoined upon them.

To them I have replied [as follows]. As for my exacting retaliation against myself, caliphs before me used to strike [men] in error and retaliation was not demanded against any of them, and I know that they are aiming only
[3044] against me. As for my abdicating the caliphate (*al-imārah*), I would rather they rage against me than to resign from the work of Almighty God and His caliphate. As for your statement—"they will send to the provincial garrisons and the inhabitants of Medina and thus be quit of obedience to me"—I am not an agent of yours, nor did I compel them to obey beforehand. Rather, they voluntarily accepted (obedience to me), seeking to please Almighty God and to resolve discord. As to him among you who desires only this world, he shall obtain of it only what Almighty God has prescribed for him. He who desires only God's face, the Abode hereafter, the well-being of the Community (*al-ummah*), the seeking of Almighty God's pleasure, and the sound custom (*al-sunnah al-ḥasanah*) laid down by the Messenger of God and the two caliphs after him, (that man) shall surely be rewarded for that by God.

Your reward is not in my hands. If I bestowed upon you the whole world, it would neither be a fair price for your religion nor would it compensate you in any way. So fear God and take into account His reward. I am not content—nor will God (Glory be to Him!) be content—that anyone among you should violate His covenant (*'ahd*). As for

what (the rebels) will force me to choose between, it adds up simply to deposing [me] and naming a new caliph (*al-naz' wa'l-ta'mīr*). I have been master of myself and those with me, I have seen to [the enforcement of] God's judgment (*ḥukm*) and [avoided] altering the benefits [bestowed] by God—Glory be to Him. I have hated evil custom, division within the Community, and the shedding of blood. I adjure you by God and by Islam to take only what is right—and you will be given that by me—and to abandon wrongdoing against those with rightful claims. Deal justly between us, as Almighty God has commanded you. I adjure you by God—Glory be to Him—who has appointed for you the covenant and mutual support in God's affair—for God has said, and His saying is true, "Fulfill the covenant ('*ahd*); surely the covenant shall be asked of."[444] This is an excuse before God; perhaps you will be mindful. [3045]

To continue: "Yet I claim not that my soul was innocent—surely the soul of man incites to evil—except inasmuch as my Lord had mercy; truly my Lord is All-Forgiving, All-Compassionate."[445] If I have chastised certain groups (*aqwām*), I have desired only good thereby, and I turn in repentance to Almighty God from every [evil] deed I have committed and seek His forgiveness. Verily none forgives sins but He. Surely the mercy of my Lord comprehends everything. Only the nation (*al-qawm*) that has gone astray despairs of God's mercy, and He accepts repentance from His servants and pardons evil deeds and knows what they do. I ask Almighty God to forgive me and you, to reconcile the hearts of this Community to what is good, and to make sin hateful to it.

Peace be upon you and the mercy of God and His blessings, O Believers and Muslims.

Ibn 'Abbās states: I read this letter out to them in Mecca, one day before the Day of Watering.[446]

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444. Qur'ān 17:36.
445. Qur'ān 12:53.
446. *Yawm al-tarwiyah*, "the Day of Watering," falls on 8 Dhū al-Ḥijjah. It

According to [al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Abī Sabrah—'Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah—Ibn 'Abbās: 'Uthmān summoned me and put me in charge of the Pilgrimage. I went to Mecca, where I led the people in the Pilgrimage rites and read 'Uthmān's letter out to them. Then I arrived back in Medina, and the oath of allegiance had been rendered to 'Alī.

'Uthmān's Burial Place, and Those Who Led the Prayer for Him and Took Charge of His Funeral Rites

[3046] It was related to me by Ja'far b. 'Abdallāh al-Muḥammadī—'Amr b. Ḥammād and 'Alī b. Ḥusayn—Ḥusayn b. 'Īsā—his father—Abū Maymūnah—Abū Bashīr al-'Ābidī: 'Uthmān['s corpse] was thrown aside and left unburied for three days. Then Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām al-Qurashī, who was a member of the clan of Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, and Jubayr b. Muṭ'im b. 'Adī b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf spoke to 'Alī about his burial, seeking his permission for ['Uthmān's] family to see to that. 'Alī granted them his permission, but when news of this spread, people lay in wait for ['Uthmān's body] by the road, armed with stones. A few members of his family set out with [his body], intending to take him to an enclosure in Medina named Ḥashsh Kawkab, where the Jews used to bury their dead. Now when ['Uthmān's body] was brought out before the people, they stoned his bier and were bent on throwing him to the ground. When 'Alī heard that, he sent and demanded that they leave him alone. They did so, and ['Uthmān's body] was hurried along and interred in Ḥashsh Kawkab. When Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān gained supremacy over the Muslims (*al-nās*), he ordered that enclosure to be razed and transferred ['Uthmān's body] to al-Baqī'.[447] Then he commanded the people to bury their dead around his grave, until ultimately [those graves] adjoined the cemetery of the Muslims.

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marks the day on which the pilgrims leave Mecca for the pilgrimage station of 'Arafāt. Muslim commentators explain the name by saying that on this day the pilgrims collect water to supply themselves and their animals during the forthcoming rites. See A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier, "Ḥadjdj," *EI*², III, 35.

447. Al-Baqī' or Baqī' al-Gharqad is the principal cemetery area in Medina, some 150 meters due east of the Prophet's Mosque. The name implies that it was

It was related to me by Ja'far—'Amr and 'Alī—Ḥusayn[448]—his father—al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī—Yasār b. Abī Karib—his father Abū Karib, who had been an official in charge of 'Uthmān's treasury: 'Uthmān was buried at twilight. Only Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, three of his freedmen (*mawālī*), and his fifth daughter were present at his funeral. His daughter wailed in mourning and raised her voice in lament for him. The people took stones and hooted "Long-bearded old idiot!" She was nearly stoned.[449] Then they said, "(Go to) the compound, the compound." And thus he was interred in a compound outside [Medina]. [3047]

According to al-Wāqidī—Sa'd b. Rāshid—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: When 'Uthmān was killed, a certain man said, "He will be buried at Dayr Sal', the Jewish cemetery." Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām replied, "That will never be, so long as one member of the lineage of Quṣayy remains alive."[450] Things almost came to blows, and Ibn 'Udays al-Balawī said, "Old man, what harm does it do you where he is buried?" Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām responded, "He will be buried nowhere but at Baqī' al-Gharqad, where his brother-in-law and his young son are buried." And so Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, along with twelve men including al-Zubayr, set out with ('Uthmān's body), and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām led the funeral prayer for him.

According to al-Wāqidī: In our judgment, the best-attested testimony is that Jubayr b. Muṭ'im led the funeral prayer for him.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Uthmān—Makhramah b. Sulaymān al-Wālibī: 'Uthmān was killed on Friday morning. (His kin and supporters) could not bury him, and Nā'ilah bt. al-Farāfiṣah sent to Ḥuwayṭib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, Abū Jahm b. Ḥudhayfah, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, and Niyār al-Aslamī. They all responded, "We cannot

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originally marked by a stand of thorn trees. See W. C. Brice, *Historical Atlas of Islam*, 23; al-Harawi, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, 211–16.

448. Instead of "Ḥasan"; emended in accordance with de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxx.

449. *Na'thal* was a common epithet flung at 'Uthmān by his enemies; see de Goeje, *Introductio*, cccxliv, sub verbo *ṭūl*.

450. Quṣayy was the eponymous ancestor of several of the most influential clans of Quraysh in Mecca, including 'Abd Manāf (the common ancestor of the Prophet and 'Uthmān). His prestige was based on his control of the cult of the Ka'bah and his welding the various clans of Quraysh into an effective tribal unit. See G. Levi della Vida, "Ḳuṣayy," *EI*², V, 519–20.

take (his body) in the daytime with these Egyptians at the gate." Thus, they held off until the evening. Then these men (*qawm*) entered ('Uthmān's house), but they were barred from him. Abū Jahm said, "By God, no one will keep me from him unless I die along with him. Bear him away!" And so ('Uthmān's body) was carried to al-Baqī'.

Nā'ilah followed behind them with a slave of 'Uthmān's and a lamp, which she lighted at al-Baqī'. At length they came to a stand of date palms in an enclosure. They broke through the wall and then buried him among those date palms, with Jubayr b. Muṭ'im leading the funeral prayer for him. Nā'ilah left intending to talk (about 'Uthmān's burial place), but the mourners (*qawm*) scolded
[3048] her, saying, "We are afraid that this rabble may go dig him up." And so Nā'ilah returned to her home.

According to Muḥammad (al-Wāqidī)—'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Hudhalī—'Abdallāh b. Sā'idah: For two nights after he was killed, 'Uthmān remained (where he had fallen) and they were unable to bury him. Then four men bore (his body) away—Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, Niyār b. Mukram, and Abū Jahm b. Ḥudhayfah. When he was laid down so that the funeral prayer could be performed for him, a band of the Helpers came and forbade them to perform the prayer. These included Aslam b. Aws b. Bajrah al-Sā'idī and Abū Ḥayyah al-Māzinī among several others. They forbade ('Uthmān's supporters) to bury him at al-Baqī'. Abū Jahm said, "Bury him, for God and His angels have blessed him." "No, by God," they said, "he will never be buried in the Muslims' cemetery." So they buried him in Ḥashsh Kawkab. When the Banū Umayyah reigned, they had that garden[451] included in al-Baqī', and it is today the cemetery of the Banū Umayyah.

According to Muḥammad (al-Wāqidī)—'Abdallāh b. Mūsā al-Makhzūmī: When 'Uthmān was killed, (his assassins) tried to cut off his head, but Nā'ilah and Umm al-Banīn[452] fell upon him and stopped them. The two women screamed and beat (their) faces and rent their clothing. In the face of this, Ibn 'Udays said, "Leave

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451. *Ḥashsh.* The narrator may intend a pun, since *ḥashsh* means not only "garden" but also "privy."

452. Another of 'Uthmān's wives, the daughter of 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfah b. Badr al-Fazārī. See Caetani, *Annali*, VIII, 300–1, and below, p. 254 (text, I, 3056).

him." And thus 'Uthmān, his corpse still unwashed, was taken out and brought to al-Baqī'. (The mourners) wanted to perform the funeral prayer for him in the place set aside for funerals, but the Helpers refused [to allow that]. 'Umayr b. Ḍābi' appeared while 'Uthmān was stretched out upon a door. ('Umayr) jumped on him and broke one of his ribs, saying, "You left Ḍābi' in prison until he died there."

It was related to me by al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Uways—his grandfather's paternal uncle, al-Rabī' b. Mālik b. Abī 'Āmir—(Al-Rabī''s) father: I was one of 'Uthmān's pallbearers when he was killed. We carried him upon a door, and his head was bumping up and down on the door because we were walking so fast. We were possessed with fear until we [3049] interred him in his grave in Ḥashsh Kawkab.

As for Sayf (b. 'Umar's) account, it was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān and Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When 'Uthmān was killed, Nā'ilah sent for 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Udays and said to him, "You are the closest of the rebels (*qawm*) in kinship and the best suited of them to deal with my situation. Have these corpses removed from me." But he abused and reviled her until, in the depths of the night, Marwān went out and came to 'Uthmān's house. He was joined by Zayd b. Thābit, Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, Ka'b b. Mālik, and most of the Companions who were present [in Medina]. Meantime boys and women assembled in the place set aside for funerals. They had 'Uthmān brought there, and Marwān led the prayer for him. Afterwards they took him to al-Baqī' and buried him there, in the part adjacent to Ḥashsh Kawkab.

The next morning, they came [to collect the bodies of] 'Uthmān's slaves who been killed with him and brought them out [for burial]. When (the rebels) saw them, they stopped them from burying (the slaves). So (the mourners) took them into Ḥashsh Kawkab. That evening, they brought out two of the dead slaves and buried them beside 'Uthmān. Each (corpse) was accompanied by five persons and a woman, Fāṭimah, the mother of Ibrāhīm b. 'Adī.[453] Then they returned [to Medina] and came to Kinānah b.

453. On Fāṭimah see above, p. 202 (text, I, 3003–3004).

Bishr. They said to him, "You are the most closely related to us among the rebels. Order these two corpses in ('Uthmān's) house to be taken out." (Kinānah) spoke to (the other rebels) about this, but they refused. He said, "I am a protected neighbor of the members of 'Uthmān's clan living in Egypt and of those allied with them. Bring these two out. Throw them out!" So (the two corpses) were dragged by their feet and thrown onto the pavement, where
[3050] the dogs devoured them. The two slaves who were killed on the Day of the House were called Nujayḥ and Ṣubayḥ, and their names were paramount among the slaves because of their merit and bravery. The people did not remember the name of the third slave [who had been killed in that event].

'Uthmān was not ritually washed, and was wrapped [for burial] in his garments, still bloody. Nor were his two slaves ritually washed.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Mujālid—al-Sha'bī: 'Uthmān was buried at night, and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam led the funeral prayer for him. His daughter and Nā'ilah bt. al-Farāfiṣah went out wailing behind him.

The Date of 'Uthmān's Murder

All authorities agree that he was killed in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, but they differ as to the year. Some say that he was killed on 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the year 36 (7 June 657), but the great majority say that he was killed on 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the year 35 (17 June 656).

(The following) was related to me by al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ—'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Akhnasī. It is also stated on the authority of al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Ya'qūb b. Zayd—his father: 'Uthmān was killed on Friday afternoon, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, in the year 36. His caliphate lasted for twelve years, less twelve days, and he was eighty-two years old.

[3051] According to Abū Bakr—Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallāh: 'Uthmān was killed on Friday afternoon, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, in the year 36.

According to others, he was killed on 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the year 35.

It was related to me by Ja'far b. 'Abdallāh (al-Muḥammadī)—'Amr b. Ḥammād and 'Alī—Ḥusayn[454]—his father—al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī—'Āmir al-Sha'bī: 'Uthmān was besieged in the house for twenty-two nights, and he was killed early on the morning of 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, in the year 25 dating from the death of the Messenger of God.

It was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—one who related it to him—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: 'Uthmān was killed on Friday, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, in the year 35. His caliphate lasted twelve years, less twelve days.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah and Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān: 'Uthmān was killed on Friday, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the year 35, at precisely eleven years, eleven months, and twenty-three days since the assassination of 'Umar.

According to Zakariyā' b. 'Adī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Amr—Ibn 'Aqīl: 'Uthmān was killed in the year 35.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān and Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: 'Uthmān was killed on Friday, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, in the last [3052]
hour [before sunset].

According to others, he was killed on Friday morning.

According to Hishām b. al-Kalbī: 'Uthmān was killed on Friday morning, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the year 35. His caliphate lasted twelve years less eight days.

It was related to us by al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Uthmān—Makhramah b. Sulaymān al-Wālibī: 'Uthmān was killed on Friday morning, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, in the year 35.

According to others, he was killed during the *ayyām al-tashrīq*.[455]

It was related to me by Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—his father, Abū Khaythamah—Wahb b. Jarīr—his father—Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Aylī—al-Zuhrī: Some authorities claim that 'Uthmān was killed during the *ayyām al-tashrīq*, while others state that he was killed on Friday, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

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454. See above, note 448.

455. On the *ayyām al-tashrīq* (11–13 Dhū al-Ḥijjah), see above, note 355.

'Uthmān's Life Span

The early scholars (*al-salaf*) who preceded us differ on this, some saying that he lived eighty-two years.

[3053] It was related to me by al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī): When 'Uthmān was killed, he was eighty-two years old.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Uthmān—Makhramah b. Sulaymān al-Wālibī: 'Uthmān was killed at the age of eighty-two.

According to Muḥammad (b. 'Umar)—Sa'd b. Rāshid—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: 'Uthmān was killed when he was eighty-two years and some months old.

Others state that he was ninety or eighty-nine.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Ashyab—Abū Hilāl—Qatādah: 'Uthmān was killed at the age of eighty-nine or ninety.

Others state that he was killed when he was seventy-five, and this figure is given on the authority of Hishām b. Muḥammad (b. Sā'ib al-Kalbī).

According to some authorities, he was killed at the age of sixty-three; this statement is linked by Sayf b. 'Umar to a body of informants. It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān and Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: 'Uthmān was killed when he was sixty-three years old.

According to others, he was killed at the age of eighty-six.

It was related to me by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ḥarashī—
[3054] Mu'ādh b. Hishām—his father—Qatādah: 'Uthmān was killed when he was eighty-six.

'Uthmān's Personal Appearance

It was related to me by Ziyād b. Ayyūb—Hushaym—Abū al-Miqdām—al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan: I entered the mosque and saw 'Uthmān reclining on his cloak. I looked closely at him. He possessed a handsome face, though it had pockmarks left by smallpox, and his arms were covered with hair.

It was related to me by al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī): I asked 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh b.

'Anbasah and 'Urwah b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Zinād about 'Uthmān's personal appearance, and I discerned no difference of opinion among them. According to them, he was a man neither short nor tall, with a handsome face and fine skin. He had a full beard, reddish-brown in color. He was strong-boned and broad-shouldered. He possessed a thick head of hair, and used to saffron his beard.

It was related to me by Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—his father—Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—his father—Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Aylī—al-Zuhrī: 'Uthmān was a man of medium stature, with much hair and a handsome face. He was bald on the front, and walked bowlegged.

The Date of His Conversion to Islam and of His Seeking Refuge

It was related to me by al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: 'Uthmān's conversion to Islam was of long-standing, hav- [3055]
ing taken place before the Messenger of God entered the house of al-Arqam. He was among those who left Mecca and sought refuge in Abyssinia, both the first and second time. He was accompanied on both occasions by his wife Ruqayyah, the daughter of the Messenger of God.[456]

The Kunyah of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān

It was related to me by al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī): In the Time of Ignorance, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān bore the *kunyah* Abū 'Amr. But after the coming of Islam, a son was borne to him by Ruqayyah, the daughter of the Messenger of God, and he named him 'Abdallāh. He took his *kunyah* from him, and the Muslims now called him Abū 'Abdallāh. 'Abdallāh was six years old when a rooster pecked him on the eye, and he fell ill and died in Jumādā I in the year 4 of the Hijrah (October–November 625). The Messenger of God led the funeral prayer for him, and 'Uthmān placed (his body) in the grave.

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456. On these events see Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, pp. 109–17.

'Uthmān's Lineage

He is 'Uthmān b. 'Affān b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy. His mother is Arwā bt. Kurayz b. Rabī'ah b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy; her mother in turn was Umm Ḥakīm bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

His Children and Wives

1. Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthūm, both daughters of the Messenger of God. Ruqayyah bore him 'Abdallāh.

[3056] 2. Fākhitah bt. Ghazwān b. Jābir b. Nusayb b. Wuhayb b. Zayd b. Mālik b. 'Abd [sic] b. 'Awf b. al-Ḥārith b. Māzin b. Manṣūr b. 'Ikrimah b. Khaṣafah b. Qays b. 'Aylān b. Muḍar. She bore him a son and he named him 'Abdallah—that is, 'Abdallāh the Younger (*al-Aṣghar*), who died at an early age.

3. Umm 'Amr bt. Jundab b. 'Amr b. Ḥumamah b. al-Ḥārith b. Rifā'ah b. Sa'd b. Tha'labah b. Lu'ayy b. 'Āmir b. Ghanm b. Duhmān b. Munhib b. Daws, of [the tribe of] Azd. She bore him 'Amr, Khālid, Abān, 'Umar, and Maryam.

4. Fāṭimah bt. al-Walīd b. 'Abd Shams b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm. She bore him al-Walīd, Sa'īd, and Umm Sa'īd.

5. Umm al-Banīn bt. 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfah b. Badr al-Fazārī. She bore him 'Abd al-Malik, who died at an early age.

6. Ramlah bt. Shaybah b. Rabī'ah b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy. She bore him 'Ā'ishah, Umm Abān, and Umm 'Amr.

7. Nā'ilah bt. al-Farāfiṣah b. al-Aḥwaṣ b. 'Amr b. Tha'labah b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam b. 'Adī b. Janāb b. Kalb. She bore him Maryam.

According to Hishām b. al-Kalbī: Umm al-Banīn bt. 'Uyaynah b. Ḥiṣn bore 'Abd al-Malik and 'Utbah to 'Uthmān. Likewise, Nā'ilah bore 'Anbasah.

According to al-Wāqidī: By Nā'ilah, 'Uthmān had a daughter
[3057] named Umm al-Banīn. She is the one who was married to 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. When 'Uthmān was killed, [his wives] Ramlah bt. Shaybah, Nā'ilah, Umm al-Banīn bt. 'Uyaynah, and Fākhitah bt. Ghazwān were all living in his household. However,

'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī) claims that he had divorced Umm al-Banīn even while he lay besieged.

These are the wives whom he took, both in the Time of Ignorance and in Islam, and his male and female children.

The Names of 'Uthmān's Provincial Governors during This Year

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Zinād: When 'Uthmān was killed, his provincial governors were as follows:

1. in Mecca, 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥaḍramī;
2. in al-Ṭā'if, al-Qāsim b. Rabī'ah al-Thaqafī;
3. in Ṣan'ā', Ya'lā b. Munyah;
4. in al-Janad, 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'ah;[457]
5. in Baṣrah, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz—he had left his post, but 'Uthmān had appointed no one to replace him;
6. in Kūfah, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ—he had been driven out and was not permitted to reenter the city;
7. in Egypt, 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ—when he came to [consult with] 'Uthmān, Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah had usurped power there; 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd had named al-Sā'ib b. Hishām b. 'Amr al-'Āmirī as his deputy in Egypt, but Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah drove him out;
8. in Syria, Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū 'Uthmān: When 'Uthmān died, Mu'āwiyah held authority in Syria. Mu'āwiyah's lieutenants were as follows: in Ḥimṣ, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd; in Qinnasrīn, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah; in Transjordan, Abū al-A'war b. Sufyān; in Palestine, 'Alqamah b. Ḥakīm al-Kinānī; in command [3058]
of naval forces (*'alā al-baḥr*), 'Abdallāh b. Qays al-Fazārī; in charge of justice, Abū al-Dardā'.

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457. Instead of "b. Rabī'ah"; see de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxx.

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Aṭiyyah: When 'Uthmān died, his officials in Kūfah were as follows: in charge of public worship was Abū Mūsā (al-Ash'arī); in charge of tax revenues from the Sawād were Jābir b. 'Amr al-Muzanī[458]—who was also superintendant of the dike (*ṣāḥib al-musannāt*) beside Kūfah—and Simāk al-Anṣārī; in command of the army was al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr. [The subgovernors of the districts attached to Kūfah were as follows:]

1. in Qarqīsiyā', Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh;
2. in Ādharbayjān, al-Ash'ath b. Qays;
3. in Ḥulwān, 'Utaybah b. al-Nahhās;
4. in Māh, Mālik b. Ḥabīb;
5. in Hamadan, al-Nusayr;
6. in al-Rayy, Sa'īd b. Qays;
7. in Iṣfahān, al-Sā'ib b. al-Aqra';
8. in Māsabadhān, Ḥubaysh;[459]

The public treasury was under 'Uqbah b. 'Amr, and at the time of 'Uthmān's death, Zayd b. Thābit executed justice on his behalf.

Citations from 'Uthmān's Sermons

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—'Awn b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah:[460] After the oath of allegiance had been rendered to him, 'Uthmān preached to the people in these words: "To proceed: I have been burdened [with a heavy load], and I have accepted it. Verily I will be a follower, not an innovator. Verily, you may demand three things from me, beyond [obedience to] the Book of Almighty God and the way (*sunnah*) established by His prophet. [First,] that I follow those who preceded me in matters that you have agreed upon and established. [Second,] that I adhere to the path laid out by pious and virtuous men (*ahl al-khayr*) in matters that you have

458. Instead of Jābir b. Fulān; see de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxx.

459. Māsabadhān (Middle Persian, Masptan) is a district in the central Zagros mountains about 300 km. northeast of Kūfah. See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 127, 142, 154.

460. Instead of *'an 'Utbah*; see de Goeje, *Introductio*, dcxxx.

not established by general consensus. [Third,] that I avoid coercion against you save in cases where you have deemed it necessary. Verily, this world is a verdant meadow that has been made [3059]
to seem desirable to the people and toward which many among them incline. Do not rely on this world and put no trust in it, for it is not a thing to be trusted. Know that it leaves nothing behind save him who has left it behind."

It was transmitted to me in writing by al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Badr b. 'Uthmān—his paternal uncle: The last sermon that 'Uthmān preached before an assembled congregation was [as follows]: "Almighty God has given you this world only so that you may seek thereby the world to come. He did not give it to you that you should rely upon it. Verily this world perishes, while the world to come endures, so be certain that things perishable do not make you heedless or distract you from things everlasting. Prefer that which endures to that which passes away, for this world will be cut off and [our] journey is toward God. Fear Almighty God, for the fear of Him is a shield against his terrible power and a means of access to Him. Beware of the Divine wrath. Adhere to your community (*jamā'ah*); do not divide into hostile sects. 'Remember God's blessing upon you when you were enemies, and He brought your hearts together, so that by His blessing you became brothers.'"[461]

Those Who Led the People in Prayer in the Mosque of the Messenger of God while 'Uthmān Was under Siege

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Rabī'ah b. 'Uthmān: The muezzin Sa'd al-Qaraẓ came to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib on that day and asked, "Who will lead the people in prayer?" 'Alī responded, "Summon Khālid b. Zayd." (Sa'd) did so, and Khālid b. Zayd led the people in prayer. That was the first day it was known that the name of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī was Khālid b. Zayd.[462] He led them in prayer for some days, then 'Alī took over this office thereafter.

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461. Qur'ān 3:98.
462. I follow the fuller reading in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Beirut), III, 187.

[3060] According to Muḥammad (al-Wāqidī)—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Ḥazm: The muezzin came to 'Uthmān and called him to the prayer. But ('Uthmān) said, "I am not coming out to pray. Go to someone who is." The muezzin came to 'Alī, and he commanded Sahl b. Ḥunayf [to lead the prayer]. (Sahl) thus led the prayer on the day when the final siege of 'Uthmān commenced. This was the night on which the new moon [signaling the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah] was sighted. (Sahl) led them in prayer until the Feast of Sacrifice,[463] when 'Alī led the festival prayer. Then he [continued to] lead them in prayer until ('Uthmān) was killed.

According to (al-Wāqidī)—'Abdallāh b. Nāfi'—his father—Ibn 'Umar: When 'Uthmān was besieged, Abū Ayyūb led the people in prayer for some days, then 'Alī led them in the Friday and festival prayers until ('Uthmān) was killed.

The Threnodies Composed for 'Uthmān

After his murder the poets spoke about him—some in praise, some in derision, some in tearful lamentation, some in gleeful joy. Those who lauded him included Ḥassān b. Thābit al-Anṣārī, Ka'b b. Mālik al-Anṣārī, and Tamīm b. Ubayy b. Muqbil, as well as others.

Ḥassān praised and lamented him and derided his murderer, in these words:

Have you abandoned your campaigns on the roads [leading to
the frontier]?
And do you now make war against us at Muḥammad's
grave?
How evil the guidance which you give the Muslims!
[3061] How evil the willful sinner's command!
If you advance [against us], we shall make
the hospitality all mild and gentle offered to your chiefs
around Medina, into a spear.
Or if you turn back, what an evil thing is the purpose for
which you have traveled [here];

463. That is, 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

the like of your amir's command was ill guided.
It is as though the Prophet's Companions were fattened animals
to be slaughtered at eventide by the mosque gate.
I weep for Abū 'Amr as befits his virtuous conduct;
he has made his dwelling in Baqī' al-Gharqad.

He also says:

If the house of Ibn Arwā stands desolate—
one door beaten down, another burnt and shattered—
Then he who seeks the good may encounter what he desires therein, and fame and good repute may strive [to enter] it.
O people, display your true selves!
For sincerity and falsehood are not equal in God's sight.
Uphold the rights of the people's lord, and you will learn of [3062]
bands of horsemen [coming to your aid], and behind them yet other bands.
Leading them is Ḥabīb,[464] the meteor of death,
wearing a breastplate, with anger displayed upon his face.

[Ḥassān] composed many verses about ['Uthmān]. Ka'b b. Mālik al-Anṣārī spoke in these words:

Woe, O men, for thy life, robbed by force [from thee, 'Uthmān],
and for thine overflowing tears, now dry!
Alas for a fearful thing which has befallen me,
which has crushed the mountains, so that in vast convulsions they have fallen.
The caliph's murder was a thing atrocious;
a terrifying calamity has arisen thereby.
Before the murder of the Imām the very stars bow down;
and because of it the sun is in eclipse.
Ah, how grief burdened my soul, when at early morn
they hoisted the bier onto their shoulders.

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464. Instead of *khabīth*, "a vicious man," in accordance with Ibrāhīm's text [IV, 424, n. 5]. Ibrāhīm explains this as an allusion to Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī, placed by Mu'āwiyah in command of the Syrian troops whom he had dispatched [too little and too late] to aid 'Uthmān.

They brought their brother and lowered him into the grave.
What does his grave, covered over, conceal—
What benefit, what sovereignty and sense of duty,
wherein he led the way among the people, what
meritorious deed?
How many an orphan did he support;[465]
the wretched would visit his house time and again.
Without cease he would receive them and mend their wrongs,
until I heard the sound of anxious sighing.
He has made his dwelling in al-Baqīʿ, and (his assassins)
have scattered, resolved to flee.
The Fire is their rendezvous for having murdered their Imam,
honest ʿUthmān, in his palace.[466]
To dignified forbearance he added duty,
and the good in him was manifest and known to all.
[3063] O Kaʿb, cease not to weep for a lord,
so long as you shall live and travel throughout the lands.
Even as an old man I shall mourn Abū ʿAmr,
and lament their perverted deed, since he was no fool.
Let the horsemen mourn him as they defend [us]
against calamity
between mountain defiles and soldiers in serried ranks.
They have murdered you, ʿUthmān—by thy life,
the murder of a man undefiled [by sin], in the shelter [of
his own home].

Ḥassān composed these lines:

He whom death gladdens with unmixed joy,
let him come into a den of savage lions[467] in the house of
ʿUthmān—
[Let him come against] men clad in iron mail, wearing
helmets fitted with nose guards to adorn their bodies.
By patience you will be redeemed, O my mother and (the
children) whom she bore.

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465. Lit., "Of how many an orphan would he set the bones."
466. See de Goeje (*Introductio*, dcxxx), who suggests *al-balāṭ* in place of *al-tilād* (text) or *al-bilād* (ms.).
467. The lions are ʿUthmān's assassins.

Patient suffering in the face of something hateful may at times bring [us] benefit.
We were well-pleased with the Syrians as they made haste [to aid us],
and with the amir [Muʿāwiyah] and [our] brothers.
Verily I will be among them, whether they are absent or present.
So long as I live and am called Ḥassān,
Very soon you will hear in their lands,
"God is most great! Vengeance for ʿUthmān!" [3064]
Would that I knew, would that the birds would inform me,
what went on between ʿAlī and Ibn ʿAffān.

Al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ spoke these words in urging on ʿUmārah b. ʿUqbah:[468]

Yea, the best of men save three[469]
has been killed by al-Tujībī, who came from Egypt.
If my opinion of my mother's son is sound,
ʿUmārah will not seek vengeance.
He will pass the night, mulling revenge for Ibn ʿAffān,
encamped between Khawarnaq and the Castle.[470]

To this al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās added the following verses: [3065]

Do you seek a vengeance to which you have no right?
What is Ibn Dhakwān al-Ṣafūrī next to ʿAmr?"[471]
Just as the ass's foal claims descent from her mother (the horse)
and forgets her father (the ass) when she vies with those possessing rightful pride.
Verily the best of men after Muḥammad [i.e., ʿAlī], is

468. Al-Walīd had been ʿUthmān's governor in Kūfah; ʿUmārah is his reluctant brother. Al-Walīd and ʿUthmān were half-brothers, since both had the same mother; it is this fact that gives the second line in the following poem its sting.

469. That is, Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, and ʿUmar.

470. Khawarnaq was a famous, almost legendary palace near al-Ḥīrah erected for Bahram Gur (420–438) by the Lakhmid king al-Nuʿmān al-Aʿwar. Presumably the "Castle" (*al-qaṣr*) refers to another such palace (perhaps the one named Sadīr) in al-Ḥīrah. See L. Massignon, "Khawarnaḳ," *EI*², IV, 1133.

471. The point of this line is a bit obscure. ʿAmr was ʿUthmān's eldest son (born before he became a Muslim). Ibn Dhakwān seems to have been a son of ʿUthmān's half-brother al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah by a Jewish woman from Sepphoris (al-Ṣaf-

the executor of the Chosen Prophet
in the sight of God,
The first who prayed, the twin to His prophet,
and the first to strike down the sinners at Badr.
Had the Helpers seen wrong done to your cousin,
they would have brought him aid against his wrong.
It is shame enough [for him] that they advised his death
and surrendered him to the Egyptian mobs.

Al-Ḥubāb b. Yazīd al-Mujāshi', the paternal uncle of al-Farazdaq,[472] spoke these words:

By my father's life, you must not mourn.
The best man, save only a few, has perished.
The people have become fools in their religion,
and behind him Ibn 'Affān has left enduring evil.
You who reproach [him]: every man perishes,
so follow the path of virtue to God.

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fūriyyah], a village near Nazareth. A man of such dubious descent could hardly claim to be the avenger of his lineage.

472. The famous Umayyad court poet, d. ca. 110/728. See R. Blachère, "al-Farazdaḳ," *EI*², II, 788–89.

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Included are names of persons, groups, and places, as well as Arabic words that recur often in the text or are discussed in the footnotes; the protagonist of this volume, the caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, is, however, omitted, as his name is found on almost every page. An asterisk (*) indicates one of the transmitters listed in the isnāds *preceding the reports or a medieval historian cited in the footnotes. When part of a name is given in parentheses, the enclosed segment has been supplied from sources other than the present text. Entries that are mentioned in both text and footnotes on the same page are listed by page number only. Finally, the Arabic definite article* al- *and the abbreviations* b. (ibn) *and* bt. (bint) *have been disregarded in the alphabetizing of entries.*

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* al-Zuhrī, Ibn Shihāb 77, 251, 253

The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XVI

The Community Divided

TRANSLATED BY ADRIAN BROCKETT

The Community Divided
Volume XVI
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This volume of al-Ṭabarī's history deals with the traumatic breakup of the Muslim community following the assassination of the Caliph 'Uthmān. It begins with the first seriously contested succession to the caliphate, that of 'Alī, and proceeds inexorably through the rebellion of 'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr, to the Battle of the Camel, the first time Muslim army faced Muslim army. It thus deals with the very first violent response to the two central problems of Muslim history: who is the rightful leader, and which is the true community? It is a section with the weightiest implications for the Muslim interpretation of history, wide open to special pleading.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XVI

The Community Divided

THE CALIPHATE OF ʿALĪ I

A.D. 656–657/A.H. 35–36

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XVI

The Community Divided

translated and annotated
by

Adrian Brockett

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the History of al-Ṭabarī, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 39 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as "dirham" and "imām," have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

To
Fiona and Andrew
with love

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Abbreviations

EI[1]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, 1st ed., 4 vols and Supplement, Leiden and London, 1913–42
EI[2]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. I–, Leiden and London, 1960–
EIr.: *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. I–, Costa Mesa, Calif., 1985–
IA: Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī, *al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh*, ed. C. Tornberg, repr., Beirut, 1965, Vol. III
IJMES: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*
IQ: *Islamic Quarterly*
JESHO: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
RSO: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*

Editors' Foreword

The section of al-Ṭabarī's *History* dealt with in the present volume covers pp. 3066–3256 of the Prima Series in the Leiden edition, which was prepared under the general direction of M. J. de Goeje. It deals with the events of the latter part of the year 35/656, beginning with the election of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as caliph after the assassination of ʿUthmān, and the events of ʿAlī's reign in the greater part of 36/656–57. The chronicler then passes on to an account of the confrontation between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān at Ṣiffīn on the upper Euphrates, the Khārijite secession, and the murder of the caliph by a Khārijite assassin.

The events during this single year or so were momentous and were to have resonance through much of subsequent Islamic history. In dealing with them al-Ṭabarī was almost exclusively concerned with the heartland of the caliphate, that is, northern and central Arabia (including the original centers of the new faith of Islam, Mecca and Medina) and southern and central Iraq, where, during the reign of the second caliph, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the Arab *muqātilah*, or warriors, had defeated the might of Sasanian Persia and driven the Sasanian ruler and his demoralized forces east across the Iranian plateau. It was along the fringes of the Mesopotamian lowlands and the northern Arabian desert—from which access to reserves of fresh Bedouin manpower was easy—that ʿUmar had set up the two great military encampments (*miṣr*) for his warriors, al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah. ʿAlī was eventually to move his capital to al-Kūfah from Medina, the home of the Prophet Muḥammad for the ten years before his conquest of Mecca and

the capital of the first three Rightly Guided caliphs; the political capital of the Islamic world was never again to return to the Arabian peninsula, which became increasingly a backwater, often held by sectarian groups like the Khārijites and, nearly three centuries later, the radical Shīʿite Carmathians.

Although al-Kūfah, with a strongly, but not exclusively Yemenī, or southern Arab, tribal element in its population, proved generally sympathetic to ʿAlī and, at various points in the following Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods, to his descendants, al-Baṣrah speedily became the epicenter of resistance to ʿAlī's claim to the caliphate after ʿUthmān's murder. A rebellion of anti-ʿAlid forces took shape there, under the leadership of two veteran Companions of the prophet, Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymī and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām al-Asadī, both from aristocratic clans of Quraysh and former members of the *shūrā*, or consultative council, that ʿUmar, on his deathbed, had appointed to regulate the succession. They thus considered themselves to have as valid a claim to become Commander of the Faithful as did ʿAlī. These two leaders had the backing of ʿĀʾishah bint ʿAbī Bakr, the Prophet's favorite wife and daughter of the first caliph. Although ʿĀʾishah had supported the opposition to ʿUthmān, she had had no hand in the tragic events leading to his death and had come to regard ʿAlī as at least a passive accomplice in the killing. All three rebel leaders feared that the infant Arab state would be dominated by anarchic and uncontrollable Bedouins in al-Kūfah and elsewhere, who were becoming ʿAlī's main supporters. There was thus a distinct possibility that the more aristocratic and conservative elements of Quraysh, which these leaders represented, would be relegated to a less powerful role in the state.

The outcome of this clash of interests was the Battle of the Camel on 10 or 15 Jumādā II 36/4 or 9 December 656, in which Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were killed; ʿĀʾishah was subsequently deported under escort to retirement in Medina by the victorious ʿAlī. In the present volume al-Ṭabarī gives a highly detailed account of the events leading up to the battle, from the *bayʿah*, or giving of allegiance to ʿAlī in Medina (accounts vary as to whether Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr gave their allegiance to the new caliph willingly, grudgingly, or not at all), and ʿĀʾishah's raising the call for "vengeance for ʿUthmān." Then there is a lengthy account of the

battle itself, which took place outside al-Baṣrah, the center of support for the rebels, in which ʿĀʾishah, in an armored howdah on her camel, was the insurgents' rallying point and the real instigator and inspiration of the troops. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were quarrelsome and somewhat indecisive leaders, both laboring under the handicap of accusations that they had broken their oath of allegiance to ʿAlī.

This volume ends with the triumphant caliph precariously in control of Arabia and Iraq and sending governors to such provinces as Egypt and Khurāsān. He had to accept a de facto division of the Islamic lands, with his rival Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān as governor of Syria and the Byzantine marches and the latter's influential supporter ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ al-Sahmī as governor of Egypt. The remainder of ʿAlī's rather brief caliphate was to be spent in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to humble the much more experienced and sagacious Muʿāwiya, to restore the unity of the caliphate under his own leadership, and to combat the violent and irreconcilable Khārijite secessionists from his own army, who would, in fact, bring about his death.

All these events left a legacy of dissension that was to resound through Islamic history for centuries to come, involving such basic political and religious questions as how the caliph or imām was to be chosen, what should be his qualifications for office, and what should be the basis of the *ummah*, the community of true believers? Above all, these events were part of the prehistory of the Shīʿite movement in Islam, which came to involve such vexed points as the position of ʿAlī and his descendants: Should they be regarded, as Shīʿite partisans were to assert, as the rightful spiritual and political heirs of ʿAlī's cousin Muḥammad and the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah, possessors of a divine light of guidance for the faithful implanted in all the ʿAlids by God? Or had their political and military incompetence disqualified them from leadership of the community in favor of the much more capable Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids? The debate continues today.

For this section of al-Ṭabarī's text the editor was the Bonn scholar Eugen Prym. For the earlier part of the preceding section on ʿUthmān's caliphate Prym had at his disposal as many as four manuscripts (see R. Stephen Humphreys, "Translator's Foreword" in Volume XV *The Crisis of the Early Caliphate*, pp. xviii–xix),

but for the latter part of that caliph's reign he had only the Berlin manuscript Springer 41 (*siglum* B). This manuscript was also the only one available for the present volume, and Prym had to seek elucidation of difficult passages and readings in the works of the later historians Ibn al-Athīr, in his *al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh*, and al-Nuwayrī, in his *Nihāyat al-arab fi funūn al-adab*, supplemented by occasional references to such historical and biographical works as al-Dīnawarī's *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-dhahab*, Ibn al-Athīr's *Usd al-ghābah*, Ibn Ḥajār's *Iṣābah*, al-Dhahabī's *Mīzān al-i'tidāl* and *al-Mushtabih fī asmā' al-rijāl*, and Ibn Taghrībirdī's *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*, as well as to such geographical works (primarily for place names) as al-Bakrī's *Mu'jam mā ista'jam* and Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*.

Translator's Foreword

This volume of al-Ṭabarī's history deals with the traumatic break-up of the Muslim community following the assassination of the caliph ʿUthmān. It begins with the first seriously contested succession to the caliphate, that of ʿAlī, and proceeds inexorably through the rebellion of ʿAʿishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr, to the Battle of the Camel, the first time Muslim army faced Muslim army. As such, it deals with the very first violent response to the two central problems of Muslim history: Who is the rightful leader? Which is the true community? It is therefore a section with the most weighty implications for the Muslim interpretation of history, wide open to special pleading. There are the Shīʿa who depict ʿAlī as a spiritual leader fighting against false accusation and the worldly ambitious. Conversely, there are those who would depict him or his followers in a negative light, and there are the ʿAbbāsid historians, who, while anti-Umayyad, have to balance reverence for the Prophet's household (*ahl al-bayt*) with a denunciation of ʿAlid antiestablishmentarianism. All these points of view, and more, are represented in al-Ṭabarī's compilation, illustrating the difficulty the Muslim community has had as a whole in coming to terms with these disastrous events.

Acknowledgment

Many thanks to my friend, Muhammad Munir ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, for many enjoyable discussions about the text.

Adrian Brockett

The Caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib

The Events of the Year

35 (cont'd) [3066]
(655/656)

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was given allegiance[1] as caliph in Medina in this year.

An Account of the Allegiance—Who Gave It and When

Earlier biographers give different accounts. According to some of them, the Companions of the Messenger of Allāh asked ʿAlī whether he would accept investiture on their behalf and on behalf of the Muslims, but he declined. When they refused to accept his decision, however, and asked him again, he did accept.

Details of this account and its authorities.

According to Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh al-Muḥammadī[2]—ʿAmr b. Ḥammād[3] and ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn—Ḥusayn—his father[4]—ʿAbd al-

1. Done with a handclasp, as in any contractual agreement; see Lane, 285a–b; *EI*², s.v. Bayʿa.
2. For this informant, see also I, 2983, 2986, 3004.
3. Ibn Ṭalḥah; see I, 2986.
4. ʿĪsā; see I, 2986.

Malik b. Abī Sulaymān al-Fazārī[5]—Sālim b. Abī al-Jaʿd al-Ashjaʿī[6]—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah:[7] I was with my father when ʿUthmān was killed. He got up and entered his house, and the Companions of the Messenger of Allāh came to him and said, "This man has been killed, and the people must have an imām. We know of no one at this time more suitable for this, of greater precedence in Islam, and of closer relationship to the Messenger of Allāh than yourself." He said, "Don't do this. It's better that I be a wazīr than an amīr." They replied, "No, by Allāh! We will go no farther until we have given allegiance to you." He said, "It should be done in the mosque then. Allegiance must not be given [3067] secretly or without the approval of the Muslims."

According to Sālim b. Abī al-Jaʿd—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās:[8] I did not like the idea of ʿAlī's going to the mosque because I was afraid there would be a commotion around him, but he insisted on going there. When he went in, the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār[9] went in too and gave him allegiance, and everyone else followed suit.

According to Jaʿfar [b. ʿAbdallāh al-Muḥammadī]—ʿAmr and ʿAlī—Ḥusayn—his father—Abū Maymūnah—Abū Bashīr al-ʿĀbidī: I was in Medina when ʿUthmān was killed.[10] The Muhājirūn and the Anṣār gathered, among them Ṭalḥah[11] and al-Zubayr,[12] and they came to ʿAlī and said, "Abū Ḥasan, let us give you allegiance." He said, "I have no need to be caliph; I am with you anyway and whomever you choose, I will be satisfied. So just make your choice." They replied, "We'll choose no one but you." They came and saw him a number of times after the murder of ʿUthmān, and on the last visit they said to him, "The people's interests are not served except by a single authority, and things

5. D. 145/763; U. Sezgin, 192–93.
6. D. 100/718; known as a *muḥaddith*; U. Sezgin, 193.
7. Son of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Cf. the similar report with a different lower *isnād*, p. 5, below; Caetani, VIII, §370.
8. ʿAlī's famous first cousin, *EI*², s.v. For this report, cf. Caetani, VIII, 371.
9. In the Qur'ān these twice form a pair. The Muhājirūn were Meccans who had performed the *hijrah*, or emigration, to Medina, and the Anṣār were Medinan allies, or helpers.
10. For this report, cf. Caetani, VIII, 372.
11. Ibn ʿUbaydallāh; *EI*¹, s.v.
12. *EI*¹, s.v.

have taken too long."[13] He replied, "You have come to see me a number of times, and here you are again, so let me make a suggestion. If you accept it, I will agree to take command; but, if you don't, I'll be quit of it." They replied, "Whatever you say we will accept, Allāh willing." So he mounted the *minbar* (pulpit), and the people crowded around, and he said, "I was unwilling to take command of you, but you insisted that I should. You must be aware, however, that I ask for no authority from which you are excluded, other than to hold the keys to your treasury. Know also that I would never take a dirham from it without your permission. Is this acceptable?" They agreed. So he said, "O Allāh, bear witness against them!" and he accepted their allegiance on this condition. Abū Bashīr added, "I was standing that very day by the Messenger of Allāh's *minbar*, and I heard his words."

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah[14]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad[15]—Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī—Abū al-Mulayḥ:[16] On Saturday, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (June 17), when ʿUthmān was killed, ʿAlī went out to the market. A crowd followed him and hurried up to him,[17] so he went into the courtyard of Banū ʿAmr b. Mabdhūl[18] and said to Abū ʿAmrah b. ʿAmr b. Miḥṣan,[19] "Lock the door!" The crowd then came and knocked at the door, and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr entered with them and said, "Stretch out your hand, ʿAlī!" and the two of them gave allegiance to him. Ḥabīb b. Dhu'ayb[20] was [3068]

13. Caetani, VIII, 372 n. 1, rejects these accounts of delay and says that ʿAlī allowed himself to be proclaimed on the very day of ʿUthmān's murder, as in ʿUmar b. Shabbah's report, and al-Ṭabarī's remark, (p. 15, below) that people reckon ʿAlī's caliphate from ʿUthmān's murder.

14. D. c. 259/873; Petersen, 92 n. 45; Nagel, 230–33. For this report, cf. Caetani, VIII, 375.

15. More usually called Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī, from Baṣrah, b. 135/752, d. 215–31/830–45; *EI*², s.v. al-Madā'inī. See also Petersen, 92–99, esp. 98.

16. Following Ibrāhīm's vocalization.

17. *Wa-bahashū fī wajhihi. Al-bahsh ilā* "hastening to get something"; Ibn Manẓūr, VII, 155.5; cf. Hava, 49; p. 100, below. Glossed *irtāḥū ilayh*; "pleased with him," in 428 n. 1.

18. A tribe of the Anṣār (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 186).

19. Bashīr, who fell by ʿAlī's side at Ṣiffīn (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 186, II, 225).

20. Al-Balādhurī calls him Qabīṣah b. Dhu'ayb al-Asadī but is probably confused. Qabīṣah b. Dhu'ayb al-Khuzāʿī was the well-known secretary to ʿAbd al-Malik (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 454; VIII, 329) but is not known to have had a brother Ḥabīb (Caskel, table 199).

looking at Ṭalḥah when he gave allegiance and said, "It is a withered hand that first gave allegiance. No good will come of this!"[21] ʿAlī then went out to the mosque and ascended the *minbar*, his sandals in his hand, wearing a waist wrap and a cape[22] and a silk turban, supporting himself on a bow. All those there gave him allegiance. Then they brought Saʿd,[23] and ʿAlī said, "Give allegiance." But he replied, "I won't do so until the people have, but, believe me, you've nothing to fear from me." ʿAlī said, "Let him go." Then they brought Ibn ʿUmar,[24] and ʿAlī said, "Give allegiance." And he replied, "I won't do so until the people have." "Bring me a guarantor,"[25] ʿAlī said to him. "I don't see why I should,"[26] replied Ibn ʿUmar. "Let me cut his head off," said al-Ashtar,[27] to which ʿAlī replied, "No, leave him alone! I'll be his guarantor. I knew it; you[28] are as rude as a man as you were as a child."

According to Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Qazzāz—Isḥāq b. Idrīs—Hushaym—Ḥumayd—al-Ḥasan: I saw al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām give allegiance to ʿAlī in one of the palm gardens in Medina.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—his father[29]—Wahb b. Jarīr—
[3069] his father—Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Aylī—al-Zuhrī:[30] The people gave

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21. *La yatimmu hādhā al-amr*, as also p. 14, below. "This affair will not finish well"; (Caetani, VIII, 324).

22. Perhaps sleeved like a *ṭaylasān*; cf. Lane, 1894c, 1886c.

23. Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ (cf. p. 9, below), the famous Meccan general and governor of Kūfah. He is said to have retired from politics at this time; hence, "you have nothing to fear from me" (*EI*[1], s.v.). He was a member of the electoral council that elected ʿUthmān; see p. 10, below.

24. ʿAbdallāh, son of the caliph preceding ʿUthmān (and therefore especially esteemed). He was a nonvoting adviser to the electoral council and at the election of other caliphs is said to have conformed to the will of the majority, as here (*EI*[2], s.v.). See also Caetani, IX, 22 n. 4.

25. *Ḥamīl*, glossed *kafīl* in IA, 191, and in an editor's note in Ibrāhīm, 428 n. 3.

26. A rude reply; cf. p. 34, below.

27. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakhaʿī, an early comer to Kūfah and one of the *qurrā'* or paratribal elements (Hinds, "Alignments," 357ff., esp. 360), a persistent agitator against ʿUthmān and the ruling elite and a supporter of ʿAlī. He is said to have been one of those who besieged ʿUthmān's house (I, 2989–90) and regarded as one of his murderers (Hinds, "Murder," 460). For his threats against those reluctant to give ʿAlī allegiance, see also pp. 12–14, below; al-Dīnawarī, 152. See also *EI*[2], I, 704. He died in 37/658.

28. I.e., Ibn ʿUmar; cf. IA, 205, where ʿAlī says it to him after trying to persuade him to join him against ʿĀ'ishah. See *Glossarium*, CCXXXI; p. 34, below.

29. Zuhayr b. Ḥarb.

30. ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿīd? (Wellhausen, 5). See also Juynboll.

allegiance to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, so he sent for al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah. He then invited them to give allegiance, but Ṭalḥah delayed.[31] Unsheathing his sword Mālik al-Ashtar then said, "By Allāh! You had better give allegiance, or else I will strike you through the forehead." "There is no way out of this," said Ṭalḥah, and he gave allegiance, followed by al-Zubayr and everyone else. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr then asked ʿAlī to give them the governorships of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. "You are to stay with me. I need you to share the burden," he replied. "I would be lost without you."

According to al-Zuhrī: There is another report according to which he said to them, "If you wish, give allegiance to me, or, if you wish, I'll do so to you." They replied, "We'll give allegiance to you." A little later they explained, "We only did it out of fear for our lives, since we knew that he would never give us allegiance." Four months after ʿUthmān's murder, they went down[32] to Mecca.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madāʾinī]—Abū Mikhnaf[33]—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī Sulaymān—Sālim b. Abī al-Jaʿd—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah: The evening ʿUthmān was killed I was with my father [ʿAlī] until he withdrew to his house. A group of the Companions of the Messenger of Allāh then came to him and said, "This man has been killed, and the people must have an imām." "Maybe there should be an electoral council," he replied. "You are our choice," they replied, to which he said, "To the mosque then! For it must be all the people's choice." So ʿAlī went to the mosque, where he was given allegiance. Apart from a very small number, all the Anṣār gave him allegiance. At this Ṭalḥah remarked, "A dog just licking its nose is all we'll get from this!"[34]

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31. Following the text's and Ibrāhīm's emendations, *fa-talakkā, fa-talakka*'. Caetani, VIII, 323, "sought an excuse to evade doing it." Pointing the ms. *fa-talakkaz*, see Hava (Syrian dialect), would mean "scoffed."

32. Reading either the ms. *fa-ṭamarā*, or Prym's and Ibrāhīm's emendation *faẓaharā* (Lane, 1879b–c, 1926b–c). Caetani, VIII, 323, "they went to Mecca." For the four months, see p. 43, below (a continuation of this report), and *EI*², 414.

33. The famous historian.

34. I.e., no position in the rule. The ms. has *ka-nakhsah* "A dog poking its nose [in the earth] is all we'll get from this!" I.e., "we are only going to get hurt" for the text's *ka-ḥissah*. For the latter, de Goeje suggests "As much as a dog's nose smells, i.e., a very small thing" (*Glossarium*, CLXCII), but to judge by today's sniffer dogs this is not an apt simile.

According to ʿUmar [b. Shabbah]—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madāʾinī]—
[3070] an elder from Banū Hāshim—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan: When ʿUthmān was killed the Anṣār gave allegiance to ʿAlī, apart from a very small number of them, among whom were Ḥassān b. Thābit,[35] Kaʿb b. Mālik,[36] Maslamah b. Mukhallad,[37] Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī,[38] Muḥammad b. Maslamah,[39] al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr,[40] Zayd b. Thābit,[41] Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj,[42] Faḍālah b. ʿUbayd,[43] and Kaʿb b. ʿUjrah.[44] They were all of the ʿUthmāniyyah.[45]

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan: Someone then asked him, "How come these men of the ʿUthmāniyyah refused to give allegiance?" He replied, "As for Ḥassān, he was a poet who didn't care what he did. As for Zayd b. Thābit, ʿUthmān put him in charge of the *dīwān*[46] and the treasury,[47] and, when ʿUthmān was besieged, he twice called out, 'Anṣār! Be helpers[48] of Allāh!' to which Abū Ayyūb[49] replied, 'You're only supporting him because he gave you many date palms.'[50] And, as for Kaʿb b. Mālik, ʿUthmān had put him in charge of alms from Muzaynah and let him keep what he took from them."[51]

[Again according to ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan]—anonymous—al-

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35. A Khazrajī poet from Medina (*EI*², s.v.), to whom poetry is ascribed in the *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām. Cf. the slightly different list, p. 9, below.

36. Another Khazrajī poet to whom poetry is ascribed in the *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām. After ʿUthmān's death he went to Muʿāwiyah (*EI*², s.v.).

37. Al-Khazrajī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 187, II, 401). Ibn Makhlad, according to Ibn Khaldūn, I, 439, and Caetani, VIII, 325.

38. Saʿd b. Mālik al-Khazrajī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 188, II, 500).

39. Fought at Badr (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 180, II, 424). Al-Dīnawarī, 152.

40. A Khazrajī poet (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 451). After ʿUthmān's death he went to Muʿāwiyah, who later gave him the governorship of Kūfah (*EI*¹, s.v.).

41. Khazrajī secretary to the Prophet (*EI*¹, s.v.). The most prominent figure in the traditions about the collection of the Qurʾān; see Burton, index, s.v.

42. Companion of the Prophet and kinsman of Muḥammad b. Maslamah (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 180, II, 483), or perhaps al-Balī (329), kinsman of Kaʿb b. ʿUjrah.

43. Died as *qāḍī* of Damascus (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 177, II, 243).

44. Al-Balī, Companion of the Prophet (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 329, II, 366).

45. I.e., partisans of ʿUthmān.

46. The central register, said to have been instituted by ʿUmar (*EI*², s.v.).

47. *Bayt al-māl* (*EI*², s.v.).

48. *Anṣār*.

49. Khālid b. Zayd al-Najjārī al-Anṣārī; fought at Badr and was a close ally of ʿAlī. D. c. 49/669 (*EI*², s.v. Abū Ayyūb; Caskel and Strenziok, I, 186, II, 343).

50. *ʿIddān*. IA, 191, has *ʿibdān* "slaves."

51. They should have been for the poor.

Zuhrī: A group of people fled from Medina to Syria without giving allegiance to ʿAlī, and Qudāmah b. Maẓʿūn,[52] ʿAbdallāh b. Sallām,[53] and al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah[54] did not give allegiance either.

According to others, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr only gave allegiance to ʿAlī unwillingly, and some said al-Zubayr did not give it at all.

Those who said this

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallah—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Hishām b. Abī Hishām, [3071]
mawlā of[55] ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān—a Kūfan elder—another elder: ʿUthmān was besieged while ʿAlī was in Khaybar,[56] and, when he came back, ʿUthmān sent a message for him to come, so he set off quickly. So I said, "I'll set off with him and overhear their conversation." When ʿAlī came to him, ʿUthmān spoke with him, praised Allāh, and continued: "I have certain legal claims on you, the claim of Islam, the claim of brotherhood—as you know, the Messenger of Allāh made you and me brothers at the time he made the Companions brothers—and claims of blood and marriage, and the pacts and agreements you swore with me individually. By Allāh! Let's suppose none of these claims had any force and we behaved as if we were back in a *jāhiliyyah*. Then it would be thanks to the neglect of Banū ʿAbd Manāf[57] if the Taymī[58] usurped their power." ʿAlī praised Allāh and said, "All that you

52. Al-Qurashī; fought at Badr and was governor of Baḥrayn under ʿUthmān (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 24, II, 470).

53. Is this the Medinan Jewish convert? (*EI*², s.v.; Watt, 197). Ibn Khaldūn I, 439. The ms. has ʿAbdallāh b. Salāmah (al-Aslamī(?) the companion of the Prophet; Caskel, table 201, no. 118; Ibn Hishām, 837, 842), but Prym suggests that the ms. originally may have read ʿAbdallāh b. Sallām wa-Salamah b. Salāmah, presumably following IA, 191, who has ʿAbdallāh b. Sallām wa-Ṣuhayb b. Sinān wa-Salamah b. Salāmah b. Waqsh. Cf. p. 9, below.

54. A Thaqafī from Ṭāʾif and governor of al-Baṣrah under ʿUmar (who was killed by his slave) and of al-Kūfah under Muʿāwiyah. During the caliphates of ʿUthmān and ʿAlī he retired from prominence (*EI*¹, s.v.).

55. Prym (followed by Caetani, VIII, 326) suggests inserting "the family of," but it was customary to refer to people in this way long after the original client and patron were dead.

56. An oasis, said to have been largely Jewish at the time of the Prophet, c. 150 km/95 miles to the north of Medina (*EI*², s.v.).

57. The clan of ʿUthmān (ʿAbd Shams) and ʿAlī (Hāshim).

58. Banū Taym was Ṭalḥah's clan; i.e., "Ṭalḥah will become caliph."

have mentioned about your claims on me is quite right, and your remark that, were we in such a *jāhiliyyah*, then it would be thanks to the neglect of Banū ʿAbd Manāf if the Taymī usurped their power is also true. I'll show you."[59] So ʿAlī then left and went to the mosque, where he saw Usāmah[60] sitting, so he called him and took hold of his arm and then set off for Ṭalḥah. I followed him, and we went into Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh's house, which was crowded[61] with people. ʿAlī went up to Ṭalḥah and said, "What's this awful situation you've fallen into?" He replied, "Abū Ḥasan, you blame me after things have gotten so far out of
[3072] control?"[62] ʿAlī said nothing in reply and came to the treasury and said, "Open this door!" When he could not get the keys he said, "Break it down!" So the door of the treasury was forced open, and he said, "Bring out the money!" He then began distributing the money to all the people.[63] When those who were in Ṭalḥah's house heard what ʿAlī was doing, they began secretly slipping away to him until Ṭalḥah was left on his own. When ʿUthmān heard of this, he was pleased. Ṭalḥah then walked back to ʿUthmān's house. I said to myself, "By Allāh! I'll see what he says." So I followed him. He asked ʿUthmān's permission to enter, and when he went in he said, "Commander of the Faithful, Allāh have mercy on me, I repent to him. I wanted something, but Allāh prevented me from attaining it." ʿUthmān replied, "By Allāh! You haven't come repentant but defeated. Allāh will punish you, Ṭalḥah."

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī][64]—Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Abī

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59. I.e., "I won't let Ṭalḥah take over."

60. Ibn Zayd b. Ḥārithah. Zayd was the Prophet's adopted son and former slave (*EI*[1], s.v.). Usāmah was a protégé of the Prophet and later of ʿUthmān and is said not to have given ʿAlī allegiance; see p. 9, below, and *EI*[1], s.v.

61. Reading *diḥās* as in Ibrāhīm, *Addenda*, DCXXXI, and *Glossarium*, CCXXXVI. Ibn Manẓūr (VII, 379 l. 14) cites the report about Ṭalḥah, in which his house was *diḥās, ay dhāt diḥās, wa-huwa al-imtilā' wa-al-ziḥām*. See also Hava, 198: *daḥḥas* "to fill (a house): crowd)."

62. Lit., "after the girth has touched the two teats"; it should be much farther forward; see Freytag, I, 293.

63. To wrong-foot Ṭalḥah.

64. D. 207/823 (*EI*[1]). See also Petersen, 84 n. 5.

Waqqāṣ[65]—his father [Ismāʿīl]—Saʿd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ].[66] Ṭalḥah said, "I gave allegiance with a sword over my head." I do not know whether the sword was over his head or not, but I do know he gave allegiance unwillingly. The people gave allegiance to ʿAlī in Medina, but seven men were cautious and did not give it. They were Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Ibn ʿUmar, Ṣuhayb,[67] Zayd b. Thābit, Muḥammad b. Maslamah, Salamah[68] b. Waqsh, and Usāmah b. Zayd. As far as we know, not one of the Anṣār refrained from giving allegiance.

According to al-Zubayr b. Bakkār—his father's brother Muṣʿab b. ʿAbdallāh—his father, ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab—Mūsā b. ʿUqbah[69] [3073]
—Abū Ḥabībah,[70] *mawlā* of al-Zubayr: When the people killed ʿUthmān and gave allegiance to ʿAlī, the latter went to al-Zubayr and asked if he could come in. I informed al-Zubayr so he unsheathed his sword and put it under his bed and said, "Let him in!" So I let him in, and he greeted al-Zubayr, who was standing opposite him.[71] He then left, and al-Zubayr said, "Something occurred to the man that made him leave quickly. Stand where he was, and see whether any part of the sword would have been visible." I did so and could see the point of the sword, so I told him, and he said, "That's what hurried the man up." As he left, the people questioned ʿAlī, and he answered, "I found the most dutiful and friendly nephew,"[72] so they thought it had gone well. ʿAlī said that al-Zubayr had given him allegiance.

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65. The ms. (according to Prym, by dittography) has Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar.

66. Al-Qurashī, leader at Qādisiyyah; d. Kūfah 50 or 55 (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 20, II, 495; *EI*[1]).

67. Ibn Sinān of Taghlib b. Wāʾil (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 163, II, 540; cf. IA, 191, and p. 66, below).

68. As in the text and Ibrāhīm. The ms. has Maslamah, apparently by dittography. IA has "Salamah b. Salāmah b. Waqsh [al-Anṣārī]"; cf. p. 7, above; Caskel and Strenziok, I, 179, II, 505.

69. Ibn Abī ʿAyyāsh al-Asadī, an important early historical writer; d. 141/758 (F. Sezgin, 286).

70. See Ṭabarī, I, 2981.

71. Reading either *bi-naḥwihi*, as in the text, or *bi-naḥrihi*, as in Ibrāhīm; *Addenda*, DCXXXI; *Glossarium*, DIII.

72. *Awṣal* refers to *ṣilat al-raḥim*. Al-Zubayr was the son of Ṣafiyyah, sister of Abū Ṭālib. He was also the son of the Prophet's wife Khadījah's brother and married Asmāʾ; daughter of Abū Bakr and sister of ʿĀʾishah.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)[73]—Shuʿayb—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sawād b. Nuwayrah, Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam,[74] Abū Ḥārithah, and Abū ʿUthmān: Medina remained under the [interim] governorship of al-Ghāfiqi b. Ḥarb[75] for five days after the murder of ʿUthmān. During this time all the parties searched unsuccessfully for someone who would agree to take command. The Egyptians approached ʿAlī, but he hid from them and took refuge in the walled gardens of Medina. When they found him, he withdrew from them and repeatedly disowned them and their plan. The Kūfans searched unsuccessfully for al-Zubayr, so they sent messengers to wherever he was. He also withdrew from them and disowned their plan. The Baṣrans searched for Ṭalḥah, and when he encountered them he, too, withdrew from them and repeatedly disowned their plan. They were thus agreed about murdering ʿUthmān, but at odds over whom they wanted next. On finding no one to assist or respond, they adopted the evil course of accepting the first person to respond and said, "We'll appoint none of these three." So they sent a
[3074] message to Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ: "You were a member of the electoral council,[76] and we are unanimous [that you should lead]. So come forward for us to give you allegiance." He sent a message back: "Ibn ʿUmar[77] and I are not candidates, so I do not want to be involved in any way," and he quoted:

Never mix bad things with something good!
Disrobe yourself of them, and escape naked!

Then they came to Ibn ʿUmar ʿAbdallāh and said, "You are the son of ʿUmar, so take this leadership up!" "It involves vengeance," he replied, "so I am not going to interfere with it. Look for someone else." This left them at a loss, not knowing what to do, even though they were in control of the city.

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73. Ibn Yaḥyā (Wellhausen, 5). See F. Sezgin's discussion of *kitābah* (241).

74. Al-Ḥanafī (see p. 52, below). A frequent authority of Sayf's but about whom little is known; see Hinds, "Sayf b. ʿUmar's Sources," 8.

75. Al-ʿAkkī, participant in the Egyptian opposition to ʿUthmān in Medina; see Hinds, "Murder," 456.

76. *Al-shūrā*, which elected ʿUthmān; see Smith, 142–63; Humphreys, 1990, 3 n. 5.

77. ʿAbdallāh; see note 24, above.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: When they[78] found Ṭalḥah he refused and said,

"One of the surprises of fate and time is that I have
remained alone, able neither to make bitter nor sweet."[79]

When they heard this they said, "You are threatening us!"[80] So they stood up and left him. When they found al-Zubayr and said they wanted him, he also refused and said,

"When you saddle up to leave a house in Fayḥān[81]
and its courtyard,[82] the soldiers swear at you."

When they heard this they said, "You are threatening us." When they found ʿAlī and said they wanted him, he also refused and said,

"If the leaders of my people complied with me,
I would give them a command that would subdue[83] the enemies."

When they heard this they said, "You are threatening us," and they stood up and left him.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madāʾinī—Maslamah b. Muḥārib—Dāwūd b. Abī Hind—al-Shaʿbī: After ʿUthmān was killed the people came to ʿAlī in the market in Medina and said to him, "Stretch out your hand so we can give you allegiance!" "Don't be precipitate!" he replied. "ʿUmar was a gifted man, yet he entrusted the matter to an electoral council, so [3075] wait until the people get together and consult." At this the people

78. The regicides again.

79. I.e., without any control at all. Ṭalḥah had expected to rule.

80. The frustrated ambitions expressed in the verse made them feel they would not fare well if he were caliph.

81. A name with a pleasant sound in Arabic, in this case, Medina. Yāqūt, Muʿjam, IV, 282, has a Fayḥān in Muzaynah territory. Al-Zubayr is referring to himself and implying that the Medinans have treated him badly.

82. Reading *wa-bāḥatihā* with Ibrāhīm for the text's *wa-bāʿatihā* "and its merchants."

83. The editor of IA (196 n. 3) suggests *bi-dhabḥi* for *yudīkhu*, i.e., "a command to slaughter," but the latter reading is the famous one. This verse comes in two other Sayf reports in the text, pp. 19 (again from the mouth of ʿAlī) and 40, below (from the mouth of ʿĀʾishah and with a different second hemistich).

turned away from ʿAlī. Some of them then said, "If the men return to their garrisons with the news of the murder of ʿUthmān, and no one taking on the command after him, we won't be safe from schism and the disintegration of the community." So they went back to ʿAlī, and al-Ashtar took hold of ʿAlī's hand, but ʿAlī took his hand away and closed it. Al-Ashtar then said, "Yet again! After three times?![84] By Allāh! If you reject the rule again, you will look at it with pain for a long time."[85] The crowd then gave him allegiance. The Kūfans say that the first to give allegiance was al-Ashtar.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān: Early on the Thursday, the fifth day[86] after ʿUthmān's assassination, [the besiegers][87] gathered the Medinese together. They then realized that Saʿd and al-Zubayr had left town, and they found that Ṭalḥah had gone off to a walled garden of his. They also found that the Umayyads had fled, all but those who were unable to do so. Al-Walīd and Saʿīd had fled to Mecca among the first who had left, and Marwān had followed them. Others followed successively. When the Medinese assembled before the [besiegers], the Egyptians said to the Medinese, "You are the people of the electoral council. You decide on the imamate and your decision holds good for the community as a whole. So, look for a man to appoint to office, and we will go along with you." At this most of them said, "ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib! He is our choice."

According to ʿAlī b. Muslim—Ḥabbān[88] b. Hilāl—Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān—ʿAwf: As for me, I swear that I heard Muḥammad b. Sīrīn[89] say that ʿAlī came and said to Ṭalḥah, "Put out your hand, Ṭalḥah, so that I can give you allegiance." Ṭalḥah had replied, "You have more right. You are Commander of the Faithful, so put

84. I.e., before allegiance was given to Abu Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān; see p. 51, below; *Addenda*, DCXXXI.

85. For the text's *ʿaynayka* de Goeje suggests *ʿanyataka*; see *Glossarium*, CDXXV; *Addenda*, DCXXXI. The latter is obscure and might mean "you will certainly confine your trouble to it for a time," i.e., "you will have trouble this time" (Lane, 2181a), but the text's reading is the famous one. IA conveniently omits this report.

86. See note 13, above.

87. The Kūfans, Baṣrans, and Egyptians.

88. Ḥibbān, according to Caetani, VIII, 333.

89. The famous traditionist (*EI*² s.v.).

out your hand." ʿAlī put out his hand, and he gave him allegiance.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: The Egyptians then said, "It's up to you,[90] people of Medina! We've given you two days and, by Allāh! if you don't sort it out,[91] tomorrow we'll kill ʿAlī and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and many others beside." The people then came to ʿAlī and said, "We give you allegiance, for you see what has happened to Islam and how much we have suffered at the hands of relatives."[92] "Leave me alone and look for someone else," ʿAlī replied. "We are confronted with a problem that has so many different aspects that no agreement can be reached on it."[93] "We beg you by Allāh," they said. "Don't you see what we see? Don't you see Islam? Don't you see civil war? Don't you fear Allāh?" "I agree to your request on the basis of what I see," he replied, "but you must realize that I do so, provided that I may lead you the way I know. Should you leave me, then I am no different from any of you, except for the fact that I am the most ready of you to hear and obey the one you place in authority over you." On that understanding they dispersed to meet again the next day. The people then discussed it among themselves and said, "If Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr join in,[94] then things will come right." So the Baṣrans sent one of their number, Ḥakīm b. Jabalah al-ʿAbdī,[95] with a group of men to al-Zubayr and said, "Be careful! Be straight with him!"[96] They brought him at sword point. To Ṭalḥah they sent a Kūfan, al-Ashtar, with a group [3076]

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90. *Dūnakum*, or "Beware!"

91. Pointing the ms. *tufrikhū*, see Lane, 2362c. The text and Ibrāhīm adopt IA's *tafraġū*, meaning the same.

92. *Min dhawī al-qurba*, a reference to ʿUthmān's nepotism. IA has *min bayn al-qurā*, "the villages."

93. Lit., "many aspects, which hearts will not stand up to and minds will be puzzled by."

94. The allegiance.

95. Supporter of ʿAlī and leader of the Baṣran opposition to ʿUthmān. He was killed with seventy of his fellow ʿAbdīs defending al-Baṣrah before the Battle of the Camel; see p. 78, below. He was an outsider (Hinds, "Murder," 460–62). For the vocalization Ḥakīm, see Caskel and Strenziok, II, 295; Petersen, 81; Hinds, "Murder," 460. The text, IA (e.g., 214), Wellhausen (139), and Caetani, IX, 45–46, 65–66, have Ḥukaym.

96. *Ḥābā* here means to show false respect in order to make someone approve of you, to say things you want people to hear (Lane, 507c, gives meanings like "treat gently"). Ibrāhīm and Wellhausen (159) emend the text's and IA's *lā tuḥābihi* (here and with Ṭalḥah below) to *lā tuḥāddihi* "Don't stand up against him!" (cf. p. 58), but this does not fit. De Goeje also dismisses this emendation (*Addenda*, DCXXXI; *Glossarium*, CLXXIX).

of men and said, "Be careful! Be straight with him!" They brought him at sword point. The Kūfans and the Baṣrans were each well pleased at their captive's ignominy, and the Egyptians were de-
[3077] lighted at what the Medinese had agreed to,[97] the Kūfans and the Baṣrans having been humiliated by being made subordinate to the Egyptians and a dependent group among them, and thus become even more enraged against Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. When Friday came and the people gathered in the mosque, ʿAlī arrived to ascend the *minbar* and said, "Men! By common consent and permission the matter is in your hands. Nobody has a right to it but him whom you appoint. We dispersed yesterday in agreement on a decision, so if you wish, I will take control. But if not, I will bear no anger against anyone." "We hold to our opinion that we had when we left you yesterday," they replied, and they brought Ṭalḥah and said, "Give allegiance!" He said, "I only do this unwillingly." So it was a man with a withered hand who was the first to give allegiance. There was a man who was looking on disapprovingly[98] from the back of the crowd, and when he saw that Ṭalḥah was the first to give allegiance he said, "We belong to Allāh and to him we return.[99] The first hand to give allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful is a withered hand. No good will come of this!"[100] Al-Zubayr was then brought, and he said similar words to Ṭalḥah and gave allegiance. However, there are different accounts about him. Then a group of men were brought who had held back, and they said, "We give allegiance on the understanding that the Book of Allāh is upheld toward both relative and stranger, rich man and poor." He accepted this and then everyone else proceeded to give allegiance.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Zuhayr al-Azdī—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—his father: When ʿUthmān was killed and the people agreed on ʿAlī, al-Ashtar went and brought Ṭalḥah [to the mosque], who said to him, "Let me see what the people will do." But he did not let him and brought him,

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97. I.e., ʿAlī. The Egyptian insurgents had always been pro-ʿAlī, whereas those from al-Kūfah were pro-al-Zubayr and those from al-Baṣrah pro-Ṭalḥah.

98. *Glossarium*, CCCLXXXIV.

99. Said on hearing of someone's death (Qur'ān 2:156). On p. 3, above, the man was named as Ḥabīb b. Dhu'ayb.

100. See p. 4, above.

pushing him violently. So he ascended the *minbar* and gave allegiance.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Qays—al-Ḥārith al-Wālibī: Ḥakīm b. Jabalah brought al-Zubayr [to the mosque] to give allegiance, and al-Zubayr said, "One of the thieves of ʿAbd al-Qays[101] brought me, and I gave allegiance with a sword[102] at my neck." [3078]

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Everyone then gave allegiance.

According to Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]: After these who had made stipulations,[103] those who had been brought[104] then complied as well. The authority of the Medinese was thus acknowledged as it had been in the past—except that the outsiders and riffraff came to have a say in it[105]—and they returned to their homes.

The Settlement of the Affair by Giving of Allegiance to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib

According to Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]: ʿAlī was given allegiance on Friday, 25 Dhū'l-Ḥijjah (June 24), but people reckon it from the day that ʿUthmān was killed.[106]

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sulaymān b.

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101. I.e., Ḥakīm; see p. 13, above.

102. *Al-lujj*. This was allegedly the name of al-Ashtar's sword (al-Zabīdī, II, 93) rather than that of Ḥakīm.

103. The Medinans, specifically those who had held back.

104. Forcibly like Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. Ṭabarī's Arabic is not clear.

105. *Law lā makānu al-nuzzāʿ wa-al-ġawġāʾ fīhim*. Generally *al-nuzzāʿ/nuzzāʿ al-qabāʾil/al-nuzzāʿ min al-qabāʾil* are strangers from certain tribes who live as neighbors to tribes other than theirs (Ibn Manẓūr, s.v.; Hinds, "Murder," 462), but in this section of al-Ṭabarī's history the words always apply to some of ʿUthmān's killers, e.g., p. 55, below. In the text here there has been some misunderstanding of the phrase *law lā makānu al-nuzzāʿ wa-al-ġawġāʾ fīhim*. Following Caetani (VIII, 335, 404), Petersen (152) takes this to be a thinly veiled reference to the Saba'iyyah and translates here "[the discontent of as-Saba'iyyah] already (then) was instrumental in fostering discords and tumults among them." However, this is to vocalize the ms. *makānu al-nizāʿ*, to take *ġawġāʾ* to mean "clamor, confusion of noise," and not to translate *law lā*. The Saba'iyyah were the alleged followers of ʿAbdallāh b. Saba', accused by anti-Shīʿī factions of being a Jew who introduced extreme ʿAlid doctrine (*EI*², s.v.; al-ʿAskarī, passim; Ḥusayn, I, 43, 98–100, 131; Petersen, 78 ff.; Wellhausen, 6). He was probably not a Jew (Levi della Vida, 495).

106. The Saturday before, the 18th.

Abī[107] al-Mughīrah—ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn: ʿAlī, in his first *khuṭbah* (sermon) as caliph,[108] praised and extolled Allāh and then said:

> Almighty and Glorious Allāh has sent down a Book that guides. In it He has made clear what is good and what is evil, so take hold of the good and leave the evil. Perform the religious duties to Allāh, and He will lead you to Paradise. Allāh has made a number of inviolable ordinances, which are well known, and He has favored the inviolability of the Muslim over all others, strengthening the Muslims with the declaration and belief in one God. A Muslim is someone from whom[109] people are safe, except when there is just cause; and it is not allowed to harm a Muslim, except when it is obligatory. Hasten to
> [3079] the common cause, because the particular cause of each individual is death. The people are in front of you and behind you, urging you on, remember,[110] it is the Hour! Keep your load [of sins] light, and you will reach [Paradise quickly]. People are simply awaiting their Hereafter. Servants of Allāh! Fear Him in your dealings with His other servants and His places.[111] You are responsible even for land and animals, so obey Almighty and Glorious Allāh! Don't go against Him! So when you see good, follow it; when you see bad, leave it alone. "Remember when you were few in the land and considered weak."[112]

When ʿAlī had finished his sermon and was still on the *minbar*, the Egyptians recited:

Take it, but beware, Abū Ḥasan!
We are settling the leadership the way we fix a nose rein.[113]

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107. Prym suggests deleting "Abī"; Caetani, VIII, 335, does not.
108. Al-Jāḥiẓ II, 50 ff., citing Abū ʿUbaydah, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (I, 272 ff.) have quite different versions of his first *khuṭbah*. Cf. also al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, 46.
109. Lit., "from whose tongue and hand."
110. Reading *wa-innamā*, as in the ms. This gives more emphasis than Prym's *wa-inna mā*, in which the *mā* is presumably *zāʾidah* for the sake of rhetoric.
111. Rhetoric: *Ittaqū Allāha ʿibādahu fi ʿibādihi wa-bilādihi.*
112. Qurʾān 8:26. the implied remainder of the verse tells of Allāh's support.
113. This line also comes on p. 139, below.

The line should read:[114]

Take it to you, but beware, Abū Ḥasan!

ʿAlī recited in reply:

I was unable to do something and have no excuse.
I will be shrewd after this and carry on.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: As ʿAlī was about to leave for his house, the Saba'iyyah[115] recited:

Take it to you, but beware, Abū Ḥasan!
We are settling the leadership the way we fix a nose-rein,
With an army's assault like barriers[116] against ships,
with Mashrafiyyah swords like rivers of milk.[117]

And we stab the kingship with a flexible sword like a rope,
until it is trained not to resist.[118]

ʿAlī then recited some verses, mentioning how they had left the camp, expecting[119] the fulfillment of a promise they had been given, at a time when some people criticized them, so they had returned to them, unable to desist until:[120]

I was unable to do something and have no excuse. [3080]
I will be shrewd after this and carry on.
I will lift from behind me what I have been dragging
and will join up what has been separated and scattered.

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114. To make the meter more correct.
115. Al-Sabā'iyyah in the text, here as always.
116. *Asdād*, "mounds (cataracts) that obstruct sailing," with the strength of which the strength of a military marching column is being compared (*Glossarium*, CCLXXXVIII).
117. I.e., very many of them.
118. I.e., until it has been completely subdued (*Glossarium*, CDLXXXIV).
119. Or "insisting on": *wa-al-kaynūnah ʿalā*.
120. The ms. is corrupt; a line has been repeated by dittography but deleted, leaving a space. De Goeje translates this passage "and that they were holding the Medinans by promises that they had agreed with them, and motivated by which they had returned to them; whereas the Medinans were not able to resist" (*Glossarium*, CCCXCI).

If the speedy conqueror Death does not oppose me
or they desert me when weapons are hastily taken up.

Then, when ʿAlī had gone inside [his house], Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, along with a number of Companions, came to him in a group and said: "ʿAlī! We stipulated that Allāh's punishments should be applied.[121] These people participated in the death of this man and have thereby forfeited their lives." "My friends," he replied, "I am not unaware of what you know, but how can I deal with people who rule us, not we them? Your own slaves have rebelled with them, and your bedouin have joined them. They live with you, imposing on you what they want. So can you see a way of achieving any of what you want?" "No," they said. "No indeed," replied ʿAlī. "I think there is only one thing to be said, and I expect you will agree. This is something that does not belong to Islam,[122] and so these people will find that they have a persistent problem. This is that Satan has never made a religious law,[123] and those who follow his decree will disappear from the earth forever. If it is stirred up, Muslims will take up different positions with regard to this matter. One group will share your views, another will have views you do not share, and a third will disagree with both, until the people calm down and return to their senses and claims can be settled. So stop complaining to me, and see what will happen
[3081] to you. Then return to me." ʿAlī was extremely restrictive with Quraysh and prevented them from leaving town under any circumstances. This reaction in him had been stirred up by the flight of the Umayyads. Then the people [who had assembled at his house] dispersed, some of them saying: "If this upheaval goes on, we won't be able to overcome these corrupt men.[124] Leaving

121. *Iqāmat al-ḥudūd* (sing. *ḥadd*). This phrase, translated as "Allāh's punishments" or "restrictive ordinances," occurs several times in the text (see index), e.g., on p. 39, below, where ʿĀ'ishah claims Qur'ānic justification for setting up a *ḥadd* over ʿUthmān's murder by stating that it was unjust (*maẓlūm*); she is referring to Qur'ān 17:33, which allows blood revenge in such cases: *wa-lā taqtulū al-nafsa allatī ḥarrama Allāh illā bi-al-ḥaqqi waman qutila maẓlūman fa-qad jaʿalnā li-wālihi sulṭānan fa-lā yusrif fī-al-qaṭli innahu kāna manṣūran*. Cf. *EI*², s.v. al-Djamal.

122. Lit., "This is an affair of a *jāhiliyyah*."

123. *Sharīʿah*.

124. The killers of ʿUthmān.

this to what ʿAlī said[125] is better." Others were saying: "We will fulfill our duty[126] and won't delay the matter.[127] By Allāh! In his opinions and orders ʿAlī pays no attention to us, and we definitely see him being more harsh than anyone against Quraysh."

When ʿAlī was told this, he stood up, praised Allāh, and magnified Him. He then mentioned their excellence, his need for them, and his regard for them and that he was working for their defense. He pointed out that he wanted no more power over them than that and that his reward was with Almighty and Glorious Allāh. He then proclaimed, "The religious obligation to protect a slave who fails to return to his masters is null and void."[128] The Saba'iyyah then conspired with the bedouin to fight.[129] "We'll get the same treatment tomorrow," they said, "and we won't have any argument against them."

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ʿAlī went out to the people on the third day and said: "All you citizens, expel the bedouin from among you! And all you bedouin, go back to your own wells!" But the Saba'iyyah refused, and the bedouin followed their lead. So ʿAlī went into his house, followed by Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and a number of the Companions of the Prophet. And ʿAlī said: "Your revenge is right in front of you! So kill!"[130] They replied, "They[131] won't understand that!"[132] But ʿAlī replied: "By Allāh! Tomorrow they'll be yet more dim-witted and rebellious," and he recited:

If the majority of my people complied with me, [3082]
I would give them a command that would subdue the enemies.[133]

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125. I.e., temporizing.
126. I.e., kill the killers.
127. ʿAlī's position.
128. An attempt to split off the slave elements of the opposition. See also *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd; Dhimma; cf. Ayoub.
129. *Fa-tadhāmarat*. The fifth stem, "then angrily blamed each other over their loss," might be preferable; it is a bit early for talk of fighting.
130. ʿAlī is mocking Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. They had advocated immediate revenge, but here they were retreating from the (alleged) regicides.
131. The Saba'iyyah and the bedouin.
132. I.e., "It's no use trying to convince them that retaliation is right"; they are making excuses.
133. ʿAlī is criticizing Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and their followers for not listening to his advice. Cf. p. 11, above, and p. 40, below.

Ṭalḥah then said, "Allow me to go to al-Baṣrah, and you'll be shocked by how quickly I can rally a force."[134] "Let me think about it," ʿAlī replied. Al-Zubayr said, "Allow me to go to al-Kūfah, and you'll be shocked by how quickly I can rally a force." ʿAlī replied, "Let me think about it."

Al-Mughīrah [b. Shuʿbah] heard about this meeting. He came to see ʿAlī and said: "You have the right of obedience and sincere advice. What will happen tomorrow is protected by a good decision today and destroyed by failing to make one today. Confirm Muʿāwiyah in his governorship; confirm Ibn ʿĀmir[135] in his and the other governors over their provinces. Then, when you receive their obedience and the armies' allegiance, you can replace or leave them." "I will see," he said. Al-Mughīrah then left ʿAlī, but he returned the following day and said: "I advised you to make a decision yesterday, but now a better one is that you dismiss them from office with haste. Then it will be known who obeys you and who does not, and your authority will be accepted." As al-Mughīrah was leaving, ʿAbdallah b. ʿAbbās met him on his way in. When he got to ʿAlī he said: "I've just seen al-Mughīrah leaving you. What did he come to you about?" "He came to me yesterday about such and such, and he came to me today about such and such." "As for yesterday," Ibn ʿAbbās replied, "he advised you well, but, as for today, he misled you." "What should be done then?" asked ʿAlī. Ibn ʿAbbās said:

> What you should have done was to have left when the man was killed or even before that and gone to Mecca, entered your house, and locked the door behind you. Then, if the Arabs[136] should have amassed and become stirred up after your withdrawal, they would only have had you [to turn to]. But today there are among the Umay-

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134. Lit. "horses," i.e., against the regicides, but there is an element of threat against ʿAlī.

135. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz of ʿAbd Shams Quraysh, first maternal cousin of ʿUthmān, who made him governor of al-Baṣrah in 29 (649/50); see I, 2828 ff.; Caskel and Strenziok, I, 13, II, 106. He joined forces with ʿĀʾishah in Mecca (Abbot, *ʿĀʾishah*, 133).

136. *Al-ʿArab*, especially the settled ones, as opposed to *al-Aʿrāb*, the bedouin. Here they are assembling without a leader; cf. pp. 22, 41, below.

yads some[137] who approve the search for revenge [for ʿUthmān], saying that you had a share in the affair. They will mislead the people and make demands similar to what the Medinese have made. You cannot fulfill what they[138] want, but neither can they[139]—even if matters should turn out in their favor[140]—so they would be even more unable [than you] to fulfill their[141] claims and more ineffective, except for the suspicions they have already managed to stir up [against you]. [3083]

Al-Mughīrah confessed, "I gave him good advice, by Allāh! but when he didn't accept it, I misled him." And he left to go to Mecca.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—al-Wāqidī—Ibn Abī Sabrah—ʿAbd al-Majīd[142] b. Suhayl—ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah—Ibn ʿAbbās: ʿUthmān called for me and appointed me over the Ḥajj. So I left for Mecca, organized the Ḥajj for the people, and read ʿUthmān's letter to them. I then came to Medina. ʿAlī had already been given allegiance there, and when I came to him in his house I found al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah having a private interview with him. So he detained me until al-Mugīrah had left him. Then I asked, "What did this man say to you?" ʿAlī replied, "He said to me on a previous occasion: 'Send ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir and Muʿāwiyah and ʿUthmān's governors their contracts, confirming them in office and that they should get the people's allegiance to you, for they will bring peace to the land and will calm the people.' But I[143] rejected his suggestion that day and said: 'By Allāh! Even if I had had only one hour of one day, I would have made the decision not to appoint any one of these. Nor should any of their ilk be appointed!' As he left me I realized he thought I was mistaken. So he came back to me again today and said: 'I made that first suggestion to you, but you disagreed with me. So

137. Nöldeke suggests reading *qawm* or *rijāl* "a group" (*Addenda*, DCXXXI).
138. The Medinese.
139. The Umayyads.
140. I.e., "Should you let them stay in office," as al-Mughīrah advised.
141. The Medinese.
142. As in Ibrāhīm; *Addenda*, DCXXXI. The text has al-Ḥamīd.
143. I.e., ʿAlī.

I had another idea. That is that you do as you thought and dismiss them and look for assistance from those you trust. Allāh's help
[3084] will suffice; their[144] fighting power is less than it was.'"

So I said to ʿAlī, "The first time he gave you good advice, but the last time he deceived you." "Why do you say he gave me good advice?" asked ʿAlī. "Because you know that Muʿāwiyah and his allies are men of the world," replied Ibn ʿAbbās, "and, should you confirm their posts, they wouldn't care who had the overall command. But should you remove them they would say, 'He has assumed overall command without an electoral assembly, and he killed our companion,' and they would stir up the Syrians and Iraqis to rebel against you. I'm also not at all sure that Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr won't turn against you." "Regarding what you said about confirming them, replied ʿAlī, "then, by Allāh I've no doubt that it would be best for *iṣlāh*[145] in *this* life. But I have obligations to the truth, and I know ʿUthmān's governors, so by Allāh! I'll never appoint a single one of them! If they come[146] it'll be best for them, for if they stay back I'll be generous to them with the sword." "Then do as I say," Ibn ʿAbbās replied. "Enter your house and stay on your estate in Yanbūʿ.[147] Lock the gate after you, for the Arabs are stirred up[148] and milling around en masse, and they won't find anyone apart from you [to turn to]. But, by Allāh! If you rise up with these men[149] today, the people will make you responsible for the blood of ʿUthmān tomorrow."

But ʿAlī ignored this advice and said to Ibn ʿAbbās: "Go to Syria! I've appointed you its governor." "This isn't the right decision," replied Ibn ʿAbbās. "Muʿāwiyah is a man[150] of Banū Umayyah. He is the son of ʿUthmān's father's brother and governor of Syria. I won't be safe from his breaking my neck for ʿUthmān. Or else the
[3085] least he will do is throw me in jail and pass sentence on me." "Why?" ʿAlī asked him. "Because you and I are related," he said, "and because everything imputed to you is imputed to me also.

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144. The Umayyads.
145. (Re)conciliation, setting things right (*EI*[1], s.v.).
146. I.e., and give allegiance.
147. As in Ibrāhīm; IA. It is the port of Medina on the Red Sea (*EI*[1], s.v.).
148. After ʿAlī's withdrawal (cf. p. 20, above).
149. The regicides.
150. I.e., he has a responsibility to retaliate.

No, you should write to Muʿāwiyah, raise his hopes, and make him promises!" But ʿAlī refused and said, "By Allāh! This will never be."

According to Muḥammad—Hishām b. Saʿd—Abū Hilāl—Ibn ʿAbbās: Five days after the murder of ʿUthmān, I arrived in Medina from Mecca. I went to go and visit ʿAlī but was told that al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah was with him. So I sat at the entrance for an hour. When al-Mughīrah came out, he greeted me and said, "How long ago did you get here?" "This past hour," I replied. I then went into ʿAlī, and greeted him. He asked me, "Did you meet al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah?" "I met them in al-Nawāṣif."[151] "Who was with them?" he asked. "Abu Saʿīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām with a Qurashī force," I replied. ʿAlī then said: "I'm sure they'll never refrain from coming out and saying, 'We seek repayment for ʿUthmān's blood.' By Allāh! We know that they are the ones who killed ʿUthmān."

"Commander of the Faithful!" said Ibn ʿAbbās. "Tell me about the business with al-Mughīrah and why he had a private audience with you." He said: "He came to me two days after the murder of ʿUthmān and said to me, 'May I have a private word with you?' I agreed, and he said: 'Good advice costs nothing. You are the most excellent in the community, and I have some sincere advice for you. I advise you to return ʿUthmān's governors to office this year, so write to them confirming their governorships. When they have given you allegiance and things have settled down under your command, then you may remove or confirm whomever you wish.' So I replied, 'By Allāh! I don't compromise my religion by cheating, nor do I give contemptible men [a say] in my command.'[152] 'If you insist on rejecting this suggestion,' he replied, 'then remove whomever you will, but leave Muʿāwiyah. Muʿāwiyah is daring, [3086] and the Syrians listen to him. Moreover, you have good reason to keep him in office, for ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb made him governor of the whole of Syria.' 'By Allāh! no,' I replied. 'I would never appoint Muʿāwiyah as governor, even for two days!' Al-Mughīrah then left me without further suggestion. However, he came back again and said to me: 'I gave you some advice, but you didn't agree with me.

151. Yāqūt has a place of this name only in what he thinks is ʿUmān (V, 306).
152. Cf. I, 1545 l. 18, 1546 l. 3, where ʿUmar says something similar.

So I thought about it and realized that you were right. You should not assume your authority deceitfully. There should be no fraud in your rule'"

"So I said to ʿAlī," said Ibn ʿAbbās, "his first suggestion advised you well; his last deceived you. I advise you to confirm Muʿāwiyah. If he gives you allegiance, then I will undertake to topple him from his position." ʿAlī replied, "By Allāh! no. I will give him nothing but the sword." And he quoted the following verse:

Death, if I die without weakness, is no
disgrace when the soul meets its destruction.[153]

"Commander of the Faithful!" I replied, "you're a courageous man, but you aren't a warmonger. Didn't you hear the Messenger of Allāh say, 'War is deceit'?"[154] "Indeed I did," said ʿAlī. "By Allāh! If you do as I say," replied Ibn ʿAbbās, "I'll take them back to the desert after a watering,[155] and I'll leave them staring at the backside of things whose front side they have no idea of, and you will incur neither loss nor guilt." "Ibn ʿAbbās," said ʿAlī, "I don't want anything to do with these mean schemes of yours or of Muʿāwiyah's. You give me advice, and I consider it. If I go against you, then you do as I say." "I will," I replied. "Obedience is my first and foremost obligation to you."

The Expedition of Qusṭanṭīn, King of Rūm, against the Muslims

Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī said: According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī—Hishām b. al-Ghāz—ʿUbādah b. Nusayy: In this year,
[3087] that is, 35, Qusṭanṭīn b. Hirqal[156] set sail with a thousand ships for the territory of the Muslims. But Allāh caused a windstorm[157]

153. Ibn Manẓūr, XIV, 20.

154. *Al-ḥarb khudʿah*; Wensinck, I, 443b. For slight variations in meaning, see Lane, 710a.

155. I.e., as above, "I'll topple them."

156. Rather than Constantine, son of Heraclius, who died in 641 (Bury, et al., 391), this was Constantine (popularly called Constans), the nephew of Heraclius, who became sole emperor in 641. See also Humphreys, 74 n. 128.

157. Cf. Qur'ān 17:69.

to overpower and drown them. Qusṭanṭīn b. Hirkal, however, survived and got to Sicily.[158] But they prepared a bath for him there, and when he got in they killed him, saying, "You killed our leaders."

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158. These events have been telescoped. Constantine went to Sicily in 663, some seven years later, and it was not until 668 that he was blinded by soap in the bath and killed by being hit on the head with a silver ewer (Bury et al., 394–95).

The Events of the Year 36

(June 30, 656–June 18, 657)

Alī Sends Out His Governors to the Garrison Cities[159]

At the beginning of the year 36 ʿAlī despatched his governors.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ʿAlī sent his governors to the garrison cities: ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf[160] to al-Baṣrah; ʿUmārah b. Shihāb, who had the merit of a *hijrah*,[161] to al-Kūfah, ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās[162] to Yemen; Qays b. Saʿd[163] to Egypt; and Sahl b. Ḥunayf[164] to Syria.

As for Sahl, he set off until he came to Tabūk,[165] where some

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159. IA, 201–5; Caetani, IX, 8–12.

160. Al-Anṣārī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 177, II, 579).

161. *Wa-kānat lahu hijrah*, i.e., with the Prophet, "one of the Muhājirūn" (Caetani, IX, 8). Al-Dīnawarī (149) calls him ʿUmārah b. Ḥassān, who was a Kalbī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 289, II, 571).

162. Brother of ʿAbdallāh. Later he was joint leader of al-Ḥasan's army but deserted to Muʿāwiyah.

163. Ibn ʿUbādah al-Anṣārī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 187, II, 462). See p. 175, below. Later he was joint leader of al-Ḥasan's army.

164. Al-Anṣārī, brother of ʿUthmān, who fought at Badr (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 177, II, 498).

165. About 350 miles northwest of Medina.

horsemen met him and said, "Who are you?" He replied, "A commander." "Over what?" they asked. "Over Syria." "If ʿUthmān has sent you, you are more than welcome, but, if someone else has, go back to where you came from," they said. "Have you not heard what has happened?" he asked. "Indeed we have," they replied. So he went back to ʿAlī.

As for Qays b. Saʿd, when he reached Aylah[166] some horsemen met him and said, "Who are you?" "I am one of ʿUthmān's defeated fugitives,[167] and I am looking for someone to take refuge with who will give me military support," he replied. "But who *are* you?" they asked. "Qays b. Saʿd." "You may pass," they said. So he continued on his way until he reached Egypt.

Now the Egyptians split into factions. One faction gave allegiance to ʿAlī[168] and so were with Qays b. Saʿd. Another faction refused to give allegiance and withdrew to Kharbitā,[169] saying: "We will join you if ʿUthmān's murderers are executed. Otherwise we will stay in this area[170] to keep up our opposition[171] unless we achieve what we want." A third faction said, "We are with ʿAlī so long as he does not retaliate against our brothers,"[172] and thus they did give allegiance. Qays wrote to the Commander of the Faithful about all this. [3088]

As for ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf, he set off, and no one resisted his entry into Baṣrah. Ibn ʿĀmir[173] showed no decisiveness, determination, or independent initiative to fight him. The people there

166. Modern Eilat, at the top of the Gulf of ʿAqabah.

167. *Fāllah*; Ibn Manẓūr, XIV, 46 ll. 12 ff.; Caetani, IX, 9. Qays was shrewder than Sahl. He mentioned ʿUthmān, rather than ʿAlī. That he had to go to Egypt alone and disguised suggested to Caetani (IX, 11 n. 1) that Muʿāwiyah had taken every precaution to prevent ʿAlī's representatives from reaching Egypt.

168. *Dakhalat fī al-jamāʿah.*

169. Following Ibrāhīm. The text has both Khiribtā and Kharibtā, the latter noted as corresponding more closely to the Coptic form. Hence it was preferred by Caetani (IX, 11 n. 2), who inferred that because it was west of Alexandria (*al-ḥawf al-gharbī*), this opposition to ʿAlī was not instigated by Muʿāwiyah. See also p. 179, below. IA, 201, 205, has Kharanbā, which is an error; see Yāqūt, II, 355, 362.

170. *Fa-naḥnu ʿala jadīlatinā*; see Lane, 392c; p. 105, below. Or perhaps "we will continue this course of action."

171. *Ḥattā nuḥarrik* "and keep alive the agitation" (Caetani, IX, 8), "create trouble" (De Goeje's *turbas movit, Glossarium*, CLXC).

172. I.e., those who killed ʿUthmān.

173. ʿAbdallah b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz.

also were divided. One faction followed the opposition, another faction gave allegiance to ʿAlī, and a third said, "We shall see what the Medinans do, and we will do likewise."

As for ʿUmārah, he advanced as far as Zubālah,[174] where Ṭulayḥah b. Khuwaylid[175] met him. Now this man, when he had heard of what had happened to ʿUthmān, had gone out calling for revenge for his blood, saying: "How I regret what has happened! It has not escaped me, nor have I caught up with it.[176]

If only I had been a youth when it happened,
I would have turned and attacked in the fray and set to."[177]

Ṭulayḥah went out with those who had responded to al-Qaʿqāʿ[178] and accompanied him until he got to al-Kūfah, whereupon he was met by ʿUmārah, who was approaching al-Kūfah. "Go back!" Ṭulayḥah said. "The people aren't interested in anyone replacing their commander.[179] If you refuse, I will cut off your head." So ʿUmārah went back, saying: "Beware of danger when it comes near you![180]

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174. On the Mecca-Kūfah road between Wāqiṣah and al-Thaʿlabiyyah (Yāqūt, III, 129).

175. Al-Asadī, a *riddah* leader who was defeated by Khālid b. al-Walīd at Buzākha in A.H. 11 yet distinguished himself at the battles of Qādisiyyah and Nihāwand (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 50, II, 559; cf. Hinds, "Kūfan Political Alignments," 353). Caetani (IX, 11 n. 3) thought it probable that the names of bedouin warriors like Ṭulayḥah and al-Qaʿqāʿ were simply added to the narration by Sayf to give it body.

176. I.e., "I was still living when it happened and have yet to fulfill my duty to retaliate."

177. The last word, *wa-ʾaḍaʿ*, might mean "and put in [my feet]," i.e. "I would fight mounted and on foot." The religious poet Waraqah b. Nawfal al-Qurashī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 19, II, 587) is said to have spoken the first hemistich regarding the Prophet (Ibn Manẓūr, IX, 395 l. 1).

178. Ibn ʿAmr b. Mālik al-Tamīmī (*EI*², s.v.). He was a leader at Qādisiyyah, sent in 35 by ʿUthmān's governor in Kūfah to help ʿUthmān during the insurrection; nevertheless, he was an ally of ʿAlī and later one of ʿAlī's leaders in the Battle of the Camel. See also Donner, 390–91; Landau-Tasseron.

179. Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, ʿUthmān's governor in Kūfah; see p. 29, below.

180. *Iḥdhar al-khaṭar mā yumāssuk* (*mā ẓarfiyyah*). It is omitted in IA, 202. Caetani interprets it as "Guard against the next danger. Bad. . . ." (IX, 9). Nöldeke suggests inserting *lam*, to read *mā lam yumāssuk*, but de Goeje sees a conative element to the verb, providing the meaning *quando te tangere conatur* "when it *tries* to touch you" (*Addenda*, DCXXXI). *Iḥdhar* could be *aḥdhar*, an elative: "The danger most to be guarded against is. . . ."

Bad is better than worse."[181] So he returned to ʿAlī with the news. [3089]
This saying dogged ʿUmārah from the time[182] of this difficult situation until he died.

ʿUbaydallah b. ʿAbbās set off for Yemen, so Yaʿlā b. Umayyah[183] gathered up all the tax revenue and left Yemen with it. He went his way[184] to Mecca, where he arrived carrying the money.

When Sahl b. Ḥunayf turned back from his journey to Syria and heard the news and when the others had returned, ʿAlī called Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and said: "What I was warning all you people about has happened, and it can only be contained by suppressing it. It is a fiery rebellion;[185] the more it is fueled, the more it increases and flares out."[186] "Then let us leave Medina," the two replied, "for either you let us go, or we will treat you with scornful disobedience."[187] "I will keep control by political means as long as that is possible," ʿAlī replied, "but if there is no choice the final cure[188] will be cautery." So he wrote to Muʿāwiyah[189] and Abū Mūsā.[190] The latter wrote back that the Kūfans had obeyed and given allegiance, clarifying in the letter who was unwilling to do so, who was willing, and who was in between in such a way that it was as though[191] ʿAlī were actually there in the presence of the Kūfans. ʿAlī's messenger to Abū Mūsa was

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181. This justifies his return, which was obviously a bad thing but not as bad as getting killed.

182. Wright, II, 165D.

183. Al-Tamīmī, on ʿĀʾishah's side at the Battle of the Camel, was killed at Ṣiffīn on ʿAlī's side. He was usually called Yaʿlā b. Munyah after his mother (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 67, II, 590; Abbott, *Aishah*, 134 n. 139).

184. Lane, 652c.

185. *Fitnah*.

186. *Istanārat*, i.e., "it must be stopped now." IA, 202: *istathārat* "provokes, rouses, is seditious."

187. *Nukābir*. IA, 202: *nukāthir* "vie in number."

188. Reading *dawāʾ* as in Ibrāhīm and Caetani, IX, 10, rather than *dāʾ*, as in the text and IA, 202.

189. The first Umayyad caliph.

190. ʿAbdallāh b. Qays b. Sulaym al-Ashʿari, Companion of the Prophet, replaced al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah as ʿUmar's governor of al-Baṣrah in 17/638; he was one of the two arbitrators appointed at Ṣiffīn and probably died 42/662–63 (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 273, II, 116; *EI*², s.v. al-Ashʿarī).

191. Reading *ka-an ʿAlī* or *ka-anna ʿAliyyan*, as in Ibrāhīm and *Glossarium*, DL 6 ll. 5–6, for *kān ʿAlī* in the text.

Maʿbad[192] al-Aslamī, and his messenger to Muʿāwiyah was Sabrah al-Juhanī.[193] When Sabrah came to him, Muʿāwiyah neither wrote
[3090] anything nor replied to him but sent him away. Each time ʿAlī tried to get[194] a reply from Muʿāwiyah, he said no more than

Be firm and steadfast as a fortress, or you will find[195]
a devouring war from me, setting wood and coal ablaze,
Over your neighbor and your son, for his[196] murder
was a hideous act, turning the hair on temples and the sides of the neck white,
Ruled and rulers alike becoming incapacitated by it, and no master or arbiter for it will be found but I.

Each time al-Juhanī tried to get him to write a reply, Muʿāwiyah said no more than these verses. When Ṣafar came, the third month after ʿUthmān's murder,[197] Muʿāwiyah called a man from the Banū Rawāḥah of the Banū ʿAbs called Qabīṣah[198] and handed him a sealed scroll with the address "From Muʿāwiyah to ʿAlī." He said, "When you enter Medina, hold the scroll from the bottom."[199] He then advised him what to say and dismissed ʿAlī's messenger. So they both set off, arriving at Medina on the first day of Rabīʿ al-Awwal. When they entered Medina, al-ʿAbsī held up the scroll as ordered, and the people came out to see it. They then returned to their houses, aware that Muʿāwiyah was rebelling. He then went to visit ʿAlī and handed him the scroll. He broke its seal but found nothing written inside it. So he asked the messenger, "What is going on?" "Am I safe?" he replied. "Yes," replied ʿAlī. "Messengers are safeguarded and may not be killed." "What

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192. Following IA, 202. The text seems to have Saʿīd.

193. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Ghāziyah al-Anṣārī, according to al-Dīnawarī, 150 l. 11. Caetani puts little store in the accuracy of either (IX, 15 n. 1). Caskel and Strenziok have al-Ḥajjāj b. Ghuzayy, with a brother Ghāziyah of al-Qayn (I, 313).

194. *Tanajjaz*, as in the text and IA, 202. ʿAlī appears to have sent more than one messenger.

195. As in Caetani IX, 10. Ibrāhīm has *aw khudan* and IA, 202 *aw khudhā* "or take!" for *aw jidan* (energetic imperative) in the text.

196. ʿUthmān.

197. Ṣafar was in fact only the second month after ʿUthmān's murder (Caetani, IX, 12 n. 5).

198. Caetani (IX, 10). Rawāḥah was a clan of ʿAbs (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 132).

199. So that the lack of the title "caliph" for ʿAlī was for all to see (Caetani, IX, 10).

is going on is that I have come from a people who will be satisfied only by retaliation." "Against whom?" asked ʿAlī. "Against you yourself.[200] I left sixty thousand elders of the community crying [3091] at the sight of the shirt of ʿUthmān as it was raised up for them and draped over the *minbar* in Damascus." "They are seeking revenge for ʿUthmān's blood against *me*?" exclaimed ʿAlī. "This is making me as badly wronged as ʿUthmān was![201] By Allāh! You know I am innocent of any involvement in ʿUthmān's murder. By Allāh! We will stab his murderers,[202] unless Allāh should will otherwise.[203] If He wants a thing, He attains it. Leave now!" "Am I still safe?" asked Muʿāwiyah's messenger. "You are still safe." So al-ʿAbsī left, whereupon al-Saba'iyyah shouted out, "This dog, this emissary of dogs, kill him!" So al-ʿAbsī called out: "Men of Muḍar! Men of Qays![204] To your horses and your arrows! I swear by Allāh! may His name be exalted, if you kill me[205] four thousand eunuchs will retaliate against you. Look at you! Where are your real men and your mounts!" There was much shouting against him,[206] but Muḍar protected[207] him, telling him, "Keep quiet!" But he replied: "No, by Allāh! These men will never succeed. What they have been threatened with is coming to them."[208] They repeated, "Keep quiet!" But he carried on: "What they feared is upon them. There is no more for them to do. Their time is up![209] By Allāh! This evening will not pass without their humiliation becoming evident.

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200. *Min khayṭ nafsik*, lit., "against your spinal cord" or "the cord of your neck" (IA, 203: *min khayṭ raqabatik*). See also Abbot, *Aishah*, 135–36.

201. *Alastu mawtūran katirat ʿUthmān*, following IA, 203. See Ibn Manẓūr, VII, 135 l. 22.

202. Reading *naja'u* (root *wj'*) in the text. Ibrāhīm and IA, 203, have *najā*, which would mean "His real murderers, by Allāh! are going free."

203. A Qur'ānic phrase; see, e.g., Qur'ān 6:111, 7:89, 12:76.

204. ʿAbs was part of Ghaṭafān, a northern Qays tribe, and Qays was part of Muḍar (*EI*², s.v. Ḳays ʿAylān; Hawting, 54).

205. Understood. This is cryptic Arabic, but it seems that al-ʿAbsī is insulting and ridiculing them—first, implying that so many of them are attacking a single man and, second, that they are not real men because retaliation, like for like, will be by eunuchs.

206. *Wa-taʿāwaw ʿalayhi*; Lane, 2186a. IA, 203, has *wa-taʿāwanū ʿalayhi* "So they ganged up on him."

207. Reading *manaʿathu*.

208. Here and in his next words he is using Qur'ānic words and phrases.

209. Lane, 1181b.

Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr Ask ʿAlī If They Can Leave

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr asked ʿAlī if they could go on the *ʿumrah*[210] pilgrimage. He allowed them to go, and they entered Mecca.

Now the men of Medina wished to learn ʿAlī's opinion about Muʿāwiyah and his rebellion so they could find out what he thought about fighting fellow Muslims.[211] Would he venture against him or abstain? They had heard that ʿAlī's son al-Ḥasan[212] [3092] had gone to see him and counseled him to stay put and not get involved with them. So they secretly made Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah al-Tamīmī, who was devoted to ʿAlī, go to him to find out. He did so and sat with him for an hour. ʿAlī then said to him, "Get ready, Ziyād!" "For what?" "You are going to attack Syria!" "Patience and conciliation would be better," replied Ziyād, and he quoted:

He who does not take many matters gently
gets bitten fiercely by eyeteeth and stamped underfoot.[213]

ʿAlī then quoted the following verse, implying that he did not want to [accept his advice to take it easy]:

When you combine the clever mind, the strong sword,
and self-confidence, oppressive situations will avoid you.[214]

Ziyād then went back out to the people. They were waiting for him and asked, "What have you discovered?" "Listen, men! It's the sword!" They now realized what ʿAlī was going to do. ʿAlī then called Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah and handed him the banner. He put ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās in charge of the right flank and ʿUmar b. Abī Salimah[215] or ʿAmr b. Sufyān b. ʿAbd al-Asad[216] in charge of the left. He called Abū Laylā b. ʿUmar b. al-Jarrāḥ,[217] the son of

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210. The shorter pilgrimage, performed at any time of year.

211. *Ahl al-qiblah*, i.e., the Syrians (Caetani, IX, 23).

212. *EI*², s.v.

213. By camels, i.e., if one does not relax in life, difficulties come; from the *muʿallaqah* of Zuhayr; see al-Zawzanī, 87.

214. A verse of Ibn Barāqah al-Hamadhānī; see Ibrāhīm, 445 n. 2; IA, 204.

215. For the same configuration later, see p. 84, below.

216. Al-Qurashī. For his father and brother, ʿAbdallāh and Habbār, see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 22.

217. Al-Qurashī. For Abū ʿUbaydah and al-Jarrāḥ, see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 35; *EI*², s.v. Abu ʿUbaydah.

Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ's brother, and set him over the vanguard. He appointed Qutham b. ʿAbbās[218] deputy for Medina but did not give positions to anyone who had opposed ʿUthmān. He wrote to Qays b. Saʿd,[219] ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf,[220] and Abū Mūsā[221] with orders to send their men toward Syria. He then dedicated himself to getting ready and equipping himself.

He made a speech to the Medinan people, calling them to rise up against the schismatics:

> Almighty and Glorious Allāh sent a guiding, guided Messenger with an eloquent Book and a clear, upright message.[222] If someone dies without following it, they are the real losers.[223] Innovations and deceptions, these are what cause the loss of the Hereafter, except for those whom [3093] Allāh protects. In the rule of Allāh is total protection for you. Give Him therefore your obedience, without deviousness or compulsion. By Allāh! You must do it, or He will take the rule of Islam away from you and never bring it back to you until rule is fixed back[224] in Medina.[225] Rise up against these men, whose aim is to make divisions in your community! Hopefully Allāh will restore through you what the provincials have ruined, and you will accomplish[226] your duty.

As they were thus engaged, news suddenly arrived that the Meccans were going in a completely different direction. So ʿAlī stood up among them to address them on the subject and said:

> Almighty and Glorious Allāh has appointed pardon and forgiveness to those who oppress this community and success and salvation to those who are loyal to the rule and straightforward. Those for whom truth is restrictive

218. Brother of ʿAbdallāh (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 6, II, 473).
219. In Egypt.
220. In al-Baṣrah.
221. In al-Kūfah.
222. *Amr*, lit., "order."
223. I.e., of the hereafter.
224. Reading *ya'riza* with the text and IA, 204.
225. See Ibrāhīm, 445 n. 3, and *Addenda*, DCXXXI.
226. Reading *wa-taqḍūn*, as in IA, 205.

adopt falsehood. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and the Mother of the Faithful have certainly joined together in discontent with my rule and have called on the people to set things right,[227] but I will be patient as long as I have no fear about your unity. I will hold back if they do the same, and I will not take much action over the reports I hear about them.

But news then came to him that they were heading for Baṣrah to see the people there and to set things right,[228] so he made preparations to go out against them. "If they have done this," he said, "then the structure of the community will have been badly damaged. Had they stayed with us they would have been neither molested nor compelled [to do what they objected to]."

The Medinans were stunned by the severity of the problem, so
[3094] ʿAlī sent Kumayl al-Nakhaʿī[229] to get ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar.[230] When he brought him ʿAlī said, "Join up with me!" "I am a member of the Medinan community," he replied. "I am simply one man among them. They have taken up this position, and I am in it with them. I am not going to go my own way. If they come out to fight [against you], so will I. If they hold back, so will I." "Then give me a surety that you won't come out," said ʿAlī. "No, I'm not giving you surety," ʿAbdallāh replied. "But for my experience of your brusque nature as a child and as a man," said ʿAlī, "you would see another reaction from me.[231] Let him be! I will be surety for him."[232]

So ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar returned to Medina, where they were saying: "No, by Allāh! We don't know what to do. We are dubious about this whole matter. We will stay here until light is thrown upon it and it becomes clear." He left the same night and told ʿAlī's daughter Umm Kulthūm[233] what he had heard from the

227. *Iṣlāḥ*.
228. *Iṣlāḥ*.
229. Kumayl b. Ziyād, kinsman of al-Ashtar (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 264, II, 373).
230. Probably in Medina.
231. Reading *la-ankartanī* as in Ibrāhīm and *Addenda*, DCXXXI, lit., "you would not know me." See also p. 4, above.
232. Cf. Qur'ān 12:72.
233. Not the daughter of the Prophet (*EI*[1], s.v.).

men of Medina. He said that he was leaving on the *ʿumrah* pilgrimage but maintaining obedience to ʿAlī, except with respect to mobilizing forces. He was completely honest. He then stayed with her. The next morning someone said to ʿAlī, "Something far worse for you than Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and the Mother of the Faithful and Muʿāwiyah put together happened yesterday." "What was that?" "Ibn ʿŪmar has left for Syria."

So ʿAlī went to the marketplace, called for riding beasts, made the men mount, and arranged scouts for each road. Medina was in commotion. When Umm Kulthūm heard what ʿAlī was doing, she called for her mule and mounted it on a saddle.[234] She found ʿAlī standing in the marketplace, dividing the men into groups to look for ʿAbdallāh. She asked: "What's wrong with you? Don't get worked up about this man! The rumors and tales that have reached you are completely contrary to what has happened. I guarantee him." ʿAlī was delighted. "You can go," he said to them. "She didn't lie, nor did he. He has my trust." So they left.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When ʿAlī saw these things[235] from the Medinans he was not satisfied with their obedience unless they also supported him. He stood up in their midst and got the Medinan leaders to gather round [3095] him and said: "The end of this affair will be made good only by what made good its beginning.[236] You have seen the results of Almighty Allāh's judgment on those of you who died.[237] Assist Allāh, and He will give you victory[238] and set your situation right." Two prominent Anṣāris then joined ʿAlī: Abū al-Haytham al-Tayyihān,[239] a veteran of the Battle of Badr, and Khuzaymah b. Thābit[240] (not the

234. *Fī raḥl. Addenda*, DCXXXI suggests *rajl* "with a group of men."
235. Reading *wa lammā raʾā . . . ma raʾā*, as in Ibrāhīm; cf. *Addenda*, DCXXXI.
236. I.e., the way of the Prophet.
237. During ʿUthmān's killing.
238. Cf. Qurʾān 47:7.
239. Of ʿAbd al-Ashḥal through his mother (Watt, 159, 180; cf. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 179).
240. Caskel and Strenziok (I, 182, II, 351) have only one Khuzaymah b. Thābit "Dhū Shahādatayn" and say he took part with ʿAlī at the Battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn.

Khuzaymah called Dhū Shahādatayn, who died during ʿUthmān's time[241]).

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad—ʿUbaydallāh—al-Ḥakam: He was asked, "Was Khuzaymah b. Thābit Dhū al-Shahādatayn present at the Battle of the Camel?" "No, that wasn't he but some other Anṣārī. Dhū al-Shahādatayn died during the time of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī: By Allāh, alongside whom no other deity exists! No more than six, or seven at the most, of those present at Badr[242] fought in this *fitnah*.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—al-Shaʿbī: By Allāh, alongside whom no other deity exists! Only six of those present at Badr fought in this affair; there was no seventh. "You contradict each other,"[243] I remarked.[244] "No we don't. It's just that al-Shaʿbī wasn't sure whether or not Abū Ayyūb had already joined up when Umm Salimah[245] sent him to ʿAlī after Ṣiffīn. He was sure that he had joined ʿAlī, however, at the time of al-Nahrawān."[246]

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd b. Thābit—a man—Saʿīd b. Zayd: Four Companions of the Prophet
[3096] never got together and surpassed others in achieving something good without ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's being one of them.

Later, when Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah saw the men's lack of action on behalf of ʿAlī, he hurried up to ʿAlī and said, "There may be those who hold back from you, but we are active for you and will fight for your sake."

ʿAlī was walking in Medina one day when he heard Zaynab bint Abī Sufyān[247] saying, "The causes of our complaint about injustice[248] are two: a man with eye shadow and an eye-shadow

241. Year 37 (Caetani, IX, 627–28).
242. A force of about 300, who became special men in Muslim history, fought at this first battle of the Prophet's career in 2/624 (*EI*², s.v.).
243. ʿAmr and Mujālid (see previous tradition).
244. Sayf.
245. Hind bt. al-Mughīrah, one of the Prophet's wives (Watt, 396), often called Umm Salamah.
246. Year 38/658.
247. Sister of the first Umayyad caliph, Muʿāwiyah.
248. Presumably the killing of ʿUthmān.

case."[249] "She should be well aware that I[250] am not a target of retaliation for her!" said ʿAlī.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ʿUthmān was killed on 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (June 17, 35). The governor of Mecca was ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥaḍramī,[251] and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās was in charge of the pilgrimage at the time. ʿUthmān had sent him while under siege. Some of them traveled back to Medina hastily with Ibn ʿAbbās in two days. They arrived after ʿUthmān had been killed but before ʿAlī had received allegiance. Banū Umayyah fled and reached Mecca. On Friday, 25 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (June 24), ʿAlī was given allegiance. The fugitives rushed to Mecca, where ʿĀʾishah was staying to perform the Muḥarram[252] *ʿumrah* pilgrimage. As they hastened in she asked them for news.[253] "ʿUthmān has been killed," they told her, "but no one has agreed to take command." "But how shrewd they are!"[254] ʿĀʾishah responded. "For they do this after all the frus-

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249. *Mudammam wa-mukḥulah* makes a parallelism and can mean "a man with eyeshadow and an eyeshadow case," perhaps implying two dissimulators. These could be Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr; oppression against ʿUthmān, head of the Umayyads, had come from them. So Prym (text n. c), but this does not make much sense of the following *humā*. According to *Addenda*, DCXXXI and Ibrāhīm (448 n.), Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (brother of ʿĀʾishah) and Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib (ʿAlī's nephew), who are often paired (they had the same mother), are probably meant, but in this case *anā* (the emendation for *humā*) is difficult. If the reference is taken to be to the two Muḥammads, Ibrāhīm's *hammā* ("She is well aware that those two didn't hasten to retaliate against her") provides a little more sense. Nöldeke (*Addenda*, DCXXXI) considers the first to refer to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr but reads *mudhammam* "much blamed, most blameworthy," possibly a distortion of *muḥammad* "much praised" (Wellhausen, 159). This is possible, as Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was said to have been one of the first to enter ʿUthmān's presence and humiliate him, but the parallelism is lost. In the text 3217, l. 16, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr is indeed called "Mudhammam," the opposite of "Muḥammad," by ʿĀʾishah, and the similar alliterative opposite—*akhūk al-birr . . . ʿaqūq*—on p. 157, below (3217 l. 2) disallows a pointing *mudammam*. Nöldeke further considers *mukḥulah* to refer to ʿAlī, which fits *anā* (Wellhausen, 159), i.e.: "Why is the woman saying this? I didn't kill ʿUthmān." See also Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (II, 278 ll. 5–16, esp. l. 15), where *mudhammam* could even refer to ʿAlī, although, according to Caetani, IX, 70, it refers to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (cf. p. 100, below).

250. Reading *anā* (Wellhausen, 159); see note 249.

251. Abbott, *Aishah*, 130 ff.

252. A special *ʿumrah* for the first month of the year.

253. Abbott, *Aishah*, 129 ff.

254. *Wa-lākin akyās*. De Goeje, referring to the marginal gloss, suggests insert-

trated attempts that went on between you to improve the situation."[255] Then she completed the *ʿumrah*, left, and arrived at Sarif,[256] where she was met by a maternal relative called ʿUbayd b. Abī Salimah, called after his mother Umm Kilāb.[257] He was from Banū Layth,[258] with whom she had friendly connections. "What news?" she asked. He kept silent and then muttered some-
[3097] thing. "Confound you! Is it bad for us or good?" "You don't know! ʿUthmān was killed, and they waited eight nights." "Then what did they do?" she asked. "They made the men of Medina agree to elect ʿAlī, and the city is under the control of the rebels." At this she returned to Mecca and said not a word. Indeed she said nothing until she had dismounted at the door of the mosque, gone to the Ḥijr,[259] and curtained herself off, and the people had gathered round.

"People of Mecca!" she said. "The mob of men from the garrison cities and the watering places and the slaves of the people of Medina have[260] conspired together. They charged this man who was killed yesterday with deceit, with putting young men in high positions where older ones had been before, and with reserving certain specially protected places[261] for them, although they[262] had been arranged before him and could not properly be changed. Nevertheless he went along with these people, and in an attempt to pacify them he withdrew from these policies. When they could then find neither real argument nor excuse, they became irrational. They showed their hostility openly, and their deeds didn't fit their words. They spilled forbidden blood, they violated the sacred city, they appropriated sacred money, and they profaned the sacred month. By Allāh! One of ʿUthmān's fingers is better than a whole world of their type. Save yourselves from being associated with

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ing *hiya* after *wa-lākin*, which would take the phrase out of ʿĀʾishah's response (*Addenda*, DCXXXII).

255. I.e., with ʿUthmān before his death, because the attempts failed.

256. Six to twelve miles from Mecca (Yāqūt, III, 212).

257. I.e., ʿUbayd b. Umm Kilāb. Correctly emended by Prym; see p. 52, below.

258. Part of Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt of Kinānah (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 36; Watt, 81).

259. The semicircular wall by the Kaʿbah. See also p. 53, below.

260. Prym suggests *qad* "already" was to have been added here.

261. Which should have been the right of all Muslims. Cf. *EI*², s.v. ḥimā.

262. Following Prym's emendation.

them, and let others punish them and their followers be scared off. By Allāh! Even if what they reckon against him were a crime he would have been cleared of it, as gold is cleaned of its impuri- [3098] ties or a garment of its dirt, for they have rinsed[263] him as a garment is rinsed with water." "I'm here with her, the first to seek revenge," called out ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥaḍramī. He was indeed the first to respond and to get others to do so.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madāʾinī—Suḥaym, the *mawlā* of Wabrah al-Tamīmī—ʿUbayd b. ʿAmr al-Qurashī: ʿĀʾishah had left [Medina] while ʿUthmān was being besieged. A man [just in from Medina] called Akhḍar came up to her in Mecca, so she asked, "What are the people doing?" "ʿUthmān has killed the Egyptians,"[264] he replied. "We belong to Allāh and to Him we return!"[265] exclaimed ʿĀʾishah. "Does he kill people who come seeking justice and denouncing injustice? By Allāh! We don't approve of such a thing." Presently another man came. "What are the people doing?" she asked. "ʿUthmān has been killed by the Egyptians," he replied. "Akhḍar amazes," she said. "He alleged that the killed was the killer." It was about him that the saying "More lying than Akhḍar"[266] was coined.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—al-Shaʿbī: After ʿUthmān had been killed ʿĀʾishah left Mecca on her way to Medina. She met a maternal relative and asked, "What news?" "ʿUthmān has been killed, and the people have agreed on ʿAlī. The mob rules." "I don't think this is over yet," she said [to those with her]. "Take me back!" So she set off back to Mecca.

When she had entered, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥaḍramī, ʿUthmān's governor there, came to her and asked, "What made you return, Mother of the Faithful?" "The fact that ʿUthmān has been killed unjustly[267] and that as long as the mob rules order will not be established. Seek revenge for the blood of ʿUthmān, and you will strengthen Islam!" So ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥaḍrami became the first to respond to her call, and this was the first response by

263. With blood.

264. *Al-miṣriyyīn*, perhaps "the men from the garrison cities," but the leaders of the insurgents were Egyptians (Hinds, "Murder").

265. Qur'ān 2:157, said on hearing of someone's death.

266. *Akdhab min Akhḍar.*

267. Qur'ān 17:33; *EI*[1], 414a.; p. 18 and n. 121, above.

Banū Umayyah[268] in the Ḥijāz. After this their morale re-
[3099] turned,[269] and they were joined by Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah, and the rest of Banū Umayyah. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir [b. Kurayz] from Baṣrah, Yaʿlā b. Umayyah from Yemen, and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr from Medina had joined them. After lengthy deliberations they all agreed on al-Baṣrah. "Listen, you people!" ʿĀʾishah addressed them. "This is a heinous crime, a forbidden thing. March therefore to your brothers in al-Baṣrah and denounce it! The Syrians have already done this on your behalf.[270] We hope Almighty and Glorious Allāh will help ʿUthmān and the Muslims[271] get their blood revenge speedily."

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: The first to respond were ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir and Banū Umayyah, who had hastened toward Mecca after ʿUthmān's murder. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir [b. Kurayz] then came to Mecca, as did Yaʿlā b. Umayyah, and they met there. Yaʿlā had brought 600 camels and 600,000 dirhams. He stopped the camels and encamped at al-Abṭaḥ. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr joined them, and, when they met ʿĀʾishah, she asked, "What news?" "The news is that we loaded up lock, stock, and barrel, fleeing Medina and its rabble and bedouin, and left behind us a confused populace, neither acknowledging right nor rejecting wrong and not defending themselves." "Agree on a plan of action; then mobilize yourselves against this mob!" replied ʿĀʾishah and quoted the verse:

If the leaders of my people complied with me,
I would save them from ropes[272] or dismemberment.

After consultation the men said, "To Syria!" "Those stationed[273] in the province of Syria have already done the job for you up there," replied ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir. "Then where to?"
[3100] Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr asked him. "To al-Baṣrah," he answered. "I

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268. The narrator is confusing the two ʿAbdallāhs here. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz was of Umayyah.

269. After being dashed at ʿUthmān's murder.

270. By rebelling against ʿAlī and calling for blood revenge, so there is no need to go there to get support.

271. As though ʿAlī were not one.

272. I.e., imprisonment. This verse is usually quoted by ʿAlī with a different second hemistich; see p. 19, above. Abbott, *Aishah*, 137.

273. Covering both Prym's emendations *yastamirr* and *yastaḥriz*.

have influence there, and they like Ṭalḥah." "May Allāh damn you!" they exclaimed. "You make neither peace nor war. Why didn't you stay there, as Muʿāwiyah did, and do the job for us? We could have gone to al-Kūfah and blocked all the roads against these people."[274] Thus they did not find his response acceptable. But when their minds had been made up to go to al-Baṣrah they said, "Mother of the Faithful, leave Medina alone! Those with us aren't sufficient for that mob there. Accompany us to al-Baṣrah. We will arrive at a city now lost to us. They will produce their allegiance to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as an argument against us, but you will mobilize them, just as you did with the Meccans. Then you will be able to sit back, and, if Allāh puts things right, it will be as you want. If not, we will leave things to Him and do our best to push the case forward until Allāh executes His will." "Agreed!" she said on hearing this—for the matter could be resolved only by her.

Now the wives of the Prophet were with ʿĀ'ishah in wanting to go to Medina, but when she changed her mind for al-Baṣrah, they also gave up the idea. The men then went to consult Ḥafṣah,[275] who said, "My opinion is subordinate to ʿĀ'ishah's." When nothing therefore was left but to set off they asked, "How can we depart when we don't have the wherewithal to equip the army?" "I have 600,000 dirhams and 600 camels, so mount them!" said Yaʿlā b. Umayyah. "And I have such and such," added Ibn ʿĀmir. This set them up, and the crier called out: "The Mother of the Faithful and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr are proceeding to al-Baṣrah. Whoever desires to fortify Islam, to fight the sacrilegious, and to [3101] seek revenge for the blood of ʿUthmān but who does not have a mount or equipment, then here is equipment, and here are funds." They then mounted 600 men—beside those who already had mounts—on 600 she-camels,[276] making a total of 1,000, and they supplied themselves with money. They called out that they were ready to leave, and they set off walking.

Ḥafṣah wanted to go with them, but ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar[277] came and asked her to stay. She stayed but sent a message to ʿĀ'ishah:

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274. ʿUthmān's killers.
275. Bint ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, wife of the Prophet (Watt, 396).
276. They were he-camels a minute ago!
277. Her brother.

"ʿAbdallāh has prevented me from coming out." "May Allāh forgive him!" said ʿĀʾishah.[278] Umm al-Faḍl bint al-Ḥārith[279] sent a man from Juhaynah[280] called Ẓafr and paid him to go secretly to ʿAlī with her letter. So he came to ʿAlī with Umm Faḍl's letter and news.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—ʿAlī—Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿAmrah[281]—his father:[282] Abū Qatādah said to ʿAlī: "Commander of the Faithful! The Messenger of Allāh invested me with this sword, and I put it in its sheath. It has been there too long, and the time for unsheathing it has now come—against this company of criminals who constantly deceive the community. So, if you wish, put me in the front line." Umm Salimah then got up and said: "Commander of the Faithful! But for the fact that I would be disobeying Allāh[283] and that you wouldn't accept it from me, I would come out with you. But here is my son ʿUmar[284]—dearer to me than my very self, by Allāh! He will come out with you and will be there with you at your battles." At that ʿUmar came out and stayed with ʿAlī, who made him governor of Baḥrayn until he replaced him with al-Nuʿmān b.
[3102] ʿAjlān al-Zuraqī.[285]

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Maslamah—ʿAwf: Yaʿlā b. Umayyah assisted al-Zubayr with 400,000 dirhams and provided mounts for seventy men from Quraysh. He also had ʿĀʾishah mounted on a camel called ʿAskar, which he had obtained for 80 dinars. As they set off [from Mecca] ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr looked toward the mosque and said, "Never have I seen anything more of a blessing to the seeker of good or the shunner of evil than you."

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278. I.e., she would not.

279. The wife of ʿAbbās, ʿAlī's uncle, and full sister of Maymūnah, one of the Prophet's wives (Watt, 380, 397; see Abbott, *Aishah*, 139, n. 153 for other references).

280. Watt, 81–87, 409.

281. *Addenda*, DCXXXII. Born before 10/622 (U. Sezgin, 190). The text has Abū ʿUmrah.

282. Abū ʿAmrah al-Anṣārī al-Najjārī, a Companion of the Prophet (U. Sezgin, 190).

283. Qurʾān 33:33.

284. Before she married the Prophet she was married to Abū Salimah (Salamah, according to Watt, 396), who died at Uḥud.

285. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 192, II, 451.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When al-Mughīrah[286] and Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ[287] had traveled a day's journey from Mecca with the army, Saʿīd asked al-Mughīrah, "What's the best course of action?" "I'm sure the best course is to stand aside. They[288] won't succeed. But, should Allāh give him victory, then we can come to him and say, 'Our emotions and our inclinations were with you.'" So they stood aside and stopped traveling. Saʿīd then returned to Mecca and stayed there. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd[289] returned with them.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—his father—Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—his father—Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Aylī—al-Zuhrī: They went down[290]—Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr—to Mecca four months after the killing of ʿUthmān. Ibn ʿĀmir, a very rich man, was there,[291] and Yaʿlā b. Umayyah had arrived with him with a large sum of money and more than 400 camels. They gathered together in ʿĀ'ishah's house and exchanged opinions.[292] "Let's go to ʿAlī and fight him," they said. "We don't have the strength to fight the people of Medina," one of them replied. "Let us rather go and enter al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah. Ṭalḥah has a following and popularity in al-Kūfah, and al-Zubayr has popularity and support in al-Baṣrah."[293] So they agreed to go to al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah, and ʿAbdallāh b. [3103]
ʿĀmir gave them much money and camels. Seven hundred men from Medina and Mecca set off, and others joined, until their number reached 3,000. News of their departure reached ʿAlī,[294] who put Sahl b. Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī in charge of Medina, set off himself, and traveled to Dhū Qār,[295] where he pitched camp. It took him eight nights to get there with a company of Medinans.

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286. Ibn Shuʿbah al-Thaqafī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 118, II, 419).

287. Al-Qurashī, governor of Kūfah (30–34) and of Medina (49–56) (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 9, II, 500).

288. I.e., ʿĀ'ishah's army.

289. Al-Qurashī, third cousin of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 9, II, 112).

290. Reading *ṭamarā* for *ẓaharā*; cf. p. 5, above, of which this is a continuation. For the four months, see p. 5, above; *EI*², 414.

291. *Bihā yajurr al-dunyā* or perhaps "where Ibn ʿĀmir had great influence."

292. *Fa-adārū al-raʾy*. Ibrāhīm has *fa-arādū*.

293. With the insurgents in Medina, the Kūfans were backing al-Zubayr and the Baṣrans were backing Ṭalḥah; see p. 10, above.

294. *Addenda*, DCXXXII.

295. A watering place near al-Kūfah in the direction of Wāsiṭ (*EI*², s.v.).

According to Aḥmad b. Manṣūr—Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn—Hishām b. Yūsuf, *qāḍī* of Ṣanʿāʾ—ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr[296]—Mūsā b. ʿUqbah—ʿAlqamah b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī: At Dhāt ʿIrq[297] on their way Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾishah inspected the army. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr[298] and Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām[299] they found too young, so they sent them back.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū ʿAmr—ʿUtbah b. al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas: At Dhāt ʿIrq Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ met Marwān b. al-Ḥakam[300] and his men and asked: "Where are you heading for? Those from whom you seek revenge are on the rumps of camels.[301] Kill them, and then go back to your houses! Don't kill yourselves!" "No, we will press on," replied Marwān. "Hopefully we will kill every one of the killers of ʿUthmān." Saʿīd then spoke in private with Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr: "If you are victorious, to whom will you give the caliphate? Tell me the truth." "To one of us, whichever the men choose." "No," he replied. "Give it to ʿUthmān's son. You've come out in revenge for his blood, haven't you?" "You want us to pass over the elders of the Muhājirūn and appoint their sons over them?" replied Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. "But you seem to want me to work to remove it from Banū ʿAbd Manāf!"[302] answered Saʿīd and left. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd left also.

[3104] "Saʿīd's opinion is the right one," said al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah. "Let all those here from Thaqīf go back!"[303] So he went back, but the main company continued, among them Abān b. ʿUthmān[304] and al-Walīd b. ʿUthmān. Then they disagreed about the route to

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296. Governor of Medina and then Yemen under Rashīd (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 19, II, 115).

297. On the borders of Najd and Tihāma on the Mecca-Iraq road (Yāqūt, IV, 107–8).

298. The well-known traditionist (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 19, II, 575).

299. Al-Qurashī. For his brothers, see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 19.

300. The future caliph Marwān I, 64–65/683–85.

301. I.e., here with you.

302. I.e., from ʿAlī. Saʿīd is curtly reminding Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr that not only is ʿAlī one of the Muhājirūn, but he also belongs to their best group.

303. Three hundred went back at this point, according to some accounts, leaving 700.

304. Ibn ʿAffān, governor of Medina, 75–83/694–701 (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 101). Al-Walīd was also governor of Medina (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 11).

take, saying. "Whom shall we summon to our cause?"[305] When al-Zubayr was alone with his son ʿAbdallāh and Ṭalḥah was alone with ʿAlqamah b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī (whom he preferred to his son), one said, "Go to Syria!" and the other, "Go to Iraq!" So the two then discussed the matter between themselves and agreed to go to al-Baṣrah.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Makhlad[306] b. Qays—al-Agharr: When Banū Umayyah, Yaʿlā b. Munyah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr had gathered in Mecca, they consulted together. They all agreed to seek revenge for the blood of ʿUthmān and to fight the Saba'iyyah until they were avenged and requited. ʿĀ'ishah then ordered them to go to Medina, but the men all decided on al-Baṣrah and made her change her opinion. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr said to her: "Unless you go out and give the command you gave in Mecca and then return, we shall be going to a lost place, one that will have gone over to ʿAlī.[307] He forced us to give him allegiance, so they will use that against us and leave our cause." So it was announced, "ʿĀ'ishah is going to al-Baṣrah, but 600 camels are not enough for you to satisfy[308] the rabble and hordes[309] of bedouin and slaves spread out [along the way] who are ready with outstretched arms to assist the first caller." ʿĀ'ishah then sent a mes- [3105]
sage to Ḥafṣah. She wanted to come out, but Ibn ʿUmar advised her strongly against it, so she stayed. Accompanied by Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, ʿĀ'ishah set off and appointed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb b. Asīd al-Qurashī leader of the prayer. He led them in the prayer as they traveled and in al-Baṣrah until he was killed.[310] Marwān set off with her along with most of the rest of Banū Umayyah, apart from those who were too scared. At Awṭās[311] she turned to the right, 600 horseriders with her, not counting those with other

305. I.e., the Iraqis or the Syrians?

306. Ibrāhīm has Muḥammad.

307. I.e., Ibn ʿĀmir's influence in al-Baṣrah would be lost if they did not go there then.

308. I.e., as gifts, reading *tughnūn* with Ibrāhīm and Wellhausen, 159. The text's *tuʿnūn* might mean "to subdue." Cf. Lane, 2178b–c, and *Glossarium*, CCCLXXXI.

309. Reading *wa-jalabah* with Ibrāhīm and Nöldeke (*Addenda*, DCXXXII) for the text's *wa-jāliyah*. Wellhausen, 159 suggests *wajā'ilah*, which would mean very much the same, comparing p. 51, below, and points out the unusual syntax.

310. At the Battle of the Camel (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 8, II, 128).

311. A *wādī* in Hawāzin territory, where the Battle of Ḥunayn was fought.

beasts. Then she turned right again one night, leaving the road as though they were a caravan seeking pasture near the seashore, not one of them going close to al-Munkadir,[312] Wāsiṭ,[313] or Falj.[314] That year was a fruitful one, and as they came to al-Baṣrah ʿĀʾishah quoted the following verses.[315]

Leave the lands of mass oppression when their waters[316] are pure
there, and proceed with fear!
Choose those plants[317] outside the settled areas, and graze there,
and [choose] a place down in a valley, deep and well watered.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—ʿUmar b. Rāshid al-Yamāmī—Abū Kathīr al-Suḥaymī—Ibn ʿAbbās: The followers of the camel set out, numbering 600, among them ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakrah and ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥī.[318] As they were passing Biʾr Maymūn,[319] they came upon a she-camel that had just been slaughtered, and blood was flowing from her neck. They saw this as a bad omen.

When Marwān had left Mecca he had called to prayer, so now as he arrived he went up to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and asked, "Which
[3106] one of you should I hail as caliph when I call to prayer?" "Abū ʿAbdallāh!" replied ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. "Abū Muḥammad!" replied Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah. ʿĀʾishah then sent to Marwān, asking: "What are you up to? Are you wanting to make divisions in our leadership? Let my sister's son[320] lead the prayer." So ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr did so until they came to al-Baṣrah. Muʿādh b. ʿUbaydallāh remarked [later], "If victory had been ours we would

312. A road between Yamāmah and Syria or al-Kūfah (Yāqūt, V, 216).
313. Wāsiṭ al-Yamāmah, not the famous Wāsiṭ, built only forty years later.
314. On the road between al-Baṣrah and Yamāmah or between al-Baṣrah and Mecca (Yāqūt, IV, 272).
315. As though to the whole company and in optimistic mood.
316. I.e., people.
317. I.e., allies.
318. Al-Qurashī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 24, II, 118).
319. An ancient well in the environs of Mecca; *EI*², s.v.
320. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr's mother was ʿĀʾishah's sister Ṣafiyyah.

have been caught up in civil war: Al-Zubayr wouldn't have let Ṭalḥah rule, nor would Ṭalḥah have let al-Zubayr."

ʿAlī Leaves for al-Rabadhah[321] *on His Way to al-Baṣrah*

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: News about Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and the Mother of the Believers reached ʿAlī, so he appointed Tammām b. al-ʿAbbās[322] over Medina and sent Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās to Mecca. He then set out, hoping to intercept them on the road and intending to block their path. At al-Rabadhah, however, it became clear to him from news brought by ʿAṭā' b. Ri'āb, *mawlā* of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn,[323] that they had passed by ahead of him.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ʿAlī was in Medina when he heard the news of their decision to leave [Mecca] for al-Baṣrah and of what Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, ʿĀ'ishah, and their followers had all decided upon. On hearing about ʿĀ'ishah's speech,[324] ʿAlī set out against them in haste with the troops he had been mustering to go to Syria.[325] He was also joined by those Kūfans and Baṣrans who were active and quickly equipped, totaling 700. ʿAlī's plan was to catch up with them and stop them leaving. Just then ʿAbdallāh b. Salām[326] met him and [3107] took hold of his reins, warning: "Don't leave Medina,[327] Commander of the Faithful! By Allāh! If you do, neither you nor rule over the Muslims will ever return here again." Those there began swearing at him, but ʿAlī said: "Leave him alone! He's a good man and a Companion of Muḥammad." ʿAlī nevertheless set off, but on reaching al-Rabadhah he heard that they had passed through ahead of him, so he ordered a halt at al-Rabadhah to confer.

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321. Within three days of Medina on the road to Mecca (Yāqūt, III, 24); it was the burial place of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī.

322. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 6, II, 544.

323. Ibn Bujayr al-ʿĀmirī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 110, II, 307).

324. To the pilgrims in Mecca.

325. To confront Muʿāwiyah.

326. Following Ibrāhīm and *Addenda*, DCXXXII. He was the famous Jewish convert to Islam. The text has Sallām.

327. See *Addenda*, DCXXXI on p. 33, above.

According to al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Khālid b. Mihrān al-Bajalī—Marwān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥumaysī[328]—Ṭāriq b. Shihāb:[329] We had left al-Kūfah on the *ʿumrah* pilgrimage when we heard of the killing of ʿUthmān. When we got to al-Rabadhah in the early dawn we encountered troops, some of them urging[330] each other on. "What's going on?" I asked. "It's the Commander of the Faithful," they replied. "What's happened to him?" "Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr have got the better of him, so he has come out to block their way and force them back. But he now hears that they have gone on ahead of him, so he wants to pursue them farther." "We belong to Allāh, and to Him we return,"[331] I replied. "Either I join ʿAlī and fight these two men and the Mother of the Faithful, or else I disobey him. What a sorry state of affairs!" So I went and joined him. The prayer was performed before dawn, with ʿAlī praying out front. Then, when he had completed it, his son al-Ḥasan came up to him, sat down, and said, "I gave you orders, but you disobeyed me, so tomorrow you will be killed in a place of destruction[332] with no one to help you." So ʿAlī said to him: "You do go on whimpering like a little girl![333] What orders did you give me that I disobeyed?" "When ʿUthmān was besieged," he replied,
[3108] "I commanded you to leave Medina so that when he was killed you wouldn't be present. Then the day he got killed I commanded you not to take on the allegiance until the delegations from the garrison cities and the Arab tribesmen and every area's allegiance had come to you. Then, when these two men[334] did what they did, I commanded you to stay at home until they had got their settlement.[335] If things then went badly wrong, it would clearly

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328. Ibrāhīm has al-Khumaysī.

329. Ibn ʿAbd Shams of Bajīlah (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 223, II, 557).

330. Following Ibrāhīm's *yaḥdū* for the text's *yadū*.

331. Qur'ān 2:151. Said when faced with a catastrophe, like the choice here.

332. I.e., in battle. Reading *bi-maḍīʿa* with Ibrāhīm, Addenda DCXXXIII, and Wellhausen, 159. This could also mean "a desolate place," which might fit the following phrase better. The text has *bi-maṣbaʿah* "in arrogance." IA, 222 n. 1, has *bi-maʿṣiya* "in disobedience/sin," which is extremely derogatory, but it fits al-Ḥasan's *amartuk fa-aṣaytanī*. Cf. note 349, below; for other instances of these words used of subordinates to their superiors, see p. 194, below.

333. *Taḥinn ḥanīn al-jāriyah*. Ibrāhīm follows IA and has *takhinn khanīn* . . . "sniveling." The same applies to p. 51, below.

334. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr.

335. *Ḥattā yaṣṭaliḥu*. They had been calling for *iṣlāḥ*.

have been others' doing. But you disobeyed me in all this." 'Alī replied, "All right, dear boy, as for your words, 'If only you had left Medina when 'Uthmān was besieged,' by Allāh! we were under siege no less than he! Then, as for your words 'Do not take on the allegiance until allegiance from the garrison cities comes,' the choice of ruler belonged to the people of Medina, and we didn't want to destroy that tradition. Then, as for your words 'when Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr left,' the whole Muslim community was facing weakness. By Allāh! Since I became caliph things have continually gone against me and diminished me, and I never attain anything I should. Then, as for your words 'Sit at home,' how then could I fulfill my responsibilities? What do you want me to be? Do you want me to be like the hyena that gets surrounded and calls *dabābi dabābi*[336] until its hocks are untied[337] and it is forced to come out? This is no situation for me to be in. If I don't look after my responsibilities and concerns in this question, then who will? So that's enough, dear boy."

The Buying of the Camel for 'Ā'ishah and the Report about the Dogs of al-Ḥaw'ab[338]

According to Ismā'īl b. Mūsā al-Fazārī—'Alī b. 'Ābis al-Azraq—Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Hajarī—Ṣafwān b. Qabīṣah al-Aḥmasī—al-'Uranī, the owner of the Camel:[339] I was traveling on my camel one day when a rider appeared in front of me. "Owner of the camel," he asked, "will you sell your camel?" "Yes," I replied. [3109]
"For how much?" "A thousand dirhams."[340] "You must be mad," he said. "Can a camel cost a thousand dirhams?" "Yes, this Camel of mine." "How so?" "I've never gone after anyone on him," I replied, "without catching up with him, and no one has ever[341]

336. Said to be the sound by which a hyena is enticed from its lair; see *Glossarium*, CCLXXV, as also for a dismissal of the view that it should rather be *zabābi zabābi*, as in *Addenda*, DCXXXII. See also lane, 1208b.

337. After capture.

338. A watering place of Abū Bakr b. Kilāb on the Ḥijāz-Baṣrah road (Yāqūt, II, 314).

339. IA, 210, 222.

340. In 20/641 the top annual stipends for various grades of Muhājirūn and Anṣār were only 3,000 to 5,000 dirhams (Hinds, "Kūfan Alignments," 349).

341. Ibrāhīm omits *qaṭṭ*.

come after me when I was on him without my escaping them." "If you knew whom we wanted him for," he replied, "you'd give us a better deal." "So whom do you need him for?" I asked. "For your mother." "But I left my mother sitting in her tent, not wanting to go anywhere." "I want it for the Mother of the Faithful, ʿĀʾishah, that's who." "He's yours, then. Take him for nothing!" "No, no! Come back with us to where we're camped," he replied, "and we'll give you a Mahriyyah she-camel[342] and some dirhams as well."

So I went back, and they gave me a Mahriyyah she-camel of hers and 400—or was it 600?—dirhams as well. He then asked me, "Brother of ʿUraynah, can you guide the way?"[343] "Certainly! Better than most," I replied. "Come with us then!" So I went with them. Every time I passed by a valley or a watering place they questioned me about it, until we came late one evening to the water of al-Ḥawʾab and the dogs there barked at us. "What water is this?" they asked. "The water of al-Ḥawʾab," I replied. At this ʿĀʾishah shrieked at the top of her voice and hit the upper foreleg of her camel to make it kneel down. "By Allāh!" she said. "I'm the one the dogs of al-Ḥawʾab have barked at night at![344] Take me back!" She said this three times. She then made her camel kneel, and so did everyone else around her; they remained like this with her, refusing to move for a full twenty-four hours. Ibn al-Zubayr then came up to her and said: "Escape! Escape! ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is upon you, by Allāh!" So they saddled up and insulted me.[345] So I went a different way.

I had not gone far before I came upon ʿAlī and about 300 riders
[3110] with him. "Rider!" ʿAlī called out to me, so I went up to him. "Where did you come upon the howdah?" he asked. "In such and such a place," I replied, "and this is her she-camel. I sold them my male." "She rode him then, did she?"[346] "She did," I replied, "and I accompanied them until we got to the water of al-Ḥawʾab,

342. I.e., from Mahra in ʿUmān. Mahriyyah camels were famous for their speed and intelligence (Lane, 2740b).

343. *Dalālah* is not just knowledge of a route but also of its tribal agreements.

344. See p. 68, below; Abbott, *Aishah*, 143–44.

345. Implying that al-ʿUranī had told them a lie; see p. 68, below, where Ibn al-Zubayr makes it explicit.

346. Indicating that she was on the warpath (Abbott, "Women").

whereupon the dogs there barked at her and she said these words. So when I saw their confusion, I turned and left, and they moved off." "Can you guide us to Dhū Qār?" asked ʿAlī. "I could be the best guide around." "Come with us then!" said ʿAlī. So we traveled until we stopped at Dhū Qār. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib asked for two saddlebags; they were joined together, and a camel saddle was brought and put on top of them. He then walked up, got up on it, and let both his legs down on one side. He then praised and magnified Allāh and prayed for blessings upon Muḥammad and said to those present, "You have seen what these people and this woman have done!" Just then al-Ḥasan[347] came up in front of him, crying. "Here you come whimpering[348] like a little girl!" ʿAlī said to him. "Yes indeed!" replied al-Ḥasan. "I gave you orders, but you disobeyed me, so today you will be killed in a place of destruction[349] with no one to help you." "Tell the men what you commanded me to do!" said ʿAlī. "When the people went to ʿUthmān I commanded you not to receive allegiance until the Arabs had amassed,[350] for they would never make a major decision without you. But you didn't obey me. Then, when this woman set off and her followers did what they did, I commanded you to stay in Medina and to send for those of your followers who would comply with you." "By Allāh! Yes, he did say all that! But my little son! I'm not one to be like the hyena listening for the sound of a falling stone.[351] The Prophet died, and I saw no one more fit for the command than I, but the people gave allegiance to Abū Bakr, so I followed suit. Then Abū Bakr passed away, and I [3111] saw no one more fit for the command than I. But the people gave allegiance to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, so I followed suit. Then ʿUmar passed away, and I saw no one more fit for the command than I. But they made me just one of six votes, and the people gave allegiance to ʿUthmān. Again, I followed suit. The people then came to ʿUthmān and killed him. Then they came to me and gave

347. His son.
348. See p. 48, above.
349. I.e., in battle. Reading *bi-maḍīʿa* with Ibrāhīm for the text's *bi-maṣbaʿah*, "in arrogance," see note 332, above.
350. Cf. p. 45, above.
351. "I'm not going to be duped"; see Ibn Manẓūr, XVI, 12 l. 17; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, I, 223–25; Guillaume, 732, n. 301; p. 49, above.

me allegiance obediently and voluntarily. I will therefore fight whoever opposes me with those who follow me "until Allāh judges between me and them. He is the best judge."[352]

ʿĀʾishah's Remark "By Allāh! I Will Seek Vengeance for the Blood of ʿUthmān!" and Her Departure for al-Baṣrah with Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and Their Followers[353]

According to ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿIjlī (in writing)—al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr al-ʿAṭṭār—his father, Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-ʿAṭṭār[354]—Sayf b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah and Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam al-Ḥanafī.[355] Also[356] ʿUmar b. Saʿd[357]—Asad b. ʿAbdallāh—a scholar contemporary with the events: As ʿĀʾishah arrived at Sarif on her way back from visiting Mecca, ʿUbayd[358] b. Umm Kilāb met her. He was ʿUbayd[359] b. Abī Salāmah but named after his mother. "What is the matter?" ʿĀʾishah asked him. "They killed ʿUthmān and then did nothing for eight nights." "What did they do then?" she asked. "The people of Medina handled the affair by consensus, and matters proceeded very well for them. They agreed upon ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib." "By Allāh!" she replied. "Would that the sky were overturned if the command is
[3112] decided in favor of your leader! Take me back! Take me back!"[360] So she departed for Mecca, saying: "By Allāh! ʿUthmān has been killed unjustly,[361] and I will seek revenge for his blood!" Ibn Umm Kilāb said to her: "How is that? By Allāh! You were the first to incline the blade against ʿUthmān and were saying 'Kill

352. Qur'ān 7:87 (where it has *baynanā*, rather than *baynī wa-baynahum*). Shuʿayb is addressing the people of Madyan.

353. IA, 206.

354. Author of *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*.

355. Are these names fuller than usual because they come at the start of a new volume?

356. Al-Ḥusayn heard it from; cf. Caetani, IX, 33.

357. Or Saʿīd; cf. the text, 3111 n. *d*.

358. For the text's ʿAbd. He was from Banū Layth and related to ʿĀʾishah on her mother's side (see p. 38, above; IA, 206).

359. For the text's ʿAbd. For Abū Salāmah, see Watt, 378, 396.

360. To Mecca to get support. Mecca would still have been crowded from the *ḥājj*.

361. Cf. Qur'ān 17:33.

Naʿthal,[362] for he has become a disbeliever!'" "They asked him to repent," she replied, "and then they killed him. I said things, and they said things, but my latter statement was better than my former one." Ibn Umm Kilāb then recited:[363]

From you come new opinions, from you comes change,
    from you are the winds, and from you the rain!
You ordered the killing of the imām
    and told us that he was an unbeliever.
Suppose we did obey you and kill him;
    nevertheless his killer, to our mind, was the one who
    issued the order.
The roof did not fall down from over us;
    our sun and moon were not eclipsed.
The people have given allegiance to one with power,
    who will remove the sting and establish pride.
He will put on the clothes for war.
    He who fulfills is not like he who has broken contract.

She then set off for Mecca. She dismounted by the entrance of the mosque and made for the Ḥijr, where she curtained herself off. The people gathered around her, and she said to them, "ʿUthmān has been killed unjustly, and, by Allāh, I will seek vengeance for his blood!"

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah:[364] ʿAlī was worried which direction[365] ʿĀʾishah's party might take, and he did not know their destination. He preferred them to go to al-Baṣrah, so when he learned that they had taken[366] the Baṣrah road he was pleased and remarked, "The Arab leaders and the families with pedigree are in al-Kūfah." Ibn ʿAbbās, however, replied, "What pleases you about that displeases me. Al-Kūfah is a garrison town. There are indeed Arab tribal leaders there, [3113] but they do not have the support of many of the people.[367]

362. An insulting nickname for ʿUthmān; it means "hyena."
363. Caetani, IX, 34.
364. Muir, 242. IA glosses part of and omits the whole last third of this (terse) report. Caetani, IX, 35, omits all of it. See also p. 80, below.
365. Reading *min*, rather than Ibrāhīm's *man*.
366. *Yuʿāriḍūn*; see Lane, 2004b, 2005a; IA, 205.
367. Cf. Hinds, "Kûfan Political Alignments," 351.

What is more, some of them are ambitious for authority that they cannot attain. This being so, they stir up trouble against[368] the one who has attained it until they break his power[369] and corrupt one another." "You appear to be right," replied ʿAlī, "but I will select the people of obedience in preference[370] to anyone else, and I will rely on[371] those of them who have the greatest priority and seniority[372] in Islam. If they settle down, we shall forgive them and set them right. If that satisfies them, it will be best for them; if it does not, we shall be forced to set them right, which will be bad for those already in a bad situation."[373] "Satisfaction is the only way,"[374] replied Ibn ʿAbbās.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, the Mother of the Faithful, and the Muslims of Mecca had decided to leave for al-Baṣrah and to take revenge on ʿUthmān's killers, al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah went out to meet Ibn ʿUmar, and they invited him to hasten and help[375] them. He said, "I am from Medina, and, if the people of Medina agree to rise up, so will I. But, if they agree to remain quiescent, I will too." So the two left him and returned.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Saʿīd b. ʿAbdallāh—Ibn Abī Mulaykah: When he was about to depart, al-Zubayr gathered his sons.[376] He said farewell to some but ordered others to come out with him, including both sons of Asmāʾ.[377]

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368. Reading *ʿalā*, rather than *ʿalayya* "he who has attained [what he wanted] will stir up trouble against me," as in Ibrāhīm; IA, 205 l. 13.

369. *Ḥattā yaftha'ahu*; see *Glossarium*, CCCXCVII. IA has *ḥattā tuksar ḥiddatuhu* "until their vehemence is broken."

370. Taking *al-uthrah li-* to mean *wa-innī astaʾthir ʿalā*; cf. note 539, below. It could also be translated as "preference will be given to the people of obedience."

371. *Wa-alḥaqu bi-* or "and the truth is to be found among" if *wa-laḥaqqu bi-* is read.

372. *Sābiqah wa-qudmah* or "veterans of the early campaigns"; see Hinds, "Kûfan Political Alignments," 348, 352; Humphreys, 57, 58 n. 95.

373. Or "bad for those it is bad to."

374. I.e., you won't be able to do it by force.

375. *Al-khufūf*; see Hava, s.v., and Ibrāhīm, n. 1.

376. Ḥamzah, ʿUrwah, ʿAmr, Jaʿfar, ʿAbdallāh, ʿUbaydah, Muṣʿab, and al-Mundhir (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 19). For others, see al-Zubayrī, 236.

377. Bint Abī Bakr. She was the mother of ʿAbdallāh, ʿUrwah, and al-Mundhir (*EI*[1], s.v. Zubayr). The two referred to here are the latter two, ʿAbdallāh not being in question, as the eldest and the only one full grown.

"So and so, stay!" he said. "'Amr,[378] stay!" When 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr saw this, he said, "'Urwah, stay! Mundhir, stay!"[379] "Certainly not!" replied al-Zubayr. "I will take my two sons [from Asmā'] as companions and enjoy their company." He said: "If you are taking all your sons, then go! But, if you are leaving any behind, you must leave those two. Don't expose Asmā' only from among your wives to childlessness." At this he wept and left the two of them behind. They departed and came to the mountains of Awṭās, where they turned right and followed a road going toward al-Baṣrah, leaving the main road to al-Baṣrah on the left. When they neared al-Baṣrah, they entered it and rode up al-Munkadir. [3114]

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Ibn al-Shahīd—Ibn Abī Mulaykah: Al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah departed and went separate ways. 'Ā'ishah then departed for Dhāt 'Irq, followed by the Mothers of the Faithful.[380] There has never been a day more full of tears for or against Islam than that day, called the Day of Wailing. She put 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Attāb in charge. He led the prayer and acted as arbiter[381] among the people.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh—Yazīd b. Ma'n al-Sulamī: When her army turned right at Awṭās, they came upon Malīḥ b. 'Awf al-Sulamī, who was supervising his property. He greeted al-Zubayr. "Abū 'Abdallāh," he said, "What's going on?" "The Commander of the Faithful has been attacked and killed with neither blood revenge nor excuse." "By whom?" "By the riffraff from the garrison towns and outsiders from the tribes assisted by bedouin and slaves." "So what do you want to do?" asked Malīḥ. "To rally the people and let this blood be revenged," said al-Zubayr, "lest it be spilled in vain, because, if it is, the power of Allāh will be forever weakened among us. If the people aren't separated from acts like this, then no imām will survive without being killed by this sort [of scoundrel]."[382] "By Allāh!" he said. "To neglect this would be ex- [3115]

378. A later opponent of his brother 'Abdallāh (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 187).

379. 'Urwah, later a prominent traditionist, was born 23–29 (so he would have only been thirteen years old at the most at the time) and died 91–99 (*EI*[1], s.v.). Al-Mundhir died 73/692 with 'Abdallāh in Mecca (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 430).

380. Other wives of the Prophet.

381. *Glossarium*, CCCLIII.

382. *Glossarium*, CCCXXXIII.

tremely serious, and who knows what it might lead to?" They then both said farewell to each other and departed, and the army traveled on.

Their Entry into al-Baṣrah and the Battle between Them and ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: The army traveled on until, after turning off the road at the esplanade of al-Baṣrah, they were met by ʿUmayr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Tamīmī. "Mother of the Faithful!" he said. "I implore you in Allāh's name to contact those men today to whom you haven't[383] yet sent any message, and He will then protect you from them." "You have given me sound advice," she said. "You are[384] a good man." "Then send Ibn ʿĀmir [b. Kurayz] immediately," he replied. "Let him enter. He has contacts. Let him go to them, and then let them meet the rest of the Baṣran people. You may then go yourself, and they will listen to the reasons why you have all come." So she sent him, and he stole into al-Baṣrah and went to his contacts. ʿĀʾishah then wrote to a number of Baṣran leaders, to al-Aḥnaf b. Qays,[385] to Ṣabrah b. Shaymān,[386] and to other similar prominent men. She then moved across to al-Ḥufayr and awaited information in response. When the men of al-Baṣrah heard of this, ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf called ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn,[387] a newcomer,[388] and teamed him up with Abū al-Aswad al-Duʾalī,[389] a veteran.[390] "Go to this woman," he said, "and find out what's in her mind and in the minds of those with her." They set off and reached her and the people there while they were at al-Ḥufayr. Their request

383. Ibrāhīm omits *lam*.
384. Ibrāhīm omits *wa-anta*.
385. Called al-Aḥnaf (*EI*², s.v.), although his name was al-Daḥḥāk, leader of Tamīm in Baṣrah; died 67/686–86 (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 76, II, 146, 240).
386. Leader of the Azd al-Sarāt in al-Baṣrah and on ʿĀʾishah's side in the Battle of the Camel (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 216, II, 534).
387. Al-Kindī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 236, II, 357).
388. *Rajul ʿāmmah* (Hinds, "Kûfan Political Alignments," 354).
389. Ẓālim b. ʿAmr b. Sufyān of Kinānah, died either 69 or 99–101 (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 43, II, 199, 614; Brockelmann, I, 42, 98, S, I, 72). He was an early grammarian.
390. *Rajul khāṣṣah* (Hinds, "Kûfan Political Alignments," 354).

for permission to enter was granted, and after greetings they said: "Our commander has sent us to you to ask where you are heading. Are you going to tell us?" [3116]

"By Allāh!" she replied. "I am not one to conduct things in secret or to cover up information for her sons. The riffraff of provincials and outsiders from the tribes committed aggression in the Messenger of Allāh's sacred enclave, perpetrated crimes there, and gave refuge to the criminals. They therefore deserve the curse of Allāh and His Messenger along with what they have been debited for killing the imām of the Muslims without blood debt or excuse. They desecrated sacred blood and shed it; they plundered sacred property and profaned the sacred city and the sacred month. They ruined people's honor and persons and stayed in the houses of people who hated their staying there—harming and intimidating, useless and fearless of Allāh, incapable of restraint and insecure. I have therefore come out among the Muslims to let them know what this group has perpetrated, how those left behind me are faring, and what they have to do to set things right." She then recited: " 'There is no good in most secret talks, unless someone be arranging charity or good works or setting things right[391] between people.'[392] To set things right[393] we are raising support from those whom Almighty and Glorious Allāh and His Messenger have commanded[394]—the young and the old, the male and the female. So this is our concern: [There is] a right we are enjoining on you and encouraging you toward, and [there is] a wrong we are prohibiting you from and urging you to alter."

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Abū al-Aswad and ʿImrān then left her. They came to Ṭalḥah and asked him, "What brings you here?" "The search for revenge for the blood of ʿUthmān." "But didn't you give allegiance to ʿAlī?" they asked. "I did—but with the sword against my neck. However, I don't demand the abrogation[395] of my allegiance to ʿAlī—provided he doesn't obstruct our way to ʿUthmān's killers."

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391. *Iṣlāḥ*.
392. Qur'ān 4:114.
393. *Iṣlāḥ*.
394. I.e., who are able-bodied.
395. Lane, 2997c; *Glossarium*, CDXLIII, suggests, "I don't forgive ʿAlī or forget."

They then came to al-Zubayr and asked him, "What brings you
[3117] here?" "To seek revenge for the blood of ʿUthmān." "But didn't you give allegiance to ʿAlī?" they asked. "I did—but with the sword against my neck. However, I don't demand the abrogation of my allegiance to ʿAlī—provided he doesn't obstruct our way to ʿUthmān's killers." Then they returned to the Mother of the Faithful to bid farewell to her. She said goodbye to ʿImrān and said: "Abū al-Aswad! Watch out that whim doesn't steer you into the Fire!" She then sent them on their way, quoting the Qur'ānic verse "Be upright toward Allāh, witnesses of justice! [. . . and do not follow caprice]."[396] Her public announcer then called out that she was setting off, so the two of them went to ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf. Abū al-Aswad hastened to speak before ʿImrān and said:

"Ibn Ḥunayf! They have advanced against you, so hurry [toward them]!
Stab at the enemy, struggle, and endure!
Go out to them with breastplate and robe rolled up for action!"

"We belong to Allāh and to Him we return!"[397] said ʿUthmān. "By the Lord of the Kaʿbah! The millstone of Islam is turning out of balance, and look at the way it will swagger on round!"[398] "It's true, by Allāh!" added ʿImrān. "It will grind you long and hard, and those of you left won't add up to much." "So what do you advise me to do, ʿImrān?" "I'm not getting involved, so don't you either!" he replied. "No," said ʿUthmān. "I will stop them until ʿAlī the Commander of the Faithful comes." "But Allāh will judge as He wishes,"[399] said ʿImrān and left for his house, and ʿUthmān carried out his plan. Hishām b. ʿĀmir then came to him and said, "ʿUthmān, this plan you are intent on will lead to worse than what you hate most. It's a tear that won't get mended, a fracture that won't be repaired. So comply with their wishes until ʿAlī's command comes. Don't oppose them."
[3118] But ʿUthmān refused and announced to the people that they

396. 4:135, where the text is in a different order: "Be strict observers of justice, witnesses to Allāh."
397. Qur'an 2:157, said on hearing of a calamity.
398. I.e., "look at the deception that will go on!" Cf. *Glossarium*, CCLXXXIII.
399. Cf. Qur'ān 5:1.

should make preparations. So they put on their weapons and gathered together at the main Friday mosque. Now ʿUthmān devised a stratagem to trick the people and see how they were thinking. So he ordered them to make preparations and also ordered a man to go and infiltrate among them, pretending to be a Qaysī from al-Kūfah. He did so and stood up and said: "Listen, you men! I am Qays b. al-ʿAqadiyyah al-Ḥumaysī. This army that has come to you, if they have come out of fear, then they have come from the place where even birds are safe![400] But, if they have come seeking revenge for ʿUthmān's blood, then we aren't ʿUthmān's killers.[401] So do what I say with this army. Send them back where they came from!" Then al-Aswad b. Sarīʿ al-Saʿdī[402] stood up and replied: "Are they in fact claiming that we are the killers of ʿUthmān? They have fled to us only to get our assistance[403] against those killers of ʿUthmān among us and others. If the army has been forced out of its quarters as you suggested,[404] then who will protect it from this expulsion—men or cities?"[405] But they pelted him[406] with stones, so ʿUthmān realized that they had allies in al-Baṣrah who would support them, and it demoralized him.

ʿĀʾishah and her men then advanced as far as al-Mirbad.[407] They entered it at the top, where they stayed. They halted there until ʿUthmān and his army had come out. Those Baṣrans who wanted to join ʿĀʾishah did so. They gathered in al-Mirbad and collected together until it was choked with men. Ṭalḥah, on the right side of al-Mirbad with al-Zubayr, then spoke up. ʿUthmān was on its left, and they all listened to what he was about to say. He praised Allāh and magnified Him. Then he mentioned the caliph ʿUthmān and his good qualities and the city and how it had been

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400. I.e., so why did they ever leave Mecca? Hunting is forbidden in the Meccan sacred enclave.

401. I.e., they've come to the wrong place.

402. Pro-ʿĀʾishah.

403. Ibrāhīm follows Nöldeke in correcting *yastaʿīnū* to *yastaʿīnūn* (*Addenda*, DCXXXII).

404. Out of fear.

405. He is calling for help. Alternatively, "then who can prevent them [in their turn] from expelling men or even cities?" if *al-rijāla aw al-buldāna* is read.

406. Qays; Prym, n. f.

407. The market and camel camp southwest of the city (al-ʿAlī, 282; Massignon, 157; Le Strange, 45).

profaned. Then he emphasized what a terrible thing it was that
[3119] had happened and called upon them to seek revenge for his blood. "To do so will glorify Allāh's religion and dominion," he said, "and to seek revenge for the blood of the unjustly killed[408] caliph is [to carry out] one of the divine punishments.[409] If you do it, you will have done right, and authority will return to you. If you neglect it, neither power nor order will be yours." Al-Zubayr then spoke similarly. Those on the right side of al-Mirbad said: "They are both correct and have spoken the truth. They have spoken justly and have ordered aright." But those on the left side said: "They have lied and acted treacherously. They have spoken falsely and have ordered so. Both gave allegiance, yet here they come saying these things." The people then threw dirt at one another and pelted one another with stones, raising an uproar.[410]

Then ʿĀʾishah spoke up. She had a strong voice—it could be extremely loud, like the voice of a woman of high rank.[411] She praised Glorious and Almighty Allāh and magnified Him. "The people used to accuse ʿUthmān of crimes he never did," she said.

> They would belittle his governors and then come to us in Medina to ask our advice over tales they told us about them, expecting good words from us to solve things.[412] But, whenever we looked into the matter, we would find him innocent, God-fearing, and faithful and would find them lying, treacherous,[413] and deceitful, attempting to do the opposite of what they were showing. Then, when they became strong enough to rely on greater numbers, they did so. They attacked his house and desecrated sacred blood, sacred property, and the sacred city without blood debt or excuse. Therefore what is now imperative—

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408. *Maẓlūm*. See p. 39, above.
409. *Ḥadd min ḥudūd Allāh*, or prescriptive ordinances or statutes (*EI*², s.v.).
410. *Wa-arhajū*, or "dust."
411. A *jalīlah* was a woman who used to urge on fighters with her high voice.
412. Reading *wa-yarawn ḥusnan min kalāminā* (with Ibrāhīm), which is not all that different from the text's *wa-yurawn ḥusnan min killāminā* "and were shown a good thing in our speaking (i.e., were spoken to well and rightly) about reconciliation between them."
413. Ibrāhīm omits *ghadarah*.

and you have no alternative—is to arrest the killers of ʿUthmān and establish the authority of the Book of Almighty Allāh, which says "Have you not seen those who were given a part of the Book being called to the Book of Allāh for it to judge between them?"[414] [3120]

Then the followers of ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf split into two. One group said: "By Allāh! She is correct and has spoken the truth. By Allāh! Her advice is acceptable." But the others said: "By Allāh! You all lie. We don't accept what you say." Then they threw dirt at one another and pelted one another with stones, raising an uproar.

When ʿĀʾishah saw this, she went down, as did the people on the right flank. They went away from ʿUthmān to take up a position in al-Mirbad at the tanners' location. The followers of ʿUthmān remained where they were, pushing and shoving each other until they separated. Some went down to ʿĀʾishah; others stayed with ʿUthmān at the entrance to the road. ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf and his followers then took up a position at the entrance to the road—the road leading to the mosque—on the right of the tanners' location, where they confronted their opponents and barred them from its entrance.

According to Naṣr b. Muzāḥim—Sayf—Sahl b. Yūsuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: Jāriyah b. Qudāmah al-Saʿdī[415] came up and said: "Mother of the Faithful! By Allāh! The killing of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān is a lesser matter than your coming out from your house on this accursed camel, exposing yourself to armed combat! Allāh curtained you off and gave you sanctity. You have torn down the curtain and profaned your sanctity.[416] Anyone who thinks you should be fought also thinks you should be killed. If you have come to us obedient, then return home! If you have been forced by someone to come to us, then seek help from the people [against him]!"

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414. "But a party of them then turn away in opposition" (Qur'ān 3:23)—the implication being that anyone who opposes "us in Medina" has departed from Islam.

415. Al-Tamīmī, faithful ally of ʿAlī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 75, II, 259).

416. The Prophet's wives stayed screened off behind a special curtain and had a special status. Cf. Qur'ān 33:33. By coming out, ʿĀʾishah exposed and disgraced herself.

A young *ghulām*[417] from Banū Saʿd[418] then went out to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and said: "As for you, Zubayr, you are the disciple of the Messenger of Allāh, and as for you, Ṭalḥah, you preserved the Messenger of Allāh with your own hand.[419] I see your Mother
[3121] is with you. Have you brought your wives too?"[420] "No," they both replied. "I have nothing to do with you then," the Saʿdī said and withdrew. He said the following verses about this:

You preserved the honor of your wives yet led out[421] your mother.
By Allāh! There is little justice in this!
She was commanded to trail her hems at home,
but she had a whim to cross the deserts at the gallop,
[Making herself] a target that her sons must defend by fighting with arrows and Khaṭṭī spears[422] and swords.
Her curtains have been ripped down by Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr.[423]
No further tale needs to be told about them!

A *ghulām* from Banū Juhaynah then came up to Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah,[424] who was a pious man, and said, "Tell me about the killers of ʿUthmān." "I will," he replied. "ʿUthmān's blood divides into three: A third is debited against the woman of the howdah, that is, ʿĀʾishah; a third is against the rider of the red camel, that is, Ṭalḥah;[425] and a third is against ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib." The *ghulām* laughed and said, "Well, well! I see that I'm wrong!" and left him for ʿAlī. He composed a poem about this:[426]

I asked Ibn Ṭalḥah about someone who perished
in the heart of Medina and was not buried.[427]

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417. A slave boy (*EI*², s.v.).
418. I.e., Jāriyah's clan.
419. At the Battle of Uḥud.
420. Cf. pp. 101, 126, below. Caetani, IX, 41, n. 1.
421. *Wa-qudtum*, perhaps with an implication of "were a pimp with" (Lane, 2572c).
422. After al-Khaṭṭ, a strip of coast on the Persian Gulf (*EI*², s.v.; Lane, 760c).
423. By talking to them face to face.
424. Killed in the Battle of the Camel (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 424).
425. His own father!
426. Caetani (IX, 41 n. 3) considers this preceding story made up to provide a framework for the poem. IA omits it all.
427. ʿUthmān was not buried until after the allegiance to ʿAlī.

"There were three of them," he replied. "They
murdered Ibn ʿAffān, so weep![428]
That woman in her howdah, she owes a third,
and the rider of the red camel owes another.
ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib owes the last third.
We are in a flat, unhealthy land!"[429]
So I said, "You are right about the first two
but wrong about the resplendent third."

Return to Sayf's account from Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah [3122]

Abū al-Aswad and ʿImrān left;[430] Ḥakīm b. Jabalah approached, having come out with horsemen. He initiated battle, so ʿĀʾishah's men aimed their spears but held back so that they[431] would do so too. But he did not desist and was not to be turned back and began fighting them. ʿĀʾishah's[432] followers held back, except from defending themselves. Ḥakīm urged on his horsemen and attacked with them,[433] calling out: "She belongs to Quraysh.[434] Her cowardice and indecision[435] will certainly destroy her!" So they fought at the entrance to the road. Those in the houses round about who liked one or other of the parties looked down [from their roofs] and threw stones at the other side. Then ʿĀʾishah ordered her men to go to the right to the graveyard of Banū Māzin, where they waited a while. The opposing forces hastened toward them, but night intervened. So ʿUthmān returned to the castle and the men to their tribes.

Then Abū al-Jarbāʾ,[436] a member of Banū ʿUthmān[437] b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm, came to ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr and advised them to take up a better position. They thought his

428. Or "and he wept."
429. I.e., this is a very bad situation, but the text is uncertain. Prym's emendation fits the meter.
430. They were ʿUthmān's messengers to ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr; see p. 56, above.
431. Ḥakīm and his men (IA, 214).
432. IA, 214.
433. IA, 214.
434. Disliked by other tribes because of their superiority.
435. Reading *ṭaysh* with the text and taking the next letter as a line filler (Prym, n. e).
436. ʿĀṣim b. Dulaf (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 203).
437. More correctly, Ghaylān (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 82; Prym, who leaves it as ʿUthmān, as a feature of Sayf's tradition. Ibrāhīm does also).

advice was good. They followed his suggestion and left the graveyard of Banū Māzin and went toward al-Baṣrah's dam, opposite al-
[3123] Jabbānah,[438] as far as al-Zābūqah.[439] They then moved on to the graveyard of Banū Ḥiṣn, backing on to the Dār al-Rizq,[440] and spent the night preparing themselves. All night the men kept coming to them, and when morning came they were ready to fight in the open area in front of Dār al-Rizq.

In the morning ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf went to them just before sunrise, as did Ḥakīm b. Jabalah, talking excitedly and clutching a spear. "At whom are you swearing and saying what I hear?" asked a man from ʿAbd al-Qays. "ʿĀʾishah," he replied. "Son of a slut!" he said. "Do you say such things to the Mother of the Faithful?" Ḥakīm thrust the head of his spear through the center of his chest and killed him. He then went past a woman as he was swearing at her, that is, at ʿĀʾishah, and she said, "Who could have driven you to such abuse?" "ʿĀʾishah," he replied. "Son of a slut!" she said. "Do you say such things to the Mother of the Faithful?" Ḥakīm stabbed her through the center of her chest, killed her, and went off.[441]

Once they had gathered, they stood over against them. There was an intense battle at Dār al-Rizq that day, from sunrise until afternoon. There were a great many fatalities among ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf's men, and the wounds were heavy on both sides. ʿĀʾishah's crier kept calling out, asking them to hold back, but they refused. It was only when evil had touched them hard and bitten into them that they called out to ʿĀʾishah's followers to make peace and negotiate, and the latter acceded. So they made promises to each other[442] and drew up a document between them to the effect that they would send a messenger to Medina and that when he returned, if the two had given their allegiance under duress,[443] then ʿUthmān would leave them and yield al-Baṣrah to

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438. The desert burial ground.

439. Al-ʿAlī, 292; lit., "angle of a house" (Lane).

440. Store for soldiers' pay; shown in the center of Massignon's map of old Baṣrah, 157.

441. This paragraph could be an interpolation. Caskel and Strenziok note that Sayf paints Ḥakīm very badly (II, 295).

442. *Wa-tawāʿadū*. IA, 214 has *wa-tawādaʿū* "they made peace."

443. Their allegiance to ʿAlī.

them both. But, if they had not been forced, then Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr would leave.

The document ran:

> In the name of Allāh, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is the agreement reached between Ṭalḥah and al- [3124]
> Zubayr and their allies from the Muslims and the Believers, and ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf and his allies from the Muslims and the Believers. That ʿUthmān will remain where he was and with what he had when the truce was drawn up, and that Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr will remain where they were and with what they had when the truce was drawn up, until such time as the representative and messenger of the two parties, Kaʿb b. Sūr,[444] returns from Medina. Neither of the two parties will harm the other in mosque, market, street, or place of access. There shall be mutual abstention from fighting between them[445] until Kaʿb returns with the information. If he returns to report that the people forced Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, then the command belongs to them, and it is up to ʿUthmān whether he leaves and goes to his own chosen place or joins Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. If he returns to report that they were not forced, then the command belongs to ʿUthmān, and it is up to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr whether they stay and give their allegiance to ʿAlī or whether they go to their own chosen place. The Believers shall assist the party that is successful.

So Kaʿb left for Medina. The people there gathered together for his arrival—it was a Friday. He stood up and said: "Men of Medina! I am the messenger to you from the people of al-Baṣrah. Did these people force these two men to give allegiance to ʿAlī, or did they give it voluntarily?" Not one of those assembled answered

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444. An influential Azdī and Baṣran judge (Abbot, *Aishah*, 150; Caskel and Strenziok, I, 211, II, 366), who fell in the Battle of the Camel. This sentence could be a gloss.

445. See Lane, 2206c, where a similar phrase from the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyyah is cited.

except Usāmah b. Zayd,[446] who stood up and said: "I swear by Allāh! They[447] were definitely coerced into giving allegiance." Tammām[448] gave the order, and Sahl b. Ḥunayf and others sprang upon him. Fearing that Usāmah would be killed, Ṣuhayb b. Sinān and Abu Ayyūb Zayd[449] leaped in with a number of Companions of the Messenger of God, including Muḥammad b. Maslamah.[450] "By Allāh!" swore Ṣuhayb. "Break off from the man!" They did [3125] so, and Ṣuhayb led him out by the hand and took him into his house. "You knew that the hyena is stupid,"[451] he said. "Wasn't the silence we were keeping good enough for you?" "No, by Allāh! But I had no idea that things would reach this pass. It has led us into disaster."

So Kaʿb returned. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr had meanwhile kept a count of incidents, all of which were of the sort one would make note of—among them that Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah, who was in the habit of performing prayers [in the mosque], happened to stand close to ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf. Some of the Zuṭṭ and Sayābijah[452] then feared that he had come for some other reason,[453] so they pushed him away.[454] Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr then sent ʿUthmān a message: "That's one thing you've done!"[455]

News of the events in Medina reached ʿAlī, so he hastily sent a letter to ʿUthmān, accusing him of weakness and saying: "By Allāh! The two weren't forced except out of fear of schism and for the sake of unity and merit. If they want to depose me, they have

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446. Al-Kalbī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 291, II, 576), son of the Prophet's adopted son, Zayd, and leader of the successful raid against Muʾtah just before the Prophet's death (Watt, 323, 343).

447. Ibrāhīm has *innahumā* for the text's *innahum*, following *Addenda*, DCXXXII.

448. Ibn al-ʿAbbās (IA, 215).

449. Brother of Usāmah?

450. Al-Khazrajī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 180, II, 424), leader of various successful expeditions for the Prophet (Watt, 340–41, 411).

451. I.e., "You knew that those people would get angry"; Freytag, I, 405.

452. The guards of ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf. The Zuṭṭ were a gypsy type of people, probably originally from India (*EI*[1], s.v.). The Sayābijah were merceneries from Sind (*EI*[1], s.v.).

453. Quite rightly.

454. Emending the text's and Ibrāhīm's *fa-naḥḥayāh* to *fa-naḥḥūh*. Otherwise, either, as Prym notes, there must be a lacuna in the text, or there is a false dual from the Zuṭṭ and Sayābijah.

455. Many others will follow.

no excuse; but, if they want something else, then we'll look into the matter with them." The letter reached ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf.

Kaʿb then arrived, and they sent a message to ʿUthmān: "Go away from us!" But ʿUthmān argued [against withdrawing],[456] on the basis of ʿAlī's letter, saying, "This is another question, distinct from the one we were negotiating." Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr then assembled their army. It was a cold, dark night with wind and rain.[457] They headed for the mosque, arriving there at the time of the evening prayer. But the Baṣrans were in the habit of postponing it, and ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf had not yet arrived, so Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr put ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb as imām. At this the Zuṭṭ and Sayābijah unsheathed their weapons and thrust them among them. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's men advanced against them, and they battled inside the mosque and kept on until they had killed [3126] all forty of them. They then sent their fighters in to ʿUthmān to bring him out to them. When he came to them, they debased[458] him, and not one hair was left on his face. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr considered this very serious and sent a report to ʿĀʾishah about what had happened, seeking her advice. She sent back, saying: "Set him free! Let him go where he wants. Don't imprison him!"[459] So they expelled the guards who were with ʿUthmān in the castle, and they entered it. They used to alternate guarding ʿUthmān, forty each day and forty each night.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb led the prayer in the evening and at dawn, and he was the messenger between ʿĀʾishah and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. He would come to her with news and then take her response back to them. He was the messenger of their army.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—Sahl b. Saʿd: When they had captured ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf, they sent Abān b. ʿUthmān to ʿĀʾishah to find out what they should do with him. "Kill him!" she said. But a woman said: "I beg you by Allāh, Mother of the Faithful! Remember ʿUthmān and his Companionship with the Prophet!" "Send Abān back!" ʿĀʾishah said. So they did so, and she said to him, "Imprison him,

456. Despite the double evidence that they *had* been forced.
457. *Nadan*. IA has *maṭar*.
458. By plucking his beard, lit., "trampled on him."
459. Cf. the next report, where she first orders him to be killed.

but don't kill him!" "If I had known this was why you called for me," he replied, "I wouldn't have returned." Mujāshiʿ b. Masʿūd[460] then said to them, "Flog him and pluck the hair of his beard!" So they flogged him forty lashes, plucked the hair of his beard, his head, and his eyebrows and eyelashes and imprisoned him.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—his father—Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Aylī—al-Zuhrī: I was told that, when Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr heard that ʿAlī had encamped at Dhū Qār, they left for al-Baṣrah and took the road to al-Munkadir. ʿĀʾishah
[3127] then heard the dogs barking and asked, "What water is this?"[461] "Al-Ḥawʾab," they replied. "We belong to Allāh, and to Him we return,"[462] she exclaimed. "I am she! I heard the Messenger of God say in the presence of his wives, 'I wish I knew at which of you the dogs of al-Ḥawʾab will bark!'"[463] and she wanted to turn back. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr came up to her, and it is said that he told her, "Whoever said that this was al-Ḥawʾab was lying,"[464] and then persisted with her until she set off. They came to al-Baṣrah, the governor of which was ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf, and he asked them, "What makes you angry at your companion?"[465] "We don't consider him more eligible for leadership than we," they replied, "after what he has done." "The man[466] made me governor, so I will write to him and inform him why you have come," said ʿUthmān, "on the condition that I lead the prayer until his reply comes." So they held back from him, and he rode off.

But they waited only two days and then attacked ʿUthmān and fought with him at al-Zābūqah near the supply center.[467] They gained the upper hand and captured ʿUthmān. They were about to kill him, but then they feared the wrath of Anṣār. So they attacked his hair and body instead.

Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr then rose to make speeches and said:

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460. Killed in the Battle of the Camel (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 419).
461. See p. 50, above.
462. Qurʾān 2:157.
463. See Wensinck, VI, 340, for Arabic sources.
464. Said to have been the first *shahādah bi-al-zūr* (false testimony) in Islam.
465. ʿAlī. IA, 216.
466. ʿAlī.
467. *Madīnat al-rizq*, often *dār al-rizq*.

"People of al-Baṣrah! Repentance should fit the crime. We wanted the Commander of the Faithful only to get ʿUthmān to satisfy [our complaints]. We didn't want him to be killed, but the fools prevailed over the wise men and killed him." "But Abū Muḥammad!" the people replied to Ṭalḥah. "The letters you sent us said otherwise." "Did you receive any letter from me about what he was doing?" asked al-Zubayr, going on to mention ʿUthmān's murder and what led to it and to emphasize ʿAlī's blame in it. At this a man from ʿAbd al-Qays stood up facing him and said: "Be silent, man! And listen so that we may speak." ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr retorted, "What position are you in to speak?" "Company [3128] of Muhājirūn!" said the ʿAbdī. "You were the first to respond to the Messenger of God, and you gained favor through that, and then everyone else entered Islam following your example. Then when the Messenger of God died you gave allegiance to one of your number, but, by Allāh! you didn't consult us in any way about it. We gave our approval nevertheless and went along with you, and Almighty and Glorious Allāh blessed the Muslims through His caliphate. Then he died, having appointed a man caliph in his place over you. Again, you didn't discuss it with us, but we gave our approval and accepted. When this caliph died, he placed the decision in the hands of six men, and you chose ʿUthmān and gave him allegiance without consulting us. Then you found some fault with this man, so you killed him without consulting us. Then you gave allegiance to ʿAlī without consulting us. So what exactly are you angry with him about that we should join and fight him? Has he appropriated booty or carried out some injustice? Has he done something you object to such that we should join you against him? If not, then what's going on?" Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's men then tried to kill this ʿAbdī, but his clansmen stood in their way. But the next morning they leaped upon him[468] and his men and killed seventy men.[469]

Return to Sayf's account from Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah

By the following morning the treasury and the guards were under Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's control. The people were also with

468. In two mss. of IA "upon ʿUthmān."
469. Cf. Conrad.

them—those who were not were under cover trying to keep hidden. So first thing that morning they sent a message [to ʿĀʾishah] that Ḥakīm was still there among the opposing company. "Don't detain ʿUthmān! Let him go!" came her reply. So they let ʿUthmān go, and he left and went where he wanted. The morning found
[3129] Ḥakīm b. Jabalah with his horsemen at the ready with his ʿAbdī followers and allies of theirs from the splinter groups[470] of Rabīʿah. They then headed for Dār al-Rizq, Ḥakīm saying, "I'm not his brother if I don't come to his[471] aid." He began insulting ʿĀʾishah, and a woman from his own tribe[472] heard him. "Son of a bitch!" she said. "It's you that deserves the insults." So he stabbed her and killed her. The ʿAbdīs, apart from those consumed by their hatred, were enraged at this. "Yesterday you did an evil deed,[473] and you've done the like again today," they said. "By Allāh! We will leave you, so that Allāh may retaliate against you." So they went back and left him. So Ḥakīm b. Jabalah[474] continued with those outsiders from all the tribes who had attacked and surrounded ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān with him. They had realized that they could no longer maintain any position in al-Baṣrah, so they gathered to him, and he took them to al-Zābūqah near Dār al-Rizq.

"Kill only those who fight you!" proclaimed ʿĀʾishah, "and call out to those who are not ʿUthmān's killers to withdraw from us! For the killers of ʿUthmān are the only ones we are after. We will not start against anyone else." Ḥakīm then began the fighting, unintimidated[475] by the herald.[476] "Praise Allāh!" said Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, "for He has assembled those we wish to retaliate against among the Baṣrans. O Allāh! Do not spare a single one of them! Take retaliation against them today,[477] and kill them!"

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470. Hinds, "Murder," 462.

471. ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf.

472. ʿAbd al-Qays.

473. He killed a man.

474. Following Ibrāhīm and Wellhausen, 159. The text and *Addenda*, DCXXXII, have ʿUthmān bin Ḥunayf.

475. Reading *wa-lam yuraʿ* (stem I passive, Lane, 1187c) with Ibrāhīm and Wellhausen, 159. *Wa-lam yarʿu* (the text and *Glossarium*, CCLXV) would mean "not refraining because of" (Lane, 1108a). De Goeje, following Nöldeke, unnecessarily suggests emending it to *wa-lam yanziʿ* "did not incline to" (*Addendum*, DCXXXII).

476. Reading *munādī* for the text's *munādā*.

477. *Wa-aqid minhum al-yawm*. The ms. has *wa-aqdimhum li-al-yawm* "and bring them all on to the Day!"

So they fought them with all their might, and the fight could not have been more fierce. There were four leaders, including Ḥakīm. Ḥakīm faced Ṭalḥah, Dharīḥ[478] faced al-Zubayr, Ibn al-Muḥarrish[479] faced ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb, and Ḥurqūṣ b. [3130] Zuhayr[480] faced ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b.[481] al-Ḥārith b. Hishām.[482] Ṭalḥah advanced his army toward Ḥakīm, who had 300 men and who began brandishing his sword and reciting:

I strike them with a stiff [sword],[483]
    as a frowning young man strikes,
Despairing of life,
    hankering after [heavenly] rooms

A man then struck his foot and cut it off. He crawled until he got hold of it and threw it at his opponent. It hit him in the body and knocked him down. Ḥakīm then went and killed him, propped himself up against him, and recited:

Thigh of mine! Fear not!
    My arm is still with me,
And with it I will protect my shank.[484]

He then went on, in *rajaz* meter:

It is not to my shame that I die.
    Shame among people is fleeing.
Perishing does not make glory into disgrace.

A man then came up to Ḥakīm, half dead with his head on the other man,[485] and asked, "What has happened to you, Ḥakīm?" "I've been killed." "By whom?" "By my cushion." He then carried him off to be among seventy of his men. While standing on

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478. Ibn ʿAbbād al-ʿAbdī was one of the main leaders of the Baṣran opposition to the caliph ʿUthmān (Hinds, "Murder," 461).

479. Ibn ʿAbd ʿAmr al-Ḥanafī was another main leader of the Baṣran opposition to the caliph ʿUthmān (Hinds, "Murder," 461).

480. Al-Saʿdī was the overall leader of the Baṣran opposition to the caliph ʿUthmān (Hinds, "Murder," 461). Later he became a Khārijī opponent of ʿAlī.

481. From ʿAttāb to this word is missing from the ms.

482. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 23, II, 129.

483. No use using wood that is not seasoned and mature. See Humphreys, 214 for the same poem, with a slight difference.

484. This third verse added to the text from IA.

485. Reading *ʿalā al-ākhar* with Ibrāhīm and Wellhausen, 159; see *Addenda*, DCXXXII) for the text's *ʿalā ākhar*.

one foot that day with the swords overcoming them, Ḥakīm said, without faltering as he said it: "When we left these two men they had given ʿAlī allegiance and obedience. Then they come rebelling, waging war and seeking revenge for the blood of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. They made a split between us,[486] when we were fellow citizens together and good neighbors. O Allāh! They don't want [retaliation for] ʿUthmān!"[487] "You scum!" someone cried out. "Now that Allāh's punishment bites you, you hide your grief
[3131] behind the words of the one who promoted you and your followers for what you committed against the unjustly wronged imām and for splitting the community and shedding blood and gaining worldly goods. So taste the penalty[488] of Allāh and His vengeance, and take up residence [in hell], you and those with you!"

Dharīḥ and those with him were killed, but Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr and a group of his followers escaped and took refuge with their tribe. Then Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's public announcer in al-Baṣrah called out, "Those of you who have anyone among your tribes who attacked Medina, bring him to us!" They were brought to them as dogs are and killed. Out of all the Baṣrans, only Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr escaped—his tribe, Banū Saʿd, protected him. For this it paid very dearly and was given a time limit to release him. All this alienated Banū Saʿd. It was formerly allied to ʿUthmān, but now its people said, "We're pulling out of this dispute."[489]

The ʿAbdīs joined in rage with Banū Saʿd because of those [seventy] of them who were killed after the battle and those who fled to them because they wanted to maintain obedience to ʿAlī. Then Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr ordered the troops to be given their pay, provisions, and [other] dues; and they gave the obedient ones bonuses. But ʿAbd al-Qays and many of Bakr b. Wāʾil[490] defected when they disdained to give *them* bonuses and rushed to the treasury. But the people there attacked them and inflicted casu-

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486. Baṣrans.
487. They want something else.
488. Cf. Qurʾān 5:95.
489. *Naʿtazil.*
490. This tribe belonged to the same people—later known as Rabīʿah—as ʿAbd al-Qays (*EI*², s.v.).

alties among them. This group[491] then left and set off down the road to ʿAlī.

Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr then settled down in al-Baṣrah, the only revenge outstanding there being on Ḥurqūṣ, and wrote to the Syrians about what they had done and achieved:

> We came out to wage war and to uphold the Book of Allāh by carrying out Allāh's punishments on the high and the low, on the many and the few. Only Allāh himself can [3132] turn us away from all this. The cream of the Baṣrans and their best-bred gave us allegiance, and their dregs and their strangers rebelled against us. They forced us back with arms, saying, among other things, "We will take the Mother of the Faithful hostage" because she commanded them[492] to do right and encouraged them toward it! And Allāh showed them the example of the Muslims[493] time after time. Then, when there remained neither proof nor excuse, the killers of the Commander of the Faithful rushed headlong into battle and came out to their graves. None of them escaped to tell the tale except Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr, and Allāh Most High will wreak vengeance on him, if He wills! They were as described by Allāh,[494] and we implore you by Allāh for the safety of your very souls—you must rise up as we have done. We will meet Allāh, and so will you, but we have already exonerated ourselves and fulfilled our duty.

They sent this [to Syria] by the hand of Sayyār al-ʿIjlī and wrote similarly to the Kūfans by a man from Banū ʿAmr b. Asad[495] called Muẓaffar b. Muʿarriḍ. They wrote to the people of Yamāmah,[496] whose governor at that time was Sabrah b. ʿAmr al-ʿAnbarī, by al-Ḥārith al-Sadūsī,[497] and they wrote to the people

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491. ʿAbdīs and Bakrīs.

492. Ibrāhīm wrongly has *amartahum*.

493. *Fa-aʿṭāhum . . . sunnat al-Muslimīn*, i.e., to try to reason with the opponent before taking up arms (*Glossarium*, CCCLXVII).

494. In the Qurʾān, i.e., in hell.

495. Of Rabīʿah (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 141, II, 172).

496. Some seventy miles southeast of present-day al-Riyādh.

497. Ibn Shujāʿ b. al-Ḥārith b. Sadūs? (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 153).

of Medina by Ibn Qudāmah al-Qushayrī, who secretly infiltrated among them.

ʿĀʾishah then wrote to the Kūfans by their messenger:

> After greetings. I am reminding you of Allāh and of Islam. Uphold the Book of Allāh by carrying out what it says: "Fear Allāh and hold on tight to His rope!"[498] Follow His Book, for we came to Baṣrah, and we appealed to them to uphold the Book of Allāh by carrying out His punishments. The upright among them responded to us, but the good-for-nothings received us with weapons and said, "We will certainly make you follow ʿUthmān [b. ʿAffān]."[499] [They said this] in order to increase[500] the ineffectiveness of the punishments [of Allāh], and they rebelled and accused us of unbelief and spoke very badly to us. But we recited the Qurʾānic verse: "Have you not seen those who
> [3133] have been given part of the Book? They are called to the Book of Allāh, that it may judge between them, [but. . .]."[501] Some of them then acknowledged me but disagreed among themselves, so we let them be. But this didn't prevent those with the earlier opinion from drawing swords against my followers. ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf insisted that their only course of action[502] was to fight me. But Allāh protected me with devout men, and He threw their trickery back in their faces.[503] We then spent twenty-six days inviting them to the Book of Allāh and to carry out His punishments, in this case with respect to the prevention of the shedding of blood of anyone who had not deserved capital punishment.[504] But they refused and produced various arguments, which we accommo-

498. Conflation and contraction of parts of two verses, 3:102–3.

499. I.e., to the grave.

500. Reading *li-yazīdū* with Ibrāhīm rather than the text's *li-yartaddū* "forsake the punishments unenforced."

501. Qurʾān 3:23; see note 414, above, for the implication.

502. Reading *illā* with the text and Ibrāhīm for *illā mā* in the ms. De Goeje's suggested *lammā* (*Addenda*, DCXXXII) "urged them on when they fought," is unnecessary.

503. Lit., "throats."

504. Homicide does not in fact occasion *ḥadd* in classical law (*EI*², s.v. Ḥadd).

dated. But they became afraid and treacherous; they became deceitful and ganged together.[505] But Allāh collected the blood revenge for ʿUthmān from them[506] and retaliated, and only one of them escaped. Allāh helped us and protected us from them by means of ʿUmayr b. Marthad and Marthad b. Qays[507] and men from Qays and men from al-Ribāb[508] and al-Azd.[509] So [people of al-Kūfah] do not withdraw your approval from anyone except the killers of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, that Allāh might receive His rights. Do not argue on behalf of the traitors,[510] or protect them, and do not approve of the attenuation[511] of Allāh's punishments, lest you join the ranks of the unjust. I am writing [this] to specific men. Stop the people's protecting these killers or assisting them, and remain in your houses. These men were not satisfied with what they did to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and with splitting the togetherness of the community and going against the Book and the *sunnah*: they [went farther and] even accused us of unbelief over our commands and our encouragement to them to uphold the Book of Allāh and carry out His punishments. They spoke to us in a very bad way. But the devout disagreed with all this and found their words very serious. "You aren't satisfied with killing the imām," they said, "but even come out against the wife of your Prophet. For commanding you the truth you would kill her, the Companions of the Messenger of God, and the leaders of the Muslims!" Then they, and ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf with them, [3134]
cajoled whoever would join up with them—ignoramuses, riffraff, Zuṭṭ, and Sayābijah. So we took shelter from them

505. *Fa-khāfū wa-ghadarū wa-khānū wa-ḥasharū*. Wellhausen, 159, emends *fa-khāfū* to *fa-khānū* to make, in his view, a better rhetorical parallelism. De Goeje thinks Wellhausen had not noticed that *khānū* would then come twice and suggests *fa-ḥāfū* "but they acted unjustly" for the second element (*Addenda*, DCXXXII). Ibrāhīm omits "*wa-ḥasharū*."

506. Reading *thaʾrahum* with Ibrāhīm for the text's *thaʾrahu*.

507. From Madhḥij? (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 269).

508. Of Tamīm (Watt, 138).

509. Southern Arabs (*EI*², s.v.; Hawting, 54).

510. Ibrāhīm omits *ʿan*: "Do not quarrel with the traitors."

511. Lane, 989b.

with a section of the garrison, and this was how it was for twenty-six days. We were calling them to the truth and not to intervene between us and the truth, but they practiced deception and treachery. We did not do the same. They used Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's allegiance [to ʿAlī] as evidence against them, and they dispatched a messenger [to Medina], who returned to them with evidence [they were not wanting]. But they did not accept the truth and would not put up with it, so they came at me before first light to kill me and those with me who were fighting them. They continued until they reached the threshold of the house where I was staying. A guide was with them, leading them to me, but they found some men at the door of my house, among them ʿUmayr b. Marthad, Marthad b. Qays, Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Marthad, and some men from Qays, and some men from al-Ribāb and al-Azd. So the millstone ground them round—the Muslims encircled them and killed them. Thus Allāh caused all the Baṣrans to agree with Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's aims. So if we killed seeking our revenge, our excuse is more than sufficient.

The battle took place on 25 Rabīʿ II 36/21 October 656. ʿUbayd b. Kaʿb[512] held that it was in Jumādā.[513]

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—ʿĀmir b. Ḥafṣ—his teachers: It was a man called Ḍukhaym[514] from al-Ḥuddān[515] who beheaded Ḥakīm b. Jabalah. His head was dangling backward, hanging on only by its skin, and his face was turned against his back. Ibn al-Muthannā al-Ḥuddānī said: "the man who killed Ḥakīm was Yazīd b. al-Asḥam al-Ḥuddānī. Ḥakīm was found killed between the dead bodies of Yazīd b. al-Asḥam and Kaʿb b. al-Asḥam.

[3135] According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī—Abū al-Malīḥ: When Ḥakīm b. Jabalah had been killed, they tried to kill ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf, but he said: "As you wish, but Sahl b.

512. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 245/ 301/ II, 560.
513. I.e., at least five days later; cf. pp. 81, 133, below.
514. Or perhaps Suḥaym; cf. the following Yazīd and text n. e.
515. Of al-Azd (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 216).

Ḥunayf is governor of Medina. If you kill me, he will retaliate on my behalf."[516] So they let him go.

They were at variance over [who should lead] the prayer, so ʿĀʾishah appointed ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and he led the prayer. Now al-Zubayr wanted the army to be given its pay and what was in the treasury to be divided, but ʿAbdallāh his son pointed out, "If the army is paid it will disperse." So they agreed to put ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr[517] in charge of the treasury.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī—Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī[518]—al-Jārūd b. Abī Sabrah: It was the night when ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf had been captured. In the square in front of Madīnat al-Rizq sat provisions for supplying the army. Now ʿAbdallāh was about to supply his men with them, but Ḥakīm b. Jabalah had heard what had been done to ʿUthmān, and he said, "I have no fear of Allāh if I don't come to his aid!" so he went along with a company of men, mostly from ʿAbd al-Qays but some from Bakr b. Wāʾil. Ibn al-Zubayr then approached Madīnat al-Rizq and asked, "What do you want, Ḥakīm?" "We want to get supplies from these provisions," he replied, "and we want you to release ʿUthmān so that he can stay in the governor's house until ʿAlī comes, as you agreed in writing between you. By Allāh! If I could find supporters against you with whom to smash you, I wouldn't put up with this from you, but I would kill the same number from you as you killed [from us]! To spill your blood is now in fact lawful for us, to the extent of those of our brothers you've killed. Do you have no fear of Almighty and Glorious Allāh! On what grounds do you consider the shedding of blood lawful?" "It was to repay ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān's blood," replied Ibn al-Zubayr. "But those you killed, did they kill ʿUthmān?![519] Do you not fear Allāh's hatred?" he replied. But ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr said to him: "We will not supply you with any of these provisions. Nor will we [3136] release ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf until he withdraws his allegiance to ʿAlī." "O Allāh! You are a just arbiter. Be my witness!" exclaimed Ḥakīm, and, turning to his men, he said: "I have no doubts about

516. *Intaṣar*; cf. Qur'ān 54:10.
517. The son of the first caliph (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 21, II, 128).
518. Sulmī b. ʿAbdallāh (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 58, II, 518).
519. Whether a question or a statement, this is heavy sarcasm, to which ʿAbdallāh has no reply.

fighting these men! Anyone who does, let them leave!" So he fought them, and a fierce battle ensued. A man struck Ḥakīm in the foot and cut it off,[520] so Ḥakīm grabbed it, hurled it, and hit him in the neck, knocking him down senseless. Ḥakīm b. Jabalah then crawled over to him, killed him, and rested his head against him. "Who killed you?" asked a passer-by. "My pillow."

Seventy from ʿAbd al-Qays were killed there. Al-Hudhalī added: Ḥakīm said the following verses when his foot was cut off:

When my courage faltered, I said
to the foot, "Foot of mine! don't be frightened!
I still have my forearm to assist me."

ʿĀmir and Maslamah added: Ḥakīm's son al-Ashraf and brother al-Riʿl b. Jabalah[521] were killed with him.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—al-Muthannā b. ʿAbdallāh—ʿAwf al-Aʿrābī:[522] A man came up to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr while they were in the mosque in al-Baṣrah. "I ask you in Allāh's name," he said, "did the Messenger of God ever give the two of you any authority to set out like this?" Ṭalḥah rose [to go] and gave no reply, so the man adjured al-Zubayr, who said, "No, but we heard you had dirhams so we've come to share them with you!"

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Sulaymān b. Arqam—Qatādah—Abū ʿUmrah, the *mawlā* of al-Zubayr: When the Baṣrans gave allegiance to al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr said,
[3137] "Are there not a thousand horsemen to ride with me to ʿAlī?! I will attack him, either by night or in the morning, and I should kill him before he reaches us!"[523] But no one responded. "This really is the *fitnah*[524] we were told about!" he continued. "Do you call it a *fitnah* when you are fighting in it?!" his *mawlā* said to him. "We see, damn you! But we do not understand.[525] There's never before been a situation when I didn't know my next step, but with this one—I don't know whether I'm coming or going."

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520. Omitted in Ibrāhīm.
521. Khayyāṭ wrongly "al-Zaʿl."
522. Occurs in an *isnād* in Humphreys, *Crisis*, 33.
523. ʿAlī was on the way to al-Baṣrah.
524. Dissension, civil war (*EI*², s.v.).
525. *Glossarium*, CXXXIV.

According to Aḥmad b. Manṣūr—Yaḥyā[526] b. Maʿīn—Hishām b. Yūsuf the *qāḍī* of Ṣanʿāʾ—ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr—Mūsā b. ʿUqbah—ʿAlqamah b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythī:[527] When Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾishah set out, I noticed that Ṭalḥah preferred to sit alone and would flick his beard against his chest.[528] So I said to him: "Abū Muḥammad! I see that you prefer to sit alone and keep flicking your beard against your chest. If there's something you dislike [going on], sit [and talk about it]!" "ʿAlqamah b. Waqqāṣ," he replied to me, "we were all united against others. But now we've become two mountains of iron,[529] each seeking [to finish] the other. There was indeed something I did against ʿUthmān, and my penance for it can be nothing less than having my blood spilled in the course of seeking vengeance for his blood." "So send Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah back," I said, "for you have an estate and households, and if something happens[530] he can take your place." "I don't wish to stop anyone I see active in this affair."[531] he replied. So I went to Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah and said: "Why don't you stay home? Then if something happens to your father you can take his place in his households and estate." "I don't want to be asking this man and that man[532] about what happened to him," he replied.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Mikhnaf—Mujālid b. Saʿīd:[533] When ʿĀʾishah arrived at al-Baṣrah, she wrote to Zayd b. Ṣūḥān:[534] "From ʿĀʾishah bint Abī Bakr, Mother of the Faithful, beloved of the Messenger of God, to her devoted son Zayd b. Ṣūḥān. After greetings. When this letter of mine reaches you, come and assist us in this undertaking! If you don't, then at least make the people abandon ʿAlī." He wrote back to her: "From Zayd b. Ṣūḥān to ʿĀʾishah bint Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, [3138]

526. Correcting the ms., according to p. 44, above.
527. From Kinānah, a Medinan traditionist, d. 65–86/685–705 (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 39, II, 155).
528. I.e., brooding and depressed.
529. I.e., armies bristling with weapons.
530. I.e., if you die.
531. In retaliation for ʿUthmān, i.e., like his son Muḥammad.
532. IA's *al-rukbān* "the travelers" is perhaps better.
533. Kūfan transmitter (mostly from al-Shaʿbī), d. 144/762 (U. Sezgin, 210).
534. In al-Kūfah. He was an ʿAbdī and had been among the Kūfan opponents of ʿUthmān (Abbott, *Aishah*, 153). He died in the Battle of the Camel (p. 132, below).

beloved of the Messenger of God. After greetings. If you withdraw from this undertaking and return home, then I will be your devoted son. If you don't, I will be the first to break with you." "May Allāh have mercy on the Mother of the Faithful!" said Zayd b. Ṣūḥān. "She was ordered to stay at home,[535] and we were ordered to fight. But she didn't do what she was ordered and ordered us to do it, and she did what we were ordered and ordered us not to do it!"

An Account of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's Advance toward al-Baṣrah

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿUbaydah b. Muʿattib—Yazīd al-Ḍakhm:[536] While ʿAlī was in Medina news reached him that ʿĀʾishah and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were headed for al-Baṣrah, so he hurriedly set off hoping to catch up with them and turn them back.[537] But on reaching al-Rabadhah he learned that they had sped on ahead, so he set up camp there for a few days. He then heard that their army was making for al-Baṣrah, so he worried no more.[538] "No one likes me more than the Kūfans," he said, "and there are Arab chiefs and leaders there." He then wrote to them: "I have chosen you specially out of all the garrison cities, in preference to the others."[539]

[3139] According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Bishr[540] b. ʿĀṣim—Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā—his father: ʿAlī wrote to the Kūfans: "In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. After greetings. I have chosen you specially and to live among you because of what I know of your friendship [to me] and love for Almighty and Glorious Allāh and for His Messenger. So whoever of you joins me and assists me has

535. Qur'ān 33:33; cf. p. 89, below.

536. For a similar report, but from Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah, see p. 53, above.

537. To Medina.

538. *Fa-surriya bi-dhālika ʿanhu wa-qāla inna ahl al-Kūfah.* (Cf. *surra bi-dhālika wa-qāla al-Kūfah* (p. 53, above).

539. Taking *wa-innī bi-al-uthrah* to mean *wa-innī ista'thir ʿalaykum*; cf. note 370, above, and Prym's suggested inclusion *khaṣaṣtukum*. It could also be translated as "and I am taking preference."

540. Rather than Bashīr, here and in the next *isnād*, following *Addenda*, DCXXXII.

responded to the truth and fulfilled his duty [to Allāh]."

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Ḥibbān[541] b. Mūsā—Ṭalḥah b. al-Aʿlam and Bishr b. ʿĀṣim—Ibn Abī Laylā—his father: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and Muḥammad b. ʿAwn[542] were sent[543] to al-Kūfah, and the people went to Abū Mūsā to ask his advice about joining up. "As for the hereafter you should stay put, but as for the here and now you should join up. It's up to you!" When the two Muḥammads heard about these words of Abū Mūsā, they dissociated themselves from him and criticized him severely. But he replied: "By Allāh!Allegiance to ʿUthmān is still binding on me and binding upon your companion who sent you. If we are required to fight,[544] then before we do so, every single one of the killers of ʿUthmān, wherever he may be, would have to be killed."

It was the last day of Rabīʿ II 36/25 October 656 when ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib] left Medina, and the sister of ʿAlī b. ʿAdī[545] from Banū ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd Shams said the following verse:

O Allāh! Hamstring ʿAlī [b. ʿAdī]'s camel!
And bless not any camel that carries him!
ʿAlī b. ʿAdī is certainly not up to it.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Waʿlah[546]—al-Shaʿbī:[547] When ʿAlī had stopped at al-Rabadhah, a company of Banū Ṭayyiʾ[548] came to him. "Here is a company of Banū Ṭayyiʾ that have come to you," he was told. "Some want to join up with you; some want to greet you." "May Allāh reward all of them well! But 'Allāh has favored the fighters over the stay-at-homes with a great reward.'"[549] Then they entered, and ʿAlī asked, "What would you testify our position to be?" "Whatever you wish," they replied. "May Allāh reward you well!" he said. [3140]

541. Following *Addenda*, DCXXXII, Ibrāhīm.
542. Or Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar; ʿAwn was Muḥammad's uncle, according to Prym.
543. Following Ibrāhīm's vocalization.
544. Or "If he wishes us to fight," reading *arādanā* for the text's *uridnā* (*Addenda*, DCXXXII).
545. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 14, II, 152. His sister is trying to keep him back.
546. Al-Hamdānī (U. Sezgin, 215).
547. ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl, d. 103/721 (U. Sezgin, 136).
548. A north Arabian tribe (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 176, 249, II, 555; Watt, 87–90).
549. Qurʾān 4:95.

"You became Muslims voluntarily, you fought the apostates, and you've paid your alms to poor Muslims in full."[550] Saʿīd b. ʿUbayd al-Ṭāʾī then rose and said: "Commander of the Faithful! Some people can express exactly what's in their minds. But Allāh knows! I can't do that. But I'll try my best. Allāh gives success. I know that I'll [always] give you my best advice, both secretly and openly, and I'll fight your enemies at every engagement. I will grant claims to you that I would not grant any of your contemporaries, because of your personal merit and your relationship [to the Prophet]." "May Allāh have mercy on you!" replied ʿAlī. "You've expressed your inner thoughts perfectly." He was killed with ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn, may Allāh have mercy on him!

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When ʿAlī had arrived and set up camp at al-Rabadhah, he sent Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar to al-Kūfah with a letter to [the Kūfans]: "I have chosen you specially out of all the garrison cities, and I am urgently asking help from you because of what has happened. So be supporters and helpers of Allāh's religion! Give us assistance, and join with us! To set things right is what we are after, so that the community
[3141] may revert to being brothers. Whoever approves of this and chooses it has approved of the truth and chosen it. Whoever disapproves of this has disapproved of the truth and belittled it." So the two men went off; ʿAlī stayed in al-Rabadhah, making preparations. He sent to Medina, requesting animals and weapons. These came to him, and his force multiplied.

He then stood up among the people and delivered this sermon:

> Through Islam Almighty and Glorious Allāh has made us great, has lifted us up,[551] and has made us brothers after lowness and fewness, after mutual dislike and distance.[552] The people progressed in this way for as long as He willed, with Islam as their religion, the right on their side, and the Book as their imām. But then this man was struck by the hands of that faction that Satan had stirred

550. Ṭayyiʾ were predominantly Christian (Watt, 89–90).

551. The ms. could read *wa-waffaqanā* "and gave us success" for the text's *wa-rafaʿanā*.

552. *Sajʿ*: *baʿd dhillah wa-qillah wa-tabāghuḍ wa-tabāʿud*.

> up to foment discord among this community. Mark my words! This community will not escape becoming split, just as previous communities split up. So we take refuge in Allāh from the evil that will be!

He then continued:

> What will be must without doubt come about. Mark my words! This community will split into seventy-three sects, the worst one being the one who professes my cause but doesn't perform my work. Indeed you have lived to see [this],[553] so hold fast to your religion, go aright with your Prophet's guidance,[554] and follow his *sunnah*. Examine what is obscure to you against the Qur'ān, and hold fast to what the Qur'ān tallies with and abandon what it disagrees with. Be well satisfied with Glorious and Almighty Allāh as Lord, with Islam as religion, with Muḥammad as Prophet, and with the Qur'ān as arbiter and imām.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: As ʿAlī was about to leave al-Rabadhah for Baṣrah, a son of Rifāʿah b. Rāfiʿ[555] came up to him and asked, "Commander of the Faithful! What are you intending, and where are you taking us?" "Our aim and intention," replied ʿAlī, "is *iṣlāḥ*—if they acknowledge our right and accept that from us."[556] "And if they don't accept that from us?" he asked. "Then," replied ʿAlī, "we'll leave them[557] to make their justification, we'll give them the right to have it, and we'll be patient." "And if they aren't satisfied [with that]?" "We'll leave them alone as long as they leave us alone." "And if they don't leave us alone?" "We'll defend ourselves against them." "This is a good attitude," said Rifāʿah's son. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Ghaziyyah, one of the Anṣār, then stood up and said, [3142]

553. IA adds "them."
554. IA has "go aright with my guidance, for it is your Prophet's guidance."
555. Al-Zuraqī al-Khazrajī, who fought at Badr as an opponent of ʿUthmān (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 192, II, 487).
556. I.e., without fighting.
557. Reading *nadaʿuhum* with Ibrāhīm, for the text's *nadaʿhum*, as also in the next line (*nuʿtihim* is clearly indicative). De Goeje (*Glossarium*, CCXL) suggests *nadʿuhum* "we'll call on them to present their justification."

"I'm going to satisfy you with action just as you've satisfied me with words," and he recited:

Catch up with it! Catch up with it before it slips away!
Let us hurry and go up toward the clamor.
May my soul not find refuge if I fear death!

"By Allāh! I will help Almighty and Glorious Allāh, just as He called us Helpers."[558] The Commander of the Faithful then began the march. The vanguard was led by Abū Laylā b. ʿUmar b. al-Jarrāḥ,[559] with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah holding the banner. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās led the right flank and ʿUmar b. Abī Salimah or ʿAmr b. Sufyān b. ʿAbd al-Asad led the left. ʿAlī marched off with 760 men, and ʿAlī's poet versified for him:

Set off in companies, and advance quickly![560]
For [ʿAlī] has decided. So be positive about it
Until you and they encounter one another on steeds,[561]
with which we will beat Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr.

He was in front of the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī, who was
[3143] on a reddish-brown she-camel of his, pulling along a dark bay horse. At Fayd[562] they were met by a *ghulām* from Banū Saʿd b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿĀmir[563] called Murrah, who asked, "Who are all these?" "The Commander of the Faithful," came the reply. "A passing journey involving blood of passing souls!" he remarked. ʿAlī heard him and called him over and asked, "What's your name?" "Murrah." "May Allāh make your life bitter!"[564] said ʿAlī. "You're playing the soothsayer[565] for today, are you?"[566] "No, I'm an augur."[567]

558. *Anṣār*.
559. See p. 32, above, where the same men had charge of the same positions on leaving Medina.
560. Reading either the marginal gloss *wa-khubbū* or the text's *wa-ḥuththū*.
561. *Glossarium*, CCXXXIV. It is not clear exactly who "they" and "you" (pl.) are—perhaps *ahl al-bayt* and the present company.
562. Halfway between Mecca and al-Kūfah (Yāqūt, IV, 282).
563. Or ʿAmr, of Asad (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 171, II, 497).
564. *Amarra*.
565. *Kāhin* (*EI*², s.v.).
566. Reading *al-yawm* with Ibrāhīm and *Glossarium*, CCLXXXIV for the text's *al-qawm*: "You're the army's soothsayer?"
567. *ʿĀʾif* (*EI*², s.v.).

When they dismounted at Fayd, Asad and Ṭayyi' came to 'Alī and put themselves at his service, but he said: "Stay at home! The Muhājirūn are enough." A Kūfan came to Fayd before 'Alī had left. "Who's this man?" asked 'Alī. "'Āmir b. Maṭar,"[568] he replied. "Al-Laythī?" "No, al-Shaybānī." "Tell me your news!" said 'Alī. He did so, and when 'Alī questioned him about Abū Mūsā he replied, "If you want peace,[569] then Abū Mūsā is the man; but, if you want to fight, then Abū Mūsā is not the man." "By Allāh!" said 'Alī. "All I'm after is *iṣlāḥ* until it's completely rejected." "I've given you the news," he said and fell silent. 'Alī also fell silent.

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Muḥammad—'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah: 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf came to 'Alī at al-Rabadhah with the hair of his head, beard, and eyebrows all plucked out and said: "Commander of the Faithful! When you sent me I had a fine beard, but I return to you beardless." "You've earned a great reward,"[570] 'Alī told him. "The people were ruled before me by two men who acted according to the Book. But when a third ruled them they said and did things. Then the people gave me allegiance. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr also gave me allegiance, but then they withdrew it and incited the people against me. How strange that they should comply with Abū Bakr and 'Umar yet oppose me. By Allāh! They know very well that I'm no less of a man than any of those who've passed on. O Allāh! Undo what the two of them have contracted, do not [3144] ratify what they have consolidated, and show them the evil of what they've done!"

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When 'Alī dismounted at al-Tha'labiyyah[571] news came of what had befallen 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf and his guards. So he stood up and told the men the news and then said: "O Allāh! Spare me from the killing of Muslims that You have inflicted[572] on Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, and deliver us from all these people!"

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568. Layth is of Kinānah and Shaybān of Bakr b. Wā'il, both northern tribes.
569. *Al-ṣulḥ*.
570. Often said to someone suffering misfortune.
571. According to Yāqūt (II, 78) this is about halfway along the Mecca-Kūfah road, as it is between al-Shuqūq and al-Khuzaymah, which stand at thirds.
572. Killing a believer deliberately earns hellfire (Qur'ān 4:93).

Then when he reached al-Isād news came of what had befallen Ḥakīm b. Jabalah and the killers of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, so he said: "Allāh is great! Now that they have got their revenge, what will save me from Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and them [from me]?"[573] and he recited the verses from the Qur'ān "Whatever calamity may happen on earth or to yourselves has been written down before We bring it into being."[574] He then recited the verse of poetry

Ḥakīm called with the call of courage
and dismounted as he did onto the battleground.

Then when they reached Dhū Qār ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf got to them, and he had not a hair on his face. When ʿAlī saw him, he looked at his companions and said,[575] "He left us as an elder and returned as a youth." ʿAlī stayed at Dhū Qār waiting for[576] Muḥammad and Muḥammad.[577] News then reached ʿAlī of what had befallen Rabīʿah and of the departure of ʿAbd al-Qays and their taking to the road, and he said, "ʿAbd al-Qays is the best of Rabīʿah, and Rabīʿah is all good." He then recited:

How deeply I mourn for Rabīʿah,
Rabīʿah who always heard [me] and obeyed.
Disaster fell upon them before I reached them.[578]
ʿAlī offers a prayer to be heard
[3145] That thereby they may reach the highest station.

Bakr b. Wā'il then presented themselves to ʿAlī, and he replied to them as he had to Ṭayyi' and Asad.[579]

Now, when Muḥammad and Muḥammad arrived in al-Kūfah and took Abū Mūsā the Commander of the Faithful's letter and made ʿAlī's orders known among the people, they were not[580] given any [positive] response. That evening some prominent wise men went to see Abū Mūsā and asked him, "what do you think about join-

573. I.e., the clash is now inevitable.
574. Qur'ān 57:22.
575. Jokingly to make ʿUthmān feel better.
576. *Yalūm* "criticizing," as in the manuscript, is unlikely.
577. Ibn Abī Bakr and Ibn ʿAwn/Ja'far.
578. See a variant of this hemistich, p. 125, below.
579. I.e., "Stay at home!"; see p. 85, above.
580. Reading *lam* with Ibrāhīm, for the text's *fa-lam*›.

ing up [with ʿAlī]?" "Reason would have been possible yesterday,"[581] he replied, "but not today. What you gave no thought to in the past[582] is what has brought what you're witnessing down upon you. So what is left is two things, and that's all. Staying here leads to the hereafter; joining up leads to this world. So make your choice!" No one responded, so the two emissaries became angry and spoke roughly to Abū Mūsā. "By Allāh!" Abū Mūsā replied. "Allegiance to ʿUthmān is still binding on me and binding upon your companion. So, if there's no way out of fighting, the killers of ʿUthmān, wherever they may be, will have to be dealt with before we fight anyone." The two of them then left for ʿAlī and reached him at Dhū Qār, where they gave him the news.

Now ʿAlī had gone out with al-Ashtar, who had been in a hurry to go to al-Kūfah. ʿAlī said, "You, Ashtar, advised us to keep Abū Mūsā as governor, and you are always objecting. So go, you and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, and repair the mess you caused!" So ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās left with al-Ashtar and came to al-Kūfah. There they spoke with Abū Mūsā and tried to rally support against him among some of the Kūfans. But Abū Mūsā said to the Kūfans: "[Remember!] I was your leader on the day of al-Jaraʿah,[583] and I am your leader today." He then assembled the people and addressed them with this sermon:

> Men! The Companions of the Prophet, those who were with him on the battlefields, know more about Glorious and Almighty Allāh and about His Messenger than those who weren't Companions. So we [Companions] owe you [non-Companions] a duty,[584] and we will definitely fulfill [3146]
> it. Our advice was not to take Almighty and Glorious Allāh's authority lightly or be audacious before Him. The next piece of advice was that you should take those who had come to you from Medina and send them back there until they came to an agreement among themselves. For they know better than you who is right for the imamate,

581. Before ʿUthmān was killed.
582. Killing ʿUthmān.
583. A battle on a sandy hill that took place between Muslims during ʿUthmān's time (Ibn Manẓūr, IX, 397 l. 4).
584. Giving sincere advice (*ḥaqq al-naṣīḥah*).

and you shouldn't get involved in the matter. But, as for what's happened now, it's an endless[585] *fitnah*. The one asleep in it is better off, than the one awake in it. The one awake in it is better off than the one who stays at home from it. The one who stays at home from it is better off than the one who stands in it. The one who stands in it is better off than the one who rides in it. So be the ones all the Arabs look to![586] Sheathe your swords, take off your spearheads, cut your bowstrings, and shelter the oppressed and the persecuted until this affair is over and this *fitnah* has been dispelled.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When Ibn ʿAbbās returned to ʿAlī with the news, he called his son al-Ḥasan and sent him [to al-Kūfah]. With him he sent ʿAmmār b. Yāsir,[587] saying, "Go and set right what you've messed up!" So the two headed off and entered the mosque [in al-Kūfah]. The first man to come to them was Masrūq b. al-Ajdaʿ.[588] He greeted them and turned to ʿAmmār and asked: "Abū al-Yaqẓān! Why did you all kill ʿUthmān?" "For swearing at our women and beating our bodies!" ʿAmmār replied. "By Allāh!" said Masrūq and quoted:[589] "'You have not punished as you were punished.[590] If only you had held back! Those holding back would have
[3147] benefited.'" Abū Mūsā then came out and met al-Ḥasan and embraced him. He then turned to ʿAmmār and asked: "Abū al-Yaqẓān! Were you one of those who attacked the Commander of the Faithful, making yourself, along with the other profligates, liable for capital punishment?" "No, I did not," he replied. "Why do you abuse me?" But al-Ḥasan interrupted them; he turned to Abū Mūsā and asked: "Abū Mūsā! Why are you holding the people back from us? By Allāh! All we want is *iṣlāḥ*. The Commander of the Faithful

585. *Ṣammāʾ*, lit., "deaf."

586. *Jurthūmah*, a prominent place where people might congregate (Ibn Manẓūr, XIV, 362; Lane, 404c), i.e., "stay in your places, so that others will follow suit."

587. Companion of the Prophet who fell at Ṣiffīn on ʿAlī's side (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 272, II, 167; *EI*², s.v.).

588. Al-Hamdānī, a Kūfan scholar and traditionist (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 229, II, 401).

589. Qur'ān 16:126, modified so as to refer to the past, rather than the future.

590. I.e., you have overdone the retaliation.

is not the kind to be feared over anything." "You're right, and you're more precious to me than my father and mother," he replied, "but the adviser should be trusted. I heard the Messenger of Allāh say: 'It will be a *fitnah*. The sitter will be better off than the stander, the stander than the walker, the walker than the rider.' Almighty and Glorious Allāh made us brothers. He made our property and blood forbidden to each other when He said: 'Believers! Do not consume each other's capital in foolish pursuits . . . and do not kill each other! Allāh has great concern for you.'[591] Glorious and Almighty Allāh also said the verse that begins[592] 'Whoever kills a believer deliberately, hell is his punishment.'" ʿAmmār got angry at this. He spoke harshly to him and stood up and said: "All of you listen! It was only to him personally that the Prophet said, 'You're better sitting in it than standing.'"[593] "Shut up, you slave!"[594] said a Tamīmī, standing up. "Only yesterday you were with the riffraff, and today you insult our commander!" Then Zayd b. Ṣūḥān and his group got up, and so did the rest of the people, but Abū Mūsā began restraining them. He then hurried to the *minbar*, and the people fell silent. Meanwhile, Zayd came on his donkey and stopped at the door of the mosque. He was carrying ʿĀ'ishah's two letters, the one to himself[595] and the one to the Kūfan people. He had asked her to write a general public letter and had put it with his own. He therefore was coming with both, with [3148] the private letter and the public one, which said: "After greetings. Take no action, people [of al-Kūfah], and stay in your houses, except against the killers of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān." When he had finished reading, he said: "She was given an order and we were given an order. She was ordered to stay at home,[596] and we were ordered to fight until all *fitnah* had gone.[597] But she's ordering us to do what

591. Qur'ān 4:29.

592. Qur'ān 4:93, which continues, "forever and ever. Allāh's anger and curse is upon him and He has prepared an enormous punishment for him." Ibrāhīm omits "*al-āyah*."

593. The Prophet had had a sharp altercation with him one day, and Abū Mūsā had repented.

594. ʿAmmār was black. He was the son of a *mawlā* of the Makhzūmī Abū Ḥudhayfah (*EI*², s.v.).

595. See p. 79, above; Abbott, *ʿAishah*, 153.

596. Qur'ān 33:33; cf. p. 80, above.

597. Qur'ān 2:193.

she was ordered and taking on herself[598] what we were ordered to do!" But up stood Shabath b. Ribʿī[599] and called out, "You ʿUmāni!" (Zayd was from ʿAbd al-Qays of ʿUmān, not from the Baḥraynīs).[600] "You stole at Jalūlāʾ,[601] and Allāh cut off your [hand]. You've disobeyed the Mother of the Faithful, so may Allāh kill you![602] What Almighty and Glorious Allāh ordered concerning *iṣlāḥ* among the people[603] was all that she was ordered. By the Lord of the Kaʿbah! You spoke and the people became incited."[604]

Then Abū Mūsā stood up and addressed the people:

> Obey me, and be the ones all the Arabs look to![605] The oppressed will come to you for shelter, and the afraid will find safety with you. We are the Companions of Muḥammad. We're better able to understand his words "When the *fitnah* approaches it confuses; when it retreats it makes things clear. *Fitnah* rips [the community] apart like a stomach ulcer. The winds fan it, from the north and south, from the east and west. Then it dies down for a while, but where it arises from no one knows. It renders the wise man inexperienced." Sheathe your swords,[606]
> [3149] snap your spears, throw away your arrows, cut your bowstrings, and stay in your houses! Leave Quraysh—for[607] they've insisted on leaving Medina and on separating from those who know about the leadership—to mend its own tear and repair its own split. If it succeeds, then it will bring good things on itself; if it doesn't, then it will

598. *Wa-rakibat mā umirnā bihi*. Abbott, *ʿAishah*, 154–55 translates "while she rides to carry out the orders. . . .

599. Of Tamīm; he became a Khārijī after Ṣiffīn (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 68, II, 521).

600. Shabath was probably from these. Calling Zayd ʿUmānī was derogatory.

601. He confessed. A station in Iraq on the Khurāsān road, east of the Tigris, 34°10′ N, 45° E (*EI*², s.v.).

602. For the fulfilment of this wish, see p. 132, below.

603. Qurʾān 49:9–10.

604. Ibrāhīm notes that the text is obscure.

605. See p. 88, above.

606. Cf. p. 88, above.

607. Reading *idh*, following Ibrāhīm and Wellhausen (159), for the text's *idhā*. Leaving Quraysh means leaving ʿAlī, ʿĀʾishah, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr.

bring death on themselves. Its oil[608] will flow on its skin. Trust me! Don't think I'm deceiving you! If you obey me you'll be safe spiritually and temporally, and those who caused this *fitnah* will suffer the blast of its heat.

Then Zayd stood up, lifted his handless arm, and said: "'Abdallāh b. Qays![609] Turn the Euphrates back on is course! Turn it back on itself to its source! If you can do that then you'll be able to do what you're proposing. No! Leave what you're incapable of achieving alone!" Then he recited two verses from the Qur'ān:[610] "*Alif, lam, mim*. Do the people think that they will be left alone saying 'We believe' and not be tested [by *fitnah*]?" and added, "Go and join the Commander of the Faithful and the Head of the Muslims! Do it quickly, all of you! And you'll be making the right decision."

Al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr then stood up and said: "I give you all sincere advice. I'm concerned about you. I want[611] you to be correctly guided, so I will certainly tell you the whole truth. What the governor said is the correct course of action, if only it were possible. But as for what Zayd said—and Zayd [remember] is a part of[612]this *fitnah*—don't any of you be advised by him. No one who has launched into or embraced this *fitnah* will [be able to] extricate himself from it. The only view that really makes sense is [3150] that we have to have leadership to organize the people, to restrain the oppressor and strengthen the oppressed. Here is 'Alī. He is governing. He has been just in what he has called for, and that has been for *iṣlāḥ* and nothing else. So disperse, but keep your eyes and ears open to see how things develop!"[613]

Then Sayḥān[614] said: "Men! This situation and these people have to have a leader who will ward off the oppressor and strengthen the oppressed and unite the people. This leader of yours is calling you so that the dispute between him and his two companions

608. Reading *samnuhā*. Cf. Freytag, I, 614.
609. Abū Mūsā.
610. Qur'ān 29:12. Abū Mūsā's position is un-Qur'ānic.
611. The ms. has a number of questionable readings over the next few lines.
612. Ibrāhīm omits *hādhā*, and IA has *'aduww* "Zayd is totally against," requiring a different meaning for *al-amr*.
613. Be witnesses.
614. Zayd's brother. The ms. has *Ṣuḥār*.

may be looked into. He has been entrusted with the community. He is the one with insight into religion, so whoever joins up with him we'll go along with them." ʿAmmār had calmed down after his initial outburst. When Sayḥān had finished his sermon he spoke up and said: "Here is the paternal cousin of the Messenger of Allāh calling you out against the wife of the Messenger of Allāh and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. I bear witness that she is his wife in the hereafter as well as this life,[615] so consider very carefully what is right, and then fight on its side!" Someone replied: "Abū al-Yaqẓān! The right is with the person about whom you bore witness that she will be in paradise and against the one about whom you didn't do so." "Desist, ʿAmmār!" said al-Ḥasan. "*Iṣlāḥ* has its proponents."[616]

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī then stood up and said: "Men! Respond to the call of your commander, and go join your brothers, for there will be those who hasten to him for this affair. By Allāh! That the controllers of the affair should be those with wisdom[617] is both
[3151] better in this world and more beneficial in the next. So answer our call and assist us against this affliction of ours and yours!" The people were indeed sympathetic and responded favorably to al-Ḥasan.

Then some tribesmen from Ṭayyi'[618] came to ʿAdī[619] and asked: "What do you think? What are your orders?" "We'll wait and see what the people do." When ʿAdī was told of al-Ḥasan's undertaking and what opinions had been voice, he said: "We gave allegiance to this man ʿAlī, and he summoned us to something good and to look into this critical new situation. So we are going along and looking." Hind b. ʿAmr[620] then stood up and spoke: "The Commander of the Faithful summoned us and sent messengers to

615. ʿAmmār is here showing his impartiality.

616. I.e., my father ʿAlī and not you. ʿAmmār had not been doing too well; cf. p. 88, above.

617. I.e., ʿAlī's family or the addressees (in flattery).

618. An important north Arabian tribe (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 176, 249, II, 555).

619. Ibn Ḥātim, their leader, originally a Christian, fought at Qādisiyyah, and with ʿAlī at the battles of the Camel, Ṣiffīn, and Nahrawān (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 256, II, 139).

620. Al-Jamalī of Madhḥij, killed in the Battle of the Camel by ʿAmr b. Yathribī al-Ḍabbī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 271, II, 283).

us, and now his son has come to us. So listen to what he says, and join his command. Hasten to the side of your commander! Look into this matter with him, and support him with your opinions!" Ḥujr b. ʿAdī[621] then stood up and spoke: "Respond, all of you, to the Commander of the Faithful. 'Hasten to fight! both light and heavy.'[622] Agree to it! I'll be the first of you." Then al-Ashtar got up and mentioned the Jāhiliyyah and its severity and Islam and its ease and went on to mention ʿUthmān. Al-Muqaṭṭaʿ b. al-Haytham b. Fujayʿ al-ʿĀmirī al-Bukkā'ī then went up to al-Ashtar and said: "Silence! Allāh make you ugly! A dog should be left alone with its barking!" So the people rose up and made al-Ashtar sit down, and al-Muqaṭṭaʿ stood and said: "After this we cannot put up with anyone coming along with bad comments about one of our imāms. ʿAlī is sufficient in our opinion. By Allāh! If people like this[623] disagree with ʿAlī, then let a man bite[624] his tongue in these meetings of ours! Accept therefore what al-Ḥasan and ʿAmmār are urging you to do!" "The old man is right" said al-Ḥasan and spoke up: "Listen, men! I set off early tomorrow morning, so [3152] let whoever wishes come out with me by land and whoever wishes by water."[625] Nine thousand set off with him—some by land, others on the water. Each seventh had its commander. Six thousand two hundred went on land, 2,800[626] by water.

According to Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-ʿAṭṭār—ʿUmar b. Saʿīd—Asad b. ʿAbdallāh—a scholar contemporary with the events:[627] ʿAbd Khayr al-Khaywānī[628] went up to Abū Mūsā and asked him, "Were these two—that is, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr—among those who gave allegiance to ʿAlī?" "Yes," he replied. "Did he do something bad to permit withdrawing allegiance to him?" "I don't know." "May you not know! And we'll not follow you until you do know! Abū Mūsā! Do you know anyone not involved in this

621. Of Kindah; he fought at Qādisiyyah, and with ʿAlī at the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 236, II, 329).
622. Qur'ān 9:41, a call to *jihād*.
623. Prym's possible emendation, *ḥakā*, is difficult.
624. I.e., keep tight-lipped (Freytag, II, 694).
625. The Euphrates.
626. According to IA, 2,400.
627. Cf. p. 52, above.
628. Of Hamdān (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 125).

fitnah, as you claim it to be? Only four parties[629] remain—ʿAlī behind Kūfah, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr in Baṣrah, Muʿāwiyah in Syria, and another party in the Ḥijāz, where no booty is gained and no enemy is fought." "There are no better people than they," replied Abū Mūsā, "where there is a *fitnah*." "Your deception has got the better of you, Abū Mūsā!" said ʿAbd Khayr.

Now al-Ashtar had gone to ʿAlī and said, "Commander of the
[3153] Faithful! I already sent a man before these two, but I didn't see him sort anything out or get control over anything. These two are the most likely of those you've sent to get the matter sorted out in the way you wish, but I don't know what will happen. So if you—may Allāh ennoble you!—were to think of sending me after them [I think it would be good], for the Kūfans are my most loyal followers. If I went to them I don't expect a single one would oppose me." "Catch them up, then!" ʿAlī told him. So al-Ashtar headed for Kūfah, and when he got there the men had all gathered in the Great Mosque. So every tribe he passed that he saw had a group sitting together or in a mosque he would invite, "Follow me to the castle!" So he reached the castle with a large following and broke in and entered. Now Abū Mūsā was standing addressing the people in the mosque and telling them to hold back. "Men!" he said. "This *fitnah* is blind and deaf. It is trampling on its halter.[630] The sleeper in it is better off than the sitter.[631] The sitter in it is better off than the stander. The stander in it is better off than the walker. The walker in it is better off than the runner. The runner in it is better off than the rider. It is a *fitnah* that rips [the community] apart like a stomach ulcer.[632] It has come at you from the place where you were safe and leaves the wise man bewildered like someone without experience.[633] We, the congregation of the Companions of Muḥammad, are better able to understand the *fitnah*—when it approaches it confuses and when it retreats it discloses."[634] ʿAmmār then heckled him, and al-Ḥasan said to

629. Reading *firaq* following Ibrāhīm and de Goeje (*Addenda*, DCXXXIII) for the text's *qurūn* "leaders" (*Glossarium*, CDXXII).
630. I.e., it is out of control.
631. Cf. p. 89, above.
632. Cf. p. 90, above.
633. Cf. p. 90, above.
634. Cf. p. 90, above.

him: "Resign from the governorship over us! You with no mother![635] Step down from our *minbar*!" "Did you hear this from the Messenger of Allāh?" asked ʿAmmār. "Here's my hand to prove what I say,"[636] replied Abū Mūsā. "The Messenger of Allāh was saying something specifically to you," ʿAmmār said to him, "when he said, 'You're better off sitting than you will be standing in it.'"[637] ʿAmmār added, "Allāh overcomes whoever struggles [3154] against Him and rejects His words!"

According to Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-ʿAṭṭār—ʿUmar b. Saʿīd—a man—Nuʿaym—Abū Maryam al-Thaqafī: By Allāh! I was in the mosque that day when ʿAmmār was addressing Abū Mūsā and saying those words to him, when out came some of Abū Mūsā's *ghulām*s to us. They were aggravatedly calling out: "Abū Mūsā! This man al-Ashtar entered the castle, beat us, and threw us out." So Abū Mūsā came down [from the *minbar*] and entered the castle, but al-Ashtar shouted at him: "Get out of our castle, motherless man! May Allāh eject your soul! By Allāh! You have been one of the secret dissenters[638] for a long time!" "Just give me this evening," he requested. "You may have it, but you're definitely not sleeping in the castle tonight." Men then entered and were rifling Abū Mūsā's belongings, but al-Ashtar stopped them and sent them out of the castle. "I've expelled him,"[639] he said, and held the men back from him.

The Commander of the Faithful Dismounts at Dhū Qār

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr—al-Shaʿbī: When they congregated at Dhū Qār ʿAlī received them with a group, which included Ibn ʿAbbās. He then welcomed them. "Men of al-Kūfah!" he said. "It was you who repelled the power of the Sasanians and their kings. You scattered their troops, and their inheritances fell to you. You enriched[640] your territory

635. A milder form of *lā abā lak*!
636. I.e., you can cut it off if I'm lying.
637. Cf. p. 89, above.
638. *Munāfiqīn*; see *EI*², s.v.
639. I.e., that is sufficient.
640. IA, "protected."

and assisted the Muslims against their enemy. So I am calling you to witness our Baṣran brothers with us. What we want is that they [3155] regain their senses, but if they persist we'll treat them with gentleness and keep ourselves apart from them as long as they don't initiate any injustice against us. Allāh willing, we won't neglect any course of action that might improve the situation. We'll choose it rather than one that will make things worse. There is no power except with Allāh!"

Seven thousand two hundred gathered at Dhū Qār. The whole of ʿAbd al-Qays also were waiting to join ʿAlī as he passed them on his way to Baṣrah, and they were . . .[641] thousand. A further 2,400 were on the river.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah (their transmission): When ʿAlī dismounted at Dhū Qār he sent three lots of envoys [to al-Kūfah]: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr with Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, then Ibn ʿAbbās with al-Ashtar, then his son al-Ḥasan with ʿAmmār. Everyone who had been active rushed to join in this cause—it was not that the leaders were sending in their men. There were 5,000 of them, half going by land and half by river. Those who had not yet been active or become involved, but had given ʿAlī their obedience,[642] also rushed to join and teamed up with the moderates.[643] They were 4,000. The leaders of the moderates were al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, Saʿr b. Mālik,[644] Hind b. ʿAmr, and al-Haytham b. Shihāb. The leaders of the activists were Zayd b. Ṣūḥān, al-Ashtar Mālik b. al-Ḥārith, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, al-Musayyab b. Najabah,[645] and Yazīd b. Qays.[646] These all had with them their allies and other men similar to them, who were not inferior except that they were not given actual command, like Ḥujr b. ʿAdī[647] and Ibn Maḥdūj al-

641. The number had fallen out of the text even before IA's time.

642. Reading *wa-kāna ʿalā ṭāʿatihi* (Ibrāhīm and *Addenda*, DCXXXIII) for the text's *wa-kāna ʿAlī ẓāʿinan*: "So ʿAlī set off."

643. *Al-jamāʿah*. For this translation and "activists" for *nuffār*, see Hinds, "Kūfan Political Alignments," 361. Both groups were early comers to Kūfah.

644. Following Ibrāhīm and *Addenda*, DCXXXIII. The text has Saʿd.

645. Al-Qurashī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 131, II, 436).

646. Probably Ibn Tammām from Hamdān (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 231, II, 596).

647. Ibn Ḥātim. He led the Kūfans against Muʿāwiyah.

Bakrī.[648] There was no other Kūfan of another opinion, and they hastened to war, all except a few. [3156]

When they dismounted at Dhū Qār ʿAlī called al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr and sent him to the Baṣrans, saying, "Ibn al-Ḥanẓaliyyah! (al-Qaʿqāʿ was a Companion of the Prophet) Go and see these two men! Invite them to friendship and unity, and stress the evil of schism. What are you going to do about any proposal from the two of them on which you don't have my advice?" "We'll present them with your orders. If they propose something that we don't have your view on, we'll exert our own judgment and make our comments on the basis of what we hear and consider necessary." "You're the right man for the situation" replied ʿAlī.

So al-Qaʿqāʿ left and went to al-Baṣrah.[649] He first went to ʿĀ'ishah and greeted her: "Dear Mother! What compelled you to come to this city?" "My dear son! *Iṣlāḥ* between the Muslims." "Would you send for Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr," he asked, "so you can hear what I and the two of them have to say?" She did so, and they came. "I asked the Mother of the Faithful what compelled her to come to this region," said al-Qaʿqāʿ, "and she said '*Iṣlāḥ* between the Muslims.' What do you two say? Do you share her opinion or not?" "We share it," the two replied. "So describe to me what this *iṣlāḥ* means. By Allāh! If we understand the same thing by it,[650] then we will certainly be reconciled, but, if we don't understand the same thing by it, then we will not." "Punishing the killers of ʿUthmān," the two replied. "Neglecting that would be neglect of the Qur'ān, but carrying it out would be giving life to the Qur'ān." "But you've already killed those killers of ʿUthmān from Baṣrah," said al-Qaʿqāʿ, "and before you killed them you were nearer to the right way than you are now. You killed 600 men bar one, and 6,000 became enraged for their sake and withdrew from your cause and deserted you! When you then searched for the one who escaped (meaning Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr) 6,000 protected him and were ready [3157] to fight. So if you make an exception of him you'll be abandoning

648. Ḥudhayfah or Ḥassān? For Ibn Maḥdūj b. Bishr, see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 154.

649. Muir, 247; Abbott, *Aishah*, 155.

650. Ibrāhīm omits *hu* from the text's *ʿarafnāhu*.

your position,[651] and, if you fight them and those who have withdrawn from you[652] and the battle goes against you, then what you will have feared but drawn near to will be far worse, as far as I can see, than your worst fears. For you will have enraged the Muḍar and Rabīʿah of this region, such that they will gather against you in war and forsake you in support of these 6,000, just as those gathered to support the perpetrators of this huge crime and terrible sin." "So what do you suggest?" asked the Mother of the Faithful. "I say that the remedy for this situation is to quiet things down," he replied. "If it calms down, they[653] will tremble. So if you all give us allegiance then that will be a promising sign and tidings of mercy. It will cause the attainment of blood revenge for this man and well-being and safety for this community. But, if you refuse and insist strongly on your own opinion in this affair and on forcing it, then this will be an evil sign and the squandering of the blood revenge and cause Allāh to send instability through this community. So choose well-being, and you'll fare well by it and be reasons for good as you were in the past. Don't lay either us or yourselves open to disaster, lest it throw us all down. I swear to Allāh, I say this and call you to it in a state of fear that this won't end until Almighty and Glorious Allāh has taken what He wants from this community whose provisions[654] are diminishing with these events. The damage that has occurred from this affair is incalculable. It isn't like other situations. It
[3158] isn't like a man killing another man or a group killing one man or even a whole tribe killing one man."[655] "Yes," they replied, "you've spoken well and you're absolutely right. So return! And if ʿAlī comes with a similar position to yours, then the affair will have resolved itself." So he returned to ʿAlī and told him what had happened, and he was pleased. So the armies were on the threshold of peace, some disliking it and others approving.

The Baṣran delegations came to ʿAlī while he was camped at

651. Of killing all of them.
652. The 6,000.
653. The killers of ʿUthmān, who will be seized and punished individually (*Glossarium*, CCXXIX).
654. *Matāʿ*: perhaps in the hereafter.
655. But the whole community.

Dhū Qār. Before al-Qaʿqāʿ had returned, those[656] of Tamīm and Bakr came to find out what their fellow tribesmen from al-Kūfah thought and why they had mobilized. They came to tell him that their position was *iṣlāḥ* and that they didn't entertain any idea of fighting. When they told their Kūfan clansmen the opinion that their Baṣran clansmen had sent them with,[657] the Kūfans replied to them with the same words and then took them in to ʿAlī and told him their news. ʿAlī then asked Jarīr b. Sharis about Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. He told him everything about their situation in detail, and quoted:

Go tell Banū Bakr as a messenger—
because there is no way to Banū Kaʿb—
"The man of virtue and long forearms[658]
will make your oppression that came from you return back to you."

ʿAlī added at that time:

Do you not know, Abū Simʿān, that we
send back the chief like you with a headache?!
His mind becomes deranged from the war such that
he stands and responds to callers who are not there.
All Bakr gathered and defended Khuzāʿah,
but you, Surāqah, you have no defense!

Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī] said, "Ziyād b. Ayyūb drew up a book for me containing reports from teachers from whom he said he had heard directly [and then written down]. Some he read to me, and others he did not. One of those he did not read to me but that I copied from his book goes as follows.[659] [3159]

According to [Ziyād b. Ayyūb—] Muṣʿab b. Salām al-Tamīmī—Muḥammad b. Sūqah—ʿĀṣim b. Kulayb al-Jarmī—his father: During the time of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān I had a dream. I saw a man who was ruling the people while he was ill in bed, and a woman was by his head. The people were after him and hastened toward

656. Reading *wufūd* with Ibrāhīm for the text's *wafd*.
657. *Iṣlāḥ*.
658. I.e., good with the sword in battle.
659. Cf. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, II, 278.

him,[660] and had she forbidden them they would have stopped. But she did not, so they seized and killed him. I used to recount this dream of mine to everyone, whether settled or nomad, and they were surprised and did not know what it meant.

Then when ʿUthmān was killed the news reached us as we were returning from a raid, and my companions said, "Your dream, Kulayb!" We then got to Baṣrah, and we had not been there long when someone said, "Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr are coming, and the Mother of the Faithful is with them!" This alarmed the people and they were surprised, but they were claiming to the people that they had only come out of anger over ʿUthmān and in penance over the way they had not supported him. The Mother of the Faithful spoke up: "We became angry at ʿUthmān on your behalf because of three things he did: giving command to youths, expropriating common property,[661] and beating with whip and stick. But we wouldn't be acting justly if we weren't angry at you on his account for three things that you perpetrated against him: the sanctity of the month,[662] city, and blood." The people replied, "But didn't you give allegiance to ʿAlī and agree to his command?" "We agreed," they replied, "with the sword at our necks." "Here is ʿAlī approaching you" someone said.

Our people said to me and two men with me, "Go and find ʿAlī and his men and ask them about all this. We're confused about
[3160] it." So we set off. But as we neared the camp a handsome fellow on a mule was coming toward us. I asked my two companions, "Did you remember the woman I told you about, who was by the head of the ruler? She looked just like this man." He realized that we were discussing him so when he got up to us he said: "Stop! What did you say when you saw me?" We refused to say so he shouted at us, "By Allāh! You won't leave until you've told me!" At this we became frightened of him, so we told him. He then said as he went past us, "By Allāh! You saw something extraordinary." We asked the first person from the camp we came across, "Who was that?" "Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr," he replied, so we realized

660. *Wa-yabhashūn ilayhi*; cf. p. 3, above.

661. *Mawqiʿ al-ghamāmah*, lit. "the place of cloud," hence herbage; see Ibn Manẓūr, XV, 340.9ff. {*iḥmāʿ*}; Wellhausen, 160.

662. Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

that the woman was ʿĀ'ishah[663] and our dislike of what she was doing increased. When we reached ʿAlī and had greeted him, we asked him what was going on. "When the people rose against this man I kept away," he said. "Then they killed him and made me ruler against my will. But for anxiety for the religion I wouldn't have acceded to them. Then these two suddenly reneged, but I didn't let them get away with it and extracted promises from them before letting them go on the *ʿumrah* pilgrimage. They then came to their mother, the wife of the Messenger of Allāh, and they approved for her what they disapproved of for their own wives[664] and exposed her to things that were taboo to them and were no good. So I pursued them both to stop them ripping Islam apart and splitting the unity." Then his followers added: "By Allāh! We don't want to fight unless they do so first. *Iṣlāḥ* is all we've come out for." ʿAlī's followers then shouted at us, "Give allegiance! Give allegiance!" My two companions did so but not I. I held back and said, "My people sent me for a particular purpose, so I'm not going to do anything new until I return to them." "And if they don't do it?" asked ʿAlī. "Then neither will I," I replied. "Imagine they sent you out to scout," said ʿAlī, "and on returning you brought them news of pasture and water but they turned away to waterless, dry areas. What would you do?" "I'd leave them," I replied, "and go to the pasture and water without them." [3161]
"Then stretch out your hand!" he replied. By Allāh! I could not resist, and I opened my hand and gave him allegiance. Afterward he used to say, "ʿAlī was one of the smartest of the Arabs." ʿAlī then asked, "What have you heard about Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr?" "As for al-Zubayr," I replied, "he says, 'We were forced to give allegiance,' and, as for Ṭalḥah he's keen to quote verses, and so he says:

Go tell Banū Bakr as a messenger—
    because there is no way to Banū Kaʿb—
"The man of virtue and long forearms
    will make your oppression that came from you return to you."

663. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr's sister.
664. Cf. p. 62, above, p. 126, below. There are no illicit implications (Caetani, IX, 41, n. 1).

"It wasn't like that," said ʿAlī, "but:

Do you not know, Abū Simʿān, that we
deafen the chief like you with a headache?!
His mind becomes deranged from the war such that
he stands and responds to callers who are not there."

Then ʿAlī marched off until he set up camp on the outskirts of Baṣrah. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr had had a trench dug. Our Baṣran companions asked us, "What did you hear [that] our Kūfan brothers want and say?" "They say, 'We've come for peace, and we don't want to fight,'" we replied. Suddenly while they were engaged in this way, not talking about anything other than peace, young boys emerged from the two armies, hurling insults at each other and then stones. They were followed by the slaves of the two armies, who were followed in turn by the foolhardy men. War broke out, forcing them[665] to take cover back in the trench. Fighting ensued there until they were forced to clear off[666] to the battlefield and ʿAlī's men went into the trench[667] and the others left. ʿAlī then called out aloud: "Don't pursue those who flee! Don't finish off the wounded! Don't go into any houses!" and he restrained his men. Then he sent a message to the others to come out and give allegiance, and he received allegiance under the banners. "Anyone who recognizes anything [belonging to him lying around]," said ʿAlī, "then let him take it!"[668] until nothing was left behind
[3162] from the two armies. A group of young men from Qays[669] then came to him, and their spokesman said some words. "Where are your leaders?" asked ʿAlī. "They were hit under the eyes of the camel," said the spokesman and continued his speech. "This is the long-winded orator!" said ʿAlī.

The allegiance over, ʿAlī made ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās governor, but he wanted to stay [there himself] until matters became stabilized.

Al-Ashtar then told me[670] to go and buy him the most expen-

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665. Kulayb's companions.
666. Reading *ḥattā ajlaw ilā* with Ibrāhīm (cf. *Addenda*, DCXXXIII) for the text's *ḥattā aqbalā ilā*.
667. Wellhausen, 160.
668. I.e., ʿAlī let the vanquished repossess their arms, etc.
669. Who had been fighting on ʿĀ'ishah's side.
670. Kulayb.

sive camel in Baṣrah. I did so, and he said, "Take it to ʿĀʾishah, and give her my greetings!" I did that, too, but she cursed him and said "Return it to him!" I then told al-Ashtar, who said, "ʿĀʾishah is blaming me for letting her sister's son[671] escape!" Then he heard the news that ʿAlī had made Ibn ʿAbbās governor, and he was angry. "For what purpose did we kill the old man?" he asked. "For[672] Yemen is ʿUbaydallāh's, the Ḥijāz is Qutham's, al-Baṣrah is ʿAbdallāh's and al-Kūfah is ʿAlī's."[673] He called for his mount and rode back.[674] When ʿAlī heard of this, he announced that they were departing. He made good speed and caught up with him, but he did not let on that he had heard about it and asked: "Why did you set off? You're way ahead of us." ʿAlī had feared that if al-Ashtar were left to go like this he would cause the people to have seditious ideas.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When the Baṣran delegations had come to the Kūfans[675] and al-Qaʿqāʿ had returned from the Mother of the Faithful and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr with a similar view, ʿAlī gathered the people. He then stood on some sacks, praised Almighty and Glorious Allāh, and magnified Him and prayed for His blessing on the Prophet. He then mentioned the Jāhiliyyah and its misery and Islam and its happiness, and Allāh's grace toward the community in its unity in [recognizing] the first caliph after the Messenger of Allāh and the two[676] who came next. "Then there occurred this evil event brought upon this community by groups [3163] intent only on this world. They were jealous of those Allāh had given it to on account of virtue and wanted to make a complete turnaround. 'But Allāh attains His purpose'[677] and fulfills His will! Tomorrow, then, I'm setting off [toward al-Baṣrah], so all of you do likewise! All of you, that is, except anyone who helped the

671. Sarcastically referring to his fight with ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr (see pp. 153, 167, below).

672. Following Ibrāhīm, who has *idh* for the text's *idhā*, "if."

673. I.e., the nepotism carries on, but with Banū Hāshim rather than Umayyah.

674. Toward al-Kūfah or perhaps Medina.

675. Inserting *ahl* with Ibrāhīm and *Addenda*, DCXXXIII.

676. Ibrāhīm only has one.

677. *Bālighun amrahu* (Qurʾān 65:3), cited probably in the *qirāʾah* of Ibn ʿĀmir (cf. p. 109, below) or Abū ʿAmr, certainly not of Ḥafṣ, which has *bālighu amrihi* (Ibn al-Mujāhid, 639).

cause against ʿUthmān in any way at all; they will not set off tomorrow. Let the fools rely on themselves and do without me!"

A group then gathered,[678] among them ʿIlbāʾ b. al-Haytham,[679] ʿAdī b. Ḥātim,[680] Sālim b. Thaʿlabah al-ʿAbsī, Shurayḥ b. Awfā b. Ḍubayʿah,[681] al-Ashtar, and a number of others who had attacked ʿUthmān and approved of it. They were joined by the Egyptians, Ibn al-Sawdāʾ,[682] and Khālid b. Muljam. They conferred among themselves and asked, "What should we do? Here is ʿAlī. He understands the Book of Allāh more than those who seek ʿUthmān's killers[683] and is in the best position to act on the matter. He has stated his position and yet only they and a few others have rallied to him. So how will he react when he draws up to his opponents and they to him and they see how few we are compared to their great number? By Allāh! You will be wanted for retaliation, and you'll have no escape!" "We know Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's position," replied al-Ashtar, "but ʿAlī's we've only discovered today.
[3164] Everyone's opinion about us, by Allāh! is the same, and if they and ʿAlī make amends we're dead men! So come on! let's rise up together against ʿAlī and unite him with ʿUthmān! A *fitnah* will then return in which all that will be wanted from us is to keep out of it." "This is a bad idea," said ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sawdāʾ. "You Kūfan killers of ʿUthmān at Dhū Qār, you number only 2,500 or 2,600 and Ibn al-Ḥanẓaliyyah[684] here and his men are 5,000, and they're longing to find a way of fighting you. You hardly have room to be offering advice!"[685]

"Let's go away from them and leave them," said ʿIlbāʾ b. al-

678. Cf. Lau, 108.
679. From Bakr b. Wāʾil (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 153, II, 354).
680. Companion of the Prophet, d. 68/687–88 (*EI*², s.v.).
681. Shurayḥ b. Awfā b. Yazīd al-ʿAbsī fell at Nahrawān (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 132, II, 533). Is there confusion with the Shurayḥ b. Ḍubayʿah of Qays b. Thaʿlabah of Bakr b. Wāʾil (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 155, II, 533)?
682. ʿAbdallāh b. Saba'.
683. The text is difficult, and, following *Addenda*, DCXXXIII, IA's version, 235, has been adopted here. Ibrāhīm inserts *wa-aqrabu* after *bi-kitāb Allāh* "he understands the Book of Allāh most and is closer than those who seek ʿUthmān's killers."
684. Al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr.
685. Or "improve your position first!" (Ibrāhīm n., Lane, 1917c).

Haytham. "Then, if ʿAlī's side decreases, their enemy will have more power over them,[686] whereas, if they increase, they will be more likely to make peace to your disadvantage. So leave them! Go back and stay in some town until someone comes in whom you can find protection. Pull out from this army!" "This is also a bad idea," said ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sawdāʾ. "By Allāh! For you to be in a particular place[687] and not mixed in among innocent parties is just what the people want. If your suggestion came about, you would be easy prey." "By Allāh! I neither agree nor disagree," ʿAdī b. Ḥātim replied, "but I *am* surprised at those who express any hesitation about killing [ʿAlī]. But, given what has happened and the position [ʿAlī] has achieved among the people, we have an excellent supply of horses and weapons, so if you advance we will and if you hold back we will also." "Well said!" ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sawdāʾ. But Sālim b. Thaʿlabah said: "Some people do what they do out of desire for this world, but not me! By Allāh! If I meet [3165] them tomorrow I won't run home,[688] and if when I meet them in battle I stay alive let it be for no longer than the slaughtering of a camel already destined for slaughter. I swear by Allāh! You're afraid of swords like people whose affairs are only arranged by the sword." "Do you hear that?!" remarked ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sawdāʾ, but Shurayḥ b. Awfā said: "Organize yourselves before you go out! Don't delay anything that you need to do quickly, and don't rush anything that you need to delay! The people have the worst opinion of us, and I've no idea what they might do tomorrow when they come together."

Then Ibn al-Sawdāʾ spoke up:[689] "Listen, men! Your strength lies in being linked with everyone else, so cultivate them. But then, when they meet tomorrow, get the fight going! Don't give them time to think; then those around you[690] will have no option but to defend themselves. Allāh will then divert ʿAlī and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and those who share their views from what you

686. And they will need us.
687. Cf. p. 27, above. Ibrāhīm suggests "of one opinion."
688. Or "I wouldn't go back on anything" if *shayʾ* (see Prym's n.) is read for *baytī*.
689. Cf. Lau, 108.
690. ʿAlī's army.

would hate to happen."[691] They thought this plan was best[692] and went their ways agreed on it. No one else knew about it.

The next morning found ʿAlī mounted and riding out with his army. When he reached ʿAbd al-Qays[693] he dismounted among them and those Kūfans who had come out. ʿAlī was in front.[694] Then he set off again until he dismounted at al-Zāwiyah,[695] where more men caught up with him,[696] for he had gone on ahead of them. When ʿAlī's plan reached the Baṣrans and ʿAlī had dismounted as just described, Abū al-Jarbāʾ[697] went up to al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and said, "The best plan is for you now to send a thousand horsemen to go against this man in the evening or[698] the morning before he meets up with his followers." "Abū al-
[3166] Jarbāʾ," replied al-Zubayr, "we're familiar with the affairs of war, but they are fellow Muslims, and this is an unprecedented situation that has never before arisen. It's a situation in which those meeting Almighty and Glorious Allāh without an excuse now will find their excuse cut off on the Day of Resurrection also. Furthermore, their delegate[699] has left us with a kind of agreement, and I am hopeful that we'll achieve peace, so keep cheerful and patient."

Then Ṣabrah b. Shaymān came up and said: "Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. Let us use this opportunity to kill this man![700] Strategy in war is better than brute force." "Ṣabrah," they replied, "we and they are Muslims and this is a situation that hasn't risen before today, that there should have been a Qur'ān revealed about it or a *Sunnah* established by the Messenger of God. No, it's something new. There are those who held that it shouldn't be set in mo-

691. Peace.

692. The text has "so understand this plan, and go away agreed!" as though Ibn al-Sawdāʾ were still speaking.

693. Near Dār al-Rizq (al-ʿAlī, 301; Massignon, 157).

694. The text is corrupt here, probably dittographic, but followed by Ibrāhīm. The translation follows Wellhausen, 160, and de Goeje (*Addenda*, DCXXXIII), who follows IA, 236.

695. It is not clear what this place was, but it was probably in northern Baṣrah near the road to Ābādān (al-ʿAlī, 290; Massignon, 157).

696. Following Ibrāhīm and text n. h.

697. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 82 or 189, II, 258.

698. Reading *aw* for *wa*.

699. Al-Qaʿqāʿ.

700. ʿAlī.

tion today—ʿAlī and his followers—but we said rather that we shouldn't leave it today or postpone it. ʿAlī said: 'What we're calling you to do—conceding to these regicides—is evil, but it's better than something yet more evil! It may seem like something unattainable, but it's about to become clear to us. The laws between Muslims entail choosing those of most general use and least damaging application.'"

Then Kaʿb b. Sūr came up and said: "What are you all waiting for? You've already made your way to their front lines, so cut off this head of their [forces]!" "Kaʿb" they replied, "this is a problem between us and our brothers, and it is far from clear. By Allāh! The Companions of Muḥammad have never taken a course of action since Almighty and Glorious Allāh sent His Prophet without knowing[701] where to put their feet, until this situation arose, [3167] but now they don't know whether they're coming or going. Today something might look good to us and bad to our brothers; tomorrow it will seem bad to us and good to them. We're producing arguments against them that they don't consider valid; then they produce similar ones.[702] We want peace if only they would respond to it and carry it out. Otherwise the final remedy is cauterization."[703]

Some Kūfan groups went up to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and questioned him why they were advancing against the other side. Among them was al-Aʿwar b. Bunān al-Minqarī, to whom ʿAlī replied: "For *iṣlāḥ* and extinguishing the fire of hatred. I hope Allāh will reunify this community by us and stop their warring, if they respond to me." "And if they don't respond to us?" "We'll leave them alone as long as they leave us alone." "And if they don't leave us alone?" "We'll defend ourselves against them." "Shall we then give them as good as they gave us?" "Yes," replied ʿAlī.

Then up stood Abū Salāmah al-Daʾalānī and asked, "Do you think these people have a case for seeking revenge for this blood, if their intentions are honest before Almighty and Glorious Allāh in so doing?" "Yes," replied ʿAlī. "So do you consider you have a

701. Reading *ʿalimū* after Wellhausen, 160, and Ibrāhīm for the text's *ʿalimnā*. De Goeje disagrees (*Addenda*, DCXXXIII).

702. Reading *amthālihā* with Ibrāhīm for the text's *amthālinā*.

703. I.e., war.

case for delaying retaliation?" "Yes," replied ʿAlī. "In situations that cannot be put right the ruling should be what is least damaging and of most general application." "So what will be our situation if we are afflicted tomorrow?" he asked. ʿAlī replied, "I hope that anyone who is killed, whether from us or from them, with a mind kept sincere to Allāh will be admitted by Allāh to paradise."[704]

Then up stood Mālik b. Ḥabīb[705] and asked, "What are you going to do when you meet these people?" "It's perfectly clear to
[3168] us and them," replied ʿAlī, "that *iṣlāḥ* means stopping this business. If they then give us allegiance, then that will be *iṣlāḥ*; but, if both they and we insist on fighting, then it will be a split that won't be repaired." "And if we are afflicted tomorrow, then what will happen to those of us who get killed?" "Whoever desires Almighty and Glorious Allāh, then it will be his benefit and his salvation," replied ʿAlī and stood up and delivered a sermon to the people. He praised Allāh and magnified Him and said: "Men! Keep control of yourselves. Restrain yourselves from doing or saying anything against these people, for they're your brothers. Be patient over what happens to you, and beware of rushing into anything without our guidance. If you win arguments today you'll lose them tomorrow."[706]

ʿAlī then set off and advanced. He made his armed men and equipment that he had come with go forward until they were in sight of the other army. He then sent Ḥakīm b. Salāmah and Mālik b. Ḥabīb to them, saying, "If you still hold to what was agreed when you left al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, then desist and agree to our dismounting and negotiating the whole business."

At this al-Aḥnaf b. Qays came out to him with Banū Saʿd ready to fight—they were the ones who had protected Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr and had decided against fighting ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. "ʿAlī!" he said. "Our people are in al-Baṣrah claiming that if you overcome them tomorrow you'll kill their men and enslave their women." "I'm not a man to be feared so," replied ʿAlī. "Isn't that only allowed

704. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, I, 440.
705. Al-Wālibī of Asad (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 52) or al-Ashjaʿī of Ghaṭafān (I, 135, II, 389).
706. In the hereafter.

with those who turn away and disbelieve? Haven't you paid attention to the words of Almighty and Glorious Allāh: 'You are not a ruler over them, except those who turn away and disbelieve'?[707] These are Muslims! Can you take care of your people for me?" "Yes, I can," replied al-Aḥnaf, "but you must choose one of two things. Either I join you, in which case it'll be just me on my own, or else I will [stay neutral and] hold back ten thousand swords from you." He then returned to his men and proposed that they abstain. "Tribesmen of Khindif!"[708] he began by saying, and a [3169] group responded to him. Then he called out, "Tribesmen of Tamīm!" and a group responded to him. Then he called out, "Tribesmen of Saʿd!" and every single Saʿdī responded to him. Then he withdrew with them and waited to see what the [remaining] forces would do. Then, when the battle took place and ʿAlī was victorious, al-Aḥnaf's men came en masse and entered into allegiance to ʿAlī, as everyone else had done.

What the narrators[709] transmit concerning al-Aḥnaf is different from Sayf's account from his teachers. What they transmit is as was told me by Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm—Ibn Idrīs—Ḥuṣayn—ʿAmr b. Jaʾwān—al-Aḥnaf b. Qays: We came to Medina on our way to perform the *ḥajj*. We were at our *ḥajj* places and were putting down our baggage when up came a man and said, "They are worked up and have gathered in the mosque." So off we went, and there were the people gathered around a group in the center of the mosque. ʿAlī was there, as were Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. As we joined them ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān arrived. "Here's ʿUthmān," someone said. "He's arrived." He was wearing a length of yellow cloth of his and had covered his head with it. "Is ʿAlī here?" he asked. "Yes," they replied. "Is al-Zubayr here?" he asked. "Yes," they replied. "Is Ṭalḥah here?" he asked. "Yes," they replied. So ʿUthmān said: "I entreat you by Allāh! There is no deity but He! Did you know that the Messenger of God said, 'Whoever buys the enclosure of such and such a tribe Allāh will

707. Qurʾān 88:22–23. The text has *bi-musayṭar*, which is the *qirāʾah* of Ibn ʿĀmir and a non-mainstream transmitter from al-Kisāʾī (Ibn Mujāhid, 682). Ibrāhīm has *bi-muṣayṭar*, which is the *qirāʾah* of the others.

708. A mostly western Arabian genealogical group, including Kinānah, Asad, Tamīm, Ribāb, and Ḍabbah (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 347).

709. *Al-muhaddithūn*.

[3170] forgive him'? So I bought it for 20,000 or 25,000 dirhams. When I then came to the Prophet and said, 'Messenger of Allāh! I bought it,' he replied, 'Join it with our mosque, and the reward will be yours [in the Hereafter]!'" "Allāh be our witness! We certainly did know," they replied. He then mentioned other similar events. When I then met Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr I asked them: "Whom do you command and wish me to give allegiance to? It's obvious this man is going to be killed." "ʿAlī," they replied.[710] "You command and wish me to give allegiance to him?" "Yes!" So I set off and went to Mecca, and while we were there the news of ʿUthmān's murder reached us. ʿĀ'ishah, the Mother of the Faithful, was there, and when I met her I asked, "Whom do you command me to give allegiance to?" "ʿAlī," she replied. "You command and wish me to give allegiance to him?" "Yes!" I therefore returned to ʿAlī in Medina and gave him allegiance. I then returned to my people in Baṣrah, thinking the whole matter had been properly sorted out. But it was not long before someone came to me and said: "Here are ʿĀ'ishah and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. They have dismounted beside al-Khuraybah."[711] "What brings them?" I asked. "They have sent you a message calling you and asking your assistance in revenging ʿUthmān's blood," they replied. So I found myself in the most awful situation I had ever been in, and I said: "It would be extremely serious for me not to support these people, among whom are the Mother of the Faithful and the disciple of the Messenger of Allāh.[712] But it would also be extremely serious for me to fight a man who is the paternal first cousin of the Messenger of God and to whom they commanded me to give allegiance."

When I went to them they said: "We've come to find help to revenge the blood of ʿUthmān. He was unjustly killed." "Mother of the Faithful," I replied, "I entreat you by Allāh! Did I ask you, 'Whom do you command me to give allegiance to?' and you replied, 'To ʿAlī,' to which I replied, 'You command and wish me to give allegiance to him?' and you said, 'Yes'?" "I did," she replied, "but he made changes." "Zubayr, disciple of the Messenger of Allāh, and Ṭalḥah," I then said, "I entreat you both by Allāh! Did I

710. Ibrāhīm has "ʿAlī?"
711. Al-ʿAlī, 297; Massignon, 157.
712. Al-Zubayr.

ask you, 'Whom do you command me to give allegiance to?' and you replied, 'To ʿAlī,' to which I replied, 'You command and wish me to give allegiance to him?' and you said, 'Yes'?" "We did," they replied, "but he made changes." "By Allāh!" I replied: "I will not fight you while among you are the Mother of the Faithful and the [3171] disciple of the Messenger of Allāh. Nor will I fight a man who is the paternal first cousin of the Messenger of God and to whom you commanded me to give allegiance. So select for me one of three courses of action. Either leave open the bridge for me, and I'll move to the land of the Persians until Almighty and Glorious Allāh carries through His preordained command. Or I'll move to Mecca and stay there until Almighty and Glorious Allāh carries through His preordained command. Or I'll withdraw but stay nearby." "We'll discuss the matter and then send you word," they replied.

They discussed it and said: "If we open the bridge for him and he goes and tells the Persians your news, this isn't a good idea. Make him stay here nearby where you can keep him under control[713] and see what he's doing." So he withdrew to al-Jalḥā', two parasangs[714] from al-Baṣrah, and about 6,000 did the same. Then the armies met. The first to be killed was Ṭalḥah, and then Kaʿb b. Sūr who was holding the Qur'ān copy and reminding these men and those,[715] and then other casualties. Al-Zubayr went to Safawān,[716] which is as far from al-Baṣrah as you are from al-Qādisiyyah,[717] and al-Naʿir,[718] a Mujāshiʿī tribesman met him and asked: "Where are you going, disciple of the Messenger of God? Come to me and you'll be under my protection,[719] and no one will get you." So al-Zubayr went with him. Someone came to al-Aḥnaf[720] and asked him, "Al-Zubayr was met in Safawān, so what are your

713. Lit., "tread on his ear hole."
714. Six to eight miles (*EI*², s.v. Farsakh).
715. That they should be seeking peace.
716. Al-ʿAlī, 281.
717. The name of several places in Iraq, the two most important of which are near al-Kūfah (*EI*², s.v.).
718. Mujāshiʿ is in Tamīm (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 61).
719. *Fī dhimmatī*. Cf. Ayoub.
720. Reading (*fa-utiya*) *al-Aḥnafu* for the text's *al-Aḥnafa* but not taking "news" to be understood (*Addenda*, DCXXXIII). Ibrāhīm inserts *khabaruhu*, "news about him reached al-Aḥnaf."

orders?" "He brought the Muslims together so that they were hitting each other's eyebrows with swords; then he retires into his house!" He was heard by ʿUmayr b. Jurmūz, Faḍālah b. Ḥābis,
[3172] and Nufayʿ, so they rode off looking for him and found him with al-Naʿir. ʿUmayr b. Jurmūz, on a weak horse of his, came at [al-Zubayr] from behind and gave him a light stab, at which al-Zubayr, on a horse of his called 'the Veiled,' bore down upon him until, just when he thought he was about to kill him, ʿUmayr b. Jurmūz shouted, "Nāfiʿ! Faḍālah!" Whereupon they bore down on al-Zubayr and killed him.

According to Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm—Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān—his father—Ḥuṣayn—ʿAmr b. Jaʾwān, a Tamīmī: I (Ḥuṣayn) asked ʿAmr, "What was the situation regarding al-Aḥnaf's neutrality?" He replied, "I heard al-Aḥnaf say, 'I came to Medina on my way to perform the *ḥajj*.' He then proceeded to tell the story more or less as above, may Allāh be praised for what He has decreed and judged!"

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib Sends His Son al-Ḥasan and ʿAmmār b. Yāsir from Dhū Qār to Get the Kūfans to Mobilize with Him

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—Bashīr b. ʿĀṣim—Ibn Abī Laylā—his father: Hāshim b. ʿUtbah[721] went out to ʿAlī at al-Rabadhah and told him about Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr's arrival and Abū Mūsā's words. "I wanted to remove him from office," said ʿAlī, "but al-Ashtar asked me to let him stay." ʿAlī then sent Hāshim back to al-Kūfah and wrote a letter to Abū Mūsā: "I have sent Hāshim b. ʿUtbah to get those Muslims with you to come and join me. So make the people come! I appointed you over your charge only so that you might join in assisting me in upholding the truth." At this Abū Mūsā called al-Sāʾib b. Mālik al-Ashʿarī[722] and asked him, "What's your opinion?" "I think," he
[3173] replied, "you should do what he said in his letter." "I disagree," said Abū Mūsā. Hāshim then wrote to ʿAlī, "I came to a man,

721. Al-Mirqal, who fell at Ṣiffīn (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 20, II, 280).
722. From his own tribe; d. 67/687 (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 273, II, 499).

fanatical and divisive, openly full of hatred and loathing." He sent this letter with al-Muḥill b. Khalīfah al-Ṭā'ī.[723]

'Alī then sent his son al-Ḥasan and 'Ammār b. Yāsir to mobilize the men for him, and he sent Qaraẓah b. Ka'b al-Anṣārī[724] to be governor of al-Kūfah. He wrote a letter for him to take to Abū Mūsā: "After greetings. I had thought that your distance from[725] these events, in which Almighty and Glorious Allāh has not given you a part, would have stopped you from disobeying me. However, I have sent my son al-Ḥasan and 'Ammār b. Yāsir to mobilize the men, and I have sent Qaraẓah b. Ka'b al-Anṣārī to be governor of the garrison city.[726] So withdraw from our employment 'blamed and defeated.'[727] If you do not, then I have ordered him to oppose you. If you resist him and he overcomes you, I have ordered him to cut you to pieces."

When he delivered the letter to Abū Mūsā he withdrew. Al-Ḥasan and 'Ammār then entered the mosque. "Men," they said, "the Commander of the Faithful says: 'I have come out in this way either as an oppressor or oppressed. So by Almighty and Glorious Allāh I now remind any man who [wishes to] fulfill his duty toward Allāh that he must come forward. If I am oppressed, he must give me his assistance; if I am an oppressor, he must punish me.[728] By Allāh! Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were the first to give me allegiance and the first to betray. Have I appropriated any money? Have I altered any judgment? So come forward. Enforce the good, forbid the bad!'"

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Mikhnaf—Jābir[729]—al-Sha'bī—Abū al-Ṭufayl:[730] 'Alī said, "There will come to

723. There was an al-Muḥill b. al-Ash'ath al-Ṭā'ī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 254, II, 425).

724. A companion of the Prophet (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 188, II, 466).

725. Reading *bu'dak*, following Wellhausen, 160, and Ibrāhīm for the text's *tu'dhib*.

726. *Al-miṣr*, i.e., al-Kūfah.

727. Qur'ān 17:18. A blatant implication that Abū Mūsā is going to burn in hell.

728. *Glossarium*, CVIII.

729. Ibn Yazīd al-Ju'fī, d. c. 128/746 (U. Sezgin, 133 ff.).

730. 'Āmir b. Wāthilah al-Kinānī. He fought with 'Alī at Ṣiffīn and died as the last surviving Companion of the Prophet in 110/728, aged over a hundred years (U. Zezgin, 134).

[3174] you[731] from al-Kūfah 12,001 men." So I sat on the hill at Dhū Qār and counted them and [sure enough] they numbered no more and no less.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Bashīr b. ʿĀṣim—Ibn Abī Laylā—his father: Twelve thousand men joined up with ʿAlī, and they were organized into sevenths. Maʿqil b. Yasār al-Riyāḥī[732] was in charge of Quraysh, Kinānah, Asad, Tamīm, al-Ribāb, and Muzaynah. Saʿd b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī was in charge of the seventh of Qays. Waʿlah b. Maḥdūj al-Dhuhlī[733] was in charge of the seventh of Bakr b. Wāʾil and Taghlib.[734] Ḥujr b. ʿAdī was in charge of the seventh of Madhḥij and al-Ashʿarīn. Mikhnaf b. Sulaym al-Azdī[735] was in charge of the seventh of Bajīlah, Anmār, Khathʿam, and al-Azd.

ʿAlī Sets Up Camp at al-Zāwiyah of al-Baṣrah

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—Maslamah b. Muḥārib—Qatādah: ʿAlī set up camp at al-Zāwiyah for a few days, and al-Aḥnaf sent a message to him: "If you wish I personally will join you, or if you wish I will prevent 4,000 swords[736] from attacking you." "How so, considering how you have promised neutrality to your followers?" came back ʿAlī's reply. "But to fight them is to fulfill my promise to Almighty and Glorious Allāh," replied al-Aḥnaf. So ʿAlī sent a message to him: "Prevent whomever you can from fighting [me]!" ʿAlī then left al-Zāwiyah, and Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾishah left al-Furḍah,[737] and they all met at the place where ʿUbaydallāh (or ʿAbdallāh) b. Ziyād's[738]

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731. I.e., his forces.

732. Most probably of Muzaynah, the Companion of the Prophet, d. 60/680 (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 88, II, 399).

733. Probably Waʿlah b. al-Mujāhid al-Dhuhlī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 152, II, 586). Ibrāhīm has Makhdūj here but Maḥduj in the next report.

734. Up to here all northern Arabs. From here all southern Arabs.

735. Head of a famous Kūfan Azd family and great-grandfather of Abū Mikhnaf, the historian (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 218, II, 407).

736. Cf. the 10,000, p. 109, above.

737. Massignon, 157.

738. Ibn Abīhi, governor of al-Baṣrah in the mid-50s/670s and later also of al-Kūfah, sent troops against Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ in 61/680; he was killed in 67/686 (*EI*[1], s.v.).

castle was [later situated]. When the armies had gathered, Shaqīq b. Thawr[739] sent a message to ʿAmr b. Marjūm al-ʿAbdī:[740] "Advance! and lead us toward ʿAlī's army!" So they both advanced through the quarters of ʿAbd al-Qays and Bakr b. Wāʾil.[741] They then turned toward the army of the Commander of the Faithful. "Whoever these men are with," said the people, "has won." Shaqīq b. Thawr handed their banner to a *mawlā* of his called [3175] Rashrāshah. So Waʿlah b. Maḥdūj al-Dhuhlī sent him a message: "Nobility has perished! You have handed the honor of your tribe over to Rashrāshah!" "Mind your own business and we'll mind ours!" Shaqīq's reply came back. They remained three days, and no fighting occurred between them. ʿAlī continued to send messages to them, speak with them, and restrain them.

According to ʿUmar—Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī—Qatādah: ʿAlī left al-Zāwiyah, heading for Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾishah left al-Furḍah, heading for ʿAlī, and they all met at the place of the castle of ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād on Thursday, 14 Jumādā II 36/8 December 656.[742] "When the two armies came in sight of each other"[743] al-Zubayr rode out on a horse, heavily armed. "Here comes al-Zubayr!" ʿAlī was told. "If Allāh is to be called to mind,"[744] said ʿAlī, "then he's the more probable of the two to take heed."[745] Ṭalḥah also rode out. ʿAlī then went out to them, near enough for the necks of their mounts to cross each other. "By my life!" exclaimed ʿAlī. "You've prepared weapons and horses and men. If you have prepared an excuse before Allāh then fear Allāh,[746] may He be praised! 'Do not be[747] like the woman who undoes what

739. Of Bakr b. Wāʾil, leader in the conquests (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 153, II, 526).

740. Leader of ʿAbd al-Qays for ʿAlī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 169, II, 179), for the text's and Ibrāhīm's Ibn Marḥūm.

741. Al-ʿAlī, 291; Massignon, 157.

742. Cf. p. 158, above, where al-Wāqidī dates it 10 Jumādā II.

743. Qurʾān 26:61, where Moses was fighting Pharaoh.

744. By quoting the Qurʾān, as in what follows.

745. Reading either *yadhdhakkaru* in the fifth stem, as in Qurʾān 80:4 ("Or take heed and benefit by it"), or *yadhdhakiru* in the eighth stem, with Nöldeke (*Addenda*, DCXXXIII) and Wellhausen, 160, meaning more or less the same. The text has *yudhakkaru* "be reminded," which Ibrāhīm emends to *yadhkuruhu* "to remember."

746. Because the excuse cannot be good.

747. Dual, rather than plural, as in the Qurʾān.

she has spun tightly into separate threads.'[748] Am I not brother in religion to you both, you holding my blood sacred and me yours?[749] Has a crime occurred allowing you to kill me?" "You incited the people against ʿUthmān," replied Ṭalḥah. "'On that Day Allāh will show them their true religion fully, and they will know that it is Allāh who is the plain truth,'"[750] quoted ʿAlī. "You, Ṭalḥah! You are seeking revenge for the blood of ʿUthmān! May Allāh curse ʿUthmān's killers![751] Al-Zubayr! do you remem-
[3176] ber the day you passed me in Banū Ghanm[752] territory with the Messenger of Allāh and he looked at me and laughed and I laughed with him, and you said, 'Ibn Abī Ṭālib is always proud!' and the Messenger of Allāh said to you, 'Quiet! He is not conceited. Believe me, you're going to fight him, and you'll be the aggressor'?" "O Allāh! I do, and had I remembered I wouldn't have come out like this. By Allāh! I will never fight you!" So ʿAlī left [them and returned] to his followers and said, "Al-Zubayr has just made a pledge to Allāh not to fight you." Al-Zubayr returned to ʿĀ'ishah and said to her, "This is the only important situation I've been in since being able to reason when I haven't known what I was doing." "What do you want to do?" she asked. "I want to leave them and go," he replied, but his son ʿAbdallāh said to him: "You've brought these two armies[753] face to face and they've set up their lines of battle against each other, and you want to leave them and go! You've caught sight of Ibn Abī Ṭālib's banners and realized that strong young men are carrying them." "I have sworn an oath not to fight him," he replied, and what his son said to him angered him. ʿAbdallāh said, "Redeem your oath and fight him!"

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748. Qur'ān 16:92. The context concerns the importance of keeping oaths and that they should not be broken for political reasons.

749. Reading *tuharrimāni . . . wa-uḥarrimu*, following Ibrāhīm, for the text's *tuḥramāni . . . wa-uḥramu* "you're forbidden my blood, and I'm forbidden yours."

750. Qur'ān 24:25. While the immediate context in the Qur'ān refers to those who slander Muslim women and is interpreted as referring to ʿĀ'ishah, ʿAlī is saying that Allāh will punish Ṭalḥah for slandering him. The implicit reference to ʿĀ'ishah may be an ironic twist.

751. I.e., you; cf. the parallel passage, p. 126, below.

752. The name of a number of clans (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 272), perhaps Ghanm b. Dūdān of Asad in Mecca.

753. *Al-ghārayn*; see p. 118, below; Ibrāhīm 502, n. 2; Lane, 2308a. The reading *al-ʿārrayn* (*Addenda*, DCXXXIII) means "favor-seekers" or "guests" (Lane, 1991b).

So al-Zubayr called for a slave of his called Makḥūl and freed him.[754] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Taymī[755] then said the verses

I have never seen, as I have today, a brother of brothers[756]
more astonishing[757] than one redeeming his oaths
By freeing a slave, but in disobedience to the Merciful.[758]

One of their poets added the verses

He sets Makḥūl free to save his religion
as an expiation to Allāh for his oath,
Perfidy[759] written all over his face!

Return to Sayf's account from Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah [3177]

ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn[760] sent a message to the people, urging them all to leave both the armies, as al-Aḥnaf had done. Among those to whom he sent a message were Banū ʿAdī, and his messenger approached until he called out at the door of their mosque, "Listen! Abū Nujayd ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn sends you his greetings. He says to you, 'I would far prefer to be [away] at the base of some mountain[761] among nanny goats with lopsided udders[762] and sheep, shearing their fleeces and drinking their milk, than to shoot one arrow at anyone from these two battle lines!'" With a single voice Banū ʿAdī all replied: "By Allāh! We are not going to leave the household of the Messenger of God (meaning the Mother of the Faithful) for anything!"

According to ʿAmr b. ʿAlī—Yazīd b. Zurayʿ—Abū Naʿāmah al-ʿAdawī—Ḥujayr b. al-Rabīʿ: ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn told me, "Go to

754. Cf. p. 126, below.
755. Following Ibrāhīm and *Addenda*, DCXXXIII, instead of the text's al-Tamīmī.
756. Al-Zubayr.
757. Reading *aʿjaba* (*Addenda*, DCXXXIII) for the text's *aʿjabu*.
758. A proper redeeming of an oath would have to be in obedience.
759. Because of his promises to Muḥammad and ʿAlī.
760. Of Khuzāʿah, a Compaion of the Prophet, d. 52/673 (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 197, II, 357).
761. Reading *jabal ḥaḍan*, following Nöldeke (*Addenda*, DCXXXIII) and Ibrāhīm.
762. Reading *aʿnuz ḥudun* (Lane, 591a,b), following Nöldeke (*Addenda*, DCXXXIII). According to *Glossarium*, CXCV, it may mean "very red/black nanny goats." The text and Ibrāhīm have *aʿnuz khuḍr*, "tawny nanny goats." Cf. also the next report.

your tribe, when they have all gathered together, and stand up among them and say: 'ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn, Companion of the Messenger of Allāh, has sent me to you to give you his greetings and ask for Allāh's mercy on you. He has sworn an oath by Allāh, apart from Whom there is no other god, that he would far prefer to be a mutilated Ethiopian slave pasturing nanny goats with lopsided udders[763] on some mountain top until the day he dies than for a single arrow to be shot between the two armies.'" The leaders of the tribe lifted their heads to him[764] and said, "We are never going to leave the household of the Messenger of God for anything!"

[3178] *Return to Sayf's account from Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah*

The Baṣrans were in factions: One sided with Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, one with ʿAlī, and a third did not agree with fighting anyone from either side. ʿĀʾishah came out from the house where she was staying and moved down to the mosque of al-Ḥuddān[765] in the Azd quarter—the battle took place in their compound. The chief of the Azd at that time was Ṣabrah b. Shaymān, and Kaʿb b. Sūr said to him: "When the armies see each other you won't be able to hold them back. It will be like torrents gushing forth. So obey me, and don't be there with them! Withdraw with your tribe! I fear that peace won't prevail. So keep behind this deluge, and leave these two armies of Muḍar and Rabīʿah. After all, they are two brothers.[766] If they make amends, then peace is what we've been wanting; if they fight, then we can be their judges tomorrow." Now Kaʿb had been a Christian in the Jāhiliyyah, so Ṣabrah said to him: "I fear there is some Christianity in you—are you telling me to abstain from *iṣlāḥ* between Muslims?! And to desert the Mother of the Faithful, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr if they reject [ʿAlī's] peace offer?! And to leave seeking revenge for ʿUth-

763. Reading *aʿnuzan ḥaḍaniyyāt*, following Nöldeke (*Addenda*, DCXXXIII); *Glossarium*, CXCV, and Ibrāhīm. Cf. also the previous report. The text has *aʿnuzan ḥaṣīnāt*, "inaccessible?/pregnant? nanny goats."

764. Signifying readiness to reply after listening.

765. Massignon, 157.

766. They should make peace. They shared an eponymous "father," Nizār, as opposed to the Yamanīs here being addressed.

mān?! By Allāh! I'd never do such a thing!" So the Yamanīs[767] agreed to be present at the battle.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ḍurays al-Bajalī—Ibn Yaʿmar: When al-Aḥnaf b. Qays returned from being with ʿAlī he was met by Hilāl b. Wakīʿ b. Mālik b. ʿAmr,[768] who asked him, "What's your decision?" "To withdraw. What's yours?" "To protect the Mother of the Faithful. Are you going to leave us and you're our chief?" "I will be your chief only tomorrow when you are killed and I remain," replied al-Aḥnaf. "You're saying all this, and you're our elder!" said Hilāl. Al-Aḥnaf replied, "I'm the elder who is disobeyed, and you're the youth who is obeyed." Banū Saʿd then followed al-Aḥnaf, and he withdrew with them to Wādī al-Sibāʿ.[769] Banū Ḥanẓalah followed Hilāl, and Banū ʿAmr[770] agreed with Abū al-Jarbāʾ and fought. [3179]

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad—Abū ʿUthmān: When al-Aḥnaf came, he called out, "Tribesmen of Udd,[771] withdraw from this business, and leave these two armies to be quick or slow!"[772] But al-Minjāb b. Rāshid[773] called out: "Tribesmen of al-Ribāb,[774] don't withdraw! Witness this business, and take it on yourselves to be the quick ones!" So they separated. Then al-Aḥnaf called out, "Tribesmen of Tamīm, withdraw from this business, and leave these two armies to be quick or slow!" But Abū al-Jarbāʾ (who belonged to Banū Ghaylān[775] b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm) got up and called out: "Tribesmen of ʿAmr, don't withdraw from this business! Take it on yourselves to be the quick ones!" Abū al-Jarbāʾ was leading Banū ʿAmr b. Ta-

767. Following the lead of Azd, Ṣabrah's people.
768. From the same tribe.
769. Five miles from Baṣrah on the Mecca road (Yāqūt, V, 343).
770. These three groups were all part of Tamīm.
771. Reading *yā la-Udd* following Ibrāhīm, who notes that this is Udd b. Ṭābikhah (see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 59). He was a major eponym for northern Arabs, comprising, among others, all the tribes and men in this *khabar*. Prym notes that the text's *yā la-Zayd* is incorrect; for the emendation *yā la-Wudd*, see *Addenda*, DCXXXIII.
772. *Glossarium*, CDLXI.
773. Of Ḍabbah; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 90, II, 408.
774. Part of Udd; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 85–87.
775. For the text's ʿUthmān, see Caskel and Strenziok, II, 203. Abū al-Jarbāʾ was ʿĀṣim b. Dulaf (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 82, II, 203).

mīm, and al-Minjāb b. Rāshid was leading Banū Ḍabbah.[776] Then, when al-Aḥnaf called out, "Tribesmen of Zayd Manāh,[777] withdraw from this business, and leave these two armies to be quick or slow!" Hilāl b. Wakīʿ replied, "Don't withdraw from this business!" and called out, "Tribesmen of Ḥanẓalah,[778] take it on yourselves to be the quick ones!" Hilāl was leading Ḥanẓalah. Banū Saʿd[779] did obey al-Aḥnaf and withdrew to Wādī al-Sibāʿ.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Mujāshiʿ b. Masʿūd al-Sulamī[780] led Hawāzin,[781] Banū Sulaym,[782] and al-Aʿjaz. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith[783] led ʿĀmir.[784] Aʿṣur b. al-Nuʿmān al-Bāhilī led Ghaṭafān.[785] Mālik b. Mismaʿ[786] led Bakr b. Wāʾil. The whole of ʿAbd al-Qays withdrew to ʿAlī, except for one man who stayed back. There were those who stayed back from Bakr b. Wāʾil, those that withdrew equaling those that stayed. They were led by Sinān.

[3180] Al-Azd had three leaders: Ṣabrah b. Shaymān,[787] Masʿūd,[788] and Ziyād b. ʿAmr.[789] Al-Shawādhib had two leaders. Al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid[790] led Muḍar. Al-Ruʿbī (nicknamed) al-Jarmī[791] led Quḍāʿah and its followers, and Dhū al-Ājurah al-Ḥimyarī[792] led the rest of Yaman.

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776. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 89 ff.

777. Who included Ḥanẓalah and Saʿd; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 59.

778. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 59.

779. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 75. Al-Aḥnaf belonged to the ʿAmr branch; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 76.

780. Caskel and Strenziok, II, 419.

781. All tribes in this paragraph are northern.

782. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 122 ff.

783. Of Banū ʿĀmir; he fought with Muʿāwiyah at Ṣiffīn (Caskel, pl. 96 no. 609).

784. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 93 ff.

785. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 127 ff.

786. A prominent Qays and Bakr leader (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 155, II, 391; Pellat, 33, 152, 196).

787. Al-Ḥuddānī (on ʿĀʾishah's side); see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 216, II, 534. All tribes and identified men in this paragraph were southern Arabs, apart from Khirrīt.

788. Ibn ʿAmr al-Qamar; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 213, II, 402.

789. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 203, II, 606.

790. Chief of the Banū Nājiyah. He fought with ʿAlī again at Ṣiffīn but later broke with him, so ʿAlī sent after him, and he was killed (*EI*², s.v.). He belonged to ʿAbd al-Bayt b. al-Ḥārith (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 29, II, 347, 123). See also I, 3418 ff.

791. Jarm b. Rabbān were reckoned among Quḍāʿah; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 327, II, 259.

792. Dhū al-ʿAshīrah b. Dallāl; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 278, II, 236?

Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr came out and took up a position with the army at al-Zābūqah,[793] in the location of Qaryat al-Arzāq. Then the whole of Muḍar took up a position there, and they were in no doubt that peace would prevail. The whole of Rabīʿah took up a position above them, and they were in no doubt that peace would prevail. The whole of Yaman took up a position below them, and they also were in no doubt that peace would prevail. ʿĀʾishah was in al-Ḥuddān; the army, 30,000 strong, was at al-Zābūqah, led by those just mentioned. They sent Ḥakīm[794] [b. Salāmah] and Mālik [b. Ḥabīb] back to ʿAlī with the message "We stand by what we agreed to when we left al-Qaʿqāʿ,[795] so come forward!"[796] The two of them left and came to ʿAlī with the message, so he mounted and [went and] took up a position opposite them. The tribes took up positions opposite their own tribes, Muḍar facing Muḍar, Rabīʿah facing Rabīʿah, and Yaman facing Yaman,[797] and they were in no doubt that peace would prevail. Some stood opposite others, and some went across to others, and all they talked about and intended was peace.

The Commander of the Faithful had come out with his 20,000 followers. The Kūfans were led by the same men who had come with them to Dhū Qār. ʿAbd al-Qays had three leaders: Jadhīmah[798] and Bakr were led by Ibn al-Jārūd,[799] al-ʿUmūr were led by ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sawdāʾ, and Ahl Hajar were led by Ibn al-Ashajj.[800] Bakr b. Wāʾil from the Baṣrans were led by Ibn al-Ḥārith b. Nahār, and the Zuṭṭ and Sayābijah were led by Danūr b. ʿAlī. [3181]
ʿAlī had come to Dhū Qār with 10,000 and a further 10,000 had joined him.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—Bashīr b.

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793. Al-ʿAlī, 292; Massignon, 157.

794. For the text's Ḥukaym, see p. 13, above; *Addenda*, DCXXXIV; Wellhausen, 160, and Ibrāhīm.

795. Following Ibrāhīm's vocalization.

796. To make peace.

797. Cf. Muir, 249: "The Beni Ar-Rabiʿa of Al-Kufa fought against the Beni Ar-Rabiʿa of Al-Basra, the Beni Modar of the one against the Beni Modar of the other." Muḍar and Rabīʿah were reckoned as constituting the northern Arabs, Yamaniyyah the southern.

798. Caskel, pl. 169.

799. Probably al-Mundhir b. Bishr, governor of Isṭakhr for ʿAlī, d. 61/680–81; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 169, II, 429.

800. The son of al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashajj? See Caskel and Strenziok, I, 169, II, 429. Therefore amend Ahl Hajar to Ahl ʿAṣar?

ʿĀṣim—Fiṭr b. Khalīfah—Mundhir al-Thawrī—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah: We set off from Medina with 700 men, and 7,000[801] joined us from Kūfah. A further 2,000 sided with us from[802] round about Baṣrah, most of them Bakr b. Wāʾil; some say 6,000.

Return to Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah's account

When everyone had taken up position and was calm, ʿAlī, Ṭalḥah, and al-Zubayr came out, and they stood facing one another. They discussed their differences and realized that peace and cessation of hostilities were the only appropriate course of action, as they saw that authority had begun to disintegrate and that it might not be regained. So they dispersed from that place on that understanding. ʿAlī returning to his camp, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr to theirs.

The Battle

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: At dusk ʿAlī sent ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās to Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, and at the same time they sent Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah to ʿAlī with the advice that each side should talk with its followers, and they agreed. So that evening—in Jumādā II—Ṭalḥah and al-
[3182] Zubayr sent a message to the chiefs of their followers, and ʿAlī did so to his, apart from those who had rebelled against ʿUthmān. So when they retired to bed there was peace. They slept that night as they never had before, because they were free from what they were on the point of and because they had withdrawn from the demands and plans that some of them had been making.[803]

But those who had stirred up the question of ʿUthmān spent the worst night of their lives, for they were on the verge of destruction.[804] All night they were busy in discussion until they decided secretly to open hostilities. They kept it secret for fear that their evil machinations would be found out. Before dawn the next day

801. Cf. Conrad.
802. Ibrāhīm has *man* for the text's *min*.
803. Lau, 108.
804. Peace would lead to their being brought to justice.

they got up, unnoticed by those nearby, and slipped out on their mission in the dark. Their Muḍar went to[805] their Muḍar, their Rabīʿah to their Rabīʿah, their Yamaniyyah to their Yamaniyyah and began using their weapons [against them]. So the Baṣrans rose up, and so did each fighting group against those of their fellows who had launched a surprise attack against them.[806]

Al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥah then came out with the chiefs of Muḍar and sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām[807] to lead the right flank (who were Rabīʿah) and sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb b. Asīd[808] to the left flank, themselves remaining in the center, and asked,[809] "What is all this?" "The Kūfans came upon us at night" was the reply. At this they said, "We knew that ʿAlī wouldn't stop until he had spilled blood and desecrated what is sacred and that he would never come to an agreement with us." The two of them then returned with the Baṣrans, who repelled those Kūfans[810] [who had launched the surprise attack] and forced them back to their camp. ʿAlī and the Kūfans heard the noise. A man had been placed[811] near ʿAlī to tell him what they wanted him to hear. So when he asked, "What's going on?" this man replied: "A force of theirs made a surprise attack on us at night, [3183] but we sent them back to where they came from. We then found them ready for battle, and they began attacking, so everyone rose up to fight." ʿAlī then said to the commander of the right wing of his army, "Engage the right flank!" and to the commander of the left wing: "Engage the left flank! I knew[812] that Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr wouldn't stop until they had spilled blood and desecrated what is sacred and that they would never come to an agreement with us and that the Saba'iyyah would not cease causing trou-

805. Caetani, IX, 178.

806. *Bahatūhum*, mistranslated by Lau (108) as "had lied to them."

807. From Quraysh; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 23, II, 129.

808. From Quraysh; killed in the Battle of the Camel; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 8, II, 128.

809. *Qālā*. Ibrāhīm's *qāla* is a misprint.

810. Following IA, 232.

811. By the attackers. According to IA, 232, by the Saba'iyyah, and to Caetani, IX, 179, by ʿUthmān's murderers. That the troublemakers were the Saba'iyyah is not specified in this report from Sayf until ʿAlī's remark, which looks like an interpolation; see note 813.

812. Following the text's *ʿalimtu* for Ibrāhīm's *ʿalimta*.

ble."[813] ʿAlī then shouted out to the people: "Hold back! It's nothing!"

Now it had been their unanimous decision regarding this *fitnah* not to be the first aggressor. In that way, they could produce proof and demand rights against the others. [They agreed that] they would not kill anyone running away, nor would they finish off any wounded, nor would they pursue. This was some of what the two sides decided upon and then proclaimed publicly.[814]

According to Al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah and Abū ʿAmr: Kaʿb b. Sūr came up to ʿĀʾishah and said: "Do something [to save the situation], for the troops are intent on fighting! May Allāh give you success in restoring peace!" So she mounted, and they covered her howdah with protective armor; then they sent her camel named ʿAskar, forward. Yaʿlā b. Umayyah, who had bought it for 200 dinars,[815] had lifted her up on to it. When she emerged from the houses she could hear a commotion, so she halted and soon heard an even louder commotion. "What is it?" she asked, and they replied, "It is the clamor of the army." "For good or for bad?" she asked. "For bad." "Whichever of the parties this clamor comes from," she said, "they will be defeated." By Allāh! She was still standing when
[3184] defeat surprised her. Al-Zubayr headed off in the direction he happened to be facing and took the road to Wādī al-Sibāʿ. As for Ṭalḥah, an arrow from an unknown archer[816] pinned his knee to the side of his horse. When his boot filled with blood and he became drowsy,[817] he said to his *ghulām*: "Get up behind me on the horse. Hold on to me tightly, and find me a place where I can get off." So they went to al-Baṣrah, and he represented his and al-Zubayr's case in the following poem:

Events have hit and killed me [with their arrow],
while I, on shooting my arrow, have missed them.

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813. This last phrase appears to have been tagged on (a little awkwardly) to ʿAlī's criticism of Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, or perhaps it means "so long as the Saba'iyyah keep causing trouble."

814. Caetani, IX, 179.

815. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 67, II, 590.

816. See pp. 127, 150, below.

817. Lane, 343c.

I was lost when I pursued a share[818]
out of a foolishness I committed, having lost my good sense.
I was like al-Kusaʿī[819] in my regret when,
against my better judgment, I bought the approval of Banū Sahm.[820]
I obeyed them by separating from Āl Laʾy,[821]
who then threw my meat and blood to the wild animals.

Another Account of the Battle of the Camel

According to Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]: Others have given accounts of this battle and of al-Zubayr and how he left his post that day, which differ from Sayf's account from his two informants. Some of them gave the account of that which Aḥmad b. Zuhayr (—his father Abū Khaythamah—Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—his father—Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Aylī—al-Zuhrī) told me[822] in an account of the story of ʿAlī, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, and ʿĀʾishah, which we are in the process of relating: The news, that is, of the seventy who were killed with al-ʿAbdī[823] at al-Baṣrah, reached ʿAlī, so he advanced [3185] with 12,000 men and came to al-Baṣrah and said:

How deeply I mourn for Rabīʿah,[824]
Rabīʿah who always heard [me] and obeyed.
This tradition of theirs[825] was what caused this disaster.

When the [forces] confronted each other ʿAlī went out on his horse and called out to al-Zubayr, and the two of them confronted each other. ʿAlī asked al-Zubayr, "What has brought you [to this]?"

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818. A pun on the word *sahm*, which also means "arrow," as in the previous line.
819. Who regretted the harm he did to himself through his own stupidity (Thaʿālibi, s.v. *nadāmat al-Kusaʿā*; Fretag, II, 776).
820. I.e., Banū Umayyah. A further pun on the word.
821. I.e., Banū Hāshim.
822. I.e., Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī.
823. Al-Ḥakīm b. Jabalah.
824. ʿAbd al-Qays was part of Rabīʿah. Cf. p. 86, above.
825. Reading *sunnatuhā* with Ibrāhīm, i.e., a tradition of obedience to ʿAlī. De Goeje suggests *nubbiʾtuhā* "I have been given the news that they have had a disaster" (*Addenda*, DCXXXIV).

"You," he replied. "I don't find you[826] suitable for this leadership or more entitled to it than we." "After ʿUthmān," replied ʿAlī, "it is certainly not you who are suitable for it. We considered you one of Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[827] until your son,[828] the son of evil, reached maturity and created a division between us and you." ʿAlī then said how bad the evil he had done was and mentioned how the Prophet had passed by the two of them and had said to ʿAlī: "What did the son of your father's sister[829] say? He will fight you, being the aggressor." Al-Zubayr then left him, saying, "I will not fight you." He returned to his son ʿAbdallāh and said, "I have no firm conviction about this war." "When you set out you did have," replied his son, "but you saw the banners of Ibn Abī Ṭālib and you realized that that meant death, so you lost heart." These words angered him so that he shook with rage and said angrily: "Woe betide you! I have sworn him an oath not to fight him." "Expiate your oath by freeing your *ghulām* Sarjis," his son replied. So he freed him, and he joined the ranks alongside them. ʿAlī had said to al-Zubayr: "Are you asking me for compensation for the blood of ʿUthmān, when it was you who killed him? I ask Allāh in His power right now to give a hateful punishment[830] to he among us who was the severest in opposing ʿUthmān." ʿAlī said to Ṭalḥah: "You have brought the Messenger of Allāh's wife to make her fight while you hide your wife at home.[831] Didn't you give me allegiance?" "I did," he replied, "but with the sword at my neck."

[3186] ʿAlī then said to those around him:[832] "Which of you will hold up this copy of the Qur'ān and what is in it before them? Should his hand be cut off, he will then take it with his other one; if that is cut off, he will take it with his teeth." A young boy[833] said, "I will." ʿAlī put this to everyone around him, but none volunteered

826. Reading *lā arāka* for the text's *lā urāka*.

827. Ṣafiyyah, al-Zubayr's mother, was the daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Prophet and ʿAlī.

828. ʿAbdallāh, who became anticaliph during Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah's rule.

829. Ṣafiyyah.

830. E.g., be killed.

831. Cf. pp. 62, 101, above.

832. For this motif, see Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 126; *Addenda*, DCXXXIV; Noth, *Quellenkristische Studien*, 154. Cf. also p. 129, below.

833. Called Muslim on p. 130, below.

except the boy, so ʿAlī said to him, "Hold this up before them and say, 'Every word in this shall judge between you and us, and I beg of you for Allāh's sake to stop shedding our blood and yours.'" But, with the copy of the Qur'ān in his hand, the boy was attacked. His hands were cut off, so he took it in his teeth until he was killed. ʿAlī then said, "Battle is now justified, so fight them!"

Seventy[834] men were killed that day, each holding in turn the nose rein of ʿĀ'ishah's camel. After the camel was hamstrung and the force was routed, an arrow hit Ṭalḥah and killed him. Some say that it was fired by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.[835] At one stage Ibn al-Zubayr had taken hold of the camel's nose rein and ʿĀ'ishah had said, "Who is this?" When he told her she said, "Weep for the bereavement of Asmā'!"[836] Indeed he did get wounded and threw himself down among the other wounded and was pulled out and recovered from his wound.

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr carried ʿĀ'ishah[837] away and erected a large tent over her. ʿAlī came and stood in front of her and said: "You roused the people, and they became excited.[838] You stirred up discord among them such that some killed others," and he went on at length. ʿĀ'ishah replied: "Ibn Abī Ṭālib! You have gained your victory. Give me an honorable pardon.[839] You have put your forces to the test very well today." ʿAlī then let her go free and sent a group of men and women with her, equipped her, and ordered her to be given 12,000 dirhams.[840] ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar thought that was too little and brought out a huge sum for her, [3187]
saying, "If the Commander of the Faithful does not authorize it, then I will pay it myself."

It was alleged that al-Zubayr was killed by Ibn Jurmūz and that he was standing by the door of the Commander of the Faithful and said to the doorkeeper, "Ask leave for the killer of al-Zubayr to

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834. Cf. Conrad.
835. See Hinds, "Murder," 469 n. 3.
836. Her sister and Ibn al-Zubayr's mother; see p. 55, above. I.e., "you are also going to get killed."
837. His sister.
838. *Istafzazti . . . fazzū*. IA has *istanfarti . . . farrū*, "You mobilized the people and they rushed to fight."
839. Lane, 1306b.
840. Caetani, IX, 137.

enter." ʿAlī said, "Let him in and give him the good news that he is going to hell."[841]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmārah—ʿUbaydallāh b. Mūsā—Fuḍayl—Sufyān b. ʿUqbah—Qurrah b. al-Ḥārith: I was siding with al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, and Jawn b. Qatādah, my father's brother's son, was siding with al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, and Jawn told me: While they were hailing al-Zubayr as amir a horseman came riding up and greeted him as amir also. After al-Zubayr had returned the greeting, the man said, "That force of ʿAlī has reached such and such a place, and of the armies that have come against you I've never seen one with shabbier weapons and smaller numbers and more fearful." Then he left. Another horseman then came and greeted him as amir. After al-Zubayr had returned the greeting the man said, "The force has reached such and such a place, and they have heard of the numbers, equipment, and arms that Almighty and Glorious Allāh has amassed for you, and Allāh has put fear in their hearts, so they have turned back in retreat." "That's enough from you just now," said al-Zubayr. "By Allāh! If all Ibn Abī Ṭālib could find was *ʿarfaj* he would walk against us holding it."[842] Then he left. A third horseman came as the horses were on the point of emerging from the dust cloud, and greeted him as amir. After al-Zubayr had returned the greeting, the man
[3188] said, "That force has come out against you, and I met ʿAmmār b. Yāsir among them and talked with him." "He's not on their side!" exclaimed al-Zubayr. "Yes he is. By Allāh! He is on their side," replied the horseman. "I swear Allāh would not have put him on their side," said al-Zubayr. "I swear Allāh has put him on their side." "I swear Allāh would not have put him on their side."[843] Seeing the man contradict him al-Zubayr said to one of his followers: "Mount! See whether he's speaking the truth!" So he mounted with him, and they set off, and I watched them until they stopped for a short while next to the cavalry. Then they returned to us, and al-Zubayr said to this man, "Well?" "He spoke

841. See p. 159, below.

842. *ʿArfaj* is a small shrub the size of a sitting man, with many soft shoots but no leaves (Ibn Manẓūr, III, 147f.), i.e., ʿAlī is unbeatable; he does not even need weapons.

843. Al-Zubayr's anxiety is because he had been present when the Prophet predicted that oppressors would kill ʿAmmār.

the truth," he replied, and al-Zubayr exclaimed, "It feels as though my nose has been cut off!" or "It feels as though my back has been cut in two!" (Muḥammad b. ʿUmārah—ʿUbaydallāh [b. Mūsā]—Fuḍayl: I do not know which he actually said.) He began to tremble such that his weapon shook, and Jawn said: "May my mother be bereaved of me! This is the man[844] I wanted to die with or live with. I swear by He Who holds my soul in His hand that this fear I see that has taken hold of him is [only] because of something he heard or saw from the Messenger of God."

While these men were thus occupied [al-Zubayr] turned to go, mounted, and left. Jawn did the same[845] and caught up with al-Aḥnaf. Two horsemen then appeared and came to al-Aḥnaf and his companions, dismounted, and urgently demanded his attention. They conferred secretly with him for an hour and then departed. ʿAmr b. Jurmūz[846] then came to al-Aḥnaf and said, "I caught up with al-Zubayr in Wādī al-Sibāʿ and killed him." Jawn used to say, "I swear by He Who holds my soul in His hand, al-Aḥnaf was the one who planned to kill al-Zubayr."

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madāʾinī]—Bashīr[847] b. ʿĀṣim—al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāh—ʿAmmār b. Muʿāwiyah al-Duhnī—[Duhn being] a branch of Aḥmas Bajīlah:[848] On the day of the Battle of the Camel ʿAlī took a copy of the Qurʾān and took [3189] it around his companions, asking, "Who will face death and take this copy of the Qurʾān to call them to what it contains?" A Kūfan youth came forward wearing a padded white tunic[849] and said, "I will." But ʿAlī ignored him. ʿAlī asked again, "Who will face death and take this copy of the Qurʾān to call them to what it contains?" The youth said, "I will." But ʿAlī again ignored him. ʿAlī asked a third time, "Who will face death and take this copy of the Qurʾān to call them to what it contains?" The youth again said, "I will," so ʿAlī handed it to him. He then called them, but they cut off his right hand. So he took it with his left and called them, and they

844. Al-Zubayr.
845. Having decided that al-Zubayr was a lost cause.
846. ʿUmayr on p. 112, above.
847. Caetani, IX, 139, has Bishr.
848. Caskel, pl. 223.
849. *Qabāʾ*; Lane, Supp. 2984. Similar to a *qafṭān*; Dozy, 352–62.

cut that off as well. So he held it to his chest, with the blood flowing down over his tunic, and he was killed. ʿAlī then said, "Fighting them is now lawful." Among the youth's mother's verses in mourning were

O Allāh! Muslim[850] called them,
    reciting the Book of Allāh without fearing them.
Their mother[851] was standing looking on,
    not restraining them as they plotted folly together.[852]
Their beards are dyed with clots of blood.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madāʾinī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Jābir—al-Shaʿbī: The right flank of the army of the Commander of the Faithful attacked the Baṣran left flank and fought, and the enemy troops took refuge with ʿĀʾishah, most of them being Ḍabbah and Azd. The fighting lasted from late morning until nearly midafternoon; some say until nearer sunset.[853] When they were routed an Azd tribesman called out, "Turn!" But Muḥammad b. ʿAlī[854] struck him and cut his hand off, so the man called out: "Men of Azd! Flee!" A large number of Azd were killed, and they cried out [as they fled], "We follow the way[855] of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib." A man from Banū Layth[856] later said:

[3190] Ask about us on the day when we met the Azd,
    when the horses were running yellow and red—
We sliced their livers and forearms.
    May they be far away in their [foolish] opinion and be distant!

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madāʾinī]—Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān—Mālik b. Dīnār: ʿAmmār attacked al-Zubayr on the day of the Battle of the Camel and had begun to drive a spear at him when he said, "Do you want to kill me?" "No! Leave!" he said.

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850. Ibn ʿAbdallāh (see p. 152, below), rather than "a Muslim" (Caetani, IX, 139).
851. ʿĀʾishah.
852. IA: "ordering them to kill and not restraining them."
853. See Lane, 1271, 906.
854. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.
855. *Dīn*.
856. A follower of ʿAlī.

According to ʿĀmir b. Ḥafṣ: On the day of the Battle of the Camel ʿAmmār approached and drove the spear at al-Zubayr, who said, "Are you going to kill me, Abū al-Yaqẓān?" "No, Abū ʿAbdallāh," he replied.

Return to Sayf's account

According to Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When the army was routed at the height of the morning al-Zubayr called out to them: "Al-Zubayr is over here! Come to me!" A *mawlā* of his was with him calling out, "Are you running away from the disciple of the Messenger of God?!" But then al-Zubayr set off toward Wādī al-Sibāʿ, pursued by some horsemen. The armies did not notice him, busy in combat with each other, so when he saw the horsemen after him he turned and attacked them and split them up. They charged again, but when they recognized him they said: "It's al-Zubayr! Let him be!" A group including ʿIlbāʾ b. al-Haytham . . .[857] and al-Qaʿqāʿ with a group then passed Ṭalḥah, who was saying: "To me, servants of Allāh! Hold fast! Hold fast!" But he[858] said to him, "Abū Muḥammad, you're wounded and cannot achieve what you want, so go back to the tents!" Then he said, "*Ghulām*, take me [into the city], and find me a place [to rest]!" So he was taken to al-Baṣrah, accompanied by a *ghulām* and two men. The fight went on after he had left, and in the rout the men retreated toward al-Baṣrah. But when they saw that the camel had been encircled by Muḍar[859] they rallied and reformed as a center [of the army],[860] as they had been when they [first] engaged in battle, and returned [3191] to fight anew, while Rabīʿah of al-Baṣrah held their ground, some as a right flank, some as a left. "Kaʿb! Leave the camel, and go forward holding the Book of Almighty and Glorious Allāh, and call them to it!" said ʿĀʾishah and thrust the Qurʾān copy at him. Then up came the forces headed by the Sabaʾiyyah, fearing that peace would be made, and Kaʿb met them with the Qurʾān copy. ʿAlī was behind them, restraining them, but they insisted on advancing, and then when Kaʿb called them they all shot [their ar-

857. There is a lacuna in the text here; supply "approached"?
858. Perhaps the *ghulām*, who may have appeared in the lacuna.
859. I.e., to protect ʿĀʾishah.
860. Muir, 249; Caetani, IX, 180; cf. p. 151, below.

rows] at him at the same time[861] and killed him. They then shot at ʿĀʾishah in her howdah, and she started calling out: "My sons! [Remember] the recompense [of Allāh]![862] The recompense!" She raised her voice very loud, "Allāh! Allāh! Remember Almighty and Glorious Allāh and the reckoning!" But they insisted on advancing. So the next thing she did when they insisted was to cry out: "You men! Curse the killers of ʿUthmān and their various supporters!" She began to imprecate [them], and the people of Baṣrah filled the air with the noise of imprecation. ʿAlī heard the imprecation and asked, "What's all that shouting?" "It's ʿĀʾishah imprecating the killers of ʿUthmān and their various supporters," they replied, "and [her army] imprecating them with her." So ʿAlī also began to imprecate: "O Allāh! Curse the killers of ʿUthmān and their various supporters!"

She then sent a message to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith: "Keep up your positions!" She then urged her people to fight when she saw that ʿAlī's army wanted only her and were not holding back from [her] men. Then Muḍar of al-Baṣrah advanced and attacked Muḍar of al-Kūfah, so that ʿAlī became hard pressed and pushed on the nape of [his son] Muḥammad's neck and told him, "Attack!" But he shrank back, so ʿAlī stretched out his hand to the banner to take it from him. Then [Muḥammad] attacked, so [ʿAlī] left the banner in [Muḥammad's] hand. Muḍar of al-Kūfah then attacked. Swords were clashing in front of the camel, and the [battle] grew hot, while the outer
[3192] flanks stayed as they were, accomplishing nothing. Now ʿAlī had tribes with him other than Muḍar. Zayd b. Ṣūḥān[863] was from one of these, and a man from his tribe said to him: "Go back to your tribe! What's this situation got to do with you? Don't you see that Muḍar [of al-Baṣrah] are over against you and that the camel is before your very eyes and that death is this side of it?!" "Death is better than life; death is what I want," he replied. So he was shot and his brother Sayḥān[864] also. Ṣaʿṣaʿah[865] was brought away

861. Reading *rishqan* with Ibrāhīm (cf. Lane, 1090b) for the text's *rashqan*. Cf. p. 152, below.
862. *Baqiyyat Allāh* (Qurʾān 11:87; Lane, 238c).
863. From ʿAbd al-Qays; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 170, II, 603.
864. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 170, II, 502.
865. Another brother; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 170, II, 538.

wounded. The battle raged fiercely, and when ʿAlī saw this he sent word to Yaman and Rabīʿah: "Join those next to you!"[866]

A tribesman from ʿAbd al-Qays stood forward and said, "We are calling you to the Book of Almighty and Glorious Allāh." "And how can someone call us to the Book of Allāh," they[867] replied, "who doesn't carry out the punishments of Allāh (may He be praised!) and who killed the one who called for Allāh, Kaʿb b. Sūr?" At this Rabīʿah all shot [their arrows] at him at the same time and killed him. Muslim b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿIjlī then stood where he had been, and they all shot [their arrows] at him at the same time and killed him. Yaman of al-Kūfah then called Yaman of al-Baṣrah, but they shot [arrows] at them.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: The first engagement raged fiercely until midday. During it Ṭalḥah was wounded and al-Zubayr was lost. When the others then gathered round ʿĀʾishah, and the Kūfans were insisting on fighting, with ʿĀʾishah as their only target, she urged on her own men, and they fought on until they called out to one another and made a truce. But they returned to fighting in the afternoon. This was Thursday[868] in Jumādā II. They fought the early part of the day with Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr and the middle part with [3193] ʿĀʾishah. The fighters advanced against each other, and Yaman of al-Baṣrah routed Yaman of al-Kūfah and Rabīʿah of al-Baṣrah routed Rabīʿah of al-Kūfah. ʿAlī then rushed with Muḍar of al-Kūfah against Muḍar of al-Baṣrah and said: "Death has no escape. It catches up with the fleer and does not abandon the one who holds his ground!"

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Qurashī—Yūnus b. Arqam—ʿAlī b. ʿAmr al-Kindī—Zayd b. Ḥisās[869]—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah: My father thrust the banner at me on the Day of the Camel and said, "Advance!" So I did until I could find no way forward except against a spear. "Advance!" he

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866. *Iǰtamiʿū ʿalā man yalīkum*: perhaps "Fight together against those facing you!" or "Gather behind one leader!"

867. On ʿĀʾishah's side.

868. This is at least a month different from the date given on pp. 76 and 81, above.

869. Ibn Jassās or Ḥassān (*Addenda*, DCXXXIV) or Ḥasḥās (Caskel, I, 185, II, 601)?

said, "you without a mother!" But I drew back and said, "I find no way forward except against the head of a spear." So another person took hold of the banner from me—I don't know who he was—and I looked up and there was my father in front of me, saying:

You are the one whom my good will has tempted [to take more].[870]
O ʿAysha![871] the people around you are actually enemies.
Giving in is better than to have one's sons fighting.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: The two flanks fought a fierce fight as they advanced against each other, as had happened with the two centers. The Yamanīs fought from both sides, and ten of them from al-Kūfah were killed by the banner of the Commander of the Faithful—every time a man took it he was killed—five of these were from Hamdān[872] and five from the rest of Yaman. When Yazīd b. Qays[873] saw this, he took it and held it tightly in his hand, saying:

[3194] Soul of mine! you have lived and have become rich
for a long while. The length you have remained is enough for you today!
Will you always be seeking[874] long life?

In fact, he was quoting this from an earlier poet. Nimrān b. Abī Nimrān al-Hamdānī then said:

I bared my blade into the tribesmen from Azd.[875]
I struck into their old men and beardless youths,
All of them with long forearms[876] and eager to fight.

Then Rabīʿah of al-Kūfah advanced, and among them killed round the banner of the left flank was Zayd. Then Ṣaʿṣaʿah was thrown

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870. Reading *al-ʿutbā* for *al-ḥusnā*, following Nöldeke (*Addenda*, DCXXXIV).
871. I.e., ʿĀʾishah.
872. A southern Arab tribe (*EI*², q.v.).
873. Ibn Tammām of Hamdān, ʿAlī's governor of Iṣfahān and al-Rayy and involved in the murder of ʿUthmān; see Caskel and Strenziok, I, 231, II, 596.
874. Following the text's *aṭalbu (=aṭalabu) ṭūli'l-ʿumri* for Ibrāhīm's *aṭlabu ṭūla'l-ʿumri*.
875. Defending ʿĀʾishah. See these verses again on p. 144, below.
876. I.e., good with swords.

down, then Sayḥān, then ʿAbdallāh b. Raqabah[877] b. al-Mughīrah. Abū ʿUbaydah b. Rāshid b. Sulmā[878] said as he was thrown down: "O Allāh! You led us out of error, You rescued us from ignorance, You afflicted us with *fitnah*, and we became confused and in doubt." Then he was killed. Then al-Ḥuṣayn b. Maʿbad b. al-Nuʿmān was thrown down, too, and he handed the banner to his son Maʿbad, as he began to say: "Maʿbad! Take her young camel near her,[879] and she'll become affectionate,"[880] and it remained firm in his grip.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When the armored warriors of Muḍar of al-Baṣrah and Muḍar of al-Kūfah saw that no one was giving in, they called out among the armies of ʿĀ'ishah and ʿAlī: "Men! Attack the extremities when your endurance is running out and when victory is elusive!" So they began stabbing extremities—arms and legs. No battle has ever been seen before or after, or been heard of, in which [3195] there were more cut-off arms and legs whose owners were not known than this one. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb lost a hand that day before he was killed, and, when a fighter from this group or that lost any extremity, he would fight like a martyr until he was killed.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. ʿAṭiyyah b. Bilāl—his father: The situation got very bad, so the Kūfan right flank retreated to the center and stayed there. The Baṣran left flank stayed close to their center and prevented the Kūfan right flank from penetrating there, but they came very close. The same thing happened with the Kūfan left flank and the Baṣran right flank. ʿĀ'ishah then asked the man on her left, "Who are these?" "Your sons al-Azd," replied Ṣabrah b. Shaymān. "Tribesmen of Ghassān!"[881] she called out, "we used to hear tell of your prowess with the sword; keep it up today!" and she quoted the verses

877. For the text's Ruqayyah (*Addenda*, DCXXXIV). Probably Ibn Khawṭaʿah, rather than Ibn al-Mughīrah; see p. 142, below, as also for the others that follows.
878. Or Rāshid; see p. 143, below.
879. War.
880. I.e., fight hard, and the battle will go in your favor.
881. Southern Arabian confederation (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 35, 273).

The Ghassānī protectors fought with their swords,
as did Hinb[882] and Aws[883] and Shabīb.[884]

She then asked the man on her right, "Who are these?" "Bakr b. Wā'il," they replied. She said, "It was of you the poet said:

They came at us with swords and armor as though they were,
judging from their impenetrable strength, Bakr b. Wā'il.

It's only ʿAbd al-Qays in front of you!" So they fought their fiercest engagement[885] until then. Then she went up to the squadron in front of her and asked, "Who are these?" "Banū Nājiyah,"[886] they replied. "Bravo! Bravo! Abṭaḥiyyah[887] swords and Qurashī swords!" said she. And they clashed swords in a way anyone would want to avoid. Then Banū Ḍabbah circled round,
[3196] [protecting] her, and she said, "Go to it! The choicest coalition[888] [has come]!" Then, when they became thinned out,[889] Banū ʿAdī joined them and many people were around ʿĀ'ishah, and she asked, "Who are you?" "Banū ʿAdī," they replied. "We've come to join our brothers." "The head of the camel remained steady," she said, "until Banū Ḍabbah were killed around me." So Banū Adī kept the camel's head upright and fought in such a way—not trying to make excuses or turning aside when losing the ends of limbs—until, when this increased and became widespread in both camps together, [the enemy forces] went for the camel, saying, "The enemy will not be removed unless it's killed," and ʿAlī's two flanks then shifted and joined the center. The Baṣrans did the same, and the fighters were filled with hatred toward one another. Then they all came together in their two centers, and Ibn Yathribī took hold of the camel's head and said the following *rajaz* verses, claiming that he had killed ʿIlbā' b. al-Haytham, Zayd b. Ṣūhān, and Hind b. ʿAmr:

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882. Southern Arabian tribe (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 328, II, 283).
883. Southern Arabian tribe (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 35, 214).
884. Southern Arabian tribe (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 202, II, 522).
885. Reading *qitāl* (*Addenda*, DCXXXIV) for the text's *al-qitāl*.
886. From Quraysh.
887. From Mecca.
888. *Jamrat al-jamarāt*, i.e., Banū Ḍabbah b. Udd, Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b, and Banū Numayr b. ʿĀmir; see Lane, 453b; Caskel and Strenziok, I, 247.
889. Through being killed.

For those that don't know me, I am Ibn Yathribī,
the killer of ʿIlbāʾ and of Hind al-Jamalī,
And of a son of Ṣūḥān, who followed the way of ʿAlī.[890]

ʿAmmār then called out to him:[891] "By my life! You've taken refuge in a secure stronghold, and there's no way to get at you. If you're speaking truthfully, come out from this squadron, and come near me!" So Ibn Yathribī left the halter in the hand of a Banū ʿAdī tribesman and moved into a position between ʿĀʾishah's army and ʿAlī's. The people then thronged round ʿAmmār until he approached Ibn Yathribī. ʿAmmār warded him off with his shield, and Ibn Yathribī struck ʿAmmār. His sword got embedded in the [3197] shield, and he tried to pull it out but could not. ʿAmmār then went out against him, completely out of control. He stooped down and cut off Ibn Yathribī's legs, and he[892] fell down on his backside. His companions put him on a horse, and he was later carried off the battlefield near death; he was brought to ʿAlī, who ordered his head to be cut off. When Ibn Yathribī was wounded that ʿAdawī tribesman left the halter and came out to fight, calling out, "Who will come out to fight?" ʿAmmār held back, but Rabīʿah al-ʿUqaylī[893] appeared in front of him. (The ʿAdawī tribesman's name was ʿAmrah b. Bajrah.[894]) Rabīʿah had the strongest voice in the army, and he declaimed the verses

O Mother of ours! the most refractory[895] mother we know!
A mother [normally] feeds a son and shows him mercy.
Have you not seen how many a brave is being wounded,
his hand and wrist made lonely?

Then they clashed, and each one of them wounded his opponent, and they both died.

ʿAṭiyyah b. Bilāl continued: At the end of the day a man called al-Ḥārith of Banū Ḍabbah joined us and took the place of the ʿAdawī, and we have never, ever seen a stronger man than he, and he began to recite the verses

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890. *ʿAlā dīn ʿAlī*. See p. 154, below.
891. Ibn Yathribī.
892. Ibn Yathribī.
893. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 102?
894. Following Ibrāhīm; the text has no diacritics, except on the final letter.
895. See p. 141, below, for a variant of these verses.

We, Banū[896] Ḍabbah, are the allies of the camel;
we lament the death of Ibn ʿAffān with tips of spears.
[3198] Death is sweeter to us than honey!
Send back our chief[897] to us, and that will be enough.[898]

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū[899] al-Ḥasan—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad—ʿAdī b. Abī ʿAdī—Abū Rajāʾ al-ʿUṭāridī: I was watching a man on the Day of the Camel. He was turning his sword this way and that in his hand, as though it were a toy,[900] reciting all the while:

We, Banū Ḍabbah, are the allies of the camel;
we take the field against death whenever death dismounts.
Death, we want it more than honey!
We lament the death of Ibn ʿAffān with tips of spears.
Send back our chief to us, and that will be enough.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī: The man was Wasīm b. ʿAmr b. Ḍirār al-Ḍabbī.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—al-Hudhalī: ʿAmr b. Yathribī was urging on his tribe on the Day of the Camel. They took their turns holding the nose rope and said the *rajaz* verses

We, Banū Ḍabbah, will not flee
until we see [our own] skulls tumble
And boiling red blood tumbling from them.

Mother of ours, ʿAysha! Do not fear!
All your sons are heroes brave.[901]
Mother of ours, wife of the Prophet,
wife of the blessed and the guided!

This continued until forty men had been killed holding the nose rope. ʿĀʾishah said, "My camel remained steady until I no longer

896. *Banū* in the text, *banī* in Ibrāhīm (see his note), as also in following occurrences.
897. ʿUthmān.
898. Ibn Manẓūr, XIII, 48.17. An impossible demand meaning therefore "fight to the end!" These verses come again on p. 153, below.
899. Following *Addenda*, DCXXXIV.
900. *Mikhrāq*—either a wooden or plaited-rag sword (Lane, 729c).
901. Cf. p. 149, below.

heard the cries of Banū Ḍabbah." On that day ʿAmr b. Yathribī killed ʿIlbāʾ b. al-Haytham al-Sadūsī, Hind b. ʿAmr al-Jamalī, and Zayd b. Ṣūḥān, while reciting these *rajaz* verses: [3199]

I strike out at them but I do not see[902] Abū Ḥasan.[903]
This is the biggest grief that could be!
We are setting the leadership the way we fix a nose rein.[904]

Al-Hudhalī, however, maintained that this poem was recited at the Battle of Ṣiffīn.[905]

ʿAmmār then confronted ʿAmr b. Yathribī. ʿAmmār was then ninety years old and was wearing a fur garment with a rope of palm fiber tied around his waist. ʿAmr b. Yathribī rushed toward him, but [ʿAmmār] turned his leather shield toward him, and [ʿAmr] drove into it with his sword, and the people shot at him until he was knocked down, while reciting:

If you kill me, I am still Ibn Yathribī,
the killer of ʿIlbāʾ and Hind al-Jamalī,
And then of Ibn Ṣūḥān, whose cause was the way of ʿAlī.

He was taken prisoner and then brought to ʿAlī. "Spare me!" he asked. "After those three whom you advanced against with your sword," replied ʿAlī, "and struck their faces with it?" So ʿAlī ordered him to be killed.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Mikhnaf—Isḥāq b. Rāshid—ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr—his father: I came out of the day of the Camel with thirty-seven wounds from blows and stabs. I never saw anything like the Day of the Camel. Not a single one of us fled; we were as solid as rock.[906] All who took hold of the camel's nose rein were killed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb took it and was killed; al-Aswad b. Abī al-Bakhtarī took it and was thrown to the ground; then I came and took hold of the nose rein. "Who are you?" asked ʿĀʾishah. "ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr," I

902. Reading *arā* with Ibrāhīm and Nöldeke (*Addenda*, DCXXXIV) for the text's *urā*.
903. ʿAlī was perhaps in the fray elsewhere.
904. "We are doing our best to control the situation." This line also occurs on p. 16, above.
905. *EI*[1], s.v.
906. Lit., "like the black mountain."

replied. "Weep for the bereavement of Asmāʾ!"[907] exclaimed
[3200] ʿĀʾishah. At this point al-Ashtar passed me. I recognized him, so I got hold of him round the chest, and we fell down together. "Kill me and Mālik!" I called out to those around. Men from both armies came and fought on behalf of each of us. When we stopped fighting, the nose rein was no longer being held. "Hamstring the camel!"[908] cried out ʿAlī. "If it's hamstrung they'll disperse." So a man struck it, and it fell, and I have never heard a sound more noisy than the bellowing of that camel. ʿAlī then ordered Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr to set up a tent over ʿĀʾishah. "See if anything has hit her," he said, so Muḥammad put his head in. "Damn you! Who are you?" she cried. "The member of your family you hate most!" "Ibn al-Khathʿamiyyah?"[909] "That's right." "You're more precious to me than my father and my mother," she replied. "Praise to Allāh, Who has spared you!"

According to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb b. al-Shahīd—Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh—ʿAlqamah: I said to al-Ashtar, "But you were very much against the killing of ʿUthmān, so what made you come out to al-Baṣrah?" "These men gave allegiance to him and then reneged, and it was Ibn al-Zubayr who forced ʿĀʾishah to come out. So I was praying to Almighty and Glorious Allāh to make me meet him to fight. He did meet me, and we fought hand to hand. But I was not satisfied simply with the strength of my arm. So I stood up in the stirrup, struck him on his head, and threw him down." We[910] asked, "So it was he who said, 'Kill me and Mālik!'" "No. I didn't leave him needing anything more done to him. The one you mean is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb b. Asīd. He met me, and we each hit the other. He knocked me down, and I knocked him down, so he began saying, 'Kill me and Mālik!' But they didn't know who Mālik was.[911] Had they known they would have killed me."

Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh said: "Here is your documentary evidence

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907. See p. 127, above.

908. Cf. Abbot, "Women," 263.

909. Al-Khathʿamiyyah is Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays of Khathʿam, Abū Bakr's third wife (*EI*², s.v. Abū Bakr). ʿAlī married her when Abū Bakr died, which is perhaps part of the reason why Muḥammad was "most hated." ʿĀʾishah's mother was Umm Rūmān bint ʿĀmir of Kinānah. The mother of Asmāʾ (al-Zubayr's wife) was Qutaylah bt. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā of ʿĀmir, and Umm Kulthūm's mother was Ḥabībah bt. Khārijah of al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.

910. ʿAlqamah and others.

911. He was always known as al-Ashtar.

for this story.[912] Al-Mughīrah told me it, from[913] Ibrāhīm from ʿAlqamah, who said, 'I said to al-Ashtar' and so on."

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Ṭalḥah b. al-Nadr—ʿUthmān b. Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr: A young man stood in front of us and said, "Beware of these two men!"[914] He then mentioned him[915] [that] the characteristic trait of al-Ashtar was that one of his feet was exposed because of a pain he felt in it. "So when we met up," he continued, "al-Ashtar said, 'When [ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr] came at me he leveled his spear at my foot, so I said: "This man is stupid. What could he achieve from me even if he cut it right off? Aren't I going to kill him?"[916] But when [ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr] got near me he grabbed [his] spear with both hands and searched out my face with it. I said, "He's some opponent!"'" [3201]

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Mikhnaf—Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—his father—his grandfather: ʿAmr b. al-Ashraf[917] took hold of the camel's nose rein, and no one came near him without being struck by his sword, until al-Ḥārith b. Zuhayr al-Azdī[918] approached, saying the verses

O Mother of ours! O best Mother we know!
Do you not see how many a brave is being wounded,
His head and wrist made lonely?[919]

They exchanged a couple of blows and I saw them both thrashing the ground with their legs[920] until they died. Later I (Jundab) went to visit ʿĀ'ishah in Medina. "Who are you?" she asked. "An Azdī

912. *Hādhā kitābuka shāhiduhu.*

913. *ʿAn*—following Ibrāhīm and *Addenda*, DCXXXIII, and ignoring Prym's suggestion in his n. c to substitute *ibn* for *ʿan*, i.e., al-Mughīrah ibn Ibrāhīm. According to Ibrāhīm's index, the missing links between Ibn ʿAyyāsh and ʿAlqamah (see the *isnād* at the beginning of the preceding paragraph) are al-Mughīrah b. Miqsam and Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī.

914. Al-Ashtar and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, who were both renowned for their strength.

915. The text of this report is difficult, perhaps corrupt, in places. Here it is most probably referring to al-Ashtar.

916. Ibrāhīm's paragraph break here is not helpful.

917. Al-ʿAtakī al-Azdī—his tribe had not yet emigrated to al-Baṣrah (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 203, II, 171).

918. Of the Kabīr branch (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 218, II, 315).

919. See p. 137, above, for a variant of these verses.

920. Having been wounded and knocked over.

tribesman living in Kūfah." "Were you present with us on the Day of the Camel?" "Yes." "For us or against us?" "Against," I replied. "Do you know then who it was who said: 'Mother of ours! O best Mother we know?'" "I do," I replied. "It was my paternal cousin," and she wept so bitterly I thought she was not going to stop.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Laylā[921]—Dīnār b. al-ʿAyzār—al-Ashtar: When I met ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb b. Asīd I met the strongest and most cunning of men. I got hold of [3202] him round the neck, and we fell to the ground together, and he called out to those around, "Kill me and Mālik!"

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Ibn Abī Laylā—Dīnār b. al-ʿAyzār—al-Ashtar: I saw ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām[922] with the banner of Quraysh, and ʿAdī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī attacking each other like two male camels. So [ʿAdī and I] took turns against him and killed him. ʿAbdallāh, that is, after he had stabbed ʿAdī and put out his eye.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Mikhnaf—his paternal uncle, Muḥammad b. Mikhnaf[923]—a number of the elders of the tribe, all of whom had been at the Battle of the Camel: The banner of the Kūfan Azd[924] was held by Mikhnaf b. Sulaym,[925] but he was killed that day. So from his close family al-Ṣaqʿab[926] and his brother ʿAbdallāh b. Sulaym took hold of it, but they killed him too. So al-ʿAlāʾ b. ʿUrwah took it, and victory came while it was in his hand.

The banner of the Kūfan ʿAbd al-Qays was held by al-Qāsim b. Muslim, but he was killed, as were Zayd b. Ṣūḥān and Sayḥān b. Ṣūḥān with him. A number of others of them took the banner and were killed too, among them ʿAbdallāh b. Raqabah[927] and

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921. Following Ibrāhīm for the text's Ibn Abī Laylā; cf. the *isnād* on p. 144, below.

922. Al-Qurashī (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 19, II, 111).

923. Ibn Sulaym (see note 925), born perhaps in 19/640 (U. Sezgin, 225).

924. On ʿAlī's side.

925. Of the Thaʿlabah branch (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 218, II, 407). Contrary to his death, reported here, he is said to have held their banner at Ṣiffīn also and was appointed governor of Isfahan and Hamadhān by ʿAlī (U. Sezgin, 225 n. 128; Hinds, "Banners," 42).

926. Ibn Sulaym, his brother (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 218, II, 538).

927. For the text's Ruqayyah. Ibn Khawṭaʿah (*Addenda*, DCXXXIV); cf. p. 135, above; Caskel and Strenziok, I, 170, II, 117.

Rāshid.[928] Then Munqidh b. al-Nuʿmān[929] took hold of it and passed it to his son, Murrah b. Munqidh,[930] and the battle finished while it was in his hand.

The banner of the Kūfan Bakr b. Wā'il was with Banū Dhuhl, and was held by al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān b. Ḥawṭ[931] al-Dhuhlī, and Abū al-ʿArfā' al-Raqāshī said, "Take care of yourself and your tribe!" But he advanced and said: "Tribesmen of Bakr b. Wā'il! Nobody had the standing with the Messenger of God that your [3203] companion[932] had, so support him!" So he[933] advanced and was killed, as were his son and five of his brothers. Bishr b. Ḥassān b. Ḥawṭ[934] said these verses to him that day as he was fighting:

I am Ibn Ḥassān b. Ḥawṭ,[935] and my father
was the messenger of all Bakr to the Prophet.[936]

His son recited:

I announce and lament the death of chief al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān
to the clans of Dhuhl and Shaybān!

A tribesman from Dhuhl then recited:

You announce to us the death of the best man from ʿAdnān;[937]
[he was glorious when there was] stabbing and confronting
opponents.

Men were killed from Banū Maḥdūj who were prominent among the Kūfans, and thirty-five were killed from Banū Dhuhl. One tribesman said to his brother as he fought: "Brother of mine! How superb our fighting would be if we were in the right." "We are in the right!" he replied. "Others have wandered right and left, but we've maintained our loyalty to our Prophet's household."[938] The

928. Or Abū ʿUbaydah b. Rāshid; see p. 135, above.
929. See p. 135, above.
930. See p. 135, above.
931. For the text's Khūṭ (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 154, II, 307).
932. I.e., ʿAlī.
933. Al-Ḥārith.
934. For the text's Khūṭ, al-Ḥārith's brother (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 154).
935. For the text's Khūṭ.
936. At the time of the *wufūd*; see Watt, 141.
937. The northern Arabs.
938. *Ahl bayt nabiyyinā*.

two of them fought to the death. The Baṣran ʿAbd al-Qays—who were with ʿAlī—were headed by ʿAmr b. Marḥūm. Bakr b. Wāʾil were headed by Shaqīq b. Thawr, and their banner was held by Rashrāshah, his *mawlā*. The Baṣran Azd—who were with ʿĀʾishah—were headed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jusham b. Abī Ḥunayn al-Ḥamāmī. So ʿĀmir b. Ḥafṣ told me, but others say it was Ṣabrah b. Shaymān al-Ḥuddānī.[939] Their banner was held by
[3204] ʿAmr b. al-Ashraf al-ʿAtakī, who was killed and along with him thirteen men from his close family.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Abū Laylā—Abū ʿUkkāshah al-Hamdānī—Rifāʿah al-Bajalī—Abū al-Bakhtarī al-Ṭāʾī: Ḍabbah and Azd circled around ʿĀʾishah on the Day of the Camel. Some Azdī tribesmen were picking up the dung of her camel, breaking it up, smelling it, and saying, "The dung of our mother's camel smells of musk!" At the same time a man[940] from ʿAlī's companions was fighting, reciting as he did so:

I bared my blade [and thrust it] into the tribesmen from Azd.
I struck into their old men and beardless youths,
All of them with long forearms and eager to fight.

Waves of men jostled each other, and then someone yelled, "Hamstring the camel!" So Bujayr b. Duljah from the Kūfan Ḍabbah struck it. "Why did you hamstring it?" he was asked. "I saw my tribe[941] being killed, and I feared they would all perish. I hoped by hamstringing it that at least some of them would remain alive."

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—al-Ṣalt b. Dīnār: A tribesman from Banū ʿUqayl went up to the dead Kaʿb b. Sūr.[942] He thrust the butt of his spear into his eyes, jerked it round, and said, "I've never seen property produce better cash than you!"[943]

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—ʿAwānah: They fought all day until nightfall on the Day of the Camel, and someone[944] said the verses

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939. See p. 120, above.
940. Nimrān, according to p. 134, above.
941. I.e., the Baṣran branch.
942. Shot as he tried to get the two sides to make peace (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 211, II, 366; p. 132, above).
943. He was a valuable asset and good to get rid of.
944. On ʿĀʾishah's side.

The sword healed us of Zayd and Hind[945]
completely and of the two eyes of ʿAdī.
We kept fighting them all day until nightfall
with sturdy spears and sharp swords.

Ibn al-Ṣāmit said the verses [3205]

Go off Ḍabbah! for the land is wide
to your left. Death lurks in the valley, [namely, we,]
A fighting force like the rays of the rising sun,
a force with a torrent that flows with force.
So we will stand up to you[946] in every battle,
holding Mashrafiyyah swords, striking and not weakening.

According to al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad—Rawḥ b. ʿUbādah—Rawḥ—Abū Rajāʾ: I saw a man whose ear had been cut off. "Have you always been like that, or were you wounded by something?" I asked. "Let me tell you," he replied. "As I was walking among the corpses on the day of the Battle of the Camel, I came upon a man thrashing [the ground with] his leg and reciting:

Our mother brought us to drink at the pool of death,
and we did not leave until our thirst was quenched.
When we obeyed Quraysh our senses had gone awry,
and our support for the Ḥijāzīs caused us pain."[947]

I said: "'Abdallāh! Say, 'There is no god but Allāh!'"[948] "Come nearer, and dictate [it] to me; my ear's blocked," he replied. I went nearer, and he asked me, "Who are you?" A tribesman from al-Kūfah," I replied, at which he jumped on me and cut off my ear, as you see, and said, "When you meet your mother, tell her that ʿUmayr b. al-Ahlab al-Ḍabbī did this to you."

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—al-Mufaḍḍal the great narrator and ʿĀmir b. Ḥafṣ and ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Asadī: ʿUmayr b. al-Ahlab al-Ḍabbī was wounded on the Day of the Camel. One of ʿAlī's men passed by him as he lay among the wounded. ʿUmayr said to him, "Come over here!" and when he did so

945. I.e., killed them.
946. *Nuqīmu lakum* "we will wait for you" (*Glossarium*, CDXL).
947. Reading *ʿanāʾu* (*Addenda*, DCXXXIV).
948. Before you die.

he cut off his ear. ʿUmayr b. al-Ahlab recited the verses

Our mother brought us to drink at the pool of death,
and we did not leave until our thirst was quenched.
It would have been better if Ibn Ḍabbah's[949] support for his mother
and her allies[950] had been found elsewhere and done without.[951]
[3206] It was bad luck when we obeyed Banū Taym b. Murrah.[952]
What are Taym but slaves, male and female?![953]

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Miqdām al-Ḥārithī:[954] There was a man from our tribe called Hāniʾ b. Khaṭṭāb. He had been among those who attacked ʿUthmān but was not at the Battle of the Camel. When he heard the *rajaz* poem on the lips of the people back in al-Kūfah, the one that goes

We, Banū Ḍabbah, are the allies of the camel,[955]

he riposted with the verses

The chief of Madhḥij and Hamdān refused
to return Naʿthal[956] to how he was,
A new creation after that of the Merciful.[957]

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. ʿAṭiyyah—his father: On that day Abū al-Jarbāʾ[958] began reciting *rajaz* verses:

Are you listening to ʿAlī and obeying [him]
before tasting the edge of the Mashrafī sword

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949. I.e., his own.
950. *Shīʿatahā.*
951. Disregarding Wellhausen's emendation of *waghanāʾu* to *waʿanāʾu* (*Addenda*, DCXXXIV).
952. I.e., Ṭalḥah.
953. *Taym* means servant (*EI*[1], s.v.).
954. Probably Ibn Rabīʿah, the Kūfan notable (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 230, II, 408).
955. See p. 138, above, where one of the verses says *ruddū ʿalaynā shaykhanā* "Make ʿUthmān come back to us!"
956. I.e., ʿUthmān.
957. I.e., Banū Ḍabbah's request was impossible, so it was pointless to fight.
958. A member of ʿĀʾishah's army. It is as though in these verses he is sending a message to everyone in ʿAlī's army.

And forsaking the wives of the Prophet who are in the right?
I know a people I do not care about![959]

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: The Mother of the Faithful was encircled by courageous and clearsighted Muḍarī clansmen.[960] No one would take hold of the rein unless he was holding the banner and the flag and was unwilling to give it up. Nor would anyone take hold of it unless he was well known among those encircling the camel and could state his genealogy to her, "I'm so-and-so, son of so-and-so." By Allāh! They would [then] fight fiercely in its defense, and death could not be brought to it except with great endeavor and difficulty. Every follower of ʿAlī who tried to reach it was either [3207] killed or fled and did not return. When the center of ʿAlī's army became mixed with the flanks, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim came and attacked it, but his eye was gouged out, so he shrank back. Then al-Ashtar came and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb b. Asīd tried to push him away—he was badly cut and weak with loss of blood—but al-Ashtar grabbed him round his chest and threw him off his mount onto the ground. But he jerked around beneath him and managed to run away half dead.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Hishām b. ʿUrwah—his father: No one would come and take hold of the rein unless he said, "I'm so-and-so, son of so-and-so, Mother of the Faithful." So when ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr came up but said nothing she asked, "Who are you?" "I'm ʿAbdallāh, your sister's son." "Weep for the bereavement of Asmāʾ" replied ʿĀʾishah, meaning her sister. Al-Ashtar and ʿAdī b. Ḥātim reached the camel, so ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām[961] came out against al-Ashtar, who advanced toward him. They each struck the other but al-Ashtar killed [ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥakīm], so ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr advanced toward him, but al-Ashtar dealt him a blow on the head and severely wounded him. ʿAbdallāh then hit al-Ashtar lightly; each grabbed the other round the chest, and they fell to the ground fighting. "Kill me and Mālik!" exclaimed ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

959. Yours. This is a threat.
960. *Afnāʾ*, perhaps "splinter groups" (Hinds, "Murder," 452).
961. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 19, II, 111.

Mālik used to say later, "Not for red camels[962] would I have wanted him to say, 'And al-Ashtar.'" Then some of ʿAlī's followers and some of ʿĀ'ishah's rushed toward them and the two men separated; each side saved its man from his opponent.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. ʿAṭiyyah—his father: Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah then came up and took hold of the camel's nose rein. "Dear Mother!" he said. "Give
3208] me your order!" "I order you," she replied, "to be like the best son of Adam if you're spared." So he took hold of the nose rein. Then whenever anyone attacked him he would attack them, quoting the Qur'ān "*Ḥā' mīm*! They will not be given victory by Allāh!"[963] A number of men then gathered and attacked him, each of them claiming to have killed him—al-Mukaʿbir al-Asadī, al-Mukaʿbir al-Ḍabbī, Muʿāwiyah b. Shaddād al-ʿAbsī, and ʿAffān b. al-Ashqar al-Naṣrī. One of them thrust him through with a spear, and his killer said these verses about it:

He was disheveled through spending nights reciting verses from his Lord.
By all appearances he had done little harm and was a good Muslim.
I ripped the neck opening of his shirt with a spear,
and he fell down, dying, his hands and face thrown to the ground.
He was reminding me of the verse *ḥā' mīm* while the spear was driving.
Why did he not recite *ḥā' mīm* before coming out to fight?!
[He fought me] over nothing, except that he was not a follower of ʿAlī. Those who do not follow the right regret it.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. ʿAṭiyyah—his father: On that day al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr said, provoking al-Ashtar, "Are you going to attack again?" But he made no reply, so he said: "Al-Ashtar! Some of us know how to fight others

962. I.e., the best camels (Wensinck, I, 513b)—similar to our saying "Not for all the tea in China."

963. Qur'ān 41:1, 41:16. By implication the enemies of ʿĀ'ishah are being likened to ʿĀd, whom Allāh destroyed.

better than you." So al-Qaʿqāʿ attacked. The rein was being held by Zufar b. al-Ḥārith,[964] who was the last to take his turn with the rein. No, by Allāh! Every single elder from Banū ʿĀmir was struck down that day in front of the camel. Among those killed on that day was Rabīʿah,[965] the grandfather of Iṣḥāq b. Muslim, while Zufar[966] recited the *rajaz* verses:

O Mother of ours, ʿAysha! Do not fear!
All your sons are heroes brave.[967]
No one among us is anxious[968] or [over]cautious. [3209]

Al-Qaʿqāʿ replied with the *rajaz* verses

If we come to drink at a stagnant pool we clean it up,[969]
but others are unable to drink the water we protect.[970]

In fact, he was quoting these verses.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: One of the last to fight on that Day was Zufar b. al-Ḥārith. Al-Qaʿqāʿ marched toward him. Around the camel no fully grown ʿĀmirī[971] tribesman remained without being struck down; they hastened to meet death.

Al-Qaʿqāʿ said: "Bujayr b. Duljah![972] Shout to your tribesmen [in ʿĀ'ishah's army] that they should hamstring the camel before they get struck down and the Mother of the Faithful gets struck down!" So he called out" "Tribesmen of Ḍabbah! ʿAmr b. Duljah![973] Call me to come to you!" So ʿAmr called to him. "Am I safe to go and return?" asked [Bujayr]. "You are," replied [ʿAmr]. So [Bujayr] cut the camel's leg right off, and [the camel] threw itself down on its side and growled. Al-Qaʿqāʿ called out to those

964. Fought at Ṣiffīn under Muʿāwiyah (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 96, II, 609).
965. Ibn ʿĀṣim (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 102, II, 477).
966. Zufar belonged to Banū ʿĀmir (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 96).
967. Cf. p. 138, above.
968. *Wahhām*—or "Thinks too much and becomes afraid" (Prym, *Glossarium*, DLXVIII). IA has *bi-wahwāhin* "weak-spirited."
969. However bitter the battle, we fight and win; cf. Ibn Manẓūr, V, 222.
970. They are unable to fight us.
971. Zufar belonged to Banū ʿĀmir (see previous *khabar*). Fully grown means over forty.
972. A relative of al-Qaʿqāʿ.
973. His cousin on ʿĀ'ishah's side.

next to [the camel], "You won't be attacked." Then he and Zufar joined in cutting the camel's girth. The two of them then lifted the howdah off and put it down and took up [protective] positions around it.[974] Those soldiers of ʿĀʾishah behind that position fled.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. ʿAṭiyyah—his father: In the evening, when ʿAlī had arrived, the camel and those around it had been surrounded, Bujayr b. Duljah had hamstrung it and said, "You won't be attacked," the soldiers stopped fighting. When evening came and fighting had completely stopped, ʿAlī said the following verses about it:

[3210] I complain to You about my sorrows, those obvious and those hidden,
and about a group who have drawn a curtain over my sight.
I have killed their Muḍar with my Muḍar.
I have healed my own wounds, but I have killed my people.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid—Ḥakīm b. Jābir: Ṭalḥah said that day: "O Allāh! Give ʿUthmān what he wants from me [for my former sins]!" Then, as his horse was standing still, an arrow from an unknown archer[975] pinned his knee to the saddle. He kept his position, and his boot filled with blood. But when he became drowsy he said to his *mawlā*: "Get up behind me on the horse, and find me a place where no one knows me. I've never seen an old man lose so much blood as today."[976] So his *mawlā* mounted and held him tightly and said, "The enemy is catching up with us." He finally brought him to one of the ruined houses of Baṣrah and put him down in its shade. He died in that ruin and was buried in the quarter of Banū Saʿd.[977]

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Bakhtarī al-ʿAbdī—his father: Rabīʿah fought with ʿAlī on the Day of the Camel, comprising a third of the Kūfans. The Muslims split into two[978] on the Day. They were lined up Muḍar opposite Muḍar,

974. Taking the camel and the howdah, surrounding ʿĀʾishah protectively, and saying "You won't be attacked" all mean that the battle has been won and is over.
975. Cf. p. 124, above.
976. IA has "as I have today."
977. To the east of al-Baṣrah? (Massignon, 157).
978. Reading *wa-nuṣṣifa* for the text's *wa-niṣfa*.

Rabīʿah opposite Rabīʿah, and Yaman opposite Yaman.

"Commander of the Faithful! Allow us to stand against Muḍar," requested Banū Ṣūḥān,[979] and ʿAlī let them. Then Zayd [b. Ṣūḥān] went forward. Someone said to him: "What makes you stand over against the camel and Muḍar? Death is next to you and opposite you. Withdraw to us!" "It's death we want!" he replied, and that Day they were struck down, although Ṣaʿṣaʿah.[980] escaped from among them.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. ʿAṭiyyah: A man on our side called al-Ḥārith said that day: "Tribesmen of Muḍar! For what are you killing each other? You're rushing we don't know where, except that we'll be judged there. No one will stand in for you!"

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān— [3211]
ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak—Jarīr—al-Zubayr b. al-Khirrīt[981]—a sheikh from al-Ḥaramayn[982] called Abū Jubayr: On the Day of the Camel I passed Kaʿb b. Sūr as he was taking hold of the nose rein of ʿĀʾishah's camel, and he said, "Abū Jubayr! By Allāh! The verses a woman once said [to her son] apply to me:

My dear son, do not go away, and do not fight!"

According to al-Zubayr b. al-Khirrīt: ʿAlī passed by his corpse, stood over him, and said: "By Allāh! Well I know, you are steadfast for truth, judging justly," and he praised him for these and other things.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿah al-Muzanī or Ṣaʿṣaʿah—ʿAmr b. Jaʾwān—Jarīr b. Ashras:[983] Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's action was at the height of the morning of that day, and then their army fled. ʿĀʾishah was therefore looking for peace, but the army surprised her by returning, and Muḍar protected her all around.[984] So the army stood for battle, and

979. From ʿAbd al-Qays, who belonged to Rabīʿah (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 170).
980. Zayd b. Ṣūḥān's brother (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 170, II, 538).
981. Following *Addenda*, DCXXXIV, and Ibrāhīm, for the text's al-Ḥurayth.
982. The two sacred enclaves, Mecca and Medina, following *Addenda*, DCXXXIV, for the text's al-Ḥarāmayn.
983. Perhaps Ibn Sharis, as p. 99, above (*Addenda*, DCXXXIV).
984. Cf. p. 131, above.

ʿĀʾishah's action was in the middle of the day. Now ʿAlī. . . .[985] Kaʿb b. Sūr took ʿĀʾishah's Qurʾān copy[986] and rushed out between the two lines, imploring them by Almighty and Glorious Allāh to stop the bloodshed. He was handed his armor, but he threw it
[3212] down at his feet. His shield was brought, but he pushed it away. So they all shot [their arrows] at him at the same time[987] and killed him. They did not give him time to think, and suddenly they intensified their attack against them and fought more closely. From both Baṣrans[988] and Kūfans he was the first to be killed in front of ʿĀʾishah.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Makhlad b. Kathīr—his father: We sent Muslim b. ʿAbdallāh[989] to call our brothers[990] to stop, but they all shot [their arrows] at him and killed him, as the center of the army did to Kaʿb. So *he* was the first to be killed in front of the Commander of the Faithful and ʿĀʾishah. The mother of Muslim said the following verses mourning him:[991]

O Allāh! Muslim went to them,
    submitting to death when he called them
To the Book of Allāh without fearing them.
    They smeared him with blood when he went to them,
And their mother[992] was standing, looking on,
    not restraining them as they plotted folly together.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. Ḥakīm b. Sharīk—his father—his grandfather: By the evening of the Day of the Camel the two flanks of the Kūfan army had been routed and then had merged with the center. Now Ibn Yathribī had been *qāḍī* of al-Baṣrah before Kaʿb b. Sūr, and he, ʿAbdallāh,

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985. Lacuna in the text. Prym suggests inserting "was behind them" as on p. 131, above.
986. Omitting *wa-ʿAlī* from Ibrāhīm.
987. Reading *rishqan* with Ibrāhīm (cf. Lane, 1090b) for the text's *rashqan*, as on p. 132, above.
988. Ibrāhīm omits the Baṣrans.
989. Probably Ibn Ḥiyay/Ḥuyayy, from ʿAlaqat Bajīlah (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 222, II, 436). The authority for the variant account, p. 129, above, was from Aḥmas Bajīlah.
990. On the other side.
991. Cf. p. 130, above.
992. ʿĀʾishah.

and his brother ʿAmr were with them on the Day of the Camel. He was on horseback, standing in front of the camel. "Where is a man to attack the camel?" asked ʿAlī. Hind b. ʿAmr al-Murādī responded, but Ibn Yathribī intercepted him. So they exchanged blows, and Ibn Yathribī killed him. Then Sayḥān b. Ṣūḥān attacked, but Ibn Yathribī intercepted him. So they exchanged blows, and Ibn Yathribī killed him. Then ʿIlbāʾ b. al-Haytham attacked, but Ibn Yathribī intercepted him and killed him. Then Ṣaʿṣaʿah attacked, and [Ibn Yathribī] struck him. So Ibn Yathribī [3213] killed three, finishing them off in the battle—ʿIlbāʾ, Hind, and Sayḥān. Ṣaʿṣaʿah and Zayd were taken away wounded—one[993] died, and the other survived.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—al-Shaʿbī: On the day of the Camel seventy[994] tribesmen from Quraysh took hold of the nose rein, and each one was killed as he held it. Al-Ashtar attacked, so ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr intercepted him, and they exchanged blows. Al-Ashtar struck him down and made for him, but ʿAbdallāh leaped on him, grabbed him round the chest, and fell down with him to the ground, saying, "Kill me and Mālik!" The people did not know him as Mālik. Had he said, "and al-Ashtar," and had a million lives not one of them would have been spared. He carried on, struggling to get out of ʿAbdallāh's grip, until he managed to escape.

Whenever someone attacked the camel and escaped, he did not make a second attempt. Both Marwān and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr were wounded that day.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad—his paternal uncle—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Muḥammad b. Abī Yaʿqūb and Ibn ʿAwn—Abū Rajāʾ: ʿAmr b. Yathribī al-Ḍabbī, the brother of ʿAmīrah[995] the *qāḍī*, recited the following verses that day:

We, Banū Ḍabbah, are the allies of the camel,
we take the field against death whenever death
dismounts.[996]

993. Zayd.
994. Cf. Conrad.
995. As vocalized by Prym. Perhaps ʿUmayrah?
996. See p. 138, above.

Ibn ʿAwn added the verses (not in Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb's version):

Killing is sweeter to us than honey!
We lament the death of Ibn ʿAffān with the tips of spears.
Send back our chief to us, and that will be enough.

[3214] According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Dāwūd b. Abī Hind—an elder from Banū Ḍabbah: Ibn Yathribī said some *rajaz* verses that day:

For those that don't know me, I am Ibn Yathribī,
the killer of ʿIlbāʾ and Hind al-Jamalī
And of a son of Ṣūḥān, who followed the way of ʿAlī.[997]

"Who'll come and fight?" Ibn Yathribī called out. A man went out, but he killed him. Another came out, and he killed him too. He then said some more *rajaz* verses:

I kill them, and I can see ʿAlī,
[so that] if I wished I could thrust an ʿUmrī[998] spear into his mouth!

Then ʿAmmār b. Yāsir came out against him—and he was the weakest who had done so.[999] As ʿAmmār stood forward, the men said, "We belong to Allāh, and to him we return."[1000] I also said about ʿAmmār because of his weakness: "By Allāh! This man will be joining those who preceded him!" He was slender and thin-legged, and he was carrying a sword of which the shoulder belt was too short for him[1001] and of which the hilt [therefore] was near his armpit. Ibn Yathribī struck him with his sword, but it became embedded in his leather shield. So ʿAmmār struck him and injured him. ʿAlī's companions then threw stones at Ibn Yathribī and heavily wounded him, and he was carried off badly injured.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Ḥammād al-Burjumī—Khārijah b. al-Ṣalt: On the Day of the Camel when al-Ḍabbī recited:

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997. *ʿAlā dīn ʿAlī*. See the same verses on p. 137, above.
998. *Glossarium*, CCCLXXVII. Ibrāhīm has *ʿAmrī*.
999. He was very old.
1000. Qurʾān 2:156. Said on the death of someone.
1001. Reading *tashiffu* [*ʿanhu*] (*Addenda*, DCXXXIV and Ibrāhīm) for the text's *bi-shiqqihi* "by his side."

We, the Banū Ḍabbah, are the allies of the Camel;
we lament the death of Ibn ʿAffān with the tips of spears.
Send back our chief to us, and that will be enough.

ʿUmayr b. Abī al-Ḥārith recited in reply:

How can we send back your chief when his bones have become old?[1002]
We struck his chest until he fell.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. Ḥakīm—his father—his grandfather: A tribesman from Banū Ḍabbah hamstrung the camel. He was called Ibn Duljah, ʿAmr or [3215] Bujayr. Al-Ḥārith b. Qays, one of ʿĀʾishah's followers, said the following verses about this:

We struck his leg so he fell down dead
from one hit during the surge that was decisive.
If we had not been created for the sake of [protecting] the Prophet's household
and his wife's sanctity, they would have divided us among themselves very quickly.

They were falsely attributed to ʿAlī's follower al-Muthannnā b. Makhramah.[1003]

The Severity of the Battle on the Day of the Camel and the Account of Aʿyan b. Ḍubayʿah's[1004] *Looking into the Howdah*

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah—Abū ʿUthmān—al-Qaʿqāʿ: The way the center of the army fought on the Day of the Camel was more like the Battle of Ṣiffīn than anything I have seen. I saw us defending ourselves against them with the points of our spears and leaning against the butts of our spears. They were doing likewise, so that had the men walked on them they would have supported them.[1005]

1002. I.e., he has died, as Ibrāhīm notes.
1003. Al-Muthannā b. Mukharrabah? (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 168, II, 438).
1004. Al-Mujāshiʿī.
1005. Like a bridge.

According to ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marwazī—al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿUranī—Yaḥyā b. Yaʿlā al-Aslamī—Sulaymān b. Qarm[1006]—al-Aʿmash[1007]—ʿAbdallāh b. Sinān al-Kāhilī: On the Day of the Camel we shot arrows at each other until there were no more to shoot, and we stabbed each other with spears until they were enmeshed in our chests and theirs. Had horses been made to walk over them they could have. Then ʿAlī called out, "Use swords, sons of the Muhājirūn!" The old man[1008] said, "I never entered Dār al-Walīd[1009] without remembering that day."

[3216] According to ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Wāṣil—Abū Fuqaym—Fiṭr—Abū Bashīr: I was with my *mawlā* at the time of the Camel, and since then I have never passed Dār al-Walīd and heard the sounds of the washermen beating[1010] without remembering how they fought.

According to ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marwazī—al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn—Yaḥyā b. Yaʿlā—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muslim—ʿĪsā b. Ḥiṭṭān: The army made a retreat; then we returned, and ʿĀʾishah was [seated] on a red camel in a red howdah, which I could describe only as a hedgehog because of the arrows.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Ibn ʿAwn—Abū Rajā: Some people were recalling the Day of the Camel. It's as if I can see ʿĀʾishah's howdah now. It was as though it was a hedgehog from the arrows that had been shot into it. "Did you fight that day?" I asked Abū Rajāʾ. "By Allāh!" he replied. "I fired arrows, and I don't know what effect they had."

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Rāshid al-Sulamī—Maysarah Abū Jamīlah: After the Camel had been hamstrung Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and ʿAmmār b. Yāsir came to ʿĀʾishah and cut the saddle girth. They lifted off the howdah and put it to one side until ʿAlī had given them further instructions about it. "Take her into al-Baṣrah!" he told the two of

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1006. Prym notes that this name is also spelled Qadam and Qazam.

1007. If this is the famous al-Aʿmash, then it is Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mihrān, traditionist and Qurʾān reader, b.c. 60/679–80, d. probably 148/765 (*EI*², s.v.).

1008. Presumably ʿAbdallāh b. Sinān.

1009. In the market of al-Kūfah (Caetani, IX, 147).

1010. They beat the clothes with wood against wood; Ibn Manẓūr, V, 415; cf. Muir, 249 n. 1.

them, and they took it into the house of ʿAbdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuzāʿī.[1011]

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ʿAlī ordered a group of men to carry the howdah out from the dead bodies. Al-Qaʿqāʿ and Zufar b. al-Ḥārith had already removed it from the back of the camel and put it down at its side. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr then came up to it with a group of men, [3217] and he put his hand in. "Who's this?" said ʿĀʾishah. "Your dutiful brother," he replied. "Undutiful!"[1012] "How do you feel about your sons' beating today, Mother?" asked ʿAmmār b. Yāsir. "Who are you?" asked ʿĀʾishah. "Your dutiful son, ʿAmmār,"[1013] he replied. "I'm no mother of yours!" "You are, even though you loathe the idea." "You're boasting that you're victorious and doing just what you reproved [others for doing]. By Allāh! This is totally wrong! Those who do this sort of thing are never victorious." They then brought her out in her howdah from the corpses and put her down away from everyone. It was as though her howdah was sprouting[1014] suckers from the arrows stuck in it. Aʿyan b. Ḍubayʿah al-Mujāshiʿī[1015] then came up to look down into the howdah, and she exclaimed: "Clear off! Allāh curse you!" "By Allāh!" he replied. "I can see little rosy!"[1016] "May Allāh disgrace you![1017] May He cut off your hand! May He expose your genitals!"[1018] He was indeed killed in al-Baṣrah, and stripped, his hand was cut off, and he was thrown naked into one of the ruins in the Azd

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1011. A prominent Baṣran, killed on the side of ʿAlī at the Battle of the Camel (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 196, II, 112).

1012. *Akhūk . . . ʿaqūq*. Muḥammad was being sarcastic.

1013. *ʿAmmār al-bārr*.

1014. Reading *muqaṣṣib* (*Addenda*, DCXXXIV) for the text's *muqaḍḍab* "pruned."

1015. Of Tamīm and a friend of ʿAlī's (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 61, II, 217).

1016. *Ḥumayrāʾ*, a term of endearment to a wife. The Prophet is said to have called ʿĀʾishah so.

1017. *Hatak Allāhu sitrak*. The translation (cf. Lane, 1304c) refers to the next sentence's triple fulfillment of the curse; however, it could refer back to Aʿyan's looking into the howdah and mean, "May Allāh rip down *your* curtain!" i.e., and expose the women of *your* family, although this is not fulfilled in what follows.

1018. A Muslim woman could hardly say anything nearer the bone. It could be translated more mildly "and show up your deficiency," but this would not fit what follows.

quarter. ʿAlī then came to her and exclaimed: "O Mother! May Allāh forgive us and you!" "May He forgive us and you!" she replied.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ṣaʿb b. Ḥakīm b. Sharīk—his father—his grandfather: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr arrived with ʿAmmār, and cut the thongs of the girth from the howdah, and the two of them then lifted it off. When they had put it down, Muḥammad put in his hand and said, "Your brother Muḥammad!" "The most blameworthy!"[1019] she replied. "Dear sister, have you been hit?" he asked. "That's no business of yours!" she replied. "Whose is it then? Those who've gone astray?"[1020] "No, those who guide right."[1021] ʿAlī then arrived. "How are you, Mother?" he asked her. "Fine." "May Allāh forgive you!" he said. "And you," she replied.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad
[3218] and Ṭalḥah: When it was nearly the end of the night Muḥammad took ʿĀʾishah out to al-Baṣrah to stay in the house of ʿAbdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuzāʿī as a guest of Ṣafiyyah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ṭalḥah b. Abī Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Dār,[1022] the mother of Ṭalḥah al-Ṭalaḥāt b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khalaf.[1023]

According to al-Wāqidī, the battle took place on Thursday 10 Jumādā II 36 (December 4, 656).[1024]

The Killing of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Walīd b. ʿAbdallāh—his father: When Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's army was routed on the Day of the Camel, al-Zubayr left. He passed the army of al-Aḥnaf, who, when he saw him and was told who he was, remarked: "By Allāh! He's been forced to do this"[1025] and

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1019. *Mudhammam*, the opposite of *Muḥammad*. Cf. p. 37, above.

1020. Sarcastic criticism of Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr.

1021. ʿĀʾishah ripostes that Muḥammad has gone astray.

1022. His Qurashī wife (Caskel and Strenziok, II, 555).

1023. Called so because of all the Ṭalḥahs on his mother's side; later governor of Sijistan (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 196, II, 555).

1024. Caetani, IX, 131. According to Caetani, IX, 2, this 10 Jumādā II was a Sunday. See p. 115, above, where the date is given as Thursday, 14 Jumādā II.

1025. Reading *bi-khiyār*, following Ibrāhīm and closer to the ms. for the text's *anḥiyāz*, perhaps "What's this? Desertion?"

asked his men, "Who'll keep us informed about him?" "I will," replied ʿAmr b. Jurmūz to his companions, and he followed him. When he caught up with him al-Zubayr looked at him furiously and asked, "Why are you here?" "That's just what I wanted to ask you,"[1026] he replied. A *ghulām* of al-Zubayr's who was with him, called ʿAṭiyyah, said, "He's armed!" "Why be frightened by [such] a man?" replied al-Zubayr. It was time for prayer, so Ibn Jurmūz said, "Let's do the prayer!" Al-Zubayr also said, "Let's do the prayer!" So they dismounted. Ibn Jurmūz stood behind him and then stabbed him from behind through the neck opening of his armored coat and killed him. He then took his horse, his signet ring, and his weapons and returned to the army with the news, leaving the *ghulām*, who buried him in Wādī al-Sibāʿ.[1027]

"By Allāh! I don't know whether what you've done is good or bad," said al-Aḥnaf and went down to ʿAlī, Ibn Jurmūz accom- [3219]
panying him. They went up to him and told him the news. He asked for al-Zubayr's sword and said, "A sword that many times dispelled distress from the face of the Messenger of God!"[1028] and sent it to ʿĀ'ishah.[1029] Then he turned to al-Aḥnaf and said, "You held out [on me]!" "I thought that I was doing everything right," he replied, "and that what happened coincided with your orders, Commander of the Faithful. So be lenient! You've come a long way, and you'll need me in the future more than you have done in the past. So acknowledge the good I've done, and recognize my sincere devotion for the sake of the future, and don't say things like that,[1030] for I'll always give you my sincere support."

Those Routed on the Day of the Camel Who Hid and Went off into the Surrounding Towns

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: At the height of the morning of the rout al-Zubayr went off on foot toward Medina, but he was killed by Ibn Jurmūz. ʿUtbah b. Abī Sufyān and the two sons of al-Ḥakam, ʿAbd al-

1026. Or "I just wanted to ask you [how you were/what you were doing.]"
1027. Presumably in the modern area of Baṣrah called al-Zubayr.
1028. E.g., at Uḥud and Ḥunayn.
1029. Sister of Ṣafiyyah, al-Zubayr's wife.
1030. "You thought this was a good opportunity to impress me."

Raḥmān and Yaḥyā, also left for the surrounding area on the day of the rout, their heads badly wounded.[1031] They met ʿIṣmah b. Ubayr al-Taymī, who asked, "Are you looking for protection?"[1032] "Who are you?" they replied. "ʿIṣmah b. Ubayr." So they said, "Yes, we are." "You may have my protection for twelve months." So he took them and guarded them and looked after them until they recovered. "Choose the area you most prefer," he then said, "and I'll take you there." "Syria," they replied. So with 400 riders from Taym al-Ribāb he escorted them until they had entered well into Kalb territory at Dūmah. "You've now fulfilled your obligation to yourself and to them," said the Kalbīs. "You've carried out your duty, so return!" So he did. A poet composed a verse about this:

[3220] When the spears were being aimed Ibn Ubayr was loyal
to Āl Abī al-ʿĀṣ. His loyalty was memorable.

As for Ibn ʿĀmir,[1033] he also left wounded in the head, and a man from Banū Ḥurqūs[1034] called Murayy[1035] met him and offered to give him protection. He accepted, so he gave him protection, and he stayed with him. "Which territory would you most prefer?" he then asked. "Damascus," he replied. So with riders from Banū Ḥurqūṣ he escorted him until they got him to Damascus.

Ḥārithah b. Badr,[1036] who had been on ʿĀ'ishah's side and whose son or brother, Zirāʿ (or in another copy, Dirāʿ[1037]) had been hit in the battle, said the verses

Some news has reached me that Ibn ʿĀmir
has made his camel kneel and thrown down his ropes[1038]
in Damascus.

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam took refuge on the day of the rout with a family from ʿAnazah. "Inform Mālik b. Mismaʿ where I am," he

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1031. For this translation of *shujjijū*, see "until they recovered," below. Ibrāhīm, 535 n., glosses it "to cross the desert."
1032. *EI*², s.v. Djiwār.
1033. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz.
1034. Of Ṭayyiʾ? Cf. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 249.
1035. Following Wellhausen, 160; cf. *Addenda*, DCXXXIV.
1036. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 71, II, 316.
1037. A marginal gloss crept into the text, as Prym notes. Ḥārithah's brother's name was Dhirāʿ (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 71, II, 316).
1038. Settled.

asked them, so they went to Mālik and told him where he was. Mālik asked his brother Muqātil, "How shall we deal with this man who has sent us a message saying where he is?" "Send my brother's son, and give him protection," he replied, "and then seek assurance of protection for him from ʿAlī. If he gives him it, then that's what we want. If he doesn't, then we'll come out with him and with our swords. If he obstructs, then we'll fight on his behalf with our swords. We'll either come through or perish honorably." He had previously asked the opinion of others in his family on this same question that he was asking Muqātil, but they had told him not to [protect Marwān], but he took the advice of his brother and not theirs. He therefore sent a message to [3221] Marwān and put him up in his house, determining to defend him if forced to do so, saying, "Death for protection is loyalty." Marwān's descendants remembered this of them later, and they benefited by it from them, and the Marwānids honored them because of it.

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr took refuge in the house of a man from al-Azd called Wazīr and said, "Go to the Mother of the Faithful and tell her where I am, but make sure Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr[1039] doesn't find out!" So he went to ʿĀʾishah and told her. "Bring Muḥammad to me!" she said. "Mother of the Faithful!" replied Wazīr. "ʿAbdallāh has forbidden me to let Muḥammad know." But she sent a message to Muḥammad: "Go with this man, and bring me your sister's son!" So he set off with the Azdī and went with him to Ibn al-Zubayr. "By Allāh!" [the Azdī] said. "I've brought you what you didn't want, but the Mother of the Faithful was insistent." Muḥammad and ʿAbdallāh then came out, abusing each other. Muḥammad was mentioning ʿUthmān and abusing him, and ʿAbdallāh was abusing Muḥammad, until they reached ʿĀʾishah at ʿAbdallāh b. Khalaf's house. ʿAbdallāh b. Khalaf was on ʿĀʾishah's side before the Day of the Camel; his brother ʿUthmān was killed with ʿAlī. ʿĀʾishah sent out [men] to look for the wounded, and she had a number of them stay [where she was]. One of those she did this with was Marwān. They stayed in rooms in the house.

1039. Who had been given charge of ʿĀʾishah by ʿAlī.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: While ʿAlī was in his camp tribal leaders came to visit ʿĀʾishah. One of the first to do so was al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr. She said to him when he had greeted her: "I saw two men battling in front of me yesterday, and they recited such-and-such *rajaz* verses. Of the two, do you know who was the Kūfan, from your side?" "Yes," he
[3222] replied, "the one who said, 'The most refractory mother we know.'[1040] By Allāh! He was lying; you're the most dutiful mother we know, but you weren't obeyed." "By Allāh!" she said. "Had I but died two decades before this day!" Al-Qaʿqāʿ then left and went to ʿAlī and told him that ʿĀʾishah had questioned him. "Alas for you!" said ʿAlī. "Who are the two men?" "The other one was Abu Hālah,[1041] who said:

So that I could see his companion ʿAlī."

"By Allāh!" said ʿAlī. "Had I but died two decades before this day!" Their response was thus exactly the same.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Those of the wounded who were able to get up again stole away in the middle of the night into al-Baṣrah. ʿĀʾishah asked about a number of people on that day, both allies and opponents, as people came to visit her while she was in the house of ʿAbdallāh b. Khalaf. Whenever she was told of the death of one of them, she said, "May Allāh be merciful to him!" "Why do you say this?" asked one of her followers. "It's what the Messenger of God used to say. 'So-and-so is in paradise; so-and-so is in paradise,'" she replied. That day ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib said, "I fervently hope that there is not one of these who has purified himself whom Allāh has not taken into paradise."

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAṭiyyah—Abū Ayyūb—ʿAlī: No verse of the Qurʾān was revealed to the Prophet that gave him more joy than Almighty and Glorious Allāh's words: "Whatever calamity afflicts you you have earned, but He forgives much."[1042] The Prophet said: "Whatever a Muslim suffers in this world by way of calamity to himself is in payment

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1040. Rabīʿah al-ʿUqaylī; see p. 137, above.
1041. ʿAlī's man in the fight.
1042. Qurʾān 42:30.

for a wrongdoing, but what Almighty and Glorious Allāh forgives is more. So whatever afflicts him in this world deletes his wrongdoing and is a forgiveness for him. It will not be counted against [3223] him in punishment on the Day of Resurrection. What Almighty and Glorious Allāh has forgiven him in this world He has forgiven forever. Allāh is far above going back on His forgiveness."

ʿAlī's Grief over Those Killed at the Battle of the Camel, Their Burial, and His Gathering What Was in the Camp and Its Despatch to al-Baṣrah

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib remained in his camp for three days and did not enter al-Baṣrah while the people were sent out to their dead. They went out to them and buried them, and ʿAlī went around with them among the bodies. When Kaʿb b. Sūr was brought to him, he said, "You told me it was only fools who had joined up with them, and here you see the learned man." He then came upon ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb and said, "And here is the chief of them!"[1043] (The [informant] they were going around with says, "This[1044] means they had all agreed on him and approved that he should lead their prayer.")

Whenever ʿAlī passed a man with some good points he would say, "There were those who claimed that only the riffraff came out against us, but here is a strenuously devout Muslim." He prayed over both their Baṣran and their Kūfan dead, and he prayed over the Quraysh of both camps. They were both Medinans and Meccans. ʿAlī then buried the severed limbs in a huge grave and collected everything that was left in the camp. He sent it to the mosque in al-Baṣrah, saying: "Whoever recognizes anything [of his own] should take it, except any weapon that was in the stores with the mark of the government[1045] on it. For indeed,[1046] there is still [there] what [the government] has not yet recognized [as belonging to it, so] take that property belonging to Almighty and [3224]

1043. *Yaʿsūb al-qawm.*
1044. *Yaʿsūb al-qawm.*
1045. *Sulṭān.*
1046. Reading *la-mā* with the ms. and *Addenda*, DCXXXIV for the text's *mimmā*.

Glorious Allāh that they had collected in order to fight you with. A Muslim is not entitled to the property of any deceased Muslim, and they had taken possession of those weapons without their being given them as booty[1047] by the government."

The Number of Fatalities at the Battle of the Camel

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Those killed at the Battle of the Camel around the camel numbered 10,000, half from ʿAlī's followers and half from ʿĀʾishah's. Two thousand Azdīs fell plus 500 from the rest of al-Yaman. Two thousand from Muḍar fell plus 500 from Qays, 500 from Tamīm, 1,000 from Banū Ḍabbah, and 500 from Bakr b. Wāʾil.

It was said that in the first battle 5,000 Baṣrans were killed and a further 5,000 in the second battle, totaling 10,000 Baṣran fatalities and 5,000 Kūfans.

Seventy elders of Banū ʿAdī were killed that day, all of whom were well versed in the Qurʾān. Youths and men who were not so well versed in the Qurʾān were also killed. ʿĀʾishah said, "I was still hoping for victory until I heard the voices of Banū ʿAdī subside."

ʿAlī's Visit to ʿĀʾishah and the Punishment He Ordered for Those Who Offended Her

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: On Monday ʿAlī entered al-Baṣrah, went to the mosque, and prayed there. Then he went into al-Baṣrah itself, and the people came to him. Later he went to ʿĀʾishah on his shemule. When he arrived at the house of ʿAbdallāh b. Khalaf—the
[3225] largest house in al-Baṣrah—he found the women weeping with ʿĀʾishah over the two sons of Khalaf, ʿAbdallāh and ʿUthmān.[1048] Ṣafiyyah bint al-Ḥārith[1049] had veiled her face and was weeping,

1047. *Tanafful*; Maqrīzī and Ibrāhīm have *tanfīl* (*Addenda*, DCXXXV), but this would not alter the sense.

1048. Fought on ʿAlī's side in the Battle of the Camel (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 196, II, 579).

1049. Wife of ʿAbdallāh b. Khalaf.

but when she saw him she said: "ʿAlī! Killer of loved ones! Splitter of groups! May Allāh make your sons fatherless, as you have done to the sons of ʿAbdallāh!" He made her no reply and remained silent until he went into ʿĀʾishah, greeted her, sat down next to her, and said, "Ṣafiyyah just met me with some harsh words, but up until today I haven't seen her since she was a little girl." Then, as ʿAlī left, Ṣafiyyah turned to him and repeated what she had said to him, so he halted his she-mule and said, "In truth, I had a mind," and he pointed to the doors of the house, "to open this door and kill those inside, and then this one and kill those inside, and then this one and kill those inside." Some of the wounded had taken refuge with ʿĀʾishah, and ʿAlī had been told that they were with her there, but he pretended not to know. [At this, Ṣafiyyah] fell silent, and ʿAlī left. "By Allāh!" said an Azdī. "This woman[1050] won't get away from us!" But ʿAlī got angry. "Silence!" he said. "Don't any of you dishonor women! Don't force your way into any house! Don't stir up discord with any woman by hurting her, even if they shout abuse at your womenfolk and call your leaders and your honest men fools. They are weak. We have been commanded to hold back from them, [even if] they are polytheists.[1051] A man who recompenses a woman by beating her will have his descendants after him reproached for it. So let me not hear of anyone that he has confronted a woman. I will punish him as the most wicked of people." ʿAlī then left and was met by a man who said: "Commander of the Faithful! Two men I had met previously stood up at the door and were offensive to someone whose abuse [of you] is more painful to you than that of [3226]
Ṣafiyyah." "Alas! Do you mean ʿĀʾishah?" "Yes," he replied, "two of their men stood at the door of the house. One of them recited

May you, our mother, be repaid for [what you did to] us in disobedience!

And the other recited:

Mother of ours! Repent, for you have made a mistake."

So [ʿAlī] sent al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr to the door, and he sent those

1050. Ṣafiyyah.
1051. IA substitutes "Muslims."

guarding it to get control of the two men. "I'm going to cut off their heads!" said al-Qaʿqāʿ but then added, "I will punish them very severely [instead]." So he gave them each a hundred lashes and had their tunics stripped off them.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah—Abū al-Kunūd: They were two Azdīs from al-Kūfah called ʿIjl and Saʿd, sons of ʿAbdallāh.

The Baṣrans' Allegiance to ʿAlī and His Division of the Contents of the Treasury among Them

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Al-Aḥnaf gave allegiance in the evening because he had been absent, he and Banū Saʿd. Then they all entered al-Baṣrah, and the Baṣrans gave allegiance under their banners. ʿAlī gave allegiance to the Baṣrans, even the wounded and those who had sought protection. But when Marwān returned [to Medi-
[3227] na][1052] he went and joined Muʿāwiyah. But others said, "He stayed in Medina until Ṣiffīn was over."

When ʿAlī had completed the allegiance with the Baṣrans, he investigated the treasury and found more than 600,000 dirhams. So he divided it up among those who had fought with him,[1053] 500 dirhams going to each of them, saying, "You'll get the same again on top of your wages if Almighty and Glorious Allāh lets you conquer Syria." The Saba'iyyah murmured against this and secretly criticized ʿAlī.

ʿAlī's Conduct toward Those Who Fought Him on the Day of the Camel

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Rāshid—his father: It was part of ʿAlī's practice not to kill those who fled or to finish off the wounded or to dishonor women, or to take money. So on that day some men asked, "What allows us to kill them but forbids us their money?" "Those who fought you

1052. He was one who had sought protection.
1053. Ibrāhīm, following Maqrīzī (*Addenda*, DCXXXV), adds "at the battle."

are like you," replied ʿAlī. "Those who make peace with us are one with us, and we are one with them, but, for those who persist until they get struck by us, I fight them to the death. You are in no need of their fifth."[1054] It was on that day the Khawārij[1055] began talking among themselves.

Al-Ashtar Sends ʿĀʾishah a He-Camel He Had Bought for Her and Her Exit from al-Baṣrah to Mecca

According to Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ—Yaḥyā b. Ādam—Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh—ʿĀṣim b. Kulayb—his father: When they had finished on the Day of the Camel al-Ashtar ordered me to go and buy him a he-camel for 700 dirhams from a man from Mahrah.[1056] "Take it to ʿĀʾishah," said al-Ashtar, "and tell her, 'Al-Ashtar Mālik b. al-Ḥārith has sent it to you, and he says, "This is to take the place of your camel."'" So I took it to her and said, [3228] "Mālik sends you greetings, and says that this camel is in place of your camel." "May Allāh not give him peace! For he has killed the chief of the Arabs (by which she meant Ibn Ṭalḥah) and committed crimes against my sister's son." So I took it back to al-Ashtar and informed him, at which he uncovered two hirsute forearms and said, "They wanted to kill me, so what else could I do?"

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ʿĀʾishah headed for Mecca, taking the road[1057] from al-Baṣrah. Marwān and al-Aswad b. Abī al-Bakhtarī left the road and went to Medina. ʿĀʾishah stayed in Mecca until the *ḥajj*[1058] and then returned to Medina.

1054. The fifth was reserved for Allāh, His Messenger, relatives, orphans, the poor, and travelers (Qurʾān 8:42).

1055. Seceders from ʿAlī's cause, principally after the Battle of Ṣiffīn; see *EI*², s.v. Khāridjites.

1056. In the southeastern Arabian peninsula, famed for its camels.

1057. Reading *fa-kāna wajhuhā*. Prym's *fa-kāna wajjahahā* has no explicit subject, but could be ʿAlī—"so he sent her away [from al-Baṣrah]." The text may be corrupt, and, like IA, 258, Prym's proposed reconstruction, "ʿĀʾishah left al-Baṣrah and headed toward Mecca," corresponds with the translation above.

1058. A little over seven months later, if the end of Rabīʿ II is taken as the date of the battle, and five or six if Jumādā II is taken; see pp. 81, 133, above.

What ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib Wrote about the Victory to His Governor of al-Kūfah

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ʿAlī wrote to his governor of al-Kūfah about the victory, in a letter concerning al-Kūfah, while the governor was in Mecca.

> From ʿAllāh's servant ʿAlī, Commander of the Faithful. After greetings. We fought in the middle of Jumādā II in Khuraybah, one of the open areas in al-Baṣrah. Almighty and Glorious Allāh gave them the *sunnah* of the Muslims.[1059] There were many killed from our side and theirs. Among those killed from our side were Thumāmah b. al-Muthannā, Hind b. ʿAmr, ʿIlbāʾ b. al-Haytham, Sayḥān and Zayd, the two sons of Ṣūḥān, and Maḥdūj. ʿUbaydallāh b. Rāfiʿ[1060] was the scribe. Zufar b. Qays was the messenger who brought the good news to Kūfah, still in Jumādā II.

[3229] *ʿAlī Accepts Allegiance from the People and the Account of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān*[1061] *and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakrah*

These words were said in the allegiance: "The fulfillment of Allāh's promise and covenant is obligatory on you. Our peace will be your peace, and our war will be your war. You will restrain your tongue and hand from attacking us."

Now Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān was one of those who withdrew and did not take part in the battle. He stayed back in the house of Nāfiʿ b. al-Ḥārith. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakrah came with those seeking protection after ʿAlī had finished with the allegiance and gave himself up. ʿAlī asked him, "What about your father's brother,[1062]

1059. I.e., put an end to their deviation by trying to reason with them before taking up arms (*Glossarium*, CCCLXVII, and p. 73, above).

1060. For the text's ʿAbdallāh, following Ibrāhīm, although there is no entry in Caskel, while there is one for an ʿAbdallāh (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 195, II, 117). De Goeje suggests ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Rāfiʿ (*Addenda*, DCXXXV).

1061. Settled early in al-Baṣrah with Abū Bakrah, probably a brother by the same mother, Sumayyah (*EI*[2], s.v. Abū Bakrah; and Prym's n. c to the text); later Muʿāwiyah's viceroy in Iraq. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ziyād b. Abīhi.

1062. I.e., Ziyād.

the one who held out and refused to join me?"[1063] "By Allāh, Commander of the Faithful!" he replied. "He loves you and is very eager to please you, but I heard that he's ill. So I'll find out his news and come back to you." He was keeping his whereabouts a secret from ʿAlī until he had consulted him, but [Ziyād] ordered him to tell him, so he did. "Walk in front of me!" said ʿAlī, "and lead me to him!" He did so, and when he reached where he was he said, "You refused to join me and held out [on me]!" and ʿAlī put his hand on his chest and said, "There's a sharp pain here." Ziyād then made apologies to him, and he accepted them. ʿAlī then consulted with him and wanted him to govern al-Baṣrah. But Ziyād said: "Let it be a man from your close family, and the people will be content with him and more likely to be reassured or easily led. I will support him for you and advise him." So ʿAlī and Ziyād parted, having decided on Ibn ʿAbbās, and ʿAlī returned to where he was staying.

The Appointment of Ibn ʿAbbās as Governor of al-Baṣrah and Ziyād over the Kharāj *Tax*

ʿAlī appointed Ibn ʿAbbās governor of al-Baṣrah and Ziyād over the *kharāj* tax and the treasury, and he ordered Ibn ʿAbbās to listen to Ziyād's advice. "I consulted him about some small thing concerning the people," Ibn ʿAbbās used to say, "and he replied, 'If you know you're in the right and that your opponent is in the wrong, I'll give you proper advice; if you don't know, I'll give you proper advice just the same.' 'I'm in the right,' I replied, 'and they're in the wrong.' So he said, 'Use those who obey you to beat those who disobey you and go against your orders! And, if it brings more strength and benefit to Islam that their heads be cut off, then cut them off!' I asked Ziyād to write this down, and when he left I looked at what he had done and realized that he had given me a well thought out opinion.'" [3230]

The Saba'iyyah set off without ʿAlī's permission, which caused ʿAlī to leave in haste and set off on their tracks to foil any plan they might be making. He had stayed in [al-Baṣrah] a while.

According to al-Sarī [in writing]—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad

1063. *Al-mutaqāʿid bī* or, in Ibrāhīm, *al-muqāʿid bī*.

and Ṭalḥah: The people of Medina learned about the Day of the Camel before sunset on the Thursday from a vulture that circled around Medina with something hanging down. They were staring at it when it fell. To their surprise, it was a human hand wearing a signet ring engraved with the name of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb. All Baṣrans between Mecca and Medina, whether near al-Baṣrah or far, then became frightened, having learned of the battle from the hands and feet carried to them by vultures.

[3231] *ʿAlī Equips ʿĀʾishah to Leave al-Baṣrah*

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: ʿAlī equipped ʿĀʾishah with everything she needed in the way of riding beasts, provisions, and other baggage and sent with her all those who had fought on her side and had survived, except for anyone who wished to stay behind. He also selected forty prominent Baṣran women to go with her. "Get ready for the journey, Muḥammad!"[1064] he said, "and see that she arrives."[1065] So on the day she was to set off he came to her to stand and bid her farewell. The people were there so she went out to them, and they said their farewells to her and she to them. "My sons," she said, "some of us criticized others of us, saying they were slow or excessive.[1066] But don't let any of you hold it against any others over anything you might hear about this. By Allāh! There was never anything in the past between me and ʿAlī other than what usually happens between a woman and her male in-laws. In my opinion he has shown himself one of the best of men, despite my criticism." "By Allāh, men!" replied ʿAlī. "She has spoken the truth and nothing but the truth. That was all there was between us. She's the wife of your Prophet now and forever."[1067]

The day she left was Saturday 1 Rajab, 36/December 24, 656. ʿAlī escorted her some miles and then left his sons to accompany her for a day.

1064. Ibn Abī Bakr.
1065. At Medina.
1066. In dealing with ʿUthmān.
1067. I.e., ʿAlī has forgiven her.

Accounts of the Carnage on the Day of the Camel

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. ʿAṭiyyah al-Khurāsānī—Saʿīd al-Quṭaʿī: We used to recount the number of dead at the Battle of the Camel as exceeding 6,000.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh—his father— [3232]
Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ—ʿAbdallāh—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—al-Zubayr b. al-Khirrīt[1068]—Abū Labīd Limāzah b. Ziyād: I asked him,[1069] "Why do you curse ʿAlī?" He replied, "Should I not curse a man who killed 2,500 of us by the time the sun was over our heads?"

According to Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb: On the Day of the Camel ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib killed 2,500 men—1,350 of them were from Azd, 800 from Banū Ḍabbah, and 350 from the rest of the people.

According to [ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh]—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Jarīr: When Al-Muʿarriḍ b. ʿIlāṭ[1070] was killed on the Day of the Camel his brother al-Ḥajjāj recited the verses

Never did I see a day when more men hastened to fight
with only a left hand, because they had lost their right.

According to Muʿādh—ʿAbdallāh—Jarīr: When Al-Muʿarriḍ b. ʿIlāṭ was killed on the Day of the Camel his brother al-Ḥajjāj recited the verses

Never did I see a day when more men hastened to fight
with[1071] only a left hand, because they had lost their right.

What ʿAmmār b. Yāsir Told ʿĀʾishah When the Battle of the Camel Was Over

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Abū Yazīd al-Madinī: When the

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1068. Following Ibrāhīm and *Addenda*, DCXXXV, for the text's Ibn al-Ḥurayth.

1069. I.e., al-Zubayr b. al-Khirrīt asked Abū Labīd.

1070. Of Sulaym. Only his brother al-Ḥajjāj is mentioned in Caskel and Strenziok, I, 122, II, 291). Al-Ḥajjāj was involved in the expedition against Khaybar (Ibn Hishām, 770 ff.; tr., 519 ff.; see also Watt, 97).

1071. *Bi-kaffi shimālin* for *li-kaffi* . . . in the preceding version. Prym points out that in the ms. this line comes at the end of the next *khabar*, but it appears that it belongs here.

people had finished fighting, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir said to ʿĀʾishah,
[3233] "Mother of the Faithful, how far this march is from the pact that was made for you!"[1072] "Abū al-Yaqẓān!" she replied. "Yes?" he asked. "By Allāh! As I always knew, you're a great speaker of the truth!" "Praise be to Allāh!" he replied, "Who has judged in my favor by your tongue!"

1072. Not to leave her house (Qur'ān 33:33).

The End of the Account of the Battle of the Camel

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib Sends Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbādah to Be Ruler of Egypt

In this year—that is, 36—Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah[1073] was killed. This was because, when the Egyptians had left to go to ʿUthmān with Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, he stayed in Egypt, expelled ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ,[1074] and took control of the country. There he remained until ʿUthmān was killed and allegiance was given to ʿAlī. Muʿāwiyah then rebelled, and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ gave him allegiance. The two of them then went to Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah before Qays b. Saʿd reached Egypt. They tried without success to enter Egypt, so they continued to practice deceit on Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah until he came out with 1,000 men to ʿArīsh of Egypt and set up fortifications. ʿAmr then went to him there and set up mangonels against him. This made Muḥammad come out with thirty of his men, whereupon they were captured and put to death, may they rest in peace.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad[1075]—Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Mikhnaf b. Sulaym—Muḥammad b. Yūsuf[1076] al-Anṣārī of Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj—ʿAbbās b. Sahl[1077] al-Sāʿidī: It was Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah b. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah b. [3234] ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf who sent the Egyptians to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffan, and then, once they had gone to ʿUthmān and besieged him, he (back in Egypt) seized ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, one of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy[1078] of Quraysh and ʿUthmān's governor of Egypt at the time. Muḥammad then expelled him and made himself leader of the prayer. So ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd left Egypt and encamped at the border between Egypt and Palestine, awaiting the outcome of the business over ʿUthmān.

A rider appeared and ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd asked: "What's your news, ʿAbdallāh?[1079] Tell us what's been happening to the people

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1073. Ibn ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf, a paternal cousin of ʿUthmān but against him; Caetani, IX, 307–8.

1074. A scribe of the Prophet and a milk brother of ʿUthmān (Caskel and Strenziok, I, 27, II, 117).

1075. Al-Kalbī (Caetani, IX, 308–9).

1076. Ibn Thābit Abū Yūsuf (U. Sezgin, 212).

1077. Ibn Saʿd (U. Sezgin, 212).

1078. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 27.

1079. ʿAbdallāh is the address to a Muslim whose name is not known.

where you came from." "I will," he replied. "The Muslims have killed ʿUthmān." "'We belong to Allāh, and to Him we return,'"[1080] said ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd. "And then what did they do, ʿAbdallāh?" "Then they gave allegiance to the paternal cousin of the Messenger of God, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib." "'We belong to Allāh, and to Him we return,'" said ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd again. "It seems that you think that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's becoming ruler is as bad as the killing of ʿUthmān," the man said to him, [astonished]. "That's right," he replied. The man then gave him a searching look and realized that he knew him. "You look like ʿAbdallāh [b. Saʿd] b. Abī Sarḥ, ruler of Egypt," he said. "That's right," he replied. "If you've any desire for life left," the man said to him, "then escape fast! The Commander of the Faithful's opinion about you and your followers is bad. If he overcomes you, he'll kill you or banish you from Muslim territory, and here on my heels is a new ruler[1081] coming instead of you." "What ruler is this?" asked ʿAbdallāh. "Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbādah al-Anṣārī." "May Allāh expel Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah from His mercy!" said ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd, "for he has committed an outrage against his pater-
[3235] nal cousin[1082] and worked against him, when ʿUthmān had been his guardian and brought him up and done him so much good. But he abused his protection and set upon his governors and equipped men against him until he was killed. Then someone who was worse than himself was appointed over him,[1083] someone to whom ʿUthmān had not granted power over his lands for a year or even a month, because he did not consider him fit for it." "Escape and save yourself, and you won't be killed!" the man told him. So ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd left and fled until he reached Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān in Damascus.

Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī] added, "This report from Hishām proves that Qays b. Saʿd became governor of Egypt while Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah was still alive."

In this year ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib sent Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbādah al-

1080. Qur'ān 2:156.
1081. Sent from ʿAlī.
1082. ʿUthmān.
1083. I.e., ʿAlī.

Anṣārī to govern Egypt, and about this we have the following account.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Thābit—Sahl b. Saʿd:[1084] When ʿUthmān was killed and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib became caliph, he called Qays b. Saʿd al-Anṣāri and told him: "Go to Egypt; I've made you its governor. So go and get ready to travel, and gather your trusted followers to you[1085] and those you want to go with you, so that you arrive there with a force. That will be more alarming to your enemies and more encouraging to your friends. If Allāh wills that you get there, then treat the good doer well and be severe with those you suspect. Be lenient with newcomers and early comers;[1086] leniency brings success." "May Allāh have mercy on you,[1087] Commander of the Faithful!" replied Qays b. Saʿd. "I appreciate what you say, but, as for your advice, 'Go out to it with a force,' by Allāh! If I can enter Egypt only with a force brought from Medina I'll never enter it at all. So I'll leave that force for you. Then if you have need of them they'll be near at hand, or if [3236] you want to send them on some mission of yours they'll be there ready for you. I and my household, however, will go on our own. As for your advice about leniency and good treatment, I will ask help for that from Almighty and Glorious Allāh."

So Qays b. Saʿd left with seven of his followers and went to Egypt, where he mounted the *minbar*, sat down, and ordered that a letter he had with him from the Commander of the Faithful be read out to the people of Egypt:

> In the name of Allāh the Merciful, the Compassionate. From the servant of Allāh ʿAlī, the Commander of the Faithful, to all Muslims and believers who hear this edict of mine. Peace be upon you! I praise Allāh to you, apart from Whom there is no deity.
>
> After greetings. [I tell you!] Almighty and Glorious Allāh, by the goodness of His actions, His plans, and His

1084. Al-Shahrazūrī (U. Sezgin, 123, 226); Caetani, IX, 318 ff.
1085. Reading *ilayka* for *ilayhi*, after Ibrāhīm and IA.
1086. Hinds, "Kûfan Political Alignments," 354.
1087. Polite introduction to a contradiction.

direction, has chosen Islam as His Own religion, that of His angels and of His messengers. He has sent the messengers with it to His servants and has specially ordained for it those of His creation whom He elected. Then one of the things by which Almighty and Glorious Allāh has ennobled this community and singled it out for excellence is His sending Muḥammad to it. In this way he taught them the Book, the wisdom, the ordinances, and the *sunnah*, that they might be guided right. He united them that they might not split into factions, he purified them that they might be clean, and be made life good for them[1088] that they might not oppress. When he had accomplished his mission, Almighty and Glorious Allāh took him, may Allāh's prayers and mercy and blessings be upon him! The Muslims then appointed two leaders as his deputies who were devout and acted according to the Book and the *sunnah*. They conducted themselves well and did not go against the *sunnah*. Almighty and Glorious Allāh then took them also to Himself, and a governor[1089] succeeded them who introduced innovations, so the community found a way to talk against him, so they talked and then criticized and reviled him.[1090] Then they came to me and gave me allegiance, so I pray for guidance from Almighty and Glorious Allāh and ask Him to help me to fear Him. Indeed, I am obliged to you to act according to the Book of Allāh and the *sunnah* of His messenger
[3237] and to govern you according to His proper manner and to implement His *sunnah* and to be honest with you when you are absent.[1091] 'Allāh is the One from Whom help is sought!'[1092] 'Allāh is sufficient for us; He is an excellent guardian!'[1093] Now I have sent Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah to you as ruler, so help him, support him,[1094] and assist him

1088. Reading *wa-raffahahum* after Ibrāhīm for the text's *wa-raffahum*.
1089. 'Uthmān.
1090. Following the text's *fa-'ayyarū*, rather than Ibrāhīm's *fa-ghayyarū*.
1091. Cf. Qur'ān 12:53.
1092. Qur'ān 12:18, 21:112.
1093. Qur'ān 3:173.
1094. Reading either *wa-kānifūhu* with the text or *wa-kātifūhu* with the ms.

toward right. I have ordered him to do good to those of you who do good, to be severe with those of you who are suspect, and to be lenient with newcomers and latecomers.[1095] He's among those whose guidance I'm well satisfied with and whose goodness and sincere advice I always expect. So I request for you and for us from Almighty and Glorious Allāh right action and bountiful reward and far-reaching mercy. Peace be upon you and Allāh's mercy and blessings! Written by ʿUbaydallāh[1096] b. Abī Rāfiʿ in Ṣafar, 36.

Qays b. Saʿd then stood up to make a speech. He praised Allāh and magnified Him, asked Allāh's blessings upon Muḥammad, and said, "Praise to Allāh, Who has brought truth and destroyed falsehood and has prostrated the oppressors. Men! We have given allegiance to the best person after Muḥammad our Prophet we know, so arise all of you and give allegiance over the Book of Almighty and Glorious Allāh and the *sunnah* of His Messenger, for if we don't apply them over you, you won't owe us any allegiance." So the people stood and gave allegiance, and Egypt settled down under his command, and he sent out his provincial governors. However, there was one village there called Kharbitā,[1097] where there was a group that had taken ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān's murder very seriously, among them[1098] a man from Banū al-Ḥārith b. Mudlij[1099] from Kinānah called Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith. These sent a message to Qays b. Saʿd: "We shall not fight you, so send out your governors; the land is yours. But let us remain as we [3238] are until we see what the people do." Then Maslamah b. Mukhallad al-Anṣārī[1100] of the clan Sāʿidah,[1101] one of Qays b. Saʿd's group, rose up and lamented the death of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and called for revenge for his blood. But Qays b. Saʿd sent a message back to him: "Shame on you! Are you rising up against me?

1095. Hinds, "Kûfan Political Alignments," 354.
1096. See *Addenda*, DCXXXIV for the text's ʿUbayd.
1097. See p. 27, above.
1098. "Leading them" (IA).
1099. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 44, II, 310.
1100. Caskel and Strenziok, I, 187, II, 401.
1101. *Thumma min Sāʿidah*. Ibrāhīm has *thumma man sāʿadahu* "and so did his supporters."

By Allāh! I wouldn't want to kill you even if I were given the rule of Syria as well as Egypt." Maslamah sent back this message: "I shall not fight you as long as you are governor of Egypt."

Now Qays b. Saʿd had resolve and good judgment,[1102] so he sent a message to those at Kharbitā: "I am not going to force you to give allegiance. I will let you be and not fight you." So he made a truce with them and with Maslamah b. Mukhallad and collected the *kharāj* tax[1103] without anyone's resisting him.

It was while Qays was governing Egypt that the Commander of the Faithful went out against the army of the Camel, and he was still in his post when ʿAlī went back to Kūfah from Baṣrah. Because of his closeness to Syria he was Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān's greatest problem. Muʿāwiyah was afraid that ʿAlī would advance against him with the Iraqi army and that Qays b. Saʿd would advance against him with the Egyptian army and that Muʿāwiyah would be caught between the two.

Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān therefore wrote to Qays b. Saʿd. At this stage ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was at al-Kūfah, prior to his setting out for Ṣiffīn.

> From Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān to Qays b. Saʿd.[1104] Peace be upon you! After greetings. If you were resentful against ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān for any preferential treatment you thought he was making, or for whippings he gave, or for verbal abuses against anyone, or for expulsions of others,[1105] or for putting youths in authority, you nevertheless knew—if you know anything—that to take his life
> [3239] was not lawful for you. You have therefore perpetrated a heinous crime and done something shocking.[1106] So Qays b. Saʿd! If repenting for the murder of a believer can have any effect, then repent to Almighty and Glorious Allāh, for you were party to the crime against ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.

1102. He was known as one of the seven *duhāt*.

1103. The land tax, *EI*², s.v.

1104. Note the absence of a *basmala* here and in the next two letters (but not the fourth).

1105. Like Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī.

1106. Qur'ān 19:89, said of those who say Allāh had a son. The ms. has *amran* for the Qur'ān text's *shay'an*.

As for your companion,[1107] we have no doubt whatsoever that it was he who incited the people against ʿUthmān and urged them on to kill him until they did so. The majority of your own people are now implicated in his blood. So Qays, if you can join those demanding revenge for ʿUthmān's death, then do so.[1108] Follow our lead, and if I gain the victory you shall be given authority over al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah[1109] as long as I live. Authority over the Ḥijāz shall be given to any of your close family you wish, as long as I hold power. Ask of me also anything in addition to this you may want. You will not request anything without receiving it. So write and let me know your reaction to what I have written. Peace!

When Muʿāwiyah's letter reached him, he wanted to hold him off[1110] and not disclose his position to him and not to be in a hurry to make war with him, so he wrote to him:

After greetings. I received your letter, and I understand what you say about the murder of ʿUthmān. But I did not commit it, nor was I in any way connected with it. You also say that it was my companion who incited the people against ʿUthmān and secretly urged them on until they killed him. This also I did not witness. You say, too, that the majority of my people are implicated in ʿUthmān's blood, but the very first group to stand up and demand retaliation for him was my tribe. Concerning your request to me to join behind your lead and your offer to me for doing so, I have understood it. It is something I will have [3240] to look into and think about. It is not something that should be rushed into. Meanwhile, I will not fight you, and nothing distasteful to you will come to you from my quarter until, Allāh willing, both you and I have considered the matter. Almighty and Glorious Allāh is the One

1107. ʿAlī.
1108. As a sort of repentance.
1109. *Al-ʿIrāqayn.*
1110. Cf. the next letter of Qays.

from Whom protection is to be sought. Peace be upon you, and the mercy of Allāh and His Blessings!

When Muʿāwiyah read his reply he realized he was trying pull-push tactics,[1111] and he was not sure that it would not end up as push-deceive.[1112] So Muʿāwiyah wrote to him again:

After greetings. I have read your letter, but I do not see you making approaches that lead me to recognize you as [offering] peace, nor do I see you distancing yourself in a way that leads me to recognize you as [offering] war. By taking such a position you are like the chin of the camel for slaughter.[1113] Men like myself, who have large numbers of men and fighting cavalry,[1114] do not make up to a deceiver, nor do they incline to a trickster. Peace be upon you!

When Qays b. Saʿd had read Muʿāwiyah's letter and realized that holding off and playing for time would not get anywhere with him, he wrote to him revealing his true intentions:

In the name of Allāh the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Qays b. Saʿd to Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. After greetings. I am astonished how you try to deceive me, how you desire to overcome me, and how you try to make me change my mind for the worse. Are you obliging me to renounce obedience to the most qualified of all people for the leadership, whose words are truest, whose actions are most rightly guided, and whose connections to the Messenger of God are closest? Are you then commanding me to enter into obedience to yourself—obedience to the most unqualified of all people for this rule, most ready of all to speak falsely, whose actions are most astray, and whose connections to Almighty and Glorious Allāh and
[3241] His Messenger are most distant, a son of those who are astray and those who lead astray,[1115] one of the devil's

1111. *Muqāriban mubāʿidan.*
1112. *Mubāʿidan mukāyidan.*
1113. "Moving this way and that to try to trick the slaughterer"?
1114. Lit., "the reins of horses in his hand."
1115. Abū Sufyān, a major opponent of the Prophet.

> own devils? As for your statement that you will fill Egypt with horses and men to fight me, by Allāh! If I do not keep you concerned with yourself so that your very survival becomes the most worrying thing for you, you will be lucky. Peace!

On receiving Qays's letter, Muʿāwiyah lost hope for him; his being there in Egypt was a big impediment to him.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī—[his father,][1116] Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Yūnus—al-Zuhrī: Egypt during ʿAlī's time was governed by Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbādah, the holder of the banner of the Anṣār alongside the Messenger of God. He was one of those of sound judgment and strong character. Now Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ were making great efforts to get him out of Egypt and take control of it, but he defended it with cunning and strategems. They had neither gained control of him nor captured Egypt until Muʿāwiyah tricked him through ʿAlī.[1117] When Muʿāwiyah was talking with some tribesmen of Quraysh, respected for their good judgment, he said: "I never devised a trick that pleased me more than the one with which I tricked Qays b. Saʿd through ʿAlī while he was in Iraq and Qays was resisting me. I said to the Syrians: 'Don't speak roughly to Qays b. Saʿd and don't put out any call to invade him. He supports us; his shrewd advice comes to us secretly. Don't you see what he has done with your brothers from the men of Kharbitā who are there under him? He pays them their allowances and provisions, he gives them security,[1118] and he treats any rider well that goes to him from you. They never find fault with him in any way.' So I made a point [3242] of writing to my Iraqi followers about all this," continued Muʿāwiyah, "so that ʿAlī's spies with me here and over in Iraq should hear it." From them it got back to ʿAlī—by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib—and when ʿAlī heard of it he became suspicious of Qays and wrote to him, ordering him to go and fight the people of Kharbitā. The people of

1116. Cf. p. 187, below, and *Addenda*, DCXXXV.
1117. By the speech that follows and by a fabricated letter; see p. 185, below.
1118. Lit. "their flocks" (Lane, 1341c), as also in Qays's letter to ʿAlī, p. 184, below.

Kharbitā at that time numbered 10,000. Qays refused to fight them and wrote to ʿAlī.

> They are Egyptian notables and noblemen. Loyal men are among them. They agreed with me, provided I give them security and give them their allowances and provisions, although I am fully aware that their sympathies lie with Muʿāwiyah. So I see no way of maneuvering them that would be any easier for me or for you than what I am already doing with them. Were I to attack them they would be my match. They are lions of Arabs; among them are Busr b. Abīʿ[1119] Arṭāh, Maslamah b. Mukhallad,[1120] and Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj. So let me do things my way; I know how to cajole them.

The only course of action ʿAlī would accept was to fight them, but Qays refused and wrote again to ʿAlī, "If you suspect me, then remove me from your governorship and appoint someone else to it." ʿAlī therefore appointed al-Ashtar ruler of Egypt, but at al-Qulzum[1121] he drank a honey drink and died.[1122] News of this reached Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr [b. al-ʿĀṣ], and the latter remarked, "Allāh has an army in honey!"[1123] On hearing of al-Ashtar's death at al-Qulzum, ʿAlī sent Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr as ruler of Egypt.

Al-Zuhrī said that ʿAlī sent Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr as ruler of Egypt after the death of al-Ashtar at Qulzum. But Hishām b. Muḥammad [b. al-Kalbī] in his account said the opposite—that ʿAlī sent al-Ashtar as ruler of Egypt after the death of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr.

1119. *Addenda*, DCXXXV and Ibrāhīm. A bedouin of Banū ʿĀmir of Quraysh and a fiery opponent of ʿAlī (*EI*², s.v.).

1120. Al-Anṣārī.

1121. The port at the top of the Red Sea (*EI*², s.v.).

1122. Poisoned by the local *jāyastār*, perhaps at the instigation of Muʿāwiyah (*EI*², s.v. al-Ashtar). Cf. Hawting, *First Civil War*, 145.

1123. Freytag, I, 10; *EI*², s.v. al-Ashtar. Cf. Qur'ān—*lillāhi junūd al-samāwāt wa-al-arḍ*. Muʿāwiyah is said to have done this on other occasions, e.g., by means of al-Jaʿdah bt. al-Ashʿath, who is said to have poisoned her husband, Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, for a large sum of money and the hand of Muʿāwiyah's son Yazīd (*EI*², s.v. al-Ḥasan).

Return to the account of Hishām [b. Muḥammad b. al-Kalbī] from Abū Mikhnaf [3243]

When Muʿāwiyah gave up hoping that Qays would comply with his authority, it made him very anxious, for he was well aware of Qays's determination and strength of character. So Muʿāwiyah feigned to the people around him that, "Qays b. Saʿd is on your side, so say prayers for him to Allāh!" He then read out to them the letter in which Qays had been compliant and accommodating toward Muʿāwiyah. He further fabricated a letter from Qays b. Saʿd and read it aloud to the Syrians:

> In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To the ruler Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān from Qays b. Saʿd. Greetings! I praise Allāh to you. There is no god but He! After greetings. I have considered the situation and I now realize that I can no longer support a party that killed their imām, a Muslim, unlawful to be killed, who was fulfilling his duties and was God-fearing. We therefore beg Almighty and Glorious Allāh pardon for our sins and ask Him to preserve our religion from error. Here I come in peace to you, responding to your call to fight the killers of ʿUthmān, the unjustly killed imām of guidance.[1124] So ask my assistance regarding whatever money and men you would like, and I will expedite them to you. Peace!

At this the news spread among the Syrians that Qays b. Saʿd had given allegiance to Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's spies conveyed it back to ʿAlī, and when he heard it he was distressed, shocked, and very surprised. He called his sons and ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar and told them. "What did you think?" he asked. "Commander of the Faithful," replied ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar. "Leave what you suspect for what you don't suspect! Remove Qays from Egypt!" "By Allāh! I cannot credit this from Qays," ʿAlī answered them. "But Commander of the Faithful," replied ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar, "remove him! Then, by Allāh! If this news is true he will not step down for you when you remove him."[1125] They were [3244]

1124. Reading *imāmi* . . . with Nöldeke (*Addenda*, DCXXXV) and Ibrāhīm.

1125. I.e., if he really has gone over to Muʿāwiyah, he will refuse to give up Egypt and simply rule it under Muʿāwiyah.

talking in this way when a letter from Qays b. Sa'd arrived, containing the following:

> In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. After greetings. I inform the Commander of the Faithful, may Allāh ennoble him! that there are men facing me here who are abstaining.[1126] They have asked me to hold off from them and leave them alone until matters between the people have been put in order, at which time we may come to a decision and they may. I therefore thought it wise to hold off from them and not to rush into battle with them, but in the meanwhile to try to win them over. Perhaps Almighty and Glorious Allāh will make their minds more favorable to us and separate them from their error, if He wills.

"Commander of the Faithful!" said 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far. "I'm very afraid that this means he is in fact joining forces with them. Order him, Commander of the Faithful, to fight them!" 'Alī therefore wrote to him: "In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. After greetings. Go to these people you mention! If they make allegiance to me as the Muslims have done, all well and good. But, if they do not, then fight them, God willing!"[1127]

When the letter reached Qays b. Sa'd and he read it he could not but write back to Commander of the Faithful:

> After greetings. Commander of the Faithful, I was astonished at your order. Are you ordering me to fight people who are holding back from you and leaving you free to fight your enemy? They will support your enemy against you if you go to war with them. Follow my advice, Commander of the Faithful! Hold back from them! Leaving them alone is the best thing to do. Peace!

When this letter reached 'Alī, 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far said to him, "Commander of the Faithful! Send Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr to rule Egypt! He will take care of it for you. Remove Qays! By Allāh I have heard that Qays says: 'By Allāh! A rule that is only estab-

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1126. From giving you/me their allegiance.
1127. Cf. the *ḥadīth al-khārij 'alā imām zamānih kāfir.*

lished by killing Maslamah b. Mukhallad is a bad rule indeed! By Allāh I have no wish even to rule Syria along with Egypt as the killer of Ibn al-Mukhallad.'" [3245]

Now ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar was the brother of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr by the same mother.[1128] So ʿAlī sent Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr as governor of Egypt and removed Qays.

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr's Governorship of Egypt

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb[1129] al-Wālibī of Wālibah of al-Azd—his father:[1130] ʿAlī wrote a letter for [Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr] to take to the Egyptians. On his presenting it to Qays, Qays said to him: "What is the Commander of the Faithful doing? What has changed his mind? Has someone been saying things to him against me?" "No," replied Muḥammad, "this rule is yours." "By Allāh! Not even for a single hour will I stay in the same area as you," said Qays. So when ʿAlī removed him from office, he became furious, left Egypt, and headed for Medina. When he arrived there Ḥassān b. Thābit (who was one of the ʿUthmāniyyah) came up to him, pleased at his misfortune, and said: "ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib has dismissed you. You killed ʿUthmān, and you're still guilty of the crime, and ʿAlī hasn't given you much thanks!" "It's not just your eye that's blind but your mind as well!" replied Qays b. Saʿd. "By Allāh! If it wouldn't be the cause of a war between my tribe and yours, I would break your neck! Get out of my sight!" Qays, accompanied by Sahl b. Ḥunayf, then left Medina for ʿAlī. Qays then told ʿAlī the whole story, and ʿAlī believed him. Qays and Sahl later accompanied ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad [al-Marwazī]—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Yūnus—al-Zuhrī: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr came to Egypt, so Qays left to stay in Medina. Marwān and [3246] al-Aswad b. Abī al-Bakhtarī[1131] then made Qays fear that he would be captured or killed. So he mounted his travel camel and

1128. Asmāʾ.
1129. Ibn Fuqaym (U. Sezgin, 206).
1130. U. Sezgin, 151–52.
1131. One of the ʿUthmāniyyah, like Marwān.

went and joined[1132] ʿAlī. Muʿāwiyah then sent an angry letter to Marwān and al-Aswad: "The two of you have reinforced ʿAlī with Qays b. Saʿd, with his good judgment and with his respected position. By Allāh! If you had reinforced him with a hundred thousand soldiers it would not have angered me more than your expelling Qays b. Saʿd to ʿAlī!"

Qays b. Saʿd came to ʿAlī and apprised him[1133] of what had happened. The killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr also reached him. All this made ʿAlī realize that Qays b. Saʿd had been contending against powerful plots and that those who had urged him to remove Qays b. Saʿd[1134] had been giving him poor advice. So from then on ʿAlī listened to Qays b. Saʿd at every turn.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb al-Wālibī—his father: I was[1135] with Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr when he came to Egypt and read out his commission to them:

> In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The commission of the servant of Allāh ʿAlī, the Commander of the Faithful, to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr on his appointment as ruler of Egypt.
>
> He commands him to piety toward Allāh and obedience personally and publicly; to fear of Almighty and Glorious Allāh regarding things unseen and seen; to le-
> [3247] niency toward Muslims and harshness toward the dissolute; to justice toward the *dhimmis*; to establish the rights of the oppressed and to be severe with the oppressor; to forgiveness toward the people and to do good as far as he is able—Allāh rewards those who do good and punishes those who do wrong.
>
> He commands him to call those around him to obedience [to the imām] and to the community [of the imām].[1136] For the final issue and huge reward for them in so doing are incalculable and unfathomable.

1132. Reading *fa-ṭamara* or *fa-ẓahara* (cf. Prym's n. *b*); see pp. 5 and 43, above.

1133. Reading *bāththahu* (*Addenda*, DCXXXV).

1134. Like ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar.

1135. Following the correction to the ms. (*kuntu maʿ* for *kataba*).

1136. *Ilā al-ṭāʿah wa-al-jamāʿah*; cf. the Prophet's saying *Ilzam al-ṭāʿah wa-al-jamāʿah* (Wensinck, IV, 42a).

He commands him to collect the *kharāj* tax on land at the rate at which it was taxed before, neither to reduce it nor make new amendments to it; then to divide it among its recipients as they divided it before; to be gentle[1137] with them and to treat them equally in his meetings with them and his regard for them;[1138] and to let those near and those distant have equal rights.

He commands him to judge people with truth and to establish equity, not to follow personal desire or to fear the blame of others when following Almighty and Glorious Allāh. For Allāh, may His praise be magnified, is with those who are pious and who give priority to obeying Him and His commands over all others.

Written by ʿUbaydallāh[1139] b. Abī Rāfiʿ, *mawlā* of the Messenger of Allāh, this 1 Ramaḍān/February 21.

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr then stood up to preach a sermon. He praised Allāh and glorified Him. "The right path of action has been disputed, but praise Allāh!" he said, "Who guided us and you and Who made us and you perceive much the ignorant are blind about. The Commander of the Faithful has placed me in charge of your affairs and has given me a commission, as you have just heard. ʿAlī gave me many instructions by word of mouth, and as far as I am able I will never neglect to do what is good for you. 'My success is from Allāh alone; on Him I have relied, and to Him I turn in repentance.'[1140] If you see that my leadership and deeds are in obedience and piety to Allāh, praise Almighty and Glorious Allāh for that, for He is the guide. But if you see any governor of [3248] mine governing wrongly and deviating, then bring him to me, and complain to me about him without fear. I prefer it that way, and it is your right. May Allāh through His mercy give us and you success in good works." Then he sat down.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Yazīd b. Ẓabyān al-Hamdānī:[1141] On being appointed ruler [of Egypt], Muḥammad b.

1137. Lane, 469b.
1138. Lane, 60b.
1139. *Addenda*, DCXXXV.
1140. Qur'ān 11:88.
1141. Following Prym, Ibrāhīm, and U. Sezgin, 225.

Abī Bakr corresponded with Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. He[1142] mentioned this correspondence that had passed between the two of them, but I am loath to detail it because it contains matter that most people could not tolerate.

Now Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr did not even wait a whole month before sending a message to that party that had withdrawn and with which Qays had made an accord. "Men!" he said in it. "Either you enter into obedience to us, or else you leave our territory!" "We will not do that," came their reply. "Leave us alone until we see how our situation turns out, and don't hasten to make war with us!" But Muḥammad insisted, so they resisted him and kept on their guard. They were therefore afraid of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr at the Battle of Ṣiffīn. But when news came that Muʿāwiyah and the Syrians had held out against ʿAlī, that ʿAlī and the Iraqis had withdrawn from Muʿāwiyah and the Syrians, and that their case had been referred to arbitration, they became bolder toward Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and openly came out to fight him. Seeing this, Muḥammad sent al-Ḥārith b. Jumhān al-Juʿfī to the men at Kharbitā (among whom was Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith of Banū Kinānah). He fought them, but they killed him. So he then sent a tribesman from Kalb called Ibn Muḍāhim, but
[3249] they killed him too. Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī] said, "It is said that in this year Māhawayh [Abrāz], the *marzubān*[1143] of Marw,[1144] came to ʿAlī to confirm the peace treaty concluded between himself and Ibn ʿAmir."

The account of this[1145]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī—Abū Zakariyyā' al-ʿAjlānī—Ibn Isḥāq—his teachers: After the Battle of the Camel Māhawayh Abrāz, the *marzubān* of Marw, came to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, confirming peace. So ʿAlī wrote a letter for him to the *dihqāns*[1146] of Marw, to the *asāwirah*,[1147] to the *jundsalārīn*,[1148]

1142. Probably Hishām.
1143. The warden of the march, i.e., the provincial governor (*EI*², s.v. Marzpān).
1144. The capital of Khurāsān at the time (*EI*², s.v.).
1145. Ibrāhīm has "The account of those who say this."
1146. The lesser feudal nobility of Sasanian Persia (*EI*², s.v.).
1147. The heavy mailed cavalry, which constituted the core of the Sasanian army (Morony, 198, 207–8, 528; *EI*², s.v. Asāwera; I, Humphreys, 80.
1148. An unusual expression, probably meaning officers, corps commanders, local military leaders, or the like, *sālār* being Persian for commander.

and to anyone else at Marw: "In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Peace to those who follow divine guidance! After greetings. Māhawayh Abrāz, the *marzubān* of Marw, came to me, and I am satisfied with him."

This was written in the year 36, but subsequently they reneged[1149] and locked the gates of Abrashahr.[1150]

ʿAlī Despatches Khulayd b. Ṭarīf to Khurāsān

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī—Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥanẓalah b. al-Aʿlam[1151]—Māhān al-Ḥanafī[1152]—al-Aṣbagh b. Nubātah al-Mujāshiʿī:[1153] ʿAlī sent Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbūʿī—some say Khulayd b. Ṭarīf—to Khurāsān.

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ Gives Allegiance to Muʿāwiyah

In this year, 36, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ gave allegiance to Muʿāwiyah[1154] and made an agreement with him to fight ʿAlī.

The reason for this

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah and Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān: When ʿUthmān [3250]
was surrounded ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ left Medina and headed for Syria. "By Allāh! People of Medina!" he said. "Anyone who stays here until this man is killed[1155] will be smitten by Almighty and Glorious Allāh with ignominy. Anyone who cannot help him had better flee!" Off he then set, accompanied by his two sons, ʿAbdallāh and Muḥammad. Ḥassān b. Thābit also left a little later, and many others followed suit.

According to Sayf—Abū Ḥārithah and Abū ʿUthmān: While ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ was camped at ʿAjlān with his two sons a rider passed. "Where have you come from?" they asked. "Medina."

1149. Or "disbelieved": *kafarū*.
1150. The arabicized form of Aparshahr, i.e., Nīshāpūr, the district capital of western Khurāsān (*EI*², s.v. Abarshahr).
1151. U. Sezgin, 205.
1152. U. Sezgin, 205.
1153. Abū al-Qāsim al-Kūfī, ʿAlī's *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* (U. Sezgin, 205).
1154. I.e., as caliph.
1155. Reading *qatl*, following *Addenda*, DCXXXV and Ibrāhīm.

"What's your name?" asked ʿAmr. "Ḥaṣīrah." "The man[1156] has been besieged,"[1157] retorted ʿAmr. "What's the news?" "I left the man surrounded," replied the rider. "He'll be dead," said ʿAmr. They waited a few days; then another rider passed. "Where have you come from?" they asked. "Medina." "What's your name?" asked ʿAmr. "Qattāl." "The man has been killed,"[1158] retorted ʿAmr. "What's the news?" "The man has been killed," replied the rider, "but nothing else occurred before I left." They waited a few more days; then another rider passed. "Where have you come from?" they asked. "Medina." "What's your name?" asked ʿAmr. "Ḥarb." "It's war,"[1159] retorted ʿAmr. "What's the news?" "ʿUthmān b ʿAffān has been killed," replied the rider, "and allegiance has been given to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib." "I am Abū ʿAbdallāh!"[1160] said ʿAmr. "There will be a war, in which whoever scrapes a wound in it will open it right up! May Allāh have mercy on ʿUthmān. May He be pleased with him, and may He forgive him!" "Men of Quraysh!" spoke up Salāmah b. Zinbāʿ al-Judhāmī. "By
[3251] Allāh! There was a door[1161] between you and the other Arab tribes. You must take on another door because the first one is now broken." "That's what we want to do," replied ʿAmr, "but the door will be mended only by augers that can drill out the truth from the root of the problem,[1162] so that men will be equal before the law." Referring to the situation ʿAmr then recited:

I am heartbroken over Mālik,
    but can grief deflect what has been stored up by divine decree?
Is it heatstroke that has felled them?
    If so, I excuse them, or is it that my people are drunk?[1163]

1156. I.e., ʿUthmān.

1157. *Ḥuṣīr*, playing on the man's name, as again twice in what follows. The ms. adds, "and has been killed."

1158. *Qutila*.

1159. *Ḥarb*.

1160. Is he reminding those around of his fame and important position?

1161. ʿUthmān.

1162. *Ḥāfiratu al-baʾs*. The image is of something having to be dug out from the hoof of disaster, from the very bottom of a difficult situation.

1163. ʿAmr is referring to the Muslims who did not support ʿUthmān (Mālik in the poem). He would excuse them if it were due to circumstances beyond their

Then he set off on foot, weeping like a woman and saying: "I mourn for ʿUthmān! I lament for modesty and religion!" He went to Damascus, for he had received some information about what was going to happen and acted on it.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—Abū ʿUthmān: The Prophet had sent ʿAmr to ʿUmān, and when he was there he heard a prediction from a Jewish scholar. Then, when he saw it come true while he was still there, he sent a message to this scholar: "Speak to me about the death of the Messenger of God, and tell me who will come after him!" "The man who wrote[1164] to you will come after him, but he will only rule for a short time," he replied. "Then who?" asked ʿAmr. "A fellow tribesman of his of a similar standing." "How long will he rule?" "For a long time, but then he will be killed." "By assassination or in front of the community?"[1165] asked ʿAmr. "By assassination." "Who will then rule after him?" asked ʿAmr. "A fellow tribesman of his of a similar standing." "How long will he rule?" "For a long time, but then he will be killed." "By assassination or in front of the community?" asked ʿAmr. "In front of the community." "That's far worse," said ʿAmr. "So who will rule [3252] after him?" "A fellow tribesman of his but behind whom Muslims will not unite and in whose time a fierce civil war will break out. He will then be killed before they can reach agreement about him." "By assassination or in front of the community?" asked ʿAmr. "By assassination, and his like will never be seen again." "Who will then rule after him?" asked ʿAmr. "The ruler of the Holy Land,[1166] and his kingdom will last a long time. Those who formerly differed and failed to unite will agree about him. He will die a natural death," replied the scholar.

According to al-Wāqidī—Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb—his uncle: When the news of ʿUthmān's murder reached ʿAmr, he said: "I am Abū ʿAbdallāh![1167] It was I who killed him, even though I'm in Wādī al-

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control, but the implication is that they were fully responsible for losing their senses.

1164. Abū Bakr presumably wrote on behalf of the Prophet. Abū Bakr was of Taym.

1165. I.e., will the killer(s) not be afraid to kill in front of everyone?

1166. *Al-arḍ al-muqaddasah*. A Jewish scholar is narrating.

1167. See p. 192, above.

Sibāʿ. Who will succeed to this authority after him? If it's Ṭalḥah, then he's the foremost Arab in generosity.[1168] If it's ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, then I can't see him giving anything more than he will be obligated to. For me he would be the very worst person to succeed."

News then reached him that allegiance had been given to ʿAlī. This was extremely serious for him, so he lay low for a few days to see what the Muslims would do. He then heard of the departure of Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and ʿĀʾishah, so he said, "I will wait and see what they achieve!" But when he was told that Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr had been killed he became confused. However, someone then said to him, "Muʿāwiyah is in Syria; he doesn't want to give allegiance to ʿAlī, so why not ally[1169] with Muʿāwiyah?" He did prefer Muʿāwiyah to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Someone said, "Muʿāwiyah is taking the murder of ʿUthmān very seriously and is agitating for revenge for his blood," and ʿAmr said, "Call Muḥammad and ʿAbdallāh to me."

They were called to him, and he said: "You have heard about the murder of ʿUthmān and the Muslims' allegiance to ʿAlī, and
[3253] Muʿāwiyah's plans to oppose ʿAlī, so what do you both think? As for ʿAlī, there will be no benefit with him. He is a man who takes full advantage of his Islamic precedence. He is not going to delegate any of his authority to me."[1170] "The Prophet died pleased with you," ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr replied. "Abū Bakr died pleased with you; ʿUmar died pleased with you. My opinion is that you should not do anything. Just wait at home until the Muslims have agreed upon an imām. Then you may give him allegiance." "You are one of the most important Arab chiefs," said Muḥammad, "so this affair should not be agreed upon without your having a vote or say in it." "What you are recommending[1171] me to do, ʿAbdallāh," replied ʿAmr, "is better for me in the hereafter and safer for my religion. What you are recommending me to do, Muḥammad, is

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1168. *Fa-huwa fatā al-ʿArab sayban* (*Glossarium*, CCCII). Dots added to the ms. give *nasaban*, "in lineage."

1169. Reading *qārabta* with Ibrāhīm, rather than the text's *qāranta*, "join forces."

1170. ʿAmr became Muslim much later than ʿAlī.

1171. Lit., "ordering"; cf. pp. 48, 51, above, where Ḥasan orders ʿAlī (but is disobeyed).

more glorious[1172] for my life here on earth but worse for me in the hereafter."

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ then left with his two sons and went to Muʿāwiyah. He found the Syrians urging Muʿāwiyah to seek revenge for the blood of ʿUthmān. "You are in the right," ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ said to them. "Seek revenge for the blood of the unjustly killed caliph!" Muʿāwiyah, however, did not pay any attention to ʿAmr's words. So ʿAmr's two sons said to their father: "Don't you realize that Muʿāwiyah isn't paying any attention to what you say? Leave him for someone else!" But ʿAmr did go to Muʿāwiyah, and said: "By Allāh! What you're doing is very surprising. I have given you my support, and here you are ignoring me. I swear by Allāh! If we fight alongside you in revenge for the blood of the caliph, there will still be something that goes against the grain, for we will be [3254] fighting someone whose Islamic precedence, virtue, and close relationship to the Prophet you know well. But in fact all we're really after is this world." At this, Muʿāwiyah made up with him and was friendly toward him.

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib Sends Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī to Call Muʿāwiyah to Acknowledge ʿAlī's Authority over Him

Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī said:[1173] In this year, as ʿAlī was leaving al-Baṣrah for al-Kūfah, having finished with the Battle of the Camel, he sent Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī to call Muʿāwiyah to give allegiance to him. Now, when ʿAlī set out for al-Baṣrah to fight his opponents there, Jarīr had been in Hamadhān[1174] as its governor. ʿUthmān had appointed him to this post. Al-Ashʿath b. Qays[1175] was governor of Ādharbāyjān,[1176] also appointed by ʿUthmān. So, when ʿAlī came to al-Kūfah from al-Baṣrah, he wrote to these two men, commanding them to get allegiance to him from their subjects and to come to him. Both then got allegiance and set off to see ʿAlī.

1172. *Anbahu* (*Glossarium*, D).
1173. Following the ms.
1174. In central Iran, 48° 31′ E, 34° 48′ N (*EI*², s.v.).
1175. Abū Muḥammad Maʿdīkarib b. Qays, a chief of Kindah in the Ḥaḍramawt, d. 40/661 (*EI*², s.v.).
1176. West of the Caspian (*EI*², s.v.).

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—ʿAwānah: Then, when ʿAlī was looking for a messenger to send to Muʿāwiyah, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh said: "Send me, for he likes me. When I get to him I will call him to acknowledge your authority." Al-Ashtar said to ʿAlī, however: "Don't send him! By Allāh! I suspect he's inclined toward Muʿāwiyah." "Let him go," replied ʿAlī, "and we shall see what he comes back to us with." So he sent him and wrote a letter for him to take. In it he informed Muʿāwiyah of the agreement of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār to give allegiance to ʿAlī, of Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr's going back on their allegiance, and of his war with the two of them. He went on to call him to acknowledge his authority, as the Muhājirūn and Anṣār had done.

Jarīr therefore set off to see Muʿāwiyah, but when he arrived
[3255] Muʿāwiyah put him off and kept him waiting. [Muʿāwiyah] then called ʿAmr and asked his advice about ʿAlī's letter to him. ʿAmr advised him to send a message to the Syrian chiefs, implicating ʿAlī in ʿUthmān's blood and so get them to fight for him against ʿAlī. Muʿāwiyah followed his advice.

According to al-Sarī (in writing)—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: When al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr[1177] came to the Syrians with the bloodstained shirt ʿUthmān was wearing when he was killed, and with the severed fingers of Nāʾilah,[1178] his wife—two with the knuckles and part of the palm, two cut off at the base, and half a thumb—Muʿāwiyah hung the shirt on the *minbar* and wrote to the Syrian garrison towns.[1179] The people kept on coming and crying over it as it hung on the *minbar*, with the fingers attached to it, for a whole year. The Syrian soldiers swore an oath that they would not make love to women or undertake the major ablution[1180] unless obligated by seminal discharge during sleep or sleep on beds until they had killed the killers of ʿUthmān and anyone who might prevent them in any way, unless they should

1177. Al-Anṣārī, later governor of Kūfah and Ḥimṣ, a follower of ʿUthmān and then of Muʿāwiyah; killed after Marj Rāhiṭ, 65/684 (*EI*[1], s.v.).

1178. Bint al-Furāfisah of Kalb; she had tried to defend ʿUthmān. Cf. Abbott, *Aishah*, 126, 135.

1179. *Ajnād*. Lane, 470a; *EI*[2], s.v. Djund.

1180. As far as men are concerned, apart from washing the dead, this is only obligatory after ejaculation; Lane, 466c, 2259a; *EI*[2], s.v. Ghusl. It is only *mustaḥabb* or *sunnah* after Friday prayer. The soldiers' oath was urgent—they abjured pleasure, cleanliness, and comfort.

die meanwhile. They remained around the shirt for a year. It was placed each day on the *minbar*; sometimes it was made to cover it and was draped over it, and Nā'ilah's fingers were attached to its cuffs.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan—ʿAwānah: Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh then came to ʿAlī and told him what Muʿāwiyah was doing and how the Syrians had agreed with him to fight ʿAlī. He told him how they were weeping over ʿUthmān and saying that ʿAlī had killed him and was sheltering ʿUthmān's killers and how they would not stop until he had killed them or they had killed him. So al-Ashtar said to ʿAlī: "I was warning you strongly[1181] [3256] against sending Jarīr. I told you he was an enemy and a deceiver. It would have been better if you had sent me rather than this man, who stayed with Muʿāwiyah [so long] that he opened every door that [Muʿāwiyah] wanted open and closed every door that [Muʿāwiyah] feared." "Had you been there," replied Jarīr, "they would have killed you. They actually named you as one of ʿUthmān's killers." "By Allāh! If I had gone to them, Jarīr," retorted al-Ashtar, "I would always have found an answer for them, and I would have forced Muʿāwiyah to act before he had time to think. Had the Commander of the Faithful followed my advice[1182] concerning you, he would have thrown you and those like you into a jail you would not get out of until these matters were sorted out properly."

Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh then left for Qarqīsiyyā'.[1183] He wrote to Muʿāwiyah, who replied, ordering him to come to him. The Commander of the Faithful also left and encamped at al-Nukhaylah.[1184] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās[1185] joined him there, accompanied by a number of Baṣrans who had responded to his call to fight.

1181. *Kuntu nahaytuka*; cf. note 1171, above.

1182. Lit., "obeyed me"; cf. note 1171, above.

1183. A town in al-Jazīrah on the left bank of the Euphrates, close to the confluence with the Khābūr (*EI*², s.v.).

1184. About one days' ride from al-Kūfah for an army.

1185. ʿAlī's governor of al-Baṣrah.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XVII

The First Civil War

TRANSLATED BY G. R. HAWTING

The First Civil War
Volume XVII
Translated by G. R. Hawting

Many of the events treated in this volume have become part of the historical consciousness of Muslims. The first civil war of Islam, the Fitnah, is widely seen as of decisive importance in dividing the Muslims into three major traditions, Sunnīs, Shī'is, and Khārijīs, which have persisted until today. Although this division may be an over-simplification of a much more complex process of community formation, the events narrated here are certainly of great importance in the early history of Islam.

The volume is focused on the struggle between the caliph 'Alī and his rival and eventual successor as caliph, Mu'āwiyah, the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty. About half of the material is concerned with the confrontation between the two at the battle of Ṣiffin in 657, the fighting, the ending of the battle when the Syrian supporters of Mu'āwiyah are described as having attached Qu'rānic texts to their lances, and the subsequent negotiations between the two rivals which resulted in the dispute's being put to arbitration. Much detail is also provided about 'Alī's struggle against the Khārijīs, his former supporters who had turned against him as a result of his agreement with Mu'āwiyah to accept arbitration; the revolt against 'Alī in regions of Iraq and Persia around the northern edges of the Persian Gulf, which involved Christians, as well as Muslims, Arabs, and such non-Arab groups as Kurds; the events in Egypt that led to the burning of 'Alī's representative there in the skin of a donkey; and the murder of 'Alī by Ibn Muljam, the account of which sometimes reads as if it were a popular story.

Al-Ṭabarī's text makes available a wealth of detail in narratives collected from the now lost compilations of scholars of earlier generations. The bulk of the material is cited from the famous Abū Mikhnaf, who died in A.D. 774, but there are also many reports from other traditionists and narrators whose materials would be largely unknown to us if it were not for the work of al-Ṭabarī. The volume contains a number of speeches and letters attributed to the Prophet's son-in-law and cousin 'Alī, including his deathbed speech to his sons, and there is also a version of the document drawn up by 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah in which they agreed to appoint arbitrators.

The Arabic text of the Leiden edition of al-Ṭabarī has been compared with the more recent Cairo edition and with the substantial parallel passages in such other works as the *Waq'at Ṣiffin* of al-Mingarī and the *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* of Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadid, as well as other sources, in an attempt to provide a secure text for translation. Individuals and places are identified in the footnotes, further references to sources and secondary literature are provided, and textual problems and historical matters are discussed. The volume contains a bibliography and index.

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XVII

The First Civil War

FROM THE BATTLE OF ṢIFFĪN TO THE DEATH OF ʿALĪ

A.D. 656–661/A.H. 36–40

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XVII

THE FIRST CIVIL WAR

translated and annotated
by

G. R. Hawting

School of Oriental and African Studies,
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Preface

The history of prophets and kings (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has heen translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 39 volumes, each of which covers about 200 pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—)

between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the orginal Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the notes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as "dirham" and "imam," have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the notes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

Add. et emend.: List of *addenda et emendanda* included in the final volume of the Leiden edition of the text of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*.

AIUON: Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.

Ann.: L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, 10 vols., Milan, 1905–26.

Ar.: Arabic.

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

Cairo: The edition of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh* by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 10 vols., Cairo, 1960–69.

Ibn al-Kalbī: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, as rearranged and tr. W. Caskel and G. Strenziok, *Ǧamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, 2 vols., Leiden, 1966.

EI[1]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed.

EI[2]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.

GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden, 1967.

Gloss.: Glossary included in the final volume of the Leiden edition of the text of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*.

IJMES: International Journal of Middle East Studies.

Isl.: Der Islam.

JESAI: Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam.

JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.

JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies.

LA: Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, 15 vols., Beirut, 1955– .

Lane, *Lexicon*: E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*. 8 vols., London, 1863–93.

RSO: Rivista degli studi orientali.

SI: Studia Islamica.

SNB: Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, 20 vols., ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo, 1959–63.

Ṭabarī: When followed by a reference, the Leiden edition of the Arabic text of the *Ta'rīkh*.

tr.: translation.

WS: al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. 2nd ed. Cairo, 1382/1962–63.

In references to the Qur'ān the verse numbering of the Egyptian edition is used.

Translator's Foreword

The Events Described in This Volume: Background and Summary

This volume of translation covers Part I, pp. 3256–3476, of the Leiden 1879–1901 edition of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*, a section of the text edited by E. Prym. To provide the necessary background for the events recounted in it, a summary of some of the happenings reported by al-Ṭabarī in earlier volumes is provided here.

In the summer of 656 C.E. the third caliph, 'Uthmān, was killed in Medina by malcontents from the garrison town of al-Fusṭāṭ in Egypt. This act opened the period know in Muslim historical tradition as the *Fitnah*, which Western writers have frequently called the *first civil war* of Islam. In the tradition the word *fitnah* is used in connection with later episodes, too, but this first one is regarded as of such importance that it is often referred to simply as the *Fitnah*, without further elaboration.

'Alī, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, was appointed to the caliphate in Medina in the troubled circumstances that followed the killing of 'Uthmān. From the start he had to face opposition from individuals and groups who generally proclaimed their loyalty to the dead caliph and a desire to take vengeance on his murderers. They charged that 'Alī had obtained the caliphate as the result of an unrighteous act (although usually stopping short of an outright statement that he had been behind 'Uthmān's death) and called upon him to hand over the killers so that blood revenge

could be taken. The implication was that 'Alī's caliphate was illegitimate, and he was neither able nor willing to comply with the demands of his opponents.

The first movement of opposition to 'Alī was led by a widow of the Prophet, the still relatively young and vigorous 'Ā'ishah, and two prominent Companions of the Prophet, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. They left the Ḥijāz and went to the garrison town of al-Baṣrah in Iraq, where they raised an army to fight 'Alī. He followed them to Iraq but went to the other garrison town there, al-Kūfah, which supplied most of the forces with which he would oppose the triumvirate. At the end of 656 the two sides met in battle near al-Baṣrah, known in tradition as the Battle of the Camel, and the result was an overwhelming victory for 'Alī. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were killed in the fighting and its aftermath, and 'Ā'ishah was made captive and sent back to Medina. 'Alī remained in al-Kūfah, which was his base for the remaining years of his life and a center for pro-'Alīd movements of all sorts for the next century or so.

At that point, having apparently secured his position, 'Alī was confronted by another enemy, the governor of Syria and close relative of the murdered 'Uthmān, Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. Mu'āwiyah, whose criticisms of 'Alī also centered on the wrongful murder of 'Uthmān and included the demand that 'Alī hand over the killers for vengeance, was supported by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. 'Amr had commanded the armies that had seized Egypt for the Arabs from the Byzantines and had been that country's first Arab governor. In the tradition he appears very much as Mu'āwiyah's right-hand man, one might say his evil genius.

The present volume of the translation of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh* consists of reports concerning a period for which the struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah supplies the main theme and focus of attention. It opens at the point where, after initial discussions between them had come to nothing, the two marched to confront each other in battle, a confrontation that occurred in the summer of 657 on the River Euphrates south of al-Raqqah, at the Battle of Ṣiffīn. The volume ends, about three and half years later, with the murder of 'Alī in al-Kūfah.

A large part of the volume is concerned with the Battle of Ṣiffīn, its conclusion, and the consequences of the way in which it was

concluded. Following 'Alī's march to Ṣiffīn, we are told of the the preliminary skirmishing, the fighting, and the way the fighting was brought to an end when the Syrian Arab soldiers of Mu'āwiyah, at the suggestion of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, attached copies of scripture to their lances and raised them in the air. Faced with this apparent appeal to the word of God, 'Alī's Iraqi Arab supporters forced him, against his will, to stop fighting and to negotiate with the enemy. The result was an agreement between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah that each side should appoint a representative or "arbitrator" (*ḥakam*) and that the two men thus appointed should meet in the future at some agreed upon place and time to settle the dispute peacefully. The agreement having been reached, the two armies separated and returned, Mu'āwiyah to Syria and 'Alī to al-Kūfah.

On the way back to al-Kūfah, however, many of those who had insisted that 'Alī abandon the fight and accept the Syrians' appeal to the word of God concluded that they had sinned in doing so. They argued that the appointment of men as arbitrators was contrary to the principle that all authority belonged to God. With the slogan "Authority belongs to God alone" (*lā ḥukma illā li-Allāh*), these men insisted that 'Alī begin the fight again, and, when he insisted that he could not, they branded him a sinner who must repent and seceded from him. These seceders are known as the Khārijites (*khawārij*), because they "went out from" (*kharaja min*) or rebelled against (*kharaja 'alā*) 'Alī. Initial attempts by 'Alī to win them back are said to have had some limited success, but ultimately were unsuccessful, and the result was a major battle between 'Alī and these Khārijites at the canal of Nahrawān east of the River Tigris in the region of al-Madā'in. The battle resulted in a mass slaughter of the Khārijites but not the eradication of their opposition to 'Alī.

The reports about the meeting of the "arbitrators" are confusing and obscure. They lead to the conclusion that no agreement was reached but that 'Alī's participation in the arbitration process had caused him to lose status and prestige. His position was further weakened by Mu'āwiyah's success in establishing his authority over Egypt. How Mu'āwiyah did this and the events leading to the killing of 'Alī's representative there, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, are described in some detail. In Iraq 'Alī had to face another rebellion, that of al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid and the tribe of Nājiyah. It is difficult to assess

the importance of this rebellion for 'Alī: The numbers of men involved do not seem to have been great, but the reports about it occupy considerable space in this volume. Although al-Khirrīt does not seem to have been connected with those men whose opposition to 'Alī culminated in the battle at Nahrawān, he is reported to have used some of their arguments (as well as others when addressing different groups of possible supporters), and some of the stories about him are remarkably parallel to some of those about the Khārijites. Also of interest in the reports about his revolt are the details concerning the unrest of the bedouins (including many Christians) and the involvement of Kurds.

The volume ends with the account of 'Alī's murder in al-Kūfah at the beginning of 661, an account that bears some of the signs of a popular narrative. We are told that he was killed by one Ibn Muljam, who is portrayed as motivated by a desire to avenge himself on 'Alī for those whom 'Alī had slaughtered at Nahrawān. Further, we are told that the murder of 'Alī was the only successful part of a plot aimed at the elimination of each of the three main players in the events recounted in this volume: 'Alī, Mu'āwiyah, and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.

Most of the other events reported here seem to have been more or less directly related to 'Alī's struggles with Mu'āwiyah and the *khawārij*. For example, there are accounts of the death of 'Alī's pious supporter 'Ammār b. Yāsir in the battle against Mu'āwiyah's Syrians, of the troubles in al-Baṣrah when Mu'āwiyah sent Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī there to attempt to win support, of the expedition of Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, sent against 'Alī's representatives in Arabia and the Yemen by Mu'āwiyah, of the activity of Ziyād b. Abīhi in Fārs and Khūzistān on behalf of 'Alī, and of the dubious behavior of 'Alī's representative in al-Baṣrah, 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, toward the end of the Fitnah. Two short and isolated reports of the attempt by 'Alī to establish control in western Khurāsān seem somewhat remote from the main theme.

The Significance and Interpretation of the Events Recounted Here

In the traditional accounts of the origins and early development of Islam the period of the Fitnah is of crucial importance. It is

portrayed as the time when the previously united community founded by the Prophet was split apart and the three chief sectarian traditions within Islam—Sunnī, Shī'ī, and Khārijī—had their origins. Not only the Fitnah as a whole, but also the prominent events within it, like the "raising of the Qur'āns," the appointment and meeting of the two "arbitrators," and the battle at Nahrawān, came to be seen as turning points in the history of Islam. This view is undoubtedly oversimplified, but in their attitude toward the different individuals and groups involved in the Fitnah later Muslims expressed and defined their own identities. Many of the events and personalities of this volume, therefore, have become a part of general Muslim historical consciousness in a way in which much else that is reported by al-Ṭabarī in his *History* has not.

But, in spite of the number of reports that have been transmitted and the richness of their detail, there is much about the Fitnah and its individual episodes that remains puzzling. The relative chronology and causal links of the various events are not at all certain from the sources and have been the subject of much discussion by such scholars as Leone Caetani and Julius Wellhausen. The nature of the tensions that erupted in the Fitnah have also been much studied. Wellhausen, like Muslim tradition itself, focused on the rivalries and intrigues among the leading figures of the time, whereas more recent scholars, like H. A. R. Gibb and Martin Hinds, have sought to elucidate the situation among the Arab warriors in the garrison towns and the causes of their resentment against the ruling authorities. Laura Veccia Vaglieri has attempted to use the material preserved in relatively late Ibāḍī sources to throw light on what exactly was at issue between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah and about what the two "arbitrators" were supposed to "arbitrate." The source material relating to the struggle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, as preserved by al-Ṭabarī and other early collectors of historical tradition, has been analyzed in particular by E. L. Petersen. The present translator has drawn attention to parallels between some of the terms and concepts that occur in the Muslim traditions about the Fitnah and those to be found in Jewish materials concerned with the conflict between Scripture and "Oral Law" as sources of religious authority. For more detail, see the works listed in the Bibliography of Cited Works at the end of this translation and the various articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* referred to in the notes.

Al-Ṭabarī's Sources in This Volume

In this volume as elsewhere al-Ṭabarī cites a selection of material from a number of earlier sources, most of them now lost, introducing each individual report with an *isnād*, or chain of authorities, which informs us of his immediate source and of the sources of his source. The *isnād* usually extends back to a narrator who took part in, or had first-hand knowledge of, the events being reported. The *isnād* is usually given in full but sometimes in an abbreviated form. It is not possible for us to be sure whether any individual report does indeed go back to the original source claimed for it or how far the material that constitutes the report has changed in the course of its transmission and redaction.

Although the alleged original sources for al-Ṭabarī's reports are extremely numerous and varied, many of them unidentifiable, the names of a number of scholars and narrators about whom we have some information recur frequently in the later stages of the transmission. These individuals can be regarded as precursors of al-Ṭabarī. Like him, they were concerned to collect, organize, and transmit available accounts relating to various aspects of the history of Islam. Basic information on each of these important names in the *isnād*s is usually given in a note accompanying the first mention.

For the events reported here, by far the most frequently cited of al-Ṭabarī's sources is the Kūfan collector of historical traditions, Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774). The material from Abū Mikhnaf is generally cited by way of another Kūfan traditionist, Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 206/821). From p. 3259 to p. 3444 of the Leiden edition nearly all the reports are recounted from Abū Mikhnaf, who was himself one or two generations distant from the events in question. In the later pages of the volume, particularly when the focus is on al-Baṣrah and its dependencies, al-Ṭabarī turns to reports collected by al-Madā'inī (d. ca. 235/850), transmitted through 'Umar b. Shabbah (d. 264/877). Less frequently Ibn Shabbah is cited as the transmitter of reports from collectors of tradition other than al-Madā'inī, for example, the Baṣran scholar Abū 'Ubaydah (d. 209/824–825) or the Kūfan 'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam (d. 153/770), whose material al-Ṭabarī more often cites via Ibn al-Kalbī.

In comparison with these two major sources of material (Ibn Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf and Ibn Shabbah—al-Madā'inī and others), al-Ṭabarī makes only limited use of others in this volume. In attempts to fix chronology, often in the sections that he provides at the end of each year, he sometimes cites two figures who are better known as collectors of biographical material on the Prophet—Abū Ma'shar (d. 170/787), cited through Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī, and al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822–823), cited via al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd. The volume opens with a report from 'Abdallāh b. Mubārak (d. 181/797), cited through 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī, and this line of tradition recurs on a number of occasions later in the volume, for events in Egypt and in Arabia, as well as in connection with the Battle of Ṣiffīn and the arbitration agreement. The long account of the murder of 'Alī near the end of the volume is reported from Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Masrūqī (d. 258/871–872), and there are several other traditionists of the generation proceding al-Ṭabarī who are represented in this volume by single reports: Abū Kurayb, Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī and his brother Aḥmad, 'Umāra al-Asadī, Muḥammad b. 'Abbād b. Mūsā, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī, 'Alī b. Muslim al-Ṭūsī, and 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Azdī.

Manuscripts and Parallel Sources

Most of the text translated here depends on the evidence of a single manuscript, and for a few pages there is no manuscript at all. At that point Prym had to supply the text from a later source in which al-Ṭabarī is extensively cited. From the beginning of the volume (p. 3256 of the Leiden edition) to p. 3364, line 4, where the manuscript ends, Prym had only the Berlin manuscript Ahlwardt 9417 to work with. From p. 3368, line 18, the only manuscript available was in Istanbul, Köprülü 1045, until, until almost at the end of this volume (p. 3463, line 11), it became possible to supplement that with a Bodleian manuscript (Uri 722).

In such circumstances, naturally, the evidence of other sources in which al-Ṭabarī is quoted or parallel passages are provided becomes very important. Prym had several printed texts at his disposal for this purpose, notably the *Ta'rīkh al-Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, from which he was able to fill the lacuna in the manuscript evidence for this volume (pp. 3364, l.4–3368, l.18). Since the Leiden

edition was published several more such texts have become available. Two that are of special importance for much of this volume are the *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqarī (d. 212/827) and the *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah* of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (d. 656/1258). In the latter both al-Ṭabarī and al-Minqarī are cited extensively, and both were used by the editor of the Cairo edition of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, to supplement the Leiden text. (Although the Cairo editor had some new manuscript material for parts of the text, it seems that there was no such new evidence for the part translated in this volume.) The edition of the *Waq'at Ṣiffīn* referred to in the Cairo text is the first; the opportunity has been taken here to supply references to the much-improved second edition of the work.

I have been unable to undertake a systematic checking and improvement of the Leiden edition, a task that would involve a search for new manuscript material and extensive reference to parallel sources. Even so, I have sometimes been able to suggest improvements, and I hope that this volume of translation and its notes will be of benefit to anyone using the Arabic text.

The Translation

With one or two exceptions (indicated in the notes) the translation in this volume is based on the text established in the Leiden edition of Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*, including *Addenda et Emendanda*.

This volume contains a high proportion of letters and speeches that include rhetorical flourishes and expressions difficult to translate into English and sometimes difficult to understand. The chief problem, however, is that certain important words tended to be reinterpreted in the course of the transmission of the material and to be given new or altered meanings according to changing understanding of events. In such cases, the translator might seek to establish and convey the meaning that a particular expression would have had at the time when a report was first formulated (perhaps in the time of the Fitnah itself) or, alternatively, the sense in which al-Ṭabarī and his contemporaries would have understood it.

An example concerns words that seem to denote "scripture." Since the publication of John Wansbrough's *Quranic Studies* (1977), a number of scholars have been wary of accepting the traditional view

that a *ne varietur* consonantal text of the Qur'ān was fixed as early as the caliphate of 'Uthmān. They have, rather, envisaged the formation of the text and its acceptance in Islam as the Word of God as the results of a gradual, "organic" process. The process may not have been completed much before the end of the second century of the Hijrah, although precise dates are not possible; it is the gradualness of the process that is the important point. Expressions like *kitāb Allāh* (book of God), *muṣḥaf* (book), and *Qur'ān* (recitation or reading), which occur in the traditions about the Fitnah and the other events of early Islam, would certainly have been understood by al-Ṭabarī's generation as references to the Qur'ān, and it is difficult for readers of al-Ṭabarī to avoid imposing the same interpretation. Nevertheless, it is important to try to understand early ideas and expressions that may have been preserved in the material collected by al-Ṭabarī and others, and this effort involves attempting to disentangle them from the values and outlook of Islam as it had come to exist by the third century. Our understanding of the precise significance, at the time of the events reported in this volume, of expressions like those mentioned may be vague and obscure, but it is important to leave the possibilities open. To translate consistently by "Qur'ān," with all that the term implies for us, is to accept possibly misleading interpretations.

Qurrā' is a related case. In Muslim tradition it tends to be associated with the Qur'ān, and a common modern translation is "Qur'ān readers" or "Qur'ān reciters." This translation might seem justified when we find in one report the expression *qurrā' al-Qur'ān*, but some modern scholars have thought that in many traditions such an interpretation seems inappropriate (for example when we read of the thousands of *qurrā'* fighting in Mu'āwiyah's army at Ṣiffīn), and various theories have been put forward as to who precisely the *qurrā'* were. In a recent article in which he put forward his own interpretation, Norman Calder has underlined one cause of the problem: The texts, as they have been transmitted, have come to incorporate different layers of interpretation, often contained in glosses and substitutions that are not readily apparent. In this way early material might have been adapted to reflect later interpretation.

A further example is the concept of *ḥukm* and the various nouns and verbs derived from the same root. When embedded in stories

about the "arbitration" of the dispute between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah the concept seems to have a limited and particular meaning, whereas in the Khārijite slogan mentioned previously it seems related to a much more general debate about sources of authority in religion. When the context provides no guidance, the meaning of the word may be ambiguous.

Clearly, such problems are not unique to this volume. Apart from those parts of his *History* related to his own time, all of al-Ṭabarī's work contains material that has been subject to the vicissitudes of transmission over generations in a period of significant and relatively rapid cultural change. Generally I have taken what seems to be the obvious course: I have indicated the occurrence of difficult words and expressions sometimes by giving the Arabic (either in brackets or in the notes) together with the translation, sometimes by leaving words untranslated and supplying a brief explanation or references to more extensive discussions in notes. The resulting loss of elegance or narrative flow seems a necessary price to pay.

In one important way translating this volume was made easier. All the material (apart from a few lines that seem to have puzzled the collaborators) is available in an Italian version produced in the 1920s by such scholars as Caetani, Giorgio Levi Della Vida, and G. Gabrieli, in volumes IX and X of Caetani's *Annali dell'Islam*. Although I did not always accept the translations offered there, the *Annali* provided a consistent way of checking my own, and I often found the editors' solutions to some of the trickier passages convincing. The notes and discussions that are appended to the Italian translation also remain valuable, even though the approach, often criticized as "positivist," now seems somewhat dated.

I am also very grateful to Professor Everett K. Rowson for his meticulous editing of the typescript of my translation. He made numerous comments and suggestions, some of which saved me from obvious mistakes and many of which I used to try to improve my efforts. Thanks are also due to those friends, colleagues, and students who responded to my many questions.

Translation often involves choosing one possible meaning from two or more, and it is inevitable that some will feel that I have made the wrong choices in particular places. Perhaps even more inevitable is the fact that this volume will contain actual errors, and for any

remaining I accept responsibility. It would not be true to say that the errors themselves were inevitable.

G. R. Hawting

The Events of the Year 36 (cont'd)

(JUNE 30, 656–JUNE 18, 657)

The Departure of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib for Ṣiffīn[1] [3256]

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Mu'āwiyah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Abū Bakr

1. For the background to the following reports about the prelude to the Battle of Ṣiffīn and the fighting there, see Translator's Foreword to the present volume. For further information, discussion, and references to sources and secondary materials, see *EI*², s.vv. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ṣiffīn, etc.; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* (henceforth *Ann.*), vol. IX, 36A.H., §346ff.; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 75–112; Hinds, "Banners and Battle Cries," 3ff.; idem, "The Siffin Arbitration Agreement," 93ff. For parallel versions and other accounts, in addition to the materials compiled and translated into Italian in *Ann.* (including references to the editions and manuscripts used), see especially Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqarī, *WṢ*; and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *SNB*. Material relating to the Battle of Ṣiffīn is scattered throughout the twenty volumes of *SNB*, but see especially vol. III, 165ff., 244ff.; vol. IV, 13–32, 175–258; vol. V, 302–17; vol. VIII, 9–102; vol. IX, 301–3; vol. X, 102–7; vol. XV, 104, 12–24. *WṢ* is frequently cited in *SNB*. Material from the relevant part of al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf* is available in Italian in Levi Della Vida, "Il Califfato di Ali secondo il *Kitāb Ansāb al-ašrāf* di al-Balāḏurī" (see pp. 449ff. for the events narrated here), as well as scattered throughout vols. IX and X of *Ann.*

al-Hudhalī:[2] When 'Alī had appointed 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās as his deputy over al-Baṣrah,[3] went from there to al-Kūfah, where he got ready to go to Ṣiffīn. He asked for advice about that. Some advised him to send his forces but remain in al-Kūfah himself, whereas others recommended that he go with the men. He insisted on taking command himself, and he prepared his men.

[3257] News of that reached Mu'āwiyah, who summoned 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ[4] and asked his advice. 'Amr said, "Since you have heard that 'Alī is on his way, set out yourself and be sure to confront him with your views and your strategies." Mu'āwiyah replied, "In that case, Oh Abū 'Abdallāh, prepare the men!"

'Amr proceeded to work them up and to disparage the strength of 'Alī and his followers, saying, "The men of Iraq have split among themselves, sapped their own strength, and blunted their cutting edge. Moreover, the Baṣrans are opposed to 'Alī, who has done them harm and dealt death to them.[5] Their leaders and those of the Kūfans wiped each other out at the Battle of the Camel, and 'Alī has set out with only a band few in number, among whom are those who killed your caliph. Fear God, lest you forfeit your right to claim vengeance and allow the blood of 'Uthmān[6] to go unavenged."

Mu'āwiyah conscripted men into the armies of the Syrians[7] and tied his banner for 'Amr,[8] and 'Amr in turn tied one for, among

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2. The chain of transmission from al-Marwazī to 'Abdallāh [b. al-Mubārak] (d. 181/797; see *GAS*, I, 95) was frequently cited by Ṭabarī; for Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī (d. 167/783–784), see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 46, no. 180.

3. For 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, cousin of the Prophet and ancestor of the future dynasty of 'Abbāsid caliphs, see *EI*², s.v.; for his appointment over al-Baṣrah following 'Alī's victory at the Battle of the Camel, see Ṭabarī, I, 3230.

4. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (Abū 'Abdallāh) was the conqueror of Egypt and had been its governor for a time. In the struggle between Mu'āwiyah and 'Alī, 'Amr appears as Mu'āwiyah's right-hand man (see *EI*², s.v.; and, for the historical image of 'Amr in this struggle, Petersen, *'Alī and Mu'āwiya*).

5. The Baṣrans generally had fought against 'Alī and his Kūfan supporters at the Battle of the Camel (see *EI*², s.v. Djamal).

6. Literally, "your blood," but see *Gloss.*, s.v. *b-ṭ-l*.

7. *Wa-kattaba fī ajnādi ahli al-Sha'm*; the preposition *fī* suggests this translation, rather than "he formed troops into *katā'ib*." See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *k-t-b*, forms 2 and 8.

8. *'Aqada liqā'ahu li-fulān*, "he tied his banner for so-and-so," is a stock expression for "he appointed so-and-so to the command." On the use of banners among the Arabs, see *EI*², s.v. 'Alam; and the literature cited in Hinds, "Banners and Battle Cries," p. 8, nn. 28, 29; and Athamina, "Black Banners," 307–26, esp. p. 316.

others, his attendant (*ghulām*) Wardān[9] and his two sons 'Abdallāh and Muḥammad.[10] 'Alī appointed his *ghulām* Qanbar. Consequently 'Amr said:

Will Wardān suffice me against Qanbar,
and the Sakūn against the Ḥimyar,
When the men of courage don the armor?[11]

'Alī heard that and replied:

I shall meet al-'Āṣī b. al-'Āṣī[12]
with 70,000 men ready for war,[13]
Riding the horses and the young camels side by side
and tying to their hind parts the links of the chain mail.[14]

When Mu'āwiyah heard that, he said (to 'Amr), "It seems to me tht Ibn Abī Ṭālib is a match for you (*qad wafā laka*)," and he began to proceed more cautiously. He wrote to everybody he thought was afraid of 'Alī or had spoken evil of him[15] and to everybody who considered the shedding of 'Uthmān's blood to have been a grave matter, and he asked for their help against him. When al-Walīd (b. 'Uqbah)[16] saw that, he sent to Mu'āwiyah, [3258]

Indeed tell Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥarb:
"You are held to shame by a man of trust.

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9. Wardān is often referred to as the *mawlā* of 'Amr (e.g., Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 215).

10. For 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, noted transmitter of *ḥadīth* and specialist in apocalyptic tradition, see Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. For Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 411.

11. For the Banū al-Sakūn (of Kindah), see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; for the Banū Ḥimyar, ibid., s.v.

12. Al-'Āṣī b. al-'Āṣī is a pun. In its full form the name of 'Amr's father was al-'Āṣī (generally shortened to al-'Āṣi and thence to al-'Āṣ), which can mean "the disobedient one" or "the rebel."

13. or, "full of anger"; see the expressions '*aqada liḥyatahu* and '*aqada nāṣiyatahu* in Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. '*aqada*.

14. Possibly the camels were ridden to the place of battle to conserve the horses, which were then used in the fighting.

15. The Arabic could be read to mean that Mu'āwiyah wrote to all those who thought that he (Mu'āwiyah) was afraid of 'Alī and who had said evil things about him. Possibly he was writing to Iraqis in an attempt to deflect them from supporting 'Alī.

16. Al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayṭ was a cousin of Mu'āwiyah and former governor of al-Kūfah (see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 138ff.).

You have wasted time like the stallion camel of arousal,[17] confined and
bellowing in Damascus but unable to move.
You and your writing to 'Alī
are like a woman tanning a hid that has become worm-eaten and useless.[18]
Each band of riders for the emaciated camels of Iraq, tripping along,
excites in you the desire for the rule.[19]
But he who seeks revenge does not hang back
but seeks it relentlessly.
If you were the slain one,[20] and he ('Uthmān) were alive,
he would have drawn his sword, not turning aside, unflagging,
And not shirking from seeking vengeance until
he had slain in retaliation for it, not weary or sticking in one place.
Your family in Medina have been wiped out,
cast down like chaff."

Narrators other than Abū Bakr (al-Hudhalī) say that Mu'āwiyah summoned his secretary Shaddād b. Qays[21] and told him, "Find me a scroll to write on." When he had brought him one, Shaddād took up the pen and began to write, but Mu'āwiyah said, "Do not rush! Write:

"How surprised (he is) by what he sees of our deliberateness,
but, if war had buffeted him, he would not have said a word!"[22]

He then told Shaddād, "Roll up the scroll," and he sent it to al-Walīd (b. 'Uqbah), who, when he opened it, found only this one verse inside.

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17. For *al-sadim al-mu'annā*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.vv. It refers to a stallion camel that is led among females to arouse them then, having done so, is not allowed to couple but is taken away and tethered apart, bellowing in frustration.

18. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḥalima*; Freytag (tr.), *Arabum proverbia* (= al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*), II, 346.

19. I find the sense of this line elusive. It perhaps continues the imagery of line 2, but, if so, the metaphor seems to obscure the meaning.

20. The text reads "if I were slain," but see *Add. et emend.*

21. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to him.

22. The verse is attributed to Aws b. Ḥajar (*Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Najm [Beirut, 1960], no. 48, verse 25 [p. 121]).

According to Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, when 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib marched to meet Mu'āwiyah, one of the men of Iraq wrote these two verses:

Tell the Commander of the Faithful [3259]
when you arrive, O brother of Iraq,
"Iraq and its people
eagerly await you, so come."[23]

According to 'Awānah (whose account is now resumed)[24], 'Alī sent Ziyād b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī[25] ahead with 8,000 men as an advance guard and with him Shurayḥ b. Ḥāni'[26] with 4,000. 'Alī set out from al-Nukhaylah[27] with his men, and, after he had entered al-Madā'in,[28] the fighting men stationed there left with him. He put Sa'd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, the paternal uncle of al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd,[29] in charge of al-Madā'in and sent Ma'qil b. Qays[30] on from there with 3,000 men, telling him to go by way of al-Mawṣil[31] and then join him.

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23. The verses do not seem to fit in with the events as reported: they make it appear that 'Alī was somewhere else and that the Iraqis were calling him to come (to lead them against Mu'āwiyah?). It might be possible to read "Commander of the Faithful" in the vocative and understand something like "O Commander of the Faithful, when you arrive tell any Iraqi (on the side of Mu'āwiyah)...," but the second verse would be more suitably addressed to 'Alī than to any ordinary Iraqi.

24. For 'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī, an important Kūfan collector and transmitter of tradition (d. ca. 153/770), see *EI*², s.v.; and *GAS*, I, 307–8. 'Awānah's material here is cited by Ṭabarī from 'Umar b. Shabbah from al-Madā'inī (see n. 401, below.) Ṭabarī's previous citation of the material from this source broke off at the point where this volume of translation begins. The story had reported how, following his unsuccessful sending of Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī to demand Mu'āwiyah's allegiance, 'Alī had moved out to the army camp at al-Nukhaylah, where he had been joined by Ibn 'Abbās and the men from al-Baṣrah.

25. For Ziyād b. al-Naḍr (of the Banū Madhḥij), see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

26. For Shurayḥ b. Hāni' (also of Madhḥij), see ibid., s.v. Šuraiḥ.

27. The usual place for the gathering of the Kūfan army, apparently northwest of al-Kūfah on the road to Syria.

28. Al-Madā'in was the Arabic name for the former Sasanid capital, Ctesiphon, on the Tigris south of the subsequently built city of Baghdad (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 33ff.).

29. For al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī, a major figure in the subsequent history of al-Kūfah, see *EI*², s.v. He had been brought up by his uncle Sa'd, following the death of his father during the conquest of Iraq.

30. Of the Banū Tamīm (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.); for his subsequent role in the suppression of the revolt of al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid, see pp. 181ff., below.

31. That is, Mosul in Mesopotamia.

'Alī Orders the Construction of the Bridge over the Euphrates

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī—'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār b. 'Abd Yaghūth al-Bāriqī:[32] When 'Alī reached al-Raqqah,[33] he ordered the Raqqans, "Build me a bridge so that I can cross from this place to Syria." They, however, refused, having seized control over the boats (which would be used for the bridge). 'Alī therefore departed from them to cross from Jisr Manbij,[34] leaving al-Ashtar[35] behind over the Raqqans while he himself went to move on with his men to cross with them at Jisr Manbij.

Al-Ashtar summoned the Raqqans and addressed them: "People of this fortress! I swear to you by God that if the Commander of the Believers goes on without your having made a bridge for him by your town so that he can cross, I will bare the sword among you
[3260] and kill the men, devastate the land, and seize your possessions." The Raqqans met one with another and said, "Does not al-Ashtar fulfill what he swears or perpetrate something even worse?" "Yes." Therefore, they sent to him, saying, "We will make a bridge for you, so approach." 'Alī came, they made the bridge for him, and he crossed over it with his baggage and footsoldiers. Then he ordered al-Ashtar, and he move up with 3,000 horsemen, until all of the men had crossed. Finally, al-Ashtar, the last of the men, crossed on foot.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī—'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār b. 'Abd Yaghūth: When the cavalry crossed they were all jostling together and the hat (*qalansuwah*)[36] of 'Abdallāh b. Abī

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32. For Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, important Kūfan scholar, d. ca. 206/821, see *EI*², s.v. Kalbī; and *GAS*, I, 268–71; for Abū Mikhnaf, Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā, d. 157/774, see *EI*², s.v.; *GAS*, I, 308–9; and U. Sezgin, *Abū Mihnaf*.

33. For al-Raqqah, on the east bank of the Euphrates at approximately the same latitude as Mosul on the Tigris, see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 101ff.; and *EI*¹, s.v. Rakka.

34. That is, "The Bridge of Manbij," considerably to the north of al-Raqqah; from there the road went to Manbij (ancient Hierapolis), northeast of Aleppo (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 107f.).

35. For Mālik (b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī) al-Ashtar, 'Alī's right-hand man, see *EI*² s.v. al-Ashtar; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Mālik.

36. For the *qalansuwah*, a tall Persian headpiece, see Dozy, *Vêtements*, s.v.

al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī[37] fell off. He dismounted, picked it up, and rode on. Then the *qalansuwah* of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Azdī fell off, and he dismounted, picked it up, and rode on. He said to his companion:

If, as is said, the augur's idea is true,
I shall be killed shortly and so will you.

'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Ḥuṣayn said, "Nothing that could happen would be dearer to me than what you have mentioned." And they were killed together at Ṣiffīn.[38]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Khālid b. Qaṭan al-Ḥārithī: When 'Alī had crossed the Euphrates, he summoned Ziyād b. al-Naḍr and Shurayḥ b. Hāni' and sent them ahead toward Mu'āwiyah as a vanguard in the same role in which they had left al-Kūfah. Having been sent by 'Alī from al-Kūfah, Ziyād and Shurayḥ had followed [3261] the (west) bank of the Euphrates from the desert ajoining al-Kūfah as far as 'Ānāt.[39] There they heard that 'Alī had taken the road to al-Jazīrah and also that Mu'āwiyah had set out from Damascus with the forces of the Syrians to meet 'Alī. They said, "By God, we do not think it good that we should go on, with this expanse of water between us and the Muslims and the Commander of the Faithful. It would be bad for us if we were to meet the armies of the Syrians with our few men, cut off from reinforcement and support." They went out to cross the river from 'Ānāt, but the people of that place prevented them and stopped them getting boats, and they had to go back and cross from Hīt.[40] Then they joined up with 'Alī at a settlement below Qarqīsiyā'.[41] They had intended to attack the

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37. On 'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī and 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Azdī, see further (p. 51, below); and for the latter, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

38. The Arabic *yawm Ṣiffīn*, literally "on the day of Ṣiffīn," recurs frequently throughout Muslim tradition. *Yawm* ("day") is a common word for "battle," but it is clear from the narrative that the events at Ṣiffīn occupied several days. I have generally translated, therefore, by the less specific "at Ṣiffīn" or "the Battle of Ṣiffīn."

39. 'Ānāt on the west bank of the Euphrates (virtually due west of Takrīt on the Tigris) was counted by the medieval Muslim geographers as the most southerly major settlement on the Euphrates in al-Jazīrah (Mesopotamia) (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, index, s.v. 'Ānah).

40. For Hīt, also on the west bank and considerably south of 'Ānāt, see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and 65.

41. Qarqīsiyā' (Circesium), at the junction of the Khābūr and Euphrates Rivers about 200 miles below al-Raqqah, is far to the north of 'Ānāt; see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and 105.

people of 'Ānāt, but the latter fortified themselves, so they withdrew.

When their advance force joined up with 'Alī, he said, "My vanguard has come to me from the rear!" Ziyād b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī and Shurayḥ b. Hāni' approached him and told him what they had thought when they heard about what was happening, and 'Alī said, "You acted rightly." Then 'Alī went on, and, having crossed the Euphrates, he sent them ahead toward Mu'āwiyah.

Reaching Sūr al-Rūm,[42] they met Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī 'Amr b. Sufyān[43] with an army of Syrians. They, therefore, sent a message back to 'Alī: "We have encountered Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī with an army of Syrians. We have appealed to them, but not one of them has responded. Tell us what we should do." In response 'Alī sent to al-Ashtar, saying:

> Oh Mālik, Ziyād and Shurayḥ have sent informing me that they have encountered Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī with a body of the Syrians, and the messenger tells me that he left them confronting one another. Hasten to save your companions.[44] When you reach them you are in charge, but do not begin fighting the enemy, unless they attack
> [3262] you first, before meeting with them, appealing to them, and having been heard. "Do not allow their hatred to provoke you"[45] into fighting them before you have appealed to them and given them every chance, again and again, to change their views. Place Ziyād over your right wing and Shurayḥ over your left, and put yourself in the middle of your men. Do not approach close to them as if provoking war but do not keep at a distance as if fearing harm, until I come to you, for, God willing, I shall be hurrying on behind you.

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42. This is, apparently, Ṭabarī's only reference to Sūr al-Rūm, which is not mentioned by Yāqūt or Le Strange; the name occurs in the same form in the parallel passage in *WS*, 153—apparently its only occurrence in that work.

43. For the military activity of this man in the time of the Prophet and during the conquest of Syria, see Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, index, s.v. Abu 'l-A'war; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Amr b. Sufyān.

44. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *n-j-w*.

45. See Qur'ān, 5:2, 8.

Abū Mikhnaf said that the messenger was al-Ḥārith b. Jumhān al-Ju'fī.[46]

'Alī wrote to Ziyād and Shurayḥ: "I have appointed Mālik (al-Ashtar) over you. Take heed of what he says and obey him. He is someone from whom neither rashness,[47] nor erroneous conduct is to be feared, and neither slowness regarding what is best done quickly nor rushing into what is best held back from. I have given him orders similar to those I gave you—that he should not begin an attack before meeting them and appealing to them and giving them every chance."

Al-Ashtar departed and came to the enemy. He followed 'Alī's orders and refrained from fighting, and they continued confronting one another. Then, at evening, Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī attacked them, but they stood firm and swapped blows for a while, and the Syrians withdrew.

The next day Hāshim b. 'Utbah al-Zuhrī[48] went out against the Syrians with a troop of horsemen and footsoldiers, many in number and well-equipped. Abū al-A'war came out to meet him, and they fought for that day, the horsemen attacking the horsemen and the footsoldiers attacking the footsoldiers. The Syrians held firm, man to man, and then they withdrew. Al-Ashtar attacked them, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Mundhir al-Tanūkhī[49] was killed. Ẕabyān b. 'Umārah [3263]
al-Tamīmī,[50] who was only a raw youth, killed him, while al-Tanūkhī was the leading horseman of the Syrians. Al-Ashtar started saying, "Woe to you! Show me Abū al-A'war!"

Abū al-A'war called his men, and they went back to him, and he took up position behind the place where he had been at first. Al-Ashtar came and organized his men in lines in the place that Abū al-A'war had occupied. He told Sinān b. Mālik al-Nakha'ī,[51] "Go to

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46. See (p. 44, below). Of the Banū Madhḥij (see n. 174), he sometimes appears as al-Ḥārith b. Juhmān (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. al-Ḥāriṯ b. Ǧuhmān).

47. *Rahaq*; see Qur'ān 72:6, 13.

48. For Hāshim b. 'Utbah al-Zuhrī, al-A'war, al-Mirqāl, who had lost an eye at Yarmūk and been present at Qādisiyyah, see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 263–64; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Hāšim; and see further later (p. 70ff.)

49. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to 'Abdallāh b. al-Mundhir al-Tanūkhī.

50. Cairo has Ẕabyān b. 'Ammār; see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ẕabyān b. 'Umāra.

51. The following seems to be Ṭabarī's only mention of Sinān, who does not appear in Ibn al-Kalbī. Al-Ashtar's subsequent address of him as "my nephew," if it is to be taken literally, could indicate that a name had been omitted from his *nasab*.

Abū al-A'war and challenge him to single combat." Sinān asked, "With me or with you?" Mālik (al-Ashtar) said, "If I told you to fight him singly, would you do it?" Sinān replied, "Yes. By God, if you asked me to go against their line with my sword, I would not come back until I had struck their line with my sword." Al-Ashtar said to him, "Oh my nephew, God give you long life! By God, my love for you has increased. I am not ordering you to fight him in single combat, but to challenge him to fight me. He would not come out to fight—if he agrees—unless against someone with the right seniority, equality of status, and nobility. You, may your Lord be praised, are of a family who have equality of status and nobility, but you are a raw youth in years, and he will not undertake single combat against young men. Call on him to fight against me." Sinān went and called out, "Give me safe conduct, for I am a messenger!" He was given safe conduct and he went on until he reached Abū al-A'war.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ Abū Zuhayr al-'Absī—Sinān: I drew near him and said, "Al-Ashtar summons you to fight against him in single combat." He gave me no answer for a long while, but then he said, "It was al-Ashtar's lack of sense and bad judgment that led to his driving out the officials of Ibn 'Affān—may God be pleased with him—from Iraq and his insubordination to him and thus his losing the fruits of his own good deeds. It was a result of al-Ashtar's lack of good sense and his bad judgment that [3264] he went to Ibn 'Affān in his house and dwelling place and joined in with those who killed him, and he has become liable for his blood.[52] Indeed I have no need to fight him in single combat." I told him, "You have had your say. Now listen while I answer you," but he replied, "No, there is no need for me to listen to you or for you to answer—get going!" His men shouted at me, and I left him, but, if he had given ear to me, I would have told him of my master's explanations and arguments.

I went back to al-Ashtar and told him that Abū al-A'war had declined the challenge, and he said, "He is concerned to save himself."

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52. For details of al-Ashtar's role in the anti-'Uthmān movement, see *EI*², s.v. al-Ashtar: "Liable for his blood" = *muttaba'an bi-damihi* (see Qur'ān 2:178 for *ittibā'* in a similar context).

We stood facing them until night drew its veil between us. We passed the night taking turns at guard duty, but the next day we saw that they had withdrawn under cover of night. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib joined us early in the morning. He sent al-Ashtar on ahead with those who were with him in the vanguard, and the latter came to Mu'āwiyah and took up position facing him. 'Alī came along behind him and quickly joined up with al-Ashtar. He took up position, and the two sides faced one another for a long time.

Then 'Alī sought a camping place for his army. Having found it, he ordered his men to lay down their baggage. When they had done so, the youth and young men went to get water, but the Syrians prevented them, and they fought one another by the water.[53] Previously al-Ashtar had said to 'Alī, "The enemy has beaten us to the drinking place, the most comfortable spot, and the pleasant camping ground. If you think it sound, let us go on. We shall pass beyond them to the settlement from which they came, and they will set out after us. When they catch up with us we shall have camped and we shall be on equal terms with them." But 'Alī disapproved of that, saying, "Not all the men are able to travel on," and he had them make camp.

The Battle "by the Water"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Tamīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Azdī—Jundab b. 'Abdallāh: When we came upon Mu'āwiyah, we found that he had set up camp in a flat and broad space, which he had chosen before we arrived, alongside a watering place in the Euphrates. In that area there was no other place to obtain water, and Mu'āwiyah had put it under his control and sent Abū al-A'war to deny access to it and to guard it. We went farther up the Euphrates in the hope of finding some other drinking place that would do for us, but we did not and so went back to 'Alī. We told him about the thirst the men were suffering and that we had found no other place in which to get water but that of the enemy, and he said, "Fight them for it."[54] [3265]

53. *'alā al-mā'*, i.e., by the Euphrates. It is possible to understand *'alā* as indicating the object of or motive for the fighting, rather than where the fighting occurred, but in what follows it seems generally to have the latter sense; compare the phrase *jalasa 'alā al-nār*, "he sat by the fire."

54. *Qātilūhum 'alayhā:* here *'alā* must indicate the object of the fighting rather than where it should take place (see preceding note).

Al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī[55] came to him and said, "Shall I go against them?" and 'Alī said, "Do so." He did, and we went with him. When we approached the water, they rose up ahead of us and showered us with arrows while, by God, we loosed arrows at them for a while. Then we thrust at each other with spears for a long time, and finally we and they had recourse to swords and fought with them for a while. Next Yazīd b. Asad al-Bajalī[56] came to reinforce the enemy with cavalry and footsoldiers, and they advanced toward us. I said to myself, "Will the Commander of the Faithful not send anyone to us to cancel them out?" I went and turned around and saw a number of men similar to that of the enemy, or more, whom 'Alī had sent to us to counteract Yazīd b. Asad and his men. Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Riyāḥī[57] led these new troops, and the fighting increased in intensity.

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ came out against us from Mu'āwiyah's camp with a large force, and he began to give support to Abū al-A'war and Yazīd b. Asad, but al-Ashtar came from 'Alī with a mighty body of men. When al-Ashtar saw 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ reinforcing Abū al-A'war and Yazīd b. Asad, he sent help to al-Ash'ath b. Qays and Shabath b. Rib'ī and our fighting became fiercer. I will never forget what 'Abdallāh b. 'Awf b. al-Aḥmar al-Azdī[58] said:

[3266] Give us access to the flowing waters of the Euphrates,
or stand fast against a host many in number,
Defying death against every warrior and selling themselves dearly,
thrusting with their lances and wheeling to the attack,
Striking their enemies' skulls and full of daring.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—a man from the family of Khārijah b. (al-Ṣalt?) al-Tamīmī:[59] Ẓabyān b. 'Umārah kept fighting on that day while saying:

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55. The leader of the Banū Kindah in al-Kūfah (see *EI*², s.v. al-Ash'ath b. Ḳays; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ma'dikarib b. Qais; and Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 110).

56. Leader of the Banū Bajīlah in Syria and grandfather of the future governor Khālid al-Qasrī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 102).

57. A leader of the Banū Tamīm in al-Kūfah (see Ibn Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Šabaṯ b. Rib'ī al-Riyāḥī; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 118).

58. A participant in many of the events of the period and often cited as an authority by his fellow Azdī Abū Mikhnaf (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

59. The name of Khārijah's father, missing in the text, is suggested by the editor, referring to I, 3214, l. 14; *WS*, 172, has Khārijah b. al-Ṣalt.

Can you, Oh Ẕabyān, endure life
without water among those who inhabit the earth?
No, by the God of earth and heavens—
so strike the faces of the faithless enemies
With the sword in the ferocious clamor
until they render you equality.

Ẕabyān said: "By God we smote them until they gave us access to the water."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father, Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd—his paternal uncle, Muḥammad b. Mikhnaf: At that time I was with my father Mikhnaf b. Sulaym. I was seventeen years old and not yet enrolled for pay (*lastu fī 'aṭā'*).[60] When the men were denied access to the water, my father said to me, "Keep close to the encampment!" But when I saw the Muslims going toward the water I lost patience, took up my sword, set out with the men, and took part in the fighting.

Then I saw a slave lad of one of the men of Iraq, and with him he had a waterskin. When he saw that the Syrians had left open the way to the watering place, he pushed forward and filled his waterskin. Then he headed back, but one of the Syrian soldiers attacked him and threw him to the ground, so that the waterskin fell from his grasp. I assailed the Syrian, struck him, and laid him [3267] low, but his companions fought hard and rescued him. However, I overheard them saying to him (as they took him away), "We are not sure about your chances." I went back to the slave and carried him, and he could talk to me, even though he had a gaping wound. Quickly his master came, and he went off with him, while I took his waterskin, which was full, and brought it to my father, Mikhnaf. He asked, "From where did you get this?" and I said, "I bought it," for I did not want to tell him the story and make him angry with me. He said, "Let the men drink!" I did that, and he was the last to drink.

By God, my soul urged me on to fight, and I hurried forward with those who were fighting, and we battled with the enemy for a while. Then I saw that they had left the way to the water open to us, and by evening we could see our water carriers and theirs crowded

60. On this system of payment in the early Muslim armies, see *EI*², s.v. 'aṭā'

together at the watering place without harming one another. I turned back and came upon the master of the lad who had had the waterskin, and I said to him, "We have your waterskin with us—send someone to get it or tell us where you are so that I can send it to you." He replied, "God's mercy on you, we have enough with us." I then turned away, and he went off. Next morning he passed by my father, stopped and greeted him, and saw me by his side. "This young man is not yours?" he said; and my father replied, "It is my son." The man said, "May God show you joy in him. Last evening God through him rescued my lad from death, and the young men of my clan told me that he was the bravest of the men at that time." My father gave me a look, and from his face I could see that he was angry. He kept quiet, and then, when the man had gone on, he said, "Is that what I instructed you?" and he made me swear that I would not go out to fight without his permission. So that was the only engagement I took part in until a later time.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī—Mihrān, client (*mawlā*) of Yazīd b. Hāni':[61] By God, my patron,
[3268] Yazīd b. Hāni', was fighting "by the water" with the waterskin in his hand. When the Syrians withdrew from the water I turned around to drink, fighting and firing arrows in between.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—'Abdallāh b. 'Awf b. al-Aḥmar: When we reached Mu'āwiyah and the Syrians at Ṣiffīn, we found that they had chosen an even, wide, and spacious position. They had seized the watering place, and it was in their possession. Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī had lined up horsemen and footsoldiers by it, and he had placed the archers in front of his men. He had formed a row with spears and shields, and helmets on their heads, and they had resolved not to let us reach the water.

In alarm we went to the Commander of the Faithful and told him about that, and he summoned Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Ṣūḥān.[62] He told him, "Go to Mu'āwiyah and say this: 'We have come to you like this but are reluctant to fight you before exhorting you by all possible means. But you have advanced your horsemen and footsoldiers against us and have attacked us before we attacked you. You began the fighting against us while we considered that we should hold back from

61. See p. 80, below, for Yazīd b. Hāni'.
62. Of the Banū 'Abd al-Qays/Rabī'ah (Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

fighting you until we had appealed to you and put before you our arguments. And this is another thing that you have done—you have barred our men from the water, and they will not stop fighting unless they have drunk. So send to your men to allow mine access to the water and to hold off from fighting until we consider our dispute and what we have come for and what you have come for. But, if you prefer that we should give up what we came for and leave the men to fight at the water, so that only the victors drink, we will do so.'"

[When he heard that] Mu'āwiyah said to his men, "What do you think?" Al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah[63] answered, "Keep water from them, just as they kept it from 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him. They besieged him for forty days, allowing him neither the [3269]
coolness of water nor the comfort of food. Make them die of thirst. May God make them die of thirst!" But 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "Let them get to the water, for surely the men will not thirst when you have drunk sufficiently. But, leaving aside the water, consider the dispute between you." Al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah repeated what he had said, and 'Abdallāh [b. Sa'd] b. Abī Sarḥ[64] said, "Keep them from the water until night, for if they cannot get to it they will go back. If they go back, their return will be a flight. Keep them from the water, and may God keep it from them on the day of resurrection."

Ṣa'ṣa'ah ('Alī's messenger) retorted, "God will keep it on the day of Resurrection only from the infidels, the wanton ones, and the drinkers of wine—like you and this wanton one (meaning al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah)!" They rushed at him, verbally abusing him and threating him, but Mu'āwiyah said, "Keep away from the man, for he is simply a messenger."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—'Abdallāh b. 'Awf b. al-Aḥmar: Ṣa'ṣa'ah came back to us and told us what he had said to Mu'āwiyah, what the answer had been, and how he had replied. We asked him how Mu'āwiyah had responded to that, and he said, "When I desired to leave his presence, I asked, 'How do you answer me?' and he answered, 'You will learn of my decision.'"

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63. See n. 16, above.

64. The name of 'Abdallāh's father, Sa'd, is missing from the text. It is generally accepted that this former governor of Egypt, who joined Mu'āwiyah upon the murder of 'Uthmān, died before Ṣiffīn and was not present there (see further *EI*², s.v.).

By God, the next thing we knew, Mu'āwiyah was sending troops of horsemen to Abū al-A'war to stop our men from getting to the water. 'Alī sent us against them, and we fired arrows and thrust with spears and then gave blows with the swords. We were granted victory over them, and the water came into our hands. We said, "By God we will not allow them to drink from it," but 'Alī sent to us, saying, "Take what water you need and return to your camp. Leave them alone, for God has given you victory over them because of their evil and oppression."

[3270] *'Alī Calls Mu'āwiyah to Obedience and Unity*

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah al-Ḥanafī: 'Alī said, "On this day you have been given victory through zeal." The men went back to their camp, and 'Alī remained two days, during which he and Mu'āwiyah did not exchange messengers. Then 'Alī summoned Bashīr b. 'Amr b. Miḥṣan al-Anṣārī,[65] Sa'īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī,[66] and Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Tamīmī and said, "Go to this man and summon him to God, to obedience, and to unity."[67] Shabath b. Rib'ī asked, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, will you not tempt him with an offer of an office of authority and a position in which he will have influence with you if he gives you the oath of allegiance?" 'Alī replied, "Go to him and argue with him and find out his opinion." This was at the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [May–June 657].

They came and entered in upon Mu'āwiyah, and Abū 'Amrah Bashīr b. 'Amr praised God and extolled him.[68] Then he said, "Oh Mu'āwiyah, this world is transitory, but to the next you are returning. God will assess you according to your deeds and recom-

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65. See Ibn al-Kalbi, II, index, s.v. Bašīr b. 'Amr.

66. Leader of the Banū Ḥimyar in al-Kūfah, said to be descended from the ancient south Arabian kings (Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 119).

67. *Al-jamā'ah*. Literally, the word indicates "community" and has a positive value in contradistinction to the implications of *fitnah*. "Splitting the staff of the community" or "of the Muslims" (*shaqq 'aṣā al-jamā'ah/al-muslimīn*) is a charge frequently brought against rebels, and the year in which Mu'āwiyah ended the Fitnah and established his rule over all the lands of the Arabs is known in tradition as the "year of unity" (*'ām al-jamā'ah*).

68. *Ḥamida 'llāh wa-athnā 'alayhi*, a stereotyped formula used to open a religious exhortation.

pense you 'for what your hands have offered.'[69] I implore you by God not to split the unity of this community and not to shed its blood in internal conflict." But Mu'āwiyah cut him off, saying, "Have you not commended that to your master?" Abū 'Amrah replied, "My master is not like you. Of all of creation, he has the most right to this position of authority by virtue of his merit, his religion (*dīn*), his precedence in Islam, and his relationship with the Messenger of God." Mu'āwiyah asked, "What does he say?" and Abū 'Amrah replied, "He asks you to fear God and to respond to your cousin in acknowledging the truth to which he calls you. It [3271] is safer for you regarding your life in this world and better for you regarding your final end." Mu'āwiyah said, "And are we to make the blood of 'Uthmān count for naught? No, by God, never!"

Sa'īd b. Qays went to speak, but Shabath b. Rib'ī plunged in first, saying, after praising God and extolling him:

> Mu'āwiyah, I understood your reply to Ibn Miḥṣan, and, by God, we are not unaware of what you intend and seek. The only way you could find to misguide the people, pervert their desires, and get from them their obedience was by saying "Your Imam was killed unjustly, and we seek revenge for his blood!" Some stupid riffraff responded to it, but we know that you delayed in giving 'Uthmān help and that you desired his killing so that you might obtain this position that you now seek.[70] There is many a one who desires something and seeks it, but God prevents it by His power, and sometimes he who desires a thing is granted his wish or even more than it. But, by God, there would be no good for you in either of the cases. If you fail to attain what you hope for, then you will be the most wretched of the Arabs as a result, while, if you achieve what you desire, you will have achieved it only by deserving the flames of hell from

69. Qur'ān 22:10.

70. It was commonly held, by the opponents of the Umayyads, that the murder of 'Uthmān was the result of plotting by members of his (Umayyad) family who feared that the caliphate would pass into the hands of 'Alī if 'Uthmān were to die a natural death. The accusation that Mu'āwiyah deliberately delayed in responding to the appeals for help that were made to him by 'Uthmān is part of the argument in support of this theory (see further, N. A. Faris, "Development in Arab Historiography," 435–41).

your Lord. Fear God, oh Mu'āwiyah. Leave off what you are about, and do not contest authority with its rightful possessor.

Mu'āwiyah praised God and extolled him, and then he said, "The first thing in which I recognized your stupidity and low level of maturity was your interrupting the speech of this respected and high-born man, who is the leader of his people [i.e., Sa'īd b. Qays]. Then afterward you meddled with something about which you know nothing. You have lied and been base, you rude and uncouth [3272] bedouin, in everything you have referred to and described. Get out of my presence, all of you! Between you and me there is nothing but the sword." He was furious.

The deputation departed with Shabath saying, "Do you threaten us with the sword? I swear by God that it will soon be raised against you." They came to 'Alī and told him what Mu'āwiyah had said. That was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (36, i.e., May–June 657).

Following this, 'Alī would give orders to certain individual leaders of high status, and a band of men would go out to fight in support while another man of rank, a follower of Mu'āwiyah, would come out against him with a group of his followers. The two of them would fight with horse- and footmen and then retire. They were reluctant to confront the Syrians with the whole body of the Iraqis because of the fear that it would entail mass slaughter and destruction.

At different times 'Alī sent out al-Ashtar, Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī,[71] Shabath b. Rib'ī, Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar,[72] Ziyād b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī, Ziyād b. Khaṣafah al-Taymī,[73] Sa'īd b. Qays, Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī,[74] and Qays b. Sa'd.[75] The one who was sent out most often was al-Ashtar. Mu'āwiyah sent out against the men of Iraq, at

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71. The leader in al-Kūfah, in 51/670, of what is often seen as the first pro-'Alid anti-Umayyad movement after the death of 'Alī, and a rival of al-Ash'ath for the leadership of the Banū Kindah in al-Kūfah (see further *EI*², s.v. Ḥudjr b. 'Adī al-Kindī).

72. Of the Banū Shaybān/Bakr b. Wā'il (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḫālid b. al-Mu'ammar).

73. Of the Banū Taym Allāh/Bakr b. Wā'il (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ziyāda b. Ḫaṣafah).

74. See n.30.

75. Son of Sa'd b. 'Ubādah of the Banū Khazraj/Anṣār, he had been governor of Egypt for 'Alī; for an account of his removal from there and his joining 'Alī, see pp. 142–44, below (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Qais b. Sa'd).

various times, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid al-Makhzūmī,[76] Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī,[77] Dhū al-Kalā' al-Ḥimyarī,[78] 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,[79] Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ al-Kindī,[80] and Ḥamzah b. Mālik al-Hamdānī.[81] They fought for the whole of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, sometimes twice in one day, at its beginning and at its end.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Āṣim al-Fā'ishī: One of my fellow tribesmen[82] told me that one day al-Ashtar went out to fight at Ṣiffīn among some men of the *qurrā'*[83] and some of the bedouin horsemen. "The batle became fierce, and there came out against us a man taller and mightier than whom I have rarely seen. He put out a challenge to single combat, and no one responded to him except al-Ashtar. They exchanged blows and al-Ashtar struck him and killed him. I swear by God that we had been fearful for al-Ashtar and asked him not to answer the challenge. When al-Ashtar killed him, one of the dead man's heralds proclaimed: [3273]

Oh Sahm, Sahm Ibn Abī al-'Ayzār,
the best whom we know of Zār.[84]

[Zārah is a clan of Azd.] And he said, "I swear by God that either I will kill your killer, or he will kill me." He came out and attacked al-Ashtar, who turned toward him and struck him, and suddenly

76. Son of the famous Khālid b. al-Walīd, settled in Ḥimṣ (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdarraḥmān b. Ḫālid).

77. Of Quraysh, he had been put in charge by Mu'āwiyah of the force that he sent, too late, to help 'Uthmān (see n.70; and see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

78. Leader of an important family of the Banū Ḥimyar settled in Ḥimṣ (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Samayfa' b. Nākūr; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 95). Delete text's "Ibn"?

79. A son of the second caliph (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

80. A rival of al-Ash'ath for the leadership of the Banū Kindah in al-Kūfah, he had subsequently settled in Ḥimṣ and supported Mu'āwiyah (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Šuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 101).

81. *WŠ*, 44, refers to him among a group of the leaders of Qaḥṭān and Yaman who were trusted by Mu'āwiyah. For his role in witnessing on behalf of Mu'āwiyah the "arbitration document" signed at Ṣiffīn, see p. 87, below.

82. There are two groups called Fā'ish among the Banū Hamdān.

83. The *qurrā'* are frequently referred to throughout this volume and in connection with certain other events of early Islamic history. Traditionally they have been associated with the Qur'ān and are often described as "Qur'ān reciters/readers." A number of scholars have recently been dissatisfied with that interpretation and have suggested others. For the literature, see *EI*², s.v. ḳurrā'; and Calder, "The *Qurrā'* and the Arabic Lexicographical Tradition," 297–307.

84. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Sahm b. Abī al-'Ayzār.

the man was down on the ground in front of al-Ashtar's horse, but his companions bore down on him and carried him off wounded. Abū Rufayqah al-Fahmī said, "This was a fire, but he came upon a whirlwind."[85]

The men fought for the whole of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, but when it was the end of the month they called on one another to refrain from fighting for the month of Muḥarram[86] and perhaps God would bring about peace or an agreement. So they refrained from fighting one another.

In this year 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib led the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*)[87] in accordance with 'Alī's appointment of him. That is what I was told by Aḥmad b. Thābit from someone who told him on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā, who had it from Abū Ma'shar.[88]

[3274] In this year, too, Qudāmah b. Maẓ'ūn[89] died, according to the claim of al-Wāqidī.[90]

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85. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Abū Rufayqah. *WS*, 196, has al-Sahmī instead of al-Fahmī.

86. Although our information is rather confused, the month of Muḥarram is said to have been one of the sacred months in pre-Islamic Arabia, during which fighting was prohibited. The Qur'ān thrice refers to the sacred month (in the singular) and once to there being four sacred months (see further *EI*², s.v. al-Muḥarram).

87. The annual complex of rituals performed at various places in and around Mecca during the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (see *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj).

88. Abū Ma'shar is a well-known collector of tradition who died in 171/787 (see *EI*², s.v.; *GAS*, I, 291–92). He is said to have composed a *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'* and it is apparently this work that Ṭabarī frequently cites with the *isnād* used here. Ṭabarī's immediate authority, al-Rāzī, is categorized as a liar (*kadhdhāb*) in Ibn Abī Ḥātim's *Kitāb al-Jarḥ wa'l-ta'dīl*, I/1, 44.

89. An early follower of the Prophet Muḥammad, from Banū Jumaḥ/Quraysh, who had refused to give allegiance to 'Alī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, index, s.v.).

90. On this scholar, d. 207/822–823, important especially in the field of the biography of the Prophet, see *EI*², s.v. al-Wāḳidī; *GAS*, I, 294–97.

The Events of the Year 37

(JUNE 19, 657–JUNE 8, 658)

The Truce between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah

In the first month of this year, al-Muḥarram, there was the truce between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah. Desiring a settlement of their differences, they agreed not to fight during the whole of the month.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf al-Azdī—Sa'd Abū al-Mujāhid al-Ṭā'ī—al-Muḥill b. Khalīfah al-Ṭā'ī: When 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah made a truce at Ṣiffīn messengers went back and forth regarding the matters in dispute between them, in the hope that a settlement could be reached. 'Alī sent 'Adī b. Ḥātim,[91] Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī,[92] Shabath b. Rib'ī, and Ziyād b. Khaṣafah to Mu'āwiyah, and, when they came to him, 'Adī b. Ḥātim praised God and said: "Now, we have come to invite you to some-

91. Of the Banū 'Adī b. Akhzam of Ṭayyi', he had been prominent in the affairs of the Banū Ṭayyi' in the lifetime of the Prophet and afterward (see *EI*², s.v.; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; for his struggle to carry the banner of Ṭayyi' at Ṣiffīn, see p. 26, below, and n. 113).

92. Of the Banū Hamdān, he had been involved in the anti-'Uthmān movement in al-Kūfah, and subsequently (see p. 102, below) governed Iṣbahān and Rayy for 'Alī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Yazīd b. Qais b. Tammām).

thing be means of which God will overcome our dissensions and reunite our community, avoid our shedding blood, give security to the roads, and settle discord. Your cousin ['Alī] is the lord of the Muslims, the most meritorious of them regarding his early acceptance of Islam, and the best of them in it respecting his deeds. The people have agreed upon him, and God has guided their decision. There only remains you and those with you (who have not accepted him). Stop,[93] Mu'āwiyah, lest God afflict you and your companions with a day like that of the Camel."

[3275] Mu'āwiyah replied: "It is as if you have come merely to threaten, not to reach a settlement. You could not be more wrong, 'Adī. I am the son of Ḥarb, by God, so do not try to frighten me with empty threats.[94] By God, you are one of those who raised a clamor against ['Uthmān] Ibn 'Affān, one of those who killed him, and I hope that you will be one of those whom God will kill for it. How wrong you are, 'Adī b. Ḥātim—you have resorted to force when you could not succeed by persuasion."[95]

Shabath b. Rib'ī and Ziyād b. Khaṣafah, both of them answering together, said, "We have come to you to make a settlement between us, but you have started to spout proverbs at us. Cease useless words and deeds, and agree to our proposal, which will benefit both us and you." Yazīd b. Qays spoke, saying:

> We came merely to convey to you the message we have been sent with and to take back whatever we hear from you. Nevertheless, we will not refrain from offering you sound advice or from telling you what we think provides a sure argument for us against you and by means of which you will return to unity and community. Our master is he whose excellence you and the Muslims have recognized, and I think it is obvious to you that the people of religion

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93. Translating the text's *fa'ntahi*; *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §2, suggests *fa'nbah*, sta' attento!

94. The name of Mu'āwiyah's grandfather, Ḥarb, means "war." For the expression *mā yuqa'qa'u lī bi-al-shinān* (literally, "a confused clattering noise will not be made to me with the old, worn-out water-skins"), see Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, II, 588; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *shann*.

95. *Qad ḥalabta bi-al-sā'idi al-ashadd* (literally, "you have milked with the strongest forearm"), see Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, I, 343; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḥalaba*. *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §2, suggests it should be read *ḥalabtu*, "I have resorted to force only because persuasion was not successful."

and merit will not put anyone on a level with 'Alī or waiver in a choice between you. Fear God, Mu'āwiyah, and do not oppose 'Alī, for we have never seen anyone more God-fearing in his deeds, more abstemious in the things of this world, or more complete in all the good qualities than he.

Mu'āwiyah praised God and extolled Him and then said, "You have summoned us to obedience and unity. As for the unity to which you have called us, we have it among ourselves, but, as for obedience to your lord, we will not conceive of it, for he has killed our caliph and shattered our unity, and he has given shelter to those from whom we seek vengeance and those who killed 'Uthmān. [3276] Your master claims that he did not kill him, and we will not argue with him about that, but have you not seen those who killed our master, and do you not know that they are the companions of your master? Let him then deliver them up to us and let us kill them in revenge for 'Uthmān, and then we will respond to your call for obedience and unity."

Shabath said to him, "Would it make you happy, oh Mu'āwiyah, if you were given power over 'Ammār [b. Yāsir],[96] to kill him?" He replied, "Why should I not? But, by God, if I were given power over Ibn Sumayyah [i.e., 'Ammār], I would not kill him in revenge for 'Uthmān but [only] for Nātil the *mawlā* of 'Uthmān." Shabath said to him, "By the God of earth and of heaven, then you would not have acted equitably. No, by He other than Whom there is no god, you will not lay hands on 'Ammār until the heads fall from the shoulders of the peoples and the vast earth becomes too narrow for you, for all its breadth."[97] Mu'āwiyah replied, "If it were so, then the earth would be more straitened for you."

When they had left Mu'āwiyah, he sent to Ziyād b. Khaṣafah al-Taymī and spoke to him privately. After praising God and extolling Him, he said, "Brother of Rabī'ah! 'Alī has severed our ties of kinship and given shelter to those who killed our lord. I am asking for help against him from you with your family and clan. I give you a binding oath in the name of God that, if I achieve the victory, I will put you in charge of whichever of the two garrison towns you desire."

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96. A Qurashī companion of the Prophet (see *EI*², s.v.; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.); for his death, see p. 64, below; Lecker, "Ḥudhayfa."

97. See Qur'ān 9:118.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sa'd Abū al-Mujāhid—al-Muḥill b. Khalīfah: I heard Ziyād b. Khaṣafah reporting this event, and he said: When Mu'āwiyah had finished, I praised God and extolled Him and then I said, "'I have a clear proof from my Lord,'[98] and 'with what
[3277] He has graciously given me I will not help the evildoers.'"[99] Then I arose, and Mu'āwiyah said to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, who was sitting by his side, "No one of us ever argues with one of them but that they always assent to something good. What is the matter with them, may God cut them off with evil? It is as if their hearts were the heart of one man."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid al-Azdī—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd Abū al-Kunūd: Mu'āwiyah sent Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī, Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ, and Ma'n b. Yazīd b. al-Akhnas[100] to 'Alī. They went in unto him, I being present. Ḥabīb praised God and extolled Him and then said: "'Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him, was a caliph guided by God (*khalīfah mahdī*), who acted according to the Book of God and constantly busied himself with God's commands. You found his life a burden and could not wait for his death, and so you attacked and killed him. If you claim that you did not, then hand over to us the killers of 'Uthmān so that we can kill them in recompense. Then relinquish authority over the people: That will be a matter for consultation (*shūrā*)[101] among them, and they will give authority over them to whomsoever they agree on."

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said to him, "Who are you, you wretch, to tell me to relinquish authority? Keep silent, for it is no business of yours, and you are not fit for it." Ḥabīb arose and said, "By God, when you see me you will wish that you had not." 'Alī said, "What are you, even though you rally your horsemen and your foot-soldiers![102] May God not show mercy to you even if you show mercy

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98. Qur'ān 6:57.

99. Qur'ān 28:17.

100. Of the Banū Sulaym (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, esp. 70–72).

101. The idea that the choice of caliph (sometimes even of governor) should result from a process of consultation is of frequent occurrence in early Islam, but only rarely put into practice; see Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, index, s.v. *shūrā*.

102. See Qur'ān 17:64 (God addressing Satan!)

to me![103] Is it contempt and evil (that you want)? Go away, and do whatever you want." Shurahbil b. al-Simṭ said, "If I were to say anything to you, by my life it would just be like what my companion has said. Do you have any answer other than that which you gave him?"

'Alī said, "Yes, for you and your companion (i.e., Ma'n) I have a different answer." He praised God and extolled Him, and then said:[104] [3278]

> God sent Muḥammad with the truth and through him provided deliverance from error, salvation from destruction, and the overcoming of division. Then God took him to Himself after he had carried out his mission. The people appointed Abū Bakr as caliph, and Abū Bakr appointed 'Umar after him, and those two conducted themselves well and led the community with justice. We resented their ruling over us, the family of the Messenger of God, but we excused them for that. Then 'Uthmān ruled and did things that the people found reprehensible, so that they came to him and killed him. Afterward they came to me, who was keeping out of their concerns, and they asked me to accept the oath of allegiance. I refused, but they insisted and said that the community would never find anyone acceptable but me and that, if I did not, they were afraid that division would result. So I accepted the oath of allegiance from them. But then I was surprised to find the dissension of two of those who had given me the oath of allegiance[105] and

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103. *Lā abqā 'llāhu 'alayka in abqayta 'alayya* (the last word has been supplied by the editor); for this saying, uttered derisively to somebody who affects to be showing mercy because unable to take his revenge, see Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, II, 527; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. form IV of *baqiya*. The significance of the next two words, *a-ḥuqratan wa-saw'an* (or *sū'an*), is not at all clear. *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §4, suggests reading *khufrah* (= *dhimmah*) for *ḥuqrah* and the translation "do you with to profit from your immunity [as a messenger] to say evil things?" The parallel passage at *WS*, 200, does not include these words.

104. 'Alī's speech resuming the early history of the caliphate from a particular viewpoint can be seen as an example of a *topos*; for another example, see, e.g., Ṭabarī, II, 515–18. In the present version 'Uthmān's alleged misdeeds are not elaborated but others often list them.

105. That is, the companions Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, who are widely reported to have rendered allegiance to 'Alī but then rebelled against him when he would not accede to their demands for important governorships.

the opposition of Mu'āwiyah, to whom God had given neither precedence in accepting the religion nor forebears of good character in Islam. He is one of those who were set free (*ṭalīq*) by the Prophet, and the son of one of them, a member of those "parties" that persisted in enmity to God, His Prophet, and the Muslims, both he and his father, until they reluctantly entered Islam.[106] But it is a surprise that you take part in his opposition and are led by him, abandoning the family of your Prophet, against which you [3279] must not show discord and opposition nor place any one on the same level. I call you to the Book of God, the precedent (*sunnah*) of His Prophet, the suppression of what is false, and putting into practice the signs of the religion. That is what I have to say, and I ask God's pardon for me and for you and for every Believer, male and female, and every Muslim, male and female."

Shuraḥbīl and Ma'n both said, "Testify that 'Uthmān was killed unjustly." 'Alī, however, answered, "I will not say either that he was killed unjustly or that his killing was justified, because he was unjust himself." They replied, "Whoever does not assert that 'Uthmān was killed unjustly, we dissociate ourselves from him," and they got up and left. 'Alī said, " 'You will not make the dead hear, you will not make the deaf hearken to the call when they turn away, going back, and you will not guide the blind from going astray. You will only make those who believe in our signs give ear, for they are the Muslims.' "[107] Then he went to his supporters and said, "Do not let these be more earnest in their error than you are in your truth and obedience to your Lord."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ja'far b. Ḥudhayfah, of the family of 'Āmir b. Juwayn: [Qays b.] 'Ā'idh b. Qays al-Ḥizmirī[108] contested

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106. The derogatory references are to Mu'āwiyah as (a) one of those liable to enslavement by the Prophet when he conquered Mecca, but allowed to go free by him (*al-ṭulaqā'*), and (b) one of the "parties" or "confederates" (*aḥzāb*) who attacked the Prophet and his followers in Medina at the time of the "Trench" in A.H. 5 (Qur'ān, *sūrah* 33, *Sūrat al-Aḥzāb*, is said to allude to this event).

107. Qur'ān 27:80–81.

108. For the likely need to insert "Qays b." before the name of 'Ā'idh b. Qays, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Qais b. 'Ā'id b. Qais, although, as is indicated there, some sources have another son of 'Ā'idh b. Qays as the one who contested the honor of the banner with 'Adī b. Ḥātim. The clan of this Qays, the Banū Ḥizmir, was part of the tribe of Ṭayyi', on which see *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭaiy.

with 'Adī b. Ḥātim[109] for the privilege of carrying the banner at Ṣiffīn. Banū Ḥizmir were more numerous than Banū 'Adī the clan of Ḥātim. 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah al-Ṭā'ī al-Bawlānī[110] rushed up to the Banū Ḥizmir in the presence of 'Alī and said:

> Oh Banū Ḥizmir do you dare to compete with 'Adī? Is there one among you like 'Adī or any ancestor of yours like the father of 'Adī? Was 'Adī not the one who protected the waterskin and defended the water on a "day of want"?[111] Is he not the son of the "lord of the fourth" and of "the generous one of the Arabs"?[112] Is he not the son of the man who allowed his wealth to be plundered and of the defender of his client (*jār*)? Is he not the one who never acted [3280] perfidiously, never wickedly, never ignorantly, never avariciously, never ungratefully, and never cowardly? Come up with one of your ancestors who may be compared with his father, or one of you who may be compared with him. Is he not the most meritorious of you in Islam, the leader of your delegation to the Prophet, and your leader at the battles of al-Nukhaylah, al-Qādisiyyah, al-Madā'in, Jalūlā'

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109. On whom, see *EI*². Son of the renowned pre-Islamic poet of the Banū Ṭayyi', Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī, his clan was Banū 'Adī b. Rabī'ah b. Jarwal of Ṭayyi'.

110. For this poet of the Banū Ṭayyi', see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥalīfah.

111. *Yawm rawiyyah*. Possibly this refers to the battle "by the water" recounted previously, which is also alluded to in the first line of the poem of 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah later.

112. 'Adī's father, the poet Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī, was famed for his generosity, the subject of legend and proverb (see *EI*², s.v. Ḥātim). *Ann.* 37 A.H., §5, translates "lord of the fourth" (*dhū a'l-mirbā'*) as "quello dal quarto del bottino," which may well be correct. Ḥātim was famous for allowing his own booty to be taken by others; that is, probably the substance of "the man who allowed his wealth to be plundered" (*al-munhibu mālahu*), later. According to the notice of Ḥātim in Ibn Qutaybah's *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, "whenever he acquired booty, he allowed it to be plundered, and whenever he was asked for anything, he gave it" (*wa-idhā ghanima anhaba wa-idhā su'ila wahaba*). It seems likely that Ṭabarī's phrases referring to Ḥātim are meant to be understood generally and not as allusions to any specific instance—defense of the *jār* was also a typical virtue of the Arab hero.

al-Waqī'ah, Nihāwand, and Tustar?[113] What do you have in common with him? By God, there is no other of your people who seeks what you seek!

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said to him, "That is enough, Ibn Khalīfah! Come to me, ye people, and gather around me all of Ṭayyi'!" When they had come together, 'Alī asked, "Who was your chief in these battles?" Ṭayyi' replied, "'Adī." Ibn Khalīfah said, "Ask them, Oh Commander of the Faithful, if they are not satisfied to give up the leadership to 'Adī." 'Alī asked them, and they said that they were. He then said to them, "Of all of you, 'Adī has the best claim to the banner—give it up to him." Then, because Banū al-Ḥizmir caused a disturbance, he said, "In my view, he ('Adī) has been your chief in the past and none of his people, apart from you, is against giving it up to him. Therefore, I follow the majority in that." And 'Adī took the banner.

Later, at the time of Ḥujr b. 'Adī,[114] 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah was sought so that he might be sent together with Ḥujr [as a prisoner to Mu'āwiyah], for he was one of the supporters of Ḥujr. Then he was exiled to the region of the two hills (al-Jabalān). 'Adī [b. Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī] had given him cause to hope that he would have Ibn Khalīfah's exile revoked and that he would seek an amnesty for him, but when that took a long time 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah said:

You forget my deeds at the Battle of the Watering Place, and the lances
shattering against their shoulders at Ṣiffīn.
May his Lord requite 'Adī b. Ḥātim for me,
[3281] for having abandoned me and forsaken me, an ample requital.

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113. 'Adī, like his father, was originally a Christian, but he accepted Islam toward the end of the Prophet's life and led the Banū Ṭayyi' into Islam. The battles named here are famous landmarks in the Arab conquest of Iraq and southwest Iran. See further *EI*[2] s.v. 'Adī.

114. That is, at the time of Ḥujr's revolt in al-Kūfah in 51/670 (see n. 71, above). The subsequent mention of "the two hills" (al-Jabalān) is a reference to two hills (Ajā' and Salmā) in the tribal lands of the Banū Ṭayyi' in northern Arabia, the region now known as Jabal Shammār (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. Jabalān). See also n. 229, below.

115. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *ṭ-l-b* with *fī*.

Do you forget, oh son of Ḥātim, my reckless bravery
on that evening when your company (*'adī*) was not enough to outdo Ḥizmir?
But I protected you against the gang until they let up,
and I was the fierce and courageous adversary.
They turned tail and could not stand against me, as if
they thought me a lion lurking among the reeds.
I gave you aid when those who were near moved away and
those farther off held themselves apart. On me alone depended the victory.
My reward is to be stripped of everything among you,
dragged along,[116] brought to degradation, and made captive.
How many times you have promised to me that you would bring me back!
You have not achieved with your promise anything[117] for me.[118]

The Organization of the Military Units (Katā'ib) *and Preparation of the Troops for Battle*

According to Abū Mikhnaf: The men waited until the end of Muḥarram drew nigh, and then 'Alī ordered Marthad b. al-Ḥārith al-Jushamī[119] to call out to the Syrians at sunset: "The Commander of the Faithful announces to you: 'I have given you time so that you might revert to the truth and turn to it in repentance. I have argued against you with the Book of God and have called you to it, but you have not turned away from oppression or responded to truth. Now I have cast back 'to you [the covenant between us] in a just manner, for God does not love the faithless.' "[120] [3282]

The Syrians rushed anxiously to their commanders and leaders, and Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ went out among the men, organizing them in fighting units and preparing them and encouraging

116. The ms. and Ibn al-Athīr have *saḥīban*, which the editor has emended to *sajīnan*, "imprisoned." See, however, *Gloss.*, s.v. *s-ḥ-b*, which has *saḥīb* as the equivalent of *mashūb*.

117. *Ḥabtar*, literally, "a fox"; it also can mean "short" (see *LA*, s.v.).

118. For a longer quotation of the poem from which these verses come and the story of the events surrounding their composition, see Ṭabarī, II, 148 l.1–155 l.1.

119. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Marthad b. al-Ḥārith al-Jushamī.

120. See Qur'ān 8:58 (substituting *nabadhtu ilaykum* for Qur'ānic *fa'nbidh ilayhim*).

them to fight.[121] 'Alī, too, spent the entire night preparing his men, forming the units, and going around inciting the soldiers.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab al-Azdī—his father: On every occasion on which we confronted an enemy 'Alī would command us in these words: "Do not fight them unless they attack you first. You, praise be to God, have a good case and holding back from fighting them until they attack will strengthen it. If you fight them and defeat them, do not kill the fugitives, do not finish off the wounded, do not uncover their nakedness, and do not mutilate the slain.[122] If you reach their abodes, do not tear aside a curtain, enter a dwelling without permission, or seize any of their property apart from what you find in the army camp. Do not do harm against any woman, even if they utter abuse against your honor and vilify your leaders and righteous men, for women are weak of body and soul."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ismā'īl b. Yazīd—Abū Ṣādiq—al-Ḥaḍramī: I heard 'Alī encouraging the men at three battlefields—Ṣiffīn, the Camel, and the Canal (*yawm al-nahr*)[123]—in these words: "Servants of God! Fear God, cast down your gaze,
[3283] lower your voices, keep your speech short, accustom yourselves to dismounting to fight, assaulting and being assaulted, individual combat, contention, fighting with swords and staves, wrestling, biting, and grappling. 'Stand firm and frequently mention the name of God so that you might prosper.'[124] 'And do not contend one with another and so lose courage and your strength expire; be steadfast, for God is with the steadfast.'[125] Oh God! Inspire them with steadfastness, send down victory to them, and make great their reward." The next morning 'Alī arose and appointed his commanders over the right and left wings and over the footsoldiers and horsemen.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī: 'Alī sent out al-Ashtar over the Kūfan cavalry and Sahl b. Ḥunayf[126] over the

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121. Literally, "they lit the fires," but perhaps to be understood metaphorically.

122. *Lā tamthulū bi-qatīlin*; the verb *mathala* and the noun *muthlah* are used with a variety of related meanings in the context of the punishment and treatment of enemies; because here it refers to the slain, "mutilation" seems to fit best.

123. For the third of these "battles" (*yawm al-nahr*), see pp. 130–34, below.

124. Qur'ān 8:45.

125. Qur'ān 8:46

126. A Companion of the Prophet from the Banū Aws/Anṣār (see Ibn Sa'd, III/2, 39–41; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

Baṣran; he put 'Ammār b. Yāsir over the Kūfan infantry and Qays b. Sa'd over the Baṣran; Hāshim b. 'Utbah carried 'Alī's banner, and Mis'ar b. Fadakī al-Tamīmī[127] led the Baṣran *qurrā'*. The Kūfans rallied to 'Abdallāh b. Budayl[128] and 'Ammār b. Yāsir.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Jābir al-Azdī—al-Qāsim, the client (*mawlā*) of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah: Mu'āwiyah sent Dhū al-Kalā' al-Ḥimyarī out over his right wing and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī over his left. At the time of his advance from Damascus, Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, who was in command of the horsemen of Damascus, had charge of the vanguard, while 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ commanded the Syrian horsemen generally. Muslim b. 'Uqbah al-Murrī[129] led the infantry of Damascus, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays[130] the infantry as a whole. Some of the Syrians gave the oath of allegiance to Mu'āwiyah to the death and bound their legs together with turbans (to prevent flight). Those who did so made up five rows. The Syrians who went out to fight formed ten rows, while the men of Iraq went out to fight in eleven.

On the first day of Ṣiffīn, when the men went out and fought, [3284]
al-Ashtar commanded those of the Kūfans who took part and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah commanded the Syrians. That was a Wednesday. A fierce battle took place for most of the day, and then both sides fell back, with honors even.

Hāshim b. 'Utbah then went out with a numerous and well-equipped force of horsemen and footsoldiers, and Abū al-A'war moved out to oppose him. They fought for that day, the horsemen attacking the horsemen and the footsoldiers the footsoldiers. They returned having held each other in check.

On the third day 'Ammār b. Yāsir went out, and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ opposed him. One of the fiercest battles ever was waged, and 'Ammār began proclaiming, "Men of Iraq, do you wish to look on one who showed enmity to God and His Messenger and struggled against them, one who oppressed the Muslims and gave support to the

127. Subsequently a leader of the Baṣran Khārijites (see pp. 79, 118, below).

128. Of the Banū Khuzā'a (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.); the context and a subsequent variant indicate that the *qurrā'* of the Kūfans rallied to him.

129. Of the Banū Murra of Ghaṭafān, he subsequently led the army sent by the caliph Yazīd to attack Medina (see *EI*², s.v.; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

130. Of the Banū Fihr/Quraysh, he subsequently played a leading role in the events of the second *fitnah* (see *EI*², s.v.; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

polytheists? But, when he saw that God would make mighty His religion and grant victory to His Messenger, he went to the Prophet and accepted Islam, it seems to us, out of fear and not from desire. Then God took to Himself His Messenger and, by God, this man continued to be known for enmity to the Muslim and forbearance to the evildoer. So hold firm against him and fight him, for he will extinguish God's light[131] and give help to His enemies."

With 'Ammār was Ziyād b. al-Naḍr, who had command of the horsemen. 'Ammār ordered him to make an attack with them. He did so, but the men fought against him and held firm, so 'Ammār reinforced the attack with the footsoldiers and caused 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ to abandon his position. At that time Ziyād b. al-Naḍr met a uterine brother of his in single combat. The man's name was 'Amr b. [3285] Mu'āwiyah b. al-Muntafiq b. 'Āmir b. 'Uqayl, and his and Ziyād's mother was one of the children of Yazīd.[132] When they met to fight, they recognized one another and desisted. Then each of them turned away from the other, and the forces retired.

On the following day Muḥammad b. 'Alī[133] and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar went out to fight each other with two strong detachments and fought extremely fiercely. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar then sent to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, inviting him to single combat, and he agreed. He went out on foot, but the Commander of the Faithful ['Alī] saw him and asked who the two challengers were. When he was told that they were Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar, he urged on his mount and called to Muḥammad, who waited for him. 'Alī then ordered his son to hold fast his horse. When he had taken hold of it, 'Alī walked toward 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar on foot. He said to him, "I will take you on in in single combat—come on!" But Ibn 'Umar replied, "I have no desire to meet you in combat." 'Alī insisted, but Ibn 'Umar remained adamant. When he withdrew Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah began saying to his father: "Oh my father, why did you stop me from facing him in single combat? By God, if you had

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131. Possibly alluding to the Qur'ān, 9:32, 61:8.

132. 'Amr was active against the Byzantines under Mu'āwiyah and later governed Ahwāz for him; his mother was a certain Unāmah or Umaymah, daughter of Yazīd b. 'Abd b. al-Dayyān of the Bal-Ḥārith/Madhḥij (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiyah b. al-Muntafiq).

133. For this son of 'Alī by a woman of the tribe of Ḥanīfah, see *EI*², s.v. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.

left me alone I hope that I would have killed him." 'Alī replied, "If you had fought him, then I hope you would have killed him, but I was not sure that he would not have killed you." His son said: "Oh my father, would you have taken on this evildoer in single combat? By God, if his father had invited you to single combat I would have wished for you to avoid it."[134] But 'Alī answered, "Oh my son, speak nothing but good of his father." The forces then separated and retired.

On the fifth day 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās and al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah went out and fought together fiercely. Ibn 'Abbās drew near al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah, who began to denigrate the descendants of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib [3286] and to say, "Oh Ibn 'Abbās, you have severed the ties of kinship and killed your imām. How do you think God will treat you? You will not be given what you seek nor attain what you hope for. If He wills it, God will destroy you and secure victory over you." Ibn 'Abbās sent, calling him to single combat, but he refused. On that day Ibn 'Abbās fought fiercely and personally engaged the Syrian forces.

Then Qays b. Sa'd al-Anṣārī and Dhū al-Kalā' al-Ḥimyarī came out, fought fiercely, and retired. That was the sixth day.

Al-Ashtar came out and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah again met him on the seventh day. They fought fiercely and then retired at noon, neither of them being victorious. That was Tuesday.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan al-Juhanī—Zayd b. Wahb: 'Alī said, "For how long will we not commit our whole force against them?" On Tuesday evening[135] after the afternoon prayer he stood among his men and said: "Praise be to God. What He has destroyed will not be firmly established, and what He has firmly established the destroyers will not destroy. If He wished, no two of His creatures would differ, the community would not dispute

134. That is, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah regarded the second caliph, 'Umar, as unworthy to fight against 'Alī in single combat.

135. Literally, "on the evening of Tuesday, night of Wednesday"; it should be remembered that in the lunar calendar a day ends and begins at sunset, not midnight; accordingly the presunset period is counted to one day and the immediately following night to the next day.

about any of His affairs, and the second best[136] would not fail to acknowledge the merit of the best. But the divine decrees have herded us and these people and entangled us together, in this place, and our Lord sees and hears us. If God wished He would hasten the retribution and alter things so that He would give the lie to the evildoer and make known the outcome of the truth.[137] But He has made this world the place for deeds and the next world, with Him, 'the place of stability' 'so that He might requite those who have done evil for what they have done and reward those who have done good with a good outcome.'[138] Tomorrow you will meet the
[3287] enemy, so lengthen the night standing in prayer, make abundant recitation of the Qur'ān, and ask God for help and steadfastness. Meet them with eagerness and resoluteness and be righteous!" He departed and the men rushed for their swords, lances, and arrows to ensure that they were in order. Ka'b b. Ju'ayl al-Taghlabī[139] passed them, saying:

The community has entered upon a strange matter,
and the kingship tomorrow is gathered up for whoever wins it.
I have said something true and not false:
Tomorrow the distinguished ones of the Arabs will perish.

'Alī spent the whole of that night preparing the men. When morning came, he advanced with them while Mu'āwiyah came to meet him with the Syrians. 'Alī set about asking, "Who is this tribe?" and "Who is this tribe?" And the genealogy of the tribes of the Syrians was explained to him. When he knew who they were and saw their positions, he said to the Azd (on his own side), "Take care of the Azd for me," and to the Khath'am, "Take care of the Khath'am for me." He asked each tribe among the men of Iraq to

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136. *Al-mafḍūl*, literally, "the one who is surpassed." The word was a technical term in discussions about the imamate: The Zaydiyyah sect of the Shī'a regarded it as legitimate to recognize the imamate of the "second best" if the man who was rightfully the imam failed to assert his rights. This enabled them to recognize Abū Bakr and 'Umar as legitimate even though 'Alī, according to the Shī'a, was the rightful imam following the Prophet.

137. Cairo reads: *wa-ya'lamu al-ḥaqqu ayna maṣīruhu* "and the truth will know its outcome" (?).

138. See Qur'ān 40:40, 53:31.

139. For this poet of the Banū Taghlib, see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitab al-Aghānī*, V, 13 and passim; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ka'b b. Ğu'ail.

take care of its counterpart among the Syrians, and if there was a tribe of whom there were none in Syria he would assign it against another of whom there were members among the Syrians but not among the Iraqis. For example, he assigned those of his men of Banū Bajīlah, of whom there was only a small number in Syria, to face Lakhm.

On Wednesday the men fought with one another and strove fiercely for the whole day. At evening they withdrew, neither side victorious, and on Thursday morning 'Alī led the prayer while it was still dark. [3288]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab al-Azdī—his father. I never saw 'Alī lead the prayer of daybreak while it was still dark at an earlier time than he did on that day.[140] Then he led his men out against the Syrians, advancing toward them and taking the initiative against them. When they realized that he had advanced toward them, they came to meet him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī: 'Alī went out to them on Wednesday morning, met them, and said,

> Oh God, Lord of the vault raised aloft,[141] maintained and held back, which You made as a place for the passing away of night and day, and in which You put the course of the sun and the moon and the stations of the stars, and the inhabitants of which You made a host of angels who never weary[142] of worship; and Lord of this earth that You made as a fixed place for mankind,[143] creatures great and small, and the innumerable invisible and visible things of Your great creation; and Lord of the ships that navigate the sea with goods useful for men;[144] and Lord of the clouds forced to go between the heavens and the earth; and Lord of the

140. *Mā. . . ghallasa bi l-ṣalāt ashadda min taghlīsihi yawma'idhin. Taghlīs* is a technical term in *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* discussions about the correct time for the dawn prayer (*ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* or *ṣalāt al-fajr*). For references, see *EI*², s.v. Mīkāt; and Wensinck et al., *Concordances*, s.v. *gh-l-s*. The Prophet and a number of his Companions are said to have made *taghlīs bi-al-ṣalāt*.

141. See Qur'ān 52:5. For the following speech, see *SNB*, IX, 301ff.

142. See Qur'ān 41.37.

143. See Qur'ān 40:64, 55:10.

144. Qur'ān 2:164.

swarming sea[145] encircling the earth; and Lord of the mighty-headed mountains that You made as pegs for the earth[146] and as a benefit for creation; if You give us victory over our enemy, remove oppression from us, and guide us to the right; but if You give them victory over us, then recompense me with martyrdom and preserve the remnant of my companions from the *fitnah*.[147]

On Wednesday the men crowded together and fought one of the fiercest battles until night, desisting from one another only for prayer. The number of those slain on both sides was great, and when [3289] they separated at night neither side was victorious. The next day 'Alī led his men in prayer early on Thursday morning, praying extremely early, while it was still dark. He then took the initiative from the Syrians by going out to fight, but when they saw that he had set out toward them they went out to face him. 'Abdallāh b. Budayl was in command of 'Alī's right wing and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās of his left. The *qurrā'* of the Iraqis were with three individuals—'Ammār b. Yāsir, Qays b. Sa'd, and 'Abdallāh b. Budayl—while the other men were positioned according to their banners and stations. 'Alī himself was in the center among the men of Medina, between the Kūfans and the Baṣrans. Most of the men of Medina with him were the Anṣār,[148] but there was also a good number of Khuzā'ah, Kinānah, and other people of Medina with him.

'Alī advanced with his men, while Mu'āwiyah erected a large dome-shaped tent over which he had cast hangings of cloth.[149] Most of the Syrians gave him the oath of allegiance that they would fight

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145. Qur'ān 52:6.

146. See Qur'ān 78:7, 79:32–33.

147. The idea of *fitnah* is often referred to in this volume and also in the Qur'ān and much early Muslim literature. It is a word with a variety of connotations, according to context. Often used to refer to periods of "civil war" among the Muslims, it also frequently implies "trial," "test," "temptation," and "calamity," sometimes with apocalyptic associations. See *EI*², s.v.

148. The name given in tradition to those members of the Medinese clans of Aws and Khazraj who "helped" (*n-ṣ-r*) Muḥammad when he came to Medina from Mecca, and hence to the Aws and Khazraj in general. See *EI*², s.v.

149. *Al-karābīs*, pl. of *kirbās*. The Arabic lexicographical tradition defines it as a "coarse garment" or "piece of cloth" and derives it from Persian *karvās*; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., draws attention to Hebrew *karpas* (Esther 1:6. "[in the court of the garden of the king's palace were] white, green and blue *hangings*"), Greek *karpasos*, and Latin *carbasus*. See Sanskrit *kārpāsa*, "cotton."

to the death, and he sent out the cavalry of Damascus to surround his tent. 'Abdallāh b. Budayl advanced with 'Alī's right wing against Ḥabīb b. Maslamah and constantly harried him and drove back his cavalry from the left wing of Mu'āwiyah until he had forced them back to Mu'āwiyah's tent about noon.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī: Ibn Budayl stood among his men and said, "Mu'āwiyah has claimed what he has no right to and has contested this affair with someone not to be compared with him. He has used futile argument to attempt to refute the truth[150] and has attacked you with the bedouins and confederates.[151] He has made error seem good to them and sowed the seeds of *fitnah* in their hearts. He has deceived them in this matter and increased the filth in which they were already [3290] plunged.[152] But you have a light from your Lord and a clear proof.[153] Fight the crude tyrants and do not fear them. How can you fear them when you have in your hands the Book of God in purity and reverence? 'Do you fear them? It is more fitting that you should fear God if you are Believers. Fight them, and God will punish them at your hands and humiliate them. He will give you victory over them and restore to health the hearts of a people who believe.'[154] We have fought against them with the Prophet, and now we do so again. By God, they are not now any more God-fearing, pure or right guided. Stand against your enemy, and may God give you His blessing!" And he and his men fought bravely.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Amrah al-Anṣārī—his father and a client (*mawlā*) of his: At Ṣiffīn 'Alī incited his men as follows:

> "God has guided you to a commerce that will deliver you from a bitter punishment"[155] and bring you to the verge of good: "belief in God and His Messenger, and *jihād* in the path of God,"[156] may His name be exalted. He has made His reward a pardon of sin "and blessed abodes in the gardens

150. See Qur'ān 18:56, 40:5.
151. See Qur'ān 33:20; see n. 106, above.
152. See Qur'ān 9:125.
153. See Qur'ān 39:22.
154. Qur'ān 9:13–14.
155. Qur'ān 61:10.
156. Qur'ān 61:11.

of Eden."[157] Then He has informed you that He "loves those who fight in His path in lines as if they were a tightly compact building"[158] so make your lines even like a tightly compact building. Advance the armed man and hold back the unarmed, and grit your teeth, for it makes the swords rebound from the heads. Twist the ends of the lances, for it better preserves the points. Avert your gaze, for that is more calming for the soul and more soothing for the heart. Deaden your voices, for that is better for driving out cow-
[3291] ardice and more dignified. As for your banners, neither lower them nor abandon them, and make sure they stay in the hands of the valiant men among you. Those who defend what it is their duty to defend and are steadfast in protecting what it is obligatory for them to protect, they are the guardians who surround their banners and protect them, fighting on both sides of them, behind and in front of them, and not abandoning them. A man has given satisfaction who strikes his opponent hard—may God have mercy on you—and puts his brother on a level with himself, and does not leave his opponent to his brother, so as to acquire blame and become base. And why is it that he should not act thus, one man fighting two opponents while another who has held back his hand leaves his opponent to confront his brother, he himself fleeing or standing looking on? Whoever does that, God hates him. So do not expose yourselves to the hatred of God, praise be to Him, for your place of return is only to God.[159] God, the mightiest of those who speak, said to a people, "Flight will not avail you if you flee from death or slaying; in that case you will be allowed to enjoy only a little time."[160] And I swear by God that, if you escape from the sword of this world, you will not escape from that of the next. Ask for the assistance of sincerity and steadfastness, for after steadfastness God sends down the victory.

157. Qur'ān 61:12.
158. Qur'ān 61:4.
159. See Qur'ān 40:43.
160. Qur'ān 33:16.

The Intensity of the Fighting

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Rawq al-Hamdānī: Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī encouraged 'Alī's men to fight by saying:

> The perfect Muslim[161] is he whose religion and understanding are free from error. By God, these, our enemy, do not fight us to reestablish a religion that they think we have [3292] brought to naught and to restore a truth that they think we have destroyed. They are fighting us only for this world, that they may be tyrants and kings in it. If they were to triumph over you—and may God not show them victory or enjoyment—they would appoint over you[162] the likes of Sa'īd, al-Walīd, and the stupid and misguided 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir.[163] Each of them made gifts[164] in his court of sums equivalent to his own blood money and that of his father and grandfather, saying, "This is mine, and I do no wrong (in making such a gift)"—as if he had merely been given what he had inherited from his father and mother. In fact, that is God's property that He has granted to us as spoils, won by our swords and our lances. Servants of God, fight those evil people who rule and judge by other than what God has revealed, and do not let any reproach divert you in your *jihād* against them. If they have the victory over you, they will pervert your religion and your life in this world. They are those whom you have known and experienced, and I swear by God that until now they have merely become more evil.

'Abdallāh b. Budayl fought hard (against the Syrians) with the right wing and got as far as the tent of Mu'āwiyah. Those who had sworn the latter allegiance to the death then came to Mu'āwiyah,

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161. *Al-muslim al-salīm*; see Qur'ān 26:89.

162. *Lazimūkum bi-*; *WS*, 247; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, III, 246, have *alzamūkum*.

163. The references are presumably to Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣi (*EI*[1], s.v.), al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah (see n. 16 above), and 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz (*EI*[2], s.v.); all had been governors in al-Kūfah or al-Baṣrah.

164. *Yujīzu . . . bi*; Cairo has *yukhbiru . . . bi*; *WS*, 247, has *yuḥaddithu . . . bi*. The passage seems a little obscure. Presumably Yazīd b. Qays is accusing these governors of diverting for their own purposes funds that rightfully belonged to the Arab Muslims as a whole.

and he ordered them to resist Ibn Budayl and 'Alī's right wing. He sent to Ḥabīb b. Maslamah, who was with his own left wing, and, with those men and the others who were with himself, he (Ḥabīb) attacked our right and defeated them. The men of Iraq on the right wing were routed, and eventually only Ibn Budayl and 200 or 300 of the *qurrā'* were left (there), fighting back to back. 'Alī's men panicked, but he ordered Sahl b. Ḥunayf to advance with those Medinans who were with him. A large group of the Syrians came to meet them and attacked them, forcing them to join the men of
[3293] the right. In the right wing, as far as the place where 'Alī was in the center, were the men of the Yemen,[165] and when they were put to flight[166] the rout was effective as far as 'Alī, who moved back unhurriedly on foot toward the left wing. The Muḍar of the left wing abandoned him while the Rabī'ah held firm.[167]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan al-Juhanī—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī: 'Alī, together with his sons, passed by, going toward the left wing. I could see the arrows barely missing him, but each one of his sons was careful to protect (his father) with his own self. When that happened, 'Alī would go ahead and put himself between the Syrians and his son, taking his hand and placing him in front of him or behind.[168] Aḥmar, a *mawlā* of Abū Sufyān[169] or of 'Uthmān or another of the Umayyad family, saw him and swore:[170] "By the Lord of the Ka'bah! May God kill me if I do not either kill you or you kill me." He moved toward 'Alī, but Kaysān,[171] the *mawlā* of 'Alī, attacked him. The two of them exchanged blows, and the *mawlā* of the Umayyads killed Kaysān. 'Alī, however, seized the Syrian, put his hand in the breast of his armor, pulled him up, and then lifted him onto his shoulders. I can still see his two feet[172]

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165. That is, those belonging to tribes classified by the genealogists as "southerners."

166. *Kashifū*, a quasi-passive of *kashafa*; *WṢ*, 248, has *inkashafū*.

167. Two tribal groupings, both classified as "northerners."

168. The referents of the pronouns are slightly ambiguous, so that it is not clear whether the father was sheltering the sons or the sons the father, although the latter seems more likely. *WṢ*, 249, inserts *fa-yakrahu 'Aliyyun dhālik* "'Alī did not like that" to make it clear that it was his sons who tried to protect 'Alī, who then took them and sheltered them himself.

169. That is, a *mawlā* of Mu'āwiyah's father.

170. *WṢ*, 249, makes 'Alī the one who swore the oath.

171. The name also occurs as that of a *mawlā* prominent in the rising of al-Mukhtār and as the eponym of a Shī'ī sect; see *EI²*, s.v. Kaysān, Kaysāniyya.

172. *Rujaylatā*, a diminuitive; see *Gloss.*, s.v. *r-j-l*.

coming down on 'Alī's neck, but then the latter smashed him to ground and broke his shoulder and his upper arms, and 'Alī's two sons, Ḥusayn and Muḥammad, fell on him and struck him with their swords. I can still see 'Alī standing and his two cubs striking the man. When they had killed him and come up to their father, 'Alī asked al-Ḥasan, who was standing by, "My son, why did you not act as your two brothers did?" He answered, "Commander of the Faithful, they made it unnecessary for me to do so."

Then the men of Syria got close to him, but, by God, that did [3294] not make him move any faster. Al-Ḥasan said, "It would not do any harm if you went more quickly so that you would reach those of your men who have held fast against the enemy." But he answered: "My son, there is a day coming for your father that he will inevitably face, and going fast will not postpone it for him, and walking normally will not hurry it up. By God it does not matter for your father whether he comes upon death or death comes upon him."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī—a *mawlā* of al-Ashtar: When the right wing of the Iraqis was defeated and 'Alī joined the left, al-Ashtar passed him galloping in the direction of the right wing toward the panic. 'Alī said to him, "Mālik," and he answered, "Yes, here I am at your service." 'Alī said, "Go to those men and ask them why they are fleeing from death, whose power they cannot destroy, to life, which will not long remain for them?" Mālik went on and met the men in their flight. He said to them what 'Alī had told him to say and rallied them, saying, "To me, men! I am Mālik b. al-Ḥārith, I am Mālik b. al-Ḥārith!" But then he thought that perhaps he was better known among them as al-Ashtar, and he said, "I am al-Ashtar! To me, men!"

A group joined him, but a group deserted, and he cried out: "Men, how shameful you are![173] How wretched has been your fighting today! Men, sort out Madhḥij,[174] and send them to me."

Madhḥij joined him, and he said: "May you bite on hard rock![175] You have neither pleased your Lord nor been true to Him regarding your enemy. How can that be when you are born warriors, lords

173. See Wright, *Grammar*, index, and Lane, *Lexicon* (Supplement), both s.v. *han*.

174. Together with Kindah and Hamdān, Madhḥij was one of the main "southern" tribes settled in al-Kūfah; al-Ashtar's own tribe of Nakha' belonged to them (see *EI*², s.v.; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Madhiǧ).

175. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *aṣamm*.

of the raid, lads for a fight, heroes of the chase, bringers of death
[3295] to your opponents, Madhḥij of the weapon thrust, those who are ever first in taking their revenge, whose blood is not left unavenged, who never know disgrace on a battlefield? You are the sharp blade among the men of your garrison town, and the most ready to fight[176] of the clans of your people. Whatever you do on this day will be handed down afterward, so take heed of the accounts that will be passed on in the future. Prove true in meeting the enemy, for God is with those who are true. By Him in whose hand is Mālik's life, there is no man among those—and he pointed with his hand to the Syrians—comparable with Muḥammad, even to the extent of a gnat's wing. You have not fought well.[177] Remove the pallor[178] from my face, and let my blood return to it. Rouse yourselves against this great host! If God—may He be magnified and exalted—scatters it, those on each side will follow it, just as the tail of a flood of water follows its head."

They responded, "Lead us wherever you want," so he went toward the thick of the enemy from the side adjoining the right wing, beginning to advance toward them and pushing them back.

Warriors of Hamdān[179] turned toward him—they were 800 fighters at that time. The rest of the men had been routed, but they had held firm in the right wing until 180 of them had been laid low and 11 of their leaders had been killed. Each time one of them was killed, another took the banner. The first was Kurayb b. Shurayḥ,
[3296] then Shuraḥbīl b. Shurayḥ, then Marthad b. Shurayḥ, then Hubayrah b. Shurayḥ, then Yarīm b. Shurayḥ, then Sumayr b. Shurayḥ. Those six brothers were all killed, and then Sufyān b. Zayd seized the banner, then 'Abd b. Zayd, then Kurayb b. Zayd. Those three brothers were all killed, and then 'Umayr b. Bashīr seized the banner, then al-Ḥārith b. Bashīr. They were both killed.

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176. *A'add*; *Ann.* has "la più numerosa," but see *jaysh a'add* in Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.
177. *WS*, 252, inserts *al-yawma* before *al-qirā'*.
178. Reading *suwād*, rather than *sawād*.
179. For this "southern" tribal group, see *EI*², s.v.; together with Madhḥij and Ḥimyar they made up one of the sevenths into which al-Kūfah was organized. None of the following names of Hamdānīs are listed in Ibn al-Kalbī, and these appear to be the only references to them in Ṭabarī's *History*.

Wahb b. Kurayb seized the banner, the brother of al-Qalūṣ.[180] He wanted to advance, but one of his fellow tribesmen said: "Go back with this banner, may God have mercy on you! The noble men (*ashrāf*) of your tribe have been killed around it. Do not kill yourself and those of your tribe who are left." They retreated, therefore, saying: "Would that we had an equal number from among the other Arabs who would swear an alliance with us to fight to the death. Then we and they together would advance and not retreat until we were killed or achieved the victory." They passed by al-Ashtar while they were saying this, and he addressed them: "Come to me. I will swear an alliance with you and make a covenant never to retreat until we have gained the victory or have perished." So they came to him and stood with him in battle.

Regarding what they said, Ka'b b. Ju'ayl al-Taghlabī recited:

And Hamdān are blind;[181] they seek someone with whom to ally.

Al-Ashtar proceeded toward the right wing, and there joined his men who were falling back, men of steadfastness who would avoid shame and fulfill their undertakings. He defeated every squadron he fought against and overcame and drove back every detachment. While he was doing that he passed Ziyād b. al-Naḍr, who was being carried to the army camp. He asked who it was and was informed: [3297]
"Ziyād b. al-Naḍr. 'Abdallāh b. Budayl and his men were surrounded in the right wing. Ziyād went forward and raised aloft his banner for the men of the right wing, and they stood firm. He fought until he was felled."

Then hardly any time seemed to pass before al-Ashtar passed Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī, who was being carried back to the camp. He asked who it was, and they told him: "Yazīd b. Qays. When Ziyād b. al-Naḍr was felled, Yazīd raised aloft his banner for the men of the right wing and fought until he himself was laid low." Al-Ashtar said: "This, by God, is real perseverance and nobility in action. Is not[182] the true man ashamed to turn back without killing or being killed or being brought close to it?"

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180. *WṢ*, 252, has the following suggested emendations to the names previously given, based on the citations of *WṢ* in *SNB*: Shimr/Shamir (for Sumayr) b. Shurayḥ; Karib (for Kurayb) b. Zayd; 'Abdallāh (for 'Abd) b. Zayd; 'Umayr and al-Ḥārith b. Bishr (for Bashīr); Wahb b. Kurayb Abū (for *akhū*) al-Qalūṣ.

181. *Zurq*; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *azraq*, with reference to Qur'ān 20:102.

182. *Ann.* suggests read *idhā* for *a-lā*; *WṢ*, 254, has *a-lā*.

According to Abū Miknaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ al-Nakha'ī: At that time al-Ashtar was fighting, mounted on one of his horses with a Yemeni sword in his hand.[183] Every time he lowered it, you would have thought that it contained water flowing forth, and every time he raised it the rays of light from it were almost blinding. As he struck with his sword he would say, "Ill luck will change."[184]

Al-Ḥārith b. Jumhān al-Ju'fī[185] looked at him, but al-Ashtar was obscured by his armor, and al-Ḥārith did not recognize him. He drew near al-Ashtar and said, "May God reward you well henceforth for what you have done on behalf of the Commander of the Faithful and the Muslims." Al-Ashtar recognized him and said, "Does a man like you, Ibn Jumhān, lag behind when I am fighting like this?" Ibn Jumhān then looked at him and recognized him—al-Ashtar was one of the strongest built and tallest of the men, and he rarely trimmed his beard—and he said: "May I be made a ransom for you! By God, I did not know where you were until just now. I will stay with you until the death."

Munqidh and Ḥimyar, two sons of Qays of Banū al-Nā'iṭ,[186] saw him, and Munqidh said to his brother, "There is no one among the Arabs like this, judging from what I have seen of the way he fights."
[3298] Ḥimyar asked, "Do you think he has some ulterior motive beyond what you see him doing?" Munqidh answered, "I fear that he aims for kingship."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj—a *mawlā* of al-Ashtar: When most of those of the right wing who had fled had joined him, al-Ashtar worked them up and said,

> Grit your teeth, and meet the enemy head on. Fight like a people who have been denied vengeance for their fathers and brothers, wrathful against their enemy, determined on death for themselves so as not to be forestalled in their vengeance and not to meet shame in this world. I swear by

183. See *Ann.* 37 A. H. §20, for literature referring to the sword of al-Ashtar.

184. Literally, "the floods (come) and then pass from us;" Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, II, 173.

185. See n. 46, above.

186. The Banū al-Nā'iṭ are a branch of Hamdān (Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 227); Munqidh and Ḥimyar do not seem to be further identifiable.

> God that there is nothing in which a people are cheated of vengeance that presses on them more than that they should be cheated in their religion (*dīn*). The enemy are fighting you precisely on account of your religion, so as to destroy the accepted practice (*sunnah*), cause innovation (*bid'ah*) to flourish, and cast you back into the error from which God has delivered you by the grace of His regard. Servants of God, gladly surrender your blood, not your religion, and your reward will be due from God, for with Him are pleasant gardens.[187] In refusal to go forward there is the ruin of our honor, the seizure of the spoils we have won (*fay'*), abasement in life and in death, and shame in this world and the next.

He attacked the Syrians and defeated them until he had driven them back to the lines of Mu'āwiyah, during the time between the afternoon and evening prayers. He came to 'Abdallāh b. Budayl, who was with a group of the *qurrā'* between 200 and 300 strong, which had held its ground so stubbornly that they might have been heaps of stones. He drove the Syrians back from them, and when those *qurrā'* perceived that their brethren were at hand they asked about the Commander of the Faithful. Al-Ashtar's men replied, "He is alive and in good health, in the left wing and fighting the enemy in front of him." "Praise be to God. We thought that he must have perished and you too," they said. 'Abdallāh b. Budayl said to his [3299]
men, "Let us advance," but al-Ashtar sent to him: "No! Hold fast with the army and fight—that is better for them and increases the chances of survival for you and your men." But he refused to heed that and went on just as he was toward Mu'āwiyah, surrounded as if by mountains. In his hand he had two swords.[188] He had been wounded,[189] but he was in front of his men, and every time a Syrian approached him he would strike him and kill him. When he had killed seven, he came close to Mu'āwiyah, but the latter's supporters rushed to him from every side, and he and a band of his men were

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187. See Qur'ān 31:8.

188. For the custom of fighting with two swords, see F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen*, (Leipzig, 1886), 55–56 (*Ann.*, A. H. 37 §21).

189. Read *juriḥa* for *kharaja (Add. et emend.)*; Cairo maintains *kharaja*.

surrounded. He fought until he and some of his men were killed, while a group of those who had been wounded[190] retreated in flight.

Al-Ashtar sent Ibn Jumhān al-Ju'fī to attack those Syrians pursuing the men of Ibn Budayl who had escaped. After he had brought them relief, they came to al-Ashtar, who said: "Would not my view have been better for you than your own? Did I not tell you to hold fast with the men?"

While Ibn Budayl was striking out in front, Mu'āwiyah had said regarding him,[191] "Do you think that he is the bellwether of the army?" After he had been killed, he sent with instructions to find out who he was. Some of the Syrians looked at him but said that they did not recognize him, so Mu'āwiyah came and stood over him, and said: "Indeed, it is 'Abdallāh b. Budayl. By God, if the women of Khuzā'ah had been able to fight us as well as their men, they would have done so. Lay him out!"[192] They laid him out, and Mu'āwiyah said, "By God, this is just as the poet said:

Valiant fighter! If war afflicted him, he afflicted it,
and if, one day, war became vehement for him, he strove (in it) vehemently.

[3300] (The verse is by Ḥātim Ṭayyi'.)[193]

Al-Ashtar advanced against them, and Mu'āwiyah met him with the 'Akk and the Ash'ar.[194] Al-Ashtar said to Madhḥij, "Protect me against 'Akk," and he positioned himself among Hamdān and said to Kindah, "Protect me against the Ash'ar." They fought fiercely while he went off to his own kin (Madhḥij), saying, "That is only 'Akk—attack them!" The 'Akk went down on their knees reciting in *rajaz*:

Woe to the mother of Madhḥij from 'Akk!
That is the mother of Madhḥij weeping.

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190. Read *juriḥū* for *kharajū* (*Add. et emend.*).
191. *Qāla li ibni Budayl.*
192. *Muddūhu; Ann.* has "lasciatelo."
193. See his *Dīwān*, ed. F. Schultess (Leipzig, 1897), no. XLIX (p. 34, line 18).
194. Two "southern" tribes settled in Jordan; Ash'ar was counted as a uterine brother of Madhḥij (see Ibn al-Kalbī, s.vv. 'Akk b. 'Adnān and Aš'ar b. 'Udad; and *EI*², s.v. 'Akk).

They fought until evening, and then al-Ashtar attacked them with Hamdān and other groups. He charged at them and forced them to abandon their positions, eventually forcing them back among the five lines bound together with turbans around Mu'āwiyah. Then he bore down fiercely once more. He brought down the first four lines (they were bound together with turbans), and they reached the fifth line around Mu'āwiyah. Mu'āwiyah called for a horse and mounted. (Subsequently) he would say, "I wanted to flee, but I remembered what Ibn al-Iṭnābah[195] of the Anṣār (he was a poet before Islam, and his mother al-Iṭnābah was a woman of Balqayn) said:

My integrity and sense of honor have forbidden me (to flee),
together with my boldness against the advancing hero,
My giving away what I have, in spite of my abhorrence for that,
my acquisition of praise for a gainful price,
And my saying each time my heart heaves with fright,
"Hold, heart, to your place—you will be given either praise or rest."

These words prevented me from fleeing.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan al-Juhanī—Zayd b. Wahb: When 'Alī saw that his right wing had taken up its position again and reformed its lines and that it had driven back the enemy facing it so decisively that they were fighting them in their own lines, he came up to them and said,

> I have seen how you were forced to move and pushed out of your lines. It was rude and evil ones and Syrian bedouins who dispersed you, while you are the magnanimous heroes of the Arabs, their mighty peak, denizens of the night in your reciting of the Qur'ān, and people summoning to the truth (*ahl da'wat al-ḥaqq*) when those in error have gone astray. If it were not for your advancing after your retreat and your attacking following your retirement, there would have been required of you what is required of the one who turns tail on the day of the advance, and you would have [3301]

195. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only citation from this poet. For the mother's tribe, see *EI*², s.v. Ḳayn.

been among those who are lost. But it has abated my passion and remedied some of the anger of my soul that I have seen you, at the end, force them back just as they had forced you and make them leave their lines just as they had made you. You raked them with your swords, their foremost charging after their hindmost like camels being chased. But now, be steadfast. May God's spirit (*al-sakīnah*) descend on you, and may God make you firm with conviction so that he who is put to flight knows that he displeases his Lord and mortifies his soul. For flight arouses God's anger and results in lasting humiliation, abiding shame, the loss of the spoils that have been won, and the ruin of life. For he who flees there is no increase in the span of his life,[196] and his Lord is not given gratification. It is better that a man should die righteous, before what I have described happens, than that he should be satisfied with accustoming himself to it and accepting it.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Salām b. 'Abdallāh b. Jābir al-Aḥmasī: At Ṣiffīn the banner of the Bajīlah was borne by Banū Aḥmas b. al-Ghawth b. Anmār.[197] Abū Shaddād, that is, Qays b. Makshūḥ b. Hilāl b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Jābir b. 'Alī b. Aslam b. Aḥmas b. al-Ghawth, had it.[198] Bajīlah said to him, "Take our banner," but he said, "Someone else would be better for you." "We do not want anybody else," they said, and he replied, "By God, if
[3302] you give it to me, I will not stop leading you forward until I reach the man with the gilded shield." They said, "Do as you wish." He took it, therefore, and went forward until he had led them as far as the man with the gilded shield, who was with a large group of Mu'āwiyah's men. (They said that he was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī.) A violent fight broke out there, and Abū Shaddād rushed with his sword against the man with the shield. A Greek (*rūmī*), a *mawlā* of Mu'āwiyah, barred his way, struck at

196. *Wa-inna al-fārra minhu lā yazīdu fī 'umrihi*. The *minhu* seems intrusive and difficult to understand. *WŞ*, 256, has *wa-inna al-fārra lā yazīdu al-firāru fī 'umrihi*.

197. For the Banū Bajīlah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, I table 221, II, index, s.v. Bağīla, and *EI*², s.v. Badjīla; for the Banū Aḥmas b. al-Ghawth of Bajīlah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 223.

198. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II index, s.v. Qais b. Makšūḥ.

Abū Shaddād's foot, and cut it off, but Abū Shaddād stabbed him and killed him. Then the points of spears were directed at Abū Shaddād, and he was killed.

'Abdallāh b. Qil' al-Aḥmasī[199] seized the banner, saying:

May God not dismiss Abū Shaddād
since he answered the call of the summoner
And fell with his sword on the opponents.
How excellent a hero he was in face of the attack
And in the thrusting with spears of the footmen and their smiting with swords.

And 'Abdallāh b. Qil' fought until he was killed.

Then his brother, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qil', took the banner and fought until he was killed. Next 'Afīf b. Iyās took it, and he kept hold of it until the two sides separated. Ḥāzim b. Abī Ḥāzim al-Aḥmasī, brother of Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, was killed on that day, and so too was Nu'aym b. Ṣuhayb b. al-'Ulayyah al-Bajalī. The latter's cousin and namesake, Nu'aym b. al-Ḥārith b. al-'Ulayyah, came [3303] to Mu'āwiyah, whose side he was on, and said: "This slain man is my cousin. Give him to me so that I may bury him." But Mu'āwiyah responded: "Do not bury him—they[200] are not fit for that. By God, we could bury Ibn 'Affān only in secret." Nu'aym b. al-Ḥārith said, "By God, either you allow me to bury him, or I will join them and abandon you." Mu'āwiyah said: "Do you see the shaykhs of the Arabs preoccupied with these events—and you trouble me about burying your cousin![201] Bury him if you want, or leave him alone!" He buried him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah al-Azdī—shaykhs of Banū al-Namir of the Azd: When the Azd were

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199. He and the Aḥmasīs who are mentioned subsequently do not seem to be further identifiable.

200. Mu'āwiyah apparently disparages all his opponents; Cairo has *laysa* in the singular.

201. The context seems to demand some such translation as this; *Gloss.*, s.v. *ḥ-w-l*, form IV, with reference to this passage, has for *aḥālahu amruhu*": res sua ejus mentem mutavit, ut ad partes alias transiret," which would presumably produce a translation such as, "Do you think that their affairs cause the shaykhs of the Arabs to change their minds (and loyalties)?" *WṢ*, 259, has *tarā ashyākh al-'arab lā nuwārīhim wa-anta*. . . ("do you see the shaykhs of the Arabs whom we have not buried, and you ask me about. . .").

assigned to fight the Azd, Mikhnaf b. Sulaym[202] praised God and exalted Him and then said: "It is one of the worst wrongs and most terrible trials that we sould be sent against our own people and they against us. By God, it is nothing less than cutting off our own hands and hacking off our arms with our swords. Yet, if we do not assist our comunity and act faithfully toward our leader, we deny our faith (*kafarnā*), and, if we do that, we abandon our honor and extinguish our fire."[203]

Jundab b. Zuhayr[204] said to him: "By God. Supposing we were their fathers who had begotten them or their sons whom they had sired, and then they had removed themselves from our community and attacked our imām, and thus they exercised authority over those of our religion (*millah*) and those under our protection with tyranny. In that case the rest of us would not disband after joining together until the renegades had abandoned what they had taken up and returned to that to which we summoned them. Or, if they did not respond, there would be much slaughter between us."

Mikhnaf, who was a maternal cousin of Jundab, replied: "May God honor you for your motive. But, by God, you were always known,[205] as a child and as a grown man, as unlucky. By God, there never was a time, either in the time of our ignorance (*jāhiliyyah*) or after we had accepted Islam, when we had to make a choice about which of two things we should accept and which we should leave alone, but that you chose the hardest and most difficult. Oh God,
[3304] we would rather that You gave us security than put (us) to the test. Grant to each of us what he asks of You."

Abū Buraydah b. 'Awf[206] said: "Oh God, judge between us according to what pleases You. My clansmen, you can see what the

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202. For this Azdī ancestor of Abū Mikhnaf, see p. 13, above.

203. *WṢ*, 262, omits *kafarnā*.

204. An Azdī who is said to have accepted Islam from the Prophet himself, and an opponent of 'Uthmān (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II index, s.v. Ǧundab b. Zuhair; Ibn Sa'd, I/2, 30).

205. I have adopted the reading of the Cairo edition; Leiden (and *Ann.*) read *'ulimtu*, "I was always known"; *WṢ*, 262, has Mikhnaf say to Jundab, *'alimtuka*, "I have always known you."

206. This is Ṭabarī's only reference to him and it seems possible that it is the later mentioned Abū Zaynab b. 'Awf who is intended—a possible orthographic confusion. *WṢ*, 263, has Abū Baradah, who is mentioned elsewhere in *WṢ* and Ṭabarī, and that, too, would be possible orthographically.

people are doing. We have the example of what the community has agreed on, if we are in the right and they righteous; and to follow an example in evil, is, by God, as we know, a misfortune in life and in death."

Jundab b. Zuhayr came forward and challenged the head of the Syrian Azd to combat. The Syrian killed him. 'Ijl and Sa'd, the two sons of 'Abdallāh of the Banū Tha'labah, were also killed out of Jundab's group. Together with Mikhnaf, of his companions were killed 'Abdallāh and Khālid the two sons of Nājid, 'Amr and 'Āmir the two sons of 'Uwayf, 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥajjāj, Jundab b. Zuhayr,[207] and Abū Zaynab b. 'Awf b. al-Ḥārith. 'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī went out to fight among the *qurrā'* who were with 'Ammār b. Yāsir and was struck down with him.[208]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah—shaykhs of Banū al-Namir: At the time of Ṣiffīn 'Uqbah b. Ḥadīd al-Namarī[209] said:

> The pastures of this world have become dry stalks and its trees broken; what was new has become tatters, and what was sweet, bitter. I tell you of a truthful man. I had grown weary of this world and turned myself away from it. I longed for martyrdom and exposed myself to it in every combat and raid. But God insisted that I should attain this day. Now I again expose myself to it and yearn that I shall not be refused it. Servants of God, what do you expect of your *jihād* against those who act in enmity to God, while you are in fear of death coming to you and seizing your life—for there is no preventing death—or of a blow from [3305]
> a sword? You will exchange this present world for the vision of the face of God—powerful and mighty is He—and for the meeting with the prophets, the truthful ones, the martyrs, and the just[210] in the abode of rest. [Fear of death] is not the right attitude!

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207. The Leiden editor suggests that Jundab's name should be deleted from this list; the parallel in *WṢ*, 263 (which has some minor variants), includes it.

208. See on this p. 64ff, below.

209. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only mention of him; note that this is not the Banū al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ of Rabī'ah, but al-Namir b. 'Uthmān b. Naṣr. . . b. Mālik b. al-Azd. *WṢ*, 263–64, calls him 'Utbah b. Juwayriyyah.

210. Qur'ān 4:71.

Then he went on and said, "My brothers, I have sold this abode for that which lies ahead of it. Here I look toward it. May you not lose sight of it,[211] and may God not deny your hopes."

His brothers 'Ubaydallāh, 'Awf, and Mālik followed him, saying, "We will not seek the rewards of this world after you have gone, for God has made life hateful without you. Oh God, we hope that the loss of our lives will be rewarded with You." And they went forward and fought until they were killed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ṣilah[212] b. Zuhayr al-Nahdī—Muslim[213] b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḍibābī: I was at Ṣiffīn with our clan, and Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan[214] al-Ḍibābī was with us. Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhilī[215] challenged him to combat and struck Shamir in the face with his sword; Shamir gave him a blow that did no harm. Then Shamir returned to the place where he had left his equipment and drank something, for he was thirsty. He took his lance and went forward, saying:

It is my responsibility to give the brother of Bāhilah
a lance thrust, since I did not kill [him] immediately,[216]
Or a blow, beneath the spears and the fighting,
that will almost kill him or indeed kill him.

Then he attacked Adham and felled [but did not kill] him and said, "Take this (blow) for that one."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Amr b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Mālik al-Jushamī: Bishr b. 'Iṣmah al-Muzanī had joined Mu'āwiyah. When the armies fought at Ṣiffīn, Bishr noticed Mālik b. al-'Aqadiyyah

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211. *Hādhā wajhī ilayhā lā tubraḥu wujūhukum*; *WṢ*, 264, has *hādhā wajhī ilayhā lā yubriḥu (!) Allāhu wujūhakum*.

212. Text has Mallah, but see *Add. et emend.*; he appears as Ṣilah at Ṭabarī, II, 636 (= XX, 220, of this translation, where al-Ḍabbābī should be corrected to al-Ḍibābī). *WṢ*, 268, cites the following report from Muslim via al-Ṣalt b. Zuhayr al-Nahdī, a name that figures in the *isnāds* of a number of its other reports.

213. Delete the Abū before Muslim in the text (see *Add. et emend.*).

214. Of the Banū Kilāb (of Qays); later famous as one of the leaders of the force that killed al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā' (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index s.v. Šimr b. Šuraḥbīl).

215. Of the Banū Qays (see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 168–69 and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

216. Following the reading suggested in note *d*): *idh lam uṣib*; the printed text has *in lam uṣab*, presumably giving a rendering like "if I am not killed." *Ann.* seems to amalgamate the two possibilities: "poichè non sono stato colpito" (A.H. 37 §26). *WṢ*, 268, has *in lam amut*.

(he was Mālik b. al-Julāḥ al-Jushamī,[217] but the name al-'Aqadiyyah had prevailed) achieving wonderful deeds against the Syrians. Mālik was a true Muslim and brave, and Bishr was annoyed by what he saw. So he attacked him, stabbed him, and felled him to the ground, but then he turned back and was sorry about stabbing him treacherously[218] and said: [3306]

From my "king" (i.e., God) I hope for forgiveness
while in my heart is disquiet concerning the master of the branded camel.
I crept up to him beneath the dust of battle with a thrust
at a time when spear thrusts were being exchanged violently.

Ibn al-'Aqadiyyah learned of what Bishr had said and replied:

Inform Bishr b. 'Iṣmah that I
was preoccupied and that those whom I was against distracted me.
You seized upon a moment of inattention and took advantage of it like that; true champions are direct in attack or take advantage of opportunities.

Then 'Abdallāh b. al-Ṭufayl al-Bakkā'ī[219] attacked a group of Syrians. When he was on his way back, a man of the Banū Tamīm called Qays b. Qurrah,[220] one of the Iraqis who had joined Mu'āwiyah, attacked him and placed his lance between his shoulder blades. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, the cousin of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ṭufayl, then went up to him and put his own lance between the shoulders of the Tamīmī. He said, "By God, if you stab him, I stab you." The Tamīmī answered, "Do you swear faithfully by God that if I remove the spear point from the back of your companion you will take yours away from mine?" Yazīd said, "Yes, I promise you that by God." And the Tamīmī removed his spear from Ibn al-Ṭufayl, and Yazīd removed his.

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217. For Bishr b. 'Iṣmah al-Muzanī, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s. v. Bišr. For Mālik b. al-Julāḥ al-Jushamī, *WŞ*, 269, n. 4, refers to the *Mu'jam al-shu'arā'* of al-Marzubānī (Jerusalem, 1354), 363. For the various possibilities regarding Banū 'Aqad, see Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab*, II, 797.

218. *Jabbāran*; see *Gloss.*, s.v.

219. Of the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ṭufail al-Bakkā'ī).

220. *WŞ*, 277, has Qays b. Nahd al-Ḥanẓalī al-Yarbū'ī.

The Tamīmī asked which tribal group Yazīd was from, and he answered, "From Banū 'Āmir.[221] The Tamīmī said to Yazīd, "May
[3307] God make me a ransom for you. May you two return with the friendship between us and your clan as it was before the battle, you (all) being noble,[222] (even though) you have killed eleven men of my family and clan today, and I am the last of them."

When the army got back to al-Kūfah, Ibn al-Ṭufayl reproved Yazīd regarding something of the sort for which a man censures his cousin, and Yazīd responded:

Did you not see me shielding you in good faith
at Ṣiffīn when every close friend deserted you?
And I held the Ḥanẓalī (of Tamīm) back from you, who had come
on a charger in the freshness of its youth and full of running.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj: One of the Syrians came out challenging anybody to fight and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥriz al-Kindī, al-Ṭaḥmī, went out against him.[223] The two of them sparred with each other for some time, and then 'Abd al-Raḥmān attacked the Syrian and stabbed him right between his collar bones and felled him to the ground. Then he dismounted and plundered his armor and weapons and found that he was a Ḥabashī.[224] 'Abd al-Raḥmān said: "We belong to God (and to Him we will return). Against whom did I hazard my life? Against a black slave!" Then a man of the 'Akk came out asking for combat, and Qays b. Fahdān al-Kindī, al-Baddā'ī,[225] accepted the challenge. The

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221. In the Arabic subject and object are not clearly distinguished grammatically, but it seems that the Tamīmī asked the question of Yazīd, since the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah are the group of which the Banū Bakkā' are a fraction.

222. *Ubtumā ilfukum ilfukum kirāman*. For this translation, see *Gloss.*, s.v. '*-l-f*, with reference to Wright, *Grammar*, II, §183a, rem., for the case of a verb followed by a nominal clause but without *wa* (one might have expected *ubtumā wa-ilfukum* . . .). Cairo has *aynumā ulfikum ulfikum kirāman* ("wherever I find you, I will find you noble ones"), and *WṢ*, 277 (*aynumā laqaynākum wajadnākum kirāman*), gives the same sense.

223. *WṢ*, 276, emends Ṭaḥmī to Ṭumaḥī or Ṭamaḥī, which is a fraction of Kindah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ṭumḥ b. al-Ḥārith.

224. That is, an Abyssinian, but here probably simply meaning "black."

225. See *Add. et emend.* for the *nisba* al-Baddā'ī (of Kindah); the printed text has al-Kinānī al-Badanī, which is adopted by *WṢ*, 276–77, apparently from Ṭabarī (the ms. reading al-Kindī). See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Qais b. Fahdān, where it is said that he is falsely ascribed to Banū Baddā'.

'Akkī attacked Qays. He, however, stabbed his attacker, whose companions then carried him off. Qays b. Fahdān said:

'Akk have learned at Ṣiffīn that we,
when the two horsemen meet, shall thrust at them from every side,
And carry the banners of battle as they merit.
We will come with them white and bring them back red.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj: Qays b. Fahdān was urging on his companions, saying: "When you attack, attack together, and, when you turn away, turn away simultaneously. Lower your eyes, and be few in your words. Take turns in taking on your opponents, and indeed destruction will not befall the Arabs on your part." [3308]

Nahīk b. Zuhayr of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Adī, 'Amr b. Yazīd of the Banū Dhuhl, and Sa'īd b. 'Amr[226] were all killed. Qays b. Yazīd then came out—he was one of those who had fled to Mu'āwiyah from 'Alī—and issued a challenge. His brother Abū al-'Amarraṭah b. Yazīd went out against him, but they recognized each other and desisted from fighting together and then returned to their respective armies, each of them reporting that he had met his brother.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ja'far b. Ḥudhayfah of the family of 'Āmir b. Juwayn al-Ṭā'ī: At Ṣiffīn the Ṭayyi' fought fiercely, and a large force of them was mobilized. Ḥamzah b. Mālik al-Hamdānī[227] came to them and asked, "To which people do you belong, God be with you?" 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah al-Bawlānī, who was a partisan of 'Alī (*shī'ī*) and a poet and orator, replied,[228] "We are Ṭayyi' of the plain, Ṭayyi' of the sand, and Ṭayyi' of the mountain, which is well defended and supplied with palm trees; we are the defenders of the two hills[229] as far as what is between

226. *WŞ*, 285, has Nuhayk b. 'Azīz, Cairo Nuhayk b. 'Uzayr; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, has Nahīk b. Ghurayr (Gurair). The Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Adī are of Kindah. I cannot identify 'Amr b. Yazīd, but both names seem to be common among the Banū Dhuhl b. Mu'āwiyah of Kindah. For Qays and his brother Abū al-'Amarraṭah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.v. Qais b. Yazīd b. 'Amr b. Šarāḥīl and 'Umair b. Yazīd.

227. See n. 81, above.

228. The following words are in *saj'*, rhyming prose.

229. See n. 114, above, on the two hills of the Banū Ṭayyi'.

al-'Udhayb and al-'Ayn;[230] we are Ṭayyi' of the lances, Ṭayyi' of the butting, and warriors of the morning." Ḥamzah b. Mālik answered, "Well done! Excellent! You are great in praising your own people," and 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah said:

If you do not know of the courage of a group of people,
then come to us, may misfortune not fall upon you, and you will know.

Then the men fought together most fiercely and 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah began calling out: "O band of Ṭayyi', may all that I have which is new and all that I have which is old be a ransom for you. Fight in accordance with your noble status!" And he began to say:

[3309] I am he whose sword, when the crier gives the call,
penetrates through the bone, he who is spritely and excites admiration.
I unhorse the one who has donned the breastplate, the one concealed by his helmet,
and I kill the noble man who fights on foot.

Bishr b. al-'Asūs al-Ṭā'ī, al-Milqaṭī,[231] said:

Ṭayyi' of the plains and the mountains!
Attack with your swords and iron tips of your spears
and with your ironclad and heroic men.
And fight against the imams of the ignorant ones,
those who wander in the ways of error.

On that day the eye of Abū al-'Asūs[232] was put out, and he said about it:

I wish that this eye of mine was like that one (which was lost),
and then I could not walk among men, except with a guide.

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230. Al-'Ayn is probably 'Ayn al-Tamr in the desert south of Hīt (n. 114, above), while al-'Udhayb is the name of a water source farther south, on the edge of the desert and the Sawād, close to the site of the Battle of Qādisiyyah (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v.).

231. *WṢ*, 279, has Bishr b. al-'Ashūsh; for the Banū al-Milqaṭ b. 'Amr of Ṭayyi', see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

232. Cairo has *Ibn* al-'Asūs. *WṢ*, 280, simply reads *fa-fuqi'at 'aynuhu*, thus indicating Bishr as the one who lost his eye and composed the following verses.

And would that I had not survived after Muṭarrif
and Sa'd and after al-Mustanīr b. Khālid,[233]
horsemen to the likes of whom the wet nurses never gave suck,
when war became vehement.[234]
If only my foot there was cut off with its other part,[235]
and my hand had perished with my forearm.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī—some shaykhs of Muḥārib: There was among them a man called Khanthar b. 'Ubaydah b. Khālid,[236] one of the bravest of the men. At the time of Ṣiffīn, when the men fought one another, he thought that his companions were routed, and he started to cry: "Oh band of Qays, is obedience to Satan preferable to you to obedience to the Merciful [3310] One? Flight entails rebellion against God, praise be to Him, and His anger, but in holding steadfast is obedience to God, mighty and great is He, and His pleasure. Will you choose God's anger over His pleasure and rebellion against Him over obedience to Him? Repose after death is only for he who dies able to account for himself.[237] And he said:

The soul of a man who has turned his back finds no refuge.
I am he who does not turn tail or flee
and is not seen with those who stand apart, the treacherous ones.

He fought until he was carried off wounded. Subsequently he departed (*kharaja*) with the 500 men who withdrew (*i'tazalū*) with Farwah b. Nawfal al-Ashja'ī and settled at al-Daskarah and al-Bandanījayn.[238]

The Banū al-Nakha' fought strenuously on that day. Among them there fell Bakr b. Hawdhah, Ḥayyān b. Hawdhah, and Shu'ayb b. Nu'aym of the Banū Bakr al-Nakha' and Rabī'ah b. Mālik b. Wahbīl

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233. I cannot further identify these heroes of Ṭayyi'.

234. Literally, "when war reveals the anklets of the virgins"; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *khadamah*.

235. *Bi-niṣfihā*.

236. The subsequent invocation to the Banū Qays seems to identify the Banū Muḥārib as Muḥārib b. Khaṣafah (Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 92); *WṢ*, 286, reads 'Antar b. 'Ubayd b. Khālid.

237. *Muḥāsiban li-nafsihi*; *Ann.* has "essendo in regola con se stesso."

238. A reference to the withdrawal of Farwah and his men from the Khārijite forces facing 'Alī at Nahrawān. (see p. 130, below). *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §31a, translates *kharaja* ("he departed") here as "si fece Khariǵita," which may be intended.

and Ubayy b. Qays the brother of 'Alqamah b. Qays, the man learned in religion and law (*faqīh*).[239] On that day 'Alqamah's foot was cut off, and he would say: "I do not wish my foot to be restored to health as it was. It is one of the things for which I hope for a goodly reward from my Lord." And he said: "I desired to see my brother or one of my brethren in my sleep, and I saw my brother. I asked him, 'Brother, what is it like where you are?' He replied, 'We and the enemy have met together and disputed before God, and we have defeated them with our arguments.' I have never been as happy since attaining reason as when I had this dream."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Suwayd b. Ḥayyah al-Asadī—al-Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir:[240] Before the battle some people had gone
[3311] to 'Alī and said, "We suspect that Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar[241] has been in correspondence with Mu'āwiyah and we are afraid that he is an adherent of his." So 'Alī sent for him and for some of our notables. After praising God and extolling Him, he said, "Now, band of Rabī'ah, you are my supporters (*anṣār*) and the ones who have responded to my call, and you are one of the clans of the Arabs on which I rely most. But I have heard that Mu'āwiyah has been in correspondence with your companion Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar. So I have brought him here and gathered you together that you may be witnesses in his case and so that you may hear what I say." Then he turned to him and said: "Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar, if what I have heard is true, then I make God and those of the Muslims who are here my witnesses that you have security so long as you remain in the land of Iraq or the Ḥijāz or in any land where Mu'āwiyah does not have authority. If, on the other hand, you have been lied against, then our heart will rest easy in you."

Khālid denied it, swearing by God, and many of our men said, "If we knew that he had done that, we would make an example of him." Shaqīq b. Thawr al-Sadūsī[242] said, "May Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar never prosper if he has aided Mu'āwiyah and the Syrians

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239. For the Banū al-Nakha', see n. 174, above. For the Banū Bakr b. 'Awf of Nakha', see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; and for 'Alqamah b. Qays, ibid., s.v.

240. For the role of this man of the Banū Shaybān (Bakr b. Wā'il) in the fighting, see pp. 59, 63, below; and see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 113.

241. See p. 18 and n. 72, above.

242. For this man of the Banū Sadūs of Bakr, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 120.

against 'Alī and Rabī'a." Ziyād b. Khaṣafah al-Taymī[243] said, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, reassure yourself of Ibn al-Mu'ammar by making him swear that he will not betray you." He did that, and we departed.

On Thursday our men were routed on the right, and 'Alī came out as far as us, together with his sons, and cried out in a loud and public voice as if he were not concerned with the plight of the men, "Whose banners are these?" "The banners of Rabī'ah," we replied, but he said: "No indeed, they are the banners of God; may God protect those who rally to them. May He make them steadfast and set their feet firm."[244] Then he said to me, "Young man, will you not take this banner of yours one *dhirā'*[245] nearer (to the enemy)?" [3312] and I said, "Yes, by God, even ten of them," So I got up and took it nearer until 'Alī said, "That is close enough." Then I stood fast where he had told me, and my companions gathered around.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī: I heard shaykhs of our clan of Taymallāh b. Tha'labah saying that the banner of those of Rabī'ah settled in al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah[246] was with Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar of the people of al-Baṣrah. Those shaykhs said further that Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar and Shaqīq[247] b. Thawr reached an agreement by putting al-Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir al-Dhuhlī in charge of the banner of the Baṣran Bakr b. Wā'il. Khālid and Shaqīq had contested with each other for possession of it but then said: "This youth of ours has an honorable status. Let us assign it to him until we have decided the question." Then afterward 'Alī put Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar in charge of the banner of all of Rabī'ah.

Mu'āwiyah cast lots to decide which of the three strongest tribes among the people of Iraq at that time—Rabī'ah, Hamdān, and Madhḥij—his own Ḥimyarīs should fight. The lot fell on Rabī'ah.

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243. See p. 18 and n. 73, above.

244. See Qur'ān 2:250; 3:147.

245. A unit of measurement, sometimes translated "cubit" (see Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 55ff.).

246. *Rāyatu Rabī'ata ahli Kūfatihā wa-Baṣratihā.*

247. The printed text has Sufyān b. Thawr, and so too the mss. cited by Hinds in "Banners"; *WS*, 290, has Sa'īd b. Thawr. But the other references to Shaqīq here suggest that Shaqīq should be read on this occasion too. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, III, 108, refers to him as Shaqīq b. Majza'ah b. Thawr, whereas Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 153, has Shaqīq and Majza'ah as brothers.

Dhū al-Kalā'[248] said, "God damn you for a lot—you did not like the fighting!"[249] Dhū al-Kalā' advanced with Ḥimyar and those attached to it, including 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb with 4,000 *qurrā'* of the Syrians, and Dhū al-Kalā' commanded their right wing. They attacked Rabī'ah, who were the left wing of the people of Iraq and with whom was Ibn 'Abbās, in command of the left wing. Dhū al-Kalā' and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar attacked them fiercely with their cavalry and footmen, and the banners of Rabī'ah were brought low, except for a few of the best and the noblest.[250]

Then the Syrians turned away, but it was not long before they attacked again, and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar was saying: "Men of Syria! [3313] This clan of the men of Iraq are the killers of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (may God be pleased with him) and the supporters (*anṣār*) of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. If you defeat this tribe, you will attain your revenge for 'Uthmān, and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the men of Iraq will be destroyed." They fiercely attacked the men, but Rabī'ah held firm against them and were most steadfast—except for a few of the lesser sort (*ḍu'afā'*)[251] and the cowardly ones. The bearers of the banners, and those who were steadfast and concerned to protect their honor, held firm and kept fighting hard.

When Khālid b. al-Mu'ammar saw that some of his fellow Rabī'ah had withdrawn, he did so as well. But when he saw that the men of the banners had stood firm and that (others of) his people had patiently held fast, he returned to the fray and shouted to those who were fleeing, ordering them to go back. Those of his fellow tribesmen who wished to cast suspicion on Khālid said, "He wanted to retreat, but when he saw that we had held fast he came back to us." Khālid, however, said: "When I saw that some of our men had been put to flight I decided to confront them and make them come back to you. Now I have come to you with those of them who obeyed me." His behavior was ambiguous.

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248. See p. 19 and n. 78, above.

249. *Karihta al-ḍirāb*, a pun playing on the fact that the root *ḍ-r-b*, "to strike," is used in connection with both the casting of lots and fighting. Presumably the story, which is being told from the point of view of the Banū Rabī'ah, is meant to illustrate the dismay of Dhū al-Kalā' at the prospect of fighting such a valiant enemy.

250. *Abdāl* here is presumably a doublet for *akhyār*.

251. For discussion of the use of the term *ḍa'īf*, see Serjeant, "*Ḍa'īf* and the *Mustaḍ'af*," 32–47.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—a man of Bakr b. Wā'il—Muḥriz b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Ijlī: On that day Khālid said,

> Oh band of Rabī'ah! God has brought every one of you from his birthplace and his home and gathered you all together here, in a way unprecedented since your dispersal in the land. But if you hold back your hands, shrink from your enemy, and stay away from your battle lines, God will not be pleased with what you have done, and you will never meet anyone, either small or great, but that he will say, "Rabī'ah has disgraced its honor and turned its back on battle, and the Arabs have been ruined on their account." Beware lest the Arabs and the Muslims see you as an evil omen today. If you go forward and advance, you will be seeking a reward from God. Advancing is your custom and [3314] being steadfast a trait. Be steadfast, fixing your intention on being recompensed, for the reward of he who fixes his intention on what is with God is nobility in this world and rank in that to come. God does not cause the reward of he who acts rightly to be lost.[252]

A man arose and said, "By God, the concerns of Rabī'ah were lost when they entrusted them to you. You order us to continue fighting and not to depart until our lives are lost and our blood shed. Do you not see that most of the men have retreated?" Then some of Khālid's own kinship group came up to dispute with him. They criticized him and argued with him, but Khālid said: "Drive this man out from your midst. If he remains among you, he will be a source of evil for you, and, if he leaves you, he will not cause you any loss; this is the one who (is so insignificant that), 'He will not diminish the band and will not augment the land.' May God afflict you for being an orator to a noble poeple! How widely you have missed the mark!"

The fighting between Rabī'ah and Ḥimyar, supported by 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar, became fierce, and the number of those slain multiplied. Sumayr b. al-Rayyān b. al-Ḥārith al-'Ijlī was killed[253]—he was one of the most courageous of the men.

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252. See Qur'ān 9:120.
253. Verses referring to his death are in *WS*, 384.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ja'far b. Abī Qāsim al-'Abdī—Yazīd b. 'Alqamah—Zayd b. Badr al-'Abdī: Ziyād b. Khaṣafah came to Banū 'Abd al-Qays at the time of Ṣiffīn. The tribes of Ḥimyar together with 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, had been made ready under Dhū al-Kalā' against the Bakr b. Wā'il. The Bakr were so fiercely attacked that they were afraid of being wiped out, and Ziyād b. Khaṣafah said, "Oh 'Abd al-Qays, there will be no Bakr left after this day!"

We ('Abd al-Qays) mounted our horses and then went forward and contested the fight. It was not long before Dhū al-Kalā' was struck down and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar killed. Hamdān said that Hāni' b. Khaṭṭāb al-Arḥabī[254] killed him, while Ḥaḍramawt said that
[3315] it was Mālik b. 'Amr al-Tin'ī.[255] Bakr b. Wā'il, however, said that Muḥriz b. al-Ṣaḥṣaḥ of the Banū 'Ā'ish b. Mālik b. Taymallāh b. Tha'labah[256] killed 'Ubaydallāh and took his sword, Dhū al-Wishāḥ.[257] Mu'āwiyah criticized Bakr b. Wā'il in al-Kūfah for that (when he came there at the end of the *fitnah*). They insisted that it was one of their number in al-Baṣrah, called Muḥriz b. al-Ṣaḥṣaḥ, who had killed 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar. Mu'āwiyah sent to him and took the sword from him. The chief of al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ was 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr of the Banū Taym.[258]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [Ibn al-Kalbī], it was Muḥriz b. al-Ṣaḥṣaḥ who killed 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar. He took his sword, Dhū al-Wishāḥ, which had belonged to ('Ubaydallāh's father) 'Umar. Ka'b b. Ju'ayl al-Taghlabī said about that:

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254. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, has him as Khaṭṭāb b. Hāni' (s.v. Ḥaṭṭāb); for Arḥab of Hamdān, see ibid., I, table 231.

255. *WS*, 298, calls him al-Sabī'ī. The Sabī', who were prominent in al-Kūfah, were a branch of Hāshid/Hamdān, but Tin'ī seems better because it has specific connections with Ḥaḍramawt (see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb*, I, 183).

256. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; 'Ā'ish b. Mālik were part of the Banū Shaybān of Bakr b. Wā'il/Rabī'ah.

257. That is, "Lord of the Sword Belt."

258. The ms. had Tamīm (and so too *WS*, 304), but the editor suggested emendation to Taym; the Cairo edition rightly supplies the Banū Taymallāh b. al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ of Rabī'ah (Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 141). It is not immediately obvious how this last sentence relates to the story that is the subject of the rest of the paragraph. It may be better situated as the first sentence of the paragraph reporting the death of some men of the Banū al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ, following the subsequent verses. The verses are attributed to a poet of the Banū Taghlib, of which the al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ were allies (idem, II, index, s.v. al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ).

The eyes weep only for a horseman[259]
whose fellows fled at Ṣiffīn while he stood firm,
Exchanging (the company of) Asmā' (his wife) for the swords of Wā'il.
He was a warrior; if only the fields of death had spared him.
(But) they left 'Ubaydallāh on the battleground,
his flowing veins spitting out blood from the wound.

(There is more than this.)[260]

And on that day Bishr b. Murrah b. Shuraḥbīl and al-Ḥārith b. Shuraḥbīl[261] were among those of the Banū al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ killed. Asmā', the daughter of 'Uṭārid b. Ḥājib al-Tamīmī,[262] was married to 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar, and then al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī took her in marriage.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—the nephew of Ghiyāth b. Laqīṭ al-Bakrī:[263] When 'Alī reached the Rabī'ah, they were vying with one [3316]
another (in deeds of valor), and they said, "If 'Alī is struck down among you, having sought refuge at your banner, you will be disgraced." Shaqīq b. Thawr said to them: "Oh band of Rabī'ah, there will be no excuse for you among the Arabs if hands are laid upon 'Alī while he is among you and there remains a man alive among you. But, if you protect him, you will win the glory of life." So, when 'Alī came to them, they fought more fiercely than they ever did before and 'Alī said about that:

Whose is the black[264] banner, the shadow of which quivers as it blows?
When it was said, "Take it forward, Ḥuḍayn!" he advanced,
Going ahead with it into death in order to take it to visit
the pools of fate that drip death and blood.

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259. That is, 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar.

260. For fuller versions of these verses, see al-Dīnawarī, 178–79; *WṢ*, 298–99.

261. *WṢ*, 304, has *fulān* (so-and-so) b. Murrah b. Shuraḥbīl and al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Shuraḥbīl.

262. 'Uṭārid was a famous man of the Banū Dārim b. Mālik of Tamīm. See further, Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

263. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only citation of this transmitter.

264. In the version of these verses in *WṢ*, 289, the banner of Rabī'ah is described as "red" (*ḥamrā'*), which Hinds ("Banners and Battle Cries," 11) understands literally. We might take both "red" and "black" metaphorically to mean something like "blood-soaked."

We caused Ibn Ḥarb (Mu'āwiyah) to taste our spear thrusting and our striking
with our swords, until he turned away and recoiled.
May God reward a people who are patient and steadfast in their confrontation
in the presence of death, a people of surpassing virtue and nobility,
Of the most pleasing traits and most noble character
when the voices of men cry out in battle.
I mean Rabī'ah. They were a people of courage
and bravery in their confrontation with a numerous army.[265]

The Killing of 'Ammār b. Yāsir

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah al-Ḥanafī
[3317] 'Ammār b. Yāsir took the field and said: "Oh God, You know that, if I knew that your pleasure was that I should throw myself into this river,[266] I would do so. Oh God, You know that, if I knew that Your pleasure was that I should put the point of my sword against my breast and then lean on it until it came out of my back, I would do so. But today I do not know of any deed more pleasing to You than *jihād* against these evildoers (*fāsiqīn*). If I did know of any deed more pleasing to You, I would do it."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaq'ab b. Zuhayr al-Azdī: I heard 'Ammār saying, "By God, I see a people who will indeed strike you a blow as a result of which those who consider our religion a vain thing will doubt us,[267] but I swear by God that even if they strike us until they bring us to the palm leaves of Hajar,[268] we will know that we follow the truth and they falsehood."

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abbād b. Mūsā—Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl—Muslim al-A'war—Ḥabbah b. Juwayn al-'Uranī: I and Abū

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265. See Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 116 (which also has the banner as red).
266. *Baḥr*, presumably indicating here the Euphrates.
267. *Yartābu minhu al-mubṭilūna*; see Qur'ān 29:48: *idhan la irtāba al-mubṭilūna*.
268. Probably referring to the fertile Hajar region of eastern Arabia, also called al-Aḥsā' (see *LA*, IX, 151b, s.v. *s-'-f*).

Mas'ūd[269] went off to Ḥudhayfah[270] at al-Madā' in and went in to him. He said: "Welcome to you both. There is nobody among the Arab tribes whom you have come from who is dearer to me than you two." I left the reply to Abū Mas'ūd,[271] and we said, "Oh Abū 'Abdallāh, report to us *ḥadīth*;[272] for we are afraid of the time of troubles (*al-fitan*)." He replied, "Hold to the party in which is Ibn Sumayyah ('Ammār b. Yāsir), for I heard the Prophet saying, 'The party of oppression that swerves from the (right) road will kill him, and his last sustenance will be milk mixed with water.' "

Ḥabbah continued: And I saw 'Ammār at Ṣiffīn when he was saying, "Bring me my final sustenance in this world," and he was [3318]
brought a drink of diluted milk in a shallow bowl with a red rim. Ḥudhayfah was not wrong even by the thickness of a hair, for 'Ammār said: "Today I will meet the loved ones—Muḥammad and his party. By God, even if they strike us so as to bring us to the palm leaves of Hajar, we will know that we hold to the truth and they to falsehood." And he began to say, "Death is beneath the spears and paradise beneath the flashing swords."[273]

According to Muḥammad—Khalaf—Manṣūr b. Abī Nuwayrah—Abū Mikhnaf; and Hishām b. al-Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf; then in both lines of transmission Abū Mikhnaf cites from Mālik b. A'yan al-Juhanī—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī: 'Ammār b. Yāsir said on that day, "Where are they who desire to please God and will not return to property or offspring?" A group of the men joined him and he said:

> Men, let us go directly against those who seek vengeance
> for the blood of Ibn 'Affān and claim that he was killed

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269. For Ḥabbah b. Juwayn, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḥabba b. Ǧuwain; Ibn Sa'd, VI, 123. For Abū Mas'ūd ('Uqbah b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī), who fought on the Muslim side at Badr, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Uqba b. 'Amr; Ibn Sa'd, II/i, 91. For Muḥammad b. 'Abbād, see al-Mizzī, *al-Tahdhīb*, XXV, 443–45.

270. For Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān al-'Absī, 'Alī's governor over al-Madā'in, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḥuḏaifa b. Ḥusail.

271. *Asnadtuhu ilā Abī Mas'ūd*. The meaning is rather elusive. In view of the subsequent *ḥadīth*, it is tempting to relate the expression to the use of an *isnād*, but no obvious sense suggests itself.

272. *Ḥaddithnā*; for the following *ḥadīth* and parallels, see Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *baghā*.

273. See the prophetic *ḥadīths* "the gate of heaven is beneath the flashing swords" (*al-suyūf al-bāriqah*) and "heaven is beneath the shadows of the swords" (*ẓilāl al-suyūf*) (see Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.vv. *baraqa*, *jannah*).

unjustly. By God, they are not after vengeance for his blood but have tasted this world and liked and enjoyed it. They know that, if they have to accept the truth, it will be a barrier between them and the worldly things in which they are wallowing. They have no precedence in Islam by which they might deserve obedience from the people or exercise authority over them. They duped their followers by saying that their imam had been killed unjustly, so that that they could be tyrants and kings, and by this trickery they have got where you see them. If it were not for that, not even two men would have followed them. Oh God, if You help us, many a time You have helped us, but, if You give them the rule, store up for them, for what they have done to Your servants, the most painful chastisement.

He and the band who had responded to him went forward until
[3319] they had drawn near 'Amr (b. al-'Āṣ), and 'Ammār said: "'Amr, you have sold your religion (*dīn*) for Egypt. Damn you, damn you! For long you have desired a deviation in Islam." And he said to 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: "May God cast you down! You have sold your religion to the enemy of Islam and the son of its enemy."[274] 'Ubaydallāh replied, "No, I only seek vengeance for the blood of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him." But 'Ammār said to him: "I bear witness, from what I know of you, that you do not seek the face of God in anything that you do. If you are not killed today, you will die tomorrow, so consider, since men are rewarded in accordance with their intention, what it is that you intend."

According to Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Masrūqī—'Ubayd b. al-Ṣabbāḥ—'Aṭā' b. Muslim—al-A'mash—Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī:[275] I heard 'Ammār b. Yāsir at Ṣiffīn say to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ: "Thrice with the Messenger of God did I fight against the man

274. Presumably indicating Abū Sufyān and Mu'āwiyah.

275. 'Aṭā' b. Muslim al-Ṣan'ānī and Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A'mash are well-known transmitters of *ḥadīth*s; for Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 183–84 (s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥabīb b. Rabī'ah); Ibn Sa'd, VI, 119. *SNB*, X, 104 f. (citing from the *Istī'āb* of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr) has some parallels for the following reports, but most of the obscure and difficult passages are missing.

whose banner this is. This fourth time is no more pious or God-fearing."[276]

According to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [al-Rāzī]—al-Walīd b. Ṣāliḥ—'Aṭā' b. Muslim—al-A'mash: Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī said: We were with 'Alī at Ṣiffīn and we had assigned two men to [stand by] 'Ammār's horse to guard him and prevent him from being attacked. But, whenever they were distracted for a moment, he would himself make an attack and not come back until he had stained his sword [with blood]. And once he made an attack and did not return until his sword had bent out of shape. He threw it at them, saying, "If it were not that it has bent, I would not have come back."

[Al-A'mash said, "By God, that was a blow of someone above doubt,"[277] and Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān responded, "Those there heard something and transmitted it, and they were not liars."]

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān then continued: I saw that whenever 'Ammār went into one of the wādīs of Ṣiffīn those Companions of Muḥammad [the Prophet] who were there followed him. And [3320]
I saw him go to the Mirqāl, Hāshim b. 'Utbah,[278] who was bearer of 'Alī's banner, and say, "Hāshim, one-eyed and a coward! There

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276. Possibly meaning that on this fourth occasion the enemy is no less hostile to God than on the previous ones. *WṢ*, 321, has a variant (*wa-hādhihi al-rābi'a mā hiya bi-khayrihinna wa-lā abarrihinna bal hiya sharruhunna wa-afjaruhunna*), which specifies the three occasions as Badr, Uḥud, and Ḥunayn. In the variant 'Ammār is not addressing 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ but an anonymous questioner who is puzzled as to why the two sides are fighting when they share the same religion. In reply, 'Ammār points out the black flag of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and identifies it as the flag of the *mushrikīn*, against which he had fought together with the Prophet on the three occasions specified. 'Ammār's point is to identify the Syrian opponents as direct descendants of the polytheists who had fought against the Prophet.

277. *Ḍarbu ghayri murtāb* (see n. 267, above)

278. See n. 48, above. For an explanation of *al-mirqāl* ("the swift she-camel"), see p. 72, below. The following sentences are rather difficult and the meaning is obscure. It may be that the text is disordered. Given Hāshim's high reputation as a soldier (in addition to his participation at al-Qādisiyyah, he led the Arab army at Jalūlā', the battle that sealed the conquest of Iraq), the charge of cowardice is surprising and harsh. In *WṢ*, 326, it is explained that the words "one-eyed and a coward" were addressed jestingly to Hāshim by 'Alī, who had noticed that he was wearing two sets of armor. However, the same report than has an anonymous man of Bakr b. Wā'il use the same words, apparently really thinking that Hāshim was afraid (*qad intafakha saḥruka*). In ibid., 327, it is again 'Alī who makes the remark. At ibid., 328, 'Ammār addresses Hāshim, "There is no good in a one-eyed man who does not confront fear" (*lā ya'tī al-faza'*), and here the intention is evidently to goad Hāshim to make him fight harder.

is no good in a one-eyed man who does not plunge into battle. And then, what if some man from either side says, 'By God, this one is abandoning his imam, deserting his army, and holding back his effort?'[279] Mount, Hāshim!" Hāshim mounted and advanced, saying:

A one-eyed man who seeks a worthy opponent
has busied himself with life until tired of it.
It needs must be that he conquer or be conquered.[280]

And 'Ammār was saying: "Press forward, Hāshim; paradise is beneath the shadows of the swords and death in the tips of the spears. The gates of heaven have been opened, and the houris have adorned themselves. Today I shall meet the beloved ones, Muḥammad and his party."[281] Neither returned, and both were killed.

[Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān commented: The words "those Companions of the Prophet who were there" inform you, al-A'mash, about the two of them, that they had distinguished themselves as men of courage.][282]

He then continued: And when it was night I said, "I will go to the enemy to find out if news of the killing of 'Ammār has affected them as it has affected us," for, when we left off fighting (each day), they used to talk with us and we with them.[283] So I mounted my

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279. *Ann.*, 37 A.H., §43, suggests reading *walyufirranna* (in al-Jāḥiẓ, al-*Bayān*, III, 301, 'Ammār includes the phrase *walyufirranna jahdahu* in a similar remark to 'Alī—but in a different context—with reference to Abū Mūsā) for *walyaṣurranna*. Cairo, V, 40, has *walyaṣbiranna*. The sense of *fa-idhā* is also questionable: *Ann.*, loc. cit., appears to understand it as the temporal adverb ("quand'ecco"), rather than the conditional conjunction *if*. *Bayna 'l-ṣaffayn* (? "on either side"; *Ann.* has "fra le due file") seems odd. I can find no parallel in *WṢ*.

280. See the variants in *WṢ*, 327, 355.

281. Leiden does not set as verse, but see *WṢ*, 341, 342; *SNB*, X, 104; and Cairo, V, 41.

282. *Yufīdu laka 'alayhimā man kāna hunāka min aṣḥābi rasūli Allāhi (ṣ) annahumā kānā 'allamā*. For the translation, see *Add. et emend.*, ad loc., and Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. '-*l-m*, form II and *f-y-d*, form IV. Cairo reads *yufīdu laka 'ilmahumā man kāna. . .annahumā kānā 'alaman*, "Those of the Companions who were there will provide you with information about them, namely, that they were a banner (around which the soldiers congregated)." *SNB*, X, 104, has the phrase "as if he was a banner for them" (*ka-annahu 'alam lahum*) as part of the sentence that tells us that the Companions followed 'Ammār into the wadis of Ṣiffīn.

283. *Taḥaddathū ilaynā wa-taḥaddathnā ilayhim*. In spite of the subsequent *ḥadīth*, it seem unlikely that we are supposed to envisage meetings for the exchange of reports about the Prophet.

horse—early in the evening—and then I went into their camp. I found four men making the rounds together: Mu'āwiyah, Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, who was the best of them. I brought my horse in among them, fearing that I would miss what one of the discussants was saying.

'Abdallāh said to his father, "Father, have you killed this man in your fighting today, even though the Messenger of God has said what he said about him?" 'Amr asked what that was, and his son said: "Were you not with us while we were building the mosque[284] and everyone was moving stone by stone and brick by brick while [3321] 'Ammār brought two stones and two bricks at a time? The effort caused him to faint, and the Messenger of God came to him and began wiping the dust from his face, saying, 'Alas for you, Ibn Sumayyah! The people transport stone by stone and brick by brick while you move two stones and two bricks at a time, desiring (divine) reward. In spite of that the usurping party will kill you. Alas for you!'" 'Amr pushed 'Abdallāh's horse away and pulled Mu'āwiyah toward him. He said, "Mu'āwiyah, do you not hear what 'Abdallāh is saying?" Mu'āwiyah asked what it was, and 'Amr reported the story. Mu'āwiyah said: "You are a stupid old man. You keep on telling stories[285] while you slither about in your piss. Was it we who killed 'Ammār? It was only those who brought him here." And the men came out from their tents and bivouacs, saying, "It was only those who brought 'Ammār who killed him." I do not know who was the more strange—he or they.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) said: It is reported that when 'Ammār was killed, 'Alī said to the Rabī'ah and the Hamdān, "You are my armor and my spear!" About 12,000 presented themselves to him, and 'Alī went in front of them on his mule. He and they attacked together as one man, and there was no line of the Syrians that was not destroyed. 'Alī and his men killed everybody they came up against until they reached Mu'āwiyah, and 'Alī was saying:

I strike them but Mu'āwiyah do not see,
he of the bulging eye and the great belly.[286]

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284. The reference is to the building of the mosque in Medina.
285. *Lā tazālu tuḥaddithu bi-al-ḥadīth.*
286. See al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 370.

[3322] Then he called for Mu'āwiyah and said: "Why are the people being killed in our quarrel? Come, I will entrust God with the decision between us (*uḥākimuka ilā Allāhi*). Whichever of us kills the other, authority (*al-umūr*) will remain for him." 'Amr said, "The man has made you a fair offer," but Mu'āwiyah replied: "I have not been made a fair offer. You know that he has killed everyone whom he has challenged to combat." 'Amr said, "But it is not fitting that you should not accept the challenge and fight him." Mu'āwiyah said, "You cannot wait to get power after my death."

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Amrah[287]—Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī: I asked Abū 'Amrah, "Do you not see how splendidly equipped they appear (he meant the Syrians) and what a wretched flock are we?" He answered: "You look to your own state, make it better, and leave the others to themselves. They are as they are."

Hāshim b. 'Utbah al-Mirqāl and the "Night of Howling"[288]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Salamah: At evening Hāshim b. 'Utbah al-Zuhrī summoned the men: "Let anyone who seeks God and the next world come to me!" Many came to him, and he attacked the Syrians with a band of followers several times, but everywhere he attacked them they held firm against him and the fighting was fierce. He said to his men: "Do not let this steadfastness

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287. The Leiden text here and subsequently reads 'Umrah; *Ann.* and Cairo both have 'Amrah. *WŞ* has two versions of this *isnād*: on p. 185 it goes 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Abū 'Amrah—his father, Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī; on p. 369 it goes 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—his father—Abū Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī, and there is further reference to Abū Sulaymān in the *matn*.

288. *Laylat al-harīr*. The verb *harra*, used of dogs, indicates snarling, howling, whining, and similar noises and actions. By extension it can also refer to other sounds, such as the turning of a millstone and the twanging of a bow. *Harīr* is also said to be used to indicate the looking of courageous men at one another (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.). With reference to Ṣiffīn, Wellhausen (*Das arabische Reich*, 49) used the expression *die Nacht des Pfauchens* ("Night of the Peacock Chick"), rendered in the English translation (*Arab Kingdom*, 78) as "Night of Clangour." The expression *laylat al-harīr* is also used in tradition to indicate a part of the Battle of Qādisiyya (Ṭabarī, I, 2337–38). In that connection, *EI*², s.v. Ḳādisiyya, has "Night of the Cries of Sorrow."

of theirs that you see frighten you. By God, it is only the fervor of the Arabs that you see and their steadfastness beneath their banners and in their battle positions. But they are in error while you follow truth. 'Oh my people, be patient and firm and vie with them in steadfastness.'[289] Unite together, and let us march against our enemy with deliberation and purpose. Then stand firm, help one another, remember God, let no man ask his brother for anything, do not keep turning round, be valiant in face of their courage, [3323] and make *jihād* against them in expectation of your divine reward 'until God decides (*yaḥkumu*) between us and them, for He is the best of judges (*ḥākimīn*).'"[290] Then he went forward with a band of the *qurrā'* and he and they fought fiercely at evening until they were content with what they had achieved. At that point a young warrior came out against them, saying:

I am the son of the great kings of Ghassān,
and today I adhere to (*al-dā'in bi*) the religion (*dīn*) of 'Uthmān.
There has come a report that has caused much alarm,
that 'Alī has killed the son of 'Affān.

He rushed to the attack and did not turn away until he had struck with his sword. He then made free with abuse and curses, and Hāshim b. 'Utbah said to him: "Servant of God, after such talk there is conflict and after such fighting there is the reckoning. Fear God, for you are returning to Him and He will question you about this encounter and what you sought by it." He replied, "I am fighting you because your master does not perform the prayer ritual, as I have been told, and neither do you; I am fighting you because your master killed our caliph and you urged him to it." Hāshim said to him: "What have you got to do with Ibn 'Affān? It was the companions of Muḥammad and the sons of his companions and the *qurrā'* of the people who killed him when he introduced innovations (*aḥdāth*) and opposed the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Book. They were people of religion (*dīn*) and more worthy of handling the affairs of the people than are you and your companions. I do not think that the affairs of this community and of this religion have been neglected even for an instant."

289. Qur'ān 3:200.
290. See Qur'ān 7:87.

The young man replied, "Indeed, by God, I will not lie, for lying is harmful and achieves no good." Hāshim said, "The people concerned with this matter know best about it, so leave it to those who have knowledge about it." The young man said, "By God, I do not doubt that you have advised me sincerely." Hāshim said: "As for what you said about our master not performing the prayer ritual, [3324] he was the first one to do so and he is the most knowledgeable (*afqah*) of God's creatures regarding the religion of God and the closest to the Messenger. As for those whom you see with me, each one of them is a reciter (*qāri'*) of the Book of God, not sleeping at night in his vigil. Do not allow these deluded miscreants to turn you away from your religion." The youth replied, "Servant of God, I consider you a righteous man, so tell me—is there any repentance for me?" He answered, "Yes, oh servant of God. Turn in repentance to God and He will relent toward you, for 'He accepts repentance from His servants and forgives sins'[291] and 'He loves those who seek to be clean.' "[292]

By God, the youth, on returning (to his own side), abandoned his fellows. One of the Syrians said to him, "The Iraqi has cheated you, the Iraqi has cheated you." He replied, "No, he has given me sincere advice."

Hāshim and his men fought fiercely. He was called al-Mirqāl because he used to rush (*r-q-l*) into battle. He and his men fought until they had overcome those who were around them and until they considered that they had achieved the victory. At sunset a squadron of Tanūkh came to them and pressed an attack against the men. Hāshim fought them, saying:

A one-eyed man who seeks a worthy opponent
    has occupied himself with life until tired of it.
He fells them with the knotty-shafted spear.

They claimed that he killed nine or ten on that day, but al-Ḥārith b. al-Mundhir al-Tanūkhī attacked him and pierced him with a spear, and Hāshim fell. 'Alī sent to him, saying, "Take your banner forward," but he answered the messenger, "Look at my belly," and

291. See Qur'ān 42:25.
292. Qur'ān 2:222.

behold he had been ripped open. The Anṣārī al-Ḥajjāj b. Ghaziyyah[293] said:

If you boast (of killing) Ibn al-Budayl and Hāshim,
we have killed Dhū al-Kalā' and Ḥawshab.[294] [3325]
We have left, after meeting you in battle,
your brother 'Ubaydallāh[295] as meat stripped from the bone.
And we have surrounded the camel and its people[296]
and given you deadly poison to drink.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan al-Juhanī—Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī: 'Alī passed near a group of the Syrians, among them al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah, who were abusing him verbally. He was told about that and stopped with those of his men who were close to them and said:

> Attack them! The presence of God, the dignity, the dignity of Islam,[297] and the sign of the righteous[298] be with you. By God, those among them who are closest to ignorance[299] are their leaders and the one who has mustered

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293. Of the Banū Najjār/Anṣār, he is referred to on pp. 163, below, as being in Egypt with Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. *WṢ*, 401, has the first verse as part of a long poem attributed to Jarīsh al-Sakūnī, but refers to al-Ḥajjāj on p. 448 among a group of Anṣārīs supporting 'Alī.

294. This seems to be the only reference to Ḥawshab in Ṭabarī's material on Ṣiffīn, but he is mentioned frequently in *WṢ*. See also Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḥaušab b. Yazīd . . . b. Ḏī Ẓulaim.

295. That is, 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

296. *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §46, suggests an allusion to the Battle of the Camel.

297. *'Alaykum al-sakīna wa-al-waqār waqār al-Islām.* For a discussion of the words *sakīna* and *waqār*, see Goldziher, "Ueber den Ausdruck «sakîna»,' in his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, I, 177ff., especially 186 and n. 5. Goldziher notes the equivalence of *waqār* with Aramaic *īqrā* (= Hebrew *kabūr*), "abundance, honor, glory," and indicates the use of *īqrā* and *shekhīnā* together in Jewish Aramaic (for an example, see Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* [Bar Ilan, 1990], s.v. *'yqr*: "the glory of the divine presence"). In 'Alī's speech *waqār al-Islām* seems intrusive and may be a gloss. Perhaps a more basic translation ("the presence of God and the glory of God be with you") would convey the sense better.

298. See Qur'ān 48:29, etc., for formulas such as *sīmāhum fī wujūhihim*.

299. *Jahl*, "ignorance," here implies the complete opposite of Islam. 'Alī seems to be saying that the men who are named subsequently, although they might nominally be Muslims, are barely removed from the enmity that they showed to Islam in the *jāhiliyyah*.

them, Mu'āwiyah, together with Ibn al-Nābighah,[300] Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, and Ibn Abī Mu'ayṭ, the wine drinker who was flogged according to God's law in the time of Islam. They are just the ones who would stand and cause harm to me and find fault[301] with me, for even before today they have fought against me,[302] at a time when I was calling them to Islam, and they were calling me to the worship of idols. Praise be to God. Formerly the evil ones (*fāsiqūn*) acted with enmity against me, but God made them slaves—were they not "conquered"?[303] This indeed is the important and grave matter—that evil ones, who are not regarded with favor but are fearful of Islam and its people,[304] duped a large part of this community and caused their hearts to drink the love of *fitnah*, winning over their wandering desires with lies and falsehood. They have raised war against us in putting out the light of God.[305] Oh God, disperse their congregation, shatter their arguments, and deliver them for destruction for their sins. He whom You befriend is not cast down, and he whom You oppose does not wax mighty.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Wa'lah—al-Sha'bī: 'Alī passed by a body of enemy men with a banner and saw that they clung to their position. He urged on the men against them and was
[3326] told that they belonged to Ghassān. He said: "They will not give up their position without an efficient spear thrust that will drive the breath from them and a sword blow by which heads will be split asunder, bones will be scattered, and from which wrists and hands will fall; not until their foreheads are split by shafts of iron

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300. That is, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, here called derogatively after his mother.

301. See *Add. et emend.* for the suggested correction to *yajdubūnanī*; *WS*, 391, has *yashtumūnanī*.

302. *Wa-qabla al-yawmi mā qatalūnī*. For the use of *mā* after expressions involving *qabla*, see *Gloss.*, s.v. *mā*, with reference to Wright, *Grammar*, II, §127, rem. c, and other works.

303. *Fa'abbadahum Allāhu a-lam yuftaḥū*. The two verbs are undotted and Cairo reads *qa'īdahum Allāha a-lam yuqbaḥū*. "By God who watches them, were they not denied success?" which seems smoother.

304. *Wa'alā al-islāmi wa-ahlihi mutakhawwifīn*. It is difficult to see how *takhawwafa 'alā* can have its usual sense of "to fear *for*" here. See *Gloss.*, s.v., for *khawwafa 'alā*.

305. See Qur'ān 9:32; 61:8.

and their eyebrows are dispersed over their chests and chins. Where are those who will be steadfast and those who seek after eternal reward?" A band of the Muslims rallied to him, and he summoned his son Muḥammad and said, "March slowly against the people of that banner, taking your time, and when your lances are trained on their hearts wait until you hear my plan." They did what they had been told, and 'Alī made ready a similar group. When 'Alī had got close to them and the lances were trained on their hearts, he commanded those whom he had made ready and they attacked them, and he urged Muḥammad and those with him to attack from in front, and the Ghassānīs abandoned their position, while our men killed or wounded many of them. Then a great battle took place after sunset so that most of the men could perform the prayer ritual only cursorily.[306]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Bakr al-Kindī: 'Abdallāh b. Ka'b al-Murādī[307] was killed at Ṣiffin. Al-Aswad b. Qays al-Murādī was passing by him, and 'Abdallāh said to him, "Aswad!" "Yes," he replied "what can I do for you (*labbayka*)?" Seeing that 'Abdallāh was on the point of death, al-Aswad said: "By God, your being struck down pains me. By God, if I had been with you, I would have helped you and protected you, and, if I knew who has shed your blood, then I would not want him to get away before I killed him or was joined to you (in death)." He then dismounted and said to 'Abdallāh, "Indeed, by God, your neighbor has had security against your evil conduct,[308] and you have been one of those who frequently call God to mind, so give me your final instructions, may God have mercy on you." 'Abdallāh said, "I recommend to you the fear of God, that you faithfully serve the Commander of the Faithful, and that you

306. *Īmā'an*, literally, "by sign or gesture"; for *ḥadīths* regarding the circumstances in which such a form of prayer is permissible, see Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.v. *w-m-'*, form IV.

307. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only mention of 'Abdallāh, for whom see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, II, 363 (no. 4918); for al-Aswad in the fighting against the Khawārij, see p. 131, below. There seems to be some confusion in the sources: *SNB* (cited by the editor of *WṢ*, 456) refers to 'Abdallāh b. Budayl al-Khuzā'ī (see n.128) and al-Aswad b. Ṭuhmān al-Khuzā'ī, while the index of *WṢ* confuses 'Abdallāh b. Ka'b al-Murādī with 'Abdallāh b. Ka'b al-Nahdī, who likewise fell at Ṣiffīn fighting for 'Alī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

308. *Bawā'iq*. The phrase seems to mean something like "you have led a good life and observed your duties toward your neighbor." See Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *b-w-q*, and Lane, *Lexicon*, *s.v. bā'iqah*, for the occurrence of the phrase in *ḥadīths*.

[3327] fight the transgressors (*muḥillīn*) with him until you are victorious or are united with God." Then he said, "Give him my greetings and say to him, 'Fight for the battlefield so that you put it behind you,[309] for he who finds on the morrow that the battlefield is behind him, will be superior.' " Shortly after that he died. Al-Aswad then went and informed 'Alī, who said, "May God have mercy upon him. In life he made *jihād* for us against our enemies, and in death he has offered us sincere advice."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, *mawlā* of the Banū al-Muṭṭalib:[310] It was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥanbal ad-Jumaḥī[311] who expressed these opinions to 'Alī at Ṣiffin.

According to Hishām—'Awānah: On that day Ibn Ḥanbal began to say:

If you kill me, Ibn Ḥanbal am I,
he who said, "A hairy one is nigh."[312]

According to Abū Mikhnaf (whose account now continues): The men fought for the whole of that night until morning—that was the "night of howling"—until the lances were broken, the stock of arrows exhausted, and the men had resorted to swords. 'Alī moved between his right and left wings, ordering every squadron of the *qurrā'* to advance on those adjacent to them. He kept that up, leading the men until, when morning came, the entire battlefield was behind his back.[313] Al-Ashtar commanded the right wing and Ibn 'Abbās the left. 'Alī was in the center, and the men were fighting on every side. It was Friday.

Al-Ashtar started to move forward with the right wing, fighting with them. He had been in charge of them on Thursday evening

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309. *Qātil 'an al-ma'rakah ḥattā taj'alahā khalfa ẓahrika.* Perhaps signifying, "fight so fiercely that the battlefield comes to be behind you (because you have advanced so far)"? Cf. the report of Abū Mikhnaf, below.

310. That is, Ibn Isḥāq, the compiler of the *Sīrah* (d. 151/768).

311. For this poet of Quraysh, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

312. There are more anti-'Uthmān verses ascribed to 'Abd al-Raḥmān in Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 398, no. 1715 (= *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §238). For an explanation of *al-Na'thal* ("hairy") as an abusive nickname for the caliph 'Uthmān, see *The Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif of Tha'ālibī*, tr. C. E. Bosworth [Edinburgh, 1968], 56, and the literature cited there.

313. *Wa al-ma'rakah kulluhā khalfa ẓahrihi.*

and night[314] until dawn appeared, and he kept saying to his men, "Go forward the length of this spear," advancing with them toward the Syrians. When they had carried out his order he would say, "Go forward the length of this bow." When they had carried out his order [3328] he would command them again in a similar manner until most of them had run out of courage. When al-Ashtar saw that he said, "I pray to God lest you suckle from sheep from now on."[315] Then he called for his horse and left his banner with Ḥayyān b. Hawdhah al-Nakha'ī,[316] while he went around among the squadrons, saying, "Who will purchase his life from God and fight with al-Ashtar until he is victorious or joins God?" And no man of those who had gone out to join him and Ḥayyān b. Hawdhah withdrew.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—'Umārah b. Rabī'ah al-Jarmī: By God, al-Ashtar passed by me, and I went forward with him and many men joined him. He proceeded until he had returned to the place of the right wing, where he led his men and said: "Launch an attack! May my paternal and maternal uncles be a ransom for you, by which you will please your Lord and glorify your religion (*dīn*). When I attack, attack!" Then he dismounted and struck the face of his mount,[317] and he said to his standard bearer, "Advance with it." He and his men with him then attacked the enemy and fought the Syrians until they had pushed them as far as their camp. They fought him fiercely by the camp, and his standard bearer was killed. 'Alī, seeing the victory of his men, began to send reinforcements.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad (al-Marwazī)—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Juwayriyah: At Ṣiffīn 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said to Wardān: "Do you know what we two may be compared with? With

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314. Literally, "on Thursday evening and Friday night." The day was counted as beginning and ending at sunset.

315. For the expression, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *raḍi'a*: used of a man who becomes mean, sordid, or ignoble.

316. Already reported as having been killed on p. 57, above. It could be that, with *WS*, 286, we should read Ḥanān on p. 57, possibly that we should amend here to Ḥāni' b. Hawdhah al-Nakha'ī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.), or perhaps that we simply have variant traditions.

317. That is, to cause it to flee so that he himself could not escape if the battle were going against him. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *ḍ-r-b*.

the sorrel camel[318] that, if it presses ahead, is hamstrung and, if it lags behind, is slaughtered. If you lag behind, I will cut off your head. Bring me a cord." (He did so, and 'Amr) fixed it on the feet
[3329] of Wardān, who said: "By God, 'Abū 'Abdallāh, I will lead you to the pool of death. Put your hand on my shoulder." Then he began to go forward, looking at 'Amr from time to time and saying, "Indeed I will lead you to the pool of death."

(Resuming the account of Abū Mikhnaf:) When 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ saw that the position of the Iraqis had strengthened and was afraid that it would lead to destruction, he said to Mu'āwiyah, "What if I put something to you that can only increase our unity and their division?" "All right," said Mu'āwiyah. 'Amr said, "We will raise the *maṣāḥif*[319] and say, 'their contents are to be authoritative in our dispute (*mā fīhā ḥukm baynanā wa-baynakum*)'. Even if some of them refuse to accept it, you will find that some of them will say, 'Indeed, yes, we must accept,' and there will be a division between them. If, on the other hand, they say, 'Yes, indeed, we accept what is in it,' then we will have disburdened ourselves of this fighting and this warfare until an appointed time or a later occasion." So they raised the *maṣāḥif* on lances and said: "This is the Book of God between us and you. Who will protect the frontier districts of the Syrians if they all perish, and who those of the Iraqis if they all perish?" When the men saw that the *maṣāḥif* had been raised, they said, "We respond to the Book of God, and we turn in repentance to it."

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318. *Al-ashqar*, a sorrel camel or horse; if the latter, then one of the best sort (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.). Ibn al-Athīr has a pun here: In response to 'Amr's question, Wardān says, "With al-Ashtar?" 'Amr answers, "No, with *al-ashqar*. . . ."

319. *Al-muṣḥaf* (of which *al-maṣāḥif* is the plural) may refer simply to a volume or a book but, used without further specification, usually refers to the Qur'ān or a copy of it. Many scholars, traditional and modern, have been happy to accept that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ's famous plan was for the raising of copies of the Qur'ān on the ends of the Syrian lances. Some, however, have seen problems in that interpretation: Most obviously, according to the tradition, this would have been relatively soon after the promulgation of the text by 'Uthmān (who is said to have had all variant copies destroyed), and it is hard to see that many manuscript copies could have been made as yet. Various theories have been proposed to get around this difficulty (see, e.g., Hinds, "Ṣiffīn Arbitration Agreement"). To allow for the possibility that, at the time of the Fitnah, *al-muṣḥaf* (or expressions such as *the Book of God* or *the Book*) did not yet designate the Qur'ān as we understand it and to avoid imposing an interpretation, the terminology of the text has been maintained in the following.

The Raising of the Maṣāḥif *and the Call for Arbitration*

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab al-Azdī—his father: 'Alī said: "Servants of God, carry on fighting your enemies, for you have truth and right on your side. Mu'āwiyah, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, Ibn Abī Mu'ayṭ, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah, Ibn Abī Sarḥ, and al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays are men without religion and without *qur'ān*.[320] I know them better than you, for I was with them both as children and [3330] as men, and they were the worst of children and the worst of men. Alas for you! They have not exalted them (the *maṣāḥif*), and they do not exalt them and do not know what it is that they contain. They have raised them up to you only to deceive you, to outwit you, and to trick you."[321] They answered him, "If we are called to the Book of God, we are bound to respond." 'Alī said to them, "The only reason I have fought against them was so that they should adhere to the authority of this Book (*li-yadīnū bi-ḥukmi hādhā al-kitāb*), for they have disobeyed God in what He has commanded and they have forgotten His covenant and rejected His Book."

Mis'ar b. Fadakī al-Tamīmī and Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ṭā'ī, al-Sinbisī,[322] who were with a band of the *qurrā'* who afterward became Khawārij, said to him: "'Alī, respond to the Book of God when you are called to it. Otherwise we shall indeed deliver you up entirely to the enemy or do what we did with Ibn 'Affān. It is our duty to act in accordance with what is in the Book of God. We have accepted it and, by God, if you do not do what we tell you, we will do what we say." 'Alī said: "Do not forget that I forbade you to do this, and remember your words to me. As for me, if you are obedient to me, fight, and, if disobedient, then do whatever seems best to you." They answered, "At least send for al-Ashtar, and let him come to you."

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320. *Qur'ān* parallels "religion" (*dīn*), both of which are grammatically undefined.

321. *Innahum mā rafa'ūhā thumma lā yarfa'ūnahā wa-lā ya'lamūna bimā fīhā wa-mā rafa'ūhā lakum illā*. . . . *WṢ*, 489, has *innahum wa-Allāhi mā rafa'ūhā anhum ya'rifūnahā wa-ya'malūna* (changed from the first edition's *ya'lamūna*) *bihā wa-lākinnahā*. . . "They have not raised them up because they recognize them and act according to them; [they have raised them] only. . .?"). There seems to be some punning involving *rafa'a*/*'arafa* in the two senses of "to lift up" and "to exalt" and playing on the words *rafa'a*/*'arafa* and *'alima*/*'amala*.

322. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Zaid b. Ḥiṣn; he was of the Banū Sinbis b. Mu'āwiyah of the Ṭayyi'.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī—a man of the Banū al-Nakha': The informant saw Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar visit Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr,[323] and Ibrāhīm said: I was with 'Alī when the people compelled him to accept the arbitration (*al-ḥukūmah*), and they said, "Send for al-Ashtar and let him come to you."

(Abū Mikhnaf, continuing the narrative from Jundab al-Azdī:) So 'Alī sent Yazīd b. Hāni' al-Sabī'ī[324] to al-Ashtar to tell him to come. Yazīd went to al-Ashtar and gave him the message, but al-Ashtar
[3331] said that he should tell 'Alī: "Now is not the time for you to move me from my post. I am expecting success in battle; do not rush me." Yazīd b. Hāni' returned to 'Alī and told him the answer, but he had scarcely reached us when there was a cloud of dust and raised voices from the direction of al-Ashtar. The men said to 'Alī, "By God, we think you must have ordered him to give battle," but he replied: "What makes you think that? Do you think I spoke secretly with him? Did I not speak to him (the messenger) openly in your hearing?" They answered him: "Send for him and have him come to you. Otherwise, by God, we will withdraw (*i'tazala*) from you." 'Alī, therefore, said to Yazīd (the messenger): "Alas for you, Yazīd! Tell him, 'Come to me, for the *fitnah* has come!'" Yazīd told al-Ashtar that, and the latter asked, "Is it because of the raising of the *maṣāḥif*?" "Yes," he answered. Al-Ashtar said: "By God, indeed when they were raised I thought that they would cause division and disunity. It was the counsel of the son of the harlot. Do you not see what God has done for us? Do I have to leave the enemy and go away from them?"

I (Yazīd b. Hāni') said: I asked him, "Would you like to be victorious here while the Commander of the Faithful is driven from the place where he is or is made to submit there?" "No, by God," he replied; "Glory be to God." Yazīd said, "They have told 'Alī, 'Send to al-Ashtar and have him come to you, or we will kill you as we killed Ibn 'Affān!'"

So al-Ashtar came to them and addressed them: "Men of Iraq! Men of baseness and feebleness! (Will you abandon the battle) when you have won the upper hand over the enemy and they think that

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323. That is, at the time when Muṣ'ab was governor of Iraq, after his defeat of al-Mukhtār, and Ibrāhīm was one of his leading commanders.

324. Al-Sabī' b. Sab' of the Banū Hamdān.

you are defeating them?[325] They have raised the *maṣāḥif*, calling you to what is in them but, by God, they have abandoned what God commanded in them and the example (*sunnah*) of him to whom they were sent down. Do not respond to those people. Just [3332] grant me the respite of a time between two milkings, for I sense success in battle." They answered, "No." He then said, "Just grant me the respite of a time of the running of a horse, for I am sure of victory."[326] They replied, "In that case we would be partaking of your sin (*khaṭī'ah*)."

Al-Ashtar said: "Tell me, now that the best of you have been killed and only the base ones remain, when were you in the right? Was it when you were fighting and the best of you were killed? In that case, since you have now withdrawn from the fighting, you are in the wrong. Or are you now in the right? In that case, those of you who have been killed, whose merits you do not deny and were better than you, are in hell." They answered: "Leave us alone, Ashtar! We fought them in God's cause, and we will now leave off fighting them for His sake. We will not obey you or your master. Get away from us." Al-Ashtar said: "By God, you have been cheated and allowed yourselves to be duped. You have been invited to leave aside war and you have assented. Oh you of the dark foreheads,[327] we used to think your prayers were a renunciation of this world and a longing to join God. But now I see that you merely flee to this world from death. Shame on you, you who are like the aged she-camel who seeks after filth to eat. After this you will never see glory again. May you perish just as those evil people perished."[328]

They reviled al-Ashtar and he them, and they struck the face of his mount with their whips while he moved forward, striking the faces of theirs with his. 'Alī called to them, and they desisted, and he said to the men, "We have agreed to make the Qur'ān an authority (*ḥukm*) between us and them."

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325. *WS*, 491, agrees with the reading *a-ḥīna* given in *Add. et emend.*

326. From "Just grant me . . ." to this point the translation includes material from the editor's footnote, which suggests that text has been omitted in the ms.

327. *Ann.* understands this term as a reference to their cowardice.

328. Possibly a reference to the Qur'ānic theme of the *umam khāliyah*, those communities that had been destroyed by God because they rejected the prophets He had sent to them (e.g., Qur'ān 11:94–95).

Al-Ash'ath b. Qays came to 'Alī and said to him: "The men all seem satisfied and pleased to respond to the enemy's summons regarding the authority of the Qur'ān. If you like, I will go to Mu'āwiyah and ask him what he wants, and you will see what he
[3333] asks." 'Alī said, "Go to him if you want and ask him."

Al-Ash'ath went to him and said, "Mu'āwiyah, why have you raised these *maṣāḥif*?" He answered: "So that you and we together turn to what God commanded in His book. You will send a man from among you whom you find acceptable, and we will send a man from among us, and we will impose upon them that they act according to what is in the Book of God, not opposing it. Then we will follow what they agree upon." Al-Ash'ath b. Qays said to him, "This is just," and then he went back to 'Alī and told him what Mu'āwiyah had said.

Our men said, "We are pleased and accept." The Syrians said, "We have chosen 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ," and al-Ash'ath and those who became Khawārij afterward said, "We are content with Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī." 'Alī said: "You disobeyed me in the start of this business; do not disobey me now. I do not think I should grant power to Abū Mūsā." But al-Ash'ath, Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ṭā'ī, and Mis'ar b. Fadakī insisted, "We do not find anyone else acceptable: What he warned us against we have fallen into."[329] 'Alī said: "I do not consider him trustworthy. He separated from me and caused the people to abandon me. Then he fled from me until I granted him security after some months. But here is Ibn 'Abbās; we will give him power in that matter." They replied, "It would not make any difference for us whether it was you or Ibn 'Abbās. We insist on someone who is equally distant from you and Mu'āwiyah, no closer to one of you than he is to the other." 'Alī said, "I will appoint al-Ashtar."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī: Al-Ash'ath said, "Was it anybody but al-Ashtar who caused this conflagration in the land?"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—his father: Al-Ash'ath said, "Are we not already under the authority
[3334] (*ḥukm*) of al-Ashtar?" 'Alī said, "What is that?" and al-Ash'ath answered, "That we should strike one another with swords until what you and he want comes to pass." 'Alī said, "Do you then refuse

329. That is, *fitnah*.

to accept anybody but Abū Mūsā?" and the men replied, "Yes." 'Alī said, "Then do what you want."

They sent to Abū Mūsā, who had withdrawn apart (*i'tazala*) from the fighting and was in 'Urḍ.[330] A *mawlā* of his came to him and said, "The people have made a peace." He replied, "Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds." The *mawlā* then said, "They have made you an arbitrator (*ḥakam*)," and Abū Mūsā said, "We belong to God and to Him we return."[331]

Abū Mūsā came and entered the army camp. Al-Ashtar went to 'Alī and said, "Assign me to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and, by God other than Whom there is no god, if I lay eyes on him, I will kill him." And al-Aḥnaf came and said: "Commander of the Faithful, you have been assaulted by a crafty and cunning man[332] and by one who made war against God and His Messenger at the beginning of Islam. I have tested this man (Abū Mūsā) and tried him out in varying circumstances,[333] and I have found him dull-witted and shallow in intellect.[334] Only somebody who can get so close to the enemy as to be in the palms of their hands, and be so far from them as the Pleiades, will avail us in dealing with them. If you refuse to make me an arbitrator on the question, at least make me a second or a third (delegate). (Then) I shall untie any knot that he shall fasten, and he shall not undo any knot that I tie, unless I have (already) tied for you another more binding (*aḥkamu*)." But the people insisted on (the choice of) Abū Mūsā and acceptance of (the call to refer to) the Book. Al-Aḥnaf said, "If you insist on Abū Mūsā, then make sure someone is watching him."[335]

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330. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 644, for this place, said to be between Palmyra and Ruṣāfah.

331. Qur'ān 2:156. This is a standard formula of resignation to God's will, often uttered on receipt of bad news, especially news of someone's death.

332. *Rumīta bi-ḥajar al-arḍ. Gloss.*, s.v. *ḥajar*, refers to Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, I, 520, for the similar *ramayta al-amra bi-ḥajarihi*; for the translation adopted here, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḥajar*. The reference is to 'Amr's initial opposition to the Prophet and his acceptance of Islam only when it had become clear that it would be victorious.

333. *Ḥalabtu ashṭurahu*. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *shaṭr*, has the idiom.

334. *Kalīlu al-shafrati qarību al-qa'ri*; literally, "blunt of blade and lacking in depth." Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *qa'r*, has *ba'īdu al-qa'r* as meaning "of deep intellect."

335. Literally, "keep his back warm with the men"; perhaps, "give him some men to back him up."

They wrote: "In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is what 'Alī the Commander of the Faithful has determined." But 'Amr said, "Just write his name and that of his father, for he is your commander but not ours." Al-Aḥnaf said to 'Alī, "Do
[3335] not efface the title of Commander of the Faithful, for I fear that if you erase it the office will never revert to you. Do not erase it, even though the people kill one another." 'Alī refused (to make the erasure) for much of the day, but then al-Ash'ath b. Qays said, "Erase this name, for God has removed it."[336] So it was erased, and 'Alī said: "God is most great! A precedent (*sunnah*) following a precedent and an example (*mathal*) following an example! I was writing in the presence of the Messenger of God on the day of al-Ḥudaybiyyah when they said, 'You are not the Messenger of God, and we will not lend credence to that—just write your name and that of your father,' and he wrote it." 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "God preserve us from this comparison—that we should be compared to infidels although we are believers!" 'Alī said: "Ibn al-Nābighah, when were you not a friend to the wicked (*fāsiqūn*) and an enemy to the Muslims? Do you resemble anybody but your mother who brought you forth?" 'Amr stood and said, "You and I will never sit together again." 'Alī said, "I hope that God cleanses my circle of you and the likes of you." And the document was written.

According to 'Alī b. Muslim al-Ṭūsī[337]—Ḥabbān—Mubārak—al-Ḥasan: Al-Aḥnaf told me that Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Alī: "If you want there to be a peace agreement, then erase this title." 'Alī took counsel. He had a tent that he had given the Banū Hāshim permission to enter and me (al-Aḥnaf) with them. He asked, "What is your view regarding what Mu'āwiyah has written—'erase this title'?" (Mubārak said: That is, the title Commander of the Faithful.) They replied, "God has removed it, for, when the Messenger of God made a peace with the people of Mecca, he wrote, 'Muḥammad,

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336. *Gloss.* insists that *barraḥa* is not to be understood as an optative but with reference to the story of al-Ḥudaybiyyah in the following. The account refers to the tradition that at al-Ḥudaybiyyah the still polytheist Meccans refused to allow Muḥammad to use the title "Messenger of God" in the document they and he drew up at the time of their truce in 6/628. They insisted that he style himself merely "Muḥammad the son of 'Abdallāh." Muḥammad is said to have agreed to this apparently humiliating concession. See further *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥudaybiyya.

337. A Baghdādī traditionist who died in 253/867 (see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 382, no. 622, where Ḥabbāb [sic] b. Hilāl is named as one of his authorities).

Messenger of God,' but they rejected that until he had written, 'This is what Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh has determined.' " I said to 'Alī: "What is this comparison between you and the Messenger of God? [3336] In giving you the oath of allegiance we have not given any special respect to you as an individual. If we had known anyone among us with more right in this matter than you, we would have given him our oath of allegiance and then fought you. I swear by God that, if you delete this title, upon which I have given an oath of allegiance and for which I have fought against them, it will never return to you."[338] And, by God, that is how it was. Rarely was al-Aḥnaf's opinion set against that of someone else without its proving to be superior.

(The narrative of Abū Mikhnaf is now resumed.)[339] The document was written:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, this is what 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān have mutually determined. 'Alī has decided it for the men of al-Kūfah and those of their party (*shī'ah*) who are with them of the believers and the Muslims; Mu'āwiyah has decided it for the men of Syria and those believers and Muslims with them.
>
> We will comply with the authority (*ḥukm*) of God and His Book, and nothing else will bring us together. We will refer to the Book of God,[340] from its opening to its close. We will effect what it lays down and eliminate what it does away with. The two arbitrators (*ḥakamān*)—and they are Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī 'Abdallāh b. Qays and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ al-Qurashī[341]—will act in accordance with whatever they find in the Book of God. For whatever they do not find in

338. Cairo reads "upon which *you* have accepted an oath of allegiance and for which *you* have fought against them."

339. For variant readings of the following text, and variants in the names of the witnesses, see Hinds, "Ṣiffīn Arbitration Agreement"; and see Serjeant, "Early Arabic Prose," esp. 142–47.

340. Literally, "the Book of God is between us."

341. It is not clear whether we are meant to understand that the two names were part of the document or whether this is an explicit editorial interpolation. The two versions analyzed by Hinds contain the names.

the Book of God they will resort to the just precedent (*al-sunnah al-'ādilah*), which unites and does not divide.

The two arbitrators have from 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah and from the two armies pacts and covenants and from the people an assurance that they have security for themselves and their families. The community will be helpers (*anṣār*) for the two arbitrators regarding what they both determine, and the believers and Muslims of both parties are bound by God's pact and covenant that we will abide by the contents of this document (*ṣaḥīfah*), that what the two of them
[3337] decide upon is obligatory for the believers. Security, right conduct, and the setting aside of arms are to be between the believers wherever they go, for themselves, their families, their properties, those of them who are here and those who are absent. 'Abdallāh b. Qays and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ have sworn to God that they will decide the issue disputed among this community and that they will not return it to warfare or division so long as they are not disobeyed.

The appointed time for the decision is Ramaḍān, but, if the two of them wish to defer that, they may defer it by mutual consent. If one of the two arbitrators dies, then the commander of (his) party (*shī'ah*) will choose in his stead one of those who are recognized for justice and probity[342] and will not delay. The place in which they will make their decision shall be a place equidistant between the people of al-Kūfah and those of Syria, and, if they so wish and desire, only those whom they want may be present there with them. The two arbitrators will take whomsoever they wish of those (now) present and write the fact of their witnessing[343] to what is in this document. They will be helpers (of the two arbitrators) against whoever abandons what is in this document and desires impiety (*ilḥād*) and injustice regarding it. Oh God, we ask for Your help against whoever abandons what is in this document.

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342. *Min ahl al-ma'dalah wa-al-qisṭ*: for the concept of *'adālah* in Muslim law, see *EI*², s.v. 'Adl.

343. Read *shahādatahum*, not *shahādatahumā*.

It was witnessed by:[344] from among 'Alī's companions, al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, Sa'īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī, Warqā' b. Sumayy al-Bajalī, 'Abdallāh b. Muhill al-'Ijlī, Hujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī, 'Abdallāh b. al-Ṭufayl al-'Āmirī, 'Uqbah b. Ziyād al-Ḥaḍramī, Yazīd b. Ḥujayyah al-Ṭaymī, and Mālik b. Ka'b al-Hamdānī.[345] And from among the companions of Mu'āwiyah (it was witnessed by): Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī 'Amr b. Sufyān, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī, al-Mukhāriq b. al-Ḥārith al-Zubaydī, Ziml b. [3338] 'Amr al-'Udhrī, Ḥamzah b. Mālik al-Hamdānī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid al-Makhzūmī, Subay' b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī, 'Alqamah b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī, 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān, and Yazīd b. al-Ḥurr al-'Absī.[346]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—'Umārah b. Rabī'ah al-Jarmī: When the document (*ṣaḥīfah*) had been written, al-Ashtar was summoned to (witness) it, but he said: "May I lose my right hand, and may my left be useless after it, if my name is inscribed in this document in favor of peace or settlement. Do I not have a clear sign from my Lord about the error of my enemy,[347] and did you not have the prospect of victory if you had not agreed upon acting wrongfully?" Al-Ash'ath b. Qays said to him: "By God, you have seen neither victory nor wrongful acts. Come to us, for there is no reason for you to shun us."[348] He replied: "Yes, indeed, by God, there is reason to shun you in this world on its account and in the next on its account. God has shed by my sword the blood of men no worse than you in my view, and their blood was no less sacrosanct than yours."

'Umārah said: I looked at that man—he meant al-Ash'ath—and it was as if charcoal had been crushed on his nose (that is, he was black with rage).

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344. Again, it is not clear whether this is to be understood as a continuation of the text of the document ("Witnessed by:. . .") or as an editorial comment.

345. For al-Ash'ath, Ibn 'Abbās, and Sa'īd b. Qays, see nn. 55, 3, 66, above; for Yazīd b. Ḥujayyah, Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; for Mālik b. Ka'b, ibid., s.v. Mālik b. Ka'b Abū al-Ḥārith; Ḥujr b. 'Adī (see n. 71, above), appears in other versions as Ḥujr b. Yazīd (which may be a better reading).

346. For Ḥamzah b. Mālik. see n. 81, above; for al-Mukhāriq, Ziml, and 'Utbah (the brother of Mu'āwiyah), see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.vv.

347. *A-wa-lastu 'alā bayyinah min rabbī min ḍalāl 'adūwī.* Cairo has a *wāw* before the second *min*; *WS*, 511, has . . . *wa-yaqīn min ḍalālat 'adūwī.*

348. *Lā raghbata bika 'annā.*

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb: Al-Ash'ath went out with the document to read it to the men and to present it to them
[3339] to read it (themselves). He came with it to a party of the Banū Tamīm, among whom was 'Urwah b. Udayyah, the brother of Abū Bilāl (Mirdās).[349] Al-Ash'ath read it to them, and 'Urwah said: "Do you appoint men as arbitrators in God's business? Authority (*ḥukm*) belongs to God alone."[350] Then he wielded his sword and lightly struck the rump of his mount with it so that it plunged forward, but his companions shouted to him, "Control yourself!" and he withdrew. The people of al-Ash'ath's tribe and many others of the Yemenis were furious on his behalf, but al-Aḥnaf b. Qays al-Sa'dī,[351] Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī, Mis'ar b. Fadakī, and many of the Banū Tamīm came to al-Ash'ath and offered apologies and excuses. He accepted them and forgave them.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Zayd 'Abdallāh al-Awdī: A man of Awd[352] called 'Amr b. Aws fought alongside 'Alī at Ṣiffīn, and Mu'āwiyah took him prisoner with many others. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ told Mu'āwiyah to kill them, but 'Amr b. Aws said to Mu'āwiyah, "You are my maternal uncle, so do not kill me." The Banū Awd came up to Mu'āwiyah and requested, "Give us our brother," but he replied: "Let him be. By my life, if he is telling the truth, then we do not need your intercession; and, if he is lying, then your intercession will be of no use."[353] He asked 'Amr b. Aws: "How is it that I am your maternal uncle? By God, there is no marriage relationship between us and the Banū Awd." 'Amr replied, "If I tell you and you recognize it, then will it gain a safe-conduct for me from you?" "Yes," he said. 'Amr said, "Do you not know that Umm Ḥabībah the daughter of Abū Sufyān was the Prophet's wife?" "Yes, indeed," Mu'āwiyah answered. "Well, I am her son, and you are her brother, and therefore you are my maternal uncle." Mu'āwiyah said: "May God grant rest to your father! Among these there is nobody who

349. For these two brothers of the Banū Ḥanẓalah/Tamīm, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Urwa b. Ḥudair and Mirdās b. Ḥudair.

350. See Qur'ān 6:57, 12:40, 12:67.

351. For al-Aḥnaf, a Tamīmī leader proverbial for his tact and diplomacy, see *EI*², s.v.

352. Apparently the Banū Awd b. Ṣa'b of Madhḥij, which had members in both al-Kūfah and Syria (Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Aud).

353. Literally, "will come from behind him."

would have thought of it other than he (i.e., 'Amr b. Aws)."[354] Then he said to the men of Awd: "Indeed he has no need of your intercession! Let him go!"[355]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Wa'lah al-Hamdānī—al-Sha'bī: The prisoners taken by 'Alī at Ṣiffīn were numerous, but he released them, and they went to Mu'āwiyah while 'Amr was advising the latter to kill the many whom the Syrians had captured. But they were surprised to find that the prisoners taken from their own side had been released, and Mu'āwiyah said to him: "'Amr, if we were to follow your advice regarding these prisoners, we would incur disgrace in the matter. Do you not see that our own captives have been released?" And he ordered the release of the prisoners who were in his hands. [3340]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ismā'īl b. Yazīd—Ḥumayd b. Muslim—Jundab b. 'Abdallāh: At Ṣiffīn 'Alī said to his men: "You have done something that has demolished strength, brought down might, caused weakness, and bequeathed lowliness. When you had the upper hand and your enemy feared destruction, when the slaughter was great among them and they experienced the agonies of wounds, they raised the *maṣāḥif* and summoned you to what was in them so as to obtain relief from you, to break off the fighting over the issue that divides you from them, and to await the accidents of fate, as a trick and a cunning trap. You gave them what they asked and insisted on leniency and forbearance toward them, and I swear by God that I do not think that henceforth you will agree upon right conduct or achieve a gate of discretion."

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) said: The document (*kitāb*) regarding the matter between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah was written, according to report, on Wednesday, thirteen days having elapsed of Ṣafar in the year 37 of the Hijrah. It was agreed that[356] 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah would come to the place of the two arbitrators at Dūmat al-Jandal[357]

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354. The point is that Umm Ḥabībah, Mu'āwiyah's sister, enjoyed the honorific title "Mother of the Believers" (*Umm al-mu'minīn*) along with the Prophet's other wives (see Qur'ān 33:6).

355. For *a* in place of *a-lā*, see *Gloss.*, s.v. *a*.

356. It is not clear whether we are to understand that the following was agreed in the document itself. *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §67, seems to think so and translates "con la clausola."

357. For this oasis on the borders between the Arabian peninsula and modern Jordan, see *EI*², s.v.

in the month of Ramaḍān and each of them would bring 400 companions and followers.

[3341] According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad (b. Shabbawayh al-Marwazī)—his father—Sulaymān b. Yūnus b. Yazīd—al-Zuhrī: At Ṣiffīn, when Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Ṣūḥān[358] saw the men contending with one another,[359] he said: "Hear and understand! Know well, by God, that, if 'Alī is triumphant, he will be like Abū Bakr and 'Umar, but, if Mu'āwiyah wins, he will not acknowledge any man's word as truth."

Al-Zuhrī said: So it was that the Syrians displayed[360] their *maṣāḥif* and appealed to what they contained. The men of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah[361] were filled with awe, and at that they appointed the two arbitrators. The men of Iraq chose Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and those of Syria 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. When the two had been appointed, the men at Ṣiffīn dispersed, and the two arbitrators stipulated that they should elevate what the Qur'ān elevates[362] and put down what the Qur'ān puts down, that they should make a choice for the community of Muḥammad, and that they would meet together at Dūmat al-Jandal or, if they did not meet for that,[363] that they should meet in the next year at Adhruḥ.[364]

When 'Alī went back the Ḥarūriyyah[365] opposed him and rebelled (*kharaja*). That was the first manifestion (of their movement). They exhorted him to fight (against Mu'āwiyah) and rejected his giving authority to (*ḥakkama*) men in something that was a matter for God's authority (*ḥukm*). They said, "Authority belongs to God alone" (*lā ḥukma illā lillāh subḥānahu*) and fought against 'Alī.

When the two arbitrators met at Adhruḥ, al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah[366] came to them among those of the men who were present there. The two sent to 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and to 'Abdallāh

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358. See n. 62, above.

359. Reading, with Cairo, *yatabārawna* (Leiden reads *yatabārrūna*).

360. *Nashara*, which could mean "to unroll," "to unfurl," or perhaps "to hoist" (like a flag); *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §23, understands it in this last sense—"sollevarono."

361. Literally, "the men of the two Iraqs."

362. *An yarfa'ā mā rafa'a al-Qur'ān*. Here the metaphorical sense of *raf'u al-Qur'ān* is explicit.

363. *In lam yajtami'ā li-dhālik*; possibly, "if they did not agree to that," although one would expect *'alā* rather than *li*.

364. Between Ma'n and Petra (see *EI*², s.v.).

365. A name for the Khawārij, said to be derived from the village of Ḥarūrā', where they first gathered (see *EI*², s.v. Ḥarūrā').

366. For this controversial Companion of the Prophet and future governor of al-Kūfah for Mu'āwiyah, see *EI*², s.v.

b. al-Zubayr,[367] asking them to come with many men. Mu'āwiyah came with the Syrians, but 'Alī and the Iraqis refused to come. Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah said to some men of Quraysh who were well versed in public affairs, "Do you think anybody is well versed enough to devise it so as to find out whether the two arbitrators will agree or differ from one another?" They replied, "We do not [3342] think anyone knows how to do that." He said, "By God, I think that I will find it out from them when I am alone with them and question them."

He went in to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and spoke to him, saying: "Abū 'Abdallāh, answer my question. What do you think about us—a group of those who have removed themselves from the conflict (*ma'shar al-mu'tazilah*)? We are in doubt about the matter of this fighting, which is clear to you, and we thought that we should wait and be cautious until the community reached an agreement." 'Amr answered, "I consider you a band that has gone apart (*mu'tazilah*), behind the righteous ones but ahead of the evil ones." Al-Mughīrah went away, not asking him anything else, and came to Abū Mūsā. He questioned him just as he had 'Amr, and Abū Mūsā said: "I think you are the most steadfast of the people in holding the right opinion. In you is the remnant of the Muslims." Al-Mughīrah left without asking him anything else and met those well-versed men of Quraysh to whom he had said what he did. He said, "These two will never agree about anything."

When the two arbitrators met and debated, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "Abū Mūsā, I think that the first part of the truth we should determine is to decide in favor of those who fulfill their undertakings according to their fulfillment and against those who are perfidious according to their perfidy." Abū Mūsā said, "What do you mean?" and 'Amr said, "Do you not know that Mu'āwiyah and the Syrians have fulfilled their undertaking and come at the time and to the place upon which we pledged them?" "Indeed yes," said Abū Mūsā. 'Amr told him to write that down, and he did so. 'Amr said: "Abū Mūsā, do you accept that we should name a man who will have authority over the affairs of this community? Give me a name, and, if I can accept your suggestion, I undertake to do so; otherwise,

367. Both sons of prominent Companions of the Prophet, and possible candidates themselves for the caliphate (see *EI*², s.vv.).

you must accept mine." Abū Mūsā said. "I suggest 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar." (Ibn 'Umar was one of those who had "gone apart" [*i'tazala*].) 'Amr replied, "I suggest Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān." Their meeting ended in mutual vilification.

[3343] Then they went out to the people, and Abū Mūsā said to them, "I have found 'Amr to be like those of whom God says, 'Recite to them the tidings of him to whom We have brought Our signs but he has cast them off.' "[368] When Abū Mūsā fell silent, 'Amr spoke and said, "People, I have found Abū Mūsā to be like those of whom God says, 'Those who were made to bear the Torah but then did not carry it are like the ass carrying writings.' "[369] And each one of them wrote down the simile he had coined regarding the other (to be sent to) the garrison towns.

Ibn Shihāb (al-Zuhrī) said: One evening Mu'āwiyah stood and addressed the people. He praised God in suitable terms and then said, "Whoever has something to say on this matter, let him show himself to us." Ibn 'Umar said: "I got up from my *ḥubwah*;[370] for I wanted to say, 'Men who fought your father in the cause of Islam have something to say about it,' but then I was afraid to say anything that would divide the community, or about which blood would be shed, or in which I might become carried away, for what God promised regarding the gardens (of paradise) is dearer to me than that. When Mu'āwiyah had returned to his dwelling place, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah csme to me and asked, 'What stopped you speaking when you heard what the man was saying?' I replied, 'I wanted to do so but then was afraid to say anything that would be divisive, or about which blood would be shed, or in which I might become carried away. What God promised of the gardens is dearer to me than that.' " Ibn 'Umar said, "Ḥabīb said, 'You have been preserved by God from evil.' "[371]

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368. Qur'ān 7:175, which continues, "and Satan followed after him and he became one of those who go astray" (*al-ghāwīn*).

369. Qur'ān 62:5.

370. On the *ḥubwah*, a garment or piece of cloth used to wrap around oneself when sitting on the ground with the knees drawn up against the chest, or the act of sitting in such a posture, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.vv. *ḥubwah* and *ḥ-b-w*, form VIII.

371. *'Uṣimta*. The story is illustrative of Ibn 'Umar's unwillingness to become involved in the *fitnah*. See the report in al-Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 29 (*ghazwat al-khandaq*).

(The narrative of Abū Mikhnaf resumes.) According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī: After the document (*ṣaḥīfah*) had been written, 'Alī was told, "Al-Ashtar will not agree to what is in it, but insists on fighting." 'Alī replied: "By God, I did not accept (the appeal to stop the fighting) and I did not want you to accept it, but, after you insisted, I agreed. Now, since I have accepted it, it is not right to reject it again and to change our mind after confirming it, unless God is disobeyed and His Book transgressed. Fight those who have neglected God's command, but, as for he who you tell me has forsaken my command and my position, he is not one of those. I have no fear that he will be like that. Would that there were two like him among you; would that there was one like him, who sees my foe as I do. Then the burden of you would become light for me and I would hope that some of your deviation would be returned to the straight path for me, for I ordered you not to do what you have done, but you disobeyed me. I and you are as the brother of Hawāzin said: [3344]

Am I anything but one of Ghaziyyah? If it goes astray,
so do I, and, if it follows the right path, so do I."[372]

A group of those with him said, "Commander of the Faithful, we have only done what you have done." 'Alī said: "Yes, but why was your answer to them in favor of our stopping fighting? As for the decision (to appoint arbiters), we have given you a pledge regarding it, and all I wanted was for you not fall into error, please God, the Lord of the worlds."

The document (*kitāb*) was written in the month of Ṣafar, and the time appointed for the meeting of the two arbitrators was Ramaḍān, eight months later. Then men buried their dead, and 'Alī gave the order to al-A'war[373] to call upon the men to depart.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—his father: When we left Ṣiffīn we took a different road from that by which we had come. We went by way of the open country on the [3345]

372. In al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitab al-Aghānī*, X, 8, line 8, the verse is attributed to Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah of the Banū Jusham b. Mu'āwiyah/Hawāzin, of which Ghaziyyah b. Jusham was a subclan (see Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 116).

373. Possibly to be identified with al-A'war al-Shannī, the poet (see the index to *WṢ*, s.v.).

bank of the Euphrates as far as Hīt and then by way of Ṣandawdā'.[374] There the Anṣārī descendants of Sa'd b. Ḥarām[375] came out and met 'Alī and proposed to him that he should pitch camp, and he passed the night among them.

The next morning, we continued the journey with him, and, when we had passed al-Nukhaylah and could see the houses of al-Kūfah, we came upon an old man sitting in the shade of a house, whose face bore traces of illness. 'Alī went to him (and we were with him) and greeted him, and so did we. He returned 'Alī's greetings in such a handsome manner that we guessed he must have recognized 'Alī. 'Alī said to him: "I see that your face is changed. What caused that—is it from an illness?" "Yes," he answered. 'Alī said, "You must have suffered from it?" but he answered, "I am glad that it afflicted me rather than another." 'Alī asked, "Are you not expecting a divine reward for the way it has afflicted you?" and he replied, "Indeed yes." 'Alī said: "Rejoice in the mercy of your Lord and the forgiveness of your sins. Who are you, servant of God?" He answered, "I am Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaym." "Of what people?" asked 'Alī. "In origin I am from Salāmān Ṭayyi', but I live among and count myself as one of the Banū Sulaym b. Manṣūr."[376] 'Alī said: "Praise be to God, how excellent is your name and that of your father, that of your adopted relatives and of those to whom you trace your descent. Have you been with us on this expedition?" He said: "No, by God, I have not. I wanted to, but the scourge of the fever, the traces of which you see, prevented me." 'Alī said: "The weak, the sick, and those who do not have the means to spend (in contributing to the support of *jihād*) are exempt from blame if they are true toward God and His Messenger, and there may not be any compulsion against those who do good. God is forgiving and merciful.'[377] Tell me what the people

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374. For Ṣandawdā' (or Ṣandūdā'), south of Hīt (n. 40, above), see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 420.

375. Read Sa'd b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām (as noted in *Ann.*, 37 A.H., §69); he is reported as having been appointed over Ṣandawdā' by Khālid b. al-Walīd in 13/634, to enforce the submission of various Christian Arabs there (see Ṭabarī, I, 2109; al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, 110).

376. The index to the Leiden edition has Salāmān Ṭayyi' (to which this is the only reference) as a person, whereas the Cairo index lists the name as that of a tribe. Possibly it refers to Salāmān b. Thu'al of the Ṭayyi' (for which, see Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 253). For the Banū Sulaym b. Manṣūr of Qays, see ibid., table 92.

377. Qur'ān 9:91.

say about what has happened between us and the Syrians." The old man said, "There are some who are pleased by it, and they are the faithless ones; but there are some who are crushed and sad about it, and they are those who are true to you." 'Alī went to leave and said: "You have spoken truly. May God make your sufferings a decrease of your sins.[378] There is no heavenly reward for illness, but it does decrease any sin that a servant of God incurs. There is only a reward for speaking with the tongue and acting with hand and foot, but God, who is to be greatly praised, admits to paradise a great multitude of his servants by reason of the purity of their intentions and the righteousness of their hearts." [3346]

Then 'Alī went on a short distance, and 'Abdallāh b. Wadī'ah al-Anṣārī[379] met him. He drew near, greeted him, and journeyed along with him. 'Alī asked him, "What have you heard the people saying about what we have done?" He replied, "Some of them approve and others disapprove, just as God said, 'They persist in their differences except for those upon whom your Lord has mercy.'"[380] 'Alī said to him, "What do those of sound understanding say about it?" He answered: "They say: 'Alī had a mighty body of support and he split it, he had a firm fortress and he razed it. How long will it take him to rebuild what he destroyed and to reunite what he sundered? If he had pressed on with those who obeyed him when those who disobeyed him disobeyed him, and if he had fought until he was victorious or had perished, that would have been good judgment (*ḥazm*).'" 'Alī said:

> Did I destroy, or did they destroy? Did I split asunder, or did they? As for their saying, "If he had pressed on with those who obeyed him when those who disobeyed him disobeyed him and fought until he was victorious or had perished, that would have been good judgment," by God, it is not as if I did not think of that. I have no concern for the things of this world and am content with death. I

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378. *Ḥatt^an li-sayyi'ātika.* For discussion of the benefits of pain, suffering, and illness, see the chapters with titles such as *Fī ajr al-marīḍ* in the *ḥadīth* collections, and Wensick, *Concordances*, s.vv. *marḍ, marīḍ*.

379. Perhaps the son of Wadī'ah b. 'Amr, a *ḥalīf* of the Banū al-Najjār, who fought at Badr (Ibn Sa'd, III/2, 58; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 632, no. 9118).

380. Qur'ān II:118–19.

intended to advance against the enemy, but I considered
[3347] those two who had rushed ahead of me (he meant al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn), and I considered those (other) two who had gone forward (he meant 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far and Muḥammad b. 'Alī).[381] I knew that if the first two perished, the progeny of Muḥammad would be cut off from this community, and I abhorred that (thought). And I was concerned for the second two lest they perish, for I knew that if it were not for my situation they would not have gone forward (he meant Muḥammad b. 'Alī and 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far). I swear by God that if I meet the enemy in the future I shall indeed meet them (in battle) so long as they (his three sons and his nephew) are not with me in any camp or dwelling place.

Then he moved on and, when we passed Banū 'Awf, on the right were the graves of seven or eight men. 'Alī asked, "What are these graves?" and Qudāmah b. al-'Ajlān[382] answered: "Commander of the Faithful, after you had departed Khabbāb b. al-Aratt[383] died, and his final wish was that he should be buried outside[384] al-Kūfah. (Previously burials were made only in the people's houses and courtyards.) He was buried outside the town (may God have mercy on him), and the others were buried alongside him." 'Alī said: "May God have mercy on Khabbāb. He entered Islam willingly, he made *hijrah* obediently, he lived as a fighter for Islam (*mujāhid*), and he was physically put to the test on several occasions. God will not neglect the reward of he who performs good deeds."[385] Then he came and stood over the graves and said: "Greetings to you, you of the

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381. The identifications are part of the Arabic text. Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were 'Alī's sons from Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet; 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far was the son of an elder brother of 'Alī (a line of descent that became the focus of messianic aspirations toward the end of the Umayyad period); and Muḥammad b. 'Alī was the already mentioned Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.

382. *WŞ*, 530, supplies the *nisbah* al-Azdī. The Banū 'Awf might be the branch of 'Adwān with that name settled in al-Kūfah.

383. For this early follower of the Prophet in Mecca, where he is said to have suffered mistreatment from Quraysh, see *EI*², s.v.

384. *Fī al-ẓahr* (*Gloss.*, s.v.). Wellhausen, *Reste*, 179, n. 1, refers to the discrepancy between *ḥadīth*s that forbid the use of houses for burial (Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.v. *bayt*, p. 340, col. a) and reports that the Prophet and other early Muslims were buried in their houses.

385. See Qur'ān 9:120.

desolate abodes and forsaken places, of the believing men and women, and of the Muslim men and women. You are they who have gone ahead before us, while we come after you and will shortly join you. Oh God, pardon us and them and forgive us and them." And he said: "Praise be to God, Who has created you from it (the earth) and made it the place to which you return. He will make you arise from it again and gather you together upon it. Blessings upon he [3348] who remembers the return, acts for the final reckoning, is content with a sufficiency, and is satisfied with the reward that God will bestow upon him."[386] Then he went ahead until, when he was opposite the lane of the Thawriyyūn,[387] he said: "Go in. Enter among these houses."[388]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Āṣim al-Fā'ishī: 'Alī passed by the Thawriyyūn and heard weeping. He asked about it and was told, "They are weeping for the slain at Ṣiffīn." He replied, "I bear witness for those of them who were killed patiently holding fast and expecting the rewards of martyrdom." Then he passed by the Fā'ishiyyūn[389] and heard crying and said something similar. He moved on and passed by the Shibāmiyyūn[390] and heard a great convulsion. He halted, and Ḥarb b. Shuraḥbīl al-Shibāmī[391] came out to him. 'Alī said: "Have your women taken control of you? Can you not prevent this wailing of theirs?" He answered: "Commander of the Faithful, if it were one house or two or three, we could, but 180 of this clan have been killed, and there is no house in which there is no weeping. As for us men, we do not weep but are happy for them. Should we not be glad for them on account of their martyrdom?" 'Alī replied, "May God have mercy on your slain and your dead," and Ḥarb began walking along with him while 'Alī rode. 'Alī said to him, "Go back." He stopped and repeated: "Go back. Someone like you walking with someone like me is a temptation

386. *Wa-raḍiya 'an Allāh*; see Qur'ān 9:100, where the expression is often understood in the sense of satisfaction with the reward given by God, rather than with God Himself.

387. This district of al-Kūfah is referred to in Ṭabarī's account of al-Mukhtār's revolt (II, 628 = XX, 213, of this translation); the Thawriyyūn were part of the Banū Hamdān.

388. See Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, III, 148, for this speech over the tombs.

389. There were two clans of the Hamdān called Fā'ish settled in al-Kūfah.

390. For the Banū Shibām b. As'ad of Hamdān, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

391. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to him.

(*fitnah*) for the governor (*wālī*) and a humiliation for the believer (*mu'min*)."[392] Then he passed on and went by the Nā'iṭiyyūn,[393] the majority off whom were 'Uthmāniyyah.[394] He heard one of them, called 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd[395] of the Banū 'Ubayd of the Nā'iṭiyyūn, saying: "By God, 'Alī has done nothing. He went away
[3349] and then came back without anything." When they saw 'Alī, they fell silent, and 'Alī said, "These are the leaders of a people who have not seen Syria this year." Then he said to his companions, "A people from whom we have separated at the beginning[396] is better than these." Then he began to say:

Your brother is he who, if a mischance of fate distressed you,
did not continue silent in face of your grief.
Your brother is not he who, if matters become bad for you,
will persist in insulting and blaming you.

Then he went on, continuously uttering the name of God, until he had entered the governor's residence (*qaṣr*).

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—'Umārah b. Rabī'ah: They left for Ṣiffīn with 'Alī full of brotherly love and affection, and they came back with mutual hatred and enmity. Before they had left their camp at Ṣiffīn the cry "Authority belongs to God alone" (*lā ḥukma illā lillāh*) had spread among them, and they had set out, pushing each other aside all along the way, insulting one another and beating each other with whips. The Khawārij were saying, "Enemies of God, you have fallen short in God's affair and you have appointed arbitrators." And the others responded to them, "You have separated from our imam and divided our community." When 'Alī entered al-Kūfah, they (the Khawārij) did not go in with him but went to Ḥarūrā',[397] where 12,000 of them encamped. Their herald proclaimed: "Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Tamīmī[398]

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392. It is not certain what this means unless the *wālī* is 'Alī and the *fitnah* is the temptation of pride—i.e., the story illustrates 'Alī's lack of vanity?

393. For the Banū al-Nā'iṭ of Hamdān, see Ibn al-Kalbī, I, table 227.

394. That is, supporters of the murdered caliph.

395. *WṢ*, 532, has 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Marthad, which latter is a common name among the Banū al-Nā'iṭ.

396. Leiden has *anifan*; *ānifan*, as in *WṢ*, 532, seems better. The point is probably that 'Alī is criticizing their hypocrisy in remaining in al-Kūfah while not supporting him—at least he knew where he stood with those who had gone over to Mu'āwiyah.

397. See n. 365, above.

398. See n. 57, above.

is in command of the fighting, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Kawwā' al-Yashkurī[399] is over the prayer ritual (*ṣalāt*). After the victory authority will be consultative,[400] and the oath of allegiance will be to God and (conditional on) the commanding of the good and the prohibiting of what is reprehensible."

'Alī Sends Ja'dah b. Hubayrah to Khurāsān

In this year (37/657–58), according to reports, 'Alī sent Ja'dah b. Hubayrah[401] to Khurāsān.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)[402]—'Abdallāh b. Maymūn—'Amr b. Shujayrah—Jābir—al-Sha'bī: After 'Alī had [3350]
returned from Ṣiffīn, he sent Ja'dah b. Hubayrah al-Makhzūmī to (establish authority over) Khurāsān. He got as far as Abrashahr,[403] the people of which had espoused unbelief (*kufr*) and refused to yield. Ja'dah, therefore, went (back) to 'Alī, who sent out Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbū'ī,[404] who besieged the people of Naysābūr until they made peace with him, and so too those of Marw.[405] He took two maidens of royal blood who had been given safe-conduct, and these he sent to 'Alī, who proposed that they should enter Islam and that he should marry them to someone. They said, "Marry us

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399. Like Shabath, he developed from opposition to 'Uthmān, to support for 'Alī, to support for the Khawārij, to support for Mu'āwiyah (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr [al-Kauwā']).

400. *Wa-al-amr shūrā*. Presumably meaning that a *shūrā* (council) will be appointed to choose an imam, just as was done on the death of 'Umar. One could also read the sentence as "Authority will be consultative after the victory, the oath of allegiance to God, and the commanding of the good and prohibiting of what is reprehensible." The last phrase (*al-amr bi-al-ma'rūf wa-al-nahy 'an al-munkar*) is of frequent occurrence in the Qur'ān; in theory it is a duty of all Muslim governments, but it is emphasized especially by those of an activist disposition.

401. His mother was a sister of 'Alī (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ǧa'da b. Hubaira).

402. For 'Alī b. Muḥammad Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī, d. ca. 235/850, see *GAS*, I, 314–15; *EI*², s.v. al-Madā'inī; Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung," 103ff.

403. Abrashahr (or Abarshahr) was an alternative name for Nishapur (or Naysābūr), the major city of western Khurāsān (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map VIII and 382–88). Both names could also be applied to wider areas, and in this report it seems that Abrashahr is the name of the province and Naysābūr that of the town. (See *EI*¹, s.v. Nīshāpūr.)

404. Dīnawarī, 153–54, calls him Khulayd b. Kās. At Ṭabarī, I, 2349, we are told that the name was also transmitted as Khulayd b. Ṭarīf.

405. Marw is the major town in eastern Khurāsān (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map VIII and 397–400).

to your two sons," but he refused that. One of the *dihqāns*[406] said to him, "Give them to me, for then you would bestow an honor on me." 'Alī did that, and the two of them stayed with the *dihqān*, who spread out for them silken carpets and gave them food from golden vessels. Then they returned to Khurāsān.

The Secession of the Khawārij from 'Alī and His Companions, and Their Subsequent Return

In this year the Khawārij withdrew from 'Alī and his companions and proclaimed their formula "Authority (*ḥukm*) belongs only to God." Then 'Alī argued with them, and they returned and entered al-Kūfah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb (al-Kalbī)—'Umārah b. Rabī'ah: After 'Alī had come to al-Kūfah and the Khawārij had separated from him, his party (*al-shī'ah*) hurried to him and said: "We pledge ourselves to you with a second oath of allegiance. We are the friends of those whom you befriend and enemies of those to whom you are an enemy." The Khawārij said: "You and the Syrians have vied with each other in unbelief (*kufr*) like two horses in a race. The Syrians gave the oath of allegiance to Mu'āwiyah, following their whims, while you gave yours to 'Alī, stipulating that you are friends of those whom he befriends and enemies of those to whom he shows enmity." Ziyād b. al-Naḍr answered them: "By God, 'Alī only ever offered to accept our allegiance,[407] and we only gave him our oath, on (condition that he follows) the Book of God
[3351] and the example (*sunnah*) of His Prophet. Only after you had opposed him did his party come to him and say, 'We are friends of those whom you befriend and enemies of those to whom you show enmity.' That is our position. He is following the truth and right guidance and those who oppose him are lost and misleading."

'Alī sent Ibn 'Abbās to them, telling him, "Do not be in a hurry to reply to them and dispute with them before I came to you." Ibn 'Abbās went to them and they began to debate with him, and he

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406. The local gentry of the Sasanid empire, who remained as a distinct group for some time after the Arab conquest (see *EI*², s.v. Dihḳān). For reference to a *dihqān* in Egypt, see p. 145, below.

407. *Mā basaṭa 'Alī yadahu . . . illā . . . .* Literally, "'Alī only stretched forth his hand . . . ."

was impatient to reject their arguments and said: "What is it that you hold against the two arbitrators (*ḥakams*)? God said, 'If the two of them desire reconciliation, God will bring about agreement between them.'[408] (If that is how it is with a married couple), how much more so with the community of Muḥammad!" The Khawārij answered: "Regarding whatever God has delegated authority for to mankind and ordered them to look into and make better, that is for them just as He commanded. But what He has decided (*ḥakama*) and effected Himself is not for His servants to look into. God has decided for the fornicator a hundred lashes, and for the thief the cutting off of the hand, and it is not for His servants to look into that." Ibn 'Abbās said, "But God says, 'Two "just men" from among you shall judge (*yaḥkumu*) it.'"[409] The Khawārij replied. "Do you place the precept (*ḥukm*) regarding game (killed while the slayer is in a condition of ritual purity) and what passes between a man and his wife on a par with the blood of the Muslims?"

(The Khawārij said: We said to him, "This verse separates us from you. Do you consider Ibn al-'Āṣ a 'just man,' given that yesterday he was fighting us and shedding our blood? If he is a 'just man,' then we are not, for we are at war with him. You have appointed men as arbitrators (*ḥakams*) in the affairs of God, but God has effected His precept (*ḥukm*) regarding Mu'āwiyah and his party—that they should be killed or repent.[410] In the past they always rejected our appeals when we summoned them to the Book of God. Now you [3352]
and he have written between you a document and agreed on a truce and discussion,[411] but God has put an end to discussion and truces between the Muslims and the 'people of war' since the revelation of 'Quittance,' except for those who agree to pay the *jizyah*.")[412]

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408. Qur'ān 4:35, referring to dispute between a married couple.

409. Qur'ān 5:95, referring to adjudication of the penalty imposed on someone who kills game while in a state of ritual purity (*iḥrām*).

410. Literally, "return" (*yarji'ū*). Semantically the notions of return and repentance are close; see Qur'ān 9:5, where the polytheists (*mushrikūn*) are ordered to be killed unless they repent (*tābū*). Presumably that is the *ḥukm* to which the Khawārij refer; the variant wording is interesting.

411. *Al-istifāḍah*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *f-y-ḍ*, forms IV and X.

412. "Quittance" (*barā'ah*) is the title of *sūra* IX (also called *Sūrat al-Tawbah*) of the Qur'ān, in which *jizyah* (in Muslim law a poll tax to be paid by non-Muslims in exchange for toleration and protection; also a sign of inferiority) is mentioned in verse 29. However, the argument of the Khawārij here, with its general reference to the "people of war," does not distinguish (as the Qur'ān appears to) between "polytheists" and "people of the Book."

'Alī sent Ziyād b. al-Naḍr to them and told him, "See which of their leaders has the strongest support." He investigated and told 'Alī that the majority seemed to be gathered around Yazīd b. Qays.[413] So 'Alī left with some of his men, went to the Khawārij, came to the tent of Yazīd b. Qays, and entered. There he performed his ritual ablution, prayed two *rak'ahs*, and appointed Yazīd as governor over Iṣbahān and Rayy.[414] Then he left and went to (the others) who were disputing with Ibn 'Abbās. 'Alī told him, "Leave off debating with them. Did I not tell you not to, may God have mercy on you?"

Then 'Alī himself entered into debate with them. He praised God and extolled Him, and said, "Oh God, he who is successful (in his arguments) in this place most merits success on the day of Resurrection, but he who speaks in it and makes no sense[415] will be blind in the next world and straying yet more from the path.' "[416] Then he asked them, "Who do you say is your leader?" "Ibn al-Kawwā,' " they replied. 'Alī asked, "What led you to rebel against us?" and they told him, "The arbitration process (*ḥukūmah*) (agreed by you) at the time of Ṣiffīn." 'Alī said,

> I implore you by God! Do you know what I said to you when they raised the *maṣāḥif*, and you said that we should respond to their call to the Book of God? I said, "I know them better than you. They are men without religion (*dīn*) or *qur'ān*.[417] I was with them and knew them as children and as men, and they were the worst of children and the worst of men. Persist in your truth and your righteousness, for they have raised these *maṣāḥif* only to outwit you and to trick you." You rejected my view and said, "No, rather we will yield to them," and I warned you, "Do not forget what I have said to you and your disobedience to me." When
> [3353] you, nevertheless, insisted that I enter into a written agreement, I stipulated to the two arbitrators that they should bring about that which the Qur'ān has brought into being

413. See n. 92, above.

414. Two towns of western Iran, the former in the south, the latter in the north, of the province known as Jibāl (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map V, and 202–5, 214–17).

415. *Aw'atha*. See *Gloss.*, s.v.

416. Qur'ān 17:72.

417. See p. 79 and n. 320, above.

> and suppress what it has put an end to. For, if they both decide according to the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Qur'ān, it is not for us to oppose a decision that is made according to what is in the Qur'ān. But, if the two of them reject that, then we will be free of their authority.

The Khawārij said, "Tell us—do you think it is 'just' to give men authority in a matter of blood?" 'Alī replied, "We have not given men authority; we have made the Qur'ān the authority. But this Qur'ān is merely a writing set down between two covers. It does not speak; it is merely men who speak through it." They said to him, "Tell us about the delay—why have you made it in (pursuing) your dispute with them?" He answered, "So that he who is ignorant might know and he who knows might make sure. Perhaps God will reconcile this community during this truce. Go and enter your garrison town, may God have mercy on you." And they did so to the last man.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab al-Azdī transmitted from his father a report similar to that just narrated. But as for the Khawārij, they say: We said (to 'Alī), "You have spoken truly and it was just as you have said,[418] but that was unbelief on our part and we have turned to God in repentance from it. Repent as we have, and we shall give you the oath of allegiance; otherwise we will oppose you." 'Alī took the oath of allegiance from us and said, "Go in (to al-Kūfah) and we will wait for six months until the money (from taxation) is raised and the horses are fattened, and then we will go out against our enemy." We do not accept what they have said for they have lied.

Ma'n b. Yazīd b. al-Akhnas al-Sulamī[419] came to 'Alī about the delay in effecting the arbitration process (*al-ḥukūmah*), and said, "Mu'āwiyah has kept his promise. You keep yours. Do not let the bedouins of Bakr and Tamīm[420] change your mind." 'Alī ordered the putting into effect of the arbitration. They had separated from Ṣiffīn having stipulated that the two arbitrators should come with 400 men each to Dūmat al-Jandal.[421]

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418. That is, we did insist that you accept the Syrians' call to stop fighting.

419. See n. 100, above; presumable Ma'n was sent to 'Alī by Mu'āwiyah.

420. That is, the Khawārij.

421. The relationship of the various reports and the chains of authority claimed for them in the previous section seems quite ambiguous. Is the paragraph beginning

[3354] Al-Wāqidī claimed that Sa'd (b. Abī Waqqāṣ][422] had been present with those who were with the arbitrators and that his son 'Umar did not leave him until he had accompanied him to Adhruḥ. Then Sa'd repented of that and entered the required state of ritual purity in Jerusalem for an 'Umrah.[423]

The Meeting of the Two Arbitrators at Dūmat al-Jandal

In this year (37/657–58) there was the meeting of the two arbitrators.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd—al-Sha'bī—Ziyād b. al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī: 'Alī sent 400 men under the command of Shurayḥ b. Hāni' al-Ḥārithī, with 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, who led them in prayer and directed their affairs, together with Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī; and Mu'āwiyah sent 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ with 400 of the Syrians. They came to Dūmat al-Jandal at Adhruḥ.[424]

Whenever Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Amr the messenger passed between them not knowing what message he brought or what he took back, and the Syrians did not question him about anything. But, whenever the messenger of 'Alī came, his men went to Ibn 'Abbās and asked, "What did the Commander of the Faithful write to you?" If Ibn 'Abbās concealed the message, they speculated about it and said, "We think he wrote to you such-and-such." He would reply,

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"The Khawārij said, 'We said to him. . . .,' " which has been put in parentheses, part of Abū Mikhnaf's report from Abū Janāb—'Umārah, or is it an interpolation into it? Similarly, the part beginning "But as for the Khawārij, they say: We said to 'Alī. . ." may be part of Abū Mikhnaf's report from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—his father, or it may be another interpolation. The source of the comment in the last sentence of that paragraph ("We do not accept what they [the Khawārij] say. . .") is not clear (Abū Mikhnaf?) and neither is that for the last paragraph (beginning "Ma'n b. Yazīd. . .came to 'Alī").

422. A leading companion of the Prophet, of the Banū Zuhrah of Quraysh, who might have been a candidate for the caliphate (see *EI*², s.v.). For his unwillingness to become involved in the events of the arbitration, see p. 105, below.

423. The "minor pilgrimage" to Mecca that may be performed at any time of the year (see *EI*¹, s.v.).

424. Ar. *tawāfaw bi-Dūmat al-Jandal bi-Adhruḥ*. The Leiden editor's note indicates that we should understand something like "they came to Dūmat al-Jandal or rather Adhruḥ," while the note in *Add. et emend.* suggests that a marginal comment might have found its way into the text. Some sources read *min Dūmat al-Jandal bi-Adhruḥ*, which *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §18, understands as "at Adhruḥ, coming from Dūmat at-Jandal." It is possible that the various formulas should be seen as attempts to reconcile contradictory traditions about the place of the arbitration meeting. For a modern attempt, see *EI*², s.v. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

"Don't you understand? Don't you see Mu'āwiyah's messenger coming and going without knowing what message he brings and takes back? You hear nothing from them, no word. But every day you are with me indulging in speculation."

There were present at that meeting: 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar; 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al- [3355]
Makhzūmī; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. [al-Aswad b.] 'Abd Yaghūth al-Zuhrī; Abū Jahm b. Ḥudhayfah al-'Adawī; and al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah al-Thaqafī.[425] 'Umar b. Sa'd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ] went to his father who was at a water hole of the Banū Sulaym in the desert. He said to him, "Oh my father, you have heard about the dispute between the people at Ṣiffīn and that they have appointed Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ as arbitrators. A group of Quraysh have turned up with them. You should go and be present with them for you are a Companion of the Messenger of God and one of the *shūrā*,[426] and you never entered into anything that this community objected to. Join them, for you have the most right among the people to the caliphate." But Sa'd answered, "I will not do that, for I have heard the Messenger of God saying, 'There will be a *fitnah* in which the best will be he who is inconspicuous and fears God.' By God, I will never have anything to do with this matter."[427]

The two arbitrators met and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "Abū Mūsā, do you not know that 'Uthmān was killed unjustly?" He replied, "I testify to that." 'Amr said, "Do you not know that Mu'āwiyah and the family of Mu'āwiyah are his closest kin (*awliyā'*)?" He answered, "Yes, indeed." 'Amr continued:

> God has said, "Whoever is killed unjustly, we have given authority (*sulṭān*, i.e., to exact revenge) to his next-of-kin (*walī*); but do not let him (the *walī*) go to excess in killing (in revenge); he will be helped (*manṣūr*)."[428] So why do you

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425. Apart from al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah (see n. 366, above), all are leading members of Quraysh of Mecca, sons of figures active in the time of the Prophet, and now possible contenders for the caliphate. In Sunnī legal theory, descent from Quraysh was a necessary condition for the caliphate.

426. That is, the group of six appointed to choose a successor as caliph to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in 23/644.

427. That is, the caliphate; in contexts such as this *al-amr* ("the matter" or "the affair") usually indicates the issue of the leadership of the community.

428. Qur'ān 17:33.

refrain from supporting Mu'āwiyah, the next-of-kin of 'Uthmān, Abū Mūsā? (The status of) his family in Quraysh is as you know. If you are afraid that the people will say, "Abū Mūsā has given power to Mu'āwiyah,[429] but he is not one of the early Muslims," you have an argument in response to that. You will say, "I have found him to be the next-of-kin of 'Uthmān, the unjustly killed caliph, and the seeker of revenge for his blood, and I have found him adept in government and in managing things. He is the brother of Umm Ḥabībah, the wife of the Prophet, and he was a Companion to the Prophet, one of the group of Companions."

Then 'Amr hinted to Abū Mūsā that he would obtain a position of authority and said, "If Mu'āwiyah rules, he will bestow on you honors such as no caliph has ever granted."

Abū Mūsā answered:

[3356] 'Amr, fear God. Regarding what you have said about the nobility of Mu'āwiyah, it is not on the basis of nobility that those who are right for it are given power. If it were on the basis of nobility, then the rule would belong to the family of Abrahah b. al-Ṣabbāḥ.[430] Rather it is something only for people of religion (*dīn*) and merit (*faḍl*). Moreover, if I were to give it to the best of Quraysh in nobility, I would give it to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. And as for what you said about Mu'āwiyah as the one responsible for taking vengeance for the blood of 'Uthmān, and that therefore I should accord the rule to him, I will not give Mu'āwiyah power in it and abandon (the rights of) the first *muhājirūn*.[431] And concerning your hinting at a position of authority for me, by God, even if all of Mu'āwiyah's authority devolved on me,

429. Following the suggestion of *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §18, to read *wallā* for *waliya*.

430. Said to be named after his maternal grandfather, the famous Abyssinian ruler of the Yemen in the sixth century C.E., he is referred to in Dīnawarī, 199, as "one of the sons of the kings of the Yemen (*al-tabābi'ah*)" (see Ṭabarī, I, 2586; II, 211; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

431. Here perhaps meaning the surviving earliest followers of the Prophet who had moved with him from Mecca to Medina (such as Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ), and their descendants (such as 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr).

> I would not give him power, and I am not to be bribed in [a matter concerning] the authority (*ḥukm*) of God. But if you wish we will revive the name of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.[432]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—['Umārah b. Rabī'ah or al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyaḥ]: Abū Mūsā said, "Indeed, by God, if I could I would revive the name of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb." 'Amr said to him, "If you want to give the oath of allegiance to the son of 'Umar, what prevents you from giving it to my son[433]—for you know his merit and righteousness?" He answered, "Your son is a man of righteousness (*ṣidq*), but you have submerged him in this *fitnah*."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Nāfi', the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar: 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "Only a man with a tooth, who eats and gives food, is suitable for this office."[434] Ibn 'Umar was oblivious and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr said to him, "Take note and pay attention."[435] 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar replied, "No, by God, I will not give anything as a bribe to obtain it (i.e., the rule)." And he said, "Oh Ibn al-'Āṣ, the Arabs have entrusted their affair to you after clashing with swords and fighting one another with spears. [3357] Do not cast them back into the *fitnah*."[436]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ al-'Absī: I was with Shurayḥ b. Hāni' on the campaign in Sijistān,[437] and he told me that 'Alī had entrusted him with a message to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. 'Alī had told Shurayḥ that when he met 'Amr he was to tell him that 'Alī had sent him the following message:

> The most excellent in God's sight is he who prefers acting rightfully, even if it diminishes him and causes him

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432. That is, by appointing 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar.

433. That is, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (see n. 10, above).

434. *Inna hādha al-amra lā yuṣliḥuhu illā rajulun lahu ḍirsun ya'kulu wa-yuṭ'imu.* The context seems to indicate that the phrase refers to a man willing to take and give "sweeteners." See Dīnawarī, 200: "a man with two teeth, with one of which he eats and with the other gives food (succors?)."

435. Or, said to him, "Take note!" and he paid attention.

436. In the variant form of this report in *WṢ*, 542, the remark about the man with the tooth is made by 'Amr to Abū Mūsā, who has suggested that the rule should be offered to Ibn 'Umar. It is Abū Mūsā who is oblivious. Then Ibn al-Zubayr advises Ibn 'Umar to offer 'Amr a bribe, but he refuses and, instead, addresses the final sentence to 'Amr.

437. Shurayḥ (n. 26, above) is said to have been killed in Sijistān with the army of 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah in the time of al-Ḥajjāj.

grief, over vain deeds, even if he yearns for them and they augment him. 'Amr, by God you know where the right lies, so why do you pretend not to know? If you are given the least thing that you covet, with it you will be an enemy to God and His friends, and (consequently) it will be as if you have lost what you have been given, woe unto you! "Do not be an adversary on behalf of the traitors"[438] nor a partisan of the evildoers.[439] Indeed, I know of a day when you will be remorseful—that is the day of your death, (when) you will earnestly desire that you had not displayed enmity to a Muslim or accepted a bribe for a judgment (*ḥukm*).

Shurayḥ said: I told 'Amr that, and his face became suffused with anger. He said, "When have I ever accepted the advice of 'Alī, done what he said, or taken account of his views?" I answered him, "Why do you not, Ibn al-Nābighah, accept the advice of your master, the one who, after their Prophet, is the lord of the Muslims? Those who were your betters, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, asked for his advice and acted in accordance with his views." He said, "People like me do not argue with the likes of you." I said, "On account of which of your two parents do you have a disdain for me—is it because of your low-class (*washīẓ*) father or your 'distinguished' (*nābighah*) [3358] mother?"[440] 'Amr got up and left and I did too.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī: When 'Amr and Abū Mūsā met together at Dūmat al-Jandal, 'Amr at first gave Abū Mūsā precedence in speaking, saying himself, "You are the companion of the Messenger of God and you are my senior. Speak and I will speak." 'Amr had accustomed Abū Mūsā to think that he would give him precedence in everything, wishing thus to make him go first so he would take the initiative in deposing 'Alī.

Abū Mūsā considered the matter in hand and what they had come together for, and 'Amr wanted him to declare in favor of

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438. Qur'ān 4:105. The verse talks of God's sending down the Book "so that you may judge (*ḥ-k-m*) between the people." *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §21, translates *fa-lā takun lil-khā'inīna khaṣīman* as "non entrare in disputa coi traditori."

439. See Qur'ān 28:17, 28:86.

440. Shurayḥ is being insultingly ironic; 'Amr's father, al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il b. Hishām, was a prominent man of the Banū Sahm of Quraysh, while his mother Nābighah (= "distinguished") was a slave.

Mu'āwiyah, but he refused. 'Amr then wanted him to declare in favor of his son, but again he refused. Abū Mūsā tried to get 'Amr to declare in favor of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, but he refused. 'Amr then said to Abū Mūsā, "Tell me what you think." He answered, "I think we should depose these two men and make the matter consultative between the Muslims, who will choose for themselves whomever they like." 'Amr said to him, "I agree." They went toward the people who were gathered together. 'Amr said, "Abū Mūsā, tell them that we have a meeting of minds and an agreement." Abū Mūsā spoke and said, "I and 'Amr have agreed on something by which we hope God will bring about peace to this community." 'Amr said, "You have spoken the truth and kept your word, Abū Mūsā, go ahead and speak."

Abū Mūsā went forward to speak, but Ibn 'Abbās said to him: "Woe to you, by God, I suspect that he has tricked you. If you have both agreed on something, let him go first and speak about that thing before you, and then you speak after him. 'Amr is a treacherous man and I am not sure that he has given you satisfaction when it was just the two of you, but, when you stand among the people he will oppose you." But Abū Mūsā was heedless and said, "We have agreed."

Abū Mūsā went forward, praised God and extolled Him, and then said, "People, we have considered the affairs of this community and we do not think that there is anything that will be more beneficial for it or more conducive to resolving its difficulties than that upon which I and 'Amr have agreed. That is, that we should depose 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah and that this community should confront the issue and appoint over themselves from among themselves whomever it is that they want. I have accepted the deposition of 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, and now you confront the issue and give power over you to whomever you think is fitting for this matter." [3359]

He then stood aside and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ took his place. He praised God and extolled Him, then said, "This fellow has spoken as you have heard and declared the deposition of the one whom he represents. Similarly, I declare that he is deposed and I confirm my support for my candidate Mu'āwiyah. He is the next-of-kin of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and the one who seeks vengeance for his blood. Of all the people, he has most right to take his place."

Abū Mūsā said, "What are you doing, may God foil you? You have acted treacherously and unrighteously. You are like the dog which,

if you attack it, it lolls out its tongue, or, if you leave it alone, it still lolls out its tongue.'"[441] 'Amr responded, "And you 'are like the monkey which carries writings.'"[442] Shurayḥ b. Hāni' attacked 'Amr, lashing at his head with a whip, and a son of 'Amr assailed Shurayḥ, striking him with a whip. Everyone got up and separated the two of them, and subsequently Shurayḥ used to say, "There is nothing I regret more than my striking at 'Amr with a whip. If only I had struck at him with a sword and let fate bring him what it would!" The Syrians sought Abū Mūsā, but he mounted his camel and retired to Mecca.

Ibn 'Abbās said, "God damn the decision (*ra'y*) of Abū Mūsā! I warned him and told him to be circumspect, but he took no heed." And Abū Mūsā used to say, "Ibn 'Abbās warned me of the treachery of the evildoer (*fāsiq*), but I trusted him and did not imagine that he would put anything above sincere advice to this community."

Then 'Amr and the Syrians went back to Mu'āwiyah and greeted him as caliph, while Ibn 'Abbās and Shurayḥ b. Hāni' went to 'Alī. Whenever he was making the early morning prayers, 'Alī would stand in supplication[443] and say, "Oh God, put a curse on Mu'āwiyah, 'Amr, Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, Ḥabīb [b. Maslamah], 'Abd al-
[3360] Raḥmān b. Khālid, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, and al-Walīd [b. 'Uqbah]." Mu'āwiyah heard about that, and when he himself made supplication, he cursed 'Alī, Ibn 'Abbās, al-Ashtar, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn.

Al-Wāqidī claims that the meeting of the two arbitrators was in the month of Sha'bān in the year 38 of the Hijrah (January 659).

The Actions of the Khawārij at the Time of 'Alī's Sending Abū Mūsā to the Arbitration, and the Battle at the Canal[444]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mughaffal[445]—'Awn b. Abī Juḥayfah: When 'Alī was about to send Abū Mūsā to the arbitration

441. Qur'ān 7:177.

442. Qur'ān 62:5.

443. *Yaqnutu*; the *qunūt* are supplications made in standing position at the end of the *ṣalāt*.

444. *Yawm al-nahr*; this refers to the canal of Nahrawān (see later). On the following, see Wellhausen, *Religio-Political Factions*, 27–29.

445. The name is doubtful.

(*ḥukūmah*) two men (from the Khawārij), Zur'ah b. al-Burj al-Ṭā'ī and Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr al-Sa'dī,[446] came to him. They went in to where he was and said to him, "Authority (*ḥukm*) belongs to God alone."[447] 'Alī responded, "Authority belongs to God alone."

Ḥurqūṣ said to him, "Repent of your sin (*khaṭī'ah*), retract your decision, and come out with us against our enemies whom we will fight until we meet our Lord." 'Alī answered them, "That is what I wanted you to do, but you disobeyed me and now we have a written agreement with them and stipulated conditions, and we have made them promises and given them our word regarding it. God has said, [3361] 'Observe God's covenant when you have entered into it and do not break your oaths after you have pledged them, for now you have made God your guarantor. God knows what you do.' "[448] Ḥurqūṣ said to him, "That is a sin (*dhanb*) from which you must repent," but 'Alī answered, "It is no sin but only a failure of judgment (*ra'y*) and weakness of action. I enjoined you concerning it and told you not to do it."

Zur'ah b. al-Burj said to him, "'Alī, unless you stop giving men authority over the Book of God, I will fight against you, seeking thereby the face of God and His favor." 'Alī answered, "May woe befall you! How abject is your state! I seem to see you slain with the wind blowing on you."[449] Zur'ah said, "That is what I would like." 'Alī said, "If you followed the truth there would be consolation for (the loss of) this world in dying while supporting the truth, but Satan has seduced you. Fear God. There is no good for you in this world over which you fight."

The two of them left him, proclaiming the slogan "Authority belongs to God alone" (*yuḥakkimān*).

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah al-Ḥanafī: One day 'Alī went out to deliver an address. In the course of it those who objected to his giving men authority in God's affairs proclaimed their slogan, "Authority belongs to God alone"[450] from

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446. This seems to be the only appearence of Zur'ah; the more prominent Ḥurqūṣ belonged to the Banū Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt of Tamīm.

447. See Qur'ān 6:57; 12:40, 67. This is the famous slogan (*lā ḥukma illā lillāh*) of the Khawārij, known as the *taḥkīm*. See Hawting, "The Significance of the Slogan."

448. Qur'ān 16:91.

449. That is, lying dead and unburied after battle.

450. *Ḥakkamat al-muḥakkimah*.

all sides of the mosque. 'Alī responded, "God is most great! Their words are are true, but they use them to mean something false! If they are silent, we will embrace them (in our community); if they insist on arguing, we will argue against them; but if they rebel against us, we will fight them." Yazīd b. 'Āṣim al-Muḥāribī[451] leaped up and said, "Praise be to God! Our Lord is not to be set aside nor dispensed with. Oh God, I take refuge with you from perpetrating shameful behavior in our religion. That would be falling short in the affairs of God and a baseness that subjects those who do it to [3362] God's wrath. 'Alī, do you threaten us with killing? By God, I hope that we will strike you with the swords after a little while, with their edges, not their flats. Then you will know to which of us hell's burning is most due."[452] Then he and three of his brothers (he was the fourth) "went out" with the Khawārij and were killed with them at the canal (*al-nahr*)—one of them was killed later at al-Nukhaylah.[453]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ajlaḥ b. 'Abdallāh—Salamah b. Kuhayl—Kathīr b. Bahz al-Ḥaḍramī: 'Alī stood among the men to deliver an address one day and someone said from the side of the mosque, "Authority belongs to God alone." Another arose and proclaimed similarly, and then a number, one after the other, proclaimed the slogan (*taḥkīm*). 'Alī said, "God is most great! Their words are true but something false is meant by them. Three things do we grant you. So long as you remain with us, we will not deny to you the mosques of God that you may mention His name in them; we will not deny to you the spoils (*fay'*) so long as your hands are joined with ours; and we will not fight against you unless you make the first move against us." Then he returned to the place where he had been in his address.

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451. Apparently Ṭabarī's only reference to this man who was presumably of the Banū Muḥārib b. Khaṣafah/Qays.

452. See Qur'ān 19:70.

453. There is much confusion in the sources about the battle(s) of the Khawārij at al-Nukhaylah. Al-Mubarrad, 576 ff., has two: one in which they fought against 'Alī and another in which they fought against Mu'āwiyah after he had taken possession of Iraq following the death of 'Alī. The latter matches the battle reported by Ṭabarī, II, 10. Wellhausen, *Religio-Political Factions*, 35, n. 7, seems to argue that there was only one such battle—that against Mu'āwiyah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—anonymous—al-Qāsim b. al-Walīd: Ḥakīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd al-Bakkā'ī[454] shared the views of the Khawārij. One day he came to 'Alī while he was delivering an address and said, "It has been revealed to you and to those who were before you that if you ascribe partners to God your deeds will be of no avail and you will be one of those who are lost."[455] 'Alī responded, "Bear patiently, for the promise of God is truth, and do not let those who have no certainty despise you."[456]

According to Abū Kurayb[457]—Ibn Idrīs—Ismā'īl b. Samī' al-Ḥanafī—Abū Razīn: When the appointment of the arbitrators had been made (*lammā waqa'a al-taḥkīm*)[458] and 'Alī returned from Ṣiffīn, (the Khawārij) came back in a state of separation from him. When they reached the canal[459] they stopped there, while 'Alī entered al-Kūfah with the men. The Khawārij camped at Ḥarūrā'[460] and 'Alī sent [3363]
'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās to them. But he came back without achieving anything, so 'Alī himself went to them and debated with them until both sides were satisfied and the Khawārij entered al-Kūfah. Then someone came to 'Alī and said, "It is being said that you gave in to their demand that you renege on your unbelief (*kufr*)." So 'Alī delivered an address during the midday prayer. He referred to the position of the Khawārij and criticized it, and they leaped up on all sides of the mosque proclaiming, "Authority belongs to God alone." One of them stood facing him with his fingers in his ears and said, "It has been revealed to you and to those who were before you that if you ascribe partners to God your deeds shall be of no avail and you will be one of those who are lost."[461] 'Alī replied, "Bear

454. Again, this is the only appearance in Ṭabarī's work of this man: the Banū al-Bakkā' were part of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah/Qays; for his son, see later, p. 117 and n. 485, below.

455. Qur'ān 39:65.

456. Qur'ān 30:60.

457. For Abū Kurayb Muḥammad b. al-'Alā', d. 247/861, see *GAS*, I, index, s.v., with reference to Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*.

458. Possibly, "when the protest against the appointment of arbitrators had been made."

459. This canal is not Nahrawān, which is not en route from Ṣiffīn to al-Kūfah; it must refer to one of the canals in the vicinity of al-Kūfah.

460. Ḥarūrā' (see n. 365, above) seems to have stood by a water course in the early Islamic period although later references speak of it as being in the desert (see *EI*², s.v.).

461. Qur'ān 39:65.

patiently, for the promise of God is truth, and do not let those who have no certainty despise you."[462]

According to Abū Kurayb—Ibn Idrīs—Layth b. Abī Sulaym—his companions: 'Alī began to wring his hands (the narrator said: with his hands like that) while on the dais (*minbar*). He said, "God's decision (*ḥukm*) is looked for among you twice.[463] We grant you three things. We will not prevent your prayer in this mosque; we will not prevent your partaking of these spoils so long as your hands are joined with ours; and we will not fight you unless you fight against us."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah: When 'Alī had sent Abū Mūsā to effect the arbitration, some of the Khawārij met together and gathered in the dwelling of 'Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī.[464] He praised God and extolled Him, and then said, "By God, it is not fitting that a people that believes in God the Merciful and turns in repentance to the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Qur'ān should prefer this world to the commanding of good, the forbidding of evil, and the proclaiming of the truth. Pleasure
[3364] in this world, confidence in it, and love for it, is an occasion of distress and destruction. If someone is wearied and injured, then he who is wearied and injured in this world,[465] has his reward on the day of Resurrection in God's good favor and perpetual abode in His gardens.[466] So let us go out, brethren of ours, from this settlement whose poeple are wicked[467] to one of the dictricts of the mountains[468] or to one of those towns,[469] rejecting these innovations (*bida'*) that lead astray."

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462. Qur'ān 30:60.

463. Presumably this refers to the change of mind of the Khawārij—first they had insisted on stopping the fighting against Mu'āwiyah, and now they insisted on starting it again.

464. See *EI*², s.v., for this pietist of the Banū Rāsib of Azd.

465. *Wa-in munna wa-ḍurra fa-innahu man yumannu wa-yuḍarru*.... The reading of the text is unsure. It is unpointed and apparently meaningless (see editorial note c in Leiden text). The *man* has been conjecturally supplied by the editor. Ibn al-Athīr, III, 281, merely paraphrases the passage.

466. From this point as far as "And he wrote to the Khawārij at the canal" p. 119, below, there is a gap in the manuscripts, supplied by reference to Ibn al-Athīr, III, 281, 1.3–283, bottom. See the editorial note d in the Leiden text.

467. See Qur'ān 4:75.

468. Or, "a district in (the region of) al-Jibāl"?

469. Perhaps, "to one of the settlements that formed part of al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon)."

Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr said to him, "The delights of this world are few and separation from it is imminent. Do not let its fineries and delights tempt you to stay in it or turn you from seeking what is true and rejecting evil. 'God is with those who fear, and they are those who do good.'"[470] Ḥamzah b. Sinān al-Asadī[471] said: "Oh people, you are right. Grant authority over your affairs to a man [3365] from among you, for you cannot do without a support and a prop and a banner around which you can gather and to which you can return." They offered the position to Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ṭā'ī, but he refused, and to Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr, who also refused. Ḥamzah b. Sinān and Shurayḥ b. Awfā al-'Absī[472] both refused, too. When they offered it to 'Abdallāh b. Wahb, he said, "Give it to us! By God, I do not accept it out of a desire for this world and I will not abandon it out of fear of death." They gave him the oath of allegiance when ten days had passed of Shawwāl, and he was called Dhū al-Thafināt.[473]

Then they gathered in the dwelling of Shurayḥ b. Awfā al-'Absī, and Ibn Wahb said, "Let us go to a land where we shall gather to effect the authority (*ḥukm*) of God, for you are the people of the truth." Shurayḥ said, "Let us leave for al-Madā'in. There we shall dismount, seize its gates, expel its inhabitants, and send for our brethren among the people of al-Baṣrah that they might come to us." Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn said, "If you depart together, you will be followed, but go out one by one in secret. As for al-Madā'in, there are those there who will resist you; do not stop there but go on until you reach Jisr al-Nahrawān[474] and there write to your brethren among the people of al-Baṣrah." They said, "That is right!" and 'Abdallāh b. Wahb wrote to those of them who were in al-Baṣrah, telling them what they had agreed on and urging them to join them. The letter was conveyed to them and they answered it, saying that they would join him.

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470. Qur'ān 16:128.

471. Of the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah of Khindif.

472. Sometimes referred to as Shurayḥ b. Abī Awfā, he was of the Banū 'Abs of Ghaṭafān/Qays (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Šuraiḥ).

473. That is, "he with the scars" on his forehead or knees as a result of his constant prostration in prayer (cf. Wellhausen, *Religio-Political Factions*, 27; and *EI*², s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb).

474. This was the town (Nahrawān Bridge) on the canal of Nahrawān, northeast of al-Madā'in.

When they had decided to depart, they passed the night—that
[3366] was the night before Friday—and the day of Friday worshiping God. On Saturday they set out. Shurayḥ b. Awfā al-'Absī left, reciting God's words, "And he (Moses) departed from it in fear, looking about him. He said, 'Oh my Lord, deliver me from the evil people,' and when he was journeying toward Midian, he said 'Perhaps my Lord will guide me on an even path.' "[475]

Ṭarafah b. 'Adī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī[476] went out with them. His father 'Adī went after him but could not catch up with him; when he got as far as al-Madā'in he turned back. When he had reached Sābāṭ,[477] however, 'Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī came upon him with about twenty horsemen. 'Abdallāh wanted to kill him, but 'Amr b. Mālik al-Nabhānī and Bishr b. Zayd al-Bawlānī[478] prevented him. 'Adī then sent to Sa'd b. Mas'ūd,[479] 'Alī's prefect over al-Madā'in, warning him about what the Khawārij were doing, and Sa'd was thus on his guard. He secured the gates of al-Madā'in and went out with a body of horsemen, leaving behind his nephew, al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd, in command of the town. Sa'd then went in pursuit of the Khawārij.

'Abdallāh b. Wahb was informed of this and he took care (to avoid) Sa'd's route, going by way of Baghdādh.[480] At al-Karkh[481] Sa'd b. Mas'ūd caught up with them with 500 horsemen at evening time. 'Abdallāh turned to attack Sa'd's force with thirty mounted men. They fought for a while, but most refrained from joining in. Sa'd's men said to him, "Why are you fighting against these men when you have received no order concerning them? Let them go on their way and write to the Commander of the Faithful. If he tells you to follow them, do so, but if someone other than you takes care of them for you that will be all the better for you." Sa'd rejected
[3367] that but when night had fallen, 'Abdallāh b. Wahb went and crossed

475. Qur'ān 28:21–23.
476. For the father, 'Adī, see p. 27, above.
477. A suburb of al-Madā'in on the Tigris (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 34–35).
478. Nabhān and Bawlān are both clans of Ṭayyi', 'Adī's tribe.
479. For Sa'd and his nephew, see n. 29, above.
480. This was the Persian name of the village on the site of which the town of Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdād) was later to be built.
481. Al-Karkh, southwest of Baghdādh toward al-Kūfah, was later incorporated as a suburb of Baghdād.

the Tigris to the district of Jūkhā,[482] where he headed for al-Nahrawān[483] and joined up with his companions. They had despaired of him and had said, "If he has perished we will put Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn or Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr in charge of our affairs."

A group of Kūfans set out wishing to join the Khawārij, but their own families forced them to return under duress. Among them were al-Qa'qā' b. Qays al-Ṭā'ī, the paternal uncle of al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm,[484] and 'Abdallāh b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bakkā'ī.[485] 'Alī had heard that Sālim b. Rabī'ah al-'Absī[486] wanted to go out to join them, so he summoned him and forbade him, and he desisted.

When the Khawārij had left al-Kūfah, the companions and supporters (*shī'ah*) of 'Alī came to him and gave him the oath of allegiance. They said, "We are the friends of those whom you befriend and enemies of those to whom you show enmity." (In accepting their oaths) 'Alī undertook (to adhere to) the example (*sunnah*) of the Messenger of God. Rabī'ah b. Abī Shaddād al-Khath'amī[487] came to him (he had been present with 'Alī at the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn and had borne the banner of Khath'am), and 'Alī said to him, "Give me the oath of allegiance on (condition that I observe) the Book of God and the example of His Messenger." Rabī'ah said, "(And that you observe) the example of Abū Bakr and 'Umar!" 'Alī said to him, "Woe to you! If Abū Bakr and 'Umar had not acted according to the Book of God and the example of His Messenger they would not have had any legitimacy (*lam yakūnā 'alā shay' min al-ḥaqq*)." So Rabī'ah gave him the oath of allegiance, and 'Alī looked at him and said, "By God, it is as if I see you now having departed with these Khawārij and been killed. It is as if I see you, the horses having trampled on you with their

482. The district east of the Tigris, usually regarded as south of al-Madā'in although here it presumably refers to the lands north of that town also (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 42).

483. Probably indicating the aforementioned Jisr Nahrawān (see n. 474, above).

484. Al-Ṭirimmah is a well known Khārijī poet of the Banū Ṭayyi' of the Umayyad period (see *EI*[1], s.v.).

485. Son of the aforementioned Ḥakīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bakkā'ī (p. 113 and n. 454, above).

486. For his participation in the movement of the Khawārij after 'Alī's death, see Ṭabarī, II, 17f.

487. This seems to be his only appearance in Ṭabarī's work.

hoofs." And he was killed on the day of the Canal with the Khawārij of al-Baṣrah.

The Khawārij of al-Baṣrah gathered together in a party of 500 and appointed Mis'ar b. Fadakī al-Tamīmī over them. When Ibn 'Abbās learned of that, he sent Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī[488] to follow them. He caught up with them at the great bridge, and they confronted one another until nightfall separated them, and Mis'ar and his men
[3368] set off again. He began attacking people indiscriminately,[489] with al-Ashras b. 'Awf al-Shaybānī[490] over his advance guard, and he continued until he met up with 'Abdallāh b. Wahb at the canal.

When the Khawārij had "gone out," Abū Mūsā had fled to Mecca, and 'Alī had sent Ibn 'Abbās back to al-Baṣrah, 'Alī gave an address in al-Kūfah and said:

> Praise be to God, even though destiny brings oppressive circumstances and momentous events. I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His Messenger. Now, disobedience bequeaths distress and leads to remorse. I have given you my orders regarding these two men and this arbitration, and I have freely shared my views with you even though my authority is little. But you have insisted upon what you wanted. I and you are as the brother of Hawāzin[491] says:
>
> I have given them my command at the curving of the sand hill,
> but they only saw the right path on the morning of the next day.
>
> Those two men whom you have sent out as arbitrators have cast the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Qur'ān behind their

488. On this poet and alleged founder of the science of Arabic grammar, see *EI*², s.v.; and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ẓalīm b. 'Amr. The vocalization Du'alī seems to be more correct than the Leiden edition's Du'ilī, although his tribe was the Banū Du'il b. Bakr of Kinānah.

489. *Ya'tariḍu al-nās.* This could be a technical term referring to the Khārijite practice of *isti'rāḍ* (q.v. in *EI*²), the subjection of individuals to an inquisition and their execution if they failed to answer correctly (for examples, see pp. 123–25, 176, below). But it may be that the term is used here in a less technical sense.

490. This appears to be Ṭabarī's only reference to this man of Bakr b. Wā'il.

491. That is, Durayd b. al-Ṣimmah (see n. 372, above); for the verses see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitab al-aghānī*, IX, 5, lines 15–20.

backs. They have revived what the Qur'ān has suppressed, and each of them has followed his own inclinations without any guidance from God. They have passed judgment (*ḥakamā*) without any clear proof or accepted precedent (*sunnah māḍiyah*). They have differed in their judgment (*ḥukm*), and neither of them has been rightly guided. God and His Messenger and the righteous of the Believers are quit of those two! Prepare and get ready to set out for Syria. Be in your army camp, God willing, on Monday morning. Then he stepped down.

And he wrote to the Khawārij at the canal:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from the servant of God, 'Alī, Commander of the Faithful, to Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn and 'Abdallāh b. Wahb and those who are with them: Now these two men whose authority [3369] (*ḥukm*) we accepted have opposed the Book of God and followed their own inclinations without any guidance from God. They have not acted according to the precedent (*sunnah*) nor effected a judgment (*ḥukm*) according to the Qur'ān. God and His Messenger and the Believers are quit of the two of them. When you receive this letter of mine, come, for we are setting out against our enemy and your enemy and we are still concerned with the matter that occupied us originally. Farewell!

The Khawārij wrote to 'Alī: "You were never zealous on account of your Lord, only on account of yourself. If you recognize your own unbelief and turn to repentance, we will consider that which divides us from you. Otherwise we have separated from you 'without distinction, for God does not like those who are faithless.' "[492] When 'Alī read their letter, he despaired of ever convincing them and decided that he should leave them alone and go with the men against the Syrians in order to meet and fight them.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mu'allā b. Kulayb al-Hamdānī—Jabr b. Nawf Abū al-Waddāk al-Hamdānī: When 'Alī, having stopped

492. Qur'ān 8:58.

at al-Nukhaylah, had given up hope of winning back the Khawārij, he arose, praised God and extolled Him, and then said,

> Whoever abandons the *jihād* that is waged for God and falls short in His affairs is on the brink of his own destruction, unless God extends a blessing to him.[493] Fear God and fight against those who oppose Him[494] and who try to extinguish His light.[495] Fight against those who are in error and go astray, the unrighteous and the evildoers, those who are not "readers" of the Qur'ān (*qurrā' al-Qur'ān*), experts in religion (*fuqahā' fī al-dīn*), or learned in exegesis (*'ulamā' fī al-ta'wīl*), those who have no right to be concerned with this matter by reason of any precedence in accepting Islam.
> [3370] By God, if they were to have charge over you, they would treat you like Chosroes and Heraclius.[496] Make ready and prepare to set out against your enemies among the people of the west.[497] We have sent to our brethren of al-Baṣrah, asking that they come to you. When they do and you have united your forces, we will depart, God willing, and there is no power or strength but with Him.

'Alī sent 'Utbah b. al-Akhnas b. Qays of the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr[498] with a letter to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās. It read, "We have gone out to our army camp at al-Nukhaylah and agreed to set out against our enemies among the people of the west. Set out with your men, and, when my messenger comes to you, wait until you receive further orders. Salutations."

When the letter reached Ibn 'Abbās, he read it aloud to the men and commanded them to set out with al-Aḥnaf b. Qays. Of them, 1,500 left with him, but 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās considered that too

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493. See Qur'ān 68:49.

494. See Qur'ān 58:22.

495. See Qur'ān 9:32, 61:8.

496. The names (of Sasanid and Byzantine rulers) symbolized worldly kingship and tyranny in contrast to the righteous caliph.

497. The characterization of the Syrians as westerners and their opponents (first 'Alī and later the Zubayrids) as easterners is common in non-Muslim sources, rarer in Muslim ones.

498. Of Hawāzin/Qays, he was subsequently (51/671) implicated in the revolt of Ḥujr b. 'Adī (n. 71, above) but released by Mu'āwiyah (see Ṭabarī, II, 136ff.).

few and he therefore arose among the people, praised God and extolled Him, and then said,

> Men of Baṣrah, there has come to me the order of the Commander of the Faithful telling me to send you out. I have ordered you to go out to join him with al-Aḥnaf b. Qays but only 1,500 of you have done so and yet you number 60,000, without taking account of your sons, slaves, and clients (*mawālī*). Now go out with Jāriyah b. Qudāmah al-Sa'dī[499] and do not let any man give me grounds for taking action against him, for I shall punish anyone who absents himself from his post[500] in disobedience to his imam. I have ordered Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī to muster you, and anyone who gives grounds for action to be taken against him has only himself to blame.

Jāriyah went out and established a camp and Abū al-Aswad went there and mustered the men. Seventeen hundred men joined Jāriyah. [3371] He then proceeded until 'Alī met him at al-Nukhaylah, where he had remained until those two armies from al-Baṣrah, 3,200 men, should come to him. He assembled the leaders of the Kūfans, the leaders of the "sevenths,"[501] the leaders of the tribes (*qabā'il*), and the prominent men. He praised God and extolled Him and then said, "Men of al-Kūfah, you are my brethren, my supporters (*anṣār*), my helpers in establishing what is right, and my companions in making *jihād* against my enemies, the profaners of God's law (*al-muḥillīn*). With you I will smite the backslider (*mudbir*) and hope for perfect obedience from him who goes ahead (*muqbil*). I have sent to the Baṣrans and asked them to come to join you, but only 3,200 of them have come to me. Help me with a counsel that is clear and devoid of all deception for you [. . .][502] our going out to Ṣiffīn. Rather, gather all together. I ask that the head of each tribe (*qawm*) write down for me what fighting men he has in his kinship

499. Of Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt/Tamīm; for his mission against Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī in al-Baṣrah, see pp. 169–70, below (see *EI*², s.v. Djāriya b. Ḳudāma; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ǧāriya).

500. *Maktab* (see *Gloss.*, s.v.).

501. For the seven groupings into which the tribes in al-Kūfah were organized, see Djaït, "Les Yamanites," 154.

502. There is a lacuna in the text.

group (*'ashīrah*), together with their sons who have reached fighting age, and the slaves and clients of his kinship group, and then present that to us."

Sa'īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī stood and said, "Commander of the Faithful, we hear and obey, we offer love and counsel. I shall be the first to bring what you ask for and seek." Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī stood and spoke similarly, and 'Adī b. Ḥātim, Ziyād b. Khaṣafah, Ḥujr b. 'Adī, and the notables of the men and the tribes did the same. Then the chiefs wrote down the names of those under them and presented them to 'Alī, and they ordered their sons, their slaves, and their clients to go out with them and that none of them should lag behind. They presented to 'Alī 40,000 fighting men, plus 17,000 [3372] of their sons who had reached the right age, and 8,000 clients and slaves. They said, "Commander of the Faithful, as for those fighting men with us and their sons who have reached puberty and can fight, we have put before you those who are strong and resolute and we have ordered them to depart with us. But there are also nonfighting men (*ḍu'afā'*) among them, and they are involved in crafts and doing things that will be of benefit for us."

There were 57,000 Arabs from al-Kūfah and 8,000 of their clients and slaves (*mamālīk*): altogether 65,000 from al-Kūfah. In addition there were 3,200 Baṣrans, so that the number of those with 'Alī came to 68,200.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī: 'Alī wrote to Sa'd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, his prefect over al-Madā'in, as follows. "I have sent Ziyād b. Khaṣafah to you. Dispatch with him those of the fighting men of al-Kūfah whom you have with you, and make haste, God willing, and there is no power except with Him."

'Alī heard that the men were saying among themselves, "If only he would go with us against these Ḥarūriyyah, and we dealt with them first and then, having finished with them, we turned our attention to the profaners of God's law (*al-muḥillīn*)."[503] So 'Alī addressed them, and after praising God and extolling Him, said, "I have heard what you have been saying: 'If only the Commander of the Faithful would go with us against this group of Khārijites that has rebelled against him, and we dealt with them first and then, having finished with them, we turned to the profaners of God's law.'

503. That is, the Syrians.

But others are more important for us than these Khārijites. Stop talking about them and march instead against a people who are fighting you so that they may be tyrants and kings and take the servants of God as chattel." And the men shouted from every side, "Commander of the Faithful, lead us wherever you wish!"

Ṣayfī b. Fasīl al-Shaybānī[504] stood to speak and said, "Commander of the Faithful, we are your party (*ḥizb*) and your supporters. We oppose those whom you oppose and join together with those who are obedient to you. Lead us against your enemies whoever they are, wherever they are. God willing, you will not lack followers great in number and firm in intention." Muḥriz b. Shihāb al-Tamīmī[505] of the Banū Sa'd also stood and said, "Commander of the Faithful, your party (*shī'ah*) is as one man in its agreement to unite together to support you and in its eagerness for *jihād* against your enemies. Rejoice at the help we give and lead us against whichever of the two bands you wish. We are your party that hopes for a fitting recompense in obeying you and making *jihād* against those who oppose you. And we fear the dire consequences that would follow from betraying and opposing you." [3373]

According to Ya'qūb[506]—Ismā'īl [b. 'Ulayyah]—Ayyūb [b. Abī Tamīmah al-Sakhtiyānī]—Ḥumayd b. Hilāl—a man of the Banū 'Abd al-Qays[507] who was one of the Khawārij but then separated from them: (The Khawārij) entered a village and 'Abdallāh, the son of Khabbāb the Companion of the Prophet,[508] came out in terror dragging his *ridā'*.[509] They asked him, "Why are you frightened?" and he answered, "By God, you have made me terrified." They asked, "Are you 'Abdallāh the son of Khabbāb the Companion of the Prophet?" and he answered, "Yes." They asked, "Did you hear from your father a report (*ḥadīth*) that he narrated from the Prophet, according to which the Prophet said, '(There will be) a *fitnah* in

504. Later implicated with Ḥujr b. 'Adī and killed.

505. Also implicated with Ḥujr and killed (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

506. The Cairo edition identifies him as Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī, d. 252/866 (see *GAS*, I, 38, 285).

507. For 'Abd al-Qays/Rabī'ah, see *EI*², s.v.

508. Son of the Companion of the Prophet who is referred to previously (p. 96 and n. 383, above).

509. An outer garment that is wrapped around the body (see Dozy, *Dictionnaire...Vêtements*, s.v.).

which the sitting man is better than the standing, the standing better than the walking, and the walking than the running. And if you are alive then, servant of God, be the one who is slain'?" (Ayyūb said: I do not know any other version but that in which the Prophet said, "Do not be, servant of God, the one who is the slayer.")[510] Ibn Khabbāb answered them, "Yes." So they brought him to the canal bank, where they cut off his head and his blood flowed
[3374] like the lace of a sandal, and they pierced the womb of his concubine (*umm walad*) and emptied it of its contents.[511]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Aṭā' b. 'Ajlān—Ḥumayd b. Hilāl: The Khawārij who came from al-Baṣrah proceeded until they drew near their brethren on the canal. A band of them went out and came upon a man who was driving a donkey carrying a woman. They crossed to him, called to him, threatened and terrorized him, and said, "Who are you?" He replied, "I am 'Abdallāh, the son of Khabbāb the Companion of the Prophet." Then he grasped at his robe (*thawb*), lifting it from the ground where it had fallen when they were terrorizing him. They said, "Have we frightened you?" and he answered, "Yes." They said, "There is no need to be alarmed. Tell us a *ḥadīth* that your father heard from the Prophet. Perhaps God will give us some benefit by it." He said, "My father told me from the Prophet, 'There will be a *fitnah* in which the heart of a man will die as does his body. In the evening he will be a Believer and by the next morning an unbeliever, and in the morning he will be an unbeliever and by the next evening a Believer.'" They said, "This is the *ḥadīth* we have asked of you. And what do you say about Abū Bakr and 'Umar?" He heaped praise on them both. They asked, "What do you say about 'Uthmān in the first part of his caliphate and in the last part?" He said, "He was in the right in the first part and in the last part." They said, "And what do you say about 'Alī before the appointment of the arbitrators (*taḥkīm*)

510. For *ḥadiths* of this type, see Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *fitnah*, V, 60, col. b; and for *ḥadiths* with injunctions of the type "be 'Abdallāh the slain not 'Abdallāh the slayer," see ibid., s.v. *q-t-l*, V, 289, col. b.

511. Muslim law forbids the killing of the women and children of the enemy. But it is reported that some of the extreme Khārijites killed women and children as part of their practice of *isti'rāḍ*, taking the view that they shared in the sin and unbelief of their menfolk (see *EI*², s.vv. Azāriḳah, isti'rāḍ). Evidently this story is intended to illustrate that their doctrine even extended to an unborn child.

and afterward?" He answered, "He knows more of God than you do. He is more God-fearing in his religion (*dīn*), and more perceptive in his views." They said. "You follow your own inclinations and support men according to their names rather than their deeds. By God, we will inflict on you a death such as we have never inflicted on anybody."

They took him and bound him and then led him and his wife who was in the last stages of pregnancy beneath heavily laden palm trees. A date fell from them and one of them took it and put it in [3375] his own mouth. Another said, "(You do that) without permission and without paying!" and he spat it out. Then he took his sword and began swinging it around.[512] A pig belonging to one of the "protected peoples" (*ahl al-dhimmah*)[513] passed by, and the Khārijī struck it with his sword. They said, "This is evil in the land,"[514] and the one who had struck it went to the owner of the pig and gave him satisfaction for it. When Ibn Khabbāb saw them doing that, he said, "If you are sincere in what I have seen, I need fear no evil from you. I am a Muslim who has not caused any wrong in Islam, and you have given me security when you said, 'There is no need to be alarmed.'" But they took him and made him lie down, and then slaughtered him so that his blood flowed into the water. Then they came to his wife, who said, "I am only a woman! Do you not fear God?" But they slit open her belly. And they killed three women of Ṭayyi', as well as Umm Sinān al-Ṣaydāwiyyah.[515]

When 'Alī and those of the Muslims heard about the way in which the Khawārij had killed 'Abdallāh b. Khabbāb and about the slaughter (*i'tirāḍ*) they were imposing, he sent al-Ḥārith b. Murrah al-'Abdī[516] to them, to go to them and enquire about what he had

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512. The text is unpointed here; I have followed the suggestion of *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §100, to read *yahuzzuhu* as in Balādhūrī, *Ansāb*. Cairo has *yamīnahu/yamīnuhu/yumīnuhu*, which is closer to the ductus of the manuscript, but it is difficult to supply a meaning to fit the context.

513. That is, the non-Muslims who had accepted Arab rule and maintained their preconquest religious and communal allegiances in return for tax.

514. See Qur'ān 5:33, 5:64, 8:73, etc.

515. I have not been able to identify this Umm Sinān further.

516. Al-Dīnawarī, 207, has al-Faq'asī (Faq'as b. Ṭarīf of Asad) instead of al-'Abdī, and *Ann.*, in its necrology for 38 A.H., says that the Dīnawarī reading is certainly correct. On p. 171, presumably referring to the same individual, Dīnawarī has al-'Abdī. Lectio dificilior would favor al-Faq'asī. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only mention of him.

heard concerning them and to write back about it fully and without concealment. He left and when he had got as far as the canal, intending to question them, they came out against him and killed him. News of this reached the Commander of the Faithful ('Alī) and his followers, who came to him saying, "Commander of the Faithful, why are you letting them remain at our backs, to take our properties and our families from us?[517] Lead us against them and then, when we have settled the matter with them, we will go against our Syrian enemy."

Al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī came and spoke to him in the same way. There had been an impression that al-Ash'ath shared the views of the Khawārij because at Ṣiffīn he had been saying, "(The Syrians are) a people who have treated us fairly, appealing to the Book of [3376] God." But (now), when he asked 'Alī to go against the Khawārij, it was realized that he did not share their point of view.

'Alī agreed that they should go against the Khawārij first, and announced the setting out, He left and crossed the bridge, and prayed two *rak'ah*s at al-Qanṭarah.[518] He stopped at Dayr 'Abd al-Raḥmān and then at Dayr Abī Mūsā, then took the route via Qaryat Shāhī, Dabāhā, and the bank of the Euphrates.[519] On the way he was met by an astrologer who advised him to travel only at a certain time of day. He said, "If you journey at another time, you and your companions will meet a dire evil." But 'Alī rejected that and (deliberately) traveled at the time when the astrologer had told him not to. When he had finished the battle at the canal, 'Alī praised God and extolled Him, and then said, "If we had journeyed at the time the astrologer said, the ignorant ones who have no knowledge would have said, 'He traveled at the time that the astrologer ordered and consequently has been victorious.' "

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—'Abdallāh b. 'Awf: When 'Alī wished to set out from al-Anbār[520] against the men of

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517. *Yakhlufūnanā fī amwālinā wa-'iyālinā*, indicating that the Khawārij would take over the properties of families of those Iraqīs killed in fighting the Syrians.

518. *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §100, has "sul ponte." But it perhaps refers to the place known as Qanṭarah al-Kūfah or al-Qanāṭir, about a day's journey north of al-Kūfah, where the road crossed the Badāt canal (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 74).

519. For Qaryat Shāhī and Dabāhā, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 246 and II, 545.

520. On the Euphrates due west of the town of al-Nahrawān (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II).

the canal, he sent Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah ahead and told him to go to al-Madā'in, where he should wait until further orders reached him. Then 'Alī came proceeding against the Khawārij, and Qays and Sa'd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī joined him at the canal. 'Alī sent to the men of the canal, saying, "Surrender to us those among you who killed our brethren so that we may kill them for what they have done. Then I will leave you alone and refrain from action against you so that I may meet the Syrians. And perhaps God will bring about a change of heart on your part and bring you back to a better situation than that in which you are." They sent back, saying, "All of us were their killers and all of us consider your and their blood to be licit."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd Abū al-Kunūd: Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah addressed the Khawārij, "Servants of God, send out to us those among you whom we seek and come back into this undertaking that you have deserted. Return with us to the fight against our enemy and your enemy. You have done a terrible thing, bearing witness against us that we have committed polytheism (*shirk*), 'and polytheism is a terrible evil,'[521] shedding the blood of the Muslims, and counting them as polytheists (*mushrikūn*)." 'Abdallāh b. Shajarah al-Sulamī[522] replied, "The truth has shone forth for us. We will not follow you unless you bring us someone like 'Umar." Qays said, "We do not see anyone of that description among us other than our lord ('Alī); do you see such among you?" And Qays said, "I implore you by God not to destroy yourselves, for I think *fitnah* has triumphed over you." [3377]

Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd al-Anṣārī[523] addressed them, saying, "Servants of God, you and we are again in exactly the same position as we were before (Ṣiffīn) and there is no division between us. Why are you fighting against us?" They said, "If we were to give you the oath of allegiance today, you would appoint arbitrators tomorrow." Abū Ayyūb replied, "I implore you by God not to rush into *fitnah* in this year out of fear of what may happen in the next."[524]

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521. See Qur'ān 31:13.

522. This speech and the subsequent reference to his death seem to represent the only appearance in Ṭabarī's work of this Qaysī.

523. For this famous Companion who is said to have died in the attack on Constantinople during Mu'āwiyah's caliphate, see *EI*², s.v. Abū Ayyūb.

524. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *qābil*.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan—Zayd b. Wahb: 'Alī came to the men of the canal, stood before them, and said, "You band, which a quarrelsome animosity and stubbornness have caused to rebel, which your own inclinations have turned away from the truth and rashness carried away, and which has fallen into confusion [3378] and great misfortune! I warn you lest tomorrow this community find you laid low by the bends of this canal and the beds of this lowland without a clear proof from your Lord or a conclusive demonstration. Do you not know that I ordered you not to accept the arbitration process (*ḥukūmah*) and that I told you that the enemy's seeking it from you was (really) a ruse and a trick directed against you? And I informed you that they were not men of religion (*dīn*) or scripture (*qur'ān*); that I knew them better than you, for I knew them as children and as men and they are a people of cunning and treachery; and that if you rejected my opinion, you would be setting aside sound judgment. But you disobeyed me so that consequently I agreed to appoint an arbitrator. When I did so, I made conditions, extracted undertakings, and imposed on the two arbitrators that they give life to that which the Qur'ān effects and do away with what the Qur'ān suppresses. But they did differently and opposed the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Book and the authoritative precedent (*sunnah*). Therefore, we have rejected the whole procedure involving them and have gone back to our previous situation. What then is your position and what do you want?"

They replied, "We accepted the setting up of arbitration and when we did so we sinned and became unbelievers. But we have repented and, if you do the same, then we will be with you fully. If you refuse, however, then withdraw (*i'tazil*) from us, for we reject you 'without distinction for God does not love the treacherous.' "[525]

'Alī answered them, "May a whirlwind strike you and not one of you survive! After my believing in the Messenger of God, making *hijrah* with him, and *jihād* in the way of God, should I (now) testify to unbelief against myself? 'Then I would have gone astray and would not be of the rightly guided.' "[526] He then turned away from them.

525. Qur'ān 8:58.
526. Qur'ān 6:56.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Salamah al-Zuhrī, whose mother was the daughter of Anas b. Mālik:[527] ʿAlī said to those who had gathered at the canal:

> You have let yourselves be enticed into the abandonment of this arbitration process that you yourselves initiated and asked for, while I abhorred it. I told you that the enemy had asked for your agreement to it as a trick and a ruse, but you rejected me like opponents and turned away from me like disobedient wretches until I changed my mind and gave in to you. By God you are a light-headed and simple-minded people. Unworthy to be called sons![528] I did not introduce anything illicit nor, by God, did I deprive you of anything that concerned you or conceal any of this matter from you. I did not make you do anything without proper consideration and did not seek after adversity for you, even though our cause is clearly that of the Muslims.[529] Your council (*mala'*)[530] agreed to choose two men, and we imposed on them that they should judge (*yaḥkumā*) according to what is in the Qur'ān and not disregard it. But they went astray and left the truth, even though they perceived it. Oppression was all their desire, even though we had entrusted to them to judge with justice, together with their opposing to the truth their evil views and their oppressive judgment.[531] We must trust ourselves now those two have deviated from the path of truth and done what is not acceptable. Make clear to us why you consider it lawful to fight against us and go out from our community. The people did not choose two men so that you should put your swords on your shoulders, slaughter (*istiʿrāḍ*) people, cut off their [3379]

527. Abū Salamah al-Zuhrī was an elder relative of the famous Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, index, s.v. Abū Salama); for the famous Companion and transmitter Anas b. Mālik, see *EI*², s.v.

528. *Lā aba laka* does not have the same force in Arabic as "Bastard!" in English (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *abū*).

529. (?) *Wa-in kāna amrunā la-amra al-muslimīna zāhiran*; Cairo reads . . . *li-amri al-muslimīna*. . . . It is difficult to see what precisely it means.

530. Perhaps indicating a general opinion rather than any consultative institution.

531. Following the reading of *SNB* and Cairo: *wa-al-ṣaddu li al-ḥaqqi suw'a ra'yihimā wa-jawra ḥukmihimā*. Leiden has *bi-suw'i ra'yihimā wa-jawri ḥukmihimā*.

heads, and shed their blood. "Indeed that is clear depravity."[532] By God, if you killed even a chicken like that, its killing would be a weighty matter with God. How will it be, then, regarding a soul the killing of which God has prohibited?

But the Khawārij shouted out, "Do not address them or argue
[3380] with them. Prepare to meet the Lord; hasten, hasten to Paradise."

So 'Alī went and made ready the men. He gave Ḥujr b. 'Adī command of his right wing and Shabath b. Rib'ī or Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī command of his left. He put Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī over the cavalry and Abū Qatādah al-Anṣārī[533] over the infantry and placed Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubādah over the men of al-Madīnah, of whom there were 700 or 800.

The Khawārij made ready, too, and gave command of their right wing to Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ṭā'ī, of their left to Shurayḥ b. Awfā al-'Absī, of their cavalry to Ḥamzah b. Sinān al-Asadī, and of their infantry to Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr al-Sa'dī.

'Alī sent al-Aswad b. Yazīd al-Murādī[534] with 2,000 horsemen against Ḥamzah b. Sinān, who led 300 of the cavalry of the Khawārij, and hoisted a flag of safe conduct alongside Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī. This last called out to the Khawārij, "Whoever of you who has not committed murder or slaughter (*isti'rāḍ*) and comes to this flag, he has safe-conduct; and whoever of you goes back to al-Kūfah or al-Madā'in and abandons this party, he has safe-conduct. We will have no need to shed your blood after we have slain those among you who have murdered our brethren." Farwah b. Nawfal al-Ashja'ī said, "By God, I know of no reason why we should fight against 'Alī; I think that I must retire until it becomes clear to me whether to fight against him or to follow him." So he withdrew with 500 horsemen and waited at al-Bandanījayn and al-Daskarah.[535] Another group also separated and went to al-Kūfah. And about 100 of them
[3381] went over to 'Alī. The Khawārij numbered (originally) 4,000 and

532. Qur'ān 22:11, 39:15.

533. A Companion who is reported to have led the expedition to Baṭn Iḍam (8/629) and fought at Ḥunayn (8/630), and who is the source of various reports about the Prophet.

534. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. al-Aswad b. Yazīd b. al-Ǧābir.

535. For these two places northeast of Nahrawān (Yāqūt calls the former a *baldah* and the latter a *qaryah*), see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 80 and map II.

there remained with 'Abdallāh b. Wahb 2,800. They marched against 'Alī, who sent forward his cavalry in front of the footsoldiers, and arranged his men in two lines behind the horsemen, placing the bowmen in front of the first line.

'Alī said to his men, "Hold back from them until they attack you. If they launch an attack against you—and the majority of them are on foot—they are bound to be tired when they get to you while you will be repulsing them and defending against them." The Khawārij advanced, and when they were close they called out to Yazīd b. Qays. (Yazīd b. Qays was governor of Iṣbahān.)[536] They said, "Yazīd b. Qays, authority belongs to God alone, even though Iṣbahān denies it." 'Abbās b. Sharīk and Qabīṣah b. Ḍubay'ah, both of them 'Absīs,[537] called out to the Khawārij, "Enemies of God, is not Shurayḥ b. Awfā, who has wasted his own soul, among you, and are you not all like him?"[538] They said, "And what is your argument against a man who suffered temptation and found in us his repentance?" Then they called out, "Hasten, hasten to Paradise!" and launched an attack.

'Alī's horsemen were in front of his infantry, but the horsemen of the Muslims[539] did not hold firm against the attack and split into two groups, one on the right, the other on the left, and the Khawārij advanced on the infantry. 'Alī's bowmen confronted them with their arrows, while the horsemen from both the right and the left turned on them, and the footmen rushed at them with spears and swords. By God, they wasted no time in killing the Khawārij.[540] Then Ḥamzah b. Sinān, the leader of the cavalry of the Khawārij, when he saw the destruction, called to his men, "Dismount," and they went to do so but had not taken up positions before al-Aswad b. Qays al-Murādī attacked them and horsemen came at them from the direction of 'Alī. They were slain in a short time.

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536. See n. 92 and p. 102, above.

537. For these two supporters of 'Alī (the latter was implicated with Ḥujr b. 'Adī), see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.vv.

538. For Shurayḥ, also an 'Absī, see n. 472, above. Dīnawarī, 210, refers to him as one of the ascetics (*nussāk*) of the Khawārij. Ṭabarī's report here indicates that he had defected to the Khawārij after first supporting the decision to go to arbitration. For his death, see p. 132, below.

539. That is, 'Alī's horsemen.

540. See *Gloss.* for this meaning of *anāma*.

[3382] According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Muslim b. Salām b. Thumāmah al-Ḥanafī—Ḥakīm b. Sa'd:[541] As soon as the Baṣran Khawārij met us we did not delay in fighting them.[542] It was as if they had been ordered to die, and they did so before their strength became effective and could cause significant damage.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb: Abū Ayyūb came to 'Alī and said, "Commander of the Faithful, I have killed Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn." 'Alī asked, "What did you say to him and what did he say to you?" He replied, "I stabbed him with a spear in his chest so hard it came out of his back, and I said to him, 'Rejoice, enemy of God, that you are going to Hell,' and he answered me, 'You will find out which of us is "more fitting to burn in it."'[543] 'Alī said nothing. (But according to [another version of the report from] Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb: 'Alī said to Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, "He is more fitting to burn in it.")

And 'Ā'idh b. Ḥamalah al-Tamīmī[544] came and said, "Commander of the Faithful, I have killed Kilāb."[545] 'Alī replied, "You have done well. You are a supporter of the truth and you have killed an adherent of falsehood."

And Hāni' b. Khaṭṭāb al-Arḥabī[546] and Ziyād b. Khaṣafah came quarreling with one another about who had killed 'Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī. 'Alī said to them, "How did you do it?" and they answered, "Commander of the Faithful, when we saw him we recognized him, and we vied with one another to attack him and stabbed him with our spears." 'Alī said, "Do not argue with one another—both of you killed him."

Jaysh b. Rabī'ah Abū al-Mu'tamir al-Kinānī[547] attacked Ḥurqūṣ b. Zuhayr and killed him, and 'Abdallāh b. Zaḥr al-Khawlānī[548]

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541. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, lists a Ḥakīm b. Sa'd of the Banū al-Bakkā'/'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. According to Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 264: "the *dār* of Ibn Ḥakīm in al-Kūfah was ascribed to [*mansūbah ilā*] Ḥakīm b. Sa'd b. Thawr b. Mu'āwiyah b. 'Ubādah b. al-Bakkā', who was a *sayyid*."

542. For *mā huwa illā an. . . fa-. . .*, see *Gloss.*, s.v. *illā*.

543. Qur'ān 19:70.

544. Involved in the rising of Ḥujr b. 'Adī (see Ṭabarī, II, 120, for his verses about an injury received at that time).

545. I am unable to identify.

546. See n. 254, above.

547. This seems to be his only appearance in Ṭabarī's history.

548. Another only appearance.

attacked 'Abdallāh b. Shajarah al-Sulamī and killed him. Shurayḥ b. Awfā came to a wall and fought for a long time of the day by a gap in it. He had killed three men of Banū Hamdān, and he began to extemporize, saying:

An 'Absī handmaiden knows,
gentle and sheltered among her people, [3383]
that I will defend my gap tonight.

Qays b. Mu'āwiyah al-Duhnī[549] attacked him and cut off his foot, but he moved to fight them, saying: "The stallion camel, though hobbled, defends its pregnant females." Then Qays b. Mu'āwiyah attacked and killed him, and the people said:

One day Hamdān and a man fought together.
They fought from dawn until just before evening,
and God gave Hamdān success over the man.

Shurayḥ said:

I will strike them and, were I to see Abū al-Ḥasan ('Alī),
I would strike him with the sword until he becomes still.

And he said:

I will strike them and, if I should see 'Alī,
I would envelop him with a white gleaming *mashrafī* sword.[550]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Ḥurrah: 'Alī went out seeking Dhū al-Thudayyah.[551] With him were Sulaymān b. Thumāmah al-Ḥanafī Abū al-Jabrah, and al-Rayyān b. Ṣabrah b. Hawdhah.[552] The latter found him in a hollow on the bank of the canal among forty or fifty slain men.

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549. Another only appearance.

550. For variant explanations of the epithet *mashrafī*, of frequent occurrence in conjunction with *sayf*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

551. That is, "he with the woman's breast"; see Wellhausen, *Religio-political Factions*, 24, n. 6, for discussion. The point of the following story becomes clearer on p. 139, below: There was a *ḥadīth*, known to 'Alī, associating "a people who would pass through Islam as an arrow through game" with a man with a deformed arm, and 'Alī was looking for this man to confirm that the men he had fought at the canal were indeed those referred to in the *ḥadīth*. The *ḥadīth* is generally understood as referring to the Khawārij.

552. Both of the Banū Ḥanīfah/Bakr b. Wā'il; for the latter, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. al-Raiyān b. Ṣabira.

When he was dragged out, al-Rayyān examined the upper part of his arm and saw some flesh attached to the shoulder, looking like a woman's breast with a nipple bearing some black hairs. When it was stretched out it extended until it was equal to his other arm, and when it was let go it retracted to his shoulder like the breast
[3384] of a woman.

When Dhū al-Thudayyah was dragged out, 'Alī said, "God is most great! By God, I did not lie and was not deceived. Indeed by God, were it not that you would refrain from good deeds, I would tell you what God decreed through the mouth of His Prophet for him who fights against them while conscious of his motive for fighting them and recognizing the right to which we adhere." Then he passed among the fallen Khawārij and said, "Woe unto you! He who has deluded you has done you harm." His own men asked, "Commander of the Faithful, who is it who has deluded them?" He replied, "Satan and their own selves inciting to evil[553] deluded them with their desires, made disobedience seem attractive to them, and told them that they would be victorious."[554]

A search was made for any among them who still had a spark of life, and we found 400 of them. 'Alī commanded that they be given back to their kin, to whom he said, "Take them away with you and restore them to health. When they are better, take them to al-Kūfah and take possession of anything in their camp."

As for weapons, mounts, and the matériel of war,[555] 'Alī divided them among the Muslims. Regarding goods and male and female slaves, he returned them to their owners when he came (to Kūfah). 'Adī b. Ḥātim sought his son Ṭarafah.[556] Having found him, he buried him and then said, "Praise be to God, who put me to the test, by your death in this battle, in spite of my yearning for you."[557] Some of our men buried the slain men of their own tribe, but when the Commander of the Faithful heard about that he said, "Leave them! Do you kill them and then bury them?" And the men departed.

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553. See Qur'ān 12:53.
554. *Ann.*, 38 A.H., §107, reads *ṭāhirūna*, "pure."
555. (?)*Wa-mā shahidū bihi 'alayhi al-ḥarb.*
556. See p. 116, above.
557. (?)*Alladhī ibtalānī bi-yawmika 'alā ḥājatī ilayka.*

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mujāhid—al-Muhill b. Khalīfah [al-Ṭā'ī]: One of the Banū Ṣadūs, called al-'Ayzār b. al-Akhnas,[558] who shared the views of the Khawārij, went out to join them. Beyond al-Madā'in he met 'Adī b. Ḥātim, with whom were al-Aswad b. Qays and al-Aswad b. Yazīd, both of the Banū Murād.[559] When he met him, al-'Ayzār said to him, "Are you secure from sin and gainful of recompense or evil and sinful?" 'Adī replied, "Indeed, secure from sin and gainful of recompense." The two Murādīs said [3385] to him, "You have only said that because of an evil in your heart, for we know that you, 'Ayzār, share the views of those people (the Khawārij). You will not leave us before we bring you to the Commander of the Faithful and tell him about you." It was not long before 'Alī arrived and the two of them told him about al-'Ayzār, saying, "Commander of the Faithful, he shares the views of the enemy—we have recognized that in him." 'Alī said, "Shedding his blood is not licit for us, but we will imprison him." 'Adī b. Ḥātim said, "Commander of the Faithful, give him to me and I will take responsibility that nothing untoward happens to you on his part." So 'Alī gave al-'Ayzār to 'Adī.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Imrān b. Ḥudayr—Abū Mijlaz—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab b. 'Abdallāh: Only seven of 'Alī's companions were killed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Wa'lah al-Yanā'ī—Abū Dardā': When 'Alī had finished with the people of Nahrawān, he praised God and extolled Him and then said (to his own men), "God has favored you and reinforced your victory, so direct yourselves immediately against your enemy."[560] They answered, "Commander of the Faithful, our arrows are exhausted, our swords have become blunt, the tips of our spears have fallen off, and most of them have been broken in pieces. Go back to our garrison town and let us make the best possible preparation. Perhaps the Commander of the Faithful will add to our equipment that of those of us who have died,

558. This seems to be his only appearance. *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §108, says that we should read Sinbis rather than Sadūs (the Banū Sinbis of Ṭayyi' fits better with the subsequent tribal affiliations). Balādhurī *Ansāb*, cited in *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §120, has al-Akhnas b. al-'Ayzar al-Ṭā'ī al-Sinbisī.

559. See nn. 307, 534, above.

560. That is, the Syrians.

for that will make us better fitted to confront the enemy." Their spokesman in putting that forward was al-Ash'ath b. Qays.

'Alī went and stopped at al-Nukhaylah, where he told the men to remain in their camp and prepare themselves for *jihād*, and to cut down on visiting their wives and children until they set out against their enemy. They remained there for some days, but then they slipped away from their camp and entered (the town), apart [3386] from a few of their leaders, and the camp was left empty. When 'Alī saw that, he entered al-Kūfah and his idea of departing to fight Mu'āwiyah was shattered.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—anonymous—Zayd b. Wahb: In his first address to the men after the fighting at the canal, 'Alī said, "Men, get ready to go out against an enemy, in the making of *jihād* against whom there is drawing near to God and obtaining a way of getting close to Him. They are confused regarding what is right, they shun the Book, and they deviate from the religion (*dīn*), wandering perplexedly in rebellion[561] and cast down in the flood of error. Get ready against them all the force that you can muster and all the horses you can bridle. Put your trust in God, for He is a sufficient protector[562] and He is a sufficient helper."[563]

But they neither went to do what he said nor prepared themselves. He left them alone for a few days until, despairing of their doing what he had asked, he summoned their chiefs and leaders and asked them their opinion and what was delaying them. Some among them offered excuses and some evinced an antagonism to his wishes; those who showed enthusiasm were in the minority. So 'Alī stood to address them in a *khuṭbah*.[564]

He said:

> Servants of God, what possessed you, when I commanded you to go to fight, that you were averse to war and inclined to the earth?[565] Do you desire the life of this world

561. See Qur'ān 2:15; 6:110.
562. See Qur'ān 4:81; 33:3, 48.
563. See Qur'ān 4:45.
564. A formal address delivered from the dais (*minbar*) in the mosque. It became a formal part of the midday prayer service on Friday, but in early Islam was not limited to liturgical contexts. See *EI*², s.v.
565. *Iththāqaltum ilā al-arḍ*; i.e., "you were slow and sluggish" (see Lane, *Lexicon*, *th-q-l*, form VI.

more than the next[566] and lowliness and degradation to glory? Each time I have urged you to the *jihād*, your eyes have rolled as if you are in the agonies of death, as if you are mad and without reason, and as if your eyes are blind and you cannot see. I am amazed at you.[567] You are only lions of al-Sharā[568] in time of peace and sly foxes when you are called to be brave. You will never be men on whom I can rely, you are not riders with whom one can attack, and [3387] you are not men of strength to whom one may cling. By the eternal God, you are wretched men of valor[569]—you are duped and you do not outwit: your lands are diminished[570] and you do not care; others are not taken off guard by you,[571] but you are heedless and negligent. The true warrior is he who is alert and has understanding, while he who seeks for agreements comes to abasement. He who engages in dispute overcomes, but those who are defeated are vanquished and despoiled.

Then he said, "Now, you have obligations toward me and I have obligations toward you. My duties toward you are good counsel to you so long as I am associated with you, increasing your spoils (*fay'*), providing you with knowledge so that you are not ignorant, and educating you so that you acquire knowledge. Your duties to me are fulfillment of the oath of allegiance, good advice in private and in public, responding when I call you, and obedience when I command you. If God intends a good outcome for you, draw back from what I dislike, return to what I desire, and you will obtain what you seek and achieve what you hope for."

Narrators other than Abū Mikhnaf say that the battle between 'Alī and the people of the canal was in year 38 (658–659). That is

566. See Qur'ān 9:38.

567. *Li Allāhi antum!* An expression usually indicating appreciation of some good quality, perhaps used here ironically.

568. A proverbial expression for fierceness or bravery, said to refer to a mountain abounding in lions (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

569. *Ḥushshāsh al-ḥarb.* Literally, "kindlers of war" (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *miḥashsh*).

570. (?)*Wa-yatanaqqaṣu aṭrāfukum. Ann.*, A.H. 38 §III, has "vi si rattrappiscono le mani e i piedi." *Nanquṣu min aṭrāfihā* is Quranic (13:41, 21:45) and is variously understood.

571. (?)*Lā yumāmu 'ankum.*

what most of the specialists in historical traditions (*ahl al-siyar*) say, and it is supported, too, by what 'Umārah al-Asadī told me—'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā—Nu'aym—Abū Maryam:[572] Shabath b. Rib'ī and Ibn al-Kawwā' went out from al-Kūfah to Ḥarūrā', and 'Alī ordered the men to appear with their weapons. They all went out to the mosque, which became full with them, but 'Alī sent to them,
[3388] saying, "What you have done in entering the mosque with weapons is wrong. Go to the Jabbānah of Murād[573] and await my orders."

So we went to the the Jabbānah of Murād and waited there for part of the day. Then we heard that the Khawārij were returning, marching back.

I said, "I will go out to see them." So I went and infiltrated their columns until I came to Shabath b. Rib'ī and Ibn al-Kawwā', who were resting on one thigh in the saddles[574] of their mounts. With them were 'Alī's messengers, who were imploring the two of them by God to return with the men,[575] and saying to the men, "We beseech you by God not to hasten the *fitnah* this year out of fear of next year."

A man (of the Khawārij) came up to one of the messengers of 'Alī and hamstrung his mount. The messenger then dismounted, uttering the *istirjā'*,[576] picked up his saddle, and went on with it. The Khawārij were saying, "All we want is to resume open hostilities with them (the Syrians)," and the messengers were imploring them by God. We waited for a time and then they went back to al-Kūfah, where it was as if it were a day of breaking the fast or a day of sacrifice.[577]

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572. Abū Maryam al-Thaqafī is cited at Ṭabarī, I, 3154, as being in al-Kūfah when al-Ashtar seized it for 'Alī and expelled Abū Mūsā, before the Battle of the Camel; Ṭabarī reports from him via al-Minqarī. The present instance seems to be Ṭabarī's only citation from 'Umārah al-Asadī. The *ahl al-siyar* would seem to be scholars specializing in reports about the military events of early Islam; for a discussion of the development of the term *siyar* and related fields of tradition, see Hinds, "Maghāzī and Sīra," esp. pp. 61–62 and n. 8.

573. A *jabbānah* is a cemetery. In al-Kūfah the *jabbānah*s seem to fulfill the role of public squares in each tribal quarter (see *EI*², s.v. al-Kūfa, p. 347a).

574. (?)*Wāqifān mutawarrikān*; the significance of the description escapes me.

575. For this sense of *lammā* (= *illā*) after a verb of swearing or imploring, see Wright, *Grammar*, II, 340, at top.

576. See n. 331, above.

577. Because of the commotion. (The "breaking of the fast [of Ramadān]" and the "day of sacrifice" [during the *ḥajj*] are the two major feasts of the Muslim year.)

'Alī had been narrating to us before that that a people would go out from (*yakhrujūna min*) Islam, passing through the religion as the arrow passes through the hunted game.[578] The sign of them would be a man with a deformed arm (*mukhdaj al-yad*). I heard that *ḥadīth* from him several times.

Nāfi'[579] the Deformed (al-Mukhdaj) also heard it, and I saw him going off his food because he had heard him saying it so often. Nāfi' was with us in the mosque, praying by day and spending his nights there too. I had given him a *burnus* to wear, and I met him subsequently and asked him if he had gone out with those who had gone to Ḥarūrā'. He replied, "I went out intending to join them, but when I came to the Banū Sa'd some youth met me and divested me of my weapons and made fun of me, so I went back.[580]

About a year later, the men of the canal "went out" and 'Alī went [3389]
against them. I did not go with him, but my brother Abū 'Abdallāh did and he told me: 'Alī went to them, and when he was opposite them on the bank of the Nahrawān, he sent imploring them by God and asking them to return. A succession of messengers went ceaselessly from him to them until they killed a messenger of his. When he saw that, he attacked them and fought them until he had finished with them. Then he asked his companions to seek for the Deformed One (al-Mukhdaj), and they did so. Some of them said, "We cannot find him" and some said, "No, he is not among them." Then a man came and announced good news to 'Alī and said, "Commander of the Faithful, we have found him beneath two slain men in an irrigation ditch." 'Alī said, "Cut off the arm that is deformed and bring it to me." When he was brought it, he took it and lifted it up and said, "By God, I did not lie and was not deceived."[581]

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578. See n. 551. For the *ḥadīth*, see Wensick, *Concordance*, s.vv. *maraqa* and *akhdaja*, and idem, *Muslim Creed*, 38. *Maraqa*, "to pass through," is used of an arrow that goes clean through the animal at which it is shot.

579. Apparently *not* a reference to the famous Khārijī Nāfi' b. al-Azraq.

580. The wearing of the *burnus*, most likely here a hooded cloak, is probably meant to be indicative of an ascetic. Al-Dīnawarī, 203, has *aṣḥāb al-barānis* with reference to supporters of the Khārijites. The continuation of the narrative in the first person makes it difficult to be sure where the words of Nāfi' end, but the following sentence surely cannot be his and must belong to the narrator Abū Maryam.

581. This story relates to that of Dhū al-Thudayyah earlier.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) said: Abū Maryam has indicated with his words, ". . . so I went back. About a year later, the men of the canal 'went out,' " that the war between 'Alī and the men of Ḥarūrā' was in the year after that in which they had rejected 'Alī's agreement to arbitration. This latter occurred in 37, as has been established previously, and, if that was the case, and the matter developed according to the report that we have transmitted from Abū Maryam, then it is sure that the battle between 'Alī and them was in 38.[582]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—'Abdallāh b. Maymūn—'Amr b. Shujayrah—Jābir—al-Sha'bī: After he had returned from Ṣiffīn, 'Alī sent Ja'dah b. Hubayrah al-Makhzūmī, whose mother was Umm Hāni' bint Abī Ṭālib, to Khurāsān. He
[3390] got as far as Abrashahr, the people of which had espoused unbelief and refused to yield. He therefore went back to 'Alī, who sent out Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbū'ī, who besieged the people of Naysābūr until they made peace with him, and so too the people of Marw.[583]

In this year, that is, 37 (657–658), 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās led the pilgrimage.[584] He was 'Alī's governor over the Yemen and its provinces (*makhālīf*). Qutham b. al-'Abbās was over Mecca and al-Ṭā'if, and Sahl b. Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī over al-Madīnah. It is also said that Tammām b. al-'Abbās[585] was over al-Madīnah. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās was over al-Baṣrah, with Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī over its judicial affairs. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr[586] was over Egypt and Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbū'ī over Khurāsān. And it is said that when 'Alī departed for Ṣiffīn, he left behind Abū Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī[587] as his deputy over al-Kūfah. According to Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī[588]—'Abdallāh b. Idrīs—Layth—'Abd al-'Azīz b. Rufay': When 'Alī went out to Ṣiffīn, he left behind as his deputy over al-Kūfah Abū Mas'ūd

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582. For discussion of the chronology and the cause and effect relationship between the meeting of the arbitrators, the defection of the Khawārij, the Battle at the Canal (Nahrawān), and the rebellion of al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid (see later), see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 88–90.

583. Apart from the addition of the information about Ja'dah's mother, this passage is identical to that on pp. 99, above.

584. 'Ubaydallāh was a full younger brother of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās (n. 3, above).

585. Tammām was a half-brother of 'Abdallāh and 'Ubaydallāh, known for his great strength (Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 27).

586. Son of the first caliph (see *EI*², s.v.).

587. See n. 269, above.

588. D. 246/860, brother of the previously cited Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm (n. 506, above; see *GAS*, I, 112).

al-Anṣārī 'Uqbah b. 'Amr. As for Syria, that was the territory of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān.

The Events of the Year 38

(June 9, 658–May 28, 659)

The Killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr in Egypt

Among the events of this year was the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr in Egypt, where he was governor. We have already reported the circumstances of 'Alī's appointing him there and the deposition of Qays b. Sa'd. Now we will recount why and where he was killed and how things turned out regarding him. We will begin with the conclusion of the report of al-Zuhrī, the beginning of which we have given previously.[589]

[3391] According to 'Abdallāh [b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī]—Yūnus [b. Yazīd]—al-Zuhrī:[590] When Qays b. Sa'd was told that Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was coming to replace him as governor, he went to meet him and spoke to him in private. He took Muḥammad into his confidence and said, "You have been sent by a man who lacks judg-

589. See Ṭabarī, I, 3241–42, 3245–46. According to the account, 'Alī had been led to believe that Qays b. Sa'd (n. 75) was not entirely reliable as governor of Egypt and had sent Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr instead. Qays's father, Sa'd b. 'Ubādah, is said to have been a rival of Abū Bakr, the father of Muḥammad, at the time of the *saqīfah* following the death of the Prophet. On the following, see *EI*², s.v. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and the literature cited there.

590. The *isnād* is given in an abbreviated form (for the full version, see Ṭabarī, I, 3245).

ment (*ra'y*), but the fact that you are removing me from office will not stop me offering you sincere advice. I have some insight into your task here, for I was involved in something in which I was attempting to get the better of Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr and the people of Kharbitā.[591] You use the same stratagem against them for, if you try to get the better of them by any other means, you will perish." Qays described to him the stratagem whereby he was trying to get the better of them, but Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr suspected his motives and acted completely differently from the way Qays had said.

When Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had established himself and Qays b. Sa'd had left for Medina, Muḥammad sent the Egyptian army to Kharbitā, where they fought but were defeated. When Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr heard that, they came with the men of Syria, conquered Egypt, and killed Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. The land remained under Mu'āwiyah's control henceforth until he secured victory (in the struggle with 'Alī).

Qays b. Sa'd reached Medina, but Marwān and al-Aswad b. Abī al-Bakhtarī[592] threatened him until eventually, fearing that he would be seized or killed, he mounted up and went to join 'Alī. Mu'āwiyah wrote to Marwān and al-Aswad, expressing his anger at them and saying, "You have reinforced 'Alī with Qays b. Sa'd, and his sound opinion and his shrewdness. By God, if you had sent him 100,000 fighting men, that would not have angered me more than your forcing Qays b. Sa'd to leave to join 'Alī."

Qays b. Sa'd came to 'Alī and when he had told him what had happened and news reached them of the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, 'Alī realized that Qays b. Sa'd was equally the object of [3392] some substantial trickery and that those who had advised him to remove Qays from office had not given him sincere advice.

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591. Kharbitā, in the delta near Alexandria (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 416), was the center of a group of 'Uthmāniyyah, opponents of 'Alī, who were, nevertheless, willing to accept the authority of Qays on certain conditions. Qays, we are told, had been willing to negotiate with them in exchange for their agreement not to resist him, so that he could oppose the attempts of Mu'āwiyah to take over Egypt. See Ṭabarī, I, 3237–38, 3241.

592. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the senior Umayyad in Medina, and became caliph himself in 64/683–84 (see *EI*², s.v.); for al-Aswad b. Abī al-Bakhtarī of the Banū Asad of Quraysh, son of an opponent of the Prophet who is said to have been killed at Badr, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. al-Aswad b. al-'Āṣi.

As for Abū Mikhnaf's version of the start of the affair of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, his going to Egypt and his governorship over it, our report of it has been given earlier.[593] Now we will report the remainder of the account about Muḥammad according to Abū Mikhnaf from Yazīd b. Ẓabyān al-Hamdānī: When those at Kharbitā had killed Ibn Muḍāhim al-Kalbī,[594] whom Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had sent against them, Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī al-Sakūnī[595] went out and called for vengeance for the blood of 'Uthmān. Others responded to him and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was unable to maintain order in Egypt. 'Alī heard about the rising of the Egyptians against Muḥammad and about their determination (to overthrow) him, and he said, "Only one of two men is right for Egypt—the companion of ours whom we removed from it (meaning Qays b. Sa'd) or Mālik b. al-Ḥārith (meaning, al-Ashtar)."

When 'Alī returned from Ṣiffin, he had sent al-Ashtar back to his command over the Jazīrah and had said to Qays b. Sa'd, "Stay with me in charge of my personal guards (*shuraṭ*) until we have finished this business of the arbitration (*ḥukūmah*), and then go to Ādharbayjān." So Qays remained with 'Alī over his personal guard and when the business of the arbitration was over, 'Alī wrote to Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar, who at that time was at Naṣībīn:[596] "Now, you are one of those whose help I need in making the religion (*dīn*) effective, by whom I restrain the arrogance of the sinner, and by whom I fortify the dangerous frontier district (*thaghr*). I have put Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr over Egypt, but the rebels (*khawārij*)[597]
[3393] there came out against him and he is a raw youth with no experience of war and untested. Come to me so that we can consider what is necessary regarding that, and leave behind over your province those of your men who are trustworthy and sincere advisors. Salutations."

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593. See Ṭabarī, I, 3243–48.

594. Ibid., I, 3248, l. 18.

595. One of the 'Uthmāniyyah (n. 591); see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥadīǧ.

596. That is, Nisibis in northern Mesopotamia.

597. *Khawārij*; the word seems to be used in the general sense of rebels or defectors. It does not imply that the followers of Ibn Ḥudayj shared the views of those who fought 'Alī at Nahrawān (in fact, their views about 'Uthmān were contradictory). Rather it indicates that the name al-Khawārij probably originally had the general connotation of separatists or rebels and only later became the standard name for the Khārijites, whose origins were traced back to their rejection of the *ḥukūmah*.

Mālik came to 'Alī and went in to him. 'Alī told him the news about the men of Egypt and gave him the reports about them, and he said, "You are the only man for it. Set out there, may God have mercy on you. If I do not tell you what to do about it, it is because I am content with your own judgment. Ask for God's help if anything worries you, and mix firmness with gentleness. Be mild so long as mildness is effective, but insist on firmness when you have to." So al-Ashtar left 'Alī, went to the place where he had left his things, and got ready to set out for Egypt.

Mu'āwiyah's spies came and informed him of 'Alī's appointment of al-Ashtar, and that weighed heavily on him for he coveted Egypt and knew that if al-Ashtar arrived there he would be a more difficult prospect than Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. He therefore sent to al-Jāyastār, one of those subject to the *kharāj* tax,[598] and told him that al-Ashtar had been appointed over Egypt. And he said to him, "If you take care of him for me, I will not take any *kharāj* from you as long as I live;[599] so do what you can to outwit him." Al-Jāyastār then went to al-Qulzum[600] and waited there. Al-Ashtar left Iraq for Egypt, and when he reached al-Qulzum al-Jāyastār met him and said, "Here is somewhere to stay and here is food and fodder. I am one of those subject to the *kharāj*." Al-Ashtar stayed there with him and the *dihqān* came with fodder and food. Then, when he had fed him, he brought him a honeyed drink into which he had mixed poison. He gave it to him to drink and when he had done so he died.

Mu'āwiyah proceeded to tell the Syrians, "'Alī has sent al-Ashtar [3394]
to Egypt—call on God that He will suffice you against him." So every day they implored God against al-Ashtar, and then he who had given him the drink came to Mu'āwiyah and told him of al-

598. Jāyastār may be a version of an administrative title in Byzantine Egypt that appears in the administrative papyri as the Arabic *jasṭāl*. "Quaestor," "logistarius," and "augustalis" have been suggested (see *EI*[1], s. v. Arabia, d. Arabic Writing [I, 383, col. b.]); Becker, Neue arabische Papyri," 255; and *Ann.*, A.H. 37 §219). "Subject to the *Kharāj*" (*rajul min ahli 'l-kharāj*) perhaps indicates that the man had responsibility for collecting the tax from a district and paying part of it over to the Arabs. The promise to be released from it for life would then be a substantial reward—what he collected would be entirely his own. Note the subsequent reference to him as a *dihqān* (n. 406, above).

599. Or, "as long as *you* live" (thus Cairo and Ibn al-Athīr).

600. Ancient Klysma, modern Suez at the head of the Red Sea; a canal ran from it to join up with the Nile in the region of modern Cairo (see *EI*[1], s.v. Ḳulzum).

Ashtar's death. Mu'āwiyah stood among the people and delivered a *khuṭbah*. He praised God and extolled Him and then said, "'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib had two right hands; one of them was cut off on the day of Ṣiffīn (meaning 'Ammār b. Yāsir) and the other today (meaning al-Ashtar)."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj—a *mawlā* of al-Ashtar: When al-Ashtar died we found among his things the following letter of 'Alī to the people of Egypt:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, from the servant of God, 'Alī, Commander of the Faithful, to the community of Muslims who are jealous for God when He is disobeyed in the land and tyranny pitches its tents over the pious and the immoral equally, so that no right is respected nor any evil abstained from. Greetings. Praise be to God—there is no other but He. Now, I have sent to you one of the servants of God who does not sleep on the days of fear and does not shrink from the enemies out of wariness against calamities, who is harder on the unbelievers than the burning of the fire. He is Mālik b. al-Ḥārith, the brother of Madhḥij. Hearken unto him and obey him, for he is one of the swords of God, which does not rebound when striking and the blade of which does not become dull. If he orders you to advance, advance, and if he orders you to retire, retire, for he advances and withdraws only on my orders. (By sending him to you) I have given you preference over myself on account of his sincere advice to you and his stubborn unyielding attitude to your enemy. May God preserve you with right guidance and confirm your conviction. Salutations.

[3395] When Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr heard that 'Alī had sent al-Ashtar, he was troubled. Then, at the time of al-Ashtar's death, 'Alī wrote to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr—that was when 'Alī learned of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr's displeasure at al-Ashtar's coming:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, from the servant of God, 'Alī, Commander of the Faithful, to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, greetings. Now, I have learned that you are displeased at my sending al-Ashtar to your

province. But I did not do that because I found you tardy regarding the *jihād* nor in an attempt to increase your effort. If I had removed from your authority that which is under your hand, I would have appointed you over something that would have been less troublesome and more pleasing for you to exercise authority over. The man whom I had appointed over Egypt was a sincere adviser to us and resolute against our enemies. But he has completed his days and met his appointed fate, we being pleased with him. May God be pleased with him, may He increase his reward and may He make pleasant for him the place to which he has been removed. Be steadfast against your enemy and get ready for warfare. "Summon people to the path of your Lord with sagacity and goodly exhortation."[601] Multiply the mention of God's name, the asking of Him for help, and fear of Him, so that He may protect you against what troubles you and help you in that to which He has assigned you. May God help us and you in that which cannot be achieved without His mercy. Salutations.

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr wrote to ʿAlī in reply:

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, to the servant of God, ʿAlī, Commander of the Faithful, from Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, greetings. Praise be to God—there is no other but He. The letter of the Commander of the Faithful has reached me, and I have understood it and am cognizant of its contents. There is none among the people who finds the opinion of the Commander of the Faithful more acceptable than I, no one who exerts himself more against the Commander of the Faithful's enemy or [3396] is more gracious to his friend. I went out and established the army camp and I granted security to the people except for those who raised war against us and manifested their opposition. I follow the commands of the Commander of the Faithful, I am mindful of them, I seek refuge in them, and I take my stand with them. And the help of God is sought in every circumstance. Salutations.

601. Qur'ān 16:125.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Jahḍam al-Azdī, one of the Syrians—'Abdallāh b. Ḥawālah al-Azdī: After the Syrians had returned from Ṣiffīn, they waited for the decision that the two arbitrators would reach. When the two of them left the arbitration disagreeing with one another, the Syrians gave the oath of allegiance as caliph to Mu'āwiyah, and his strength continued to increase, while the people of Iraq were in disagreement regarding 'Alī. Mu'āwiyah's only concern was Egypt, fearing its fighting men because of their proximity to him and the strength of their enmity to anyone who was of the opinions (*ra'y*) of 'Uthmān. Nevertheless, Mu'āwiyah knew that a group there had found the killing of 'Uthmān reprehensible and opposed 'Alī. Furthermore, he hoped that if he won control over Egypt he would also be victorious in the war against 'Alī on account of the huge sum that was raised from its *kharāj*.

Mu'āwiyah summoned those of Quraysh who were with him: 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, Ḥabīb b. Maslamah, Busr b. Abī Arṭāt,[602] al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd; and others (not of Quraysh): Abū al-A'war 'Amr b. Sufyān al-Sulamī, Ḥamzah b. Mālik al-Hamdānī, and Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ al-Kindī. He said to them, "Do you know what it is I have summoned you to? I have summoned you to a matter of great importance in which I desire that God grants help." The group said, all of them or those of them that spoke, "God has never informed anyone about the unknown and He will not let us know what you wish."

'Amr b. al-Āṣ said, "By God, I think that it is the question of this
[3397] land great in *kharāj*, rich in equipment, and numerous in population that concerns you. And you have summoned us then to ask us about what we think regarding it. If you have summoned us for that and gathered us together on account of it, then be determined and go forward, for how excellent is the view that you have formed! In conquering it you and your followers will achieve honor, your enemy will be put down, and those who oppose you will be humiliated." Mu'āwiyah said to him in reply, "I know what it is that concerns you, Ibn al-'Āṣ!" He said that because 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had made an agreement with Mu'āwiyah, at the time when he had given Mu'āwiyah the oath of allegiance in the fight against 'Alī b.

602. See p. 206, below.

Abī Ṭālib, that Egypt would be his for the rest of his life. That was intended as an incentive for him.

Mu'āwiyah turned to those others present and said, "This one (meaning 'Amr) has thought about it and affirmed his suspicions." They said, "But we do not know!" Mu'āwiyah said, "Abū 'Abdallāh has got it right." 'Amr said, "I am Abū 'Abdallāh." Then he said, "The best supposition is that which resembles certainty."

Then Mu'āwiyah praised God and extolled Him and said:

> Now, you have seen what God has done for you in your fight against your enemy.[603] They came to you expecting that they would devastate your territory and destroy your land. They had no doubt but that you would be in their hands. "But God repelled them with their rage, and they obtained none of the good"[604] that they desired. We entrusted the decision (*ḥākamnāhum*) about them to God, and He decided for us against them (*ḥakama lanā 'alayhim*). Then He joined together our forces and settled our differences, while He cast them into enmity and division, bearing witness one against another of unbelief and shedding each other's blood. By God, I hope that this business will be concluded in our favor and I have conceived the idea that we should seek to deceive the Egyptians. What do you think of our opinion regarding that?[605]

'Amr replied, "I have informed you regarding that which you asked me about and I have advised you as you have heard." Mu'āwiyah said, "'Amr has made up his mind, but he was sharp and cutting and failed to explain (*yufassir*). How should I act?" 'Amr said to him, "I will advise you how you should act. I think you [3398] should send a powerful army under the command of someone who is resolute and stern, someone on whom you rely and in whom you trust. He should go and enter Egypt, and those of its people who share our view will come to him and help him against our

603. That is, 'Alī and the Iraqis.

604. See Qur'ān 33:25.

605. Comparison with parallel sources suggests that there is an omission in the text here: They answered, "We agree with 'Amr!" Mu'āwiyah said, "But what should I do?"

enemies who are there. And when your army and those members of your party (*shī'ah*) there have united against your opponents, I hope that God will help you with your victory and aid your triumph."

Mu'āwiyah said to him, "Do you have any ideas other than this regarding what might be done in our dispute with them?" He replied, "Not that I know of." But Mu'āwiyah said, "Indeed I do! I think we should write to those of our party (*shī'ah*) there, and to our enemy. I will tell those of our party to persevere in their cause, and I will promise them that we are coming to their aid. And we will call our enemies there to make peace with us and give them cause to hope for our gratitude at the same time as we make them afraid about fighting against us. If what they have to offer is agreeable to us without fighting, then that is what we wanted. If it is not, then we still have the option of war available. You, Ibn al-'Āṣ, are a man blessed with hastiness, while I am a man blessed with deliberateness." 'Amr said, "Do according as God has shown you. By God, I think it inevitable that your dispute with them lead to a resumption of war."

Thereupon Mu'āwiyah wrote to Maslamah b. Mukhallad al-Anṣārī[606] and Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī, both of whom had opposed 'Alī:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Now, God has commissioned the two of you for a matter of importance, by which He will make great your reward, elevate your name, and make you magnificent among the Muslims—your seeking vengeance for the blood of the caliph unjustly slain and your zeal for God when the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Book was abandoned. You have waged *jihād* against the people of injustice and enmity. Rejoice in the good pleasure of God, in the imminence of the victory of the friends of God, and in the benefits that
> [3399] will come to you in this world. And rejoice in our authority, until that which will please you is achieved by it, and we give you by it what you deserve in full measure according to your merits. "Be patient and vie in patience"[607] against

606. Like Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj, Maslamah was a leader of the 'Uthmāniyyah in Egypt (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

607. Qur'ān 3:200.

> your enemies. Call the backslider (*mudbir*) to your right guidance and protection. The army (of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr) has been led astray against you and everything that you reject has been cleared away and everything that you long for has come to pass. Peace be upon you.

Mu'āwiyah wrote this letter and sent it with a client of his called Subay', who took it to Ibn Mukhallad and Ibn Ḥudayj in Egypt. There Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was governor, having declared war on the followers of Ibn Mukhallad and Ibn Ḥudayj, and not (yet) having suffered any loss on the day the attack was made against him.[608] Subay' handed over his letter to Maslamah b. Mukhallad and also the letter of Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj, but Maslamah said, "Take Mu'āwiyah's letter to him so that he can read it, and then bring it to me so that I can answer it from both of us." The messenger took his letter to Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj, who had him read it out loud to him. When he had finished reading it, Subay' said, "Maslamah b. Mukhallad told me that I should take the letter back to him after you had read it so that he could reply to Mu'āwiyah on behalf of both of you." Ibn Ḥudayj said, "Tell him that he should do that," and he gave the letter to the messenger, who returned to Ibn Mukhallad.

The latter then wrote on behalf of himself and Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj:

> This matter for which we have sacrificed ourselves and in which we have followed God's command is something in which we hope for the reward of our Lord, deliverance from those who oppose us, and the hastening of retribution on those who violated our imām and rushed with haste into *jihād* against us. We, in this quarter of the earth, have re-

608. *Wa-qad nāṣaba hā'ulā'i al-ḥarba bihā wa-huwa ghayru mutakhawwan bihā yawma al-iqdāmi 'alayhi*. The sentence is problematic. In view of the preceding reference to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and the *wa*, *hā'ulā'i* is presumably the object, rather than subject, of *nāṣaba*, and refers to the followers of the two men to whom Mu'āwiyah sent the letter. The Leiden editor indicates that *mutakhawwan* is unvocalized and only the *nūn* is dotted. He suggests it be understood in the same sense as *mutanaqqaṣ* ("diminished," "impaired")—Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. form V of *kh-w-n*, has "to diminish," "to impair," synonomous with *tanaqqaṣa*. It might be more obvious to read as *mutakhawwin*, "suspecting treachery or trickery" (i.e., on the part of Mu'āwiyah)—Cairo leaves unvocalized.

[3400] jected those unjust ones who were here, and we have aroused those here who are equitable and just. You have referred to our sharing in your power and your worldly success but, by God, that is nothing to incite us nor is it anything we wish for. If God brings together for us that which we seek and gives us what we desire, then this world and the next belong to God, the Lord of the worlds, Who may cause them to coincide as one world of His creation, just as He has said in His Book (and His promise is never broken): "And God gave them the reward of this world and the fairest reward of the world to come, for God loves those who do good."[609] Hasten your cavalry and your footmen to us for our enemy is furious against us and we are few among them. And (yet) they have become frightened of us while we have become equal adversaries of them. If God gives us help from your part, God will grant you success, and there is no power or might other than with God. "And God is sufficient for us, an excellent guardian."[610] Peace be with you.

This letter reached Muʿāwiyah, who was in Palestine at the time, He summoned the group of men whom he had called in connection with the letter, and said, "What do you think?" They answered, "We think that you should send an army and with God's permission you will conquer it." Muʿāwiyah said, "Get ready to go there, Abū ʿAbdallāh (meaning ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ)."

Muʿāwiyah sent ʿAmr with 6,000 men, and he went to bid him goodbye. While he was doing so Muʿāwiyah said to him, "ʿAmr, I commend to you the fear of God and mildness, for that assures success; ease of pace and deliberateness, for hurrying comes from Satan; and I recommend that you receive kindly him who draws near and leave alone him who turns his back. If he agrees, then that is excellent, but if he refuses, then severity after leniency is more effective in argument and more likely to achieve a good result. Call the people to make peace and unite. When you have gained the victory, let your helpers (*anṣār*) be the most favored of all by you,
[3401] but do good to all the people."

609. Qur'ān 3:148.
610. Qur'ān 3:173.

'Amr departed and journeyed to the nearest parts of the land of Egypt, where he pitched camp. The 'Uthmāniyyah gathered to him and he remained with them. He wrote to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr: "Withdraw from me and do not make me shed your blood, Ibn Abī Bakr, for I do not want to lay a finger on you. The people of this land have agreed on opposition to you and rejection of your rule; they have repented of following you and are forsaking you (*hum muslimūka*), for matters have come to a head.[611] 'Depart from it, for I am one of your sincere advisers.'[612] Salutations."

'Amr also sent to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr the letter that Mu'āwiyah had written to him:

> The outcome of injustice and evil is great harm. Whoever sheds prohibited blood does not escape retribution in this world or evil consequences in the next. We do not know of anyone who was more persistent in injustice against 'Uthmān, more shamefully wicked against him, or more fervent in opposing him, than you. You were among those who rushed against him in assault, and you were among those who shed his blood. Then you thought that I would overlook or forget you to the extent that you made yourself ruler (*amīr*) over the land in which you are a neighbor of mine, and the majority of the people of which are my supporters who share my views, heed what I say and call on me for help against you. I have sent against you a band of men that is enraged against you, seeks your blood to drink, and attempts to draw near to God by *jihād* against you. They have given God an undertaking that they will make an exemplary punishment[613] of you, and if it were not that they intend for your something more than merely killing you, I would not have warned you nor given you notice. I would have liked them to kill you for your evil, your breaking the bonds of relationship, and your enmity against 'Uthmān on the day when he was pierced by your arrow heads between the bone that protrudes behind the

611. Following the suggestion of *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §242, to read *wa-qad* for *law qad*. Literally the expression means "for the two rings of the camel-girth have met."
612. Qur'ān 28:20.
613. *La-yumaththilunna bika.*

ear and his jugular vein. But it is abhorrent to me that I should make an exemplary punishment of a Qurashī, though God will never deliver you from retaliation wherever you are. Salutations.

[3402] Muḥammad folded up their two letters and sent them to 'Alī, together with a covering letter of his own: "Ibn al-'Āṣ has descended on the nearest parts of the land of Egypt, and the men of the land, most of whom are of those who share their views, have gathered to him. He has come with a clamorous and destructive army and I have observed signs of cowardice among those who are with me. If you have any use for the land of Egypt, then send me support in men and money. Peace be upon you."

'Alī replied to him:

> I have received your letter in which you mention that Ibn al-'Āṣ has descended on the nearest parts of the land of Egypt with a clamorous and destructive army and that those there with a view like his have gone out to join him. But the going out to him of those who see things like him is better for you than that they should remain with you. And you have mentioned that you have observed faintness of heart in some of those who are with you. Do not lose heart but, if they are faint-hearted, fortify your habitation, gather your party (*shī'ah*) around you, and send Kinānah b. Bishr,[614] who is well known for sincere advice, bravery, and courage, to go against the enemy. I am sending men to you for any sort of task you may require,[615] so be patient in face of your enemy, proceed judiciously, fight them as you have purposed, and make *jihād* against them patiently, expecting your eternal reward. If your party is the smaller of the two, then God may strengthen the few and forsake the many. I have read the letter of the wicked one (*fājir*) son of the wicked one, Mu'āwiyah, and the wicked one son of the infidel, 'Amr, the two of them united in love of deeds of disobedience (to God), plotting together and taking bribes

614. According to some accounts, this man of Banū Tujīb of Kindah had given the fatal blow to 'Uthmān (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Kināna b. Bišr).

615. Literally, "on the difficult and the docile" (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ṣa'b*).

regarding the arbitration,[616] both of them abhorred in this world. "They have enjoyed their share as those who were before them enjoyed their share."[617] Do not let their threats and menaces frighten you. If you have not responded to them, do so as they deserve. You will find the words you seek. Salutations.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Thābit al-Anṣārī—a shaykh of the people of al-Madīnah: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr wrote to Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān in reply to his letter: [3403]

> I have received your letter in which you remind me of the matter of 'Uthmān, and I make no apology to you regarding that. You tell me to withdraw from you, as if you were a sincere adviser, and you try to frighten me with reference to an exemplary punishment (*al-muthlah*) as if you were sympathetic to me. I hope that fortune will raise me up again over you and that I will sweep you away in battle, but if you are given the victory and authority (*al-amr*) in this world is yours, then, by my life, how many an evildoer you will have helped and how many a Believer you will have killed and mutilated (*mathaltum*). But both you and they must appear before God, for all things return to Him, and "He is the most merciful of the merciful"[618] "and God's help is to be implored against what you describe."[619] Salutations.

And Muḥammad wrote to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ: "I have understood what you have said in your letter, Ibn al-'Āṣ. You have claimed that you abhor that you should lay a finger on me, but I bear witness that you are one of the false ones. You claim that you are a sincere adviser to me, but I swear that I regard you as unworthy of trust. You claim that the people of the land have rejected my views and my authority and have repented of following me: then they are

616. *Al-ḥukūmah*.
617. See Qur'ān 9:69.
618. Qur'ān 12:64, 12:92.
619. Qur'ān 12:18.

friends to you and to Satan the accursed.[620] But God, the Lord of the Worlds, is our sufficiency, and our reliance is on God the Lord of the great throne.[621] Salutations."

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ advanced, heading straight for Fusṭāṭ[622] and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr stood to address the men. He praised God and extolled Him, and he prayed for His Prophet. Then he said: "You who have accepted Islam and you who believe! Those who are profaning what is sacrosanct, reviving error, kindling the fire of *fitnah*, and winning power by tyranny, have erected enmity against you and come against you with armies. Servants of God! Whoever [3404] desires Heaven and forgiveness, let him go out against this band and make *jihād* against them for God. Go against them, may God have mercy upon you, with Kinānah b. Bishr."

About 2,000 men put themselves forward to go with Kinānah, and Muḥammad went out with another 2,000 men. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ went to meet Kinānah, who was over the vanguard of Muḥammad, and he proceeded toward him. When he drew near to Kinānah, he dispatched the squadrons, one after another. Whenever one of the Syrian squadrons approached him, Kinānah would attack it with the men he had with him and assail it so as to force it to draw near again to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. He did that several times and 'Amr, seeing it, sent to Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Sakūnī, who came with a sizable force[623] and surrounded Kinānah and his men. Then the Syrians gathered against them on all sides and, when Kinānah b. Bishr perceived that, he dismounted together with his men, saying, "No soul may die except with the permission of God, according to the fixed time that is written; whoever desires the reward of this life, We shall give him of it, and whoever desires the reward of the next life, We shall give him of it, and We shall recompense those who are thankful."[624] And he fought the Syrians with his sword until he fell a martyr, may God have mercy upon him. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ advanced toward Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, whose men had deserted

620. The expression occurs frequently in the Qur'ān. For the epithet *al-rajīm* in the sense of "Accursed," see Jeffrey, *Foreign Vocabulary*, s.v.

621. See Qur'ān 9:129.

622. The text has *miṣr*, which can indicate Egypt in general or Fusṭāṭ in particular.

623. *Fī mithli al-dahm* "made a surprise attack"?

624. Qur'ān 3:145.

him when they heard about the killing of Kinānah, so that he remained entirely alone.

When Muḥammad perceived that, he hurried off on foot along the road until he came to a ruined place close to it and sought shelter there. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ proceeded to occupy al-Fusṭāṭ,[625] while Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj went off in pursuit of Muḥammad. He came upon some local non-Arabs ('*ulūj*) on the highway and asked them, "Did anyone unknown to you pass by?" One of them replied, "No, by God, but I went in to this ruined place and I saw a man sitting [3405] in it." Ibn Ḥudayj said, "By the Lord of the Ka'bah, that is he," and they rushed forward and went in to him. They brought him out almost dead of thirst and took him off toward Fusṭāṭ of Egypt.[626]

Muḥammad's brother, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, who was part of the army of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, hurried to 'Amr and said, "Will you kill my brother in chains? Send to Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj and forbid him to do that." So 'Amr sent to him, telling him to bring Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr to him, but Mu'āwiyah said, "Really! You have killed Kinānah b. Bishr and I should let Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr go! What an idea! 'Are your infidels better than these? Or do you have an immunity (for them) in the scriptures (*zubur*)?' "[627]

Muḥammad said to them, "Give me some water to drink," but Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj answered him, "May God not give him anything to drink if he ever gives you a drop.[628] You prevented 'Uthmān from drinking water until you had killed him, while he was fasting and in a state of ritual purity (*iḥrām*), and God received him with 'choice sealed wine.'[629] By God I will kill you, Ibn Abī Bakr, and God will give you to drink 'boiling water and pus.' "[630]

Muḥammad said to him, "Son of a Jewish weaving woman! That is not up to you or him whom you mentioned. It is only up to God. He provides drink for His friends and causes His enemies to thirst—

625. *Fusṭāṭ* basically means "tent" and that is how *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §243, understands it here: ('Amr) "era tornato alla sua tenda." The name of the garrison town may be associated with Latin *fossum* "ditch."

626. *Fusṭāṭ Miṣr*, which may indicate that the source distinguishes between *fusṭāṭ* in its general signification (see the previous note) and in its use as the name of the main Arab garrison town of Egypt.

627. Qur'ān 54:43.

628. The remark is presumably addressed to the man from whom Muḥammad requested water, and the following sentences to Muḥammad himself.

629. See Qur'ān 83:25.

630. See Qur'ān 38:57, 78:25.

you and your ilk and him who has responsibility for it. Indeed, by God, if my sword had been in my hand you would not have got the better of me like this." Mu'āwiyah said to him, "Do you know what I am going to do with you? I shall put you in the belly of a donkey and then burn it with you inside."

[3406] Muḥammad said, "If you do that to me, then how often has it been done to the friends of God! I hope that God will make for me of this fire with which you burn me 'a saving coldness'[631] just as He made it for His friend Abraham, and I hope that for you and your friends He makes it as He made it for Nimrod and his. May God burn you and him whom you mentioned previously[632] and your imam (he meant Mu'āwiyah) and this one (he indicated 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ) with a fire that will blaze over you. 'As often as (its fires) die down, God increases its blaze.' "[633]

Mu'āwiyah said to him, "I am only slaying you in retaliation for 'Uthmān." Muḥammad asked him, "What have you got to do with 'Uthmān? He acted unjustly and rejected the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Qur'an, and God has said, 'They who do not judge (*ḥ-k-m*) with what God has revealed, they are the iniquitous.'[634] We held that against him and killed him, but you give him merit for it, you and those who are like you. God has absolved us—God willing—from his sin (*dhanb*), but you share in his offense (*ithm*) and the enormity of his sin, and the one who uses you [i.e., Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān] is just the same."

Mu'āwiyah became angry, had him brought forward, and killed him. Then he cast him into the corpse of a donkey and set fire to it. When 'Ā'ishah[635] heard about that, she mourned for him greatly and made extra prayers for him at the end of the ritual prayers, appealing to God against Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr. She joined the household of Muḥammad (b. Abī Bakr) to hers, and al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr[636] became part of her household.

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631. Qur'ān 21:69.

632. Presumably 'Uthmān. Leiden has "I mentioned"; Cairo does not specify the person.

633. Qur'ān 17:97.

634. Qur'ān 5:47.

635. 'Ā'ishah, the widow of the Prophet, although an opponent of 'Alī, was a half-sister of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr.

636. Al-Qāsim became a leading religious scholar (*ḥumila 'anhu al-'ilm*) in Medina (see Zubayrī, *Kitab nasab Quraysh*, 279).

According to al-Wāqidī—Suwayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān: 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ went out with 4,000 men, including Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj and Abū al-A'war al-Sulamī, and they (he and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr) met at al-Musannāt,[637] where they fought a great battle. When Kinānah b. Bishr b. 'Attāb al-Tujībī was killed and he could find no more men, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr fled and tried to hide with Jabalah b. Masrūq.[638] But Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj was led to him and [3407]
surrounded him, and Muḥammad then came out and fought until he was killed.

Al-Wāqidī said that [the battle at] al-Musannāt was in Ṣafar of 38 (July–August 658) and [the arbitration meeting at] Adhruḥ was in Sha'bān (January 659) of the same year.

(The narrative of Abū Mikhnaf continues.) 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ wrote to Mu'āwiyah when he had killed Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and Kinānah b. Bishr: "We met Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and Kinānah b. Bishr and they had with them large bodies of the men of Egypt. We called them to the right path, the accepted precedent (*sunnah*), and the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Book, but they rejected the truth and persisted in error. We made *jihād* against them and called on God for help, and God struck them in front and behind and they fled from us. God killed Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Kinānah b. Bishr, and the leading men. 'Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds,'[639] and peace be upon you."

The Killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah

In this year Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah b. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah b. 'Abd Shams was killed,[640] although the experts in historical tradition (*ahl al-siyar*) differ regarding the date of it.

Al-Wāqidī dated it to the year 36 (656–657) and said that the cause of it was as follows: Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr set out against Ibn Abī

637. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 98, translates as "the dam"; Rhuvon Guest locates it on the map that accompanies his edition of al-Kindī's *Kitab wulāt Miṣr* (*The Governors and Judges of Egypt*) as a little northeast of modern Cairo, but indicates that the position is doubtful.

638. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to him.

639. Qur'ān 1:1.

640. Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah (see *EI*², s. v.) had been sent to Egypt by 'Uthmān but had led and fomented the opposition there against the caliph, seizing Fusṭāṭ in the disturbances at the time of 'Uthmān's murder.

Ḥudhayfah in Egypt, which he had seized. They camped at 'Ayn Shams[641] and tried to enter (Fusṭāṭ), but they could not prevail against him. Then they tricked Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah into leaving for al-'Arīsh[642] with a thousand men, and he set out leaving al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt[643] behind as his deputy over Fusṭāṭ.[644] When Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah had departed for al-'Arīsh, he fortified himself, and 'Amr came and set up the siege weapons, forcing him to descend with thirty of his companions, all of whom were taken
[3408] and killed.[645] That was before 'Alī sent Qays b. Sa'd to Egypt.

Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, however, reported that Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah was taken only after the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and the entry of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ into Egypt and his seizure of it. Hishām asserted that when 'Amr and his men entered Egypt, they captured Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfah and sent him to Mu'āwiyah, who was in Palestine. He incarcerated him in a prison of his, where he remained for a short time before escaping. He was a maternal cousin of Mu'āwiyah, but Mu'āwiyah let it be thought that he disapproved of his escape and he asked the Syrians for volunteers to track him down.

In reality, it is thought Mu'āwiyah had wanted Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah to escape, but a man of Khath'am called 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Ẓalām,[646] a brave man who was an 'Uthmānī, said that he would go in search of him. He went off immediately and came up with him at a place in the Balqā' in Ḥawrān.[647] Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah had gone into a cave there. Some donkeys, seeking to escape rain, went into it, but when they saw the man there they shied and bolted. Some people who were harvesting near the cave said, "By God, there

641. Ancient Ōn/Heliopolis, northeast of modern Cairo (see *EI*², s.v.).

642. Ancient Rhinokorura, an oasis on the Mediterranean marking the border between Palestine and Egypt but traditionally counted to the latter (see *EI*², s.v.).

643. This is Ṭabarī's only reference to al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt (b. Makhramah al-Qurashī), who is to be distinguished from the later Thaqafī governor of al-Kūfah with the same name.

644. *Miṣr*.

645. The translation reflects the lack of clarity regarding the referents of the pronouns in the Arabic, but it must be Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah and his men at al-'Arīsh who were taken and killed. *Ann.*, 36 A.H., §399, argues that separate accounts of different expeditions of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ have here been conflated.

646. This is his only appearance in Ṭabarī's history.

647. The Balqā' is the region west of the Jordan to the south of Jerash (see *EI*², s.v.). For the Ḥawrān, the mountainous region south of Damascus, see *EI*², s.v.

is something behind the flight of these donkeys from the cave!" and they went to look and came upon him there. As they left the cave, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Ẓalām al-Khath'amī chanced upon them. He asked them about Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah and described him to them, and they said, "There he is in the cave." He went and brought him out and, unwilling to send him back to Mu'āwiyah, who would let him go, cut off his head.[648]

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b b. Fuqaym—Jundab—'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym, the paternal uncle of al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b [. . .][649] calling for help from the part of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr to 'Alī. At that time Muḥammad was their [3409]
governor. 'Alī rose among the men, having ordered a communal prayer service to be proclaimed and the men having gathered. He praised God and extolled Him, prayed for Muḥammad the Prophet, and then said,

> Now, this is the cry of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and your brethren among the people of Egypt. Ibn al-Nābighah,[650] the enemy of God and the friend of those who oppose God, has gone against them. Do not allow the people of error to be more united in their futility and their reliance on the path of wickedness (*ṭāghūt*) than you are in this just cause of yours. They have made the first move against you and your brethren in war; now you hasten to your brethren with assistance and help. Servants of God, Egypt is greater than Syria, more productive, and with better people. Do not let yourselves be defeated over Egypt, for the continuation of Egypt in your hands is a matter of pride for you and a humiliation for your enemy. Go out to al-Jara'ah[651] between al-Ḥīrah and al-Kūfah, and join me there tomorrow, God willing.

On the next day he walked out, arriving there early in the morning and waiting until it was about midday. Not one of them

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648. *Ann.*, A.H. 36 §400, and Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 98, note the similarity between the accounts of the killing of the two Muḥammads, Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfah and Ibn Abī Bakr, both being associated with donkeys: not only was Ibn Abī Bakr burned in an ass's skin; his hiding place was revealed by *'ulūj*, a word that can mean "donkeys" as well as non-Arabs.

649. There is a lacuna in the text.

650. That is, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.

651. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. [II, 62].

came to him there and he went back. In the evening he sent to the notables (*ashrāf*), and they went in unto him in the governor's residence (*qaṣr*). He was dejected and downcast and he said,

> Praise be to God for what He has decreed concerning my affairs and ordained regarding what I do, and for my being put to the test through you, you party (*firqah*) of those who do not obey when I command or respond when I call. You are not worthy to be called sons![652] What do you expect for your steadfastness and *jihād* for your rightful cause? Death and humiliation are for you in this world for anything but what is right. By God, if death comes—and it will indeed come—it will certainly separate you and me, for I detest
> [3410] your companionship and I care nothing for you. I am amazed at you. No religion unites you and no zeal inflames you when you have heard that your enemy is coming to your country and launching an attack against you. Is it not astonishing that Mu'āwiyah summons the uncouth and the lowly and they follow him without stipend ('*aṭā'*) or support (*ma'ūnah*),[653] and they respond to him twice or thrice in one year for whatever purpose he desires? But I call you, you who are possessed of understanding, some of whom have a stipend and the rest receive support, but you remain apart from me, disobey me, and oppose me!

Mālik b. Ka'b al-Hamdānī, al-Arḥabī,[654] arose to respond to him and said, "Commander of the Faithful, send out the men for war for 'there is no perfume after the bride.'[655] I have kept myself for a day such as this and the reward only comes with the attack.[656] Fear God and answer your imam, help his cause (*da'wah*), and fight his enemy. I will set out for Egypt, Commander of the Faithful."

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652. *Lā abā li-ghayrikum.* See n. 528, above, for *lā abā lakum*; the addition of the *ghayr* seems to be euphemistic in force (see *Gloss.*, s.v.).

653. For these two forms of payment to soldiers, see *EI*², s.vv. In the present instance they appear to indicate different types of payment to different types of soldiers, the *ma'ūnah* being a gratuity to those not in receipt of regular stipends ('*aṭā'*).

654. He had witnessed the arbitration document on behalf of 'Alī (see n. 345, above).

655. Apparently meaning "there is no point in saving things beyond the event for which they were intended" (see Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, II, 482).

656. (?) *Wa-al-ajru lā ya'tī illā bi-al-kurrah.*

'Alī commanded his crier Sa'd, who proclaimed among the men, "Stand ready for Egypt with Mālik b. Ka'b!" Then he, and 'Alī with him, went out to see and found that altogether about 2,000 men had presented themselves. 'Alī said, "Set out but, by God, I think that by the time you reach the men in Egypt everything will be over."

Mālik set off with them and traveled for five days. Then al-Ḥajjāj b. Ghaziyyah al-Anṣārī, al-Najjārī, came to 'Alī from Egypt, and so did 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shabīb al-Fazārī.[657] Al-Fazārī was 'Alī's spy in Syria, while al-Anṣārī had been with Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. Al-Anṣārī told 'Alī what he had seen and witnessed and informed him about the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. And al-Fazārī told him that before he had left Syria the reports of good tidings from 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had arrived in succession, one after another, with news of the conquest of Egypt and the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, and his killing had been proclaimed from the *minbar*. He said, "Commander of the Faithful, rarely have I seen a people more overjoyed or a joy more openly manifested than I saw in Syria when news of the death of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr came to them." 'Alī said, "Indeed, our sorrow for him matches their joy—no, it is many times greater." And 'Alī sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ al-Shibāmī[658] to Mālik b. Ka'b, telling the latter to come back. [3411]

'Alī grieved for Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr so much that it was visible in his face and it was obvious. He stood among the men to deliver an address, and after praising God and extolling Him, and praying for His Prophet, said:

> The wicked ones (*al-fajarah*), those who are unjust and evil, those who turned people from the path of God and evilly wished Islam crooked,[659] have conquered Egypt. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr has been martyred—may God have mercy upon him—and we seek for his recompense with God. By God, he was, as I know, indeed one of those who await the (divine) decrees, act (to attain) the (eternal) reward, loathe the way of the wicked (*fājir*), and desire the right

657. For al-Ḥajjāj, see n. 293; for 'Abd al-Raḥmān, pp. 201, below.

658. Shibām b. As'ad were part of Hamdān and this 'Abd al-Raḥmān appears as a supporter of al-Mukhtār in Ṭabarī's account of the second civil war (see XX, 189–92, of this translation).

659. See Qur'ān 3:99.

path of the Believer. By God, I do not blame myself for failing, for I am fully experienced in enduring in war; I set about the matter boldly and resolutely, and I stand ex-
[3412] pressing my views effectively. I publicly call upon you for help and openly cry to you for assistance, but you do not heed what I say or obey what I command, so that things could not become worse for me. You are a people with whom vengeance will not be attained and revenge not taken. I have called you to the aid of your brethren for some fifty days, but you have gurgled as do slack-jawed camels slurping their water and you were sluggardly like people with no intention of waging *jihād* against the enemy or acquiring eternal reward. Then a tiny force came out to me from among you, one by one (*mutadhānib*)[660] "as if they were[661] being driven toward death while looking around." Shame on you!

Then he sat down. And he wrote to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, who was in al-Baṣrah:

In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate, from the servant of God, 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, greetings. Praise be to God, for there is no other than He. Now, Egypt has been conquered and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr has been martyred. We look for his reward with God and we treasure him (in our hearts). At the very start I stood among the people and commanded them to help him before the calamity should occur. I summoned them in secret and in public, over and over again. Some of them came unwillingly, some made lying excuses, and some stayed where they were. I ask God that He give me a way out and an escape from them and that He deliver me from them before long. By God, if I were not so desirous of dying in God's cause (*shahādah*), then I would
[3413] not want to remain with these people for one day. May God strive to bring about for us and for you right guidance,

660. See *Gloss.*, s.v.

661. Leiden has *ka-thabaratin*, but read *ka-annamā* with Cairo and (as noted by the Leiden editor) Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwayrī; and see Qur'ān 8:6.

(rightful) fear of Him and His right way. "He has power over everything."[662] Salutations.

Ibn 'Abbās wrote back:

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. To the servant of God, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Commander of the Faithful, from 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās. Peace be upon you, Commander of the Faithful, and God's mercy and blessings. I have received your letter in which you mention the conquest of Egypt and the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. God's help is to be implored in every eventuality. May [3413] God have mercy upon Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and may He reward you, Commander of the Faithful. I have asked God to give you a way out and an escape from the flock with which you have been afflicted and that before long He strengthen you with the support of angels. God will do that for you and He will strengthen you and answer your call, and He will crush your enemy. I tell you, Commander of the Faithful, that the people sometimes drag their feet and then become eager. Treat them well, oh Commander of the Faithful, flatter them and give them something to hope for. Ask God for help regarding them. May God suffice to comfort you for the trouble they cause you. Salutations.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj—Mālik b. al-Ḥūr: 'Alī said, "May God have mercy on Muḥammad. He was a raw youth. I wish I had appointed the Mirqāl Hāshim b. 'Utbah[663] over Egypt. By God, if he had ruled it, he would not have allowed entrance to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and his helpers, the evildoers (*al-fajarah al-'arṣah*) and he would not have been slain without his sword in his hand, not without shedding blood like Muḥammad. But may God have mercy on Muḥammad, for he exerted himself (*ijtihād al-nafs*) and did his duty."

In this year, following the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Mu'āwiyah sent 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī[664] to al-Baṣrah

662. See Qur'ān 41:39; 46:33.

663. See pp. 70ff. and n. 48, above.

664. Son of a *ḥalīf* of the Umayyads who was famous as the first Meccan to be killed by the Muslims after the Hijrah, 'Abdallāh himself seems to be known only

[3414] to appeal for acceptance of the judgment (*ḥukm*) of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in his favor. And in this year A'yan b. Ḍubay'ah al-Mujāshi'ī,[665] whom 'Alī had sent to drive Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī out of al-Baṣrah, was killed.

The Episode of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, Ziyād, and A'yan

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]—Abū al-Dhayyāl—Abū Na'āmah: After Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had been killed in Egypt, Ibn 'Abbās departed from al-Baṣrah and went to 'Alī in al-Kūfah, leaving Ziyād[666] behind as his deputy. Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī came (to al-Baṣrah) from Mu'āwiyah and stayed among the Banū Tamīm. Ziyād sent to Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir and Mālik b. Misma',[667] saying, "You, group of Bakr b. Wā'il, belong to the supporters (*anṣār*) of the Commander of the Faithful, and his confidants. You know where Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī has lodged and who visits him there. Protect me (*imna'ūnī*) until I hear what the Commander of the Faithful thinks." Ḥuḍayn replied affirmatively, but Mālik's viewpoint inclined toward the Banū Umayyah (Marwān had sought refuge with him on the Day of the Camel).[668] He said, therefore, "This is a matter in which I cannot act alone—I will ask advice and consider."

When Ziyād saw Mālik's hesitation, he was afraid that the Rabī'ah[669] would be divided on the matter. He sent, therefore, to Nāfi' asking for advice.[670] Nāfi' advised him to approach Ṣabrah

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for this episode in al-Baṣrah. On the following episode, see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 400.

665. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. A'yan b. Ḍubai'a; Banū Mujāshi' b. Dārim of Tamīm.

666. That is, Ziyād b. Abīhi who, following the death of 'Alī, transferred his allegiance to Mu'āwiyah, was recognized by him as his own half-brother, and became one of the most famous governors of Iraq (see *EI*[1], s.v.).

667. Ḥuḍayn and Mālik were rival leaders of the Banū Shaybān of Bakr b. Wā'il (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.vv.; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 113, 116).

668. See Ṭabarī, I, 3220.

669. That is, the confederation to which the Bakr b. Wā'il belonged.

670. The text seems to have something missing, and the translation follows the conjectural interpolation of the editor (p. 3414, note e). Nāfi' (b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah) was a uterine brother of Ziyād.

b. Shaymān al-Ḥuddānī,[671] to whom Ziyād sent, saying, "Will you not grant protection (*jiwār*)[672] to me and the treasury of the Muslims, for the treasury holds your spoils (*fay'*) and I am the trustee (*amīn*) of the Commander of the Faithful?" Ṣabrah answered, "Yes indeed, if you bring it to me and stay in my house." Ziyād said, "I will bring it." He did that and came to Banū al-Ḥuddān and stayed in the house of Ṣabrah b. Shaymān, and he moved the treasury and the *minbar*[673] and put it in the mosque of the Banū al-Ḥuddān. Fifty men moved together with Ziyād, among them the father of Abū Ḥāḍir.[674] [3415]

On Friday Ziyād would lead the ritual prayer in the mosque of the Ḥuddān and distribute food there. Ziyād said to Jābir b. Wahb al-Rāsibī,[675] "Abū Muḥammad, I do not think Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī is going to hold back—I am sure he will fight against you. I do not know what views your men have. Consult them and see."

When Ziyād had led the prayer, he sat in the mosque and the men gathered around him. Jābir said, "Group of Azd, Tamīm are claiming that they are the ones who count and that they are more steadfast than you in war. I have heard that they desire to come against you so as to seize your guest (*jār*) and expel him by force from the garrison town. How will things be with you if they do that when you have given him and the treasury of the Muslims protection?" Ṣabrah b. Shaymān, who was accorded special respect, said, "If al-Aḥnaf comes, I will come, and if al-Ḥutāt comes, I will come;[676] but if merely young fellows come, then we have young

671. Or Ṣabirah (the edition indicates both forms of the name). He was a leader of the Azd al-Sarāt in al-Baṣrah (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ṣabra b. Šaiman). Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 126, n. 1, 400, refers to him as Ṣabirah, and that is how Cairo vocalizes.

672. For *jiwār*, see *EI*², s.v. Djiwār; Crone, *Roman, Provincial, and Islamic Law*, 51–56.

673. The *minbar*, a dais from which the caliph or his representative delivered an official address (*khuṭbah*), was a symbol of authority. Neither it nor the *khuṭbah* had the mainly cultic significance that they later acquired and I have, therefore, avoided the common translations "pulpit" and "sermon."

674. Perhaps referring to the father of the Abū Ḥāḍir al-Asadī mentioned in Ṭabarī, II, 801–2, as an associate of 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah. The family of the latter claimed a relationship with Ziyād.

675. The brother of the Khārijī leader 'Abdallāh b. Wahb (see n. 464, above).

676. For al-Aḥnaf, see n. 351, above; for al-Ḥutāt b. Yazīd of the Banū Mujāshi' b. Dārim of Tamīm, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

fellows of our own (who will suffice)." Ziyād used to say, "I had to laugh, and I jumped up. There was never any stratagem I attempted to carry out in which I came closer to exposing myself than on that day when I was overcome with laughter."[677]

Then Ziyād wrote to 'Alī: "Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī has come from Syria and has put up in the house of the Banū Tamīm. He has lamented the death of 'Uthmān and appealed for war. Tamīm and most of the people of al-Baṣrah have given him the oath of allegiance and there was nobody left with me with whom I might seek protection so I have asked for it for myself and the treasury from Ṣabrah b. [3416] Shaymān and I moved and put up with them. The party (*shī'ah*) of 'Uthmān continuously consorts with Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī."

'Alī sent A'yan b. Ḍubay'ah al-Mujāshi'ī to split his fellow tribesmen from Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī. He told him,[678] "See what the situation is. If the party of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī has been split, then that is what you want; but if they manage to persist in disobedience, then go and make *jihād* against them. If you see any holding back in those on your side, and you are afraid that you will not achieve what you want, use flattery and procrastination toward them. Then keep your ears and eyes open, for it will be as if the armies of God have drawn near you, fighting the evil ones."

A'yan arrived and went and stayed with Ziyād. Then he went to his fellow tribesmen and, having gathered some together, went up to Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī. He appealed to the latter's followers, but they abused him verbally and skirmished with him, so that he had to leave them. Subsequently a crowd (*qawm*) broke in upon him and killed him.

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677. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 126, n. 1, expresses puzzlement at Ziyād's laughter following Ṣabrah's remark, and the point of Ziyād's remark is indeed puzzling. Presumably the "stratagem" (*makīdah*) here refers to his attempt to manipulate the Azd into opposition to the Tamīm, and perhaps he was moved to laughter by what he saw as Ṣabrah's overestimation of his own value—needing Ṣabrah's support, he could not afford to be seen to be belittling him?

678. This phrase is not in the text, but is called for if we are to read, with the Leiden edition, following Ibn al-Athīr and Nuwayrī, *fa-wajjaha 'Aliyyun*. The Leiden editor notes that in the ms. it is possible to read *fa-wajjih 'alayya* ("send to me A'yan. . ."] and, therefore, we could understand the following paragraph as a continuation of Ziyād's letter to 'Alī. However, the final sentences of the paragraph sound more appropriate in instructions from 'Alī to A'yan than in a letter from Ziyād to 'Alī.

After A'yan b. Ḍubay'ah had been killed, Ziyād wanted to fight Tamīm, but they sent to the Azd, saying, "We have not assailed your guest nor any of your men, so what do you want with our guest [Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī] and making war against us?" The Azd did not want to fight and said, "If they assail our guest, we will oppose them; but if they refrain from attacking ours, we will refrain from attacking theirs." They restrained themselves.

Ziyād wrote to 'Alī:

> A'yan b. Ḍubay'ah arrived and gathered together those of his clan who obeyed him, and with them he went in all seriousness and with a pure intention to Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and called upon the opponents to obey. He summoned them to desist and cease their discord, and most of them agreed.[679] That frightened the supporters of Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, and many of those with them split away, giving them cause to expect that they would help him. There was skirmishing and A'yan returned to his own people, but then the enemy broke in upon him and took him unawares and he was felled. May God have mercy upon A'yan. At that I wanted to fight them, but there was no one I could prevail upon to hasten with me against them. The two tribes (Azd and Tamīm) have exchanged messages and refrained from fighting one another.

When 'Alī read his letter, he summoned Jāriyah b. Qudāmah al-Sa'dī[680] and dispatched him with fifty men of the Banū Tamīm, and with him he sent Sharīk b. al-A'wal.[681] (It is also said that he sent Jāriyah with 500 men.) 'Alī wrote to Ziyād, approving of what he had done and telling him to aid Jāriyah b. Qudāmah and to offer him advice. Jāriyah came to al-Baṣrah and went to Ziyād, who said to him, "Be ready and take care lest there befalls you what befell your companion (A'yan). And do not trust any of the people (*qawm*)." [3417]

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679. (?) *Wa-wāfaqathum 'āmmatu qawmin*; the editor notes that Ibn al-Athīr has *wa-wāqafahum nahārahu*, and he suggests that we might read *wa-wāqafahum 'āmmata yawmin* ("confronted them for an entire day"; see *Gloss.*, s.v. *'āmmah*).

680. See n. 499, above, for this Tamīmī.

681. For this supporter of 'Alī, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.

Jāriyah went to his own tribe (*qawm*) and read the letter of 'Alī to them. He made them promises and most of them responded to him. Then he went to Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and besieged him in the house of Sunbīl.[682] He set fire to the house with Ibn al-al-Ḥaḍramī and his supporters inside—there were seventy men (it is also said that there were forty). The people were dispersed and Ziyād returned to the governor's residence (*dār al-imārah*).

Ziyād then sent Ẓabyān b. 'Umārah,[683] who was one of those who had come with Jāriyah, with a letter to 'Alī [. . .][684] "And Jāriyah came to us and went against Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and put him in a state of commotion,[685] forcing him into one of the houses of the Banū Tamīm with a number of his companions after offering him forgiveness, warning him, and calling him to obedience. But they did not repent or turn back, and he set fire to the house with them inside, and burned them in it, and then it was destroyed over them. And away with those who are tyrannical and disobey!"

'Amr b. al-'Arandas al-'Awdī[686] said:

We sent Ziyād back to his residence,
and the guest of Tamīm vanished in smoke.
May God revile a people that roasted its guest.
[3418] "For two dirhams the skin of the sheep will be singed off"
Call out the slaughterers and their rabble,
after they have singed his (Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī's) head with flames.[687]
We are a people whose custom it is
to defend our protected guest from attack by force.
We have defended him when he abode among us,
and only (a people with) honor can defend its guest.
They (Tamīm) did not acknowledge the sanctity of the grant of protection,
when a noble people attaches great importance to its guest,

682. Following the Leiden text; the ms. has Sabīl (?) here and in I, 2906, where we are told that 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim returned to al-Baṣrah from Khurāsān and was present with Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī in the "house of Sunbīl/Sabīl" during this episode.
683. See n. 50, above, for this Tamīmī.
684. There is a lacuna in the text.
685. *Fa-taltalahu*; Cairo has *fa-qatalahu*.
686. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only citation of this poet.
687. For the three hemistichs, see *Gloss.*, s.v. *kh-n-q*.

Just as they did before with al-Zubayr,
on the evening when his arms were plundered.[688]

And Jarīr b. 'Aṭiyyah b. al-Khaṭafā[689] said:

You (Tamīm) acted treacherously toward al-Zubayr, and did not fulfill
your undertaking in the way that Azd did when they defended Ziyād.
Their guest received a mighty deliverance,
while the guest of the Banū Mujāshi' [Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī] became ashes.
If you had tied the rope of Abū Sa'īd,
then what the sword belt bears would have scattered the people.
He led the horses near the dust of death,
and enveloped them with the lances and spears.[690]

The Opposition of al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid and the Banū Nājiyah to 'Alī, and al-Khirrīt's Separation from Him

And among the events of this year (that is, the year 38 [658–659]) there was the declaration of opposition to 'Alī by al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid and the Banū Nājiyah, and al-Khirrīt's separation from him.[691]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith al-Azdī—his paternal uncle, 'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym: Al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid came to 'Alī, he being one of 300 men of the Banū Nājiyah who were with 'Alī in al-Kūfah. They had come with al-Khirrīt from

688. According to the traditions, after the Camel al-Zubayr was granted *jiwār* by a man of Tamīm but was subsequently killed by Tamīmīs in Wādī al-Sibā' (see, e.g., Ibn Sa'd, III/1, 78–79; *EI*², s.v. Djamal).

689. One of the famous poets of the Umayyad period (see *EI*², s.v. Djarīr).

690. The last two verses refer to the abandonment of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (i.e., Abū Sa'īd, correctly identified in the Cairo ed.) by those Tamīmīs who had supported him in his revolt against Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik in 102/720. See Ṭabarī, II, 1395ff.; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 312ff.

691. For al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid and the following events, see *SNB*, III, 119–51; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, apud Levi della Vida, "Il Califfato," 486; *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §§192–200; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 86ff.; Morony, *Iraq*, 443–44; *EI*², s.v. al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdalbait b. al-Ḥārith. For the complex issue of the genealogy of the Banū Nājiyah, regarded by some as descended from Quraysh, see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 188–89 (Eng. tr., I, 173–74); Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Nāǧiya b. Garm.

al-Baṣrah, whence they had gone out to join 'Alī on the Day of the Camel, and had been present with him at Ṣiffīn and al-Nahrawān. Al-Khirrīt came to 'Alī with 30 horsemen from among his men, proceeding in the midst of them until he stood before him, and said,
[3419] "By God, 'Alī, I will not obey your orders nor pray behind you, and tomorrow I shall separate from you." (That was after the appointment of the two arbitrators.)[692]

'Alī said to him, "May your mother be bereaved of you! Then you will disobey your Lord, violate your covenant, and cause only evil to yourself. Tell me why you are doing that." He answered, "Because you have given authority (to men) over the Book (of God) (*ḥakkamta fī al-kitāb*), and you have shown no strength for (defending) the truth when matters became serious, but have relied on those people who have done evil to themselves.[693] I upbraid you and detest them, and I separate myself from you all."

'Alī said to him, "Come, and I will study with you the Book and examine with you the authoritative precedents (*sunan*), and I will broach with you matters concerning the truth of which I am more knowledgeable than you, and perhaps you will understand that of which you are now unaware and perceive that about which you are now ignorant." Al-Khirrīt said, "Then I will return to you." 'Alī said, "Do not let Satan seduce you or ignorance carry you away. By God, if you seek right guidance from me and my advice and accept what I say, I shall lead you in the path of righteousness." And al-Khirrīt left 'Alī's presence and returned to his people.

I ('Abdallāh b. Fuqaym) hurried after him. One of his cousins was a friend of mine, and I wanted to meet that cousin and tell him what had happened so that he could tell al-Khirrīt to obey the Commander of the Faithful and accept his advice and so he could inform him that that would be better for him in the things of this world and those of the next. I went to al-Khirrīt's house, where he had arrived before me, and I stood by the door. Inside were some of his

692. The sentence in parentheses is probably to be understood as an explanation of causation as well as temporal sequence, but the whole question of the temporal and causative relationship between the revolt of the Banū Nājiyah and the other events of the Fitnah is very complex (see the previous note for the different treatments of Wellhausen and Morony).

693. The locution (*ẓalamū anfusahum*) is Quranic.

companions who had not been with him when he had had the audience with 'Alī.

By God, he did not skimp on any detail about what had passed between himself and 'Alī, and then he said to them, "Men, I had decided to separate from this man. I have now left him on the understanding that I will return to him tomorrow, but tomorrow I think it is inevitable that I shall separate from him." Most of his men said, "Wait until you see him, and, if he produces something of which you approve, then accept it from him; if he does not, then how much better placed you will be to separate from him." He said to them, "An excellent idea!" [3420]

Then I asked permission to go in unto him, and they allowed me to. I said, "I implore you by God not to separate from the Commander of the Faithful and the community of the Muslims, not to provide grounds for the use of force against you, and not to kill those whom I see of your clansmen. 'Alī follows what is right." Al-Khirrīt said, "I will go to him tomorrow and listen to his arguments and see what he puts before me and has to say. If I see it to be what is right and true guidance, I will accept it; but, if I see it to be error and injustice, I will reject it."

I went apart with that cousin of his, who was one of al-Khirrīt's closest intimates. He was Mudrik b. al-Rayyān, one of the important men among the bedouins.[694] I said to him, "I owe to you the obligations that arise from brotherhood and love, in addition to the obligations of a Muslim to a Muslim. You have heard what your cousin has said about himself—work on him to make him change his mind and see the magnitude of what he is doing. I fear that if he separates from the Commander of the Faithful, he will kill both himself and his clansmen." He replied, "God bless you for a brother. You have given sincere advice and have been a true friend. If my friend wishes to separate from the Commander of the Faithful, I will separate from him and oppose him, and I shall be the most strenuous of the people against him. Later I shall talk to him privately and counsel him to obey the Commander of the Faithful,

694. Mudrik seems to be known only from this account by 'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym (for his death in the fighting, see p. 185, below). It seems that *kāna min rijāl al-'arab* refers specifically to the bedouins.

to be his sincere advisor, and to remain with him. In that lies his good fortune and right guidance."

Then I left him, intending to go back to the Commander of the Faithful and inform him of the way things were, but I trusted in what my companion had said and so returned to my dwelling, where I spent the night. The next day I arose and when it was mid-morning I went to the Commander of the Faithful and sat in his presence for a while, wanting to tell him in private what I had heard from the cousin, but I sat there for a long while and the number of those present continued to increase. I therefore drew near to him and sat [3421] behind him, and he leaned toward me to listen to what I had to say.

I told him what I had heard from al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid, what I had said to him, and what he had replied to me. And I told him what I had said to his cousin and how he had answered me. 'Alī said, "Let al-Khirrīt be. If he recognizes the truth and approaches it, we will recognize that and accept it from him. If he refuses to come, we will seek him." I said, "Commander of the Faithful, why do you not seize him now, put him in irons, and imprison him?" He answered, "If we did that with everyone whom we have suspicions about, we would fill our prisons with them. I think that should be done—he meant moving against people, imprisoning them, and punishing them—only when they manifest opposition against us."

I finished speaking to him and moved away and rejoined the others. After a short while 'Alī said, "Come here to me!" I did so, and he said to me secretly, "Go to the man's house and find out for me what he has done, for he has always previously come to me earlier than this."

I went to his house and found nobody there. I called out at the gates of other houses where there had been a group of his companions, and nobody replied or answered. So I returned to 'Alī, who said when he saw me, "Have they stayed and remained in security, or have they moved away and departed?" I replied, "Indeed, they have gone away and declared their position." He said, "They have done it! May there be 'a sweeping away' for them 'as Thamūd were swept away.'[695] Indeed, if the tips of lances had been trained upon

695. See Qur'ān 11:95. Thamūd are one of the peoples mentioned in the Qur'ān as having been destroyed by God for their refusal to accept His message.

them and swords been brought down upon their heads, they would have repented. Satan today has seduced them and misled them, and tomorrow he will 'rid himself of them'[696] and leave them in the lurch."

Ziyād b. Khaṣafah[697] stood up before him and said, "Commander of the Faithful, if the only harm was their separation from us, their loss would be no such great matter that we would grieve for them, for they added little to our numbers if they stayed, and their departure from us has decreased us but little. But we are afraid lest [3422] they alienate from us a large number of those they go to and who have previously been obedient to you. So allow me to go after them so that I can bring them back to you, God willing." 'Alī answered him, "Do you know where they are headed?" "No," he answered, "but I will go out and ask and follow after them." 'Alī said to him, "Go as far as Dayr Abī Mūsā,[698] may God have mercy on you, but do not go any farther until you receive my orders. If they have gone off as a group openly, then my officials will write telling me; but if they have split up and kept under cover, then that will keep them better hidden and I will write to my officials about them."

'Alī wrote one text and sent copies of it to his officials: "Some men have fled from us, and we suspect that they have headed toward the territory of al-Baṣrah. Make enquiries about them of the people of your region and set agents to keep a lookout for them in each district of your area. Write to me about anything that you hear concerning them. Salutations."

Ziyād b. Khaṣafah went as far as his house and gathered his men together. He praised God and extolled Him and then said, "Now, band of Bakr b. Wā'il, the Commander of the Faithful has assigned me to a matter of great importance for him and has commanded me to see to it quickly. You are his party (*shī'ah*) and his helpers (*anṣār*) and of all the clans you are the most trustworthy respecting his own self. So join with me in this right now, and make haste."

By God in no time at all 120 or 130 of them joined him and he said, "We are enough—we do not want more than this." They left

696. See Qur'ān 8:48.
697. See n. 73, above.
698. Also mentioned in Ṭabarī, II, 644, in an account concerning al-Mukhtār, it is evidently outside al-Kūfah (not to be confused with Dār Abī Mūsā in the town).

and crossed the bridge and came to Dayr Abī Mūsā, where he stopped. He remained there for the rest of the day, awaiting the orders of the Commander of the Faithful.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-A'war al-Taymī—Abū
[3423] Sa'īd al-'Uqaylī—'Abdallāh b. Wa'l al-Taymī:[699] By God, I was with the Commander of the Faithful when a messenger[700] came to him with a letter from Qaraẓah b. Ka'b al-Anṣārī[701] in his hands:

> In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. I inform the Commander of the Faithful that horsemen have passed us coming from al-Kūfah and heading toward Niffar[702] and that one of the *dihqān*s from the Lower Euphrates called Zādhān Farrūkh, one who has allied himself with our religion and community,[703] was coming from his maternal relatives in the district of Niffar. They arraigned him[704] and said, "Are you a Muslim or an infidel?" He answered, "Indeed, I am a Muslim." Then they asked him, "What do you say about 'Alī?" and he replied, "Good things—I say that he is the Commander of the Faithful and the lord of mankind." They said to him, "You have committed unbelief, enemy of God!" A band of them then attacked him and cut him to bits. And they discovered one of the protected people (*ahl al-dhimmah*) with him, whom they asked, "What are you?" He replied, "One of the protected people," and they said, "Regarding this one, we have no right to arraign him." Then that protected man came and told us what had happened. I had been asking questions

699. Of the Banū Taym of Bakr b. Wā'il, he was subsequently active in the movement of the Tawwābūn (see vol. XX of this translation, pp. 80ff.). 'Alī's reference to him below as "my nephew" is not to be taken literally.

700. *Fayj*, from Persian *payk*, possibly indicating a foot messenger or courier (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

701. A Companion of the Prophet who had been made governor of Al-Kūfah by 'Alī before the Camel (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

702. Midway between al-Kūfah and (the later) al-Wāsiṭ near the southern end of the Nars canal (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and 73–74).

703. Literally, "he has made the *ṣalāt*."

704. *'Araḍū lahu*, i.e., they subjected him to inquisition in the manner of the Khāriji *isti'rāḍ* (see n. 489, above). The similarity between the following account and the previous stories that contrast the cruel Khāriji treatment of the Muslim with their strict observance of the rights of the *dhimmī* is obvious.

about them, but no one could tell me anything. Now let the Commander of the Faithful write to me telling me his views so that I will know them. Salutations.

'Alī wrote back to him: "I have taken note of what you have said about the band that passed by you and slaughtered the pious Muslim while the transgressing infidel had security with them. They are a people whom Satan has seduced. They have gone astray and are like those who 'reckoned that there would be no *fitnah*, and they became blind and deaf.'[705] 'Make them hear and make them watch for a day'[706] on which their deeds will be known. Remain at your post and occupy yourself in collecting your taxes[707] and you will remain, as you have said, obedient and a sincere advisor. Salutations."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-A'war al-Taymī—Abū Sa'īd al-'Uqaylī—'Abdallāh b. Wa'l: 'Alī, peace be upon him, sent me with a letter to Ziyād b. Khaṣafah. At that time I was just a [3424] young man: "I ordered you to wait at Dayr Abī Mūsā until you received my orders. That was because I did not know the direction in which those people were headed. Now I have heard that they have gone in the direction of a settlement called Niffar. Follow them and enquire about them. They have killed a man of the Sawād[708] who had taken part in our prayer ritual. When you overtake them, send them back to me; but if they refuse, fight them and ask God for help against them. They have departed from the truth, shed inviolate blood, and spread fear on the roads. Salutations."

I took the letter from him but had not gone very far with it before I turned back and said, "Commander of the Faithful, should I not continue with Ziyād b. Khaṣafah against the enemy after I have given him your letter?" He answered, "My nephew, do so and I hope, by God, that you will be one of my helpers in the cause of the truth and one of my supporters against those evil ones." I said to him, "By God, Commander of the Faithful, I am indeed one of those, and I am at your service."

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705. Qur'ān 5:71.
706. Qur'ān 19:38.
707. *Aqbil 'alā kharājika.*
708. That is, the fertile ("black") land of Iraq.

Ibn Wa'l said: By God, I would not want to exchange those words of 'Alī for anything.[709] Then I went to Ziyād b. Khaṣafah with 'Alī's letter, riding a splendid and noble horse and bearing arms. Ziyād said to me, "Oh my nephew, I cannot do without you and indeed I want you to be with me in my task." I said to him, "I asked the permission of the Commander of the Faithful for that, and he gave it to me." Ziyād was delighted about that.

We left and came to Niffar, where we asked about them and were told that they had gone up toward Jarjarāyā.[710] We pursued them and were told that they had taken the road to al-Madhār,[711] and that is where they had camped when we caught up with them, having been there a day and a night. They had rested and foddered their
[3425] mounts, and they were relaxing. We, however, came to them tired and exhausted, fatigued and worn out. When they saw us, they rushed for their horses and mounted them while we advanced and came up to them and confronted them. Their leader, al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid, called out to us, "You who are blind of heart and of understanding, are you with God, His Book, and the precedent (*sunnah*) of His Prophet, or are you with the evildoers?" Ziyād b. Khaṣafah answered him, "Indeed we are with God and with him to whom God and His Book and His Prophet are preferable as a reward to the things of this world from the time it was created until the day when it ends, you who are blind of understanding and deaf of heart and hearing."

Al-Khirrīt said to us, "Tell me what you want," and Ziyād, who was experienced and temperate in manner, said, "You see how exhausted and hungry we are, and the thing we have come for is not helped by open argument in the hearing of my men and yours. Let us both dismount, and then we will meet together in private and discuss this business of ours together. We will consider, and if you think the thing we have come for is of benefit for you, you will accept it. If I think that in what I hear from you there is something of advantage for us and for you, I will not reject it." Al-Khirrīt said, "Let us dismount, then."

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709. *Ḥumr al-na'am*; literally, "the choicest camels" (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *aḥmar*).

710. On the Tigris to the north of Niffar (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and 37).

711. Exact site unknown, but to the east of the Tigris in the Jūkhā region and in the vicinity of Nahrawān (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 42–43).

Ziyād came back to us and said, "Let us dismount by this water." When we had reached the water, we began to dismount and before long we had dismounted and split up into groups and formed circles of ten, nine, eight, and seven, each placing their food in front of them and eating and then going to the water to drink. Ziyād said to us, "Put the nosebags on your horses," and we did so, while Ziyād remained between us and the enemy, who moved aside and then dismounted.

Ziyād turned to us, and when he saw that we had split up and formed circles he said, "Glory be to God! Are you men of war! By God, if these should come against you now while you are in this [3426] state, they could not ask of anyone anything better for them than the state you are in. Be quick and go to your horses!" We made haste and scurried about. Among us there were those who had relieved themselves and were making their ablutions,[712] those who were drinking, and those who were giving water to their horses.

When we had finished that, Ziyād came to us with a root in his hand that he was tearing at with his teeth. He tore two or three bites from it and then was brought a vessel containing water, from which he drank. He cast down the root from his hand and said, "Men, we have met our enemy and, by God, you are equal in number to them. I have made a rough estimate, and I do not think that either of the two sides has five men more than the other. And, by God, I think that the issue between you is bound to end in fighting. If things do bring you and them to that, do not be the weaker of the two." Then he said to us, "Let each one of you take hold of the reins of his horse (and wait) until I approach the enemy, summon their leader to me, and argue with him. If he gives me the oath of allegiance on the conditions that I have laid down, well and good; but if I call to you, mount your horses and then come to me altogether, not dispersed."

He went on before us (and I was with him) and I heard one of the enemy saying, "When they came against you they were weary and fatigued while you were relaxed and rested. But you have allowed them to dismount, eat, drink, and rest. That was a bad

712. *Yatanaffaḍu thumma yatawaḍḍa'u*. Biberstein-Kazimirski's Arabic-French dictionary has relevant meanings under *n-f-ḍ*, forms VIII and X.

decision for, by God, the matter that is between us will inevitably result in fighting."

They fell silent and we went up to them. Ziyād b. Khaṣafah summoned their leader and said, "Let us go aside and examine this matter of ours." By God, he came to Ziyād in a party of five, so I said to Ziyād, "Call up three more of our men so that we meet them on equal terms," and he answered, "Call up whomever you wish." So I called up three of our men and we were five strong each.

[3427] Ziyād asked him, "What did you hold against the Commander of the Faithful and us, and why did you separate from us?" He replied, "I did not approve of your leader as an imam and I did not approve of your conduct. Therefore I decided that I would go apart and join those who call for consultation (*al-shūrā*). Then, when a man acceptable to the whole of the community was agreed upon, I would be with the people (as a whole)." Ziyād said to him, "Woe to you! Can the people agree on a man from among them who (even) approximates, in his knowledge of God, His precepts (*sunan*), and His Book, and also in his close relationship to the Prophet and precedence in accepting Islam, to your lord from whom you have separated?" The opponent answered him, "I have told you my views." Ziyād then asked him, "Why did you kill that Muslim man?" He replied, "It was not I who killed him, but a band of my men." Ziyād said, "Hand them over to us," but he replied, "There are no grounds for that." Ziyād responded, "Is that your final decision?" and he insisted, "It is as you hear."

We called up our men and he called up his, and then we advanced and, by God, such fighting was never seen since my Lord created me. We thrust at each other with lances until none remained in our hands, and we exchanged blows with swords until they were twisted out of shape. Most of the horses, ours and theirs, were hamstrung, and the injured men on both sides were numerous. Two of our men were killed, the *mawlā* of Ziyād, called Suwayd, who carried Ziyād's banner, and one of the *abnā'*[713] called Wāfid b. Bakr. We felled five of them, and then night fell and drew a veil between us. By God, neither we nor they had any desire to continue fighting, and both Ziyād and I were wounded.

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713. Perhaps indicating Persian ancestry (see *EI*² and Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, both s.v. *abnā'*), but the name is purely Arab.

The enemy then withdrew and we spent the night apart. After a time, during the night, they moved off, and we followed them as far as al-Baṣrah, where we heard that they had gone to al-Ahwāz and had camped on its border. There about 200 of their supporters who had been with them in al-Kūfah joined them. These had not been strong enough to rise up together with the others, but had risen up (subsequently) and followed them and joined them in the [3428] territory of al-Ahwāz, where they remained with them.

Ziyād b. Khaṣafah wrote to 'Alī:

> We overtook the enemy of God from the Banū al-Nājiyah at al-Madhār and we summoned them to the right path and the truth and to what we have in common.[714] But they did not abide in the truth "and pride in sin seized them"[715] "and Satan made their deeds seem beautiful to them and turned them from the path."[716] They attacked us, but we fought back at them and we struggled fiercely from noon to sunset. Two of our righteous men fell as martyrs and five of the enemy were killed. They abandoned the field to us, and injuries were widespread on both sides. Then, when night fell, they departed under cover of it, turning aside to the territory of al-Ahwāz. We have heard that they are camped there in a part of it while we are in al-Baṣrah, healing our wounds and awaiting your command. May God have mercy upon you and peace be upon you.

When I delivered his letter, 'Alī read it out loud to the men and Ma'qil b. Qays arose before him and said, "Commander of the Faithful, God keep you. There should have been ten of the Muslims in the place of each one of those who have gone after those men. When they overtook them, they would have rooted them out and suppressed them completely. But, if an equal number confront them, by my life, they hold fast against them. They are Arabs and one number holds fast against the same and obtains its rights from it."

'Alī said, "Ma'qil b. Qays, get ready to go against them," and he detailed 2,000 of the men of al-Kūfah to go with him, including

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714. *Illā. . . kalimat al-sawā'*; see Qur'ān 3:64.
715. See Qur'ān 2:206.
716. Qur'ān 27:24, 29:38.

Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdī.[717] He wrote to Ibn 'Abbās: "Send a firm and brave man who is known for his righteousness together
[3429] with 2,000 men to follow after Ma'qil. As he goes through the territory of al-Baṣrah he will be the commander of his men until he reaches Ma'qil. But, once he has come to Ma'qil, the latter will be the commander of both forces and your man must listen to what he says and obey him and not oppose him. And tell Ziyād b. Khaṣafah to come to me. What an excellent man he is and how excellent those of his men who have fallen!"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-A'war—Abū Sa'īd al-'Uqaylī: 'Alī wrote to Ziyād b. Khaṣafah:

> Now, I have received your letter and taken note of what you say about the man of the Banū Nājiyah and his brethren "on whose hearts God has set a seal"[718] "and Satan has made their deeds seem beautiful to them and they go astray"[719] "while they think that they are performing good deeds."[720] And you have described what happened to you and to them. As for you and your men, may God bless your effort and from God is due your reward. Rejoice in the reward of God for it is better than this world over which the ignorant ones destroy their souls. "What is with you passes while what is with God persists. We shall surely give those who were steadfast their reward according to the best of what they have done."[721] As for your enemy whom you met, sufficient for them is their having left the right guidance for error and their perpetration of it, their having rejected the truth and being obstinate in *fitnah*. "So leave them and the falsehood they fabricate"[722] and leave them "in their insolence wandering astray"[723] and you yourselves hear and understand. I can see you among them shortly, some of them captive, others slain. Come, you and your men, to us well rewarded.

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717. Leiden vocalizes as Mughfil, Cairo as Mughaffal (Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, has several instances of Mughaffal but none of Mughfil).
718. Qur'ān 16:108, 47:16.
719. Qur'ān 27:24, 29:38, and 27:4.
720. Qur'ān 18:104.
721. Qur'ān 16:96.
722. Qur'ān 6:112, 6:137.
723. Qur'ān 6:110, 7:186.

You have heard and obeyed, and done well in the test. Salutations.

The man of the Banū Nājiyah[724] remained encamped in a part of al-Ahwāz, where many of the local non-Arabs (*'ulūj*) joined him, desiring to avoid the *kharāj*,[725] as well as many bandits and another group of bedouin who adopted his position against 'Alī. [3430]

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madā'inī]—'Alī b. Mujāhid—al-Sha'bī: After 'Alī had slain the people at al-Nahrawān, many came out in opposition to him. His outlying provinces rebelled against him and the Banū Nājiyah opposed him. Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī came to al-Baṣrah, the people of al-Ahwāz rebelled, and those subject to the *kharāj* were eager to avoid it, Then Sahl b. Ḥunayf was expelled from Fārs, where he had been 'Alī's governor. Ibn 'Abbās proposed to 'Alī, "I will take care of Fārs for you by means of Ziyād," and 'Alī told Ibn 'Abbās to send Ziyād there. Ibn 'Abbās went to al-Baṣrah and sent Ziyād to Fārs with a strong army, which he used to suppress the people of Fārs, who then fulfilled their duty to pay *kharāj*.

According to Abū Mikhnaf, whose account is now resumed—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b—'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym al-Azdī: I and my brother Ka'b were in that army under Ma'qil b. Qays. When he intended to depart, he went to 'Alī, who bade him farewell and said, "Ma'qil, fear God to your utmost. It is God's instruction (*waṣiyyah*) to the Believers that you should not act unjustly to those of your religion and community,[726] should not commit evil against the protected people, and should not wax proud, for God does not love those who wax proud." Ma'qil said, "God's help is to be sought,"[727] and 'Alī responded, "(He is) the best of those whose help is to be sought."

Ma'qil set out, and we with him, and we came to al-Ahwāz.[728] We remained there, awaiting the men from al-Baṣrah, for they had delayed in joining us. Ma'qil b. Qays stood among us and said, "Men, we have waited for the men of al-Baṣrah but they have kept us

724. That is, al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid.
725. Literally, "to break (*kasara*) it."
726. Literally, "those who share your direction of prayer" (*ahl al-qiblah*).
727. Qur'ān 12:18.
728. The name of the province, and its capital, at the head of the Persian Gulf to the east of Iraq. It is also called Khūzistān. (See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and 232ff.)

waiting and we are not, praise be to God, few or lacking support. Let us go, therefore, against this paltry and lowly enemy, and I hope that God will aid you and destroy them."

My brother Ka'b b. Fuqaym addressed him and said, "You are
[3431] right, may God guide you, in your views. By God, I hope that God will help us against them but, if it is otherwise, then in death while following the truth is a consolation for the loss of this world." Ma'qil said, "Go on with the blessing of God." We went on and, by God, Ma'qil did not cease to display honor and affection for me, above that which he showed to anyone else in the army. He kept repeating, "How did you say it?—'In death while following the truth there is consolation for the loss of this world'? You spoke the truth, by God, and said a good thing, and have been truly guided."[729]

We had gone on for less than a day when a messenger overtook us, rushing with a letter (*ṣaḥīfah*) in his hand from 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: "If my messenger reaches you in the place where you were waiting or he reaches you when you have left it, do not leave the place where my messenger gets to you. Stay there until the expedition that we have sent to you arrives. For I have sent Khālid b. Ma'dān al-Ṭā'ī,[730] one of the men of righteousness, religion, bravery, and courage. Give ear to him and and acknowledge those qualities. Salutations." Ma'qil read the letter out loud to the men and praised God, for that plan (of marching on without the Baṣrans) had frightened them. We waited, therefore, until the Ṭā'ī reached us. He came and went in unto our leader, greeting him as the holder of authority, and they joined together to form one army.

Then we departed and moved against the enemy, who began to go up toward the hills of Rāmhurmuz,[731] aiming for a fortified castle there. But the people of the region came to us and informed us about that, and we went after them in pursuit. We caught up with them as they had drawn near to the hill. We formed ourselves into a line against them and proceeded toward them. Ma'qil placed Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal over his right wing, and Minjāb b. Rāshid al-Ḍabbī,

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729. The narrator seems to have switched from 'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym to his brother Ka'b. See the following explicit reference to Ka'b as the narrator.

730. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; and *EI*², s.v. Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb (Khālid was the grandfather of the 'Abbāsids' general Qaḥṭabah).

731. Rāmhurmuz is a town three days' march east of the town of Ahwāz (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 243–44).

one of the men of al-Baṣrah, over his left.[732] Al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nājī formed a line out of those bedouin who were with him, and they made up his right wing. And he put the local people, the non-Arabs, those who wanted to avoid the *kharāj* and their followers from among the Kurds[733] as a left wing. [3432]

Ma'qil b. Qays went around among us, encouraging us and saying, "Servants of God, do not look the enemy directly in the eye but lower your gaze and speak little. Prepare yourselves for thrusting and striking and rejoice in the expectation of the great reward for fighting them. You will be fighting only renegades (*mārīqah*) who have reneged on the religion, non-Arabs who have refused the *kharāj*, and Kurds. Wait until I attack and then charge as one man." He passed along the whole of the line, saying that to them until, when he had passed by all of the men, he went forward and took his place in the center of the line in the 'heart.'[734] We looked to see what he would do, and he waved his banner twice and, by God, they withstood us only for a short while before turning in flight, and we slaughtered 70 bedouins of the Banū Nājiyah and their bedouin followers, and we killed about 300 of the non-Arabs and Kurds.

Ka'b b. Fuqaym continued: I looked among the bedouin who were killed and found my friend Mudrik b. al-Rayyān, slain.

Al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid fled until he came to the shores of the sea, where there was a significant number of his tribe. He continued going around among them and summoning them to oppose 'Alī, explaining to them (the reasons for) his separation from him, and telling them that the right path lay in fighting him, until many of them followed him.

Ma'qil b. Qays remained in the territory of al-Ahwāz and sent me with a letter to 'Alī, telling of his success. It was I who went to 'Alī, and Ma'qil wrote to him: "In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, to the servant of God, 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, from Ma'qil b. Qays. Peace be upon you and I praise God other than Whom there is no god. We met the renegades, who

732. For Minjāb, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Minǧāb.

733. On the Kurds in the early Islamic period, and reference to their involvement with al-Khirrīt, see *EI*², s.vv. Kurds, Kurdistān.

734. *Fī al-qalb*, i.e., *qalb al-jaysh*, the main body of the army.

had sought help against us from the polytheists (*mushrikīn*).[735] We
[3433] killed them as 'Ād and Iram were killed,[736] save only that we did not abandon your manner of acting (*sīrah*) regarding them: we did not kill any of the renegades who had turned away (in flight) or any prisoner, and we did not dispatch any wounded man of them. God has given you and the Muslims victory, and 'Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds.' "[737]

I came to him with this letter, and he read it out loud to his men and asked for the benefit of their opinions. They were unanimous in their view and said to him, "We think that you should write to Ma'qil b. Qays and that he should go after the evil one (*fāsiq*) and keep pursuing him until either he kills him or drives him out of your territories, for we fear that he will cause mischief for you among the people."

'Alī sent me back to Ma'qil with a letter in reply: "Praise be to God for supporting His friends and disappointing His enemies. May God give you and the Muslims a goodly reward, for you have performed well and fulfilled your duty. Ask about the man of the Banū Nājiyah and, if you hear that he has taken up residence anywhere, go after him to kill him or expel him for he will continue to be an enemy to the Muslims and a friend of the evildoers (*qāsiṭīn*) as long as he lives. Peace be upon you."

Ma'qil asked about where al-Khirrīt had established himself and where he had come to and was told that he was by the seashore and that he had persuaded his people to renounce their obedience to 'Alī and corrupted those of the Banū 'Abd al-Qays in his vicinity and their allies among the rest of the Arabs.[738] In the year of Ṣiffīn his tribe had refused to pay the *ṣadaqah*,[739] and they had also refused

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735. Presumably, here referring to the Christians.

736. According to the Qur'ān, pre-Islamic peoples who were destroyed by God for refusing to accept His messengers.

737. Qur'ān 1:1.

738. That is, he had won them over.

739. The *ṣadaqah* (sometimes used synonomously with *zakāt*) is in Muslim law an alms tax incumbent upon Muslims; the ruling authorities regarded its collection as their prerogative. Sometimes the word is used more loosely to mean alms or charity of a voluntary sort. In the early Islamic period it frequently appears as the name of a tax demanded by the rulers from the Arab tribes—see an example on p. 200, below. (See *EI*², s.vv. Ṣadaḳa, Zakāt).

it in the current year, so that a payment of two years[740] was now due from them.

Ma'qil went against them with that army made up of men of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, and followed the road to Fārs[741] until he reached the seashore. When al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid heard that he was coming, he approached those of his men who were with him who held the views of the Khawārij and confided to them, "I share your views, and 'Alī should not give authority to men (*yuḥakkim al-rijāl*) in the affairs of God." But he said to the others, making his criticisms more public before them, "'Alī granted authority to an [3434] arbitrator (*ḥakkama ḥakaman*) and was satisfied with (the choice of) him. That arbitrator, whom he had approved for himself, declared 'Alī removed from office. I accepted what ('Alī) approved for himself of his decision and his judgment (*min qaḍā'ihi wa-ḥukmihi*)." (This was the view according to which he departed from al-Kūfah.)[742] To those who sympathized with 'Uthmān, he said secretly, "By God, I share your views. By God, 'Uthmān was killed unjustly." Thus he gave satisfaction to each category of them and led them to think that he was with them. He said to those who had refused to pay the *ṣadaqah*. "Keep a firm grip on your *ṣadaqāt*, bestow them on your relatives, and if you wish, give them up to those among you who are destitute."[743]

Among them were many Christians who had accepted Islam, but when dissension had developed in Islam had said, "By God, our religion (*dīn*) from which we have departed is better and more correct than that which these people follow. Their religion does not stop them from shedding blood, terrifying the roads, and seizing properties." And they returned to their former religion. Al-Khirrīt met them and said to them, "Woe unto you! Do you know the precept (*ḥukm*) of 'Alī regarding any Christian who accepts Islam and then reverts to Christianity? By God he will not hear anything

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740. *'Iqālān*.

741. The province east and south of Ahwāz (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map VI); evidently al-Khirrīt had gone south from Rāmhurmuz and was on the extreme northeast shore of the Gulf.

742. Because it seems that this sentence should be read as a comment by the narrator rather than as a part of al-Khirrīt's words, the subject of *kharaja min al-Kūfah* must be al-Khirrīt himself. Al-Khirrīt is here presenting his opposition to 'Alī as stemming from the latter's failure to accept *the verdict of* the arbitration.

743. That is, "the decision whether to give *ṣadaqah*, and if so to whom, is yours."

they say, he will not consider any excuse, he will not accept any repentance, and he will not summon them to it. His precept regarding them is immediate cutting off of the head when he gets hold of them."[744] Al-Khirrīt continued thus until he had united them and duped them (into following him). Those of the Banū Nājiyah and others who were in that district came to him, and many men joined him.

According to 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Azdī—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān—'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd—Abū Janāb—al-Ḥurr—'Ammār al-Duhnī—Abū al-Ṭufayl:[745] I was in the army that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib sent against the Banū Nājiyah. We came to them and found them split into three groups. Our commander said to one of these groups,
[3435] "What are you?" and they replied, "We are a Christian people who do not consider any religion to be better than ours, and we hold fast to it." Our commander said to them, "Be off with you (*i'tazilū*)!" He said to another band, "What are you?" and they said, "We were Christians, but we accepted Islam and we hold fast to our Islam." He said to them, "Be off with you!" Then he said to the third group, "What are you?" and they said, "We are a people who were Christians. We accepted Islam but we do not think, that any religion is better than our previous one." He said to them, "Accept Islam!" but they refused. He said to his men, "When I rub my head three times, attack them and kill the fighting men and make captive the dependents."

The dependents were brought to 'Alī, and Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah[746] came and bought them for 200,000 dirhams. He delivered 100,000 (dirhams) but 'Alī would not accept it (requiring the whole of the agreed sum to be paid), and Maṣqalah went off with the money, came to the captives, and set them free, and himself absconded to

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744. For differing views as to whether the apostate should be given the opportunity to repent and return to Islam, see *EI*[1], s.v. murtadd.

745. The *isnād* is problematic. This is Ṭabarī's only citation from an 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan who is specifically designated as al-Azdī, although he has three others from an unspecified 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan. The name following 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd is obscure in the ms. The Leiden editor, comparing with an *isnād* from Abū Mikhnaf on p. 3297, l. 9, suggests that 'Abd al-Malik has transmitted from Abū Janāb al-Kalbī from al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ al-Nakha'ī. The Cairo editor reads 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd b. Ḥāb (this would be Ṭabarī's only mention of him), transmitting from al-Ḥurr.

746. Of the Banū Shaybān/Bakr b. Wā'il (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Maṣqala; *SNB*, III, 127).

Mu'āwiyah. 'Alī was asked, "Will you not recapture those dependents?" but he refused and did not concern himself with them.[747]

According to Abū Mikhnaf, whose account is now resumed—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b: When Ma'qil b. Qays returned, he read out loud to us a letter from 'Alī:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from the servant of God, 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, to those Believers, Muslims, Christians, and Apostates (*murtadd*) to whom this letter of mine is read. Peace be upon you and upon whoever follows the right path and believes in God, His Messenger, His Book, and Resurrection after death, fulfills the covenant of God and is not one of the faithless ones. I summon you to the Book of God, the precedent (*sunnah*) of His Prophet, and acting according to the truth. For that is what[748] God commanded in the Book. Whoever of you returns to his family, restrains his hand, and withdraws from this warmongering killer who has started to fight against God and His Messenger and the Muslims, and has spread evil upon the earth, he has security for his property and his blood. But whoever supports him in making war against us and forsaking our [3436] obedience, we have asked God for help against him and made God the judge between us, and "God is a sufficient helper."[749]

Ma'qil broke out a flag of security, raised it, and said, "Whoever comes to it has security, except for al-Khirrīt and his men, who have waged war against us and attacked us on the first occasion." Most of those with him who were not of his tribe separated from al-Khirrīt, and Ma'qil b. Qays prepared his men to fight. He placed Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdī over his right wing and al-Minjāb b. Rāshid al-Ḍabbī over his left, and then he advanced with them against al-Khirrīt. With al-Khirrīt were the Muslims and Christians from his tribe, and those who refused to pay the *ṣadaqah*.

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747. The story becomes clearer in the fuller version given later (p. 192, below).

748. *Wa-bihi amara Allāhu fī al-kitāb.* Cairo has *wa-bimā* (. . . acting according to the truth, and what God commanded. . .), which is more expected.

749. Qur'ān 4:45.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b—Abū al-Ṣiddīq al-Nājī: At that time al-Khirrīt said to his men, "Defend what your honor requires you to defend (*ḥarīmaka*) and fight for your women and children. By God, if they are triumphant over you, they will slay you and take you prisoner." One of his men said to him, "By God, this is what your hands and your tongue have inflicted upon us." Al-Khirrīt said, "Fight, all of you, God bless you! 'The sword has anticipated the censure.'[750] Be silent! By God, a calamity has befallen my people."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b—'Abdallāh b. Fuqaym: Ma'qil went among us, urging on the men, moving between the right and left wings and saying, "You Muslims (*ayyuhā al-nās al-muslimūn*), you will not obtain any greater reward than that which has been handed to you in this place. God has led you to a people who have refused to pay the *ṣadaqah*, apostasized from Islam, and violated the oath of allegiance out of evil and enmity. [3437] I bear witness that paradise is for whomever of you is killed, and God will delight the eyes of whomever lives with victory and booty (*al-ghanīmah*)." He kept on like that until he had passed by all of the men, and then he came and stood in the center with his banner.

Then he sent to Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal, who was with the right wing, "Attack them!" Yazīd did so, but they held firm and fought fiercely, and Yazīd withdrew and resumed the position he had occupied on the right wing. Ma'qil then sent to Minjāb b. Rāshid al-Ḍabbī on the left, and he attacked, but the enemy held firm and fought fiercely for a long time and Minjāb, too, withdrew and resumed his previous position.

Ma'qil sent orders to both the right and the left wings, "When I attack, follow me all together!" He waved his banner and brandished it aloft and then attacked, his men joining him all together. Al-Khirrīt's men held fast for a while, but then al-Nu'mān b. Ṣuhbān al-Rāsibī of the Banū Jarm[751] spied al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid, attacked him, stabbed him, and brought him down from his mount. He himself then dismounted, having wounded al-Khirrīt and weakened him.

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750. See Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, I, 599; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *shajn*. A saying used when one has been criticized for something but it is too late to go back on it.

751. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. For his role in al-Baṣrah in the second civil war, see Ṭabarī, II, 444–47 (= tr. XX, 20–23); there he is described as a man of Muḍar, although his tribe of Jarm is counted to Quḍā'ah.

They exchanged two blows and al-Nu'mān b. Ṣuhbān killed al-Khirrīt.

Of his men, 170 were killed with him in the battle, and the remainder fled in all directions. Ma'qil b. Qays sent the cavalry after them to the baggage camp and took prisoner those he caught up with. He captured a large number of men, women, and children and examined them. The Muslims he let go after taking the oath of allegiance from them, and he allowed them to keep their families. To the apostates he offered (reacceptance of) Islam, and they came back to it and he let them go together with their families. But there was an old man among them, a Christian called al-Rumāḥis b. Manṣūr,[752] who said, "By God, the only error I have made since attaining reason was abandoning my religion, the religion of truth, for yours, the religion of wickedness. No by God, I will not leave my religion and I will not accept yours so long as I live." Ma'qil [3438] brought him forward and cut off his head.

Ma'qil gathered the (defeated) people together and told them, "Bring what *ṣadaqah* you owe for these years," and he took two years' payment (*'iqālayn*) from the Muslims (among them). He turned to the Christians and their dependents and immediately dragged them away. The Muslims (among those who had supported al-Khirrīt) came with them, to accompany them, but Ma'qil ordered that the Muslims should be sent back. When they turned away, they clasped hands and wept, and the men and the women wept with each other.

('Abdallāh b. Fuqaym said:) I bear witness that I never felt such compassion for anyone before or after.

Ma'qil b. Qays wrote to 'Alī:

> I inform the Commander of the Faithful about his army and his enemies. We pushed on to our enemy on the seashore and found there tribes strong in number, violent and earnest. They had been gathered against us and made common cause against us. We summoned them to obedience and community, to the authority (*ḥukm*) of the Book and of the precedent (*sunnah*); we read out loud to them the letter of the Commander of the Faithful, and we raised aloft

752. The name al-Rumāḥis does not seem to be specifically Christian.

to them a flag of safe-conduct. A group of them inclined toward us, while another group remained hostile. We accepted those who came forward and we fought against[753] those who turned away. God put them to flight[754] and gave us victory over them. We were gracious to any Muslim, took his oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful, and took possession of the *ṣadaqah* that was due from them. For anyone who had apostatized, we offered return to Islam or else death. They all returned apart from one man, whom we killed. As for the Christians, we made them captive and led them off so that they might be a warning for those of the protected peoples who come after them not to refuse the *jizyah*[755] and not to make bold against our religion and community,[756] for the protected people are of little account and lowly in status. May God have mercy upon you, Commander of the Faithful, and award to you
[3439] gardens of delight. Peace be upon you.

He then brought along the prisoners and passed with them by Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah al-Shaybānī, who was ʿAlī's governor over Ardashīrkhurrah.[757] There were 500 of them, and the women and children were weeping while the men cried out, "Abū al-Faḍl [i.e., Maṣqalah], protector of the men and liberator of the captives, be good to us—buy us and free us." Maṣqalah said, "I swear by God that I will give *ṣadaqah* for them (i.e., to buy their release) for 'God repays those who give *ṣadaqah*!'"[758]

Maʿqil was told about that and said, "By God, if I knew that he had said that out of compassion for them and contempt for you,

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753. *Ṣamadnā ṣamdan li . . .*

754. *Ḍaraba Allāhu wujūhahum*; see *Gloss.*, s.v. *ḍ-r-b*.

755. In Muslim law the *jizyah* is a tax payable by the protected non-Muslims at a fixed rate per head (a "poll tax"). In early Islam the significance of the word varies according to context, but here it clearly refers to a payment taken from the non-Muslims. The following reference to the subordinate status of the non-Muslims (*wa-hum ahlu al-ṣaghār wa-al-dhull*) echoes Qur'ān 9:29, *ḥattā yuʿṭū al-jizyata ʿan yadin wa-hum ṣāghirūna*. See further *EI*², s.v. Djizya.

756. Literally, "those who share our direction of prayer" (*ahl al-qiblah*).

757. One of the five districts into which Fars was subdivided, its chief town was Shīrāz (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map VI and 248).

758. Qur'ān 12:88. Here *ṣadaqah* has its more general sense (see n. 739, above).

I would cut off his head, even if that meant the mutual destruction of Tamīm and and Bakr b. Wā'il."[759]

Then Maṣqalah sent Dhuhl b. al-Ḥārith al-Dhuhlī[760] to Ma'qil b. Qays, asking, "Sell me the Banū Nājiyah," and Ma'qil replied, "Alright, I will sell them you for a million dirhams," and he sent them to Maṣqalah, telling him, "Send the money quickly to the Commander of the Faithful." Maṣqalah said, "I am sending a first installment immediately, and then I will send another similar and keep on until all is paid, please God." Ma'qil b. Qays went to the Commander of the Faithful and told him what he had done regarding that, and 'Alī told him, "You have done well and acted right." 'Alī waited for Maṣqalah to send him the money, and he heard that Maṣqalah had set free the captives without asking them to help him in any way in liberating themselves.[761] 'Alī said: "I suspect that Maṣqalah must have borne the burden of expenditure. I think that you will soon see him cleaving to the ground."[762]

Then 'Alī wrote to Maṣqalah: "One of the worst types of falseness [3440]
is falseness regarding the community, and one of the worst forms of deception against the men of the garrison is deception of the imam. You owe the Muslims 500,000 dirhams. Send them to me as soon as my messenger reaches you. Otherwise, come (yourself) as soon as you have looked at this letter, for I have told my messenger to you not to allow you to wait for one hour after he has come to you unless you send the money. Peace be upon you." The messenger was Abū Jurrah al-Ḥanafī,[763] and Abū Jurrah said to Maṣqalah, "Send the money now or set out for the Commander of the Faithful."

After he had read the letter, Maṣqalah went and lodged in Baṣrah, where he remained for some days, and then Ibn 'Abbās asked him

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759. The tribe of Ma'qil, the Banū Riyāḥ, was counted as part of Tamīm/Muḍar, while Maṣqalah's tribe, the Banū Shaybān, was attached to Bakr/Rabī'ah.

760. The context implies the Banū Dhuhl of Shaybān/Bakr b. Wā'il, but see vol. XXII, 69, n. 282, of this translation where, in the account of the killing of Dhuhl b. al-Ḥārith at the hands of Khārijites in A.H. 76, the suggestion is made that they are Dhuhl b. Mu'āwiyah of Kindah.

761. That is, without asking them to make a contribution to their own ransom.

762. *Mulbidan*: Lane has "a man cleaving to the ground, and making himself inconspicuous", "a man cleaving to the ground by reason of poverty"; *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §199: "fra poco di certo lo vedrete qua."

763. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Abū Jurrah.

for the money, for the governors dependent on al-Baṣrah would bring the tribute from those districts[764] that were subordinate to it to Ibn 'Abbās, and it was he who would send it to 'Alī. Maṣqalah replied, "All right, but give me a few days." Then he went to 'Alī, who granted him some days but then asked him for the money. He brought him 200,000 but was powerless (to get the rest) and could do nothing about it.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-A'war—Dhuhl b. al-Ḥārith: Maṣqalah called me to his place of abode. His evening meal was set before him and we shared it, and then he said, "By God, the Commander of the Faithful is asking me for this money and I cannot give it to him." I answered, "By God, if you wanted, you could get it all in less than a week," but he said, "By God, I am not going to impose it upon my fellow tribesmen and I will not seek it from anyone else." Then he said, "Indeed, by God, if Ibn Hind (Mu'āwiyah) were seeking it from me, or Ibn 'Affān, they would cancel the debt. Did you not see Ibn 'Affān give al-Ash'ath 100,000 dirhams annually from the *kharāj* of Ādharbayjān?" I answered Maṣqalah, "This man ('Alī) will not see things that way. No, by God, he is not one who generously gives away something that you have taken." He was quiet for a while and I too remained silent,
[3441] and indeed, by God, just one night after this talk he absconded to Mu'āwiyah.

'Alī heard about that and said, "What is the matter with him, God confound him! He acted like a noble Arab [in ransoming the captives] but fled like a slave and was treacherous like an evildoer (*fājir*). By God, if he had stayed here and could not pay, we would not have done any more than put him under detention and then, if we had found that he had anything of value we would have taken it, but if we could not get any money we would have left him alone." 'Alī then went to Maṣqalah's house and destroyed and demolished it.

Maṣqalah's brother Nu'aym b. Hubayrah was a partisan (*shī'ī*) and sincere adviser of 'Alī. Maṣqalah sent one of the Christians of the Banū Taghlib,[765] whose name was Ḥulwān, to Nu'aym from Syria

764. *Kuwar*, plural of *kūrah*, is a loan word in Arabic, perhaps from Greek *chōra*. The Arabs had taken over from the Sasamids the subdivision of the provinces into administrative areas call *kuwar*.

765. The Banū Taghlib, whose area was the Syrian desert south of Palmyra, had been significantly christianized in the period before Islam.

with a letter: "I have spoken to Mu'āwiyah about you and he has promised a position (*al-imārah*) for you and given grounds to hope for some honor (*al-karāmah*). Come to us immediately when my messenger reaches you, God willing." But Mālik b. Ka'b al-Arḥabī[766] seized the messenger and brought him to 'Alī, who took his letter and read it. He then cut off the hand of the Christian, who died.

Nu'aym wrote to his brother Maṣqalah:

Do not cast against me, may God guide you, an imputation
of your suspicions. I had nothing to do with Ḥulwān.
That one who coveted what he could obtain by greed
is dead, and do not let his death grieve you.[767]
What did you want in sending him, stupidly,
hoping to trip up a man who is not found sleeping?
You exposed him to 'Alī, who is a lion,
walking with a proud gait, one of the lions of Khaffān.[768] [3442]
You benefited from a good position under him,
defending Iraq and being called the best of Shaybān,
Until you rushed into something for which, secretly and openly,
you had expressed a dislike for those who took part.
If you had brought that which was due to the people, persevering
for the truth, you would have revived our quick and our dead.
But you have joined the people of Syria, seeking
the favor of Ibn Hind (Mu'āwiyah). That is a position that
grieves us.
Today you regret your debt, repenting,
but what can you say? What has happened has happened.
All the clans together have come to hate you,
and God has never exalted any man in hatred.

When this reached Maṣqalah, he knew that his messenger was dead, and soon the men of Taghlib also learned of the death of their fellow tribesman, Ḥulwān. They went to Maṣqalah and said, "You sent our fellow and you caused his death. Either restore him to life, or pay blood money for him." He answered, "To restore him to life I cannot, but I will pay blood money for him," and he did so.

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766. See n. 345, above.

767. Read *ḥānā* for *khānā* (see *Add. et emend.*; *SNB*, III, 146, reads *iḥzānā*).

768. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. (II, 456), says that this is a place close to al-Kūfah and a place of lions (*ma'sadah*).

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—his father: When 'Alī learned of what had befallen the Banū Nājiyah and the killing of their leader, he said,

> Perish his mother! How defective was his understanding and how bold he was against his Lord! Someone came to me once and said, "There are men among your companions whom I fear will separate from you. What do you think
> [3443] about them?" I replied, "I am not one to seize somebody merely on suspicion or punish merely on supposition. I will only fight him who opposes me, declares war on me, and manifests hostility toward me. And then I will not fight him until I have called on him to repent and offered him forgiveness. If he repents and returns to us, we accept that from him and he will be our brother. But if he insists on warring against us, we ask God's aid against him and struggle against him."
>
> The man who had addressed me kept away for some time, and then he came to me again and said, "I fear that 'Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī and Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn are stirring up dissension against you, for I heard them talking about you in such a way that, if you had heard it, you would not have left them alive or at liberty. Keep them in prison for ever." I said, "I ask your advice about them—what should I do?" He said, "I advise you to summon them and cut off their heads." But then I knew that he was neither pious nor wise and I said, "By God, I do not think you are pious or wise and useful in your advice. By God, if I had intended to kill them, you should have said, 'Fear God. Why do you think that killing them is lawful when they have not killed anybody, have not declared opposition to you, and have not departed from your obedience?' "

In this year Qutham b. al-'Abbās led the annual pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) on behalf of 'Alī (God have mercy on him). Aḥmad b. Thābit told me that from Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.[769] At that time Qutham was 'Alī's governor over Mecca. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās was over

769. For Abū Ma'shar, whose *Ta'rīkh al-khulafā'* is probably being cited here, see *EI*², s.v.; *GAS*, I, 291–92; for Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī, see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, I/1, 44.

the Yemen and 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās over al-Baṣrah. There is a difference of opinion about who was 'Alī's governor in Khurāsān. Some say that it was Khulayd b. Qurrah al-Yarbū'ī and some that it was Ibn Abzā.[770] Syria and Egypt were under Mu'āwiyah and his governors.

770. For Khulayd, see p. 99 n. 404, above; the index to the Leiden edition identifies Ibn Abzā as 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abzā the *rāwī*.

[3444]

The Events of the Year 39

(MAY 29, 659–MAY 16, 660)

Mu'āwiyah Sends His Forces into 'Alī's Territories

He sent al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr[771] (according to the report of 'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]—'Awānah) with 2,000 men to 'Ayn al-Tamr,[772] where Mālik b. Ka'b was on garrison duty[773] for 'Alī with 1,000 men. Mālik, however, had allowed his men to go to al-Kūfah, and when al-Nu'mān came against him he had only 100 left with him. Mālik, therefore, wrote to 'Alī telling him of the matter of al-Nu'mān and his party. 'Alī addressed the men and ordered them to set out for 'Ayn al-Tamr, but they were reluctant to do so and Mālik had to give battle to al-Nu'mān, who had 2,000 men, with only 100 of his own. Mālik ordered his men to fight with their backs

771. Son of a Medinese Companion of the Prophet, his father is said to have been killed at the conquest of 'Ayn al-Tamr (see *EI*[1], s.v.; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 155).

772. In the desert west of the Euphrates, south of Hīt (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 65).

773. *Maslaḥatan*. Literally, "a place of arms," such as a *thaghr* (frontier), but also used to refer to individuals bearing weapons or occupying the *maslaḥa* (see *Gloss.*, s.v. *s-l-ḥ*; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

to the wall of the settlement, and he wrote to Mikhnaf b. Sulaym,[774] who was nearby, asking him to send reinforcements. Mālik b. Ka'b fought against al-Nu'mān's force with the band of men who were with him as fiercely as anyone could. Mikhnaf sent his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān to him with fifty men and, when they reached them, Mālik and his companions had broken the scabbards of their swords[775] and were on the verge of death. When the Syrians saw the new arrivals—it was evening—they thought that they were (significant) reinforcements for Mālik's men and took flight. Mālik pursued them and killed three of them, and the Syrians fled.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh al-Marwazī—his father—Sulaymān [b. Ṣāliḥ]—'Abdallāh—'Abdallāh b. Abī Mu'āwiyah—'Amr b. Ḥassān—a shaykh of the Banū Fazārah: Mu'āwiyah dispatched al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr with 2,000 men. They came to 'Ayn al-Tamr and attacked it. There was a governor of 'Alī there called the son of so-and-so al-Arḥabī, who had 300 men. He wrote to 'Alī asking for help, and 'Alī ordered the men to get ready to go to that governor. They were reluctant to do so, and 'Alī therefore ascended the *minbar*. I (the shaykh of the Banū Fazārah) went to him, but when I got there he had already made the declaration of faith and was saying, "Oh people of al-Kūfah, every time you hear about a troop[776] of Syrian horsemen coming against you, each man of you hides in his house and locks the door, like a lizard in his hole and a hyena in his lair. Whoever trusts in you is duped[777] and whoever draws you draws a useless lot.[778] You are not real men (*aḥrār*) when the summons (to appear in arms) is made nor trustworthy brothers with secrets. 'We belong to God and to Him we are returning.'[779] How I have been tested through you! You are blind ones who do not see, dumb ones who do not speak, and deaf ones who do not hear.[780] 'We belong to God and to Him we are returning.' " [3445]

774. See p. 13, above for the presence at Ṣiffīn of this prominent Azdī forebear of Abū Mikhnaf.

775. That is, they had determined to fight to the death.

776. *Mansir*, literally, "beak (of a bird)," used to refer to an advance force of an army (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

777. Literally, "the one who is duped is he whom you have duped."

778. *Al-sahm al-akhyab*, an allusion to the game of chance called *maysir* (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *akhyab*).

779. Qur'ān 2:156.

780. See Qur'ān 2:18, which says that the deaf, dumb, and blind (spiritually) "do not return."

(The account of 'Awānah transmitted by al-Madā'inī continues.) And in this year Mu'āwiyah sent Sufyān b. 'Awf[781] with 6,000 men, telling him to go to Hīt, pass through (*qaṭa'a*) and raid it, and then move on to al-Anbār and al-Madā'in,[782] where he should fall on the forces there. He went to Hīt but found no one there, and then to al-Anbār where there was a garrison (*maslaḥah*) of 'Alī. There had been 500 men, but they had dispersed and only 100 remained. Sufyān fought them but 'Alī's men held firm in spite of their small
[3446] number. Then Sufyān's cavalry and infantry charged them together, and killed the commander of the garrison, Ashras b. Ḥassān al-Bakrī,[783] with thirty men. They carried off what they found in al-Anbār and the property of its people and returned to Mu'āwiyah.

'Alī heard about that and went out to Nukhaylah. The men said to him, "You can rely on us," but he said, "You are not adequate for me or for yourselves." He dispatched Sa'īd b. Qays[784] after Sufyān's men, and he went off in pursuit until he passed Hīt without catching up with them and then turned back.

In this year, too, Mu'āwiyah sent 'Abdallāh b. Mas'adah al-Fazārī[785] with 1,700 men to Taymā',[786] ordering him to extract the *ṣadaqah* from the bedouins whom he passed by and to kill any of them who refused to deliver the *ṣadaqah* of his wealth to him. Then he should go to Mecca, Medina, and the Ḥijāz to do the same. Many of his fellow tribesmen joined him.

When 'Alī heard about that, he sent al-Musayyab b. Najabah al-Fazārī,[787] who caught up with Ibn Mas'adah at Taymā'. They fought fiercely for the whole day until sunset. Al-Musayyab charged against Ibn Mas'adah and struck him three times, but without intending

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781. An Azdī prominent in the campaigns against the Byzantines (Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

782. The itinerary would have involved moving down the Euphrates and then crossing to al-Madā'in on the Tigris at the point where the two rivers come closest to each other. The reports are intended to indicate that the Syrians could raid 'Alī's heartlands with impunity.

783. This seems to be his only appearance in Ṭabarī's work.

784. See n. 66, above.

785. Captured by a raiding party sent by the Prophet against the Banū Fazārah, he subsequently was prominent in Mu'āwiyah's campaigns against the Byzantines (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

786. In northwest Arabia (now in Saudi Arabia).

787. Subsequently killed with the Tawwābūn at 'Ayn al-Wardah (see vol. XX of this translation, pp. 80ff.).

to kill him and saying to him, "Flee, flee!" Ibn Mas'adah and most of those with him entered the castle while the remainder fled toward Syria.

The bedouins plundered the *ṣadaqah* camels[788] that were with Ibn Mas'adah, and al-Musayyab besieged him and his men for three days. Then he piled firewood against the gate and hurled fire upon it until it caught alight. When those inside sensed that they would be destroyed, they went aloft and appealed to al-Musayyab, "It is your own tribesmen!" and he had pity on them and was reluctant that they should perish. He gave orders for the fire to be extinguished. He said to his men, "Spies have come to me and told me that an army is approaching from Syria. Gather together in one place!" and Ibn Mas'adah and his men departed by night and escaped [3447] to Syria. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shabīb[789] said to al-Musayyab, "Come and let us pursue them!" but he forbade that he should do that. Ibn Shabīb said to him, "You have cheated the Commander of the Faithful and played a trick regarding them."

In this year, too, Mu'āwiyah dispatched al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays,[790] telling him to traverse the region below Wāqiṣah[791] and attack every bedouin whom he came upon who recognized the authority of 'Alī. With him he sent 3,000 men. As he proceeded, he seized the property of the people and killed those bedouins whom he met. He passed by al-Tha'labiyyah[792] and attacked the garrisons (*masāliḥ*) of 'Alī and seized their goods. When he had got as far as al-Quṭquṭānah,[793] 'Amr b. 'Umays b. Mas'ūd[794] came with some horsemen of 'Alī, and his family going in front, intending to make the annual pilgrimage. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk attacked those who were with him and prevented him from going on. When 'Alī heard that, he dispatched Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī with 4,000 men, giving them fifty

788. That is, those camels that had been taken from the bedouin in payment of the *ṣadaqah*.

789. Of the Banū Fazārah (see p. 163, above).

790. See n. 130, above.

791. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. (IV, 892). Al-Wāqiṣah and the two places mentioned subsequently are in Najd, on or near the road from Mecca to al-Kūfah. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk's route took him in the direction of al-Kūfah.

792. Ibid., I, 925.

793. Ibid., IV, 137.

794. Of the Banū Hudhayl (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.), this seems to be his only appearance in Ṭabarī's work.

dirhams each. He caught up with al-Ḍaḥḥāk at Tadmur[795] and killed nineteen of his men. Two of his own men were killed. Night prevented any further fighting and al-Ḍaḥḥāk and his men fled, while Ḥujr and his went back.

In this year, too, Mu'āwiyah himself set off toward the Tigris, but when he was in sight of it he withdrew and went back. Ibn Sa'd reported that from Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ibn Jurayj—Ibn Abī Mulaykah: In the year 39 (659–660) Mu'āwiyah was within sight of it. And there is a report to the same effect from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

There are differences of opinion about who led the pilgrimage
[3448] (*ḥajj*) ceremonies in this year. Some say that it was 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās on behalf of 'Alī, while some say that it was 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās. According to Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah, it is said that 'Alī sent 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās to be present at the pilgrimage festival (*mawsim*) and lead the prayers in 39, while Mu'āwiyah sent Yazīd b. Shajarah al-Rahāwī.[796] But (said Ibn Shabbah) Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madā'inī) claimed that that was wrong and that 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās was not present at the *mawsim* in any official position before the killing of 'Alī (peace be upon him). The one with whom Yazīd b. Shajarah contested the office was Qutham b. al-'Abbās. Eventually they settled their dispute by agreeing that Shaybah b. 'Uthmān[797] would lead the rituals, and consequently it was Shaybah who led the prayers in 39.

And similar to what I have been told on the authority of Abū Zayd (Ibn Shabbah) from Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madā'inī), is the report of Abū Ma'shar. I have that from Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

According to al-Wāqidī, in the year 39 'Alī sent 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās to be in charge of the *mawsim*, while Mu'āwiyah sent Yazīd

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795. That is, Palmyra.

796. His *nisbah* refers to the Banū Ruhā' of Madhḥij (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II index, s. v. Yazīd b. Šağara). He was subsequently active in the warfare against Byzantium, especially at sea, and is reported to have been killed in 58/677–78. In 116/734–35, however, there is a strange reference to him (or to someone of the same name), described as *sayyid ahl al-Sha'm*, as if he were still alive (see Ṭabarī, II, 1564 [= XXV, 103, of this translation]).

797. Shaybah is said to have acquired the office of control of the key of the Ka'bah in the time of the Prophet. For some comment on the traditions about him and his office, see Hawting, "'Sacred Offices'," 62–84, esp. 65, n. 5.

b. Shajarah al-Rahāwī to hold (*aqāma*) the *ḥajj* for the people. When the two of them met in Mecca they contested the issue, each one refusing to surrender to the other. Finally they compromised on Shaybah b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥah.

'Alī's governors over the garrison towns in this year were those whom we have reported in 38, except that Ibn 'Abbās had left his position in al-Baṣrah in this year and had appointed Ziyād, called Ziyād the son of his father, over the finances (*kharāj*), and Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī over the judicial matters (*qaḍā'*).[798]

And in this year Ibn 'Abbās sent Ziyād, on the orders of 'Alī, to Fārs and Kirmān when he returned to al-Baṣrah from visiting 'Alī in al-Kūfah.

The Sending of Ziyād to Fārs [3449]

According to 'Umar (Ibn Shabbah)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī): After Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī was killed[799] and opposition against 'Alī grew, the people of Fārs and Kirmān[800] wished to avoid paying the *kharāj*;[801] and in every district the inhabitants seized power and expelled their governors.

According to 'Umar (Ibn Shabbah)—Abū al-Qāsim—Salamah b. 'Uthmān—'Alī b. Kathīr: 'Alī asked advice about whom he could appoint over Fārs when they refused to fulfill the duty of the *kharāj*. Jāriyah b. Qudāmah said to him, "Indeed I will point out to you, Commander of the Faithful, a man who is firm in opinion, knowledgeable in authority, and capable for what he has to do." 'Alī asked who that was and received the answer, "Ziyād." "Alright," said 'Alī, "It is his." He appointed him over Fārs and Kirmān and sent him with 4,000 men. He subjugated those lands and put them in order.

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798. See nn. 666, 488, above.

799. See pp. 165ff., above.

800. The province east of Fārs, bordered on the north by the desert and on the south by the Gulf (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map VI and 299ff.).

801. According to the classical works of Muslim law, this is a tax raised from land, but in this early period it, like other fiscal terms, seems to be used rather generally (see *EI*², s.v.).

According to 'Umar (Ibn Shabbah)—Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madā'inī)—'Alī b. Mujāhid—al-Sha'bī: When the people of the Jibāl[802] had rebelled, and those subject to the *kharāj* wished to avoid paying it and expelled Sahl b. Ḥunayf, 'Alī's governor, from Fārs, Ibn 'Abbās said to 'Alī, "Leave Fārs to me." He came to al-Baṣrah and sent Ziyād to Fārs with a large force that he used to suppress the people of the region and make them fulfill their duty of *kharāj*.

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Ayyūb b. Mūsā—a shaykh of the people of Iṣṭakhr[803]—his father: I remember being in Fārs while Ziyād was governor there and revolt had flared up. He ceaselessly used inducement and artifice so that they returned to the obedience that was due from them and to good order and there was no hostile attitude. And the people of Fārs used to say "We have not seen any conduct more like that of Kisrā Anūshirwān[804] than the conduct of this Arab for gentleness, ways of inducement, and understanding of what it is fitting."

[3450] When Ziyād came to Fārs, he sent to its leaders and made promises and gave cause to hope to those who helped him, but some he terrified and threatened. Thus he used some to fight others and suggested to some the weak spot of others. Some fled and some remained, and some of them killed others, and consequently Fārs came completely under his control, with no force or fighting against him there. He acted similarly in Kirmān and then went back to Fārs, where he went around the districts (*kuwar*) raising their expectations so that the people became peaceful and the region calm. He went to Iṣṭakhr, where he took up residence and fortified a castle there between Bayḍā' Iṣṭakhr and Iṣṭakhr,[805] which became known as Qal'at Ziyād. He brought the wealth (of the province)

802. Strictly al-Jibāl is the province east of Iraq and north of Khuzistān and Fārs (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map V, and 185ff.). The term may be used loosely here.

803. Just north of ancient Persepolis, it was probably the most important town in Fars at this time (see *EI*², s.v.).

804. Khusrow I Anoshirwan (Immortal Soul), ruled 530–579 C.E., was a Sasanid shah legendary for both his justice and his efficiency.

805. For the town called Bayḍā' (Bayzā in Persian), southwest of Iṣṭakhr, see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map VI, and 280.

there. Subsequently, Manṣūr al-Yashkurī fortified himself in it so that today it is known as Qal'at Manṣūr.[806]

806. *Ann.*, A.H. 39 §4, identifies him as Manṣūr b. Jumhūr al-Yashkurī. But the famous Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, who was involved in politics at the end of the Umayyad period (and who was in Fārs at one point, involved in the movement of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah), is always referred to as Manṣūr b. Jumhūr al-Kalbī (he was of the Banū 'Āmir of Kalb). According to the indexes of the Leiden and Cairo editions, this is Ṭabarī's only reference to Manṣūr al-Yashkurī (Yashkur are a subtribe of the Bakr). It is possible that al-Kalbī has been deformed in the ms.

The Events of the Year 40

(MAY 17, 660–MAY 6, 661)

Mu'āwiyah Sends Busr b. Abī Arṭāt with 3,000 Fighting Men to the Ḥijāz

According to Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh al-Bakkā'ī[807]—'Awānah: After the appointment of the two arbitrators, Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān dispatched an army under Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, a man of the Banū
[3451] 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.[808] They came from Syria to Medina, whence 'Alī's governor at that time, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī,[809] fled to 'Alī at al-Kūfah, and Busr entered Medina.

Busr ascended the *minbar* of Medina, without having met any opposition and cried out, "Dīnār, Najjār, and Zurayq![810] My shaykh, my shaykh, with whom I was only yesterday—where is he now?"

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807. Al-Bakkā'ī (d. 183/799–800) is best known as the transmitter of Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrah* to Ibn Hishām; presumably al-Madā'inī is still al-Ṭabarī's source for the following report.

808. Busr (see *EI*², s.v.) was a Companion of the Prophet; 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy were a branch of Quraysh.

809. See n. 523, above.

810. These are all subtribes of Khazraj of the Anṣār (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.vv. Dīnār b. Taimallāh, Naǧǧār b. Tha'laba, and Zuraiq b. 'Āmir).

(He was referring to 'Uthmān.) Then he said, "People of Medina! By God, if it were not for my charge from Mu'āwiyah, I would not leave any mature man alive (among you)," and then he extracted the oath of allegiance (to Mu'āwiyah) from them. He sent to the Banū Salimah, saying, "By God, you shall have no safe conduct with me, and I shall not accept your oath of allegiance, until you bring me Jābir b. 'Abdallāh."[811]

Jābir hurried to Umm Salamah,[812] the widow of the Prophet, and said to her, "What do you think? I am afraid that I shall be killed, but this oath of allegiance is not right." She said, "I think that you should give the oath of allegiance. I have told my son 'Umar b. Abī Salamah that he should give it, and also my son-in-law 'Abdallāh b. Zam'ah."[813] (Her daughter Zaynab, the daughter of Abū Salamah, was at that time married to 'Abdallāh b. Zam'ah.) So Jābir went to Busr and gave him the oath of allegiance.

Busr demolished some houses in Medina and then went on to Mecca. Abū Mūsā[814] was afraid that he would kill him, but Busr said to him, "I would not do that to a Companion of the Prophet," and let him go. Previously Abū Mūsā had written to the Yemen saying that horsemen sent from Mu'āwiyah would slay the people, would slay those who refused to accept the arbitration process (*ḥukūmah*).

Busr continued on to the Yemen, where 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās was governor on behalf of 'Alī. When 'Ubaydallāh heard of his approach, he fled to al-Kūfah, where he joined 'Alī, leaving behind [3452]
as his deputy over the Yemen 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī.[815] Busr came and killed him together with his son. He also came across the baggage train of 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās, with which were two small sons of the latter. He slaughtered them both. Some

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811. For the Banū Salimah b. Sa'd of Khazraj, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.; for the Companion Jābir b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr of the Banū Salimah, see ibid., s.v. Gābir.

812. For Umm Salamah, Hind bint Abī Umayyah of Makhzūm/Quraysh, see Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 60.

813. 'Umar was Umm Salamah's son from her first husband, Abū Salamah of Makhzūm; 'Abdallāh b. Zam'ah, of the Banū Asad of Quraysh, is described as a *sharīf* of Quraysh who transmitted from the Prophet and married Zaynab the daughter of Abū Salamah and Umm Salamah (see Zubayrī, *Kitāb nasab Quraysh*, 222).

814. That is, the "arbitrator" who had declared 'Alī deposed (see p. 82ff., above).

815. A leader of Bal-Ḥārith of Madhḥij (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr).

say that he found the two sons of 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās with a bedouin of Banū Kinānah. When he wished to slay them, the Kinānī asked, "Why are you going to kill these two when they have done no wrong? If you are going to kill them, then kill me!" Busr replied, "I will!" and he began by killing the Kinānī and then he killed them. Then he went back to Syria. It is also reported that the Kinānī fought to protect the two children until he was himself killed. One of the children whom Busr killed was called 'Abd al-Raḥmān and the other Qutham.[816]

In the course of that expedition Busr killed a large number of the partisans (*shī'ah*) of 'Alī in the Yemen. 'Alī heard the news of what he was doing and sent 2,000 men under Jāriyah b. Qudāmah and another 2,000 under Wahb b. Mas'ūd.[817] Jāriyah came to Najrān,[818] where he set fire to some properties and took some of the partisans of 'Uthmān and killed them. Busr and his men fled from him and Jāriyah followed them as far as Mecca, where he told the Meccans to give him the oath of allegiance (for 'Alī), but they replied, "The Commander of the Faithful is dead,[819] so on whose behalf should we give the oath of allegiance?" He said, "On behalf of him to whom the companions of 'Alī have given it." They were reluctant, but eventually they did give it.[820]

Jāriyah then went to Medina, where Abū Hurayrah[821] was leading the people in the prayers. Abū Hurayrah fled from him and Jāriyah said, "By God, if I had taken Abū Sinnawr,[822] I would have cut off his head." He then told the Medinans, "Give the oath of allegiance

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816. There are variant accounts that provide different names for the boys (Zubayrī, *Kitāb nasab Quraysh*, 264).

817. For Jāriyah, see n. 499, above; this appears to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Wahb b. Mas'ūd, who is called al-Khath'amī in Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh* II, 232–33.

818. A town in northern Yemen (now in Saudi Arabia), famous as a center of Christianity before Islam.

819. That is, 'Alī had been killed while Jāriyah was engaged in the expedition.

820. It is not clear whether Jāriyah demanded that they gave him the oath on behalf of an unnamed individual, or whether they all knew the one to whom 'Alī's companions had given allegiance. In the next paragraph, referring to Medina, 'Alī's successor is named.

821. A Companion of the Prophet, famous as a transmitter of *ḥadīth*. He appears to have been friendly with the Umayyads, for it is reported that both Marwān and Mu'āwiyah used him as a deputy governor of Medina. (See *EI*², s.v.).

822. A derogatory reference to Abū Hurayrah: *sinnawr* means "cat," as does *hirr*, of which *hurayrah* is a diminutive.

to al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī,"[823] and they did so. He remained there for a day, then departed, returning to al-Kūfah, while Abū Hurayrah returned and again led the Medinans in the prayers.

In this year (40/660–61), according to reports, there was the truce between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah after correspondence had passed [3453] between them (it would prolong our work unduly to give the texts) about the cessation of hostilities; it was specified that 'Alī should have Iraq and Mu'āwiyah Syria, neither of them encroaching on the area under the authority of the other with an army, an attack, or a raid.

According to Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh [al-Bakkā'ī]—Abū Isḥāq: When neither of the two parties would acknowledge obedience to the other, Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Alī, "If you wish, you may have Iraq while I have Syria. Thus the sword shall be averted from this community and the blood of the Muslims shall not be shed." 'Alī consented, and the two of them agreed on it. Consequently Mu'āwiyah remained in Syria with his forces, levying taxes from it and its surrounding area, while 'Alī levied taxes from Iraq and distributed the income among his forces.

In this year 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās left al-Baṣrah and went to Mecca, according to most of the specialists in historical traditions (*ahl al-siyar*). Some of them, however, denied that and claimed that he continued at Baṣrah, as governor on behalf of the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī (peace be upon him), until 'Alī was killed and al-Ḥasan had made peace with Mu'āwiyah—it was then that he departed for Mecca.

The Circumstances of Ibn 'Abbās' Going to Mecca and Leaving Iraq

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—a group of narrators—Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. (Abī) Rāshid[824]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd Abū al-Kunūd: 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās encountered Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī, who said, "If you were an animal, you would be a camel; if you were a herdsman, you would not be able to control (your flock

823. That is, 'Alī's elder son from Fāṭimah.
824. Comparison with other sources indicates that Abī should be inserted.

at) pasture and would not know how to manage them wisely on the move."[825]

Abū al-Aswad consequently wrote to 'Alī: "God has made you a ruler trusted by his subjects and a pastor who takes responsibility
[3454] for his flock. We have tried you and found you full of integrity and a sincere adviser to your flock. You give them their booty (*fay'*) in abundance, you abstain from (seizing) their wordly goods (*dunyā*), you do not devour their wealth, and you do not take bribes in their government (*aḥkām*). Your cousin, however, has devoured what is under his authority without your knowledge, and I cannot allow that to be kept from you. So look into what is going on here, may God have mercy on you, and write to me telling me your views about what you want me to do for you. Salutations."

'Alī wrote back in reply: "To act like you have done is to advise the imam and the community sincerely, to render trustworthy service, and to guide to the truth. I have written to your companion concerning the behavior about which you have written to me, but I have not told him that it was you who wrote to me. You must continue to inform me of what happens in your presence if it is beneficial to the community to look into it, for you are competent to do that and you have an obligatory duty to do so. Peace be with you."

'Alī then wrote about that to Ibn 'Abbās, who replied, "What you have heard is false. What I have under my authority I control in an orderly and careful way. Do not believe these suspicions. Salutations." 'Alī wrote back, "Tell me what *jizyah*[826] you have taken, whence you have taken it, and where you have deposited it." Ibn 'Abbās answered, "I understand your concern at the seizures that you have heard I have made of the wealth of men this territory,

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825. Grammatically, it is not clear who said the words to whom, but they seem to be intended as a criticism of the governorship of Ibn 'Abbās, and Abū al-Aswad must then be the speaker. In view of the following details and Abū al-Aswad's complaint about Ibn 'Abbās to 'Alī, it may be the ability of the camel to consume large amounts of food and water that prompts the comparison. *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §224, suggests emending the text in accordance with the parallel in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (= *Ann.*, A.H. 38 §222a). The Arabic is not given, but the last phrase is translated "nè sapresti governale bene durante l'inverno." The parallel passage in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, IV, 354, omits the last phrase entirely.

826. *Jizyah* here seems to have the more general meaning of "tax"; see n. 755, above.

so send anyone whom you wish to your province and I will make way for him. Salutations."

Ibn 'Abbās then summoned his maternal uncles of the Banū Hilāl b. 'Āmir,[827] and al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilālī and 'Abdallāh b. Razīn b. Abī 'Amr al-Hilālī came to him. Then all of Qays joined with him, and he carried away a considerable amount of property.

According to Abū Zayd (Ibn Shabbah)—Abū 'Ubaydah:[828] These [3455]
were monies and provisions that had been collected for the maintenance (*arzāq*) of the fighting men, and Ibn 'Abbās took away with him as much as he had collected.[829]

All of the "fifths"[830] sent after him and caught him up at al-Ṭaff,[831] where they confronted him, intending to get the wealth. But Qays[832] (opposed them) and said, "By God, you will not get it so long as any of us remains alive."[833] Ṣabrah b. Shaymān al-Ḥuddānī[834] said, "Band of Azd, by God, Qays are our brothers in Islam, our neighbors in dwelling place, and our helpers against the enemy. If your share of this money that has been taken from you were given back to you, it would not amount to much, and tomorrow Qays (and their support) will be better for you than money." Azd responded, "So what do you think?" and Ṣabrah said, "Turn away from them and let them go." They did that and turned away, and the Banū Bakr and 'Abd al-Qays said, "What an excellent opinion was that ex-

827. That is, the Banū Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah of Qays, the tribe of Lubābah Umm al-Faḍl, the mother of 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās (see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, 262). This is the only appearance of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilālī and 'Abdallāh b. Razīn al-Hilālī in Ṭabarī's work.

828. For Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā, a Baṣran scholar and traditionist who died 209/824–25, see *EI*², s.v.

829. *Fa-ḥamala ma'ahu miqdāra mā ijtama'a lahu*; *Ann.*, 38 A.H. §224, has "quello che spettava a lui" ("that which was his due"). *Arzāq* is the plural of *rizq* (a loan word from Persian), which usually indicates the food and provisions allocated to the fighting men along with their pay ('*aṭā*'—see n. 653, above). Presumably, when this was in government hands, before it was allocated to the soldiers, some of it must have been in the form of cash. This interpolation by Ibn Shabbah from Abū 'Ubaydah is a comment on Abū Mikhnaf's account, which now resumes.

830. That is, the five divisions into which the various tribal fragments settled in al-Baṣrah were grouped (see Pellat, *Milieu Baṣrien*, 23–24).

831. Al-Ṭaff is here probably used in a general sense and does not refer to the specific place, often also called by the same name, where al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was killed (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. [III, 539]).

832. That is, the tribal group to which Ibn 'Abbās' maternal relatives belonged.

833. Literally, "while there remains among us a blinking eye."

834. See n. 671, above.

pressed by Ṣabrah to his tribesmen," and they too withdrew. The Banū Tamīm, however said, "By God, we will not separate from them. We will fight them for it," but al-Aḥnaf [b. Qays] said to them, "They who are further than you in kinship from them have refrained from fighting them."[835] Still they insisted, "By God, we will fight them," and al-Aḥnaf said, "In that case I will not aid you against them," and he withdrew from them.

They made Ibn al-Mujjā'ah[836] of Banū Tamīm their chief, therefore, and fought with Qays. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk [b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilālī] attacked Ibn al-Mujjā'ah and stabbed him, and 'Abdallāh b. Razīn grabbed him around the neck and they both fell to the ground struggling. There were many wounded, but nobody was killed in the fighting. The "fifths" then said, "We have achieved nothing. We have (merely) withdrawn from them and left them fighting each other." And they separated the two parties.[837] They said to the Banū Tamīm, "We are more generous in spirit than you because we have left this money to your cousins while you are fighting them for it. Your men have attacked and been successfully resisted, so let your opponents go and, if you wish, go back yourselves." And Ibn 'Abbās went on with about twenty men and reached Mecca.

According to Abū Zayd (Ibn Shabbah): Abū 'Ubaydah claimed (although I did not hear it from him) that Ibn 'Abbās did not leave
[3456] al-Baṣrah until 'Alī had been killed. (Then) he left and joined al-Ḥasan and witnessed the peace agreement between him and Mu'āwiyah. He returned to al-Baṣrah where his things were and carried them away together with a small amount of property from the treasury, saying, "These are my *arzāq*."

Abū Zayd said that he reported that to Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madā'inī), who denied it and claimed that Ibn 'Abbās was in Mecca when 'Alī was killed and that it was 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās who witnessed the peace treaty between al-Ḥasan and Mu'āwiyah.

In this year 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (peace be upon him) was killed, but there are different opinions about the date of his death. According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—[anonymous]—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar:

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835. Tamīm and Qays were both counted to Muḍar.
836. This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to this Ibn al-Mujjā'ah.
837. *Ḍarabū wujūh ba'ḍihim 'an ba'ḍin.*

'Alī was killed in the month of Ramaḍān, on a Friday when seventeen days of it had elapsed, in the year 40. Al-Wāqidī reported similarly, as al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad) told me from Ibn Sa'd from al-Wāqidī. But Abū Zayd (Ibn Shabbah) told me that according to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī), 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed in al-Kūfah on a Friday when eleven (it is also said thirteen) days remained of Ramaḍān in the year 40. (It has also been said that it was in Rabī' II of the year 40.)[838]

The Circumstances of the Murder and Death of 'Alī

According to Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Masrūqī—'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarrānī Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Ismā'īl b. Rāshid:[839] In the story about Ibn Muljam and his companions it is told that Ibn Muljam, al-Burak b. 'Abdallāh, and 'Amr b. Bakr al-Tamīmī[840] met and discussed the way things were. They decried their governors and talked [3457]
about the people killed at the canal, asking for God's mercy upon them. They said, "We have achieved nothing by surviving them, our brethren who were summoners of the people to the worship of their Lord and who did 'not fear, for the cause of God, the reproach of anyone.'[841] What if we 'sell our souls'[842] and go to the imāms of error, seek to kill them, deliver the land from them, and thus achieve vengeance for our brethren?"

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838. The days of the weeks and the dates given do not tally. In the year A.H. 40, the 15th of Ramaḍān should have been a Friday. 17 Ramaḍān 40 = Sunday 24 January 661. Rabī' II 40 = August–September 660. For the following section, see *EI*², s.v. Ibn Muldjam, where extensive references to further sources are provided.

839. For Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Masrūqī (d. 258/871–72), see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXIX, 98–100. The Cairo edition calls him Mūsā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

840. For variants in the *ism* and *nisbah* of Ibn Muljam, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. 'Abdarraḥmān b. Mulǧam; for the Banū Murād b. Mālik of Madhḥij, see ibid., s.v.; al-Burak is said to have belonged to the Banū Ṣuraym of Tamīm, 'Amr to the Banū Sa'd of Tamīm.

841. See Qur'ān 5:54.

842. *Fa-law sharaynā anfusanā*. It is said that the early Khawārij called themselves *shurāt* because of their willingness to "sell" their souls for the cause of God. See Qur'ān 9:111: "God has bought (*ishtarā*) from the Believers their souls and their wealth."

Ibn Muljam, who was one of the men of Egypt, said, "I will take care of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib for you!" Al-Burak b. 'Abdallāh said, "I will take care of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān." And 'Amr b. Bakr said, "I will take care of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ." They made a joint covenant and agreement by God, "No man of us shall turn away from the one against whom he has been sent until he kills him or himself dies first." They took their swords and put poison on them and agreed that when seventeen days had elapsed of Ramaḍān, each of them would make an attempt on the man against whom he had been sent.

Each of them went to the town in which was the one whom he sought. Ibn Muljam al-Murādī, who was counted to Kindah,[843] joined his clansmen in al-Kūfah, but kept his business from them, being wary lest they reveal anything of it. One day he saw several men of Taym al-Ribāb,[844] ten of whom 'Alī had killed at the canal, and they were remembering their slain. On the same day he met a woman of Taym al-Ribāb called Qaṭāmi bint al-Shijnah, whose father and brother 'Alī had killed at the canal. She was of surpassing beauty and when he saw her she confused his mind and he forgot what he was about. He asked to marry her but she said, "I will not marry you until you give me what I want."[845] He asked, "What will satisfy you?" and she answered, "Three thousand dirhams, a slave,
[3458] a singing girl, and the killing of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib."

He said, "That is a fitting dowry for you, but as for the killing of 'Alī, I would not have thought that you would mention it to me, while wanting me."[846] She said, "Indeed yes. Look out for when he is off his guard and if you get him you will have satisfied yourself and myself, and life with me will be good for you. If you are killed, then what is with God is better than this world and its adornments and those of its people."[847] He replied, "By God, it was the very

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843. Ibn Sa'd III/1, 23, says that he was a *ḥalīf* of the Banū Jabalah of Kindah (for Jabalah b. 'Adī of Kindah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v.).

844. Ribāb was a confederation that included the Banū Taym b. 'Abd Manāt (hence known as Taym al-Ribāb) and various others, allied with the Banū Sa'd of Tamīm (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ribāb).

845. *Ḥattā tashfiya lī*; for *shafā* in the sense of "to satisfy," see *Gloss.*, s.v.

846. *Lā arāki (urāki!) dhakartihi lī wa-anti turīdīnī*; see Wright, *Grammar*, II, 32b, for *wa* with following subjunctive.

847. See Qur'ān 28:60.

killing of 'Alī that brought me to this town. What you ask for is yours." She said, "I will seek out for you someone who will aid you and support you in your task." She sent to a man of her tribe of Taym al-Ribāb who was called Wardān and spoke with him, and he agreed.

Ibn Muljam went to a man of the Banū Ashja'[848] called Shabīb b. Bajarah and asked him, "Would you like honor in this world and the next?" He replied, "How?" and Ibn Muljam said, "The killing of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib." "May your mother be bereaved of you!"[849] he answered, "'Then you would have done something grave.'[850] How will you be able to get to him?" Ibn Muljam said, "I shall lay in wait for him in the mosque and when he comes out for the morning prayer we shall attack him and kill him. If we escape, we shall have satisfied ourselves and attained our revenge. If we are killed, then what is with God is better than this world and what is in it."[851] Shabīb said, "Woe to you! If it were anyone other than 'Alī, it would be a matter of less importance to me. But you know how much he has been tested in Islam and his precedence in following the Prophet. I do not think I could find it in me to be happy at his killing." Ibn Muljam said, "Do you not know that he killed the people of the canal, the righteous servants of God!" "Indeed yes," he replied. "Then let us kill him for those of our brethren whom he killed!" And Shabīb assented.

They went to Qaṭāmi who was in the great mosque practising "withdrawal."[852] They said to her, "We have agreed to kill 'Alī," and she said, "When you want to do that, come to me." Then Ibn Muljam went back to her on the night before the Friday in the [3459] morning of which 'Alī was killed in the year 40, and he said to her, "This is the night when I promised my two companions that each one of us would kill his man." She called for silk to be brought to

848. The Banū Ashja' b. Rayth of Ghaṭafān.

849. *Thakilatka ummuka*; the expression is understood not as an insult, but as an expression of surprise or concern (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *umm*).

850. See Qur'ān 19:89.

851. See Qur'ān 28:60.

852. *Mu'takifah*, a term that would usually indicate the religious practice of *i'tikāf*, a sort of retreat (usually in a mosque) associated especially with Ramaḍān (see *EI*², s.v. I'tikāf).

them and bound it around them[853] and they took their swords and sat before the door out of which 'Alī would come. When he appeared, Shabīb struck at him with his sword but it hit the door post or the arch; Ibn Muljam struck him on the top of his head with his sword.

Wardān fled and went into his house, where one of his half-brothers came in upon him. Wardān was unwinding the silk from his breast and the visitor asked about it and the sword. Wardān told him what had happened. The visitor went away, and then came back with his sword and set about Wardān and killed him.

Shabīb set off toward the gates of Kindah[854] while it was still dark just before dawn, but the cry went up and a man of Ḥaḍramawt called 'Uwaymir[855] came upon him. Shabīb had his sword in his hand but 'Uwaymir seized it from him and attacked him. When he saw that the people had come seeking Shabīb whose sword he had in his own hand, however, 'Uwaymir was afraid for his own life and let Shabīb go. He escaped in the confusion.

They fell on Ibn Muljam and seized him, but not before a man of the Banū Hamdān with the *kunyah* of Abū Admā' had taken his sword, struck at his leg, and felled him.

'Alī remained where he had fallen[856] and had Ja'dah b. Hubayrah b. Abī Wahb[857] stand up behind him and lead the morning prayer. Then 'Alī said, "Bring him to me," and Ibn Muljam was brought in. 'Alī said, "Enemy of God, did I not do good to you?" "Yes, indeed," he answered. "Then what led you to do this?" "I sharpened my sword for forty mornings and I asked God to kill the worst of His creatures

853. The significance of this ritual is not evident.

854. Referred to in the singular (*bāb Kindah*) in a report about the entry of the Qarāmiṭah into al-Kūfah (see Ṭabarī, III, 2261 [= vol. XXXVIII, 163, of this translation]).

855. Ḥaḍramawt here indicates tribal rather than geographical origin. According to the Muslim genealogical system, Ḥaḍramawt (possibly to be identified with the Hazarmaveth of Genesis, 10:26), after whom the region of southwest Arabia is named, was one of the earliest ancestors of the southern descent group. Ḥaḍramawt are related to, but distinct from, Ḥimyar and Kindah (Ibn al-Kalbī has no entry for Ḥaḍramawt).

856. *Ta'akhkhara*.

857. See p. 99 and n. 401, above.

with it," he said. "Alī replied, "But I think that you must be slain with it, for you must be one of the worst of His creatures." [3460]

They say that, before he struck 'Alī, while he was sitting among Bakr b. Wā'il, Ibn Muljam saw the bier of Abjar b. Jābir al-'Ijlī, father of Ḥajjār, passing.[858] Abjar was a Christian and there were a number of Christians round about it and some Muslims[859] walking at one side with Ḥajjār because of his status among them. Among them was Shaqīq b. Thawr.[860] Ibn Muljam asked who they were and was told, and he began to compose:

If Ḥajjār b. Abjar is (really) a Muslim,
the bier of Abjar would have been kept away from him;
But if Ḥajjār b. Abjar is an infidel,
then this sort of infidelity is not inappropriate.[861]
Do you accept this—that a priest[862] and a Muslim are
together before a bier? Shameful spectacle!
If it were not for what I intend to do, I would scatter their company
with a sword polished, burnished, shining, and drawn from its
scabbard.
But my intention with that (sword) is as an instrument of access
to God or this man ('Alī). Take that or leave it.

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858. See Ibn al-Kalbī, s.vv. Abgar b. Ǧābir and Ḥaǧǧār b. Abgar for these two leaders of the Banū 'Ijl of Bakr b. Wā'il. The Christian father was active in pre-Islamic times and the son, in events in al-Kūfah down to the fall of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. The following verses seem to imply that the son has accepted Islam by this time, for Ibn Muljam's objection is to the presence of a Muslim at the funeral of (i.e., in the presence of the corpse of) a non-Muslim. The reasons for this objection are not made clear. In general and in practice Muslims are respectful toward, and may participate in, the funerals of non-Muslims (see *EI*², s.v. Djanāza; T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. Burial). In *ḥadīth*, however, it may be possible to see traces of a difference of opinion on this issue. It is usually held that, in contrast with Judaism, Islam does not regard the presence of a corpse as polluting (Wensinck, " Die Entstehung," 63), but there seems to be uneasiness about the performance of prayer at tombs or in graveyards. It may be significant that the *ḥadīth* usually cited to justify the view that the human corpse is not destructive of ritual purity in Islam in fact says that *the Muslim* (sometimes Mu'min) does not pollute, whether alive or dead (see Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.v. najisa).

859. *Unās*, here indicating Muslims rather than simply "people."

860. See p. 59 and n. 247, above.

861. Leiden has *kufūr* (infidelity), Cairo *kafūr* (infidel).

862. Following *Ann.*, A.H. 40 §32, in reading *qass* for *qays*.

It is reported that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah[863] said: By God, I was performing the prayer ritual in the great mosque on that night when 'Alī was stabbed. I was among a large number of men of the garrison town who were praying near the door. They were continuously standing, bowing, and prostrating without wearying, from the beginning of the night until the end when 'Ali came out for the morning prayer. He began to call out, "People! Prayer, prayer!" but I do not know whether he had come through the door and said these words, or not. I noticed something glitter and I heard, "Authority (*al-ḥukm*) belongs to God, 'Alī, not to you or your accomplices'!" and I saw a sword and then a second. I heard 'Alī say, "Do not let him escape," and the people rushed on the attacker from every side. I remained there until Ibn Muljam was taken and led in to 'Alī.
[3461] I, too, went in among those who did, and I heard 'Alī saying, "A life for a life. If I die, kill him as he killed me. If I live, I will consider what to do."

It is reported that the men rushed in fear to al-Ḥasan on account of what had happened regarding 'Alī. While they were with him (and Ibn Muljam was shackled before him), Umm Kulthūm the daughter of 'Alī, weeping, called to Ibn Muljam, "Enemy of God, there is no harm to my father, may God dishonor you!" He replied, "Then for whom do you weep? By God, I bought my sword for a thousand dirhams and I have spent another thousand on poisoning it. If this blow had fallen upon all the people of this town, not one of them would have survived it."

It is reported that Jundab b. 'Abdallāh[864] went in to 'Alī and asked him, "Commander of the Faithful, if we have lost you—and may we not—we will give the oath of allegiance to al-Ḥasan." 'Alī said, "I do not order you to do so, and neither do I forbid it. You people are best fitted to see." Jundab repeated to him what he had said.[865]

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863. One of the themes of the following is the relative authority of the three sons of 'Alī—al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (his sons by Fāṭimah) and Muḥammad (his son from the Ḥanafī woman).

864. Of Azd (see Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ǧundab b. 'Abdallāh); for his presence at Ṣiffīn and reports from him about events there, see pp. II, 89, above.

865. This report would be relevant for disputes about the imamate between Sunnīs and Shī'īs and between different Shī'ī groups. According to the Shī'ī doctrine of *naṣṣ*, an imam was legitimate only if he had been nominated by his predecessor during his lifetime, and each imam made known who his successor should be. See further Moojen Momen, *An Introduction to Shī'ī Islam*, index, s.v. (The *EI*² article s.v. Naṣṣ is concerned mainly with a different doctrine.)

'Alī called Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and said, "I commend to you both fear of God and that you do not seek this world even if it seeks you. Do not weep for anything that is taken away from you, speak the truth, show compassion for the orphan, succor those who are anxious, act on behalf of the foolish,[866] be enemies to the wrongdoer and helpers to the wronged, act according to the Book, and let no man's censure affect you while you work for God." Then he turned to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah and said, "Have you committed to heart what I have commended to your brothers?" "Yes," he replied. 'Alī said, "And I commend the same to you and also reverence for your two brothers to whom you owe a great duty. Follow their commands and do not decide any matter without them." Then he said to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, "And I commend him to you two for he is your brother and your father's son, and you know that your father loved him,"

He said to al-Ḥasan,

> I commend to you, my son, fear of God, the holding of prayer at its appointed times, the payment of the *zakāt* on its due date,[867] and a scrupulousness in performing ritual ablution, for there is no prayer without purification and the prayer of one who holds back the *zakāt* is not accepted.[868] And I commend to you the pardoning of sin, the suppression of anger, observance of the ties of relationship, maturity in the face of coarseness (*al-ḥilm 'inda al-jahl*), acquiring knowledge of religion (*al-tafaqquh fī al-dīn*), firmness in authority, frequent mindfulness of the Qur'ān, fulfilment of the duties of hospitality (*jiwār*), commanding the good and forbidding the evil,[869] and keeping clear of immorality (*al-fawāḥish*). [3462]

When death came to 'Alī he made his testament as follows:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, this is the testament of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He testifies that

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866. *Wa'ṣna'ā li al-akhraq*; Cairo has *lil-ākhirah*.

867. *Iqām al-ṣalāt li-waqtihā wa-ītā' al-zakāt 'inda maḥillihā*; see Qur'ān 21:73, 24:37. For the *zakāt*, see *EI*[1], s.v.; and n. 739, above.

868. In the traditions about the wars of the Riddah, apostasy from Islam is signaled by the refusal to perform the *ṣalāt* and pay the *zakāt*.

869. See n. 400.

there is no god but God alone "without partner"[870] and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger "whom He sent with right guidance and the religion of truth to make it triumphant over every other even though the polytheists abhor it."[871] "My prayer and my ritual (*nusukī*), my life and my death, belong to God, the Lord of the worlds, Who has no partner. Thus I was commanded and I am one of those who submit (*al-muslimīn*)."[872] I commend to you, Ḥasan, and all of my offspring and family, the fear of God your Lord. "Die only as Muslims and hold fast together to the rope of God, not separating."[873] I heard Abū al-Qāsim[874] saying, "The restoration of unity is better than all your prayer and fasting."[875]

Look to your relatives and unite them, that God may make easy for you the reckoning. Fear God, fear God with regard to the orphans, and neither restrain their entreaties nor let them be lost while in your care.[876] Fear God, fear God with regard to those who have a right to your protection and hospitality (*jīrānukum*), for they are the commen-

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870. Qur'ān 6:163.

871. See Qur'ān 9:33; 61:9.

872. Qur'ān, 6:162–63, but note that *min al-muslimīn* replaces the Qur'ānic *awwalu al-muslimīn*.

873. Qur'ān 3:102–3.

874. That is, the Prophet Muḥammad.

875. See al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *K. al-Qiyāmah*, *bāb* 56.

876. (?) *Allāha Allāha fī al-aytām fa-lā tu'annū afwāhahum wa-lā yaḍī'unna bi-ḥaḍratikum*; literally, "do not restrain their mouths and do not cause them to be lost/neglect them in your presence." For *tu'annū* only the first *ḍammah* is indicated in the text—there are no other vowels and no *shaddah*. See, however, *Gloss.*, s.v. '-*n*-*y*, which indicates the *shaddah* and suggests "ne cohibeatis vocem eorum flagitantium." Presumably the suggested reading is the jussive of '-*n*-*w*, form II, although a similar sense could be obtained with '-*n*-*n*, form IV, jussive. *Gloss.* refers to Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. '-*n*-*w*, form II, which cites *TA* for a saying of 'Alī at Ṣiffīn including the expression '*annū bi al-aṣwāt*, which Lane interprets as a prohibition of raising a confused and unintelligible clamor. (Cf. the reading at Ṭabarī, I, 3282–83: *wa-ghuḍḍū al-abṣār wa-akhfiḍū al-aṣwāt*.) *SNB*, XVII, 5, reads *lā tughibbū* (but notes a variant *lā tughayyirū*) and *lā tuḍayyi'ū*, interpreting the former as an injunction not to cause them to starve and the latter as an injunction not to abandon them. *Afwāh*, literally, "mouths," might be a metonym for eating or for speaking. *Ann.*, A.H. 40 §33, uncharacteristically avoids the problem by resorting to the briefest paraphrase of the whole passage.

dation of your Prophet, who never ceased to commend them so that we thought he would include them as heirs.[877]

Fear God, fear God with regard to the Qur'ān and do not allow anyone to do more than you in acting in accordance with it. Fear God, fear God with regard to the prayer, for it is the pillar of your religion. Fear God, fear God with regard to the house of your Lord[878] and do not leave it as long as you live for, if it is abandoned, there will never be another to be compared with it.[879] Fear God, fear God with regard to *jihād* in the path of God with your property and your lives. Fear God, fear God with regard to the *zakāt*, for it quenches the anger of the Lord. Fear God, fear God with regard to the protection (*dhimmah*) granted by your Prophet and do not allow the *dhimmī*[880] to be oppressed among you. Fear God, fear God with regard to the Companions of your Prophet, for the Messenger of God commended them to us. Fear God, fear God with regard to the poor and the destitute and give them a share in your livelihood. Fear God, fear God with regard to what your right hands possess.[881] Observe the prayer always! [3463]

Do not fear before God the blame of any man[882]—He is sufficent protector for you against anyone who has designs upon you and oppresses you. "Speak good to the people"[883] as God has commanded you and do not abandon the commanding of the good and the forbidding of the evil, so that the worst ones among you obtain power: then you will call but no answer will be given to you. You must pursue mutual harmony and generosity, avoiding mutual opposition, sep-

877. That is, the Prophet emphasized the duty of a man to his *jīrān* (see Qur'ān 4:36 for the command of kindness to the *jār*) so strongly that it was thought he would entitle them to a share in the part of the inheritance that is apportioned among the relatives of the dead man. On the rules of inheritance in Islam, see *EI*², s.v. Mīrāth, and *EI*¹, s.v. Waṣiyya.

878. That is, the sanctuary at Mecca.

879. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *n-ẓ-r*, form III, which suggests that *bihi ghayruhu* is to be understood after *lam yunāẓar*.

880. For the *ahl al-dhimmah*, the tolerated and protected non-Muslims, see *EI*², s.v. Dhimma.

881. That is, your slaves; the phrase is of frequent Quranic occurrence.

882. See Qur'ān 5:54.

883. Qur'ān 2:83.

aration, and fragmentation. "Help one another in piety and fear of God but not in sin and enmity to Him. Fear God for His retribution is mighty."[884] May God preserve you as members of a family and your Prophet as one of you. I entrust you to God and I bid you farewell, and the mercy of God be upon you.

He (may God be pleased with him) spoke no more before he died except to say that there is no god but God. He died in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 40. His two sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn [3464] washed his body, together with 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far.[885] He was dressed for burial in three robes without a *qamīṣ*,[886] and al-Ḥasan made nine *takbīrahs*[887] over him.

Then al-Ḥasan assumed authority for six months. 'Alī had forbidden him to inflict mutilation for his murder.[888] He had said, "Oh Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib,[889] let me not find you plunging into the blood of the Muslims saying, 'The Commander of the Faithful has been killed! The Commander of the Faithful has been killed!' No one shall be killed except my killer. Wait and see, Ḥasan. If I die from this blow of his, then inflict on him blow for blow. But do not inflict mutilation on the man, for I heard the Messenger of God say, 'Avoid mutilation, even on a vicious dog.' "[890]

When 'Alī (peace be upon him) died, al-Ḥasan sent to Ibn Muljam, who said to him: "Will you let me put something to you? By God, I never made a promise to God that I did not fulfill. I made God a promise by the *ḥaṭīm*[891] that I would kill 'Ali and Mu'āwiyah or die. If you wish, release me so that I may get at Mu'āwiyah and,

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884. Qur'ān 5:2.

885. The son of 'Alī's brother.

886. For the *qamīṣ*, a shirt or shift with sleeves that is worn beneath other clothes, see Dozy, *Vêtements*, s.v. Possibly *laysa fīhā* indicates "not counting" rather than "without."

887. Repetition of the formula *Allāhu akbar*, "God is most great."

888. *Kāna 'Aliyyun nahā al-Ḥasana 'an al-muthlah.*

889. That is, the descendants of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, the grandfather of both 'Alī and the Prophet.

890. For *ḥadīth*s prohibiting *al-muthlah*, see Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.v., and see too s.v. *'aqūr*.

891. The name is used variously with reference to features of the sanctuary at Mecca. It seems that its most common application is to the semicircular wall that encloses the area of the Ḥijr immediately adjoining the Ka'bah on the northwest, but see Hawting, "Muslim Sanctuary," esp. 34–36.

as God is my witness, if I do not kill him, or if I kill him and survive, I will come to you and place my hand in yours." Al-Ḥasan replied, "By God, not until you see Hell!" and he had him brought forward and killed him. Then the people took him, wrapped him in some straw mats, and set fire to him.

As for al-Burak b. 'Abdallāh, on the night when 'Alī was stabbed, he waited for Mu'āwiyah. When he came out to make the morning prayer, al-Burak rushed at him with his sword, but it only landed on Mu'āwiyah's buttock and the assailant was seized. He said to Mu'āwiyah, "I have something good to tell you secretly but, if I do, then will you let me have something in exchange for it?" Mu'āwiyah said, "Yes," and he continued, "One of my brethren has killed 'Alī on this same night." Mu'āwiyah said, "Perhaps he was [3465] not able to carry it out." "Indeed yes," said al-Burak, "'Alī comes out without any guard to protect him."

Mu'āwiyah ordered that al-Burak be killed, and then he sent to al-Sā'idī,[892] who was a doctor. He examined Mu'āwiyah and said, "Choose one of two things that I shall put before you: either I heat up an iron and put it on the wound, or else I will give you a potion that will make you infertile but you will recover from your wound. Your wound is poisoned." Mu'āwiyah said, "As for the fire, I cannot stand it. As for infertility, in Yazīd and 'Abdallāh I have already that which delights my eye." So he gave him that potion, and he recovered but had no children subsequently.

It was then that Mu'āwiyah instituted the *maqṣūrah* in the mosques, the night guard, and the stationing of men (*shuraṭ*) at his head when he prostrated in prayer.[893]

As for 'Amr b. Bakr, on that night he sat waiting for 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ but he did not appear, for he was suffering from stomach pains. Instead he ordered the commander of his guard, Khārijah b. Ḥudhāfah of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy,[894] to lead the prayer. Khārijah went out to do so and 'Amr b. Bakr fell upon him, stabbing and killing him, thinking that it was 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. The men seized the assailant and hastened with him to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, whom they

892. This is his only appearance.

893. For the *maqṣūrah*, the "reserved area" in a mosque, see *EI*², s.v. Masdjid; for the *shuraṭ*, s.v. Shurṭa.

894. See Ibn al-Kalbī, II, index, s.v. Ḫāriǧa; he was a Qurashī and sub anno 27/647–48 is described as being in charge of the *qaḍā'* of Egypt.

greeted as *amīr*. Ibn Bakr asked, "Who is this?" and they told him, "'Amr." "Then who is it that I have killed?" Told that it was Khārijah b. Ḥudhāfah, Ibn Bakr said, "By God, you wicked man (*fāsiq*)! I was sure it was you!" 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ replied, "You wanted me, but God wanted Khārijah!" Then he had 'Amr b. Bakr brought forward and killed him.

[3466] When Mu'āwiyah heard about that, he wrote to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ:

The fate of a shaykh of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib[895]
was murder, and many are the causes of death.
Oh 'Amr, take it easy. You were his paternal uncle
and his companion, above his male relatives.
You escaped, but the Murādī[896] has moistened his sword
(with blood) from the son of Abī Ṭālib, the shaykh of al-Abṭaḥ.[897]
Another like him (i.e., like Ibn Muljam) struck me with a sword,
and this was a blow that continues to afflict us,
While you, every day and night, in that Egypt of yours,
speak honeyed words to fair-skinned ladies, like gazelles going to pasture.

When news of 'Alī's death reached 'Ā'ishah,[898] she said:

And she threw down her staff and settled upon her place of abode,
like the traveler happy to return home.[899]

She asked who had killed him and, when told that it was a man of Murād, she said:

Even though he was far away, there has announced his death
a young man (*ghulām*) in whose mouth there was no dust.[900]

Zaynab, the daughter of Abū Salamah,[901] said, "Are you saying this about 'Alī?" and 'Ā'ishah replied, "I am forgetful, and, if I forget,

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895. That is, Khārijah.
896. That is, Ibn Muljam.
897. A name applied to several places in and around Mecca; here it is probably synonomous with Mecca (see *EI*², s.v. Makka).
898. The widow of the Prophet, and the opponent of 'Alī at the Camel.
899. *Ann.*, A.H. 40 §32, says that the verse is proverbial and is cited to indicate pleasure at something.
900. That is, he told the truth.
901. See nn. 812, 813, above.

remind me."[902] He who brought tidings of 'Alī's death was Sufyān b. 'Abd Shams b. Abī Waqqāṣ al-Zuhrī.[903]

Ibn Abī Mayyās al-Murādī[904] said about the killing of 'Alī:

You upon whom be blessings, we have struck Ḥaydar[905]
Abū Ḥasan with a blow to the head and he was split apart.
We have removed kingship from his concerns,
with the blow of a sword, since he waxed high and mighty.
We are noble and powerful in the dawn,
when death puts on and wraps itself in death. [3467]

He also said:

I never saw a dowry provided by any generous man,
whether Arab or other, like that of Qaṭāmi:
Three thousand dirhams, a slave, and a singing girl,
and the stabbing of 'Alī with the piercing blade.
There is no dowry, however costly, more costly than 'Alī,
and no killing above that performed by Ibn Muljam.

Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī said:

Indeed, say to Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥarb,
and may those who gloat not rejoice:
"Do you afflict us in the month of fasting
with the loss of the best of all men?[906]
You have killed the best of those who ride mounts
and put the saddle upon them, the best of those who sail the seas;
The best of those who wear sandals and make them,
the best of those who recite the *mathānī* and the *mubīn*.[907]
If you looked at the face of Abū al-Ḥusayn,
you saw the full moon that delighted those who looked.

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902. The words of 'Ā'ishah are obscure in meaning, possibly ironic.
903. That is, the nephew of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (see n. 422, above).
904. This is Ṭabarī's only citation of this poet of Ibn Muljam's tribe.
905. Literally, "the Lion," a name frequently given to 'Alī.
906. The implication may be that Mu'āwiyah was behind the murder of 'Alī.
907. The two Arabic nouns are both Quranic and associated with the idea of scripture: some interpreters apply them to the Qur'ān itself. On the former, see Rubin, "Seven *Mathānī*."

Quraysh knew, wherever they were,
that you ('Alī) were the best of them in status and in religion."

There are different opinions about 'Alī's age on the day he was
[3468] killed. Some said that he was fifty-nine but, according to Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallāh,[908] 'Alī's son al-Ḥasan used to say, "When my father was killed he was fifty-eight." According to some, he was sixty-five when he was killed, but according to Abū Zayd ('Umar b. Shabbah)—Abū al-Ḥasan (al-Madā'inī)—Ayyūb b. 'Umar b. Abī 'Amr—Ja'far b. Muḥammad:[909] 'Alī was sixty-three when he was killed. This last report is the best option.

According to 'Umar (b. Shabbah)—Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥimmānī—Sharīk—Abū Isḥāq:[910] When 'Alī was killed he was sixty-three. According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī): When 'Alī assumed authority he was fifty-eight and some months. His caliphate lasted for five years, all but three months, and then Ibn Muljam, whose name was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Amr, killed him in Ramaḍān, seventeen days of it having elapsed. His rule lasted for four years and nine months and he was killed in the year 40 at the age of sixty-three.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī): 'Alī was killed aged sixty-three early on the Friday morning, seventeen nights of Ramaḍān having passed in the year
[3469] 40. He was buried by the congregational mosque in the governor's residence (*Qaṣr al-Imārah*).

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: 'Alī was stabbed early on the Friday morning. He survived for the Friday and the Friday night, and died on the Saturday night when eleven nights were left of Ramaḍān in the year 40. He was sixty-three years old.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Alī b. 'Umar and Abū Bakr al-Sabrī—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl:[911] I heard Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah saying in "the year of the deluge" (*al-juḥāf*), "This year of 81 has begun and I am sixty-

908. That is, Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, the compiler of *Kitāb nasab Quraysh*.

909. That is, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, the sixth imam of the Imamis and Ismā'īlīs; for the form of Ayyūb's name, see *Add. et emend.*

910. That is, 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh Abū Isḥāq al-Hamdānī al-Sabī'ī (?).

911. That is, the grandson of 'Alī's brother 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib.

five years old.[912] I have passed the age of my father." He was asked how old his father had been at his death and he said, "He was sixty-three when he was killed."

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: Similarly. And that is our firm opinion.

The Length of His Caliphate

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit (al-Rāzī)—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar:[913] 'Alī's caliphate was five years, all but three months. According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar: 'Alī's caliphate was five years, all but three months. [3470]

According to Abū Zayd—Abū al-Ḥasan: 'Alī's rule was four years, nine months and a day—or several days.

His Physical Appearance

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Isḥāq b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Farwah: I asked Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī,[914] "What did 'Alī look like?" and he said, "A tawny man, markedly so, with heavy and large eyes, corpulent, bald, tending to shortness."

His Ancestry

He was 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Abū Ṭālib's personal name was 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf. 'Alī's mother was Fāṭimah the daughter of Asad b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf.

His Wives and Children

The first wife he married was Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God, and he took no other wife while she lived. Fāṭimah bore him al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (it is reported that she also bore

912. In fact, at Ṭabarī, II, 1039–40 [= vol. XXII, 187, of this translation], 80 A.H. is called the *'ām al-Juḥāf*; it was so called because of a flash flood at Mecca.

913. See n. 88, above.

914. That is, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the great-grandson of 'Alī.

him another son called Muḥassin,[915] who died while still a baby), Zaynab the elder, and Umm Kulthūm the elder.

[3471] Then subsequently he married Umm al-Banīn bint Ḥizām (Ḥizām was Abū al-Majl b. Khālid b. Rabī'ah b. al-Waḥīd b. Ka'b b. 'Āmir b. Kilāb). She bore him al-'Abbās, Ja'far, 'Abdallāh, and 'Uthmān, who were killed with al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā'—only al-'Abbās had progeny.

He also married Laylā, daughter of Mas'ūd b. Khālid b. Mālik b. Rib'ī b. Sulmā[916] b. Jandal b. Nahshal b. Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, who bore him 'Ubaydallāh and Abū Bakr. Hishām b. Muḥammad claimed that these last two were killed with al-Ḥusayn at al-Ṭaff.[917] However, Muḥammad b. 'Umar claimed that it was al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd who killed 'Ubaydallāh at al-Madhār,[918] and that neither 'Ubaydallāh nor Abū Bakr had any descendants.

'Alī also married Asmā', daughter of 'Umays, al-Khath'amiyyah. She bore him—according to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Yaḥyā and Muḥammad, the youngest (of the three with that name). Hishām said that neither of them had progeny. Al-Wāqidī, however, said (according to the report of al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—al-Wāqidī) that Asmā' bore 'Alī his two sons Yaḥyā and 'Awn. Some say that the youngest Muḥammad was born of a concubine (*umm walad*)—that was what al-Wāqidī said, and he said that the youngest Muḥammad was killed with al-Ḥusayn.

From the woman called al-Ṣahbā' (who was Umm Ḥabīb bint
[3472] Rabī'ah b. Bujayr b. al-'Abd b. 'Alqamah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Utbah b. Sa'd b. Zuhayr b. Jusham b. Bakr b. Ḥubayb b. 'Amr b. Ghanam b. Taghlib b. Wā'il; she was a concubine from among the captives taken by Khālid b. al-Walīd when he raided the Banū Taghlib at 'Ayn al-Tamr) 'Alī was father of 'Umar and Ruqayyah. 'Umar b. 'Alī was granted eighty-five years of life, having a half share of 'Alī's inheritance and dying at Yanbu'.[919]

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915. Cairo: Muḥsin.

916. Cairo: Salmā.

917. That is, at Karbalā' (see n. 831, above, for al-Ṭaff).

918. Slightly north of al-Baṣrah (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 42–43), this was the site, in 67/687, of a significant defeat inflicted on al-Mukhtār by the army of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, the governor of al-Baṣrah.

919. The port of Medina on the Red Sea.

'Alī also married Umāmah bint Abī al-'Āṣī b. al-Rabī' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf. Her mother was Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God, and she bore him the second of his sons who were called Muḥammad.

The eldest of his sons with that name is known as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah. His mother was Khawlah, the daughter of Ja'far b. Qays b. Maslamah b. 'Ubayd b. Tha'labah b. Yarbū' b. Tha'labah b. al-Duwal b. Ḥanīfah b. Lujaym b. Ṣa'b b. 'Alī b. Bakr b. Wā'il. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah died in al-Ṭā'if[920] and Ibn 'Abbās made the funeral prayer over him.

'Alī also married Umm Sa'īd bint 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd b. Mu'attib b. Mālik al-Thaqafī. She bore him Umm al-Ḥasan and Ramlah the elder.

'Alī had daughters also by various mothers whose names have not been given to us. Among these daughters were Umm Hāni', [3473] Maymūnah, Zaynab the younger, Ramlah the younger, Umm Kulthūm the younger, Fāṭimah, Umāmah, Khadījah, Umm al-Kirām, Umm Salamah, Umm Ja'far, Jumānah, and Nafīsah. Their mothers were various concubines.

He also married Maḥyāt, the daughter of Imru' al-Qays b. 'Adī b. Aws b. Jābir b. Ka'b b. 'Ulaym of Kalb. She bore him a girl who died while still little. Al-Wāqidī said that this little girl used to go out to the mosque while she was a child, and they would ask her, "Who are your mother's people?" and she would answer, "Woof woof!"[921] meaning Kalb.

The total number of 'Alī's progeny was fourteen males and nineteen females.[922]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—al-Wāqidī: Five of 'Alī's sons had descendants: al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah, al-'Abbās the son of the Kilābī woman, and 'Umar the son of the Taghlabī woman.

His Governors

In al-Baṣrah his governor in this year was 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās—and we have already mentioned the difference of opinion about that.

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920. In the Ḥijāz to the southeast of Mecca.
921. *Wah wah*, the name of her mother's tribe, Kalb, means "dog."
922. Text has "seventeen."

Under his control were the *ṣadaqāt*, the army, and the *ma'āwin*[923] for the whole of his period of office. When he departed he left a deputy in place, as I have confirmed previously. Over the judiciary
[3474] there 'Alī had appointed Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī. And I have reported what happened regarding the appointment of Ziyād and then 'Alī's sending him to Fārs in charge of its warfare and *kharāj*. 'Alī was killed while Ziyād was in Fārs and doing that.

'Alī's governor over al-Baḥrayn and its environs and al-Yaman and its *makhālīf* was 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās until there occurred what we have reported about the events concerning him and Busr b. Abī Arṭāt.

His governor over al-Ṭā'if and Makkah and their dependencies was Qutham b. al-'Abbās, and over al-Madīnah Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (but it is also said Sahl b. Ḥunayf) until what happened to him when Busr came, as we have previously reported.

Aspects of His Conduct

According to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā—Ibn Wahb—Ibn Abī Dhi'b—'Abbās b. al-Faḍl, the *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim—his father—his grandfather, Ibn Abī Rāfi', who was 'Alī's treasurer: One day 'Alī came in and found his daughter had been dressed up in finery and saw her wearing a pearl from the treasury. He recognized it and said: "Where did she get this? It is my duty to God to cut off her hand!" When I saw that he was serious about that, I said: "By God, Commander of the Faithful, I adorned my brother's daughter[924]
[3475] with it. Where would she have got it if I had not given it to her?" And he was silent.

According to Ismā'īl b. Mūsā al-Fazārī—'Abd al-Salām b. Ḥarb—Nājiyah al-Qurashī—his paternal uncle, Yazīd b. 'Adī b. 'Uthmān: I saw 'Alī leaving the Banū Hamdān[925] and he saw two parties

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923. *Al-ma'āwin* is the plural of *al-ma'ūnah*, on which see n. 653, above. The three areas of responsibility specified for Ibn 'Abbās perhaps cover taxation in general (or perhaps only taxation of property other than land), financial matters concerning the regular troops, and financial matters concerning the irregulars.

924. The expression is to be understood honorifically rather than literally. Ibn Abī Rāfi' ('Ubaydallāh) was the son of a *mawlā* (freed slave) of the Prophet. For the father, and reference to the son as a scribe of 'Alī, see Ṭabarī, I, 1778–79.

925. Presumably referring to their quarter in al-Kūfah.

fighting with one another. He separated them and then continued on his way. He heard a voice crying, "Oh, help me for God's sake!" He set off toward it hurriedly and I heard the tread of his sandal and he was saying, "Help is at hand." He saw a man grasping another and the man said, "Commander of the Faithful, I sold this robe to him for nine dirhams, but imposed a condition on him that he would not give me in exchange any suspect or clipped coins (that was the usual contract at that time). (He paid me with bad coins so) I brought him these dirhams to exchange for me but he has refused. I persisted with him and he hit me." 'Alī said, "Change them for him." And he said, "You must show proof of the hitting." The plaintiff showed him the proof and 'Alī made the assailant sit down, and said to the plaintiff, "Here you are! Take retaliation." But he said, "I pardon him, Commander of the Faithful." 'Alī said, "I merely wanted to protect your rights." Then he gave the assailant nine lashes and said, "This is the right of the governing authority" (*sulṭān*).

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umārah al-Asadī—'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣbahānī—al-Mas'ūdī—Nājiyah—his father: We were standing at the gate of the governor's residence (*qaṣr*) when 'Alī came out to us. When we saw him, we moved aside from in front of him out of respect for him. And when he had passed we formed up behind him. At that point, someone shouted out, "Oh help, for [3476] God's sake!" There were two men fighting together. 'Alī smote each one of them in the chest and then said, "Move aside!" One of them said, "Commander of the Faithful, this one bought a sheep from me and I stipulated that he should not give me any suspect or clipped coins, but he gave me a suspect dirham. I gave it back to him and he struck me." 'Alī said to the other, "What do you say?" "He has spoken the truth, Commander of the Faithful," he replied. 'Alī said to him, "Give him what he stipulated," and then, "Sit down!" To the one who was struck he said, "Take retaliation," but the latter replied, "May I pardon him, Commander of the Faithful?" 'Alī said, "Yes, you may."

When the plaintiff had gone away, 'Alī said, "Band of Muslims, seize this one!" They did so and he was carried on someone's back just like the pupils of the school are carried, and then he gave him fifteen lashes and said, "This is an exemplary punishment (*nakāl*) for your profanation of his inviolacy (*ḥurmah*)."

According to Ibn Sinān al-Qazzāz—Abū 'Āṣim—Sukayn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz—Ḥafṣ b. Khālid—his father, Khālid b. Jābir: When 'Alī was killed I heard al-Ḥasan, who had arisen to give a *khuṭbah*, say, "Tonight you have killed a man on a night in which the Qur'ān came down,[926] a night in which Jesus the son of Mary was taken up, and a night in which Joshua the son of Nun, the champion of Moses, was killed.[927] By God, none of those who were before him are ahead of him and none of those who will come after him will overtake him. By God, if the Prophet sent him on a raid, Gabriel was at his right hand and Michael at his left. By God, he did not leave (at his death) gold or silver except for 800 or 700 dirhams, which he set aside for a servant woman."[928]

926. Traditionally, the Prophet is said to have received his first revelation in the month of Ramaḍān (see Qur'ān 2:181).

927. See the article on Ramaḍān in *EI*[1] for various other events associated with the month; the death of Joshua is not mentioned there.

928. Cairo: "for his servant."

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XVIII

Between Civil Wars: The Caliphate of Muʿāwiyah

TRANSLATED BY MICHAEL G. MORONY

Between Civil Wars:
The Caliphate of Mu'āwiyah
Volume XVIII
Translated by Michael G. Morony

This volume presents for the first time in English Ṭabarī's complete account of the twenty-year long reign of the fifth caliph, Mu'āwiyah (661–680). The importance of this account lies partly in Ṭabarī's quotation of major portions of the work of earlier authors, such as Abū Mikhnaf and other eighth-century compilers. It is also significant because Ṭabarī's selection of themes has had a decisive influence on modern interpretations of this period, particularly on the identification of what the important issues were in the works of Henri Lammens and Julius Wellhausen. Here one can read the exciting account of the Khārijī revolt of Mustawrid ibn Ullifah, the impressive but controversial record of the governorship of Ziyād b. Abīhi, the entertaining escapades of the poet Farazdaq in his youth, and the tragic story of Ḥuhr ibn 'Adī. Ṭabarī's presentation of different points of view about these and other events makes his account an indispensible source for early Islamic history.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XVIII

Between Civil Wars:

THE CALIPHATE OF MU^{c}ĀWIYAH

A.D. 661–680/A.H. 40–60

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XVIII

Between Civil Wars: The Caliphate of Muᶜāwiyah

translated and annotated
by

Michael G. Morony
University of California, Los Angeles

State University of New York Press

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In 1971 the General Editor proposed to the UNESCO to include a translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* in its Collection of Representative Works. UNESCO agreed, but the Commission in charge of Arabic works favored other priorities. Deeming the project worthy, the Iranian Institute of Translation and Publication, which collaborated with UNESCO, agreed to undertake the task. After the upheavals of 1979, assistance was sought from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The invaluable encouragement and support of the Endowment is here gratefully acknowledged.

The General Editor wishes to thank sincerely also the participating scholars, who have made the realization of this project possible; the Board of Editors for their selfless assistance; Professor Franz Rosenthal for his many helpful suggestions in the formulation and application of the editorial policy; Professor Jacob Lassner for his painstaking and meticulous editing; and Dr. Susan Mango of the National Endowment for the Humanities for her genuine interest in the project and her advocacy of it.

Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain.

Thus, According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place-names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place-names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as qāḍī and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place-names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been translated.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator' s Foreword

The reign of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān as Caliph occupied the two decades between the first and second civil wars among Muslims in the seventh century. Ṭabarī's account of this period is comparatively thin. He covers it in half the space he devoted to the first civil war and in the same amount of space that he gave to the three-year reign of Mu'āwiyah's son and successor, Yazīd. In addition, Ṭabarī's selection of events overwhelmingly concentrates on Iraq and Khurāsān during these years, and his information is drawn mainly from Iraqi sources.

Over sixty percent of this section comes from the earlier works of Abū Mikhnaf and 'Umar b. Shabbah. The works of Abū Mikhnaf are quoted mainly via Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī and are used especially for the events at al-Kūfah, the Khārijites, and the affair of Ḥujr b. 'Adī. 'Umar b. Shabbah's *Book of Information About the People of al-Baṣrah* (*Kitāb akhbār ahl al-Baṣrah*) is quoted directly by Ṭabarī not only for events at al-Baṣrah, but also for events in Syria and the Ḥijāz.

Except for Ziyād's inaugural speech at al-Baṣrah in 665 and parallel passages in C. E. J. Whitting's translation of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's *Kitāb al-Fakhrī* (London, 1974), the material in this volume has not been available in English before. However, the section on Mu'āwiyah in Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* was translated into Italian by Giorgio Levi della Vida and Olga Pinto as *Il Califfo Mu'âwiya I, secondo il "Kitāb Ansāb al-Ašrâf"* (Rome, 1938). Special thanks go to Abdullah al-Askar who helped to check this translation.

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The Events of the Year

[1] 40 (cont'd)

(MAY 17, 660-MAY 6, 661)

The Rendering of Allegiance to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī

In the year 40 (May 17, 660–May 6, 661), allegiance was rendered to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī for the Caliphate. The first to render allegiance to him is said to have been Qays b. Saʿd who said to him, "Hold out your hand, and I will pledge allegiance to you on condition [that you follow] the Book of God, Almighty and Great, and the example (*sunnah*) of His Prophet, and fight the violators."[1] Al-Ḥasan answered him, ". . . on condition [that I follow] the Book of God and the example of His Prophet, for that includes every stipulation." So Qays rendered allegiance to him and was silent, and the people (also) pledged their allegiance to him.

(According to) ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Mattawayhi[2] al-Marrūdhī[3]—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Yūnus al-Zuhrī:[4]

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1. *Al-muhillūn* were originally a group of pre-Islamic tribes west of al-Madīnah whose members attacked caravans during the sacred truce months. See *Jāḥiẓ, Ḥayawān*, VII, 216–17; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 314–15; and Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, VI, 12. This became a term for those who permitted shedding blood, especially the blood of members of Muḥammad's family.

2. Cairo reads: "Shabbawayhi." ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh al-Marwazī was a well-known authority on ḥadīth. There is no manuscript authority for the reading, Mattawayhi, at least in this passage.

3. Al-Marrūdh was the popular pronunciation of Marw al-Rūdh, "Marw of the River," a city in eastern Khurāsān on the Murghāb River approximately 160 miles upstream from Marw. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 404–5.

4. Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī (ca.

ʿAlī put Qays b. Saʿd in charge of his Iraqi advance forces (marching) toward Adharbayjān,[5] and in charge of Adharbayjān's territory.[6] He also put him in charge of the Shurṭat al-Khamīs[7] which the Arabs instituted. This was a force of forty thousand men who pledged allegiance to ʿAlī until death. Qays continued to postpone that expedition until ʿAlī was killed and the people of Iraq chose al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī as Caliph. Al-Ḥasan did not favor[8] fighting, but intended to take for himself what he could from Muʿāwiyah and then join the community. He knew that Qays b. Saʿd did not agree with his point of view, so he dis- [2]
missed him and appointed ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās[9] as commander. When ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās learned what al-Ḥasan intended to take for himself, he wrote to Muʿāwiyah asking him for a guarantee of safe-conduct with the added condition that he be allowed to keep the wealth which he had acquired. So Muʿāwiyah stipulated that for him.

(According to) Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Masrūqī[10]—ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (or Ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) al-Majāzī al-Khuzāʿī[11] Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Ismāʿīl b..Rāshid: The people pledged their allegiance to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī as Caliph. Al-Ḥasan then left with them and stayed at al-Madāʾin.[12] He sent Qays b. Saʿd (forward) in charge of his vanguard with twelve

---

50–124 [670–742]) lived at al-Madīnah until about 700, then settled in Damascus about 720. See A. A. Duri, "Al-Zuhri," 1–12. Al-Zuhrī's account tends to be unfavorable towards al-Ḥasan. For a more favorable account see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVA, 138.

5. Adharbayjān is the province in northwestern Iran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 159–71.

6. C reads: "Of Iṣbahān," a city in western Iran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 202–7.

7. C reads: "shurṭah of the army." This "Thursday shurṭah" was an elite force or bodyguard. *Shurṭah* (pl. *shuraṭ*) was also the term for the police force in Muslim Arab garrison cities. See *EI*[1], s.v. Shurṭa.

8. C reads: "intend."

9. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 68[697/8]) was a cousin of Muḥammad and had been governor of al-Baṣrah from 36(656/7) until 38 (658/9) when he had broken with ʿAlī. See *EI*[2], s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās.

10. O reads: al-Khuzāʿī.

11. C reads: "al-Ḥarrānī," from Ḥarrān, a town in upper Mesopotamia. See *EI*[2], s.v. Ḥarrān, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 103.

12. Al-Madāʾin, "the cities", was the former Sasanian metropolis and winter capital on both sides of the Tigris River below Baghdād. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Madāʾin.

thousand men. Mu'āwiyah also advanced with the Syrians and camped at Maskin.[13] While al-Ḥasan was at al-Madā'in someone in the army announced, "Qays b. Sa'd has surely been killed, so flee!" So they fled, having plundered the pavilion of al-Ḥasan, even fighting him for a carpet that was under him. Al-Ḥasan left and stayed at the White Palace[14] in al-Madā'in. At that time the paternal uncle of al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd,[15] Sa'd b. Mas'ūd, was the governor of al-Madā'in. Al-Mukhtār, who was a young boy, asked him, "Would you have wealth and honor?" When Sa'd asked him what he meant, al-Mukhtār said, "Put al-Ḥasan in fetters and use him to ask Mu'āwiyah for a guarantee of safe-conduct."[16] Sa'd responded, "God's curse upon you! Shall I fall upon the son of the daughter of God's Messenger and put him in fetters! What an evil man you are."[17]

[3] When al-Ḥasan saw that rule was beyond his grasp, he sent to Mu'āwiyah seeking peace, and Mu'āwiyah sent 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir[18] and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams[19] to him. When they came to al-Ḥasan at al-Madā'in, they granted him what he wished and arranged peace with him on condition that, among other things, he be allowed to take five million (dirhams) from the treasury of al-Kufāh.[20] Al-Ḥasan

13. Maskin was the district along the Dujayl Canal west of the Tigris River above Baghdād. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 51.

14. The White Palace was the former Sasanian royal residence in that part of al-Madā'in called al-Madīnah al-'Atīqah, "the Old City," (i.e., Ctesiphon) by the Arabs. It remained in use until its demolition was begun by the Caliph al-Manṣūr (136–58/754–75)), and then it remained in ruins until it was completely demolished by Caliph al-Muktafī (289–92)902–8)) in about 290(903). Al-Muktafī had the materials used to build the Tāj Palace in Baghdād. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Madā'in.

15. Al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd (d. 67(687)) was to lead a Shī'ī rising in al-Kūfah, 66–67(685–87). See Kharbūtlī, *Al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī*, and 'A. A. 'Abd Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 25–76.

16. O reads: "bring him to Mu'āwiyah."

17. C reads: "what an evil man that would make me."

18. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amir (5–59)626–80)) was a native of Mecca who had conquered Fārs and Khurāsān as governor of al-Baṣrah, 29–35(649–55) See *EI*[2], s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir.

19. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah (d. 50(670)) was a native of Mecca, conquered Sijistān under 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir, 31–35(651–55) and joined Mu'āwiyah in Syria after the Battle of the Camel in 36(657) See C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 17–22; and *EI*[2], s.v. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura.

20. Al-Kūfah was the Muslim Arab garrison city (*miṣr*) and provincial capital on the Euphrates River near modern Najaf. See *EI*[2], s.v. al-Kūfah.

then rose among the people of Iraq saying, "O people of Iraq, three things make me glad to be rid of you: your killing of my father, your stabbing of me, and your plundering of my possessions." The people submitted to Muʿāwiyah, and, when Muʿāwiyah entered al-Kūfah, the people rendered allegiance to him.

(According to) Ziyād b. ʿAbdallāh—ʿAwānah[21] gave an account similar to that of al-Masrūqī—ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He added to it: Al-Ḥasan wrote to Muʿāwiyah concerning peace and asked for a guarantee of safe-conduct. When he told al-Ḥusayn[22] and ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar[23]about it, al-Ḥusayn said to him, "I implore you, by God, not to believe the story of Muʿāwiyah but to believe the story of ʿAlī." Al-Ḥasan retorted, "Shut up! I know more about the matter than you do." Now when the letter of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī reached Muʿāwiyah, the latter sent ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah, who came to al-Madāʾin, and granted al-Ḥasan what he wanted. Al-Ḥasan then wrote to Qays b. Saʿd, who was in charge of his vanguard with twelve thousand men, ordering him to submit to Muʿāwiyah. At that, Qays b. Saʿd rose among the people saying, "O people, choose [between] submitting to a [4]
leader of error or fighting without a leader." They replied, "No, we choose instead to submit to a leader of error." So they rendered allegiance to Muʿāwiyah and Qays b. Saʿd left them. Al-Ḥasan had already made peace with Muʿāwiyah on condition that he concede to him what was in his treasury plus the revenue (*kharāj*)[24] of Dārābjird[25] and that ʿAlī not be reviled in his hearing. So he took what was in his treasury at al-Kūfah which amounted to five million dirhams.

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21. ʿAwānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī (d. 147[764] or 153[770]) was a blind Kūfan narrator who composed two historical works on the life of Muʿāwiyah and the Banū Umayyah. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī.

22. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (4–61[626–80]) was al-Ḥasan's younger brother. See *EI*², s.v. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.

23. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 80[699] or 85[704]) was a nephew of ʿAlī. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar.

24. *Kharāj* was a form of tax or tribute. See D. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax*, 12–13; and F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, index.

25. Dārābjird is a city and district in eastern Fārs. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 288–9.

In this year al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah[26] led the people in the pilgrimage. (According to) Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khuzā'ī[27] Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Ismā'īl b. Rāshid: When it was time for the pilgrimage—that is, in the year in which 'Alī was killed—al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah wrote a letter which he forged according to Mu'āwiyah's style,[28] and led the people in the pilgrimage in this year. It is said that he stood at 'Arafat on the Day of Moistening and slaughtered on the Day of 'Arafat,[29] fearing lest his position be noticed. It was also said that al-Mughīrah did so because he learned that 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān would replace him the following morning as the official in charge of the (pilgrimage) season, and he therefore rushed the pilgrimage.

In this year Mu'āwiyah was rendered allegiance as Caliph in Jerusalem (Īliyā).[30] (According to) Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Ismā'īl b. Rāshid: He was previously called Commander[31] in Syria. I was told according to Abū Mushīr—Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz: 'Alī was called Commander of the Faithful (*Amīr al-Mu'minīn*) in Iraq, while Mu'ā- [5]
wiyah was called Commander in Syria. But when 'Alī was killed,[32] Mu'āwiyah was called Commander of the Faithful.

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26. Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah was a native of Ṭā'if, a member of the Banū Thaqīf, and had been governor of al-Baṣrah, 15–17(636–38).

27. C reads: al-Ḥarrānī.

28. According to Ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 234, al-Mughīrah forged a document in the style of al-Ḥasan.

29. The Day of Moistening (*yawm al-tarwiyah*) is the eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah when the pilgrims provide their animals and themselves with water for standing at 'Arafat on the following day. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj.

30. Īliyā in Arabic comes from Aelia Capitolina, the Roman name for Jerusalem. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳuds.

31. "Commander" (amīr) was used of generals and military governors. See *EI*², s.v. Amīr.

32. O reads: "when 'Alī died."

The Events of the Year 41

(May 7, 661–April 25, 662)

Among the events of this year was al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī's surrender of power to Muʿāwiyah, the latter's entry into al-Kūfah, and the rendering of allegiance to Muʿāwiyah as Caliph by the people of al-Kūfah.

I was told by ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marrūdhī—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Yūnus—al-Zuhrī: When the people of Iraq acknowledged al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī as Caliph, he began to impose conditions on them, (saying), "You must be totally obedient, make peace with whom I make peace, and fight whom I fight." The people of Iraq had misgivings about their situation when he imposed these conditions upon them, and they said, "This is no master for us since he does not want to fight." So shortly after they acknowledged him, al-Ḥasan was stabbed (and wounded, but) not fatally. His dislike for them increased, and he grew more afraid of them. He corresponded with Muʿāwiyah and sent conditions to him saying, "Grant me this and I shall be totally obedient, provided that you fulfill [these conditions] for me." Al-Ḥasan's scroll came into Muʿāwiyah's hand. Muʿāwiyah, however, had previously sent al-Ḥasan a blank

scroll sealed at the bottom and had written to him, "Put whatever condition you wish [to make] on this scroll which I have
[6] sealed at the bottom[33] and it will be yours." When (the scroll) reached al-Ḥasan, he doubled the conditions which he had asked of Muʿāwiyah previously and kept it with him. Muʿāwiyah meanwhile kept the scroll of al-Ḥasan which contained the requests the latter had sent him.

When Muʿāwiyah and al-Ḥasan met, al-Ḥasan asked him to grant him the conditions made by him in the document which Muʿāwiyah had sealed at the bottom. But Muʿāwiyah refused and said, I grant you the requests you made originally in your letter to me, for I had done so already when I received your letter." Al-Ḥasan replied, "[But] I had conditions when I received your letter, and you agreed to fulfill them." Since they argued over them, none of al-Ḥasan's conditions were met.[34]

When they assembled at al-Kūfah, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ[35] had been talking with Muʿāwiyah, and urged him to bid al-Ḥasan rise and address the people. But Muʿāwiyah disliked that and asked, "Don't you want me to address the people?"[36] ʿAmr replied, "I intend to show the people his incompetence," and he kept it up until Muʿāwiyah gave in to him and went out and addressed the people. Then he ordered someone to call upon al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, "Rise, O Ḥasan, and speak to the people." So (al-Ḥasan) began a spontaneous impromptu speech with the *shahādah*[37] and then continued, "O people, God has guided you with the first of us, and spared your blood with the last of us. This regime has a certain duration, and the world is subject to change. God, Almighty and Great, said to His Prophet, "If I knew, per-

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33. For examples of first (seventh) century Arabic protocols and documents sealed at the bottom, see A. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri*.

34. According to Balādhurī. *Futūḥ*, 299, Muʿāwiyah assigned ʿAyn al-Ṣayd to al-Ḥasan in return for the Caliphate.

35. ʿAmr b. al-ʿAṣ (d. ca. 42[663]), the Muslim conqueror of Egypt (19–21 [640–42]), had joined Muʿāwiyah after the Battle of the Camel during the first civil war. He was Muʿāwiyah's representative at the arbitration at Adhruḥ, 38(658), and his governor of Egypt. See *EI*², s. v. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ.

36. C reads: "Why do you want me to have him speak to the people?"

37. The *shahādah* is the Muslim declaration that there is only one God and Muḥammad is His Messenger. For an example of the form of the *shahādah* that may have been used during the reign of Muʿāwiyah, see below, p. 171 (Ṭabarī, II, 163). See also *EI*¹, s.v. Shahāda.

haps it is a temptation for you and a delight for a while.'"[38] When he said that, Mu'āwiyah told him to sit down, and remained furious with 'Amr saying, "This was your idea!" Al-Ḥasan stayed at al-Madīnah.

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad:[39] Al-Ḥasan surrendered al-Kūfah to Mu'āwiyah, and Mu'āwiyah entered it five (days) before the end of Rabī' I (before July 30, 661)—or, alternatively, before the end of Jumādā I 41 (before September 27, 661). [7]

Al-Ḥasan's Surrender of al-Kūfah to Mu'āwiyah

I was told by 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān b. al-Faḍl—'Abdallāh—Yūnus[40]—al-Zuhrī: When 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās learned that al-Ḥasan intended to ask Mu'āwiyah for a guarantee of safe-conduct for himself, he (also) wrote to Mu'āwiyah asking him for security on condition that he be allowed to keep the wealth that he had acquired. So Mu'āwiyah stipulated that for him. And when Mu'āwiyah sent Ibn 'Āmir to him with a large force of cavalry, 'Abdallāh went out to them at night and joined them, leaving the army of which he was in charge, including Qays b. Sa'd, without a commander. (When) al-Ḥasan made terms for himself (and) acknowledged Mu'āwiyah, the shurṭat al-khamīs made Qays b. Sa'd their commander. He and they pledged to fight Mu'āwiyah until terms should be made to allow the supporters and followers of 'Alī to keep their wealth and their lives and what(ever) they had acquired during the civil war.

When Mu'āwiyah was finished with 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās and al-Ḥasan, he was free to employ stratagems against (the) man whom he considered to be the most important person in this

38. Qur'ān 21: 111. That is, God had guided them by means of 'Alī, and al-Ḥasan's abdication had prevented further bloodshed. Mu'āwiyah's power would not last forever, and at some future date others might have the opportunity to take power.

39. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sayf, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī (135–231 [752–845]) belonged to the 'Abd Shams clan of Quraysh. He was born at al-Baṣrah, lived at al-Madā'in, and died in Baghdād. He is credited with over two hundred works on history and literature. See *EI*², s. v. al-Madā'inī.

40. O reads: Yūnus b. Mūsā.

respect[41] and who had forty thousand (men) with him. Muʿā-
[8] wiyah, ʿAmr, and the Syrians had camped with them. Muʿāwiyah (now) sent (a message) to Qays b. Saʿd to remind him of God, saying, "For whom are you fighting, since he to whom you gave your obedience has acknowledged me?" But Qays refused to yield to him until Muʿāwiyah sent him a document which he had sealed at the bottom and told (him), "Write what you want on this document and it will be yours." When ʿAmr told Muʿāwiyah not to give him that but to fight him, Muʿāwiyah replied, "Calm down! We would not be able to kill them until they had killed an equal number of Syrians, and what good would life be after that? By God, I will never fight him until I have no other alternative." When Muʿāwiyah sent that document to him, Qays asked in it that he and the supporters of ʿAlī be exempt from punishment for the lives and wealth they took. He did not ask Muʿāwiyah for wealth in that document of his.[42] When Muʿāwiyah granted his request, Qays and those who were with him submitted to him.

When the civil war broke out, five persons were regarded as the most cunning. The Arabs who had (useful) opinions and stratagems were said to be Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah, and Qays b. Saʿd, as well as ʿAbdallāh b. Budayl al-Khuzāʿī among the Muhājirūn. Qays and Ibn Budayl sided with ʿAlī, while al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah and ʿAmr sided with Muʿāwiyah, although al-Mughīrah remained neutral[43] at Ṭāʾif[44] until both arbiters were chosen and met at Adhruḥ.[45]

According to another report, peace was concluded between al-Ḥasan and Muʿāwiyah in Rabīʿ II 41 (August 4–September 1,

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41. I.e., with respect to strategems.

42. C reads: "Muʿāwiyah granted him whatever wealth he requested in that document of his."

43. *Muʿtazilan*, used of Muslim neutralists beginning in the first civil war.

44. Al-Ṭāʾif is a town in western Arabia, southeast of Mecca. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Ṭāʾif.

45. Adhruḥ is an oasis in southern Jordan where the arbitration between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah took place in Shaʿbān 38 (January 2–30, 659). The arbiters condemned the murderers of ʿUthmān and recognized Muʿāwiyah's right to vengeance, but they were unable to agree on a Caliph. See E. L. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya*, 186–95.

661) and Mu'āwiyah entered al-Kūfah at the beginning of Jumādā I (September 2, 661). Yet another account claims that he entered it in the month of Rabī' II. This is what al-Wāqidī[46] says.[47] [9]

In this year 'Alī's sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, left al-Kūfah for al-Madīnah.

The Departure of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn for al-Madīnah

When peace was made between al-Ḥasan and Mu'āwiyah at Maskin, (al-Ḥasan) rose—as I have been told on the authority of Ziyād al-Bakkā'ī—'Awānah—to speak to the people, saying, "O people of Iraq, I am glad to be rid of you for three reasons: your killing of my father, your stabbing of me, and your plundering of my possessions." Then al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far left with their servants[48] and baggage and went to al-Kūfah. When al-Ḥasan arrived there, having recovered from his wounds, he went out to the mosque (*masjid*) of al-Kūfah and said, "O people of al-Kūfah, be God-fearing toward your neighbors and guests and toward the members of the family of your Prophet, from whom[49] God removed sinfulness and whom He purified completely." And the people began to weep. Then they departed for al-Madīnah. 'Awānah continued: The people of al-Baṣrah[50] refused him the revenue (*kharāj*) of Dārābjird, saying, "It is our booty [*fay'*]."[51] And when al-Ḥasan left

46. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī (130–207[747/8–822/3]) was a native of al-Madīnah who moved to Baghdād and authored works on historical and religious subjects. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Wāḳidī.

47. According to Ilyās of Naṣībīn, al-Ḥasan made peace with Mu'āwiyah on Sunday, twenty-one Rabī' (July 25, 661). See F. Baethgen, *Fragmente*, 25; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 234, reports that peace was concluded either in Rabī' II (August) or in Jumādā I (September).

48. C reads: "army."

49. *'anhum*, that is, the family.

50. Al-Baṣrah was the Muslim Arab garrison city (*miṣr*) and provincial capital near the Tigris-Euphrates estuary in lower Iraq, just to the south of the modern city. See *EI*[2], s.v. al-Baṣra.

51. *Fay'*, "permanent booty," was the income from tribute or taxes from which the stipends of Muslim soldiers were paid.

for al-Madīnah, people confronted him at al-Qādisiyyah[52] and accused him of having demeaned the Arabs.

During this year the Khārijites[53] who stood aside at Shahrazūr[54] in the days of ʿAlī rebelled against Muʿāwiyah.

The Khārijites at Shahrazūr

[10] I was told on the authority of Ziyād—ʿAwānah: Before al-Ḥasan left al-Kūfah, Muʿāwiyah came and halted at al-Nukhaylah.[55] At that, the five hundred Ḥarūriyyah[56] who had been standing aside at Shahrazūr with Farwah b. Nawfal al-Ashjaʿī said, "Since someone about whom there is no doubt has come, [let us] march against Muʿāwiyah and wage *jihād*[57] against him." They approached, with Farwah b. Nawfal in charge of them, and entered al-Kūfah. When Muʿāwiyah dispatched some of the Syrian cavalry against them, they routed the Syrians. So Muʿāwiyah said to the Kūfans, "By God, you will have no guarantee of safe-conduct where I am concerned until you deal with your own misfortunes." When the Kūfans went forth against the Khārijites and fought them,[58] the latter said to them, "Woe unto you! What do you want from us? Is not Muʿāwiyah both our enemy and yours? Leave us alone so that we may fight him. If we should defeat him, we will have protected

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52. Al-Qādisiyyah was a town south of modern Najaf, nineteen miles from al-Kūfah, where the Muslims had defeated the Persians in 16(637) and marked the border of Iraq. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳādisiyya.

53. The Khārijites (Khawārij, sg. Khāriji) were "seceders" who had rebelled against ʿAlī after he agreed to arbitration at Ṣiffīn. See *EI*², s.v. al-Khawāridj.

54. Shahrazūr was a town north of Ḥulwān on the border between Iraq and Iran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 190.

55. Al-Nukhaylah was the mustering and demobilization point for Kūfan soldiers just outside the city. See Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 176; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 665; and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 771. S. El-ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfa," 238, has identified its location near the modern Jisr al-ʿAbbāsiyyāt.

56. The Ḥarūriyyah were those opponents of ʿAlī's agreement to arbitration who had seceded to the village of Ḥarūrāʾ near al-Kūfah in 37(658) This continued to be a common designation for the Khārijites. See *EI*² s.v. Ḥarūrāʾ.

57. *Jihād* is making an effort on God's behalf, including warfare against unbelievers. Its use implies that they considered their enemies to be unbelievers. See *EI*² s. v. Djihād.

58. For a Khārijite account of al-Ḥasan's part in pursuading the Kūfans to fight them, see Sirhān b. ʿUmar b. Saʿīd, *Kashf al-ghummah*, f. 211a.

you from your enemy; and if he should defeat us, you will have been protected from us." They replied, "No, by God [not] until we fight you." Then they said, "May God have mercy on our brothers among the people [who fought at] al-Nahr.[59] They knew you better, O people of al-Kūfah." (The clan of) Ashja' took their commander, Farwah b. Nawfal—who was the chief of the folk—and they put 'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Ḥurr—a man of the Ṭayyi'—at their head. (The Kūfans) fought them, and (the Khārijites) were killed.

When Mu'āwiyah put 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in charge of al-Kūfah, al-Mughīrah b. Shū'bah came to Mu'āwiyah, saying, "You put 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr in charge of al-Kūfah while 'Amr is in charge of Egypt. You are between the jawbones of the lion." So (Mu'āwiyah) dismissed ('Abdallāh) from al-Kūfah, and put al-Mughīrah in charge there. When 'Amr learned what al-Mughīrah had said to Mu'āwiyah, he went to Mu'āwiyah and asked, "Did you put him in charage of the revenues?" (When) he replied that he had, ('Amr) said, "If you put al-Mughīrah in charge of the revenues, he will seize the wealth and vanish, and you won't get anything from him. Put someone who fears and respects you in charge of the revenues." So (Mu'āwiyah) dis- [11]
missed al-Mughīrah from (control of) the revenues and put him in charge of worship. When al-Mughīrah confronted 'Amr, he asked, "Did you give the Commander of the Faithful the same advice that I gave him concerning 'Abdallāh?" 'Amr replied that he had. Then al-Mughīrah told him, "This for that." But from what I've heard, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ never left for al-Kūfah nor arrived there.

When Ḥumrān b. Abān[60] took possession of al-Baṣrah in this

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59. Al-Nahr, "the canal," refers to Nahrawān, a town and canal with the same name east of al-Madā'in where the Khārijites were defeated by 'Alī on the ninth of Ṣafar 38 (July 17, 658). Their exit from al-Kūfah prior to this battle is the probable origin of the Khārijite name. See *EI*², s.v. al-Khawāridj; Le Strange, *Lands*, 57–61.

60. Ḥumrān b. Abān, as a Jewish child called Ṭuwayd, had been taken captive by the Muslims at 'Ayn Tamr during the conquest of Iraq. He became a mawlā of 'Uthmān, but was deprived of his protection when he gave a false report about the governor of al-Kūfah. He had then settled at al-Baṣrah where he was given 'Abbādān as a land grant. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 247, 368; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 435–6; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII(1), 108; and Ṭabarī, I, 2122.

year, Muʿāwiyah sent Busr[61] to him, having ordered (Busr) to kill the sons of Ziyād.[62]

Muʿāwiyah's Order to Kill the Sons of Ziyād

I was told by ʿUmar b. Shabbah—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: When al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī made peace with Muʿāwiyah at the beginning of this year, Ḥumrān b. Abān seized al-Baṣrah and took control there. Muʿāwiyah wanted to send a member of the Banū al-Qayn[63] there, but ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās persuaded him not to do so and to send someone else. So he sent Busr b. Abī Arṭāt who claimed that (Muʿāwiyah) had ordered him to kill the sons of Ziyād.

I was told by Maslamah b. Muḥārib:[64] He seized one of Ziyād's sons and imprisoned him. At that time Ziyād was in Fārs[65] where ʿAlī had sent him against the Kurds who had rebelled there. Ziyād defeated them and stayed at Iṣṭakhr.[66] He continued: Abū Bakrah[67] asked Busr for a postponement while he rode to Muʿāwiyah, who was at al-Kūfah. So (Busr) gave him a week's delay, going and coming. He travelled seven days and wore out two mounts beneath him, and when he spoke to Muʿāwiyah the latter wrote (to Busr) to leave (Ziyād's sons) alone.

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61. Busr b. Abī Arṭāt was an Arab general belonging to the Banū ʿĀmir clan of Quraysh. He lived until the time of ʿAbd al-Malik or his son al-Walīd. See *EI*², s.v. Busr b. Abī Arṭāt.

62. Ziyād b. Abīhi was an Arabized mawlā of the Thaqīf from al-Ṭāʾif. During the conquest he had migrated to al-Baṣrah where he became a protégé of al-Mughīrah b. Shūʿbah and served in the finance administration for twenty years before he became governor of Fārs for ʿAlī during the first civil war. See H. Lammens, "Ziād ibn Abihi;" K. A. Fariq, "Ziyād ibn Abih."

63. The Banū al-Qayn were a branch of the Qudāʿah living in Syria. See *EI*¹, s.v. al-Ḳain.

64. C reads: Makhlad.

65. Fārs is a province in southwestern Iran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 248–98.

66. Iṣṭakhr was a district and city, near Persepolis, in northern Fārs. The city was a Magian religious center and the capital of Fārs under the Sasanians and in the early Islamic period until the foundation of Shīrāz in 64(684). See *EI*², s.v. Iṣṭakhr.

67. Abū Bakrah, Nufayʿ b. Masrūḥ (d. 51 or 52(671–72)) was a former slave of Thaqīf from Ṭāʾif, and Ziyād's half-brother on his mother's side. See *EI*², s.v. Abū Bakra.

He continued: One of our learned people told me that Abū Bakrah approached al-Baṣrah on the seventh day, when the sun had risen. Meanwhile Busr brought out the sons of Ziyād, awaiting sunset in order to kill them if necessary. The people assembled for that, while their leaders were eagerly anticipating Abū Bakrah. Suddenly he came into view on a camel or steed [12] with he urged on, exhausted and strained. He rose upon it, dismounted, waved his cloak, and exclaimed, "God is great!." And the people said likewise. He then approached quickly on foot[68] in order to reach Busr before he killed them. When he handed (Busr) Muʿāwiyah's letter, he released them.

I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: When Busr spoke on the pulpit (*minbar*)[69] of al-Baṣrah, he reviled ʿAlī. Then he said, "I implore God, that anyone who knows that I am truthful should say so, or likewise if I am a liar." When Abū Bakrah said, "By God! We know you only as a liar," (Busr) ordered him to be strangled. But Abū Lu'lu' al-Dabbī jumped up, threw himself at (the man who was carrying out the order) and restrained him. Afterwards Abū Bakrah assigned (Abū Lu'lu') one hundred *jarībs*.[70] Abū Bakrah was asked, "What did you wish to do?" He replied, "When he adjures us by God, should we not tell him the truth?" Busr remained in al-Baṣrah for six months; then he left. We don't know whether he put anyone in charge of his police force (*shurṭah*).[71]

I was told by Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Sulaymān b. Bilāl—al-Jārūd b. Abī Sabrah: When al-Ḥasan made peace with Muʿāwiyah and left for al-Madīnah, Muʿāwiyah sent Busr b. Abī Arṭat to al-Baṣrah in Rajab 41 (October 31–November 29, 661), while Ziyād was fortified in Fārs. Muʿāwiyah wrote to Ziyād, "Since you have some of God's wealth, having been put in charge of administration, bring the money you have." Ziyād wrote (back) to him, "I don't have any money left, having spent what I had properly, deposited some of it

68. C reads: "he rode his female camel."

69. A *minbar* is the pulpit in the *masjid*.

70. A *jarīb* is sixty sq. *dhirāʿah*, between 1,592 and 5,837 1/3 sq. meters depending on the length of the *dhirāʿah*. See W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 65–6.

71. See above, n. 7.

with folk in case of misfortune, and delivered the rest to the Commander of the Faithful." Muʿāwiyah wrote to him, "Come to me and we will examine that with which you were entrusted and that which happened under your administration. If the matter is straightened out between us, so be it; if not, you
[13] may return to your place of safety." When Ziyād (still) did not come to Muʿāwiyah, Busr seized Ziyād's oldest sons—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿUbaydallāh, and ʿAbbād—imprisoned them, and wrote to Ziyād, "You had better go to the Commander of the Faithful or I will surely kill your sons." Ziyād wrote (back) to him, "I'm not leaving this place where I am until God decides between me and your master. If you kill any son of mine in your possession, then the outcome is up to God, Praise Him, and we will face the reckoning 'and those who do evil will know such a destiny that they will be utterly overthrown.'"[72]

When Busr intended to kill them, Abū Bakrah came to him saying, "You seized my sons and nephews as innocent youths although al-Ḥasan had made peace with Muʿāwiyah on condition of a guarantee of safe-conduct for ʿAlī's companions, wherever they might be. So you don't have any way to get at them or their father." Busr said, "Your brother has wealth which he took, and he refused to deliver it." Abū Bakrah replied, "He doesn't have anything, so leave my nephews alone until I bring you a letter from Muʿāwiyah [telling you] to release them." Busr granted him a few days' delay, saying, "I shall kill them unless you bring me Muʿāwiyah's letter to release them, or Ziyād goes to the Commander of the Faithful." When Abū Bakrah came to Muʿāwiyah, he interceded with him for Ziyād and his sons. Muʿāwiyah wrote to Busr to leave them alone and let them go, so he did.

I was told by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī[73]—ʿAlī—a shaykh of Thaqīf—Busr b. ʿUbaydallāh: When Abū Bakrah went to Muʿāwiyah at al-Kūfah, Muʿāwiyah asked him, "O Abū Bakrah, have you come to visit or because you need something?" He replied; "To tell you the truth, I only came out of necessity." Muʿāwiyah said, "Intercede, O Abū Bakrah, and we will consider favoring

72. Qur'ān 26: 228.
73. Cario reads: Aḥmad b. Zuhayr.

you with regard to [your request] since you deserve that. What is it?" He answered, "Give my brother, Ziyād, a guarantee of safe-conduct and write to Busr to release his children and to stop bothering them" Muʿāwiyah replied, "As far as the sons of [14] Ziyād are concerned, we shall write for you what you have asked on their behalf. As far as Ziyād is concerned, he has wealth belonging to the Muslims. When he pays it, we will have no way to get at him." Abū Bakrah said, "O Commander of the Faithful, if he had anything, he would not withhold it from you, God willing." So Muʿāwiyah wrote on Abū Bakrah's behalf to Busr telling him not to interfere with any of Ziyād's children.

Muʿāwiyah then said to Abū Bakrah "Will you make a pact with us, O Abū Bakrah?" The latter replied, "Yes, I entrust you, O Commander of the Faithful, to watch over yourself and your flock and to act virtuously. For you have taken a great thing upon yourself—the Caliphate of God over His creation. So fear God, for you have a goal which you will not avoid, while behind you there is a slow but persistant Pursuer.[74] You are about to reach the destination. The Pursuer will overtake you, and you will come to One who will ask you about what you were doing, while He knows more about it than you. Instead it will be an accounting and an apprehension. You will certainly not prefer anything over the satisfaction of God, Almighty and Great."

I was told by Aḥmad—ʿAlī—Salamah b. ʿUthmān: Busr wrote to Ziyād, "If you don't present yourself, I shall surely crucify your sons." Ziyād wrote back to him, "If you do, that would be worthy of you, because the son of the eater of livers[75] sent you." Abū Bakrah then rode to Muʿāwiyah and said, "O Muʿāwiyah, the people did not give you their allegiance for the killing of children." He asked, "How's that, O Abū Bakrah?" The latter replied, "Busr intends to kill the children of Ziyād." Muʿāwiyah then wrote to Busr, "Release any children of Ziyād you have."

Muʿāwiyah had written to Ziyād after ʿAlī's assassination,

74. Qur'ān 7: 72.

75. That is, Muʿāwiyah, whose mother, Hind, had eaten the liver of Muḥammad's uncle, Ḥamzah, in revenge at the Battle of ʿUḥud.

threatening him. I was told by ʿUmar b. Shabbah—ʿAlī—Ḥabbān b. Mūsā—al-Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī:[76] When ʿAlī was killed,
[15] Muʿāwiyah wrote to Ziyād threatening him. So he got up to speak, saying, "How amazing is the son of the eater of livers, cavern of hypocrisy, and head of the factions. He wrote to me threatening me, while there are two nephews of the Messenger of God—that is, Ibn ʿAbbās and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī—between me and him. They have ninety thousand men who put their swords on their shoulders, unbending. If I were free of this business, he would feel the most biting of heavy sword blows." Ziyād remained as governor of Fārs until al-Ḥasan made peace with Muʿāwiyah, and Muʿāwiyah had arrived at al-Kūfah. Ziyād fortified himself in a stronghold which is called the Fortress of Ziyād.

In this year Muʿāwiyah put ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir in charge of al-Baṣrah and of military matters in Sijistān[77] and Khurāsān[78]

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir Put in Charge of al-Baṣrah

I was told by Abū Zayd[79]—ʿAlī: When Muʿāwiyah intended to send ʿUtbah b. Abī Sufyān to be in charge of al-Baṣrah, Ibn ʿĀmir spoke with Muʿāwiyah, saying, "I have wealth and deposits there, and if you don't put me in charge of it, I shall leave." Muʿāwiyah then put him in charge of al-Baṣrah, Khurāsān, and Sijistān. He wanted to put Zayd b. Jabalah in charge of his police force, but the latter refused. So he put Ḥabīb b. Shihāb al-Shaʾmī[80] in charge of his police— according to another report it was Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī. He also appointed ʿAmīrah b. Yathribī al-Ḍabbī, the brother of ʿAmr b. Yathribī al-Ḍabbī, as judge (*qāḍī*).

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76. Abū ʿAmr ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī (19/20–110[640/41–728]) was a Kūfan official, agent for his tribe of Ḥamdān (75–81[694–700]), envoy for ʿAbd al-Malik, and judge. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Shaʿbī.

77. Sijistān is the province of Sīstān in the Helmand Valley of western Afghanistan. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 344–51.

78. Khurāsān is the province in northwestern Iran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 382–434.

79. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, Saʿīd b. Aws (d. 214[830] or 215[831]) was a Baṣran grammarian and lexicographer. See *EI*[2], s.v. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī.

80. O reads: al-Shibāmī; C reads: al-Taymī.

I was told by Abū Zayd—'Alī b. Muḥammad: When Ibn 'Āmir was governor for Mu'āwiyah, Yazīd b. Mālik al-Bāhilī, The Broken-nosed, rebelled. He was called The Broken-nosed [16] because of a blow which he had received on his face. When he rebelled with Sahm b. Ghālib al-Hujaymī and went to Jisr[81] in the morning, they met 'Ibādah b. Qurṣ al-Laythī[82] worshipping there. He belonged to the Banū Bujayr, and had been a Companion (of Muḥammad). They rebuked him, killed him,[83] and then asked for a guarantee of safe-conduct afterwards. Ibn 'Āmir guaranteed their safety and wrote to Mu'āwiyah, "I gave them your guarantee of protection." Mu'āwiyah wrote back to him, "You may violate that guarantee of protection, (since) you weren't asked for it." They thus remained in guaranteed security until Ibn 'Āmir was dismissed.[84]

In this year 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās[85] was born. According to another report he was born in the year 40 (660/661) before 'Alī was killed, and this is what al-Wāqidī says.

'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān led the people in the pilgrimage in this year according to Abū Ma'shar.[86] I was told that by Aḥmad b. Thābit—whoever told him—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā. As for al-Wāqidī, Aḥmad reported according to his informant that he used to say: 'Anbasah b. Abī Sufyān led the people in the pilgrimage this year.

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81. That is, "the bridge." According to Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 235, this was the subdistrict (*nāḥiyah*) called Jisr al-Baṣrah.

82. Or 'Ibādah b. Qurt al-Laythī. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 107.

83. According to Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 107, 'Ibādah was killed in al-Ahwāz. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 235, reports that Sahm also killed Sa'd, a mawlā of Qudāmah b. Maẓ'ūn, and that Ibn 'Āmir killed several of their comrades but granted them both safe-conducts.

84. They were killed after Ziyād became governor of al-Baṣrah in 45(665). See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 108.

85. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās (41–117(661–735/6)) was the ancestor of the 'Abbāsid caliphs. See *EI*², s.v. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās.

86. Abū Ma'shar, Najīḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 170(787)) was a former slave from Yaman who lived in al-Madīnah until 160(776/7) when he moved to Baghdad. His book on early Muslim campaigns was based on Madinan authorities. See *EI*², s.v. Abū Ma'shar.

The Events of the Year 42

(April 26, 662–April 14, 663)

During this year the Muslims raided the Alāns.[87] They also raided the Byzantines and inflicted a shocking defeat on them, reportedly killing several generals (*baṭāriqah*).[88]

It was said that al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf[89] was born in this year.

In this year Mu'āwiyah made Marwān b. al-Ḥakam[90] governor of al-Madīnah, and Marwān appointed 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal as judge. Khālid b. al-'Āṣ b. Hishām was (the governor) in charge of Mecca; al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah was in
[17] charge of al-Kūfah on his[91] behalf, while Shurayḥ[92] super-

87. The Alāns were an Iranian people living north of the Caucasus, the ancestors of the modern Ossets. See *EI*², s.v. Alān.

88. *Baṭrīq* (pl. *baṭāriqah*) in Arabic comes from the Latin *patricius* via the Greek *patrikios*. In Arabic usage a *baṭrīq* meant to the Byzantines what a *qā'id* (general, leader) meant to the Arabs.

89. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (42–95[662–714]) was a member of the Thaqīf from al-Ṭā'if and governor of Iraq and the East, 75–95(694–714). According to Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 236, al-Ḥajjāj was born in 41(661/2) See *EI*², s.v. al-Hadjdjādj.

90. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (d. 65[685]) was Mu'āwiyah's cousin and founded the Marwānid dynasty of caliphs. See *EI*², s.v. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

91. Most probably Mu'āwiyah is meant here.

92. Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī (d. bet. 78[697] and 80[699]). He had been

vised rendering judgment there. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir was in charge of al-Baṣrah, while 'Amr b. Yathribī was in charge of rendering judgment, and Qays b. al-Haytham was in charge of Khurāsān on behalf of 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir.

(According to) 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-'Absī—his father: 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir sent Qays b. al-Haytham to be in charge of Khurāsān when Mu'āwiyah appointed the former to be governor of al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān. Qays remained in Khurāsān for two years. Another report about the governorship of Qays is that of Ḥamzah b. Ṣāliḥ[93] al-Sulamī —Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ: When his affairs were settled, Mu'āwiyah sent Qays b. al-Haytham to Khurāsān. He then added Khurāsān to (the territory under) Ibn 'Āmir, who left Qays in charge of it.

During this year the Khārijites who had separated from those Khārijites who were (later) killed at al-Nahrawān were stirred into action, along with those who had been carried, wounded, from the battlefield at al-Nahrawān. Having recovered from their wounds the latter had been forgiven by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

What Happened to the Khārijites

(According to) Hishām b. Muḥammad[94]—Abū Mikhnaf[95]—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥabīb—Jarīr b. Mālik b. Zuhayr b. Jadhīmah al-'Absī—Ubayy b. 'Umārah al-'Absī: Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān[96] al-Sulamī held the view of the Khārijites and was among the wounded who were carried from the battlefield at al-Nahrawān. 'Alī included him among the four hundred of those who were wounded at the Battle of al-Nahr whom he forgave. Ḥayyān stayed with his family and clan, waiting for about a

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sent to Iraq by the caliph 'Umar as judge in 19(640). See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 90–100.

93. Cairo reads: Ḥamzah b. Abī Ṣāliḥ.

94. Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib, Abū al-Mundhir, al-Kalbī (120–204 [737–819] or 206[821]) was a Shī'ite native of al-Kūfah. credited with over one hundred fifty works on all subjects. See *EI*², s.v. al-Kalbī.

95. Abū Mikhnaf, Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Mikhnaf al-Azdī (ca. 70–132 [689–745]) was an early collector of historical traditions at al-Kūfah. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*.

96. O consistently has *Ṭaybān*.

month or so. Then he left for al-Rayy[97] with men who held Khārijite views. They stayed at al-Rayy until they heard about ʿAlī's assassination. At that, Ḥayyān summoned his compan-
[18] ions—they were about ten men, one of whom was Sālim b. Rabīʿah al-ʿAbsī—and they came to him.

After Ḥayyān praised and extolled God, he said, "O Brothers of the Muslims. I have heard that your brother, Ibn Muljam,[98] brother of the Murād, lay in wait to kill ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in the pre-dawn darkness opposite the door of the congregational mosque [*masjid*]. He remained motionless, waiting for ʿAli to come out, until he did come out when it was time for the dawn worship. (Then) he attacked ʿAlī and struck his head with his sword. ʿAlī only lasted two nights until he died." Sālim b. Rabīʿah al-ʿAbsī exclaimed, "May God not cut off the right hand of whoever struck his skull with the sword!" The folk began to praise God for ʿAlī's death, may peace be upon him and may God be satisfied with him and not be satisfied with them.

Al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ (said): Afterwards, during the governorship (*imārah*) of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr,[99] I asked Sālim b. Rabīʿah about what he had said with regard to ʿAlī. He confirmed it for me, saying, "I held their view for a while, but I have since abandoned it." We agreed that he had abandoned it. Whenever that was mentioned to him, he was consumed (with regret).

Then Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān said to his companions:

> By God, no one lives forever. Nights and days and years and months will not continue indefinitely for a son of Adam until he tastes death and will part from the virtuous brothers and leave the world over which only weaklings weep, a world which is always harmful for whoever has concern and worry. Then let us be off, may God have mercy upon you, to our city [*miṣr*].[100] Let us join our brothers and summon them to commanding good and forbid-

97. Al-Rayy was a city in northern Iran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 214–15. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV A, 143, adds that he went to fight the Daylām.

98. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Muljam al-Murādī assassinated ʿAlī in 40(661). See *EI*², s.v. Ibn Muljam.

99. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr was governor of al-Baṣrah for his brother, the counter-Caliph, ʿAbdallāh, 67–72(686–91). See *EI*², s.v. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubair.

100. That is, al-Kūfah.

ding evil[101] and to striving [*jihād*][102] against the factions. For we have no excuse for being inactive while our rulers are oppressive, and while guiding precedent [*sunnah*] is abandoned and our vengeance remains unexacted against those who killed our brothers in the assemblies.[103] If God gives us victory over them, let us turn afterwards to that which is more correct and satisfying and upright. God will thereby heal the hearts of believers. If we are killed, we would have repose in parting from the oppressors, while our forefathers have set an example for us. [19]

So they said to him, "We all say the same, and praise the view that you expressed. Then lead us to the city, for we are satisfied with your guidance and your command."

Ḥayyān left and they left with him, proceeding to al-Kūfah. That was when he said:[104]

My friend, I have neither solace nor composure,
nor skill after the victims[105] at al-Nahr,
Only camels rising[106] with numerous squadrons.
You will call upon God and in Him you will prevail.
My mule has left Qusṭānat al-Rayy[107] behind;
I shall never approach it again.
But I am leaving soon, even if my supporters are few,
so I would not shame you two,[108] with whom he goes.

Ḥayyān proceeded until he settled at al-Kūfah where he remained until Mu'āwiyah came to power and sent al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah to be governor there. Al-Mughīrah liked things to

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101. Qur'ān 3:104, 110. The Khārijites were among the first Muslims to emphasize this responsibility.

102. See above, n. 57.

103. That is, the assemblies [*al-majālis*] of the Khārijites.

104. These lines are ascribed to Sālim b. Rabī'ah al-'Abdī in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV A, 143.

105. The text reads: *muṣābīn*, "the victims"; O reads: *muṣallīn*, "worshippers."

106. The text reads: *nahaḍāt*, "camels rising"; C reads: *nahaghāt*, "scouting parties."

107. Qusṭanāh or Qisṭānah was a village one day's journey from al-Rayy on the road to Sāwah. See Yaqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 94–5.

108. O reads: "spur on you two."

run smoothly; he behaved well with people and did not ask sectarians about their sects. People would be brought to him,
[20] and he would be told that so-and-so holds Shī'ite views, and so-and-so holds Khārijite views. But he would say, "God has decided that you will continue to disagree. And God will judge between His creatures concerning that in which they disagree."[109] So people felt safe with him.

The Khārijites would meet each other, and recalling the circumstances of their brethren at al-Nahrawān, they would consider deceit and ruin to lie in staying, while merit and reward lay in striving (*jihād*) against the people of the *qiblah*.[110]

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ—Ubayy b. 'Umārah: In the days of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah the Khārijites turned to three persons, one of whom was al-Mustawrid b. 'Ullifah. The latter rebelled with three hundred men and headed toward Jarjarāya[111] on the banks of the Tigris. (According to) Abū Mikhnaf—Ja'far b. Ḥudhayfah of the family of 'Āmir b. Juwayn—al-Muḥill b. Khalīfah: In the days of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah the Khārijites turned to three persons: al-Mustawrid b. 'Ullifah al-Taymī of Taym al-Ribāb, Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān al-Sulamī, and Mu'ādh b. Juwayn b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ṭā'ī al-Sinbisī, who was the nephew of Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn. Zayd was one of those whom 'Alī killed at the Battle of al-Nahrawān. This Mu'ādh b. Juwayn was among the four hundred wounded who were carried off the battlefield and pardoned by 'Alī.

The Khārijites assembled at the dwelling of Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān al-Sulamī and deliberated about whom they should appoint to be in charge. Al-Mustawrid addressed them, "O Muslims and believers, may God give you what you desire and remove from you what you hate. Appoint whomever you like over you. By Him who knows the secret in one's eyes and what

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109. See Qur'ān 42:10. Deferring to God's judgment in order to avoid conflict in this way amounts to the position later identified as Murji'ite. See W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, 119–28.

110. The *qiblah* is the direction of the Ka'bah in Mecca toward which Muslim's face when they worship. The Khārijites called nominal Muslims "people of the *qiblah*."

111. Jarjarāyā was a town near the place where the Nahrawān Canal emptied into the Tigris River. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 37.

is hidden in one's heart, I don't care which of you would govern me. We do not seek[112] the glory of this world, and there is no way to remain in it. We desire only immortality in the abode of [21] immortality." At that, Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān said, "As for me, I have no need to rule, and I am satisifed with every one of my brethren. Look, then, upon whomever of you that you wish and name him. I shall be the first to render allegiance." Muʿādh b. Juwayn b. Ḥuṣayn then spoke to them, "Since you both say you are thus [content to follow another] while you are both leaders of the Muslims and possessors of their lineages as regards virtue, religion, and standing, who shall lead the Muslims? For they are not all virtuous enough for that command. However, when Muslims are equal in virtue, the most perspicacious of them in war, the most learned of them in religion, and the most capable of them in carrying out strongly that which is imposed must take charge. Both of you, God be praised, are among those who are satisfactory for this command. Let one of you two take charge." They both replied, "You be in charge for we have been satisfied with you, for you, praise God, are perfect in your religion and your views." He then responded to both of them, "You are both older than I, let one of you two take charge."

At that moment, a group of the Khārijites who were present said, "We are satisfied with the three of you. Put in charge whomever of you that you prefer." At that, each of the three men said to his companion, "You be in charge, for I am satisfied with you and I have no desire for rule." After that had continued among (the three of) them for a long time, Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān declared, "Since Muʿādh b. Juwayn said, 'Don't put me in charge of both of you since you are both older than I,' I say the same to you that he said to us. Hold out your hand that I may render allegiance to you." So al-Mustawrid held out his hand and Ḥayyān rendered allegiance to him, followed by Muʿādh b. Juwayn and then by the entire group. That was in Jumāda II (August 22–September 20, 662). The folk agreed to equip and prepare themselves, and to be ready. They were to

112. The text reads: *nurīdu*; O reads: *yazīdu*, that is, "the glory of this world does not increase."

rebel at the beginning of the new moon, that is, the new moon of Shaʿbān 43 (November 8, 663). So they were equipped and ready.

[22] It was said that in this year Busr b. Abī Arṭāt al-ʿĀmirī set out for al-Madīnah, Mecca, and al-Yaman. He killed various Muslims during that journey, according to al-Wāqidī. I have (previously) mentioned those who differ with him about the time Busr made that journey. Al-Wāqidī claimed that he was told by Dāwūd b. Ḥayyān—ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Marwān: Busr b. Abī Arṭāt stayed at al-Madīnah for a month investigating the people. He killed everyone who was said to have helped against ʿUthmān. (According to) ʿAṭā b. Abī Marwān—Ḥanẓalah b. ʿAlī al-Aslamī: Busr found some of the Banū Kaʿb and their youths at one of their wells, so he threw them in it.

In this year Ziyād came to Muʿāwiyah. This is according to what I was told by ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan[113]—Sulaymān b. Abī Arqam:[114] Ziyād came to Muʿāwiyah from Fārs and reached a settlement with him in return for the wealth which he brought to Muʿāwiyah. The reason why he came after having refused at one of the strongholds of Fārs is (in) the following account that I was told by ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—Maslamah b. Muḥārib: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakrah used to be in charge of Ziyād's property in al-Baṣrah. Muʿāwiyah learned that Ziyād had wealth with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. When Ziyād feared for things which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān held for him, he wrote to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ordering him to safeguard his property. When Muʿāwiyah sent to al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah to investigate Ziyād's wealth, al-Mughīrah came and took ʿAbd al-Raḥmān aside saying, "Your father may have done me wrong, but Ziyād treated me well." He then wrote to Muʿāwiyah, "I didn't find anything in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's possession which I am free to take." Muʿāwiyah wrote back to al-Mughīrah to torture him. Some authorities reported that al-Mughīrah tortured ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī
[23] Bakrah when Muʿāwiyah wrote to him, although he wanted to be excused. When Muʿāwiyah learned of this, he said, "Perse-

113. That is, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī.

114. Cairo reads: Sulaymān b. Arqam. Sulaymān's father was commonly called al-Arqam b. Abī al-Arqam. See *EI*², s.v. al-Arḳam.

vere in what your kinsman ordered you to do." So al-Mughīrah covered 'Abd al-Raḥmān's face with silk, and moistened it with water so that it would stick, and the latter fainted. Al-Mughīrah did that three times, released him, and wrote back to Mu'āwiyah, "I tortured him but did not get anything from him." Thus he earned Ziyād's gratitude.

I was told by 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan—'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abdallāh al-Thaqafī—shaykhs of the Thaqīf: Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah entered Mu'āwiyah's presence, and upon seeing him Mu'āwiyah said:

The place of a man's secret, if
he reveals the secret, is his sincere brother.
So if you reveal a secret, let it be to
someone sincere who will keep it secret, or don't disclose it.

Al-Mughīrah replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, if you should place your trust in me, you would do so with someone who is sincere, sympathetic, Godfearing, and dependable. What is it, O Commander of the Faithful?" Mu'āwiyah replied, "I remembered Ziyād clinging to the land of Fārs and his defiance there, and I didn't sleep last night." Al-Mughīrah wanted to downplay Ziyād, so he asked, "What is Ziyād over there, O Commander of the Faithful?" Mu'āwiyah replied, "What a miserable, low, incompetent, trickster of an Arab. He holds wealth fortified in a fortress of Fārs. He contrives subterfuges and lies in wait. I am not reassured that he won't acknowledge a man belonging to the people of this house.[115] If so he will have renewed the war against me deceitfully." Al-Mughīrah then asked, "Do you give me permission to go to him, O Commander of the Faithful?" He answered, "Yes. Go to him and be polite."

Al-Mughīrah then came to Ziyād, and when he learned about al-Mughīrah's approach, Ziyād remarked, "He only came on an [24] important mission." Then he admitted al-Mughīrah, who entered his presence, while Ziyād was in his reception hall facing

115. The text reads: *ahl hādhā al-bayt*, that is, a member of Muḥammad's family, in particular a relative of 'Alī. See *EI*², s. v. Ahl al-Bayt.

the sun. Ziyād greeted him saying, "May the visitor prosper." To which al-Mughīrah replied, "The news ends with you, Abū Mughīrah.[116] Muʿāwiyah was so carried away with fear that he sent me to you. He didn't know anyone who attempted this matter[117] except al-Ḥasan. Since the latter has already rendered allegiance to Muʿāwiyah, take [something] for yourself before settling down [somewhere]. Muʿāwiyah has no need of you." Ziyād responded, "Confidentially, give me the best practical advice you can." Al-Mughīrah answered, "A frank opinion might be distasteful but there is no use watering it down.[118] I think you should attach your rope to Muʿāwiyah's and travel to him." Ziyād replied, "I will see, and God will decide."

I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī—Maslamah b. Muḥārib: When Ziyād had remained in the fortress for over a year, Muʿāwiyah wrote to him, "Why do you destroy yourself? Come to me and tell me how much wealth you collected as taxes, what you spent, and what remained with you; you will be guaranteed a safe-conduct. If you would like to remain with us, then do so; and if you prefer to return to your place of safety, then return." At that, Ziyād left Fārs. When al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah learned that Ziyād had decided to come to Muʿāwiyah, he set out for Muʿāwiyah before Ziyād set out from Fārs. Ziyād set out from Iṣṭakhr to Arrajān[119] and came to Māh Bahrādhān.[120] Then he took the Ḥulwān[121] Road until he reached al-Madāʾin. ʿAbd al-
[25] Raḥmān then left for Muʿāwiyah, to inform him of Ziyād's coming. Then, when Ziyād had reached Syria, and al-Mughīrah arrived a month later, Muʿāwiyah said to the latter, "O Mughīrah, Ziyād's journey was a month longer than yours and you left before he did, and yet he arrived before you." Al-Mughīrah replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, if one clever person

116. That is, "You are the object of my visit."

117. This probably means attempting to resist him.

118. The text reads: *al-madhīq*, that is, milk mixed with water.

119. Arrajān was a town and district in northwestern Fārs. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 268–69.

120. Māh Bahrādhān was the district of Nihāwand in the Jibāl, also called Māh Dīnār. See Ṭabarī, I, 2633–34; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 406; and *EI*[1], s.v. Nihāwand.

121. Ḥulwān was a town on the main road at the border of the Jibāl and Iraq. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 91.

speaks with another, his argument will silence him." Mu'āwiyah responded, "Watch out! Keep your secret from me." So al-Mughīrah said, "Ziyād came hoping for gain [*ziyādah*], while I came fearing loss, so that explains how we traveled."

Mu'āwiyah questioned Ziyād about the wealth of Fārs that he had collected. So Ziyād told him how much he had sent to 'Alī and how much he had spent properly on necessary expenses. Mu'āwiyah believed him concerning what he had spent and what he had left, and he collected the remainder from Ziyād, saying, "You have been the most reliable of our deputies [*khulafā'*]."

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī[122]—'Abū Mikhnaf, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī, Salamah b. 'Uthmān, a shaykh of the Banū Tamīm, and others who may be trusted: When Mu'āwiyah wrote to Ziyād while the latter was in Fārs asking him to come to him, Ziyād set out from Fārs with al-Minjāb b. Rāshid al-Dabbī and Ḥārith b. Badr[123] al-Ghudānī. Mu'āwiyah also dispatched 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim to Fārs with a contingent, saying, "Should you meet Ziyād en route, seize him." Ibn Khāzim journeyed to Fārs—some said that he met Ziyād at Sūq al-Ahwāz;[124] others (said that) he met him at Arrajān. When they met, Ibn Khāzim seized the reins of Ziyād ('s horse) demanding, "Dismount, O Ziyād!" At that, al-Minjāb b. Rāshid shouted to him, "Let go, O son of a black, or I shall tie[125] your hand in the reins!" It is also said that Ibn Khāzim caught up with them while Ziyād was sitting and spoke to him rudely, whereupon al-Minjāb reviled Ibn Khāzim. Ziyād then asked him, "What do [26]
you want, O Ibn Khāzim?" He answered, "I want you to come to al-Baṣrah." When Ziyād replied, "Indeed, I am going there," Ibn Khāzim went off embarrassed by him.

(According to) some authorities: Ziyād and Ibn Khāzim met at Arrajān and quarreled. Ziyād told Ibn Khāzim, "I have received Mu'āwiyah's safe-conduct, so I intend to go to him. This is his letter to me." Ibn Khāzim replied, "If you intend to go to the Commander of the Faithful, there is no way to get at you."

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122. C reads: Abū al-Ḥasan.
123. C reads: Zayd.
124. Sūq al-Ahwāz was a city in Khuzistān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 232–34.
125. The text reads: *'allaqtu*; C reads: *'aqaltu*, "hobble."

Ibn Khāzim then departed for Sābūr,[126] while Ziyād left for Māh Bahrādhān, and came to Muʿāwiyah who asked him about the wealth of Fārs. Ziyād answered, "I spent it, O Commander of the Faithful, on provisions, stipends, and campaigns. I deposited the remainder with folk for safekeeping."

Ziyād thus kept putting off Muʿāwiyah while he wrote letters to folk, among whom was Shuʿbah b. al-Qilʿim, "You know how I trust you, so consider the verse of the Book of God, Almighty and Great, 'We offered the trust to the heavens and the earth and the mountains . . .'[127] Take care of what you can." He also designated in the letters the amount which he had confirmed for Muʿāwiyah, and he concealed the letters with his messenger, ordering him to pass by some (people) who would inform Muʿāwiyah. So his messenger did that until (word of) it spread and he was seized and brought to Muʿāwiyah. Muʿāwiyah then told Ziyād, "If you are not going to deceive me, I need these letters." So Muʿāwiyah read them, and (the amount) was indeed the same as Ziyād had confirmed for him. Muʿāwiyah said, "I fear that you may have (already) deceived me. Make peace with me in return for whatever you wish." At that, Ziyād made peace with him for part of what he told Muʿāwiyah he had, and delivered it. Ziyād then said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I had wealth before becoming governor. I would like to keep that wealth and to give up what I acquired as governor."

Then Ziyād asked Muʿāwiyah's permission to settle at al-Kūfah. When he gave it, Ziyād proceeded to al-Kūfah.[128] Al-Mu-
[27] ghīrah would honor and praise Ziyād, and Muʿāwiyah wrote to al-Mu-ghīrah, "Urge Ziyād, Sulaymān b. Ṣurad,[129] Ḥujr b. ʿAdī[130]

126. Sābūr was the city of Bishāpūr in Fārs. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 262–63.

127. Qurʾān 33:72.

128. C adds: "So he settled in it after he gave permission."

129. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāʿī (d. 65[685]) had settled in al-Kūfah with his tribe. He had been among those who protested the land policy of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀs, there. He fought on ʿAlī's side at the Battle of Ṣiffīn, but had objected to the arbitration agreement. See Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 182, 198, 210; *EI*[1], s.v. Sulaimān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāʿī; S. H. M. Jafri, *Shiʿa Islam*, 82.

130. Ḥujr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī (d. 50[70]) had commanded the Muslim right wing at Jalūlāʾ. He was among those who protested the land policy of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, and had pursuaded the Kūfans to join ʿAlī before the Battle of the Camel. He

Shabath b. Rib'ī,[131] Ibn al-Kawwā',[132] and 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq[133] to worship with the assembly." Consequently they would be present with him at worship.[134]

I was told by 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī—Sulaymān b. Arqam:[135] I learned that Ziyād arrived at al-Kūfah, and, when it was time for worship, al-Mughīrah said to him, "Come forward and lead the worship." Ziyād replied, "I won't. You have more right than I to lead worship during your regime [*sulṭānikum*]." Ziyād also entered al-Mughīrah's presence while Umm Ayyūb bt. 'Umārah b. 'Uqbah was with him. Al-Mughīrah seated her in front of Ziyād, saying, "You will not be concealed from Abū al-Mughīrah." When al-Mughīrah died, Ziyād married her, while she was (still) young. Ziyād would order that an elephant of his be made to stand and Umm Ayyūb would look at it. As a result (that place) was called Bāb al-Fīl.[136]

'Anbasah b. Abī Sufyān led the people in the pilgrimage this year. I was told this by Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone—Ishāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

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was wounded at Ṣiffīn, witnessed the arbitration agreement, commanded 'Alī's right wing at al-Nahrawān, and was a potential rival of the family of al-Ash'ath b. Qays for the leadership of the Kindah at al-Kūfah. See Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 135, 154, 176, 187, 209, 223, 238; *EI*², s.v. Ḥudjr b. 'Adī al-Kindī; Jafri, *Shī'a Islam*, 82. For his disruption of worship see below.

131. Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Tamīmī, who had followed the false prophetess Sajāḥ as a youth, fought on 'Alī's side at Ṣiffīn, was put in charge of fighting by the Ḥarūriyyah, but commanded 'Alī's left wing at al-Nahrawān. He became the chief of the Banū Ḥanẓalah at al-Kūfah. See Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 223, 243; Ṭabarī, I, 1919, 3270, 3349, 3380, 3388.

132. 'Abdallāh b. al-Kawwā' al-Yashkūrī had favored judgment according to the Qur'ān at Ṣiffīn. He was put in charge of worship by the Ḥarūriyyah, and was one of the Khārijite leaders who fought at al-Nahrawān. See Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 176, 209; Ṭabarī, I, 2921.

133. C reads: 'Umar b. al-Ḥamiq. 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'ī was one of the notables who had opposed 'Uthmān in 33(653/4) and had helped to kill 'Uthmān. He fought on 'Alī's side at Ṣiffīn, and witnessed the arbitration agreement. See Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 176, 209; and Ṭabarī, I, 2921.

134. The point is that all of those whose loyalty was suspect were required to attend public worship led by the governor as a sign that they accepted the current regime.

135. C reads: Abū al-Ḥasan b. Arqam.

136. That is, "the Gate of the Elephant." See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 288.

The Events of the Year 43

(April 15, 663–April 3, 664)

Among these events was Busr b. Abī Arṭāt's[137] campaign against the Byzantines. Al-Wāqidī claimed that Busr spent the winter in their territory until he reached Constantinople. But some experts in historical matters have denied that, saying that Busr never spent the winter in Byzantine territory.

In this year 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ died in Egypt on Yawm al-Fiṭr[138]
[28] (January 6, 664). He had been its governor for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb for four years, and for 'Uthmān for four years minus two months, and for Mu'āwiyah for two years minus one month.

In this year Mu'āwiyah appointed 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ governor of Egypt after the death of his father. Al-Wāqidī claimed that he was it's governor for about two years.

In Ṣafar of this year (May 15–June 12, 663) Muḥammad b. Maslamah[139] died in al-Madīnah. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam led the prayers over him.

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137. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 238, calls him Busr b. Arṭāt.

138. Yawm al-Fiṭr is the day celebrating the end of the month-long fast of Ramaḍān.

139. Muḥammad b. Maslamah b. Khālid b. 'Adī was an early Muslim convert

In this year al-Mustawrid b. 'Ullifah, the Khārijite, was killed, as Hishām b. Muḥammad claimed. Others have claimed that he was killed in the previous year.

The Killing of al-Mustawrid b. 'Ullifah[140]

We have already reported[141] the meeting of the remaining Khārijites who were carried off wounded at the Battle of al-Nahr, those who withdrew to al-Rayy and others. They met with the three persons whom I named previously, one of whom was al-Mustawrid b. 'Ullifah. We reported how they rendered allegiance to him and gathered for revolt at the beginning of the new moon of Sha'ban 43 (November 8, 663).

(According to) Hishām—Ja'far b. Hudhayfah al-Ṭā'ī—al-Muhill b. Khalīfah: Qabīṣah[142] b. al-Dammūn,[143] who was in charge of the police came to al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, saying, "Shimr b. Ja'wanah al-Kilābī came and informed me that the Khārijites have gathered at the house of Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān al-Sulamī, and have agreed among themselves to rebel against you at the beginning of Sha'bān (November 8, 663)." Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah then told Qabīṣah b. al-Dammūn, who was an ally of the Thaqīf (they claimed that he came from al-Ṣadif in Ḥadramawt), "Take the police to surround the house [29]
of Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān, and bring him to me." They were convinced that he was the commander of those Khārijites. Qabīṣah took the police and many other people, and, before Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān realized it, they were at his house at noon.[144] Mu'ādh b. Juwayn and about twenty of their companions were with Ḥayyān at that time. Ḥayyān's wife, an *umm walad* of his,[145]

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who had fought at the Battle of Badr. He helped to kill Ka'b b. al-Ashraf; killed the Jew, Marḥab, after the conquest of Khaybar; and had been put in charge of al-Madīnah when Muḥammad went to Tabūk. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 492, 550–51, 761, 896.

140. This account is summarized by Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV A, 143–47.

141. O begins: "Abū Ja'far, may God have mercy on him, said."

142. O and Cairo read: Qubayṣah.

143. O reads: al-Dammūr; C reads: al-Zanbūr.

144. O adds: *ṣakkahu 'ammī* "my uncle locked it."

145. C reads: "and an *umm walad* of his." An *umm walad* was a slave woman who had borne a child to her master. Such a woman was normally freed and her child recognized as legitimate after their master died.

jumped up, and took their swords which she threw under the bedding. Some of the folk sought to defend themselves with their swords, but, when they did not find them, they surrendered. Qabīṣah took them away to al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah who asked them, "What prompted you to want to split the stick of the Muslims?" They replied, "We didn't want anything of the sort," to which he responded, "Yes indeed! I heard that about you, and then your gathering confirmed it for me." They answered, "As far as our gathering in that house is concerned, Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān taught us to recite the Qur'ān, so we meet with him in his house in order to recite it to him." Al-Mughīrah ordered, "Take them to the prison." They remained there for about a year.

When their brethren heard about their arrest, they were (more) cautious.[146] Al-Mustawrid b. ʿUllifah, their leader (*ṣāḥib*), left (al-Kūfah) and settled at a house in al-Ḥīrah next to the Qaṣr al-ʿAdasiyyīn[147] of the Kalb. He sent to his brethren, who would visit him frequently, and equip[148] themselves. When their frequent visits increased, their leader, al-Mustawrid b. ʿUllifah al-Taymī, said to them, "Let us leave this place, for I fear that you will be discovered." Some of them said to each other, "Let us go to this place;"[149] others said, "that
[30] place."

Ḥajjār b. Abjar looked down upon them from a house in which he and a group of his family were staying. Suddenly they would see two horsemen arrive and enter that house in which the folk were (gathered). Then, before long, two others would come and enter, and shortly afterwards another would come and enter, then still another who would enter. That would concern him.[150] They would also leave close together. So Ḥajjār said to the lady of the house in which he was staying, while she was

146. O reads: *jaddadū*, "they started over."

147. The Qaṣr al-Adasiyyīn was one of the fortified enclosures at the town of al-Ḥīrah, about six km from al-Kūfah. It belonged to the Banū ʿAmmār b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, and was named after their ancestress, ʿAdasah bt. Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Kalbī. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 244; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān*, 183; and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 116.

148. C reads: *yajtahidū*, "exerted."

149. C reads: "to what place does he bid us go?"

150. C reads: "all that bothered him."

nursing a boy[151] of hers, "Woe unto you! Who are these horsemen whom I see entering this house?" She replied, "By God, I don't know who they are except that men visit this house frequently and continuously, on foot and on horseback. We have disapproved of that for days, but we don't know who they are."

Ḥajjār then rode out on his horse, accompanied by one of his young servants (*ghulām*). He proceeded until he reached the door of their house, where one of their men was in charge. Whenever one of their men came to the door, the doorkeeper went in to his master and informed him, and the latter admitted the visitor. But if a man well-known to them came to the doorkeeper, he would enter without asking permission. When Ḥajjār came to the doorkeeper, the latter did not recognize him, so he asked, "Who are you, may God have mercy on you, and what do you want?" Ḥajjār replied, "I want to meet my comrade."[152] The doorkeeper then asked, "And what is your name?" He told him, "Ḥajjār b. Abjar." He said, "Stay as you are until I inform them about you, then I will come out to you." So Ḥajjār said to him, "Enter, rightly guided." At that the man entered, and Ḥajjār followed him quickly until he reached the door of a large *ṣuffah*[153] where they were. The doorkeeper had entered their presence meanwhile and said, "This man asks permission to see you. I refused him, saying, 'Who are you?' He replied, 'I am Ḥajjār b. Abjar.'" Ḥajjār then heard them becoming alarmed and exclaiming, "Ḥajjār b. Abjar! By [31] God! Ḥajjār b. Abjar did not come for any good purpose." When he heard what they said,[154] he wanted to leave, having confirmed his suspicion about what they were doing. But he wouldn't let himself leave until he saw them for himself. Approaching until he stood between the curtains of the door of the *ṣuffah*, he said, "Peace be upon you!" He looked, and there before him was a large group of men, weapons in full view, and coats of mail. Ḥajjār exclaimed, "O God! May He gather them for some good purpose. Who are you, God save you?" 'Alī b. Abī Shimr b. al-Ḥusayn of the Taym al-Ribāb recognized him.

151. C reads: "boys."
152. O reads: "I want to meet al-Riyāḥī."
153. A *ṣuffah* was a covered place attached to a house and open on one side.
154. O reads: "what was said about him."

This ʿAlī was one of the eight Khārijites who were put to flight at the Battle of al-Nahr. He was a horseman of the Arabs and one of their pious ascetics, and he was among the best of them. ʿAlī said to him, "O Ḥajjār b. Abjar, if you came looking for information,[155] then you have found it, and if you came for something else, then enter and tell us why you came." Ḥajjār replied, "I don't need to enter." And he left.

At that, they said to each other, "Catch and hold him, for he is going to inform on you." A group of them went out right after him—that was just at sunset. When they caught up with him while he rode his horse, they said to him, "Tell us your story and why you came." He replied, "I didn't come for anything which should alarm or frighten you." So they said to him, "Wait until we draw near you and speak with you or until you draw near to us. Inform us, and we will let you know our business and state our concern." He then told them, "I won't draw near to you, and I don't want you to draw near to me." At that ʿAlī b. Abī Shimr b. al-Ḥuṣayn asked him, "Can we trust you not to inform on us for tonight, which would be charitable of you, because we share kinship and a just claim?" Ḥajjār replied, "Yes, you are safe from me for tonight and all nights forever." Then he hurried off and entered al-Kūfah, taking his
[32] family with him. The others, meanwhile, said to each other, "We aren't certain that he won't inform on us, so let's leave this place at once."

After they had performed the sunset worship, they left, dispersing from al-Ḥīrah. Their leader told them, "Join me at the house of Sulaym b. Maḥdūj al-ʿAbdī of the Banū Salamah." He then left al-Ḥīrah and proceeded until he came to the ʿAbd al-Qays. When he came to the Banū Salamah, he sent to Sulaym b. Maḥdūj, who was related to him by marriage. When he came to him, Sulaym took him in along with five or six of his companions. Meanwhile, Ḥajjār b. Abjar returned to his dwelling, and they expected to hear that he had reported them to the authorities or to the people. But he reported them to neither one, and the Khārijites did not hear anything about him that they disliked in that respect.

155. The text reads: *khabar*; C reads: *khayr*, "good."

During his term as governor, al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah learned that the Khārijites were rebelling against him, and that they had rallied to one of their men. So al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah rose before the people, and after praising and extolling God, he continued:

> Now then, you know, O people, that I have always desired well-being for your community and have averted harm from you. You also know, by God, that I feared that that would be[156] an evil example for the impudent [*sufahā'*] among you, but not for the forbearing [*ḥulamā'*] and Godfearing. By God, I feared lest I would ever find that the forbearing and Godfearing were punished for the crime of impetuous fools. So restrain the impudent among you, O people, before misfortune overcomes the general public. It has been reported to me that some men among you desire to foment divisions and controversy openly in the city.[157] By God, they will not rebel in any Arab district in this city, but I shall destroy them and make them an exemplary warning for whomever comes after them. So let folk look to themselves before [they] regret [it]. I have taken this stand desiring proof and excuses. [33]

At that, Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī rose before him, saying "O amīr, was any one of those folk named to you? If so, then let us know who they are. If they should belong to us, we would satisfy you with respect to them. If they should belong to others, order those who are obedient among the people of our city to have every tribe bring you its impudent ones." Al-Mughīrah replied, "None of them was named to me, but I have been told that a group intends to rebel in the city." Ma'qil then told him, "May God make you prosper, I shall go among my folk and satisfy you about those who belong to them. Let every man among the leaders thus satisfy you about his folk."

Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah then descended[158] and sent to summon the leaders of the people. Then he told them, "You al-

156. The text reads: *yakūna;* C reads: *takrahūna,* "that you would detest."
157. That is, al-Kūfah.
158. The text reads: *nazala;* C reads: *taraka,* "left."

ready know what has taken place regarding this matter, and you have heard what I have said, so let every man among the leaders satisfy me with regard to his folk. If not, then by Him than whom there is no other god! I shall surely change from someone you like into someone you will hate. For a vile person only disgraces himself, while he who admonishes is absolved from guilt."

The leaders then left for their clans, and implored them by God and Islām to point out whomever they thought intended to incite discord or to withdraw from the community. Ṣaʿṣaʿah b. Ṣūḥān also came and stayed among the ʿAbd al-Qays.

(According to) Ḥishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Al-Aswad b. Qays al-ʿAbdī—Murrah b. al-Nuʿmān: Ṣaʿṣaʿah b. Ṣūḥān stayed with us, and, by God, some news had reached him that al-Taymī[159] and his companions were staying at the house of Sulaym b. Maḥdūj. But in spite of his differences with them and his hatred for their views, he detested having them seized while they were with his clan. He also detested the evil treatment of the People of the House[160] by his folk. So he said something nice. At that time we had many notables and there were a good number of us.

[34] Ṣaʿṣaʿah stood before us after he performed the afternoon worship, saying:

> O assemblage of God's worshippers, when God, much praise be unto him,[161] distributed merit among the Muslims, He bestowed the best part of it on you. So you decided in favor of God's religion, which He chose for Himself and was satisfied with for his angels and messengers [*rusul*]. Then you adhered to it until God took His Messenger.[162] Then, afterwards, the people quarreled, one faction standing firm, while another apostatized. One faction were hypocrites, while another waited. You, however, persevered in God's religion, and had faith in Him and His Messenger. You fought the apostates until the religion was

159. That is, al-Mustawrid.
160. See above, n. 115.
161. C reads: "to whom be praise [and] much wealth."
162. That is, he died.

established and God destroyed the evildoers. In return, God continued to increase the good He bestowed on you in everything and in every circumstance, until the community quarreled among its members. One faction said, "We want Ṭalḥah, al-Zubayr, and 'Ā'ishah,[163] while another faction said, "We want the people of the West."[164] Yet another faction said, "We want 'Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī, [that is, the] Rāsib of the Azd."[165] But you said, "We only want the People of the House, through whom God first gave us dignity," [hoping for] a reward from God to you and a settlement. You thus continued to be in the right, adhering to it, and observing it, until God destroyed by means of you and those whose guidance and views were similar to yours, the faithless at the Battle of the Camel[166] and the renegades at the Battle of al-Nahrawān.

He said nothing about the Syrians because the government was theirs at that time.

No folk are worse enemies of God, you, the family of your Prophet, and the community of the Muslims, than these mistaken renegades who separated from our Imām[167] and allowed our blood to be shed, and who accuse us of unbelief. Beware lest you shelter them in your houses or be secretive about them, for no Arab alive should be worse enemies of them than you. By God, it has been reported to me that some of them are among the living. I am investigating [35] that and asking questions. If I should find that out, truly I

163. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh (d. 36[656]) had led 'Alī's opponents along with al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām (d. 36[656]) and 'Ā'ishah bt. Abī Bakr (ca. 614–78), Muḥammad's favorite wife, at the Battle of the Camel where both Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were killed. See N. Abbott, *Aishah the Beloved of Mohammad*; *EI*², s.v. 'Ā'isha Bint Abī Bakr; *EI*¹, s.v. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh; and al-Zubair b. al-'Awwām.

164. That is, Mu'āwiyah and the Syrians.

165. 'Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī (d. 38[658]) had led the Khārijites at the Battle of al-Nahrawān where he was killed. See *EI*², s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī.

166. The Battle of the Camel was fought outside al-Baṣrah in Jumādā II 36 (December 656). See *EI*², s.v. al-Djamal.

167. That is, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

> would win favor with God by shedding their blood, for that is permitted.

Then he continued:

> O assemblage of the ʿAbd al-Qays, these governors of ours know you and your views better than anyone, so don't give them grounds to take action against you, for they would be swifter than anything toward you and those like you.[168]

Then he stepped aside and sat down, and all his folk said, "God curse them!" and "May God be rid of them! By God, we shall not shelter them, and should we know where they are we shall surely point them out to you." The only exception was Sulaym b. Maḥdūj who didn't say anything. But he returned to his folk depressed and despondent, not liking to evict his companions from his dwelling. They would blame him, for they were related by marriage and relied on each other. He also disliked having them sought in his house, for they would perish and he with them. When he had arrived, he entered his dwelling. The companions of al-Mustawrid also arrived, coming to him. Every one of them informed al-Mustawrid of what al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah had done with the people and of how their leaders had come to them and stood before them. They told him, "Let us leave. By God, we aren't certain we won't be taken in our clans."

Al-Mustawrid asked them, "Don't you think that the head of the ʿAbd al-Qays stood before them just as the heads of the [other] clans stood before their clans?" They replied, "Yes, by God, we think so." He remarked, "Indeed, my host hasn't mentioned anything to me." They said, "We think, by God, that he is embarrassed by you." So he called Sulaym and he came to al-Mustawrid who said, "O Ibn Maḥdūj, I have learned that the heads of the clans stood before them and approached them concerning me and my companions. Did anyone stand before you[169] reporting anything of that to you?" He replied, "Yes, Ṣaʿṣaʿah b. Ṣūḥān stood before us requesting us not to shelter anyone

168. The text reads: *amthalikum*; C reads: *qatlikum*, "and for killing you."
169. C adds: "Summoning you."

sought by them, and they said many things which I disliked mentioning to you. You may consider that something of your business was a burden for me." Al-Mustawrid told him, "You have honored your dwelling and acted well. Now we, God willing, shall depart from you." At that, Sulaym exclaimed, "By God, if they want [to take] you in my dwelling, they won't reach you or one of your companions until I die first." Al-Mustawrid replied,[170] "God protect you from that." [36]

Those in al-Mughīrah's prison learned that the people of the city had agreed to expel and to seize the Khārijites among them. Concerning that Mu'ādh b. Juwayn b. Ḥuṣayn said:

Indeed, O Sellers![171] the time has come for one,
who sells himself to God, to depart.

Will you remain out of ignorance in the house of those who err,
while everyone of you is hunted down to be killed?

For the enemies[172] assaulted the folk and they
set you up for slaughter by a mistaken opinion.

Indeed, O folk, strive for the goal which,
when it is mentioned is more righteous and more just.

If only I were with you on the back of a swimmer [*sābiḥ*],[173]
powerful, short-legged, armored, not defenseless.

If only I were with you opposing your enemy,
for I am given first the cup of fate to drink.

It is hard for me that you are afraid and driven out.
When I draw out [my sword] unsheathed among the violators,

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170. O reads: "they said to him."

171. *Shārūn* was a term the Khārijites used for themselves, referring to the doctrine that they sold themselves to God for the reward of heaven.

172. The text reads: *'udāh*; C and O read: *ghadāh*, "this morning they."

173. Swimmer is a metaphor for a horse on a battlefield.

When every glorious [person] scatters their group,
when you would say he had turned away and fled, he would come back,

Showing the blade of the sword in the heat[174] of the tumult,
he regards steadfastness as exemplary in some places.

It is hard for me that you are wronged and decrease,
and I become sorrowful as a prisoner[175] in chains.

If I were with you while they headed for you,
then I would stir up dust between the two factions,

For many a group have I broken up, and many an attack
have I experienced, and many an opponent have I left dead on the ground.

Al-Mustawrid sent word to his companions, telling them,
[37] "Leave this tribe. Let no Muslim person be disgraced unwittingly because of us." Among them[176] were some who shared their views. They agreed (to go to) Sūrā,[177] and they left for that town, four, five, and ten at a time. Three hundred men in all presented themselves at Sūrā. Then they set out for the Ṣarāt[178] and spent the night there."

When al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah was informed about them, he summoned the leaders of the people, saying, "Destruction and an evil opinion have sent forth these wretches, so whom do you think I should send against them?" ʿAdī b. Ḥātim[179] stood

174. The text reads: *ḥamas*; O reads: *hawmah*, "in the turmoil of battle."
175. The text reads: *asīr*; C reads: amīr, "a commander in chains."
176. That is, among the ʿAbd al-Qays.
177. Sūrā was an old Jewish town on the upper Nahr Sūrā (the modern Shaṭṭ Hindiyyah branch of the Euphrates) where there was a bridge across the river for the main road from al-Kūfah to al-Madāʾin, near the later site of Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. See Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān*, 183–84; and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 184.
178. The Ṣarāt Canal was the section of the Nahr Sūrā below the bridge of al-Qāmighān. See Suhrāb, *ʿAjāʾib*, 25; and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 377–78.
179. ʿAdī b. Ḥātim b. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd al-Ṭāʾī (d. 68[687/88]) was the son of the famous poet, Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī, and had converted to Islam from Christianity. He was the leader of the Ṭayyiʾ tribe at al-Kūfah, and he fought on ʿAlī's side at the Battle of the Camel and at Ṣiffīn. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAdī b. Ḥātim.

up, saying, "We are all their enemy, consider their opinion to be foolish,[180] and remain obedient to you, so whomever of us you wish will set out for them." Ma'qil b. Qays then arose, saying, "You should only send against them one of the notables of the city whom you see around you, whom you find to be attentive and obedient, who differs with them and desires their destruction. I don't think, may God preserve you, that you would send anyone of the people against them who is a greater enemy of their's and more violently against them than I am. So send me against them, and, with God's permission, I will protect you from them." Al-Mughīrah replied, "Go in God's name." Three thousand men were then equipped for his expedition. Al-Mugīrah told Qabīṣah b. al-Dammūn, "Bring me 'Alī's faction, and send them out with Ma'qil b. Qays, because he was one of the leaders of his companions." When word was sent to the members of his faction who were known, they gathered together. They were also the strongest in allowing the blood of these renegades to be shed, and were more courageous against them than others, as they had fought them previously.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—al-Aswad b. Qays—Murrah b. Munqidh b. al-Nu'mān: I was among those assigned (to go) with him[181] at that time. He continued: Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Ṣūhān had stood up after Ma'qil b. Qays, saying, "Send me against them, O amīr. By God, I permit their blood to be shed and think [38] lightly of bearing responsibility for it." But al-Mughīrah replied, "Sit down! You are [only] an orator," and that offended Ṣa'ṣa'ah.

Indeed al-Mughīrah said that because he heard that Ṣa'ṣa'ah would censure 'Uthmān b. 'Affān,[182] and would constantly mention 'Alī and prefer him. He had summoned him previously, saying, "As for you, I have heard that you censure 'Uthmān to one of the people, and I have also heard that you openly proclaim something of 'Alī's superiority. But you do not mention any superiority of 'Alī about which I am ignorant. Moreover, I

180. The text reads: *musfih*; C reads: *mubshid*, "detestable."

181. That is, Ma'qil b. Qays.

182. That is, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, the third Commander of the Faithful (23–35 [644–55]).

know more about that [than you]. But this regime has appeared, and we have been ordered to announce ʿAlī's faults to the people. So we leave out much of that which we are supposed to do, and mention [only] what we must in order to protect ourselves from these folk by means of dissimulation. If you discuss ʿAlī's superiority, do it secretly among your companions in your homes. As far as [doing this] publicly in the mosque is concerned, the Caliph does not permit this to us, nor does he forgive us for it." Ṣaʿṣaʿah would then tell al-Mughīrah, "Yes, I will do so." But then al-Mughīirah would hear that Ṣaʿṣaʿah had resumed doing what he had forbidden him to do.

Thus, when Ṣaʿṣaʿah stood before him, saying, "Send me against them," al-Mughīrah found that the former's dispute with him had aroused his hatred towards Ṣaʿṣaʿah. So he said, "Sit down! You are [only] an orator." When al-Mughīrah thus offended him, Ṣaʿṣaʿah replied, "Am I nothing but an orator? Yes indeed, by God! I favor orators [who are] firm leaders. By God! If you had seen me under the banner of the ʿAbd al-Qays at the Battle of the Camel, where the lances clashed splitting the shafts lengthwise and making the heads fall off,[183] you would have known that I am the lion, the beast." At that, al-
[39] Mughīrah said, "That's enough now. By my life, you were granted an eloquent tongue." Qabīṣah b. al-Dammūn lost no time in sending out the army with Maʿqil. They were three thousand (men who were) the pick of the Shīʿah and their horsemen.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ—Sālim b. Rabīʿah: I was sitting with al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah when Maʿqil b. Qays came to pay his respects and bid him farewell. Al-Mughīrah told him, "O Maʿqil b. Qays, I have sent with you horsemen whom I ordered to be selected from the people of the city. So go against this renegade band who withdrew from our community and accused it[184] of unbelief. Summon them to repent and to [re]join the community. If they do so, then accept them and hold back from them; and if they do not, then fight them and seek God's help against them." Maʿqil b. Qays re-

183. The text reads: *tukhtalā*; O reads: *takhtallu*, "totter."
184. C reads: "us."

plied, "We shall summon them and excuse them. But, by God, I don't think they will accept, and if they don't accept the truth, we won't accept the false from them. Have you found out, may God cause you to prosper, where the folk are camped?" Al-Mughīrah answered, "Yes, Simāk b. 'Ubayd al-Absī"[185]—who was his governor over al-Madā'in—"wrote to me informing me that they set out from the Ṣarāt and proceeded until they halted at Bahurasīr,[186] and that they intended to cross over to al-Madīnah al-'Atīqah,[187] which contains the residences of the Khusraws and the White [Palace] of al-Madā'in. When Simāk prevented them from crossing, they stayed in the city of Bahurasīr. So take the field against them and pursue them until you catch them. Don't give up on them. They are forbidden to stay for more than an hour in any territory where you summon them. So if they accept, fine, and if not, then oppose them; for they would not stay in a territory for two days without corrupting everyone who associates with [40] them."

Ma'qil left that very day and spent the night at Sūrā. Meanwhile, al-Mughīrah ordered his mawlā, Warrād, and the latter went out to the people in the congregational mosque and announced, "O people, Ma'qil b. Qays has gone against these renegades and has spent[188] the night at Sūrā. Let none of his companions[189] do differently, lest the amīr go out against every Muslim among them. He adjures them not to spend the night at al-Kūfah. Whoever was assigned to this expedition whom we find at al-Kūfah after today will have outlawed himself."[190]

[According to] Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb[191]—'Abdallāh b. 'Uqbah al-Ghanawī: I was among those who

185. O reads: al-Qaysī.

186. Bahurasīr or Behrasīr was the round, walled, Sasanian city of Veh-Artakhshatr west of the Tigris which formed the western part of al-Madā'in. See G. Gullini, "Problems of an excavation in northern Babylonia," 25.

187. "The Old City" was the Arabic name for Ctesiphon, the northernmost part of al-Madā'in on the east bank of the Tigris. See S. El-'Alī, "Al-Madā'in and its surrounding area in Arabic literary sources," 422–25.

188. O reads: "is spending."

189. That is, those men assigned to go with him.

190. That is, they will have made it permissible to have their blood shed.

191. C reads: Jundab.

went out with al-Mustawrid b. 'Ullifah, and I was the youngest man among them. We went out until we came to the Ṣarāt and stayed there until everyone in our group had arrived. Then we went forth until we reached and entered Bahurasīr. Simāk b. 'Ubayd al-'Absī, who was in al-Madīnah al-'Atīqah, had been warned about us, so when we were about to cross the floating bridge to them, he fought us for it, and then he cut it. As a result, we stayed at Bahurasīr.

Al-Mustawrid b. 'Ullifah summoned me, saying, "Can you write, O my nephew?" I replied that I could, so he called for parchment and an inkwell for me, and said to write as follows:

> From God's Servant ['Abdallāh],[192] al-Mustawrid, Commander of the Faithful, to Simāk b. 'Ubayd. Now then, we take revenge on behalf of our folk for tyranny in judgment, failure to enforce prescriptions,[193] and the monopolization of the *fay'*.[194] I summon you to the Book of God, Almighty and Great, and the example [*sunnah*] of His Prophet, and the rule [*wilāyah*] of Abū Bakr and 'Umar.[195] I also call upon you do disavow 'Uthmān and 'Alī for their innovation in religion [*iḥdāth fī al-dīn*] and their abandonment of the
> [41] judgment of the Book. If you accept, you will have come to your senses; and if you do not, we will have run out of excuses for you, and we will permit war against you, and will reject you for your disgraceful act. 'Indeed, God does not love disloyal people.'[196]

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192. 'Abdallāh (Servant of God) was used as a prefix for the names of caliphs in Mu'āwiyah's inscription near al-Ṭā'if (58[677/8]), on coins of 'Abd al-Malik, al-Ṣaffāh, and al-Manṣūr, and on the official weights and commodity stamps of Sulaymān, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, al-Manṣūr, and al-Mahdī. See Lavoix, *Catalogue*, 17–24, 26; Miles, "Early Islamic Insciptions," 237; id., *Early Arabic Glass Weights and Stamps, Supplement*, 4, 8; id., *Contributions to Arabic Metrology*, I, i, 43–9; id., *Numismatic History of Rayy*, 23; id., *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region*, 64–7. It also occurs in the heading of a letter ascribed to 'Umar I by Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 350.

193. The text reads: *al-ḥudūd*, that is, the punishments explicitly prescribed in the Qur'ān.

194. See above, n. 51.

195. That is, to recognize that Abū Bakr and 'Umar had been legitimate rulers.

196. Qur'ān 8:58.

Al-Mustawrid said, "Go off to Simāk with this letter, deliver it to him, and remember what he says to you, and meet me." Al-Ghanawī continued: I was a callow and inexperienced youth when I reached puberty, and did not have much practical knowledge. I replied, "May God cause you to prosper, if you ordered me to throw myself into the Tigris, I would cast myself into it without disobeying you, but can you guarantee to me that Simāk won't detain me and prevent me from [returning to] you? In that case, the *jihād* I look forward to would elude me." At that, he smiled and said, "O my nephew, indeed you are an envoy, and nothing happens to them. If I feared that would happen, I would not send you. You could not take better care of yourself than I would for you."

So I left and crossed over to them at a ford. When I came to Simāk, there were many people around him, and when I drew near they weren't looking at me.[197] But when I approached them, about ten (of them) intercepted me. I supposed, by God, that they intended to seize me and that they did not respect envoys as my master had told me. At that, I drew my sword, exclaiming, "No! By Him in Whose hand is my soul, don't tangle with me or else God will absolve me of guilt concerning you." They asked me, "O servant of God, who are you?" I replied, "I am a messenger from the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mustawrid b. 'Ullifah." They then asked, "So why did you draw your sword?" I answered, "Because you were rushing at me, and I feared that you would bind me and be treacherous to me." They answered, "You are safe, and indeed, we came to you to go to your side, to hold the top of your sword,[198] and to see why you came and what you ask." I then asked them, "Will [42] I be safe until you return me to my companions?" They replied, "Of course," so I watched my sword. Then I approached until I stood before Simāk b. 'Ubayd. His companions had already crowded around me. Some of them were holding the top of my sword, and some of them were holding my upper arm.

197. O reads: "they started to look at me."

198. That is, to make certain that he would not draw it. This was diplomatic protocol.

I presented my master's letter to him, and when he had read it, he looked up at me, saying, "Al-Mustawrid would not be my choice for Caliph because of what I have seen of his hypocrisy and baseness in drawing his sword against the Muslims. Al-Mustawrid presents me with the denunciation of ʿAlī and ʿUthmān and calls me to [recognize] his rule. By God, what a wretched shaykh I would be then." He looked at me and said, "O my son, go to your master and tell him, 'Fear God and desist from your views and enter into the community of the Muslims. If you so wish, I will write to al-Mughīrah requesting a guaranteed safe-conduct for you, for you will find him quick to put things right and one who enjoys well-being.'"

I replied to him, "I know what will happen to them on that day.[199] Far from that, indeed we seek security with God on the Day of Resurrection through that which makes you fear us in the temporal world." At that, Simāk responded, "You miserable wretch, how can I be merciful to you?" Then he addressed his companions, "They abandoned [the right way] by what they did. Then they began to recite the Qur'ān to him, pretended to humble themselves, and pretended to weep. So he thought thereby that they had something of the truth. 'Indeed they are only like cattle, nay, rather they are straying from the way.'[200] By God! I never saw folk who were in more manifest error nor a more obvious calamity than those whom you see." I replied, "Say, I did not come to you to revile you, nor to hear your account or that of your companions. Tell me, you give me
[43] your answer to what is in this letter; if not, I shall return to my master." At that, he looked at me. Then he said to his companions, "Aren't you astonished at this youth? By God, indeed, he seems greater to me than his father when he says to me 'Are you going to give me your answer to what is in this letter?' Off you go, my son, to your master, however, you may regret [it] if the cavalry should surround you all and the lances are aimed at your breasts. You may wish then you were in your mother's house."

I left him then, and crossed over to my companions. When I

199. That is, what will happen to non-Khārijites on the Day of Judgment.
200. Qur'ān 25:44.

approached my master,[201] he asked, "What did he reply to you?" I answered, "He did not reply positively. I said thus to him, and he said thus to me." I then told him the (whole) story. Al-Mustawrid then said, "It makes no difference to unbelievers whether you warn them or not. They will not believe. God has sealed their hearts and their hearing, and there is a veil concealing their sight. An awful punishment will be theirs."[202]

We stayed in that place of ours for two or three days. Then we realized that Ma'qil b. Qays was marching against us. Al-Mustawrid assembled us, and after praising and extolling God, he said, "Now then, indeed, this senile Ma'qil b. Qays has headed for us. He is one of the weak, lying Sabā'iyyah[203] and is an enemy of God and of you, so give me your advice." Some of us told him, "By God, we only went forth desiring God and to fight against [*jihād*] whomever attacks God. But they have come to us, so where should we go to escape from them? Let us stand our ground instead, so that God will decide between us and them, for He is the best of judges." Another group said, "Let us withdraw instead and turn aside. Let us summon the [44] people and protest against [our rulers] with supplication." He responded: "O assemblage of Muslims, by God, I did not go forth seeking the temporal world, nor its renown, glory or survival in it. I do not want any of it for myself, and that goes double for the things people compete for in it. I value such things less than the toe of my shoe. I went forth seeking only martyrdom, and that God would guide me to honor by humbling some of those who err. I have considered what I consulted you about. I do not think that I should wait for them to attack me, while they are exceedingly numerous, but I thought that I should move on until I go too far. For when they learn of that, they will go forth in search of me, and will thus become isolated and scattered. We should fight them in those circumstances. So let us go forth in the name of God, Almighty and Great."

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201. C reads: "our companions."
202. Qur'ān 2:6–7.
203. The Sabā'iyyah were ostensibly named by their enemies after 'Abdallāh b. Saba', an extremist supporter of 'Alī. See *EI*², s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Saba'.

At that, we went forth and proceeded along the bank of the Tigris until we reached Jarjarāyā. We then crossed the river and continued as if we were in the territory of Jūkha[204] until we reached Madhār,[205] where we remained. News of our location reached ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir, so he asked al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah how he was doing with the army which he had sent against the Khārijites and how many of them there were. He was informed of their number, and was told that al-Mughīrah had considered a leading man of high standing who had fought against the Khārijites along with ʿAlī, and had been among the latter's companions. He sent this man along with ʿAlī's faction because of their hostility to the Khārijites. ʿAbdallāh remarked, "He had the right idea." He then sent to Sharīk b. al-Aʿwar al-Ḥārithī, who shared ʿAlī's views, telling him, "Go forth against this renegade, and choose three thousand men[206] from the people. Then pursue them until you drive them out of the Baṣran
[45] territory or kill them." He also told him privately, "Go forth against the enemies of God with those Baṣrans who consider killing them to be lawful." Sharīk supposed that ʿAbdallāh meant ʿAlī's faction by this, but that he disliked naming them. So he chose people, and urged the horsemen of the Rabīʿah who held Shīʿite views, and their leaders agreed. Then he went forth with them, heading for al-Mustawrid at al-Madhār.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥuṣayrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith—his father ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith: I was among those who went forth with Maʿqil b. Qays, and I accompanied him. By God, I did not leave him for an hour of the day from the time I left. The first place we stopped was Sūrā. We remained there for a day until most of his men joined him, then we left hurrying swiftly toward our enemy lest he elude us. After we dispatched a vanguard, we departed. Stopping at Kūthā, we spent a day until whoever lagged behind joined us. Then, after

204. Jūkhā was an administrative district east of the Tigris which included the region of the Diyala River and the Nahrawān Canal. See M. Morony, "Administrative geography," 18–21.

205. Al-Madhār was a town across the southeastern border of Jūkhā in the territory of al-Baṣrah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 42–3.

206. C reads: "cavalry."

part of the night had passed, he marched us from Kūthā.

We advanced until we drew near al-Madā'in, where the people received us and informed us that the Khārijites had already left. By God, that grieved us; we were certain of trouble and a lengthy search. Ma'qil b. Qays advanced until he halted at the gate of the city of Bahurasīr, without entering it. Simāk b. 'Ubayd went out to him, greeted him, and ordered his servants (*ghilmān*) and mawālī to bring Ma'qil carrots (*jazar*),[207] barley, and fodder. They brought enough for him and the army which accompanied him. Ma'qil b. Qays stayed at al-Madā'in for three nights; then he assembled his men, saying, "These misguided renegades have left, going their own directions and hoping that [46] you will hurry after them. Thus you would be isolated and scattered, and you would only overtake them after you were tired and worn out. But nothing of that sort is going to happen to you unless the same happens to them."

Ma'qil then marched us out from al-Madā'in, and sent Abū al-Rawwāgh al-Shākirī ahead with three hundred horsemen. He followed after the Khārijites, while Ma'qil followed him. Abū al-Rawwāgh began to ask about them and to pursue the direction they had taken, until his force crossed over (at) Jarjarāyā in pursuit of them. They followed the direction which the Khārijites had taken and pursued them. He continued persistently until he caught up with them when they were staying at al-Madhār. When he approached them, he took counsel with his men whether or not they should encounter and fight them before Ma'qil's arrival. Some of them told him, "Attack them with us, so we may fight them." Others said, "By God, we don't think you should be in a hurry to fight them until our commander comes and we encounter them with our entire force."

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—Tulayd b. Zayd b. Rāshid al-Fā'isī told me that his father was with Abū al-Rawwāgh that day. He said: Abū al-Rawwāgh told us, "When Ma'qil b. Qays sent me ahead of him, he, indeed, ordered me to follow them, and when I caught up with them not to be in a hurry to fight

207. C reads: *khubz*, "bread."

them until he joined me." All his men then answered him, "So matters are clear now. Draw us aside,[208] so we may be near them until our leader reaches us." He then had us draw aside—that was in the evening.

We spent the entire night on guard until morning. At mid-
[47] morning they came out against us. So we went out to meet them. There were three hundred of them and three hundred of us. When they advanced and assaulted us, by God, none of us withstood them. We were put to flight for a while, but then Abū al-Rawwāgh shouted to us, "O horsemen of evil, may God shame you the rest of today! Return! Return!" At that, he attacked, and we attacked with him. When we drew near the folk, he wheeled us about and we turned away, while they turned to attack us.[209] They got the better of us for a long time. We were on excellent trained horses; none of us was hit, and our wounds were slight. Abū al-Rawwāgh then told us, "May your mothers be bereaved of you! Let us turn away and wheel around close to them. Let us not separate from them until our commander arrives. For it would be more disgraceful for us to return to the army having been put to flight by our enemy, without having withstood them until the battle had become fierce and many of you had died fighting."

At that, one of our men answered him, "God will not be ashamed of the truth. By God, they routed us." Abū al-Rawwāgh responded, "May God not increase your kind among us! If we don't leave the battle, we won't be routed. As long as we are engaged in close combat with them and keep near them, we will be in good shape until the army arrives. That is, provided we do not turn back, by God, lest it be said, 'Abū Ḥumrān b. Bujayr al-Hamdānī was routed.' I would only care if it is said, 'Abū al-Rawwāgh was routed.' So stay close, and if they come to you, and you can't fight them, then withdraw. And if they attack you, and you are unable to fight them, stay a while, then withdraw to a safe place. When they return against you,

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208. C adds: "but not leave our position."

209. The text reads: *karrū 'alayna*; C reads: *kabarū*, "they were too difficult for us."

engage them in close combat and keep near them, for the army will arrive in a while."

Whenever the Khārijites were charged, they began to withdraw, and took a defensive position. When they began to counterattack, and their group broke up, Abū al-Rawwāgh and his men pursued them on horseback. The Khārijites saw that they would not break off from them, having pursued them thus from the early morning until the first time of worship. When it was time for the noon worship, al-Mustawrid dismounted to worship, and Abū al-Rawwāgh and his men withdrew a *mīl*[210] or two away. His men dismounted and performed noon worship, while they appointed two men to stand guard. They held their position until they performed afternoon worship. [48]

A youth then brought them a dispatch from Ma'qil b. Qays to Abū al-Rawwāgh. The villagers and passers-by on the road would pass by them and see them fighting. Those who left them heading in the direction from which Ma'qil was coming, met Ma'qil and informed him about his men's encounter with the Khārijites. He would ask, "How do you think they are doing?" They would reply, "We think the Ḥarūriyyah are driving off your men." So he would inquire, "Do you think my men are engaged in close combat with them, and are fighting them?" They would answer, "Yes, they are engaged in close combat with them and are being routed." So he said, "If my opinion of Abū al-Rawwāgh was correct, he would never approach you having been routed." Then Ma'qil halted them, and sent for Muḥriz b. Shihāb b. Bujayr b. Sufyān b. Khālid b. Minqar al-Tamīmī, and said to him, "Stay behind with the weak people, then set out with them slowly until you reach me." Then he called out to the able-bodied, "Everyone who is able-bodied hurry along with me. Hasten to your brothers for they have encountered their enemy, and I hope that God will destroy the enemy before you reach them."

Ma'qil gathered some seven hundred able-bodied, stalwart men, people with excellent horses, and set out hurriedly. When

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210. The *mīl* was four thousand standard *dhirā'*, or two km. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 63.

[49] he approached Abū al-Rawwāgh, the latter said, "This cavalry is covered with dust. Let us advance towards our enemy so that the army will reach us while we are near them. Thus they won't see that we withdraw from them or fear them." Abū al-Rawwāgh then advanced until he halted opposite al-Mustawrid and his companions, and Maʿqil joined them with his men. When he had drawn near them, the sun set, so he dismounted and worshipped with his men, and Abū al-Rawwāgh dismounted and worshipped with his men on the other side, while the Khārijites worshipped as well. Then Maʿqil b. Qays advanced with his men. When he came up to Abū al-Rawwāgh, he summoned him. When the latter came, Maʿqil told him, "Well done, Abū al-Rawwāgh. You have a reputation for steadfastness and persistence." He replied, "May God cause you to prosper. They are tough and disagreeable, so don't get close to them yourself, but send[211] someone to fight them in front of you. You, yourself, stay behind the people in support of them." At that, Maʿqil remarked, "What an excellent idea you have." By God, no sooner had he said it than they charged him and his men.[212] When they came upon Maʿqil, most of his men broke away from him in fear, but he stood firm, and dismounting, he shouted, "The ground! The ground! O people of Islām!" Abū al-Rawwāgh al-Shākirī and many of the horsemen and guards, some two hundred men, dismounted with him. When al-Mustawrid and his companions came upon them, they met them with lances and swords, Maʿqil's cavalry having broken away in panic temporarily. Then Miskīn b. ʿĀmir b. Unayf b. Shurayḥ b. ʿAmr b. ʿUdas, who was among the most courageous and bravest people that day, shouted to them saying, "O people of Islām! Where would you flee while your commander has dismounted? Aren't you ashamed? Indeed flight is disgraceful, dishonorable, and base." Then he returned to the attack and a
[50] large troop of cavalry returned with him and assaulted the Khārijites. Meanwhile Maʿqil b. Qays fought the latter under his banner with those steadfast people who had dismounted with

211. C reads: "select."
212. C adds: "and he stood firm."

him. Together they assaulted the Khārijites until they forced them to the houses. Shortly thereafter Muḥriz b. Shihāb joined them with the people who had stayed behind. When they arrived, Ma'qil had them dismount. Then he formed them into a line, with a right and a left wing. He put Abū al-Rawwāgh in charge of the right wing and Muḥriz b. Bujayr b. Sufyān in charge of the left wing, while Miskīn b. 'Āmir was in charge of the cavalry. Then he told them, "Do not leave your battle lines until morning, and when morning comes, let us rise up against them and do battle with them." The people thus remained at their stations in their battle lines.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—'Abdallāh b. 'Uqbah al-Ghanawī: When Ma'qil b. Qays caught up with us, al-Mustawrid told us, "Don't leave Ma'qil alone so that he can marshal the cavalry and infantry against you. Assault them in earnest. Perhaps God will bring him down thereby." At that, we attacked them in earnest. They were defeated and scattered, and then broke in panic. However, Ma'qil leapt from his horse when he saw the flight of his men, and raised his banner, and some of his men dismounted with him. They fought for a long time, and they held their own against us. Then they summoned each other against us and pressed upon us from every side. So we retreated until we had the houses at our backs. We had fought them for a long time, but only a few of us were wounded and killed.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥuṣayrah b. 'Abdallāh—his father: 'Umayr b. Abī Ashā'ah al-Azdī was killed that day. He was a leader, and he was among those who dismounted with Ma'qil b. Qays. I was among those who dismounted with him. By God![213] I shall not forget the words of 'Umayr b. Abī Ashā'ah [51] while we were fighting together, and he was striking them boldly with his sword:

She knew that I—when they scattered
From me, and the base, the low [were] tormented and tarnished[214]—

213. C reads: "By Him Who has my soul in His hand."
214. The text reads: *wuḍḍa'u*; C reads: *ruḍḍa'u*, "ignoble.

[Am] a courageous man, more imposing, for whom fear[215] is insignificant.

He fought fiercely. I never saw anyone fight like him. He wounded many men and was killed. I only know that he killed one person whom he had seized by the neck. ʿUmayr fell upon the man's chest and slaughtered him. While he was cutting off the man's head, one of their men attacked him and thrust his lance through the hollow of ʿUmayr's throat. He fell down from the man's chest and lay dead on the ground. We assaulted them and drove them back to the village, before withdrawing to our battlefield. I then went to ʿUmayr hoping that a spark of life was still in him, but he had expired. So I returned to my companions and remained with them.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab —ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUqbah al-Ghanawī: We had stationed ourselves in the early part of the night when a man came to us whom we had dispatched at the beginning of the night. Some of those who passed by on the road had informed us that an army was approaching us from al-Baṣrah, but we had paid no attention. We said to a local man whom we employed, "Go and find out if an army has come against us from the direction of al-Baṣrah." He returned while we were waiting for the Kūfans, and told us, "Yes, Sharīk b. al-Aʿwar has come to you. I met a squadron a
[52] *farsakh*[216] (six km) away at the time of the first (morning) worship. I don't think they will camp where you are until tonight or early tomorrow morning." We were bewildered at his words. Al-Mustawrid then said to his companions, "What do you think?" We replied, "We think as you do." He said, "I don't think that I can resist all of them. Let us return in the direction from which we came. The Baṣrans will not pursue us into the territory of al-Kūfah. Only the people of our own city will pursue us then." We then asked him, "Why is that?" And he replied, "Fighting the people of one city is easier for us than fighting the people of both." We responded "Lead us wherever you like." He said, "Dismount so your animals may rest a

215. The text reads: *raw'*; C reads: *hayj*, "combat."

216. A *farsakh* was three *mil* or six km. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 62.

while, and feed them; then pay attention to what I command you to do."

At that, we dismounted and fed our animals. Then there was a respite for a while between us and the Kūfans. They had withdrawn from the village for fear that we would attack them at night. When we had rested our mounts and fed them, al-Mustawrid gave the order and we mounted our animals. Then he said, "Enter the village, then leave at the rear of it, taking a lout [*'ilj*] with you who will bring you out the back way. Then he will double back with you until he brings you back to the road by which you came. Leave [Ma'qil's men] where they are; they will not notice you for most of the night or until morning." Then we entered the village. After taking a lout, we left with him leading us, and said, "Take us around behind this line so that we may return to the road by which we came." He did so, bringing us back until we stood on the road by which we had come. Then we returned by that road and advanced until we halted at Jarjarāyā.

[According to] Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥuṣayrah b. 'Abdallāh—his father 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith: I was the first one who noticed their departure.[217] I said, "May God make you prosper. Dealing with this enemy has made me suspicious for a long while. They were stationed; we saw their shape. Then it disappeared [53] after a while. I fear that they are abandoning their position in order to deceive the people." At that, Ma'qil inquired, "What do you fear their strategem is?" I replied, "I fear that they will attack the people at night." When he answered, "By God, I do not feel safe from that," I told him to be prepared for it. He responded, "Stay as you are until I take a look. O 'Attāb, set out with whomever you like so that you may get close to the village, and observe whether you see any of them or hear word of them.[218] Ask the villagers about them." At that he went off with a fifth of the raiders galloping until he observed the village. He began to notice that no one spoke to him. When he shouted to the villagers, some of them came out to him. So he

217. The text reads: *dhahābihim*; O reads: *dahā'ihim*, "their cunning."
218. Cairo reads: "hear a sound from them."

asked them about the Khārijites, and they replied, "They left, and we don't know how they went."

When ʿAttāb returned to Maʿqil and told him the news, Maʿqil said, "I don't feel safe from night attacks. Where are the Muḍar?" So the Muḍar came, and he said, "Stay here." Then he asked, "Where are the Rabīʿah?" He set the Rabīʿah, the Tamīm, and the Hamdān facing different directions, while the rest of the Yaman faced another direction. Each of those quarters faced a different direction while its back was near the back of the other quarter. Maʿqil made rounds among them until he had stopped at every quarter, saying, "O people, if they come to you, let the others know, and fight them. Don't abandon your position under any circumstances until you receive my order. None of you is to abandon his sector until morning. Then we shall see what we think." They remained on guard until morning, fearing a night attack by the Khārijites. When morning came, they dismounted and worshipped. People came and told them that the Khārijites had returned by the road on which they had come, going back to their starting point.

Sharīk b. al-Aʿwar arrived with an army of Baṣrans and dismounted where Maʿqil b. Qays was. He met Sharīk, and they questioned each other for a while. Then Maʿqil told Sharīk, "I am going to follow in their track until I overtake them. Per-
[54] haps God will destroy them, but I am not certain that, if I fail to search for them, their [numbers] will not multiply." Sharīk then got up and assembled some of his outstanding men, including Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Ṭāʾī and Bayhas b. Ṣuhayb al-Jarmī. He proposed to them, "O men, would you like to go with our Kūfan brothers in search of this common enemy of ours until God annihilates them? Then we will return." At that, Khālid b. Maʿdān and Bayhas al-Jarmī replied, "No, by God! We won't do it. We approached them to drive them out from our territory, and to prevent them from entering it. God spare us their inconvenience! We are going back to our city. It is for the Kūfans to defend their own territory from these dogs." He responded, "Woe unto you! Obey me with regard to them, for they are evil folk. There are wages and favor with the regime[219]

219. C reads: "with God."

for you in fighting them." Bayhas al-Jarmī then told him, "By God! then we are as the brother of the Banū Kinānāh[220] said:

Like a wet-nurse for other's children who lets
her own sons perish, so she doesn't patch her tatters thereby.

Haven't you heard that the Kurds have rebelled in the mountains of Fārs?" Sharīk replied, "I have heard that." Bayhas continued, "So you order us to go off with you to protect the territory of the Kūfans, to fight their enemy, and to abandon our land." Sharīk responded, "What are the Kurds? Indeed a squadron of you will be enough for them." At that, Bayhas retorted, "And a squadron of Kūfans will be sufficient for this enemy whom you appoint us to deal with. Upon my life! If they were obliged to help us, then we would have to help them, but they don't need us any more. There is strife in our territory similar to that in theirs. Let them take care of what is before them, and we must do likewise. Upon my life! If we obey you with regard [55] to pursuing them, and you pursue them, you will have made bold with your commander. You did what was proper. You should find out his opinion about what he permits you to do."

When he saw that, Sharīk said to his companions: "Go and depart." And he went himself to meet Ma'qil—both of them were sympathetic to Shī'ite views. Sharīk said, "Indeed, by God, I have tried to get those who are with me to follow me so that I can march with you against your enemy, but they prevailed over me." Ma'qil replied, "May God do as much for you. We don't need that. Indeed, by God, had they made an effort, I hope none of them[221] would have escaped to tell the tale."

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaq'ab b. Zuhayr—Abū Imāmah 'Ubaydallāh[222] b. Junādah—Sharīk b. al-A'war: When he said, "By God, had they made an effort, I hope none of them would have escaped to tell the tale," by God, I detested it. I felt sorry for him, and considered[223] such talk[224] to be wrong. By

220. That is, Ibn Jadhl al-Ṭi'ān al-Kinānī. See Jāḥiẓ, *Hayawān*, I, 197; Buḥturī, *Hamāsah*, 171; Marzūqī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Hamāsah*, 736.
221. That probably is, the Khārijites.
222. C reads: Abū Ramlah 'Abdallāh.
223. The text reads: *ḥasibtu*; O reads: *khashaytu*, "I feared."
224. The text reads: *shibh*; C reads: *sabab*, "the reason for."

God, there were no unjust people among us.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥuṣayrah b. ʿAbdallāh—his father, ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥārith al-Azdī: We were happy when we learned that al-Mustawrid b. ʿUllifah and his companions had doubled back, saying, "Let's pursue them and confront them at al-Madā'in, and if they draw near to al-Kūfah it would be even more destructive for them. Maʿqil b. Qays then summoned Abū al-Rawwāgh, telling him, "Pursue him with the men who were with you [before] and pin him down for me until I catch up with you."[225] He said, "Give me more men than that, for it will make me stronger against the Khārijites if they want to fight with me before your arrival. We have had trouble with them." Maʿqil then increased his force by three hundred men. Abū al-Rawwāgh thus pursued the enemy with six hundred men.

The Khārijites advanced rapidly until they halted at Jarjarāyā. Abū al-Rawwāgh also advanced quickly on their heels until he caught up with them at Jarjarāyā where they had camped. He also camped there at sunrise. When they saw that it was Abū al-Rawwāgh with the vanguard, they told each other, "Fighting these will be easier than fighting whoever comes after them." They came out against us, sending ten and twenty of their horsemen at a time. We did likewise, and the two troops attacked each other for a while, being mingled together. When they saw that, the Khārijites united and assaulted us in earnest with a single charge. They drove us back until we left the field to them. Then Abū al-Rawwāgh called to his men saying, "O evil horsemen! O evil defenders! How miserably you fought the folk. To me! To me!" He then prevailed upon about one hundred horsemen and engaged the Khārijites in close combat, while saying:

Indeed the youth, every youth, who is not dismayed,
when the coward turned away from the blow of the spear point,
She knew that I, when the injury alighted,
would frighten, on the day of battle, a bold hero.

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225. C reads: "follow you."

When he engaged with them, he fought them for a long time. Then his men engaged them from every side, fighting earnestly with them until they drove the enemy back to their former position. When al-Mustawrid and his companions saw that, they thought that if Ma'qil came to them at that time, he would certainly destroy them. So al-Mustawrid and his companions departed until they crossed the Tigris and entered the territory of [57] Bahurasīr. Abū al-Rawwāgh crossed after them and pursued them, and Ma'qil b. Qays arrived, following Abū al-Rawwāgh, and crossed the Tigris after him. Al-Mustawrid advanced towards al-Madīnah al-'Atīqah, but when Simāk b. 'Ubayd learned of that, he went out and crossed over to it. Then he brought out his men and the people of al-Madā'in. He lined them up at (the city) gate, and set archers on the wall. When the Khārijites learned of that, they went off until they halted at Sābāṭ.[226] Abū al-Rawwāgh also advanced in search of the folk until he passed Simāk b. 'Ubayd at al-Madā'in. When the latter informed him of the direction which they had taken, Abū al-Rawwāgh pursued them until he halted where they were at Sābāṭ.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb—'Abdallāh b. 'Uqbah al-Ghanawī: When Abū al-Rawwāgh halted where we were, al-Mustawrid summoned his companions, saying, "These men who have halted here with Abū al-Rawwāgh are the noble companions of Ma'qil. By God, he only sent his defenders and horsemen ahead against you. By God, if I knew that when I hurried to him, racing with these men of his,[227] I would take Ma'qil by surprise while they were still some way off,[228] I would do so. Let one of you go out, and ask about Ma'qil. Where is he and how far has he gotten?"

I went out myself and met some louts who came from the direction of al-Madā'in. I asked them, "What have you heard

226. Sābāt was a bridgehead on the Kūfan side of the Nahr al-Malik, near the point where that canal emptied into the Tigris, on the main road from al-Kūfah to al-Madā'in. See El-'Alī, "Madā'in," 435; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 569.

227. The text reads: *bādartu aṣḥabahu hā'ulā'i ilayhi.*

228. The text reads: *yuqārifūhu bi-sā'atin;* O and Cairo read: *yufāriqūhu bi-sā'atin,* "were still some distance [lit. "a while"] away from him." See text, p. [62].

about Maʿqil b. Qays?" They replied, "A messenger came to Simāk b. ʿUbayd from Maʿqil. Simāk had sent him to meet Maʿqil, and to see how far he had gotten and where he wished to halt. The messenger returned to Simāk and said 'I left him camping at Daylamāyā'"[229]—it is one of the villages of Bahurasīr on an inlet[230] of the Tigris which belonged to Qudāmah b. al-ʿAjlān al-Azdī. I asked him, "How far is this place between
[58] us and them?" They responded, "Three *farsakhs* [eighteen km] or thereabouts."

When I returned to my master and told him the news, he said to his companions, "Ride!" So they did, and al-Mustawrid advanced until he brought them to the Sābāṭ Bridge. This was the bridge over the Nahr al-Malik.[231] He was on the side of the bridge leading toward al-Kūfah, while Abū al-Rawwāgh and his men were on the side leading toward al-Mada'in. We advanced until we stopped at the bridge. Then al-Mustawrid told us, "Let a detachment of you halt." So when about fifty of us halted, he said, "Cut this bridge." So we dismounted and cut it. When Abū al-Rawwāgh's men saw us stopping on horseback, they thought that we wanted to cross over to them. They lined up opposite us and marshalled themselves thereby distracting us from our cutting of the bridge.

We then took a guide from the people of Sābāṭ and told him, "Lead us to Daylamāyā." So he led us, moving quickly, and off we went with our horses taking us swiftly[232] at the amble and the gallop. Shortly afterwards we looked down upon Maʿqil and his men while they were getting underway. When he saw us his men had already separated from him and his vanguard and men were not with him. One squadron of them had been summoned and another squadron had withdrawn. They were taken by surprise. Upon seeing us, Maʿqil set up his standard and dismounted, calling out, "O servants of God! The ground! The

229. C reads: *Dīlmayāthā*.

230. The text reads: *jānit*; Cairo reads: *jānib*, "beside."

231. The Nahr al-Malik was a canal linking the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers, west of al-Madā'in. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 68.

232. The text reads: *talmaʿu binā*, lit. "flashing us"; C reads: *ḥatta balagha binā*, "until our horses brought us."

ground!" At that, about two hundred men dismounted with him.

When we began to attack them, they met us with the tips of their lances, while kneeling on their knees, and we could not overpower them. Al-Mustawrid then said to us, "Leave these alone since they have dismounted, and attack their horses so that you may come between them and their horses. If you strike their horses, they will be [like] slaughter-camels for you after a while." So we attacked their horses, separating them [59] from the men and cutting their reins. They had tied the horses together, but they now went off in all directions. Then we turned against the people, who were withdrawing[233] and advancing.[234] We attacked them so that we divided them up. Then we advanced toward Ma'qil b. Qays and his men, who were still on their knees. We attacked them, but they did not budge. We attacked them again, but they still did not budge.[235]

At that, al-Mustawrid told us, "Fight them at close quarters. Half of you take the field against them." Half of us dismounted and the rest remained on horseback with him. I was among those on horseback. By God, we wanted to get at them. By God, we fought them, and we believed we had overwhelmed them when the vanguard[236] of Abū al-Rawwāgh's men, who were his noble companions and horsemen, burst upon us. Upon drawing near, they charged us, and at that we all dismounted, and fought them until our master and theirs were both hit. I don't believe there was anyone who escaped from them on that day except me. By God, I believe I was the youngest man there.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb—'Abdallāh b. 'Uqbah al-Ghanawī: My informant related this account to me on two occasions, once during the governorship of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr[237] at Bājumayrā, and once while we were

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233. The text reads: *mutazaḥḥilīn*; C reads: *mutarajjalīn*, "going on foot."

234. The text reads: *mutaqaddamīn*; C reads: *munfariqīn*, "separating."

235. C reads: "They did not budge, so we attacked them, but they were steadfast. Then we attacked them again, but they were steadfast."

236. O reads: "reinforcements from their vanguard."

237. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr was governor of al-Baṣrah, 67–72 (686–91).

with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath[238] at Dayr al-Jamājim.[239] He said, "By God, he was killed that day at Dayr al-
[60] Jamājim, the day of the rout, while I saw him coming against the enemy, striking them with his sword." I said to him at Dayr al-Jamājim, "You related this account to me at Bājumayrā with Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, but I did not ask you how you [alone] escaped among your companions." He replied, "I tell you, by God, when our master was killed, all except five or six of his men were killed."

He continued: We assaulted a group of about twenty men of the enemy until they gave way. I reached a horse standing with its saddle and bridle on it. I did not know what the story was with its master, whether he had been killed, or had dismounted to fight and left it. I went up to it and, taking its bridle, I put my foot in the stirrup and seated myself firmly upon it. By God, Ma'qil's men assaulted me, and reached me, but when I touched the side of the horse, by God, it was better than serviceable. Some of them[240] galloped after me, but they did not keep up with me. I then proceeded, galloping the horse, and that was in the evening. When I knew that I had discouraged them, and felt safe, I began to ride (at a) trot. I continued at that pace, and when I met a lout, I told him, "Lead me quickly to where I can leave the main road, the Kūfah Road." He did so, and, by God, shortly afterwards I reached Kūthā. I went on until I came to a wide part of the river. I plunged the horse into it and crossed it. Then I rode onward. When I came to Dayr Ka'b, I halted. I hobbled my horse and let him rest, and took a nap myself. Then I awoke quickly and mounted upon the horse. Thus I traveled for part of the night, (rested), and spent the rest of the night travelling. I worshipped in the early morning at al-

238. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī was to lead a major revolt against al-Ḥajjāj, 80–82(699–701) or 83(703) See *EI*², s.v. Ibn al-Ash'ath.

239. Dayr al-Jamājim, the "monastery of the skulls", was the place near al-Kūfah where al-Ḥajjāj defeated Ibn al-Ash'ath for the first time in Sha'bān 82 (September 701). See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 652; and *EI*² s.v. Ibn al-Ash'ath.

240. C reads: "a group of them."

Muzāḥimiyyah, two *farsakhs* (twelve km) distant from Qubbayn.[241]

I then proceeded until I entered al-Kūfah in broad daylight. After a while I came to Sharīk b. Namlah al-Muḥāribī, and I informed him about myself and about his companions. I also asked him to meet al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah and get a guarantee of safe-conduct from him for me. He told me, "You will obtain the guarantee of safe-conduct, God willing, and you have come with good news." By God, I spent the night grieved by the affairs of the people. Sharīk b. Namlah al-Muḥāribī went quickly until he came to al-Mughīrah, asked his permission (to enter), and was admitted. Sharīk said, "I have good news and a request, so grant my request and then I shall announce my good news to you." Al-Mughīrah replied, "Your request is granted, so give your good news." Sharīk continued, "Grant a guarantee of safe-conduct to 'Abdallāh b. 'Uqbah al-Ghanawī, for he was with the folk." He answered, "I grant him a guarantee of safe-conduct. By God, I wish that you would bring me all of them so that I could grant them a guarantee of safe-conduct." Sharīk said, "I announce that all of the folk have been killed. My friend was with the folk, and according to what he told me, none of them but he escaped." Al-Mughīrah asked, "So how did Ma'qil b. Qays do?" Sharīk replied, "May God cause you to prosper, he doesn't know anything about our companions." [61]

Before he had finished his speech, Abū al-Rawwāgh and Miskīn b. 'Āmir b. Unayf arrived bringing good news of the victory. They related that Ma'qil b. Qays and al-Mustawrid b. 'Ullifah each sent against his opponent, a lance in al-Mustawrid's hand and a sword in Ma'qil's hand. Thus they encountered each other, and when al-Mustawrid thrust his lance at Ma'qil's breast so that the spearhead went out his back, Ma'qil struck him with the sword on his head so that it sank into the midst of his brain. Thus they both fell dead.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥuṣayrah b. 'Abdallāh—his father: When al-Mustawrid b. 'Ullifah saw us halting at Sābāṭ

241. Qubbayn was a village just across the bridge of Sūrā. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 35.

where he was, he approached the bridge and cut it. We were thinking that he wanted to cross to us. We went up from the dark cultivated land of Sābāṭ to the desert that was between al-
[62] Madā'in and Sābāṭ. We were arrayed and deployed. But we waited a long time without seeing them coming out to us. Abū al-Rawwāgh then said, "Indeed they are up to something. Is there someone who will inform us about them?" At that, I said, "I and Wuhayb b. Abū Ashā' al-Azdī will inform you about that and bring you news about them." When both of us went close to the bridge on our horses and found it severed, we supposed that the folk had only cut it out of fear of us and out of alarm at us. We then returned galloping quickly until we reached our master and informed him about what we saw. Abū al-Rawwāgh asked, "What do you suppose?" We replied, "They only cut the bridge in fear of us and out of alarm at us which God put in their hearts." He remarked, "By my life! The folk did not rebel[242] desiring flight, but they have deceived you. Do you hear? By God, I certainly think they said that Maʿqil sent Abū Rawwāgh against you only with his noble companions. If you could leave the latter where they are and make a forced march[243] toward Maʿqil and his men, you may find them peacefully unguarded when you come upon them. Thus they cut the bridge in order to divert you from catching up with them until they come upon your commander by surprise. To the rescue! Rescue lies in searching." We took it to heart that it was as he had said. We shouted to the people of the village, and when they came quickly, we told them, "Tie the bridge quickly." We urged them on, and in a short while they were finished with it. Then we crossed over it and pursued (the enemy) quickly without caring about anything else. We kept after them, and, by God, we did not cease to ask about them. We were told, "So far they have been ahead of you."

By God, we did not cease to seek them fervently, desiring to
[63] catch up with them, until the first person who fled from them met us. Maʿqil's men had been routed without one person caring about another. When Abū al-Rawwāgh met them, he

242. O reads: "gather."
243. C reads: "begin to march."

shouted to the people, "To me! To me!" The people came to him and took refuge with him. He then said, "Woe unto you! Why are you coming?" They replied, "We don't know. We were certainly surprised. The folk were with us among our army while we were separated from each other. For they assaulted us and split us up." Abū al-Rawwāgh asked, "What did the commander do?" Someone told him, "He dismounted and was fighting." Someone else said, "I certainly saw him killed." Abū al-Rawwāgh told them, "O People! Return with me. If we reach our commander alive, we shall fight along with him. And if we find that he has perished, we shall fight them. For we are horsemen of the people of the city selected for this enemy. Let neither the opinion of your commander, nor those of the people of the city about you be spoiled[244] there. I swear by God, if you should see the Khārijites after they had killed Ma'qil, it would not be proper for you to disengage from them until you take revenge on them or perish. Set out with God's blessing." He then set out and we did likewise. He began to shout to each person he met, bringing him back. He summoned his outstanding men, saying, "Strike the faces of the people and turn them back."

We advanced turning the people back until we reached the army. Suddenly we were where the standard of Ma'qil b. Qays was set up. Two hundred or more cavalrymen of the people were with him while their outstanding men were only with them on foot. They were fighting the fiercest battle that people ever heard of. When we burst upon them, suddenly we were among the Khārijites who had almost overwhelmed our companions, while the latter, holding out against that, were fighting them. When they saw us, they returned to the attack, and then assaulted the Khārijites. The Khārijites withdrew a short [64] distance from them, and we reached our companions.

Abū al-Rawwāgh looked at Ma'qil, and saw that he was summoning, encouraging, and inciting his men. He asked Ma'qil, "Are you alive? May all my uncles be your ransom." He replied that he was and then assaulted the folk. At that, Abū al-Rawwāgh called out to his men, "Don't you see your com-

244. The text reads: *yafsudanna*; O reads: *yuqbalna*, "be disapproved."

mander is alive? Assault the folk!" He attacked and we attacked the folk all together. We delivered a jolting shock to their cavalry, while Maʿqil and his men assaulted them.

At that, al-Mustawrid dismounted and shouted to his companions, "O band of Sellers! The ground! The ground! By God, besides Whom there is no god save He, Paradise belongs to whomever is killed with the genuine intention of *jihād* against these oppressors and their expression of enmity." They all dismounted then, and we did likewise. We then advanced against al-Mustawrid with unsheathed swords and clashed with them[245] for much of the day. It was as violent as any battle the people had ever fought. However al-Mustawrid called out to Maʿqil, saying, "O Maʿqil, show yourself to me!" So Maʿqil went out to him, and we said to Maʿqil, "We implore you not to go out against this dog of whose soul God has despaired." He replied, "No, by God, no man ever challenged me to a duel that I shrank from." So he marched against him with a sword while the other went out against him with a lance. We shouted to Maʿqil to meet his opponent with a lance like his but he refused. Al-Mustawrid approached him and transfixed him so that the spearhead went out his back, while Maʿqil struck him with his sword so that it sank into the midst of his (opponent's) brain. Al-Mustawrid fell down dead, and Maʿqil was killed.

Maʿqil had said to us when he showed himself to al-Mustawrid, "If I perish, your commander is to be ʿAmr b. Muḥriz b. Shihāb al-Saʿdī, then al-Minqarī"[246] So when Maʿqil perished, ʿAmr b. Muḥriz took the standard, and said, "If I am killed, Abū al-Rawwāgh is to be in charge of you, and if Abū al-Rawwāgh is killed, your commander is to be Miskīn b. ʿĀmir b.
[65] Unayf," who at that time was a raw youth. Then he charged with his standard and ordered the people to assault the enemy. Before long they had killed the Khārijites.

The events of this year included the appointment of ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim b. Ẓabyān as governor of Khurāsān by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir, and the departure of Qays b. al-Haytham from that post. According to what Abū Mikhnaf reported from Muqātil b.

245. That is, with the swords.
246. That is, belonging to the Minqarī subdivision of the Banū Saʿd.

Ḥayyān, the cause of that was that Ibn ʿĀmir wanted to dismiss Qays b. al-Haytham because he considered him to be slow in (delivering) the tax revenues. Ibn Khāzim told him, "Appoint me governor of Khurāsān, and I will satisfy you with regard to it and with regard to Qays b. al-Haytham." Qays learned that Ibn ʿĀmir disapproved of him because of his contempt for him and his suspension of gifts, and that he had appointed Ibn Khāzim governor. When he feared that Ibn Khāzim would make trouble for him and go over his accounts, he abandoned Khurāsān and approached (Ibn ʿĀmir at al-Baṣrah). As a result, Ibn ʿĀmir's anger at him increased, and he said, "You abandoned the frontier region." He beat and imprisoned Qays and sent a man belonging to the Banū Yashkur to be in charge of Khurāsān. (According to) Abū Mikhnaf: Ibn ʿĀmir sent Aslam b. Zurʿah al-Kilābī when he dismissed Qays b. Al-Haytham.

(According to) ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī—his shaykhs: Ibn ʿĀmir put Qays b. al-Haytham in charge of Khurāsān during the rule of Muʿāwiyah. Ibn Khāzim told Ibn ʿĀmir, "You sent a weak man to Khurāsān. I fear that if he encounters war that he will be put to flight with the people. You would thus destroy Khurāsān, and your uncles[247] would be dishonored." Ibn ʿĀmir asked, "What would you suggest?" He replied, "Write a pledge for me that if Qays abandons your enemy I will take his place." Ibn ʿĀmir wrote that for him. When a group from Ṭukhāristān[248] rose up, Qays b. al- [66]
Haytham sought advice, and Ibn Khāzim advised him to draw back (his forces) until his outposts joined him. Thereupon, he drew back. When he had marched one or two days' journey from his position, Ibn Khāzim made his pledge public, took over the affairs of the people, encountered the enemy, and put them to flight. The news reached the two cities[249] and Syria. At that, the Qaysiyyah[250] became angry, saying, "Ibn Khāzim deceived Qays and Ibn ʿĀmir." Their anger increased until they complained to Muʿāwiyah. When the latter sent for Ibn Khā-

247. That is, Ibn ʿĀmir's family.

248. Ṭukhāristān is the region to the south of the upper Oxus River. See Le Strange, *lands*, 426–7.

249. That is, al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah.

250. That is, the faction of Qays b. Haytham.

zim, he came and apologized for what was said about him. Muʿāwiyah told him, "Stand up and apologize to the people tomorrow." Ibn Khāzim returned to his companions and said, "Indeed, I was put in charage of the sermon (*khuṭbah*), but I am not a master of speech. So sit around the pulpit (*minbar*), and when I speak, show your approval." He then stood up on the morrow and after praising and extolling God, he spoke, "Indeed, a leader of worship (*imām*) must either deliver the sermon, finding no escape from it, or he stupidly pours [it] out from his head heedless of what goes forth from him. I am neither kind. Whoever is acquainted with me knows that I am aware of opportunities, leaping at them, stopping at dangers, penetrating with the raiding party, and distributing with equality. I implore you, by God, whoever has known that about me, say that I am right." His companions around the pulpit responded, "You are right." He then said, "O Commander of the Faithful, indeed, you are among those I implored. Say what you know." Muʿāwiyah replied, "You are right."

(According to) ʿAlī—a shaykh of the Banū Tamīm called Muʿammar—some knowledgeable people: Qays b. al-Haytham came to Ibn ʿĀmir from Khurāsān unwillingly because of Ibn Khāzim. So Ibn ʿĀmir beat him one hundred (times), shaved him, and imprisoned him. When his mother interceded for him, he released him.

[67] According to what is said, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam led the people in the pilgrimage this year, while he was in charge of al-Madīnah. Khālid b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām was in charge of Mecca and al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah was in charge of al-Kūfah, while Shurayḥ was in charge of rendering judgment. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir was in charge of al-Baṣrah, Fārs, Sijistān, and Khurāsān, while ʿUmayr b. Yathribī was in charge of rendering judgment there.[251]

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251. Most probably at al-Baṣrah. C reads: *quḍāʾi Baṣratan*, "rendering judgment at al-Baṣrah."

The Events of the Year 44

(April 4, 664–March 24, 665)

Among the events that occured during this year was the invasion of Byzantine territory by the Muslims led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Walīd, their winter campaign there, and Busr b. Abī Arṭāt's raid at sea.

In this year Mu'āwiyah also dismissed 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir (as governor) of al-Baṣrah. The reason for this was that Ibn 'Āmir was easy-going and generous and would not restrain the impudent. Al-Baṣrah was ruined because of that while he was governor there for Mu'āwiyah. (According to) 'Umar b. Shabbah —Yazīd al-Bāhilī: Ibn 'Āmir complained to Ziyād about the corruption of the people and the manifestation of evildoing. When Ziyād advised, "Unleash the sword among them," Ibn 'Āmir responded, "Indeed, I hate to reform them by my own corruption."

(According to) 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan: Ibn 'Āmir was gentle and easy-going, governing smoothly; he would not punish (anyone) during his regime, nor cut off (the hand of) a thief. When he was spoken to about that, he replied, "I am on intimate terms with the people. How can I look at a man whose father's or brother's hand I have cut off?"

(According to) ʿUmar—ʿAlī—Maslamah b. Muhārib: Ibn al-Kawwā'—Ibn al-Kawwā''s name was ʿAbdallāh b. Awfah[252]—visited Muʿāwiyah. When the latter asked him about the peo-
[68] ple Ibn al-Kawwā' said, "As far as the people of al-Baṣrah are concerned, the impudent among them have prevailed over them while their governor is weak." When Ibn ʿĀmir learned what Ibn al-Kawwā' had said, he appointed Ṭufayl b. ʿAwf al-Yashkurī governor of Khurāsān. At that time there was a mutual estrangement between him and Ibn al-Kawwā'. At that Ibn al-Kawwā' remarked, "Indeed, this Ibn Dajājah[253] doesn't know me very well. Did he think that the governorship of Ṭufayl over Khurāsān would displease me? I would like for every Yashkurī remaining on earth to be hostile to me as long as he appointed them as governors." Muʿāwiyah then dismissed Ibn ʿĀmir and sent al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azdī.

(According to) al-Qaḥdhamī: Ibn ʿĀmir asked, "Who among the people is the worst enemy of Ibn al-Kawwā'?" When he was told that it was ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Shaykh, Ibn ʿĀmir appointed him governor of Khurāsān, and Ibn al-Kawwā' said what he did.

(According to) ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan—a shaykh of the Thaqīf and Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣbahānī: Ibn ʿĀmir sent a delegation to Muʿāwiyah, so they were there at the same time as a delegation of Kūfans, among whom was Ibn al-Kawwā' al-Yashkurī. When Muʿāwiyah asked them about Iraq and especially about al-Baṣrah, Ibn al-Kawwā' told him, "O Commander of the Faithful, indeed, impudent persons have devoured the people of al-Baṣrah while their government was too weak to deal with them, and it has paralyzed and weakened Ibn ʿĀmir." At that Muʿāwiyah told him, "You talk about the Baṣrans while they are present." When the delegation returned to al-Baṣrah, and informed Ibn ʿĀmir of that, he was angry and asked, "Who among the people of Iraq[254] is the worst enemy of Ibn al-Kawwā'?" When he was told that it was ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Shaykh al-Yashkurī, Ibn ʿĀmir appointed him governor of Khurāsān. When Ibn al-Kawwā' heard about it, he said what he did.

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252. Cairo reads: Abū Awfāh.

253. Ibn ʿĀmir's mother was Dajājah bt. Asmā' b. al-Ṣalt Sulamī. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 191.

254. O reads: "of the Arabs."

(According to) 'Umar—'Alī: When Ibn 'Āmir was too weak for his job, and the (disruptive) conditions spread in al-Baṣrah, Mu'āwiyah wrote to him, asking him to visit. 'Umar (said): Abū al-Ḥasan told me that that was in this year, and that Ibn [69] 'Āmir appointed Qays b. al-Haytham as his deputy over al-Baṣrah. He came to Mu'āwiyah, and the latter returned him to the (same) position. When Ibn 'Āmir took leave of him, Mu'āwiyah told him, "Indeed I would ask three things from you, so say 'they are yours.'" He replied, "They are yours as I am Ibn Umm Ḥakīm." Mu'āwiyah said, "Return my position to me and don't be angry." Ibn 'Āmir replied, "I have done so." Mu'āwiyah said, "Give me your property at Arafat." Ibn 'Āmir responded as before. Mu'āwiyah said, "Give me your houses at Mecca." Ibn 'Āmir answered the same way. Mu'āwiyah remarked, "You were attached by kinship." Ibn 'Āmir then said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I ask three things from you, so say 'they are yours.'" Mu'āwiyah replied, "They are yours as I am Ibn Hind." Ibn 'Āmir said, "Return my property at Arafat to me." Mu'āwiyah replied, "I have done so." Ibn 'Āmir said, "Don't investigate anyone who was an official of mine when I was governor and don't investigate me." Mu'āwiyah answered as before. Ibn 'Āmir said, "Marry me to your daughter, Hind." Mu'āwiyah replied the same way. It is also said that Mu'āwiyah told him, "Choose whether I should investigate you and ask you for an accounting of what you got and return you to your position, or whether I should allow you to keep what you got and dismiss you." So Ibn 'Āmir chose to be allowed to keep what he got and be dismissed.

In this year Mu'āwiyah also attached the lineage of Ziyād b. Sumayyah to his own father, Abū Sufyān, as it is said. (According to) 'Umar b. Shabbah: They claimed that a man belonging to the 'Abd al-Qays accompanied Ziyād when he visited Mu'āwiyah. The man said to Ziyād, "Indeed, I have influence with Ibn 'Āmir, and if you permit me I would go to him. Ziyād replied, "On condition that you report to me what happens between you and him." When the man agreed to do so, Ziyād gave his permission, and the man went to Ibn 'Āmir who told him, "Hey! Hey! Ibn Sumayyah investigates me and exposes my officials. Indeed, it grieved me to bring witnesses from Qu-

raysh swearing that Abū Sufyān never saw Sumayyah." When the man returned, Ziyād questioned him, but he refused to in-
[70] form him. Ziyād didn't leave him alone until the man informed him.

Ziyād then told Muʿāwiyah about it, who instructed his chamberlain (*ḥājib*), "When Ibn ʿĀmir comes, turn the face of his mount away from the most distant gates." When the chamberlain did so, Ibn ʿĀmir came to Yazīd and complained to him about it. Yazīd asked him, "Did you mention Ziyād?" Ibn ʿĀmir replied that he had, whereupon Yazīd rode with him so that he had him enter. But when Muʿāwiyah noticed him, he got up and went inside. Yazīd told Ibn ʿĀmir, "Sit here, you might stay a long time at home away from his audience." After a long time, Muʿāwiyah came out with a stick in his hand with which he struck the gates while he was quoting:

We have a reputation and you have one too,
which the companions have known.

Then he sat down and said, "O Ibn ʿĀmir, you were saying what you were about Ziyād. Indeed, by God, the Arabs knew that I was more noble than they during the Jāhiliyyah[255] and that Islām only increased my nobility, and that I was not increased from insignificance by Ziyād and did not become noble from baseness through him. But I understood his right, so I set him in his place." Ibn ʿĀmir replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, we will do what Ziyād likes." Muʿāwiyah responded, "Then we will do what you like." Ibn ʿĀmir then went off to Ziyād and tried to appease him.

I was told by Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣāliḥ—ʿAmr b. Hāshim—ʿUmar b. Bashīr[256] al-Hamdānī—Abū Isḥāq: When Ziyād came to al-Kūfah, he said, "I have come to you about a matter for which I sought only you." They replied, "Call upon us for whatever you wish." Ziyād said, "Attach my lineage to Muʿāwiyah." They replied, "As far as false testimony is concerned, no." He then came to al-Baṣrah and someone testified for him.

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255. The Jāhiliyyah was the time of lawless ignorance before Islam. See *EI*², s.v. Djāhiliyya.

256. C reads: Bishr.

Muʿāwiyah led the people in the pilgrimage this year.

In this year Marwān made the *maqṣūrah*,[257] and Muʿāwiyah also made one in Syria according to what was reported.

The officials in the provincial capitals during this year were the same officials whom we mentioned for the previous year. [71]

257. A *maqṣūrah* was a protective lodge in the mosque for the ruler or governor during public worship.

The Events of the Year 45

(March 24, 665–March 13, 666)

Among these events was Mu'āwiyah's appointment of al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh al-Azdī as governor over al-Baṣrah. I was told by 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad: Mu'āwiyah dismissed Ibn 'Āmir and made al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh al-Azdī governor of al-Baṣrah at the beginning of this year. Al-Ḥārith stayed at al-Baṣrah four months, then Mu'āwiyah dismissed him. He was said to be al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr and Ibn 'Abd and Ibn 'Amr,[258] and he was a Syrian. Mu'āwiyah had dismissed Ibn 'Āmir in order to make Ziyād governor, so he made al-Ḥārith governor as the stalking horse. Al-Ḥārith put 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Ghaylān al-Thaqafī in charge of his police. Then Mu'āwiyah dismissed al-Ḥārith and put Ziyād in charge of al-Baṣrah.

Ziyād's Governorship over al-Baṣrah[259]

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī—some knowledgeable people: When Ziyād came to al-Kūfah, al-Mughīrah supposed that he came as governor over al-Kūfah. Ziyād stayed in the house of Salmān b.

258. Cairo reads: Ibn 'Abd 'Amr.

259. C reads: "In this year Mu'āwiyah dismissed al-Ḥārith from al-Baṣrah and made Ziyād governor."

Rabīʿah al-Bāhilī, and al-Mughīrah sent Wāʾil b. Ḥujr al-Ḥaḍramī, Abu Hunaydah to him, saying, "Inform me about him." Wāʾil came to Ziyād, but wasn't able to get anything out of him, so he left for al-Mughīrah. He was superstitious, and when he saw a crow cawing, he returned to Ziyād, saying, "O Abū al-Mughīrah, this crow urges you to depart from al-Kūfah." Then he returned to al-Mughīrah, and Muʿāwiyah's [72] messenger came to Ziyād that very day [saying], "Go to al-Baṣrah."

As for ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī, he told me—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Isḥāq, that is, Ibn Yaḥyā—Maʿbad b. Khālid al-Jadalī: Ziyād who is called Ibn Abī Sufyān came to us from Muʿāwiyah. He stayed at the house of Salmān b. Rabīʿah al-Bāhilī, waiting for Muʿāwiyah's instructions. When al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah was governor over al-Kūfah, he heard that Ziyād expected that his own appointment as governor over al-Kūfah would arrive. So al-Mughīrah summoned Qaṭan b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥārithī, and asked, "Would you be good enough to take care of al-Kūfah for me until I come back to you from the Commander of the Faithful?" He replied, "I am not the one for that." Al-Mughīrah then summoned ʿUyaynah[260] b. al-Nahhās al-ʿIjlī, and asked him. When he agreed, al-Mughīrah went to Muʿāwiyah. Upon arriving, he asked Muʿāwiyah to dismiss him and grant him settlements at Qarqīsiyā[261] between both "backs" of the Qays.[262] When Muʿāwiyah heard that, he feared he might revolt and replied, "By God, indeed, you shall certainly return to your office, O Abū ʿAbdallāh." When Muʿāwiyah refused him, al-Mughīrah's suspicion only increased. Muʿāwiyah returned him to his office, and he reached us at night while I was on top of the citadel, guarding it. He struck the gate, but we refused to acknowledge him. When he feared that we might drop bricks on him, he told us his name. So I went down to him, welcoming and greeting him, and he quoted:

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260. Cairo reads: ʿUtaybah.

261. Qarqīsiyā was a town on the left bank of the Euphrates just above its confluence with the Khābūr River. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳarḳīsiyā.

262. The tribe of Qays ʿAylān had occupied the territory around Qarqīsiyā after the Muslim conquest. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳays ʿAylān.

Be startled, O Umm 'Amr, by the likes of me,
whenever a distant journey is imposed on him.[263]

"Go to Ibn Sumayyah and make him leave, so that he is beyond
[73] the bridge by morning." So we went off[264] and brought Ziyād and took him out until we had removed him beyond the bridge before morning came.

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī—Maslamah and al-Hudhalī and others: Mu'āwiyah appointed Ziyād governor over al-Baṣrah, Khurāsān, and Sijistān. Then he included al-Hind, al-Baḥrayn, and 'Umān in his (territory). Ziyād arrived at al-Baṣrah at the end of Rabī' II or on the first of Jumādā I 45 (July 20, 665). There was open depravity in al-Baṣrah, so he delivered a "free" (*al-batrā'*) speech (*khuṭbah*) in which he did not praise God. It was also said that he praised God, saying:

Praise be to God for His virtues and His goodness, and we ask Him for the utmost of His blessings. O God, since You have provided us with blessings, inspire us with gratitude for your blessing upon us.[265] Now then, indeed, the terrible things that the impudent among you commit and in which the wise among you are implicated are extreme ignorance, blind error, and the immorality for the perpetrators of which the eternal fire kindles its blazing flame. The young grow up in them, and the old do not abstain from them, as if you did not hear God's signs[266] nor recited the Book of God, nor heard of the generous reward which God reck-

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263. In Ṭarafah, *Dīwān*, 154, this line reads:

So know, O Umm 'Amr, that the likes of me,
whenever a distant journey is imposed on him. . .

264. O reads: "I went off."

265. Other versions of this *khuṭbah* are quoted with minor differences by Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 56–8, according to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī; by Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, II, 241–3, according to al-Haytham b. 'Adī; by Ibn A 'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, IV, 177–80; by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, IV, 110–12, according to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī from Maslamah b. Muhārib from Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī; and by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, XVI, 200–3, according to 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī. There is a partial English translation by I. Lichtenstadter in "From Particularism to Unity," 268; and a complete translation of the version in Jāḥiẓ by K. A. Fariq in "Ziyād Ibn Abih," 2–4.

266. *Āy* are signs, miracles or tokens, also used of the verses of the Qur'ān.

oned for people who obey Him, and the painful punishment for unending eternity for people who disobey Him. Are you like someone whose eyes have been dazzled by the world, and whose ears have been closed by desires, and who has preferred the transitory over the permanent? Don't you recall that you have inaugurated misdeeds in Islām that you did not do before, including your abandonment[267] of these established brothels, and the weak women snatched in broad daylight, whose number is not few? Are there not censors among you to restrain the seducers from prowling at night and attacking by day? You have advanced kinship and kept religion away. You excuse yourselves inexcusably, and you condone the thief. Every man [74] among you defends on behalf of his fool an act of one who does not fear punishment,[268] and does not expect the return [to God]. You are not wise, while you follow the foolish and what you regard as shielding them continues, so that they violate the inviolable of Islām.[269] Then they duck behind you as coverts in suspicious hiding places. Food and drink be forbidden to me until I level them to the ground by destruction and burning. Indeed, I think that the end of this business will only be reformed by what was right at first: flexibility[270] without weakness and strength without compulsion and violence.[271] Indeed, I swear by God that unless you straighten yourselves out for me, I shall certainly take the guardian for the ward,[272] the one who stays for the one who leaves, the one who approaches for the one who turns away,[273] the healthy for the sick, until anyone among you who meets his brother shall say, "Save yourself

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267. Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 57, inserts: "of the weak to be oppressed and his wealth to be taken."

268. The text reads: *'iqāban*; C reads: *'āqībatahu*, "its consequences."

269. The text reads: *ḥuram al-Islāmī*; O reads: *ḥurrat al-Muslimīn*, "a free woman of the Muslims."

270. The text reads: *līnin*; O reads: *kays*, "intelligence."

271. The text reads: *jabariyyat^in wa 'anf^in*; C reads: *jabarūtiyyati 'anf^in*, "tyranny of violence."

272. The text reads: *al-walī*; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, IV, 111 reads: *al-mawlā*, "the client."

273. Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 58, adds: "the obedient for the disobedient."

Saʿd, for Saʿīd has perished!" Indeed, lies from the pulpit[274] remain well-known, so if you catch me in a lie it is permissible for you to disobey me.[275] Whoever among you is burglarized, I will be guarantor for whatever of his was stolen. Beware of night-prowling too, for no prowler will be brought to me but I shall shed his blood. I will postpone this for you for as long as it takes for the news to reach al-Kūfah and return to me.[276] Beware also of the summoning of the Jāhiliyyah,[277] for I shall cut out the tongue of anyone I find appealing to it. You have also invented misdeeds which did not exist [before], and we have invented a punishment for every crime. Whoever drowns folk, I shall drown; whoever burns folk, we shall burn; whoever breaks into a house, I shall break into his heart; and whoever digs
[75] up a grave, I shall bury him alive. So spare me your hands and tongues, and I shall spare you my hand and my harm.[278] I shall behead anyone of you who seems contrary to your belief in general. There have been hatreds between me and some folks, but I have put all that behind me.[279] Whoever of you was beneficent, let him increase his beneficence; and whoever was offensive, let him renounce his offense. Indeed, if I should know that one of you was overcome with incurable hatred toward me, I would not expose him nor disclose him unless he shows [it] to me openly. If he does so, I shall not argue with him. So resume your affairs, and help yourselves. Perhaps someone who is worried by our arrival may be pleased, and someone who is pleased with our arrival may be grieved.

O people, we have become your rulers and protectors. We rule you by the authority [*sulṭān*] of God, which He

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274. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIqd*, IV, 111 reads: "of the amīr."

275. Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 58, adds: "And if you hear it from me disparage me for it, and know that it is the same with me.

276. C reads: "to Syria and return to al-Baṣrah and to you."

277. The "summoning of the Jāhiliyyah" was the pre-Islamic custom of calling upon relatives for support or revenge.

278. The text reads: *ʾadhāya*. Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 58; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIqd*, IV, 112; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Nahj*, XVI, 202 read: *lisānī*, "my tongue."

279. Lit: "behind my ears and beneath my foot."

gave us, and protect you with the *fay'*[280] of God, which He bestowed on us. So you owe us obedience in whatever we desire, and we owe you justice in whatever we were assigned. So be worthy of our justice and our *fay'* by your loyalty. Know also that whatever I may fail to do, I shall not fail to do three [things]: I shall not be unavailable to anyone of you who has a request, even if he comes to me knocking at night; nor delay payment of provisions and stipends; nor prolong your expeditions. So pray to God for the righteousness of your leaders, for they are your rulers. They set the example for you, and [they are] your shelter[281] whence you take refuge. As long as you are righteous, they will be righteous.[282] Do not let your hearts imbibe hatred for them, for your rage will be aggravated and your grief lengthened thereby, and you will not achieve your desire. Even if [your desire] were granted to you, it would be evil for you. I ask God to help everyone for everyone's sake,[283] and if you see me give an order then carry it out literally. I swear by God that I have many [potential] victims among you, so let every man among you beware lest he be among them. [76]

At that, 'Abdallāh b. Ahtam stood up, saying, "O amīr, I testify that you have been granted wisdom and unmistakable judgment." Ziyād responded, "You have lied. That was the prophet of God, David."[284] Al-Aḥnaf[285] said, "You have spoken and did it well, O amīr. But praise [comes] after performance and commendation after the stipend. We should not praise until we experience." Ziyād replied, "You have spoken the truth." At that Abū Bilāl, Mirdās b. Udayyah,[286] got up mut-

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280. C reads: *taqwā*, "piety." Concerning *fay'*, see above, n. 51.

281. Lit: "cave."

282. Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 59; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, IV, 112 read: "as long as they are righteous, you are righteous."

283. The text reads: *'alā kullin*; O reads: *ma'a kullin*, "with everyone."

284. Referring to Qur'ān 38:20.

285. Al-Aḥnaf, "the deformed", was Abū Baḥr Ṣakhr b. Qays b. Mu'āwiyah al-Tamīmī al-Sa'dī (d. 67[686/7]), who was the leader of the Banū Tamīm at al-Baṣrah. See *EI*², s.v. al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays.

286. Mirdās b. Udayyah (d. 61[680/81]) was a Khārijite leader at al-

tering and saying, "God imparted differently from what you said. God, Almighty and Great, said, 'And Abraham who fulfilled his mission. One sinner shall not bear the burden of another and a man will only have what he achieved [himself].'[287] So God promised us better than what you did, O Ziyād." Ziyād responded, "Indeed we cannot find a way to what you and your companions want until we plunge into blood for it."

(According to) ʿUmar—Khallād b. Yazīd—someone—al-Shaʿbī: Every time I heard someone speaking well, I wanted him to be silent for fear that he would spoil it except for Ziyād. For whenever he would continue, his speech was most excellent.

I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī—Maslamah: Ziyād appointed ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥiṣn to be in charge of his police. He then granted the people a respite until the news reached al-Kūfah and (word of) the arrival of the news at al-Kūfah came back to him. He also used to delay the evening worship so that he was the last to worship. Then he would worship, commanding someone to recite slowly the *sūrah* of "the Cow" or something similar from the Qur'ān. When he had finished, Ziyād granted a respite for as long as it would take for a man to reach al-Khuraybah.[288] Then he ordered the commander of his police to go forth. So he went forth and killed every man he saw. One night he caught a bedouin and brought him to Ziyād, who asked, "Did you hear
[77] the announcement?" He replied, "No, by God, I arrived with my milch-camel, and when the night descended upon me, I lacked a place for her. I waited for morning to come, without knowing what the amīr had done." Ziyād declared, "By God, I believe you are telling the truth, but there will be a good example for this community in your death." Then he gave the order and the man was beheaded.

Ziyād was the first one who consolidated the government's

Baṣrah who had fought at Nahrawān but opposed the use of violence afterwards. He is considered to be one of the first of the inactive Khārijites. See *EI*[1], s.v. Mirdās b. Udaiya.

287. Qur'ān 53:37–38.

288. Al-Khuraybah was the location of two deserted Persian forts on the outskirts of al-Baṣrah where the original Muslim settlement had been. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 341, 346.

business and secured the monarchy for Mu'āwiyah. He compelled the people to obey, implemented punishment, unsheathed the sword, arrested on (mere) suspicion, and meted out dubious punishment. The people feared his government greatly so that some of them felt safe with each other. If a man or woman dropped something, no one would touch it until its owner came and picked it up. Women spent the night without locking their doors. He ruled the people with an administration the like of which had never been seen. The people feared him with a dread that they never had of anyone before him. He also lavished stipends and built the provision depot.

When Ziyād heard a sound from the house of 'Umayr, he asked, "What's that?" He was told that it was a watchman, so he said, "Desist from this! I will be guarantor for whatever of his may be lost as far away as Iṣṭakhr." Ziyād also established the police force at four thousand men, headed by 'Abdallāh b. Ḥiṣn, one of the Banū 'Ubayd b. Tha'labah, owner of the Cemetery of Ibn Ḥiṣn, and by al-Ja'd b. Qays al-Tamīmī,[289] the owner of the Arch of al-Ja'd. They were both in charge of his police force together. One day while Ziyād was going along, they both went in front of him with two spears, competing (with each other). Ziyād ordered, "O Ja'd, throw down your spear." So he threw it down, and Ibn Ḥiṣn remained in charge of his police until Ziyād died. It was said that Ziyād put al-Ja'd in charge of dealing with the evil doers, and that he would [78] pursue them.

When Ziyād was told that the roads were dangerous, he said, "My efforts are confined to the city until I prevail over it and reform it. If the city should prevail over me, victory over anything else would be more difficult. When the city has been brought under control, what is outside of it will be tackled." Thus he consolidated his control. He would say, "If a rope should be lost between me and Khurāsān, I would know who took it." He also inscribed five hundred of the Baṣran shaykhs among his companions, and provided them with three hundred to five hundred dirhams. So Ḥārith b. Badr al-Ghudānī said of him:

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289. C reads: al-Numayrī.

Who will tell Ziyād about me?
what a wonderful brother of the Caliph and Amīr!

For you are an imām of justice and aspiration,
and determination when the affairs attend you.

Your brother is the Deputy of God,[290] son of Ḥarb,
and you his assistant,[291] what a wonderful assistant!

You obtain what is desired and there comes
To your friend that which the conscience conceals for us.

Victorious by God's command, helping,
when the flock goes astray, you do not oppress.

Plentiful milk streams through your hands
of what they wanted from the world for themselves.

You apportion equally, and neither rich
nor poor complains to you about injustice.

You were energetic, and came at a wicked
time when evils were manifest.

When men divided its desire among themselves,
and the breasts would not disguise their grudges,

And city-dwellers feared and every one in the desert,
remaining out of fear or going.

So when the sword of God arose among them,
Ziyād arose bright, illuminated,

Powerful, not inexperienced among the young,
nor anxious, nor very old.

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290. *Khalīfat Allāh.*
291. Wazīr.

I was told by 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad: Ziyād [79]
sought help from a number of Companions of the Prophet, among whom were 'Imrān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khuzā'ī, whom he put in charge of rendering judgment at al-Baṣrah, al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī, whom he put in charge of Khurāsān, Samurah b. Jundab, Anas b. Mālik, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah. When 'Imrān asked to resign from his position, Ziyād relieved him and appointed 'Abdallāh b. Faḍālah al-Laythī as judge, then his brother, 'Āṣim b. Faḍālah, then Zurārah b. Awfā al-Jurashī, whose sister, Lubābah, was with Ziyād. It was also said that Ziyād was the first to have people go in front of him with spears and walk in front of him with clubs. He made use of the guard, a unit of five hundred men, and appointed Shaybān, owner of the Cemetery of Shaybān among the Banū Sa'd, to be in charge of them. They were stationed at the mosque.

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī: Ziyād divided Khurāsān into four parts and appointed 'Umayr b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī over Marw, Khulayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī over Abrashahr, Qays b. al-Haytham over Marw al-Rūdh, al-Fāryāb and al-Ṭāliqān, and Nāfi' b. Khālid al-Ṭāḥī over Harāt, Bādhghīs, Qādis, and Bushanj.

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī—Maslamah b. Muḥārib and Ibn Abī 'Amr, shaykh of the Azd: Ziyād rebuked Nāfi' b. Khālid al-Ṭāḥī, imprisoned him, and made him sign a note for one hundred thousand dirhams—some say, eight hundred thousand. The reason for Ziyād's bad feeling towards him was that Nāfi' had sent him a table with gem-encrusted legs by means of a servant (*ghulām*) of his, called Zayd, who was Nāfi''s steward [80]
over all his affairs. But Zayd slandered Nāfi', and told Ziyād, "He has cheated you and taken one of the legs of the table, and substituted a leg of gold for it." Some of the leading men of the Azd then went to Ziyād. Among them was Sayf b. Wahb al-Ma'walī, who was noble and about whom the poet says:

Apply to Sayf for generosity and liberality,
and apply to Ṣabrah[292] for the greatest deeds.

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292. Ṣabrah b. Shaymān b. 'Ukayf b. Kuyyūm was a leader of the Azd at the Battle of the Camel. See Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 299.

They entered Ziyād's presence while he was brushing his teeth, and when Ziyād saw them he quoted:

Recall for us the stopping place of our horses,
at the bend,[293] since you are in need of us.

As far as the Azd are concerned, they say, "No, Sayf b. Wahb Abū Ṭalḥah al-Ma'walī quoted that line instead, when he entered Ziyād's presence." So Ziyād replied, "Yes." However, it reminded Ziyād of the time when Ṣabrah had protected him, so he called for the note and erased it with his toothbrush and released Nāfi'.

I was told by 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī—Maslamah: Ziyād dismissed Nāfi' b. Khālid al-Ṭāḥī, Khulayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī, and 'Umayr b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī, and appointed al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr b. Mujaddah[294] b. Ḥidhyam[295] b. al-Ḥārith b. Nu'aylah[296] b. Mulayk.[297] Nu'aylah was the brother of Ghifār b. Mulayk but they were few so they wound up with Ghifār. According to Maslamah:[298] Ziyād ordered his chamberlain, saying, "Invite al-Ḥakam to come to me," meaning al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī. So the chamberlain went out and upon seeing al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī, he admitted him. Ziyād remarked, "Here is a man with nobility who has companionship
[81] with the Messenger of God," and appointed him over Khurāsān. Then Ziyād said, "I did not want you, but God, Almighty and Great, wanted you."

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī—Abū al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī and Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl—his father: When Ziyād became governor of Iraq, he appointed al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī as governor over Khurāsān. He also appointed men along with him over the districts and ordered them to obey al-Ḥakam. They were in charge of collecting the tax revenue. They were Aslam b. Zur-

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293. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 349–50.

294. C reads: Muhaddaj; O reads, Makhdūj. Mukhaddaj is given as an alternative by Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 154.

295. C reads: Jurthum; O reads: Khulaym b. Ḥulwān; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 36, 153 reads: Jidhyam.

296. Ibn Hajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 346 reads: Tha'labah.

297. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 154; Ibn Hajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 346 read: Mulayl b. Damrah b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah.

298. O adds: "Salamah told us."

'ah, Khulayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī, Nāfi' b. Khālid al-Ṭāḥī, Rabī'ah b. 'Isl al-Yarbū'ī, 'Umayr b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī, and Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhilī. Al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr died after he had raided Ṭukhāristān taking great booty and had appointed Anas b. Abī Unās b. Zunaym as his deputy. He had written to Ziyād, "Indeed I have recommended him to God, to the Muslims, and to you." Ziyad remarked, "O God, indeed I do not approve of him for Your religion, nor for the Muslims, nor for me." Ziyād wrote to Khulayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī about the governorship of Khurāsān. Then he sent al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī to Khurāsān with fifty thousand men, twenty-five thousand from al-Baṣrah and twenty-five thousand from al-Kūfah. Al-Rabī' was in charge of the Baṣrans and 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Aqīl was in charge of the Kūfans, while al-Rabī' b. Ziyād was in charge of the entire group.

It is also said that in this year Marwān b. al-Ḥakam led the people in the pilgrimage while he was in charge of al-Madīnah. The previously mentioned governors and officials in charge of the provincial capitals during this year were al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah in charge of al-Kūfah, while Shurayḥ was in charge of rendering judgment there, and Ziyād in charge of al-Baṣrah, and the (other) officials whom I have mentioned previously.

During this year 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd led the winter raid against Byzantine territory.

The Events of the Year 46

(March 13, 666–March 2, 667)

[82] Among these events was the winter raid of Mālik b. 'Ubaydallāh against Byzantine territory. According to alternative accounts this raid was led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd or by Mālik b. Hubayrah al-Sakūnī.

During this year, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd departed from Byzantine territory to Homs. Ibn Uthāl al-Naṣrānī[299] is said to have slipped him a poisoned drink, and when he drank it, it killed him.

The Death of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd

The reason for that was what I was told by 'Umar—'Alī—Maslamah b. Muḥārib: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd had become great in Syria and the Syrians favored him because of the reputation among them of his father, Khālid b. al-Walīd, and because of his usefulness to the Muslims in Byzantine territory, as well as his bravery. They favored him so much that

299. "The Christian."

Mu'āwiyah feared him. He was afraid for himself with regard to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, because of the affection of the people for him. So he ordered Ibn Uthāl to plot to kill him, and guaranteed to Ibn Uthāl that, if he did so, his tax (*kharāj*) would be revoked for as long as he lived and that he would be put in charge of the collection of the tax revenues (*kharāj*) of Homs. As a result, when 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid reached Homs, returning from Byzantine territory, Ibn Uthāl slipped him a poisoned drink with some of his slaves. He drank it and died at Homs. Mu'āwiyah then fulfilled for Ibn Uthāl what he had guaranteed to him. He put Ibn Uthāl in charge of (collecting) the tax revenues (*kharāj*) of Homs and revoked his own tax (*kharāj*). Khālid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd came to al-Madīnah, and one day he sat with 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr. When Khālid greeted him, 'Urwah asked him who he was. When he replied, "I am Khālid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd," 'Urwah [83] asked him, "What did Ibn 'Uthāl do?" At that, Khālid got up from his presence and departed, heading for Homs. Then he lay in wait for Ibn Uthāl there. When he saw Ibn Uthāl riding one day, Khālid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān stood in his way and struck him with his sword, killing him. When he was brought to Mu'āwiyah, the latter imprisoned him for several days and fined him Ibn Uthāl's blood price, so that no one retaliated against Khālid for killing him. When Khālid returned to al-Madīnah, he came to 'Urwah and greeted him. When 'Urwah asked him, "What did Ibn Uthāl do?" he replied, "I took care of Ibn Uthāl for you, but what did Ibn Jurmūz do?" At that, 'Urwah became silent. When Khālid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān struck Ibn Uthāl, he said:

I am the descendent of the Sword of God, so know me!
Only my noble descent and my religion last,
And a trenchant sword with which my right hand assailed.

During this year al-Khaṭīm and Sahm b. Ghālib al-Ḥujaymī rebelled, proclaiming, "Judgment belongs only to God."[300] I was

300. The text reads: *ḥakkama*, which means "to say the Khārijite slogan, *la ḥukmah illa li-llāhi*."

told about their affair by 'Umar—'Alī: When Ziyād became governor, Sahm b. Ghālib al-Ḥujaymī and al-Khaṭīm, who was Yazīd b. Mālik al-Bāhilī, feared him. As for Sahm, he went off to al-Ahwāz and caused mischief, proclaiming, "Judgment belongs only to God." Then he returned, hid, and sought a guarantee of safe-conduct. Ziyād did not grant him that, but sought him, killed him, and crucified him on his door. As for al-Khaṭīm, Ziyād exiled him to Baḥrayn, then he allowed him to come back, saying to him, "Stay in your city." Ziyād also told Muslim b. 'Amr to vouch for him, but Muslim refused, saying, "If he spends the night away from his house, I shall let you know." Muslim then came to Ziyād and said, "Al-Khaṭīm did
[84] not spend the night in his house." At that, Ziyād ordered him to be killed and (his corpse) thrown into (the district of) the Bāhilah (tribe).[301]

'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān led the people in the pilgrimage this year. The officials and governors were the same as during the previous year.

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301. C reads: "the gate of his kinsmen."

The Events of the Year 47

(March 3, 667–February 19, 668)

The winter campaign of Mālik b. Hubayrah against Byzantine territory occurred during this year, as well as the winter campaign of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qaynī against Anṭākiyah.

In this year also, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ was dismissed from (the governorship of) Egypt, and Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj was put in charge there. According to al-Wāqidī, Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj set out westward; he was an 'Uthmānī.[302] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, who had come from al-Iskandariyyah, marched past him, saying to him, "O Mu'āwiyah, indeed, by my life, you took your reward from Mu'āwiyah. You killed Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr in order to be made governor of Egypt, and you have become its governor." Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj replied, "I only killed Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr for what he did to 'Uthmān." At that 'Abd al-Raḥmān replied, "However, if you were seeking [revenge for] the blood of 'Uthmān, you would not have participated in what Mu'āwiyah did, since 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ

302. An 'Uthmānī was one of those who demanded revenge for the death of 'Uthmān and the punishment of his murderers during the first civil war.

treated al-Ash'arī the way he did.[303] You were the first person to jump up and declare allegiance to Mu'āwiyah.

Some of the biographers said that in this year Ziyād sent al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī to Khurāsān as governor. He raided the mountain of al-Ghūr and Farāwandah. He defeated the people there with the sword by force, conquered the territory, and acquired much booty and captives. I shall mention those who
[85] differ with this account later if God Most High wills. The one who told this account mentioned that al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr returned from this raid of his and died at Marw.

There is disagreement over who led the people in the pilgrimage this year. Al-Wāqidī said 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān was put in charge of the pilgrimage in this year. Others said the one who led the pilgrimage in this year was 'Anbasah b. Abī Sufyān. The governors and officials in charge of the provincial capitals were the same as those whom I mentioned for the preceding year.

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303. This refers to 'Amr's deception of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī during the arbitration at Adhrūḥ.

The Events of the Year 48

(FEBRUARY 20, 668–FEBRUARY 8, 669)

The winter campaign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qaynī against Anṭākiyah occurred during this year, as well as the summer campaign of 'Abdallāh b. Qays al-Fazārī, the sea raid of Mālik b. Hubayrah al-Sakūnī, and the joint sea raid of 'Uqbah b. 'Āmir al-Juhanī with the Egyptians and the people of al-Madīnah. Al-Mundhir b. al-Zuhayr was in charge of the people of al-Madīnah, and Khālid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd was in charge of them all.

According to some authorities, Ziyād sent Ghālib b. Faḍālah al-Laythī to be in charge of Khurāsān. Ghālib had been a Companion of the Messenger of God.

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam led the people in the pilgrimage this year, according to most biographers. He expected to be dismissed due to Mu'āwiyah's ill will towards him and because Mu'āwiyah had taken back Fadak after having granted it to him. The governors of the provincial capitals and their officials during this year were the same as those during the preceding year.

The Events of the Year 49

[86]

(February 9, 669–January 28, 670)

The winter campaign of Mālik b. Hubayrah al-Sakūnī into Byzantine territory occurred during this year.

The raid of Faḍālah b. 'Ubayd against Jarabbah also occurred during this year. He spent the winter at Jarabbah, conquered it, and took many captives there.

The summer campaign of 'Abdallāh b. Kurz al-Bajalī occurred during this year.

The sea raid of Yazīd b. Shajarah al-Rahāwī occurred during this year. He spent the winter with the Syrians.

The sea raid of 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' occurred during this year, and he spent the winter with the Egyptians.

The raid of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah against the Byzantines occurred during this year. He reached Qusṭanṭīniyyah accompanied by Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn 'Umar, Ibn al-Zubayr, and Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī.

[87] In this year Mu'āwiyah discharged Marwān b. al-Ḥakam from al-Madīnah, in the month of Rabī' I (April 9–May 8, 669). He appointed Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ as governor over al-Madīnah in the month of Rabī' II (May 9–June 6, 669)—it is also said, in the

month of Rabīʿ I in this year.[304] Altogether, Marwān was Muʿāwiyah's governor of al-Madīnah for eight years and two months. When Marwān was dismissed, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal was in charge of rendering judgment at al-Madīnah for him—that is what al-Wāqidī claims. When Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ was put in charge, he dismissed ʿAbdallāh from that post and appointed Abū Salimah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Awf as judge.

It was said that in this year the plague struck al-Kūfah. Al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah fled the plague, and when it lifted, he was asked, "Why don't you return to al-Kūfah?" So he went back and was stricken and died. It has also been said that al-Mughīrah died in the year 50(670/671). Muʿāwiyah added al-Kūfah to Ziyād's (territory). He was thus the first one to have al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah combined (under his jurisdiction).

In this year Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ led the people in the pilgrimage. The governors and officials during this year were the same as those during the previous year, except for the governor of al-Kūfah. There are differences regarding the date of al-Mughīrah's death, for some biographers said he perished in this year while others said it was in the following year.

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304. According to Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 245, this happened in the year 48(668/9)

The Events of the Year 50

(JANUARY 29, 670-JANUARY 17, 671)

The raid of Busr b. Abī Arṭāt and Sufyān b. Awf al-Azdī in Byzantine territory occurred during this year. It was also said that the sea raid of Faḍālah b. 'Ubayd al-Anṣārī took place during this year.

The death of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah occurred in this year according to al-Wāqidī and al-Madā'inī. (According to) Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Thaqafī—his father: Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah was a tall man with an injured eye which had been wounded at Yarmūk.[305] He died in (the month of) Sha'bān (August 24–September 21, 670), at the age of seventy. As for 'Awānah, he said: According to what I was told by Hishām b. 'Ubayd,[306] al-Mughīrah perished in the year 51(671/672). Others said: No, he perished in the year 49(669/670).

I was told by 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad: Ziyād was in charge of al-Baṣrah and its districts until this year. When al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah died at al-Kūfah while he was its

305. The decisive battle in the Muslim conquest of Syria was fought at Yarmūk, in northern Jordan, in Rajab 15 (August 636). See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Yarmūk.

306. C and Cairo read: Muḥammad.

governor, Muʿāwiyah wrote to Ziyād assigning him to be in charge of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. He was the first one to have al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah combined (under his jurisdiction). Ziyād appointed Samurah b. Jundab as his deputy over al-Baṣrah and set out for al-Kūfah. Ziyād would stay in al-Kūfah for six months and in al-Baṣrah for six months.

I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī—Maslamah b. Muḥārib: When al- [88]
Mughīrah died, Iraq was combined under Ziyād's jurisdiction, so he came to al-Kūfah, ascended the pulpit, praised and glorified God, and then said, "Indeed, when that matter came to me while I was at al-Baṛah, I wanted to set out for you with two thousand of the police force of al-Baṣrah. Then, when I remembered that you are people of truth, and that your truth often rejected the false, I came to you with my family. God be praised, Who removed from me what the people imposed and preserved for me what they lost . . . " until he finished the speech. When he was pelted with pebbles on the pulpit, he sat down until they ceased. Then he summoned some of his henchmen and commanded them to seize the gates of the mosque. He then said, "Let every man of you take the one sitting next to him, and do not say, 'I don't know who was sitting next to me.'" He then ordered a seat[307] to be put at the gate of the mosque for him, and summoned them, four at a time, to swear by God, "None of us threw pebbles at you." He freed whoever swore and arrested and set aside whoever did not swear until there were thirty men—it is also said, eighty. He then cut off their hands on the spot. Al-Shaʿbī said: By God, we never accused him of lying. Whenever he promised us good or evil, he carried it out.

I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī—Salamah b. ʿUthmān—al-Shaʿbī: The first man Ziyād killed at al-Kūfah was Awfā b. Ḥiṣn. Ziyād had heard something about him, but when he sought him, he fled. When Ziyād inspected the people, Awfā marched past him. Ziyād asked, "Who is this?" When he was told that he was Awfā b. Ḥiṣn, Ziyād quoted, "His feet brought misery."[308] At that Awfā recited:

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307. A *kursī* was a chair, throne, or judgment seat.
308. Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, 21–22; tr. G. W. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia* I, 25.

Indeed, Ziyād, Abū al-Mughīrah, does not
hurry, while the people have haste.

I feared you, by God, so know my oath,
fear of the serpents,[309] the attack of the vipers.

[89] You came when the land was confined, so there
was no refuge upon it for someone fearful.

Ziyād asked, "What is your opinion about ʿUthmān?" Awfā replied, "Husband of two daughters of the Messenger of God. I have not disowned him. That is my general opinion." Ziyād continued, "What, then, do you say about Muʿāwiyah?" Awfā answered, "Generous, forbearing." Ziyād then asked, "And what do you say about me?" Awfā responded, "I heard that you said in al-Baṣrah, 'I shall certainly seize the healthy for the sick and the one who comes for the one who turns away.'" Ziyād replied, "That's true." Awfā said, "You acted arbitrarily."[310] Ziyād retorted, "The braggart is nothing but an evil flute," and killed him. At that, ʿAbdallāh b. Hammām al-Salūlī said:

God thwarted the effort of Awfā b. Ḥiṣn,
when he became the sorcerer's chicken.

Destruction and misery led him to a lion
of a thicket and a deaf viper.

When Ziyād came to al-Kūfah, ʿUmārah b. ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ came to him saying, "ʿAmr b. al-Ḥamiq is assembling some of the faction of Abū Turāb."[311] ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth asked him, "What leads you to report what you are not certain about and do not know what the result might be?" Ziyād then said "Both of you are wrong to talk with me about this openly,

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This proverb is ascribed to al-Ḥārith b. Jabalah al-Ghassānī who said it to al-Ḥārith b. ʿAyyāf al-ʿAbdī who had satirized him, when the latter was brought captive to him. It is also ascribed to ʿUbayd b. al-Abraṣ who said it to al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir.

309. *Al-ḥafāfīth*, pl. of *ḥufāth*: a large, mottled, red snake with a great head.

310. Lit. "You flailed about in the dark."

311. That is, "Father of Dust," an appellation of uncertain origin used of ʿAlī by his enemies. See E. Kohlberg, "Abū Turāb," 347–52.

while 'Amr would refute what you say. Both of you go to 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq and say to him, "What is this group that you assemble? If anyone wants to speak with you, or you with him, do so in the mosque." 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq is also said to have been accused of that by Yazīd b. Ruwaym who told Ziyād, "'Amr has made both cities fester." At that, 'Amr b. al-Ḥurayth remarked, "Yazīd has never been occupied with anything useful at any given time." Ziyād then told Yazīd b. Ruwaym, "As for you, you would have allowed 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq's blood to be shed; and as for 'Amr [b. al-Ḥurayth], you would have spared his blood. Even if I knew that the marrow of his leg had liquified out of hatred for me, I would not be furious with him until he should rebel against me." Ziyād also made use of the *maqṣūrah*[312] when the people of al-Kūfah pelted him with pebbles. When Ziyād set out from al-Baṣrah for al-Kūfah, he put Samurah b. Jundab in charge (of al-Baṣrah). [90]

I was told by 'Umar—Iṣḥāq b. Idrīs[313]—Muḥammad b. Sulaym: I asked Anas b. Sīrīn if Samurah b. Jundab had killed anyone. He replied, "Can those whom Samurah b. Jundab killed be counted? Ziyad made him deputy over al-Baṣrah and came to al-Kūfah. When he returned, Samurah had killed eight thousand people. Ziyād asked him, 'Aren't you afraid that you might have killed someone who was innocent?' Samurah replied, 'Even if I should kill as many more of them, I would not fear [it],' or words to that effect."

I was told by 'Umar—Mūsā b. Ismā'īl—Nūḥ b. Qays—Ash'ath al-Ḥuddānī—Abū Sawwār al-'Adawī: On one morning Samurah killed forty-seven men of my folk who had collected the Qur'ān.

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad—Ja'far al-Sadafī—Awf: Samurah approached from al-Madīnah. When he was at the dwellings of the Banū Asad, a man went out from one of their alleys, and suddenly attacked the first cavalry. Someone among the folk then attacked the man, piercing him with a spear. The cavalry then advanced, and Samurah b. Jundab came upon the man as he lay wallowing in his blood. Sa-

312. See above, n. 257.
313. O reads: Uways.

murah asked, "Who is this?" and was told, "The first cavalry of the amīr struck him." Samurah remarked, "If you hear that we have ridden, avoid our spearheads."

I was told by ʿUmar—Zuhayr b. Ḥarb—Wahb b. Jarīr—Ghassān b. Muḍar—Saʿīd b. Zayd: Qarīb and Zuḥḥāf rebelled while Ziyād was at al-Kūfah and Samurah at al-Baṣrah. We[314] went out by night and camped with the Banū Yashkur, who were seventy men—that was in Ramaḍān (September 22–October 21, [91] 670). They then came to the Banū Ḍubayʿah, who were seventy men. As they went past one of their shaykhs called Ḥakkāk, he saw them and said, "Welcome to Abū al-Shaʿthā.'"[315] They thought that the shaykh was Ibn Ḥiṣn,[316] so they killed him and dispersed among the places of worship belonging to the Azd. A group of them came to the plaza (*raḥbah*) of the Banū ʿAlī, and another of the Mosque of al-Muʿādil. At that, Sayf b. Wahb went forth against them with his friends and killed whomever came his way. Youths of the Banū ʿAlī and of the Banū Rāsib also went forth against Qarīb and Zuḥḥāf, shooting arrows at them. Qarīb asked, "Is ʿAbdallāh b. Aws al-Ṭāḥī among the folk?" while he was contending with him. Upon being told that he was, Qarīb exclaimed, "Onward, then, to the contest!" ʿAbdallāh then killed him and brought (back) his head. Ziyād arrived from al-Kūfah, and began to rebuke him, saying, "O best of the Ṭāḥīs, if you had not succeeded against the folk, I would have removed you to the prison." Qarīb belonged to the Iyād and Zuḥḥāf to the Ṭayyiʾ, and they were cousins. They were both the first ones to rebel after the people of al-Nahr. Ghassān said: I heard Saʿīd saying that Abū Bilāl said, "God did not bring Qarīb close.[317] I swear by God that I would rather fall from the sky than do what he did," (that is, act ruthlessly).[318]

I was told by ʿUmar—Zuhayr—Wahb—his father: Ziyād treated the Ḥarūriyyah more harshly after Qarīb and Zuḥḥāf. He killed them and ordered Samurah to do the same. Ziyād would

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314. Cairo: "they both," would seem to be the preferred reading.
315. Abū al-Shaʿthā' means "one with matted or disheveled hair."
316. That is, the commander of Ziyād's police force.
317. Qarīb means "close" or "near."
318. According to Ibn al-Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 260–64, these events occurred in the year 53(672/3).

appoint Samurah deputy over al-Baṣrah whenever he went to al-Kūfah. So Samurah killed many of them. I was told by 'Umar—Abū 'Ubaydah: At that time Ziyād spoke from the pulpit, "O people of al-Baṣrah, By God, take care of these for me or I shall certainly start with you. By God, if a single man of them escapes, you won't get one dirham of your stipends for the [entire] year." So the people rose up against them and killed them.

(According to) Muḥammad b. 'Umar: In this year Mu'āwiyah [92]
ordered[319] that the pulpit of the Messenger of God be transported[320] to Syria. When it was moved, the sun was eclipsed so that the stars were seen plainly that day. When the people considered that to be very momentous, Mu'āwiyah said, "I didn't want to move it; rather, I feared that it would have become wormy, so I paid attention to it." Then he draped it that day. Muḥammad b. 'Umar also mentioned that Khālid b. al-Qāsim told him that, according to Shu'ayb b. 'Amr al-Umawī.

(I was told by) Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Dīnār—his father: Mu'āwiyah said, "Indeed, I thought that the pulpit and staff of the Messenger of God should not be left at al-Madīnah because [its people] were the enemies and murderers of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Uthmān," When Mu'āwiyah arrived, he looked for the staff, and Sa'd al-Qaraẓ had it. Abū Hurayrah and Jābir b. 'Abdallāh then came to him, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful, we remind you of God, Almighty and Great. Do not do this. For it is not right for the pulpit of the Messenger of God to be removed from the place where he put it, nor for his staff to be removed to Syria. Would you remove the mosque!" At that, Mu'awiyah refrained and added six steps to the pulpit. As a result, today it has eight steps.[321] He also apologized to the people for what he did.

(According to) Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Suwayd[322] b. 'Abd al-Azīz—Isḥāq b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Farwah—Abān b. Sāliḥ—Qabīṣah b. Dhu'ayb: 'Abd al-Malik[323] was concerned about the

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319. O reads: "wanted to pull up the pulpit."
320. C reads: "and transport it."
321. See also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 66.
322. C reads: Mūsā.
323. 'Abd al-Malik was Caliph from 65(685) until 86 (705). See *EI*², s.v. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

pulpit. So Qabīṣah b. Dhuʾayb said to him, "I remind you of God, Almighty and Great, [warning] not to do this and not to transfer it. Indeed, when the Commander of the Faithful, Muʿāwiyah, moved it, the sun was eclipsed. The Messenger of God said, 'Whoever swears an oath upon my pulpit sinfully, his resting place shall be in the fire.'[324] You would remove it from al-Madīnah while it is part of the rights among the people at al-Madīnah." As a result, ʿAbd al-Malik refrained from that and
[93] abstained from mentioning it. When al-Walīd[325] was [ruler] and made the pilgrimage, he was interested in that, saying, "Tell me about it. I certainly think that I shall do [it]." Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib then sent to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz,[326] saying, "Tell your master, 'Fear God, Almighty and Great, and don't be exposed to God, to whom be praise, nor to His wrath.'" When ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz spoke to him, al-Walīd refrained and abstained from mentioning it. When Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik[327] made the pilgrimage, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz informed him about what al-Walīd had been interested in and the message Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib had sent to him. At that, Sulaymān remarked, "I did not like for that to be mentioned about ʿAbd al-Malik or about al-Walīd. This is arrogance, and is not for us or for this pulpit. We took over the world, and it is in our hands, and we want to support one of the symbols of Islām sent to it by transporting it to our presence. This is not righteous."

In this year Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj was dismissed from Egypt and Ifrīqiyyah. Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān had sent ʿUqbah b. Nāfiʿ al-Fihrī to Ifrīqiyyah before he put Maslamah in charge of Egypt and Ifrīqiyyah. ʿUqbah conquered Ifrīqiyyah and laid out is [city of] Qayrawān.[328] Muḥammad b. ʿUmar claimed that its location, a thicket, was undesirable because of beasts of prey

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324. This is a well-known hadīth. See Wensinck, *Handbook*, 198.

325. Al-Walīd was the son and successor of ʿAbd al-Malik as Caliph from 86[705] until 98[715] See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

326. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was the governor of al-Madīnah for his cousin, al-Walīd. He was Caliph from 99[717] until 101[720] See *EI*[1], s.v. ʿOmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

327. Sulaymān was Caliph from 98[715] until 99[717] See *EI*[2], s.v. Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

328. Qayrawān [Kairouan] is in central Tunisia, 156 km south of Tunis. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 247; and *EI*[2], s. v. al-Ḳayrawān.

and snakes and other kinds of animals. When God, Almighty and Great, summoned them, none of them remained but they all fled as the beasts of prey carried off their cubs. (According to) Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mūsā b. 'Alī—his father: 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' announced, "Indeed when we settled they departed, blaming us, and went out fleeing from their dens."

I was told by al-Mufaḍḍil b. Faḍālah—Zayd b. Abī Ḥabīb—a man from the Egyptian army: We arrived with 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' who was the first person to lay out (the city). He divided it up [94] into dwellings and houses for the people, and built its mosque. We stayed with him until he was dismissed. He was the best of governors and the best commander.

Then in this year, Mu'āwiyah dismissed Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj from Egypt and 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' from Ifrīqiyyah, and he put Maslamah b. Mukhallad in charge of all of Egypt and the West. He was the first one for whom the entire West, Egypt, Barqah, Ifrīqiyyah, and Ṭarābulus were combined. Maslamah b. Mukhallad put a mawlā of his called al-Muhājir in charge of Ifrīqiyyah, dismissed 'Uqbah b. Nāfi', and removed him from affairs of government. Maslamah remained as governor over Egypt and the West, while Abū al-Muhājir was in charge of Ifrīqiyyah on his behalf, until Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān died.

In this year Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī died. It has also been said that the death of Abū Mūsā occurred in the year 52(672)

There is a difference of opinion about who led the people in the pilgrimage this year. Some people said Mu'āwiyah led them in pilgrimage. Others said his son Yazīd led them in the pilgrimage. In this year the governor of al-Madīnah was Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, while Ziyād was in charge of al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah, the East, Sijistān, al-Sind, and al-Hind.

In this year Ziyād sought al-Farazdaq,[329] while the Banū Nahshal and Fuqaym incited (Ziyād) against him. As a result, al-Farazdaq fled from Ziyād to Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, who was then governor of al-Madīnah for Mu'āwiyah. He sought refuge with Sa'īd, and the latter granted him asylum.

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329. Al-Farazdaq, "the lump of dough", was the famous poet, Hammām b. Ghālib who died ca. 110(728) or 112(730) See *EI*², s.v. al-Farazdaḳ.

Al-Farazdaq's Flight from Ziyād

I was told by ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū ʿUbaydah and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madāʾinī and others: When al-Farazdaq satirized the Banū Nahshal and the Banū Fuqaym . . . Abū Zayd did not add to the chain of authorities (*isnād*) of his report more than I have mentioned. As for Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, he told me according to
[95] Muḥammad b. Saʿd[330]—Abū ʿUbaydah—Aʿyān b. Labaṭah b. al-Farazdaq—his father—his father: When I satirized al-Ashhab b. Rumaylah and al-Baʿīth they were both disgraced. The Banū Nahshal and the Banū Fuqaym incited Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān against me. Others claimed that Yazīd b. Masʿūd b. Khālid b. Mālik b. Ribʿī b. Salmā b. Jandal b. Nahshal also incited against him. Aʿyan said: Ziyād did not recognize (who al-Farazdaq was) until he was told, "The bedouin youth who clutched his coin,[331] and threw off his clothing."

(According to) Abū ʿUbaydah—Aʿyan b. Labaṭah—his father—his father: My father, Ghālib, sent me with his caravan and merchandise in order to sell it and purchase items for him and to buy clothing for his family. Upon arriving at al-Baṣrah, I sold the merchandise, took the money it brought, and put it inside my clothes, holding on to it. Then a man confronted me who seemed to me like a devil. When he remarked, "How often you check it," I responded, "And what prevents me?" He replied, "Now then, if it were someone else I knew, he would not keep it." At that, I asked, "And who is he?" He replied, "Ghālib b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah." So I summoned the people of the Mirbad,[332] and saying "Take it!" I scattered the money upon them. When someone said, "Cast off your robe, O son of Ghālib," I cast it off. When another said, "Cast off your shirt," I cast that off. Yet another said, "Cast off your turban." So I cast that off until I was left in underwear. But when they said, "Cast off your underwear," I replied, "I shall not cast it off and go naked. I am not insane." When the news reached Ziyād, he sent cavalry to the Mirbad to bring me to him. But a man of the Banū al-

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330. O reads: Saʿdān.

331. The text reads: *waraqahu*; O reads: *ridfahu*, "his backside;" C reads: *rizqahu*, "his ration."

332. The Mirbad was an open space in al-Baṣrah used as a market-place.

Hujaym came on horseback, saying, "They are coming for you. To the rescue!" He mounted me behind him, and galloped off until we escaped. When the cavalry arrived, I had already left.

Ziyād then took my two uncles, Dhuhayl[333] and al-Zuḥḥāf, [96] the sons of Ṣa'ṣa'ah, who were registered in the *dīwān* for two thousand dirhams apiece. Since they were there, he imprisoned them. I sent word to them both, "If you wish, I would come to you." But they both replied, "Don't come near us. Indeed, this is Ziyād. What might he do to us, although we have not committed any crime?" They both stayed several days. Then some people interceded with Ziyād, saying, "These are two attentive and obedient shaykhs who have committed no crime except for what a bedouin youth belonging to the desert people did." At that, Ziyād released them, and they both said to me, "Inform us about your entire business for your father—provisions or clothing?" I then told them both everything. They bought it, and I went off to Ghālib, bringing everything with me. When I came to him, the news about me had already reached him. When he asked me, "How did you do?" I told him what had happened. He remarked, "Indeed you did well." And he rubbed my head.

At that time al-Farazdaq was not composing poetry, but he composed poetry afterwards. Ziyād thus harbored that (escapade) against him.

Then al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, Jāriyah b. Qudāmah of the Banū Rabī'ah b. Ka'b b. Sa'd, al-Jawn b. Qatādah al-'Abshamī,[334] and al-Ḥutāt b. Yazīd Abū Munāzil one of the Banū Ḥuwayy[335] b. Sufyān b. Muhjāshi' travelled to visit Mu'āwiyah b. Alī Sufyān. He assigned each of them stipends of one hundred thousand dirhams, while he assigned al-Ḥutāt a stipend of seventy thousand. When they were on the road, they questioned each other and told about their stipends. Since al-Ḥutāt had received only seventy thousand, he returned to Mu'āwiyah. When the latter asked him, "What brought you back, O Abū Munāzil?" he re-

333. O reads: Zunbīl.

334. For al-Jawn b. Qatādah see Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 312–13.

335. C reads: Jawn. For al-Ḥutāt b. Yazīd see Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 379, which has a version of this account explaining that al-Aḥnaf and Jāriyah had been supporters of 'Alī.

plied, "You have disgraced me among the Banū Tamīm. Is not my lineage sound? Am I not old? Am I not obeyed by my clan?" When Muʿāwiyah replied that he was, he asked, "Why then did
[97] you belittle me before the folk?" Muʿāwiyah explained. "Indeed I purchased their faith from the folk and entrusted you with your faith and your views about ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān"—al-Ḥutāt was an ʿUthmānī. At that he said, "Me, too; purchase my faith from me." So Muʿāwiyah ordered the full stipend of the folk for him. But al-Ḥutāt disparaged his stipend, so Muʿāwiyah withheld it. Al-Farazdaq then said about that:[336]

Both your father and my uncle, O Muʿāwiyah, bequeathed
an inheritance. So his relatives own the inheritance.[337]

Why did you take [338] the legacy of al-Ḥutāt,
while the liquidity of Ḥarb's legacy is frozen for you?

For if this matter had happened during the Jāhiliyyah,
You would have known whose auxiliary cavalry is insignificant.

And if it was during [the time of] faith [something] like this would be hateful to you.
We have our rightful possession,[339] or he choked on the water he drank.[340]

And if it happened when we were [there], while the hand was generous,
a sharp [sword] would determine its blow, penetrating you.

(Muḥammad b. ʿAlī recited: While there was abundance[341] in the palm of the hand.)

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336. Other versions of this poem are in Boucher, *Divan*, III, 139; Bevan, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, 608–9; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIX, 37; Ṣāwī, *Sharḥ*, 56–7. The first eight lines are quoted by Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, I, 379.

337. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "relatives are the first to inherit."

338. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "devour."

339. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "And if this matter happened in someone else's kingdom, you would fulfill it."

340. See Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 429; Freytag, *Proverbia*, II, 943: "He eats an elephant and chokes on an insect," said of someone who tries to avoid lying.

341. O reads: "something pleasant."

You were hurled at something, O Mu'āwiyah, before which
are huge chasms whose steepness is difficult,

While I did not give[342] half[343] from powerlessness
except yourself. Even if his squadrons were hostile to me,

Am I not the most respected of people with regard to relatives [98]
and clan?
and more forbidding than they towards neighbors when
his side is wronged?

And no [woman] bore after the Prophet and his family
the likes of me, a stallion among men resembling him.

My father is Ghālib, and the man is a confidant whose
descent is traced to Ṣa'ṣa'ah,[344] so who is there related to
him?[345]

The courtyard of my house is beside the Pleiades,
and before it the full moon passing among its stars.[346]

My ancestors are stoney[347] mountains, as many as pebbles,
and my lineage is the lineage of generosity, so who would
call it to account?

I am the son of one who gives life to the *wa'īd*[348] and a guarantor
against fate when its profits were difficult.

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342. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "was not given."
343. That is, submission and obedience to the government. See Ṣāwī, *Sharḥ*, 57.
344. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*, 609 reads:

My forefather is Ghālib and the man
Ṣa'ṣa'ah who traces his descent to Dārim.

Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah was one of the main tribal divisions of Tamīm.
345. The previous four lines are in the *Naḳā'iḍ* but not in the *Divan*.
346. This line occurs in the *Dīwān* after the following line as:

The courtyard of my house is spacious. . . .

347. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: "lofty."
348. A *wa'īd* is an unwanted child condemned to be buried alive.

How many forefathers I have, O Muʿāwiyah, who are still
more illustrious;[349] what his side turns away competes with the wind.

The branches of the two Māliks[350] augmented him, and your father,
who was from ʿAbd al-Shams, does not resemble him.[351]

You see him as the blade of the sword shaking for generosity,
noble,[352] achieving glory, when his mustache sprouted,

Long of sword-belt, since he was,
Quṣayy and ʿAbd al-Shams are not among those who address him.[353]

[99] Muʿāwiyah then returned thirty thousand dirhams to the family of al-Ḥutāt, and that also made Ziyād angry with al-Farazdaq. When Nahshal and Fuqaym complained about al-Farazdaq, Ziyād's anger against him increased. But when he sought him, al-Farazdaq fled and came to ʿIsā b. Khuṣaylah b. Muʿattib b. Naṣr b. ʿIlāṭ b. Khālid al-Sulamī.

Ibn Saʿd said: Abū ʿUbaydah and Abū Mūsā al-Faḍl b. Mūsā b. Khuṣaylah told me: When Ziyād drove out al-Farazdaq, the latter came at night to my uncle, ʿIsā b. Khuṣaylah, saying, "O Abū Khuṣaylah, indeed this man has frightened me, and my friend and everyone in whom I was placing my hopes have rejected me. I have come to you to hide." Abū Khuṣaylah welcomed him, and al-Farazdaq stayed with him for three nights. Then al-Farazdaq told him, "It seems to me that I should go to Syria." Abū Khuṣaylah replied, "You are welcome to stay with me for as long as you like, and if you should depart, this Arḥabiyyah[354] she-camel is yours." So he rode off after a night, and

349. The text reads: *agharra*, lit. a horse with a blaze on its forehead, bright, esteemed.

350. The lineage of the Banū Dārim went back to Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm.

351. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "is not on speaking terms with him."

352. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "generous."

353. This line is in the *Naḳāʾiḍ* but not in the *Divan*.

354. The Arḥabiyyah was a breed of fast she-camel named after the Banū Ar-

'Isā sent someone with him until he got beyond the houses. By morning he had gone more than a three-nights' journey. Al-Farazdaq said about that:[355]

Al-Bahzī bestowed[356] a mount[357] on me, no matter who disapproved
of the people, and the crimes of the criminal are feared.

And who, O 'Isā, would blame his guest?
Your guest is well-treated, his food delicious.[358]

He said, "Know that she is an Arḥabiyyah [100]
and that she is at your disposal for your night journey.[359]

When morning came I put al-Mulqā and Ḥanbal[360] behind me.
She did not go forth until its darkness lifted [from] the star.[361]

She moves away from the people of al-Ḥufayr[362] as if she were
a male ostrich whose female ostriches compete during the darkness of night.

She saw Duwayyah[363] before her eyes and the dawn
appeared for her [leaving] from smooth peaked Ṣa'l,[364]

ḥab branch of the Banū Hamdān, who owned camels famous for their speed, descended, according to legend, from a fantastic camel stallion that came once a year to mix with the tribe's herds. See Boucher, *Divan*, I, 233.

355. Other versions of this poem are in Boucher, *Divan*, III, 87; Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*; II, 610; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIX, 30–1; and Ṣāwī, *Sharḥ*, 763–4.

356. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*; Boucher, *Divan* read: "satisfied" or "protected."

357. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "all together."

358. This line is in the *Naḳā'iḍ* but not in the *Divan*.

359. This is the second line in the *Divan*.

360. Ḥanbal was a marsh or meadow in the territory of the Banū Tamīm. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 350.

361. That is, until the star rose from its darkness. The *Naḳā'iḍ* and the *Divan* have "the night" instead of "the star." This the eleventh line in the *Divan*.

362. Al-Ḥufayr was the first stop on the road from al-Baṣrah to Mecca. "She" is the riding camel. This is the eighth line in the *Divan*.

363. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*; Boucher, *Divan* read: Ruwayyah. The latter was a hill near Ḥanbal.

364. This is the twelfth line in the *Divan*.

As a sail which has the stream of her halter
on the Tigris [Dijlah] except [for] its nose and the corners of its mouth.[365]

When you went past al-Ghāriyyān,[366] then be safe,
and the ravines of Falj turned away behind me.

He also said:

The means of 'Isā saved me from ruin,
and whoever's protector he is, is not alone.[367]

It is a long *qaṣīdah*.

When Ziyād heard that al-Farazdaq had left, he sent 'Alī b. Zahdam, one of the Banū Nawlah[368] b. Fuqaym, in search of him. A'yan said: 'Alī sought him in the house of a Christian
[101] woman called Bint Marrār of the Banū Qays b. Tha'labah who dwelt in Qaṣīmah Kāẓimah.[369] She pulled him out through a crack in her house and 'Alī was unable to catch him. Al-Farazdaq said about that:[370]

I came to the daughter of al-Marrār, who took the opportunity to desire.
and the likes of me is not desired below stairs.[371]

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365. Boucher, *Divan* reads:

As if a neck, her halter doubled on it,
from al-Sāj, if not her nose and its throats.

366. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: "When I passed beyond al-Ghāriyyān;" Boucher, *Divan* reads: "When al-Furayyān came before me." Al-Furayyān was a mountain in the territory of the Banū Asad between al-Nibāj and al-Nakrah. This is the thirteenth line in the *Divan*.

367. Ṣāwī, *Sharḥ* reads: "Al-Bahzī bestowed her on me, myself his ransom." This is also in Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*, 610.

368. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: Banū Maw'alah.

369. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: Quṣaybah. Qaṣīmah Kāzimah was on the Gulf coast below al-Baṣrah. A *qaṣīmah* is a tract of sand covered with small shrubs.

370. These lines are also in Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*, 611, and Boucher, *Divan*, 66.

371. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*, 611 reads:

You refused the daughter of al-Marrār, who ripped up in order to desire,
And the likes of me is not desired behind the barn;

But my desire, if you wish our meeting[372] [is]
the vast expanse[373] of the deserts, not desire[374] for jungles.

She is said to have been Rabī'ah bt. al-Marrār b. Salāmah al-'Ijlī, the mother of Abū al-Najm al-Rājiz.

(According to) Abū 'Ubaydah—Misma' b. 'Abd al-Mālik: Al-Farazdaq reached al-Rawḥā'[375] and settled among the Bakr b. Wā'il and was safe. He thus said, eulogizing them:[376]

When she compared whither to journey,[377] she did not find
for her rising up[378] [anyone] like the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il,

More virtuous and more faithful towards an obligation which they contract,
when the top of the summits balanced the upper backs.[379]

It is a long *qaṣīdah*. He also eulogized them in other *qaṣīdahs*.

Al-Farazdaq would live in al-Kūfah when Ziyād lived in al-Baṣrah, and when Ziyād lived in al-Kūfah, al-Farazdaq would live in al-Baṣrah. Ziyād would live in al-Baṣrah for six months and in al-Kūfah for six months, When Ziyād learned about what al-Farazdaq did, he wrote to his official in charge of al-Kūfah, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd, "Al-Farazdaq is a wild male [102]
beast grazing in the wastelands. When people come upon him, he becomes frightened and leaves them for other territory, where he pastures. So seek him until you seize him."

Boucher, *Divan*, 66 reads:

You came to the daughter of al-Marrār, who tears off her veil,
and the likes of me is not desired beneath the cushions [or trees].

372. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "my desire."
373. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "wide."
374. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*; Boucher, *Divan* read: "hiding."
375. Al-Rawḥā' is said to be a place between al-Madīnah and Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 828–9.
376. These lines are also in Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*, 612, and Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIX, 31–2.
377. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: "She had been inclined between the departure."
378. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: "for her private parts."
379. Explained in Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*: "The humps became like the withers from drought and sparse pasture."

Al-Farazdaq said: I was sought most diligently so that those who used to shelter me began to turn me out of their homes. As a result, the land was restricted for me. While I had my head wrapped up in my garment upon the road, whoever came in search of me passed me by.

When it was night, I came to some of my uncles belonging to the Banū Ḍabbah while they were celebrating a wedding. I had not tasted food before that. When I said I came for their (wedding feast), I got some food. But while I was sitting, I noticed someone leading a horse, and the tip of a spear had gone through the doorway of the house and was entering where we were. My hosts went up to a reed wall, lifted it up, and I went out under it. Then they said, "We didn't see him." After they searched for a while, the searchers left. When it was morning my relatives came to me, saying, "Leave for the Ḥijāz, out of Ziyād's reach, so he won't seize you. For if he had seized you last night, you would have destroyed us." They collected the price of two female riding camels, and spoke for me to Muqāʿis, one of the Banū Taym Allāh b. Thaʿlabah who was a guide who conveyed merchants.

We then went out to Bāniqyā until we reached one of the inhabited fortresses. Since the gate was not opened for us, as it was a moonlit night, we threw down our saddlebags beside the wall. I asked, "O Muqāʿis, do you think that if Ziyād should send men after we reach al-ʿAtīq, that they would overpower us?" He replied, "Yes, they are watching for us, but they would not be going beyond al-ʿAtīq"—the latter was a defensive fortification (*khandaq*) which had belonged to the Persians.[380] I asked, "What do people say?" He replied, "They say, 'Give him
[103] a respite of a day and a night, then take him,' so set out." He added, "Indeed, I fear the lions." At that, I responded, "Lions are easier than Ziyād."

We then set out and left behind anything we saw, while a figure accompanied us without leaving us. I said, "O Muqāʿis, do

380. It was part of the Khandaq Sābūr. See Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 2286; Ibn Rustah, *Aʿlāq*, 107–8; Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, 914; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 476; Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 111, 347–8; Nyberg, "Die sassanidische Westgrenze," 318; Frye, "The Sasanian System of Walls for Defense." 8–11.

you see this figure? We leave behind everything else we pass, but indeed this figure has been keeping up with us since nightfall." He replied, "This is the lion." At that, it seemed to understand our conversation, and went forward until it lay down in the middle of the road. When we saw that, we halted and tied both forelegs of both our she-camels with two hobbles. I took my bow while Muqā'is said, "O Tha'lab! Do you know from whom we fled to you? From Ziyād." At that, it flicked pebbles with its tail so that the dust settled on us and on both of our she-camels. I asked, "Should I shoot at it?" And he replied, "Don't stir him up. When morning comes, he will leave." The lion then began to roar like thunder while Muqā'is menaced it until daybreak. When the lion saw that (it was dawn), it turned away, and al-Farazdaq composed the following:[381]

I did not consider myself a coward after what
I experienced at night beside the canals,

A lion, as if it were a camel [when it stands] on its paws
strong clawed, firm[382] clawed,

When I heard it's roar, I burst into tears
for myself, and said, "Whither shall I flee?"[383]

While I encouraged myself, and said, "Be steadfast,"
and cinched up my clothing in the anxiety of the situation.

So you are easier to confront[384] than Ziyād,
go to you! O render of journeys![385]

(According to) Ibn Sa'd—Abū 'Ubaydah—A'yan b. Labaṭah—his father—Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Riyāḥī: These verses were recited to Ziyād, and he seemed to take pity on al-Farazdaq, saying, "If he should come to me, I would grant him a guaran- [104]

381. These lines are also in Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*, 617.
382. The text reads: *mu'jadah*; O reads: *mūkhazah*, "stabbing."
383. Lit: "Where is my flight?"
384. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: "with us."
385. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*: "render of travellers" is better.

teed safe-conduct and a stipend." When al-Farazdaq heard about that, he said:[386]

This heart recalled a memory about its longing,
remembered a longing that it will never forget.

It remembered Ẓamyā' whom it does not forget
even if nearly ten pilgrimages[387] have passed since having contact with her.

And there is no gazelle with her fawn in the lowlands, the lowlands of Tihāmah,
grazing on[388] *arāk*[389] in its luxurient[390] vegetation,[391]

Tan-skinned,[392] with dark-red[393] tear ducts,[394] she watches
over a fawn which she considers to be weak,[395]

Who fell into a snare in the valley[396] of Walwalān
so she struggled until they thought she would escape,[397]

Lovelier than Ẓamyā' on a day when she ventured,[398]
nor rain clouds whose thunder-head went away in the evening.

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386. This poem is also in Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*, 617–18, and Boucher, *Divan*, 20–21.

387. That is, "years."

388. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: "watching out for."

389. *Arāk* is a spiny shrub on which camels graze and from which tooth-brushes are made.

390. The text reads: *manābitihi*; C reads: *makhāzimihā*, "pasture;" Boucher, *Divan* reads: *makhārimihā*, "openings."

391. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "ravines."

392. *Al-udm*, when refering to deer, is a light brown, almost white color. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XII, 10–12. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "bending."

393. *Ḥawwā'* is the color of a lip between red and black. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XIV, 207.

394. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: *ḥawrā'*, "very black and very white eye."

395. The text reads: *fatrā*; C reads: *qaṭrā*, "stingy."

396. The text reads: *bi-wādī*; Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*; Boucher, *Divan* read: *bi'a'lā*, "on the summit."

397. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*, 618 reads: "you thought she would break."

398. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "when I encountered her."

How many protectors are around her with a bridle.[399]
while enemies of folk are vowing [to shed] my blood.

When they threatened me in the presence of Ẓamyā', such threats [105]
grieved her, and she said, "Don't abuse him."

Ziyād summons me for the stipend, but I would not
come to him as long as someone with a noble lineage distributes wealth.[400]

With Ziyād, if he wants their stipend,
are many men in whom poverty is seen,

Sitting before the gates, petitioners for a need
because of serious[401] needs or a new need.

When I feared that his stipend would be
black fetters or twisted brown whip-cords,

I reached a lean she-camel, emaciated
from travelling by night and traversing the desolate land.

She exhales in a wide open space from the hollow[402]
when the protruding ends of her ribs expand the girth.[403]

You see her when the day reaches noon as if
she seeks to outrace a camel stallion, or to steal a wager from him.

She wades when the echo rings out after slumber
of the early night, roaring, its dark[404] thickets.

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399. The text reads: *fi-ṣarīmah*, which can also mean "in an isolated patch of sand."
400. This and several following lines are also in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Iqd*, V, 320.
401. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*; Boucher, *Divan*, 21 read: "somewhat old."
402. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: "the air."
403. A *dafr* is a strap made of plaited goat's hair used as a camel-saddle girth.
404. *Khuḍrā* refers to the darkness of long winter nights. This line is in the *Naḳā'iḍ* but not in the *Divan*.

[106] So, if she swerved aside [it was] obliquely, or a waterless desert
made her[405] hurry, you see the dusty cracks from it.

They gallop past reddish[406] pebbles as if
they crushed[407] coals thereby from every gravel bed.

How many a secret enemy has she gone past
in fear of him until she is a bridge for herself.[408]

One directs her to the desert who does not regard[409]
the son of Abū Sufyān as having nobility or an excuse.

Don't rush me, my two companions, for perhaps
I will reach the watering place before an early-flying[410] *kudrah*.[411]

In the bosom of the darkness of night, I set out
with a youth who was nodding his head, whose drowsiness had intoxicated him.

Drowsiness struck him on the head until he was as
one whose skull was wounded by rocks which left a crack in it.

From the journey and travelling all night,[412] you would think that[413]

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405. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: "us."
406. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: "grayish."
407. Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ* reads: "shattered."
408. Boucher, *Divan*, 21 reads:

On the back of a galloper as if its sides
were backs of hard tracts of soil appearing red.

409. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "Whom you do not regard as having."
410. *Ghādiyah* are birds that fly out in the morning or morning clouds. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XV, 118.
411. A *kudrah* is a swiftly-flying desert bird. This is the last line in the *Divan*.
412. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "journeying uninterruptedly."
413. Boucher, *Divan* reads: "until it was as though."

drowsiness gave him wine to drink in every stopping place.

We dragged along, and took care of him until it seemed as though
he saw the first rays of dawn, a troop of golden horsemen.

We proceeded and reached al-Madīnah while Sa'īd b. al-'Aṣ b. Umayyah was in charge of it. As he was in a funeral procession, I followed him and found him sitting while the corpse was being buried. I went up and stood before him, saying, "This is the place of refuge for a man who is not guilty of [shedding] blood or [stealing] property." Sa'īd replied, "I hereby grant you refuge if you have not been guilty of either." Then he asked, "Who are you?" I answered, "I am Hammām b. Ghālib b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. I have praised the amīr, and if he saw fit to give me permission, I would let him hear it, so do so." At that Sa'īd said, "Let me have it." So I recited:[414] [107]

By great-humped [camels] which please the guests as a well
and become heavy in their kneeling-places,

until I came to the end, and Marwān said:[415]

Sitting, they looked at Sa'īd.

I responded, "By God, indeed you are standing up, O Abū 'Abd al-Malik."

Ka'b b. Ju'ayl also spoke up, "This, by God, is the dream that I saw last night." Sa'īd asked, "What did you see?" He replied, "I saw myself walking in one of the streets of al-Madīnah. All at once I was with Ibn Qitrah in a hole, and it seemed as though he wanted to get me, so I avoided him. Al-Ḥuṭay'ah[416] then rose up and split the space between myself and Ibn Qitrah

414. This line is from a *qaṣīdah* which is also in Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*, 619, and Boucher, *Divan*, 35.

415. Boucher, *Divan*, 37 reads: "Standing, they looked at Sa'īd." See also Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*, 619, and Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIX, 21.

416. Al-Ḥuṭay'ah, "the deformed," was the Arab poet Jarwal b. Aws [b. ca. 582] who appears to have been still alive when Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ was governor of al-Madīnah. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥuṭay'a.

so that he went past me, saying, "Say what you want, for you know whoever has departed, while whoever has remained does not know you." Kaʿb told Saʿīd, "This, by God, refers to poetry which will not be explained from this day on."

Al-Farazdaq remained in al-Madīnah for a while and in Mecca for a while, and he said about that:[417]

Who would inform Ziyād about me?
ambling on, the courier [*barīd*] conveys the message,

That I have fled to Saʿīd,
and whoever Saʿīd defends is untouched.

[108] I fled to him from a wild lion
whose prey the [other] lions leave alone.

So, if you like, you were related to the Christians,
and, if you like, you were related to the Jews,

(It is also transmitted: And you and I were related to the Jews),

And, if you like, you were related to Fuqaym,
and you would be related to me and I would be related to the monkeys,

And more loathsome to me than they are the Banū Fuqaym,
but I will do what you want.

He also said:[418]

Threats came to me from Ziyād, so I did not sleep,
while a flood of agony [was] before me and the hill of the plains,

I thus spent the night as if I felt a Khaybariyyah fever
coursing through my veins or the poison of a snake.[419]

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417. These lines are also in Bevan, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, 619; with variants, and in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIX, 31.

418. These lines are also in Bevan, *Naḳāʾiḍ*, 20, and Boucher, *Divan*, 114.

419. *Al-arāqim* are snakes colored black and white. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XII, 249–50.

I wouldn't think that you would leave me alone, Ziyād son of Ḥarb,
and one with a grudge, I have shamed him not unjustly.

('Amr also recited to me: And with the grudge you have shamed me not unjustly),

A *qaṣīdah* from me fought Iraq
hurling invectives, with sharp, piercing points,

Light on the mouths of narrators, heavy
on their opponent, settling in the seasons.[420]

It is a long (poem). Al-Farazdaq remained between Mecca and al-Madīnah until Ziyād perished.

In this year the death of al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī occurred at Marw. This happened after he had returned from a raid against the people of the mountain of al-Ashall. [109]

Al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr Raids al-Ashall

I was told by 'Umar b. Shabbah—Ḥātim b. Qabīsah—Ghālib b. Sulaymān—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ: I was with al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr in Khurāsān. Ziyād wrote to (Ibn) 'Amr, "The weapons of the people of the mountain of al-Ashall are felts and their vessels are gold." So Ibn 'Amr raided them until his force reached the middle (of the pass), whereupon the enemy took to the mountain trails and roads and surrounded him. At that he dispaired of the matter and put al-Muhallab[421] in charge of the war. Al-Muhallab continued to strive until he captured one of their leading men and said to him, "Choose whether I should kill you or whether you will get us out of this pass." The man then told him, "Light a fire in one of these roads, order the baggage brought up, and turn towards that road so the folk will think that you have already started to travel along it. At that, they will gather [there] for you and abandon the other roads.

420. The text reads: *mawāsim*, "seasons"; these were times of poetic competition.

421. Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah al-Azdī (ca. 8–82[630–701/2]) became a famous Baṣran general. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra.

Then leave them for another, and they will not overtake you until you have left the pass." They did so, and escaped, taking great amounts of booty.

We were told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: When al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr returned from the mountain of al-Ashall he put al-Muhallab in charge of his rear guard. They travelled on narrow mountain roads, and the Turks resisted them, taking to the roads against them. On one of those mountain trails they found a man singing two verses from behind a wall:

[110] You are consoled by steadfastness and your good fortune. You don't see
an outstanding refuge other than the former nights,

As if my heart, from my memory of the refuge
and the people of refuge, has the feathers of a bird fluttering in it.

When he was brought to al-Ḥakam, the latter asked him about his circumstance. The man explained, "I competed with my cousin, so I left. I went upand down in the land until I settled in this country." Al-Ḥakam took him to Ziyād in Iraq. Al-Ḥakam escaped from (the pass) so that he reached Harāt, and then he returned to Marw.

I was told by ʿUmar—Ḥātim b. Qabīsah—Ghālib b. Sulaymān—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ: Ziyād wrote to al-Ḥakam, "By God, if you survive, I would certainly behead you!" That was because Ziyād had written to him when the news reached him about what booty he had taken, "Indeed the Commander of the Faithful has written to me to select gold, silver, and precious objects for him so don't move anything until you take that out." Al-Ḥakam had written back to him, "Now then, indeed, your letter arrived [in which] you mention that 'the Commander of the Faithful has written to me to select all [the] gold, silver, and precious objects for him, so don't move anything.' Indeed, the Book of God, Almighy and Great, is prior to the letter of the Commander of the Faithful. Indeed, by God, if the heavens and the earth were of one piece[422] a servant must fear

422. Qur'ān 21:30.

God, Almighty and Great. God, praise be to Him, Most High, gave him a way out." He also told the people to go and take their booty, so they did, while he had set aside the fifth. He divided that booty among them equally. Al-Ḥakam then said, "O God, if I have done what You consider good, then take me." [111]
Thus he died in Khurāsān at Marw. (According to) 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad: When al-Ḥakam was dying at Marw, he appointed Anas b. Abī Unās as his deputy—that was in this year.

The Events of the Year 51

(January 18, 671–January 7, 672)

Among the events during this year were the winter campaign of Faḍālah b. ʿUbayd against Byzantine territory, the summer raid of Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, and the execution of Ḥujr b. ʿAdī and his companions.

Ḥujr b. ʿAdī's Execution

Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Saʿīd, al-Ṣaqʿab b. Zuhayr, Fuḍayl b. Khadīj, and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUqbah al-Marādī have all told me some of this narrative, so their account was combined with what I transmitted of the narrative about Ḥujr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī and his companions: When Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān put al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah in charge of al-Kūfah in Jumādā 41 (September 2–October 30, 661), he summoned him. After praising and glorifying God, he said, "Now then, indeed a forbearing person has been admonished in the past.[423] Al-Mutalammis[424] has said:

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423. See Freytag, *Proverbia*, I, 55–7.
424. Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ (or ʿAbd al-ʿUzzah) al-Mutalammis (d. ca. 569) was

A forbearing person has been admonished in the past,
and man was taught only in order to learn.

The wise might do what you want without instruction. Although I have wanted to advise you about many things, I left them alone, trusting in your discernment of what pleases me, what helps my regime and what sets my subjects [*ra'iyyah*] on [112] the right path. I would continue to advise you about a quality of yours—do not refrain from abusing 'Alī and criticizing him, nor from asking God's mercy upon 'Uthmān and His forgiveness for him. Continue to shame the companions of 'Alī, keep them at a distance, and don't listen to them. Praise the faction of 'Uthmān, bring them near, and listen to them." At that al-Mughīrah responded, "I have experienced [others], and [they] have experienced me. Before working for you I worked for others. I do not mind rejection, nor promotion, nor demotion. After you have experienced [me], you will praise or blame [me]." Mu'āwiyah replied, "No, we shall praise if God wills."

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaq'ab b. Zuhayr—al-Sha'bī: We never had a governor like him afterwards, even if previously there had been good officials.

Al-Mughīrah remained governor of al-Kūfah for Mu'āwiyah for seven years and (some) months. He was the best behaved and the most (strongly) in favor of well-being, in spite of the fact that he would not stop blaming 'Alī for what had happened and for killing 'Uthmān. He continued to curse those who had killed the latter, while he called for mercy and forgiveness for 'Uthmān and vindication for his companions. When Ḥujr b. 'Adī heard that, he used to say, "May God rebuke and curse you instead." Then he stood up and said, "Indeed, God, Almighty and Great, says, 'Be custodians in fairness, witnesses for God.'[425] I testify that the one you rebuke and condemn is more deserving of merit, and the one you vindicate and extol is more entitled to blame." Al-Mughīrah would then tell him, "O Ḥujr, your arrow was shot; now I am governor over you. O Ḥujr, woe unto you. Fear the regime. Fear its wrath and its power. Indeed [113]

a minor pre-Islamic poet from Baḥrayn. See 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, III, 73, Vollers, "Mutalammis," and Zirkilī, *al-A'lām*, II, 119.

425. Qur'ān 4:135.

the fury of the regime can destroy many of the likes of you." Then he would desist and forgive Ḥujr. He continued thus until, at the end of his governorship, al-Mughīrah arose and said what he used to say about ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah, which was, "O God, have mercy on ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and don't punish him, but reward him for his best work. For, indeed, he acted according to Your Book and the example [*sunnah*] of Your Prophet. He united our speech, and prevented our blood from being shed, and yet, he was wrongly killed. O God, have mercy also on his adherents, supporters, friends, and those who seek vengeance for him." He would also call for ʿUthmān's murderers (to be punished). At that, Ḥujr b. ʿAdī jumped up, and let out a scream at al-Mughīrah that everyone who was in the mosque and outside of it heard, saying, "You certainly do not understand what men burn for, because of your senility,[426] O man. Order our rations and stipends for us, for you have certainly withheld them from us, and that is not your right, and no one who preceded you has desired that. You have become passionate about blaming the Commander of the Faithful and praising the criminals." At that, more than two-thirds[427] of the people stood up with him saying, "By God. Ḥujr was right and honest. Order our rations and stipends for us, for this talk of yours doesn't do us any good, and it gives us nothing profitable." And they increased this kind of talk.

At that, al-Mughīrah descended (from the pulpit) and entered (the governor's residence). When his folk asked permission to attend him, he admitted them, and they said, "Why do you leave this man alone who makes this statement and whose insolence is so bold during your regime. Indeed, you acquire two faults thereby. The first is the degradation of your regime. The other is that if it should reach Muʿāwiyah, it would make him
[114] angry with you." ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAqīl al-Thaqafī was the most severe of them (in) speaking to him about the matter of Ḥujr and its importance. Al-Mughīrah answered, "I have killed him. He will come to a governor after me, and will regard him like me and treat him in the same way as you see him treating

426. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVI, 2: "What he burns for, or are you senile?"
427. O reads: "thirty of;" Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*: "thirty men."

me. As a result, that governor will seize Ḥujr at once, and kill him in an evil way. Indeed my appointed time draws near, and my actions have become weak. I do not want to start the people of this city killing the best among themselves and shedding their blood. They are fortunate thereby, while I am miserable. Mu'āwiyah will grow strong in this world, while al-Mughīrah will be humbled on the Day of Resurrection. But, I shall receive those who are pleasing and forgive those who are displeasing. I shall praise the prudent and admonish the impudent until death should separate me from them. They will remember me if they should put officials to the test after me."[428]

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—'Uthmān b. 'Uqbah al-Kindī—a shaykh of the district who related this account: By God we put them to the test, and found him to be the best of them. He was the most commendable toward the innocent, the most forgiving toward those who were offensive, and the most receptive to excuses.

(According to) Hishām—'Awānah: Al-Mughīrah became governor of al-Kūfah in Jumādā 41(661/662), and he died this year. Al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah were then combined for Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. Ziyād advanced until he entered the citadel at al-Kūfah. Then he ascended the pulpit, and after he had praised and extolled God, he said, "Now then, indeed, we have been put to the test and we have tested. We have ruled and rulers have ruled us, and we have found that this matter would only be set right in the end by that which set it right at the beginning: tractable obedience, the same in secret as openly, when people are absent as when they are present, and [in] their hearts as [on] their tongues. We found that only flexibility without weakness and strength without violence would reform the people. As for myself, by God, I shall not undertake a matter with [115] you unless I carry it out to its smallest detail. There is no lie to which God and the people are witness greater than the lie of an imām upon the pulpit." Then he mentioned 'Uthmān and his companions, and praised them, and mentioned his murderers, and cursed them. Ḥujr then got up and did as he had done to al-Mughīrah.

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428. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVI, 4.

Whenever Ziyād would return to al-Baṣrah he would put 'Amr b. al-Ḥurayth in charge of al-Kūfah.[429] When he had returned to al-Baṣrah, he heard that the partisans of 'Alī had gathered to Ḥujr and had openly cursed and disavowed Mu'āwiyah, and that they had thrown pebbles at 'Amr b. al-Ḥurayth. At that, he set out for al-Kūfah and, upon arriving there, he entered the citadel. Then he went out and ascended the pulpit wearing a robe of silk brocade and a green silk scarf, having parted his hair, while Ḥujr was sitting in the mosque surrounded by more of his companions than before. After Ziyād had praised and extolled God, he said, "Now then, injustice and transgression have fatal consequences. Indeed, these [people] gathered and did evil. They felt safe from me, so they took liberties with me. I swear by God, if you do not straighten out, I shall cure you with your [own] medicine." He continued "I shall have accomplished nothing if I don't protect the plaza of al-Kūfah from Ḥujr and make him an example for whoever should come after him. Woe unto your mother, O Ḥujr! You found a wolf for dinner." Then he recited:

> Tell Nuṣayḥah about the herdsman of her camels,
> that he found a wolf for dinner.[430]

Regarding the cause of the matter concerning Ḥujr, someone other than Awānah said that which I was told by 'Alī b. Ḥasan—Muslim al-Jarmī—Makhlad b. al-Ḥasan—Hishām—Muḥammad b. Sīrīn:[431] Ziyād spoke one Friday,[432] and by pro-
[116] tracting the sermon he delayed the *ṣalāṭ* [worship]. At that, Ḥujr b. 'Adī said to him, "The *ṣalāṭ*!" But he continued speaking. Ḥujr then repeated, "The *ṣalāṭ*!" But he continued speaking. When Ḥujr was afraid the [proper time for] worship would be past, he took a fist-full of pebbles and stood up to worship,

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429. C reads: "he stayed in al-Kūfah six months, then he put 'Amr b. al-Ḥurayth in charge of it."

430. Lit: "dinner found a wolf for him." That is, he went out looking for dinner and chanced upon a wolf, so the wolf ate him, said of someone whose pursuit of his own needs leads him to destruction. See Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, 329; Freytag, *Proverbia*, I, 599–600.

431. Muḥammad b. Sīrīn [34–110/654–728] was an early Baṣran authority on ḥadīth. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 140–50.

432. The text reads: *fī al-jum'ah*.

and the people stood up with him. When Ziyād saw that, he descended (from the pulpit) and led the people in worship. When he had finished, he wrote to Muʿāwiyah about the matter of Ḥujr and exaggerated it. Muʿāwiyah then wrote back to him, "Clamp him in irons, then deliver him to me." When Muʿāwiyah's letter arrived, and Ḥujr's folk wanted to protect him, Ḥujr said, "No, pay heed and obey instead."

When he had been clamped in irons, he was delivered to Muʿāwiyah. When Ḥujr entered the latter's presence, he said, "Peace be upon you, O Commander of the Faithful, and the mercy of God and His blessings." But Muʿāwiyah replied to him, "Commander of the Faithful! By God, I will not be addressed by you or consider speaking to you. Take him out and behead him." Upon being taken out from Muʿāwiyah's presence, Ḥujr said to those who were in charge of dealing with him, "Give me leave until I perform two prostrations." They replied, "Perform them." When he had performed two prostrations which he shortened, he said, "Lest you suppose that I am doing other than what I am, I would have liked for my prostrations to take longer than they did. These two prostrations are as good as any previous devotions." Then he told whomever of his folk attended him, "Don't undo the irons, and don't wash the blood off of me. I may meet Muʿāwiyah in the future on the street." Then he was brought forth, and his head was cut off.

(According to) Makhlad—Hishām: Whenever Muḥammad was asked about washing martyrs, he used to tell them the account of Ḥujr. Muḥammad said, When ʿA'ishah, the Mother of the Believers, met Muʿāwiyah (Makhlad said: I suppose he was in Mecca), she asked, "O Muʿāwiyah, where was your forbearance (*ḥilm*) towards Ḥujr? He replied, "[Someone] rightly-guided did not attend me on that occasion, O Mother of the Believers." Ibn Sīrīn said, "We heard that when his death was immanent he began to make a gurgling sound saying, "My day [117]
[of death] is long because of you, O Ḥujr."

(According to) Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Ismāʿīl b. Nuʿaym al-Namirī—Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hamdānī: When I was in the police force of Ziyād, he said, "One of you hurry off to Ḥujr, and summon him." At that the commander of the police, who was Shaddād b. al-Haytham al-Hilālī, told me to go and sum-

mon him. When I came to him, saying, "Comply with the governor," his friends said, "Don't go to him or show respect." Upon returning to Ziyād and informing him, he ordered the commander of the police to send men with me, so he sent several men. We then came to Ḥujr, saying, "Comply with the governor." When they cursed and reviled us, we returned to Ziyād, and informed him about it. At that, Ziyād rushed to the notables of the Kūfans, saying, "O people of al-Kūfah, do you break with one hand while you console with the other? Your bodies are with me, while your affections are with this obsessed, stupid, crazy Ḥujr. By God, this comes from your plotting and your deceit. By God, demonstrate your innocence to me, or I shall bring against you folk by whom I shall bring about your downfall and your humiliation." At that, they rushed to Ziyād saying, "God forbid, may He be praised, that we have any other view in this situation than obedience to you and to the Commander of the Faithful. Command us to do whatever will satisfy you and demonstrate our obedience and our disagreement with Ḥujr." Ziyād replied, "Then let every one of you go to this group around Ḥujr and summon your brother, son, relative, and whoever of your clan obeys you, so that you make every one [of them that] you can stand up and leave him." They did this and made the majority of those (who were) with Ḥujr b. ʿAdī stand up.

When Ziyād saw that the majority of those with Ḥujr had stood up and left him, he told Shaddād b. al-Haytham al- [118]
Hilālī—it is also said, Haytham b. Shaddād—the commander of his police, "Hurry off to Ḥujr. If he complies with you[r request], bring him to me, and if not, order whoever is with you to pull out the clubs of the marketplace.[433] Then assault them with the clubs so that you may bring him to me, and beat whoever resists." Al-Hilālī then came to Ḥujr, saying, "Comply with the governor!" The friends of Ḥujr replied, "No, there

433. The text reads: *ʿumud*. Ziyād's guard (*ḥaras*) was armed with staffs or clubs. Since a payment was levied on the people of the marketplace to support the guard, they may have patrolled the marketplace with their clubs. The clubs were probably stored in a bin in the mosque. See Behrnauer, "Mémoire," 467; Ṭabarī, II, 79.

shall be no satisfaction.[434] We shall not comply with him." Al-Hilālī then told his men, "Seize the clubs of the marketplace." At that, they rushed to pull out the clubs, and advanced with them. 'Umayr b. Yazīd al-Kindī of the Banū Hind—that is Abū al-'Amaraṭah—said, "Indeed, I am the only man among you who has a sword, and that will not be enough for you." Ḥujr asked, "What do you think?" 'Umayr replied, "Get away from this place, and join your family. Your folk will defend you." As Ziyād stood watching them while he was upon the pulpit, the police came with clubs. One of the Ḥamrā', called Bakr b. 'Ubayd, struck the head of 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq with a club, felling him. Abū Sufyān b. 'Uwaymir and 'Ajlān b. Rabī'ah, who both belonged to the Azd, came to him and carried him (off). They brought him to the house of a man who belonged to the Azd called 'Ubaydallāh b. Mālik. They concealed him there, and he stayed hidden until he left.[435]

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—'Abdallāh b. 'Awf[436] b. al-Aḥmar: When we left for the campaign of Bājumayrā, one year before the death of Muṣ'ab (in 71[679]), I was accompanied by an Aḥmarī.[437] By God, I had not seen him since the day on which 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq was struck, and I did not think that I would recognize him if I saw him. When I saw him then, I supposed that he was Bakr. As we were still in view of the houses of al-Kūfah, I disliked asking him if he was the man [119] who had struck 'Umar b. al-Ḥamiq, lest he contradict me. As a result, I told him, "I have not seen you since the day on which you struck the head of 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq with the club in the mosque; I recognize you now." He answered me, "You have not lost your eyesight. How strong your vision is. That was the Devil's matter. Indeed, I had heard that it was a righteous matter, and I have regretted that blow, so I ask God's forgiveness." At that, I said to him, "Don't you think, by God, that you and I should not part until I hit you a blow on your head like that

434. Lit: "no comfort for an eye."
435. See the account in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVI, 3–4.
436. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*: 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Awn.
437. O reads: "that blow," but see Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVI, 4. An Aḥmarī was one of the Ḥamrā', a group of Iranian soldiers settled at al-Kūfah.

which you struck ʿAmr b. al-Ḥamiq, [so that] either I die or you die?" He then adjured and implored me by God, but I refused him and summoned a young servant of mine called Rashīd, one of the captives from Iṣbahān, who had his firm spear with him. When I took it from Rashīd, I attacked Bakr with it. He then dismounted from his animal, and I caught him when both of his feet were level with the ground. I grazed the top of his head with the spear so that he fell on his face. I then went on my way, and left him. He recovered afterwards, and I met him two more times. Each time he would say, "God is between you and me." And I would reply, "God, Almighty and Great, is between you and ʿAmr b. al-Ḥamiq."

Then he resumed the previous account: When Bakr struck ʿAmr that blow and those two men carried him off, the friends of Ḥujr withdrew to the gates of the Kindah. A man of Ḥudhām who was in the police was striking a man called ʿAbdallāh b. Khalīfah al-Ṭāʾī with a club. He struck him a blow and knocked him down, saying extemporaneously:

She knew on the day of tumult, my friend,
that I, whenever my troop flees,

[120] And its enemies multiply or diminish,
that I am lethal on the morning it started.

The hand of ʿĀʾidh b. Ḥamalah al-Tamīmī was also struck and his eyetooth was broken, so he said:

If they break my eyetooth and the bone of my forearm,
Indeed, I have the force of experience,
And the strife of the battling hero.

Wresting a club from one of the police, he fought with it, protecting Ḥujr and his friends until they left the front of the gates of the Kindah. Ḥujr's mule had been [left] standing, and Abū al-ʿAmarraṭah brought her to him, saying, "They are all bastards except you. By God, I certainly think that you have killed yourself and killed us with you." Ḥujr then put his foot in the stirrup, but he was unable to mount, so Abū al-ʿAmarraṭah lifted him onto his mule. Abū al-ʿAmarraṭah then rushed to his own horse, and had just mounted when Yazīd b. Ṭarīf, who had a

slight limp, reached him. He struck Abū al-ʿAmarraṭah with his club on the thigh, and Abū al-ʿAmarraṭah drew this sword and struck the head of Yazīd b. Ṭarīf with it so that he fell on his face. He recovered afterwards, and ʿAbdallāh b. Hammām al-Salūlī says about him:

I blame the son of baseness, except for you, openly,
to a hero, courageous and unyielding,

Returning the blow of the armored ones with his sword,
on the top of the head when there is dismay, other than base,

To a horseman of both attacking [sides] the day you both met, [121]
at Ṣiffīn, a sire, the best offspring of sires.

I considered[438] fighting with Ibn Barṣā al-Ḥitār[439]
as you fought with Zayd on the Day of Dār Ḥakīm.

That sword was the first one which was employed to strike at al-Kūfah in the disputes among the people.

Ḥujr and Abū al-ʿAmarraṭah proceeded until they both reached Ḥujr's residence. Many of his supporters gathered to Ḥujr, and Qays b. Qahdān al-Kindī went forth on his donkey, setting out for the assemblies of the Kindah, saying:

O folk of Ḥujr, resist and contend
on behalf of your brother for a while, so fight.

Let Ḥujr not be abandoned by you.
Is there not among you a lancer and an archer,

And an armored horseman, and infantryman,
and swordsman who does not quit?

But many of the Kindah did not join Ḥujr, and Ziyād said, while he was on the pulpit, "Let the Hamdān, Tamīm, Hawāzin, the sons of Aʿṣur, the Madhḥij, Asad, and the Ghaṭafān rise

438. Cairo reads: "You considered."
439. Lit: "circle of the rump."

up and come to the cemetery of the Kindah. Whoever gathers there is to proceed to Ḥujr and bring him to me." Then, since he disliked to dispatch a troop of the Muḍar together with a troop of the people of al-Yaman, because discord and disagreement might occur between them, and fanaticism might ruin
[122] their relationship, he said, "Let the Tamīm, Hawāzin, the sons of Aʿṣur, the Asad, and the Ghaṭafān stay, and let the Madhḥij and Ḥamdān proceed to the cemetery of the Kindah. Then let them go to Ḥujr and bring him to me. Let the rest of the people of the Yaman go and halt at the cemetery of the Ṣāʾidiyyīn, and [then] proceed to their companion, and bring him to me." At that, the Azd, Bajīlah, Kathʿam, Anṣār,[440] Khuzāʿah, and Quḍāʿah went out and halted at the cemetery of the Ṣāʿidiyyīn. The Ḥaḍramawt did not go out with the people of the Yaman because of their position among the Kindah. They disliked having to go out in pursuit of Ḥujr, because the Ḥaḍramawt traditionally called upon the Kindah for support (in war).[441]

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Mikhnaf: indeed I was with the people of the Yaman in the cemetery of the Ṣāʾidiyyīn when the leaders of the people of the Yaman assembled deliberating about the matter of Ḥujr. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf told them, "I offer you advice. If you should accept it, I would hope that you would be safe from blame and offense. I think you should delay a little, for soon youths of the Hamdān and Madhḥij will save you the trouble of what you dislike doing, namely the misdeed of your folk concerning your companion." They agreed on that. As a result, by God, it was only when, and certainly not until, we learned that the Madhḥij and Hamdān had entered and taken every one they found of the Banū Jabalah,[442] that the people of the Yaman marched past along the sides of the houses of the Kindah as an excuse. When Ziyād heard about that, he praised the Madhḥij and Hamdān, and blamed the rest of the people of the Yaman.

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440. The Anṣār, "Helpers," were Muslims from al-Madīnah who had settled in al-Kūfah.

441. See above, n. 277.

442. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* reads: "among the Banū Bajīlah." That is, those who were friends of Ḥujr.

When Ḥujr reached his house, and saw how few of his folk were with him and heard that the Madhḥij and Hamdān had [123] halted at the cemetery of the Kindah and the rest of the people of the Yaman at the cemetery of the Ṣā'idiyyīn, he said to his companions, "Depart, for by God, you won't be able to deal with those of your folk who have gathered against you. I don't want to subject you to destruction." As they were about to depart, the lead cavalry of the Madhḥij and Hamdān caught them. So 'Umayr b. Yazīd, Qays b. Yazīd, 'Ubaydah b. 'Amr al-Baddī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥriz al-Ṭumaḥī, and Qays b. Shimr engaged them in battle. The cavalry fought against him[443] for a while, inflicting wounds. Qays b. Yazīd was captured while the rest of (Ḥujr's) folk escaped. At that, Ḥujr told them, "Scatter! Don't fight! I shall take to one of the side streets, then take a road near the Banū Ḥūt."[444] He went off until he reached the house of one of their men called Sulaym b. Yazīd. Ḥujr entered Sulaym's house, while (Ziyād's) folk came seeking him until they reached that house. At that, Sulaym b. Yazīd took his sword, and was about to go out to them, while his daughters wept. So Ḥujr asked him, "What do you intend?" Sulaym replied, "I want, by God, to ask them to leave you. If they do so, [fine]; and if not, I shall protect you, fighting them with this sword of mine as long as its blade is firm in my hand." Ḥujr told him, "You are no bastard. Then what a miserable thing I will have brought upon your daughters." Sulaym answered, "Indeed, by God, they will only be safe and provided for with the Living [One], Who does not die. I shall never exchange shame for anything, and you shall not go out of my house as a prisoner while I am alive and possess my sword-blade. If I am killed protecting you, then you should do what seems good to you." Ḥujr asked, "Is there no wall in this house of yours which I could break through or an opening I could get out through? Perhaps God, Almighty and Great, will save me from them and save you as well. If [Ziyād's] folk do not capture me in your house, they will not harm you." Sul- [124] aym replied, "Yes, here is an opening which will get you out to

443. C and Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* read: "against them."
444. The manuscripts and Cairo and Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* read: Banū Ḥarb.

the houses of the Banū al-ʿAnbar and to others of your folk."

He then went out, past the Banū Dhul, who told him, "[Ziyād's] folk have already gone by in search of you, following your tracks." He told them, "I am fleeing from them." He then went out, with their youths showing him the way. They took him through the alleys until he reached the Nakhaʿ. At that point he told them, "Depart, may God have mercy upon you." At that, they left him, and he came to the house of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith, the brother of al-Ashtar, and entered it. As soon as he came in, ʿAbdallāh threw down the cushions, rolled out the carpets, and received him joyfully with good cheer. Then he learned that the police were asking about him among the Nakhaʿ. That was because a black slave girl called Admāʾ met them and asked, "Whom do you seek?" When they answered that they were seeking Ḥujr, she responded, "There he is. I saw him among the Nakhaʿ." At that, they went off towards the Nakhaʿ. Ḥujr then left the home of ʿAbdallāh in disguise, and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith rode with him at night until he came to the house of Rabīʿah b. Nājid al-Azdī, among the Azd, where he stayed for a day and a night.

When they were unable to capture Ḥujr, Ziyād summoned Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, and told him, "O Abū Maythāʾ, by God, either bring Ḥujr to me or I shall chop down every single palm tree of yours and demolish every single house. Then you will not be safe from me until I cut you to pieces." He answered, "Grant me a respite so that I may look for him." Ziyād replied, "I grant you a respite for three days. If you bring him, [125] [fine]; if not, consider yourself doomed." Muḥammad was taken out red faced, and pushed roughly towards the prison. At that, Ḥujr b. Yazīd al-Kindī said to Ziyād, "Let me vouch for him, and release him to search for his companion. If he were freed, his faculties would be more adequate to capture him than if he were imprisoned." Ziyād asked, "Will you vouch for him?" He replied that he would and Ziyād declared, "However, by God, if he escapes from you, I shall certainly make you visit death, even if you are honored by me now." Ḥujr b. Yazīd answered, "Indeed, he will not do it, so release him." Then Ḥujr b. Yazīd interceded with him for Qays b. Yazīd, who had been brought to Ziyād as a prisoner. Ziyād told them, "Don't worry

about Qays. We have known his views about 'Uthmān and his bravery at the Battle of Ṣiffīn with the Commander of the Faithful." Then he sent for Qays. When he was brought to him, Ziyād told him, "Indeed, I knew that you did not fight along with Ḥujr because you shared his views, but you fought along with him out of solidarity. I have forgiven you for it because of what I know about your good views and the excellence of your bravery, but I will not leave you alone until you bring me your brother, 'Umayr." Qays answered, "I will bring him to you, if God wills." Ziyād said, "Then give me someone who will vouch for him along with yourself." Qays replied, "This Ḥujr b. Yazīd will vouch for him along with me." Ḥujr b. Yazīd said, "Yes, I vouch for him on condition that you grant him security for his property and his blood." Ziyād replied, "You have that." Then they both hurried off and brought 'Umayr in his wounded condition. Ziyād ordered for him to be weighed down with iron. Then the men took 'Umayr and lifted him until, when he was waist-high, they threw him down so he fell on the ground. Then they lifted him up again and threw him down. They did that with him several times. At that, Ḥujr b. Yazīd got up and asked Ziyād "Did you not guarantee his property and his blood? May God reform you." Ziyād replied, "Of course, I guaranteed his property and his blood, and I am not shedding his blood or taking his property." Ḥujr b. Yazīd retorted, "May God reform you, he is almost cured to death by it." Ḥujr b. Yazīd drew near to 'Umayr while those people of the Yaman [126] who were with him rose up, drew near 'Umayr, and spoke to him. Ziyād then asked, "Do you vouch to me for him, so that whenever he commits a misdeed, you will bring him to me?" They said that they would and Ziyād asked, "Do you also vouch to [pay] me blood money for the blows at the place of worship?"[445] When they replied, "We vouch for it," Ziyād let 'Umayr go.

Ḥujr b. 'Adī stayed in the residence of Rabī'ah b. Nājid al-Azdī for a day and a night. Then Ḥujr sent a youth of his called Rashīd, belonging to the people of Iṣbahān, to Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath (saying), "I have heard what this stubborn tyrant did

445. C reads: "against the Muslims."

to you. Don't be alarmed at all by him. I will come out to you. Gather a group of your folk, then enter Ziyād's presence and ask him to grant me a guarantee of safe-conduct in order to send me to Muʿāwiyah so he may see what he thinks of me." Ibn al-Ashʿath then went out to Ḥujr b. Yazīd, Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh, and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith, the brother of al-Ashtar, and brought them. They entered Ziyād's presence, interceded with him, and beseeched him to grant Ḥujr a guarantee of safe-conduct in order to send him to Muʿāwiyah so the latter could see what he thought of him. When Ziyād did so, they sent Ḥujr's messenger back to him informing him that they had gotten what he had asked for, and commanding him to come. When he came and entered Ziyād's presence, Ziyād said, "Welcome to you Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, war in the time of war, and war while the people have made peace. 'A many-colored dog harms its own family.'"[446] Ḥujr replied, "I did not renounce obedience or withdraw from any community. Indeed I am on my allegiance." Ziyād answered, "How wrong, O Ḥujr. You break with one hand and nurse with the other. When God gives you an opportunity, you want us to overlook it. Not at all, by God." Ḥujr asked, "Didn't you grant me a guarantee of safe-conduct so that I should come to Muʿāwiyah and he could see what he thinks of me?" Ziyād replied, "Yes, we have done so. Take him off to the prison." When Ḥujr had been sent out of his presence, Ziyād remarked, "However, by God, if there were no
[127] guarantee of safe-conduct, he would not depart without spilling his own heartsblood."[447] (According to) Hishām b. ʿUrwah—ʿAwānah: Ziyād remarked, "By God, I certainly intend to snip the thread of his neck."

(According to) Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf, and al-Mujālid b. Saʿīd—al-Shaʿbī, and Zakariyyāʾ b. Abī Zāʾidah—Abū Isḥāq: When Ḥujr was sent out of Ziyād's presence, he shouted at the top of his voice, "O God, I am on my allegiance. I don't revoke it or call for its revocation. Listen to God and the

446. Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 14–15; Freytag, *Proverbia*, II, 89–90. Such a dog, by barking at others, gives its masters away, so they perish and the dog with them.

447. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVI, 4 reads: "without casting down his sinews."

people." He was wearing a cloak with a hood (*burnus*) on a cold morning. He was thus imprisoned for ten nights while Ziyād's only labor was to seek the leaders of Ḥujr's companions.

At that, 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq and Rifā'at b. Shaddād left and halted at al-Madā'in. Then they departed until they came to the territory of Mosul. They came to a mountain and hid there. When the official of that subdistrict (*rustāq*), who was a man belonging to the Hamdān called 'Abdallāh b. Abī Balta'ah, heard that two men had hidden in the mountainside, he suspected their circumstances. He set out for them with cavalry and local people towards the mountain. When he reached them, they both went out. As far as 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq is concerned, he was sick and his belly was billious[448] so he could not resist. But as for Rifā'at b. Shaddād, he was young and strong, and jumped on his race horse. Rifā'at asked 'Amr, "Shall I fight on your behalf?" 'Amr replied, "It would be of no use to me for you to fight. Save yourself if you can." When Rifā'at attacked them, they parted for him, and he went out, his horse bolting with him, while the cavalry went off in pursuit of him. As 'Amr was a good shot, he began to shoot every horseman who overtook him, injuring or wounding him. So they turned away from him. When 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq was taken, they asked him, "Who are you?" He replied, "One who, if you leave him alone, would be peaceful to you, and if you fight him would harm [128] you." Thus they asked him, but he refused to tell them. Ibn Abī Balta'ah then sent him to the governor of Mosul, who was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī. When the latter saw 'Amr b. al-Ḥamiq, he recognized him, and wrote to Mu'āwiyah with his information. Mu'āwiyah wrote back, "'Amr claimed that he stabbed 'Uthmān b. 'Affān nine times with a dagger that he had with him, so stab him nine times just as he stabbed 'Uthmān." At that, 'Amr was taken out and stabbed nine times, and he died from the first or second blow.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid—al-Sha'bī, and Zakariyyā' b. Abī Zā'idah—Isḥāq: When Ziyād sent in search of the companions of Ḥujr, they began to flee from him, and he

448. The text reads: *saqā*, to be full of yellow water which collects in the stomach from illness.

seized whomever of them he was able. He sent the commander of the police, who was Shaddād b. al-Haytham, to Qabīṣah b. Ḍubayʿah b. Ḥarmalah al-ʿAbsī. When Qabīṣah summoned his folk and took his sword, Ribʿī b. Ḥirāsh b. Jahsh al-ʿAbsī and a few men belonging to his folk came to him. When he wanted to fight, the commander of the police said to him, "You are secure for your blood and your property, so why would you kill yourself?" His friends then said to him, "You have been granted security, so why do you kill yourself and us with you?" He replied, "Woe unto you! Indeed, by God, if I fall into the hands of this bastard son of the whore[449] I will never be released from him unless he kills me." They answered, "By no means," so he put his hand in theirs and they brought him to Ziyād. When they had entered his presence, Ziyād said, "By the tribe of ʿAbs, you are respected by me for the faith. However, by God, I shall certainly make an occupation for you instead of in-
[129] citing riots and attacking governors." Qabīṣah said, "I only came to you under a guarantee of safe-conduct." Ziyād ordered, "Take him off to the prison."

Qays b. ʿUbād al-Shaybānī also came to Ziyād telling him, "There is a man among us belonging to the Banū Hammām called Ṣayfī b. Fasīl, one of the leaders of Ḥujr's companions. He is the most violent of people against you." When Ziyād had him brought to him, he said to Ṣayfī, "O Enemy of God, what do you say about Abū Turāb?" Ṣayfī replied, "I do not know Abū Turāb." Ziyād asked, "What will make you recognize him?" Ṣayfī answered, "I do not know him." Ziyād asked, "Don't you know ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib?" When Ṣayfī replied that he did, Ziyād responded, "That is Abū Turāb." Ṣayfī rejoined, "Certainly not! He is Abū al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn." At that, the commander of the police said to him, "The amīr says to you that he is Abū Turāb, and you say 'no'?" Ṣayfī responded, "If the amīr lied, do you want me to lie and give false testimony as he did?" Ziyād told him, "This also is added to your crime. Bring me the stick!" It was brought and Ziyād asked, "What do you say?"[450] Ṣayfī answered, "The best words that I

449. That is, Ziyād.
450. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, adds: "about ʿAlī."

was saying about one of God's servants [I say about the Commander][451] of the Faithful." Ziyād commanded, "Beat his shoulder with the staff until he hugs the ground." So Ṣayfī was beaten until he stayed on the ground. Then Ziyād said, "Stop beating him. What do you say about 'Alī?" Ṣayfī replied, "By God, if you slice me up with razors and knives, I would only say what you heard me say." Ziyād said, "Curse him or I shall certainly behead you." Ṣayfī retorted, "Then you have already cut it off, by God. And if you refuse to do anything except cut it off, I will be satisfied with God and you will be wretched." Ziyād commanded, "Push him by his neck," and added, "Load him with iron, and cast him into prison."

Then he sent for 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah al-Ṭā'ī who had been present with Ḥujr and had fought (Ziyād's men) fiercely. Ziyād sent Bukayr b. Ḥumrān al-Aḥmarī, who was an assistant of the officials, for him with some of his companions. When they proceeded in search of him, and found him in the Mosque of 'Adī [130]
b. Ḥātim, they took him out. But 'Abdallāh was formidable. When they wanted to leave with him, he resisted, struggling and fighting with them. So they bashed him, and threw stones at him until he fell down. At that, Maythā', his sister, called out, "O kinfolk of Ṭayyi'! Do you betray Ibn Khalīfah with your tongue and your spearhead?"[452] When al-Aḥmarī heard her summons, he was afraid that the Ṭayyi' would gather and that he would perish. So he fled, and the women of Ṭayyi' went out and brought 'Abdallāh into a house. Al-Aḥmarī hurried off until he came to Ziyād, saying, "Indeed, the Ṭayyi' gathered against me, and I could not withstand them, so I have returned to you." Ziyād then sent for 'Adī,[453] as he was in the mosque, and had him arrested, saying, "Bring him to me." 'Adī had been informed about 'Abdallāh's story, so he asked, "How shall I bring you a man whom the folk have killed?" Ziyād replied, "Bring [him] to me so I may see that they have killed him." 'Adī then made an excuse, saying, "I don't know where he is or

451. Bracketed words added from Isfahānī, *Aghānī*.

452. The account up to this point is also in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVI, 7 with variants.

453. 'Adī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī was the leader of the Ṭayyi' at al-Kūfah.

what he has done." At that, Ziyād imprisoned him, and everyone in the city belonging to the Yaman and the Rabīʿah and the Muḍar concerned themselves with ʿAdī. They came to Ziyād, and interceded with him on ʿAdī's behalf. Meanwhile, ʿAbdallāh was taken out and hidden with the Buḥtur.[454] He then sent word to ʿAdī, "If you wish me to come out so that I would put my hand in yours, I will do so." At that, ʿAdī sent word back to him, "By God, if you were right under my feet, I would not lift them from you." Ziyād then summoned ʿAdī, telling him, "Indeed, I shall release you on condition that you undertake to expel ʿAbdallāh from al-Kūfah for me and lead him to the mountains." ʿAdī replied that he would, returned, and sent word to ʿAbdallāh b. Khalīfah, "Leave, and if his anger subsides, I shall speak with him about you so that you may return if God wills." Thus ʿAbdallāh left for the mountains.

Ziyād was also brought Karīm b. ʿAfīf al-Khathʿamī, so he asked, "What is your name?" He answered, "I am Karīm b. ʿAfīf." Ziyād responded, "Alas for you or woe unto you! How good is your name and the name of your father,[455] and how evil
[131] is your action and your view." ʿAfīf answered, "However, by God, you have only known my view for a short time." Ziyād then sent for the companions of Ḥujr until he had collected twelve men of them in the prison.

Ziyād then summoned the leaders of the fourths,[456] saying, "Testify against Ḥujr about what he did to you." At that time the leaders of the fourths were ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth in charge of the fourth of the people of al-Madīnah, Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭah in charge of the fourth of the Tamīm and the Hamdān, Qays b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd Shams b. al-Mughīrah in charge of the fourth of the Rabīʿah and the Kindah, and Abū Burdah b. Abū Mūsā in charge of the Madhḥij and the Asad. There four testified that Ḥujr had gathered crowds about him, openly abused the Caliph, and called for war against the Commander of the Faithful. They also swore that he claimed that matters would only be set right

454. The Buḥtur were a clan of the Ṭayyiʾ. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, IV, 47.
455. Karīm means "noble" or "generous"; ʿAfīf means "decent."
456. The fourths were divisions of the Kūfan army created by Ziyād but were unrelated to the districts in the city as is often claimed.

by the family of Abū Ṭālib, that he attacked the city and drove out the official of the Commander of the Faithful, excused Abū Turāb openly and asked God's mercy on him, and disavowed Abū Turāb's enemy and the people who fought him. They also testified that those persons who associated with him were the leaders of his companions and had views and concerns similar to his. Then Ziyād ordered them to leave. Qays b. al-Walīd returned to him afterwards, saying, "I heard that when they had been escorted out, they reconsidered." At that, Ziyād sent to the Kunāsah[457] and, having purchased stubborn camels, he fastened litters upon them. Then he carried those leaders upon the camels in the public plaza from daybreak until evening, declaring, "Whoever wishes, let him reconsider." But none of them stirred.

When Ziyād had examined the testimony of the witnesses, he said, "I do not consider this testimony to be conclusive, and I would like for there to be more than four witnesses." (According to) Abū Mikhnaf and al-Ḥārith b. Ḥusayrah—Abū al-Kanūd, that is 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd, and Abū Mikhnaf —'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab, and Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid— [132] Abū al-Kanūd, these were the names of the witnesses: In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, this is what Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā testified against him before God, Lord of both worlds. He testified that Ḥujr b. 'Adī refused obedience, withdrew from the community, cursed the Caliph, called for war and civil discord, and gathered crowds about himself, summoning them to violate the oath of allegience (*bay'ah*) and depose the Commander of the Faithful, Mu'āwiyah. In the baldest way, he also disbelieved in God, Almighty and Great. Ziyād then said, "Give similar testimony. By God, I shall certainly endeavor to cut the thread of the necks of treacherous fools." At that the leaders of the fourths gave similar testimony to that of Abū Burdah, and there were four of them.

Ziyād then summoned the people, saying, "Give similar testimony to that of the leaders of the fourths." When he read the document to them, the first person to stand up was 'Unāq b.

457. The Kunāsah (rubbish heap) was the location of a camel-market in al-Kūfah.

Shuraḥbīl b. Abī Dahm al-Taymī of the Taym Allāh b. Thaʿlabah, saying, "Include my name." At that, Ziyād said, "Start with the names of Quraysh, then write the name of ʿUnāq among the witnesses, and whoever else we and the Commander of the Faithful recognize as having sincere advice and integrity." Iṣḥāq b. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh then testified, and Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah, Ismāʿīl b. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh, al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr, ʿUmārah b. ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Hannād, ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿĀmir b. Masʿūd b. Umayyah b. Khalaf, Muḥriz b. Jāriyah b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd
[133] al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd Shams, ʿUbaydallāh b. Muslim b. Shuʿbah al-Ḥaḍramī, ʿUnāq b. Shuraḥbīl b. Abī Dahm, Wāʾil b. Ḥujr al-Ḥaḍramī, Kathīr b. Shihāb b. Ḥuṣayn al-Hārithī, Qaṭan b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥuṣayn, al-Sarī b. Waqqāṣ al-Ḥārithi—who wrote his testimony while he was absent on duty—al-Sāʾib b. al-Aqraʿ al-Thaqafī, Shabīb b. Ribʿī, ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAqīl al-Thaqafī, Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah al-Shaybānī, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Shawr al-Dhuhlī, and Shaddād b. al-Mundhir b. al-Ḥārith b. Waʿlah al-Dhuhlī, who used to be called Ibn Buzayʿah. Ziyād said, "This one does not have a father to whom he is related. Omit him from the witnesses." Ziyād was then told that Shaddād was the brother of al-Ḥudayn and the son of al-Mundhir. Ziyād ordered for him to be put down with his father's name, and he was. Shaddād heard about it and said, "Woe unto me for the son of the adulteress![458] Wasn't his mother better known than his father? By God, he is only related to his mother, Sumayyah." Ḥajjār b. Abjar al-ʿIjlī (was also among the witnesses). The Rabīʿah became angry with these witnesses among the Rabīʿah who testified, and they told them, "You testified against our friends and allies." They answered, "We were only among the people, and many people from among their own folk testified against them." In addition (the witnesses included) Labīd b. ʿUṭārid al-Tamīmī, Muḥammad b. ʿUmayr b. ʿUṭārid al-Tamīmī, Suwayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tamīmī from the Banū Saʿd, Asmāʾ b. Khārijah al-Fazārī, who used to apologize for his participation, Shāmir b. Dhī al-Jawshan al-ʿĀmirī, Shaddād and Marwān the two sons of al-Haytham the Hilālīs, Miḥṣan b. Thaʿlabah from

458. That is, Ziyād.

among the allies of Quraysh, al-Haytham b. al-Aswad al-Nakha'ī, who used to apologize to them, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qays al-Asadī, al-Ḥārith and Shaddād the two sons of al-Azma' [134] the Hamdānīs, then the Wādi'īs, Kurayb b. Salmah b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Sabrah al-Ju'fī, Zaḥr b. Qays al-Ju'fī, Qudāmah b. al-'Ajlān al-Azdī, 'Azrah b. 'Azrah al-Aḥmasī. Ziyād also summoned al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd and 'Urwah b. al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah to testify against Ḥujr, but they were evasive. (The list also included) 'Umar b. Qays Dhū al-Liḥyah and Hānī b. Abī Hayyah, the two Wādi'īs.

Thus seventy men testified against Ḥujr. Ziyād then said, "Eliminate everyone except those who have been known for [their] lineage and uprightness in their faith." They did so until they had reached this number. The testimony of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Taghlibi[459] was eliminated. The testimony of these witnesses was recorded on a scroll, then Ziyād presented it to Wā'il b. Ḥujr al-Ḥaḍramī and Kathīr b. Shihāb al-Ḥārithī. He sent them both to the prisoners, ordering them both to take them out. Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith, the judge, and Shurayḥ b. Hāni' al-Ḥārithi were also recorded among the witnesses. As far as Shurayḥ the judge is concerned, he said, "Ziyād asked me about Ḥujr, and I told him that he would fast and worship at night." As far as Shurayḥ b. Hāni' al-Ḥārithī is concerned, he used to say, "I was not a witness. I had heard that my testimony had been recorded, so I said it was a lie and rebuked [Ziyād]."

Wā'il b. Ḥujr and Kathīr b. Shihāb came and brought out the folk in the evening, and the commander of the police accompanied them until he took them out of al-Kūfah. When they reached the cemetery of 'Arzam, Qabīṣah b. Dubay'ah al-'Absī looked at his house, which was in the (district of the) cemetery of 'Arzam, and there were his daughters looking down. Qabīṣah asked Wā'il and Kathīr, "Allow me to counsel my family." They did so. When he drew near them, as they were weeping, he said nothing to them for a while. Then he told them to be silent, so they were. He then said, "Fear God, Almighty and [135] Great, and be steadfast, for I hope for one of two happy endings

459. Cairo reads: al-Tha'labī.

from my Lord in this destination of mine: either martyrdom which is happiness, or coming back to you in good health. Indeed, the One Who has been providing for you and suffices me for your provisions is God, Most High, Who is alive and does not die. I hope that He will not neglect you, and that He will preserve me along with you." Then he departed, passing by his folk. When his folk began to pray to God for his well-being, he said, "That makes no difference to me. The destruction of my folk is more serious than my circumstance"—meaning, "since they aren't helping me." He was hoping that they would rescue him.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbsī—ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr al-Juʿfi: By God, I was standing at the door of al-Sarī b. Abī Waqqāṣ when they went past with Ḥujr and his friends. I asked, "Are there not ten groups to rescue these, nor five?" At that, he began to lament, and none of the people answered me. They took them away and brought them to the Gharīyūn where Shurayḥ b. Ḥāniʾ caught up with them with a letter. He told Kathīr, "Deliver this letter of mine to the Commander of the Faithful." Kathīr asked, "What is in it?" Shurayḥ replied, "Don't ask me. It contains something I need." At that, Kathīr refused, saying, "I don't want to bring the Commander of the Faithful a letter the contents of which I do not know. Perhaps it might not be agreeable to him." Shurayḥ then brought it to Wāʾil b. Ḥujr, who accepted it from him. Then they took them away until they brought them to Marj ʿAdhrāʾ, which was twelve miles from Damascus.[460]

Those Whom Ziyād Sent to Muʿāwiyah

[136] Ḥujr b. ʿAdī b. Jabalah al-Kindī, al-Arqam b. ʿAbdallāh al-Kindī from the Banū al-Arqam, Sharīk b. Shaddād al-Ḥaḍramī, Ṣayfī b. Fasīl, Qabīṣah b. Ḍubayʿah b. Ḥarmalah al-ʿAbsī, Karīm b. ʿAfīf al-Khathʿamī from the Banū ʿĀmir b. Shahrān (then from Quḥāfah), ʿĀṣim b. ʿĀwf al-Bajalī, Warqāʾ b. Sumayy al-Bajalī, Kidām b. Ḥayyān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān both of the ʿAnazah from the Banū Humaym, Muḥriz b. Shihāb al-Tamīmī

460. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 488.

from the Banū Minqar, and 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawīyah al-Sa'dī from the Banū Tamīm.

They took them away until they halted at Marj 'Adhrā', where they were imprisoned. Then Ziyād sent two other men after them escorted by 'Āmir b. al-Aswad al-'Ijlī—'Utbah b. al-Akhnas, from the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin, and Sa'd b. Nimrān al-Hamdānī [then al-Nā'iṭī]. Thus there were fourteen men. Mu'āwiyah then sent to Wā'il b. Ḥujr and Kathīr b. Shihāb, admitted them both, opened up their letter, and read it to the Syrians. It said:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful. To the Servant of God, Mu'āwiyah, the Commander of the Faithful, from Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān. Now then, indeed God blessed the Commander of the Faithful well, deceived his enemies for him, and saved him the trouble of one who wronged him. Indeed, oppressors belonging to this Turābiyyah, Sabā'iyyah, whose leader is Ḥujr b. 'Adī, opposed the Commander of the Faithful, withdrew from the community of Muslims, and declared war on us. God has made us victorious over them, and enabled us to deal with them. I summoned the best people of the city, their notables and [137] those among them possessed of maturity and faith. They testified against them concerning what they believed and did. I have sent them to the Commander of the Faithful, and have written the [names of] the upright witnesses of the people of the city, and the best of them, at the bottom of this letter of mine.

When he had read the letter and the testimony of the witnesses against them, Mu'āwiyah asked, "What do you think about this group whose own folk testify against them with what you heard?" Yazīd b. Asad al-Bajalī told him, "I think that you should disperse them among the villages of Syria, so it would save you the trouble of dealing with their sedition." Wā'il b. Ḥujr also presented the letter of Shurayḥ b. Hāni' to Mu'āwiyah, so he read it. It said:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful. To the Servant of God, Mu'āwiyah, Commander of the

> Faithful, from Shurayḥ b. Ḥāniʾ. Now then, I have heard that Ziyād wrote to you concerning my testimony against Ḥujr b. ʿAdī, and indeed my testimony about Ḥujr b. ʿAdī is that he is among those who perform the *ṣalāt*, give charity [*zakāt*], always perform the rites of pilgrimage [*ḥajj*] and the *ʿumrah*[461] annually, command good and forbid evil, and [is among those] whose blood and property are forbidden. So kill him if you like, and let him alone if you like.

Muʿāwiyah read Surayḥ's letter to Wāʾil b. Ḥujr and Kathīr, and then said, "I only saw this after he had removed himself from your testimony." The folk were thus imprisoned at Marj ʿAdhrāʾ while Muʿāwiyah wrote to Ziyād:

> Now then, I have understood what you related accurately about the matter of Ḥujr and his companions and the testimony against him from your side. I have examined it, and sometimes I thought killing them would be better than leaving them alone, and sometimes I thought granting them pardon would be better than killing them. So Goodby.

At that, Ziyād wrote back to him by means of Yazīd b. Ḥujayyah b. Rabīʿah al-Taymī:

> Now then, I have read your letter and understood your views about Ḥujr and his companions. I was astonished at your doubt about the matter concerning them, since those who are more knowledgeable about them have testified against them with what you have heard. If you have any desire for this city, do not send Ḥujr and his companions back to me.

[138] Yazīd b. Ḥujayyah advanced until he went past the prisoners at ʿAdhrāʾ, saying, "O you! By God, I don't see your acquittal, and I have brought a letter calling for slaughter. Instruct me then to do whatever you like, whatever you think would be of advantage to you. I will do it for you and say it." At that, Ḥujr

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461. The *ʿumrah*, or minor pilgrimage consists of the rites near the Kaʿbah, which were customarily performed as a separate ritual during the month of Rajab. See *EI*[1], s. v. ʿUmra.

said, "Tell Mu'āwiyah that we preserve our allegience. We don't seek to abrogate it, and we will not abrogate it. On the contrary, enemies and untrustworthy people testified against us." When Yazīd brought the letter to Mu'āwiyah, he read it. Yazīd also told him of Ḥujr's speech. Mu'āwiyah then remarked, "Ziyād is more reliable than Ḥujr as far as we are concerned." At that, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar b. Umm al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī—it is also said, 'Uthmān b. 'Umayr al-Thaqafī—said, "Scrap it! Scrap it!" And Mu'āwiyah responded to him, "Don't encourage reconcilation!" The Syrians went out without understanding what Mu'āwiyah and 'Abd al-Raḥmān had said.[462] Coming to al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr, they told him what Ibn Umm al-Ḥakam had said. Al-Nu'mān explained, "They are as good as dead."

'Āmir b. al-Aswad al-'Ijlī, who was at 'Adhrā', approached desiring to inform Mu'āwiyah about the two (additional) men whom Ziyād had sent. As he turned to leave, Ḥujr b. 'Adī stood up before him, shackled with chains, saying, "O 'Āmir, listen to me. Tell Mu'āwiyah that my blood is forbidden to him, and inform him that we were given a guarantee of safe-conduct and that we have become reconciled to him. Tell him also to fear God and examine our case." When 'Āmir repeated similar words back to him, Ḥujr repeated it to him several times, while the latter would repeat it back. 'Āmir then said, "I have understood you, you have repeated [it] many times." Ḥujr responded, "I did not speak dishonorably, while he blames me.[463] Indeed, by God, you will be preferred and rewarded, while Ḥujr will be brought and killed. I shall not blame you if you find my speech burdensome. Take your leave." At that, he seemed to be ashamed and remonstrated, "No, by God, that was not my meaning. I shall certainly give notice and make the effort." He [139] seemed to assume that he would do it, while Ḥujr refused to believe him.

'Āmir entered Mu'āwiyah's presence, and informed him about the matter of the two men. Yazīd b. Asad al-Bajalī rose

462. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was probably telling Mu'āwiyah to tear up Ziyād's letter.

463. Cairo reads: "does he blame me?"

saying, "O Commander of the Faithful, give me my two cousins." Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh had written about them, "Two men belonging to my folk from the people of the community, men of sound views. An untrustworthy slanderer libeled them to Ziyād, so he sent them both in the group of Kūfans whom he sent to the Commander of the Faithful. They are among those who do not undertake any innovation in Islam nor do wrong to the Caliph." That was to their advantage with the Commander of the Faithful. When Yazīd asked about them, Muʿāwiyah remembered the letter of Jarīr, so he said, "Your cousin, Jarīr, has written to me about them both, praising them charitably, and he deserves to have his word trusted and his sincere advice accepted. you have asked me about your cousins, so you may have them both." Wāʾil b. Ḥujr also asked for al-Arqam, so Muʿāwiyah let him go. Abū al-Aʿwar al-Sulamī asked for ʿUtbah b. al-Akhnas, so Muʿāwiyah gave him to him. Ḥumrah b. Mālik al-Hamdānī asked for Saʿd b. Nimrān al-Hamdānī, so Muʿāwiyah gave him to him. Ḥabīb b. Maslamah also interceded with him for Ibn Ḥawīyah, so Muʿāwiyah released him.

At that, Mālik b. Hubayrah al-Sakūnī rose addressing Muʿāwiyah, "O Commander of the Faithful, leave my cousin, Ḥujr, to me." But Muʿāwiyah answered, "Indeed, your cousin, Ḥujr, is the leader of the folk, and I fear that if I release him he would corrupt my city for me. Tomorrow we must send you and your friends off to him in Iraq." So Mālik told him, "By God, you were not just to me, O Muʿāwiyah. I fought your cousin along with you. I faced them in a battle like that of Ṣiffīn until your [140] side was victorious, your heel raised up, and you did not fear misfortunes. Then I asked you for my cousin, and you assaulted me and read into what I said things that are of no advantage to me. You were afraid of what you alleged the consequences of the misfortunes [would be]." Then he left and sat at home.

Muʿāwiyah then sent Hudbah b. Fiyyād al-Quḍāʿī of the Banū Salāmān b. Saʿd, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Kilābī, and Abū Sharīf al-Baddī, and they brought the prisoners in the evening. When al-Khathʿamī saw al-Aʿwar, he said, "Half of us will be killed and half saved." Saʿd b. Nimrān said, "O God, make me one of those who are saved, as long as You are satisified with

me." 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān al-'Anazī said, "O God, make me one of those whose disgrace honors You, as long as you are satisfied with me. How often I presented myself for killing. God thus has willed what He desired."

The messenger of Mu'āwiyah then came to them with orders to release six and to kill eight, telling them, "We have been ordered to let you disavow 'Alī and curse him. If you do so, we shall release you; and if you refuse, we shall kill you. The Commander of the Faithful also declares that he has been allowed to shed your blood by the testimony of the people of your city against you, although he has refrained from that. So renounce this man, and we shall release you." They replied, "O God, we shall not do that." He then ordered for their graves to be dug, and their shrouds to be brought. They spent the entire night worshipping, so, when morning came, Mu'āwiyah's men said, "Hey you! We saw you last night prolonging worship and doing it well, so inform us of what you have to say about 'Uthmān." They replied, "He was the first who deviated in judgment and acted wrongly." At that, Mu'āwiyah's men declared, "The Commander of the Faithful knew you better." They then stood up in front of the prisoners saying, "Denounce this [141] man!" They replied, "We vindicate him instead, and denounce whoever denounces him." At that, every man took one of them in order to kill him. When Qabīṣah b. Ḍubay'ah fell into the hands of Abū Sharīfah al-Baddī, he told the latter, "The [former] hatred has been changed to peace between my folk and your folk, so let someone else kill me." So Abū Sharīfah answered him, "Kinship helped you," and took al-Ḥaḍramī and killed him, while al-Quḍā'ī killed Qabīṣah b. Ḍubay'ah.

Then Ḥujr told them, "Leave me alone so I may perform ablutions." They told him to do so. When he finished, he told them, "Leave me alone so I can make two prostrations. I certainly swear to God that I have never performed ablutions without making two prostrations." They told him to worship, and he did so. Then he stopped, saying, "By God, I never worshipped more quickly than this, and if you think that I have no anxiety about death, I would have liked to prolong it." Then he added, "O God, we appeal to You for help against our community, since the Kūfans have testified against us, and since the

Syrians are killing us. However, by God, if you killed me here, I would be the first Muslim horseman to perish in this valley, and the first Muslim man at whom its dogs barked." When al-Aʿwar Hudbah b. Fiyāḍ strode to him with his sword, Ḥujr's sinews trembled, and al-Aʿwar declared, "Certainly not! You claimed that you were not anxious about death. I will leave you, so renounce your companions." But Ḥujr replied, "Why shouldn't I be anxious, since I see a grave dug, a shroud spread out, and a sword unsheathed. By God, if I were anxious about killing I would not say that which angers the Lord." At that, al-Aʿwar killed him, and they began to kill them one by one until they had killed six.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān al-ʿAnazī and Karīm b. ʿAfīf al-Khathʿamī then said, "Send us to the Commander of the Faith-
[142] ful, and we shall say what he does about this man." When they sent to Muʿāwiyah informing him of their statement, he sent word back to them, "Bring both of them to me." When they had entered his presence, al-Khathʿamī exclaimed, "God! God! O Muʿāwiyah, indeed, you will be transported from this transitory abode to the eternal abode hereafter, then questioned about what you hoped to gain by killing us and why you shed our blood." Muʿāwiyah inquired, "What do you say about ʿAlī?" He replied, "I say what you do about him," adding, "Shall I renounce the faith of ʿAlī who used to worship God along with it?" He then fell silent, and Muʿāwiyah did not want to answer him. Shāmir b. ʿAbdallāh of the Banū Quḥāfah got up, asking, "O Commander of the Faithful, give me my cousin." Muʿāwiyah replied, "You have him, except I am going to imprison him for a month." Shāmir would send word to Muʿāwiyah every two days and intercede with him, and the latter told him, "Indeed, I would think you were precious for Iraq if the likes of you were among them." Then Shāmir brought him up again, so Muʿāwiyah said, "We have commuted your cousin's sentence for you." He then summoned al-Khathʿamī and released him on condition that he would not enter al-Kūfah as long as he was ruler. Muʿāwiyah then said, "Choose whichever Arab land you would prefer for me to send you to." Al-Khathʿamī chose Mosul. He used to say, "If Muʿāwiyah

should die, I would come to the city." But he died a month before Muʿāwiyah.

Then Muʿāwiyah turned to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAnazī, and asked him, "O brother of the Rabīʿah, what do you say about ʿAlī?" He replied, "Let me alone, and don't question me. That would be better for you." Muʿāwiyah rejoined, "By God, I shall not leave you alone until you tell me about him." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān declared, "I testify that he was one of those who frequently remember God, order what is right, stand up for justice, and forgive the people." Muʿāwiyah continued, "What then do you say about ʿUthmān?" He replied, "He was the first to open the gate of injustice and lock the gates of righteousness." Muʿāwiyah declared, "You have condemned yourself." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān answered, "No, I have killed you instead." None of the Rabīʿah in the valley would speak when Shāmir al- [143]
Khathʿamī talked about Karīm b. ʿAfīf al-Khathʿamī, and none of Shāmir's folk would speak to him about Karīm. Muʿāwiyah then sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to Ziyād, and wrote to him, "Now then, indeed, this al-ʿAnazī is the worst one you sent, so give him the punishment he deserves, and kill him in the worst way." When he was brought to Ziyād, Ziyād sent him to Quss al-Nāṭif, and he was buried alive there.

When al-ʿAnazī and al-Khathʿamī were transported to Muʿāwiyah, al-ʿAnazī had said to Ḥujr, "O Ḥujr, may God not take you away. What an excellent brother of Islam you are." Meanwhile al-Khathʿamī said, "Don't be distant, and don't be deprived, for you have commanded good and forbidden evil." Then they were taken away, while Ḥujr followed them with his eyes, saying, "Sufficient for death was a cutter of the rope of relationships." ʿUtbah b. al-Akhnas and Saʿd b. Nimrān were taken away a few days after Ḥujr and released.

Ḥujr's Companions Who Were Killed

Ḥujr b. ʿAdī, Sharīk b. Shaddād al-Ḥaḍramī, Ṣayfī b. Fasīl al-Shaybānī, Qabīṣah b. Ḍubayʿah al-ʿAbsī, Muḥriz b. Shihāb al-Saʿdī, then al-Minqarī, Kidām b. Hayyān al-ʿAnazī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān al-ʿAnazī whom he sent to Ziyād so he was

buried alive at Quss al-Nāṭif. Thus there were seven who were killed, enshrouded, and prayed over. It is alleged that when al-Ḥasan heard about the killing of Ḥujr and his companions, he inquired, "Did they pray over them, bury them, and make them face towards the *qiblah*?"[464] Upon being told that they had, he remarked, "They were defeated by them, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah."

Ḥujr's Companions Who Were Saved

[144] Karīm b. ʿAfīf al-Khathʿamī, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥawīyah al-Tamīmī, ʿAṣim b. ʿAwf al-Bajalī, Warqāʾ Sumayyah al-Bajalī, al-Arqam b. ʿAbdallāh al-Kindī, ʿUtbah b. al-Akhnas of the Banū Saʿd b. Bakr, and Saʿd b. Nimrān al-Hamdānī. There were seven of them.

When Muʿāwiyah had refused to release Ḥujr to Mālik b. Hubayrah al-Sakūnī—many of Mālik's folk of the Kindah and al-Sakūn, and many people of the Yaman, had gathered to him—he said, "By God, we can do without Muʿāwiyah more than Muʿāwiyah can do without us. We would find a replacement for him among his folk, while he would not find a replacement for us among the people. Set out for his man, and free him." At that, they proceeded to travel, certain that Ḥujr and his companions were at ʿAdhrāʾ and that they had not been killed. Thus their killers met them, having just left there. When they saw Mālik among the people, the killers supposed, however, that he had brought them to rescue Ḥujr from them. Mālik asked, "Why are you coming?" and was told, "The prisoners repented, and we have come to inform Muʿāwiyah." Mālik did not answer them, and proceeded towards ʿAdhrāʾ. When someone who came from there met him, he informed Mālik that the prisoners had been killed. At that, Mālik said, "Bring the folk to me." The cavalry followed Mālik and his men, and, outdistancing them, they entered Muʿāwiyah's presence. When they told him the news—what Mālik b. Hubayrah and the people who were with him had come for—Muʿāwiyah told them, "Be

464. See above, n. 110.

silent! Rather it is a passion that he feels in himself, and is about to die down."

Mālik returned, settling in his residence, and he did not come to Muʿāwiyah. Muʿāwiyah sent to him, but he refused to come. When night came, Muʿāwiyah sent one hundred thousand dirhams to Mālik, saying to him, "The Commander of the Faithful is prevented from allowing you to intercede with him about your cousin except [out of] sympathy for you and your friends, lest they resume another war for you. If Ḥujr b. ʿAdī had survived, I fear that he would have caused you and your friends to go to him, and that would have been an affliction for the Muslims which would be more serious than killing Ḥujr." So Mālik accepted it and was in good spirits; coming to Muʿāwiyah on the following day, he entered the latter's presence with throngs of his folk, and Muʿāwiyah was pleased with him. [145]

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Nawfal b. Masāḥiq: ʿĀʾishah sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥishām to Muʿāwiyah concerning Ḥujr and his friends. Upon arriving after Muʿāwiyah had killed them, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān asked him, "Where did the forbearance of Abū Sufyān disappear from you?" Muʿāwiyah replied, "It vanished from me when mild people like you among my folk abandoned me, and Ibn Sumayyah[465] convinced me, so I acquiesced."

(According to)Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal—ʿĀʾishah: If changing matters would not have made them worse than before, we would have done differently with regard to the killing of Ḥujr. By God, I used to know him as a Muslim who performed the pilgrimage and the *ʾumrah*.[466]

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Nawfal —Abū Saʿīd[467] al-Maqburī: When Muʿāwiyah made the pilgrimage, he passed by ʿĀʾishah, so he asked permission to enter her presence, and she admitted him. When he sat down, she asked him, "O Muʿāwiyah, do you trust me not to conceal from you one who would kill you?" He replied, "I have entered a safe

465. That is, Ziyād. As Muʿāwiyah is not likely to have used the derogatory "Ibn Sumayyah," this account appears to be tendentious.

466. See above, n. 461.

467. Cairo reads: Saʿīd. He was Saʿīd b. Abī Saʿīd.

house." She went on, "O Muʿāwiyah, don't you fear God because of the killing of Ḥujr and his companions?" He answered, "It was not I who killed them, rather those who testified against them killed them."

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—Zakariyyā' b. Zā'idah—Abū Iṣḥāq: I was around people who were saying, "The first disgrace in al-Kūfah was the death of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, the killing of Ḥujr b. ʿAdī, and the false claim of Ziyād to affinity [with the family of Abū Sufyān]." Abū Mikhnaf (said): It was claimed that at his
[146] death, Muʿāwiyah said, "My day was three times as long because of Ibn Adbar," that is, Ḥujr.

(According to) Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaqʿab b. Zuhayr—al-Ḥasan: Muʿāwiyah had four flaws, and any one of them would have been a serious offense: (his) appointment of troublemakers for this community so that he stole its rule without consultation with its members, while there was a remnant of the Companions and possessors of virtue among them; his appointment of his son as his successor after him, a drunkard (and) a winebibber who wears silk and plays ṭunbūrs;[468] his allegation about Ziyād, while the Messenger of God has said, "The child belongs to the bed, and the adulterer should be stoned;"[469] and his killing of Ḥujr. Woe unto him twice for Ḥujr and his companions."

Hind bt. Zayd b. Makhramah al-Anṣārī said, while she was escorting (the funeral procession), mourning Ḥujr:[470]

Rise, O shining moon!
    Look! Do you see Ḥujr departing,

Departing to Muʿāwiyah son of Ḥarb,
    to be killed by him, as the amīr claimed?

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468. A *ṭunbūr* was a long-necked, stringed instrument with a small sound chest. See *EI*[1], Supp., s.v. Ṭunbūr.

469. This ḥadīth is often cited with regard to Muʿāwiyah's recognition of Ziyād as the illegitimate son of Abū Sufyān and Sumayyah. See Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIqd*, V, 5; Lichtenstadter, "From Particularism to Unity," 225; Pellat, *Jāḥiẓ*, 84.

470. These lines are also in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVI, 10; and Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, V, 15.

The tyrants sported their power after Ḥujr,
and al-Khawarnaq and al-Sadīr were pleasant for them,[471]

While the lands became barren,
as though clouds full of rain do not revive them.

O Ḥujr, Ḥujr of the Banū ʿAdī,
may safety and happiness receive you.

I fear for you what destroyed ʿAdī,[472]
while an old man is roaring in Damascus.

He thinks killing the best is all right for him,
who has a wazīr from the worst people.

If only Ḥujr had died a [natural] death,
and had not been slaughtered like camels are slaughtered.

If he should perish then every leader of folk
of the world will come to destruction.

Al-Kindiyyah said, lamenting Ḥujr—it is also said that the Anṣārī woman was the one to say this:

The tears of my eye are continuous rain that falls [147]
weeping for Ḥujr unstinting.[473]

If the bow were upon his captivity,
al-Aʿwar would not impose the sword on him.

The poet also said, inciting the Banū Hind of the Banū Shaybān against Qays b. ʿUbād, when he slandered Ṣayfī b. Fasīl:

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471. Al-Khawarnaq and al-Sadīr were famous pre-Islamic palaces in the neighborhood of al-Ḥīrah. Al-Khawarnaq was about one mile east of modern Najaf. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 490–94, III, 59–61; *EI*², s. v. al-Khawarnaḳ.

472. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* reads: "I fear for you the assault of the family of Ḥarb."

473. The text reads: *mā tuqtiru*; Cairo reads: *mā tafturu*, "unabating."

Ibn Fasīl appealed, "O for Murrah!" an appeal,
and the tip of the sword encountered the palm of a hand
and a wrist.

So incite the Banū Hind whenever you encounter them,
and address Ghiyāth and his son saying,

"Let Qutaylah weep for the Banū Hind, just as
the wife of Ṣayfī wept while she arranged a funeral."

This Ghiyāth is Ibn ʿImrān b. Murrah b. al-Ḥārith b. Dubb b. Murrah b. Dhūl b. Shaybān who was a noble, while Qutaylah was the sister of Qays b. ʿUbād. The latter lived until he fought alongside Ibn al-Ashʿath in battle. Ḥawshab then told al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, "There is among us a man who is a leader of seditions and risings against the government. There was never a sedition in Iraq without his being eagerly involved in it. He is a Turābī who curses ʿUthmān. He has rebelled with Ibn al-Ashʿath and participated with him in all his battles. He incited the people until, when God destroyed them, he came and sat in his house." When al-Ḥajjāj sent for him and beheaded him, the sons of his father said to the family of Ḥawshab, "But you certainly slandered us." And they replied, "You certainly slandered our friend instead."

[148] Abū Mikhnaf (said): ʿAbdallāh b. Khalīfah al-Ṭāʾī had accompanied Ḥujr b. ʿAdī. When Ziyād sought ʿAbdallāh, he dropped out of sight. Ziyād then sent the police for him, who at that time were people of the Ḥamrāʾ, and they arrested him. At that, his sister, al-Nawār, went out saying, "O kinfolk of Ṭayyiʾ! Do you surrender your spearheads and your tongue? ʿAbdallāh b. Khalīfah!" The Ṭāʾīs then assaulted the police, struck them, and snatched ʿAbdallāh b. Khalīfah from them. When the police returned to Ziyād and informed him, the latter fell upon ʿAdī b. Ḥātim while he was in the mosque, saying, "Bring me ʿAbdallāh b. Khalīfah." ʿAdī asked, "What's the matter with him?" When Ziyād told him, he said, "This is something that happened in a tribal district I do not know." Ziyād demanded, "By God, bring him to me." ʿAdī retorted, "No, by God, I shall never bring him to you. I brought you my cousin whom you

killed. By God, if he were beneath my feet, I would not lift them off of him." At that, Ziyād ordered ʿAdī to the prison.

Every Yamanī or Rabaʿī in al-Kūfah then came to Ziyād and interceded with him, saying, "You do this to ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, a Companion of the Messenger of God." Ziyād replied, "I would release him under one condition." They asked, "What is it?" He said, "That his cousin should leave me and not enter al-Kūfah as long as I have authority here." When ʿAdī was informed of that, he agreed and sent for ʿAbdallāh b. Khalīfah, saying, "O my nephew, indeed this [man] has been insistent in your case, and has refused everything except your exile from your city as long as he has authority. So get to the two mountains."[474] At that, ʿAbdallāh b. Khalīfah left and began to write to ʿAdī, and ʿAdī began to encourage him, so ʿAbdallāh wrote to him:

I remembered Laylā and youths in the afternoon
and the memory of childhood is a torment for one who remembers.

Youth passes away, so I missed its hardship
and, O, what passion you had in it, after it fled away.

Then cease remembrance of youth and its loss [149]
and its remnants[475] when it parts from you, and desist.

And weep for friends when they have all gone,
while they do not find a source except the spring of death.

Their fates summoned them and he whose day approached
of the people, so know that it would not be postponed.

Those were my adherents and refuge
the day when I face[476] one whose burning is memorable.

And I did not desire after them as a diversion,
anything worldly, nor to have my life prolonged.

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474. That is, Mts. Ajah and Salmah of the Jabal Ṭāʾī in northern Arabia.
475. The text reads: *āsārahu*; Cairo reads: *āthārahu*, "its vestiges."
476. The text reads: *ulfī*; C reads: *alqā*, "encounter."

I say, "By God, I shall not forget to remember them
for all time, unless I die and am buried."

Peace upon the people of ʿAdhrāʾ, redoubled
from God, and let the cumulus clouds give to drink,

And Ḥujr receive in them mercy from God,
For Ḥujr has pleased God and is excused.

And may incessant torrents and perpetual rain continue
upon the grave of Ḥujr until he is summoned to be
assembled.

So, O Ḥujr, who will bleed the throats of the horses,[477]
and of the aggressive king whenever he acts unjustly,

[150] And who will preach the truth after you, speaking,
about piety, and who, if injustice was mentioned, changed
it?

So what a good brother of Islam you were! And I
wish for you to be granted immortality and to be delighted.

You used to give the sword its due in the war,
and acknowledge good and disavow evil.

O our two brothers of Humaym, you were both protected,
and prepared easily for good works, so receive the good
news!

O my two Kindifī brothers, receive the good news!
for you were both kept alive in order to be told good news.

O brothers of Ḥaḍramawt and Ghālib
and Shaybān, you met an easy reckoning.

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477. That is, lead them into battle.

You were fortunate, and I did not hear [anything] more proper than your
dispute at the time of great death, or more steadfast.

I shall weep for all of you as long as a star shines and the dove coos and rustles in the depth of both valleys.

So I said, not being unjust, "O Gawth son of Ṭayy'i,
when I was afraid that I would be made to go among you,

Did you have the opportunity and not defend your brother? [151]
while he defended himself until he leaned over, then collapsed.

You separated from me, and I was left deserted,
as if I were a stranger squeezed with hands.

Who do you have like me at every attack?
and who do you have like me when courage appears?

And who do you have like me when war starts,
while the one who risks his life was active in it and girded?"

So here am I, whose dwelling is in the mountains of Ṭayyi',
exiled, and if God willed, He could change it.

My enemy exiled me unjustly from the place to which I migrated,
and I was content with what God willed and decreed.

My folk surrendered me for no crime,
as if they were not my folk and kinsmen.

If I were accustomed to a dwelling in the mountains of Ṭayyi',
and it was a dwelling for a short while and a presence,

I would not be afraid that I would be considered a foreigner.
may God revile whoever reviles Him, and multiply it.

[152] May God revile the Ḥaḍrami foe, Wā'il
and may they suffer annihilation from the abundant spearheads.

And may the folk suffer destruction who took sides
against us and told a shocking lie.

So folk, do not put me with Gawth son of Ṭayyi',
because their fate made them miserable and was changed.

I don't attack them on a caparisoned [horse] and I don't scatter
dust upon them at Kuwayfah.[478]

Say to my friend, if you set out heading eastwards,
Jadīlah and the two communities, Maʿn and Buḥtur,

And Nabhān and al-Afnā' from the root of Ṭayyi',
"Am I not a strong possessor of wealth among you?

Do you not remember the battle-day of ʿUdhayb, when my strongest oath
before you was that I would never be seen turning back?

And my attack against Mihrān, while the group was undefended,
and my killing of the heroic, death-defying armband wearer?

[153] And on the day the battle of Jalūlā' occurred, I was not blamed,
and the victories of the battle-day Nihāwand andTustar.

And you forget about me on the battle-day of the water hole, while the lances
were broken in their shoulders at Ṣiffīn.

May his Lord punish ʿAdī b. Ḥātim for me,
for my rejection and my disappointment, an ample punishment.

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478. "Little Kūfah" was a place near Bazīqiyā in central Iraq. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, IX, 312; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 331.

Do you forget my reckless bravery, O son of Ḥātim?
In the evening your aggressiveness did not help you against Ḥidhmir.[479]

I defended you against the folk until they weakened;
I was the most grim, the strongest adversary.

They fled and did not stay where I was, as if
they considered me a lion lurking in the reed thicket.

I assisted you when [those] near withdrew and [those] distant fled, and I was made to achieve victory single-handed.

So my repayment [is] that I am deprived among you,
imprisoned, and that I am disgraced and captured.

How many promises I have from you that you will return to me,
but [even] a fox cannot escape the appointed time with regard to me."

Then I began to tend the old she-camel for a while, and sometimes [154]
I would summon to drink, if the shepherds summoned to drink.

As if I have not ridden a racehorse for a raid,
and have not left the armored opponent thrown to the ground,

And I have not opposed attacking cavalry with the sword,
when he who retreats goes backwards, then pulls back and forth,

And I have not spurred on the racer right after the troop,
heading for the heights of Sijās[480] and Abhar,

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479. Cairo reads: "Ḥizmir."
480. Sijās is the territory between Hamadhān and Abhar.

And I have not frightened the deer from me in an attack,
like the watering-place for the she-camel,[481] then I descend victorious,

And I have not been seen among the cavalry that thrusts at each other with lances,
at Qazwīn[482] or Sharwīn,[483] nor have raided Kundur.[484]

And that [was] a time the praiseworthiness of which has departed from me,
and what was known about it became unknown for me.

So my folk would not stay away, even if I were absent,
and were lost among them and hidden,

And [there is] no good in the world and life after them,
even though I were distant of abode, held back from them.

[155] But 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah died in the two mountains before Ziyād did.

'Ubaydah al-Kindī, then al-Baddī, said, reproaching Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath for his abandonment of Ḥujr:

You surrendered your uncle, you did not fight in front of him in fear, and, but for you, he would have been unassailable.

You killed an envoy of the family of Muḥammad,
and you stripped off his swords and armor.

If you were from Asad, you would understand my nobility,
and consider the family of al-Hubāb to be an intercessor for me.

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481. *Al-ablam* is a she-camel that has not yet had a child. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XII, 54.

482. Qazwīn is a town and its district northwest of al-Rayy (Tehrān) and south of Gīlān. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳazwīn.

483. The Jibāl Sharwīn is on the western border of Ṭabaristān, next to Gīlān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 283–84.

484. There was a village called Kundur near Qazwīn. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 309.

In this year Ziyād sent al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī as governor of Khurāsān after the death of al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī. Al-Ḥakam had appointed Anas b. Abī Unās to succeed him in his jurisdiction aftter his death. This Anas was the one who led the prayer over al-Ḥakam when he died. Al-Ḥakam was buried in the house of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, the brother of Khulayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī. Al-Ḥakam had written to Ziyād about his appointment of Anas, so Ziyād dismissed Anas and put Khulayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī in his place. I was told by 'Umar —'Alī b. Muḥammad: When Ziyād dismissed Anas and put Khulayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī in his place, Anas said:

Who will tell Ziyād about me?
ambling on, the courier [*barīd*] trots with it.

Do you dismiss me and nourish Khulayd?
Ḥanīfah has found what it wants.

Help yourselves to the Yamāmah[485] and cultivate it, [156]
for the first and last of you are slaves.[486]

Ziyād put Khulayd in charge for a month, then dismissed him and put Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī in charge of Khurāsān at the beginning of this year. The people moved with their families to Khurāsān and settled there. Then Ziyād dismissed al-Rabī'.

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī—Maslamah b. Muḥārib and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abān al-Qurashī: Al-Rabī' reached Khurāsān and conquered Balkh peacefully, since they had closed it after al-Aḥnaf b. Qays made peace with them. He also conquered Quhistān[487] by force. There were Turks[488] in its districts, so he killed (some of) them and put (the others) to flight. One of them

485. The Yamāmah is the region in central Arabia from which the Banū Ḥanīfah had come. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Yamāma.

486. The Banū Ḥanīfah were farmers in the Yamāmah, but Mu'āwiyah is said to have confiscated land near al-Qaṭā'i in the Yamāmah which he had cultivated by four thousand slaves. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 201.

487. Quhistān is the mountainous region south of Nishāpūr in central Iran. See *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳūhistān.

488. These "Turks" were probably Hephthalites from Bādghīs, Harāt, and Pūshang. See M. A. Shaban, *Abbāsid Revolution*, 32; and *EI*[2], s. v. Hayāṭila.

who survived was Nīzak Ṭarkhān,[489] whom Qutaybah b. Muslim[490] killed when he was governor. I was told by 'Umar—'Alī: Al-Rabī' campaigned and crossed the river [491] accompanied by his servant, Farrūkh, and his slave-girl, Sharīfah. He plundered and returned safely, whereupon he set Farrūkh free. Al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr had crossed the river before him during his governorship, but did not conquer (anything).

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad: The first Muslim to drink from the river was a mawlā of al-Ḥakam who scooped (it out)with his shield. Then he handed (it) to al-Ḥakam, so he drank, made his ablutions, and performed two prostrations beyond the river. He was the first of the people who did that; then he returned.

In this year Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah led the people in the pilgrimage. Aḥmad b. Thābit told me that according to whoever recounted it according to Ishāq b. 'Īsā according to Ma'shar, while al-Wāqidī said likewise. The governor over al-Madīnah during this year was Sa'īd b. al-'Aṣ, while Ziyād was in charge of al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah and all of the eastern territory, and Shurayḥ was in charge of rendering judgment at al-Kūfah While 'Umayr b. Yathribī was in charge of rendering judgment at al-Baṣrah.

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489. Nīzak Ṭarkhān was the Hephthalite ruler of Bādghīs. See Shaban, *Abbāsid Revolution*, 65

490. Qutaybah b. Muslim (49–96(669/70–715)) was a Muslim general engaged in the conquest of Central Asia as governor of Khurāsān for al-Walīd from 86(705) until 96(715) He killed Nīzak Ṭarkhān after a revolt in 91(709). See Shaban, *Abbāsid Revolution*, 67; *EI*², s. v. Ḳutaiba b. Muslim.

491. The "river" is the Oxus or Jayḥūn, the modern Amū Daryā. See *EI*², s. v. Amū Daryā.

The Events of the Year [157]

52

(January 8, 672–December 26, 672)

Al-Wāqidī claimed that the raid of Sufyān b. 'Awf al-Azdī occurred during this year, as well as his winter campaign in Byzantine territory. He also claimed that Sufyān died there and appointed 'Abdallāh b. Mas'adah al-Fazārī as his successor. Others have said that in this year Busr b. Abī Arṭāt led the people in the winter campaign in Byzantine territory, and that he was accompanied by Sufyān b. 'Awf al-Azdī. They also said that Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Thaqafī led the summer raid in this year.

Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ led the people in the pilgrimage in this year according to Abū Ma'shar, al-Wāqidī and others. The officials of the provincial capitals during this year were the same as in the previous year.

The Events of the Year 53

(DECEMBER 27, 672–DECEMBER 15, 673)

Among the events that happened during this year was the winter campaign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī in Byzantine territory.

During this year Rhodes,[492] an island in the sea, was conquered. Junādah b. Abī Umayyah al-Azdī conquered it, and, according to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, the Muslims settled there, cultivated it, and acquired wealth there. Cattle grazed about, so when evening came, they brought them into the fortress. They also had a lookout who would warn them about anyone at sea who wanted to surprise them. Thus they would be on guard against them. They were most difficult for the Byzantines, so the latter blockaded them by sea and cut off their ships. Muʿāwiyah used to lavish provisions and stipends on them, and the enemy used to be afraid of them. When Muʿāwiyah died, Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah brought them back.

The death of Ziyād b. Sumayyah also occurred in this year. [158
I was told by ʿUmar—Zuhayr—Wahīb—his father—Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq—Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr—Fīl, the mawlā of Zi-

492. See *EI*[1], s. v. Rhodes; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, II, 126.

yād: Ziyād ruled Iraq for five years, then he died in this year. I was told by 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad: When Ziyād descended upon Iraq, he lasted until the year 53, then he died at al-Kūfah in the month of Ramaḍān (August 20–September 18, 673), while his deputy in charge of al-Baṣrah was Samurah b. Jundab.

How Ziyād b. Sumayyah Perished

I was told by 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārik—'Abdallāh b. Shawdhab—Kathīr b. Ziyād: Ziyād wrote to Mu'āwiyah, "Indeed, I have seized Iraq with my left hand while my right hand is empty." So Mu'āwiyah added al-'Arūḍ to him, which is the Yamāmah and what is adjacent to it. At that, Ibn 'Umar prayed against him, so Ziyād caught the plague and died. When he heard the news, Ibn 'Umar said, "Off with you, Ibn Sumayyah, for this world does not remain for you, and you did not attain the other [world]."

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī: Ziyād wrote to Mu'āwiyah, "I have seized Iraq for you with my left hand while my right hand is empty, so fill it with the Ḥijāz." He sent al-Haytham b. al-Asad al-Nakha'ī with that (message), and Mu'āwiyah wrote his pact for Ziyād with al-Haytham. When the people of the Ḥijāz heard that, a group of them came to 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb relating that to him. He said, "Pray to God for Him to spare you his trouble." He then faced the *qiblah* with them and prayed with them. The plague then broke out on Ziyād's [159]
finger, and he sent to Shurayḥ, who was his judge (*qādī*), saying, "You see what happened to me. I was advised to have it cut off, so counsel me." Shurayḥ then advised him, "I fear that there will be scars on your hand and suffering in your heart, and that the appointed time will approach anyway. You would thus meet God, Almighty and Great, mutilated while you had cut off your hand out of aversion to meeting Him. The alternative is that there might be improvement after a while, and since you had cut off your hand, you would live mutilated and be a reproach for your son." At that, Ziyād gave up the idea, and Shurayḥ left. When the latter was asked about it, he in-

formed them of what he had advised Ziyād. At that, they rebuked him, asking, "Why didn't you advise him to cut it off?" He replied, "The Messenger of God said, "The advisor is entrusted."

I was told by ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh: I heard someone who related that Ziyād sent to Shurayḥ asking his advice about cutting off his hand. Shurayḥ replied, "Don't do it. If you should live, you would be mutilated, and if you perish, you would have sinned against yourself." Ziyād remarked, "I sleep with the plague in one blanket," so he decided to do it. But when he saw the fire and the cauterizing instrument, he became anxious and refrained from doing it.

I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aṣmaʿī—Ibn Abī Ziyād: When death attended Ziyād, his son told him, "O my father, I have prepared sixty garments in which I shall wrap you." Ziyād replied, "O my son, better clothing than this has drawn near your father," or "mourning goes quickly." Thus he died and was buried at al-Thuwayyah beside al-Kūfah.[493] He had dispatched Yazīd towards the Ḥijāz as its governor. So Miskīn b. Dārim said;[494]

[160] I saw the "increase"[495] of Islām disappear
publicly when Ziyād took leave of us.

Al-Farazdaq said to Miskīn, and he did not satirize Ziyād until after the latter had died:

O Miskīn, God makes your eye weep, however
its tears flowed in error, so they descended.

You weep for an unbelieving man from a family of Maysān,[496]
like Kisrā in his place or Qayṣar.[497]

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493. See also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, V, 66–69. According to Dīnawarī, *Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 239; Ziyād was buried in the cemetery of the Quraysh at al-Kūfah.

494. The following lines are also in the *Diwān* of al-Farazdaq. See Boucher, *Divan*, 48–9; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 67; XIX, 28, 32; and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 715.

495. "Ziyād" means "increase."

496. Maysān was the district along the lower Tigris River above al-Baṣrah. See *EI*², s.v. Maysān. However, Ziyād's mother, Sumayyah, is said to have

I say to him when the announcement of his death comes to me,
rather him than a dusty gazelle in an isolated patch of sand.[498]

Miskīn then answered him, saying:

O man who does not speak out,
nor lead the folk unless he opposed me!

Bring me then a paternal uncle like mine or a father
like mine or a true maternal uncle like mine,

Like 'Amr b. 'Amr or a father like Zurārah,
or al-Bishr, on all sides I descended from the hills.

I continue to have things like spears and a swimmer,
and a camel[499] after night journeys from my dependents.

So this for days of defense, this
for my transportation, and this instrument for my departure.

Al-Farazdaq replied: [161]

Tell Ziyād when you come across his place of destruction,
that the female dove has flown from the sanctuary,

Flew and the front feathers of her wing continued to be ascribed to her,
until she called for help to the rivers and the reeds.

I was told by 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Jarīr b. Yazīd: When I saw Ziyād,

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been a native of Zandaward in the neighboring district of Kaskar and to have belonged to the dihqān of al-Ubullah. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 489.

497. Kisrā was the Sasanian emperior, Qayṣar the Byzantine emperor. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳayṣar, Kisrā.

498. A *sarīmah* is a bridle or an isolated patch of sand. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XII, 339; Bevan, *Naḳā'iḍ*, III, 438.

499. A *khaṭārah* is a camel that puts its tail between its legs when it walks. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, IV, 250.

he was red-faced, having a squint in his right eye, with a white triangular beard, wearing a patched shirt (*qamīs*), while he was on a female mule whose rein he had loosened.[500]

The death of al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, who was the governor of Khurāsān for Ziyād, also occurred in this year.

How al-Rabī' b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī Died

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad: Al-Rabī' b. Ziyād was governor of Khurāsān for two years and several months and died in the year in which Ziyād died. He had appointed his son 'Abdallāh b. al-Rabī' as his successor. The latter was governor for two months and then he died. Al-Rabī''s letter of appointment from Ziyād reached Khurāsān after he had been buried. 'Abdallāh b. al-Rabī' appointed Khulayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī as his successor over Khurāsān.

(According to) 'Alī—Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl—his father: I heard that al-Rabī' b. Ziyād mentioned Ḥujr b. 'Adī one day in Khurāsān, saying, "Arabs will continue to be killed in captivity
[162] after him. If they had risen up at Ḥujr's death, no man of them would be killed in captivity, but they acquiesced, so they became despised." Al-Rabī' remained for a week after saying that. Then he went out in white clothing on Friday, saying, "O people, I have become tired of life, and I am offering a prayer." They responded, "Amen." Then he raised his hand after worship, saying, "O God, if I have done good in Your sight, then take me to You at once." And the people said, "Amen!" He then went out, and collapsed before his clothing went out of sight. He was carried to his house, and appointing his son, 'Abdallāh, as his successor, he died that very day. Then his son died, after appointing Khulayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī as his successor. Ziyād then confirmed Khulayd and died himself while Khulayd was in charge of Khurāsān.

Ziyād perished, having appointed 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd over al-Kūfah. Mu'āwiyah then confirmed Samurah as gover nor of al-Baṣrah for eighteen months. (According to) 'Umar—

500. According to Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 346, the rope had been folded on the mule's neck underneath the bridle rein.

Ja'far b. Sulaymān al-Ḍuba'ī: Mu'āwiyah confirmed Samurah (as governor) for six months after Ziyād. Then he dismissed him. At that, Samurah exclaimed, "God curse Mu'āwiyah! If I obeyed God as I obeyed Mu'āwiyah, He would never punish me.

I was told by 'Umar—Mūsā b. Ismā'īl—Sulaymān b. Muslim al-'Iḵlī—his father: I passed by the mosque, while a man came to Samurah and brought his wealth as *zakāt*.[501] Then that man entered and began to worship in the mosque. Another man came and beheaded him, so his head was in the mosque and his body nearby. Abū Bakrah passed by and said, "God, praise Him, says, 'Whoever was purified has prospered, remembered the name of his Lord, and worshipped.'"[502] My father said: I witnessed that. Samurah did not die until a severe frost took him; [163] he thus died an evil death. I witnessed him bringing many people, and setting them before him. He would ask each man, "What is your faith?" The man would reply, "I testify that there is only one single God Who has no partner, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger, and that I am not one of the Ḥarūriyyah." He would then be brought out and beheaded, until there were more than twenty.

In this year Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ led the people in the pilgrimage according to Abū Ma'shar, al-Wāqidī, and others. The governor of al-Madīnah during this year was Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, while 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd b. al-'Āṣ governed al-Kūfah after the death of Ziyād. Samurah b. Jundab governed al-Baṣrah after the death of Ziyād, and Khulayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī governed Khurāsān.

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501. *Zakāt* is the Islamic obligation to purify oneself through charity. See *EI*[1], s.v. Zakāt, and for a variant of this account see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharh Nahj al-balāghah*, IV, 77.

502. Qur'ān 87: 14–15.

The Events of the Year 54

(DECEMBER 16, 673–DECEMBER 5, 674)

The winter campaign of Muḥammad b. Mālik in Byzantine territory took place during this year, as well as the summer campaign of Ma'n b. Yazīd al-Sulamī.

The conquest by Junādah b. Abī Umayyah of an island in the sea near Constantinople called Arwād also took place during this year, as al-Wāqidī claimed. Muḥammad b. 'Umar related that the Muslims stayed there for a while—it is said, seven years—while Mujāhid b. Jabr was there. Tubay', the son of Ka'b's wife, said, "Do you see this step [*darajah*]? When it is removed, [word of] our homecoming will arrive." A strong wind then arose and blew away the step, and someone who announced Mu'āwiyah's death arrived, as well as Yazīd's letter about coming home. At this, we returned. The island was uninhabited and ruined after that, and the Byzantines were safe.

[164] During this year Mu'āwiyah also dismissed Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ from al-Madīnah and appointed Marwān b. al-Ḥakam governor over it.

Why Muʿāwiyah Dismissed Saʿīd and Appointed Marwān as Governor over al-Madīnah

I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Juwayriyyah b. Asmāʾ—his shaykhs: Muʿāwiyah used to incite Marwān and Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ against each other. He wrote to Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ while the latter was in charge of al-Madīnah, "Demolish the house of Marwān." But Saʿīd did not demolish it, so Muʿāwiyah sent another letter to him about demolishing it. But he did not do it, whereupon Muʿāwiyah dismissed him and made Marwān governor. As far as Muḥammad b. ʿUmar is concerned, he related that Muʿāwiyah wrote to Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ ordering him to seize all the property of Marwān and make it government property, and to seize Fadak[503] from Marwān—Muʿāwiyah had granted it to Marwān. At that, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ wrote back to him, saying, "He is a close relative." Muʿāwiyah then wrote to him for the second time ordering him to sequester Marwān's property. But Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ refused and took both letters and placed them with a slave-girl. When Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ was dismissed from al-Madīnah and Marwān became its governor, Muʿāwiyah wrote to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam ordering him to seize the property of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ in the Ḥijāz, sending the letter to him with (Marwān's) son ʿAbd al-Malik. Marwān told him, "If it were anything but a letter from the Commander of the Faithful, I would reject it." At that, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ called for both letters in which Muʿāwiyah had written to him about the property of Marwān, and in which he had ordered him to seize Marwān's property. Saʿīd took them to Marwān, who remarked, "Saʿīd was more attached to us than we were to him," and desisted from seizing Saʿīd's property. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ also wrote to Muʿāwiyah, "[I am] astonished at how the Commander of the Faithful treated us concerning our kinship, so that we would bear a grudge against each other. The Com- [165]
mander of the Faithful in spite of his prudence, steadfastness against those evils he abhors, and forgiveness, has introduced estrangement and enmity between us, while our descendents will possess that as an inheritance. By God, if we were not sons

503. Fadak was a small agricultural town in the northern Ḥijāz. See *EI*², s.v. Fadak.

of a single uncle, God would not have united us with him out of support for the wronged Caliph.[504] There was truth for us in the congruence of our speeech so that we would pay attention to that and in which we obtained good." At that, Muʿāwiyah wrote back to him disavowing that, and saying that, for Saʿīd's sake, he would return to the best (behavior) that Saʿīd knew about him.

The account now returns to that of ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: When Muʿāwiyah appointed Marwān governor, he wrote to him, "Demolish the house of Saʿīd." When Marwān (started to) carry out the deed and rode to demolish it, Saʿīd asked him, "O Abū ʿAbd al-Malik, are you going to demolish my house?" Marwan replied, "Yes, the Commander of the Faithful wrote to me, and if he wrote about demolishing my [own] house, I would do it." Saʿīd remarked, "I would not do so." Marwān responded, "Certainly, by God, if he wrote to you, you would demolish it." Saʿīd retorted, "Certainly not, Abū ʿAbd al-Malik." Then he told his servant, "Go off and bring me Muʿāwiyah's letter." The servant then brought Muʿāwiyah's letter to Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ about demolishing the house of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. Marwān remarked, "He wrote to you, O Abū ʿUthmān, about demolishing my house, but you didn't demolish [it], and did not inform me." Saʿīd replied, "I did not demolish your house, yet I am not ensured against you. Muʿāwiyah wanted to incite us against each other." At that, Marwān exclaimed, "May my father and mother be your ransom! By God, you have more plumage[505] than we and offspring." Marwān returned without demolishing Saʿīd's house.

I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī—Abū Muḥammad b. Dhakwān al-Qurashī: Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ came to Muʿāwiyah, who asked him, "O Abū ʿUthmān, how did you leave Abū ʿAbd al-Malik?" Saʿīd replied, "I left him taking control of your work and carrying
[166] out your command." Muʿāwiyah remarked, "Indeed he is like the owner of a loaf of bread which was baked enough so he ate it." Saʿīd responded, "Certainly not, by God, O Commander of the Faithful, indeed he is with the people. The whip is not used

504. That is, ʿUthmān.
505. The text reads: *rīshan*; C reads: *nasaban*, "lineage."

on them, and the sword is not allowed for them. They exchange like the impact of arrows, an arrow for you and an arrow against you."[506] Muʿāwiyah asked, "What separated you from him?" Saʿīd replied, "He was afraid of me for his dignity, and I feared him for mine." Muʿāwiyah asked, "So why is he obliged to you?" Saʿīd answered, "I pleased him when absent, and I pleased him when present." Muʿāwiyah remarked, you left us, O Abū ʿUthmān, in these trifles." Saʿīd responded, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful. I assumed the burden, sufficed for the determination, and was close. If you called, I would answer, and if you left, I would remove."

Muʿāwiyah also dismissed Samurah b. Jundab from al-Baṣrah in this year and appointed ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Ghaylān as governor there. I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: Muʿāwiyah dismissed Samurah and made ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Ghaylān governor. He confirmed him in his post for six months, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr put ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥiṣn in charge of his police.

In this year Muʿāwiyah also made ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād governor of Khurāsān.

How ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād Became Governor of Khurāsān

I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Salamah b. Muḥārib and Muḥammad b. Abān al-Qurashī: After Ziyād died, ʿUbaydallāh visited Muʿāwiyah, who asked him, "Whom did my brother appoint as his deputy at al-Kūfah?" He replied, "ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd." Muʿāwiyah went on, "And whom did he put in charge of al-Baṣrah?" ʿUbaydallāh answered, "Samurah b. Jundab al-Fazārī." Muʿāwiyah then told him, "If your father had appointed you to a position, I would do so as well." At that, ʿUbaydallāh responded, "I implore you by [167] God, lest someone shall say to me after you, 'If your father and your uncle had made you a governor, I would make you a governor.'"

When Muʿāwiyah wanted to make someone belonging to the

506. See Freytag, *Proverbia*, III, 238.

Banū Ḥarb a governor, he would make him governor of al-Ṭāʾif. If he saw that he performed well and was not astonished at him, he would add the governorship of Mecca to his first position. If he governed well and ably looked after his responsibilities, Muʿāwiyah would combine al-Madīnah with both of his other positions. Thus, when a man was put in charge of al-Ṭāʾif, it used to be said, "He is with Abū Jād."[507] Then when Muʿāwiyah put him in charge of Mecca, it was said, "He is with the Qurʾān." And when he put him in charge of al-Madīnah, it was said, "He has been skillful."

When ʿUbaydallāh said what he did, Muʿāwiyah put him in charge of Khurāsān. Then, when he had made him governor, he told him, "I have given trust to you as I do to my officials. Now then, I enjoin you by the ties of kinship, because of your special status with me, not to sell a lot for a little, and restrain yourself, and fulfill any agreement you make with an enemy, so you will reduce the burden for you[rself] and for me from you. Open your door to the people; thus you will have information from them. You and they are equal. When you decide on a matter, express it openly to the people, and no one will expect anything or make demands on you, while you will be able to carry [it] out. When you encounter your enemies, and they defeat you at the border of the territory, do not let them defeat you in its interior. If your companions need you to assist them personally, do so.

I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī—ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—Ibn Ishāq: Muʿāwiyah appointed ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād as governor, saying, "Seize the sword if it does not cut." He also told him, "Fear God, and don't prefer anything to that, for there is compensa-
[168] tion in fearing Him. It preserves [you] from lowering your own reputation. If you make a promise, keep it; don't sell a lot for a little; and don't announce something until you have completely understood it['s consequences]. Once it has been announced, don't let it return to harm you. When you encounter your enemies, let those who are with you be more numerous. Swear to [your subjects] upon the Book of God; don't tempt anyone with that to which he has no right; and don't make

507. Lit. "the father of improvement", that is, at the beginning of his career.

anyone feel hopeless regarding his rights." Then 'Ubaydallāh took leave of him.

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī—Maslamah: 'Ubaydallāh set out from Syria for Khurāsān at the end of the year 53 (673) when he was twenty-five years old, sending Aslam b. Zur'ah al-Kilābī to Khurāsān in advance. He left Syria accompanied by al-Ja'd b. Qays al-Namarī who recited verses (*rajaz*) before him in an elegy for Ziyād.

On another occasion, 'Umar reported in his book which he entitled *The Book of Information About the People of al-Baṣrah*:[508] I was told by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī that when Mu'āwiyah appointed 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād over Khurāsān, the latter went out wearing a turban—he was handsome—while al-Ja'd b. Qays recited an elegy for Ziyād to him:

Continue to rebuke me, my critic,
about what removed my blessing before today.

The benefactor has departed and the permanent protection,

And [having] grace, many sheep,[509] a huge fortune, many camels[510]

And the livestock walking after sleep.

If only all of the excellent [horses] with the folk [169]

Were given poison to drink a while before today,

With four [days] elapsing from the month of fasting.[511]

From it also is:

Tuesday which has past,

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508. *Kitāb akhbār ahl al-Baṣrah.*

509. *Mu'aththal*, from *'aththala*, "to have many sheep." See I. Mustafa, et al., *Mu'jam*, I, 99.

510. *Al-ḥawm* is a herd of approximately one thousand camels. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XII, 62.

511. That is, the month of Ramaḍān.

A day on which the King decreed what He decreed:

The death of a righteous, glorifying [man], sturdy of strength.

Giving to Jaʿd was hot in him and blazed.

Ziyād was a mountain with difficult peaks,

Astute, if you looked for faults, he refused.

If Ziyād had survived, I would hope that God would not

Remove him.

ʿUbaydallāh wept that day until his turban fell off of his head.

ʿUbaydallāh reached Khurāsān, then he crossed the river to the mountain of Bukhārā on camels, He was thus the first to reach the Bukārāns by crossing the mountain with an army. He conquered Rāmīthan and Baykand,[512] both of which belong to Bukhārā, and reached the Bukhārāns from there. (According to) ʿAlī—al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd—his paternal uncle: ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād encountered Turks at Bukhārā. Qabj Khatun, their king's wife, was with the king. When God defeated them, the Turks urged her to put on her slippers. She put on one of them, while the other was left behind. The Muslims acquired the stocking which was worth two hundred thousand dirhams.

[170] I was told by ʿAlī—Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ—ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Maʿmar—ʿUbādah b. Ḥiṣn: I did not see anyone more courageous than ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. An army of Turks encountered us in Khurāsān, and I saw him fighting. He charged them, penetrated their ranks, and disappeared from sight. Then he raised his pennon dripping with blood.

(According to) ʿAlī—Maslamah: There were two thousand Bukhārans, whom ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād brought to al-Baṣrah.

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512. Rāmīthan/Rāmitīn and Baykand/Paykand were towns two *farsakhs* (twelve km) apart in the Bukhārā oasis. See the account of this campaign in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 410. Rāmīthan was considered to be the old city of Bukhārā, while Baykand was a large commercial center, five *farsakhs* (thirty km) from Bukhārā. See W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 116–18.

All of them were excellent archers.[513] Maslamah (said): The army of the Turks at Bukhārā was one of the numerous armies of Khurāsān. We were also told by 'Alī—al-Hudhalī: There were five armies in Khurāsān, four of which al-Aḥnaf b. Qays encountered—(one) which encountered him between Quhistān and Abrashahr,[514] and the three which he met at the Marghāb.[515] The fifth army was that of Qārin which 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim scattered.[516] (According to) 'Alī—Maslamah: 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād stayed in Khurāsān for two years.

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam led the people in the pilgrimage in this year.

I was told by Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar, while al-Wāqidī and others said likewise: Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was in charge of al-Madīnah in this year, while 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd was in charge of al-Kūfah —some of them said al-Ḍahhāk b. Qays was in charge there— and 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Ghaylān was in charge of al-Baṣrah.

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513. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 376, 410–11; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 237; and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 522. However Ziyād himself is said to have built a street in al-Baṣrah for four thousand Bukhārans (Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān*, 191) and to have employed them in his police force at al-Kūfah (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 152).

514. Abrashahr is the Arabicized form of Aparshahr, the late Sasanian name of the city of Nīshāpūr (Naysābūr), the district capital of western Khurāsān. See *EI*², s. v. Abarshahr.

515. The Marghāb is the Murghāb River in Eastern Khurāsān, on which the city of Marw was located. See *EI*¹, Supp., s.v. Merw al-Shāhidhān.

516. This was in Quhistān in 33(653) See Shaban, *Abbāsid Revolution*, 26.

The Events of the Year 55

(DECEMBER 6, 674–NOVEMBER 24, 675)

[171] Among the events that happened during this year was the winter campaign of Sufyān b. 'Awf al-Azdī in Byzantine territory. That is what al-Wāqidī said. However, some said the one who led the winter campaign in Byzantine territory in this year was 'Amr b. Muḥriz; and others said the one who led the winter campaign there was 'Abdallāh b. Qays al-Fazārī. Still others said that it was Mālik b. 'Abdallāh.

During this year Mu'āwiyah dismissed 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Ghaylān from al-Baṣrah and put 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād in charge.

Why Mu'āwiyah Dismissed 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Ghaylān and Appointed 'Ubaydallāh over al-Baṣrah

I was told by 'Umar—al-Walīd b. Hishām and 'Alī b. Muḥammad (they each differed in some of the narrative): When 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Ghaylān spoke from the pulpit of al-Baṣrah, one of the Banū Ḍabbah threw rocks at him. (According to) 'Umar

—Abū al-Ḥasan: He was called Jubayr b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, one of the Banū Ḍirār. When ʿAlī ordered the man's hand to be cut off, the latter said:

Attentive obedience and submission
are good and more forgiving for the Banū Tamīm.

The Banū Ḍabbah then came to him, saying, "Our companion inflicted what he suffered upon himself, and the amīr has carried out his punishment. We are not assured that, should the report about him reach the Commander of the Faithful, he would not order personal or group punishment. If the amīr sees fit to write a letter for us, one of us will take it to the Commander of the Faithful to inform him that the amīr cut off his hand merely out of suspicion and without clear evidence." So [172] ʿAbdallāh wrote to Muʿāwiyah for them afterwards, and they held onto the letter until the beginning of the year arrived. Abū al-Ḥasan (said): Less than six months later the Ḍabbīs headed for Muʿāwiyah and visited him, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful, he dismembered our companion unjustly, and this is his letter to you." Muʿāwiyah read the letter and remarked, "As far as retaliation against my officials is concerned, it is not allowed, and there is no way against him, but if you should wish, I would pay your companion blood money." They replied, "Then do so." Muʿāwiyah then paid him blood money from the treasury, dismissed ʿAbdallāh, and told them, "Choose whom you would like for me to put in charge of your province." They replied, "Let the Commander of the Faithful choose for us." Since he knew the opinion held by the people of al-Baṣrah about Ibn ʿĀmir, he asked, "How would you like Ibn ʿĀmir, for he is someone about whose distinction, decency, and purity you have known?" They answered, "The Commander of the Faithful knows best." He began to repeat that to them in order to sound them out; then he said, "I have put my nephew, ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, in charge of you."

(According to) ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: In this year Muʿāwiyah dismissed ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr and put ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād in charge of al-Baṣrah, and he put ʿUbaydallāh Aslam b. Zurʿah in charge of Khurāsān. The latter did not raid or conquer any territory there. ʿUbaydallāh put ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥiṣn in charge

of his police force and Zurārah b. Awfā in charge of rendering judgment, then he dismissed him and put Ibn Udhaynah al-'Abdī in charge of rendering judgment.

In this year Mu'āwiyah also dismissed 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd from al-Kūfah and put al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī in charge there.[517]

In this year Marwān b. al-Ḥakam led the people in the pilgrimage. I was told that by Aḥmad b. Thābit—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

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517. According to Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 265, this was in year 54(673/4).

The Events of the Year [173]

56

(November 25, 675–November 13, 676)

Among these events was the winter campaign of Junādah b. Abī Umayyah in Byzantine territory. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mas'ūd is also said to have led this campaign. Yazīd b. Shajarah al-Rahāwī is also said to have raided by sea while 'Iyād b. al-Ḥārith did so by land.

Al-Walīd b. 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān led the people in the pilgrimage according to the account I was told by Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone—Iṣḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

During this year Mu'āwiyah performed the minor pilgrimage (*'umrah*) during Rajab (May 20–June 18, 676).

During this year Mu'āwiyah summoned the people to acknowledge his son, Yazīd, as his successor, and made him heir apparent (*walī al-'ahd*).[518]

Why Mu'āwiyah Made His Son, Yazīd, Heir Apparent

I was told by al-Ḥārith—'Alī b. Muḥammad—Abū Ismā'īl-al-Hamdānī and 'Alī b. Mujāhid—al-Sha'bī: Al-Mughīrah came to

518. Lit: "possessor of a pact."

Muʿāwiyah, and gave him his resignation, while complaining of weakness. Muʿāwiyah relieved him and wanted to appoint Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ. Al-Mughīrah's secretary heard of that, so he came to Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and informed him of this while a Kūfan called Rabīʿah or al-Rabīʿ of the Khuzāʿah was with him. The latter then came to al-Mughīrah, saying, "O Mughīrah, I certainly think that the Commander of the Faithful disliked you. I saw Ibn Khunays, your secretary, with Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ informing him that the Commander of the Faithful would put him in charge of al-Kūfah." Al-Mughīrah responded, "Does he not say as al-Aʿshā said;

[174] Or was your master absent so you suffered a need?
and perhaps your master will return with backing.

Go slowly! I will go to Yazīd." Al-Mughīrah then went to see Yazīd, and proposed the acknowledgement to him. When Yazīd conveyed that to his father, Muʿāwiyah reappointed al-Mughīrah to al-Kūfah, ordering him to work for Yazīd's acknowledgement. Al-Mughīrah then departed for al-Kūfah, and his secretary, Ibn Khunays, came to him, saying, "By God, I did not deceive you nor betray you nor did I dislike your government, but I owed Saʿīd a favor, and I was grateful to him for it." Al-Mughīrah was pleased with him and took him back into his chancery. Al-Mughīrah also worked for Yazīd's acknowledgement, and sent an envoy to Muʿāwiyah about it.

I was told by al-Ḥārith—ʿAlī—Maslamah: When Muʿāwiyah wanted to acknowledge Yazīd (as his successor) he wrote to Ziyād, asking him for advice. Ziyād then sent for ʿUbayd b. Kaʿb al-Numayrī, saying, "Everyone who asks advice has trust, and every secret has a place to put it. Indeed people have devised for them two qualities—revealing secrets and giving out advice to people who do not deserve it. The only repository for secrets is one of two men—an otherworldly man who hopes for a reward and a man of this world who has self-respect and discernment which preserves his esteem. I have experienced them both from you, therefore I have praised that on your behalf. I have summoned you about a matter which I hesitate to put in writing. Indeed the Commander of the Faithful has written to me claiming that he has decided to acknowledge Yazīd [as his

successor]. However, his is afraid of the people's disapproval. He hopes for their agreement, and asks my advice. Support for Islam and its security is important, while Yazīd is easy-going and neglectful, given his devotion to hunting. So meet the Commander of the Faithful, acting on my behalf, and inform him about Yazīd's actions. Tell him, 'Go slowly in this matter, [175] for it would be more appropriate in order to accomplish what you want. Don't hurry, because attainment with delay is better than haste without success.'"[519]

'Ubayd answered him, "There is an alternative." Ziyād asked, "What is it?" 'Ubayd advised, "Don't disparage Mu'āwiyah's view to him, and don't make him hate his son. I shall meet with Yazīd in secret, informing him on your behalf that the Commander of the Faithful has written to you asking your advice about Yazid's acknowledgement [as successor], and that you fear the disapproval of the people because of flaws which they hold against him. I shall also tell him that you think he should abandon the behavior that is held against him, so that the Commander of the Faithful's argument before the people would be strengthened. What you desire will be easy. Thus you will have prepared Yazīd and satisfied the Commander of the Faithful, as well as having avoided what you fear regarding the community." At that, Ziyād replied, "You have hit the nail on the head.[520] Depart with God's blessing. If you are successful, it will not be disavowed; and if you are mistaken, [it will] not be deception. I do not consider you to be one who makes mistakes, if God wills." 'Ubayd responded, "You say what you think, and God determines in secret what He knows." He then came to Yazīd and conferred with him (about) that, while Ziyād wrote to Mu'āwiyah urging him to be cautious and not to hurry. Mu'āwiyah accepted that, and Yazīd refrained from doing much of what he used to do. Then 'Ubayd came back to Ziyād, and the latter gave him a land-grant.

I was told by al-Ḥārith—'Alī: When Ziyād died, Mu'āwiyah called for a document about appointing Yazīd as his successor and read it to the people. In the event of his death, Yazīd would

519. The text reads: *fawt*; C reads: *mawt*, "death."
520. Lit. "You have hit the matter with its stone."

be heir apparent. He was able to get the people to acknowledge Yazīd except for five persons.[521]

I was told by Yaʿqūb b. Ibrahīm—Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm—Ibn
[176] ʿAwn—a man at Nakhlah:[522] The people acknowledged Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah except for al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ibn ʿUmar, Ibn al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, and Ibn ʿAbbās. So when Muʿāwiyah came (to al-Madīnah) he sent for al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, saying, "O cousin, the people have been able to acknowledge Yazīd except for five persons of the Quraysh whom you lead. O cousin, what is your purpose in disagreeing?" He replied, "Do I lead them?" Muʿāwiyah replied that he did. Al-Ḥusayn said, "So send for them, and if they acknowledge [Yazīd], I would be one of them, and if not, don't be rushing me into something." Muʿāwiyah asked, "And would you do so?" When al-Ḥusayn replied that he would, Muʿāwiyah then obliged him not to inform anyone about their conversation. Although that was difficult for him, al-Ḥusayn granted that, and then left. Ibn al-Zubayr had a man wait for al-Ḥusayn in the street, who said, "Your brother, Ibn al-Zubayr asks you, 'What happened?'" He continued thus with al-Ḥusayn until he got something out of him. Then, after (meeting with) al-Ḥusayn, Muʿāwiyah sent for Ibn al-Zubayr, saying to him, "The people have been able to do this except for five persons of the Quraysh. You lead them, O cousin, so what is your purpose in disagreeing?" Ibn al-Zubayr asked, "Do I lead them?" When Muʿāwiyah replied that he did, Ibn al-Zubayr said, "So send for them, and if they acknowledge, I would be one of them, and if not, don't be rushing me into something." Muʿāwiyah asked, "And would you do so?" When he replied that he would, Muʿāwiyah obliged him not to inform anyone of their conversation. He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, we are in the sanctuary of God, Almighty and Great, and the pact of God, praise Him, is serious." So he refused him and left. Then, after Ibn al-Zubayr, Muʿāwiyah sent for Ibn ʿUmar and spoke with him in

521. According to Ibn Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 248, Muʿāwiyah had the Syrians acknowledge Yazīd in the year 50(670/71).

522. This place is either Nakhlat Muḥmūd, the first stopping-place on the way from Mecca to al-Ṣādir, or Nakhlah al-Yamāniyyah, the valley south of Mecca where the Battle of Ḥunayn was fought. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 769.

words that were softer than those he had used with his companion, saying, "Indeed, I fear that I would leave the community of Muḥammad after me like sheep without a shepherd. It has been possible for the people to do this except for five persons of Quraysh, whom you lead. So what is your purpose in disagreeing?" Ibn ʿUmar replied, "What would you think about [177] something that will avoid censure and spare blood while you achieve your purpose thereby?" Muʿāwiyah replied, "I would like that." Ibn ʿUmar said, "Set up your throne publicly, then I will come and acknowledge you on condition that I will enter after you into whatever the community shall agree upon. For, by God, if the community should agree upon an Abyssinian slave after you, I would do the same." Muʿāwiyah asked, "And would you do so?" He answered that he would. Then he left, and arriving at his home, he shut his door. People began to come but he would not admit them. Muʿāwiyah then sent for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr saying, "O Ibn Abī Bakr, by what hand or foot do you come to disobey me?" He replied, "I hope that it would be good for me." Muʿāwiyah responded, "By God, I intended to kill you." He answered, "If you do so, may God cause a curse to follow you in this world for it and make you enter the fire in the next [world] for it." The man at Nakhlah did not mention Ibn ʿAbbās.[523]

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the governor of al-Madīnah during this year, while al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays was in charge of al-Kūfah, ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād was in charge of al-Baṣrah, and Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān was in charge of Khurāsān.

The reason why Saʿīd was governor of Khurāsān is in the account which I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī—Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ: When Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān asked Muʿāwiyah to make him governor of Khurāsān, the latter replied, "ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād is there." Saʿīd then asked, "Did not my father make you and raise you until you achieved through his effort the utmost point which he was not able to attain nor seek to surpass? But you were not grateful for his favor nor requited him for his benefits. You put this one (that is Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah) ahead of me

523. According to Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 252–57, these events occurred in year 51(671/2)

and acknowledged him. By God, I am better than he with respect to father, mother, and self." Muʿāwiyah replied, "As far
[178] as your father's favor is concerned, I am obliged to repay him. It was out of gratitude for that that I sought revenge for his blood until matters ran their course, and I will not blame myself for rallying my forces. Regarding the superiority of your father over Yazīd's, your father, by God, was better than I and closer to the Messenger of God. Concerning the superiority of your mother over Yazīd's, it is not denied. A woman from Quraysh is better than a woman from the Kalb. As for your superiority over him, by God, I want the Ghūṭah[524] to be filled by men like you for Yazīd." At that, Yazīd told Muʿāwiyah, "O Commander of the Faithful, he is your paternal cousin, and you are the most worthy to consider his case. He censured me to you, so censure him." Muʿāwiyah then put Saʿīd in charge of the military affairs of Khurāsān and Isḥāq b. Ṭalḥah in charge of collecting taxes there. This Isḥāq was a maternal cousin of Muʿāwiyah, and his mother was Umm Abān bt. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah. When he reached al-Rayy, Ishāq b. Ṭalḥah died, so Saʿīd was put in charge of both the taxes and military affairs of Khurāsān.

I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī—Maslamah: Saʿīd left for Khurāsān accompanied by Aws b. Thaʿlabah al-Taymī, the master of Qaṣr Aws, Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuzāʿī, al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah, and Rabīʿah b. ʿIsl, one of the Banū ʿAmr b. Yarbūʿ. There were bedouin folk barring the road against pilgrims in the depth of a defile. Saʿīd was told, "Here are folk barring the road against pilgrims, and they fear to take to the road lest you take them out with you. Saʿīd then took out some folk of the Banū Tamīm, among whom was Mālik b. al-Rayb al-Māzinī, along with youths who were with him.[525] Concerning them the poet declaimed:[526]

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524. The Ghūṭah is the fertile cultivated region around Damascus irrigated by the Baradā River. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ghūṭa.

525. For additional details according to Abū ʿUbaydah and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madāʾinī, see ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, II, 210; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, IV, 187–99.

526. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIX, 163; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shuʿarāʾ*, 270.

God save you from al-Qasīm,[527] [179]

And from Abū Ḥardabah[528] the evil,

And from Ghuwayth[529] the cutpurse,

And Mālik and his poisoned sword.

(According to) 'Alī—Maslamah: Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān arrived and crossed the river to Samarqand.[530] The people of the Ṣughd[531] came out against him, and they fought each other all day until nightfall, then they disengaged without further fighting.[532] At that, Mālik b. al-Rayb said, criticizing Sa'īd:

You continued to tremble on the Battle-day of the Ṣughd, standing
out of cowardice until I feared that you had become a Christian,

And there was not in 'Uthmān anything I knew,
except his offspring in his group when he turned back.

If it was not for the Banū Ḥarb, your blood would be sprinkled inside broken and one-eyed vermin.

When the next day came, Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān went out to them and the Ṣughd resisted him. He fought them, routed them, and beseiged them in their city. Then they made peace with him and gave him fifty youths, the sons of their grandees, to be held

527. Al Qaṣīm is a region of the Najd in central Arabia.

528. Abū Ḥardabah was a member of the Banū Athālah b. Māzin. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIX, 163.

529. Ghuwayth was a member of the Banū Ka'b b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIX, 163.

530. Samarqand, on the Zarafshān River in Central Asia, was the main city of Ṣoghdia. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 463–65; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 83–93.

531. The Ṣughd were the Ṣoghdians who inhabited the region along the Zarafshān River in Central Asia, ancient Sogdiana. Le Strange, *Lands*, 460–73; Barthold, *Turkestan*, index: Soghdiana.

532. For this campaign see Balādhuirī, *Futūḥ*, 411.

as hostages by him. He then crossed (again) and stayed at al-Tirmidh.[533] He did not keep (his agreement) with them and brought the hostage youths with him to al-Madīnah.[534]

Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān arrived in Khurāsān while Aslam b. Zurʿah al-Kilābī was there on behalf of ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. Aslam b. [180] Zurʿah continued to live there until ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād wrote to him about entrusting Khurāsān to him for a second time. When the letter of ʿUbaydallāh reached Aslam, he knocked at night for Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān. At that, a slave girl of Saʿīd's gave birth to a boy prematurely. Saʿīd would say, "I shall certainly kill a man of the Banū Ḥarb [in retaliation] for him." Saʿīd came to Muʿāwiyah, complaining to him about Aslam, and the Qaysiyyah became angry. When Hamām b. Qabīsah al-Namarī entered and Muʿāwiyah noticed that his eyes were reddened, he said, "O Hamām, both your eyes are reddened." Hamām replied, "On the Battle-day of Ṣiffīn they were even redder." That distressed Muʿāwiyah, and when Saʿīd saw that, he held back from Aslam. Aslam b. Zurʿah thus remained in charge of Khurāsān as governor for ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād for two years.

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533. Al-Tirmidh was the most important town in the district of Saghāniyān, north of the upper Oxus River between its confluence with the Wakhsh and Surkhān rivers. Le Strange, *Lands*, 440–41; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 75.

534. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 411, Saʿīd took fifteen, forty or eighty noble youths hostage at Bukhārā. When he forced them into agricultural slavery at al-Madīnah, they are said to have killed him and committed mass suicide. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 117–19; Narshakhī, *Tārikh-i Bukhārā*, translated by R. Frye as *The History of Bukhārā*, 40–41.

The Events of the Year 57

(NOVEMBER 14, 676–NOVEMBER 2, 677)

The winter campaign of 'Abdallāh b. Qays in Byzantine territory occurred during this year.

According to al-Wāqidī, Marwān was dismissed from al-Madīnah in Dhū al-Qa'dah 57 (September 5–October 4, 677). According to someone else, Marwān governed al-Madīnah during this year. Al-Wāqidī said: When Mu'āwiya dismissed Marwān, he appointed al-Walīd b. 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān over al-Madīnah. Abū Ma'shar's account is similar to that of al-Wāqidī. I was told that account by Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—someone—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā.

The governor in charge of al-Kūfah during this year was al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, while 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād was in charge of al-Baṣrah and Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān was in charge of Khurāsān.

The Events of the Year 58

(November 3, 677–October 23, 678)

[181] According to Abū Ma'shar, Mu'āwiyah dismissed Marwān from al-Madīnah in Dhū al-Qa'dah (August 25–September 24, 678), and made Walīd b. 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān governor over it. I was told that by Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā.

During this year Mālik b. 'Abdallāh al-Khath'amī raided Byzantine territory.

In this year Yazīd b. Shajarah was killed at sea according to al-Wāqidī. 'Amr b. Yazīd al-Juhanī (said): It was Yazīd who led the winter campaign in Byzantine territory. It was also said: The one who raided by sea in this year was Junādah b. Abī Umayyah.

Al-Walīd b. 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān led the people in the pilgrimage this year. I was told a similar account by Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar. Al-Wāqidī and others said likewise.

In this year Mu'āwiyah put 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. Rabī'ah al-Thaqafī in charge of al-Kūfah. He was the son of Umm al-Ḥakam, the sister of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. Mu'āwiyah had previously dismissed al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays

from it.[535] During 'Abd al-Raḥmān's term of office in this year a group of the Khārijites rebelled who previously had recognized al-Mustawrid b. 'Ullifah and whom al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah had held in the prison. Al-Mughīrah had defeated them and put them in the prison. Then, when al-Mughīrah died, they left the prison.

(According to) Hāshim b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah al-Ghanawī: Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān al-Sulamī gathered his companions about him. After praising and extolling God, he addressed them, "Now then, indeed God, Almighty and Great, decreed the *jihād* for us. Among us there are those whose term has been decided, those who still wait, and those [who are] righteous victors by their superiority. Whoever among us still waits will be one of [182] our predecessors, the ones deciding their term, performing good deeds first. Whoever among you desires God and His reward, let him follow the way of his companions and his brothers. God will grant him the reward of this world and the better reward of the other world, and God is with those who are good."

Mu'ādh b. Juwayn al-Ṭā'ī said, "O people of Islām, by God, if we knew that when we gave up *jihād* against oppressors and the rejection of injustice, we would have some excuse with God for doing so, abandoning it would be easier for us and lighter than undertaking it. But, since we were created with hearts and ears, we knew and were convinced that there will be no excuse for us until we reject oppression and change injustice by *jihād* against the oppressors." Then he continued, "Extend your hand and we shall acknowledge you." So Mu'ādh and the folk acknowledged Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān, striking him on the hand. That was during the governorship of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī who was the son of Umm al-Ḥakam, while Zā'idah b. Qudāmah al-Thaqafī was in charge of the police.

Then, several days after that, the folk assembled at the residence of Mu'ādh b. Juwayn b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ṭā'ī. Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān addressed them, "Servants of God, advise[me] with your

535. According to Ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 269, this was in the year 57/676/7).

opinion. Where do you instruct me to go." Muʿādh told him, "I think you should set out with us to Ḥulwān so that we can settle there, for it is a district between the plain and the mountain and between the city and the frontier—that is the frontier of al-Rayy. Thus, whoever shares our view among the people of the city, the frontier, the mountains, and the Sawād[536] would join us." Ḥayyān answered him, "Your enemy would overtake you before the people would gather to you. By my life, they will not leave you until they gather to you. But I thought I would take you out beside al-Kūfah and the salt marsh, or Zurārah and al-Ḥīrah. Then we would fight them until we reach our Lord. By
[183] God, I knew that, being less than one hundred men, you would not be able to defeat your enemy, nor inflict severe damage on them. But when God knows that you exert yourselves in *jihād* against His enemy and yours, you will have His reward and escape from sin." They replied, "Our view is the same as yours."

At that, ʿItrīs b. ʿUrqūb, Abū Sulaymān al-Shaybānī told them, "I do not share the view of your group. Take into consideration that I do not think you are ignorant of my knowledge of warfare and my experience with affairs." They told him, "You are certainly as you say, so what is your view?" ʿItrīs said, "I don't think that you should go out against the people at the city. You are a few among many. By God, you would not do more than have them surround you, and you would make them happy by killing you. This is not a shrewd policy, if you prefer to go out against your folk. Outwit your enemy with that which is harmful to them." They asked, "So what is your view?" He said, "You should set out for the district in which Muʿādh b. Juwayn b. Ḥuṣayn advised setting up camp—that is Ḥulwān, or you should set out with us to ʿAyn al-Tamr and stay there. Then, when our brothers heard about us, they would come to us from every side." At that, Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān told him, "By God, if you set out with us, you and all your comrades, in either of these directions, you would not rest there before the cavalry of the people of the city overtook you. Where then will you heal yourselves? By God, there are not

536. The Sawād was the "dark" cultivated alluvial plain of Iraq. See *EI*[1], s.v. Sawād.

enough of you to expect victory in the world against the aggressive oppressors thereby. Rebel beside this city of yours and [184] fight according to the command of God against whoever violates obedience to Him. Don't wait, and don't bide your time. Thus, you will hurry to Paradise and get yourselves out of the discord thereby." They said, "Since that is the case, we have no other choice.[537] We will not oppose you, so rebel wherever you wish."

Ḥayyān waited until it was the end of the first of Ibn Umm al-Ḥakam's two years (as governor). At the beginning of the (second) year, on the first day of the month of Rabīʿ II (January 31, 678), the comrades of Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān gathered to him, and he addressed them, "O folk, God has assembled you for a good purpose and with good reasons. By God, other than Whom there is no god, I would never take pleasure in anything in the world after I abandoned my pleasure in order to make this revolt of mine against the sinful oppressors. By God, I do not want the world in its entirety for myself nor for God to deprive me of martyrdom in this revolt of mine. I had thought that we should go out until we halted beside the house of Jarīr. Then, when the factions came out against you, you would fight them." At that, ʿItrīs b. ʿUrqūb al-Bakrī said, "However, if we fought them in the center of the city, the men would fight against us while the women and the boys and the slave-girls would ascend [to the rooftops] and throw rocks on us." One of their men then told them, "Halt us, then, beyond the city [at] al-Jisr"—that was the location of Zurārah; however, Zurārah was built afterwards except for some insignificant buildings that were there previously. Muʿādh b. Juwayn b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ṭāʾī advised them, "No, set out with us and halt at Bāniqyā instead. Before long your enemy will come to you, and when that happens we shall confront the folk with our faces and put the houses at our backs. Thus we would fight them from only one direction." When they rebelled, an army was sent against them and they were all killed.

Then the people of al-Kūfah expelled ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. [185] Umm al-Ḥakam. I was told by Hishām b. Muḥammad: Muʿā-

537. C reads: "we must accept your opinion."

wiyah made Ibn Umm al-Ḥakam governor over al-Kūfah. The latter treated them badly, so they expelled him. He then came to Muʿāwiyah, who was his maternal uncle. The latter told him, "I shall make you governor of Egypt [which is] better than al-Kūfah." Muʿāwiyah did so and sent him there. When the news reached Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Sakūnī, he met Ibn Umm al-Ḥakam two days' journey from Egypt, saying, "Return to your maternal uncle, for, by my life, you shall not treat us the way you treated our Kūfan brothers." He then returned to Muʿāwiyah. When Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj came (to Damascus) as an envoy, the way had been decorated for him—that is, booths of sweet basil were set up for him. He entered Muʿāwiyah's presence while Umm al-Ḥakam was with him. She asked, "Who is this, O Commander of the Faithful?" He answered, "Speak harshly! This is Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj." She remarked, "No welcome to him. It is better to hear about al-Muʿaydī than to see him."[538] At that, Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj said, "Gently, O Umm al-Ḥakam. By God, you married but were not honorable, and you gave birth but were not distinguished. You wanted your sinful son to govern us so he would treat us as he treated our Kūfan brothers. May God not give him that. Should he do so, we would strike him a blow from which he would bend over, even if the [one who is] sitting[539] disliked that." So Muʿāwiyah turned around to her and said, "That's enough."

In this year ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād became more violent against the Khārijites. He killed a large group of them he held captive and another group in combat.[540] Among the captives he killed was ʿUrwah b. Udayyah, the brother of Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udayyah.

Why ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād Killed the Khārijites

[186] I was told by ʿUmar—Zuhayr b. Ḥarb—Wahb b. Jarīr—his father—ʿĪsā b. ʿĀṣim al-Asadī: Ibn Ziyād went out for some wager of his. While he sat waiting for the horses, the people gath-

538. This is ascribed to al-Mundhir b. Mā' al-Samā'. See Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, 129–31; Freytag, *Proverbia*, I, 223–24.

539. That is, Muʿāwiyah.

540. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV B, 77–123.

ered, and 'Urwah b. Udayyah, the brother of Abū Bilāl, was with them. he approached Ibn Ziyād, saying, "There were five [faults] among the peoples before us, and they have come to exist among us—'Do you build a monument on every height, commit folly, and occupy large structures that perhaps you might be immortal, and if you struck you struck as tyrants?'"[541] He mentioned two other faults that Jarīr does not remember. When 'Urwah said that, Ibn Ziyād supposed that he would only have the audacity to say that while a group of his companions was with him, so he rose, rode off, and left his wager. At that 'Urwah was asked, "What have you done? You surely know, by God, that he will kill you." When 'Urwah hid, Ibn Ziyād sought him. He came to al-Kūfah, was seized there, and was sent to Ibn Ziyād, who ordered 'Urwah's hands and feet to be cut off. Then he summoned him and asked, "What do you think?" 'Urwah replied, "I think that you ruined this world for me and ruined the other world for yourself." At that, 'Ubaydallāh killed him and sent for his daughter and killed her.

As for Mirdās b. Udayyah, he went out to al-Ahwāz.[542] Ibn Ziyād had imprisoned him previously. This is according to the account I was told by 'Umar. He said: Khallād b. Yazīd al-Bāhilī related to me: Among others, Ibn Ziyād imprisoned Mirdās b. Udayyah. The jailer used to see his (manner of) worship and his zeal and allowed him to leave at night. When dawn arose, Mirdās would return to him and enter the prison. A friend of Mirdās used to converse with Ibn Ziyād at night, and one night Ibn Ziyād mentioned the Khārijites and decided to kill them in the morning. The friend of Mirdās hurried off to the latter's residence and informed them (of this), saying, "Send [word] to Abū Bilāl in the prison to let him know, for he is a dead man." Mirdās heard that. The warden also learned the news, where- [187]
upon he had a bad night worrying lest Mirdās know the news and not return. When the usual time came for him to return to the prison, all of a sudden there he was. At that, the jailer asked him, "Did you hear what the governor decided to do?" When

541. Qur'ān 26: 128–30.
542. Al-Ahwāz is the province of Khūzistān or its capital city. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ahwāz, Khūzistān.

Mirdās replied that he had, the jailer said, "Then you came this morning?" He replied, "Yes! You would not be rewarded for your kindness if you were punished because of me." In the morning ʿUbaydallāh came and began to kill the Khārijites. Then he summoned Mirdās, and when the latter was present, the jailer jumped up—he was a milk-brother of ʿUbaydallāh—and seized ʿUbaydallāh's foot, saying, "Grant me this [man]," and he related his story to him. ʿUbaydallāh then granted Mirdās to the jailer who released him.

I was told by ʿUmar—Zuhayr b. Ḥarb—Wahb b. Jarīr—his father—Yūnus b. ʿUbayd: Mirdās Abū Bilāl, who was one of the Banū Rabīʿah b. Ḥanẓalah, went out to al-Ahwāz with forty men. Ibn Ziyād sent an army against them under Ibn Ḥiṣn al-Tamīmī. The Khārijites fought against his men and defeated him. At that, a man of the Banū Taym Allāh b. Thaʿlabah said:

Did you claim two thousand believers are among you,
while forty fight them at Āsik?[543]

You lied. That is not as you claimed,
but the Khārijites are believers.

It is the small group [which] as you have known,
is made victorious against the large group.[544]

[188] ʿUmar said: The last line is not in the account which Khallād b. Yazīd al-Bāhilī recited to me.

It is said that ʿUmayrah b. Yathribī, the judge in al-Baṣrah died in this year and that Hishām b. Hubayrah replaced him there.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam was in charge of al-Kūfah in this year. Some of them said that al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī was in charge there, while ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād was in charge of al-Baṣrah and Shurayḥ was in charge of rendering judgment at al-Kūfah.

Al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah led the people in the pilgrimage this year. This is also what Abū Maʿshar and al-Wāqidī said.

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543. Āsik or Āsak was a district of al-Ahwāz between Arrajān and Rāmhurmuz. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 61–2.

544. This is probably an allusion to the Battle of Badr.

The Events of the Year 59

(October 23, 678–October 12, 679)

The winter campaign of 'Amr b. Murrah al-Juhanī by land in Byzantine territory occurred during this year. According to al-Wāqidī, there was no raid by sea that year, although others said that Junādah b. Abī Umayyah raided by sea.

During this year 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam was dismissed from al-Kūfah and al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī was appointed governor there. We have mentioned previously the reason for Ibn Umm al-Ḥakam's dismissal from al-Kūfah.

In this year Mu'āwiyah made 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. Sumayyah governor of Khurāsān.

Why Mu'āwiyah Appointed 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ziyād as Governor of Khurāsān

I was told by al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—'Alī b. Muḥammad —Abū 'Amr—our shaykhs: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād came to [189]
visit Mu'āwiyah, and asked, "O Commander of the Faithful, don't we have a claim [on you]?" Mu'āwiyah replied that he did. 'Abd al-Raḥmān then asked, "So why don't you make me a

governor?" He replied, "Al-Nuʿmān at al-Kūfah is on the right course, and he is one of the Companions of the Prophet. ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād is in charge of al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān, and ʿAbbād b. Ziyād is in charge of Sijistān. I don't see a position which is appropriate for you unless I have you share in the position of your brother, ʿUbaydallāh." He said, "Give me a share, for his governorship is so extensive he can stand a partnership." Thereupon, Muʿāwiyah made him governor of Khurāsān.

(According to) ʿAlī—Abū Ḥafṣ—ʿUmar: Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī arrived (in Khurāsān), having been sent by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād. Qays arrested Aslam b. Zurʿah and imprisoned him. Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān arrived and fined Aslam b. Zurʿah three hundred thousand dirhams. (According to) ʿAlī—Muṣʿab b. Ḥayyān—his brother Muqātil b. Ḥayyān: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād reached Khurāsān; thus a generous, greedy, weak man arrived who did not make a single raid, and remained in Khurāsān for two years.

(According to) ʿAlī—ʿAwānah: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād came to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah from Khurāsān after the killing of al-Ḥusayn,[545] while he made Qays b. al-Haytham deputy over Khurāsān. (According to) ʿAlī—Muslim b. Muḥārib and Abū Ḥafṣ: Yazīd asked ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād, "How much wealth did you bring with you from Khurāsān?" he replied, "Twenty million dirhams." Yazīd said, "If you wish, we would ask you for an accounting and collect it from you and return you to your governorship. Or, if you wish, we would allow you [to keep it] and dismiss you, provided that you give ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar [b. Abī Ṭālib] five hundred thousand dirhams." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān answered, "Rather allow me what you just said, and
[190] put someone else in charge there." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād sent one million dirhams to ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar, saying, "Five hundred thousand are from the Commander of the Faithful and five hundred thousand are from me."

In this year ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād went to visit Muʿāwiah accompanied by the Baṣran notables. Muʿāwiyah dismissed

545. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was killed on the tenth of Muḥarram 61 (October 10, 680).

'Ubaydallāh from al-Baṣrah, then he put him in charge of it again and confirmed the governorship for him.

How Mu'āwiyah Dismissed and Re-appointed 'Ubaydallāh as Governor of al-Baṣrah

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī: 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād went to visit Mu'āwiyah with the people of Iraq. Mu'āwiyah told him, "I will receive your delegation according to their stations and their dignity." Thus they were permitted to enter; al-Aḥnaf entered with the last of them, since his station was low according to 'Ubaydallāh. When Mu'āwiyah observed him, he welcomed al-Aḥnaf and had him sit with him on his dais. Then he conversed with the folk, and they praised 'Ubaydallāh nicely, while al-Aḥnaf was silent. Mu'āwiyah then asked, "What's the matter with you, O Abū Baḥr? You don't speak." Al-Aḥnaf replied, "If I should converse, I would contradict the folk." At that, Mu'āwiyah announced, "Stand up, for I have dismissed him. Seek a governor whom you approve." Every one of the folk then went to ask one of the Banū Umayyah or one of the Syrian notables. Al-Aḥnaf stayed in his home and did not go to anyone. They spent several days (doing this). Mu'āwiyah then sent for them and assembled them. When they entered his presence, he asked, "Whom did you choose?" They disagreed, and each of their factions named someone (else), while al-Aḥnaf was silent. Mu'āwiyah then asked him, "What's the matter with you, O Abū Baḥr? You don't speak." Al-Aḥnaf replied, "If you make anyone of your family governor over us, we would not consider anyone equal to 'Ubaydallāh, and if you would make anyone else governor, then consider doing so." Mu'āwiyah said, "I have put him back in charge of you." Then he [191] recommended him to al-Aḥnaf, and rebuked the latter's view because he had caused alienation. When the civil strife broke out, no one fulfilled (his obligation) to 'Ubaydallāh except al-Aḥnaf.

During this year, the affair of Yazīd b. Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyarī and 'Abbād b. Ziyād occurred, as well as Yazīd's ridiculing the sons of Ziyād.

Why Yazīd b. Mufarrigh Ridiculed the Sons of Ziyād

I reported on the authority of Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā that Yazīd b. Rabī'ah b. Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyarī accompanied 'Abbād b. Ziyād in Sijistān. He was engaged in war against the Turks for 'Abbād, who was impatient with him. When the army with 'Abbād was concerned about fodder for their mounts, Ibn Mufarrigh said:[546]

If only the beards would turn into hay,
we would feed it to the horses of the Muslims.

'Abbād b. Ziyād had a large beard, so that when Ibn Mufarrigh's poem reached 'Abbād, the latter was told, "He meant only you." At that, 'Abbād sought him, but he fled from 'Abbād and satirized him in many *qaṣīdahs*. Among those verses in which he satirized 'Abbād were:[547]

If Mu'āwiyah son of Ḥarb should perish,
spread the good news of a crack to the folk of your cauldron.

So testify that your mother was not touched
by Abū Sufyān, taking off the veil,

But it was a matter about which there is uncertainty,
in great fear and alarm,

and:[548]

Tell Mu'āwiyah son of Ḥarb
of a penetration by the Yamānī man.

Are you angry that it be said, "Your father was virtuous"
and pleased that it be said, "Your father was an adulterer"?

So I testify that your relationship with Ziyād
is like the kinship of the elephant with the offspring of a she-ass.

546. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVII, 53.
547. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVII. 57.
548. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVII, 60.

Abū Zayd (said): When Ibn Mufarrigh satirized 'Abbād he left [192]
him and came to al-Baṣrah while 'Ubaydallāh was visiting Mu'āwiyah. 'Abbād then wrote to 'Ubaydallāh some of the lines in which Ibn Mufarrigh satirized him. When 'Ubaydallāh read the poetry, he entered Mu'āwiyah's presence, recited the lines to him, and asked permission to kill Ibn Mufarrigh. But Mu'āwiyah refused to let 'Ubaydallāh kill him, saying, "Punish him, but don't go so far as to kill him." Ibn Mufarrigh reached al-Baṣrah and sought refuge with al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, who said, "We do not give refuge against Ibn Sumayyah. If you wish, I would protect you from the poets of the Banū Tamīm." Ibn Mufarrigh replied, "That is not what I need to be protected against." He then came to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh who threatened him, and then to Umayyah and to 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar, both of whom threatened him. Finally he came to al-Mundhir b. Jarūd, who protected him and brought him into his house. Since Baḥriyyah bt. al-Mundhir was 'Ubaydallāh's wife, when the latter reached al-Baṣrah, he was informed that Ibn Mufarrigh was staying with al-Mundhir. When al-Mundhir came to greet 'Ubaydallāh, the latter sent the police to the house of al-Mundhir, and they seized Ibn Mufarrigh. Before al-Mundhir even realized it, while he was with 'Ubaydallāh, there was Ibn Mufarrigh standing before him. At that, al-Mundhir stood up before 'Ubaydallāh, saying, "O amīr, I have given him refuge." 'Ubaydallāh replied, "By God, O Mundhir, he praises you and your father while he ridicules me and my father. Then you protect him against me." 'Ubaydallāh ordered for him to be given a laxative to drink. He was to be carried on a donkey with saddle-bags on it.[549] The donkey began to be led about with him on it, while he defecated in his clothing. As he was led through the markets that way, a Persian passed by him, saw him, and asked about him in Persian, "What is this?"[550] Ibn [193]
Mufarrigh understood Persian, so he said,[551]

549. In other accounts a sow and a cat were tied to the donkey. See *EI*², s.v. Ibn Mufarrigh.

550. In Persian: "*Īn chīst?*"

551. These lines in Persian are also in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVII, 51; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 143; and Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 276.

It is water, it is date wine,
It is the juice of raisins,
And it is white-faced[552] Sumayyah.

Then he satirized al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd:[553]

I renounced being a neighbor of Quraysh,
and was a neighbor of the 'Abd al-Qays, folk of al-Mushaqqar,[554]

People who protect us, for their protection was
spreading whirlwinds of a fart of Iraq.

So my neighbor from Jadhīmah [555] went to sleep,
and only the hard working [person] protects the protected.

He also said to 'Ubaydallāh:[556]

Water will cleanse what you did, but my declaration
is firmly fixed for you, as long as the bones last.

Then 'Ubaydallāh transported him to 'Abbād in Sijiistān. At that, the Yamanīs interceded with Mu'āwiyah for him in Syria, so he sent a messenger to 'Abbād. 'Abbād then sent Ibn Mufarrigh to Mu'āwiyah. On the way he said:[557]

O 'Adas! 'Abbād does not have authority over you.
Escape, while you carry this [one], freed.

By my life, he has saved you from the abyss of ruin,
leader and rope for mankind, strong.

[194] I shall thank you for what good favor you render,
and the likes of me ought to thank benefactors.

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552. The text reads *rū-yi sepīd*, that is, notorious.

553. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVII, 57.

554. Al-Mushaqqar was a fortress belonging to the 'Abd al-Qays. It guarded the approach to the town of Hajar in al-Baḥrayn. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 541.

555. Jadhīmah b. 'Awf was the branch of the 'Abd al-Qays to which al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd belonged. See *EI*², s.v. 'Abd al-Ḳays.

556. From a long *qaṣīdah* in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVII, 57–8.

557. These lines are also in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVII, 60; and Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 280, with variants. 'Adas is either the name of the mule he was riding or the command used to make mules go. See Wright, *Grammar*, I, 295.

When he entered Muʿāwiyah's presence, he wept, saying, "What was done to me would not have been done to any Muslim except for a crime or offense." Muʿāwiyah asked, "Are you not the one who recites the *qaṣīdah* beginning:

Tell Muʿāwiyah son of Ḥarb,
about a penetration by the Yamānī man?"

Ibn Mufarrigh replied, "No, by that which magnified truth for the Commander of the Faithful, I did not say that." Muʿāwiyah inquired "Did you not say:

So testify that your mother was never touched,
by Abū Sufyān, throwing down the veil,

among much poetry in which you ridiculed Ibn Ziyād? Go, for I have forgiven you for your offense. However, if you should deal with us [again], what has happened would be nothing [compared to what will happen]. So, be off with you, and settle in any land you wish." Ibn Mufarrigh then settled at Mosul. Then he wanted to go to al-Baṣrah. Upon reaching it, he entered the presence of ʿUbaydallāh who gave him a guarantee of safe-conduct.

As for ʿAbū ʿUbaydah, he recounted Ibn Mufarrigh's settling at Mosul, according to what Abū Zayd told me: He related that when Muʿāwiyah asked, "Are you not the one who recites the lines:

Tell Muʿāwiyah son of Ḥarb,
about a penetration by the Yamānī man?"

Ibn Mufarrigh swore that he did not say it, but that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam, the brother of Marwān, said it instead. He also swore that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān imitated him as a means of ridiculing Ziyād, and that he used to reprove ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. At that, Muʿāwiyah was angry with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam and withheld his stipend until he hurt him. When someone interceded with Muʿāwiyah for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, he said, "I will not be pleased with him until ʿUbaydallāh is pleased." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān then came to ʿUbaydallāh in Iraq, telling him:

You [and] Ziyād in the family of Ḥarb, [195]
[are] dearer to me than one of my fingertips.

I regard you as a brother, a maternal uncle, and a cousin,
and I do not know what you think of me privately.

ʿUbaydallāh was pleased with him and replied, "By God, I think you are a poor poet." Muʿāwiyah then asked Ibn Mufarrigh, "Are you not the one who recites the lines:

So testify that your mother was never touched,
by Abū Sufyān, throwing down the veil?

Don't do it again. We forgive you."

Ibn Mufarrigh proceeded until he settled at Mosul and got married. The morning after the night on which the marriage was consummated, he went out to hunt. He met an oil merchant or a perfume dealer on an ass of his. Ibn Mufarrigh inquired, "Where have you come from?" The merchant replied, "From al-Ahwāz." Ibn Mufarrigh asked, "How is the water of Masruqān[558] doing?" He answered, "As usual." Ibn Mufarrigh then left and headed toward al-Baṣah; his family did not know that he had gone. He proceeded until he came to ʿUbaydallāh at al-Baṣrah and entered his presence, and the latter granted him a guaranteed safe-conduct. Ibn Mufarrigh stayed with him until he asked permission to leave for Kirmān[559] ʿUbaydallāh allowed him to do so, and wrote to his official there to take care of and respect him. Ibn Mufarrigh then left for Kirmān, while at that time the official of ʿUbaydallāh in charge there was Sharīk b. al-Aʿwar al-Ḥārithī.[560]

In this year ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān led the people in the pilgrimage. I was told that by Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone—Iṣḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar. Al-Wāqidī and others said the same.

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558. Masruqān was a canal famous for its white water near Shustar in Khūzistān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 236.

559. Kirmān is a province and region in south-central Iran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 299–321; *EI*², s.v. Kirmān.

560. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV B, 79, Ibn Mufarrigh did not settle in Kirmān until ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād had fled from al-Baṣrah to Syria.

The governor in charge of al-Madīnah was al-Walīd b. 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān. Al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr was in charge of al-Kūfah, while Shurayḥ was in charge of rendering judgment there. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād was in charge of al-Baṣrah, while Hishām b. Hubayrah was in charge of rendering judgment there. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād was in charge of Khurāsān while 'Abbād b. [196] Ziyād was in charge of Sijistān and Sharīk b. al-A'war was in charge of Kirmān for 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād.

The Events of the Year 60

(October 13, 679–September 30, 680)

According to al-Wāqidī, the raid of Mālik b. ʿAbdallāh against Sawriyah happened in this year, as well as Junādah b. Abī Umayyah's entry into Rūdas and his destruction of its city.

During this year also, Muʿāwiyah imposed the declaration of allegiance to his son, Yazīd, on the delegation that came to him with ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. When Muʿāwiyah became ill this year, he entrusted to his son, Yazīd, what he did concerning the group that had refused to declare allegiance to Yazīd when he had summoned them to do so. Muʿāwiyah's agreement was what Hishām b. Muḥammad related according to Abū Mikhnaf —ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq b. ʿAbdallāh b. Makhramah: When Muʿāwiyah became sick with the illness from which he perished, he summoned his son, Yazīd, saying:

> O my son, I have spared you the effort, made things smooth for you, subdued enemies for you, subjected the necks of the Arabs for you, and created unity for you. I am only afraid that four individuals of Quraysh might challenge you for this matter which was established for you—al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zu-

bayr, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr. As far as 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar is concerned, he is a man whom righteousness has overwhelmed, and if no one else were left, he would acknowledge you. As far as al-Ḥusayn is concerned, the [197] people of Iraq will not leave him alone until they make him rebel. If he rebels against you, and you should defeat him, then pardon him, because he has close kinship and a great claim. As far as Ibn Abī Bakr is concerned, he is a man, who, if he should see his companions doing something, he would do likewise. He is only interested in women and pleasure. As for the one who crouches for you as a crouching lion and tricks you as a sly fox, and if an opportunity enables [him] he would spring, that is Ibn al-Zubayr. If he does that to you, and you are able to overpower him, then tear him limb from limb.

(According to) Hishām—'Awānah: We have heard in another account that when Mu'āwiyah was on the verge of death, which was in this year, Yazīd was absent. Mu'āwiyah summoned al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qāys al-Fihrī, who was the head of his police, and Muslim b. 'Uqbah al-Murrī and counseled them saying:

Tell Yazīd my testament: Pay attention to the people of the Ḥijāz for they are your root. Honor whomever of them should come to you, and take care of whomever is absent. Pay attention to the people of Iraq, and if they ask you to dismiss one of their officials every day, do so. For I would rather have a governor be dismissed than for one hundred thousands swords to be unsheathed against you. Pay attention to the people of Syria, for they are your entourage and your leather bag. If something should befall you from your enemy, be victorious with them. When you are successful with them, return the people of Syria to their land. For if they should stay in another land than their own, they would take on other characteristics than their own. I only fear three persons of the Quraysh—Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. As far as Ibn 'Umar is concerned, he is a man whom religion has overwhelmed, so he would not ask anything from you. As far

as al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī is concerned, he is an insignificant man, and I hope that God would protect you from him by means of those who killed his father and deserted his brother. He has close kinship, a great claim, and is a rela-
[198] tive of Muḥammad. I don't think the people of Iraq would leave him alone until they make him rebel. If you should overpower him pardon him, for if I were his master, I would pardon him. As far as Ibn al-Zubayr is concerned, he is a heaving reptile, so if he appears to you, stick to him unless he asks for peace from you. If he does, then accept [it] and spare the blood of your folk as much as you can.

In this year Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān perished at Damascus. The time of his death was disputed apart from general agreement that his death occurred in the month of Rajab 60 (April 7–May 6, 680) of the *hijrah*.[561] Hishām b. Muḥammad (said): Mu'āwiyah died at the new moon of Rajab 60 (April 7, 680). Al-Wāqidī (said): Mu'āwiyah died on the ides of Rajab (April, 21, 680). 'Alī b. Muḥammad: Mu'āwiyah died at Damascus on a Thursday, eight days before the end of Rajab 60 (April 29, 680). Al-Ḥārith told me that according to 'Alī.

The Length of Mu'āwiyah's Reign

I was told by Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī—someone—Iṣḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: Mu'āwiyah was acknowledged (as caliph) at Adhruh. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī acknowledged him in Jumādāh I 41 (September 2–October 1, 661) and Mu'āwiyah died in Rajab 60 (April 7–May 6, 680). His Caliphate lasted nineteen years and three months.

I was told by al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Dīnār al-Sa'dī—his father: Mu'āwiyah died Thursday night on the ides of Rajab 60 (April 21,
[199] 680) and his Caliphate lasted nineteen years, three months and seventeen days.

I was told by 'Umar—'Alī: The Syrians acknowledged Mu'āwiyah as Caliph in Dhū al-Qa'dah 37 (April 10–May 9, 658),

561. According to Ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 272, Mu'āwiyah died on a Thursday, eight days before the end of Rajab 59 (May 10, 679).

when the two arbiters split. They had previously acknowledged him in order to demand (vengeance) for the blood of 'Uthmān. Then al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī made peace with him and turned over matters to him in the year 41, five days before the end of the month of Rabī' I (July 31, 661). At that, the people as a whole acknowledged Mu'āwiyah, so it was called "the year of the concord." He died at Damascus, in the year 60, Thursday, eight days before the end of Rajab (April 29, 680). His rule lasted nineteen years, three months and twenty-seven days. It is also said that there were nineteen years, ten months and three nights between the death of 'Alī and the death of Mu'āwiyah. Hishām b. Muḥammad (said): Mu'āwiyah was acknowledged as Caliph in Jumādah I 41 (September 2–October 1, 661). He thus ruled nineteen years and three months except for a few days. Then he died at the new moon of Rajab 60 (April 7, 680).

There is also disagreement about his age and how long he lived. Some said he was seventy-five years old on the day he died.

I was told by 'Umar—Muhammad b. Yaḥyā—Hishām b. al-Walīd—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī: Al-Walīd asked me about the life span of the Caliphs, so I informed him that Mu'āwiyah was seventy-five years old when he died. At that, he exclaimed, "Bravo! Indeed that is a lifetime." Others said he was seventy-three years old when he died.

I was told by 'Umar—Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad: Mu'āwiyah was seventy-three years old when he died. He [200]
is also said to have been eighty years old, while others said he was seventy-eight years old when he died.

I was told by al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Dīnār—his father: Mu'āwiyah died when he was seventy-eight years old. Others said he died when he was eighty-five years old. I was told that by Hishām b. Muḥammad, who reported this according to his father.

Mu'āwiyah's Last Illness

I was told by al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Abū 'Ubaydah—Abū Ya'qūb al-Thaqafī—'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr: When Mu'āwiyah felt heavy, and the people reported that it was

death (approaching), he said to his family, "Put antimony all around my eyes, and anoint my head with oil." They did so and made his face shine with oil. Then it was arranged for him to sit. He said, "Prop me up." Then he said, "Allow the people to greet [me] standing, and let no one sit." Men then began to enter and greet (him) standing and to see him treated with kohl and with oil. He was saying, "The people will say that at his end he was the healthiest of people." When they left his presence, Muʿāwiyah said:

By my posing for the gloaters by whom I am seen,
indeed I am not ruined by the uncertainties of time.

[201] And when destiny digs in its claws
You will find that every amulet is useless.

He had discharges, and died that very day.

I was told by Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Isḥāq b. Ayyūb—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Mīnās al-Kalbī: Muʿāwiyah told his two daughters during his last illness, while they were turning him over, "Turn over[562] [this] shrewd person deftly, [who] accumulated wealth from youth to creeping[563] if he does not enter Hell Fire." Then he quoted:

I have endeavored for you as the runner who is fatigued,
and I have saved you from traveling and departure.

This is said to be from the collection of a reliable person.

I was told by Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—ʿAlī—Sulaymān b. Ayyūb—al-Awazāʿī and ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—al-Aʿlā b. Maymūn—his father: Muʿāwiyah said during his last illness, "Indeed the Messenger of God clothed me with a shirt. One day I held it up while he pared his nails. I then took his parings and put them in a long-necked bottle. So when I die clothe me in that shirt and cut up those parings, grind them up, and sprinkle them in my eyes and in my mouth. Thus God might have mercy on me by their blessing (*barakah*)." Then he quoted the poem of al-

562. See Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 784.

563. From the proverb: "It fatigued me from youth to creeping," said of someone who accumulates from youth until he walks slowly leaning on a staff. See Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 7; Freytag, *Proverbia*, II, 78.

Ashhab b. Rumaylah al-Nahshalī in which he praises al-Qubā':[564]

When you die, generosity will die and liberality will cease
among people except for a few, ice cold.[565]

And the hands of beggars will be turned back and held fast
out of religion and the world by a renewing successor.

At that, one of his daughters or someone else said, "Certainly not, O Commander of the Faithful, may God remove [it] from you instead" He then quoted: [202]

And when destiny digs in its claws,
you will find that every amulet is useless.

Then he went blind, but afterwards recovered his sight and told those members of his family who attended him, "Fear God, Almighty and Great, for God, praise Him, protects whoever fears Him, and there is no protector for one who does not fear God." Then he passed away.

I was told by Aḥmad—'Alī—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam—someone: When Mu'āwiyah was attended by death he ordered for half of his wealth to be returned to the treasury, hoping that the remainder would be good for him, because the Caliph 'Umar had shared with his officials.

Who Led the Prayer over Mu'āwiyah When He Died

I was told by Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad: Al-Ḍaḥḥak b. Qays al-Fihrī led the prayer over Mu'āwiyah, while Yazīd was absent, when Mu'āwiyah died. I was also told by Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq b. 'Abdallāh b. Makhramah: When Mu'āwiyah died, al-Ḍaḥḥak b. Qays went out and ascended the pulpit, while Mu'āwiyah's shrouds were visible in his hands. After he praised and extolled God, he said, "Indeed Mu'āwiyah was the

564. Al-Qubā' was al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'ah al-Makhzūmī, the brother of the poet 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'ah al-Makhzūmī. See Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 624.

565. The text reads: *muṣarrad*. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, III, 248.

stick of the Arabs and the blade of the Arabs, by means of whom God, Almighty and Great, cut off strife, whom He made sovereign over mankind, by means of whom he conquered countries, but now he has died and these are his shrouds. We are wrapping him in them and putting him in his grave, and leaving him and his work. Then there will be the interval[566] un-
[203] til the Day of Resurrection. Whoever of you has wanted to see him, be present at dawn worship." He also sent a courier to Yazīd concerning Muʿāwiyah's pain. Yazīd said about that:[567]

The courier has brought a parchment, the rider trots with it,
so the heart was apprehensive of its parchment and alarmed.

We said, "Woe unto you, what is in your letter?"
They said, "The Caliph has certainly felt pain."

So the earth was shaken or was about to be shaken under us,
as if it raised dust from its severed foundations.

One whose person continues to exceed nobility,
the keys of that person are about to drop.

When we arrived, while the door of the house was shut,
and [heard] the voice of Ramlah, the heart was alarmed, so it broke.

I was told by ʿUmar—ʿAlī—Isḥāq b. Khulayd—Khulayd b. ʿAjlān, the mawlā of ʿAbbād: Muʿāwiyah died while Yazīd was at Huwwārīn;[568] they had written to him when Muʿāwiyah had fallen ill. Yazīd arrived after Muʿāwiyah had been buried, so he came to his grave and worshipped over him and prayed for him. Then he came to his residence and recited the lines:

The courier has brought a parchment . . .

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566. Qur'ān 23:102. The *barzakh* is the interval or barrier between this life and the next, between Hell and Paradise, or between the material and spiritual worlds. See *EI*², s.v. Barzakh.

567. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVI, 33.

568. C reads: Ḥawrān, the mountainous plateau south of Damascus. See *EI*², s.v. Hawrān. Huwwārīn was the location of two villages, two days' journey from Tadmur (Palmyra), where Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah died in 64(683/4)

Mu'āwiyah's Lineage and His Agnomen

As for Mu'āwiyah's lineage, he was the son of Abū Sufyān. Abū Sufyān's name was Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāt b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb. Mu'āwiyah's mother was Hind [204] bt. 'Utbah b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy. His patronymic (*kunyah*)[569] was Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

Mu'āwiyah's Wives and Children

One of his wives was Maysūn bt. Baḥdal b. Unayf b. Waljah b. Qunāfah b. 'Adī b. Zuhayr b. Ḥārithah b. Janāb al-Kalbī. She bore Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah for him. 'Alī said: In addition to Yazīd, Maysūn bore Mu'āwiyah a girl, Rabb al-Masāriq, but she died young, and Hishām did not mention her among the children of Mu'āwiyah. Among his wives was also Fākhitah bt. Qaraẓah b. 'Abd 'Amr b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf. She bore Mu'āwiyah two sons, 'Abd al-Raḥmān and 'Abdallāh. 'Abdallāh was foolish and frail and was nicknamed Abū al-Khayr. I was told by Aḥmad—'Alī b. Muḥammad: One day 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah passed a miller who had tied his mule to the mill for the flour and put bells on his neck. So he asked the miller, "Why did you put these bells on the neck of your mule?" The miller answered, "I put them on its neck in order to know if it should stop and not turn the mill." 'Abdallāh then asked, "Have you considered how you would know that he was not turning the mill if he should stop and shake his head?" The miller told him, "This mule, may God make the amīr prosper, does not have intelligence like that of the amīr." As for 'Abd al-Raḥmān, he died young.

Among his wives was Nā'ilah bt. 'Umārah al-Kalbī. I was told by Aḥmad—'Alī: When Mu'āwiyah married Nā'ilah he told Maysūn, "Go off and observe the daughter of your paternal uncle" After she had observed her, he asked, "How did she [205] look to you?" She answered, "Perfectly beautiful, but I saw a mole beneath her navel where the head of her husband will certainly be put in her lap" At that, Mu'āwiyah divorced her,

569. A *kunyah* is an agnomen, named after a son.

and Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihrī married her. Then after Ḥabīb, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī married her. Al-Nuʿmān was killed and his head was put in her lap. Among Muʿāwiyah's wives was Katwah bt. Qaraẓah, the sister of Fākhitah. He raided Cyprus[570] while she was with him, and she died there.

Some of Muʿāwiyah's Affairs and Conduct

I was told by Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—ʿAlī: When allegiance was rendered to Muʿāwiyah as Caliph, he put Qays b. Ḥamzah al-Hamdānī in charge of his police. Then he dismissed him and appointed Zumayl b. ʿAmr al-ʿUdhrī,[571] or al-Saksakī. Muʿāwiyah's secretary and the person in charge of his business was Sarjūn b. Mansūr al-Rūmī. One of his mawālī called al-Mukhtār was in charge of his guard (*ḥaras*). This is also said to have been a man called Mālik, who was nicknamed Abū al-Mukhāriq, a mawlā of Ḥimyar.[572] Muʿāwiyah was the first to make use of bodyguards. Saʿd,[573] his mawlā, was in charge of his gatekeepers. Faḍālah b. ʿUtbah al-Anṣārī[574] was in charge of rendering judgment. When Faḍālah died, Muʿāwiyah appointed Abū Idrīs ʿĀʾidhallāh b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khawlānī[575] to render judgment. So far this has been the account of Aḥmad according to ʿAlī. Others than ʿAlī said: ʿAbdallāh b. Miḥṣan al-Ḥimyarī was in

570. Cyprus was attacked by Muʿāwiyah in 28(648/9) See *EI*², s.v. Ḳubrus.

571. Zumayl b. ʿAmr (or Zamal b. Rabīʿah) b. al-ʿAnaz b. Khashāf b. Khudayj al-ʿUdhrī had been a member of his tribe's delegation to Muḥammad. The latter gave him a standard which he kept until he fought at Ṣiffīn along with Muʿāwiyah, where he was one of the witnesses to the arbitration agreement. He witnessed the rendering of allegiance (*bayʿah*) to Marwān at Jābiyah, and died at the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ in 64(683/4) See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 205; and Ibn Hajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 551, II, 19. For a slightly different account see Ibn Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 276.

572. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 276, calls him Abū al-Mukhtār.

573. Ibid.: Abū Ayyub.

574. Fadālah b. ʿUtbah (or ʿUbayd) al-Anṣārī (d. 53[673]) was a Companion of Muḥammad at Ḥudaybiyah, participated in the conquest of Egypt, and settled in Syria where Muʿāwiyah put him in charge of rendering judgment at Damascus when he went to Ṣiffīn. He also led sea raids against the Byzantines. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, IV, 182.

575. Abū Idrīs ʿĀʾidhallāh b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khawlānī (9–ca. 86 [630–ca. 705]) one of the greatest of the Followers, was judge at Damascus from 53(673) until his death. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 99, V, 134.

charge of the department of the seal. Mu'āwiyah was the first one who used a department of the seal. The reason for that was [206] that Mu'āwiyah ordered one hundred thousand dirhams for 'Amr b. al-Zubayr to relieve the latter of his debts. Mu'āwiyah wrote about that to Ziyād b. Sumayyah while the latter was in charge of Iraq. 'Amr then opened the letter and changed the one hundred to two hundred. When Ziyād presented his invoice, Mu'āwiyah disclaimed it, required 'Amr to return the money, and imprisoned him. His brother, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, paid it on his behalf. At that, Mu'āwiyah established the department of the seal, and he tied up letters, which had not been tied (before).[576]

I was told by 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārik—Ibn Abī Dhi'b—Sa'īd al-Maqburī[577]—'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: You speak of Kisrā and Qayṣar and their shrewdness while Mu'āwiyah is with you!

I was told by 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān: I read—'Abdallāh—Fulayḥ: I was told that when 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ visited Mu'āwiyah with the Egyptians, 'Amr told them, "Pay attention when you enter the presence of Ibn Hind lest you greet him as Caliph. That will make you great in his eyes. Reduce him as much as you can." When they came to him, Mu'āwiyah told his gate-keepers, "Indeed, as I know Ibn al-Nābighah, he will have reduced my position with the folk, so pay attention when the delegation enters, shake them as strongly as you can, and don't let a single one of them reach me unless he is concerned about his own destruction." The first one who [207] entered his presence was an Egyptian called Ibn al-Khayyāṭ. He entered shaken, saying, "Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!" The folk did that in succession, and when they left, 'Amr told them, "God curse you! I forbade you to greet him as amīr, so you greeted him as Prophet."

One day Mu'āwiyah wore his black turban and lined his eyelids with kohl, and he was the most handsome person when he

576. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 276, adds that 'Ubayd b. Aws al-Ghassānī was Mu'āwiyah's correspondence secretary (*kātib al-rasā'il*).

577. Sa'īd b. Kaysān was called Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd al-Maqburī. See Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, I, 219.

did that. ʿAbdallāh doubted whether he heard that about him or not.

I was told by Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Abū Muḥammad al-Umawī: ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb left for Syria and saw Muʿāwiyah come to receive him with a procession; Muʿāwiyah had gone out to ʿUmar with a retinue. At that, ʿUmar told him, "O Muʿāwiyah, you go with a retinue, and you leave in the same way. I heard that you start the day in your residence while petitioners are at your door." Muʿāwiyah replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, our enemy is close to us, and they have scouts and spies, so I wanted, O Commander of the Faithful, for them to see that Islām has power." ʿUmar answered, "This is the ruse of an intelligent man or the deception of a clever man." Muʿāwiyah then said, "O Commander of the Faithful, instruct me with what you want and I shall fullfill it." ʿUmar replied, "Woe unto you! Whenever we discuss something which I disapprove of you doing, you leave me not knowing whether I should order you to do it or forbid you."

I was told by ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Maʿmar—Jaʿfar b. Burqān: Al-Mughīrah wrote to Muʿāwiyah, "Now then, indeed my age has become great, my bones are frail, and the Quraysh detest me, so if you see fit to dismiss me, do so." Muʿāwiyah wrote back to him, "Your letter reached me in which you state that your age became great, [208] and by my life, no one but you consumed your life. You state that the Quraysh detest you, and by my life, you obtain good only from them. Since you ask me to dismiss you, I have done so. If you were sincere, I have satisfied you; but if you were deceiving, then I have cheated you."

I was told by Aḥmad—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—ʿAlī b. Mujāhid: Muʿāwiyah said, "If an Umawī were not taking care of his wealth prudently, he would not be like one of them. And if a Hāshimī were not generous and magnanimous, he would not be like one of them. However, you don't hear about the eloquence, generosity and courage of the Hāshimī.

I was told by Aḥmad—ʿAlī—ʿAwānah and Khallād b. ʿUbaydah: Muʿāwiyah had lunch one day while ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Bakr and his son, Bashīr, were with him—it is also said, someone other than Bashīr—so he ate a lot, and Muʿāwiyah no-

ticed him. 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakr realized it and wanted to signal his son, but he was not able to do so, as his son did not raise his head until he was finished. When they left, he scolded his son for what he did. Then he returned to Mu'āwiyah without his son, So Mu'āwiyah asked, "What did your son, the mouthful, do? "'Ubaydallāh replied "He complained." At that, Mu'āwiyah remarked "I knew that his food would make him sick."

I was told by Aḥmad—'Alī—Juwayriyyah b. Asmā': Abū Mūsā came to Mu'āwiyah and entered his presence in a black burnous, saying "Peace be upon you, O Commander of the Faithful." He replied, "And upon you be peace." When he left, Mu'āwiyah commented, "The shaykh came for me to make him a governor, and, by God, I would not make him one."

I was told by 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Abū Sāliḥ Sulaymān b. Sāliḥ—'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārik—Sulaymān b. al-Mughīrah—Ḥumayd b. Hilāl—Abū Burdah: I entered Mu'āwiyah's presence when his abcess afflicted him, so he said, "Come over here, O cousin, and look." I looked, and, behold, it had been probed, so I said, "There is no harm to you, O Commander of the Faithful." Yazīd then entered and Mu'āwiyah said, "If you were in charge of anything regarding the people. I would entrust you with this, since his father[578] was my dear friend"—or words to that effect—"except that I thought differently from him about fighting." [209]

I was told by 'Alī—Shihāb b. 'Ubaydallāh—Yazīd b. Suwayd: Mu'āwiyah admitted al-Aḥnaf, and he had begun his turn. Then Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath entered and sat between Mu'āwiyah and al-Aḥnaf. Mu'āwiyah told [al-Aḥnaf], "We did not admit him before you, and you are ahead of him. You have behaved as someone who felt ashamed of himself. Just as we rule your affairs, we rule your admission. Desire from us what we desire from you, and it will be more lasting for you."

I was told by Aḥmad—'Alī—Suḥaym b. Ḥafṣ: Rabī'ah b. 'Isl al-Yarbū'ī spoke for Mu'āwiyah,[579] so Mu'āwiyah said, "Give

578. Abū Burdah's father, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, had been neutral during the first civil war.

579. That is, he offered to arrange a marriage for Mu'āwiyah.

him *sawīq*[580] to drink." Muʿāwiyah asked him, "O Rabīʿah, how are the people where you are?" He replied, "Disagreeing about such and such a faction." Muʿāwiyah inquired, "So which of them do you belong to?" He answered, "I don't belong to any of them." At that, Muʿāwiyah remarked, "I think there are more of them than you said."[581] Rabīʿah then asked, "O Commander of the Faithful, assist me with twelve thousand tree-trunks to build my house." Muʿāwiyah asked, "Where is your house?" He answered, "In al-Baṣrah, and it is more than two *farsakhs* [twelve km] by two *farsakhs* [square]." Muʿāwiyah inquired, "Is your house in al-Baṣrah or is al-Baṣrah in your house?" Afterwards, one of Rabīʿah's sons entered the presence of Ibn Hubayrah,[582] saying, "May God make the amīr prosper, I am the
[210] son of the chief of his folk. My father spoke for Muʿāwiyah." Ibn Hubayrah asked Salm b. Qutaybah, "Who says this?" Salm said, "This is the son of the most foolish of his folk." Ibn Hubayrah inquired, "Did your father marry off Muʿāwiyah?" When he replied that he had not, Ibn Hubayrah remarked, "Then I don't think your father accomplished anything."

I was told by Aḥmad—ʿAlī—Abū Muḥammad b. Dhakwān al-Qurashī: ʿUtbah and ʿAnbasah, two sons of Abū Sufyān, engaged in a dispute. ʿUtbah's mother was Hind while ʿAnbasah's mother was the daughter of Abū Uzayhir al-Dawsī. Muʿāwiyah was rude to ʿAnbasah, who retorted, "The same to you, O Commander of the Faithful!" When Muʿāwiyah responded, "O ʿAnbasah, ʿUtbah is the son of Hind," ʿAnbasah said:

We were getting along properly, our enmity was straightened out
formerly. Then Hind began to discriminate between us.

And even if Hind did not bear me, indeed I
would be a sword which great men of glory employ.

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580. *Sawīq* is a broth of barley or wheat to which sugar, honey, dates, oil, or pomegranate syrup may be added. See *EI*[1], s.v. Sawīḳ.

581. That is, Rabīʿah himself constituted one more faction.

582. This is either ʿUmar b. Hubayrah, governor of Iraq from 102(720) until 105(724) or his son Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, governor of Iraq from 129(741) until 132(749) See *EI*[2], s.v. Ibn Hubayra.

Her[583] father a great host in every winter,
and a shelter for weak people which does not collapse from strain.

His pots still exist
for whoever of the two valleys of Tihāmah and Najd might fear.

At that, Muʿāwiyah said, "I shall never felicitate her in your presence."

I was told by ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Ḥarmalah b. ʿImrān: One night Muʿāwiyah heard that the Byzantine Emperor (Qayṣar) was heading for him with an army, that Nātil b. Qays al-Judhāmī took over Filaṣṭīn and seized its treasury, that the Egyptians whom he had imprisoned had escaped, and that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was headed for him with an army. At that he told his announcer (*muʾadhdhin*), "Call [to worship] right now"—that was in the middle of the night. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ then came to him, asking, "Why did you send for me?" Muʿāwiyah replied, "I did not send for you." ʿAmr responded, "The announcer only summoned me just now." Muʿāwiyah explained, "I was shot at by four bows." ʿAmr advised, "As for those who escaped from your prison, [211] they are in the prison of God, Almighty and Great. They are folk who are Sellers; you won't have to go to them. But assign the blood price to whoever brings you one of them or his head, and they will be brought to you. Look to the Emperor [Qayṣar] and be peaceful to him. Offer him wealth and some of the garments of Egypt, and he will accept that from you. Look to Nātil b. Qays. By my life, religion did not motivate him. He only wanted what he got, so write to him, and grant that to him, and congratulate him for it. If you should have power over him, [fine,] and if you don't, then don't be distressed about him. Devote your blade and your iron to this one who has the blood of your cousin upon him." All of the folk had escaped from Muʿāwiyah's prison except Abrahah b. al-Ṣabbāḥ. Muʿāwiyah asked, "What prevented you from escaping with your companions?" Abrahah replied, "I was prevented from that by hatred for ʿAlī,

583. That is, ʿAnbasah's own mother.

not by love for you, and I cannot overcome it." Muʿāwiyah then released him.

I was told by ʿAbdallāh—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿadah[584] b. Ḥakamah al-Fazārī from the sons of the family of Badr:[585] Muʿāwiyah moved from one of the districts of Syria to some province of his and settled in a residence in Syria. His camp was spread out for him on the surface of a plain overlooking the road, and he permitted me to stay with him. When the caravans, trains of camels, slave girls, and horses passed by, he said, "O Ibn Masʿadah, may God have mercy on Abū Bakr who did not want this world and this world did not want him. [212] As for ʿUmar"—or Ibn Ḥantamah—"this world wanted him but he did not want it. As for ʿUthmān, he caused losses to this world and it caused losses for him. As for us, we wallow in it." Then he seemed to repent, saying, "By God, it is the sovereignty which God brought us."

I was told by ʿAḥmad—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—ʿAlī b. ʿUbaydallāh: ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ wrote to Muʿāwiyah asking him to grant his son ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr what Muʿāwiyah had granted the father with regard to Egypt. Muʿāwiyah remarked, "Abū ʿAbdallāh wanted to write, but he babbled. I testify to you that should I outlive him, I would cancel his contract." ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ said, "Whenever I saw Muʿāwiyah reclining on his arm, crossing his legs, blinking his eye, and saying to someone, 'Speak!' I had pity on that man."

I was told by Aḥmad—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ asked Muʿāwiyah, "O Commander of the Faithful, am I not the most sincere person towards you?" He replied, "Because of that you have gained what you did."

(According to) Aḥmad—ʿAlī—Juwayriyyah b. Asmāʾ: Busr b. Abī Arṭāt spoke against ʿAlī in the presence of Muʿāwiyah while Zayd b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was sitting (there). At that, Zayd assaulted Busr with a stick and injured him. Muʿāwiyah told Zayd, "You turned on the shaykh of the Quraysh, a chief

584. Cairo reads: al-Mubārik.

585. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿadah (or Masʿūd) b. Ḥakamah b. Mālik al-Fazārī was a Companion who settled at Damascus, fought along with Muʿāwiyah at Ṣiffīn, and led raids against the Byzantines. He lived to acknowledge Marwān at Jābiyah. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, III, 255–6.

of the Syrians, and you struck him!" Then he turned to Busr, saying, "You revile 'Alī who is Zayd's grandfather, while Zayd, the son of al-Fārūq,[586] heads the notables. Haven't you considered that he endures that?" Then they were both satisfied. Mu'āwiyah also said, "Indeed I am above letting an offense be more important than my pardon, and foolishness greater than my forbearance, or a flaw which I shall not conceal privately, or a misdeed greater than my beneficence." Mu'āwiyah said, "The beauty of the noble [man] is virtuousness." Mu'āwiyah said, "There is nothing I like better than a bubbling spring in [213] an easy land." 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ then said, "I like nothing better than to spend the night as a bridegroom with the pick of Arab wives." At that, Wardān, the mawlā of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ said, "I like nothing better than generosity between brothers." Mu'āwiyah said, "I am more entitled to that than you." Wardān replied, "Do what you like."[587]

I was told by Aḥmad—'Alī—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm—his father: When Mu'āwiyah's official in charge of al-Madīnah wanted to dispatch the courier to Mu'āwiyah, he used to order his herald to announce, "Whoever has a need should write to the Commander of the Faithful." Zirr b. Ḥubaysh or Aymān b. Khuraym wrote a charming letter and cast it among the others. It contained:

When the men beget their children,[588]
and their biceps twitch from age,

And their illness becomes chronic,
they are crops whose harvests approach.

When Mu'āwiyah received the letters and read this one, he remarked, "He has announced my own death to me." Mu'āwiyah also said, "There is nothing sweeter for me than anger which I swallow." Mu'āwiyah told 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ, "O cousin, indeed, you have been very fond of poetry. So beware of flirting with women lest you dishonor honorable ones, and satire lest you dishonor a noble person and provoke

586. The Caliph 'Umar I was called al-Fārūq.
587. See Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 58–60.
588. That is, they had grandchildren.

someone ignoble. Praise is the bait of the shameless, but be proud of the glorious deeds of your folk, and say those proverbs
[214] that would adorn you and edify others."

I was told by Aḥmad—ʿAlī—Abū al-Ḥasan b. Ḥammād: Muʿāwiyah observed al-Thumā in a woolen cloak, so he slighted him. At that, al-Thumā said "O Commander of the Faithful, the woolen cloak does not speak to you, but the person who is in it does."

I was told by Aḥmad—ʿAlī—Sulaymān: Muʿāwiyah said, "If two men should die, they would not die, while if one man should die, he would die. If I should die, my son would succeed me, and if Saʿīd should die, ʿAmr would succeed him; but if ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir should die, he would die [without a successor]." Marwān heard of it and asked, "Did he mention my son, ʿAbd al-Malik?" When he was told that Muʿāwiyah had not, he remarked, "I would not exchange my son for both of theirs."

I was told by Aḥmad—ʿAlī—ʿAbdallāh b. Sāliḥ: Someone asked Muʿāwiyah, "Which person do you like the most?" He replied, "The one who shows the most love to the people for me." Muʿāwiyah also said, "Intelligence and forbearance are the best things granted to mankind. If someone is reminded, he should remember; if someone is granted [something], he should be thankful; if someone is tested, he should be steadfast; if someone is angry, he should suppress [it]; if someone has power [over another], he should forgive; if someone does wrong, he should ask forgiveness; and if someone makes a promise, he should carry it out."

I was told by Aḥmad—ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh and Hishām b. Saʿīd —ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr: A man was rude to Muʿāwiyah and did it constantly. When Muʿāwiyah was asked, "Are you gentle with this [man]?" He answered, "I do not come between people and their tongues as long as they do not come between us and our rule."

I was told by Aḥmad—ʿAlī—Muḥammad b. ʿĀmir: Muʿāwiyah criticized ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar about singing. One day he entered Muʿāwiyah's presence while Budayḥ was with him, and Muʿāwiyah had his legs crossed. At that, ʿAbdallāh said to Budayḥ, "Well, O Budayḥ, so you sing." When Muʿāwiyah moved

his foot,—'Abdallāh asked, "What is it, O Commander of the Faithful?" Mu'āwiyah replied, "The noble is joyful." 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far also came to Mu'āwiyah accompanied by Sā'ib Khāthir, a mawlā of the Banū Layth, who was immoral.[589] Mu'āwiyah told him, "Mention what you need" He did, and mentioned a need of Sā'ib Khāthir as well. Mu'āwiyah then inquired, "Who is this?" When he told him, Mu'āwiyah said, "Admit him." When Sā'ib stood at the door of the audience chamber (*majlis*), he sang: [215]

The traces of the settlements are desolate,
the winds play with them and the dripping rain.

And it has been without occupants
for eight or ten years,

And the saffron upon her upper chest,
the throat and the upper chest choking with it.

At that, Mu'āwiyah exclaimed, "Well done!" and took care of his needs.[590]

I was told by 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Ma'mar—Hammām b. Munabbih—Ibn 'Abbās: "I never saw anyone more suitable for sovereignty than Mu'āwiyah. Indeed people used to find him like the sides of a broad valley. He was not like the narrow, blocked opening," that is, Ibn al-Zubayr.

I was told by 'Abdallāh—his father—Sulaymān b. 'Uyaynah—Mujālid—al-Sha'bī—Qabīṣah b. Jābir al-Asadī: I shall certainly inform you about those with whom I associated. I associated with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and I never saw a man more comprehending with regard to knowledge (*fiqh*), nor better at discussing (things). Then I associated with Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, and I never saw a man who gave more abundantly without being asked than he. Then I associated with Mu'āwiyah, and I never saw a man who liked a friend more than he, or who was

589. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VII, 188: "a merchant."
590. Ibid., 189.

[216] more the same in private and in public. If al-Mughīrah were put in al-Madīnah, he would not exit from any of its doors[591] unless he did so by treachery.[592]

591. The text reads: *abwāb*, which could also mean "gates", but al-Madīnah is not supposed to have been walled in this period.

592. Co reads: "by excuses." C adds: "end of the tenth volume, and, if God wills, what is subsequent will follow it."

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XIX

The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah

TRANSLATED BY I.K.A. HOWARD

The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah
Volume XIX
Translated by I.K.A. Howard

This volume deals with the caliphate of Yazīd. Yazīd was not accepted as a legitimate caliph by many of the leading Muslims of the time, and, therefore, al-Ṭabarī has concentrated his account of Yazīd's caliphate almost entirely on the opposition to him. This opposition had its leadership in two of the leading Islamic figures of the time, al-Ḥusayn, the son of the caliph ʿAlī, and Ibn al-Zubayr, a leading Muslim who felt that he had had some claims to the caliphate himself. The first revolt was led by al-Ḥusayn. This revolt, although ineffectual in military terms, is very important for the history of Islam, as al-Ḥusayn came to to be regarded by Shiʿite Muslims as the martyred imām; his martyrdom is still commemorated every year by them.

In his account al-Ṭabarī has preserved for us some of the earliest historical writing on the subject. The amount of space he devotes to this event shows the importance it had already assumed by his own time. The second revolt, that of Ibn al-Zubayr, was much more serious in immediate terms. The revolt or civil war can be divided into two stages. This volume covers the first stage, ending with the timely death of Yazīd, which saved Ibn al-Zubayr from defeat.

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XIX

The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah

A.D. 680–683/A.H. 60–64

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l mulūk)

VOLUME XIX

The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah

translated and annotated
by

I. K. A. Howard

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash

(—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

This section of Ṭabarī's history, which is devoted to the caliphate of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, is in fact almost entirely concerned with the reactions of two men to his recognition as Caliph. Apart from this, Ṭabarī merely records the names of governors and *qāḍīs* and gives a brief description of a campaign in Khurāsān. These two men, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, represent two of the most influential Islamic families. They are the sons of two great Islamic leaders and they oppose Yazīd's succession. Thus, the central question involved in the caliphate of Yazīd is the constitutional question of succession.

In order to understand Ṭabarī's handling of this problem, it is useful to examine what sources he used and how he used them. Two earlier historians, Dīnawarī (d. 282/895–6) and Yaʿqūbī (d. 292/905), have given accounts of these events. Like Ṭabarī, they concentrate on the opposition to Yazīd's caliphate from al-Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Zubayr, but their accounts are summaries and interpretations of previous historical writings without clear references to their sources; whereas Ṭabarī's account is much more detailed and through the use of *isnāds* (chains of authority) gives us a much clearer picture of the sources he used. A third historian, Balādhurī (d. 279/892), has, in his *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, provided us with a detailed picture, which enables us to check Ṭabarī's account. Sometimes Balādhurī gives summaries introduced by *qālū* ("they reported") and sometimes he gives even more detailed accounts than Ṭabarī with their *isnāds*. He also provides

versions, not given by Ṭabarī, that help balance the account. A fourth earlier historian, Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ (d. 246/860), briefly deals with al-Ḥusayn and gives more space to Ibn al-Zubayr but very limited information.

Of the later historians, Masʿūdī provides accounts which, although lacking *isnāds*, can be seen to come from the same sources as those used by Ṭabarī. The Shīʿite al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) gives a slightly abbreviated version of Ṭabarī's account of al-Ḥusayn, which is almost certainly taken from Ṭabarī. Similarly Ibn al-Athīr uses Ṭabarī's for his version. These three accounts add very little to our knowledge about the historical writings on the event, but they do help to check and understand Ṭabarī's text. The same is the case with regard to Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn* (d. 356/967) which, by and large, provides confirmation of the basic sources used by Ṭabarī for the accounts of the deaths of al-Ḥusayn and his followers, but through a different transmission.

With regard to al-Ḥusayn, a third type of historical writing emerges in the account of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī (d. 314/926). This is hagiographical literature with the feats and exploits of al-Ḥusayn exaggerated to the point of almost miraculous actions. Similar hagiographical writing is found in the clearly forged work that was attributed to Abū Mikhnaf. This tradition is continued in *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* by al-Khwārazmī. Here he generally uses Ibn Aʿtham's account and provides interpretations, explanations, and supplements.

In his account of al-Ḥusayn, Ṭabarī has relied heavily on Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 204/819–20). The latter has provided us with the most detailed version of Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774). By and large this seems to follow Abū Mikhnaf word for word and in the main is confirmed as authentic by the corroborating evidence of reports in other historians, particularly Balādhurī, which have come from Abū Mikhnaf through a different transmission. Ibn al-Kalbī has supplemented this with extracts from ʿAwānah b. al-Ḥakam (d. 147/764). He also gives a few reports from the Shīʿite Jābir b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī (d. 128/746) and al-Qāsim, the son of the Shīʿite al-Aṣbagh b. Nubātah (d. 1st/7th century).

The second source used by Ṭabarī is the account purporting to be that of the fifth Shīʿite Imām Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-

Bāqir (114/732) b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn by the Shī'ite 'Ammār b. Mu'āwiyah al-Duhnī (d. 133/750–1). This account is also the one used by Mas'ūdī with only minor differences. Clearly this is presented as the authentic view of Muḥammad al-Bāqir on the subject and therefore the view that ought to be accepted by the Shī'ah. In its outline, and it is brief, it is, with only slight variations, the same as Ibn al-Kalbī's version.

To these two accounts Ṭabarī adds a very brief summary from Abū al-Ḥudhayl Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and a few supplementary details from 'Umar b. Shabbah. The impression conveyed is that we have been presented with a definitive account of the event where all the evidence has been collated and presented. This impression is not altogether correct and it is appropriate in introducing Ṭabarī's version to examine it a little more closely. In order to do this, it is convenient to divide the account into the following sections:

1. The attempt to confirm Yazīd's caliphate by making important figures among the Muslims give him the oath of allegiance.
2. The letters from Kūfah to al-Ḥusayn, the appointment of Ibn Ziyād as governor of Kūfah, and the abortive mission of Muslim b. 'Aqīl.
3. Al-Ḥusayn's journey to Karbalā', his negotiations with 'Umar b. Sa'd, and his death.
4. The desecration of the head of al-Ḥusayn, and the treatment of the survivors from his family.

All the sources are agreed that at his succession Yazīd was anxious to obtain the oath of allegiance from al-Ḥusayn, Ibn al-Zubayr, and many also include Ibn 'Umar. Dīnawarī adds 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Abī Bakr but this is clearly wrong as the latter was already dead. It is evident to all that these are leading Muslims, the sons of famous fathers, and therefore we are left with the impression in Ṭabarī's account that it was only natural that Yazīd should want them to pledge allegiance to him. There may, however, have been a little more to it than that. According to both Balādhurī and Ibn A'tham, Mu'āwiyah had agreed, in the treaty he made with al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī on the latter's abdication, that there should be a consultative council (*shūrā*) to decide the suc-

cession after him. However, Ṭabarī fails to mention this. The *shūrā* was the institution introduced by ʿUmar for his succession; the six leading Muslims chose one of their number as the Caliph. Therefore al-Ḥusayn, Ibn al-Zubayr and Ibn ʿUmar could naturally have expected to have been among the group who decided on the next Caliph, and almost certainly that group would not have chosen Yazīd. What Yazīd was doing—and his father seems to have tried to do the same toward the end of his life—was trying to preempt the *shūrā* by obtaining these men's oaths of allegiance.

In presenting al-Ḥusayn's and Ibn al-Zubayr's reaction, either Ṭabarī or Ibn al-Kalbī has amalgamated two reports from Abū Mikhnaf. In the second half of the first report, the part omitted by Ṭabarī or Ibn al-Kalbī, both men have made excuses to avoid seeing al-Walīd, the governor of Medina, when he asked them to come. Guessing the reason why he has asked them, they make their escape to Mecca. The second report from Abū Mikhnaf, which in Ṭabarī's version has been tacked on to the beginning of the first report, deals with the conversation between al-Ḥusayn and al-Walīd. Ṭabarī completely ignores reports included by both Balādhurī and Khalīfah b. Khayyāt from the Baṣran historian Juwayriyyah b. Asmāʾ (d. 173/789) in which both Ibn al-Zubayr and al-Ḥusayn meet al-Walīd together and Ibn al-Zubayr is the main spokesman. The selective picture that emerges from Ṭabarī's version favors al-Ḥusayn at the expense of Ibn al-Zubayr.

All the sources are agreed upon the Kūfans' sending to al-Ḥusayn to come to them as their leader. All, too, are agreed on the mission of Muslim b. ʿAqīl to find out the situation in Kūfah. Yazīd's remedy for that situation is the appointment of ʿUbaydallāh. For this Ibn al-Kalbī's account, or Ṭabarī's version of it, leaves the main source, Abū Mikhnaf, and adopts the account of ʿAwānah b. al-Ḥakam. In this account, Yazīd's appointment of ʿUbaydallāh is as the result of advice from his Christian adviser Sarjūn, who presents it as Muʿāwiyah's advice. Clearly the appointment of ʿUbaydallāh is being laid at the door of the Christian Sarjūn and blame for what ensues is in some way removed from Yazīd. Surprisingly, the apparent Shīʿite account from Muḥammad al-Bāqir supports this report of the appointment of ʿUbaydallāh. However, since it gives this in greater detail than many of the events that one would expect someone sympathetic to al-Ḥusayn to dwell

on, that account begins to look suspect in terms of its apparent origin. It is 'Awānah, too, who reports the three choices given by Yazīd of dealing with Muslim b. 'Aqīl: (*a*) the first to imprison him; (*b*) the second to kill him; (*c*) and the third to banish him. The fact that 'Ubaydallāh chooses to kill him again in some way diminishes the responsibility of Yazīd for that action.

The Baṣran historian Wahb b. Jarīr (d. 207/822) has Muslim, before he is killed, declare at the behest of 'Ubaydallāh that he is a leader of rebels, in this way detracting from any heroism Muslim may have shown. This historical report is completely ignored by Ṭabarī.

Abū Mikhnaf's account, as reported by Ṭabarī, of al-Ḥusayn's journey to Kūfah provides us with the most detailed account with important speeches and letters by al-Ḥusayn. The significance of these is that al-Ḥusayn in them makes the kind of claims about himself and the Imāmate that are clearly of a Shī'ite character. This indicates that there was a Shī'ite version of the events prior to Abū Mikhnaf that Abū Mikhnaf has incorporated into his own account along with other reports.

In the historical presentation of the account, the next major issue is the responsibility for al-Ḥusayn's death. According to Abū Mikhnaf, the consensus of historians at this time was that al-Ḥusayn had offered 'Umar b. Sa'd, 'Ubaydallāh's commander of his forces against al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā', three options: (*a*) he would go back; (*b*) he would go to a frontier post; or (*c*) he would go to Yazīd and put his hand in his and see what his view was. If these were really offered, then 'Ubaydallāh's task was over. All he had to do was send al-Ḥusayn to Yazīd. However, 'Ubaydallāh insisted that al-Ḥusayn must submit to him; this was too much for al-Ḥusayn. He, his followers, and his family accepted death. The blame for al-Ḥusayn's death according to this is clearly the responsibility of 'Ubaydallāh, and not Yazīd. The purpose of this version originally may have been merely intended to transfer the blame for al-Ḥusayn's death from Yazīd to 'Ubaydallāh. However, it also had implications for those who believed in the Imāmate of al-Ḥusayn, for he was, in fact, agreeing to accept Yazīd as Caliph; he was willing to renounce his whole mission, which was the rejection of Yazīd's caliphate. Abū Mikhnaf admits that there is a tradition that maintains that all al-Ḥusayn offered was to go back

to Medina or go anywhere else in God's broad land. Despite this view, which would agree with the Shīʿite version, we have the Shīʿite Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir endorsing again the attitude that does not agree with the views of the Shīʿah.

The treatment of al-Ḥusayn's head after his death is another example of the division of opinion concerning who is more blameworthy, Yazīd or ʿUbaydallāh. Abū Mikhnaf himself has reports for both Yazīd and ʿUbaydallāh, poking at the teeth in al-Ḥusayn's head. In ʿAwānah's version, when the surviving prisoners are sent to Yazīd, he treats them well and declares that if he had been there he would never have killed al-Ḥusayn. From the extracts we have from ʿAwānah's account, it seems that he is transferring all the blame he can from Yazīd to ʿUbaydallāh. Abū Mikhnaf provides us with a variety of versions, very few of which seem to have been edited in the same way in which the account about the oath of allegiance was edited. However, Ṭabarī has contrived to make the account of Muḥammad al-Bāqir the arbiter over such conflicts and in it the action is Yazīd's.

Despite these comments on Ṭabarī's version of the death of al-Ḥusayn, we owe to him the fact that we have the most detailed version of the narrative available to us in his report of Ibn al-Kalbī's recension of Abū Mikhnaf's work. The space given to this event, which in terms of political history was a failed revolution, emphasizes the importance of the event for Muslims in general, and the Shīʿah in particular. The death or martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn was for a long time a problem for the consciences of devout Muslims. He was, after all, the grandson of the Prophet. For the Shīʿah its significance is much deeper. Al-Ḥusayn serves in their eyes as a redemptive hero, who by his actions set an example to Muslims that should always be remembered.

After the death of al-Ḥusayn, Ṭabarī deals with the opposition to Yazīd by Ibn al-Zubayr. In fact, he introduces an account of the beginnings of that opposition that is clearly out of place. During his description of the events of the year 60/680, he gives an account of the attack by Ibn al-Zubayr's brother, ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr, on Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. If this had been the case, it would have taken place either before al-Ḥusayn had departed or immediately afterward. That it is out of place is corroborated by

Balādhurī, who also has the incident, and puts it correctly after al-Ḥusayn's death. The account of this given by Ṭabarī is based entirely on Wāqidī. The general tenor of Ṭabarī's account of this incident is borne out by Balādhurī, who gives a much wider range of sources, including Wāqidī.

The accounts given of Yazīd's attempts to persuade Ibn al-Zubayr and the people of Medina and Mecca to accept his authority are again confirmed by much fuller accounts from Balādhurī. The same is the case for the battle of Ḥarrah and the bombardment of the Ka'bah. There is the same tendency in the sources to try to mitigate the responsibility of Yazīd for these crimes against Islam by thrusting the blame on his generals, in this case, Muslim b. 'Uqbah and Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī.

One constitutional problem does emerge from Ṭabarī's treatment of his sources. This is the problem concerning the condition on which Ibn al-Zubayr was receiving the oath of allegiance. In Balādhurī it is quite clear that Ibn al-Zubayr at this juncture is receiving the oath of allegiance on the condition that there will be a *shūrā*. Ṭabarī never mentions this. On one occasion in a report that is identical with one given by Balādhurī, he deliberately omits the words "on the condition of a *shūrā*" from the statement that Ibn al-Zubayr was receiving the oath of allegiance from the people. In fact *shūrā* is only mentioned once and then, perhaps, by accident when he reports that the people of Mecca held the view that a *shūrā* was appropriate.

An answer to why this omission took place has yet to be given.

In the Arabic texts the names Ḥusayn and Ḥuṣayn have been given sometimes with the article *al-* and sometimes without it. In general for al-Ḥusayn, it is more usual that the *al-* occurs. In some accounts the *al-* is clearly missing for derogatory reasons, but in others this is not so. I have in fact followed the Arabic, and where there is al-Ḥusayn I have written it and, where not, I have omitted it. In citations from the Qur'ān, where two different numbers are given for a verse, the first is that of the official Egyptian edition and the second that of Flügel's text.

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I. K. A. Howard

The Events of the Year 60 (cont'd) [216]

(April 22–September 30, 680)

In this year (60/680) the oath of allegiance was given to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah after the death of his father on 15 Rajab (April 22, 680) in the reports of some, but in the reports of others on the 20 of the month (April 27, 680), as we have mentioned earlier in the account of the death of his father, Mu'āwiyah.[1] Yazīd confirmed 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād[2] as governor of al-Baṣrah[3] and al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr[4] as governor of al-Kūfah.[5]

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1. The death of Mu'āwiyah, the previous Umayyad Caliph, is dealt with in Ṭabarī, II, 198.

2. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād is one of the sons of Mu'āwiyah's earlier governor in Iraq, Ziyād b. Abīhi, literally 'Ziyād, the son of his father'. Mu'āwiyah had won the father over to his side by recognizing him to be his brother as a result of a liaison between Mu'āwiyah's father, Abū Sufyān, and Ziyād's prostitute mother, Sumayyah. 'Ubaydallāh had also attained prominence and authority. See *EI*[1], s.v. 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād.

3. Al-Baṣrah is a garrison town of the Arabs, which is located in the south of Iraq. Just to the south is the site of modern Baṣrah. See *EI*[2], s.v. Al-Baṣra.

4. Al-Nu'man's father, Bashīr b. Sa'd, had been one of the leaders of the Anṣār. After serving the Umayyads, al-Nu'mān later joined Ibn al-Zubayr and was killed in his service. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr.

5. Al-Kūfah is a garrison town of the Arabs in Iraq on the Euphrates river. See *EI*[2], s.v. Al-Kūfa.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad (al-Kalbī)[6]—Abū Mikhnaf:[7] Yazīd succeeded at the beginning of the month of Rajab in the year 60 (April 8, 680). Al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah b. Abī Sufyān[8] was governor of Medina, al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī of al-Kūfah, ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād of al-Baṣrah, and ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ[9] of Mecca. Yazīd's only concern, when he assumed power, was to receive the oath of allegiance from the individuals who had refused to agree with Muʿāwiyah's demand for this oath of allegiance to Yazīd. Muʿāwiyah had summoned the people to give an oath of allegiance to him that Yazīd would be his heir.[10] Yazīd's concern was to bring their attitude to an end. Therefore he wrote to al-Walīd: "In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from Yazīd, Commander of the Faithful, to Walīd b. ʿUtbah.... Muʿāwiyah was one of the servants of God, whom God had blessed, appointed to authority, and given power and ability. He lived for a measured time and died at an appointed time. May God have mercy on him, for he lived as a praiseworthy man and died as a pious, God-fearing man. Peace be with you." He wrote to him on another parchment as small as a rat's ear: "Seize Ḥusayn, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar, and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr[11]

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6. Hishām b. Muḥammad was also known as Ibn al-Kalbī. He was an important compiler of historical traditions, who died in 204 (819) or 206 (821). See *EI*², s.v. Al-Kalbī. His recensions of the events in Yazīd's caliphate form the basis of Ṭabarī's account.

7. Abu Mikhnaf's name was Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā. He was an important source for the early Iraqī historical tradition. He died in 157 (775). See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*.

8. Al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah b. Abī Sufyān was a newphew of Muʿāwiyah, who had a reputation for drinking. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 135. Throughout his career he is involved in the inter-Umayyad dispute over the benefits of power. His quarrel with Marwān indicates this. See p. 3, below.

9. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ was a prominent Umayyad, who later revolted against the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, claiming that Marwān had promised him the succession. Eventually ʿAbd al-Malik had him killed. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd.

10. Muʿāwiyah's attempt to bring about the succession of Yazīd is reported in Ṭabarī's account of his caliphate. See Ṭabarī, II, 173–77.

11. Al-Ḥusayn, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr were three leading Qurashites, who all felt they had some claim to the caliphate. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī had claims to the caliphate by virtue of the fact that both his father and brother, al-Ḥasan, had occupied that position. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar had a similar claim through his father, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. In the case of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, his father had been a member of the group nominated by ʿUmar to form the consultative council (*shūrā*), which was to choose his successor from among themselves.

to give the oath of allegiance. Act so fiercely that they have no chance to do anything before giving the oath of allegiance. Peace be with you." [217]

When the news of Mu'āwiyah's death came to al-Walīd, it shocked and greatly disturbed him. He sent a dispatch to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam,[12] summoning him to come to him. Earlier, when al-Walīd had come to Medina, Marwān had only visited him there reluctantly. When al-Walīd perceived his attitude, he abused him in front of those who attended his gatherings. Marwān learned of this and kept away from him, cutting off all contact with al-Walīd. Marwān had continued to stay away from him until news of the death of Mu'āwiyah came to al-Walīd. Since the death of Mu'āwiyah and the order to take the oath of allegiance from this group weighed heavily on al-Walīd, he sought help for that from Marwān and summoned him. After al-Walīd read Marwān Yazīd's letter, he said, "'We belong to God and to Him we shall return.'[13] May God have mercy on him." Then al-Walīd asked Marwān's advice about the affair, saying, "How do you consider we should act?" Marwān answered, "I consider that you should send immediately to this group and summon them to give the oath of allegiance and enter into obedience. If they do so, you should accept that from them and leave them alone. If they refuse, you should take hold of them and execute them before they learn of the death of Mu'āwiyah. Indeed, if they learned of that, each one of them would rise up from a different direction, proclaim opposition and secession, and summon men to himself. I am afraid things are not that clear. However, in the case of Ibn 'Umar, I do not think that he would consider fighting. For he would only be willing to be entrusted with authority over the people if this matter were given to him spontaneously."

Therefore he sent 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān[14]—he was a young boy then—to the two of them, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and

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12. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was a prominent Umayyad, whose father, al-Ḥakam b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah, had been expelled from Medina by the Prophet. Marwān became 'Uthmān's adviser when he was Caliph and he also became Caliph in 64 (684). See *EI*[1], s.v. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

13. Qur'ān, 2:156 (151).

14. 'Abdallāh b. Amr b. 'Uthmān was a grandson of the Caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, who seems to have had an insignificant role in affairs. See Balādhurī *Ansāb*, IV/1, 602.

'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān found the two sitting in the mosque. However, he came to them at a time when al-Walīd did not hold assemblies for the people; the two would not go to him at such a time. He said, "Both of you answer the summons of the governor." They replied, "Go now, we will come."

One of them approached the other.[15] 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr asked al-Ḥusayn, "Why do you think he has sent for us at this time when he does not hold assemblies?" The latter answered, "I have been wondering. In my view their despot has perished, and he has sent for us to get the oath of allegiance from us before news spreads among the people. I do not think it can be anything else."
[218] Ibn al-Zubayr asked, "What do you intend to do?" Al-Ḥusayn said, "I will gather my servants immediately and go to him. When I reach the door, I will make them wait there, and I will go in to see him." Ibn al-Zubayr commented, "I fear for you if you go in." He replied, "I would not go to him unless I were able to resist him."

Al-Ḥusayn got up and gathered his mawālī[16] and his household around him. Then he began to walk until he came to the door of al-Walīd's house.[17] He told his followers. "I am going in. If I call you, or you hear his voice raised, all rush together to me. Otherwise, do not leave until I come out to you."

He went in and greeted al-Walīd as governor. Marwān was sitting with him. Ḥusayn said, as if he did not harbor any suspicions about Mu'āwiyah's death, "Fostering relations is better than

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15. Balādhurī has given an almost identical account but does not include this dialogue. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 300.

16. *Mawālī* (singular *mawlā*) denotes either patrons or clients. It was by this institution that a freed slave maintained his relationship with a tribe. The same institution was used for all newcomers to Islamic society. Although it could also mean kinsmen, here it means clients and slaves, as kinsmen are mentioned separately. See Crone, *Slaves*, 49–57, 197–200.

17. Balādhurī has two separate reports. One, which has so far been identical, apart from the dialogue, with Ṭabarī's version from Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, deals with Ibn al-Zubayr and Ibn 'Umar with no mention of al-Ḥusayn's visit to al-Walīd. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 299–302. He has a separate report about that visit, which is identical to Ibn al-Kalbī's version given here. See ibid., p. 302–3. Ibn al-Kalbī probably amalgamated the two reports, for the amalgamation had taken place by the time of Dīnawarī, whose version is similar to Ṭabarī. See Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 240–42.

severing them. May God reconcile you both." They said nothing in reply. He came forward and sat down. Then al-Walīd read him the letter, gave him the news of Mu'āwiyah's death, and demanded the oath of allegiance from him. Al-Ḥusayn said, "'We belong to God and to Him we shall return.'[18] May God have mercy on Mu'āwiyah and increase your reward. As for the oath of allegiance which you have asked me to give, a person like me should not give his oath of allegiance in secret. I do not see that you would be satisfied with less than my public oath made before all the people." Al-Walīd agreed, and al-Ḥusayn suggested, "When you come out before the people and summon them to give the oath of allegiance, you should summon us with the people. Then it will be one affair." Al-Walīd, who preferred the easy way, said to him, "Go then in the name of God and come to us with the people."

Marwān interrupted, swearing, "By God! If he leaves you now without giving the oath of allegiance, you will never have the same opportunity without much bloodshed between you and him. Hold the man; do not let him leave you until he gives the oath of allegiance or you cut off his neck." At that al-Ḥusayn jumped up and said, "O son of a blue-eyed woman![19] Would you or he kill me? By God! You are a liar and a sinner." With that he went out and passed his followers; they followed him until he reached his house.

Marwān told al-Walīd, "You disobeyed me. No, by God! He will never give you the same hold over him again." Al-Walīd replied, O, Marwān, let someone other than you blame me. Indeed, you chose for me something which would have involved the destruction of my religion. By God! I would not want to have all the worldly wealth and dominion which the sun rises and sets over for having killed al-Ḥusayn. Glory be to God! Should I kill al-Ḥusayn because he said, 'I will not give the oath of allegiance?' By God! I think that on the Day of Resurrection a man who is held [219]

18. Qur'ān, 2:156 (151).

19. A reference to Marwān's maternal grandmother, Māriyyah bt. Mawhab of Kindah. Her father had been a slave, probably a Christian from Armenia; and the Armenians were hated by the Arabs. Hence, the grandmother was referred to as "blue-eyed" as an insult; the insult was used against the grandson. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 129.

responsible for the blood of al-Ḥusayn will weigh little in the scales of God." Marwān said, "If this is your opinion, then you have acted correctly." He said this to him without commending him for his view.[20]

As for Ibn al-Zubayr, he had said that he would come at that time, but then he went to his own house and hid. Al-Walīd sent for him and discovered that he was gathering his followers as a means of protecting himself. He harassed him with a great number of messengers and men, one after another. Ḥusayn, for his part, replied to them, "Stop this so that you can consider and we can consider and so that you can reflect and we can reflect."[21] On the other hand, Ibn al-Zubayr said to them, "Do not hurry me; I am coming to you. Give me time." They harassed them both all evening and during the early part of the night; however, they were more considerate to Ḥusayn. Al-Walīd sent mawālī of his to Ibn al-Zubayr, who abused him, shouting at him, "Son of Kāhiliyyah,[22] by God! You should come to the governor or he will kill you." All that day and for the early part of the night, Ibn al-Zubayr remained there answering, "I will come now." When they urged him, he replied, "By God! I am being made suspicious by the great number of requests to come and the succession of messengers. Do not hurry me until I send the governor someone who will bring me his views and his orders." He sent his brother, Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr,[23] to al-Walīd. He said to him, "May God have mercy on you, leave ʿAbdallāh alone. You have terrified him and terrorized him with the great number of your messengers. He will come to you tomorrow, God willing. Order your messengers to leave us." Al-Walīd sent to them, and they went away.

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20. This last sentence is omitted by Balādhurī. The narrative of Ibn al-Kalbī now returns to the first report of Balādhurī. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 300f.

21. As a result of his careless editing of two versions, Ibn al-Kalbī has produced a contradiction in what was meant by him to be a continuous narrative.

22. This is disparaging reference to Ibn al-Zubayr. The mother of his grandfather Khuwaylid was Zuhrah bt. ʿUmar b. Ḥanthar of the clan of Kāhil of the tribe of Asad. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 198. This reference is using his non-Qurashī female ancestor as a means of insulting him.

23. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr is Ibn al-Zubayr's brother from a different mother, Zaynab bt. Marthad b. ʿAmr. Despite later taking part in his brother's revolution, Jaʿfar lived to an old age and died in the caliphate of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, between 96 (715) and 99 (717). See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 136–37.

Under cover of night, Ibn al-Zubayr left. He and his brother, Ja'far, without anyone else, took the road to al-Fur'.[24] He avoided [220] the main road out of fear of pursuit and headed for Mecca. In the morning, al-Walīd sent for him and found that he had left. Marwān declared, "By God! If he has mistaken the road to Mecca.... So send men after him." He sent a horseman from the mawālī of Umayyah with eighty other horsemen.[25] They pursued him, but they were not able to catch up with him and so they returned. For the whole of that day until evening, they were distracted from Ḥusayn by the pursuit of Ibn al-Zubayr. Then in the evening he sent men to Ḥusayn. He answered them, "Come in the morning. Then you will consider and we shall consider."

They left him that night without harassing him. Ḥusayn left under cover of night. It was Sunday night with two days left in the month of Rajab in the year A.H. 60 (May 4, 680).

Ibn al-Zubayr had departed the night before Ḥusayn; Ibn al-Zubayr had gone on Saturday night and he had taken the road through al-Fur'. While Ibn al-Zubayr was traveling with his brother Ja'far, Ja'far recited the words of Ṣabrah al-Ḥanẓalī:[26]

All the sons of one mother will find out one night
that only one of their offspring has remained

"Glory be to God!" exclaimed 'Abdallāh. "What did you mean by what I just heard, brother?" Ja'far replied, "By God! Brother, I did not mean anything that you would dislike." 'Abdallāh said, "By God! It is even more hateful to me that this thing should be uttered by you unintentionally."

The narrator commented that it was just as if he were drawing a bad omen from the poem.

As for al-Ḥusayn, he left accompanied by his sons, his brothers, and his brother's sons. These people were most of his household,

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24. Al-Fur' is a village between Medina and Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 878.

25. "If," in the previous sentence, is added from Balādhurī, who also identified the horseman as Ḥabīb b. Kurrah, and reported that there were only thirty horsemen. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 300; also Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 242, where the name is Ḥabīb b. Kadīn.

26. Balādhurī attributes this verse to another poet, Mutammim b. Nuwayrah al-Ḥanẓalī. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 300.

except for Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah.[27] The latter had said to him, "My brother, you are the most lovable of people and the dearest to me. I could not give my stored advice to any creature more entitled to it than you. Keep away from Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah
[221] with your followers, and avoid the provinces as long as you can. Then send your messengers to the people and summon them to you. If they give you the oath of allegiance, I praise God for that. If the people agree upon someone other than you, God will neither make your religion nor your reason deficient on that account; He will not remove your manliness and outstanding merit either. Yet I am afraid that you will enter one of these provinces and you will come to a group of people. They will differ among themselves: one group will be with you and another against you. They will fight, and you will be a target for the first of their spears. Then the best of all this community in person, in father, and in mother would be the one whose blood was most wastefully squandered and whose family most humiliated." Al-Ḥusayn asked him where he should go, and he answered, "Stay at Mecca. If that place is secure for you, it will serve its purpose. However, if it is unsuitable for you, you can resort to the deserts and the mountain peaks; You can move from place to place until you see what becomes of the affairs of the people and then you will know their views. You will be most correct in judgment and firmest in action as long as you can directly face matters. Affairs will never be more abstruse for you than when you turn your back on them." Al-Ḥusayn replied, "Brother, you have given good advice and shown your concern. I hope that your judgment is correct and appropriate."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq[28]—Abū Saʿīd al-Maqburī:[29] I watched al-Ḥusayn en-

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27. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah is a son of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib by a Ḥanifite woman called Khawlah. After the death of al-Ḥusayn, he was described as the imām and mahdī by al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd. He neither declined the title nor accepted it, but he did give the oath of allegiance to ʿAbd al-Malik. See *EI*[1], s.v. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanifiyya.

28. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq was a well-known traditionist and an authority of Abū Mikhnaf, who lived during the first half of the second (eighth) century. See Sezgin *Abū Miḫnaf*, 193–94.

29. Abū Saʿīd al-Maqburī was Kaysān, a mawlā of Kinānah. He died in 100 (718–19) or in the caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 86–96 (705–15). See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 61–62.

tering the mosque of Medina. As he walked, he was leaning on two men. First he leaned on one man and then on the other. He was reciting the verses of Ibn Mufarrigh:[30]

May I not terrify the camels when I lead a raid at the morning dawn!
May I not be called Yazīd
If ever I accept humiliation for dignity
while death is watching whether I flinch.

I said to myself, "By God, he is only reciting those two verses [222]
because of something he is intending to do." It was only two days later when I was told that he had left for Mecca.

Then al-Walīd sent for 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar; he demanded that 'Abdallāh give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd. He answered, "When the people give the oath of allegiance, so will I." A man said, "What stops you from giving the oath of allegiance? You only want the people to argue among themselves, to fight, and destroy each other. Then, when that exhausts them, they will say: 'Have 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar in authority over you, for no one else remains. So give the oath of allegiance to him.'" 'Abdallāh retorted, "I want them neither to fight each other nor to argue among themselves and destroy each other. However, when the people give their oath of allegiance, and no one is left except me, I will give my oath of allegiance." They left him, for they were not afraid of him.

Ibn al-Zubayr set out and came to Mecca while 'Amr b. Sa'īd was governor there. When he entered he said, "I am seeking refuge." However, he did not attend their prayer, nor did he participate in the procession [from 'Arafah] with them.[31] He kept apart with his followers, making procession and praying with them alone.

When al-Ḥusayn set off for Mecca he recited: "Then he left it out of fear while he kept on the lookout. He said: 'My Lord, save me from the unjust people.'"[32] As he entered Mecca, he recited:

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30. Ibn Mufarrigh's verses are given by Iṣfahānī, *Aghanī*, XVII, 51 and 68; and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 303.

31. The procession (*ifāḍah*) from 'Arafah took place on Dhū al-Ḥijjah as part of the rituals of the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*). See *EI*², s.v. *Ḥadjdj*. It obviously refers to something that happened later.

32. Qur'ān, 28:21.

"And when he set out toward Midian, he said: 'Perhaps my Lord will guide me in the right path.'"[33]

In the month of Ramaḍān of this year (60/June, 680) Yazīd dismissed al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah from Medina. He appointed ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaq to be in charge. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ came to Medina in Ramaḍān.

Al-Wāqidī[34] claimed that Ibn ʿUmar was not in Medina when the news of the death of Muʿāwiyah and the demand that the oath of allegiance be given to Yazīd came to al-Walīd. When Ibn al-Zubayr and al-Ḥusayn were summoned to give the oath of
[223] allegiance to Yazīd, they refused; they left for Mecca on the same night. They met Ibn ʿAbbās[35] and Ibn ʿUmar coming from Mecca. The latter two both asked them what the situation was like in Medina. They answered, "The death of Muʿāwiyah, and the demand for the oath of allegiance is to be made to Yazīd." Ibn ʿUmar warned them to be pious toward God and not to divide the unity of the Muslims; he went to Medina and stayed there for some days. He waited until the oath of allegiance came from the provinces. Then he went to al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah and gave him his oath of allegiance. Ibn ʿAbbās also gave him his oath of allegiance.

In this year, ʿAmr b. Saʿīd sent ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr[36] to combat his brother ʿAbdallāh b. Zubayr.[37]

The Attack of ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī has mentioned that ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ al-Ashdaq came to Medina in Ramaḍān 60 (June, 680). When the people of Medina visited him, they found him to be a dignified and eloquent man.

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33. Qur'ān, 28:22.

34. Al-Wāqidī was a leading historical and religious authority, who died in 207 (822–23). See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Wāqidī.

35. Ibn ʿAbbās, a son of al-ʿAbbās and cousin of the Prophet, is the man from whom the ʿAbbāsids are descended. He was an important Companion of the Prophet; he was regarded as an expert on the Qur'ān and the traditions. He supported ʿAlī during his Caliphate but withdrew toward the end of it. See *EI*[2], s.v. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās.

36. ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr's mother was from the Umayyads; he spent most of his time with them. As he had received much money and power from them, he had a hostile attitude toward his own family. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 310.

37. Ṭabarī's dating of this event is highly suspect. See the Introduction.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī—Hisham b. Sa'd[38]—Shaybah b. Niṣāḥ:[39] The messengers went back and forth between Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah and Ibn al-Zubayr about giving the oath of allegiance. Yazīd swore that he would not accept it from him until he was brought in chains.

Al-Ḥārith b. Khālid al-Makhzūmī was in charge of leading the prayer but Ibn al-Zubayr stopped him.[40] When he stopped him, Yazīd wrote to 'Amr b. Sa'īd to send an army against Ibn al-Zubayr. At the time that 'Amr b. Sa'īd had come to Medina, he had put 'Amr b. Zubayr in command of his police[41] because he was aware of the animosity between him and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. 'Amr b. al-Zubayr had sent for a group of the people of Medina and had them flogged violently.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī—Shuraḥbīl b. Abī 'Awn[42]—his father:[43] 'Amr b. al-Zubayr looked for all those who favored Ibn al-Zubayr and had them flogged. Among [224] those who were flogged were al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr,[44] his son Muḥammad b. al-Mundhir,[45] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad b. 'Abd

38. Hishām b. Sa'd was a well-known traditionist and authority of Wāqidī's. He died in 158 (775) or 160 (776–77). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 39–41.

39. Niṣāḥ has been left without any diacritical marks on the first letter. However, Shaybah b. Niṣāḥ is an authority of Hishām b. Sa'd. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, index. Shaybah was regarded as having Shī'ite inclinations. He died in the caliphate of Marwān b. Muḥammad, 127–32 (744–50). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 377–78.

40. According to Balādhurī, there is an incorrect report that al-Ḥārith b. Khālid al-Makhzūmī was governor of Mecca and 'Amr b. Sa'īd was governor of Medina when Mu'āwiyah died. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 299. However, Wāqidī reports that he was governor of Mecca when Yazīd died. See ibid., p. 354. Al-Ḥārith was probably the deputy for the governor in charge of the prayer, and it was later than the last months of 60 (May–September, 680) that Ibn al-Zubayr would have been able to take such an action.

41. The Arabic for police is *shurṭah*. Its function seems to be to keep order in the towns. See *EI*[1], s.v. Shurṭa.

42. Shuraḥbīl b. Abī 'Awn was an authority of Wāqidī; he probably lived in the middle of the second (eighth) century. He usually reported from his father. See Ṭabarī, index.

43. Abū 'Awn was only reported from by his son Shurāḥbīl. See Ṭabarī, index.

44. Al-Mundhir was a brother of Ibn al-Zubayr who was killed in the course of supporting his brother. See p. 223, below.

45. The only further information on this nephew, Muḥammad b. al-Mundhir, of Ibn al-Zubayr is that his mother was 'Ātikah bt. Sa'īd b. Zayd. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 135.

Yaghūth,[46] ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām,[47] Khubayb b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr,[48] and Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir.[49] He had them flogged from forty to fifty or sixty lashes. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān[50] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr b. Sahl[51] fled with some other men to Mecca.

ʿAmr b. Saʿīd asked ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr, "What man should we send against your brother?" He answered, "You will never find anyone to send against him who hates him more than I do." He took out a few dozen men on the dīwān,[52] and many of the mawālī of the people of Medina also went out. Unays b. ʿAmr al-Aslamī[53] set out with him with seven hundred men. He sent the latter ahead in his vanguard while he camped at al-Jurf.[54] Marwān b. al-Ḥakam came to ʿAmr b. Saʿīd and warned him, "Do not attack Mecca. Fear God and do not violate the sanctity of the House of God. Leave Ibn al-Zubayr alone. He has grown into an obstinate old man of over sixty years of age. By God! If you do not kill him, he will surely die." ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr interjected, "By God! Let us fight against him, and let us attack him in the heart of Kaʿbah, and let those who hate it, hate it." Marwān replied, "By God! That grieves me."

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46. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yaghūth was from Quraysh and had settled in Medina. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 2.

47. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām's father was killed in the Battle of the Camel while he was supporting Ibn al-Zubayr and his father against ʿAlī. See Ṭabarī, II, 3207. He was married to al-Zubayr's sister. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 361.

48. Khubayb b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr was given a pardon after his father's defeat by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. See Ṭabarī, II, 845.

49. It is surprising to find Muḥammad, the son of ʿAlī's great supporter ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, associating with the supporters of Ibn al-Zubayr. On him see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 181.

50. The only apparent report about ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān concerns this episode.

51. The only apparent report about ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr b. Sahl concerns this episode.

52. The dīwān is an institution for registering the names of those who are to take part in campaigns in order that they can be paid. As the fighters normally came from the Arabs, the recruitment of mawālī would seem to be a temporary measure for this campaign. See *EI*², s.v. Dīwān.

53. The only apparent report about Unays b. ʿAmr al-Aslamī concerns this incident.

54. Al-Jurf is a place near Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 63.

Unays b. 'Amr al-Aslamī advanced as far as Dhū Ṭuwā[55] while 'Amr b. al-Zubayr went on until he stopped at al-Abṭaḥ.[56] He sent to his brother, "Fulfill the oath of the Caliph by putting a chain of silver around your neck, which will not be seen, so that the people will not fight each other. Therefore, be pious toward God, for you are in a sacred town." Ibn al-Zubayr answered, "Your meeting place is the mosque."

Ibn al-Zubayr sent 'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥī[57] against Unays b. 'Amr in the direction of Dhū Ṭuwā, while some of the people who lived around Mecca joined 'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān. They fought against Unays b. 'Amr and inflicted a dreadful defeat on him. The bulk of 'Amr b. al-Zubayr's followers scattered, and he went into the house of Ibn 'Alqamah.[58] 'Ubaydah b. al-Zubayr[59] came to him and gave him protection. He went to 'Abdallāh b. al- [225]
Zubayr and said, "I have given him protection." Ibn al-Zubayr retorted, "Are you giving protection at the expense of the people? This is not appropriate."

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, he transmitted this account to Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr,[60] and the latter reported that 'Amr b. Dīnār[61] informed him that Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Amr b. Sa'īd to put 'Amr b. al-Zubayr in command of an army and to send him with Unays b. 'Amr against Ibn al-Zubayr. 'Amr b. al-Zubayr went on until he stopped at his house at al-Ṣafā[62] while Unays b. 'Amr stopped at Dhū Ṭuwā.

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55. In the valley of Mecca at the gateway into Mecca. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *ṭwy*.

56. Al-Abṭaḥ is a stony valley near Mecca and Minā. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 92.

57. 'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥī was from Quraysh; he supported Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr against 'Alī. Later he became a loyal supporter of Ibn al-Zubayr. When al-Ḥajjāj defeated him, his head was cut off. See Ṭabarī, I, 1910, and II, 852.

58. Text has been emended to Ibn 'Alqamah, as in *Addenda et Emendanda*, DCL. Ibn 'Alqamah's house was very close to the Ka'bah in Mecca. See Ṭabarī, I, 1130.

59. 'Ubaydah b. al-Zubayr was a brother of Ibn al-Zubayr. The brothers seemed to be in conflict with one another. At one time, 'Ubaydah was appointed governor of Mecca but then he was dismissed. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 353.

60. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr seems to be mentioned only in connection with this report.

61. 'Amr b. Dīnār was an important traditionist and jurist; he died in 126 (743–44). See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 353–54.

62. Al-Ṣafā was a hill in Mecca associated with the pilgrimage rites. The pilgrims ran to and from it and another hill called al-Marwah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 397.

ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr usually led the prayer for the people; ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr usually prayed behind him. When he left he knotted his fingers together [in frustration]. There did not remain one of the Quraysh who failed to come to ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr. However, ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān kept away. ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr said, "What disturbs me is that I do not see ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān. By God! If I went against him, he would know that the clan of Jumaḥ and the others who have taken refuge with him are few." His words were reported to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān; they roused him. He said to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, "I see that you are acting as if you want to spare your brother." The latter replied, "Abū Ṣafwān (i.e., ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān), do I want to spare him? By God! If I could get even the help of small ants against him, I would use them." ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān said to him, "I will take care of Unays for you, and you take care of your brother for me." Ibn al-Zubayr agreed.

ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān went against Unays b. ʿAmr, who was at Dhū Ṭuwā. He met him with a numerous crowd of Meccans and other supporters. Unays b. ʿAmr and those with him were defeated. They killed those who fled and the wounded. Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[63] advanced against ʿAmr while his followers scattered from him. Eventually he escaped to ʿUbaydah b. al-Zubayr.[64] ʿUbaydah b. al-Zubayr told ʿAmr that he would give
[226] him protection. He went to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr and told him that, as he had given protection to ʿAmr, ʿAbdallāh should grant him protection for his sake. However, ʿAbdallāh refused to give him protection. He had him flogged for all those who had been flogged by him in Medina; he imprisoned him in the prison at ʿĀrim.[65]

Al-Wāqidī reported that they had given many reports to him about the account of ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr and that he had recorded

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63. Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the son of the famous Companion of the Prophet, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. He was killed in the siege of Mecca. See p. 223, below.

64. The Arabic text says: "He escaped to ʿAmr b. al-Zubayr." ʿAmr has been emended to ʿUbaydah.

65. *ʿĀrim* means "wicked" or "violent." It was the name given to Zayd, a servant of Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. A prison of four square cubits was built for him; he was jailed there until he died. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 315; and p. 16, below.

them all. According to Khālid b. Ilyās[66]—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Jahm:[67] When 'Amr b. Sa'īd came to Medina as governor, he came in the month of Dhū al-Qa'dah in the year 60 (July/August 680). He put 'Amr b. al-Zubayr in command of his police and said, "The Commander of the Faithful has sworn that he will not accept the oath of allegiance from Ibn al-Zubayr unless he is brought in a chain. Let the oath of the Commander of the Faithful be fulfilled. I will make a light chain of silver or gold; he can wear a cloak over it so that it will not be noticed, that is, unless its sound is heard." Then he recited:

Take it. True, it is not a course of action for the strong.
Even a humiliated man would hesitate to accept it.
Yet, 'Āmir, the people have offered you such a course of action.
And no one among the neighbors is going to blame you.[68]

According to Muḥammad (b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī)—Riyāḥ b. Muslim[69]—his father:[70] 'Amr b. Sa'īd raised an army to go against 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Abū Shurayḥ[71] said, "Do not attack Mecca, for I heard the Messenger of God say: 'God has only permitted fighting in Mecca for one hour of one day. Then the city returned to its inviolable status.'" 'Amr refused to listen to what he said and retorted, "We know more about its inviolable status than you, Shaykh."

'Amr b. Sa'īd sent an army with 'Amr b. al-Zubayr. With the latter went Unays b. 'Amr al-Aslamī and Zayd, the servant of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām.[72] They num-

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66. Khālid b. Ilyās was a well-known traditionist who lived in the second (eighth) century. Some critics accuse him of forging tradition. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 80–81.

67. Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh was a well-known traditionist who seems to have been alive at the beginning of the second (eighth) century. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 26.

68. The first line of this poem is quoted by Balādhurī. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 305, 311. A fuller version is given by Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVI, 311. Both verses with slight variations are later used by Marwān. See pp. 191–92, below.

69. Apart from two accounts both concerned with Ibn al-Zubayr and both quoted by Wāqidī, Riyāḥ b. Muslim seems to be otherwise unknown.

70. Riyāḥ's father Muslim seems to be unknown.

71. Abū Shurayḥ's name was Khuwaylid b. Ṣakhr. He was converted to Islam before the conquest of Mecca and died in 68 (687–88). See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV/2, 32.

72. There are no reports of either Zayd or his master in any other context.

bered about two thousand. The people of Mecca fought against them. Unays b. 'Amr and al-Muhājir, the mawlā of al-Qalammas, were killed amid many people.[73] The army of 'Amr b. al-Zubayr
[227] was defeated. He went to 'Ubaydah b. al-Zubayr, who told his brother that he was under his protection and that he would give him the guarantee of neighborly protection. He went with him to 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, who said, "What is this blood that is on your face, you wicked man?" 'Amr recited:

Our wounds do not bleed on our heels [through retreating],
but they drip blood on our feet [through going forward].[74]

Ibn al-Zubayr had him imprisoned; he betrayed 'Ubaydah's protection, asking him, "Did I tell you to give protection to this grave sinner who sought to violate those things made inviolable by God?" Then all those whom 'Amr had flogged took vengeance on him except for al-Mundhir and his son. They both refused to take vengeance on him. 'Amr died under the lashes.

The narrator commented that the prison of 'Ārim was only called this because of a slave called Zayd 'Ārim. The prison was named after him. Ibn al-Zubayr imprisoned his brother 'Amr in this place.

According to al-Wāqidī—'Abdallāh b. Abī Yaḥyā[75]—his father: There were two thousand with Unays b. 'Amr.

In this year (60/680) the people of al-Kūfah sent messengers to Ḥusayn, while he was in Mecca, calling on him to come to them. He sent his cousin Muslim b. 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib to them.

The Kūfans' Invitation to Ḥusayn and the Mission of Muslim b. 'Aqīl

According to Zakariyyā' b. Yaḥyā al-Ḍarīr[76]—Abū al-Walīd Aḥmad b. Janāb al-Maṣṣīṣī[77]—Khālid b. Yazīd b. Asad b. 'Abdallāh al-

73. There are no reports of either Muhājir or al-Qalammas in any other context.
74. Also quoted by Balādhurī. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 314.
75. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Yaḥyā is an occasional authority of Wāqidī; otherwise he and his father Abū Yaḥyā cannot be identified.
76. Yaḥyā al-Ḍarīr is a little known traditionist, who was blind (*ḍarīr*). See Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-I'tidāl*, II, 75.
77. Abū Walīd Aḥmad b. Janāb al-Maṣṣīṣī was a well-known and respected traditionist from Baghdad; he died in 220 (835). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 22.

Qasrī[78]—'Ammār al-Duhnī[79] reported that he asked Abū Ja'far[80] to tell him about the killing of al-Ḥusayn so that he might think that he was present at al-Ḥusayn's death. Abū Ja'far reported that Mu'āwiyah had died while al-Walīd b. 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān was [228] governor of Medina. He sent to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī asking for his oath of allegiance. Al-Ḥusayn asked him to grant him a delay and to show favor to him. He granted him a delay, and al-Ḥusayn left for Mecca. The Kūfans and their messengers came to him, saying, "We have kept ourselves exclusively for you. We do not attend the Friday prayer with the governor, so come to us." Al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī was governor of al-Kūfah.

Al-Ḥusayn sent for Muslim b. 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, his cousin, and told him, "Go to al-Kūfah and investigate what they have written to me. If it is true, we will go to them." Muslim departed to Medina. He took two guides, who went with him into the desert. They were overcome by thirst, and one of the two guides died. Muslim wrote to al-Ḥusayn asking him to relieve him, but al-Ḥusayn wrote back to him telling him to go on to al-Kūfah. He continued his journey until he arrived. He stayed with one of the inhabitants called Ibn 'Awsajah.[81] When news of his arrival was circulated among the Kūfans, they streamed to him to give the oath of allegiance. Twelve thousand of them gave the oath of allegiance to him.

One of the men who favored Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah stood up before al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr and told him, "You are either a weak man or you are acting like a weak man. The town has been corrupted." Al-Nu'mān answered, "I would prefer to be a weak man in obedience to God than a strong man in disobedience of God. I would not tear off a cover that God has spread."

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78. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Asad b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī was a little-known traditionist who seems to have lived in the second half of the second (eighth) century.

79. 'Ammār al-Duhnī's full name was 'Ammār b. Mu'āwiyah al-Duhnī. He was a traditionist, who was accused of Shī'ite tendencies by Ibn Ḥajar; he was claimed as a Shī'ite by Shī'ite writers. He died in 133 (750–51). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 7–8, and al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 235.

80. Abū Ja'far's name is Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. He was the fifth Imām of the Shī'ah. He died in 114 (732). See Mufīd, *Irshād* (trans. Howard), 393–407.

81. Ibn 'Awsajah was a leading Kūfan Shī'ite, who died with al-Ḥusayn. See pp. 137–38, below. Abū Mikhnaf's account has Muslim staying with al-Mukhtār. See p. 28, below.

The words of al-Nu'mān were reported to Yazīd. He summoned a mawlā of his called Sarjūn,[82] who used to advise him, and gave him the news. Sarjūn asked whether he would accept the advice of Mu'āwiyah if he were alive. When he agreed, Sarjūn said, "Then accept it from me. The only man for al-Kūfah is 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. Give him authority over the city." Yazīd had been very angry with 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād; he had been intending to dismiss him from al-Baṣrah. Yet now he wrote to him expressing satisfaction with him; he gave him authority over al-Kūfah together with al-Baṣrah. He also wrote to him to hunt for Muslim b. 'Aqīl and to kill him if he found him.

[229] 'Ubaydallāh approached with some of the nobles of the people of al-Baṣrah. He entered al-Kūfah veiled; every group of people whom he passed and greeted said, "Greetings, son of the daughter of the Apostle of God," for they thought that he was al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. When 'Ubaydallāh reached the palace, he summoned a mawlā of his, gave him three thousand dirhams, and told him, "Go and ask about his man to whom the Kūfans are giving their oath of allegiance. Let it be known that you are a man from the people of Ḥimṣ[83] who has come for this purpose and that you give him this money in order to strengthen his position." The mawlā kept on being generous and helpful until he was led to a shaykh among the Kūfans, who was in charge of receiving the oath of allegiance. He met him and told him his story. The shaykh said to him, "Your meeting both pleases and grieves me. What pleases me is the way God has guided you, but what grieves me is the fact that our plans are not yet properly established." The shaykh introduced him to Muslim, who took the money from him and received his oath of allegiance. Then he returned to 'Ubaydallāh and gave him the information.

On 'Ubaydallāh's arrival, Muslim had moved from the house in which he had been staying to the house of Hāni' b. 'Urwah al-Murādī.[84] Muslim b. 'Aqīl had written to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, in-

82. Sarjūn was Mu'āwiyah's secretary and adviser; he was probably a Christian; see Ṭabarī, II, 205.

83. Ḥimṣ is a town in Syria to the north of Damascus; it is located halfway between Damascus and Aleppo. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 334.

84. Hāni' b. 'Urwah al-Murādī was one of the tribal leaders of Madhḥij, a Yemenī tribe.

forming him of the oath of allegiance made by twelve thousand of the Kūfans and advising him to come. Then 'Ubaydallāh asked the Kūfan nobles, "Why is it that Hāni' b. 'Urwah has not come to visit me among the others?" Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath[85] went out to get him with a group of his tribe. Hāni' was at the door of his house. They said to him, "The governor has mentioned you and considers you tardy. So go to him." They remained with him, and he rode with them to 'Ubaydallāh. With the latter was Shurayḥ, the qāḍī.[86] When 'Ubaydallāh saw him, he said to Shurayḥ, "His own legs have brought you one who will be destroyed."[87] After greeting Hāni', he asked him where Muslim was. When he answered that he did not know, 'Ubaydallāh ordered his mawlā, the man with the dirhams, to come out to him. When Hāni' saw him, he was deeply troubled by him and pleaded, "May God benefit the governor. By God! I did not invite [230] him to my house. He came and threw himself on me." 'Ubaydallāh demanded that [Muslim] be brought to him, but he replied, "By God! If he were under my two feet, I would not lift them from him to give him to you." 'Ubaydallāh ordered that Hāni' be brought closer. He was brought nearer, and 'Ubaydallāh struck him on the forehead and cut it open. Hāni' reached toward the sword of one of the police to pull it out, but he was pushed away from it. 'Ubaydallāh declared that God had made it permissible to take his blood and ordered him to be imprisoned in a part of the palace.

A different account from Abū Ja'far's says that the one who brought Hāni' b. 'Urwah to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād was 'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī.[88]

According to 'Amr b. 'Alī[89]—Abū Qutaybah[90]—Yūnus b. Abī

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85. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath was the tribal leader of Kindah, a Yemenī tribe. His father had been rehabilitated after fighting in the war of Riddah. On the tribal groupings and attitudes in Kūfah, see M. Hinds, "Kūfan Political Alignments and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1971.

86. Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī was appointed qāḍī over al-Kūfah by 'Umar in 19 (640) and remained in his post until 80 (699–700).

87. An Arabic proverb. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *ḥyn*.

88. 'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī was a leader of a clan of the Yemenī tribe of Madhḥij.

89. 'Amr b. 'Alī was a well-known traditionist, who died in 249 (863). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 80–81.

90. Abū Qutaybah was Salm b. Qutaybah; he was a well-known traditionist,

Isḥāq[91]—al-ʿAyzār b. Ḥurayth[92]—ʿUmārah b. ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ:[93] ʿUmārah b. ʿUqbah was sitting in the assembly of Ibn Ziyād talking. He said, "Today I have driven out some zebras; I have struck and lamed one of them." ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī retorted, "A zebra that you lamed would be a stupid one." ʿUmārah said, "Shall I tell you of something stupider than all this? A man whose father was an unbeliever was brought to the Apostle of God. He ordered him to be executed. The man pleaded, 'Muḥammad, who will there be for the children?' He answered, 'Hell-fire.' You are one of the children and you will be in Hell-fire." Ibn Ziyād laughed.

Continuation of ʿAmmār al-Duhnī's Account from Abū Jaʿfar

While Hāniʾ was in this position, news of it got out to Madhḥij. There was an uproar at the gate of the palace. ʿUbaydallāh heard it and asked what it was. They told him that it was Madhḥij. He ordered Shurayḥ to go out to them and inform them that he had only detained Hāniʾ for questioning. However, he sent one of his mawālī as a spy to listen to what Hāniʾ would say. As he went past Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwah, Hāniʾ said to him, "Fear God, Shurayḥ, for he will kill me." However, Shurayḥ went out, stood at the gate of the palace, and said, "There is no need for concern about him.
[231] The governor is only detaining him to question him." They told each other that that was true and that there was no need for concern for their colleague; they dispersed.

The news of Hāniʾ reached Muslim. He had the battle cry called out, and four thousand of the Kūfans gathered to him. He sent forward his vanguard and drew up his right and left wings. He himself advanced with the center toward ʿUbaydallāh. In the

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who lived in al-Baṣrah and died in either 200 (815–16) or 201 (816–17). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 133.

91. Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq was a well-known Kūfan traditionist; he died in either 152 (769) or 159 (775–76). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 433–34.

92. Al-ʿAyzār was a Kūfan traditionist; he died while Khālid al-Qasrī was governor of Iraq, 105–20 (723–38). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 203–4.

93. ʿUmārah b. ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ was a member of the Umayyad family who seems to have settled in al-Kūfah.

meantime, 'Ubaydallāh had sent to the nobles of the Kūfans and gathered them with him in the palace. When Muslim reached him and came to the gate of the palace, they were able to look down on their clansmen. They began to speak to them; they tried to make them go away. The followers of Muslim began to slip away, so that by late afternoon he only had five hundred. As darkness spread, even the five hundred had gone.

When Muslim saw that he had been left alone, he began to wander through the streets. He came to a door and stopped. A woman came out to him; he asked her to give him a drink. She gave him a drink and then returned inside her house. She delayed for as long as God decreed and then came back out to find him still at the door. She said, "Servant of God, your staying here is suspicious. Go away." He replied, "I am Muslim b. 'Aqīl. Will you shelter me?" She told him to enter.

Her son was a mawlā of Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath. When the boy recognized him, he went to Muḥammad and told him. Muḥammad went to 'Ubaydallāh and told him. 'Ubaydallāh sent 'Amr b. Ḥurayth,[94] the commander of his police, to get him. With him went 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath.[95] Muslim was not aware of what was happening until the house was surrounded. When he realized, he went out against them with his sword and fought them. 'Abd al-Raḥmān gave him a guarantee of safe-conduct and thus got him into his power. He brought him to 'Ubaydallāh. The latter ordered that he should be taken up to the top of the palace and executed. Then his body was thrown down to the people. He then ordered Hāni' to be dragged to al-Kunāsah,[96] and there he was crucified. Their poet said of that:

If you do not know what death is, then look [232]
at Hāni' and Ibn 'Aqīl in the marketplace.

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94. 'Amr b. Ḥurayth was a leading Qurashite living in al-Kūfah; he was given many official posts by the Umayyads. See Wellhausen, *Religio-Political*, trans. Ostle and Walzer, 97, 121. According to Abū Mikhnaf, Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm was in command of 'Ubaydallāh's police in al-Kūfah. See p. 53, below.

95. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was later known as Ibn al-Ash'ath. He led the abortive revolution that was put down by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf; he was killed in 85 (705). See Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 110–11; and *EI*², s.v. Ibn al-Ash'ath.

96. Al-Kunāsah (rubbish dump) was a camel market in al-Kūfah.

The command of the governor struck them down
and they became legends for those who strive along every road.
Is Asmāʾ riding in peace a mount which moves at walking pace
while Madhḥij is seeking vengeance against him?[97]

Abū Mikhnaf's Account

As for Abū Mikhnaf, he gives a fuller and more complete account of the story of Muslim b. ʿAqīl's visit to al-Kūfah and his death than the report of ʿAmmār al-Duhnī from Abū Jaʿfar, which we have just mentioned.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad (al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab[98]—ʿUqbah b. Simʿān,[99] mawlā of al-Rabāb bt. Imruʾ al-Qays of Kalb, the wife of Ḥusayn—al-Rabāb was with Sukaynah[100] bt. Ḥusayn, and ʿUqbah had become a mawlā of her father's; she was a young girl at that time: We set out from Mecca and we stayed on the main road. A member of al-Ḥusayn's household said to him, "If you avoided the high road, like Ibn al-Zubayr, the pursuit would not be able to catch up with you." He replied, "No, by God! I will not leave it until God judges what is pleasing to Him." On the way we met ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ,[101] who asked al-Ḥusayn, "I wish I could offer my life for yours. Where are you going?" He answered. "For the present, I am going to Mecca. After that, I will leave the choice to God." ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ advised him, "May God choose well for you but, when you reach Mecca, beware of approaching al-Kūfah. It is an unlucky place; there your father was killed and your brother deserted and struck unawares by a blow that almost took his life.

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97. In Abū Mikhnaf's account, more verses are given that are attributed to al-Farazdaq. See p. 63, below. Similar verses are also given by Balādhurī who attributes them to ʿAbdallāh b. Zabīr al-Asadī. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II/1, 83. For Asmāʾ, see p. 37 n. 169, below.

98. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab was an authority of Abū Mikhnaf; he was not used by other historical traditionists. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 193.

99. ʿUqbah b. Simʿān was an important eyewitness. He remained with al-Ḥusayn until he died but managed to save his own life. See pp. 109, 162, below.

100. Sukaynah went on to lead a rather indulgent life. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, trans. M. G. Weir, 161.

101. ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ was a Qurashite who lived in Medina; he was a loyal supporter of Ibn al-Zubayr. See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 106–10.

Stay at the Ḥaram, for you are the lord of the Arabs, and the inhabitants of the Ḥijāz will not treat anyone as your equal. By God! The people will come from every side to support you. Do not leave the Ḥaram, may my uncles on both sides of my family [233] sacrifice their lives for you, for by God, if you die, then we will be enslaved after you."

Al-Ḥusayn went on and stayed in Mecca. Its inhabitants began to visit him frequently, as did those who had come to make the *'umrah*[102] and [other] people from far and wide. Ibn al-Zubayr had settled himself there, near the Ka'bah, where he used to stand in prayer and perform the circumambulation of the Ka'bah throughout the day. He would come to visit Ḥusayn with the others who came to visit him. He would come to him for two successive days. Sometimes he would come to him once every two days; he would advise Ḥusayn according to his view. Yet Ḥusayn was the most unwelcome of God's creatures in the eyes of Ibn al-Zubayr because he realized that the people of the Ḥijāz would not give the oath of allegiance to him and follow him as long as Ḥusayn was in the town. In their eyes and hearts, al-Ḥusayn was greater and more capable of commanding the people's obedience than he.

When the Kūfans learnt of the death of Mu'āwiyah, the Iraqīs spread rumors about Yazīd. They said that Ḥusayn and Ibn al-Zubayr had sought a secure place and both of them had gone to Mecca. The Kūfans wrote to Ḥusayn. At that time al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr was their governor.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī[103]—Muḥammad b. Bishr al-Hamdānī:[104] The Shī'ah in al-Kūfah gathered in the house of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzā'ī.[105] There we discussed

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102. The *'umrah* is a lesser pilgrimage made when visiting Mecca. Its rituals are confined to Mecca. It was originally the pre-Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca in the month of Rajab; see *EI*[1], s.v. 'Umra.

103. Al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī was an authority of Abū Mikhnaf; otherwise he is unknown. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 204.

104. Muḥammad b. Bishr al-Hamdānī was a Shī'ite of al-Kūfah. Apart from his reports, nothing is known of him; see Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 202 and 205.

105. It was claimed that Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzā'ī was a Companion of the Prophet. He had been a supporter of 'Alī and his family and had become the leader of the Shī'ah in al-Kūfah. After the failure of al-Ḥusayn, he led the penitents (*tawwābūn*), who wanted to avenge al-Ḥusayn. They were decisively defeated. See Jafri, *Origins and Early Development*, 82, 159, 177, 182, 222–32.

the death of Muʿāwiyah, and praised and glorified God for that. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad announced to us, "Muʿāwiyah is dead. Al-Ḥusayn has withheld giving his oath of allegiance to the Umayyads and has gone to Mecca. You are his Shīʿah and the Shīʿah of his father. If you know that you will be his helpers and fighters against his enemy, then write to him and tell him. But if you fear failure and weakness, do not tempt the man to risk his own life."

They declared, "No, indeed we will fight his enemy, and our lives will be given for him." He said, "Then write to him." They wrote to him: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, from Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, al-Musayyab b. Najabah,[106] Rifāʿah b. Shaddād,[107] Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir,[108] and his Shīʿah of the believers and Muslims among the Kūfans. Peace be
[234] with you. We commend the praise of God, other than Whom there is no deity, to you. Praise be to God Who has broken your enemy, the obstinate tyrant who had leapt upon his community, stripped it of its authority, plundered its *fayʾ*,[109] and seized control of it without its consent. Then he killed the choice members of it and preserved the wicked members of this place. He made God's wealth something that circulates only among the community's tyrants and the wealthy. He was destroyed as Thamūd was destroyed.[110] There is no imām over us. Therefore come, so God may unite us in the truth through you. Al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr is in

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106. Al-Musayyab b. Najabah was a leading Shīʿite in al-Kūfah, who had been a supporter of ʿAlī; he lost his tribal authority when Muʿāwiyah came to power. He took part in the movement of penitents after the death of al-Ḥusayn. See Jafri, *Origins and Early Development*, 118, 177, 222–23, 232.

107. Rifāʿah b. Shaddād was a long-standing Shīʿite in al-Kūfah, who had taken part in Ḥujr b. ʿAdī's revolt against Muʿāwiyah in 51 (671). After al-Ḥusayn's failure, he took part in the movement of penitents, which he survived. He joined al-Mukhtār. See Jafri, *Origins and Early Development*, 177, 223–24, 232.

108. Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir was a leading Shīʿite in al-Kūfah. Of the four who wrote this letter, he is the only one who managed to get to al-Ḥusayn and die with him. See Jafri, *Origins and Early Development*, 177, 182, 189, 206.

109. *Fayʾ* literally means "booty" but it has implications beyond that. It refers to the conquered lands that had not been divided among the Muslim conquerors and whose income these Kūfans felt should go to them, not to Syria. See Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 46–51.

110. The Thamūd were a people who rejected the prophet Sāliḥ. They hamstrung a she-camel that was sent as a sign. For their sins, they were destroyed by an earthquake. The theme is frequently repeated in the Qurʾān. For one example, see Qurʾān, 7:73–79 (71–77).

the governor's palace; we do not gather with him for the Friday prayer. Nor do we accompany him out of the mosque for the Festival prayer.[111] If we hear that you will agree to come to us, we will drive him away until we pursue him to Syria, if God wills. The peace and mercy of God be with you."

We despatched the letter with 'Abdallāh b. Sabu' al-Hamdānī[112] and 'Abdallāh b. Wālī.[113] We ordered them to go quickly. The two men hurried off and came to al-Ḥusayn at Mecca on 10 Ramaḍān (June 14, 680). Two days later we sent Qays b. Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī,[114] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Kadan al-Arḥabī[115] and 'Umārah b. 'Ubayd al-Salūlī[116] to him. With them they took about fifty-three letters, each letter being from one man or a group of two or four. We delayed a further two days and then sent Hāni' b. Hāni' al-Sabī'ī[117] and Sa'īd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī.[118] With them we had written: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, from the believers and Muslims of his Shī'ah. Make haste. The people are waiting for you. They think of no one but you. Therefore, speed, speed! Peace be with you."

Shabath b. Rib'ī,[119] Ḥajjār b. Abjar,[120] Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. [235]

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111. On the Festival of Sacrifice (*'īd al-aḍḥā*) and the Festival for the End of the Fast (*'īd al-fiṭr*), a special prayer was said in the morning outside the mosque. See *EI*[1], s.v. Muṣallā.

112. Balādhurī gives his name as 'Abdallāh b. Sabī'. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 158. The latter was mentioned as fighting with al-Mukhtār. See Ṭabarī, II, 653.

113. 'Abdallāh b. Wālī was a supporter of 'Alī, who died fighting for the penitents from al-Kūfah with Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. See Ṭabarī, I, 3422–28, and II, 569.

114. Qays b. Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī was regularly used as a messenger by the Shī'ah in al-Kūfah and al-Ḥusayn; he was captured on one of his journeys and then killed. See p. 84, below.

115. Balādhurī records the name as Kadir and Dhī Kadir instead of Kadan. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 158, 159. However, he also records Kadan with his correct name as being killed fighting for al-Ḥusayn. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 196.

116. Balādhurī records the name 'Abd instead of 'Ubayd. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 158, 159. He was a leading member of the Kūfan Shī'ah.

117. This journey and Hāni' al-Sabī'ī's journey back are the only times he is mentioned.

118. Sa'īd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī is one of the leaders of the Kūfan Shī'ah.

119. Shabath b. Rib'ī, at first a staunch supporter of 'Alī, then became a Khārijite but quickly returned to 'Alī and fought against them. After writing this letter, he changed sides again. See Wellhausen, *Religio-Political*, 119.

120. Ḥajjār b. Abjar was an important tribal leader in al-Kūfah; he changed sides after writing the letter. See pp. 49, 125, below.

Yazīd b. Ruwaym,[121] ʿAzrah b. Qays,[122] ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī and Muḥammad b. ʿUmayr al-Tamīmī[123] had also written: "The Janāb has grown green; the fruit has ripened; the waters have overflowed. Therefore, if you want to, come to an army that has been gathered for you. Peace be with you."

When all the messengers gathered together with him, he read the letters and asked the messengers about the people's situation. He wrote back with Hāniʾ b. Hāniʾ al-Sabīʿī and Saʿīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥanafī, who were the last two messengers: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī to the leaders of the believers and the Muslims. Hāniʾ and Saʿīd have brought me your letters; they are the last two of your messengers who have come to me. I have understood everything that you have described and mentioned. The statement of most of you is: 'There is no imām over us. Come, God may unite us in guidance and truth through you.' I am sending you my brother, Muslim b. ʿAqīl, who is my cousin and the trustworthy representative from my family. I have instructed him to write to me about your circumstances, situation, and views. If he writes to me that the opinion of your leaders and of the men of wisdom and merit among you is united in the same way as the messengers who have come to me have described, and as I have read in your letters, I will come to you speedily, God willing, for, by my life, what is the imām except one who acts according to the Book, one who upholds justice, one who professes the truth, and one who dedicates himself to [the essence of] God? Peace be with you."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī:[124] Some members of the Shīʿah in al-Baṣrah had been meeting for some days in the house of a woman from the tribe of ʿAbd al-Qays, who was called Māriyyah bt. Saʿd or Munqidh. She had

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121. Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd Ruwaym was a Yemenī leader in al-Kūfah; he changed sides after writing the letter. See p. 125, below.

122. ʿAzrah b. Qays was a Yemenī leader in al-Kūfah; he also changed sides after writing the letter. See pp. 105–13, 120–21, 139, 164, below.

123. Muḥammad b. ʿUmayr was a leader of Tamīm in al-Kūfah. After writing the letter, he seems to have kept a very low profile.

124. Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī was an authority of Abū Mikhnaf, who was a Kūfan traditionist at the beginning of the second (eighth) century. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 189.

sympathy toward the Shī'ah, and her house had become a place where they held discussions.[125]

The coming of al-Ḥusayn had been reported to Ibn Ziyād, and he [236] wrote to his administrator (*'āmil*) in al-Baṣrah to send out scouts and take control of the road. However, Yazīd b. Nubayṭ[126]—he was from the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays—decided to go to support al-Ḥusayn. He had ten sons and he asked them, "Which of you will come with me?" Two of his sons, 'Abdallāh and 'Ubaydallāh, volunteered to go with him. Then he told his companions in the house of that woman (i.e., Māriyyah), "I have decided to go. Now I am leaving." They said to him, "We fear for you because of the followers of Ibn Ziyād." He replied, "By God! If the feet of my she-camel are set on the plain desert, I do not care whoever seeks to overtake me."

Yazīd set out, hurrying along the road, until he reached Ḥusayn. He joined al-Ḥusayn's encampment at al-Abṭaḥ. Al-Ḥusayn received news of Yazīd's arrival and began to look for him. When the man came to al-Ḥusayn's encampment and was told that he had gone to his house, the man went after him. When al-Ḥusayn did not find him, he sat in his encampment waiting for him. The Baṣran came back and found him sitting. Then he recited: "In the favor and mercy of God, in that let them rejoice."[127] He greeted al-Ḥusayn, sat with him, told him about the reason why he had come, and prayed for good with him. Then he set out with him, and fought alongside him. Yazīd and his two sons were killed with him.

Then[128] al-Ḥusayn summoned Muslim b. 'Aqīl and despatched him with Qays b. Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī, 'Umārah b. 'Ubayd al-Salūlī, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Kadan al-Arḥabī. He enjoined him to be pious before God, to be discreet, and to be courteous. Al-Ḥusayn instructed Muslim that, if he saw that the people were united and committed, then he should inform him speedily. Muslim departed and came to Medina. There he prayed

125. Apart from this incident, Māriyyah was not mentioned again.
126. Apart from this account, Yazīd was not mentioned again.
127. Qur'ān, 10:59 (58).
128. The narrative now returns to the account reported to Abū Mikhnaf from al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī.

in the Mosque of the Apostle of God and said farewell to the dearest members of his family. Then he hired two guides from the tribe of Qays. These two set out with him, but they missed the
[237] way and went astray. They were struck by severe thirst. The two guides, on the point of dying of thirst, told him, "Follow this path to reach water."

Muslim b. ʿAqīl wrote a letter to Ḥusayn and sent it with Qays b. Mushir—this was at al-Maḍīq in the valley of al-Khubayt:[129] "... I set out from Medina with two guides and they missed the way and got lost. All of us were overcome by thirst; the two guides soon died. But we kept going until we came to a wateringhole. We were only saved at the last moment of our lives. That wateringhole is in a place called al-Maḍīq in the valley of al-Khubayt. I have taken this as a bad omen for my mission. If you consider it so, you could relieve me and send another in my place. Peace be with you."

Al-Ḥusayn wrote back: "... I am afraid that your urging me in the letter to relieve you of the task that I sent you on is only prompted by cowardice. Therefore go on with the task that I gave you. Peace be with you." When Muslim read the letter, he said, "It is not for myself that I am afraid." So he continued until he came to a wateringhole belonging to the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ. He stopped with them. As he rode off there was a man hunting. He saw him shoot a fawn as it came into his sight, and kill it. Muslim said, "Thus will our enemies be killed, God willing."

Muslim went on until he entered al-Kūfah. There he stayed in the house of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd,[130] which is called today the house of Muslim b. al-Musayyab.[131] The Shīʿah began to come regularly to him. Whenever a group of them gathered together with him, he would read the letter of al-Ḥusayn, and they would begin to weep.

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129. Al-Maḍīq is a village between Mecca and Medina. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 560. Al-Khubayt is a valley in that area. See ibid., II, 398.

130. Al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd was a political opportunist of Shīʿite persuasion, who became a revolutionary Shīʿite leader; he won control of al-Kūfah for two years, 65–67 (684–86). See Wellhausen, *Religio-Political*, 125–45; and *EI*[1], s.v. al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbaid.

131. Muslim b. al-Musayyab was governor of Shīrāz for the Umayyads; he was killed in 129 (746–47) during the Shīʿite revolution of ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah. See Ṭabarī, II, 1977.

'Ābis b. Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī[132] stood up. After praising and glorifying God, he said, "I cannot speak to you for the people because I do not know what is in their hearts, nor would I deceive you about them. By God! I can, however, tell you about what I have decided for myself. By God! I will answer you when you call me. I will fight your enemies alongside you. I will strike with my sword in defense of you until I meet God, seeking nothing but God's reward." Next Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir al-Faq'asī got up and spoke, "May God have mercy on you! You have explained what is in your heart by your concise words." Then he said, "By God other than Whom there is no deity! I am of the same view as he is." Al-Ḥanafī[133] said the same. [238]

According to al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī, he asked Muḥammad b. Bishr whether he had said anything. He answered, "Even though I wanted God to strengthen my colleagues with victory, I did not like killing and I was unwilling to lie."

The Shī'ah began to visit Muslim b. 'Aqīl so frequently that his place of residence became well known, and al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr learnt of the location.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Wa'lah[134]—Abū al-Waddāk:[135] Al-Nu'mān ascended the pulpit and after praising God said, "Servants of God, fear God and do not rush into rebellion and discord, for in that men will be destroyed, blood will be shed, and property will be plundered." He was a tolerant, pious man who preferred the gentle approach. He went on, "I do not fight anyone who does not fight me. Nor do I come against anyone who does not come against me. Nor do I revile you. I do not oppose you. Nor will I apprehend anyone merely on grounds of suspicion, accusation, or hearsay. However, if you disclose your real intentions, violate your oath of allegiance, and oppose your imām, by God other than Whom there is no deity, I will strike you with my sword as long as its hilt remains in my hand, even though I do

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132. 'Ābis b. Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī was a leader of the Kūfan Shī'ah, who managed to get to al-Ḥusayn; he was killed with him. See pp. 147–48, below.

133. Al-Ḥanafī is Sa'īd b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī.

134. Numayr b. Wa'lah was a reporter of historical traditions, who reported from al-Sha'bī, as well as being an authority for Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 215.

135. Abū al-Waddāk is Jabr b. Nawf al-Hamdānī, a well-known traditionist. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 215.

not have any of you to help me. Yet I hope that those among you who know the truth are more numerous than those whom falsehood will destroy."

'Abdallāh b. Muslim b. Sa'īd al-Ḥaḍramī,[136] an ally of the Banū Umayyah, stood before him and said, "O, governor, what you see can only be adequately dealt with by violence. Your view
[239] about what should be done between you and your enemy is that of the weak." Al-Nu'mān answered, "I would prefer to be one of the weak while remaining in obedience to God than to be one of the mighty while being in rebellion against God." Then he descended from the pulpit.

'Abdallāh b. Muslim went out and wrote the following letter to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah: "... Muslim b. 'Aqīl has come to al-Kūfah, and the Shī'ah have given the oath of allegiance to him on behalf of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. If you have any need of al-Kūfah, then send a strong man there, who will carry out your orders and act in the same way as you would against your enemy. Al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr is a weak man, or he is acting like a weak man." He was the first to write to him. Then 'Umārah b. 'Uqbah wrote to him in a similar vein, as did 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.[137]

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]—'Awānah:[138] When the letters reached Yazīd—and there were only two days between their letters—he summoned Sarjūn, a mawlā of Mu'āwiyah and asked him, "What is your view of the fact that Ḥusayn has directed his attention toward al-Kūfah, and Muslim b. 'Aqīl is in al-Kūfah receiving the oath of allegiance on his behalf? I have also learnt that al-Nu'mān is weak; I have had other bad reports of him." Then he read him their letters [and asked], "Whom do you think that I should appoint as governor of al-Kūfah?" Now Yazīd was angry with 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, so Sarjūn answered him, "Do you think, if Mu'āwiyah were recalled to life for you, that

136. Apart from this incident, 'Abdallāh b. Muslim Sa'īd al-Ḥadramī is not mentioned.

137. 'Umar was the son of the famous Companion of the Prophet Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and later led the Kūfan army against al-Ḥusayn. See pp. 103, 115, below.

138. Ibn al-Kalbī breaks his narrative from Abū Mikhnaf and introduces connecting material from 'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī. The latter is an important historical traditionist. He died in 147 (764) or 153 (770). See *EI*², s.v. 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam.

you would take his advice?" He answered, "Yes." Sarjūn produced a letter of appointment for 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād as governor of al-Kūfah and said, "This is the advice of Mu'āwiyah written before he died." So he took his advice, joined the two cities under the authority of 'Ubaydallāh, and sent him his letter of appointment.

After this Yazīd summoned Muslim b. 'Amr al-Bāhilī[139]—who was there with him—and he sent him to al-Baṣrah to 'Ubaydallāh with his letter of appointment, and he wrote to him as well: "... My followers among the people of al-Kūfah have written to me to inform me that Ibn 'Aqīl is in al-Kūfah gathering units in order to spread rebellion among the Muslims. Therefore, when [240] you read this letter of mine, go to al-Kūfah and search for Ibn 'Aqīl, as if you were looking for a bead, until you find him. Then bind him in chains, kill him, or expel him. Peace be with you."

Muslim b. 'Amr went to 'Ubaydallāh at al-Baṣrah. 'Ubaydallāh ordered that preparations should begin immediately and that the departure for al-Kūfah would take place on the next day.

Earlier Ḥusayn had written a letter to the Baṣrans.

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaq'ab b. Zuhayr[140]—Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī:[141] Ḥusayn wrote a letter to the Baṣrans with a mawlā of his [family's] called Sulaymān.[142] It was written in one copy but [addressed to] the heads of the five divisions in al-Baṣrah[143] and to the nobles: it was written to Mālik b. Misma' al-Bakrī,[144] al-Aḥnaf b.

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139. Muslim b. 'Amr al-Bāhilī was from Syria. After being sent to 'Ubaydallāh in al-Baṣrah, he stayed. Then he became a supporter of Ibn al-Zubayr. He died during the revolt of Ibn al-Zubayr. See Crone, *Slaves*, 136–37.

140. Al-Ṣaq'ab b. Zuhayr was a well-known traditionist, who lived during the first half of the second (eighth) century. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 220.

141. Abu 'Uthmān al-Nahdī was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mill. He was born before Islam and lived until after 75 (694). See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 220.

142. Sulaymān is only mentioned in connection with this incident; he was killed.

143. When Ziyād was appointed governor of al-Baṣrah in 44 (664), he divided the people into five divisions for the purpose of administration and distribution of pay. The division was not made entirely on a tribal basis. See Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 86.

144. It is strange that Mālik b. Misma' al-Bakrī should have been written to by al-Ḥusayn. He was a leader in al-Baṣrah of Bakr b. Wā'il and had fought against 'Alī at the Battle of the Camel. He then joined Mu'āwiyah. He fought against Mukhtār later for Ibn al-Zubayr but then returned to the Umayyads. See Crone, *Slaves*, 116–17.

Qays,[145] al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd,[146] Masʿūd b. ʿAmr,[147] Qays b. al-Haytham,[148] and ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar.[149] A single copy of it was given to all the [Baṣran] nobles [which was as follows]: "God gave preference to Muḥammad before all His creatures. He graced him with prophethood and chose him for His message. After he had warned His servants and informed them of what he had been sent with, God took him to Himself. We are his family, those who possess his authority (*awliyāʾ*), those who have been made his trustees (*awṣiyāʾ*), and his inheritors; we are those who have more right to his position among the people than anyone else. Our people selfishly claimed our exclusive right to that. Yet we consented [to what they did] since we hated disunion and desired the well-being [of the community]. However, we know that we have greater claim to that right, which was our entitlement, than those who have seized it. They have done well, set many things right, and sought truth. May God have mercy on them and forgive us and them. I have sent my messenger to you with this letter. I summon you to the Book of God, the Sunnah of His Prophet. Indeed the Sunnah has [almost] been killed while innovation has been given life. If you hear my words and obey my commands, I will guide you along the path of righteousness. Peace and the mercy of God be with you."

[241] Each one of the nobles who read the letter kept it secret, except al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd. He claimed he was afraid that the messenger was a plotter sent by ʿUbaydallāh. He brought the messenger to ʿUbaydallāh on the evening before the morning when he was intending to depart to al-Kūfah. ʿUbaydallāh read the letter and

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145. Al-Aḥnaf b. Qays was a very powerful leader of the Banū Saʿd of Tamīm in al-Baṣrah; he had had a good relationship with Muʿāwiyah but was reluctant to accept Yazīd. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 138, 142.

146. Al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd had been a governor for ʿAlī but was at this time leaning toward the Umayyads. One of his daughters married ʿUbaydallāh. See Crone, *Slaves*, 15.

147. Masʿūd b. ʿAmr was the tribal leader of Rabīʿah in al-Baṣrah, who was killed in the feuding that took place in al-Baṣrah after the death of Yazīd. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 209.

148. Qays b. al-Haytham was a leader of the Banū Sulaym in al-Baṣrah; he also played an important role in Khurāsān. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 414–15.

149. ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar was an important leader of Tamīm in al-Baṣrah.

ordered the messenger to be beheaded. Then 'Ubaydallāh ascended the pulpit at al-Baṣrah. After praising and glorifying God, he said, "By God! There is no difficulty that I cannot overcome,[150] Nor does the rattling of the dry skin [of a camel] affect me.[151] Indeed I am a scourge of those who are my enemies and a deadly poison to those who fight against me. Whoever competes with [the tribe of] al-Qārah in shooting arrows does her justice.[152] People of al-Baṣrah, the Commander of the Faithful has appointed me governor of al-Kūfah, and I am going there in the morning. I have appointed over you 'Uthmān b. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān.[153] Beware of opposition and spreading rumors, for, by Him other than Whom there is no deity, if I hear a word of opposition from any man among you, I will kill him and his *'arīf*[154] and his patron (*walī*). I will hold those who are near responsible for those who are distant so that you all may hear me and there will not be any opponent or rebel among you. I am the son of Ziyād, whom I [most] resemble among [all] who tread on stones. I do not betray any resemblance to an uncle or to a cousin."

He left al-Baṣrah after he had made his brother 'Uthmān his deputy, and he set off for al-Kūfah. He took with him Muslim b. 'Amr al-Bāhilī and Sharīk b. al-A'war al-Ḥārithī,[155] together with his entourage and his household. When he reached al-Kūfah, he was wearing a black turban and he was veiled. News of Ḥusayn's departure had reached the people; they were expecting his arrival. When 'Ubaydallāh came, they thought that he was al-Ḥusayn. 'Ubaydallāh could not pass a group of people without their greeting him. They said, "Welcome, son of the Apostle of God,

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150. An Arabic proverb. Its literal meaning is: "There is no difficult camel which cannot be ridden by me." See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *qrn*.

151. An Arabic proverb. When the camel is frightened, it makes a rattling sound by rubbing its dry skin. The proverb means that he will not be deceived or frightened. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *q'q'*.

152. An Arabic proverb. Qārah was a tribe famous for its archers. The proverb means: "Don't shoot arrows at people who can shoot better than you." See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *qwr*.

153. 'Uthmān b. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān was a brother of 'Ubaydallāh.

154. An *'irāfah* was a small group of tribesmen collected together for the purpose of distribution of revenue. The head of each of these was an *'arīf* appointed by the government. See Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 87–88.

155. Sharīk b. al-A'war al-Ḥārithī was a man of influence in al-Baṣrah; he had supported 'Alī in the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn.

your arrival is a happy event." He saw in their joy at seeing al-Ḥusayn something to trouble him. Muslim b. ʿAmr said, when they overdid it, "Retire, for this is the governor, ʿUbaydallāh b.
[242] Ziyād." As he came in view, he checked his mount,[156] and he only had some ten men with him. When he entered the palace and the people realized that he was ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, they felt great sorrow and grief. What he had heard from the people made ʿUbaydallāh very angry, and he said, "Will I only see these people as I have seen them?"

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Muʿallā b. Kulayb[157]—Abū Waddāk: After he had settled in the palace, the call was made among the people: "The prayer is a general prayer that all should gather for (*al-ṣalāt jāmiʿatan*)."[158] The people gathered and he went out to them. After praising and glorifying God, he said, "The Commander of the Faithful (Yazīd), may God make him prosperous, has appointed me to be in charge of your town and your frontier post. He has ordered me to give justice to the oppressed among you, to be generous to those of you who are deprived, and to treat the obedient among you with kindness, but to be violent against those of you who are suspicious and disobedient. I will follow his instructions concerning you and will carry out his authorization among you. I will be like a kind father to the good and obedient among you, but I will use my whip and sword against those who abandon my commands and oppose my appointment. Let each man save himself. Truthfulness should avert evil from you without threat of punishment (*waʿīd*)."[159]

Then he went down; he put the *ʿarīf*s and the people to a severe test and said, "Write to me about the strangers, those among you who are sought by the Commander of the Faithful, those among

156. The Arabic is *ẓahr*. The term was used for the outskirts of al-Kūfah. In this context, it must mean "his mount."

157. Al-Muʿallā b. Kulayb was an unknown authority of Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 210.

158. *Al-ṣalāt al-jāmiʿah* was the regular form of call to prayer used whenever the governor wanted to address the people. It has been suggested that it was the first form of the call to prayer. See E. Mittwoch, "Zur Enstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus," 25.

159. An Arabic proverb. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *nbw*.

you from Ḥarūriyyah,[160] and the troublemakers whose concern is discord and turmoil. Whosoever of you makes these lists for us will be safe from harm. But those of you who do not write anyone will have to guarantee that there is no opponent in his *'irāfah* who will oppose us, and no wrongdoer who will try to wrong us. Anyone who does not do so will be denied protection, and his blood and his property will be permitted to us. Any *'arīf* in whose *'irāfah* is found anyone who is wanted by the Commander of the Faithful, whom he has not reported to us, will be crucified at the door of his house, and I will cancel that *'irāfah* from [the dīwān of] payment, or he will be sent to a position in 'Umān [or] al-Zārrah."[161]

As for 'Īsā b. Yazīd al-Kinānī,[162] according to 'Umar b. Shabbah[163]—Hārūn b. Muslim[164]—'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ[165]—['Īsā b. Yazīd al-Kinānī]: When Yazīd's letter to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād came, he chose five hundred of the Baṣrans, among whom were 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal[166] and Sharīk b. al-A'war; the latter was a member of the Shī'ah of 'Alī. Sharīk was the first of the people to fall behind. He is said to have feigned falling behind as a result of overcrowdedness, as did the people with him. Then 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith fell behind, and the people with him. They hoped that 'Ubaydallāh would turn aside to them and that al-Ḥusayn would get to al-Kūfah before him. However, he did not take any notice of those who had fallen behind but went on until he reached al- [243]

160. Ḥarūriyyah refers to the Khārijites by the name of the place where the first group broke away from 'Alī. See Wellhausen, *Religio-Political*, 2.

161. "Or" has been inserted because there does not appear to have been any place called "'Umān al-Zārrah." However, there is 'Umān on the Persian gulf. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 716. Nearby on the island of Baḥrayn there was a large village called "al-Zārrah." See ibid., II, 907.

162. 'Īsā b. Yazīd al-Kinānī was a historical traditionist, who died c.134 (750). See Petersen, *'Alī and Mu'āwiyah*, 60.

163. 'Umar b. Shabbah was an important historian, who died in 262 (875–76). He was accused of pro-Shī'ite tendencies. See Petersen, *Alī and Mu'āwiyah*, 150–51.

164. Hārūn b. Muslim was a little-known traditionist; he was an authority of 'Umar b. Shabbah.

165. 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ was a little-known traditionist.

166. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal was a Hāshimite, who later, in 65 (684), was nominated by the Baṣrans to the caliphate but he gave way to Ibn al-Zubayr's governor. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 404–10.

Qādisiyyah. [There] his mawlā, Mihrān,[167] fell behind. ʿUbaydallāh said to him, "Mihrān, are you in this predicament too? If you keep going until you see the palace, you will have a hundred thousand [dirhams]." However, Mihrān's answer was, "No, by God! I cannot."

ʿUbaydallāh stopped and took out clothes made of Yemenī cloth and put on a Yemenī band. He mounted his mule and traveled on by himself. As he passed the guard post, the guards, whenever they saw him, had no doubt that he was al-Ḥusayn. "Welcome, son of the Apostle of God," they said. But he did not speak to them. The people began to come out to him from their houses. Al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr heard them and locked the door on him and his entourage. ʿUbaydallāh came toward him, and al-Nuʿmān did not doubt that he was al-Ḥusayn, for around him was a crowd of people making a great noise. He called out, "I ask you in the name of God withdraw from me..., for I will not hand over my office (*amānah*) to you, and I have no wish to kill you." ʿUbaydallāh did not answer him but he went closer while the other man was hanging over the balcony. Then he began to say to him, "Open; you may not be able to, for you have been slumbering for
[244] a long time." A man behind him heard this and withdrew to the people. He said, "O people, it is Ibn Marjānah,[168] by Him other than Whom there is no deity." They replied, "Shame on you! It is none other than al-Ḥusayn." Then al-Nuʿmān opened the door for him, and he entered. They slammed the door in the face of the people, who dispersed.

In the morning, ʿUbaydallāh sat on the pulpit. He said, "People, I am aware that the men who marched with me and showed obedience to me are enemies of al-Ḥusayn, even though they thought that al-Ḥusayn had come into the land and gained ascendancy in the town. But, by God, I did not recognize any of you." Then he came down from the pulpit.

ʿUbaydallāh learnt that Muslim b. ʿAqīl had arrived the night before him and was staying within al-Kūfah. He summoned a mawlā of the Banū Tamīm and gave him some money. He told

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167. Mihrān seems to have been the personal servant of ʿUbaydallāh.

168. Marjānah was ʿUbaydallāh's mother. It was a disparaging way to refer to ʿUbaydallāh.

him, "Pretend to be believing in this matter and help them with the money. Go to Hāni' and Muslim, and stay with him." The mawlā went to Hāni' and told him that he was a member of the Shī'ah, and that he had some money to give.

In the meantime Sharīk b. al-A'war had become ill. He told Hāni', "Tell Muslim to come to me, for 'Ubaydallāh will pay me a sick visit." Sharīk said to Muslim, "Do you think that, if I gave you the opportunity, you would strike the head of 'Ubaydallāh with your sword?" Muslim replied, "Yes, by God!" 'Ubaydallāh did come to pay Sharīk a sick visit in the house of Hāni'. Sharīk had told Muslim, "When you hear me say, 'Give me a drink of water,' come out and strike him." 'Ubaydallāh sat beside Sharīk's bed and Mihrān stood behind him. When Sharīk called out, "Give me a drink of water," a servant girl came out with a cup. However, she saw Muslim and disappeared. Sharīk called out again, "Give me a drink of water." Then he called out a third time, "Shame on you! Do you prevent me from having water? Bring me a drink of water, even though my life is taken away by it." Mihrān realized the situation and winked at 'Ubaydallāh; he jumped up. Sharīk said, "Governor, I want to make my will to you." He replied, "I will come to visit you again," Mihrān began to hurry him away. Mihrān told him, "By God! He wanted you to be killed." He replied, "How is that possible with my kindness to Sharīk, and in the house of Hāni' whom my own father treated with great favor?"

When he got back he sent for Asmā' b. Khārijah[169] and Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath.

He told them, "Bring me Hāni'." They answered, "He will not [245]
come without a guarantee of safe-conduct." He said, "What does he want with a guarantee of safe-conduct? Has he done anything wrong? Go to him and, if he won't come without a guarantee of safe-conduct, give it to him." They went and asked him to come. He replied, "If 'Ubaydallāh gets hold of me, he will kill me." But they kept urging him and finally brought him while 'Ubaydallāh was delivering the Friday sermon and sat in the mosque. Hāni' combed his two plaits of hair [while he waited]. When 'Ubaydallāh had performed the prayer, he called out to Hāni'. The latter

169. Asmā' b. Khārijah was a tribal leader of Fazārah of Qays. See Wellhausen, *Religio-Political*, 117.

followed him, entered, and greeted him. ʿUbaydallāh said "Didn't you know, Hāniʾ, when my father came to this land, he did not spare the life of anyone of this Shīʿah except for your father and Ḥujr?[170] You know what happened to Ḥujr. Then he continued to treat you as well as a good companion. He wrote to the governor of al-Kūfah, 'All that I want from you is to take good care of Hāniʾ.'" Hāniʾ agreed. ʿUbaydallāh demanded, "Is my reward, then, that you hide a man in your house so that he may kill me?" Hāniʾ said, "I have not done such a thing." However, ʿUbaydallāh brought out the man from the tribe of Tamīm, who had been a spy on them. When Hāniʾ saw him, he realized that ʿUbaydallāh had been told [everything]. So he said, "Governor, what you have been told is true, but I will never ignore your favor to me. You and your family are guaranteed safe-conduct. Go wherever you wish." ʿUbaydallāh smoldered [with anger] at that. Mihrān was standing at his side with a cane in his hand, and he said to ʿUbaydallāh, "What a humiliation! This slave of a weaver guarantees your safe-conduct in [the province under] your authority!" ʿUbaydallāh said, "Seize him." He threw down the cane, took hold of the two plaits of Hāni"s hair, and pulled them across Hāni"s face. ʿUbaydallāh struck Hāniʾ on the face with the cane. The iron head of the cane came off and stuck into the wall. Then ʿUbaydallāh struck his face again; he broke Hāni"s nose and brow.

The people heard the uproar. The news reached the tribe of Madhḥij. They came and began to surround the building. ʿUbaydallāh ordered Hāniʾ to be thrown into a room while Madhḥij were shouting. ʿUbaydallāh ordered Mihrān to take Shurayḥ to Hāniʾ.
[246] Mihrān went out and took Shurayḥ to Hāniʾ, and the police came in with him. Hāniʾ appealed to him, "Shurayḥ, do you see what has been done to me?" Shurayḥ answered, "I see that you are alive." He retorted, "Am I alive despite what you can see? Tell my tribe that, if they go away, he will kill me." Shurayḥ went back to ʿUbaydallāh and said, "I saw that he was alive, but I saw marks of cruel [treatment]." He replied, "Do you deny the

170. Ḥujr b. ʿAdī was a Shīʿite whom ʿUbaydallāh's father, Ziyād, had first tried to reconcile. Then when he emerged in the revolution, Ziyād put the revolution down with force and sent him to Muʿāwiyah, who executed him. See Wellhausen, *Religio-Political*, 95–101.

governor the right to punish his subjects? Go out to those men and tell them." Shurayḥ went out, but 'Ubaydallāh ordered a man to accompany him. Shurayḥ called to them, "What is this wicked behavior? The man is alive. His governor has reprimanded him with a few blows without taking his life. Go away and do not give grounds for bringing punishment on yourselves and your colleague." So they went away.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mu'allā b. Kulayb—Abū al-Waddāk: Sharīk b. al-A'war stayed with Hāni' b. 'Urwah al-Murādī. Sharīk was a member of the Shī'ah and had been present at the Battle of Ṣiffīn with 'Ammār.[171]

When Muslim b. 'Aqīl heard of the coming of 'Ubaydallāh to al-Kūfah, of what he had said and his treatment of the *'arīfs* and the people, he left the house of al-Mukhtār, where he was well known, and went to the house of Hāni' b. 'Urwah al-Murādī. He came inside his door and sent in for Hāni' to come out. Hāni' did not want him to be there when he saw him, but Muslim said to him, "I have come to you that you should give me neighborly protection and make me your guest." Hāni' replied, "May God have mercy on you, you have put a great burden on me. If it were not for the fact of your entry into the house and your trust, I would have preferred to ask you to leave me. Yet a guarantee of protection is required of me. It is not possible for a person like me to refuse a person like you out of ignorance. Come in." The Shī'ah began to visit him in the house of Hāni' b. 'Urwah.

Ibn Ziyād summoned a mawlā of his called Ma'qil. He told him, "Take three thousand dirhams, and look for Muslim b. 'Aqīl and look for his followers. Give them these three thousand dirhams. Tell them to use it to help in the war against their enemy. Let them know that you are one of them, for if you give them the dirhams they will be sure of you, have confidence in you, and they will not keep any of their information hidden from [247] you. Then keep visiting them." Ma'qil did that. He traveled until he came near Muslim b. 'Awsajah al-Asadī of the Banū Sa'd b. Tha'labah in the Great Mosque. The latter was praying, and Ma'qil heard some people saying that this man had pledged al-

171. 'Ammār b. Yāsir was a famous Companion of the Prophet and supporter of 'Alī; he died in the Battle of Ṣiffīn. See *EI*², s.v. 'Ammār b. Yāsir.

legiance to al-Ḥusayn. He sat and waited until Muslim b. ʿAwsajah had finished praying. Maʿqil said, "O servant of God, I am a Syrian, a mawlā of Dhū al-Kalāʿ,[172] whom God has blessed with love for this House (*bayt*) and love for those who love them. Here are three thousand dirhams that I want to give to one of them whom I have learnt has come to al-Kūfah in order to receive oaths of allegiance on behalf of the son of the daughter of the Apostle of God. I have been wanting to meet him, but I have neither found anyone who will direct me to him nor anyone who knows the place. I was sitting [here] earlier and I heard a group of Muslims saying that there was a man who knew about this. Therefore I have come to you so that you may take this money and introduce me to your leader. If you wish, you may receive my oath of allegiance to him before my meeting him." Muslim b. ʿAwsajah replied, "I thank God for your meeting me, and it gives me joy that you will get what you desire; God should help the House of His Prophet through you. Yet your knowledge of my involvement in this affair before it has developed troubles me; I fear this tyrant and his severity." Before he left, he took his oath of allegiance and testaments, strongly supported by oaths that he would be sincere and keep the matter concealed. Maʿqil gave him whatever assurances would satisfy him. Muslim b. ʿAwsajah told him, "Come to me at my house regularly for some days, for I will seek permission for you [to visit] your master." He began to go to visit Muslim b. ʿAwsajah frequently with the people, and the latter sought permission for him.

Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwah fell ill, and ʿUbaydallāh came on a sick visit to him. ʿUmārah b. ʿUbayd al-Salūlī told Hāniʾ, "[The purpose of] our group and our planning is to kill this despot. Now God
[248] has given you power over him, so kill him." Hāniʾ replied, "I would not like him to be killed in my house." So ʿUbaydallāh left [unharmed].

Only a week later, Sharīk b. Aʿwar fell sick. He was held in great regard by Ibn Ziyād and other governors; yet he was a steadfast Shīʿite. ʿUbaydallāh sent to him that he should come to him in the evening. Sharīk said to Muslim, "This reprobate is going to

172. Dhū al-Kalāʿ was an important Yemenī family of Ḥimṣ. See Crone, *Slaves*, 95.

pay me a sick visit in the evening. When he is sitting down, come out against him and kill him. Then go and take his place in the palace, for no one will prevent you. If I recover from the pain during the next few days, I will go to al-Baṣrah and I will be able to take control of it on your behalf."

In the evening, 'Ubaydallāh set off to pay Sharīk a sick visit. Muslim b. 'Aqīl had taken up a strategic position in order that he could enter. Sharīk had said, "Don't let him escape you when he sits down." Hāni' b. 'Urwah rose and told Muslim b. 'Aqīl, "I don't want him to be killed in my house," as if he loathed that idea. Ibn Ziyād arrived and came in and sat down. He asked Sharīk about his illness, "What is it that you seem [to have] and when did you feel ill?" After Sharīk had spent a long time in answering him and he still saw that Muslim had not come out, he became afraid that Ibn Ziyād would escape and he began to recite: "What are you waiting for to greet Salmā? Quench my thirst [with a sip of water], even though my life is in that." He repeated that twice or three times. 'Ubaydallāh remarked, without discovering his real situation, "Have you noticed that he is talking deliriously?" Hāni' replied, "Yes, may God make you prosperous. This behavior has been going on from early this morning, when it was still dark, until now."

Ibn Ziyād rose and departed. Then Muslim came out. Sharīk [249] demanded, "What stopped you from killing him?" He replied, "Two things. One of them was Hāni''s dislike for him to be killed in his house. The other was a tradition that the people tell on the authority of the Prophet. 'Faith controls killing and a believer should not commit murder.'" Hāni' said, "By God! If you had killed him, you would have killed a grave sinner (*fāsiq*), a profligate (*fājir*), and an unbeliever (*kāfir*). Yet I disliked the idea of his being killed in my house."

Sharīk only lingered on for three nights after that, and then he died. Ibn Ziyād came out and led the prayer for him. Later, after he had killed Muslim and Hāni', Ibn Ziyād was told, "The words that you heard Sharīk speak during his illness were only to urge Muslim and tell him to come out to kill you." Ibn Ziyād retorted, "By God! I will never pray at the funeral of an Iraqī again. By God! If Ziyād were not buried among them, I would take Sharīk out of his grave."

Maʿqil, the mawlā of Ibn Ziyād, whom the latter had insinuated into [the circles of] Ibn ʿAqīl and his followers by money, had regularly visited Muslim b. ʿAwsajah for some days, so that Muslim b. ʿAwsajah would introduce him to Ibn ʿAqīl. After the death of Sharīk b. al-Aʿwar, Muslim b. ʿAwsajah brought Maʿqil to introduce him to Ibn ʿAqīl. Then Maʿqil got to know all the information about Ibn ʿAqīl. Muslim b. ʿAqīl received his oath of allegiance and told Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣāʿidī[173] to take the money that he had brought. The latter was the one who collected money from them in order to help each other; he used to buy their arms. He was an expert in weapons, one of the horsemen (*fāris*) of the Arabs and one of the notables of the Shīʿah. Maʿqil began to visit them regularly. He was the first to enter and the last to leave in order to hear all their news and to learn their secrets. Then he reported the secrets in the ear of Ibn Ziyād.

Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwah was in the habit of going every morning and evening to ʿUbaydallāh. When Muslim came to stay with him, he stopped going and pretended to be sick. He began not to go out. Ibn Ziyād asked those who did attend, "Why is it I don't see
[250] Hāniʾ?" They replied, "He is sick." Ibn Ziyād said, "If I had been informed of his illness, I would have paid him a sick visit."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Saʿīd:[174] ʿUbaydallāh summoned Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath and Asmāʾ b. Khārijah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥasan b. ʿUqbah al-Murādī:[175] ʿUbaydallāh sent ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī with them.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Waʿlah—Abū al-Waddāk: Rawʿah, sister of ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj, was married to Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwah; she was the mother of Yaḥyā b. Hāniʾ.[176]

ʿUbaydallāh asked them, "What prevents Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwah from coming to visit us?" They answered, "We don't know, may

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173. Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣāʿidī helped run the Shīʿah organization in al-Kūfah. He was able to join al-Ḥusayn; he died with him. See pp. 142–44, below.

174. Al-Mujālid b. Saʿīd was a well-known historical authority in al-Kūfah, who died in 144 [762]. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 210–11.

175. His name may be al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUqbah, for that name is also given as an authority of Abū Mikhnaf. He is unknown under either name. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 207.

176. Yaḥyā b. Hāniʾ also reported some accounts used by Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 224.

God make the governor prosperous, but it seems that he is sick." Ibn Ziyād replied, "I have heard that he has recovered and that he sits at the door of his house. Go and tell him that he should not abandon his duty toward us, for I do not like one of the Arab nobles like him to behave rudely to me." When he was sitting at his door, they went to him in the evening and stood in front of his house. They asked him, "What is preventing you from seeing the governor? He has mentioned you and said that, if he had been told you were ill, he would have paid you a sick visit." He answered, "An illness has prevented me." They said, "He has been informed that you sit at the door of your house every evening. He finds you tardy. Tardiness and churlish behavior are things that the authorities will not tolerate. We adjure you to ride with us."

He called for his clothes and got dressed. Then he called for a mule and rode with them. When he got near the palace, he began to feel some apprehension. He said to Ḥassān b. Asmā' b. Khārijah,[177] "Nephew, by God, I fear this man. What do you think?" Ḥassān replied, "By God! Uncle, I do not fear anything for you. Why do you make a pretext against yourself when you are innocent?"

They claimed that Asmā' did not know why 'Ubaydallāh had [251]
sent for Hāni' while Muḥammad did know.

The group went into 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, and [Hāni'] went in with them. When 'Ubaydallāh looked up, he said, "His own legs have brought you one who will be destroyed."[178]

'Ubaydallāh had just married Umm Nāfi' bt. 'Umārah b. 'Uqbah. When Hāni' had drawn near Ibn Ziyād, Shurayḥ, the qāḍī, was sitting with him. Ibn Ziyād turned toward Hāni' and recited:

I wish him all the good and yet he seeks my life.
Who would side with you against your friend from the tribe of Murād?[179]

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177. This appears to be the only time Ḥassān b. Asmā' is mentioned.

178. Arabic proverb. See note 87, above.

179. A verse recited by 'Alī when his future murderer, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muljam al-Murādī, gives the oath of allegiance to him. See Mufīd, *Irshād*, 7. The verse itself is well known and is attributed to 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib.

He was referring to his earlier kindness and gentleness to Hāniʾ. Hāniʾ asked "What is that, governor?" Ibn Ziyād replied, "Yes, Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwah, what are these matters that have been hatching in your houses against the Commander of the Faithful and the general community of the Muslims? You have brought Muslim b. ʿAqīl and taken him into your house. You have gathered arms and men for him in houses around you. You thought that was hidden from me." Hāniʾ said, "I have not done that, and Muslim is not with me." Ibn Ziyād declared, "O yes, you have!" Hāniʾ repeated his denial, and Ibn Ziyād [again] said, "Yes, you have!" After the argument between them had gone on for some time, and Hāniʾ persisted in contradicting and denying [the accusations], Ibn Ziyād summoned that spy, Maʿqil. He came and stood before him. Ibn Ziyād asked him whether he knew Hāniʾ, and he said that he did. At that Hāniʾ realized that he had been a spy against them and had brought information about them. For a moment he was bewildered; then his spirit returned to him. He said, "Listen to me and believe what I say. I swear by God that I do not lie. By God, other than Whom there is no deity! I did not summon him to my house. I did not know anything about his business until I saw him sitting at my door. He asked to stay with me. I was too ashamed to refuse him. As a result of that, the duty of giving him protection fell upon me. Therefore, I took him into my house and gave him lodging and refuge. Then his affair [developed] as you have been
[252] informed. If you wish, I will give you strongly sworn testaments and whatever you can trust that I will not do you any harm. If you wish, I will give you a guarantee that I will put in your hand to ensure that I return to you. Then I will go to him and order him to leave my house for wherever in the land he wants to go. Then I will be rid of his right of protection." Ibn Ziyād said "No, by God! You will never leave me unless you bring him." Hāniʾ refused, saying, "No, by God! I will not bring him to you. How could I bring you my guest so that you can kill him!" Ibn Ziyād [again] insisted, "By God! Bring him to me." Hāniʾ repeated, "By God! I will not bring him."

After the argument between them had gone on for some time, Muslim b. ʿAmr al-Bāhilī rose. There was no other Syrian or Baṣran in al-Kūfah except him. He said, "May God make the governor prosperous! Leave me with him so that I can speak to

him." He had seen Hāni"s obstinacy and refusal to comply with Ibn Ziyād's order. He told Hāni' to come over to him so that he could speak to him; he arose and took him aside from Ibn Ziyād. They were where Ibn Ziyād could see them. When they raised their voices, he could hear what they were saying. Muslim said to him, "I adjure you before God, Hāni', not to kill yourself and bring tribulation on your tribe and your clan. By God! I hold you too precious to be killed." Hāni' thought his clan would move to rescue him, but Muslim continued, "Ibn 'Aqīl is the cousin of the Umayyads, so they will neither kill him, nor harm him. Therefore deliver him to Ibn Ziyād. There will be no shame and blemish on you in doing that, for you would only be handing him over to the authorities." Hāni' replied, "By God! Indeed, there would be shame and disgrace for me if I were to hand over one who has come under my protection and is my guest, while I am still alive and sound. I can hear; I see well; I have a strong arm and many helpers. By God! If I were the only one without any helper, I would not hand him over until I had died on his behalf." He pressed further, but Hāni' went on saying, "By God! I will never hand him over to you."

Ibn Ziyād heard that and ordered him to be brought to him. They brought him, and Ibn Ziyād said to him, "By God! Bring Muslim b. 'Aqīl to me or I will have your head cut off." Hāni' replied, "Then there will be much flashing [of swords] around your house." Ibn Ziyād retorted, "That is your error. Do you frighten me with the flashing [of swords]?"

Hāni' thought his clan would defend him. Ibn Ziyād ordered [253
that he should be brought closer to him. He was brought nearer, and Ibn Ziyād struck his face with his cane; he went on beating at his nose, forehead and cheeks so that Hāni"s nose was broken and the blood flowed from it onto his clothes, and the flesh of his cheeks and forehead was splattered over his beard. Eventually the cane broke. Hāni' stretched out his hand toward the hilt of the sword of one of the police but the man pulled it away from him and prevented him. Ibn Ziyād yelled at him, "Have you become one of the Ḥarūrī today? So you have legally brought punishment on yourself. Therefore, killing you is permitted to us. Take him away and throw him into one of the rooms in the building. Lock the doors on him and put guards on him." That was done. How-

ever, Asmāʾ b. Khārijah arose and said, "Are we messengers of treachery from now on? You told us to bring the man to you. Yet, when we brought him to you, you smashed his nose and face; you made his blood flow on his beard. Then you claimed that you would kill him." ʿUbaydallāh said, "Are you still here?" And he ordered him to be struck and shaken. Then he was left in prison. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath said that the tribal leaders were satisfied with the governor's attitude, whether for them or against them; and that the governor was only giving due punishment. However, when it was reported to ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj that Hāniʾ had been killed, he advanced with Madhḥij and surrounded the palace. He had a great crowd with him. He called out, "I am ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj, and these are the horsemen and leading men of Madhḥij, who have neither broken away from obedience nor separated from the community. But it has been reported to them that their colleague has been killed; they regard that as a great crime."

ʿUbaydallāh was told that Madhḥij were at the gate. He told the qāḍī, Shurayḥ, to go in to their colleague, look at him and then go out and inform them that he was still alive and had not been killed, for he had seen him. Shurayḥ went in and looked at him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaqʿab b. Zuhayr—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ[180] heard Shurayh telling Ismāʿīl b.
[254] Ṭalḥah:[181] I went in to Hāniʾ. When Hāniʾ saw me, he said, with blood flowing down his beard, "Oh, God! Oh, Muslim! Has my clan perished? Where are the people of religion? Where are the people of the town? Have they vanished, abandoning me to their enemy and the son of their enemy?" When he heard the tumult at the door of the palace, and I was about to go out, he followed me and said, "I think those are the voices of Madhḥij and my group of the Muslims. If ten of them got in, they would be able to rescue me." I went out to them accompanied by Ḥumayd b. Bukayr al-Aḥmarī,[182] whom Ibn Ziyād had sent with me—he was a member

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180. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ later became one of the supporters of al-Mukhtār in his revolution. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 220.

181. Ismāʿīl was the son of Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh, who opposed ʿAlī at the Battle of the Camel.

182. Bakr in text has been emended to Bukayr as in *Addenda et Emendanda*, DLII. Ḥumayd b. Bukayr al-Aḥmarī was a member of the police, who was also present at the battle against al-Ḥusayn. See p. 164, below.

of his police who used to stand beside him. I swear by God that, if he had not been with me, I would have told Hāni"'s colleagues what Hāni' had asked me. But when I went out to them, I said, "When the governor learnt about your attitude and your statements concerning your colleague, he ordered me to go and see him. I went and I saw him. Then he ordered me to inform you that he is still alive; the report that he had been killed was false." 'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj and his colleagues praised God that he had not been killed. Then they went away.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alī—Muḥammad b. Bishr al-Hamdānī: When 'Ubaydallāh struck Hāni' and imprisoned him, he was afraid that because of it the people would create a disturbance. He went out and ascended the pulpit. With him were the nobles, his police and his entourage. After praising and glorifying God, he said, "O people, hold fast to obedience to God and to your imāms. Do not cause division and discord, for you will be destroyed, humiliated, killed, harshly treated or deprived. He who speaks the truth to you is your brother.[183] He who warns you is excused."[184] He was on the point of descending the pulpit, when the lookouts at the date sellers' gate of the mosque rushed in yelling, "Muslim b. 'Aqīl has come!" 'Ubaydallāh quickly went into the palace and locked the gates. [255]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd[185]—'Abdallāh b. Khāzim:[186] By God! I was Ibn 'Aqīl's messenger to the palace to see what became of Hāni'. When he was beaten and imprisoned, I mounted my horse and was the first to enter the house to bring information of him to Muslim b. 'Aqīl. There some women of Murād had gathered and they were crying out, "O calamity! O bereavement!" I went in to see Muslim with the news. He ordered me to summon his supporters. The houses around him were full of them. Of the eighteen thousand who had given him the oath of allegiance, there were four thousand men there. He

183. An Arabic proverb. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *akhw*.

184. An Arabic proverb meaning that the one who warns cannot be blamed for the punishment of those who ignore the warning. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *ndhr*.

185. Yūsuf b. Yazīd was a frequent authority of Abū Mikhnaf; otherwise he is unknown. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 226.

186. The only apparent report about 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim seems to concern this episode.

told me to yell with his battle cry *"yā manṣūr amit"* ("ye who have been promised victory, kill!").[187] So I cried out, *"yā manṣūr amit."* Then the Kūfans gathered around him.

Muslim gave the command of the quarter Kindah and Rabī'ah to 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uzayz al-Kindī.[188] He told him to go in front of him with the cavalry. He put Muslim b. 'Awsajah al-Asadī in charge of the Madhḥij and Asad quarter, and since he was in command of them he ordered Muslim to dismount with the foot soldiers. Over the quarter of Tamīm and Hamdān, he appointed Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣā'idī. He gave command of the quarter [of the people] from Medina to 'Abbās b. Ja'dah al-Jadalī.[189] Then he advanced toward the palace. When 'Ubaydallāh was informed of his coming, he barricaded himself in the palace and locked the gates.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—'Abbās al-Jadalī: Four thousand of us went out with Ibn 'Aqīl. When we reached the palace, we were only three hundred. Muslim began to move forward with the people from Murād until he had surrounded the palace. The people answered the call and gathered; it was only a short time before the mosque and the marketplace were full of people. They continued to gather until the afternoon (*masā'*). 'Ubaydallāh's situation was grim. All his energy was concentrated on holding the door of the palace, for he only had
[256] thirty members of his police, twenty nobles, and his family and mawālī with him in the palace. The nobles began to come to him through the door that adjoined the building of the Byzantines. Then those who were with Ibn Ziyād began to look down on the people. They looked down at them; they had to guard against the stones that the people threw at them as they cursed them. Nor were they remiss in cursing 'Ubaydallāh and his father. Ibn Ziyād summoned Kathīr b. Shihāb b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥārithī[190] and ordered

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187. This was the battle cry used at Badr by the Muslims. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 8.

188. The only apparent report about 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uzayz al-Kindī seems to concern this episode.

189. The only apparent report about 'Abbās b. Ja'dah al-Jadalī seems to concern this episode.

190. Kathīr b. Shihāb b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥārithī was a powerful Yemenī tribal leader, whose influence was only reported on this occasion, for he took the leading role in sending away Madhḥij. In this attempted revolt, the other important Madhḥij leader, 'Amr b. al-Zubaydī, seems to have played no part on either side.

him to go out among those of Madhḥij who obeyed him, to go round al-Kūfah and to make the people desert Ibn 'Aqīl; he should make them afraid of war and threaten them with the authorities' punishment. Then he ordered Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath to go out among those of Kindah and Ḥaḍramawt who obeyed him; he should raise a standard that would guarantee safe-conduct to those people who came to him. He gave similar instructions to al-Qa'qā' b. Shawr al-Dhuhlī,[191] Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Tamīmī, Ḥajjār b. Abjar al-'Ijlī' and Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan al-'Āmirī.[192] He kept the rest of the nobles of the people with him, not wishing to be without them because of the small number of people who were with him. Kathīr b. Shihāb went out and encouraged the people to desert Muslim.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī:[193] Kathīr met a man from Kalb called 'Abd al-A'lā b. Yazīd.[194] He was carrying arms with the intention of joining Ibn 'Aqīl with his fellow youths. He seized him and took him to Ibn Ziyād. Kathīr told Ibn Ziyād about the man, but the man told Ibn Ziyād that he had been intending to come to him. Ibn Ziyād retorted, "Sure! Sure! I remember that you promised me that!" Ibn Ziyād ordered the man to be imprisoned.

Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath went out until he reached the houses of the Banū 'Umārah. 'Umārah b. Ṣalkhab al-Azdī[195] came to him; he was on his way to Ibn 'Aqīl and was carrying arms. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath seized him and sent him to Ibn Ziyād, who imprisoned him. Ibn 'Aqīl sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ [257] al-Shibāmī against Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath from the mosque. When Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath saw the great number of those who had come against him, he deviated and held back. Al-Qa'qā'

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191. Al-Qa'qā' b. Shawr al-Dhuhlī was one of the tribal leaders in al-Kūfah.

192. Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan al-'Āmirī was a Yemenī tribal leader in al-Kūfah; he fought for 'Alī at Ṣiffīn but later switched sides. He was killed by al-Mukhtār in vengeance for the part he played against al-Ḥusayn. See Ṭabarī, I, 3305; II, 661–63.

193. Abū Janāb al-Kalbī's name was Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥayyah. He was a well-known traditionist and an authority of Abū Mikhnaf; he died in 147 (764). See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 223–24.

194. 'Abd al-A'lā b. Yazīd was only mentioned with regard to this incident and his execution for his part in it. See p. 62, below.

195. 'Umārah b. Ṣalkhab al-Azdī was only mentioned with regard to this incident and his execution for his part in it. See p. 62, below.

b. Shawr al-Dhuhlī then sent to Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, "I have gone around Ibn ʿAqīl from al-ʿArār.[196] Stay away from his position." He went back to Ibn Ziyād through the building of the Byzantines.

When Kathīr b. Shihāb, Muḥammad and al-Qaʿqāʿ, together with those of their tribesmen who obeyed them, had gathered with Ibn Ziyād, Kathīr spoke to him while they were giving sincere advice to Ibn Ziyād. Kathīr b. Shihāb said, "May God make the governor prosperous. You have many of the nobles of the people with you, [as well as] your police, family, and servants. Let us go out against them." ʿUbaydallāh refused, but he gave Shabath b. Ribʿī a standard and sent him out.

The people with Ibn ʿAqīl continued to increase and gather until the afternoon. Their situation was strong. ʿUbaydallāh sent for the nobles and assembled them. Then he said to them, "Look down on the people; promise additional [money] and kind treatment to those who obey. Intimidate the disobedient with [threats of] dispossession and punishment and tell them that the army from Syria is on the march toward them."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid[197]—ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim al-Kuthayrī of the clan of Kuthayr in the tribe of Azd: The nobles looked down on us. Kathīr b. Shihāb, the foremost of the people, spoke until the sun was about to set. He said, "O people, go back to your families. Do not hurry into evil actions. Do not expose yourselves to death. These are the soldiers of the Commander of the Faithful, Yazīd, who are approaching. The governor has given God a promise that, if you persist in fighting him and do not go away by nightfall, he will deprive your children of their [right to a] state allotment of money (*ʿaṭāʾ*). Also
[258] he will scatter your soldiers in Syrian campaigns without rations (*ṭamaʿ*), holding the healthy responsible for the sick and those present for those who are absent until none of the rebellious people remain who have not tasted the evil consequences of what their hands have earned." The other nobles spoke in a similar vein.

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196. Al-ʿArār seems to have been the name of a place in al-Kūfah.

197. Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid was a frequent authority of Abū Mikhnaf; however, he does not seem to have been used by other historians. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 217.

After the people had heard what they had to say, they began to disperse and go away.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd: Women began to come to their sons and brothers, urging them to go away as the people would be enough without them. Every man went to his son or his brother telling him, "Tomorrow, the Syrians will come against you. What have you to do with war and this evil doing? Go away." Thus, each took someone away. They continued to disperse so that by the time evening came Muslim b. 'Aqīl only had thirty men with him in the mosque. At the evening prayer Muslim b. 'Aqīl prayed with only thirty men. When he saw that it was evening, and he only had a small group with him, he left the mosque and headed for the gates of Kindah. He reached the gates with only ten of his men with him. When he left the gate, there was no one with him. He looked around but could see no one to guide him along the road, no one to show him to a house or to give him personal support if an enemy appeared before him.

He wandered amid the lanes of al-Kūfah, turning to right and left without knowing where he was going until he came to the houses of the Banū Jabalah of Kindah. He walked on until he came to a door where there was a woman called Ṭaw'ah. She had been a slave wife[198] of al-Ash'ath b. Qays; he had freed her. She had then married Asīd al-Ḥaḍramī[199] and she had borne him [a son called] Bilāl. Bilāl had gone out with the people, and his mother was standing at the door waiting for him. Ibn 'Aqīl greeted her and she returned the greeting. He said, "Servant of God, give me water to drink." She entered her house and brought him a drink; he sat down. She took the vessel inside and then came out again asking, "Servant of God, haven't you had your drink?" He [259] replied, "Yes." She told him to go to his people but he was silent.

198. The Arabic is *umm walad*. This is a term used to denote a concubine who has given birth to a child whom the master has recognized as his own; therefore, the child becomes free. There was a tendency for these women to be given their freedom, at least on the death of their masters. While the translation "slave wife" is not a complete description, it seems closest to the concubine's situation. See J. Schacht, *Origins*, 264–65. Neither she nor her son Bilāl was mentioned after this event.

199. Asīd b. Mālik al-Ḥaḍramī was present at the battle against al-Ḥusayn and was said to have killed 'Abdallāh b. Muslim b. 'Aqīl there. See p. 181, below.

She repeated it but he was still silent. A third time she said, "Fear God in [your treatment of] me! Glory be to God! Servant of God, go to your people. May God give you health. It is not right for you to sit at my door; I will not permit you to do it any longer." He got up and said, "Servant of God, I have neither house nor clan in this town. Would you show me some generosity and kindness? Perhaps I will be able to repay you later on." She asked him who he was, and he told her that he was Muslim b. 'Aqīl, and that the Kūfans had lied to him and incited him. She repeated, "Are you really Muslim?" He said, "Yes." She told him to enter her home. She took him into a room in her house but not the room that she used. She spread out a carpet for him and offered him supper, but he could not eat.

Soon her son returned. He saw her going to and fro between the rooms and exclaimed, "By God! The number of times that you have gone into and come out of that room this evening makes me suspect that you are occupied in something important." She answered, "My little son, forget about this." However, he insisted, "By God! Tell me." She told him to get on with his own business and not to ask her about anything. But he persisted until she said, "My little son, don't tell any of the people anything about what I am going to tell you." She made him take an oath. After he had sworn, she told him. Then he went to bed without saying anything. Some claim that he was a mere fugitive, while others say that he was drinking with his friends that night.

A long time passed for Ibn Ziyād. He did not hear the supporters of Ibn 'Aqīl as he had heard them before. He told his followers to look down at the people and see whether they could see any of them. They looked down and did not see anyone. Then he told them to see whether the people were in the shadows, lying in ambush for them. Ibn Ziyād's followers ascended the central parts [of the walls] of the mosque; they lowered the torches of fire in their hands, so that they could see whether there was anyone in the shadows. Sometimes the torches gave enough light and sometimes they did not give as much light as the followers would
[260] have wished. They let down the torches and sticks of cane tied with ropes that were set on fire. They were lowered until they reached the ground. They did this in [places of] the deepest darkness, as well as those parts that were closer and those that were in

between. They also did that in the darkness around the pulpit. When they saw that there was nothing in the shadows, they informed Ibn Ziyād. Then he opened the doorway into the mosque. He came out and ascended the pulpit. His followers also came out with him. He told them to sit around him for a little while before the night prayer. He ordered 'Amr b. Nāfi'[200] to call out that there would only be a guarantee of safe-conduct for any man of the police, the *'arīfs*, the supporters, and the fighters who prayed the night prayer in the mosque. Not an hour passed before the mosque was full of people. After ordering his caller [to call for prayer], he began the prayer. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm[201] said to him, "Either you pray with the people or someone else should pray with them while you go into the palace and pray there. This is up to you. I am afraid you will not be secure here against any of your enemies' trying to assassinate you." 'Ubaydallāh told him, "Order my guard to stand behind me just as they used to do and go round among them. I am not going inside."

After praying with the people, he stood up. He praised and glorified God, saying, "... Ibn 'Aqīl, stupid and ignorant man as he is, has attempted the opposition and rebellion that you have seen. There will be no security from God for a man in whose house we find him. Whoever brings him will have the reward for his blood. Fear God, you servants of God, and keep to obedience and your oath of allegiance. Do not do anything against yourselves. Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm, may your mother lose you if any of the gates of the lanes of al-Kūfah are open, or this man gets away, and you do not bring him to me. I give you authority over the houses of the inhabitants of al-Kūfah. Send lookouts to the entrances of the lanes. Tomorrow morning clear the people from the houses. Search their houses thoroughly so that you can bring me this man."

Al-Ḥuṣayn was in charge of the police and was of the Banū Tamīm. After this, Ibn Ziyād went back into the palace. He gave [261] 'Amr b. Ḥurayth his standard and put him in charge of the people. In the morning, he held an assembly and gave permission for

200. 'Amr b. Nāfi' was the secretary of 'Ubaydallāh. See p. 63, below.

201. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm was in charge of 'Ubaydallāh's police in al-Kūfah; he played an active part in the defeat of al-Ḥusayn.

people to come to him. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath approached. Ibn Ziyād said to him, "Welcome to one of those whose loyalty is above suspicion." Ibn Ziyād sat Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath by his side.

That same morning the son of that old woman—he was Bilāl b. Asīd; it was his mother who had given refuge to Ibn 'Aqīl—went to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath and told him about Muslim b. 'Aqīl being with his mother. 'Abd al-Raḥmān went to his father, who was with Ibn Ziyād and whispered the secret to him. Ibn Ziyād asked what he had said, and Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath answered that he had told him that Ibn 'Aqīl was in one of their houses. Ibn Ziyād poked a cane into his side and told him, "Get up and bring him to me immediately."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Qudāmah b. Sa'īd b. Zā'idah b. Qudāmah al-Thaqafī:[202] When Ibn al-Ash'ath arose to bring Ibn 'Aqīl to Ibn Ziyād, the latter sent to 'Amr b. Ḥurayth, who was his deputy in leading the people in the mosque, that he should send sixty or seventy men, all from the tribal grouping of Qays, with Ibn al-Ash'ath. He was unwilling to send Ibn al-Ash'ath's own tribal grouping (*qawm*) because he was aware that every tribe [of the group] would be unwilling that a man like Ibn 'Aqīl should be found and arrested among them. 'Amr b. Ḥurayth sent 'Amr b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās al-Sulamī[203] and with him sixty or seventy men from Qays. They went to the house where Muslim b. 'Aqīl was staying. When the latter heard the beating of horses' hooves and the voices of men, he knew that they had come for him. He was about to strike out against them with his sword drawn, but they rushed blindly at him into the house. He fell upon them and struck them with his sword; he drove them out of the house. They repeated the attack, and Muslim counterattacked in the same way. Bukayr b. Ḥumrān al-Aḥmarī[204] exchanged blows with him. Bukayr struck him in the mouth, cutting his top lip and slicing down to the lower lip; he knocked out two of

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202. Qudāmah b. Sa'īd was an authority of Abū Mikhnaf but only for this incident. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 216.

203. 'Amr b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās al-Sulamī was mentioned in connection with this incident.

204. Bukayr b. Ḥumrān al-Aḥmarī was an assistant of the officials in al-Kūfah, who helped Ziyād against Ḥujr b. 'Adī. See Ṭabarī, II, 129–30.

Muslim's teeth. Muslim struck him a terrible blow on the head and repeated it, cutting a nerve along his shoulder. The blow [262] almost reached Bukayr's stomach. When the people saw this, they [went up and] looked down on Muslim from the upper part of the house and began to hurl stones at him. They also lit sticks of cane with fire and threw them at him from the top of the house. When he saw that, he went out against them into the lane with his sword drawn and fought them. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath came toward him, saying, "Young man, you can have my guarantee of safe-conduct. Don't kill yourself." However, he continued to fight against the people, saying:

I swear I will only be killed as a free man,
Even though I see death as something horrible.
Every man one day will meet an evil.
Then the cold will be blended with a bitter heat
And the ray of the sun will be deflected and the sun will [forever] set.
I fear that I will be cheated and deluded.[205]

Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath assured Muslim that he would not be cheated, deluded or deceived. He told him that the Umayyads were his cousins; they would not kill or strike him. Muslim had been oppressed by the stones and weakened by the fighting. He was out of breath, so he propped his back up against the wall of the house. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath came closer and said, "You can have a guarantee of safe-conduct." When Muslim asked whether he was really granted safe-conduct, Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath said, "Yes." The people also said, "You are given a [263] guarantee of safe-conduct," except 'Amr b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās al-Sulamī. He said as he turned aside, "I will have no part in this."[206] Muslim declared, "Had you not granted me safe-conduct, I would not have put my hand in yours."

A mule was brought, and he mounted, but then they gathered around him and pulled his sword out of his grasp. At that he was in despair for his life, and his eyes filled with tears. He cried out,

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205. These verses with slight variations are quoted by Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī. See Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, V, 93.

206. Literally, "I will have no she-camel or male camel in this."

"This is the beginning of betrayal." Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath said, "I hope no harm will come to you." Muslim asked, "Is it only hope? Where then is your guarantee of safe-conduct? Indeed we belong to God and to Him we shall return."[207] And he started weeping. ʿAmr b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās goaded him saying, "One who has sought for the like of what you have sought for should not weep when there befalls him what has befallen you." Muslim replied, "I do not weep for myself, nor do I grieve for my own death, even though I have not the slightest desire for destruction. But I am weeping for my family who are coming to me. I am weeping for Ḥusayn and the family of Ḥusayn."

Then he went closer to Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath and said, "O servant of God, by God, I see that you are unable to grant me a guarantee of safe-conduct. Yet do you have the goodness to send one of your men with my message so that it will get to Ḥusayn? For I have no doubt that he has now set out toward you, or will be setting out soon with his family. That was the reason for my outburst of grief. The message will say: 'Ibn ʿAqīl has sent me to you. He is a prisoner in the hands of the people, and he does not think that you should come to be killed. He says that you should return with your family and not let the Kūfans tempt you, for they were the followers of your father, yet he desired to leave them, even through death or murder. The Kūfans have lied to you and lied to me. A liar has no judgment.'" Ibn al-Ashʿath said, "By God! I will do that, and I will inform Ibn Ziyād that I have given you a guarantee of safe-conduct."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Jaʿfar b. Ḥudhayfah al-Ṭāʾī[208]—
[264] Saʿīd b. Shaybān[209] also knew the report: Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath summoned Iyās b. al-ʿAthl al-Ṭāʾī, of the Banū Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Thumāmah, who was a poet[210] and frequently visited Muḥammad. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath told him, "Meet Ḥusayn and give him this letter." In the letter was written what Ibn ʿAqīl had told him. Then he said to him, "Here are your provisions,

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207. Qurʾān, 2:156 (151).

208. Jaʿfar b. Ḥudhayfah al-Ṭāʾī was a traditionist and an authority of Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 203.

209. Saʿīd b. Shaybān is an unknown authority who only seems to report this account.

210. Neither Iyās b. al-ʿAthl nor his poetry seems to be known.

equipment and goods for your family." Iyās asked, "Where will I get a mount, for I have exhausted my own animal?" Ibn al-Ash'ath said, "Here is a mount. Ride it for this journey."

Iyās departed and met al-Ḥusayn at Zubālah[211] four nights later. He gave him the news and handed him the message. Ḥusayn said, "Everything that has been decreed will come to pass. We find satisfaction and recompense for ourselves and our corrupted community with God."

When Muslim b. 'Aqīl had moved to Hāni' b. 'Urwah's house and eighteen thousand had given the oath of allegiance to him, he had sent a letter to Ḥusayn with 'Ābis b. Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī: "The trusted early messenger does not lie to his own people. Eighteen thousand of the Kūfans have given the oath of allegiance to you. Hurry and come when my letter reaches you. All the people are with you. None of them has any regard or desire for the clan of Mu'āwiyah. Peace be with you."

Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath went with Ibn 'Aqīl to the door of the palace. He asked permission to enter. Permission was given him. He gave a report to 'Ubaydallāh about Ibn 'Aqīl and Bukayr's blow against him. 'Ubaydallāh said, "May God destroy him." Then Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath told him about what he had done and about his own guarantee of safe-conduct to him. 'Ubaydallāh said, "What have you to do with a guarantee of safe-conduct? As if we sent you to guarantee him safe-conduct when we only sent you to bring him!" Ibn al-Ash'ath fell silent.

Ibn 'Aqīl came to the door of the palace and he was thirsty. At the palace door there were people sitting waiting for permission to enter. Among them were 'Umārah b. 'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayṭ, 'Amr b. Ḥurayth, Muslim b. 'Amr and Kathīr b. Shihāb.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Qudāmah b. Sa'īd:[212] When [265]
Muslim b. 'Aqīl came to the palace door there was a jug of cold water that had been placed at the doorway. He asked, "Give me a drink of that water." Muslim b. 'Amr said, "See how cold it is. By God! You will never taste a drop of it until you taste the heat

211. Zubālah was a well-known halt on the road from Mecca to al-Kūfah. When a traveler approached from Mecca, it was before the low ground leading toward al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 912.

212. Sa'd has been emended to Sa'īd as in the *isnād* on p. 54, above.

of Hell-fire." Ibn 'Aqīl cried out, "Shame on you. Who are you?" Muslim b. 'Amr al-Bāhilī retorted, "I am the one who recognized the truth when you denied it, the one who was sincere to his imām when you deceived him, and the one who was attentive and obedient to him when you rebelled against him and opposed him. I am Muslim b. 'Amr al-Bāhilī." Ibn 'Aqīl said, "May your mother be bereft of a son! How coarse you are, how rough, how hard your heart is, how rude you are! Man of Bāhilah, you are more appropriate for the heat of Hell-fire and to remain there forever than I am." He sat down, propping himself against a wall.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Qudāmah b. Sa'īd:[213] 'Amr b. Ḥurayth sent a boy called Sulaymān to bring him water in the jug in order to give him a drink.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sa'īd b. Mudrik b. 'Umārah:[214] 'Umārah b. 'Uqbah sent a boy of his called Qays to bring him a jug with a napkin and a cup. He poured water into the cup and gave Muslim a drink. But, whenever he went to drink, he filled the cup with blood. When he filled the cup for the third time, he went to drink but his two teeth fell into the cup. He said, "Praise be to God! If it had been a provision granted me, I could have drunk it."

Muslim was taken into Ibn Ziyād; however, he did not greet him as governor. The guard demanded, "Don't you greet the governor?" He replied, "If he wants my death, what is the point of my greeting him with words of peace? If he did not want my death, my greetings of peace to him would be profuse." Ibn Ziyād said, "By my life! You will be killed." Muslim said, "Is it so?" He replied that, indeed, it was. Then Muslim asked if he could make his will to one of his fellow tribesmen. Ibn Ziyād agreed.

Muslim looked at those sitting with 'Ubaydallāh. Among them was 'Umar b. Sa'd (b. Abī Waqqāṣ). He said to him, "'Umar, there is kinship between you and me and I have a need that you could carry out successfully. But it is secret." 'Umar refused to let him say anything. However, 'Ubaydallāh told him not to
[266] refuse to consider the need of his cousin. So 'Umar got up with

213. Sa'd has been emended to Sa'īd as on p. 54, above.
214. This appears to have been the only report from Sa'īd b. Mudrik b. 'Umārah; he is otherwise unknown.

him and sat where Ibn Ziyād could watch him. Muslim said, "I have a debt in al-Kūfah. I borrowed seven hundred dirhams when I came to al-Kūfah. Pay it for me. Take care of my corpse. Ask Ibn Ziyād to give it to you and then bury my body. Send someone to Ḥusayn to tell him to return, for I have written to him telling him that the people are with him and now I can only think that he is coming."

'Umar said to Ibn Ziyād, "Do you know what he said to me, governor? He mentioned these things." Ibn Ziyād replied, "The faithful would not betray you, but the traitor might be confided in. As for your money, it is yours. We will not prevent you from doing with it what you like. As for Ḥusayn, if he does not intend harm to us, we will not intend harm to him. As for his body, we will never accept your intercession with regard to it. He is not worthy of being granted that. He fought against us and opposed us; he strove for our destruction." They also claim that he said, "As for the body when we have killed it, we do not care what is done with the corpse."

Then Ibn Ziyād said, "Ibn 'Aqīl, you came to the people while they were all united and [spoke] with one voice; you scattered them and divided their opinions so that they attacked each other." Ibn 'Aqīl replied, "I did not come for that, but the people of the town claimed that your father had killed their best men, shed their blood and appointed governors among them like the governors of Chosroe and Caesar. We came to enjoin justice and to urge rule by the Book." Ibn Ziyād exclaimed. "What have you to do with that, you great sinner? Have we not done that among them when you were drinking wine in Medina?" Muslim cried out, "I, drink wine! By God! God knows you are not speaking the truth and have spoken without any knowledge, for I am not like you have said. It is more appropriate to be described as a wine drinker then a man who laps the blood of Muslims, who takes the life that God has forbidden, who takes life when no other life [has been taken], who sheds inviolable blood, and who kills out of usurpation, enmity and evil opinion, while he enjoys himself and plays as if he had done nothing." Ibn Ziyād shouted, "You great sinner! Your own soul made you desire what God denied you, for God did not regard you as worthy of it." Muslim replied, "Who is then worthy of it, Ibn Ziyād?" Ibn Ziyād answered, "The [267]

Commander of the Faithful, Yazīd." Muslim declared, "Praise be to God! We will accept God's judgment between you and us in every circumstance." Ibn Ziyād remarked, "You speak as if you think that you have some right in the matter." Muslim answered, "By God! It is not opinion but certainty." At this Ibn Ziyād declared, "May God kill me, if I do not kill you in such a way as no one in Islam has been killed before." Muslim retorted, "You are the person with the most right to commit crimes of innovation in Islam. You will never abandon evil murder, wicked punishment, shameful practice, and avaricious domination. None of the people is more worthy of these things than you." Ibn Sumayyah[215] began to curse him, and to curse Ḥusayn, ʿAlī, and ʿAqīl, while Muslim did not speak to him.

The authorities (*ahl al-ʿilm*) claim that ʿUbaydallāh ordered him to be given water in a common earthenware vessel. Then he said, "Only our unwillingness that you should become protected by drinking from it prevented us from giving you a drink from it [earlier] and then killing you. It is for that reason that we have given you a drink in this way." Then he ordered, "Take him up to the top of the palace, cut off his head and throw his body after his head." Muslim said, "Ibn al-Ashʿath, if you had not given me a guarantee of safe-conduct, I would not have surrendered. Therefore, arise with your sword on my behalf and let your pledge be fulfilled." Then he said, "Ibn Ziyād, by God, if there were any kinship between you and me, you would not kill me." Ibn Ziyād asked where the man was whose head and shoulder Ibn ʿAqīl had struck with his sword. He was summoned, and Ibn Ziyād told him to climb up and be the one who cut his head off. He ascended with him. Muslim said, "God is greater." He sought forgiveness from God and prayed for blessings to be with His angels and His Apostle, saying: "O God, judge between us and a people who have enticed us, lied against us and humiliated us." They took him to a part

215. Ibn Sumayyah is a reference to the prostitute mother of ʿUbaydallāh's father, Ziyād. Ziyād has been persuaded to join Muʿāwiyah by the latter, declaring that Muʿāwiyah's own father Abū Sufyān had fathered Ziyād when he had visited Sumayyah in al-Ṭāʾif. See Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 86. It should be noted that this appellation is not given to ʿUbaydallāh as part of the dialogue but by the narrator himself, who is clearly indicating where his sympathies lay.

that overlooked where the butchers are today. His head was cut off, and his body was thrown after his head.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaq'ab b. Zuhayr—'Awn b. Abī Juḥayfah:[216] The Aḥmarī, Bukayr b. Ḥumrān, who killed Muslim came down, and Ibn Ziyād asked him if he had killed him? He answered that he had, and Ibn Ziyād asked him what [268] Muslim had been saying while he was climbing to the top of the palace with him? He told him, "He was saying, 'God is greater.' He glorified God and sought His forgiveness. When I approached him to kill him, he said, 'O God, judge between us and a people who lied to us, deceived us, betrayed us and killed us!' I said to him, 'Come near me, praise be to God Who has given me vengeance over you.' Then I struck him a blow that was not sufficient for anything. He said, 'Slave, don't you see that a scratch that you can make on me is a suitable payment for your own blood?'" Ibn Ziyād remarked, "Proud, even in the face of death." Bukayr continued, "Then I struck him a second time and killed him."

Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath then approached 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād and spoke to him of Hāni' b. 'Urwah. He said, "You know of the position of Hāni' b. 'Urwah in the town and the position of his house in the clan. His tribe knows that I and my colleague brought him to you. I adjure you before God, hand him over to me, for I would not like to face the enmity of his tribe. They are the most powerful people in the town and the most numerous among the Yemenīs." Ibn Ziyād promised to do what he could but, since the affair of Muslim b. 'Aqīl had gone the way it had gone, he had changed his mind about Hāni'. He refused to do what he had promised. After Muslim b. 'Aqīl had been killed, he ordered Hāni' b. 'Urwah to be taken to the market and his head to be cut off.

Hāni' was taken in bonds until he was brought to a place where sheep were sold. He began to shout, "O Madhḥij! There is no Madhḥij for me today. O Madhḥij! And how to get to Madhḥij?" When he realized that no one was going to help him, he pulled his

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216. Erroneously given as 'Awf in the text; see *Addenda et Emendanda*, DCLII. 'Awn b. Abī Juḥayfah is a traditionist who may have been present at these events; however, he would have been very young, for he died in 116 (734). See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 190.

hand and wrenched it free of the bond, crying, "Is there no stick, knife, stone or bone with which a man can defend his life?" They jumped upon him and tied the bonds tightly. He was told to stretch out his neck, but he answered, "I am not one who generously gives away my life. I will not help you to take my life." A Turkish mawlā of ʿUbaydallāh called Rashīd[217] struck him with a sword, but it did not do anything. Hāniʾ called out, "To God is
[269] the return. O God! To Your mercy and Your paradise." Then Rashīd struck him with another blow and killed him.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Murādī[218] saw Rashīd later at Khāzir while the letter was with ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. The people said that he was the killer of Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwah. Ibn al-Ḥuṣayn declared, "May God kill me if I do not kill him, or may I be killed instead of him." He attacked him with a spear that he thrust into him. He killed him.

After Muslim b. ʿAqīl and Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwah had been killed, ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād summoned ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Kalbī whom Kathīr b. Shihāb had apprehended with the Banū Fityān. He was brought, and ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād asked him to tell him about what happened to him. He said, "May God make you prosperous, I went out to see what the people were doing, and Kathīr b. Shihāb apprehended me." ʿUbaydallāh said, "You must give solemnly sworn oaths that you only went out for the reasons that you claim." He refused to swear. So ʿUbaydallāh ordered him to be taken to the cemetery of al-Sabīʿ and that his head be cut off there. He was taken and executed. He [also] had ʿUmārah b. Ṣalkhab al-Azdī brought—he was one of those who had intended to help Muslim b. ʿAqīl—and ʿUbaydallāh asked him from which tribe he was. ʿUmārah b. Ṣalkhab answered that he was from Azd. ʿUbaydallāh ordered that he should be taken to his people and his head cut off.

Concerning the killing of Muslim b. ʿAqīl and Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwah, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zabīr al-Asadī said—it is also claimed that al-Farazdaq said [these words]:[219]

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217. Rashīd does not seem to have been mentioned in any other context.

218. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Murādī does not seem to have been mentioned in any other context.

219. Some of these verses were quoted earlier. See pp. 21–22, above.

If you do not know what death is, then look
at Hāni' and Ibn 'Aqīl in the marketplace.
Look at a hero whose face the sword has covered with wounds
and another who fell dead from a high place.
The command of the governor struck them down, [270]
and they became legends for those who travel on every road.
You see a corpse whose color death has changed
and a spattering of blood that has flowed abundantly,
A young man who was even more bashful than a shy young woman
yet was more decisive than the polished blade of a two-edged sword.
Is Asmā' riding in peace a mount that moves at walking pace
while Madhḥij seeks vengeance against him?
All Murād throng around him. Each one of them,
whether a questioner or a questioned, is apprehensively watchful.
If you do not avenge your two brothers,
then be harlots, satisfied with little.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥayyah al-Kalbī: When Muslim and Hāni' were killed, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād sent their heads with Hāni' b. Abī Ḥayyah al-Wādi'ī[220] and al-Zubayr b. al-Arwaḥ al-Tamīmī[221] to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah. He ordered his secretary (*kātib*), 'Amr b. Nāfi', to write to Yazīd about what had happened to Muslim and Hāni'. The secretary wrote. He was very elaborate. He was the first to be elaborate in writing letters. When 'Ubaydallāh saw the letter, he disliked it. He said "What is this prolixity and this excess? Write: 'Praise be to God, Who has exacted the dues of the Commander of the [271] Faithful and given him sufficient provisions against his enemy. I inform the Commander of the Faithful, may God be generous to him, that Muslim b. 'Aqīl took refuge in the house of Hāni' b. 'Urwah al-Murādī. I set spies on them and concealed men against them. I tricked them until I brought them out. God gave me

220. Hāni' b. Abī Ḥayyah al-Wādi'ī was from the tribe of Hamdān and was anti-Shī'ite in his attitude. He bore witness against Ḥujr b. 'Adī earlier and tried to incriminate al-Mukhtār later. See Ṭabarī, II, 134 and 521.

221. Al-Zubayr b. al-Arwaḥ al-Tamīmī seems to have had a pro-Umayyad attitude. Later he fought for al-Ḥajjāj against the Khārijites. See Ṭabarī, II, 890.

power over them. Thus, I brought them forward and had them executed. I have sent their heads to you with Hāni' b. Abī Ḥayyah al-Hamdānī and al-Zubayr b. Arwaḥ al-Tamīmī. They are both people who are attentive and in obedience to you, and they are sincere. Let the Commander of the Faithful ask them whatever he wants to know about the affair, for they have knowledge and truth, understanding and self-restraint. Farewell. Peace be with you."

Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah wrote back: "You have not gone beyond how I wanted you to be. You have acted with decision. You have launched into the attack with the violence of a man who has control of his emotions. You have satisfied me, been sufficient for the task, corroborated my view of you and my opinion of you. I have summoned your two messengers, questioned them, and talked to them. I found them in their views and their merit as you had mentioned. Receive them both with kindness on my recommendation. I have been informed that al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī has set out for Iraq. Therefore set lookouts and watches, and be vigilant against suspicious characters. Arrest anyone on suspicion but only kill those who fight against you. Write to me about all the news that occurs. Peace and the mercy of God be with you."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣa'qab b. Zuhayr—'Awn b. Abī Juḥayfah: Muslim b. 'Aqīl's rising in al-Kūfah was on Tuesday, 8 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, A.H. 60 (September 9, 680).[222] It is [also] said that it was on Wednesday, 7 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, A.H. 60 (September 8, 680). The Day of 'Arafah was the day after al-Ḥusayn's departure from Mecca on his way to al-Kūfah. Al-Ḥusayn had left Medina for Mecca on Sunday, with two days remaining in Rajab in the Year A.H. 60 (May 4, 680). He had entered Mecca on Friday, 3 Sha'ban
[272] (May 9). He stayed in Mecca for Sha'bah and for the months of Ramaḍān, Shawwāl and Dhū al-Qa'dah (May, June, July, and August). Then he set out from there on Tuesday, 8 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, [that is,] the Day of Tarwiyah,[223] the day on which Muslim b. 'Aqīl had made his rising.

222. It was actually a Sunday.

223. The Day of Tarwiyah was a day on which the pilgrims received provisions of water before going to Minā. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj.

According to Hārūn b. Muslim[224]—'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ—'Īsā b. Yazīd: Al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd and 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal came out in rebellion with Muslim. Al-Mukhtār carried a green standard, and 'Abdallāh carried a red standard. The latter was also wearing red clothes. Al-Mukhtār brought his standard and fixed it at 'Amr b. Ḥurayth's door. He declared, "I only came out to strengthen 'Amr."

Ibn al-Ash'ath, al-Qa'qā' b. Shawr and Shabath b. Rib'ī had fought a fierce battle against Muslim and his followers on the evening when Muslim had come against Ibn Ziyād's palace. Shabath b. Rib'ī had said, "Wait until night falls for them. Then they will disperse." Al-Qa'qā' had replied, "You have blocked the way of the people. Let room be made for them to escape."

'Ubaydallāh ordered al-Mukhtār and 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith to be searched for. He assigned a reward for their arrest, brought them to him and had them imprisoned.

In this year al-Ḥusayn set out from Mecca to go to al-Kūfah.

Al-Ḥusayn's Departure from Mecca for al-Kūfah

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaq'ab b. Zuhayr—'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī:[225] When the letters of the Iraqīs reached al-Ḥusayn and he had made preparations to go to Iraq, I went and visited him while he was in Mecca. After I had praised and glorified God, I told him, "Cousin, I have come to you because of something important that I want to tell you as advice, that is, if you [273] would consider receiving advice from me. If not, then you should refrain from listening to what I want to say." He said, "Speak. By God! I do not think that you have bad judgment, nor are you fond of evil in any matter or action." I said to him, "I have learnt that you are intending to go to Iraq. I am anxious about your going. You would be arriving in a country where there are Yazīd's tax

224. 'Umar b. Shabbah has been omitted. He was Ṭabarī's authority for a report with this *isnād* previously. See p. 35, above.

225. Apart from reporting some of these events at which he was present, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī was from Quraysh and a close adviser of Ibn al-Zubayr; he later acted on his behalf in matters related to al-Mukhtār. See Ṭabarī, II, 687.

collectors and leaders. They have control of the treasuries. The population are slaves to the dirham and the dīnār. I could not be sure that those who have promised you their help would not fight against you, and that those who have greater love for you [than him] would be among those who will fight against you on his behalf." He replied, "May God give you a good reward, cousin. By God! I know that you have brought good advice and you have spoken reasonably. Whatever is destined will happen whether I take your advice or ignore it. In my view, you are a most praiseworthy counselor and a sincere adviser."

I left him and went to al-Ḥārith b. Khālid b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām.[226] He asked me if I had met al-Ḥusayn. I told him that I had. He questioned me about what he had said to me, and what I had said to him. I told him that I had said such-and-such to him, and he had said such-and-such to me. He said, "By the Lord of gray and white stone of al-Marwah![227] You have given him good advice. By the Lord of the Sacred House! The sound view is what you have put forward, [whether he accepts] it or leaves it." Then he recited:

Many a person from whom advice is sought lies and causes destruction.
Many a person who is suspected turns out to be a good adviser.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb al-Wālibī[228]—ʿUqbah b. Simʿān: When Ḥusayn decided to go to al-Kūfah ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās came to him and said, "Cousin, people are spreading reports that you are going to Iraq. Expain to me what you are doing." He replied, "I have decided to set out on one of the next two days, God, the Exalted, willing." Ibn ʿAbbās said, "I ask God to protect you from that. Tell me, may God have mercy on

226. Although not mentioned again, al-Ḥārith b. Khālid b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām appears to have been an influential person. His father had been a governor for Muʿāwiyah over Mecca. See Ṭabarī, II, 67.

227. Al-Marwah is a hill in Mecca that with another hill, al-Ṣafā, is associated with the rites of the pilgimage. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 513.

228. Al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb al-Wālibī is an unknown authority of Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 206. For ʿUqbah the text erroneously gives ʿUtbah; see *Addenda et Emendanda*, DCLIII.

you. Are you going to a people who have killed their governor, [274]
taken control of their land, and driven out their enemy? If they have done that, then go to them. But if they have only asked you to come to them while their governor is in control of them, and his tax collectors are still taxing their land, then they are only asking you to come to war and fighting. I cannot be sure that they are not tempting you and that they will not oppose and desert you. Indeed, they may gather to make war on you. They may become the most violent of people against you." Ḥusayn answered, "I will leave the choice to God and see what happens." Ibn 'Abbas left him.

Then Ibn al-Zubayr came and talked to him for a time. He said, "I don't know why we have left things to these people and stood idly by. We are the sons of the Muhājirūn (emigrants) and should be the ones in control of this government rather than they. Tell me what you are intending to do." Al-Ḥusayn replied, "By God! I have reflected about going to al-Kūfah. My Shī'ah there and the nobles of these people have written to me. I am leaving the choice to God." Ibn al-Zubayr said, "If I had the same sort of followers as you there, I would not seek any alternative other than them." Then he feared that al-Ḥusayn might suspect his motive so he added, "However, if you remain in the Ḥijāz, you could pursue this matter here without meeting any opposition, God willing." He rose and left him, and al-Ḥusayn said, "Nothing in the world would please him more than my leaving the Ḥijāz for Iraq. He realizes that he has no share in this matter while I am present, for the people will never consider him equal to me. Therefore, he would love me to go away from here so that he can have a free hand."

That evening—or the next day—al-Ḥusayn went to Ibn 'Abbās, and the latter said, "Cousin, I invoke patience, but I do not have it. I fear your destruction and extirpation in this enterprise. The Iraqīs are a treacherous people. So don't go near them. Remain in this land, for you are the leader of the people of the Ḥijāz. If the Iraqīs want you as they claim, write to them that they should drive out their enemies, and then you will come to them. If you [275]
insist on leaving, then go to Yemen. There, there are fortresses and gorges. It is a vast distant land. Your father had a Shī'ah there, and you would be remote from the people. Then you could

write to the people, send messengers to infiltrate, and urge the people to support you. I hope that in that way what you want would come to you easily." Al-Ḥusayn answered, "Cousin, I know that you are an adviser who is anxious for me. However, I have reached my decision and I am determined to set out." Ibn 'Abbās pleaded, "Then if you are going, do not go with your womenfolk and your children. For I fear that you will be killed just as 'Uthmān was killed, while his womenfolk and children were watching." Then Ibn 'Abbās went on to say, "You would thrill Ibn al-Zubayr by your leaving him alone in the Ḥijāz, and by your departure from it. For now no one pays attention to him, as you are here. But by God other than Whom there is no deity! I would catch hold of your hair and your forelock until the people had gathered around you and me if I thought it would make you obey me."

Ibn 'Abbās left him and he passed 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr; he said to him, "May you be happy, Ibn al-Zubayr." Then he recited:

O what [a fortunate] lark in a flourishing country!
Now the sky is free for you, so lay eggs and hatch them,
And tap with your beak as you like.[229]

[And he explained:] "This Ḥusayn is going to Iraq, so you can take care of the Ḥijāz."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥayyah—'Adī b. Ḥarmalah al-Asadī,[230]—'Abdallāh b. Sulaym[231] and al-Madhrī b. al-Mushma'ill, both of the tribe of Asad: We went from al-Kūfah as pilgrims until we came to Mecca. We entered it on the Day of Tarwiyah. We were standing near al-Ḥusayn and 'Abd-
[276] allāh b. al-Zubayr in the middle of the morning somewhere between the Ḥijr[232] and the door of the Sacred House. As we

229. For this verse see Ahlwardt, *The Divans*, 185. It is also given by Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II/2, 163.

230. Apart from his reports recorded by Abū Mikhnaf of this event, 'Adī b. Ḥarmalah al-Asadī was otherwise unknown. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 223.

231. 'Abdallāh b. Sulaym and his colleague from the tribe of Asad were important eyewitnesses and participants in the following narrative. Both accompanied al-Ḥusayn until very near the end. Then they made separate escapes.

232. The Ḥijr was the burial spot of Ishmael and Hagar by the Ka'bah. See *EI*², s.v. Ka'ba.

approached them, we heard Ibn al-Zubayr saying to al-Ḥusayn, "If you wish to stay, you could stay and take control of this affair. We will assist, aid you and give advice. We will give the oath of allegiance to you." Al-Ḥusayn replied, "My father told me, 'There will be in Mecca a ram (i.e., a leader) who will cause its sanctity to be violated,' and I do not want to be that kind of ram." Ibn al-Zubayr said, "Then stay here if you wish, and give me authority in this affair. You would be obeyed and not disobeyed." Al-Ḥusayn said, "I do not want to do that either." Then they lowered their conversation so that we could not hear, but they still continued to talk together.

Then we heard the call of the people who were going to Minā at midday. After that al-Ḥusayn performed the circumambulation of the Sacred House, and ran between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah.[233] He had his hair trimmed[234] and left the state of consecration for the *'umrah*. He set off for al-Kūfah, but we went toward the people at Minā.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Sa'īd 'Aqīṣā[235]—one of his colleagues: I heard al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, while he was standing with 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca. Ibn al-Zubayr said to him, "Listen to me, son of Fāṭimah." I tried to listen, but he whispered to him. But then al-Ḥusayn turned to us and asked, "Do you know what Ibn al-Zubayr was saying to me?" We answered, "We do not know. May God sacrifice us for you." He said, "He told me, 'Stand up in this mosque, and I shall gather the people around you.' By God! I would prefer to be killed a few inches (*shibr*) outside the sanctuary of Mecca than to be killed a few inches within it. I swear by God, even if I were in a deep snake's hole, they would pull me out in order to carry out their will. By God! They would violate me just as the Jews violated the Sabbath."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b al-Wālibī—'Uqbah b. Sim'ān: When al-Ḥusayn left Mecca, the messengers [277]

233. The ritual running (*sa'y*) between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah was part of the rites of the lesser pilgrimage (*'umrah*). See *EI*[1], s.v. 'Umra.

234. The cutting of hair took place when the pilgrim wanted to leave the state of consecration. While in the state of consecration, he was forbidden to cut his hair or nails. See *EI*[2], s.v. Iḥrām.

235. Abū Sa'īd 'Aqīṣā's name was Dīnār. He was a traditionist and a Kūfan Shī'ite. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 200.

of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ met him. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd[236] was in charge of them. They ordered him to come back from where he was going. But he refused them and continued his journey. The two groups came to blows and hit one another with whips. However, al-Ḥusayn and his followers resisted fiercely. Al-Ḥusayn continued with his journey. They called to him, "Ḥusayn, do you not fear God, lest you leave this unified people (*jamāʿah*) and split this community (*ummah*)?" In answer al-Ḥusayn recited: "My deeds are mine, and your deeds are yours. You are not accountable for my actions, nor am I accountable for yours."[237]

Al-Ḥusayn continued until he had passed al-Tanʿīm.[238] There he met a camel train that had come from Yemen. Baḥīr b. Raysān al-Ḥimyarī[239]—who was Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah's governor of Yemen—had sent it to Yazīd. The camel train was carrying turmeric and cloth to Yazīd. Al-Ḥusayn took possession of the goods and carried them off. He said to the camel owners, "I will not force you, but whoever wants to come with us to Iraq, we will pay his hire and enjoy his company. Whoever wants to leave us at any place that we are in, we will pay his hire for the distance he has traveled." Those of them who left had their accounts settled and were paid their due. However, al-Ḥusayn paid the hire of those of them who went with him and gave them clothes.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb—ʿAdī b. Ḥarmalah—ʿAbdallāh b. Sulaym and al-Madhrī: When we came to al-Ṣifāḥ[240] we met al-Farazdaq b. Ghālib,[241] the poet. He was standing in front of al-Ḥusayn and saying to him, "May God grant you your request and fulfill your hope in what you want." Al-Ḥusayn asked him, "Tell us the news of the people you have left behind you."

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236. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd was a brother of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, who later became involved in his brother's attempt to gain power; he was pardoned by ʿAbd al-Malik. See Ṭabarī II, 789–804, 814.

237. Qurʾān, 10:41 (42).

238. Al-Tanʿīm was the station outside Mecca where the Meccans went in order to enter into a state of consecration for the *ʿumrah*. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 879.

239. There seems to be no further information on Baḥīr b. Raysān al-Ḥimyarī.

240. Al-Ṣifaḥ was a place to the northeast of Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 398.

241. Al-Farazdaq b. Ghālib was the famous Arab poet whose name was Hammām b. Ghālib; he died in 110 (728) or 112 (730). See *EI*², s.v. al-Farazdaḳ.

Al-Farazdaq answered, "You have asked one who knows. The hearts of the people are with you, but their swords are with the Banū Umayyah. The decision will come from heaven, and God will do what He wishes." Al-Ḥusayn replied, "True. The decision is God's, and God will do what He wishes. 'Every day our Lord [278] exercises power in [every] matter.'[242] If fate sends down what we like, we praise God for His blessings. He is the One from Whom help should be sought in order to give thanks to Him. However, although fate may frustrate their hopes, those whose intention is the truth and whose hearts are pious are not aggressors." Then al-Ḥusayn moved his mount off, saying farewell. And so the two parted.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam—Labaṭah b. al-Farazdaq b. Ghālib[243]—his father: I made the pilgrimage with my mother. I was driving her camel when I entered the sanctuary during the days of the pilgrimage. That was in the year 60 (680). I met al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī leaving Mecca [accompanied by his men] with swords and shields. I asked whose caravan it was, and I was told that it was al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī's. So I went up to him and said, "May my mother and father be your sacrifice! Son of the Apostle of God, what is making you hurry away from the pilgrimage?" He replied, "If I did not hurry away, I would be apprehended." Then he asked me who I was. I told him that I was a man from Iraq. By God! He did not question me any further about that but was satisfied with that answer. He said, "Tell me about the people you have left behind you?" I answered, "Their hearts are with you, but their swords are with the Banū Umayyah. The decision is in the hand of God." He replied that that was true. Then I asked him about matters concerning vows and pilgrimage rites. He told me about them. His voice was thick with the pleurisy that he had contracted in Iraq.[244]

I went on, and there was a large well-equipped tent pitched in the sanctuary. I went to it, and there was 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b.

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242. Almost identical to Qur'ān, 55:29.

243. Labaṭah b. al-Farazdaq b. Ghālib was the son of the poet. The evidence for the validity of the first report rather than this one was the verses by al-Farazdaq concerning their meeting at al-Ṣifāḥ, which are cited by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 398.

244. This observation must refer to al-Farazdaq.

al-ʿĀṣ.[245] He questioned me and I told him about meeting al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. He said to me, "Woe on you! Why don't you follow him? By God! He will be victorious, and no weapon will affect him or his followers." By God! Then I was anxious to follow him, and his words went deep into my heart. But I remembered the prophets and how they were killed. That stopped me from
[279] following them. So I went to my people at ʿUsfān.[246] By God! I was with them when a camel train that had brought provisions from al-Kūfah approached. When I heard them, I went out after them until, after shouting at them and being unable to overtake them, I shouted to them, "What happened to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī?" They said that he had been killed. Then I went back cursing ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. The people at that time had all been like him, mentioning that "thing" and waiting for its fulfillment both day and night. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr had been saying, "Neither tree nor palm nor child will grow before it is announced" [i.e., the victory of al-Ḥusayn]. I said to him, "What stops you from selling the Waḥṭ?" He replied, "God curse so-and-so—meaning Muʿāwiyah—and you." I answered, "No, rather God curse you." He increased his cursing of me, and none of his coterie were around him, so I was spared their evil. I left without his recognizing me. The Waḥṭ was a grove belonging to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr in al-Ṭāʾif. Muʿāwiyah had negotiated a deal with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr for it and had given him a lot of money for the grove. But then ʿAbdallāh had refused to sell it for anything.

[Earlier] al-Ḥusayn had pressed on swiftly and directly until he stopped at Dhāt ʿIrq.[247]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb al-Wālibī—ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib:[248] When we left Mecca, ʿAbd-

245. ʿAbdallāh was the son of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, the conqueror of Egypt and the ally of Muʿāwiyah. He had a reputation for learning and knowing the future; he had acquired this knowledge in Egypt. See text below, p. 000.

246. ʿUsfān was a village with palm groves and arable land about thirty-six miles from Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 673.

247. Dhāt ʿIrq is the road from Mecca to Iraq in a pass through the mountain of ʿIrq; it overlooks the northeast valley of Baṭn al-Rummah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 651.

248. Alī b. al-Ḥusayn is the younger of the two sons of al-Ḥusayn with this name. He survived the Battle of Karbalāʾ because he was too ill to fight. He is regarded as the fourth Imām of the Shīʿah. See al-Mufīd, *Irshād* [trans.], 380–92 and *EI*[1], s.v. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.

allāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib[249] sent a letter to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī with his two sons, 'Awn and Muḥammad:[250] "I ask you by God to return when you read my letter, for I am very concerned that the direction in which you are heading will have within it your destruction and the extirpation of your house. If you are destroyed today, the light of the earth will be extinguished, for you are the standard of those who are rightly guided and the hope of the believers. Do not hurry on your journey, as I am following this letter. Peace be with you."

'Abdallāh b. Ja'far went to 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ and spoke to him, saying, "Write a letter to al-Ḥusayn in which you offer him a guarantee of safe-conduct. Promise to favor him with kindness and generosity. Show trust to him in your letter. Ask him to return, and perhaps he will be reassured by that." [280]

'Amr b. Sa'īd told him to write what he wished and then to bring it to him so that he could put the seal on it. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far wrote the letter and took it to 'Amr b. Sa'īd. He said to him, "Seal it and send it with your brother, Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd. It is more likely that al-Ḥusayn's mind will be reassured by him and that he will realize that it is a serious endeavor on your part." He did that. 'Amr b. Sa'īd was Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah's governor of Mecca.

Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far went after al-Ḥusayn. They both left him after Yaḥyā had read him the letter. Later they reported that they had read him the letter and that they strove to persuade him. One of the excuses that he made to them was that he had seen a vision in which he had seen the Apostle of God, who confirmed that he had been ordered to do what he was doing, whether it went against him or in his favor. They asked him what that vision was. He answered that he had not told anyone of it and he would not tell anyone of it until he met his Lord.

The letter of 'Amr b. Sa'īd to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was [as follows]: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from 'Amr b. Sa'īd to 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī...I ask God to make you turn aside

249. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib was a cousin of al-Ḥusayn and son of 'Alī's brother Ja'far.

250. Both 'Awn and Muḥammad went on to die with al-Ḥusayn. See p. 152, below.

from what will cause your death and to lead you to what will bring you guidance. I learnt that your destination is Iraq. I seek refuge for you in God from dissension, for I fear that your destruction is imminent. I have sent ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar and Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd to you. Come to me with them. You will have a guarantee of safe-conduct from me, kindness, generosity and good-neighborly protection. God is my witness, guarantor, supervisor and trusted authority of that. Peace be with you."

[281] Al-Ḥusayn wrote to him: "...One who calls [men] to God, the Mighty and Exalted, and to righteous actions and confesses that he is one of the Muslims does not rebel against God and His Apostle. You have invited me [to accept] a guarantee of safe-conduct, kindness and generosity. The best guarantee of safe-conduct is God's. God will never give safe-conduct on the Day of Resurrection to those who did not fear Him in this world. We ask God fearfully while in this world that His guarantee of safe-conduct be given to us on the Day of Resurrection. If you intend kindness and generosity toward me by your letter, then may you be well rewarded in this world and the next. Peace be with you."

Continuation of ʿAmmār al-Duhnī's Account from Abū Jaʿfar

According to Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā al-Ḍarīr—Aḥmad b. Janāb al-Maṣṣīṣī—Khālid b. Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī: ʿAmmār al-Duhnī reported that he asked Abū Jaʿfar to tell him about the killing of al-Ḥusayn so that he might think that he was present at it. Abū Jaʿfar reported: Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī set out because of Muslim b. ʿAqīl's letter that had been sent to him. When he was three miles from al-Qādisiyyah,[251] al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd al-Tamīmī[252] met him. He asked him where he was going, and al-Ḥusayn said that he was going to that town. He told him to go back, for he had not left behind him anyone who desired good for him. Al-Ḥusayn had intended to return, but the brothers of Muslim b. ʿAqīl were with

251. Al-Qādisiyyah was a town nineteen miles away from al-Kūfah. This was where the Muslims defeated the Persians in 16 (637). See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳādisīya.

252. Al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd al-Tamīmī was a leading tribesman in the tribe of Tamīm in al-Kūfah; he was in no way involved with the attempts to send for al-Ḥusayn. Later he joined al-Ḥusayn and died with him. See pp. 140–45, below.

him and they declared, "By God! We will not return until we take our vengeance or are killed." He replied, "There would be no good in life without you."

Al-Ḥusayn continued, and the vanguard of 'Ubaydallāh's cavalry met him. When he saw them, he turned aside toward Karbalā'.[253] He positioned himself with his rear against the reeds and grass so that he would only have to fight from one direction. Then he stopped and put up his tents. His followers were forty-five horsemen and a hundred foot soldiers.

In the meantime 'Ubaydallāh had appointed 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ as governor of al-Rayy[254] and he had given him his authority of appointment. He demanded that he give him satisfaction against al-Ḥusayn. 'Umar begged to be excused from that position, but 'Ubaydallāh refused to excuse him. So 'Umar asked him to let him consider it during the night. He granted him the delay, and 'Umar considered his position. By the morning, he was willing to carry out what he had been ordered to do. 'Umar b. Sa'd had set out toward al-Ḥusayn. When he reached al-Ḥusayn, the latter said to him, "Choose one of three possibilities: Let me go back to where I came from; let me go to Yazīd; or let me go and join one of the frontier posts." 'Umar accepted that, but 'Ubaydallāh wrote to him: "No, there will be no kindness until he has submitted to me personally." Al-Ḥusayn said, "No, by God! That will never be." [282]

Then 'Umar fought against him. All al-Ḥusayn's followers were killed, among whom were more than ten young men from his family. An arrow came and struck his [baby] son while he had him in his lap. He began to wipe the blood from him, saying, "O God! Judge between us and a people who asked us [to come] so that they might help us and then killed us." He called for a striped cloak (*ḥibarah*), tore it and then put it on. He took out his sword and fought until he was killed. A man of the tribe of Madhḥij killed him and cut off his head. He took it to 'Ubaydallāh and said:

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253. Karbalā' is on the south bank of the Euphrates due north of al-Kūfah. This is where the battle against al-Ḥusayn took place. It is still a shrine for the Shī'ah. See *EI*[2], Karbalā'.

254. Al-Rayy was a city in northern Iran; it was located five miles southeast of modern Tehran. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Rayy.

Fill my saddlebag with silver and gold,
For I have killed the well-guarded king.
I have killed the man of noblest parents,
And when people trace descent his is the best.[255]

He sent him to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah and with him he sent the head. He put his head in front of him. With him was Abū Barzah al-Aslamī.[256] Yazīd began to poke the mouth with a cane, as he recited:

[Swords] split the skulls of men who are dear
to us; but they were more disobedient and oppressive.[257]

[283] Abū Barzah cried out to him. "Take your cane away. By God! How often have I seen the Apostle of God kiss that mouth!"

'Umar b. Sa'd had sent al-Ḥusayn's womenfolk and family to 'Ubaydallāh. The only male member of the family (*ahl al-bayt*) of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī who had survived was a young lad who had been sick and had rested with the women. 'Ubaydallāh ordered him to be killed, but Zaynab threw herself on him and said, "By God! He will not be killed until you kill me." 'Ubaydallāh had pity on her and refrained from killing the young lad. He equipped them for a journey and had them taken to Yazīd.

When they came to Yazīd, he gathered together the Syrians who used to attend on him. When the Syrians came to him and congratulated him on the victory, one of them, who was blue-eyed with a fair complexion (*aḥmar*), said, as he looked at one of their young women, "Commander of the Faithful, give that one to me." Zaynab said, "No, by God! There is no such honor possible for you or for him unless he leaves the religion of God." The blue-eyed man repeated his request but Yazīd said to him, "Desist from this."

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255. These verses are also given in Abū Mikhnaf's account. See p. 162, below. Balādhurī also quotes them. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 205. In both cases the verses are recited outside 'Umar's tent.

256. Although there are alternatives given, Abū Barzah al-Aslamī's name appears to be 'Abdallāh b. Naḍlah al-Aslamī. He was a Companion of the Prophet. After the Prophet's death, he took part in the wars of expansion. He moved to al-Baṣrah and died in Khurāsān. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/2, 100.

257. The verse is also cited by Abū Mikhnaf and Balādhurī. See pp. 170, 174, 176, below; and *Ansāb*, II/2, 213.

Then he took them into his own family. He equipped them for a journey and had them taken to Medina. When they arrived there a woman from the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came out to meet them untying her hair and putting her cap on her head. She was weeping and reciting:

What would you say if the Prophet asked you:
What have you, the last of the religious communities,
Done with my offspring and my family after my departure?
Among them are prisoners and among them are those who have been stained with blood.
What reward is this for me after I have given you good advice,
that you should repay me with evil to my blood relations?[258]

According to al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr[259]—Abū Rabī'ah[260]—Abū 'Awānah[261]—Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān:[262] We were informed [284] that al-Ḥusayn....

Also according to Muḥammad b. 'Ammār al-Rāzī[263]—Sa'īd b. Sulaymān[264]—'Abbād b. al-'Awwām[265]—Ḥuṣayn (b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān):[266] The Kūfans wrote to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī: "A hundred thousand are with you." He sent Muslim b. 'Aqīl to them. He came to al-Kūfah and stayed in the house of Hāni' b. 'Urwah. The people visited him, and Ibn Ziyād learnt of that.

Al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr has [this additional information] in his account: Ibn Ziyād sent for Hāni', and the latter went to him. Ibn

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258. The verses are also cited by Abū Mikhnaf and Balādhurī. See p. 178, below; and *Ansāb*, II/2, 221.

259. Al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr was an authority used by Ṭabarī on rare occasions. He may be the son of the Shī'ite historian Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, who died in 212 (827–28).

260. The only time Abū Rabī'ah's name seems to have occurred as a historical authority.

261. Abū 'Awānah was al-Waḍḍāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Yashkurī, a prolific traditionist with a special interest in historical tradition. He died in 175 (791–92) or 176 (792–93). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 116–20.

262. Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was a well-known Kūfan traditionist; he died in 136 (753–54). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 381–83.

263. Muḥammad b. 'Ammār al-Rāzī was a little-known traditionist.

264. Sa'īd b. Sulaymān was a well-known traditionist, who lived in Baghdād; he died in 225 (840). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 43–44.

265. 'Abbād b. al-'Awwām was a well-known traditionist; he died between 183–87 (799–803). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 99–100.

266. Balādhurī quoted the same account with the same *isnād* from Sa'īd b. Sulaymān with almost identical words. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 224–27.

Ziyād asked him, "Haven't I honored you? Haven't I favored you? Haven't I done [things] for you?" He agreed, and then Ibn Ziyād asked him, "What is the reward for that?" He replied, "The reward for it is that I give you protection." Ibn Ziyād exclaimed, "You give me protection!" He took a cane that was by him and struck Hāniʾ with it. Then he ordered Hāniʾ to be put in chains and executed.

Muslim b. ʿAqīl learnt of that and he came out with many people. When Ibn Ziyād was informed, he ordered the palace door to be locked, and a herald to call out, "Cavalry of God, ride." But no one answered him so that he suspected that Muslim was among a huge crowd of people.

According to Ḥuṣayn [b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān]—Hilāl b. Yasāf:[267] I met them that night on the road by the mosque of the Anṣār. They had not gone far along any road to the right or to the left without a group of thirty or forty and the like leaving them. When the marketplace was reached—and it was then in the dark of night—they entered the mosque. Ibn Ziyād was told, "We cannot see many. We cannot hear the voices of many." He ordered the awning over the mosque to be removed. Then he ordered the reeds used for the roof to be set on fire. They began to look around and there were nearly fifty. Ibn Ziyād came in and ascended the pulpit. He told the people to separate themselves quarter by quarter. Every tribe went to the head of their quarter. A group [285] of people attacked Muslim's followers. Muslim was severely wounded, and some of his followers were killed. Muslim, himself, got away and reached one of the houses of the tribe of Kindah. Then a man [from Kindah] went to Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, while he was sitting with Ibn Ziyād. He whispered to Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath that Muslim was in the house of so-and-so. Ibn Ziyād asked what the man had said to him, and Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath told him that the man had said that Muslim was in the house of so-and-so. Ibn Ziyād told two men to go and bring the man to him. The two men came in upon Muslim while he was with a woman who had kindled a fire for him. He was washing

267. Hilāl b. Yasāf was a Kūfan traditionist who lived during the latter half of the first (seventh) century. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 86–87.

the blood from himself. They told him to come, as the governor had summoned him. He asked them to give him an undertaking for his safe-conduct; however, they said that they did not have the right to do that. He went with them until they came to Ibn Ziyād, who ordered him to be put in chains. Then he exclaimed, "Be gone, be gone, son of a spinster."

According to al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr's account, Ibn Ziyād said, "O son of a so-and-so, did you come to take my authority away from me?" Then he ordered him to be executed.

According to al-Ḥuṣayn (b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān)—Hilāl b. Yasāf: Ibn Ziyād ordered that the area between Wāqiṣah[268] toward the road to Syria and toward the road to al-Baṣrah should be occupied, and that they should allow no one to enter and no one to leave.

Al-Ḥusayn had set out without being aware of any of this until he met some of the Bedouin. He asked them about the situation, and they said, "No, by God! We don't know anything except that we cannot get in and get out of al-Kūfah."

Then al-Ḥusayn began to move toward the road to Syria, toward Yazīd. The cavalry intercepted him at Karbalā'. There he stopped and began to appeal to them before God and Islam. 'Umar b. Sa'd, Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan and Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm had been sent against him. Al-Ḥusayn appealed to them before God and Islam to let him go to the Commander of the Faithful. Then he would put his hand in his hand. They said, "No, there is nothing else for you to do but submit to the authority of Ibn Ziyād." Among those who had been sent against him was al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd al-Ḥanẓalī, of the clan of Nahshal, in command of some cavalry. When he heard what al-Ḥusayn was saying, he said to them, "Will you not accept what these men are offering you? By God if a Turk or a Daylamite[269] asked this of you, it would not be lawful for you to refuse it." However, they still refused everything except submission to the authority of Ibn Ziyād. Al-Ḥurr turned the direction [286] of his horse and went over to al-Ḥusayn and his followers. They thought that he was only coming to fight them, but when he came closer, he reversed his shield and greeted them. Later he

268. Wāqisah was on the road to Mecca, two stages from Zubālah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 892.

269. Daylam is the highlands of Gīlān in northwest Iran. See *EI*², s.v. Daylam.

attacked the followers of Ibn Ziyād and killed two of them. Then he was killed, may God have mercy on him.

It was mentioned that Zuhayr b. al-Qayn al-Bajalī[270] met al-Ḥusayn after he had been on the pilgrimage. He went forward with him. [In the battle] Ibn Abī Baḥriyyah al-Murādī[271] came out against Zuhayr and two other men, who were ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj and Maʿn al-Sulamī.[272]

According to Ḥuṣayn (b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān), he had seen them both.

According to Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Saʿd b. ʿUbaydah:[273] Old men of the Kūfans were standing on the hill [overlooking the battlefield] weeping and calling out, "O God! Send down Your aid." I said to them, "Enemies of God! Won't you go down and help him?" Then al-Ḥusayn began to speak to those whom Ibn Ziyād had sent against him. I looked toward him. He was wearing a cloak (*jubbah*) of streaky cloth (*burūd*). When he had spoken to them, he turned away. One of the Banū Tamīm called ʿUmar al-Ṭuhawī[274] shot an arrow at him. I saw the arrow sticking between his shoulders into his cloak. When they had refused him, he went back to his ranks. I looked at them. They were about a hundred men. Among them were five sons of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and sixteen members of Banū Hāshim, a man from Banū Sulaym, who was their ally, another from Banū Kinānah, who was also their ally, and Ibn ʿUmar b. Ziyād.[275]

According to Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Saʿd b. ʿUbaydah: We were dipping ourselves in water with ʿUmar b. Saʿd, when a man came to him and whispered, "Ibn Ziyād has sent Juwayriyah

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270. Zuhayr b. al-Qayn al-Bajalī was a supporter of the group who opposed the Hāshimites known as ʿUthmāniyyah; he joined al-Ḥusayn en route and was killed with him. See pp. 144–45, below.

271. Ibn Abī Baḥriyyah al-Murādī seems to be unknown and his name does not occur in Abū Mikhnaf's account. According to Balādhurī, his name was Ibn Abī Ḥurayrah. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 225.

272. Maʿn al-Sulamī fought for Muʿāwiyah against ʿAlī. See Ṭabarī, I, 3277, 3353.

273. Saʿd b. ʿUbaydah was a well-known traditionist, who died between 101 (720) and 105 (724). See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 208.

274. ʿUmar al-Ṭuhawī is not mentioned in Abū Mikhnaf's account; otherwise he seems to be unknown.

275. Ibn ʿUmar b. Ziyād is not mentioned in Abū Mikhnaf's account; otherwise he seems to be unknown.

b. Badr al-Tamīmī[276] to you. He has instructed him to execute you if you do not fight the people." He jumped on his horse and rode back to the camp. There he called for his arms and put them on. On his horse he ordered the people to attack them, and they fought them. [After the battle] the head of al-Ḥusayn was taken to Ibn Ziyād. He put it in front of him and began to poke at it with his cane as he said, "Abū 'Abdallāh's (i.e., al-Ḥusayn's) hair has grown gray."

Al-Ḥusayn's women, daughters and family were brought. The best thing that Ibn Ziyād did was to order them to be put in a house in an isolated place, to grant them a subsistence allowance [287] (*rizq*) and to order them to be given expenses and clothes.

Two of their servants belonging to 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far—or belonging to the son of Ibn Ja'far—escaped. They came to a man from the tribe of Ṭayyi' and sought refuge with him. However, he cut their heads off, took them and put them before Ibn Ziyād. He was about to have him executed, but instead he ordered his house to be destroyed.

According to Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—a mawlā of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān: When the head of al-Ḥusayn was brought to Yazīd and put before him, I saw him weep and he said, "If there had been any kinship between Ibn Ziyād and al-Ḥusayn, he would not have done this."

According to Ḥuṣayn (b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān): After al-Ḥusayn was killed, it seemed as if the walls for two or three months were smeared with blood from the time of sunrise until the sun rose higher.

According to (Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān)—al-'Alā b. Abī 'Āthah[277]—Ra's al-Jālūt[278]—his father: My father told me that he never passed Karbalā' without making his mount gallop until he had left the place behind. I asked him the reason, and he said, "We used to talk of the son of a prophet who would be killed in

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276. Juwayriyah b. Badr al-Tamīmī is not mentioned in Abū Mikhnaf's account; otherwise he seems to be unknown.

277. Al-'Alā b. Abī 'Āthah does not seem to occur as a traditionist anywhere else.

278. Literally, Ra's al-Jālūt means "the head of Goliath." *Jālūt* is of Hebrew origin. See *EI*², s.v. Djālūt. Perhaps this story was associated with some Jewish sect.

that place, and I was afraid that I would be that man. However, after al-Ḥusayn was killed there, we said that he was the one of whom we talked. After that, when I passed that place, I would go without galloping."

According to al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)[279]—Ibn Sa'd[280]—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)[281]—Ja'far b. Sulaymān al-Ḍabu'ī:[282] Al-Ḥusayn said, "They will not leave me until they have taken out this heart from within me. When they do that, God will dominate and humiliate them so that they will be more humiliated than a rag used by a slave girl for her menstrual blood." Then he went to Iraq and was killed at Nīnawā[283] on the Day of 'Āshūrā'[284] 61 (October 10, 680).

[288] According to al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī): Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was killed in the month of Ṣafar in the year A.H. 61 (November, 680). At that time he was fifty-five.

According to (al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad)—Aflaḥ b. Sa'īd[285]—Ibn Ka'b al-Qurazī.[286]

According to al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Abū Ma'shar:[287] Al-Ḥusayn was killed on 10 al-Muḥarram (October 10, 680).

Al-Wāqidī said this was the best confirmed report.

According to al-Ḥārith (b. Muḥammad)—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥam-

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279. Al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad was the author of a *musnad* and a noted scholar; he died in 282 (895–96). See al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 442–43.

280. Ibn Sa'd was the celebrated author of *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*; he died in 230 (845). See *EI*², s.v. Ibn Sa'd.

281. 'Alī b. Muḥammad was a famous and prolific historian; he died in 231 (845–46). See *EI*², s.v. al-Madā'inī.

282. Ja'far b. Sulaymān al-Ḍabu'ī was a famous traditionist, who held Shī'ite inclinations; he died in 178 (794). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 95–98.

283. Nīnawā was a small village near Karbalā'. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 870.

284. The Day of 'Āshūrā' was 10 Muḥarram, a day of fasting in imitation of the Jewish Day of Atonement. See *EI*², s.v. 'Āshūrā'.

285. Aflaḥ b. Sa'īd was a traditionist; he died in 156 (773). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 327–28.

286. Ibn Ka'b al-Qurazī was Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī, a respected traditionist; he died between 117–20 (735–38). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 420–22.

287. Abū Ma'shar was Nājiḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sindī, a traditionist and author of a work on the campaigns of the Prophet (*maghāzī*), who died in 170 (787). See *EI*², s.v. Abū Ma'shar.

mad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—'Aṭā' b. Muslim[288]—the man who informed him—'Āṣim b. Abī al-Najūd[289]—Zirr b. Ḥubaysh:[290] The first head to be raised on wood was the head of al-Ḥusayn. May God be pleased with him and may God bless his soul.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Hishām b. al-Walīd[291]—an eyewitness: Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī set out from Mecca with his family while Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah was in Medina. News of al-Ḥusayn's departure reached Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah while he was performing his ritual ablution [with water] in a bowl. He wept so that I could hear his tears dropping into the bowl.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī: When 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād had learnt of the journey of al-Ḥusayn from Mecca to al-Kūfah, he sent al-Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm, the commander of the police to station himself at al-Qādisiyyah, to set the cavalry between the area of al-Qādisiyyah to Khaffān[292] and the area of al-Qādisiyyah to al-Quṭquṭānah[293] and to La'la'.[294] People said, "Al-Ḥusayn is heading for Iraq."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Qays:[295] Al-Ḥusayn went on. When he reached al-Ḥājir[296] from Baṭn al-Rummah,[297] he sent Qays b. Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī to the Kūfans. He sent a letter

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288. 'Aṭā' b. Muslim was a Kūfan traditionist, who moved to Aleppo and died in 190 (805–6). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 211–12.

289. 'Āṣim b. Abī al-Najūd was a Kūfan traditionist; he died in 127 (744–45) or 128 (745–46). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 38–40.

290. Zirr b. Ḥubaysh was an early traditionist, who heard traditions from a number of leading Companions of the Prophet and died between 81 (700) and 83 (702). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 321–22.

291. Hishām b. al-Walīd was only cited by Abū Mikhnaf for this one report. Otherwise he seems to have had an interest in the lives of the caliphs, for he appears to be an authority for what seems to be a book on the subject by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. See Ṭabarī, II, 199, and p. 225, below.

292. Erroneously given as Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr in the text; see *Addenda et Emendenda*, DLLIV. Khaffān was the high ground above al-Qādisiyyah near al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 356.

293. Al-Quṭquṭānah was near al-Kūfah on the edge of the desert. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 137.

294. La'la' was a halting place between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah.

295. Muḥammad b. Qays was a traditionist, who only seems to have been used by Abū Mikhnaf for two reports about al-Ḥusayn. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 212.

296. Al-Ḥājir was the name of any hollow in a valley; it gathers water. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 182.

297. Baṭn al-Rummah was a valley overlooked by the high grounds of Rummah in the Najd. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 66.

with him: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī to his brothers among the believers and Muslims. Peace be with you. I praise God before you, other than
[289] Whom there is no deity...Muslim b. 'Aqīl's letter came to me, informing me of your good attitude, the agreement of your leaders to support us and to seek our rights. I have asked God to make your actions good and reward you with the greatest reward. I set out to you from Mecca on Tuesday, 8 Dhū al-Hijjah, the Day of Tarwiyah (September 9, 680).[298] When my messenger reaches you, be urgent and purposeful in your affairs, for I am coming to you in a few days, God willing. Peace be with you and the mercy and blessings of God."

Muslim had written to al-Ḥusayn seventeen days before he was killed: "...The trusted early messenger does not lie about his own people. The majority (*jam'*) of the Kūfans are with you. Come when you read my letter. Peace be with you." Al-Ḥusayn had set out with the children and women with him without turning aside for anything.

Qays b. Mushir went toward al-Kūfah with the letter. However, when the letter reached al-Qādisiyyah, al-Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm apprehended Qays b. Mushir and sent him to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād ordered him, "Go up on the palace and curse the liar, the son of a liar." Qays went up and said: "People, this man, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, the best of God's creatures, the son of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Apostle, [is nearby]. I am his messenger to you. I left him at al-Ḥājir. Answer him!" Then he cursed 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād and his father, and prayed for forgiveness for 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. 'Ubaydallāh ordered him to be thrown from the top of the palace. They threw him; he was smashed to pieces and killed.

Al-Ḥusayn continued his journey to al-Kūfah until he came to one of the watering places of the Arabs.

'Abdallāh b. Muṭī' al-'Adawī was staying there. When he saw
[290] al-Ḥusayn he rose and said to him, "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you! Son of the Apostle of God, what has brought you here?" Then he helped him to dismount. Al-Ḥusayn said, "It is a result of the death of Mu'āwiyah as you would know. The

298. Actually a Sunday.

Iraqis have written to me urging me to come to them." 'Abdallāh b. Muṭī' said, "Son of the Apostle of God, I remind you of God and the sacredness of Islam, lest it be violated. I adjure you before God to be concerned about the veneration of the Apostle of God. I adjure you before God to be concerned about the esteem of the Arabs. By God! If you seek that which is in the hands of Banū Umayyah, they will kill you. If they kill you, they will never fear anyone after you. Then it will be the sacredness of Islam that is violated, and the veneration of Quraysh and the esteem of the Arabs. Don't do it! Don't go to al-Kūfah! do not expose yourself to the Banū Umayyah!" However, he insisted on continuing and went on until he came to the watering place above Zarūd.[299]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Suddī[300]—a man from Banū Fazārah: [al-Suddī] reported: During the time of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf,[301] we were in the house of al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabī'ah,[302] that was in the date sellers' district. This place had been given as a fief to the Banū 'Amr b. Yashkur of Bajīlah after the death of Zuhayr b. al-Qayn. The Syrians did not dare to enter this district. We were hiding there. I said to the man of Fazārah: "Tell me on your own authority. When did you go with al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī?" He reported: We were with Zuhayr b. al-Qayn al-Bajalī when we came from Mecca. We were traveling alongside al-Ḥusayn. However, there was nothing more hateful to us than that we accompanied him at every halting place. When al-Ḥusayn traveled, Zuhayr stayed behind. When al-Ḥusayn halted, Zuhayr would go ahead. One day we halted in a place in which we could not avoid stopping with him. Al-Ḥusayn halted at one side of the road, and we halted at the other side of the road. While we were sitting, eating our food, a messenger of al-Ḥusayn approached, greeted us and entered our camp. He said, "Zuhayr b. al-Qayn, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī has sent me to you to ask you to come to him." [291]

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299. Zarūd was a place with very sandy ground on the way from Mecca to al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 927.

300. Al-Suddī's name was Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He was a traditionist, who died in 128 (745–46). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 313–14.

301. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf was the distinguished governor of Iraq for the Umayyads from 75 (694) to 95 (714). See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf.

302. Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabī'ah was a supporter of Ibn al-Zubayr; he was appointed governor of al-Baṣrah by him and later governor of al-Kūfah. See Ṭabarī, II, 578, 777.

Each man of us threw away what was in his hands in surprise, [and silence prevailed] as if birds had alighted on our heads.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Dalham bt. 'Amr, the wife of Zuhayr b. al-Qayn:[303] I said to him, "Does the son of the Messenger of God send for you, and yet you aren't going to him? Glory be to God! Won't you go to him to hear what he has to say? Then you could leave him."

Zuhayr b. al-Qayn went to him. It was not long before he returned with a cheerful shining face. He ordered his tent to be struck and called for his luggage and equipment. His tent was pulled down and taken to al-Ḥusayn. Then he said to his wife, "You are divorced, go back to your family, for I do not want anything except good to befall you because of me." Then he said to his companions, "Whoever wants to follow me may do so. Otherwise, it is the end of our association. I shall tell you a story [of something that happened to me]: We were raiding Balanjar.[304] God granted us victory, and we won [a lot of] booty. Salmān al-Bāhilī[305] said to us, 'Are you happy with the victory God has granted you and the booty you have gained?' We said, 'Yes.' Then he said, 'Therefore when you meet the young men of the family of Muḥammad be happier to fight for them than you are with the booty that you have obtained today.' Therefore, as for me, I bid you farewell."

Zuhayr remained in the first row of the people with al-Ḥusayn until he was killed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—'Adī b. Ḥarmalah al-Asadī—the two Asadīs, 'Abdallāh b. Sulaym and al-Madhrī b. al-Mushma'ill: When we had finished the pilgrimage, there was no concern more important to us than to join al-Ḥusayn on the road in order that we might see what would happen to him. We went along with our two camels trotting speedily until we joined him at Zarūd. As we approached, there was a man from al-Kūfah who had changed his route when he saw al-Ḥusayn. Al-Ḥusayn had stopped as if he wanted to speak to him, but then he

303. Dalham bt. 'Amr only seems to have reported this incident.

304. Balanjar is a Khazar town in the eastern extremity of the Caucasus. See *EI*², s.v. Balandjar.

305. Salmān al-Bāhilī's name was Salmān b. Rabī'ah al-Bāhilī. He seems to have been an influential tribesman in al-Kūfah.

ignored him and traveled on. We journeyed toward the man. One of us said to the other that we should go to ask this man if he had [292] news of al-Kūfah that we could tell al-Ḥusayn. We came up to him and greeted him. He returned our greeting and asked for God's mercy on us. We asked him from what tribe he came; he answered that he was an Asadī. We said that we were also Asadīs, and then we asked him who he was. He said that he was Bukayr b. al-Math'abah;[306] then we told him our lineage. We also asked him to tell us of the people that he had left behind. He replied that he had only left al-Kūfah after Muslim b. 'Aqīl and Hāni' b. 'Urwah had been killed; he had seen them being dragged by their legs into the marketplace.

We went on to join al-Ḥusayn and we were traveling close behind him until he stopped at al-Tha'labiyyah[307] in the evening. We caught up with him when he stopped; we greeted him. He returned our greeting. We said, "May God have mercy on you, we have news. If you wish, we will tell it to you publicly, or if you wish, secretly." He looked at his followers and said, "Nothing is kept secret from these men." We asked him if he had seen the rider who was coming toward him yesterday evening? He said that he had and that he had wanted to question him. We said, "We have spared you the trouble of getting his news; we have done the asking instead of you. He was a man from our tribe, of sound judgment, honest, with merit and intelligence. He told us that he had only left al-Kūfah after Muslim b. 'Aqīl and Hāni' b. 'Urwah had been killed; he had seen them being dragged by their legs into the marketplace. Al-Ḥusayn said, "'We belong to God and to Him we shall return.'[308] May God have mercy on them both." He repeated that phrase several times. We said, "We adjure you before God, for your own life and for your family (*ahl al-bayt*) that you do not go from this place, for you have no one to support you in al-Kūfah and no Shī'ah. Indeed, we fear that they will be against you." At that the sons of 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib[309] jumped up.

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306. Bukayr b. al-Math'abah does not seem to occur in any other context.

307. Al-Tha'labiyyah was one of the halting places on the way from Mecca to al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 924.

308. Qur'ān, 2:156 (151).

309. 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, 'Alī's brother, and the others were close relations of Muslim b. 'Aqīl.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Umar b. Khālid[310]—Zayd b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn[311] and Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: [312] The
[293] sons of 'Aqīl declared, "By God! We will not go back until we have taken our vengeance or have tasted the death that our brother tasted."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—'Abdallāh b. Sulaym and al-Madhrī b. al-Mushma'ill, both of Asad: Al-Ḥusayn looked at us and said, "There is no good in life without these men." Then we knew that his decision had been taken to continue the journey. We said, "May God be good to you." He replied, "May God have mercy on you both." Then some of his followers said to him, "By God! You are not the same as Muslim b. 'Aqīl. If you go to al-Kūfah, the people will hasten to support you."

The two men of Asad reported that he waited until daybreak. Then he ordered his attendants and servants to get a lot of water, to give the people to drink and more for the journey. They set out and went on to Zubālah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū 'Alī al-Anṣārī[313]—Bakr b. Muṣ'ab al-Muzanī:[314] Al-Ḥusayn had not encountered people at any watering place without their following him. When he reached Zubālah, news of the death of his brother-in-nurture, the death of 'Abdallāh b. Yuqṭur,[315] came to him. He had despatched him to Muslim b. 'Aqīl along the road without being aware that Muslim had already been struck down. The cavalry of al-Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm met him at al-Qādisiyyah and sent him to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. 'Ubaydallāh ordered him to go up on the roof of the palace and curse the lying son of a liar. He ascended but, when he looked down on the people, he said, "People, I am the mes-

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310. This seems to be the only report from 'Umar b. Khālid; otherwise, he seems to be unknown. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 222.

311. Zayd b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn was a son of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn; he led a revolt against the Umayyads in which he was killed in 122 (740). See Wellhausen, *Religio-Political*, 161–67.

312. Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh was a grandson of Ibn 'Abbās who died in 133 (750–51). See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 222.

313. Apart from this report, Abū 'Ali al-Anṣārī seems to be otherwise unknown. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 189.

314. Apart from this report, Bakr b. Muṣ'ab al-Muzanī seems to be otherwise unknown.

315. 'Abdallāh b. Yuqṭur is only mentioned with regard to this incident.

senger of al-Ḥusayn, son of Fāṭimah, son of the daughter of the Apostle of God. You can help and support him against the son of Marjānah, the [grand]son of Sumayyah, a man who claims a false [grand]father." 'Ubaydallāh ordered him to be thrown from the roof of the palace to the ground. His bones were broken but he still had a spark of life. A man called 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr al-Lakhmī[316] went to him and cut his throat. When he was blamed for that, he said, "I only wanted to relieve his [suffering]."

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh[317]—a man who informed him declared, "By God! It was not 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr who went to him and cut his throat. But the man who went to him was curly-headed and tall like 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr." [294]

That news came to Ḥusayn while he was at Zubālah. He took out a written statement to the people and read it to them: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, dreadful news of the murder of Muslim b. 'Aqīl, Hāni' b. 'Urwah and 'Abdallāh b. Yuqṭur has reached us. Our Shī'ah has deserted us. Those of you who would prefer to leave us may leave freely without guilt." The people began to disperse from him to the right and left. The only followers left with him were those who had come with him from Medina. Al-Ḥusayn had done that because he realized that the Bedouin had only followed him because they thought that he was going to a land where the inhabitants' obedience to him had already been established. He did not want them to accompany him without being aware of what they were undertaking. He knew that when he had explained to them the possibilities, only those would accompany him who wanted to share his fate and die with him. At dawn, he ordered his attendants to provide themselves with water and some extra. Then he set out until he passed Baṭn al-'Aqabah.[318] He stopped there.

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316. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr al-Lakhmī was a well-known traditionist, who was born in 32 (652–53) and lived until 133 (750–51). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 411–13.

317. Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh was a well-known traditionist, who died in 193 (808). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 34–37.

318. Baṭn al-'Aqabah was a halting place on the way from Mecca to al-Kūfah beneath the high mountain of 'Aqabah before coming to Wāqiṣah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 692.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Lawdhān,[319] one of the Banū ʿIkrimah: One of his male relatives asked al-Ḥusayn, "Where are you heading?" He told him; then the man exhorted him, "I implore you before God not to go there. By God! You won't come to anything there except the points of spears and the edges of swords. If those who sent for you were enough to support you in battle and had prepared the ground for you, and you came to them, that would be a wise decision. However, in the light of the situation as it has been described, I do not think that you should go there." He replied, "Servant of God, wise decisions are not hidden from me. Yet the commands of God cannot be resisted." Then he departed from there.

[295] In this year (60/680) Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah dismissed al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah as governor of Mecca and appointed ʿAmr b. Saʿīd. That was in the month of Ramaḍān (June, 680). ʿAmr b. Saʿīd led the people in the pilgrimage. That is according to Aḥmad b. Thābit[320]—someone who mentioned it to him—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā[321]—Abū Maʿshar.

In this year (60/680) ʿAmr b. Saʿīd was Yazīd's governor in both Mecca and Medina after al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah was dismissed. ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād was governor over al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah and their districts (*aʿmāl*). The qāḍī of al-Kūfah was Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith and the qāḍī of al-Baṣrah was Hishām b. Hubayrah.[322]

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319. This seems to be the only report from Lawdhān; he seems to be otherwise unknown. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 209.

320. Aḥmād b. Thābit was a traditionist, who was alive in 255 (869). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 21.

321. Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā was a traditionist, who died between 214 (829) and 216 (831). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 245.

322. Hishām b. Hubayrah became qāḍī of al-Baṣrah in 58 (677–78) and remained qāḍī until 75 (694–95). See Ṭabarī, II, 188, 863.

The Events of the Year 61

(October 1, 680–September 19, 681)

Among these events was the murder (*maqtal*) of al-Ḥusayn. He was killed on 10 al-Muḥarram (October 10) according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone who transmitted reports—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar. This is also reported by al-Wāqidī and Hishām b. [Muḥammad] al-Kalbī. We have already mentioned the beginning of the affair of al-Ḥusayn during his journey toward Iraq and the part that took place in 60 (680). We will now give an account of what happened to him in 61 (680) and how his murder took place.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Jānāb—ʿAdī b. Ḥarmalah—ʿAbdallāh b. Sulaym and al-Madhrī b. al-Mushmaʿill, both of Asad: Al-Ḥusayn went on from Baṭn al-ʿAqabah until he stopped at Sharāf.[323] At dawn he ordered his attendants to get water and some extra. They continued going on at a quick pace during the first part of the day until midday when one of his followers exclaimed, "God is greater (*Allāhu akbar*)." Al-Ḥusayn repeated, "God is greater." Then he asked, "Why did you say God is greater?" The man answered that he had [296]

323. Sharāf was a watering place in the Najd. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 270.

seen palm trees. However, the two men of Asad asserted that that was a place where they had never seen a palm tree before. Al-Ḥusayn asked them what they thought that it was; they answered that they thought it was the necks of the cavalry vanguard. Al-Ḥusayn declared, "By God! I think so too. Isn't there a place where we could take refuge by putting it at our rear in order that we can face these people from one direction?" They replied, "Yes, there is Dhū Ḥusum[324] over on your left. If you reach it before them, it will be just what you want."

So he veered left toward Dhū Ḥusum; we went in that direction with him. No sooner had we done this than the necks of the cavalry vanguard appeared in front of us and we could see them clearly. We turned aside. When they saw that we had moved off the road, they moved to the side toward us. Their spears looked like palm branches stripped of their leaves; their standards were like birds' wings. We both made hastily for Dhū Ḥusum; we got there before them. Al-Ḥusayn ordered his tents to be pitched; they were erected. The people came up; there were about one thousand mounted men under the command of al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd al-Tamīmī al-Yarbūʿī. He and his cavalry stood facing al-Ḥusayn in the heat of midday. Al-Ḥusayn and his followers were all wearing their turbans and swords. He ordered his attendants to provide the people with water, to let them quench their thirst and to give their mounts water to drink little by little. The attendants stood and gave the mounts a little water at a time. But [first] the attendants stood and gave the people water to drink until they had
[297] quenched their thirst. Then, they began filling their bowls, basins and cups; they took them to their mounts. When a mount had drunk three, four or five draughts, the water was taken away and given to another mount until they had all been watered.

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]—Laqīṭ[325]—ʿAlī b. al-Ṭaʿʿān al-Muḥāribī:[326] I was with al-Ḥurr on that day. I was among the last of his followers to arrive. When al-Ḥusayn saw

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324. Dhū Ḥusum was a naturally well-fortified place near Karbalāʾ. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 367.

325. This seems to be the only report from Laqīṭ; otherwise he seems to be unknown.

326. ʿAlī b. al-Ṭaʿʿān al-Muḥāribī is only recorded as being present in this place; otherwise, he seems to be unknown.

how thirsty both my horse and I were, he said, "Make your beast (*rāwiyah*) kneel." To me "*rāwiyah*" meant waterskin so he said, "Cousin, make your camel (*jamal*) kneel." I did so. Then he said, "Drink." I did so, but when I drank, water flowed from my waterskin. He told me, "Bend your waterskin," using the word "*ikhnith*" that means "*iʿtif*" (bend). I did not know how to do that. He came up and bent it. Then I drank and gave my mount to drink.

Al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd had come from al-Qādisiyyah. ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād had sent al-Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm al-Tamīmī,[327] who was in charge of his police, and ordered him to take up position at al-Qādisiyyah, to place lookouts and to control [the area] from al-Qādisiyyah to Khaffān. Al-Ḥurr had been sent in advance from al-Qādisiyyah with one thousand mounted men to meet Ḥusayn.

Al-Ḥurr remained positioned opposite Ḥusayn until the time for the midday prayer drew near. Al-Ḥusayn ordered al-Ḥajjāj b. Masrūq al-Juʿfī[328] to give the call to prayer. When the second call to prayer that begins the prayer (*iqāmah*)[329] was about to be made, al-Ḥusayn came out dressed in a waistcloth (*izār*), cloak (*ridāʾ*)[330] and wearing a pair of sandals. He praised and glorified God. Then he said, "People, it is a true argument (*maʿdhirah*) both to God, the Mighty and Exalted, and to you that I did not come to you until your letters were brought to me, and your messengers came to me saying, 'Come to us, for we have no imām. God may unite us in the truth through you.' Since this was your view, I have [298] come to you. Therefore, if you give me what you guaranteed in your covenants and sworn testimonies, I will come to your town. If you will not and are averse to my coming, I will leave you for the place from which I came to you."

They were silent before him. Then they said to the muezzin, "Recite the *iqāmah*." He recited the *iqāmah*, and al-Ḥusayn asked

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327. Erroneously given as Numayr in the text; see *Addenda et Emendanda*, DCLIV.

328. This seems to be the only time al-Ḥajjāj b. Masrūq al-Juʿfī is mentioned.

329. The *iqāmah* repeats the same formula as in the call to prayer (*adhān*), but is regarded as an integral part of the *ṣalāt*. See Howard, "The Development of the *Adhān* and the *Iqāma* in the *Ṣalāt* in Early Islam," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 1981.

330. The *izār* and the *ridāʾ* are traditional clothes for Islamic and pre-Islamic worship by the Arabs. See *EI*², s.v. *Iḥrām*.

al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd whether he wanted to lead his followers in the prayer. He replied, "No, but you pray and we will pray with you leading the prayer." After al-Ḥusayn had prayed before them, he entered his tent, and his followers gathered around him. Al-Ḥurr went back to his position and entered a tent that had been put up for him. A group of his followers gathered around him while the rest of his followers now returned to their previous positions, each of them holding the reins of his mount and sitting in the shade.

At the time for the afternoon (*ʿaṣr*) prayer, al-Ḥusayn ordered his followers to prepare for departure. Then he ordered the call for prayer to be made; the call for the afternoon prayer was made, and the *iqāmah* was recited. Al-Ḥusayn came forward, stood and prayed. When he had said the final greeting of peace [in the prayer], he turned his face toward al-Ḥurr's men. After praising and glorifying God, he said, "People, if you fear God and recognize the rights of those who have them, God will be more satisfied with you. We are the family (*ahl al-bayt*) of Muḥammad and as such are more entitled to the authority (*wilāyah*) of this government (*amr*) over you than these pretenders who claim what does not belong to them. They have brought tyranny and aggression among you. If you dislike us, or do not know our rights, and if your view has now changed from what came to us in your letters and what your messengers brought, then I will leave you."

Al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd declared, "By God! We know nothing of these letters and messengers that you mention." Al-Ḥusayn told one of his followers, "ʿUqbah b. Simʿān, bring out the two saddlebags [299] in which their letters to me are kept." He brought out two saddlebags that were full of documents; he scattered them in front of them. Al-Ḥurr said, "We are not among those who wrote these letters to you, and we have been ordered that when we meet you we should not leave you until we have brought you to al-Kūfah and to ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād." Al-Ḥusayn told him, "Death will come to you before that." He ordered his followers to rise and mount. After they had mounted and waited for their women to be mounted, he ordered his followers to depart.

When they set out to leave, al-Ḥurr's men got in between them and the direction they were traveling. Al-Ḥusayn cried out to al-Ḥurr, "May God deprive your mother of you. What do you want?"

Al-Ḥurr answered, "By God! If any of the Arabs other than you were to say that to me, while he was in the same situation as you, I would not leave him without mentioning his mother's being deprived of him. I would say it whoever he might be. But, by God, there is no way for me to mention your mother except by saying the best things possible." Al-Ḥusayn again asked him what he wanted. He replied that he wanted to go with him to the governor, 'Ubaydallāh. Al-Ḥusayn said, "By God! I will not follow you!" Al-Ḥurr replied, "By God! I will not let you go anywhere else!" These statements were repeated three times. When their conversation was getting more intense, al-Ḥurr said, "I have not been ordered to fight you. I have only been ordered not to leave you until I bring you to al-Kūfah. If you refuse to do that, then take any road that will neither bring you into al-Kūfah nor take you back to Medina, and let that be a compromise between us; I shall write to Ibn Ziyād. You write to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah if you wish to write to him, or to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād if you wish. Perhaps God will cause something to happen that will relieve me [300] from being troubled in any way by your affair. Therefore, take this road here and bear to the left of the road to al-'Udhayb[331] and al-Qādisiyyah." There were thirty-eight miles between al-Qādisiyyah and al-'Udhayb. Al-Ḥusayn set off with his followers and al-Ḥurr marched by him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Uqbah b. Abī al-'Ayzār:[332] Al-Ḥusayn preached to his followers and the followers of al-Ḥurr at al-Bīḍah.[333] After praising and glorifying God, He said: "People, the Apostle of God said: 'When anyone sees the authorities make permissible what God had forbidden, violating God's covenant, and opposing the Sunnah of the Apostle of God by acting against the servants of God sinfully and with hostility, when anyone sees all these incidents and does not upbraid them by deed or by word, it is God's decree to make that person subject to fortune.' Indeed, these authorities have cleaved to obedience to Satan and have abandoned obedience to the Merciful; they have made corruption

331. Al-'Udhayb is a watering place and one of the halting places on the way from Mecca to al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 626.

332. 'Uqbah b. Abī al-'Ayzār was a traditionist, who died during the first half of the first (eighth) century. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 222.

333. Al-Bīḍah was a watering place between al-'Udhayb and Wāqiṣah.

visible; they have neglected the punishment (*ḥudūd*) laid down by God; they have appropriated the *fayʾ* exclusively to themselves; they have permitted what God has forbidden, and they have forbidden what He has permitted. I have the right to change more than anyone else. Your letters were brought to me, and your messengers came to me with your oath of allegiance that you would not hand me over or desert me. If you fulfill your pledge, you will arrive at true guidance, for I am al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the son of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Apostle of God. My life is with your lives, my family is with your families. In me you have an ideal model (*uswah*). However, if you will not act, but you break your covenant and renounce your responsibility for the oath of allegiance that you have given, then, by my life, it is not a thing that is unknown of you. You have done that to my father, my brother and my cousin, Muslim. Anyone who was deceived by you would be gullible. Thus have you mistaken your fortune and lost your destiny. For whoever violates his word only violates his own soul. God will enable me to do without you. Peace be with you and the mercy and blessings of God."

ʿUqbah b. Abī al-ʿAyzār reported that Ḥusayn stood up to preach at Dhū Ḥusum. After praising and glorifying God, he said, [301] "You see what this matter has come to. Indeed, the world has changed, and it has changed for the worse. Its goodness has retreated, and it regards good as bitter. Or, there remain only the dregs like the dregs in a jar, sordid nourishment like unhealthy fodder. Can you not see that truth is no longer something that men practice and falsehood is no longer desisted from, so that the believer rightly desires to meet God. I can only regard death as martyrdom (*shahādah*) and life with these oppressors as a tribulation."

Zuhayr b. al-Qayn al-Bajalī stood up amid his comrades and asked whether they would speak or should he. They told him to speak. After praising and glorifying God, he said, "We have heard God guide your words, son of the Apostle of God. By God! If our world can be eternal and we can be immortal within it and, if by helping and supporting you, we must abandon it, then we would still prefer going with you rather than staying in the world." Al-Ḥusayn prayed for him and spoke well of him.

Al-Ḥurr started to travel alongside him, while saying to him, "Ḥusayn, I remind you of God with regard to your life, for I testify

that if you fight, you will be fought, and if you are fought, you will be killed." He replied, "Do you think that you can frighten me with death? Could a worse disaster happen to you than killing me? I do not know what to say to you. I can only address you as the brother of al-Aws addressed his cousin when he met the latter as he was going to help the Apostle of God. His cousin said to him: 'Where are you going, for you will be killed?' He replied:

I will depart, for there is no shame in death for a young man
whenever he intends right and strives as a Muslim,
And has supported righteous men through [the sacrifice of] his life, [302]
abandoned the cursed and made alliance with the consecrated.[334]

When al-Ḥurr heard that, he drew away from him. He and his followers traveled on one side while Ḥusayn traveled on the other, until they reached 'Udhayb al-Hijānāt.[335] There, the dromedaries of al-Nu'mān[336] used to graze. It was there, too, that a group of four[337] approached from al-Kūfah on their camels, driving along a horse of Nāfi' b. Hilāl, called al-Kāmil. They had with them their guide, al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. 'Adī,[338] on his horse. He was reciting:

Camels, do not be frightened by my urging
but go forward quickly before the dawn rises,

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334. These verses are also quoted by Balādhurī. See *Ansāb* II/2, 171. I have corrected the last hemistich of the second verse, which read *yaghushshu wa-yurghimā* to *wa-ḥālafa muḥrimā*, as in Balādhurī.

335. There were two other watering places within the area of al-'Udhayb. One of them to the east of al-'Udhayb was called "'Udhayb al-Hijānāt." The area was particularly good for grazing animals, especially horses and camels. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 626.

336. Balādhurī gives the full name, al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 171. He was a famous king of the Lakhmids from A.D. 580 to 602. See P. Hittī, *History of the Arabs*, 84.

337. The other three beside Nāfi' are given by Balādhurī: 'Amr b. Khālid al-Ṣaydāwī, his mawlā Sa'd, and Mujammi' b. 'Abdallāh al-'Ā'idhī of Madhḥij. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 172. None of them, including Nāfi', has been mentioned before, but they are members of the Shī'ah who managed to get to al-Ḥusayn. They eventually died fighting for him. See pp. 145, 150, below.

338. Al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. 'Adī was a famous Arab poet whose poetry was said to be affected by his having been a townsman. See R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, 138.

With the best riders and the best group
so that you may kneel down at the house of a man of high ancestry,
A praiseworthy man, a free man, a generous man
whom God has sent for the best mission to fulfill.
Then may God cause him to remain for the rest of time.

When they reached al-Ḥusayn, they recited these verses to him. He replied, "By God! I hope that what waits for us will be good whether we die or be victorious."

[303] Al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd approached and said, "These men from al-Kūfah are not among the party that came with you. I will either detain them or send them back." Al-Ḥusayn answered, "I will defend them in the same way as I would defend my own life. They are only my supporters and helpers. You gave me your word that you would not do anything against me until you received a letter from Ibn Ziyād." Al-Ḥurr insisted that they did not come with him, but al-Ḥusayn declared, "They are my followers and they are just like those who came with me. Therefore if you carry out the agreement made between us, [you will let them stay]. Otherwise, I will have to do battle with you." At that al-Ḥurr desisted.

Then al-Ḥusayn said to them, "Tell me the news of the people you have left behind you." Mujammiʿ b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿĀʾidhī,[339] who was one of the group of four, said, "There has been much bribery among the nobles, and their coffers have been filled so that their support has been won over and their loyal support [for Ibn Ziyād] has been ensured. Now they are all united against you. As for the rest of the people, their hearts are inclined toward you, but soon their swords will be drawn against you." Al-Ḥusayn asked what they knew of his messenger to them. They asked who he was; he told them that it was Qays b. Mushir al-Ṣaydāwī. They said that al-Ḥusayn b. Tamīm[340] had captured him and sent him to Ibn Ziyād. Ibn Ziyād had ordered him to curse al-Ḥusayn and his father, but he had called for God's blessings on him and his father and cursed Ibn Ziyād and his father. Then he had urged the people to support al-Ḥusayn and told them of his coming. Ibn

339. See footnote 337.
340. Text erroneously gives al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr; see *Addenda et Emendanda*, DCLV.

Ziyād ordered him to be thrown from the wall of the palace. The eyes of al-Ḥusayn glistened with moisture, and he could not hold back the tears. He said, "'Some [of the faithful] have reached their death and some are waiting and have not changed.'[341] O God! Make paradise an abode for us [who are waiting] and for those who have reached their death. Gather us and them in a dwelling place of Your mercy and of the desirable reward that You have in [304] store."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Jamīl b. Marthad[342] from the Banū Ma'an—al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. 'Adī: Al-Ṭirimmāḥ approached al-Ḥusayn and said, "I have been looking and I haven't seen anyone with you. If it was only these men whom I see traveling alongside you (i.e., al-Ḥurr's men) who would fight you, there would be enough of them to defeat you. But, before coming to you from al-Kūfah yesterday, I saw the outskirts (*ẓahr*) of al-Kūfah, and there were [more] people gathered together in one place than my eyes have ever seen. I asked about them; I was told that they had gathered to be inspected and that they would march against al-Ḥusayn. I adjure you before God that, if you can desist from moving only a hand's breadth (*shibr*) against them, you should not move. If you wish to settle in a land where God will protect you so that you can consider your position, and your activities become clear to you, then come so that I can settle you in our impregnable mountains called Aja'.[343] By God! There we were protected from the Banū Ghassān, from Ḥimyar, from al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir and from all types of people. By God! No humiliation has ever come to us. So I will go with you to settle you in al-Qurayyah. There we will send to the men of Tayyi' in Aja' and Salmā.[344] By God! It will not be ten days before the tribe of Ṭayyi' brings you foot soldiers and horsemen. Stay with us for as long as it appears good to you. If anything disturbs you, I can guarantee

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341. Qur'ān, 33:23.

342. Jamīl b. Marthad was an unknown authority of Abū Mikhnaf's whose only reports are the two presented here concerning al-Ṭirimmāḥ.

343. Aja' was one of the two mountains of the tribe of Ṭayyi', the other being Salmā. There was a two-day journey between the two mountains. Aja' is the western one of the two. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 122.

344. See n. 343, above. Al-Qurayyah is a place between Aja' and Salmā. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 85.

for you twenty thousand Ṭā'īs who would use their swords on your behalf. By God! No one will ever reach you while an eye still twinkles among them." Al-Ḥusayn said, "May God reward you and your people. But there is an agreement between these people and us as a result of which we cannot leave, and we do not know the final outcome of affairs between these people and us."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Jamīl b. Marthad—al-Ṭirimmāḥ
[305] b. 'Adī: I bade him farewell and said, "May God protect you from the evil of jinn and men. I have supplies from al-Kūfah for my family and money for them. I will take them and deliver them. Then I will come back to you, God willing. If I arrive in time, by God, I will be one of your supporters." Al-Ḥusayn replied, "If you do, be quick! May God have mercy on you." I knew then, when he asked me to hurry, that he was short of men. When I reached my family, I delivered to them the things that would be useful to them. Then I gave my last instructions. My family began to say, "You are doing something that you have never done before today." I told them what I intended; I set out along the road through the territory of the Banū Thu'al. When I was near 'Udhayb al-Hijānāt, I met Samā'ah b. Badn,[345] and he gave me news of al-Ḥusayn's death. So I returned.

According to [Abū Mikhnaf]: Al-Ḥusayn went on to Qaṣr Banī Muqātil.[346] He stopped there, and a large tent had been erected.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd—'Āmir al-Sha'bī:[347] Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī asked, "Whose tent is this?" He was told that it belonged to 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr al-Ju'fī.[348] He asked them to ask 'Ubaydallāh to come to him. Someone was sent to him. The messenger went to him and said, "This is al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī; he asks you to come to him." 'Ubaydallāh said, "'We belong to God and to Him we shall return.'[349] By God! I

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345. Samā'ah b. Badn is only mentioned at this point in the narrative.

346. Qaṣr Banī Muqātil was a palace of a Christian tribe in pre-Islamic times; it was close to al-Quṭquṭānah; See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 121–22.

347. 'Āmir b. Shurāḥil al-Sha'bī, an influential jurist and traditionist, died in 105 (723–24) at the age of 73. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 171–78.

348. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr al-Ju'fī was a noble Arab and poet. Although he did not give al-Ḥusayn any help, he regretted his death. He bitterly opposed al-Mukhtār's revolution, and was also hostile to Ibn al-Zubayr; he attempted to support 'Abd al-Malik but he was killed. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 290–97.

349. Qur'ān, 2:156 [151].

only left al-Kūfah out of dread that al-Ḥusayn would enter al-Kūfah while I was there. By God! I do not want to see him or him to see me." The messenger returned to al-Ḥusayn. Al-Ḥusayn took his sandals, put them on and went over to 'Ubaydallāh. He greeted him and sat down. Then he asked him to go with him. Ibn al-Ḥurr repeated what he had said before. Al-Ḥusayn replied, "If you are not going to help us, fear God lest you be one of those who fight against us. By God! No one will hear our cry and not help us without being destroyed." He said, "As for that, it will never [306] happen, if God, the Exalted, wishes." Then al-Ḥusayn left him and continued his journey.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—'Uqbah b. Sim'ān: Toward the end of the night, he ordered his attendants to get provisions of water. Then he ordered us to depart. We did. When we had left Qaṣr Banī Muqātil and had gone on for a time, his head began to nod with drowsiness. He woke up, saying "'We belong to God and to Him we shall return.'[350] Praise be to God, Lord of the universe!" He did that twice or three times; then his son, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn approached him and said to him, "'We belong to God and to Him we shall return.'[351] Praise be to God, Lord of the world. Father! May I be a sacrifice for you. Why are you praising God and repeating the verse of returning to Him?" He replied, "My son, I nodded off, and a horseman appeared to me, riding a horse, and he said: 'Men are traveling and the fates travel toward them.' Then I knew it was our death being announced to us." 'Alī said, "Father, may God not show you any evil. Are we not in the right?" He said, "Indeed, by Him to Whom all servants must return!" 'Alī said, "Then, father, we need have no concern, if we are going to die righteously." Al-Ḥusayn replied, "May God give you the best reward a son can receive from his father."

In the morning, he stopped and prayed the morning prayer. Then he hurried to remount; he began veering to the left with his followers, for his intention was to separate from al-Ḥurr's men. However, al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd came toward him to stop him and his followers. When he began to turn them toward al-Kūfah, they

350. Qur'ān 2:156 [151].
351. Qur'ān 2:156 [151].

strongly resisted him. So al-Ḥurr's men stopped that, but they still accompanied them in the same way until they reached Nīnawā, the place where al-Ḥusayn stopped. Suddenly, there appeared a rider on a fast mount coming from al-Kūfah. He was
[307] bearing weapons and carrying a bow on his shoulder. They all stopped and watched him. When he reached them, he greeted al-Ḥurr and his followers but he did not greet al-Ḥusayn and his followers. He handed al-Ḥurr a letter from ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. It said the following: "...When this letter reaches you and my messenger comes to you, make al-Ḥusayn come to a halt. Let him stop in an open place without protection and water. I have ordered my messenger to stay with you and not to leave you until he brings me news of your carrying out my instructions. Peace be with you."

When al-Ḥurr had read the letter, he told Ḥusayn's followers, "This is a letter from the governor, ʿUbaydallāh. He has ordered me to bring you to a halt at an open place. This is his messenger; he has ordered him not to leave me until I carry out his decision and his order."

Yazīd b. Ziyād b. al-Muhāṣir Abū al-Shaʿthā' al-Kindī al-Bahdalī,[352] who was with al-Ḥusayn, looked at the messenger of Ibn Ziyād and recognized him. He asked him, "Are you Mālik b. Nusayr al-Baddī?"[353] The other replied, "Yes." He was a member of the tribe of Kindah. Yazīd b. Ziyād exclamed, "May your mother be deprived of you! What is this business you have brought?" The other man retorted, "What is this that I have brought? I have obeyed my imām and remained faithful to my oath of allegiance." Abū al-Shaʿthā' responded, "You have been disobedient to your Lord and have obeyed your imām in bringing about the destruction of your soul. You have acquired shame and the punishment of Hell-fire. Indeed, God has said: 'We have made them imāms, who summon people to Hell-fire, and on the Day of Resurrection they will not be helped.'[354] Your imām is one of those."

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352. Yazīd b. Ziyād is not mentioned before this event in any other context; he died fighting for al-Ḥusayn. See pp. 149–50, below.

353. Mālik b. Nusayr al-Baddī was not mentioned before, but he went on to take part in the battle against al-Ḥusayn; he attacked and struck al-Ḥusayn and took his cloak. For his part in the battle, al-Mukhtār ordered his arms and legs to be cut off, and he was left to bleed to death. See pp. 153–54, below; and Ṭabarī, II, 668.

354. Qur'ān, 28:41.

Al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd began to make the people stop in a place that was without water and where there was no village. They said, "Let us stop at this village," meaning Nīnawā, "or that one," meaning al-Ghāḍiriyyah,[355] "or that other one," meaning Shaffayyah.[356] Al-Ḥurr said, "No, by God! I cannot do that, for this man haṣ been sent to me as a spy." Zuhayr b. al-Qayn said, "Son of the Apostle of God, fighting these people now will be easier for us than fighting those who will come against us after them. By [308] my life! After these whom you see now, a number will come against us, and we will not have the power to fight against them." Al-Ḥusayn answered, "I will not begin to fight against them." Zuhayr b. al-Qayn said, "Go with us to that village so that you could stop there. It is well fortified and it is on the bank of the Euphrates. If they try to stop us, we can fight them. Fighting them will be easier than fighting those who will come after them." Al-Ḥusayn asked what village it was; he was told that it was called al-'Aqr[357] (literally "wound"). He said, "O God! I seek refuge with you from al-'Aqr." He stopped at al-'Aqr.

That was Thursday, 2 al-Muḥarram in 61 (October 2, 680).[358] On the next day, 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ came against them from al-Kūfah with four thousand men. The reason for Ibn Sa'd's coming out against al-Ḥusayn was that 'Ubaydallāh had commissioned him with four thousand Kūfans to go with them to Dastabā.[359] The people of al-Daylam had come against Dastabā and overrun this place. So Ibn Ziyād had written 'Umar b. Sa'd a letter of appointment over al-Rayy and ordered him to set out. He had gone out to an encampment with the men at Ḥammām A'yan.[360] When the affair of al-Ḥusayn developed, and the latter had set out for al-Kūfah, Ibn Ziyād recalled 'Umar b. Sa'd. He told him, "Go against al-Ḥusayn and when you have finished our business with him, you can go to your governorate." 'Umar b. Sa'd pleaded, "If you would consider, may God have mercy on

355. Al-Ghāḍiriyyah was a small village to the northeast of Karbalā'.
356. Shaffayyah was a village near Karbalā'.
357. Al-'Aqr was a village near Karbalā'. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 695.
358. Actually a Tuesday.
359. Dastabā was a large district between al-Rayy and Hamadhān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 573.
360. Ḥammām A'yan was close to al-Kūfah; it seems to have been used as a military camp for campaigns to the east. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 329.

you, relieving me, do so." ʿUbaydallāh said, "Yes, if you give us back our letter of appointment." ʿUmar b. Saʿd asked him to give him a day's respite to think. When he had said that to him, ʿUmar went away; he consulted men who would give him sincere advice. He did not find one who did not advise him to refuse. Ḥamzah b. al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah,[361] who was his sister's son, came to him and said, "Uncle, I adjure you before God not to go against al-Ḥusayn, for you would be committing a crime before your Lord and breaking the bonds of your kinship with him. By God! It is better that you should abandon all your world, the
[309] wealth and the earthly authority that you have than that you should meet God with the blood of al-Ḥusayn on your hands." ʿUmar b. Saʿd replied, "God willing, I will do that."

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—ʿAwānah b. al-Ḥakam—ʿAmmār b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yasār al-Juhanī[362]—his father:[363] I went to ʿUmar b. Saʿd when he had been ordered to go against al-Ḥusayn. He said to me, "The governor has ordered me to go against al-Ḥusayn and I have refused to do that for him." I said to him, "May God keep you in the right and guide you. Withdraw and do not do it; do not go against al-Ḥusayn." Then I left him. Someone came to me and told me, "This ʿUmar b. Saʿd is urging the people against al-Ḥusayn." I went to him, and he was sitting down. When he saw me, he turned his face away. I knew, then, that he had decided to go against al-Ḥusayn. ʿUmar b. Saʿd had gone to Ibn Ziyād and said, "May God make the governor prosperous; you appointed me to the governorship. You wrote me a letter of appointment, and the people have heard about it. If you thought it right to send me to this governorship, then act accordingly and send some of the Kūfan nobles with this army, for I am not more suitable to fight for you against him than...." Then he named some people to him. Ibn Ziyād retorted, "Don't teach me about the Kūfan nobles. I am not asking you to tell me about whom I want to send. If you will go with your troops, [well

361. Ḥamzah's father, Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah, had been governor of al-Kūfah; he had an influential position.

362. ʿAmmār b. ʿAbdallāh was only quoted on this one occasion; otherwise he seems to be unknown.

363. ʿAbdallāh b. Yasār al-Juhanī, a Kūfan traditionist, was contemporary with the events. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 84–85.

and good]. If not, then return me your letter of appointment." 'Umar b. Sa'd said that he would go when he saw that Ibn Ziyād was insisting. He went with four thousand men and reached al-Ḥusayn the day after al-Ḥusayn had stopped at Nīnawā.

'Umar b. Sa'd wanted to send 'Azrah b. Qays al-Aḥmasī to al-Ḥusayn. He said, "Go to al-Ḥusayn and ask him what brought him; ask him what he wants." 'Azrah was one of those who had written to al-Ḥusayn; he was ashamed to go to him. The same was the case with all the leaders who had written to him; all of them refused and were unwilling. Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh al- [310] Sha'bī[364] stood up—he was a brave horseman who was never daunted by anything and said, "I will go to him. By God! If you wish, I will finish him." 'Umar said, "I don't want you to finish him, but go to him and ask him what has brought him here." As Kathīr was approaching him, Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣā'idī saw him and said to al-Ḥusayn, "May God make you prosperous, Abū 'Abdallāh, the wickedest man on earth, the one who has shed the most blood and the boldest of them all in attack is coming toward you." Then Abū Thumāmah stood facing him and said, "Put down your sword." He replied, "No, by God! There is no reason for that, for I am only a messenger. If you will listen to me, I will tell you what I have been sent to ask you. If you refuse, I will go away." Abū Thumāmah said, "I will hold the hilt of your sword, and you can say what you need to." He retorted, "No, by God! You will not touch it." Abū Thumāmah said, "Then tell me what you have brought, and I will inform al-Ḥusayn for you. But I will not let you go near him, for you are a charlatan." They both cursed each other. Kathīr went back to 'Umar b. Sa'd and gave him a report about what occurred.

'Umar summoned Qurrah b. Qays al-Ḥanẓalī[365] and said to him, "Shame upon you Qurrah! Go and meet al-Ḥusayn and ask him what brought him and what he wants." Qurrah began to approach him. When al-Ḥusayn saw him approaching, he asked, "Do you know that man?" Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir replied, "Yes, he is

364. Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Sha'bī only seems to have been mentioned at the Battle of Karbalā'.

365. Qurrah b. Qays al-Ḥanẓalī only seems to have been mentioned at the Battle of Karbalā'.

from the Ḥanẓalah clan of Tamīm. He is the son of our sister. I used to know him as a man of sound judgment. I would not have thought that he would be present at this scene." He came and greeted al-Ḥusayn. Then he informed him of 'Umar b. Sa'd's message. Al-Ḥusayn said, "The people of this town of yours wrote to me that I should come. However, if they have now come to dislike me, then I will leave them." Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir said "Shame upon you Qurrah b. Qays! How could you return to those unjust men. Support this man through whose fathers God granted you
[311] and us favor." Qurrah replied, "I will return to my leader with the answer to his message and then I will reflect what to do." He went back to 'Umar b. Sa'd and gave him his report. 'Umar said, "I hope that God will spare me from making war on him and fighting against him."

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥabīb b. Zuhayr al-'Absī[366]—Ḥassān b. Fā'id b. Bakr al-'Absī:[367] I testify that the letter of 'Umar came to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād while I was with him. It was as follows: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.... From where I positioned myself near al-Ḥusayn, I sent my messenger to him and asked him what brought him and what he wanted. He answered: 'The people of this land wrote to me and their messengers came to me asking me to come; I have done so. However, since they have come to dislike me and had new ideas other than what their messengers brought to me, I will go away from them.'"

When the letter was read to Ibn Ziyād, he recited:

Now when our claws cling to him,
he hopes for escape but now is not the time for escape.[368]

He wrote to 'Umar b. Sa'd: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate...your letter has reached me and I have understood what you have mentioned. Offer al-Ḥusayn the opportunity for him and all his followers to give the oath of al-

366. Al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥabīb b. Zuhayr al-'Absī was an otherwise unknown authority of Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 214.

367. Ḥassān b. Fā'id b. Bakr al-'Absī was a traditionist who reported traditions from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He must have lived until the end of the first (seventh) century. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 215.

368. A similar verse is quoted by Balādhurī. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 177.

legiance to Yazīd. If he does that, we will then see what our judgment will be." When the answer reached 'Umar b. Sa'd, he said "I was afraid that 'Ubaydallāh would not go easy."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—Ḥumayd b. Muslim al-Azdī:[369] There came [another] letter from Ibn Ziyād: "...Prevent al-Ḥusayn and his followers from getting water. Do [312] not let them taste a drop of it just as was done with the pious, chaste and wronged caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān." 'Umar b. Sa'd sent 'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj with five hundred horsemen to take position along the river and to prevent al-Ḥusayn and his followers from getting a drop of water. That was three days before the battle against al-Ḥusayn.

'Abdallāh b. Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī,[370] who was numbered among Bajīlah, called out to him, "Ḥusayn, don't you see that the water is as hard to get as the middle of heaven! By God! You will not taste a drop of it until you die of thirst." Al-Ḥusayn cried out, "O God! Make him die of thirst and never forgive him."

Ḥumayd b. Muslim reported: By God! Later I visited him when he was ill. By God, other than Whom there is no deity! I saw him drinking water without being able to quench his thirst, and then he vomited. Again he drank water without being able to quench his thirst. This went on until his breath, that is his life, came to an end.

When the thirst of al-Ḥusayn and his followers became severe, al-Ḥusayn summoned his brother al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib[371] and sent him together with thirty horsemen and twenty foot soldiers. He sent them with twenty waterskins. They went forward to approach the watering place by night. At their head with the standard was Nāfi' b. Hilāl al-Jamalī. 'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj al- [313] Zubaydī cried out, "Who goes there? What have you come for?" Nāfi'[372] replied, "We have come to drink from this water that you

369. Ḥumayd b. Muslim al-Azdī was an eyewitness of the events; he later supported those who demanded vengeance for al-Ḥusayn. See Wellhausen, *Religio-Political*, 124.

370. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥuṣayn al-Azdī was not mentioned elsewhere but for this battle and his own death.

371. Al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was the half-brother of al-Ḥusayn; his mother was Umm al-Banīn. See p. 111, below.

372. Balādhurī supplies Nāfi''s name. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 181.

are trying to keep from us." He said, "Drink to your health." Nāfiʿ said, "No, by God! I will not drink a drop of it while Ḥusayn is thirsty and those of his followers whom you can see." Then the rest reached him. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj said, "There is no way for these men to get water. We have only been stationed in this place to prevent them from getting water." When the rest of his followers reached Nāfiʿ, he ordered the foot soldiers, "Fill your waterskins." The foot soldiers hurried and filled their waterskins. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj and his followers rose against them. Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī and Nāfiʿ b. Hilāl attacked them and kept them back. They went to the foot soldiers and told them to go while they remained behind to protect them. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj and his followers turned toward them, and they charged at each other for a short time. A man from the tribe of Sudda', who was a follower of ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj, was stabbed by Nāfiʿ b. Ḥilāl. He thought it was nothing, but later complications developed; he died of his wound. The followers of Ḥusayn returned with the waterskins and took them to him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb—Hāni' b. Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī,[373] who was an eyewitness of the killing of al-Ḥusayn: Al-Ḥusayn sent ʿAmr b. Qaraẓah b. Kaʿb al-Anṣārī[374] to ʿUmar b. Saʿd [to say] that he wanted to meet him at night between the two camps. ʿUmar b. Saʿd came out with about twenty horsemen as did Ḥusayn. When they met, Ḥusayn ordered his followers to go aside and so did ʿUmar b. Saʿd. We stayed away from them insofar as we could not hear their voices and their conversation. They talked together for a long time until a [great] part of the night had gone. Then each of them went back to his own camp with his followers. The people made guesses about what had occurred between them. The suggestion that they put forward
[314] was that Ḥusayn had said to ʿUmar b. Saʿd, "Come with me to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, and let us leave the two armies." ʿUmar replied, "Then my house will be destroyed." Al-Ḥusayn said, "I will rebuild it for you." ʿUmar answered, "Then my estates will

373. Hāni' b. Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī was a participant in the Battle of Karbalā' against al-Ḥusayn but his name does not occur anywhere else.

374. ʿAmr b. Qaraẓah b. Kaʿb al-Anṣārī fought and died with al-Ḥusayn, but he is not mentioned elsewhere. See p. 135, below.

be seized." Al-Ḥusayn said, "I will give you better property than that in Ḥijāz." However, 'Umar was still unwilling to go with Ḥusayn. The people talked about this event; it spread among the people without their ever having heard the conversation or knowing anything about what actually was discussed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd, al-Ṣaq'ab b. Zuhayr al-Azdī and others—which is what the majority (*jamā'ah*) of the transmitters hold: Al-Ḥusayn said, "Choose one of three courses for me: First, that I should return to the place from which I came; second, that I should put my hand in the hand of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, and he should make his own judgment about what is between him and me; or, third, that you should send me to any one of the Muslims' border stations you wish, where I can be one of its inhabitants with the same rights and responsibilities."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—'Uqbah b. Sim'ān: I accompanied Ḥusayn [all the time]. I left Medina for Mecca with him, and Mecca for Iraq. I did not leave him until he died. There was no one who addressed a word to him, either in Medina, in Mecca, on the road, in Iraq, or in the camp, until the day of his death, without my hearing the conversation. By God! He neither gave the promise, which the people claim to recall when they allege that he would put his hand in the hand of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah or that they should send him to any one of the Muslims' border stations. Rather he said, "Leave me, and I will travel this broad land so that we may see how the people's affair develops."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd al-Hamdānī and al-Ṣaq'ab b. Zuhayr: The two men—Ḥusayn and 'Umar b. [315]
Sa'd—met three or four times. Then 'Umar b. Sa'd wrote to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād: "...God has extinguished hatred, brought about unity of opinion, and set right the affairs of the community. This man, al-Ḥusayn, has given me a promise that he will return to his former place; either we can send him to one of the border outposts—he will become like any of the Muslims with the same rights and duties as they—or he will go to Yazīd, the Commander of the Faithful, offer him his hand, and see his view with regard to the differences between them. This will satisfy you, and benefit the community."

When 'Ubaydallāh read the letter, he said, "This is the letter of

a sincere man to his governor, one who is anxious for his people. Yes, I accept." However, Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan jumped up and said, "Are you going to accept this from him when he has encamped nearby on your land? By God! If he left your land, without putting his hand in yours, he would be in a position of power and strength and you would be in a position of weakness and impotence. Do not give this concession, for it would be a mark of weakness. Rather let him and his followers submit to your authority. Then if you punish them, you are the one who administers the punishment. You have the right, however, to forgive them. By God! I have been told that Ḥusayn and ʿUmar b. Saʿd have been sitting between the camps talking all the night." Ibn Ziyād said, "What you have suggested is good. Your view is correct."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād summoned Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan and said, "Take this message to ʿUmar b. Saʿd and let him offer al-Ḥusayn and his followers the option of submitting to [316] my authority. If they agree, let him send them to me in peace. If they refuse, he should fight them. If ʿUmar b. Saʿd acts according to my instructions, then heed him and obey him. However, if he refuses to fight them, then you are the commander of the people; attack Ḥusayn, cut his head off and send it to me."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbi: Then ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād wrote to ʿUmar b. Saʿd: "...I did not send you to Ḥusayn to hold off from fighting him, to give him time, to promise him peace and preservation, or to be an intercessor on his behalf with me. Therefore, see that, if Ḥusayn and his followers submit to my authority and surrender, you can send them to me in peace. If they refuse, then march against them to kill and disfigure them, for they deserve that. If Ḥusayn is killed, make the horses trample on his chest and back, for he is a disobedient rebel, an evil man who splits the community. Not that I think he would feel any harm once he is dead, but I have vowed to do this to him if I killed him. If you carry out our order concerning him, we will give you the reward due to one who heeds and obeys. If you refuse, then withdraw from our command and our army. Leave the army to Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan. We have given him our authority. Peace be with you."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah[375]—'Abdallāh b. Sharīk al-'Āmirī:[376] When Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan took hold of the letter, he rose to go with 'Abdallāh b. Abī Muḥill. The latter's paternal aunt was Umm al-Banīn bt. Ḥizām,[377] who had been married to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and who had borne him al-'Abbās, Ja'far and 'Uthmān. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Muḥill b. Ḥizām b. Khālid b. Rabī'ah b. al-Waḥīd b. Ka'b b. 'Āmir b. Kilāb had said to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, "May God make the governor prosperous. The sons of our sister are with al-Ḥusayn. If you would consider it good, write that they be given a guarantee of safe- [317] conduct. Please, do so." He said that he would be happy to do so. He ordered his secretary to write a guarantee of safe-conduct for them. It was sent by 'Abdallāh b. Abī Muḥill with his mawlā, who was called Kuzmān.[378] When the latter approached them, he called to them and said, "Here is a guarantee of safe-conduct that your maternal uncle has sent." The young men replied, "Give our greetings to our uncle and tell him that we have no need of your guarantee of safe-conduct, for God's guarantee of safe-conduct is better than the guarantee of safe-conduct of Ibn Sumayyah."

Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan brought 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād's letter to 'Umar b. Sa'd. After he had brought it and read it, 'Umar said to him, "Shame upon you! What is this to you? May your home never be close! May God make abominable what you have brought to me! By God! I think that you must have personally stopped him from accepting what I had written to him and ruined for us a matter that we had hoped to set right. By God! Ḥusayn will not surrender, for there is a proud spirit in his body." Shamir demanded, "Tell me what you are going to do. Are you going to carry out the governor's command and kill his enemy? Other-

375. Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah was a traditionist from al-Kūfah. He is said to be a follower of the sixth Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq; he died in 148 (765). See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 205.

376. 'Abdallāh b. Sharīk al-'Āmirī was Shī'ite traditionist, who became a follower of al-Mukhtār; he died in the first half of the second (eighth) century. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 205.

377. Umm al-Banīn was a wife of 'Alī. Her three sons went with al-Ḥusayn and were killed at Karbalā'. Her nephew 'Abdallāh b. Abī Muḥill fought for 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād.

378. Kuzmān is not mentioned elsewhere.

wise, leave the command of the army to me." He answered, "No, there will be no advantage to you. I will carry that out instead of you." Shamir told him, "Go ahead, you lead the men."

ʿUmar b. Saʿd prepared to do battle with al-Ḥusayn on the evening of Thursday, 9 al-Muḥarram (October 9).[379] Shamir went out and stood in front of the followers of al-Ḥusayn calling out, "Where are our sister's sons?" Al-ʿAbbās, Jaʿfar and ʿUthmān, sons of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, came forward and demanded, "What is your business? What do you want?" Shamir said, "Sons of my sister, you are given a guarantee of safe-conduct." The young men replied, "God curse you and curse the guarantee of safe-conduct! If you are our uncle, how could you offer us a guarantee of safe-conduct while the son of the Apostle of God has no guarantee of safe-conduct?" ʿUmar b. Saʿd called out, "Cavalry of God, mount
[318] with good hope." He rode among the people and he approached [the supporters of al-Ḥusayn] after the afternoon (*ʿaṣr*) prayer.

Meanwhile, Ḥusayn was sitting in front of his tent leaning on his sword when he nodded off with his head on his knees. His sister Zaynab heard the clamor. She came up to him and said, "My brother, don't you hear the sounds that are getting nearer?" As he raised his head, he said, "I have just seen the Apostle of God in my sleep. He said to me: 'You are coming to us.'" His sister struck at her face and cried out, "O Woe to me!" He told her, "Woe is not for you, sister. Be quiet, may God have mercy on you."

Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī called out, "Brother, the people have advanced against you." Al-Ḥusayn rose and said, "Al-ʿAbbās, you, brother, [I would give] my soul for you. Ride out yourself to meet them. Talk to them about what their views are and what has changed them.[380] Ask them about what has brought them against us." Al-ʿAbbās went toward them with about twenty horsemen, among whom was Zuhayr b. al-Qayn and Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir. Al-ʿAbbās asked them, "What has changed your view? What are you intending?" They answered, "The command of the governor has

379. Actually a Tuesday.

380. The Arabic *mā badā lakum* lit. means "what [different thing] has seemed good to them." The term is used by Shīʿite theologians for God's changing his mind. See *EI*², s.v. *Badāʾ*.

arrived that we should offer you the option of submitting to his authority, or we should attack you." Al-'Abbās said, "Do not hurry to do anything until I have gone back to Abū 'Abdallāh (i.e., al-Ḥusayn) and told him what you have said." They stopped where they were and told him, "Go to him and inform him! Bring back what he says."

Al-'Abbās went galloping back to al-Ḥusayn to give him the information, while his companions stood speaking to the people. Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir said to Zuhayr b. al-Qayn, "If you wish, you speak to the people, or if you wish, I will speak to them." Zuhayr told him, "You began this. So you be the one to speak to them." Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir, then, addressed them, "How wretched will it be in the eyes of God for people who come to Him after having killed the offspring of His Prophet, his progeny, his family (*ahl baytihi*), and the devoted worshipers among the people of this town, who strive in prayer until the close of night and who mention God frequently." 'Azrah b. Qays retorted, "You ascribe as much purity to your soul as you can." Zuhayr called to him, "'Azrah, God is the one Who purified and guided that soul. Fear God, 'Azrah, I am one of those who give you sincere advice. 'Azrah, I adjure you before God not to be one of those who give help to those who have gone astray or kill pure souls." He replied, "Zuhayr, according to us you were not from the Shī'ah of this family (*bayt*). You used to be a supporter of the party of 'Uthmān." Zuhayr said, "Aren't you presuming from my position that I am one of them? By God! I did not ever write to him; I did not ever send messengers to him; I did not ever promise him my help. However, the road brought us together. When I saw him, I was reminded by him of the Apostle of God and of his position with regard to the Apostle of God. I knew his enemies and your party whom he was going toward. Then, I saw that it was right that I should help him, be in his party, and put my life forward to protect his because of the truth of God and the truth of His Apostle, which you have abandoned." [319]

Al-'Abbās b. 'Alī came galloping back to them. He said, "Fellows, Abū 'Abdallāh (i.e., al-Ḥusayn) asks you to go back this evening so that he can consider the matter. For this is a matter in which no discussion between you and him has taken place. In the morning, we shall meet, God willing. Either we will be satisfied and then

we will accept this demand which you are asking for and offering; or we will be unwilling and will reject it." Al-Ḥusayn only intended by this explanation to keep them off him for that evening in order that he might give orders concerning his affairs and advise his family.

When al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī had brought them that reply, ʿUmar b. Saʿd asked, "What do you think, Shamir?" He replied, "What do you think yourself? You are the general, and the decision is yours." ʿUmar said, "I wish that I wasn't." Then he went to the [320] people and asked, "What do you think?" ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj b. Salamah al-Zubaydī exclaimed, "Glory be to God! If they were from al-Daylam and they asked you for this postponement, you would have to grant it to them." Qays b. al-Ashʿath urged, "Yes, give them what they demand. Then, by my life, let morning be the time for you to fight." ʿUmar b. Saʿd said, "By God! Even if I knew that they would do that, I would not have postponed the fight tonight."

When al-ʿAbbās had brought back to Ḥusayn the proposal of ʿUmar b. Saʿd, al-Ḥusayn had said, "Go back to them. If you can, delay them until the morning and keep them away from us during this evening. Then, perhaps, we may be able to pray to our Lord during the night, to call upon Him and seek his forgiveness. He knows that I have always loved His prayer, the recitation of His book, making many invocations to Him, and seeking His forgiveness."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah—ʿAbdallāh b. Sharīk al-ʿAmirī—ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn: A messenger from ʿUmar b. Saʿd came to us. He stood where his voice could be heard and he said, "We will grant you a delay until tomorrow. Then, if you surrender, we will send you to our governor ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād but if you refuse we will not leave you."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀṣim al-Fāʿishī[381]—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mishraqī,[382] [Mishraq] being a clan of

381. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀṣim al-Fāʿishī was an unknown authority of Abū Mikhnaf's, who cites him several more times in his account of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 192.

382. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mishraqī was an eyewitness of the events at Karbalāʾ; he only left al-Ḥusayn at the end. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 192, 200–1; and pp. 148–49, below.

Hamdān, reported: Al-Ḥusayn gathered his followers around him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah—'Abdallāh b. Sharīk al-'Āmirī—'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and al-Ḍaḥḥak b. 'Abdallāh: Al-Ḥusayn gathered his followers after 'Umar b. Sa'd had withdrawn, which was toward evening.

According to 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn: I went near to hear what he would say to them even though at that time I was sick. I heard my father say to his followers, "I glorify God, the Blessed and Exalted, with the most perfect glorification and I praise Him in happiness [321] and misfortune. O God, I praise You for blessing us with prophethood, teaching us the Qur'ān and making us understand the religion. You have given us ears, eyes, and hearts. You have not made us be among the polytheists. I know of no followers more fitting and more virtuous than my followers, nor of any family (*ahl al-bayt*) more pious and more caring about family relationships than my family. May God reward you well on my behalf. Indeed, I think that our final day will come tomorrow through these enemies. I have thought about you. All, go away with the absolution from your oath, for there will be no obligation on you from me. This is a night that will give cover to you with its darkness. Use it as a camel to ride away through it."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Āṣim al-Fā'ishī, Fā'ish is a clan of Hamdān—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Abdallāh al-Mishraqī: Mālik b. al-Naḍr al-Arḥabī[383] and I went up to al-Ḥusayn. We greeted him and then we sat down with him. He returned our greetings and welcomed us. He asked us why we had come to him. We answered, "We have come to you to greet you, to ask God's safety for you, to establish a relationship with you, and to give you news of the people. We tell you that they have determined to fight you, so reconsider your situation." He replied, "God is sufficient for me. How excellent a guardian He is!" So we kept his pledge; we greeted him and we prayed to God for him. But then he asked, "What is stopping you from helping me?" Mālik b. al-Naḍr said, "I have debts and a family." I said, "I also have debts and a family, but if you would give me your permission to go when I do not see any other fighter, I will fight for you as

383. Mālik b. al-Nadr al-Arḥabī is not mentioned elsewhere.

long as it is of benefit to you and protects you." He answered, "You have my permission." And so I stayed with him.

At night al-Ḥusayn said, "This night will give cover to you with its darkness. Use it as a camel to ride away through it. Every one of you take the hand of a man from my family. Then scatter in your lands of the Sawād[384] and your towns until God relieves
[322] you. The people only want me. If they find me, they will cease searching for anyone else."

His brothers and sons, the sons of his brother and the two sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar said, "Why should we do that? Is it in order to remain alive after you? May God never see us do that." Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī was the first of them to make this declaration. Then they declared this or something like it. Al-Ḥusayn said, "Sons of ʿAqīl, by losing Muslim enough of your family has been killed. So go away as I have permitted you." They replied, "What would the people say? They would say that we deserted our shaykh, our leader, our cousins and the best of uncles; that we had not shot any arrows alongside them; that we had not thrust any spears alongside them; that we had not struck any swords alongside them; and that we do not know what they did. No, by God! We will not do that. Rather we will offer for your safety our lives, property, and families. We will fight with you until we reach your destination. How abominable is life after you!"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀṣim (al-Fāʾishī)—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mishraqī: Then Muslim b. ʿAwsajah al-Asadī arose and spoke, "Could we leave you alone? How should we excuse ourselves before God concerning doing our duty to you? By God! Not before I thrust with my spear until I break it in their chests. Not before I strike them with my sword as long as its hilt is in my hand. I will not leave you. If I have no weapon to fight them with, I will throw stones at them to defend you until I die with you."

Then Saʿīd b. ʿAbdallāh Ḥanafī[385] said, "By God! We will never leave you until God knows that we have upheld the honor of the

384. The Sawād stretched from the head of the Persian Gulf to Mosul in the north and from the border of the Syrian-Iraqī desert to Ḥulwān in the east. See Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 46.

385. Text erroneously gives Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh; see *Addenda et Emendanda*, DCLV.

absent Apostle of God in you. By God! If I knew that I would die, and then be revived, and then burnt alive, and then scattered, and that that would be done to me seventy times, I would never leave you until I met my death in defense of you. So how could I not do it when there can only be one death, which is a great blessing [323] that can never be rejected?"

Zuhayr b. al-Qayn spoke, "By God! I would prefer to be killed and then recalled to life, and then be killed a thousand times in this manner, and that through this death I should protect your life and the lives of these young men of your family."

All his followers spoke in similar vein, one after the other. They said, "By God! We will not leave you. Rather our lives will be sacrificed for you; we will protect you with our necks, our heads and our hands. If we are killed, we will have fulfilled and accomplished what we promised."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b and Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk[386]—'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī: I was sitting on that evening before the morning in which my father was killed; with me was my aunt, Zaynab, who was nursing me, when my father retired with his followers into his tent. With him was Ḥuwayy,[387] the mawlā of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī,[388] who was preparing his sword and putting it right. My father recited:

Time, shame on you as a friend!
    At the day's dawning and the sun's setting,
How many a companion or seeker will be a corpse!
    Time will not be satisfied with my substitute.
The matter will rest with the Mighty One,
    and every living creature will have to journey along the path.[389]

386. Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk was a traditionist who reported from Abū Hurayrah. He died in 110 (729). See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 188.

387. Ḥuwayy was not mentioned elsewhere.

388. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī was an early Companion of the Prophet, who came to be regarded as an ascetic. The Shī'ah have a very high regard for him. He was exiled to al-Rabadhah by 'Uthmān where he died in 32 (652–53). See *EI*², s.v. Abū Dharr.

389. These verses are also found in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II/2, 185, and al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 230.

He repeated it twice or three times so that I understood it and realized what he meant. Tears choked me, and I pushed them back. I kept silent and knew that tribulation had come upon us. As for my aunt, she heard what I heard, but she is a woman, and weakness and grief are the [qualities] of women; she could not control herself. She jumped up, tearing at her clothes. Unveiled she went to him. She said to him, "I will lose a brother. Would that death had deprived me of life today! My mother Fāṭimah is dead, and my father ʿAlī, and my brother al-Ḥasan. O! You are the successor (*khalīfah*) of those who have passed away and the
[324] guardian of those who remain!" Al-Ḥusayn said to her as he looked at her, "O sister! Don't let Satan take away your forbearance." She replied, "By my father and mother, O Abū ʿAbdallāh (i.e., al-Ḥusayn)! You have exposed yourself to death. May God accept my life for yours!" Choking back his grief and with his eyes full of tears, he said, "If the sand grouse are left at night, they will sleep."[390] She lamented, "O my grief! Your life will be violently wrenched from you, and that is more wounding to my heart and harsher to my soul." She struck at her face and bent down to her dress and tore it. Then she fell down in a faint. Al-Ḥusayn got up and bathed her face with water. Then he said to her, "Sister, fear God and take comfort in the consolation of God. Know that the people of the earth will die and the inhabitants of heaven will not continue to exist forever, '...for everything will be destroyed except the face of God,'[391] Who created earth by His power, Who sends forth creatures and causes them to return, Who is unique and alone. My father was better than I, my mother was better than I, and my brother was better than I. I and every Muslim have an ideal model in the Apostle of God." By this and the like he tried to console her and he said, "Sister, I swear to you—so keep my oath—that you must not tear your clothes, nor scratch your face, nor cry out with grief and loss when I am destroyed." Then he brought her and made her sit with me. He went out to his followers and ordered them to bring their tents closer together

390. An Arabic proverb meaning that when one is aroused to action, then one must allow this arousal to take effect. The sand grouse got all its water and food for its young at night. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *qṭw*.

391. Qur'ān, 28:88.

so that the tent pegs came within the area of each other's tents, and so that if they remained among their tents, the enemy could only approach them from one side.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Āṣim [al-Fā'ishī]—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Abdallāh al-Mishraqī: When evening came, Ḥusayn and his followers spent the whole night in performing the prayer, in calling on God's forgiveness and in making invocations and humble entreaties. Some of their cavalry kept passing us to keep watch on us. Ḥusayn, himself, recited, "Let not those who disbelieve think that our giving them a delay is better for their souls. [325] We give them a delay only that they might increase their wickedness. They shall have disgraceful torture. God does not leave the believers in the situation you are in until he has made the evil distinct from the good."[392] One of those horsemen, who was keeping watch over us, heard Ḥusayn. He cried out, "By the Lord of the Ka'bah! We are the good, we have been distinguished from you." I recognized him and I asked Burayr b. Ḥuḍayr[393] whether he knew that man. He said that he did not. I told him, "That is Abū Ḥarb al-Sabī'ī 'Abdallāh b. Shahr.[394] He is given to amusement and laughter. Yet he was honest, brave, and ruthless. Sa'īd b. Qays[395] had occasionally imprisoned him for criminal acts." Burayr b. Ḥuḍayr cried out, "O terrible sinner! Would God make you one of the good?" He shouted back, "Who are you?" Burayr said, "I am Burayr b. Ḥuḍayr." He replied, "We belong to God. It grieves me that you are coming to a bad end, Burayr." Burayr retorted, "Are you ready to repent to God for your terrible sins, Abū Ḥarb? By God! We are the good and you are the evil." Burayr added, "I am a witness of that." I [i.e., al-Mishraqī] called out to him, "Woe upon you! Doesn't knowledge help you?" He retorted, "May I offer my soul for you who used to be the drinking com-

392. Qur'ān, 3:178–79 [172–73].

393. This is the first time Burayr b. Ḥuḍayr has been mentioned. From his position among the followers of al-Ḥusayn, he seems to have been a leading member of the Kūfan Shī'ah. He died fighting for al-Ḥusayn. See pp. 132–33 below.

394. 'Abdallāh b. Shahr is not mentioned elsewhere.

395. Sa'īd b. Qays was a leader of Hamdān; formerly he was governor of al-Rayy for 'Uthmān, fought for 'Alī at Ṣiffīn and was one of the witnesses of the arbitration document between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah. See Ṭabarī, I, 2927 and 3337.

panion of Yazīd b. ʿUdhrah al-ʿAnzī[396] of the clan ʿAnz b. Wāʾil?" He said, "Here he is with me." The other answered, "May God show his disapproval of your views in every circumstance! You are stupid!" Then he withdrew from us. One of those who was in the cavalry guarding us was ʿAzrah b. Qays al-Aḥmasī, who was in charge of the cavalry.

After ʿUmar b. Saʿd had performed the morning prayer on Saturday—it is also reported that it was Friday[397]—the Day of ʿĀshūrāʾ, he came out with the people who were with him.

Al-Ḥusayn mobilized his followers after he had prayed the morning prayer with them. He had with him thirty-two horse-
[326] men and forty foot soldiers. He put Zuhayr b. al-Qayn in charge of his right wing and Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir in charge of his left wing; he gave his standard to his brother, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī. They positioned themselves with their tents at their rear. He ordered the firewood and cane that was behind the tents to be set on fire, fearing that his enemies would attack from the rear. Al-Ḥusayn had brought cane and firewood to lower ground behind them, which was like the bed of a stream. For some time during the night, they had dug it and made it like a ditch. Then they threw into the ditch the firewood and cane. They had said, "When they come against us to fight us, we will set fire to it so that we will not be attacked from behind; we can fight the people from one side." They did that and it was of some advantage to them.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī[398]—Muḥammad b. Bishr—ʿAmr al-Ḥaḍramī:[399] When ʿUmar b. Saʿd came out with the people, on that day ʿAbdallāh b. Zuhayr b. Sulaym al-Azdī[400] was in charge of the quarter of the people of Medina; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Sabrah al-Juʿfī[401] was in charge of the quarter of Asad and Madhḥij; Qays b. al-Ashʿath b. Qays was in charge of the quarter of Rabīʿah and Kindah; and al-Ḥurr

396. Yazīd b. ʿUdhrah al-ʿAnzī is not mentioned elsewhere.

397. Actually a Wednesday.

398. Fuḍayl b. Khadīj was a traditionist as well as being an authority of Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 201–2.

399. ʿAmr al-Ḥaḍramī is not mentioned elsewhere.

400. ʿAbdallāh b. Zuhayr b. Sulaym al-Azdī is one of the leaders of Azd; he killed on the frontiers. See Ṭabarī, II, 1429.

401. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Sabrah al-Juʿfī is not mentioned elsewhere; however, he is obviously an influential tribal leader.

b. Yazīd al-Riyāḥī was in charge of the quarter of Tamīm and Hamdān. All these men were present at the killing of al-Ḥusayn. However, al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd went over to al-Ḥusayn and was killed with him. 'Umar put 'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī in command of his right wing and Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan b. Shuraḥbīl b. al-A'war b. 'Umar b. Mu'āwiyah—he was al-Ḍibāb b. Kilāb—in command of his left wing. He put 'Azrah b. Qays al-Aḥmasī in command of the cavalry and Shabath b. Rib'ī al-Yarbū'ī in command of the foot soldiers. He gave the standard to Dhuwayd, his mawlā.[402]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Amr b. Murrah al-Jamalī[403]—Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥanafī,[404]—servant[405] of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd [327]
Rabbih al-Anṣārī:[406] I was with my patron (*mawlā*) when the people were ready and began to move against al-Ḥusayn. Al-Ḥusayn ordered a tent to be erected and he ordered musk to be dissolved in a big bowl or dish. Then he went into that tent and was anointed with perfume.[407] My patron (*mawlā*), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Rabbih, and Burayr b. Ḥuḍayr al-Hamdānī were shoulder to shoulder at the door of the tent; they both struggled to be the first to use the perfume after him. Burayr began to tease 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He told him to leave him alone as this was not a time for empty words. Burayr replied, "By God! My people know that I have never loved empty words whether as a youth or as a mature man. Yet, by God, I feel happy for what we shall soon meet, for, by God, if all there is between us and the maidens of Paradise (*al-ḥūr al-'ayn*) is that these people should come against us with their swords, then I want them to come against us with their swords."

When al-Ḥusayn had finished, we went in and anointed ourselves. Al-Ḥusayn mounted his animal and called for a copy of the Qur'ān, which he put in front of him. His followers fought

402. Dhuwayd is not mentioned elsewhere.
403. 'Amr b. Murrah al-Jamalī is not mentioned elsewhere.
404. Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥanafī is not mentioned elsewhere.
405. This servant is not identified.
406. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Rabbih al-Anṣārī is not mentioned elsewhere.
407. Anointing with perfume is an indication that al-Ḥusayn was preparing for death. Corpses being prepared for burial are often anointed in this manner. See A. S. Tritton "Muslim Funeral Customs," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1937–39, 653–61.

fiercely in front of him, and when I saw that the people (i.e., al-Ḥusayn's followers) were being killed, I slipped away and left them.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—one of his colleagues—Abū Khālid al-Kāhilī:[408] When the cavalry began to approach al-Ḥusayn, he raised his hands and said, "O God! It is You in Whom I trust amid all grief. You are my hope amid all distress. You are my trust and provision in everything that happens to me, no matter how much the heart may seem to weaken, ingenuity to fail, the friend to desert and the enemy to rejoice. I have received it through You and I complain to You out of my desire for You, You alone. May You dispel it for me and relieve me of it. You are the Master of all grace, the Possessor of all goodness and the Ultimate Resort of all desire."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Āṣim (al-Fā'ishī)—
[328] al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Mishraqī: When they began to move toward us and saw the fire burning the firewood and cane, which we had lit so that they could not attack us from behind, one of them came galloping toward us on a horse, which was completely covered with armor. He did not address us until he had gone past our tents. Then he looked toward our tents, but he could not see anything except the fire blazing in the firewood. He began to ride back and he called out at the top of his voice, "Al-Ḥusayn, are you hurrying toward Hell-fire in this world before the Day of Resurrection?" Al-Ḥusayn asked, "Who is that? It is like Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan." They answered, "Yes, may God make you prosperous." He shouted at him, "Son of a goat herdess! You are more worthy to be burnt by that." Muslim b. 'Awsajah said, "May I offer my soul for you, son of the Apostle of God, let me shoot at him. Now it is possible, for an arrow would not miss. He is a sinner and one of the great tyrants." Al-Ḥusayn replied, "Do not shoot at him, for I am unwilling to begin the fighting against them."

Al-Ḥusayn had a horse called Lāḥiq that his son 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn was riding. When the people began to come nearer to him, he called for his mount and mounted. Then he called out at

408. Abū Khālid al-Kāhilī is not mentioned elsewhere.

the top of his voice. So loud was the tone of his voice that most of the people heard, "People, listen to my words and do not hurry me so that I may remind you of the duties you have toward me and so that I may give you the reasons for my coming to you. If you accept my reasons, believe my words and give me justice, you will become happier through that, and you will not have any cause against me. If you do not accept my reasons and give me justice of your own accord as individuals, 'Then agree upon your affair and call your associates. Let not your affair be in darkness to you. Then carry it out against me and do not delay any further.'[409] 'Indeed my guardian is God, Who sent down the Book. He takes care of the righteous.'"[410]

When his sisters heard these words of his, they shrieked and wept, and his daughters cried and raised their voices. He sent his [329] brother, al-'Abbās b. 'Alī, and his son, 'Alī, back to them. He told them both, "Quiet them, for, by my life, their weeping will be excessive." When the two had gone back to quiet them, al-Ḥusayn said, "May Ibn 'Abbās not perish." We think he only said that when their weeping was heard because Ibn 'Abbās had told him not to take them with him. When the women were silent, he praised and glorified God and mentioned what God is entitled to. He called for blessings on Muḥammad, on His angels and on the prophets. In that context, he mentioned what God knows and other matters that would be too numerous to mention here. By God! I have never heard a speaker, before or after him, more eloquent in his speech than he was. He said: "...Trace back my lineage and consider who I am. Then, look back at yourselves and remonstrate with yourselves. Consider whether it is right for you to kill me and desecrate my inviolability. Am I not the son of the daughter of your Prophet, the son of the executor of his will [*waṣī*][411] and his cousin, the first of the believers in God and the man who [first] believed in what His Apostle brought from his Lord? Was not Ḥamzah, the lord of the martyrs,[412] my uncle? Was

409. Qur'ān, 10:71 (72).
410. Qur'ān, 7:196 (195).
411. The use of the term *waṣī* has specific implications for 'Alī's status as successor of the Prophet among the Shī'ah.
412. Ḥamzah was an uncle of the Prophet and hero of the early battles of the Prophet against the Meccans. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

not Jaʿfar, who flies with two wings in heaven,[413] my uncle? Have you not heard the words that circulate among you that the Prophet of God said concerning myself and my brother: 'These are the two lords of the youths of the inhabitants of heaven'?[414] If you believe what I am saying—and it is the truth, for, by God, I have never told a lie since I learned that God hated people who told them and that those who opposed Him grieved Him.... If you still regard me as a liar, then there are among you those who, if you asked them, would tell you. Ask Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī,[415] Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī,[416] Sahl b. Saʿd al-Sāʿidī,[417] Zayd b. Arqam[418] and Anas b. Mālik[419] to tell you that they heard these words from the Apostle of God concerning myself and my brother.
[330] Is this not sufficient to prevent your shedding my blood?"

Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan interrupted saying, "Consider me as one who worships God very shakily on the edge, if I understand what you say."[420] Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir said, "I think that you worship God [very shakily] on seventy edges, for I testify that you are truthful by saying that. You do not understand what he is saying, for God has sealed your heart."

Al-Ḥusayn told them, "If you are in any doubt about this, do you have the slightest doubt that I am the son of the daughter of your Prophet? By God! There is no son of a prophet other than me among you and among the other peoples from east to west. Indeed, I am the son of your Prophet. Tell me, are you seeking retribution from me for one of your dead whom I have killed, or for property of yours that I have expropriated, or for a wound that

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413. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, brother of ʿAlī, was the person whom the Prophet dreamt of as flying to heaven on two bloody wings amid a band of angels. See *EI*², s.v. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

414. See A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Traditions*, 94.

415. Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī was a Companion of the Prophet; he died between 73 (692) and 78 (698). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 42–43.

416. Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī was a Companion of the Prophet, who died between 63 (682) and 74 (694). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 479–80.

417. Sahl b. Saʿd al-Sāʿdī was a Companion of the Prophet, who died between 88 (707) and 91 (710). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 252–53.

418. Zayd b. Arqam was a Companion of the Prophet, who died in 68 (687–89). See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 10.

419. Anas b. Mālik was a Companion of the Prophet, who died in 93 (711–12). See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/1, 10–16.

420. See Qur'ān, 22:11.

I have inflicted?" They did not say anything to him. Then he called, "Shabath b. Rib'ī, Ḥajjār b. Abjar, Qays b. al-Ash'ath,[421] Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith, didn't you write: 'The fruit has ripened; the Janāb has grown green; the waters have overflowed; you will come to an army which has been gathered for you, come'?" They said that they had not, and he declared, "Glory be to God! By God! Indeed, you did. People, since you dislike me, let me leave you for a place in the land where I may be safe." Qays b. al-Ash'ath asked, "Won't you submit to the authority of your kinsmen? They will always treat you as you would like. Nothing hateful will ever come to you from them." Al-Ḥusayn replied, "You are your brother's brother. Do you want the Banū Hāshim to seek vengeance from you for more than the blood of Muslim b. 'Aqīl? No, by God! I will neither give them my hand like a man who has been humiliated, nor will I flee like a slave.[422] Servants of God, 'I take refuge in my Lord and your Lord, from your stoning.'[423] 'I take refuge in my Lord and your Lord, from every haughty man who does not believe in the Day of Reckoning.'"[424] He made his [331] mount kneel and ordered 'Uqbah b. Sim'ān to tie its reins. The Kūfans began to advance toward him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Alī b. Ḥanẓalah b. As'ad al-Shāmī[425]—a man of his tribe who witnessed the killing of al-Ḥusayn at the time he was killed, whose name was Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Sha'bī: When we advanced toward al-Ḥusayn, Zuhayr b. al-Qayn came out toward us on his horse with a fine tail, carrying arms. He said, "People of al-Kūfah, here is a warning to you of God's punishment, a warning insofar as it is the duty of a Muslim to advise his brother Muslim—and we are still brothers in one religion and one faith as long as the sword does not strike between you and us. Therefore you are still appropriate persons to receive advice from us. When the sword strikes, the protection

421. Qays b. al-Ash'ath was not among those who wrote that letter to al-Ḥusayn. See pp. 24–26, above.

422. Emending *uqirru iqrār al-'abīd* to *afirru ifrār al-'abīd* as in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II/2, 188.

423. Qur'ān, 44:20 [19].

424. Qur'ān, 40:26 [27].

425. 'Alī b. Ḥanẓalah b. As'ad al-Shāmī was only used as an authority by Abū Mikhnaf for this one account. He seems to be otherwise unknown.

will be cut asunder. We will be a community, and you will be a community. God has tested us and you through the offspring of Muḥammad so that God may see what you and we are doing. We summon you to help them and to desert the tyrant, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. You will never attain anything from Yazīd and 'Ubaydallāh except evil through their rule; they will both poke out your eyes with hot irons, cut off your hands and legs, mutilate you and hang you on the trunks of palm trees; they will kill the ideal men among you and your Qur'ānic reciters (*qurrā'*), men like Ḥujr b. 'Adī[426] and his followers, Hāni' b. 'Urwah and others like him."

Then they cursed him and praised and prayed for 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. They called out to Zuhayr, "By God! Soon we will kill your leader and those with him or we will send him and them peacefully to the governor, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād." Zuhayr said to them, "Servants of God, the offspring of Fāṭimah, may God's happiness be hers, are more entitled to love and help than the son of Sumayyah. If you will not help them, then I seek refuge with God for you that you do not kill them. Do not prevent this man from going to his cousin, Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah. By my life! Yazīd
[332] will be satisfied with your obedience without killing al-Ḥusayn." Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan yelled out as he shot an arrow at him, "Shut up! May God silence you by death, you have wearied us with your lengthy speech." Zuhayr retorted, "O son of one who urinates at both ends! I am not addressing you. You are merely an animal. By God! I doubt whether you understand two verses of the Book of God. Therefore I give you tidings of retribution on the Day of Resurrection and of dread torture." Shamir replied, "God will be the one who kills you and your master soon." Zuhayr answered, "Are you trying to terrify me with death? By God! What death has is preferable to me than living forever with you." Then he advanced toward the people, raising his voice and saying, "Servants of God, do not let this rude devil and his like seduce you from your religion. By God! The intercession of Muḥammad will not be given to a people who shed the blood of his offspring and his family (*ahl al-bayt*) and who kill those who aid them and

426. Ḥujr b. 'Adī was a member of the Shī'ah, who led a revolt against Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān in al-Kūfah in 51 (671); after this incident, he was executed. See Wellhausen, *Religio-Political*, 95–101.

protect their womenfolk." A man called out to him, "Abū 'Abdallāh (i.e., al-Ḥusayn) says: 'Come back. By my life! If the believer of the people of Pharaoh gave advice to his people and was eloquent in pleading, so have you given advice and spoken to these people, if there is any advantage in advice and information.'"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī—'Adī b. Ḥarmalah: When 'Umar b. Sa'd began to march forward, al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd said to him, "May God make you prosperous, are you going to fight this man?" He replied, "Yes, by God! It will be a battle, the least part of which will be heads falling and severed hands flying." Al-Ḥurr said, "Aren't you satisfied with one of the three proposals that he offered you?" 'Umar b. Sa'd answered, "If the matter rested with me, I would accept, but your governor has refused." Al-Ḥurr went and stood apart from the people. With [333] him was a man from his tribe called Qurrah b. Qays. He said, "Qurrah, have you watered your horse today?" Qurrah said, "No." He said, "Don't you want to water it?"

Qurrah reported later: I thought that al-Ḥurr was going to leave the battle and did not want to be present at it, but was unwilling that I should see him when he did that, for he was afraid that I might find fault with him for that. So I said, "I have not watered it and I am going to water it." Then I left him where he was. By God! If he had told me what he was intending to do, I would have gone with him to al-Ḥusayn.

He began to approach al-Ḥusayn little by little. One of his tribe called al-Muhājir b. Aws[427] asked him, "What do you want, Ibn Yazīd? Do you want to attack?" He was silent but a great shudder came over him. Al-Muhājir said, "By God! Ibn Yazīd, your behavior is suspicious. By God! I have never seen you act like this before. If I was asked who was the bravest of the Kūfans, I would not ignore you. What is this I see in you?" Al-Ḥurr answered, "By God! I am giving my soul the choice between heaven and the fire of hell. By God! I will not choose anything before heaven, even though I am cut to pieces and burnt."

He whipped his horse and joined Ḥusayn. He said, "May God accept my soul for you, son of the Apostle of God. I was your companion who stopped you from returning. I accompanied you

427. Al-Muhājir b. Aws was only mentioned with regard to the Battle of Karbalā'.

along the road and made you stop in this place. By Him other than Whom there is no deity! I did not think that the people would refuse to respond to what you have offered them and that they would ever come to this position with regard to you. I had said to myself: I do not care if I obey these people in some of their authority (*amr*) while they do not consider that I have discarded totally their obedience, for in the long run they will accept these proposals that Ḥusayn offers them. By God! If I had thought that they would not accept them from you, I would not have joined
[334] them against you. I have come repenting to my Lord for what I have done, and offering you my life as consolation so that I may die before you. Will you accept that as repentance from me?" Al-Ḥusayn replied, "Yes. God will accept your repentance and forgive you. What is your name?" He said, "I am al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd." Al-Ḥusayn said, "You are the free man (*al-ḥurr*) as your mother named you. You are a free man (*al-ḥurr*) in this world and the next, God willing. So dismount." He replied, "I would be better for you as a horseman than I would as a foot soldier. I will fight them on my horse for a while. Dismounting will be my ultimate end." Al-Ḥusayn said, "Do whatever you deem wise. May God grant you mercy."

He advanced in front of his followers and called out, "People, aren't you going to accept one of the three proposals that Ḥusayn proposed to you so that god may grant you release from making war against him and fighting him?" They answered, "The general here is ʿUmar b. Saʿd. Speak to him." He spoke to him in the same way as he had spoken to him before and in the same way as he had spoken to his followers. ʿUmar answered, "I am anxious. If I could find a way to do that, I would do it." Then al-Ḥurr said, "People of al-Kūfah, may your mothers be deprived of their sons and may tears come to their eyes. You summoned him. Then, when he had come to you, you handed him over. You claimed that you would fight with your own lives for him, and then you have begun to attack him in order to kill him. You have laid hold of his life; you have seized his throat; you have encircled him on every side in order to prevent his returning to God's broad land, where he may be secure and where his family (*ahl baytihi*) may be secure. He has come into your hands like a prisoner who no longer can attract benefit to himself and cannot secure himself

against harm. You have prevented him, his womenfolk, his children, and his followers from the water of the flowing Euphrates, which Jews, Magians, and Christians may drink, and which the pigs and dogs of Sawād wallow in. Now they are likely to die of thirst. How wickedly you have treated the offspring of Muḥammad! May God not give you water to drink on the Day of Thirst, if you do not repent and do not desist from what you are set upon [335] this day and this hour." Some of the foot soldiers attacked him by shooting arrows at him. He went and stood in front of al-Ḥusayn.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣa'qab b. Zuhayr and Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: 'Umar b. Sa'd advanced toward them. Then he called out, "Dhuwayd, bring forward your standard." He brought it forward. 'Umar put an arrow in his bow and let fly. He said, "Be witnesses that I was the first to shoot."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janab al-Kalbī: One of our men called 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr[428] of the Banū 'Ulaym[429] had settled in al-Kūfah and had taken a house beside the well of the clan of al-Ja'd of Hamdān. With him was his wife who was from the clan of al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ[430] called Umm Wahb bt. 'Abd.[431] He saw the people at al-Nukhaylah[432] being drawn up to be sent against al-Ḥusayn. He asked about them and was told, "They are being sent against Ḥusayn, son of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Apostle of God." He said, "By God! I was anxious to make holy war (*jihād*) against the polytheists. I hope that making holy war against these people, who are attacking the son of the daughter of their Prophet, will be no less rewarded with God than His reward would be to me for making holy war against the polytheists." He went to his wife and told her about what he had heard, and he informed her of what he was intending to do. She said, "You are right. May God make you achieve the most wise of your affairs. Do it but take me with you." He went with her by night until he came to Ḥusayn and stayed with him.

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428. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr was only mentioned with regard to the Battle of Karbalā'.

429. The Banū 'Ulaym were a clan of the tribe of Kalb. See Ṭabarī, II, 478.

430. Al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ was a clan of the tribe of Tamīm. See Ṭabarī, I, 3315.

431. Umm Wahb bt. 'Abd is only mentioned with regard to the Battle of Karbalā'.

432. Al-Nukhaylah was close to al-Kūfah on the road to Syria. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 771.

When ʿUmar b. Saʿd came toward al-Ḥusayn and shot the arrow, the people began to shoot at each other. While they were shooting at each other, Yasār,[433] a mawlā of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, and Sālim,[434] a mawlā of ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, came forward. They called out, "Which of you will come forward to fight against us?" Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir and Burayr jumped up but Ḥusayn said to
[336] them, "Sit down." Then ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr al-Kalbī arose. He said, "Abū ʿAbdallāh (i.e., al-Ḥusayn), may God have mercy on you, permit me to go out against them." Ḥusayn saw a tall dark man, strong in arm and with broad shoulders. He said, "I think he will be deadly enough for those opponents. Go forward if you wish." He went forward to meet them. They asked him who he was, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr al-Kalbī gave them his lineage. They answered, "We do not know you. Let Zuhayr b. al-Qayn, Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir or Burayr b. Ḥuḍayr come out against us." Yasār got ready in front of Sālim, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr al-Kalbī retorted, "Son of an adulteress! You wanted to do single combat with one of the people. So one of the people has come forward against you. In any case he is better than you." With that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr struck Yasār with his sword until he had silenced him. While he was occupied with striking against him with his sword, Sālim attacked. They cried out in warning, "The other servant is closing in on you." ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr did not notice Sālim until the latter was upon him. With his left hand, he warded off Sālim's blow but the fingers of his hand were cut off. Then he turned on Sālim, struck him and killed him. After he had killed them both, he came forward and recited:

If you do not know me, I am a son from the tribe of Kalb.
    Sufficient for me is my status (*bayt*) among ʿUlaym; it is sufficient for me.
I am a man of strength and muscles.
    I am not a weakling in the face of disaster.
I promise you, Umm Wahb,
    that I will go forward stabbing and striking among them,
Just as does a servant who believes in the Lord.

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433. Yasār was only mentioned at the Battle of Karbalāʾ.
434. Sālim was only mentioned at the Battle of Karbalāʾ.

Umm Wahb seized a tent pole and went toward her husband, saying to him, "I give up my father and mother for you and fight [337] to protect the good, the offspring of Muḥammad." He began to send her back to the women. She held on to his clothes and she said, "I will never leave you unless I die with you." Ḥusayn called out to her, "May you as a good family be well rewarded. May God have mercy on you, go back to the women and sit with them. It is not for women to fight." So she went back to them.

'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj, who was on the right wing, launched an attack against al-Ḥusayn's right wing. When they drew near Ḥusayn, the followers of al-Ḥusayn knelt down and pointed their spears at them. Their horses would not come forward against the spears; they swung round to retreat. The followers of al-Ḥusayn began to shoot arrows at them, killing some of them and wounding others.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥusayn Abū Ja'far:[435] One of the Banū Tamīm called 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawzah[436] came and stood, opposite al-Ḥusayn. He called out, "Ḥusayn, Ḥusayn!" He answered, "What do you want?" 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawzah said, "Do you expect Hell-fire!" Al-Ḥusayn declared, "No, I am advancing to a merciful Lord and an intercessor who is listened to." He asked his followers, "Who is that?" They told him that it was Ibn Ḥawzah. Al-Ḥusayn prayed, "O my Lord! Drive him into the fire." Then his horse upset him in its stride and made him fall. His leg was stuck in the stirrups, and his head fell to the ground. The horse bolted and dragged him along, making his head strike every stone and clod of earth until he died.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Suwayd b. Ḥayyah:[437] When 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawzah's horse fell, his left leg stuck in the stirrups and his right leg went flying up. His horse galloped off with him with his head striking every stone and tree trunk until he died.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Aṭā' b. al-Sā'ib[438]—'Abd al-Jabbār

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435. Ḥusayn Abū Ja'far was an authority of Abū Mikhnaf who seems to be otherwise unknown. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 207.

436. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawzah is only mentioned in connection with this incident.

437. Suwayd b. Ḥayyah was an authority of Abū Mikhnaf who seems to be otherwise unknown. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 218–19.

438. 'Aṭā' b. al-Sa'ib was a traditionist, who died in 137 [153]. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 200–1.

b. Wāʾil al-Ḥaḍramī,[439]—his brother, Masrūq b. Wāʾil:[440] I was
[338] among the first horsemen who came against al-Ḥusayn. I had told myself, "I will be one of the first of them; perhaps I may strike the head of al-Ḥusayn and by that attain a position of rank with ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād." As we came toward Ḥusayn, one of the people called Ibn Ḥawzah went forward. He called out, "Is Ḥusayn among you?" Ḥusayn was silent. He called again, and still he was silent. When there was the third call, al-Ḥusayn said to them, "Yes, here is Ḥusayn. What do you want?" Ibn Ḥawzah said, "Ḥusayn, do you expect Hell-fire!" Al-Ḥusayn replied, "You lie, rather I am advancing to a forgiving Lord and an intercessor who is listened to. Who are you?" He answered, "Ibn Ḥawzah." Ḥusayn raised his arms so that we could see the white of his armpits above his clothes and he prayed, "O God! Drive him into the fire." Ibn Ḥawzah became angry and he spurred his horse toward al-Ḥusayn. Between the two there was the bed of a stream, and while one foot was stuck in the stirrup, the horse dragged him along until he fell from the horse. One foot, leg, and thigh were pulled off while the other remained hanging in the stirrup.

Masrūq added that the cavalry left him behind.

ʿAbd al-Jabbār reported that he questioned Masrūq, and the latter said, "I have seen [of the wonders] of the Prophet's family (*ahl al-bayt*) enough to deter me from ever fighting them."

Then the battle flared up.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—ʿAfīf b. Zuhayr b. Abī al-Akhnas,[441] who witnessed the killing of al-Ḥusayn: Yazīd b. Maʿqil[442] of the Banū ʿAmīrah b. Rabīʿah, an ally of the Banū Salīmah of ʿAbd al-Qays, came forward and called out, "Burayr b. Ḥuḍayr, how do you think God has treated you?" Burayr replied, "By God! God has treated me well and treated you badly." He answered, "You are a liar. Even before today you were always a

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439. ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Wāʾil al-Ḥaḍramī was a traditionist, who died in 112 (731). See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 201.

440. Masrūq b. Wāʾil was an elder brother of the traditionist ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Wāʾil, who was present at the Battle of Karbalāʾ; he does not seem to have been mentioned elsewhere.

441. ʿAfīf b. Zuhayr b. Abī al-Akhnas was an eyewitness at the Battle of Karbalāʾ; he seems to be otherwise unknown.

442. Yazīd b. Maʿqil is only mentioned with regard to the Battle of Karbalāʾ.

liar. Do you remember when I used to go with you among the Banū Lawdhān? Then you used to say that 'Uthmān b. 'Affān was a man who indulged himself excessively, that Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān was one who was in error and who caused people to go astray, and that the imām of guidance and truth was 'Alī b. Abī [339] Ṭālib." Burayr retorted, "I testify that this is my opinion and belief." Yazīd b. Ma'qil replied, "And I testify that you are one of those who are in error." Burayr called out, "Then I challenge you to a contest of curses. Let us call on God that the liar be cursed and the spreader of falsehoods be killed. Then come out for combat." They both advanced and raised their hands to God, calling upon Him to curse the liar and that the one who was truthful should kill the one who was false. Each of them came forward against the other. They exchanged blows. Yazīd b. Ma'qil struck Burayr b. Ḥuḍayr a light blow that did not do him any harm. Burayr b. Ḥuḍayr struck Yazīd b. Ma'qil a blow that cut through his helmet and penetrated his brain. He fell prostrate just as if he had been hurled from a mountain, and the sword of Ibn Ḥuḍayr was stuck in his head. As I looked at Burayr, he was pulling it out of Yazīd's head when Raḍī b. Munqidh al-'Abdī[443] attacked him and grappled with him. They fought together for a time. Then Burayr sat on his chest. Raḍī called out, "Where are the people to fight and to defend?" At this Ka'b b. Jābir b. 'Amr al-Azdī[444] went to attack Burayr. I said to him, "This man, Burayr b. Ḥuḍayr, is the reciter of the Qur'ān (*qāri'*). He often recited the Qur'ān to us in the mosque." But Ka'b attacked with his spear and struck him in the back. When Burayr felt the contact of the spear, he grappled with him and bit into his face, cutting off the edge of his nose. Then Ka'b b. Jābir stabbed him until he had flung Burayr down from him. The point of Ka'b's spear was hidden in Burayr's back. Then Ka'b came at him, striking him with his sword until he killed him.

'Afīf reported: It is as if I see Raḍī b. Munqidh al-'Abdī, who had been lying prostrate, rising, shaking the dust from his clothes,

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443. Raḍī b. Munqidh al-'Abdī is only mentioned with regard to this incident in the Battle of Karbalā' and his view concerning the event.

444. Ka'b b. Jābir b. 'Amr al-Azdī is only mentioned with regard to this incident in the Battle of Karbalā' and the consequences concerning the event.

and saying to Kaʿb b. Jābir al-Azdī, "Thank you brother of al-Azd, I will never forget that."

Yūsuf b. Yazīd reported that he asked ʿAfīf whether he saw that, and he replied that he had seen it with his own eyes and heard it with his own ears. He added: When Kaʿb b. Jābir returned, [340] his wife or his sister, al-Nawār bt. Jābir,[445] said to him, "You have given help against the son of Fāṭimah and you have killed the leader of the reciters of the Qur'ān. You have brought great disgrace. By God! I will never speak a word to you." Kaʿb b. Jābir recited:

Ask that you be told about me—and you are blameworthy—
at the battle against Ḥusayn, while the spears were pointed.
Have I not gone to the farthest point of your dislike? Was not
what I did on the day of terror appropriate to me?
I had with me a spear from Yazan,[446] whose joints had not
betrayed it,
and a white sword which was sharpened, and both edges of it
were cutting.
I singled him out amid a group whose religion was not
my religion, for I am satisfied with Ibn Ḥarb (i.e., Yazīd).
My eyes did not see their like in their time,
nor anyone among the people before them since I was a
young man.
For there were none fiercer in striking with the sword in battle.
Indeed everyone who protects his honor comes to fight.
They have endured without protection, stabbing and striking.
They would have attacked had all this been of any advantage.
Tell ʿUbaydallāh, if you meet him,
that I am obedient and attentive to the Caliph.
I killed Burayr. I brought help to
Abū Munqidh[447] when he called, "Who will fight?"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab: During the governorship of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr,[448] I heard Kaʿb b. Jābir

445. Whether Nawār bt. Jābir is Kaʿb's wife or sister cannot be ascertained, as she is not mentioned elsewhere.
446. Yazan were a clan of Ḥimyar. See al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *yzn*.
447. He means Rafī b. Munqidh.
448. Between the years 67 (687) and 72 (691–92).

saying, "O Lord! We have been loyal. O Lord! Do not treat us like those who have been treacherous." My father said to him, "True! God is true to His word and generous, but you have earned evil for yourself." He retorted, "No. I have not earned evil for myself; rather I have earned good."

They claimed that later Raḍī b. Munqidh al-'Abdī gave a reply to the words of Ka'b b. Jābir. He said:

If my Lord had wished, I would not have been present at their
battle,
and Ibn Jābir would not have done me any favors.
That day was shameful and disgraceful,
for which the sons who come after these people will
denounce them.
I wish that I had been dead before his death
and, at the battle against Ḥusayn, I had been in the grave.

'Amr b. Qaraẓah al-Anṣārī[449] came forward to fight in the defense of Ḥusayn. He was reciting: [341]

May the battalion of helpers know
that I will defend the nature of honor,
With the blow of a boy who is no broken arrow, who sells his
soul for paradise.
In protection of Ḥusayn, I offer my life and my house.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Thābit b. Hubayrah:[450] 'Amr b. Qaraẓah b. Ka'b was killed. He had been with al-Ḥusayn, while his brother 'Alī[451] was with 'Umar b. Sa'd. 'Alī b. Qaraẓah called out, "Ḥusayn, you lying son of a liar, you have led my brother astray and tempted him so that he has been killed." Al-Ḥusayn retorted, "God did not lead your brother astray. Rather He guided your brother and led you astray." 'Alī b. Qaraẓah declared, "May God kill me if I do not kill you, or I will die before I get to you."

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449. 'Amr b. Qaraẓah al-Anṣārī is mentioned here for the first time as a follower of al-Ḥusayn; he is not mentioned elsewhere. His father was a supporter and official of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. See Ṭabarī, I, 3173, 3423.

450. Thābit b. Hubayrah was an authority of Abū Mikhnaf who seems to be otherwise unknown. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 222.

451. 'Alī is not mentioned elsewhere. His attitude is obviously opposed to his brother and father. Balādhurī gives him the name al-Zubayr. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 192.

He launched an attack against Ḥusayn. But Nāfi' b. Hilāl al-Murādī intercepted him, stabbed him and brought him down. 'Alī b. Qaraẓah's comrades rescued 'Alī. Later he was treated until he recovered.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ Abū Zuhayr al-'Absī: When al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd joined Ḥusayn, a man from Banū Tamīm, of the clan of Banū Shaqirah, who are the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm—he was called Yazīd b. Sufyān[452]—called out, "By God, if I had seen al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd, I would have followed him with my spear to stab him."

Meanwhile the people were driving against each other and fighting, and al-Ḥurr was advancing to attack the people, reciting the words of 'Antarah.[453]

I kept hurling my horse against them, neck
and breast, until it was clothed with blood.

His horse was struck on its ears and nose, and blood was flowing from it. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm was in command of the police of 'Ubaydallāh and was sent by him to al-Ḥusayn. He was with 'Umar b. Sa'd, and 'Umar had put him in charge of the armored police. Al-Ḥuṣayn now said to Yazīd b. Sufyān, "This is al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd, the man you wanted." He admitted that and went out
[342] toward him saying, "Ḥurr b. Yazīd, are you ready to fight in single combat?" Al-Ḥurr replied, "Yes, if you wish." He came forward toward him.

I (the narrator, al-Naḍr) have heard al-Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm say, "By God! As Yazīd went out to fight, it was as if his soul were in al-Ḥurr's hand. No sooner had he gone out against him than al-Ḥurr killed him."

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad (al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf—Yaḥyā b. Hāni' b. 'Urwah: Nāfi' b. Hilāl was fighting on that day, reciting:

I am al-Jamalī. I believe in the religion of 'Alī.

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452. Yazīd b. Sufyān is not mentioned except in the Battle of Karbalā'; he was killed in the battle.

453. 'Antarah was a warrior poet of the sixth century, See *EI*², s.v. 'Antarah. For the verse of 'Antarah, see Ahlwardt, *The Divans*, 48.

A man called Muzāhim b. Ḥurayth[454] came against him, crying, "I follow the religion of 'Uthmān." Nāfi' replied, "Rather you follow the religion of Satan." Then he attacked and killed him.

'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj cried out to his men, "You stupid fellows, don't you realize whom you are fighting? These horsemen of the town are people who are seeking death. Don't let any of you go forward to fight them in single combat. They are only few, and their time is running out. By God! If you only threw stones at them, you would kill them." 'Umar b. Sa'd said to him, "True, you have come to the right conclusion." Then he sent to the commanders that none of their own men should fight one of their men in single combat.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥusayn b. 'Uqbah al-Murādī[455]—a Zubaydī tribesman: He heard 'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj, when he approached the followers of al-Ḥusayn, saying, "People of al-Kūfah, stay steadfast in your obedience and unity (*jamā'ah*). Do not have any doubts about fighting against those who have strayed from the true religion and have opposed the imām." Al-Ḥusayn retorted, "'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj, are you urging the people against me? Are we the ones who have strayed from the true religion, and you the ones who have remained firm in it? By God! If our souls were taken, and you died with your actions, you would know which of us has strayed from the true religion and who was more worthy to be roasted by Hell-fire."

'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj with the right wing of 'Umar b. Sa'd launched an attack against al-Ḥusayn from the direction of the Euphrates. They fought together fiercely for a time. Muslim b. 'Awsajah al-Asadī was struck down, but 'Amr and his men withdrew and the dust lifted. There was Muslim, stretched out dying. Al-Ḥusayn walked toward him while Muslim was on the point of death. He said, "Muslim b. 'Awsajah, may your Lord have mercy on you. 'Of them [the believers] is he who has accomplished his vow [by death in battle], and of them is he who waits: they have not changed at all.'"[456] Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir approached and said, [343]

454. Muzāhim b. Ḥurayth is only mentioned at the Battle of Karbalā'.

455. Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Uqbah al-Murādī is an unknown authority of Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 207.

456. Qur'ān, 33:23.

"Muslim, your death is hard for me to bear but rejoice that Heaven is your abode." He replied in a weak voice, "May God bring you the same luck." Ḥabīb said, "I know that I am following you at this very moment. Otherwise I would have liked you to entrust me to carry out everything that concerns you, so that I might preserve for you what you are worthy of through kinship and religion." He answered, "Indeed, I do entrust to you. May God have mercy on you to do this." And pointing toward al-Ḥusayn, he added, "To die with this man." He said, "I do this, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah."

No sooner had he died in their midst than a maidservant of his cried out, "O Ibn ʿAwsajah! O master!" The followers of ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj called to each other, "We have killed Muslim b. ʿAwsajah." Shabath (b. Ribʿī) said to some of his followers around him, "May your mothers be bereft of you. You have only killed yourselves with your own hands, and you have humiliated yourselves for someone else. Do you rejoice at killing a man like Muslim b. ʿAwsajah? Indeed, it was due to him that I embraced Islam. Many a noble stand have I seen him make among the Muslims! I saw him at the battle of the plain of Ādharbayjān[457] kill six polytheists before the horsemen of the Muslims all arrived. Could you be happy while a man among you like him is killed?"

[344] Those who killed Muslim b. ʿAwsajah were Muslim b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḍibābī[458] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Khushkārah al-Bajalī.[459]

With his left wing Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan attacked the people of al-Ḥusayn's left wing. But the latter stood firm and forced Shamir and his followers away with their spears. Al-Ḥusayn and his followers were attacked on every side. [ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr] al-Kalbī was killed. He had killed another two men after the first two. He had fought fiercely, but Hāniʾ b. Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī and

457. The Arab conquest of Ādharbayjān took place between 18 (639) and 22 (643). See *EI*², s.v. Ādharbaydjān.

458. Muslim b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḍibābī was present at the Battle of Ṣiffīn fighting for ʿAlī with his tribal leader Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan. He was with Shamir when the latter was killed by al-Mukhtār but he escaped. See Ṭabarī, I, 3305, II, 661–62.

459. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Khushkārah al-Bajalī was killed by al-Mukhtār. See Ṭabarī, II, 669.

Bukayr b. Ḥayy al-Taymī of Taym Allāh b. Tha'labah[460] attacked him and killed him. He was the second of the followers of al-Ḥusayn to be killed.

The followers of al-Ḥusayn fought fiercely. Then their cavalry began to attack, and even though they were only thirty-two horsemen, they did not attack any side of the Kūfan cavalry without putting it to flight. When 'Azrah b. Qays, who was in command of the Kūfan cavalry, saw that his cavalry was being put to flight on every side, he sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥiṣn[461] to 'Umar b. Sa'd to tell him, "Don't you see what my cavalry is receiving today from this small number? Send the foot soldiers and archers against them." 'Umar asked Shabath b. Rib'ī, "Will you not go against them?" He replied, "Glory be to God! Are you turning to the shaykh of Muḍar and of the people of this town generally to send him with the archers because you cannot find anyone who will volunteer for this? Surely someone else other than me will be sufficient for you?" They could see Shabath's reluctance to fight against Ḥusayn.

According to Abū Zuhayr al-'Absī (al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ): During the governorship of Muṣ'ab (b. al-Zubayr),[462] I heard Shabath saying: "God will neither give the people of this town any good nor will He direct them toward true guidance. Are you not amazed that we should fight for 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his son after him against the clan of Abū Sufyān for five years, and then make war on his other son and fight for the clan of Mu'āwiyah and the son [345] of Sumayyah, the harlot, against the best man on earth? Error! O what error!"

'Umar b. Sa'd summoned al-Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm and sent the armored police with him and five hundred of the archers. They advanced until they came near al-Ḥusayn and his followers. They shot arrows at al-Ḥusayn's followers until soon they had wounded their horses; they all were on foot.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Wa'lah—Ayyūb b. Mishraḥ al-Khaywānī:[463] By God! I wounded the horse of al-Ḥurr

460. Bukayr b. Ḥayy al-Taymī is not mentioned elsewhere.
461. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥiṣn is not mentioned elsewhere.
462. Muṣ'ab was governor between the years 67 (687) and 72 (691–92).
463. Ayyūb b. Mishraḥ al-Khaywānī is not mentioned elsewhere except for his later justification.

b. Yazīd. I shot an arrow in its belly. At once the horse shook, turned over, and fell prostrate. Al-Ḥurr jumped from his horse like a lion; with his sword in his hand he recited:

If you wound my horse, then I am son of a free man,
braver than any lion with mane.

I have never seen anyone accomplish what he accomplished.

The shaykhs of the tribe told Ayyūb b. Mishraḥ, "You killed him." He replied, "No, I did not kill him. Someone else killed him. I do not want it to be thought that I killed him." Abū Waddāk asked him, "Why?" He said, "They claim that he was one of the righteous. Even though what I had done was a sin, I would rather that I met God with the sin of wounding rather than that I should meet him with the sin of killing." Abū Waddāk replied, "I can only see that you will meet God with the sin of killing them all. Surely, you can see that if you shot at this man, wounded this man, fired at this man, took up a position, attacked him and urged on your comrades—while you increased the number of your comrades—and when there was an attack against you, you were reluctant to flee, and the others of your comrades did as you, and others, and others, it can be considered that such a man and his comrades killed al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd and his horse? You are partners [346] in their blood, all of you." He said, "O Abū Waddāk, you would drive us to despair of the mercy of God, if you were the custodian of our account on the Day of Resurrection. May God not forgive you, if you do forgive us." He answered, "It is the way that I am telling you."

They fought against them in the fiercest battle God created, until midday. They could only come against them from one direction because of the way they had gathered their tents close to each other. When ʿUmar b. Saʿd saw that, he sent men to pull them down from the right and the left; they wanted to surround them. Three or four of al-Ḥusayn's followers went back through the tents in order to attack any man who was pulling down the tents and plundering them, and so that they could not only fight and shoot at him from close range but also wound him. At that, ʿUmar b. Saʿd ordered his men to set fire to the tents. He said, "Set fire to them. Don't go into a tent or plunder it." Then they set the tents on fire. Ḥusayn said, "Leave them. Let them burn

them. If they set them on fire, they will not be able to come through them against you." That was how it was. They could still only attack them from one direction.

The wife of [ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr] al-Kalbī went out to her husband. She sat by his head rubbing it with earth, saying, "May you enjoy heaven." Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan said to a servant called Rustam, "Beat her head with a tent pole." He struck her head and smashed it. She died where she was.

Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan came up to al-Ḥusayn's tent. He struck against it and called out, "Bring me fire so that I can burn this tent and the people inside it." The women screamed and rushed out of the tent. Al-Ḥusayn called out to him, "Ibn Dhī al-Jawshan are you calling for fire to burn down my tent and my family? May God burn you in Hell-fire!"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: I said to Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan, "Glory be to God! [347] This is not appropriate for you. Do you want to impose on yourself two evil qualities for which you will be punished by God? You are killing women and children. By God! It is by your killing of men that you will satisfy your commander." He asked me, "Who are you?" I replied, "I will not tell you who I am." For, by God, I was afraid that if he knew me, he would harm my position with the authorities. Then a man called Shabath b. Ribʿī came to him; he was more obedient to him than I was. He told him, "I have neither heard any words more evil than yours nor seen any behavior more disgraceful than yours. Have you become a man who terrorizes women?" At that I testify that Shamir became ashamed and began to withdraw.

Zuhayr b. al-Qayn launched an attack against him with ten of his comrades. So fierce was his attack on Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan and his followers that he drove them from the tents so that they all withdrew from them. They brought down Abū ʿAzzah al-Ḍibābī and killed him. He was one of the followers of Shamir.[464] The people clustered round Zuhayr and his comrades; they outnumbered them considerably. Each man of the followers of al-Ḥusayn continued to fight until he was killed. However, when a man or two among them was killed, it was apparent,

464. Abū ʿAzzah al-Ḍibābī is not mentioned elsewhere.

while, since the others were numerous, it was not apparent how many were killed. When Abū Thumāmah ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣāʿidī saw the violence, he said to al-Ḥusayn, "O Abū ʿAbdallāh! To you I sacrifice my soul. I see that these men are getting closer to you. No, by God! You will get killed unless I am killed defending you, if God is willing. I would love to meet my Lord when I have already prayed the prayer; the time for performance has now drawn near." Al-Ḥuṣayn raised his head and said, "You mentioned the prayer. May God make you always one of those who pray and mention His name. Yes, it is now the first time for that prayer." Then he said, "Ask them to desist from us so that
[348] we may pray." Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm told them that the prayer would not be acceptable. Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir said to him, "You have claimed that it is not acceptable. Is the prayer of the family of the Apostle of God not acceptable, while your prayer is acceptable, you donkey?" Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm launched an attack against them, and Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir came out against him. Ḥabīb struck his horse's face with his sword. The horse pranced, and Ḥuṣayn fell from it. His followers carried him away and rescued him. Ḥabīb began to recite:

I swear if we had the numbers you have
or even half of you, you would turn your backs.
You the worst people of lineage and of deeds.

On that day he began to recite:

I am Ḥabīb, my father is Muẓāhir,
a horseman of battle and war that is kindled.
You are more numerous than we,
but we are more loyal and steadfast than you.
Ours is stronger logic and clearer
right. We are of greater piety and freer from blame than you.

Ḥabīb fought fiercely. A man from the Banū Tamīm attacked him, but Ḥabīb struck him on the head with his sword and killed him. The man was called Badīl b. Ṣuraym of the Banū ʿUqfān.[465] Another from the Banū Tamīm attacked him and stabbed him. Ḥabīb fell. He started to rise, and al-Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm struck him

465. Badīl b. Ṣuraym is not mentioned elsewhere.

on the head with his sword. He fell, and the Tamīmī stooped down and cut off his head. Al-Ḥuṣayn told him, "I am your partner in killing him." The other declared, "By God! No one except me killed him." Al-Ḥuṣayn ordered, "Give his head to me. I will hang it on the neck of my horse so that the people may see and know that I participated in killing him. Then you will take it and go with it to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, for I have no need of what you will be given for killing him." The man refused him, but then his [349] people persuaded him to settle their dispute in that way. So he handed al-Ḥuṣayn the head of Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir, and al-Ḥuṣayn went around the army with it hung on the neck of his horse. After that, he handed it back to the Tamīmī.

When they returned to al-Kūfah, the other man took the head of Ḥabīb and hung it on the withers of his mare. Then he took it to Ibn Ziyād in the palace. Ḥabīb's son, al-Qāsim b. Ḥabīb, caught sight of the head. At that time he was still an adolescent. He followed that horsemen wherever he went; he never left him. Whenever he went into the palace, al-Qāsim went in with him. When he left, al-Qāsim left with him. The latter became suspicious and asked, "My son, what is wrong with you that you follow me?" Al-Qāsim answered, "Nothing." He said, "Yes, there is, my son. Tell me." Al-Qāsim told him, "This head that you have is the head of my father. Will you give it to me so that I may bury it?" He answered, "My son, the governor would not be pleased if it were buried, and I want the governor to give me a good reward for killing him." The boy cried out, "But God will only give you an evil reward. My God! You have killed one who is better than you." Then he burst into tears. The boy waited until the time when he was grown up. Then his only concern was to track down his father's killer, to find him unprepared, and to kill him for his father. In the time of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr while Muṣ'ab was attacking Bājumayrā,[466] al-Qāsim b. Ḥabīb went into Muṣ'ab's camp; there he found his father's murderer in his tent. He began to come frequently in order to look for him; he sought

466. This campaign at Bājumayrā, which is near Takrīt in the region of Mosul in Iraq (See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 454–55), probably went on for three seasons; the eventual battle between Muṣ'ab and 'Abd al-Malik book place in either 71 (690–91) or 72 (691–92). See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 188–95.

for a moment when he was unprepared. He visited him while he was taking his midday siesta. He struck him with his sword until he was dead.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Qays: When Ḥabīb b. Muẓāhir was killed, it overwhelmed Ḥusayn and at that he said, "I will dedicate my life and my brave companions to God."

Al-Ḥurr began to recite:

I swear that I will not be killed until I have killed.
Today I will only be struck advancing
[350] While I strike them with a biting blow from my sword.
I will not be cowardly before them, nor will I run away.

He also recited:

I will strike my sword against their men of good repute
on behalf of the best man who settled at Minā and al-Khayf.

He and Zuhayr b. al-Qayn fought fiercely against them. When one of them attacked, if he became surrounded by fighters, the other attacked until he freed him. They both did that for some time. Then foot soldiers attacked al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd and killed him. Abū Thumāmah al-Ṣāʿidī was also killed. His cousin was his opponent.

Then they prayed the midday prayer. Al-Ḥusayn prayed the prayer of fear with them.[467] They fought again after midday. Their battle was very fierce and it reached al-Ḥusayn. However, [Saʿīd b. ʿAbdallāh][468] al-Ḥanafī came forward in front of him. He was exposed to them while they shot arrows to his right and left. He stood in front of al-Ḥusayn while he continued to be shot at until he fell.

Zuhayr b. al-Qayn fought fiercely while reciting:

I am Zuhayr. I am the son of al-Qayn.
I will drive them away from Ḥusayn with my sword.

He began to tap Ḥusayn on the shoulder while he said:

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467. This form of prayer was said to have been introduced by the Prophet at al-Ḥudaybiyyah. The people divide into two groups. One group performs the prayer while the other group acts as guard; then the two groups change roles. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, II, 573.

468. Saʿīd b. ʿAbdallāh was added from Balādhurī. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 195.

Forward, you have been guided as one who guides, who is rightly
guided (*mahdī*).
Today, you will meet your grandfather, the Prophet,
And al-Ḥasan, and him whom God is pleased with, 'Alī,
and the iron-clad young man with two wings[469]
And the lion of God, the martyr who still lives.[470]

Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Sha'bī and Muhājir b. Aws attacked him and killed him.

Nāfi' b. Hilāl al-Jamalī had written his name on the tips of his arrows. He began to shoot them when they were marked while declaring:

I am al-Jamalī. I believe in the religion of 'Alī.

Nāfi' b. Hilāl al-Jamalī killed twelve of the followers of 'Umar b. Sa'd beside those he wounded. He struck out until both his upper arms were broken and he was taken prisoner. Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan apprehended him. He had with him some of his followers, who drove Nāfi' along until he was brought before 'Umar b. Sa'd. 'Umar b. Sa'd said to him, "Woe upon you Nāfi'! What made you do what you have done to yourself?" He answered, "My Lord has taught me what I should want." Blood was flowing onto his beard as he continued, "By God! I have killed twelve of you beside those I have wounded. I do not blame myself for the effort. If there remained to me an upper arm and a forearm, you would not have captured me." Shamir, said to 'Umar, "Kill him, may God make you prosperous." 'Umar replied, "You brought him. You kill him if you want to." Shamir drew his sword. Nāfi' said to him, "By God! If you were one of the Muslims, how terrible you would feel to meet God with our blood on your hands. Praise be to God, Who has ordained that our fate should come through the wicked ones of His creatures." Then Shamir killed him. [351]

Shamir began to launch an attack against them while he recited:

Escape, enemies of God, escape from Shamir,
who will strike you with his sword and does not flee.
He is a bitter pill, a poison and bitter herb for you.

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469. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib. See *EI*², s.v. Dja'far b. Abī Ṭālib.
470. Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

When the followers of al-Ḥusayn realized that the enemy had become numerous and that they would no longer be able to defend Ḥusayn, or themselves, they vied with each other to be killed in front of him. ʿAbdallāh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the two sons of ʿAzrah,[471] both of Ghifār, declared, "Abū ʿAbdallāh (i.e., al-Ḥusayn), the enemy have driven us back to you. We want to be killed in front of you while we protect and defend you." He replied, "Welcome to you both. Come closer to me." They went close to him. Then they began to fight close beside him while one of them recited:

Banū Ghifār, Banū Nizār, and
    Khindif after them know truly
[352] That we will strike against dissolute men
    with every sharp-edged cutting sword.
People, defend the sons of free men
    with swords and brandished spears.

Two young men of Jābir, Sayf b. al-Ḥārith b. Surayʿ and Mālik b. ʿAbd b. Surayʿ, paternal cousins and half-brothers through their mother,[472] came and drew near Ḥusayn; they were weeping. Al-Ḥusayn said, "Cousins, what is making you cry? By God! I hope that in a short time you will both be joyful." They replied, "May God accept our lives for yours; it is not for ourselves that we weep, but we weep for you, for we see you surrounded and we cannot defend you." He said, "May God reward you with the best reward of the pious for your grief for that and for your giving up your own lives for me."

Ḥanẓalah b. Asʿad al-Shibāmī[473] advanced in front of Ḥusayn and began to call out, "'O my people! I fear for you the same as happened on the Day of the Allies, the same as happened to the people of Noah, and ʿĀd and Thamūd, and those who came after them, but God does not want injustice for His servants. O my people! I fear for you on the Day of Summoning, a day when you will turn back retreating; there will be no protector for you from

471. ʿAbdallāh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān are mentioned for the first time.
472. Sayf b. al-Ḥārith b. Surayʿ and Mālik are mentioned for the first time.
473. Ḥanẓalah b. Asʿad al-Shibāmī is mentioned for the first time.

God. Whoever God causes to err, has no guide.'[474] People, do not kill Ḥusayn, '...for God will destroy you with punishment. He who forges a lie will be disappointed.'"[475] Ḥusayn said to him, "May God have mercy on you, Ibn As'ad. Indeed, they have brought punishment on themselves when they refused the right that you summoned them to. They have come against you to destroy you and your companions. Therefore, how is it to be for them now when they have killed your righteous brothers?" He said, "You have spoken truly, may I sacrifice my life for you. You are more knowledgeable than I and more correct. Shall we not go [353] to the next world and join our brothers?" Al-Ḥusayn replied, "You will go to a better place than this world and what it comprises, to a kingdom that will never be worn out." Ḥanẓalah said, "Peace be with you, Abū 'Abdallāh, and may God bless you and your family. May He make us know you in His Heaven." Al-Ḥusayn answered, "Amen, amen." Then Ḥanẓalah advanced and fought until he was killed.

The two young sons of Jābir came forward looking toward Ḥusayn and saying, "Peace be with you, son of the Apostle of God." He replied, "Peace be with you both and the mercy of God." They fought until they were killed.

Next 'Ābis b. Abī Shabīb al-Shākirī came forward. With him was Shawdhab,[476] mawlā of Shākir. 'Ābis had said to him, "What do you intend to do?" He said, "What I will do is fight alongside you on behalf of the son of the daughter of the Apostle of God until I am killed." 'Ābis told him, "That is what I thought about you. But no. Go forward in front of Abū 'Abdallāh (i.e., al-Ḥusayn) so that he may dedicate you to God as he has done with his other followers and so that I, too, may dedicate you to God. If anyone had been with me for a time, for whom I had such responsibility as I have for you, it would please me that he should come in front of me so that I should dedicate him to God. On this day, it is appropriate for us to seek the reward with all our power, for there will be no works to earn God's favor after today, only the Day of Reckoning." Shawdhab went forward, greeted al-Ḥusayn. He went

474. Qur'ān, 40:30–33 (31–34).
475. Qur'ān, 20:64 (65).
476. Shawdhab is mentioned for the first time.

on and fought until he was killed. Then ʿĀbis b. Abī Shabīb said, "Abū ʿAbdallāh, there has not been on the face of the earth anyone, either close or distant relative, who is dearer to me and more loved by me than you. If I were able to defend you from oppression and murder with something more precious to me than my own life and blood, I would do it. Peace be with you, Abū ʿAbdallāh. I bear witness to God that I have ever been subject to your guidance and the guidance of your father." Then he walked toward them, [354] unsheathing his sword, and tapped his forehead with it.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Waʿlah—a man of Banu ʿAbd of Hamdān called Rabīʿ b. Tamīm,[477] who witnessed that battle: When I saw ʿĀbis advancing, I recognized him, for I had seen him in the campaigns. He was the bravest of men. I said, "People, this is the lion of lions. This is Ibn Shabīb. Let none of you go out against him." ʿĀbis began to call out, "Will no man fight me man to man?" ʿUmar b. Saʿd ordered stones to be thrown at him. Stones began to be thrown at him from all sides. When he saw that, he threw off his breastplate and his helmet; he charged against the people. By God, I saw him driving away more than two hundred men. Then they surrounded him on every side; he was killed. I saw his head in the hands of several men. One would claim, "I killed him." Then another would say, "I killed him." They went to ʿUmar b. Saʿd who said, "Don't dispute about this. No one spear killed him." He separated them through these words.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀṣim—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mishraqī: I saw that the followers of al-Ḥusayn had been struck down and [now the battle] had reached him and his family (*ahl baytihi*). The only others who were left with him were Suwayd b. ʿAmr b. Abī al-Muṭāʿ al-Khathʿamī,[478] and Bushayr b. ʿAmr al-Ḥaḍramī.[479] I said to al-Ḥusayn, "Son of the Apostle of God, you know the agreement between you and me. I told you that I would fight for you as long as I saw another fighter. Since I do not see any fighter alongside you, I am free to go. You

477. Rabīʿ b. Tamīm is mentioned for the first time; this is his only report.

478. Suwayd b. ʿAmr b. Abī al-Muṭāʿ al-Khathʿamī is mentioned for the first time with regard to his role in the battle.

479. Bushayr b. ʿAmr al-Ḥaḍramī is mentioned for the first time.

agree." He replied, "You have spoken truly, but how will it be possible for you to escape? Yet, if you can do that, you are free to go." I went to my horse. When I had seen the horses of our comrades wounded, I brought my horse and took it inside one of [355] the large tents among the tents of our comrades; I began to fight on foot. On that day, I killed two men in front of al-Ḥusayn and cut off the hand of another. On that day, al-Ḥusayn said to me several times, "May God never wither or cut off your hand. May God reward you well on behalf of the family of your Prophet." After he had given me permission to go, I brought out my horse from the tent. I settled myself on its back. I struck it so that, as it reared up on the front of its hooves, I galloped on toward the people. They moved out of my way. Fifteen of them chased after me until I reached Shufayyah, a village on the bank of the Euphrates. When they got close to me, I turned against them. Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Sha'bī, Ayyūb b. Mishraḥ al-Khaywānī and Qays b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṣā'idī[480] recognized me. They said, "This is al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Abdallāh al-Mishraqī. He is our cousin, we adjure you before God to leave him." Three members of Banū Tamīm who were with them agreed saying, "By God! Let us agree to our brothers; the people are entitled to ask us to refrain from their colleague when they want us to." When the members of Banū Tamīm agreed with my colleagues, the rest left me. Thus, God saved me.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl Khadīj al-Kindī: Yazīd b. Ziyād—that is Abū al-Sha'thā' al-Kindī of Banū Bahdalah—went down on both knees in front of al-Ḥusayn and shot a hundred arrows and hardly five missed. As he was shooting, he would say, "I am a son of Bahdalah, the horsemen of al-'Arjulah." Al-Ḥusayn would say, "O God! Make his aim be straight when he shoots and make his reward heaven." After he had shot them, he stood up and said, "Only five of the arrows have missed and it is clear to me that I have killed five men." He was among the first who were [356] killed. On that day he recited:

I am Yazīd. My father is Muhāṣir.
I am braver than a lion lurking in its covert.

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480. Qays b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṣā'idī is mentioned for the first time.

O Lord, I am a supporter of al-Ḥusayn,
and one who has abandoned and left Ibn Saʿd.

Yazīd b. Ziyād b. al-Muhāṣir had been one of those who had come with ʿUmar b. Saʿd against al-Ḥusayn. When they had rejected the conditions made by al-Ḥusayn, he had gone across to him and fought alongside him until he had been killed.

In the case of ʿAmr[481] b. Khālid al-Ṣaydāwī, Jābir b. al-Ḥārith al-Salmānī, Saʿd, the mawlā of ʿAmr b. Khālid, and Mujammiʿ b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿĀʾidhī,[482] they had fought at the beginning of the battle and had been at the forefront of the attack with their swords against the people. However, when they had penetrated too deeply, the people turned on them, began to gain the advantage over them and cut them off from their colleagues, who were not far away. Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī attacked the people and rescued them. They returned but they had been wounded. When their opponents got near them, they attacked them with their swords. They had fought at the very beginning of the battle until they were killed at the same place.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Zuhayr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zuhayr al-Khathʿamī: The last of his followers left with al-Ḥusayn was Suwayd b. ʿAmr b. Abī al-Mutāʿ al-Khathʿamī.

On that day, the first of Banū Abī Ṭālib to be killed was ʿAlī al-Akbar b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. His mother was Laylā bt. Abī Murrah b. ʿUrwah b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī.[483] He attacked the people, while declaring:

I am ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.
By the House of God! We are those with better claim to the Prophet.
By God! The son of an illegitimate son will not judge us!

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481. Following the Constantinople ms. and reading ʿAmr as in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II/2, 172.

482. ʿAmr, his *mawlā* Saʿd and Mujammiʿ were three of the group of four who came to al-Ḥusayn with al-Ṭirimmāḥ. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II/2, 172. Jābir's name occurs for the first time; he is otherwise unknown.

483. Laylā was a wife of al-Ḥusayn. ʿAlī al-Akbar was the only child she bore al-Ḥusayn. See Mufīd, *Irshād* (trans.), 379. Her father, Abū Murrah, is otherwise unknown.

He declared these words several times, and the Kūfans were afraid [357] to kill him. Then Murrah b. Munqidh b. al-Nu'mān al-'Abdī[484] saw him. He said, "If I do not deprive his father of him, may the felonies of the Arabs come on me if he passes me doing the same as he has been doing." 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn continued to attack the people, but then Murrah b. Munqidh came against him and stabbed him. He was struck down and the people fell upon him, cutting him with their swords.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—Ḥumayd b. Muslim al-Azdī: On that day I heard al-Ḥusayn saying, "May God kill the people who killed you, my son. How courageous they are against the Merciful God and in violating the inviolable kin of the Apostle of God! After you the world means nothing for me." Then I saw a woman like the rising sun come out, hurrying. She was crying, "My brother, my nephew!" I asked who she was and was told that it was Zaynab, daughter of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Apostle of God. She came and threw herself on him. Al-Ḥusayn went, took her by the hand and then led her back to the tent. Then he went to his son, and his young men went to him. He said, "Carry your brother back." They carried him and put him before the tent that they had been fighting in front of.

'Amr b. Ṣubayḥ al-Ṣaddā'ī[485] shot an arrow at 'Abdallāh b. Muslim b. 'Aqīl.[486] As 'Abdallāh put up his hand to guard his brow, [the arrow struck his hand and penetrated through to his brow, and fixed his hand to his forehead]. He was not able to move his hand.[487] Then another arrow was directed at him that split his heart in two.

The people began to drive against them from every side. 'Abd-

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484. Murrah b. Munqidh b. al-Nu'mān al-'Abdī fought at the Battle of the Camel for 'Alī. See Ṭabarī, I, 3202. The supporters of al-Mukhtār tried to kill him in vengeance for his part in this battle but, although he was wounded, he escaped and joined their enemies. See Ṭabarī, II, 667.

485. It is also claimed that Zayd b. Ruqād shot the arrow. See Ṭabarī, II, 667. Anyway for his part in the battle, 'Amr b. Ṣubayḥ al-Ṣaddā'ī was stabbed to death by al-Mukhtār's followers in vengeance for the death of al-Ḥusayn. See Ṭabarī, II, 678.

486. 'Abdallāh is one of the sons of Muslim b. 'Aqīl. His mother was Ruqayyah, who was a slave wife of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. See Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 62.

487. The text is clearly defective. I have added the sentence in brackets from Mufīd, *Irshād*, 223, and emended *kaffayhi* to read *kaffahu*.

allāh b. Quṭbah al-Ṭāʿī al-Nabhānī[488] attacked ʿAwn b. ʿAbdallāh
[358] b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib and killed him. ʿĀmir b. Nahshal al-Taymī[489] attacked Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib and killed him. ʿUthmān b. Khālid b. Usayr al-Juhanī and Bishr b. Sawṭ al-Hamdānī al-Qābiḍī[490] launched themselves against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib,[491] and killed him. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUrwah al-Khathʿamī[492] shot at Jaʿfar b. ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib[493] and killed him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: A young lad came out against us. His face was young like the first splinter of the moon, and there was a sword in his hand. He was wearing a shirt and a waistcloth, and a pair of sandals, one of whose straps was broken—as I remember, it was the left. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. Nufayl al-Azdī said to me, "By God! Let me attack him." I said, "Praise be to God! What do you want to do that for? Is it not enough for you that these people who, you see, have surrounded them should do the killing?" But he insisted, "By God! Let me attack him." So he rushed against him and did not turn back until he had struck his head with his sword. The young lad fell face downward as he called out, "O uncle!" Al-Ḥusayn showed himself just like the hawk shows itself. He launched into attack like a raging lion and struck ʿAmr [b. Saʿd b. Nufayl] with his sword. That man tried to fend off the blow with his arm, but his arm was cut off from the elbow; he gave a great shriek. As al-Ḥusayn turned away from him, the cavalry of the Kūfans attacked in order to save ʿAmr [b. Saʿd b. Nufayl] from

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488. ʿAbdallāh b. Quṭbah al-Ṭāʿī al-Nabhānī is not mentioned elsewhere.

489. ʿĀmir b. Nashhal al-Taymī is not mentioned elsewhere.

490. Both ʿUthman and Bishr were killed by the supporters of al-Mukhtār; then their bodies were burned in vengeance for their part in this battle. See Ṭabarī, II, 669–70.

491. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was a son of ʿAqīl, who was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's brother. His mother was a slave wife. See Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 61.

492. Following the Constantinople ms. and reading ʿUrwah for ʿAzrah as in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II/2, 200. See also Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 61; and Ṭabarī, II, 678. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUrwah al-Khathʿamī claimed that, although he shot arrows at them, he missed. Nevertheless, he escaped the followers of al-Mukhtār and joined their enemies. His house was destroyed by them. See Ṭabarī, II, 678.

493. Jaʿfar was a son of ʿAqīl; his mother was Umm al-Thaghr. See Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 61.

Ḥusayn. Their horses collided against 'Amr with their chests, their hooves kicked out and they galloped with their riders over him so that they trampled him to death. The dust fell; there[494] was al-Ḥusayn standing by the head of the young lad; the lad had his feet stretched out on the ground. Ḥusayn was saying, "May [359] the people who killed you perish, for the one who will oppose them on the Day of Resurrection on your behalf will be your grandfather. By God! It is hard on your uncle that you called him and he did not answer you, or rather he answered but your cry did not help you, for, by God, those who kill his relatives are many but those who help him are few." Then he carried him.

It is just as if I can see the two feet of the boy leaving tracks in the ground while Ḥusayn held his breast close to his own. I asked myself what he would do with him. He brought him and put him with his son 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and the other members of his family who had been slain. I asked about the boy and was told that he was al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[495]

Al-Ḥusayn remained there for a long time during that day. Whenever one of the people came against him, he would turn aside from him and was unwilling to be responsible for his death and such a dreadful sin. A man from the Banū Baddā' of Kindah called Mālik b. al-Nusayr came against him and struck him on the head with his sword. Al-Ḥusayn was wearing a hooded cloak. The sword cut through [the hood of] the cloak and wounded his head. The cloak became covered with blood. Al-Ḥusayn declared. "Because of that may you never eat and drink with your hand. May God gather you on the [Day of Judgment] with those people who are wrongdoers." He threw down the cloak and called for a cap. He put on the cap and wound a turban around it. He was tired and had become less active.

The man from Kindah had managed to take the cloak, which was made of silk. Later, when he brought it to his wife, Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥurr—she was the sister of Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥurr

494. *Anā* has been omitted as in Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 58.

495. Al-Qāsim was a nephew of al-Ḥusayn; his mother was either Umm al-Salīl or a slave wife. See Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 58; Mufīd, *Irshād* (trans.), 290; and p. 180, below.

al-Baddī[496]—he began to wash the blood from the cloak. His wife said to him, "Have you brought plunder from the son of the daughter of the Apostle of God into my house? Take it away from me." His colleagues mentioned that he remained poor as a result of the wicked action until he died.[497]

[360] When al-Ḥusayn sat down, he was brought his young child. He sat the babe on his knee. They claim that the child was 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn.[498]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Uqbah b. Bashīr al-Asadī[499] said: Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn told me that the blood of his family was on the hands of us from Banū Asad. I said to him, "Is it my fault? May God have mercy on you." Then I asked him what our guilt was. He answered, "Al-Ḥusayn was brought his young child; he was on his knee. Then one of you, Banū Asad, shot an arrow that slaughtered the child. Al-Ḥusayn caught the blood [in his hand]. When the palm of his hand was full, he poured the blood onto the ground and said, "O Lord, if it be that You have kept the help of heaven from us, then let it be because Your purpose is better than [immediate] help. Take vengeance for us on these oppressors."

'Abdallāh b. 'Uqbah al-Ghanawī[500] shot an arrow at Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī[501] and killed him. The poet, Ibn Abī 'Aqib (al-Laythī), said [of it]:

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496. Neither Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥurr or the man of Kindah is mentioned elsewhere.

497. According to Ṭabarī, II, 668, the followers of al-Mukhtār cut his legs off and beat him to death in vengeance for his part in the battle.

498. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn's mother was al-Rabāb daughter of Imru' al-Qays. See Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 59.

499. 'Uqbah b. Bashīr al-Asadī is an otherwise unknown reporter of Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 223.

500. In his youth, 'Abdallāh b. 'Uqbah al-Ghanawī had been a Khārijite rebel with Mustawrid. See Wellhausen, *Religio-Political*, 29ff. Later he escaped from the followers of al-Mukhtār, who destroyed his house for his part in this battle. See Ṭabarī, II, 678. He was killed in Ibn al-Ash'ath's rebellion at the Battle of Dayr Jamājim in 82 (701). See Ṭabarī, II, 59, and Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 195.

501. Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn has been corrected to Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan, as later in Ṭabarī, II, 387. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II/2, 201; and Mufīd, *Irshād* (trans.), 224. Abū Bakr's name was 'Umar; see Mufīd, *Irshād* (trans.), 295, where 'Umar is named as one of the three sons of al-Ḥasan who was killed. According to Ṭabarī, II, 387, his mother was a slave wife.

With the tribe of Ghanī is a drop of our blood,
and another is with the tribe of Asad. It will be counted and remembered.[502]

They claim that al-'Abbās b. 'Alī said to his brothers on his mother's side, 'Abdallāh, Ja'far and 'Uthmān, "My brothers through my mother, go forward so that I may be your heir. For you have no children." They did and they were killed. Hāni' b. Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī attacked 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and killed him. Then he attacked Ja'far b. 'Alī and killed him. He brought back his head. Khawalī b. Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī[503] shot an arrow at 'Uthmān b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Then a man from Banū Abān b. Dārim attacked him and killed him. Another man from Banū Abān b. Dārim shot at Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib[504] and killed him. He took away his head.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū al-Hudhayl,[505] one of the clan of Sakūn: I saw Hāni' b. Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī sitting among a group of Ḥaḍramīs in the time of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh.[506] He was then a very old man. I heard him claim [361] that he was among those who had witnessed the killing of al-Ḥusayn and he reported: By God! I was one of ten, all of whom were on horseback. The horses were circling around and prancing in fear, as a young man from the family of al-Ḥusayn came out clutching a stick from the tents and wearing a waistcloth (*izār*) and a shirt. He was very frightened and looked to the right and left. I saw two pearls in his ears swinging whenever he turned. A man approached. Riding until he was close to him, he leaned

502. This verse is cited in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II/2, 201; Ṭabarī, II, 678; and Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 57.

503. For his part in this battle, Khawalī b. Yazīd al-Aṣaḥī was killed and his body burned in vengeance for his having helped to kill al-Ḥusayn. See Ṭabarī, II, 671.

504. There is some confusion over the identity of this son of 'Alī. Mufīd made his *kunyah* Abū Bakr and said he was a son of Laylā bt. Mas'ūd. See Mufīd, *Irshād* (trans.), 168. Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī maintained that he was the son of Asmā', daughter of Umays al-Khath'ami. See Ṭabarī, I, 3471. The greater evidence is that he was the son of a slave wife. See Ṭabarī, I, 3471, and Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 56.

505. Perhaps Abū al-Hudhayl was Ghālib b. Hudhayl al-Kūfī, a traditionist, who died between 140 (757) and 150 (767). See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 44.

506. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh became governor of Iraq in 105 (724) and remained in the post until 120 (738). See *EI*², s.v. Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī.

down from his horse. Then he overcame the boy and cut him down with his sword.[507]

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—the Sakūnī said: Hāniʾ b. Thubayt was the man who had killed the youth. When he was blamed for it, he attributed it to someone other than himself.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—ʿAmr b. Shamir[508]—Jābir (b. Yazīd) al-Juʿfī:[509] Al-Ḥusayn's thirst became so great that he approached in order to drink water. Ḥuṣayn b. Tamīm shot an arrow at him, and it landed in his mouth. The blood spurted from his mouth, and he brushed it away into the air. Then he praised and glorified God. He brought his hands together and said, "O God! Count their number, destroy their power and do not let one of them remain on the earth."

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—his father, Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib[510]—al-Qāsim b. al-Aṣbagh b. Nubātah[511]—one of those who was a witness in the camp of al-Ḥusayn: When Ḥusayn's camp was overrun, he rode toward the dam, trying to reach the Euphrates. One of the Banū Abān b. Dārim shouted, "Woe upon you! Prevent him from getting to the water. Don't let his Shīʿah get to him." He whipped his horse, and the people followed him so that they prevented al-Ḥusayn from getting to
[362] the Euphrates. Then al-Ḥusayn cried out, "O God! Make him thirsty!" The Abānī took out an arrow and lodged it in al-Ḥusayn's throat. Al-Ḥusayn pulled out the arrow and held out the palms of his hands. Both were filled with blood. Then al-Ḥusayn

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507. The youth is not identified in the text. It may have been either ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī or Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī, whom Hāniʾ has just been reported to have killed.

508. ʿAmr b. Shamir was a follower of the sixth Shīʿite Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq who died in 148 (765). He was regarded by the Shīʿah as an unreliable transmitter; he chiefly reported from Jābir b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī. See Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 220.

509. Jābir (b. Yazīd) al-Juʿfī was a follower of both the fifth Shīʿite Imām, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, and the sixth Imām, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. He was regarded by the Shīʿah as having mixed with extremists. Although he wrote many books, they regard them as suspect. He wrote an account of the death of al-Ḥusayn; he died in 128 (745–46). See Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 99–100.

510. Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib was an authority on genealogy and the Qurʾān; he died in al-Kūfah in 146 (763). See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge, I, 205–6.

511. Al-Qāsim's father, al-Aṣbagh b. Nubātah, was a well-known Shīʿite and supporter of ʿAlī. Al-Aṣbagh wrote a book on the death of al-Ḥusayn. Perhaps this report is from his father's book. See al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, 63.

said, "O God! I complain to you about what is being done to the son of the daughter of your Prophet."

By God! The man from Banū Abān b. Dārim only waited a short time before God cast down on him a thirst that he could never quench.

According to al-Qāsim b. al-Aṣbagh: You could have seen me among those who used to visit that man. There would be cold water with date wine in it, glasses with milk in them, and earthenware bottles with water, and yet he would say, "Woe upon you! Give me a drink, for the thirst is killing me." Then he would be given the earthenware bottle or the glass, which would have quenched the thirst of a whole family. He would drink it. When he took it away from his mouth, he would rest for a moment. Then he would say, "Woe upon you! Give me a drink, for the thirst is killing me." By God! It was not long before his belly was split open as if it were a camel's belly.

According to Abū Mikhnaf's account: Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan advanced with a group of about ten Kūfan foot soldiers opposite the place where al-Ḥusayn had put his baggage and his family. Al-Ḥusayn moved toward it but they cut him off from his baggage. Al-Ḥusayn cried out, "Shame on you! If you have no religion and do not fear the Day of Return, then [at least] in matters of your world be freeborn men, who have some qualities of nobility, and prevent the mean and ignorant among you from getting to my baggage and my family." Ibn Dhī al-Jawshan retorted, "That is your task, son of Fāṭimah." He advanced against him with the foot soldiers. Among them were: Abū al-Janūb—his name was 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ju'fī, al-Qash'am b. 'Amr b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī,[512] Ṣāliḥ b. Wahb al-Yazanī,[513] Sinān b. Anas al-Nakha'ī,[514] and Khawalī b. Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī.[515] Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan began to urge them on. He went past Abū al-Janūb,

512. Balādhurī gave his name as al-Qash'am b. 'Amr b. Nadhīr and added that he was among those who held back from supporting 'Alī. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 202. He is not mentioned with regard to any other incident.

513. Ṣāliḥ b. Wahb al-Yazanī is not mentioned with regard to any other incident.

514. It is reported that in the days of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, Sinān b. Anas al-Nakna'ī's tongue used to stick in his throat; he became mad and, whenever he ate, he had to defecate, because of the part he played in killing al-Ḥusayn. See Ṭabarī, III, 2333.

515. Khawalī b. Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī also took al-Ḥusayn's head. See text p. 161, below; and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, II/2, 202.

[363] who was fully armed and told him, "Advance against him." Abū al-Janūb retorted, "What is stopping you from advancing against him?" Shamir said, "Are you saying that to me?" Abū Janūb demanded, "Are you saying it to me?" They cursed each other and Abū al-Janūb—he was a brave man—said, "By God! I am tempted to dash the point of my spear into your eye." Shamir went away from him, declaring, "By God! If I have the power to harm you, I will harm you."

Then Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan advanced with the foot soldiers toward al-Ḥusayn. Al-Ḥusayn began to attack them and they drew back from him. They surrounded him completely. A boy from his family came toward al-Ḥusayn. His aunt, Zaynab, daughter of ʿAlī, caught hold of him to stop him. Al-Ḥusayn told her to keep him with her but the boy refused. He rushed forward to al-Ḥusayn and stood at his side.[516] Baḥr b. Kaʿb b. ʿUbaydallāh of the Banū Taym Allāh b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿUkābah[517] rushed toward al-Ḥusayn with a sword. The young lad said to him, "Son of an impure woman, are you trying to kill my uncle?" Baḥr struck at him with his sword. The boy tried to fend off the blow with his arm. The sword cut through it to the skin; there was the arm hanging. The boy cried out, "O my mother!" Al-Ḥusayn took hold of him and embraced him. He said to him, "My nephew, try to bear what has come to you and consider the good in it, for God will unite you with your righteous ancestors, with the Apostle of God, with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ḥamzah, Jaʿfar and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: On that day I heard al-Ḥusayn say, "O God! Keep the drops of rain from the sky from them. Deny them the blessings of the earth. Even as You have made [life] pleasant for them for a
[364] time, divide them into factions, and make them follow the ways of factions and let their rulers never be pleased with them. They summoned us so that they might support us and then they became hostile to us and killed us." He struck out against the foot soldiers until they drew back from him.

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516. It is unclear who the boy was; Baḥr was not listed as having killed any of al-Ḥusayn's nephews.

517. Baḥr b. Kaʿb b. ʿUbaydallāh is unknown apart from his part in this battle and the consequence for him of it. See pp. 159, 161, below.

When al-Ḥusayn was left with only a group of three or four, he called for a pair of well-woven trousers (*sarāwīl*) in which the edge, which was of well-woven Yemenī cloth, glittered. He tore them and split them open so that he should not have them plundered. One of his followers said to him, "You should wear underbreeches (*tubbān*)[518] under them." He answered, "Those are lowly clothes, and it is not appropriate for me to wear them." When he was killed, Baḥr b. Ka'b plundered him of [the trousers] and left him naked.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Amr b. Shu'ayb[519]—Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān:[520] The hands of Baḥr b. Ka'b were so wet in winter that they used to sprinkle water and they were so dry in summer that they were like sticks.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj (b. 'Alī)—'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār b. 'Abd Yāguth al-Bāriqī:[521] Afterwards, 'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār was blamed for being present at the killing of al-Ḥusayn but 'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār maintained, "I have done a favor to the Banū Hāshim." We asked, "What favor have you done them?" He answered, "I attacked Ḥusayn with my spear. I came toward him. By God! I could have stabbed him if I had wanted to. Then I turned aside from him but not too far away, for I said to myself, 'What will I achieve by taking his killing on myself? Let someone else kill him.'"

Then 'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār reported: The foot soldiers attacked him from right and left. He launched himself against those to his right until they dispersed. Then he launched himself against those to his left until they dispersed. He was wearing one of his shirts of silk and a turban. By God! I have never seen such persistence. His sons, his family and his followers had been killed, Yet he was stronger in heart. Neither was anyone sharper in spirit than he, nor bolder in advancing. By God! I have not seen his like before or [365]

518. *Tubbān* are described as small trousers; they cover the private parts, and they are worn by sailors. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. *tbn*.

519. 'Amr b. Shu'ayb was a well-known traditionist, who died in 118 (736). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 48–55.

520. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān is not mentioned with regard to any other incident.

521. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ammār was at one time a follower of 'Alī; however, he had a considerable change of heart. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 204.

since. If the foot soldiers were there, they would retreat from his right and his left as the goats retreat when the wolf comes upon them. By God! He was just like that when Zaynab, daughter of Fāṭimah, came out. I could see her earrings bobbing between her ears and her shoulders. She was saying, "I wish that the sky would come down on the earth." ʿUmar b. Saʿd had come closer to Ḥusayn and she called out, "ʿUmar b. Saʿd, is Abū ʿAbdallāh being killed while you watch?" I could see ʿUmar's tears flowing down his cheeks and beard as he turned his face away from her.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaqʿab b. Zuhayr—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: Al-Ḥusayn was wearing a shirt (*jubbah*) of silk and a turban that had been dyed with woad. I heard him say before he was killed, while he was fighting on foot like a brave horseman, avoiding blows, taking advantage of gaps [in the ranks] and attacking the cavalry, "Are you urging one another to kill me? By God! After me you will not kill another servant of God, for God will be more displeased with you for killing than He will be with me. By God! I hope that God will favor me by making you lowly. Then may He grant me vengeance on you without your perceiving it. By God! If you kill me, God will send misfortune among you and cause the shedding of your blood. Nor will God be satisfied until He has multiplied the dread torture for you."

There was a long delay through the day. If the people had wanted to kill him, they could have done so but each of them was averting the action; each hoped the other would kill al-Ḥusayn. Each of them preferred that the others should do the deed. Then Shamir shouted among the people, "Shame on you! Why are you waiting for the man? Kill him, may your mothers be deprived of you!" So an attack was launched against him on every side. A blow was struck against his left hand by Zurʿah b. Sharīk al-Tamīmī.[522] It
[366] hit him on his shoulder. They withdrew while he was falling and stumbling. As he was in that plight, Sinān b. Anas b. ʿAmr al-Nakhaʿī attacked him and stabbed him with his spear. He fell. Sinān told Khawalī b. Yazīd al-Asbaḥī to cut off his head. The latter wanted to do so but he was weak; he trembled. Sinān b. Anas said to him, "May God crush your arms and take away your

522. Zurʿah b. Sharīk al-Tamīmī is not mentioned with regard to any other incident.

hands." He bent down, killed him and cut his head off. It was, then, handed to Khawalī b. Yazīd.

Before that al-Ḥusayn had been struck by [many] swords.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī:[523] When al-Ḥusayn was killed, there were thirty-three stab wounds and thirty-four blows.

[Ḥumayd] continued: Sinān b. Anas did not let anyone go near al-Ḥusayn without attacking him, out of fear that he might be deprived of al-Ḥusayn's head. Then he took al-Ḥusayn's head and handed it to Khawalī. The body of al-Ḥusayn was plundered as it was. Baḥr b. Ka'b took his trousers. Qays b. al-Ash'ath took his cloak. It was silken, and he was afterward called Qays of the cloak. One of Banū Awd called al-Aswad took his sandals, and one of the Banū Nahshal b. Dārim took his sword. Later it came into the possession of the family of Ḥabīb b. Budayl.[524]

The people turned to the turmeric, the garments and the camels [in al-Ḥusayn's camp]; they plundered them. The people turned to the womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn, his baggage, and equipment. The women had their clothes ripped off their backs, they were forcibly deprived of them and they were taken away from them.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Zuhayr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khath'amī: Suwayd b. 'Amr b. Abī al-Muṭā' had been brought [367] down and was covered with wounds. He had fallen wounded amid those killed. As he recovered consciousness, he heard them saying that al-Ḥusayn had been killed. He had a knife but his sword had been taken. So he fought against them with the knife for a time, but then he was killed. 'Urwah b. Biṭār al-Taghlibī[525] and Zayd b. Ruqād al-Janbī[526] killed him. He was the last to be killed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rashīd—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: I came to 'Alī al-Aṣghar b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. He was

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523. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī was a great-grandson of al-Ḥusayn and the sixth Imām of the Shī'ah, who died in 148/765. See *EI*², s.v. Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ.

524. Ḥabīb b. Budayl became governor of al-Rayy in 131 (748). See Ṭabarī, III, 2–3.

525. Balādhurī gave 'Urwah's name as 'Azrah b. Biṭān. See *Ansāb* II/2, 204. Under either name he is otherwise unknown.

526. Zayd b. Ruqād al-Janbī is also claimed to have been responsible for the killing of 'Abdallāh b. Muslim b. 'Aqīl. He was burned to death by the supporters of al-Mukhtār in vengeance for his part in the battle. See Ṭabarī, II, 667–68.

stretched out on his bed and he was ill. There was Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan with some foot soldiers who were asking him, "Shall we not kill this one?" I said, "Praise be to God! Will boys be killed, for this is only a boy?" I went on arguing like that so that I kept all who came away from him until ʿUmar b. Saʿd arrived. He ordered, "No one should enter the tent of these women nor disturb this sick boy. Whoever has taken any of their belongings should return them." By God! No one returned anything. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn said to me, "May you be a well-rewarded man, for by God, God kept evil away from me through your words."

People said to Sinān b. Anas, "You have killed Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the son of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Apostle of God. You have killed the greatest of the Arabs in nobility, who came to these people with the intention of taking them away from the despotism over them. So go to your leaders and ask them for your reward. If they give you their treasure houses for killing al-Ḥusayn, it would be little." Sinān went forward on his horse. He was a poet and there was an insanity (*lūthah*) in him. He went and stood at the entrance of ʿUmar b. Saʿd's tent and called out at the top of his voice:

[368] Fill my saddlebag with silver and gold.
I have killed the well-guarded king.
I have killed the man of noblest parents
and when people trace descent his is the best.[527]

ʿUmar b. Saʿd declared, "I testify that you are mad. You could never be sane. Bring him in to me." When Sinān was brought in, ʿUmar struck him with a cane and said, "Madman, are you uttering these words? By God! If Ibn Ziyād heard you, he would have your head cut off."

ʿUmar b. Saʿd apprehended ʿUqbah b. Simʿān. He was the mawlā of al-Rabāb bt. Imruʾ al-Qays of Kalb, who was the mother of Sukaynah, daughter of al-Ḥusayn. He asked him who he was. He answered, "I am a slave who is possessed [by another]." So he let him go.

No one else among them escaped except for al-Muraqqaʿ b.

527. These verses came earlier. See p. 76, above.

Thumāmah al-Asadī.[528] He had been shooting arrows as he knelt on his knees and fought. A group of his own tribe had come to him and said, "You are guaranteed safe-conduct. Come out to us." He had gone out to them. When 'Umar b. Sa'd had gone with them to Ibn Ziyād and told him about al-Muraqqa', Ibn Ziyād sent him to al-Zārrah.

Then 'Umar b. Sa'd called out among his followers, "Who will volunteer [to go] to al-Ḥusayn and make his horse trample on al-Ḥusayn's body?" Ten volunteered. Among them was Isḥāq b. Ḥaywah al-Ḥaḍramī,[529] who was the one who stole al-Ḥusayn's shirt and later got leprosy, and Aḥbash b. Marthad b. 'Alqamah b. Salāmah al-Ḥaḍramī.[530] They trampled on the body of al-Ḥusayn with their horses until they had crushed his back and his chest. I learned that some time later an arrow from an unknown direction hit Aḥbash b. Marthad as he was standing in a battle. It split his heart, and he died.

Seventy-two men of the followers of al-Ḥusayn were killed. Some of the Banū Asad, who dwelt at al-Ghādiriyyah, buried al-Ḥusayn and his followers a day after they had been killed. Eighty- [369]
eight men of the followers of 'Umar b. Sa'd were killed apart from those who were wounded. 'Umar b. Sa'd prayed over them and buried them.

No sooner had al-Ḥusayn been killed than on the very same day his head was despatched with Khawalī b. Yazīd and Ḥumayd b. Muslim al-Azdī to 'Ubaydallāh to Ziyād. Khawalī traveled with the head. When he arrived at the palace, he found the door locked. He went to his own house and put the head under a washing tub in his house. He lived with two women, one from the Banū Asad tribe and the other from the Ḥaḍramīs. The latter was called al-Nawār bt. Mālik b. 'Aqrab.[531] That night was his night with the Ḥaḍramī woman.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—his father [Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib]—al-Nawār bt. Mālik: Khawalī came with the

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528. Al-Muraqqa' b. Thumāmah al-Asadī was a supporter of al-Ḥusayn; he was not previously mentioned.

529. Isḥāq b. Ḥaywah al-Ḥaḍramī is not mentioned with regard to any other incident.

530. Aḥbash is not mentioned with regard to any other incident.

531. Al-Nawār is not mentioned with regard to any other incident.

head of al-Ḥusayn and put it under a washing tub in his house. He came into the room and went to bed. I asked him, "What is the news? What has happened to you?" He answered, "I have brought you the wealth of ages. There is the head of al-Ḥusayn with you in the house." I cried out, "Shame on you! People bring gold and silver, and you bring the head of the son of the Apostle of God. No, by God! You and I will never be together again in any room." I jumped from my bed and went out into the house. He called the Asadī woman and made her sleep with him. I sat on watch. By God! I began to see a light that spread like a pillar from the sky toward the washing tub and I saw white birds futtering round it. In the morning, Khawalī took the head to ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād.

ʿUmar b. Saʿd remained for the rest of that day and the next. Then he ordered Ḥumayd b. Bukayr al-Aḥmarī to announce the departure to al-Kūfah among the people. He took with him the daughters and sisters of al-Ḥusayn, the children who had been with him, and ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, who was sick.

[370] According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Zuhayr al-ʿAbsī—Qurrah b. Qays al-Tamīmī: I looked at those women. As they passed Ḥusayn and the members of his family and his sons, they shrieked and tore at their faces. I turned my horse toward them. I had never seen a sight of women more beautiful than the sight I saw of those women. By God! They were more beautiful than wild cows at Yabrīn. Among the things that I will never forget: I will never forget the words of Zaynab, the daughter of Fāṭimah, as she passed the prostrate body of her brother, al-Ḥusayn. She was saying, "O Muḥammad! O Muḥammad! May the angels of heaven bless you. Here is Ḥusayn in the open, stained with blood and with limbs torn off. O Muḥammad! Your daughters are prisoners, your progeny are killed, and the east wind blows dust over them." By God! She made every enemy and friend weep.

The heads of the rest were cut off and [these] seventy-two heads were sent with Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan, Qays b. al-Ashʿath, ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj, and ʿAzrah b. Qays. They journeyed until they brought them to ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: ʿUmar b. Saʿd summoned me and sent me to his family to tell them the good news of his health, for God had given him victory. I journeyed until I came to his family. I informed

them of his news. Then I went on to visit 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. I found Ibn Ziyād holding an assembly for the people. I found that the delegation had already come to him. He had allowed them to enter and had given permission for the people to enter. So I went in with those who entered. There was the head of al-Ḥusayn placed in front of him. There he was, poking between its teeth with a cane. When Zayd b. Arqam saw that he continued to poke the head with his cane, he said, "Raise that cane from those teeth, for by God other than Whom there is no god, I have seen the lips of the Apostle of God kiss those lips." Then the old man began to [371] weep. Ibn Ziyād said, "May God make your eyes weep, for, by God, if it were not for the fact that you are an old man, who has become silly and your mind has left you, I would cut off your head." Zayd b. Arqam stood up and left. When he had gone, I heard the people saying, "By God! Zayd b. Arqam said such words which, if Ibn Ziyād had heard, he would have killed him." I asked, "What did he say?" They replied, "As he passed us, he was saying: 'A slave has given power to a slave and he has made the people his inheritance. You, Arabs, are the slaves after today. You killed the son of Fāṭimah when Ibn Marjānah ordered you. He will kill the best among you and enslave the evil among you. You have accepted humiliation. Let destruction come to those who accept humiliation.'"

When the head of Ḥusayn was brought in with his children, sisters, and womenfolk to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, Zaynab, daughter of Fāṭimah, had dressed in her dirtiest clothes, disguising herself with her maids surrounding her. She came in and sat down. Ibn Ziyād demanded, "Who is that woman who is sitting down?" She did not answer him. He repeated the question three times, but no one answered him. Then one of her maidservants said to him, "This is Zaynab, daughter of Fāṭimah." 'Ubaydallāh said to her, "Praise be to God, Who has disgraced you, killed you and revealed the false nature of your claims." Zaynab replied, "Praise be to God, Who has favored us with Muḥammad and has purified us completely from sin.[532] It is not as you say, for He only disgraces the great sinner and reveals the false nature of the profligate." He asked, "How do you consider God has treated your family?" She

532. A reference to Qur'ān, 33:33.

replied, "God decreed death for them, and they went forward to their resting places. God will gather you and us together. You will plead your excuses to Him and we will be your adversaries before Him." Ibn Ziyād became enraged and burnt with anger. ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth intervened, "May God make the governor prosperous,
[372] she is only a woman. Are women responsible for anything that they say? Do not hold her responsible for her words, or blame her for foolish talk." Ibn Ziyād said to her, "God has healed my soul from your tyrant and the rebellious, disobedient members of your family." Zaynab wept and then said: "By my life! You have killed the mature of my family; you have ruined my family; you have cut down my young branches; you have pulled out my root. If this satisfies you, then you have your fill."

ʿUbaydallāh declared, "By my life! This is real bravery. Your father was a brave poet." She answered, "What has a woman to do with bravery? Indeed, I have things to distract me from bravery, but what I say is just a spontaneous expression."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Saʿīd: When ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād noticed ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, he said to one of the police, "See whether this one has attained the status of a man." After he had pulled his waistcloth from him, he said that he had. Ibn Ziyād ordered, "Take him away and cut his head off." ʿAlī said, "There is a kinship between you and these women. So send a man with them to look after them." Ibn Ziyād told him to go and sent him with them.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: I was standing by Ibn Ziyād when ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn was presented to him. He asked him, "What is your name?" He replied, "I am ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn." Ibn Ziyād said, "Did not God kill ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn?" he was silent so Ibn Ziyād asked him, "What is wrong with you that you do not speak?" He answered, "I had a brother who was also called ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, and the people killed him." Ibn Ziyād retorted, "God killed him." ʿAlī was silent. Ibn Ziyād demanded, "What is wrong with you that you do not speak?" He answered, "'God receives the souls at the
[373] time of their death.'[533] 'It is not possible for a soul to die without

533. Qur'ān, 39:42 (43).

God's permission.' "[534] Ibn Ziyād shouted, "By God! You are one of them. See whether he has matured. By God! I think he is a man."

Murrī b. Mu'ādh al-Aḥmarī[535] uncovered him and said, "Yes, he has matured." Ibn Ziyād ordered him to be killed. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn asked him, "Who will you make responsible for these women?" Zaynab, his aunt, clung to him and pleaded, "O Ibn Ziyād haven't you had enough of us? Have you not sated yourself with our blood? Will you let any of us survive?" She embraced 'Alī and continued, "I plead to you by God if you are a believer, that if you kill him, you kill me with him." 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn called to him, "Ibn Ziyād, if there is any kinship between you and the family of 'Alī send a righteous man to accompany them in a proper Islamic way." Ibn Ziyād looked at Zaynab for a time and then he looked at the people and said, "How wonderful is kinship! By God! I think that she really wants me to kill her with him, if I kill him. Leave the boy.... Go with your women."

Ḥumayd b. Muslim reported: When 'Ubaydallāh had entered the palace, and the people had entered, the call—"the prayer is general"—was made and the people gathered in the great mosque. Ibn Ziyād ascended the pulpit. He said, "Praise be to God, Who has revealed the truth and the followers of truth. He has given victory to the Commander of the Faithful, Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, and his party. He has killed the liar who is the son of a liar, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, and his Shī'ah."

Ibn Ziyād had not finished his speech when up before him jumped 'Abdallāh b. 'Afīf al-Azdī al-Ghāmidī,[536] one of the Banū Wālibah. He had been one of the Shī'ah of 'Alī, and his left eye had been lost in the Battle of the Camel alongside 'Alī. At the Battle of Ṣiffīn, he had been struck on the head and had another blow on the eyebrow; as a result his other eye had been lost. He hardly ever left the great mosque, where he used to pray until night and then go. When he heard Ibn Ziyād's speech, he shouted, [374] "Son of Marjānah, the ones who are liars and sons of liars are you

534. Qur'ān, 3:145 (139).

535. Murrī b. Mu'ādh al-Aḥmarī is not mentioned with regard to any other incident.

536. Apart from the information given in the text, 'Abdallāh b. 'Afīf al-Azdī al-Ghāmidī is otherwise unknown.

and your father and the man who appointed you and his father. Ibn Marjānah, are you killing the sons of prophets and trying to speak the language of true men?" Ibn Ziyād ordered, "Get him for me." The soldiers jumped toward him and seized him but he gave the battle cry of al-Azd, "O Mabrūr" ("O blessed one"). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf al-Azdī,[537] who was sitting there, declared, "You have brought trouble for others. You have destroyed yourself and you have destroyed your tribe." At that time there were seven hundred fighters of al-Azd present in al-Kūfah. Some of the young men of al-Azd moved quickly to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAfīf and took him away. They brought him to his family. Then Ibn Ziyād sent to him some of those who would bring him back; they killed him. He had him crucified in the wasteland (*al-sabakhah*).[538]

According to Abū Mikhnaf: ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād had the head of al-Ḥusayn set up in al-Kūfah; he took it around al-Kūfah. Then he summoned Zaḥr b. Qays[539] and despatched him with the head of al-Ḥusayn and the heads of his followers to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah. With Zaḥr were Abū Burdah b. ʿAwf al-Azdī[540] and Ṭāriq b. Abī Ẓubyān al-Azdī.[541] They departed and took all the heads to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah in Syria.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ al-Judhāmī[542]—his father[543]—al-Ghāz b. Rabīʿah al-Jurashī of Ḥimyar:[544]

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537. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf al-Azdī was a tribal leader of Azd and the great-uncle of Abū Mikhnaf; he died in 75 (695). See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 219.

538. Yāqūt records an area of salty marshy land called *al-sabakhah* in al-Baṣrah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 30. There seems to have been an area called by the same name in al-Kūfah.

539. Zaḥr b. Qays was a Kūfan tribal leader; earlier he gave testimony against Ḥujr b. ʿAdī. Later he joined the supporters of Ibn al-Zubayr but then deserted them for ʿAbd al-Malik. See Ṭabarī, II, 134, 614, 804.

540. Abū Burdah b. ʿAwf al-Azdī is not mentioned with regard to any other incident.

541. Ṭāriq b. Abī Ẓubyān al-Azdī is not mentioned with regard to any other incident.

542. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ al-Judhāmī is only found here as an authority of Ibn al-Kalbī.

543. He is Yazīd b. Rawḥ. He is not mentioned with regard to any other incident but his grandfather was Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ al-Judhāmī of Kalb, from Syria, who was appointed governor of Medina by Muslim b. ʿUqbah; he played a role in supporting Marwān for the caliphate. See p. 221, below; and Ṭabarī, II, 479.

544. Al-Ghāz b. Rabīʿah al-Jurashī is not mentioned with regard to any other incident.

By God! I was with Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah in Damascus when Zaḥr b. Qays came to see Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah. Yazīd declared, "Woe upon you! What [have you left] behind you? What have you got?" He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, I bring good news of God's victory and support. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī came against us with eighteen men of his House and sixty of his Shīʿah. We went out to meet them and we asked them to surrender and [375] submit to the authority of the governor, ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, or to fight. They chose to fight rather than to surrender. We attacked them as the sun rose and surrounded them on every side. Eventually our swords took their toll of the heads of the people; they began to flee without having any refuge; they sought refuge from us on the hills and in the hollows like the doves seek refuge from a hawk. By God! Commander of the Faithful, it was only a time for the slaughtering of animals, or for a man to take his siesta before we had come upon the last of them. There were their naked bodies, their bloodstained clothes, their faces thrown in the dust. The sun burst down on them; the wind scattered [dust] over them; their visitors in this deserted and desolate place were eagles and vultures." Yazīd's eyes filled with tears, and he said, "I would have been satisfied with your obedience without killing al-Ḥusayn. May God curse Ibn Sumayyah. By God! If it had been I who had accompanied him, I would have let him off. May God have mercy on al-Ḥusayn." Yazīd gave the messenger nothing.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād ordered the women and children of al-Ḥusayn to be made ready for traveling. He ordered ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn to be chained with a chain around his neck. Then he despatched them, to follow the heads, with Muḥaffiz b. Thaʿlabah al-ʿĀʾidhī,[545] the clan of ʿĀʾidhah of Quraysh, and Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan. They set out with them until they came to Yazīd. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn did not speak a word to either of them on that journey until they arrived. When they reached the door of Yazīd, Muḥaffiz b. Thaʿlabah raised his voice and shouted, "Here is [376] Muḥaffiz b. Thaʿlabah, who has brought the Commander of the Faithful these vile profligates." Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah answered

545. Muḥaffiz b. Thaʿlabah al-ʿĀʾidhī took part in the conquest of Persia; he was one of those who gave testimony against Ḥujr b. ʿAdī. See Ṭabarī, I, 2460, and II, 133.

him, "What the mother of Muḥaffiz gave birth to is more evil and grievous."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Al-Ṣaqʿab b. Zuhayr—al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,[546] a mawlā of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah: When the heads were put in front of Yazīd—the head of al-Ḥusayn and those of his family and his followers—Yazīd recited:

[Swords] split the skulls of men who are dear
to us; but they were more disobedient and oppressive.[547]

[Then he added,] "Yet, by God, Ḥusayn, if I had been to fight you, I would not have killed you."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Jaʿfar al-ʿAbsī[548]—Abū ʿUmārah al-ʿAbsī:[549] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam, the brother of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, recited:

The heads on the plain (*ṭaff*) were closer in kinship
than Ibn Ziyād, the slave with the false lineage.
The offspring of Umayyah have become as numerous as stones
while the daughter of the Apostle of God has lost her
offspring.[550]

Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah struck his hand against the chest of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam and shouted, "Be quiet!"

When Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah held an assembly, he summoned the Syrian nobles and sat them around him. Then he summoned ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn and the children and womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn. They were brought in to him while the people looked on. Yazīd said to ʿAlī, "ʿAlī, your father cut the bond of kinship with me, showed ignorance of my rights, and tried to deprive me of my position of authority. God has treated him in the way you have
[377] seen." ʿAlī replied, "'No misfortune strikes the earth or yourselves unless it has been written in a book before We bring it into

546. Al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān also reported about the Battle of Ṣiffīn, giving reports about the Syrians. See Ṭabarī, I, 3248, 3406.

547. The verse has been quoted earlier. See p. 76, above.

548. Abū Jaʿfar al-ʿAbsī only reported this account to Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 188.

549. The only report Abū ʿUmārah al-ʿAbsī has given. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 188.

550. Quoted by Balādhurī. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 222.

existence.'"[551] Yazīd urged his son, Khālid,[552] to answer him. However, Khālid did not know what to say in reply. So Yazīd answered, "Say: 'Whatever misfortune has struck you is because of what your hands have earned, and he excuses much.'"[553] At this he was silent.

Yazīd summoned the women and the children and they were made to sit in front of him. He saw a dreadful sight. He said, "May God detest Ibn Marjānah. If there had been any kinship between him and you, he would not have done this to you; he would not have sent you thus."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b—Fāṭimah, daughter of 'Alī:[554] When we were made to sit before Yazīd, he showed pity to us, ordered things for us and was kind to us. Then a Syrian with a red face stood up before Yazīd and said, "Commander of the Faithful, give me this one." He meant me. I was a pretty young girl. I shuddered and moved away, for I thought that that would be allowed them. I caught hold of the skirt of my sister Zaynab. My sister Zaynab was older and cleverer than I. She said that that would not happen. She said to the Syrian, "By God! You are a liar! By God! You are too lowly born! Such a thing is not for you, nor for him!" Yazīd cried out angrily, "By God! You are a liar! That is for me. If I wish to do it, I can do it." She retorted, "No, by God! God would only let you do that if you left our faith and professed belief in another religion." Yazīd screamed, distraught with anger, "Dare you face me in this way! It is your father who has left the religion, and your brother." Zaynab replied, [378] "You, your father and your grandfather have been guided by the religion of God, the religion of my father, the religion of my brother and my grandfather." He shouted, "Enemy of God, you lie!" She answered, "You, a commander who has authority, are vilifying unjustly and oppress with your authority." By God! It was as if he were ashamed; he became silent. The Syrian repeated,

551. Qur'ān, 57:22.

552. Khālid later studied alchemy and astronomy; he also became governor of Ḥimṣ for a time. He died during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 359–68.

553. Qur'ān, 42:30 (29).

554. According to Mufīd, Fāṭimah should be al-Ḥusayn's daughter, not 'Alī's. See Mufīd, *Irshād* (trans.), 231.

"Commander of the Faithful, give me that girl." Yazīd said to him, "Go away! May God strike you dead!"

Then Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah said, "Al-Nuʿman b. Bashīr, equip them with what will be useful for them and send a good, faithful Syrian with them. Send horsemen and helpers with him and let him go to Medina with them." Next he ordered the women to be lodged in an isolated house. With them [he sent] what would be useful for them. Their brother, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, was with them in the house. They left and went to Yazīd's house. There was not one of the women of the family of Muʿāwiyah who did not meet them with tears and weeping for al-Ḥusayn. They continued the lamentation for him for three days.

Yazīd never ate lunch or dinner without inviting ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn to join him. One day he invited him and he invited ʿAmr b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, who was still a young boy.[555] He said to ʿAmr, "Will you fight this boy?" meaning his son, Khālid. ʿAmr replied, "No, but give me a knife and give him a knife; then I will fight him." Yazīd rose, caught hold of him and embraced him. Then he said, "That is behavior that I recognize from the father.[556] Does the snake bring forth anything but a snake?" When they were about to leave, he summoned ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn and said, "God curse Ibn Marjānah, if I had been with your father, he would never have asked a favor from me without my granting it to him; I [379] would have protected him from death with all my power, even through the destruction of some of my own children. But God has decreed what you have seen. Write to me from Medina and report everything that you need." He presented clothes to them, and entrusted them to the messenger. The latter went with them. He traveled with them at night so that they were in front of him but not out of his sight. When they stopped, he would go aside from them. He and his colleagues would spread out around them like a

555. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī survived Karbalāʾ but Mufīd does not mention a son of al-Ḥasan as ʿAmr. See Mufīd, *Irshād* (trans.), 176. Perhaps it is ʿUmar; there is some confusion about this son of al-Ḥasan.

556. An Arabic proverb. Literally: "This is a piece of flesh which I recognize from Akhzam." "Akhzam" can mean a snake but it is also the name of a man. The story is that Akhzam struck his father but died before his father. Akhzam's son attacked the grandfather and he said the words that became proverbial. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, and al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *khzm*.

group of guards; he would stay in such a position so that when anyone wanted to wash or carry out a [natural] need, he would not be ashamed. He never stopped asking them what they needed; he treated them gently until they arrived at Medina.

According to al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b—Fāṭimah, daughter of 'Alī: I said to my sister, Zaynab, "Sister, this Syrian has treated us well! Do you think we should give him a present?" She replied, "By God! We do not have anything that we can give him except our jewelry." I said, "Let us give him our jewelry." So I took my bracelet and armband, and she took her bracelet and armband, and we offered those to him. We apologized to him and said, "This is your reward for the good way in which you have accompanied us." He said, "If what I have done was only for worldly wealth, there would be satisfaction and more in your ornaments. However, by God, I have only done this for God and for your relationship to the Apostle of God."

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]—'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī: When al-Ḥusayn had been killed, and they had brought the baggage and prisoners to al-Kūfah to 'Ubaydallāh, [he imprisoned them]. While the people were imprisoned, a stone was thrown into the prison with a letter tied to it. In the letter, it [380] said: "On such-and-such a day the courier was sent to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah for his instructions with regard to you. He will take so many days to go, and he will return on such-and-such a day. If you hear the pronouncement 'God is greater,' they have determined to kill you. If you do not hear the pronouncement 'God is greater,' it means security for you, God willing." Two or three days before the arrival of the courier, another stone was thrown into the prison with a message tied to it and a blade. In the message it said, "Make your last testimonies and wills; the courier is expected on such and such a day." The courier came and the pronouncement "God is greater" was not heard, for a letter had come saying, "Send the prisoners to me."

'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād summoned Muḥaffiz b. Tha'labah and Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan and said, "Take the baggage and the head to the Commander of the Faithful, Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah." They went until they came to Yazīd. Muḥaffiz b. Tha'labah stood [at the door] and called out at the top of his voice, "We have come with the head of the stupidest and lowliest of men." Yazīd de-

clared, "What the mother of Muḥaffiz gave birth to is stupider and lowlier, but he was a disloyal relative and a wrongdoer." When Yazīd looked at the head of al-Ḥusayn, he recited:

[Swords] split the skulls of men who are dear
to us; but they were more disobedient and oppressive.[557]

Then he said, "Do you know in what way this man was mistaken? He used to say, 'My father ʿAlī is better than his father; my mother Fāṭimah is better than his mother; my grandfather the Apostle of God is better than his grandfather, and I am better than he and have more right for this affair than he has.' As for his statement that his father is better than my father, my father disputed with his father, and the people know which of them the judgment was in favor of. As for his statement that his mother is better than my mother, by my life, Fāṭimah, daughter of the Apostle of God, is better than my mother. As for his statement that his grandfather is better than my grandfather, by my life, no
[381] one who believes in God and the Last Day would regard any one among us as an equal or a rival to the Apostle of God. However, he has been mistaken through his lack of understanding, for he did not read: 'Say: O God, Master of the kingdom, You give the kingdom to whomsoever You wish and You take away the kingdom from whomsoever you wish. You strengthen those whom You wish and You make lowly whomsoever You wish. In Your hand is the decision. Indeed, You have power over everything.'"[558] Then the womenfolk of al-Ḥusayn were brought in to Yazīd. The womenfolk of Yazīd's family, the daughters of Muʿāwiyah and his family, shrieked with grief and lamentation. Fāṭimah, daughter of al-Ḥusayn—she was older than Sukaynah—asked, "Are the daughters of the Apostle of God prisoners, Yazīd?" Yazīd replied, "Cousin, I was unwilling for this to happen." She said, "By God! Not even an earring has been left to us" He answered, "Cousin, what will be given to you will be greater than what has been taken from you." Then they were taken out and taken to the house of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah. There was not a woman of Yazīd's family who did not begin to lament and grieve. Yazīd sent to each

557. A verse already cited. See pp. 76, 170, above.
558. Qur'ān, 3:26 (25).

of the women, "What has been taken from you?" No woman claimed anything, however expensive, without his giving double its value. Sukaynah used to say, "I never saw a man who did not believe in God who was better than Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah."

The prisoners were brought to Yazīd. Among them was 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. Yazīd asked him, "What is this, 'Alī?" 'Alī replied, "No misfortune strikes the earth or yourselves unless it has been written in a book before We bring it into existence; that is easy for God, so that you may not grieve for what He has caused to miss you or be proud at what He has given you. God does not love any arrogant boaster."[559] Yazīd replied, "Whatever mis- [382] fortune has struck you is because of what your hands have earned and He forgives much."[560] Then he equipped him, gave him money and sent him to Medina.

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī[561]—'Abdallāh al-Thumālī[562]—al-Qāsim b. Bukhayt:[563] When the delegation from al-Kūfah brought the head of al-Ḥusayn, they went into the mosque at Damascus. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam asked them, "How did you do it?" They told him, "Eighty men of them came against us. By God! We wiped them out to the very last of them. There are the heads and the women prisoners." Marwān jumped up and left. His brother Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam came to them and said, "What have you done?" They repeated the words to him. He said, "A curtain has been drawn between you and Muḥammad on Doomsday. I will never agree with any action of yours." He arose and left. They went in to Yazīd, put the head before him and told him the story. Hind bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz,[564] who was married to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, heard the story circulating. She put on her cloak and went out. She said, "Commander of the Faithful, is that the head

559. Qur'ān, 57:22–23.

560. Qur'ān, 42:30 (29).

561. Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī was Thābit b. Abī Ṣafiyyah, a traditionist and Qur'ān commentator of Shī'ite leanings; he died in 150 (767). See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 222.

562. This is the only report from 'Abdallāh al-Thumālī used by Abū Mikhnaf.

563. This is the only report from al-Qāsim b. Bukhayt.

564. Hind's father, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz of 'Abd Shams, had been governor of al-Baṣrah for 'Uthmān and had fought vigorously against 'Alī when the latter became Caliph. See *EI*², s.v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir.

of al-Ḥusayn, son of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Apostle of God?" Yazīd replied, "Yes. Lament for him and put on mourning garments for the son of the daughter of the Apostle of God, the son of the pure woman of Quraysh. Ibn Ziyād hurried against him and killed him. May God kill him." Then the people were summoned and they came in. The head was in front of him. In Yazīd's hand there was a cane and he was poking it into al-Ḥusayn's mouth. He said, "This man and our family were like al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥumām al-Murrī. Then he said:

[Swords] split the skulls of men who are dear
to us; but they were more disobedient and oppressive."[565]

[383] One of the Companions of the Apostle of God called Abū Barzah al-Aslamī, cried out, "Are you poking the mouth of al-Ḥusayn with your cane? Take your cane away from his mouth. How often have I seen the Apostle of God kiss it! As for you, Yazīd, you will come forward on the Day of Resurrection, and Ibn Ziyād will be your advocate. But this man will come forward on the Day of Resurrection, and Muḥammad will be his advocate." Then he got up and turned away.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam: When 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād had al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī killed and his head was brought to him, he summoned 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī al-Ḥārith al-Sulamī[566] and told him, "Go to Medina to 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ and give him the good news of the killing of al-Ḥusayn." 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ was the governor of Medina at that time.

'Abd al-Malik went to plead excuses but 'Ubaydallāh chided him. 'Ubaydallāh was a person whose fiery spirit was unapproachable. He told him, "Go to Medina and do not let the news get there before you." He gave him money and then added, "Do not make excuses. If your mount stops under you, buy another mount."

'Abd al-Malik reported: I went toward Medina. One of Quraysh met me. He asked, "What is the news?" I answered, "The news is at the governor's." He said, "'We belong to God and to Him we

565. Verse already cited. See pp. 76, 170, 174, above.
566. 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī al-Ḥārith is not mentioned elsewhere.

will return."[567] Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī has been killed." When I went to 'Amr b. Sa'īd, he asked, "What do you convey?" I answered, "What will please the governor. Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī has been killed." He told me to announce his death. I announced his death. By God! I have never heard such wailing as the wailing for al-Ḥusayn by the women of Banū Hāshim in their houses. 'Amr b. Sa'īd said, as he laughed:

The women of Banū Ziyād raised a great lament [384]
like the lamentation of our women mourning after the battle of al-Arnab.

Al-Arnab was a battle in which the Banū Zubayd defeated the Banū Ziyād of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b of the group of 'Abd al-Madān. This verse is by 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib.[568]

'Amr b. Sa'īd exclaimed, "This lamentation is in return for the lamentation for 'Uthmān b. 'Affān." Then he ascended the pulpit and informed the people about his death.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd Abū Kanūd:[569] When 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib learned of the death of his two sons, one of his mawālī entered while the people were consoling him. I think that the mawlā was none other than Abū al-Lislās.[570] The latter said, "This is what we have met and what has come upon us through al-Ḥusayn." 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far struck him with his sandal, saying, "Son of a stinking woman! Are you saying this of al-Ḥusayn? By God! If I had been present with him, I would have preferred not to leave him in order that I would be killed with him. By God! It makes my soul more generous with their two lives and makes their fate easier for me that they were struck down with my brother and cousin, consoling him and enduring with him." He went forward to those who were sitting with him and said, "Praise be to God, Who has made life

567. Qur'ān, 2:156 (151).

568. Quoted in Mufīd, *Irshād* (trans.), 232. The poet, 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib, is a famous heathen poet and warrior who became a Muslim. See *EI*², s.v. 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib.

569. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd Abū Kanūd was a Kūfan traditionist, who lived during the first (seventh) century. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 218.

570. Abū al-Lislās is not mentioned elsewhere.

hard for me through the death of al-Ḥusayn. Even though I did not console al-Ḥusayn with my own hands, my two sons consoled him."

When news of the death of al-Ḥusayn came to the people of Medina, the daughter of 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib came out. With her were her womenfolk. She was sighing with grief and twisting her clothes, as she recited:

What would you say if the Prophet asked you:
What have you, the last of the religious communities,
[385] Done with my offspring and my family after my departure?
Among them are prisoners and among them are those who have been stained with blood.[571]

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam: 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād said to 'Umar b. Sa'd after he had killed al-Ḥusayn, "'Umar, where is the letter in which I wrote to you concerning killing al-Ḥusayn?" 'Umar answered, "I have carried out your order, and the letter has been lost." Ibn Ziyād ordered, "Bring it." 'Umar repeated, "It is lost." Ibn Ziyād demanded, "By God! Bring it." 'Umar said, "By God! It has been left behind so that it may be read to the old women of Quraysh, as my excuse to them in Medina. By God! I gave you good advice concerning Ḥusayn, which if I had given to my father, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, I would have done my duty to him." 'Uthmān b. Ziyād, the brother of 'Ubaydallāh said, "True. By God! I would prefer that every one of the sons of Ziyād had a nose ring until the Day of Resurrection and that Ḥusayn had not been killed." By God! 'Ubaydallāh did not disown him for that.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—one of his colleagues—'Amr b. Abī al-Miqdām[572]—'Amr b. 'Ikrimah:[573] We spent the morning of the day on which Ḥusayn was killed in Medina. One of our mawālī told us, "Yesterday I heard a voice calling out:

O men who have rashly killed Ḥusayn,
do expect torture and chastisement.

571. These verses were quoted earlier. See p. 77, above.
572. 'Amr b. Abī al-Miqdām is a little-known traditionist.
573. 'Amr b. 'Ikrimah is not mentioned elsewhere.

All the people of heaven,
prophets, angels, and tribes prosecute you.
You have been cursed by the tongue of the son of David,
and of Moses, and of the bringer of the Gospels."[574]

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—'Umar b. Ḥayzūm al-Kalbī[575] said that his father had heard that voice.

The Names of the Banū Hāshim Killed with al-Ḥusayn and the Number of Those Killed from Every Tribe Which Fought against Him[576]

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf: [386]
When al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was killed, the heads of the members of his House and his Shī'ah and supporters, who were killed with him, were taken to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. Kindah brought thirteen heads, and their leader was Qays b. al-Ash'ath. Hawāzin brought twenty heads, and their leader was Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan. Tamīm brought seventeen heads. Banū Asad brought six heads. Madhḥij brought seven heads. The rest of the army brought seven heads. That amounted to seventy heads.[577]

Al-Ḥusayn was killed. His mother was Fāṭimah, daughter of the Apostle of God. Sinān b. Anas al-Nakha'ī al-Aṣbaḥī killed him, and Khawalī b. Yazīd took his head.

Al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was Umm al-Banīn bt. Ḥizām b. Khālid b. Rabī'ah b. al-Waḥīd. Zayd b. Ruqād al-Janbī and Ḥakīm b. al-Ṭufayl al-Sinbisī killed him.

Ja'far b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was also Umm al-Banīn.

'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was also Umm al-Banīn.

'Uthmān b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was also Umm al-Banīn. Khawalī b. Yazīd shot him with an arrow and killed him.

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574. These verses are also quoted in Mufīd, *Irshād* (trans.), 233.

575. 'Umar b. Ḥayzūm al-Kalbī is not mentioned elsewhere.

576. Despite the title, the section only deals with the members of Banū Hāshim and their family servants.

577. For the implications of those tribes designated to carry the heads, see W. M. Watt, "Shī'ism under the Umayyads."

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was a slave wife. One of Banū Abān b. Dārim killed him.

Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was Laylā bt. Masʿūd b. Khālid b. Mālik b. Ribʿī b. Sulmā b. Jandal b. Nahshal b. Dārim. There is doubt about his death.[578]

[387] ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was killed. His mother was Laylā bt. Abī Murrah b. ʿUrwah b. Masʿūd b. Muʿattib al-Thaqafī, and her mother was Maymūnah bt. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb. Murrah b. Munqidh b. al-Nuʿmān al-ʿAbdī killed him.

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was killed. His mother was al-Rabāb bt. Imruʾ al-Qays b. ʿAdī b. Aws b. Jābir b. Kaʿb b. ʿUlaym of Kalb. Hāniʾ b. Thubayt al-Ḥaḍramī killed him.

ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn was regarded as too young; he was not killed.

Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was a slave wife. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUqbah al-Ghanawī killed him.

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was a slave wife. Ḥarmalah b. al-Kāhil[579] killed him by shooting him with an arrow.

Al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī was killed. His mother was a slave wife. Saʿd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl al-Azdī killed him.

ʿAwn b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was Jumānah bt. al-Musayyib b. Najabah b. Rabīʿah b. Riyāḥ of the Banū Fazārah. ʿAbdallāh b. Quṭbah al-Ṭāʾī al-Nabhānī killed him.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was al-Khawṣāʾ bt. Khaṣafah b. Thaqīf b. Rabīʿah b. ʿĀʾidh b. al-Ḥārith b. Taym Allāh b. Thaʿlabah of Bakr b. Wāʾil. ʿĀmir b. Nahshal al-Taymī killed him.

Jaʿfar b. ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was Umm al-Banīn bt. al-Shaqr b. al-Ḥiḍāb. Bishr b. Sawṭ al-Hamdānī[580] killed him.

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578. There is some confusion about the name Abū Bakr and whether he was present at Karbalāʾ. According to Mufīd, Abū Bakr's actual name was Muḥammad, which may account for some of the confusion. See Mufīd, *Irshād* [trans.], 269.

579. Kāhin has been emended to Kāhil as written by Balādhurī and later by Ṭabarī, where Ḥarmalah b. Kāhil is reported as having killed a member of al-Ḥusayn's family. See *Ansāb*, II/2, 201; and Ṭabarī, II, 678.

580. Ḥawṭ has been emended to Sawṭ as written earlier by Ṭabarī. See p. 152, above.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Aqīl was killed. His mother was a slave wife. 'Uthmān b. Khālid b. Usayr al-Juhanī killed him.

'Abdallāh b. 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was a slave wife. 'Amr b. Ṣubayḥ al-Ṣaddā'ī shot him with an arrow and [388] killed him.

Muslim b. 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib was killed in al-Kūfah. His mother was a slave wife.

'Abdallāh b. Muslim b. 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib was killed. His mother was Ruqayyah bt. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and her mother was a slave wife. 'Amr b. Ṣubayḥ al-Ṣaddā'ī killed him, but it was [also] said that Asīd b. Mālik al-Ḥaḍramī killed him.

Muḥammad b. Abī Sa'īd b. 'Aqīl was killed. His mother was a slave wife. Laqīṭ b. Yāsir al-Juhanī[581] killed him.

Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī was considered to be too young. His mother was Khawlah bt. Manẓūr b. Zabbān b. Sayyār al-Fazārī.

'Amr b. al-Ḥasan was considered to be too young; he was left and he was not killed. His mother was a slave wife.

Of the mawālī who were killed was Sulaymān, the mawlā of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. Sulaymān b. 'Awf al-Ḥaḍramī[582] killed him. Munjiḥ, the mawlā of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, was killed. [So] was 'Abdallāh b. Yuqṭur, the brother-in-nurture of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab al-Azdī: After the killing of al-Ḥusayn, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād searched for the missing Kūfan nobles. He did not see 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr. Some days later the latter came and visited him. He asked him, "Where were you, Ibn al-Ḥurr?" He answered, "I was sick." Ibn Ziyād remarked, "Sick in heart or sick in body?" He replied, "My heart was not sick, but as for my body God has granted me health." Ibn Ziyād declared, "You are lying. Rather you were with our enemy." Ibn al-Ḥurr said, "If I had been with your enemy, my position would have been seen, for such a position as mine would not have been hidden." Ibn Ziyād, then, did not notice him for some time. Ibn al-Ḥurr departed upon his horse. Ibn Ziyād asked where Ibn al-Ḥurr was, and was told that he had just left. He

581. Laqīṭ b. Yāsir al-Juhanī is not mentioned elsewhere.

582. Sulaymān b. 'Awf al-Ḥaḍramī is mentioned earlier, making critical remarks about the Kūfans during 'Alī's caliphate. See Ṭabarī, I, 3322.

ordered them to return Ibn al-Ḥurr to him, and the police caught up with him. They told him to answer the governor. Ibn al-Ḥurr
[389] urged on his horse and said, "Tell him that, by God, I will never come willingly." He departed and came to the house of Aḥmar b. Ziyād al-Ṭāʾī.[583] His followers gathered with him at his house. He set off and came to Karbalāʾ. He looked at the places where people were slain and sought God's forgiveness for them. Then he went on until he stopped at al-Madāʾin.[584] About this, he recited:

A treacherous governor, the very reality of a treacherous man,
says:
Should you not have fought against the martyr son of
Fāṭimah?
O how much I regret that I did not help him!
Indeed, every soul that does not set upon the right course
regrets.
Indeed, because I was not among his defenders,
I have a grief that will never depart.
May God constantly water with rain the souls of those who girt
themselves to help him.
I stood at their graves and their field of death.
My heart almost burst, and my eyes shed tears.
By my life! They were active in battle,
quick to war, noble defenders.
[390] They helped to support the son of the daughter of their Prophet,
like lions from a covert, with their swords.
If they were killed, then every pious soul
on the earth has become downcast in grief for that.
Never have men been seen nobler than they
in the face of death, bright-faced generous lords.
Do you kill them unjustly and hope for our affection?
Leave a course of action that is not suitable for us.
By my life! You have antagonized us by killing them.
How many men and women of us detest you!

583. Aḥmar b. Ziyād al-Ṭāʾī is not mentioned elsewhere.
584. Al-Madāʾin is the site of the ancient city of Ctesiphon. See *EI*², s.v. al-Madāʾin.

Many times I intended to go with many supporters
against an oppressive group who had deviated from the truth.
Refrain; otherwise I will come against you with ranks
that [will attack] you more fiercely than the armies of al-Daylam.

In this year (61/680–81) Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. 'Amr b. Ḥudayr[585] from Rabī'ah b. Ḥanzalah was killed.

The Death of Mirdās b. 'Amr b. Ḥudayr

Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī reported: There has already been in this book an account of Abū Bilāl's revolt, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād's sending Aslam b. Zur'ah al-Kilābī[586] against him with two thousand men, their battle at Āsak[587] and the defeat of Aslam and his army by Abū Bilāl and his followers.[588] [391]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī:[589] When 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād learned of Aslam b. Zur'ah's defeat, he sent three thousand men against Abū Bilāl under the command of 'Abbād b. al-Akhḍar al-Tamīmī.[590] 'Abbād went in pursuit of Abū Bilāl until he caught up with him at Tawwaj[591] and drew up his ranks against him. Abū Bilāl Mirdās and his followers attacked them and were resolute. Then 'Abbād's army surrounded them, for they were only a small group. Abū Bilāl had said to his followers, "Whoever of you has come out

585. Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. 'Amr b. Ḥudayr is a Khārijite rebel. On his earlier exploits, see Ṭabarī, II, 185–87, and Wellhausen, *Religio-Political*, 40–42. His name is usually given as Mirdās b. Udayyah. Udayyah was his mother and 'Amr was his father. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 180.

586. Aslam b. Zur'ah al-Kilābī was a leading tribesman who supported Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. According to Wahb b. Jarīr, the leader of this expedition had been Ibn Ḥiṣn. See Ṭabarī, II, 187. However, Abū Mikhnaf's report is confirmed by Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 279; and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 182.

587. Āsak is a town in Aḥwāz. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 61.

588. See Ṭabarī, II, 186–87.

589. Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī is one of the authorities of Abū Mikhnaf; he probably lived until the first half of the second (eighth) century. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 189.

590. 'Abbād b. al-Akhḍar al-Tamīmī was a supporter of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād; his mother's name was al-Akhḍar and his father's name was 'Alqamah. According to Balādhurī, he had four thousand men with him. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 183.

591. Tawwaj is a town in a valley near Shīrāz. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 890.

in revolt in pursuit of worldly things, let him go, but whoever of you only wants the Hereafter and to meet his Lord, that was decreed earlier for him." He recited, "To him who desires the tillage of the Hereafter, We will give increase in his tillage. To him who desires the tillage of this world, We will give something of it, but he has no share in the Hereafter."[592] He stayed, and his followers stayed with him. Not one of them left him, and they were killed to the last one of them. ʿAbbād b. al-Akhḍar and the army that was with him returned to al-Baṣrah.

ʿUbaydah b. Hilāl[593] went there. There was a group of three men with him, and he was the fourth. He lay in wait for ʿAbbād b. al-Akhḍar as the latter was approaching the palace of the governorship with his son, a young boy, mounted behind him. They said, "Servant of God, stop so that we may seek a legal decision from you." He stopped, and they said, "We are four brothers, and our brother has been killed. What do you think we should do?" He said, "Implore the governor to act." They answered, "We have implored him to act, but he has not answered us." He told them, "Kill the man then, may God destroy him." They attacked him announcing their battle cry. He pushed his son aside, and they killed him.

In this year (61/680–1) Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah put Salm b. Ziyād[594] in charge of Sijistān and Khurāsān.

[392] *The Appointment of Salm b. Ziyād*

According to ʿUmar (b. Shabbah)—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī—Maslamah b. Muḥārib b. Salm b. Ziyād:[595] Salm b. Ziyād visited Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah when he was a man of twenty-four years of age. Yazīd said to him, "Abū Ḥarb (i.e., Salm b. Ziyād), I will appoint you to the province of your two brothers,

592. Qurʾān, 42:20.

593. ʿUbaydah b. Hilāl was a prominent Khārijite who was eventually killed in 77 (696–97). See Ṭabarī, II, 1032.

594. Salm was a brother of ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād; he died later while governor of Khurāsān for ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān between 65 (685) and 86 (705). See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 371–72.

595. Maslamah b. Muḥārib was a grandson of Salm; he was also an authority for historical reports.

'Abd al-Raḥmān[596] and 'Abbād."[597] Salm said, "Whatever pleases the Commander of the Faithful." So he put him in charge of Khurāsān and Sijistān. Salm despatched al-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiyah al-Ḥārithī,[598] the grandfather of 'Īsā b. Shabīb,[599] from Syria to Khurāsān while he went to al-Baṣrah to make preparations. Then he set out for Khurāsān. Al-Ḥārith b. [Mu'āwiyah] seized[600] Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī, imprisoned him, beat his son Shabīb and put him in fetters.[601] Salm sent his brother Yazīd b. Ziyād[602] to Sijistān. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād wrote to his brother 'Abbād, with whom he was friendly, informing him of the appointment of Salm. 'Abbād divided up the contents of the treasury among his slaves, and there was still some left over. Therefore his herald proclaimed, "Those who want payment in advance should collect it." He paid in advance all those who came to him. 'Abbād, then, left Sijistān. When he was at Jīraft,[603] he learnt of the place where Salm was. Between them was a mountain, so he turned aside from it. On that night a thousand slaves of 'Abbād went away and the least that they had was ten thousand dirhams for 'Abbād. 'Abbād passed through Fārs[604] and then went to Yazīd. Yazīd asked him, "Where is the money?" He replied, "I was the com-

596. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was a brother of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, governor of Khurāsān for Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, and he was reappointed by Yazīd. It was said that he lived for a hundred years and spent a thousand dirhams every day. He died in al-Baṣrah. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 371.

597. 'Abbād is a brother of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, governor of Sijistān for Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, and he was reappointed by Yazīd; he died in 100 (718–19). See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 372–73.

598. Al-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiyah was a supporter of Salm b. Ziyād, who died in 64 (683–84). See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 409–10.

599. 'Īsā b. Shabīb was one of the leaders who brought about the succession of Yazīd III in 126/744. See Ṭabarī, II, 1792.

600. The Arabic text has been emended. It was *fa-akhadha al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. al-Haytham*. This would have to mean Salm seized an unknown al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. al-Haytham when he had not yet reached Khurāsān. However, it is reported that, after the death of al-Ḥusayn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād had visited Yazīd and had left Qays b. al-Haytham as his deputy. See Ṭabarī, II, 189. Clearly it is al-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiyah who seized Qays b. al-Haytham. Qays' son Shabīb is not mentioned elsewhere.

601. The Arabic is *aqāmahu fī sarāwīl*.

602. Yazīd b. Ziyād was killed in Sijistān in 64 (683–84). See Ṭabarī, II, 488.

603. Jīraft is a large town in Kirmān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 174.

604. Fārs is a region to the southwest of Iran. See *EI*², s.v. Fārs.

mander of a frontier post so that I divided whatever I came upon among the people."

Salm set out for Khurāsān. With him went 'Imrān b. al-Faḍīl al-
[393] Burjumī,[605] 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī,[606] Ṭalḥah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuzā'ī,[607] al-Muḥallab b. Abī Ṣufrah,[608] Ḥanẓalah b. 'Arādah,[609] Abū Ḥuzzābah al-Walīd b. Nahīk,[610] who was one of the tribe of Rabī'ah b. Ḥanzalah, Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar al-'Adwānī,[611] who was an ally of the tribe of Hudhayl, and a large group of the horsemen and nobles of al-Baṣrah. Salm b. Ziyād had brought a letter from Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād for him to select a group of two thousand men. Others have reported that the group was six thousand. Salm chose the notables and the horsemen. Some people wanted to take part in the warfare (*jihād*) and asked him to take them. The first whom Salm wanted to take was Ḥanẓalah b. 'Arādah. 'Ubaydallāh asked him to leave him. Salm suggested, "Let him choose between you and me. If he chooses you, he is yours. If he chooses me, he is mine." He chose Salm.

The people spoke to Salm; they asked him to conscript them. Ṣilah b. Ashyam al-'Adawī[612] went to the office of conscription. The clerk would say, "Abū al-Ṣahbā' (i.e., Ṣilah b. Ashyam), shall I put your name down, for it is a mission in which there will be warfare and merit?" He would reply, "I will seek the decision of God and wait." When the arrangement for the enlistment of the people had been completed, he was still holding back. His wife

605. 'Imrān b. al-Faḍīl al-Burjumī was from al-Baṣrah; he had been in charge of Sijistān and Kirmān during the reign of 'Uthmān. See Ṭabarī, I, 2840–41.

606. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī was a tribal leader in Khurāsān. See Shaban, *The 'Abbāsid Revolution*, 39.

607. Ṭalḥah was also called Ṭalhat al-Ṭalaḥāt (the Ṭalḥah of the Ṭalḥahs). See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 416.

608. Al-Muḥallab b. Abī Ṣufrah was a great Arab general who transferred his allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr, but later returned to the Umayyads. See Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 98.

609. Ḥanẓalah b. 'Arādah was a tribal leader in al-Baṣrah; he is not mentioned elsewhere.

610. Abū Ḥuzzābah al-Walīd b. Nahīk was a tribal leader in Khurāsān; he is not mentioned elsewhere.

611. Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar al-'Adwānī was a writer of eloquent Arabic, who became qāḍī in Khurāsān. See Ṭabarī, II, 1131.

612. Ṣilah b. Ashyam al-'Adawī is not mentioned elsewhere.

Mu'ādhah bt. 'Abdallāh al-'Adawiyyah[613] asked him, "Are you going to enlist yourself?" He answered, "I will wait." Then he prayed and sought the decision from God. He saw in his sleep a man approaching who came and said to him, "Go out, for you will gain profit, prosper, and be successful." He went to the clerk and said, "Put my name down." The clerk replied, "We have finished, but I will not leave you out," and he put his and his son's names down. Salm sent him with Yazīd b. Ziyād; he went to Sijistān.

Salm set out; he took with him Umm Muḥammad bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī.[614] She was the first Arab woman to be taken across the river.[615] [394]

According to Maslamah b. Muḥārib and Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī[616]—'Uthmān b. Ḥafṣ al-Kirmānī:[617] When the governors of Khurāsān went on campaigns and winter came, they would return from their campaigns to Marw al-Shāhijān.[618] When the Muslims withdrew, the kings of Khurāsān met in one of the towns of Khurāsān near Khwārazm[619] to make agreements with each other; they would not attack each other; no one would provoke anyone else; and they would consult with each other about their affairs. The Muslims would ask their leaders to raid that town, but they would refuse. When Salm came to Khurāsān, he set out on a campaign and wintered in the place where he had been conducting the campaign.

Al-Muḥallab b. Abī Ṣufrah urged and requested Salm to send him to that town. He despatched him with six thousand men. It is also reported that it was with four thousand men. He besieged the people in the town; he demanded that they obediently submit to him. They asked him to make peace with them, for, if he did so, they would give a ransom for their lives. He agreed to that; they made peace with him on the payment of some twenty million dirhams. Among the terms of the peace agreement was that he

613. Mu'ādhah bt. 'Abdallāh is not mentioned elsewhere.
614. Umm Muḥammad is only mentioned on this campaign.
615. This is a reference to the river Oxus.
616. Abū Ḥafṣ Al-Azdī was a narrator of historical reports, who was alive in 137 (754–55), for he reported events of that date. See Ṭabarī, III, 117.
617. 'Uthmān b. Ḥafṣ al-Kirmānī is not mentioned elsewhere.
618. Marw al-Shāhijān is the full name of Marw, one of the four great cities of Khurāsān, situated near the Murghāb river. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 507.
619. Khwārazm is to the east of the Oxus river.

should receive merchandise from them. He would take a head of cattle for half its price, a riding animal for half its price, and untanned leather for half its price. The value of what he took from them reached fifty million dirhams. As a result of this, al-Muhallab came to enjoy the favor of Salm. Salm chose from these the things that pleased him and sent them to Yazīd with the Persian governor (*marzubān*) of Marw[620] and he sent a delegation for that purpose.

According to Maslamah and Isḥāq b. Ayyūb:[621] Salm campaigned against Samarqand[622] with his wife, Umm Muḥammad bt. ʿAbdallāh; she bore him a son. He named him Ṣughdī.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (al-Madāʾinī)—Al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd al-Jūzajānī[623]—a shaykh of the tribe of Khuzāʿah—his father—his grandfather: I took part in the campaign in Khwārazm with Salm b. Ziyād. They made peace with him on the payment of much wealth. Then he crossed into Samarqand, and its inhabitants made peace with him. His wife, Umm Muḥammad, was with him and she bore him a son on that campaign. She sent to the wife of the leader of al-Ṣughd[624] to borrow some ornaments. The latter sent her her crown. Then they withdrew, and she took the crown.

[395]

In this year, Yazīd dismissed ʿAmr b. Saʿīd from his position as governor of Medina and appointed al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—those who transmitted to him—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar: Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah dismissed ʿAmr b. Saʿīd on 1 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (August 21) and appointed al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah as governor of Medina. The latter led the pilgrimages of the year 61/681 and the year 62/682. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah's governor of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah in this year was ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. His governor of Medina at the end of the year was al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah, and Salm b. Ziyād was in authority

620. Marw refers to Marw al-Shāhijān. See note 618, above.

621. Isḥāq b. Ayyūb was a regular authority of the historian al-Madāʾinī, who was alive after 125 (743); he reported events of that date. See Ṭabarī, II, 1741.

622. Beyond the Oxus river, the capital of Ṣughd; see *EI*[1], s.v. Samarḳand.

623. Al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd al-Jūzajānī was a regular authority of the historian, al-Madāʾinī, who was alive after 132 (749–50); he reported events of that date. See Ṭabarī, III, 38.

624. Al-Ṣughd was east of the Oxus river on its lower course. See *EI*[2], s.v. Khwārazm.

over Khurāsān and Sijistān. Hishām b. Hubayrah was qāḍī of al-Baṣrah and Shurayḥ was qāḍī of al-Kūfah.

During this year, Ibn al-Zubayr made public his opposition to and repudiation of Yazīd; the oath of allegiance was given to him.

Yazīd's Dismissal of 'Amr b. Sa'īd as Governor of Medina and His Appointment of al-Walīd b. 'Utbah

The reason for Yazīd's dismissal of 'Amr and his appointment of al-Walīd and the reason for Ibn Zubayr's making public the call to himself are reported according to what Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī) has mentioned—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Nawfal[625]—his father:[626] When al-Ḥusayn was killed,[627] Ibn al-Zubayr arose among the people of Mecca and declared his horror at Ḥusayn's killing. He stigmatized the people of al-Kūfah in particular and blamed the people of Iraq generally. After praising [396] and glorifying God and calling for blessings to be with Muḥammad, he said, "The people of Iraq have been treacherous and liars except for a few. The people of al-Kūfah are the worst of the people of Iraq. They summoned al-Ḥusayn so that they might support him and put him in authority over them. When he came to them, they rose up against him and told him that either he should put his hand in theirs so that they could go with him to Ibn Ziyād b. Sumayyah peacefully in order that that man could carry out his judgment on Ḥusayn, or he should fight. By God! He saw that he and his followers were few among many. Even though God, the Mighty and Sublime, has not informed anyone of the future, it was clear that he would be killed. However, he chose a noble death rather than an ignoble life. May God have mercy on Ḥusayn and punish the killers of Ḥusayn. By my life! In their opposition and disobedience to him, there was a warning and

625. 'Abd al-Malik b. Nawfal was an authority of Abū Mikhnaf, who probably lived until the first half of the second (eighth) century. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 193–94.

626. He was Nawfal b. Musāḥiq. He was said to have been in charge of Muslim b. 'Uqbah's police at the Battle of al-Ḥarrah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 392–93.

627. The following report up until Marwān's verse is given in almost the exact same words by Balādhurī. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 304–5.

prohibition against them for men like him. However, what was decreed took place. If God wants something, He will never be thwarted. Now, after al-Ḥusayn, should we rely on these people? Should we believe their words? Should we accept their covenants? No! We do not regard them as worthy of that. Indeed, by God, they killed a man who stood in prayer at night for long hours, who fasted frequently during the day, who had more right to govern than they did, and one who was more entitled to it in terms of religion and outstanding merit. Indeed, by God, he would never exchange the Qur'ān for singing, nor would he exchange weeping out of fear of God for such [chanting], nor would he exchange fasting for drinking forbidden drinks, nor would he exchange gathering in religious groups to remember God for rushing off in pursuit of game." He was alluding to Yazīd. "They will meet destruction."[628]

Ibn al-Zubayr's companions rose to him and declared, "Man, make public your acceptance of the oath of allegiance to you, for no one remains now that Ḥusayn is dead who can dispute this [397] affair with you." The people had been giving the oath of allegiance to him secretly,[629] while he was saying publicly that he was seeking refuge at the Sacred Mosque. He told them not to be too hasty.

At that time ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ was governor of Mecca and he was very hostile toward Ḥusayn and his followers. Despite his hostility toward them, he treated them gently and kindly. When it was confirmed to Yazīd that there were groups that Ibn al-Zubayr had gathered together in Mecca, he made a vow to God that he would have him bound in a chain; he sent a chain of silver. The messenger passed by with it to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam in Medina.[630] He gave him news of what he had brought for Ibn al-Zubayr and of the chain that was with him. Marwān recited:

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628. Qur'ān, 19:59.

629. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 304, says that Ibn al-Zubayr had been receiving the oath of allegiance on the basis of a *shūrā*, the consultative committee set up by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in order to choose the Caliph. This is a rather surprising difference between the two versions.

630. Balādhurī says that the messenger visited both Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 304.

Take it. True It is not a course of action for a strong man.
Even a humiliated man would hesitate to accept it.[631]

The messenger left him to go on to Ibn al-Zubayr. He came to Ibn al-Zubayr and told him of his passing by Marwān and of Marwān's recitation of that verse. Ibn al-Zubayr declared, "No, by God! I shall not be that man who is humiliated." He politely sent the messenger back.

Ibn al-Zubayr became more powerful in Mecca and the people of Medina wrote to him. The people said that since al-Ḥusayn had been destroyed, there was no one who could dispute with Ibn al-Zubayr.

According to Nūḥ b. Ḥabīb al-Qūmisī[632]—Hishām b. Yūsuf[633]—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm[634]—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Madīnī:[635]

Hishām b. Yūsuf also transmitted to us the same words as in the account of 'Ubaydallāh according to 'Abdallāh b. Muṣ'ab[636]—Mūsā b. 'Uqbah[637]—Ibn Shihāb[638]—'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān:[639] Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah sent Ibn 'Iḍāh al-Ash'arī[640] and ['Abdallāh

631. The verse was quoted on p. 15, above, and is repeated in a fuller version with minor variations on p. 195, below.

632. Nūḥ b. Ḥabīb al-Qūmisī was a well-known traditionist, who died in 242 (856–57). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 481–82.

633. Hishām b. Yūsuf was a traditionist and qāḍī of Ṣan'ā' who died in 197 (812–13). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 57–58.

634. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Karīm was a traditionist but there are very few reports from him; he cannot be identified.

635. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Madīnī was a traditionist, who lived in al-Baṣrah and died in 178 (794–95). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 174–76.

636. 'Abdallāh b. Muṣ'ab was a descendant of Ibn al-Zubayr; he also was a poet and reporter of historical traditions, who was executed in 187 (803). See Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 296–99.

637. Mūsā b. 'Uqbah was a mawlā of the wife of Ibn al-Zubayr, and an expert on the campaigns of the Prophet; he died between 141 (758) and 145 (762–63). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 360–62.

638. Ibn Shihāb was the famous scholar Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī, who lived from 51 (671) to 124 (742). See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Zuhrī.

639. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān was the father of the Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who became governor of Egypt in 65 (685) and died in 84 (703). See Ṭabarī, II, 1171.

640. Ibn 'Iḍāh al-Ash'arī was a supporter of the Umayyads. See Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 273.

b.] Masʿadah[641] and their followers to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr in
[398] Mecca to bring him a chain so that the oath of Yazīd needed to be fulfilled. He sent with them a chain of silver and a cloak of silk and woolen material. My father sent me and my brother with them. He said, "When the messengers of Yazīd convey the message, stand before him and let one of you recite:

Take it. True it is not a course of action for a strong man.
Even a humiliated man would hesitate to accept it.
O ʿĀmir, the people have offered you a course of action.
It is a web spun on the spindle amid neighbors.
I see that, when you were the people's water carrier,
to you it was said, 'Bring the bucket and take it away.' "[642]

When the messengers had delivered the message to Ibn al-Zubayr, we both stood before him and my brother said to me, "Do it for me." Ibn al-Zubayr listened to me and said, "Sons of Marwān, I have listened to what you have said and I know what you are saying. So tell your father:

I am of an origin (*nabʿ*, tree) that is hard to break.
[It proves its firmness] when the [frail] reeds and the [hollow]
ʿushar are easily bent [by the slightest breeze].[643]
I will not be tender toward anything except the right that I am demanding
until the stone is tender to the tooth of one who chews."

[ʿAbd al-ʿAziz] commented: I do not know which of the two of them was more surprised.

ʿUbaydallāh (b. ʿAbd al-Karīm) added in his account on the authority of Abū ʿAlī (i.e., ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab) that he reminded Muṣʿab b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr[644] of this account. He said that he had heard the same

641. The text has been emended to read ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿadah, who was a prominent supporter of the Umayyads. See Ṭabarī, II, 703.
642. The first verse was quoted on pp. 15, 191, above.
643. The verse means that he is firm in his purpose.
644. Muṣʿab was a son of ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab, an accomplished scholar, who lived in the first half of the third (ninth) century. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, trans. McGuckin de Slane, I, 186.

report on the authority of Abū 'Alī, but he did not remember its chain of authorities (*isnād*).

According to Hishām (b. Yūsuf)—Khālid b. Sa'īd[645]—his father, Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. Sa'īd:[646] When 'Amr b. Sa'īd saw that [399] the people looked up to Ibn al-Zubayr and were anxious to support him, he thought that these matters would end in his favor. He sent to 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, who was a companion of his; he had been with his father in Egypt. There he had read the books of Daniel.[647] At that time, Quraysh regarded him as a scholar. 'Amr b. Sa'īd asked him, "Tell me about this man. Do you see his ambitions being successful for him? Tell me about my leader (i.e., Yazīd). How do you see that his situation will work out for him?" He answered, "I can only see that your leader is one of those kings whose affairs are successful for them until they die while they are still kings." From that time 'Amr b. Sa'īd increased in vehemence against Ibn al-Zubayr and his followers despite the appearance of kindness and friendliness toward them.

Al-Walīd b. 'Utbah[648] and other members of the Banū Umayyah with him told Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah that, if 'Amr b. Sa'īd wanted to, he could apprehend Ibn al-Zubayr and send him to Yazīd.

In this year, I mean 61/680–1, Yazīd dismissed 'Amr [b. Sa'īd] from the Ḥijāz and appointed al-Walīd b. 'Utbah as governor of that place.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) reported according to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī): Yazīd dismissed 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ at the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in 61 (August 21, 681). He appointed al-Walīd b. 'Utbah who led the people on the pilgrimage in 61/681 and restored Ibn Rabī'ah al-'Āmirī[649] as his qāḍī.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: In the year 61/681, al-Walīd b. 'Utbah led the people on the pilgrimage. This is one of the things about which there is no dis-

645. Khālid b. Sa'īd only seems to have been mentioned here as a reporter of a family story about his grandfather, 'Amr b. Sa'īd.

646. Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. Sa'īd went to live in al-Kūfah; he was reported to have been the most learned of Quraysh. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 194.

647. This is probably a reference to the Old Testament.

648. The text says al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah but this seems to be a mistake.

649. Apart from his appointment as qāḍī, nothing more is known of Ibn Rabī'ah al-'Āmirī.

pute among the historians (*ahl al-siyar*). In this year (61/680–1), 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād was governor of both al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. Shurayḥ was qāḍī of al-Kūfah and Hishām b. Hubayrah was qāḍī of al-Baṣrah. Salm b. Ziyād had authority over Khurāsān.

The Events of the Year 62 [400]

(SEPTEMBER 20, 681–SEPTEMBER 9, 682)

The Arrival of a Delegation of the People of Medina to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah

The reason for that was according to Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā (Abū Mikhnaf)—'Abd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq—'Abdallāh b. 'Urwah (b. al-Zubayr):[650] When Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah sent al-Walīd b. 'Utbah to the Ḥijāz as governor and dismissed 'Amr b. Sa'īd, al-Walīd came to Medina and seized and imprisoned many servants and mawālī of 'Amr. 'Amr spoke to him about them, but he refused to free them saying, "Don't worry, 'Amr." His brother Abān b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ[651] said to him, "Can 'Amr worry? If you caught hold of a burning coal, and he also caught hold of it, he would not let it go until you let it go." 'Amr went away traveling until he stopped two nights' journey away from Medina. He wrote to his servants and mawālī—there were about three hundred of them: "I am sending a camel, a provision bag and equipment for each

650. 'Abdallāh b. 'Urwah was a traditionist and nephew of Ibn al-Zubayr.

651. Abān was a brother of 'Amr, who was born in al-Kūfah. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 453–54.

man among you. The camels will be tethered in the market. When my messenger comes to you, break down the door of the prison. Then let every man among you get and mount his camel. Then come in my direction until you reach me." His messenger went and bought the camels. He made them ready with what was suitable for them and tethered them in the market. He went to the men in prison and informed them of 'Amr's directions. They broke down the door of the prison, went to the camels, mounted them and set off in the direction of 'Amr b. Sa'īd until they found him.

When 'Amr b. Sa'īd went to Yazīd and entered into his presence, [401] Yazīd welcomed him and made him sit close. Then he reproved 'Amr b. Sa'īd for his inadequacy, for he had not done the things that Yazīd had ordered him to do concerning Ibn al-Zubayr. 'Amr had only carried out what he had wanted to. He replied, "Commander of the Faithful, one who was present would have seen what one who was absent could not have seen. The majority of the people of Mecca and Medina were inclined toward Ibn al-Zubayr; they favored him and gave their consent to him. They summoned each other both in secret and publicly. If I had struggled against him, I would not have had an army strong enough against him with these people. While he was being cautious toward me and on his guard against me, I was showing apparent kindness and friendliness so that I might deceive him in order to attack. However, I did restrict him and prevent him from many things which, if I had left them for him, would only have been of assistance to him. I positioned men in the roads and alleys of Mecca. My men did not let anyone enter Mecca until they had written down for me his name, the name of his father, from which part of God's land he came, what he brought, and what he wanted. If he was one of Ibn al-Zubayr's followers and one of those who I thought was coming to him, I would send him back ignominiously. If he was one of those whom I did not suspect, I would let him go. Now you have sent al-Walīd. Perhaps, as a result of his work and his effect, you will realize the merit of my efforts in your affair and, God willing, my sincere advice to you. May God act on your behalf and humble your enemy, Commander of the Faithful." Yazīd said, "You are truer than those who raised these matters about you and incited me against you. You are one of those whom

I trust, and whose help I hope for and whom I shall keep in order to repair damage, to undertake an important task, and to uncover the implications of great matters." 'Amr replied, "Commander of the Faithful, no one is more fitting to strengthen your authority, weaken your enemy, and do violence against those who oppose you than I am."

Al-Walīd embarked on seeking for Ibn al-Zubayr but he found that he was cautious and inaccessible.

Najdah b. 'Āmir al-Ḥanafī[652] came out in revolt in al-Yamāmah[653] after al-Ḥusayn had been killed. Ibn al-Zubayr also came [402] in revolt.

At the pilgrimage, al-Walīd led the procession (*ifāḍah*) from 'Arafah, and the general body of the people marched in the procession with him. Ibn Zubayr made the *wuqūf*[654] with his followers, and Najdah made the *wuqūf* with his followers. Then Ibn Zubayr led the procession with his followers, and Najdah led the procession with his followers. None of the three groups went in the procession of the others. Najdah met Ibn al-Zubayr so frequently that the people thought that he would give the oath of allegiance to him.

Then Ibn al-Zubayr worked a trick against the authority of al-Walīd b. 'Utbah. He wrote to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah: "You have sent us a stupid man who does not direct us to a straightforward situation and will not listen to the advice of the wise. If you sent us a man with an easy disposition and a gentle attitude, I would hope that affairs that have seemed difficult would become easy and what was at variance would become united. Consider that, for there is benefit in it for our leaders (*khawāṣṣ*) and our ordinary people (*'awāmm*), God willing. Peace be with you."

Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah sent to al-Walīd, dismissed him and sent 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān[655] [in his place].

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652. Najdah b. 'Āmir al-Ḥanafī was a leading Khārijite, who at one time came to control nearly the whole of Arabia. He was killed after an internal dispute in 72 (691). See Wellhausen, *Religio-Political*, 47–50.

653. Al-Yamāmah was an area in central eastern Arabia. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Yamāma.

654. The *wuqūf* is the ritual that involves gathering at 'Arafah in preparation for the procession (*ifāḍah*) into the sanctuary of Mecca during the night of the pilgrimage. See *EI*[2], s.v. Ḥadjdj.

655. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān was a member of the Umayyad family, and cousin of Yazīd. Apart from this incident, he was reported to have

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq—Ḥumayd b. Ḥamzah,[656] a mawlā of the Banū Umayyah: An inexperienced young man came, who had no knowledge of affairs, who had not learnt the lessons of age, and who had not been trained by experience; he could hardly understand anything about his authority and his task. He sent a delegation from the people of Medina to Yazīd. Among them were ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah al-Ghasīl al-Anṣārī,[657] ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAmr b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī,[658] al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr and many of the nobles of the people of Medina. They came to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, and he treated them generously and well. He gave them gifts, and then they left him. They all came back to Medina except for al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr. He went to ʿUbaydallāh b.
[403] Ziyād at al-Baṣrah. Yazīd had made a gift of a hundred thousand dirhams to him. When those members of the delegation returned to Medina, they stood among the people and publicly cursed and vilified Yazīd. They said, "We have come from a man who has no religion, who drinks wine, who plays lutes, who passes his time with songstresses, who plays with dogs and spends his evenings talking to robbers and young men. We ask you to bear witness that we repudiate him." The people followed them.

According to Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā (Abū Mikhnaf)—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq: The people went to ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanzalah al-Ghasīl and gave their oath of allegiance to him; they gave him authority over them.

According to Lūṭ (b. Yaḥyā Abū Mikhnaf)—Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf:[659] Al-Mundhir came back from Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah and went to ʿUbaydallāh b.

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had a daughter who married the Caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 6.

656. A mawlā of the Banū Umayyah; Ḥumayd b. Ḥamzah is not mentioned except for this report.

657. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah al-Ghasīl al-Anṣārī was a leading man in Medina. His father had been killed at Uḥud and the Prophet said that he had seen angels washing his body. Hence *al-ghasīl*, the washed. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanẓala.

658. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAmr b. Ḥafṣ was a member of Quraysh who settled in Medina.

659. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was a descendant of the well-known Companion of the Prophet, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. This is the only time he occurs as an authority of Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 211.

Ziyād at al-Baṣrah. He was generous and hospitable to al-Mundhir, for he had been a friend of Ziyād. Then a letter came to 'Ubaydallāh from Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah. In this letter, Yazīd told 'Ubaydallāh of the situation concerning his followers in Medina; he ordered 'Ubaydallāh to bind and imprison al-Mundhir until Yazīd's order about him came. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād was reluctant to comply with his instructions because al-Mundhir was his guest. He summoned him and told him about the letter, which he read to him. He said, "You were friendly to Ziyād and you have become my guest. I am doing you a favor, for I want to act well in the whole matter. When the people gather with me, arise and say, 'Permit me to depart to my land.' When I say, 'No, rather stay with me, for you will have generous, munificent, and praiseworthy treatment,' say, 'I have an estate and work so that I must leave; permit me to go.' At that I will permit you to go. Then join your family." When the people gathered with 'Ubaydallāh, al-Mundhir arose and asked permission [to go]. He replied, "No, rather stay with me, for I will treat you nobly, generously, and [404] praiseworthily." Al-Mundhir said, "I have an estate and work so that I must leave. So permit me to go." 'Ubaydallāh gave him permission. He set out until he reached the Ḥijāz. There he joined the people of Medina; he became one of those who urged the people against Yazīd. At that time among the things he used to say was, "By God! Yazīd made a gift of a hundred thousand dirhams to me but what he did to me does not prevent me from telling you about him; I will speak truthfully about him. By God! He drinks wine and gets so drunk that he misses the prayer." Al-Mundhir vilified him with not only similar vilifications but also harsher ones than the ones made by his companions.

Sa'īd b. 'Amr was saying in al-Kūfah that Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah had been informed of what al-Mundhir had said and he had declared, "O God! I treated him praiseworthily and generously. Then he did what You have seen. Remember him for lying and disruption of relations."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sa'īd b. Zayd Abū Muthallim:[660] Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah sent for al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī and

660. Sa'īd b. Zayd Abū Muthallim was an otherwise unknown authority of Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 217.

said to him, "Go to the people of Medina and your own people; soothe them away from what they are intending to do. If they do not rise up in this matter, the people will not dare to oppose me. There are those of my clan who would not want to rise up in this discord (*fitnah*), for they fear destruction." Al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr departed and went to his people. He summoned the people generally to him. He ordered them to obey and to adhere to unity and he warned them against discord. He told them, "You have no power against the Syrians." ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ said, "Al-Nuʿmān, what is making you split our unity and corrupt our affairs that God has set right?" Al-Nuʿmān answered, "By God! It is as if I can see that which you are calling for (i.e., civil war) taking place, with men mounting their horses and striking blows against the heads of the other party and their faces. The mill of death revolves between the two parties. It is as if I can see you flying on your mule and setting your face in the direction of [405] Mecca, leaving these wretched people—meaning the Anṣār—behind to be killed in their alleys, in the mosques, and at the doors of their houses." The people struck out at him and he left. By God! It happened just as he said it would.

Al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah led the people on the pilgrimage in this year (62/682). The governors in Iraq and Khurāsān were the same in this year (62/681–2) as the governors that I mentioned in the year 61/680–1.

In this year (62/681–82) Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās[661] was born according to what has been mentioned.

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661. It was through Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbas's line that the ʿAbbāsid caliphs were descended. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAbbāsids.

The Events of the Year 63

(SEPTEMBER 10, 682–AUGUST 29, 683)

Among the events that took place in the year of 63 was the expulsion by the people at Medina of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah's governor, 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān, from Medina, their public repudiation of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, and their siege of those of the Banū Umayyah who were in Medina.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad (al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq—Ḥabīb b. Kurrah:[662] When the people of Medina gave the oath of allegiance to 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah al-Ghasīl to depose Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, they attacked 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān and the Banū Umayyah, their mawālī and those from Quraysh who held their views, who were in Medina. There were about one thousand of them. They left in a group and stopped at Marwān b. al-Ḥakam's house. There the people put them under a token siege. The Banū Umayyah

662. Ḥabīb b. Kurrah was a mawlā of the Umayyads, who was alleged to have led the party in pursuit of Ibn al-Zubayr when the latter had fled from Medina to Mecca in order to avoid giving the oath of allegiance to Yazīd. See note 25, above. From his account of his mission, he was obviously trusted by the Umayyads in Medina.

summoned Ḥabīb b. Kurrah. Those of them who sent for him were Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.[663] Marwān was the one who was organizing their affairs. As for
[406] ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān, he was only a young lad without any judgment.

According to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal—Ḥabīb b. Kurrah: I was with Marwān, and he and a group of the Banū Umayyah wrote a letter for me to take to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān[664] took the letter until he had come with me to Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ.[665] He handed me the letter and said, "I will give you twelve days to go and twelve days[666] to return. Come to me in twenty-four days at this place. God willing, you will find me sitting and waiting for you at this time." The letter said: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.... We have been besieged in the house of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. Good water has been stopped from getting to us, and we are having berries thrown at us. Help! Help!"

[Ḥabīb b. Kurrah] continued: I took the letter and went with it until I reached Yazīd. He was sitting on a chair with his feet in a brass basin filled with water; he was experiencing pain in them. It is said that he had gout. He read it and then, as we have been informed, he recited:

They have changed the clemency that was part of my nature.
Therefore, I have substituted harshness toward my people for gentleness.[667]

Then he asked, "Are not Banū Umayyah and their mawālī in Medina a thousand men?" I said, "Yes, by God, and more." He

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663. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān was the eldest son of Caliph ʿUthmān. He does not seem to have been particularly pro-Umayyad, perhaps because he felt he had a better claim to the caliphate; he refused to give the oath of allegiance to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam when he became Caliph. He died in Minā. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 602.

664. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān became Caliph after his father; he ruled the Islamic Empire from 65 (685) to 86 (705). See *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān.

665. Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ was a pass (*thaniyyah*) overlooking Medina on the road to Mecca. It was given this name in pre-Islamic times because it was the place where people said goodbye to travelers. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 937.

666. The Arabic is "nights" not "days."

667. The verse is not identified.

demanded, "Were they not able to fight for an hour in one day?" I answered, "Commander of the Faithful, all the people united against them, and they had no power against such a gathering of the people." [407]

He sent for 'Amr b. Sa'īd and made him read the letter and gave him the news. He told him to go to them with the people. 'Amr answered, "I had kept a firm grip on that town for you, and I had controlled its affairs on your behalf. Now, when it has come to the blood of Quraysh being shed on the ground, I do not want to be responsible for that. Let someone who is less closely associated with them than I am be responsible for that."

[Ḥabīb b. Kurrah] continued: He sent me with that letter to Muslim b. 'Uqbah al-Murrī,[668] who was then a weak sick old man. I handed him the letter and he read it. He asked me the news, and I told it to him. Then he asked the same question as Yazīd, "Aren't the Banū Umayyah and their mawālī and supporters in Medina a thousand men?" I replied, "Yes, they are." He said, "Were they not able to fight for an hour in one day? These are not worthy to be helped until they strive for themselves to fight against their enemy and to strengthen their authority." Then he went and visited Yazīd. He said to him, "Commander of the Faithful, do not help these men, for they are contemptible. Were they not able to fight for one day, or half a day, or even an hour in a day? Leave them, Commander of the Faithful, until they strive for themselves to fight their enemy and to strengthen their authority. Then it will be clear to you which of them will fight and endure in obedience to you or which will give in." Yazīd exclaimed, "Shame on you! There would be no good in life without them. Depart! Keep me informed of what you do. Gather the people and march with them."

His herald went out and proclaimed: "Set out for the Ḥijāz with the condition of receiving your stipends in full and a grant of a hundred dīnārs that will be put in the hand of each man immediately." Because of that, twelve thousand men volunteered.

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668. Muslim b. 'Uqbah al-Murrī was one of the leaders of the Syrian Arabs, who had served Mu'āwiyah at Ṣiffīn; he was a loyal supporter of Yazīd. See *EI*[1], s.v. Muslim b. 'Uqba.

[408] According to Ibn Ḥumayd[669]—Jarīr[670]—al-Mughīrah:[671] Yazīd wrote to Ibn Marjānah, "Attack Ibn al-Zubayr." He replied, "No, I will never bring two such actions together for that sinner as killing the son of the Apostle of God and attacking the House [of God]."

Marjānah was a truthful woman and after ʿUbaydallāh had killed al-Ḥusayn, she used to say to him, "Woe upon you! What have you done! What a crime you have committed!"

The account returns to that of Ḥabīb b. Kurrah, who reported: I came back to meet ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān at the place at that time or a little after it. I found him sitting under a tree with a cloak wrapped around him. I told him what had happened, and he was pleased with the news. We left and went into Marwān's house to the group of the Banū Umayyah. I told them the news that I had brought; they praised God, the Mighty and High.

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal informed us that Ḥabīb had come back in ten days. Ḥabīb recounted: I did not leave until I saw Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah go out to inspect and look at the cavalry. He was wearing a sword and leaning on an Arab bow, and I heard him reciting:

Tell Abū Bakr:[672] When the nights have gone by
and the people have descended on Wādī Qurā,[673]
If you see twenty thousand of the people, both mature and young,
do you think that they have been gathered by a drunkard?
Or were they gathered by a wakeful man who has driven away
sleep from himself?

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669. Ibn Ḥumayd's full name was Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Rāzī. He was a prolific traditionist and one of the authorities whose transmission of the *Sīrah* of Ibn Isḥāq Ṭabarī used. He died in 248 (862–63). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127–31.

670. Jarīr's full name was Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāzī. He was a traditionist, who moved from al-Kūfah to al-Rayy and became a qāḍī. He died in 188 (804). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 75–77.

671. Al-Mughīrah's full name was Abū Hāshim al-Mughīrah b. Miqsam. He was a traditionist from al-Kūfah, who died in 130 (747–48). See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 235.

672. Abū Bakr is a reference to Ibn al-Zubayr.

673. Wādī Qurā was a valley between Medina and Syria with many villages in it. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 878.

I wonder about a man who strays from the truth (*mulḥid*)! I really wonder.
A man of deceit in religion, who slanders noble people.[674]

'Abd al-Malik b. Nawfal reported that that army had departed [409]
from Yazīd with Muslim b. 'Uqbah in command. Yazīd had told him, "If anything happens to you, appoint Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī[675] as your deputy." He also instructed him, "Leave the people for three days. If they agree to your demands, so be it. Otherwise fight them and when you overcome them, give license to pillage the city for three days. Whatever property, silver coins, weapons, and food are found belong to the army. When the three days have passed, withdraw from the people. Look for 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, keep them away from him, give him kind treatment and make him stay close to you. He has not become involved in any of the things in which they have become involved. His letter has come to me." 'Alī did not know anything about what Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah had instructed Muslim b. 'Uqbah to do with regard to him. In fact when the Banū Umayyah left for Syria, Marwān's goods and wife, 'Ā'ishah bt. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān[676]—she was the mother of Abān b. Marwān—were entrusted to 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

According to Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī): When the people of Medina expelled 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad from Medina, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam asked Ibn 'Umar if he would hide his family with him. Ibn 'Umar refused to do that. Marwān spoke to 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. He said, "Abū al-Ḥasan (i.e., 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn), I have kinship with you. Let my women be with your women." 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn agreed to do that. Marwān sent his women to 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, and the latter left with his own women and with Marwān's women until he

674. Mas'ūdī quotes part of these verses. See *Murūj*, V, 161. Balādhurī gives more verses. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 323.

675. Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī was a leading supporter of the Umayyads but after Yazīd's death he was tempted to transfer his allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr. However, he remained loyal to the Umayyads and was killed at the Battle of Khāzir fighting against Ibn al-Ashtar in 67 (686). See Crone, *Slaves*, 97, and *EI*², s.v. Ḥuṣayn Numayr.

676. 'Ā'ishah is not mentioned in any other respect than being a daughter of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, the third Caliph and also being the wife of Marwān. She bore Marwān several children. Her son Abān became governor of Palestine for his brother the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 164, 166.

settled them at Yanbu'.[677] Marwān was grateful to 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn in addition to the old friendship that had been between them.

[410] The account returns to that according to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Nawful: Muslim b. 'Uqbah advanced with the army. When the people of Medina heard of his coming, they attacked those of the Banū Umayyah who were with them and besieged them in the house of Marwān. They declared, "By God! We will not leave you alone until we overcome you and cut off your heads, or you give us a covenant and testimonies before God that you will not harm us. Also that you will not reveal the gaps in our positions and that you will not assist an enemy against us. In this respect, we will desist from doing any harm to you and will let you go out from our city." They gave them such a covenant and testimonies before God. They drove out the Banū Umayyah, who left Medina with their baggage until they met Muslim b. 'Uqbah at Wādī al-Qurā.

'Ā'ishah bt. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān left for al-Ṭā'if and she passed by 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. The latter was staying at a property of his outside Medina. He had withdrawn from it, as he was unwilling to have any association with their policy [*amr*]. He asked her to take his son 'Abdallāh with her to al-Ṭā'if. She took him to al-Ṭā'if until the affairs of the people of Medina were brought to an end.

When the Banū Umayyah reached Muslim b. 'Uqbah at Wādī al-Qurā, he summoned 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, first of all, and demanded, "Give me information about the situation that you left behind; advise me." He answered, "I cannot give you any information, for covenants and sworn testimonies were made by us that we would not reveal gaps in their positions or help an enemy." Muslim b. 'Uqbah upbraided him and asserted, "By God! If it was not for the fact that you are the son of 'Uthmān, I would cut your head off. By God! I will never pardon a Qurashī for it after you!" 'Amr b. 'Uthmān went out to his companions with the news of what treatment he had received from him. Marwān b.

677. Yanbu' was an estate near an oasis; it was located a day's journey from Mount Raḍwā and seven stages away from Medina. It was given to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and became the property of his descendants. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 1039.

al-Ḥakam said to his son 'Abd al-Malik, "Go in before me. Perhaps he will be satisfied with you instead of me." 'Abd al-Malik went in. Muslim b. 'Uqbah demanded, "Come, what information do you have? Give me information about the people and how you see the situation." 'Abd al-Malik said, "Yes, I think that you should go with those who are with you and avoid this road to Medina. [411] When you come to the palms lower down, stop there. Your army will be shaded by their shade, and they can eat from the palm dates. When night comes, appoint successive guards from the people in the camp for the whole night. In the morning, perform the morning prayer. Then go forward with them. Leave Medina to your left and go round it until you come toward them through al-Ḥarrah[678] coming from the east. Then you will be facing the people. When they face you, the east will be in front of them. When the sun shines, it will shine over the shoulder of your followers; it will not harm them but it will fall on the faces of the people of Medina; its heat will harm them and the harm from it will affect them. As long as you are coming from the east, they will see the dazzling brightness of your helmets, javelins, spears, swords, breastplates, and armlets. However, as long as they are coming from the west, you will not see any brillance from their weapons. Then fight them and ask for God's help against them. Indeed, God will be your helper, for they have opposed the imām and left the unity of the community (*jamā'ah*)." Muslim exclaimed, "God bless your father! What a man was born to him! When you were born to him, he saw a successor in you." Then Marwān entered. Muslim b. 'Uqbah asked him, "What is it?" Marwān said, "Hasn't 'Abd al-Malik come to you?" Muslim replied, "What a man 'Abd al-Malik is! Seldom have I spoken to a man from Quraysh like him." Marwān said, "When you met [412] 'Abd al-Malik, you met me." He answered, "Indeed."

Muslim b. 'Uqbah departed from that place and the people departed with him until he stopped at the place that 'Abd al-Malik had told him. There he did what 'Abd al-Malik had told him to do. Then he went on into al-Ḥarrah until he stopped there.

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678. Al-Ḥarrah is where the battle took place. It is a name meaning parched dry ground with black stones as if they had been burnt by fire. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 247.

He had come toward them from the east. Muslim b. ʿUqbah summoned the people of Medina and announced, "People of Medina, the Commander of the Faithful, Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, claims that you are the origin of Islam. I am reluctant to shed your blood. I will give you three days' respite. Whoever reverts from error and returns to the truth, we will accept that from him. I will leave you and go against this man who deviates from the truth (*mulḥid*), who is in Mecca. If you refuse, we will be excused for our treatment toward you."

That was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 64 (July 20–August 17, 684). Thus did I find it in my text (*kitāb*). It is a mistake because Yazīd died in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal 64 (November, 683). The Battle of al-Ḥarrah was on Wednesday, 28 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 63 (August 27, 683).[679]

When the three days had passed, he said, "What are you going to do? Are you going to make peace or are you going to fight?" They answered, "No, we will fight." He pleaded with them, "Don't do this. Rather enter into obedience, and we will use our vehemence and our weapons against this man who deviates from the truth, to whom heretics and libertines have gathered from every side." They shouted at them, "Enemies of God, by God, if you want to pass across to them, we will not leave you until we fight you. We will not let you go to the Sacred House of God to terrorize its inhabitants, to act impiously there, and to violate its sanctity. No, by God! We will not allow this."

The people of Medina had made use of a ditch at the flank of Medina. A great group of them stationed themselves there. In command of them was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Azhar b. ʿAwf b. ʿAbd
[413] ʿAwf,[680] who was the nephew of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī.[681] ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ was in charge of another quarter on

679. This correction seems to have been written by Ṭabarī.

680. The name given by Ṭabarī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zuhayr b. ʿAbd ʿAwf, is clearly defective and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 324, has the correct name that is used here. This man took part in the campaign to Ḥunayn; see Ṭabarī, III, 2380.

681. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī was a famous Companion of the Prophet, who became very rich; he was the man who appointed ʿUthmān in the consultative council (*shūrā*) for the appointment of the third Caliph. See *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf.

the flank of Medina and Ma'qil b. Sinān al-Ashja'ī[682] was in command of another quarter on the flank of Medina. The commander of their whole army (*jamā'ah*) was 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah al-Ghasīl al-Anṣārī with the largest and most numerous of the quarters.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī mentioned that 'Abdallāh b. Muṭī' was in command of Quraysh among the people of Medina. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah al-Ghasīl was in command of the Anṣār and Ma'qil b. Sinān was in command of the emigrants.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Nawfal: Muslim b. 'Uqbah set forth with all of those with him. He advanced from the direction of al-Ḥarrah until he set up his tent on the road to al-Kūfah. Then he sent the cavalry against Ibn Ghasīl. Ibn Ghasīl attacked the cavalry with the foot soldiers who were with him until the cavalry was defeated. They went back to Muslim. The latter, with the foot soldiers, stood in their way and shouted at them. They went back and fought fiercely. Al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib[683] came to 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah al-Ghasīl and fought well and fiercely alongside him with about twenty horsemen. He told 'Abdallāh, "Order those horsemen with you to come to me and position themselves with me. When I attack, let them attack. By God! I will not stop until I reach Muslim; either I will kill him or I will be killed." 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah ordered 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk[684] of the Banū al-Ashhal of the Anṣār to proclaim to the cavalry that they should position themselves with al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās. ['Abdallāh b.] al-Ḍaḥḥāk[685] proclaimed this among them and he joined them to al-Faḍl. When the cavalry [414] gathered around him, he attacked the Syrians; they were put to flight. He cried to his companions, "Don't you see them miserably retreating? Attack again, may I be a sacrifice for you! By God! If I

682. Ma'qil b. Sinān al-Ashja'ī was a Companion of the Prophet from the tribe of Ashja'; as such, he was an emigrant from outside Quraysh. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, II, 799, 820, 897.

683. Al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās was a member of the Banū Hāshim; little is heard of him apart from this incident.

684. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk is not mentioned elsewhere.

685. 'Abdallāh b. has clearly been omitted from the Arabic text.

see their leader, I will kill him or I will be killed. Perseverance for a time is followed by joy. Victory only comes after perseverance." Then he attacked and his companions attacked with him. The Syrian cavalry was separated from Muslim b. ʿUqbah, who was with about five hundred foot soldiers who were kneeling pointing their spears toward the people. Al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās went as he was toward Muslim's standard so that he might strike the head of the standard bearer. The man was wearing a helmet but al-Faḍl cut through the helmet and split his skull. He fell dead. Al-Faḍl shouted, "I am the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib." He thought that he had killed Muslim and declared, "By the Lord of the Kaʿbah! I have killed the tyrant of the people." Muslim taunted him, "Your bottom missed the ditch,"[686] for that standard bearer was a brave servant of his called Rūmī. Muslim took his standard and called out, "People of Syria, is this the fighting of people who want to defend their religion and who want to strengthen the victory of their imām? May God abominate your fighting from today! How painful it is to my heart! How distressing it is to my soul! By God! Your reward for it will be nothing, for you will be deprived of your stipends and you will be posted to the most distant frontier posts. Attack with this standard. May God make your faces full of grief if you do not tuck up your trousers."[687] He went forward with the standard, and those foot soldiers attacked in front of the standard. Al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās was brought down and killed. There were only about ten yards between him and the tent ropes of Muslim b. ʿUqbah. Zayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf[688] and Ibrāhīm b. Nuʿaym al-ʿAdawī[689] were killed with him together with many foot soldiers from the people of Medina.

[415] According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—another account from ʿAwānah: Muslim b. ʿUqbah was sick on the day of the battle. He ordered a litter and a chair to be put between the two ranks. Then he said, "People of Syria, fight for your commander or leave." They advanced toward them. They did not set

686. Arabic proverb that is roughly equivalent to: "Look before you leap." See Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ*, s.v. *ʿst*.

687. An idiom roughly equivalent to: "Pull up your socks."

688. Zayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf is only mentioned in connection with his death.

689. Ibrāhīm b. Nuʿaym al-ʿAdawī is not mentioned elsewhere.

themselves against one of those quarters without defeating it. They did not fight for long until their opponents had turned and fled. Then he came toward 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah and fought the fiercest of battles against him. Those of the quarters who still wanted to fight gathered around 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah. They fought a fierce battle. Al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. Rabī'ah with a group of the nobles and horsemen of the people attacked, heading toward Muslim b. 'Uqbah while Muslim was sick on his litter. He called out, "Carry me and put me in the ranks." After they had carried him, they put him in front of his tent in the ranks. Al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās and those companions of his attacked until he reached the litter. Al-Faḍl was fair-skinned. When he raised his sword to strike him, Muslim shouted to his followers, "The fair-skinned slave will be my killer. Where are you, sons of free women? Thrust your spears at him!" They attacked and stabbed him until he fell.

According to Hishām {b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī}—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. Munqidh:[690] The cavalry and foot soldiers advanced with their equipment toward 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah al-Ghasīl and his foot soldiers until they were near him. Muslim b. 'Uqbah rode a horse of his; he went among the Syrians, urging them on and saying: "Syrians, you are not the best of the Arabs in lineage and descent, nor the most numerous of them, nor the ones with the broadest lands. God has only singled you out, as He has, with victory over your enemies and a good position with your imāms [416] because of your obedience and your integrity. These people and Arabs like them have changed, and God has changed toward them. Therefore, give the best obedience that you have, and God will give you the best victory and success that He can give you." He went back to his previous position and ordered the cavalry to advance against Ibn al-Ghasīl and his followers. When the cavalry began to advance against the foot soldiers, the latter raised their spears and swords in their faces. The cavalry were scared away, frightened off; they drew back in fear. Muslim b. 'Uqbah called out among them, "Syrians, God has not made anyone more entitled to the land than you. Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr, attack with your

690. 'Abdallāh b. Munqidh was an otherwise unknown authority of Abū Mikhnaf. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 107.

troops." He attacked with the people from Ḥimṣ.[691] He went toward them. When Ibn al-Ghasīl saw them approaching, marching under their standards toward him, he stood up among his followers and said, "Men, your enemy has achieved an attitude in the battle that it would have been more appropriate for you to have had to fight against them. I had thought that you would only have waited a short time before God made the decision between you and them, either for you or against you. Are you not people of clear sight, people from the place of emigration? By God! I do not think that your Lord has either become more pleased with the inhabitants of any Muslim land than He is with you, or more angry with the inhabitants of any Arab land than He is with these people who are fighting against you. Every man among you has only one death that he can die. By God! There is no better death than the death of
[417] martyrdom. God has brought it to you. Seize it! By God! Not everything you want, you find!" Then he went forward a little way with his standard and stood there. Ibn Numayr came with his standard until he was close to it. Muslim b. ʿUqbah ordered ʿAbdallāh b. ʿIḍāh al-Ashʿarī to advance with a hundred archers until they were near Ibn al-Ghasīl and his followers. They began to shoot arrows at them. Ibn al-Ghasīl said, "Why are you being targets for them? Whoever wants to hurry to heaven, let him stay close to this standard." All of those who were prepared to face death came to him, and he said, "Accept the promise to your Lord. By God! I hope that soon you will be joyful." The people attacked one another, and for an hour of the day they fought the fiercest battle seen at that time. Ibn Ghasīl sent his sons forward in front of him, one by one, until they were killed in front of him while he was striking with his sword and reciting:

Destruction to those who want corruption and tyranny,
    who avoid the truth and the signs of guidance.
God will only destroy those who are disobedient.

He was killed and his brother on his mother's side, Muḥammad b.

691. Ḥimṣ is a town in Syria located in a rich agricultural plain on the eastern bank of the Orontes; it is bounded in the east by the desert and in the west by mountains. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥimṣ.

Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās,[692] was killed with him. He had gone forward and fought until he was killed. He declared, "I would not wish that the people of al-Daylam killed me instead of these people." Then he fought until he was killed. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī[693] was killed with him. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam passed by him. He was like an oblong stone of silver. Marwān said, "May God have mercy on you. How many pillars in the mosque have seen you standing long in prayer beside them!"

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—'Awānah: Muslim b. 'Uqbah was sitting on a chair; men were carrying him while he was fighting against Ibn al-Ghasīl at the Battle of al-Ḥarrah. He was reciting:

Hāshim b. Ḥarmalah revived his father [418]
at the Battle of al-Habātayn and the Battle of al-Ya'mulah.
Through him all the kings were scattered dead,
and his spear deprived many mothers of their sons.
The man [destined to killing] does not wait long until he knocks him down.
He kills those who have guilt and those who have no guilt.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf: Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ[694] came out to fight on that day. When the Syrians fled, he went after them striking at them until the defeat overcame him. Then he went away with the others who went away. Muslim gave up Medina to pillage for three days; they killed the people and seized goods. That frightened the Companions of the Prophet who were there. Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī left and went to a cave in the mountain. One of the Syrians spotted him and came into the cave against him.

692. Muḥammad b. Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās's father had been a Companion of the Prophet from Medina; he reported traditions from his father and 'Umar. See Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 273; and Ṭabarī, I, 1757, III, 2403.

693. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī's father had been a Companion of the Prophet from Medina; he had been sent as his representative to Yemen just before the Prophet's death. See Ṭabarī, I, 1727–29.

694. Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was a son of the famous Companion of the Prophet, who later took part in Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolution. He was captured and executed by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf in 83 (702). See Ṭabarī, II, 1120.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥasan b. 'Aṭiyyah al-'Awfī[695]—Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī: The Syrian came in after me; he was walking with his sword. I drew my sword and walked toward him to frighten him so that perhaps he would leave me. However, he would do nothing but advance against me. I sheathed my sword and said, "If you stretch out your hand toward me to kill me, it is not for me to stretch out my hand toward you to kill you, for I fear God, the Lord of the universe."[696] He said, "Who are you, may your father be blessed?" I answered, "I am Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī." He said, "The Companion of the Prophet?" I said, "Yes." Then he went away from me.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—'Awānah: Muslim b. 'Uqbah summoned the people to give the oath of allegiance at Qubā.[697] Safe-conduct was sought for two men from Quraysh, Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Zam'ah b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib
[419] b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā[698] and Muḥammad b. Abī al-Jahm b. Ḥudhayfah al-'Adawī,[699] and also for Ma'qil b. Sinān al-Ashja'ī. They were brought a day after the battle. Muslim demanded, "Give the oath of allegiance." The two Qurashīs declared, "We give the oath of allegiance to you on the basis of the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet." Muslim asserted, "No, by God! I will never release you with that." He had them brought forward and their heads cut off. Marwān exclaimed, "Glory be to God! Are you killing two men of Quraysh who came to you to seek safe-conduct, and yet you cut their heads off?" Muslim pricked him in his hip with a cane and said, "And you too. If you say what they said, you will only see the sky for the time of a flash of lightning."

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf: Ma'qil b. Sinān came and sat with the people and he asked for a

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695. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Aṭiyyah al-'Awfī was a traditionist, who was said to have died in 181 (797), but this would make him unusually old as an authority for Abū Mikhnaf. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 294; and Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 207.

696. Qur'ān, 5:31.

697. There is dispute about whether Qubā is the Prophet's mosque in Medina or a small village two miles south of Medina where an early mosque was built. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 23–24.

698. Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Zam'ah b. al-Aswad was only mentioned in connection with this incident, but his grandmother was Umm Salamah, wife of the Prophet. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 328.

699. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Jahm is not mentioned elsewhere.

drink to quench his thirst. Muslim asked him, "Which drink do you most like?" He answered, "Honey." Muslim ordered, "Give him a drink." Ma'qil drank until he had quenched his thirst. Muslim asked him, "Have you quenched your thirst with your drink?" He replied, "Yes." Muslim declared, "No, by God! You will never drink another drink after that except the boiling water in the fire of hell. Do you remember what you said about the Commander of the Faithful, 'I journeyed to him for a month, I spent a month returning from him and I have come back empty-handed. O God! Bring a change!' You were meaning Yazīd." He had him brought forward and his head cut off.

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]—'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam: Muslim b. 'Uqbah sent 'Amr b. Muḥriz al-Ashja'ī,[700] and he brought Ma'qil b. Sinān to him. Muslim said, "Welcome, Abū Muḥammad [i.e., Ma'qil], I see you are thirsty?" Ma'qil said, "Yes." Muslim ordered, "Mix him some honey with the ice that you brought with us." Previously Ma'qil had been a friend of Muslim's. They mixed some honey with the ice for him. When Ma'qil had drunk, he said, "May God quench your thirst with the drink of heaven." Muslim asserted, "By God! You will never drink another drink after that until you drink the boiling water of hell." Ma'qil begged him, "I implore you before God and kinship."[701] However, Muslim said to him, "You are the one who met me at Tiberias[702] on the night when you had left Yazīd. You [420] said, 'We journeyed for a month and we came back from Yazīd empty-handed. We will go back to Medina and depose this sinner. We will give the oath of allegiance to one of the sons of the emigrants [Muhājirūn].' What have the tribes of Ghaṭafān and Ashja' to do with deposing and installing a caliph? I swore an oath that I would not meet you in a battle without cutting your head off." Then he ordered him to be killed.

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]—'Awānah: Yazīd b. Wahb b. Zam'ah[703] was brought. Muslim demanded, "Give the oath of allegiance." He declared, "I give you the oath of

700. 'Amr b. Maḥriz al-Ashja'ī is not mentioned elsewhere, but belonged to the same tribe as Ma'qil b. Sinān, whom he was sent to fetch.

701. Both men came from different clans of the tribe Ghaṭafān.

702. Tiberias is on the southwest coast of the Sea of Galilee in Palestine.

703. Yazīd b. Wahb b. Zam'ah is not mentioned elsewhere.

allegiance on the basis of the Sunnah of 'Umar."[704] Muslim ordered him to be killed. Yazīd b. Wahb protested, "But I am giving the oath of allegiance." Muslim said, "No, by God! I will not save you from your fall!" Marwān spoke to him about the relationship that existed between the two of them. Then he ordered Marwān to be struck [with the fist] in the neck.[705] After that he announced, "Give the oath of allegiance on the basis that you are the servants of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah." Then he ordered Yazīd b. Wahb to be killed.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—'Awānah and Abū Mikhnaf[706]—'Abd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq: Marwān brought 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. When the Banū Umayyah had been expelled, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn had protected Marwān's goods and wife; he had given her refuge. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn approached; he walked between Marwān and 'Abd al-Malik, seeking safe-conduct from Muslim. He came and sat down with Muslim between the two men. Marwān asked for a drink so that 'Alī might gain protection from Muslim.[707] A drink was brought for him, and Marwān drank a little from it. Then he handed it to 'Alī. When he put it to his mouth, Muslim ordered, "Don't drink our drink."

'Alī's hand shook; he did not feel safe for his life. He held the cup in his hand without drinking from it and without putting it down. Muslim said, "You only came between these two men to
[421] seek safe-conduct from me. By God! If that matter were just going to be due to them, I would kill you. But the Commander of the Faithful has ordered me to treat you kindly. He told me that you had written to him. That is what brings you benefit from me. If you want, drink your drink that is in your hand. If you want, ask

704. In this context a particularly provocative remark because the Sunnah of 'Umar must refer to the consultative council (*shūrā*), which 'Umar introduced to appoint the next Caliph and which had been ignored by Yazīd.

705. This appears to be somewhat harsh treatment of an Umayyad as important as Marwān.

706. The text is *qāla 'Awānah 'an Abī Mikhnaf* ["Awānah reported on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf"]. This is highly unlikely as it has not occurred in the accounts given so far. I have followed Sezgin and changed the *'an* to *wa*. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 193n.

707. The Arab custom of not killing a man who has shared one's food and drink seems irrelevant after the earlier incidents connected with Muslim b. 'Aqīl, but the others had been fighting against Muslim.

us for another." 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn said, "I want the one that is in my hand." He drank it. Muslim told him to come to him and he made him sit beside him.

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam: When 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn was brought to Muslim, he asked who he was. When they told him that it was 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, he welcomed him and made him sit with him on the couch and the cushions. He said, "The Commander of the Faithful told me to be kind to you but he also said that these wicked men would keep me occupied from you; they would stop my generosity to you." Then he suggested to 'Alī, "Perhaps your family are frightened?" He answered, "Yes, by God!" Muslim ordered his mule to be saddled. Then he took him and sent him back to his family.

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]—'Awānah: 'Amr b. 'Uthmān [b. 'Affān] had not been among those of the Banū Umayyah who had left. One day he was brought to Muslim b. 'Uqbah, who said, "Syrians, do you know this man?" They answered, "No." He told them, "He is the wicked man who is the son of a good man. This is 'Amr, son of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, the Commander of the Faithful. Hey, 'Amr! When the people of Medina have the upper hand, you say, 'I am one of you.' When the Syrians have the upper hand, you say, 'I am the son of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.'" He ordered his beard to be plucked out. Then he said, "The mother of this man used to put black beetles in her mouth. Then she would say, 'Commander of the Faithful, I challenge you to guess what is in my mouth.' And in her mouth was what was bad for her and what was painful for her." Muslim let 'Amr go. 'Amr's mother was from the clan of Daws.[708]

Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī reported according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—those who transmitted to him—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: [422]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]:

Both Abū Ma'shar and al-Wāqidī reported that the Battle of al-Ḥarrah was on 26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 63 [August 28, 684].

Some of them say that it was on 25 Dhū al-Ḥijjah [August 27].

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708. Daws is a clan of the tribe of al-Azd. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 601.

In this year (63/684) ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the people in the pilgrimage.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (al-Wāqidī)—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar[709]—Ibn Abī ʿAwf:[710] Ibn al-Zubayr led the people in the pilgrimage in the year 63/684. At that time he was called "one who seeks refuge" [in the sanctuary of Mecca]. The people thought that a consultative council (*shūrā*) was the appropriate course of action (*amr*) to decide the Caliph.

On the night of the new moon of al-Muḥarram (August 29) we were in our house when Saʿīd,[711] the mawlā of al-Miswar b. Makhramah,[712] came to us and told us what Muslim had done to the people of Medina and what had been taken from them. A great catastrophe had come upon them. I saw the people draw their swords, become serious, make preparations, and realize that he was going to attack them.

A different account of the Battle of al-Ḥarrah and the killing of Ibn Ghasīl from the one that has been related on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf from those from whom he reported, has been mentioned. That is according to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr[713]—his father[714]—Wahb b. Jarīr[715]—Juwayriyyah b. Asmāʾ[716]—what he heard the scholars of Medina transmitting:[717] When Muʿāwiyah was close to death, he summoned Yazīd and said to him, "There may be

709. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar was a regular authority of al-Wāqidī; he must have lived in the middle of the second (eighth) century. See Ṭabarī, index; and Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, index.

710. Ibn Abī ʿAwf is never mentioned again and is unidentifiable; the *isnād* could be defective and the reporter could be a son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf.

711. Saʿīd is not mentioned in any other context.

712. Al-Miswar b. Makhramah was a younger Companion of the Prophet, who came to Medina when still a boy. He died defending Ibn al-Zubayr. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 151.

713. Aḥmad b. Zuhayr was an important traditionist and Ṭabarī's authority for the Baṣran tradition; he died in 280 (893). See Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya*, 110.

714. He was Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, a traditionist, who died in 234 (848–49). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 342–43.

715. Wahb b. Jarīr was an important narrator of historical tradition that is rarely used by Ṭabarī; he died in 206 (821–22). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 161.

716. Juwayriyyah b. Asmāʾ was an important narrator of historical tradition from a school of history little used by Ṭabarī; he died in 173 (789–90). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 124–25.

717. This report combines two separate reports given by Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ. See *Taʾrīkh*, 237–38.

trouble for you one day from the people of Medina. If they do trouble you, then hurl Muslim b. 'Uqbah against them. He is a man whose sincere advice I have experienced."

When Mu'āwiyah died, a delegation of the people of Medina visited Yazīd. Among those who visited him was 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah b. Abī 'Āmir. He was a noble, an excellent man, a leader, and a man who worshiped God. With him were his eight sons. Yazīd gave him one hundred thousand dirhams. He also gave each one of his sons ten thousand dirhams, apart from the [423] robes of honor and transport for them. When 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah came back to Medina, he went to the people. They asked, "What was the situation back there?" He answered, "I have come to you from a man whom, if I only had these sons of mine, I would fight." They said, "We have been informed that he brought benefit to you, gave you gifts, and treated you generously." He replied, "He did that, but I only accepted that from him to make myself stronger through it." He incited the people, and they gave the oath of allegiance to him. Yazīd was informed of that and he sent Muslim b. 'Uqbah against them. The people of Medina sent men to every watering place between them and Syria; they poured a skin of tar into each one and spoiled it.[718] However, God sent down the rain on the Syrians, and they did not look for water to drink from a bucket [from the wells at the watering places] until they arrived at Medina. The people of Medina went out against them in many groups and in a manner the like of which has not been seen. When the Syrians saw them, they were terrified of them and were unwilling to fight them. Muslim was in severe pain. While the people were involved in fighting the Syrians, they heard the sounds of victorious cries of "God is greater" behind them in the hollow of Medina. The Banū Ḥārithah[719] had led the Syrians in against them while they were on the edge [of the trench]. The people were put to flight. More of the people at the trench were wounded than were killed. The Syrians entered Medina, and the people were defeated. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah was

718. *'Uwwira* in the text has been emended to *'awwarūhu* following Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 238.

719. The Banū Ḥārithah are a subclan of the Aws in Medina; see Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 158.

leaning on one of his sons snoring in his sleep. His son woke him. When he opened his eyes, he saw what the people had done. He ordered his eldest son to go forward until he was killed. Muslim b. 'Uqbah entered Medina. He summoned the people to give the oath of allegiance on the basis that they were servants of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, who would judge over their lives, their property, and their families as he wished.

The Events of the Year 64

(AUGUST 30, 683–AUGUST 17, 684)

Abū Ja'far reported: Among those events was the advance of the Syrians against Mecca to make war on 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and [424] those who held the same view as he in refusing to accept Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah. When Muslim b. 'Uqbah had finished fighting the people of Medina and the three days of the plundering of their property by his army, he set out with those of his army who were with him in the direction of Mecca.

This is according to Hishām b. Muḥammad (al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Malik b. Nawfal: Muslim set out with the people toward Mecca with the intention of attacking Ibn al-Zubayr. He appointed Rawḥ b. Zinbā' al-Judhāmī[720] as his deputy over Medina.

As for al-Wāqidī, he reported that Muslim appointed 'Amr b. Muḥriz as his deputy over Medina but he added that it was reported that he appointed Rawḥ b. Zinbā' al-Judhāmī as his deputy.

720. Rawḥ b. Zinbā' al-Judhāmī was a prominent supporter of the Umayyads, particularly of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. See Ṭabarī, II, 1164–65.

The Death of Muslim b. ʿUqbah and the Bombardment and Burning of the Kaʿbah

The account returns to Abū Mikhnaf: When Muslim b. ʿUqbah reached al-Mushallal[721]—it was reported as Qafā al-Mushallal—death came upon him. That was toward the end of al-Muḥarram, 64 (toward the end of September, 683). He summoned al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī and said to him, "O son of a pack saddle of a donkey! If this matter were for me to decide, I would not have given you command over this army. However, the Commander of the Faithful has given you command after me, and the order of the Commander of the Faithful cannot be opposed. Take four pieces [of advice] from me: travel speedily; be quick in attack; keep the news unknown; and don't listen to a Qurashī." Then he died and was buried at Qafā al-Mushallal.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—ʿAwānah: Muslim b. ʿUqbah set off aiming for Ibn al-Zubayr. When he reached the pass of Harshā,[722] death came upon him. He sent for the leaders of the troops and said, "The Commander of the Faithful has instructed me, if death were to come to me, to appoint Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī to take over command of you. By
[425] God! If the decision were mine, I would not do so. However, I am unwilling to disobey the order of the Commander of the Faithful at the time of my death." Then he summoned Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr and said, "O son of a pack saddle of a donkey! Remember my advice to you: keep the news unknown; never listen to a Qurashī; don't hold the Syrians back from their enemy; only stay three days before you attack Ibn al-Zubayr, the sinful man." Then he said, "O God! After testifying that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and Apostle, I have never done anything that I like better than my killing of the people of Medina or anything that I hope to be of such advantage to me in the Hereafter." He went on, "The Banū Murrah will have my estate at Ḥawrān[723] as a gift for them but whatever so-and-so keeps

721. Al-Mushallal is a mountain near Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 542.

722. Harshā is a pass on the road to Mecca near al-Juḥfah; it is four stages away from Medina. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 19, and IV, 960.

723. Ḥawrān is a fertile district to the south of Damascus. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 358.

within her door belongs to her." He was referring to his slave wife. Then he died.

When he died, Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr departed with the people and advanced toward Ibn al-Zubayr and Mecca. The inhabitants of Mecca and the Ḥijāz had given the oath of allegiance to him.

According to Hishām—'Awānah: Before his will, Muslim said, "My son alleges that this slave wife has given me poison to drink. He is a liar. This disease attacks my family in our stomachs."

All the people of Medina came to him, that is, to Ibn al-Zubayr. Najdah b. 'Āmir al-Ḥanafī came to him with people from the Khārijites to protect the Sacred House. Ibn al-Zubayr said to his brother al-Mundhir, "There is nobody to undertake this task and to drive off these people except you and me." His brother, al-Mundhir, was one of those who had been present at the Battle of al-Ḥarrah and had then joined him. Ibn al-Zubayr despatched his [426] brother against them with the people. He fought against them fiercely for a time. Then one of the Syrians challenged al-Mundhir to single combat. The Syrian was on a mule of his, and al-Mundhir came out against him. Each of them struck the other a blow from which each fell dead. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr knelt down saying, "O Lord! Destroy it from its root and don't comfort it." He was praying against [the soul of] the one who had fought against his brother.

The Syrians made a dreadful onslaught against them, and Ibn al-Zubayr's followers were defeated. Ibn al-Zubayr's mule stumbled. He cried out, "How wretched!" He dismounted and shouted for his followers to come to him. Al-Miswar b. Makhramah b. Nawfal b. Uhayb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhrah and Mu'ṣab b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf came to him and fought alongside him until they were both killed. Ibn al-Zubayr remained steadfast against the Syrians fighting against them until night. Then they withdrew from him.

This was during the first siege. They stayed there fighting against him for the rest of al-Muḥarram and the whole of Ṣafar (from the end of September until October 28). On Saturday, 3 Rabī al-Awwal, 64 (October 31, 683) they hurled [stones and wood] at the Sacred House with ballistae and they set it on fire. They began to recite:

A ballista with which we bombard the pillars of the mosque is
like a raging stallion camel.[724]

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū ʿAwānah: ʿAmr b. Ḥawṭ al-Sadūsī began reciting:

How do you see the work of Umm Farwah
as she takes them between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah?[725]

He meant by "Umm Farwah" the ballista.

[427] Al-Wāqidī reported that when Muslim b. ʿUqbah had been buried at al-Mushallal on 21 al-Muḥarram (September 20), al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr set out. He reached Mecca on 24 al-Muḥarram (September 23). He besieged Ibn al-Zubayr for sixty days until news of the death of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah reached him at the beginning of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir (the end of November).

In this year (64/683) the Kaʿbah was set on fire.

The Cause of the Burning of the Kaʿbah

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (al-Wāqidī) reported that the Kaʿbah was burned on Saturday, 3 Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 64 (October 31, 683), twenty-nine days before news of the death of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah came. The news arrived on Tuesday, 2 Rabīʿ al-Akhir (November 26).[726]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (al-Wāqidī)—Riyāḥ b. Muslim—his father: They were causing fires to be lit around the Kaʿbah. There was a spark, which the wind blew; it set fire to the veil of the Kaʿbah and burned the wood of the Sacred House on Saturday, 3 Rabīʿ al-Awwal (October 31).

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī—ʿAbdallāh b.

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724. These verses are also quoted by Balādhurī from Abū Mikhnaf, who named the poet as al-Zubayr b. Khuzaymah al-Khathʿamī from Palestine; he was said to be also in change of the bombardment. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 339.

725. This verse is also quoted by Balādhurī, who does not identify the poet. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 340.

726. The Arabic is *hilāl*, literally "new moon," but this can also refer to the first two days of the month. Clearly it is the second day here.

Zayd[727]—'Urwah b. Udhaynah:[728] I came to Mecca with my mother on the day the Ka'bah was burned. The fire had reached it, and I saw that it was without its silk veil. I saw that the Yemenī corner of the Ka'bah[729] was black and had been cracked in three places. I asked, "What has happened to the Ka'bah?" They pointed to one of Ibn al-Zubayr's followers and said, "It has been burned because of this man. He put a firebrand on the tip of his spear; the wind made it fly off. It struck the veils of the Ka'bah between the Yemenī corner and the Black Stone."

In that year (64/683) Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah died. His death occurred in one of the villages of Ḥimṣ called Ḥuwwārīn in the land of Syria on 14 Rabī' al-Awwal, 64 (November 11, 683). He [428] was thirty-eight years of age according to the report of some.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā[730]—Hishām b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī: [Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī wrote down the ages of the caliphs for his grandfather.[731] Among the things he wrote was: Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah died when he was thirty-nine years of age.

His rule was for three years and six months according to the report of some. It is also reported that it was eight months.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—those who transmitted to him—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah died on Tuesday, 14 Rabī' al-Awwal (November 11).[732] His caliphate was for three years and eight months less three days. His son Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd said the funeral prayer for him.

As for Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, he reported a different version of the age of Yazīd from that of al-Zuhrī. What Hishām reported in the version that has been transmitted to us is: Abū

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727. 'Abdallāh b. Zayd is not mentioned by Ṭabarī elsewhere. However, it is possible that he is the traditionist 'Abdallāh b. Zayd b. Aslam who died in 164 (780–81). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 223–23.

728. 'Urwah b. Udhaynah is not mentioned in any other context.

729. The Yemenī corner of the Ka'bah is that corner facing Yemen. The Black Stone is in the corner to the right of it as one faces it. See *EI*², s.v. Ka'ba.

730. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā was a well-known traditionist and a secretary. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 517–18.

731. There is some confusion as to whether this should be father or grandfather. In Ṭabarī, II, 199, Hishām b. al-Walīd reported that Ibn Shihāb answered questions about the ages of the caliphs for al-Walīd, which might mean Hishām's father.

732. Actually a Wednesday.

Khālid Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān succeeded to the caliphate on 1 Rajab, 60 (April 8, 680), when he was thirty-two years and some months old. He ruled for two years and eight months and died on 14 Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 63 (November 21, 682), when he was thirty-five years of age. His mother was Maysūn bt. Baḥdal b. Unayf b. Waljah b. Qunāfah b. ʿAdī b. Zuhayr b. Ḥārithah al-Kalbī.

The Number of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah's Sons

Among Yazīd's sons were: Muʿāwiyah b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, whose *kunyah* was Abū Laylā.[733] Of him the poet says:

[429] I see discord whose beginning has arrived.
After Abū Laylā the kingdom will be for him who conquers.

Khālid b. Yazīd, whose *kunyah* was Abū Hāshim. It was reported that he acquired the skill of alchemy.[734]

Abū Sufyān.[735]

The mother of both of these was Umm Khālid[736] bt. Abī Hāshim b. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd Shams. Marwān married her after Yazīd. Of her the poet says:

Rejoice, O Umm Khālid;
sometimes the results of one who strives are for one who sits.[737]

ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd who was reported to be the finest archer of the Arabs at his time. His mother was Umm Kulthūm bt. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir. He was called al-Uswār.[738] Of him the poet says:

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733. Muʿāwiyah b. Yazīd was ill when he succeeded his father; he survived only a few months before he died. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 356.

734. According to Balādhurī, Khālid b. Yazīd was also a poet and an astrologer; he is said to have remained silent when people with less knowledge spoke. He died during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik, from 65 (685) to 86 (705). See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 359–64.

735. Abū Sufyān is not mentioned in any other context.

736. Umm Hāshim has been emended to Umm Khālid as in the poem below and in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 365.

737. Similar verse quoted by Balādhurī. See *Ansāb*, IV/1, 290.

738. *Al-uswār* means "horseman" in Persian. He was in fact, a famous horseman. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 367.

The people claim that the best of all Quraysh
when they are mentioned is al-Uswār.

There were also 'Abdallāh al-Aṣghar,[739] 'Umar,[740] Abū Bakr,[741] 'Utbah,[742] Ḥarb,[743] 'Abd al-Raḥmān,[744] al-Rabī',[745] and Muḥammad.[746] Their mothers were various slave wives.

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739. 'Abdallāh al-Aṣghar is not mentioned in any other context.

740. 'Umar was either struck by a thunderbolt or died of fright in a thunderstorm. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 368.

741. Abū Bakr had a reputation for liking to eat food. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 369.

742. The only report about 'Utbah is that he was said to have descendants in Syria. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 370.

743. Ḥarb is not mentioned in any other context.

744. 'Abd al-Raḥmān had a reputation for piety and generosity. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 368.

745. Al-Rabī' is not mentioned in any other context.

746. There are no further reports about Muḥammad other than that he had a son called Muḥammad by a slave wife. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 370.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XX

The Collapse of Sufyānid Authority and the Coming of the Marwānids

TRANSLATED BY G. R. HAWTING

The Collapse of Sufyānid Authority and the Coming of the Marwānids
Volume XX
Translated by G. R. Hawting

This volume covers the vital early years of the second Muslim civil war, when the Umayyad caliphate seemed on the point of extinction. That it survived had much to do with the vigor of the Umayyad Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, whose initial restoration of Umayyad authority is described here in some detail by al-Ṭabarī's sources. In the chaos and confusion of the civil war, however, developments took place that were to prove significant for the future of the Umayyad caliphate, indeed for the early history of Islam in general. Among them, the first manifestations of large-scale tribal divisions among the Arabs, together with the development of support for the descendants of the Prophet as the only legitimate rulers, were particularly important and receive special attention. For this period, al-Ṭabarī's *History* is a fundamental source.

The material collected by al-Ṭabarī frequently makes lively and colorful reading, and the annotations that accompany this translation attempt to clarify and make more explicit the sometimes allusive and compressed information provided by al-Ṭabarī and his sources. Since the standard edition of the text was made, at the end of the nineteenth century, a significant number of other sources have been published, which often make possible a more exact reading of al-Ṭabarī's text. For these reasons, it is hoped that this translation will appeal to those interested in the period but who have little or no Arabic and will also prove useful to students and scholars who are capable of reading the Arabic but will appreciate the suggested textual amendments and improvements and the elucidatory comments.

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A.D. 683–685/A.H. 64–66

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(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l mulūk)

VOLUME XX

The Collapse of Sufyānid Authority and the Coming of the Marwānids

translated and annotated
by

G.R. Hawting

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS *(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)* by Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission *(isnād)* to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

Add. et emend.: List of *addenda et emendanda* included in the final volume of the Leiden edition of the text of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*.
Ar.: Arabic.
Cairo: The edition of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh* by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 10 vols., Cairo, 1960–1969.
EI[1]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition.
EI[2]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition.
GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden, 1967.
Gloss.: Glossary included in the final volume of the Leiden edition of the text of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*.
JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
LA: Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ᶜarab*, 15 vols., Beirut, 1955–.
RSO: *Rivista degli studi orientali*.
TA: Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ᶜarūs*, 10 vols., Benghazi, n.d.
Ṭabarī: When followed by a reference, the Leiden edition of the Arabic text of the *Ta'rīkh*.
tr.: Translation.
ZA: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.
ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

In citations from the Qur'ān the numbering is that of Flügel's text.

Translator's Foreword

I. The context of events described in this volume

This volume of the translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* covers the early years of what has come to be called the second civil war or the second *fitnah*. The background to the events described is the almost total collapse of Umayyad authority, even in the dynasty's heartland of Syria, following the death of Yazīd I and the short reign of his son Muᶜāwiyah II, in 64 (683–84). In the vacuum which ensued, various political and religious groups attempted to seize leadership of the still emerging Arab-Muslim empire before, somewhat less than a decade later, the Umayyads were able to reimpose their caliphate over all the territories the Arabs had conquered. In addition to describing the events whereby the Umayyads, in the person of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, managed to restore their position in Syria and Egypt, this volume is chiefly concerned with three of the movements which contested power with the Umayyads during the second civil war.

ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, associating himself closely with the sanctuary at Mecca, was recognized as caliph by many throughout the lands ruled by the Arabs. It is the gradual elimination by the Umayyads of his support and, finally, of Ibn al-Zubayr himself, which provides the main theme in the accounts of the second civil war. By the end of this volume, the Umayyads have, in effect, brought to an end Zubayrid ambitions in Syria and Egypt: in Syria as a consequence of the victory, in 64 (684) at the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ, of the pro-Umayyad Quḍāᶜī tribal confederation over the pro-Zubayrid Qaysīs, and in Egypt as a result of expeditions sent there by the Umayyad

Marwān once his position in Syria was secured. In Iraq, Mesopotamia and the east, however, the Zubayrids remain dominant.

In Iraq, the Zubayrid dominance was threatened more by the emergence of movements claiming that religious and political leadership belonged by right to the Prophet Muḥammad's descendants through his cousin and son-in-law ᶜAlī, than by any Umayyad revival. Generally, these movements are referred to as Shīᶜite. In the present volume the history of two of these movements is described. First, there is that of the Penitents (the Tawwābūn), so called, it is said, because of the need they felt to repent their failure to help ᶜAlī's son al-Ḥusayn when he made a bid for power in 61 (680) at the battle of Karbalā'. The rise of this group in the Iraqi garrison town of al-Kūfah until its virtual annihilation at the hands of an Umayyad army in Mesopotamia is described here in some detail. Second, there is the development of the movement, again in al-Kūfah, led by Mukhtār, claiming to act on behalf of another son of ᶜAlī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah. This volume of translation ends with the account of how Mukhtār and his followers seized the town and drove out the Zubayrid governor.

The third movement challenging the Umayyads and the other parties involved in the civil war is given the general name of Khārijite. At this period the movement, which is characterized by its stress on righteousness, rather than genealogy, as the only necessary precondition for the leader of the community, was strong among certain of the Arab tribes in Mesopotamia and Iraq. In the volume here we are told that the Khārijites at first united with Ibn al-Zubayr in his defense of the sanctuary against the Umayyads but then, as a result of religious and ideological divisions, broke with him and split into a number of subgroups. One of these, the Azāriqah, then raised a revolt in Iraq, and we are given a description of its vicissitudes before suppression by al-Muhallab on behalf of the Zubayrids.

Together with the accounts of these rival movements for power, the volume contains detailed accounts of the confused situation in two important provinces as a result of the power

vacuum which followed the temporary collapse of Umayyad authority, sc. Iraq and Khurāsān. For Iraq, there is an account of the unsuccessful attempt to maintain his position by the former governor on behalf of the Umayyads, ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, of the effect this had on tribal divisions, and then of the recognition of Zubayrid authority in the province. For Khurāsān, there is an account of the troubles there associated with ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim's imposition of his own authority over the province. Again, we are told, these troubles had important consequences for the development of tribal factionalism among the Arabs.

The volume opens in the middle of an attack by an Umayyad army on Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. The army had been sent by the caliph Yazīd I b. Muᶜāwiyah with the double objective of subduing Medina, where a number of leading men had declared their rejection of Yazīd as caliph, and putting an end to the refusal of Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca to accept Yazīd's caliphate. Previously, we have been informed that Ibn al-Zubayr's refusal to accept Yazīd went back even to the lifetime of Muᶜāwiyah I, who had attempted to secure the succession of his son while he himself was still alive. On the death of Muᶜāwiyah I, Ibn al-Zubayr had fled from Medina to Mecca to escape the attempts of Yazīd's governor to force him to declare his acceptance of Yazīd's caliphate. At first, Ibn al-Zubayr had not put himself forward as a candidate for the caliphate, but merely refused to recognize Yazīd.

Yazīd had then raised an army in Syria and sent it to the Ḥijāz under the command of Muslim b. ᶜUqbah al-Murrī. After capturing Medina following the battle on the Ḥarrah, Muslim had set out for Mecca, but died en route, and his position as leader of the army was taken by al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī. The latter had laid siege to Mecca and begun a bombardment with catapults, and in the course of the siege the sanctuary in Mecca, the Kaᶜbah, had been damaged by fire. Before the siege could be brought to a successful conclusion, however, news arrived of the death of the caliph in Syria, whereupon the besiegers entered into negotiations with Ibn al-Zubayr. The first section of this volume tells us of the outcome of these negotiations and of subsequent developments.

II. Tribes, clans, families, etc.

Prominent in many of the episodes recounted here are tribal divisions among the Arabs. During the second civil war these divisions really became important for the first time—in Syria in the events associated with the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ, in Iraq in connection with ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād's attempt to maintain his authority, and in Khurāsān with Ibn Khāzim's *fitnah*. The emergence of large-scale and widespread tribal alliances and feuds among the Arabs in lands they had conquered is undoubtedly to be explained by reference to events in the period before the second civil war: migrations and tribal settlements which led to competition for land and resources, and the tendency of caliphs and governors to form links with particular groups among the Arabs thereby fueling the resentment of others. With the breakdown of Umayyad authority and the emergence of different contenders for power in the second civil war, the tensions and pressures which had been created now came to the surface.

The multiplicity and diversity of tribal names, and the relationship between them, can pose a problem for non-specialists. In the notes to the translation I have generally tried to identify the family or tribal affiliations of individuals and have frequently referred to Caskel and Strenziok's systematization of the work on the genealogy of the Arabs by the Muslim scholar Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 206(821)). But the nonspecialist may still find the names puzzling, and it may be useful, therefore, to attempt here a simplified account of the genealogy of the Arabs as elaborated by Muslim scholars, in the hope that the reader will be able to relate the more detailed information in the text and notes to this simplified scheme.

It is important to remember that complete agreement was never reached among the genealogists and that doubts and differences of opinion about the position in the scheme of this or that group persisted. Furthermore, the scheme as we know it was elaborated in Islamic times by Muslim scholars, and we cannot be sure how far it reflects the ideas of the Arab nomads themselves or how relevant it is to the situation of the Arabs before Islam. Finally, the scheme is presented as

a genealogy, but it seems likely that this was a fiction which embodied the reality of alliances for political and other reasons, and there is clear evidence that at the time of the second civil war the genealogical position of important groups, notably the Quḍāᶜah in Syria, was changed in order to accommodate political and military realities.

The genealogists, then, distinguished two main descent groups among the Arab peoples, that is, the peoples who first developed the Arabic language in the Arabian peninsula and its geographical extension northward into the Syrian Desert. One group, regarded as the original inhabitants of Arabia, is said to be descended from a certain Qaḥṭān, perhaps to be identified with the Biblical Joktan (Gen. 10: 25–26). These may be conveniently referred to as "southerners" since they are said to have come from the southern regions of Arabia. Sometimes they are called Yemenīs. The other main group, the "northerners," is said to be descended from Ismāᶜīl (biblical Ishmael), the son of Ibrāhīm (Abraham), who, according to Muslim tradition, came to live in Arabia at a time when the "southerners" were already established there. These "northerners" are commonly called Nizār, after one of their ancestors, sometimes Maᶜadd, after another.

In this volume, several groups among the "southerners" are particularly prominent. In al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān, the Azd play an increasingly important role. They were relative latecomers to al-Baṣrah, whence many migrated to Khurāsān. Their rise in Khurāsān was closely associated with the career of al-Muhallab, himself an Azdī, and his family. In al-Kūfah, especially in connection with Mukhtār's revolt, Hamdān and Kindah seem to be the two most frequently mentioned southern tribal groups. In Syria, the Quḍāᶜah, under the leadership of the tribe of Kalb, were the chief supporters of the Umayyads following the death of Muᶜāwiyah II, the Umayyads having established marriage ties with the Kalb in the time of Muᶜāwiyah I and Yazīd I.

The "northerners" present a rather more complicated picture. They are subdivided into the two main groups of Muḍar and Rabīᶜah. In Iraq and the east Tamīm is the most prominent group among the Muḍar, while in Syria it is Qays.

The tribe of Quraysh, to which the Prophet Muḥammad belonged, was also part of Muḍar. Quraysh also numbered among its members the Hāshimid, Umayyad and Zubayrid families, as well as several other prominent families and individuals. The main group of Rabīᶜah about whom we read in this volume is Bakr b. Wā'il, established in Iraq and Khurāsān. Despite their common Nizārī descent, Tamīm and Bakr came to be hostile to each other and the Bakr (and other parts of Rabīᶜah) formed an alliance with the Yemenī Azd against Tamīm (and other Muḍarī groups).

When a man's tribal origin is indicated by his *nisbah* (the part of his name which usually end in a long -ī), it is sometimes easy to place because it refers to one of the main groups already mentioned (al-Bakrī, al-Tamīmī, al-Qurashī, etc.), but more usually the *nisbah* refers to a family or clan within the wider group. For example, a man of Bakr might more commonly be called al-Sadūsī or al-Yashkurī or by a name derived from any of the many smaller groups which went to make up the Banū (i.e., the tribe of) Bakr, rather than simply al-Bakrī. In such cases, it is obviously important to relate the sub-group to the larger group of which it is a part, and it is hoped that the information provided in the footnotes here facilitates that task.

III. Al-Ṭabarī's sources in this volume

Al-Ṭabarī composed his work by selecting from and piecing together the reports of a number of earlier authorities. Indeed, much of his importance lies in the number of authorities which he quoted and which would now largely be lost to us if it were not for al-Ṭabarī's works: not only his *History* but also his voluminous Qur'ān commentary and other works. In the present volume, he draws upon a number of different sources, depending upon the area with which his work is concerned at any particular point. The bulk of his information is derived from two intermediaries, sc. ᶜUmar b. Shabbah and Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī. The former, whose information mainly relates to events in al-Baṣrah and its dependency Khurāsān, transmits extracts from a variety of earlier sources,

notably Abū al-Ḥasan ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī. Ibn al-Kalbī, relevant mainly for events in al-Kūfah and to some extent those in Syria, transmits materials from two important earlier authorities, ᶜAwānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī and Abū Mikhnaf. In addition, al-Ṭabarī has material from Abū ᶜUbaydah, al-Wāqidī, al-Haytham b. ᶜAdī and other important earlier collectors and systematizers of historical tradition whose works have not come down to us.

The way in which the chain of transmitters (the *isnād*) for a particular report is set out is not always consistent: sometimes it is given complete; sometimes only parts of it are given, it being assumed that the reader understands this. I have sometimes, in the interests of clarity, inserted information in the *isnād*, usually signaled by parentheses. Ultimately, the material is usually traced back to eyewitnesses and participators in the events, many of whom cannot be otherwise identified. Brief information about the more important transmitters, together with references to works giving more information, is usually given in the note accompanying the first reference to the authority concerned.

The question of the authenticity of the reports given by al-Ṭabarī, of their value for reconstructing the events of which they purport to be a record, is too complicated to go into here. Suffice it to say that modern scholarship has drawn attention to the bias which inevitably affects the Muslim tradition at all stages of its collection and systematization, and to the literary stereotypes and topoi which it contains. Among many important analyses of the sources and methods of Muslim historians like al-Ṭabarī, his predecessors and contemporaries, particularly worthy of mention seem to me to be those by J. Wellhausen in his "Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams," in the introduction to his *Arab Kingdom*, and in his *Religio-Political Factions* (see the Bibliography at the end of this volume for full details); by Albrecht Noth in his *Quellenkritische Studien*; and more radically and succinctly, by Patricia Crone in the "Historiographical Introduction" to her *Slaves on Horses*.

IV. Principles of translation and acknowledgments

In general, I have attempted to translate on the basis of the printed Leiden text except where a comparison with other texts shows that the Leiden text needs to be modified. In such cases I have drawn attention to the alteration in a footnote. It has not proved possible for me to take into account any new manuscript material, but, even using the printed material which has become available since the Leiden edition was made, notably volumes IVb and V of al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, I have been able to make what I think are a significant number of improvements to the Leiden text.

It should be noted, however, that appended to the Leiden text was a substantial list of *Addenda et emendanda*, which are frequently overlooked. Most of them were incorporated in the Cairo edition of al-Ṭabarī's *History*, and, at least for the part of the work translated here, virtually all of the occasions where the Cairo text differs from the Leiden can be explained by referring to the Leiden *Add. et emend.* It has seemed a good idea, therefore, to refer the reader to the *Add. et emend.* wherever my translation is based on it and consequently seems to depart from the printed text.

I have tried to translate Arabic technical terms as far as possible, but sometimes have judged it preferable to leave words or phrases in Arabic, with a footnote accompanying their first occurrence. Sometimes I have offered a simple translation but have alerted the reader to a possible problem by supplying the Arabic in parentheses.

I have become increasingly aware of the problems involved in translating a text which is relatively distant from us in time and culture; even apparently simple sentences acquire new complexities the more one looks at them. I have been helped considerably by a number of people who may not always have been aware of what they were doing when responding off the cuff to apparently random questions. In particular, I am grateful to my colleague at SOAS, Dr. A.A.M. Shereef, who has read the whole translation and offered innumerable valuable comments, and to Dr. Albert Arazi of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, whose expertise in classical Arabic poetry saved me from several crass errors.

G. R. Hawting

The Events of the Year [429]

64 (cont'd)

(AUGUST 30, 683—AUGUST 17, 684)

The Caliphate of Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd

In this year, the oath of allegiance as caliph was given to Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān in Syria, and to ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr in the Ḥijāz.[1]

When Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah died, al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr and the Syrians continued fighting against Ibn al-Zubayr and his companions in Mecca—according to Hishām's report from ᶜAwānah[2]—for forty days. The Syrians had strenuously besieged Ibn al-Zubayr and his men and blockaded them. Then news of Yazīd's death reached Ibn al-Zubayr and his companions, but not al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr and his. [430]

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1. For background to the following section see p. xiii of the Introduction. For more details on ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr and al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr, see the articles s.vv. in *EI*². For parallels and other accounts, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVb, 51–2; Masᶜūdī, *Murūj*, V, 190–1; Yaᶜqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 301–2; Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 107–8; J. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 165–7; G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg*, 53–9, 134ff. (with other references to sources and secondary literature).

2. For Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, important Kūfan scholar, d. *ca.* 206/821, see *EI*², s.v. Kalbī, and *GAS*, I, 268–71; for ᶜAwānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī, Kūfan collector of historical tradition, d. *ca.* 153/770, see *EI*², s.v., and *GAS*, I, 307–8.

According to Isḥāq b. Abī Isrā'īl—ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. Khālid b. Rustam al-Ṣanᶜānī Abū Muḥammad—Ziyād b. Jiyal:[3] While Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr was fighting against Ibn al-Zubayr, news of Yazīd's death arrived unexpectedly. Ibn al-Zubayr then shouted to the Syrians saying, "Your tyrant[4] is dead. Whoever of you wishes to enter what the people have entered into, let him do so; but whoever is unwilling, let him take himself to his Syria!" Consequently, they left off fighting him.

Ibn al-Zubayr said to al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr, "Draw close to me and I will speak with you." He did so and Ibn al-Zubayr spoke with him. The horse of one of them began to drop dung (*yajfilu*; a gloss in the text explains that the word *jafl* here refers to dung, *rawth*) and the pigeons of the sanctuary area[5] started to scavenge in the droppings. Al-Ḥuṣayn reined back his horse from them and Ibn al-Zubayr said, "What is the matter with you?" He replied, "I am afraid lest my horse kill the pigeons of the sanctuary area." Ibn al-Zubayr said, "You would refrain from this sin[6] and yet you wish to kill the Muslims!" Al-Ḥuṣayn answered, "I will not fight you; allow us to perform the ritual circumambulation of the sanctuary[7] and then we will leave you." He did so, and they departed.

ᶜAwānah b. al-Ḥakam said, according to the report of Hishām from him: When news of the death of Yazīd reached Ibn al-Zubayr, whom the Syrians, unaware of it, had strenuously

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3. Isḥāq b. Abī Isrā'īl, d. 245/859 (Ṭabarī, III, 1121, 1440); the Leiden text gives the source of the report as Ziyād b. Jiyal, citing the reference in Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, Leiden 1881, 88, to Ziyād b. Jiyal al-Abnawī as a Kūfan transmitter; the Cairo text has Ziyād b. Jabal.

4. Ar. *ṭāghiyah:* the word seems to be connected with an Aramaic or possibly Abyssinian root with the connotation of "great wickedness" and an association with idols (see A. Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, s.v. *ṭāghūt*); *ṭāghiyah* is often a designation of the Byzantine ruler.

5. Ar. *al-ḥaram*, here apparently the area surrounding the sanctuary (the Kaᶜbah or *al-bayt*); in a general sense, any sacred area (such as those at Medina or Jerusalem) may be referred to as a *ḥaram*.

6. Following the reading of the Cairo text *a-tataḥarraju*; Leiden has *ataḥarraju*, "should I refrain. . . ?"

7. The sanctuary, *al-bayt*, is usually in this context a reference to the Kaᶜbah (see *EI*², s.v. Kaᶜba); the ritual of *ṭawāf*, walking seven times around the outside of the Kaᶜbah, is performed in connection with pilgrimage to Mecca (see *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj).

besieged and blockaded, he and the Meccans began to shout out to them, "Why are you fighting? Your tyrant is dead!" At first they would not believe them, until Thābit b. Qays b. al-Munqaᶜ al-Nakhaᶜī[8] of the Kūfans arrived among the leaders of the Iraqis and passed by al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr. He was a confidant of his, there were marriage ties between them, and he had used to see him at Muᶜāwiyah's court. Ibn Numayr recognized the excellence of his character, the strength of his Islam, and the nobility of his descent, and he asked about the news. Thābit told him about Yazīd's death and thereupon al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr sent to ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, saying, "Let us meet tonight in al-Abṭaḥ[9] to discuss what concerns us." [431]
When they met, al-Ḥuṣayn said to Ibn al-Zubayr, "If it be that this man is dead, then you, of the people, have the most right in this matter. Come, and we will give you the oath of allegiance, and then leave with me for Syria. This army which is with me consists of the foremost of the Syrians and their champions. By God, there are not two of them who will disagree about you if you will grant the men security and indemnity for the blood spilled between us and you and between us and the people of the Ḥarrah."[10]

Saᶜīd b. ᶜAmr[11] used to say that the only thing which prevented Ibn al-Zubayr's accepting the oath of allegiance from them and leaving for Syria was a foreboding [*taṭayyur*], because it was at Mecca where God protected him—that was from the army of Marwān[12]—and, by God, if ᶜAbdallāh had gone

8. One of the *ashrāf* (tribal notables) of al-Kūfah exiled to Syria, where Muᶜāwiyah was governor, by the caliph ᶜUthmān; see Ṭabarī, I, 2917, 2921 and, on his name, *Ansāb*, IVb, 51.

9. Literally, "the hollow," a name applied to several places in and around Mecca, especially its central part; see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 92–3, *EI²*, s.v. Makka.

10. A reference to those killed at the battle outside al-Madīnah in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 63 (August, 683) by the army of which Ibn Numayr subsequently assumed command (see *EI²*, s.v. Ḥarra).

11. A leading Umayyad, his father had been governor of Medina for a time; elsewhere Ibn al-Kalbī cites information from him through his son Khālid.

12. The sense here seems rather elusive. Marwān at this time has not yet been chosen as caliph, and, even as caliph, he never sent an army against Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. It may be that we are to understand that Ibn al-Zubayr foresaw Marwān's being chosen as caliph [*taṭayyur* = "omen," "augury"], but that he would be inhibited in sending an army against him so long as he remained in Mecca, a sacred territory [*ḥaram*].

with them to Syria, no two of them would have disagreed about him. Some of Quraysh claimed that Ibn al-Zubayr said, "Shall I grant indemnity for this shed blood! Indeed, by God, I would not be satisfied if I killed ten for every man of those killed!"[13]

Al-Ḥuṣayn began to speak with him in private, but he answered publicly, saying, "No, by God, I will not do so." Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr said to him, "May God shame whoever, henceforth, counts you as a subtle or intelligent[14] man! I thought you had perception, but do I not address you privately while you address me publicly, and I call you to the caliphate, but you threaten me with death and destruction."

Al-Ḥuṣayn arose and left, called out to his men, and set out with them toward Medina. Ibn al-Zubayr, however, repented of what he had done and sent a message to him, "As for going to Syria, I will not do it, for I do not like to leave Mecca; but give me the oath of allegiance here and I will grant you security and act justly among you." Al-Ḥuṣayn answered, "What do you think I am to do if you will not come yourself while I have found there (in Medina and/or Syria) many mem-
[432] bers of this family[15] who are seeking it and to whom the men will respond?" So he continued with his men and those with him in the direction of Medina.

ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib[16] met him. With him he had dates of fodder quality and barley, and he was riding a camel of his. He greeted al-Ḥuṣayn, but the latter scarcely paid any attention to him. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr had a well-bred mare of his own, but his own dates and barley for the mounts had run out and he was worried. He was reviling his serving lad, saying, "Where will we find here fodder for our mounts?" ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn said to him, "We have fodder with us, so feed your mounts from it." Thereupon he gave

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13. The text seems slightly ambiguous as to whether Ibn al-Zubayr agreed to give indemnity or not; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 167, seems to draw the conclusion that he was willing to do so; Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 107, has a *lā*, clearly understanding that he was not.

14. Read *arīb* for *adīb (Add. et emend.)*.

15. I.e., the Umayyads.

16. I.e., ᶜAlī Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn, regarded as the third Imām by the majority of the Shīᶜah.

his attention to ᶜAlī, and the latter ordered that the fodder he had with him be offered to him.

The people of Medina and the Ḥijāz became emboldened against the Syrians, who were humiliated so much that no man of them could go out alone without the bridle of his mount being seized and he pushed off it. Consequently, they gathered in their army camp and kept together. The members of the Umayyad family said to them, "Do not leave without taking us with you to Syria." So they did that and the army continued until it reached Syria. There, Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah had willed that the oath of allegiance be given to his son Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd, but the latter survived for only three months. According to ᶜAwānah, Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah designated his son Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd as caliph, but the latter only survived forty days.

ᶜUmar told me on the authority of ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad:[17] When Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd had been designated caliph, gathered together the officials of his father and the oath of allegiance given to him in Damascus, he perished there after forty days of his rule. His *kunyah* was Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān and also Abū Laylā.[18] His mother was Umm Hāshim bint Abī Hāshim b. ᶜUtbah b. Rabīᶜah, and when he died he was thirteen years and eighteen days old.

In this year also, the Baṣrans gave the oath of allegiance to ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād[19] on the understanding that he would [433] remain in control of their affairs until the people settled on an *imām*[20] satisfactory to themselves. Then ᶜUbaydallāh sent a messenger to al-Kūfah summoning the Kūfans to do the

17. For ᶜUmar b. Shabbah, a Baṣran scholar, d. 264/877, see *GAS*, I, 345; for ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad, i.e., al-Madā'inī, d. *ca.* 235/850, see *EI*[1], s.v. Madā'inī; *GAS*, I, 314–5; Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung einiger historische Werke Madā'inīs in Ṭabarīs Annalen," *Oriens*, XXIII–XXIV (1974), 103ff.

18. The *kunyah* is the part of the name describing a man as "father of so-and-so" or "father of such-and-such," sometimes indicating real paternity, sometimes used as a sort of nickname (see *EI*[2], s.v. Ism); for discussion of the *kunyah*s of Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd, see H. Lammens, "Moᶜâwia II," 12–3, 17.

19. Son of Ziyād b. Abīhi, ᶜUbaydallāh had been made governor of Iraq by Yazīd (see *EI*[1], s.v.).

20. Here, as generally in this volume, indicating the supreme leader of the Muslims (see *EI*[2], s.v. Imāma).

same as the Baṣrans, but they refused and threw stones at the prefect who was over them. Next the Baṣrans, too, came out in opposition to ᶜUbaydallāh, civil commotion[21] sprang up in al-Baṣrah and ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād betook himself to Syria.

ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād and the People of al-Baṣrah Following the Death of Yazīd[22]

According to ᶜUmar b. Shabbah—Mūsā b. Ismāᶜīl—Ḥammād b. Salamah—ᶜAlī b. Zayd—al-Ḥasan:[23] Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays[24] wrote to Qays b. al-Haytham[25] after the death of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah: "Greetings! Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah is dead. You are our brethren, so do not anticipate anything we might do before we have made a choice for ourselves."

According to ᶜUmar—Zuhayr b. Ḥarb—Wahb b. Ḥammād—Muḥammad b. Abī ᶜUyaynah—Shahrak:[26] Following the death of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah I saw ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād stand to deliver an official address. He praised God and extolled Him and then said:[27]

> Men of al-Baṣrah! Examine my origins and, by God, you will surely find that my father was an Emigrant

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21. Ar. *fitnah:* of frequent occurrence in this volume, the word generally indicates a time of trouble and distress, sometimes with apocalyptic overtones; it is often applied to periods of conflict within the Muslim community (see *EI*², s.v.).

22. For parallel and variant accounts of the following, see *Ansāb*, IVb, 97–123; *Naqā'iḍ Jarīr wa'l-Farazdaq*, 112–7, 721–44; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 324–5; Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 108–18; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 209–10, 401–11; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 68–78 (with further references).

23. I.e., al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. *ca.* 110/728; see *EI*², s.v.).

24. Of the clan of Fihr (of Quraysh), drawing support mainly from the "northern" tribal grouping of Qays in Syria, he had control of Damascus following the death of Muᶜāwiyah II, and he frequently appears in the following pages in connection with events in Syria (see *EI*², s.v.).

25. Of the tribe of Sulaym (Qays), a previous governor of Khurāsān, he was now one of the *ashrāf* of Muḍar in al-Baṣrah.

26. On the *isnād*, see Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 70, n. 462.

27. For parallel versions of Ibn Ziyād's speech, see *Ansāb*, IVb, 115f.; *Naqā'iḍ Farazdaq*, 722; *Murūj*, V, 194 ff.; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, *II*, 130; for translations or summaries, Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 402; Lammens, *L'avènement des Marwānides*, 9f./49f.; and Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 70–2.

and that my birthplace and abode are among you.[28] When I became governor over you, the register of your fighting men was reckoned at only 70,000, but today it is counted at 80,000; and the register of your dependents[29] was only reckoned at 90,000, but today it is counted at 140,000. I have not left alone any suspicious person whom I feared on your behalf but he is in this prison of yours. The Commander of the [434] Faithful, Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah, has died and the Syrians have fallen into dispute among themselves. Today you are the biggest group of the people in numbers, the most spacious of them as to your courts, the least needful of them for others, and the most extensive of them as to territory.[30] Choose for yourselves a man whom you find pleasing for your religion and your community and I shall be the first to accept and follow him with whom you are pleased. Then, if the Syrians agree on a man whom you find acceptable, you will enter into that which the Muslims have entered. But, if you dislike that, you will act independently until you are given what you require. You need nothing from any of the men of the provinces, but the people cannot do without you.

The orators of the Baṣrans then arose and said, "We have given ear to what you have said, Oh *amīr*, and we do not know of anyone with more aptitude for it than you. Come, therefore, and let us give you the oath of allegiance." ᶜUbaydallāh replied, "I have no need for that. Choose somebody for yourselves." They insisted and he insisted until, when they had repeated it to him thrice and insisted again, he held out his hand and they gave him the oath of allegiance. After

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28. Following the reading *la-tajidunna muhājir abī* (or *wālidī*) *wa-mawlidī wa-darī fīkum*, as in *Ansāb* and the Cairo text of Ṭabarī; the Leiden text has *la-tajidunī a-hājara (uhājiru!) wālidī*. "Emigrant" would refer to his father's having left Arabia to settle in Iraq.

29. Following, with Rotter, the text of *Ansāb* (*ᶜiyālatukum*); the text of Ṭabarī here has *ᶜummāl*, translated by Lammens as *employés*; Wellhausen has *mawālī*.

30. I.e., with respect to the conquered land dependent upon it.

the oath of allegiance, however, they went away saying, "Surely the son of Marjānah[31] does not imagine that we will be led by him in both unity and dissension! He is wrong, by God!" Then they arose against him.

According to ᶜUmar—Zuhayr—Wahb—al-Aswad b. Shaybān—Khālid b. Sumayr: Shaqīq b. Thawr,[32] Mālik b. Mismaᶜ,[33] and Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir[34] came to ᶜUbaydallāh by night while he was in the government house,[35] and a man of the quarter of the Banū Sadūs[36] heard about that. This man said: I came and stuck close to the government house and they remained with him until the night had passed. Then they left with a mule heavily laden with treasures. I went up to Ḥu-
[435] ḍayn and said, "Tell them to give me something from these treasures," but he said, "Go and ask your cousin."[37] So then I went up to Shaqīq and said, "Tell them to give me something from these treasures." In charge of the treasures was a mawlā[38] of Shaqīq called Ayyūb. Shaqīq said to him, "Ayyūb, give him a hundred dirhams!" but I said, "A hundred dirhams! By God, I will not accept that." He did not speak to me for a time but continued on his way for a while. Then I went up to him

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31. A scornful name for ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, referring to his Persian mother Marjānah.

32. Of the Banū Sadūs, he was one of the *ashrāf* of Bakr b. Wā'il (Rabīᶜah) in al-Baṣrah and a contender for the leadership of Bakr there (see below, pp. 19, 25f.; P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 120).

33. Of the Banū Shaybān, he was a rival of Shaqīq for the leadership of Bakr b. Wā'il in al-Baṣrah; he later negotiated the alliance between Bakr and Azd (see below, pp. 25f., 28; and see Crone, *Slaves*, 116).

34. Of the Banū Shaybān, he was another *sharīf* of Bakr b. Wā'il in al-Baṣrah (see Crone, *Slaves*, 113).

35. Ar. *dār al-imārah*; often, it seems to be synonymous with the governor's residence, but not always (e.g., pp. 40, 129 below, where there is mention of *al-qaṣr*, and 36, for Qaṣr al-Bayḍā', which seems to have been Ibn Ziyād's residence).

36. For the genealogy of the Banū Sadūs b. Shaybān, a fraction of Bakr b. Wā'il, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 153.

37. The text has "cousins" in the plural, but farther down the page the term reappears in the singular, and Ḥuḍayn seems to be referring to the relationship between the anonymous Sadūsī and Shaqīq b. Thawr.

38. A word which frequently indicates a client (an intermediate status between a slave and a free man) of a prominent Arab and/or a non-Arab adherent of Islam; however, the word does not necessarily tell us anything about the ethnic or religious derivation or status of the individual to which it is applied (see Crone, *Slaves*, 49 ff.).

again and said, "Tell him to give me something from these treasures." Shaqīq said, "Ayyūb, give him two hundred dirhams," but I said, "By God, I will not accept two hundred." Then he told him to give me three hundred, and then four hundred. When we reached al-Ṭufāwah,[39] I said, "Tell him to give me something," but he said, "If I do not, what do you think you will do?" I answered, "By God, I will go into the midst of the houses of our quarter, stick my fingers into my ears and then I will shout out at the top of my voice, 'Oh group of Bakr b. Wā'il,[40] here are Shaqīq b. Thawr, Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir and Mālik b. al-Misma^c, who have gone to Ibn Ziyād and made a pact about[41] your blood.' " Shaqīq said, "What is wrong with this man? May God do with him what He will! Woe to you! Give him five hundred dirhams." So I took it and went quickly on to Mālik. (Wahb said that he could not remember what Mālik ordered for the man.) Then I saw Ḥuḍayn and went in to him. He asked me what my cousin had done, and I told him and said, "Give me something from these treasures." But he said, "It was we who took this wealth and carried it to safety. We will have nothing to fear from the people." And he gave me nothing.

Abū Ja^cfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: According to Abū ^cUbaydah Ma^cmar b. al-Muthannā—Yūnus b. Ḥabīb al-Jarmī:[42] When ^cUbaydallāh b. Ziyād killed al-Ḥusayn b. ^cAlī (peace be upon him!) and his kin,[43] he sent their heads to Yazīd b. Mu^cāwiyah. At first, Yazīd was pleased about their killing and ^cUbaydallāh's standing with him improved as a result of it. It was not long, however, before Yazīd began to repent of the killing of al-Ḥusayn, saying, "What would it have been to me if I had borne the injury and lodged him with me, allowing him to [436]

39. There is no entry for al-Ṭufāwah in Yāqūt's *Buldān*; Ṭabarī has two further references to this place in connection with events in al-Baṣrah, III, 290, 1855, neither of which helps to identify it.

40. For this tribal confederation, of which Sadūs was a part, see *EI*², s.v.

41. Ar. *iḫtalafū fī*; Cairo ed. has *ikhtalafū fī*, "they have disputed about."

42. For Abū ^cUbaydah Ma^cmar al-Muthannā, Baṣran scholar d. 209/824–25, see *EI*², s.v.; Yūnus b. Ḥabīb al-Jarmī was a Baṣran philologist and teacher of Abū ^cUbaydah.

43. A reference to the battle of Karbalā' in 680 when the Prophet's grandson, attempting a revolt against the caliph Yazīd, was killed by forces sent by the governor of Iraq, ^cUbaydallāh b. Ziyād (see *EI*², s.v. Karbalā').

decide about what he wanted, even if it had been for me a loss and weakening of my authority, out of respect for the memory of the Prophet and regard for al-Ḥusayn's rights and kinship with him? God's curse on the son of Marjānah! It was he who drove him out and oppressed him. Al-Ḥusayn asked him to allow him to go back, but he would not, or to put his hand in mine, or to go to one of the frontiers of the Muslims where God might take him unto Himself, but he would not. He refused it, flung it back at him and killed him. He has made me hateful to the Muslims by killing him, and he has cultivated enmity for me in their hearts. Both the pious and the profligate hate me because of the gravity with which the people view my killing of al-Ḥusayn. What have I to do with the son of Marjānah, God's curse and hatred be upon him?"

Then ᶜUbaydallāh sent a mawlā of his called Ayyūb b. Ḥumrān to Syria to bring him news of Yazīd. One day, ᶜUbaydallāh was out riding and when he was in the Square of the Butchers he came unexpectedly on Ayyūb b. Ḥumrān, who had arrived back. Ayyūb came over to him and confided to him the news about the death of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah. ᶜUbaydallāh, therefore, abandoned that trip of his and went to his abode where he gave orders to ᶜAbdallāh b. Ḥiṣn, one of the Banū Thaᶜlabah b. Yarbūᶜ,[44] who gave the call for an assembly for prayer.

According to Abū ᶜUbaydah—ᶜUmayr b. Maᶜn al-Kātib: The man ᶜUbaydallāh sent to Yazīd was his mawlā Ḥumrān. ᶜUbaydallāh paid a visit to ᶜAbdallāh, son of Nāfiᶜ the uterine brother of Ziyād,[45] and he left on foot by an opening which led from the house of Nāfiᶜ to the mosque. When he was in the courtyard of the mosque, suddenly there was Ḥumrān, his mawlā, as dusk was falling at evening. Ḥumrān had been the
[437] messenger of ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād to Muᶜāwiyah during his lifetime and to Yazīd. When ᶜUbaydallāh saw him, and he had

44. Part of the Banū Ḥanẓalah of Tamīm (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 69).

45. Read *akhī* for *akhā* (see *Add. et amend.*); in other words, it is Nāfiᶜ who is the uterine brother of Ziyād (the father of Nāfiᶜ was allegedly the famous "doctor of the Arabs," al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah, who is said to have been the master of the slave girl Sumayyah, the mother of Ziyād; see *EI*² Suppl., s.v.).

only just arrived,[46] he said, "How goes it?"[47] and he replied, "Good." ᶜUbaydallāh asked, "How are things where you have come from?" and Ḥumrān replied, "May I draw near you?" ᶜUbaydallāh gave him permission and he confided to him about the death of Yazīd and the disputes concerning the affairs of the people of Syria. Yazīd had died on a Thursday in the middle of the month of Rabīᶜ I of the year 64 (November 683). ᶜUbaydallāh immediately hastened to give the order for someone to call an assembly for prayer.

When the people had gathered, ᶜUbaydallāh mounted the *minbar*[48] and announced the death of Yazīd. He set about criticizing him on account of what Yazīd had intended for him before he died, as a result of which ᶜUbaydallāh had come to fear him. Al-Aḥnaf[49] then said to ᶜUbaydallāh, "There was an oath of allegiance to Yazīd on our necks, and it used to be said, 'Avoid (speaking evil of) the dead,' so avoid it."[50] Then ᶜUbaydallāh arose, telling them of the divisions among the Syrians. He said, "When I became govenor over you . . . ," and Abū ᶜUbaydah reported it as did ᶜUmar b. Shabbah from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb as far as: "And they gave him the oath of allegiance of their good pleasure and as a result of consultation." Then Abū ᶜUbaydah continued (ᶜUmayr's account?): But when they left him, they began to wipe their hands on the door and walls of the house, saying, "The son of Marjānah imagines we have given him authority over our affairs in this discord!" He continued: ᶜUbaydallāh did not remain as governor long before his authority began to weaken. He gave us orders which were not carried out, he expressed opinions which

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46. See *Add. et amend.*

47. Ar. *mahyam:* a word said to be of Yemeni origin (see R. Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.).

48. Often translated as "pulpit," it may better be envisaged as a podium, or even "throne," from which the caliph or his official delivered an important speech (a *khuṭbah*); it was a symbol of authority. On its origin and character, see C.H. Becker, "Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam," in *idem, Islamstudien*, I, 450ff.; J. Sauvaget, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, 138ff.; *EI²*, s.vv. Khaṭīb, Khuṭba.

49. Al-Aḥnaf b. Qays al-Tamīmī, a leader of the Tamīm in al-Baṣrah, proverbial for his tact and diplomacy (see *EI²*, s.v.).

50. See *Gloss*, s.v. *f-n-n* for the suggestion that *fanan* should here be read *qabr* and the subsequent translation; *Naqā'iḍ Farazdaq*, 722, also reads *qabr*.

were rejected, and he ordered the wrongdoer to be imprisoned, but the governor's assistants were prevented from reaching him.

According to Abū ᶜUbaydah—Ghaylān b. Muḥammad—ᶜUthmān al-Battī: ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jawshan said:[51] I was walking in a funeral procession and when it reached the Camel Market suddenly there appeared a man on a grey mare, covered with weapons and with a banner in his hand. He was saying, "People, gather around me, for I am calling you to support that which nobody else does. I am summoning you to support 'He who takes refuge in the sanctuary area'[52] [meaning ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr]."

[438] A few men rallied to him and began clasping his hand.[53] We went on our way until we had performed the prayers over the bier, and when we came back we found that he had been joined by more than those we had seen previously. Then he made his way between the dwelling place of Qays b. al-Haytham b. Asmā' b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamī and that of the Ḥārithiyyūn[54] toward the Banū Tamīm on the road which leads to them, and he said, "If anyone wants me, I am Salamah b. Dhu'ayb." [He was Salamah b. Dhu'ayb b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Muḥakkim b. Zayd b. Riyāḥ b. Yarbūᶜ b. Ḥanẓalah.][55]

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakrah[56] met me at the Square and I told him the news about Salamah after I had got back. He

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51. ᶜUthmān al-Battī, d. 143/760, is well known as the recipient of a letter attributed to Abū Ḥanīfah; according to the version of this *isnād* in *Naqā'iḍ Farazdaq*, 722–3, Abū ᶜUbaydah heard Ghaylān giving the report to ᶜUthmān al-Battī, but, given the latter's death date, this seems unlikely; for the reading Jawshan instead of Ḥawshab, see *Add. et emend.*

52. More commonly given as *al-ᶜā'idh bi 'l-bayt*, "he who seeks refuge in the sanctuary," the title is said to have been used by Ibn al-Zubayr after his flight to Mecca and before he began to take the oath of allegiance to himself.

53. Sc. in giving him the oath of allegiance.

54. For Qays b. al-Haytham, see above p. 6, n. 25; the Ḥārithiyyūn are possibly the descendants of al-Ḥārith b. Wā'il of Rabīᶜah (see Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 73, n. 486).

55. A Tamīmī who elsewhere is called al-Faqīh. For his descent, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 504; *Naqā'iḍ Farazdaq*, 723, has Malḥam for Muḥakkim.

56. Both Leiden and Cairo have ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bakr, but the reading in *Ansāb*, IVb, 102, and *Naqā'iḍ Farazdaq*, 723, is to be preferred. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakrah, Abū al-Ḥurr(?), was the brother of ᶜUthmān and ᶜUbaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah of Thaqīf and an associate of ᶜUbaydallāh's father, Ziyād; his family, with links to the Umayyads, was important in al-Baṣrah (see below, p. 36).

went to ᶜUbaydallāh and told him what he had heard from me. ᶜUbaydallāh sent for me, and when I went to him he said, "What is this which Abū al-Ḥurr[57] has reported to me from you?" So I told him the story to its end and then he gave the order and an assembly for prayer was proclaimed on the spot.

The men gathered and ᶜUbaydallāh began recounting the start of their joint concern—how he had appealed to them to choose whoever was pleasing to them and how he would give him the oath of allegiance together with them. "You refused to choose anybody but me, but now I have heard that you wiped your hands on the walls and door of the house and said what you said. I give orders which are not executed, my opinions are rejected, and the tribes obstruct my assistants from seizing those I seek. Now this Salamah b. Dhu'ayb is calling down discord upon you, desiring to split your community and that you will use the sword to smite each other's forehead."

Responding, al-Aḥnaf Ṣakhr b. Qays b. Muᶜāwiyah b. Ḥuṣayn b. ᶜUbādah b. al-Nazzāl b. Murrah b. ᶜAbīd b. al-Ḥārith [439]
b. ᶜAmr b. Kaᶜb b. Saᶜd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm said while the men were gathered together, "We will bring you Salamah." They went off to get Salamah, but were surprised to find that his party had swollen and the division had widened beyond repair, and he refused to go with them. When they saw that, they held aloof from ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād and did not go back to him.

According to Abū ᶜUbaydah—several transmitters—Sabrah b. al-Jārūd al-Hudhalī—his father, al-Jārūd: In his address ᶜUbaydallāh said, "Baṣrans! By God, we have been wearing clothes of silk, (fine) Yemeni material and smooth stuff so much that we have come to loathe it and our skins have become disgusted with it. Now we have to follow it with iron. Men of al-Baṣrah! By God, even if you united against the tail of a wild ass to break it, you could not do it." Al-Jārūd continued: By God, not even a practice arrow was fired

57. The text has Abū al-Baḥr but, given the likely corruption of his name (see previous note), it seems likely we should read the *kunyah* as Abū al-Ḥurr with *Ansāb*.

before ᶜUbaydallāh fled and took refuge with Masᶜūd.[58] When Masᶜūd was killed, he betook himself to Syria.

(According to Abū ᶜUbaydah)—Yūnus (b. Ḥabīb al-Jarmī) said: In ᶜUbaydallāh's treasury on the day he addressed the people before the revolt of Salamah there were eight million dirhams or just under (ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī] said nineteen million), and he said to the people, "These are your spoils,[59] so take your wages and the sustenance for your dependents out of them." He ordered the secretaries to count the men and set forth the names and he made them be quick about it, even appointing somebody to keep them there at night in the revenue office, and they lit the candles. When they had finished their task and withdrawn, and then there happened Salamah's opposition to him, he refrained from dividing the money and took it with him when he fled. To this day it is still circulating in the family of Ziyād. If there is a marriage or funeral among them, the like of them is never seen among Quraysh, and among Quraysh there is no one more affluent or better dressed than they.

ᶜUbaydallāh summoned the heads of the government detachment of the Bukhāriyyah[60] and desired them to fight for him, but they refused; he summoned the Bukhāriyyah them-
[440] selves and desired of them similarly but they said, "If our commanders tell us to, we will fight for you." And the brothers of ᶜUbaydallāh said to him, "By God, there is no caliph for whom you can fight, to whom you can go back if you are defeated, and who can send you help if you ask him for it. You know that war is a matter of fortune, and we do not know but that perhaps fortune will be against you. We have amassed wealth among these people (of al-Baṣrah), and if they

58. Masᶜūd b. ᶜAmr, the leader of Azd in al-Baṣrah (see below).

59. Ar. *fay'*: technically the immovable booty (i.e., land) conquered in the wars of conquest, and the property of the Muslim state as whole rather than of the particular warriors who conquered it; here the word may be intended in an untechnical and general way or it may refer specifically to income raised from the conquered land (see *EI*², s.vv. Fay', Ghanīma).

60. A force, originally of two thousand men, which Ibn Ziyād had raised in Khurāsān when he was governor there (see Ṭabarī, II, 170; Narshakhī, *History of Bukhara*, tr. R.N. Frye, 37). For the reading of the text, which seems to have gone astray here, see *Add. et amend.*

are victorious they will destroy both us and it, and no remnant will be left for you." His brother ᶜAbdallāh, a full brother by his father and his mother Marjānah, said to him, "By God, if you fight this people I will lean on the tip of the sword until it comes out of my back."

When ᶜUbaydallāh heard that, he sent to al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Ṣuhbān b. ᶜAwn b. ᶜIlāj b. Māzin b. Aswad b. Jahḍam b. Jadhīmah b. Mālik b. Fahm,[61] saying, "Oh Ḥār,[62] my father advised me that, if I ever had need of flight one day, I should choose you, and my soul rejects any other." Al-Ḥārith replied, "They have deserved well of you[63] for the help which they gave your father as you know, and they deserved well of him, but they found neither with him nor with you any recompense. If you choose to flee to us there will be no place of refuge for you, but I do not know how I should get you to a safe place[64] if I took you out by day. I am afraid that I would not reach my tribe with you before we would both be killed. However, I will stay with you until, when the darkness of night brings obscurity[65] and the footfall (of the traveler) is quieted,[66] you will ride on my mount behind me so as not to be recognized. Then I will take you to my maternal relatives of the Banū Nājiyah."[67] ᶜUbaydallāh answered, "All right; whatever you think."

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61. The Banū Jahḍam b. Jadhīmah (the Jahāḍim) were a section of Azd (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 211); al-Ḥārith was a uterine brother of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah.

62. Shortening the name in the vocative in this way is called *tarkhīm* (see Wright, *Grammar*, II, 88).

63. See *Gloss*, s.v. *b-l-w* (the reference to ᶜUbaydallāh's father and his lack of gratitude refers to the time when he was governor of al-Baṣrah for ᶜAlī in the first civil war and Muᶜāwiyah tried to stir up trouble in al-Baṣrah; at that time, Ziyād received help from the Azd Sarāt in the town).

64. See *Gloss*. s.v. *b-w-'*. However, the sense still seems problematic. The Cairo text has *wa-mā adrī kayfa ata'attā(!) laka in akhrajtuka naharan*. See also *Add. et amend.*

65. See *LA* s.v. d-m-s (VI, 88).

66. See E.W. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *h-d-'*.

67. The Banū Nājiyah b. Jarm; for discussion of the genealogy of this group, for whom some canvassed a Qurashī descent, see I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 188–9 (Eng. tr., I, 173–4), Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 4–5, 75; see too L. Massignon, "Explication du plan de Baṣra," 158.

So he waited until, when one says, "Your brother or the wolf?"[68] al-Ḥārith carried him on his mount behind him. He had already removed those treasures and set a guard on them. Then he set off with him, passing with him by the men, who
[441] were keeping watch out of fear of the Ḥarūriyyah.[69] ᶜUbaydallāh was asking, "Where are we?" and al-Ḥārith kept telling him. When they were among the Banū Sulaym[70] ᶜUbaydallāh said, "Where are we?" and he answered, "We are among the Banū Sulaym," to which he responded, "God willing, we are safe."[71] Then when he reached the Banū Nājiyah he asked, "Where are we?" and al-Ḥārith said, "Among the Banū Nājiyah," to which ᶜUbaydallāh said, "God willing, we have got away."[72] The Banū Nājiyah, however, asked, "Who are you?" and he answered, "Al-Ḥārith b. Qays." "Your nephew," they said.[73] One of them, however, recognized ᶜUbaydallāh, said, "The son of Marjānah!" and fired an arrow which stuck in his turban. But al-Ḥārith continued on his way with him and lodged him in a house of his own among the descendants of Jahḍam b. Jadhīmah. Next, he went on to Masᶜūd b. ᶜAmr b. ᶜAdī b. Muḥārib b. Ṣunaym b. Mulayḥ b. Sharṭān b. Maᶜn b. Mālik b. Fahm.

The narrators of the Azd, Abū Mikhnaf and Muḥammad b. Abī ᶜUyaynah, said:[74] When Masᶜūd saw him he said, "Oh Ḥār, he has been granted refuge from the evils of the roads at night but we seek refuge with God against the evil which you have brought to us by night with him." But al-Ḥārith said, "I have only brought good to you by night. You know that your people saved Ziyād and fulfilled their obligations to

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68. See *LA* s.v. *d–m–s* (VI, 88).

69. I.e., the Khawārij; the name is said to derive from that of the village near al-Kūfah, where the Khawārij established their camp at the time of their secession from ᶜAlī in the first civil war (see *EI*², s.v. Ḥarūrā').

70. Of Qays.

71. Ar. *salimnā*, a pun on the name of the Banū Sulaym.

72. Ar. *najawnā*, a pun on the name of the Banū Nājiyah.

73. Read *ibn ukhtikum* for *ibn akhikum* (see *Add. et amend.*), i.e., al-Ḥārith b. Qays is the son of a woman of the Banū Nājiyah.

74. The rather laconic note in *Add. et emend.* seems to suggest the *isnād* should be understood in this way (the text has "The Azd and Muḥammad b. ᶜUyaynah said:"); the latter was a nephew of al-Muhallab, and flourished in the late Umayyad period.

him, and this became among the Arabs a noble deed for them, which they could boast about over the others. Now you have willingly given the oath of allegiance to ᶜUbaydallāh, willingly after consultation,[75] and another oath of allegiance which was incumbent upon you before this one (meaning the oath of allegiance of the community)." Masᶜūd replied, "Oh Ḥār, do you think that we would fall out with our garrison comrades for the sake of ᶜUbaydallāh after the good we deserved on account of his father but then received no reward or thanks for it! I never considered that this would be your opinion." Al-Ḥārith answered, "Nobody would fall out with you on account of your fulfilling your oath of allegiance to the extent of bringing him to a place of safety."

Abū Jaᶜfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: According to ᶜUmar (b. Shabbah)—Zuhayr b. Ḥarb—Wahb b. Jarīr—his father—al-Zubayr b. al-Khirrīt—Abū Labīd al-Jahḍamī—al-Ḥārith b. Qays:[76] He, that is ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, placed himself before me and said, "Truly by God, I realize the antipathy to me which has existed among your people." So I took pity on him and put him up behind me on my mule. It was nighttime and I took the direction of the Banū Sulaym. He asked me, "Who are these?" and when I told him, "The Banū Sulaym," he said, "God willing, we are safe." Then we continued on our way to the Banū Nājiyah who were sitting in assembly with their weapons by them, for at that time the people were sitting in their assemblies on watch. They said, "Who goes there?" I answered, "Al-Ḥārith b. Qays," and they said, "Pass, friend!" But when we passed on, one of them said, "By God, this is the son of Marjānah behind him!" and he fired an arrow and embedded it in the roll of his turban. ᶜUbaydallāh said to me, "Who are these, Oh Abū Muḥammad?" I replied, "Those who you claimed belonged to Quraysh[77]—these are the Banū Nājiyah," and he said, "God willing, we have got away." [442]

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75. Read *riḍan ᶜan* for *riḍan min* (see *Add. et emend.*).

76. Wahb b. Jarīr was a Baṣran traditionist, d. 208/821; his father, Jarīr, d. 170/786, is the author of a book on the Azāriqah Khārijites (see below, p. 164, for Ṭabarī's citations, and see *GAS*, I, 310–1); note that Abū Labīd belongs to the Jahāḍimah, the clan of al-Ḥārith b. Qays.

77. See above, n. 67.

Then ᶜUbaydallāh said, "Oh Ḥārith, you have done well and acted excellently. Will you now do what I suggest? You know the standing of Masᶜūd b. ᶜAmr among his people, his noble descent, his seniority, and the obedience which his people show to him? Well, how about taking me to him, and then I will be in his dwelling place which is in the midst of Azd? If you do not, your people's affair will be shattered over you." I agreed and took him there. Masᶜūd knew nothing about it until we went in to him, and on that night he was sitting kindling a piece of wood on a brick and struggling with his shoes, one of which he had removed while the other stayed on. When he looked into our faces, he recognized us and said, "He has been given refuge from the evils of the roads." I said, "Would you send him away after he has entered your house?" So he told him what to do, and ᶜUbaydallāh entered the house of ᶜAbd al-Ghāfir b. Masᶜūd,[78] whose wife at that time was Khayrah bint Khufāf b. ᶜAmr.

[443] On the same night, Masᶜūd, together with al-Ḥārith and a group of his people, saddled up and went around among Azd and their assemblies, saying, "Ibn Ziyād's absence has been noted and we fear that you will be held responsible for it, so come armed!" And the people did miss Ibn Ziyād, and said, "Where has he headed?" The answer was, "Nowhere but among the Azd."

(ᶜUmar b. Shabbah—Zuhayr b. Ḥarb)—Wahb—Abū Bakr b. al-Faḍl—Qabīṣah b. Marwān: They began to say, "Where do you think he has headed?" and an old woman of the Banū ᶜUqayl[79] said, "Where do you think he has headed! By God, he has thrust himself into the same thicket as his father did." When news of Yazīd's death reach Ibn Ziyād, there were sixteen million dirhams in the treasuries of al-Baṣrah, and he divided part of it among his father's descendants and carried off the rest with him. He had summoned the Bukhāriyyah to

78. I.e., Masᶜūd's son.

79. The Leiden edition is vocalized ᶜAqīl; the Banū ᶜUqayl (of Qays) seems more obvious; the Cairo text and *Ansāb*, IVb, 118[14] are unvocalized; Levi Della Vida preferred ᶜUqayl (see the note *ad. loc.* in the Jerusalem ed. of the *Ansāb*).

fight with him and also the descendants of Ziyād, but they refused.

According to ᶜUmar—Zuhayr b. Ḥarb—al-Aswad b. Shaybān—ᶜAbdallāh b. Jarīr al-Māzinī: Shaqīq b. Thawr sent to me, saying, "I have heard that this Ibn Manjūf[80] and Ibn Mismaᶜ have gone under cover of night to the dwelling of Masᶜūd to fetch Ibn Ziyād back to the government house[81] so they might unite these two forces[82] together, shed your blood and make themselves mighty. I had planned to send to Ibn Manjūf, put him in chains and send him away from me. So go to Masᶜūd, deliver my greetings to him and tell him that Ibn Manjūf and Ibn Mismaᶜ are doing such-and-such and he should send these two away from him." With Masᶜūd were ᶜUbaydallāh and ᶜAbdallāh the two sons of Ziyād. So I went to Masᶜūd and the two sons of Ziyād were with him, one on his right and the other on his left. I said, "Peace be upon you, Abū Qays,"[83] and he replied, "And upon you." Then I said, "Shaqīq b. [444] Thawr sent me to you to deliver his greetings to you and to say that he has heard . . . ." (He repeated the words exactly down to: "So send those two away from you.") Masᶜūd said, "By God, I will do that."[84] ᶜUbaydallāh then said, "How so, Oh Abū Thawr?" He forgot his *kunyah*, for he was only called Abū al-Faḍl.[85] And his brother ᶜAbdallāh said, "By God, we will not separate from you. You have given us shelter and promised us protection and we will not leave unless we are killed in your midst, which would be a disgrace against you until the Day of Resurrection."

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80. Suwayd b. Manjūf b. Thawr al-Sadūsī, i.e., Shaqīq's nephew. For the rivalries within the family of Thawr, see *Ansāb*, IVb, 92.

81. Ar. *al-dār*.

82. Ar. *hādhayn al-ghārayn*; the word *ghār* has the double meaning of "army" and "pit" (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

83. Presumably Masᶜūd's *kunyah*?

84. Literally, "I have done that" (i.e., "done!") following the reading of the Cairo ed. and Bevan's proposal in the *Add. et. emend.* (*faᶜaltu dhāka*); the Leiden text has *qultu dhāka*, which is difficult to make sense of.

85. Ibn Ziyād seems to be addressing Masᶜūd, using a *kunyah*, although Masᶜūd has already been addressed by his *kunyah* as Abū Qays; then we are told that, presumably in his agitation, Ibn Ziyād had made a mistake in the *kunyah*; it should have been Abū al-Faḍl. It seems possible that the text is disordered; note how Shaqīq, sent to bring back Ibn Manjūf and Ibn Mismaᶜ, now seems concerned with the two sons of Ziyād.

(ᶜUmar b. Shabbah—Zuhayr)—Wahb—al-Zubayr b. al-Khirrīt[86]—Abū Labīd: The Baṣrans gathered and delegated their affairs to al-Nuᶜmān b. Ṣuhbān al-Rāsibī[87] and a man of the Muḍar[88] so those two could choose somebody for them and give him authority over them. They said, "Whomever you two are satisfied with for us, we will be satisfied with him." (According to other than Abū Labīd, the man of Muḍar was Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī.) The man of Muḍar thought that a candidate should be chosen from among the Banū Umayyah, while al-Nuᶜmān's view was that he should be from the Banū Hāshim.[89] However, al-Nuᶜmān said he did not think anyone had more right to authority than so-and-so, indeed a man from the Banū Umayyah. The Muḍarī said, "Is that what you think?" and al-Nuᶜmān answered, "Yes." The Muḍarī, therefore, said, "I have invested my authority in you and I will be satisfied with whomever you are satisfied with." Then they both went out to the people and the Muḍarī announced, "I will be satisfied with whomever al-Nuᶜmān is satisfied with. Whomever he names for you, I will be pleased with him." Then they said to al-Nuᶜmān, "What do you say?" He replied, "I do not consider fitting for it anybody other than ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith, Babbah."[90] Thereupon the Muḍarī said, "This is not the one you named to me," but al-Nuᶜmān said, "Yes indeed, by my life, it was he!" And the people were pleased with ᶜAbdallāh and gave him the oath of allegiance.

According to my companions,[91] Muḍar called for support for al-ᶜAbbās b. al-Aswad b. al-ᶜAwf[92] while Yemen[93] called

86. Cf. p. 17 above, where Jarīr is cited in the *isnād* between Wahb and Ibn al-Khirrīt.

87. Of Quḍāᶜah; see p. 446 below, but cf. Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 76, n. 512, and Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 453, 485.

88. According to the genealogists, this is the "northern" descent group which includes Qays and Tamīm, but not Rabīᶜah.

89. Two families of Quraysh, the former that from which the three previous caliphs had come, the latter that of the Prophet, ᶜAlī and the future ᶜAbbāsid caliphs.

90. A Qurashī of the Banū Hāshim (on him, see W. Madelung, "ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdī," *JNES*, XL [1981], esp. 297 ff.).

91. Presumably it is Wahb b. Jarīr who is speaking!

92. Of Quraysh, he would be a nephew of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAwf and brother of Jābir b. al-Aswad, Ibn al-Zubayr's governor over Medina.

for support for ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal. So the people agreed to appoint Qays b. al-Haytham and al-Nuᶜmān b. Ṣuhbān al-Rāsibī as arbitrators to look into the question of the two candidates. Both the arbitrators agreed that they should confer authority on the man of Muḍar belonging to the Banū [445]
Hāshim[94] until there should be general agreement on an *imām*. About that it was said:

We have effected a deposition and appointed a governor
while Bakr b. Wā'il
dallies[95] seeking someone with whom to make an alliance.

And when they gave Babbah authority over al-Baṣrah, he appointed Himyān b. ᶜAdī al-Sadūsī[96] over his police force.[97]

Abū Jaᶜfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: As for Abū ᶜUbaydah (according to the report of Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī from Abū Saᶜdān from him), he told the story about Masᶜūd and ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād and his brother differently from the way in which Wahb b. Jarīr told it on the authority of those from whom he transmitted it. Abū ᶜUbaydah said: Maslamah b. Muḥārib b. Salm b. Ziyād[98] and others of Ziyād's family, reporting from those of them and their mawlās who were alive at the time (the family knows best its own story), told me that al-Ḥārith b. Qays never spoke to Masᶜūd but granted protection to

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Muṣᶜab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 273, lists an ᶜAyyāsh among the offspring of al-Aswad but no ᶜAbbās. Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 77, n. 514, argues that ᶜAyyāsh is the correct form and should be read here. Other reports give the name of the candidate as ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Aswad (see below). Rotter thinks that this is the brother of ᶜAyyāsh, while Madelung, *loc. cit.*, 301, seems to regard ᶜAbdallāh and ᶜAbbās as variant names for the same man (Zubayrī does not list an ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Aswad).

93. A name for the "southern" descent group according to the genealogists.

94. As a Qurashī, Babbah belongs to the wider group of Muḍar (see above, n. 88).

95. Literally "draw out its testicles" (see *Gloss.*, with reference to Freytag, *Proverbia* II, 480, n. 263, and Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *khaṣā*). See below, p. 26, n. 128, for parallels.

96. Of Bakr b. Wā'il.

97. Ar. *shurṭah*, a small force controlled by the governor and distinct from the tribally based army.

98. Maslamah was the grandson of the brother of ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād; see Rotter, "Madā'inī," 117 (for Salm b. Ziyād, see below, pp. 70f.).

ᶜUbaydallāh, took 100,000 dirhams with him, and came with it to Umm Bisṭām, the wife of Masᶜūd and his own paternal cousin. With him were ᶜUbaydallāh and ᶜAbdallāh, the two sons of Ziyād. He asked permission to go in to her and when she granted it, al-Ḥārith said to her, "I have come to you about a matter in which you would become the leader of your women and secure the nobility of your people, and you would be paid on the spot wealth and riches. In particular, there is this 100,000 dirhams for you. Take it, it is yours, if you will take in ᶜUbaydallāh." But she replied, "I am afraid that Masᶜūd will not like it and will not accept him." Al-Ḥārith then said, "Clothe him in one of your garments, take him in to your house and leave Masᶜūd to us." So she took the money and did that. But, when Masᶜūd came, she told him about it and he seized her by the head, whereupon ᶜUbaydallāh and al-Ḥārith came out of her chamber and the former said, "Your cousin has granted me protection in respect of you. This is your garment I am wearing, your food in my belly, and your
[446] house around me." Al-Ḥārith testified to the truth of that for him and they both mollified Masᶜūd until he agreed. Abū ᶜUbaydah said: ᶜUbaydallāh gave al-Ḥārith about 50,000 dirhams and he remained in Masᶜūd's house until Masᶜūd was killed.

Abū ᶜUbaydah—Yazīd b. Sumayr al-Jarmī—Suwwār b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Saᶜīd al-Jarmī:[99] When ᶜUbaydallāh fled, the Baṣrans were for some time without an *amīr* and they differed as to whom they should give authority over them. Then they agreed on two men who would make a choice for them, and they would accept the choice if those two could agree on it. They agreed that Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī and Nuᶜmān b. Ṣuhbān[100] al-Rāsibī (Rāsib b. Jarm b. Rabbān b. Ḥulwān b. ᶜImrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāᶜah) would choose someone they found acceptable. Those two mentioned two possibilities: ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib (his

99. Abū ᶜUbaydah's sources seem to be Quḍāᶜī kinsmen of al-Nuᶜmān b. Ṣuhbān (see n. 87 above).

100. The text has al-Nuᶜmān b. Sufyān.

mother was Hind bint Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayyah,[101] he was nicknamed Babbah and he was the grandfather of Sulaymān b. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith[102]) and, alternatively, ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Aswad al-Zuhrī.[103] When they had both agreed on those two, they decided on the public square[104] as the place for the selection and they arranged for the people to meet there so that they might come to an agreement on one of these two. So the people were gathered there and I was with them in the "brow"[105] of the square (its top part). Qays b. al-Haytham came forward, and then al-Nuᶜmān afterwards, and they were preoccupied one with another. Al-Nuᶜmān gave Qays to believe that he favored Ibn al-Aswad, but then said, "We cannot speak both together," and desired that he would make him the spokesman. Qays did so and they contracted one with another. And al-Nuᶜmān imposed a promise on the people that they would accept whatever he thought best.

Then al-Nuᶜmān went up to ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Aswad, took his hand and began to lay conditions upon him so that the people [447] thought he was about to give him the oath of allegiance. But he left and took the hand of ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith and started imposing conditions on him in the same way. Next he praised God and extolled Him, mentioned the Prophet and the rights of his family and relatives, and said, "Oh people, what do you have against a man descended from the paternal uncle of your Prophet and whose mother was Hind bint Abī Sufyān? He is a man of the Banū Hāshim and also son of a woman of those who possess the kingship."[106] Then he clasped him

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101. Descended on his father's side from the Prophet's grandfather, ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Babbah's mother was the sister of the first Umayyad caliph, Muᶜāwiyah.

102. Sulaymān b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Nawfalī, a prominent Hāshimī of the early ᶜAbbāsid period and transmitter of some historical material relating to al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr.

103. See n. 92 above.

104. Ar. *mirbad*; for a tentative sketch map of al-Baṣrah at this period, see Massignon, "Baṣra," 157; see also M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 246.

105. Ar. *qāriᶜah* (the gloss is in the text).

106. It is difficult to make sense of Ṭabarī's text here ("if he is one of them, he is the son of your sister"); Ibn al-Athīr has: *qad kāna 'l-amru fīhim fa-huwa 'bnu ukhtihim* ("authority belonged to them [the Umayyads] and he [Babbah] is the son of one of their women"); *Ansāb*, IVb, 104[22] (the same report as Ṭabarī from Abū ᶜUbaydah) has: *huwa Hāshimī wa-'bnu ukhti 'l-qawmi 'lladhīna 'l-mulku fīhim*, the reading translated here.

by the hand, saying, "Indeed I approve of you for it," and they cried out, "We accept!" They brought ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith to the government house and he dwelled there. That was at the beginning of the month of Jumādā II, 64 (January, 684). He appointed Himyān b. ᶜAdī al-Sadūsī over his police force and summoned the people to come to give the oath of allegiance. They came and gave him it.

When he gave him the oath of allegiance, al-Farazdaq[107] said:

I have given the oath of allegiance to many people and
I have fulfilled the pledge to them;
but to Babbah I have given the oath of allegiance
without repenting.[108]

Abū ᶜUbaydah—Zuhayr b. Hunayd[109]—ᶜAmr b. ᶜĪsā: The dwelling place of Mālik b. Mismaᶜ al-Jaḥdarī was in al-Bāṭinah[110] by the gate of ᶜAbdallāh al-Iṣbahānī in the quarter of the Banū Jaḥdar[111] near the great mosque. Mālik used to frequent the mosque. While he was sitting in it shortly after the affair of Babbah,[112] there was a man of the family of ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜĀmir b. Kurayz al-Qurashī[113] in the group in the mosque in which he was sitting, and news came of ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim's attack on Rabīᶜah in Herat.[114] A quarrel broke out and the Qurashī spoke rudely to Mālik, whereupon a man of Bakr b. Wā'il struck the Qurashī and those there of Muḍar and Rabīᶜah became incensed one with another.[115] The members of Rabīᶜah who were in the group were in the

107. I.e., the poet Hammām b. Ghālib, d. 110/728 or 112/730 (see *EI*², s.v. al-Farazdaḳ.).

108. Variants cited by Madelung, "ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdī," 302.

109. For the form of the name, see *Add. et emend.*

110. See Massignon, "Baṣra," 157.

111. The Banū Jaḥdar was Mālik's clan within the Banū Qays b. Thaᶜlabah (Shaybān); for its descent, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 155.

112. The Leiden text is corrupt here; see *Add. et emend.* for the text translated here, and cf. *Ansāb*, IVb, 105²¹¹.

113. A former governor of al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān, related by marriage to the Umayyads (see, Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 147–9).

114. See pp. 73ff. below.

115. ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī (of Qays/Muḍar) had originally been given authority in Khurāsān by ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAmir; Mālik belonged to Bakr b. Wā'il of Rabīᶜah, the object of Ibn Khāzim's attack.

majority, but someone shouted out, "Come on Tamīm!" and a group of Ḍabbah b. Udd[116] who were with the judge heard [448] the shout, seized the spears and shields of the guards from the mosque,[117] bore down on the members of Rabīᶜah and routed them. Ashyam b. Shaqīq b. Thawr al-Sadūsī,[118] who at that time was head of Bakr b. Wā'il, heard about that and came to the mosque. He said, "Indeed, you shall not come upon anyone of Muḍar but you will kill him!" When Mālik b. Mismaᶜ heard about it, he came in his indoor clothes[119] to pacify the people and they refrained from fighting one another. They remained like that for a month or less and then a man of the Banū Yashkur[120] was sitting in the mosque with a man of the Banū Ḍabbah, and they talked about the Bakrī's striking the Qurashī, and the Yashkurī boasted about it.

The Yashkurī then said that the blow had been received without retaliation[121] and thus annoyed the Ḍabbī, who struck him on the neck. The people in the mosque gave him a fatal blow, and he—I mean the Yashkurī—was carried dead to his people. Bakr then flew to their chief Ashyam b. Shaqīq and said, "Come along with us." But he answered, "No, rather I will send a messenger to them and if they give us our rights,[122] well and good, but if not, then we will go to them." Bakr, however, rejected that and went to Mālik b. Mismaᶜ.

(Previously, Mālik b. Mismaᶜ had had authority over them before Ashyam, but the latter had obtained the headship when he went to Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah and Yazīd had written to ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād on his behalf, telling them to restore the leadership to Ashyam. The Lahāzim[123] (that is, the Banū Qays

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116. Allies of Tamīm (see *EI*², s.v.; Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 240).

117. The *min* seems slightly odd; *Ansāb*, IVb, 106², omits it: *(wathaba ᶜalā) rimāḥi ḥarasi 'l-masjidi wa-tirasatihim.*

118. The text reads Shaqīq b. Thawr, but cf. the next paragraph and the parallel in *Ansāb*, IVb, 106.

119. Ar. *mutafaḍḍilan* (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *mifḍal*).

120. Subtribe of Bakr b. Wā'il.

121. See *Add. et emend.* for the reading *ẓalafan;* perhaps Wellhausen's paraphrase (*Kingdom*, 405), based on the printed *ṭilqan*, indicating that the Yashkurī claimed the Qurashī had taken the blow without retaliating and was therefore dishonored, gives the intended sense?

122. Read *shani'ū* for *sayyabū* (see *Add. et emend.*).

123. For the following see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 26–7, *EI*¹, s.v. Taimallāh b. Thaᶜlaba, and *EI*², s.v. Bakr b. Wā'il, 963b, at the bottom.

b. Thaᶜlabah with their allies ᶜAnazah, and Taym al-Lāt[124] with their allies ᶜIjl) had refused unless they and the family of Dhuhl b. Shaybān with their allies Yashkur, and Dhuhl b. Thaᶜlabah with their allies Ḍubayᶜah b. Rabīᶜah b. Nizār, all agreed—the four tribes balanced with the other four. This alliance had existed among the nomads of the Banū Bakr in the Time of Ignorance before Islam,[125] but Ḥanīfah had re-
[449] mained apart from the other tribes of Bakr and had not joined this alliance in the Time of Ignorance because they were settled. Then they had entered Islam with their brothers ᶜIjl and become Lihzimah.[126] Afterwards, they had accepted the decision of ᶜImrān b. ᶜIṣām al-ᶜAnazī, one of the Banū Humaym, and restored the headship to Ashyam.)

Now, when this civil commotion broke out, Bakr considered Mālik b. Mismaᶜ as of little account, for he lacked weight. He, therefore, gathered his men and made ready and sought of the Azd that they would renew the alliance which had existed between them previously in unity concerning Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah.

Concerning that, Ḥārithah b. Badr[127] said:

We have effected a deposition and appointed a governor
while Bakr b. Wā'il
dallies seeking someone with whom to make an alliance
And no Bakrī passes a night out of time,
and comes to morning without recognizing the disgrace.[128]

Abū ᶜUbaydah continued: While ᶜUbaydallāh was in the abode of Masᶜūd, he heard the news of the falling out of Bakr and Tamīm. He, therefore, said to Masᶜūd, "Go and meet Mālik and renew the previous alliance between you." Consequently, Masᶜūd met Mālik and the two of them began to

124. Text has Shayᶜ al-Lāt.
125. Ar. *jāhiliyyah* (see *EI*², s.v. Djāhiliyya).
126. I.e., the angle of the lower jaw (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., in supplement).
127. Ḥārithah b. Badr al-Ghuḍānī of Tamīm.
128. See above, p. 21; *Ansāb*, IVb, 106; *Naqā'iḍ Farazdaq*, 112, 729; see too Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 435.

discuss that pact.[129] However, a party on each side rejected their joint decision, and ᶜUbaydallāh, therefore, sent his brother ᶜAbdallāh together with Masᶜūd with plenty of money (so much that he spent more than 200,000 dirhams in that business) to ensure that the dissidents would give the two of them the pledge of allegiance.[130] ᶜUbaydallāh said to his brother, "Make sure of the feelings of the people (of Bakr) toward the people of Yemen." They renewed the alliance and wrote two documents between them, like the two documents they had written[131] between them in unity, and they deposited a document with Masᶜūd b. ᶜAmr.

Abū ᶜUbaydah: One of Masᶜūd's descendants told me that the first of those named in the document was al-Ṣalt b. Ḥurayth b. Jābir al-Ḥanafī.[132] And they also deposited a document with al-Ṣalt b. Ḥurayth in which the first of those named was Ibn Rajā' al-ᶜAwdhī[133] of ᶜAwdh b. Sūd. Previously, there had been an alliance between them.

Abū ᶜUbaydah: Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ, Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, Hubayrah b. Ḥudayr,[134] and Zuhayr b. Hunayd claimed that Muḍar outnumbered Rabīᶜah in al-Baṣrah and that the group of the Azd was the last to settle there; they were where the garrison town of al-Baṣrah was founded and ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb moved into it those Muslims who adopted a fixed abode,[135] while the group of the Azd remained where they were and did not move. But they had come to al-Baṣrah subsequently at the end of the caliphate of Muᶜāwiyah and the beginning of that of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah. When they came there, the Banū Tamīm said to al-Aḥnaf, "Make an approach to these newcomers before Rabīᶜah anticipate us in it." But [450]

129. Read *tarāssā* (see *Add. et emend.*, and *Gloss.*, s.v. *rassa*).
130. Read *yubāyiᶜuhumā* (see *Add. et emend.*).
131. Read active for passive (see *Add. et emend.*).
132. For the suggestion that Ḥanafī be read Juᶜfī, see *Add. et emend.*
133. *Naqā'iḍ Farazdaq* has him as Abū Rajā', and, at p. 126, refers to his tomb at al-Baṣrah. ᶜAwdh b. Sūd is a tribe of Azd (for its descent, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 206).
134. See *Add. et emend.*
135. The printed text with its reference to the tribe of Tanūkh must be corrupt (see *Add. et emend.* which suggests the reading *man tanakha* with the interpretation adopted here; the reading is adopted in *Naqā'iḍ Farazdaq*, 729).

al-Aḥnaf answered, "If they come to you, then accept them, but otherwise do not go to them because, if you do, you will become followers of theirs." So Mālik b. Misma^c went to them, and at that time the chief of Azd was Mas^cūd b. ^cAmr al-Ma^cnī.[136] Mālik said to him, "Let us renew the pact which existed between us and Kindah in the Time of Ignorance and the pact of the Banū Dhuhl b. Tha^clabah with Thu^cal of Ṭayyi' b. Udad."[137] Al-Aḥnaf said, "Indeed, since they went to them they will always be to them as following tails!"

Abū ^cUbaydah—Hubayrah b. Ḥudayr—Isḥāq b. Suwayd: When the Bakr were led[138] to seek the help of Azd against Muḍar and renewed their previous alliance and desired that they should set out, the Azd said, "We will not go with you unless the chief is one of us." So they made Mas^cūd chief over them all.

Abū ^cUbaydah—Maslamah b. Muḥārib: Mas^cūd said to ^cUbaydallāh, "Come with us so that we can restore you to the government house," but he answered, "I cannot do that, you go." So Mas^cūd ordered his mounts, they fastened their equipment and saddles[139] on them, and he was engrossed in the preparations for the journey. They brought out a chair for
[451] ^cUbaydallāh which was placed at Mas^cūd's door and he sat in it. Mas^cūd set off, and ^cUbaydallāh sent with him in charge of the horses some slaves of his to whom he said, "I do not know what is going to happen, so I am telling you that, if such-and-such happens, one of you is to bring me the news, but, whatever happens, make sure that one of you comes to me with news of it." What happened was the Mas^cūd never came to a lane or passed by a tribe without one of those slaves bringing ^cUbaydallāh news of it.

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136. The Banū Ma^cn b. Mālik b. Fihr of Azd (*Ansāb*, IVb, 98[2-3]); elsewhere he sometimes has the *nisbah* al-^cAtakī.

137. "Us" refers to Mālik's own tribe of Qays b. Tha^clabah (of Shaybān/Bakr b. Wā'il); Kindah is the important tribal group counted as "southerners" by the genealogists (*EI*², s.v.; Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, tables 176, 233, II, 371); Dhuhl b. Tha^clabah also belongs to Shaybān/Bakr b. Wā'il; Thu^cal is Thu^cal b. ^cAmr, a subtribe of Ṭayyi' b. Udad, the important tribal group of the north Arabia-Mesopotamia area, counted as "southerners" by the genealogists (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, tables 176, 249, 252, II, 555).

138. Read *ujī'at* (see *Add. et emend.*).

139. Read *wa-shawārahā* (see *Add. et emend.*).

Masᶜūd came to Rabīᶜah[140] under Mālik b. Mismaᶜ and together they took the lane to the public square, where Masᶜūd continued until he entered the mosque and ascended the *minbar*. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith was in the government house, and he was told that Masᶜūd had come with the people of Yemen and Rabīᶜah and that trouble was going to be stirred up among the people. "So why do you not make peace between them or ride against them with the Banū Tamīm?" he was asked. He replied, "God damn them! By God, I will not corrupt myself by conciliating them." One of Masᶜūd's men began to say:

Indeed, I will marry Babbah
to a maiden in a tent
who combs the head of her doll.[141]

This is what the Azd and Rabīᶜah say, but as for Muḍar, they say that it is what his mother, Hind bint Abī Sufyān, used to say rocking him in his cradle.

When nobody prevented Masᶜūd's ascending the *minbar*, Mālik b. Mismaᶜ went out with his troop of armed men until he overlooked al-Jabbān[142] from the road to the public square [*sikkat al-mirbad*]. Then he began passing several of the dwellings of the Banū Tamīm and entered the lane of the Banū al-ᶜAdawiyyah[143] opposite al-Jabbān and started to set fire to their dwellings because of the hatred which was in their hearts as a result of the Ḍabbī's killing the Yashkurī and Ibn Khāzim's slaughter of Rabīᶜah in Herat. But while he was engaged in that, suddenly they came to him and said, "They have killed Masᶜūd," and they said, "The Banū Tamīm have attacked Masᶜūd." So he set off, but when he was near the mosque of the Banū Qays in the road to the public square, he came to a halt, hearing the news of the killing of Masᶜūd. [452]

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140. *Ansāb*, IVb, 107⁴, suggests that *qadima* should be read *qaddama*, i.e., Masᶜūd sent Rabīᶜah ahead.

141. See the note to *Ansāb*, IVb, 107⁹, and Madelung, *op. cit.*, 297, for other citations and variants.

142. Al-Jabbān was one of the six cemeteries of al-Baṣrah (see Massignon, "Baṣra," 157, 161).

143. A subgroup of the Banū Ḥanẓalah of Tamīm (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 59, II, 136).

Abū ᶜUbaydah—Zuhayr b. Hunayd—al-Ḍaḥḥāk or al-Waḍḍāḥ b. Khaythamah, one of B. ᶜAbdallāh b. Dārim—Mālik b. Dīnār:[144] I was one of the youths who went to al-Aḥnaf, waiting to see what would happen. I came to him and then the Banū Tamīm came and said, "Masᶜūd has entered the govenor's residence, and you are our *sayyid*," but he answered, "I am not your *sayyid*, your *sayyid* is only Satan."

Abū ᶜUbaydah—Hubayrah b. Ḥudayr—Isḥāq b. Suwayd al-ᶜAdawī: I came with the onlookers to the place where al-Aḥnaf was staying. They came to him and said, "Oh Abū Baḥr, Rabīᶜah and Azd have entered the square," but he replied, "You do not have any more right to the mosque than they." Next, they came to him and said, "They have entered the government house," but he answered, "You do not have any more right to the house than they." Salamah b. Dhu'ayb al-Riyāḥī[145] then rushed up, saying, "Gather round me, Oh band of youths! This one is merely a coward[146] who is no good for you!" He summoned[147] the "wolves"[148] of the Banū Tamīm, and five hundred who were with Māh Afrīdhūn[149] stood ready with him. Salamah asked them, "Where do you want to go?" and they answered, "We want whatever you want." He said, "Forward, then!"

Abū ᶜUbaydah—Zuhayr b. Hunayd—Abū Niᶜāmah—Nāshib
[453] b. al-Ḥasḥās and Ḥumayd b. Hilāl: We two came to the place where al-Aḥnaf was staying near the mosque. We were among

144. This Mālik b. Dīnār is perhaps the well-known ascetic who died shortly before 131/748-9; however, the biographies of Mālik do not mention his involvement in these events, and it is difficult to see why he, a non-Tamīmī, should have participated (on him see Ibn Saᶜd, VII/2, 11).

145. See above, n. 55.

146. Read *jibs* (see *Add. et emend.* which, together with the parallel in *Ansāb*, IVb, 107[16], suggests the full text should read: "a coward who trails his ears").

147. Read *fa-nadaba* for *fa-badarat (see Add. et emend.)*.

148. The Banū Kaᶜb b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah of Tamīm are called figuratively "wolves of *ghaḍā*" (see W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, 230, n. 2; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ghaḍā*); it may be that they, closely related to the clan of Salamah b. Dhu'ayb, are referred to here.

149. The Persian leader of the Asāwirah, former Sasanian troops who had gone over to the Arabs during the conquest of Iraq and become incorporated into Tamīm; for the reading of his name, cf. *Add. et emend.* It seems that the 500 who stood ready were Asāwirah.

those waiting to see what would happen. A woman came up to him carrying an incense burner[150] and she said, "What have you got to do with the leadership? Look after the incense burner, for you are just a woman!" He replied, "A woman's arse is more suitable for the incense burner." Then they came to him and said that the anklets of ᶜUlayyah[151] bint Nājiyah al-Riyāḥī, the sister of Maṭar, had been seized from her very legs (others said ᶜUzzah bint al-Ḥurr al-Riyāḥiyya).[152] Her dwelling place was on the street in the square of the Banū Tamīm overlooking the public washing place. And they told him, "They have killed the dyer on your road and the cripple who was at the gate of the mosque." And they told him, "Mālik b. Mismaᶜ has gone into the lane of the Banū al-ᶜAdawiyyah opposite al-Jabbān and set fire to some houses." But al-Aḥnaf answered, "Establish some proof of this, for without it it is illicit to fight them." So they bore witness to all that in front of him.

Then al-Aḥnaf said, "Has ᶜAbbād come?" (He was ᶜAbbād b. Ḥuṣayn b. Yazīd b. ᶜAmr b. Aws b. Sayf b. ᶜAzm b. Ḥillizzah b. Bayān b. Saᶜd b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḥabiṭah b. ᶜAmr b. Tamīm.) They replied, "No," and he waited for a short time and then repeated, "Has ᶜAbbād come?" Again they said, "No." Al-Aḥnaf said, "Is ᶜAbs b. Ṭalq b. Rabīᶜah b. ᶜĀmir b. Bisṭām b. al-Ḥakam b. Ẓālim b. Ṣarīm b. al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAmr b. Kaᶜb b. Saᶜd[153] here?" and they answered, "Yes." So he summoned him, drew forth a ribbon from his head, got down on his knees, and fastened it on a lance which he gave to him. Then he said, "Go!" When he turned around he said, "O God, do not shame it today, for you never shamed it in the past." And the people cried out, "Zabrā'[154] is aroused!" Zabrā' was a slave girl of al-Aḥnaf and by her they were alluding to him. [454]

150. Cf. the note to *Ansāb*, IVb, 99[5], referring to the custom of the bedouin women of perfuming themselves with incense before cohabitation.

151. Or ᶜAliyyah or ᶜAblah (cf. *Add. et emend.* and *Ansāb*, IVb, 107[21]); note that she belongs to the same Tamīmī family as Salamah b. Dhu'ayb.

152. See *Add. et emend.* and *Ansāb*, IVb, 107[22], both of which suggest that Ṭabarī's text is inadequate here.

153. Of the Banū Saᶜd of Tamīm.

154. The printed text has Zayrā', but see *Add. et. emend.* and the reference to Maydānī.

When ᶜAbs had set off, ᶜAbbād came with sixty horsemen. He asked what the people had done, and they told him that they had gone. "Who is in command?" he asked, and they told him, "ᶜAbs b. Ṭalq al-Ṣarīmī." ᶜAbbād said, "Shall I go under the banner of ᶜAbs!" and he and the horsemen went back to his people.

Abū ᶜUbaydah—Zuhayr—Abū Rayḥānah al-ᶜUraynī: On the day Masᶜūd was killed I was beneath the belly of al-Zard b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Saᶜdī's horse, rushing headlong until we reached the street of al-Qadīm.

Abū ᶜUbaydah—Hubayrah b. Ḥudayr—Isḥāq b. Suwayd: They advanced and when they reached the openings of the lanes they halted. Māh Afrīdhūn said to them in Persian, "What is the matter, Oh band of youths?" They replied, "They have met us with the points of their lances." He said to them in Persian, "Strike them with the *fanjaqān*"[155] (that is, Persian for "five arrows in a shot"). There were four hundred of the Asāwirah and they hit them with 2,000 arrows in one burst so that they retreated from the gates of the lanes and took up position by the gates[156] of the mosque. The Tamīmiyyah slowly advanced toward them, but when they reached the gates they halted. Māh Afrīdhūn asked them, "What is the matter?" They answered, "They have pointed the tips of their lances at us." He replied, "Fire at them too!" So they fired 2,000 arrows at them and pushed them back from the gates so that they entered the mosque and moved forward. Masᶜūd was on the *minbar* delivering a speech and inciting his men.

Ghaṭafān b. Unayf b. Yazīd b. Fahdah, one of the Banū Kaᶜb b. ᶜAmr b. Tamīm (Yazid b. Fahdah was a hero of the Time of Ignorance before Islam), began to fight and to urge on his own people, declaiming in the meter of *rajaz:*

Come on Tamim! It will be remembered.
[455] If Masᶜūd escapes it will be notorious.
So hold to the side of the *maqṣūrah*.[157]

(That is, he shall not flee and escape.)

155. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *banjakān*.
156. Read *abwāb* as later in the line and as in *Ansāb*, IVb, 108[17].
157. The enclosed area in mosque reserved for the caliph or governor.

Isḥāq b. Suwayd[158] (continuing his account): They came on Masᶜūd while he was on the *minbar* urging on his men, and they dragged him down and killed him. That was at the beginning of Shawwāl, 64 (end of May, 684).[159] His people were useless and were routed. Ashyam b. Shaqīq rushed ahead of them, fleeing to the door of the *maqṣūrah*. One of them stabbed him, but he survived and escaped.

Al-Farazdaq said about that:

If Ashyam had not outstripped the points of our lances,
and had missed the door when our fires ignited,
Then he would have accompanied Masᶜūd and his companion,
and the guts and the innards would have spilled out.[160]

Abū ᶜUbaydah: Sallām b. Abī Khayrah reported to me, and I also heard it from Abū al-Khansā' Kusayb al-ᶜAnbarī, who was transmitting reports in the circle of Yūnus in the mosque. Those two said: We heard al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan[161] saying to his group in the mosque of the governor: Masᶜūd came from over here (he indicated with his hand the dwellings of the Azd) looking like a bird, wearing a *qabā'* of yellow brocade figured with black "eyes,"[162] ordering the people to abide by the accepted conventions[163] and avoid civil commotion: "Indeed, it is an accepted convention that you restrain yourselves."[164] And they were saying, "The moon, the moon!"[165] By God, it was only an hour before their moon became a small one and they came to him and dragged him down from the *minbar* where he was—God knows—and killed him. (In his report, Sallām said that al-Ḥasan had said, "The people came from over here" and that he had indicated with his hand the dwellings of the Banū Tamīm.)

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158. Not Isḥāq b. Yazīd as printed.
159. Cf. the parallel passage in *Ansāb*, IVb, 108, which has Shaᶜbān.
160. Reading *tamā'at lahu* (see *Add. et emend.*).
161. I.e., al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (see n. 23 above).
162. Reading *muᶜayyan* (see *Add. et emend.*); for the *qabā'*, usually a long outer garment, see Dozy, *Vêtements*, s.v.; *EI*², s.v. Libās, 733b.
163. Ar. *sunnah*.
164. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *akhadha*.
165. Nickname for Masᶜūd, allegedly referring to his good looks (*Ansāb*, IVb, 98³); short for *qamar al-ᶜIrāq* (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 402).

Abū ᶜUbaydah—Maslamah[166] b. Muḥārib: They came to ᶜUbaydallāh and said, "Masᶜūd has gone up on to the *minbar* and no arrow[167] has been fired against him outside the government house." While things were like that, he conceived
[456] the idea of going there. But then they came and said, "Masᶜūd has been killed!" and he set his foot in the stirrup and betook himself to Syria. That was in Shawwāl, 64 (May-June, 684).[168]

Abū ᶜUbaydah—Rawwād al-Kaᶜbī: Some men of Muḍar came to Mālik b. Mismaᶜ and besieged him in his residence, which they set on fire. Concerning that, Ghaṭafān b. Unayf al-Kaᶜbī recited in the meter of *rajaz:*

Ibn Mismaᶜ finds himself besieged,
and wishes for other mansions and abodes,
But we have set the blaze around him.[169]

When ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād fled, they pursued him. But he outstripped the pursuers,[170] so they plundered what they found of his. Wāfid[171] b. Khalīfah b. Asmā', one of the Banū Ṣakhr b. Minqar b. ᶜUbayd b. al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAmr b. Kaᶜb b. Saᶜd, said about that:

How many a brutal and violent tyrant we have killed,
we have seized his crown and pillaged his goods.
ᶜUbaydallāh was one of them when we plundered him,
and despoiled him of his horses and clothes,
On the day when our horsemen and his met.
If only Ibn Ziyād's flight had not saved him!

And ᶜArham[172] b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Qays, one of the Banū al-ᶜAdawiyyah, said concerning the killing of Masᶜūd, in a long poem:

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166. Text reads Salamah b. Muḥārib, but cf. n. 98 above.
167. Read *kuththāb:* it can mean a practice arrow without head or feathers (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., and cf. p. 13 above, *jummāḥ*).
168. *Ansāb*, IVb, 108,[22] has Shaᶜbān (again) with a note (by Balādhurī?) that some put ᶜUbaydallāh's departure and Masᶜūd's death in Shawwāl, but that Shaᶜbān is more correct *(aṣaḥḥ)*.
169. Cf. *Ansāb*, IVb, 111[3].
170. Read *ṭalaba* (see *Add. et emend.*).
171. *Ansāb*, IVb, 111[4], and *Naqā'iḍ Farazdaq*, 735, prefer the reading Wāqid.
172. See *Add. et emend.*

And when Mas^c^ūd b. ^c^Amr came against us,
all we offered him to drink was a blade
whetted and honed.
Mas^c^ūd hoped to be made *amīr*, but he was[173]
killed. We have invested him with death.

Abū Ja^c^far Muḥammad b. Jarīr (al-Ṭabarī) said: As for ^c^Umar (b. Shabbah), he reported to me concerning ^c^Ubaydallāh's departure for Syria, from Zuhayr—Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—al-Zubayr b. Khirrīt: Mas^c^ūd sent with Ibn Ziyād a hundred men of Azd led by Qurrah b. ^c^Amr b. Qays, and they brought him to Syria.

^c^Umar: Abū ^c^Āṣim al-Nabīl reported to me—^c^Amr b. al- [457]
Zubayr: and Khallād b. Yazīd al-Bāhilī, and al-Walīd b. Hishām—his paternal uncle—his father—^c^Amr b. Hubayrah—Yasāf b. Shurayḥ al-Yashkurī; and (^c^Umar b. Shabbah said) ^c^Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī) reported it to me too; they differed in their narratives and some of them added to the others' accounts: Ibn Ziyād left al-Baṣrah. One night he said: "Riding a camel has become burdensome to me; make me something soft on a beast with hoofs." So a rug was thrown over a donkey for him, and he rode on it with his feet almost making furrows in the ground.

The Yashkurī said: He was riding in front of me and he had been silent for a long time. So I said to myself, "This is ^c^Ubaydallāh, governor of Iraq yesterday, now sleeping on a donkey. If he fell off it, he would treat it harshly." Then I said, "By God, if he is sleeping, I will certainly spoil his sleep for him." So I went up to him and said, "Are you sleeping?" "No," he answered. "Then what has made you so quiet?" I asked. He replied, "I was communing with myself." I said, "Shall I tell you what you were saying to yourself?" He said, "Go on then. I do not think you will be clever enough to get it." I said to him, "You were saying, 'Would that I had not killed al-Ḥusayn.' " "Not that," he said. I said, "You were saying, 'Would that I had not killed those whom I did.' "[174]

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173. Cf. *Ansāb*, IVb, 111[2], where this hemistich is part of the verse of Ghaṭafān b. Unayf.
174. I.e., the Khawārij.

"Not that," he said. "You were saying, 'Would that I had not built al-Bayḍā'.' "[175] "Not that," he said. I said, "You were saying, 'Would that I had not appointed the dihqāns[176] to financial authority.' " "Not that," he said. I said, "You were saying, 'Would that I had been more generous than I was.' "

He answered, "By God, you have not spoken right or avoided mistakes by keeping quiet. As for al-Ḥusayn, he came wanting to kill me, but I preferred killing him to his killing me. As for al-Bayḍā', I bought it from ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜUthmān al-Tha-
[458] qafī[177] and Yazīd sent me a million which I spent on it. If I survive, it will be for my family; if I perish, I will not grieve over something in which I did not act harshly. As for giving authority over the finances to the dihqāns, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakrah[178] and Zādhān Farrūkh[179] disparaged me before Muᶜāwiyah, going as far as taking even the husks of rice into account and making the total of the tax[180] of Iraq come to a hundred million, so that Muᶜāwiyah made me choose between taking responsibility for raising that amount or being deposed from office. I had no desire to be deposed, but, whenever I appointed one of the Arabs and the tax was insufficient[181] and I investigated him or imposed a fine on the leaders of his people or upon his clan, I caused them offense. But if I left them alone, then I abandoned God's property; and I know where it properly belongs. So I found the dihqāns more punctilious in collecting taxes, more trustworthy, and less de-

175. Qaṣr al-Bayḍā', ᶜUbaydallāh's residence in al-Baṣrah (see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 793[4]).

176. Local gentry of the Sasanids in Iraq, who remained as a distinct group for some time after the Arab conquest (see *EI*², s.v. Dihḳān).

177. A Baṣran related to the Umayyads by marriage and a member of the tribe of Thaqīf from al-Ṭā'if, to which ᶜUbaydallāh's own grandmother, Sumayyah, belonged.

178. See above, n. 56.

179. This seems to be a common name for dihqāns in Arabic sources; the one in question here may be the same one who worked in the financial administration under al-Ḥajjāj and was connected with the change in the language of the administration from Persian to Arabic.

180. Ar. *kharāj*, presumably, inferring from the mention of the husks of rice, here a land tax estimated as a percentage of the produce (see *EI*², s.v. Kharādj).

181. Or "he withheld the tax," *kasara/kusira 'l-kharāj* (see *Gloss.*, s.v. *kasara*).

manding than you Arabs. Even so, I made you responsible for them so that they would not oppress anyone. As for what you say about generosity, by God I never had any wealth but that I bestowed it generously on you. If I had wanted, I could have taken some of your wealth and favored some of you with it at the expense of others so that they would say, 'How generous he is!' but I treated you all the same. With me there were benefits for you all. As for what you say about 'Would that I had not killed those whom I did,' there is nothing which I have done, apart from my confession of God's unity,[182] which brings me nearer to God in my opinion than my killing of those of the Khawārij whom I killed.

"Now I will tell you what I really said to myself: I said, 'Would that I had fought the Baṣrans, for they took an oath of allegiance to obey me willingly.' I swear by God that that is what I wanted, but the family of Ziyād came to me and said, 'If you fight them and they defeat you, they would never allow anyone of us to remain; but, if you leave them alone, then any one of us could hide with his maternal relatives and his in-laws.' So I gave in to them and did not fight. And I was saying, 'Would that I had brought out the prisoners and cut off their heads.' But, since I have missed these two opportunities, would that I arrive in Syria before the Syrians have settled anything."

Some of them said: And he reached Syria and they had not decided on anything. Compared with him they were mere youths. But some of them said: And he reached Syria and they had settled matters. He, however, quashed what they had settled in favor of his own opinion.

In this year also the people of al-Kūfah drove ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth out,[183] removed him from authority over them, and agreed on the appointment of ᶜĀmir b. Masᶜūd.[184]

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182. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *akhlaṣa*; Qur'ān, sūrah 112 (*Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*), begins "Say: He is God, one!"

183. Of the Banū Makhzūm of Quraysh, he had governed al-Kūfah for Ziyād (see Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 333).

184. Of the Banū Jumaḥ of Quraysh (Zubayrī, op. cit., 391).

The Deposition of ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth by the People of al-Kūfah and Their Appointment of ᶜĀmir b. Masᶜūd as Governor over Them[185]

Abū Jaᶜfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: According to al-Haytham b. ᶜAdī—Ibn ᶜAyyāsh:[186] The first under whom the two garrison towns of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah were united as one governorate were Ziyād and his son. They killed 13,000 of the Khawārij and ᶜUbaydallāh put 4,000 of them in prison. When Yazīd died, ᶜUbaydallāh made an official address in which he said, "He for obedience to whom we fought is dead. If you give me authority over you, I will collect for you your spoils *(fayʾ)* and fight your enemies." He sent Muqātil b. Mismaᶜ[187] and Saᶜīd b. Qarḥā,[188] one of the Banū Māzin, with that message to the Kūfans, and his deputy over al-Kūfah was ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth. The two messengers announced their message, and then Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ruwaym al-Shaybānī[189] arose. He said, "Praise be to God who has given us respite from Ibn Sumayyah![190] No, nor anything else!"[191] Thereupon, ᶜAmr gave orders concerning him and he was seized by the collar and led off to prison, but Bakr hindered the arrest and Yazīd, fearing, escaped to his people. Muḥammad b. al-Ashᶜath[192] then sent to him saying, "Keep firm in your opinion," and messengers continually came to him bringing that message.

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185. For parallel and variant accounts of the following events in al-Kūfah, see *Ansāb*, IVb, 97; Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 109; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 95–6; when the narrative reverts to events in al-Baṣrah, see n. 22 above.

186. For al-Haytham b. ᶜAdī, d. 206/821 or 207/822, see *GAS*, I, 272 and *EI*², s.v.; for Ibn ᶜAyyāsh, d. 193/809, see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, II, 373–80.

187. Brother of Mālik b. Mismaᶜ (see above, p. 8).

188. In the report from ᶜAwānah, below and at *Ansāb*, IVb, 97[13], he is called Saᶜd; whether Saᶜīd here is merely a slip or genuinely represents the tradition of Ibn ᶜAyyāsh is not ascertainable. The Banū Māzin b. Mālik are of Tamīm.

189. Of Bakr b. Wāʾil, he was a member of a prominent family of al-Kūfah which provided governors and other high officials during the Umayyad period; he himself was to become governor of al-Rayy and al-Madāʾin for the Zubayrids (see Crone, *Slaves*, 119).

190. I.e., Ziyād b. Abīhi, but perhaps here indicating Ziyād's son ᶜUbaydallāh.

191. Ar. *lā wa-lā karāmah*, literally, "No, and no jar cover!" (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.vv. *ḥubb* and *karāmah*, the latter in the supplement).

192. The leader of the Banū Kindah in al-Kūfah.

When ᶜAmr ascended the *minbar*, they stoned him and he went inside his residence. The people gathered in the mosque and said, "Let us appoint somebody to authority until a caliph is agreed upon," and they resolved on ᶜUmar b. Saᶜd.[193] But the women of Hamdān[194] came, weeping for al-Ḥusayn, while their menfolk were girt with swords, and they encircled the *minbar*. Muḥammad b. al-Ashᶜath said, "Our situation has changed." Kindah had been supporting the authority of ᶜUmar [460] b. Saᶜd because his maternal uncle was one of them, but now they all agreed on ᶜĀmir b. Masᶜūd, wrote to Ibn al-Zubayr about it, and he confirmed him in office.

As for ᶜAwānah b. al-Ḥakam, according to the report of Hishām b. Muḥammad from him, he said: When the Baṣrans gave the oath of allegiance to ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, he sent ᶜAmr b. Mismaᶜ[195] and Saᶜd b. al-Qarḥā al-Tamīmī as envoys from himself to al-Kūfah to tell the Kūfans what the Baṣrans had done and to ask that they give the oath of allegiance to ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād until the disputes among the people had been settled. ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth called the people together, praised God and extolled Him, and then said, "These two men have come to you from your governor, summoning you to a course of action by means of which God will give you one voice and smooth out what divides you. Listen to them, then, and accept what they say, for they have brought you true guidance." Then ᶜAmr b. Mismaᶜ arose, praised God and extolled Him, and referred to the Baṣrans and how they had agreed to make ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād governor until the people should concur as to whom they should give authority. "We have come to you so that we can work together and have a common governor, for al-Kūfah is part of al-Baṣrah and al-

193. ᶜUmar b. Saᶜd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (see *Add. et emend.*), of the Banū Zuhrah of Quraysh, a son of the important Companion of the Prophet; his mother was of Kindah (Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 264[12-13]).

194. A "southern" tribe with substantial settlement in al-Kūfah (see *EI*², s.v.; Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 277); Hamdānīs of al-Kūfah had been prominent in support of al-Ḥusayn while ᶜUmar b. Saᶜd was one of the leading opponents of al-Ḥusayn.

195. Brother of Mālik and Muqātil b. Mismaᶜ (see n. 187, above; appears variantly as ᶜĀmir).

Baṣrah part of al-Kūfah." Ibn al-Qarḥā arose and spoke in the same manner as his companion.

However, Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī (he was Ibn Ruwaym) stood up. He was the first of the people to stone the two envoys and he was followed by the others afterwards. He then said, "Are we to give the oath of allegiance to Ibn Marjānah? No, and nothing else!" That action increased Yazīd's status in the garrison town and elevated him. The delegation returned to al-Baṣrah and informed the people there of what had passed, and the Baṣrans said, "The Kūfans are casting him off while you are conferring authority on him and giving him the oath of allegiance!" Then they rose against him.

Whenever Ibn Ziyād was in difficulty, it led him to seek protection from the Azd,[196] and now, when the people rejected him, he sought the protection of Mas^cūd b. ^cAmr al-Azdī.
[461] Mas^cūd granted him protection and guarded him, and he stayed there for ninety days after the death of Yazīd and then left for Syria. The Azd and Bakr b. Wā'il sent some of their men with him and they brought him to Syria. When he set out he appointed Mas^cūd b. ^cAmr as his deputy over al-Baṣrah, but the Banū Tamīm and Qays said, "We will not accept, we will not approve of, and we will not confer authority on anybody unless our community generally approves of him." Mas^cūd said, "He has appointed me his deputy and I will never abandon it," and he went out with his clansmen to the governor's court *(al-qaṣr)* and entered it. Tamīm gathered around al-Aḥnaf b. Qays and said to him, "Azd have entered the mosque." He replied, "They have entered the mosque, so what? It is for you and them equally, and you enter it." They said, "And he has entered the governor's court and gone up to the *minbar*."

When ^cUbaydallāh b. Ziyād had departed for Syria, a group of the Khawārij had rebelled and established camp on the river of the Asāwirah,[197] and it was claimed that al-Aḥnaf sent to them, saying, "This man who has entered the governor's res-

196. Cf. *Ansāb*, IVb, 98[1], *istajāra fīhā*, which seems better.

197. At al-Baṣrah near the house of Fīl the mawlā of Ziyād (Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 834).

idence is your enemy as well as ours, so what is stopping you from making the first move against him?" A band of them, therefore, came and penetrated into the mosque while Masᶜūd b. ᶜAmr was on the *minbar* taking the oath of allegiance from those who came to him. A non-Arab called Muslim, who was a Persian and had come to al-Baṣrah and accepted Islam and then joined the Khawārij, shot at him, got him in the heart and killed him. The timorous ones among the people there then rushed out in a panic, saying, "Masᶜūd b. ᶜAmr has been killed! The Khawārij have killed him!" Thereupon Azd came out to attack those Khawārij. They killed some of them, wounded others, and drove them out of al-Baṣrah. After they had buried Masᶜūd they were approached by some who told them, "Do you know that the Banū Tamīm are claiming that they killed Masᶜūd b. ᶜAmr?" So the Azd sent to ask if that was true and, indeed, some of them were saying it.

Consequently, Azd met together, made Ziyād b. ᶜAmr al-ᶜAtakī[198] chief over them, and hurried off to the Banū Tamīm. [462]
Qays came out with the Banū Tamīm, and Mālik b. Mismaᶜ with Bakr b. Wā'il came out with Azd. Azd and its allies came toward the Banū Tamīm, and the latter went to al-Aḥnaf, saying, "Come out, for our people are here!" but he remained there doing nothing, and a woman of his people brought an incense burner and said, "Oh Aḥnaf, look after this!" meaning, "You are only a woman" but he replied, "Your arse is better suited for it." Never again did any one hear him use such a coarse expression, for he was known for his subtlety *(ḥilm)*. He called for his banner and said, "Oh God, grant it victory and do not shame it. May its help mean that those fighting with it will not be defeated because of it and will not lose it by conquest.[199] Oh God, spare our blood and overcome our divisions." He then set out, and so did his nephew Iyās b. Qatādah[200] going ahead of him, and the people met and fought a great battle. Many from each party were killed and the Banū

198. I.e., Masᶜūd's brother.

199. Cf. *Ansāb*, IVb, 99, which omits the troublesome middle phrase.

200. Text has ibn Muᶜāwiyah for ibn Qatādah; *Ansāb*, IVb, 99[7-8], has *ibn ukhtihi (for akhīhi) Iyās b. Qatāda b. Awfā min B. ᶜAbd Shams b. Saᶜd;* so too Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 408.

Tamīm appealed to the others, saying, "For God's sake, Oh party of Azd, let the Qur'ān and whoever you desire of the people of Islam decide between us concerning our blood. If there is proof against us that we killed your fellow tribesman, then choose the best man among us and kill him in recompense for your fellow. But, if there is no proof, then we will swear by God that we did not kill and did not order or know of a killer for your man. If you do not want that, we will pay 100,000 dirhams in blood money for him. But make peace!"

Al-Aḥnaf b. Qays came with the leading men of Muḍar to Ziyād b. ᶜAmr al-ᶜAtakī and said, "Oh party of Azd, you are our neighbors in dwelling place and our brethren in warfare. We have come to you in your abode to dampen the fires of your hostility[201] and remove your hatred. The decision is entrusted to you, so decide[202] the fate of our mature men and our properties. The loss of anything we possess, if it would bring peace between us, would not seem too much to us." They answered, "Would you pay ten times the accepted blood money for our companion?" and he said, "It is yours." So the people left and they made peace.

Al-Haytham b. al-Aswad[203] said:

[463] The crier loudly proclaimed the death of Masᶜūd, and
I said to him,
"How much braver was the Yamanī than he who
proclaims his death!
He fulfilled fourscore years, no one could defeat him,
a hero[204] whom the summoner called to head legions of men.
He led[205] Ibn Ḥarb[206] when his ways had been barred,
and he widened the escape passages, such widenings

201. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *ḥashsh;* Ansāb, IVb, 99, reads *li-nuṭfi'a ḥasīkatakum,* "so that we may quench your rancor!"

202. Read *ᶜawwilū ᶜalā* (not *quwlū ᶜalā)* "decide on," as in *Ansāb,* IVb, 99.

203. A notable of the Banū Nakhaᶜ of Madhḥij (see *Ansāb,* IVb, 100[1-2]).

204. Ar. *fatan; Ansāb* reads *ḥattā.*

205. *Ansāb* reads *awā,* "he sheltered," for *addā.*

206. I.e., ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād counted as a descendant of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb.

That the earth and its inhabitants could disappear in them,
and he was surrounded by his helpers and partisans."

And ᶜUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr[207] said:

I never ceased to hope for Azd until I saw
that they fell short of their ancestral glory.
Has Masᶜūd been killed and they never sought vengeance for him,
and have the swords of Azd become like sickles?
What is the good of blood money which has brought humiliation to Azd?
Their living ones are reviled for it in the assemblies,
As gray-haired ones, as if their beards were (skins of) foxes with bells hung on their necks.[208]

The Baṣrans decided together to give authority to one of themselves to lead the prayer until an *imām* should be agreed upon. They appointed ᶜAbd al-Malik b. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜĀmir[209] for a month and then they appointed Babbah, who was ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥarith b. ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He led them in prayer for two months until ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbaydallāh b. Maᶜmar[210] came to them from Ibn al-Zubayr. He stayed for a month until al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīᶜah al-Makhzūmī came bringing orders for his removal from office. Al-Ḥarith then became prefect of al-Baṣrah, and he was (the one called) al-Qubāᶜ.[211] [464]

207. ᶜUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr al-Juᶜfī of Madhḥij, as in *Ansāb*, IVb, 100[6] (see *Add. et emend.*; also see Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 105 f., 219–21, Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 190).

208. The simile in the last two lines presumably indicates cowardice (the fox) and stupidity (the bells are the sort which are hung on the necks of livestock).

209. Of the Banū ᶜAbd Shams of Quraysh (see Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 149).

210. Of the Banū Taym of Quraysh (*ibid.*, 189).

211. See *Add. et emend.* for the missing Abī in al-Ḥārith's name; another Qurashī (see Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 318 and n. 3, for an offered derivation of the name al-Qubāᶜ).

Abū Jaᶜfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: As for ᶜUmar b. Shabbah, he gave me a report about the tenure of authority by ᶜAbd al-Malik b. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜĀmir b. Kurayz and Babbah, the killing of Masᶜūd , and the holding of office by ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbaydallāh[212] which was different from Hishām's report from ᶜAwānah.

According to ᶜUmar b. Shabbah—ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad—Abū Muqarrin ᶜUbaydallāh al-Duhnī: When the people gave the oath of allegiance to Babbah, he appointed Himyān b. ᶜAdī over his police troops. One of the people of Medina came to Babbah and the latter ordered Himyān b. ᶜAdī to give the Medinese a lodging place close to himself. Himyān, therefore, went to a house which belonged to al-Fīl,[213] a mawlā of Ziyād, which was in the district of the Banū Sulaym,[214] thinking to turn everyone out of it so that he could lodge the Medinese there. But al-Fīl had fled and locked the doors, and the Banū Sulaym resisted Himyān and fought against him. They appealed for help to ᶜAbd al-Malik b. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜĀmir b. Kurayz, who sent his Bukhāriyyah and his mawlās with weapons. They drove Himyān out and prevented him from taking the house.

Next day, ᶜAbd al-Malik went to the government house to greet Babbah and a man of the Banū Qays b. Thaᶜlabah[215] met him at the door. This man said, "You are the one who helped them against us yesterday!" and raised his hand and hit him. Thereupon a crowd of the Bukhāriyyah struck off the hand of the Qaysī and sent it flying. (It is also reported that the Qaysī escaped without injury.) Ibn ᶜĀmir was enraged. He went back, and Muḍar were stirred up on his behalf. When they met, Bakr b. Wā'il went to Ashyam b. Shaqīq and appealed for his help and he came bringing Mālik b. Mismaᶜ with him. He went up on to the *minbar* and said, "Any Muḍarī whom you find, crucify him!" (The family of Mismaᶜ claim that Mālik came on that day wearing his indoor clothes[216] and without weapons in order to deflect Ashyam from what he intended.)

212. *Sic.*
213. See n. 197 above.
214. Of Qays.
215. Of Bakr b. Wā'il, the clan of Mālik b. Mismaᶜ.
216. Ar. *mutafaḍḍilan* (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *mifḍal*).

Then Bakr went back. Bakr and Muḍar had previously held off from one another, but now Azd seized the chance to make an alliance with Bakr[217] and they went with Mas^c^ūd to the communal mosque. [465]

Tamīm fled to al-Aḥnaf, who fastened his turban to a spear which he then gave to Salamah b. Dhu'ayb al-Riyāḥī. The Asāwirah went ahead of him, and he entered the mosque while Mas^c^ūd was addressing the gathering. They dragged him down and killed him. The Azd, however, claimed that it was the Azāriqah[218] who had killed him. Then there was civil tumult *(fitnah)* in al-Baṣrah. ^c^Umar b. ^c^Ubaydallāh b. Ma^c^mar and ^c^Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām[219] acted as mediators between them, and eventually Azd accepted ten times the blood money for Mas^c^ūd. Then ^c^Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith remained in his house, professing his piety and saying, "I will not make righteous the people by corruption of myself."

According to ^c^Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan:[220] The Baṣrans wrote to Ibn al-Zubayr, who in turn wrote to Anas b. Mālik[221] asking him to lead the prayer for the people. He led the prayer for them for forty days.

According to ^c^Umar—^c^Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī): Ibn al-Zubayr wrote to ^c^Umar b. ^c^Ubaydallāh b. Ma^c^mar al-Taymī appointing him over al-Baṣrah. He sent the commission to ^c^Umar and he accepted it,[222] but as he was setting out, desiring to perform the minor pilgrimage,[223] ^c^Umar wrote to ^c^Ubaydallāh[224] asking him to lead the people in prayer, and he did so until ^c^Umar came.

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217. *Ansāb*, IVb, 105[16-17], seems to read better: *thumma inna 'l-qawma taḥājazu wa 'nṣarafat Bakru wa 'l-Muḍariyyatu wa-taḥālafat Bakru wa 'l-Azd.*

218. Extremist Khārijites, followers of Nāfi^c^ b. al-Azraq (see *EI*[1], s.v. Nāfi^c^ b. al-Azraḳ).

219. *Ansāb*, IVb, 106[16], has ^c^Amr b. ^c^Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām; *Naqā'iḍ Farazdaq*, 738[11], has ^c^Umar b. ^c^Abd al-Raḥmān; possibly a descendant of Hishām b. al-Mughīrah of the Banū Makhzūm of Quraysh?

220. Al-Madā'inī?

221. Medinese Companion of the Prophet (see *EI*[2], s.v.).

222. Ar. *wāfaqahu*; *Ansāb*, IVb, 106[19], has *fa-wafāhu*, "it reached him," which seems better.

223. Ar. ^c^*umrah*, a ritual which involves pilgrimage to Mecca but may be performed at any time of the year and does not include all of the ceremonies of the *ḥajj*.

224. ^c^Umar b. ^c^Ubaydallāh's brother (see *Ansāb*, IVb, 106[19-20]).

According to ᶜUmar—Zuhayr b. Ḥarb—Wahb b. Jarīr—his father:[225] I heard Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr say: The people of al-Baṣrah agreed on a peace on condition that ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Hāshimī governed them. He directed their affairs for four months, but Nāfiᶜ b. al-Azraq went in revolt to Ahwāz[226] and it was said to ᶜAbdallāh, "The men have devoured one another and women are seized from the roads but no one prevents it, and the result is that you are put to shame." He answered, "What is it that you want?" and they said, "That you put on your sword and act firmly with the
[466] people." He said, "I will not make them righteous by my own corruption. Slave, bring me my sandals!" And he put on his sandals and betook himself to his family. The people appointed as governor ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbaydallāh b. Maᶜmar al-Taymī.

My father (Jarīr) said from al-Ṣaᶜb b. Zayd: The plague [*al-jārif*] broke out while ᶜAbdallāh was in authority over al-Baṣrah. His mother died in it. Nobody could be found who would carry her body for burial, so they had to hire four non-Arabs who carried her to her grave. And he was governor at that time!

According to ᶜUmar—ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad: While Babbah was in charge of al-Baṣrah, he had taken 40,000 dirhams from the treasury and deposited it with somebody. When ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbaydallāh came as governor, he took and imprisoned ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith and tortured a mawlā of his to find out where that money was and compelled him to pay it back.

According to ᶜUmar—ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad—al-Qaflānī—Yazīd b. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr: I said to ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, "When you had authority over us I saw that you acquired money but were wary about the shedding of blood." He replied, "The consequences of money are easier than those of blood."

In this year also, the Kūfans appointed ᶜĀmir b. Masᶜūd over their affairs. Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī reported from ᶜAwānah b. al-Ḥakam that when they rejected the two delegates from the Baṣrans, the Kūfan notables met and con-

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225. See n. 76 above.
226. The province of southwestern Iran bordering Iraq.

cluded a peace on condition that ᶜĀmir b. Masᶜūd should lead them in prayer (he was ᶜĀmir b. Masᶜūd b. Khalaf al-Qurashī, the "ball made by dung beetles"[227] referred to by ᶜAbdallāh b. Hammām al-Salūlī:[228]

Cling fast to Zayd if you catch him,
and cure the widows of the dung beetles' ball,[229]

for he was short of stature)[230] until the people should make [467]
up their minds. He remained in office for three months after Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah perished and then ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī, al-Khaṭmi,[231] came to lead the prayer and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. ᶜUbaydallāh[232] to be in charge of taxes.[233] And the Kūfans, the Baṣrans, those Arabs in the region toward which prayer is performed,[234] the Syrians and the people of Mesopotamia all accepted Ibn al-Zubayr, except for the people of Jordan.

In this year also, the oath of allegiance as caliph was given to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam[235]in Syria.

The Rendering of Allegiance to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam in Syria

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saᶜd—Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar:[236] When the oath of allegiance was given to ᶜAbdallāh b. al-

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227. According to *Ansāb*, IVb, 101[1], he was called *duḥrūjat al-juᶜal* because of his shortness.

228. On him see *EI*[2], s.v.; *GAS*, II, 324.

229. *Cf. Ansāb*, IVb, 101[3], V, 191[15]; "Zayd" is sometimes identified as a mawlā of Ibn Masᶜūd; "cure the widows of" may refer to their amorous infatuation with the governor.

230. Ar. *wa-kāna qaṣīran ḥattā. . .*: all parallels indicate that this must refer to ᶜĀmir's short stature, not the passage of time.

231. Of the Anṣār, among whom Khaṭmah b. Jusham is a subgroup of the Aws (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 182).

232. Of the Banū Taym of Quraysh, known as al-Aᶜraj (the Lame; see Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 283–4).

233. Ar. *kharāj*, i.e., the governorship was divided into its political/religious and financial components.

234. The *qiblah*, i.e. (here), the Ḥijāz in general.

235. A leading Umayyad of the family of Abū al-ᶜĀṣ (see further *EI*[2], s.v. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam). For parallel and variant accounts of the following two sections see *Ansāb*, V, 127–46, Ibn Saᶜd, V, 27–9, *Naqā'iḍ Akhṭal*, 6ff., Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 170–83, Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 107(esp. 133 ff.)–51 (with further references).

236. On Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar al-Wāqidī, d. 207/822–3, see *EI*[1], s.v. al-

Zubayr, he appointed ᶜUbaydah b. al-Zubayr[237] over Medina and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jaḥdam al-Fihrī[238] over Egypt, and he expelled the Banū Umayyah and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam to Syria. At that time, ᶜAbd al-Malik[239] was twenty-eight years old. When Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr and those who were with him reached Syria, he told Marwān of the situation in which he had left Ibn al-Zubayr and that he had summoned Ibn al-Zubayr to accept the oath of allegiance but he had refused. Ḥuṣayn said to Marwān and to the Banū Umayyah, "We can see that you are in great confusion, so put your affairs in order before he moves into your Syria against you and indiscriminate civil discord breaks out."[240] It was Marwān's opinion that he should set out and hurry to Ibn al-Zubayr to give him the oath of allegiance. Then ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād arrived, however, and the Banū Umayyah met with him. ᶜUbaydallāh had heard what Marwān wanted to do and he said to him, "I am ashamed at you for what you want! You are the senior man of Quraysh, and its *sayyid*. It will do what you do." And he said, "Nothing is yet lost." The Banū Umayyah and its mawlās supported him and the Yemenis[241] rallied to him, and he set out, saying, "Nothing is yet lost." He and those who
[468] were with him came to Damascus, the people of which had given the oath of allegiance to al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī on the understanding that he should lead them in prayer and manage their affairs until the question of authority over the community of Muḥammad had been settled.

As for ᶜAwānah, according to Hishām's report from him, he said: When Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah had died and his son Muᶜāwiyah after him (I heard that after his accession Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah had given the command and a

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Wāḳidī, *GAS*, I, 294–7; on Muḥammad b. Saᶜd, d. 230/845, see *EI*², s.v., *GAS*, I, 300–1.

237. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr's brother (of the Banū Asad of Quraysh).

238. Also called ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜUtbah, of the Banū Fihr of Quraysh (see Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 445 and n. 1).

239. Marwān's son and successor; see *EI*², s.v.

240. Literally, "a blind and deaf *fitnah*."

241. I.e., the "southern" Arab tribes in Syria which were regarded as descendants of Qaḥṭān, or allies of these tribes.

communal prayer was proclaimed in Damascus.[242] He praised God and extolled Him and then said, "To come to the point, I have considered the matter of authority among you and I do not have the strength for it. I sought for you somebody like ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [God's mercy be upon him] when Abū Bakr had recourse to him, but I have not found such a man. And I have sought for you six men to consult among themselves like the six appointed by ᶜUmar, but I have not found them. You are best fitted to decide your own affairs, so choose for them somebody you love." Then he went into his residence and did not again come out to the people, remaining absent until he died. Some authorities say that he was secretly given poison to drink, some that he was stabbed. We now return to the report of ᶜAwānah), ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād came to Damascus.

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī was in authority there.[243] In Qinnasrīn, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī[244] revolted and gave the oath of allegiance to ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and in Ḥimṣ, al-Nuᶜmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī[245] also gave Ibn al-Zubayr his allegiance. In Palestine, Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal al-Kalbī[246] was governing, first for Muᶜāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and then afterward for Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah. He was fervently for the Banū Umayyah and he was the *sayyid* of the people of Palestine. Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal al-Kalbī summoned Rawḥ b. Zinbāᶜ al-Judhāmī[247] and said, "I am appointing you deputy over Palestine. Include this clan of Lakhm with Judhām[248] and

242. Here al-Sha'm presumably means Damascus, although above and below the town is called Dimashq.

243. The following paragraph summarizes the situation in each of the military and administrative districts *(ajnād)* of Syria: Damascus, Qinnasrīn, Ḥimṣ, Palestine and Jordan (see *EI*², s.v. Djund).

244. Al-Ḥārith rather than ᶜAbdallāh (see *Add. et emend.*); on him, see Crone, *Slaves*, 108–9; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 135–6; *Ansāb*, V, 132⁴, says that Zufar b. al-Ḥārith *had* revolted, *wa-qad thāra Zufar*.

245. Son of a Medinese Companion (on him see *EI*¹, s.v.; Crone, *Slaves*, 155; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 137).

246. Related to the Sufyānids by marriage, leader of Quḍāᶜah (see *EI*², s.v.; Crone, *Slaves*, 93–4; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 128 ff.).

247. One of two rivals for the leadership of Judhām (see next note); on him see Crone, *Slaves*, 99–100.

248. Tribes settled alongside each other in the Jordan/Palestine region and

you will not be short of men. Since you are the most eminent
[469] of them, you will have the backing of those of your people who are with you." Ḥassān b. Mālik then went to the district of Jordan and left Rawḥ b. Zinbāᶜ as his deputy over Palestine. Nātil b. Qays,[249] however, revolted against Rawḥ b. Zinbāᶜ, expelled him, proclaimed himself in authority over Palestine and gave the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr.

ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr had written to his governor over Medina telling him to expel the Banū Umayyah from the town, and they were expelled with their dependents and women to Syria. They reached Damascus, where Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was.[250] The people were divided into two parties: Ḥassān b. Mālik in Jordan was fervently for the Banū Umayyah and propagandized on their behalf, while al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī in Damascus was fervently for ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr and propagandized for him.

Ḥassān b. Mālik remained in the Jordan district and said, "Oh people of Jordan, what do you witness for Ibn al-Zubayr and those who were killed of the people of the Ḥarrah?"[251] They replied, "We bear witness that Ibn al-Zubayr is a hypocrite [*munāfiq*][252] and those of the people of the Ḥarrah who were killed are in hell." "And what do you witness for Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah and those of you who were killed at the Ḥarrah?" he said. They answered, "We witness that Yazīd was in the right and that those of us killed are in heaven." He said, "And I witness that, if the religion [*dīn*] of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah was truth while he was alive at that time, it is still so today and his party [*shīᶜah*] are in the right. And if Ibn al-Zubayr and his party were at that time in falsehood, he is today still in falsehood and so is his party." They told him, "You have spoken right. We give you the oath of allegiance on condition

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in alliance, with Judhām dominating; Lakhm seems already to have been assigned to Yemen, while Judhām's descent was still an open question, some claiming a Yemenī affiliation, others a "northern" (Maᶜadd) (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 176, II, 264, 375–6; *EI*², s.vv. Djudhām, Lakhm).

249. Ibn Zinbāᶜ's rival for the leadership of Judhām.

250. *Ansāb*, V, 132[10], reads *wa-fīhim Marwān* "and Marwān was among them," which seems better.

251. See n. 10 above.

252. On this word, see Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, s.v.

that we fight those of the people who oppose you and obey Ibn al-Zubayr, and on condition that we do not have either of these two lads to rule over us for we find that abhorrent (they meant the two sons of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, ʿAbdallāh and Khālid).[253] They are short in years and we dislike the idea that the others should come to us with a shaykh while we bring them a youngster."

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays in Damascus was fervently for Ibn al- [470]
Zubayr, but the fact that the Banū Umayyah were present there prevented him from proclaiming it openly, so he worked secretly in support of him. However, Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal heard of it and sent a letter to al-Ḍaḥḥāk in which he stressed the legitimacy of the Banū Umayyah, reminded him of the importance of obedience and communal unity, the favor which the Banū Umayyah had shown him and the pains they had taken for him, and he called upon him to obey them. Further, he referred to Ibn al-Zubayr, disparaged him and abused him, mentioned that he was a hypocrite who had refused to accept two caliphs, and he told al-Ḍaḥḥāk to read out the letter to the people. Ḥassān then called for a man of Kalb, named Nāghiḍah,[254] and sent him off with the letter to al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, but he also made a copy of the letter and gave it to Nāghiḍah saying, "So long as al-Ḍaḥḥāk reads out my letter to the people, that is all right, but if he does not, then you are to get up and read this letter out to them." In addition, he also wrote to the Banū Umayyah asking them to be present when the letter was read.

Nāghiḍah came to al-Ḍaḥḥāk with the letter and gave it to him. He also gave the Banū Umayyah their letter. On the Friday, al-Ḍaḥḥāk went up on the *minbar* and Nāghiḍah stood before him and said, "God save the governor! Call for the letter of Ḥassān and read it out to the people," but al-Ḍaḥḥāk said, "Sit down!" He sat down but then stood up a second

253. The two surviving sons of Yazīd by different mothers; the former is known as al-Uswār, the latter is famous as a (legendary?) alchemist (see Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 128–9 and on the latter, see *EI*², s.v. Khālid b. Yazīd).

254. *Ansāb*, V, 133[1], has "Nāʿiṣah, one of the descendants of Thaʿlab b. Wabarah, the brother of Kalb"; Ibn ʿAsākir and Ibn al-Athīr read Bāghiḍah. Goitein refers to *LA*, VIII, 368[4], for the name Nāʿiṣah.

time, and again al-Ḍaḥḥāk said, "Sit down!" The same happened on a third occasion and when Nāghiḍah saw that he was not going to do what he asked, he got out the letter which he had with him and read it out to the people. Al-Walīd b. ᶜUtbah b. Abī Sufyān[255] then arose and said that Ḥassān spoke the truth while Ibn al-Zubayr, whom he reviled, was a liar. Next Yazīd b. Abī al-Nims al-Ghassānī[256] got up, proclaimed the truth of what Ḥassān had said and of his letter, and he abused Ibn al-Zubayr. He was followed by Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī,[257] who said exactly the same. But then ᶜAmr b. Yazīd
[471] al-Ḥakamī[258] arose and he reviled Ḥassān and heaped praise on Ibn al-Zubayr.

Consequently, the people were in a tumult. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk ordered that al-Walīd b. ᶜUtbah, Yazīd b. Abī al-Nims, and Sufyān b. al-Abrad, who had asserted the truth of what Ḥassān said and reviled Ibn al-Zubayr, be imprisoned, and they were. The people assailed one another and Kalb attacked ᶜAmr b. Yazīd al-Ḥakamī, setting him on fire and tearing his clothes. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah arose and ascended two steps of the *minbar*. At that time he was still a boy. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays was on the *minbar*, but Khālid b. Yazīd delivered a very succinct speech, the like of which had never been heard, and the people fell quiet. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk came down from the *minbar* and led the assembly in the Friday prayer, and then went to his residence. The Kalb came and released Sufyān b. al-Abrad while Ghassān did the same for Yazīd b. Abī al-Nims, so that al-Walīd b. ᶜUtbah complained, "If only I were of Kalb or Ghassān, I would have been released!" However, the two sons of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah, Khālid and ᶜAbdallāh, came with their maternal relatives of Kalb and got him out of the prison.

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255. Former governor of Medina, member of the family to which the first three Umayyad caliphs had belonged, had unsuccessfully attempted to obtain the oath of allegiance for Yazīd from Ibn al-Zubayr and al-Ḥusayn following the death of Muᶜāwiyah (Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 132–3).

256. Leader (?) of the Ghassānī tribe, settled in Jordan before the Arab conquests (see Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, index s.v.).

257. Later prominent in fighting on behalf of the Umayyads under ᶜAbd al-Malik and al-Ḥajjāj (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 286, 515).

258. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 172, makes him the son of the Umayyad Yazīd b. al-Ḥakam, but cf. Lammens, *Marwānides*, 29/69, n. 1, Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 139, n. 207.

That was the day which the Syrians call "the first day of Jayrūn."[259] The people remained as they were in Damascus, and al-Ḍaḥḥāk came out to the mosque of the town and took his seat there. He referred to Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah and disparaged him and then a young man of Kalb arose with a staff with which he struck him. The people were sitting in the groups girded with their swords and they attacked one another in the mosque and fought, the Qays appealing for support for Ibn al-Zubayr and assistance for al-Ḍaḥḥāk, while Kalb shouted for the Banū Umayyah, especially for Khālid b. Yazīd, since they felt family solidarity with Yazīd. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk retired into the government house.

Next day, he did not come out for the dawn prayer ritual. Some of the soldiers were fervently for the Banū Umayyah, [472] some fervently for Ibn al-Zubayr. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk sent for the Banū Umayyah and they went to him on the morrow. He apologized to them and mentioned the pains they had taken in showing favor to his mawlās[260] and to himself and said that he desired nothing which they disliked. He said, "So let us both write to Ḥassān and he will come from Jordan and camp at al-Jābiyah[261] and we will all go and join him there. Then we will give the oath of allegiance to one of you." The Banū Umayyah accepted that, and they and al-Ḍaḥḥāk both wrote to Ḥassān. And then the Banū Umayyah and the people came out, the banners were put in front, and they set out aiming for al-Jābiyah.

Thawr b. Maᶜn b. Yazīd b. al-Akhnas al-Sulamī[262] now came to al-Ḍaḥḥāk and said, "You summoned us to obedience to Ibn al-Zubayr and we gave you the oath of allegiance on that understanding. But now you are going to this Kalbī bedouin to make his nephew,[263] Khālid b. Yazīd, caliph." Al-Ḍaḥḥāk

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259. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 172, n. 1, F. Buhl, "Zur Krisis der Umajjadenherrschaft im Jahre 684," *ZA*, XXVII (1912), 61; for a possible eschatological connection, see N. Wieder, *The Judaean Scrolls and Karaism*, London, 1962, 19.

260. See Crone, *Slaves*, 198; the parallel passage in *Ansāb*, V, 133[20-21], does not refer to the mawlās.

261. Former center of the Ghassānid "kings," about 50 miles south of Damascus (see *EI*², s.v. Djābiya).

262. Of Qays, killed at Marj Rāhiṭ (see below).

263. Read *ibn ukhtihi*.

said to him, "So what do you think?" and he answered, "I think we should proclaim openly that which we were keeping secret, summon to obedience to Ibn al-Zubayr, and fight for it." And al-Ḍaḥḥāk turned aside with those of the people who were with him and won them over. Then he continued journeying as far as Marj Rāhiṭ,[264] where he pitched camp.

There are variant accounts of the battle which took place at Marj Rāhiṭ between al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

According to Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar al-Wāqidī: Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was given the oath of allegiance in Muḥarram, 65 (August–September 684). Marwān was in Syria and did not concern himself with the matter until ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād encouraged him to do that when he came to him from Iraq. He said to him, "You are the senior man of Quraysh and its head, but al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays has authority over you!" That led to what followed. Marwān went against al-Ḍaḥḥāk with an army and slew him and his supporters. At that time al-Ḍaḥḥāk was obedient to Ibn al-Zubayr. There was a slaughter
[473] of the Banū Qays at Marj Rāhiṭ such as had never occurred on any field.

According to Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar—Ibn Abī al-Zinād—Hishām b. ᶜUrwah:[265] Al-Ḍaḥḥāk was killed at the day of Marj Rāhiṭ while calling on people to accept Ibn al-Zubayr. We were told of it in a letter sent to ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and al-Ḍaḥḥāk's obedience to him and the rectitude of his views were referred to.[266]

Several authorities say that the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ between al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Marwān was in the year 64 (August 683–August 684).

I was told on the authority of Ibn Saᶜd—Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar—Mūsā b. Yaᶜqūb—Abū al-Ḥuwayrith: The people of Jordan and others said to Marwān, "You are a great shaykh, while the son of Yazīd is a boy and Ibn al-Zubayr is in middle age. Only iron will strike iron, so do not challenge him with

264. On the site, see *EI*², s.v.

265. Hishām b. ᶜUrwah b. al-Zubayr, d. 146/763, Ibn al-Zubayr's nephew (on him, see *GAS*, I, 88–9).

266. The text seems to be corrupt (see *Add. et emend.*).

this boy. Meet him head on and we will give you the oath of allegiance. Hold out your hand!" So he held out his hand and they gave him the oath of allegiance at al-Jābiyah on Wednesday when three days had passed of Dhū al-Qa^c^dah in the year 64 (June 22, 684).

According to Muḥammad b. ^c^Umar—Muṣ^c^ab b. Thābit—^c^Āmir b. ^c^Abdallāh: When al-Ḍaḥḥāk heard that they had given Marwān the oath of allegiance as caliph, he took the oath of allegiance from his supporters on behalf of Ibn al-Zubayr. Then they marched against one another and fought a great battle. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk and his men were killed.

According to Muḥammad b. ^c^Umar—Ibn Abī al-Zinād—his father: When ^c^Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk[267] was governor over Medina, he was just a young man. He said that al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays had invited Qays and others to give the oath of allegiance to himself (al-Ḍaḥḥāk) and that he took the oath of allegiance from them as caliph. Zufar b. ^c^Aqīl al-Fihrī[268] said to ^c^Abd al-Raḥman, "That is how we understood and heard it, but the descendants of al-Zubayr say that al-Ḍaḥḥāk only gave ^c^Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr the oath of allegiance and went out in obedience to him until he was killed. They lie, [474] by God! What led to that (his taking the oath of allegiance for himself) was that Quraysh summoned him to it. He at first refused, only agreeing to it reluctantly."[269]

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267. The son of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays governed al-Madīnah for Yazīd (II) b. ^c^Abd al-Malik (*regn.* 101–5/720–4).

268. Of the same Qurashī family as al-Ḍaḥḥāk.

269. The sense of the text here is somewhat uncertain, particularly with regard to the meaning and function of *al-bāṭila* in the first line of p. 474. My translation results from a comparison with the parallel passage in Ibn ^c^Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 6, which is virtually the same as far as *wa-kharaja fī ṭā^c^atihi*, but then continues *ḥattā qutila ^c^alayhā qāla al-bāṭila wa'llāhi ya-qūlūna*. This seems to show that ^c^Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk is denying what the descendants of al-Zubayr say regarding al-Ḍaḥḥāk's allegiance. That Quraysh summoned al-Ḍaḥḥāk to take the oath of allegiance to himself and not to Ibn al-Zubayr is indicated by a further addition in the text of Ibn ^c^Asākir: *wa-lākin kāna awwalu dhālik an Qurayshan da^c^athu ilayhā wa-qālat inta kabīrunā wa 'l-qā'im bi-dami 'l-khalīfati 'l-maẓlūm*. . . . All this may, however, be merely an attempt to make sense of a garbled text. See further, Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 176, 178; Buhl, "Krisis," 53–4, 59 (based on Ibn Sa^c^d, V, 27–9); Lammens, *Marwānides*, 40–1/80–1; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Kays; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 141, 143.

The Battle at Marj Rāhiṭ between al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and Its Immediate Consequences

Abū Jaᶜfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: According to Nūḥ b. Ḥabīb—Hishām b. Muḥammad—ᶜAwānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī: When he headed for al-Jābiyah to meet Ḥassān b. Mālik, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays turned aside with those who were with him and won them over.[270] Then he pressed on and pitched camp at Marj Rāhiṭ. There he publicly proclaimed the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr and renounced the Banū Umayyah. The majority of the men of Damascus, both Yemenis and others, gave him the oath of allegiance on that basis. The Banū Umayyah and their followers traveled on until they reached Ḥassān at al-Jābiyah. Ḥassān led their ritual prayers for forty days while the men consulted among themselves. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk wrote to al-Nuᶜmān b. Bashīr who was governor over Ḥimṣ, to Zufar b. al-Ḥārith who was over Qinnasrīn, and to Nātil b. Qays who was over Palestine, asking for help, for they were all in obedience to Ibn al-Zubayr. Al-Nuᶜmān sent him Shuraḥbīl b. Dhī al-Kalāᶜ[271] to help him, Zufar sent the men of Qinnasrīn, and Nātil sent the men of Palestine. The forces joined al-Ḍaḥḥāk at the "meadow."[272]

At al-Jābiyah, the people had various wishes. Mālik b. Hubayrah al-Sakūnī[273] was a fervent supporter of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah's sons and wanted the caliphate to be among them; al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī eagerly desired the caliphate
[475] for Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. Mālik b. Hubayrah said to al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr, "Come on, let us give the oath of allegiance to this lad whose father we begat. He is descended from one

270. This is the continuation of ᶜAwānah's account which broke off at p. 54 above.

271. Member of one of the two chief Ḥimyarī families of Ḥimṣ; one is to understand he was sent as leader of a force of men from Ḥimṣ (see Crone, *Slaves*, 94–5; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 131, 151, 187, 191).

272. Ar. *al-marj*, i.e., presumably Marj Rāhiṭ, although Lammens postulated an earlier engagement at Marj al-Ṣuffar.

273. Like his fellow Sakūnī, al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr, he was a leader of Kindah in Syria (Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 131 and index).

of our women[274] and you know that our present status derives from his father, and he will shortly place our yoke on the necks of the Arabs" (he meant Khālid b. Yazīd). But al-Ḥuṣayn said, "No, by God Eternal, the Arabs will not come to us with a shaykh while we go to them with a youth!" Mālik said, "You say this even though you (my female riding camel) have not reached Tihāmah and the girth has not yet reached the two teats!"[275] Those present said, "Gently, Oh Abū Sulaymān!" but Mālik said to al-Ḥuṣayn, "By God, if you give the caliphate to Marwān and his family, they will be jealous even of your whip, the lace of your sandal, and the shade of a tree where you seek shelter from the sun. Marwān is the father of a clan, the brother of a clan and the uncle of a clan, and if you give him the oath of allegiance you will be their slaves. Rather, accept the authority of Khālid, the descendant of a woman of your own blood." But al-Ḥuṣayn replied, "In a dream I saw a candlestick suspended from the heavens. Those who are now eager for the caliphate reached out for it but did not obtain it, but Marwān reached out for it and got it. By God, we will indeed appoint him as caliph." Mālik said to him, "Woe to you, Ḥuṣayn. Will you give the oath of allegiance to Marwān and the family of Marwān when you know they are a leading family of Qays?"

When they had made up their minds to give the oath of allegiance to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, Rawḥ b. Zinbāᶜ al-Judhāmī arose, praised God and extolled Him, and then said, "Oh people, you talk about ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,[276] his companionship with the Prophet and his precedence in Islam. He is just as you say, but Ibn ᶜUmar is a weak man and no weak man can be master of the community of Muḥammad.

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274. Khālid b. Yazīd's mother seems to have been a Qurashī, and Mālik's reference is to Khālid's grandmother, wife of Muᶜāwiyah, who was a woman of Kalb (see Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 129).

275. See Freytag, *Proverbia*, II, 873, and I, 293 (Maydānī, *Amthāl*, under *hā'* and *jīm*). Two proverbs which seem together to mean "come on faint-heart, things have not yet become impossible." Cf. p. 69 below, where they are attributed to Mālik as a response to Marwān.

276. Son of the second caliph, sometimes mentioned as a possible candidate for the caliphate although he seems to have been unwilling to accept nomination (see *EI*², s.v.).

As for what is said about ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr and what is
[476] claimed for him, by God it is just as they say as to his being the son of al-Zubayr, who was the disciple of the Messenger of God,[277] and of Asmā', who was the daughter of Abū Bakr the Righteous One, and 'mistress of the two girdles.'[278] Furthermore, he is just as you say regarding his precedence in Islam and his merit. But Ibn al-Zubayr is a hypocrite [*munāfiq*] who has rejected two caliphs, Yazīd and his son Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd, shed blood, and broken the staff of the Muslims.[279] A hypocrite cannot be the master of the affairs of Muḥammad's community. As for Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, by God, there has never been a split in Islam but that Marwān was one of those who repaired it. He fought for the Commander of the Faithful ᶜUthmān b. al-ᶜAffān on the 'Day of the House,'[280] and he fought against ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib at the 'Day of the Camel.'[281] We think the people should give the oath of allegiance to the elder and consider the junior too immature." (By the "elder" he meant Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, and by the "junior" Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah.)

Agreement was reached on allegiance to Marwān, then to Khālid b. Yazīd as his successor, and then to ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd b. al-ᶜĀṣ as successor to Khālid, on condition that the governorate of Damascus should be for ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd b. al-ᶜĀṣ and that of Ḥimṣ for Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah. Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal, therefore, summoned Khālid b. Yazīd and said, "Oh my nephew, the people have rejected you on account of your

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277. Ar. *ḥawārī*, a word which is used in the Qur'ān in its plural form to refer to the followers of Jesus and seems to be related to the Ethiopic word for "apostle" (Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, s.v.). It is not clear why al-Zubayr, among all the Companions of Muḥammad, should be designated as his *ḥawārī*.

278. Daughter of the first caliph Abū Bakr, Asmā' was married to al-Zubayr; her sobriquet is attributed to her having torn her girdle or waistband (*niṭāq*) in two at the time of the *hijrah* in order to provide the Prophet with a provision bag and a strap for his waterskin (see *EI*², s.v.).

279. A common expression indicating disruption of the community.

280. The traditional name for the attack against the third caliph ᶜUthmān in 656; he was killed in his "house" (*dār*) in Medina; Marwān is said to have been ᶜUthmān's secretary.

281. Traditional name for the battle near al-Baṣrah between the fourth caliph ᶜAlī and his opponents, among whom was Ibn al-Zubayr's father, at the end of 656 (see *EI*², s.v. Djamal).

lack of years. I myself do not want this matter to be entrusted to anybody but you and your family, and I will only give Marwān the oath of allegiance out of regard for you." Khālid b. Yazīd said to him, "No, rather, you were not strong enough for us." Ḥassān answered, "No by God, it was not that I was not strong enough for you but what I think is considered best for you." Then Ḥassān summoned Marwān and said, "Oh Marwān, by God not everyone is satisfied with you." Marwān [477] replied, "If God wishes to give it to me, none of His creatures can stop me getting it, but if He wishes to keep it away from me, none of His creatures can give it to me." Ḥassān said to him, "You have spoken the truth."

On the Monday, Ḥassān went up on the *minbar* and said, "Oh people, we shall, God willing, appoint a caliph on Thursday." On the Thursday, he gave the oath of allegiance to Marwān and so did the people. Marwān then journeyed with the people toward al-Jābiyah and pitched camp at Marj Rāhiṭ among the men of Jordan of the Banū Kalb[282] over against al-Ḍaḥḥāk. The Sakāsik, the Sakūn,[283] and the Ghassān joined him while Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal rode off to the Jordan district.

In command of the forces of his right wing (I mean of Marwān) was ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd b. al-ᶜĀṣ,[284] and of his left wing ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. Ziyād b. ᶜAmr b. Muᶜāwiyah al-ᶜUqaylī[285] led the right wing of al-Ḍaḥḥāk, and somebody else whose name I do not remember was over his left. Yazīd b. Abī al-Nims al-Ghassānī was not present at al-Jābiyah, for he was concealed in Damascus. When Marwān camped at Marj Rāhiṭ, Yazīd b. Abī al-Nims led a rising of the people of Damascus with its slaves,[286] got control there, and drove al-

282. I.e., the Kalb from the military district of Urdunn.

283. The Sakāsik (pl. of Saksak) and Sakūn were two tribes of Kindah (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 233, II, 503).

284. A leading Umayyad of the family of al-ᶜĀṣ (see *EI*², s.v. ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd al-Ashdaḳ).

285. Of the Banū Qays.

286. Ar. *bi-ahli Dimashq fī ᶜabīdihā;* the sense of this is unclear to me; the parallel passage, *Ansāb*, V, 136, merely says that Yazīd "got control over Damascus," Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 149, n. 254, interprets Ṭabarī's text to mean that Yazīd received help from the slaves living in Damascus; cf. Crone, *Slaves*, 264, n. 647, "with the help of the slaves of the Damascenes."

Ḍaḥḥāk's official out. He obtained possession of the storehouses and the treasury, proclaimed the oath of allegiance to Marwān and sent him help in the form of wealth, men and arms. That was the first success won for the Banū Umayyah.

Marwān fought al-Ḍaḥḥāk for twenty days and then the people of the "meadow" were defeated and slain. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk was killed and with him on that day were killed eighty of the most notable of the Syrians who supported him, all of whom "took the rug"[287] (those who "took the rug" drew two
[478] thousand dirhams in pay). And there was a slaughter of the Syrians on that day such as had never occurred before, from all of the tribes. On that day there were killed with al-Ḍaḥḥāk a Kalbī of the Banū ᶜUlaym called Mālik b. Yazīd b. Mālik b. Kaᶜb[288] and also the standard bearer of Quḍāᶜah at the time when they had first entered Syria, the grandfather of Muddalij b. al-Miqdam b. Zaml b. ᶜAmr b. Rabīᶜa b. ᶜAmr al-Jurashī.[289] Killed, too, was Thawr b. Maᶜn b. Yazīd al-Sulamī, who had caused al-Ḍaḥḥāk to change his mind. A man of Kalb brought the head of al-Ḍaḥḥāk, and it is reported that when the head was brought to Marwān it troubled him and he said, "Now, when I am old and my bones are brittle and I have become thirsty like an ass,[290] I have started striking the detachments one with another."

It is reported that on that day, Marwān passed by one of the slain and said:

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287. Ar. *akhadha 'l-qaṭīfah*, evidently an indication of status; the *qaṭīfah* here seems to be a riding rug; cf. p. 35 above, where it is reported that Ibn Ziyād had a *qaṭīfah* thrown over his mount while fleeing from Iraq.

288. For the Banū ᶜUlaym (of Kinānah/Kalb), see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, tables 280, 283; *ibid.*, II, 396, says that Mālik b. Yazīd fell at Ṣiffīn fighting for Muᶜāwiyah.

289. This name seems to be corrupt: I suspect it refers to Mudlij b. al-Miqdād b. Ziml al-ᶜUdhrī (of Quḍāᶜah; see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 331); according to Ibn Saᶜd, I/2, 67, the grandfather of Mudlij, Zamil *(sic)* b. ᶜAmr al-ᶜUdhrī, was given a banner for his people by the Prophet, subsequently was at Ṣiffīn with Muᶜāwiyah and then fought at al-Marj where he was killed.

290. Proverbial for "only a short life remaining"; the ass is reputedly the thirstiest of animals, and Marwān is saying that he only has left a time comparable to that between the two drinkings of an ass (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ẓama'*).

It was only their mutual hatred which
led them to harm,
whichever of the two Qurashī commanders triumphed.[291]

And when he was given the oath of allegiance and called upon the people to support him, he said:

When I saw that the affair would be one
of plunder,
I made ready Ghassān and Kalb against
them,
And the Saksakīs, men who would
triumph,
and Ṭayyi', who would insist on the
striking of blows,
And the Qayn[292] who would come weighed
down with arms,[293]
and of Tanūkh a difficult lofty peak.[294]
(The enemy) will not seize the kingship
unless by force,
and if Qays approach, say, "Keep
away!"[295]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā—one of the Banū ᶜAbd Wadd[296] of the people of Syria—someone who witnessed the killing of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays: There passed by us a man of Kalb called Zuḥnah b. ᶜAbdallāh. It was as if he were simply bombarding the earth with men. He never hit anybody without felling him and never struck anybody without killing him. I was looking at him, astonished at what he did and at his killing of men, when someone attacked him. Zuḥnah, however, felled him and left him. I [479]

291. See *Ansāb*, V, 137, n. *i*, for other citations.
292. Qayn are part of Quḍāᶜah (see *EI²*, s.v. Ḳayn); all the tribal groups named as opponents of Qays are "southerners."
293. Ar. *nukb* (see *Add. et emend.*); i.e., like camels walking unevenly because weighed down on one side (see *Gloss.*, s.v.).
294. Ar. *mushmakhirr* (see *LA*, IV, 429; *TA*, III, 316).
295. *Ansāb*, V, 138, n. *m*, for other citations.
296. The Banū ᶜAbd Wadd of Kinānah/Kalb (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, tables 280, 294).

went up and examined the slain man and was surprised to find that it was al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays. I took his head and brought it to Marwān who said, "Did you kill him?" "No," I said, "It was Zuḥnah b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Kalbī." It amazed him that I told the truth about it and did not claim it for myself, and he ordered that I be treated graciously and he rewarded Zuḥnah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Masāḥiq—Ḥabīb b. Qurrah: By God, on that day Marwān's banner was with me. Pushing the "shoe" of the scabbard[297] of his sword into my back, he said, "Move forward with your banner, you bastard! If they do not feel the edge of the swords, these men will be separated like the head is separated (from the body) or like the sheep are separated from their shepherd." Marwān had a force of 6,000. ᶜUbaydallah b. Ziyād was in charge of his cavalry and Mālik b. Hubayrah of the foot soldiers.

ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal said: They reported that Bishr b. Marwān[298] had a banner with him on that day. He was fighting with it and saying:

On the leader there is indeed a duty,
that his spear is dyed in blood or is broken
to pieces.[299]

On that day also ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. Marwān was thrown to the ground. And on that day Marwān passed by a man of
[480] Muḥārib[300] who was fighting for Marwān in a small group beneath a banner. Marwān said to him, "May God have mercy on you! If you and your companions drew tight together, then I would see how few in number you are." The man replied, "Oh Commander of the Faithful, there is a reinforcement of angels with us, many times the number of those with whom you tell us to draw together." Marwān was delighted at that

297. Ar. *naᶜl*, i.e., "the iron or silver thing (or shoe) at the lower end of the scabbard" (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

298. Marwān's son, future governor of al-Kūfah.

299. See *Ansāb*, V, 139, n. *r*; cf. *Sīrah* (Cairo), II, 74 = tr. Guillaume, 377.

300. The Banū Muḥārib b. Khaṣafah of Qays (?) (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 92, II, 425).

and laughed and he reinforced the man with some of those who were around himself.

The men fled defeated from the "meadow" to their military districts. Those of Ḥimṣ came to Ḥimṣ, where al-Nuᶜmān b. Bashīr was in charge. When al-Nuᶜmān heard the news, he fled at night with his wife Nā'ilah bint ᶜUmārah al-Kalbiyyah together with his baggage and his children. All that night there was confusion, and next morning the people of Ḥimṣ looked for him. A man of the Banū al-Kalāᶜ[301] called ᶜAmr b. al-Khalī led the search for him. He killed al-Nuᶜmān and brought his head, together with Nā'ilah his wife and her children, and threw the head into the lap of Umm Abān, al-Nuᶜmān's daughter who was subsequently married to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. But Nā'ilah said, "Throw the head to me for I have more right to it than she," and the head was thrown into her lap. Then they brought them along, together with the head, and reached Ḥimṣ with them, and the Kalbīs among the men of Ḥimṣ took charge of Nā'ilah and her children.

Zufar b. al-Ḥārith fled from Qinnasrīn and reached Qarqīsiyā. When he came there, ᶜIyāḍ al-Jurashī[302] was in charge and he prevented Zufar from entering. (ᶜIyāḍ was Ibn Aslam b. Kaᶜb b. Mālik b. Laghaz b. Aswad b. Kaᶜb b. Ḥadas b. Aslam, and Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah had appointed him prefect of Qarqīsiyā.) Zufar said to him, "I promise you on pain of having to divorce my wives and set free my slaves that once I have entered its bath I will leave the town." Once he had reached [481] the town and entered it, however, he never went into its bath but set himself up there and expelled ᶜIyāḍ. Zufar fortified the place and Qays gave him support.

Nātil b. Qays al-Judhāmī, the commander of Palestine, fled and joined Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca.

The Syrians agreed on Marwān's ruling them and gave him their support, and he appointed his officials.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—one of the Banū ᶜAbd Wadd of the people of Syria (i.e., the eastern ᶜAbd Wadd): After

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301. One of the two leading Ḥimyarī families of Ḥimṣ; on Shuraḥbīl b. Dhī al-Kalāᶜ, see n. 268 above.

302. According to *Ansāb*, V, 301[5-6], he is ᶜIyāḍ b. ᶜAmr al-Ḥimyarī. Jurash was a tribe of Ḥimyar (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 278).

authority over Syria had been vested in him, Marwān left and went to Egypt. When he reached it, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jaḥdam al-Qurashī was in authority, summoning the people to obedience to Ibn al-Zubayr. He went out to meet Marwān with those of the Banū Fihr who were with him, but Marwān sent ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd al-Ashdaq around behind. ᶜAmr entered Egypt[303] and stood on its *minbar*, where he delivered an official address to the people. Ibn Jaḥdam's supporters were told that ᶜAmr had entered Egypt and they turned back. The people recognized Marwān as *amīr* and gave him the oath of allegiance. Then he set out returning toward Damascus, but as he drew close to it he heard that Ibn al-Zubayr had sent his brother Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr toward Palestine.

Marwān despatched ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd b. al-ᶜĀṣ with a force against him, and he confronted Muṣᶜab before he could enter Syria. ᶜAmr fought against him and Muṣᶜab's men were routed. With Muṣᶜab there was a man of the Banū ᶜUdhrah[304] called Muḥammad b. Ḥurayth b. Sulaym, one of whose female relatives had married into the family of al-Ashdaq.[305] This man said, "By God, I never saw anyone like Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr for the fierceness of his fighting on horseback or on foot. I saw him on the road going on foot and urging on his men, and he punished his own feet so much that I saw that both of them bled." Marwān went on and established his residence in Damascus, where ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd returned to join him.

It is said that when ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād came from Iraq
[482] to Syria, he found the Banū Umayyah at Palmyra. Ibn al-Zubayr had driven them out of Medina and Mecca and the Ḥijāz as a whole and they had settled in Palmyra, finding al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays governing Syria for Ibn al-Zubayr. When Ibn Ziyād came, Marwān wanted to ride to Ibn al-Zubayr, give him the oath of allegiance as caliph, and obtain a pledge of security for the Banū Umayyah from him. But Ibn Ziyād said to him, "I implore you by God not to do so! It is not a good idea that you, the shaykh of Quraysh, should rush to Abū

303. Text has Miṣr; presumably Fusṭāṭ is meant, as indicated by the subsequent reference to "its *minbar*."

304. Of Quḍāᶜah (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 565–6, *EI*[1], s.v.).

305. The family of the Umayyad ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd al-Ashdaq (see n. 284, above).

Khubayb[306] to give him the caliphate. Rather, summon the people of Palmyra, take the oath of allegiance from them, and then go against al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays with them and those of the Banū Umayyah who are with you and drive him out of Syria." ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd b. al-ᶜĀṣ then said, "By God, ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād has spoken right! I say again that you are the *sayyid* of Quraysh and its branch, and of all the people you have the most right to stand in this matter. Only the claims of this lad (he meant Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah) are under consideration, but you marry his mother and then you will be his guardian."

Marwān, therefore, did that and married the mother of Khālid b. Yazīd, Fākhitah,[307] the daughter of Abū Hāshim b. ᶜUtbah b. Rabīᶜah b. ᶜAbd Shams. Afterward, he gathered together the Banū Umayyah and they gave him the oath of allegiance as the one with authority over them, and the people of Palmyra also gave him the oath of allegiance. Then he set out with a great host against al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, who at that time was in Damascus. When al-Ḍaḥḥāk heard what the Banū Umayyah had done and of their coming against him, he set off with those of the people of Damascus and others who followed him, including Zufar b. al-Ḥārith. The forces met at Marj Rāhiṭ, where they fought a great battle. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī and most of his men were killed, while the survivors fled and scattered.

Zufar b. al-Ḥārith and two youths of the Banū Sulaym took part in this and Marwān's mounted soldiers came seeking them. When the two Sulamīs were afraid that Marwān's horsemen would catch up with them, they said to Zufar, "Save yourself, for we are slain!" So Zufar left them and carried on [483] until he reached Qarqīsiyā, where Qays rallied to him and made him their chief. That was when Zufar b. al-Ḥārith said:[308]

306. The *kunyah* of Ibn al-Zubayr (who also had the *kunyah* Abū Bakr); Khubayb was his eldest son; he died after a flogging he received in Medina during the governorate of ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz there.

307. Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 152, calls her Ḥayyah.

308. *Ansāb*, V, 141, note x, for other citations.

Show me my weapon you bastard[309] for I
think the war will only increase in duration.
Secretly I heard that Marwān
is seeking retaliation against my blood or cutting out
my tongue.
But in the yellowy-white camels[310] there is salvation and
in the land a refuge,
when we have put upon them the reins.
Do not think me heedless if I am absent,
and do not rejoice at meeting me if I come to you.
The pasture land might spring up on the ruins of the earth,
but the souls' hatreds remain just as before.
Do Kalb depart and our spears not reach them,
and are the slain ones of Rāhiṭ abandoned as they were?
By my life, the battle of Rāhiṭ has left
for Ḥassān[311] a clear fissure ever-widening.
[484] After Ibn ᶜAmr and Ibn Maᶜn,[312] one after the other,
and the killing of Hammām,[313] do I still hope for
anything?
Never was anything hateful seen of me before this
flight of mine and my leaving my two companions
behind me,
On the evening when I was running in al-Qirān[314] and
only saw
people who were against me and not for me.
Does one single day, if I have spoiled it, dispel
the goodness of my days and the merit of my deeds?
There will be no peace until the horsemen come with spears,
and my wives take vengeance from the women of Kalb.

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309. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *abū*, for the statement that the exclamation is to be understood "may you have no father, for then you will need to exert yourself, relying on your own power!"

310. ᶜĪṣ is the pl. of *aᶜyāṣ*, according to Lane meaning a dingy or yellowy-white camel said to be of a good breed.

311. I.e., Ibn Baḥdal.

312. Ziyād b. ᶜAmr al-ᶜUqaylī and Thawr b. Maᶜn (see pp. 59–60 above).

313. Hammām b. Qabīṣah al-Numayrī, a leader of the Qays in Damascus (see Crone, *Slaves*, 98; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 44).

314. The context seems to indicate that al-Qirān is a place name. Lammens, *Marwānides*, [71] 111, has: Le soir, où, dans la plaine, je courais. . .

I wish I knew, will my raiding
Tanūkh and the tribe of Ṭayyi' achieve my cure?

Jawwās b. Qaᶜṭal[315] answered him:

By my life, the battle of Rāhiṭ has left [485]
for Zufar a malady which lingers
And persists. Its seat remains between the ribs
and in the gut. It defies the doctor attempting a cure.
It (the battle) causes weeping for the slain of Sulaym, ᶜĀmir
and Dhubyān[316] with reason and it makes the mourners
weep and wail.
He calls for arms but then recoils when he sees
the swords of Janāb[317] and the sleek and powerful horses.
On them are the young men of courage[318] like lions of the
forest,
when they advance toward the lofty spears.

ᶜAmr b. al-Mikhlāt al-Kalbī, of Taym Allāt b. Rufaydah, also answered Zufar, saying:

Zufar the Qaysī wept for the destruction of his people
with tearful eyes which will not cease to flow.
He orders mourning for those slain who were struck down
at Rāhiṭ,
and there answer him the small bird and the owl of the
desert.
At Rāhiṭ we despoiled a protected area of the tribe of Qays
which turned in fragments, and its women were made
violable.
Hotly he mourns them while his tears flow,
making Nizār wish that their nobility of spirit would [486]
return.
Die with grief or live humbled and oppressed
with the sadness of a soul whose grief never sleeps.

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315. Of the Banū Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam b. Janāb al-Kalbī (see *Ansāb*, V, 142, note *y*, for further citations).
316. All three Qaysī tribes.
317. I.e., the poet's clan.
318. Ar. *fityān najdah*, probably involving a play on the idea of "lion" (*najīd*).

When Quḍāᶜah brandish the spears around me,
its noble steeds trample on the deeds of the unbroken mares.[319]
I have trampled with them on any tribe which has attacked me.
Who, then, when misfortunes arise, desires to accept them?

Zufar b. al-Ḥārith also said:

Is it God's decree that, as for Baḥdal and Ibn Baḥdal,
he should live, while, as for Ibn al-Zubayr, he should be killed?
No, by the House of God, you will not kill him!
There was not yet a day glorious and triumphant
And not yet for the *mashrafiyyah*[320] sword above you
rays like those of the rim of the sun when it begins to set.

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam, the brother of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, answered him and said:

Will Kalb vanish when their spears have protected them
and will they leave unavenged the slain of Rāhiṭ which are unburied?
May God revile Qays, Qays ᶜAylān, who
neglected the borders of the Muslims and fled.
Be rivals of Qays in times of ease, but do not be
their brother when the *mashrafiyyah* sword is drawn.

[487] Abū Jaᶜfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr having given the oath of allegiance to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, and Mālik b. Hubayrah having gone back on what he had made out he was going to do as regards giving the oath of allegiance to Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah, the rule had become firmly established with Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr had imposed

319. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *muṣᶜab*.
320. A famous type of sword; the name is variously explained.

a condition on Marwān that he would settle those Kindīs who were in Syria in the Balqā' and make it a source of sustenance for them, and Marwān had agreed to that,[321] and the family of al-Ḥakam, when it became possible that the matter would be settled in Marwān's favor, had agreed to certain stipulations in favor of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah. Then one day as Marwān was in session with his council and Mālik b. Hubayrah was sitting with them, he said, "Among those who allege that conditions have been agreed to is one who is a bekohled and perfumed woman" (he meant Mālik b. Hubayrah, for he was a man who perfumed and bekohled himself). Mālik b. Hubayrah said, "You say this while you (my female riding camel) have not yet reached the Tihāmah and the girth has not yet reached the two teats!"[322] Marwān said, "Gently, Oh Abū Sulaymān! We are only joking with you." Mālik said, "So that is it!"

ᶜUwayj al-Ṭā'ī said, praising Kalb and Ḥumayd b. Baḥdal:

The peoples have learned of the descent of Ibn Baḥdal
and others upon them. If he lives he will do it again.
And they will lead the sons of the prominent man and
those who join them
from the fertile land for a month, he who leads them
not flagging.
This because of this, and then I will scatter
upon the people utterances many-edged.
If it were not for the Commander of the Faithful (re-
straining us),
Quḍāᶜah would be lords and Qays their slaves.

In this year also, the army of Khurāsān gave the oath of allegiance to Salm b. Ziyād[323] following Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah's death, on the understanding that he would remain in charge of their affairs until a caliph was agreed upon. [488]

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321. Cf. *Ansāb*, V, 149, where it is Mālik b. Hubayrah who imposes the condition on Marwān; the Balqā' is the region west of the Jordan south of Jerash, see *EI*², s.v.

322. Cf. p. 57 above; here the proverb has a slightly different significance.

323. Brother of ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād.

And in it there occurred the troubles [*fitnah*] associated with ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim[324] in Khurāsān.

The Disturbances in Khurāsān Associated with ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim

According to ᶜUmar b. Shabbah—ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad—Maslamah b. Muḥārib:[325] Salm b. Ziyād sent ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim with the tribute he had received from Samarqand and Khwārazm to Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah. Salm remained as governor over Khurāsān until the death of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah and Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd, whose death he heard about. News came to him too of the killing of Yazīd b. Ziyād in Sijistān and the capture of Abū ᶜUbaydah b. Ziyād,[326] but he kept the news secret.

Ibn ᶜArādah[327] said:

Oh you king who causes his door to be barred,
matters have occurred recently of great importance!
Those slain at Junzah and those at Kabul,[328]
and Yazīd whose hushed-up affair has been made known.
Oh Banū Umayyah, the end of your rule
is a corpse at Huwwārīn,[329] there remaining.
His fate came upon him while by his pillow

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324. Of the Banū Sulaym/Qays (see *EI*², s.v.). For parallels and variants for the following section, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 413–4; Yaᶜqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 301; Ibn Aᶜtham, V, 309–11; Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 128–31; A.A. Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 105–9 (citing the ms. of *Ansāb*); C. E. Bosworth, *Sistan*, 48–9; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 88–93.

325. For the work of al-Madā'inī, which is Ṭabarī's source for events in Khurāsān, see Rotter, "Madā'inī," 122–8; for Maslamah b. Muḥārib, see n. 98 above.

326. For the events involving these two brothers of Salm in Sijistān and Afghanistan, see Bosworth, *Sistan*, 44; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 87–8.

327. Al-Saᶜdī (*Ansab*, IVb, 76); see Ibn Aᶜtham, V, 310, Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 128, for parallels.

328. A reference to the events in Sijistān and Afghanistan.

329. The place where the caliph Yazīd died, between Damascus and Palmyra, two stages from the latter (see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 355; cf. Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 1).

was a cup and a wineskin filled to the brim
and overflowing.
Many a plaintive singing girl weeps by his drunk-
en companions,
with a cymbal, now sitting and now standing.

Maslamah said: When the poem of Ibn ᶜArādah became known, Salm made the death of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah and Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd public and called on the men to give him the oath of allegiance, with general consent, until the affairs [489] of the people should be put in order with the choice of a caliph. They gave him the oath, remained two months in that situation, and then broke their agreement with him.

According to ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad—a shaykh of the people of Khurāsān: The people of Khurāsān never loved a governor as they loved Salm b. Ziyād. In those two years when Salm was there, more than 20,000 children were named Salm because of their love for Salm.

According to ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad—Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī—his paternal uncle: When the people of Khurāsān fell into disagreement and broke their oath of allegiance to Salm, he departed, leaving al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah[330] in his place. When Salm reached Sarakhs,[331] Sulaymān b. Marthad, one of the Banū Qays b. Thaᶜlabah,[332] met him. He asked him, "Who have you left behind over Khurāsān?" and Salm answered, "Al-Muhallab." Sulaymān said to him, "Was Nizār[333] so straitened that you made one of the Yemen prefect!" Consequently, Salm made Sulaymān prefect over Marw al-Rūdh, al-Fāryāb, al-Ṭāliqān and al-Jūzjān,[334] and Aws b. Thaᶜlabah b. Zufar,[335] the master of Qaṣr Aws in al-Baṣrah, prefect over Herat.[336]

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330. Of Azd ᶜUman (Mazūn), founder of the fortunes of the Muhallabid family and of the Azd in Khurāsān (see *EI*², s.v.).

331. Between Tūs and Marw on the Tajand river (see G. Le Strange, *Eastern caliphate*, 395–6).

332. I.e., of Bakr b. Wā'il/Rabīᶜah (see n. 111 above).

333. I.e., the "northern" Arabs (Muḍar and Rabīᶜah).

334. Jūzjān is the district east of Marw al-Rūdh, and Fāryāb and Ṭāliqān were important towns in it (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 423–5).

335. Another Bakrī (see *EI*¹ s.v. Taimallāh b. Thaᶜlabah; Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 215).

336. At that time counted as part of Khurāsān (see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 407 ff.).

Then he continued on his way. When he reached Nīsābūr[337] ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim met him. He asked Salm, "Who have you put in charge of Khurāsān?" When Salm told him, Ibn Khāzim said, "Could you not find a man among Muḍar[338] to appoint to office that you had to divide Khurāsān between Bakr b. Wā'il and Mazūn of ᶜUmān?"[339] And he said to Salm, "Write me a commission over Khurāsān." Salm answered, "Am I the prefect of Khurāsān?" but Ibn Khāzim persisted, "Write a commission for me and you will be free of blame." So he wrote a commission over Khurāsān for him. Ibn Khāzim then said, "Now help me with 100,000 dirhams," and Salm ordered that it be given him. Ibn Khāzim came toward Marw, and when al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah heard the news he went off, leaving behind a man of the Banū Jusham b. Saᶜd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm.[340]

[490] (According to ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad)—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī—his father: When ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim went to Marw with Salm b. Ziyād's commission, the Jushamī opposed him and there was skirmishing between them. A shot hit the Jushamī with a stone on his forehead and they broke off the engagement. The Jushamī opened the way to Marw al-Rūdh for Ibn Khāzim, who entered it. Two days later the Jushamī died.

According to ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī—al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd al-Jūzajānī—his father: When Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah and Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd died, the people of Khurāsān rose against their officials and drove them out. Each tribal group seized control over a district and civil commotion broke out. Ibn Khāzim seized control of Khurāsān and war broke out.

Abū Jaᶜfar (al-Ṭabarī) said:[341] According to Abū al-Dhayyāl Zuhayr b. Hunayd—Abū Naᶜāmah: ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim came and seized control over Marw. Then he went against Sulaymān

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337. The garrison town of western Khurāsān (see Le Strange, *Eastern caliphate*, 383 ff.).

338. The division of Nizār (n. 329 above) with which Ibn Khāzim's own tribe, Qays, aligned itself, Bakr b. Wā'il belonging to Rabīᶜah.

339. I.e., Sulaymān b. Marthad, Aws b. Thaᶜlabah, and al-Muhallab.

340. Of Muḍar (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, tables 59, 75).

341. Still citing al-Madā'inī.

b. Marthad and met him at Marw al-Rūdh, where he fought him for some days and Sulaymān b. Marthad was killed. Then ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim went against ᶜAmr b. Marthad[342] who was at al-Ṭāliqān with 700 men. News of ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim's coming against him and of his killing his brother Sulaymān reached ᶜAmr, who headed out to face him. They met at a river before Ibn Khāzim's men had all arrived, so ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim gave the order to those who were with him and they pitched camp. He too encamped and asked about Zuhayr b. Dhu'ayb al-ᶜAdawī.[343] He was told that he had not come. But then, while he was in the same state, Zuhayr came. When he did, Ibn Khāzim was told, "Here, Zuhayr has come," and ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim gave the command, "Advance!" The forces met and fought together for a long time. ᶜAmr b. Marthad was killed and his men routed. They fled and joined Aws b. Thaᶜlabah in Herat while ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim returned to Marw.

The one who was in command when ᶜAmr b. Marthad was killed, according to what is narrated, was Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān al-ᶜAdawī. The poet said:

Do the days of war pass and you have not killed [491]
Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān in retaliation for ᶜAmr b. Marthad?

(According to al-Madā'inī): Abū al-Sarī al-Khurāsānī, one of the people of Herat, reported to us: ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim killed Sulaymān and ᶜAmr, the two sons of Marthad, the two Marthadīs of the Banū Qays b. Thaᶜlabah, and then returned to Marw. Those of Bakr b. Wā'il who were at Marw al-Rūdh fled to Herat. Those of Bakr b. Wā'il in the districts of Khurāsān crowded there, too, so that there was a large body of them there. Aws b. Thaᶜlabah was over them. They said to him, "Let us give you the oath of allegiance on the condition that you go against Ibn Khāzim and drive Muḍar out of Khurāsān completely." But he said to them, "That would be unjust, and those who participate in injustice are lost. Hold fast in this place of yours. If Ibn Khāzim leaves you alone,

342. Sulaymān's brother.
343. Of Tamīm.

which I do not think he will do, then be satisfied with this district and let him and his business be." The Banū Ṣuhayb, mawlās of the Banū Jaḥdar,[344] however, said, "No, by God, we will not accept that we and Muḍar should be in the same land while they have killed the two sons of Marthad. If you respond to our offer, it still stands; otherwise, we will make somebody else our commander." He replied, "I am only one of you, so do what seems good to you," and they gave him the oath of allegiance.

Ibn Khāzim came toward them, having left his son Mūsā behind as his deputy. He continued his advance and pitched his camp on a dry river bed between his army and Herat. The Bakrīs said to Aws, "Go out and dig a trench outside the town and give battle to them in it so the town will be behind us." Aws replied, "Stick to the town, for it is well fortified and let Ibn Khāzim be in the place where he is. If he stays there much longer he will get worried and give you something to satisfy you. If you are forced to fight, then you will fight." But they refused, went out of the town and dug a trench outside it. And Ibn Khāzim fought them for about a year.

[492] Al-Aḥnaf b. al-Ashhab al-Ḍabbī claimed, and Abū al-Dhayyāl Zuhayr b. al-Hunayd told us: Ibn Khāzim went to Herat, where there was a large concentration of Bakr b. Wā'il who had fortified themselves with a trench and sworn together to drive out Muḍar if they won control of Khurāsān. He encamped facing them. Hilāl al-Ḍābbī,[345] one of the Banū Dhuhl of the Banū Aws, said to him, "You will only be fighting your brethren of your father's family.[346] By God, if you get what you want from them, then after them there will be no good left in life, you having killed at Marw al-Rūdh those of them whom you have killed. Why do you not give them something to satisfy them and settle this matter peacefully?" He replied, "By God, if I were to abandon Khurāsān to them, they would not be satisfied, and if they could drive you out of the world

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344. See n. 111 above.

345. The Banū Ḍabbah b. Udd were allies of Tamīm (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, tables 59, 89, II, 240; *EI*², s.v. Ḍabba).

346. Apparently a reference to the joint descent of Ibn Khāzim's tribe, Qays, and Bakr b. Wā'il from Nizār.

they would do so!" Hilāl said, "No, by God, I will not fire an arrow with you and nor will any man of Khindif[347] who obeys me until you send offering them conciliation."

Ibn Khāzim said, "Then you are my messenger to them. Give them satisfaction!" So Hilāl went to Aws b. Thaᶜlabah and implored him by God and by ties of kinship, saying, "In God I ask you to remember Nizār,[348] that you avoid spilling its blood or setting it against itself." Aws replied, "You have encountered the Banū Ṣuhayb?" "No, by God," he said. "Well then, go and meet them." So Hilāl went out and met Arqam b. Muṭarrif al-Ḥanafī, Ḍamḍam b. Yazīd or ᶜAbdallāh b. Ḍamḍam b. Yazīd and ᶜĀṣim b. al-Ṣalt b. al-Ḥārith, both of them Ḥanafīs,[349] and a group of Bakr b. Wā'il. He addressed them in the same way as he had done Aws, and they said, "Have you encountered the Banū Ṣuhayb?" He answered, "God has made the matter of the Banū Ṣuhayb very important among you. No, I have never met them." They said, "Go and meet them." So Hilāl went to the Banū Ṣuhayb and spoke to them. They said, "If you were not a messenger, we would kill you." He said, "Is there nothing which will satisfy you?" "One of two things," they said. "Either you abandon Khurāsān and no [493] one calls for support for Muḍar in it, or else you remain but renounce all your livestock, weapons, gold and silver to us." Nothing but these two options?" he said. "No," they said. "God is our sufficiency and the best protector," Hilāl responded.

He went back to Ibn Khāzim who asked him, "Well?" "I have found our brethren actively rupturing the ties of kinship," he said. "I told you that Rabīᶜah would never cease raging against its Lord since God sent the Prophet from among Muḍar,"[350] Ibn Khāzim said.

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347. Khindif is shown as an ancestor of Tamīm and others including Ḍabbah (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 1, II, 347).

348. Rabīᶜah (here Bakr) and Muḍar (here Qays and Khindif) are counted as descendants of Nizār.

349. The Banū Ḥanīfah were part of Bakr b. Wā'il; could this ᶜĀṣim b. al-Ṣalt b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḥanafī be related to the al-Ṣalt b. Ḥurayth al-Ḥanafī named in connection with the document of alliance between Rabīᶜah and Azd in al-Baṣrah (p. 27 above)?

350. Quraysh, the tribe of the Prophet, were counted as a part of Muḍar.

Abū Jaᶜfar al-Ṭabarī said: According to Sulaymān b. Mujālid al-Ḍabbī:[351] While Ibn Khāzim was at Herat, the Turks raided Qaṣr Asfād[352] and besieged its garrison. Some men of Azd were in it—the majority of its garrison—and the Turks defeated them. They sent to those of Azd in the surrounding area and they came to help, but the Turks defeated them. Then they sent to Ibn Khāzim and he dispatched Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān[353] to them with a contingent of the Banū Tamīm. Ibn Khāzim told him, "Watch out for the Turks' attacks when you see them, and bear down on them." Zuhayr advanced and came upon them on a cold day. His force pressed hard against them. The Turks could not withstand them and were defeated. They gave chase to the Turks until, when much of the night had passed, they reached a castle in the desert. The body of the force remained there while Zuhayr pursued the Turks with some horsemen, for he was knowledgeable about the roads. In the middle of the night, he returned because his hand had frozen to his spear from the cold. He summoned his slave lad Kaᶜb, who went out to him and brought him in and began to warm up some fat for him which he put on his hand. They rubbed it in for him and lit him a fire, and eventually, his hand became soft and warm. Then he returned to Herat.

Concerning that, Kaᶜb b. Maᶜdān al-Ashqarī[354] said:

Help indeed came to you in a flash of lightning,
armor and steel which Tamīm filled.
[494] They refused to add to their ranks the common folk
which the villages gather,
and the purity of their descent held them together
on the day of the battle.

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351. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 418, n. 1, argues that this report about the Turkish attack is out of place and refers to a later period; cf., however, Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 92; Sulaymān b. Mujālid was a contemporary of Abū Mikhnaf, often cited by him (Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*).

352. Evidently a fortified place, but to translate as "castle" might be misleading; possibly this place is to be associated with the district east of Nīshāpūr called variously Asfand, Ashbandh or Ashfand (Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 388); see Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 92 for discussion.

353. See above, p. 73.

354. Poet of Azd (Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIII, 56–64; *GAS*, II, 377–8).

Their sustenance comes from the odors which
female camels broad-girthed and high-humped give
forth.

And Thābit Quṭnah[355] said:

May my soul be a ransom for horsemen of Tamīm
for what there was of close confinement
At the Bāhilī's castle.[356] I saw myself
defending when the defenders there were few,
With my sword, after my spear had been shattered
upon them,
driving them back with a broad-bladed sword,
Assaulting them in the thick black smoke with an
assault
like that of those drinking from bowls of wine.
If it were not for God, who has no partner,
and my striking the brow of the aspirant ruler,
Then the women of the Banū Dithār[357] would have
given up their souls
before the Turks, displaying their anklets.

Abū Jaᶜfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: According to Abū al-Ḥasan—al-Khurāsānī—Abū Ḥammād al-Sulamī:[358] Ibn Khāzim remained at Herat fighting Aws b. Thaᶜlabah for more than a year. One day he said to his men, "Our position here confronting these opponents has dragged on for too long." They called out to them, therefore, "Oh band of Rabīᶜah, you have sought protection behind this trench of yours. Out of all Khurāsān, are you satisfied with this ditch?" That caused them to remember their situation and the people called each other to fight. Aws b. Thaᶜlabah said to them, "Stick to your trench and fight them as you have been doing. Do not go out to them in a body." But they disregarded him and went out against them, [495]

355. Poet of Azd (*Aghānī*, XIII, 49–56; *GAS*, II, 376–7).
356. I am unable to account for the designation *al-qaṣr al-bāhilī*.
357. I.e., the family of Shammās b. Dithār?
358. See *Add. et emend.* for the suggestion that there is a lacuna in this *isnād*; Abū al-Ḥasan must be al-Madā'inī himself; for the identification of al-Khurāsānī as Abū Sarī al-Khurāsānī (above, p. 73), see Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 91, n. 603.

and the forces met. Ibn Khāzim said to his men, "Make the day yours. The rule will belong to whoever triumphs. If I am killed your commander will be Shammās b. Dithār al-ᶜUṭāridī,[359] and if he is killed your commander will be Bukayr b. Wishāḥ al-Thaqafī."[360]

According to ᶜAlī—Abū al-Dhayyāl Zuhayr b. Hunayd—Abū Naᶜāmah al-ᶜAdawī—ᶜAbīd b. Naqīd—Iyās b. Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān:[361] On the day when Aws b. Thaᶜlabah fled and Ibn Khāzim defeated Bakr b. Wā'il, the latter said to his men when they met, "I am not steady in the saddle. Fasten me on to my saddle and know that I have upon me such weapons that I will not be killed even by that which would slaughter two camels. If you are told that I have been killed, do not believe it!"

The banner of the Banū ᶜAdī was with my father and I was on an incompletely broken-in horse.[362] Ibn Khāzim had said to us, "When you encounter the horses, stab them in their nostrils, for no horse will be stabbed in its nostril without either turning tail or throwing its rider." When my horse heard the clanging of the weapons it leaped with me over a river bed which lay between me and the enemy, and a man of Bakr b. Wā'il confronted me. I stabbed his horse in its nostril and it threw him. My father carried the banner with the Banū ᶜAdī, and the Banū Tamīm followed him from every direction. The two sides fought for an hour, and the Bakr b. Wā'il were defeated and eventually retreated to their ditch. They were assailed from both right and left and some men fell into the ditch and suffered a quick death. Aws b. Thaᶜlabah
[496] fled with his wounds, while Ibn Khāzim swore that he would kill every captive brought to him before sunset. The last one to be brought to him was a man of the Banū Ḥanīfah called Maḥmiyah. Ibn Khāzim was told, "The sun has set!" but he replied, "Finish the execution!" and Maḥmiyah was killed.

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359. ᶜUṭārid b. ᶜAwf was a subgroup of the Banū Saᶜd/Tamīm (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 77).

360. The *nisbah* al-Thaqafī seems to be a mistake; he was of Tamīm (Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 418, n. 2).

361. I.e., the son of the hero referred to above, nn. 353, 343.

362. See *Add. et emend.* and *Gloss.*, s.v. *ḥ-z-m*.

A shaykh of the Banū Saᶜd b. Zayd Manāt told me that Aws b. Thaᶜlabah fled with his wounds to Sijistān, but when he got there or was near to it he died.

On the subject of the killing of Ibn Marthad and the affair of Aws b. Thaᶜlabah, al-Mughīrah b. Ḥabnā',[363] one of the Banū Rabīᶜah b. Ḥanẓalah, said:

In the war you were in the whole of Khurāsān
killed, imprisoned and restrained.
And one day Ibn Khāzim confined you in the ditch
and you found the trench no more than a tomb.
And one day you left Ibn Marthad in the dust,
and you left Aws where he came and camped.

Abū al-Dhayyāl Zuhayr b. Hunayd told me on the authority of his maternal grandfather: Eight thousand of Bakr b. Wā'il were killed on that day.

Al-Tamīmī, one of the people of Khurāsān, told me on the authority of a mawlā of Ibn Khāzim: Ibn Khāzim fought Aws b. Thaᶜlabah and Bakr b. Wā'il, and was victorious at Herat whence Aws fled. Ibn Khāzim seized Herat from him and appointed his son Muḥammad over it, attaching Shammās b. Dithār al-ᶜUṭāridī to him and placing Bukayr b. Wishāḥ over his police troop. He told them, "Show him the ropes, for he is the offspring of one of your women." (His mother was a woman of the Banū Saᶜd[364] called Ṣafiyyah.) And he said to Muḥammad, "Do what they say." Then Ibn Khāzim returned to Marw.

Abū Jaᶜfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: In this year also, the Shīᶜah[365] were stirred up in al-Kūfah and arranged to gather at al- [497]

363. Poet of Tamīm (*Aghānī*, XI, 162–71; *GAS*, II, 374–5).

364. The Banū Saᶜd of Tamīm were the clan of Bukayr and of Shammās.

365. Literally, "party." In our sources for early Islam we read of several different "parties" (see, e.g., p. 50 above). The party of ᶜAlī eventually came to be called *al-shīᶜah* without further specification and developed into the Shīᶜite tradition of Islam, distinct from the Sunnī form of the religion. It is questionable whether in the time of the second civil war the word *shīᶜah* was generally used with this distinct and specific meaning. In the following account I have sometimes kept the Arabic word with a capital *S* as is now customary, but sometimes it seems clear that the word has the general meaning "the

Nukhaylah[366] in the year 65 (684-5) to set out against the Syrians and to seek vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī.[367] They exchanged correspondence about that.

The Beginnings of the Movement of the Penitents [al-Tawwābūn] *in al-Kūfah*

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf b. al-Aḥmar al-Azdī: After al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī had been killed and Ibn Ziyād had returned from his army camp at al-Nukhaylah and entered al-Kūfah, the Shīᶜah gathered, full of self-reproach and repentance. They thought they had committed a grave offense in inviting al-Ḥusayn to receive their support then failing to respond to him, and in letting him be killed so near to them while they never gave him any help. They thought their ignominy and sin which had resulted from his slaying would only be washed away by killing those who killed him or by dying in the attempt. Therefore, they had recourse to five leaders of the Shīᶜah in al-Kūfah: Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāᶜī,[368] who had been a Companion of the Prophet; al-Musayyab b. Najabah al-Fazārī,[369] one of the best of the supporters of ᶜAlī; ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl al-Azdī; ᶜAbdallah b. Wāl al-Taymī;[370] and Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād al-Bajalī.[371] Those five men then met at the abode of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, and they were among the

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party" or "our party," and it has been translated using such phrases.

For parallel and variant accounts of the following, see *Ansāb*, V, 203–13; Ibn Aᶜtham, VI, 47–53, 58–87; Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 131–6, 144–56; Yaᶜqūbī, II, 306; Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*, 71–4 (Eng. tr. 121–4); S.H.M. Jafri, *The Origins and Early Development of Shīᶜa Islam*, 222–34; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 96–8.

366. Probably to the northwest of al-Kūfah on the Syrian road (see Ṭabarī, I, 3345).

367. See n. 43 above.

368. For him, see *EI*[1], s.v. Sulaimān b. Ṣurad, and Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 197, II, 518; for Khuzāᶜah, *EI*[2], s.v. Khuzāᶜa.

369. For him, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 436; Fazārah b. Dhubyān are counted to Ghaṭafān/Qays (*ibid.*, I, table 92).

370. Taym of Bakr b. Wā'il (see below, p. 84).

371. For him, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 223, II, 487; for the Banū Bajīlah, ibid., table 221, II, 219, *EI*[2], s.v. Badjīla.

best of the supporters of ᶜAlī. With them were some of the members of the Shīᶜah, their pick and their leaders.

When they had gathered at Sulaymān b. Ṣurad's dwelling, al-Musayyab b. Najabah began to address those assembled. He [498] praised God, extolled Him and prayed for His Prophet, and then said:

> Now, we have been afflicted by the length of our lives and by exposure to all types of trials. We ask of our Lord that He does not make us one of those to whom He will one day say: "Did We not give you long life so that whoever would be admonished might be admonished therein? And the warner came to you."[372] Also, the Commander of the Faithful said, "The life in which God grants forgiveness to the son of Adam is sixty years,"[373] and there is not a man among us who has not reached that term. We were enamored of self-justification and praising our party until God put our best men to the test and found us sham on two of the battlefields[374] of the son of our Prophet's daughter. Before that, we had received his letters and his messengers had come to us offering forgiveness, asking us to help him again in public and in private. But we withheld ourselves from him until he was killed so near to us. We did not help him with our hands, argue on his behalf with our tongues, strengthen him with our wealth or seek help for him from our clans. What will be our excuse for our Lord and at the meeting with our Prophet[375] when his descendant, his loved one, his offspring and his issue has been slain among us? No, by God, there is no excuse unless you kill his murderer and those who assisted him or unless you are killed while seeking that. Perhaps our Lord will be

372. Qur'ān, 35:34.

373. "The Commander of the Faithful" here is ᶜAlī; for the *ḥadīth* in conjunction with the Quranic verse, see Bukhārī, *Riqāq, bāb* 5.

374. Apparently a reference to Karbalā' and the rising of Ḥujr b. ᶜAdī (see *EI*², s.v. Ḥudjr b. ᶜAdī).

375. At the Last Judgment, when the Prophet will intercede with God on behalf of the Muslims.

> satisfied with us in that, for I have no security against His punishment after meeting Him. Oh people, appoint over you a man from among you, for you cannot do without a commander from whom you can seek help and a banner round which you can assemble. This is
[499] what I have to say. I ask God's forgiveness for me and for you.

After al-Musayyab, Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād addressed the group. He praised God, extolled Him and prayed for His Prophet, and then he said:

> God has led you to speak aright, and you have summoned us to matters in which we would be most rightly guided. You have praised God and extolled Him, you have offered prayers for His Prophet, and you have called us to fight against [*jihād*] the iniquitous ones [*al-fāsiqīn*] and to repent the great sin. We have listened to you, responded to you and accepted what you have said. You told us to appoint over us a man from among us from whom we could seek help and gather around his banner. That is a view in which we concur. If you are that man, you will be acceptable within our band. But if you and our companions are of the same opinion, we will appoint over this business the shaykh of the Shīᶜah and Companion of the Prophet who has precedence and seniority in Islam, Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, who is praised for his fortitude and his religion and trusted for his resoluteness. This is what I have to say and I ask God's forgiveness for me and for you.

Next, ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl and ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd spoke. They praised their Lord and extolled Him, and spoke in a similar fashion to Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād. They referred to al-Musayyab b. Najabah and his merits and to Sulaymān b. Ṣurad with his precedence in Islam, and they mentioned that they would be satisfied with his appointment. Al-Musayyab b. Najabah said, "Indeed you are right. My opinion is like yours: put Sulaymān b. Ṣurad in charge of your affairs."

Abū Mikhnaf said that he narrated this account to Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid, who said to him that Ḥumayd b. Muslim had

told him: By God, I was there on this day—the day they put Sulaymān b. Ṣurad in charge—and at that time there were more than a hundred of us, warriors and prominent members of the Shīᶜah, in his dwelling place. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad spoke and made a forceful speech which he continued to repeat at every assembly until I learned it by heart. He began and said: [500]

> I extol God for His goodness and I praise Him for His blessings and His tribulations. I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad was His messenger. Now, by God I fear that this time in which life has become so miserable and calamity so great and injustice so prevalent is assigned to be our last. What good is it for the most virtuous of this Party that we were yearning for the family of our Prophet to come,[376] offering them help and urging them to come, but when they came we were weak and feeble and spineless, we delayed and waited to see what would happen, until the descendant of our Prophet, his offspring and his progeny, flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood, was killed in our very midst? He called for help but received none, he asked for justice but was not given any. The impious ones made him a target for arrows and a butt for spears until they had broken him, assaulted him and stripped him. Rise up indeed, for your Lord has been angered. Do not go back to your wives and children until God has been satisfied! By God, I do not think He will be satisfied unless you fight against those who killed him or perish.[377] Do not fear death! By God, no man ever feared it without debasing himself. Be like those Israelites when their prophet said to them, "You have done evil to yourselves by your adoption of the Calf. Turn in repentence to your Creator and kill yourselves. That will be best for you with your

376. See *Add. et emend.* and cf. *Ansāb*, V, 205, bottom.

377. Text has *tubīrū* (?), "you destroy," the *Ansāb* reads *tubīrūhu*, "you destroy him" (i.e., he who killed al-Ḥusayn); the translation "or perish" is based on my suggested reading *tabīdū*.

Creator."[378] And do what that people did. They fell on their knees and stretched out their necks and accepted the judgment, until they understood that nothing would save them from the magnitude of their offense except patient acceptance of the slaughter. How
[501] will it be with you, if you are summoned to something similar? Make sharp the swords, assemble the lances, and get ready against them what strength you can. Prepare for war [*ribāṭ al-khayl*] so you can be assembled when you are summoned to fight.[379]

Khālid b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl then stood and spoke, "As for me, by God, if I knew that my killing of myself would release me from my sin and my Lord would be pleased with me, I would kill myself! But that is something which was ordered to a people who were before us while we have been prohibited from it. I bear witness before God and those of the Muslims here present that, except for the weapon with which I shall fight against my enemy, everything I possess I make over as alms for the Muslims. With it I strengthen them in their fight against the unrighteous [*al-qāṣiṭīn*]."

Abū al-Muᶜtamir Ḥanash b. Rabīᶜah al-Kinānī[380] next stood and said, "And I bear witness similarly."

Sulaymān b. Ṣurad said, "It is enough that anyone who wishes to give something should bring his property to ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl al-Taymī (Taym of Bakr b. Wā'il), and when everything which you wish to donate of your property is assembled with him, we will equip the poor and needy of your followers with it."

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378. Qur'ān, 2:51. This verse contains the word *tawwāb*, the self-designation of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and his followers. But in the Quranic verse it refers to God rather than human beings, hence it means something like "He who relents" rather than "the penitent." "Your selves" could equally be translated "your souls." According to traditional Muslim commentary on the verse, in response to the command of Moses, and in atonement for the sin of the Golden Calf, the Israelites began to kill one another until God allowed them to stop in response to Moses' intercession. A large number of the Israelites were killed.

379. See *Add. et emend.* for the dittography at p. 501, l. 3.

380. For Kinānah b. Khuzaymah (of Khindif), see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 371.

According to Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—Ḥumayd b. Muslim al-Azdī: When Khālid b. Sa^c^d b. Nufayl said to Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, "By God, if I knew that my killing of myself would release me from my sin and my Lord would be pleased with me, I would kill myself. But that is something which was ordered to another people who were before us while we have been prohibited from it," Sulaymān said to him, "This brother of yours tomorrow will be the prey of the first of the spear points." And when he donated his property as alms for the Muslims he said, "Rejoice at the great rewards of God for those who spread for themselves (a couch in Paradise)."[381]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥuṣayn b. Yazīd b. ^c^Abdallāh b. Sa^c^d b. Nufayl: I obtained a letter which Sulaymān b. Ṣurad had written to Sa^c^d b. Hudhayfah b. al-Yamān[382] at al-Madā'in and I read it at the time when Sulaymān was put in charge. The letter surprised me, and I took pains to learn it and have not forgotten it. He wrote to him: [502]

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! From Sulaymān b. Ṣurad to Sa^c^d b. Hudhayfah and those of the Believers who are with him, greetings! Now, this world is an abode away from which turns that which is honorable and to which tends that which is dishonorable. It has become hateful to those with understanding. The best servants of God have determined to depart from it and they have exchanged a fleeting little of this world for a never-ending abundance with God.
>
> The friends of God among your brethren and the Party of your Prophet's family have reflected upon the way they were put to the test in the matter of the Prophet's grandson. He responded when he was invited but received no answer when he called, wanted to go back but was detained, asked for safe-conduct but was denied it. He refrained from attacking the people al-

381. An allusion to Qur'ān, 30:43.

382. Of Fazārah (^c^Abs/Ghaṭafān); on him, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 132, II, 495.

though they did not refrain from him, but attacked and killed him, then plundered and stripped him wrongfully and in enmity, heedless and ignorant of God. What they did offended God[383] and they will not return to Him. "Those who commit evil will know the reversal which they will endure."[384] When your brethren considered and thought about the end to which they were coming, they saw they had sinned greatly in betraying the pure and good one, in delivering him up and refraining from aiding and helping him. They saw there was no release for them and no repentance apart from killing his murderers or killing themselves so that their spirits would be consumed in it. Your brethren have thought seriously, and you should too and prepare. We have fixed for our brethren an appointed time for them to come to us and a place for them to meet us. Regarding the time, it is the first day of the month of Rabīᶜ II of the year 65 (November
[503] 16, 684), and regarding the place where they will meet us, it is al-Nukhaylah.

You are they who have never ceased to be for us a party, brethren, and an alliance.[385] We have considered that we should appeal to you to join in this affair for which God desires your brethren, as they assert and proclaim to us, to repent. You are proper ones for seeking merit and soliciting reward and turning in repentance to your Lord from sin. Even if that involves your necks being cut, your offspring killed, your money spent and your clans destroyed, it did not harm those whose guilt was pardoned and who were killed that they are not "alive" today when they are with their Lord rewarded as martyrs. They met God patiently counting on His reward and He has given them the reward of the patient. (He was referring to Ḥujr [b. ᶜAdī] and his companions.) Nor did it harm your breth-

383. See *Add. et emend.*
384. Qur'ān, 26:228.
385. See *Add. et emend.*

ren who were slain patiently, crucified unjustly and maimed unlawfully that they are not "alive" and being put to the test by your sins. He let them choose, they met their Lord, and, please God, God has fully rewarded them.

So be patient and may God have mercy on you in the face of wretchedness, harm and the occasion of misfortune! Turn to God in penitence from what is near at hand! By God, it is surely fitting that none of your brethren should have patiently endured any tribulation, desiring its reward, unless you would patiently endure something like it seeking its reward. And it is surely fitting that none (of them) should have sought God's acceptance by means of anything, even slaughter, if you would not seek God's acceptance by it. Fear of God is the best provision in this world, and apart from that everything perishes and passes away. So turn yourselves away from this world and be desirous of the abode of your well-being and the fight [*jihād*] against the enemies of God, the enemies of yourselves and of the family of your Prophet, so that you may approach God penitently and desiring Him. May God grant us [504] and you a good life, may He give us and you protection from the fires of Hell, and may He allot as our fate being killed in His path at the hands of the most hateful of His creatures and the bitterest in enmity toward Him! He has power over whatever He wants and achieves everything for His friends. Peace be upon you!

Ibn Ṣurad wrote the letter and sent ᶜAbdallāh b. Mālik al-Ṭā'ī[386] with it to Saᶜd b. Hudhayfah b. al-Yamān, and Saᶜd, after he had read his letter, sent it to those of the Shīᶜah in al-Madā'in. There were several groups of the people of al-Kūfah there who had found it pleasant and settled in it. Every time pay and provisions were distributed they came to al-Kūfah to collect what was due to them and then returned to

386. See p. 221 below, where he is appointed *qāḍī* by Mukhtār.

their settlements. Sa^c^d read Sulaymān b. Ṣurad's letter to them and then he praised God, extolled Him and said, "Now, you were united together intent on helping al-Ḥusayn and fighting his enemies. The beginning of his murder did not take you unawares and God will recompense you with the best of rewards for your good intentions and the support which you had decided upon for him. Now your brethren have sent to you asking you for help and assistance and calling you in the truth and to that in which you hope there will be for you the best reward and portion with God. What is your opinion, and what do you say?" The people as a whole answered, "We will respond to their call and fight together with them. Our opinion of that is the same as theirs."

^c^Abdallāh b. al-Ḥanẓal al-Ṭā'ī al-Ḥizmirī[387] arose. He praised God and extolled Him and then said, "Now, we have responded to that which our brethren call us to and we have formed an opinion which is as theirs. Send me to them with some horsemen!" But Sa^c^d said to him, "Gently, do not rush; get ready for the enemy and prepare to make war on him, and then we will set out together."

Sa^c^d b. Hudhayfah b. al-Yamān then wrote to Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and sent the letter with ^c^Abdallāh b. Mālik al-Ṭā'ī:

[505] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! To Sulaymān b. Ṣurad from Sa^c^d b. Hudhayfah and those of the believers who are with him, greetings! We have read your letter and understood the matter to which you summon us and upon which the assembly [*al-mala'*] of your brethren concurs. You have been led to your destiny and the way made smooth for your right guidance. We are earnest and serious, getting ready and fixing the saddles and bridles. We are waiting for the affair to start and listening out for the summons. When the call comes we will proceed without delay, please God.

When Sulaymān b. Ṣurad had read the letter, he read it to his companions who rejoiced to hear it.

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387. For Ḥizmir b. Akhzam, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 256.

(Our authorities) said: Sulaymān b. Ṣurad wrote a copy of the letter which he had written to Saᶜd b. Hudhayfah b. al-Yamān for al-Muthannā b. Mukharribah al-ᶜAbdī[388] and sent Ẓabyān b. ᶜUmāra al-Tamīmī[389] of the Banū Saᶜd with it. Al-Muthannā wrote back to him, "I have read your letter and had it read out to your brethren. They have praised your reasoning and responded to you. Please God, we will meet you at the time you have appointed and the place you have mentioned. Peace be with you!" And at the bottom of his letter he wrote:

Consider! It is as if I had come to you marked out
on a long-necked charger, snorting hoarsely,
Long-backed, high-stepping, long-legged,
urgent and champing at the bit,
With every youth whose gorge knows no fear,
experiencing the sting of war without weariness,
A trustworthy brother whose rush has as its aim
God,
striking with the blade of the sword without sin.

According to Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah—ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl: The start of their affair was in the year 61 (680-81) when al-Ḥusayn was killed. From that time, the people never ceased gathering the instruments of war, preparing for fighting and summoning in secret the people of the Shīᶜah and others to seek vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn. Group after group and band after band responded to them. Things continued in that way until Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah died on Thursday, the fourteenth of Rabīᶜ I 64 (November 11, 683).[390] Between the killing of al-Ḥusayn and the death of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah there were three years, two months and four days. When Yazīd perished, the governor of Iraq was ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād who was in al-Baṣrah, while his deputy in al-Kūfah was ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī. [506]

388. Of ᶜAbd al-Qays (Rabīᶜah) in al-Baṣrah; he subsequently worked there on behalf of al-Mukhtār.

389. A supporter of ᶜAlī at Ṣiffīn, where he is described as a "raw youth"; at I, 3263, he is named as Ẓabyān b. ᶜAmmār.

390. Thursday is a mistake for Tuesday; cf. p. 11 above.

Sulaymān came to his companions of the Shīᶜah and they said, "This tyrant is dead and the situation is now unstable. If you wish, we will rise up against ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth, drive him out of the governor's residence, proclaim that we are seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn, track down his murderers, and call the people to support the members of this family who have been expropriated and barred from their rights." They spoke about that and talked extensively.

But Sulaymān b. Ṣurad said to them, "Gently! Do not rush! I have reflected on what you say, and my opinion is that the murderers of al-Ḥusayn are the notables of the people of al-Kūfah and the champions of the Arabs. It is they from whom vengeance for his blood is to be sought. But if they knew what you want and that they are the ones sought after, they would come down heavily on you. And I have thought about those of you who have followed me and I know that if they [507] revolted, they would not obtain their vengeance, not obtain satisfaction for themselves, and not injure their enemy but be merely a slaughter for them. Rather, send your propagandists (*duᶜāt*) into the garrison town and summon this party of yours, and others not of it, to your affair. For I hope that today when the tyrant has perished the people will respond more quickly to your affair than before his death."

They did what he suggested and groups of them left as propagandists summoning the people. A large number responded to them after the death of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah, many more than responded to them before that.

According to Hishām, Abū Mikhnaf said—al-Ḥuṣayn b. Yazīd—a man of Muzaynah: I never saw anyone in this community more eloquent in speech or admonition than ᶜUbaydallāh b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Murrī.[391] He was one of the propagandists to the people of the garrison town in the time of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. Whenever a group of people assembled to hear him preach, he began by praising God and extolling Him and praying for the Messenger of God, and then he would say:

391. It is not clear to which Banū Murrah (or Murr?) he belongs.

Now, God singled out Muḥammad from all His creatures by his prophethood and distinguished him with every merit. He made you strong by following him, honored you by belief in him, spared by him the blood which you shed, and through him gave security to your perilous roads. "You were on the brink of a pit of hellfire but he rescued you from it. Thus God makes clear to you His signs, perhaps you will be led aright."[392] Has God created among the first and the last anyone with a greater right to authority over this community than its Prophet? And have the descendants of any one of the prophets and messengers or anyone else a greater right to rule over this community than those of its Messenger? No, by God, there has not been and there will not be. You belong to God. Have you not seen and have you not heard what evil was done to the son of your Prophet's daughter? Did you not regard how the people violated his sanctity, considered as weakness [508] his solitariness, splattered him with blood, and pulled him down to the ground? In it they did not respect their Lord or al-Ḥusayn's kinship with the Prophet. They made him a target for arrows and left him a slaughter for the hyenas. Blessed are the eyes of him who has seen the like of him, and blessed is Ḥusayn the son of ᶜAlī. What a man was he they betrayed! He was true and patient, trustworthy, helpful and resolute; he was the son of the first of the Muslims in Islam and the son of the daughter of the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds. His defenders were few while his foes flocked around him, and his enemy killed him while his friend betrayed him. Woe to the killer and shame on the traitor! God will accept no plea from his killer and no excuse from his betrayer unless he sincerely turns to God in repentance, struggles against the murderers, and opposes the unrighteous [*al-qāsiṭīn*]. Perhaps on those conditions God will accept the repentance and disregard the offense. We call you to

392. Qur'ān, 3:99.

> the Book of God, the Sunnah of His Prophet, the seeking of vengeance for the blood of his family, and the struggle [*jihād*] against the violaters of God's law and renegades [*al-muḥillīn al-māriqīn*]. If we are killed, that which God has prepared for us with Him is better for the godfearing; if we are victorious, then we will restore this authority to the family of our Prophet!

He used to repeat this speech to us every day until the mass of us had it by heart. When Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah perished, the people rose against ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth, expelled him from the governor's residence and settled on ᶜĀmir b. Masᶜūd b. Umayyah b. Khalaf al-Jumaḥī. He was the "ball made by dung beetles,"[393] about whom Ibn Ḥammām al-Salūlī said:

Cling fast to Zayd if you catch him,
and cure the widows of the "dung beetles'
ball."

He was so short he was like a thumb, and Zayd was his mawlā and treasurer. He used to lead the people in prayer, and he took the oath of allegiance for Ibn al-Zubayr.

The companions of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad continued to summon their Shīᶜah and others of their garrison town, and their fol-
[509] lowing became numerous. After the death of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah, the people joined them more quickly than they had done previously; and six months after the death of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah, al-Mukhtār b. Abī ᶜUbayd[394] came to al-Kūfah. He arrived in the middle of Ramaḍān on a Friday.

ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī, al-Khaṭmī, came, sent by ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr with authority over the military affairs of al-Kūfah and the frontier regions controlled from it, and with him there also came Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. ᶜUbaydallāh al-Aᶜraj, sent by Ibn al-Zubayr with authority over the tax [*kharāj*] of al-Kūfah. ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī, al-Khaṭmī, arrived on Friday when eight days remained of Ramaḍān, 64 (May 15, 684). Al-Mukhtār arrived eight days

393. See p. 47 above; according to *Ansāb*, V, 191[20], Zayd was a mawlā of ᶜAttāb b. Warqā'.

394. Of Thaqīf from al-Ṭā'if; on him see *EI'*, s.v., and below, pp. 105ff.

before ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. When he entered al-Kūfah, the leaders and prominent members of the Shīᶜah had assembled with Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. They did not consider al-Mukhtār of equal status with him. When al-Mukhtār called upon them to support him and to seek vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn, the Shīᶜah said to him, "This Sulaymān b. Ṣurad is the shaykh of the Party; they have yielded to him and agreed upon him." But al-Mukhtār began saying to the Shīᶜah, "I have come to you from the *mahdī*, Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah,[395] with his trust and confidence, chosen by him and as his *wazīr*.[396] And, by God, he kept on at them until a section broke away to join him, honoring him, responding to his call and expecting his success. Most of the Shīᶜah, however, were with Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, and he was the firmest of God's creatures against al-Mukhtār. Al-Mukhtār used to say to his companions, "Do you know what this one (meaning Sulaymān b. Ṣurad) wants? He only wants to go out and kill himself and you. He has no under- [510]
standing of warfare and no knowledge of it."

Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd b. Ruwaym al-Shaybānī[397] went to ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī and said, "The people are saying among themselves that this Shīᶜah is going to rebel against you with Ibn Ṣurad and that there is another section of them with al-Mukhtār, the smaller of the two groups in number.

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395. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah was a son of ᶜAlī by a woman from the tribe of Ḥanīfah, unlike al-Ḥasan, a-lḤusayn and the Imāms of most Shīᶜite groups, who were descended from ᶜAlī through his wife Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet (on Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah, see *EI*[1], s.v.). It seems that it was in connection with the propaganda of Mukhtār and of the *Tawwābūn* that the term *mahdī* first became current. The term is used generally to refer to the Messiah figure of Islam, the Mahdī. Literally, the term may be translated as "the rightly guided one," and it is not certain how far, at the time of Mukhtār and the *Tawwābūn*, its eschatological associations had developed (see further *EI*[2], s.v. Mahdī).

396. The word is used here, as at other times in early Islam, with a religious connotation, referring to an individual acting as the representative of a prophet or religious leader; only in ᶜAbbāsid times, it seems, does the word come to be used only to mean a government official; see S. D. Goitein, "On the origin of the term vizier," *JAOS*, LXXXI (1961), 425–6 (= Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, 194–6).

397. The leader of Bakr b. Wā'il in al-Kūfah (see Crone, *Slaves*, 119; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, index).

According to what the people are saying, al-Mukhtār does not wish to revolt until he sees what becomes of the affair of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. The latter's preparations have been made and he is ready to start his revolt at any time. If you think that you should get together the police force, the soldiers and the prominent ones among the people and then take the initiative in going against him, we will do so with you. Then, when you have pushed on to his dwelling place, you will appeal to him. If he responds, that is enough. But if he fights against you, you will fight him. You will have gathered your forces and got ready while he will be taken by surprise. I fear for you that, if he starts things against you and you leave him alone until he comes out against you, his power will have increased and his affair become grave."

ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd replied, "God prevents us from attacking them. If they attack us, we will fight them, but if they leave us alone, we will not seek to confront them. Tell me what they want." He replied, "They say that they seek vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī." Ibn Yazīd answered, "Did I kill al-Ḥusayn? The curse of God on al-Ḥusayn's killer!"

Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and his companions wished to revolt in al-Kūfah. ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd went out and mounted the *minbar*. He stood among the people, praised God and extolled Him, and then said:

> Now, I have heard that some of this garrison town wish to revolt against us. I have asked what it was which called them to that and I was told they assert that they are seeking vengeance for the blood of al-
> [511] Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī. May God have mercy on that people! Their haunts have been shown to me and I have been asked to seize them. I was told, "Move against them before they move against you," but I rejected that and said if they fight me I will fight them, but if they leave me alone I will not seek them out. Why should they fight against me? By God, I did not kill Ḥusayn and I am not one of those who fought against him. I was stricken by his death, may God have mercy on him. If these people have no hostile intention (toward us),

let them go out and openly reveal themselves so that they may move against he who fought against al-Ḥusayn, he who has come against them. I will help them against this murderer. This Ibn Ziyād, the one who slew al-Ḥusayn and slew your best men and your models, has set out against you. The latest information about him puts him at one night's journey from Jisr Manbij.[398] Fighting against him and being ready to face him is better and sounder than settling your grievances among yourselves, killing one another and shedding each other's blood. Then, when that enemy meets you afterwards, you are weak. By God, that is just what your enemy wants! He has come against you, the most aggressive of God's creatures toward you, he who, with his father, had authority over you for seven years, the two of them not refraining from killing the people of righteousness and religion. He, who killed you, by whom you were ruined, and who killed the one for whose blood you seek vengeance has come against you. So face him with your weapons and your strength. Use them against him, not against yourselves. I have not spared you good advice. May God join our forces together and preserve our *imām*s for us.

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah said:

Oh people! The words of this flattering pacifier will surely not conjure away from you the sword and repression. By God, if someone attacks us, we will fight him, and, if we are sure that a people wants to attack us, we will seize the father for his child, the descendant [512] for its begetter, the friend for the friend, and the *ᶜarīf* for his *ᶜirāfah*,[399] until they submit to the truth and humble themselves to obedience.

Al-Musayyab b. Najabah rose up and cut off his speech, and said, "Son of the faithless ones! You threaten us with your

398. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 107.

399. In the garrison towns the *ᶜirāfah* (or *ᶜarāfah*) was a unit of men grouped together mainly for distribution of pay (see F. M. Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 237–8).

sword and your repression. By God, you are too debased for that. We do not blame you for hating us, for we killed your father and your grandfather.[400] By God, I hope that God does not drive you out of the midst of the people of this garrison town before they add you to your father and grandfather and make three! As for you, oh governor, you have spoken appositely. By God, I think that whoever wants success in this matter should seek your advice and accept what you say."

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah answered, "Yes by God, let him be killed. He started by dissimulating but then showed his true colors."[401] ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl al-Taymī came up to him and said, "Oh brother of the Banū Taym b. Murrah,[402] what is your opposition to that which concerns us and our governor? By God, you are no governor over us and you have no authority over us. You are only the head of the fiscal administration [*amīr al-jizyah*], so go back to your taxes [*kharāj*]. By the Eternal God, if you are a corrupt one, it was your father and grandfather, the faithless ones, who corrupted the affairs of this community. It was through them that discord came about. The calamity was their responsibility."[403] Then Musayyab b. Najabah and ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl went up to ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and said, "Regarding your opinion, Oh Governor, we hope, by God, that you will be praised for it among the populace and that you will be welcomed for what you meant and intended."

[513] Some of the people who were officials of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah and a group of those who were with him were enraged and poured out abuse on everyone but him, while the people reviled them and argued against them. When ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd heard that, he came down from the *minbar* and entered his residence. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad left, saying, "ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd has duped the people of al-Kūfah. By God,

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400. Ibrāhīm's father and grandfather were both killed fighting against ᶜAlī at the Battle of the Camel (see *EI*², s.v. Ṭalḥa b. ᶜUbayd Allāh).

401. It is not clear if the second sentence is a comment by Ibrāhīm on the behavior of ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd or a comment by the narrator on the behavior of Ibrāhīm.

402. According to p. 84, ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl himself was not of the Banū Taym b. Murra (Quraysh) but of the Banū Taym of Bakr b. Wā'il.

403. See *Gloss.* s.v. *yad*, and Lane, *Lexicon*, s.vv. *dā'ir* and *sū'*.

I will write to ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr about that." Shabath b. Ribᶜī al-Tamīmī[404] came to ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and told him about that, and ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd rode out together with him and Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ruwaym and entered in to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah. And he swore to him by God that in making the speech which Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad had heard he only wanted to promote the welfare of the community and to pacify those who were at enmity. "Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith came to me telling me such-and-such, and I thought I should stand up among them to say what you heard, out of the desire that there should be no falling out, no breakdown of concord, and that this people's misfortune should not divide them." Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad relented and accepted his explanation.

Then the companions of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad came into the open, displaying their weapons, and making public the preparations they undertook and which benefited them.

In this year also, the Khawārij who had come to Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca, and fought alongside him against Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī, separated from him and went to al-Baṣrah, where they fell into dissension and developed into parties.[405]

The End of the Khārijites' Support for ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca and the Dissensions among Them

I was told on the authority of Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rā- [514]
sibī: Ibn Ziyād, following Abū Bilāl's killing,[406] hunted down the Khawārij strenuously. Even before that he had not held back from them or spared them, but following the killing of Abū Bilāl he devoted himself to eradicating them and extir-

404. On Shabath b. Ribᶜī al-Riyāḥī, leader of the Tamīm in al-Kūfah, see Crone, *Slaves*, 118; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, index.

405. For parallel and variant accounts of the following, see al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 604–9; Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi, *ᶜIqd*, II, 391–5; Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 136–9; Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*, 27–32 (= Eng. tr. 45–53).

406. For Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udayya al-Tamīmī, leader of the Baṣran Khawārij killed in 61/680–81, see Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*, 25–7 (= Eng. tr. 39–43).

pating them. Thereupon, when Ibn al-Zubayr revolted in Mecca and the Syrians moved against him, the Khawārij gathered to consider what had happened to them.

Nāfiᶜ b. al-Azraq[407] said to them, "God sent down the Book to you and in it He imposed *jihād* as an obligation upon you and remonstrated with you with clear eloquence. The swords of the evil ones and those with enmity and oppression have been unsheathed against you. Now there is this one who has risen in Mecca, so let us go out together and we will come to the sanctuary and join this man. If he is of our opinions, we will join him in *jihād* against the enemy; if his opinions are different from ours, we will fight in defense of the sanctuary to the best of our ability and afterward consider our situation."

Consequently, they left and came to ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, who was delighted at their coming to him, indicated to them that he shared their views, and satisfied them unhesitatingly without any cross-examination. They fought together with him until the death of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah and the Syrians' departure from Mecca.

Then the Khārijīs met among themselves and said, "That which you did formerly was thoughtless and was wrong. You were fighting together with a man who perhaps does not share your views. It is not long since he and his father were fighting against you and calling out 'Vengeance for ᶜUthmān!'[408] Go to him, therefore, and ask him about ᶜUthmān. If he dissociates himself from him, then he is your friend, but if he refuses, he is your enemy."[409]

So they went to him and said, "Listen! We have fought
[515] alongside you, but we did not examine you regarding your views to find out if you are with us or our enemies. Tell us what you say about ᶜUthmān!" He considered and saw that

407. Of the Banū Ḥanīfah (Bakr b. Wā'il), he is the eponym of the Azāriqah sect of Khārijites (on him see *EI*[1], s.v.).

408. At the Battle of the Camel, those who were to become the Khawārij fought with ᶜAlī against ᶜĀ'ishah, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, who claimed to be seeking vengeance for the murdered ᶜUthmān.

409. The notion of "dissociation" or "quittance" *(barā'ah)* is a key concept of the Khawārij, as of the Shīᶜah. Its correlative is *wilāyah*, "friendship."

there were few of his supporters around him and so he said to them, "You have come to me and met me unexpectedly when I desired to leave. Come to me this evening so that I can tell you about that which you wish to know." They, therefore, went away while he sent to his supporters and said to them, "Put on your weapons and come to me all together this evening," and they did what he asked.

When the Khawārij came, Ibn al-Zubayr's men had positioned themselves around him in two lines wearing their weapons, and a large group of them stood before him with spears in their hands. Ibn al-Azraq said to his followers, "The man is afraid of being taken unaware by you. He has decided to resist you and has prepared for you, as you see." Then Ibn al-Azraq approached Ibn al-Zubayr and said to him, "Oh Ibn al-Zubayr, fear God your Lord and hate the faithless one who claims everything for himself! Treat as an enemy he who was the first to make error into a model for behavior [*sanna al-dalālah*], introduced innovations and opposed the ordinances of the Book. If you do that you will satisfy your Lord and save yourself from painful punishment. But if you reject that, you will be one of those who 'enjoyed their share'[410] and wasted their good things in the life of this world. Oh ᶜAbīdah b. Hilāl,[411] describe to this man and those with him the undertaking we are engaged in and to which we are calling the people," so ᶜAbīdah b. Hilāl came forward.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū ᶜAlqamah al-Khathᶜamī—Qabīṣah b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Quḥāfī of Khathᶜam: By God, I saw ᶜAbīdah b. Hilāl when he came forward and spoke. I never heard any speaker who spoke more eloquently or more appositely in what he said than he. He shared the views of the Khawārij. He united eloquence with significance of meaning and ease of vocabulary. He praised God and extolled Him, and then he said:

> Now, God sent Muḥammad, calling people to serve God and make pure the religion. He called people to [516]

410. Cf. Qur'ān 9:70, 46:19.

411. Of the Banū Yashkur (Bakr b. Wā'il), he was one of the four men who killed the leader of the force which had killed Abū Bilāl. On ᶜAbīdah, see Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 68 bottom.

that and the Muslims responded to him, and he worked among them, following the Book of God and His ordinance until God took him unto Himself. The Muslims then made Abū Bakr caliph and Abū Bakr appointed ᶜUmar as caliph after him. Both of them followed the Book and the example [*sunnah*] of the Messenger of God in what they did. Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds! Then the Muslims appointed ᶜUthmān as caliph, but he created reserved areas, favored kinship, appointed youths to positions of authority, abolished the lash and laid aside the whip, destroyed the Book, shed the blood of the Muslim, beat those who rejected oppression, granted shelter to him whom the Messenger had expelled, and beat those with precedence in merit, drove them out and dispossessed them. Not content with that, he seized the spoils [*fayʾ*] which God had given to them and shared it out among the godless ones of Quraysh and the shameless ones of the Arabs.[412] Hence a band of the Muslims whose oath God had accepted that they would obey Him, heedless in God of the censure of anybody else, came to him and killed him. We are friends to them, but dissociate ourselves from Ibn ᶜAffān and his friends. What say you, Ibn al-Zubayr?

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412. ᶜAbīdah's list of ᶜUthmān's "crimes" can be found with some variants in different sources. In pre-Islamic Arabia, the "reserved area" *(ḥimā)* is said to have been an area of pasture land, sometimes associated with a deity or sanctuary, closed to individuals or tribes; animals grazing there could not be reclaimed by their owners. The Prophet is said to have forbidden the creation of any new ones in Islam, except by himself (see Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, I, 235 (= Eng. tr. I, 214 f.), *EI²*, s.v. Ḥimā; cf. Qur'ān, 5:102). The accusation of nepotism refers to ᶜUthmān's appointment of his own Umayyad relatives to positions of authority. He is further accused of refusing to carry out the statutory Islamic punishment of flogging for certain offences. The destruction of "the Book" probably refers to the charge that, in compiling the standard text of the Qur'ān, he caused variant texts to be destroyed. "Him whom the Messenger had expelled" refers to the Umayyad al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ᶜĀṣ, whom Muḥammad had forbidden to return to Mecca. "Those with precedence in merit" presumably refers to ᶜUthmān's treatment of opponents such as Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (*q.v.*, in *EI²*) and Kaᶜb b. ᶜAbdah al-Nahdī. In general, see *EI¹* s.v. ᶜOthmān b. ᶜAffān.

Ibn al-Zubayr praised God and extolled Him, and then he said:

> I have understood what you have said. You referred to the Prophet and he was as you have said, even more than you described. I have understood what you said about Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar. You were right and hit the mark. I understood what you said about ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAffān, may God have mercy upon him, and I do not know the whereabouts of any creature of God today who knows more about Ibn ᶜAffān and his affair than I. I was with him when the mob criticized and censured him. He neglected nothing which the mob blamed him for but rebutted it. Then they came back to him with a letter[413] of his which they claimed he had written about them, ordering in it that they should be killed. He told them, "I did not write it. If you wish, then bring proof, and if there is not any, I will swear an oath to you." By God, they never brought him proof and did not ask him to swear, but fell upon him and killed him. I have heard what you have accused him of, but it was not like that. Rather, he always [517] acted worthily and I bear witness to you and to those here present that I am a friend of Ibn ᶜAffān in this world and in the next, and a friend of his friends and enemy of his enemies.

The Khārijīs said, "May God dissociate Himself from you, Oh enemy of God!" while Ibn al-Zubayr said, "May God dissociate Himself from you, Oh enemies of God!"

Then the group split up. Nāfiᶜ b. al-Azraq al-Ḥanẓalī,[414] ᶜAbdallāh b. Ṣaffār al-Saᶜdī of the Banū Ṣarīm b. Muqāᶜis,[415]

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413. A reference to the letter bearing ᶜUthmān's seal, intercepted by the rebels from al-Fusṭāṭ after ᶜUthmān's initial success in pacifying them. The real authorship of the letter is disputed (see N.A. Faris, "Development in Arab historiography . . . ," in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962).

414. The *nisbah* al-Ḥanẓalī (of Tamīm) seems to be a mistake; see Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*, 27 n. 5.

415. Of Tamīm (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 538 for the Banū Ṣarīm b. al-Ḥārith of Muqāᶜis); he is the eponym of the Ṣufriyyah sect.

ᶜAbdallāh b. Ibāḍ, also of the Banū Ṣarīm,[416] Ḥanẓalah b. Bayhās,[417] and the sons of al-Māḥūz (ᶜAbdallāh, ᶜUbaydallāh and al-Zubayr) of the Banū Salīṭ b. Yarbūᶜ[418] departed and eventually reached al-Baṣrah. Abū Ṭālūt of the Banū Zimmān b. Mālik b. Ṣaᶜb b. ᶜAlī b. Mālik b. Bakr b. Wā'il, ᶜAbdallāh b. Thawr Abū Fudayk of the Banū Qays b. Thaᶜlabah, and ᶜAṭiyyah b. al-Aswad al-Yashkurī[419] went to the Yamāmah. There they joined Abū Ṭālūt in revolt, but afterwards agreed on Najdah b. ᶜĀmir[420] as leader. As for those of them from al-Baṣrah, they went to al-Baṣrah, sharing the ideas of Abū Bilāl.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā, and Abū al-Muthannā—one of his brethren of the people of al-Baṣrah: The Khārijīs of al-Baṣrah met and most of them said, "What if a party from among us rebel in the path of God, for since our companions rebelled there has been a period in which we have not been active? Our scholars would be in the world as a light to the people summoning them to the religion, and our men of piety and struggle would go out to join the Lord; they would be martyrs given their reward with God and truly alive."

So they appointed Nāfiᶜ b. al-Azraq. He took charge of three hundred men and came out in revolt. That was the time of
[518] the rising of the people of al-Baṣrah against ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād and the breaking down by the Khawārij of the prison gates and their escape from them. The people of al-Baṣrah were preoccupied with the fighting between Azd, Rabīᶜah, the Banū Tamīm and Qays over the shedding of Masᶜūd b. ᶜAmr's blood and the Khawārij took advantage of their preoccupation with the fighting to prepare themselves and gather together. When Nāfiᶜ b. al-Azraq revolted, they followed him.

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416. The eponym of the Ibāḍiyyah sect (on him, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 113).

417. Also of Tamīm, he is possibly the eponym of the Bayhāsiyyah sect, but cf. *EI²*, s.v. Abū Bayhās.

418. Also of Tamīm (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 508, for the Banū Salīṭ b. al-Ḥārith of the Banū Yarbūᶜ b. Ḥanẓalah).

419. All three of the Banū Bakr b. Wā'il.

420. Of the Banū Ḥanīfah (Bakr b. Wā'il), eponym of the Najadāt sect.

The people of al-Baṣrah made peace among themselves, appointing ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib to lead them in prayer, and Ibn Ziyād left for Syria. The Azd and the Banū Tamīm made peace with one another, devoted themselves to the problem of the Khawārij, pursuing them and terrifying them so that those of them who remained in al-Baṣrah left and joined Ibn al-Azraq, except for a few of them of those who did not want to revolt at that time. Among these were ᶜAbdallāh b. Ṣaffār and ᶜAbdallāh b. Ibāḍ and some men with them who shared their views.

Nāfiᶜ b. al-Azraq reflected, and formed the opinion that the support of those who had not followed him was unnecessary and that there was no salvation for those who had not followed him. He said to his men, therefore, "God has honored you by your coming out in revolt. He has revealed to you what others have been blind to. Do you not know that you have come out in revolt only to seek His way [*sharīᶜah*] and His affairs? His affairs are a commander for you and the Book is an *imām* for you. You are only following His examples [*sunan*] and His paths." They replied, "Indeed, yes!" He said, "Is not your precept regarding your friend the precept of the Prophet regarding his friend, and your precept regarding your enemy the precept of the Prophet regarding his enemy? Your enemy today was the enemy of God and of the Prophet, just as the enemy of the Prophet was then he who is the enemy of God and of you today." They answered, "Yes." He said, "God, blessed and exalted is He, has revealed, 'An acquittal [*barā'ah*] from God and His Messenger to those of the polytheists with whom you have made a covenant,[421] and He has said, 'Do not marry polytheist women until they believe.'[422] Hence God has prohibited taking them as friends, living among them, allowing their witness, eating animals slaughtered by them, taking [519] knowledge of religion from them, marrying them and inheriting from them. God has insisted that we recognize this, and it is incumbent upon us that we make this religion known to those out of the midst of whom we have separated and that

421. Qur'ān, 9:1.
422. Qur'ān, 2:220.

we do not hide what God has revealed. Moreover, God says, 'Those who hide what we have revealed of proofs and guidance, after we have made it clear to the people in the Book, God will curse them and the execrators will curse them.' "[423] All of his companions answered positively to this view.

Then he wrote, "From ᶜAbdallāh Nāfiᶜ b. al-Azraq to ᶜAbdallāh b. Ṣaffār and ᶜAbdallāh b. Ibāḍ and those of the people with those two. Greetings to those of the servants of God who are in obedience to God! The situation is thus. . . ," and he told the story and described the picture as above. He sent the letter to them both.

It was brought to them. ᶜAbdallāh b. Ṣaffār read it, then took it and put it behind him. He did not read it out to the people out of fear that they would split and fall into dispute. ᶜAbdallāh b. Ibāḍ said to him, "What is the matter? In your father's name, what is it that you should be afflicted so? Is it that our brethren have been struck down or some of them made prisoner?" Ibn Ṣaffār gave him the letter, and he read it and said, "Damn him! Whatever opinion he held, Nāfiᶜ b. al-Azraq was sincere. Even if the people in general were polytheists, he was the most correct in the views and decisions according to which he gave advice, and his mode of life was like that of the Prophet among the polytheists. But now he has lied and accused us of lying when he says that the people are infidels who have rejected the divine grace and ordinances, that they (Ibn al-Azraq's party) are dissociators from polytheism, and that we must shed the blood of the 'polytheists' and act similarly with their property, something which has been forbidden to us." Ibn Ṣaffār said to him, "God is quit [*bari'a*] of you, for you have fallen short, and God is quit of Ibn al-Azraq, for he has gone too far. God is quit of the two of you
[520] together." But the other said, "God is quit of you and of him."

Then the Khārijites divided into subgroups. Ibn al-Azraq's power increased and his followers multiplied. He advanced toward al-Baṣrah until he was close to the bridge, and ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith sent Muslim b. ᶜUbays b. Kurayz b. Rabīᶜah b.

423. Qur'ān, 2:154.

Ḥabīb b. ᶜAbd Shams b. ᶜAbd Manāf against him with a company of Baṣrans.[424]

Abū Jaᶜfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: In the middle of the month of Ramaḍān this year, al-Mukhtār b. Abī ᶜUbayd arrived in al-Kūfah.[425]

The Arrival of al-Mukhtār in al-Kūfah

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: The Shīᶜah had been criticizing and blaming al-Mukhtār for his behavior in the affair of al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī—on the day when al-Ḥasan had been stabbed at Muẓlim Sābāṭ and carried to the White Palace at al-Madā'in[426] and then for what he had done in the time of al-Ḥusayn, when the latter had sent Muslim b. ᶜAqīl to al-Kūfah.[427] Muslim had stayed in the house of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ᶜUbayd (today it is the house of Salm b. al-Musayyab), and al-Mukhtār had given Muslim the oath of allegiance, with those of the people of al-Kūfah who gave it to him, had acted as his adviser, and had called upon those who took his orders to join Muslim's movement. On the day when Ibn ᶜAqīl came out in revolt, al-Mukhtār was in a settlement of his at Khuṭarniyah called Laqafā.[428] At the time of the midday prayer, news came that Ibn ᶜAqīl had manifested himself in al-Kūfah, for he had not

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424. See below, pp. 164ff.

425. Parallels and variants: *Ansāb*, V, 214ff.; Ibn Aᶜtham, VI, 53–8, 73–7; Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 139–43; Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*, 74–6 (= Eng. tr. 125–7); K.A. Fariq, "The story of an Arab diplomat," 7–17.

426. In the immediate aftermath of Muᶜāwiyah's march into Iraq in 40/661, panic broke out among al-Ḥasan's supporters in al-Madā'in/Ctesiphon, and al-Ḥasan, injured, was carried to the house of the governor, al-Mukhtār's uncle; al-Mukhtār, it is alleged, has suggested to his uncle that he use Ḥasan as a bargaining counter in his own negotiations with the triumphant Muᶜāwiyah (see Ṭabarī, II, 2).

427. Before setting out for al-Kūfah in 61/680, al-Ḥusayn is reported to have sent his cousin Muslim b. ᶜAqīl to ascertain the situation there; Muslim sent Ḥusayn a message of reassurance, leading him to set out on his ill-fated journey, but meanwhile was captured and executed by the new governor of al-Kūfah, ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād (see Ṭabarī, II, 227ff.).

428. For Khuṭarniyah, "one of the districts of Babylon," see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 453; Abū Muslim is said to have come from there (Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 505); the reading Laqafā is uncertain.

revolted on the day he had arranged with his supporters, but only when he was told that Hāni' b. ᶜUrwah al-Murādī[429] had been beaten and imprisoned. Al-Mukhtār came with some of
[521] his mawlās and reached Bāb al-Fīl[430] after the sunset prayer. ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād had given a command over all of the people to ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth[431] to lie in wait in the mosque for the supporters of Ibn ᶜAqīl. While al-Mukhtār was waiting at Bāb al-Fīl, Hāni' b. Abī Ḥayyah al-Wadāᶜī[432] passed by and said, "Why are you waiting here? You are neither with the people nor in your camp." He said, "I was uncertain what I should do, on account of the gravity of the mishap which has befallen you."[433] Hāni' said to him, "By God, I think you are killing yourself!" Then he went into ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth and told him what he had said to al-Mukhtār and what al-Mukhtār had replied.

Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ—ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ᶜUmayr al-Thaqafī: I was sitting with ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth when Hāni' b. Abī Ḥayyah reported to him these words of al-Mukhtār. ᶜAmr said to me, "Go to your cousin and tell him that his companion (Muslim b. ᶜAqīl) does not know where he is and that he should not lay himself open to any action (on the part of the authorities)." I stood up to go to him, but Zā'idah b. Qudāmah b. Masᶜūd[434] rushed up to ᶜAmr and said to him, "Is he going to come to you under safe-conduct?" ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth answered him, "As far as I am concerned he has safe-conduct from me, and, if he is brought up before the governor ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, I will stand as witness for

429. Muslim b. ᶜAqīl stayed in the house of this supporter of the Shīᶜah, subsequently executed together with Muslim, after leaving that of al-Mukhtār; Hāni' b. ᶜUrwah belonged to the Banū Murād of Madhḥij (on him, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 279).

430. For an explanation of the name of this place in al-Kūfah, see Ṭabarī, II, 27.

431. See above, n. 183.

432. On him, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 278; the Banū Wadīᶜah b. ᶜAmr belonged to Hamdān.

433. See *Gloss.* s.v. *rajja;* I have adopted the reading *khaṭb* from *Ansāb,* V, 215[5], in preference to the Leiden text's *khaṭī'ah.*

434. Like al-Mukhtār and the narrator himself, of Thaqīf. Subsequently, he is named as the one who killed Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr at the battle of Dayr al-Jāthalīq, shouting "Vengeance for al-Mukhtār!" (see *Ansāb,* V, 430).

him and intercede for him to the best of my ability." Zā'idah b. Qudāmah said to him, "God willing, that can only be good for him."

So I went off, with Zā'idah accompanying me, to al-Mukhtār, and we told him what Ibn Abī Ḥayyah had said and how ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth had answered, and we implored him for God's sake not to lay himself open to any action. Consequently, he came down to Ibn Ḥurayth, greeted him, and sat beneath his banner until morning. The people talked about al-Mukhtār's conduct, and ᶜUmārah b. ᶜUqbah b. Abī Muᶜayṭ[435] went off to [522] ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād and told him about it. At daybreak, the gate of ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād was opened, the people were permitted to enter and al-Mukhtār was among those who went in. ᶜUbaydallāh summoned him and said to him, "Are you the one who came with the gang to help Ibn ᶜAqīl?" He answered, "No, but I came and camped beneath ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth's banner and passed the night with him until morning." And ᶜAmr said to Ibn Ziyād, "He has spoken the truth, may God preserve you!" But Ibn Ziyād took up his baton, aimed it at al-Mukhtār's face, and hit him in the eye and cut it. Then he said, "That is what you deserve! Indeed, by God, if it were not for ᶜAmr's testimony on your behalf, I would cut off your head. Take him off to prison!" So they took him off to prison and he was detained there. There he stayed until al-Ḥusayn was killed.

After al-Ḥusayn's death, al-Mukhtār sent to Zā'idah b. Qudāmah asking him to go to ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜUmar[436] in Medina to ask him to write on his behalf to Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah (requesting Yazīd) to write to ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād ordering his release. Zā'idah rode to ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜUmar and came to him and delivered al-Mukhtār's message to him. Ṣafiyyah, al-Mukhtār's sister who was married to ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜUmar, found out about her brother's place of imprisonment and wept and grieved. When ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜUmar saw that, he sent a letter with Zā'idah to Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah, "Now, ᶜUbaydallāh b.

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435. An Umayyad (family of Abū ᶜAmr), son of an opponent of the Prophet who was killed at Badr, a uterine brother of the caliph ᶜUthmān (*Ansāb*, IVb, 170; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 111).

436. See n. 276 above.

Ziyād has imprisoned my brother-in-law al-Mukhtār. I should like him pardoned and his condition improved. If you think, may God have mercy on us and on you, that you should write to Ibn Ziyād telling him to release him, I know you will. Peace be upon you!"

[523] Zā'idah went on his way with the letter and brought it to Yazīd in Syria. When he read it, Yazīd laughed and said, "Abū ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān[437] is interceding. He is the right one for that!" Then he wrote to Ibn Ziyād, "Now, release al-Mukhtār b. Abī ᶜUbayd when you have looked at my letter. Peace be upon you!" Zā'idah brought it and gave it to Ibn Ziyād, who called for al-Mukhtār and had him brought out. He told him, "I give you three days. If I find you in al-Kūfah after that, my undertaking toward you is void." Al-Mukhtār went off to get ready to leave and Ibn Ziyād said, "By God, Zā'idah risked himself against me when he went to the Commander of the Faithful to bring me a letter telling me to release a man whom I had decided to keep in prison for a long time. Fetch him to me!" But ᶜAmr b. Nāfiᶜ Abū ᶜUthmān, a secretary of Ibn Ziyād, went to him while he was being sought and told him, "Save yourself! Remember this as a favor you owe me." So Zā'idah went and hid himself on that day, and then he went with some members of his clan to al-Qaᶜqāᶜ b. Shawr al-Dhuhlī[438] and Muslim b. ᶜAmr al-Bāhilī[439] and they obtained safe-conduct from Ibn Ziyād.

Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf: And on the third day al-Mukhtār left for the Ḥijāz.

Abū Mikhnaf said that al-Ṣaqᶜab b. Zuhayr reported to him from Ibn al-ᶜIrq, a mawlā of Thaqīf: I had come from the Ḥijāz and when I reached al-Basīṭah beyond Wāqiṣah,[440] I met al-Mukhtār b. Abī ᶜUbayd who was leaving for the Ḥijāz after Ibn Ziyād had freed him. When I met him I greeted him and

437. Ibn ᶜUmar's *kunyah*.

438. Of Dhuhl b. Thaᶜlabah/Shaybān (on him, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 465).

439. Father of Qutaybah b. Muslim. Bāhilah were part of Qays; for Muslim, see Crone, *Slaves*, 136–7.

440. Al-Basīṭah is mentioned at Ṭabarī, I, 2222, as the place where Saᶜd b. Abī Waqqāṣ's army gathered en route to al-Qādisiyyah; evidently it is in the Najd, on the route from the Ḥijāz to Iraq.

turned to him, but when I saw how his eye had been cut I uttered the formula that we are God's creatures and shall return to Him. After I had commiserated with him, I asked him, "What is the matter with your eye, may God turn all evil from you?" He replied, "The son of the fornicator struck it with his baton so as to cause what you see." I said, "Whatever made him do that, may his fingertips be withered?" Al- [524]
Mukhtār said, "May God kill me if I do not cut his fingertips, his veins and his limbs to pieces!" I was surprised at his words and I said to him, "How do you know you will do that, may God have mercy on you?" He replied, "Remember what I am telling you until you see it come true."

Then he began asking me about ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and I told him, "He has taken refuge at the sanctuary and has said, 'I am only he who takes refuge with the Lord of this building.'[441] The people are saying that he is accepting the oath of allegiance in secret, but I do not think he will make his opposition manifest unless his strength increases and he finds he has a lot of allies[442] among the men." He replied, "Yes, indeed, there is no doubt about it! Indeed, he is the man of the Arabs today. Indeed, if he follows my footsteps and listens to what I say, then I will suffice him for the affairs of the people. But if he does not do it, then by God I am not less than one of the Arabs. Oh Ibn al-ᶜIrq, the time of commotion and distress [*al-fitnah*] has come like thunder and lightning. It is as if it has been sent and tramples down everything like a camel led by its noseband. When you see that and hear about it in a place where I have shown myself, say that al-Mukhtār with his troops of the Muslims is seeking vengeance for the blood of he who was killed unjustly, the martyr, the one slain at al-Ṭaff,[443] the lord of the Muslims and the son of their lord, al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī. Then, by your Lord, I will surely kill, in recompense for his murder, the

441. See n. 52 above.

442. *Add. et emend.* suggests the deletion of one of the two *illās* ("unless"); possibly the second of them could be the accusative form of *ill*, "pact" (= "allies")?

443. I.e., al-Ḥusayn; the battle at Karbalā' is often called the battle of al-Ṭaff (see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 539).

number of those who were killed in recompense for the shedding of the blood of John the Baptist."[444] I said, "Praise be to God, for these are wonders and things unheard of before!" He answered, "It is as I tell you. Remember what I have said until you see it come true." Then he urged on his mount and went on his way, and I went with him for a time asking God for his welfare and good companions.

Then he halted and made me swear an oath when I left him. I took his hand and said goodbye and wished him peace
[525] and left him, and I said to myself, "That which this man—meaning al-Mukhtār—tells me of what he claims is going to happen, is it a thing which his own prompting tells him of? By God, God does not acquaint anyone with knowledge of the hidden things. It is merely something which he wishes for and thinks is going to happen and it entails the ideas he has. But, by God, they are confused ideas. By God, not everything which a man thinks is going to happen does happen!" But, by God, I lived to see everything which he had said. By God, if that was the result of some knowledge which was vouchsafed to him, then it was confirmed; if it was an idea which he conceived and something he wished for, well it came about!

Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaqᶜab b. Zuhayr—Ibn al-ᶜIrq: I narrated this report to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, who laughed and then said to me that he used also to say:

By a woman lifting her coats
and calling out her woe
by the Tigris or around it.[445]

I asked him, "Do you think that this is something which he thought up himself and made a guess at, or is it the result of knowledge given to him?" He said, "By God, I do not know the answer; but how capable he was, whether he was

444. In Muslim tradition, in response to the execution of John the Baptist (Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā') by the Jewish king, Jerusalem is sacked by Nebuchadnessar (Bukhtnaṣṣar) and 70,000 Israelites are killed (see, e.g., Ṭabarī, I, 713ff.).

445. On occasions, al-Mukhtār's dicta seem to be composed for their sound rather than their meaningfulness. Al-Ḥajjāj here seems to be laughing at al-Mukhtār's harmonious nonsense.

a man of this world,[446] a kindler of war, or a fighter against enemies!"

Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Yūsuf al-Anṣārī, of the Banū Khazraj—ᶜAbbās b. Sahl b. Saᶜd: Al-Mukhtār arrived at Mecca where we were, and he went to ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr while I was sitting with him. Al-Mukhtār greeted Ibn al-Zubayr, who returned his greetings, welcomed him, and made room for him. Then Ibn al-Zubayr asked him, "Tell me about the condition of the people in al-Kūfah, Oh Abū Isḥāq." He replied, "In public they are supporters of their authorities, but in private they are opponents of them." Ibn al-Zubayr said to him, "That describes the slaves of evil; when they see their masters they serve and obey them, but when they are away they calumniate and curse them."

He sat with us for a while and then he leaned toward[447] Ibn al-Zubayr as if he would confide a secret to him, and he [526] said to him, "What are you waiting for? Hold out your hand. Let me give you the oath of allegiance and you give us what will please us. Seize control of the Ḥijāz, for the people of the Ḥijāz are all with you." Al-Mukhtār thereupon got up and went out. He was not seen again for a year.

Then, while I was sitting with Ibn al-Zubayr, behold, he said to me, "When did you last have news about al-Mukhtār b. Abī ᶜUbayd?" I said to him, "I have not heard about him since I saw him with you last year." He said, "Where do you think he went off to? If he had been in Mecca, he would have been seen there afterward." I told him, "I went back to al-Madīnah a month or two after I saw him with you, and I remained there for some months. Then I came to you and I heard a group of the people of al-Ṭā'if who had come to perform the minor pilgrimage [*ᶜumra*][448] claiming he had come to them in al-Ṭā'if asserting he was the lord of wrath and the extirpator of tyrants." Ibn al-Zubayr said, "God damn him! He has been sent as a liar and self-proclaimed soothsayer. If God extirpates tyrants, then al-Mukhtār is one of them."

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446. See *Add. et emend.* for the reading *dunyā*.

447. See *Add. et emend.* for the reading *māla*.

448. The minor pilgrimage may be accomplished at any time of the year and involves fewer rituals than the *ḥajj*.

By God, it was not long after the conclusion of our talk before he appeared before us at the side of the mosque, and Ibn al-Zubayr said, "Speak of the devil![449] Where do you think he is heading for?" I said, "I think he is heading for the sanctuary." He came to the sanctuary and stood facing the (Black) Stone[450] and then he circumambulated the sanctuary seven times and then made a ritual prayer of two *rakᶜas* by the Ḥijr[451] and then sat down. Before long some men of his acquaintance, of the people of al-Ṭā'if and others of the people of the Ḥijāz, joined him and sat together with him, and Ibn al-Zubayr was kept waiting for his coming to him. Ibn al-Zubayr said, "What do you think he is up to that he does not come to us?" I said, "I do not know, but I will obtain information of him for you." He replied, "Whatever you wish." That had surprised him.[452]

So I got up and passed by as if I intended to leave the mosque, but then I turned in his direction and went toward him. I greeted him, sat down and took his hand, and then I
[527] said to him, "Where have you been? Where did you get to after I met you? Were you at al-Ṭā'if?" He said to me, "I was at al-Ṭā'if and elsewhere." And he made his affair appear very mysterious to me. So I leaned toward him and, whispering, said to him, "Does someone like you keep away from someone like him to whom the people of nobility and the great families of the Arabs from Quraysh, the Anṣār and Thaqīf[453] have rallied? There is left no family or tribe whose leader or chief has not come and given the oath of allegiance to this man. It is surprising of you and your views that you should not have come to him and given him the oath of allegiance and taken

449. For the proverb, see Freytag, *Proverbia*, I, 505.

450. Unvocalized, the Arabic *ḥjr* in this context may refer to the Black Stone *(al-ḥajar [al-aswad]* or *al-rukn)* fixed in the southeast corner of the Kaᶜbah or to the semicircular area attached to the northwest side of the Kaᶜbah known as al-Ḥijr; since the circumambulation of the Kaᶜbah begins from the Black Stone, it seems that that is what is meant here, while the subsequent reference is to the Ḥijr. But there is a possible ambiguity.

451. The Ḥijr is regarded as a sacred area which at one time was a part of the Kaᶜbah; Ishmael (Ismāᶜīl) is said to have been buried there.

452. Cairo reads *ka-inna dhālik aᶜjabahu* "it was as if that had surprised him."

453. I.e., the peoples of Mecca, Medina and al-Ṭā'if.

your share in this business." He answered me, "Did you not see me go to him last year and advise him of my views, but he kept me out of his business? When I saw he had no need of me, I wanted to show him I had no need of him. By God, he needs me more than I do him!" I said to him, "You have said to him what you have said while he was conspicuous in the mosque. But these words should not be said unless the curtains are lowered on them and the doors locked on them. Meet him tonight if you wish, and I will be with you." He answered me, "I will. After we have performed the *ʿatamah* prayer[454] we will go to him and we will meet in the Ḥijr."

I got up from my place by him and went out and then returned to Ibn al-Zubayr. I told him about the words which had passed between us and he was pleased. And when we had made the *ʿatamah* prayer, we met in the Ḥijr and then we went off to the dwelling of Ibn al-Zubayr. Al-Mukhtār and I asked his permission to enter and he gave it to us. I said, "I will leave you two alone," but they said together, "We have no secret from you," so I sat down. When Ibn al-Zubayr had taken his hand, greeted him, welcomed him, asked him how he and his family were, and they had remained silent for a short while, al-Mukhtār spoke to him (and I was listening). After he had begun on the preliminaries of his speech and praised God and extolled Him, he said, "There is no point in verbosity or in stopping short of what is needed. I have come [528] to you to give you the oath of allegiance on condition that you will not take decisions without me and that I will be among the first of those to whom you give access, and that when you triumph you make use of me in the more meritorious of your operations." Ibn al-Zubayr said to him, "I will accept your oath of allegiance (only) on the stipulation that I will act according to the Book of God and the exemplary practice [*sunnah*] of His Prophet." He replied, "And from the worst of my slave lads you are taking the oath of allegiance on the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet! There is no share for me in this business which is not (also) for the farthest

454. The prayer of nightfall, more commonly called *ṣalāt al-ʿishā'*.

of mankind from you! No, by God, I will never give you the oath of allegiance except on these stipulations."

ᶜAbbās b. Sahl said: I obtained the ear of Ibn al-Zubayr and said to him, "Buy his obedience [*dīn*] from him so that you can reflect what you will do." And Ibn al-Zubayr said to him, "What you ask for is yours," and he held out his hand, and al-Mukhtār gave him the oath of allegiance. He stayed with him and was present at the first siege when al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī came to Mecca. He fought at that battle and was one of the most valiant of the people at that time and the most capable of them. After al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr,[455] al-Miswar b. Makhramah[456] and Muṣᶜab b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAwf al-Zuhrī[457] had been killed, al-Mukhtār cried out, "To me, Oh people of Islam, to me! I am Ibn Abī ᶜUbayd b. Masᶜūd, and I am the son of the attackers, not of the fugitives. I am the son of those who advance not those who retreat. To me, Oh defenders and zealous protectors of your honor!"[458] And he stirred up the people and was resolute and fought a good fight. Then he remained with Ibn al-Zubayr during that siege until the day when the sanctuary was set alight—that was Saturday, Rabīᶜ I 3, 64 (October 31, 683). At that time, he fought in a band of about 300 men the best fight anyone of the people put up. He fought until worn out and then he sat down with his men surrounding him. When
[529] he had rested he would get up and fight again. And he never went toward a band of the Syrians without fighting them until he had defeated them.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Yūsuf Muḥammad b. Thābit—ᶜAbbās b. Sahl b. Saᶜd: In charge of the fighting against the Syrians on the day when the Kaᶜbah was set alight were

455. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr's brother; other reports contradict the view that he was killed in Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr's siege of Mecca (see Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 54).

456. Of Quraysh (the Banū Zuhrah; see Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 263), he is reported to have been held in respect by the Khawārij; again there is doubt about whether he was in fact killed in Ibn Numayr's siege (Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, III, 858, Yaᶜqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 282).

457. Of the Banū Zuhrah of Quraysh (Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 267–9), son of the "elector" of the *shūrā* appointed by ᶜUmar, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAwf.

458. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *w-t-r*.

ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ,[459] myself and al-Mukhtār. And on that day there was not among us any man more valiant than al-Mukhtār. Before the Syrians learned about the death of Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah, he fought strenuously one day in particular. That was Sunday, Rabīᶜ II 15, 64 (December 13, 683). The Syrians had hoped to defeat us and had taken up positions against us on the roads leading into Mecca.

Ibn al-Zubayr came out, and many men gave him the oath of allegiance on the understanding that they would fight to the death. I went out with a band who were with me fighting on one flank, and al-Mukhtār was with another band fighting on another flank among a group of the people of the Yamāmah. They were Khawārij who were only fighting in defense of the sanctuary, and they were positioned on one flank. ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ was on another flank. The Syrians pressed hard against me and pushed me back with my men until I and al-Mukhtār with his men were gathered together in the same place. I never did anything without him doing likewise, while he never did anything which I did not try hard to do likewise. I never saw anyone more resolute than he. While we were fighting, lo, footmen and horse of the Syrian cavalry pressed against us and forced me and him to retreat, with about seventy of those prepared to accept hardship and suffering, to the side of one of the houses of the Meccans. And al-Mukhtār fought against them on that day. One man started to say to another:

The soul of a man who flees never finds refuge.

Al-Mukhtār and I sallied forth, and I said (to the Syrians), "Send a man from among you against me." One man came out against me and another against al-Mukhtār. I engaged my opponent and killed him while al-Mukhtār engaged his and [530] killed him. Then we and our men gave a yell and pressed against them, and, by God, we fought against them until we had driven them out of all the roads, and then we went back to the two opponents we had killed. Behold, the man I had killed was very red in color like a Greek, while he whom al-Mukhtār had killed was very black! And al-Mukhtār said to

459. Of the Banū ᶜAdī of Quraysh (Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 384f.).

me, "Mark well, by God! I think that these two whom we killed were slaves. If these two had killed us, our clans and those who have expectations for us would have been distressed on our account. In my opinion, these two are no more than two dogs. After this day I will never go forth to fight a man unless he is someone I know." I replied, "And I, by God, will not go forth unless for a man I know."

Al-Mukhtār remained with Ibn al-Zubayr until Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah died, when the siege came to an end and the Syrians returned to Syria; the Kūfans resolved their differences by agreeing on ᶜĀmir b. Masᶜūd, after Yazīd's death, to lead them in the ritual prayer until the whole people should agree on an *imām*. It was no more than a month before ᶜĀmir sent his oath of allegiance and that of the Kūfans to Ibn al-Zubayr. Al-Mukhtār was with Ibn al-Zubayr for five months and some days after Yazīd's end.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq—Saᶜīd b. ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd b. al-ᶜĀṣ: By God, I was with ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, who was accompanied by ᶜAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān b. Umayyah b. Khalaf.[460] We were making the ritual circumambulation of the sanctuary when Ibn al-Zubayr looked, and there was Mukhtār! Ibn al-Zubayr said to Ibn Ṣafwān, "Look at him! By God, he is more wary than a jackal encircled by lions." He carried on his circumambulation, we accompanying him, and when we had finished and performed the ritual two *rakᶜahs*[461] of prayer after circumambulation, we joined al-Mukhtār, who asked Ibn Ṣafwān, "What did Ibn al-
[531] Zubayr say about me?" But he did not reveal it and said, "He only said good of you." Al-Mukhtār responded, "Yes, indeed, by the Lord of this building! Surely I am the equal of you two![462] By God, either he will follow after me or I will start a blaze against him!" And he remained with him for five months, but when he saw that Ibn al-Zubayr was not giving

460. Of the Banū Jumaḥ of Quraysh (*ibid.*, 389–90).

461. A succession of specified ritual body movements and prayers (see *EI*², s.v. ṣalāt).

462. The suggested alternative reading *in kuntu āmanu sha'nakumā* with the translation "I do not trust the pair of you" is proposed in *Add. et emend.*; for the reading and translation adopted here see *Gloss.* s.v. *sha'n*.

him any position of authority, he started asking everybody who came from al-Kūfah the state of the people there and their condition.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ᶜAṭiyya b. al-Ḥārith Abū Rawq al-Hamdānī: Hāni' b. Abī Ḥayyah al-Wadāᶜī came to Mecca to perform the *ᶜumrah* of Ramaḍān. Al-Mukhtār asked him about his own state and that of the men of al-Kūfah and their condition. Hāni' told him about their concord and agreement to give obedience to Ibn al-Zubayr, except that there was a party of them, with the support of plenty among the people of that garrison town,[463] which, if there were somebody who would gather them for the propagation of their views, could devour the earth with them for as long as he wished.

Al-Mukhtār said to him, "I am Abū Isḥāq! By God, I am the one for them. I will unite them in the path of truth and with them I will drive out the retinue of falsehood and kill every obdurate tyrant." But Hāni' b. Abī Ḥayyah said to him, "Alas for you, Oh Ibn Abī ᶜUbayd! If it were possible for you not to involve yourself in error, then someone else would be their leader, for the lord of the time of commotion and distress [*al-fitnah*] is the closest of anything to the time of death and the worst of the people in deeds." Al-Mukhtār answered him, "I will not call them to commotion and distress but only to right guidance and community."

Then he arose, went out, mounted his camels and set off toward al-Kūfah. When he reached al-Qarᶜā',[464] Salamah b. Marthad, the brother of Bint Marthad al-Qābiḍī of Hamdān,[465] met him. He was one of the bravest of the Arabs and was an ascetic. When they met, they clasped hands and questioned each other. Al-Mukhtār told him the news of the Ḥijāz, then said to Salamah b. Marthad, "Tell me about the people in al- [532]
Kūfah." He replied, "They are like sheep whose shepherd has gone astray." Al-Mukhtār b. Abī ᶜUbayd said, "I am he who will guide them right and reach their goal." Salamah said to

463. Read *al-miṣr*.
464. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 61.
465. Qābiḍ b. Zayd were a branch of Ḥāshid of Hamdān (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 454). This seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to Salamah. Probably "Bint" should be read "Thubayth b." (see p. 126 below).

him, "Fear God, and know that you die and are resurrected, are called to account and give recompense for your deeds—if they were good you receive good, if evil you receive evil!" Then they parted and al-Mukhtār went on until he reached the lake of al-Ḥīrah on a Friday.

There he dismounted, performed his ablutions in it, anointed himself lightly with oil, changed his clothes, put on a turban and girded his sword. Then he mounted his camel and passed the mosque of the Sakūn and the *jabbānah* of Kindah.[466] At every tribal council he passed, he greeted its people and said, "Rejoice at the victory and the prizing open. What you wish for has come to you." He went on until he passed by the mosque of the Banū Dhuhl[467] and the Banū Ḥujr,[468] but found nobody there; they had gone to the community prayer. He went on until he passed the Banū Baddā',[469] where he found ᶜAbīdah b. ᶜAmr al-Baddī of Kindah. He greeted him and said, "Rejoice at the victory, the ease and the prizing open! You, Abū ᶜAmr, are holding good opinions. God will not leave any of your offenses unpardoned or any sin unforgiven." ᶜAbīdah was one of the most resolute of the people, the most perceptive and the strongest in his love for ᶜAlī, but he had not refrained from drink. When al-Mukhtār addressed these words to him, ᶜAbīdah replied, "May God give you good rejoicing, for you have wished us joy! Can you interpret things for us?" "Yes," he answered. "Come to us tonight in the camping place." Then he passed on.

Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj[470]—ᶜAbīdah b. ᶜAmr: Al-Mukhtār said this to me and then said, "Meet me in the

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466. For the topography of al-Kūfah, see Massignon, "Explication du plan de Kūfa" (sketch map at p. 36 of the reprint in his *Opera minora*) and *EI*², s.v. al-Kūfa. "The Lake of al-Ḥīrah" presumably refers to a body of water formed by the Euphrates as it empties itself into the swamps south of al-Ḥīrah. The name is not usual. The word *jabbānah* followed by the name of a tribe frequently occurs in connection with events in al-Kūfah. A *jabbānah* is a cemetery, but in al-Kūfah they seem to have been used as a sort of public square (see further *EI*², art. cit., p. 347a).

467. The Banū Dhuhl b. Muᶜāwiyah b. al-Ḥārith al-Akbar of Kindah (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 239).

468. The Banū Ḥujr b. Wahb b. Rabīᶜah of Kindah (*ibid.*, II, 331).

469. The Banū Baddā' b. al-Ḥārith al-Akbar of Kindah (*ibid.*, I, 218).

470. See *Add. et emend.*

camping place and tell the people of your mosque this from me,[471] that they are a people upon whom God has imposed [533] a covenant to obey Him by fighting against the violators of His law and seeking vengeance for the shed blood of the descendants of the prophets, and He will guide them to the clear light." Then he passed on, asking me the way to the Banū Hind. I told him, "Wait for me, I will guide you." I called for my horse which had been saddled for me and mounted it. I went with him to the Banū Hind.[472] Al-Mukhtār said to me, "Guide me to the abode of Ismāᶜīl b. Kathīr!"[473] So I went with him to his dwelling and asked Ismāᶜīl to come out. He saluted and greeted him, clasped his hands and wished him joy. He said to him, "You and your brother come to me tonight with Abū ᶜAmr, for I have brought you everything you wish for." Then he went on his way, and I with him, until he passed the mosque of Juhaynah of al-Bāṭinah.[474] Then he passed on to Bāb al-Fīl, where he made his camel kneel and dismounted. He entered the mosque and the people showed him respect. They said, "This is al-Mukhtār, who has come." Al-Mukhtār stood beside one of the pillars of the mosque where he prayed until the service of ritual prayer was held, when he prayed together with the people. Then he went to another pillar and offered all the prayers of the interval between Friday noontime prayer and that of the afternoon. And, when he had prayed the afternoon prayer with the people, he departed.

Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Saᶜīd—ᶜĀmir al-Shaᶜbī: Al-Mukhtār passed the circle of Hamdān in the mosque. He was wearing his traveling clothes and he said, "Rejoice, for I have brought to you that which will make you happy!" Then he passed on and came to his house; it is the house called the house of Salm b. al-Musayyab. And the Shīᶜah were frequently visiting it and him in it.

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471. Read *ᶜannī* (see *Add. et emend.*).
472. The Banū Hind of Kindah (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 283).
473. See below, p. 182, for a report from him.
474. Apparently the Banū Juhayna b. Zayd of Quḍāᶜah (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 265, *EI² Suppl.*, s.v. Djuhayna).

Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj—ᶜAbīdah b. ᶜAmr and Ismāᶜīl b. Kathīr of the Banū Hind: That night we went to him as we had agreed. When we had entered in upon him and sat down, he questioned us about the affairs of the people and
[534] the condition of the Party. We told him the Party had rallied to Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāᶜī and that it would not be long before he revolted. He praised God and extolled Him and made prayers for the Prophet, and then he said, "Now, the *mahdī*, son of the Legatee [*waṣī*], Muḥammad the son of ᶜAlī, sent me to you as a trustee, a helper [*wazīr*], a chosen one, and a commander. He ordered me to fight the wicked ones [*al-mulḥidīn*], to seek vengeance for the blood of his family and to defend the weak."

Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj: ᶜAbīdah b. ᶜAmr and Ismāᶜīl b. Kathīr told me that they were the first of God's creatures to respond, and they seized his hand and gave him the oath of allegiance. Al-Mukhtār began sending to the Party who had gathered with Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, saying to them:

> I have come to you from he who is in authority, the source of virtue, the legatee of the Legatee, and the Imām the *mahdī*, with an authority in which there is restoration of health, removal of the covering, fighting against the enemies, and fulfillment of favors. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, may God have mercy on us and upon him, is no more than a useless old man and a worn-out thing.[475] He has no experience of affairs and no knowledge of warfare. He only wants to get you to go out, and he will kill himself and you. But I only act following an example which was given to me and a command in which there was made clear to me the might of the one in authority over you, the killing of your enemies and the restoration of your spirits. Listen to what I say and obey my command, and then rejoice and spread the good news, for I am the best leader for the achievement of everything you hope for.

By God, he continued with these and similar words until he had won the support of a section of the Shīᶜah and they

475. See *Gloss.*, s.vv. *ᶜ-sh-m*, *ḥ-f-sh*.

used to visit him frequently, honor him and recognize his authority. But most of the Shīᶜah at that time, and their leaders, [535] were with Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, who was the shaykh of the Shīᶜah and the senior one of them. They did not consider anybody as equal with him except that al-Mukhtār had won the support of a small section of them. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad was the most opposed of God's creatures to al-Mukhtār. At that time, everything was ready for Ibn Ṣurad and he wanted to take the offensive, but al-Mukhtār did not want to move or take any action, until[476] he should see how Sulaymān's affair turned out, hoping that the command of the Shīᶜah would revert to himself and that they would reinforce him in attaining what he sought.

When Sulaymān b. Ṣurad had left and gone toward Mesopotamia, ᶜUmar b. Saᶜd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Shabath b. Ribᶜī and Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ruwaym said to ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Khaṭmī and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. ᶜUbaydallāh, "Al-Mukhtār is a greater threat to you than Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. Sulaymān merely went out to fight your enemies and humiliate them for you, and he has departed from your territories. But al-Mukhtār wants to attack you in your garrison town. Go to him, therefore, put him in irons, and keep him in prison so that the affairs of the people may be stabilized."

They went out against him, therefore, with some men. He was unaware until they had surrounded him and his house and forced him to come out. When he saw the crowd he said, "What is the matter with you? By God, you have seized the wrong man!"[477] Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. ᶜUbaydallāh said to ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd, "Put him in shackles and make him walk barefoot." But ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd said, "Praise be to God, I will neither make him walk nor make him go barefoot. I will not do that with a man who has not manifested [536] any enmity to us or any hostility. We have only taken him out of suspicion." Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad said to him, "It is

476. Read *ḥattā* (see *Add. et emend.*).

477. See *Add. et emend.* for a suggested alternative reading *(bi-ghirri mā)*; the printed text seems to give a more obvious meaning, however.

nothing to do with you.[478] Walk ahead of me! What are you and what is this we hear about you, Oh Ibn Abī ᶜUbayd?" He answered, "What you have heard about me is nothing but lies. I take refuge in God from a treachery like that of your father and grandfather."[479] Fuḍayl said: By God, I was looking at him when he was brought out and I listened to these words when he spoke to him, only I do not know whether Ibrāhīm heard him say it or not. When he had said it he was silent.

Al-Mukhtār was brought a black mule to ride. Ibrāhīm said to ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd, "Will you not fasten him with fetters?" but he replied, "Prison is a sufficient fetter for him."

Abū Mikhnaf: As for Yaḥyā b. Abī ᶜĪsā, he told me: I went in to him with Ḥumayd b. Muslim al-Azdī.[480] We were visiting him and looking after him, and I saw that he was in shackles. And I heard him saying, "Indeed, by the Lord of the seas, of the palms and trees, of the plains and deserts, of the godly angels, and of the goodly chosen ones, I shall slay every tyrant with every dangerous blade and sharp sword, in a band of the Helpers who are without the inclination of inexperienced ones or the dissociation of wicked ones, until, when I have erected the pillars of the religion and have repaired the scattering of the fissure of the Muslims and satisfied the thirst of the hearts of the Believers and achieved vengeance for the prophets, the continuation of this life will not be important for me and I will not mind death when it comes." Whenever we visited
[537] him while he was in prison, he used to repeat these words to us until his release. And after Ibn Ṣurad had left, al-Mukhtār showed himself as courageous before his supporters.

Abū Jaᶜfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: In this year also, Ibn al-Zubayr demolished the Kaᶜbah. Its walls had buckled as a result of the catapult stones which had been fired at it.[481]

Ibn al-Zubayr's Demolition of the Kaᶜbah

According to Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar al-Wāqidī—Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā—ᶜIkrimah b. Khālid: Ibn al-Zubayr demolished the sanc-

478. Literally, "it is not your nest."
479. See n. 400.
480. The authority of Abū Mikhnaf; see index, s.v.
481. Parallels and variants: *Ansāb*, IVb, 55–6; Azraqī, 143.

tuary until he had leveled it to the ground, and he dug out its foundation and made the Ḥijr a part of it. The people used to make the ritual circumambulation outside the foundations and make the prayer while facing its site. He placed the Black Cornerstone by it in an ark [*tābūt*] in a strip of silk, and he put the sanctuary ornaments, and the clothes and perfumes which he found inside it, in the treasury of the sanctuary in the care of the doorkeepers, replacing them when he rebuilt it.

Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar—Maᶜqil b. ᶜAbdallāh—ᶜAṭā': I saw Ibn al-Zubayr demolish the whole sanctuary until he had razed it.

ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the people in the Pilgrimage of this year; his official over Medina was his brother ᶜUbaydah b. al-Zubayr; over al-Kūfah ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Khaṭmī, with Saᶜd b. Nimrān in charge of the judiciary, for Shurayḥ refused to act as judge, saying, according to what is reported, "I will not judge during the time of commotion and distress"; over al-Baṣrah, ᶜUmar b. ᶜUbaydallāh b. Maᶜmar al-Taymī, with Hishām b. Hubayrah[482] in charge of the judiciary; and over Khurāsān, ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim.

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482. Morony, *Iraq*, 440, says he was a Ḍabbī.

The Events of the Year 65

[538]

(AUGUST 18, 684–AUGUST 7, 685)

The Departure of the Penitents from al-Kūfah and Their Destruction by the Syrian Army at the Battle of ᶜAyn al-Wardah[483]

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Yūsuf—ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf al-Aḥmarī:[484] When Sulaymān b. Ṣurad wanted to set out in the year 65 (684–5), he sent to his leading supporters and they came to him. At the new moon of Rabīᶜ II (November 15, 684) he left with his leading supporters, having arranged with the body of his followers to leave on that night for the camp at al-Nukhaylah. He journeyed until he had reached his army, and he went around among the men and his prominent supporters, and was displeased at the number of the men. He, therefore, sent Ḥakīm b. Munqidh al-Kindī and al-Walīd b. Ghuḍayn al-Kinānī[485] each with a detachment of horse, telling them, "Go and enter al-Kūfah and shout out, 'Revenge for al-

483. Parallel and variant accounts: Ibn al-Aᶜtham, VI, 58–73, 77–87; *Ansāb*, V, 208ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 144–57.

484. For him, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 108; the Banū al-Aḥmar b. Zuhayr were of Azd.

485. Ḥakīm does not seem to be otherwise known; for al-Walīd, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 586.

Ḥusayn!' Go to the great mosque and shout that out." They left and they were the first of God's creatures to give the cry, "Revenge for al-Ḥusayn!"

Ḥakīm b. Munqidh al-Kindī with his detachment of horse and al-Walīd b. Ghuḍayn with his, then, came and passed by the Banū Kabīr.[486] A man of the Banū Kabīr of the Azd, called ᶜAbdallāh b. Ḥāzim,[487] with his wife Sahlah bint Sabrah b. ᶜAmr of the Banū Kabīr (she was one of the most beautiful of them and beloved by him), heard the cry, "Revenge for al-Ḥusayn!" He had not been among those who joined the Pen- [539]
itents or responded to them, but now he hurriedly got his clothes and put them on, called for his weapons and ordered his horse to be saddled. His wife said to him, "Alas for you! Have you gone mad?" He answered, "No, by God, but I have heard God's summoner and I will answer him. I will seek vengeance for the blood of this man until I die or God makes an end of my affair, whichever is more pleasing to Him." His wife said, "And to whom do you leave this little son of yours?" He replied, "To God alone who has no partner! Oh my God, I entrust to You my family and my children! Oh my God, preserve me in them!" That son of his was called ᶜAzrah and he survived until he was subsequently killed with Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr.[488] Ibn Ḥāzim went out and joined the Penitents. His wife remained at home weeping for him, and her female relatives joined her while he went on with the company.

That night, the horsemen went around al-Kūfah and eventually came to the mosque after the *ᶜatamah* prayer. In the mosque there was a large number of people who had been praying, and they shouted out, "Revenge for al-Ḥusayn!" Among them was Abū ᶜIzzah al-Qābiḍī.[489] Karib b. Nimrān was leading the prayer, and Abū ᶜIzzah said, "Revenge for al-Ḥusayn! Where is the assembly of the people?" He was told, "At al-Nukhaylah," and he left and went to his family, where

486. Leiden and Cairo both read Banū Kathīr, but Caskel/Ibn Kalbī lists no such segment of Azd. See the note to *Ansāb*, V, 211[3,4]. Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 367, has two Banū Kabīrs of Azd.

487. Leiden and Cairo both read Khāzim. See *Ansāb*, V, loc. cit.

488. When ᶜAbd al-Malik took Iraq from the Zubayrids in 692.

489. See n. 465.

he got his weapons and called for his horse to ride. His daughter al-Ruwāᶜ, who was married to Thubayth b. Marthad al-Qābiḍī, came to him and said, "Oh my father, what is happening? I see that you have girded on your sword and fastened on your weapons." He answered her, "Oh my daughter, your father is fleeing from his sin to his Lord." She began to weep and cry. His relatives by marriage and his cousins came to him, and he bade them farewell, then left and joined the company.

Before morning about the same number had joined Sulaymān b. Ṣurad as had been in his army when he came to it. Then, when morning came, he called for his register [*dīwān*] to see from it the number of those who had given him the oath of allegiance. He found (listed in the register as having promised
[540] allegiance) 16,000, and he said, "For God's sake, only 4,000 have come to us out of 16,000."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ᶜAṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: I said to Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, "By God, al-Mukhtār is stopping the people from joining you. I was with him three days ago and I heard a group of his followers saying, 'We are two thousand men altogether.' " Sulaymān replied, "Supposing that is so and 10,000 do not join us, are not these here Believers, do they not fear God, and do they not call to mind God and the agreements and covenants which they gave to us freely that they would indeed wage *jihād* and render assistance?" He remained at al-Nukhaylah for three days, sending those of his companions he trusted to those who had not joined him, to remind them of God and of what they had freely given to him, and about a thousand came out to join him. Al-Musayyab b. Najabah came to Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and said, "May God be merciful to you! Those who are reluctant will be of no avail to you, for only those whose own purpose caused them to come out will fight alongside you. Let us not wait for anyone, but seize the initiative!" He replied, "By God, your opinion is excellent."

Then Sulaymān b. Ṣurad stood up among the people, leaning on an Arab bow of his, and he said, "Oh people! Whomsoever desire for God's face and the rewards of the next world has caused to come out, he is one of us and we belong to him.

May God have mercy on him alive and dead! But whoever merely desires this world and its cultivation, by God we do not bring any spoils [*fay'*] to hand out or booty [*ghanīmah*] to distribute apart from the favor of God, the Lord of the Worlds. We have no gold or silver, and no silk or rich fabric. We have only our swords on our shoulders, our spears in our hands, and provisions enough to bring us to confront our enemy. Let he who had other intentions not accompany us!"

Ṣukhayr b. Ḥudhayfah b. Hilāl b. Mālik al-Muzanī[490] then arose and said, "God has given you right guidance and shown [541] you your arguments. By God, and there is no other than He, there is no good for us in the fellowship of anyone whose concerns and intentions are with this world. Oh people, only repentance from our sin and seeking vengeance for the blood of the son of our Prophet's daughter have caused us to come out! We have neither dīnār nor dirham with us, we bring only the blades of our swords and the tips of our spears." And from every side the people cried out, "We do not seek this world, and it is not for it that we have come out."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ismāᶜīl b. Yazīd al-Azdī—al-Sirrī b. Kaᶜb al-Azdī: We went to our companion ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl to bid him farewell.[491] He got up and we did so too; he went in to Sulaymān and we with him. Sulaymān had resolved to depart, and ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl advised him to set out against ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. Sulaymān and his leading companions said, "Our opinion is that we should do what ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl advises: set out against ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, the murderer of our lord and the one by whom we were destroyed." ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd said to him, and sitting around him were the leaders of his companions, "I have conceived an idea which, if it is right, then God will make it successful, but, if it is wrong, then it is mine. I will not withhold from you and myself sincere advice, right or wrong. We have only come out seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn. But his killers are all in al-Kūfah! Among

490. One of the *quṣṣāṣ* with the Penitents (see below p. 145); the Banū Muzaynah are counted to Khindif (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 439).

491. I.e., ᶜAbdallāh was getting ready to leave with the Penitents (see pp. 80ff. above).

them are ᶜUmar b. Saᶜd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, the leaders of the quarters, and the tribal notables. Why should we leave here and leave unavenged the killing and the crimes of violence?"[492] Sulaymān b. Ṣurad said, "What do you think?" and they answered, "By God, he has expressed a sound opinion and things are indeed as he has said. By God, Ibn Ziyād is the
[542] only killer of al-Ḥusayn we shall encounter if we go off toward Syria. What we seek is to be found here in the garrison town itself."

But Sulaymān b. Ṣurad said, "I do not think that is right for you. He who killed your lord, made ready the armies against him, and said, 'I give him no safe conduct unless he surrenders and my jurisdiction is applied to him,' this one is the transgressor [*al-fāsiq*] the son of the transgressor, Ibn Marjānah, ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. So go out against your enemy in the name of God. If God grants you victory over him, we hope that those who come after him will be less powerful than he, and we hope that the people of your garrison town whom you have left behind will yield to you seeking your pardon. Then you will search for everybody who had a part in shedding the blood of al-Ḥusayn, and you will fight against him but not act unjustly. If you die as martyrs (fighting Ibn Ziyād), then you have fought against those who profane God's law [*al-muḥillīn*], 'What is with God is a blessing for the upright and the righteous.'[493] I desire that you will use your weapons and your strength against the first of the profaners and the unrighteous [*al-muḥillīn wa-al-qāsiṭīn*]. By God, if you fight tomorrow against the people of your garrison town, there will be no one who will not think that another man has killed his brother and his father and his close friends or that another man did not want to kill him. So seek guidance from God and set out." So the people prepared for departure.

When ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah heard about Ibn Ṣurad and his men going out, they considered their position and concluded they would go to them and urge them to stay and join forces. If they insisted

492. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *w-t-r*.
493. Qur'ān, 3:197.

on leaving, they would ask them to wait so they could raise an army to go with them and fight against their enemy with mass and strength. ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah sent Suwayd b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān[494] to Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, and he told him that ᶜAbdallāh and Ibrāhīm [543] were saying, "We now wish to join you for something in which God may perhaps grant righteousness to us and to you." Sulaymān answered, "Tell them to come to us." And he said to Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād al-Bajalī, "You go and muster the people properly, for these two men have sent saying such-and-such." Then he called his leaders and they sat down around him.

They had been there less than an hour when ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd came with the Kūfan notables, the police force, and many of the soldiers, and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad with a group of his companions. ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd had said to each prominent figure who was known to have had a part in the shedding of al-Ḥusayn's blood, "Do not come with me to them," fearing they would see him and threaten him. While Sulaymān b. Ṣurad camped with his army at al-Nukhaylah, ᶜUmar b. Saᶜd slept only in the governor's residence [*qaṣr al-imārah*] with ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd, out of fear that the crowd would come to him in his dwelling place and attack him while he was unprepared and unaware, killing him. And ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd had told ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth, "If I am delayed, you lead the people in the midday prayer."

When ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad came to Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, they went in to him and ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd praised God and extolled Him. Then he said, "The Muslim is the brother of the Muslim. He neither betrays him nor deceives him. You are our brethren, the people of our land, and the best loved of the inhabitants of a garrison town which God created for us. Do not cause us distress in your persons, impose your views tyranically upon us, or decrease our numbers by leaving our community. Stay with us so we can make things easy and get ready. Then, when we learn that our enemies have approached our land, we will go out together [544]

494. Apparently Suwayd b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bujayr al-Minqarī (of the Banū Saᶜd/Tamīm); see Crone, *Slaves*, 139.

and fight them." Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad spoke in a similar vein.

Sulaymān b. Ṣurad praised God and extolled Him and then said to them, "I know that you two have been sincere in advice and diligent in counsel, but we are with God and belong to Him. We have come out in pursuance of a matter and we ask God for resolution in following His guidance and direction to the best attainment of it. Do you not see that we must go out if God wishes it?" ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd said, "Stay so that we can raise a concentration of soldiers to go with you and face your enemy en masse, united and with sharp swords." But Sulaymān said to him, "You go back and we will consider wherein we differ. Please God, our opinion will be made known to you."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ᶜAbd al-Jabbār (i.e. Ibn ᶜAbbās al-Hamdānī)—ᶜAwn b. Abī Juḥayfah al-Suwā'ī: Then ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah proposed to Sulaymān that he remain with them so they could confront the host of Syrians and they would make over the tax [*kharāj*] of Jūkhā[495] for him and his men alone to the exclusion of the other men. But Sulaymān said to them, "It is not for this world that we have come out to fight." They only made that offer because of what they had heard about ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād's approach toward Iraq. And Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad and ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd returned to al-Kūfah, while the band of Ibn Ṣurad decided to depart and head toward Ibn Ziyād. But when they made an inspection, they suddenly realized their party *(shīᶜah)* from al-Baṣrah had not come to keep the rendezvous, nor those of al-Madā'in. Some of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad's companions began criticizing those who had not turned up. But Sulaymān said, "Do not criticize them, for I am sure they would have rushed to join you if they had news of you and the time of your setting out. I am sure it is only lack of money and ill-preparedness which has kept them back and
[545] detained them. Wait so they can smooth things out and get ready and come to you in strength. Then how swift they will be in following you!"

495. See Le Strange, *Eastern caliphate*, 42.

Then Sulaymān b. Ṣurad stood among the people to deliver an official address. He praised God and extolled Him, then said:

> Now, Oh people, God knows what you purpose and what you have come out to seek. There are merchants of this world and merchants of the next. As for the merchant of the next world, he is rushing toward it sustained by what it requires. He will not sell it for any price. He is seen only in the attitudes of prayer—standing, sitting, bowing and prostrating. He seeks neither gold nor silver, neither things of this world nor pleasure. And as for the merchant of this world, he is addicted to it and revels in it. He does not desire anything in exchange for it. You, may God have mercy on you, in this purpose of yours, must pray long in the depths of the night and frequently make reference to God in all circumstances. Offer to God (great is His name!) every blessing you can until you confront this enemy and this unrighteous profaner of God's law *(al-muḥill al-qāsiṭ)* and wage *jihād* against him. For you will not attain your Lord's favor by anything which He finds more worthy of reward than *jihād* and prayer. *Jihād* is the summit of the good works. May God place us and you among those of His servants who are righteous, resolute in struggle, and patient in the face of adversity. Tonight we are leaving this abode of ours, God willing. So get ready for it!

He left on the evening of Friday, the fifth of Rabīᶜ II of the year 65 of the Hijrah (Thursday, November 17, 684).

When Sulaymān and his companions had left al-Nukhaylah, Sulaymān b. Ṣurad summoned Ḥakīm b. Munqidh, who then proclaimed among the people, "Come on! Indeed, no man of you shall pass the night before reaching Dayr al-Aᶜwar!"[496] And they passed that night at Dayr al-Aᶜwar, but many of the men stayed behind. Then he went on until he came to al-

496. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 644.

Aqsās, Aqsās Mālik[497] on the bank of the Euphrates, where
[546] he mustered the men, but about a thousand of them were missing. Ibn Ṣurad said, "I am pleased that those who have deserted you are not with you. If they had come out with you they would only have brought disorder. God did not like their being sent and He held them back and selected you for the merit of it. Praise your Lord, therefore." He left his camp by night and next morning they came to the tomb of al-Ḥusayn. There they remained for a night and a day praying over him and asking God's pardon for him. When the people reached al-Ḥusayn's tomb, they shouted out in unison and wept. Never was a day seen when there was more weeping.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghaziyyah: When we came to the tomb of al-Ḥusayn (peace be upon him) the people wept together, and I heard most of the people expressing the wish that they had fallen with him. Sulaymān said, "Oh God, have mercy on al-Ḥusayn, the martyr the son of the martyr, the right-guided one *(mahdī)* son of the right-guided one, the righteous one the son of the righteous one. Oh God, we testify to you that we follow their religion and their path, and we are enemies of those who killed them, friends of those who love them." Then he departed and he and his companions encamped.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Aᶜmash—Salamah b. Kuhayl—Abū Ṣādiq: When Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and his companions reached the tomb of al-Ḥusayn, they cried in unison, "Oh Lord, we have betrayed the son of our Prophet's daughter! Pardon us for what we did in the past and relent toward us, for you are the relenting one and the compassionate one. Have mercy on al-Ḥusayn and his companions, the martyrs and the righteous ones. We bear witness before you, Oh Lord, that we are doing the same as what they were when they were killed. If you do not pardon us our sin and have mercy on us, then we are among those who are lost." They remained there a day and a night praying over him, weeping and abasing
[547] themselves. And from that time onwards, the people did not cease to plead for mercy on him and his companions until

497. *Ibid.*, I, 337.

they made the early morning prayer by his tomb on the following day, and that increased their fury. Then they mounted up and Sulaymān ordered the people to proceed. And no man would pass on until he had come to the tomb of al-Ḥusayn, stood in prayer over it, and asked for mercy on him and pardon for him. And, by God, I saw them thronging about the tomb of al-Ḥusayn more thickly than the people throng around the Black Stone.

Sulaymān stood by al-Ḥusayn's tomb, and whenever a group prayed for him and asked for mercy on him, al-Musayyab b. Najabah and Sulaymān b. Ṣurad said to them, "Join your brethren, may God have mercy on you!" He continued in this manner until about thirty of his companions were left, and then Sulaymān and his companions made a circle around the tomb and Sulaymān said, "Praise be to God who, if He had wished, would have honored us with martyrdom with al-Ḥusayn. Oh my God, since you forbade us it together with him, do not forbid us it on his account after him." And ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl said, "Verily, by God, I consider al-Ḥusayn and his father and brother as the best of Muḥammad's community (who will be) imploring God's favor (on behalf of the Muslims) on the Day of Resurrection. Are you not amazed at the test to which this community has been subjected by its enemies? They killed two and brought the third to the brink of death." Al-Musayyab b. Najabah said, "I am one of those who will kill them. I dissociate[498] myself from whoever shares their views. Them I will treat as an enemy and fight."

All of the leaders spoke most eloquently. Al-Muthannā b. Mukharribah[499] was a companion of one of the leaders and notables, and it pained me when I did not hear him making a speech with the people in a manner similar to their speeches, but before long he delivered a speech which was not inferior to any of the others. He said, "God made these men, whose status you have mentioned relative to their Prophet, superior to anyone except their Prophet. A mob to whom we are

498. See n. 409 above.

499. For the name, see *Add. et emend.*; of ᶜAbd al-Qays (Rabīᶜah), he subsequently worked in al-Baṣrah on behalf of al-Mukhtār (Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 217).

enemies and with whom we recognize no ties killed them.
[548] We have left our homes, our people and our properties seeking the extirpation of those who killed them. By God, even if the fight against them is where the sun goes down or the earth ends, it is incumbent upon us to seek it until we attain it. That is our booty and it is martyrdom, the reward for which is heaven." We said to him, "You have spoken the truth, you have achieved your end, and you have been granted success." Then Sulaymān b. Ṣurad traveled on from the tomb of al-Ḥusayn and we went with him. We took the road by al-Ḥaṣṣāṣah, then al-Anbār, then al-Ṣadūd, then al-Qayyārah.[500]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah and others: Sulaymān sent Kurayb b. Yazīd al-Ḥimyarī ahead over his vanguard.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd—al-Sirrī b. Kaᶜb: We set out with some men of our clan. After we had come to the tomb of al-Ḥusayn, and Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and his companions had left it and followed the road, ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf b. al-Aḥmar went before them on a worn-out clipped dark bay horse of medium size. He was reciting in *rajaz*:[501]

These mares set forth bearing us aloft in com-
panies,
like lions, carrying us as heroes.
By our setting out we want to confront our
foes,
the unjust ones, the perfidious ones, the
ones in error.
We have abandoned family and property,
our bashful, fair and pale-skinned women.
By it we will satisfy the Lord of blessings and
beneficence.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Saᶜd b. Mujāhid al-Ṭā'ī—Mu-
[549] ḥill b. Khalīfah al-Ṭā'ī: ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd wrote to Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. (Muḥill said, I think:) He sent me with the letter

500. For Ḥaṣṣāṣah, see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 274; for Anbār, see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and pp. 65–6; Ṣadūd does not seem to be listed in Yāqūt; for Qayyārah, Yāqūt, IV, 211.

501. For the verses, cf. *Murūj*, V, 215.

and I caught up with him at al-Qayyārah. He had gone ahead of his companions so it was thought he had outstripped them. He halted and signaled to his men, and they gathered around him. Then he read them his letter, which said:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd to Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and those of the Muslims with him, greetings! Now, this letter of mine to you is the letter of a sincere adviser and true pastor. How often a sincere adviser is suspected of treachery, and how often a deceiver is asked for sincere advice and loved! I have heard that you wish to go few in number against the numerous host. But he who wishes to remove the mountains from their places, his picks become blunt and he desists, and he is blameworthy both in his intelligence and his deeds. Oh people of ours, do not give your enemy encouragement against the inhabitants of your land! All of you are the pick (of our community), and when your enemy falls on you they will know that you are the most eminent of your garrison town, and that will give them encouragement against those you have left behind. Oh people of ours, "If they get the better of you, they will stone you or force you back to their confession and then you will never prosper!"[502] Oh people, today our hands are joined with yours and we have the same enemy. When we speak with one voice, we will conquer our enemy, but when we disagree, our power will be as nothing to those who are against us. Oh people of ours, do not consider as deceitful my sincere advice and do not oppose my authority. Come when my letter is read out to you! May God bring you to obedience to Him and turn you away from disobedience to Him! Peace be with you!

When the letter was read out to Ibn Ṣurad and his companions, he said to the men, "What do you think?" They said, "What do you think? We refused you and him this when we

502. Qur'ān, 18:19.

were in our garrison town and among our own people. And
[550] now, when we have come out and accustomed ourselves to *jihād* and drawn close to the land of our enemy, this is no sound opinion!" Then they called to him, "Tell us what you think!" He said, "By God, I think that you have never been closer than you are today to one of the two good things, martyrdom and victory, and I do not think that you should turn away from the truth upon which God has united you and the blessings you desire. We and they are of different views. If they gain the upper hand, they will summon us to *jihād* alongside Ibn al-Zubayr, but I consider *jihād* alongside Ibn al-Zubayr as error. If we are victorious, we will return this authority to its rightful possessors; if we are struck down, then we are holding to our intentions to repent from our sins. We have one outlook and Ibn al-Zubayr another. We and they are, as the brother of the Banū Kinānah said:

I see, woman, that your outlook is different from
mine, so refrain
from censure, for you have been changed and
the outlook is different.

The people departed with him and they came to Hīt[503] where Sulaymān wrote:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To the governor ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd from Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and those of the believers with him, greetings! We have read your letter and understood what you have proposed. By God, what an excellent prefect you are, what an excellent governor, and what an excellent clan brother! By God, in whom we trust while absent, to whom we turn for counsel and advice, and whom we praise in every circumstance, we have heard Him say in His Book, "God has purchased from the believers their own selves and their property in exchange for the promise of heaven. . ." as far as His words ". . . so tell the believers the good news!"[504] The people have

503. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II, and p. 65.
504. Qur'ān, 9:112–3.

rejoiced at the oath of allegiance which they have sworn. They have turned away in repentance from their great sin and toward God, they have depended on Him [551] and accepted what God has decreed. "Our Lord, we rely on you, turn to you in repentance and come to you."[505] Peace be with you!

When he received this letter, Ibn Yazīd said, "The people are seeking death. The first you will hear of them will be the news of their death. I swear by God they will be killed nobly as Muslims! But, by He who is their Lord, before their enemy kills them their strength will have become great and those slain in their quarrel many."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf b. al-Aḥmar and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab—ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghaziyyah: We left Hīt and came to Qarqīsiyā.[506] When we drew close, Sulaymān b. Ṣurad halted and mustered us in good order until we had passed alongside Qarqīsiyā and camped close by it. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī had fortified himself inside the town against our people and did not come out against them. Sulaymān called al-Musayyab b. Najabah and said, "Go to this cousin[507] of yours and tell him to send out a market for us. It is not him we want, we go only against these profaners of God's law." Al-Musayyab b. Najabah went to the gate of Qarqīsiyā and said, "Open up! Against whom do you fortify yourselves?" They asked, "Who is that?" He replied, "Al-Musayyab b. Najabah!" Al-Hudhayl b. Zufar went to his father and told him, "There is a man of good appearance who is asking to be allowed to enter to you. We asked him who he was and he said al-Musayyab b. Najabah."

Al-Hudhayl b. Zufar said: At that time I had no knowledge of the people and did not know who of them he was. Zufar said, "Do you not know, Oh my son, who this is? This is the champion of the whole of Muḍar al-Ḥamrā'.[508] If the number

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505. Qur'ān, 60:4.

506. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and index (see also pp. 63ff. above).

507. Zufar and Musayyab both belong to Qays.

508. The meaning of Muḍar al-Ḥamrā' is obscure (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 417).

of its notables was only ten, he would be one of them. In
[552] addition to that, he is an ascetic and pious man. Let him enter!" So I gave him permission to enter and my father seated him beside himself and questioned him courteously. Al-Musayyab b. Najabah asked, "Against whom do you fortify yourself? By God, it is not you we desire. All we require is that you help us against that unjust and profaning mob. Send out to us a market and we will only remain in your land for a day or so." Zufar b. al-Ḥārith said to him, "We only closed the gates of this town so that we might know whether it was for us that you came or somebody else. By God, we are not short of strength against your people so long as no trick takes us unawares. We do not want to be put to the test of fighting against you, for we have heard that you are righteous and of good and handsome conduct."

Then he called his son and told him to set up a market for them, and he ordered that al-Musayyab be given a thousand dirhams and a horse. But al-Musayyab said, "As for the money, I have no need of it. By God, it is not for money that we came out and it is not money which we seek. As for the horse, I will accept it, for perhaps I will have need of it if my horse goes lame or falls beneath me." And he took it away with him and returned to his companions. The market was sent out to them and they traded for their needs. After sending out the market, fodder and much food, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith sent to al-Musayyab twenty camels for slaughter, and to Sulaymān b. Ṣurad similarly. Zufar had told his son to ask about the prominent men in the army, and there were named to him ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl, ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl and Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād. The commanders of the quarters were named too. He sent to those three commanders ten camels for slaughter each and plenty of fodder and food, and he sent out for the soldiers a large train (of animals) and a quantity of barley.
[553] The slave lads of Zufar then said, "Take and slaughter from this train (of animals) as much as you want, carry away as much barley as you wish, and provision yourselves with as much flour as you can." All day long the people continued stocking up. They did not need to buy anything from the markets which had been set up, for they were given enough

in the way of meat, barley and flour, except that someone might buy a garment or a whip.

On the next morning, they set out again, and Zufar sent word to them, "I am coming out to you and will accompany you," and he came to them. They left in good order. Zufar went along with them and said to Sulaymān, "Five commanders have been sent out against you and have left al-Raqqah. Among them are al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī, Shuraḥbīl b. Dhī al-Kalāᶜ, Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhilī (the father of Mālik b. Adham),[509] Rabīᶜah b. al-Mukhāriq al-Ghanawī,[510] and Jabalah b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Khathᶜamī.[511] They have come against you like thorns and trees and there has come against you a great number and blades of iron. I swear by God that I have seen few men who are better prepared or equipped or more ready for every kind of good work than those I have seen with you. But I have heard that a number beyond all computation has been sent against you." Ibn Ṣurad answered, "We rely on God. Let those who place their trust place it in Him." Then Zufar said to him, "May I ask your opinion on a suggestion which I will put before you, by means of which God will perhaps achieve something good for us both? If you wish, we will open up our town to you so that you can come in and then we will act together for the same end. Alternatively, if you wish, you will encamp at the gates of our town and we and our army will come out alongside you. Then, when this enemy comes against us, we will fight them together." Sulaymān answered Zufar, "The people of our garrison town wanted us to act in a similar way to what you want, and they spoke like you and they wrote to us about it after we had left. But it was never agreeable to us and we will not do it." [554]

509. Of Qays; see Crone, *Slaves*, 168–9. The Leiden text here reads "Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhilī and Abū Mālik b. Adham." Since Adham's son was Mālik and not Abū Mālik it seems that a gloss has been interpolated and the *wa-abū* should be amended to *huwa abū*. In that case, there would be no implication that Mālik was present with his father. Cf. *Ansāb*, V, 209–10, where there is no mention of Mālik with Adham.

510. Of Qays; see Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 191.

511. Counted to Yemen (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 345, s.v. Ḥatᶜam b. Anmar), but also to ᶜAdnān ("northerners"); see *EI*², s.v. Khathᶜam.

Zufar said, "Consider the advice I have given you and accept it and take it. I am an enemy of that mob and I want God to give the victory to you. I am friendly toward you and I want God to encompass you with success. The enemy has left al-Raqqah. If you rush to ᶜAyn al-Wardah[512] ahead of them and put the town at your back, then the *rustāq*,[513] the water and the food will be in your hands, and you will have security in the region between your town and ours. By God, if I had as many horses as I have men, I would give you reinforcements. Move your camp this instant to ᶜAyn al-Wardah. The enemy is marching as an army, but you have horses, and, by God, I have rarely seen a group of horses more noble than they. Get them ready immediately and I hope you will get there before them and beat them to ᶜAyn al-Wardah. Do not fight them, firing and thrusting at them, in an open space, for they outnumber you and you will have no security if they can surround you. Do not stand still firing at them and thrusting at them, for you have nothing like their manpower, and if you leave yourselves open to them it will not be long before they rush on you. And do not form a line when they confront you, for I see no footsoldiers with you but see that you are all horsemen, while the enemy is coming against you with foot and horse. Their cavalry will protect their infantry and their infantry their cavalry, but you have no footmen to defend your cavalry. So meet them with squadrons and detachments of cavalry and distribute them between the right and left wings of the enemy. Place a cavalry squadron alongside another and then, if one [555] of the two is attacked, the other can dismount and both the men and the horses can be re-supplied from it. Whenever a detachment wishes to be increased, it can be, and, if it wishes to be decreased, it can be. But, if you fight in one line and the enemy's men advance on you so you are forced out of the line, it will be broken and that means defeat."

Then he stood and took his leave of the men and asked God to accompany them and grant them victory. The men

512. Identified as Ra's al-ᶜAyn, for which see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map III, and index.

513. Sasanid administrative term for a sub-district (see Morony, *Iraq*, 534, s.v. rōstāk).

praised him and called on God on his behalf, and Sulaymān b. Ṣurad said to him, "How good it was to stay with you! You showed generosity to us in our stay, were the best of hosts and gave us sincere advice in consultation." Then the people pressed on in their journey and began to double the distance between halts.

(ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghaziyyah continued:) We passed by towns until we reached Sāᶜ,[514] and then Sulaymān b. Ṣurad organized the cavalry detachments as Zufar had advised. Then he pushed on to ᶜAyn al-Wardah, to the west of which he pitched camp. He got there before the enemy, and he and his men made their camp. He remained there for five days without moving, and they took their rest, relaxed and refreshed their horses.

Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—ᶜAṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith—ᶜAbdallāh b. Ghaziyyah:[515] The Syrians advanced with their host until they were a day and a night's journey from ᶜAyn al-Wardah.

ᶜAbdallāh b. Ghaziyyah: Sulaymān stood among us and praised God lengthily and extolled him lavishly. Then he mentioned the heavens and the earth, the mountains and the seas, and the signs of God they contain. He mentioned the favors and blessings of God; this world, from which he urged abstention; and the next, for which he excited desire. He mentioned more of this than I could keep track of or remember. Then he said, "Now, God has brought you your enemy toward whom you have persevered in journeying all night and all day seeking that in which you will display your sincere repentance and meet God seeking forgiveness. They have come to you, or [556] rather you have come to them on their own ground and domain. When you meet them, show your righteousness and be patient, for God is with those who are patient. Let no man turn his back unless it be turning to fight or joining another band.[516] Do not kill the straggler, do not finish off a wounded

514. On the river Khābūr (see the note to *Ansāb*, V, 210[7]; Ṭabarī's text seems to deny the possibility of Goitein's suggested alternative reading).

515. Is this the same authority as the previously named ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghaziyyah (pp. 132, 141)? Subsequently, the name ᶜAbdallāh appears consistently (see especially p. 155 below).

516. Cf. Qur'ān, 8:16.

man and do not kill a prisoner of your confession unless he fights against you after you have captured him or he is one of those who slew our brethren at al-Ṭaff (may God have mercy on them!). This was the practice of the Commander of the Faithful, ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, regarding the people of this confession." Then Sulaymān said, "If I am killed, the commander of the people is al-Musayyab b. Najabah. If al-Musayyab falls, the commander of the people is ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl. If ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd is killed, the commander of the people is ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl. If ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl is killed, the commander of the people is Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād. May God have mercy on the man who fulfills the compact which God has made with him!" Then he sent for al-Musayyab b. Najabah with four hundred horsemen and he said to him, "Go off until you meet the first of their troops and raid them. If you observe a favorable result, carry on, but otherwise, come back to me with your men. And be sure not to dismount or allow any one of your men to dismount or go beyond that unless it is absolutely necessary."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: I was with those horsemen of al-Musayyab b. Najabah. We proceeded, traveling for the rest of that day and night. Just before dawn we camped and fastened the nosebags on our mounts. We snatched a brief doze, enough for them to chew just a little, and then we mounted them and rode on until, when the dawn appeared to us, we dismounted and performed the prayer, and then al-Musayyab went on with
[557] us. He sent off Abū al-Juwayriyyah b. al-Aḥmar[517] with 100 men, ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf b. al-Aḥmar with 120, and Ḥanash b. Rabīᶜah Abū al-Muᶜtamir al-Kinānī with a similar number, remaining himself with 100. He said, "See whom you meet first and bring him to me." The first person we met was a bedouin herding donkeys *(aḥmirah)*, and he was saying:

> Oh my property, do not hurry to my companions,
> but graze freely, for you are the peaceful one
> of the herd.

517. For the Banū al-Aḥmar, see n. 484 above.

Ibn Aḥmar said, "He means ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf b. al-Aḥmar. Oh Ḥumayd b. Muslim, rejoice at glad tidings, by the Lord of the Kaᶜbah!" Ibn ᶜAwf b. al-Aḥmar said to him, "What people do you belong to, Oh bedouin?" He answered, "I am from the Banū Taghlib." Ibn ᶜAwf said, "Please God, 'you will conquer' *(ghalabtum)*, by the Lord of the Kaᶜbah."

Al-Musayyab b. Najabah reached us and we told him what we had heard from the bedouin. We brought the bedouin to him, and al-Musayyab b. Najabah said, "Indeed, I am pleased at your saying 'rejoice' and at your words 'Oh Ḥumayd b. Muslim!" for I hope that you will rejoice at what pleases you and it will only please you that you 'praise' *(taḥmadū)* your affair and 'achieve safety' *(taslamū)* from your enemies. This omen[518] is a good one, and the Prophet used to be pleased when he saw an omen." Then al-Musayyab b. Najabah said to the bedouin, "How far is there between us and the nearest to us of this enemy of ours?" He replied, "The nearest of their soldiers to you are those of Ibn Dhī al-Kalāᶜ. There is a dispute between him and al-Ḥuṣayn. Al-Ḥuṣayn claims command of the body of their forces, but Ibn Dhī al-Kalāᶜ told him he had no power over him. They have both sent letters to ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād and they are awaiting his command. This force of Ibn Dhī al-Kalāᶜ is a mile away from you."

We left the man and hurried toward them. By God, they were completely unaware until we were on them and they were taken by surprise. We attacked the flank of their camp and, by God, we did not fight long before they were put to flight. We caused losses among their men, caused many wounds, and got possession of some of their mounts. They deserted their camp and left us free to plunder it. We took from it that which pleased us. Then al-Musayyab gave the call to us to go back, "You have won the victory, taken booty and are unharmed. Go back, therefore!" So we went back and came to Sulaymān. [558]

ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād received news of what had happened, and he dispatched al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr quickly against us.

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518. I.e., the omen derived from the correspondence between the names of those involved and nouns or verbs derived from the same stems; Aḥmar/*aḥmira*, Taghlib/*ghalabtum*, Ḥumayd/*taḥmadū*, and Muslim/*taslamū*.

He came with 12,000 men and we went out to meet them on Wednesday, the twenty-second of Jumādā I (January 4, 685). Sulaymān b. Ṣurad put ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl over his right wing, al-Musayyab b. Najabah over his left, while he stood fast in the centre. Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr came, having organized his army to meet us. He put Jabalah b. ᶜAbdallāh over his right wing and Rabīᶜah b. al-Mukhāriq al-Ghanawī over his left. Then they advanced against us, and when they drew near they summoned us to make common cause with them in accepting ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and to accept obedience unto him. We called upon them to hand over ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād to us so tht we could kill him in recompense for one of our brethren who had been killed, that they should cast off their allegiance to ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, and that those of the family of Ibn al-Zubayr who were in our land should be expelled. Then we would restore this authority to the family of our Prophet from among whom God brought us blessing and honor. The enemy refused our summons and we refused theirs.

[559] Ḥumayd b. Muslim: Our right wing attacked their left and defeated them, while our left wing attacked their right. Sulaymān in the center attacked the body of them, and we put them to flight and forced them back to their camp. We continued to have the upper hand over them until night fell and cut us off from them. Then we retired, having driven them back to their camp.[519] Next morning, Ibn Dhī al-Kalāᶜ came to them with 8,000 men ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād had sent to reinforce them. Ibn Ziyād abused Ibn Dhī al-Kalāᶜ and disparaged him, saying, "You acted like a novice, losing your camp and your weapons. Go to al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr. He is in charge of the men." So he joined him. Then they fell on us and we fell on them, and all day we fought against them such a fight as neither the white-haired old man nor the beardless youth had ever seen. Only the times of prayer caused us to break off fighting. When evening came and we separated, by God, they had caused us many wounded and we had inflicted wounds on them, too.

519. See *Add. et emend.* and *Gloss.*, s.v. *ajhara*.

With us were three *quṣṣāṣ*,[520] Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād al-Bajalī, Ṣukhayr b. Ḥudhayfah b. Hilāl b. Mālik al-Muzanī, and Abū al-Juwayriyyah al-ᶜAbdī. Rifāᶜah was delivering stirring orations and urging on the men of the right wing unceasingly. Abū al-Juwayriyyah was wounded early on the second day and remained with the supplies. Ṣukhayr went around among us all night long saying, "Rejoice, servants of God, in His generosity and pleasure. All that is required from someone who is kept from meeting those he loves, entering heaven, and obtaining rest from the toils and injuries of this world, merely by the need for separation from this essence which is constantly urging him to evil, is that separation from it should be given generously and that he should meet his Lord joyfully."

We remained thus until next morning when Ibn Numayr and Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhilī appeared with about 10,000 men. They came out against us and we fought fiercely for the third day, Friday, until noon. Then the Syrians outnumbered [560] us and pressed down upon us from every side. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad saw what was happening to his men, and he dismounted and cried, "Oh servants of God! Whoever desires to come early to his Lord, repentance from his sin, and fulfillment of his undertaking, to me!" He broke the sheath of his sword and a large number of men dismounted with him, breaking their sword sheaths too. They went forward with him on foot and the enemy's horsemen sprang forward too so that they were intermingled with the foot soldiers. They fought against them until the men on foot attacked fiercely with drawn swords—they had broken the sheaths of their swords—and the cavalry attacked the enemy's horsemen, and they did not stand firm. They fought against them and killed a large number of the Syrians and wounded many.

When al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr saw the fortitude of our men and their bravery, he sent the foot soldiers to fire arrows at them while the horse and infantry surrounded them. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad was killed (may God have mercy on him). Yazīd b. al-Ḥuṣayn hit him with an arrow and he fell. He rose up again

520. Literally, "storytellers," here they seem to be orators whose task it is to incite the men (see *EI*², s.v. Ḳāṣṣ).

but then fell once more. After he was killed, al-Musayyab b. Najabah took the banner. He said to Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, "Oh my brother, may God have mercy on you! You spoke the truth and fulfilled your duty. Our's remains still." Then he took the banner, pressed forward with it, fought for a while and then retired. Then he pressed forward again, fought and retired. He did that repeatedly, pressing forward and retiring, and then he was killed. May God have mercy on him!

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: At al-Madā'in I met a mawlā of al-Musayyab b. Najabah al-Fazārī with Shabīb b. Yazīd the Khārijite.[521] He told me the story as far as the report of the people of ᶜAyn al-Wardah.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf: This Shaykh told me regarding al-Musayyab b. Najabah: By God, I never saw any man braver than he or than any of the band to which he belonged. I saw him on the day of ᶜAyn al-Wardah fighting
[561] fiercely, and I did not think any one man could be tested as he was tested or cause so much damage to his enemy as he did. He killed many men. I heard him saying before he was killed and while he was fighting them:

She of the tumbling locks,
    pure of heart and breast, knows
That I, on the morning of fear and struggle,
    was braver than a pouncing lion,
A cutter down of my opponents, feared in all
    quarters.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father and maternal uncle—Ḥumayd b. Muslim and ᶜAbdallāh b. Ghaziyyah, and according to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf: When al-Musayyab b. Najabah was killed, ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl took the banner. He said (may God have mercy on him!), "My two brothers[522] are among those who 'some of them have fulfilled their vow and some of them wait (for its fulfillment), and they have not made changes (in their insistence on fulfilling

521. For Shabīb, see Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*, 42ff. (Eng. tr. 70ff.); *EI*[1], s.v.; Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 522.
522. I.e., Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and al-Musayyab b. Najabah.

it).' "[523] He advanced with those of Azd who were with him surrounding his banner, and, by God, that is how we were when three horsemen came to us, ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Khaḍal al-Ṭā'ī, Kathīr b. ᶜAmr al-Muzanī, and Siᶜr b. Abī Siᶜr al-Ḥanafī.[524] They had left with Saᶜd b. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān and 170 men of al-Madā'in. Saᶜd, on the day when he set out, had sent them ahead on spritely swift horses to follow in our tracks. He had told them, "Cover the ground quickly and join with our brethren. Tell them the good news about our joining them so they may be more resolute, and tell them also about the coming of the Baṣrans." (Al-Muthannā b. Mukharribah al-ᶜAbdī had set out with 300 Baṣrans and, five days after Saᶜd b. Ḥudhayfah had left al-Madā'in, had advanced as far as the town of Bahurasīr.[525] His departure from al-Baṣrah previously had become known to Saᶜd b. Ḥudhayfah before the latter left [562]
al-Madā'in.)

When these three reached us they said, "Good news! Your brethren from al-Madā'in and al-Baṣrah have come to join you." ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl replied, "Now, if only they had come while we were still alive." Then they looked at us. When they saw the desolate state of their brethren and how many of us were wounded, they all wept and said, "We can see how much you have suffered. 'To God we belong and to Him we return!'"[526] By God, what they saw afflicted their eyes. ᶜAbdallāh b. Nufayl said to them, "It was this for which we came."

Then we joined battle, and we only fought for a short while before the Muzanī was killed and the Ḥanafī stabbed. He fell among the slain but was then pulled out and saved. The Ṭā'ī, too, was stabbed and his nose cut off short, but he fought fiercely. He was a warrior and poet, and he began saying:

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523. Qur'ān, 33:23.

524. For Siᶜr's role in support of al-Mukhtār, see below pp. 189ff.; the other two do not seem to be known elsewhere.

525. On the west bank of the Tigris, slightly north of Ctesiphon (al-Madā'in); see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II and pp. 34–5.

526. A common formula acknowledging dependence on God, known as the *istirjāᶜ*.

She of the sweet figure knows
that I am not with the weak ones[527] or
the cowardly
On a day, nor with the timid who stand
aside.

Rabīᶜah b. al-Mukhāriq attacked us viciously and we fought fiercely. Then he and ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl exchanged blows, but their swords had no effect and they seized each other about the neck and fell to the ground. They got up and swapped blows again, and the nephew of Rabīᶜah b. al-Mukhāriq attacked ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd, stabbed him in his gullet [*thughrat naḥrihi*] and killed him. ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf b. al-Aḥmar then attacked Rabīᶜah b. al-Mukhāriq, stabbed him and felled him. But he was not fatally hit and got up and assailed ᶜAbdallāh again while his companions stabbed ᶜAbdallāh and
[563] downed him. However, ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf's men rescued him and Khālid b. Saᶜd b. Nufayl said, "Show me who killed my brother!" We pointed out Rabīᶜah b. al-Mukhāriq's nephew to him, and Khālid attacked him and got his sword from him, but his opponent seized him around the neck and he fell to the ground. Rabīᶜah's men attacked and so did we, but they outnumbered us and rescued their man and killed ours. There was nobody standing by our banner.

We called out to ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl after they had killed our champions. He had been surrounded alongside of us in a band of his followers, but Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād attacked and relieved him. He made toward his banner, which ᶜAbdallāh b. Ḥāzim al-Kabīrī[528] had hold of. Ibn Ḥāzim asked him to take the banner from him, but Ibn Wāl answered, "You take it for me, for I am in the same situation as you." Ibn Ḥāzim insisted, "Take your banner from me, for I wish to join in the *jihād*," but Ibn Wāl said, "What you are doing now is *jihād* and brings its rewards." We shouted out, "Oh Abū ᶜIzzah,[529] obey your commander, may God have mercy on you!" He continued to hold it for a short time, and then Ibn Wāl took it from him.

527. Read *al-wanī* (see *Add. et emend.*).
528. See nn. 486, 487 above (cf. *Add. et emend.*).
529. In view of the report on p. 125 above about ᶜAbdallāh b. Ḥāzim's son ᶜAzrah, it may be that the *kunyah* should be read as Abū ᶜAzrah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī al-Aᶜwar (the one eyed)—a shaykh of the clan, who was with him on that day: Ibn Wāl said to us, "Whoever desires the life after which there is no death, the ease after which there is no exertion, and the joy after which there is no sadness, let him seek his Lord's favor by waging *jihād* against these profaners of God's law and by going[530] to Paradise, may God have mercy on him!" That was at the time of the afternoon prayer. He pressed hard against them, we with him, and, by God, we killed a number of men and pushed them back for a long while. But they redoubled their effort against us from all sides and pushed us back until they had us where we had started from. We were in a place where they could only come against us from one direction. Around evening, Adham b. Muḥriz al- [564] Bāhilī directed the fighting against us. He pressed hard against us with his cavalry and foot soldiers, and ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl al-Taymī was killed.

Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: During the time when al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf was governor, I heard Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhilī telling the tale to some of the Syrians. He said: I made my way toward one of the commanders of the Iraqis, a man whom they called ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl, and he was saying, " 'Do not count those as dead who are killed in the path of God. No, they are alive with their Lord, sustained (by Him). Rejoicing. . .' " to the end of the three verses.[531] That angered me, and I said to myself, "These people assign to us the status of polytheists, thinking that those among them whom we kill are martyrs." I then attacked him, and I was hitting at his left hand and I quickly cut it off. I drew close and said to him, "Indeed, I think you would like to be with your family now." He answered, "How wrong you are! Indeed, by God, I am glad that it was not your hand just now, unless there were in it for me a reward like there is for my hand." I said to him, "Why?" and he replied, "So that God would lay the responsibility for it on you and grant me the honor of the reward for it." That angered me so I gathered my cavalry and

530. Following the Cairo reading *wa('l-rawwāḥ)*.
531. Qur'ān, 3:163–5.

footsoldiers and attacked him and his companions. I fought my way to him and stabbed and killed him as he unceasingly came at me. Afterward they claimed he had been one of the religious scholar [*fuqahā'*] among the Iraqis, frequently engaging in fasting and prayer, and giving legal rulings to the people.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—someone I trust—Ḥumayd b. Muslim and ᶜAbdallāh b. Ghaziyyah:[532] After the death of ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl, we looked and there was ᶜAbdallāh b. Ḥāzim fallen alongside him, but we thought it was Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād
[565] al-Bajalī. A man of the Banū Kinānah, called al-Walīd b. Ghuḍayn, said, "Hold your banner," but he (Rifāᶜah) replied, "I do not want it." I said to him, "We all belong to God! What is the matter with you?" He answered, "Let us go back, and perhaps God will gather us together again for a day which will be evil for them!" ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf b. al-Aḥmar rushed up to him and said, "You have ruined us! By God, if you give up and go back they will indeed be on our heels and we will not make even a *farsakh* before we are destroyed from behind, and, if any one of us does escape, the bedouin and the villagers will seize him and give him up to the enemy so that he will suffer death as a captive [*ṣabran*]. I implore you by God not to do it! Here the sun has set on us and night has enveloped us. Let us fight them on these horses of ours, for we now have some protection. When it becomes dark, we will mount our horses in the first part of the night and charge off with them. We will do thus, so when morning comes we will be journeying without haste. Each one of us will take with him a wounded man and wait for a companion, and groups of ten and twenty will travel together. The men will know the route they are taking and they will follow one another in it. But if we do what you say, no mother will see her son again nor any man know where he is going, where he falls and where he dies, and before next day we will be either dead or taken captive." Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād said, "Your opinion is most excellent!"

Then he went up to the Kinānī and said, "Will you hold it or shall I take it from you?" The Kinānī answered, "I do not

532. The start of the following report seems to be corrupt; see *Add. et emend.*, and cf. *Ansāb*, V, 210–1.

want the same as you—I want to meet with my Lord, join my brethren and leave this world for the next, whereas you wish for the insubstantial things of this world, desiring survival and rejecting departure from this world. Indeed, by God, I wish you were guided aright!" Then he gave him the banner and departed to go forward, but Ibn al-Aḥmar said to him, "Stay and fight with us for a while and do not give yourself [566] up to destruction, may God have mercy on you!" And he kept on imploring him until he had persuaded him not to go.

The Syrians began shouting to each other, "God has wrought their destruction! Advance on them and finish them off before night!" They started to advance, going forward as a powerful force, fighting against brave champions among whom there was no worthless man and none of whom were reluctant. They gained mastery over them and fought them furiously until the time of the evening prayer. Before evening the Kinānī was killed.

ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAzīz[533] al-Kindī came forward with his son Muḥammad, who was a small boy, and said, "Oh Syrians, is there anyone of Kindah among you?" Some men came forward from among them and said, "Yes, we are." He said, "Here is the son of your fellow-tribesman. Send him to your people in al-Kūfah. I am ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAzīz al-Kindī." They said to him, "You are our paternal cousin and you have a safe-conduct from us." But he said to them, "By God, I have no wish to be exempted from the destruction which has befallen my brethren, who were a light for our lands and peg for the earth, and in the likes of whom God was honored." His son began to weep, following his father, and ᶜAbdallāh said to him, "Oh my son, if there was anything preferable to me than obedience to my Lord, then it would be you." Seeing the anguish and tears of the son following his father, his Syrian fellow-tribesmen implored him (to accept their safe conduct), and the Syrians showed great tenderness for him and his son, so much so that they grieved and wept. Then he betook himself away

533. Possibly to be read ᶜUzayr; cf. the ᶜUbaydallāh b. ᶜAmr b. ᶜUzayr al-Kindī mentioned in connection with the affair of Muslim b. ᶜAqīl (Ṭabarī, II, 255), but see *Add. et emend.* for p. 594.

from the flank from which his fellow tribesmen had come out to him and he struggled against the enemy line as evening came on and fought until he was killed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj—Muslim b. Zaḥr al-Khawlānī: Kurayb b. Yazīd[534] al-Ḥimyarī went out to them on foot as evening fell with the banner of Balqā'[535] in a group of scarcely less than a hundred men, if it was less. They were talking about what Rifāᶜah wanted to do when evening fell. Al-Ḥimyarī spoke to them, while men of Ḥimyar and Hamdān gathered around him, saying, "Servants of God, go to your Lord! By God, there is no substitute in anything of this world for the approval of God and turning to Him in repentance. I have heard that a group of you wish to return whence they came, to their mundane affairs, that they have put their trust in their things of this world and returned to their sins. As for me, by God, I will not turn my back on these our enemies until I reach the destination of my brethren." They responded to him and said, "We share your view," and he went on with his banner until he drew near the enemy. [567]

Ibn Dhī al-Kalāᶜ said, "By God, I think this is a Ḥimyarī or Hamdānī banner," and he approached and asked them, and they told him. He told them, "You have a safe conduct from us,"[536] but their leader said to him, "In this world we have a safe conduct, but we have come out seeking the safe conduct of the world to come." Then they fought against the enemy until they were slain.

Ṣukhayr b. Ḥudhayfah b. Hilāl b. Mālik al-Muzanī came out on foot with thirty men of the Muzaynah. He said to them, "Do not fear death in God, for He will meet you; do not go back to the worldly things which you left behind to come to God, for they have no permanence for you; and do not renounce the rewards of God which you desire, for what is with God is a blessing for you." Then they went on and fought until they were slain.

At evening, when the Syrians went back to their camp, Rifāᶜah examined every man who had been wounded and every

534. Text reads Zayd, but cf. p. 134 above and see *Add. et emend.*
535. See p. 69 and n. 321 above.
536. Because he himself was a Ḥimyarī.

injured man who could not help himself and handed him over to his own group. Then he led the people on the way during the whole of that night until next morning he had reached al-Tunaynir,[537] where he crossed the Khābūr river and cut the [568] bridges, and he continued on his way cutting every bridge he came to. Next day, al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr sent out and found they had left, but he did not send anyone in pursuit of them. Rifāᶜah led the people, hurrying on, and he made Abū al-Juwayriyyah al-ᶜAbdī take up the rear with seventy horsemen to give cover. Whenever they came on someone who had fallen off, he picked him up, or, if they came on any equipment and goods which had fallen off, he took possession until he knew whose it was. If it was being sought or needed, he sent to Rifāᶜah and informed him.

They continued in this way until they came to Qarqīsiyā from the open land side, where Zufar sent them food and fodder as he had done on the first occasion. He also sent them physicians and told them, "Stay here with us as long as you like, and you will find generosity and liberality." They stayed for three days and then each man of them provisioned himself with as much food and fodder as he liked.

Saᶜd b. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān continued on his way until he reached Hīt, where the bedouin came to him and told him what had happened to Ibn Ṣurad's men. Thereupon he turned back. At Ṣandūdā'[538] he met al-Muthannā b. Mukharribah al-ᶜAbdī and told him the news. They waited there until they heard the news that Rifāᶜah was approaching, and, when he drew near the place, they went out to receive him. The men greeted each other and wept for each other, and they told one another of their brethren's death. For a day and a night they remained there, and then the men of al-Madā'in returned to al-Madā'in, the Baṣrans to al-Baṣrah, and the Kūfans proceeded to al-Kūfah where they found al-Mukhtār imprisoned.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf: ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir b. Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhilī told us that he brought tidings of victory to ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, who

537. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 887.
538. *Ibid.*, III, 420.

went up on the *minbar*, praised God and extolled Him, and then said:

[569] God has destroyed the spreader of disorder and commotion [*fitnah*] and the head of error among the leaders of the Iraqis, Sulaymān b. Ṣurad; Oh, the swords have left the head of al-Musayyab b. Najabah spinning like a top; Oh, God has killed two great heads among their leaders who wandered in error and led others into error, ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd, brother of the Azd, and ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl, brother of Bakr b. Wā'il. After these there is none left with power or strength.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf: I was told that al-Mukhtār waited about a fortnight and then said to his supporters, "Count the days for this warrior lord of yours, more than ten but less than a month. Then there will come to you false news of a forceful attack and a cutting blow and much killing and stoning. Whoever is for it, I shall be for it! Do not be deceived, I shall be for it!"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥuṣayn b. Yazīd—Abān b. al-Walīd: While he was still in prison, al-Mukhtār wrote to Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād after he came from ᶜAyn al-Wardah:

Now, welcome to the bands whose reward God made great when they set out and whose coming back He was pleased with when they returned. Verily, by the Lord of the building which He built, no one of you has taken a step or made a move but that God's reward for him is greater than sovereignty over this world. Sulaymān fulfilled his duty, and God took him and placed his spirit with those of the prophets, the righteous ones, the martyrs, and the upright. But he was never your lord, he with whom you would be rendered victorious! I myself am the designated leader, the trusted one, the commander of the army, the fighter against the tyrants, the taker of vengeance from the enemies of the religion, and the securer of the vital places. Make ready and stand prepared, rejoice and be glad! I call you to the Book of God and the Sunnah of His

Prophet, to the seeking of vengeance for the blood of the family, to the defense of the weak, and *jihād* against the profaners of God's law. Peace be with you! [570]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Zuhayr al-ᶜAbsī: The people were talking about this business of al-Mukhtār, and ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad heard about it. They came out with the troops, went to al-Mukhtār and seized him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: When we were ready to go back, ᶜAbdallāh b. Ghaziyyah said, standing over the fallen, "May God have mercy on you! You have been true and borne your suffering patiently. We have been false and fled." And when we had set out next day, there was ᶜAbdallāh b. Ghaziyyah with about twenty men wanting to go back and meet the enemy. Rifāᶜah, ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf b. al-Aḥmar and a group of the leading men went and said to them, "We implore you by God not to make our flight more desolate or to weaken us further! We shall not cease to do good so long as there remain among us men with a firm purpose like you." They kept on at them imploring them in that way until they had caused them to change their minds, except for a man of Muzaynah called ᶜUbaydah b. Sufyān, who rode along with them until, when their attention was distracted, turned back and met the Syrians, threatening them with his sword and striking at them until he was killed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥuṣayn b. Yazīd al-Azdī—Ḥumayd b. Muslim al-Azdī: That man of Muzaynah was a friend of mine. When he went off I implored him by God, but he said, "You have never asked me for anything of this world when I have not recognized that I had a duty toward you to give it to you. But I am seeking God by that which you are asking of me now." He separated from me and met the enemy and was killed. By God, I wanted nothing more than to meet someone who could tell me about him and how he had fared when he met the enemy. [571]

In Mecca I met ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Juz' b. al-Ḥidrijān al-Azdī. A conversation developed between us in which a reference to that day occurred, and he said, "I marveled at what I saw on

the day of ᶜAyn al-Wardah after the destruction of the army—a man came and threatened me with his sword and we set out toward him." When he reached the man he saw that he was wounded and was saying:

I am from God and to God I flee;
Oh my God, I proclaim your favor and I make glad!

"We said to him, 'Who are your people?' and he answered, 'The descendants of Adam.' We said, 'Who?' and he answered, 'I do not want to know you or you to know me, Oh destroyers of the sacred sanctuary.' Sulaymān b. ᶜAmr b. Muḥṣin al-Azdī of the Banū al-Khiyār[539] engaged him. At that time he was one of the bravest of our men. They wore each other down. Then the men came down on him from all sides and killed him. By God, I have never seen anyone more valiant than he." When he told me this, I being so anxious to find out about him, tears came to my eyes, and he asked me, "Was there any tie of relationship between you and him?" "No," I replied. "That was a man of Muḍar who was a friend and brother to me." He said to me, "May God cause your tears to continue! Do you weep for a man of Muḍar who was killed in pursuit of error!" I answered, "No, by God, he was not killed in pursuit of error but of a clear sign from his Lord and following divine guidance." He said to me, "May God thrust you into the same place as him!" I said, "Amen! And may He thrust you into the place where He has thrust al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr! And may He cause you to continue weeping for him!" Then we both stood up.

Among the poetry recited on that subject are the words of Aᶜshā Hamdān,[540] and this is one of the underground[541] poems which were composed at that time:[542]

539. See Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 347, s.v. Ḫiyar b. Saᶜd.
540. See *EI*², s.v.
541. See *Add. et emend.*
542. See R. Geyer (ed.), *Gedichte von 'Abû Baṣîr Maimûn ibn Qais al-Aᶜshâ*, London, 1928, 315 (among the poems of Aᶜshā Hamdān), *Murūj*, V, 220 (begins at l. 30).

An image of you has drawn near, Oh Umm Ghālib, [572]
and you are given our greeting from a distant loved one.
You are still for me an object of distress and I am still pining
on account of a grief which has assailed me from being separated from you.
Whatever I forget, I will never forget your turning in the morning,
to us with the fair and comely maidens.
There showed herself to us, slim, narrow of waist, graceful of hips, full in the bottom,
Elegant and beautiful, a young girl whose youth is like the morning sun smiling between the clouds.
When the clouds and their shadows cover her,
a small part of her still shows and she jealously guards what still shows.
This passion is for me craving and desire.
Love with it a beloved who is not near.
May God not disdain youth and its remembrance, or the powerful love of full-breasted women!
Our sweet rebukes increase
just as my desire and my abundant tears for the dear friend who is near.
If I do not forget them, I will recall
the pain of loss of a hidden treasure of noble [573]
origin.
He made entreaties to God truthfully,
and fear of God achieves the best of rewards.
And he abstained from this world and did not get involved in it,
but turned in repentance to God, the Lofty, the Most High.
He abandoned this world and said, "I have cast it away,
and, so long as I live, I will not return to it.
I am not concerned with that, the loss of which people think important,
and strive to obtain it with all their effort."

It caused him to set out on the signposted roads,
against Ibn Ziyād leading troops who put all to flight,
With a throng who were people of divine fear and understanding,
one who was active in courage and noble of lineage.
They passed on, leaving Ibn Ṭalḥah to his own thoughts,
and answering not the governor who addressed them.
They journeyed on together with the seeker after piety,
and another one repenting what he had done in the past.
[574] At ᶜAyn al-Wardah, they met the army which was setting out
against them, and they slaughtered them with cutting swords
Of Yemen, smashing the fist, and sometimes
with noble horses, well-bred and long in the body.
There came against them a host from Syria, and after it
hosts from every side, like the breakers of the sea.
They did not cease until their noble ones were destroyed,
and none of them escaped there except for a few.
The steadfast ones were abandoned, fallen,
and the wind from the east and from all sides came to buffet them.
The Khuzāᶜī chief[543] was pierced with a lance,
as if he had never once fought or made war.
The chief of the Banū Shamkh[544] the hero of his people

543. I.e., Sulaymān b. Ṣurad.
544. Subtribe of Fazārah (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, 525), i.e., al-Musayyab b. Najabah.

of Shanū'ah,[545] the Taymī,[546] the leader of the detachments,
ᶜAmr b. Bishr, al-Walīd,[547] Khālid,
Zayd b. Bakr, al-Ḥulays b. Ghālib,
And from Hamdān a striker from every segment,
the noblest of those acquiring divine reward did not shrink when he pressed forward.
The leader of every clan has been struck down,
and the one of noble descent in the piercing peak of glory.
They rejected everything apart from a blow, the fall of which would cleave the head asunder
and a thrust with the piercing tips of the spears.
Saᶜīd,[548] on the day when he perished, full of vigor,
was braver than a pouncing lion of Durnā.
Oh best of armies, for Iraq and its people,
you have been given drink out of water skins pouring forth blood.
Our champions and our defenders did not withdraw when the war became vehement.
If they were killed, then that is the most noble of deaths,
and one day every young man will be one of the dead.
They were not slain before they had hurled themselves in fury at a group
of those who violate God's law, like the charging of billy goats.

Sulaymān b. Ṣurad and those of the Penitents who were killed with him at ᶜAyn al-Wardah were slain in the month of Rabīᶜ II.

In this year also, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam ordered the Syrians to give the oath of allegiance to his two sons ᶜAbd al-Malik

545. Azd Shanū'ah are one of the four branches of Azd, i.e., ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf b. al-Aḥmar (?).
546. ᶜAbdallāh b. Wāl.
547. Al-Walīd b. Ghuḍayn (?).
548. Saᶜīd b. Munqidh al-Hamdānī (?).

and ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz in succession to himself, and he appointed the two of them as his heirs apparent.[549]

Marwān's Designation of His Two Sons ᶜAbd al-Malik and ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz as His Heirs Apparent

According to Hishām—ᶜAwānah: After ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd b. al-ᶜĀṣ al-Ashdaq had defeated Musᶜab b. al-Zubayr, when the latter's brother ᶜAbdallāh sent him to Palestine,[550] he turned back to return to Marwān. At that time, Marwān was in Damascus, having won control over all Syria and Egypt. He heard that ᶜAmr was saying the rule would pass to him after Marwān and that he was claiming Marwān had made him a promise. Marwān, therefore, called Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal and told him that he wanted to take the oath of allegiance for his two sons ᶜAbd al-Malik and ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz in succession to himself and he told him what he had heard about ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd. Ḥassān said, "I will deal with ᶜAmr for you!" When the people had gathered in front of Marwān in the evening, Ibn Baḥdal stood and said, "We have heard that there are some men who have fanciful desires. Stand and give the oath of allegiance to ᶜAbd al-Malik and to ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz after him!" So the people stood and gave the oath of allegiance down to the last man.

In this year too, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam died in Damascus at the beginning of the month of Ramaḍān (April 10, 685).[551]

[577]

The Death of Marwān

According to Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saᶜd—Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar—Mūsā b. Yaᶜqūb—Abū al-Ḥuwayrith: When death came to Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd Abū Laylā, he refused to appoint anyone as caliph after him. Ḥassān b. Baḥdal desired that the authority after Muᶜāwiyah b. Yazīd should be made over to the latter's

549. For the following account, cf. *Ansāb*, V, 149–50.
550. See above, p. 64.
551. For what follows, cf. *Ansāb*, V, 159–60.

brother, Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah.[552] Khālid was a minor, and Ḥassān b. Mālik was the maternal uncle of his father, Yazīd b. Muᶜāwiyah.[553] Ḥassān gave the oath of allegiance to Marwān, but he wanted authority after him to be made over to Khālid b. Yazīd. When he and the Syrians gave the oath of allegiance to Marwān, it was suggested to Marwān, "Marry Khālid's mother (his mother was Umm Khālid, the daughter of Abū Hāshim b. ᶜUtbah)[554] so you can diminish his importance and he will not seek the caliphate." So he married her.

One day, Khālid went in to Marwān, with whom there was a large group of people. Khālid was walking between the lines of people and Marwān said, "By God, I do not know anyone more stupid than he! Come up here, you son of a whore [*yā 'bna al-raṭbati 'l-ist*]." He was abrupt with him in order to diminish him in the eyes of the Syrians. Khālid returned to his mother and told her. She said to him, "You must not let this become known. Keep it quiet and I will deal with him for you." Marwān went to her and asked her, "Did Khālid say anything about me to you?" She answered, "Khālid say anything about you! Khālid has too much respect for you to say anything about you," and he believed her. She waited some days and then, when Marwān was sleeping with her, she suffocated him with a pillow and killed him.

Abū Jaᶜfar said: Marwān's death was in the month of Ramaḍān (April-May 685) in Damascus, and he was 63 years old, according to al-Wāqidī. Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, however, said that on the day of his death he was 61. It is [578]
also said that when he died he was 71, also 81. His *kunyah* was Abū ᶜAbd al-Malik, and he was Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ᶜĀṣ b. Umayyah b. ᶜAbd Shams. His mother was Āminah bint ᶜAlqamah b. Ṣafwān b. Umayyah al-Kinānī. After the oath of allegiance was given to him as caliph, he lived for 9 months, and it is also said for 10 months, but 3 days.

Before his death, he had dispatched two expeditions, one of them to Medina under Ḥubaysh b. Duljah al-Qaynī,[555] the

552. See above, n. 253.
553. See above, n. 274.
554. See above, p. 65 and n. 307.
555. On him, see Crone, *Slaves*, 96–7; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, index; the Banū al-Qayn (or Bal-Qayn) b. Jasr of Quḍāᶜah (see *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳayn).

other to Iraq under ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād had got as far as al-Jazīrah when the news of Marwān's death reached him. The Penitents among the people of al-Kūfah had gone out against him seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn, and what happened to them has already been mentioned.[556] Please God, we shall report the remainder of the information about ᶜUbaydallāh until he was killed.

The Failure of the Syrian Expedition against Medina

In this year too, Ḥubaysh b. Duljah was killed.[557] According to what is reported from Hishām—ᶜAwānah b. al-Ḥakam, Ḥubaysh b. Duljah had got as far as Medina, where Jābir b. al-Aswad b. ᶜAwf,[558] the nephew of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAwf, had been given authority by ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Jābir fled from Ḥubaysh, but then al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīᶜah,[559] the brother of ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīᶜah, sent an army from al-Baṣrah to fight Ḥubaysh b. Duljah. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr had made al-Ḥārith prefect of al-Baṣrah. Com-
[579] manding the army was al-Ḥantaf b. al-Sijf al-Tamīmī.[560] When Ḥubaysh b. Duljah heard about them, he left Medina to go out against them, and ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr sent ᶜAbbās b. Sahl b. Saᶜd al-Anṣārī[561] to govern Medina with orders to pursue Ḥubaysh b. Duljah until the army of al-Baṣrah under al-Ḥantaf, which had come to help Ibn al-Zubayr, should arrive. ᶜAbbās hurriedly set off following them and caught up with them at al-Rabadhah.[562] Ibn Duljah's men had advised him, "Leave

556. See above, pp. 124–59.
557. For what follows, cf. *Ansāb*, V, 150–9.
558. On him, see Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 273 (and see n. 92 above).
559. His brother's name indicates that the Leiden text is lacking *ibn ᶜAbdallāh* after the name al-Ḥārith, and see p. 43 and n. 211 above.
560. Text reads al-Ḥunayf b. al-Sijf, but see the note to *Ansāb*, V, 151[12], and Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 297.
561. See *Add. et emend.* for the name and cf. pp. 111ff. above for a report from him; he was of the Banū Sāᶜidah/Khazraj (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 103).
562. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 748f: a settlement of Medina, 3 *amyāl* from Dhāt ᶜIrq, on the Ḥijāz road coming from Fayd toward Mecca.

them alone, do not rush into an engagement with them." He, however, said, "I shall not rest until I have eaten some of their *muqannad*" (meaning *sawīq* sweetened with *qand*).[563] He was killed by an arrow fired by an unknown man.[564] Also killed were al-Mundhir b. Qays al-Judhāmī and Abū ᶜUqāb,[565] the mawlā of Abū Sufyān. Also with him on that day were Yūsuf b. al-Ḥakam and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf,[566] and the two of them only managed to escape on the same camel. About five hundred of them were held in custody in the prison tent[567] of Medina. ᶜAbbās said to them, "Throw yourselves on my judgment!" They did so and he cut off their heads. The fugitives from Ḥubaysh's army returned to Syria.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad: He who killed Ḥubaysh b. Duljah the day of al-Rabadhah was Yazīd b. Siyāh al-Uswārī;[568] he shot him with an arrow and killed him. When they entered Medina, Yazīd b. Siyāh was sitting on a grey nag and wearing white clothes, but it was not long before his clothes became black, as I saw, from that which the people anointed him with and the perfumes they poured over him.

The Plague of al-Jārif in al-Baṣrah

Abū Jaᶜfar said: In this year too there broke out in al-Baṣrah the plague known as the plague of al-Jārif. A great number of Baṣrans perished in it.

According to ᶜUmar b. Shabbah—Zuhayr b. Ḥarb—Wahb b. Jarīr: My father told me on the authority of al-Muṣᶜab b. Zayd that al-Jārif broke out while ᶜUbaydallāh b. ᶜUbaydallāh [580]

563. The gloss on *al-muqannad* is in the text. *Sawīq* is a sort of broth made with barley or other flour (see *EI*[1], s.v. sawīḳ), *qand* is the solidified extract of sugar cane (cf. Eng. "candy").

564. Ar. *sahmu gharb* (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. gharb).

565. Cairo reads Abū ᶜAttāb; he is missing from the parallel passage, *Ansāb*, V, 155–6.

566. The future important governor of Iraq, al-Ḥajjāj (see *EI*[2], s.v. al-Ḥadjdjādj), and his father.

567. See Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. ᶜamūd, for the suggestion "prison tent." *Ansāb*, V, 156, has *ᶜamūd al-Rabadhah*, and cf. the note *ad loc.* for the suggestion that it should be understood as the name of a place.

568. A descendant of the Persian cavalry troops which had gone over to the Arabs during the period of conquest (see n. 149 above).

b. Ma^c^mar had authority over al-Baṣrah. His mother died in it and no one could be found to carry her bier, so they had to hire four non-Arabs. They carried her to her grave, and he was the governor at that time![569]

In this year also, the strength of the Khawārij in al-Baṣrah increased and Nāfi^c^ b. Azraq was killed.[570]

The Threat to al-Baṣrah from Nāfi^c^ b. al-Azraq and the Khārijites and al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah's Victory over Them

According to ^c^Umar b. Shabbah—Zuhayr b. Ḥarb—Wahb b. Jarīr—his father—Muḥammad b. Zubayr: ^c^Ubaydallāh b. ^c^Ubaydallāh b. Ma^c^mar sent his brother ^c^Uthmān b. ^c^Ubaydallāh[571] with an army against Nāfi^c^ b. al-Azraq. He came up against them at Dūlāb,[572] where ^c^Uthmān was killed and his army routed.

According to ^c^Umar—Zuhayr—Wahb—Muḥammad b. Abī ^c^Uyaynah—Sabrah b. Nakhf: Ibn Ma^c^mar ^c^Ubaydallāh sent his brother ^c^Uthmān against Ibn al-Azraq, but his army was routed and he was killed.

According to Wahb: My father told me the Baṣrans sent an army under Ḥārithah b. Badr.[573] When he met the Khawārij he said to his men:

Feed your guest with *karnib* and get water from a *dūlāb*,
but depart wherever you wish.[574]

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569. For ^c^Ubaydallah b. ^c^Ubaydallāh, see p. 45 and n. 224 above. Cf. p. 46 above, where this story is related of ^c^Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith Babbah and the authority for it is named as al-Ṣa^c^b b. Zayd.

570. See pp. 97–105 above for Nāfi^c^ b. al-Azraq's previous history. For the following, cf. Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien* 32ff. (Eng. tr. 45ff); Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 80ff. Variants and parallels: *Aghānī*, VI, 3–7; *Ansāb*, IVb, 115, XI, 78–109; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 616–20, 623ff.

571. Ibn Ma^c^mar al-Taymī (Quraysh). See p. 45 above for his brothers, but cf. Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 288, which, although mentioning ^c^Uthmān b. ^c^Ubaydallāh who was killed by the Ḥarūriyyah, does not refer to ^c^Ubaydallāh b. ^c^Ubaydallāh (^c^Umar b. ^c^Ubaydallāh is referred to in *ibid.*, 189).

572. In the vicinity of Ahwāz (Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 622).

573. Of the Banū Ghudāna b. Yarbū^c^ b. Ḥanẓalah of Tamīm (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 316).

574. *Karnib* is a dish of dates mixed with milk; a *dūlāb* is a water wheel. Cf. p. 169 below.

According to ᶜUmar—Zuhayr—Wahb—his father and Muḥammad b. Abī ᶜUyaynah—Muᶜāwiyah b. Qurrah: We went with Ibn ᶜUbays to fight.[575] When we met the Khawārij in battle, Ibn al-Azraq was killed as well as two or three sons of al-Māḥūz, and Ibn ᶜUbays was killed. [581]

Abū Jaᶜfar (al-Ṭabarī): As for Hishām b. Muḥammad, he reported a narrative about Ibn al-Azraq and the sons of al-Māḥūz from Abū Mikhnaf on the authority of Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī which is different from the narrative of ᶜUmar b. Shabbah from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb on the authority of Wahb b. Jarīr.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad's report: Because the Baṣrans were involved with the dispute between the Azd, Rabīᶜah and Tamīm which arose from Masᶜūd b. ᶜAmr's killing, the power of Nāfiᶜ b. al-Azraq increased and his followers became more numerous. He set out toward al-Baṣrah and, when he approached the bridge, ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith sent Muslim b. ᶜUbays b. Kurayz b. Rabīᶜah b. Ḥabīb b. ᶜAbd Shams b. ᶜAbd Manāf with the Baṣrans against him. He went out to meet Nāfiᶜ b. al-Azraq and began pushing him away from al-Baṣrah, keeping him out of its territory. Eventually he came to a place in the territory of al-Ahwāz called Dūlāb.

The men prepared to face one another and marched against each other. Muslim b. ᶜUbays put al-Ḥajjāj b. Bāb al-Ḥimyarī[576] over his right wing and Ḥārithah b. Badr al-Tamīmī, al-Ghudānī, over his left. Ibn Azraq had over his right wing ᶜAbīdah b. Hilāl al-Yashkurī[577] and over his left al-Zubayr b. al-Māḥūz al-Tamīmī. They met in battle and clashed and the men fought more fiercely than had ever been seen. Muslim b. ᶜUbays, the commander of the Baṣrans, and Nāfiᶜ b. al-Azraq, the chief of the Khawārij, were killed. The Baṣrans gave al-Ḥajjāj b. Bāb al-Ḥimyarī the command over them, while the Azāriqah appointed ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Māḥūz.

Then they began fighting again more fiercely. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Bāb al-Ḥimyarī, the commander of the Baṣrans, was killed, [582]

575. See pp. 104f. above and Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 437.
576. I am unable to identify him further.
577. See pp. 99f. above.

and so was ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Māḥūz, the commander of the Azāriqah. The Baṣrans made Rabīᶜah al-Ajdham al-Tamīmī[578] their commander, while the Khawārij made ᶜUbaydallāh b. al-Māḥūz theirs. They began fighting again and continued until evening. Some of them had experienced a reaction against this mutual hostility and a revulsion against the fighting, and were desisting and holding back from the others, when there joined the Khawārij a large detachment of theirs which had not taken part in the battle. They attacked in the sector of ᶜAbd al-Qays and the Baṣrans were defeated. Rabīᶜah al-Ajdham, the commander of the Baṣrans, fought and was killed, and Ḥārithah b. Badr took hold of the Baṣrans' banner. He fought for a time after his men had withdrawn, protecting their rear with the more resolute and steadfast of the men. Then he went off with the men and made camp with them at al-Ahwāz. Referring to that, the poet of the Khawārij[579] said:

Oh heart without hunger or thirst!
    and Oh my heart which loves Umm Ḥakīm!
If she had been with me on the day of Dūlāb, she
    would have seen
    the thrusting in battle of a man not base.
In the morning (the slain of) Bakr b. Wā'il floated
    in the water,
    and we set the heads of the horses against
    Tamīm.
The first of our swords were directed against ᶜAbd
    al-Qays,
    and the shaykhs of the Azd ignominiously swam!

The Baṣrans heard about that and it terrified and frightened them. In view of the crisis, Ibn al-Zubayr sent al-Ḥārith b.
[583] ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīᶜah al-Qurashī, and he came and removed ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith from office. The Khawārij advanced toward al-Baṣrah, and then, when the Baṣrans were in this

578. Al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 616, and *Ansāb*, XI, 86, call him Rabīᶜ b. ᶜAmr al-Ajdham al-Ghudānī (the Banū Ghudāna b. Yarbūᶜ of Tamīm).

579. Elsewhere, this poet is variously named: Qaṭarī b. al-Fujāᶜah (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 214, 618f.); Ibn Sahm al-Tamīmī (*Ansāb*, XI, 84); and Ṣāliḥ b. ᶜAbdallāh al-ᶜAbshamī (ibid., 88–9).

crisis, al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah[580] arrived, coming from ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr and bringing his investiture over Khurāsān. Al-Aḥnaf said to al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabīᶜah and to the Baṣrans generally, "By God, only al-Muhallab is fit for this task!" The notables, therefore, went out and spoke with him about leading the fighting against the Khawārij. He, however, answered, "I will not! This which I have with me is the investiture by the Commander of the Faithful over Khurāsān, and I would never disregard his investiture and his command." Ibn Abī Rabīᶜah called him and spoke to him about it, but he answered in like manner. Ibn Abī Rabīᶜah and the Baṣrans then agreed that they would fabricate a letter from Ibn al-Zubayr:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr to al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah, greeting! I praise God, other than whom there is no other god, hoping for His favor on you. Now, al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbdallāh has written to me that the renegade [*al-māriqah*] Azāriqah have smitten an army of the Muslims which was large and contained many of the notables, and he has reported that they have advanced on al-Baṣrah. I had sent you to Khurāsān and written an investiture over it for you, but since he has reported the matter of these Khawārij I have decided that you will be in charge of the fight against them. I hope that your omens will be good and a blessing for the people of your garrison town. The reward for that will be greater than for going to Khurāsān, so go against them rightly guided, fight the enemies of God and of you, and protect your rights and those of the people of your garrison town. Neither Khurāsān nor any of the other lands under our authority will pass you by, God willing. Peace and the mercy of God be upon you! [584]

He was brought this document and when he had read it he said, "By God, I will not go against them unless you make over to me what I win possession of, you give me out of the

580. See above, p. 71 and n. 330.

treasury the wherewithal to fortify those who go with me, and I can choose whomever I wish from among the champions, the leaders and the noble ones of the people." All of the men of al-Baṣrah conceded that to him, and he then said, "Write a contract for me with the fifths[581] to that effect!" They did so except for Mālik b. Misma^c and a section of Bakr b. Wā'il, and al-Muhallab held that against them. Al-Aḥnaf, ^cUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ẓabyān,[582] and the notables of al-Baṣrah said to al-Muhallab, "What does it matter that Mālik b. Misma^c and those of his companions who follow him will not subscribe to you, when all the other people of al-Baṣrah have given you what you wanted in that respect! Can Mālik oppose the community of the people? Can he do that? Consider, man, make up your mind about your own business, and go against your enemy."

Al-Muhallab did that and appointed commanders over the fifths. He made ^cUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ẓabyān commander over the fifth of Bakr b. Wā'il and al-Ḥarīsh b. Hilāl al-Sa^cdī[583] over that of Tamīm. The Khawārij, under ^cUbaydallāh b. al-Māḥūz, advanced as far as the little bridge. Al-Muhallab went out against them with the notables, champions and prominent people among the Baṣrans, and drove them away from the bridge. That was the first thing the Baṣrans pushed them back from, and they would have needed nothing more to enter the town. They retired to the bigger bridge. Then al-Muhallab got his men ready and went against them with his horse and
[585] infantry. When the Khawārij saw that al-Muhallab had kept up the pressure on them and reached their positions, they withdrew another stage beyond that, but he continued pushing them back and forcing them to withdraw, stage after stage and halt after halt, until finally they reached one of the halts of al-Ahwāz called Sillā wa-Sillabrā[584] where they stopped.

581. Al-Baṣrah was organized in five units, each containing a number of tribal fragments (see *EI*², s.v. al-Baṣra).

582. Of Taymallāh b. Tha^clabah (Bakr b. Wā'il): Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 563 and Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, Index.

583. See p. 178 below, where he is given the more specific *nisbah* al-Quray^cī (of the Banū Sa^cd/Tamīm): see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 300.

584. Variously written in different sources (see footnote to text).

When Ḥārithah b. Badr al-Ghudānī heard that al-Muhallab had been given command of the fighting against the Azāriqah, he said to those of his men with him:

Feed your guest with *karnib* and get water from a *dūlāb*,
but depart wherever you wish, for the *amīr* is al-Muhallab.

Those who were with him then set off in the direction of al-Baṣrah but al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīᶜah diverted them toward al-Muhallab. When al-Muhallab camped with his men, he dug a ditch around himself, posted lookouts, sent out spies and placed sentries. His army continued in its battle lines, with the soldiers organized according to their banners and fifths, and men were entrusted with watching the entrances to the ditch. And whenever the Khawārij wished to make a night attack on al-Muhallab, they found the issue was already decided and withdrew. They never fought anyone who was more resolute against them or more angry against their hearts than al-Muhallab.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd—ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAwf b. al-Aḥmar: One of those Khārijīs told him that the Khawārij sent ᶜAbīdah b. Hilāl and al-Zubayr b. al-Māḥūz by night with two large troops of horse against al-Muhallab's camp. Al-Zubayr came from his right flank and ᶜAbīdah from his left; they proclaimed the battle cry "God is most great!" and shouted out at the men, but found they were in good order and in their battle lines, on the watch and ready, and they could not fall on the army unaware or obtain any advantage over them. When they had withdrawn in order to go back, ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ẓabyān called out to them saying: [586]

"You have found us holding firm and standing steady,
not treacherously opened up nor tottering feebly.

Far from it! When we are shouted at we refuse to comply. Oh people of Hell, indeed, hurry to it soon, for it is your resting place and your abode!" They answered, "Oh wicked one, is Hell kept for anyone but you and your kind? It was prepared for the unbelievers and you are one of them!" He said, "Are you listening? I would emancipate every slave I possess if you entered Paradise and there remained between

Safawān and the furthest boulder of land of Khurāsān any Magian, who marries his mother, his daughter and his sister, who would not enter it also!"[585] ᶜAbīdah answered him, "Be silent, Oh wicked one! You are merely a slave of the contumacious tyrant [*al-jabbār al-ᶜanīd*] and a *wazīr* of the iniquitous unbeliever [*al-ẓālim al-kafūr*]." Ibn Ẓabyān said, "Oh wicked one, you are the enemy of the Godfearing believer and the *wazīr* of the accursed Satan."[586] The men said to Ibn Ẓabyān, "God has given you success, Oh Ibn Ẓabyān. By God, you have given the wicked one the right answer and you have spoken the truth!"

Next morning, al-Muhallab brought out the men arraigned in their formations and fifths. Their positions were: the Azd and Tamīm on the right, Bakr b. Wā'il and ᶜAbd al-Qays on the left, and the Ahl al-ᶜĀliyah[587] in the middle, the center of the army. The Khawārij came out with ᶜAbīdah b. Hilāl al-Yashkurī over their right, and al-Zubayr b. al-Māḥūz over their left. They were better equipped and had more noble horses and more weapons than the Baṣrans because they had gone
[587] through the land, stripping it bare and devouring everything between Kirmān and al-Ahwāz. They came wearing helmets which weighed down their heads, suits of armor which they trailed behind, and thigh pieces of chain mail which they fastened by iron hooks to their belts. The men met and fought a battle of the fiercest sort. For most of the day, they withstood one another, and then the Khawārij as a whole bore down on the Baṣrans in a way not to be stood. The Baṣrans panicked and turned tail in that flight in which a mother does not heed her child, until the fugitives reached al-Baṣrah, fearing they would be taken captive.

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585. For Safawān, see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 97f. (presumably the place meant here is the spring "one stage from the Mirbad gate of al-Baṣrah"). The Zoroastrian practice of endogamy frequently figures in Muslim polemic against the "Magians."

586. For the epithet "accursed" (*al-rajīm*), see Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary*, s.v.

587. The name for one of the fifths of al-Baṣrah, consisting of various tribal groups, including Quraysh, sometimes explained (convincingly?) by reference to the connection between the tribes of which it was formed and the high ground of the Ḥijāz.

Al-Muhallab hastened and got before them to an elevated spot at the side away from the paths taken by the fugitives. Then he called out to the men, "To me, to me, Oh servants of God!" and a group of his own people rejoined him and a detachment of ᶜUmān.[588] About 3,000 of them joined him. When he saw those who had joined him, he was pleased with their company, and he praised God and extolled Him and then said:

> Now, many a time God assigns the larger number to their own devices and they are defeated, while He sends down His help upon the smaller number and they achieve the victory. By my life, now you are not few in number. I am pleased with your company. You are men of resolution and patience in the face of hardships and you are the true warriors of your garrison town. I do not want any of those who were put to flight to be with you, for they, if they were among you, would only cause you more confusion. I have decided that each one of you should pick up ten stones. Then go with us toward their camp, for just now they feel secure and their horsemen have gone off searching for your brethren. By God, I hope their horse will not return before you have sacked their camp and killed their commander!

They did what he asked, and then he headed back with them, and, by God, the Khawārij knew nothing until al-Muhallab attacked them with the Muslims on the edge of their camp. Then ᶜUbaydallāh b. al-Māḥūz and his men advanced [588] to meet them clad in full armor and fully armed. Each man of al-Muhallab's made for one of the enemy and took aim at his face with the stone he carried, so that he could stun him and afterward stab him with his spear or hack at him with his sword. Before they had fought for very long, ᶜUbaydallāh b. al-Māḥūz had been slain, God had smote the leaders of his men, and al-Muhallab had seized the enemy's camp with everything in it and inflicted a devastating slaughter on the Azāriqah.

588. The division of Azd known as Azd ᶜUmān (al-Muhallab's tribe).

Those who had gone off in pursuit of the Baṣrans now came returning to their camp, but al-Muhallab had put horsemen and footmen on the road to seize and kill them. They fell back in retreat, defeated, slain, fought against and vanquished, and went away to Kirmān and the outskirts of Iṣfahān, while al-Muhallab remained in al-Ahwāz. Al-Ṣalatān al-ᶜAbdī[589] said with reference to that day:

At Sillā wa-Sillabrā was the destruction of youths,
who were noble and slaughtered ones whose cheeks were never comforted.[590]

When the Khawārij withdrew, indeed, men who had formerly been around five or six different campfires now gathered around a single one as a result of the rout and the paucity of their numbers until reinforcements joined them from al-Baḥrayn.

They retreated, then, in the direction of Kirmān and Iṣfahān while al-Muhallab remained in al-Ahwāz, and he continued there until Muṣᶜab[591] came to al-Baṣrah and removed al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīᶜah from office as governor. When al-Muhallab had achieved his victory over the Azāriqah, he wrote:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. To the governor al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbdallāh from al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah, greetings! I give praise, hoping
> [589] that He will favor you, to God, other than whom there is no god. Now, praise be to God who granted victory to the Commander of the Faithful, vanquished the transgressors, sent down His punishment upon them, slaughtered them in every way and drove them away completely. I wish to inform the governor, may God favor him, that we met the Azāriqah at a place in the territory of al-Ahwāz called Sillā wa-Sillabrā. We marched against them and then struggled with them and fought a battle of the hardest sort for a long time

589. Qutham b. Khabīᶜah al-Ṣalatān of ᶜAbd al-Qays/Rabīᶜa (Caskel, II, 473, *Aghānī*, XXI, 28).
590. I.e., they were not properly buried.
591. Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr, sent by his brother to al-Baṣrah to be governor.

during the day. But then detachments of the Azāriqah gathered together and made attacks on parties of the Muslims and defeated them. Among the Muslims there was confusion, which I feared would become a real flight.[592] When I saw that, I repaired to an elevated place and went upon it. Then I called out, "To me, my clan in particular and the Muslims in general!" A number of groups willing to sell themselves in their desire for the favor of God, men of religion, fortitude and patience in the face of hardship, uprightness and fidelity, rejoined me. With them I headed for the enemy's camp, in which was the mass of their men, their keen blades, and their commander with, gathered around him, those of them possessed of merit and a firm purpose. We fought for a while, firing arrows and thrusting with spears, and then the two sides had recourse to swords, the fight with which was for an hour of the day hand-to-hand on foot. But then God sent down his aid to the Believers and smote the faces of the unbelievers. Their tyrant [*ṭāghiyah*] fell, together with many of their defenders and the purposeful ones among them, and God killed them in the battle. Then I sent the cavalry after their flight, and they were slain on the road and in the camping place and settlement. Praise be to God, the Lord of the Universe, and peace be with you, may God have mercy on you!

When al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīᶜah received this letter, he sent it to Ibn al-Zubayr and it was read out to the [590] people in Mecca. And al-Ḥārith Ibn Abī Rabīᶜah wrote to al-Muhallab, "Now, I have received your letter in which you mention the assistance which God gave you and the victory of the Muslims. I wish for you, Oh brother of Azd, the honor and glory of this world and the rewards and merits of the next. Peace be with you and may God have mercy on you." When al-Muhallab read his letter, he laughed and said, "Did you think he would acknowledge me as anything other than

592. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *ṣarra*.

'brother of Azd'? The people of Mecca are no more than bedouins."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī: Abū ᶜAlqamah al-Yaḥmadī[593] fought on the day of Sillā wa-Sillabrā in a manner unsurpassed by anyone else, and he began to call out to the young men of Azd and the youths of Yaḥmad, "Lend us your skulls for an hour of the day!" Some of them started to charge and fight and then go back to him, laughing and saying, "Oh Abū ᶜAlqamah, the cooking pots are loaned!" When al-Muhallab had triumphed and he learned of Abū ᶜAlqamah's resolution, he gave him 100,000 dirhams.

It is said that the Baṣrans had asked al-Aḥnaf, before al-Muhallab was chosen, to fight against the Azāriqah but that he advised them in favor of al-Muhallab saying, "He will be stronger than me in fighting them." And it is said that when al-Muhallab responded to their request to fight against them, he laid a condition on the Baṣrans that whatever land he conquered would be for him and those who went out to fight with him, his tribesmen or others, for three years, but that there would be nothing from him for those who deserted him. The Baṣrans agreed to that and he wrote a contract with them about that. They sent a delegation to Ibn al-Zubayr about the
[591] matter, and he endorsed all those conditions in favor of al-Muhallab and authorized them. When a favorable response was received, al-Muhallab sent his son Ḥabīb with 600 horsemen against ᶜAmr al-Qanā[594] who was encamped with 600 horsemen behind the smaller bridge. Al-Muhallab gave orders that the smaller bridge be secured. Ḥabīb prevented ᶜAmr and his men from taking the bridge, and fought them and expelled them from the area between the two bridges. They were put to flight and evacuated the region of the Euphrates.

Al-Muhallab with those of his tribe who went to fight with him—12,000 men—and with 70 of the rest of the men, made ready and set out and stopped at the larger bridge. ᶜAmr al-Qanā was opposite him with 600 men. Al-Muhallab sent his

593. The Banū Yaḥmad b. ᶜAbdallāh are a subtribe of Azd (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 216).

594. ᶜAmr al-Qanā Abū al-Musaddī of the Banū Saᶜd b. Zayd Manāt of Tamīm (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 682 and *passim*).

son al-Mughīrah with horsemen and footsoldiers. The footmen put them to flight with their arrows while the horsemen gave chase. Al-Muhallab gave orders regarding the bridge, and it was made secure and he and his men crossed. At that time, ᶜAmr al-Qanā joined Ibn al-Māḥūz and his men who were at al-Maftaḥ.[595] He told them the news, and they set out and formed camp eight farsakhs from al-Ahwāz. For the remainder of the year, al-Muhallab remained where he was, levying dues from the districts of the Tigris and paying his men. When they heard that, reinforcements came from the people of al-Baṣrah and al-Muhallab entered them in the register and gave them pay, with the result that they increased to 30,000.

Abū Jaᶜfar said: According to the reports of these authorities, the battle in which the Azāriqah were routed and which caused their departure from the environs of al-Baṣrah and al-Ahwāz for those of Iṣfahān and Kirmān was in the year 66 (685–86), and it is said that when they departed from al-Ahwāz they numbered 3,000 and that in the battle between them and al-Muhallab at Sillā wa-Sillabrā 7,000 of them were killed.

Abū Jaᶜfar said: In this year too, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, before his death, sent his son Muḥammad[596] to Mesopotamia,[597] that being before he himself set out for Egypt. [592]

Ibn al-Zubayr's Dismissal and Appointment of Governors in al-Kūfah and Medina

In this year, ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr deposed ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd from al-Kūfah and gave ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ authority over it. He also removed his brother ᶜUbaydah b. al-Zubayr from Medina and gave authority over it to his brother Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr. He removed from office his brother ᶜUbaydah, according to the report of al-Wāqidī, because the latter had

595. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 586 (presumably Maftaḥ Dujayl on the river Kārūn in Aḥwāz is meant, rather than the village between al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ).

596. See *EI*[1], s.v. Muḥammad b. Marwān.

597. Ar. al-Jazīrah, i.e., the region between the upper reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates, with al-Mawṣil as its chief center, and expanding with conquest into Ādharbayjān, Armenia and the Caucasus.

delivered an official address to the people and had said to them, "You have seen what was done with a people concerning a she-camel, the value of which was 500 dirhams." He because known as "the valuer of the she-camel." Ibn al-Zubayr heard about that and said, "This is sheer affectation of speech."[598]

In this year also, ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr rebuilt the sacred sanctuary [*al-bayt al-ḥarām*], incorporating the Ḥijr within it.

Ibn al-Zubayr's Rebuilding of the Kaᶜbah

According to Isḥāq b. Abī Isrā'īl—ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. Khālid b. Rustam al-Ṣanᶜānī Abū Muḥammad: Ziyād b. Jiyal[599] told me he was in Mecca on the day when Ibn al-Zubayr was overcome, and he heard him say, "My mother Asmā' bint Abī Bakr told me that the Messenger of God said to ᶜĀ'ishah: 'If it were not that your people had only recently been in a state of unbelief, I would restore the Kaᶜbah on the foundations of Abraham and I would add to the Kaᶜbah part of the Ḥijr.' "[600] Ibn al-Zubayr gave the order for it and it was excavated, and they found rocks as big as a camel. They moved a boulder of them and a bright light flashed out. They re-established it on its foundation and Ibn al-Zubayr rebuilt it, giving it two doors, from one of which it was entered and from the other vacated.[601]

[593] Abū Jaᶜfar said: In this year ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the pilgrimage; over Medina was his brother Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr; ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ was over al-Kūfah at the end of the year; al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīᶜah al-Makhzūmī, called al-Qubāᶜ, was over al-Baṣrah, with Hishām b. Hubayrah in charge of its judiciary; and ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim was over Khurāsān.

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598. Cf. *Ansāb*, V, 155, where this story is applied to the governor of Medina for Ibn al-Zubayr, ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜUbaydallāh b. Abī Thawr. Presumably the reference is to the she-camel [*al-nāqah*] in the story of the people of Thamūd (Qur'ān, passim).

599. See n. 3 above.

600. For versions of the *ḥadīth*, see A.J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, s.vv. *kufr*, *asas*.

601. Cf. Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 143; ᶜAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 9157.

In this year too, those of the Banū Tamīm who were in Khurāsān opposed ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim and warfare broke out between them.[602]

The Continuation of Tribal Warfare in Khurāsān under ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim

The cause, it is reported, was that those of the Banū Tamīm in Khurāsān had aided ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim against those of Rabīᶜah who were there and in the fighting against Aws b. Thaᶜlabah, and a number of them had been killed. Ibn Khāzim had defeated Aws b. Thaᶜlabah and Khurāsān had completely submitted to him. When it had done so and no one disputed it with him, Ibn Khāzim treated Tamīm harshly. He had assigned Herat to his son Muḥammad, appointed him over it, made Bukayr b. Wishāḥ commander of his police force, and attached Shammās b. Dithār al-ᶜUṭāridī to him. The mother of his son Muḥammad was a woman of Tamīm called Ṣafiyyah.

When Ibn Khāzim treated the Banū Tamīm harshly, they went to his son Muḥammad in Herat. But Ibn Khāzim wrote to Bukayr and Shammās, telling them to prevent the Banū Tamīm from entering Herat. Shammās b. Dithār, however, refused, and he left Herat and joined the Banū Tamīm. Bukayr, on the other hand, did prevent them from entering. [594]

According to ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad—Zuhayr b. al-Hunayd—shaykhs of his tribe: When Bukayr b. Wishāḥ prevented the Banū Tamīm from entering Herat, they remained in the district of Herat, and Shammās b. Dithār went out to join them. Bukayr sent, telling Shammās, "I will give you 30,000 dirhams and I will give every man of Tamīm 1,000 on condition they go away." They, however, refused, entered the town and killed Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim.

According to ᶜAlī—al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd—Muḥammad b. ᶜAzīz[603] al-Kindī: Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim went hunting at Herat after he had prevented the Banū Tamīm from

602. See pp. 70–9 above and nn. 324–5.
603. See *Add. et emend.*

entering the town. They ambushed him, seized him and put him in chains. They drank all night and every time one of them wanted to urinate he did so over Muḥammad Ibn Khāzim. Shammās b. Dithār said to them, "Since you have gone this far with him, why not kill him in retaliation for your two companions he killed by flogging?" (Shortly before that Muḥammad Ibn Khāzim had seized two men of the Banū Tamīm and flogged them to death.) So they killed him. Someone alleged to us, on the authority of one of their shaykhs who witnessed the killing of Muḥammad Ibn Khāzim, that Jayhān b. Mashjaᶜah al-Ḍabbī tried to stop them killing him and threw himself over him. ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim was grateful to him for that and did not kill him with those whom he killed on the Day of Fartanā.[604] ᶜĀmir b. Abī ᶜUmar claimed he heard the shaykhs of the Banū Tamīm alleging that it was two men of the Banū Mālik b. Saᶜd called ᶜAjalah and Kusayb who carried out the killing. Ibn Khāzim said, "How evil is that
[595] which Kusayb has acquired [*iktasaba*] for his people, and ᶜAjalah has hastened [*ᶜajjala*] a calamity on his people!"

According to ᶜAlī—Abū al-Dhayyāl Zuhayr b. Hunayd al-ᶜAdawī: When the Banū Tamīm had killed Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim, they returned to Marw. Bukayr b. Wishāḥ went in pursuit of them and caught up with and killed a man of the Banū ᶜUṭārid called Shumaykh. Shammās and his companions reached Marw, where they said to the Banū Saᶜd, "We have taken your revenge for you. We have killed Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim for the man of the Banū Jusham[605] who was struck down at Marw." Then they agreed to fight Ibn Khāzim and appointed al-Ḥarīsh b. Hilāl al-Qurayᶜī to lead them.

(Zuhayr): Abū al-Fawāris told me from Ṭufayl b. Mirdās: Most of the Banū Tamīm agreed to fight against ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim.

(Zuhayr b. Hunayd): With al-Ḥarīsh there were warriors never surpassed; each of them a detachment on his own.

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604. See p. 179 below, and Ṭabarī, II, 695–700, for the siege of Fartanā (Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 868).
605. See p. 72 above.

Among them were Shammās b. Dithār, Baḥīr b. Warqā' al-Ṣarīmī, Shuᶜba b. Ẓahīr al-Nahshalī, Ward b. al-Falaq al-ᶜAnbarī, al-Ḥajjāj b. Nāshib al-ᶜAdawī, who was one of the best marksmen among them, and ᶜĀṣim b. Ḥabīb al-ᶜAdawī.[606] Al-Ḥarīsh b. Hilāl fought against ᶜAbdallāh b. Khāzim for two years.

When the fighting and the enmity had dragged on between them, they became vexed. Al-Ḥarīsh went out and called to [596] Ibn Khāzim, and the latter went out to him. Al-Ḥarīsh said, "The war has dragged on between us. What is the point of my people and yours being killed? Come out against me in single combat and, whichever one of us slays the other, the land is his." Ibn Khāzim answered, "By your father, you have offered me a fair deal!" He came out against him and they skirmished with one another like a pair of stallions, neither of them managing to achieve what he wanted, but Ibn Khāzim showed a lapse of concentration and al-Ḥarīsh hit at his head and butted him in the face with the top of his head. The stirrups of al-Ḥarīsh snapped and he drew his sword. Ibn Khāzim clung on to the neck of his horse, heading back to his men with a blow inflicted by the head of al-Ḥarīsh. Next day, the fighting between the two sides began again and continued for some days after the blow (received by Ibn Khāzim). Then the two sides grew weary and split into three factions.

Baḥīr b. Warqā' went to Abrashahr[607] with a band (of followers), Shammās b. Dithār al-ᶜUṭāridī headed for another district (it is said that he went to Sijistān), and ᶜUthmān b. Bishr b. al-Muḥtafiz[608] betook himself to Fartanā and took up residence in a fortress there. Al-Ḥarīsh went to the district of Marw al-Rūdh, where Ibn Khāzim pursued him. He caught up with him at one of its settlements called Qaryat al-Malḥama or Qaṣr al-Malḥama.[609] Al-Ḥarīsh b. Hilāl had twelve men with him, for his followers had left him, and they were

606. These are all champions of Tamīm; for Baḥīr b. Warqā' al-Ṣarīmī (which seems more likely than the text's Ṣuraymī), see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 420–3; for the groups Ṣarīm, Nahshal, ᶜAnbar and ᶜAdawiyah of Tamīm, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, tables 76, 60, 81 and 68, 59.

607. I.e., Nīshāpūr (see Le Strange, *Eastern caliphate*, 383f.).

608. Of the Banū Muzaynah (see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 88).

609. See *Add. et emend.*, which suggest the subsequent verses point to the name Qaṣr al-Milḥ.

in a ruined place where he had erected spears which he had with him and shields. Ibn Khāzim reached him and al-Ḥarīsh went out to him with his companions.

With Ibn Khāzim there was a mawlā of his who was very brave. He attacked al-Ḥarīsh and struck him, but al-Ḥarīsh did nothing. A man of the Banū Ḍabbah said to al-Ḥarīsh, "Do you not see what the slave is doing?" but al-Ḥarīsh [597] answered, "He is very well armed and my sword will be of no avail against his weapons, but find me a heavy piece of wood." So the man cut a heavy staff for him from a jujube tree (it is also said that he found it in the fortress) and gave it to him. With it, he then attacked and struck at the mawlā of Ibn Khāzim, who fell mortally wounded.

Next he went toward Ibn Khāzim and said, "What is it you want with me, when I have left the province to you?" He replied, "But you will return to it." Al-Ḥarīsh said, "I will not return." Then he made peace with him on condition that al-Ḥarīsh would leave Khurāsān for him and would not resume fighting against him, and Ibn Khāzim gave him 40,000 dirhams. Al-Ḥarīsh opened the gate of the fortress to him, and Ibn Khāzim entered and gave him gifts and undertook to clear his debts, and they talked together for a long time. The cotton cloth which was fixed on the head wound given Ibn Khāzim by al-Ḥarīsh flew off. Al-Ḥarīsh got up, picked it up, and put it back on his head. Ibn Khāzim said to him, "Your touch today is more gentle than your touch yesterday, Oh Abū Qudāmah!" He answered, "I excuse myself to God and to you. By God, if my stirrups had not snapped, the sword would have made a fine mess of your molars!" Ibn Khāzim laughed and departed from him, and the band of Tamīm broke up.

One of the poets of Tamīm said about that:

If you had been like al-Ḥarīsh, you would have been resolute,
and you would have been the best of the warriors in the fortress of al-Milḥ;
Then you would have given Ibn Khāzim to drink with lamentations
a bowl of blood which would have left long evil thoughts for him.

Al-Ash^c^ath b. Dhu'ayb, brother of Zuhayr b. Dhu'ayb,[610] was killed in this war, and his brother Zuhayr said to him while still a spark of life remained, "Who killed you?" He answered, "I do not know. A man on a light brown nag stabbed me." Zuhayr then attacked every man whom he saw on a light brown nag. Some of them he killed, some of them fled. The men of the army shunned the light brown nags and they were left free in the army; no one would ride them.

Concerning the fighting against Ibn Khāzim, al-Ḥarīsh said:

Carrying the spear all night and all day [598]
has kept the bone of my right hand out of joint.
For two years my eyes have not closed at any resting place,
unless my fist made a pillow for me upon a stone.
My coat is of iron, and when night brings sleep,
my covering is the saddle[611] of a full-grown stallion.

610. See p. 73 above.
611. See, however, *Gloss.*, s.v. *mijall*, suggesting the reading *maḥal*, "vertebrae, dorsum."

The Events of the Year 66

(August 8, 685–July 27, 686)

Among the events of this year was the rising of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ᶜUbayd in al-Kūfah seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and his expulsion of Ibn al-Zubayr's governor, ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ al-ᶜAdawī, from the town.

Al-Mukhtār's Revolutionary Movement in al-Kūfah and His Appeal to the Shīᶜah There

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj—ᶜAbīdah b. ᶜAmr and Ismāᶜīl b. Kathīr of the Banū Hind:[612] When Sulaymān b. Ṣurad's followers arrived back in al-Kūfah, al-Mukhtār wrote to them:

> Now, may God increase your reward and lighten your burden in exchange for your separation from the un-
> [599] righteous [*al-qāsiṭīn*] and your *jihād* against the profaners of His law [*al-muḥillīn*]! There was no expense

612. See pp. 105ff. above and n. 425; for the following, cf. Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*, 74ff; Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 98–102; cf. the account of J.O. Blichfeldt, *Early Mahdism*, 122ff.

in which you shared, no difficult path which you followed, and no step which you took, but that God has given you a higher place in the hereafter in reward for it and inscribed for you in recompense blessings which only God can number because they are so many. Rejoice! If I had come out to you, I would, with God's permission, have unsheathed my sword against your enemies everywhere from the rising to the setting of the sun, and I would, with God's permission, have made a pile of them, and I would have slain them as individuals and pairs. May God welcome those of you who have drawn near to Him and been rightly guided, and may He only dismiss those who disobey and reject His commands! Peace be with you, Oh people of right guidance!

Sīḥān b. ᶜAmr of the Banū Layth of the Banū ᶜAbd al-Qays[613] brought them this letter, which he had put in the lining of his cap.[614] He brought the letter to Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād, al-Muthannā b. Mukharribah al-ᶜAbdī, Saᶜd b. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān, Yazīd b. Anas,[615] Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ al-Aḥmasī,[616] ᶜAbdallāh b. Shaddād al-Bajalī and ᶜAbdallāh b. Kāmil.[617] He read it to them, and in reply they sent Ibn Kāmil to al-Mukhtār, telling him to say, "We have read your letter and our position is whatever pleases you. If you want us to come to you and get you out, we will do so." Ibn Kāmil went to him, entered upon him in the prison, and reported to him what he had been sent to say to him. Al-Mukhtār was pleased with the assent of the Shīᶜah to him and he answered them, "You do not want to do this. I will get out in a few days."

Al-Mukhtār had sent a slave lad of his called Zirbiyyā to ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and had written to him, "I [600]

613. This seems to be the only reference to him (for the Banū Layth b. Ḥudād of ᶜAbd al-Qays, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 170).

614. Ar. *qalansūwa*, a tall Persian headpiece (Dozy, *Vêtements*, s.v.).

615. On him, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 593, Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 190–1 (of Asad b. Khuzaymah of Khindif).

616. For the Banū Aḥmas b. Ghawth of the Banū Bajīlah, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, I, table 223.

617. On him, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 113; he belonged to the Banū Shākir b. Rabīᶜah of Jusham/Hamdān (ibid., I, table 230).

have been unjustly imprisoned and the authorities hold false suspicions of me. Write on my behalf, may God have mercy on you, a courteous letter to these two evil doers.[618] Perhaps God will deliver me from their hands through your good will, your blessedness, and your favor. Peace be with you!" In response, ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜUmar wrote to the two of them, "Now, you know the marriage ties which exist between me and al-Mukhtār b. Abī ᶜUbayd and you know the love which there is between me and the two of you. I implore you, by the ties of obligation which bind me and you two, that you release him when you have looked into this letter of mine. Peace be with you and may God have mercy on you!" When ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜUmar's letter reached ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah, they called for guarantors for al-Mukhtār who would stand surety for his person. Many of his supporters came to him, and Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd b. Ruwaym said to ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd, "What are you doing with all of these as guarantors? Let ten of them who are well-known notables guarantee him, and let the rest of them go." And he did so.

After they had stood surety for him, ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah summoned him and made him swear before God, other than whom there is no god, He who knows what is hidden and what is seen, the Merciful and the Compassionate, that he had no intention of any mischief against them and that he would not rebel against them so long as they had authority. If he did, he would have to sacrifice 1,000 head of livestock before the door of the Kaᶜbah and all of his slaves, male and female, would be emancipated. He swore to them on those terms and then departed, went to his house and abode there.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yaḥyā b. Abī ᶜĪsā—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: Afterward, I heard al-Mukhtār saying, "God damn them! How stupid they are if they think I will fulfill these vows of theirs. As for my swearing to them before God, if I have taken an oath and I see a greater good, then I must
[601] abandon what I have sworn and bring about the greater good,

618. I.e., ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah.

and expiate my oath. That I should rebel against them is a greater good than that I should desist from it, and I will expiate my oath. As for offering a thousand head of livestock, it is easier for me than spitting. Should the cost of a thousand head of livestock worry me? As for the freeing of my slaves, I wish it would give me success in my affair and then I would never own a slave again!"

When al-Mukhtār took up residence in his house at the time of his coming out of prison, the Shīᶜah frequently visited him, were unanimous in accepting him and were satisfied with him. Those who took the oath of allegiance for him while he was in prison were five men, al-Sā'ib b. Mālik al-Ashᶜarī,[619] Yazīd b. Anas, Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ, Rifāᶜah b. Shaddād al-Fityānī and ᶜAbdallāh b. Shaddād al-Jushamī. The number of his supporters continued to increase and his authority to strengthen and grow stronger until Ibn al-Zubayr removed ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah from office and sent ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ to al-Kūfah to take over their function.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ṣaqᶜab b. Zuhayr—ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām: Ibn al-Zubayr summoned ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ, the brother of the Banū ᶜAdī b. Kaᶜb,[620] and al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīᶜah al-Makhzūmī. He sent ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ over al-Kūfah and al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīᶜah over al-Baṣrah. News of that reached Baḥīr b. Raysān al-Ḥimyarī,[621] who met them and said, "Oh you two, tonight the moon is in al-Nāṭiḥ,[622] so do not go." As for Ibn Abī Rabīᶜah, he complied with his advice, remained [602]
a short while, then left to take up his office and had no trouble. As for ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ, he answered him, "Do we seek anything but thrusting [*al-naṭḥ*]?" And, by God, he met thrusting and being laid low [*naṭḥ*ᵃⁿ *wa-baṭḥ*ᵃⁿ]. ᶜUmar (b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām) said, "Misfortune matches words."

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619. On him, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 499, and, for the Banū Ashᶜar b. Udad (of Yemen), ibid., I, table 273.

620. For the Banū ᶜAdī b. Kaᶜb of Quraysh, see Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 346ff.

621. Apparently a former governor of the Yemen for Yazīd (Ṭabarī, II, 277).

622. I.e., star β in the second horn of Aries (the Ram), a bad omen.

ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām: ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān heard that Ibn al-Zubayr had sent officials out over his dominions, and he asked whom he had sent over al-Baṣrah. He was told, "He has sent al-Ḥārith b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīᶜah over it," and ᶜAbd al-Malik said, "There is no freeman in the wādī of ᶜAwf. He has sent ᶜAwf and he has sat down."[623] Then he said, "And whom did he send over al-Kūfah?" and they said, "ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ." ᶜAbd al-Malik said, "A brave man who has fallen many a time, and a valiant one, how he hates fleeing!" Then he asked, "Whom has he sent over Medina?" and was told, "He has sent his brother Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr." He said, "That is the raging lion. He is the real man of his family."

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf: ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ arrived in al-Kūfah in Ramaḍān of the year 65, on a Thursday when five days were left of the month of Ramaḍān (i.e. Thursday, May 4, 685). He said to ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd, "If you want to stay here with me, I shall value your companionship and treat you generously. But if you join the Commander of the Faithful ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, then he and those of the Muslims who accept him owe you a favor." To Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah he said, "Get yourself to the Commander of the Faithful!" Ibrāhīm departed and arrived in Medina, and he failed to deliver the full amount of the tax [*kharāj*] to Ibn al-Zubayr saying, "It was no more than a state of turmoil and disorder [*fitnah*]." But Ibn al-Zubayr took no action against him.

Ibn Muṭīᶜ remained governing al-Kūfah, controlling both prayer and taxation. He dispatched Iyās b. Muḍārib al-ᶜIjlī[624]
[603] to command his troop of police, ordering him to act in an exemplary manner and to come down hard on any suspicious behavior.

According to Abū Mikhnaf: Ḥaṣīrah b. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Durayd al-Azdī, who lived at that time and witnessed the

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623. See Freytag, *Proverbia*, II, 531, 831, for variant explanations of the first part of the proverb (only the first part is given in *Ansāb*, V, 277). The significance of ᶜAbd al-Malik's use of it here, however, is not clear to me.

624. ᶜIjl are a subgroup of Bakr. See *Add. et emend.* for variant readings of Iyās's patronym.

killing of Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr, told me: I was present in the mosque where ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ arrived. He went up on the *minbar*, praised God and extolled Him, and said:

> Now, the Commander of the Faithful, ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, has sent me to govern your garrison town and your border regions. He has ordered me to levy the income due to you from the lands which you have conquered [*fay'akum*] and not to remove the surplus of that income away from you without your approval, (and to comply with) the dispositions which ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb made at the time of his death and the manner of conduct which ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAffān pursued regarding the Muslims. Fear God and stand upright, and do not fall into dispute or rely on the aid of the ignorant ones among you. Otherwise, blame yourselves and do not blame me! By God, I will surely come down hard on the rebellious miscreant and I will make straight the aversion of the doubting sneerer!

Al-Sā'ib b. Mālik al-Ashᶜarī arose before him and said:

> As for Ibn al-Zubayr's command to you not to take away the surplus of our income from our conquests without our approval, we bear witness before you that we do not consent to your taking the surplus of it away from us or to its being shared out other than among us; and we do not consent to any manner of conduct being followed among us other than that of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who provided us with an exemplary mode of doing things [*sīrah*] in this land of ours until his death, may God have mercy upon him! We have no need for ᶜUthmān's mode of conduct [*sīrah*] regarding our income from the conquered lands (*fay'*) or our selves, for it was only arbitrary and willful; and we have no need for the mode of conduct of ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb regarding our income from the conquered lands even if it was less injurious to us (than ᶜUthmān's) and he did not fail to achieve some good for the people.

[604] Yazīd b. Anas said, "Al-Sā'ib b. Mālik has spoken truly and honestly. Our view is like his and we say the same as he!" Ibn Muṭīᶜ answered, "We will act among you with any mode of conduct you wish or incline to." Then he stood down. Yazīd b. Anas al-Asadī said, "You have brought to an end the (loss of our) surplus, Oh Sā'ib, may the Muslims never have to do without you! By God, I got to my feet and wanted to stand and speak to him in a similar vein, for I did not want God to entrust the refutation of him to any man of our garrison town who is not one of our party [*shīᶜah*]."

Iyās b. Muḍārib went to Ibn Muṭīᶜ and said, "Al-Sā'ib b. Mālik is one of the leaders of al-Mukhtār's supporters, and I do not trust al-Mukhtār. Send for him and let him come to you. When he does, confine him in your prison until the people's affairs are straightened out. My sources have come and told me that his enterprise is all set up for him and he has virtually come out in revolt in the garrison town." Ibn Muṭīᶜ sent to him, therefore, Zā'idah b. Qudāmah and Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Bursumī of Hamdān,[625] who entered in upon him and said, "Give answer to the governor!" He called for his robes, ordered that his mount be saddled and made a lot of fuss about getting ready to go with them. When Zā'idah b. Qudāmah saw that, he recited God's words, "When those who disbelieve plot against you to hold you fast, kill you or drive you out, they plot; but God plots too, and God is the best of plotters!"[626] Al-Mukhtār understood and he sat down and cast off his clothes and then said, "Throw a rug over me. I think I must be ill, for I am shivering violently." Then he cited the saying of ᶜAbd al-ᶜUzzā b. Ṣuhal al-Azdī:[627]

"When a group of people reject a call made to them,
and do not go to a misfortune, they are not afraid.

You two go back to Ibn Muṭīᶜ and tell him of the state I am in." Zā'idah b. Qudāmah said to him, "As for me, I will do

625. See Ṭabarī, II, 117: he was a member of Ziyād's *shurṭah* and was sent to summon Ḥujr b. ᶜAdī.
626. Qur'ān, 8:30.
627. Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 133.

so. You, Oh brother of Hamdān, ask pardon for me when we come to him, for that would be better for you." [605]

Abū Mikhnaf—Ismāᶜīl b. Nuᶜaym al-Hamdānī—Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbdallāh: I said to myself, "By God, if I do not give an account of this which is satisfactory to him, I will have no security that he will not triumph tomorrow and kill me!" So I said to Zā'idah, "Yes, I will beg pardon for you from Ibn Muṭīᶜ and I will tell him what you desire." Then we left al-Mukhtār's presence, and there we found his supporters waiting at his door and a great crowd of them in his house. We went towards Ibn Muṭīᶜ and I said to Zā'idah b. Qudāmah, "Indeed, I understood what you were saying when you recited that verse (of scripture) and I knew what you meant by it. I knew it was to stop him from leaving with us after he had put on his clothes and saddled his mount, and I knew when he cited that verse of poetry that he merely wanted to let you know that he had understood what you wanted him to understand and that he would not go to him." He denied that he had intended any of that, but I said to him, "Do not swear! By God, I am not going to report anything about you or him which the two of you would find offensive. I know that you feel concern for al-Mukhtār, feeling for him what a man feels for his cousin." So we came to Ibn Muṭīᶜ and told him about his illness and what he complained of. He believed us and what we said.

Al-Mukhtār sent for his supporters and began to gather them in the houses round about him, intending to revolt in al-Kūfah in Muḥarram (August, 685). One of his supporters of Shibām[628] came, a great noble called ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ,[629] and he met Saᶜīd b. Munqidh al-Thawrī,[630] Siᶜr b. Abī Siᶜr al-Ḥanafī, al-Aswad b. Jarād al-Kindī[631] and Qudāmah b. Mālik al-Jushamī.[632] They met together in the dwelling of

628. Shibām b. Asᶜad of Hamdān (ibid., II, 529).

629. A man with a history of support for ᶜAlid movements (Ṭabarī, I, 3411, II, 253, 257).

630. Of the Banū Hamdān.

631. Does not seem to be otherwise known.

632. This is Ṭabarī's only reference to him; from the Banū Jusham of Hamdān.

[606] Siᶜr al-Ḥanafī and Ibn Shurayḥ praised God and extolled Him, and then he said:

> Now, al-Mukhtār wishes to revolt and we have given him the oath of allegiance, but we do not know whether Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah sent him to us or not. Let us go to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah and inform him of what al-Mukhtār has come to us with, of what he is summoning us to. If he says it is permissible to follow al-Mukhtār, we will do so, but, if he forbids it, we will keep away from him. By God, nothing of this world must be preferred by us to the safety of our religion.

They answered him, "God has guided you. You are right and correct. Lead us off if you wish." And they all agreed to set out on that day and did so, joining Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, with ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ as their leader [*imām*]. When they came to him, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah asked them about the circumstances of the people, and they told him about their state and what they were doing.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Khalīfah b. Warqā'—al-Aswad b. Jarād al-Kindī: We said to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, "We need to ask you something." "Is it a secret or a public thing?" he asked. "Indeed, no, it is a secret" we said. He replied, "Do not rush, then." We waited a short while and then he moved off to one side and called us, and we stood before him. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ began and spoke. He praised God and extolled Him, and then he said:

> Now, you are a family which God has singled out for virtue and ennobled with prophethood. He has made recognition of your legitimacy as leaders of this community a grave matter, and only those whose reason has been duped and whose share (in the hereafter) has been diminished are ignorant of your rights. You have been afflicted by (the killing of) Ḥusayn, may God have mercy on him, an affliction most sore, by which He has singled you out and by which the Muslims were enveloped.[633] Al-Mukhtār b. Abī ᶜUbayd has come to

633. Cf. the reading of the Cairo text.

> us claiming he has come from you, and has summoned us to the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet, seeking vengeance for the blood of the Family, and protection of the weak. We have given him the oath [607] of allegiance on those terms. But then we considered that we should come to you and tell you what he has summoned us to and charged us with. If you tell us to follow him, we will do so, and, if you forbid us to join him, we will keep clear of him.

Then we all spoke one by one as our companion had spoken, and Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah listened to us until, when we had finished, he praised God and extolled Him, prayed for the Prophet, and then said:

> Now, concerning what you have said about the way God has singled us out in merit, "God imparts it to whomever He wishes, for God is possessed of great merit."[634] God be praised! And as for what you said about our affliction with the killing of Ḥusayn, that was ordained by Divine Wisdom;[635] it was an apocalyptic catastrophe [*malḥamah*] foreordained for him, it was an honor which God granted him by which the standing in the hereafter of a people who were with him has been exalted while others have been cast down. "God's command is carried out and God's command is preordained!"[636] Regarding what you have mentioned about the summons of he who has summoned you to seek vengeance for our blood, by God, I want God to aid us against our enemies by means of any of His creatures He wishes. This is what I say and I ask God's forgiveness for me and for you.

We left him, and we were saying, "He has given us permission. He has said, 'I want God to aid us against our enemies by means of any of His creatures He wishes.' If he had disapproved, he would have said, 'Do not do it!' "

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634. Cf. Qur'ān, 3:66–7, 57:21, 29, 62:4.
635. Ar. *al-dhikr al-ḥakīm*, often an epithet for the Qur'ān.
636. Cf. Qur'ān, 33:37–8.

We went back and some of the Party, those of our brethren we had told of our departure and apprised of our feelings and who shared our views, were awaiting our return. Al-Mukhtār had heard about our departure and it troubled him, for he feared that we would bring him an order which would cause
[608] the Party to abandon him. He had wanted to bring them out in revolt before we got back, but that was not possible for him. He had been saying, "A few of you have wavered, vacillated and been disappointed. If they get what they want, they will draw near and repent, but, if they fail, are afraid, hinder and are dispelled, they will perish and fail."

Within a month or so, the party arrived back on their camels and went in to al-Mukhtār before going in to their stopping place. He asked them, "What is the news where you have come from? You have been tested and you have wavered." They answered, "We were told to help you!" Al-Mukhtār said, "God is most great! I am Abū Isḥāq! Assemble the Party before me!" Those who were at hand were assembled and he said, "Oh people of the Party, a group of you wanted to learn confirmation of what I have brought. They went to the *imām* of guidance, the acceptable noble one, the son of a better than Ṭashy and Mashy[637] except for the Prophet, the chosen one. They asked him about that with which I came to you and he told them that I am his *wazīr* and his helper, his messenger and his friend, and he ordered you to follow and obey me in that to which I summon you concerning fighting against the profaners of God's law and seeking vengeance for the blood of the chosen ones of the family of your Prophet."

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ then rose to his feet, praised God and extolled Him, and said, "Now, Oh people of the Party, we wanted to obtain verification for ourselves in particular and for all of our brethren in general. We went to the rightly guided one [*al-mahdī*],[638] the son of ᶜAlī, and we questioned him about this war of ours and about that to which al-Mukhtār summons us, and he told us to help him and assist

637. The meaning of this phrase, if it has one, is very obscure (see *Gloss.* s.v. *ṭashy*).
638. See above, n. 395.

him and to respond to that to which he summoned us. We have returned with light spirits and glad hearts, from which God has driven all doubt, distaste and vacillation, and our minds are settled on fighting against our enemies. Let those [609] of you who are here tell those of you who are absent about that! And prepare and make ready!"

He sat down while we got to our feet one after the other and spoke in the same vein. And the Party united around al-Mukhtār and was favorably disposed to him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Waᶜlah and (al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ᶜAbdallāh) al-Mashriqī—ᶜĀmir al-Shaᶜbī:[639] My father and I were the first to respond to al-Mukhtār.

When his plans had been laid and the time for his revolt drew near, Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ, Yazīd b. Anas, ᶜAbdallāh b. Kāmil and ᶜAbdallāh b. Shaddād said to him, "The notables [*ashrāf*] of al-Kūfah have decided to side with Ibn Muṭīᶜ in opposing you, but, if we agree that Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar[640] should have our command, we might hope, with God's permission, for more strength against our enemies and that those who oppose us will not harm us. He is a valiant young man and the son of a noble and renowned man, and his clan is mighty and numerous." Al-Mukhtār answered them, "Go to him and summon him, and tell him what we are commanded in seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn and his family."

Al-Shaᶜbī: They went off to Ibn al-Ashtar, and my father and I with them. Yazīd b. Anas spoke for them and said, "We have come to you about something we wish to put before you and call you to. If you accept it, it will be beneficial for you; if you reject it, then we have brought you sincere advice about it and we should like you to keep it secret." Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar answered them, "For someone like me, there cannot worry him either evil aimed at him, or slander directed at him, or calumny against him by the people seeking favor with those in authority over him. Those are only little things

639. A famous Kūfan traditionist and jurist (d. *ca.* 104/722); see *EI*[1], s.v.

640. Son of a leading supporter of ᶜAlī, and leader of Madhḥij in al-Kūfah (see *EI*[2], s.v. Ibrāhīm b. Mālik).

of insubstantial importance." Yazīd said to him, "All we are summoning you to is the undertaking upon which the opinions of the assembly of the Party have agreed: to the Book of God
[610] and the Sunnah of His Prophet, and to seeking vengeance for the blood of the Family, fighting against the violators of God's law, and defense of the weak."

Then Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ spoke, saying to him, "I am a sincere adviser to you and desirous of your prosperity. Your father, who was a sayyid, has died, but in you there is a successor to him, if you protect the rights of God. We have summoned you to an undertaking and, if you respond to us, the position of your father among the people will revert to you and you will restore something of it which has passed away. Only a small effort is enough for someone like you to reach the utmost goal. The foundations have already been laid for you." Aḥmar strove in his arguments, and all of the group approached Ibn al-Ashtar, appealing to him to join their undertaking and inciting him to it.

He said to them, "I have decided to respond to that to which you summon me regarding seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn and his family, on the condition that you give me charge over the business." They answered, "You are worthy of that, but there is no way we can agree to it, for this al-Mukhtār has come to us from the *mahdī*, and he is his messenger and charged with commanding the fighting. We have been told to obey him." Ibn al-Ashtar remained silent and did not answer them, and we left him and went back to al-Mukhtār, whom we told about the answer Ibn al-Ashtar had made to us.

Three days passed and then al-Mukhtār summoned about ten of the foremost of his supporters. (Al-Shaᶜbī said that he and his father were among them.) He set off with us, going ahead of us and passing between the houses of al-Kūfah with us so that we did not know where he was aiming for, until finally he stopped at the door of Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar. We asked if we could enter upon him and Ibn al-Ashtar gave us permission. Cushions were thrown down for us and we sat on them, while al-Mukhtār sat with him on his couch.

Al-Mukhtār said:

> Praise be to God, and I testify that there is no god but God! May He bless Muḥammad and grant him salvation! Now, this is a letter to you from the *mahdī*, Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful, the Legatee. Today he is the best of the people on earth and the son of the best of the people on the whole of the earth previously, apart from God's prophets and messengers. He asks you to help and support us. If you do, you will be happy; if you do not, then this letter will be a testimony against you and God will suffice the *mahdī* Muḥammad and his friends without any help from you. [611]

Al-Shaʿbī: Al-Mukhtār had handed the letter to me when he left his house, and when he had finished speaking now he said to me, "Give him the letter!" and I gave it to him. Ibn al-Ashtar called for a lamp, broke the seal and read it. This is what it said:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad the *mahdī* to Ibrāhīm b. Mālik al-Ashtar, greetings! I praise God, other than whom there is no god, before you. Now, I have sent to you my *wazīr*, my trustee, my choice one, with whom I am pleased for myself. I have ordered him to fight my enemies and seek vengeance for the blood of my family. With him arouse yourself, your clan and those who obey you. If you help me, respond to my call, and assist my *wazīr*, you will obtain merit with me in recompense as well as the reins of the horses and every raiding army and every garrison town, *minbar* and border land which you conquer between al-Kūfah and the farthest part of the land of the Syrians on fulfilling that in the covenant of God. If you do that, you will obtain by it the highest mark of honor with God; but, if you refuse, you will experience a destruction from which you can never ask to be released. Peace be with you!

When Ibrāhīm had finished reading the letter, he said, "Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah has written to me, but whenever I wrote to him

[612] previously he only wrote to me using his personal name and his patronym." Al-Mukhtār said to him, "Well, that was then but now is now." Ibrāhīm asked, "Who knows that this is a letter from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah to me?" and al-Mukhtār said, "Yazīd b. Anas and Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ and ᶜAbdallāh b. Kāmil and a whole group of them." [Al-Shaᶜbī said: But not my father and me!] And they said, "We testify that this is the letter of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah to you." At that, Ibrāhīm moved away from the center of the couch and caused al-Mukhtār to sit on it, saying to him, "Hold out your hand and I will give you the oath of allegiance and then he called for fruit, which we took, and he called for honeyed beverage which we drank. Afterward, we rose and Ibn al-Ashtar departed with us, riding with al-Mukhtār until he went in to his dwelling. Then when Ibrāhīm returned to his own dwelling, he took my hand and said, "Come back with me, Oh Shaᶜbī."

I went back with him and we went on until we entered his dwelling, when he said, "Oh Shaᶜbī, I have observed that neither you nor your father testified with the others. Do you think that they testified truthfully?" I answered him, "They testified as you saw, and they are the lords of the *qurrā'*,[641] the elders of the garrison town and the champions of the Arabs. I do not think that men like them would speak other than truthfully." I said these words to him even though, by God, I was suspicious of their testimony. Nevertheless, the revolt was pleasing to me and I shared the view of the people and wished for the carrying through of that business, so I did not reveal to him what was in my mind. Then Ibn al-Ashtar said to me, "Write down for me their names for I do not know all of them." And he called for a sheet to write on and an inkwell and wrote on it:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate, this is what there bore witness to al-Sā'ib b. Mālik al-Ashᶜarī, Yazīd b. Anas al-Asadī, Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ al-

641. The derivation and meaning of this term have been debated. Traditionally it has been understood as referring to pietists among the early Muslims who memorized the text of the Qur'ān; but see *EI*², s.v. Ḳurrā', and cf. J. Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu*, 69.

Aḥmasī, Mālik b. ᶜAmr al-Nahdī[642] . . . until he had completed the names of the whole group, and then he wrote: They have testified that Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥanafiyyah wrote to Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar asking him to aid al-Mukhtār and assist him in fighting against the profaners of God's law and in seeking vengeance for the blood of the family. And there testified in favor of these men who bore this witness Sharāḥīl b. ᶜAbd, who is Abū ᶜĀmir al-Shaᶜbī the jurisprudent [*al-faqīh*],[643] ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Nakhaᶜī,[644] and ᶜĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaᶜbī. [613]

I said to him, "What will you do with this, may God have mercy on you?" but he said, "Leave it be!" Then he summoned his clan, his brethren and those who obeyed him, and he began to visit al-Mukhtār frequently.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—Yaḥyā b. Abī ᶜĪsā al-Azdī: Ḥumayd b. Muslim al-Azdī[645] was a confidant of Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar, who used to visit him frequently and go around with him. Ibrāhīm used to go off every evening at dusk, visit al-Mukhtār and stay with him until the stars were out. They remained like that, organizing their affairs until they had agreed they would revolt on Thursday night, the fourteenth of Rabīᶜ I, 66,[646] and they got their party (*shīᶜah*) and those who responded to them ready for that.

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642. For the Banū Nahd b. Zayd, a Yemenī clan, see Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 443.

643. The father of al-Shaᶜbī the narrator.

644. This seems to be the uterine brother of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, whose clan within Madhḥij was the Banū Nakhaᶜ (see Ṭabarī, II, 709).

645. Text has al-Asadī, but presumably this is the same Ḥumayd b. Muslim al-Azdī who is often cited as a source by Abū Mikhnaf.

646. Since much of the subsequent action takes place at night, the provision of equivalent A.D. dates presents a problem. The day according to the Hijrī (Muslim) calendar lasts for 24 hours from sunset to sunset. Hence expressions such as *laylat al-khamīs*, which, translated literally, would mean "Thursday night," may in fact indicate the previous night, in this case Wednesday–Thursday according to the A.D. calendar. Thursday 14 Rabīᶜ I 66 = Thursday, October 19, 685, but, since the night is specified, it may be that we should envisage the night of Wednesday, October 18.

About sunset, Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar arose and had the call to prayer made. Then he went forward and led us in the sunset prayer and afterward, after sunset, went out with us when you say, "Your brother or the wolf?"[647] He was heading for
[614] al-Mukhtār and we proceeded, bearing our weapons. But Iyās b. Muḍārib had gone to ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ and told him, "Al-Mukhtār is going to come out against you tonight or tomorrow night." So Iyās came out with the men of the police force and sent his son Rashīd to al-Kunāsah[648] while he himself began to go around the market with the police force. Then Iyās b. Muḍārib went in to Ibn Muṭīᶜ and said to him, "I have sent my son to al-Kunāsah, and if I had sent one of your men into every *jabbānah* in al-Kūfah, together with a band of loyal men, the mischief makers would fear to come out against you."

Ibn Muṭīᶜ sent ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saᶜīd b. Qays[649] to the *jabbānah* of al-Sabīᶜ,[650] and said to him, "Guard me against your people. I shall not be approached from your direction. Direct the affairs of the *jabbānah* to which I have sent you. Indeed, nothing untoward shall occur there. They are weak and feeble."

He sent Kaᶜb b. Abī Kaᶜb b. al-Khathᶜamī[651] to the *jabbānah* of Bishr, Zahr b. Qays[652] to the *jabbānah* of Kindah, Shamir b. Dhī Jawshan[653] to the *jabbānah* of Sālim, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf b. Sulaym[654] to the *jabbānah* of al-Ṣāᶜidiyyīn, and Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ruwaym Abū Ḥawshab to the *jabbānah*

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647. See p. 16 above.

648. Originally the rubbish heap, west of the town, it had become a district with an important market, (*EI*², s.v. al-Kūfa, 347a).

649. Of Hamdān (Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, index).

650. The *jabbānah*s are prominent features in the topography of al-Kūfah. Possibly originally tribal cemeteries (cf. the Jabbān of al-Baṣrah, n. 142 above), they became focuses of tribal life and may perhaps be envisaged as public squares (see *EI*², s.v. al-Kūfah, loc. cit.)

651. For the Banū Khathᶜam, see *EI*², s.v.

652. Zahr b. Qays al-Juᶜfī of Madhḥij (Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, index) is said to have carried the head of al-Ḥusayn to Yazīd for ᶜUbaydallāh b. Ziyād (Ṭabarī, II, 374).

653. Of the Banū Kilāb (Qays), he was one of the leaders of the forces which killed al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā' (see Jafri, *Shīᶜa Islam*, 187, 189–91).

654. One of the leaders of Azd in al-Kūfah.

of Murād. He charged each of them to supervise his own people for him, that he should not be approached from that direction, and that he control the affairs of the area he was sending him to. He also sent Shabath b. Ribᶜī to al-Sabakhah,[655] telling him, "When you hear the shouts of the rebels, head towards them."

Those people had gone off on the Monday and occupied those *jabbānah*s. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar left his halting place [615] after sunset, intending to go to al-Mukhtār. He had heard that the *jabbānah*s were full of men and that the men of the police force had surrounded the market and the governor's residence.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yaḥyā b. Abī ᶜĪsā—Ḥumayd b. Muslim: On Tuesday (i.e. the night of Monday–Tuesday) night after sunset, I went out with Ibrāhīm from his residence and we passed ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth's house. With Ibn al-Ashtar, we were a detachment of about a hundred. We were wearing mail covered by *qabā'*s[656] and our swords. We had no weapons other than the swords on our shoulders and we had concealed the mail beneath our *qabā'*s. When we had gone by the house [*dār*] of Saᶜīd b. Qays,[657] and we had passed it going toward the house of Usāmah,[658] we said, "Lead us to the house of Khālid b. ᶜUrfuṭah,[659] then go on with us to Bajīlah, and let us go through their houses so we eventually emerge at the house of al-Mukhtār."

Ibrāhīm was a valiant and raw young man and had no objection to a confrontation with Ibn Muṭīᶜ's men, and he said, "By God, I will go past the house of ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth toward the side of the governor's residence in the middle of the market. I will frighten our enemy by it and I will show them how insignificant we consider them." We took the di-

655. On the northeastern side of the town: see the map of Massignon, "Kūfa," *Opera minora*, III, 36.

656. For the *qabā'*, see n. 162 above.

657. Saᶜīd b. Qays al-Hamdānī al-Sabīᶜī took part in the conquest of Iraq and was one of the first settlers at al-Kūfah. Here and subsequently, *dār* may mean some sort of residential complex rather than merely "house."

658. Presumably the Companion of the Prophet, Usāmah b. Zayd b. Ḥārithah, to whom ᶜUthmān is said to have granted estates near al-Kūfah.

659. Khālid b. ᶜUrfuṭah al-ᶜUdhrī, another participant in the conquest of Iraq who was given estates near al-Kūfah.

rection of Bāb al-Fīl by the house of Habbār.[660] Then he took the left-hand side of the house of ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth so that, when we had passed it, we found Iyās b. Muḍārib with his police with weapons displayed. He said to us, "Who are you and what are you?" and Ibrāhīm answered him, "I am Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar." Ibn Muḍārib said to him, "What is this troop with you and what do you want? By God, you are intent on mischief and I have heard that you come this way every evening. I will not let you pass before I have been with you to the governor and he makes up his mind about you." But Ibrāhīm said, "Damned bastard![661] Get out of our way!" He replied, "Never! By God, I will not."

With Iyās b. Muḍārib there was a man of Hamdān called
[616] Abū Qaṭan, who had had authority in the police force and they respected him and liked him. He was a confidant of Ibn al-Ashtar, who said to him, "Oh Abū Qaṭan, draw close to me." Abū Qaṭan had a long spear of his with him, and he came close with the spear, thinking that Ibn al-Ashtar wanted him to intercede for him with Ibn al-Muḍārib so that he would let them go on. But Ibrāhīm said, seizing the spear from him, "This spear of yours is very long!" and he attacked Ibn Muḍārib with it, stabbing him in the gullet [*fī thughrat naḥrihi*] and bringing him to the ground. He said to one of his men, "Get down and cut off his head!" He did so and Ibn Muḍārib's men scattered and fled back to Ibn Muṭīᶜ. Then Ibn Muṭīᶜ sent Iyās b. Muḍārib's son, Rāshid b. Iyās, to command the police force in place of his father, and he sent Suwayd b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Minqarī, the father of Qaᶜqāᶜ b. Suwayd,[662] to al-Kunāsah in place of Rāshid b. Iyās on that night.

Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar came to al-Mukhtār on Wednesday night (i.e. the night of Tuesday–Wednesday) and went in to him. He said to al-Mukhtār, "We have prepared the revolt for tomorrow, Thursday night (i.e. the night of Wednesday–Thursday), but something has happened which makes it

660. Read "the house of Ibn Habbār"; Ibn Habbār was also given estates by ᶜUthmān (Ṭabarī, I, 2376).

661. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *ghayr* for the form of this curse.

662. Crone, *Slaves*, 139.

inevitable that we begin the revolt tonight." Al-Mukhtār asked, "What is it?" and Ibn al-Ashtar said, "Iyās b. Muḍārib intercepted me on the road, aiming to detain me, or so he claimed. But I killed him and that is his head with my men at the gate." Al-Mukhtār said, "God has proclaimed good news to you! This is a propitious omen and, God willing, the first of our conquests." Then he said, "Arise, Oh Saᶜīd b. Munqidh, and kindle the fires among the brush piles and show them to the Muslims. And you, Oh ᶜAbdallāh b. Shaddād, arise and call out, 'Oh Manṣūr! Deal death!'[663] And you, Oh Sufyān b. Layl,[664] and you, Oh Qudāmah b. Mālik, arise and cry, 'Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn!' " Then he said, "Bring me my armor and my weapons!" They were brought and he began to don his weapons, saying:

A fair woman, a beauty at the camp's remains, [617]
With cheeks that are lucid and a firm backside, knows
that on the day of fear, I shall be a bold champion!

Then Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar said to al-Mukhtār, "Those leaders whom Ibn Muṭīᶜ stationed in the *jabbānah*s are preventing our brethren from joining us and are harassing them. If I were to go out with those of my men who are with me so I could reach my people, and all of my people who have given me the oath of allegiance could join me; and if I went with them around the districts of al-Kūfah proclaiming our slogan and those who wanted to join our revolt came out to me, and those of the people who could get to you; and if you kept those who got to you with those who are already with you and did not disperse them; then, if you are taken by surprise and attacked, you would have with you people who could defend you whilst I, if I had finished this task, could hasten to join you with horse and footsoldiers." Al-Mukhtār

663. This battle cry, subsequently used by the Hāshimiyyah, was allegedly used by the Prophet, (M. Sharon, *Black Banners from the East*, 176, n. 70); Lewis, "The regnal titles of the early ᶜAbbāsids," 16ff., argues that the messianic title al-Manṣūr (designating the forerunner rather than the Messiah himself) generally had a South Arabian connotation; see too, Goldziher, "Pinehas-Manṣûr," *ZDMG*, LVI (1902), 411-2.

664. This seems to be the only reference to him in Ṭabarī's *History*.

said, "In that case, hurry and make sure that you do not go to their governor to fight him, and do not fight anybody so long as you are able to avoid it. Remember what I have charged you with, unless anyone attacks you first."

Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, with the detachment with which he had come, left al-Mukhtār and went to his own people. Most of those who had given him the oath of allegiance and responded to him joined him. Then he went with them about the lanes of al-Kūfah for a large part of the night, all the time keeping clear of the lanes where the enemy commanders were, and going toward those who had with them the groups which Ibn Muṭīᶜ had stationed in the *jabbānah*s and the debouchments of important roads, until he came to the mosque of the Sakūn. Some of the horsemen of Zahr b. Qays al-Juᶜfī, who had no commander and no one in authority over them, rushed at him, and Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar and his men fought hard against them and defeated them until they entered the *jabbānah* of Kindah. Ibrāhīm said, "Who is in charge of the
[618] horsemen in the *jabbānah* of Kindah?" (He and his men pressed them hard, saying while doing so, "Oh God, you know that we are zealous for the family of your Prophet and seek vengeance for them. Give us aid against them and fulfill for us everything we ask for," until he and his men reached them, got in among them and defeated them.) He was told, "Zahr b. Qays," and he said, "Let us withdraw from them!" and they rode off in confusion. Whenever they came to an alley, a group of them went in and (the rest of them) left, continuing on.[665]

Then Ibrāhīm went off, continuing until he came to the *jabbānah* of Uthayr where he halted for a long time and called to his men with their battle cry. Suwayd b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Minqarī heard where they were, and hoped he would fall on them and thus win the favor of Ibn Muṭīᶜ. Ibn al-Ashtar knew nothing until they were there in the *jabbānah* with him, but when he saw that, he called to his men, "Oh cohort [*shurṭah*] of God, dismount! You are more deserving of God's help than these evil doers who have waded in the blood of

665. I suspect the text is disordered here.

the family of the Messenger of God." They dismounted, and Ibrāhīm fought hard against them and attacked them until he had driven them from the *ṣaḥrā'*.[666]

Suwayd's men turned in flight, jostling one another in confusion and blaming each other, and one of them said, "This is indeed something intended. They do not send any group to us but (Ibn al-Ashtar's men) defeat them."

They continued routing them until they had driven them into al-Kunāsah. Ibrāhīm's men said to him, "Pursue them and take advantage of the fear which has infected them. God knows whom we are calling the people to support and what we seek, and He knows whom they are calling the people to support and what they seek." But Ibrāhīm refused and said, "Come with me to our master so that God may give him security through us against his being left alone, that we may be apprised of his affairs and he too may know of our concern, and that he and his men may add strength and ardor to that which they have already. Furthermore, I do not feel sure he [619] may not have been attacked."

Ibrāhīm and his men proceeded, and came to the mosque of al-Ashᶜath,[667] where he halted for a short time. Then he went on until he came to the house of al-Mukhtār, where he found raised voices and the men engaged in battle. Shabath b. Ribᶜī had come from al-Sabakhah and al-Mukhtār had detailed Yazīd b. Anas to withstand him, and Ḥajjār b. Abjar al-ᶜIjlī[668] had come and al-Mukhtār had stationed Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ against him. The people were fighting when Ibrāhīm came from the direction of the governor's residence [*al-qaṣr*]. Ḥajjār and his men heard that Ibrāhīm had come against them from their rear, and they scattered before he could reach them and fled into the lanes and alleys.

Qays b. Ṭahfah[669] came with about a hundred men of the Banū Nahd of those who supported al-Mukhtār and attacked

666. A number of *ṣaḥrā'*s feature in the topography of al-Kūfah; their function and relationship to the *jabbānahs* is not clear (see *EI*², s.v. Kūfa).

667. Al-Ashᶜath b. Qays had been the chief of Kindah in al-Kūfah (see *EI*², s.v. al-Ashᶜath).

668. This notable of Bakr b. Wā'il had been among those who testified against Ḥujr b. ᶜAdī (Ṭabarī, II, 133).

669. According to the list in *Ansāb*, V, 219, this Qays had been one of the guarantors demanded for al-Mukhtār by ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah. For the Banū Nahd, see n. 642 above.

Shabath b. Ribᶜī, who was fighting against Yazīd b. Anas. (Yazīd) cleared the road for (Qays and his men) so they were able to join forces, and then Shabath b. Ribᶜī abandoned the lane to them and went off and joined Ibn Muṭīᶜ.

He said to Ibn Muṭīᶜ, "Send for the commanders of the squares and tell them to come to you, and assemble all your men and then rush upon this mob and fight them. Send somebody you trust against them, and may fighting them be enough, for their movement has strengthened and al-Mukhtār has come out in revolt and shown himself and their movement has been entrusted to him." When al-Mukhtār heard of the advice which Shabath b. Ribᶜī had given to Ibn Muṭīᶜ, he went forth with a group of his men and halted behind Dayr Hind in the vicinity of the garden of Zā'idah[670] in al-Sabakhah.

Abū ᶜUthmān al-Nahdī[671] went forth and gave the call among Shākir,[672] who were gathered together in their houses for fear of showing themselves in the *maydān* because of Kaᶜb b. Abī Kaᶜb al-Khathᶜamī's proximity to them. Kaᶜb was in the *jab-*
[620] *bānah* of Bishr. When he heard Shākir were coming out, he came forward and established himself in the *maydān*, barring the lanes and roads against them.

When Abū ᶜUthmān al-Nahdī came against (Kaᶜb and his men) with a group of his companions, he called out, "Revenge for al-Ḥusayn! Oh Manṣūr, deal death! Oh you clan of the rightly-guided, verily, the one given authority by the family of Muḥammad, and their *wazīr*, has come forth and stopped at Dayr Hind. He has sent me to you as a summoner and bringer of good tidings. Come out to join him, may God have mercy on you!" They came out of the houses, calling to one another, "Revenge for al-Ḥusayn!" and then attacked Kaᶜb b. Abī Kaᶜb until he opened the road for them, and they went to al-Mukhtār and waited with him in his camp.

ᶜAbdallāh b. Qurād al-Khathᶜamī came forth with a group of about two hundred of Khathᶜam and joined al-Mukhtār and waited with him in his camp. Kaᶜb b. Abī Kaᶜb had opposed

670. Bustān Zā'idah is mentioned at II, 960, in connection with the entry of Shabīb into al-Kūfah.

671. This man is often cited as a traditionist; see the general index.

672. The Banū Shākir b. Rabīᶜah of Hamdān (Caskel/Ibn Kalbī, II, 524).

him and drawn up battle lines against him, but when he recognized them and saw they were people of his own tribe, he let them pass and did not fight them.

Shibām came forth in the latter part of the night and they agreed to go to the *jabbānah* of Murād. When ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saᶜīd b. Qays heard that, he sent to them, saying, "If you wish to join al-Mukhtār, do not pass over the *jabbānah* of al-Sabīᶜ," and they joined al-Mukhtār. Of the 12,000 who had given him the oath of allegiance, 3,800 came to al-Mukhtār and joined with him before dawn broke. By morning, he had completed his preparations.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—(al-Ḥārith b. Kaᶜb) al-Wālibī: I and Ḥumayd b. Muslim and al-Nuᶜmān b. Abī al-Jaᶜd[673] went out to join al-Mukhtār on the night he began his revolt. We came to him in his house and went out with him where his army was. And, by God, dawn had not broken before he had completed his preparations. He came forward next morning [621] and led us in the prayer of daybreak while it was still dark. Then he recited (the Koranic surahs) "Those who draw out" and "He frowned and turned around,"[674] and we never heard an *imām* leading a people in prayer with a clearer tone than he.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥaṣīrah b. ᶜAbdallāh: Ibn Muṭīᶜ sent to the men of the *jabbānah*s and told them to gather in the mosque, and he said to Rāshid b. Iyās b. Muḍārib, "Call to the men and let them go to the mosque!" The crier proclaimed, "Anybody who is not present in the mosque tonight will be held liable," and the men all went to the mosque. When they had gathered, Ibn Muṭīᶜ sent Shabath b. Ribᶜī with about 3,000 men against al-Mukhtār, and he sent Rāshid b. Iyās with 4,000 of the men of the police force.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī—Abū Saᶜīd al-Ṣayqal:[675] When al-Mukhtār had conducted the morn-

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673. I am unable to identify al-Nuᶜman, cf. p. 210 below; for identification of al-Wālibī, see p. 208 below.

674. Qur'ān, sūrahs 79, 80 (both deal with eschatology and divine punishment of evil-doers in forceful and martial language).

675. Previously (I, 3423, 3429), this narrator has appeared as Abū Saᶜīd al-ᶜUqaylī; see pp. 207f. below for his status as a mawlā.

ing prayer and turned away, we heard voices raised somewhere between the Banū Sulaym and the lane of the Barīd.[676] Al-Mukhtār said, "Who will get us information about those; what are they?" and I said to him, "I will, may God preserve you!" Al-Mukhtār said, "In that case, throw down your sword and hurry so you can get in among them as if you were an onlooker, and then bring me news about them."

So I did that, and when I drew near them I saw that their muezzin was summoning to prayer. I came and drew nearer to them and I saw Shabath b. Ribᶜī. With him was a powerful troop of horse commanded by Shaybān b. Ḥurayth al-Ḍabbī,[677] while Shabath himself was among the footmen, of whom there was a large number. When their muezzin had called to prayer, Shabath went forward and conducted his men in the ritual prayer, reciting, "When the earth trembles with her quaking!"[678] I said to myself, "Indeed, by God, I hope that God
[622] will cause you to tremble!" And he recited, "By the chargers snorting!"[679] Some of his companions said to him, "If only you would recite two sūrahs longer than these two!" but Shabath replied, "You see the Daylamī's have pitched camp in your courtyard and yet you say, 'If only you would read sūrat al-Baqarah and Āl ᶜImrān!'"[680] There were three thousand of them.

I went on quickly and got back to al-Mukhtār and gave him the news about Shabath and his men. At the time I came to him, there came with me Siᶜr b. Abī Siᶜr al-Ḥanafī galloping from the direction of the Banū Murād. He was one of those who had given the oath of allegiance to al-Mukhtār, but had not been able to join him on the night when he began his revolt for fear of the guard. But in the morning he came on his horse and passed the square of Murād where Rāshid b. Iyās was. They said to him, "Stop, you![681] Who are you?" but

676. Massignon, "Kūfa," does not refer to this *sikkah*.
677. This seems to be the only appearance of this al-Ḍabbī.
678. Qur'ān, sūrah 99.
679. Qur'ān, sūrah 100.
680. "Daylamīs" (literally, men from Daylām, the province southwest of the Caspian) is often metaphoric for "fiends" (cf. "Turks," "Abyssinians"). Sūrat al-Baqarah and sūrat Āl ᶜImrān are the two longest sūrahs in the Qur'ān.
681. See, for this sense of *kamā anta*, *Gloss.*, s.v. *ka*.

he outpaced them and got to Mukhtār, to whom he reported on Rāshid while I reported on Shabath.

Al-Mukhtār dispatched Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar toward Rāshid b. Iyās with 900 men (it is also said: 600 horsemen and 600 footmen), and he sent Nuᶜaym b. Hubayrah,[682] the brother of Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah, with 300 horsemen and 600 footmen. He told them both, "Push on until you confront your enemy. When you meet them, dismount among the footmen, force the issue and attack them on foot, but do not leave yourselves open to them for they outnumber you, and do not come back to me until you have won the victory or been slain." Ibrāhīm set forth to meet Rāshid while al-Mukhtār sent Yazīd b. Anas forward ahead of him to the place of Shabath's mosque with 900 men. Nuᶜaym b. Hubayrah set off toward Shabath.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Saᶜīd al-Ṣayqal: I was one of those who set out with Nuᶜaym b. Hubayrah against Shabath, and Siᶜr b. Abī Siᶜr al-Ḥanafī was with me. When we came against him, we attacked fiercely. Nuᶜaym b. Hubayrah put Siᶜr b. Abī Siᶜr al-Ḥanafī in charge of the cavalry while he himself marched with the footsoldiers, and he fought them until the sun had risen and it was light. We fought them until we had driven them into their houses, and then Shabath b. Ribᶜī called out to them, "Oh warriors of wickedness! Wretched fighters for the truth are you! Do you flee from your slaves!" A group of them rallied to him and fought hard against us, and we were scattered and put to flight. Nuᶜaym b. Hubayrah stood resolute and patient and was killed, and Siᶜr stood with him and was made captive. I too was taken captive together with Khulayd the mawlā of Ḥassān b. Maḥdūj.[683] [623]

Shabath said to Khulayd, who was comely and physically huge, "Who are you?" and he replied, "Khulayd the mawlā of Ḥassān b. Maḥdūj al-Dhuhlī." Shabath said to him, "Oh son of a fishwife! You have given up the selling of fish at al-Kunāsah, and the recompense for him who freed you is that

682. Of the Banū Shaybān (Bakr b. Wā'il), he has a reputation as a "Shīᶜī" (Ṭabarī, I, 3441) while his brother, Maṣqalah, who had been governor for ᶜAlī over Ardashīr Khurrah, was one of the witnesses against Ḥujr b. ᶜAdī (ibid., I, 3439ff., II, 133).

683. For the name, see *Add. et emend.*

you assail him with your sword to flail at his shoulders! Cut off his head!" And he was slain. He saw Siᶜr al-Ḥanafī and recognized him, and he said to him, "(Are you a) brother of the Banū Ḥanīfah?" Siᶜr replied, "Yes!" Shabath said to him, "Woe unto you! What did you want in following this Saba'iyyah?[684] God has abhorred your point of view! Leave that one alone, men!"

I said to myself, "He killed the mawlā but left the Arab. By God, if he knows I am a mawlā, he will kill me!" When I was arraigned before him, therefore, he said, "Who are you?" and I answered, "I am from the Banū Taym Allāh." "Are you an Arab or a mawlā?" he asked. I replied, "Indeed no, I am an Arab from the family of Ziyād b. Khaṣafah."[685] "Good, good," he said, "you have mentioned the worthy noble man. Go and join your people." So I went on my way until I reached
[624] the Ḥamrā',[686] and I had shown ardor in the fighting against the enemy.

Then I came to al-Mukhtār and said to myself, "By God, surely I will go to my companions and assist them myself. May God consider a life apart from them as base!" I went to them, Siᶜr al-Ḥanafī having already reached them before me. The horsemen of Shabath advanced against Mukhtār and news of the killing of Nuᶜaym b. Hubayrah reached him, resulting in great concern among al-Mukhtār's men. I drew close to al-Mukhtār and informed him of what had happened to me, but he said, "Hush! This is not the place for talk."

Shabath came on until he had encircled al-Mukhtār and Yazīd b. Anas, and Ibn Muṭīᶜ sent Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ruwaym with two thousand men from the direction of the lane of the butcher Jarīr, and they waited at the entrances to these lanes. Al-Mukhtār put Yazīd b. Anas in charge of his cavalry while he himself went out in the infantry.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Kaᶜb al-Wālibī (Wālibah of the Azd): The horsemen of Shabath b. Ribᶜī at-

684. A polemical name for the supporters of ᶜAlī (see *EI*², s.v. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Saba').

685. Or Ziyādah b. Khaṣafah al-Taymī; see Caskel/Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 608.

686. Descendants of the Persian infantry who had joined the Arabs at the time of the conquest of Iraq.

tacked us twice, but no man of us moved from where he was. Yazīd b. Anas addressed us:

> Oh group of the Party [*yā maᶜshar al-shīᶜah*], you have been put to the slaughter, your hands and feet have been cut off, your eyes have been gouged out, and you have been hung on the trunks of palm trees in your love for the family of your Prophet. But you were remaining in your houses and in submission to your enemies. What do you think these people will do if they defeat you today? In that case, by God, they will not leave of you an eye to squint and, indeed, they will slaughter you patiently enduring. Indeed, you may expect of them a fate worse than death insofar as your offspring, your wives and your properties are concerned. By God, the only things which will save you from it will be uprighteousness, patience and endurance, accurate thrusting in their eyes, and effective blows[687] on their heads. Make ready to fight and prepare to attack. When I wave my banner twice, attack!

So we prepared and made ready, we rested on our knees and awaited his order. [625]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī: When Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar approached Rāshid b. Iyās, he went forward and came upon him in (the *jabbānah* of) Murād. He was surprised to see Rāshid had 4,000 men with him, but Ibrāhīm said to his men, "Do not let their number alarm you! By God, many a time one man is better than ten 'and many a time a band small in number has defeated a more numerous band with God's permission, and God is with the patiently enduring.' "[688] Then he said, "Oh Khuzaymah b. Naṣr,[689] go against them with the cavalry!" He dismounted and went on foot with the foot soldiers. His banner was with Muzāḥim b. Ṭufayl and Ibrāhīm started saying to him, "Go forward with your banner! Straight ahead, straight ahead!" The men did

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687. See *Add. et emend.* and *Gloss.*, s.v. *dirāk*.
688. Qur'ān, 2:250.
689. Of the Banū ᶜAbs b. Baghid of Ghaṭafān/Qays (Caskel/Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 135).

battle together and their fighting was fierce. Khuzaymah b. Naṣr al-ᶜAbsī caught sight of Rāshid b. Iyās, attacked and killed him. Then he called out, "I have killed Rāshid, by the Lord of the Kaᶜbah!" and Rāshid's men were put to flight.

After the killing of Rāshid, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, Khuzaymah b. Naṣr and those with them went toward al-Mukhtār, and Ibrāhīm sent al-Nuᶜmān b. Abī al-Jaᶜd to announce the good news of the success granted him and the killing of Rāshid. When the messenger informed al-Mukhtār's men they called out, "God is most great!" and they took heart, while Ibn Muṭīᶜ's men became discouraged.

Ibn Muṭīᶜ sent Ḥassān b. Fā'id b. Bukayr al-ᶜAbsī[690] with a powerful force of about 2,000 men, and he came on Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar a little above the (quarter of the) Ḥamrā', attempting to divert him from those of Ibn Muṭīᶜ's men in al-Sabakhah. Ibrāhīm sent Khuzaymah b. Naṣr forward against Ḥassān b. Fā'id with the cavalry, while he himself went on foot towards him wtih the infantry. He said, "By God, no sooner have we stabbed with a spear or struck with a sword then they have been put to flight."

[626] Ḥassān b. Fā'id stayed behind in the rear guard to protect his men and Khuzaymah b. Naṣr attacked him. When he saw him, he recognized him and said to him, "Oh Ḥassān b. Fā'id, indeed, by God, if it were not for kinship, I know that I would seek with all my effort to kill you, but (now) flee!" But Ḥassān's horse stumbled with him and he fell. Khuzaymah said to him, "Bad luck, Oh Abū ᶜAbdallāh!" and the men rushed on him and surrounded him. He fought against them with his sword for a while, and Khuzaymah b. Naṣr called out to him, saying, "You have a safe conduct, Oh Abū ᶜAbdallāh. Do not kill yourself!" He went and stood over him and the men held back. Ibrāhīm came up and Khuzaymah b. Naṣr said to him, "This is my cousin, and I have given him safe conduct." Ibrāhīm said to him, "You have done well!" and Khuzaymah ordered that Ḥassān's horse be sought, and it was brought and he was mounted upon it. Khuzaymah then said, "Go and join your people!"

690. I.e., of the same tribe as Khuzaymah.

Ibrāhīm went forward toward al-Mukhtār, while Shabath surrounded al-Mukhtār and Yazīd b. Anas. When Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith (b. Ruwaym), who was guarding the lanes of al-Kūfah in the vicinity of al-Sabakhah, saw Ibrāhīm advancing against Shabath, he himself moved forward to prevent Ibrāhīm from attacking Shabath and his men. Ibrāhīm then dispatched a party of his men with Khuzaymah b. Naṣr, saying to him, "Protect us from Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith," while he went on with the rest of his men against Shabath b. Ribᶜī.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Kaᶜb: When Ibrāhīm approached us, we saw Shabath and his men slowly drawing back behind them, and, when Ibrāhīm got close to Shabath and his men, he attacked them and Yazīd b. Anas ordered us to attack them too. We did so, and they were thrown into disorder and had to withdraw into the houses of al-Kūfah. Khuzaymah b. Naṣr attacked Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ruwaym and defeated him, and they crowded together in the openings of the lanes. Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith had stationed bowmen at the openings of the lanes in front of the houses. Al-Mukhtār advanced against Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith in a body of men, and when al-Mukhtār's men reached the mouths of the lanes, these [627] bowmen fired arrows at them and prevented them from entering al-Kūfah from that direction. Ibn Muṭīᶜ's men then withdrew to him in defeat from al-Sabakhah, and he heard about the killing of Rāshid b. Iyās and his spirit was broken.[691]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yaḥyā b. Hāni': ᶜAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī[692] said to Ibn Muṭīᶜ, "Do not lose heart and do not throw in your hand! Go out to the people, assign them against your enemy and attack them. Our people are numerous and all of them are with you, apart from this leader of error [*ṭāghiyah*], who has rebelled against the people, by God, shaming and destroying them. (I volunteer to be) the first to be assigned; detail a party to go with me and a party with someone else." So Ibn Muṭīᶜ went out and stood among the people, praised God and extolled Him, and then said:

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691. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *saqaṭa*.

692. One of those who bore witness against Ḥujr b. ᶜAdī (Ṭabarī, II, 133; Caskel/Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 174); for the Banū Zubayd of Madhḥij, see Caskel/Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 608.

> Oh people, one of the most surprising things is your lack of resolution before a gang fewer in number than you, wicked in religion, misguided and misguiding. Go out against them, defend your women against them, fight them to protect your garrison town, and defend your income from the conquered lands [*fay'akum*] against them. If you do not, by God, those who have no right to it will surely share in your *fay'*. By God, I have heard that there are among them 500 of your manumitted slaves under a commander who is one of them. If they increase in number it can only mean the passing away of your power and authority and the alteration of your religion.

Then he got down. Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith prevented them from entering al-Kūfah.[693] Al-Mukhtār went on from al-Sabakhah and won control over the *jabbānah*, and then he went up to the houses of Muzaynah,[694] and instilled zeal and fire in them. He rested by their mosque and their houses, which were detached and separate from the houses of the (other) Kūfans, and they brought water for him and provided drink for his men. Al-Mukhtār, however, refused to drink. His men thought
[628] he was fasting, and Aḥmar b. Hudayj of Hamdān[695] said to Ibn Kāmil, "Do you think the commander is fasting?" He replied, "Yes, he is fasting." Aḥmar said to him, "If he broke his fast today, it would make him stronger." Ibn Kāmil answered, "He is immune from error [*maᶜṣūm*],[696] and he knows best what he is doing." Aḥmar said, "What you say is true, and I ask for God's pardon."

Al-Mukhtār said, "This is an excellent place for fighting." Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar said to him, "God has defeated them and broken them, and instilled fear into their hearts. You dismount here and lead us forward. By God, there is nobody outside

693. Presumably this refers to the central area, the fighting so far having been in outlying areas.

694. On the north of the town; Massignon, "Kūfa," in *Opera Minora*, III, 36.

695. One of the Fā'ishiyyūn of Hamdān (Ṭabarī, II, 666).

696. On this concept, see *EI²*, s.v. ᶜIṣma, but cf. *Gloss.*, s.v., which suggests the more neutral *sanctus* ("blameless?").

the governor's residence [*al-qaṣr*] to resist and there will be almost no opposition."[697] Al-Mukhtār said, "Let every shaykh who lacks strength and every sick man rest here. Put down your burdens and your equipment so you can set out against our enemy." The did that, and al-Mukhtār appointed Abū ᶜUthmān al-Nahdī to remain behind in charge of them. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar went on ahead of him and he got his men ready in the condition in which they had been in al-Sabakhah.

ᶜAbdallāh b. Muṭīᶜ sent ᶜAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj with 2,000 men, and he came out against Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar from the lane of the Thawriyyūn.[698] Al-Mukhtār sent to Ibrāhīm, "Contain him but do not remain with him!" So Ibrāhīm closed him up, and al-Mukhtār summoned Yazīd b. Anas and told him to move out against ᶜAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj. Yazīd headed towards him while al-Mukhtār himself went off following Ibrāhīm. They proceeded together until al-Mukhtār came to the place of the oratory of Khālid b. ᶜAbdallāh,[699] where he halted and ordered Ibrāhīm to go ahead until he entered al-Kūfah from the direction of al-Kunāsah. Ibrāhīm went on and came out to it from the lane of Ibn Muḥriz.[700] Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan advanced with 2,000 men and al-Mukhtār sent against him Saᶜīd b. Munqidh al-Hamdānī, who engaged him in battle. Al-Mukhtār sent to Ibrāhīm, telling him, "Contain him and carry on ahead!" He proceeded until he came to the lane of Shabath, where he found Nawfal b. Musāḥiq b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Makhra- [629]
mah[701] with about 2,000 men (or it is said 5,000, which is correct). Ibn Muṭīᶜ had ordered Suwayd b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān (to give the command) and (the latter) gave the summons, "Join Ibn Musāḥiq!" Ibn Muṭīᶜ himself left Shabath b. Ribᶜī behind in control of the governor's residence [*al-qaṣr*] and went out and halted at al-Kunāsah.

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697. See *Gloss.*, s.v. *aḥad*.

698. For the Thawriyyūn of the Banū Hamdān, see Ṭabarī, I, 3348 (N.B. not the Banū Thawr who were part of the confederation of Ribāb).

699. Apparently a reference to the later governor of Iraq, Khālid b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Qasrī (724–38).

700. The index to the Cairo edition identifies him as al-ᶜAlā' b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥriz.

701. Of Quraysh (see Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 427; Ibn Saᶜd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 179–80), Ibn Muṭīᶜ was his maternal uncle.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥaṣīrah b. ᶜAbdallāh: I saw Ibn al-Ashtar when he went forward with his men. When he drew close to the enemy, he said to his men, "Dismount!" and they dismounted. He said, "Tether your horses close together and then advance against them on foot with sword drawn. Do not let it alarm you that it is said, 'Shabath b. Ribᶜī has come against you, and the people of ᶜUtaybah b. al-Nahhās,[702] and the people of al-Ashᶜath, and the people of so-and-so, and the people of Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith!' " He named several of the leading families of the Kūfans and then he said, "If they (once) experience the heat of the swords, they will abandon Ibn Muṭīᶜ like goats fleeing from a wolf."

I saw Ibn al-Ashtar and his men when they tethered their horses close together and when Ibn al-Ashtar took the hem of his *qabā'*, lifted it up and pushed it into a red belt made from the borders of *burdah* materials[703] which he had put on over his *qabā'*. He had covered up his armor with the *qabā'*. Then he said to his men, "Attack them, may my paternal and maternal uncles be a ransom for you!" And by God, it was not long before he had defeated them and they jostled one another in the mouth of the lane and crowded together. Ibn
[630] al-Ashtar reached Ibn Musāḥiq, seized the bridle of his mount, and lifted his sword against him. Ibn Musāḥiq said to him, "Oh Ibn al-Ashtar, I implore you by God! Do you seek vengeance from me? Is there any hatred between us?" And Ibn al-Ashtar let him go, and said to him, "Remember it!" Subsequently, Ibn Musāḥiq remembered what he owed to Ibn al-Ashtar. They started to advance until they reached al-Kunāsah on the enemy's heels. They penetrated the market and the mosque, and besieged Ibn Muṭīᶜ for three days.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: Ibn Muṭīᶜ remained three days distributing meal to his men in the governor's residence where he was besieged. With him were the notables of the population, except for ᶜAmr b. Ḥurayth, who

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702. Of the Banū ᶜIjl (Bakr b. Wā'il), he had participated in the conquest of Iraq and governed Ḥulwān under ᶜUthmān.

703. A *burdah* is a type of mantle; here the word seems to refer to a type of material rather than a garment (see *Gloss.*, s.v. and *EI²*, s.v. Libās, 734a).

went to his house and did not think it necessary to submit to the siege. Then ᶜAmr betook himself off and settled outside the town.

Al-Mukhtār came and pitched camp at the side of the market and entrusted the siege of the governor's residence to Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar, Yazīd b. Anas, and Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ. Ibn al-Ashtar was next to the mosque and the gate of the governor's residence [*al-qaṣr*], Yazīd b. Anas adjoined (the houses of) the Banū Ḥudhayfah[704] and the lane of Dār al-Rumiyyīn,[705] while Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ abutted the house of ᶜUmārah[706] and the house of Abū Mūsā.[707]

When the siege became oppressive to Ibn Muṭīᶜ and his companions, the notables put their arguments to him. Shabath arose and said, "May God preserve the governor! Consider your position and that of those with you. By God, they have neither enough for you nor for themselves." Ibn Muṭīᶜ said, "Come, all of you, and advise me of your views." Shabath said, "We think you should obtain a safe-conduct from this man for yourself and for us, and that you should leave and not destroy yourself and those with you." Ibn Muṭīᶜ said, "By God, I am reluctant to obtain a safe-conduct from him while the authority of the Commander of the Faithful[708] is accepted in the whole of the Ḥijāz and in the territory of al-Baṣrah." Shabath said, "Then, leave and no one will know, and take [631] shelter in a dwelling in al-Kūfah with someone from whom you can ask advice and in whom you trust. (Al-Mukhtār) will not know where you are before you leave and join your lord." Ibn Muṭīᶜ said to Asmā' b. Khārijah,[709] ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saᶜīd b. Qays, and the notables of the Kūfans, "What do you think about this view which Shabath has put to me?" They said, "We have no view other

704. I.e., Hudhayfah b. al-Yamān al-ᶜAbsī (?).

705. See Morony, *Iraq*, 267.

706. ᶜUmārah b. ᶜUqbah b. Abī Muᶜayṭ (of Quraysh) (*nazala 'l-Kūfah:* Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 140) or ᶜUmārah b. Ruwaybah al-Tamīmī (Morony, *Iraq*, 241)?

707. Abū Mūsā al-Ashᶜarī, a former governor of al-Kūfah.

708. I.e., Ibn al-Zubayr.

709. Of the Banū Fazārah (Qays), he was one of the witnesses against Ḥujr b. ᶜAdī (Ṭabarī, II, 133).

than that which he has put to you." He replied, "Wait, then, until evening."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mughallas al-Laythī: ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Laythī[710] was looking down on al-Mukhtār's men from the governor's residence in the evening, shouting insults at them. Mālik b. ᶜAmr Abū Nimrān al-Nahdī[711] fired an arrow at him and it scraped his throat, cutting a piece oı skin, so that he stumbled and fell. But then he got up and recovered. When he hit him, the Nahdī said, "Take that from Mālik, whoever acts thus!"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ—Ḥassān b. Fā'id b. Bukayr: When we got to the evening of the third day in the governor's residence, Ibn Muṭīᶜ called us, spoke of God as befits Him, prayed for His Prophet and said:

> Now, I know who they are, those of you who have done this, and I know they are merely the base ones among you, the ignorant, the lowly, and the mean, apart from one or two. The noble ones among you, and those of worth, have never stopped hearing, obeying, and profering sincere advice. I shall inform my
> [632] lord of that and let him know of your obedience and your struggle [*jihād*] against his enemies until God took control of his affair. You know what the view was which you put to me. I think I should go forth now.

Shabath said to him, "May God bless you for a governor! You have refrained from taking our wealth, you have been generous to the noble ones among us, you have given good advice to your lord, and you have fulfilled your duties. By God, we would never part from you were it not that we have permission from you." He said, "May God bless you! A man takes the road wherever he wishes." Then he went in the direction of the road of the Rūmiyyūn until he reached the house of Abū Mūsā. He vacated the governor's residence, and his men opened the gate and said, "Oh Ibn al-Ashtar, do we

710. The Banū Layth of Kinānah; this seems to be Ṭabarī's only reference to him.

711. For the form of the name, see *Add. et emend.*, and see n. 642 above.

have safe-conduct?" He replied, "You have safe-conduct," and they came out and gave the oath of allegiance to al-Mukhtār.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. ᶜĀmir al-ᶜAdawī (of ᶜAdī Juhaynah; he was Abū al-Ashᶜar): Al-Mukhtār entered the governor's residence where he passed the night. Next morning, the notables among the people were in the mosque and at the gate of the governor's residence. Al-Mukhtār went forth and ascended the *minbar*. He praised God and extolled him, saying:

> Praise be to God who has promised assistance to His friend and damage to His enemy, and He has made it for him until the end of time a promise carried out and a decree achieved, and he who fabricated a slander has failed! Oh people, a banner has been raised for us and an objective set before us. Regarding the banner we have been told, "Raise it up and do not put it down!" and regarding the objective, "Pursue it and do not abandon it!" We have heard the call of the caller and what was said by the memorizer, and how many are the men and women who wail for those slain in the memorable event! Away with he who tyrannizes, turns his back, disobeys (God), lies, and faces away! Verily, Oh people, enter in and give an oath of allegiance which is rightly guided. By He Who created the Heavens as a vault held back, and the earth as broad paths, after the one to ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the family of ᶜAlī, you have not taken any oath of allegiance more rightly guided than it!

Then he went in, and we and the notables went in to him [633]
and clasped his hand (in allegiance). The people rushed to him and gave him the oath of allegiance, and he began, saying, "You are giving me the oath of allegiance on (the understanding that we will follow) the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet, that we will seek vengeance for the blood of the family, pursue *jihād* against those who violate God's law, protect the weak, fight against those who fight us and give peace to those who seek it from us, and fulfill the oath of allegiance which you have given to us. We will not release

you from it nor ask you to cancel it." When each man said, "Yes," he took the oath of allegiance from him.

By God, it is as if I can see now al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān b. Ḍirār[712] as he came to him and greeted him as the holder of authority. Then he gave him the oath of allegiance and left him. But, as he came out of the residence, he drew near Saᶜīd b. Munqidh al-Thawrī in a group of the Shīᶜah waiting by the *maṣṭaba*.[713] When they saw him, and with him he had his son Ḥayyān b. al-Mundhir, one of the stupid ones of them said, "By God, this is one of the leaders of the tyrants [*al-jabbārīn*]!" They attacked him and his son and killed them. Saᶜīd b. Munqidh called out to them, "Wait! Wait until we see what your commander [*amīr*] thinks about him!" Al-Mukhtār heard about that and was so angry about it that it could be seen in his face; and he began to arouse the hopes of the people and to win their love and that of the notables, and to follow a righteous way of life as much as he could.

Ibn Kāmil came to him and said to al-Mukhtār, "Are you aware that Ibn Muṭīᶜ is in the house of Abū Mūsā?" He answered him not a word. Ibn Kāmil repeated it three times, but he did not answer. Then he repeated it again, but he still did not answer, and Ibn Kāmil suspected it must be unwelcome news to him, for previously Ibn Muṭīᶜ had been a friend to al-Mukhtār. In the evening, al-Mukhtār sent 100,000 dirhams to Ibn Muṭīᶜ and said to him, "Use this to make ready and go. I have discovered where you are and I think the only thing
[634] preventing your departure must be that you do not possess enough to encourage you to leave."

Al-Mukhtār won possession of 9,000,000 dirhams in the treasury of al-Kūfah. He gave to every one of his men with whom he had fought when he besieged Ibn Muṭīᶜ in the residence—3,800 of them—500 dirhams. And he gave to 6,000 of his men who had joined him after he had encircled the residence, and who had remained with him for that night and those three days until he entered the residence, 200 dirhams

712. One of the leaders of the Banū Ḍabbah who had taken part in the conquest of Iraq (Donner, *Conquests*, index).

713. A stone bench built into a wall.

each. He showed kindness to the people and led them to expect justice and righteousness of conduct. He attracted the notables to him, and they were his companions in his councils and discussions. Over the police troop he appointed ᶜAbdallāh b. Kāmil al-Shākirī, and over his (personal) guard Kaysān Abū ᶜAmrah, a mawlā of ᶜUraynah.[714]

One day, the latter stood guarding him and saw the notables talking with him and he saw him tête-à-tête with them in his conversation. Some of his mawlā companions said to Abū ᶜAmrah, "Do you not see how Abū Isḥāq has drawn close to the Arabs and does not regard us?" Al-Mukhtār summoned Abū ᶜAmrah and said to him, "What were those men I saw saying to you?" He said to him, whispering, "It troubled them, may God preserve you, that you have turned your face from them to the Arabs." Al-Mukhtār said to him, "Tell them, 'Indeed do not let that trouble you, for you are of me and I am of you!' " Then he was silent for a considerable time before reciting, 'We shall surely take vengeance on the sinners.'[715]

(According to Abū Mikhnaf)—Ḥaṣīrah b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Azdī, Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī, and al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ al-ᶜAbsī: The first man to whom al-Mukhtār gave a banner was ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith, the brother of al-Ashtar; he gave him authority over Armenia. And he sent Muḥammad b. ᶜUmayr b. ᶜUṭārid[716] [635] over Ādharbayjān, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saᶜīd b. Qays over al-Mawṣil, Isḥāq b. Masᶜūd[717] over al-Madā'in and the region of Jūkhā, Qudāmah b. Abī ᶜĪsā b. Rabīᶜah al-Naṣrī, an ally of Thaqīf,[718] over upper Bihqubādh,[719] Muḥammad b. Kaᶜb b. Qaraẓah[720] over central Bihqubādh, Ḥabīb b. Munqidh al-Thawrī[721] over lower Bihqubādh, and Saᶜd b. Ḥudhayfah b. al-

714. See *EI*², s.v. Kaysān.
715. Qur'ān, 32:22.
716. Of Tamīm, he had been one of the witnesses against Ḥujr (Ṭabarī, II, 133).
717. This seems to be the only reference to him, and I have not been able to identify him from independent sources.
718. Apparently, Ṭabarī's only reference to him.
719. For Upper, Middle and Lower Bihqubadh, see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 81.
720. Presumably the same man as the often-cited traditionist Muḥammad b. Kaᶜb al-Quraẓī (of the Banū Qurayẓah/Anṣār) (?).
721. Brother of the above mentioned Saᶜīd b. Munqidh.

Yamān over Ḥulwān. With Saᶜd b. Ḥudhayfah there were a thousand horsemen at Ḥulwān. Each month, al-Mukhtār paid him 1,000 dirhams, and he ordered him to fight the Kurds and keep the roads open. He wrote to his (financial) officials who had authority in the Jibāl,[722] telling them to bring the revenue from their districts to Saᶜd b. Ḥudhayfah at Ḥulwān.[723]

ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr had sent Muḥammad b. al-Ashᶜath b. Qays over al-Mawṣil telling him to exchange correspondence with Ibn Muṭīᶜ and to listen to him and obey him, except that Ibn Muṭīᶜ would have no power to remove him from office, unless on the orders of Ibn al-Zubayr. Previously, under the governorate of ᶜAbdallāh b. Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, Muḥammad b. al-Ashᶜath had been independent in the governorate of al-Mawṣil, communicating with no one but Ibn al-Zubayr. When ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saᶜīd b. Qays came upon him as governor from al-Mukhtār, he fell back from al-Mawṣil before him and took up residence in Takrīt where he remained with some of the notables of his tribe and others. He was withdrawn [*muᶜtazil*] from the conflict, waiting to see what the people would do and how their affairs would turn out. Then he departed, went to al-Mukhtār, gave him the oath of allegiance and entered into what the people of his land had entered into.

[636] According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ṣilah b. Zuhayr al-Nahdī—Muslim b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Ḍabbābī: When al-Mukhtār had triumphed and seized power, Ibn Muṭīᶜ had fled, and he had sent out his officials, he began to hold sessions for the people morning and evening and to judge between those in dispute. Then he said, "By God, with what I am striving and endeavoring for I am too preoccupied to judge between the people." And he caused Shurayḥ[724] to hold sessions for the people and he gave judgment for them. But then Shurayḥ feared them and pretended to be sick. They used to say that he was an ᶜUthmānī,[725] that he was one of those who had borne witness

722. See Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, map II.

723. Concerning the above list, cf. Rotter, *Bürgerkrieg*, 103.

724. Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī, a famous *qāḍī* who is supposed to have been first appointed by the caliph ᶜUmar.

725. I.e., a supporter of the views of the murdered caliph ᶜUthmān.

against Ḥujr b. ᶜAdī,[726] that he had not reported from Hāni' b. ᶜUrwah the information which Hāni' had sent to him, and that ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib had removed him from his office as judge. When Shurayḥ heard that and saw them blaming him and applying such opinions to him, he feigned illness and al-Mukhtār appointed in his place ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜUtbah b. Masᶜūd. But then ᶜAbdallāh fell sick, and al-Mukhtār made ᶜAbdallāh b. Mālik al-Ṭā'ī judge in his stead.

Muslim b. ᶜAbdallāh said: ᶜAbdallāh b. Hammām[727] had heard Abū ᶜAmrah[728] referring to the Shīᶜah and decrying ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAffān, and he had obtained satisfaction from him with the whip. When al-Mukhtār achieved the victory Ibn Hammām remained neutral, and eventually ᶜAbdallāh b. Shaddād sought a safe conduct for him. One day, Ibn Hammām came to al-Mukhtār and said:[729]

Indeed, Umm Sarīᶜ has turned away from you with her love
and turned her back
openly forsaking ties of affection.
A slanderer who spread lies without stopping short beset her,
and you have returned full of grief in your heart.
But do not take the matter so seriously. Let not passion destroy you;
the passing of a need is not anything marvellous.
One night al-Mukhtār, distracting the young man [637]
and making him forget the playful freshness of youth,
Proclaimed, "Revenge for al-Ḥusayn!" and there came
detachments from Hamdān after a third part of the night.
And the chief Ibn Mālik came from Madhḥij,
leading bands arranged for battle in units.
And from Asad, Yazīd came to his aid,
with every young man protecting and defending those things which it is his duty to.

726. See Ṭabarī, II, 134.
727. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Hammām al-Salūlī, the poet (see *EI*², s.v.).
728. Abū ᶜAmrah Kaysān, the leader of al-Mukhtār's bodyguard.
729. Cf. Dīnawārī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 291.

And Nuᶜaym, the best man of the whole of Shaybān, brought
something which, at the time of fighting, is sharper by far.
And Ibn Shumayṭ, when he incited his clansmen,
was there neither left without help nor neglected,
Nor was Qays of Nahd, indeed, nor Ibn Hawāzin;
everyone was a brother in humility and submissiveness.
And Abū al-Nuᶜmān set out, may his hastening be for God,
against Ibn Iyās, going out to the fighting,
With horsemen wearing armor on the day of battle
and others uncovered, without armor.
The horsemen made an attack which overtook the enemy,
and at the start of it assailed Ibn Muṭīᶜ.
[638] He turned in flight with a blow, the fall of which would split open the head,
and a painful thrust of the spear on the "Day of the Two Lanes."
He was besieged in the government house, returning to it with disgrace, humiliation and submissiveness.
But the *wazīr* of the son of the Legatee was gracious to them
and was the best intercessor for them among the people.
Right guidance indeed returned to its seat,
most rightly returning and coming back
To the Hāshimī, the rightly guiding and the rightly guided;
him we hear and obey.

When he had recited it to al-Mukhtār, al-Mukhtār said to his men, "He has praised you as you heard, and he has been generous in his praising you. Be generous in rewarding him, therefore!" Then al-Mukhtār arose and went in, saying to his men, "Do not depart until I come out to you!"

ᶜAbdallāh b. Shaddād al-Jushamī said, "Oh Ibn Hammām, I have a horse and shawl for you." And Qays b. Ṭahfah al-Nahdī, who was married to al-Ribāb bint al-Ashᶜath, said, "And I have a horse and shawl for you." Each of them was
[639] embarrassed that the other might give him something and he not give the same. Qays said to Yazīd b. Anas, "What will you give him?" and Yazīd replied, "If he was aiming at a

reward from God by saying what he did, then what is with God is a benefit for him. But if he only wanted to get his hands on our property by making this speech, by God, there is nothing in our property which will suffice him—what was left over out of my pay has gone to strengthen my brethren." Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ, getting in ahead of them before they addressed Ibn Hammām, said, "Oh Ibn Hammām, if you desired the face of God in saying what you did, then seek your reward from God; but if you merely aimed at the approval of the people and the seeking of their property, then you will not achieve anything! By God, he who makes a speech to someone other than God, and concerning something other than what God possesses, is not fitting to be made presents to or donated to."

Ibn Hammām said to him, "May you bite the penis of your father!" and Yazīd b. Anas raised his whip and said to Ibn Hammām, "Do you say that, Oh wicked one!" and he said to Ibn Shumayṭ, "Strike him with your sword!" Ibn Shumayṭ lifted his sword against him and sprang at him, and the companions of Yazīd b. Anas and Ibn Shumayṭ sprang at him too, to escape Ibn Hammām's tongue. However, Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar took him by the hand, placed him behind himself, and said, "I grant him protection. Why do you behave toward him as I see? By God, he is attaching himself to our ties of friendship, approving of what we are doing, and generous in his praise. Even if you will not reward him for the generosity of his praise, at least do not abuse his honor and shed his blood." Madhḥij sprang up and interposed themselves in front of him, saying, "Ibn al-Ashtar has given him protection! No, by God, he shall not be reached!"

Al-Mukhtār heard their clamor, went out to them and signaled to them with his hand, "Sit down!" They sat and he said to them, "When something good is said to you, accept [640] it. And if you have the ability to reward it, then do so. If you cannot give a reward, then withdraw. And fear the tongue of the poet; his ill will is long-lasting, what he says causes damage, his slander is fertile and he deceives you in future times." They said, "And shall we not slay him?" He replied, "No! We have given him safe-conduct and protection, and

your brother Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ashtar has given him protection." Then Ibn Hammām sat with the people.

Ibrāhīm arose and returned to his abode, and he gave 1,000 dirhams and a horse and shawl to Ibn Hammām who went back with it and said, "No, by God, I shall never take more than these!" Hawāzin came and waxed furious and gathered in the mosque to defend Ibn Hammām, but al-Mukhtār sent to them, asking them to forgive the offense, and they did so.

Ibn Hammām said to Ibn al-Ashtar, eulogizing him:

The master of generous deeds, Ibn Mālik, put out for me
the fire of two dogs,
who incited the dogs against me.
(He is) a young man who, when he confronts the horsemen,
disperses them
with an effective spear thrust or a speedy blow.
A group of Hawāzin defended me,
(a group) mighty and powerful.
When Ibn Shumayṭ or Yazīd opposed it,
those two fell into deadly confusion.
Oh mawlās of Ṭayyi', you attacked us suddenly
with Ibn Shumayṭ, the most evil man who walked or moved,
And the most slanderous turncoat against God.
But no slandering heretic can be compared with a pious ascetic.
[641] How surprising then that an Aḥmasī,[730] son of an Aḥmasī,
attacked me with spears and lances,
As if your strength compared with that of Qays and Khath-ᶜam;
but are you any more than the shameful things of menstruating women?

On the following day ᶜAbdallāh b. Shaddād came and sat in the mosque, saying, "The Banū Asad and the Aḥmas attacked us. By God, we shall never find that acceptable." Al-Mukhtār heard of it and sent for him, and summoned Yazīd b. Anas and Ibn Shumayṭ. He praised God and extolled Him and then

730. I.e., Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ al-Aḥmasī.

said, "Oh Ibn Shaddād, what you have done is one of the promptings of Satan. Turn to God in repentance!" He said, "I have repented." Al-Mukhtār said, "These two are your brethren. Turn to them and submit to them, and give me this thing!" He replied, "It is yours."

Ibn Hammām had meanwhile composed another *qaṣīdah* about the affair of al-Mukhtār. He said:

Sulaymā appeared after a long period of rebuke
and the ending and passing away of the irritability of youth.
She had decided on leaving me and avoiding me,
and after she had done this she went to extremes in an attempt to conciliate me.
When I saw the governor's residence, its door locked,
and Hamdān in charge of the ropes; [642]
And when I saw the men of no substance, as if
they were bees around the dens of foxes;
And when I saw the gates of the lanes around us
closed off with every sort of stick and sword tip;
I knew for sure that the horsemen of the rightly guided party,
not even a fly's penis would survive them.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXI

The Victory of the Marwānids

TRANSLATED BY MICHAEL FISHBEIN

Volume XXI
Translated and Annotated
by Michael Fishbein

Volume XXI of the History of al-Ṭabarī (from the second part of 66/685 to 73/693) covers the resolution of "the Second Civil War." This conflict, which had broken out in 64/683 after the death of the Umayyad caliph Yazīd I, involved the rival claims of the Umayyads (centered in Syria) and the Zubayrids (centered in the Ḥijāz), each of whom claimed the caliphal title, Commander of the Faithful. Both parties contended for control of Iraq, which was also the setting for al-Mukhtār's Schiᶜite uprising in al-Kufāh during 66/685 and 67/686. Kharijite groups were active in southwestern Iran and central Arabia, even threatening the heavily settled lands of Iraq. By the end of 73/692, the Umayyad regime in Damascus, led by ᶜAbd-al-Malik, had extinguished the rival caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr and had reestablished a single, more or less universally acknowledged political authority for the Islamic community.

Al-Ṭabarī's account of these years is drawn from such earlier historians as Abū Mikhnaf, al-Madāʾinī, and al-Wāqidī and includes eyewitness accounts, quotations from poems, and texts of sermons. Notable episodes include al-Mukhtār's slaying of those who had been involved in the death of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ, the death of al-Mukhtār at the hands of Muṣᶜab b. al-Zubayr, the revolt of ᶜAmr b. Saᶜīd in Damascus, the death of Muṣᶜab at the Battle of Dayr al-Jāthalīq, and al-Ḥajjāj's siege and conquest of Mecca on behalf of ᶜAbd-al-Malik. There are excursuses on the chair that al-Mukhtār venerated as a relic of ᶜAlī, the biography of the colorful brigand ᶜUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr, and the development of the secretarial office in Islam.

The translation has been fully annotated. Parallels in the works of Ibn Saᶜd, al-Balādhurī, and the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* have been indicated in the notes where these accounts supplement or diverge from that of al-Ṭabarī.

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

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(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXI

The Victory of the Marwānids

translated and annotated
by

Michael Fishbein

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According

to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
EI[1]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 1st edition. Leiden: 1913–1934
EI[2]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. 2nd edition. Leiden: 1960–
JNES: Journal of Near Eastern Studies
ZDMG: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

Translator's Foreword

Volume XXI of the History of al-Ṭabarī spans a period extending from the year 66 (685/686) to the year 73 (692/693), corresponding to series II, pages 642–854 of the Leiden edition. The events chronicled in the volume cover the resolution of what historians have come to call the Second Civil War and the reestablishment of Umayyad hegemony over the Islamic world. In the course of the period, the major anti-Umayyad forces—the Shīʿites of Iraq and the rival caliphate of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca—collapsed, leaving ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, in the year 73, as ruler over a dynastic kingdom similar in extent to the one Muʿāwiyah had governed from Damascus before the dissolution of Umayyad authority following the death of Yazīd.

To understand the complex events of the years A.H. 66–73, one must go back to the crisis of the Umayyad caliphate after the death of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah in 64/683. Having earned the implacable hatred of the Shīʿah by causing the death of al-Ḥusayn and the hatred of influential elements in the Ḥijāz by his use of force to compel Mecca and Medina to acknowledge his rule, Yazīd bequeathed his caliphate to a thirteen-year-old boy, Muʿāwiyah, who survived his father by only forty days. Yazīd's two other surviving sons, even younger, obviously could not rule; the people of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah expelled their Umayyad governor, ending Umayyad authority in Iraq; the Ḥijāz was under the control of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr; and Syria itself was rent by tribal factionalism. The situation seemed so bad that the senior

member of the Umayyad family, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, was ready to acknowledge the authority of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Only the vigorous intervention of ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, the Umayyad governor of Iraq, seems to have instilled new confidence into the Umayyad family. Under the leadership of Marwān, who was succeeded as head of the family the following year by his son, ʿAbd al-Malik, the Umayyads began the process that would end in 73/692 with the reestablishment of a single central authority, which, if not universally acknowledged, was accepted by the consensus of the Islamic community, and which had no obvious rival in the conduct of the affairs of the Islamic state.

Roughly, the process involved three steps. The hostility of pro-Zubayrid Arab groups in Syria had to be overcome; Iraq, itself a battleground between Zubayrid and Shīʿi loyalties, had to be brought within the Umayyad orbit; and finally ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr himself had to be overcome in the Ḥijāz. By 66/685, Syrian opposition to Umayyad rule, while by no means eliminated, was well on its way to elimination. The surviving text of al-Ṭabarī gives little detail about the final collapse of pro-Zubayrid forces in Syria and al-Jazīrah; more can be gleaned from al-Balādhurī, or from the much later Ibn al-Athīr. In Iraq, the Umayyads were aided by a situation in which their opponents weakened each other. In Rabīʿ I 66 (October 685), al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd, formerly a supporter of Ibn al-Zubayr, but now leading the Kūfan Shīʿah, led an uprising that forced Ibn al-Zubayr's governor to leave al-Kūfah and retreat to al-Baṣrah. In keeping with the Shīʿi nature of the revolt, the *ashrāf* (tribal dignitaries) of al-Kūfah pledged allegiance to al-Mukhtār, not as "Commander of the Faithful," but as the "helper" (*wazīr*) of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah, a surviving son of ʿAlī. Later in the year, the same *ashrāf* turned against al-Mukhtār and tried to expel him, but were defeated; many of them left for al-Baṣrah. Al-Mukhtār, who had come to power promising to avenge the death of al-Ḥusayn, lost no time in killing anyone he could capture who had been in any way connected with the death of al-Ḥusayn. Then he tried to expand his power. To the north, he was successful in two campaigns (both in 66), during the second of which the Umayyad commander ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, the architect of the death of al-Ḥusayn, died in combat against Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar. To the south, al-Mukhtār's efforts to attract

support failed. Realizing how much was at stake, Ibn al-Zubayr sent his own brother, Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, to govern al-Baṣrah and to deal with al-Mukhtār. Muṣʿab defeated the forces of al-Mukhtār at the Battle of al-Madhār; al-Mukhtār retreated to al-Kūfah, was besieged, and died in combat in Ramaḍān 67 (April 687).

ʿAbd al-Malik now faced Ibn al-Zubayr. On each side, the years 68, 69, 70, and 71 presented certain internal threats to be overcome before there could be a final confrontation. Al-Ṭabarī's account of events in Syria is very brief for these years. The Damascus revolt of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaq in 69 or 70 is covered in some detail. The difficulties of the Zubayrids are presented rather fully. The Zubayrid governors of al-Baṣrah were continuously threatened by the Azāriqah, a Khārijite sect, who in 68/687 carried their depredations into the heartland of Iraq, and who drained off military resources that otherwise might have been used against the Umayyads. Also, there seems to have been widespread rural brigandage led by such figures as ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr, whose picaresque biography appears under the year 68.

The decisive events that reestablished Umayyad primacy came in 71 (or 72) and 73. In each case, much was due to the Umayyad sense of politics—the ability to persuade potential opponents that more was to be gained by going over to the Umayyad side than by opposition, and that the stability and security of Iraq could best be served by an Umayyad victory. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr's support melted under the sun of Umayyad promises to his erstwhile supporters; the treachery of many of Muṣʿab's supporters at Dayr al-Jāthalīq in 71 (or 72) sealed his fate. ʿAbd al-Malik was then free to deal, through his commander, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, with ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

Al-Ṭabarī's brief account of al-Ḥajjāj's siege of Mecca and the defeat and death of Ibn al-Zubayr in 73/692 (more external details of the battles are to be found in al-Balādhurī) centers on a portrait of the heroic death of Ibn al-Zubayr, whose brave, but hopeless, fight earned the admiration of even al-Ḥajjāj's second-in-command, who pronounced the following judgment: "Women have borne none manlier [than ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr]." ʿAbd al-Malik, we are told, seconded the judgment.

Thus, ʿAbd al-Malik was left in virtually uncontested posses-

sion of the title "Commander of the Faithful." (The Khārijites formed a significant exception to recognition of his claim.) More than settling the possession of a title, the end of the Second Civil War settled important questions about the nature of authority over the Muslim state. The Umayyads, in the person of ʿAbd al-Malik, reestablished a caliphate based on a family dynasty and a strong military base in the Syrian Arab army. The principle of a single strong authority was reasserted over the various centrifugal forces at work among the Arabs. Had Ibn al-Zubayr prevailed, a much weaker caliphate would have been the result. However, the Umayyad triumph by no means put an end to alternative ideas about authority in Islam. Indeed, for the Shīʿah, the years of the Second Civil War witnessed the development of many tendencies that would bear fruit only much later. In particular, the revolt of al-Mukhtār, with its idea of an Imām living in retirement, his cause energetically furthered in political action by a "wazīr" or "helper," foreshadowed a constellation of ideas important for the genesis of the ʿAbbāsid revolution. Furthermore, Khārijite ideas about the free election of a leader by the community certainly did not die out with the triumph of ʿAbd al-Malik.

A Note on the Text

The translation follows the text of the Leiden edition, which appeared in installments between 1879 and 1898 under the overall editorship of M. J. De Goeje. The task of editing Part II, pages 580–1340 (A.H. 65–99), was assigned to the Italian scholar Ignazio Guidi. For establishing the text of the section here translated (II, 642–854), Guidi had five manuscripts at his disposal:[1]

1. Constantinople, Köprülü 1047 (Siglum Co). This was a composite manuscript. The older portion, which Guidi singled out for special praise, was copied in A.D. the eleventh or perhaps the tenth century. It ended at

1. See ed. Leiden, *Introductio*, pp. LV–LXIII.

II, 706, and was followed by a section in a later hand, perhaps of the thirteenth century, much less carefully executed, and apparently from an original of a different family. This manuscript formed the based text for the edition.

2. Oxford, Bodleian, Uri 650 (Siglum O).[2]
3. Berlin, Petermann II, 635 (Siglum Pet). Beginning with II, 674, a fourth manuscript could be used:
4. Constantinople, Köprülü 1044 (Siglum C). Finally, from II, 789, a fifth manuscript was available:
5. Berlin, Ms. Or. Fol. 69 (Siglum B).[3]

Guidi divided these manuscripts into two families: an "older and much superior" family including Co (older hand), Pet, and C; and a more recent family including B, Co (younger hand), and O. (Ibn al-Athīr used a manuscript of this family.) Thus, throughout the section here translated, textual witnesses from two families were available.

To the five manuscripts used by Guidi, the 1960 Egyptian edition of Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm adds only one additional authority for establishing the text of the section here translated: Ms. Istanbul, Ahmet III, 2929. Its readings, occasionally preferable to any that were available to Guidi, are given in the notes of the Cairo edition; otherwise, the Cairo text is the same as the Leiden text, apart from differences of punctuation and vocalization.

For the events of these years, there are important parallel accounts in al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Ibn Saʿd's *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, al-Dīnawarī's *Kitāb al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, al-Iṣbahānī's *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, and Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī's *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*. The notes to the translation indicate some of these parallels, particularly when they involve interesting differences or further information, but the notes are not intended to provide an exhaustive listing of parallels.

The translator wishes to thank Professors Moshe Perlmann,

2. Described by M. J. De Goeje, *ZDMG* XVI, 759.
3. See Ahlwardt, *Berlin Catalogue*, IX, 36, n. 9419.

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Michael Fishbein

The Events of the Year 66 (cont'd)

(August 8, 685–July 27, 686)

[Al-Mukhtār Acts against the Slayers of al-Ḥusayn]

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, al-Mukhtār[1] seized the slayers of al-Ḥusayn[2] who were in al-Kūfah[3] and those who were accomplices in his murder. He killed those of them over whom he gained power; some, however, fled from al-Kūfah and eluded his grasp. [642]

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1. The Shīʿī leader al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī seized al-Kūfah earlier in 66/685 as the self-proclaimed "assistant" or "helper" (*wazīr*) of ʿAlī's son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah. See Ṭabarī, II, 598–642; *EI*[1], s.v.

2. Al-Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet, was the son of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib by Muḥammad's daughter, Fāṭimah. The Shīʿah, supporters of the right of ʿAlī and his family to political and spiritual leadership, considered his death at the hands of Umayyad forces at Karbalāʾ on 10 Muḥarram 61 (October 10, 680) a martyrdom and demanded vengeance against the Umayyads. See *EI*[2], s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.

3. The Muslim garrison city (*miṣr*) and provincial capital of al-Kūfah was founded ca. 17/638 in the caliphate of ʿUmar on the Euphrates near the older city of al-Ḥīrah. It grew rapidly and in 36/657 became ʿAlī's capital. ʿAlī was assassinated outside the city's great mosque in 40/661, and al-Kūfah became a focus of pro-ʿAlid Shīʿī activity. See *EI*[2], s.v.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 74ff.

Why He Seized Them; Names of Those He Killed and of Those Who Fled and Eluded His Grasp

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī][4]—ʿAwānah b. al-Ḥakam:[5] The reason for this was as follows. When Syria had become completely obedient to him, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam[6] sent out two armies. One of them was sent to the Ḥijāz under Ḥubaysh b. Duljah al-Qaynī, and we have previously mentioned him and how he perished.[7] The other was sent to Iraq under ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, and we have mentioned what took place between him and the Tawwābūn[8] of the Shīʿah[9] at ʿAyn al-Wardah. When Marwān sent ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād to Iraq, he granted him [the

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4. Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib al-Kalbī (b. ca. 120/737, d. 204/819 or 206), often called "Ibn al-Kalbī" after his father (d. 146/763), who was himself a genealogist, historian, geographer, and Qurʾān commentator, was a Shīʿī native of al-Kūfah who wrote prolifically on many subjects. The *isnād* here is introduced by *dhakarahū Hishām*, indicating that Ṭabarī used one of Ibn al-Kalbī's books, but without authorization from a scholar who had studied with Ibn al-Kalbī. Technically, such a procedure was called "*wijādah*." See *EI*², s.v. al-Kalbī; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 268–271.

5. ʿAwānah b. al-Ḥakam b. ʿAwānah al-Kalbī (d. 147/764 or 158) was a blind Kūfan whose interests included history of the Umayyad period, genealogy, and poetry. The *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm lists two books of his: a *Kitāb al-Tārīkh*, and a *Kitāb Sīrat Muʿāwiyah wa-Banī Umayyah* on the life of Muʿāwiyah and the Banū Umayyah. Ṭabarī's material from ʿAwānah was probably obtained indirectly through the works of Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Madāʾinī. See *EI*², s.v.; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 307–8.

6. The Umayyad caliph Marwān b. al-Ḥakam ruled for nine months in 64–65 (683–684). He began to reassemble the empire that his cousin Muʿāwiyah, the first Umayyad caliph, had ruled and that had fallen away from Umayyad allegiance during the reigns of Yazīd and Muʿāwiyah II. He was succeeded by his son, ʿAbd al-Malik, in Ramaḍān 65 (April 685). See *EI*¹, s.v.

7. This army was sent in 65/684 to take Medina from Ibn al-Zubayr, but was defeated when an army from al-Baṣrah reinforced the Zubayrid forces in the Ḥijāz. See Ṭabarī, II, 578–79.

8. The Tawwābūn ("penitents") were a Shīʿī group. Blaming their own inaction for having caused the death of al-Ḥusayn, they vowed to expiate their guilt by exacting vengeance. Their revolt after the death of Yazīd ended in defeat at the battle of ʿAyn al-Wardah on 22 Jumādā I, 65 (January 4, 685). Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, their leader, was killed, and the Tawwābūn were routed by the forces of ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. See Ṭabarī, II, 497ff.; *EI*¹ s.v. Sulaimān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzāʿī; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 35–37; and Jafri, *Origins*, 159.

9. Literally, "the followers, group, associates, or partisans," the word *shīʿah* came to refer to those who supported the rights of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and his descendants to political leadership of the Muslim community and to a special spiritual leadership (the imamate). See *EI*¹, s.v.; Jafri, *Origins*, 1–23

governance of] whatever he conquered and commanded him to sack al-Kūfah, if he overcame its people, for three days. [643]

'Awānah said: 'Ubaydallāh passed through the land of al-Jazīrah[10] and was delayed there. Qays 'Aylān [tribesmen][11] were there, obedient to Ibn al-Zubayr.[12] Marwān had inflicted heavy losses on the Qays at the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ,[13] when they were on the side of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays,[14] opposing Marwān and his son 'Abd al-Malik, [who ruled] after him. 'Ubaydallāh remained preoccupied with them and unable to turn his attention to Iraq for about a year. Then he proceeded to al-Mawṣil.[15] Al-Mukhtār's governor of al-Mawṣil, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays, wrote to al-Mukhtār:

> To proceed: I hereby inform you, O commander (*amīr*), that 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād has entered the territory of al-Mawṣil and has turned his horsemen and foot soldiers toward me. I have withdrawn to Takrīt[16] until your opinion and command reach me. Peace be upon you.[17]

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10. Al-Jazīrah ("the island" or "peninsula") was the Arabic name for upper Mesopotamia. It included as its principal towns al-Mawṣil, al-Raqqah, and Āmid. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 86–114; *EI*², s.v. al-Djazīra.

11. Qays 'Aylān, or Qays (sometimes called "Muḍar"), were a group of northern Arab clans from the Ḥijāz and western Arabia. They formed the bulk of the men involved in the first conquests in Syria under Abū Bakr and were rewarded with lands in al-Jazīrah. Because Mu'āwiyah relied on the support of rival Kalb (Yemeni) tribes, and also because Yazīd, Mu'āwiyah's heir, had a Kalbī mother, many of the Qays supported Ibn al-Zubayr. Mu'āwiyah's opening of al-Jazīrah to immigration from unrelated Arab clans may also have been a factor. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳays 'Aylān; Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 82–84, 92.

12. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr ruled the Ḥijāz at this time as a rival caliph and was recognized by opponents of the Umayyads in Syria, Egypt, southern Arabia, and al-Kūfah. See *EI*², s.v.

13. A plain near Damascus where Marwān defeated forces loyal to Ibn al-Zubayr at the end of 64 (July 684). See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.; Ṭabarī, II, 474ff.; *EI*², s.v.

14. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī, leader of the Qays and at first a loyal supporter of the Umayyads against 'Alī, went over to Ibn al-Zubayr after the death of Mu'āwiyah II in 64/684. He was defeated and killed by Marwān at Marj Rāhiṭ. See *EI*², s.v.

15. Al-Mawṣil, on the upper Tigris River, was a principal town of al-Jazīrah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 87–89.

16. Takrīt lay south of al-Mawṣil on the Tigris, on the Iraq side of the border between al-Jazīrah and Iraq. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 25, 57; *EI*¹, s.v.

17. Cf. the longer version in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 230: "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays wrote informing al-Mukhtār that the horsemen of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād were approaching al-Mawṣil, and that he, having neither horses nor men, feared he would be too weak to deal with him."

Al-Mukhtār wrote to him:

> To proceed: Your letter has reached me, and I have understood all you said in it. You did well to withdraw to Takrīt. Remain where you are until my command reaches you, God willing. Peace be upon you.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf[18]—Mūsā b. ʿĀmir:[19] When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd's letter reached al-Mukhtār, he summoned Yazīd b. Anas[20] and said to him,[21] "Yazīd b. Anas, one who knows is not like one who is ignorant; truth is not like falsehood. I tell you the report of one who has not lied and has not been called a liar, who has not disobeyed or wavered. We are the believers, the fortunate ones; the victorious, the sound ones. You are the master of horses whose quivers you draw[22] and whose tails you plait, until you bring them to water in olive groves, their eyes sunken, their bellies lank.[23] Go out to al-Mawṣil and encamp in its vicinity. I will provide you with men followed
[644] by even more men." Yazīd b. Anas said to him, "Send with me three thousand horsemen whom I shall choose, and leave me to take care of the region to which you send us. If I need men, I will write to you." Al-Mukhtār said to him, "Go out and choose, in the name of God, whomever you like."

Yazīd b. Anas went out and chose three thousand horsemen.

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18. Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Mikhnaf al-Azdī (b. ca. 70/689, d. 157/775) was a late Umayyad composer of historical monographs, about forty of which can be identified from Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* and other works. His books, mediated through Ibn al-Kalbī, were one of Ṭabarī's major sources of information about events of the Umayyad period, particularly those centered around al-Kūfah. See *EI*², s.v.; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 308–9; and U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 40–47.

19. Mūsā b. ʿĀmir Abū al-Ashʿar al-Juhanī al-ʿAdawī identifies himself (Ṭabarī, II, 646) as having been in the army of Yazīd b. Anas. All his reports, mediated through Abū Mikhnaf, deal with A.H. 66. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 213.

20. Yazīd b. Anas b. Kilāb al-Asadī, an early supporter of al-Mukhtār, was influential in drawing Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar to al-Mukhtār's cause and commanded part of al-Mukhtār's forces in the seizure al-Kūfah in 66/685. See Ṭabarī, II, 599–630, passim.

21. The speech is in rhymed prose (*sajʿ*), on which see *EI*¹, s.v. Sadjʿ.

22. The meaning of *tajurru jiʿābahā* is problematic. Ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CLXV: "probably metaphorical for the sheath of the penis of a horse. Horses' *jiʿāb* are drawn (or slit?) and tails plaited when they are to make a very long journey." No source for this meaning of *jiʿāb* or further explanation is given.

23. I.e., from long and strenuous traveling.

He put al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAwf b. Abī Jābir al-Azdī in charge of the fourth[24] of Medina, ʿĀṣim b. Qays b. Ḥabīb al-Hamdānī in charge of the fourth of Tamīm and Hamdān, Warqāʾ b. ʿĀzib al-Asadī in charge of Madhḥij and Asad, and Siʿr b. Abī Siʿr al-Ḥanafī in charge of the fourth of Rabīʿah and Kindah. Then he set out from al-Kūfah, and al-Mukhtār and the people went out with him to escort him. When he reached Dayr Abī Mūsā,[25] al-Mukhtār said goodbye to him and turned back, saying, "When you encounter your enemy, grant them no respite. When opportunity presents itself, do not delay. Let me have a report from you every day. If you need assistance, write to me, although I will assist you even if you do not ask for it; for it will give your arm more strength, make your army more powerful, and put more fear into your enemy." Yazīd b. Anas said to him, "Assist me only with your prayer; that will be enough assistance." The people said to him, "May God accompany you! May He convey you and aid you!" Then they said goodbye to him. Yazīd said to them, "Pray to God on my behalf for martyrdom! I swear by God, if I meet them and victory escapes me, martyrdom shall not escape me, God willing."

Al-Mukhtār wrote to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays:

> To proceed: Let Yazīd [b. Anas] deal with the territory—
> God willing! Peace be upon you.

Having marched forth with the men, Yazīd b. Anas spent the night at Sūrā.[26] The next day he marched with them and spent the night at al-Madāʾin.[27] The men complained to him that they were suffering from the speed of the march, so he stayed there a day [645]
and a night. Then he took them along the territory of Jūkhā,[28]

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24. The fourths (*rubʿ*, pl. *arbāʿ*) were divisions of the Kūfan army, in accordance with a system created by Ziyād b. Abīhi.

25. Apparently the same as Dayr Mūsā, a place near al-Kūfah on the way to Sūrā. See *EI*², s.v. Dayr Mūsā.

26. At Sūrā, a town on the upper Nahr Sūrā (modern Shaṭṭ Hindiyyah branch of the Euphrates), the main road from al-Kūfah to al-Madāʾin crossed the Euphrates by bridge. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 26, 70–72.

27. Al-Madāʾin ("the cities," so named because it consisted of a number of separate towns linked by a floating bridge across the Tigris) was the former Sasanian winter capital about 20 miles south of Baghdad. See *EI*², s.v.

28. Jūkhā was a district east of al-Madāʾin, extending along the Diyālā River. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v. Jūkhā; Le Strange, *Lands*, 42; Morony, *Iraq*, 137–141.

brought them out in the Rādhān [districts],[29] and crossed with them into the territory of al-Mawṣil, encamping at Banāt Talā.[30] His location and the place at which he had encamped were reported to ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, who asked about their number. His spies told him that three thousand horsemen had left al-Kūfah with him. ʿUbaydallāh said, "I will dispatch two thousand for every thousand." He summoned Rabīʿah b. al-Mukhāriq al-Ghanawī and ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamlah al-Khathʿamī and dispatched them, each with three thousand men. He sent Rabīʿah b. al-Mukhāriq first, waited a day, and then sent ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamlah after him. Then he wrote to them, saying, "Whichever of you arrives first is to be the commander over his fellow. If you both arrive together, the older of you is to be commander over his fellow and the entire force." [Continuing,] he[31] said: Rabīʿah b. al-Mukhāriq arrived first and encamped by Yazīd b. Anas while he was at Banāt Talā. Yazīd b. Anas came out to [fight] him sick and exhausted.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt[32]—Abū Saʿīd al-Ṣayqal,[33] who said: Yazīd b. Anas came out to us sick and mounted on a donkey. Men walked with him, holding him on his right and

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29. Upper and Lower Rādhān were subdistricts of Jūkhā. The town of Rādhān lay on the east side of the old bed of the Tigris between the ʿAdhaym and Diyālā Rivers. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 35, 80; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.; Morony, *Iraq*, 138–39.

30. Vocalization and location uncertain. The mss. show much uncertainty about the dotting of the consonants of the name. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 229 reads "Bātilī," with variants such as "Māyilī" and "Mātilī."

31. One is tempted to omit in translation this peculiar feature of the reports collected in Ṭabarī's history—namely, the frequent interruption of narratives by *qāla*, "he said." Normally, "he" refers to the earliest source in the previous *isnad*. One might thus translate: "[Mūsā b. ʿĀmir continued,] saying. . . ." However, in some cases it is not easy to determine whether the text after *qāla* resumes the words of the earliest informant or begins a passage of summary by Abū Mikhnaf or even Hishām b. al-Kalbī. I have therefore thought it best to preserve the ambiguity of the Arabic. On the other hand, these repeated *qāla*s should not be omitted. An argument can be made that they mark places where an account has been shortened through the omission of material. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 91–92, for a discussion of the problem.

32. Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī is perhaps to be identified with the Kūfan scholar Zāʿidah b. Qudāmah al-Thaqafī (d. 160/776), author of various works on *ḥadīth* and Qurʾān readings and a kinsman and friend of al-Mukhtār. See Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 39–40; and U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 149, 226–7.

33. Abū Saʿīd al-Ṣayqal, an eyewitness, was a *mawlā* who had fought on al-Mukhtār's side at the seizure of al-Kūfah. See Ṭabarī, II, 623. For *mawlā*, see n. 49.

on his left by his legs, arms, and sides. He stopped at each fourth and said, "O choice army (*shurṭah*) of God, be steadfast, and you shall be rewarded; vie with your enemy in steadfastness, and you shall be victorious![34] 'Fight you against the friends of Satan; surely the guile of Satan is ever feeble.'[35] If I perish, your commander [646] is Warqā' b. 'Āzib al-Asadī. If he perishes, your commander is 'Abdallāh b. Ḍamrah al-'Udhrī. If he perishes, your commander is Si'r b. Abī Si'r al-Ḥanafī." [Continuing,] he said: I, by God, was among those who walked with him and held his arm and hand, and I saw by his face that death had descended upon him.

[Continuing,] he said: Yazīd b. Anas put 'Abdallāh b. Ḍamrah al-'Udhrī in charge of his right wing, and Si'r b. Abī Si'r in charge of his left wing. He put Warqā' b. 'Āzib al-Asadī in charge of the horsemen. He himself dismounted and was placed on a litter among the men. He said to them, "Go forth to encounter them in the open field. Put me in front among the men. Then, if you will, fight for your commander; or, if you will, flee and leave him." [Continuing,] he said: We brought him out in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, on the Day of 'Arafah of the year 66.[36] Sometimes we held him by his back, and he would say, "Do this, do this, and do this," giving his order. Before long the pain would overcome him and he would be set down for a while. The men were fighting. It was the morning twilight, before sunrise. [Continuing,] he said: Their left wing attacked our right wing, and their fighting became fierce. Our left wing attacked their right wing and put it to flight. Warqā' b. 'Āzib al-Asadī attacked with the horsemen and put them to flight. By midmorning we had put them to flight and taken their camp.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. 'Āmir al-'Adawī, who said: We reached Rabī'ah b. al-Mukhāriq, their commander. His forces had been put to flight, leaving him, and he had dismounted

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34. Cf. Qur'ān 3:200, "O believers, be patient, and vie you in patience." An alternate translation would be, "Show endurance (or steadfastness)...vie with your enemy in endurance (or steadfastness)."

35. Qur'ān 4:76.

36. July 7, 686: The ninth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah is called "the day of 'Arafah" (or 'Arafāt) because it is the day when pilgrims gather on the plain of 'Arafāt, about 15 miles east of Mecca, for the *wuqūf* ("standing," or "station") that climaxes the Ḥajj (pilgrimage). See *EI*², s.vv. 'Arafa and Ḥadjdj.

and was calling out, "O supporters of the truth, O people who hear and obey, come to me! I am Ibn al-Mukhāriq." [Continuing,] Mūsā [b. ʿĀmir al-ʿAdawī] said: As for me, I was a young lad, so I was frightened and halted. ʿAbdallāh b. Warqāʾ al-Asadī and ʿAbdallāh b. Ḍamrah al-ʿUdhrī attacked him and killed him.

[647] According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAmr b. Mālik Abū Kabshah al-Qaynī,[37] who said: I was a lad who had just reached adolescence and was with one of my paternal uncles in that army. When we encamped by the army of the Kūfans, Rabīʿah b. al-Mukhāriq set us in order, and he did so with care. He put his brother's son in charge of his right wing and ʿAbd Rabbih al-Sulamī in charge of his left wing. He himself went forth with the horsemen and foot soldiers and said, "People of Syria, you are fighting only runaway slaves and men who have abandoned Islam and departed from it. They have no remnant [of strength][38] and do not speak Arabic!"[39] [Continuing,] he said: By God, I supposed it to be so until we fought with them.

[Continuing,] he said: By God, as soon as the men began to fight, one of the Iraqis stood in the way of the men with his sword, saying:

I have disavowed the religion of the *Muḥakkimūn*;[40]
in respect to religion, that is the worst religion among us.

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37. He was an eyewitness on the Umayyad side. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 198.

38. Following MS Pet, as suggested by ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXX, and reading *baqiyyah*. For the idiomatic meanings of *baqiyyah*—"remnant of strength, firmness of spirit, excellence" or "mercy, indulgence"—see ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CXXXIX. The original Leiden text has *taqiyyah*, which, if correct, can be understood as a synonym for *taqwā*, "piety, fear of God."

39. Although Ṭabarī's account of al-Mukhtār (mostly from Abū Mikhnaf) does not pass over the role of non-Arabs, it does not emphasize it as much as some other accounts. Cf. Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 296: "Most of those who responded to al-Mukhtār were [Arabs] from the tribe of Hamdān and Persians who were in al-Kūfah and whom Muʿāwiyah had enrolled in the military. They were called al-Ḥamrāʾ ('fair-skinned')."

40. The *Muḥakkimūn* (from *ḥakkama*, "to pronounce a formula containing the word *ḥukm*") were the Khārijites, who abandoned ʿAlī when he agreed to arbitration with Muʿāwiyah. Their slogan was *lā ḥukma illā li-llāh*, "Judgment [belongs] to God alone!" See Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 618.

There was fierce fighting between them and us for an hour of the day. By midmorning they had put us to flight. They killed our leader and took our camp. We went away in flight, until ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamlah met us an hour's journey from the village called Banāt Talā and turned us back. We went with him until he encamped by Yazīd b. Anas. We spent the night keeping watch by turns. The next day, we prayed the daybreak prayer and went forth in good order. He put al-Zubayr b. Khuzaymah[41] from [the tribe of] Khathʿam in charge of his right wing, Ibn Uqayṣir al-Quḥāfī from Khathʿam in charge of his left wing, and advanced with the horsemen and foot soldiers. It was the Day of Sacrifice.[42] We fought fiercely with them. They badly defeated us, slew many of us, and took our camp. We made our way to ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād and [648] told him what we had encountered.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. ʿĀmir [al-ʿAdawī], who said: ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamlah al-Khathʿamī advanced toward us. He met the defeated troops of Rabīʿah b. al-Mukhāriq al-Ghanawī, turned them back, and then came and encamped at Banāt Talā. The next day, both they and we went forth early. The two troops of horsemen attacked each other from the beginning of daylight. Both they and we then withdrew until after we had prayed the noon prayer, at which time we went forth and fought, defeating them. [Continuing,] he said: ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamlah dismounted and called out to his forces, saying, "After wheeling round, return to the fight, O people who hear and obey!" He was attacked and killed by ʿAbdallāh b. Qurād al-Khathʿamī, and we took their camp and what was in it. Three hundred prisoners were brought to Yazīd b. Anas, who was dying. He gestured with his hand that they should be beheaded, so they were killed to the last man.[43]

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41. Following the reading of Ms. Ahmet III, adopted in ed. Cairo. The various manuscripts show so much uncertainty about the dotting of the consonants on this name, that ed. Leiden omits all dots.

42. The tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, when pilgrims sacrifice an animal at Minā in memory of Abraham's sacrifice. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj.

43. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 231 (from Hishām b. al-Kalbī): "Prisoners were brought to Yazīd b. Anas al-Asadī, who was on the verge of death. He kept saying, 'Kill! Kill!' until his tongue became heavy. Then he began to signal with his hand, until his hand became heavy. Then he began to signal with his eyebrows, until he died in that condition."

Yazīd b. Anas said, "If I perish, your commander is Warqā' b. 'Āzib al-Asadī." Yazīd died by evening, and Warqā' b. 'Āzib prayed [the funeral prayer] over him and buried him. When his companions saw that, they were bewildered, and their spirits were broken by his death. After they buried Yazīd, Warqā' said to them, "Men, what do you think best? I have been told that 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād is coming at us with eighty thousand Syrians." They therefore began to slip away and go back. Warqā' then summoned the heads of the fourths and the most skillful horsemen among his forces and said to them, "Men, what do you think about what I have told you? I am only one of you, and not the best among you in regard to counsel. Advise me. Ibn Ziyād has come at you with the great army of the Syrians— their greatest men, horsemen, and *ashrāf*.[44] I do not think we and you have power to deal with them
[649] under these circumstances. Yazīd b. Anas, our commander, has died. Part of our forces have dispersed. If we turn back today of our own accord before we encounter them and before we reach them, so that they know that only the death of our commander turned us back, they will continue to fear us because we have killed their commander and because we can plead the death of our commander as an excuse for our withdrawal. But, if we meet them today, we run a risk. If we are defeated today, our having defeated them previously will be of no use to us." They said, "Your idea is excellent; turn back, and may God have mercy on you!" So he turned back. Their having turned back was reported to al-Mukhtār and the people of al-Kūfah. Not knowing how things had turned out, people spread alarming rumors that Yazīd b. Anas had been killed and the men defeated.

Then al-Mukhtār's governor of al-Madā'in sent al-Mukhtār one of his spies, a Nabatæan from the Sawād,[45] who gave him a report. Al-Mukhtār summoned Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar[46] and put

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44. The *ashrāf* (plural of *sharīf*), literally, "eminent or distinguished men," were the tribal dignitaries.

45. "Nabatæan" refers to any of the Aramaic-speaking peasantry of the agricultural lands (*sawād*, meaning "the black," i.e., alluvial soil) of Iraq.

46. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, son of the famous Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī, had become one of al-Mukhtār's most important military aides earlier in this year and played a leading role in driving Ibn al-Zubayr's governor, Ibn Muṭī', out of al-Kūfah. See Ṭabarī, II, 609–30; and *EI*², s.v.

him in command of seven thousand men, saying to him, "Go, and, when you meet the army of Ibn Anas, turn them around with you, and go meet your enemy and fight it out with them." Ibrāhīm went out and encamped at Ḥammām Aʿyan.[47]

[The Kūfan Ashrāf *Rise against al-Mukhtār]*

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Zuhayr al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ,[48] who said: When Yazīd b. Anas died, the *ashrāf* in al-Kūfah met and told disturbing stories about al-Mukhtār. They said that Yazīd b. Anas had been killed, and did not believe he had died [a natural death]. They began to say, "By God, this man has made himself commander over us without our consent. He has drawn our *mawālī*[49] near to himself, mounted them on horses, given them stipends,[50] and assigned our *fayʾ*[51] to them. Our slaves have disobeyed us, and our orphans and widows have thus been despoiled." They settled on the house of Shabath b. Ribʿī[52] and said, "We will meet in the house of our shaykh." (Shabath was a man who

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47. "Aʿyan's Hot Spring," near al-Kūfah, named for Aʿyan, the *mawlā* of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.

48. Abū Zuhayr al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥabīb b. Zuhayr al-ʿAbsī, an eyewitness of events from 61 to 77, also transmits information about earlier events through informants. He introduces one of his reports for 77/696 by saying that he was a young man in the prime of youth at the time. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 70, 80–81, 214.

49. *Mawlā*, pl. *mawālī*, "client(s), or freedmen," referred to non-Arabs, frequently of Persian origin, who, upon conversion to Islam, were put under the protection of an Arab tribe or a tribal leader as a way of incorporating them into the Arab social system. For a discussion of the social status of *mawālī* at this time, see Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 48–49; and *EI*², s.v.

50. Literally, "given them *ʿaṭāʾ*," the stipend paid from the treasury on a regular basis to Arab soldiers registered in the *dīwān* (military roll). See *EI*², s.v. ʿAṭāʾ.

51. *Fayʾ*, "permanent booty," was the tribute or tax income from which the stipends of Muslim soldiers were paid. See *EI*², s.v.

52. Shabath b. Ribʿī al-Tamīmī headed the Banū Ḥanẓalah (a powerful clan of the Tamīm) in al-Kūfah. During al-Mukhtār's uprising in 66/685, he supported Ibn al-Zubayr's governor, Ibn Muṭīʿ, but advised Ibn Muṭīʿ to withdraw gracefully when al-Mukhtār's victory appeared inevitable. On his role in the events of 66, see Ṭabarī, II, 614–30, esp. 623 (an incident illustrating his prejudice against *mawālī*) and 630. See also Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 223, 243; and Ṭabarī, I, 1919, 3270, 3349, 3380, 3388.

had lived both in the Time of Ignorance[53] and in the time of Islam.] They gathered and came to his house. After he had led his
[650] companions in prayer, they began to discuss the subject among themselves. [Continuing,] he said: Among al-Mukhtār's innovations concerning them, none was more grievous than his having appointed a share of the *fay'* for the *mawālī*.

Shabath said to them, "Leave me until I meet with him." He went and met with him and left unmentioned none of the things his companions found objectionable. Whenever he mentioned a practice, al-Mukhtār said to him, "I will satisfy them regarding this practice and do everything they like." [Continuing,] he said: Shabath mentioned the slaves (*mamālīk*). Al-Mukhtār said, "I will return their slaves (*'abīd*) to them." Shabath mentioned the *mawālī* to him, saying, "You have had recourse to our *mawālī*, who are a *fay'* that God has made permanent booty, together with these lands, for us all. We have freed them, and for that we hope for remuneration, reward, and thanks. But you, not satisfied with this for them, have made them our partners in our *fay'*." Al-Mukhtār said to them, "If I leave you your *mawālī* and give your *fay'* to you, will you fight on my side against the Umayyads and Ibn al-Zubayr and give me a promise and covenant by God to fulfill this, together with oaths that I can trust?" Shabath replied, "I do not know, until I go to my companions and talk to them about it." He left and did not return to al-Mukhtār. [Continuing,] he said: The *ashrāf* of al-Kūfah decided to fight al-Mukhtār.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Qudāmah b. Ḥawshab, who said: Shabath b. Ribʿī, Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays came before Kaʿb b. Abī Kaʿb al-Khathʿamī.[54] Shabath spoke. Having praised and extolled God, he told Kaʿb that they had decided to fight al-Mukhtār, and he asked him to concur with them in the matter. Berating al-Mukhtār, Shabath said, "He has made himself commander over us without our consent. He has alleged that Ibn

53. *Jāhilī*, someone who has lived in the *Jāhiliyyah*, the "Time of Ignorance," before the coming of Islam. See *EI*², s.v. Djāhiliyya.

54. These men had supported Ibn al-Zubayr's governor, Ibn Muṭīʿ, against al-Mukhtār. See Ṭabarī, II, 614, 629, 631.

al-Ḥanafiyyah[55] sent him to us, but we have found out that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah did not do so. He has assigned our *fay'* to our *mawālī* [651] and taken our slaves, despoiling our orphans and widows by means of them. He and his Saba'iyyah[56] have openly disavowed our righteous predecessors."[57] [Continuing,] he said: Ka'b b. Abī Ka'b welcomed them and responded favorably to their call.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—my[58] father, Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd: The *ashrāf* of al-Kūfah came before 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf [al-Azdī] and called upon him to concur with them in fighting al-Mukhtār. He said to them, "Men, if you insist on rebelling, I will not fail you; but, if you listen to me, you will not rebel." "Why?" they asked. He said, "Because I fear you will become divided, disagree among yourselves, and abandon each other. By God, your own valiant men and skilled horsemen are on the man's side. Are not so-and-so and so-and-so with him? Your slaves and *mawālī* are also on his side, and they are of one mind. Your slaves and *mawālī* are more angry with you than your enemy. So he will fight you with the courage of the Arabs and the hostility of the Persians. But, if you leave him alone for a while, the arrival of the Syrians or the coming of the Baṣrans will spare you the trouble of dealing with him; you will have been spared dealing with him by others and will not have set your strength among yourselves." They said, "We implore you by God not to differ with us or spoil our plan and the consensus our group has reached." "I am one of you," he replied; "if you will, rebel." They went among them-

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55. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah was 'Alī's son by a woman of the Banū Ḥanīfah who had been brought to Medina as a prisoner. Despite his reluctance to involve himself in politics and the fact that he was not directly descended from the Prophet, he became a focus of Shī'ī attention after al-Ḥasan's abdication and al-Ḥusayn's death at Karbalā'. See *EI*[1], s.v.; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 40; and Jafri, *Origins*, 228–29, 235–37, 239–42.

56. Saba'iyyah ("followers of ['Abdallāh b.] Saba'") is used here as an abusive epithet for Shī'ī extremists (*ghulāt*). 'Abdallāh b. Saba' is said to have founded "heterodox" Shī'ism by attributing supernatural character to 'Alī, refusing to recognize his death, and condemning the first two caliphs in addition to 'Uthmān. See *EI*[2], s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Saba'; Jafri, *Origins*, 300f.; cf. Ṭabarī, II, 623.

57. *Aslāfinā al-ṣāliḥīn*: specifically including Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān. See Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1408.

58. I.e., Abū Mikhnaf's father.

selves and said, "Wait until Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar goes away from him."

[Continuing,] he said: They delayed until Ibn al-Ashtar had reached Sābāṭ[59] and then rose against al-Mukhtār. [Continuing,] he said: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays al-Hamdānī went out with [men of] Hamdān to Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ.[60] Zaḥr b. Qays al-Juʿfī and Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath went out to Jabbānat Kindah.

[652] According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]—Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī, who said: Jubayr al-Ḥaḍramī went out to the two[61] and said to them, "Get out of our cemetery; we do not want to be involved in trouble." Isḥāq b. Muḥammad asked him, "And is it your cemetery?" "Yes," he said. So they left him.[62]

Kaʿb b. Abī Kaʿb al-Khathʿamī went out to Jabbānat Bishr,[63] and Bishr[64] b. Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh went out to them with [men of the tribe of] Bajīlah. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf went out to Jabbānat Mikhnaf. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad and Zaḥr b. Qays went to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays at Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ. [The tribes of] Bajīlah and Khathʿam went to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf, who was with the [tribe of] Azd. Word reached the men in Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ that al-Mukhtār had mustered horsemen to advance on them. They sent messengers, one after the other, to Azd, Bajīlah, and Khathʿam, asking them for the sake of God and kinship to hasten to them. So they went to them, and all gathered in Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ. When word reached al-Mukhtār, he was glad they had gathered in one place.

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59. Sābāṭ, on the west bank of the Tigris at the confluence of the Nahr al-Malik, was one of the seven cities that formed al-Madāʾin. See *EI*², s.v. al-Madāʾin.

60. The *jabbānāt*, or tribal cemeteries of al-Kūfah, also served as places of assembly, mobilization, and taking up arms. See *EI*², s.v. al-Kūfa. The most recent attempt to map the topography of Umayyad al-Kūfah is Hichem Djaït, *Al-Kūfa, naissance de la ville islamique*. See especially pp. 227–41, on the battles connected with al-Mukhtār, and the map, p. 302.

61. I.e., Zaḥr b. Qays al-Juʿfī and Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, who had assembled their men in Jabbānat Kindah.

62. Ms. O: it.

63. Jabbānat Bishr, named after Bishr b. Rabīʿah, a hero of the battle of Qādisiyyah, belonged to the tribe of Khathʿam. See Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, 238.

64. Reading "Bishr," instead of "Bashīr," here and at 656, 13. Cf. Ṭabarī, II, 857; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 297; and al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 664, 4 (ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXX).

Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan went out and encamped in Jabbānat Banī Salūl with [the tribe of] Qays. Shabath b. Rib'ī, Ḥassān b. Fā'id al-'Absī, and Rabī'ah b. Tharwān al-Ḍabbī encamped with [tribesmen of] Muḍar[65] in al-Kunāsah.[66] Ḥajjār b. Abjar and Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ru'aym encamped with those of Rabī'ah between al-Tammārīn[67] and al-Sabakhah.[68] 'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī encamped in Jabbānat Murād with the men who had followed him from [the tribe of] Madhḥij. The Yemenis sent to them asking that he come to them, but he refused to do so, saying to them, "Strive earnestly, and it will be as if I had come to you."

[Continuing,] he said: That very day, al-Mukhtār sent a messenger named 'Amr b. Tawbah to ride at a gallop to Ibrāhīm b. [653]
al-Ashtar at Sābāṭ and say, "Do not put this letter down until you are on your way to me with every man you have." [Continuing,] he said: That day, al-Mukhtār sent to them, saying, "Tell me what you want, and I will do everything you like." They said, "We want you to depart from us. You alleged that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah had sent you, but he did not send you." Al-Mukhtār sent word to them, saying, "Send a delegation to him on your behalf, and I will send him one on my behalf, and then wait until you have clarified the matter." With this proposal, he wanted to delay them so that Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar could reach him. He commanded his forces, and they restrained their hands. Meanwhile, the people of al-Kūfah

65. I.e., men from the tribes of Tamīm (Shabath's tribe), 'Abs (Ḥassān's tribe), and Ḍabbah (Rabī'ah's tribe), each of which belonged to a larger grouping called "Muḍar." In pre-Islamic times, Muḍar and Rabī'ah were large, powerful combinations of North Arabian tribes. Prominent Muḍar tribes included Qays 'Aylān, Hudhayl, Khuzaymah, Asad, Kinānah, Quraysh, Dabbah, and Tamīm. Prominent Rabī'ah tribes included 'Anazah, 'Abd al-Qays, and the two Wā'il tribes (Bakr and Taghlib). By Umayyad times, the terms had shifted meaning, as new political conditions caused new alliances among tribes. Muḍar meant especially the tribes of Tamīm and Qays; Rabī'ah meant especially Bakr, Taghlib, and the allied Yemeni tribes of Azd and Quḍā'ah (Kalb). See *EI*[1] Suppl., s.v. Rabī'a and Muḍar.

66. "The Place of the Sweepings," originally a dumping ground west of al-Kūfah, later became an unloading place for caravans from Arabia, a livestock market, a place of execution, and a poets' fair similar to al-Baṣrah's Mirbad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 74–5; *EI*[2], s.v. al-Kūfa; and Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, 230.

67. The Street or Market of Date Sellers (See Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, 236).

68. *Sabakhah* means a salt marsh or salty ground with sparse vegetation (Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1292). The term was applied to the open space between the built-up area of al-Kūfah and the Euphrates River to the east. See Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, 231.

blocked the mouths of the streets against them, so that no water was reaching al-Mukhtār and his forces, except for a paltry amount that escaped the people's notice.

[Continuing,] he said: 'Abdallāh b. Sabī' went out into the square. The [men of the tribe of] Shākir fought violently with him.[69] 'Uqbah b. Ṭāriq al-Jushamī came and fought on his side for a time until he had turned the attackers away from him. Then both of them betook themselves to their defense lines. 'Uqbah b. Ṭāriq encamped with Qays in Jabbānat Banī Salūl, and 'Abdallāh b. Sabī' encamped with the Yemenis in Jabbānat al-Sabī'.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq:[70] Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan went to the Yemenis and said to them, "If you gather in a place where we can form two wings and fight in one direction, I am your companion; otherwise, I am not. By God, I will not fight in a place like this, in narrow streets, where we shall be attacked from all sides." So he went off to the main body of his people in Jabbānat Banī Salūl.

[Continuing,] he said: When al-Mukhtār's messenger left to go
[654] to Ibn al-Ashtar, he reached him the same day in the evening. Ibn al-Ashtar announced to the men, "Return to al-Kūfah." He marched the rest of that evening and encamped when night fell. His forces ate their evening meal and rested their mounts very briefly. Then Ibn al-Ashtar called them. He marched all that night, prayed the morning prayer at Sūrā, marched that day, and prayed the afternoon prayer of the following day by Bāb al-Jisr.[71] Then he went and spent the night at the mosque, accompanied by his strongest and bravest forces. The morning of the third day after his enemies had taken the field against him, al-Mukhtār went out [to the mosque] and ascended the pulpit.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī:[72] Shabath b.

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69. On the loyalty of the clan of Shākir (part of the tribe of Hamdān) to al-Mukhtār, see Ṭabarī, II, 619–20. Al-Mukhtār's chief of police, 'Abdallāh b. Kāmil, was from this tribe.

70. Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh al-Hamdānī al-Sabī'ī (d. 159/775 in al-Kūfah) is known as a *muḥaddith* who transmitted *ḥadīth* from his father. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 225–26.

71. The Gate of the (Pontoon) Bridge.

72. Abū Janāb Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥayyah al-Kalbī al-Kūfī (d. 147/764 or 150) was a

Rib'ī sent his son 'Abd al-Mu'min to al-Mukhtār. 'Abd al-Mu'min said to him, "We are your kinfolk and the palm of your right hand. No, by God, we will not fight you. Trust this from us." His plan was to fight al-Mukhtār, but he deceived him.

When the Yemenis assembled in Jabbānat al-Sabī', the time for prayer came, and each chief of the Yemenis disliked having his fellow take precedence over him.[73] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf said to them, "This is the beginning of disagreement. Set in front [of you] the man who is well regarded,[74] for among your kinfolk is the master of this city's Qur'ān reciters (*qurrā'*); let Rifā'ah b. Shaddād al-Fityānī from Bajīlah lead you in prayer."[75] They did so, and he continued to be their leader in prayer until the battle took place.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Wāzi' b. al-Sarī: Anas b. 'Amr al-Azdī went forth and entered among the Yemenis. He heard them saying, "If al-Mukhtār goes to [fight] our brothers from Muḍar, we will go to [help] them; and if he goes to [fight] us, they will go to [help] us." Having heard them say this, a certain man went swiftly, climbed up to al-Mukhtār on the pulpit,[76] and told him what they [655] had said. Al-Mukhtār said, "As for the Yemenis, if I go to [fight] Muḍar, they are indeed likely to go to [help] them. But I bear witness that if I go to [fight] the Yemenis, Muḍar will not go to [help] them." (Later, al-Mukhtār used to invite that man and honor him.) Al-Mukhtār came down from the pulpit, mustered his forces in the market (in those days the building that is now in the market did not exist), and said to Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, "Against which of the two groups do you prefer to march?" He replied, "Against whichever of the two groups you like." Being a man of discernment, al-Mukhtār considered. He disliked the idea of

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muḥaddith also known to have collected materials about the Battle of Ṣiffīn and the death of al-Ḥusayn. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 223f.

73. Literally, "place himself before him," i.e., to lead the prayer.

74. *Riḍā*, a man "with whom one is pleased, well pleased, contented, or satisfied; regarded with good will, or favor; liked, or approved." Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1100.

75. The presence of Rifā'ah b. Shaddād, an early supporter of al-Mukhtār (Ṭabarī, II, 599–600), among the opposition to al-Mukhtār is noteworthy. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 233, for Rifā'ah's account of how he became angered by al-Mukhtār's lies and broke with him.

76. Ms. O: and came to al-Mukhtār, who had climbed into the pulpit.

having Ibn al-Ashtar go to fight his own kin[77] and not do his utmost in fighting them. So he said, "Go to fight Muḍar in al-Kunāsah. Shabath b. Ribʿī and Muḥammad b. ʿUmayr b. ʿUṭārid are their leaders. I will go to the Yemenis." [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār is still known for his rigor and lack of mercy toward the Yemenis and others when he was victorious.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar went to al-Kunāsah; al-Mukhtār went to Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ. Al-Mukhtār halted at the house of ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ[78] and sent Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ al-Bajalī al-Aḥmasī and ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil al-Shākirī ahead. He said to Ibn Shumayṭ, "Stay on this street until you come out upon the people in Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ from among the houses of your kinfolk." He said to ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil, "Stay on this street until you come out at Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ from the house of the family of al-Akhnas b. Sharīq." He summoned the two of them and confided in them, saying, "[The tribe of] Shibām has sent word to me that they have come at the people from behind." The two men went forward along the two streets that al-Mukhtār had commanded them to take.

When the Yemenis learned that these two men were advancing
[656] on them, they divided the two streets among themselves: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays al-Hamdānī, Isḥāq b. al-Ashʿath, and Zaḥr b. Qays stood in the street behind the Mosque of Aḥmas; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf, Bishr b. Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh, and Kaʿb b. Abī Kaʿb stood in the street beside the Euphrates. Then the two sides fought as fiercely as men have ever fought. The forces of Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ as well as those of ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil were routed. Al-Mukhtār was surprised when the defeated men came back to him. He asked, "What has happened to you?" They said, "We have been defeated." He asked, "What has happened to Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ?" They said, "When we left him, he had dis-

77. Ibn al-Ashtar's clan, Nakhaʿ, a division of the tribe of Madhḥij, belonged to the Yemeni group (*Lisān*, s.v.; Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, 8).

78. ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, the son of the military leader who had founded al-Kūfah, was particularly hated by the Shīʿah because he had commanded the Umayyad army that the Umayyad governor of al-Kūfah, ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, had sent to prevent al-Ḥusayn from reaching al-Kūfah.

mounted [to fight] by the Mosque of al-Quṣṣāṣ."[79] (They meant the Mosque of Abū Dāwūd in [the tribal district of] Wādiʿah. The people of that time frequented this mosque to tell stories.) "Some of his companions had dismounted with him." The companions of ʿAbdallāh [b. Kāmil] said, "We do not know what happened to Ibn Kāmil." Al-Mukhtār shouted to them, "Turn back!" He went with them until he reached the house of Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Jadalī. He sent out ʿAbdallāh b. Qurād al-Khathʿamī, who was at the head of four hundred men, companions of his, saying, "Take your forces to Ibn Kāmil. If he has perished, you are in his place; fight the enemy with your forces and his. If you find him alive and well, take a hundred of your companions, all of them skilled horsemen, and give him the rest of your forces. Order them to exert themselves on his behalf and serve him loyally, for they will thereby be serving me loyally; and whoever serves me loyally, let him rejoice! Then advance with the hundred men until you come upon the people in Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ from the direction of the Bath of Qaṭan b. ʿAbdallāh."

ʿAbdallāh b. Qurād al-Khathʿamī went forth. He found Ibn Kāmil standing by the Bath of ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth. With him were some of his forces who had held firm; he was fighting the enemy. ʿAbdallāh b. Qurād gave him three hundred of his companions [657] and continued on toward Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ. Then he turned into those streets, until he reached the Mosque of ʿAbd al-Qays, where he halted. He asked his companions, "What do you think?" They replied, "We will follow what you say." (All who were gathered with him were from his kinfolk; they were a hundred.) He said to them, "By God, I want al-Mukhtār to be victorious. Yet, by God, I do not want the *ashrāf* of my people to perish today. By God, I would rather die than that death descend on them by my hands. But stop for a moment; I have heard people say that Shibām will come at them from behind. Perhaps Shibām will do it, and we shall be spared having to do it." His companions said, "As you think best." So he stayed by the Mosque of ʿAbd al-Qays.

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79. As the parenthetical remark explains, the word *quṣṣās* (pl. of *qāṣṣ*) means "storytellers."

Al-Mukhtār sent out Mālik b. ʿAmr al-Nahdī with two hundred men (he was a man of the greatest prowess) and sent out ʿAbdallāh b. Sharīk al-Nahdī with two hundred skilled horsemen to Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ. The latter had remained in the same place. When they reached him, the enemy had gained the upper hand and were overwhelming him, so they fought as hard as they could. Ibn al-Ashtar went and encountered Shabath b. Ribʿī, who had many men from Muḍar with him, among them Ḥassān b. Fāʾid al-ʿAbsī. Ibrāhīm [b. al-Ashtar] said to them, "Woe unto you! Go back, for I do not want anyone from Muḍar to be killed by my hands. Do not bring ruin upon yourselves." However, they refused and fought with him. Ibn al-Ashtar defeated them. Ḥassān b. Fāʾid was carried away to his family and died when he was brought into their presence. On his deathbed, he regained consciousness briefly and said, "By God, I do not want to recover from this wound of mine. I do not want my death to be from anything but the thrust of a javelin or the blow of a sword." He spoke not a word afterward until he died.

[658] The good news reached al-Mukhtār from Ibrāhīm concerning the defeat of Muḍar. Al-Mukhtār sent the news on to Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ and Ibn Kāmil. The men were in the same state in which they had been, with the people of each street defending what was beside it.

[Continuing,] he said: The men of Shibām assembled. They had made Abū al-Qalūṣ their leader and had agreed and decided to come at the Yemenis from behind. But then they said to each other, "By God, it would be better if you directed your efforts against opponents who are not from your own tribal group.[80] March upon Muḍar or Rabīʿah, and fight them." Their shaykh, Abū al-Qalūṣ, fell silent and did not speak. They said, "Abū al-Qalūṣ, what do you think best?" He said, "God, may His praise be exalted, has said, 'O believers, fight the unbelievers who are near to you, and let them find in you a harshness.'[81] Arise!" They rose up; he led them two or three spear lengths,[82] and then said to them, "Sit down." They sat down. He led them a little farther and

80. Shibām was a subdivision (*ḥayy*) of Hamdān, a Yemeni tribe.
81. Qurʾān 9:123.
82. A spear length (*rumḥ*) was about five cubits (Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1153).

made them sit down. Then he said to them, "Get up!" The third time, he led them a little farther and then made them sit down. "Abū al-Qalūṣ," they said to him, "by God, we consider you the bravest of the Arabs. What is causing you to do what you are doing?" He replied, "An experienced man is not like one who is untried. I wanted your hearts to return to you, and that you should prepare your minds for fighting; I did not want to rush you into battle while you were in a state of bewilderment." They said, "You are most clearsighted in what you have done."

As the men of Shibām came out toward Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ, al-Aʿsar al-Shākirī met them at the mouth of the street. Al-Junduʿī and Abū al-Zubayr b. Kurayb attacked him, threw him down, and [659] entered the Jabbānah. The men entered the Jabbānah after them, shouting, "Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn!" Ibn Shumayṭ's forces answered them with "Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn!" When Yazīd b. ʿUmayr b. Dhī Murrān from Hamdān heard this, he said, "Vengeance for ʿUthmān!"[83] Rifāʿah b. Shaddād said to them, "What have we to do with ʿUthmān? I will not fight alongside men who seek vengeance for the blood of ʿUthmān." Some of his kinfolk said to him, "You brought us, and we obeyed you. And now that we have seen our people being slain by the sword, you tell us, 'Go back and leave them!'" So he attacked [the enemy], saying:

I am Ibn Shaddād; I follow the religion of ʿAlī.
    No friend am I to ʿUthmān, the son of Arwā.[84]
Today, I will take the heat amidst those who are tested
    in war's hottest flame, without flagging.

He fought until he was killed.

Yazīd b. ʿUmayr b. Dhī Murrān was also killed, as were al-

83. "Vengeance for ʿUthmān!" was the rallying cry of the Umayyads, who demanded that ʿAlī punish the murderers of their kinsman, the third caliph, and who withheld their allegiance when he did not do so. Both Yazīd b. ʿUmayr and Rifāʿah b. Shaddād are inside Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ; the episode illustrates the disunity of the defenders.

84. Arwā, the mother of ʿUthmān, is mentioned because through her ʿUthmān was distantly related through the female line to the Prophet. Arwā's mother was Umm Ḥakīm, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's grandfather. The line contrasts ʿAlī, whose relation to the Prophet (first cousin and son-in-law) was very close, and ʿUthmān, whose relation was remote. See Ṭabarī, I, 3055.

Nu'mān b. Ṣuhbān al-Jarmī al-Rāsibī, who was an ascetic,[85] and Rifā'ah b. Shaddād b. 'Awsajah al-Fityānī at the Bath of al-Mahbadhān at al-Sabakhah. He, too, was an ascetic. Al-Furāt b. Zaḥr b. Qays al-Ju'fī was killed, and Zaḥr b. Qays was carried away wounded. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays was killed, as was 'Umar b. Mikhnaf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf fought until he was carried away wounded; the men carried him away unconscious, while men of Azd were fighting around him. Ḥumayd b. Muslim[86] said:

In defense of Abū Ḥakīm,[87] I will strike
the heads of slaves and nobles.

[660] And Surāqah b. Mirdās al-Bāriqī[88] said:

O my soul, if you are not steadfast, you will commit a
blameworthy action;
do not turn away from Abū Ḥakīm.

Five hundred prisoners were taken from the houses of the [tribe of] Wādi'ah.[89] They were brought to al-Mukhtār with their hands bound behind their backs. A man from the Banū Nahd, one of al-Mukhtār's chief companions, 'Abdallāh b. Sharīk by name, whenever he encountered an Arab, would set him free. This was reported to al-Mukhtār by Dirham, a *mawlā* of the Banū Nahd. Al-Mukhtār said to him, "Bring the prisoners before me; watch for any of them who was present at the murder of al-Ḥusayn, and let me know about him." So whenever a man who had been present at the murder of al-Ḥusayn was led before him, he was

85. Al-Nu'mān b. Ṣuhbān was "a Shī'ī ascetic (*nāsik*) who had come from al-Baṣrah to fight on the side of the Shī'ah and avenge the death of al-Ḥusayn. When he heard al-Mukhtār say things he found objectionable, he fought against him with the people in Jabbānat al-Sabī' and was killed" (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 233).

86. Ḥumayd b. Muslim was a major source for Abū Mikhnaf's account of the fight against al-Ḥusayn, in which he was a participant, to his later regret. He was a friend of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar (Ṭabarī, II, 613), and later composed an elegy for 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf (Ṭabarī, II, 878). See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 218.

87. The *kunyah* (agnomen) of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf.

88. The poet Surāqah b. Mirdās al-Bāriqī, later a supporter of al-Farazdaq in his rivalry with Jarīr, appears here fighting beside the Azdī leader 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf. The poet's family, the Banū Bāriq, were a clan of the Azd. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 327–8; Hahn, *Surâqa b. Mirdâs*.

89. Wādi'ah was a group associated with Hamdān. See *Lisān*, s.v.

told, "This is one of those who were present at his murder," and he had him brought forward and beheaded. Before he left the place, he killed two hundred and forty-eight men.

Whenever al-Mukhtār's companions saw a man who had annoyed them, quarreled with them, or harmed them, they took him aside and killed him. Many of these men were killed without al-Mukhtār's knowledge. When al-Mukhtār was informed of this afterward, he summoned the remaining prisoners and freed them, making them swear not to aid any enemy against him or seek to do him or his companions mischief. Surāqah b. Mirdās al-Bāriqī was an exception; [al-Mukhtār] ordered him to be led with him to the mosque. [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār's crier proclaimed, "Anyone who closes his door will be safe, except for any man who participated in shedding the blood of the family of Muḥammad."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mujālid b. Sa'īd[90]—'Āmir al-Sha'bī:[91] Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd b. Ru'aym and Ḥajjār b. Abjar[92] sent out messengers, saying to them, "Be close to the Yemenis. If you see that they have gained the upper hand, let the first of you who reaches us say *'ṣarafān.'* If they have been defeated, let him say *'jumzān.'*" When the Yemenis were defeated, their messengers came to them, and the first who reached them said *"jumzān."* So the two men arose and said to their people, "Go back to your houses." So they went back. [661]

'Amr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī, who was one of those who had been present at the murder of al-Ḥusayn, left [his house], mounted his camel, and rode away, taking the road to Sharāf and Wāqiṣah.[93]

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90. Mujālid b. Sa'īd b. 'Umayr al-Hamdānī Abū 'Amr Abū Sa'īd al-Kūfī (d. 144/762) transmitted *ḥadīth* from al-Sha'bī, was a *rāwiyah* (prolific transmitter) of *akhbār* (historical reports), and was credited with the composition of a biography of the Prophet. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 210–11.

91. Abū 'Amr 'Āmir b. Sharaḥīl al-Sha'bī (b. 19/640, d. 103/721) was a Kūfan-born jurist, collector of poetry, and transmitter of *ḥadīth*, in addition to his interest in history. He served as a special ambassador to the Byzantines for 'Abd al-Malik, and as *qāḍī* under 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Later historians considered him very trustworthy and often used him as a source. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Sha'bī; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 277; and U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 136–37.

92. See above, Ṭabarī, II, 652. They were encamped with members of the Rabī'ah tribes "between al-Tammārīn and al-Sabakhah."

93. Sharāf and Wāqiṣah are two watering places about 110 miles south of al-Kūfah on the road to Najd. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v. Sharāf.

He was never seen again, and no one knows whether the earth swallowed him up or the sky rained stones on him.[94]

When Furāt b. Zaḥr b. Qays was killed, ʿĀʾishah bint Khalīfah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Juʿfiyyah, who had been the wife of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, sent and asked al-Mukhtār to allow her to bury his body. He did so, and she buried it.

Al-Mukhtār sent a lad (*ghulām*)[95] of his named Zirbī to pursue Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—Muslim b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḍabābī, who said: Al-Mukhtār's lad Zirbī followed us and overtook us. We had left al-Kūfah on lean[96] horses of ours. He approached us, riding at a fast gait. When he came near us, Shamir said to us, "Run, and get away from me. Perhaps the slave wants [to take] me." [Continuing,] he said: We ran and distanced ourselves. The slave wanted to take Shamir, but Shamir wheeled round to draw him away. When the slave had been separated from his companions, Shamir attacked him and broke his back. When word of this was brought to al-Mukhtār, he said, "Alas for Zirbī! Had he asked my advice, I would not have commanded him to go out after Abū al-Sābighah."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Muḥammad[97] al-Hamdānī—Muslim b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḍabābī, who said: When Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan keft [al-Kūfah], I was with him. (This was at the time
[662] when al-Mukhtār defeated us, killed the Yemenis at Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ, and sent his lad Zirbī to seek Shamir, with the result

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94. Cf. Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 310: "ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj [printed text reads Ḥajjāḥ], one of the chief murderers of al-Ḥusayn, fled for al-Baṣrah. However, he was afraid the people would gloat over his misfortune; so he turned toward Sarāf. The people of the watering place told him to leave, since they did not feel safe from al-Mukhtār. After he rode away, they chided each other, saying, 'We have behaved badly.' A group of them rode in search of him, to bring him back; but when he saw them from afar, he thought they were al-Mukhtār's men and turned onto the sand at a place called al-Buyayḍah, between the villages of Kalb and those of Ṭayyiʾ. It was the heat of summer. He fell asleep there at midday, and he and his companions died of thirst." Cf. also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 240.

95. *Ghulām* means "a young lad"; that Zirbī was in fact a slave is shown by the use of the word *ʿabd* ("slave") to refer to him in the next paragraph.

96. *Ḍāmir*, "lean and lank in the belly," was applied to a horse that was fattened and then put on short rations so that it lost weight and became faster for purposes of racing. See Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 1804.

97. Perhaps the *kunyah* of Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 109, 189.

that Shamir killed the lad.] Shamir went on until he reached Sātīdamā.[98] Then he went and encamped next to a village called "al-Kalbāniyyah,"[99] on a riverbank beside a hill. He sent to the village, took a native peasant, beat him, and said, "Hurry with this letter of mine to al-Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr."[100] He wrote the address of the letter, "To the Commander, al-Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, from Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan." [Continuing,] he said: The native went until he entered a village in which there were some houses. Abū ʿAmrah[101] was there, having been sent to that village in those days by al-Mukhtār to be an armed guard [over the road] between him and the people of al-Baṣrah.[102] That native met a native of that village and started complaining to him of what he had suffered at the hands of Shamir. While they were talking, one of Abū ʿAmrah's men passed and saw the letter in the possession of the native, with its address, "To Muṣʿab, from Shamir." They asked the native where he was, and he told them. It turned out that only three *farsakhs*[103] lay between them and him. [Continuing,] he said: So they set out toward him.

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98. The location is unknown. Ms. O omits the phrase; Mss. Pet and Co leave the word undotted. Ed. Leiden reads "Sātīdamā" on the basis of Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, which mentions that the word occurs in poetry and lists several possible identifications, none likely in this context. Le Strange, *Lands*, 111, places the Sātīdamā River near Mayyāfāriqīn. The context indicates that Shamir is apprehended somewhere between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 308, reads, "He encamped near al-Baṣrah, in a place called Sādamāh."

99. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, gives al-Kaltāniyyah, a village between al-Sūs (in Khūzistān) and al-Ṣaymarah (near al-Baṣrah), as the place where Shamir was killed. The mss. of Ṭabarī read "al-Kalbāniyyah," which ed. Leiden originally emended to agree with Yāqūt. However, ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXX, restores "al-Kalbāniyyah." De Goeje's reasons can be found in his edition of Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-aʿlāq al-nafīsah*, 188d. Morony, *Iraq*, 198, refers to a place of this name in western Khūzistān.

100. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr was governor of al-Baṣrah for his brother, the anti-Umayyad caliph ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. See *EI*[1], s.v.; Ṭabarī, II, 602, 665.

101. Kaysān Abū ʿAmrah, a *mawlā* of ʿUraynah, was in charge of al-Mukhtār's personal guard (*ḥaras*). See *EI*[2], s.v. Kaysān; Ṭabarī, II, 634. On the use of Kaysāniyyah ("followers of Kaysān") to designate the followers of al-Mukhtār, see *EI*[2], s.v. Kaysāniyya.

102. Al-Baṣrah was a Muslim Arab garrison city (*miṣr*) and provincial capital near the Tigris-Euphrates estuary in lower Iraq, just south of the modern city. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 44–46; *EI*[2], s.v.

103. A *farsakh*, from Persian *farsang*, was originally the distance that could be covered on foot in an hour's march. In Islamic times, it was standardized at three Arab miles, each of 1000 *bāʿ* (fathoms), each of four canonical ells of 49.875 cm.; or 5.985 km/3.717 miles. See *EI*[2], s.v.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muslim b. ʿAbdallāh, who said: By God, I was with Shamir that night. We said to him, "If only you would take us away from this place, for we are apprehensive in it." He replied, "And all this from fear of the great liar? By God, I will not move from here for three days. God has filled your hearts with panic." [Continuing,] he said: There were many locusts
[663] in the place where we were. By God, I was between waking and sleeping when I heard the sound of horses' hooves. I said to myself that it was the sound of the locusts. Then I heard it louder, so I roused myself and rubbed my eyes. "No, by God," I said, "it is not locusts." [Continuing,] he said: I went to get up, and suddenly I saw them looking down at us from the hill. With a shout of "*Allāhu akbar* [God is most great]!" they surrounded our tents. We went out, running on foot, and left our horses. [Continuing,] he said: I passed Shamir. He had wrapped the lower part of his body in a cloak with a colored pattern. He was suffering from leprosy, and I can still see the white of his flanks above the cloak. He was thrusting at them with a lance, for they had rushed him before he could put on his sword and his clothes. We went on and left him. [Continuing,] he said: I had been running only a short time when I heard, "*Allāhu akbar*! God has slain the villain."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mishraqī[104]—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUbayd Abū al-Kanūd,[105] who said: By God, I was the man who got the letter. I saw it with the native and took it to Abū ʿAmrah, and I killed Shamir. [Al-Mishraqī] said: I asked [Abū al-Kanūd], "Did you hear him say anything that night?" "Yes," he replied, "he came out toward us and tried to thrust at us with his lance for a time. Then he threw down his lance, went into his tent, got his sword, and came out at us, saying:

You have aroused a bold lion from his covert,
    a grim-faced one who breaks the back [of his prey].
Never has he been seen to shrink from a foe,
    but rather fighting or killing,
Striking them with force and quenching the spear's thirst."

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104. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mishraqī, see U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 200–1.

105. Abū al-Kanūd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUbayd al-Azdī al-Kūfī (born in pre-Islamic times, d. after 70/689) transmitted traditions from ʿAlī. In 50, he was Ziyād b. Abīhi's agent (*ʿāmil*) at al-Kūfah, according to Ṭabarī, II, 101. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 213 (who gives a different *ism*); and U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 218.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq: When al-Mukhtār left Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ and went to the palace, Surāqah b. Mirdās began to call to him at the top of his voice:[106] [664]

Be gracious to me today, O best of Maʿadd;[107]
O best of those who dwell at Shiḥr and al-Janad;[108]
O best of those who greet with the Muslim greeting, perform the pilgrimage, and bow in worship.[109]

Al-Mukhtār had him sent to prison and held for a night. The next morning, he sent and had him taken out. He summoned Surāqah. As the latter approached al-Mukhtār, he recited:

Tell Abū Isḥāq[110] that we
leapt a leap[111] that was to our harm.
We revolted, thinking the poor[112] were nothing;
but our revolt was insolence and death.
We thought them[113] few in their ranks;
but when we met they were like locusts.
We took the field when we saw them; and when
we saw that the people had come out toward us,
We suffered at their hands strong blows
and well-aimed thrusts, so that we turned back.
You were aided against your enemy every day
by squadrons each of which was mourning al-Ḥusayn;
Even as Muḥammad was aided on the day of Badr

106. The *Dīwān* of Surāqah preserves a fuller version of the poet's encounter with al-Mukhtār. See Hahn, *Surâqa b. Mirdâs*, 19–29, 31–33; and Jumaḥī, *Tabaqāt al-shuʿarā'*, 105.

107. Maʿadd, the son of ʿAdnān, and father of Nizār, was an ancestor of the northern Arabian tribes, to which al-Mukhtār's tribe of Thaqīf belonged.

108. Shiḥr, on the south coast of the Arabian peninsula, and al-Janad, in the highlands, are two places in Yemen. Al-Mukhtār is being praised as the best of the northern and southern Arabs.

109. I.e., best of all Muslims. Use of the greeting *al-salāmu ʿalaykum* (cf. Qur'ān 6:54, and 7:46) was a mark of the Muslim and was believed to mirror the greeting of those in Paradise. "Perform the pilgrimage": the Arabic means, literally, "say the formula beginning *labbayka*," which is used by pilgrims to Mecca.

110. I.e., al-Mukhtār, whose *kunyah* was Abū Isḥāq.

111. I.e., made an attack, revolted. The verb *nazā* also suggests rashness, succumbing to base instincts, or greed.

112. Al-Mukhtār invoked defense of the poor (*ḍuʿafā'*) along with vengeance for al-Ḥusayn as reasons for his revolt. Cf. Ṭabarī, II, 606–7, 609–10.

113. *Dīwān*: You would think them.

and on the day of the gorge when he reached Ḥunayn.[114]
Having obtained your object, grant pardon; had we obtained our object,
We would have acted unjustly in governing and transgressed.
Accept my repentance; as for me,
I will be thankful if you make the cash a debt.[115]

When he reached al-Mukhtār, he said to him, "May God preserve you, commander! Surāqah b. Mirdās swears by God, other than Whom there is no god,[116] that he saw the angels fighting on piebald horses between heaven and earth."[117] Al-Mukhtār said to him, "Go up into the pulpit and let the Muslims know about it." So he went up and told them of it; then he came down. Al-Mukhtār took him aside and said, "I know indeed that you did
[665] not see the angels. But I know what you wanted: that I should not kill you. Go away from me, wherever you wish, and don't corrupt my companions for me."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿAlī al-Bāriqī[118]—Surāqah b. Mirdās, who said: "In no oath I ever swore did I lie more vigorously or outrageously than in this oath of mine, when I swore to them that I had seen the angels fighting on their side."

They set Surāqah b. Mirdās free, and he fled and joined ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf in the entourage of al-Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr in al-Baṣrah. The *ashrāf* of al-Kūfah and leading men left and joined Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr in al-Baṣrah. As Surāqah b. Mirdās was leaving al-Kūfah, he recited:

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114. The Qur'ān says that God gave the Prophet supernatural assistance at the Battle of Badr, in A.H. 2, at which the infant Muslim community defeated a much larger Meccan force, and the Battle of Ḥunayn, in A.H. 8, at which a coalition of tribes was turned back near al-Ṭā'if. See Qur'ān 8:9, 17 (Badr) and 9:25–27 (Ḥunayn). The *Sīrah* literature elaborates upon these incidents. See *EI*², s.vv. Badr and Ḥunayn.

115. The sense is, "I will be thankful if you make my obligation, which ought to be paid immediately in cash, payable as a debt in the future." The *Dīwān* adds another line: "Thus you will find Surāqah; so be kind to him, for he will make your foes ever more contemptible."

116. Qur'ān 59:22.

117. In Ibn Hishām's biography of the Prophet, enemy spies before the Battle of Ḥunayn come back terrified at having seen "white men on piebald horses." See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 891.

118. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 204.

Tell Abū Isḥāq that I
saw that the piebald horses were black and of one color!
I deny your revelation, and I have bound myself by vow
to fight you to the death.
I make my eyes see what they did not perceive;
both of us are experts in lies!
When they speak, I say to them, "You have lied."
And when they come out, I gird on my weapon for them.[119]

According to Abū al-Sā'ib Salm b. Junādah—Muḥammad b. Barrād (one of the descendants of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī)—a shaykh, who said: When Surāqah al-Bāriqī was taken prisoner, he said, "Was it you who took me prisoner? No, I was taken prisoner by men wearing white garments and riding piebald horses." [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār said, "Those were the angels!" And he released him. Then Surāqah recited:

Tell Abū Isḥāq that I
saw that the piebald horses were black and of one color!
I make my eyes see what they did not see;
both of us are experts in lies!

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Umayr b. Ziyād: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī said on the day of the Battle of Jabbānat al-Sabī', "Alas for you! Who are these who have come [666]
at us from behind?" When he was told that they were men from Shibām, he said, "O the wonder of it! One who has no kindred fights me by means of my kindred!"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Rawq:[120] Shuraḥbīl b. Dhī Buqlān, a member of the Nā'iṭ,[121] was killed that day. He was one of the nobility[122] of [the tribe of] Hamdān. That day, before he was killed, he said, "What a way of killing! How misguided

119. The *Dīwān* adds: "When al-Mukhtār learned of his having gone to al-Baṣrah and of these verses of his, he tore down Surāqah's house. Muṣ'ab rebuilt it after al-Mukhtār was killed."

120. Full name: 'Aṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith Abū Rawq al-Hamdānī. He is known as a traditionist and Qur'ānic commentator, in addition to his activity as a historian. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 199.

121. Nā'iṭ was a clan (*baṭn*) of the tribe of Hamdān.

122. Arabic, *buyūtāt*, "the [noble] houses."

those who were slain! A fight without a leader! A fight without a purpose! A hastening of the separation from loved ones! Even if we kill them, we shall not be safe from them. 'Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return.'[123] By God, I went out only to share the lot of my people, fearing that they would be oppressed. I swear by God that I have not escaped from that, neither have they been saved. I have been of no avail to them, neither have they availed anything." [Continuing,] he said: A man named Aḥmar b. Hadīj, from the Fā'ish [clan] of Hamdān, shot him with an arrow and killed him.

[Continuing,] he said: Three men fought with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī: Si'r b. Abī Si'r al-Ḥanafī, Abū al-Zubayr al-Shibāmī, and another man. Si'r said, "I hit him with a thrust [of the lance]." Abū al-Zubayr said, "But I struck him ten blows [with the sword], or more, and his son said to me, 'Abū al-Zubayr, will you kill 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd, the lord (*sayyid*) of your people?' I said to him, 'Thou shalt not find any people who believe in God and the Last Day who are loving to anyone who opposes God and His Messenger, not though they were their fathers, or their sons, or their brothers, or their clan.'"[124] Al-Mukhtār said, "You all did well." The battle left seven hundred and eighty of his people slain.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: At that time, there was great slaughter among the Yemenis. Of the people of
[667] Muḍar in al-Kunāsah a dozen or so were struck down. They then went and passed by the men of Rabī'ah, whereupon Ḥajjār b. Abjar, Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ru'aym, Shaddād b. al-Mundhir (the brother of Ḥuḍayn[125]) and 'Ikrimah b. Rib'ī retreated, all of them returning to their homes. 'Ikrimah attacked the enemy and fought violently with them, but retreated from them wounded. He came to his house and entered it. Then he was told that horsemen had passed by the quarter of the tribe. He went out of the house and tried to jump from the wall of his house to another house beside it, but was unable to do so until a [slave] lad of his lifted him up.

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123. Qur'ān 2:156.
124. Qur'ān 58:22.
125. Corrected by ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXX, from "Ḥuṣayn."

The battle of Jabbānat al-Sabī' took place on Wednesday, six days before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 66.[126]

[Al-Mukhtār Acts against the Murderers of al-Ḥusayn]

[Continuing,] he said: The *ashrāf* left and reached al-Baṣrah.[127] Al-Mukhtār turned his attention to the murderers of al-Ḥusayn. He said, "It is no part of our religion to leave people who murdered al-Ḥusayn walking alive in this world and safe. What a bad avenger[128] of the family of Muḥammad I should then be in this world! I should then be the liar they have called me. I take God as my helper against them. Praise be to God, Who has made me a sword whereby He has smitten them, a lance whereby He has thrust at them, the avenger of the family of Muḥammad, and the upholder of their right! Verily, God's right it is to slay those who slew them and humble those who ignored their right. Name them to me, and follow them until you annihilate them."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. 'Āmir: Al-Mukhtār said to them, "Seek me out the murderers of al-Ḥusayn; food and drink will have no savor for me until I purify the earth and cleanse the city of them."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mālik b. A'yan al-Juhanī:[129] 'Abdallāh b. Dabbās (he was the man who killed Muḥammad b. 'Ammār b. Yāsir, of whom the poet said:

Slain by Ibn Dabbās; he hit the back of his head) [668]

was the man who guided al-Mukhtār to some of the men who had murdered al-Ḥusayn, among them 'Abdallāh b. Usayd b. al-Nazzāl al-Juhanī from [the clan] of Ḥuraqah, Mālik b. al-Nusayr al-Baddī,

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126. Literally, "six nights remaining," i.e., 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 66 A.H. (July 21, 686), which, however, fell on Saturday, not Wednesday.

127. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 237: "After the men had been defeated at the Battle of Jabbānat al-Sabī', the Kūfan *ashrāf* left and joined Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, who had come to al-Baṣrah as governor of the two provinces of Iraq."

128. *Nāṣir*, literally, "helper," but for this meaning see Lane, *Lexicon*, VIII, 2802, s.v. *naṣara*.

129. Perhaps to be identified with the Abū Manṣūr al-Juhanī who passed on a collection of 'Alī's sermons collected by Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhanī. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 209.

and Ḥamal b. Mālik al-Muḥāribī. Al-Mukhtār sent one of his chief companions, Abū Nimrān[130] Mālik b. ʿAmr al-Nahdī, after them. He came upon them while they were in al-Qādisiyyah,[131] took them, and brought them back to al-Mukhtār in the evening.

Al-Mukhtār said to them, "Enemies of God, enemies of His Book, enemies of His Messenger and the family of His Messenger! Where is al-Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī? Deliver al-Ḥusayn to me. You killed him whom you were commanded to bless during prayer." They replied, "May God have mercy on you. We were sent unwillingly. Be gracious to us and spare us." Al-Mukhtār said, "Why were you not gracious to al-Ḥusayn, the son of your prophet's daughter? Why did you not spare him and give him drink?" Then al-Mukhtār said to al-Baddī, "You took his hood?"[132] ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil said to him, "Yes, he is the very man." Al-Mukhtār said, "Cut off his hands and feet, and leave him. Let him thrash about until he dies." This was done to him. He was left and continued bleeding until he died.[133] [Al-Mukhtār] gave orders for the other two. They were brought forward. ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil killed ʿAbdallāh al-Juhanī, and Siʿr b. Abī Siʿr killed Ḥamal b. Mālik al-Muḥāribī.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī—Abū Saʿīd al-Ṣayqal: Al-Mukhtār was guided to some of the murderers of al-Ḥusayn by Siʿr al-Ḥanafī. [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār sent ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil. We went out with him. He passed through the Banū Ḍubayʿah[134] and took from them a man named Ziyād b. Mālik [Continuing,] he said: Then he went to [the clan of]
[669] ʿAnazah[135] and took from them a man named ʿImrān b. Khālid. [Continuing,] he said: Then he sent me, together with some of his

130. Ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, pp. DCLXIX–DCLXX, emends ms. "Abū Nimr" to "Abū Nimrān" on the basis of Ṭabarī, II, 727.

131. Al-Qādisiyyah, 19 miles southwest of al-Kūfah, was a large hamlet at the first stage on the road to Mecca. In 14/635, the Muslims had won their first great victory over the Persians near it. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳādisiyya; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.; and Le Strange, *Lands*, 76.

132. *Burnus*, which at first meant a long, pointed hat or hood, later was applied to any cloak with a hood attached. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 196.

133. Cf. the equally graphic account in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 239, where Mālik is gradually dismembered, with each limb being thrown into a fire.

134. A clan of the tribe of Bakr b. Wāʾil, or from the Rabīʿah group. See *Lisān*, s.v.

135. A tribe from the Rabīʿah group. See *Lisān*, s.v.

men who were called "the investigators,"[136] to a house in the Persian section.[137] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Khushkārah al-Bajalī and ʿAbdallāh b. Qays al-Khawlānī were in it. We brought them back to [al-Mukhtār]. He said to them, "Murderers of the righteous! Murderers of the lord of the youth of Paradise! Do you not see that God has retaliated against you today? The *wars*[138] came to you on an unlucky day." (They had taken some *wars* that had been in al-Ḥusayn's possession.) "Take them out to the market and behead them." This was done to them. They were four men.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid[139]—Ḥumayd b. Muslim, who said: Al-Sāʾib b. Mālik al-Ashʿarī[140] came with al-Mukhtār's horsemen to take us. I went our toward [the tribe of] ʿAbd al-Qays, and ʿAbdallāh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the two sons of Ṣalkhab,[141] went out following me. The arrest of the two diverted al-Mukhtār's men from me, so I escaped. Taking the two men, they passed by the house of a man named ʿAbdallāh b. Wahb b. ʿAmr, a cousin of Aʿshā Hamdān,[142] from the Banū

136. *Dabbābah*, from the verb "to creep," could mean either (as collective pl. of *dabbāb*) "those much given to creeping about," or (as a *nomen instrumenti*) "a machine for creeping." In the latter sense, it was applied to a siege engine (Latin *testudo*) used to protect men advancing to breach the walls of a city. Either sense could be extended to give the meaning suggested by the Leiden edition glossary.

137. Literally, "in [the section of] al-Ḥamrāʾ. The Ḥamrāʾ ("fair or light-complexioned people") were originally a group of Persian soldiers who went over to the Arab side at the Battle of Qādisiyyah. Later, some of them were settled at al-Kūfah with the Muslim army. They included some 4,000 Daylamīs, who became allies of the Banū Tamīm and had their own chief (*naqīb*) and mosque. See Morony, *Iraq*, 197–98.

138. *Wars* is a bright yellow dye derived from a plant grown in Yemen. Mixed with oil, it makes an ointment still used in parts of the Arabian peninsula to protect against sunburn. The Arabic rhymes and has a proverbial ring to it: *jāʾakumu-l-wars bi-yawmi naḥs*.

139. He mediated reports on the deaths of ʿAlī and al-Ḥusayn and on the campaign of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 217.

140. One of al-Mukhtār's early supporters and chief companions, al-Sāʾib b. Mālik had spoken out in opposition to Ibn al-Zubayr's governor of al-Kūfah before al-Mukhtār's seizure of the city and had been present when al-Mukhtār approached Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar seeking his support. See Ṭabarī, II, 601, 603, 612.

141. Variant in P, "Ṣalḥab"; Ibn Athīr has "Ṣalḥat."

142. Aʿshā Hamdān (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh Abū al-Muṣabbiḥ), of the Jusham clan of the South Arabian tribe of Hamdān, was a major poet. He was consistently hostile to the Umayyads and was to meet his death in 83/702 for his part in Ibn al-Ashʿath's rebellion against al-Ḥajjāj. See *EI*², s.v.; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 345–46.

ʿAbd, and took him. They brought these men to al-Mukhtār; he gave orders concerning them, and they were killed in the market. They were three men.

When he escaped from al-Mukhtār's men, Ḥumayd b. Muslim said:

Have you not seen me in dismay?
I escaped, but almost did not escape.
The hope for God saved me;
I hope for nothing but Him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. ʿĀmir al-ʿAdawī from [the tribe of] Juhaynah (Shahm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Juhanī also knew this report), who said: Al-Mukhtār sent ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil
[670] to [take] ʿUthmān b. Khālid b. Usayr al-Duhmānī from Juhaynah and Abū Asmāʾ Bishr b. Sawṭ al-Qābiḍī. Both men were among those who had been present at the murder of al-Ḥusayn and had participated in shedding the blood of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib[143] and in taking his spoils. About the time of the mid-afternoon prayer, ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil surrounded the mosque of the Banū Duhmān and said [to us], "If ʿUthmān b. Khālid b. Usayr is not brought to me, upon me be sins like those of the Banū Duhmān from the day they were created until the day on which they shall be resurrected, if I do not behead you to your last man." "Give us time," we said to him, "and we will seek him." So the men went out with horses to seek him. They found the two men sitting in the cemetery (*jabbānah*), about to leave for al-Jazīrah. They were brought to ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil, who said, "Praise be to God, Who 'spared the believers a fight!'[144] Had they not found this man together with that one, it would have put us to the bother of going to his house to seek him. Praise be to God, Who has brought the time of calamity upon you, so that it has overpowered you." He took them away to the site of Bi'r al-Jaʿd and beheaded them. Then he returned and gave al-Mukhtār a report about them. The latter ordered him to go back to them and burn them with fire, saying, "They shall not be buried until they are burned." These were two men.

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143. Al-Ḥusayn's cousin, killed at Karbalāʾ. See Ṭabarī, II, 357, 387.
144. Qurʾān 33:25.

A'shā Hamdān recited the following verses as an elegy for 'Uthmān al-Juhanī:

Weep, my eye, for the most valiant of young men, 'Uthmān;
O young man of the family of Duhmān, do not go afar.
Recall a glorious young man of beautiful character;
there is no horseman like him among the people of Hamdān.[145]

[Continuing,] Mūsā b. 'Āmir said: Al-Mukhtār sent out Mu'ādh b. Hāni' b. 'Adī al-Kindī, the son of Ḥujr's brother,[146] and Abū 'Amrah, the head of his bodyguard. They went and surrounded the house of Khawalī b. Yazīd al-Aṣbaḥī, the man who had taken al-Ḥusayn's head and brought it [to al-Kūfah]. Khawalī concealed himself in the latrine.[147] When Mu'ādh ordered Abū 'Amrah to seek him in the house, Khawalī's wife came out to them. They asked her. "Where is your husband?" She said, "I do not know where he is." But she pointed with her hand to the latrine. They went in and found him—he had put a basket over his head. They brought him out. Al-Mukhtār was walking in al-Kūfah and going to see his companions. Abū 'Amrah sent him a messenger, and al-Mukhtār received the messenger at the house of Abū Bilāl.[148] Ibn Kāmil was with him. The messenger told him the news. Al-Mukhtār went to meet them and took charge of Khawalī. He brought him back and killed him in the presence of his family. Then he called for fire and burned him, not leaving until the body had turned to ashes; then he departed. Khawalī's wife (she was from Ḥaḍramawt and was named al-'Ayūf bint Mālik b. Nahār b. 'Aqrab) had become hostile to Khawalī when he had brought al-Ḥusayn's head [to al-Kūfah]. [671]

145. *Dīwān* (ed. Geyer), poem no. 48; translation in von Goutta, *Der Agānīartikel über 'A'šā von Hamdān*, 50.

146. In 51/671, the Kūfan Shī'ī leader Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī and his associates revolted against Mu'āwiyah and the governor of Iraq, Ziyād b. Abīhi. Ziyād arrested Ḥujr and sent him to Syria, where he was beheaded. See Ṭabarī, II, 111–55; *EI²*, s.v. Ḥudjr b. 'Adī al-Kindī; and Jafri, *Origins*, 159–66.

147. *Makhraj* ("exit") also means "a place in the open air where one satisfies the needs of nature" (Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 360). The context suggests an enclosed outhouse.

148. Probably to be read "Bilāl," without "Abū," as at Ṭabarī, II, 735. See ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXX.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. ʿAmir Abū al-Ashʿar: One day while al-Mukhtār was talking to his companions, he said, "Tomorrow I will kill a man with big feet, sunken eyes, and prominent eyebrows. His death will gladden believers and the angels stationed near [God]." [Continuing,] he said: Al-Haytham b. al-Aswad al-Nakhaʿī was close to al-Mukhtār when he heard this statement. It occurred to him that the man whom al-Mukhtār
[672] meant was ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ; so when he returned to his house, he called his son al-ʿUryān and said, "Meet Ibn Saʿd tonight and tell him about such-and-such a matter. Tell him, 'Take care, for he means no one else but you.'" [Continuing,] he said: The son went to ʿUmar b. Saʿd, took him aside, and told him what had been said. ʿUmar b. Saʿd said to him, "God reward your father for his brotherly behavior! How could he intend to do such a thing to me after the promises and covenants he has given me?" Now when al-Mukhtār had first achieved victory, he had behaved in the best and friendliest possible manner toward people. ʿUmar b. Saʿd had spoken to ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿdah b. Hubayrah (one of the men most honored by al-Mukhtār because of his closeness to ʿAlī) and had said to him, "I do not feel safe from this man"—meaning al-Mukhtār. "Get me a guarantee of safety (*amān*) from him." ʿAbdallāh had done so.[149]

[Continuing,] he said: I saw his guarantee of safety and read it:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: This is a guarantee of safety from al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd for ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. You are safe, with God's protection for yourself, your property, your family, and the people of your house and your children. You will not be taken to task for any offense committed by you in the past, so long as you heed and obey and keep close to your domicile,[150] your family, and your city. Whosoever encounters ʿUmar b. Saʿd, whether one of the police (*shurṭat Allāh*), the supporters (*Shīʿah*) of the

149. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 237, according to which ʿUmar b. Saʿd had gone into hiding after al-Mukhtār's victory and had come out only after obtaining an *amān*.

150. *Raḥl*, "a man's dwelling, or habitation" (Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1054): ʿUmar was not to leave al-Kūfah for any of his other properties.

family of Muḥammad, or anyone else, let him do him only good.

Witnessed by: al-Sā'ib b. Mālik, Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ, 'Abdallāh b. Shaddād, and 'Abdallāh b. Kāmil. And al-Mukhtār has taken upon himself an oath and covenant by God to uphold for 'Umar b. Sa'd the guarantee of safety he has given him, unless he cause some offense. He has made God his witness—"and God suffices for a witness."[151] [673]

[Continuing,] he said: Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī[152] used to say, "As for al-Mukhtār's guarantee of safety for 'Umar b. Sa'd, 'unless he cause some offense,' he meant by it: 'if he enters the privy and causes offense!'"[153]

[Continuing,] he said: When al-'Uryān had brought him this message, 'Umar b. Sa'd left under cover of that night. Having come to Ḥammām ['Umar],[154] he said to himself, "I will go and stay in my house." So he returned to it, passing al-Rawḥā',[155] and reaching his house in the morning. He told a *mawlā* of his what had happened concerning his guarantee of safety and what had been planned for him. His *mawlā* said, "What offense is greater than what you have done? You have left your residence and your family and come here. Go back to your residence [in al-Kūfah]. Do not give the man a way against you." So he returned to his home. His departure was reported to al-Mukhtār, who said, "No, indeed. On his neck there is a chain that will bring him back even if he does his utmost to depart." [Continuing,] he said: The next morning, al-Mukhtār sent Abū 'Amrah to him and ordered him to bring 'Umar to him. Abū 'Amrah went before 'Umar and said,

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151. Qur'ān 4:79.

152. I.e., Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, called Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 113/731), the fifth Imām according to both the Twelvers and the Ismā'īlīs.

153. Al-Mukhtār tricked 'Umar by an equivocation. Arabic *aḥdatha ḥadathan*, "he caused an incident," was a euphemism for "he voided excrement."

154. Ḥammām 'Umar (the text reads "his *ḥammām*," but the context requires a place name, not "his bath") was a village on the Nars Canal, some 40 miles northeast of al-Kūfah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 73; Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, 282. Morony, *Iraq*, 269–70, places it at the village of Bitrī, across the Euphrates from al-Kūfah. Ṭabarī, II, 910, locates it between Qaṣr Hubayrah and Qubbīn.

155. A village of al-Rawḥā' near al-Sindiyyah on the Nahr 'Īsā close to Baghdad is mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.

"Obey the commander!" 'Umar got up, but tripped over his coat (*jubbah*), and Abū 'Amrah struck him with his sword and killed him. He brought the head, wrapped in the lower part of his tunic (*qabā'*), and set it before al-Mukhtār. Al-Mukhtār said to the man's son, Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar b. Sa'd, who was sitting in his presence, "Do you recognize this head?" [Ḥafṣ] exclaimed, "Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return!"[156] and said, "Yes, and there is no good in life after his death." "You are right," al-Mukhtār said to him, "for you shall not live after him." He gave orders concerning him; he was killed, and his head was with his father's. Al-Mukhtār said, "This one is for Ḥusayn, and that one for 'Alī b. Ḥusayn! But there is no equivalence; by God, if I killed three-fourths of Quraysh[157] in requital for Ḥusayn, they would not measure up to one of his fingernails!"

Ḥumaydah, the daughter of 'Umar b. Sa'd, recited the following, lamenting her father:

[674] Had someone other than a brother of Qasiyy[158] deceived him,
or other than one of Yemen, or other than a Persian,
That would have consoled me somewhat. Know
this concerning him (and a patrician is not like a most base man):
In the scroll, he gave Ibn Sa'd and his son
a promise that even a speckled snake would treat him gently.

When al-Mukhtār killed 'Umar b. Sa'd and his son, he sent their heads with Musāfir b. Sa'īd b. Nimrān al-Nā'iṭī and Ẓabyān b. 'Umārah al-Tamīmī, who brought the heads to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah. Al-Mukhtār wrote Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah a letter concerning the matter.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. 'Āmir, who said: What aroused al-Mukhtār to kill 'Umar b. Sa'd was the fact that Yazīd b. Sharāḥīl al-Anṣārī had come to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah; after greetings, the conversation had turned to the subject of al-

156. Qur'ān 2:156, traditionally said in times of misfortune.

157. Quraysh, as the Prophet's tribe, was the most prestigious and "valuable" tribe.

158. Qasiyy b. Munabbih was the brother of Thaqīf, the ancestor of al-Mukhtār's tribe, and Qasiyy became a nickname for the entire tribe. There is an allusion here to the derivation of the name from *qasā* "he was cruel." See *Lisān*, s.v.

Mukhtār, his rebellion, and his call for avenging the blood of the people of the Prophet's family.[159] Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah said, "To his least important messengers he alleges that he is a partisan (*shīʿah*) of ours, yet the murderers of al-Ḥusayn are his table companions, seated on chairs, and conversing with him." [Continuing,] he said: The other man noted what he had said. When he came to al-Kūfah, he went to al-Mukhtār and greeted him. Al-Mukhtār asked him, "Did you meet the Mahdī?"[160] He replied, "Yes." Al-Mukhtār asked, "What did he say to you and what did he discuss with you?" [Continuing,] he said: So he gave him a report.

[Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār therefore lost no time in killing ʿUmar b. Saʿd and his son and then sent their heads to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah with the two messengers named above. He sent the following letter with them to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah: [675]

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To the Mahdī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, from al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd. Peace be upon you, O Mahdī! I praise God to you, the God save Whom there is no god. To proceed: God has sent me as a vengeance upon your enemies. They have either been killed or imprisoned, or are outcasts and fugitives. Praise be to God, who has slain those who slew you and assisted those who helped you. I have sent you the head of ʿUmar b. Saʿd and his son. We have killed whoever participated in [shedding] the blood of al-Ḥusayn and his household—God's mercy upon them!—all those over whom we have gained power. Those who remain will not escape from God. I will not cease from them, until no vestige of them on the face of the earth is reported to me. Write to me, O Mahdī, giving your opinion, and I will follow it and conform to it. Peace be upon you, O Mahdī, and God's mercy and blessings!

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159. *Ahl al-bayt*, means literally, "people of the house." I have translated it as "people of the Prophet's family." The phrase occurs in Qur'ān 33:33 in a passage referring to Fāṭimah, ʿAlī, and their sons. Jafri, *Origins*, 9ff., argues that even before Islam the phrase was used to honor the Banū Hāshim as hereditary keepers of the Kaʿbah, and that the Shīʿī use of the phrase reflects the idea that the pre-Islamic eminence of this family climaxed in the appearance of the prophetic office in it. See *EI*², s.v.

Then al-Mukhtār sent ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil to [take] Ḥakīm b. Ṭufayl al-Ṭāʾī al-Sinbisī, who had taken the spoils of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī[161] and shot Ḥusayn with an arrow. (He used to say, "My arrow caught in his coat of mail[162] and did not harm him.") ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil came, seized him, and led him away. Ḥakīm's family went and sought help from ʿAdī b. Ḥātim.[163] The latter overtook the men in the street and spoke to ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil about Ḥakīm. ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil said, "I have nothing to do with his affair. It is a matter for the commander, al-Mukhtār." ʿAdī b. Ḥātim said, "I will go to him." ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil said, "Then go to him—and may you take the right way!"[164] So ʿAdī went to al-Mukhtār. Now al-Mukhtār had already accepted ʿAdī's intercession for a group of his tribesmen taken prisoner on the day of Jabbānat al-Sabīʿ who had said nothing concerning al-Ḥusayn or the members of his family. The Shīʿah therefore said to Ibn Kāmil, "We are afraid that the commander will accept the intercession of ʿAdī b.
[676] Ḥātim for his villain, whose guilt you know. Let us kill him." He said, "Do what you want with him." They took him with his hands bound to the place where the tribe of ʿAnazah lived and set him up as a target. Then they said to him, "You despoiled ʿAlī's son of his clothing; by God, we will despoil you of your clothes while you are alive and watching." So they stripped off his clothes. Then they said to him, "You shot Ḥusayn and used him as a

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160. *Mahdī*, "the rightly guided one," was in the early days of Islam used as an honorific epithet in poems praising the Prophet, ʿAlī, and various Umayyad rulers. Sometime during the Second Civil War, the term developed the sense of a restorer of religion and justice after a period of injustice such as saw the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn. Al-Mukhtār was not the first to apply the term to ʿAlī and his descendants. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, the leader of the Tawwābūn, had used it in reference to al-Ḥusayn (Ṭabarī, II, 546), calling him "the Mahdī, son of the Mahdī." The novelty, if one can call it that, in al-Mukhtār's use of the term lay in the application of it to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah. See *EI*², s.v. al-Mahdī; and Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 36.

161. Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī, the half-brother of al-Ḥusayn, was killed at Karbalāʾ. See Ṭabarī, II, 386.

162. *Sirbāl*, which can mean either "shirt" or "coat of mail." See Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1343; and ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CCXC.

163. ʿAdī b. Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī was the leader of the powerful tribe of Ṭayyiʾ and an old supporter of ʿAlī. See *EI*², s.v.

164. Literally, "Go to him, taking the right way, or being well guided (*rāshidan*)." The phrase is based on an idiom: "One says to the traveller, *rashidta*, 'Mayest thou take, or follow, the right way.'" (Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1089).

target for your arrows, and you said, 'My arrow caught in his coat of mail and did not harm him.' We swear to God that we will shoot you the way you shot him with arrows, and let what sticks in you be sufficient for you!" [Continuing,] he said: They shot him with one volley of arrows, many of which hit him, and he fell dead.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Jārūd[165]—someone who saw him dead: He had so many arrows in him that he looked like a hedgehog.

When 'Adī b. Ḥātim came before al-Mukhtār, the latter gave him a seat with him in the place he was sitting. 'Adī told al-Mukhtār why he had come, and al-Mukhtār said to him, "Abū Ṭarīf,[166] do you think it permissible to petition for the murderers of al-Ḥusayn?" 'Adī replied, "He has been falsely accused, God preserve you!" Al-Mukhtār said, "Then we leave him to you." [Continuing,] he said: Before long Ibn Kāmil entered. Al-Mukhtār said to him, "What has happened to the man?" He replied, "The Shī'ah have killed him." Al-Mukhtār, who would not have been pleased had he not killed him, said, "What made you hurry to kill him before bringing him to me? 'Adī, here, has come for him, and he is a man whose intercession deserves to be accepted and whose wish should be carried out." Ibn Kāmil said, "By God, the Shī'ah overcame me." 'Adī said to him, "You are lying, enemy of God! You thought someone better than you was going to accept my intercession for him, so you forestalled me and killed him, and you had no nobility[167] to restrain you from what you did." [Continuing,] he said: Ibn Kāmil cursed him roundly, but al-Mukhtār put his finger on his mouth, commanding Ibn Kāmil to be still [677] and leave 'Adī alone. So 'Adī arose satisfied with al-Mukhtār and angry with Ibn Kāmil, about whom he complained to any of his tribesmen he encountered.

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165. Abū al-Jārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir (d. between 150/767 and 160/776), a famous student of Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir and, after the latter's death, a follower of al-Bāqir's brother Zayd. The Jārūdiyyah (a Zaydī Shī'ite group) took their name from him. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 386–387; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 161; *EI*², s.v. al-Djārūdiyya; and U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 227.

166. 'Adī's *kunyah*.

167. On *khaṭar* as "eminence, nobility, dignity" see Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 764; and ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CCXXVI.

Al-Mukhtār sent ʿAbdallāh b. Kāmil to [take] the slayer of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn. This was a man from ʿAbd al-Qays named Murrah b. Munqidh b. al-Nuʿmān al-ʿAbdī. He was a brave man; when Ibn Kāmil came for him and surrounded his house, he came out to meet them, lance in hand, and mounted on a swift horse. He thrust at ʿUbaydallāh b. Nājiyah al-Shibāmī and threw him down, but did not injure him. [Continuing,] he said: Ibn Kāmil would strike him with his sword, and he would ward it off with his left hand. Soon the sword had cut into it, but the horse spirited him away. He escaped and joined Muṣʿab, but his arm was paralyzed after that.

[Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār also sent out ʿAbdallāh al-Shākirī to [take] a man from Janb[168] called Zayd b. Ruqād, who used to say, "I shot one of their young men with an arrow: he was holding his hand on his forehead, warding off the arrows, and I pinned his hand to his forehead, so that he could not remove his hand from his forehead."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Zubaydī: The young man was ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim b. ʿAqīl.[169] When his hand was pinned to his forehead, he said, "O God, they have despised and humiliated us; slay them, O God, as they have slain us, and humiliate them, as they have humiliated us." Then Zayd b. Ruqād hit the young man with another arrow and killed him. Zayd said, "I came to him when he was dead and pulled out of his body my arrow with which I had killed him. I kept working the arrow in his forehead back and forth until I pulled it out, but the arrowhead remain fixed in his forehead; I could not pull it out."

[Continuing,] he said: When Ibn Kāmil came to Zayd b. Ruqād's
[678] house, he surrounded it, and the men rushed in to seize him. Zayd, who was a brave man, came out to meet them with his sword drawn. Ibn Kāmil said, "Do not strike him with the sword or thrust at him with the lance; shoot him with arrows and pelt him with stones." They did this, and he fell. Ibn Kāmil said, "If there is still a last gasp of life in him, bring him out." They brought him

168. Janb was a Yemeni tribal group of uncertain affiliation. See *Lisān*, s.v.

169. In the account of the death of ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim b. ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib in Ṭabarī, II, 357, the man who shot him is identified as ʿAmr b. Ṣubayḥ al-Ṣudāʾī.

out; there was still life in him. Ibn Kāmil called for fire, and they burned him alive, before he had given up the ghost.[170]

Al-Mukhtār sought out Sinān b. Anas, who claimed to have killed al-Ḥusayn. Finding that he had fled to al-Baṣrah, he tore down his house.

Al-Mukhtār sought out ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUqbah al-Ghanawī. Finding that he had fled and reached al-Jazīrah, he tore down his house. This al-Ghanawī had killed one of the young men [of the family of al-Ḥusayn], and another man, of the Banū Asad [his name was Ḥarmalah b. Kāhil], had also killed a man from al-Ḥusayn's family. Ibn Abī ʿAqib al-Laythī recited the following about these two men:

Amongst [the tribe of] Ghanī there is a drop of our blood;
and amongst [the tribe of] Asad there is another [drop] to be counted and remembered.

Al-Mukhtār sought out a man from Khathʿam called ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUrwah al-Khathʿamī, who said that he had shot twelve arrows at them unsuccessfully. When ʿAbdallāh eluded him and joined Muṣʿab, al-Mukhtār tore down his house.

Al-Mukhtār sought out a man from [the tribe of] Ṣudā'[171] named ʿAmr b. Ṣubayḥ, who said, "I thrust at some of them and wounded them, but killed none of them."[172] They came to get him at night, after people were at rest. He was on his roof, unaware, though [679] with his sword under his head. When they grabbed him and took his sword, he said, "God damn you, sword; so close, yet so far!" He was brought to al-Mukhtār, who imprisoned him with him in the palace. The next morning, he gave audience to his companions, and it was announced, "Let anyone who wants to enter enter." The people came in, and ʿAmr was brought in, bound. He said, "You band of infidels and liars, if my sword were in my hand, you would know that I do not tremble or quake at the blade of a sword. Since it is my fate to be killed, I want no one but you

170. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb, V*, 239, for a version in which he is flayed alive.
171. Ṣudā' was a Yemeni tribe (*Lisān*, s.v.).
172. "But some said that he was the man who had shot ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim in the forehead, while Zayd b. Ruqād had pierced his heart" (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 239).

to kill me. I know you are the worst of God's creatures. But I wish there were a sword in my hand so that I could strike you with it for a time." Then he lifted his hand and slapped Ibn Kāmil, who was beside him, in the eye. Ibn Kāmil laughed, grabbed his hand, and held it. Then he said, "He claims to have wounded and thrust at some of the family of Muḥammad. Give us your command concerning him." Al-Mukhtār said, "Bring me lances!" They were brought. "Thrust at him," he said, "until he dies." So he was thrust with lances until he died.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[173] and his son al-Ḥakam b. Hishām: Al-Mukhtār's companions passed by the house of the sons of Abū Zurʿah b. Masʿūd, who shot at them from atop the house. So they went into the house and killed al-Hibyāṭ[174] b. ʿUthmān b. Abī Zurʿah al-Thaqafī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān b. Abī Zurʿah al-Thaqafī. ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Abī Zurʿah escaped from them with a blow on his head. He went swiftly and came before al-Mukhtār, who gave orders to his wife, Umm Thābit bint Samurah b. Jundab, who nursed the
[680] wound. Then al-Mukhtār called him and said, "I am not at fault. You shot at the men and angered them."

Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath b. Qays[175] was at the village of al-Ashʿath next to al-Qādisiyyah. To take him, al-Mukhtār sent out Ḥawshab, the Keeper of the Chair,[176] with a hundred men, saying, "Set out after him. You will find him diverting himself hunting, or standing cringing with fear, or afraid and turning this way and that in confusion, or lurking hidden. If you overpower him, bring me his head." Ḥawshab went out, reached Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath's palace, and surrounded it. The latter left and joined Muṣʿab. The men stayed by the palace, thinking that he was in it. When they entered and learned that he had eluded them, they returned to al-Mukhtār, who sent and had the house town down.

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173. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī; see U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 204.

174. Ms. O, al-Himyāṭ.

175. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath b. Qays al-Kindī, a descendant of the kings of Kindah, was the father of the ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (often called simply "Ibn al-Ashʿath"), who in 81/700 led a major revolt against al-Ḥajjāj in Iraq.

176. On the Chair that al-Mukhtār exhibited as a relic of ʿAlī, see below, Ṭabarī, II, 702–06.

With the adobe bricks and clay he [re]built the house of Ḥujr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī, which Ziyād b. Sumayyah[177] had torn down.

[The Swearing of Allegiance to al-Mukhtār in al-Baṣrah]

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, al-Muthannā b. Mukharribah al-ʿAbdī summoned the people of al-Baṣrah to swear allegiance to al-Mukhtār.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr[178]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī][179]—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAṭiyyah al-Laythī and ʿĀmir b. al-Aswad: Al-Muthannā b. Mukharribah al-ʿAbdī was among those who had witnessed [the Battle of] ʿAyn al-Wardah with Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. Afterwards, he returned with the surviving Tawwābūn who returned to al-Kūfah. Al-Mukhtār was then being detained. Al-Muthannā waited until al-Mukhtār came out of prison and then swore allegiance to him secretly. Al-Mukhtār said to him, "Make your way back to your territory in al-Baṣrah and summon the people, keeping your activity secret." Al-Muthannā went to al-Baṣrah and received a favorable response from some of his tribesmen and others.

When al-Mukhtār evicted Ibn Muṭīʿ from al-Kūfah and prevented ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām from entering al-Kūfah, al-Muthannā b. Mukharribah went out and [681] took possession of a mosque. His tribesmen gathered round

177. The governor Ziyād b. Abīhi, whose paternity was notoriously unclear, is in this form of his name given a *nisbah* to his mother Sumayyah, a notorious prostitute of al-Ṭāʾif. Ms. O adds, "May God curse him!"

178. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythamah Zuhayr b. Ḥarb al-Nasāʾī (b. 185/801, d. 279/892) was a Baghdad traditionist, historian, and literary scholar, probably of Khurasanian origin. He was a student of al-Madāʾinī and a teacher of al-Ṭabarī. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 319–20; Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Madāʾinīs," 110.

179. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sayf al-Madāʾinī (b. 135/752, d. ca. 228/843), a historian of the generation following Abū Mikhnaf, was active al-Baṣrah (his birthplace), al-Madāʾin, and Baghdad, and was credited with over 200 works on history and literature, most of which survive only as quoted in the works of later authors. See *EI*², s.v.; Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Madāʾinīs"; and Schoeler, "Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung."

him,[180] and he propagandized for al-Mukhtār. Then he went to the provision depot[181] and encamped by it. {Food was stored and camels were slaughtered in "the city."} Against them, al-Qubā'[182] dispatched 'Abbād b. Ḥuṣayn, the head of his police, and Qays b. al-Haytham with police and soldiers. Turning into the street of the *mawālī*, they came out into al-Sabakhah and halted. People remained in their houses; no one came out. 'Abbād kept waiting to see someone he might question. Seeing no one, he said, "Isn't there any man here from the Banū Tamīm?" Khalīfah al-A'war, a *mawlā* of the Banū 'Adī {'Adī al-Ribāb},[183] replied, "This is the house of Warrād, a *mawlā* of the Banū 'Abd Shams." "Knock on the door," he said. So Khalīfah knocked on the door, and Warrād came out to him. 'Abbād cursed him, saying, "Woe unto you! Here I am standing, and you did not come out to me." Warrād replied, "I did not know what would please you." "Put on your sword," he said, "and get your mount." He did so. They waited. Al-Muthannā's forces came and stood opposite them. 'Abbād said to Warrād, "Stay where you are with Qays." Qays b. al-Haytham and Warrād stayed where they were. While the men waited in al-Sabakhah, 'Abbād went back and turned into al-Dhabbāḥīn[184] Street until he reached al-Kallā'.[185] Now the supply depot had four gates: one adjoining al-Baṣrah, one toward al-Khallālīn,[186] one toward the mosque, and one toward the quarter from which the north wind blows. 'Abbād came to the gate facing the river,

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180. Ms. O: "some of his tribesmen gathered around him in it." Al-Muthannā's tribe was 'Abd al-Qays {*nisbah*, "al-'Abdī"}.

181. *Madīnat al-rizq* "the city of provisions." After the Arab conquest, a supply depot was set up at Zābūqah, one of the abandoned Sasanian fortresses at the site of al-Baṣrah. It had a courtyard and was called a "village of provisions" {*qaryat al-arzāq*}. It was rebuilt and enlarged by Ziyād b. Abīhi and his son 'Ubaydallāh, so that it resembled a city and had four iron gates. See Morony, *Iraq*, 62–63; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v. Rizq.

182. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'ah al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī al-Qubā', one of the first men to have sworn allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr as caliph in 64/683, was Ibn al-Zubayr's governor for al-Baṣrah. See Madelung, "'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdī," 295; Ṭabarī, II, 601.

183. Since several tribes or clans had the name 'Adī, his tribe is further defined as the 'Adī of the al-Ribāb confederation, which included the tribes of Ḍabbah, Thawr, 'Ukl, Taym, and 'Adī. See *Lisān*, s.vv. *'Adī* and *Ribāb*.

184. Butchers' Street.

185. Al-Kallā' {"the place where boats are drawn up"} was a riverside market.

186. The street or section of vinegar makers or sellers.

next to the people who deal with rubbish.[187] It was a small gate. There he halted and called for a ladder, which he placed against the wall of the depot. Thirty men climbed up. He told them, "Stay on top. When you hear the shout of *'Allāhu akbar,'* shout *'Allāhu akbar'* on the roof." 'Abbād then went back to Qays b. al-Haytham and said to Warrād, "Incite the men to attack." Warrād attacked al-Muthannā's forces. The fighting became confused. [682] Forty of al-Muthannā's men and one of 'Abbād's men were killed. Hearing the tumult and the shouts of *"Allāhu akbar,"* the men on the roof of the supply depot[188] shouted *"Allāhu akbar."* Those who were in the depot fled. Hearing shouts of *"Allāhu akbar"* behind them, al-Muthannā and his forces took to flight. 'Abbād and Qays b. al-Haytham ordered the men to stop pursuing them. They took the supply depot and its contents, while al-Muthannā and his forces went to [the tribal district of] 'Abd al-Qays. When 'Abbād and Qays and their forces returned to al-Qubā', he sent them to the 'Abd al-Qays district. Qays b. al-Haytham approached from the direction of the bridge; 'Abbād came at them from the Mirbad[189] road, and they met.

While al-Qubā' was in the mosque, sitting on the pulpit, Ziyād b. 'Amr al-'Atakī[190] came to him. Ziyād entered the mosque on his horse and said, "Turn your horsemen away from our brothers,[191] man, or we will fight them." Al-Qubā' sent al-Aḥnaf b. Qays[192]

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187. *Saqaṭ*, which can mean rubbish, household goods of small value, or the offal of slaughtered animals (Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1381).

188. Here the term is *Dār al-rizq*, rather than *Madīnat al-rizq*.

189. Al-Mirbad ("the Kneeling Place for Camels"), near the western gate of al-Baṣrah, was the place where desert caravans halted and one of the busiest parts of the city. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 45; and *EI*², s.v.

190. Ziyād, a member of the 'Atīk, a division of the powerful Yemeni tribe of Azd, had become the leader of the Azd in al-Baṣrah after the assassination of the Azdī leader Mas'ūd b. 'Amr in 64/663. This assassination had provoked severe tribal conflict in al-Baṣrah between the Azd, allied with Bakr b. Wā'il (or Rabī'ah; Mālik b. Misma' was its leader) and 'Abd al-Qays, on the one hand, and Tamīm (Muḍar; al-Aḥnaf b. Qays was its leader), on the other. This tribal animosity now threatens to blaze up again. See Ṭabarī, II, 461.

191. I.e., the 'Abd al-Qays, with whom the Azd were allied.

192. Abū Baḥr Sakhr b. Qays al-Tamīmī al-Sa'dī, surnamed al-Aḥnaf ("having a misshapen foot"), headed the tribe of Tamīm in al-Baṣrah. In the tribal fighting that had racked al-Baṣrah in 64/663, he had worked for a moderate settlement and appears here again as a force for moderation. Compare the very different account of al-Aḥnaf's behavior (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 244–45), where the mediators are

and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī to bring about a settlement. The two went to the tribal district of ʿAbd al-Qays. Al-Aḥnaf said to Bakr and Azd and to the general population (*ʿāmmah*), "Are you not in a state of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr?" "Yes," they said, "but we will not hand over our brothers." "Then," he said, "order them to leave for any territories they like and not disturb this city for its people who are dwelling in safety. Let them depart wherever they will." So Mālik b. Mismaʿ, Ziyād b. ʿAmr, and their most prominent companions went to al-Muthannā and said to him and his companions, "By God, we do not hold your opinion, but we do not want you to be harmed. Go join your leader,[193] for those who have responded favorably to your opinion are few; then you will be safe." Al-Muthannā accepted their proposal and advice and went away. Al-Aḥnaf
[683] returned and said, "Never have I been deficient in my judgement, except today. I went to these people and left Bakr and Azd behind me." ʿAbbād and Qays returned to al-Qubāʿ, while al-Muthannā went to al-Mukhtār in al-Kūfah with a small band of his companions.

Suwayd b. Riʾāb[194] al-Shannī and ʿUqbah b. ʿAshīrah al-Shannī fell in that fighting. The latter was killed by a man from the Banū Tamīm, who was in turn killed. The brother of ʿUqbah b. ʿAshīrah lapped up the blood of the Tamīmī and said, "My revenge!"

When al-Muthannā arrived [in al-Kūfah], he told al-Mukhtār what Mālik b. Mismaʿ and Ziyād b. ʿAmr had done, how they had come to him and had defended him until he left al-Baṣrah. Hoping to win them to his side, al-Mukhtār wrote to them:

> To proceed: Heed and obey, and I will give you whatever you want of this world and guarantee Paradise to you.[195]

ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī and ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ, and where al-Aḥnaf resists attempts at conciliation, despite his reputation for moderation (*ḥilm*). The Balādhurī account, with al-Aḥnaf as head of Tamīm stubbornly hostile to al-Muthannā's tribe of ʿAbd al-Qays and its allies (Bakr and Azd) better explains al-Mukhtār's hostile letter to al-Aḥnaf (below, Ṭabarī, II, 683–84). See *EI*², s.v. al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays.

193. I.e., al-Mukhtār.

194. Ms. O: Ziyād. Shann was a clan (*ḥayy*) of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Qays. See *Lisān*, s.v. *Shann*.

195. Cf. the longer version, in rhymed prose (*sajʿ*), in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 245.

Mālik said to Ziyād, "O Abū al-Mughīrah,[196] Abū Isḥāq has given us a great deal: this world and the next!" Ziyād replied jestingly to Mālik, "O Abū Ghassān,[197] as for me, I do not fight on credit; if someone gives me cash, I fight for him."

Al-Mukhtār wrote to al-Aḥnaf b. Qays:

> From al-Mukhtār to al-Aḥnaf and those who are with him. May you be at peace! To proceed: Woe to the mother of Rabīʿah from Muḍar![198] Al-Aḥnaf is taking his tribesmen to drink of Saqar,[199] whence he cannot bring them forth. I have no power over what has been written in the divine dispensation. I have been told that you call me a liar. The prophets were called liars before me, and I am no better than many of them.[200] [684]

He also wrote to al-Aḥnaf:

If you buy a horse with your money
and take a shield in your left hand,
Make sharp sword fighting your concern.[201]

According to Abū al-Sāʾib Salm b. Junādah—al-Ḥasan b. Ḥammād—Ḥabbān[202] b. ʿAlī—al-Mujālid—al-Shaʿbī, who said: I entered al-Baṣrah and sat down by a circle of men among whom was al-Aḥnaf b. Qays.[203] One of the men said to me, "Who are

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196. The *kunyah* of Ziyād b. ʿAmr.

197. The *kunyah* of Mālik b. Mismaʿ.

198. Cf. the variant below, Ṭabarī, II, 685: "Woe to the mother of Rabīʿah *and* Muḍar!" This makes better sense, since al-Mukhtār has reason to condemn both Muḍar (al-Aḥnaf's tribe) for opposing al-Muthannā and Rabīʿah for sending al-Muthannā back to al-Kūfah. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 245, reads "Rabīʿah and Muḍar."

199. A Qurʾānic name for hell.

200. Cf. Qurʾān 3:184. "But if they cry lies to thee, lies were cried to messengers before thee." Al-Mukhtār's language is ambiguous about whether he lays claim to being among the prophets. Cf. Balādhurī's version (*loc. cit.*): "By my life, if you fight me and call me a liar, those who were before me were called liars; and I am not the best of them."

201. The text is difficult and the manuscripts show many variants. My translation assumes the following text: *Idhā shtarayta farasan min mālikā/thumma akhadhta l-jawba fī shimālikā/fa-ʿal misāʿan ḥadhiman min bālikā.*

202. Ms. Ḥayyān, corrected in ed. Leiden on the basis of Dhahabī, *Mīzān* (Lucknow, 1301/1883–4), I, 182.

203. The context makes it clear that the conversation took place after the defeat and death of al-Mukhtār. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 245.

you?" "A Kūfan," I said. He said, "You are *mawālī* of ours." "How so?" I asked. "We saved you," he said, "from the hands of your slaves, the forces of al-Mukhtār." "Do you know," I said, "what the shaykh of Hamdān[204] said about us and about you?" Al-Aḥnaf b. Qays asked, "And what did he say?" I said, "He said:

Will you boast, if you killed slaves
and once defeated unarmed people?
If you view with us for glory, remember
what we did to you on the Day of the Camel:[205]
Both old man with dyed beard
and young man, white, bright-faced, in long garments.
He came to us tottering[206] in a long coat of mail,
and we slaughtered him in the morning as one slaughters a lamb.
We gave, but you forgot our giving;
you were ungrateful for the bounty of God the Most High.
You killed members of the Khashabiyyah[207] instead of them—
the worst of substitutions on the part of your people!"

[685] Al-Aḥnaf became angry and said, "Boy, bring that scroll here!" A scroll was brought. It contained:

> In the name of God, the Merciful the Compassionate. From al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd to al-Aḥnaf b. Qays. To proceed: Woe to the mother of Rabī'ah and Muḍar! Al-Aḥnaf is taking his tribesmen to drink of Saqar, whence

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204. I.e., the poet A'shā Hamdān. Another version of the incident is found in *Aghānī*, V, 157–58.

205. Cf. the explanation in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 245: "We spared (or pardoned) you, but you gave no thanks." At the Battle of the Camel (36/656), reinforcements from al-Kūfah helped 'Alī dislodge the rebels Ṭalḥah and Zubayr from al-Baṣrah. See *EI*², s.v. al-Djamal.

206. *Yahdiju*: *Aghānī* reads *yarfulu*, walking proudly.

207. An alternative translation would be, "You killed members of the Khashabiyyah instead—from your own kinsmen—the worst of substitutions." The term *Khashabiyyah* (from *khashabah*, a piece of wood, club) was applied disparagingly to al-Mukhtār's followers because some of the *mawālī* were armed with clubs, rather than swords. Other explanations connect the name with the rescue of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah narrated below (Ṭabarī, II, 693), either because al-Mukhtār's men used clubs in order not to violate the prohibition on drawing swords in the Meccan sanctuary or because they took the wood Ibn al-Zubayr had prepared for burning Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 231; also *EI*², s.v. Khashabiyya.

they cannot come forth. I have been informed that you call me a liar. If I am called a liar, messengers were called liars before me, and I am not better than they.

"Is this [man] one of us or one of you?" al-Aḥnaf asked.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Manīʿ b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-Saʿdī: Miskīn[208] b. ʿĀmir b. Unayf b. Shurayḥ b. ʿAmr b. ʿUdas was among those who fought al-Mukhtār. When the men were defeated, he joined Muḥammad b. ʿUmayr b. ʿUṭārid in Ādharbayjān[209] and said:

Dukhtanūs[210] marveled when she saw
that a veil of gray hair had come over me.
She raised her voice and cried out.
[I said to her:] Do not be frightened that my beard has turned gray.
If you see that the vigor of my youth has departed
and that ages have passed since my birth,
[I am] a man of fifty-two years;
what lifetime is there that does not have turns of fortune?
Would that she had had my sword and I her dress
the day she said, 'Is there no generous man who is indignant?"
Would that we had died before that day,
or had done what free men do.
But, like men from whom the good flees, [686]
we did not fight, but the brave man fought.
I turned away from them, and they were stricken;
disgrace and shame have exiled me from them.
O the sadness of my spirit for "the meteor of Quraysh,"[211]
the day his head was brought to al-Mukhtār!

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208. Known as Miskīn al-Dārimī (from the Dārim clan of the tribe of Tamīm), he wrote poems in praise of Muʿāwiyah and Yazīd and an elegy upon the death of Ziyād b. Abīhi. He is said to have died in 89/708. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 323.

209. Ādharbayjān was the province in northwestern Iran with its capital at Ardabīl. See *EI*², s.v.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 158 ff.

210. Dukhtanūs was a pre-Islamic poetess of the Dārimī clan of Tamīm (*Dīwān Miskīn al-Dārimī*, 42).

211. The "Meteor of Quraysh" refers to ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī al-Waqqāṣ (*Dīwān Miskīn al-Dārimī*, 43).

Al-Mutawakkil[212] said:

They killed Ḥusayn; then they lament his death.
    Verily, time brings changes to people!
Do not be far away at al-Ṭaff,[213] O slain ones who have been left untended,
    whose heads' resting places have been soaked by rains.
The picked troops of al-Dajjāl[214] under his banner
    are not more astray than those whom al-Mukhtār has deceived.
O Banū Qasiyy,[215] bind fast your Dajjāl,
    and the [obscuring] dust will clear away; you will be free.
If your fellow tribesman had had knowledge of the unseen,
    the learned[216] would have agreed with you about him,
And it would have been a clear matter,
    related in the past by prophecies and reports.
I hope that thrusts that break your lances and a siege
    will prove that your inspiration is a lie,
And that to you will come men whose swords
    in their hands under the dust of battle are like fire.
They will not retreat when they meet you,
    until the heads of your armored men are broken in pieces.

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212. Al-Mutawakkil b. 'Abdallāh b. Nahshal Abū Juhmah al-Laythī was a poet from the tribe of Layth b. Bakr (Kinānah) who lived in al-Kūfah and visited Damascus, where he wrote poems in praise of Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 322.

213. Al-Ṭaff is the desert region west of al-Kūfah along the alluvial plain of the Euphrates. It is higher than the low-lying ground by the river and forms the transition to the central Arabian plateau. The area contains a number of springs and was the site of a number of Sasanian border forts. Karbalā', where al-Ḥusayn was killed, was located within it. See *EI*[1], s.v.; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 359. The translation given here amends the vocalization of the Leiden text from *lā tab'adan* (energetic second person singular) to *lā tab'adun* (energetic second person plural). "Do not be far away" was a ritualized expression of mourning. Cf. the poem quoted in the *Lisān*, s.v. *ba'uda*: "As they bury me, they shall say, 'Do not be far away!' But where is there a place of [greater] remoteness than my place?"

214. Al-Dajjāl ("the Liar") is an apocalyptic figure similar to the Antichrist; see *EI*[2], s.v. al-Dajjāl.

215. I.e., al-Mukhtār's tribe of Thaqīf.

216. *Aḥbār*, pl. of *ḥabr* or *ḥibr*: a Jewish scholar, or one who has become a Muslim (Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 498). Such scholars were often credited with an ability to predict the future. See below, Ṭabarī, II, 786, and note 572 on Ka'b al-Aḥbār.

[Al-Mukhtār Sends an Army to Trick Ibn al-Zubayr]

According to Abū Ja'far [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, al-Mukhtār dispatched an army to Medina to trick Ibn al-Zubayr. He pretended to Ibn al-Zubayr that he had sent the army to help him fight the army that 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān[217] had sent to fight him and that had encamped in Wādī al-Qurā.[218]

Al-Mukhtār's Motive in Sending This Army; What Befell Them

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. 'Āmir, who said: Having been expelled by al-Mukhtār [687]
from al-Kūfah, Ibn Muṭī' went to al-Baṣrah. Not wishing to proceed to Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca in a state of defeat and flight, he stayed in al-Baṣrah until 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām came to him. Thus, both of them were in al-Baṣrah.

The reason for 'Umar's coming to al-Baṣrah: When al-Mukhtār came into the open in al-Kūfah and met with success in his enterprise (the Shī'ah thought he was merely propagandizing for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah and seeking to avenge the blood of the members of the Prophet's family), he set out to deceive Ibn al-Zubayr and wrote to him as follows:

> To proceed: You know my sincere advice to you and my effort against the people hostile to you and what you for your part gave to me, on condition that I do this. But when I satisfied you and carried out my obligation to you, you stood me up and did not fulfill what you had promised me, although you saw on my part that which you saw. If you wish to return to me, I will return to you; if you want my sincere advice, I will advise you.

By this means, al-Mukhtār wanted to keep Ibn al-Zubayr at arm's length until the success of his own enterprise. He told the Shī'ah

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217. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (b. 23/643 or 26/646, d. 86/705) succeeded his father Marwān b. al-Ḥakam as Umayyad caliph upon the latter's death in 65/684. See *EI*², s.v.

218. Wādī al-Qurā ("the Valley of the Villages") was a fertile valley stretching north from Medina on the road to Syria. See *EI*¹, s.v. Wādī 'l-Ḳurā; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.vv. Qurā and Wādī al-Qurā.

nothing about the matter; if anything about it reached them, he pretended to them that he was of all men the most remote from such a thing.

[Continuing,] he said: Desiring to know whether it was war or peace, Ibn al-Zubayr summoned ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī and said to him, "Make ready to go to al-Kūfah, for we have appointed you its governor (*wālī*)." "How can that be," he asked, "when al-Mukhtār is there?" Ibn al-Zubayr said, "He claims that he heeds and obeys." [Continuing,] he said: ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān outfitted himself at a cost of between thirty and forty thousand dirhams and set out for al-Kūfah. [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār's spy came from Mecca and reported the news. Al-Mukhtār asked, "At that cost did he outfit himself?" The spy answered, "Between thirty and forty thousand [dirhams]."

[688] [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār summoned Zā'idah b. Qudāmah and said to him, "Take seventy thousand dirhams with you—twice what he spent on his journey to us—and meet him in the desert. Take Musāfir b. Saʿīd b. Nimrān al-Nāʿiṭī with you, with five hundred skilled horsemen armed with chain mail, lances, and helmets, and say to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 'Take this sum, which is twice your expense, for we have learned how much you spent to outfit yourself and do not want you to lose money. Take it and go back.' If he does, [good]; if not, show him the horsemen, and say to him, 'Behind them are a hundred squadrons like them!'" [Continuing,] he said: Zā'idah took the money and went out with the horsemen. He met ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in the desert, offered him the money, and commanded him to go back. ʿUmar said to him, "The Commander of the Faithful appointed me governor of al-Kūfah, and his order must be carried out." Zā'idah summoned the horsemen, whom he had kept hidden out of sight. When ʿUmar saw them coming, he said, "This furnishes me more of an excuse and makes me look better. Hand over the money!" Zā'idah said to him, "He has sent it to you only on account of [the relation] between you and him." Then he paid him the money. ʿUmar took it and retreated toward al-Baṣrah. There he met with Ibn Muṭīʿ. It was during the time when al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīʿah was in command, before the

uprising of al-Muthannā b. Mukharribah al-ʿAbdī in al-Baṣrah.[219]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ismāʿīl b. Nuʿaym:[220] Having been informed that the Syrians were approaching Iraq, al-Mukhtār knew he would be the first [to be attacked]. Therefore, fearing that the Syrians would come at him from the west and Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr would come at him from al-Baṣrah, he sought a reconciliation with Ibn al-Zubayr, beguiling him and deceiving him. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān had sent ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ to Wādī al-Qurā. Deceiving and beguiling Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Mukhtār wrote to him: [689]

> To proceed: I have been informed that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān has sent an army against you. If you want me to provide you with help, I will help you.

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr wrote to him:

> To proceed: If you are in a state of obedience to me, I am not averse to your sending the army to my territories and having the men swear allegiance to me before you. When news of your having sworn allegiance reaches me, I will believe what you say and withdraw my soldiers from your territories. Hurry and dispatch to me the army you are sending. Command them to march against the soldiers of Ibn Marwān who are in Wādī al-Qurā and fight them. Peace!

Al-Mukhtār summoned Shuraḥbīl b. Wars, from Hamdān, and sent him with three thousand men, mostly *mawālī*, with only seven hundred Arabs among them. He said to him, "Go and enter Medina. When you have entered it, write to me, so that I can give you my command." His intention was that, when they had entered Medina, he would send a commander to be over them in his name[221] and would order Ibn Wars to advance on Mecca, besiege

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219. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 244: "It was during the governorship of al-Qubāʿ (al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīʿah), and before the coming of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr to al-Baṣrah."

220. Full name: Ismāʿīl b. Nuʿaym al-Namarī al-Bursumī, see U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 209.

221. I.e., he would replace Ibn Zubayr's governor of Medina with his own man.

Ibn al-Zubayr, and fight him there. Shuraḥbīl left for Medina. Ibn al-Zubayr, however, afraid that al-Mukhtār was merely deceiving him, sent ʿAbbās b. Sahl b. Saʿd from Mecca to Medina with two thousand men and ordered him to seek aid from the Bedouin Arabs. Ibn al-Zubayr said to him, "If you see that the men are obedient to me, welcome them. If not, use deceit against them until you have destroyed them."

This, then, is what they did. ʿAbbās b. Sahl went and met Ibn Wars at al-Raqīm.[222] Ibn Wars had deployed his forces: In charge of his right wing he had placed Salmān b. Ḥimyar al-Thawrī from Hamdān; in charge of his left wing he had placed ʿAyyāsh b. Jaʿdah al-Jadalī. His entire cavalry was in his right and left wings.
[690] [ʿAbbās] approached and greeted him. [Ibn Wars] had dismounted to walk with the foot soldiers. ʿAbbās and his forces came separated from each other and not drawn up in order. He found Ibn Wars encamped by the watering place, with his forces drawn up for battle. He approached and greeted them. Then he said, "Come apart with me here." Ibn Wars went apart with him. ʿAbbās said to him, "God have mercy on you! Aren't you under obedience to Ibn al-Zubayr?" Ibn Wars replied, "Yes." "Then," he said, "march with us against this enemy of his in Wādī al-Qurā; Ibn al-Zubayr has told me that your master[223] has made you journey here only to attack them." Ibn Wars said, "I was not commanded to obey you. I was only commanded to go to Medina and, having reached it, to follow my own judgment." ʿAbbās b. Sahl said to him, "If you are under obedience to Ibn al-Zubayr, he has ordered me to march with you and your forces against our enemy in Wādī al-Qurā." Ibn Wars said to him, "I was not ordered to obey you, nor will I follow you, until I enter Medina and write to my master for his orders." When ʿAbbās b. Sahl saw his obstinacy, he realized his disobedience. Not wishing to let him know that he saw through him, he said, "Your opinion is better; do what seems best to you. As for me, I will march to Wādī al-Qurā."

ʿAbbās b. Sahl then came and encamped by the water. He sent

222. Ms. Pet. and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 246, read "al-Raqam," which Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, gives as a place near Medina. The reading "al-Raqīm" may reflect the Qurʾānic "al-Raqīm," the place associated with the Men of the Cave (Sūrah 18).

223. I.e., al-Mukhtār.

Ibn Wars some camels fattened for slaughter that he had brought and gave them to him as a gift. He also sent him flour and sheep that had been skinned. Ibn Wars and his men had been perishing of hunger. 'Abbās b. Sahl sent a sheep for each ten of them. So they slaughtered the sheep and busied themselves with them. They mixed with each other at the watering place; the men left their battle array and felt safe with each other. When 'Abbās b. Sahl saw how they had busied themselves, he gathered about a thousand of his bravest and most courageous men and went to [691] the tent of Shuraḥbīl b. Wars. When Ibn Wars saw them coming toward him, he called for his men. Before a hundred men had come to him, 'Abbās b. Sahl reached him. Shuraḥbīl was saying, "O picked troops (*shurṭah*) of God, come to me! Come to me! Fight those who hold it permissible to shed innocent blood[224] and are friends of Satan, the accursed. You are followers of truth and right guidance; they have betrayed and acted wickedly."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Yūsuf:[225] 'Abbās b. Sahl reached them while he was reciting:

I am the son of Sahl, a skilled horseman, no weakling who
commits matters to others!
Exciting admiration, bold to advance when the leader turns
aside!
I smite the head of the celebrated hero,
with sword on the day of battle, so that it is severed.

[Continuing,] he said: We had hardly fought for any time at all before Ibn Wars was skilled, together with seventy of the guards. 'Abbās b. Sahl raised a banner of safety for Ibn Wars's companions; they went over to it, except for about three hundred men who retreated with Salmān b. Ḥimyar al-Hamdānī and 'Ayyāsh b. Ja'dah al-Jadalī. When they fell into the hands of 'Abbās b. Sahl, he gave orders and they were killed. However, about two hundred men were released because some of the men into whose custody

224. *Al-muḥillīn*: literally, "those who make [the illicit] licit," i.e., shedders of innocent blood. Here, the word designates those who had shed, or had allowed to be shed, the blood of al-Ḥusayn. For al-Mukhtār's use of the word, see Ṭabarī, II, 599.

225. Full name: Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Thābit al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī Abū Yūsuf, see U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 212.

they had been placed were unwilling to kill them. They went back, but most of them died along the way.

When al-Mukhtār learned what had happened to them, and those who came back returned, he stood up to preach and said: "Verily, the wicked libertines have killed the excellent pious ones. Verily, it was a thing fulfilled and a decree decreed."

Al-Mukhtār sent Ṣāliḥ b. Masʿūd al-Khathʿamī with the following letter to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah:

[692] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To proceed: I sent you an army to humble your enemies for you and take possession of the country for you. They marched toward you, until, having approached Ṭaybah,[226] they were met by the army of the blasphemer. The latter deceived them by appeal to God and beguiled them by a promise in the name of God. When they felt at ease with them and trusted them because of this, they rose up against them and killed them. If you deem that I should send to the people of Medina a densely mustered army from me, while you send them messengers[227] from you, so that the people of Medina may know that I am under obedience to you and only sent the army at your order, do so. Then you shall find most of them readier to acknowledge your right and show pity toward you, the members of the Prophet's family, than they are toward the family of al-Zubayr, the wrongdoers and blasphemers. Peace be upon you!

Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah wrote to him:

To proceed: When your letter reached me, I read it and took cognizance of the veneration in which you hold me and of how you intend to render me joyful. Verily, the most pleasing of all things to me is that wherein obedience is showed to God. So obey God as much as you can in what you do openly and what you do secretly. Know that

226. Ṭaybah, meaning "the fragrant," is an epithet for Medina. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v. Ṭaybah.

227. Ms. O: a man.

> if I wanted fighting, I would find men hastening to me and my helpers to be many. But I am keeping apart from them and waiting patiently until God judges in my favor; and He is the best of judges.[228]

Ṣāliḥ b. Mas'ūd came to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, who said farewell to him, wished him peace, and gave him the letter, saying, "Tell al-Mukhtār to fear God and turn away from blood." [Continuing,] he said: I[229] said to him, "May God preserve you! Have you not written to him saying so?" Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah said, "I have ordered him to obey God. Obedience to God gathers together all that is [693] good and prohibits all that is evil." When Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah's letter reached al-Mukhtār, the latter proclaimed to the people: "I have been commanded with an order that gathers together piety and ease and casts away unbelief (*kufr*) and betrayal."

[The Khashabiyyah Perform the Pilgrimage]

According to Abū Ja'far [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year the Khashabiyyah[230] came to Mecca and performed the pilgrimage. Their leader (*amīr*) was Abū 'Abdallāh al-Jadalī.

Why the Khashabiyyah Came to Mecca

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf and 'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]—Maslamah b. Muḥārib, the reason was as follows: 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr imprisoned Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah and those members of his family who were with him, together with seventeen notables from al-Kūfah, at Zamzam.[231] Unwilling to swear allegiance to someone upon whom the community (*ummah*) had not united in agreement,

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228. Cf. Qur'ān 7:87, 10:109, and 12:80.
229. Leiden note suggests that one should read "He said...."
230. For the origin of the name, see note 207.
231. Zamzam was the sacred well within the Meccan sanctuary (*ḥaram*). See *EI*[1], s.v. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 250, explains Ibn al-Zubayr's motive as follows: "After al-Mukhtār gained control of al-Kūfah and the Shī'ah began propagandizing for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, Ibn al-Zubayr feared that people would unite in approval of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah. So he pressured the latter and his companions to swear allegiance to him."

they had fled to the sacred precinct (*ḥaram*). [Ibn al-Zubayr] threatened to kill them and burn them. He swore an oath to God that, if they did not swear allegiance, he would carry out his threat to them; and he set them a deadline.

Some of those with Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah counseled him to send al-Mukhtār and the Kufans a messenger to inform them of their condition, the condition of those with them, and of Ibn al-Zubayr's threat. And so, while the guards at the door of Zamzam slept, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah sent three Kūfans with a letter to al-Mukhtār and the people of al-Kūfah, informing them of his condition, the condition of those with him, and of Ibn al-Zubayr's threat to kill them and burn them with fire; he asked them not to fail him, as
[694] they had failed al-Ḥusayn and the members of his family. The messengers came to al-Mukhtār and gave him the letter. He summoned the people and read them the letter, saying, "This is the letter of your Mahdī, the pure descendant of the family of your Prophet. They have been left penned up like sheep, waiting all night and all day to be killed and burned in the fire. I am not Abū Isḥāq if I do not aid them effectively and send them troop after troop of horsemen, as one torrent follows another, until woe descends on the son of the woman from the tribe of Kāhil."[232]

Al-Mukhtār sent Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Jadalī with seventy riders, men of strength. He sent Ẓabyān b. ʿUthmān,[233] a member of the Banū Tamīm, with four hundred men, Abū al-Muʿtamir with one hundred, Hāniʾ b. Qays with one hundred, ʿUmayr b. Ṭāriq with forty, and Yūnus b. ʿImrān with forty.

Al-Mukhtār wrote to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī[234] by way of al-Ṭufayl b. ʿĀmir and Muḥammad b. Qays about the sending of the armies to him. The men set out, one group on the heels of the other. Abū ʿAbdallāh [al-Jadalī] came to Dhāt ʿIrq[235] and encamped with seventy riders. Then ʿUmayr b. Ṭāriq overtook him with forty

232. This refers to Ibn al-Zubayr, whose great-grandfather, Khuwaylid, was the son of a woman (Zuhrah bint ʿAmr) from the Banū Kāhil b. Asad b. Khuzaymah. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 250.

233. Cf. Ṭabarī, II, 674, above (Ẓabyān b. ʿUmārah), which is probably the correct reading (ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXXI).

234. I.e., Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah.

235. Dhāt ʿIrq lay two days' march northeast of Mecca, at the intersection of the two pilgrim roads from Mesopotamia to the Ḥijāz—one from al-Kūfah, the other from al-Baṣrah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 83.

riders, and Yūnus b. ʿImrān with forty riders, so that they numbered one hundred and fifty in all. Abū ʿAbdallāh led them until they entered the sacred mosque, carrying clubs[236] and proclaiming, "Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn!" Finally they reached Zamzam. With two days remaining until the deadline, Ibn al-Zubayr had already prepared the wood to burn the prisoners. Al-Mukhtār's men chased away the guards, broke the wooden bolts (*aʿwād*) of Zamzam, went inside to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, and said to him, "Leave us free to deal with God's enemy, Ibn al-Zubayr." Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah said to them, "I do not deem it lawful to fight in God's sacred precinct." [695]
Ibn al-Zubayr said, "Do you think I will release them without the pledge of allegiance from him and them?[237] Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Jadalī replied, "By the Lord of the Corner[238] and the Station,[239] the Lord of what is permitted and what is forbidden, you shall set him free, or we will contest it with you by our swords in fighting that will make the followers of falsehood doubt."[240] Ibn al-Zubayr replied, "By God, they are paltry in number.[241] If I gave my forces permission, their heads would be plucked before an hour had passed." Qays b. Mālik said to him, "By God, if you try it, I expect you will be reached before you see done to us what you want to do." Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah restrained his companions and cautioned them against discord (*fitnah*).

Then Abū al-Muʿtamir arrived with one hundred men, Hāni' b. Qays with one hundred, and Ẓabyān b. ʿUmārah with two hundred men and the money.[242] Having entered the mosque, they shouted,

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236. *Kāfirkūbāt*: from Arabic *kāfir*, infidel, and Persian *kūb*, smash, pound, i.e. "infidel smashers." Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 231, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 251, on their unwillingness to carry swords in the sacred precinct.

237. Ms. O reads "you," instead of "them."

238. I.e., the corner (*rukn*) of the Kaʿbah, where the Black Stone kissed by pilgrims is affixed to the building.

239. I.e., the Station or Standing Place (*maqām*) of Abraham: according to Qur'ān 2:125 and 3:97, the Kaʿbah in Mecca was located at the place where Abraham had prayed. A stone on which Abraham stood is said still to show the imprint of his feet. See von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals*, 19.

240. Cf. Qur'ān 29:48. The meaning is that the fighting will be so violent that because of it those who follow falsehood (i.e., those who follow Ibn al-Zubayr) will doubt their allegiance.

241. Literally, "they are eaters of a head," i.e., so few that they could satisfy their stomachs with a single sheep. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 73.

242. Al-Mukhtār had sent 400,000 dirhams. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 250.

"Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn!" When Ibn al-Zubayr saw them, he was frightened of them. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah and those with him departed for Shi'b 'Alī. They were reviling Ibn al-Zubayr and asking Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah for permission to go to fight him, but he continued to refuse. Four thousand men gathered with Muḥammad b. 'Alī at Shi'b ['Alī], and he divided the money among them.[243]

[The Siege of the Banū Tamīm in Khurāsān]

According to Abū Ja'far [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim[244] besieged the men of Banū Tamīm in Khurāsān in order to kill those of them who had killed his son Muḥammad.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]—al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd al-Jūzjānī[245]—al-Ṭufayl b. Mirdās al-'Ammī,[246] who
[696] said: When the Banū Tamīm dispersed in Khurāsān during the days of Ibn Khāzim, a number of their skilled horsemen—between seventy and eighty—went to the fortress of Fartanā.[247] They made 'Uthmān b. Bishr b. al-Muḥtafiz al-Muzanī[248] their leader, and with him were Shu'bah b. Ẓahīr al-Nahshalī, Ward b. al-Falaq al-'Anbarī, Zuhayr b. Dhu'ayb al-'Adawī, Jayhān b. Mashja'ah al-Ḍabbī, al-Ḥajjāj b. Nāshib al-'Adawī, and Raqabah b. al-Ḥurr, with the skilled horsemen of the Banū Tamīm. [Continuing,] he said: Ibn Khāzim came against them. He besieged them and dug a fortified trench. [Continuing,] he said: The Banū Tamīm would come out to fight him and then return to the fortress.

[Continuing,] he said: One day Ibn Khāzim came out of his

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243. Except for mentioning his presence at the pilgrimage in 68 (see Ṭabarī, II, 782, below), Ṭabarī does not record the subsequent fate of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 251–54; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 66–86.

244. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī was the governor of Khurāsān province. For the events leading up to the siege, see Ṭabarī, II, 488–96, 593–97; also *EI*², s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Khāzim.

245. See Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Madā'inīs," 127; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 228.

246. The Banū 'Amm were a subtribe of the Tamīm. See Rotter, op. cit., 119–20.

247. The fortress of Fartanā was located at Marw al-Rūdh. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.

248. His *nisbah* is given as al-Māzinī below (Ṭabarī, II, 700). The latter may be correct, since the Banū Māzin were a subtribe of Tamīm, while the Muzaynah (*nisbah*, al-Muzanī) were a separate Muḍar tribe (*Lisān*, s.v.).

trench with six thousand men in battle order, and the men from the fortress came out to meet him. 'Uthmān b. Bishr b. al-Muḥtafiz said to the Banū Tamīm, "Avoid Ibn Khāzim today, for I do not think you have strength to prevail against him." But Zuhayr b. Dhu'ayb al-'Adawī swore that he would divorce his wife if he retreated before he had broken their battle lines.[249] Beside them there was a riverbed into which water came during the winter, but there was no water in it at that time. Zuhayr descended into it and advanced. None of Ibn Khāzim's men noticed him until he attacked them and pressed back those in the forefront against those in the rear. They[250] circled around. He hurried back, and they followed him on both sides of the riverbed, shouting at him, but with no one going down[251] to fight him, until he had reached the spot where he had climbed down. Coming out [of the riverbed], he attacked them, so that they got out of his way until he [697]
made his way back.

[Continuing,] he said: Ibn Khāzim said to his men. When you fight with Zuhayr, put hooks on your spears, and grapple them into his gear, if you gain the upper hand over him. One day, Zuhayr came out against them—they had attached hooks to their spears in readiness for him. They fought him and caught four spears in his armor, but he turned to attack them, and their hands became unsteady. They let go of their spears, and he went back to the fortress dragging four spears. [Continuing,] he said: Ibn Khāzim sent Ghazwān b. Jaz' al-'Adawī to Zuhayr, saying to him, "Say to Zuhayr, 'If I guaranteed your safety, gave you a hundred thousand [dirhams], and granted you Bāsār[252] as a means of support (*ṭu'mah*), would you be loyal to me?'" Zuhayr replied to Ghazwān, "Woe unto you! How can I be loyal to people who killed al-Ash'ath b. Dhu'ayb?" Ghazwān let word of this slip out in the presence of Mūsā, the son of 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim.

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249. An oath to divorce one's wife was one of the most serious oaths that could be made.

250. Ms. O: he.

251. Ms. O: no one daring to go down.

252. Ms. "Bāsān"; Ms. O, "Maysān." Ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXXI, amends to "Bāsār" on the basis of Bāsārā, a city in Khurāsān mentioned by Ibn Khurradādhbih (*al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 37, l. 8), and Bāsārān, mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī (*Kitāb-al-buldān*, 289, l. 18).

[Continuing,] he said: When the siege became too long for the Banū Tamīm, they sent a message to Ibn Khāzim, saying, "Let us leave, and we will disperse." He replied, "Not unless you submit to my judgment." They said, "We will submit to your judgment." Zuhayr said to them, "May your mothers be bereft of you![253] By God, he will kill you to the last man. If you are content to die, die as honorable men. Let us all go out: Either you will all die, or some of you will escape and some will die. I swear to God that if
[698] you attack them with true bravery, they will make a way for you as broad as the road to al-Mirbad. If you wish, I will be in front of you; and, if you wish, I will be behind you." [Continuing,] he said: They refused. So he said, "Then I will show you." He and Raqabah b. al-Ḥurr went out (Raqabah had a young Turkish lad [*ghulām*] of his with him), along with Shuʿbah b. Ẓahīr.

[Continuing,] he said: They attacked with unusual vigor, so that the men made way for them and they advanced. Zuhayr, however, returned to his companions. Entering the fortress, he said to his companions, "You see! So obey me." (Raqabah and his lad and Shuʿbah continued to press forward.) But Zuhayr's companions said, "Among us there are men who are too weak for this and who desire to live."[254] Zuhayr said, "May God bring evil upon you! Will you abandon your companions? By God, I will not be the most timorous among you at the time of death!"

[Continuing,] he said: So they opened the fortress and came down. Ibn Khāzim sent someone to them and had them bound. They were brought to him one by one. He wanted to spare them, but his son Mūsā refused, saying, "By God, if you pardon them, I will fall on my sword so that it comes out of my back!" ʿAbdallāh [b. Khāzim] said to him, "By God, I know what you are ordering me to do is wrong." Then he killed all but three of them. [Continuing,] he said: One of those three was al-Ḥajjāj b. Nāshib al-ʿAdawī. He had shot Ibn Khāzim while the latter was besieging them and had broken his tooth. Ibn Khāzim had sworn that if he captured him, he would kill him or cut off his hand. Now al-Ḥajjāj was a youth, and some of the Banū Tamīm who had kept

253. This imprecation is not as strong as the literal translation suggests, but more like "You fools!"

254. Ms. O: They said, "We are too weak for this and desire to live."

aloof from 'Amr b. Ḥanẓalah spoke to Ibn Khāzim concerning him. One of them said, "He is my cousin and a young, ignorant lad. Give him to me." [Continuing,] he said: Ibn Khāzim gave him to him, saying, "Get away, and let me not see you." [Continuing,] he said: There was also Jayhān b. Mashja'ah al-Ḍabbī, who had thrown himself on Ibn Khāzim's son Muḥammad the day the latter was killed.[255] Ibn Khāzim said, "Let this mule that walks [on two feet] go." And there was a man from the Banū Sa'd who had said on the day they met Ibn Khāzim, "Turn back from the skilled horseman of Muḍar."

[Continuing,] he said: They brought Zuhayr b. Dhu'ayb. They [699]
wanted to carry him bound, but he refused and walked with his legs shackled, until he sat down before Ibn Khāzim. The latter said to him, "What thanks will you give if I release you and give you Bāsār as a possession?" Zuhayr said, "If you did nothing but forbear to shed my blood, I would thank you." But Ibn Khāzim's son Mūsā stood up and said, "Will you kill the female hyena and leave the male? kill the lioness and leave the lion?" Ibn Khāzim said, "Woe unto you! Shall we kill a man like Zuhayr? Who will there be to fight the Muslims' enemies? who to protect the women of the Arabs?" Mūsā replied, "By God, had you—even you!—participated in shedding the blood of my brother, I would kill you." Then a man from the Banū Sulaym approached Ibn Khāzim and said, "I beseech you to be mindful of God concerning Zuhayr." But Mūsā said to him, "Use him as a stud for your daughters!" Ibn Khāzim became angry and ordered Zuhayr to be killed. Zuhayr said to him, "I have a request." "What is it?" he asked. "That you kill me separately," he said, "and not mix my blood with that of these base men; for I told them not to do what they did. I commanded them to die as honorable men and come out against you with drawn swords. By God, had they done so, they would have given this little son of yours a fright and would have made him too worried about his own life to seek vengeance for his brother. But they refused. Had they done it, not a man of them would have been killed before he had killed several men." Ibn Khāzim gave orders concerning him, and he was taken aside and killed.

255. He had tried to prevent the murder. See Ṭabarī, II, 594.

According to Maslamah b. Muḥārib: Whenever al-Aḥnaf b. Qays mentioned them, he said, "God curse Ibn Khāzim! As the price for his son, a foolish and stupid boy not worth anything of value,[256] he killed many men from the Banū Tamīm. Had he killed but one of them for him, he would have done enough. [Continuing,] he said: The Banū ʿAdī asserted that, when they tried to carry Zuhayr b. Dhu'ayb, he refused. Leaning on his spear
[700] and gathering his legs together, he jumped the trench.

When news of their death reached al-Ḥarīsh b. Hilāl,[257] he said:

You who find fault with me, I did nothing blameworthy in the fight with them;
my sword struck their chief and penetrated to the bone.
You who find fault with me, I did not turn away until men dispersed
and I found no place to advance.
You who find fault with me, the sword has destroyed me:
Whoever fights long with heroes returns wounded.
My eyes, if you shed tears, pour out
the blood that adheres closely to me, before pouring out any [other] blood.
After Zuhayr and the son of Bishr followed each other [in death],
and after Ward, shall I hope for any gain in Khurāsān?
You who find fault with me, how many days of war have I witnessed,
wheeling to charge again when the bad horseman drew back!

By "after Zuhayr," he meant Zuhayr b. Dhu'ayb. "The son of Bishr" is ʿUthmān b. Bishr b. al-Muḥtafiz al-Māzinī. Together with Ward b. al-Falaq al-ʿAnbarī, they were killed on that day, and Sulaymān b. al-Muḥtafiz, Bishr's brother, was also killed.

[Those in Office during the Year]

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the pilgrimage this year. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr was in charge of

256. With no change of consonants, Arabic *ʿilq*, "something of value," can be read as *ʿalaq*, "a blood clot."

257. Al-Ḥarīsh b. Hilāl b. Qudāmah is mentioned as a skilled horseman of the tribe of Tamīm, famous for his exploits in Khurāsān (Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 257).

Medina on behalf of his brother, 'Abdallāh. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'ah was in charge of al-Baṣrah, and Hishām b. Hubayrah was in charge of its judiciary. Al-Mukhtār controlled al-Kūfah, and 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim Khurāsān.

[Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar Goes to Fight 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād]

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar went out, heading toward 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, to fight him. this took place eight nights before the end of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.[258]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf —al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ (who was alive at that time), Fuḍayl b. Khadīj[259] (who witnessed the event), and one or more others, who said:[260] After al-Mukhtār finished dealing with the people of [Jabbānat] al-Sabī' and the people of al-Kunāsah, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar re- [701]
mained [in the city] only two days before al-Mukhtār sent him forth in the same direction as before to fight the Syrians. He left on Saturday, eight nights before the end of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the year 66. With him, al-Mukhtār sent his most eminent companions, skilled horsemen and valiant men who had seen and experienced war. Qays b. Ṭahfah al-Nahdī went out with him in charge of the fourth of the people of Medina.[261] He appointed 'Abdallāh b. Ḥayyah al-Asadī commander of the fourth of Madhḥij and Asad, sent al-Aswad b. Jarād al-Kindī in charge of the fourth of Kindah and Rabī'ah, and sent Ḥabīb b. Munqidh

258. I.e., 21 (or 22, if the month had 30 days) Dhū al-Ḥijjah 66, corresponding to 19 or 20 July, 686. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 248, reads: "six (some say eight) nights into Dhū al-Ḥijjah." Neither date is consistent with the date given above (Ṭabarī, II, 668) for the battle of Jabbānat al-Sabī'. There is a discussion in Wellhausen, *Oppositionsparteien*, 84n.

259. Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī, see U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 201.

260. The verb *qālū* is in the plural, implying a composite account, not the words of one observer. See the discussion of Abū Mikhnaf's methods in U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 68.

261. Cf. Tabari, II, 1382 (anno 101): "The people of the Highland (*al-'Āliyah*) included the tribes of Quraysh, Kinānah, Azd, Bajīlah, Khath'am, all of Qays 'Aylan, and Muzaynah. In al-Kūfah, the people of al-'Āliyah are called 'the fourth of the people of Medina.' In al-Baṣrah, they are called 'the fifth of the Highland (*al-'Āliyah*).'"

al-Thawrī from Hamdān in charge of the fourth of Tamīm and Hamdān.

Al-Mukhtār went out with [Ibn al-Ashtar] to escort him. When [Ibn al-Ashtar] reached Dayr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam,[262] al-Mukhtār's companions met him with the Chair (*al-Kursī*),[263] borne upon a gray mule on which they used to carry it. They halted for him on the bridge. The man in charge of the Chair, Ḥawshab al-Bursumī, was saying, "O Lord, preserve us alive in Thy obedience, and help us against enemies; be mindful of us, forget us not, and protect us." His companions answered, "Amen, amen." Fuḍayl continued: I heard Ibn Nawf al-Hamdānī say: Al-Mukhtār said:

By the Lord of "the loosed ones [sent out] successively,"[264]
we will kill rank after rank
And thousand upon thousand deviators.[265]

Fuḍayl continued: When al-Mukhtār and Ibn al-Ashtar reached them, they crowded together in a great throng on the bridge. Together with Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, al-Mukhtār proceeded to the bridges of Raʾs al-Jālūt, which are beside Dayr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Behold, the people with the Chair had halted on the bridges of Raʾs al-Jālūt, calling [on God] for assistance.

[702] When al-Mukhtar arrived between the bridge of Dayr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and the bridges of Raʾs al-Jālūt, he halted, since he wanted to go back. He said to Ibn al-Ashtar, "Receive three charges from me: Fear God in your secret and public actions; march quickly; and, when you meet your foe, fight them as soon as you meet them. If you meet them by night, and can do so, do not wait for morning before attacking them. If you meet them by day, do not wait for night to descend on them before summoning them to the judgment of God." Then he said, "Have you committed my advice

262. Dayr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was located about one stage north of al-Nukhaylah. See *EI*², s.v.; al-ʿAlī, "*Minṭaqat al-Kūfah*," 240.

263. For a discussion of this cult object, see Ṭabarī, II, 702–06.

264. Qurʾān 77:1.

265. *Al-qāsiṭūn*: ʿAlī applied the word to his opponents at Ṣiffīn on the basis of Qurʾān 72:15: "Those who have surrendered sought rectitude, but as for those who have deviated, they have become firewood for Gehenna!" See Lane, *Lexicon*, VII, 2523, and Jafri, *Origins*, 96.

to memory?" Ibn al-Ashtar said, "Yes." "God accompany you," said al-Mukhtār and turned back. Ibrāhīm's army had been located at the site of Ḥammām A'yan, and from there he set forth with his army.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj, who said: After al-Mukhtār turned back, Ibrāhīm went on with his forces until he reached the people with the Chair. They were circling round it with hands upraised to heaven, praying for assistance. "O God," said Ibrahim, "do not take us to task for what the foolish ones have done after the manner of the Children of Israel—by Him in Whose hand my soul lies!—when they circled about their calf."[266] After Ibrāhīm and his forces crossed the bridge, the people with the Chair went back.

An Explanation of the Chair Whereby al-Mukhtār and His Companions Prayed for Assistance[267]

According to Abū Ja'far [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: Its origin was as follows, according to what I was told by 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh, from his father, from Sulaymān,[268] from 'Abdallāh b. al- [703]
Mubārak,[269] from Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā[270] b. Ṭalḥah, from Ma'bad b. Khālid [al-Jadalī], from Ṭufayl b. Ja'dah b. Hubayrah, who said: I was once in need of money. While in that state, I went out one day and came upon an oil merchant, a neighbor of mine, who had a chair covered with a thick [coat of] filth. It occurred to me that I should speak to al-Mukhtār about it. So I went back and sent

266. The story of the Golden Calf worshipped by the Children of Israel is found in Qur'ān 7:147ff. There is also an echo of Qur'ān 2:286 and 7:155.

267. In an article tracing the survival of Persian royal symbolism into Islam, S. Shaked has drawn a connection between the veneration of 'Alī's Chair and Persian throne symbolism. That many of al-Mukhtār's followers were Persians may support Shaked's view. On the other hand, the poem by A'shā Hamdān quoted below (Ṭabarī, II, 704) identifies the venerators of the Chair as Arabs from the tribe of Hamdān. See Shaul Shaked, "From Iran to Islam," 81–82.

268. An *isnād* in Ṭabarī, II, 208 gives the name in fuller form as Abū Ṣāliḥ Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ.

269. 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak b. Wāḍiḥ al-Ḥanẓalī al-Tamīmī Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān (b. 118/736, d. 181/797 in Hīt) was a famous traditionist, historian, and Sufi, active both as transmitter of earlier works and as an author in his own right. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 95.

270. Ms. O: "'Abdallāh."

word to the oil merchant, saying, "Send me the chair." He sent it to me. I went to al-Mukhtār and said, "I have been concealing something from you which I do not think I ought to. It seems best that I mention it to you." "What is it?" he asked. I answered, "A chair on which [my father] Ja'dah b. Hubayrah[271] used to sit as if he thought that in regard to it there was a vestige of some knowledge."[272] [Al-Mukhtār] said, "Praise God! And you put the matter off until today? Send to him! Send to him!" [Continuing,] he said: When it was washed, it turned out to be tamarisk wood, and it shone from the oil it had absorbed. It was brought to al-Mukhtār covered. He ordered me to be paid twelve thousand [dirhams], and then he summoned to congregational prayer.

Ma'bad b. Khālid al-Jadalī continued, saying: Ṭufayl b. Ja'dah took me and Ismā'īl b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh and Shabath b. Rib'ī. People were running to the mosque. Al-Mukhtār said, "Nothing has existed among past communities but that its like will exist in this community. Among the Children of Israel there was the Ark, in which there was a remnant of what the family of Moses and the family of Aaron left behind.[273] Among us, this is like the Ark. Uncover it!" When they removed its draperies, the
[704] Saba'iyyah[274] stood up, raised their hands, and shouted "God is great!" three times. Shabath b. Rib'ī stood up and said, "People of Muḍar, do not become infidels." But they pushed him aside and drove him away; they shunned him and put him out. (Isḥāq [b. Yaḥyā b. Ṭalḥah] said: "By God, I hope these words will be accounted to the credit of Shabath!") Presently, someone said, "Behold, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād has encamped with the Syrians at Bājumayrā."[275] So they took the Chair out on a mule. It was covered; seven men held it on its right and seven on its left. The

271. Ja'dah was the nephew of 'Alī; hence, it would be plausible for him to possess some relic of 'Alī. See below, Ṭabarī, II, 705.

272. The Arabic *atharah* (*uthrah*, or *athrah*) *min 'ilm* echoes Qur'ān 46:4. The meaning is that Ja'dah used to sit upon the chair as if family tradition reported that it had belonged to 'Alī. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *atharah*. The reading in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 258 (*atharan min* 'Alī, "a relic of 'Alī") should be rejected on textual grounds as a *lectio facilior*.

273. Cf. Qur'ān 2:248.

274. See note 56 above.

275. Bājumayrā (for which Mss. O and Pet read "Bākhumayrā") is near Takrīt. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.

Syrians suffered a massacre such as they had never suffered before, and this tempted them even further; they advanced until they vied with each other in infidelity. I said, "We belong to God!"[276] and I regretted what I had done. The people spoke about the matter, and the Chair was made to disappear; I never saw it again.

According to 'Abdallāh [b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh]—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ [Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ]: On this subject, A'shā Hamdān composed the following, as I have been told on the authority of someone other than 'Abdallāh [b. al-Mubārak]:

I bear witness against you that you are Saba'iyyah;
O picked troops of polytheism,[277] I know you well!
I swear that your Chair is no Sakīnah,[278]
even if cloths have been draped over it;
And that it is not like the Ark among us, even if [705]
Shibām, Nahd, and Khārif[279] walk around it.
I am a man who loves the family of Muḥammad;
I have followed a revelation contained in the books [of the Qur'ān].
I followed 'Abdallāh [b. al-Zubayr],
when the hoary-headed and noble men of Quraysh, one after another, followed him.[280]

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276. See note 156 above.

277. *Shirk*, literally "associating [other gods with Allāh]," is a sin that would render a person outside the Islamic community.

278. Arabic *sakīnah* is a loan word from Hebrew *shĕkhīnāh*, "dwelling," specifically the Divine Presence in the Tabernacle in the wilderness (Exod. 25:8) and in the temple in Jerusalem. In Qur'ān 2:248, the word occurs in a context referring to the Ark of the Covenant: a prophet (unnamed) tells the Children of Israel, skeptical about whether Saul is really a God-appointed king over them, that "The sign of his kingship is that the Ark will come to you, in it a *Sakīnah* from your Lord, and a remnant of what the folk of Moses and Aaron's folk left behind, the angels bearing it." Arabic exegesis explains the word in many ways, either abstract, "a [cause of] tranquillity" (based perhaps on the Christian notion of the Holy Spirit as *paraclētos*, "comforter"), or as some sort of physical image that inspired fear in the enemy. See *EI*[1], s.v.

279. Shibām, Nahd, and Khārif are clans of the tribe of Hamdān.

280. The *Dīwān* of A'shā Hamdān (Poem 31), adds four extra lines: "Even though the tribesmen of Shākir circle round it, touch its wood, and devise, it will not help. Because of it, we ourselves have become obedient to Ibn al-Zubayr: among us there is no deception, nor are precedents cut off. The outcome, I think, will be in favor of the family of Muḥammad; the wronged will be helped, and the fearful become secure. My Lord will gather together a community that has become fragmented, among whom wars and enmities have raged."

Also, al-Mutawakkil al-Laythī said:

Tell Abū Isḥāq, if you come to him,
that I am a nonbeliever as regards your Chair.
[The tribe of] Shibām goes leaping round its boards,
and [the tribe of] Shākir ascribes inspiration to it.
Their eyes are as red around it
as if they were swelling chickpeas.

Abū Mikhnāf, however, on the authority of certain of his shaykhs, mentions a story of this Chair different from the one that ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad mentions with the chain of authorities we have given going back to Ṭufayl b. Jaʿdah. We have been told Abū Mikhnaf's account according to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—[Abū Mikhnaf]—Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and his son, al-Ḥakam b. Hishām: Al-Mukhtar said to the family of Jaʿdah b. Hubayrah b. Abī Wahb al-Makhzūmī (Jaʿdah's mother was Umm Hāniʾ bint Abī Ṭālib, the full sister of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib), "Give me the Chair of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib." "No," they replied, "by God, we
[706] do not have it, nor do we know whence we can obtain it." "Do not be foolish," he said. "Go and bring it to me." [Continuing,] he said: Thereupon, the family suspected that he would accept from them any chair they would bring him, saying it was the one. So they brought a chair and said, "That is it," and he accepted it. [Continuing,] he said: Having wrapped it with silk and brocade, the men of Shibām and Shākir and the chief companions of al-Mukhtār marched out with it.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. ʿĀmir Abū al-Ashʿar al-Juhanī: When Ibn al-Zubayr was told about the Chair, he said, "Why don't some of the Jundabs of Azd go to see it?"[281] [Continuing,] Abū al-Ashʿar said: When the Chair was obtained, the

281. For the idiom, "*ayna . . . ʿan*," see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 46. Cf. the parallel passage in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 242: "Ibn ʿUmar, upon being told that al-Mukhtār had sought out ʿAlī's Chair and was carrying it about on a gray mule, and that his companions were encircling it, praying for rain and victory, said, 'Why don't the Jundabs of Azd go to see it? One of *them* would not be deceived by it.'" (Read *lā yaghtarru bihī*, for the printed edition's *lā yuʿaqribuhū*.) The allusion is to a pious companion of the Prophet, Jundab b. Kaʿb al-Azdī, who was so incensed by the impostures of a sorcerer in al-Kūfah (the man had pretended to cut off his assistant's head and reattach it), that he struck off the sorcerer's head. He is supposed to have said, "If he is genuine, let him revive himself." Al-Mukhtār, in other words, needs

first person to serve as its keeper was Mūsā b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī, who used to come to al-Mukhtār and serve him when [al-Mukhtār] first came, because his mother was Umm Kulthum bint al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Afterwards, he was reproved and became ashamed of it. He therefore gave it to Ḥawshab al-Bursumī, who was the man in charge of it until al-Mukhtār perished.

[Continuing,] he said: One of al-A'shā's paternal uncles was a man called Abū Umāmah. He used to come into the *majlis*[282] of his companions and say, "Today there has been established for us a [source of] inspiration the like of which men have never heard of. In it there is news of what will come to be."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. 'Āmir: It was 'Abdallāh b. Nawf who used to do this for them, and he used to say, "Al-Mukhtār commanded me to do it." But al-Mukhtār disavowed him.

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someone like Jundab to deal with his impostures. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 511–13; *Aghānī*, IV, 185–86.

282. The sitting place or assembly.

[707]

The Events of the Year 67

(July 28, 686–July 17, 687)

Among the events of this year was the death of ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād and of the Syrians who were with him.

The Death of ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Ṣalt [al-Taymī]—Abū Saʿīd al-Ṣayqal, who said: We departed with Ibn al-Ashtar, heading toward ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād and the Syrians who were with him. We went out quickly, not turning aside, wanting to encounter him before he entered the land of Iraq.[283] [Continuing,] he said: We arrived well before him at the borders of the land of Iraq and pushed on into the land of al-Mawṣil. Hurrying toward him and marching quickly, we met him at the Khāzir [River], beside a village called Bārʿītā, five *farsakhs* from al-Mawṣil.[284] In charge of his vanguard, Ibn al-Ashtar had

283. See above, Ṭabarī, II, 643. "Iraq" means the part of Mesopotamia south of Takrīt; al-Mawṣil constituted a separate province.

284. I.e., about 15 miles east of al-Mawṣil. The Khāzir (or Khāzar) River is a

placed al-Ṭufayl b. Laqīṭ, from the Wahbīl [clan] of [the tribe of] Nakha', a fellow tribesman of his and a brave and valiant man. Having approached Ibn Ziyād, Ibn al-Ashtar drew Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth close to himself and began to march only in battle order. He drew all his forces close to himself, with his horsemen and foot soldiers, and began to advance with them all, not dividing them. He did, however, send al-Ṭufayl b. Laqīṭ ahead with advance forces, so that he entered that village.

[Continuing,] he said: 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād came and encamped near them on the bank of the Khāzir. 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb [708]
al-Sulamī[285] sent word to Ibn al-Ashtar, saying, "I am on your side and want to meet you tonight." Ibn al-Ashtar sent to him, saying, "Meet me, if you wish." The whole of Qays was in al-Jazīrah and were[286] opponents of Marwān and the family of Marwān. At that time, Marwān's army was from Kalb. Their commander was Ibn Baḥdal.

'Umayr came to Ibn al-Ashtar at night and swore allegiance to him, informing him that he was in charge of his commander's right wing, and promising him that he would fall back with his men. Ibn al-Ashtar said, "What do you think best? Should I dig myself in and wait two or three days?" 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb replied, "Don't do it! We belong to God! What do they want but this? If they keep putting you off and procrastinating, it will be better for them. They greatly outnumber you; and the few gain no advantage over the many by procrastination. Rather, attack them, for they have been filled with fear of you. Come at them; for if they draw within sight of your companions and fight them day after day and time after time, they will feel at ease with them and gain courage against them." Ibrāhīm [b. al-Ashtar] said, "Now I know you are advising me sincerely. You have spoken the truth. What you have

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tributary of the Greater Zāb, which flows into the Tigris south of al-Mawṣil. (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.vv. Khāzir and Zāb). The mss. show uncertainty about the name of the village. Ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXXI, amends the Ms. Pet reading Bārbīthā to Bār'īdā on the basis of Syriac Bār'īdtā. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 248, reads "Bārītā," which Goitein argues may reflect the actual pronunciation.

285. 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb's tribe, the Banū Sulaym (*nisbah* al-Sulamī), were part of the Qays 'Aylān; thus there was a tribal element in his offer. Cf. above, Ṭabarī, II, 643; and the parallel account in Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 301–02.

286. Mss. O and Co: some of them were.

said is the right idea; indeed, my commander recommended this idea to me and commanded me to follow it." 'Umayr said, "Do not go against his opinion. War has tested the old man,[287] and he has experienced in it what we have not experienced.[288] Rise early and fight with the man."

'Umayr then went back. That night, Ibn al-Ashtar kept his [709] guards on alert all night long, and not a wink of sleep entered his eyes. At the crack of dawn he set his men in order, formed his battalions, and gave orders to his commanders. He sent out Sufyān b. Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdī in charge of his right wing, and 'Alī b. Mālik al-Jushamī (the brother of Abū al-Aḥwaṣ) in charge of his left wing. He sent out 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh (Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar's half-brother by his mother) in charge of the horsemen. Since his horsemen were few, he kept them near him, so that they were in the right wing and the main part of the army. He placed al-Ṭufayl b. Laqīṭ in charge of his foot soldiers, and his banner was with Muzāḥim b. Mālik. [Continuing,] he said: When dawn broke, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar led them in the morning prayer in the twilight. Then he led them out and lined them up, placing the commanders of the fourths in their positions. He made the commander of the right wing join the right wing, the commander of the left wing join the left wing, and the commander of the foot soldiers join the foot soldiers. He gathered the horsemen to himself, with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh, his half-brother on his mother's side, in charge of them, so that they were in the midst of the men.

Ibrāhīm dismounted and walked. He said to the men, "March," and the men marched with him at a gentle pace, advancing little by little, until he reached the top of a great hill overlooking the enemy. There he sat down; none of the men of the enemy had yet moved. He dispatched 'Abdallāh b. Zuhayr al-Salūlī, who rode a horse of his that shone with sleekness. Ibrāhīm said to him, "Ride your horse at a gallop and bring me a report about them." 'Abdallāh departed. Shortly thereafter he came back and said, "The enemy have come out in a state of confusion and dismay. One of their men met me, and all he could say over and over again

287. Literally, "Wars have bitten into him." 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād is meant.
288. Another reading is, "what no one else has experienced."

was, 'O Shī'ah of Abū Turāb![289] O Shī'ah of the liar al-Mukhtār!' I said, 'The issue between you and us is too momentous for abuse.' He replied to me, 'O enemy of God, to what are you summoning us? You are fighting without an *imām*.'[290] I said to him, 'No, it is vengeance for al-Ḥusayn, the son[291] of the Messenger of God. Hand over to us 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, who killed the son of the [710] Messenger of God and the lord of the youth of Paradise, so that we can kill him to avenge some of our *mawālī* whom he killed with al-Ḥusayn; for we do not consider him al-Ḥusayn's equal, that we might agree to his being retaliation for him. If you hand him over to us and we kill him for some of our *mawālī* whom he killed, we will set between you and us the Book of God or any righteous Muslim you wish as mediator.' He said to me, 'We had experience with you another time involving this sort of thing'—he meant two mediators—'and you acted treacherously.' 'How so?' I asked. He said, 'We appointed two mediators between you and us, but you were not satisfied with their decision.' I said to him, 'You have produced no proof [of treachery]. Our peace was made on condition that if both mediators agreed on a man, we would follow their decision, accept him, and swear allegiance to him. But they did not agree on one man and went each his own way. God did not direct and rightly dispose the two of them.' 'Who are you?' he asked. I told him and asked him, 'Who are you?' 'Gee up!' he said to his mule, urging it on. I said to him, 'You haven't given me my due! This is the beginning of your treachery.'"

[Continuing,] he said: Ibn al-Ashtar called for a horse of his, mounted it, and passed by all the standard-bearers, stopping beside each banner that he passed. Then he said, "O helpers of the religion [of Islam], partisans of truth, picked army of God, here is 'Ubaydallāh b. Marjānah,[292] the murderer of al-Ḥusayn, the son

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289. Abū Turāb ("Father of Dust," or "Dusty") was a nickname given to 'Alī by Muḥammad. Accounts differ about why it was given and whether it was meant to be laudatory or pejorative. The Umayyads, as is clear from this passage, used it pejoratively, sometimes calling the Shī'ah "Turābiyyah." Shī'ī writers explain it as laudatory. See Ṭabarī, I, 1271–72 for one version of the story; full discussion in Kohlberg, "Abū Turāb," 347–52.

290. Another possible translation: "You are fighting on the side of a non-*imām*."

291. I.e., the descendant. He was Muḥammad's grandson.

292. Marjānah was the mother of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād (Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 347). Calling a man by his mother's name was an insult.

of ʿAlī and of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God. He prevented him, his daughters, his wives, and his partisans from reaching the water of the Euphrates and drinking of it when they were in sight of it. He prevented him from coming to the son of his paternal uncle[293] so as to reach a peaceful settlement with him. He prevented him from going back to his dwelling and his family. He prevented him from traveling anywhere in the wide world, until he slew him and slew the members of his family. By
[711] God, Pharaoh never did to the noble sons of the Children of Israel what the son of Marjānah did to the members of the family of the Messenger of God—God bless him and grant him peace!—people from whom God removed uncleanness and whom he truly purified.[294] God has brought him to you and has brought you to him. By God, I hope God has brought you and him together in this place only that He may give relief to your hearts through the shedding of his blood by your hands; for God knows that you have come forth in zeal for the family of your Prophet."

Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar went between the right wing and the left. He went among all the men, arousing their desire for holy war,[295] and urging them to fight. Then he returned and dismounted under his banner, and the enemy advanced toward him. Ibn Ziyād had placed al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī in charge of his right wing, ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī in charge of his left wing, and Shuraḥbīl b. Dhī al-Kalāʿ in charge of the horsemen. He himself walked among the foot soldiers. When the two battle lines drew near each other, al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr with the right wing of the Syrians attacked the left wing of the Kūfans, which was under ʿAlī b. Mālik al-Jushamī. The latter held his ground against him by himself and was killed. His banner was taken up by Qurrah, ʿAlī's son, who, together with some men of the guard, was also killed. The left wing was put to flight. The banner of ʿAlī b. Mālik al-Jushamī was taken up by ʿAbdallāh b. Warqāʾ b. Junādah al-

293. Al-Ḥusayn sent his cousin, Muslim b. ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, to al-Kūfah in response to the invitation of the Kūfan Shīʿah. Muslim was received enthusiastically and wrote to al-Ḥusayn to come to al-Kūfah. For this, Muslim was beheaded by ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād. See Jafri, *Origins*, 182–84.

294. Cf. Qurʾān 33:33.

295. The implication is that the enemy are unbelievers, against whom holy war (*jihād*) is an obligation.

Salūlī, the nephew of Ḥubshī b. Junādah, the companion of the Prophet. Confronting the men of the left wing as they were fleeing, he said, "To me, O picked troops of God!" Most of them went to him. He said, "Here is your commander fighting. Let us go to him." He went forward until he came to him. There he was, head uncovered, calling out, "O picked troops of God, to me! I am Ibn al-Ashtar. The best of those of you who fled are those of [712] you who turn back [to fight]: he who turns from evil is no wrongdoer."[296] So his men returned to him. He sent to the commander of the right wing, saying, "Attack their left wing," for he hoped at that time that 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb would fall back before them, as he had said. The commander of the right wing, Sufyān b. Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal, attacked, but 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb held his ground against him and fought him vigorously. When Ibrāhīm saw that, he said to his companions, "Head toward this main body of men; by God, if we disperse it, those of them you see to the right and the left will flee like frightened birds taking wing."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī—Warqā' b. 'Āzib [al-Asadī], who said: We walked toward them. Having drawn near them, we fought briefly with spears and then turned to swords and maces and struck blows at each other with them for a large part of the day. By God, I can compare the sound I heard of iron on iron as we fought with each other only to that of fullers' mallets in the house of al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayṭ. [Continuing,] he said: Thus it was. Then God defeated them and made them turn their backs to us [in flight].

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah[297]—Abū Ṣādiq:[298] Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar would say to his standard bearer, "Plunge into them with your banner." The standard bearer would reply to him, "May I be made your ransom! I have no room to advance." "Indeed you have," Ibn al-Ashtar would reply. "Your

296. Proverbial: see Freytag, II, 641 (Maydānī, II, 203).

297. Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṣīrah al-Azdī Abū Nu'mān al-Kūfī was a *muḥaddith* of the sixth "class" and lived to the age of 100. The traditions related from him concern the virtues of the family of the Prophet. He was considered an extreme Shī'ī, even a *Khashabī*. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 205.

298. Abū Ṣādiq al-Azdī al-Kūfī: his full name is variously given as Muslim b. Yazīd or 'Abdallāh b. Nājid. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 206.

comrades will fight[299] and, God willing, they will not flee." When his standard bearer advanced with his banner, Ibrāhīm attacked with his sword and felled every man he struck, driving the men
[713] before him as if they were sheep. Whenever he attacked with his banner, his companions attacked as one man.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mishraqī:[300] 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād had with him on that day a sharp sword that spared nothing it touched. When his forces were defeated, 'Uyaynah b. Asmā' picked up his sister, Hind bint Asmā' (she was the wife of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād), and took her[301] away. He recited the following verse of *rajaz* poetry:[302]

If you sever our bonds, oft
in the fray will I make the courageous distinguished man perish.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj: When Ibrāhīm [b. al-Ashtar] attacked Ibn Ziyād and his forces, the latter were defeated after fierce fighting and many deaths on both sides. When 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb saw that Ibrāhīm's men had defeated those of 'Ubaydallāh, he sent word to Ibrāhīm, saying, "Shall I come to you now?" Ibrāhīm replied, "Do not come to me until the anger of God's picked troops abates, for I fear they may do you harm."

Ibn al-Ashtar said, "I killed a man who smelled of musk.[303] His arms went to the east and feet to the west. He was under a separate banner on the bank of the Khāzir River."[304] They looked to see who he was, and it turned out to be 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād who had been slain: Ibrāhīm had struck him and cut him in two, so that his
[714] feet had gone to the east and his arms to the west. Sharīk b. Jadīr al-Taghlibī attacked al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī, supposing him

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299. Mss. O and Co add, "behind it."

300. Full name: al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Abdallāh al-Mishraqī (U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 200).

301. Possibly, "took it (i.e., the sword) away."

302. *Rajaz*, the least formal of the Arabic meters, is often used for hastily improvised verses.

303. The parallel in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 250, adds that Ibn al-Ashtar did not know for certain who the man was. Cf. also Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 303.

304. Mss. O and Co read: "'I killed a man under a separate banner on the bank of the Khāzir River.' So they looked for him, and I smelled the odor of musk from him. His arms had gone to the east and his feet to the west."

to be 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. Each of them grasped the other, and al-Taghlibī cried out, "Kill me and the son of the whore." Ibn al-Numayr was killed.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān [b. Ṣāliḥ]—'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak—al-Ḥasan b. Kathīr, who said: Sharīk b. Jadīr al-Taghlibī had been with 'Alī (may God bless him and grant him peace) and had been injured in the eye with him.[305] When the war involving 'Alī ended, he made his way to Jerusalem and was there when the murder of al-Ḥusayn was reported to him. He said, "I swear to God that if I am given the power to do so,"—that is, to avenge the blood of al-Ḥusayn—"I will kill Ibn Marjānah or die in the attempt." When he was told that al-Mukhtār had come out seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn, he went to him. [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār sent him with Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, and he was placed in charge of the horsemen from [the tribal group of] Rabī'ah. He said to his companions, "Thus have I sworn to God." Three hundred men swore allegiance to him until death. When the encounter took place, he attacked and with his companions began to rip apart line after line until they reached 'Ubaydallāh. The dust rose and nothing was to be heard but the din of iron and swords. When the men separated, the two lay dead, al-Taghlibī and 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, with no one between them. [Continuing,] he said: It was he who said:

All life I think loathsome,
save planting the spear firmly in the horse's shadow.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj, who said: Shuraḥbīl b. Dhī al-Kalā' was killed. Three men claimed to have killed him: Sufyān b. Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdī, Warqā' b. 'Āzib al-Asadī, and 'Ubaydallāh b. Zuhayr al-Sulamī. [715]

[Continuing,] he said: When 'Ubaydallāh's forces were defeated, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar's men pursued them. Those who drowned were more than those who were slain. Their camp was taken, with all sorts of things in it. This was reported to al-Mukhtār, who had been saying to his companions, "Victory will come to you today or tomorrow, God willing, at the hands of Ibrāhīm

305. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 264, adds: "at [the Battle of] Ṣiffīn."

b. al-Ashtar and his forces, who will have defeated the forces of 'Ubaydallāh b. Marjānah." [Continuing,] he said: Having appointed al-Sā'ib b. Mālik al-Ash'arī as his deputy over the city, al-Mukhtār left al-Kūfah. He led the men out and encamped at Sābāṭ.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mishraqī—al-Sha'bī, who said: My father and I were among those who went out with him. [Continuing,] he said: When we had passed beyond Sābāṭ, al-Mukhtār said to the people, "Rejoice, for God's picked troops have indeed slain them with the sword for a day until nightfall at Naṣībīn,[306] or close to Naṣībīn, and just this side of their own homes.[307] Most of them, however, are besieged at Naṣībīn."

[Continuing,] he said: We entered al-Madā'in and assembled in his presence. He ascended the pulpit. By God, even while he was preaching to us and commanding us to be earnest, hold right beliefs, exert ourselves, and be firm in obedience and in seeking vengeance for the blood of the people of [the Prophet's] family, the good news came to him, one message after another, about the death of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, the defeat of his forces, the taking of his camp, and the killing of the Syrian *ashrāf*. So al-Mukhtār
[716] said, "You picked troops of God, did I not announce this good news to you before it took place?" "Yes," they said, "you said so."

[Continuing,] he said: A certain neighbor of ours from the tribe of Hamdān said to me, "Do you believe now, O Sha'bī?" [Continuing,] he said: I said, "What should I believe? Should I believe that al-Mukhtār knows the invisible? I will never believe it." He said, "Didn't he tell us they had been defeated?" I said to him, "He told us they had been defeated at Naṣībīn in the land of al-Jazīrah, but it was at Khāzir in the land of al-Mawṣil." He said, "By God, O Sha'bī, you will not believe until you see 'the painful chastisement.'"[308] Al-Mishraqī said: I asked al-Sha'bī, "Who was this man from Hamdān who was saying this to you?" He answered, "A man who, by my life, was brave and who was later

306. Naṣībīn, an important city of al-Jazīrah province, lay about 120 miles northwest of al-Mawṣil. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.

307. Mss. O and Co read, "and have inherited their homes."

308. The Qur'ān speaks frequently of the "painful chastisement," i.e., the punishment in hell that awaits people who deny God's signs.

killed with al-Mukhtār at the Battle of Ḥarūrā'. He was called Salmān b. Ḥimyar, from the Thawr clan of Hamdān."

[Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār returned to al-Kūfah. Ibn al-Ashtar went from his camp to al-Mawṣil and sent out his financial agents (*'ummāl*) over the territory. He sent out his brother, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh, to be in charge of Naṣībīn, and he subdued Sinjār, Dārā, and the adjacent territory of al-Jazīrah.[309] The people of al-Kūfah whom al-Mukhtār had fought and defeated[310] went out and joined Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in al-Baṣrah. Among those who went to Muṣ'ab was Shabath b. Rib'ī.

Praising Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar and his companions for killing 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, Surāqah b. Mirdās al-Bāriqī said the following:

There came upon you a young man, one of the chiefs of [the tribe of] Madhḥij,
courageous against enemies, unflinching.
Son of Ziyād, be slain in retaliation for the greatest Mālik;[311]
taste the blade of a burnished, piercing two-edged [sword].
We smote you with the cutting of the sword in fury,[312]
when we slew a slayer in retaliation for a man slain.
May God reward the picked troops of God, for they
sated my thirst for vengeance upon 'Ubaydallāh yesterday.

[Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr Becomes Governor of al-Baṣrah]

In this year, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr removed al-Qubā'[313] from al-Baṣrah and sent his own brother Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr to be in charge of it. [717]

309. Sinjār lies about 55 miles west of al-Mawṣil. Dārā lies about 20 miles west of Naṣībīn. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.vv. Cf. the longer lists of agents to be found in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 251; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 302.

310. I.e., the *ashrāf* whom al-Mukhtār had defeated at the Battle of Jabbānat al-Sabī' in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 66 (July 686).

311. I.e., Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī, surnamed al-Ashtar, the father of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar. Appointed by 'Alī to the governorship of Egypt, he was poisoned by an agent of Mu'āwiyah. See Ṭabarī, I, 3393f.

312. Instead of "in fury," the *Dīwān*, 34, reads, "and we did no wrong."

313. Full name: Al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'ah al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī al-Qubā'.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah[314]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—al-Shaʿbī—Wāfid b. Abī Yāsir, who said: ʿAmr b. Sarḥ, a *mawlā* of al-Zubayr, used to come to us. He said to us: "By God, I was with the party that came from Mecca to al-Baṣrah with al-Muṣʿab[315] b. al-Zubayr." [Continuing,] he said: Muṣʿab came with his face muffled. Having made his camel kneel by the door of the mosque, he entered and ascended the pulpit. The people said, "Commander! Commander!"

[Continuing,] he said: When al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīʿah, who had been the city's commander before him, came, al-Muṣʿab unveiled his face. The people recognized him and said, "Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr!" He said to al-Ḥārith, "Come up! Come up!" So the latter ascended and sat a step below Muṣʿab on the pulpit. [Continuing,] he said: Then al-Muṣʿab stood. Having praised and extolled God (and, by God, he did not speak a great deal), he said, "'In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. *Ṭā, Sīn, Mīm*. Those are the signs of the Manifest Book. We will recite to thee something of the tiding of Moses [and Pharaoh].'"[316] When he reached the words, "He[317] was of the workers of corruption," he pointed his hand in the direction of Syria. [Continuing to recite, he said,] "'Yet We desired to be gracious to those that were abased in the land, and to make them leaders, and to make them the inheritors.'" Here he pointed his hand in the direction of the Ḥijāz. "'And to show Pharaoh and Haman, and their hosts, what they were dreading from them.'" Here he pointed his hand in the direction of Syria.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—ʿAwānah, who said: When Muṣʿab came to al-Baṣrah, he delivered a sermon to the people and said: "People of al-Baṣrah, I have been told that you nickname your commanders. I have named myself 'al-Jazzār' (the Slaughterer)."[318]

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314. Abū Zayd ʿUmar b. Shabbah (b. 173/789, d. 262/875), a traditionist and historian, was a pupil of al-Madāʾinī. According to Ṭabarī, II, 168, Ṭabarī personally studied ʿUmar b. Shabbah's *Kitāb akhbār ahl al-Baṣrah* under the author. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 345; U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 44–5; and Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Madāʾinīs," 110.

315. Mss. O and Co, Muṣʿab

316. Qurʾān 28:1–5.

317. I.e., Pharaoh.

318. The nickname alludes to generosity (slaughtering many camels to feed

[Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr Defeats al-Mukhtār]

During this year, Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr marched against al-Mukhtār and killed him. [718]

Why Muṣʿab Marched against Him; an Account of Mukhtār's Death

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥabīb b. Budayl, who said:[319] When Shabath [b. Ribʿī] came to join Muṣʿab, he was riding a female mule whose tail had been docked and the tip of whose ear had been cut. He had torn his tunic (*qabāʾ*) and was shouting, "Help! Help!" Someone went to Muṣʿab and told him that there was a man at the gate with his tunic torn shouting for help, and he described him. Muṣʿab said, "Yes, this is Shabath b. Ribʿī; no one else would do this. Bring him in." Shabath was brought before Muṣʿab. The Kūfan *ashrāf* came before Muṣʿab and told him how they had gathered around Shabath, what they had suffered, and how their own slaves and *mawālī* had risen against them. They complained to him and asked him to assist them and march against al-Mukhtār with them.

Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath b. Qays also came to them. He had not been present at the fighting in al-Kūfah, having been in a fortress of his at Ṭīzanābādh, near al-Qādisiyyah. When the defeat of the men was reported to him, he prepared himself to march forth. Al-Mukhtār inquired about him, was told where he was, and sent ʿAbdallāh b. Qurād al-Khathʿamī with a hundred men to deal with him. When Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath was told that they were marching against him and had drawn near, he went out into the desert in the direction of al-Muṣʿab, until he joined him. Having reached al-Muṣʿab, he urged the latter to go forth. Muṣʿab drew him near to himself and honored him because of his high

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guests), rather than to bloodthirstiness. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 192 (s.v. *jazūr*). In Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 281, the remark occurs in the context of descriptions of Muṣʿab's generosity.

319. Ḥabīb b. Budayl al-Nahshalī was governor of al-Rayy in 131/748. See Ṭabarī, III, 2, 3.

rank. [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār sent men to the house of Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath and destroyed it.

[719] According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf[320] b. Yazīd: When al-Muṣʿab was about to march against al-Kūfah, many men having come to him,[321] he said to Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, "I will not go until al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah comes to me." Al-Muṣʿab wrote to al-Muhallab, who was his governor over Fārs,[322] saying, "Come to us, so that you may be present in our enterprise, for we are about to march against al-Kūfah." However, al-Muhallab and his companions delayed, giving as reason something having to do with taxes (*kharāj*), not wishing to go forth. Muṣʿab therefore ordered Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, among the things he urged him to do, to go to al-Muhallab and bring him. He informed him that he would not set out unless al-Muhallab came. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath took al-Muṣʿab's letter to al-Muhallab. When the latter read it, he said to Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, "Does someone like you, Muḥammad, come as a letter carrier? Could al-Muṣʿab find no letter carrier besides you?" Muḥammad [b. al-Ashʿath] replied, "By God, I am nobody's letter carrier—except that our slaves and *mawālī* have taken our wives, children, and families from us by force!"

Al-Muhallab therefore set out. He came bringing many troops and much money with him, with such troops and in such a state of readiness as none of the people of al-Baṣrah could match. When al-Muhallab entered al-Baṣrah, he went to al-Muṣʿab's door in order to go in to meet him, having obtained permission for the men. However, the gatekeeper barred his way, not recognizing him Al-Muhallab raised his hand and broke the man's nose. The man went inside to al-Muṣʿab with his nose dripping blood. "What happened to you?" asked Muṣʿab. He answered, "A man I do not know hit me." Al-Muhallab entered. When the gatekeeper

320. Ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXXII, corrects ms. "Abū Yūsuf" to "Yūsuf."

321. The parallel in Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 310, puts the number of Kūfans who had left for al-Baṣrah at 10,000.

322. Arabic, *Fāris* (Persian, *Fārs* or *Pārs*): The Iranian province lying on the Persian Gulf, east of Khūzistān and west of Kirmān. Its chief city at this time was Iṣṭakhr. Shīrāz, located in it, was founded later by al-Ḥajjāj. See *EI*², s.v.; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 6, 248ff.

saw him, he said, "That's the one!" Al-Muṣʿab said to him, "Go back to your post."

Al-Muṣʿab ordered the men to encamp by the Great Pontoon Bridge (*al-Jisr al-Akbar*). Summoning ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf, he said to him, "Go to al-Kūfah and induce everyone you can to come out to me. Invite them to swear allegiance to me secretly, and induce al-Mukhtār's companions to abandon him." So ʿAbd [720] al-Raḥmān left him clandestinely and remained in his home, concealing himself, and not appearing [in public]. Al-Muṣʿab set out. He sent ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabaṭī of the Banū Tamīm ahead in charge of his vanguard. He sent ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar in charge of his right wing, and al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah in charge of his left wing. He put Mālik b. Mismaʿ in charge of the Bakr b. Wāʾil fifth,[323] Mālik b. al-Mundhir in charge of the ʿAbd al-Qays fifth, al-Aḥnaf b. Qays in charge of the Tamīm fifth, Ziyād b. ʿAmr al-Azdī in charge of the al-Azd fifth, and Qays b. al-Haytham in charge of the Highland[324] fifth.

This was reported to al-Mukhtār, who stood up among his companions, praised and extolled God, and said, "People of al-Kūfah! People of the religion [of Islam], upholders of the truth, helpers of the weak, and partisans of the Messenger and of the family of the Messenger! Those who have fled from you, who sought to harm you, have gone to their fellow transgressors and drawn them into error against you, that truth may cease and vanity be lifted up, and that the friends of God may be slain. By God, if you perish, God will be worshiped on earth only with lying against God and cursing against the family of His Prophet.[325] Rally to the call with Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ. If you meet them, you will slay them, God willing, as ʿĀd and Iram were slain."[326]

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323. *Khums*, pl. *akhmās*, "fifth": The army of al-Baṣrah was divided into five divisions.

324. Arabic *al-ʿĀliyah* refers to the highlands of the Ḥijāz north and east of Medina. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v., gives a list of tribes included in this area. See note 261.

325. A reference to the Umayyad practice of cursing ʿAlī from the pulpit.

326. ʿĀd and Iram appear in the Qurʾān as examples of nations that perished, ʿĀd because it rejected the prophet sent to it by God. The two names are juxtaposed in Qurʾān 89:7. See *EI*², s.vv.

Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ went out and encamped at Ḥammām A'yan. Al-Mukhtār summoned the heads of the fourths (*arbā'*) who had been with Ibn al-Ashtar and sent them with Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ as they had been with Ibn al-Ashtar. (They had left Ibn al-Ashtar because they thought he was making light of al-Mukhtār's enter-
[721] prise, and had departed from him.) Al-Mukhtār sent them with Ibn Shumayṭ and sent a massive army with him. Ibn Shumayṭ went out. In charge of his vanguard, he sent Ibn Kāmil al-Shākirī. Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ marched until he arrived at al-Madhār.[327] Al-Muṣ'ab came and encamped near him.

Each of them mustered his army, and they advanced toward each other. Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ put 'Abdallāh b. Kāmil al-Shākirī in charge of his right wing, 'Abdallāh b. [Anas b.][328] Wahb b. Naḍlah al-Jushamī in charge of his left wing, Razīn 'Abd al-Salūlī in charge of the horsemen, Kathīr b. Ismā'īl al-Kindī (at the battle of Khāzir he had been with Ibn al-Ashtar) in charge of the foot soldiers, and Kaysān Abū 'Amrah (a *mawlā* of 'Uraynah) in charge of the *mawālī*.

Having been put in charge of the left wing, 'Abdallāh b. Wahb b. Anas[329] al-Jushamī came to Ibn Shumayṭ and said to him, "*Mawālī* and slaves are weaklings when it comes time to show true fortitude. Although you are walking, they have many men on horseback with them. Order them to dismount with you, for they will have an example to emulate in you. I fear that if they are assaulted for a time and attacked with spears and swords, they will flee on the backs of their horses and abandon you. However, if you make them go on foot, they will have no choice but to hold out." ['Abdallāh b. Anas] said this only out of rancor toward the *mawālī* and slaves, because of what they [sc. the *ashrāf*] had experienced at their hands in al-Kūfah. If the battle turned against them, he wanted them to be on foot and none of them to escape. Ibn Shumayṭ did not suspect him; believing that he only wanted to give him good advice, so that they would hold out and fight, he

327. Al-Madhār, the main city of the Maysān district, lay about 200 miles southeast of al-Kūfah and 40 miles north of al-Baṣrah, on the shore of a backwater formed by a former bed of the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 42–3.

328. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 253 (and note).

329. Sic, except in Ms. C, which omits "b. Anas."

said, "You *mawālī*, dismount with me and fight." So they dismounted with him and walked in front of him and his banner.

Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr came. He had put ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn in [722]
charge of the horsemen. Having approached Ibn Shumayṭ and his forces, ʿAbbād said, "We summon you only to the Book of God, the Sunnah of His Messenger, and allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr." The other side said, "We summon you to the Book of God, to the Sunnah of His Messenger, to allegiance to the commander al-Mukhtār, and to our making this issue a matter to be determined by consultation (*shūrā*) among the family of the Prophet. As for any person who alleges that someone ought to rule over them,[330] we disavow him and will strive against him." ʿAbbād returned and reported to al-Muṣʿab. Al-Muṣʿab said to him, "Go back and attack them." ʿAbbād went back and attacked Ibn Shumayṭ and his forces, but none of them gave way; then he returned to his position. Al-Muhallab attacked [ʿAbdallāh] b. Kāmil. The forces [of the latter] jostled[331] each other in the fray,[332] and Ibn Kāmil dismounted. Al-Muhallab then drew back from him, and [Ibn Kāmil][333] stood his ground. They stopped [fighting] for a time; then al-Muhallab said to his forces, "Charge them with true bravery, for the enemy have given you hope by their confusion." So he made a formidable attack on them, and they retreated. Ibn Kāmil held his ground with foot soldiers from Hamdān, and al-Muhallab could hear the men's battle cry, "I am the young man of Shākir! I am the young man of Shibām! I am the young man of Thawr!" But it was only a short time before they were defeated.

ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar attacked ʿAbdallāh b. Anas. The latter fought for a time and then retreated. All the men together attacked [Aḥmar] b. Shumayṭ, who fought until he was killed. His men called to each other, "Men of Bajīlah and Khathʿam, be steadfast!" But al-Muhallab called to them, "Flee! Flight is safer for you today. Why will you kill yourselves on the side of these
slaves? God has led your enterprise astray." Then he looked toward [723]

330. Viz., the family of the Prophet.
331. Mss. O and Co read: "They jostled each other."
332. For this meaning of *jāla*, see Blachère, *Dictionnaire*, s.v.
333. The antecedent is unclear.

his companions and said, "By God, I think the killing has been vehement today only among my men." The horsemen turned on Ibn Shumayṭ's foot soldiers, who separated and fled, taking to the desert. Al-Muṣʿab dispatched ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn in charge of the horsemen, saying, "Behead any prisoner you take." And he sent Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath with a large body of horsemen, Kūfan horsemen who were among the people al-Mukhtār had expelled, saying, "Take your revenge!" The Kūfans were even more severe than the Baṣrans toward those who were defeated. They killed every fleeing man they overtook and pardoned no prisoner that they took. [Continuing,] he said: Of that army, only a group of horsemen escaped; the foot soldiers perished, except for a few.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ibn ʿAyyāsh al-Mantūf,[334] who said: Muʿāwiyah b. Qurrah al-Muzanī[335] said [to me], "I caught up with one of them, put the head of my spear into his eye, and began mashing his eye with the head of my spear." I said to him, "You did that to him?" "Yes," he said, "we thought it more permissible to spill their blood than to kill Turks and Daylamites."[336] Muʿāwiyah b. Qurrah was a judge of the people of al-Baṣrah. Concerning [the battle at al-Madhār], al-Aʿshā[337] said:

Yea, has it reached you? Reports are told
about what [the tribe of] Bajīlah encountered at al-Madhār.
There a strong blow was ordained for them,
and a well-aimed thrust at the beginning of the day.
It was as if a cloud had hurled thunderbolts upon them
and encompassed them with destruction there.
Announce humiliation to al-Mukhtār's Shīʿah,

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334. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAyyāsh b. Abī Rabīʿah al-Mantūf Abū al-Jarrāḥ (d. 158/775) was an expert in genealogy and poetry. See Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 191.

335. Ibid., p. 191.

336. The Daylamites were an Iranian people living in the highlands of Gīlān in northern Iran. They had served the Sasanians as mercenaries and stubbornly maintained their independence despite many Muslim expeditions against them. See *EI*², s.v. Daylam.

337. I.e., Aʿshā Hamdān. The version in the *Dīwān*, 330, adds two lines at the end of the poem: "What happened to them did not displease me, whether things go badly or well for me. Rather, I was gladdened, my sleep became sweet, and I rested calmly because of their death."

if you pass by the little city[338] of al-Kūfah.
Their fallen men and the many remnants of their army
slaughtered in the deserts delighted my eye.
I did not rejoice that my people were killed,
even if they, in truth, were empowered to choose;[339]
Rather, I rejoiced at what overtook
Abū Isḥāq[340]—shame and disgrace. [724]

Al-Muṣʿab advanced across the reeds in the direction of Wāsiṭ.[341] (The present city of Wāsiṭ had not yet been built at that time.) He took the road to Kaskar,[342] and then loaded the foot soldiers, their baggage, and those who were weak onto boats and traveled by way of a canal called the Khurshādh. From that canal, he came out onto a canal called Qūsān, whence he brought his men out onto the Euphrates.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī: The people from al-Baṣrah would get out and pull their boats, saying:

Al-Muṣʿab has accustomed us to pulling hawsers
and ships long and hollow.

[Continuing,] he said: When the Persians who were with al-Mukhtār learned what had befallen their brethren with Ibn Shumayṭ, they said in Persian, "*Īn bār durōgh guft*," meaning, "This time he has lied."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿUmayr al-Thaqafī, who said: By God, I was sitting by al-Mukhtār when the defeat of the men

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338. *Al-Kuwayfah*, the diminutive of al-Kūfah, is probably being used contemptuously. There was, however, a place called Kuwayfat Ibn ʿUmar, near Bazīqiyā in the district of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v. al-Kuwayfah.

339. The translation follows the Leiden text (*fī khiyārī*) and von Goutta, *Aġānī-artikel*, 51. The sense would be: "even if they willingly chose to follow the error of al-Mukhtār."

340. I.e., al-Mukhtār.

341. The city of Wāsiṭ, founded in 84/703 by al-Ḥajjāj, lay on the Tigris, approximately equidistant (50 leagues) from Baghdad, al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, and Ahwāz. From al-Madhār, the site of Wāsiṭ lay about 100 miles to the northwest. South of Wāsiṭ, the Tigris flowed into the Great Swamp, the "reeds" to which the text refers. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 39–40; *EI*[1], s.v.

342. Kaskar was a town across the river from Wāsiṭ and gave its name to the surrounding district. See Le Strange, loc. cit.; *EI*[2], s.v.

and what had befallen them was reported to him. [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār turned to me and said, "By God, the slaves have been killed on an unheard-of scale." Then he said, "Ibn Shumayṭ and Ibn Kāmil have been killed, as well as others," and he named Arab casualties each of whom was better in war than a multitude of men. [Continuing,] he said: I said to him, "By God, this is a disaster." He said to me, "There is no escape from death, and there is no death I would rather die than one like that of Ibn Shumayṭ. How excellent the deaths of noble men!" [Continuing,] he said: Thus, I realized that the man had resolved inwardly that, [725] if he did not attain his object, he would fight until he died.

When it was reported to al-Mukhtār that Muṣʿab's forces were coming toward him by water and by land, he took his men and encamped at al-Saylaḥīn,[343] facing the confluence of the al-Ḥīrah, al-Saylaḥīn, al-Qādisiyyah, and Yūsuf[344] canals. He dammed the Euphrates below the confluence of the canals, so that all the water of the Euphrates went into these canals, and the boats of the Baṣrans were left in the mud. When they saw this, they got out of the boats and walked. Their horsemen galloped forward, reached the dam, broke it, and headed toward al-Kūfah. When he saw this, al-Mukhtār went toward them and encamped at Ḥarūrā',[345] blocking their way to al-Kūfah. He had fortified his palace and the mosque and had brought provisions for the siege into his palace.

Al-Muṣʿab came marching toward al-Mukhtār, who was at Ḥarūrā' and had left ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād as his agent in charge of al-Kūfah. Al-Mukhtār came out to meet Muṣʿab, having put Sulaym b. Yazīd al-Kindī in charge of his right wing and Saʿīd b. Munqidh al-Hamdānī al-Thawrī in charge of his left wing. ʿAbdallāh b. Qurād al-Khathʿamī was in charge of al-Mukhtār's picked troops (*shurṭah*) that day. Al-Mukhtār sent ʿUmar[346] b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nahdī in charge of the horsemen and Mālik b. ʿAmr[347] al-Nahdī in charge of the foot soldiers. Muṣʿab put al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah in charge of his right wing, ʿUmar b.

343. Al-Saylaḥīn (or al-Saylaḥūn) was located between al-Ḥīrah and al-Qādisiyyah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.

344. Corrected from the ms. reading "Bursuf" (ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXXII).

345. Ḥarūrā' was about two miles from al-Kūfah (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.).

346. Mss. O, Co and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 270: "ʿAmr."

347. Mss. O, Co and Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit., "ʿAbdallāh."

ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar al-Taymī in charge of his left wing, ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabaṭī in charge of the horsemen, and Muqātil b. Mismaʿ al-Bakrī in charge of the foot soldiers. He himself dismounted to go on foot, shouldering a bow of his.

[Continuing,] he said: Muṣʿab put Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath in charge of the Kūfans. Muḥammad came and encamped between [726] al-Muṣʿab and al-Mukhtār, moving to the west and to the right. [Continuing,] he said: When al-Mukhtār saw that, he sent one of his companions against each of the fifths of the Baṣrans. He sent Saʿīd b. Munqidh, the commander of his left wing, against the [fifth of] Bakr b. Wāʾil, which was led by Mālik b. Mismaʿ al-Bakrī. He sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ al-Shibāmī, who was in charge of his treasury, against the [fifth of] ʿAbd al-Qays, which was led by Mālik b. al-Mundhir. He sent ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿdah al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī against the [fifth] of the Highlanders, who were led by Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī. He sent Musāfir b. Saʿīd b. Nimrān al-Nāʿiṭī against the [fifth of] al-Azd, which was led by Ziyād b. ʿAmr al-ʿAtakī. He sent Sulaym b. Yazīd al-Kindī, the commander of his right wing, against the [fifth of] Banū Tamīm, which was led by al-Aḥnaf b. Qays. He sent al-Sāʾib b. Mālik al-Ashʿarī against Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath. He himself halted among the rest of his forces.

The men advanced and closed with each other. Saʿīd b. Munqidh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ attacked [the fifths of] Bakr b. Wāʾil and ʿAbd al-Qays, which were in the left wing under ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar. The forces of Rabīʿah[348] fought them fiercely and held their own against them, but Saʿīd b. Munqidh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ did not abandon the attack: when one attacked and withdrew, the other then attacked, and sometimes both attacked together.

[Continuing,] he said: Al-Muṣʿab sent word to al-Muhallab, saying, "Why are you waiting to attack those across from you? Don't you see what these two fifths have been encountering since the day began? Attack with your forces." Al-Muhallab replied, "By my life, I am not one to make the Azd and Tamīm slaughter,

348. I.e., the forces from the tribes of Bakr b. Wāʾil and ʿAbd al-Qays, both of which belonged to the grouping of Rabīʿah tribes.

for fear of the people of al-Kūfah, until I see my opportunity."[349]

[727] [Continuing,] he said: Al-Mukhtār sent word to ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿdah, saying, "Attack those opposite you." Accordingly, he attacked the Highlanders and put them to flight, so that they came at last to al-Muṣʿab. Not being one to flee, al-Muṣʿab knelt on his knees and shot his arrows, and the men took up a position beside him. The two sides fought for a time and then separated.

[Continuing,] he said: Al-Muṣʿab sent to al-Muhallab, who was with two large and numerous fifths and the skilled horsemen, saying, "May you have no father![350] Why are you waiting to attack the enemy?" The latter waited not far away and said to his companions, "The men have fought since the day began, while you have been standing still. They have done a good job; now it remains for you to do what you ought to do. Attack! Pray for God's help, and be steadfast." [Al-Muhallab] vigorously attacked those who were near him; they crushed al-Mukhtār's forces badly and put them to flight. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr al-Nahdī,[351] a veteran of Ṣiffīn,[352] said, "O God, I am in the same state of mind as I was that Thursday night at Ṣiffīn. O God, I declare to Thee that I have no part in the action of these men"—meaning his companions when they fled—"and I declare to Thee that I have no part with the souls of these men"—meaning the companions of al-Muṣʿab. He then fought with his sword until he was killed.

Mālik b. ʿAmr Abū Nimrān al-Nahdī, who was in charge of [al-Mukhtār's] foot soldiers, was brought his horse and he mounted. Al-Mukhtār's forces were in full flight, as if they were a canebrake set ablaze. Having mounted, Mālik said, "What am I going to do by mounting? By God, I would rather be killed here than be killed in my house. Where are the men of valor? Where are the men of

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349. The reading in Balādhurī, *Ansab*, V, 259, is superior: "I am not one to make the Azd and Tamīm slaughter the Khashabiyyah of the people of al-Kūfah, until I see my opportunity." The words *khashyah* (fear) and *khashabiyyah* are easily confused in Arabic script.

350. *Lā abā laka*, which is more an expletive or an expression of impatience than a real curse.

351. He was commanding al-Mukhtār's cavalry. See Ṭabarī, II, 725, above.

352. At Siffīn, a plain on the right bank of the Euphrates near al-Raqqah, in 38/657, forces loyal to the caliph ʿAlī confronted those of Muʿāwiyah, the governor of Syria and leader of the party demanding vengeance for the death of the caliph ʿUthmān.

steadfastness?" About fifty men returned to him—it was toward evening—and he wheeled round to attack the forces of Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath was killed next to him—both he[353] and most of his companions. Some men therefore say [728] it was Abū Nimrān who killed Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath. (Abū Nimrān was found slain next to him.) But Kindah assert that 'Abd al-Malik b. Ashā'ah al-Kindī was the man who killed him; that when al-Mukhtār with his companions passed by Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath lying dead, he said, "O supporters, attack the guileful foxes"; they attacked, and Abū Nimrān was killed. Khath'am assert that 'Abdallāh b. Qurād[354] was the man who killed [Ibn al-Ash'ath].

According to Abū Mikhnaf: I heard 'Awf b. 'Amr[355] al-Jushamī assert that one of their *mawālī* killed him. Four persons claimed his killing, each of them asserting to have slain him.

The forces of Sa'īd b. Munqidh retreated. He fought amid a band of his tribesmen, about seventy men, until they were killed. Salīm b. Yazīd al-Kindī fought amid ninety men, tribesmen of his and others. He fought until he was killed. Al-Mukhtār fought at the entrance of the Shabath Road.[356] He dismounted, intending not to withdraw, and fought most of that night, until the men left him. Among his companions, men of his bodyguard, who were killed with him that night were 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh al-Azdī, 'Ayyāsh b. Khāzim al-Hamdānī al-Thawrī, and Aḥmar b. Ḥadīj al-Hamdānī al-Fāyishī.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Zubayr:[357] The men of Hamdān called to each other that night, saying, "People of Hamdān strike them with swords and fight them as hard as you can."

When they dispersed, leaving al-Mukhtār, his companions said to him, "Commander, the men have gone away. Go back to your [729] dwelling, to the palace." Al-Mukhtār said, "By God, I did not dismount intending to go to the palace. But since they have gone

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353. I.e., Ibn al-Ash'ath.
354. Commander of al-Mukhtar's police.
355. Mss. O and C: 'Amr b. 'Awf.
356. This road was probably located in the southeast part of al-Kūfah. See Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, 241.
357. Full name: Abū al-Zubayr al-Arḥabī al-Hamdānī. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 190.

away, let us ride in the name of God." So he came and entered the palace.

Concerning the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, al-A'shā [Hamdān] said:[358]

To your eye its rheum returned;
    to your soul its recollection returned.
You returned to one of your nights;
    you were wakeful, though watchers sought sleep.
Not until its dawn brightened
    did the eye taste the savor of slumber.
Those who announced the death of Abū Qāsim[359] arose;
    and their weeping caused tears to flow.
It was right that for the son of al-Ashajj[360]
    eyes should not cease their flowing,
That they should continue to weep for him,
    and that their lashes be moist with tears.
For you, Muḥammad, since you have been slain,
    the lands and their trees weep.
Whenever people mention you, they weep—
    whenever a pact is betrayed by its protector.
Many a bare winter's night,
    when the *maysir*[361] players distributed nothing;
When the savage dogs did not bark,
    and there was nothing but growling and torpor [because of the cold];
When a cloak was of no benefit to the youth,
    nor the woman's close place of concealment to the lady;
On such nights, Muḥammad,
    you regarded camels as of little value and butchered them.
Your bowls remained set out,
    their edges running over with fat.

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358. The poem can be found in the *Dīwān* (ed. Geyer), 331–32.

359. The *kunyah* of Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath.

360. The son of al-Ashajj is Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath. Al-Ashajj ("the man whose head was wounded") is another nickname for al-Ash'ath ("the man with dissheveled or matted hair") b. Qays al-Kindī. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah*, I, 97.

361. *Maysir* was a game in which players cast lots for the pieces of a slaughtered camel; see *EI*², s.v.

The last drops in your milk skin were completely consumed [by your guests],
when the camels whose milk was drying up were led back from pasture.
O bestower of comely servants; [730]
if they are measured, their stature is full.
O bestower of short-haired [horses swift] as arrows:
those who display them please the battle line.
O bestower of young she-camels of good breed
that have recently foaled, and their first-born foals answer each other.
You were like the Tigris when its current
heaps itself up and rushes into the sea.
You were bold and full of strength,
when proof of these traits was sought of you.
If a town ever came to be in tumult,
and its tyrant proclaimed war,
You sent against it men of piercing eyes,
so that reports about it came succeeding one another—
With God's permission! And the horses'
training place was prepared for that campaign.
You fed your horses swift running,
until their colts were neglected.
The stout camel cutting its first teeth
knew that you would tire it on the plain.
Oh my grief the day you encountered them,
when those who fled betrayed your men!
The horsemen came back defeated,
in distress, their backs wounded,
At the river bank of Ḥarūrā'; and there gathered
against you the *mawālī* and their beguiler.[362]
You risked your life in their defense, [731]
and the risking of it gained disaster.
Do not be far, O Abū Qāsim!
For the soul's measure will reach it;
The accidents of fortune and the passage
and succession of nights have made our lords perish.

362. I.e., al-Mukhtār.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]: My father said that al-Sā'ib came with Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr and was killed by Warqā' al-Nakha'ī from [the clan of] Wahbīl. Warqā' said:

Who will take a message from me to 'Ubayd, that I
have overcome his brother with a sword of Indian steel?
If you seek knowledge about him, he is
lying prostrate by the two monasteries, with no pillow for his head.
Resolutely I sought him and brought his head low with a
trenchant blade;
and I bereaved him of [his son], Sufyān, after [the death of] Muḥammad.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥaṣīrah b. 'Abdallāh:[363] Every extremist of the Shī'ah used to gather and talk at the house of Hind bint al-Mutakallifah al-Nā'iṭiyyah and at the house of Laylā bint Qumāmah al-Muzaniyyah. The latter's brother, Rifā'ah b. Qumāmah, was a member of the Shī'ah of 'Alī, but, since he was a moderate, she did not like him. Abū 'Abdallāh al-Jadalī and Yazīd b. Sharāḥīl had informed Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah about these two women and their extremism and about Abū al-Aḥrās al-Murādī, al-Buṭayn al-Laythī, and Abū al-Ḥārith al-Kindī.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Yaḥyā b. Abī 'Īsā, who said:[364] Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah had sent a letter with Yazīd b. Sharāḥīl to the Shī'ah in al-Kūfah, warning them of these people. He wrote to them:

[732] From Muḥammad b. 'Alī to those of our Shī'ah who are at al-Kūfah. To proceed: Go forth to the assemblies and the mosques; remember God both publicly and secretly, and do not take for yourselves intimates outside the believers.[365] If you fear for your souls, beware those who speak lies against your religion. Be frequent in

363. Ḥaṣīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Durayd al-Azdī was born probably ca. 50/670. All his reports, mediated through Abū Mikhnaf, concern the troubles in Iraq between A.H. 66 and 72. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 207.

364. Full name: Yaḥyā b. Abī 'Īsā al-Azdī. See ibid., 224.

365. Cf. Qur'ān 3:118.

worship, fasting, and prayer; for no creature has power to hurt or profit anyone, except as God wills. Every soul shall be pledged for what it has earned.[366] No soul laden bears the load of another.[367] God stands over every soul for what it has earned.[368] Work righteousness, and forward goodness for your souls; and do not be among the heedless.[369] Peace be upon you.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥaṣīrah b. ʿAbdallāh: When the men went forth to Ḥarūrāʾ, ʿAbdallāh b. Nawf came out of the house of Hind bint al-Mutakallifah, saying, "The day of Wednesday: the sky has risen aloft and judgment has descended, bringing the defeat of the enemy. Go forth then in the name of God to Ḥarūrāʾ."[370] He went forth. When the men encountered each other to fight, he was struck a blow on his face. As the men were retreating in defeat, ʿAbdallāh b. Sharīk al-Nahdī, who had heard his saying, met him and said to him, "Didn't you assert to us, Ibn Nawf, that we would defeat them?" ʿAbdallāh b. Nawf replied, "Have you not read in the Book of God, 'God blots out, and He establishes whatsoever He will; and with Him is the Essence of the Book.'"[371]

[Continuing,] he said: The next morning, al-Muṣʿab marched forth with the Baṣrans who were with him and the Kūfans who had gone out to him, taking them toward al-Sabakhah.[372] When

366. Cf. ibid., 74:38.
367. Ibid., 6:164.
368. Cf. ibid., 13:33.
369. Cf. ibid., 7:205.
370. The saying of ʿAbdallāh b. Nawf is in rhymed prose (*sajʿ*), the form in which pre-Islamic soothsayers delivered their predictions; see note 21, above. If the reading, "The sky has risen aloft," is correct, it is an allusion to daybreak. Ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXXII, suggests reading *tazabbaʿat*, "has become stormy."
371. Qurʾān 13:39. Al-Mukhtār is said to have to derived a doctrine called "*bidāʾ*" ("change of mind") from this verse. Muslim theology accepted the idea that God might alter or abrogate earlier commands (e.g., that He might command the Muslim community to abstain from fighting at one time, but later command it to fight). What was not accepted was the idea that God's eternal decree could at one time be one thing (victory for someone) and at another time be different (defeat for that person). This is the position the heresiographers say al-Mukhtār adopted in order to explain why some of his predictions failed to be fulfilled. See Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, 151.
372. See note 68. An area between al-Kūfah and the Euphrates was referred to by this name.

he passed by al-Muhallab, the latter said to him, "What a victory!
[733] What a joy it would have been, had Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath not been killed!" Muṣ'ab replied, "You are right. May God have mercy on Muḥammad!" He walked a short way and then said, "Muhallab—." "At your service, commander!" he replied. "Do you now," said Muṣ'ab, "that 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib has been killed?" Al-Muhallab replied, "'Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return.'"[373] Al-Muṣ'ab said, "Indeed, he was someone I wanted to have seen this victory. We do not consider ourselves more entitled to anything we now have than he was. Do you know who killed him?" "No," he said. Muṣ'ab said, "He was killed by someone who claims to be a partisan of his father. And they killed him, knowing who he was!"[374] [Continuing,] he said: Muṣ'ab then went and encamped at al-Sabakhah, cutting off water and supplies from al-Mukhtār's forces. He sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, who encamped at al-Kunāsah. He sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf b. Sulaym to Jabbānat al-Sabī'. He asked 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf,[375] "What have you done in the matter I entrusted to you?" He replied, "God make you prosper! I found the people to be of two sorts: whoever had an inclination toward you went out to you; whoever held the opinion of al-Mukhtār would not abandon him or prefer anyone over him. So I did not leave my house until you came." Muṣ'ab said, "You have spoken the truth."

Muṣ'ab sent 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn to Jabbānat Kindah. All these men were cutting off water and supplies from al-Mukhtār and his companions who were in al-Mukhtār's palace. He also sent Zaḥr b. Qays to Jabbānat Murād and sent 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr to Jabbānat al-Ṣā'idiyyīn.[376]

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373. See note 156.

374. Cf. Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 312–13 (where his name is given as 'Umar, not 'Ubaydallāh): "He had come from the Ḥijāz to al-Mukhtār. Al-Mukhtār asked him, 'Do you have Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah's letter with you?' 'No,' said 'Umar b. 'Alī, 'I do not have his letter with me.' 'Then go away, wherever you wish,' said al-Mukhtār, 'for I have nothing to give you.' He therefore left al-Mukhtār and went to Muṣ'ab, who met him on the way and gave him a gift of 100,000 dirhams."

375. Muṣ'ab had sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān ahead to induce as many of al-Mukhtār's partisans as possible to abandon al-Mukhtār and go over to Muṣ'ab. See Ṭabarī, II, 719.

376. The problem of its location is discussed in Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, 245f.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj, who said: I saw 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr charging and fighting al-Mukhtār's horsemen in Jabbānat al-Ṣā'idiyyīn. Sometimes I saw their horsemen chase away his horsemen, while he was behind his horsemen [734] inciting their ardor; when he had reached the house of 'Ikrimah, he wheeled round and chased them until he made them reach Jabbānat al-Ṣā'idiyyīn. Sometimes I saw 'Ubaydallāh's horsemen take and beat one or more water carriers. Because of the difficulty they encountered, they would bring them water only if they gave them one or two dinars for each bag of water.

Sometimes al-Mukhtār and his companions would come out and fight feebly, inflicting no damage on their foe. Whenever horsemen of his came out, they were bombarded with stones from the housetops and doused with filthy water. The people were emboldened against them. Most of their sustenance came from their wives. A woman would leave her house carrying food, dainties, and water over which she had thrown her outer garment.[377] She would leave as if intending to go to the Great Mosque for prayers, or as if she were going to her kin and visiting a woman relative of hers. When she approached the palace, someone would open for her and she would bring in food and drink for her husband or relation. When word of this reached al-Muṣ'ab and his companions, al-Muhallab, who was experienced, said to him, "Set up barricades[378] against them, so that you prevent their families and children from coming to them and so that you leave them in their stronghold until they die in it."

When the people in the palace were hard pressed by thirst, they quenched their thirst with the water of the well. Al-Mukhtār ordered honey [to be given] to them; it was poured into [the well] to alter its taste, so that they might drink from it. Most of them satisfied their thirst in this way. Muṣ'ab then ordered his forces to approach the palace. 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabaṭī came and took up a position by the Mosque of Juhaynah. Sometimes he advanced until he reached the Mosque of the Banū Makhzūm,[379]

377. Literally, "over which she had put on her *liḥāf*." The *liḥāf* was an unlined sheet of cloth used as an outer wrap.

378. *Durūb*: the exact meaning is unclear; perhaps gates at the end of certain streets. See Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, 246.

379. This mosque was named after the clan of the tribe 'Abs to which Ḥu-

[735] so that his forces might shoot arrows at any of al-Mukhtār's men who showed themselves to them from the palace. Whenever he met a woman close to the palace, he said to her, "Who are you, where have you come from, and what do you want?" One day, he seized three women, wives of men from the tribes of Shibām and Shākir, going to their husbands in the palace and sent them to Muṣ'ab. They had food with them. Muṣ'ab turned them back, but did them no harm.

Muṣ'ab sent out Zaḥr b. Qays, who took up a position at the [Street] of the Smiths,[380] where riding animals were hired out. Also, he sent out 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr: his position was by the house of Bilāl. He sent out Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays: his position was by his father's house. He sent out Ḥawshab b. Yazīd, who halted by the Lane of the Baṣrans, at the mouth of the Street of the Banū Jadhīmah b. Mālik, [a clan] of the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah. Al-Muhallab came and took up a position at the crossroads of Khunays. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf came from the direction of Dār al-Siqāyah.[381]

Some young Kūfans and Baṣrans, inexperienced fellows with no knowledge of war, rushed to the marketplace and began to shout—they had no commander: "Son of Dawmah! Son of Dawmah!"[382] Al-Mukhtār looked out at them and said, "By God, even if the person reproaching me with the name 'Dawmah' were 'a man of moment from the two cities,'[383] he would not reproach me with it." Noting their disorganization, the state of their appearance, and how scattered they were, he felt a desire to subdue them, and said to a group of his companions, "Go out with me." About two

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dhayfah b. al-Yamān, a famous companion of the Prophet, had belonged. See Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*, 247.

380. Djaït locates it in the southwest part of the city, not far from al-Kunāsah (*Al-Kūfa*, 248).

381. Dār al-Siqāyah: "the building for providing water."

382. Dawmah bint 'Amr b. Wahb b. Mu'attib was al-Mukhtār's mother (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 214).

383. Referring to Qur'ān 43:31, where Muḥammad's opponents are said to have reproached the Prophet by asking, "Why was this Qur'ān not sent down upon some man of moment in the two cities?" The parallel text in Balādhurī, *Ansab*, V, 261, reads: "He whom you are reproaching is indeed the son of 'a man of moment from the two cities.'" (Goitein's note to the Balādhurī passage mentions that some commentators identified one of the men as al-Mukhtār's grandfather or great-grandfather.)

hundred of them made a sortie with him. He attacked them, [736]
wounded about a hundred of them, and put them to flight. They fled in confusion in the direction of the house of Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjlī.

Then a man from the Banū Ḍabbah, a Baṣran named Yaḥyā b. Ḍamḍam, so tall that when he rode his feet almost touched the ground, a man most deadly to other men and awesome to behold, began to attack al-Mukhtār's forces. No man toward whom he directed himself held his ground. Al-Mukhtār, seeing him, attacked him and struck him a blow on his forehead, causing his forehead and brainpan to fly off; and he fell dead.

Then those commanders and chiefs [whom Muṣʿab had stationed] advanced from all sides. Al-Mukhtār's forces had no strength to stand up to them and so entered the palace. There they stayed, and the siege tightened around them. Al-Mukhtār said to them, "Alas! The siege is only making you weaker. Let us go down and fight until we are killed as honorable men, if we are to be killed. By God, I have not lost hope that if you fight them steadfastly, God will help you." But they lacked strength and hung back. So al-Mukhtār said to them, "As for me, by God, I will not submit, neither will I allow them to pass judgment over my life." When ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿdah b. Hubayrah b. Abī Wahb saw what al-Mukhtār wanted, he let himself down from the palace by a rope, joined some of his brothers, and went into hiding among them.

Seeing the weakness of his companions and their discouragement, al-Mukhtār determined to make a sortie against the enemy. He sent to his wife, Umm Thābit bint Samurah b. Jundab al-Fazārī, and she sent him a large quantity of perfume. He washed, sprinkled his clothes with spices,[384] and put the perfume on his head and
beard. Then he went out with nineteen men. Among them was [737]
al-Sāʾib b. Mālik al-Ashʿarī, who was al-Mukhtār's deputy over al-Kūfah whenever al-Mukhtār went out to al-Madāʾin. He was married to ʿAmrah bint Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who bore him a child whom he named Muḥammad. This Muḥammad was with

384. As if preparing himself for burial: Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 657, s.v. *taḥannaṭa*, refers to a tradition in which a man going into battle does this to prepare himself for death and to induce himself to endure the fight with patience.

his father in the palace. When his father was killed and those in the palace taken, he was found and released, since he was a young lad.

When al-Mukhtār left the palace, he said to al-Sā'ib, "What do you think best?" Al-Sā'ib replied, "It is for you to say. What do you think?" Al-Mukhtār said, "I think? or God thinks?" Al-Sā'ib said, "Nay, what God thinks." Al-Mukhtār said, "Alas for you! You are a fool. I am a man of the Arabs. I saw Ibn al-Zubayr seize the Ḥijāz for himself; I saw Najdah[385] seize al-Yamāmah, and Marwān[386] Syria. Not being inferior to any man among the Arabs, I took this country and was like one of them—except that I sought vengeance for the members of the Prophet's family, while the Arabs were asleep about the matter. I killed those who participated in shedding their blood and have spared no effort in the matter until this very day. Fight, then, for the glory of your name, if you have no inner intention."[387] Al-Sā'ib said, "'Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return.'[388] What have I been doing that I should fight for the glory of my name? Thereupon, al-Mukhtār quoted the verses of Ghaylān b. Salamah b. Mu'attib al-Thaqafī:[389]

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385. In 66/685, Najdah b. 'Āmir al-Ḥanafī became leader of a group of Khārijites who had controlled central Arabia (al-Yamāmah) since 64/683. See Ṭabarī, II, 517; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 127–28; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 74.

386. I.e., the Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

387. The exchange is more cynical in tone in Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 313: Al-Mukhtār says to al-Sā'ib, "Let us go out to fight for the glory of our names, not for religion's sake." Shocked, al-Sā'ib exclaims, "Abū Isḥāq, people think you undertook this enterprise as a matter of religion!" Al-Mukhtār replies, "No, by my life it was only to seek [the goods of] this world. I saw that 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had seized Syria, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr the Hijāz, Muṣ'ab al-Baṣrah, Najdah the Harūrī al-'Arūḍ [i.e., Arabia], and 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim Khurāsān. I am inferior to none of them. Only by advocating vengeance for the death of al-Ḥusayn, was I was able to do what I wanted." In al-Ṭabarī's version, al-Mukhtār combines Shī'ī dedication with opportunism; in Dīnawarī he is a cynical opportunist.

388. See note 156.

389. A slightly different version of the poem, together with a story that throws light on the imagery, can be found in *Aghānī*, XII, 48. The poet Ghaylān b. Salamah has accompanied Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and a group of Quraysh and Thaqīf on a trading caravan to Iraq. As they cross into Iraq, Abu Sufyān gathers the men, warns them of the danger of entering the kingdom of a tyrant (*jabbār*) whose country is not their accustomed place of trade, and asks who is willing to go first and receive half the profit of the entire enterprise. Ghaylān volunteers. To illustrate the value of daring, he goes to a stream bed and begins striking (shaking off?) the leaves of the trees, reciting the poem.

Were Abū Ghaylān to see me, when anxieties retired
from me because of some affair having consequence,
He would say in fright and fear that two things are joined together:
life's profit, and soul's terror and fear.[390]
Either you obtain glory and noble deeds,
or the leaves are an example for you in regard to the one whom you destroy.[391]

Al-Mukhtār went out with nineteen men. He said to Muṣ'ab's men, "Will you give me an assurance of safety, and I will go out to you?" They said, "No, except on condition of your submitting to judgment." Al-Mukhtār said, "I will never allow you to pass judgment over my life"; and he fought with his sword until he was killed. He had said to his companions when they refused to follow him out, "If I make a sortie against them and am killed, you will only become weaker and more humiliated. If you submit to their judgment, your enemies whose relatives you have killed will jump up; each of them will say about one of you, 'This one is my revenge for my kinsman,' and the man will be killed, while you watch each other being struck down. Then you will say, 'If only we had obeyed al-Mukhtār and done what he thought best.' Had you gone out with me, failing to gain victory, you would have died as honorable men; or if any of you had escaped and reached his people, his people would have protected him. At this hour tomorrow, you will be the most abject people on the face of the earth." And it came to pass as he had said. [Continuing,] he said: People have asserted that al-Mukhtār was killed at the present site of al-Zayyātīn [Street],[392] and that he was killed by two men of the Banū Ḥanīfah, brothers, one of whom was named Ṭarafah, and the other Ṭarrāf, sons of 'Abdallāh b. Dajājah of the Banū Ḥanīfah. [738]

The day after al-Mukhtār's death, Bujayr b. 'Abdallāh al-Muslī

390. Version in *Aghānī*: "He would say that desire and fear are joined together: the love of life, and the soul's terror and fear."

391. Version in *Aghānī*: "Either you continue in [pursuit of] glory and fame, or the leaves are an example for you as regards those who perish." As the story in *Aghānī* shows, the life of a man who dies without glory is being compared to leaves that fall.

392. I.e., the oil sellers' street.

said, "Men, yesterday your commander gave you good advice: would that you had obeyed him! Men, if you submit to the enemy's judgment, you will be slaughtered like sheep. Go forth with your swords, and fight until you die nobly." But they disobeyed him and said, "Someone with more claim to our obedience and better than you at advising us commanded us to do it, and we disobeyed him. Shall we obey you?" So the men gave themselves up and submitted to be judged. Muṣʿab sent ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabaṭī to deal with them. He brought them out with their hands tied
[739] behind their backs. ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād al-Jushamī made a will to ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn.[393] ʿAbdallāh b. Qurād sought a stick or a piece of iron or anything with which to fight, but found nothing; that was because he was seized with regret after they came in, took his sword, and brought him out with his hands tied. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath] passed by him as he was saying:

I was not afraid that I would be seen a prisoner:
Those who disobeyed the commander
Have been humbled and utterly destroyed.

So ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath said, "Bring this one to me. Give him to me so that I can cut off his head." ʿAbdallāh b. Qurād said, "If I didn't smite your father and kill him with my sword, then I have the same religion as your grandfather, who believed and then became a nonbeliever!"[394] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad dismounted and said, "Bring him near me." They brought him near, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad killed him. ʿAbbād became angry and said, "You killed him, though you were not commanded to kill him."

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān passed ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād al-Jushamī, who was a *sharīf*. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān asked ʿAbbād to detain him until he had spoken to the commander concerning him. He then went to Muṣʿab and said, "I would like you to give me ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād so that I may kill him. It is a matter of blood revenge."

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393. The meaning apparently is that he asked ʿAbbād to protect his children after his death. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 822.

394. This refers to the fact that al-Ashʿath had taken part in the Riddah, the defection of some Arab tribes from Islam after the death of Muḥammad.

Muṣʿab ordered him to be given to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The latter went to him, took him, and beheaded him. ʿAbbād used to say, "By God, had I known that you only wanted to kill him, I would have given him to someone else and he would have killed him. But I thought you would speak to him concerning him and would then release him."

The son of ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād was brought, Shaddād by name. He had reached puberty, but had applied a depilatory to himself. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said, "Uncover him. Has he matured?" They said, "No, he is still is boy." So they released him.

Al-Aswad b. Saʿīd had asked Muṣʿab to offer his brother assurance of safety, and, if he submitted, to leave him to him. Al-Aswad therefore went to him and offered him assurance of safety, but the brother refused to submit, saying, "Dying with my comrades is more pleasing to me than life with you." He was named Qays, and he was brought out and killed among those who were killed. [740]

When Bujayr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Muslī—it is said that he was a *mawlā* of theirs—was brought to Muṣʿab together with many of al-Mukhtār's men, he said to Muṣʿab, "Praise be to God, who has tested us with shackles, and tested you by your forgiving us. There are two stations: one of them is God's good pleasure, the other His wrath. Whoever forgives, God forgives him and increases him in might; whoever punishes is not safe from retaliation. Ibn al-Zubayr, we are people who turn to the same *qiblah*[395] as you and hold your creed;[396] we are not Turks or Daylamites. If we have quarreled with our brothers and fellow countrymen, either we are right and they are wrong, or we are wrong and they are right. We have fought among ourselves as the people of Syria fought among themselves, who fought each other and then drew together; or as the people of al-Baṣrah fought among themselves, who quarreled and fought among themselves and then made peace and drew together. Now that you have obtained power, be gentle; having prevailed, forgive." He kept saying this and things like it until the men felt pity for them. Muṣʿab himself felt pity for them and

395. The *qiblah* is the direction of the Kaʿbah in Mecca, which Muslims face in prayer. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳibla.

396. *Millah* means both a religious creed and the community that holds that creed.

wanted to free them, but ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath arose and said, "Will you free them? Choose us, Ibn al-Zubayr; or choose them!" And Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays al-Hamdānī jumped up and said, "My father and five hundred men of Hamdān, *ashrāf* of the people, and men of the city were killed; and you set them free, while our blood still is surging in their bodies! Choose us, or choose them!" Every man and member of a family that had lost a member jumped up and said something similar.

[741] When Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr saw this, he ordered the men to be killed. They cried out to him all together, "Ibn al-Zubayr, do not kill us! Make us your vanguard against the Syrians tomorrow; by God, neither you nor your forces will be able to do without us tomorrow, when you meet your enemy. If we are killed, we shall have weakened them for you before being killed. If we win victory over them, it will be to your advantage and to the advantage of those who are with you." But Muṣʿab refused them and followed what pleased the generality of the people. Bujayr al-Muslī said, "My request to you is that I not be killed with these men. I commanded them to come out with their swords and fight to the death as honorable men, but they disobeyed me." So he was brought forward and killed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father—Abū Rawq: Musāfir b. Saʿīd b. Nimrān said to Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, "Ibn al-Zubayr, what will you say to God when you come before Him after having put to death a group of Muslims who made you judge over their lives?—when the right thing in regard to their lives was that you not kill a Muslim soul except for a Muslim soul. If we killed a number of your men, kill as many [of us] as we killed of you, and free the rest of us. Among us now there are many men who were not present for a single day at any battlefield of the war between you and us. They were in al-Jibāl[397] and the Sawād,[398] collecting taxes and securing the roads." But Muṣʿab did not listen to him.

397. Al-Jibāl ("the mountains") was the region known earlier as Māh or Media. It was bounded on the east by the great desert of Khurāsān, on the southeast by Fārs, on the south by Khūzistān, on the west and southwest by Iraq, on the northwest by Ādharbayjān, and on the north by the Alburz range. See *EI*², s.v. Djibāl; Le Strange, *Lands*, 185ff.

398. See note 45; and Le Strange, *Lands*, 24.

So Musāfir said, "God's curse upon people I ordered to make a night sortie against the guards of one of these roads, so that we might drive them off and join our kin, but who disobeyed me until they drove me to suffer what is most contemptible, base, and low, insisting upon dying the death of slaves! I ask you not to mix my blood with theirs." So he was brought forward and killed separately.

Al-Muṣʿab then ordered al-Mukhtār's hand to be cut off and nailed with an iron nail to the side of the mosque. There it remained until al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf arrived.[399] He looked at it and said, "What is this?" They said, "Al-Mukhtār's hand." He ordered it to be taken down. [742]

Muṣʿab sent his financial agents in charge of al-Jibāl and the Sawād. Then he wrote to [Ibrāhīm] b. al-Ashtar, summoning him to obedience to him, and saying to him, "If you respond to me and become obedient to me, Syria will be yours; you shall have control of the horses and of whatever land of the west[400] you subdue, as long as the family of al-Zubayr has dominion." ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān also wrote to Ibn al-Ashtar from Syria, summoning him to obedience to him, and saying, "If you respond to me and become obedient to me, you shall have Iraq." Ibrāhīm [b. al-Ashtar] summoned his companions and said, "What do you think?" Some of them said, "You should become obedient to ʿAbd al-Malik." Others said, "You should become obedient to Ibn al-Zubayr." Ibn al-Ashtar said, "Had I not killed ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād and the leaders of the Syrians, I would follow ʿAbd al-Malik, even though I do not want to choose [the people of] another city over the people of my city, or other tribesmen over my tribesmen." He therefore wrote to Muṣʿab, and Muṣʿab wrote him to come. So he came to him in obedience.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Janāb al-Kalbī: Muṣʿab's letter came to Ibn al-Ashtar containing the following:

> To proceed: God has killed the liar al-Mukhtār and his partisans who adopted unbelief as their religion and be-

399. After being appointed governor of Iraq by ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf reached al-Kūfah in Ramaḍān of A.H. 75. (December 694–January 695). See Ṭabarī, II, 872.

400. For "west" (*maghrib*), Mss. O, Co and C read "of the Arabs" (*ʿarab*).

guiled[401] with enchantment. We summon you to the Book of God, the Sunnah of His Prophet, and allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful. If you respond favorably to this, come to me. You shall have the territory of al-Jazīrah and all the territory of the west, as long as you live and as long as the dominion of the family of al-Zubayr remains.
[743] In this matter you have an oath and covenant by God, and the strictest oath or bond that God accepted from the prophets. Peace!

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān wrote to him as follows:

To proceed: The family of al-Zubayr have revolted against the Imāms of guidance, have tried to wrest command from those entitled to it, and have blasphemed in the Sacred House.[402] God will give power over them,[403] and will bring an evil turn upon them.[404] I summon you to God and the Sunnah of His Prophet. If you accept and respond favorably, you shall have authority over Iraq, as long as you live and I live. You have my oath and covenant by God that I will fulfill this.

Ibn al-Ashtar called his companions, read the letter to them, and asked their advice. One said 'Abd al-Malik; another said Ibn al-Zubayr. So he said to them, "And my opinion is to follow the Syrians; but how can I do so, when there dwells not a tribe in Syria but I have slain members of it, giving it cause to seek revenge? Also, I am not going to leave my tribesmen and the people of my city." He therefore went to Muṣ'ab. When word of his arrival reached Muṣ'ab, the latter sent al-Muhallab to the district where he was to serve as governor. (This was the year in which al-Muhallab took up residence in the Euphrates [district].)

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū 'Alqamah al-Khath'amī:[405]

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401. Mss. O and Co read: "and were learned men of enchantment."
402. I.e., the Ka'bah. Mss. O and Co add: "and have profaned the sacred precinct."
403. Cf. Qur'ān 8:71.
404. Cf. Qur'ān 9:98 and 48:6.
405. Abū 'Alqamah 'Abdallāh b. 'Alqamah al-Khath'amī died in 87/706 as the last surviving Companion of the Prophet (*ṣaḥābī*) in al-Kūfah, cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 324, 151–2; and U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 191.

Al-Muṣʿab sent for Umm Thābit bint Samurah b. Jundab, al-Mukhtār's wife, and ʿAmrah bint al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī, who was also al-Mukhtār's wife, and said to them, "What do you say about al-Mukhtār?" Umm Thābit said, "What should we say? We say about him only what you yourselves say." So they told her to go. ʿAmrah, however, said, "God's mercy upon him, if[406] he [744] was one of God's righteous servants." Muṣʿab therefore had her taken away to prison and wrote concerning her to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, saying that she claimed al-Mukhtār was a prophet. ʿAbdallāh wrote back that he should take her out and kill her. Muṣʿab therefore had her taken out between al-Ḥīrah and al-Kūfah after nightfall, and Maṭar gave her three strokes with the sword. (Maṭar, a servant [*tābiʿ*] of the Qafal family of the Banū Taymallāh b. Thaʿlabah, was with the police.) ʿAmrah cried out, "O my father! O my family! O my people!" One of the Anṣār heard about her—it was Abān b. al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr—and went to Maṭar and slapped him, saying, "Son of a whore! You cut off her soul; may God cut off your right hand!" Maṭar held fast to him, until he had taken him to Muṣʿab, where Maṭar said, "My mother is a Muslim woman." He claimed that the Banū Qafal would bear witness. No one, however, bore witness to him. Muṣʿab said, "Let the young man go free, for he has seen something horrible."

ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah al-Qurashī[407] composed [the following verses] about Muṣʿab's killing of ʿAmrah bint al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr:

A thing most amazing in my eyes
    is the slaying of a fair-skinned, free, graceful-necked woman.
Though without fault, she was killed in this way:[408]
    Oh what an excellent person has been killed!
Killing and fighting have been prescribed for us,
    but for chaste women the dragging of skirts.

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406. Ed. Cairo reads, "verily, he was." Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 263: "I only know that he was a Muslim, one of God's righteous servants."

407. ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah, a resident of Medina, was one of the most famous early writers of *ghazal* (love poetry) in Arabic. The verses are also attributed to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zabīr al-Asadī (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 264).

408. For "in this way," *Dīwān*, 498, reads, "in vain"; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, loc. cit., reads, "unjustly."

[745] According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muḥammad b. Yūsuf: Muṣʿab met ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar,[409] and, greeting him, said, "I am your brother's son, Muṣʿab." Ibn ʿUmar replied to him, "Yes, you are the man who in a single morning killed seven thousand people who turn toward the *qiblah*. Live as long as you are able!" Muṣʿab said, "They were unbelievers, beguilers." Ibn ʿUmar said, "Had you killed their number in sheep from your father's inheritance, it would have been extravagance."

Concerning this [viz. the killing of al-Mukhtār's wife], Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit[410] composed [the following verses]:

A rider came bringing amazing tidings:
the killing of al-Nuʿmān's daughter, a woman of religion and nobility:
The killing of a young woman pleasing of mien, modest,
refined in character, disposition, and lineage;
A woman most pure, a descendant of noble men
who chose virtue in ages past.
The friend and helper of the Chosen Prophet,
his companion in war, misfortune, and grief,
Reported to me that the blasphemers agreed
upon killing her: may they themselves not be spared killing and plundering!
May life give no joy to the family of al-Zubayr!
May they taste the garment of humiliation, fear, and despoliation!
[746] You would think that when they brought her out and she was cut to pieces
by their swords, they had won the kingdom of the Arabs!
Did the people not marvel at the killing of a free woman,
chaste[411] of religion, praiseworthy of manners:

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409. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar, the son of the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, was one of the most frequently cited authorities for traditions. He was married to al-Mukhtār's sister, Ṣafiyyah, and had interceded with the Umayyad authorities on al-Mukhtār's behalf in 64/783 (Ṭabarī, II, 522–23) and with the Zubayrids in 66/685 (Ṭabarī, II, 599–600). See *EI*², s.v.

410. A Medinan poet, grandson of the Prophet's "court poet," Ḥassān b. Thābit. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 423.

411. Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 315, reads, "sincere of religion."

A woman of leisure, a believer free
from blame, slander, doubt, or lying?
Upon us the divine decree of slaying and valor is incumbent;
but women are to be chaste in their bridal pavilions and veils.
In the religion of her noble grandfathers and fathers,
she passed on, not shaming her kin or acting immodestly.
A bashful woman, not frequent in going forth or unseemly in speech,
one who promoted harmony, [not] envious of the neighbor not of her clan,
Nor of the neighbor who was a kinsman: she did not know what foul speech was;
she never made evil draw near, nor did she like it.
I marveled on her account, when she was wrapped in a shroud, while alive.
Verily, this affair is a most extraordinary wonder.

According to ʿAlī b. Ḥarb al-Mawṣilī[412]—Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān al-Ḥanafī (the son of the brother of Abū al-Aḥwaṣ)[413]—Muḥammad b. Abān—ʿAlqamah b. Marthad—Suwayd b. Ghaflah, who said: While I was journeying behind al-Najaf,[414] a man overtook me and struck me from behind with his staff. When I turned to him, he [747] said, "What do you have to say concerning the shaykh?" "Which of the shaykhs?" I asked. He said, "ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib." I said, "I bear witness that I love him with my hearing and sight and my heart and tongue." He said, "And I make you a witness that I hate him with my hearing and sight and my heart and tongue." Then we journeyed on until we entered al-Kūfah and parted. (After this, Suwayd stayed there some years, or, he may have said, for some time.)

[Continuing,] he said: Once while I was in the Great Mosque, a man wearing a turban entered. He carefully examined the faces of

412. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḥarb al-Mawṣilī (b. 170/786, d. 265/879) was a traditionist, scholar of ancient Arabian history, and poet. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 145.

413. On Abū al-Aḥwaṣ, see Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1833–34), 9, 71 [Leiden note].

414. Al-Najaf lies about four miles west of al-Kūfah. ʿAlī was buried there, but for security reasons the site was kept secret during this period. In 175/791, the Caliph Hārūn "discovered" the spot and ordered a shrine to be built there. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Nadjaf.

the people and kept looking at them. Seeing no beards more foolish than those of Hamdān, he sat down with them. I therefore moved and sat down with them. They asked, "Where have you come from?" He said, "From the family of your Prophet." They said, "What news have you brought us?" "This is not the right time for it," he said and arranged to meet them the following day. When he came the next day—I came, too—he took out a letter he had with him (at the bottom of it there was a lead seal), handed it to a young lad, and since he himself was illiterate and could not write, said to him, "Read it, boy." The boy said, "'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is a letter to al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd, which the legatee[415] of the family of Muḥammad wrote to him. To proceed...,'" and so forth. The people having burst out in tears, the man said, "Boy, put your letter aside until the people pull themselves together." I said, "People of Hamdān, I bear witness by God that this man once met me behind al-Najaf," and I told them his story. But they said, "By God, you insist upon holding people back from the family of Muḥammad and commending Na'thal, who rent the books of the Qur'ān."[416] [Continuing, he said]: I said, "People of Hamdān, I tell you only what my ears have heard and my heart remembers from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (peace be upon him!). I heard him say, 'Do not call 'Uthmān "him who ripped up the books of the Qur'ān"; by God, he ripped them up only after consultation with us, the companions of Muḥammad. Had I come across them,[417] I would have done to
[748] them as he did.'" They said, "God! You heard this from 'Alī?" I said, "By God, I heard it from him." [Continuing, he said]: They therefore left him. He then turned to the slaves, made use of them, and plied his craft.

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415. On 'Alī's special role as *waṣī*, "legatee" of the Prophet, in the ideology of early Shī'ī Islam, see Jafri, *Origins*, 92f, 97, 119, 121, 153. Here the term is extended to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah.

416. The *Lisān*, s.v., gives two explanations for *na'thal*. Either it means "foolish old man," or it is the name of a long-bearded Egyptian who resembled 'Uthmān. In any case, 'Uthmān's enemies applied the term abusively. The epithet *shaqqāq*, "he who ripped up (the books of the Qur'ān)," refers to 'Uthmān's attempt to impose a standard recension of the Qur'ān and suppress variant texts. Some Shī'ites accused him of altering or suppressing passages supporting the claims of 'Alī and the family of the Prophet to leadership.

417. I.e., books containing variant texts of the Qur'ān.

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: Part of what we have reported about al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd has been related by al-Wāqidī,[418] who differs on the subject from some of the people whose reports we have given. He alleges that al-Mukhtār openly opposed Ibn al-Zubayr only when Muṣʿab came to al-Baṣrah. When Muṣʿab set out toward al-Mukhtār and news of his setting out reached the latter, he sent Aḥmar b. Shumayṭ al-Bajalī against Muṣʿab, ordering him to attack him at al-Madhār and saying, "Victory is at al-Madhār." [Al-Wāqidī] continued: Al-Mukhtār said that only because it was said that, "A man from the [tribe of] Thaqīf will be granted a great victory at al-Madhār." He thought it was he, but it really had to do with al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and his fight with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath.[419]

Muṣʿab ordered the commander of his vanguard, ʿAbbād al-Ḥabaṭī, to march toward the assembled forces of al-Mukhtār. ʿAbbād advanced, and with him went ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Muṣʿab encamped at Nahr al-Baṣriyyīn, on the bank of the Euphrates. (He dug a canal there which for that reason came to be called Nahr al-Baṣriyyīn.)[420] [Al-Wāqidī] continued: Al-Mukhtār went forth with twenty thousand men and halted facing them. Muṣʿab and his forces advanced and came upon al-Mukhtār by night ready for battle. Al-Mukhtār sent word to his forces when evening came, saying, "Let none of you leave his place until he hears a crier cry out, '*Yā Muḥammad.*' When you hear it, attack." One of al-Mukhtār's companions said, "This man, by God, is a liar against God." He and those with him went over to al-Muṣʿab. Al-Mukhtār delayed until the moon rose and then gave orders to a crier, who cried out, "*Yā Muḥammad.*" Then they attacked Muṣʿab and his forces, put them to flight, and made him enter his camp, and they continued fighting them until morning. In the [749]

418. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (b. 130/747 in Medina, d. 207/823 in Baghdad): major historian, author of *Kitāb al-maghāzī* on the early Islamic conquests. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 294–97.

419. In 81–82/701, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ashʿath led a revolt against the governor of Iraq, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. Of two battles in which al-Ḥajjāj defeated Ibn al-Ashʿath (al-Zāwiyah and Dayr al-Jamājim), the former seems more likely to be meant here. Although both locations lie between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, al-Zāwiyah is closer to al-Madhār. See *EI*², s.v. Ibn al-Ashʿath; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v. al-Madhār, Dayr al-Jamājim.

420. I.e., the river or canal of the Baṣrans.

morning, al-Mukhtār, having no one with him, and with his forces having penetrated into the forces of Muṣʿab, retreated in flight and entered the palace in al-Kūfah. When al-Mukhtār's forces came in the morning, they waited for a time and, not seeing al-Mukhtār, said, "He has been killed." Those who were able fled and went into hiding in the houses of al-Kūfah; about eight thousand of them, finding no one to lead them in fighting, betook themselves to the palace. There they found al-Mukhtār, and they went inside with him. During that night, al-Mukhtār's forces had killed many men from Muṣʿab's forces, including Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath. In the morning, Muṣʿab came and surrounded the palace. Muṣʿab continued besieging it for four months. Every day, al-Mukhtār made a sortie against them and fought them in the market of al-Kūfah from one direction, but he was unable to overcome him. Finally, al-Mukhtār was killed.

After al-Mukhtār was killed, those in the palace sent and asked for a guarantee of safe-conduct. Muṣʿab refused, until they submitted to his judgment. After they submitted to his judgment, he killed about seven hundred of the Arabs; the rest of those he killed were Persians. [Al-Wāqidī] continued: When they came out, Muṣʿab wanted to kill the Persians and spare the Arabs; but those with him spoke to him, saying, "What kind of religion is this? How do you hope for victory when you kill the Persians and spare the Arabs, though their religion is the same!" So he had the Arabs brought forward and beheaded.

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarī]—ʿUmar b. Shabbah—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī], who said: After al-Mukhtār had been killed, Muṣʿab consulted his companions about the besieged men who had submitted to his judgment. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b.
[750] Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays, and others like them whose kinsmen al-Mukhtār had slain said, "Kill them." [The tribe of] Ḍabbah also raised an outcry and said, "The blood of Mundhir b. Ḥassān!"[421] ʿUbayd-

421. Al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān b. Ḍirār al-Ḍabbī was a Kūfan *sharīf*. After al-Mukhtār's victory over Ibn Muṭīʿ, Ibn al-Zubayr's governor, in 66/685, al-Mundhir had gone to swear allegiance to al-Mukhtār. As he left the palace, a group of Shīʿites attacked him as "one of the chief tyrants," killing him and his son Ḥayyān, despite the attempts of their leader, Saʿīd b. Munqidh, to restrain them. See Ṭabarī, II, 633.

allāh b. al-Ḥurr said, "Commander, turn over each man you have to his people, bestowing them as a favor to them; for, if they have killed us, we have killed them. Also, we need them on our frontiers. Turn over our slaves that you have to their masters; for they belong to our orphans and widows and those who are frail, that they may return them to their work. But kill these *mawālī*; for their unbelief has become obvious, their pride great, and their thankfulness small." Muṣʿab laughed and said to al-Aḥnaf [b. Qays], "What do you think, Abū Baḥr?" Alluding to them, he replied, "Ziyād wanted me to, but I refused him."[422] Muṣʿab then gave orders concerning all the men, and they were killed. They were six thousand. ʿUqbah al-Asadī composed [the following verses]:

You killed the six thousand in cold blood,
their hands tied behind them, in spite of a firm pledge.
You made the protection of al-Ḥabaṭī[423] a bridge
whose back was easy for the tramplers.
The morning they were called and deceived by their pledge,
they were not the first men to perish by their own
foolishness.
I had commanded them—if only they had obeyed me!—
to fight in the lanes, unsheathing their swords.

Al-Mukhtār was killed, it has been said, at the age of sixty-seven, on the fourteenth day of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 67 (April 3, 687).

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422. The reference is unclear. "Ziyād" is the Leiden editor's conjecture (the mss. have "Riyād"). Apparently, al-Aḥnaf recommended mercy, alluding to a previous occasion on which he had refused to give in to pressure to kill prisoners, but his advice was rejected by Muṣʿab. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 263: "(According to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Muqriʾ—al-Haytham [b. ʿAdī]—ʿAwānah) When Muṣʿab was about to kill al-Mukhtār's companions who had submitted to his judgment, he consulted al-Aḥnaf b. Qays about them. Al-Aḥnaf said, 'I think you should forgive them; forgiveness is nearer to piety.' But the Kūfan *ashrāf* said, 'Kill them,' and became unruly. After they were killed, al-Aḥnaf said, 'Now that you have taken vengeance by killing them, may there be no evil consequence in the future [or, in the world to come].'" Another report in Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*, has Muṣʿab's wife send a message recommending mercy, but the message arrives too late.

423. I.e., ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabaṭī, Muṣʿab's commander, to whom the besieged partisans of al-Mukhtār had surrendered. See Ṭabarī, II, 738f.

Having concluded the affair of al-Mukhtār and his companions, and with Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar having come to him, Muṣʿab sent al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah to be in charge of al-Mawṣil, al-Jazīrah, Ādharbayjān, and Armenia; he himself resided in al-Kūfah.

[Ibn al-Zubayr Removes Muṣʿab from al-Baṣrah]

During this year, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr removed his brother Muṣʿab from al-Baṣrah and sent his own son, Ḥamzah b. ʿAbdallāh,
[751] there. Differing reasons have been given for his removal of Muṣʿab from al-Baṣrah and of how it took place.[424] Some have said what ʿUmar [b. Shabbah] told me, [as follows]:

According [to ʿUmar b. Shabbah]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī], who said: Al-Muṣʿab continued in charge of al-Baṣrah until he went from there to fight al-Mukhtār, leaving as his deputy over al-Baṣrah ʿUbaydallāh[425] b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar. Al-Mukhtār having been killed, Muṣʿab went to visit ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, who removed him from office and detained him in his house. He excused his removing him, saying to him, "By God, I know you are worthier and more qualified than Ḥamzah, but my opinion in the matter is that of ʿUthmān concerning ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir,[426] when he appointed him [governor] and removed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī."

According to ʿUmar [b. Shabbah]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-

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424. The chronology of Muṣʿab's movements is not easy to determine. Compare the following notice in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 264–65: "[According to al-ʿUmarī—al-Haytham b. ʿAdī—ʿAwānah, and others] Muṣʿab went [to Mecca] to visit his brother ʿAbdallāh three times. The first time was from al-Kūfah after the death of al-Mukhtār, and Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar was with him. The second time was from al-Baṣrah, bringing the tribute from Iraq; and on that occasion [ʿAbdallāh] removed him from [the governorship] of al-Baṣrah and appointed his son Ḥamzah." Ḥamzah having proved incompetent, ʿAbdallāh removed him "and reappointed Muṣʿab to al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. Finally, Muṣʿab needed to speak face to face with his brother concerning ʿAbd al-Malik, when he learned of the latter's decision to invade Iraq. He went to see him, stayed only a day, and then rode back to Iraq."

425. Mss. O and Co: ʿUmar.

426. In 29/649, ʿUthmān removed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī from the governorship of al-Baṣrah, to which he had been appointed by ʿUmar in 17/649, and replaced him with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz, after a delegation of Baṣrans had complained about abuses allegedly committed by Abū Mūsā. See Ṭabarī, I, 2829ff; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 256; *EI*², s.v. al-Ash̲ʿarī.

Madā'inī], who said: Ḥamzah came to al-Baṣrah as governor. He was munificent and generous, but disorderly in his affairs: sometimes he was generous to the point of not sparing anything he possessed; sometimes he held back what someone like him [ordinarily] would not hold back. In al-Baṣrah, his unsteadiness[427] and weakness became apparent. It is said that one day he rode to the estuary[428] of al-Baṣrah. When he saw it, he said, "If they handle the matter properly, this pond will suffice them for their summer." Some time afterwards, he rode out to it and chanced to come upon it when the water had ebbed. "I have already seen this once," he said, "and I suspected it would not be sufficient for them." Al-Aḥnaf [b. Qays] said to him, "This is water that comes to us and then ebbs away from us." He set out for al-Ahwāz.[429] When he saw its mountain, he said, "This is Quʿayqiʿān," referring to the place near Mecca, and therefore they named the mountain Quʿayqiʿān. He sent to Mardānshāh[430] and urged him [to hand over] the taxes. When the latter delayed, he betook himself to him with his sword, smote him, and killed him. Al-Aḥnaf said to him, "How sharp the commander's sword is!"

According to ʿUmar [b. Shabbah]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī], who said: When Ḥamzah had caused such confusion in al-Baṣrah, these traits of his having become apparent, and when he was about to smite ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Bishr, al-Aḥnaf wrote to [752]
Ibn al-Zubayr about it and asked him to reinstate Muṣʿab. [Continuing,] he said: It was Ḥamzah who put ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr al-Laythī in charge of fighting the Najdiyyah[431] in al-Baḥrayn.

According to ʿUmar [b. Shabbah]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-

427. *Khiffah* (literally, "lightness") also connotes bad judgment, as illustrated in the next paragraph.

428. The *fayḍ* of al-Baṣrah, i.e., the Tigris-Euphrates estuary, the present Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 43.

429. Al-Ahwāz was a city in Khūzistān, about 70 miles northeast of al-Baṣrah. See *EI*², s.v.

430. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb* V, 256, this was the name of the *dihqān* of al-Ahwāz. *Dihqān*s were Persian landlords in Iraq who administered subdistricts.

431. These Khārijites, followers of Najdah b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥanafī, had extended their control from Central Arabia to the coastal region of al-Baḥrayn. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr's expedition failed to dislodge them. Najdah remained in control until 72/691, when his followers deposed him and settled on Abū Fudayk as his successor. See below, Ṭabarī, II, 829; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 133ff; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 169ff.

Madā'inī], who said: When Ibn al-Zubayr removed Ḥamzah, the latter carried off a great deal of money from the treasury of al-Baṣrah. Mālik b. Misma' confronted him, saying, "We will not allow you to go away with our stipends."[432] However, 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Ubayd b. Ma'mar guaranteed him the stipend ('*aṭā'*) and he yielded. Ḥamzah took away the money. When Ḥamzah left his father and came to Medina, he deposited the money with some men, but they made off with it, except for a Jew with whom he had deposited money and who fulfilled his obligation. When Ibn al-Zubayr heard what Ḥamzah had done, he said, "God curse him! I wanted to vie for glory with the sons of Marwān through him, but he retreated."

Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī], on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf, mentions a different story about Muṣ'ab and how his brother removed him from al-Baṣrah and then reinstated him. What he mentions on the subject is in the course of a report that has been related to me [as follows]:

According to [Abū Mikhnaf]—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī:[433] After Muṣ'ab had subdued al-Kūfah, he resided there for a year, having been removed from the governorship of al-Baṣrah. ('Abdallāh [b. al-Zubayr] had removed him and had sent his own son Ḥamzah.) Having stayed there a year, Muṣ'ab went to visit his brother 'Abdallāh in Mecca, and the latter reinstated him over al-Baṣrah.

It has also been said that when Muṣ'ab had concluded the affair of al-Mukhtār, he returned to al-Baṣrah and put al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'ah in charge of al-Kūfah.[434]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: After Muṣ'ab killed al-Mukhtār, he held both al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah.

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432. On the role of Mālik b. Misma' in leading the opposition to Ḥamzah, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 265; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 281; *EI*^{2}, s.v. Masāmi'a.

433. He is, according to U. Sezgin, perhaps to be identified with Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Kūfī, who belonged to the fourth "class" of traditionists. See her *Abū Miḥnaf*, 189.

434. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 279, gives a fuller version: "It has been said that Muṣ'ab returned to al-Baṣrah after having killed al-Mukhtār. He made al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabī'ah his agent for al-Kūfah, for both [cities] were in his governorate. Then his brother removed him from al-Baṣrah and appointed his son Ḥamzah to be its governor. He afterwards removed Ḥamzah at the petition of al-Aḥnaf and the people of al-Baṣrah and reinstated Muṣ'ab."

[Those in Office during the Year]

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the pilgrimage this year. His governor (*ʿāmil*) in charge of al-Kūfah was Muṣʿab. (I have mentioned how the historians[435] differ about the governor of al-Baṣrah.) ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah b. Masʿūd was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah. Hishām b. Hubayrah was in charge of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah. [753]
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān was in Syria, and ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī was in charge of Khurāsān.

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435. *Ahl al-siyar*, literally, "people concerned with biographies, stories of how men conducted themselves."

The Events of the Year 68

(JULY 18, 687–JULY 5, 688)

Among these events was ʿAbdallāh [b. al-Zubayr's] returning of his brother Muṣʿab to Iraq as commander (*amīr*). We have already mentioned why ʿAbdallāh returned his brother Muṣʿab to Iraq as commander after having removed him. Having been returned there as commander, Muṣʿab sent al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabīʿah to be commander in charge of al-Kūfah. This was because Muṣʿab, after his removal, began his return to Iraq as commander in al-Baṣrah and went there.

[The Azāriqah Return from Fārs to Iraq][436]

In this year, the Azāriqah[437] returned from Fārs to Iraq. They came into the vicinity of al-Kūfah and entered al-Madāʾin.

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436. Parallels, often implying different chronology, in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 110ff; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 281ff.

437. The Azāriqah (pl. of Azraqī) were a group of Khārijites named for their leader, Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq, who is said to have held that all his adversaries, with their wives and children, should be put to death. In 64/683, these Khārijites took

An Account of Them, Their Departure, and Their Return to Iraq

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī: Muṣʿab sent ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar as commander in charge of Fārs. After al-Muhallab's onslaught upon them in al-Ahwāz, the Azāriqah had gone to Fārs, Kirmān, and the neighborhood of Iṣbahān.[438] When al-Muhallab left that area and was sent as governor in charge of al-Mawṣil and its neighborhood,[439] ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar being in charge of Fārs, the Azāriqah, with al-Zubayr b. al-Māḥūz, de- [754]
scended upon ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh in Fārs. He met them at Sābūr,[440] fought them vigorously, and won a clear victory over them; however, not many of them were killed, and they went away as if on the defensive, having left the battle in that condition.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—a shaykh of the tribe [of Azd][441] in al-Baṣrah, who said: I heard the letter of ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh being read:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To proceed: I hereby inform the commander—may God preserve him!—that I met the Azāriqah, who have strayed from the religion of Islam and followed their caprices without guidance from God. With the Muslims, I fought them most vigorously for a part of the day. God then

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advantage of the disturbances in al-Baṣrah to gain temporary control of the city; they were expelled, but remained a threat centered in neighboring Khūzistān province. In 65/684, both Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq and the Zubayrid commander Muslim b. ʿUbays were killed fighting each other in Khūzistān. The Azāriqah regrouped under ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Māḥūz and spread terror between al-Ahwāz and al-Baṣrah. In 66/685, al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah was sent from al-Baṣrah to deal with them; he defeated to Azāriqah at Sillā wa-Sillibrā, near al-Ahwāz. ʿUbaydallāh was killed, but his successor, al-Zubayr b. al-Māḥūz, retreated to Fārs and regrouped his forces. See, in addition to the parallels cited above, Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 78ff.; *EI*², s.v.

438. Iṣbahān lay north of Fārs, in the province of al-Jibāl. See *EI*², s.v.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 204–6.

439. Muṣʿab's strategy was to use al-Muhallab as a barrier between himself and the forces of ʿAbd al-Malik. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 282.

440. Sābūr, or Shāpūr, is a city in Fārs province, some 65 miles west of Shīrāz. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 248, 262f.

441. I.e., of Abū Mikhnaf's own tribe. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 100.

smote them before and behind and made them turn their backs to us. Those whom God killed suffered by failing to attain and by losing [what they hoped to gain in this world and the hereafter]—and all are [destined] for loss! I have written this letter of mine to the commander while on the back of my horse, seeking the foe, whom I hope God will exterminate, if He so wills. Peace.

ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh followed them. They immediately went and encamped by Iṣṭakhr.[442] He went after them, met them at the Ṭamastān bridge, and fought them vigorously. His son was killed, but he won a victory over them. Having cut the Ṭamastān bridge,[443] the Azāriqah removed to the neighborhood of Iṣbahān and Kirmān, where they remained until they had recovered and become strong, ready, and numerous. They then passed into Fārs, where ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar was, crossing its territory in an area other than the one where he was. They made their way
[755] past Sābūr and then went out through Arrajān.[444] When ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh saw that the Khārijites had crossed his territory, heading toward al-Baṣrah, he became afraid that Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr would not forgive him for this. Hastening after them, he reached Arrajān and found that they had left it, heading toward al-Ahwāz. The coming of the Azāriqah was reported to Muṣʿab, who went forth and encamped with his men at the Great Bridge.[445] He said, "By God, I don't know what I have gained by putting ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh in Fārs and giving him an army whose provisions (*arzāq*) I pay every month, whose stipends (*aʿṭiyāt*) I pay in full every year, and for whom I order special grants (*maʿāwin*)[446] every

442. Iṣṭakhr, just north of ancient Persepolis (modern Takht-e-Jāmshīd), lay on the Pulwar River about 40 miles northeast of Shīrāz. See *EI*², s.v.; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 275ff.

443. They cut the bridge to hinder the forces pursuing them. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 282.

444. Arrajān, on the Ṭāb River (modern Āb-i Kurdistān or Mārūn), lay on the border between Fārs and Khūzistān. See *EI*², s.v. Arradjān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 268ff.

445. Arabic, *al-jisr al-akbar*.

446. *Maʿūnah*, pl. *maʿāwin*, referred to money given to a tribe to prepare it to make an expedition, then to a special levy made when the public treasury was depleted, and finally was extended to cover taxes in general. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 192; and *EI*², s.v.

year equal to the stipends! I have cut off any pretext he might have, supplied him with men, and made them strong—and the Khārijites cross his territory toward me! By God, had he fought them and then fled, it would have been more excusable for him in my eyes, even though someone who takes flight should not have his excuse accepted and has not acted in a way that deserves honor."

Led by al-Zubayr b. al-Māḥūz, the Khārijites came and encamped at al-Ahwāz. Their spies having reported to them that ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh was on their heels and that Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr had left al-Baṣrah to fight them, al-Zubayr arose among them, praised and extolled God, and said, "To proceed: For you to fall between these two forces would be bad strategy and confusion. Let us hasten toward our enemy and meet them from one direction."

He led them across the district of Jūkhā, turned toward the Nahrawān districts,[447] and followed the bank of the Tigris until he reached al-Madāʾin, where Kardam b. Marthad b. Najabah al-Fazārī was. They made a raid on the people of al-Madāʾin, killing children, women, and men, and ripping open pregnant women. Kardam fled. Then they went to Sābāṭ and used their swords on [756] the people, killing a slave woman who had borne a child[448] to Rabīʿah b. Nājid, and also killing Bunānah, the daughter of Abū Yazīd b. ʿĀṣim al-Azdī. Bunānah had read the Qurʾān and was exceedingly beautiful. When they came at her with swords, she said, "Woe unto you! Have you ever heard of men killing women? Woe unto you! You kill someone who stretches out no hand against you, wishes you no harm, and has no power to help herself. Will you kill someone who grew up bedecked with ornaments and was never seen in conflict?" One of them said, "Kill her." A certain man among them said, "You should leave her." Somebody said [to him], "Her beauty pleases you, you enemy of God! You have fallen into unbelief[449] and been seduced." Then the man

447. The Nahrawān districts (Upper, Middle, and Lower) lay on a canal east of the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 80, 57ff.

448. Literally, "an *umm walad*," i.e. a slave woman who had borne a child to her master. Such a woman was normally freed and her children recognized as legitimate after her master died. See Schacht, *Islamic Law*, 129.

449. *Kafarta*, "you have disbelieved, become a *kāfir* (nonbeliever)."

went away and left them. We thought he had left them no longer disagreeing [with him],[450] but they attacked her and killed her.

Rayṭah bint Yazīd said, "Praise God! Do you think God is pleased with what you do, killing women, children, and those who have done you no wrong?" Then she went away. They attacked her. In front of her was al-Ruwāʿ bint Iyās b. Shurayḥ al-Hamdānī, the daughter of Rayṭah's full brother. They attacked Rayṭah and struck her on the head with the sword; the point of the sword hit the head of al-Ruwāʿ, and the two fell to the ground together. Iyās b. Shurayḥ fought the attackers for a time, but was thrown down and lay among the slain; they left him, thinking they had killed him. A man from Bakr b. Wāʾil, named Razīn b. al-Mutawakkil, was also injured. When the Khārijites went away from them, only Bunānah bint Abī Yazīd and the slave woman who had borne a
[757] child to Rabīʿah b. Nājid died; the rest of them recovered. They gave each other water to drink, bandaged their wounds, hired mounts, and went toward al-Kūfah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ruwāʿ bint Iyās, who said: I never saw a man more cowardly than one who was with us. His daughter was with him; when they came at us, he put her into our hands and fled, leaving her and us. On the other hand, I never saw a man nobler than one who was with us. We did not know him, nor he us. When they came at us, he fought to protect us until he was thrown down [wounded] among us. It was Razīn b. al-Mutawakkil al-Bakrī. Afterwards, he used to visit us and befriended us. He perished during al-Ḥajjāj's term of office. The Arab tribesmen were his heirs: he was a righteous worshiper [of God].

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—his father[451]—his paternal uncle:[452] Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr had sent Abū Bakr b. Mikhnaf to be in charge of Upper Ustān.[453] When al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabīʿah came,[454] he removed him. After-

450. For this meaning of *fāraqa*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 259.

451. Abū Mikhnaf's father was Yaḥya b. Saʿīd b. Mikhnaf.

452. I.e., Muḥammad b. Mikhnaf b. Sulaym, the paternal uncle of Abū Mikhnaf's father. From Ṭabarī, I, 3266, one can deduce that he was born about 19/640 and was present at the Battle of Ṣiffīn. See U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*, 224f.

453. *Ustān al-ʿāl*: Middle Persian *ōstān*, which designated Sasanian crown land, occurs in Arabic as *ustān*, *istān*, or *astān*. Upper Ustān was the territory controlled from al-Anbār on the middle Euphrates. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 80; Morony, *Iraq*, 145.

wards, however, he confirmed him in charge of his financial district (*ʿamal*) in the second year. When the Khārijites came to al-Madāʾin, they dispatched one of their bands, led by Ṣāliḥ b. Mikhrāq, to fight him. He encountered him at Karkh,[455] fought him for a time, and then they dismounted: Abū Bakr dismounted and the Khārijites dismounted [to fight]. Abū Bakr, his *mawlā* Yasār, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Jiʿāl, and one of his tribesmen were killed, and the rest of his forces were put to flight. Surāqah b. Mirdās al-Bāriqī (from a subtribe of Azd) said:[456]

Help, O people, against the anxieties that visit by night!
    Against the event that has brought distress!
The death of a chieftain of noble descent; [758]
    one who was daring, a protector, and exceedingly brave!
The death of [Abū Bakr] b. Mikhnaf was reported to me just before
    [I reached] the foothills,[457]
    when the first of the flickering stars had set.
I said, "May God receive you with mercy!
    May God, the Lord of East and West, bless you!"
May God cover with shame a people who turned aside from you
    in the morning
    and did not endure steadfastly the shining, flashing [swords].
They turned their backs; in the morning they distanced
    themselves from our leader
    and master in the distressing strait.
Therefore, whenever you come to us in our houses,
    you hear wailing from women and young girls.
They weep for a man of praiseworthy nature, glorious,
    steadfast in battle for those he must defend.
Therefore my soul has become sad,
    and my hair has turned white from the burden I bear because
    of him.

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454. I.e., when he came to al-Baṣrah to serve as governor for Ibn al-Zubayr. This happened in 66/685; see Ṭabarī, II, 601.

455. Karkh: a village that became a southwestern suburb of Baghdad. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 115, reads "Karkh of Baghdad." See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.

456. See *Dīwān*, 35–36.

457. *Al-khayf* can either be a generic term or refer specifically to Khayf al-Minā, near Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥadrah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azdī, al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbsī, and Fuḍayl b. Khadīj (all of whom reported this to me): The people of al-Kūfah came to al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabīʿah[458] and cried out to him, saying, "Go out [to fight]; behold, our enemy has drawn near us, and he has no mercy." He
[759] went out, exerting himself energetically, until he encamped at al-Nukhaylah.[459] There he stayed for several days. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar jumped up before him; having praised and extolled God, he said: "To proceed: A merciless foe has come toward us, killing men, women, and children, terrorizing travelers, and laying waste to towns. Let us hasten to meet him. Order a departure." So al-Ḥārith went forth and encamped at Dayr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. There he stayed until Shabath b. Ribʿī came before him and spoke to him as Ibn al-Ashtar had spoken. So he departed, but did not exert himself. When the people saw how slowly he was traveling, they recited this verse of *rajaz* about him:

Al-Qubāʿ has led us an arduous march:
he travels for a day and halts for a month!

They made him journey on from that place, but whenever he encamped with them, he halted until the people raised a clamor about it and cried out around his tent. It took him something over ten days to reach al-Ṣarāt.[460] When he came to al-Ṣarāt, the enemy's vanguard and first horsemen had already reached it.

When spies brought the Azāriqah word that the forces of the people of the garrison city [sc. of al-Kūfah] had come to them, they cut the bridge between them and these forces. The people began to recite this verse of *rajaz*:

Al-Qubāʿ has traveled a smooth journey:
five days between Dabīrā and Dabāhā![461]

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458. Mss. O and Co add: "who was nicknamed al-Qubāʿ."

459. Al-Nukhaylah is close to al-Kūfah, on the road to Syria (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.). Al-ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfah," 237–38, locates it as the first stage north of al-Kūfah, close to present-day Jisr al-ʿAbbāsiyyāt.

460. There were two canals named al-Ṣarāt. The first, which is probably the one meant here, branched from the Nahr ʿĪsā between al-Anbār and Baghdad, and flowed into the Tigris. The second lay further south, was usually called the Great Ṣarāt, and flowed from the Euphrates just north of al-Ḥillah, to the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 66, 72.

461. Dabīrā is mentioned by Yāqūt as a village near Baghdad; Dabāhā is men-

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—his father: There was a man from Sabīʿ[462] with a touch of insanity about him in a village called Jawbar, near al-Kharrārah.[463] He was named Simāk b. Yazīd. The Khārijites came to his village and took him and his daughter. His daughter they brought forward and killed. Abū al-Rabīʿ al-Salūlī stated to me that his daughter's name was Umm Yazīd and that she kept saying to them, "People of Islam, my father is afflicted;[464] do not kill him. As for me, I am only a girl. I swear to God I have never committed indecency, harmed any neighbor of mine, or been proud and conceited."[465] When they brought her forward to kill her, she started to cry out, "What is my offense? What is my offense?" She fell down in a faint or dead, and then they cut her up with their swords. Abū al-Rabīʿ said: This report was given to me by her nurse, a Christian woman from the people of al-Khawarnaq,[466] who was with her when she was killed. [760]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—his father: The Azāriqah brought Simāk b. Yazīd with them, until they came within sight of al-Ṣarāt. [Continuing,] he said: Turning to our army and seeing the large number of men assembled, Simāk b. Yazīd began to shout to us in a loud voice, "Come over to them; they are few and wicked." Thereupon, they beheaded him and crucified him, while we were looking on at him. [Continuing,] he said: When night fell, a tribesman and I crossed over, took him down, and buried him.

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tioned by him as a village near Baghdad in the administrative subdistrict (*tassūj*) of Nahr al-Malik. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.vv.

462. Sabīʿ was a division of the Hamdān tribe. Note that the report is being related on the authority of Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hamdānī al-Sabīʿī.

463. For Jawbar, Mss. O and Co read Juwayn, which is in Khurāsān, nowhere near al-Kharrārah, a place near al-Saylaḥūn, in the district of al-Kūfah (Yāqūt). The Leiden editor corrects to Jawbar. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, lists a village named Jawbar in the *sawād* of Baghdad. The Nahr Jawbar canal connected the Tigris and the Euphrates just south of al-Madāʾin (Le Strange, *Lands*, 68).

464. A euphemism for "weak-minded," or "insane."

465. The verbs *taṭallaʿtu...tasharraftu* also have the literal sense of looking down from a high place, perhaps to spy.

466. Al-Khawarnaq Palace, built according to tradition by al-Nuʿmān, prince of al-Ḥīrah, for the Sasanian king Bahrām Gūr (reg. 421–431, or 420–438), lay a few miles south of al-Kūfah and about one mile east of Najaf. See *EI*², s.v.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 75ff; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.

[761] According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father: Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar said to al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabīʿah, "Send the men with me, so that I can cross over to these dogs and bring you their heads right now." But Shabath b. Ribʿī, Asmāʾ b. Khārijah, Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith, and Muḥammad b. ʿUmayr said, "May God preserve the commander! Let them go; don't start anything with them." [Continuing,] he said: They seem to have been jealous of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥaṣīrah b. ʿAbdallāh [b. al-Ḥārith al-Azdī] and Abū Zuhayr [al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ] al-ʿAbsī: When the Azāriqah reached the bridge of al-Ṣarāt and saw that the army of the people of the garrison city [sc. of al-Kūfah] had come out to fight them, they cut the bridge. Al-Ḥārith, taking advantage of the opportunity to delay, sat down with the men, praised and extolled God, and said: "To proceed: The first part of fighting is the shooting of arrows, then the pointing of spears, then the thrusting of them right and left; and the end of it all is the drawing of swords." [Continuing,] he said: A man stood up before him and said, "The commander—may God preserve him!—has described it well. But how long shall we keep doing this, while this river lies between us and our enemy? Order this bridge rebuilt the way it was, and lead us across to them. God will make you see a result you will like concerning them."

Al-Ḥārith therefore commanded that the bridge should be rebuilt, and the men crossed toward the Azāriqah. The latter fled until they reached al-Madāʾin. When the Muslims arrived at al-Madāʾin, some horsemen from the Azāriqah came and weakly charged some Muslim horsemen at the [floating] bridge and then drew back from them. Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabīʿah had ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf pursue them with six thousand men to expel them from the territory of al-Kūfah; however, they were to let them go, if they reached the territory of al-Baṣrah. So he pursued
[762] them until they left the territory of al-Kūfah and went toward Iṣbahān; then he turned away from them, not having fought them; no fighting had taken place between him and them. The Azāriqah proceeded and encamped near ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ, who was at Jay.[467]

467. Jay was one of two adjacent cities that together formed Iṣbahān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 203. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 284–87, reports that before besieging Iṣbahān, the Khārijites went to Rayy, where the local inhabitants (non-Muslims?)

They stayed there and besieged him. He made a sortie and fought them, but was unable to prevail against them. They attacked his forces, so that they went back into the city. (At that time, Iṣbahān was assigned as a grant (*ṭu'mah*) to Ismā'īl b. Ṭalḥah from[468] Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. [Ismā'īl b. Ṭalḥah] had sent 'Attāb to be in charge.) 'Attāb held out against them; every day he made a sortie and fought them at the gate of the city, and they bombarded the Azāriqah from the wall with arrows and stones.

There was with 'Attāb a man from Ḥaḍramawt[469] named Abū Hurayrah b. Shurayḥ. He used to go out with 'Attāb and was a brave man. As he attacked the Azāriqah, he would recite:[470]

You dogs of hell! What do you think
of the attack of Abū Hurayrah, the snarler?
He snarls at you by night and by day,
O Ibn Abī al-Māḥūz and you evil ones.
What do you think of Jay[471] as a goal?

When his recitations had gone on too long for the Khārijites, one of them (he is supposed to have been 'Abīdah b. Hilāl) laid wait for him. Abū Hurayrah went out one day and did as he had been doing, saying what he was accustomed to say. Suddenly, 'Abīdah b. Hilāl attacked him and struck him a blow with the sword on the muscle[472] of his shoulder blade and threw him down. Abū Hurayrah's companions attacked 'Abīdah b. Hilāl; they carried away Abū Hurayrah, brought him inside [the city], and treated [763]
him. Afterwards, the Azāriqah began calling at them, saying, "You

helped them defeat the governor, Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ru'aym, whose son Ḥawshab fled ignominiously. Muṣ'ab later ordered 'Attāb b. Warqā' to punish the inhabitants of Rayy for helping the Khārijites. 'Attāb did so, defeating them and their leader al-Farrukhān.

468. Correcting *ibn*, "son of," to *min*, "from," as proposed in ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXXIII. No son of Muṣ'ab named Ṭalḥah is known. On the other hand, Ismā'īl b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh is mentioned by Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 120, and is given the *kunyah* Abū al-Bakhtarī in Ṭabarī, II, 808.

469. Ḥaḍramawt is the extreme south of the Arabian peninsula, modern South Yemen. See *EI*², s.v.

470. The lines, in *rajaz* meter, pun on the literal meaning of "Abū Hurayrah," "father of the cat," i.e. a man fond of cats. Variants can be found in al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 1096, and in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iqd*, I, 219.

471. Another reading: "What do you think of fighting me..." (Mss. O, Co, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 285).

472. *Ḥabl* can mean muscle, nerve, or vein (Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 504f).

enemies of God! What did Abū Hurayrah, 'the snarler,' do?" They, in turn, would call out, "You enemies of God! By God, he has nothing to fear." Abū Hurayrah soon recovered and afterwards went out against them. The Azāriqah began to say, "You enemy of God! We had hopes that we had sent you to visit your mother!" He said to them, "You ungodly ones! Why do you mention my mother?" They started to say, "Indeed, he is angry on account of his mother and is going to visit her shortly!" Abū Hurayrah's companions said to him, "Woe unto you! They mean hell." Realizing what they meant, he said, "You enemies of God, how undutiful you are to your mother when you separate yourselves from her! She[473] is *your* mother and unto her you are destined to go!"

The Khārijites continued attacking them for several months, until their horses died and their food ran out; the siege had become very severe, and they were afflicted by great weariness. So 'Attāb b. Warqā' summoned the people of Jay. Having praised and extolled God, he said, "To proceed: People, you see what weariness has befallen you. By God, naught remains save that each of you die in his bed and that his brother come to bury him, if he can. But the brother will most likely be too weak to do it; so each will die by himself and find no one to bury him or pray over him. Then fear God; for by God you are not so few in number that your strength will be contemptible to your enemy. Among you there are skilled horsemen from the garrison city, and you are the most pious among your fellow tribesmen. Let us make a sortie against these men, while there is life and strength in you, before each of you becomes unable to march toward his enemy from weariness or defend himself from a woman if she comes at him. May each man fight to protect himself; may he be steadfast and brave! By God, I have hope that if you fight bravely, God will make you victorious over them and cause you to subdue them."

[764] The people cried to him from every side, "You have gone straight to the mark. Let us make a sortie against them." So he gathered the people to himself at night and ordered them given a large evening meal. They ate the evening meal at his house. The next morning,

473. I.e., the fire of hell. ("Fire" is grammatically feminine in Arabic.)

he led them out under their banners. They came upon the enemy in their camp in the morning, when they felt safe that they would not be come upon in their camp. They attacked the enemy beside the camp and fought with them. The Khārijites cleared away from the front of the camp, so that the attackers reached al-Zubayr b. al-Māḥūz. Together with a band of his companions, he dismounted and fought until he was killed. The Azāriqah withdrew and joined Qaṭarī,[474] to whom they swore allegiance. ʿAttāb reentered his city, having taken whatever he wanted from their camp. Qaṭarī came pursuing him, apparently intending to fight him, and halted at the camp of al-Zubayr b. al-Māḥūz. The Khārijites assert that one of Qaṭarī's spies came to him and said, "I heard ʿAttāb say, 'If these men were to ride donkeys and lead horses, and if they were to sojourn today in one land and tomorrow in another, they would be more likely to survive.'" When that was reported to Qaṭarī, he went away and left them alone.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Zuhayr [al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ] al-ʿAbsī (who was with them): We went forth to meet Qaṭarī the following day, on foot, with drawn swords. [Continuing,] he said: They departed; and, by God, it was the last they were encountered. [Continuing,] he said: Qaṭarī then went until he reached the area of Kirmān,[475] where he stayed until many troops had joined him. He pillaged the land,[476] appropriated the revenues, and became strong. Then he turned to the territory of Iṣbahān, came out by way of the Nāshiṭ mountain pass to Īdhaj,[477] and stayed in the territory of al-Ahwāz.

Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Rabīʿah was Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr's governor in charge of al-Baṣrah. He wrote informing Muṣʿab that the Khārijites had descended upon al-Ahwāz and that only al-Muhallab could deal with them. Muṣʿab therefore sent to al-Muhallab, who was in charge of al-Mawṣil and al-Jazīrah, ordering him to go and fight [765]

474. On the career of Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'ah, the last and most famous leader of the Azāriqah, see *EI*², s.v. Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a.

475. Kirmān, major city of the province of the same name, lay about 350 miles southeast of Iṣbahān. See *EI*², s.v.

476. Literally, "He ate up the land." For this meaning, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 31.

477. Modern Persian, Izeh, 80 miles northeast of Ahwāz, at the foot of the Zagros Mountains. See *EI*², s.v.

the Khārijites, and sending Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar to [take charge of] his district. Al-Muhallab went to al-Baṣrah, chose men, and led out the men he had selected. He then headed toward the Khārijites, and they advanced toward him. They met at Sūlāf[478] and fought there for eight months in some of the hardest fighting the men had ever seen, with neither side sufficiently injuring the other through spear thrusts and sword blows to force it to yield.

[Events in Syria]

According to Abū Ja'far [sc. al-Ṭabari]: In this year, there was severe drought in Syria, so severe that they were unable to campaign.

In this year, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān encamped at Buṭnān Ḥabīb in the territory of Qinnasrīn.[479] They were rained on there, and there was so much mud that they called the place "Buṭnān al-Ṭīn."[480] 'Abd al-Malik spent the winter there and then returned to Damascus.

[The Death of 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr]

In this year, 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr was killed.[481]

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478. Sūlāf was a village in Khūzistān, about 20 miles north of al-Ahwāz, west of the Dujayl river and near the town of Manādhir al-Kubrā. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.; Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 239.

479. Qinnasrīn is in northern Syria near Aleppo. Buṭnān Ḥabīb (the name means "the lowlands of Ḥabīb," after Ḥabīb b. Maslamah, the Muslim conqueror of the area) is a wādī about 30 kilometers east of Aleppo. See *EI*², s.v. Buṭnān; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v. Buṭnān and Qinnasrīn.

480. I.e., "the lowland of mud."

481. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr al-Ju'fī: Further information on this Kūfan *sharīf*-outlaw in Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 243–56, 265–72; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 290–98; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 287–95. On his activity as a poet, see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 355–6. In 51/671, he witnessed the arrest in al-Kūfah of Ḥujr b. 'Adī (Ṭabarī, II, 135). In 60/680, when Mu'āwiyah died, he was present in al-Kūfah when a group of *ashrāf* invited al-Ḥusayn to come to the city; but when the governor 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād arrested al-Ḥusayn's agent, Muslim b. 'Aqīl, Ibn al-Ḥurr left al-Kūfah and encamped at Qaṣr Banī Muqātil (in the desert near present-day Ukhaydir). In 61/681, al-Ḥusayn passed by 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr's camp and called on him to help; Ibn al-Ḥurr refused (Ṭabarī, II, 305, 388–90), but offered al-Ḥusayn a swift horse on which to escape. Later, Ibn al-Ḥurr expressed his grief over the events at Karbalā' in a poem. In 67/686, he fought for Muṣ'ab against al-Mukhtār in the siege of al-Kūfah (Ṭabarī, II, 633–34).

His Death; the Circumstances That Brought It upon Him

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī] —ʿAlī b. Mujāhid: ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr was one of the best of his tribesmen[482] in righteousness, excellence, prayer, and exertion. After ʿUthmān was killed,[483] and conflict erupted between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah, he said, "Truly, God knows that I love ʿUthmān and will avenge him, now that he is dead." He therefore went to Syria and was on the side of Muʿāwiyah. (Mālik b. Mismaʿ also went to Muʿāwiyah, being of similar opinion concerning the [766]
ʿUthmāniyyah.[484]) ʿUbaydallāh remained with Muʿāwiyah, was present with him at Ṣiffīn, and continued with him until ʿAlī (peace be upon him!) was killed.[485] After ʿAlī was killed, ʿUbaydallāh came to al-Kūfah. He went to his brothers and whoever had been active in the civil strife and said to them, "Men, I do not think anyone's standing aside will benefit him. We have been in Syria, and thus and so has happened in regard to Muʿāwiyah's enterprise." And the people said to him, "Thus and so has happened in regard to ʿAlī's enterprise." So he said, "Men, if we have the opportunity, throw off your restraint and take charge of your own affairs." They said, "We will meet." So they used to meet together concerning the matter.

When Muʿāwiyah died, the conflict erupted in the civil strife (*fitnah*) of Ibn al-Zubayr. ʿUbaydallāh said, "I do not think that Quraysh is doing the right thing. Where are the sons of free women?" Outlaws[486] of every tribe came to him, so that he had

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482. The tribe of Juʿfī, to which he belonged, was a Yemeni tribe either allied to or a subdivision of the tribe of Madhḥij.

483. ʿUthmān, the third caliph, was killed in 35/656.

484. The ʿUthmāniyyah was the party that demanded that the murderers of ʿUthmān be punished. Muʿāwiyah, the governor of Syria, emerged as the leader of the party, based on his blood relationship to ʿUthmān (although he was not the next of kin).

485. The Battle of Ṣiffīn was in 38/657; ʿAlī was killed in 40/661.

486. The term *khalīʿ* referred to a man whose crimes had rendered him an outcast from his family, clan, or tribe. In effect, the tribe served notice that it would no longer protect such a man; if anyone wished to avenge himself on him for his crimes, he would no longer incur the wrath of the tribe for killing one of its members. Since in pre-Islamic Arabia the protection of a man's tribe was essential for survival, the *khalīʿ*'s life was in real danger. He could either

seven hundred skilled horsemen with him. "Give us your command," they said.

When 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād fled and Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah died,[487] 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr said to his young men, "Dawn has become visible to anyone who has eyes.[488] So if you want [to act, do it]." He went out to al-Madā'in and left no money that was brought from al-Jibāl province to the government but that he took it and took from it his stipend and the stipends of his companions. Then he said, "You have partners in this money in al-Kūfah, men who have a claim to it; but take the coming year's stipend in advance." To the official in charge of the treasury he wrote a quittance[489] for the money he had collected and began to range the rural districts (*kuwar*) in a similar manner.

[Al-Madā'inī] said: I asked ['Alī b. Mujāhid], "Was it his practice to help himself to people's money and that of merchants?" He said to me, "You do not know Abū al-Ashras.[490] By God, there
[767] was no Arab tribesman in the land more respectful toward free women, or more abstemious from unseemly behavior and wine drinking than he. All that demeaned him in people's eyes was his poetry, for he was one of the young men fondest of poetry."

'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr continued in this way until al-Mukhtār rose to power[491] and was informed of what he was doing in the

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become a lone brigand, trusting to his own skill in eluding enemies, or he could band together with others in the same predicament.

487. After Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah died in 64/683, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, the Umayyad governor of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah (he had been responsible for the death of al-Ḥusayn and the repression of the Kūfan Shī'īs), was forced to flee to Syria. See *EI*[1], s.v. 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād.

488. Proverbial for a thing that has become altogether manifest. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 286, s.v. *bāna*; Freytag, II, 255; Maydānī, II, 39.

489. *Barā'ah*, a document stating that the person in question had fulfilled his duty and was under no further obligation. See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CXXX.

490. Abu al-Ashras ("the most ill-natured, harsh, or severe") is the nickname of 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr.

491. I.e., in the events of 66/685 in al-Kūfah. Cf. Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 304: "Al-Mukhtār wrote to 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr al-Ju'fī, who was attacking and raiding in the region of al-Jabal, and said to him, 'You rebelled only in anger over al-Ḥusayn. We, too, are among those who are angry on his account. We have devoted ourselves to avenging his blood. Help us in the matter.' When 'Ubaydallāh made no reply, al-Mukhtār rode to 'Ubaydallāh's house in al-Kūfah, destroyed it, and ordered 'Ubaydallāh's wife to be arrested and imprisoned." The sequence of events in Dīnawarī is: arrest and imprisonment of 'Ubaydallāh's wife, 'Ubaydallāh's

Sawād. Al-Mukhtār ordered 'Ubaydallāh's wife, Umm Salamah al-Juʿfiyyah, to be imprisoned. Al-Mukhtār said, "By God, I will kill him or kill his companions." When 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr learned of this, he came with his young men, entered al-Kūfah by night, broke the door of the prison, and brought out his wife and every woman and man who was in it. Al-Mukhtār sent some men to fight him, and he fought with them until he had left the city. When he got his wife out of prison, he recited:

Have you not known, Umm Tawbah, that I am
the horseman who protects those of Madhḥij he is duty-bound to protect,
And that I came to the prison at the height of the forenoon[492]
with young men, each of them a protector of what is inviolable, each of them fully armed?
As soon as the women came out of prison, there appeared to us
a forehead like a sunbeam, unwrinkled,
And a smooth cheek, revealing a young woman beloved
to us—may every rain cloud that approaches give her drink!
The only life for me is to visit you fearlessly,
as was our habit before my warring and my rebelling.
You are the soul's object of solicitude and love: [768]
Peace be upon you from a companion covered with scars!
Because of your imprisonment, I remained imprisoned, downcast,
grieved by what you encountered thereafter.
By God, did you ever see a horseman like me,
when they stormed the prison from every entry?
[A man] such as I will protect such [a woman] as you;
I hold fast whenever a crisis does not loosen its grip.
For you I will fight them with the sword, that you may return
to safety and a life abundant and plentiful.
If they surround me, I will charge them
like the father of two lion cubs cornered in a thicket.

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raid on the estate of 'Amr b. Saʿīd al-Hamdānī, his rescue of his wife, and his fighting his way out of al-Kūfah.

492. Either there is a disparity between the poem (he came in the forenoon) and the associated prose text (he came by night), as is not uncommon in Arabic sources that cite poems within historical narratives, or (as seems implied in Dīnawarī) 'Ubaydallāh entered al-Kūfah by night and rescued his wife the following day.

I challenged Ibn Kāmil al-Shākirī to fight me,
but he turned away, galloping swiftly, not turning aside.
If they call out my name, I turn against them
horses generous in battle, most of them with hurting hoofs.[493]
No wonder Salmā, my wife, says,
"Ibn al-Ḥurr, truly you are a man who never withdraws from fighting!
Leave the men; do not fight them. Escape safely;
hasten with the horsemen—God guide you!—and go forth."
I hope, O best of women, to be seen
in the best state of one who has hopes; so hope you!
[769] How lovely it was when I said to Aḥmar of Ṭayyi'[494]
and to Ibn Khubayb, "The dawn has drawn near; journey forth!"
And when I said to this one, "Travel," to that one, "Depart,"
and to that one afterwards, "Saddle up!"

He began to harass al-Mukhtār's financial agents and partisans. [The tribe of] Hamdān arose with al-Mukhtār, burned Ibn al-Ḥurr's house, and sacked his estate at al-Jubbah and al-Budāt.[495] When he learned of this, he went to the estates of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays at Māh,[496] caused them to be plundered, and caused everything belonging to [the tribe of] Hamdān there to be plundered. Then he went to the Sawād and left no property belonging to any Hamdānī untaken. Concerning that, he said:

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493. I.e., because he has driven them so hard.

494. Aḥmar of Ṭayyi' was one of Ibn al-Ḥurr's companions. See Ṭabarī, II, 388–390, and II, 775, below.

495. Al-Jubbah and al-Budāt (or al-Badāt) are two districts (*tassūj*) in the *sawād* of al-Kūfah (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.vv.). The Nahr al-Badāt was a canal that left the Kūfah branch of the Euphrates about a day's journey north of al-Kūfah and flowed south to the Great Swamp. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 74.

496. Two cities or districts had the name of Māh: Māh al-Baṣrah, the Nihāwand district, whose taxes were used for the support of the military population of al-Baṣrah, and Māh al-Kūfah, the city of Dīnawar in al-Jibāl, whose revenues were applied to the benefit of the citizens of al-Kūfah. Since 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays (who, according to Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 302, had carried out al-Mukhtār's order to sack and destroy 'Ubaydallāh's house) was one of the *ashrāf* of al-Kūfah, the city of Dīnawar seems more likely. See *EI*², s.vv. Dīnawar and Māh al-Baṣra; Le Strange, *Lands*, 189.

do we bind ourselves with allegiance (*bayʿah*) to them, when they are no braver than we in battle or wealthier than we? The Messenger of God charged us, "No obedience to a creature that [772] involves disobeying the Creator!" After the four who have passed away,[503] we have seen no righteous imām or pious helper (*wazīr*); all of them have disobeyed and opposed [God]—strong as to this world and weak as to the next! Why should our honor be violated, when we are veterans of al-Nukhaylah, al-Qādisiyyah, Jalūlāʾ, and Nihāwand?[504] We meet spearheads with our necks and swords with our faces, and then our right and merit go unacknowledged! Then fight for your wives. Whatever happens, there will be advantage in it for you. I hereby turn against them[505] and show them hostility. There is no strength but in God!"

So ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr made war on them and raided. To deal with him, Muṣʿab sent Sayf b. Hāniʾ al-Murādī, who said to ʿUbaydallāh, "Muṣʿab will give you the tax revenue of Bādūrayā,[506] on condition that you swear allegiance and become obedient to him." ʿUbaydallāh replied, "Don't I [already] have the tax revenue of Bādūrayā and other districts? I accept nothing, and on no condition will I trust them. But I see, young man"—Sayf was a young man at the time—"that you are an intelligent young fellow. Wouldn't you like to follow me, and I will make you rich?" Sayf refused.

When he left prison, Ibn al-Ḥurr said:

Kūfah is not my mother, nor is Baṣrah my father;
neither does laziness deflect me from travel.

(Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madāʾinī] said the authorship of this verse is attributed to Suḥaym b. Wathīl al-Riyāḥī.)

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strength to seize it by force. The expression is proverbial, see Freytag, II, 677 (Maydānī, II, 219).

503. I.e., the first four caliphs: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī.

504. Famous battles: At al-Nukhaylah in 41/661, Kūfan forces rescued Muʿāwiyah's Syrians from a band of Khārijites (Ṭabarī, II, 7–9). Al-Qādisiyyah and Jalūlāʾ were both sites of great Muslim victories over the Persians in 16/637. The Muslim victory at Nihāwand, in 21/641, effectively opened the Iranian plateau to Muslim penetration.

505. Literally, "I have turned towards them the outer side of the shield." The expression is a proverb meaning to become hostile to someone after reconciliation. See Freytag, II, 258 (Maydānī, II, 40).

506. Bādūrayā was a village on the west bank of the Tigris later incorporated into greater Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 31.

Ibn al-Zubayr, do not think I am like a drowsy man
who, when he alights in a place, sleeps until he is told, "Go away."
If I do not incite to visit you horses that run grimly,
carrying their riders, may I not be called a man of judgment and valor.
[773] If you do not see raids against you from every side,
so that you speedily repent, O man,
May no chaste woman ever lay off her veil in my household,
and may I live only on vain hopes and excuses![507]

This is [part of] a long poem.

Muṣʿab sent al-Abrad b. Qurrah al-Riyāḥī with a band of men to fight him, but he was defeated by Ibn al-Ḥurr, who struck him a blow on the face. Then Muṣʿab sent against him Ḥurayth b. Zayd (or Yazīd), who challenged him to single combat, but ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr killed him. Then Muṣʿab sent against him al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah[508] al-Khathʿamī and Muslim b. ʿAmr, who met him at the Ṣarṣar canal,[509] but ʿUbaydallāh fought them and defeated them. Then Muṣʿab sent him men to offer him safety, gifts, and charge of any country he wanted; but he refused. He went to Narsā;[510] its *dihqān*,[511] Ṭīzjushnas, fled with the revenue of al-Fallūjah and, pursued by Ibn al-Ḥurr, went to ʿAyn al-Tamr,[512] where he took refuge with the forces of Bisṭām b. Maṣqalah b.

507. An oath to divorce his wife is implied. Such as oath was considered particularly strong.

508. Ms. "Ḥārithah," corrected by ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXXIII.

509. A canal that left the Euphrates about 10 miles south of al-Anbār, passed through the town of Ṣarṣar, just south of Baghdad, and flowed into the Tigris about 5 miles north of al-Madāʾin. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 32, 35, 67.

510. Apparently a variant for the Nars canal (attributed to the Persian Narsā) that left the Sūrā channel of the Euphrates near al-Ḥillah. The districts between the main branch of the Euphrates and the Sūrā channel were called Upper and Lower Fallūjah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 73f.

511. A *dihqān* was a member of the local class of Persian landlords in Iraq who administered subdistricts. See *EI*², s.v. Mss. Pet, O and Co give the first syllable of the name as Ṭīr-, but vary in dotting the remaining consonants.

512. ʿAyn al-Tamr was a town in a fertile depression on the border of the desert west of the Euphrates, some 60 miles northwest of al-Kūfah. Since it commanded the approach to al-Kūfah from the Western Desert, governors of al-Kūfah normally maintained a garrison there. See *EI*², s.v.; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.

Of the bulk of our property neither the liar[497]
nor the blue-eyed[498] men of Hamdān have left anything but a remnant.
Is it right that Shākir should plunder my estates,
and that Ibn Sa'īd's estate should be safe from me?
Have you not known, Umm Tawbah, that I
am not listless when confronting the vicissitudes of fortune?
I tighten my belt for every adversity,
and against every affliction I am exceedingly stalwart.
If I do not come to Shākir in the morning with a squadron
and cure my sword's thirst with my own two hands—
(They destroyed my house and led my wife off [770]
to their prison—the Muslims are my witnesses.
They gave her no time to tie her veil.
O the marvel! Will fate avenge me?)
Then I am not Ibn al-Ḥurr,[499] if I do not suprise them
with armored horsemen who attack like lions.
My horsemen are not cowards; I have urged them
against an army numerous and well equipped.

This is [part of] a long poem.

[Continuing,] he said: He used to come to al-Madā'in and make the rounds of the Jūkhā district financial agents, taking whatever money they had, and then head toward al-Jibāl province. He continued in this manner until al-Mukhtār was killed. After al-Mukhtār had been killed, people said to Muṣ'ab in his second governorship, "Ibn al-Ḥurr split with both ['Ubaydallāh] b. Ziyād and al-Mukhtār. We fear he may attack the Sawād as he used to do." Muṣ'ab therefore imprisoned him. Ibn al-Ḥurr said:

Who will inform the young men
that a strong door and its keeper have come between them
and their brother,
In a dwelling unpleasing?
Whenever he stands up, fetters creak and respond to him.

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497. I.e., al-Mukhtār.

498. In Arabic poetry, blue eyes are considered a defect: either a sign of poor vision (cataracts) or a sign of hostility, See Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1228. Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 304, reads "the man."

499. Punning on the literal meaning of Ibn al-Ḥurr, "son of the free man."

On the leg above the heel there is something black, mute,
and strong; it contracts his steps and shortens them.
This did not happen because of a great crime I committed,
but a slanderer spread his lies.
[771] There is a course in the wide world;
for many a man his paths on it have been strait.
For man there is a lesson in fortune, time,
and the past, if ever vicissitudes occur.

'Ubaydallāh [b. al-Ḥurr] asked some men from Madhḥij to go to Muṣ'ab on his behalf. He sent to the eminent men of the tribe and said, "Go to Muṣ'ab and speak to him by himself, for he has imprisoned me without a crime. Some liars have slandered me and made him afraid of things I would not do and that would not be my business." But he also sent word to some young men from Madhḥij, saying, "Gird on swords and take battle gear. I have sent some men to Muṣ'ab to speak to him on my behalf. Stand at the door. If the men come out and he has accepted their intercession, interfere with no one; let your swords be covered by your garments."

The men from Madhḥij came, entered Muṣ'ab's presence, and spoke to him. He accepted their intercession and released 'Ubaydallāh. Ibn al-Ḥurr had said to his companions, "If the men come out and Muṣ'ab has not accepted their intercession, take the prison by force; I will help you from inside." When Ibn al-Ḥurr came out, he said to them, "Show your swords." They showed them; no one interfered with him, and he went to his home. Muṣ'ab regretted having released him, for Ibn al-Ḥurr was openly disobedient. When men came to congratulate him, he said, "This matter[500] is meet only for such men as were your former caliphs. We see no one equal to them or like them among us, that we should allow him to conduct our affairs and grant him our sincere advice.[501] If it is only 'He who overcomes takes the spoil,'[502] why

500. Arabic *amr*, which means both "command," and "matter, thing," is used like Latin *res* in the phrase *res publica* to mean "state or commonwealth," and particularly the caliphate. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 37.

501. The Arabic idiom, "grant sincere advice," is stronger than the English equivalent. It is regularly used by synecdoche to mean the entire loyalty of a man to his superior.

502. I.e., if the caliphate has become merely the prerogative of whoever has the

Hubayrah al-Shaybānī, who was in charge of the town. Bisṭām and his forces went out and fought Ibn al-Ḥurr. Bisṭām's cavalry numbered one hundred and fifty horsemen. Challenged by Ibn al-Ḥurr to single combat, Yūnus b. Hāʿān al-Hamdānī from Khaywān[513] said, "The worst that fortune has in store is what it brings in the end. I never thought I would live until a man challenged me to single combat."[514] He met him in single combat, and Ibn al-Ḥurr struck him a blow that knocked the strength out of him; then they grappled, and both fell from their horses. Ibn al-Ḥurr took Yūnus's turban, tied his hands with it, and then rode off.

Al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah al-Khathʿamī came to them. Al-Ḥajjāj attacked him, but ʿUbaydallāh also took him prisoner. Bisṭām b. Maṣqalah challenged al-Mujashshir[515] to single combat; they exchanged blows until each had wearied the other. When Ibn al-Ḥurr saw that Bisṭām was winning, he attacked Bisṭām. Bisṭām grappled with him and both fell on the ground. Ibn al-Ḥurr fell on Bisṭām's chest and took him captive. That day, he took many men captive. One man would say, "I was your companion on such and such a day"; another would say, "I dwelt among you"; and each of them sought to gain favor by what he thought would be to his advantage, so that he would be released. [774]

ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr sent horsemen from among his companions under the leadership of Dalham al-Murādī to seek the *dihqān*. They found him and took the money before there was any fighting. Ibn al-Ḥurr said:

If I had four men like Jarīr,[516]
I would go to the treasury in the morning and collect.
Muṣʿab and those with him would not frighten me.
How excellent a young man is Ibn Mashjaʿah!

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513. Khaywān was a town in Yemen. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v., and *Lisān*, s.v.

514. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansab*, V, 295: "One of Bisṭām's men, Yūnus b. ʿĀhān by name, challenged Ibn al-Ḥurr to single combat. ʿUbaydallāh said—and it became proverbial, 'The worst that fortune has in store is what it brings in the end. I never thought I would live to see a man such as this one challenge me to single combat.'"

515. One of ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr's men.

516. Jarīr b. Kurayb commanded Ibn al-Ḥurr's left wing (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 295).

Then ʿUbaydallāh went to Takrīt. Al-Muhallab's financial agent fled from Takrīt, and ʿUbaydallāh stayed there, collecting the revenue. Muṣʿab sent al-Abrad b. Qurrah al-Riyāḥī and al-Jawn b. Kaʿb al-Hamdānī with a thousand men, and al-Muhallab reinforced the two with Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal with five hundred men to fight him. A man from Juʿfī[517] said to ʿUbaydallāh, "A large number have come upon you; do not fight them," but he replied:

My kinsmen try to make me afraid of being killed:
but I shall die only when the appointed Decree[518] comes.
Perhaps, spears with their points will draw wealth near,
and we shall live as generous men; or [it may be that] we shall attack and be killed.[519]

Then he said to al-Mujashshir...,[520] gave him his banner, and
[775] sent Dalham al-Murādī forward with him. He fought them for two days, having three hundred men with him. Jarīr b. Kurayb was wounded; ʿAmr b. Jundab al-Azdī and many of his horsemen were killed. At evening the two sides stopped fighting.

ʿUbaydallāh left Takrīt and said to his companions, "I am taking you to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān." So they made ready; but then he said, "I fear I may depart from life without having frightened Muṣʿab and his companions. Let us go back to al-Kūfah." [Continuing,] he said: He went to Kaskar,[521] banished its financial agent, and took its treasury. Then he went to al-Kūfah and encamped at Laḥḥām Jarīr.[522] Muṣʿab sent ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar against him, and he fought with him. Ibn al-Ḥurr then

517. Juʿfī was Ibn al-Ḥurr's own tribe.

518. *Al-kitāb al-mu'ajjal*, literally, "the appointed book," or "the book whose time is appointed," i.e. the divine decree fixing the term of a man's life. The phrase occurs in Qur'ān 3:145.

519. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 296: "...and we shall live as generous men whom men ask for gifts and for whose generosity they hope." The Balādhurī version adds two lines: "Have you not seen that poverty brings contempt upon its people, and that in wealth there is eminence and adornment? If you do not venture upon what is fearful, you will never attain enough wealth to satisfy a friend and provide a surplus."

520. A word such as "Advance!" has apparently dropped out of the text (ed. Leiden, note).

521. See note 342.

522. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 293, reads "Ḥammām Jarīr."

left for Dayr al-A'war.[523] Muṣ'ab sent Ḥajjār b. Abjar against him. When Ḥajjār was defeated, Muṣ'ab heaped abuse on him, sent him back, and had Jawn b. Ka'b al-Hamdānī and 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar join forces with him. So they all fought Ibn al-Ḥurr. Many of Ibn al-Ḥurr's companions were wounded and their horses hamstrung. When al-Mujashshir, who carried Ibn al-Ḥurr's banner, was wounded, he gave the banner to Aḥmar of Ṭayyi'. Ḥajjār b. Abjar was beaten back, but wheeled round and returned to the fight. The two sides fought hard until evening. Ibn al-Ḥurr said:

If I had three men like young al-Mujashshir,
    I would attack them [sc. the enemy] by night, not
    doubting.
He helped me the night of Dayr al-A'war
    with spear thrust and sword stroke, and at the crossing;
'Umar b. Ma'mar then would perish.

Ibn al-Ḥurr then left al-Kūfah.

Muṣ'ab then wrote to Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ru'aym al-Shaybānī, who was at al-Madā'in, ordering him to fight Ibn al-Ḥurr. Yazīd sent forward his son Ḥawshab, who met 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr at Bājisrā.[524] 'Ubaydallāh defeated him and killed some of his men. Ibn al-Ḥurr went and entered al-Madā'in, and [776] Yazīd's forces took refuge in the stronghold. Then 'Ubaydallāh left. Muṣ'ab dispatched al-Jawn b. Ka'b al-Hamdānī and Bishr b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī against him. Al-Jawn encamped at Ḥawlāyā;[525] Bishr went to Tāmarrā,[526] and encountered Ibn al-Ḥurr. Ibn al-Ḥurr killed him, defeated his forces, and then met al-Jawn b. Ka'b at Ḥawlāyā. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh went out to fight him; Ibn al-Ḥurr attacked him, thrust him with a spear, killed him, and defeated and pursued his forces. Then Bushayr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Bushayr al-'Ijlī went out to fight him. They

523. Dayr al-A'war lay north of al-Kūfah, approximately halfway to Karbalā'. See *EI*², s.v.

524. Bājisrā lay on the Nahrawān Canal, about 35 miles north of al-Madā'in. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 59.

525. Ḥawlāyā is located in the Nahrawān district (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.).

526. Tāmarrā was the name given to the Nahrawān Canal north of Bājisrā. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 59f.

met at Sūrā and fought hard. Bushayr then turned away from him, went back to his district (*ʿamal*), and said, "I have defeated Ibn al-Ḥurr." When what he had said reached Muṣʿab, the latter said, "He is one of those who like to be praised for what they have not done."

ʿUbaydallāh [b. al-Ḥurr] remained in the Sawād, raiding and collecting the tax revenues. Concerning this, Ibn al-Ḥurr said:

Ask Ibn Ruʾaym about how I fight and take my stand
at the Hall of Khusraw,[527] not turning my back to them.
Distinguished [in war], I wheel round to charge them, and you see them
like goats that take to the rocks for fear of the wolf.
I attacked them by night in the stronghold of Khusraw son of Hurmuz
with bright whetted [swords] and dark [spears] from al-Khaṭṭ.[528]
I gave them spear thrusts and sword blows; you see them
seeking refuge from us in the middle of the night atop the stronghold.
[777] They seek refuge from me out of timorousness and fear,
as doves seek refuge from a hawk.

Then, among other things mentioned, ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr joined ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. After he had come to him, ʿAbd al-Malik sent him with ten men toward al-Kūfah, ordering him to advance toward it until the [Syrian] army joined him. ʿUbaydallāh set out with the men. Having reached al-Anbār,[529] he dispatched people to al-Kūfah to tell his companions of his coming and ask them to come out to him. When the Qays party[530] learned of this,

527. *Īwān Kisrā*, the great Sasanian ceremonial hall, located on the east bank of the Tigris at al-Madāʾin. See *EI*², s.v. al-Madāʾin.

528. Al-Khaṭṭ, a place in the Yamāmah (eastern Arabia) was proverbial for producing (or importing) good spears. See Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 760.

529. Al-Anbār, on the left bank of the Euphrates, is about 12 *farsakhs* (44.6 miles) in a westerly direction from Baghdad. It was an important crossing place on the Euphrates near the northernmost navigable canal connecting the Euphrates with the Tigris. See *EI*², s.v.

530. *Al-Qaysiyyah*: On the division of the Arab tribes in Syria and al-Jazīrah into two antagonistic groups, Kalb and Qays, and on the loyalty of the Qays to Ibn

they went to al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīʿah, Ibn al-Zubayr's governor for al-Kūfah, and asked him to send an army with them, which he did. When they encountered ʿUbaydallāh, he fought them for a time. Then his horse drowned,[531] and he boarded a ferryboat. A local peasant[532] jumped on him and grabbed his arms; the others struck him with stones and cried out, "This is the man wanted by the Commander of the Faithful." The two men grappled with each other and drowned. They pulled ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr out, cut off his head, and sent it to al-Kūfah and then to al-Baṣrah.[533]

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: Another account of his death has also been given. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥurr is said to have died for the following reason: He used to visit Muṣʿab in al-Kūfah and saw the latter setting the people of al-Baṣrah ahead of him. He therefore is said to have written ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr a *qaṣīdah*,[534] reproving Muṣʿab, and threatening to go over to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. In it he said:

Deliver a message to the Commander of the Faithful,
for I am not of an unseemly opinion trying to outwit him:

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al-Zubayr, see note 11. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 293f., adds that most of Ibn al-Ḥurr's men had gone ahead to raise support in al-Kūfah, leaving Ibn al-Ḥurr vulnerable.

531. Ms. O: "was hamstrung."

532. Literally, "a man from the *anbāṭ*," i.e. a Nabatæan, any of the Aramaic-speaking peasantry of Iraq.

533. Cf. the more detailed account in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 294 (summarizing Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 297): "They surrounded him, put his companions to flight, and tried unsuccessfully to take him prisoner. He allowed his companions to leave; they did so, and no one hindered them. He began to fight alone. A man from Bāhilah named Abū Kudyah attacked him, but Ibn al-Ḥurr hit him with a spear. They began to shoot arrows at him and crowded around him, but could not come near him. 'Are these arrows,' he would say, 'or are they spindles?' When the wounds had weakened him, he waded into a ferry there; he entered it, but his horse would not enter it. He boarded the boat, and the shipman took him to the middle of the Euphrates. The horsemen caught sight of him. There were some Nabatæan peasants with the shipman in the boat. The horsemen said to them, 'The man wanted by the Commander of the Faithful is in the boat. If he gets away from you, we will kill you.' Ibn al-Ḥurr jumped up to fling himself into the water, but a powerful man jumped him and grabbed his arms (his wounds were dripping blood). The rest of the men struck him with oars. When he saw that they wanted to take him to the Qays, he grabbed the man with him and threw himself with him into the water. Both of them drowned."

534. I.e., a long ode involving a stylized sequence of themes. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳaṣīda.

[778] Is it a matter of right that I be turned away and that Muṣʿab take
as his two helpers men I have been battling?
How, when I have sworn you my true allegiance,
is my right turned aside when I demand it?
I bestowed on you such a thing as is not to be disregarded;
I did good to you, when the rugged parts of the affair were difficult.
But when the kingdom shone brightly and enemies had submitted,
and when he had obtained his desire of the wealth of Iraq,
Muṣʿab turned away from me. Had it been anyone else,
I would not reproach him for what happened between us.
What has made me have an evil opinion of Muṣʿab is the fact that Muṣʿab
has shown himself the friend of all who bear malice toward us.
If you drive me away, I will not drink
when the water has been muddied, after [another] drinker has been favored with the clear!
A man receives only what God sends
to him and what the Writer has inscribed in the Book.
When I stand by the door, Muslim[535] is allowed in,
but the gatekeeper prevents me from entering the door.

This is [part of] a long poem.

He composed the following addressed to Muṣʿab when he was in his prison. ʿAṭiyyah b. ʿAmr al-Bakrī had been imprisoned with him. When ʿAṭiyyah was released, ʿUbaydallāh said:

I say to him, "Patience, ʿAṭiyyah;
it is prison only until God makes a way out."
[779] I see my fate as two kinds of day:
one day a wandering fugitive, one day crowned among kings.
Will you speak ill of my religion when I come to you,
but draw al-Bāhilī and Ḥashraj near because of religion?
Have you not seen that the face of the kingdom has been marred

535. I.e., Muslim b. ʿAmr al-Bāhilī, the father of Qutaybah b. Muslim. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 291.

and the *nabʿ* trees of God's earth have become *ʿawsaj* trees?[536]

This is [part of] a long poem.

The following was also composed to reprove Muṣʿab. He mentions how Muṣʿab took as a companion Suwayd b. Manjūf, who had a scanty beard.

For which deed of endurance[537] and which favor [they bestowed]
are Muslim and al-Muhallab made to go ahead of me?
And Ibn Manjūf is summoned ahead of me, as if he were
a gelding come to water when the asses go off to pasture.
The shaykh of Tamīm has a head like *thaghāmah*,[538]
and [the tribesmen of] ʿAylān are afraid of us, watching.
I have made the strongholds of Azd, stretching between Manbij[539]
and the *ghāf*[540] trees of the valley of Oman,
Lands from which our swords have banished the foe,
from which Ṣufrah[541] dwells remote, and to which he is a stranger.

He also composed a *qaṣīdah* in which he satirized [the tribe of] Qays ʿAylān. In it he said:

I am a son of the Banū Qays; if you ask [780]
about Qays, you will find them uppermost among the tribes.
Have you not seen how the Qays, Qays ʿAylān,[542] have veiled
their beards and sold their arrows for spindles?
I continued to have hope in the Azd,[543] until I saw
that they fell short of their haughty houses.

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536. The hard wood of the *nabʿ* tree was used for arrows; the soft wood of the *ʿawsaj* (boxthorn) was used for women's spindles (Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 2042).

537. For a discussion of *balāʾ* ("steadfastness, deed of endurance, manly deed") see Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam*, 83ff.

538. *Thaghāmah*, a mountain plant, perhaps wormwood or hyssop, was proverbial for its whiteness. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 339.

539. Manbij is about 50 miles northeast of Aleppo in Syria.

540. The *ghāf* tree, which is said to be large, grows in sand, and has sweet fruit, is particularly associated with Oman, the original home of the Azd tribe. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VI, 2318.

541. I.e., al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah.

542. Qays, the purported ancestor of the tribe of Qays, received the nickname ʿAylān, either from his father or because his horse was no named (*Lisān*).

543. The Azd were a group of South Arabian tribes, some of whom migrated

Zufar b. al-Ḥārith then wrote to Muṣ'ab, saying, "I took care of fighting Ibn al-Zarqā'[544] on your behalf, and now Ibn al-Ḥurr is satirizing Qays!"

Then a group of the Banū Sulaym took Ibn al-Ḥurr and made him a prisoner. For his part, he said, "I merely said:

Have you not seen how the Qays, Qays 'Aylān, have come
to us and brought spears and parties of horsemen?"

One of their men, named 'Ayyāsh, killed him. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith[545] said:

When I saw that men were sons by a stepmother,[546]
and every speaker slandered us beyond measure,
Our going with our swords toward death spoke for us,
and the wrinkling of the vein of the places where one kicks
the mount [to make it gallop].
Had Ibn al-Ḥurr asked, he would have been told that they[547]
are Yemeni and that they are not bartered for spindles.
He would have been told that our swords are acquainted
with necks from the top to the backbone.

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to Iraq from Oman. See *EI*², s.v. Ṭabarī, II, 463, quotes these lines in connection with the tribal conflicts of 64/783 in al-Baṣrah. After Yazīd's death, the Umayyad governor of Iraq, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, was forced to flee to Syria. Before leaving, he appointed the leader of the Azd, Mas'ūd b. 'Amr, to serve as his deputy. Mas'ūd was subsequently assassinated (by a Khārijite, but the Azd suspected the Banū Tamīm of having engineered the affair). Violence erupted between the Azd (and their ally, the Rabī'ah tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il) and Tamīm (with its Muḍar ally, Qays 'Aylān). After many deaths on both sides, the Azd agreed to accept blood money (*diyah*) from the Tamīm. Although such payments were an accepted way of ending tribal violence, they laid a group open to the charge of not being bold enough to exact vengeance in blood. The following additional lines in Ṭabarī, II, 463, make this explicit:

Shall Mas'ūd be killed, and they not avenge him?
The swords of Azd have become like sickles.
What good is there in blood-money that has bestowed humiliation upon the Azd,
so that their clans are reviled in gatherings.

544. This pejorative epithet ("son of the blue-eyed woman") refers to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 295; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabṣīr*, 1469. On blue eyes as evil, see note 498.

545. On the poetry of the Qaysi leader Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 339–40.

546. I.e., when they turned away from us and mistreated us.

547. I.e., our arrows.

ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥammām[548] said: [781]

Ibn al-Ḥurr, you chanted alone by yourself
the words of a man inebriated or tottering.
Do you remember tribesmen whose spears hurt you,
who protected their relations on the battlefield?
[The tribe of] Rabīʿah weeps because of what they encountered at their hands;
moreover, you are not the best among the kinsmen of Bakr.
Why did you not seek revenge for them with a Juʿfī,
since they are your people closely related, in previous years?
On the day of the multitude,[549] we left them humiliated,
taking refuge from our swords in the mimosa trees.
On the day of al-Nukhayl, ʿUmayr with his troops mixed with you,
and you did not rejoice over him when he did so.
On the day of Sharāḥīl, we cut off your noses;
on that day he did not act injuriously against us.
With the blade of the sword, we struck the crown of his head,
which had but recently known the services of the hairdresser.
If noses of Madhḥij have thereby been rubbed in the dust,[550]
so may hateful noses be humiliated and hated.

[Four Separate Banners at the Pilgrimage]

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, four banners came to ʿArafāt.[551]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Shuraḥbīl b.

548. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥammām al-Salūlī lived mostly in al-Kūfah. Ṭabarī, II, 636–42, shows him as having been originally unsympathetic to the Shīʿah and as writing a panegyric of al-Mukhtār more or less to save his skin. Later, he became loyal to the Umayyads. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 324.

549. Possibly, "on the day (i.e., battle) of al-Tharī (a place name)."

550. "To rub someone's nose in the dust," means to humiliate him, the nose held high in the air being, in Arabic as in English, a sign of haughtiness. See Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1113.

551. I.e., four separate groups of pilgrims, led by four standard-bearers, gathered at ʿArafāt for the *wuqūf* ("standing," or "station") that climaxes the Ḥajj (pilgrimage). In 68, the day of the *wuqūf*, 9 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, fell on July 15, 688. See *EI*², s.vv. ʿArafa and Ḥadjdj.

[782] 'Awn—his father, who said: In the year 68, four banners stood at 'Arafāt: Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah with his companions stood with a banner at Jabal[552] al-Mushāt; Ibn al-Zubayr stood with a banner at the present standing place of the imām; then Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah led his companions forward so that they stood opposite Ibn al-Zubayr; behind these two was Najdah, the Ḥarūrī,[553] and the banner of the Banū Umayyah was to the left of the two. The first banner to return [from 'Arafāt] was that of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah; he was followed by Najdah, then by the banner of the Banū Umayyah, and then by the banner of Ibn al-Zubayr, with the people following it.

According to Muḥammad [b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Nāfi'—his father, who said: That evening, Ibn 'Umar had begun to hurry back [from 'Arafāt] with Ibn al-Zubayr's party; but when Ibn al-Zubayr went slowly, after Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, Najdah, and the Banū Umayyah had gone past, Ibn 'Umar said, "Ibn al-Zubayr is waiting, as was the custom of pre-Islamic times."[554] Then he rushed forward, and Ibn al-Zubayr rushed after him.

According to Muḥammad [b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—Hishām b. 'Umārah—Sa'īd b. Muḥammad b. Jubayr—his father, who said: Fearing there would be strife (*fitnah*), I went on foot to all of them. I went to Muḥammad b. 'Alī at al-Shi'b[555] and said, "Abū al-Qāsim, fear God; we are in a place of sacred rites and sacred territory, and the people are ambassadors of God to this house.[556]

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552. For *jabal* ("mountain"), one should read *ḥabl* ("large sand dune"), as in the parallel text in Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 75 (and note).

553. I.e., the Khārijite. Because the Khārijites gathered at the town of Ḥarūrā' (ca. 2 miles from al-Kūfah) when they "seceded" (*kharaja*) from 'Alī's army in opposition to the plan for arbitration between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, they were called "Ḥarūriyyah" (sing. Ḥarūrī). See *EI*², s.v. Ḥarūrā'. Najdah's followers controlled large areas of al-Yamāmah (central Arabia) at this time. See note 385.

554. Pilgrims depart from 'Arafāt after sunset on the ninth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah and rush back to Mecca without delay. The parallel text in Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 76, makes it clear that Ibn 'Umar left as soon as the sun set, according to what he considered to be the Prophet's Sunnah; Ibn al-Zubayr, on the other hand, was waiting for darkness to fall. On the *jāhiliyyah*, "time of ignorance," or pre-Islamic paganism, see *EI*², s.v. Djāhiliyya.

555. Al-Shi'b ("the path between two mountains") was a watering place between al-'Aqabah and al-Qā', three miles from Mecca on the Mecca-Medina road (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.).

556. The term ambassadors (*wafd*, pl. of *wāfid*) normally has the sense of persons coming to a great man to bring gifts or ask assistance (Lane, *Lexicon*, VIII, 2955). "This house" refers to the Ka'bah.

Do not spoil their pilgrimage for them." He replied, "By God, I do not want that. I will not stand in the way of anybody seeking to approach this house, and no pilgrim will be harmed by me. However, I am a man defending myself from Ibn al-Zubayr and what he seeks from me. I seek this thing[557] only so that two men may not oppose me in it. But go to Ibn al-Zubayr, and speak to him; and go to Najdah." Muḥammad [b. Jubayr] continued: I went to Ibn al-Zubayr and spoke to him as I had spoken to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah. He said, "I am a man on whom the people have agreed and to whom they have sworn allegiance. These men are people of dissent." I said, "I think restraint would be best for you." He said, "I will do it." [783]

Then I went to Najdah al-Ḥarūrī. I found him among his companions and found 'Ikrimah, the lad (*ghulām*) of Ibn 'Abbās, with him. I said, "Ask permission for me to go in to see your master." Muḥammad [b. Jubayr] continued: 'Ikrimah went in, and he admitted me without delay. I entered, greeted him with respect, and spoke to him as I had spoken to the two other men. He said, "As for initiating fighting against anyone, no; but I will fight anyone who begins to fight." I said, "I think the two men do not want to fight you." Then I went to the party of the Banū Umayyah and spoke to them as I had spoken to the other men. They said, "Our position is that we will not fight anyone, unless he fights us." Among those banners, I saw no men more tranquil or peaceful in their return [to Mecca] than Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah.

[Those in Office during the Year]

According to Abū Ja'far [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, Ibn al-Zubayr's governor in charge of Medina was Jābir b. al-Aswad b. 'Awf al-Zuhrī. Ibn al-Zubayr's brother Muṣ'ab was in charge of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah. Hishām b. Hubayrah was in charge of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah b. Mas'ūd was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī was in charge of Khurāsān, and 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was in Syria.

557. *Amr*, see note 500.

The Events of the Year 69

(JULY 6, 688–JUNE 24, 689)

[The Revolt and Death of 'Amr b. Sa'īd in Damascus]

According to al-Wāqidī, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān went out to 'Ayn Wardah[558] this year and made 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ[559] his deputy over Damascus. The latter fortified himself there. When word of this reached 'Abd al-Malik, he returned to Damascus and besieged him.

Thus said al-Wāqidī. It is also said that 'Amr b. Sa'īd went out

558. 'Ayn Wardah ("Rose Spring") is another name for the city of Ra's 'Ayn ("Spring-Head") in al-Jazīrah province on the upper Greater Khābūr River near the present Syrian-Turkish border. See *EI*², s.v. 'Ayn al-Warda; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.

559. Abū Umayyah 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah al-Umawī, known as al-Ashdaq, was an Umayyad governor and general. Governor of Mecca when Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah became caliph (60/680), he was appointed governor of Medina the same year. Upon the death of Yazīd, 'Amr was mentioned as a possible successor to Marwān; he was the caliph's nephew through his mother and was also related to him on his father's side. Marwān, however, manipulated his own sons into the succession. 'Amr's resentment came out in his attempted coup under Marwān's successor. See *EI*², s.v. 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaḳ.

with ʿAbd al-Malik, and that when the latter was at Buṭnān Ḥabīb, ʿAmr returned to Damascus and fortified himself there, whereupon ʿAbd al-Malik returned to Damascus.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—ʿAwānah b. al-Ḥakam, who said: After ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān returned from [784] Buṭnān Ḥabīb to Damascus, he remained in Damascus for a time and then set out for Qarqīsiyāʾ,[560] where Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī was. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd was with ʿAbd al-Malik. While at Buṭnān Ḥabīb, ʿAmr b. Saʿīd devised treachery, turned back by night—Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth b. Baḥdal al-Kalbī and Zuhayr b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī were with him—and reached Damascus, where ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī was in charge as ʿAbd al-Malik's deputy. When he learned of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd's return, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān fled and left his district; ʿAmr entered the city and took control of it and its treasuries.

Someone other than the two previously mentioned authorities said that this episode took place in the year 70. He also said that ʿAbd al-Malik's journey from Damascus was toward Iraq, aimed at Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ said to ʿAbd al-Malik, "Behold, you are going out to Iraq. Your father promised this thing[561] to me after him. On that basis, I exerted myself for him; and my effort on his behalf is not hidden from you. Then grant this thing to me after you." ʿAbd al-Malik gave him no response, so ʿAmr left him and returned to Damascus. ʿAbd al-Malik returned on his heels and reached Damascus.

Resumption of the account according to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]—ʿAwānah, who said: Having taken control of Damascus, ʿAmr looked for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam, but did not find

560. Qarqīsiyā, was in al-Jazīrah province, at the confluence of the Greater Khābūr and the Euphrates. See Yāqūt *Muʿjam*, s.v. ʿAbd al-Malik's intention would have been to campaign against the pro-Zubayrid leader of the Qays, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith.

561. *Amr*, i.e., the caliphate. For the agreement reached at al-Jābiyah in 64/683 between the leaders of the Umayyad family and their supporters, proclaiming Marwān b. al-Ḥakam caliph on condition that his successors would be Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaq, see Ṭabarī, II, 474–76, summarized by Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 19. After his victory at Marj Rāhiṭ, Marwān maneuvered his son ʿAbd al-Malik into the succession and excluded Khālid and ʿAmr. See Dixon, 124ff., for this episode; also Buhl, "Die Krisis der Umajjadenherrschaft in Jahre 684," 50–64.

him. He therefore gave orders and had his house destroyed. The people gathered; ʿAmr ascended the pulpit, praised and extolled God, and said: "No one from Quraysh ever stood on this pulpit before me without asserting that his were a heaven and a hell, and that he would cause whoever obeyed him to enter the heaven, and whoever disobeyed him to enter the hell. But I tell you that heaven
[785] and hell are in the hand of God; nothing of that belongs to me, save that you have a claim to equal treatment[562] and a good stipend (*ʿaṭiyyah*) from me." Then he descended.

ʿAbd al-Malik arose in the morning, and ʿAmr b. Saʿīd was missing. He asked about him and was told what had happened. ʿAbd al-Malik therefore returned to Damascus; and behold, ʿAmr b. Saʿīd had covered [the wall of] Damascus with coarse haircloths.[563] ʿAbd al-Malik fought him there for several days. When ʿAmr b. Saʿīd sent out Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth al-Kalbī in command of cavalry, ʿAbd al-Malik sent out Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī against him. When ʿAmr b. Saʿīd sent out Zuhayr b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī, ʿAbd al-Malik sent out Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal al-Kalbī against him.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]—ʿAwānah: One day, the two groups of horsemen stood facing each other. On the side of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd there was a man from [the tribe of] Kalb named Rajāʾ b. Sirāj. Rajāʾ said, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym, come out for single combat." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was on the side of ʿAbd al-Malik, said, "He who vies with al-Qārah in archery has done them justice,"[564] and came forward to engage Rajāʾ in single combat. The two thrust at each other with spears. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's stirrup

562. *Muʾāsāh*, "treating as an equal," implies generosity in sharing one's possessions with others. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 60. Parallel accounts say that ʿAmr's generosity drew the people of Damascus to his side. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 443 (authority of Abū Mikhnaf).

563. I.e., in preparation for a siege by ʿAbd al-Malik. The parallel text in Balādhurī (authority of Abū Mikhnaf and others) makes this clear: "He placed upon the wall of Damascus coarse haircloths, wood, coarse cotton cloth, and stuffed bedding and prepared for a siege" (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 443).

564. Proverbial, see Freytag, II, 257 and *Lisān*, s.v. *qārah* (root *q-w-r*). According to the most likely explanation, the Qārah were a tribal group known as skilled archers. The saying originated when one of them gave his opponent choice of a contest in wrestling, running, or archery. When the opponent chose archery, the man, before hitting his opponent's heart with an arrow, replied with the saying, which became proverbial.

snapped, and Ibn Sirāj escaped from him. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said, "By God, had the stirrup not snapped, you would have cast forth the figs[565] in your stomach." So there was no truce between ʿAmr and ʿAbd al-Malik.

When their fighting had gone on a long time, the women of Kalb came with their children and wept, saying to Sufyān b. al-Abrad [al-Kalbī] and [Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth] b. Baḥdal al-Kalbī, "Why will you slay yourselves for the ruler of Quraysh?" Each of them swore he would not go back until his fellow went back. When they all had agreed to go back, they looked and found that Sufyān was older[566] than Ḥurayth. So they asked Ḥurayth, and he went back. ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAmr then made peace and drew up a written document between them. ʿAbd al-Malik gave ʿAmr a promise of safety. This took place on the eve of Thursday.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]—ʿAwānah: Armed with a [786]
black bow, ʿAmr b. Saʿīd went out with horsemen. He went forward and made his horse trample the ropes of ʿAbd al-Malik's tent. The ropes broke, and the tent fell. ʿAmr dismounted and sat down. ʿAbd al-Malik was furious and said to ʿAmr, "Abū Umayyah, armed with this bow, you resemble this tribe of Qays." "No," he replied, "I resemble someone better than they: al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayyah."[567] Then he rose up in anger, and the horsemen with him, until he entered Damascus.

ʿAbd al-Malik entered Damascus on Thursday and sent to ʿAmr, saying, "Give the men their provisions."[568] ʿAmr sent word to him, saying, "This is no city of yours; leave it." When Monday came—four days, that is, after ʿAbd al-Malik's entry into Damascus—he sent to ʿAmr, saying, "Come to me." (ʿAmr was at the home of his wife from the tribe of Kalb.) Now ʿAbd al-Malik had summoned Kurayb b. Abrahah b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ḥimyarī[569] and consulted him in the matter of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd. Kurayb said to

565. Ed. Cairo emends to "straw."
566. Mss. O and Co, "greater."
567. ʿAmr's grandfather.
568. Arabic *arzāq*, plural of *rizq*, from Middle Persian *rōzik*, "daily allowance."
569. Kurayb b. Abrahah b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ḥimyarī, a companion of the Prophet, was the chief of the Yemeni tribe of Ḥimyar in Syria during the days of Muʿāwiyah. He witnessed the Battle of Ṣiffīn, served in Egypt under the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, and lived to see al-Ḥajjāj's governorship of Iraq. He died in 75/694. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 641–43.

him, "In this matter,[570] Ḥimyar has been reduced to naught. I have no opinion for you on it. Neither my female nor my male camel is involved in this affair."[571] When ʿAbd al-Malik's messenger came to summon ʿAmr, the messenger found ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah at ʿAmr's house. ʿAbdallāh said to ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, "Abū Umayyah, you are dearer to me, by God, than my hearing and sight. I see that this man has sent word for you to go to him. My opinion is that you should not do it." ʿAmr said to him, "Why?" He replied, "Because Tubayʿ, the son of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār's wife,[572] said, 'Behold, a great descendant of Ismāʿīl shall return. He shall shut the gates of Damascus and go forth from it. Shortly thereafter he shall be killed.'" ʿAmr said to him, "By God, even if I were asleep, I would not fear that Ibn al-Zarqāʾ[573] would wake me. He is not the sort of person who would embolden himself to do that to me. Also, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān came to me
[787] last night in a dream and clothed me with his shirt." Now ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd was the husband of Umm Mūsā, the daughter of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd. ʿAmr said to the messenger, "Greet ʿAbd al-Malik, and tell him I will come to him this evening, God willing."

When it was evening, ʿAmr put on a sturdy coat of mail between a linen tunic[574] and a linen shirt and girded on his sword. At his home were his wife from the tribe of Kalb and Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth b. Baḥdal al-Kalbī. As he rose to leave, he tripped on the carpet.

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570. Parallel in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 298: "in such a matter as this."

571. A proverb meaning, "I have nothing at stake in the affair." See Freytag, II, 499 (Maydānī, II, 144).

572. Tubayʿ, who settled in Ḥimṣ in Syria, is said to have passed on the lore of his stepfather, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār. The latter, a learned Yemeni Jew (his name means "Kaʿb of the scholars"), introduced many stories of Jewish origin into Islam and often appears as a foreteller of future events. He is said to have predicted the death of ʿUmar. The following anecdote illustrates his reputation, which apparently rubbed off on his stepson: "When the head of al-Mukhtār was brought to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, he said, 'Nothing has happened under my rule but that Kaʿb told me about it. He mentioned, however, that a man from the tribe of Thaqīf would kill me; yet here lies the man's head before me!' Ibn al-Zubayr did not realize that al-Ḥajjāj, also from Thaqīf, lay in wait for him." (Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, V, 650) See *ibid.*, I, 377, on Tubayʿ; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 452; and *EI*², s.v. Kaʿb al-Aḥbār.

573. A derogatory name for ʿAbd al-Malik ("son of the blue-eyed woman"). See notes 498 and 544.

574. *Qabāʾ*: "a kind of tunic, resembling the *qafṭān*, generally reaching to the middle of the shank, divided down the front, and made to overlap over the chest" (Lane, *Lexicon*, VIII, 2984).

Ḥumayd said to him, "By God, if you obey me, you will not go to him." His wife said the same to him, but he paid no attention to what they said and went out with a hundred of his *mawālī*. ʿAbd al-Malik had sent to the sons of Marwān, and they had gathered at his home. When ʿAbd al-Malik was informed that ʿAmr was at the gate, he ordered that those with him be barred; ʿAmr himself was admitted and entered. Thus, ʿAmr's companions remained barred at each gate, and ʿAmr entered the courtyard[575] of the house, having only a servant of his with him. ʿAmr turned his eyes toward ʿAbd al-Malik, and behold, around him were the sons of Marwān, and with them were Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal al-Kalbī and Qabīṣah b. Dhu'ayb al-Khuzāʿī.[576] Seeing their assembly and sensing evil, ʿAmr turned to his servant and said, "Go quickly—alas for you!—to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd[577] and tell him to come to me." Not having understood what he had said, the servant said to him, "At your service!" So ʿAmr said to him, "Go away from me into God's burning and fire!" [788]

ʿAbd al-Malik said to Ḥassān and Qabīṣah, "If you wish, arise and meet with ʿAmr in the house." Then ʿAbd al-Malik said to them, as if jesting, so that ʿAmr b. Saʿīd might feel at ease, "Which of you two has been longer [in office]?" Ḥassān said, "Qabīṣah, O Commander of the Faithful, has been longer in office than I." (Qabīṣah was in charge of the seal.) ʿAmr then turned to his servant and said, "Go quickly to Yaḥyā and command him to come to me." Not having understood what he had said, the servant said to him, "At your service!" So ʿAmr said, "Go away from me!"

After Ḥassān and Qabīṣah had gone out, ʿAbd al-Malik ordered the doors shut. ʿAmr entered. ʿAbd al-Malik greeted him, said, "Here, please,[578] Abū Umayyah," seated him on the couch with him, and began talking to him at length. Then he said, "Lad, take the sword from him." ʿAmr said, "We belong to God, O Commander of the Faithful!"[579] ʿAbd al-Malik said, "Do you desire to

575. The older sense of *qāʿah* is the courtyard of a house; later it comes to mean the main salon. It is not clear which meaning is intended here.

576. Qabīṣah was ʿAbd al-Malik's secretary (*kātib*); see below, Ṭabarī, II, 837.

577. Yaḥyā was ʿAmr's brother.

578. Literally, "God be merciful to you." But the English suggests something sinister; the Arabic has overtones of affection and intimacy.

579. Here, this expression is said in suprise and as a protest of good intentions.

sit with me wearing your sword?"—and he took the sword from him. They spoke for a time, and then 'Abd al-Malik said to him, "Abū Umayyah!" He replied, "At your service, Commander of the Faithful!" 'Abd al-Malik said, "When you threw off your allegiance to me, I swore an oath that if I laid eyes on you and had power over you, I would put you in shackles."[580] The sons of Marwān said to him, "Then will you release him, O Commander of the Faithful?" 'Abd al-Malik replied, "Then I will release him. What [else] might I possibly do to Abū Umayyah?" The sons of Marwān said, "Carry out the oath of the Commander of the Faithful." 'Amr said, "God has made your oath come true, O Commander of the Faithful." 'Abd al-Malik took out a set of shackles from under his couch, tossed them toward 'Amr, and said, "Lad, bind him in them." The servant lad got up and bound him in them. 'Amr said, "For God's sake, Commander of the Faithful, do not make me go out in them before the chiefs of the people." 'Abd al-Malik replied, "Craftiness, Abū Umayyah, even at the point of death?[581] No, by God; we would not make you go out in shackles before the chiefs of the people. And we will remove them from you in no other wise than upwards."

Thereupon, 'Abd al-Malik gave 'Amr a pull that made his mouth hit the couch, breaking his front tooth. 'Amr said, "For God's sake, O Commander of the Faithful, may what moves you
[789] to break a bone of mine not be the commission of something even worse than that!" 'Abd al-Malik said to him, "By God, if I knew that you would spare me if I spared you and that Quraysh would prosper, I would release you. But never have two men come together in a city in a situation like ours but one expelled the other." When 'Amr saw that his tooth had been broken and realized what 'Abd al-Malik planned to do, he said, "Will you commit treachery, Ibn al-Zarqā'?"

It has been said [by another authority]: When 'Abd al-Malik

580. *Jāmi'ah*: a neck shackle to which were attached thongs to bind the hands to the neck. See Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 458.

581. A proverb, see Freytag, II, 680 (Maydānī, II, 220). 'Abd al-Malik's allusion to 'Amr's craftiness is clarified by the parallel in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 445: "'Amr wanted to make a show of not wanting to go out only in order to entice 'Abd al-Malik into sending him out. 'Amr's supporters surrounding the palace would then free him."

pulled ʿAmr so that his tooth fell out, ʿAmr began to rub it. ʿAbd al-Malik said to him, "I see that your tooth is so important to you that you will never again be well disposed toward me." So he gave orders, and ʿAmr was beheaded.

Resumption of ʿAwānah's account: The muezzin announced the afternoon prayer. ʿAbd al-Malik went out to lead the people in worship and commanded ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān to kill ʿAmr. When ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz approached with the sword, ʿAmr said, "For the sake of God and kinship, do not carry out my murder yourself; let someone more distantly related than you take charge of it. So ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz threw away the sword and sat down. ʿAbd al-Malik, having prayed a quick prayer, entered [the palace again], and the doors were shut. People saw that when ʿAbd al-Malik came out, ʿAmr was not with him. They mentioned this to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, and he came with men and alighted at the gate of ʿAbd al-Malik; a thousand of ʿAmr's slaves were with him and many of his companions afterwards. Those who were with him began to shout, "Let us hear your voice, Abū Umayyah!" With Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, [790]
Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth and Zuhayr b. al-Abrad came forward, broke the door of the enclosure (*maqṣūrah*),[582] and attacked the men with swords. A slave of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd named Maṣqalah struck al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik a blow on the head. Ibrāhīm b. ʿArabī,[583] the official in charge of the *dīwān*,[584] carried [al-Walīd] away and brought him into the room where documents were kept.[585]

Having prayed, ʿAbd al-Malik came in and found ʿAmr alive. He said to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, "What prevented you from killing him?" He replied, "His beseeching me for the sake of God and kinship prevented me, so that I softened to him." ʿAbd al-Malik said to him, "God shame your piss-on-her-heels mother! You take

582. This term has several meanings. It is "the enclosure in a mosque where the prince sits" (Lane, *Lexicon*, VII, 2536). In Damascus, the public treasury was also called *maqṣūrah*; and any gatehouse or railing could also be given the name. A subsequent reference in ʿAwānah's account indicates that the *maqṣūrah* in the mosque is meant. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 366; Ṭabarī, II, 794.

583. Ms. Pet: "b. ʿAdī"; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 448: "Ibn Arqam."

584. *Dīwān*, apparently from Middle Persian, meant a list or register, and, by extension, the administrative department or office in charge of maintaining such a register. See *EI*², s.v.

585. *Bayt al-qarāṭīs*: from *qirṭās*, papyrus (later, paper) or a rolled document. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VII, 2517; *EI*², s.v. Ḳirṭās.

after no one but her." ('Abd al-Malik's mother was 'Ā'ishah bint Mu'āwiyah b. al-Mughīrah b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah; 'Abd al-'Azīz's mother was Laylā.[586] As Ibn al-Ruqayyāt said:[587]

That is Laylā's son, 'Abd al-'Azīz: at Bābilyūn[588]
his food bowls are full to overflowing.)[589]

'Abd al-Malik then said, "Lad, bring me the lance." He brought it.
[791] 'Abd al-Malik brandished it and thrust at 'Amr with it. When it did not penetrate, he did it again. It did not penetrate. He put his hand on 'Amr's arm and felt the coat of mail. Laughing, he said, "And wearing mail, too! Abū Umayyah, you really came prepared! Lad, bring me the sword that will not bend." He brought him his sword. 'Abd al-Malik gave orders: 'Amr was thrown down, and 'Abd al-Malik sat on his chest and cut his throat, saying:[590]

'Amr, if you do not cease reviling me and speaking
contemptuously of me,
I will strike you so that the owl will cry, "Give me drink!
Give me drink!"[591]

'Abd al-Malik shook with trembling, as has been said to befall a man if he kills a relative. 'Abd al-Malik was carried from 'Amr's chest and laid on his bed. He said, "Never have I seen the like of

586. Full name: Laylā bint Zabbān b. al-Aṣbagh al-Kalbī (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 448).

587. 'Ubaydallāh b. Qays al-Ruqayyāt (nicknamed "al-Ruqayyāt" because he wrote love poetry to three women, each named Ruqayyah), a Qurayshi poet, was originally a partisan of Ibn al-Zubayr, but went over to the Umayyads after the death of Muṣ'ab and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and became a panegyrist for them. These lines are from a *qaṣīdah* praising 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān. See *Aghānī*, IV, 162.

588. Often known as Babylon, this was the Roman fortress still to be seen at Old Cairo. Because the Arab garrison city of Fusṭāṭ was nearby, Bābilyūn (or Bābalyūn) could be used as a name for the capital of Arab Egypt. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān was governor of Egypt under Marwān and 'Abd al-Malik. See *EI*[2], s.v. Bābalyūn; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.

589. I.e., he is a generous host. The line is quoted in the *Lisān*.

590. The line is from a *qasīdah* by Dhū al-Iṣba' al-'Adwānī, a pre-Islamic poet. See *Aghānī*, III, 9.

591. According to pre-Islamic folklore, if a slain man was not avenged, his spirit became an owl that hovered at his grave and continued to cry "Give me drink!" until vengeance was taken. See *Lisān*, s.v. *hāmah*.

this: he was killed by someone who possessed this world and did not seek the hereafter."

Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd and those with him came into the house into the presence of the sons of Marwān. They reviled the sons of Marwān and their *mawālī* who were with them, and the latter fought with Yaḥyā and his companions. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī came. The head was given to him, and he threw it to the people. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān arose, took money in purses, and started throwing them to the people. When the people looked at the money and saw the head, they grabbed the money and dispersed.

It has been said that when 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān went out to prayer, he commanded his servant lad Abū al-Zu'ayzi'ah[592] to kill 'Amr. The latter did so, and threw his head to the people and [792]
'Amr's companions.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]—'Awānah: It was related to me that 'Abd al-Malik ordered the money that had been thrown to the people to be collected; thus it all returned to the treasury.

On that day, Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd was hit on the head with a rock. 'Abd al-Malik ordered his bed taken out into the mosque. He left [the house] and sat down on it. Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik was missing, and 'Abd al-Malik started saying, "Woe unto you! Where is al-Walīd? By their father, if they have killed him, they have attained their revenge." Ibrāhīm b. 'Arabī al-Kinānī came to him and said, "Behold, al-Walīd is in my house. He has received a wound, but has not been harmed."

Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd was brought to 'Abd al-Malik, who ordered him killed. But 'Abd al-'Azīz [b. Marwān] stood before him and said, "May God make me your ransom, Commander of the Faithful! Will you kill [all] the Banū Umayyah in a single day?" So he ordered Yaḥyā to be imprisoned. Then 'Anbasah b. Sa'īd was brought, and he ordered him killed. But 'Abd al-'Azīz stood before him and said, "I ask you to remember God, Commander of the Faithful, in the matter of extirpating and destroying the Banū Umayyah." So he ordered 'Anbasah to be imprisoned. Then 'Āmir b. al-Aswad al-Kalbī was brought in. 'Abd al-Malik struck his

592. See below, Ṭabarī, II, 837, where Abū al-Zu'ayzi'ah is identified as a *mawlā* in charge of 'Abd al-Malik's correspondence bureau.

head with a cane rod he had, and said, "Will you fight against me on the side of ʿAmr? Will you take his side against me?" ʿĀmir said, "Yes, because ʿAmr honored me, and you despised me; he drew me close, and you drove me away; he brought me near, and you made me distant; he treated me well, and you wronged me. Therefore I took his side against you." ʿAbd al-Malik ordered him to be killed; but ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz stood up and said, "I ask you to remember God, Commander of the Faithful, concerning this my maternal uncle." So ʿAbd al-Malik gave him into his hands and ordered the sons of Saʿīd to be imprisoned.

Yaḥyā [b. Saʿīd] remained in prison for a month or more. Then
[793] ʿAbd al-Malik ascended the pulpit. Having praised and extolled God, he asked the people's advice about putting him to death. One preacher among the people stood up and said, "Do snakes bear anything but snakes? By God, we think you should kill him, because he is a hypocrite, an enemy." Then ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿadah al-Fazārī stood up and said, "Commander of the Faithful, Yaḥyā is the son of your paternal uncle. You know how closely he is related. They did what they did, and you did to them what you did; and you do not feel safe with them. Yet, I do not think you should kill them. Make them go to your enemy: if they are killed, their affair will have been taken care of for you by the hand of others; if they return safely, you will consider what to do with them." ʿAbd al-Malik took his advice. He sent out the family of Saʿīd and had them go to Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. When they came to him, Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd went before him. Ibn al-Zubayr said to him, "You escaped, but your tail was plucked."[593] "By God," replied Yaḥyā, "the tail still has its hair!"

ʿAbd al-Malik sent to ʿAmr's wife from the tribe of Kalb, saying, "Send me the peace agreement I wrote for ʿAmr." She said to his messenger, "Go back and tell him that I wrapped that agreement in his shrouds with him so that with it he might call you to task before his Lord."

ʿAmr b. Saʿīd and ʿAbd al-Malik both traced their descent to Umayyah. ʿAmr's mother, Umm al-Banīn, the daughter of al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ, was ʿAbd al-Malik's paternal aunt.

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593. Proverbial for someone who narrowly escapes death; see Freytag, II, 201 (Maydānī, II, 14); *Lisān*, s.v. *h-s-s*.

According to Hishām [b. al-Kalbī]—ʿAwānah: What happened between ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAmr was an old feud. The mother of the two sons of Saʿīd was Umm al-Banīn. ʿAbd al-Malik and Muʿāwiyah were the two sons of Marwān. When they [all] were lads, they constantly used to go to Umm Marwān b. al-Ḥakam al- [794]
Kināniyyah[594] and talk at her home. With ʿAbd al-Malik and Muʿāwiyah, one of their black servant lads used to go out also. Whenever they came to her, Umm Marwān used to prepare food for them and bring it to them, placing a bowl in front of each man separately. She was continually stirring up quarrels between Muʿāwiyah b. Marwān and Muḥammad b. Saʿīd, and between ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAmr b. Saʿīd. As a result, they used to fight with each other and cut each other, sometimes not talking with each other. Umm Marwān used to say, "If these two have no intelligence, those two have." Such was her custom, whenever they came to her, until she had implanted rancor in their hearts.

It has been mentioned [by another authority] that ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Qasrī [Abū Khālid] was with Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd when he entered the mosque, broke the door of the enclosure, and fought with the sons of Marwān. When ʿAmr was killed and his head brought out to the people, ʿAbdallāh and his brother Khālid rode away and reached Iraq. He remained with the sons of Saʿīd who were with Muṣʿab, until unity[595] was established under ʿAbd al-Malik. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd's eye had been put out at the Battle of Marj [Rāhiṭ];[596] he had been on the side of Ibn al-Zubayr, fighting the Banū Umayyah. After the establishment of unity, he went before ʿAbd al-Malik, and [the latter] asked, "How are you, family of Yazīd?" ʿAbdallāh replied, "Disgrace! disgrace!"[597] ʿAbd al-

594. I.e., Marwān's mother, who was from the tribe of Kinānah.

595. *Jamāʿah*: "a gathering together," especially the unity or concord of the Islamic community after civil strife [ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CLXX; Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 215]. The reference is to the year 73/692, the restoration of a single caliphal authority over all Muslims after the death of Ibn al-Zubayr.

596. Fought in 64/683, between Marwān and the supporters of Ibn al-Zubayr, it ended with a complete defeat for the latter. See *EI*², s.v.

597. Accepting the emendation *khizyan khizyan* proposed by ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CLXXXVII. Mss. O and Co read *ḥizban ḥizban* ("party by party"); C reads *ḥarban ḥarban* ("war! war!"); and the editor's original emendation was *ḥurabāʿa ḥurabāʿa* ("despoiled! despoiled!").

Malik said, "That is for what your hands have forwarded: God is never unjust unto His servants."[598]

According to Hishīm [b. al-Kalbī]—'Awānah: The sons of 'Amr b. Sa'īd came before 'Abd al-Malik after the establishment of
[795] unity. They were four: Umayyah, Sa'īd, Ismā'īl, and Muḥammad. When he beheld them, 'Abd al-Malik said to them, "You are men of a noble family.[599] You have always seen yourselves as having some preeminence over all your kin, albeit one that God has not given you. What took place between your father and me was nothing new; it was inveterate in the souls of your ancestors against our ancestors in pre-Islamic times." Umayyah b. 'Amr, who was their eldest, found himself unable to speak; he was the noblest and most intelligent of them. So Sa'īd b. 'Amr, the middle in age, stood up and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, now that God has brought Islam and destroyed former things, promising Paradise, and warning of the Fire, why do you reproach us with something that happened in pre-Islamic times? As for what transpired between you and 'Amr, 'Amr was your paternal cousin, and you know best what you did. 'Amr has arrived before God—'and God suffices for a reckoner.'[600] By my life, if you punish us for what happened between him and you, the interior of the earth were better for us than its surface!" 'Abd al-Malik was much softened toward them, and said, "Your father made me choose between his killing me or my killing him; so I chose his death over my own. But you—how I long for you! How linked I am to you in kinship, and how mindful of your right!" So he rewarded them well, showed them favor, and drew them close.

It has been mentioned: One day, Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah said to 'Abd al-Malik, "The strange thing about you and 'Amr b. Sa'īd is how you took him off guard and killed him." 'Abd al-Malik said:

I drew him near me, that his mind might be calm,
and that I might leap upon him with the assault of a man firm and masterful,

598. Qur'ān 22:10. If the reading *khizyan khizyan* is correct, 'Abd al-Malik is answering an allusion to Qur'ān 22:9 with an allusion to the following verse.

599. Arabic, *ahlu baytin*: "people of a [distinguished, noble] household."

600. Qur'ān 4:6 and 33:39.

In anger and in defense of my religion:
the bungler's way is not like the way of the man who does things right!

According to 'Awānah: A man met Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. Sa'īd in Mecca and said to him, "By the Lord of this House,[601] there was no one like your father among the kinsmen![602] But he attempted to wrest from his kin what they had in their hands, and so he perished." [796]

Al-Wāqidī says that only the siege between 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and 'Amr b. Sa'īd took place in the year 69. 'Amr b. Sa'īd fortified himself in Damascus; 'Abd al-Malik returned from Buṭnān Ḥabīb and besieged him, but his killing of 'Amr took place in the year 70.

[A Khārijite Killed at the Pilgrimage]

During this year, at al-Khayf of Minā,[603] a Khārijite proclaimed the slogan, "Judgment belongs to none but God!"[604] He was killed at al-Jamrah.[605]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Dīnār—his father, who said: I saw him draw his sword at al-Jamrah. They were a group, but God restrained their hands. He came forward from among them and proclaimed, "Judgment belongs to none but God!" The people turned upon him and killed him.

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601. I.e., the Ka'bah.

602. I.e., the Umayyad family.

603. Literally, "the sloping land [between the mountains and the bottom of the valley] at Minā": At Minā the pilgrims gather from the tenth to the thirteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. On the first day, the 'Īd al-Aḍḥā sacrifice is performed; the following days are days of visiting and social relations before returning to Mecca. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj.

604. The slogan of the Khārijites when they rejected mediation between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah by two men, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ; see note 40.

605. Al-Jamrah, literally, "the heap of pebbles," is a construction called "Jamrat al-'Aqabah" near the western exit from the valley of Minā. Pilgrims throw seven stones, now interpreted as stoning the Devil. See *EI*², s.vv. Ḥadjdj and al-Djamra.

[Those in Office during the Year]

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the pilgrimage this year. His governor in charge of the garrison cities of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah this year was his brother Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. Shurayḥ [b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī] was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah. Hishām b. Hubayrah was in charge of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim was in charge of Khurāsān.

The Events of the Year 70

(JUNE 25, 689—JUNE 14, 690)

[ʿAbd al-Malik and the Byzantines]

In this year, the Byzantines arose and gathered an army against the Muslims in Syria. For fear of what he might do to the Muslims, ʿAbd al-Malik made peace with the Byzantine emperor, on terms that every Friday he would deliver a thousand dīnārs to him.[606]

[Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr Visits Mecca]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: During this year, Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr went to Mecca, bringing a great deal of money, which he divided among his kinsmen and others. He brought many horses and camels and much baggage. He sent much money to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān, Jubayr b. Shaybah, and ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ, [797] and he slaughtered many fattened camels.

606. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 299–300.

[Those in Office during the Year]

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the pilgrimage this year. His governors in charge of the garrison cities during this year were his agents of the previous year in charge of finances[607] and the judiciary.

607. *Maʿāwin* seems here to be used generally for "financial matters, taxes." See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 192; and note 446, above.

The Events of the Year 71

(JUNE 15, 690–JUNE 3, 691)

Among these events was ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān's going to Iraq to fight Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. According to what some have said, ʿAbd al-Malik used to continue drawing closer to Muṣʿab until he arrived at Buṭnān Ḥabīb, while Muṣʿab would go out to Bājumayrā.[608] When winter set in, each of them would go back to his encampment; then they would return [to the war]. As ʿAdī b. Zayd b. ʿAdī b. al-Riqāʿ al-ʿĀmilī said:[609]

By my life, our horsemen took to the desert
    in the vicinity of the Tigris because of Muṣʿab.
When the hypocrite of the people of Iraq

608. ʿAbd al-Malik encamped at Buṭnān Ḥabīb, near Qinnasrīn, in Syria; Muṣʿab at Bājumayrā, near Takrīt, at the southern border of al-Jazīrah (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v. Bājumayrā).

609. ʿAdī b. Zayd b. [Mālik] b. ʿAdī b. al-Riqāʿ al-ʿĀmilī: Syrian poet and panegyrist of the Umayyad caliphs Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah and al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Lines of the poem, with variants, are found in *Aghānī*, XVII, 165; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 342; and Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 317; see also F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 321f.

was reproved, but was not made to return [from his evil ways],
We advanced toward him under a man possessing might to repel his enemies,
who gives little thought to those who are absent.
They brandish [spears], each of them long-shafted,
the blade and the tip of the shaft close-fitted.
[798] Their shouts as they advance seem like
the crying of the sand grouse of a fruitful land.
Before us went one whose face was bright,
and whose character and origins were noble.
He was aided by us, and we were helped by him:
he whom God helps will not be overcome.

[Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh Raises Support for ʿAbd al-Malik in al-Baṣrah]

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī], who said: ʿAbd al-Malik came from Syria intending to fight Muṣʿab. (This happened prior to this year, in the year 70.) With him was Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd. Khālid said to ʿAbd al-Malik, "If you send me to al-Baṣrah and have a few horsemen follow me, I hope to subdue it for you." ʿAbd al-Malik sent him. Khālid arrived there clandestinely with his *mawālī* and close associates, and stayed at the home of ʿAmr b. Aṣmaʿ al-Bāhilī.

According to ʿUmar [b. Shabbah]—Abū al-Ḥasan [ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī]—Maslamah b. Muḥārib: ʿAmr b. Aṣmaʿ gave Khālid protection and sent a message to ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn, who was in charge of Ibn Maʿmar's police. (Whenever Muṣʿab left al-Baṣrah, he made ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar his deputy over the city. ʿAmr b. Aṣmaʿ hoped that ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn would pledge allegiance to him.) The message was as follows: "I have given Khālid protection, and would like you to know it so that you can back me." ʿAmr's messenger reached ʿAbbād as the latter was dismounting from his horse. ʿAbbād said to [the messenger], "Tell him, 'By God, before I even take off my horse's saddlecloth, I will come to [take] you with horsemen!'" ʿAmr therefore said to Khālid, "I will not deceive you: ʿAbbād

will be upon us at any moment. No, by God; I cannot protect you. Stay, instead, with Mālik b. Misma'."

According to Abū Zayd ['Umar b. Shabbah]—Abū al-Ḥasan ['Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī]: It is also said that Khālid stayed at the home of 'Alī b. Aṣma', and that 'Abbād was informed of this. 'Abbād then sent word to him, saying, "I am coming to [take] you." [799]

According to 'Umar [b. Shabbah]—'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]—Maslamah and 'Awānah: Khālid galloped out of the house of Ibn Aṣma', with a thin linen shirt on him, his thighs uncovered, and his feet out of the stirrups. When he reached Mālik, he said, "I have been forced to turn to you. Give me protection." He said yes. He went out with his son and sent messengers to the Bakr b. Wā'il and Azd. The first banner that came to him was that of the Banū Yashkur.[610] 'Abbād came with horsemen; the two sides stood facing each other, but there was no fighting between them. The next morning, they went to Jufrat Nāfi' b. al-Ḥārith [it later came to be known as Jufrat Khālid].[611] With Khālid were men from the Banū Tamīm who had come to him; among them were Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Mu'āwiyah, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Bishr, and Murrah b. Maḥkān, with a number of their tribesmen. Khālid's forces were known as "Jufriyyah," referring to al-Jufrah; Ibn Ma'mar's forces were known as "Zubayriyyah." Among the Jufriyyah were 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah, Ḥumrān [b. Abān], and al-Mughīrah b. al-Muhallab. Among the Zubayriyyah was Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī, who used to hire men to fight on his side. Once, when a man demanded his salary from him, he said, "Tomorrow I will give it to you." Therefore, Ghaṭafān b. Unayf, one of the Banū Ka'b b. 'Amr,[612] said:

O little bells,[613] how badly you have decided!
The cash is a debt [due later], while the fighting is [due] right now;

610. The Banū Yashkur were affiliated with the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il.

611. *Jufrah* means a wide, round hole in the ground. *Jufrat Nāfi'* means "the *jufrah* of Nafi'"; *Jufrat Khālid* means "the *jufrah* of Khālid. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v. Jufrah, mentions such a place in al-Baṣrah, but gives no exact location.

612. The Banū Ka'b b. 'Amr were affiliated with the tribe of Tamīm.

613. Besides the explanation given below, there is an ironic reference to the

And you are at the gate, passing the night in pleasant
conversation and delaying.[614]

(Qays used to caparison the neck of his horse with little bells.)
[800] The commander of the horsemen of the Banū Ḥanẓalah[615] was ʿAmr b. Wabarah al-Quḥayfī.[616] He had slaves whom he used to hire out at thirty [dirhams] a man each day; he in turn would give them ten apiece. So someone said to him:

How badly you have decided, O Ibn Wabarah!
You are given thirty, and you give ten.

Al-Muṣʿab sent Zaḥr b. Qays al-Juʿfī to reinforce Ibn Maʿmar with a thousand men. To reinforce Khālid, ʿAbd al-Malik sent ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ẓabyān, but the latter was unwilling to enter al-Baṣrah and sent Maṭar b. al-Taw'am as a messenger. When the latter came back to him and told him that the men had dispersed, he rejoined ʿAbd al-Malik.

According to Abū Zayd [ʿUmar b. Shabbah]—Abū al-Ḥasan [ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī]—a shaykh from the Banū ʿArīn[617] —al-Sakan b. Qatādah, who said: They fought with each other twenty-four days. Mālik [b. Mismaʿ's] eye was hit, and he wearied of battle. Envoys went between them (Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ [was one of them]),[618] and Ibn Maʿmar made peace with Mālik on condition that he would make Khālid leave al-Baṣrah and would be guaranteed safety. Mālik therefore made Khālid leave al-Baṣrah. Fearing, however, that al-Muṣʿab would not approve ʿUbaydallāh [b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar's] promise of safety, Mālik went to Tha'j.[619] Speaking about Mālik

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proverbial expression, "He hangs bells on his neck," meaning "He imperils or endangers himself, and is a bold man." See Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 438, s.v. *juljul*.

614. Ms. Pet: "while you are fat, delaying." Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 468 (also on authority of al-Madā'inī): "and you are stingy of giving, miserly."

615. The Banū Ḥanẓalah were affiliated with the tribe of Tamīm.

616. The name is given thus in Mss. O, B and Co; Pet "al-Juʿayfī"; C "al-ʿUjayfī" (agreeing with Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 468).

617. The Banu ʿArīn were affiliated with the tribe of Tamīm.

618. The bracketed words are from the parallel text in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 469.

619. Tha'j (or Thāj) was "a village of the Bakr b. Wā'il tribe in the Yamāmah" (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 464, on authority of Abū Mikhnaf). Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v., places it in Baḥrayn, which included the mainland area opposite the island. The

and about how the Tamīmiyyah[620] had joined him and Khālid,[621] al-Farazdaq said:[622]

I marvel at tribesmen whose father was Tamīm,
and the places where their camels kneel are great among the Banu Sa'd.[623]
They were the most powerful of men, before they went
to the Azd, with their beards yellow, and to Mālik.
What do you think of Muṣ'ab, the son of the Apostle [of the Prophet],[624] [801]
when he bares his teeth, not laughing?
We banished Mālik from his lands,[625]
and we put out his eye with short spears.

According to Abū Zayd ['Umar b. Shabbah]—Abū al-Ḥasan ['Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī]—Maslamah: When 'Abd al-Malik returned to Damascus, Muṣ'ab's only concern was al-Baṣrah.[626] He hoped to overtake Khālid there, but he found that the latter had already left and that Ibn Ma'mar had guaranteed the safety of the men, most of whom had stayed, though some of them, fearing Muṣ'ab, had left. Muṣ'ab therefore became angry with Ibn Ma'mar, swore he would never confer favor upon him,

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name survives in a town about 90 miles northwest of Dhahrān in Saudi Arabia. At the time of Mālik's flight, it was under the control of the Khārijite Najdah b. 'Āmir, thus out of the reach of Ibn al-Zubayr (See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 146).

620. *Tamīmiyyah* means "party of Tamīm."

621. The poem can be found in the *Dīwān* of al-Farazdaq (ed. Boucher, 157; ed. Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, II, 57).

622. Al-Farazdaq (Abū Firās Hammām b. Ghālib b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah) was a poet of the Banū Dārim clan of the tribe of Tamīm. He was born in al-Baṣrah ca. 20/641 and died there in 110/738. See *EI*², s.v. al-Farazdak.

623. The Banū Sa'd were a division of the Tamīm.

624. Muṣ'ab's father, al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, was known as *al-Ḥawārī* (from Ethiopic *ḥawaryā*, "apostle") because of his closeness to Muḥammad (first-cousin) and because he had been one of the early converts to Islam who took refuge for a time in Ethiopia to escape persecution. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥawārī.

625. *Dīwān*, "our lands."

626. Cf. parallel in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 470 (on authority of al-Madā'inī): "After allegiance had been sworn to Muṣ'ab, and 'Abd al-Malik had returned to Damascus because of 'Amr al-Ashdaq, Muṣ'ab's only concern was al-Baṣrah." Similarly, in the Abū Mikhnaf account (Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*, 463–464), 'Abd al-Malik's preoccupation with the revolt of 'Amr in Damascus freed Muṣ'ab from worry about the north and allowed him to turn his attention to al-Baṣrah.

and sent a messenger to the Jufriyyah, abusing and rebuking them.

According to Abū Zayd [ʿUmar b. Shabbah]: Al-Madāʾinī and other Baṣran relaters of historical narratives assert that [Muṣʿab] sent for them and they were brought to him. Turning to ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah, he said, "Son of a stray![627] You are nothing but the son of a bitch that the dogs mounted one after another, so that she whelped ruddy, and black, and blond—from each sire a pup resembling it. Your father was nothing but a slave who came to the Messenger of God from the stronghold of al-Ṭāʾif.[628] Then you gave testimony, claiming that Abū Sufyān[629] whored with your mother. By God, if I live, I will indicate your correct ancestry!" Then he summoned Ḥumrān, and said, "Son of a Jewess! You are nothing but a Nabatæan peasant brought as a captive from ʿAyn al-Tamr." Then he said to al-Ḥakam b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd, "Son of a knave! Do you know who you are and who al-Jārūd was? Al-Jārūd was nothing but a peasant on Ibn Kāwān Island,[630] a Persian who crossed over to the [Arabian] coast and
[802] affiliated with the ʿAbd al-Qays. No, by God; I know of no tribe harboring more evil than they. Then he married his sister to al-Mukaʿbir,[631] the Persian, and he never obtained any honor greater than that. These, O son of Qubādh, are her children." Then ʿAbdallāh b. Faḍālah al-Zahrānī was brought. Muṣʿab said, "Are you not descended from the people of Hajar, and then from the people of Samāhīj?[632] By God, I will sent you back to your

627. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1850), 147 [ed. Leiden note].

628. The city of al-Ṭāʾif lies in the mountains about 40 miles southeast of Mecca. See *EI*[1], s.v.; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.

629. Abū Sufyān was the head of the Banū Umayyah during the lifetime of Muḥammad. An opponent of Islam for most of his life, he was not converted until very late. See *EI*[2], s.v.

630. Ibn Kāwān Island is the large island now known as Qeshm, off the coast of Fārs Province, north of the Strait of Hormuz. See *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳishm.

631. In Ṭabarī, I, 985 this nickname is explained as meaning "the Cutter." It was given to one of the agents of the Sasanian monarch Khusraw Anūshirwān (ruled 531–79), the son of Qubādh I (ruled 498 or 499–531), because of his habit of cutting off arms and legs among the Arabs.

632. Hajar was the main city of al-Baḥrayn (but on the Arabian mainland, since al-Baḥrayn in earlier times included the area on the mainland now known as al-Ḥasā); Samāhīj was an island between al-Baḥrayn and the Oman coast. See *EI*[2], s.v. Baḥrayn; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.vv. On the people of Hajar as descended from prostitutes brought from al-Ahwāz and the Sawād, see the story in Ṭabarī, I, 985f.

relatives!" Then ʿAlī b. Aṣmaʿ was brought. Muṣʿab said, "Sometimes a slave of the Banū Tamīm, and sometimes claiming relation to Bāhilah?" Then ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Bishr b. Ḥannāṭ was brought. Muṣʿab said, "Son of a man reviled! Didn't your uncle steal a she-goat during the time of ʿUmar, who ordered him taken to have [his hand] cut off? But, by God, the only person who has been roughly treated is the one who married your sister!" (His sister was married to Muqātil b. Mismaʿ.) Then Abū Hāḍir al-Asadī was brought. Muṣʿab said, "Son of a woman from Iṣṭakhr! What have you to do with the *ashrāf*? You are merely descended from people of Qaṭar, an interloper among the Banū Asad, with not a relative or kinsman among them." Then Ziyād b. ʿAmr was brought. Muṣʿab said, "Son of a man from Kirmān! You are nothing but a peasant from the people of Kirmān. You crossed into Fārs and became a sailor. What do you have to do with fighting? You are more adept at pulling hawsers." Then ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ was brought. Muṣʿab said to him, "Will you say all sorts of things against me, when you are a peasant from the people of Hajar? Your father went to al-Ṭāʾif—they take in anyone who flocks to them and take pride in him. But, by God, I will send you back to those from whom you came originally." Then Shaykh b. al-Nuʿmān was brought. Muṣʿab said, "Son of a knave! You are nothing but a peasant from the people of Zandaward.[633] Your mother ran away, and your father was killed; his [803]
sister was married by a man from the Banū Yashkur and gave birth to two lads, and the two of them incorporated you into their family tree."

Then he beat them a hundred strokes each, shaved their heads and beards, razed their houses, exposed them to the sun three days, forced them to divorce their wives, and kept their children away on expeditions. He paraded the men around al-Baṣrah and made them swear not to marry free women.

Muṣʿab sent Khidāsh b. Yazīd[634] al-Asadī to seek those companions of Khālid who had fled. He overtook Murrah b. Maḥkān[635] and seized him. Murrah said:

633. Zandaward was a town in Iraq near the site of Wāsiṭ (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.).
634. Mss. O, B, and Co read: "b. Marthad."
635. Murrah b. Maḥkān al-Saʿdi was a poet of the Saʿd clan of the tribe of Tamīm. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 402.

Banū Asad, if you kill me, you will make war
with Tamīm, when war, having broken out, spreads rapidly.
Banū Asad, do you have any leniency,
to excuse me if the shoe made me slip?
Let enemies not think that if I become absent from them
and little fire can be elicited from me, my war has abated,
[And that] you will walk the ways safely, Khidāsh,
When the spears have drunk once of my [blood] and drunk again.

But Khidāsh had him brought near and killed him. (Khidāsh was in charge of Muṣʿab's police at the time.) Also, Muṣʿab ordered Sinān b. Dhuhl, one of the Banū ʿAmr b. Marthad, to raze the house of Mālik b. Mismaʿ. Muṣʿab took what was in Mālik's house; among the things he took was a slave girl who bore him ʿUmar b. Muṣʿab.

[ʿAbd al-Malik Attacks Muṣʿab; the Death of Muṣʿab][636]

[804] [Continuing,] he said: Muṣʿab stayed in al-Baṣrah until he went to al-Kūfah. He remained in al-Kūfah until he went out to fight ʿAbd al-Malik. ʿAbd al-Malik encamped at Maskin.[637] ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to the people of Iraq who had been partisans of his father Marwān;[638] all of them responded to him, and as a condition each one asked him for the governorship of Iṣbahān, which he conferred upon all of them. Among them were: Ḥajjār b. Abjar, al-Ghaḍbān b. al-Qabaʿtharā, ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ, Qaṭan b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥārithī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays, Zaḥr

636. Additional material can be found in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 331–355; *Aghānī*, XVII, 161–67; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 323–336.

637. Maskin was a district along the Dujayl canal, north of Baghdad, and west of the Tigris River (Le Strange, *Lands*, 51, 81; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.).

638. Arabic, *al-Marwāniyyah*. *Aghānī*, XVII, 162, preserves a fuller text of al-Madāʾinī's account: "Then ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to the Kūfan and Baṣran *ashrāf*, inviting them to him, and raising their hopes. They responded to him, stipulated conditions for him, and asked for governorships. When forty of them asked for the governorship of Iṣbahān, ʿAbd al-Malik said to his companions in amazement, 'Alas, what is this Iṣbahān?'" One should compare a series of reports in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 232–33, where Iraqi *ashrāf* take the initiative in inviting ʿAbd al-Malik to come to Iraq.

b. Qays, and Muḥammad b. 'Umayr.[639] Muḥammad b. Marwān was in charge of 'Abd al-Malik's vanguard, 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah was in charge of his right wing, and Khālid b. Yazīd was in charge of his left wing. Muṣ'ab, whom the people of al-Kūfah had failed to aid, advanced toward him.

According to 'Urwah b. al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, who said: Muṣ'ab came marching out. He was leaning on the mane of his horse, looking right and left at the men. His eye fell on me. "'Urwah," he said, "come to me." I went over to him. "Tell me about al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī," he said, "how he acted in refusing to submit to the judgment of Ibn Ziyād and in resolving to fight." And he said:[640]

They who are in al-Ṭaff,[641] of the family of Hāshim,
shared their property, and so set the example, to the
generous, of the sharing of property.

[Continuing,] he said: So I knew he would not turn away until he was killed.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Qurrah—Isḥāq b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Farwah—Rajā' b. Ḥaywah, who said: After he had killed 'Amr [805]
b. Sa'īd, 'Abd al-Malik put his hand to the sword and killed those who opposed him. When he decided to go to fight Muṣ'ab, Syria and its people having become his possession, he addressed the people and commanded them to make ready to march against Muṣ'ab. The chiefs of the Syrians came to him one after the other; while not opposing what he wanted to do, they wanted him to remain and send the armies forward: if they won, well and good; if they did not win, he would aid them with the armies; for they feared for the people that if he were killed in his encounter with Muṣ'ab, there would be no king after him.[642]

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639. Ms. Pet adds: "b. 'Uṭārid." From Ṭabarī, II, 806f. and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 341, it appears that these men went over to 'Abd al-Malik during the fighting.

640. The verse is attributed to Sulaymān b. Qattah (*Aghānī*, XVII, 165). It is quoted and translated in Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 87.

641. Karbalā', where al-Ḥusayn was killed, was located in the region known as al-Ṭaff. See note 213 (Ṭabarī, II, 686).

642. An alternate translation: "there would be no kingdom after him."

They said, "O Commander of the Faithful, you should stay where you are and send a man from your family as commander of these armies, dispatching him to fight Muṣʿab." ʿAbd al-Malik said, "This affair can be handled only by a man from Quraysh who has good judgment. I might perchance send someone who has bravery, but not good judgment. But I find in my soul that I am discerning in war, and brave with the sword, if I am forced to use it. Muṣʿab is with[643] a family of bravery. His father was the bravest of Quraysh. He, too, is brave, but he has no knowledge of war and likes ease. With him there are men who will oppose him; with me there men who will give me sincere advice."

So ʿAbd al-Malik went and encamped at Maskin, and Muṣʿab went to Bājumayrā. ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to his supporters among the people of Iraq. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar took ʿAbd al-Malik's letter, sealed and unread, and gave it to Muṣʿab, who asked, "What is in it?" Ibrāhīm replied, "I have not read it." Muṣʿab read it: ʿAbd al-Malik was inviting Ibn al-Ashtar to his side and offering him the governorship of Iraq. Ibn al-Ashtar said to Muṣʿab, "From no one has he had less to hope for than from me. He has written to all your companions as he has written to me. Heed me concerning
[806] them, and cut off their heads!" "Then," said Muṣʿab, "their tribesmen will not be loyal to us." Ibn al-Ashtar said, "Then load them with irons, send them to the White [Palace] of Khusrāw,[644] and imprison them there. Put in charge of them someone who will cut off their heads if you are defeated. If you are victorious, you can bestow them on their tribesmen as a favor." "Abū al-Nuʿmān," said Muṣʿab, "I am too preoccupied to attend to that. God have mercy on Abū Baḥr:[645] as if foreseeing our present plight, he warned me about the treachery of the people of Iraq."

According to ʿUmar [b. Shabbah]—Muḥammad b. Sallām [al-

643. Alternate reading in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 323: "from."

644. The White Palace was the old Sasanian royal residence at al-Madāʾin. It was located about a mile to the north of the Great Ceremonial Hall (*Īwān Kisrā*). See Le Strange, *Lands*, 34; *EI*², s.v. al-Madāʾin.

645. Abū Baḥr is al-Aḥnaf b. Qays. According to Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 324, the leader of the Tamīm in al-Baṣrah accompanied Muṣʿab's army to al-Kūfah, where he died. Cf. the fuller version of al-Aḥnaf's words (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 337–38): "Do not meet any foe while relying on the people of Iraq; for, like a prostitute who wants a new lover every day, they want a new commander every day."

Jumaḥī][646]—ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarī, who said: The people of Iraq intended to betray Muṣʿab. But Qays b. al-Haytham said, "Woe unto you! Do not cause the Syrians to come among you. By God, if they taste your life, they will expropriate your dwellings from you. By God, I have seen the chief of the Syrians at the gate of the caliph, rejoicing if the latter sent him on a mission. I have seen us on summer expeditions, one of us in charge of a thousand camels, while each of their chieftains went raiding on his horse, with his provisions behind him."[647]

[Continuing,] he said: When the two armies drew near to each other at Dayr al-Jāthalīq,[648] in the Maskin district, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar advanced and attacked Muḥammad b. Marwān, making him give way. Then ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān sent out ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, who drew near to Muḥammad b. Marwān. The fighters closed with each other. Muslim b. ʿAmr al-Bāhilī was killed.[649] Also killed were Yaḥyā b. Mubashshir, one of the Banū Thaʿlabah b. Yarbūʿ, and Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar. ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ, who was in charge of the horsemen on the side of Muṣʿab, fled.[650] Then Muṣʿab said to Qaṭan b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥārithī, "Abū ʿUthmān, forward with your horsemen!" "I do not think it advis- [807]
able," he replied. "Why?" said Muṣʿab. Qaṭan said, "I do not want [the tribesmen of] Madhḥij killed for nothing." Then Muṣʿab said to Ḥajjār b. Abjar, "Abū Usayd, forward with your banner!" "Toward this dirty crowd?" he replied. "By God," said Muṣʿab,

646. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Jumaḥī was a literary historian who died in 231/845 or 232 in Baghdad; see *EI*², s.v. Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī.

647. The wealth of Iraq and the poverty of Syria are being compared. Cf. the reading in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 244–45: "I have seen us on summer expeditions; *the provisions of* one of us were on many camels, while one of them [i.e., the Syrians] would go raiding with his provisions behind him [i.e., on the saddle of his own horse]."

648. Dayr al-Jāthalīq means "the monastery of the Catholicos" (the head of the Nestorian Christians). See *EI*², s.v. Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ.

649. He was in charge of Ibn al-Ashtar's right wing. According to *Aghānī*, XVII, 164, and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 341–42, he was carried away wounded and managed to obtain a guarantee of safety for his children from ʿAbd al-Malik before he died. His son, Qutaybah b. Muslim, served the Umayyads loyally and greatly extended Muslim territory in Central Asia.

650. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 338, the flight was intentional. ʿAttāb had sworn allegiance to ʿAbd al-Malik and had promised to betray Muṣʿab. Suspecting treachery, Ibn al-Ashtar asked Muṣʿab not to rely on ʿAttāb, but Muṣʿab disregarded the warning.

"your hesitating to go toward it smells worse and is more vile!" Then he made a similar request of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Qays, who replied, "I do not see that anyone has done it, so that I should do it!" Muṣʿab said, " O Ibrāhīm! And today I have no Ibrāhīm!"

According to Abū Zayd [ʿUmar b. Shabbah]—Muḥammad b. Sallām, who said: When Ibn Khāzim was told of Muṣʿab's going to fight ʿAbd al-Malik, he said, "Is ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar with him?" The response was, "No, he has made him his agent in charge of Fārs." Ibn Khāzim said, "Then is al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah with him?" The response was, "No, he has made him his agent in charge of al-Mawṣil."[651] Ibn Khāzim said, "Then is ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn with him?" The response was, "No, he has made him deputy in charge of al-Baṣrah." Ibn Khāzim then said, "And I am in Khurāsān":

Take me and drag me away, O she-hyena; rejoice
over the flesh of a man whose helper was not present today.

Muṣʿab said to his son, ʿĪsā b. Muṣʿab, "Mount, my son, and ride with your companions to your uncle in Mecca. Tell him what the people of Iraq have done. Leave me, for I am a dead man." His son said, "By God, never will I [go to] tell Quraysh about you. If you wish, go to al-Baṣrah, for they are in a state of unity (*jamāʿah*); or go to join the Commander of the Faithful." Muṣʿab said, "By God, let Quraysh not say that I fled because of what Rabīʿah did when they failed to help, so that I entered the sanctuary of Mecca
[808] in defeat. Rather, I will fight. If I am killed, the sword is no shame, and flight is neither my habit nor my nature. But if you want to go back, go back and fight." So he went back and fought until he was killed.

651. Similarly in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 345. See below (Ṭabarī II, 821), where al-Muhallab receives the news of Muṣʿab's death while he is campaigning against the Khārijites in Khūzistān. One report in Balādhurī states that Muṣʿab wanted al-Muhallab (who was governor of al-Mawṣil) to help fight ʿAbd al-Malik, but the people of al-Baṣrah refused to march unless al-Muhallab were recalled from al-Mawṣil and sent to Khūzistān fight the Khārijites and prevent them from making incursions into Iraq. (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 332, 335–36; *ibid.*, XI, 123–24; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 332.)

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—Yaḥyā b. Ismāʿīl b. Abī al-Muhājir—his father: ʿAbd al-Malik, by way of his brother Muḥammad b. Marwān, sent a message to Muṣʿab, saying, "Your cousin will give you a guarantee of safety." Muṣʿab said, "A man like me leaves this place either victor or vanquished."

According to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAyyāsh—his father, who said: As we were standing with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān during his fight with Muṣʿab, Ziyād b. ʿAmr [al-ʿAtakī][652] came up to him and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, Ismāʿīl b. Ṭalḥah was a good protector[653] to me; rarely did Muṣʿab intend me harm but he warded it from me. If you think it good, grant him safety despite his offense." ʿAbd al-Malik said, "He is safe." Ziyād, who was an extremely large man, went between the two battle lines and shouted, "Where is Abū al-Bakhtarī Ismāʿīl b. Ṭalḥah?" The latter having come forward, Ziyād said, "I want to say something to you." So he drew near until the necks of their horses touched. (Men [going into battle] used to use doubled up garment edges as belts.)[654] Ziyād put his hand into Ismāʿīl's belt and plucked him—he was a thin man—from his saddle. Ismāʿīl said, "Abū al-Mughīrah, I beseech you; this is not loyalty to Muṣʿab." Ziyād said, "I would rather have this than see you slain tomorrow."

After Muṣʿab had refused to accept the guarantee of safety, Muḥammad b. Marwān called to ʿĪsā b. Muṣʿab and said to him, "O son of my brother, do not cause your own death. You have a [809] guarantee of safety." Muṣʿab, too, said to him, "Your uncle has guaranteed your safety; go to him." But he said, "Let the women of Quraysh not say that I delivered you to be slain." "Then go forward before me," said Muṣʿab, "and I will reckon upon obtain-

652. Tribal *nisbah* from Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 341.

653. *Jāru sidqin*, implying faithful carrying out of the obligations of *jiwār* (the granting of protection).

654. The meaning of *bi-al-ḥawāshī al-maḥshuwwah* is unclear. Most likely, a man going into battle gathered up the bottom of his shirt and tucked it under a belt of doubled material. See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 292. Cf. Ṭabarī, II, 629: "Ibn al-Ashtar took the bottom of his tunic (*qabāʾ*), lifted it up, tucked it under a red belt he was wearing made of the edges of cloaks, and tightened the belt over it—he had covered his coat of mail with the tunic." The suggestion of ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. DXVIII, that in the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, "stuffed intestines" were used as belts, seems farfetched.

ing [a reward from God] through you."[655] So he fought before him until he was killed.

Muṣʿab was wounded by an arrow shot. Zāʾidah b. Qudāmah saw him and attacked. Crying "Vengeance for al-Mukhtār," he struck him with a spear, and threw him to the ground. ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ẓabyān dismounted by him and cut off his head, saying, "He killed my brother, al-Nābiʿ b. Ziyād." ʿUbaydallāh brought the head to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, who rewarded him with a thousand dinars. These he refused to take, saying, "I did not kill him out of obedience to you; I killed him to avenge what he did to me. I do not take money for carrying a head." And he left it with ʿAbd al-Malik.[656]

The vendetta that ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ẓabyān mentioned as the reason for his killing Muṣʿab was as follows: In one of his terms as governor, Muṣʿab appointed Muṭarrif b. Sīdān al-Bāhilī, a member of the Banū Jiʾāwah, to be in charge of his police.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madāʾinī and Makhlad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥāḍir: Al-Nābiʿ b. Ziyād b. Ẓabyān and a man of the Banū Numayr were brought to Muṭarrif, after the two had committed highway robbery. Muṭarrif killed al-Nābiʿ, and flogged the Numayrī and released him. Then ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ẓabyān gathered a group of men (this was after Muṣʿab had removed Muṭarrif from al-Baṣrah and set him in charge of al-Ahwāz) and went out to attack Muṭarrif. The two sides met and took their stand with a river between them. Muṭarrif crossed over to ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ẓabyān, and the latter gave him a quick spear thrust and killed him. Muṣʿab then sent Mukram b. Muṭarrif to pursue Ibn Ẓabyān. Mukram went as far as ʿAskar
[810] Mukram,[657] which therefore took its name from him, but did not

655. The expression *aḥtasib-ka*, "I reckon you for myself," is explained by Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 565: "*Iḥtasaba waladahū*...is said when one has lost by death an adult child or son or daughter; meaning 'He prepared, or provided, in store for himself, a reward, by his patience on the occasion of his being afflicted and tried by the death of his adult child.'"

656. Cf. the report in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 333 (repeated 340): "As ʿUbaydallāh placed the head before ʿAbd al-Malik, the latter bowed down. Later, ʿUbaydallāh used to say, 'Never have I regretted anything as much as I regret not having cut off ʿAbd al-Malik's head at that time, thereby giving people relief. I would have killed the two kings of the Arabs in a single day.'" ʿAbd al-Malik's reaction when these words were reported to him is given in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 202.

657. ʿAskar Mukram (the name means Mukram's Camp, but Yāqūt says this

find Ibn Ẕabyān. After his brother had been killed, Ibn Ẕabyān joined ʿAbd al-Malik. Mentioning this, al-Baʿīth al-Yashkurī said after the death of Muṣʿab:[658]

When we saw that the leaders of the enterprise (*amr*) were
spiritless,
and that necks were about to become hindquarters,[659]
We held steadfast to God's command (*amr*), until He should set
matters right;
and we approved of no governor but one from Umayyah.
We killed Muṣʿab and the son of Muṣʿab:
the clansman of Asad[660] and al-Nakhaʿī the Yemenite.[661]
Death's eagle passed by Muslim[662] from us;
it sank its tooth[663] into him, and he was slain.
We made [Muṭarrif] Ibn Sīdān drink an overflowing cup
that satisfied us: the best part of the matter is what gives
satisfaction.

According to Abū Zayd [ʿUmar b. Shabbah]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī], who said: Ibn Ẕabyān passed Muṭarrif's daughter in al-Baṣrah. Someone said to her, "This is the man who killed your father." She said, "For the sake of God, my father [met his death]." But Ibn Ẕabyān said:

Not for the sake of God did your father meet his end,
but for the sake of money.

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alludes to another Mukram) was a city in Khūzistān province, about 35 miles northeast of Ahwāz, where the Dujayl River was joined by the waters of the Masruqān Canal. See *EI*², s.v.; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v., and Le Strange, *Lands*, 237.

658. Verses three and four can be found in *Aghānī*, XVII, 164, where they are attributed to Yazīd b. al-Riqāʿ, the brother of ʿAdī b. al-Riqāʿ, with a note that some attribute them to al-Baʿīth al-Yashkurī.

659. The metaphor is drawn from horsemanship. The leaders of the state are compared to the chest (*ṣadr*, pl. *ṣudūr*) of a spiritless horse that holds its head low and is about to turn tail (i.e., turn its neck in the direction of its hindquarters). Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 314, s.v. *tawālī*.

660. Muṣʿab and his brother ʿAbdallāh were members of the Banū Asad b. ʿAbd-al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy (a clan of Quraysh). See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 254.

661. I.e., Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar al-Nakhaʿī.

662. I.e., Muslim b. ʿAmr al-Bāhilī (*Aghānī*, XVII, 164; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 341–42).

663. Variant in *Aghānī*, XVII, 164: "talon."

[811] After Muṣʿab had been killed, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān summoned the people of Iraq to allegiance, and they swore allegiance to him. Muṣʿab was killed at a canal called al-Dujayl,[664] at Dayr al-Jāthalīq. After he was killed, ʿAbd al-Malik ordered him and his son ʿĪsā to be buried.

According to al-Wāqidī—ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad—Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar—ʿUrwah, who said: When Muṣʿab was killed, ʿAbd al-Malik said, "Bury him: by God, of old there was respect between us and him, but this kingdom is a barren thing."[665]

According to Abū Zayd [ʿUmar b. Shabbah]—Abū Nuʿaym [al-Faḍl b. Dukayn]—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr Abū Abī Aḥmad—ʿAbdallāh b. Sharīk al-ʿĀmirī, who said: As I was standing beside Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, I took a letter out of my tunic for him, and said to him, "This is ʿAbd al-Malik's letter." He said, "[Do] what you want." [Continuing,] he said: Then one of the Syrians came, entered his camp, and took out a slave girl. She shouted, "Alas my humiliation!" Muṣʿab looked at her and then paid no further attention to her.

[Continuing,] he said: Muṣʿab's head was brought to ʿAbd al-Malik. He looked at it and said, "When will Quraysh nourish the like of you?" And two [men] in Medina were talking to Ḥubbā,[666] when someone told them that Muṣʿab had been killed. She said, "May his slayer perish!" Told that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān had killed him, she said, "My father [as ransom] for the slayer and the slain!" [Continuing,] he said: Later, when ʿAbd al-Malik made

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664. The Dujayl Canal left the Euphrates at the village of al-Rabb (north of al-Anbār), watered the districts of Maskin and Qatrabbul, and flowed into the Tigris at Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.

665. "Barren" (*ʿaqīm*) is applied not only to things that bring forth no offspring, and are therefore unprofitable, but also to things that destroy. Thus, in Qurʾān 51:41, the tribe of ʿĀd is destroyed by a wind that is called *ʿaqīm*. Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 2117, quotes this saying of ʿAbd al-Malik, together with the paraphrase given by various Arabic lexicographers, as follows: "Dominion is a condition in which, or in the seeking of which, relationship profits not, nor friendship: for a man will slay his son, if he fear him, and his father, for dominion; or because, in seeking it, the father will be slain, and the son, and the brother, and the paternal uncle; or because, in it, the ties of relationship are severed by slaughter and by undutiful conduct." See also Freytag, II, 685 (Maydānī, II, 222).

666. Ḥubbā al-Madīniyyah was a society woman from Medina. Her home was a gathering place for young men of Quraysh. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 186.

the pilgrimage, Ḥubbā approached him and said, "Did you kill your fellow tribesmen Muṣʿab?" He replied: [812]

Whoever tastes war, finds its taste
bitter, and it leaves him in a rough country.[667]

And Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt said:[668]

A slain man resting at Dayr al-Jāthalīq
has bequeathed shame and humiliation to the two garrison cities.
Bakr b. Wāʾil was not loyal to God,
neither was Tamīm steadfast in the encounter.
Had he been a tribesman of Bakr,[669] there would have gathered round him
squadrons whose ardor rises to the boil and lasts.
But the obligation to defend was neglected; [813]
on that day there was no generous Muḍar tribesman among [the squadrons].
God reward with infamy any Kūfan there
and any Baṣran of them: whoever does what is blameworthy is to be blamed.
Sons [of one father with us, but] of different mothers, they left our backs uncovered,
though we were of pure and genuine stock among them.
If we are destroyed, they will not remain after us;
[only] for someone who possesses honor is there inviolable territory among the Muslims.

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: It has been said that the events I have mentioned—Muṣʿab's death, and the war between him and ʿAbd al-Malik—took place in the year 72, and that the affair of Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd and his going to al-

667. The verse is by the pre-Islamic poet Abū Qays b. al-Aslat and is quoted in *Aghānī*, XV, 160, 161. For "leaves him," the variants "imprisons him," and "makes him kneel down," are recorded.

668. Lines of this elegy for Muṣʿab are quoted in various other sources; cf. *Aghānī*, XVII, 165; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 342; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 319; *Dīwān*, 300ff.

669. For "a Bakrī," the version quoted in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v. Dayr al-Jāthalīq, reads, "with Qays"; another version reads, "a Qaysī" [ed. Leiden note].

Baṣrah on behalf of ʿAbd al-Malik took place in 71.[670] Muṣʿab was killed in [the month of] Jumādā II.[671]

[ʿAbd al-Malik Enters al-Kūfah]

According to al-Wāqidī, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān entered al-Kūfah this year and distributed the districts[672] of Iraq and the garrison cities of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah among his financial agents. However, Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madāʾinī] mentions that this took place in the year 72.

According to ʿUmar [b. Shabbah]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī], who said: Muṣʿab was killed on Tuesday, the thirteenth day of Jumādā I or II, of the year 72.[673]

[814] When ʿAbd al-Malik came to al-Kūfah, according to what has been mentioned, he encamped at al-Nukhaylah. Then he called on the people to swear allegiance. Quḍāʿah[674] came. When he saw a small number, ʿAbd al-Malik said, "People of Quḍāʿah, how did you remain safe from Muḍar, in spite of your small number?" ʿAbdallāh b. Yaʿlā al-Nahdī said, "We are stronger than they and more able to defend ourselves." "By means of whom?" he asked. "By means of those of us who are on your side, Commander of the Faithful," he replied. Then Madhḥij and Hamdān[675] came. ʿAbd al-Malik said, "With these men there, I think no one will accomplish anything in al-Kūfah." Then Juʿfī[676] came. When ʿAbd al-Malik looked at them, he said, "People of Juʿfī, you have covered and hidden the son of one of your tribeswomen." [He

670. This is the chronology of al-Madāʾinī and of Abū Mikhnaf. See *Aghānī*, XVII, 161 [al-Madāʾinī], and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 26 [Abū Mikhnaf].

671. Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 134, gives reasons for preferring 72. Jumādā II of 72 began on October 30, 691. Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 319, reads: "on Thursday, the middle day of Jumādā I, 72."

672. *Aʿmāl*, pl. of *ʿamal*, "units of fiscal administration for collecting taxes" (Morony, *Iraq*, 528).

673. 13 Jumādā I corresponds to October 12, 691; 13 Jumādā II corresponds to November 11, 691. There is a problem in that neither date fell on a Tuesday, according to the Wüstenfeld-Mahler tables.

674. Quḍāʿah [of which the Banū Kalb were the most prominent subdivision] was usually placed among the Yemeni tribes, although some genealogists placed it among the northern tribes. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳuḍāʿa.

675. Madhḥij and Hamdān were both Yemeni tribes; see *EI*², s.vv.

676. Juʿfī was a Yemeni tribe related to Hamdān or to Madhḥij [*Lisān*].

meant Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ.) They said, "Yes." "Hand him over," he said. "When he is safe!" they said. "And you make conditions, too?" he said. One of them said, "By God, it is not out of ignorance of your right that we make conditions; rather, we presume upon you as a child presumes upon his father." "By God," he said, "how excellent a tribe you are! Truly, you have been skilled horsemen in pre-Islamic times and in Islam. He is safe." They brought him. (His *kunyah* was Abū Ayyūb.) Looking at him, ʿAbd al-Malik said, "Abū Qabīḥ![677] Having thrown off allegiance to me, with what face will you look toward your Lord?" "With the face He created," he said, and swore allegiance. Then he turned to go. Looking at the back of his head, ʿAbd al-Malik said, "What a man he is! What a knower he is!" (He meant of the Arabic language.)[678]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—al-Qāsim b. Maʿn and other(s)—Maʿbad b. Khālid al-Jadalī, who said: Then we tribesmen of ʿAdwān[679] came forward to him. [Continuing,] he said: We put forward a handsome, comely man, and I remained in the rear. (Maʿbad was ugly.) ʿAbd al-Malik said, "Who [are they]?" The scribe said, "ʿAdwān." ʿAbd al-Malik said:[680]

Bring an excuse for the tribe ʿAdwān: [815]
they were the serpents of the earth,[681]
But they acted wrongfully against each other
and were not regardful of each other.[682]

677. As a nickname, "Abū Qabīḥ" means "man with an ugly [face]," or, "doer of an ugly [deed]."

678. For the expression *ibn zawmalah*, "one who is knowledgeable, expert in a matter," see ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CCLXXIX. *Addenda*, p. DCLXXIV, indicates that one should read *ʿarabiyyah* (Arabic language), rather than *gharībah* (strange, i.e., a knower of strange things). If one accepts the emendation, this is one of the earliest examples of the the word *ʿarabiyyah* in this sense. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 353, and note.

679. The tribal genealogy is ʿAdwān b. ʿAmr b. Qays ʿAylān b. Muḍar (*Lisān*).

680. The verses are by the poet Dhū al-Iṣbaʿ al-ʿAdwānī. See *Aghānī*, III, 2, 4; and F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 297f.

681. "Serpents of the earth," meaning "cunning, guileful, malignant, or mischievous, and strong, not neglecting to take blood-revenge." See Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 1986, where the first two lines of the poem are explained.

682. The tribe of ʿAdwān was rent by internal wars in which Dhū al-Iṣbaʿ took part. In the *Aghānī* version, the next verse, not quoted by ʿAbd al-Malik, is: "So they became subjects of talk, with [people] raising and lowering their voices."

Of them were chieftains
and those who fully repay actions.[683]

Then he went up to the handsome man and said, "Go on!" "I don't know," he replied. So I said from behind him:

And of them is an arbiter who decrees,
and what he decrees is not annulled.
And of them are those who give the pilgrimage the signal to proceed,[684]
according to custom and obligation.
From the time they are born, they grow up
with the best of pure lineage.[685]

[Continuing,] he said: Leaving me, ʿAbd al-Malik turned to the handsome man and said, "Who is it [who composed the lines]?" "I don't know," he said. So I said from behind him, "Dhū al-Iṣbaʿ!" [Continuing,] he said: Turning to the handsome man, ʿAbd al-Malik said, "And why was he called Dhū al-Iṣbaʿ?"[686] "I don't know," he said. So I said from behind him, "Because a snake bit his toe and he cut it off."[687] Then he turned to the handsome man and said, "What was his [real] name?" "I don't know," he said. So I said from behind him, "Ḥurthān b. al-Ḥārith!" Then ʿAbd al-Malik turned to the handsome man and said, "From which [clan] of you was he?" "I don't know," he said. So I said from behind him, "Banū Nājī!" ʿAbd al-Malik said:

683. *Qarḍ*, literally "loan," is to be taken here in the figurative sense of any good or bad act for which men reward or requite each other. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VII, 2516, and *Lisān*, s.v.

684. The line is explained in *Aghānī*, III, 4: "Giving permission, or a signal, for the pilgrimage to pass on [from ʿArafāt] belonged to the tribe of Khuzāʿah; but then the tribe of ʿAdwān took it from them, and it came into the hands of one of their tribesmen called Abū Sayyārah, of the Banū Wābish b. Zayd b. ʿAdwān.... Abū Sayyārah used to give the pilgrims the signal to proceed by going in front of them on his donkey, and addressing them...."

685. The *Aghānī* and Mss. C and Pet give a different text: "When they beget, they produce noble sons, with the best of pure lineage."

686. *Dhū al-Iṣbaʿ* means "the man with the finger, or toe."

687. The text in *Aghānī* reads, "and it [i.e., the toe or finger] dried up."

Away with the Banū Nājī and your creating discord among
them![688]
and do not make your eyes follow what is perishing.
Whenever I say a kind word, to create harmony among them, [816]
Wuhayb says, "I will not make peace with that one."
So he became like the back of an ass, his hump cut off;
the children surround him, humpbacked, kneeling.[689]

Then he turned to the handsome man and said, "How much is your military stipend (*'aṭā'*)?" "Seven hundred [dirhams]," he said. 'Abd al-Malik said to me, "At how much are you?" "Three hundred," I said. Turning to the two scribes, he said, "Deduct four hundred from this one's stipend and add it to this one's." So I came back at a stipend of seven hundred, and he at three hundred!

Then Kindah[690] came. 'Abd al-Malik looked at 'Abdallāh b. Isḥāq b. al-Ash'ath and commended him to his brother Bishr [b. Marwān], saying, "Make him one of your companions." Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham came with two hundred tribesmen from Bakr b. Wā'il, wearing Davidic tunics (after his name).[691] He sat down with 'Abd al-Malik on his couch,[692] and 'Abd al-Malik turned to him. Then he arose, and they arose with him. Following them with his gaze, 'Abd al-Malik said, "Those evildoers! By God, had their leader not come to me, not one of them would have given me obedience."

Then, as some have said, he put Qaṭan b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥārithī in charge of al-Kūfah for forty days; then he removed him and appointed Bishr b. Marwān. 'Abd al-Malik ascended the pulpit of al-Kūfah and preached, saying: "If 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr were

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688. Alternate reading: "As for the Banū Nājī, do not mention them . . ." (*Aghānī*, III, 3).

689. *Aghānī*: "So he became like the back of a stallion; he goes slowly toward the enemy, humpbacked, kneeling."

690. Kindah was a tribal group of South Arabian origins that had led a powerful confederation in pre-Islamic times. The grandfather of the 'Abdallāh mentioned here was the Kindi chief al-Ash'ath b. Qays, who had led his tribe's delegation to Medina to accept Islam and had later fought at Ṣiffīn on the side of 'Alī. See *EI*², s.v. Kinda.

691. *Aqbiyah* (pl. of *qabā'*) *dāwūdiyyah*, i.e., chain mail: according to Qur'ān 343:10–11, David was the inventor of mailed coats.

692. *Sarīr* is also used for a throne.

a caliph, as he asserts, he would come out and share his substance equally [with his supporters];[693] he would not plant his tail[694] in the sanctuary of Mecca." Then he said, "I have appointed Bishr b. Marwān your governor, and have commanded him to deal well with those who are obedient, but severely with those who dis-
[817] obey. Heed him and obey." He appointed Muḥammad b. ʿUmayr as his governor (*ʿāmil*) in charge of Hamadhān, and Yazīd b. Ruwaym in charge of al-Rayy.[695] He distributed governors, but he did not keep his promise to anyone who had imposed upon him as a condition the governorship (*wilāyah*) of Iṣbahān. Then he said, "Bring me those evildoers who spoiled Syria and corrupted Iraq." Someone said, "The heads of their tribes have granted them protection." "Does anyone," he replied, "grant protection against me?" Now ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Asad had taken refuge with ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, with whom Yaḥyā b. Maʿyūf al-Hamdānī had also taken refuge. Al-Hudhayl b. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith and ʿAmr b. Yazīd al-Ḥakamī took refuge with Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah. ʿAbd al-Malik guaranteed their safety, and they came out of hinding.

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah and Ḥumrān b. Abān contended with each other for leadership (*riyāsah*) in al-Baṣrah.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī], who said: When al-Muṣʿab was killed, Ḥumrān b. Abān and ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah arose and contended with each other for the governance (*wilāyah*) of al-Baṣrah. Ibn Abī Bakrah said, "I am wealthier than you: I expended [my wealth]

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693. *Āsā bi-nafsihī*, "share equally with himself," i.e., he would share the lot of his supporters. The words "with his supporters," are supplied from Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 29f. Cf. the words of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr's son refusing to flee to save himself: "What a bad son I should be if I did not make myself share equally with you, so that what befalls you will befall me." (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 74).

694. The metaphor is taken from the locust, which inserts its tail into the ground to lay its eggs. The expression means "to remain fixed in a place" (Lane, *Lexicon*, VI, 2246).

695. Hamadhān and Rayy are both in Jibāl province. Hamadhān is the modern Hamadān; Rayy is only a few miles from modern Tehran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 215–17. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 354, argues that *Ḥawshab b.* Yazīd b. Ruwaym must have been appointed governor of Rayy, since Yazīd was killed before the death of Muṣʿab.

for Khālid's forces at the battle of al-Jufrah." Someone said to Ḥumrān, "You lack strength against Ibn Abī Bakrah. Seek help from ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ahtam; if he helps you, Ibn Abī Bakrah will not have strength against you." Ḥumrān did so, and prevailed over al-Baṣrah, with Ibn al-Ahtam in charge of its police. Ḥumrān had standing in the eyes of the Banū Umayyah.

According to Abū Zayd [ʿUmar b. Shabbah]—Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl, who said: A man spoke to me and said that a bedouin Arab shaykh arrived and, seeing Ḥumrān, asked, "Who is that?" They said, "Ḥumrān." He said, "I once saw him when his cloak[696] had slipped from his shoulder, and Marwān and Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ hastened to him, each striving to be the first to straighten it."

According to Abū Zayd [ʿUmar b. Shabbah]—Abū ʿĀṣim [al-Nabīl], who said: I told this to one of the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir, and he said, "My father told me that Ḥumrān put out his [818]
leg, and Muʿāwiyah and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir each strove to be first to massage it."

[Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh Becomes Governor of al-Baṣrah]

In this year, ʿAbd al-Malik sent Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh as governor of al-Baṣrah.

According to ʿUmar [b. Shabbah]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī], who said: Ḥumrān remained in charge of al-Baṣrah a short while. Ibn Abī Bakrah left and went to ʿAbd al-Malik in al-Kūfah after the death of Muṣʿab. Then ʿAbd al-Malik appointed Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd to be in charge of al-Baṣrah and its fiscal districts. Khālid sent ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah as his deputy in charge of al-Baṣrah. When ʿUbaydallāh came to Ḥumrān, the latter said, "Have you come? Would that you had not come!" So Ibn Abī Bakrah was in charge of al-Baṣrah until Khālid arrived.

According to what al-Wāqidī asserts, ʿAbd al-Malik returned to Syria this year.

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696. *Ridāʾ*, a single piece of cloth worn draped over the shoulders (Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1072).

[Ibn al-Zubayr's Governors during This Year]

[Continuing,] he said: In [this year], Ibn al-Zubayr removed Jābir b. al-Aswad b. ʿAwf from Medina and made Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAwf his governor there.

[Continuing,] he said: Ṭalḥah was Ibn al-Zubayr's last governor of Medina. [He remained] until Ṭāriq b. ʿAmr, ʿUthmān's *mawlā*, arrived there. Ṭalḥah then fled, and Ṭāriq stayed in Medina until ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to him [confirming him as governor].

[The Pilgrimage]

According to al-Wāqidī, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr led the pilgrimage this year.

[Ibn al-Zubayr's Sermon after the Death of Muṣʿab][697]

According to Abū Zayd [ʿUmar b. Shabbah]—Abū Ghassān Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—Muṣʿab b. ʿUthmān, who said: When news of Muṣʿab's death reached ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, he arose among the people and said: "Praise be to God! His are the creation and the command.[698] He gives the kingdom to whom He will, and withdraws the kingdom from whom He will; He exalts whom
[819] He will, and abases whom He will.[699] Verily, God does not abase him on whose side is the right, though he were but a single man; neither does He exalt him whose friend is Satan and his party, though all mankind were on his side. Truly, there has come to us from Iraq a report that has both saddened us and made us rejoice. The death of Muṣʿab—God's mercy upon him!—has been reported to us. What caused us to rejoice was our knowledge that his death was a testimony[700] on his behalf. What saddened us was

697. Parallel accounts can be found in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 347–48, and *Aghānī*, XVII, 166. Both accounts note that Ibn al-Zubayr refrained from mentioning his brother's death for several days after it had become common knowledge in Mecca, and that when he finally spoke, deep emotion was visible on his face.

698. Qur'ān 7:54.

699. Cf. ibid., 3:26.

700. *Shahādah*, which also means "martyrdom."

the fact that separation from a beloved kinsman brings a pang of grief that the lover feels at the time of affliction. Afterwards, however, the man of judgment turns to a fitting patience and noble endurance. If I have been afflicted by the death of Muṣʿab, I have been afflicted by that of al-Zubayr previously; neither am I free of affliction in regard to ʿUthmān. Muṣʿab was only one servant among God's servants, one helper among my helpers. Verily, the people of Iraq, people of treachery and hypocrisy, handed him over and sold him for a very low price. If he has been slain, we, by God, do not die in our beds[701] like the sons of Abū al-ʿĀṣ, none of whom died in war either in pre-Islamic times or in Islam. We die a sudden death by spears or under the shadow of swords. The present world is but a loan from the Supreme King, whose authority does not pass away, and whose dominion does not perish. If it turns its face toward me, I do not take it like a man whose head is turned and who exults immoderately; if it turns its back, I do not weep over it like an abject man confounded by fear. I say this, and ask God's forgiveness for myself and for you."

[ʿAbd al-Malik's Banquet at al-Khawarnaq]

[ʿUmar b. Shabbah] also mentions that ʿAbd al-Malik, having killed Muṣʿab and entered al-Kūfah, ordered a great deal of food [820] prepared and brought to al-Khawarnaq,[702] and issued a general invitation. So the people entered and took their seats. When ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī[703] entered, ʿAbd al-Malik said, "Come to me, and sit on my couch." And he seated him with him. Then he said, "What food that you have eaten do you like best and think most delicious?" "Roast young kid," he said, "nicely sea-

701. Cf. the vivid touch added in the version given in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 348: "We do not die in our beds of indigestion (*ḥabajan*)." The unusual word refers to the fatal indigestion camels suffer when they graze too much on a certain plant, and alludes to the gluttony and hedonism of the Banū Marwān. Cf. ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXXIV.

702. See note 466.

703. He had been Muṣʿab's deputy for al-Kūfah while Muṣʿab was fighting at Maskin. He had apparently gone over to ʿAbd al-Malik under the influence of his letters. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 351.

soned and well cooked." "That's nothing!" said ʿAbd al-Malik. "What do you think of a suckling lamb, carefully scalded and well cooked, [so tender that when] you pull its hind leg toward you, you make its front leg follow, one that has been nourished on equal parts of milk and butter?" The tables were brought, and they ate. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān said, "How pleasant our life is! If only anything lasted![704] But, as the ancient poet said:

Everything new, O Umaymah, goes toward decay;
and every man will some day become a has-been.

When he finished eating, ʿAbd al-Malik toured the palace. He said to ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth, "Whose is this house?" and "Who built this house?"[705] ʿAmr told him, and ʿAbd al-Malik said:

Everything new, O Umaymah, goes toward decay;
and every man will some day become a has-been.

Then he went to his sitting place and reclined, saying:

[821] Work with deliberation, for you are mortal;
and toil [only] for yourself, O man.
What was, now that it has past, seems as if it had never been;
and what is seems as if it had already passed away.

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704. A similar conversation on the theme of mutability is reported to have taken place between al-Nuʿmān, the original builder of al-Khawarnaq, and his vizier. One day, al-Nuʿmān, who was a cruel and evil ruler, looked out from his palace at the lush gardens and plentiful waters. He asked his vizier whether he had ever seen such a sight. The vizier replied, "No, if it only were to last!" Surprised, al-Nuʿmān asked, "And what lasts?" "What is in God's presence in the hereafter," replied the vizier. "And how can one obtain it?" asked al-Nuʿmān. "By your leaving the world, worshiping God, and seeking what is His." Al-Nuʿmān, it is said, left his palace and became an ascetic that very night. See Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 177–78. The story is said to have been told to ʿAbd al-Malik's son Hishām at al-Khawarnaq. See *Aghānī*, II, 35–36, where ʿAdī b. Zayd's poem on the *Ubi Sunt?* theme is quoted.

705. Cf. the parallel in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 352, where ʿAbd al-Malik can see the various mansions of al-Kūfah from al-Khawarnaq and asks about them. However, since Arabic *bayt* can mean either a separate house or a chamber within a larger building (Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 280), he may have been asking about who added various rooms to the palace. Cf. the report in Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 178 (on the authority of al-Haytham b. ʿAdī), that any governor who came to al-Kūfah would expand or renovate the palace of al-Khawarnaq. In Balādhurī, ʿAbd al-Malik apparently asks about both subjects.

According to al-Wāqidī, ʿAbd al-Malik conquered Qaysāriyyah[706] in this year.

706. Qaysāriyyah (Caesarea) is about 25 miles south of Haifa on the Mediterranean coast. Umayyad preoccupation with Ibn al-Zubayr had given the Byzantines an opportunity to attack and damage Qaysāriyyah and ʿAsqalān. Once secure in power, ʿAbd al-Malik rebuilt and fortified the two places, along with other coastal points such as Acre and Tyre. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳaysāriyya; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 143.

The Events of the Year 72

(JUNE 4, 691–MAY 22, 692)

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: Among these events were those involving the Khārijites and those involving al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd.

[ʿAbd al-Malik and the Khārijites]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥaṣīrah b. ʿAbdallāh [b. al-Ḥārith al-Azdī] and Abū Zuhayr [al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ] al-ʿAbsī: After eight months of extremely hard fighting between the Azāriqah and al-Muhallab at Sūlāf, it was reported to them that Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr had been killed. The news reached the Khārijites before it reached al-Muhallab and his forces. The Khārijites therefore called to them, saying, "Will you not tell us what you say about Muṣʿab?" They replied, "An imām of right guidance!" The Khārijites said, "Then he is your friend in the present world and the world to come?" "Yes," they replied. The Khārijites said, "And you are his friends while you are alive and when you are dead?" They replied, "And we are his friends alive and dead." The Khārijites said, "Then what do you say about

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān?" "He is the son of the Accursed One," they replied. "We are quit of him, leaving him to God. In our sight, shedding his blood is more licit than shedding yours." The Khārijites said, "Then you are quit of him in the present world and the world to come?" "Yes," they replied, "just as we are quit of you." The Khārijites said, "And you are his enemies while you are alive and when you are dead?" "Yes," they said, "we are enemies of him, even as we are enemies of you." The Khārijites said, "Your imām Muṣʿab has been killed by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, and we think that tomorrow you will make ʿAbd al-Malik your imām, although now you declare yourselves quit of him and curse his father." "You lie," they said, "you enemies of God!" [822]

On the morrow, when the death of Muṣʿab became evident to them, al-Muhallab had the men swear allegiance to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. The Khārijites then came to them and said, "What say you about Muṣʿab?" "You enemies of God," they said, "we will not tell you what we say about him." For they did not want to give the lie to themselves before them. The Khārijites said, "You told us yesterday that he was your friend in the present world and the world to come, and that you were his friends alive and dead. Then tell us what you say about ʿAbd al-Malik." "He is our imām and caliph," they said, for having sworn allegiance to him, they found no way to avoid saying this. The Azāriqah said, "Enemies of God! Yesterday you were asserting that you were quit of him in the present world and the world to come and claimed that you were his enemies alive and dead, and today he is your imām and caliph! Now that your imām whom you used to declare your friend has been killed, which of the two is the legitimate one? Which is the rightly guided one, and which is the one that strays?" "You enemies of God," they said, "we were satisfied with the former, while he was the manager of our affairs; and we are satisfied with the latter, even as we were with the former." The Khārijites said, "No, by God; but you are brothers of the devils, friends of the evildoers, and slaves of the present world."

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān sent Bishr b. Marwān to be in charge of al-Kūfah and Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd to be in charge of al-Baṣrah. When Khālid arrived, he established al-Muhallab in charge of the taxes (*kharāj*) and special revenue (*maʿūnah*) of al-

Ahwāz,[707] and sent ʿĀmir b. Mismaʿ to be in charge of Sābūr, Muqātil b. Mismaʿ to be in charge of Ardashīr Khurrah,[708] Mismaʿ b. Mālik b. Mismaʿ to be in charge of Fasā and Darābjird,[709] and al-Mughīrah b. al-Muhallab to be in charge of Iṣṭakhr.

Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh sent to Muqātil and dispatched him with an army to the area of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [b. ʿAbdallāh]. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz went out seeking the Azāriqah. The latter descended upon him from the direction of Kirmān, until they reached Darābjird, and
[823] he traveled toward them. Qaṭarī [b. al-Fujāʾah] sent nine hundred horsemen with Ṣāliḥ b. Mikhrāq, who marched with them until he met ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who was traveling with his men by night, not in battle array, and put the men to flight. Muqātil b. Mismaʿ dismounted and fought until he was killed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh fled, and his wife, the daughter of al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd, was taken. She was offered to the highest bidder, and her price reached one hundred thousand [dirhams], for she was beautiful. One of her kinsmen, a Khārijite leader named Abū al-Ḥadīd al-Shannī, feeling that his honor was at stake, said, "Step aside! So I see this idolatress[710] has indeed tempted you." And he beheaded her. People claim that he then went to al-Baṣrah and was seen by the family of al-Mundhir, who said, "By God, we do not know whether we should praise you or blame you." He used to say, "I did it only out of zeal and indignation."

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz made his way to Rāmhurmuz.[711] Someone went and informed al-Muhallab about him, and the latter sent one of

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707. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 342: "When Khālid arrived [in al-Baṣrah], al-Muhallab was fighting the Azāriqah. [Khālid] put him in charge of the taxes and special revenues of al-Ahwāz, and sent his own brother, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh, to fight the Khārijites; and [Khālid] sent Muqātil b. Mismaʿ with him." The motive behind Khālid's decision to take matters into his own hands is not clear; it may have been personal jealousy of al-Muhallab (Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 176).

708. Ardashīr Khurrah (Shīrāz was later its chief town) was one of the five districts into which the province of Fārs was divided. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 248.

709. Darābjird was the chief town of the southeastern district of Fārs, to which it gave its name. Fasā lay about 30 miles west of Darābjird.

710. *Mushrikah*, literally, "[woman] who associates [other beings with God]," hence a polytheist or idolater, one outside the Islamic community. There may be an allusion to Qur'ān 2:221, "Do not marry idolatresses."

711. Rāmhurmuz lay in Khūzistān province, about 70 miles (three days' march) east of Ahwāz. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 243, 247.

the shaykhs from among his tribesmen,[712] a horseman of his, to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, saying, "Go to him; if he has retreated in defeat, console him, and tell him he has done nothing that men before him have not done. Tell him that the armies will soon reach him, and that God will strengthen and help him." The man came and found ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz encamped with about thirty men,[713] downcast and sad. The Azdī greeted him, informed him that he was al-Muhallab's messenger, told him what he had been commanded to say, and proposed that he mention to him whatever need he had. Then he returned to al-Muhallab and told him the news. Al-Muhallab said to him, "Go now to Khālid in al-Baṣrah, and tell [824] him the news." "Am I to go to him," he said, "and tell him that his brother has been routed? By God, I will not!" Al-Muhallab said, "By God, no one but you shall go to him: you were the one who saw him face to face, and you were my messenger to him." The man said, "Then he will guide you, O Muhallab, if he goes to him this year and then departs."[714] Al-Muhallab said, "As for you, by God, you feel safe from me; but, by God, if you were with anyone else, and he sent you on a march, you would leave in a hurry!" The man turned to him and said, "You think you are doing us a favor by your forbearance! By God, we more than repay you! Do you not know that we expose ourselves to death on your behalf and protect you from your enemies? By God, if we were with someone who behaved foolishly[715] toward us and sent us to march off on his affairs, and then needed our fighting and aid, we would put him between ourselves and our enemy and protect ourselves by means of him." Al-Muhallab said, "You are right; you are right." Then he called a young man from Azd who was with him, and sent him to tell Khālid the news about his brother. The young Azdī tribesman came to Khālid, who was surrounded by men and who was wearing a green coat (*jubbah*) and a green

712. As mentioned below, the man was from the tribe of Azd.

713. Mss. O, B, and Co: horsemen.

714. The meaning is not clear, and there are a number of textual variants. The word translated, "he will guide you," can, with a change of vowels, mean "he will bestow a gift on you." For, "if he goes," Ms. O reads, "if you go."

715. *Yajhalu*, from *jahila*, to be ignorant, behave with foolishness (*jahl*), is the opposite of behaving with forbearance (*ḥilm*), and implies roughness, even violent disregard for the right.

bordered shawl (*miṭraf*), and greeted him. Khālid returned the greeting and asked, "What has brought you?" "May God make you prosper!" he said. "Al-Muhallab has sent me to report to you what I have seen with my own eyes." "And what have you seen?" asked Khālid. "I saw ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz at Rāmhurmuz," he said, "defeated." "You are lying," said Khālid. "No," he said, "by God, I have not lied or said anything but the truth to you. If I am a liar, take my life; but if I am telling the truth, give me—God make you prosper!—your coat and scarf!" Khālid said, "Alas! What an easy thing you have asked! You have contented yourself, despite
[825] the great stake if you are lying, with a small stake, if you are telling the truth." Khālid imprisoned him, but ordered him to be treated well; finally, it became clear to him that the men had been defeated. Khālid then wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik, as follows:

> To proceed: I am informing the Commander of the Faithful—may God grant him honor!—that I sent ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh to seek the Khārijites. They met him in Fārs. The two sides fought very hard, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was defeated when the men abandoned him. Muqātil b. Mismaʿ was killed, and the remnants of the army went to al-Ahwāz. I have wanted to inform the Commander of the Faithful about this, that I may receive his opinion and command, and may make myself subject to it, God willing. Peace be with you, and the mercy of God!

ʿAbd al-Malik then wrote to him:

> To proceed: Your messenger has brought your letter in which you inform me of your having sent your brother to fight the Khārijites and of the defeat of those who were defeated and the death of those who were killed. I asked your messenger where al-Muhallab was, and he told me that he was your agent in charge of al-Ahwāz. What bad judgment it is when you send your brother, a rustic[716] from the people of Mecca, to fight, and retain by your

716. *Aʿrābī*, usually means bedouin, as opposed to sedentary, but as ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. CCCLV, notes, it is often used abusively ("rustic"). Cf. Ṭabarī, II, 590: *mā ahlu Makkata illā aʿrāb* ("The people of Mecca are nothing but rustics").

side, collecting taxes, al-Muhallab, who is fortunate in judgment, good in management, skillful and experienced in war—a man of war, and the son of men of war! See that he[717] hastens with the men, so that you meet them in al-Ahwāz and beyond al-Ahwāz. I have sent to Bishr to have him reinforce you with an army of Kūfans. When you encounter your enemy, deal with them according to no plan until you take it to al-Muhallab and consult him about it, God willing. Peace be with you, and the mercy of God!

Khālid was distressed that ʿAbd al-Malik had faulted his judgment in sending his brother and neglecting al-Muhallab, and that, not approving of his independent judgment, he had said, "Submit it to al-Muhallab and ask his advice about it." [826]

ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to Bishr b. Marwān:

To proceed: I have written to Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh commanding him to hasten toward the Khārijites. Dispatch five thousand men to him, and send as their commander one of your men that you approve of. When they have completed this campaign of theirs, you are to send them off to al-Rayy to fight their enemies, man their frontier garrisons (*masāliḥ*), and collect their tribute (*fayʾ*), until their tour of duty ends and you recall them and send others in their place.

Bishr ordered the Kūfans to furnish five thousand troops and sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath in command of them, saying, "When you complete this campaign of yours, go to al-Rayy." And he wrote him a writ of appointment for the place.

Khālid led out the Baṣrans and arrived in al-Ahwāz; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad came with the Kūfan contingent and met them in al-Ahwāz. The Azāriqah approached the city of al-Ahwāz and the camp of the troops. Al-Muhallab said to Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh, "I see many boats here. Gather them for yourself, for I think

717. The Leiden editor suggests amending to "you," to maintain consistency of pronouns, but this shift of persons is not uncommon.

the enemy will surely burn them." Indeed, it was only a short time before a group of Khārijite horsemen quickly advanced toward them and burned them. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh sent al-Muhallab to command his right wing, and Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham of the Banū Qays b. Thaʿlabah to command his left wing. Passing by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, who had not dug a trench, al-Muhallab said to him, "Brother, what is preventing you from digging a trench?" "By God," he replied, "they are more insignificant to me than a camel's fart!"[718] [Al-Muhallab] said, "Do not think them insignificant, son of my brother; they are the beasts of prey of the
[827] Arabs. I will not leave until you make a trench for yourself." He did so. When the Khārijites learned of what ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad had said about them, that they were "more insignificant to him than a camel's fart," their poet said:

O seeker of the right, do not be lured[719] by hope:
separating you from what you desire is the limit of the term [of your life].
Work on behalf of your Lord, and ask Him for His reward;
know that the fear of Him is the best deed.
Attack the effeminate ones who caparison themselves in mail of Median steel,
that they may be saluted tomorrow morning with a camel's fart.

They remained encamped for about twenty nights. Then Khālid advanced his men toward the enemy. The latter, seeing something that frightened them—the number of men and their state of preparation—started to withdraw. Khālid's men became emboldened against them: the horsemen charged them, and he advanced toward them. The enemy withdrew, as if on the defensive, turning away, and thinking they did not have strength to fight the entire force. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh had Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham follow them with an army of Baṣrans. Khālid returned to al-Baṣrah, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad went to al-Rayy, and al-Muhallab remained in al-Ahwāz. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik:

718. Proverbial, see Freytag, II, 891 [Maydānī, II, 303–4].
719. The unusual verb *istahwā* recalls Qur'ān 6:71: "Like one lured to bewilderment in the earth by Satans...."

> To proceed: I am informing the Commander of the Faithful—may God make him prosper!—that I went out to fight the Azāriqah, who have turned away from the faith and withdrawn from the governance of the Muslims. We met at the city of al-Ahwāz, hastened toward each other, and fought as hard as men have ever fought. Then God sent down His help upon the believers and Muslims and made His enemies retreat. The Muslims followed them, killing them, while the enemy could neither prevent it nor find safety. God made what was in their camp [828] booty (*fay'*) for the Muslims. Then I made Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham follow them. If God so wills, He will destroy them and uproot them. Peace be with you!

When this letter reached 'Abd al-Malik, he wrote to Bishr b. Marwān:

> To proceed: Send from you a brave man skilled in war, with four thousand horsemen, and let them go to Fārs in search of the renegades; for Khālid has written to me, informing me that he has sent Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham to seek them. Command the man you send not to disobey Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham, if the two of them meet, for the disagreement of men among themselves is help to the enemy against them. Peace be with you!

Bishr b. Marwān sent 'Attāb b. Warqā' with four thousand Kūfan horsemen. They went out, met Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham in the territory of Fārs, and followed in pursuit of the enemy, until the horses of most of the men perished, and they themselves were overcome by fatigue and hunger. The bulk of the two armies returned on foot to al-Ahwāz.

Concerning the defeat of 'Abd al-'Azīz and his abandonment of his wife, Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt of the Banū Makhzūm said:[720]

'Abd al-'Azīz, you disgraced your entire army,
and left them lying on every road:

720. *Dīwān* (ed. Rhodokanakis), 293–94.

Either dying of thirst,
or cut to pieces and slain among the men.
Why didn't you remain steadfast, fighting beside the martyr,
Muqātil [b. Misma'][721]
For you came back, your strength undone, in the evening;
[829] You left your army with no commander over them
(return with lasting shame in life!);
And you forgot your wife, when she was led away a captive,
making eyes weep as she cried aloud and wailed.

There occurred in this year the rebellion of the Khārijite Abū Fudayk from the Banū Qays b. Tha'labah, who seized al-Baḥrayn and killed Najdah b. 'Āmir al-Ḥanafī.[722] Faced by both the affair of Qaṭarī [b. Fujā'ah's] descent upon al-Ahwāz and the affair of Abū Fudayk, Khālid b. 'Abdallāh sent his brother, Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh, in command of a large army to fight Abū Fudayk. Abū Fudayk, however, defeated him, took a slave girl of his, and made her his own. Umayyah rode one of his horses and reached al-Baṣrah in three days. Khālid wrote to 'Abd al-Malik about his condition and that of the Azāriqah.

[*'Abd al-Malik Sends al-Ḥajjāj to Fight Ibn al-Zubayr*]

In this year, 'Abd al-Malik sent al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf to Mecca to fight 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. The following reason is given for his sending al-Ḥajjāj, rather than someone else, against him:[723] When 'Abd al-Malik was about to return to Syria, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf stood before him and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I dreamed I had taken 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and flayed him; so send me to him and put me in charge of fighting him." 'Abd al-Malik therefore sent him with a large army of Syrians, and he

721. The line plays on the literal meaning of the name Muqātil, "a fighting [person]."

722. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 142ff. for further accounts of the downfall of Najdah and the rise of Abū Fudayk b. Thawr.

723. Cf. the report in Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 319, that while at al-Kūfah, 'Abd al-Malik placed Qudāmah b. Maẓ'ūn in charge of the army sent to attack Ibn al-Zubayr but replaced Qudāmah with al-Ḥajjāj upon his return to Syria.

went and arrived at Mecca. 'Abd al-Malik had written to the Meccans offering a guarantee of safety if they became obedient to him.

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad][724]—Muḥammad b. Sa'd[725]—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Muṣ'ab b. Thābit[726] [830]
—Abū al-Aswad[727]—'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, who said: When Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr was killed, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān sent al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf against Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. Al-Ḥajjāj left with two thousand men from the Syrian army during Jumādā of the year 72.[728] He did not turn toward Medina, but traveled along the Iraq road[729] and encamped at al-Ṭā'if.[730] He kept sending detachments to 'Arafah in the area outside the sacred territory (*ḥaram*);[731] Ibn al-Zubayr also sent a detachment, and the two sides fought there. Ibn al-Zubayr's horsemen were always defeated, while al-Ḥajjāj's horsemen returned victorious. Al-Ḥajjāj then wrote to 'Abd al-Malik, asking his permission to besiege Ibn al-Zubayr and enter the sacred territory against him. He told 'Abd al-Malik that the vehemence of Ibn al-Zubayr's strength had abated and that most of his forces had dispersed, leaving him. He

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724. Al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad b. Abī Usāmah Abū Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, a Baghdadi *muḥaddith* and historian (b. 186/802, d. 282/895), was a pupil of al-Wāqidī and a teacher of al-Ṭabarī. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 160, 300.

725. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Manī' al-Baṣrī al-Zuhrī, called "Kātib al-Wāqidī" ("al-Wāqidī's secretary") was born in al-Baṣrah in 168/784, and died in Baghdad in 230/845. A pupil of al-Wāqidī, his monumental *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* contains biographies of the Prophet, his companions, and their descendants to the year 230. See ibid., I, 300f.

726. Muṣ'ab b. Thābit b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī d. 157/773. See ibid., I, 285.

727. Abū al-Aswad Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nawfal b. al-Aswad al-Asadī, d. 131/748 or 137, was the foster-son of 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr (the brother of 'Abdallāh and Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr). See ibid., I, 248f.

728. In the year 72, Jumādā I began on September 30, and Jumādā II on October 30, 691. The parallel account in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 357, notes that other authorities placed the number of men at 3,000 or 5,000.

729. The pilgrim roads from Iraq to Mecca began at al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah and came together at Dhāt 'Irq. Medina was reached by a branch road going west from the main route. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 83–4.

730. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 257 (from 'Awānah), where 'Abd al-Malik explicitly commands al-Ḥajjāj to avoid any attack that would endanger the Ka'bah; instead, he was to block the roads and starve out Ibn al-Zubayr.

731. Mecca and its immediate environs are a *ḥaram*, sacred territory in which no fighting is permitted. 'Arafah, to which the pilgrims proceed on the 9th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, lies outside the Meccan *ḥaram*. See *EI*², s.v. 'Arafa.

asked ʿAbd al-Malik to reinforce him with men. Al-Ḥajjāj received ʿAbd al-Malik's reply.[732] ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to Ṭāriq b. ʿAmr, commanding him, with the soldiers of the army he had with him, to join al-Ḥajjāj. Ṭāriq marched with five thousand of his men and joined al-Ḥajjāj. Al-Ḥajjāj's arrival in al-Ṭāʾif took place in Shaʿbān of the year 72.[733] At the beginning of Dhū al-Qaʿdah,[734] al-Ḥajjāj left al-Ṭāʾif, encamped at Biʾr Maymūn,[735] and besieged Ibn al-Zubayr. Al-Ḥajjāj led the pilgrimage this year, since Ibn al-Zubayr was besieged.

Ṭāriq [b. ʿAmr's] arrival in Mecca took place on the new moon of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.[736] Al-Ḥajjāj[737] did not circumambulate the Kaʿbah, nor did he go to it in pilgrim's garb (*iḥrām*).[738] He wore a sword, but did not approach women or use perfume until ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr was killed. Ibn al-Zubayr sacrificed camels in Mecca on the day of sacrifice, but neither he nor his companions performed the pilgrimage that year, because they did not stand at ʿArafah.

[831] According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Saʿīd b. Muslim b. Bābak—his father, who said: I made the pilgrimage in the year 72. We came to Mecca and entered it from the upper part of the city. We found the forces of al-Ḥajjāj and Ṭāriq between al-Ḥajūn[739] and Biʾr Maymūn. We circumambulated the Kaʿbah and [went between] Ṣafā and Marwah.[740] Then al-Ḥajjāj led the

732. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 358 (from ʿAwānah), ʿAbd al-Malik at this point told al-Ḥajjāj to do whatever he thought best. Al-Ḥajjāj proceeded to set up a trebuchet and bombard Mecca. Another report in Balādhurī (from Wāqidī) states that the bombardment was halted during the pilgrimage only at the pleading of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar and resumed immediately afterwards (ibid., 360). Ṭabarī's brief account of the siege omits many details to be found in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 358ff.

733. Shaʿbān of 72 began on December 28, 691.

734. Dhū al-Qaʿdah of 72 began on March 25, 692.

735. Yāqūt locates Biʾr Maymūn ("Maymūn's Well") in the higher part of the city of Mecca. There is evidence placing it between the Great Mosque and Minā, on the main road to Iraq. See *EI*², s.v.; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.

736. Dhū al-Ḥijjah of 72 began on April 24, 692.

737. The parallel in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 360, makes it clear that al-Ḥajjāj is meant. The sentence about Ṭarīq's arrival is parenthetical.

738. For a description of the garment worn by pilgrims, see *EI*², s.v. Iḥrām.

739. Al-Ḥajūn is a hill in Mecca where a cemetery was located (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.).

740. After circumambulating the Kaʿbah seven times upon arrival in Mecca,

pilgrimage: I saw him making the station at the hills of ʿArafah, on horseback, wearing a coat of mail and a neck protector.[741] Then he went back. I saw him turn off toward Biʾr Maymūn. He did not circumambulate the Kaʿbah. His men were armed. I saw that they had a great deal of food, and I saw a caravan coming from Syria carrying food: biscuit, barley meal, and flour. I saw that his forces had plenty to eat. We bought biscuit from some of them for a dirham, and it satisfied us—we were a party of three—until we reached al-Juḥfah.[742]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muṣʿab b. Thābit—Nāfiʿ, a *mawlā* of the Banū Asad, who was knowledgeable about the civil strife (*fitnah*) of Ibn al-Zubayr, who said: Ibn al-Zubayr was besieged the night of the new moon of Dhū al-Qaʿdah in the year 72.

[ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim]

In this year, ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to [ʿAbdallāh] Ibn Khāzim al-Sulamī, summoning him to swear allegiance, and assigning him Khurāsān as a means of subsistence (*ṭuʿmah*) for seven years.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad, Yaḥyā b. Ṭufayl, and Zuhayr b. Hunayd (some of whom report more than the others): Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr was killed in the year 72, while ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim was at Abrashahr,[743] fighting Baḥīr b. Warqāʾ al-Ṣuraymī of Ṣuraym[744] b. al-Ḥārith. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān then wrote to Ibn Khāzim by [832]
way of Sawrah b. Ashyam al-Numayrī, saying, "Khurāsān is yours for seven years, provided that you swear allegiance to me." Ibn Khāzim replied to Sawrah, "But for the fact that I would thereby

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pilgrims traverse the distance between the hills of Ṣafā and Marwah in a rite called *saʿy*. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj.

741. *Mighfar*: a piece of mail that is worn under the helmet and that hangs down to protect the neck. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VI, 2274f.

742. Al-Jūḥfah was a large town, the fourth stage on the road between Mecca and Medina (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.).

743. Abrashahr was an alternate name for Naysābūr (Persian, Nīshāpūr), one of the major cities of Khurāsān, now located in northeastern Iran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 383.

744. Also vocalized Ṣarīm, this was a subdivision of Tamīm. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 345.

stir up trouble between the Banū Sulaym and the Banū ʿĀmir, I would kill you! Now eat this page!" So he ate it. [Continuing,] he said: Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Wāsiʿ said it was Sawādah b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Numayrī who delivered ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim's writ of appointment. Another person said that ʿAbd al-Malik sent Sinān b. Mukammil al-Ghanawī to Ibn Khāzim, and wrote to him, saying, "Khurāsān is yours as an assigned means of subsistence (*ṭuʿmah*)." Ibn Khāzim said to him, "'Abū al-Dhibbān'[745] only sent you because you are from Ghanī, and he knows I will not kill a man from Qays. Now eat his letter!"

[Continuing,] he said: ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to Bukayr b. Wishāḥ, a member of the Banū ʿAwf b. Saʿd (he was Ibn Khāzim's deputy in charge of Marw), appointing him to the governorship of Khurāsān, making him promises, and raising his hopes. So Bukayr b. Wishāḥ threw off his allegiance to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr and propagandized for ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. The people of Marw responded favorably to him. When Ibn Khāzim learned of this, he feared that Bukayr would lead the people of Marw against him, and that the people of Marw and of Abrashahr would join forces against him. He therefore left Baḥīr and went toward Marw, intending to go to his son in Tirmidh.[746] Baḥīr followed him and overtook him at a village called in Persian Shāhmīghad, eight *farsakhs* from Marw. [Continuing,] he said: Ibn Khāzim fought with Baḥīr. A *mawlā* of the Banū Layth said: "I was in a dwelling close to the place where the men fought. When the sun rose, the two armies rushed at each other, and I began to hear sword blows.
[833] As the day advanced, the sounds became softer—because of the advancing of the day, I thought. When I had prayed the noon prayer—or a little before noon—I went out. A man from the Banū Tamīm met me. I said, 'What is the news?' He said, 'I have killed the enemy of God, Ibn Khāzim. Here he is!' Behold, he was being carried on a mule; they had tied a rope to his loins and a stone, and had balanced him with it on the mule."

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745. The epithet, meaning, "man of flies," was applied to a man with foul breath, from which ʿAbd al-Malik was said to suffer. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 152–53.

746. Tirmidh (modern Termez, on the Soviet-Afghan border), lay on the Oxus River (modern Amu Darya), about 300 miles east of Marw, and was the most important town of the Ṣaghāniyān district. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 440–41; *EI*[1], s.v.

[Continuing,] he said: The man who killed Ibn Khāzim was Wakīʿ b. ʿUmayrah al-Qurayʿī, called Ibn al-Dawraqiyyah.[747] Baḥīr b. Warqāʾ, ʿAmmār b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jushamī, and Wakīʿ fought Ibn Khāzim by turns, thrust him with spears, and threw him down. Wakīʿ sat on his chest and killed him. A certain governor asked Wakīʿ, "How did you kill Ibn Khāzim?" He replied, "I subdued him with the end of the spear shaft. After he was thrown down, I sat on his chest. He tried to get up but could not. I said, 'Vengeance for Dawīlah!'" (Dawīlah was a full brother of Wakīʿ who had been previously killed in some other fighting.) "He spat out phlegm in my face, and said, 'God curse your father! Will you kill the leader[748] of Muḍar to avenge your brother, a peasant not worth a handful of date pits?' (He may have said, '[a handful of] earth.') I never saw anyone with more spirit[749] than he when at the point of death." [Continuing,] he said: One day, Ibn Hubayrah mentioned this report and said, "That, by God, is courage!"

[Continuing,] he said: As soon as Ibn Khāzim was killed, Baḥīr sent a man from the Banū Ghudānah to inform ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān of Ibn Khāzim's death, but did not send the head. Bukayr b. Wishāḥ, with the people of Marw, came to Baḥīr and his men after Ibn Khāzim had been killed. Bukayr wanted to take Ibn Khāzim's head, but Baḥīr forbade him; Bukayr therefore hit him with a stick, took the head, and bound and imprisoned Baḥīr. [834]
Bukayr sent the head to ʿAbd al-Malik, and wrote informing him that it was he who had killed Ibn Khāzim. When the head was brought before him, ʿAbd al-Malik summoned the Ghudānī tribesman, Baḥīr's messenger, and asked, "What is this?" "I don't know," he replied. "I did not leave the men until Ibn Khāzim had been killed."

A man from the Banū Sulaym said:

O night we spent in Naysābūr! Give back to me
the morning—woe unto you!—or brighten.

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747. I.e., son of the woman from Dawraq (a town in Khūzistān). See Le Strange, *Lands*, 242.

748. Literally, "the ram (*kabsh*) of Muḍar." The ram, as leader of the flock, was used figuratively for the leader of an army, a tribe, etc. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VI, 2588f.

749. Literally, "with more saliva (*rīq*)." See Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1203.

Its stars were slow-moving, languid;
as if its firmament had been in the hands of a cupbearer.
Umm Zayd reviles time's accidents:
but have you any way of changing [time's] accidents?
[Time's accidents] have ignored my honor; they have turned away from me
for the present world's brief term.
Had horsemen from Sulaym been present
the morning the wounded lion was surrounded,
Generous men would have taken the field around him,
and grave would the vengeance have been in the search for retaliation.
Now barking dogs remain:
after you there is no [lion's] roar on earth.

[Those in Office during the Year]

Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf took charge of leading the pilgrimage this year. The governor of Medina for ʿAbd al-Malik was Ṭāriq [b. ʿAmr], the *mawlā* of ʿUthmān; and of al-Kūfah, Bishr b. Marwān. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah b. Masʿūd was in charge of its judiciary. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd was governor of al-Baṣrah, and Hishām b. Hubayrah was in charge of its judiciary. Some say that ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī was governor of Khurāsān; others say it was Bukayr b. Wishāḥ. Those who say that ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim was in charge of Khurāsān in the year 72
[835] assert that ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim was killed only after ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr had been killed; that ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim, summoning him to obedience, and offering him Khurāsān as an assigned means of subsistence (*ṭuʿmah*) for ten years, only after ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr had been killed, and that ʿAbd al-Malik sent Ibn al-Zubayr's head to him. When ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr's head arrived, ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim swore he would never render obedience to ʿAbd al-Malik; calling for a basin, he washed the head of Ibn al-Zubayr, anointed it with spices, shrouded it, prayed over it, and then sent it to the family of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr in Medina; and he made the messenger eat ʿAbd al-Malik's letter, saying, "If you were not a messenger, I would kill you." Some say he cut off the man's arms and legs and beheaded him.

A Chapter in Which We Mention the Secretaries since the Beginning of Islam[750]

Hishām [b. al-Kalbī] and others relate that the first Arab who wrote[751] in Arabic was Ḥarb b. Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams, and that the first person to write in Persian was Bīwarasb,[752] who lived in the time of Idrīs.[753] The first person who distinguished the orders of secretaries and elucidated their ranks was Luhrasb b. Kāwghān b. Kaymūs.[754]

It is related that Abarwīz[755] said to his secretary, "Language consists of four divisions: asking for something, asking about something, commanding something, and informing about something. These are the four supports of discourses. If one seeks a fifth, it will not be found; if one of the four is subtracted, [the supports] will not be complete. If you seek, be gentle; if you ask, be brisk;[756] if you command, be firm; and if you inform, be precise." [836]

Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī said: "The first who said, 'To proceed,'[757]

750. The following section, which is inserted in Mss. O, B, and Co, is not found in Mss. Pet and C, or in Ibn al-Athīr. In Ms. Co, a marginal note reads: "An addition which [is not] from the original." At the end of the section, there is a note: "[Here ends] the chapter; one returns [to the words of] Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]"—(ed. Leiden, note). The material can be found fleshed out with many anecdotes in the *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb*, by al-Jahshiyārī (d. 331/942; German translation by J. Latz, *Das Buch der Wezire*).

751. *Kataba*, "he wrote," can also mean, "he was a *kātib*," i.e. a scribe or secretary (in the professional sense).

752. Bīwarasb or Bēwarasb (the name means "Myriad Horses"), also known as al-Azdahāq or Zahhāk, was a legendary king of Iran, a monstrous tyrant said to have reigned a thousand years. See Ṭabarī, I, 201–10.

753. A prophet named Idrīs is mentioned in Qur'ān 19:56 and 21:85. Islamic tradition identifies him with the Biblical Enoch. See *EI*², s.v.; Bell and Watt, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 28 and note.

754. Luhrasb/Luhrasp was the fourteenth king to rule over Iran in the Shāhnāma. He was the father of Gushtasp, during whose reign Zoroaster appeared. See Ṭabarī, I, 645ff.

755. The Persian form is Aparwēz (older) or Parvīz (modern). Ed. Leiden vocalizes, Abrawīz. He was Khusraw II, ruled 590–627.

756. Variant in *al-ʿIqd*: be clear.

757. *Ammā baʿdu*, literally, "As for afterwards." In letters, homilies, and other formal compositions, this formula marks the end of the introductory matter (usually an elaboration of the praise of God and the Prophet) and the beginning of the subject proper.

was David. This is the 'separation of the speech'[758] God mentions in reference to him." Al-Haytham b. 'Adī said: "The first who said, 'To proceed' was Quss b. Sā'idah al-Iyādī."[759]

Those who were secretaries to the Prophet: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān used to write down the revelation. If they were absent, Ubayy b. Ka'b and Zayd b. Thābit wrote it. Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ and Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān used to write in his presence concerning his affairs. 'Abdallāh b. al-Arqam b. 'Abd Yaghūth and al-'Alā' b. 'Uqbah used to write among the people concerning their affairs. 'Abdallāh b. al-Arqam often wrote to kings from the Prophet.

'Uthmān, Zayd b. Thābit, 'Abdallāh b. al-Arqam, 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuzā'ī, and Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rabī' were secretaries to Abū Bakr.

Zayd b. Thābit and 'Abdallāh b. al-Arqam were secretaries for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuzā'ī, father of Ṭalḥah al-Ṭalḥāt, was in charge of the *dīwān* of al-Baṣrah. Abū Jabīrah b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Anṣārī was 'Umar's secretary in charge of the *dīwān* of al-Kūfah. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to his secretaries and governors:[760] "Power to perform an office lies in your not putting off today's task until tomorrow; for if you do, tasks will come at you from every direction, and you will not know which
[837] one you should take up first. He was the first who drew up *dīwān* registers among the Arabs in Islam.

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was secretary to 'Uthmān. 'Abd al-Malik was his secretary for the *dīwān* of Medina; Abū Jabīrah al-Anṣārī was in charge of the *dīwān* of al-Kūfah. Abū Ghaṭafān b. 'Awf b. Sa'd b. Dīnār of the Banū Duhmān of Qays 'Aylān also was

758. *Faṣl al-khiṭāb*: In Qur'ān 38:20, David is said to have been given wisdom and *faṣl al-khiṭāb*. The phrase is usually translated in a more general sense—"speech decisive" (Arberry), "decisive speech" (Pickthall)—but Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī apparently thought it meant quite literally the formula used to separate the preliminary invocations of God from the body of a speech.

759. Quss b. Sā'idah was a legendary figure of Arab antiquity said to have been the greatest orator among all the tribes. He is always said to have been a monotheist, sometimes to have been a Christian, or even a bishop of Najrān. The youthful Muḥammad is supposed to have heard him at the fair of 'Ukāẓ. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳuss b. Sā'ida; Nicholson, *Literary History*, 135–56.

760. *'Ummāl*, pl. of *'āmil*, "[fiscal] agent, governor."

secretary to him, as were Ahyab, his *mawlā*, and Ḥumrān [b. Abān], his *mawlā*.

Sa'īd b. Nimrān al-Hamdānī, who later was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah for Ibn al-Zubayr,[761] was secretary to 'Alī. 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd was also his secretary. It is said that 'Abdallāh b. Jubayr was his secretary. 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Rāfi' was also his secretary. (There is disagreement about Abū Rāfi''s name; some say it was Ibrāhīm, some Aslam, some Sinān, and some 'Abd al-Raḥmān).

Mu'āwiyah's secretary in charge of correspondence was 'Ubayd b. Aws al-Ghassānī. His secretary in charge of the tax bureau (*dīwān al-kharāj*) was Sarjūn b. Manṣūr al-Rūmī.[762] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Darrāj, a *mawlā* of Mu'āwiyah, also was secretary to him. 'Ubaydallāh b. Naṣr b. al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Alā' al-Sulamī was in charge of one of his *dīwāns*.

Al-Rayyān b. Muslim was secretary to Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd.[763] His secretary in charge of the *dīwān* was Sarjūn. It is said that Abū al-Zu'ayzi'ah was also his secretary.

Qabīṣah b. Dhu'ayb b. Ḥalḥalah al-Khuzā'ī, whose *kunyah* was Abū Isḥāq, was secretary to 'Abd al-Malik. His secretary in charge of the correspondence bureau (*dīwān al-rasā'il*) was his *mawlā*, Abū al-Zu'ayzi'ah.

Al-Qa'qā' b. Khālid (or Khulayd) al-'Absī was secretary to al-Walīd.[764] His secretary for the tax bureau was Sulaymān b. Sa'd al-Khushanī; his *mawlā* Shu'ayb al-'Umānī was in charge of the registry department (*dīwān al-khātam*); his *mawlā* Janāḥ was [838]
in charge of the correspondence department; and his *mawlā* Nufay' b. Dhu'ayb was in charge of income-yielding properties (*mustaghallāt*).[765]

Sulaymān b. Nu'aym al-Ḥimyarī was secretary to Sulaymān.[766]

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761. See Ṭabarī, II, 537.

762. The father of St John of Damascus. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 245–46.

763. Note the omission of the reign of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah. Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah ruled briefly in 64/683.

764. Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik ruled from 86/705 to 96/715.

765. *Mustaghall*, pl. *mustaghallāt*, included any income-generating property: cultivated land, houses, markets, mills, etc. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 220; Shaban, *Islamic History*, II, 17.

766. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik ruled from 96/715 to 99/717.

The secretary of Maslamah [b. ʿAbd al-Malik][767] was his *mawlā* Samīʿ. Al-Layth b. Abī Ruqayyah, the *mawlā* of Umm al-Ḥakam bint Abī Sufyān, was in charge of the correspondence department; Sulaymān b. Saʿd al-Khushanī was in charge of the tax bureau; Nuʿaym b. Salāmah, a *mawlā* of Yemenites from Palestine, was in charge of the registry department. (Some say that Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywah was in charge of the seal.)

Al-Mughīrah b. Abī Farwah[768] was secretary to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.[769]

Al-Layth b. Abī Ruqayyah, the *mawlā* of Umm al-Ḥakam bint Abī Sufyān, and Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywah were secretaries to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.[770] Ismāʿīl b. Abī Ḥakīm, the *mawlā* of al-Zubayr, was also secretary to him. In charge of the tax bureau was Sulaymān b. Saʿd al-Khushanī, who was succeeded by Ṣāliḥ b. Jubayr al-Ghassānī (some say al-Ghudanī) and ʿAdī b. al-Ṣabāḥ b. al-Muthannā, whom al-Haytham b. ʿAdī mentioned as being one of his chief secretaries.

Before Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik[771] became caliph, his secretary was a man named Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh. Then he made Usāmah b. Zayd al-Salīḥī secretary.

Saʿīd b. al-Walīd b. ʿAmr b. Jabalah al-Kalbī, [called] al-Abrash,[772] and having the *kunyah* Abū Mujāshiʿ, was secretary to Hishām.[773] Naṣr b. Sayyār was in charge of the Khurāsān tax bureau for Hishām. Among [Hishām's] secretaries at al-Ruṣāfah[774] was Shuʿayb b. Dīnār.

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767. Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik was a great military leader. Under Sulaymān, he besieged Constantinople (98/716–17). During the reign of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (101–5/720–24), he suppressed a major revolt by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in Iraq and became its governor. See *EI*², s.v.

768. Read "b. Abī Qurrah." See Latz, *Das Buch der Wezire*, 97, note.

769. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was appointed governor of Iraq by Sulaymān in 96/715. Two years later, the governorship of Khurāsān was also given to him.

770. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ruled from 99/717 to 101/720.

771. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik ruled from 101/720 to 105/724.

772. Speckled, or perhaps, freckled.

773. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik ruled from 105/724 to 125/743.

774. Al-Ruṣāfah ("the Causeway," according to Le Strange; Yāqūt calls the derivation of the name unclear) was the desert palace Hishām built 4 leagues from al-Raqqah in al-Jazīrah province to escape from the plague. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 106; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.

Bukayr b. al-Shammākh was secretary to al-Walīd b. Yazīd.[775] Sālim, the *mawlā* of Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, was in charge of the correspondence department. Also among his secretaries was ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAmr (some give his name as ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Abī ʿAmr). ʿAmr b. ʿUtbah was in charge of the caliphal residence.[776] [839]

ʿAbdallāh b. Nuʿaym was secretary to Yazīd b. al-Walīd, [called] "the Reducer."[777] ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, a *mawlā* of the Banū Jumaḥ, was in charge of his registry department; Thābit b. Sulaymān b. Saʿd al-Khushanī (some say al-Rabīʿ b. ʿArʿarah al-Khushanī) was in charge of his correspondence department; and al-Naḍr b. ʿAmr, a Yemeni, was in charge of taxes and the bureau of the small seal for him.

The secretary of Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd[778] was Ibn Abī Jumʿah, who was in charge of the *dīwān* in Palestine for him.[779] The people swore allegiance to Ibrāhīm (b. al-Walīd), except the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ, who swore allegiance to Marwān b. Muḥammad al-Jaʿdī.

The secretaries of Marwān [b. Muḥammad][780] were ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā, *mawlā* of al-ʿAlāʾ b. Wahb al-ʿĀmirī, Muṣʿab b. al-Rabīʿ al-Khathʿamī, and Ziyād b. Abī al-Ward. ʿUthmān b. Qays, *mawlā* of Khālid al-Qasrī, was in charge of the correspondence department. Also among his secretaries were Makhlad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith, called Abū Hāshim, and Muṣʿab b. al-

775. Al-Walīd b. Yazīd ruled from 125/743 to 126/744.

776. For this meaning of *ḥaḍrah*, "presence," see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 298.

777. *Al-Nāqiṣ*: Yazīd b. al-Walīd ruled for six months in 126/744. "His first act was to abolish the increase of the stipends to the Syrian troops granted by his predecessor" (Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 155). He also curtailed large-scale public works—therefore the epithet.

778. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd succeeded his brother Yazīd and reigned for four months in 126/744, though his rule was not acknowledged by all factions. See Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 160.

779. A name appears to have fallen out of Ṭabarī's text. Al-Jahshiyārī reads: "The secretary of Ibrāhīm was Ibrāhīm b. Abī Jumʿah. Thābit b. Nuʿaym al-Judhāmī was in charge of the *dīwān* of Palestine." If the text of Ṭabarī was originally similar, one can explain why in the next sentence Ibrāhīm is identified as "b. al-Walīd," i.e., the caliph, not Ibrāhīm b. Abī Jumʿah, his secretary. See Latz, *Das Buch der Wezire*, 118–19.

780. Marwān b. Muḥammad succeeded to the throne in 127/744 and ruled until the fall of the Umayyad line in 132/750.

Rabīʿ al-Khathʿamī, called Abū Mūsā. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā had a distinguished reputation for eloquence. Among his poetry that has been anthologized is the following:[781]

Something that will not return has departed;
    something that will not go away has taken its place.
How I grieve for the successor who has taken up its abode!
    How I grieve for the predecessor who has departed!
I weep much over the one, and for the other I weep
    like a despondent woman bereft:
She weeps much because of a son of hers who has cut [the bond of relationship],
    and she weeps for a son of hers that has tied it fast.[782]
[840] In her innermost heart she never ceases
    from tears and weeping.
The errors of youth's intoxication have come to an end;
    fear of God has driven away falsehood's deviation.

The secretary of Abū al-ʿAbbās[783] was Khālid b. Barmak. Abū al-ʿAbbās entrusted his daughter Rayṭah to Khālid b. Barmak so that the latter's wife, Umm Khālid bint Yazīd, might nurse her while she was breast-feeding a daughter of Khālid's named Umm Yaḥyā; and Umm Salamah, the wife of Abū al-ʿAbbās, nursed Umm Yaḥyā, the daughter of Khālid, while she was breast-feeding her daughter Rayṭah. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Haytham, a *mawlā* of Rayṭah bint Abī al-ʿAbbās, was in charge of the correspondence department.

The secretary of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr[784] was ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd, the *mawlā* of Ḥātim b. al-Nuʿmān al-Bāhilī, a Khurāsānian. Hāshim b. Saʿīd al-Juʿfī and ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Abī Ṭalḥah of the Banū Tamīm were his secretaries in Wāsiṭ. It is said that

781. The first four lines are quoted in Ibn Nubātah, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, 241, where the second line has an interesting variation: "How I grieve for one who, having progeny, arrives! How I grieve for one preceding who has departed!" The metaphor of gray hair or old age as "having progeny" is powerful, but is not in the line as given in al-Ṭabarī.

782. I.e., one son who by departing has cut the ties and another who by remaining has tied them fast.

783. Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad, known as al-Saffāḥ, the first caliph of the ʿAbbāsid line, ruled from 132/749 to 136/754.

784. Abū Jaʿfar, known as al-Manṣūr, ruled from 136/754 to 158/775.

Sulaymān b. Makhlad was a secretary to Abū Jaʿfar. Among [the verses] that Abū Jaʿfar used to quote was the following:

Nothing relieves the mind like a firm decision,
when some matter has been present too long in the mind.

Also among his secretaries were al-Rabīʿ, and ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah, who was among the most distinguished men. The following is by him:

Never complain about a time when you enjoyed sound health:
in bodily health there is wealth!
Suppose you were the imām:[785] could you profit
from the present world's ease if you were sick?

And he used to quote the words of the slave of the Banū al-Ḥasḥās:

Is the eye's tear shed because of Umayyah?
If only that had been known of you before today!
Let your eye not weep: time is full of change;
in it, friend from friend departs.

The secretary of al-Mahdī[786] was Abū ʿUbaydallāh; Abān b. Ṣadaqah was in charge of his correspondence department, and [841]
Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd the Secretary was in charge of his military *dīwān* (*dīwān al-jund*). There was also Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd, whom he appointed to be in charge of his vizierate and affairs. The following is by him:

I marvel greatly at the changing of affairs—
now what one likes, now what one dislikes!
Time plays with men;
to it belong turns that run their course.

The following is by [Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd's] son, ʿAbdallāh b. Yaʿqūb, whose [sons] Muḥammad and Yaʿqūb were both excellent poets:

Gray hair checked my vehemence and passion;
from my eyelids it drew a copious flow of tears.
Desiring to hide its visible appearance

785. I.e., the caliph, in his capacity as leader of the Islamic community.
786. Al-Mahdī, the third ʿAbbāsid caliph, ruled from 158/775 to 169/785.

from my eyes, I tried something hopeless:
I colored what time had colored.
My coloring did not last, but time's coloring lasted.
Do not go so far away, O proud vigor of youth,
from which I departed in years gone by!
What I have retained from those days
is but as dreams that come by night.

The following is by his father:

Divorce the present world with a threefold divorce,[787]
and take to wife another.
The world is an unfaithful wife
who cares not who comes to her.

After him, al-Mahdī appointed al-Fayḍ b. Abī Ṣāliḥ vizier. He was a generous man.

The secretaries of Mūsā al-Hādī[788] were ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Abī Laylā and Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd. One day, al-Mahdī asked ʿUbaydallāh's father about the poems of the Arabs; so he compiled
[842] them for him. And he said, "The wisest of them is the saying of Ṭarafah b. al-ʿAbd":[789]

I see that the grave of the avaricious man, stingy with his
property,
is like the grave of the erring man who wastes [his property]
in idleness.
You see two heaps of dirt on which there are
mute slabs of hard stone.
I see that death chooses the generous, and selects
the best of the tenacious niggard's property.
I see life as a treasure that diminishes each night:
and what the days and time diminish becomes spent.

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787. In Islamic law, the formula of divorce must be repeated three times before witnesses. Hence, the expression, "a threefold divorce," came to be applied to anything done irrevocably.

788. Al-Mahdī's son, Mūsā b. Muḥammad, took the throne name of al-Hādī, and ruled from 169/785 to 170/786.

789. Ṭarafah b. al-ʿAbd was a pre-Islamic poet. The lines are from his *Muʿallaqah* (see *Dīwān*, 31–32), one of a collection of seven long pre-Islamic poems made by Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah, a famous reciter of ancient poetry who died ca. 156/772.

By your life, [I swear that] death, even when it does not hit the
young man,
is like a tether that has been left loose, but its end is in hand!

Also, his saying:

I see both of us: each one's friend wishes
that what has slipped away from us might come back.
Thing was [joined] to thing; but time,
which returns to separate what it joined, has separated it.

Also, the saying of Labīd:[790]

Indeed, you ask a man what he seeks:
whether it is a serious matter that must be accomplished, or
error and vanity.
Verily, everything but God is vanity,
and every pleasure must inevitably pass away.
I see that men know not what is destined for them:
yea, every man of sound judgment makes entreaty to God.

Also, the saying of al-Nābighah al-Ja'dī:[791]

Long was my acquaintance with youthful vigor and those who
have it;
and I encountered fearful things that turn one's locks white.
But I never found brothers to be other than companions,
and I never found kin to be other than places of abode.
Do you not know how I have been afflicted by the loss of
Muḥārib,[792]
and how today neither I nor you have anything of him?

Also, the saying of Hudbah b. Khashram:[793]

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790. Labīd b. Rabī'ah, the latest of the Mu'allaqāt poets, is said to have abjured poetry after his conversion to Islam and to have died early in the reign of Mu'āwiyah. See Nicholson, *Literary History*, 119–21; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 126–27.

791. Al-Nābighah al-Ja'dī (Ḥibbān b. Qays) was born before Islam, but lived most of his life as a Muslim and died in 65/684. The last line of the poem is found in the *Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām, a famous early anthology of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 245–47; M. Nallino, *Le Poesie di an-Nābiġah al-Ġa'dī* (Rome, 1953), 122, 124.

792. Muḥārib was the poet's son. The line is addressed to his wife.

793. Hudbah b. Khashram was a poet from the tribe of 'Udhrah, known for

I am not overly joyful if time gladdens me,
nor am I impatient of its shifting changes.
[843] I do not seek evil when evil[794] leaves me alone,
but when I am forced to do evil, I do it.
People do not know the truth about destiny:
Destiny will never offer them relief from what they dislike.
Destiny has a share in a young man's family and inherited possessions,
like the notching of the cutter that separates.

Also, the saying of Ziyādah b. Zayd,[795] which 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān used to quote:

He remembered Umaymah from afar and returned
to her after copious and long weeping.
Truly, the man who has experienced destiny and who does not fear
the shifting of its mornings and evenings lacks understanding.
Are not destiny and the days as you see [them to be]:
loss of wealth, or parting from a beloved?
Of all that is to come you are the kinsman;
but you are no kinsman of anything that has gone away.
Something remote, while it is coming, is not like something [rapidly] approaching;
neither is a past joy nearby.[796]

Also, the saying of Ibn Muqbil:[797]

When she saw how youth's vigor had altered, she wept for it:
and gray hair is the worst of these alterations.
Men's care is life; but I think

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its "chaste" love poetry. See Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Shi'r wa-al-shu'arā'*, 434–38; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 265–66.

794. *Sharr*, meaning both "evil" and "violence."

795. Another poet from the tribe of 'Udhrah. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 266.

796. Another possible translation: "There is nothing far that does not come, as if it were rapidly advancing; neither is a past joy nearby." The version in Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Shi'r wa-al-shu'arā'*, 437–38, reads: "All that is coming and going to occur is not remote; neither is a past joy nearby."

797. The lines are also attributed to al-Akhṭal, cf. al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 3:14.

long life only increases weariness.
If you are in need of treasures, you will find
no treasure like good works.

Yaḥyā b. Khālid [b. Barmak] served as [al-Hādī's] vizier; his son, Ja'far b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid, served as al-Rashīd's[798] vizier. Among his attractive sayings is: "Writing is the badge of wisdom; by it, wisdom's beads are separated and its scattered parts are strung together." Thumāmah said: "I said to Ja'far b. Yaḥyā, 'What is clarity (*bayān*)?' He said, 'That the word encompass your meaning, communicate your intention, be free of ambiguity, and not require that one call on the aid of thought to gather its intention.'" Al-Aṣma'ī[799] said: "I heard Yaḥyā b. Khālid say, 'The present world is vicissitude; wealth is a loan. We have an example in those who were before us; and in us there will be a lesson to those who come after us.'"

We will name the remaining secretaries of the 'Abbāsids when we reach the 'Abbāsid dynasty, God willing!

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798. Hārūn al-Rashīd ruled from 170/786 to 193/809.

799. Al-Aṣma'ī (d. 213/828) was a philologist active at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. See *EI*², s.v.; Nicholson, *Literary History*, 345.

[844]

The Events of the Year 73

(MAY 23, 692–MAY 12, 693)

Among major events was the death of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

A Description of [the Death of Ibn al-Zubayr]

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Muḥammad b. Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā—ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Qibṭiyyah, who said: The war between Ibn al-Zubayr and al-Ḥajjāj took place for six months and seventeen nights in the hollow[800] of Mecca.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muṣʿab b. Thābit—Nāfiʿ, a *mawlā* of the Banū Asad knowledgeable about the civil unrest (*fitnah*) of Ibn al-Zubayr, who said: Ibn al-Zubayr was besieged the night of the new moon of Dhū al-Qaʿdah in the year 72; he was killed on the seventeenth of Jumādā I in the year

800. *Baṭn*, the central part of the valley in which Mecca is built. See *EI*², s.v. Makka.

73.[801] Al-Ḥajjāj besieged Ibn al-Zubayr for eight[802] months and seventeen nights.

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Muḥammad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā—Yūsuf b. Māhak, who said: I saw the trebuchet (*manjanīq*)[803] with which [stones] were being hurled. The sky was thundering and lightning, and the sound of thunder and lightening rose above that of the stones, so that it masked it. The Syrians considered this ominous [845] and withheld their hands. But al-Ḥajjāj, having lifted the skirt of his tunic and tucked it into his belt, picked up the trebuchet stone and loaded it. "Shoot," he said; and he himself shot with them. [Continuing,] he said: During the morning, a thunderbolt struck and was followed by a second, killing twelve of his men. The Syrians became discouraged, but al-Ḥajjāj said, "Men of Syria, do not consider this extraordinary. I am a native of Tihāmah:[804] these are the thunderbolts of Tihāmah. Behold, victory has come! Rejoice; the enemy will be afflicted even as you have been." The next day, there was lightning, and a number of Ibn al-Zubayr's men were struck. Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Don't you see that they are being hit? You are in a state of obedience; they are in a state of disobedience."[805]

Thus, the war between Ibn al-Zubayr and al-Ḥajjāj continued until shortly before Ibn al-Zubayr's death, by which time the latter's companions had separated themselves from him and most

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801. I.e., the siege began on March 25, 692, and Ibn al-Zubayr was killed on October 4, 692.

802. Thus in the text, despite the fact that the period from Dhū al-Qa'dah to Jumādā I is only six months. The parallel passage in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 368, reads: "He was killed on a Tuesday in Jumādā II in the year 73. The siege lasted six months and seventeen nights. . . . Ibn al-Zubayr was killed when he was seventy-three years old." Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 321 has: "Tuesday, the seventeenth of Jumādā II in the year 73."

803. For a description of the siege engine, a traction trebuchet, see *EI*², s.v. Manḏjanīḳ.

804. Tihāmah is the Red Sea coastal plain of the Arabian peninsula.

805. Cf. the account in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 362 (from 'Awānah), where al-Ḥajjāj not only gives the naturalistic explanation that thunderstorms are frequent in Tihāmah, but adds: "Let what you see not frighten you. When the ancients used to sacrifice, a fire would be sent down to consume it; and that was a sign that the sacrifice had been accepted."

of the people of Mecca had gone out to al-Ḥajjāj under a promise of safety.

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—[Muḥammad] b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Isḥāq b. 'Abdallāh—al-Mundhir b. Jahm al-Asadī, who said: I saw Ibn al-Zubayr the day he was killed. His companions had separated themselves from him, and those on his side had abandoned him in large numbers and had started going out to al-Ḥajjāj: finally, about ten thousand went out to him. It is also mentioned that Ibn al-Zubayr's two sons, Ḥamzah and Khubayb, were among those who left him and went out to al-Ḥajjāj. They received a promise of safety for themselves from [al-Ḥajjāj].

Then Ibn al-Zubayr went to see his mother, Asmā'.[806] According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Abū al-Zinād—Makhra-
[846] mah b. Sulaymān al-Wālibī: When he saw how the people were forsaking him, Ibn al-Zubayr went to see his mother. "Mother," he said, "the people have forsaken me, even my two sons and my family. With me there remain only a few people who do not have the endurance to defend themselves more than a short time. The enemy, however, will grant me whatever I desire from this present world. What is your advice?" She said, "You, my son, know yourself best. If you know you are right and have been advocating what is right, persevere for it, for your companions have been killed while in the right. Do not enable the young men [*ghilmān*] of the Banū Umayyah to make sport of you.[807] But If you only desire the present world, what a bad servant [of God] you are!—you have undone yourself and undone those who were killed fighting on your side. For you to say, 'I was right, but when my companions grew feeble, I became weak,' is not what free men or men of religion do. How long is your stay in this world? Death is better!"

Ibn al-Zubayr approached and kissed her head, saying, "This, by God, is what I think. I swear by Him to Whom I have been sum-

806. She was the daughter of Abū Bakr.

807. Cf. another version of this scene (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 364), in which Ibn al-Zubayr spells out his fear that after killing him, the Syrians may mutilate his body and crucify it. Al-Ḥajjāj is reported to have exposed the headless body of Ibn al-Zubayr on a cross (ibid., 368–70).

moning men until this very day, I have not inclined to the present world or loved life in it. Only indignation on behalf of God, that His sacred territory not be profaned, moved me to come out [to do what I did].[808] But I wanted to know your mind; and you have increased my firmness of belief. Behold, mother, I shall be killed this very day. Let your grief not be great. Submit to God's command. For your son intended to do nothing dishonorable or indecent: he did not act unjustly in applying God's ordinance, he betrayed no trust, and he intended to wrong no Muslim or confederate.[809] When informed of wrongdoing on the part of my agents, I never approved; rather, I disapproved of it. I have never preferred [847] anything to the approval of my Lord. O God, I do not say this to justify myself by myself—Thou knowest me best! I say it to comfort my mother, that she may endure my loss with patience." His mother said, "I pray God that I may endure your loss with good patience, if you precede me; and if I precede you, may there be [patient endurance] of my loss. Go out, that I may see how your cause proceeds." He said, "God grant you a good reward, mother. And do not cease praying for me before and after." She said, "I will never cease. Whoever may have been killed while in error, you will have been killed while in the right!" Then she said, "O God, have mercy on this long night vigil, this weeping and thirst in the midday summer heat of Medina and Mecca, and on his piety toward his father and me. O God, I have yielded him to Thy command concerning him, and am content with what Thou hast decreed; reward me for ʿAbdallāh with the reward of those who are patient and thankful." According to Muṣʿab b. Thābit: She survived him by only ten days—some say five.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbdallāh—his paternal uncle, who said: When Ibn al-Zubayr went before his mother, he was wearing a mailed coat and a protective head covering (*mighfar*). He stood and greeted her, then drew near, took her hand, and kissed it. She said, "This is farewell; do not be far away!"[810] Ibn al-Zubayr said, "I have come

808. *Khurūj* ("coming out") also has the sense of "rebel."
809. *Muʿāhid*: a non-Muslim who has a treaty of protection from the Muslims. See Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 2184.
810. *Baʿuda*, "to be/go far away," is used in elegies as a euphemism for "die."

to say farewell. I think this is the last day that will pass for me of this world. Know, mother, that if I am killed, I am only flesh; what is done to me will not harm me." She said, "You are right, my son. Persevere in your firm belief, and do not give Ibn Abī ʿAqīl[811] power over you. Come near me, so that I can bid you
[848] farewell." He came near her, kissed her, and embraced her. When she felt[812] the chain mail, she said, "This is not the action of someone who intends what you intend." He said, "I put on this chain mail only to give you strength." The old woman said, "It gives me no strength." So he took it off. Then he rolled up his sleeves, gathered up the bottom of his shirt (there was a coat [*jubbah*] of mixed silk and wool[813] under the shirt), and tucked the bottom of it into his belt, while his mother said, "Put on your garments with the skirts tucked up!"[814] Then Ibn al-Zubayr left, saying:

I, when I know my day [has come], bear it with patience;
others, when they know [theirs has come], find fault.

Hearing what he had said, the old woman said, "Be steadfast, by God, God willing! Your [fore]father[s] are Abū Bakr and al-Zubayr, and your [grand]mother Ṣafiyyah bint ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib."[815]

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Thawr b. Yazīd—a shaykh from Ḥimṣ who was present at Ibn al-Zubayr's battle with the Syrians, who said: I saw him on Tuesday. We men of Ḥimṣ would go up against him in groups of five hundred by a gate that was ours, which we would enter, and which no one but us would enter. He

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The fuller version of the scene given by Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 364, implies another meaning: "Be/go not far away, save from the fire [of hell]." I.e., may you be close to heaven.

811. I.e., al-Ḥajjāj, so named after his grandfather.

812. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 365 (from Abū Mikhnaf). She was blind and therefore was not aware of the chain mail until she embraced her son.

813. *Khazz* refers to a mixture of silk and wool, sometimes to (coarsely woven?) silk. See Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 731.

814. I.e., "Be ready to act with vigor." See Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1595.

815. Through his mother, Asmāʾ bint Abī Bakr, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr was the grandson of Abū Bakr, the first caliph. Through his father, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, he had as his grandmother the Prophet's aunt, Ṣafiyyah bint ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

came out to meet us by himself, coming after us when we were retreating from him. I have not forgotten a *rajaz* poem of his:

I, when I know my day [has come], bear it with patience—
only the free man knows his two days!
Others, when they know [theirs has come], find fault.

I said, "By God, you are a man free and noble!" I have seen him standing in the lowest part of the hollow. No one would approach him, so that we thought he would not be killed.

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muṣʿab b. Thābit—Nāfiʿ, a *mawlā* of the Banū Asad, who said: I saw the gates[816] filled with Syrians on Tuesday, and Ibn al-Zubayr's forces gave up the watch stations.[817] The enemy outnumbered them and set men, a commander, and troops from one country at every gate: troops from Ḥimṣ held the gate facing the door of the Kaʿbah; troops from Damascus held the Banū Shaybah Gate; troops from the Jordan held the Ṣafā Gate; troops from Palestine held the Banū Jumaḥ Gate; and troops from Qinnasrīn held the Banū Sahm Gate. Al-Ḥajjāj and Ṭāriq b. ʿAmr were together between the lowest part of the hollow (*al-Abṭaḥ*) and al-Marwah. Ibn al-Zubayr would attack sometimes in one area, sometimes in another: it was as if he were a lion in a thicket, the men not venturing to attack him. He would assault the troops holding a gate and would dislodge them, while reciting the *rajaz* verse: [849]

I, when I know my day [has come], bear it with patience—
only the free man knows his two days!

Then he would shout, "Abū Ṣafwān![818] What a victory, if only there were men for it!

If my opponent were one man, I would take care of him!"[819]

Ibn Ṣafwān said, "Yes, by God, and a thousand, too!"

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816. I.e., the gates of the Great Mosque.
817. *Maḥāris*, pl. of *maḥras*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 270.
818. Abū Ṣafwān is ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān b. Umayyah al-Jumaḥī. For his death in the fighting, see below, Ṭabarī, II, 852.
819. The verse is by Duwayd b. Zayd. See Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, 32.

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Abī al-Zinād and Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Muṣ'ab—Abū al-Mundhir,[820] and also according to Nāfi', a *mawlā* of the Banū Asad, both of whom said: The morning of Tuesday, the seventeenth of Jumādā I, in the year 73, al-Ḥajjāj
[850] seized the gates from Ibn al-Zubayr. Ibn al-Zubayr had spent most of the night praying. Then he sat with his legs braced against his belly with the shoulder belts of his sword[821] and slept lightly. He awoke at dawn and said, "Give the call to prayer, Sa'd." The latter thereupon gave the call to prayer beside the *Maqām*.[822] Ibn al-Zubayr performed the ablutions and prayed the two prostrations of the morning (*fajr*) prayer. Then he came forward. The muezzin gave the second call to prayer.[823] Ibn al-Zubayr led his companions in prayer, and recited the Sūra of the Pen,[824] word by word. Then, having pronounced the salutation,[825] he stood up, praised and extolled God, and said, "Uncover your faces, so that I can look [at you]." (They had on neck protectors [*mighfar*] and turbans.) When they had uncovered their faces, he said, "Family of al-Zubayr, if you give yourselves up willingly for me, we shall be people of a distinguished house among the Arabs. We shall have been extirpated for the sake of God, but no calamity will have afflicted us. And now, O family of al-Zubayr, let sword blows not frighten you. Whenever I have been present at a battle field, I have been carried away wounded from among the slain; and I have found the treatment of sword wounds to be worse than the pain of the sword's blow. Guard your swords as you guard your faces. I know of no man who ever broke his sword and saved his life. If a man loses his sword, he is as defenseless as a woman. Pay no attention to the glittering swords; let each man engage his adversary. Let no question about me distract you, and do not say, 'Where is 'Abdal-

820. Abū al-Mundhir is Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, p. DCLXXV).

821. For a description of this posture, called *iḥtibā'*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 507.

822. On the Station (*Maqām*, or *Maqām Ibrāhīm*), see note 239.

823. The *iqāmah*, which is given just before the commencement of public prayer. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 432.

824. Sūra 68 of the Qur'ān.

825. Each of the five daily prayers ends with a twofold salutation ("Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God") addressed to the guardian angels.

lāh b. al-Zubayr?' But if anyone asks about me, I am in the front ranks:[826]

The time has come for Ibn Salmā not to remain,
but to meet destiny, whichever way he turn.
I will not buy life at the cost of disgrace,
nor climb a ladder for fear of death.[827]

Attack, with God's blessing!" then he attacked [the enemy] and got as far as al-Ḥajūn. A brick was hurled at him and struck him [851]
in the face; he was shaken by it, and his face began bleeding. When he felt the warmth of the blood flowing on his face and beard, he said:[828]

Not on our heels do our wounds bleed:
on the front of our feet the blood is visible!

Then [the enemy] gathered together against him.

[Continuing,] both said: An insane freedwoman (*mawlāh*) of ours cried out, "Alas for the Commander of the Faithful!" [Continuing,] both said: She had seen him where he fell. She pointed him out to them, and so he was killed. He was wearing garments of a mixture of silk and wool.

When the news reached al-Ḥajjāj, he prostrated himself. Together with Ṭāriq b. 'Amr, he went and stood over him. Ṭāriq said, "Women have borne none manlier than he." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Will you praise one who disobeys the Commander of the Faithful?" "Yes," said Ṭāriq, "he has freed us from blame; were it not for this, we would have no excuse.[829] We have been besieging him for

826. The lines, from a poem by al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥumām, can be found in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (no. 12), 230–31, where the first line reads: "There restrains Ibn Salmā [from love of this world] the fact that he will not remain, but will meet destiny...."

827. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 367 (from Abū Mikhnaf and 'Awānah) reports that Ibn al-Zubayr's remaining supporters suggested that he climb onto the roof of the Ka'bah while they fought around the building to the death in his defense—hence the reference to "climbing a ladder."

828. The line, part of a *qaṣīdah* by the pre-Islamic poet al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥumām, can be found in the *Ḥamāsah*, 93. It puns on the fact that in Arabic "heel" (*'aqib*) has the same root as "to turn on one's heels, retreat" (*a'qaba*), while "foot" (*qadam*) shares the same root as "To go forward, be bold" (*aqdama*).

829. The idea is that by his bravery, Ibn al-Zubayr has made praise of him allowable even for the followers of 'Abd al-Malik.

seven months. He had no defensive trench,[830] no fortress, no stronghold; yet he held his own against us as an equal, and even got the better of us whenever we met with him." Their words were reported to ʿAbd al-Malik, who declared Ṭāriq right.

According to ʿUmar [b. Shabbah]—Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Madāʾinī]—his authorities, one of whom said: It is as if I could still see Ibn al-Zubayr when he had killed a young black lad. He struck him, hamstringing him, and as he continued his attack on him, he said, "Patience, son of Ham! In such situations the noble endure patiently."

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿUmārah—ʿAbd-
[852] allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, who said: Al-Ḥajjāj sent the heads of Ibn al-Zubayr, ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣafwān, and ʿUmārah b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm to Medina, where they were displayed; then they were taken to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. Al-Ḥajjāj entered Mecca and received the oath of allegiance to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān from the [members of] Quraysh there.

According to Abū Jaʿfar [sc. al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, ʿAbd al-Malik appointed Ṭāriq, the *mawlā* of ʿUthmān, governor of Medina. He served as its governor for five months.

Bishr b. Marwān died this year, according to al-Wāqidī. Others say that his death took place in the year 74.

[ʿAbd al-Malik and the Khārijites]

Also in this year, according to what is mentioned, ʿAbd al-Malik sent ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar to fight Abū Fudayk, ordering him to call up anyone he wanted from the two garrison cities to go with him. ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh went to al-Kūfah and called up its people; ten thousand answered his call. Then he went to al-Baṣrah and called up its people; ten thousand answered his call.[831] Having issued them their provisions and given them their stipends, ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh marched forth with them. He placed the Kūfans, led by Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah, on the right wing; he placed the Baṣrans, led by his brother's son, ʿUmar b. Mūsā b. ʿUbaydallāh, on the left wing; and he placed

830. Mss. O, B, and Co read, "army," instead of "defensive trench."
831. This sentence is omitted in Mss. O, B, and Co.

his horsemen in the middle. When they reached al-Baḥrayn, ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh lined up his forces. He put the foot soldiers in front: they held short lances (*rimāḥ*) that they set in the ground, and they shielded themselves with saddle pads. Abū Fudayk and his forces attacked like a single man and routed ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh's left wing, so that all scattered except al-Mughīrah b. al-Muhallab, Maʿn b. al-Mughīrah, Mujjāʿah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and the most skillful fighters. The latter turned to the ranks of the Kūfans, who held fast. ʿUmar b. Mūsā b. ʿUbaydallāh was left wounded. He was among the slain and had been badly wounded. When the Baṣrans saw that the Kūfans had not fled, they felt ashamed and returned to the fight, although they had no commander. When they reached the wounded ʿUmar b. Mūsā b. ʿUbaydallāh, they carried him, until they brought him into the camp of the Khārijites. There was a great deal of straw there. They set fire to it, and the wind turned against the Khārijites. The Kūfans and Baṣrans attacked, plundered their camp, killed Abū Fudayk, and besieged them in al-Mushaqqar.[832] The Khārijites submitted to judgment. According to what has been mentioned, ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh put about six thousand of them to death and took eight hundred captive. They found Umayyah b. ʿAbdallāh's slave girl pregnant by Abū Fudayk. Then they returned to al-Baṣrah. [853]

[Bishr b. Marwān Becomes Governor of al-Baṣrah]

In this year, ʿAbd al-Malik removed Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh from al-Baṣrah and appointed his [own] brother, Bishr b. Marwān, its governor. Thus, the governorship of both it and al-Kūfah came to be his. When Bishr was appointed governor of al-Baṣrah in addition to al-Kūfah, he went to al-Baṣrah and left ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth as his deputy in charge of al-Kūfah.

[Campaigns against the Byzantines]

In this year, Muḥammad b. Marwān campaigned during the summer and defeated the Byzantines. ʿUthmān b. al-Walīd's attack

832. Al-Mushaqqar was an ancient fortress in al-Baḥrayn. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.

on the Byzantines in the region of Armenia is said to have taken place in this year. He had four thousand men, the Byzantines sixty thousand, but he defeated them and killed many of them.

[Those in Office during the Year]

During this year, the pilgrimage was led by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf,
[854] who was in charge of Mecca, Yemen, and al-Yamāmah. According to al-Wāqidī, Bishr b. Marwān was in charge of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah; others say that Bishr b. Marwān was in charge of al-Kūfah, and that Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd was in charge of al-Baṣrah. Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah, and Hishām b. Hubayrah was in charge of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah. Bukayr b. Wishāḥ was in charge of Khurāsān.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXII

The Marwānid Restoration

TRANSLATED BY EVERETT K. ROWSON

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Translated by Everett K. Rowson

This volume chronicles the history of the Islamic state in the years A. H. 74-81 (A. D. 693-701), after the final defeat of Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca put an end to twelve years of civil war and reunited the empire under the rule of the Marwānid caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik. Syria and the Hijaz enjoyed a period of relative peace during this time, and stability and consolidation were furthered by such basic administrative reforms as the institution of an official Islamic coinage. Pacification of Iraq, where Khārijite rebel bands still roamed and mutiny was spreading among the government forces, was entrusted by ᶜAbd al-Malik to the victorious general al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. Al-Ṭabarī gives a detailed account of this iron-fisted governor's administration, concentrating on his war against the redoubtable Shabīb b. Yazīd, a Khārijite guerilla leader with a band of a few hundred men who held out against all odds and twice even entered the capital at al-Kūfah and prayed in its mosque. Vivid eyewitness reports from participants on both sides of this conflict provide a valuable picture of Arab life in Iraq at this time, as well as evidence for the ideology of the Khārijites and the sources of discontent in the wider society.

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translated and annotated
by

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS *(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)* by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash

(—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

Aghānī[1]: Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. 20 vols. Būlāq, 1285 (1868).
BGA: Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum
EI[1]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed. Leiden, 1913–38.
EI[2]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. Leiden, 1960–.
EI[2] *Suppl.*: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., *Supplement*, Leiden, 1982–.
GAL: C. Brockelmann. *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Leiden, 1937–49.
GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Leiden, 1967–.
SEI: *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Leiden, 1953.
WKAS: *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*. Wiesbaden, 1970–.

Translator's Foreword

In this volume al-Ṭabarī chronicles the first nine years of the Marwānid restoration, the period following the final defeat and death of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca and the reunification of the Islamic polity under his opponent, the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. After twelve years of continuous civil war, this was a period of relative tranquillity, at least in the western provinces of the Hijaz, Syria, and Egypt. Concerning events in these areas al-Ṭabarī has little to say. Border warfare with the Byzantine Empire was resumed, but the annual summer campaigns produced few results, and we are given only the briefest mention of them. From other sources, we know of a series of fundamental administrative reforms implemented by the caliph at the capital in Damascus, but al-Ṭabarī reports only the most important of these: the institution of an official, aniconic, Islamic coinage. About such significant events as the building of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem he is totally silent. As in much of his *History*, al-Ṭabarī focuses his attention in this volume almost exclusively on Iraq and, to a lesser extent, the eastern provinces of Khurāsān and Sijistān; while this concentration can be explained in part by the nature of the source material available to him, it also reflects the continuing high level of conflict in these regions at this time, in contrast to the West.

In Iraq, despite the defeat of Ibn al-Zubayr's brother Muṣʿab, there remained widespread disaffection with the Marwānid regime from several quarters, and Iraqi troops were still occupied with a war against the Azraqite Khārijites in Khūzistān and Fārs. A

forceful and effective governor was needed, and 'Abd al-Malik found him in the redoubtable al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, whose appointment to Iraq immediately after his successful siege of Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca marked the beginning of an era. From his inaugural harangue to the Kūfans immediately upon his arrival—perhaps the most celebrated speech in the history of Arabic literature—al-Ḥajjāj dominates this section of al-Ṭabarī's annals. After crushing a mutiny by the Baṣran forces, he prosecuted the Azraqite war with vigor, until dissension among the Azraqites themselves, perhaps between Arabs and non-Arabs, made possible their final and total defeat. Meanwhile, another group of Khārijites, small but pertinacious, harried Iraq itself, first under Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ, then under Shabīb b. Yazīd. Al-Ṭabarī slows his narrative to give a full account of the saga of Shabīb, who, with only a few hundred men, roamed through Iraq with impunity, and even entered al-Kūfah twice. Every commander sent out against him was defeated or killed, as Shabīb pursued his guerrilla tactics, until al-Ḥajjāj finally turned the tide by himself taking the field and defeating him before al-Kūfah; as Shabīb's forces retreated, their leader was thrown by his horse from a bridge and drowned. Quoting participants from both sides of this conflict, al-Ṭabarī here offers, in reminiscence and anecdote, a vivid picture of life on campaign in Iraq at this time. Particularly interesting is his account of negotiations between Shabīb and the disaffected commander, Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah, who was induced to rebel against his governor and caliph but rejected Shabīb's own claim to legitimate rule; Muṭarrif's independent rebellion, a good indication of the degree of alienation from the central authority among the Iraqi forces, was quickly put down.

Farther east, in Khurāsān, the campaign of conquest had slowed and then stopped as tribal feuds and rivalries fractured the unity of the Arab troops and settlers. 'Abd al-Malik's appointment of a neutral governor from his own tribe of Quraysh stopped the fighting, but the wounds were slow to heal, and this volume begins and ends with accounts of the fates of Baḥīr and Bukayr, the leaders of the two factions of the divided Tamīm, the largest tribal group in Khurāsān. Al-Ḥajjāj's successes in Iraq led 'Abd al-Malik to add Khurāsān and Sijistān to his governorship, and al-Ḥajjāj sent out, as his sub-governor over Khurāsān, al-Muhallab b.

Abī Ṣufrah, the victorious general of the Azraqite war. Al-Muhallab was able to resume the Islamic campaigns, but without notable success.

Al-Ḥajjāj's sub-governor to Sijistān, 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah, fared considerably worse. After penetrating far into enemy territory, his troops were surrounded and decimated. In response, al-Ḥajjāj raised and outfitted the "Peacock Army," on which he lavished great sums, and appointed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath to command it. This volume closes with the latter's modest successes in Sijistān—before his decision to rebel presented al-Ḥajjāj with the gravest challenge of his career.

In this section of his annals, al-Ṭabarī relies essentially on two authors. His account of events in Khurāsān is attributed throughout to al-Madā'inī (d. 225/839), while the much lengthier sections on Iraq depend almost exclusively on the monographs of Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774). Abū Mikhnaf is in fact al-Ṭabarī's sole acknowledged source for the Azraqite wars and the rebellion of Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah, as well as the disastrous expedition to Sijistān. Only in his account of Shabīb's attacks on al-Kūfah does al-Ṭabarī occasionally offer variant reports, from 'Umar b. Shabbah (d. 264/877) and an anonymous source. For al-Ḥajjāj's simultaneous appointment of governors to Khurāsān and Sijistān, al-Ṭabarī presents parallel accounts from both Abū Mikhnaf and al-Madā'inī. Other authorities are mentioned only occasionally. Al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823) is the source for al-Ṭabarī's very exiguous report on the coinage reform; Aḥmad b. Thābit is cited annually for the identity of the leader of the pilgrimage.

My translation follows the text of the Leiden edition by I. Guidi throughout, with only a very few emendations, required or suggested by context, and specified in the notes. Guidi's five (in one section six) manuscripts provide, on the whole, a satisfactory text, except for a number of abrupt transitions where the natural sequence seems disturbed. The philological commentary on al-Ḥajjāj's oration, for example, is interrupted by a narrative that probably should succeed it (II, 868); and the additions to Abū Mikhnaf's account of Shabīb's attacks on al-Kūfah, derived from other sources, seem in part to have been inserted in the wrong places, resulting in dangling transition sentences and perhaps some omitted *isnāds* (II, 910–919, 962–969). These problems

have been merely identified in the notes; their solution must await an eventual re-edition of the text.

I have provided relatively full citations of parallels to Al-Ṭabarī's information from available earlier sources, as well as from the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr, which is largely a summary of al-Ṭabarī and occasionally of textual importance. The most important of the early sources, specifically for the Khārijite wars, is the *Kitāb al-Futūḥ* of Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, whose rather detailed account diverges considerably from that offered by al-Ṭabarī. Al-Mubarrad's *Kāmil* also includes a long digression on the Khārijites, which seems to share features with both al-Ṭabarī and Ibn A'tham. It is unfortunate that the section of al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb* on the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, another independent early source, remains unpublished and has been unavailable to me; I have, however, cited parallels from al-Balādhurī's section on al-Ḥajjāj, which appears in the volume of the *Ansāb* published by Ahlwardt under the title *Anonyme arabische Chronik*.

Besides making reasonable efforts to identify individuals and places mentioned in the text, I have regularly supplied information on tribal affiliations, relying most heavily on Caskel's analytical edition of Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamharat al-nasab*. Al-Ṭabarī presents the conflicts in Khurāsān in this period as essentially tribal in nature and makes it clear that tribal solidarities and rivalries played an important role in the Khārijite disturbances in Iraq as well; while not attempting an original analysis of these tribal factors, I have thought it best to provide the basic information al-Ṭabarī would have assumed as general knowledge among his original readership.

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Hans Hinrich Biesterfeldt and Professor Gerhard Endress of the Rühr-Universität Bochum for facilitating my stay there and use of the library of the Seminar für Orientalistik, where much of the annotation was completed. I am also grateful to Professor Jacob Lassner of Wayne State University for his careful editing of my manuscript.

Everett K. Rowson

The Events of the Year [854]

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(May 13, 693–May 1, 694)

The Important Events of This Year

Among the events of this year: 'Abd al-Malik dismissed Ṭāriq b. 'Amr[1] from Medina and appointed as its governor al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.[2] It is reported that the latter came to Medina, stayed there a month, and then left to perform the lesser pilgrimage (*'umrah*).[3]

In this year, it is reported, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf dismantled the structures of the Ka'bah that Ibn al-Zubayr had put up. The latter had incorporated the Ḥijr inside the Ka'bah and given the Ka'bah two doors; al-Ḥajjāj restored it to its original form.[4] He then went

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1. Governor since 72 (691–692) or 73 (692–693), after taking the city from the governor of the rival caliph Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca; see text above, II, 834, 852.

2. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh* (Najaf), 294, 298; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 67f., 188f.; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf; J. Périer, *La vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj ibn Yousof* (Paris, 1904), 54ff. As commander of the Umayyad forces, al-Ḥajjāj had, the previous year, with the assistance of Ṭāriq b. 'Amr, successfully besieged Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca, and been appointed governor there; he was now given the governorship of Medina as well. See text above, II, 844–52, 853–54.

3. The "lesser pilgrimage" to Mecca can be performed at any time of year; see *SEI*, s.v. 'umra.

4. The Ḥijr is a semicircular area adjoining the Ka'bah wall, whose special

back to Medina, in Ṣafar (June-July), and stayed there three months, treating the people of Medina harshly and arbitrarily. He built a mosque there, in the area of the Banū Salimah, which is still known by his name.[5] He treated the companions of the Messenger of God with contempt, forcing them to wear seals around their necks.[6]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar[7]—Ibn Abī Dhi'b: Someone saw Jābir b. 'Abdallāh[8] with a seal on his hand. According to Ibn
[855] Abī Dhi'b: Isḥāq b. Yazīd saw Anas b. Mālik[9] with a seal around his neck; al-Ḥajjāj did that to humiliate him.

According to Ibn 'Umar—Shuraḥbīl b. Abī 'Awn—his father: I was there when al-Ḥajjāj sent for Sahl b. Sa'd[10] and asked him, "What was it that prevented you from supporting the Commander of the Faithful 'Uthmān b. 'Affān?" He replied, "But I did!" Al-Ḥajjāj said, "You are lying!" Then he ordered a lead seal put on his neck.

In this year, according to al-Wāqidī, 'Abd al-Malik appointed Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī as judge.[11]

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sanctity is variously explained; most often it is identified as the burial place of Ishmael and Hagar. See *EI²*, s.v. Ka'ba. On Ibn al-Zubayr's construction, see text above, II, 592. On al-Ḥajjāj's reconstruction, see also Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah* (Leipzig), 145f.; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 268; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Leiden), 47; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (Leiden), 321; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh* (Leiden), II, 325; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A. M. 6183; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Leiden), IV, 365; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah* (Cairo, 1932), IX, 2–3.

5. The Banū Salimah b. Sa'd were a clan of the Khazraj; see 'U. Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab* (Damascus, 1949), II, 537. Later geographical writers do not mention this mosque.

6. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 68: al-Ḥajjāj put seals on the hands of Jābir b. 'Abdallāh and others, "as is done with the *dhimmah*." On the use of seals to indicate payment of taxes among *dhimmīs*, and corresponding practices among Byzantines and Sasanians, see M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton, 1984), 112f.

7. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, d. 207 (823); see *EI¹*, s.v. al-Wāḳidī.

8. D. 78 (697); see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 85; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 22.

9. D. c. 91 (708); see *EI²*, s.v. Anas b. Mālik. In 65 (684) he had led the prayer in al-Baṣrah at the behest of Ibn al-Zubayr; see text above, II, 465. According to Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iqd* (Cairo, 1940), V, 36–41, al-Ḥajjāj's further abuse of Anas two years later, in al-Baṣrah, prompted the latter to write a letter of complaint to 'Abd al-Malik, who was furious with al-Ḥajjāj and forced him to apologize; a variant of this story appears also in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 385–87.

10. D. 88 (706–707) or 91 (709–710); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (Hyderabad), IV, 252.

11. In Damascus; see *EI²*, s.v. al-Khawlānī.

In this year, according to some reports, Bishr b. Marwān left al-Kūfah for al-Baṣrah, to become governor there.[12]

In this year, al-Muhallab was entrusted by 'Abd al-Malik with the war against the Azraqites.[13]

Al-Muhallab and the War against the Azraqites

When Bishr had arrived in al-Baṣrah, 'Abd al-Malik sent him the following letter, according to Hishām[14]—Abū Mikhnaf[15]—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—his father:

> Send forth al-Muhallab against the Azraqites with the men of his garrison and have him select from among them the best horsemen and the most distinguished, capable and experienced among them, for he knows them best. Let him follow his own judgment in conducting the campaign, for I have total confidence in his experience and his concern for the welfare of the Muslims. Send out also a large force of Kūfans, and appoint as their leader a well-known and respected man, of pure and noble lineage, someone known for his strength, courage, and experience in battle. Mobilize the men of these two garrisons against the Azraqites and have them pursue them wherever they go, until God annihilates and exterminates them. Peace. [856]

Bishr summoned al-Muhallab, gave him the letter to read, and

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12. Bishr was 'Abd al-Malik's brother. He had been governor of al-Kūfah for three years. According to some reports, his move to al-Baṣrah, or at least his additional appointment as governor there, replacing Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, occurred in 73 (692–693); see text above, II, 852–54. See also Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ* (Hyderabad), VI, 313f.; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 268, 294; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 178, and XI, 26; *EI²*, s.v. Bishr b. Marwān.

13. The Azraqites were extremist Khārijites, originally followers of Nāfi' b. al-Azraq (d. 65 [685]); at this time they were led by Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'ah. They had been defeated at al-Ahwāz and driven back to Fārs by Khālid b. 'Abdallāh in 72 (691–692); earlier, al-Muhallab had fought against them for both Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr and 'Abd al-Malik. See text above, II, 583ff., 765, 822ff. See also Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VI, 314–19; Mubarrad, *Kāmil* (Leipzig), 662ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 365–67; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 3; *EI¹*, s.v. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra; *EI²*, s.v. Azāriḳa.

14. Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, d. c. 204 (819); see *EI²*, s.v. al-Kalbī.

15. D. 157 (774); see *EI²*, s.v. Abū Mikhnaf; U. Sezgin, *Abū Mihnaf* (Leiden, 1971).

ordered him to select whomever he wished. Al-Muhallab sent Juday' b. Sa'īd b. Qabīṣah b. Sarrāq al-Azdī, who was the maternal uncle of his son Yazīd, ordering him to go to the military roll (*dīwān*)[16] and select the men. Bishr was annoyed that the command had been given to al-Muhallab by 'Abd al-Malik, so that he was unable to send out someone else;[17] this caused him as much resentment against al-Muhallab as if the latter had done him a personal injury. Bishr b. Marwān then summoned 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf[18] and sent him to the Kūfans, ordering him to select the best horsemen and the most distinguished, capable and courageous of the men.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—men of the tribe—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf: Bishr b. Marwān summoned me and said: "You know the position you enjoy with me and the preferment I have shown you. Now I have decided to put you in charge of the army, basing my decision on what I know of your courage, capability, nobility, and boldness. I expect you to live up to my good opinion of you. See that such-and-such happens to al-Muhallab; take over his command completely, accepting neither his advice nor his opinion; belittle his abilities and make much of his shortcomings." He neglected to give me any counsel about the troops, fighting the enemy, or seeing to the welfare of the Muslims, but kept on trying to incite me against my clansman[19]—as if I were a dunce or someone who could be treated like a child or a fool! Never have I seen someone make an appeal to a respectable man of my appearance and position like the appeal this boy made to me! 'Amr has outgrown the neck-ring![20] When Bishr saw that I
[857] did not respond with alacrity, he said, "What is the matter?" I replied, "May God be good to you! Do I have any choice but to carry out your orders, whether willingly or reluctantly?" "Go,

16. See *EI²*, s.v. dīwān.

17. Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 663, names Bishr's preference as 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar, who had recently defeated the Khārijite Abū Fudayk; see text above, II, 852f.

18. Great-uncle of Abū Mikhnaf; see U. Sezgin, *Abū Mihnaf*, 225, n. 128; Kh. Ziriklī, *al-A'lām* (Cairo, 1953–59), IV, 111.

19. Both men belonged to the tribe of Azd.

20. I.e., "How childish of him!" See Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl* (Cairo, 1342), II, 75; Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb* (Cairo, 1908), 505.

then," he said, "and have a safe trip." I bade him farewell and withdrew.

Al-Muhallab then set out with the Baṣran forces and proceeded as far as Rāmhurmuz, where he found the Khārijites; he then entrenched himself there. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf set out with the Kūfans, accompanied by the following commanders: Bishr b. Jarīr, in charge of the quarter of the Medinese; Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays, in charge of the quarter of the Tamīm and Hamdān; Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, in charge of the quarter of the Kindah and Rabī'ah; and Zaḥr b. Qays, in charge of the quarter of the Madhḥij and Asad.[21] 'Abd al-Raḥmān marched out and encamped about a mile (*mīl*)[22] or a mile and a half from al-Muhallab, so that the two armies were within sight of each other at Rāmhurmuz. But then, only ten days later, word came to the men of the death of Bishr b. Marwān in al-Baṣrah, and many from the forces of both al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah deserted.[23] Bishr was replaced by Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd,[24] whose deputy over al-Kūfah was 'Amr b. Ḥurayyith.[25]

Among the Kūfan deserters were Zaḥr b. Qays, Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf sent his son Ja'far after them. Ja'far brought back Isḥāq and Muḥammad—Zaḥr b. Qays eluded him—and confined them for two days, then charged them not to part from him. But they stayed only one day before leaving again, taking a different route. They were pursued without success, and kept moving until they caught up with Zaḥr b. Qays in al-Ahwāz, where many of the men who were heading for al-

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21. Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 664, specifies a force of two thousand men from each quarter, but garbles the names of two of the commanders. For the division of the Kūfan army into quarters, see text above, II, 131, 644, 701; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 245.

22. A *mīl* is a third of a *farsakh*, or about two kilometers. See W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden, 1970), 63.

23. According to al-Wāqidī, Bishr died in 73 (692–693); see text above, II, 852.

24. An Umayyad (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah* [1948], 104), he had already been governor of al-Baṣrah, until replaced by Bishr; see text above, II, 818, and notes 12, 13 above.

25. He retained this position, having already been deputized by Bishr when the latter transferred to al-Kūfah; see text above, II, 853. 'Amr had earlier served as deputy in al-Kūfah for Ziyād b. Abīhi and his son 'Ubaydallāh as well; see text above, II, 115, 459ff.

[858] Baṣrah came together. When word of this reached Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh, he wrote a letter to the men and sent an emissary to bring them to their senses and make them return. One of his clients brought the letter and read it out to the men, who had been assembled to hear it:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh to those Muslims and believers whom this letter of mine reaches. Greetings. To you I offer praise of God; there is no god but He. The matter: God has imposed the duty of jihād on His servants, and required obedience to those who govern them. He who participates in jihād does so only to his own benefit, but he who gives up jihād for God will be forsaken by God. Moreover, he who defies the governors and rightful authorities brings down God's wrath on himself, merits corporal punishment, and makes himself liable to confiscation of his property as spoil, cancellation of his stipend (*ʿatāʾ*),[26] and exile to the most remote and evil of lands. O Muslims! Know who it is whom you have so boldly defied! It is ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, the Commander of the Faithful, a man with no weaknesses, from whom rebels can expect no indulgence! On the one who defies him falls his whip, and on the one who opposes him falls his sword! I spare no pains to warn you! Do not pave the way to your own destruction! Servants of God! Return to your assigned places[27] and to the obedience of your caliph, and persist no longer in your defiance and opposition, lest you be afflicted with what you would avoid. I swear by God that after this letter of mine any rebel that I find I will surely slay, God willing. Peace and God's mercy be upon you.

As Khālid's client read out this letter to them, every line or two Zaḥr interrupted to say, "Get to the point!" He replied, "By God, I hear the words of a man who does not want to understand what he hears! I bear witness that he has not the slightest interest in
[859] what is in this letter!"[28] Zaḥr then said to him, "Read, then, what

26. See *EI²*, s.v. 'aṭā'.
27. *Maktab*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; *WKAS*, s.v. Some MSS read *amkinah*, "places."
28. *Lā ya'īju bi-shay' mimmā fī hādhā al-kitāb*. Other MSS read *lā tahīju fitnah*

you were commanded to, you pale-faced slave, and then go back to your own people. You have no idea how we feel." The client finished reading the letter, but the men paid no attention to what was in it. Zaḥr, Isḥāq b. Muḥammad, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān set off and camped at a village belonging to the Ash'ath clan, near al-Kūfah. They sent the following letter to 'Amr b. Ḥurayyith:

> When the men heard of the death of the amīr—may God have mercy on him—they dispersed, not one remaining with us. We have come now to the amīr and to our garrison, but prefer not to enter al-Kūfah without informing the amīr and receiving his permission.

'Amr b. Ḥurayyith wrote back:

> You have abandoned your assigned places and come here in rebellion and disobedience. You have from us neither permission nor safe conduct.

When they received this reply, they waited until night, then entered their lodgings, and remained there until the arrival of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.

In this year, 'Abd al-Malik dismissed Bukayr b. Wishāḥ from Khurāsān and appointed as governor there Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd.[29]

The Reason for the Dismissal of Bukayr and Appointment of Umayyah

According to Abū al-Ḥasan,[30] Bukayr b. Wishāḥ ruled as governor

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illā kunta ra'sahā—"whenever there is internal strife, you are always at the head of it!"

29. See Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VI, 288–90; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 297 (year 73 [692–693]); Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 416, and *Ansāb*, IVB, 152–54, 164–66; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 324, and *Buldān*, (*BGA*, VII), 299; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār* (Tehran, 1374 solar), 108f. (year 72 [691–692], but very garbled); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 367f.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 3; *EI*², s.v. Bukayr b. Wishāḥ. C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs* (Rome, 1968), 49, notes a dirham minted by Umayyah in Sijistān, dated 73 (692–693).

30. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, d. c. 228 (843); see *EI*², s.v. al-Madā'inī.

of Khurāsān for two years until Umayyah arrived to take over the post; for Ibn Khāzim was killed in the year 72 (691–692), and Umayyah arrived in the year 74 (693–694). The reason Bukayr was dismissed from Khurāsān was as follows: 'Alī[31]—al-Mufaḍ-
[860] ḍal:[32] Baḥīr was imprisoned by Bukayr b. Wishāḥ because of his role in the business I mentioned previously about Ibn Khāzim's head; that is, when the latter was killed,[33] Baḥīr remained Bukayr's prisoner until 'Abd al-Malik appointed Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd governor. When Bukayr heard of this, he sent to Baḥīr with an offer of reconciliation, but the latter refused, saying, "Bukayr thought that Khurāsān would remain his without opposition."[34] Messengers shuttled between them, but Baḥīr continued to refuse. Then Ḍirār b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ḍabbī came to see him, saying, "It seems to me that you are being very foolish. Here your clansman[35] sends you an apology, when you are his captive and the sword is in his hand, and if he killed you a goat wouldn't fart over you[36]—yet you will not accept it from him! This is hardly in your own interest! Accept this truce and regain your freedom!" Baḥīr yielded to his advice and made peace with Bukayr. Bukayr then sent him forty thousand dirhams, on the condition that he not take up arms against him.[37]

Now the Tamīm in Khurāsān were at odds: Muqā'is and the Buṭūn sided with [Baḥīr, while 'Awf and the Abnā' took Bukayr's side].[38] The forces of Khurāsān feared that war would resume and

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31. Al-Madā'inī.

32. Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī (d. c. 170 [786]), the noted philologist and compiler of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*; see *GAL* I, 116.

33. See text above, II, 833: Baḥīr had led the forces that defeated and killed the Zubayrid governor Ibn Khāzim. However, when Baḥīr refused to give up the latter's head to Bukayr, who was Ibn Khāzim's former deputy but had accepted 'Abd al-Malik's appointment as governor, Bukayr struck him and took the head, and then imprisoned him. The remainder of this paragraph seems anticipatory, and the reason for Bukayr's dismissal follows in the next; Ibn al-Athīr in his summary (*Kāmil*, IV, 367) reverses them.

34. *Ẓanna Bukayr anna Khurāsān tabqā lahu fī al-jamā'ah*; see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, glossarium, s.v. *jamā'ah*.

35. Both men belonged to the tribe of Tamīm; see next paragraph.

36. For the proverb, see Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 157; Tha'ālibī, *Thimār*, 304.

37. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VI, 288–90, gives a fuller account of Ḍirār's intercession.

38. The addition is from Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 367. Baḥīr belonged to the clan of Ṣuraym b. Muqā'is b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd, and Bukayr to the 'Awf b. Ka'b b. Sa'd.

that the region would be devastated, and that their enemies among the polytheists would then overpower them. So they wrote to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, saying that Khurāsān would only recover from its disarray under the direction of a man of Quraysh, one who would be the object of neither their envy nor their partisanship. 'Abd al-Malik said, "Khurāsān is the frontier of the East. It has had its troubles under the governance of this Tamīmī, and the troops have broken into factions. Fearing that they will return to the factionalism of the past, and that the region and its people will then be destroyed, they have asked me to appoint as governor over them a man of Quraysh, whom they would heed and obey." To this Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, send out to them a man from your own family." 'Abd al-Malik said, "Were it not for your retreat from Abū Fudayk, you would be that man!"[39] Umayyah pro- [861] tested, "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, I retreated only when I could no longer fight, the men having deserted me. Then I thought it would be better for me to fall back to a rear echelon[40] than to expose a small remaining band of Muslims to annihilation. Marrār b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakrah knows about this, and Khālid b. 'Abdallāh also wrote to you that he had been informed of my excuse." Khālid had indeed written to him with Umayyah's excuse, informing him that the men had deserted him; and Marrār also confirmed Umayyah's statement, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful, he held out until he could no longer put up a fight, the men having deserted him." 'Abd al-Malik then made Umayyah governor of Khurāsān.

'Abd al-Malik loved Umayyah and used to say, "He is from the same brood as I"—that is, they were born at the same time. The people said, "We have never seen anyone compensated for a de-

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Ka'b b. Sa'd and 'Amr b. Sa'd constituted the Buṭūn, while the Abnā' were descendants of Sa'd's other sons; but the 'Awf b. Ka'b joined the Abnā' rather than the Buṭūn. See W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab: Das Genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī* (Leiden, 1966), I, 75, II, 135, 230; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 204–8; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab*, I, 3, II, 860, III, 1131.

39. Abū Fudayk was a Khārijite rebel; see *EI²*, s. v. Abū Fudayk. For Umayyah's defeat at his hands, see text above, II, 829; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVA, 459.

40. *Fi'ah*; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v.: "a company of soldiers who fight in the rear of an army, and to whom the latter has recourse in the case of fear or defeat."

feat the way Umayyah was compensated: he fled from Abū Fudayk and then was made governor of Khurāsān!"

A man from Bakr b. Wā'il, who was being held in prison by Bukayr b. Wishāḥ, recited these verses:[41]

The red-white camels, snorting through their nose-rings,
their saddlecloths pushed back from their shoulders,
With the places of their saddle-girths looking like
spotted doves perched in churches,
Brought you a noble man from Umayyah, impeccable, like a
great white hawk,
with a countenance gleaming like a polished sword.

At this time Baḥīr was in al-Sinj.[42] He asked about Umayyah's progress, and when he heard that he was approaching Abarshahr,[43] he spoke with a man named Razīn, or Zarīr, from the
[862] Persians of Marw, saying, "Show me a shortcut, so that I may meet the amīr before he arrives, and I will give you such-and-such and reward you generously." This man did know the way, and he set out with him from al-Sinj, proceeding as far as the Sarakhs region in a single night. He then took him on to Nishapur, and Baḥīr reached Umayyah when he came to Abarshahr.[44] Meeting Umayyah there, he informed him about Khurāsān and what would be best as regards its people, so as to ensure their willing obedience and make them easier for the governor to deal with. Baḥīr also accused Bukayr of ill-gotten gains and warned Umayyah of his treachery.

Baḥīr then accompanied Umayyah to Marw. Umayyah was a man of noble and generous character and made no move against Bukayr or his functionaries. He proposed to Bukayr that the latter take charge of his security force (*shurṭah*),[45] but Bukayr refused

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41. Vv. 1, 3 appear in *Aghānī*[1], XII, 72, in quite a different context, attributed to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam and addressed to Mu'āwiyah.

42. One day's march west of Marw; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* (Leipzig), II, 161; Le Strange, *Lands*, 400.

43. Official name of the city of Nishapur; see *EI*[2], s.v. Abarshahr.

44. It was normally six days from Marw to Sarakhs, and another six from Sarakhs to Nishapur; see Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 279.

45. The troops responsible for internal order, or police. See *EI*[1], s.v. *shurṭa*; N. Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber zur Zeit der Omaijaden nach Ṭabarī* (Tübingen, 1921), 22.

this, so he gave to the post to Baḥīr b. Warqā'. Then some of Bukayr's men reproached him, saying, "You refused the post, so he gave it to Baḥīr—and you know what is between the two of you." But Bukayr replied, "Yesterday I was governor of Khurāsān, with javelins[46] carried before me. Shall I now become head of the security force and carry a javelin myself?"

Then Umayyah said to Bukayr, "Choose any district of Khurāsān you wish!" He replied, "Tukhāristān," whereupon Umayyah said, "It is yours." Bukayr spent a great deal of money preparing for his departure, but then Baḥīr said to Umayyah, "If Bukayr goes to Tukhāristān, he will rebel against you." He kept on warning Umayyah until the latter was convinced and ordered Bukayr to remain with him.

In this year the leader of the pilgrimage was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.[47] He had put 'Abdallāh b. Qays b. Makhramah in charge of the judiciary in Medina before setting off there himself, according to the report of Muḥammad b. 'Umar.[48] Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf was governor of Medina and Mecca; Bishr b. Marwān of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah; and Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd of Khurāsān. Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith was in charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah,[49] [863]
and Hishām b. Hubayrah was in charge of the judiciary in al-Baṣrah.[50] According to some reports, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān performed the lesser pilgrimage in this year, but we are uncertain of the truth of this.

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46. *Ḥarbah.* See Ṭabarī, glossarium, s.v.; Fries, *Heereswesen*, 51.
47. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 268, 301; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 336.
48. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 294, 299; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 68, 188f.
49. On Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith (d. at an advanced age in 78 [697]), see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* (Leiden), VI, 90–100; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* (Beirut, 1968–72), II, 460–63; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 22–26.
50. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 298. On Hishām b. Hubayrah (d. 75 [694]), see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, i, 109f.; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, IX, 88f.

The Events of the Year 75

(May 2, 694–April 20, 695)

The Events of This Year

Among the events of this year: Muḥammad b. Marwān's summer expedition when the Byzantines attacked near Mar'ash.[51]

In this year, 'Abd al-Malik appointed Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ governor of Medina.[52]

In this year, 'Abd al-Malik appointed al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf governor of Iraq, excluding Khurāsān and Sijistān.[53] Al-Ḥajjāj proceeded to al-Kūfah.

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51. According to Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 269f., the Byzantines advanced to al-'Amq or al-A'māq in the environs of Mar'ash in Jumādā I 75 (August–September 694), where they suffered a defeat; see also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 186; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 337; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 374; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 7. Muḥammad was 'Abd al-Malik's brother.

52. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 294ff., 299; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 160–63, and XI, 69, 188f.; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 7. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam was 'Abd al-Malik's paternal uncle.

53. See Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 1–3; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 295f.; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 69, 266f., 269f.; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 326f.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Paris, 1861–77), V, 291f.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 374–79; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 7; Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 65ff. The dramatic accounts in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī and

According to Abū Zayd[54]—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Abū Ghassān—'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Ubaydah b. Muḥammad b. 'Ammār b. Yāsir: Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf left Medina when he received the letter from 'Abd al-Malik appointing him governor of Iraq, after the death of Bishr b. Marwān. He left with a party of twelve riders on thoroughbred camels. They reached al-Kūfah, unannounced, at midday. Al-Muhallab had been sent off by Bishr against the Ḥarūriyyah.[55] Al-Ḥajjāj went directly to the mosque, entered it, and ascended the pulpit, his face covered by a red silk turban. He called out, "Summon the men!" They thought that he and his companions were Khārijites, and came ready to attack them. But when the men were assembled, he rose, uncovered his face, and said:[56] [864]

I am the son of splendor, who scales the heights;
when I remove the turban, you will know me.[57]

By God! I take full accounting of wickedness, match it in return, and pay it back in kind! I see heads ripe and ready for harvest, and blood ready to flow between turbans and beards!

She has tucked up her skirts in readiness.[58]

The time for attack has come, so drive hard, war,
to whom night has brought a violent driver.

Mas'ūdī place al-Ḥajjāj at 'Abd al-Malik's court in Damascus at the time of his appointment.

54. Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah, d. 264 (877); see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 345.

55. The Ḥarūriyyah are the Khārijites, so called from their assembling against 'Alī at Ḥarūrā', near al-Kūfah; see text above, I, 3387–89; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 450; *EI²*, s. v. Ḥarūrā'.

56. This most famous of all Umayyad orations is reproduced in a wide range of sources, with considerable variation in its order and structure; some authorities assign parts of it to a later parallel oration in al-Baṣrah. Relatively early versions include Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 5–10; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (Cairo, 1956), II, 347–50; Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-akhbār* (Cairo, 1925), II, 243; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 266ff.; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 326f.; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 215ff.; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iqd*, V, 17–19; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V. 292–302; *Aghānī¹*, XI, 266ff. See also A. Ṣafwat, *Jamharat rasā'il al-'arab* (Cairo, 1937), I, 274; Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 70ff.

57. Verse by Suḥaym b. Wathīl al-Riyāḥī, d. c. 40 (661); see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 202f. Further verses in Aṣma'ī, *Aṣma'iyyāt* (Cairo, 1964), 17–20, and *Aghānī¹*, XII, 13f. See also Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 5; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 215; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, 28.

58. A version of this proverb appears in Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 35, where "she" is glossed as "disaster" (*dāhiyah*).

No ordinary herder of sheep or camels he,
nor a butcher working at his slaughter-board![59]

Night has brought them a harsh driver,
mettlesome, well traveled in the desert,
but a settled man, no bedouin he.[60]

It is not the time to despise the mixed herds
that she has brought, or the young unbridled she-camels
that scurry along like racing sand-grouse.[61]

By God, O people of Iraq, I cannot be squeezed like a fig, or abashed by rattling old waterskins at me.[62] I have been proven to be at the height of my vigor and have run the longest races. The Commander of the Faithful, 'Abd al-Malik, has emptied out his quiver and tested the wood of his arrows; [865] he found me the strongest and least likely to break, and thus aimed me at you. Long have you pursued a course of faction and followed the path of waywardness; but now, by God, I will bark you as one does a tree, hack you as one does a mimosa,[63] and beat you as one does a camel not of the herd at the watering-hole. By God, I do not make promises without fulfilling them, and I do not measure without cutting. I will see no more of these gatherings, with "it was said" and "he said" and "what does he say?"—what does all this have to do with you? By God, you will stay on the straight paths of the right, or else I will leave every man of you preoccupied with the state of his body. If I find any man from al-Muhallab's expedition still here after three days, I will spill his blood and seize his property.

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59. Attributed variously to Ruwayshid b. Rumayḍ al-'Anazī, al-Ḥuṭam al-Qaysī, and Abū Zughbah al-Khazrajī. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, s.vv. ḥuṭam, waḍam; *Aghānī*[1], XIV, 44; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 215f. My translation conforms to the glosses given in the text below.

60. No attribution in the sources. Ibn Manẓūr, s.v. 'aṣlab, glosses "them" as camels.

61. No attribution in the sources. For *sābiq*, "racing," some MSS read *sā'iq*, "driver" (of a sand-grouse).

62. As is done to make camels run; see Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 191.

63. For the phrase, see Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 191.

Then he went into his residence, without saying anything more.

Another account: When al-Ḥajjāj stood a long time silently before speaking, Muḥammad b. 'Umayr[64] took some pebbles and was going to pelt him with them, saying, "May God oppose him! Not only tongue-tied, but ugly, too; and I expect that what he has to say will match his appearance!" But when al-Ḥajjāj spoke, the pebbles began to spill from his hands without his even noticing. Al-Ḥajjāj said in his oration:

> Faces scowl because God has coined "a similitude: a village which was safe and secure, its sustenance coming to it in abundance from every side; but they were ungrateful for God's blessings, and God made them taste the garment of hunger and fear, because of what they had been doing."[65] You are like them, just the same! Obey your herdsman, and go straight, for, by God, I will make you taste abasement until you learn how, and hack you as one does a mimosa until you consent to be led. I swear by God, you shall embrace justice and leave off this seditious talk, with your "It was thus and thus," and "I was informed by So-and-so on the authority of So-and-so," and "The Cutting; what is the Cutting?"[66] I will give you a Cutting with the sword which will leave your [866] women widows and your children orphans—and that until you leave off these gossamer fantasies and give up all this "See here! See here!" Let me see no more of these gatherings. No man among you shall ride except alone. If rebels were allowed to get away with their insubordination, no spoil[67]

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64. Presumably Muḥammad b. 'Umayr b. 'Uṭārid al-Tamīmī, a former supporter of al-Mukhtār; see text above, II, 635. In the version of Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 215, and others, however, the subject of this anecdote is 'Umayr b. Ḍābi' al-Burjumī, who was subsequently al-Ḥajjāj's first victim in al-Kūfah, as related below, II, 869ff.

65. Qur'ān 16:112.

66. *Al-habr wa-mā al-habr*, perhaps imitating Qur'ānic phraseology (e.g., 101:1–2: *al-qāri'ah mā al-qāri'ah*), although *habr* does not occur in the Qur'ān. *Habr* refers to the cutting up of meat; Ṭabarī, glossarium, s.v., notes Ibn Manẓūr (*Lisān*, s.v.): *wa-fī ḥadīth al-shurāh fa-habarnāhum bi-l-suyūf* ("and in the *ḥadīth* [?] of the Khārijites, 'we sliced them up with swords.'").

67. *Fay'*, originally meaning "booty," but quickly shading off to "revenue." See *EI*², s.v. *fay'*; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950), 38ff.

would be collected and no enemy fought, and the frontiers would be unmanned; and were they not compelled by force to go out and fight, they would never do so voluntarily. I have heard how you defied al-Muhallab and came back to your garrison, mutinous rebels! I swear to you by God, if, after three days, I find any of you here, I will cut off his head!

Then he summoned the marshals (*'urafā'*)[68] and said to them, "Take the men to join al-Muhallab and bring me the vouchers of their arrival;[69] and let the gates of the bridge remain open night and day until this has been accomplished."

Commentary on the oration:[70] "Son of splendor" is the morning, because its splendor chases away the darkness. The "heights" are small promontories among the mountains. Fruit "ripens" when it reaches maturity. Where he says, "Drive, *ziyam*," *ziyam* is a word for war.[71] A "violent" person is one who destroys everything he encounters. A "slaughter-board" is what protects meat from touching the ground. A "harsh driver" is a severe one. The "desert" is a desolate land where one can hear the sound of the camels' steps. An "unbridled" camel is one without a head-rope, as in this line reported by Abū Zayd al-Aṣma'ī:[72]

Umm al-Fawāris rode the feisty, unbridled camel bareback,
spurring it on to a trot and a gallop.

"*Shinan*" is the plural of "*shannah*," meaning a worn-out, dried-up waterskin, as in this verse:[73]

You are like one of the camels of the Banū Uqaysh,

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68. Sg. *'arīf*, officials responsible for pay and discipline of small units of men (originally ten). See *EI²*, s.v. 'arīf; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; Fries, *Heereswesen*, 17f.

69. *Barā'āt*; see Ṭabarī, glossarium, s.v.; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

70. This commentary is missing in some MSS, but appears, abridged, in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 377. Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 217ff., supplies rather different glosses.

71. Mubarrad glosses *ziyam* as (the name of) a horse or camel.

72. An error (?) for Abū Sa'īd al-Aṣma'ī, the famous philologist, d. 213 (828) (see *EI²*, s.v. al-Aṣma'ī), perhaps conflated here with his contemporary, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, d. 214–215 (830–831) (see *EI²*, s.v. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī). The following verse is by Abū Du'ād al-Ru'āsī, fl. c. 81 (700); see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 414; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. 'uluṭ.

73. Verse by al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī, d. c. 602 A. D.; see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 110f.; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 376; W. Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets* (London, 1870), 30.

whom they frighten by rattling an old waterskin at its rump.

He "tested" (*'ajam*) the wood means he bit it; *'ajam* also means "grape-stone," as in this half-verse by al-A'shā:[74] [867]

Their new-cast young were like grape-stones scattered on the ground (?).

By the "strongest" wood he means the hardest; one says a rope is "strong" if it is tightly twisted. "I will hack you as one does a mimosa": "hacking" is cutting, and the mimosa is a kind of thorny tree. "I do not measure without cutting": "measuring" (*khalq*) is projecting, as in God's words, "From a sperm-drop, measured and not measured,"[75] that is, projected and not projected, meaning those which come to term and those which miscarry. Al-Kumayt[76] said, describing a waterskin:

Which no women measuring undertook to cut out,
and from whose interior no stream of water poured.

Here he is actually describing the gizzards of birds, saying they are not like such a waterskin. Also, a "measured" (*khalqā'*) stone is a smooth one, as in this verse:[77]

And a broad chest above swaying legs,
like a measured stone used as a sliding area for children to play on.

One says "I cut (*faraytu*) the hide" if he makes something of it; but if one uses the fourth form of the verb "cut" (*afraytu*), he means he spoils it. "Gossamer fantasies" means what is untrue. Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī[78] said this word originally meant what the

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74. Al-A'shā Maymūn, d. after 5 (625); see *EI²*, s. v. al-A'shā. Variants of this verse appear in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 219; Al-A'shā, *Dīwān* (ed. Geyer, GMS, n. s. VI), no. IV, line 25.

75. Qur'ān 22:5. "Projecting" is *taqdīr*.

76. D. 126–127 (743–744); see *EI²*, s. v. al-Kumayt. For the verse (with variant), see *Die Hāšimijjāt des Kumait*, ed. and trans. J. Horovitz (Leiden, 1904), no. III, line 123.

77. Verse by Imru' al-Qays, d. c. A.D. 550; see *EI²*, s. v. Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥudjr. The verse, with variants, is in Ahlwardt, *Divans*, 118.

78. D. c. 213 (828); see *EI¹*, s. v. al-Shaibānī.

common people call "Satan's snot," that is, the "sun's drool" or gossamer, which appears at midday. Abū al-Najm al'Ijlī[79] said:

The sun's drool flowed and covered things,
and the balance of time stood in equilibrium.

"Gatherings" are groups of people. End of commentary.

[868] According to Abū Ja'far[80]—'Umar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Ubaydah: On the third day, al-Ḥajjāj heard "God is Great" (*takbīr*)[81] pronounced in the market, and went out and took his seat in the pulpit and said:

> O people of Iraq! O people of faction and hypocrisy, and of vicious morals! I have heard a *takbīr*—not a *takbīr* meant to inspire devotion to God, but rather a *takbīr* meant to inspire fear; and I know that this is a dust cloud with a violent wind behind it. Sons of slatterns! Slaves of the rod![82] Scions of husbandless women! Is there not a man among you who will take into account his lameness,[83] value his life, and watch his step? I swear by God, I am on the point of dealing you a blow that will serve as a punishment for those who come before and an example for those who come after!

When he says a "violent wind" he means a strong gale. A "slattern" is a foolish woman, that is, a brutish servant girl. "Lameness" is weakness and fatigue from too much walking.

In the line "Which scurry along like racing sand-grouse," *ghuṭāṭ*, with a *u*, is a kind of bird.[84] On the other hand, al-Aṣma'ī said that the *ghaṭāṭ*, with an *a*, is a kind of bird, citing this line by Ḥassān b. Thābit:[85]

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79. D. after 105 (724); see *EI²*, s. v. Abū al-Nadjm al-'Idjlī.

80. Al-Ṭabarī.

81. The expression *Allāhu akbar* ("God is great!"), enunciated at the beginning of prayer, but also as a call to attack; see A. Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien zur Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung* (Bonn, 1973), I, 128f.

82. For the story behind this proverbial expression of contempt, see Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, 424.

83. That is, acknowledge his limitations; see Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, 268.

84. The commentary reverts here to al-Ḥajjāj's previous speech.

85. D. c. 40 (659); see *EI²*, s. v. Ḥassān b. Thābit. The *Diwan of Ḥassān b. Thābit* (ed. 'Arafat, GMS, n. s. XXV), no. 13, line 12, reads *sawād*, "crowd," for *ghaṭāṭ*.

They are visited so often that their dogs do not whine;
they are undisturbed by a hubbub of approaching sand-grouse—

with *ghaṭāṭ* with an *a*. Then he said that *ghuṭāṭ* with a *u* is the mixture of light and darkness at the end of the night, as in this [869]
rajaz verse:

He rose and went to a dusky lady at daybreak,
walking along with what looked like a tent-upright.

End of commentary.

Then 'Umayr b. Ḍābi' al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanẓalī[86] came to al-Ḥajjāj and said, "May God be gracious to the amīr! I am a member of this expedition, but I am an old man, and sick. Here is my son; he has more vigor than I." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "And who are you?" He said, "I am 'Umayr b. Ḍābi' al-Tamīmī." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Did you hear what I said yesterday?" He said, "Yes." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Was it not you who attacked the Commander of the Faithful 'Uthmān?" He said, "Yes, it was." Al-Ḥajjāj asked, "What impelled you to do that?" He said, "He had imprisoned my father, who was an old man." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "And wasn't it he who said this verse:

I meant to do it, but I didn't—I was about to—and would that I had!—
left 'Uthmān's wives weeping over him!

It seems to me that killing you would be a service to the two garrisons. Take him, guards, and strike off his head!" One of the men approached and struck off his head. His property was also seized.[87]

According to one account, 'Anbasah b. Sa'īd[88] said to al-Ḥajjāj, "Do you know who this is?" He said, "No." 'Anbasah said, "This

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86. Ḥanẓalah is a clan of Tamīm. In the variant of this story given below, the man is called al-Burjumī; the Barājim were a subclan of Ḥanẓalah. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 211f.

87. On this incident, see text above, I, 3033–36, 3048; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 11–14; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVA, 575–77, and XI, 272, 274f.; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 217, 219f., 665f.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 298; *Aghānī*[1], XIII, 42; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 377–79; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 9.

88. An intimate of al-Ḥajjāj; see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVA, 453, and XI, 274f.

is one of the murderers of the Commander of the Faithful 'Uthmān." Then al-Ḥajjāj said, "O enemy of God, you did not
[870] send a substitute on your expedition against the Commander of the Faithful, did you?" and ordered his head struck off. Then he ordered a herald to proclaim through the town, "Hear ye! 'Umayr b. Ḍābi', having heard the proclamation, has come after the third day, and we have ordered his execution. Hear ye! God's protection is withdrawn from any member of al-Muhallab's forces who spends this night in the town." At this, the men began to move out, and there was soon a crowd at the bridge. The marshals went to al-Muhallab, who was at Rāmhurmuz, and took from him letters vouching for their arrival. Al-Muhallab said, "Today a real man has come to Iraq, and from today the enemy will see what battle is."

According to the account of Ibn Abī 'Ubaydah, four thousand men of the tribe of Madhḥij crossed the bridge that night. Then al-Muhallab said, "Today a real man has come to Iraq."

According to 'Umar—Abū al-Ḥasan: When al-Ḥajjāj had 'Abd al-Malik's letter read out to the men, the reader began, "After a greeting of peace, I praise God to you." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Stop! O slaves of the rod, when the Commander of the Faithful gives you a greeting of peace, does no one among you return the greeting? These are the manners of Ibn Nihyah![89] By God, I swear I will teach you better manners than these! Start the letter again!" This time, when he reached the words "After a greeting of peace," every one of them without exception responded, "And upon the Commander of the Faithful be peace and God's mercy!"

According to 'Umar—'Abd al-Malik b. Shaybān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Misma'—'Amr b. Sa'īd: When al-Ḥajjāj arrived in al-Kūfah, he addressed the men and said, "You are deserters from al-Muhallab's army! Let not a single man from his forces remain here after three days!" After the three days had passed, a man came to him with blood dripping from his head. Al-Ḥajjāj asked him, "Who did this to you?" He said, "'Umayr b. Ḍābi' al-Bur-
[871] jumī. I ordered him to go out to his camp, but he was incensed and struck me."[90] Al-Ḥajjāj sent for 'Umayr b. Ḍābi', and he was

89. According to a gloss on Mubarrad's *Kāmil*, 216, Ibn Nihyah was a former head of the *shurṭah* in al-Baṣrah; see also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 298.

90. *Fa-ḍarabanī wa-kadhaba 'alayhi.*

brought in, an old man. Al-Ḥajjāj asked him, "What kept you away from your camp?" He said, "I am an old man, without vigor; so I sent my son as a substitute, since he is both stronger and younger than me. Ask around to see if what I say is true; if it is not, then punish me." But 'Anbasah b. Sa'īd said, "This is the man who went up to 'Uthmān's corpse and slapped his face, then jumped on it and broke two of his ribs." Al-Ḥajjāj then ordered him executed, and this was carried out.

'Amr b. Sa'īd said: By God, while I was on my way between al-Kūfah and al-Ḥīrah, I heard the chant of some Muḍarite camel-drivers.[91] I turned to meet them and asked, "What news?" They said, "A man came to us from the foulest of the tribes of the Arabs, that tribe descended from Thamūd.[92] He had spindly legs, and no flesh on his buttocks, and he was bleary-eyed.[93] He took the chief of the tribe, 'Umayr b. Ḍābi', and he struck off his head."

When al-Ḥajjāj executed 'Umayr b. Ḍābi', Ibrāhīm b. 'Āmir, who was one of the Banū Ghāḍirah of the Banū Asad, met 'Abdallāh b. al-Zabīr[94] in the market and asked him about the news. Ibn al-Zabīr said:

Meeting Ibrāhīm, I say to him,
'I see things have become difficult and complicated.
Get ready, get going, and catch up with the army! I see
no alternative to the army but perdition.
Take your choice! You must either visit Ibn Ḍābi' [872]
'Umayr, or else visit al-Muhallab.

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91. *Sami'tu rajazan Muḍariyyan;* see Ṭabarī, glossarium, s.v. rajaz. The Muḍar tribal grouping included Tamīm.

92. That is, the tribe of Thaqīf, frequently derided for their uncertain ancestry. For traditions linking Thaqīf to the semi-legendary Thamūd, whose destruction by God is described in the Qur'ān, see I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1888–90), I, 99f. Al-Ḥajjāj is reported to have responded to such accusations by appealing to Qur'ān 53:51, *wa-Thamūda fa-mā abqā,* misinterpreting this as "Thamūd, and what (of them) He preserved" and arguing that only the best of them would have been so preserved; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, however, countered with the correct interpretation, "Thamūd, and He did not preserve (them)." See *Aghānī*[1], IV, 74; Mubarrad, *Kāmil,* 266; Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj,* 2.

93. Compare the unflattering descriptions in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj,* V, 289, 327f.

94. On this poet, see Sezgin, *GAS,* II, 329f.; the following verses, with numerous variants, appear also in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ,* VII, 13f.; Balādhurī, *Ansāb,* XI, 272; Mubarrad, *Kāmil,* 217, 666; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj,* V, 300f.; *Aghānī*[1], XIII, 42; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil,* IV, 379.

Faced with these two disagreeable courses, your only salvation is
to ride off on a snowy-gray one-year-old.'
In such circumstances, were he required to ride to Khurāsān,
it would seem as near as the market, or yet nearer!
And how many a flabby man you see now, forced to ride,
who has become so intimate with the bend of the saddle
that he is hunch-backed.

It is reported that al-Ḥajjāj's arrival in al-Kūfah was in the month of Ramaḍān of this year (December 694–January 695).[95] He sent out al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb al-Thaqafī as amīr in charge of al-Baṣrah and ordered him to treat Khālid b. 'Abdallāh harshly.[96] When word of this reached Khālid, he left al-Baṣrah before al-Ḥakam entered it, and went to al-Jalḥā'.[97] The men of al-Baṣrah turned out to see him off, and Khālid did not leave his place of prayer (*muṣallā*) until he had distributed a million dirhams among them.[98]

[873] According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—anonymous—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.[99] In this year, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam went to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, leaving Abān b. 'Uthmān as his deputy in charge of Medina; but 'Abd al-Malik ordered Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam to continue in his position as governor of Medina.[100] Al-

95. This statement is contradicted by the text below, II, 874, 944, which implies that al-Ḥajjāj arrived in Rajab (October–November 694), as stated explicitly by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 295f., and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 269f.

96. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 295; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 179; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 379; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 9. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 275, however, puts al-Ḥakam's appointment after al-Ḥajjāj's own arrival in al-Baṣrah.

97. A place on the pilgrim road from al-Kūfah, some 140 miles south of the latter; see A. Musil, *Northern Neǧd* (New York, 1928), 206f., 210, 235, and references there.

98. A *muṣallā* is a large open space reserved for collective prayers on certain formal occasions; see *EI*[1], s.v. muṣallā. On Khālid's *muṣallā*, see text above, II, 628, and below, II, 1704; L. Massignon, "Explication du plan de Kufa," *Mélanges Maspéro*, III (1935–40), 336, places it on the western edge of the town. Khālid apparently distributed the local treasury to the populace or resident troops, before it could fall into the hands of al-Ḥajjāj; perhaps the intention of this assertion is to justify al-Ḥajjāj's subsequent rescinsion of the troops' pay increase (see below). This anonymous report is not confirmed by other sources.

99. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 301; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 327, 336; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 9.

100. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 294, 299. On Abān b. 'Uthmān, son of the third

Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf was in charge of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah; Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh was in charge of Khurāsān; Shurayḥ was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah; and Zurārah b. Awfā was in charge of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah.[101]

In this year, al-Ḥajjāj left al-Kūfah for al-Baṣrah, appointing Abū Ya'fūr 'Urwah b. al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah as his deputy over al-Kūfah;[102] the latter remained in this position until al-Ḥajjāj returned to al-Kūfah after the battle of Rustaqubādh.

In this year, the men rebelled against al-Ḥajjāj in al-Baṣrah.

The Revolt of the Baṣran Troops against al-Ḥajjāj

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Zuhayr al-'Absī: Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf left al-Kūfah immediately after arriving and having Ibn Ḍābi' executed, and went on to al-Baṣrah. There he gave an oration like the one he had given to the Kūfans, threatening them in the same way. A man of the Banū Yashkur[103] was brought to him, accused of desertion. The man said, "I have a hernia, and Bishr saw it and exempted me; and you will find that my stipend has been returned to the treasury." But al-Ḥajjāj did not accept his excuse and had him killed. This alarmed the [874] Baṣrans, and they began to pour out of the town, descending in throngs on the reviewer[104] at the bridge at Rāmhurmuz. Then al-Muhallab said, "A real man has come to the troops."

Al-Ḥajjāj went out to Rustaqubādh, where he arrived at the beginning of Sha'bān 75 (late November 694).[105] Led by 'Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd, the men rebelled against al-Ḥajjāj. Al-Ḥajjāj had

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caliph, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVA, 617f.; *EI²*, s.v. Abān b. 'Uthmān. He was appointed governor the following year; see text below, II, 940.

101. Zurārah b. Awfā al-Ḥarashī, d. 93 (711–712); see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, i, 109 (reading 93 for 73).

102. Other reports in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 296, make the deputy Ḥawshab b. Ruwaym al-Shaybānī, who was head of the *shurṭah*, according to the text below, II, 918; see also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 380.

103. His name was Sharīk b. 'Amr; see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 275f.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 381. He is called Dhū al-Kursufah ("man with the eye-patch") by Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 666.

104. *'Ariḍ*; see *EI²*, s.v. isti'rāḍ.

105. Rustaqubādh is the later 'Askar Mukram, some ninety miles northeast of al-Baṣrah and sixty-five miles northwest of Rāmhurmuz; see *EI²*, s.v. 'Askar Mukram; Le Strange, *Lands*, 237.

'Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd killed and sent eighteen heads to be set up before the men in Rāmhurmuz. This stiffened the backs of the Muslims, and the Khārijites, who had been hoping that there would be conflict and factionalism among the men, were disappointed. Then al-Ḥajjāj returned to al-Baṣrah.

The reason behind this affair with 'Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd is as follows:[106] When al-Ḥajjāj ordered the troops in al-Baṣrah to join al-Muhallab, and they set off, al-Ḥajjāj himself went as far as Rustaqubādh, which is near Dastawā;[107] this was at the end of Sha'bān (late December 694). He had with him the elite of the Baṣran forces. He and al-Muhallab were about eighteen *farsakhs*[108] apart. Then al-Ḥajjāj stood before the men and said, "The increase in your stipends that Ibn al-Zubayr granted you is the increase of a sinner and hypocrite,[109] and I will not sanction it." Then 'Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd al-'Abdī[110] approached him and said, "It is not the increase of a sinner and hypocrite, but the increase of the Commander of the Faithful 'Abd al-Malik, who confirmed that we should have it." When al-Ḥajjāj called him a liar and threatened him, Ibn al-Jārūd rebelled against him, followed by the elite of the forces. Severe fighting broke out, and al-Ḥajjāj killed Ibn al-Jārūd and a group of his companions. He sent Ibn al-Jārūd's head and those of ten of his companions to al-Muhallab, and himself went back to al-Baṣrah.[111] He then wrote

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106. This is a different version of the rebellion from that just given, as is clear from variants in detail.

107. A town in the district of al-Ahwāz; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 574.

108. A *farsakh* is about six kilometers; see *EI²*, s.v. farsakh.

109. *Fāsiq munāfiq*. These are specific theological terms, the status of the *fāsiq* being one of the primary points of contention among various groups at this time; to Khārijites a *fāsiq* was an unbeliever (*kāfir*), while the view that he was a hypocrite is attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. See *EI²*, s.v. *fāsiḳ*; Watt, *Formative Period*, 17, 80.

110. 'Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd (Bishr) belonged to the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays of Rabī'ah; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 141, 169, and II, 109.

111. Much more detailed than these two brief accounts of Ibn al-Jārūd's rebellion is that of Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 277–94. According to the latter, when al-Ḥajjāj's first proposal to cancel Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr's doubling of the men's stipends met resistance, he temporized for some months before attempting again to impose it. The rebellion broke out only in Rabī' II 76 (July–August 695), and al-Ḥajjāj was very hard pressed until dissension arose among the rebels and appreciable numbers returned to his side. Balādhurī agrees with Ṭabarī's first account that Ibn al-Jārūd and eighteen others were killed. See also Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 269;

to al-Muhallab and to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf, saying: "When this letter reaches you, move against the Khārijites. Peace." [875]

In this year, al-Muhallab and Ibn Mikhnaf expelled the Azraqites from Rāmhurmuz.

Al-Muhallab and the War against the Azraqites

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Zuhayr al-'Absī: Al-Muhallab and Ibn Mikhnaf moved against the Azraqites in Rāmhurmuz, in accordance with the letter of al-Ḥajjāj to them, on Monday, 19 Sha'bān 75 (December 13, 694).[112] They ejected them from Rāmhurmuz without much fighting, advancing slowly against them and driving them off. The Azraqite forces retreated as if they were the rearguard of a defeated army, and moved to a region of Sābūr called Kāzarūn.[113] Al-Muhallab and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf then set out after them and encamped opposite them on 1 Ramaḍān (December 25). Al-Muhallab had a defensive trench dug. According to the Baṣrans, al-Muhallab said to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf, "If you think you should dig a defensive trench, then do so;" but 'Abd al-Raḥmān's forces disdained to do so, saying, "Our trench is our swords." The Azraqites crept up on al-Muhallab by night, hoping to take him by surprise, only to find that he had taken precautions. They then turned instead to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf, and, discovering that he had not dug a trench, attacked him. As his forces were driven back, he joined in the fray with a group of them, but was killed together with those around him. The Khārijite poet said:

Whose camp is this, adorned with fallen men,
a mass of corpses?

Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif* (Cairo, 1969), 338f.; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 271, 280 (Muṣ'ab's decision to pay the stipends twice a year), and *Futūḥ*, 281; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 298–302; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 380–86; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 10; Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 81–86; A. A. Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate* (London, 1971), 143–47; R. Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Aš'aṯ und die Koranleser* (Freiburg, 1977), 129f.

112. Sunday.

113. In Fārs, some sixty miles west of Shīrāz. Kāzarūn town supplanted Sābūr town (Shāpūr, Bishāpūr), for which the district was named, in the fourth (tenth) century. See *EI²*, s.v. Kāzarūn; Le Strange, *Lands*, 262, 266f.

See how the wind scatters coarse sand over them,
they who had trailed their garments in their pride!

[876] The account of the Kūfans: Al-Ḥajjāj's letter came to al-Muhallab and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf, saying: "Move against the Khārijites when my letter reaches you." They moved against them on Wednesday, 20 Ramaḍān 75 (January 12, 695),[114] and met them with fighting as intense as any between them previously. This was shortly after midday. The Khārijites threw all their strength against al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah and drove him back into his camp. He hurriedly sent off some of his trusted men to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and they came to him and said, "Al-Muhallab says to you: Our enemy is one, and you can see what the Muslims are up against; so send reinforcements to your brethren, God's mercy on you." 'Abd al-Raḥmān began to send him reinforcements of both cavalry and infantry, a group at a time. By late afternoon, the Khārijites, seeing the cavalry and infantry coming from 'Abd al-Raḥmān's camp to al-Muhallab's camp, and surmising that 'Abd al-Raḥmān's forces would be depleted, put five or six detachments[115] opposite al-Muhallab's camp, while the rest went off all together to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf. When the latter saw them drawn up against him, he went out to oppose them, having with him the Qur'ān-reciters,[116] led by Abū al-Aḥwaṣ,[117] the companion of 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd,[118] and Khuzaymah b. Naṣr,[119] the father of Naṣr b. Khuzaymah al-'Absī, who was killed with Zayd b. 'Alī and gibbeted with him in al-Kūfah.[120] Also with 'Abd al-Raḥmān were seventy-one of his own picked men.

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114. Tuesday.

115. Sg. *katībah*. See *WKAS*, s.v.; Fries, *Heereswesen*, 41.

116. *Qurrā'*, here translated according to the traditional interpretation. For the controversies over the identity of this political interest group, and M. A. Shaban's reinterpretation of the term as "villagers," see M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History* (Cambridge, 1971), I, 50ff., 67f., 103ff.; *EI²*, s.v. ḳurrā'; R. Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Aš'aṯ*, ch. V (arguing for the traditional interpretation); and further literature cited in these discussions.

117. On him, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 126.

118. The famous Companion and Qur'ān-reader, d. 32 (652–653); see *EI²*, s.v. Ibn Mas'ūd.

119. A former supporter of al-Mukhtār; see text above, II, 625f. He belonged to the Banū 'Abs of Ghaṭafān of Qays 'Aylān; see *EI²*, s.v. Ghaṭafān.

120. In 122 (740); see text below, II, 1703–11.

The Khārijites attacked them and engaged them in heavy fighting. But 'Abd al-Raḥmān's forces fell back, leaving him with a [877] small band of stalwart men who held their ground with him. His son Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who had been among those he had sent to al-Muhallab, called on the forces to follow him to his father's aid, but only a few did; he approached his father, but the Khārijites kept him from reaching him, and he fought until the Khārijites wounded him and he was forced to withdraw from the battle. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf and those with him fought on, on a commanding hill, through some two-thirds of the night, until he was killed amidst his companions.[121]

The next morning, al-Muhallab came and found him, and buried him and prayed over him. He wrote to inform al-Ḥajjāj of his death, and al-Ḥajjāj wrote to inform 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, who received the news at Minā[122] and blamed the Kūfans. Al-Ḥajjāj then sent out 'Attāb b. Warqā'[123] to take command of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf's forces, and ordered him, if he joined with al-Muhallab in battle, to heed and obey him. 'Attāb was unhappy about this but saw no alternative to obeying al-Ḥajjāj, being unable to get him to reconsider. He went to join the army and fought the Khārijites as al-Muhallab's subordinate, but proceeded to act virtually without consulting al-Muhallab on anything. Seeing this, al-Muhallab picked out some men from among the Kūfans, one of whom was Bisṭām b. Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah, and incited them against 'Attāb.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd: 'Attāb came to al-

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121. Other sources do not reflect the sharp conflict here between Baṣran and Kūfan accounts of this battle. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 17, reports that al-Muhallab marched from Rāmhurmuz to Arrajān, where he spent three days, and then on to Sābūr, where he spent three years; and although he gives a far more detailed account of the fighting in Sābūr than does Ṭabarī (see text below, II, 1003ff.), he does not mention 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf. Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 667–70, combines elements of both of Ṭabarī's accounts, mentioning first a day battle in which al-Muhallab received reinforcements from 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and then a night attack on the latter, who had refused to entrench himself. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 388f., essentially summarizes Ṭabarī.

122. Outside Mecca, site of pilgrimage rites; see *EI*², s.v. ḥadjdj. 'Abd al-Malik performed the pilgrimage in this year; see text above, II, 873, and below, II, 881.

123. At this time governor of Iṣfahān, where he had already fought the Azraqites; see text above, II, 762–64. He belonged to the Banū Riyāḥ b. Yarbū' b. Ḥanẓalah of Tamīm; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 68, II, 205.

Muhallab to ask him to provision his men. Al-Muhallab seated 'Attāb next to himself;[124] but when 'Attāb asked him to provision
[878] his men, he did so in a brusque and frowning manner. Al-Muhallab retorted, "Remember where you are, you son of an uncircumcised woman!" The Banū Tamīm assert that 'Attāb returned the insult, while Yūsuf b. Yazīd and others maintain that he said, "By God, she is a woman of noble lineage on both sides, and I rejoice that God has made a distinction between you and me." They exchanged words until al-Muhallab went to raise his staff against him; at this, his son al-Mughīrah jumped up and seized the staff, saying, "May God cause the amīr to prosper! This is one of the noble and eminent figures among the tribesmen. If you hear something from him that displeases you, put up with it from him, for indeed he merits that from you." Al-Muhallab heeded him.

'Attāb rose and left him, but was then confronted by Bisṭām b. Maṣqalah, who assailed him with insults and slander. In view of all this, 'Attāb wrote to al-Ḥajjāj to complain of al-Muhallab, informing him that he had incited against him some insolent men from the garrison, and requesting that he recall him. This came at a time when al-Ḥajjāj was in need of him because of the troubles the notables of al-Kūfah were encountering with Shabīb; so he sent to him, saying, "Come, and leave the command of that army to al-Muhallab." Al-Muhallab then put Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab in command of it.[125]

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124. *Ajlasahu al-Muhallab ma'ahu 'alā majlisihi.*

125. The tribal rivalries behind this story are rather clearer in the somewhat divergent version in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 675–77. According to the latter, it was al-Ḥajjāj who sent 'Attāb to al-Muhallab, stipulating that the supreme command should depend on whether the Kūfans or Baṣrans had originally conquered the area of operations; because Baṣrans had conquered Sābūr, al-Muhallab retained ultimate authority. When al-Ḥajjāj recalled 'Attāb to face Shabīb (see text below, II, 940), he ordered al-Muhallab to provision the armies, but the latter refused provisions to the Kūfans. In the subsequent quarrel, the Tamīm of al-Baṣrah supported 'Attāb, their tribesman, while the Azd of al-Kūfah supported the Azdī al-Muhallab, as did their allies the Bakr. Bisṭām b. Maṣqalah was a Shaybānī (see text above, II, 773—the Banū Shaybān were a tribe of Bakr); Yūsuf b. Yazīd and Abū Mikhnaf belonged to the Banū Azd. Mubarrad states explicitly that al-Muhallab relented and provisioned the Kūfans, after his son al-Mughīrah intervened. Mubarrad's account dates 'Attāb's stay with al-Muhallab from one of the Jumādās 76 (August–October 695) into 77 (696–697), placing it after that of al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah

Verses by Ḥumayd b. Muslim,[126] elegizing ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf:

If they killed you early in the morning, Abū Ḥakīm,
many a valiant man had you attacked and killed in your time.
And if they have deprived us of a true chief chosen by his people,
a man of noble character, bountiful and generous,
A murder like this has crushed your people, all of them—
one who used to bear their burdens for them,
One who used to settle their obligations, and their fighting,
on a day when the fighting was close and fierce.
I swear, he received no mortal wound
until he had already donned a breastplate of blood.
Under his banner the heroes exchanged blows, [879]
their Mashrafī swords in their hands,
Through a long day, and on to the end of the night,
when they saw a crescent moon appear in the sky;
Then the lines of infantry and his cavalry were driven back from him,
And there the spears found him and he faltered.

Verses by Surāqah b. Mirdās al-Bāriqī:[127]

Be generous, my eyes, with your flowing tears,
like a torn old waterskin carried by a rider,
Over Azd, the best of whom have been struck down—
wail for a miserable existence after that!
We try to go on after losing them, but are hindered
by the obstacles of death and clashing detachments.
Before Ibn Mikhnaf was killed, our condition was good,
but every man one day must meet his fate some way.
He has brought tears to the eyes of the white-haired old men of his garrison,

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(see text below, II, 1004) and al-Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh (not mentioned by Ṭabarī in this context). Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī does not mention ʿAttāb at all.

126. This man appears frequently in Ṭabarī as an authority for Abū Mikhnaf's authorities, but is otherwise unknown; see U. Sezgin, *Abū Mihnaf*, 218.

127. D. c. 80 (699); see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 327f. The poet was an Azdī.

and brought white to the locks of the young men before its time.
He fought on until he died the noblest of deaths,
and fell to the dust on a noble cheek and brow.
Fighting off the rebels around him was a band
of men of Azd, brandishing sharp swords.
May no woman ever give birth, and may no absent one return
to his people, so long as he cannot return.
[880] So weep, my eye, for Mikhnaf and Ibn Mikhnaf,
and for the horsemen of my people, my relatives near and distant.

Another elegy of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf by Surāqah:

The chief of the two Azds, Azd Shanū'ah and Azd 'Umān,
has found his last rest, the pledge of a grave in Kāzir.[128]
He fought on until he died the noblest of deaths,
with a keen, cutting sword, flashing like lightning.
And about that hill, under his banner, were felled
those of a noble company who nobly fought.
Ibn Mikhnaf lost his life on the day of that encounter,
when all the weak and uncaring abandoned him.
He sent support, but did not receive it; and he went to God
with his robe tucked up for battle, not dressed in the garb of a traitor.

Al-Muhallab remained at Sābūr, fighting the Khārijites, for about a year.[129]

In this year, Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ, one of the Banū Imru' al-Qays,[130] revolted openly. He held the opinions of the Ṣufriyyah, and it is said that he was the first of the Ṣufriyyah to rebel.[131]

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128. On the two Azds, who united in al-Baṣrah, see *EI²*, s.v. Azd. Kāzir is poetic license for Kāzirūn (or Kāzarūn).

129. Three years in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (see note 121 above); eighteen months in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 677.

130. The Banū Imru' al-Qays were a subtribe of Tamīm.

131. The beginnings of the Ṣufriyyah, and the origin of their name, are unclear. Among Khārijite subsects they are considered moderates, in particular for their rejection of *isti'rāḍ* (indiscriminate massacre of their enemies; see note 157 below) and of condemnation of the children of unbelievers, both in contrast to the Azraqites. Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn* (Wiesbaden, 1963), 101, 118, makes them

The Rebellious Activities of Ṣāliḥ during This Year

Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ, one of the Banū Imru' al-Qays, made the pilgrimage in the year 75 (March–April 695), accompanied by Shabīb [881]
b. Yazīd, Suwayd, al-Baṭīn, and others like them. In this same year, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān made the pilgrimage,[132] and Shabīb determined to assassinate him. 'Abd al-Malik received some indication of their plans and wrote to al-Ḥajjāj after his departure, ordering him to hunt them down. Ṣāliḥ used to come to al-Kūfah for a month or so at a time, meeting his companions to put them in readiness;[133] but when al-Ḥajjāj began searching for him, al-Kūfah became uncongenial to Ṣāliḥ, and he avoided it.

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the source of all doctrinal subbranches of the Khārijites except for the Azraqites, Najdites, and Ibāḍites. See also *EI*[1], s.v. al-Ṣufrīya; Watt, *Formative Period*, 25–34. Al-Ash'arī mentions Ṣāliḥ as a purported adherent of the Ṣufriyyah but remarks that he had no distinctive doctrines of his own. He otherwise refers to him only in the context of a schism not reflected in Ṭabarī's account (*Maqālāt*, 118, 120–22).

132. See text above, II, 873, 877.

133. I.e., for revolt: *li-yu'iddahum*; much less likely, *li-ya'idahum*, "to make promises to them." Some MSS read *li-yu'idda mā yaḥtāju ilayh*, "to prepare what he needed (for revolt)."

The Events of the Year 76

(April 21, 695–April 9, 696)

The Events of This Year

One of these was the rebellion of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ.[134]

The Rebellion of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ and the Reason for It

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Alqa-

134. Ṣāliḥ's "rebellious activities" began at the end of the previous year with the abortive assassination plot against 'Abd al-Malik, but his rebellion itself broke out only in this year. Three and a half months later Ṣāliḥ was killed, and the leadership of the movement taken over by Shabīb, who proved far more formidable. The next hundred pages of Ṭabarī's text are devoted almost exclusively to a detailed account of this revolt, based mainly on Abū Mikhnaf's *K. Shabīb al-Ḥarūrī wa-Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ* (see U. Sezgin, *Abū Mihnaf*, 82f., 109f.), with occasional supplementary information from other sources. Most of the other early sources available to us on Shabīb's rebellion ignore its beginning under Ṣāliḥ; for brief references to the latter, see Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 272; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 410; Baghdādī, *Farq* (Cairo, 1910), 89 (two accounts, one dating the rebellion to the governorship of Bishr b. Marwān). Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 393–96, reproduces Ṭabarī. See also Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 109–15; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 182ff.

mah[135]—Qabīṣah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khath'amī: The reason for his rebellion is as follows: Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ al-Tamīmī was an humble and pious man, sallow of mien,[136] and conscientious about his religious duties. He resided in Dārā[137] and the region of Mosul and the Jazīrah, where he had associates to whom he taught recitation of the Qur'ān and its interpretation[138] and delivered admonitory sermons.[139] Qabīṣah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who was one of those who subscribed to these people's opinions, told our companions[140] that he had possession of the sermon of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ; so they requested him to send them the text,[141] and [882]
he did so. This is his sermon:

"Praise be to God, who created the heavens and the earth, and made the darkness and the light. Yet those who have disbelieved ascribe rivals to their Lord."[142] O God! We ascribe no rivals to You, we serve none but You, and none but You do we worship. Yours is the Creation and the Command, from You comes all benefit and harm, and to You is our destiny. We testify that Muḥammad is Your servant, whom You chose, and Your messenger, whom You selected and approved to convey Your messages and Your counsel for Your servants. We testify that he conveyed the message and counseled the community, summoned to the truth and acted equi-

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135. D. 87 (706), the last of the Companions to die in al-Kūfah; see U. Sezgin, *Abū Mihnaf*, 191.

136. *Muṣfarr al-wajh*, perhaps rather "gaunt," in either case possibly because of an ascetic diet; see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. ṣafar, where one of the etymologies suggested for the Ṣufriyyah is the sallowness (*ṣufrah*) of their complexions.

137. Between Mardin and Nisibis; see *EI²*, s.v. Dārā; Le Strange, *Lands*, 96.

138. *Yufaqqihuhum*; see *EI²*, s.v. fiḳh.

139. *Yaquṣṣu 'alayhim*; "sermon" below is *qaṣaṣ*. On the *qaṣaṣ* in medieval Islam see *EI²*, s.v. ḳāṣṣ, and J. Pedersen, "The Islamic Preacher: wā'iẓ, mudhakkir, qāṣṣ," *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* I (Budapest, 1948), 226–51, especially 239, where Ṣāliḥ's *qaṣaṣ* is partly translated. See also Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 110f., and, on the oratory for which the Khārijites were famed, C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 38ff.

140. *Aṣḥābanā*; the speaker is probably Abū Mikhnaf, referring to his own authorities, including 'Abdallāh b. 'Alqamah. Abū Mikhnaf's account of the following rebellion gains much from drawing on Khārijite authorities, such as Qabīṣah, as well as others from the government forces.

141. *Kitāb*.

142. Qur'ān 6:1.

tably, supported religion and strove against the polytheists, until God took him. I commend to you the fear of God, austerity in this world, desire for the afterlife, frequent recollection of death, avoidance of the sinners, and love for the believers. For austerity in this world encourages God's servant to desire what is with Him and frees his body for obedience to God; frequent recollection of death inspires the servant with fear of his Lord, so that he cries out for His succor and submits humbly to Him. Avoidance of the sinners is a duty for the believers, as God said in His book: "Do not pray over any of them who dies, ever, nor stand by his grave; they disbelieved in God and His messenger, and died as sinners."[143] Love for the believers is recommended because it is in this way that one obtains God's grace and mercy and His Paradise—may God cause us and you to be among the sincere and patient!

Indeed, it is a blessing from God on the believers that He
[883] sent to them a messenger from among themselves, who taught them the Book and the wisdom, purified and sanctified them, and led them aright in their religion; he was kind and merciful to the believers until God took him away, God's blessings be upon him! Then, after him, authority was taken by the God-fearing Veracious One,[144] with the approval of the Muslims. He followed the right guidance of the messenger and continued in his way[145] until he joined God, God's mercy be upon him. He designated 'Umar as his successor, and God entrusted him with the authority over this flock. 'Umar acted in accordance with the Book of God and kept to the way[146] of the messenger of God. He begrudged his flock none of their rights and feared the reproach of no one before God, until he joined Him, God's mercy be upon him. After him, the Muslims were ruled by 'Uthmān. He expropriated the spoils, failed to enforce the Qur'ānic punishments, rendered unjust judgments, and treated the believer with

143. Qur'ān 9:84.
144. *Al-Ṣiddīq*, epithet of the caliph Abū Bakr; see *EI²*, s.v. Abū Bakr.
145. *Sunnah*.
146. *Aḥyā sunnah*.

contempt and the evildoer with esteem.[147] The Muslims went to him and killed him, and God, His messenger and the upright among the believers were quit of him. After him, the people were governed by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He did not hesitate to give men authority to judge in the affairs of God; he vacillated with regard to the people of error, and appeased and blandished them. We are quit of 'Alī and his supporters.[148]

Prepare, then—God's mercy upon you—to strive against these fractious parties and unjust leaders of error, and to go out from the abode of transience to the abode of eternity and join our believing, convinced brethren, who sold the present world for the afterworld and expended their wealth in quest of God's good pleasure in the final reckoning.[149] Be not anxious about being killed for God's sake, for being killed is easier than dying naturally. Natural death comes upon you unexpectedly, separating you from your fathers, sons, wives, [884] and this world; if your anxiety and aversion to this is too strong, then, indeed, sell your souls to God obediently, and your wealth, and you will enter Paradise in security and embrace the black-eyed houris. May God make you and us among the grateful and mindful "who are guided by the truth and by it act justly."[150]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Alqamah: During the

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147. The first three of these accusations (*ista'thara bi-al-fay' wa-'aṭṭala al-ḥudūd wa-jāra fī al-ḥukm*) are repeated below (II, 984, and see II, 993); all are standard Khārijite complaints. See Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 40f.; Watt, *Formative Period*, 9–12; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 471, 477; G. R. Hawting, "The significance of the slogan *lā ḥukm^a illā lillāh* and the references to the *ḥudūd* in the traditions about the Fitna and the murder of 'Uthmān," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 41 (1978), 453–63; and, for similar accusations against the deposed Khārijite leader Najdah b. 'Āmir, Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 173. On the Qur'ānic punishments, see *EI²*, s.v. ḥadd.

148. The references here are to events at Ṣiffīn and afterward, when 'Alī agreed to arbitration of his dispute with Mu'āwiyah; see Watt, *Formative Period*, 12–20.

149. The language here is Qur'ānic and quasi-technical: "strive" is *jihād*, "go out" is *khurūj*. "Selling" (*bā'ū*) this world for the other paraphrases Qur'ān 4:74: "Let those fight in the way of God who sell (*yashrūna*) the life of this world for the other"; echoed both here and below is also Qur'ān 2:207: "And of men there is he who sells (*yashrī*) his soul out of desire for God's good pleasure." It is from these passages that the Khārijites took their name Shurāh, "sellers"; see R. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden* (Leiden, 1884), 28f.

150. Qur'ān 7:159; see also 9:111.

time when Ṣāliḥ's associates used to come frequently to see him, he said to them one day, "I know not what you are expecting or how long you will abide. You see how injustice has become the rule and justice has been effaced. These governors only increase in their excesses and arrogance toward the people, their remoteness from right, and their effrontery before the Lord. Ready yourselves, then, and send for your brethren who desire, as you do, to reject the wrong and summon to the right. Let them come to you, and then we will meet and consider what we are going to do, and, if we are going to revolt, when we should revolt."

Ṣāliḥ's associates sent out letters and met to discuss these plans. While they were engaged in this, al-Muḥallil b. Wā'il al-Yashkurī came to them with a letter from Shabīb[151] to Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ, which read as follows:

> I have learned that you are wanting to set out; you have summoned me to that, and I am responding to you. If you are ready to do so now, you will be the shaykh of the Muslims, and we will hold no one among us as equal to you. But if you want to postpone that day, inform me of that; people die in the morning and the evening, and I cannot be sure that fate
> [885] will not cut me off before I can strive against the evildoers—what a cheat that would be, and what benefit lost! May God make you and us among those whose deeds are performed for the sake of God and His good pleasure, the blessing of gazing at His face, and the companionship of the righteous in the Abode of Peace. Peace be upon you.

When al-Muḥallil b. Wā'il came to Ṣāliḥ with this letter from Shabīb, Ṣāliḥ wrote back to him as follows:

> Your letter with your news was slow in reaching me, to the point that I had become concerned; for a man from among the Muslims had informed me that you had set out and were on your way. Now we praise God for the decree of our Lord, for your messenger has brought me your letter, and I have understood all that is in it. We are equipped and fully prepared to take the field; I have not done so until now only

151. For full references on Shabīb, see note 178 below.

because I was waiting for you. Come to us, then, and let us then begin the revolt whenever you please; for you are one of those whose opinion is indispensable and without whom things cannot be decided. Peace be upon you.

When this letter reached Shabīb, he sent to a number of his associates to come join him. These included his brother, Muṣād[152] b. Yazīd b. Nuʿaym, al-Muḥallil b. Wāʾil al-Yashkurī, al-Ṣaqr b. Ḥātim of the Banū Taym b. Shaybān, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥujr Abū al-Ṣuqayr of the Banū Muḥallim, and al-Faḍl b. ʿĀmir of the Banū Dhuhl b. Shaybān.[153] Then he set out and came to Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ in Dārā. When he met him, he said, "Let us begin the revolt, may God have mercy on you, for, by God, the right path[154] only becomes more obliterated, and the evildoers only become more tyrannical." Ṣāliḥ sent his messengers abroad among his associates, setting the time of the revolt for the night of Wednesday, 1 Ṣafar 76 (May 21, 695).[155] They began to assemble, to equip and prepare themselves to raise the revolt on that night; and on that night they all assembled with him as appointed. [886]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ al-Azdī: By God, I was with Shabīb in al-Madāʾin[156] when he told us that they were going to revolt. When we were ready to raise the revolt, we all assembled with Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ on the night he set out. My opinion was that we should slaughter the people indiscriminately,[157] because of all the sin, oppression, and corruption in the earth that I saw. I went to Ṣāliḥ and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, how do you intend to proceed with these evildoers? Will

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152. Or Maṣād; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabṣīr* (Cairo, 1964–67), 1293.

153. All of these men, with the exception of al-Muḥallil, belonged to clans of Shaybān b. Thaʿlabah; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 302. Shabīb and his brother were of the Dhuhl b. Shaybān; see the genealogy in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 454. If al-Muḥallil belonged to the Yashkur b. Bakr (see Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam qabāʾil al-ʿarab*, 1265), then they were all members of the Bakr b. Wāʾil confederation, which included the Banū Shaybān.

154. *Sunnah*.

155. Friday.

156. The old Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon on the Tigris, about eighty miles northeast of al-Kūfah, still at this time an important administrative center. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Madāʾin.

157. *Istiʿrāḍ al-nās*. This term has clearly here its developed meaning of "massacre" rather than the earlier one of "interrogation"; see *EI²*, s.v. istiʿrāḍ, and note 131 above.

we kill them before summoning them to the faith, or will we summon them before fighting them? Let me give you my opinion about them before you give me yours. I think that we should kill everyone who disagrees with us, near and far; for we are taking up arms against people who wander in error, tyrants and oppressors who have abandoned the command of God and fallen completely under the control of Satan."

But he said, "No, on the contrary, we will summon them. By my life, it is only those who hold your opinions who will respond, while those who condemn you will surely fight you. Summoning them will silence their argument and strengthen ours against them." Then I asked him, "And what is your view on those we fight and overcome? What do you say about their lives and property?" He replied, "If we kill them and despoil them, that is our right; but if we forgo doing so and let them be, that is also our right and we will be rewarded." He spoke well and truly, God's mercy upon him and upon us!

According to Abū Mikhnaf—a man from the Banū Muḥallim: On the night they set out, Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ said to his associates:

> Fear God, you servants of God, and be not overhasty to fight any one of the people, unless they be hostile people who intend you harm. You are rebelling only out of wrath for God, because His ordinances have been flouted, the earth filled
> [887] with disobedience, blood spilled unjustly, and property taken wrongfully. Do not reproach people for deeds and then do them yourselves; for you are yourselves responsible for all that you do. Now most of you are on foot, but there are riding beasts belonging to Muḥammad b. Marwān here in this district. Start here, then, and raid them, so that you may mount your footsoldiers and thereby strengthen yourselves against the enemy.

They set out, and in that same night seized the riding beasts and mounted their foot upon them, so that their footsoldiers became horsemen. They remained in the area of Dārā for thirteen nights, and the people of Dārā, Nisibis, and Sinjar fortified themselves against them. On the night Ṣāliḥ set out, he set out with 120 men, or, according to some, 110.

Word of this revolt came to Muḥammad b. Marwān, who was at

that time the amīr of the Jazīrah.[158] He minimized the problem, and sent against them 'Adī b. 'Adī b. 'Umayrah of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiyah b. Thawr,[159] with five hundred men. 'Adī said to him, "May God cause the amīr to prosper! Would you send me against the man who has been at the head of the Khārijites for twenty years, and who is accompanied in his rebellion by men from the Rabī'ah[160] who came up against me[161] in the past and used to test their strength against us? Against such as these, one of whose footsoldiers is worth more than a hundred horsemen, would you send me with five hundred men?" Muḥammad replied, "Well, then, I will give you another five hundred, and you can go against them with a thousand."

'Adī set out from Ḥarrān with a thousand men. This was the first army that marched against Ṣāliḥ. 'Adī marched toward him as if he were being driven to his death. 'Adī was a pious man. He proceeded as far as Dawghān,[162] where he stopped the men, and sent ahead secretly to Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ a man of the Banū Khālid of the Banū al-Wirthah named Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh.[163] This man [888]
said to Ṣāliḥ, "'Adī has sent me to you to ask you to leave this land and go to another land and fight the people there; for 'Adī is reluctant to engage you." Ṣāliḥ replied, "Return to him and tell him: If you subscribe to our opinions, give us an indication of that which we will recognize, and we will set out this very night, leaving this land to you and going to another. But if you subscribe to the opinions of the tyrants and the evil imāms, we will see what we decide to do; if we wish, we will attack you, and if we wish, we will turn to someone else."

The messenger went to 'Adī and reported this message to him. 'Adī said, "Return to him and tell him: By God, I am not of your opinion, but I am reluctant to fight you or anyone else; so fight

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158. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 186.

159. Thawr is the Southern tribe of Kindah; see *EI*², s.v. Kinda.

160. The Northern tribal confederation of which Bakr b. Wā'il was the leading component; see *EI*², s.v. Bakr b. Wā'il.

161. Reading *samaw li-* for text *summū li-*, "were named to me"; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. samā.

162. A market town between Ra's al-'Ayn and Nisibis; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 621.

163. According to the Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 100, the Banū al-Wirthah were a subdivision of Dhuhl b. Shaybān; this man was thus a clansman of Ṣāliḥ's men.

someone other than me." Then Ṣāliḥ said to his associates, "Mount!" and they mounted; he held the man captive with him until they had set out, and then let him go. Ṣāliḥ proceeded with his associates until he came to ʿAdī b. ʿAdī b. ʿUmayrah in the market of Dawghān, while the latter was performing the forenoon prayer. Without warning, the Khārijite cavalry were bearing down on his men, and when they saw him coming, they began to shout to one another.

Ṣāliḥ put Shabīb with a detachment of his forces on his right and sent Suwayd b. Sulaym al-Hindī of the Banū Shaybān with a detachment to his left; he himself stood with a detachment in the center. As they approached ʿAdī's men, he saw that they were not formed in ranks, but running around in confusion, whereupon he ordered Shabīb to attack them. Then Suwayd attacked them as well, and this finished them; they would not fight. ʿAdī b. ʿAdī had his mount brought to him while he was praying, and he mounted
[889] it and rode off blindly. Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ proceeded on to ʿAdī's camp and took possession of what was there.

The remnants of ʿAdī's men, and his leading commanders, went back to Muḥammad b. Marwān, who was furious. Muḥammad summoned Khālid b. Jazʾ al-Sulamī and sent him off with fifteen hundred men, and summoned al-Ḥārith b. Jaʿwanah of the Banū Rabīʿah b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah and sent him off with another fifteen hundred men.[164] To the two of them he said, "March against this foul little group of Khārijites, and do so quickly. Quicken the march, for whichever of you gets there first will have the command over the other."

They took their leave of him and marched out quickly. They made inquiries about Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ and were told that he had set out toward Āmid.[165] They marched in pursuit and reached him at Āmid, where he was quartered with the people. They arrived at night and dug defensive trenches. When they arrived, they were still two separate forces, each commander by himself, with his men. Ṣāliḥ directed Shabīb against al-Ḥārith b. Jaʿwanah

164. The Banū Sulaym and Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah both belonged to Qays ʿAylān, one of the two major subgroups of Muḍar, which with Rabīʿah constituted the Northern tribes; see *EI²*, s.v. Ḳays ʿAylān.

165. Modern Diyarbakr; see *EI²*, s.v. Diyār Bakr.

al-ʿĀmirī with half his forces and rode himself against Khālid b. Jazʾ al-Sulamī.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Muḥallimī: They reached us at the beginning of the afternoon prayer time. Ṣāliḥ led us in performing the afternoon prayer, then set us in battle array against them. We fought as hard as any people have ever fought, and, by God, it began to look as if we would win. One of our men would attack ten of theirs and overcome them, or he would attack twenty, with the same result; and their cavalry began to lose ground to ours. Seeing this, their two commanders dismounted, ordering most of their men to dismount as well. Then we began to have trouble achieving our objectives with them. When we attacked them, their infantry met us with lances and their archers rained arrows upon us, their cavalry charging us all the while. We fought them until evening, when the darkness finally separated us. They had wounded many of us, and we of them; they had killed about thirty of our men, while we had killed more than seventy of theirs. By God, by the time evening arrived, we were sick of them, [890] as were they of us, and we maintained our positions before them, neither side advancing against the other; with evening, they withdrew to their camp, and we to ours. We prayed, rested, and ate some of our bread. Then Ṣāliḥ summoned Shabīb and his leading commanders, and said, "My dear friends, what do you think we should do?" Shabīb said, "My opinion is that we have encountered these men and fought them, and now that they have taken refuge behind their trench, I do not think we should continue with them." Ṣāliḥ said, "That is my opinion, also." Accordingly, they set out under cover of darkness, traveling across the land of the Jazīrah until they reached the Mosul region. They then crossed through it as well and continued on until they had come into al-Daskarah.[166]

When word of this reached al-Ḥajjāj, he sent against them al-Ḥārith b. ʿUmayrah b. Dhī al-Mishʿār al-Hamdānī[167] with three thousand Kūfans, one thousand from the regular forces and two thousand from the troops that al-Ḥajjāj had hired.[168] Al-Ḥārith

166. A district and town on the Diyālā River, northeast of al-Madāʾin; see *EI²*, s.v. Daskara; Le Strange, *Lands*, 62, 80.

167. Hamdān was a Southern tribe; see *EI²*, s.v. Hamdān.

168. *Al-muqātilah al-ūlā* and *al-farḍ alladhī faraḍa lahum al-Ḥajjāj* respec-

set out, but when he drew near al-Daskarah, Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ withdrew toward Jalūlā'[169] and Khāniqīn.[170] Al-Ḥārith b. 'Umayrah pursued him as far as a village called al-Mudabbaj[171] in the Mosul region, on the border between it and the Jūkhā region.[172] Ṣāliḥ at this time had ninety men with him. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Umayrah arranged his forces, putting Abū al-Rawwāgh al-Shākirī[173] on his right and al-Zubayr b. al-Arwaḥ al-Tamīmī on his left, and then, after the afternoon prayer, he attacked. Ṣāliḥ had arranged his forces in three squadrons,[174] one under his own command, one under Shabīb on his right, and one under Suwayd
[891] b. Sulaym on his left, each squadron consisting of thirty men.

When al-Ḥārith b. 'Umayrah charged against them with all his men, Suwayd b. Sulaym was thrown back, but Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ stood his ground and was killed. Shabīb fought until he was knocked from his horse and fell among some infantry. He charged them and they fell back, and he was able to reach Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ's position, where he found him dead. He called, "To me, O company of Muslims!" and they rallied around him. Then he said to his men, "Stand all of you back to back and thrust at your enemies if they advance on you, and let us make our way into that fortress, where we can decide what to do." This they did, and Shabīb entered the fortress with seventy men.

Al-Ḥārith b. 'Umayrah surrounded them. It was now evening, and he said to his men, "Burn down the gate until it is reduced to

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tively. On *farḍ*, troops not on the muster roll and paid contractually, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, glossarium, s.v. farḍ, and Fries, *Heereswesen*, 24; they tended to be younger men, as is clear from the incident below.

169. An important town about thirty miles northeast of al-Daskarah; see *EI*², s.v. Djalūlā'.

170. A town about thirty miles again northeast of Jalūlā'; see *EI*², s.v. Khāniḳīn.

171. Or al-Mudabbij. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 448, records it without vowels and apparently knows of it only from this incident.

172. East of the Tigris, stretching from Khāniqīn south to Khūzistān; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 143.

173. Or Abū al-Ruwā' (see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabṣīr*, 612). See text above, II, 46–54, for the alternative spelling and for this man's previous experience combating the Khārijites. The Banū Shākir b. Rabī'ah were a branch of Hamdān; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 524.

174. Sg. *kurdūs*; see *WKAS*, s.v. According to the lexicographers, a *kurdūs* was smaller than a *katībah* (note 115 above), but see text below, II, 959, where the terms seem to be synonyms, and Fries, *Heereswesen*, 42.

burning embers, and then leave it; they will not be able to get out until we come to them in the morning and kill them." They burned the gate and then went off to their camp. Shabīb was looking down on them, with a group of his men, when one of the men from the hired troops said, "You sons of whores, has God not abased you?" They replied, "Indeed He has not, you sinners; you fight us back when we fight you because God has blinded you to the truth that we possess. What then is your excuse to God for slandering our mothers?" But to this the more temperate among them said, "This is just talk by some foolish youth among us, by God, and we neither like it nor consider it acceptable."

Then Shabīb said to his men, "What are you all waiting for here? By God, if these men come back to you early in the morning, it will be the end of you." They said, "Give us your orders." He said, "Night veils calamities.[175] Render the oath of allegiance to me or to whomever you wish among yourselves; then let us go out and attack them in their camp, since they are feeling secure [892] against any such thing from you. I pray that God may give you victory over them." They said, "Extend your hand, so that we may render you the oath of allegiance," and they did so.[176]

When they were about to go out, they found that their gate had been reduced to burning embers; but they managed to get across them by taking felt saddle-blankets, soaking them in water, and then throwing them over the embers. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Umayrah and the troops in his camp were taken completely by surprise to find Shabīb and his men laying about them with their swords in the heart of their camp. Al-Ḥārith fought until he fell and was carried by his men as they retreated, leaving the camp and everything in it to the Khārijites. Then they returned to al-Madā'in. This army was the first one to be defeated by Shabīb.

Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ fell on Tuesday, 17 Jumādā I of this year [September 2, 695].[177]

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175. For the proverb, see Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 127.

176. According to Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 272, Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 410, and Baghdādī, *Farq*, 89, Ṣāliḥ appointed Shabīb his successor before his death.

177. Thursday. According to Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 272, 17 Jumādā II [October 2, a Saturday]. Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 410, reports that later Khārijites used to shave their heads at his tomb.

In this year, Shabīb entered al-Kūfah, accompanied by his wife Ghazālah.[178]

Shabīb's Entry into al-Kūfah and His Dealings with al-Ḥajjāj There, and Why Shabīb Did This

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Alqamah—Qabīṣah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khath'amī: The reason for this was as follows: When Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ was killed at al-Mudabbaj and Ṣāliḥ's associates rendered the oath of allegiance to Shabīb, the
[893] latter went up to the Mosul region, where he met Salāmah b. Sayyār b. al-Maḍā' al-Taymī of the Taym Shaybān and summoned him to rebel along with him. He was already acquainted with Salāmah, as the latter had been registered on the military roll and participated in the expeditions.[179] Salāmah agreed to support him on the condition that he be allowed to pick out thirty of his horsemen, with whom he would then be gone for not more than precisely three nights. Shabīb agreed, and Salāmah selected the thirty horsemen and led them off toward the 'Anazah.[180] His object was to wreak his vengeance on them for murdering his brother Faḍālah.

The story behind this is that Faḍālah had rebelled with eighteen

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178. Ṭabarī's account of Shabīb's rebellion is by far the most detailed known; it is summarized by Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 396–416, 419–33, and serves as the basis for accounts in Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 115–48, and Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 184–91. A quite different account appears in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 84–92, omitting any reference to Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ and identifying the first two commanders sent out (by al-Ḥajjāj) as 'Ubaydah b. Mikhrāq al-Qaynī and Yazīd b. Hubayrah al-Muḥāribī, neither of whom is mentioned by Ṭabarī. Brief accounts in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 272–75, and Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 328, combine elements of both versions, as does the biography in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 454–58, which draws on other sources as well. See also Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 410f.; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 89–92 (garbled); *EI¹*, s.v. Shabīb. Shabīb's genealogy back to the clan of Dhuhl b. Shaybān is given by Ibn al-Sikkīt, *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* (Cairo, 1956), 324f., and his *kunyah* by Baghdādī, *Farq*, 89, as Abū al-Ṣahārā (or al-Ṣaḥārī) (confirmed by text below, II, 1633f.). Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (followed by Baghdādī) precedes his account with a report that Shabīb had gone earlier to Damascus and attempted to get a *farḍ* from 'Abd al-Malik through the intercession of Rawḥ b. Zinbā'; when 'Abd al-Malik refused, saying he did not know him, Shabīb replied, "I hope, God willing, he *will* know me in the future!"

179. *Maghāzī*, against non-Muslim territory. Why this implied prior acquaintance is not clear.

180. A Rabī'ah tribe; see *EI²*, s.v. 'Anaza.

men and stopped at a well called al-Shajarah in the region of al-Jāl.[181] There was a great tamarisk tree there, and there were 'Anazah. When the 'Anazah saw him, they said to one another, "Let us kill them, and in the morning take them to the amīr; we will receive a generous reward." They agreed on this, but the Banū Naṣr, who were Faḍālah's mother's clan, said, "By God's life, we will not aid you in killing our son!" Nevertheless, the 'Anazah rode out against Faḍālah's men, fought them and killed them, and brought their heads to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. As a reward, 'Abd al-Malik let them move into Bāniqiyā[182] and assigned them stipends, something they had rarely had before.[183]

Salāmah b. Sayyār recited these verses on the murder of his brother Faḍālah and the failure of his maternal kin to defend him:

I would not have imagined that a young man's maternal kin
would deliver him over
to the fall of a blade, until Naṣr did what it did.

The rebellion of Salāmah's brother Faḍālah preceded that of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ and Shabīb; therefore, when Salāmah rendered the oath of allegiance to Shabīb, he imposed on him this condition. He rode out with the thirty horsemen until he reached the 'Anazah and began killing them in one settlement after another [894] until he came to a party of them that included his maternal aunt. She was bent over a son of hers, a boy in his adolescence; and she bared her breast to Salāmah and said, "I adjure you by the blood ties of this, Salāmah!" He replied, "No, by God! I have not seen Faḍālah since he halted at the great tree of al-Shajarah"—meaning his brother—"Now stand away from him, or I will take my lance to your withered dug." At that, she stood aside from her son, and Salāmah killed him.

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181. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 10, mentions two places with this name, one in Ādharbayjān and the other, pronounced al-Jāl or al-Gēl, about four *farsakhs* south of al-Madā'in. The latter, if either, seems the more likely to be meant here; but if the al-Jāl mentioned directly below is the same place, one would expect it to be rather somewhere north of the Diyālā River.

182. *Anzalahum Bāniqiyā*. This was at that time a fertile area on the western branch of the Euphrates below al-Kūfah and al-Ḥīrah; see A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates* (New York, 1927), 288f.

183. *Faraḍa lahum wa-lam takun lahum farā'iḍ qabla dhālika illā qalīlah*; see note 168 above.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Bakr of the Banū Taym b. Shaybān: Shabīb and his companions then turned toward Rādhān.[184] When a group of the Banū Taym b. Shaybān heard of his approach, they withdrew in flight before him, along with a small number of other people, going as far as the monastery of Khurrazād,[185] near Ḥawlāyā,[186] where they stopped. There were about three thousand of them, while Shabīb had only some seventy men or a few more, but when he came among them, they feared him and fortified themselves against him. Then Shabīb set out by night, accompanied by twelve horsemen from among his companions, to go to his mother, who was camped in the foothills of Sātīdamā,[187] staying in one of the large hair-tents of the bedouin. Shabīb said, "I am going to bring my mother and put her in my camp so she will never be parted from me until one of us dies." Meanwhile, two men of the Banū Taym b. Shaybān, fearing for their lives, left the monastery and went out to join a group of their people who were camped at al-Jāl, about an hour's journey from them by day.[188] When Shabīb led out that party of his—there
[895] were twelve of them[189]—to meet his mother in the foothills, he unexpectedly ran into a group of the Banū Taym b. Shaybān heedlessly encamped with their herds, not imagining that Shabīb would pass their way, because of where they were, or be aware of them. But Shabīb attacked them with these horsemen of his and killed thirty of their shaykhs, including Ḥawtharah b. Asad and

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184. Apparently at this time a district north of the Diyālā and east of the Tigris, although the sources are difficult to harmonize. See J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen* (Wien, 1930), 277, and J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne* (Beirut, 1965–68), III, 16 (map), 76–81, 257–60.

185. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 422, mentions a town of Khurrazād Ardashīr (unvocalized) in the region of Mosul. Some MSS read Kh.r.dāb.

186. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 366, mentions a village of this name in the Nahrawān (canal) region. At II, 932 below, the Ḥawlāyā is a river (or canal) in Upper Rādhān, in Jūkhā.

187. The modern Jabal Ḥamrīn, which is cut by the Tigris north of Takrīt and extends northwest and southeast from there. See Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 274–78; *EI*², s.v. Ḥamrīn; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 16 (map).

188. *Fa-laḥiqā bi-jamā'ah min qawmihimā wa-hum nuzūl bi-al-Jāl minhum 'alā masīrat sā'ah min al-nahār.*

189. *Wa-kharaja Shabīb fī ulā'ika al-raḥṭ fī awwalihim wa-hum ithnā 'ashar.* Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 394, omits in his paraphrase any reference to the two men, and says simply *fa-sāra bihim sā'ah*, "and (Shabīb) had traveled with (his twelve men) for an hour, (when . . .)"

Wabarah b. 'Āṣim, who had left the monastery and joined those at al-Jāl. Shabīb then went on to fetch his mother from the foothills and brought her back with him.[190]

Meanwhile, one of the men in the monastery, who was of the Bakr b. Wā'il, came out to speak to Shabīb's men from above. Shabīb had left his brother, Muṣād b. Yazīd, in charge of his men; the man who came out to them was named Sallām b. Ḥayyān. He said to them, "You people, the Qur'ān stands between us. Have you not heard God's words, 'And if any one of the unbelievers seeks your protection, then grant it him, so that he may hear the word of God, then convey him to his place of security'?"[191] They said, "Indeed we have." He said to them, "Then leave us alone until morning. We will come out to you then, with a safe-conduct from you so that we may not be subject to any treatment from you to which we object; and you can present this position of yours to us. If we accept it, then you have no rights to our lives and possessions, and we will be your brethren; if we do not accept it, you will return us to our place of security, and then proceed as you please with regard to what is between you and us." They replied, "We will grant you this."

The next morning, they went out to the Khārijites, and Shabīb's men stated their views to them and described their position. They accepted it in its entirety and joined up with them, becoming a full part of their group. When Shabīb came back, his men ex- [896]
plained to him how this reconciliation had taken place, and he said, "You have acted well and correctly, and been granted a successful outcome."

Then Shabīb took to the road again, accompanied by one group, while another group remained where they were.[192] Among those who accompanied him on that day was Ibrāhīm b. Ḥujr al-Muḥallimī Abū al-Ṣuqayr, who had been staying with the Banū

190. On Shabīb's mother Jahīzah, see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 487, and text below, II, 976. Ṭabarī says nothing more about her accompanying Shabīb on his campaigns, but Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 87, and others attest to her presence at the occupation of al-Kūfah; see note 439 below.

191. Qur'ān 9:6. In a similar anecdote in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 528, Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' appeals to the same verse; he, however, unlike the people here, does not join up in the end.

192. *Wa-aqāmat ṭā'ifah jāniḥah*; Ṭabarī, glossarium, s.v. janaḥa, suggests "inclined (toward peace)," but perhaps the meaning is rather "on the sidelines."

Taym b. Shaybān. Shabīb passed through the nearer parts of the Mosul region and the borderlands of Jūkhā, then went up toward Ādharbayjān. At this point, Sufyān b. Abī al-ʿĀliyah al-Khathʿamī appeared with some cavalry. He had been ordered to lead them into Ṭabaristān but then ordered to return, and was on his way back with some thousand horsemen, having made a truce with the ruler of Ṭabaristān.[193]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlqamah—Sufyān b. Abī al-ʿĀliyah al-Khathʿamī: I received this letter from al-Ḥajjāj:

> Proceed to al-Daskarah with the men you have with you and wait there until you are joined by the force of al-Ḥārith b. ʿUmayrah al-Hamdānī Ibn Dhī al-Mishʿār, the man who killed Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ, as well as the cavalry scouts.[194] Then go and find Shabīb, and attack him.

Upon receipt of this letter, Sufyān proceeded to al-Daskarah and halted there, while proclamation was made to the army of al-Ḥārith b. ʿUmayrah in al-Kūfah and al-Madāʾin that no contractual obligation would protect any man belonging to the army of al-Ḥārith b. ʿUmayrah who did not go join Sufyān b. Abī al-ʿĀliyah in al-Daskarah.

They went out to join him. The cavalry scouts also arrived, five hundred strong under the command of Sawrah b. Abjar al-Tamīmī of the Banū Abān b. Dārim. Altogether, only about fifty men failed to show up. Sawrah sent ahead to Sufyān b. Abī al-ʿĀliyah, saying, "Do not set out with the army until I come to
[897] you." But Sufyān hurried off in pursuit of Shabīb and caught up with him at Khāniqīn, at the foot of a mountain. He put Khāzim b. Sufyān al-Khathʿamī of the Banū ʿAmr b. Shahrān[195] in charge of his right flank and ʿAdī b. ʿUmayrah al-Shaybānī[196] in charge of his left. Shabīb showed himself before them but then withdrew

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193. The *iṣbahbadh*, first mentioned in a definite historical context two years later, by Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 329; see *EI²*, s.v. ispahbadh, and note 596 below.

194. *Khayl al-manāẓir*; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. manẓarah: "a place on the top of a mountain, where a person observes and watches the enemy."

195. On the Khathʿam, associated with southern tribes but sometimes given a northern genealogy, and the Shahrān clan, see *EI²*, s.v. Khathʿam.

196. On the basis of the name ʿAdī b. ʿAdī b. ʿUmayrah al-Kindī *thumma* al-Shaybānī in the text below, II, 921, one may assume that this is the ʿAdī b. ʿAdī already mentioned, although a clan of the Kindah named Shaybān is unknown.

from them as if avoiding an engagement. He had put his brother Muṣād with fifty men in an ambush party in a depressed area of the terrain, and when Sufyān's men had seen him, he assembled his forces and set off across the foothills heading east. They said, "The enemy of God has fled! After him!" 'Adī b. 'Umayrah al-Shaybānī warned them, "Do not hurry after them, men, before we can travel through the area and explore it. If they have set an ambush for us, our precautions will have been well taken; if not, we will still be able to pursue them." But the men would not listen, and hurried after them. When Shabīb saw that they had passed the place of ambush, he turned around against them; and when the men in the ambush saw that they had passed them, they sprang out against them as well. Thus Shabīb was attacking them from in front, and the ambush clamoring behind them, and they were defeated before anyone lifted a sword against them. But Ibn Abī al-'Āliyah stood his ground with some two hundred men and offered them a good, stiff fight until he thought that he had extracted his due from[197] Shabīb and his companions.

At this point, Suwayd b. Sulaym asked his companions, "Does any among you know the commander of these men, Ibn Abī al-'Āliyah? By God, if I find out which one he is, I will make every effort to kill him!" Shabīb replied, "Few people know him as well as I. Do you see the man on the horse with the blaze, there beyond the bowmen? That is he. But if it is him you are after, do not go [898] just yet." Then he said, "Qa'nab, you take twenty men and go take them from behind." Qa'nab took twenty men and went up around them, and when they saw that he was intending to come at them from behind, they began to break ranks and slip away. Then Suwayd b. Sulaym attacked Sufyān b. Abī al-'Āliyah. First he thrust at him with his lance, but neither man's weapon found its target. Then they fought with their swords. Then they seized hold of each other and fell wrestling to the ground. Then Sufyān's men held back, and Shabīb attacked them and they were thrown back. A servant boy of Sufyān's named Ghazwān came to him, dismounted from his horse, and said, "Mount, master." Sufyān mounted and was surrounded by Shabīb's men. Ghazwān, who

197. *Intaṣafa min*; other MSS read *sayaẓharu 'alā* or *sayaẓfaru bi-*, "he would defeat."

had been carrying his standard, fought to defend him and was killed. Sufyān b. Abī al-ʿĀliyah rode off to Bābil Mahrūdh,[198] where he halted and wrote to al-Ḥajjāj as follows:

> I hereby inform the amīr—may God cause him to prosper!—that I pursued these heretics and caught up with them at Khāniqīn. I engaged them in battle, and God smote their faces and granted us the victory over them. Then, while we were still enjoying our victory, there came to us men who had not been with them before, and attacked our men and routed them. I, however, with some men of religious conviction and fortitude, dismounted and fought them until I fell among the dead and was carried wounded off the field. I was brought to Bābil Mahrūdh, and am there now. The troops which the amīr sent me arrived, except for Sawrah b. Abjar. He did not come to me and was not present there with me; but when I arrived in Bābil Mahrūdh, he came to me saying I know not what, excusing himself with no excuse at all. Peace.

[899] When al-Ḥajjāj read this letter, he said, "Who has done as this man has, or shown such valor? He has done well!" Then he wrote him as follows:

> You have done well when tested and carried out your duty. When you are able to do so without pain, come to your people to receive your reward. Peace.

To Sawrah b. Abjar, al-Ḥajjāj wrote as follows:

> O son of the mother of Sawrah! It was unworthy of you to disregard my order and fail to join my troops. When this letter comes to you, send one of your stalwart men to the cavalry that is in al-Madāʾin to choose five hundred men from it and bring them to you. Then lead them out to meet these heretics. Be resolute and use strategy against your enemy, for the best part of war is good strategy. Peace.

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198. Mahrūdh was a subdistrict (*ṭassūj*) east of al-Madāʾin, in the same district (*kūrah, astān*) as al-Daskarah and Jalūlāʾ; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 80. Bābil was presumably a town there, distinguished from Bābil al-Kūfah (Babylon); its *dihqān*, or resident lord, is mentioned below, II, 916, 942.

When Sawrah received the letter of al-Ḥajjāj, he sent 'Adī b. 'Umayrah to al-Madā'in. There were a thousand horsemen there, and he chose five hundred of them. Then he went to see 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Uṣayfīr, who was then amīr of al-Madā'in for his first time. The latter greeted him and gave him a thousand dirhams, a riding mount, and garments. Departing from him, 'Adī set out with his companions and brought them to Sawrah b. Abjar in Bābil Mahrūdh. Sawrah then went out in search of Shabīb. Shabīb was moving about in Jūkhā, while Sawrah tried to track him down. But then Shabīb came to al-Madā'in. The people of al-Madā'in fortified themselves against him and took precautions against the frailty of the ancient buildings in al-Madā'in.[199] Shabīb entered al-Madā'in and seized many of the riding beasts of the troops there; and he killed anyone who appeared and did not stay indoors.

Then word was brought to him that Sawrah b. Abjar was on his way to him, so he and his companions departed and went to al-Nahrawān,[200] where they halted, performed their ablutions, and prayed. Then they visited the places where their brethren had been killed by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. They asked their brethren for forgiveness and declared themselves quit of 'Alī and his associates; and they wept for a long time. Then they went out and cut the bridge at al-Nahrawān and took up positions on its eastern end. Sawrah, meanwhile, advanced as far as Qaṭrāthā,[201] where his spies came and informed him of Shabīb's position at al-Nahrawān. He summoned his chief officers and said to them: [900]

> Hardly ever have these men been encountered directly or in the open without extracting their due from you and getting the better of you. Now, being informed that they are only a few more than a hundred, I have decided to make a selection among you and march out with three hundred of the strong-

199. Reading *taḥadhdharū wahy abniyat al-Madā'in al-ūlā* for *taḥarrazū wahy* (emended by the editors to *wa-wahiya*) etc.; see Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Halle, 1830–37), s.v. taḥadhdhara.

200. The town of al-Nahrawān was at the bridge over the al-Nahrawān canal, one stage east of the Tigris on the great Khurāsān road; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 61. On the battle of al-Nahrawān in 38 (658), in which 'Alī inflicted a bloody defeat on the Khārijites, see text above, I, 3367ff.

201. Spelling and location uncertain.

est and bravest of you, and to come upon them now, when they are secure in their assumption that you are spending the night here. By God, I pray that God may strike them down on the spot where their brethren were struck down at al-Nahrawān before.

They replied, "Proceed as you wish!" Leaving Ḥāzim b. Qudāmah al-Khath'amī in charge of his army, he selected from his forces three hundred men noted for their strength, endurance, and courage, and set out with them for al-Nahrawān. But Shabīb, before retiring, had put the guard on alert; and when Sawrah's forces drew near them, they sent warning of them, and the men mounted their horses and arranged their ranks. By the time Sawrah and his forces arrived, they found them alerted and ready.

Sawrah and his forces charged them, but they withstood the attack and fought until Sawrah and his forces gave way. Then
[901] Shabīb raised the cry to his men and charged them until they left him the field; and his men charged with him. As he fought, Shabīb recited:

He who fucks a donkey fucks an expert fucker!
Two stones colliding with each other![202]

Sawrah returned to his army, his horsemen and men of strength defeated, and had them break camp and set off toward al-Madā'in; he reached them after having packed up and gained a lead on Shabīb.[203] Shabīb came in pursuit, hoping to catch up with him and attack and defeat his army as he had already defeated him, and he pressed with all speed after them. But Sawra's men reached al-Madā'in and entered it, and when Shabīb reached the houses of al-Madā'in and caught up with them, the men had gone inside. Then Ibn Abī 'Uṣayfīr came out with the people of al-Madā'in, and the people shot at Shabīb's men with arrows and threw stones down on them from the roofs of the houses.

Shabīb then turned away from al-Madā'in with his men and passed through Kalwādhā,[204] where he found many riding beasts

202. That is, you have more than met your match. Both lines are proverbial and do not normally appear together; see Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, 160, and II, 232f.

203. *Fa-dafa'a ilayhim wa-qad taḥammala wa-ta'addā al-ṭarīq alladhī fīhi Shabīb.*

204. Some fifteen miles north of al-Madā'in, just south of Baghdad; see *EI²*, s.v. Kalwādhā.

of al-Ḥajjāj's and took them. Leaving Kalwādhā, he traveled through the region of Jūkhā and then went on toward Takrīt.[205] In al-Madā'in, meanwhile, the people threw those troops into a panic, saying to them, "See how Shabīb has drawn near! He is intending to attack the people of al-Madā'in tonight!" When they heard this, most of the troops left and returned to al-Kūfah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Alqamah al-Khath'amī: By God, they fled from al-Madā'in, saying, "We will be attacked tonight!" when all the while Shabīb was in Takrīt! Then, when these defeated troops came to al-Ḥajjāj, he sent out al-Jazl b. Sa'īd b. Shuraḥbīl b. 'Amr al-Kindī.[206] [902]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ al-'Absī[207] and Fuḍayl b. Khadīj al-Kindī: When the defeated troops came to al-Ḥajjāj, he said, "May God withhold his blessings from Sawrah! The man has wasted the army and the troops[208] and gone out to attack the Khārijites at night. By God, I shall give him a harsh requital for this!" He did have him imprisoned later, although he was eventually pardoned.[209]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Fuḍayl b. Khadīj: Al-Ḥajjāj summoned al-Jazl, whose real name was 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd, and said to him, "Prepare to take the field against these heretics. When you encounter them, do not be overhasty, like those who act rashly, nor hold back, like the weak and timorous. Do you understand? What a man you are, you brother of the Banū 'Amr b. Mu'āwiyah!"[210] Al-Jazl said, "Yes, may God cause the amīr to prosper, I understand." Then al-Ḥajjāj said, "Go, then, and camp at Dayr 'Abd al-Raḥmān[211] until the men come to you." Al-Jazl said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper, please do not send with me

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205. Another hundred miles up the Tigris, on the borders of the province of Mosul; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 57.

206. *Al-Jazl* means "having sound judgment," or "generous." This man's real name was 'Uthmān, as noted below.

207. This is the same man as Abū al-Zuhayr al-'Absī, above, II, 873, 875; see U. Sezgin, *Abū Mihnaf*, 214.

208. *Al-'askar wa-al-jund*. The distinction between the two here is not clear.

209. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 272, mentions Sawrah as Shabīb's first opponent after the death of Ṣāliḥ, but provides no details, and then names the next commander as "Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Kindī," apparently a distortion of al-Jazl's name. Other early authors mention neither name.

210. On this clan of Kindah, see Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab*, 836.

211. Placed just north of al-Kūfah by Ṣ. al-'Alī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfah," *Sumer* 21 (1965), 240; see also *EI²*, s.v. Dayr 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

any men from those broken and defeated troops; fear has entered their hearts, and I am afraid that none of them will be of any use to you and the Muslims." Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "You are granted this; it seems to me that you have considered well and been rightly led."

Then al-Ḥajjāj summoned the officials in charge of the military rolls and said, "Select an expeditionary force from among the troops[212] and call up four thousand of them, a thousand men from each quarter; and be quick about it!" The marshals were assembled, and the officials in charge of the military rolls sat and [903] selected the expeditionary force, calling up four thousand. Then al-Ḥajjāj ordered them to muster. They mustered, the call for departure was proclaimed, and they marched out. Al-Ḥajjāj's crier proclaimed that "No contractual obligation will protect any man we find shirking this expedition."

Al-Jazl b. Sa'īd set out, having placed before him 'Iyāḍ b. Abī Līnah al-Kindī over the vanguard, and he proceeded as far as al-Madā'in, where he halted for three nights. Ibn Abī 'Uṣayfīr sent him a riding horse, a nag, two mules, and two thousand dirhams, and he provided the men with meat and fodder sufficient for three days, until their departure; the men were able to take as much of this meat and fodder provided by Ibn Abī 'Uṣayfīr as they wished.

Then al-Jazl b. Sa'īd led the men out after Shabīb. He pursued him in the Jūkhā region, but Shabīb persisted in fighting shy of him, moving from *rustāq* to *rustāq* and from *ṭassūj* to *ṭassūj*[213] without making a stand. He was hoping thereby that al-Jazl would divide his forces and hasten to engage him with a small force not in formation; but al-Jazl persisted in marching only in formation and digging a defensive trench for himself whenever he halted. Shabīb finally became impatient, and one night ordered his forces to launch a night attack.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: Shabīb summoned us when we were in Dayr Bayrimmā,[214] 160 men al-

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212. *Iḍrabū 'alā al-nās al-ba'th.*

213. These terms, inherited from Sasanian administration, signify, respectively, rural divisions of a district and districts of a province. See E. Yarshater, ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran*, III (Cambridge, 1983), 676, 727, 732f.

214. A station on the Khurāsān highway, four *farsakhs* east of al-Nahrawān and eight *farsakhs* west of al-Daskarah, according to Ibn Rustah, *A'lāq* (*BGA*, VII),

together. He appointed a man over each group of forty of his forces: he took forty himself, gave his brother Muṣād forty, sent out Suwayd b. Sulaym with forty, and sent out al-Muḥallil b. Wā'il with forty. His spies had come and informed him that al- [904]
Jazl b. Sa'īd was camped at Dayr Yazdajird,[215] and when he heard this, he summoned us and mustered us according to this arrangement. At his order, we gave the riding beasts their nosebags. He said to us, "Make your preparations, and once your beasts have had their grain, mount them. Every one of you is to go with the commander whom we have appointed over him; and every one of you is to heed the orders of his commander and obey him."

Then he summoned our commanders and said to them, "I want to attack this camp tonight." To his brother Muṣād he said, "When you approach them, go around above them so that you approach them from their rear, from the direction of Ḥulwān.[216] I will approach them frontally, from the direction of al-Kūfah. You, Suwayd, approach them from the east; and you, Muḥallil, from the west. Every one of you must come in from the side with which he has been charged; and you are to give them no respite, charging and charging again, and raising the battle cry against them, until you receive orders from me."

We remained in this muster—I was among the forty with Shabīb—until the beasts had eaten. We set out at the beginning of the night, just when eyes begin to relax, and came to Dayr al-Kharārah,[217] where we encountered an advance party[218] under the command of 'Iyāḍ b. Abī Līnah. No sooner had we come upon them than Shabīb's brother Muṣād attacked them with his forty men. He was ahead of Shabīb, having intended to precede Shabīb and go up behind them and attack from the rear, as he had been ordered; but when he encountered these men, he fought them, and they tenaciously fought back for a time. Then we all came up

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163—text: Dayr Tayrimah; see also Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik* (*BGA*, VI), 18, 197, and al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (*BGA*, III), 135.

215. Unidentified in other sources, but apparently further up the Khurāsān highway.

216. The border town between the provinces of Iraq and al-Jibāl on the Khurāsān highway, some seventy-five miles east of al-Daskarah; see *EI*², s.v. Ḥulwān.

217. Spelling and location uncertain. Other MSS have al-Jarārah, al-Jarādah, al-Ḥarārah.

218. *Maslaḥah*.

on them and attacked them and drove them back. They took to
[905] the main road; it was only about a mile back to their camp at Dayr Yazdajird.

Shabīb said to us, "Stay hard on their heels, companies of Muslims, and try to enter the camp with them, if you can!" We pursued them, by God, sticking close to them and pressing them without respite, while they were fleeing with no goal but their camp. When they reached their camp, though, their comrades would not let them enter it, and they rained arrows upon us. They had spies who had come and informed them of our position. Al-Jazl had entrenched himself and been on his guard; and he had sent out the advance party that we encountered at Dayr al-Kharārah, as well as another advance party on the road toward Ḥulwān. When we reached the advance party at Dayr al-Kharārah and pushed them back to their main camp, the other advance parties came back and all joined together. But the men in the camp would not let them enter the camp, saying, "Fight, and defend yourselves with your arrows!"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Jarīr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kindī: Of the other two advance parties, 'Āṣim b. Ḥujr was in charge of the one in the direction of Ḥulwān, and Wāṣil b. al-Ḥārith al-Sakūnī[219] was in charge of the other. When the advance parties came together, Shabīb kept attacking them until he forced them back to the trench; but the men in the camp rained down arrows on Shabīb's men until they drove them back from the men of the advance parties.

When Shabīb saw that he would be unable to get to them, he said to his men, "Come, now, and leave them," and set off on the road to Ḥulwān. When he drew near to the site of the tents of Ḥusayn b. Zafar of the Banū Badr b. Fazārah[220]—but the tents of
[906] Ḥusayn b. Zafar were there only after that—he said to his men, "Dismount here, eat, repair your arrows, rest, and pray two prostrations; then remount." They dismounted and did as he said. Then he led them back again to the camp of the Kūfans. He said, "March in the formation in which I mustered you in Dayr Bay-

219. The Banū Sakūn were a clan of Kindah; see Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab*, 528.

220. The Banū Badr b. 'Amr were the leading family of the Fazārah tribe of Qays 'Aylān; see Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab*, 68.

rimmā at the beginning of the night; then encircle their camp, as I ordered before, and advance."

We advanced with him. The men of the camp had brought their advance parties inside with them and felt secure from us; they were completely unaware of our approach until they heard the hoofbeats of our horses close by. We reached them shortly before morning and surrounded their camp. We raised the war cry against them from every side, and they began to do battle with us from every side and attack us with arrows. Then Shabīb sent to his brother Muṣād, who was fighting them on the al-Kūfah side, saying, "Come to us and leave the way to al-Kūfah open to them." Muṣād came to him, leaving that side open, while we kept fighting them on the other three sides until morning. Morning came without our having broken through at all, so we rode away and left them. They called after us, "Where are you going, dogs of hell? Where, band of heretics? Give us a fight in the morning, and we will come out to you!" We withdrew from them about a mile and a half, dismounted, and performed the morning prayer. Then we set out on the road to Barāz al-Rūz[221] and went on to Jarjarāyā[222] and the surrounding region; and they set out after us.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—a client of ours[223] named Ghāḍirah or Qayṣar: I was working as a merchant with the troops when they were in pursuit of the Ḥarūriyyah. Our commander was al-Jazl b. Sa'īd. As he pursued them, he always marched in formation and never camped without digging a trench. Shabīb was avoiding him and moving around in the region of Jūkhā and elsewhere, cutting off the land revenues.[224] Al-Ḥajjāj wearied of that and wrote to al-Jazl the following letter, which was read out to the men: [907]

> I sent you out with the horsemen of the garrison and the elite troops and ordered you to go after these misguided and misguiding heretics until you find them, and then not to leave off until you have killed them all and exterminated

221. Southeast of the Khurāsān highway, between al-Nahrawān and al-Daskarah; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 61, 80.

222. A town on the east bank of the Tigris, some fifty miles south of al-Madā'in; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 37.

223. That is, the Azd.

224. *Yaksiru al-kharāj*; see *WKAS*, s.v. *kasara*, and *EI²*, s.v. kharādj.

them. But I see that you find spending your nights in villages and tenting behind trenches easier than carrying out my orders to confront and fight them. Peace.

This letter was read to us when we were in Qaṭrāthā and Dayr Abī Maryam.[225] Al-Jazl was much distressed; he ordered the troops to march, and they set out in serious pursuit of the Khārijites. Disquieting rumors began to circulate among us about our commander, saying, "He is going to be dismissed."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ismā'īl b. Nu'aym al-Hamdānī al-Namirī:[226] Al-Ḥajjāj sent out Sa'īd b. Mujālid[227] to take command of that army, charging him, "If you encounter the heretics, take the field against them, neither negotiating nor temporizing with them. Confront them, asking God's help against them; do
[908] not follow the example of al-Jazl. Pursue them like a lion and turn away from them like a hyena."[228]

Al-Jazl went in pursuit of Shabīb as far as al-Nahrawān, where he caught up with him. He kept to his camp, digging a defensive trench. Then Sa'īd b. Mujālid came to him and entered the camp of the Kūfans as their commander. He stood before them to address them, and after praising and glorifying God, he said:

Men of al-Kūfah! You have shown yourselves to be weak and ineffectual and have brought on yourselves the anger of your amīr. You have been in pursuit of these scrawny bedouin for two months while they have laid waste your land and cut off your land revenues. Yet you remain cautiously behind these trenches, never leaving them unless word comes to you that they have departed and moved on to some land other than yours. Go out, in God's name, against them!

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225. Unidentified, but apparently near Barāz al-Ṛūz; see text below, II, 910.

226. Text: al-Bursumī. He appears as al-Namirī in the text above, II, 117. Another possible reading in both places is al-Burmī. Both Namirah b. Aslam and Burmah b. Mālik were clans of Hamdān; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 230, 445.

227. Text here and twice below: al-Mujālid, but otherwise, and in other sources, without the article. He was either the father of the important *muḥaddith* and *akhbārī* Mujālid b. Sa'īd, or at least his fellow clansman. See Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 227, II, 418, 500, and note 237 below.

228. Apparently a reference to the hyena's ferocity once it has captured its prey; see *EI²*, *Suppl.*, s.v. ḍabu'.

Then he went out, leading the troops out with him. He mustered the cavalry of the army; when al-Jazl asked him what he intended to do, he replied, "I intend to advance against Shabīb with this cavalry." Al-Jazl said, "You stay with the body of the army, both cavalry and infantry, and I will go show myself to him. By God, he will assuredly advance against you. Do not divide your forces; that way it will be the worse for them and the better for you." But Sa'īd said, "You stay with the ranks!" Al-Jazl replied, "O Sa'īd b. Mujālid, what you do is no decision of mine. I take no responsibility for this decision of yours, in the hearing of God and those Muslims here present!" Sa'īd said, "It is my own decision. If I have decided rightly, it is because God has led me to do so; if I have not decided rightly, you are all quit of any responsibility for it."

Al-Jazl stayed in the ranks of the Kūfans, having brought them out beyond the trench. He put 'Iyāḍ b. Abī Līnah al-Kindī over his right flank, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf Abū Ḥāmid al-Ru'āsī over his left flank.[229] Al-Jazl stayed with the main force while Sa'īd b. Mujālid advanced to the front and set out, leading the troops. [909] Shabīb, meanwhile, had taken the road to Barāz al-Rūz and stopped at Qaṭīṭiyā;[230] he ordered its *dihqān*[231] to purchase for them the things they needed and to provide them with a midday meal, which he did. Shabīb entered the enclosure[232] of Qaṭīṭiyā and ordered the gate shut. He had not yet eaten his meal when Sa'īd b. Mujālid arrived with the forces of that army. The *dihqān* ascended the wall and saw the troops approaching and drawing near his fortress. When he came down, he was pale, and Shabīb asked him why he was so ashen. The *dihqān* replied, "The troops have come at you from every side." Shabīb said, "Never mind! Is our food ready?" He said, "Yes." Shabīb said, "Then bring it. The gate has been shut." The food was brought and he ate. Then he performed the ablutions and prayed two prostrations. Then he

229. The Banū Ru'ās b. al-Ḥārith were a clan of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah; see Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab*, 450.

230. Spelling and location uncertain.

231. The *dihqāns* were the Sasanian landed gentry, who controlled the rural districts and collected taxes and often continued to do so under the Islamic regime; see *EI²*, s.v. dihḳān.

232. *Madīnah*.

called for a mule of his and mounted it. His men assembled at the gate of the enclosure. He ordered the gate opened, and he rode out on his mule and charged the government forces, crying "Judgment belongs only to the Wise Arbiter![233] I am Abū Mudallah![234] Stand if you will!"

Sa'īd collected his troops and cavalry and began to advance them slowly after him,[235] saying, "What are these? Diners on a single head of cattle!"[236] But when Shabīb saw that they had become dispersed and scattered, he turned all his horsemen around, mustered them, and cried, "Slaughter them! And keep an eye on their commander, for, by God, either I will kill him or he will kill me!" Then he attacked them, slaughtering indis-
[910] criminately, and routed them. Sa'īd b. Mujālid stood his ground and called to his forces, "To me! To me! I am Ibn Dhī Murrān!"[237] He took off his skullcap and put it on the pommel of his saddle; but then Shabīb attacked him and crowned him with his sword, cutting through to the brain, and he fell dead.

The army continued to fall back, men falling on every side, until they reached al-Jazl. Al-Jazl dismounted and called out, "To me, men!" 'Iyāḍ b. Abī Līnah called out to them, "Men, if your new commander has perished, your fortunate and blessed commander is still alive and has not died!" Al-Jazl fought hard, until he had to be carried off from amidst the dead and taken to al-Madā'in, wounded. The remnants of that army went back to al-Kūfah. Among the men most severely tested in battle that day were Khālid b. Nahīk of the Banū Dhuhl b. Mu'āwiyah[238] and 'Iyāḍ b. Abī Līnah, who came together to al-Jazl's rescue when he was wounded.

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233. *Lā ḥukm illā lil-ḥakam al-ḥakīm*, a paraphrase of the Qur'ānic phrase *in al-ḥukm illā lillāh* (6:57; 12:40, 67), and the rallying cry of the Khārijites from the beginning; see text above, I, 3339, 3360ff., and Watt, *Formative Period*, 13ff.

234. This *kunyah* of Shabīb's seems to be not otherwise attested; see note 178 above.

235. *Wa-ja'ala Sa'īd yajma'u qawmahu wa-khaylahu thumma yudlifuhā fī atharihi*. The sense of *yudlifu* here, if that is the correct reading, is unclear; neither the variant *yuzliqu*, "he causes to slip," nor the proposed emendation *yuzlifu*, "he brings near," seems more satisfactory.

236. That is, few in number; see Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, 44.

237. Dhū Murrān was his grandfather or great-grandfather, of the tribe of Hamdān. See note 227 above.

238. A clan of Kindah; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 233, II, 239, 342.

This is the account of one group of men. According to the other account, the battle was between Dayr Abī Maryam and Barāz al-Rūz. Then al-Jazl wrote to al-Ḥajjāj.[239]

Shabīb advanced and crossed the Tigris at al-Karkh.[240] He sent word to the market of Baghdad, assuring those there of their safety. That day was their market day, and having heard that they were afraid of him he wanted to reassure them, because his companions were wanting to buy some animals, clothing, and other essential items from the market. Then he led them on toward al-Kūfah. They continued until nightfall and halted at 'Aqr al-Malik, near Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah.[241] The next day he hurried on and spent that night between Ḥammām 'Umar b. Sa'd[242] and Qubbīn.[243]

When al-Ḥajjāj was informed of Shabīb's position, he sent to [911]
Suwayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sa'dī[244] and dispatched him with two thousand elite cavalry, saying, "Go out and meet Shabīb. Form right and left wings, then dismount and advance against him with your men.[245] If he falls back in a feint, let him go and do not pursue him." Suwayd went out and camped at al-Sabakhah.[246] He was informed that Shabīb was advancing on him, so

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239. This is the first of several dislocations in the text. The alternate version of the battle, on the authority of Hishām al-Kalbī, is given below, after an account of Shabīb's advance to al-Kūfah; this is followed in turn by the text of al-Jazl's letter, on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf.

240. Just north of Kalwādhā, on the west side of the Tigris, later a suburb of Baghdad; see *EI²*, s.v. al-Karkh.

241. Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, whose name postdates these events, was the first of three stages from Baghdad to al-Kūfah and not far from the ruins of Babylon; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 70f.; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 43, 274ff. 'Aqr al-Malik, meaning "the king's palace," is presumably the same as "al-'Aqr in the region of Bābil" mentioned by Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh* (*BGA*, VIII), 321f., but cannot be more precisely identified.

242. That is, the Bath of 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, the son of the founder of al-Kūfah; see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 28. Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 245f., 276 (there, as sometimes elsewhere, Ḥammām Ibn 'Umar), locates it a short distance southwest of al-Ḥillah. On the founding of this and other baths, see Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 268–70.

243. Mentioned and vocalized by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 35, but not precisely located.

244. The Banū Sa'd were a clan of Tamīm; for the genealogy, see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 76, II, 519. This man had earlier fought against al-Mukhtār; see text above, II, 616, 618.

245. *Thumma inzil ilayh fī al-rijāl.* See note 249 below.

246. Literally, the salt marsh, just outside the city. See the map in Massignon,

he advanced as well, but as if his men were being driven toward death.

Al-Ḥajjāj then ordered 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan[247] to muster the troops at al-Sabakhah. He issued a proclamation, saying, "Hear ye! No contractual obligation will protect any man from these troops who spends this night in al-Kūfah and does not go out to join 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan at al-Sabakhah." Then he ordered Suwayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān to take the two thousand men he had with him and meet Shabīb. Suwayd crossed over with his forces to Zurārah,[248] putting them in battle array and rousing their fighting spirits, because he was told that Shabīb was upon him. He then dismounted, along with most of his forces,[249] put his standard before him, and advanced to the far side of Zurārah. But then he was told that Shabīb had learned of his position and turned away from him; he had found a ford and crossed the Euphrates and was now on his way to al-Kūfah by a route that avoided Suwayd. Then he was asked, "Aren't you going to go after them?" Suwayd called out to his forces, and they rode after them. Shabīb, meanwhile, came to the provision depot[250] and halted. There he was told that the Kūfans were mustering en masse at al-Sabakhah. When they learned of Shabīb's position, they ran around shouting at one another and would have gone back into al-Kūfah, had they not been told that Suwayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān had gone after him and his men and caught up with them, and was fighting them with the cavalry.

[912] According to Hishām—'Umar b. Bashīr:[251] When Shabīb halted at al-Dayr,[252] he ordered sheep to be slaughtered and prepared for him. The *dihqān* went up to the top of the wall, and when he came back down again he was pale. Shabīb asked him what was

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"Explication du plan de Kufa," 336, placing it to the northeast, between the city and the Euphrates bridge.

247. On him, see note 288 below.

248. Across from the city on the east side of the Euphrates. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 282; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 921.

249. *Fa-nazala wa-nazala ma'ahu jull aṣḥābihi*. See note 245 above.

250. *Dār al-rizq*. Massignon, "Explication du plan de Kufa," 336, places it next to al-Sabakhah, between the city and the bridge.

251. Here begins the alternate version of the battle with Sa'īd b. Mujālid and al-Jazl.

252. Literally, "the monastery," probably Dayr Abī Maryam.

wrong, and he said, "By God, a large force has come against you!" Shabīb asked, "Is the roast done yet?" He said, "No." Shabīb said, "Never mind then." Then the *dihqān* went up to take another look and said, "By God, they have surrounded the fortress!" But Shabīb said, "Bring on the roast!" and began to eat, showing no concern about the troops outside. When he had finished, performed his ablutions, and prayed with his closest associates, he put on two swords over his coat of mail, grasped an iron mace, and ordered his mule saddled. His brother Muṣād asked him, "Is this a day to saddle a mule?" He replied, "Yes! Saddle it, men!" and mounted it. Then he said, "You, So-and-so, take the right wing, and you, So-and-so, the left." To Muṣād he said, "You take the center." Then he ordered the *dihqān* to have the gate opened before them.

Thus he set out against the troops, calling out that "Judgment is to God alone." Sa'īd and his forces kept falling back, until there was about a mile between them and al-Dayr. Sa'īd began calling out, "O company of Hamdān! I am Ibn Dhī Murrān! To me! To me!" Then he sent out some small parties with his son, having sensed that they would soon be upon him.[253] Shabīb looked at Muṣād and said, "May God bereave you of me if I do not bereave his son of him!" Then he assailed him with his mace, and he fell dead. His forces retreated, and Shabīb's men suffered only one casualty that day.

Sa'īd b. Mujālid's forces were driven back until they came to al-Jazl. Al-Jazl called out to them, "Men! To me! To me!" 'Iyāḍ b. Abī Līnah called out to them, saying, "Men, if this new commander of yours has perished, here is your other, fortunate com- [913] mander! Rally to him and fight with him!" Some did rally to him, while others rode off in a rout. Al-Jazl fought very hard until he fell wounded; then Khālid b. Nahīk and 'Iyāḍ b. Abī Līnah fought in his defense until they were able to rescue him. The defeated troops hurried back and entered al-Kūfah. Al-Jazl was brought to al-Madā'in, and from there wrote to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Thābit, the client of Zuhayr: This is the text of the letter:

I hereby inform the amīr—may God cause him to pros-

253. *Wa-wajjaha siraban ma'a ibnihi wa-qad aḥassa annahā takūnu 'alayhi.*

per!—that I marched out with those troops I had with me, which the amir ordered me to lead against his enemy, following his orders to me and his decision with regard to them. My strategy was to go out against the enemy when I saw an opportunity, but to hold the troops back from them when I feared an awkward entanglement. I adhered to this strategy, and despite all the enemy's efforts to entice me into combat, he found me no fool. Then Sa'īd b. Mujālid—may God have mercy on his soul!—came to me. I ordered him to be circumspect and forbade him to do anything rash, and commanded him to fight them only when he had the entire force assembled together. But he disobeyed me and hurried off against them with the cavalry. I appeal to the men of both garrisons as witnesses against him that I took no responsibility for the decision he made and did not approve of his action. He went out and was struck down, may God grant him forgiveness; the men had to fall back on me, so I took the field, called them to me, and raised my standard for them. I fought until I was struck down, and my companions carried me off from amidst the dead. When I recovered consciousness, I found that they had already carried me a full mile from the battlefield. Today I am in al-Madā'in with a wound worse than some men die from but no worse than some men re-
[914] cover from. Let the amīr—may God cause him to prosper!—inquire about the advice I gave for him and his troops, about my strategems with his enemy,[254] and about my stand on the day of battle, and it will be clear to him that I have been true to him and offered sincere advice in his interest. Peace.

Al-Ḥajjāj's reply:

I have received your letter, read it, and understood everything you report in it. I believe all you have to say about yourself, including your sincere advice in your amīr's interest, your prudent concern for the men of your garrison, and your fierceness against the enemy. I also have understood what you have to say about Sa'īd and his rashness against the

254. *Mukāyadatī 'aduwwahu.* One MS has *m.kāb.tī,* a corruption from *Mukābadatī,* "my tenacity against," which may be the better reading.

enemy. I have approved both his rashness and your circumspection; his rashness has taken him to Paradise, and your circumspection has passed up no realistic opportunities for attack, whereas passing up unrealistic opportunities is a form of resolution. You have acted correctly, then, and done well when tested, and earned your reward; I consider you one of my trusted servants and counselors. I have sent Ḥayyān b. Abjar to you to nurse you and treat your wounds; and I have also sent you two thousand dirhams to spend on your needs and daily requirements. Peace.

Ḥayyān b. Abjar al-Kinānī of the Banū Firās,[255] who practiced cauterization and other forms of medical treatment, came to him and nursed him. 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Uṣayfīr also sent him a thousand dirhams, and visited him often and kept him company, bringing him gifts and presents.

Shabīb, meanwhile, advanced to al-Madā'in, but realized that he had no way of gaining access to its people, within the city,[256] and went on to al-Karkh, crossing the Tigris to reach it. He sent word from al-Karkh to the people of the market of Baghdad, telling them to go ahead with their market without fear; it was their market [915] day, and he had heard that they were afraid of him.[257]

Suwayd went out, putting the residences of Muzaynah and the Banū Sulaym[258] at his back and the backs of his forces. Shabīb launched a fearsome attack against them, in the evening, but was

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255. For the Banū Firās b. Ghanm of Kinānah, see Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab*, 911f. This physician is mentioned by Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa-al-ḥukamā'* (Cairo, 1955), 59, and his family as one of physicians in al-Kūfah by Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 66; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah* (Cairo, 1328), I, 364, makes him out to have been a Companion of the Prophet. A highly confused report in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, *'Uyūn al-anbā'* (Königsberg, 1884), I, 116, on an "'Abd al-Malik b. Abjar" at the time of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz has misled modern scholars; see Sezgin, *GAS*, III, 205f., and the literature there. 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'īd b. Ḥayyān b. Abjar, noted there from Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 394f., is perhaps to be equated with the *'Abdallāh* b. Sa'īd b. Ḥayyān b. Abjar in the same author's *Iṣābah*, I, 364.

256. *Lā sabīla lahu ilā ahlihā ma'a al-madīnah.*

257. This ends the alternate version of the battle with Sa'īd and al-Jazl, and Ṭabarī reverts to the account of Suwayd's pursuit of Shabīb outside al-Kūfah.

258. On these two Northern tribes, see Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab*, 543ff., 1083f. According to the text above, I, 2489f., the Sulaym were assigned an area in al-Kūfah north of the center, and Muzaynah east of it. See also the map in Massignon, "Explication du plan de Kufa," 336.

unable to achieve anything against them. He then took off through the residential area of al-Kūfah toward al-Ḥīrah,[259] and Suwayd pursued him, keeping to him all the way across the entire residential area of al-Kūfah and on to al-Ḥīrah. There, Suwayd found that Shabīb had cut the bridge at al-Ḥīrah as he passed, so he let him go and halted there until morning.

Al-Ḥajjāj sent orders to Suwayd to pursue Shabīb, and he did.[260] Shabīb continued on down into the Euphrates lowlands, where he found some of his clansmen, then went back up into the desert beyond Khaffān,[261] into a region called al-Ghilẓah.[262] There he encountered men of the Banū al-Wirthah and attacked them, forcing them back to a hard plain in the vicinity. They took stones from the outcroppings around them and threw them at Shabīb and his men until they ran out; then Shabīb was able to get to them and killed thirteen of them, including Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik, Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah, and Ḥumrān b. Mālik, all of the Banū al-Wirthah. This is according to Abū Mikhnaf—'Aṭā' b. 'Arfajah b. Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh al-Wirthī.

Shabīb then continued on until he came to his father's sons at al-Laṣaf,[263] a watering hole of his kin. This watering hole was under the control of al-Fizr b. al-Aswad, one of the Banū al-Ṣulb;[264] he had forbidden Shabīb to promulgate his opinions and
[916] corrupt his cousins and other kin, to which Shabīb responded, "By God, if I get hold of seven bridles, I will attack al-Fizr!" When Shabīb came with his horsemen to his kin, he asked about al-Fizr; but al-Fizr paid him off with an unbeatably swift horse, on which he rode out beyond the tents and out across the land, as men fled from him.[265] Having given the desert bedouin a good scare, he

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259. About three miles south; see *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥīra; Le Strange, *Lands*, 75.

260. But how far is unclear, as nothing more is said about this pursuit.

261. On the edge of the desert, but near the marshes, about thirty miles southeast of al-Kūfah; see Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 357–60; Massignon, "Explication du plan de Kufa," 356.

262. Spelling and location uncertain. Some MSS have al-'Ulṭah.

263. West of the pilgrimage road from al-Kūfah, some hundred miles southwest of there. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 357; Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 14, 195.

264. Text: Banū al-Ṣalt. See Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 146, II, 247. Shabīb was al-Fizr's second cousin once removed.

265. *Fa-ittaqāhu al-Fizr fa-kharaja 'alā faras lā tujārā min warā' al-buyūt fadhahaba 'alayhā fī al-arḍ*. For *ittaqā* in the sense of "to pay off," see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 405, has al-Fizr riding the horse, but it is

came back and went on to al-Quṭquṭānah[266] and Qaṣr Muqātil,[267] then followed the bank of the Euphrates past al-Ḥaṣṣāṣah[268] and al-Anbār.[269] He proceeded to Daqūqā'[270] and then went off to the nearer parts of Ādharbayjān.

Al-Ḥajjāj let him be and moved to al-Baṣrah, leaving 'Urwah b. al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah as his deputy over al-Kūfah. But the people had hardly caught their breath when 'Urwah b. al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah received a letter from Mādharwāsb, the *dihqān* and lord of Bābil Mahrūdh, saying, "One of the merchants of al-Anbār, a fellow countryman of mine, came to me and said that Shabīb is planning to enter al-Kūfah at the beginning of the coming month. I wanted to inform you of this so you could make your plans. Then, only shortly later, two of my tax collectors came to tell me that Shabīb had arrived in Khānījār."[271]

'Urwah took this letter, rolled it up, and rushed it off to al-Ḥajjāj in al-Baṣrah. When al-Ḥajjāj read it, he went racing back to al-Kūfah. Shabīb continued his advance until he reached a village called Ḥarbā,[272] on the bank of the Tigris, where he crossed the river. He asked what the name of the village was and was told "Ḥarbā." He said, "War (*ḥarb*)—may your enemy roast with it—and lamentation (*ḥarab*)—may you bring it into their houses! Bad [917] omens are only a matter for mantics and augurs."[273] Then he raised his standard and said to his companions, "March!" They

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not clear with which of the following verbs the subject returns to Shabīb. Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 14, takes al-Fizr as the subject of *all* the following verbs, which seems highly improbable.

266. Probably modern al-Ṭuqṭuqānah, thirty miles due west of al-Kūfah. See Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 14, 199, 212; Ṣ. al-'Alī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfah," 246f.

267. Identified by Caskel, "al-Ukhaiḍir," *Der Islam* 39 (1964), 28–37, with the ruins of al-Ukhayḍir, about thirty-five miles north-northwest of al-Ṭuqṭuqānah.

268. Near Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 274; but presumably somewhat north of there, as it also lay on the route from Karbalā' to al-Anbār. See text above, II, 545, and Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 41, 351.

269. A major town on the Euphrates, forty miles west of Baghdad; see *EI²*, s.v. al-Anbār.

270. Some 120 miles north of Baghdad; see *EI²*, s.v. Daḳūḳā'; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 41ff.

271. Twenty miles south of Daqūqā'. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 394; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 60ff.

272. Thirty miles north of Baghdad; see *EI²*, s.v. Ḥarbā'.

273. *Man yaqūfu wa-ya'īfu*. On *qiyāfah* (physiognomy or the reading of traces on the ground) and *'iyāfah* (ornithomancy), see *EI²*, s.vv. ḳiyāfa, 'iyāfa.

went on, halting at 'Aqarqūf.[274] Suwayd b. Sulaym said to Shabīb, "Commander of the Faithful, would you not have us move away from this village with such an ill-omened name?"[275] Shabīb replied, "Yet again you see bad omens! By God, I will not move from this village until I march from here against my enemy! Its ill omens, God willing, will apply rather to your enemy; here you will attack them, and the wounds (*'aqr*) will be theirs." Then he said to his companions, "Men, al-Ḥajjāj is not in al-Kūfah, and, God willing, nothing stands in the way between us and there. Let us march, then!" So he set out to get to al-Kūfah before al-Ḥajjāj.

'Urwah wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, saying, "Shabīb has set out and is rapidly approaching al-Kūfah! Hurry!" Al-Ḥajjāj swept past the halting places, racing with Shabīb for the city. Al-Ḥajjāj arrived there at the time of the noon prayer, and Shabīb reached al-Sabakhah at the time of the sunset prayer. After performing the sunset and evening prayers, he and his companions had a little to eat, mounted their horses, and rode into al-Kūfah. Shabīb reached the market, then drove on to the palace and struck its gate with his mace.[276]

According to Abū al-Mundhir: I saw where Shabīb struck the gate of the palace; it left a huge mark.

Then Shabīb came and stood at the platform (*maṣṭabah*),[277] and said:

Her hoof, whenever she crosses a thicket, is like
the measure with which a stingy miser measures out—
A slave with a spurious genealogy, who is really from Thamūd;
or, rather, it is said their father's father was Yaqdum.[278]

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274. Text: 'Aqraqūfā. This site was four *farsakhs* from Baghdad, near the Dujayl canal (which extended to Ḥarbā), according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 697f. It has been identified as the Kassite city Dur Kurigalzu; see *EI*², s. v. 'Aḳarḳūf.

275. *'Aqrā* is a form of imprecation, variously explained; see Lane, s.v. *Qūf* was presumably associated with *qiyāfah*; see note 273 above.

276. Of published early parallel accounts, only Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 328, mentions this incident (without the accompanying verses).

277. A bench or raised platform, against a wall; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

278. These anti-Thaqīf verses are attributed (with variants) to Ḥassān b. Thābit; see his *Dīwān*, 438, and *Aghānī*¹, IV, 11 and XIV, 141. Yaqdum was a descendant of Iyād b. Nizār, through whom one of the respectable genealogies claimed for Thaqīf was made. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 258; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 99f.

Then they stormed the great mosque, which was still full of people praying. Shabīb killed 'Uqayl b. Muṣ'ab al-Wādi'ī, 'Adī b. 'Amr [918]
al-Thaqafī, and Abū Layth b. Abī Sulaym, the client of 'Anbasah b. Abī Sufyān. His men also killed Azhar b. 'Abdallāh al-'Āmirī. Then they proceeded to the house of Ḥawshab,[279] who was head of the security forces (*shuraṭ*),[280] and stopped at his door, saying, "The amīr has summoned Ḥawshab." The latter's servant, Maymūn,[281] brought out Ḥawshab's horse for him to ride but seemed to look askance at them; they thought he had become suspicious, and when he began to go back in they said to him, "Stay where you are until your master comes out." Ḥawshab heard this and was incensed at these people, and came out to see them. When he saw the entire group of them, it was clear to him that they were up to no good, and he turned to leave them. They surged toward him, but he went inside and bolted the door. They then killed his servant Maymūn and took his horse, and went on to see al-Jaḥḥāf b. Nubayṭ al-Shaybānī, who was a kinsman of Ḥawshab's. Suwayd said to him, "Come down to us." Al-Jaḥḥāf replied, "What will you do if I do?" Suwayd said, "I will pay you the price of the young she-camel that I bought from you in the desert." Al-Jaḥḥāf said, "What a terrible time and place this is to pay off a debt! Could you not remember your obligation except when the night is dark and you are mounted on your horse? God's plague, O Suwayd, on a debt that cannot be settled and paid up except with the killing of relatives and spilling the blood of this community!"

Then they went on to the mosque of the Banū Dhuhl,[282] where they found Dhuhl b. al-Ḥārith; he had been praying in the mosque of his people, and taken a long time about it, and they caught him just as he was leaving to go home. They pounced on him to kill

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279. Ḥawshab b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ruwaym al-Shaybānī; see text above, II, 775, and note 102.

280. Pl. of *shurṭah*, police; see note 45 above.

281. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 328, he was known as al-'Adhāb ("the chastisement"), or perhaps al-'Adhdhāb (otherwise known only as the name of a famous horse; see Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, s.v.).

282. This mosque has been mentioned previously by Ṭabarī (II, 532), in a context suggesting that these are the Banū Dhuhl b. Mu'āwiyah, a clan of Kindah (so assumed by Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 239), rather than Shabīb's own Banū Dhuhl b. Shaybān or the Banū Dhuhl b. Tha'labah of Bakr (as implied by Ṭabarī, index, 183).

him, and he cried, "O God, I protest to You against these men and their wickedness and ignorance! O God, I am too weak to protect myself from them; come to my aid against them!" But they
[919] struck him down and killed him. Then they went on until they left al-Kūfah and headed toward al-Mardamah.[283]

According to Hishām—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh: He was encountered by al-Naḍr b. al-Qa'qā' b. Shawr al-Dhuhlī,[284] whose mother was Nājiyah bint Hāni' b. Qabīṣah b. Hāni' al-Shaybānī,[285] and discomfited him when he looked at him—by "discomfited" he means he frightened him. Al-Naḍr said, "Peace be upon you, O amīr, and God's mercy." But Suwayd interrupted him, saying, "That's 'Commander (*amīr*) of the Faithful,' damn you!" He said, "Commander of the Faithful"—until they left al-Kūfah and headed toward al-Mardamah.[286]

Al-Ḥajjāj ordered the crier to proclaim, "O cavalry of God! Mount and rejoice!"[287] from above the gate of the palace. There was a lamp placed there, with a servant of his waiting. The first of

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283. Location unknown. Ṭabarī's distinction between this first entry by Shabīb into al-Kūfah and a second attack much later (text below, II, 956–68) is not reflected in other early sources, which combine elements of both incidents into one account. Most of them stress the drama of Shabīb's mother and/or wife praying in the Friday mosque, which is mentioned by Ṭabarī only in passing, at the time of the second attack (see note 439 below). Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 328, is closest to Tabarī in detail, but omits the second attack entirely; Ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 272f., follows Ṭabarī's chronology more closely, but differs in detail; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 87–91, knows only the second attack and diverges considerably. See also Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 410f.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 321; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 89ff.; Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 124–26; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 185f.

284. Reading al-Qa'qā' for text Qa'qā'. Al-Qa'qā' b. Shawr of the Banū Dhuhl b. Tha'labah of Bakr b. Wā'il was famed in al-Kūfah for his amicability and generosity; see Ziriklī, *A'lām*, VI, 48.

285. Hāni' b. Qabīṣah of the Banū Dhuhl b. Shaybān (Shabīb's clan) had led the Bakr b. Wā'il on the day of Dhū Qār; see Ziriklī, *A'lām*, IX, 52f. His grandson al-Naḍr was clearly a very respectable man, as well as a kinsman to Shabīb.

286. *Fa-qāla amīr al-mu'minīn ḥattā kharajū min al-Kūfah mutawajjihīn naḥwa al-Mardamah.* The text seems suspect here, as this rather awkwardly tacked-on phrase duplicates the end of the previous paragraph; furthermore, the more coherent variant of this anecdote presented below sets it outside al-Kūfah, at or beyond al-Mardamah. Ibn al-Athīr in his paraphrase (*Kāmil*, IV, 407) gives only the second version of the story, but at this point in the narrative.

287. *Yā khayl Allāh irkabī wa-abshirī*, a standard call to arms; see Fries, *Heereswesen*, 43. Except for the last word, this phrase was considered a prophetic *ḥadīth*; see Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 16, and Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s. v. khayl.

the men to come to him was 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥuṣayn Dhī al-Ghuṣṣah,[288] accompanied by his clients and some of his kinsmen. He said, "I am 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan. Inform the amir of where I am and let him issue his orders." The servant replied, "Stay where you are until the amīr's orders come to you." Then the men began to come from every direction, and 'Uthmān spent the night there with the men who had assembled with him.

In the morning, al-Ḥajjāj sent out Bishr b. Ghālib al-Asadī of the Banū Wālibah[289] with two thousand men, Zā'idah b. Qudāmah al-Thaqafī with two thousand men, Abū al-Ḍurays, the client of the Banū Tamīm, with a thousand clients, and A'yan, the A'yan of the Ḥammām A'yan and a client of Bishr b. Marwān,[290] with a thousand men.

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had sent out Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah[291] to take charge in Sijistān, writing him up a formal appointment as governor over it, and writing to al-Ḥajjāj, saying, "When Muḥammad b. Mūsā comes to you, supply him with two thousand men to take to Sijistān and hurry him on his way." 'Abd al-Malik also ordered Muḥammad b. Mūsā to write to al-Ḥajjāj himself. When Muḥammad b. Mūsā arrived, he lingered over his preparations. His advisers urged him, "Hurry, O amīr, to your province, for you do not know what al-Ḥajjāj may be up to or what he may decide to do"; but he remained where he was, and the crisis with Shabīb developed. Then al-Ḥajjāj said to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, "Please go engage Shabīb and these Khārijites and fight them; then you may go on to your province." [920]

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288. His great-grandfather al-Ḥuṣayn b. Yazīd, known as Dhū al-Ghuṣṣah, was a celebrated horseman, leader of the Banū al-Ḥārith of Madhḥij; and his father Qaṭan was a prominent Umayyad supporter in al-Kūfah and, according to one account, briefly governor there in 71 (690–691), before Bishr b. Marwān. See text above, II, 804, 816, and Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 261, II, 337, 468.

289. For the Banū Wālibah of Asad, of Muḍar, see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 52, II, 227.

290. A'yan was a *mawlā* of Bishr b. Marwān (as reported here), or of the Bakr b. Wa'il (see text below, II, 966f.), or of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 281). His bath was across the Euphrates from al-Kūfah; according to Balādhurī he had bought it from the heirs of an 'Ibādī in al-Ḥīrah. See Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 269f.; al-'Alī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfah," 239.

291. Grandson of the famous Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, from the Banū Taym of Quraysh. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 233; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 130.

Al-Ḥajjāj also sent out with these commanders ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz al-Qurashī and Ziyād b. ʿAmr al-ʿAtakī.[292]

Shabīb, as we have said, left al-Kūfah and went to al-Mardamah. There was a man from Ḥaḍramawt there in charge of the tithes[293] named Nājiyah b. Marthad[294] al-Ḥaḍramī. When this man entered the bath, Shabīb went in after him, brought him out, and struck off his head. Shabīb also encountered al-Naḍr b. al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Shawr; the latter had been with al-Ḥajjāj when he set out from al-Baṣrah, but al-Ḥajjāj had left him behind when he went racing on to al-Kūfah. When Shabīb, who was with his companions, saw him, he recognized him and said, "O Naḍr b. al-Qaʿqāʿ! Judgment is to God alone!" His intention in saying this was to prompt him,[295] but al-Naḍr did not understand and simply replied, "We are God's, and to him we return."[296] Then Shabīb's
[921] companions said, "Commander of the Faithful, it is as if you meant by your words to prompt him!" They set upon al-Naḍr and killed him.

The above-mentioned commanders assembled in the Euphrates lowlands. But then Shabīb turned away from the direction in which these leaders were assembled and set off toward al-Qādisiyyah.[297] Al-Ḥajjāj sent out Zaḥr b. Qays with a company[298] of elite cavalry, eighteen hundred horsemen, saying, "Pursue Shabīb, and wherever you catch up with him, attack him, unless he is on the move elsewhere; if he is, then leave him

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292. Veteran leader of the Azd in al-Baṣrah; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 203, II, 606. Al-ʿAtīk was a clan of Azd.

293. *ʿUshūr*. On the ambiguities of this term and its frequent application in the early period (as perhaps here) to illegal imposts, see P. G. Forand, "Notes on *ʿUshr* and *Maks*," *Arabica* 8 (1961), 137–41.

294. Pointing uncertain. Some MSS have Mazyad, Murayd, etc.

295. *Talqīnah*. *Laqqana* means generally to dictate words for someone to repeat, but also, technically, to whisper *lā ilāha illā allāh* ("there is no god but God") in the ear of the deceased for him to repeat when interrogated by the two angels in the tomb; see Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v. Shabīb is here giving al-Naḍr a chance to save himself by repeating a phrase (*lā ḥukma illā lillāh*) that is in itself Qur'ānic and therefore unexceptionable; see the variant of this story given below, 968, and note 454.

296. Qur'ān 2:156. The verse begins, "(Believers) who, when they are struck by calamity, say . . ."

297. Nineteen miles southwest of al-Kūfah; see *EI*², s. v. al-Ḳadisiyya.

298. *Jarīdah*; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v.

alone, so long as he does not turn on you or halt and make a stand. If he does that, do not leave him without engaging him."

Zaḥr set out and went as far as al-Saylaḥīn.[299] Shabīb was informed of his progress toward him and set out to meet him. When they met, Zaḥr put 'Abdallāh b. Kannāz al-Nahdī,[300] a very brave man, in charge of his right wing, and 'Adī b. 'Adī b. 'Umayrah al-Kindī al-Shaybānī in charge of his left wing. Shabīb put all his horsemen together in a single compact formation[301] and threw them against the line. The line reeled and broke up, falling back to Zaḥr b. Qays. Zaḥr b. Qays dismounted and fought until he was felled, and his forces fell back. Shabīb's men thought they had killed him, but just before daybreak the cold revived him, and he got up and walked until he came to a village. He spent the night there, and then was conveyed to al-Kūfah. On his face and head were something between ten and twenty wounds, from sword and spear.

A few days later, Zaḥr went to see al-Ḥajjāj, with his face and wounds swathed in cotton. Al-Ḥajjāj sat him next to him on his [922] couch and said to those around him, "Anyone who would like to see a man from the people of Paradise, a martyr walking among men, let him look upon this man!"

Meanwhile, Shabīb's companions, thinking that they had killed Zaḥr, said to Shabīb, "We have defeated a force of theirs and killed one of their great commanders; let us depart, then, satisfied!" But he said, "Our killing this man and defeating this army will have panicked those other commanders and forces that have been sent out in pursuit of us; so let us rather, then, march against them! For, by God, if we kill them, then there will be nothing, God willing, between us and al-Ḥajjāj and the taking of al-Kūfah!" They said, "We hear and follow your decision and are obedient under your hands."

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299. A town about halfway between al-Ḥīrah and al-Qādisiyyah; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 218f. (Saylaḥūn), and Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 105. Al-Saylaḥīn was also the name of a canal, and of a *ṭassūj* of Bihqubādh al-Asfal (see note 304 below), which included the palace of al-Khawarnaq; see Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik*, 8, 11; Massignon, "Explication du plan de Kufa," 336, 339, 356; al-'Alī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfah," 248f.

300. Kannāz is a conjectural reading; variants in the MSS include K.thār, K.nān, K.nār, K.bār. The Banū Nahd b. Zayd belonged to Quḍā'ah, a tribal group of uncertain genealogy; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 443, and *EI²*, s. v. Ḳudā'a.

301. *Kabkabah*; see *WKAS*, s. v.

He came swooping down with them as far as Najrān[302]—this is the Najrān of al-Kūfah, in the area of 'Ayn al-Tamr.[303] There he inquired about the main body of enemy forces and was informed that they were assembled at Rūdhbār in the Euphrates lowlands, in Lower Bihqubādh,[304] at a distance of twenty-four *farsakh*s from al-Kūfah. Word came to al-Ḥajjāj of Shabīb's advance toward them, and he sent out to them 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ghariq, the client of Ibn Abī 'Aqīl,[305] a man highly esteemed by al-Ḥajjāj, and said to him, "Go catch up with their assembled forces—that is, the assembled forces of the commanders—inform them that the heretics are marching against them and tell them that if they join in combat, the commander of the forces is to be Zā'idah b. Qudāmah." Ibn al-Ghariq went to them, informed them of this, and then departed from them.

[923] According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab: When Shabīb came to us, we had seven commanders with us, all under the supreme command of Zā'idah b. Qudāmah. Each commander had mustered his forces by themselves—Ziyād b. 'Amr al-'Atakī was on our right and Bishr b. Ghālib al-Asadī on our left—and every commander was standing with his own forces. Then Shabīb came and stopped on a hill from which he could look out over the men; he was on a bay horse with a blaze. He looked at the way the troops were mustered, went back to his companions, and then advanced at a gallop with three detachments. As he drew near the troops, one detachment, led by Suwayd b. Sulaym, went and took up its position opposite our right; another detachment, led by Shabīb's brother Muṣād, went and took up its position opposite our left; and Shabīb came with a detachment and took up his position opposite our center.

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302. On this Christian town, tied historically to the Najrān of Yemen, see Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 226ff.; J. S. Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times* (London, 1979), 176ff., 195, 307; Massignon, "Explication du plan de Kufa," 336 and note 1.

303. About sixty miles northwest of al-Kūfah; see *EI²*, s. v. 'Ayn al-Tamr.

304. The *astān* of Bihqubādh al-Asfal was the Euphrates area south of al-Ḥīrah. The location of Rūdhbār within it seems to be unattested, unless it is connected with the *ṭassūj* of Rūdhmastān; see Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik*, 8, 11; al-'Alī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfah," 251f. Twenty-four *farsakh*s from al-Kūfah would put Rūdhbār almost halfway to al-Baṣrah.

305. The text below, II, 945, has Abū 'Aqīl.

Zā'idah b. Qudāmah went out and passed among the troops, from the right wing to the left, encouraging the men and saying, "O servants of God, you are the virtuous many, afflicted by a wicked few. Hold steadfast—may I be your ransom—for two or three charges against them; then there will be no barrier or obstacle to victory. Take a look at them, by God! They are not even two hundred—diners on a single head of cattle! They are nothing but bandits and renegades, and they have come to you only to spill your blood and take your spoil. Do not let them show themselves more able to take it than you are to defend it! They are few, and you are many; they belong to a sect, while you belong to a community. Lower your eyes and meet them with your spear [924] points; but do not charge them until I order you to." Then he went back to his own position.

Suwayd b. Sulaym charged against Ziyād b. 'Amr, and their line was thrown back; but Ziyād held his position with about half his forces. Suwayd withdrew from them for a bit, then charged them again, and they fought with spears for some time.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: By God, I was one of them that day.[306] We fought with spears for some time, and they held up against us to the point that I thought they would never give up. Ziyād b. 'Amr fought fiercely, calling out "My horsemen!," lunging with his sword, and really fighting very fiercely. I also saw Suwayd b. Sulaym that day; he was the bravest and fiercest of the bedouin, and no one could stand up to him.

Then, finally, we withdrew from them. They thereupon broke formation, and Shabīb's men said to him, "Do you not see how they are breaking formation? Attack them!" But Shabīb replied, "Leave them be until they thin out a bit." They left them be for a little, and then he led a third attack against them, and they fell back. I saw Ziyād b. 'Amr take repeated sword blows, but every one of them glanced off; he was wearing mail. I saw more than twenty swords in turn strike him, and he came through it all unhurt. When he finally fell back, he had one small wound; this was in the evening.

Then we charged against 'Abd al-A'lā b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir and drove him back; he did not put up much of a fight, having been

306. On Shabīb's side; see text above, II, 886, 903.

fighting with his sword for some time already, and, as I heard, having been wounded. Then he caught up with Ziyād b. 'Amr, and the two kept falling back until we came to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b.
[925] Ṭalḥah, at sunset, who gave us a good fight and stood up to us.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab and Farwah b. Laqīṭ: Shabīb's brother Muṣād attacked Bishr b. Ghālib, who was on the left wing. Bishr fought bravely and well, by God, and steadfastly. He dismounted, and other steadfast men dismounted with him, some fifty of them, and they fought with their swords until they were killed to a man. One of them was 'Urwah b. Zuhayr b. Nājidh al-Azdī; his mother was Zārah, a woman who had children among the Azd and whose descendants are known as the Banū Zārah.[307]

When they had killed Bishr and his forces had been driven back, they turned and attacked Abū al-Ḍurays, the client of the Banū Tamīm, who was positioned next to Bishr b. Ghālib. They drove him back as well, as far as the position of A'yan. Then they attacked him and A'yan together and drove them back as far as Zā'idah b. Qudāmah. When they got to him, he dismounted and called out, "O people of Islam! Dismount! Dismount! To me! To me! Let not them be more steadfast in their unbelief than you in your faith!" He fought them through the night, until daybreak. Then Shabīb charged against him with a concentrated group of his forces and killed him and his companions, leaving those dedicated men a heap of bodies around him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab: I heard Zā'idah b. Qudāmah raising his voice that night and saying, "Men, 'be steadfast and persevering!' 'You who believe, fight for God, and He will fight for you and plant your feet firmly!' "[308] Then, by God, he did not leave off fighting them, pushing for-
[926] ward, and never falling back, until he was killed, God have mercy on him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: Abū al-Ṣuqayr al-Shaybānī claimed that it was he who actually killed Zā'idah b. Qudāmah, but his claim was disputed by another man named al-Faḍl b. 'Āmir.

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307. Text: Zurārah, but see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 605 (Banū Zārah), 610 (Zuhayr b. Rabī'ah b. Nājid b. al-Akram), and Ibn Durayd, *K. al-Ishtiqāq* (Cairo, 1958), 491. The details of the genealogy are unclear.

308. Qur'ān 3:200 and 47:7.

When Shabīb killed Zā'idah b. Qudāmah, Abū al-Ḍurays and A'yan retreated into a large fortress. Shabīb said to his forces, "Hold back your swords from the men and summon them to render the oath of allegiance." They did this at dawn.

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab: I was among those who came to him and rendered him the oath of allegiance, as he sat on his horse with his mounted cavalry before him. As each man came to render the oath of allegiance, his sword was taken from his shoulder and his other weapons taken from him; then he was led before Shabīb. He greeted Shabīb as Commander of the Faithful and was left free to go his way.

This was my situation when dawn broke. At this time, Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh was at the far end of the army, with a group of his comrades, and they were still holding out. When dawn broke, he ordered his muezzin to give the call to prayer. Shabīb, hearing the call to prayer, asked, "What is that?" and was told, "That is Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh; he is still making a stand." Shabīb said, "Indeed I thought his foolishness and vanity would make him do that. Now set these men apart from us, and let us dismount and pray."

He dismounted and gave the call to prayer himself, then stood before his companions and led them in prayer. He recited the Qur'ānic *sūrahs* "Woe to every slanderer and backbiter" and "Have you seen him who cries lies to religion?"[309] Then he gave the *taslīm*,[310] and they mounted their horses and attacked. One group of Muḥammad b. Mūsā's men were driven back, but another group held their ground.

According to Farwah: I will never forget what Muḥammad b. Mūsā was saying as we came up on him; he was fighting with his sword and saying, "*Alif. Lām. Mīm.* Do men think that they will [927] be left at ease because they say 'We believe,' and will not be tested? We have tested those who were before them, and indeed God knows those who are sincere, and knows those who lie."[311] He fought until he was killed. I heard my companions say that it was Shabīb who killed him. Then we dismounted and took what-

309. Qur'ān 104 and 107, identified here by their first verses.

310. The formula *al-salāmu 'alaykum*, which concludes the prayer; see *SEI*, s. v. *ṣalāt*.

311. Qur'ān 29:1–3.

ever we could find in the camp. Those who had rendered the oath of allegiance to Shabīb fled, and not one of them remained.

Someone other than Abū Mikhnaf has reported something different with regard to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah from what I have reported from Abū Mikhnaf, as follows: ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān had appointed Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah governor of Sijistān. Al-Ḥajjāj then wrote to him saying, "You have responsibility for every land you pass through. Now here is Shabīb in your path." So Muḥammad turned to confront Shabīb. Shabīb sent to him, saying, "You have been taken in! Al-Ḥajjāj has used you to protect himself, while you have a claim to protection as my neighbor![312] Go, then, to the place to which you were ordered, and godspeed! I will not harm you." But Muḥammad insisted on fighting him. Shabīb came out to meet him and sent the messenger to him again, but still he insisted on fighting him. He called for single combat, and al-Baṭīn came forward to challenge him, then Qaʿnab, then Suwayd; but he refused to fight anyone but Shabīb. They told Shabīb, "He refuses us and insists on you." Shabīb said, "What else would you expect of these notables?" Then he came forward to challenge Muḥammad, but said, "I adjure you by God, spare your life, for you have a claim to my protection!" Still he insisted on fighting him. Shabīb then charged him and struck him with an iron mace weighing twelve Syrian *raṭls*,[313] smashing his helmet and head, and he fell. Shabīb had him dressed in a shroud and buried, and he bought up the spoils that had been taken from his camp and sent them to his
[928] family. He justified himself to his companions, saying, "He was my neighbor in al-Kūfah, and I have the right to bestow the spoil I have taken on the people of apostasy[314] if I so wish."

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312. *Wa-anta jār laka ḥaqq*, as also below, *laka jiwār* ("you are under protection"). For this principle of assuming responsibility for the security of a guest or neighbor, see *EI*², s. v. djiwār; W. Schmucker, *Untersuchungen zu einigen wichtigen bodensrechtlichen Konsequenzen der islamischen Eroberungsbewegung* (Bonn, 1972), 13ff.

313. If we calculate from the preserved Umayyad *raṭl*-weight from Syria, dated 744 A. D., which weighs 337.55 grams, this mace weighed a little over four kilograms. The *raṭl* varied considerably from city to city; for later periods, we know that the standard Damascus *raṭl* was 1.85 kg, the Aleppo *raṭl* 2.28 kg, etc. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 3, 30f.

314. *Ahl al-riddah*, conventionally applied to the Arab tribes that renounced

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū 'Ubaydah:[315] Muḥammad b. Mūsā had been with 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar[316] in Fārs. He fought with him in the battle against Abū Fudayk, as commander of his right wing, and distinguished himself for bravery and valor.[317] 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar gave him his daughter Umm 'Uthmān in marriage; his sister[318] had married 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. 'Abd al-Malik then appointed Muḥammad governor of Sijistān. On his way there he passed through al-Kūfah, when al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf was there. It was suggested to al-Ḥajjāj that "if this man, with his bravery and his marriage ties to 'Abd al-Malik, reaches Sijistān, and anyone you are pursuing takes refuge with him, he will not give him up to you." Al-Ḥajjāj asked what could be done and was told, "You should go to him, greet him, mention his bravery and valor, and how Shabīb is in his path, and has frustrated all your efforts, and that you hope God may relieve you of him through Muḥammad's hand, the fame and glory thereof accruing to Muḥammad himself."

So it happened. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh turned aside to confront Shabīb, who came out to meet him.[319] Shabīb said to him, "I know all about al-Ḥajjāj's wiles. He has tricked you and managed to use you to protect himself. It seems to me that if the two rings of the saddle-girth should meet,[320] your companions would abandon you and you would be cut down like your comrades. Do as I say, then, and go off to your own business, for I value you too highly to see you die." But Muḥam-

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their Islam after the death of the Prophet. According to Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 573, the Khārijites used *riddī* to mean "someone who knows the truth of what they say, but suppresses it"; but here *ahl al-riddah* probably means only "non-Khārijite Muslims."

315. Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā, the famous philologist, d. 209 (824–825); see *EI²*, s. v. Abū 'Ubayda.

316. On him see Ziriklī, *A'lām*, V, 214. Like Muḥammad b. Mūsā, he belonged to the Banū Taym of Quraysh. For his governorship in Fārs and battles against the Azraqites there (for Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr), see text above, II, 753ff. According to Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, V, 240, Abū 'Ubaydah was a *mawlā* of his family.

317. See text above, II, 852f.

318. 'Ā'ishah. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 130.

319. Reading *fa-wāqafah* (as in the previous account) for text *fa-wāqa'ah*.

320. That is, if push came to shove; for the proverb, see Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 121.

mad b. Mūsā refused, and Shabīb engaged him in single combat and killed him.[321]

Returning to the account of Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān: Among the men who rendered him the oath of allegiance that night was Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī.[322] When he rendered the oath, Shabīb asked him, "Are you not Abū Burdah?" He
[929] said, "Yes." Shabīb said to his companions, "My friends! This man's father was one of the two arbiters!"[323] They replied, "Let us kill him then!" But Shabīb said, "This man bears no blame for what his father did." They said, "Truly."

The next morning Shabīb set out for the fortress in which Abū al-Ḍurays and A'yan had taken refuge, but they attacked him with arrows and fortified themselves against him. He remained confronting them for that day, and then left them.

Then his companions said to him, "There is no one stopping us from going right on to al-Kūfah." But when he saw how many wounds they had sustained, he said, "I will not require of you more than what you have already done." He then led them to Niffar,[324] al-Ṣarāt,[325] and Baghdad, and proceeded on to Khānījār, where he halted.

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321. Quite divergent from the three versions of Muḥammad b. Mūsā's fate given here is the notice in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 273f., 297, which places his defeat and death at al-Ahwāz, the following year, after Shabīb had entered al-Kūfah the second time and was on his way to Kirmān (see text below, II, 972). Otherwise, Ibn Khayyāṭ follows Ṭabarī's chronology here, if summarily. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 85f., on the other hand, in his list of commanders defeated or killed by Shabīb, puts Zaḥr b. Qays fourth, after 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath (see text below, II, 930, and, for the first two, note 178 above), is silent on Zā'idah b. Qudāmah and his companions, and mentions Muḥammad b. Mūsā ninth, just before Shabīb's (only) entry into al-Kūfah. Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 410, names Muḥammad b. Mūsā as one of five commanders killed by Shabīb before attacking al-Kūfah, which agrees with Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 408–11; Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 127–29; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 185f.

322. Later in charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Ash'arī, Abū Burda.

323. Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī was chosen as the arbiter (*ḥakam*) to represent 'Alī in the conflict with Mu'āwiyah at Ṣiffīn; since the decision to arbitrate led to the secession of the Khārijites from 'Alī's side, he would be held in particular opprobrium by them. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā.

324. The ancient Nippur, about fifty-five miles east of al-Kūfah; see *EI¹*, s.v. Niffar.

325. The Ṣarāt canal, extending east-west between the Euphrates and the Tigris, would be crossed some thirty miles north of Niffar on the route to al-Madā'in or

When al-Ḥajjāj heard that Shabīb was headed toward Niffar, he thought that his objective was al-Madā'in, which is the gateway to al-Kūfah; for he who takes al-Madā'in controls most of the region of al-Kūfah. This panicked al-Ḥajjāj, and he sent for 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan, and summoned him to hurry off to al-Madā'in; he put him in charge of its pulpit and prayer, of the security force (*ma'ūnah*)[326] of all of Jūkhā, and of the land revenue of the district.[327] 'Uthmān went straight off to al-Madā'in, and al-Ḥajjāj dismissed 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Uṣayfīr.

At this time, al-Jazl had been staying in al-Madā'in for some months, treating his wounds, and Ibn Abī 'Uṣayfīr used to come visit him and treat him generously. But when 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan came to al-Madā'in, he did not come to visit him, frequent his company, or send him any gifts. Al-Jazl's comment was "O God, increase Ibn Abī 'Uṣayfīr in generosity, liberality, and excellence, [930] and increase 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan in tightness and miserliness!"

Then al-Ḥajjāj summoned 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath[328] and ordered him to select a force and go out in pursuit of this enemy; he stipulated a force of six thousand. 'Abd al-Raḥmān made his selection from the horsemen and most prominent fighters, and also led out six hundred of his own men from Kindah and Ḥaḍramawt. Al-Ḥajjāj urged him to hurry with the muster, which he made at Dayr 'Abd al-Raḥmān. When al-Ḥajjāj was ready to send them out, he wrote to them as follows:

> You have made humiliation into a habit, and turned and retreated on the day of advance. This is the behavior of unbelievers. I have forgiven you time after time after time after

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Baghdad; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 72. In Ṭabarī al-Ṣarāt often refers to an area, or perhaps to an otherwise unidentified town; see, for example, text above, II, 37, 40.

326. A synonym for *shurṭah*, the police or internal security forces. See Ṭabarī, glossarium, s.v., and note 45 above.

327. *Kharāj al-astān*. It is unclear whether this refers to Jūkhā, or to one of the fiscal *astāns* listed by the geographers (and if so, which one; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 79ff.). Some MSS read al-Anbār, as does the paraphrase by Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 411 (*amīran 'alā al-Madā'in wa-Jūkhā wa-al-Anbār*).

328. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ma'dīkarib (al-Ash'ath), grandson of the famous general and chief of the Kindah of Ḥaḍramawt, al-Ash'ath b. Qays; see *EI*², s.v. Ibn al-Ash'ath. He had earlier fought for Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr against al-Mukhtār and for Bishr b. Marwān against the Azraqites; see text above, II, 733, 826f.

time. But now, I swear to you a solemn oath by God, if you act this way again, I will deal you a blow far worse than facing this enemy, from whom you flee through lowland valleys and mountain passes and from whom you hide in river bends and mountain clefts. He who has any sense will fear for himself and not put his life in jeopardy! The warner is excused,[329] and "If you had addressed a living being, you would have been heard"[330]—but those you address have no life! Peace be upon you.

Then al-Ḥajjāj dispatched Ibn al-Aṣamm, his muezzin, to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath. He came to Ibn al-Ashʿath at sunrise and said, "Set out immediately, and proclaim to the men that 'No contractual obligation will protect any member of this expedition whom we find malingering.'" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath marched out with the men as far as al-Madāʾin and halted there for a day and a night while his forces bought what they needed. Then he gave the call for the
[931] men to saddle their mounts, and they did so and began to move out. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān stopped to see ʿUthmān b. Qaṭan and then went to see al-Jazl, asking him about his wounds and sitting to talk with him for a while. Al-Jazl then said to him, "Kinsman,[331] you are marching against the horsemen of the bedouin, sons of war, men never out of the saddle, by God, as if they had been created from their horses' ribs and raised on their backs. They are lions in the thickets, one horseman of theirs worth a hundred: if you do not attack him, he will attack you, and if you yell at him to chase him off[332] he will come at you. I have fought them and seen how they fight. When I showed myself to them in the open, they took their due from me and bested me; but when I put trenches around myself and fought them in narrow places, I got something of what I was after from them and achieved victory. If possible, then, do not encounter them when you are not either in formation or protected by a trench." When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bade

329. *A'dhara man andhara;* see Maydānī, *Amthāl,* I, 435.

330. That is, "your words go unheeded," referring to himself; for the proverb, see Maydānī, *Amthāl,* II, 48.

331. Both men belonged to the tribe of Kindah.

332. *In hujhija,* a word applied specifically to lions (and camels); see Lane, *Lexicon,* s.v.

him farewell, al-Jazl said, "Here is my horse al-Fusayfisā'. Take her; she can outrun all others."

'Abd al-Raḥmān took the horse and led the men out against Shabīb; but when he drew near him, Shabīb withdrew from him to Daqūqā' and Shahrazūr.[333] 'Abd al-Raḥmān pursued him as far as the borders but then halted and said, "He is now in the Mosul region, so let them fight to defend their land, or let him be, as they please." But al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf wrote to him, saying, "Pursue Shabīb and go after him wherever he goes, until you catch him and kill him or expel him. The authority is that of the Commander of the Faithful, and the troops are his troops. Peace."

When he read al-Ḥajjāj's letter, 'Abd al-Raḥmān set out again in pursuit of Shabīb. Shabīb's strategy had been to let 'Abd al-Raḥmān draw near him and then attempt a night attack; but [932] when he found that 'Abd al-Raḥmān had taken precautions and dug a defensive trench, he would withdraw and again let him be, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān would pursue him. When Shabīb heard that he had started up and was on the march, he would advance on him with his cavalry; but when he reached him he would find that he had put the cavalry and infantry in battle array and brought up the archers, never catching him in a moment of negligence or weakness. Then he would again withdraw and let him be.

When Shabīb saw that he could not catch 'Abd al-Raḥmān unawares or find a way to get at him, he began to take his cavalry out when 'Abd al-Raḥmān drew near and would then dismount at a distance of twenty *farsakh*s, halting in a rough and barren area. 'Abd al-Raḥmān would come up, and when he drew near Shabīb, Shabīb would remount and go another fifteen or twenty *farsakh*s and dismount again, in a rough and rugged area. There he would halt until 'Abd al-Raḥmān again drew near.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab: Shabīb subjected that army to torments and agonies, wore down the hooves of their beasts, and put them through every sort of trial; but 'Abd al-Raḥmān kept pursuing him, passing by Khāniqīn, then Jalūlā', then Tāmarrā.[334] Then Shabīb went on and dis-

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333. A district, and city, east of Daqūqā' and north of Ḥulwān; see Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 67ff.

334. A *ṭassūj* of the *astān* of Ḥulwān, in the area where the Diyālā River and the

mounted at al-Batt,[335] one of the villages of Mosul, just on the borders of that region, separated from the Sawād[336] of al-Kūfah only by a river called Ḥawlāyā.[337]

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath came and dismounted at the Ḥawlāyā River, in Upper Rādhān,[338] in the region of Jūkhā. He halted at some steep bends in the river; 'Abd al-Raḥmān halted there where he did, because these bends im-
[933] pressed him as being like a natural trench and fortress.

Then Shabīb sent to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, saying, "These days are feast days[339] for both us and you. If you would care to observe a truce for their duration, by all means do so." 'Abd al-Raḥmān agreed—there was nothing dearer to 'Abd al-Raḥmān than truces and delays.

But 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, saying, "I hereby inform the amīr—may God cause him to prosper!—that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad has dug up Jūkhā in its entirety into one great trench while leaving Shabīb to cut off its land revenue and plunder its people. Peace."

Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "I have understood what you have told me about 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and, by my life, he has indeed done as you say. Go, then, to the men, for you are to be their commander, and hurry out to confront the heretics. God will give you victory over them, God willing. Peace."

Nahrawān Canal (both also sometimes known as Tāmarrā) met. See Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik*, 6; Le Strange, *Lands*, 59f., 80; Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne*, III, 13.

335. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 488, mentions two towns with this name, one in the district of Baghdad, "near Rādhān," the other near Ba'qūbā. The first of these may be the place intended here, and was perhaps just north of the al-'Udhaym River (see note 337).

336. The Sawād ("blackness") is the alluvial plain of Mesopotamia; at this time, the Sawād of al-Kūfah was the entire province between the Sawād of al-Baṣrah to the south and the district of Mosul to the north, constituting with the former the Sawād of Iraq.

337. If Fiey's identification of Rādhān is accepted (see notes 184, 186), this may be the al-'Udhaym River, although that would imply administration from Mosul farther down the Tigris than was the case later, when the capital of the Iraq had been moved north from al-Kūfah to Baghdad.

338. *Rādhān al-A'lā*. Wherever Rādhān was, it was administratively divided into two parts, upper and lower; see Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik*, 6, and note 184 above.

339. Presumably, the season of the 'Īd al-Aḍḥā, or Greater Feast, celebrated on the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah; see *EI*², s.v. 'Īd al-Aḍḥā, and next note.

Al-Ḥajjāj sent Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah to al-Madā'in, while 'Uthmān set out and came to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad and the Kūfans with him where they were camped on the River Ḥawlāyā, near al-Batt. This was the evening of Tuesday, the "Day of Watering" (8 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 76 [March 18, 696]).[340] 'Uthmān called to the men, as he sat on a mule, "Men, go out against your enemy!" The men came running to him, saying, "We adjure you by God! Night has fallen, and the men have not put themselves in the proper frame of mind for combat. First pass the night, then take the men out in formation." But he kept saying, "I will go out and engage them, and the lot will fall to my favor or theirs." Then 'Abd al-Raḥmān came to them and seized the bridle of 'Uthmān's mount, pleading with him in God's name [934] until he dismounted. 'Aqīl b. Shaddād al-Salūlī[341] said to 'Uthmān, "The engagement you want right now you can have tomorrow, and tomorrow will be better for both you and the men. There is wind and dust at this hour, and evening has come. Dismount, then, and we will all set out against them early in the morning." He dismounted then. The wind and the dust it raised irritated him, so the revenue collector[342] summoned the local inhabitants[343] to build him a large tent[344] to spend the night in.

The next morning, Wednesday, the people of al-Batt came to Shabīb, who was staying in their church, and said, "May God cause you to prosper! You are merciful to the weak and the people of the *jizyah*;[345] those you govern can speak to you and complain of their afflictions, and you concern yourself with them and pro-

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340. The "day of watering" (*yawm al-tarwiyah*) is the first day of the pilgrimage rites in Mecca; there are various explanations for the name. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *tarwiyah*, and *EI²*, s.v. ḥadjdj. March 18, 696, was a Saturday.

341. Called also "al-Ḥubshī" below; he was a descendant of the Companion Ḥubshī b. Junādah of the Banū Salūl of Hawāzin (of Qays 'Aylān), named after Salūl bint Dhuhl b. Shaybān, wife of Murrah b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. See Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, 114, II, 327, 509.

342. *Ṣāḥib al-kharāj*; apparently the person locally responsible, who knew the inhabitants. See also note 375 below.

343. *'Ulūj*: according to the lexicographers "brutes" or "infidels," but in this period essentially "peasants" or "non-Arabs"; see Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, 172.

344. *Qubbah*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

345. The poll tax, levied on the non-Muslim population; see *EI²*, s.v. djizya. The Khārijites were consistently as tolerant of non-Muslims as they were intolerant of non-Khārijite Muslims; see *EI²*, s.v. Khāridjites.

tect them. But these people are oppressors; they will not be talked to, and they will accept no excuses. By God, if they hear that you are staying in our church, they will surely kill us once you go, if you are fated to do so. If you would, then, come stay next to the village, so they will have nothing to hold against us." Shabīb agreed to do so, and went out and encamped beside the village.

'Uthmān spent the entire night encouraging the troops. When Wednesday morning came, he led the men out, but they were met by a strong wind and dust, and cried to him, saying, "We adjure you by God, do not take us out today; for the wind is against us." He agreed to wait out that day. Shabīb was planning to fight them, and his forces went out, but when he saw that his opponents did not come out to him, he also waited out the day.

On Thursday eve, 'Uthmān went out and mustered the men by their quarters. He put each quarter on one side of the camp and told them to march out in that formation. He asked them who [935] had been in command of their right wing, and they said Khālid b. Nahīk b. Qays al-Kindī, with 'Aqīl b. Shaddād al-Salūlī in command of their left wing. 'Uthmān summoned the two men and said to them, "Keep the same positions that you have had; I am putting you in command of the two wings. Stand fast and do not flee, for, by God, I shall abide as long as the palms of Rādhān abide on their trunks!" They replied, "And we, by God, other than Whom there is no god, will not flee, but stand until we achieve either victory or death." 'Uthmān said, "May God reward you richly."

'Uthmān waited until he had led the men in the morning prayer, and then set out.[346] He put the quarters of the Medinese and of Tamīm and Hamdān[347] on the left, toward the River Ḥawlāyā, and the quarters[348] of Kindah and Rabī'ah and of Madhḥij and Asad on the right. He himself dismounted and marched with the infantry. Shabīb also went forth, having 181 men with him that day, and crossed the river to meet his opponents. He was in the right wing of his forces, having put Suwayd

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346. The day was 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the 'Īd al-Aḍḥā.

347. Reading *rub'ay ahl al-Madīnah wa-Tamīm wa-Hamdān* for text *rub' ahl al-Madīnah Tamīm wa-Hamdān*.

348. Reading *rub'ay* for text *rub'*.

b. Sulaym over his left wing and his brother Muṣād b. Yazīd in the center. The two armies advanced and bore down on each other.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ al-'Absī: 'Uthmān kept repeating, "'Flight will not avail you if you flee from death or killing; afterward you will not dwell in comfort but a little while.'[349] Where are those who uphold their religion and defend their spoil[350]?" 'Aqīl b. Shaddād b. Ḥubshī al-Salūlī said, "Perhaps I may be one of them—those others were killed on the day of Rūdhbār!"[351]

Then Shabīb said to his men, "I am going to attack their left wing, next to the river. If I defeat them, then the commander of [936] my left should attack their right. But the commander of my center must not move until he receives my order." Then he charged with his right wing, next to the river, against 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan's left, and it was driven back. 'Aqīl b. Shaddād dismounted and fought until he was killed. Also killed that day was Mālik b. 'Abdallāh al-Hamdānī al-Murhibī, the paternal uncle of 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh al-Mantūf.[352] 'Aqīl b. Shaddād recited that day as he fought:

Indeed I strike with my keen sword
like a true stalwart scion of Salūl.

While Shabīb plunged into the midst of his opponents' forces, Suwayd b. Sulaym charged with Shabīb's left against 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan's right, commanded by Khālid b. Nahīk b. Qays al-Kindī, and drove them back. Khālid, who was in command of the quarter of Kindah and Rabī'ah that day, as well as being commander of the right wing, dismounted and fought fiercely, but Shabīb attacked him from the rear. Shabīb headed straight for him and came down on him with his sword, killing him. 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan, accompanied by the marshals and the tribal notables and horsemen

349. Qur'ān 33:16.

350. *Fay'*; see note 67 above.

351. *La'allī an akūna aḥadahum qutila ulā'ika yawm Rūdhbār.* Other MSS read *La'allī an akūna minhum aw aḥadahum wa-in kānū qad qutilū yawm Rūdhbār.*

352. Reading 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh for text 'Ayyāsh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh, which is genealogically impossible. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh al-Mantūf of the Banū Murhibah b. Du'ām of Hamdān is cited frequently by Ṭabarī. See Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 231, II, 106, 432.

among his forces, who had dismounted with him, moved against the enemy center, where Shabīb's brother was positioned with some sixty men on foot. 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan drew up to them and charged them with his notables and stalwart men, and these pounded at them until they broke their ranks; but then Shabīb attacked them from behind with the cavalry, and before they knew it they were speared in the back and pitched forward on their faces. Now Suwayd b. Sulaym turned against them as well, with his cavalry, and Muṣād and his forces came back to the fray, after Shabīb had them dismount. There was a general melee for a [937] time, and 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan fought and fought well; but then the enemy forces pressed his men and surrounded him, and Shabīb's brother Muṣād charged him and delivered a sword blow that spun him around. 'Uthmān said, "'And God's command was fulfilled,'"[353] and the enemy troops killed him. Also killed that day was al-Abrad b. Rabī'ah al-Kindī; he was on a hillock, when he tossed his spear[354] to his weapon bearer (*ghulām*) and gave him his horse; he then fought until he was killed.

'Abd al-Raḥmān had fallen, but Ibn Abī Sabrah al-Ju'fī,[355] who was mounted on a mule, saw him and recognized him. He dismounted, handed him his spear, and said, "Mount!" 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad asked, "Which of us is to ride behind?" Ibn Abī Sabrah replied, "Glory to God! You are the commander and should be in front!" 'Abd al-Raḥmān mounted and said to Ibn Abī Sabrah, "Call to the men that they are to come to Dayr Abī Maryam." He did so, and the two of them set off themselves. Meanwhile, Wāṣil b. al-Ḥārith al-Sakūnī saw 'Abd al-Raḥmān's horse, the one al-Jazl had given him, wandering about the battlefield; then one of Shabīb's men took it. Wāṣil assumed that 'Abd al-Raḥmān had been killed, and he looked for him among the dead but did not find him. He asked around about him, and was told, "We saw a man dismount from his beast and put him on it; it was probably him, in any case, as he had come this way only shortly before." Wāṣil b. al-Ḥārith set out after him on his nag,

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353. Qur'ān 4:47, 33:37.

354. *Silāḥ*, meaning weapon in general, but perhaps here the spear with which one fights on horseback as opposed to the sword wielded on foot.

355. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd Abī Sabrah of the Banū Ju'fī b. Sa'd al-'Ashīrah of Madhḥij; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 268, II, 422.

taking his weapon bearer with him on a mule. As they drew near, Muḥammad b. Abī Sabrah said to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, "By God, two horsemen are coming up on us!" 'Abd al-Raḥmān asked, "Are there more than just the two?" Muḥammad said, "No." 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "Well, two can handle two."

'Abd al-Raḥmān continued talking with Ibn Abī Sabrah as if he were paying the two men no mind, until they caught up with them. Then Ibn Abī Sabrah said, "God's mercy on you, the two men have caught up with us." 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "Let us dismount, then." They dismounted and drew their swords, and then [938] went to meet them. When Wāṣil saw them, he recognized them and said, "You did not dismount when it was called for, so do not dismount now!" Then he drew his turban away from his face, and they recognized him and welcomed him. Wāṣil said to Ibn al-Ash'ath, "When I saw your horse wandering about the battlefield, I assumed you were on foot, so I brought you this nag of mine to ride." Ibn al-Ash'ath then left Ibn Abī Sabrah his mule and mounted the nag. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath then went off to Dayr al-Ya'ār.[356]

Shabīb ordered his men to hold back their swords from the troops, and he summoned the latter to render him the oath of allegiance. Those surviving from the infantry came and rendered the oath to him. Abū al-Ṣuqayr al-Muḥallimī said to him, "I killed seven Kūfans in the middle of the river; the last of them was a man who clung to my robe and screamed and almost succeeded in scaring me off. But then I went for him and killed him." On that day 120 from the Kindah were killed, and either a thousand or six hundred from the rest of the men. Most of the marshals were killed that day.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Qudāmah b. Ḥāzim b. Sufyān al-Khath'amī: I killed quite a number of them that day.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad spent that night at Dayr al-Ya'ār. Two horsemen came to him and went up to see him on the roof, while another stood nearby. One of them closeted himself with 'Abd al-Raḥmān for a long private conversation; then he and

356. Spelling and location uncertain. Other MSS read al-N.'ār; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 416, has al-B.qār.

his companions came back down. The men were saying to one another that that was Shabīb and that he had written to him.

At the end of the night, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān came out and rode to
[939] Dayr Abī Maryam. There he found that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Sabrah had provided the mounted troops with barley and clover heaped up like castles and slaughtered for them all the meat they could wish for; on that day they ate and fed their beasts. Then the men met with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath and said to him, "If Shabīb hears where you are, he will come to you and you will be easy pickings for him; the men are dispersed and gone, and the best of them have been killed. Get back to al-Kūfah, man!" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān set out for al-Kūfah, and the men returned, also. When he arrived, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went into hiding from al-Ḥajjāj, until he was subsequently given safe conduct.[357]

ʿAbd al-Malik Reforms the Coinage

In this year, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān ordered dīnārs and dirhams inscribed,[358] according to al-Wāqidī—Saʿd b. Rāshid—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān.

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357. The campaigns of Ibn al-Ashʿath and ʿUthmān b. Qaṭan (in that order) are mentioned after that of Zāʾidah b. Qudāmah by Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 273, who dates ʿUthmān's defeat, like Ṭabarī, to Dhū al-Ḥijjah 76. Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 85, makes Ibn al-Ashʿath the third commander defeated by Shabīb, and does not mention ʿUthmān; Baghdādī, *Farq*, 90, gives a report parallel to Ibn Aʿtham's, but even briefer. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 413–16; Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 129–32; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 186.

358. *Naqsh*. This apparently refers to ʿAbd al-Malik's general monetary reform, in which purely aniconic dīnārs and dirhams, of standard (and redefined) weight, replaced the Byzantine gold and Sasanian silver coinage in circulation, as well as various previous Islamic adaptations of both. The earliest known aniconic dīnārs are in fact dated 77; aniconic dirhams appeared only in 79. The numismatic evidence suggests, however, that ʿAbd al-Malik may have first initiated an offical Islamic coinage, with "adapted" iconic issues in both gold and silver, as early as 72, in which case this statement would represent a conflation of this first attempt with his later aniconic reform. ("*Naqsh*" does not necessarily imply aniconic Arabic inscription as opposed to pictorial representation on earlier issues.) On this thorny question, which is far from resolved, see, most recently, M. Bates, "History, Geography and Numismatics in the First Century of Islamic Coinage," *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 65 (1986), 231–63, as well as G. C. Miles in *EI*², s.vv. dīnār, dirham; H. Gaube, "Numismatik," in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, I (Wiesbaden, 1982), 226–50; and the classic study by P.

According to Ibn Abī al-Zinād—his father:[359] 'Abd al-Malik struck dirhams and dīnārs that year; he was the first to initiate the striking of them.[360]

According to Khālid b. Abī Rabī'ah—Ibn Hilāl—his father: The pre-Islamic units of weight (*mithqāls*) by which 'Abd al-Malik struck his coins were twenty-two *qīrāṭs*, minus a *ḥabbah*; ten weighed seven.[361]

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jarīr al-Laythī—Hilāl b. Usāmah: I asked Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab[362] how much the *zakāt*[363] should be on dīnārs, and he said, "For every twenty *mithqāls* in

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Grierson, "The Monetary Reform of 'Abd al-Malik," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3 (1960), 241–64. See also the much fuller (if even more problematical) report in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 465–70.

359. On Abū al-Zinād 'Abdallāh b. Dhakhwān al-Qurashī, d. 131 (748), and his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 396, 405.

360. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 467, 469, cites two versions of this report from Ibn Abī al-Zinād: one from al-Wāqidī stating that 'Abd al-Malik was the first to strike gold and silver coins, after the "year of reconciliation" (*'ām al-jamā'ah*), usually considered to be 73; and the other from Ibn Sa'd, referring only to gold coins, struck *in* the year of reconciliation, specified as 74. In either case the statement must refer to experiments with the existing iconic coinage, prior to 'Abd al-Malik's general reform. A further report, in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 240, and other authors, ostensibly referring to the aniconic coinage, attributes 'Abd al-Malik's initiative to a quarrel with the Byzantine emperor over the Islamicization of the previously Christian superscription on papyrus imported by the Byzantines from Egypt; the emperor is said to have threatened to retaliate by putting an anti-Islamic inscription on his dīnārs, and 'Abd al-Malik to have responded by freeing himself from Byzantine coinage altogether. For a full discussion of this story, about which Ṭabarī is completely silent, see A. Fahmī, *Fajr al-sikkah al-'arabiyyah* (Cairo, 1965), 38–53.

361. For various interpretations of this statement, and others like it in Balādhurī, see the articles by Grierson and Miles cited in note 358, and Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 1f., 12f. The *mithqāl* was a unit of weight that varied with both geography and commodity; the same is true of the *qīrāṭ* and the *ḥabbah*. For monetary purposes, *mithqāl* was virtually synonymous with *dīnār*. According to Miles, 'Abd al-Malik's reform dinars and dirhams were both considerably lighter than their respective prototypes, the Byzantine solidus and Sasanian dirham; so if, as seems likely, the *mithqāl Jāhilī* mentioned here is the weight of the solidus, 'Abd al-Malik cannot have simply struck dinars *equal in weight* to this *mithqāl*. From reports in Balādhurī and elsewhere, we know that the *mithqāl* was subsequently set equal to twenty *qīrāṭs*; what may be intended here, then, is that 'Abd al-Malik recognized the old *mithqāl as equal to* 22- *qīrāṭs*, and, defining a *qīrāṭ* on this basis, issued new dinars at 20 *qīrāṭs*. The expression "ten weighed seven" refers to the weight ratio of dirhams to dinars, and, according to Miles, accords well with the reality of early post-reform coins and glass weights.

362. D. 94 (713); see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 276.

363. The alms tax on Muslims, assessed on gold (and silver) at 2.5 percent; see *SEI*, s.v. zakāt.

[940] Syrian weights, a half *mithqāl*." I said, "Why Syrian rather than Egyptian?" He replied, "It is by the Syrian that dīnārs are struck, and that was the weight of the (old?) dīnārs before the dīnārs were struck; they were twenty-two *qīrāṭs* minus a *ḥabbah*."[364] Sa'īd said, "I know that, because I had sent some dīnārs to Damascus, and they were struck at that weight."[365]

In this year, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam went to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and Abān b. 'Uthmān took charge of Medina; this was in Rajab (October–November 695).[366]

In this year, Nawfal b. Musāḥiq b. 'Amr b. Khudāsh of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy was appointed to the judiciary.[367]

In this year, Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān was born.[368]

The pilgrimage was led in this year by Abān b. 'Uthmān, who was amīr over Medina, according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—anonymous—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar; and also according to al-Wāqidī.[369] The governor of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, and the governor of Khurāsān was Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid. Shurayḥ was in charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah, and Zurārah b. Awfā was in charge of the judiciary in al-Baṣrah.

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364. Perhaps this statement can be given some point if we assume that the first *mithqāl* refers to weighing gold, while the second refers to currency of a half dinar, whatever the weight of a *mithqāl* may have been in Egypt.

365. A variant of this statement by Sa'īd appears in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 467 (with a different *isnād*), with "uncoined gold" (*tibr*) instead of "dīnārs."

366. See text above, II, 873; apparently this time 'Abd al-Malik consented to the change of governors. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 112f., records only one incident, with 'Abd al-Malik protesting but confirming Abān as Yaḥyā's successor.

367. In Medina. For Nawfal the text has Abān b. Nawfal, a slip; see text below, II, 1085, and Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 113. The Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy were a clan of Quraysh; see Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, I, 4, 27.

368. The later caliph Marwān II; see *EI*[1], s.v. Marwān II.

369. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 301; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 336.

The Events of the Year 77

(April 10, 696–March 29, 697)

In this year Shabīb killed 'Attāb b. Warqā' al-Riyāḥī and Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah.

Shabīb Kills 'Attāb b. Warqā' and Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah [941]

The reason for that, according to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab and Farwah b. Laqīṭ: When Shabīb defeated the army that al-Ḥajjāj had sent out against him with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, and killed 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan, it was summer and very hot.[370] Because of the heat, he and his companions went to Māh Bihzādhān[371] for the summer, spending three months there. Many people looking for material gain came and joined him, as well as some people whom al-Ḥajjāj was pursuing for money or other penalties. Among the latter was

370. According to the text above, II, 933f., the battle was in March.

371. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 406, and P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1896–1936), 666f. Yāqūt's suggestion that this place was near Bandanījān, that is, in the mountains east of al-Madā'in, would fit the present context well.

a man from the tribe[372] named al-Ḥurr b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAwf. Two *dihqān*s among the inhabitants of the Durqīṭ Canal region[373] had mistreated and wronged him, and he had attacked them and killed them. He then joined Shabīb, was with him in Māh, and participated in his various battles, until Shabīb was killed. Then, when al-Ḥajjāj extended amnesty to all those who owed money or other penalties and had gone out to join Shabīb—that was after the day at al-Sabakhah[374]—al-Ḥurr came back to him with the others. The families of the two *dihqān*s came to demand that al-Ḥajjāj arrest him, and he was fetched and brought in; he had made his testament, despairing of his life. Al-Ḥajjāj said to him, "Enemy of God, you have killed two of the revenue collectors."[375] Al-Ḥurr replied, "The whole story, may God cause you to prosper, is worse than that." Al-Ḥajjāj asked, "How so?" He replied, "I forsook my obedience and separated myself from the community. But then you issued the amnesty for all who would come back to you. Here is my amnesty document, which you wrote for me." Al-Ḥajjāj said,
[942] "Curse you! I have indeed, by my life, done so." And he let him go.

After the heat had broken, Shabīb left Māh with some eight hundred men and headed for al-Madāʾin, which was being governed by Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah; he halted at the bridges of Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān.[376] Then Mādharwāsb, the lord of Bābil Mahrūdh, wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, saying: "I hereby inform the amīr—may God cause him to prosper!—that Shabīb has come and halted at the bridges of Ḥudhayfah. I do not know where he is headed."

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372. That is, Azd, to which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Farwah (and Abū Mikhnaf) belonged.

373. Somewhere near the Kūthā Canal, south and probably west of al-Madāʾin. See Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik*, 7, 9; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 568 (pointed as Darqīṭ, but without explicit specification of vocalization); Le Strange, *Lands*, 80; al-ʿAlī, "Al-Madāʾin and Its Surrounding Area in Arabic Literary Sources," *Mesopotamia* 3–4 (1968–69), 438.

374. See text below, II, 958ff.

375. *Rajulayn min ahl al-kharāj*. This is presumably a plural of *ṣāḥib al-kharāj*, as used above (see note 342). A *dihqān* would collect the revenues from his peasants and then pay the central treasury; see Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, 95f.

376. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān, d. 36 (656), was an important commander in the conquest of Iraq and an early governor of al-Madāʾin; see Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, II, 180. The location of his *qanāṭir* (stone bridges, arches) seems to be nowhere described more specifically than as "near al-Madāʾin." See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 272; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 180.

When al-Ḥajjāj read this letter, he stood before the men, praised and glorified God, and said, "By God, men, either you will fight to defend your land and your spoil,[377] or I will send for a force more compliant and obedient, and more steadfast in the rage and terror of battle than you, and they will fight your enemy and appropriate your spoil." At this, the men came to him from every side, saying, "We will fight them, and we will satisfy the amīr; let the amīr send us out against them, and we will go wherever pleases him." Among those who came to him was Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah,[378] an old man who was unable to stand up by himself without a helping hand; he said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper! You are sending out the men against them in bits and pieces. Better you should mobilize the men altogether and let them go to meet the enemy in a body. Then send forth as their commander a stalwart, courageous man, experienced in battle, a man who looks on flight as a crime and a disgrace and on steadfastness as glory and honor." Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "Such a man are you; you lead them, then!" Zuhrah said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper, what [943] the troops need now is a man who carries a spear, wears a coat of mail, brandishes a sword, and sits firmly on horseback. But I can do none of these things; I have lost my strength and much of my eyesight. But do send me out among the forces with their commander. I can stay on a saddled riding-camel well enough and be with the commander in his camp to advise him with my opinions." Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "May God reward you handsomely for Islam and its people at the beginning of Islam, and may God reward you handsomely for Islam at the end of Islam, for you have given good and sincere advice! I will send out the forces altogether: Marching orders, men!"

The men set out marching without knowing who their commander would be, while al-Ḥajjāj wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān as follows:

> I hereby inform the Commander of the Faithful, may God be generous to him, that Shabīb has advanced to near al-

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377. *Fayʾ*; see note 67 above.

378. D. 77 (696), of the Banū al-Ḥārith (al-Aʿraj) b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt of Tamīm, a renowned veteran of the conquest of Iraq, who distinguished himself particularly at the battle of al-Qādisiyyah. See text above, I, 2231ff., 2338ff., 2355ff., etc.; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 75, II, 611; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, III, 85.

Madā'in and is threatening al-Kūfah. The Kūfans have fought him unsuccessfully in many battles; everywhere he kills their commanders and routs their forces. Perhaps the Commander of the Faithful will see best to send me the Syrians to fight their enemy for them and appropriate their land.[379] Peace.

When this letter reached 'Abd al-Malik, he sent him Sufyān b. al-Abrad[380] with four thousand men and Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-
[944] Raḥmān al-Ḥakamī[381] of Madhḥij with two thousand; these he dispatched quickly to al-Ḥajjāj, as soon as he received the letter.

Meanwhile, the Kūfans were preparing to fight Shabīb, still without knowing who their commander would be; some said he would send out one, some another. Al-Ḥajjāj had in fact sent for 'Attāb b. Warqā' to come to him. 'Attāb was in command of the Kūfan cavalry with al-Muhallab; this was the army of Kūfans over which Bishr b. Marwān had sent out 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf as commander in the campaign against Qaṭarī.[382] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf had held this position for only about two months before al-Ḥajjāj came out as governor of Iraq; after al-Ḥajjāj's arrival, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf remained their commander only through Rajab and Sha'bān (October–December 694). Qaṭarī killed 'Abd al-Raḥmān at the end of Ramaḍān (late January 695),[383] and al-Ḥajjāj then sent out 'Attāb b. Warqā' to command that army of Kūfans which had lost 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf. Al-Ḥajjāj ordered 'Attāb to obey al-Muhallab, which 'Attāb found vexing, and things became so bad between him and al-Muhallab that 'Attāb wrote to al-Ḥajjāj asking to be relieved of his command of that army and recalled. When, therefore, he received al-Ḥajjāj's letter ordering him to come to him, he was very pleased.

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379. *Ya'kulū bilādahum*, literally, "eat their land," as above they will "eat their *fay'*," that is, enjoy the revenues which are the conquerors' spoil.

380. Of the Banū Kalb; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 515.

381. Of the Banū al-Ḥakam b. Sa'd al-'Ashīrah; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 294f.

382. Qaṭarī was the current leader of the Azraqites; see note 13 above and text below, II, 1003ff. This paragraph summarizes the account above, II, 855–59, 875–78.

383. See text above, II, 875f., where the date was, according to the Baṣrans, 1 Ramaḍān, and, according to the Kūfans, 20 Ramaḍān.

Al-Ḥajjāj summoned the notables of the Kūfans, among them Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah al-Sa'dī of the Banū al-A'raj and Qabīṣah b. Wāliq al-Taghlibī, and he asked them their opinions on whom he should send out to command that army. They replied, "Your opinion is best, O amīr." He said, "I have sent for 'Attāb b. Warqā', and he will be coming to you tonight or tomorrow night; it [945] will be he who marches out with the men." Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper, you have hit them with the right stone.[384] No, by God, he will not come back to you until he has either achieved victory or been killed." Then Qabīṣah b. Wāliq said, "I will give you my opinion. If it is wrong, it is nevertheless the result of my sincere efforts to advise the Commander of the Faithful, the amīr, and all the Muslims; if it is right, it is God Who has led me to it. There is talk among us, and among the men, that an army has been sent out to you from Syria, the Kūfans having been defeated and routed, and shown themselves short on endurance and indifferent to the shame of flight, as if their hearts were not in themselves but in some other people. Perhaps you may decide to send to this army of yours that has been provided you from the Syrians, cautioning them to be on their guard and never to camp for the night without assuming that there will be a night attack on them. You are fighting a shrewd, crafty man, ever on the move. You have mobilized against him the Kūfans, in whom you are not entirely confident; and their brethren are these troops that have been sent to you from Syria. When Shabīb is in one area, suddenly he pops up in another; and I feel no assurance that he will not come on them unawares. But if they perish, we perish, and Iraq perishes." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "You impress me! This shows excellent judgment and is excellent advice."

Al-Ḥajjāj sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ghariq, the client of Abū 'Aqīl,[385] to meet the advancing Syrians. He found them halted at Hīt[386] and brought them a letter from al-Ḥajjāj, saying: "When you reach Hīt, leave the Euphrates route to al-Anbār and follow [946] the 'Ayn al-Tamr route to al-Kūfah, God willing. Be on your guard

384. *Ramaytahum bi-ḥajarihim;* for the proverb, see Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, 263.
385. The text above, II, 922, has Ibn Abī 'Aqīl.
386. On the west bank of the Euphrates, about fifty miles above al-Anbār; see *EI²*, s.v. Hīt.

and speed the march. Peace." The men then came on quickly. Meanwhile, 'Attāb b. Warqā' arrived on the night that al-Ḥajjāj had said he would. Al-Ḥajjāj ordered him to lead the troops out, and he camped with them at Ḥammām A'yan.

Shabīb[387] advanced as far as Kalwādhā, where he crossed the Tigris; then he came on and halted at the lower town of Bahurasīr,[388] so that only the bridge of boats spanning the Tigris separated him and Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah. When Shabīb halted at the town of Bahurasīr, Muṭarrif cut the bridge. Then he sent to Shabīb, saying, "Send to me some of your leading commanders, together with whom I can study the Qur'ān and consider the stance that you advocate." Shabīb sent to him some of his leading commanders, including Qa'nab, Suwayd, and al-Muḥallil; but when they were about to board the boat, Shabīb sent word to them not to do so until his messenger had returned from Muṭarrif. When the messenger returned,[389] he sent to Muṭarrif, saying, "Send to me the same number of your companions as I am sending of mine to you, for me to hold as hostages until you send my companions back to me." But Muṭarrif said to the messenger, "Go to him and say: Why should I trust you with my companions if I send them to you now, when you do not trust me with your companions?" The messenger returned to Shabīb and delivered this message. Shabīb then sent his reply, saying, "You
[947] know that we do not consider treachery permissible in our religion, whereas you not only do it but also consider it permissible." Muṭarrif then sent to him al-Rabī' b. Yazīd al-Asadī, Sulaymān b. Ḥudhayfah b. Hilāl b. Mālik al-Muzanī, and Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, his client[390] and the captain of his guard. Once they were in Shabīb's custody, he sent off his companions and they went to Muṭarrif. They spent four days exchanging messages, but in the

387. The following paragraph is duplicated, with only minor differences in wording, at II, 982f. below; both accounts come from Abū Mikhnaf, but with different earlier authorities.

388. The city of Veh-Ardashir, on the west bank of the Tigris, opposite Ctesiphon, in the complex of al-Madā'in; see *EI*², s.v. al-Madā'in.

389. The parallel version below, and some MSS here, omit this phrase. If it is original, we must assume that Shabīb sent the messenger twice, once to agree, and then again to set conditions.

390. His father's client in the parallel version below.

end agreed on nothing.[391] When it became clear to Shabīb that Muṭarrif was not going to follow him or join in with him, he prepared to set off to meet 'Attāb b. Warqā' and the Syrians.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: Shabīb summoned his chief companions and said to them, "The only one who ever frustrates my plans is this Thaqafī. Four days ago I told myself I should go out with a detachment of cavalry and meet this army coming from Syria, hoping to catch them off guard—or even on it, it doesn't matter. In any case I would be meeting troops cut off from the garrison, with no amīr like al-Ḥajjāj to have recourse to and no garrison like al-Kūfah to take refuge in. Then my spies came to me today and informed me that the first of these troops have reached 'Ayn al-Tamr and are thus now almost to al-Kūfah, while other spies came to me from the direction of 'Attāb b. Warqā', telling me that he is camped with the main body of Kūfan troops at al-Ṣarāt. He is thus exceedingly close, so let us prepare to set out against him."

Muṭarrif was afraid that word would reach al-Ḥajjāj about what he had done, treating with Shabīb, and he withdrew toward al-Jibāl,[392] intending to wait and see what would happen between Shabīb and 'Attāb. Then Shabīb sent to him, saying, "Since you [948] declined to render allegiance to me, I have correspondingly repudiated any obligations between us."[393] Muṭarrif said to his companions, "Let us declare open revolt. Al-Ḥajjāj will fight us in any case, so let him fight us with our strength at its greatest." He set out, abandoning[394] al-Madā'in. Shabīb then restored the bridge and sent his brother Muṣād to al-Madā'in.

'Attāb advanced toward him, halting at the market of Ḥakamah.[395] Al-Ḥajjāj had sent out the Kūfan forces en masse,

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391. See the detailed account of the negotiations below, II, 983–88.

392. Media, the province centered on Hamadhān; see *EI*², s.v. Djibāl; Le Strange, *Lands*, 185ff.

393. *Fa-qad nabadhtu ilayka 'alā sawā'*: Qur'ānic phraseology, from Qur'ān 8:58: "If you fear treachery from a people, then repudiate (any agreement) with them correspondingly (*fa-nbidh ilayhim 'alā sawā'*)."

394. Reading *taraka* for *nazala*. Ibn al-Athīr's paraphrase (*Kāmil*, IV, 422) omits the word. From the parallels below, II, 956, 988, it is clear that Muṭarrif set out for al-Daskarah.

395. Brief notices in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 275, and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 194, do not specify more closely the location of this place.

both the regular forces and the young men who were eager to fight; not counting these young men, the regular forces were 40,000. Those who arrived with 'Attāb at the market of Ḥakamah that day were then 40,000 of the regular forces and 10,000 of the young men—or 50,000 altogether. Al-Ḥajjāj left behind no man of Quraysh nor any member of any noble Arab house.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab: I heard al-Ḥajjāj speak from the pulpit when he sent 'Attāb with the men against Shabīb, saying, "Men of al-Kūfah! Go out with 'Attāb b. Warqā', all of you! No man is permitted to remain here except those I have appointed to administrative posts. Hear me! He who is steadfast and strives will earn honor and preferment. Hear me! He who shrinks and flees will earn disgrace and disdain. By Him than Whom there is no other god! If you perform in this battle as you have in previous battles, you will surely feel my rough side, and I will come down with my full weight on you!" Then he came down; and the men assembled with 'Attāb at the market of Ḥakamah.

[949] According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: Shabīb reviewed us at al-Madā'in; we were a thousand men. He stood before us, praised and glorified God, and said, "Company of Muslims! God has given you victory over them when you were a hundred or two hundred, and a few more than that, or a few less; but today you are hundreds and hundreds. I will perform the noon prayer and then lead you out." He performed the noon prayer, and proclamation was made to the men: "Cavalry of God! Mount and rejoice!" Shabīb then went out with his forces; but some of them began to straggle and fall behind. When he had crossed Sābāṭ[396] and we had halted with him, he delivered a sermon to us, reminding us of the battle-days of God and encouraging us to turn away from the world and fix our desire on the afterlife. He spoke for a long time, then ordered his muezzin to give the call to prayer. He did so, and Shabīb came forward and led us in the afternoon prayer. Then he set out and brought us up close to 'Attāb b. Warqā' and his forces. As soon as he saw them, he dismounted and ordered his muezzin to give the call to prayer. He did so, and Shabīb came forward and

396. One *farsakh* south of Bahurasīr, at the bridge over the Malik canal. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Madā'in; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 321; Fiey, "The Topography of al-Madā'in," *Sumer* 23 (1967), 12.

led us in the sunset prayer. His muezzin was Sallām b. Sayyār al-Shaybānī.

'Attāb b. Warqā''s spies had come to him and informed him that Shabīb had advanced on him, and he led out all the forces and put them in battle array. From the first day he camped there he had dug a trench, but every day had acted as if he intended to march on Shabīb in al-Madā'in; informed of this, Shabīb said, "I would rather march against him than have him march against me," and went out to him. When 'Attāb lined up his troops, he appointed Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays over his right [950] wing, saying to him, "O son of my brother,[397] you are a noble man, so be steadfast and vie in steadfastness!"[398] He replied, "As for me, by God, I will fight so long as one man stands with me!" 'Attāb said to Qabīṣah b. Wāliq, who was at that time over a third of the Banū Taghlib, "Take care of the left wing for me." But Qabīṣah replied, "I am an old man, and it is a great effort for me just to stand beneath my standard. My strength is gone, and I cannot stand on my own without support. But here are 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥulays and Nu'aym b. 'Ulaym, both Taghlibīs"—each of these was over a third of the Taghlib; Qabīṣah said, "Appoint whichever of them you prefer, and whichever you appoint, you will be appointing a resolute and determined and capable man." 'Attāb appointed Nu'aym b. 'Ulaym, then, over the left wing. He appointed Ḥanẓalah b. al-Ḥārith al-Yarbū'ī, 'Attāb's own paternal cousin and the shaykh of his clan, over the infantry and arrayed them in three ranks: a rank of men with swords, a rank of spear-bearers, and a rank of archers. 'Attāb then went along the entire line, from the right wing to the left, passing by the men of each standard successively and urging them to fear God, charging them to be steadfast, and giving them sermons.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Ḥaṣīrah b. 'Abdallāh—Tamīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Azdī: He stood before us and gave us a lengthy sermon. I can remember these few words from what he said: "O people of Islam! Those who have the best lot in Paradise are the

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397. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was last mentioned (II, 857) as commander of the quarter of Tamīm and Hamdān at Rāmhurmuz. He was a Hamdānī (see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 130, on his father), and 'Attāb a Tamīmī (see note 123 above).

398. *Fa-ṣbir wa-ṣābir*, from Qur'ān 3:200: *iṣbarū wa-ṣābirū*.

[951] martyrs. God praises none of His creatures more than the steadfast; hear how He says, 'Be ye steadfast; God is with the steadfast.'[399] He whose deeds God praises, how great is his status! But God despises no one more than those who commit outrages. See how this enemy of yours slaughters the Muslims with his sword, and they insist that they thereby win God's favor. They are the most wicked people on earth, the dogs of the people of Hell! Where are the sermonizers?" When he asked that, not one of us, by God, answered him. Seeing this, he asked, "Where are those who recite the poetry of 'Antarah?"[400] And no, by God, not a single man breathed a word of reply to this. He said, "We are God's! It seems to me I can see you fleeing from 'Attāb b. Warqā' and leaving him with the wind whistling up his ass!"

'Attāb then went and sat in the center,[401] having with him Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah, who also was sitting, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, and Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abī Jahm al-'Adawī.[402] Shabīb advanced with six hundred men, four hundred having stayed behind; he said, "Those who have stayed behind are those I would not care to have seen among us." He put Suwayd b. Sulaym with two hundred men on the left wing, put al-Muḥallil b. Wā'il with two hundred in the center, and himself took the right wing with two hundred. It was between sunset prayer and the final, evening prayer, and the moon had come out. Shabīb called to the other side, "Whose are these standards?" They replied, "The standards of the Rabī'ah!"[403] Shabīb said,

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399. Qur'ān 8:46.

400. 'Antarah b. Shaddād, famous sixth-century poet and hero; see *EI²*, s.v. 'Antara, and Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 113ff. Perhaps the point here is to challenge both the men's religious fervor and their martial spirit.

401. Commanders seem often to have sat in battle. Below we are told that 'Attāb was sitting on a *ṭinfisah*, a carpet, until the enemy got too close (when he stood up and fought); it is not clear whether this carpet was on a platform or a sort of chair, but it was presumably not on a horse. At the later battle of al-Sabakhah, al-Ḥajjāj sat on a chair (*kursī*); see text below, II, 959, and note 427. See also Fries, *Heereswesen*, 76.

402. Of the Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b of Quraysh; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 26, and II, 423 (on his father).

403. These are the Taghlibīs speaking, from 'Attāb's left wing. Taghlib and Bakr were the two branches of Wā'il, the most important component of Rabī'ah; Shabīb's clan was the Banū Dhuhl b. Shaybān of Bakr b. Wā'il, and thus he himself belonged to Rabī'ah (see text above, II, 887, and note 160). Unlike Bakr, whose role in both Islam and Khārijism was very mixed, the Taghlib remained mostly Chris-

"Standards that have often been on the side of the truth, but have also often been on the side of the false—they have had a share of [952] both! By God, I will strive against you and earn my reward for doing so! You are Rabī'ah, but I am Shabīb! I am Abū Mudallah! Judgment is to God alone! Stand if you will!"

Then he charged at them from a dike in front of the trench[404] and broke their line. The standard-bearers of Qabīṣah b. Wāliq, 'Ubayd[405] b. al-Ḥulays, and Nu'aym b. 'Ulaym stood their ground, and they were killed, and the entire left wing was driven back. Men from the Banū Taghlib called to one another, "Qabīṣah b. Wāliq has been killed!" Shabīb said, "You have killed Qabīṣah b. Wāliq al-Taghlibī, O company of Muslims! God has said, 'And recite to them the account of him to whom We gave our signs, but he sloughed them off, so Satan pursued him and he became one of those who go astray.'[406] The same would describe your kinsman Qabīṣah b. Wāliq: he went to the Prophet and submitted,[407] then came with the unbelievers to fight you!" Then Shabīb came upon his body, and said, "Alas for you! If you had held fast to your first submission (*islām*), you would have had a happier destiny."

Then he attacked 'Attāb b. Warqā' from the left, while Suwayd b. Sulaym attacked the right, which was under the command of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The latter fought on the right with men of the Banū Tamīm and Hamdān; they all fought very well and persevered until word came to them that 'Attāb b. Warqā' had been killed, and then they dispersed. 'Attāb, meanwhile, was still sitting on a carpet in the center, with Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah, when Shabīb suddenly descended on the troops of the center. 'Attāb said, "O Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah, this is a day of large numbers but small profit! Alas! to have five hundred horsemen of

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tian. See *EI²*, s.v. Bakr b. Wā'il, and Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam qabā'il al-'arab*, 120ff. (Taghlib).

404. *Wa-huwa 'alā musannāh amāma al-khandaq*. It is not clear what trench is meant here, unless this is the village of Khandaq, mentioned earlier by Ṭabarī (without the article, I, 1041) as being in the *ṭassūj* of Bahurasīr; see al-'Alī, "Al-Madā'in and Its Surrounding Area," 436.

405. His name is given as 'Ubaydallāh above.

406. Qur'ān 7:175.

407. *Aslama*. Qabīṣah does not appear in Ibn Sa'd; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 223, includes him as a Companion on the basis of this passage in Ṭabarī, which he quotes.

the like of the men of Tamīm with me, rather than this entire army! Is there none who will be steadfast before the enemy? Is
[953] there none who will look beyond himself?"—for they dispersed and abandoned him. Zuhrah said to him, "Well spoken, 'Attāb! You have done as one would expect of you! By God, by God! If you had turned from them and fled, you would not have lasted long! Rejoice, for I hope that God may have destined us for martyrdom at the end of our lives." 'Attāb replied, "May God grant you the greatest reward He grants for good action." Thus did they spur each other on to religious fervor until Shabīb drew closer. Then 'Attāb sprang forward with a small band who had held out with him, most of the troops having scattered left and right. 'Ammār b. Yazīd al-Kalbī, a Medinese, said to him, "May God cause you to prosper! 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad has deserted you, and many of the men have joined him!" 'Attāb replied, "He has fled before, as well, and the young man did not seem to me then to be much bothered by what he did."[408]

Then he fought them for a time, saying, "Never have I seen a day of battle like this one! Never have I been so tried! Never have I seen fewer men fighting or more giving up and fleeing!" He was noticed by a man from the Banū Taghlib, one of Shabīb's companions, from the Banū Zayd b. 'Amr, named 'Āmir b. 'Amr b. 'Abd 'Amr,[409] who had had one of his kin killed by 'Attāb. He was one of the horsemen, and he went to Shabīb and said to him, "By God, I think that man speaking is 'Attāb b. Warqā'!" He attacked him with his spear, and he fell; it was he who had been assigned the task of killing him. The horses trampled Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah; although he tried to protect himself with his sword, he was an old man and unable to get up, and al-Faḍl b. 'Āmir al-Shaybānī came up to him and killed him.[410] Shabīb then reached him and found him dead; he recognized him and asked, "Who killed this man?"
[954] Al-Faḍl answered, "I killed him." Shabīb said, "This is Zuhrah b. Ḥawiyyah! By God, Zuhrah, if you were killed while in a state of

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408. This statement should be seen in the context of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath's later rebellion, text below, II, 1052ff.

409. For the Zayd Allāh (or Zayd Allāt!) b. 'Amr of Taghlib, see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 163, II, 604.

410. This man had earlier claimed responsibility for killing Zā'idah b. Qudāmah; see text above, II, 926.

error, nevertheless, on many a battle day of the Muslims did you show your mettle and render great service, and many a cavalry force of the polytheists did you defeat, many a detachment did you attack, many of their populous villages did you conquer! Yet God alone knew that you would be killed lending support to the oppressors."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: By God, we saw Shabīb grieving for this man, and one of the young men of Bakr b. Wā'il said, "By God, the Commander of the Faithful tonight grieves for a man of the unbelievers!" Shabīb said, "You know their error no better than I, but I also know of their past what you do not know; if they had held to it, they would have been brethren."

'Ammār b. Yazīd al-Kalbī was also killed in the battle, and Abū Khaythamah b. 'Abdallāh was killed that day as well. When Shabīb had overcome the government troops and their leaders, he said, "Hold back your swords from them," and summoned them to render the oath of allegiance. The men promptly did so, but later escaped under cover of darkness; even as Shabīb received their oaths, he had said, "They will flee shortly." Shabīb then took possession of what was left in the camp and sent for his brother to come to him from al-Madā'in. When the latter reached him at the camp, he set out against al-Kūfah, having spent two days at his camp at Bayt Qurrah;[411] he now intended a direct confrontation with the Kūfan forces.

Meanwhile, Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī and Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥakamī of Madhḥij had entered al-Kūfah with their Syrian troops. These stiffened al-Ḥajjāj's back, and he was thereby able to do without the Kūfan forces. Al-Ḥajjāj ascended the pulpit [955]
of al-Kūfah and said, after praising and glorifying God: "Men of al-Kūfah! May God give no glory to him who seeks glory through you, and may He give no victory to him who seeks victory with you! Leave us, and come not with us to fight our enemy! Go settle in al-Ḥīrah, with the Jews and Christians,[412] and fight not with

411. Location unknown. It is not the same as Dayr Qurrah (see text above, I, 2357–58 and II, 1072), which was on the other (western) side of the Euphrates; see *EI²*, s.v. Dayr Ḳurra.

412. On the concentration of Jews and Christians in al-Ḥīrah, see Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 309, 375f.

us, except for those of you who were working as our administrators or otherwise did not participate in the battle under 'Attāb b. Warqā'."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: By God, we set out in pursuit of the government forces. I myself caught up with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī as they walked along, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān's head looked to me as if it were completely covered with mud. I turned away from them, not wanting to alarm them. If I had alerted Shabīb's men to them, they would have been killed on the spot; but I said to myself, "If I bring about the death of two such men of my people as these, I am not thinking aright."[413]

Shabīb continued as far as the Ṣarāt Canal and halted there.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. Suwār: Shabīb set out for al-Kūfah. When he reached Sūrā,[414] he called on the men, saying, "Which of you will bring me the head of the governor of Sūrā?" Al-Baṭīn, Qa'nab, Suwayd, and two others among his companions volunteered. They hurried off to the revenue office, where the officials were busy with one of the tax levies.[415] They got into the building through a ruse, saying to the men, "Answer the summons of the amīr!" When asked which amīr, they said, "An amīr sent out from al-Ḥajjāj in pursuit of that sinner[416] Shabīb!" With these men out of the way, it was possible to come on the governor unawares; when they reached him, they drew their swords, raised the cry of "Judgment is to God alone!" and struck off his head.
[956] They seized what money was there and rejoined Shabīb. When they came to him, he asked, "What is this that you have brought me?" They replied, "We have brought you the head of the sinner and what money we found there"—the money was in its bags on a beast. But Shabīb said, "What you have brought me is factionalism for the Muslims! Give me your javelin, boy!" With this he ripped open the bags, then ordered the beast goaded, so that the

413. The three men all belonged to South Arab (Qaḥṭānī) tribes: Azd, Kindah, and Hamdān. See Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 176.

414. On the Upper Sūrā canal, the east (and in Sasanian times principal) branch of the Euphrates, north of Bābil. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 70–72; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 274–77.

415. *Samarajjah*; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

416. *Fāsiq*; see note 109 above.

money scattered from the bags in all directions, until it reached the Ṣarāt Canal. He added, "If there is any left then, throw it in the water!"

Then Sufyān b. al-Abrad went out against him with al-Ḥajjāj. He had earlier gone to al-Ḥajjāj and said, "Send me to confront him before he comes to you." But al-Ḥajjāj had said, "I would prefer that we stay together until I meet him as I stand among you, with al-Kūfah behind us and the citadel in our hands."

In this year Shabīb entered al-Kūfah for the second time.

Shabīb's Second Entry into al-Kūfah and His Battle with al-Ḥajjāj

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. Suwār: Sabrah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf came from al-Daskarah to al-Kūfah after the Syrian army had arrived there. Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah had written to al-Ḥajjāj saying, "Shabīb is upon me; send an expeditionary force to al-Madā'in!" and al-Ḥajjāj had sent him Sabrah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf with two hundred horsemen. When Muṭarrif set out for al-Jabal, he took his men with him, having informed them of his intentions;[417] but he did not tell Sabrah. When he reached Daskarat al-Malik, he summoned Sabrah, informed him of his intentions, and invited him to join [957] him. Sabrah said, "Yes, I am with you"; but when he left his presence, he sent for his men, assembled them, and set off with them. Hearing that 'Attāb b. Warqā' had been killed and Shabīb had gone on toward al-Kūfah, he advanced as far as a village called Bayṭarā.[418] Shabīb had halted at Ḥammām 'Umar, and Sabrah went on to the Euphrates crossing at the village of Shāhī,[419] crossed the river, and doubled back until he reached al-Ḥajjāj. There he learned that the Kūfans were in disgrace. He went to see Sufyān b. al-Abrad and told him his whole story, informing him of his own obedience and his split with Muṭarrif, and pointing out

417. I.e., that he intended to rebel against al-Ḥajjāj and 'Abd al-Malik; see text above, II, 946–48, and, on al-Jabal or al-Jibāl, note 392.

418. Location unknown.

419. An important ford and boat bridge, about fifteen miles north of al-Kūfah and about ten miles southwest of Ḥammām 'Umar; see Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 243; al-'Alī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfah," 240.

that he had neither been with ʿAttāb nor participated in a defeat in any of the battles of the Kūfans—"And I am still working as an administrator for the amīr and have with me two hundred men who have never experienced defeat with me and who have maintained their obedience and never participated in factionalism." Sufyān then went to see al-Ḥajjāj and informed him of all that Sabrah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had told him. Al-Ḥajjāj said, "He has spoken sincerely and truly. Tell him, then, that he is to join with us in encountering our enemy." Sufyān conveyed this message to Sabrah.

Shabīb continued his advance, halting at the location of Ḥammām Aʿyan.[420] Al-Ḥajjāj summoned al-Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Zurʿah b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī and sent him out with some men from the security forces who had not participated in the battle with ʿAttāb and some men who had been working as administrators, as well as about two hundred men from the Syrians. Altogether, he set out with about a thousand and halted at Zurārah. When Shabīb learned of this, he came up to him quickly with his men, and when he reached him he attacked, killed him, and defeated his forces. The defeated men came back to al-Kūfah. Shabīb also came on, crossing the bridge and camping on the
[958] Kūfah side. Shabīb stayed in his camp three days. On the first day the only action was the killing of al-Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiyah. On the second day, al-Ḥajjāj sent out his clients and personal retainers,[421] armed, to occupy the approaches of the roads outside al-Kūfah. The Kūfan forces also went out and occupied the approaches of their roads, fearing the wrath of al-Ḥajjāj and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān if they did not. Shabīb proceeded to have a mosque built on the edge of al-Sabakhah, next to where the fodder sellers are located, at the *īwān*;[422] this mosque is still standing today.

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420. Across the Euphrates from al-Kūfah; see note 290 above.

421. *Ghilmān*, sg. *ghulām*. See *EI²*, s.v. ghulām; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 211f.

422. It is unclear to what structure this refers. *Īwān* may refer to either a palace or a specific type of audience hall; see *EI²*, s.v. Ṭabarī elsewhere refers only to the *īwān Kisrā*, the Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon/al-Madāʾin (see text above, II, 776, and below, II, 1056). The *īwān* of al-Kūfah was presumably not the *dār al-imārah*, which was at the center of town and apparently far from al-Sabakhah; see Massignon, "Explication du plan de Kufa," 336.

On the third day, al-Ḥajjāj sent out Abū al-Ward, a client of his,[423] cuirassed, along with many men in cuirasses and some of his personal retainers. They said, "This is al-Ḥajjāj!" and Shabīb charged him and killed him, saying, "If this was al-Ḥajjāj, I have relieved you of him." Then al-Ḥajjāj sent out his retainer Ṭahmān,[424] similarly attired and accompanied, and again Shabīb attacked and killed him, saying, "If this was al-Ḥajjāj, I have relieved you of him." Then, in late morning, al-Ḥajjāj came out of the palace and said, "Bring me a mule to ride from here to al-Sabakhah." A mule with white ankles was brought, but he was told, "The local people, may God cause you to prosper, find ill omen in your riding a mule like this on a day like this." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Bring it here, for this is a day with both white ankles and a white blaze."[425] He mounted the mule and set out with the Syrians, taking the post road[426] and coming out at the top of al-Sabakhah.

When al-Ḥajjāj saw Shabīb and his forces, he halted. Shabīb, who was with six hundred horsemen, saw that al-Ḥajjāj had come out against him, and he advanced with his forces. Sabrah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān came to al-Ḥajjāj and asked, "Where does the amīr [959] order me to stand?" He replied, "Stand at the approaches of the roads, and if they come to you and fighting breaks out, then fight them." Sabrah went and took up his position with the assembled forces. Al-Ḥajjāj then had a chair brought to him, sat on it,[427] and

423. So also Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 85f.; but Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 274, calls him a client of the Banū Naṣr.

424. In Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 274, he is called a client of ʿUthmān, and in Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 85, where his death precedes that of Abū al-Ward, he is said to be a client of the Āl Banī Muʿayṭ. One of the two alternative versions of this incident given below (II, 963) identifies one of these two men as Aʿyan (of Ḥammām Aʿyan, see note 290 above) but does not identify the other, while the other version (966f.) identifies the two as Abū al-Ward and Aʿyan.

425. According to Jāḥiẓ, *K. al-Qawl fī al-bighāl* (Cairo, 1955), 136, mules were ridden into battle by leaders in order to show their men that they were prepared to stand or fall, being unable to flee on such a slow beast. Jāḥiẓ also mentions (*ibid.*, 96) that mules with white anklets were considered unlucky.

426. *Sikkat al-barīd*, here presumably the road leading east out of town, across the bridge, and on to al-Madāʾin, although the term may also mean "post house," as in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 286. See *ibid.*, glossarium, s. v. sikkah; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Buldān* (*BGA*, V), 183.

427. According to Ibn Rustah, *Aʿlāq*, 198, al-Ḥajjāj was the first Muslim commander to sit on a chair in battle; see Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 61 and n. 111.

proclaimed, "Men of Syria! You are men who hear and obey, men of steadfastness and conviction. Let not this vermin's falseness overcome your truth. Lower your eyes, get down on your knees, and meet the enemy with the points of your spears." The men got down on their knees and pointed their spears at the enemy, looking like a field of black stones.

Shabīb advanced against them, and when he drew near he arrayed his forces in three squadrons: one with him, one with Suwayd b. Sulaym, and one with al-Muḥallil b. Wā'il. Shabīb told Suwayd to attack with his cavalry; but when he did, the government troops held their position until the Khārijites reached the points of their spears, then jumped up and rushed straight at Shabīb and his forces, thrusting their spears and advancing until he was driven off. Al-Ḥajjāj cried, "Men who hear and obey! That is the way to do it! Boy! Move my chair forward!" Then Shabīb ordered al-Muḥallil to attack them; but they treated him just as they had treated Suwayd, and al-Ḥajjāj again cried, "Men who hear and obey! That is the way to do it! Boy! Move my chair forward!" Then Shabīb himself attacked them with his squadron. They held their position until he reached the points of their spears, then jumped up and rushed straight at him. He fought long with them, but then the Syrians thrust their spears and advanced until they drove him back to the rest of his forces. Seeing their steadfastness, he called to Suwayd, saying, "Take your cavalry and
[960] attack the men on this road"—meaning the Laḥḥām Jarīr Road[428]—"and if you can drive the men from the road, you can come at al-Ḥajjāj from the rear, while we attack him from in front." Suwayd b. Sulaym accordingly separated off and attacked the men on this road; but he was assailed with arrows from the housetops and the approaches to the roads and forced to retreat. Al-Ḥajjāj had placed 'Urwah b. al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah with some three hundred men from the Syrian forces as a rearguard for him and his troops so they would not be vulnerable to attack from that direction.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: On that day Shabīb said to us, "O people of Islam! We have sold ourselves to

428. Both Laḥḥām Jarīr (Jarīr's Butcher?) and its road are mentioned elsewhere by Ṭabarī (see text above, II, 624, 775), but without further identifying detail.

God; and he who has sold himself to God cares little for any harm or pain that may come to him for God's sake. Hold fast, and charge as you charged in your other noble battles!" He gathered his forces, and al-Ḥajjāj, seeing the coming attack, said to his men, "Men who hear and obey! Stand firm against this one charge, and, by the Lord of Heaven, nothing will remain in the way of victory!" The men got down on their knees, and Shabīb attacked them with his collected forces. When he reached them, al-Ḥajjāj called out to all his men to jump up and rush straight at him. They thrust with their spears and hacked with their swords, advancing and pushing back Shabīb and his forces as he fought them, as far as Bustān Zā'idah.[429] When they reached that place, Shabīb called to his men, "O friends of God! Dismount! Dismount!" He himself dismounted and ordered half his forces to dismount, leaving the other half with Suwayd b. Sulaym. Al-Ḥajjāj came to the mosque of Shabath,[430] and said, "Men of Syria! Men who hear and obey! This is the beginning of victory, by the One Who holds al-Ḥajjāj's soul in His hand!" Some twenty men went up to the mosque with him, armed with arrows, and he told them, "If they approach us, shoot at them." The fighting on the ground was extremely fierce and went on through the entire day, [961] until the two parties had fought each other to a standstill. Then Khālid b. 'Attāb said to al-Ḥajjāj, "Let me fight them, for I have a case of personal vengeance to settle, and I am a man whose counsel is above suspicion." Al-Ḥajjāj granted his permission, and Khālid said, "I will come at them from behind and raid their camp." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Do as seems best to you."

Khālid went off with a band of Kūfans and entered their camp from the rear. He killed Shabīb's brother Muṣād, and Shabīb's wife, Ghazālah—she was actually killed by Farwah b. al-Daffān[431] al-Kalbī—and set fire to the camp. News of this came to both al-Ḥajjāj and Shabīb; al-Ḥajjāj and his men raised a single "God is great!" while Shabīb and every man on foot with him jumped on their horses. Al-Ḥajjāj said to the Syrians, "Charge them! This has

429. Zā'idah's Orchard (probably of palm trees), in al-Sabakhah; see text above, II, 619.

430. *Masjid Shabath*, according to the editor, comparing text above, II, 632; but the MSS have *masjid Shabīb*, which is supported by Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 427.

431. Reading uncertain. Some manuscripts have al-D.qān or al-D.fār.

broken their courage!" They charged them and defeated them, Shabīb remaining with the rear guard as it retreated.

According to Hishām—Aṣghar the Khārijite—one of the men who was with Shabīb: When the men were defeated and Shabīb retreated by the bridge of boats, al-Ḥajjāj's cavalry pursued him. Shabīb was nodding as if dozing off, and I said, "Commander of the Faithful, turn around and look behind you!" He turned around with an air of indifference,then bowed his head and began to nod off again. They drew nearer, and we said, "Commander of the Faithful, they are getting near!" By God, he turned around again, with the same air of indifference, and then began to nod off again. Then al-Ḥajjāj sent to his cavalry saying, "Leave him to burn in the fire of God." They left him and went back.

[962] According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū 'Amr al-'Udhrī: Shabīb cut the bridge of boats after he crossed it. According to Farwah: I was with him when we were defeated, and he did nothing to the bridge; they did not pursue us as far as the bridge so that we should cut it.

Al-Ḥajjāj went back into al-Kūfah, ascended the pulpit, praised God, and said, "By God, Shabīb has not seen real battle before this! By God, he turned and fled, leaving his wife with a broken reed up her ass!"[432]

Another account of al-Ḥajjāj's battle with Shabīb in al-Kūfah is that of 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Abdallāh b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Aṭiyyah—his father—Muzāḥim b. Zufar b. Jassās al-Taymī: When Shabīb broke through al-Ḥajjāj's detachments, al-Ḥajjāj permitted us to come see him in the apartment in which he slept. He was in bed, with a blanket over him. He said, "I have summoned you with regard to a matter in which sincere differences of opinion can be frankly expressed, and I want your advice. This man has pene-

432. This first account of Shabīb's second entry into al-Kūfah is now followed by a second, from 'Umar b. Shabbah (in two versions), which emphasizes the role of Qutaybah b. Muslim, previously unmentioned. A third account, unattributed, beginning at 965 below, parallels the first, but with numerous differences in detail. The summary in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 271, is closest to the first account. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 85–91, lists the defeats of Ṭahmān and Abū al-Ward after that of 'Attāb b. Warqā' but places all three among the commanders defeated well before the entry into al-Kūfah; in his account of the latter, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī attributes the victory to al-Ḥajjāj and four thousand Syrians, mentioning no one else. See also Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 139–44; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 187f.

trated into the heart of your land, violated your territory, and killed your fighters. Advise me!" The men were silent, except for one, who moved his chair out of the line and said, "With the amīr's permission, I will speak." He said, "Speak!" The man said, "The amīr, by God, has neither feared God nor defended the Commander of the Faithful nor shown any commitment toward his subjects." Then he sat down on his chair, in line. This man was, in fact, Qutaybah.[433] Al-Ḥajjāj was enraged, threw aside the blanket, and let his legs dangle from the bed—I can see it even now—and asked, "Who said that?" Qutaybah then moved his chair out of the line again and repeated his words. Al-Ḥajjāj asked, "What do you suggest, then?" He said, "That you go out to him yourself and call him to account." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Go find me a good place to muster the troops; then come back to me."

We went out cursing ʿAnbasah b. Saʿīd, for it was he who had recommended to al-Ḥajjāj that he make Qutaybah one of his associates. The next morning, having all made our last testaments, we [963] armed ourselves. Al-Ḥajjāj performed the morning prayer but then withdrew. His messenger kept coming out, hour after hour, to ask, "Has he come yet? Has he come yet?" but we did not know whom he meant, the *maqṣūrah* being already jammed with people.[434] Finally, the messenger came out and asked, "Has he come yet?" and there was Qutaybah walking into the mosque, wearing a yellow robe from Herat[435] and a red silk turban, with a broad sword on a short suspensory, so it looked as if it was tucked under his arm; he had tucked the tail of his robe into his belt, and his cuirass struck against his shanks. The door was opened for

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433. Qutaybah b. Muslim, later famed as the conqueror of Transoxania, after being appointed governor of Khurāsān by al-Ḥajjāj in 86 (705); see text below, II, 1178, and *EI*², s.v. Ḳutayba b. Muslim.

434. Al-Ḥajjāj apparently withdrew from the mosque through a private entrance communicating directly with the governor's palace, which abutted the southern, *qiblah* side of the mosque; see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford, 1969), I, i, 42–58. This private entrance would be inside the *maqṣūrah*, a part of the mosque partitioned off for the governor's personal use (see *SEI*, s.v.). The following account suggests that the commanders and nobles awaited the governor in the *maqṣūrah* while the rest of the forces were assembled inside and around the mosque proper.

435. *Qabā' harawī aṣfar*; a sleeved garment, probably of silk. See Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), 352–62; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), 350f., 394f., 405f.

him and he was admitted without delay, remained a long while, then came out again, bearing an unfurled standard. Al-Ḥajjāj prayed, making two prostrations, then rose and gave the word, and the standard was brought out the Elephant Door,[436] al-Ḥajjāj coming out behind it. There at the door was a reddish mule with blazes on its head and ankles, and al-Ḥajjāj mounted it. His personal servants offered to switch mounts with him, but he refused to ride any other. The men mounted their beasts, and Qutaybah mounted a bay horse with blazes on head and ankles, with a saddle so large that Qutaybah looked like a pomegranate in it. He set out along the Dār al-Siqāyah Road[437] until he came out at al-Sabakhah, where Shabīb had his camp. It was a Wednesday. They held back that day, then offered battle on Thursday morning. They resumed the attack early Friday morning, and, by the time of the prayer, the Khārijites were defeated.

According to Abū Zayd[438]—Khallād b. Yazīd—al-Ḥajjāj b. Qutaybah: Shabīb advanced after al-Ḥajjāj had sent out one commander against him and he had killed him, and another and he had killed him as well; one of the two was A'yan, the owner of the Ḥammām A'yan. Shabīb advanced and entered al-Kūfah. He was
[964] accompanied by Ghazālah, who had sworn an oath that she would pray two prostrations in the mosque of al-Kūfah, reciting in them the Qur'ānic *sūrah*s "The Cow" and "The Family of 'Imrān." And so she did.[439] Shabīb also had huts built in his camp.

At this point, al-Ḥajjāj stood and said, "It seems to me, men of Iraq, that you are not showing much commitment in fighting these people; and I have written to the Commander of the Faithful, asking him to send me reinforcements from the Syrians." Then Qutaybah stood up and said, "You have shown com-

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436. *Bāb al-Fīl.* Various accounts of the naming of this mosque door are given by Ṭabarī (text above, II, 27) and Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 288).

437. The *dār al-siqāyah* was the public water supply, also mentioned above, II, 735.

438. 'Umar b. Shabbah.

439. The rites of prayer require recitation of the Qur'ān with each prostration (see *SEI*, s.v. ṣalāh); short *sūrah*s are generally used, but *al-Baqarah* and *Āl 'Imrān*, the second and third, are by far the longest. For Ghazālah's vow see also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 320–21. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 87ff., says nothing of a vow but has Shabīb himself recite the two *sūrah*s and place both Ghazālah and his mother al-Jahīzah on the pulpit; see also Baghdādī, *Farq*, 89–92.

mitment neither to God nor to the Commander of the Faithful in fighting them!"

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Khallād—Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ b. Mūsā b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar b. 'Uthmān al-Taymī: Al-Ḥajjāj throttled him with his turban.

Returning to the account of al-Ḥajjāj b. Qutaybah:[440] Al-Ḥajjāj asked, "How is that?" Qutaybah replied, "You send out a noble man and then send out with him men from the riffraff; they deliver him a defeat, and he, ashamed, fights until he is killed." Al-Ḥajjāj asked, "What do you suggest?" He replied, "That you go out yourself, accompanied by men your equal, who will defend you as they do themselves." Those who were present cursed him for this; and al-Ḥajjāj said, "By God, I will go out to confront him tomorrow." The next day, the men assembled, and Qutaybah said, "Remember your oath, may God cause the amīr to prosper!" The men cursed him again, and al-Ḥajjāj said, "Go find me a good place to muster the troops!" He and his men went and made their preparations, then set out. He came to a place that was rather dirty, a dump site, and said, "Muster for me here." When they protested that the place was dirty, he said, "What you are summoning me to is dirtier! Here the earth below and the sky above are wholesome."

He dismounted and arrayed the men. Khālid b. 'Attāb b. Warqā' was in disgrace and thus not among the forces. Shabīb and his companions came up, left their beasts in readiness nearby,[441] and marched out on foot. Shabīb said to them, "Do not shoot! Creep [965] forward beneath your shields until the enemy's spears are above them, then shove them upward and go in under them so you can stand up and halt their advance. God permitting, this will defeat them." The men advanced, creeping toward them. But Khālid b. 'Attāb took his personal forces,[442] circled around behind their camp, and set fire to their huts. When Shabīb's men saw the light of the fire and heard its crackle, they turned and saw that it was in their quarters, and hurried back to their horses. The troops then pursued them and inflicted a defeat on them. Al-Ḥajjāj was

440. Reading *bn Qutaybah* for *wa-Qutaybah*.

441. *Qarrabū dawābbahum*; see the parallel passage above (II, 629: *qarribū khuyūlakum ba'ḍahā ilā ba'ḍ*) and compare Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. muqrab.

442. *Shākiriyyah*; see Fries, *Heereswesen*, 24f.

pleased with Khālid and entrusted him with the campaign against them.

When[443] Shabīb killed 'Attāb, he aimed to enter al-Kūfah a second time and advanced to within a short distance of it. Al-Ḥajjāj sent out Sayf b. Hāni' and another man together to bring him information about Shabīb. When they came to his camp, he caught them and killed the other man, but Sayf got away. One of the Khārijites pursued him, but Sayf jumped with his horse over a stream and then asked the man for safe-conduct in exchange for telling him the truth. The man granted the safe-conduct, and he told him that al-Ḥajjāj had sent him and his companion to bring him information about Shabīb. The man said, "Tell him, then, that we are coming to him on Monday." Sayf returned to al-Ḥajjāj and informed him of this; al-Ḥajjāj said, "He is a liar and a fool."

[966] When Monday came, the Khārijites set out, heading for al-Kūfah, and al-Ḥajjāj sent out against them al-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiyah al-Thaqafī. Shabīb encountered him at Zurārah and killed him and defeated his forces, then came on toward al-Kūfah. He sent al-Baṭīn with ten horsemen to find quarters for him on the bank of the Euphrates at the provision depot. Al-Baṭīn set out, but al-Ḥajjāj had sent Ḥawshab b. Yazīd with a group of Kūfans to occupy the approaches of the roads; al-Baṭīn fought them but was unable to overcome them. He sent to Shabīb for reinforcements and was sent some horsemen who managed to wound Ḥawshab's horse and defeat him, although he escaped with his life. Al-Baṭīn went on to the provision depot and set up camp on the bank of the Euphrates. Then Shabīb advanced, halting just past the bridge; when al-Ḥajjāj sent out no one against him, he advanced again, to al-Sabakhah, between al-Kūfah and the Euphrates. There he remained for three days, al-Ḥajjāj still sending out no one against him. Al-Ḥajjāj was advised to go out himself and sent out Qutaybah b. Muslim to prepare a place to muster for him. When Qutaybah returned, he said, "I have found the approach to them easy; go forth, then, with good omens." The call was issued to the men of al-Kūfah, and they marched forth, the notables marching out with al-Ḥajjāj, and took up positions at that place. The two sides now faced each other. Shabīb had, on his right, al-Baṭīn, and,

443. Here begins the third version of these events, introduced simply by *qāla*.

on his left, Qa'nab, the client of the Banū Abī Rabī'ah b. Dhuhl;[444] he had some two hundred men. Al-Ḥajjāj put Maṭar b. Nājiyah al-Riyāḥī on his right and Khālid b. 'Attāb b. Warqā' al-Riyāḥī on his left, with about four thousand men. Al-Ḥajjāj was told not to let Shabīb know where he stood, so he disguised himself and camouflaged his position and dressed his client Abū al-Ward to resemble him. When Shabīb saw Abū al-Ward, he attacked him and struck him with a rod weighing fifteen *raṭls*,[445] killing him. Then al-Ḥajjāj dressed up A'yan, the owner of the Ḥammām A'yan in al- [967] Kūfah, who was a client of Bakr b. Wā'il;[446] Shabīb also killed him. Then al-Ḥajjāj mounted a mule with a white blaze and anklets, saying, "Religion has both a blaze and anklets!" and said to Abū Ka'b, "Lead with the standard! I am Ibn Abī 'Aqīl!"[447]

Shabīb attacked Khālid b. 'Attāb and his forces, pushing them back to the great open space (*raḥabah*),[448] and attacked and defeated Maṭar b. Nājiyah. At this point, al-Ḥajjāj dismounted and ordered his men to dismount. He sat down on an *'abā'ah*[449] with 'Anbasah b. Sa'īd. While they were thus situated, Maṣqalah b. Muhalhil al-Ḍabbī seized the bridle of Shabīb's horse and said to him, "What do you say about Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ and how do you testify concerning him?" Shabīb said, "Here and now, in the midst of this situation, with al-Ḥajjāj looking on?" Shabīb declared himself quit of Ṣāliḥ, and Maṣqalah said, "May God be quit of you!" His men then left him, except for forty horsemen who were his closest companions; the rest withdrew to the provision depot.[450] Al-Ḥajjāj said, "They have had a dispute!" He sent for Khālid b. 'Attāb, and he came and fought them. Ghazālah was killed, and a horseman was taking her head to al-Ḥajjāj when

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444. A clan of the Banū Shaybān; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 304, and note 153 above.

445. About five kilograms; see note 313 above.

446. See note 290 above.

447. His great-grandfather was Abū 'Aqīl; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 118, II, 291.

448. Or *raḥbah*, an open area, especially one for prayer either inside or outside the mosque; here apparently the square in which the mosque of al-Kūfah stood. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v.

449. A coarse woolen sleeveless cloak, but also, as perhaps here, a saddle-cloth of the same material. See Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

450. This dispute over Shabīb's predecessor is not further elaborated here and not paralleled in other sources.

Shabīb recognized it and ordered 'Alwān to attack the horseman, which he did, and killed him. He brought Shabīb the head, and he ordered it washed and buried, saying, "She is closer to you all in mercy"[451]—meaning Ghazālah. Shabīb's men then moved back to a defensive position. Khālid returned to al-Ḥajjāj and informed him that they had withdrawn, and al-Ḥajjāj ordered him to attack Shabīb. He attacked them and was drawn off by eight of them, including Qa'nab, al-Baṭīn, 'Alwān, 'Īsā, al-Muhadhdhab, Ibn 'Uwaymir, and Sinān, as far as the great open space. Meanwhile, Ḥawṭ b. 'Umayr al-Sadūsī[452] was brought to Shabīb where he
[968] stood, and Shabīb said to him, "Ḥawṭ, judgment is to God alone!" He replied, "Judgment is to God alone!" Shabīb said, "Ḥawṭ is really one of your companions but he was afraid"; and he let him go. Then he was brought 'Umayr b. al-Qa'qā' and said to him, "Judgment is to God alone, 'Umayr!" But he did not understand, and said, "God be with my lost youth!"[453] Shabīb repeated to him, "Judgment is to God alone!" in order to let him off; but he would not understand, and Shabīb ordered him killed.[454]

Then Muṣād b. Yazīd, Shabīb's brother, was killed. Shabīb kept waiting for the party who had taken on Khālid, but they were slow to return, and Shabīb dozed off, until awakened by Ḥabīb b. Khidrah.[455] Al-Ḥajjāj's forces, meanwhile, would not advance on him, being in awesome fear of him. He went to the provision depot and began collecting the effects of those of his men who had been killed. Then his eight companions came to the place where he had been standing and, not finding him, thought that the enemy had killed him. Maṭar and Khālid returned to al-Ḥajjāj, who

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451. A paraphrase of Qur'ān 18:81. The implication is that Ghazālah was a mother to them all; see Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-balāghah* (Beirut, 1979), s.v. ruḥm.

452. Reading Ḥawṭ with the Petersburg MS, against edited text Khūṭ. This man probably belonged to the Banū Sadūs b. Shaybān of the Dhuhl b. Tha'labah; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 152, and note 153 above.

453. *Fī sabīl Allāh shabābī:* a quotation? See Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 21, for a similar proverbial phrase.

454. This account is clearly a variant of the story told above (II, 920f.) of the well-known al-Naḍr b. al-Qa'qā', after Shabīb's first entry into al-Kūfah.

455. A client of the Banū Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, one of the celebrated Khārijite poets and orators. His father's name appears in various sources as Khidrah, Khudrah, Jadarah, and Judrah; see Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 346, III, 264; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 709; I. 'Abbās, *Shi'r al-Khawārij* (Beirut, 1963), 78–82, 144. Ṭabarī cites verses by him below, II, 1002.

ordered them to pursue the band of eight. They did so, while the band pursued Shabīb, all continuing until they crossed the bridge at al-Madā'in.[456] The Khārijites went into a monastery there with Khālid on their heels. He surrounded them in the monastery, but they came out against him and drove him back some two *farsakhs*, until his men pitched themselves into the Tigris on their horses; Khālid also pitched himself in on his horse but got across on it with his standard in his hand. Shabīb said, "God oppose such a man and such a horse! This man is the most valiant fighter, and his horse is the most powerful horse on earth!" He was informed that this was Khālid, son of 'Attāb, and he said, "He has inherited his courage then. By God, if I had known, I would have plunged after him, even if he had plunged into Hell!"

Returning to the account of Abū Mikhnaf—Abū 'Amr al- [969]
'Udhrī: When Shabīb was defeated, al-Ḥajjāj entered al-Kūfah, ascended the pulpit, and said, "By God, Shabīb has never been fought this way before! He turned and fled, by God, leaving his wife with a broken reed up her ass!" Then he summoned Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥakamī and sent him in pursuit of Shabīb with three thousand Syrian troops.[457] Al-Ḥajjāj said to him, "Be on your guard against night attacks from Shabīb and, wherever you encounter him, engage him immediately, for God has notched his blade and broken his fangs." Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān then went out and pursued Shabīb as far as al-Anbār, halting there. Al-Ḥajjāj also sent to the administrators, ordering them to spread word secretly among Shabīb's men that any of them who came over to them would be given safe-conduct. All those who lacked true zeal and had been worn down by the fighting began to come over and were granted safe-conduct. Al-Ḥajjāj had also,[458] before this, on the day of their defeat, proclaimed to them that any of them who came to him would be granted safe-conduct, and now many men separated themselves from Shabīb's forces. Shabīb was then informed that Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was positioned at al-Anbār, and he advanced with his forces; when he

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456. A distance of some seventy-five miles.

457. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 274. The summaries in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 91, and Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 328, identify the commander as 'Alqamah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥakamī. See also Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 144.

458. Or *not: wa-qabla dhālika mā nādā fīhim . . . anna man jā'anā . . .*

was near their camp, he halted and led his men in the sunset prayer.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Yazīd al-Saksakī:[459] By God, I was among the Syrian forces the night Shabīb came and made a surprise attack on us. When we stopped for the night, Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had assembled us and divided us into quarters, saying to each quarter, "For each quarter of you its own area should suffice; if one quarter is engaged in fighting, another [970] quarter should not come to their aid. Word has reached me that these Khārijites are nearby; prepare yourselves, then, for a night attack and fighting." We remained in this muster until Shabīb came and attacked us. He charged the quarter commanded by ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-ʿUdhrī and fought long with them with swords, but not a single man's foot retreated a step. Then he left them and went up against another quarter, which had been given in charge to Saʿd b. Bajal al-ʿĀmirī, and fought them; but again not a single man's foot retreated a step. Then he left them and went up against the next quarter, commanded by al-Nuʿmān b. Saʿd al-Ḥimyarī, but he achieved nothing more against them. Finally, he came to the last quarter, commanded by Ibn Uqayṣir al-Khathʿamī, and fought them a long time without accomplishing anything. He kept circling around us and attacking us until three quarters of the night had passed. He stuck to us until we thought that he would never let us go. Then he dismounted and forced us to fight them on foot for a long time. By God, between us, hands were hacked off and eyes put out and the dead piled up. We killed about thirty of them, and they killed about a hundred of us. By God, it seemed to us that if they had been more than the hundred men they were, they would have destroyed us. I will swear to God on that! They did not withdraw from us until they were as sick and tired of us as we were of them. I would see one of our men strike one of their men with his sword and not hurt him at all because he was so weak and worn out; or I would see another of our men fighting sitting down, making feeble thrusts with his [971] sword—too exhausted to stand. When finally they despaired of besting us, Shabīb mounted his horse and told those of his com-

459. On the Sakāsik of Kindah, who supported the Umayyads in Syria, see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 503; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, s. v. Saksakī.

panions who had dismounted to remount. Once they were all firmly on horseback, he led them away from us.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ, referring to Shabīb: When we left them, in very low spirits and with many wounded, he said to us, "What a heavy blow for us—if we were pursuing only worldly goals; but what a light one in view of God's reward!" His companions replied, "Truly spoken, Commander of the Faithful!"

I will never forget how he rushed up to Suwayd b. Sulaym and told him the following story: "I killed two of their men yesterday, one of them the bravest of men and the other the most cowardly. I went out at dusk last night to scout for you and met three of them who had come into a village to buy what they needed there. One of them made his purchases and came out in advance of his fellows, and I went out with him. He said, 'It seems that you have not bought fodder.' I replied, 'I have some comrades who have taken care of that for me.' Then I asked him, 'Where do you think this enemy of ours is camped?' He said, 'I hear that he is camped nearby us here. I swear to God, I wish I could have met this Shabīb of theirs!' I said, 'Would you like to?' He said, 'Yes!' I said, 'Watch out, then, for, by God, I am Shabīb!' and I drew my sword. By God, the man dropped dead! I said to him, 'Get up, damn you!' and then went to see, and he really was dead! I left him and was starting back, when I met this other one coming out of the village. He said, 'Where are you going now? The men are all going back to their camp.' I said nothing to him and went on, spurring my horse to a gallop. He came after me and caught up with me, and I pulled [972] up and asked him, 'What is the matter?' He said, 'You, by God, are one of our enemy!' I said, 'Yes, I am, by God!' He said, 'By God, you will not leave here until either you have killed me or I have killed you!' I charged at him and he charged at me, and we fought with our swords for a time. By God, I was his superior in neither tenacity nor boldness; but my sword was sharper than his, and I killed him."

Then we traveled on, crossed the Tigris, and went through the Jūkhā region; we crossed the Tigris again in the area of Wāsiṭ,[460]

460. A town about 120 miles southeast of al-Madā'in, but only built (by al-Ḥajjāj for his Syrian troops) six years later, in 83 (702). See text below, II, 1125, and *EI*², s.v. Wāsiṭ.

went on toward al-Ahwāz, then toward Fārs, and then on to Kirmān.

In this year, Shabīb perished, according to the account of Hishām b. Muḥammad; according to another account, he perished in the year 78 (697–698).[461]

Account of Shabīb's End

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Yazīd al-Saksakī: It was al-Ḥajjāj himself who had sent us out against him[462]—that is, Shabīb—and now he distributed a great deal of money among us, giving a share to every man who had been wounded or shown particular valor. Then he ordered Sufyān b. al-Abrad to march out against Shabīb, and Sufyān prepared to do so. This distressed Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥakamī, who said, "You send Sufyān against a man whom I routed and whose best horsemen I killed!" Two months later, however, Sufyān carried out his orders. Shabīb, meanwhile, had remained in Kirmān while he and his forces recuperated and restored themselves; he then set out on his way back and was met by Sufyān at the Ahwāz Dujayl Bridge.[463] Al-
[973] Ḥajjāj had written to al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'Aqīl, who was his son-in-law and his governor over al-Baṣrah, as follows: "Send out a noble, courageous man from among the Baṣrans with four thousand troops against Shabīb. Order him to join Sufyān b. al-Abrad and to heed and obey him." Al-Ḥakam sent out Ziyād b. 'Amr al-'Atakī with four thousand troops, and they had no sooner reached Sufyān than he encountered Shabīb. When they met, at the Dujayl Bridge, Shabīb crossed over to Sufyān. He found that Sufyān had dismounted and was among the infantry, having put Muhāṣir b. Ṣayfī al-'Udhrī over the cavalry; over his right wing he had put Bashīr b. Ḥassān al-Nahdī and over his left wing 'Umar b. Hubayrah al-Fazārī.[464] Shabīb advanced with his

461. What follow are two versions of Shabīb's death, both from Abū Mikhnaf. A third version, dated 78 (697–698) appears in Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 328, as well as, undated, in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 92. See note 470 below.

462. *Aqfalanā al-Ḥajjāj ilayhi.*

463. A bridge of boats crossing the Dujayl River (now the Karun) at al-Ahwāz; the Dujayl of al-Ahwāz is distinguished from the Dujayl Canal north of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 232–36.

464. Later governor of Iraq and leader of the Qaysī tribal faction; see text below, II, 1433ff., and *EI²*, s.v. Ibn Hubayra.

forces in three squadrons, one under his own command, one under Suwayd, and one under Qa'nab al-Muḥallimī. He left al-Muḥallil b. Wā'il behind in his camp.

While Suwayd, on Shabīb's right, attacked Sufyān's left, and Qa'nab, on Shabīb's left, attacked Sufyān's right, Shabīb himself attacked Sufyān. We fought with swords much of the day, until they withdrew and returned to their original positions. Then Shabīb and his forces made more than thirty charges at us, but through it all we did not budge from our line. Sufyān said to us, "Do not disperse, but let the infantry advance on them as a body." By God, we kept at them with our swords and spears until we drove them back to the bridge. When Shabīb reached the bridge, he dismounted, along with about a hundred men. We fought them until evening, as fiercely as any army has ever [974] fought—as soon as they dismounted they fell on us with sword and spear in a way we had never seen an army fight before. When Sufyān saw that he would not be able to overcome them and could not even be sure that they would not overcome him, he summoned the archers and ordered them to attack them with arrows. This was in the evening, and the battle had begun at midday. The archers attacked them with arrows in the evening; Sufyān b. al-Abrad had set them in a line by themselves and put a man in charge of the bowmen.[465] They kept up the attack with arrows for a time; then the enemy charged them, but as they charged our archers, we charged them and diverted them.

As they continued to be attacked by the arrows, Shabīb and his companions mounted their horses and led another charge against the archers, which felled more than thirty of them. Then Shabīb turned with his mounted troops against us. He bore down directly on us, and we fought him with our spears until it became too dark. He withdrew from us then, and Sufyān said to his men, "Men, leave them be and do not pursue them! We will resume with them in the morning." We desisted from fighting them, with nothing dearer to us than that they should withdraw from us.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ: Soon we got to the bridge, and Shabīb said, "Cross over, companies of Muslims, and we will take them on again in the morning, God willing." We

465. *Murāmiyah*, apparently synonymous with *aṣḥāb al-nabl*, "archers," above, and *rumāh*, "archers," below.

crossed over before him, while he stayed behind at our rear. Then he started across on his horse; but there was a Median mare[466] in front of him, and his horse lunged to mount her in the middle of the bridge. The Median became agitated, and Shabīb's horse's hoof went over the side of the boat and he fell in the water. As he fell, he said, "That God might determine a matter that was done."[467] He
[975] sank beneath the water, then came up again and said, "That is the ordaining of the Almighty, the All-Knowing."[468]

According to Abū Mikhnaf: These are the accounts of Abū Yazīd al-Saksakī, who was one of the Syrians who fought Shabīb, and Farwah b. Laqīṭ, who was one of the participants in his battles. I also have heard the following account from a man of Shabīb's own clan, the Banū Murrah b. Hammām: There were men from Shabīb's own tribe[469] fighting with him, but they did not fully share his zeal. He had killed many of their fellow tribesmen, and that had pained and angered them. Among Shabīb's associates was a man named Muqātil, from the Banū Taym b. Shaybān. When Shabīb killed some men from the Banū Taym b. Shaybān, this man set upon the Banū Murrah b. Hammām and inflicted a number of casualties among them. Shabīb asked him, "What impelled you to kill them without orders from me?" He replied, "May God cause you to prosper, you have killed the unbelievers among my people, and I have killed the unbelievers among your people." Shabīb said, "And do you have authority over me so you can make independent decisions without me?" He replied, "May God cause you to prosper, is it not part of our religion to kill those who do not subscribe to our opinions, whether they are our own kin or not?" Shabīb said, "Yes, it is." Muqātil said, "Then I have done nothing but what I ought. Besides, Commander of the Faithful, I have certainly not struck down from your clan a tenth of the number you have struck down from mine. In any case, Commander of the Faithful, you have no

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466. *Faras unthā mādhiyānah.* See Ṭabarī, glossarium, s. v. Mādhiyānah.

467. Qur'ān 8:42, 44, in the context of God's predetermination of the Battle of Badr.

468. Qur'ān 6:96, 36:38, 41:12.

469. *'Ashīrah,* referring to other Shaybānid clans related to Shabīb's own clan (*raḥṭ*), the Banū Murrah b. Hammām b. Murrah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān; see note 153 above.

warrant to grieve over the killing of unbelievers." Shabīb said, "I do not grieve over that."

There were with him many men among whose kin he had inflicted casualties; according to their claim, when he stayed behind with the last of his forces, they said to one another, "What say you to cutting the bridge as he crosses and getting our revenge right now?" They cut the bridge, the boats rocked, the horse panicked and bolted, and Shabīb fell in the water and drowned. [976]

According to Abū Mikhnaf: That Murrī gave me this account, and some people from Shabīb's clan tell the same story. The standard account, however, is the one I gave first.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Yazīd al-Saksakī: We were preparing to go off when, by God, the bridgekeeper came and asked for our commander. We pointed him out to him, and he went up to him and said, "May God cause you to prosper, one of their men fell in the water, and they called to one another saying, 'The Commander of the Faithful has drowned!' Then they went off the way they had come, leaving not a soul behind in their camp."

Sufyān raised a cry of "God is great!" and we joined him in it. Then he set off for the bridge, and from there sent Muhāṣir b. Ṣayfī to cross over to their camp. He found not a whisper or a trace of them there; and when he dismounted, he found it to be the most well-appointed camp on God's earth! The next morning we searched for Shabīb until we found him and pulled him out, still wearing his cuirass. I have heard men say that they cut his chest open and took out his heart, and it turned out to be compact and hard as a rock; if one threw it to the ground, it would bounce as high as a man's stature. Sufyān said, "Praise God, Who has come to our aid!" We then took possession of their camp.[470]

According to Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah—Khallād b. Yazīd al-Arqaṭ: Shabīb's death was announced to his mother, but she re-

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470. The first account given here, with the story of the mare, appears also in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 322, and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 455, both of whom also give the story of Shabīb's heart. Ṭabarī's second account, implicating Shabīb's own followers in his death, is not found in other published early sources. According to Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī and Ya'qūbī (see note 461 above), it was Sufyān who cut the bridge. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī also appends a long account of the captive Khārijite men and women led before al-Ḥajjāj, who pardoned some and had others executed.

fused to accept it when they said he had been killed; then, when she was told he had drowned, she accepted it and said, "When I gave birth to him I saw a flash of fire come out of me, and I knew that nothing but water would put it out."

[977] According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Farwah b. Laqīṭ al-Azdī al-Ghāmidī: Yazīd b. Nuʿaym, Shabīb's father, was one of the men who joined the army of Salmān b. Rabīʿah when al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah sent him and those with him to the land of the Byzantines, on orders from ʿUthmān, as reinforcements to the Syrian forces.[471] When the Muslims returned from the campaign, the captives were put up for sale, and Shabīb's father, Yazīd b. Nuʿaym, saw a tall, pretty, eye-catching girl, fair-skinned, but without a trace of gray or blue in her black eyes; and he bought her. Then he took her—this was at the beginning of the year 25 (645)—and brought her to al-Kūfah. There he asked her to convert to Islam, but she refused, and when he beat her, she only became more stubborn. Seeing this, he ordered her made ready, and then called for her, and she was brought in to him. When he had intercourse with her, she conceived Shabīb, who was born on Saturday, the Day of Sacrifice, in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 25 (September 27, 646).[472] She loved her master dearly, and while she was in labor she said, "If you wish, I will convert to Islam as you asked me to." He said, "I do so wish." She then converted and was a Muslim when she bore Shabīb. She said, "I saw, in a dream, that a flash came forth from my vagina, which blazed forth to heaven and to the horizon on all sides, and then suddenly fell into a flood of running water, and went out. I gave birth to him on this day on which you shed blood, and I interpreted this vision of mine as meaning that I would see this son of mine, as he grew up, becoming a man of bloodshed, and that I
[978] would see him quickly rise and become great." His father used to take him and his mother often out to the desert, to his people's land at a watering hole called al-Laṣaf.[473]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Mūsā b. Abī Suwayd b. Rādī: The Syrian forces that arrived brought with them a stone[474] and said,

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471. In the year 24 (645); see text above, I, 2806ff.

472. The Day of Sacrifice is the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (see *EI²*, s.v. ḥadjdj). 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 25 (September 27, 646) was a Wednesday.

473. Another version of this story in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 457.

474. *Al-ḥajar*, literally, "the stone."

"We will not flee from Shabīb until this stone flees." Shabīb heard about this and decided to play a trick on them. He called for four horses and attached shields to their tails, two to the tail of each horse. Then he summoned eight of his companions to accompany him, as well as an attendant of his named Ḥayyān, and ordered Ḥayyān to bring along a waterskin. He then set out and came to one side of the camp. He ordered his companions to take up positions on the other sides of the camp, each two men with a horse, and then to touch the horses with their blades until they felt their keenness, and let them go into the camp. He arranged to meet his companions at a stream near the camp, saying, "Those of you who survive should meet at this stream." His companions were reluctant to carry out what he had ordered them to do, and when he saw this, he dismounted and himself did to the horses what he had ordered them to do. The horses rushed into the camp, and he went in behind them, crying, "Judgment is to God alone!" The men began to fight one another, but their commander, Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥakamī, called out, "Men! This is a trick! Stand where you are until you can see clearly what is going on!" and they did so. Shabīb was still in their camp and stood where he was when he saw them stop their commotion. He had been hit with a blow from a rod and was in a weakened condition. When the men quieted down and returned to their [979] quarters, he managed to slip out amidst the crowd and reached the stream, where he found Ḥayyān. He said, "Ḥayyān, pour out some water on my head." When he stretched out his head for Ḥayyān to pour water over it, the latter was about to cut it off, saying to himself, "I will find no greater honor or celebrity than will come to me from killing this man, and it will be my safe-conduct with al-Ḥajjāj." But just as he had this thought, he felt a shudder of fear; and when he was slow opening the waterskin, Shabīb asked him, "Why are you so slow opening it?" and took his knife from his boot and cut it open and handed it back to him. He then poured out the water over his head. Ḥayyān explained, "It was cowardice, by God, and the shudder of fear that came over me, that kept me from cutting off his head after I intended to do so." Then Shabīb rejoined his companions in his camp.

According to Abū Jaʿfar: In this year, Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah rebelled against al-Ḥajjāj, throwing off his allegiance to

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and rode off to al-Jibāl, where he was killed.[475]

Account of Muṭarrif's Rebelling and Throwing Off His Allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Bakr al-Azdī: The sons of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah were excellent, noble men in their own right, aside from the nobility of their father and their status in their tribe. When al-Ḥajjāj came, and met and spoke with them, he learned that they were men of his own tribe and sons of his father,[476] and he made 'Urwah b. al-Mughīrah governor of al-Kūfah,[477] Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah governor of al-
[980] Madā'in, and Ḥamzah b. al-Mughīrah governor of Hamadhān.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Nufayl al-Azdī: When Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah came to al-Madā'in as our governor, he ascended the pulpit, praised and glorified God, and said:

> Men! The amīr al-Ḥajjāj—may God cause him to prosper!—has appointed me governor over you and commanded me to rule with right and act with justice in all I do. If I do as he has commanded me, I will be the happiest of men; but if I do not, I will be the cause of my own perdition and the forfeiter of my own fortune. I shall sit to receive you morning and evening;[478] please come to me with your concerns, as

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475. Ṭabarī's account from Abū Mikhnaf of Muṭarrif's rebellion is the most detailed we have; the version from Ibn al-Kalbī in Balādhurī's *Ansāb* (unpublished) differs little from it. See Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 191–95; Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjāj*, 148–53. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 433–37, summarizes Ṭabarī, adding only an anecdote to the effect that al-Ḥajjāj questioned Muṭarrif's parentage, because while many of the Rabī'ah became Khārijites, this was true of none of the Qays 'Aylān (to whom the Thaqīf, the tribe of al-Mughīrah and al-Ḥajjāj, were often, although not invariably, assigned); see note 92 above and Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92.

476. Both al-Ḥajjāj and al-Mughīrah belonged to the tribe of Thaqīf. See Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 419f.

477. See text above, II, 873.

478. Muṭarrif here paraphrases a *ḥadīth* of 'Alī: "Remind them of the days of God and sit to receive them morning and evening" (the first phrase of this being in turn a quotation of Qur'ān 14:5); see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s. v. 'aṣr, and Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah* (Cairo, 1959–64), XVIII, 30f.

well as your advice on what will most benefit you and your land. I will work unceasingly for your good, to the extent I am able.

Then he came down. At that time there were in al-Madā'in men from the nobles of the garrison and the great families, as well as fighters too numerous for the town to hold, ready in case something should flare up in the Jūkhā region or the Anbār region. When Muṭarrif came down, he proceeded immediately to sit in the *īwān*[479] to receive people. He was approached by Ḥakīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Azdī, who was one of the prominent and noble men of the Azd—al Ḥajjāj later put him in charge of the treasury. He said, "May God cause you to prosper, I was some distance away when you spoke; I came forward to reply to you, but by then you were coming back down. We have understood what you told us, that you have been given authority—may God lead aright the giver and the receiver! You have encouraged us to hope for justice from you and you have asked for help in acting rightly. May God help [981] you in what you intend! You are like your father, whose actions always met with the approval of God and man." Muṭarrif said, "Come here to me," and he made room for him to sit beside him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ḥuṣayn b. Yazīd: He was one of the best governors ever sent out to us, energetic in suppressing immorality and condemning injustice." Bishr b. al-Ajda' al-Hamdānī al-Thawrī,[480] who was a poet, approached him and said:

I have fallen in love with a young woman of good character,
with sparkling teeth, languid limbs, and a fine neck.
She is like the sun coming out on a rainy day,
when she comes out to walk with her lithe and slender friends.
But turn your passions from her, and ride a great mannish she-camel
to that generous and beneficent source of favor,

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479. Probably, if not quite certainly, the *īwān Kisrā*, the famous Sasanian palace in Ctesiphon, part of whose façade still stands. See *EI²*, s. vv. īwān, al-Madā'in, and note 422 above.

480. Not a son of the known poet al-Ajda' b. Mālik, as suggested by the editors; within the tribe of Hamdān, al-Ajda' b. Mālik belonged to the Banū Wādi'ah, not the Banū Thawr. See Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 229, 230.

To that glorious young man, lavish in his gifts, whom we recognize
among the people whenever there is an unpleasantness to be got rid of.[481]
If you ask about lineage, his is a noble one;
he holds his head high with those who carry weight on the day scores are settled.
May the All-Merciful be your refuge from a band of men
with red moustaches, like the black lions of the thicket—
[982] The horsemen of Shaybān! Never have we heard of their like,
sons of every lordly chief of noble descent.
They attacked Ibn Ḥuṣayn and his detachment,
and left him a corpse on the battlefield, on the night of the feast.[482]
Ibn al-Mujālid fell victim to their spears,
as if he had slipped off a high, smooth rock.[483]
And every group assembled against them in Rūdhābār[484]
was broken up with spearthrusts, between the palms and the desert.

Muṭarrif said to him, "Woe to you! You have only come to incite us!" Shabīb had advanced from Sātīdamā,[485] and Muṭarrif wrote to al-Ḥajjāj as follows:

> I hereby inform the amīr—may God cause him to prosper!—that Shabīb has advanced toward us. If the amīr should think it best to send me reinforcements with which to secure al-Madā'in, he will do so; for al-Madā'in is the gate and fortress of al-Kūfah.

Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf sent him Sabrah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf with two hundred men and 'Abdallāh b. Kannāz with

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481. *Sā'ata yujlā kullu mardūdī.* Some manuscripts read *yaḥlā:* "whenever the unpleasant turns sweet."

482. On the defeat of 'Uthmān b. Qaṭan b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥuṣayn in Rādhān on the *'īd al-aḍḥā* of the previous year, see text above, II, 932–37.

483. On the defeat of Sa'īd b. al-Mujālid at either Qaṭīṭiyā or al-Dayr, see text above, II, 907–12.

484. So, *metrica causa,* for Rūdhabār = Rūdhbār. On the battle, see text above, II, 922–29.

485. See note 187 above. According to Abū Mikhnaf's earlier account, Shabīb's advance began from Māh Bihzādhān; see text above, II, 941, and note 371.

another two hundred. Shabīb advanced and halted at the bridges of Ḥudhayfah, then continued forward to Kalwādhā,[486] where he crossed the Tigris, and continued on to the city of Bahurasīr, where he halted. Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah was in the ancient city,[487] where Chosroes' residence and the White Palace are located. When Shabīb halted at Bahurasīr, Muṭarrif cut the bridge [983] between him and Shabīb and sent to Shabīb saying, "Send to me some of your worthy associates, together with whom I can study the Qur'ān and consider the stance that you advocate." Shabīb sent to him a number of men, including Suwayd b. Sulaym, Qa'nab, and al-Muḥallil b. Wā'il; but when the ferry had been brought up and they were about to board it, Shabīb sent them a message, saying not to do so until his messenger had returned from Muṭarrif. He sent to Muṭarrif, saying, "Send to me a number of your companions, until you send my companions back to me." But Muṭarrif said to the messenger, "Go to him and say: Why should I trust you with my companions if I send them to you now when you do not trust me with your companions?" Shabīb sent back his reply, saying, "You know that in our religion we do not consider treachery permissible, while you do it and think nothing of it." Muṭarrif then sent to him al-Rabī' b. Yazīd al-Asadī, Sulaymān b. Ḥudhayfah b. Hilāl b. Mālik al-Muzanī, and Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, the client of al-Mughīrah, who was in charge of Muṭarrif's guard. Once they were in Shabīb's custody, he sent his companions on to Muṭarrif.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al Naḍr-b. Ṣāliḥ: I was with Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah—I[488] do not know whether he[489] said, "I was among the troops that were with him" or "I was there in his presence"—when Shabīb's envoys came to him. Muṭarrif always treated me and my brother with affection and respect and was not in the habit of hiding anything from us. When the envoys entered, Muṭarrif was alone except for me and my brother Ḥullām [984] b. Ṣāliḥ. They were six and we were three, and they were fully armed, while we had only our swords. As they came forward,

486. From here this account closely parallels that given above, II, 946f.
487. *Al-madīnah al-'atīqah*, viz., Ctesiphon, on the east side of the river. On it and the White Palace, see *EI²*, s. v. al-Madā'in.
488. Abū Mikhnaf.
489. Al-Naḍr.

Suwayd said, "Peace be to him who fears to stand before his Lord[490] and recognizes right guidance and its people." Muṭarrif replied, "Yes, indeed! May God bless them!" They then sat down, and Muṭarrif said to them, "Give me an account of your position[491] and inform me of what it is you seek and what it is you advocate." Suwayd b. Sulaym praised and glorified God, and said, "What we advocate is the Book of God and the *sunnah*[492] of Muḥammad, God bless him. What we object to for our people is the expropriation of the spoils, the failure to enforce the Qur'ānic punishments, and the autocratic nature of the regime."[493] Muṭarrif responded, "You summon only to right and object only to blatant injustice. I follow you in this; now follow me in what I summon you to, so that we may combine forces and our hands may work as one." They said, "Come, then, say what you want to say, and if what you summon us to is right, we will agree." He said, "I summon you to fight with me against these renegade tyrants over the innovation they have introduced and to summon them to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet. Let this question of rule be decided by a council among the Muslims, choosing whomever they themselves approve as amīr over them, on the model of the situation in which 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb left them.[494] If the Arabs knew that all that is meant by 'council' is 'the approved one from Quraysh,'[495] they would approve and you would gain many followers from them and supporters against your enemy, and you would accomplish this purpose of yours."

At this, they jumped up to depart, saying, "This is something
[985] on which we will never agree with you." As they were leaving and just stepping out of the portico of the house, Suwayd b. Su-

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490. Qur'ān 55:46, 79:40.

491. *Quṣṣū 'alayya amrakum*. See the *qaṣaṣ* of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ, text above, II, 881–84, and note 139.

492. Way or custom; see *SEI*, s. v.

493. See the similar list of grievances in Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ's *qaṣaṣ*, text above, II, 883, where they are directed specifically at 'Uthmān.

494. On the *shūrā*, the council of six appointed by the dying 'Umar to appoint his successor, see text above, I, 2776ff.; and on its role in Khārijism, see text above, I, 3349, Qur'ān 42:38, and E. Salem, *Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawārij* (Baltimore, 1956), 52, 58.

495. *Al-riḍā min Quraysh*. The Khārijites were both unique and unanimous in rejecting the requirement that the leader of the community be from Quraysh; see *EI²*, s. v. imāma.

laym turned to Muṭarrif and said, "Ibn al-Mughīrah, if our men had been hostile and treacherous, you would have been putting yourself at their mercy." Muṭarrif was shaken at this and said, "You speak truly, by the God of Moses and Jesus!"

The men returned to Shabīb and informed him of what Muṭarrif had to say. Shabīb had hopes of winning him over and told them, "In the morning, one of you is to go back to him." In the morning, then, he sent Suwayd to him, giving him his orders. Suwayd set forth and came to Muṭarrif's door. It was I who conveyed his request to enter, and when he had come in and sat down, I was about to leave; but Muṭarrif said to me, "Sit! I have no secrets from you." I sat. At the time I was a tender youth, and Suwayd asked Muṭarrif, "Who is this from whom you have no secrets?" He replied, "This noble man is the son of Mālik b. Zuhayr b. Jadhīmah."[496] Suwayd said, "Great! 'You have found a good horse, so keep him!'[497] If his religion is like his lineage, he is perfect."

Then he turned his attention to Muṭarrif and said, "We presented the Commander of the Faithful with what you said to us, and he said, 'Go to him and say, "Do you not know that for the Muslims to choose for themselves the one they consider the best among them is correct procedure, for that is how the *sunnah* proceeded after the death of the Messenger?" If he says yes, then say to him, "We, then, have chosen for ourselves that one among us whom we most approve and who has the greatest strength to bear the burden of responsibility; and so long as he makes no change or alteration, he is the one who wields authority over us."' Shabīb added to us, 'Tell him, "With regard to your comments on 'council,' when you said that if the Arabs knew that all [986]
we mean in this regard is simply Quraysh, many of them would follow us, we reply that the people of truth lose nothing with God for being few, and the oppressors gain no good for being many. Our abandoning our truth, for which we rebelled, and entering into this 'council' to which you summon us would be a sin and a defeat, giving aid and comfort to the oppressors and showing our

496. A chieftain of 'Abs in pre-Islamic times, whose murder initiated the celebrated war of Dāḥis and al-Ghabrā'; see *Aghānī*[1], XI, 155f., XVI, 23ff.

497. For the proverb, see Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 78.

weakness; for we are not of the opinion that Quraysh have any more rights in this matter than others among the Arabs."' Shabīb further instructed us, 'If he claims that they do have more rights in this matter than anyone else among the Arabs, ask him why; if he says it is because of their kinship to Muḥammad, then say to him, "If that were the case, then, by God, it would not have been fitting for our pious forefathers, the first Emigrants, to exercise authority over the family of Muḥammad—including even the children of Abū Lahab, if they had been the only surviving members.[498] Had they not known that the best of the people in God's eyes is the most pious of them[499] and that the one worthiest of this position is the most pious, the most excellent, and the one with the greatest strength to bear the burdens of their affairs, they would not have accepted authority over the people's affairs." We were the first to protest oppression, to work to undo tyranny,[500] and to fight against the factions. If Muṭarrif follows us, he will be treated as any one of us, both for good and bad, being one of the Muslims; if he does not, then he is as one of the polytheists whom we consider our enemy and whom we fight.'"

Muṭarrif replied, "I have understood what you say. Go back to your camp for this day, while we consider our position." Suwayd returned to his camp, and Muṭarrif summoned some of his most trusted advisers, including Sulaymān b. Ḥudhayfah al-Muzanī and al-Rabī' b. Yazīd al-Asadī.

[987] According to al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: I was standing with Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, the client of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, next to Muṭarrif, each of us with his sword; Yazīd was in charge of his guard. Muṭarrif said to the men, "You are my advisers, my friends, and those in whose integrity and good judgment I trust. By God, I have abhorred the deeds of these oppressors all along, protesting against them in my heart and working to undo them as much as possible

498. The reference is probably specifically to the first two caliphs, whose authority was recognized by Muḥammad's family, including not only 'Alī but also many other cousins, among them the sons of Muḥammad's old enemy 'Abd al-'Uzzā (Abū Lahab; see *EI*², s. v.). Abū Lahab's sons 'Utbah and Mu'attib did become Muslims but played no prominent role in the government of the community; see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, i, 41f., V, 336.

499. A paraphrase of Qur'ān 49:13.

500. *Ghayyara al-jawr*, literally "change tyranny." Compare Muṭarrif's statement below that he "worked to undo" the deeds of the oppressors.

with my own deeds and orders. Now that their sins have become so great, and I have encountered these people who strive against them,[501] I have decided I have no choice but to oppose and resist them, if I can find allies to support me against them. I summoned these people and said to them such-and-such, and they said to me such-and-such, and I have decided not to fight them; indeed, if they were willing to follow my opinion as I described it to them, I would cast off allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik and al-Ḥajjāj and go off to strive against them." Al-Muzanī said to him, "These men will never follow you in your opinion, nor will you follow them. Keep this parley quiet and let no one know about it." Al-Asadī also said much the same thing. Then his client Ibn Abī Ziyād fell to his knees and said, "By God, not a single word of what was said between you and them will escape al-Ḥajjāj, and that with each word embellished with ten more just like it! By God, if you were to try to escape from al-Ḥajjāj over the clouds, he would still hunt you down to destroy you and those with you. Run for your life! Get out of this place! The people of al-Madā'in on this side, and on that side, and the people of Shabīb's camp, will talk about what went on between you and Shabīb, and before you go to bed tonight, the news will have reached al-Ḥajjāj. Find yourself a [988] home other than al-Madā'in!" The other two companions added, "Our view is just as he said." Muṭarrif asked them, "What is your decision, then?" They said, "To agree to what you summon us to, and to make common cause with you against al-Ḥajjāj or anyone else."

Then Muṭarrif looked at me and asked, "What is your decision?" I replied, "To kill your enemies, and to stand fast with you so long as you stand fast." He said, "That is what I expected of you."

He waited for three days. Then Qa'nab came to him and said, "If you follow us, you are one of us; if you refuse, then any truce between us is over." Muṭarrif said, "Do not rush us today; we are still considering."

Then he sent to his men saying, "Ride out tonight, every last one of you, and come with me to al-Daskarah to deal with something that has happened there." He set out before dawn, with his

501. *Yujāhidūnahum.*

men, and went as far as Dayr Yazdajird, where he halted. There he was met by Qabīṣah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Quḥāfī of Khathʿam.[502] He invited the latter to accompany him, and he did so; he outfitted him, gave him a mount, and ordered him given some money. Then he went on to al-Daskarah. After halting there, when he was ready to set out again, he had no choice but to inform his men of his intentions. He called together their leaders, and, after making appropriate mention of God and blessing His Messenger, he said to them:

> God has prescribed jihād for His creatures, and commanded them to act with justice and benevolence; He has said in the revelation He sent us, "Help one another to righteousness and piety, but help not one another to sin and injustice; fear God, God is harsh in punishment."[503] I make God my witness that I have cast off my allegiance to ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. Those of you who desire to accompany me, being of like mind with me, follow me, and you will have a good example and good company. As for those who refuse, [989] they may go wherever they wish; I have no desire for followers who are not committed to jihād against the tyrants. I summon you to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet and to fight against the oppressors. If God determines affairs in our favor, this matter[504] will be decided by council among the Muslims, who will approve for themselves whomever they like.

His men responded with alacrity and gave him their oath of allegiance. Then he went into his quarters and sent for Sabrah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf and ʿAbdallāh b. Kannāz al-Nahdī. Meeting with them in private, he summoned them as he had all of his men. They gave him their approval, but then, when he set out, they departed with those of his men who were with them and went to al-Ḥajjāj, whom they found had taken the field against Shabīb, and participated with him in the battle with Shabīb.

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502. For the Banū Quḥāfah of Khathʿam, see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 226, II, 470. This man was Abū Mikhnaf's source for the *qaṣaṣ* of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ given above, II, 881f., where he is said to have been a sympathizer of the latter.

503. Qurʾān 5:2.

504. Determination of the legitimate leader of the community.

Muṭarrif set out with his men from al-Daskarah, heading toward Ḥulwān. Al-Ḥajjāj had this same year sent out Suwayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saʿdī as governor of Ḥulwān and Māh Sabadhān.[505] When he heard that Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah was advancing toward his land, he realized that if he dealt with him gently or attempted to cajole him, al-Ḥajjāj would never put up with it; Suwayd accordingly mustered against him the townsmen and the Kurds, the latter holding the Ḥulwān pass against him. Suwayd marched out to him, hoping all the while to avoid fighting him and yet to be forgiven by al-Ḥajjāj; it was a poor excuse for a march.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlqamah al-Khathʿamī: When al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah al-Khathʿamī[506] heard that Muṭarrif had set out from al-Madāʾin toward al-Jabal, he followed after him with some thirty men, from his own tribe and others. I was one of them. We caught up with Muṭarrif at Ḥulwān and [990] participated with him in the battle against Suwayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr: the same.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlqamah: As soon as we reached Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah, he showed great pleasure at our arrival and seated al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah next to himself.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlqamah: When Suwayd came out to meet them with his forces, he stayed with the infantry, not leading them out from their tents, while his son, al-Qaʿqāʿ, advanced with the cavalry; but his cavalry that day was not numerous.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: I would say they were two hundred. According to Ibn ʿAlqamah: I would say they were less than three hundred.

Muṭarrif summoned al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah and sent him out against them with about the same number. They advanced against al-Qaʿqāʿ, well-known horsemen determined to give him a good fight. When Suwayd saw them preparing to attack his son, he sent to them a boy of his named Rustam, who was later killed

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505. This is a falsely etymologized form of Māsabadhān, a district south of Ḥulwān, in the front range of the Zagros. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 393; Le Strange, *Lands*, 202; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 142.

506. A former partisan of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr; see text above, II, 773f.

with him at Dayr al-Jamājim[507] with the standard of the Banū Sa'd in his hand. This boy ran off quickly to al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah and told him confidentially, "If you intend to leave this land of ours and go elsewhere, then leave us, for we do not wish to fight you. But if it is to us you have come by intent, then we must protect what is ours." When he delivered this message, al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah told him, "Go to our amīr and tell him what you have told me." The boy then proceeded on to Muṭarrif and told him the same thing he had told al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah. Muṭarrif said, "My aim is neither you nor your land." The boy said, "Then stay on this road until you have left our land. We have found ourselves
[991] obliged to arrange for people to see that we came out against you and for word of this to be passed on."

Muṭarrif sent for al-Ḥajjāj, and he joined him. They continued along the road until they reached the pass and found it held by the Kurds. Muṭarrif dismounted, as did all his men, and sent up al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah with his right wing and Sulaymān b. Ḥudhayfah with his left wing to confront them. These two defeated and killed them, and Muṭarrif and his men continued safely on until they drew near Hamadhān. Muṭarrif avoided the latter, turning off to his left toward Māh Dīnār;[508] his brother Ḥamzah b. al-Mughīrah was governor of Hamadhān, and Muṭarrif preferred not to enter it and subject his brother to accusations from al-Ḥajjāj. But when Muṭarrif entered the land of Māh Dīnār, he wrote to his brother Ḥamzah, saying, "Our expenses have mounted and supplies have become a severe problem. Please help out your brother with what money and arms you can." He sent this message with Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, the client of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, who came to Ḥamzah with Muṭarrif's letter at night. When Ḥamzah saw him, he said to him, "May your mother be bereft of you! You have killed Muṭarrif!" Yazīd replied, "It is not I who has killed

507. Where al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf defeated the rebel 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath, in 83 (702); see text below, II, 1070ff.

508. The district of Nihāwand, south of Hamadhān, according to an account in the text above (I, 2628, 2631) and in Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl* (Leiden), 145. Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī identified it rather with the district of Dīnawar, west of Hamadhān, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 406, which would agree better with a turn to the *left* here; but the statement below that Māh Dīnār bordered Iṣfahān must refer to the Nihāwand region. Dīnawar was officially named Māh al-Kūfah, and Nihāwand Māh al-Baṣrah; see *EI²*, s. vv. Dīnawar, Māh al-Baṣra.

him, may I be your ransom, but Muṭarrif who has killed himself and me with him; I hope he does not kill you as well." Ḥamzah said, "Woe to you! Who seduced him into this business?" Yazīd said, "It was he who seduced himself into this"; then he sat with him and gave him a full acount of the whole affair, and handed him Muṭarrif's letter. Ḥamzah read it, then said, "Yes, I will send him money and arms. But tell me, do you think I can keep this secret?" Yazīd said that he thought it could not be kept secret, but [992] Ḥamzah said to him, "By God, if I fail him in the more efficacious of the two kinds of support, that which is open, I will not forsake him in the lesser, that which is secret!"

He sent him money and arms with Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, who brought them to Muṭarrif. We were camped in one of the rural districts of Māh Dīnār, called Sāmān,[509] on the borders of the Iṣfahān region; this was a district where some of the Ḥamrā' were settled.[510]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: By God, no sooner had Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād set off than I heard the men of the camp spreading the word that the amīr was sending to his brother to ask him for money and arms. I went to Muṭarrif and informed him of this. He struck his brow with his hand and said, "Glory to God! One said, 'What can be kept secret?' The other replied, 'That which is not!'"

As soon as Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād arrived, Muṭarrif set off, halting at Qum, Qāshān,[511] and Iṣfahān.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abdallāh b. 'Alqamah: When Muṭarrif reached Qum and Qāshān and felt secure, he summoned al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah and said to him, "Tell me about Shabīb's defeat the day at al-Ṣabakhah. Were you an eyewitness, or had you left before the battle?" Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "No, I was an eyewitness." Muṭarrif said, "Tell me, then, how things went with them." Al-Ḥajjāj told him, and he said, "I was hoping that Shabīb would win; even if he was in error, he would be killing another in error."

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509. Mentioned, but without additional information, by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 13f.

510. The Ḥamrā' ("red") were early Persian converts to Islam who participated in the conquest of Iran; some of them were settled near Ḥulwān after its conquest in 16 [637]. See text above, I, 2473f.; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 197.

511. Modern Kāshān, between Qum and Iṣfahān; see *EI²*, s. v. Kāshān.

It seemed to me that this desire of his was actually because he was hoping to accomplish his own aims if al-Ḥajjāj perished. Then Muṭarrif sent out his officials.[512]

[993] According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: Muṭarrif acted decisively, if only the fates had not been stronger. He sent the following message with al-Rabī' b. Yazīd to Suwayd b. Sirḥān al-Thaqafī and to Bukayr b. Hārūn al-Bajalī:[513]

> We summon you to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet, and to jihād against him who has obstinately rejected the truth, expropriated the spoils, and abandoned the judgment of the Book.[514] When the truth appears and the false is overcome and the Word of God is rightfully exalted,[515] we will let this question be decided by council among the Community, the Muslims recognizing whom they please as the approved one. He who accepts this from us is our brother in religion and our comrade in life and death; but we will strive against[516] him who rejects this from us and ask God for His aid against him. It is sufficient to establish our claim against him, and sufficient to show his bad judgment in abandoning jihād in the way of God, and his weakness in conciliating the oppressors in the affairs of God, that God has prescribed fighting for the Muslims, calling it "hateful";[517] and no one can obtain God's good pleasure except by adhering steadfastly to God's command and waging jihād against God's enemies. Accept the truth, then, may God have mercy on you, and summon to it those for whose acceptance you hope, and let them know what they have not known. Let all who agree with our opinions, and accept our summons, and consider our enemy their own, come to me.

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512. *'Ummāl*, usually tax officials, and probably so here as well, sent out to collect the *kharāj* of the surrounding districts for Muṭarrif.

513. On the Bajīlah tribe, of uncertain ancestry, see *EI²*, s. v. Badjīla. Both men were in al-Rayy, as emerges below.

514. *Taraka ḥukm al-kitāb*. It was 'Alī's willingness to submit to the arbitration of man, rather than the judgment of the Qur'ān, that led to the original Khārijite revolt. The slogan "Judgment is to God alone" is a variant of this basic Khārijite tenet; see note 233 above.

515. *Kalimat Allāh hiya al-'ulyā*, a paraphrase of Qur'ān 9:40.

516. *Jāhadnā*.

517. Qur'ān 2:216: *Kutiba 'alaykum al-qitāl wa-huwa kurh lakum*.

May God lead you and us aright and be forgiving to you and us; He is the Forgiving, the Merciful. Peace.

When this letter reached the two men, they went among some of the men of al-Rayy and summoned those who would follow them. Then they departed secretly with some hundred from the men of al-Rayy, unremarked by anyone, and went to Muṭarrif. [994]

Then al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah, al-Ḥajjāj's governor of Iṣfahān, sent off a letter, saying, "If the amīr, may God cause him to prosper, has any care for Iṣfahān, or elsewhere, let him send out a massive army against Muṭarrif to annihilate him and those with him. He has just been joined by a band of men who came from some land or other to the place where he is staying now, and thus he has grown more powerful and his followers more numerous. Peace." Al-Ḥajjāj wrote back to him, saying, "When my messenger comes to you, muster those who are with you. Then, when 'Adī b. Wattād comes to you, lead your forces forth with him, and heed and obey him. Peace." When al-Barā' read this letter, he went out and mustered his forces. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf began sending out to al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah men on post horses, in groups of ten, fifteen, or twenty, until he had sent out to him some five hundred altogether. Al-Barā''s own forces numbered two thousand.

Meanwhile, al-Aswad b. Sa'd al-Hamdānī came out to al-Rayy, after[518] the victory God granted al-Ḥajjāj on the day he met Shabīb at al-Sabakhah. He passed through Hamadhān and al-Jibāl and stopped to see Ḥamzah, who excused himself to him.[519] According to al-Aswad: I informed al-Ḥajjāj about Ḥamzah, and he said, "I have already heard about that." He wanted to dismiss him, fearing that he would play him false if he held back,[520] and sent to Qays b. Sa'd al-'Ijlī, who was at that time in charge of Ḥamzah b. al-Mughīrah's security force—there were a number of people from the Banū 'Ijl and Rabī'ah in Hamadhān.[521] He sent

518. *Kāna . . . atā al-Rayy fī fatḥ Allāh 'alā al-Ḥajjāj.*

519. That is, he declined to supply troops for the fight against his brother. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 436.

520. *Fa-khashiya an yamkura bihi in yamtani' minhu.* Some MSS read *wa-yamtani' minhu* ("that he would play him false and elude him"), as was perhaps also read by Ibn al-Athīr, who paraphrases (*Kāmil*, IV, 436), "(al-Ḥajjāj) pretended to accept his excuse; he wanted to dismiss him but was afraid that he would elude him."

521. On the Banū 'Ijl, one of the Bakr b. Wā'il tribes and thus part of the Rabī'ah confederation, see *EI²*, s. v. 'Idjl.

Qays b. Sa'd a letter of appointment over Hamadhān and an order
[995] saying, "Put Ḥamzah b. al-Mughīrah in irons and keep him imprisoned there until further orders from me." When Qays received the letter and the order, he set out with a large number of his kinsmen. He entered the mosque just as the afternoon prayer was beginning and performed the prayer with Ḥamzah. When Ḥamzah went out, Qays b. Sa'd al-'Ijlī, the chief of his security force, went out with him, gave him al-Ḥajjāj's letter to read, and showed him the letter of appointment. Ḥamzah said, "Heed and obey." Qays put him in irons and held him in prison, and took over the governorship of Hamadhān. He sent out his officials over the district, choosing them all from his own people, and wrote to al-Ḥajjāj as follows: "I hereby inform the amīr—may God cause him to prosper!—that I have put Ḥamzah b. al-Mughīrah in irons and thrown him in prison. I have sent out my officials over the land revenue and have already begun to collect it.[522] Perhaps the amīr—may God prolong his life!—may give me permission to go out against Muṭarrif and strive against him with my people and those of my land who obey me; for I hope for a greater reward for jihād than for collecting the land revenue. Peace."

When al-Ḥajjāj read this letter, he laughed and said, "Here is the quarter where we are secure should all else fail!" Ḥamzah's position in Hamadhān had been the worst worry God could create for al-Ḥajjāj, who feared that he would support his brother with money or arms, or even, for all he knew, take it into his head to rebel himself. This is why he continued to scheme against him until he was able to dismiss him; once he felt secure there, he could go after Muṭarrif.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Muṭarrif b. 'Āmir b. Wāthilah:[523] When al-Ḥajjāj read the letter of Qays b. Sa'd al-'Ijlī and his statement that "if the amīr would like, I will march out and strive

522. *Ba'athtu 'ummālī 'alā al-kharāj wa-waḍa'tu yadī fī al-jibāyah.*

523. His father, Abū al-Ṭufayl 'Āmir b. Wāthilah al-Kinānī, was a famous horseman and poet who had borne 'Alī's standard and supported al-Mukhtār; he was reputedly the last Companion to die, in 100 [718]. See Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 412; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, IV, 26. Muṭarrif's brother al-Ṭufayl is mentioned below with the forces of al-Barā'.

against him with my people," he said, "How I hate to see the Arabs increasing in number in the *kharāj* land!"[524]

According to Ibn al-Ghariq:[525] The minute I heard this from al- [996]
Ḥajjāj, I realized that if he were free to do so, he would have dismissed him.

According to al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to 'Adī b. Wattād al-Iyādī, the governor of al-Rayy, ordering him to march out against Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah, joining forces first with al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah; when they met, 'Adī was to have command of the men.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father[526]—'Abdallāh b. Zuhayr[527]—'Abdallāh b. Sulaym al-Azdī:[528] I was sitting with 'Adī b. Wattād in his council in al-Rayy when al-Ḥajjāj's letter arrived. He read it, then gave it to me, and I read it. It said: "When you read this letter, take three quarters of the men of al-Rayy there with you and advance to meet al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah in Jay,[529] then proceed on together. When you meet, you will be in command of the men until God kills Muṭarrif. Once God has rid the believers of him, return to your regular position, under God's protection, security, and shelter." When I had read it, 'Adī said to me, "Go and prepare for war."

'Adī went out to muster the troops, summoning the secretaries, who called up[530] three quarters of the men. It was less than a week before we set out. We came to Jay, where we were met by Qabīṣah al-Quḥāfī[531] with nine[532] hundred Syrians, including

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524. That is, land from whose non-Muslim (and non-Arab) owners the traditional land tax was collected; al-Ḥajjāj's policy was to preserve a strict segregation between a non-Arab taxpaying peasantry and an urban and military Arab aristocracy.

525. Presumably the 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ghariq mentioned above (II, 922, 945) as al-Ḥajjāj's messenger to the approaching Syrians.

526. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd; see U. Sezgin, *Abū Mihnaf*, 224.

527. Probably a cousin of Abū Mikhnaf's grandfather, according to U. Sezgin, *Abū Mihnaf*, 225.

528. An uncle of Abū Mikhnaf's grandfather, and probably of 'Abdallāh b. Zuhayr, according to U. Sezgin, *Abū Mihnaf*, 225.

529. One of the twin cities comprising Iṣfahān; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 203ff.

530. *Ḍarabū al-ba'th 'alā.*

531. Last seen (II, 988) accompanying Muṭarrif. Is this a slip for al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah?

532. Perhaps to be emended to "seven" to match the number a few lines below (or vice versa).

'Umar b. Hubayrah. We remained at Jay only two days before 'Adī b. Wattād set out with all the forces under his command. He had three thousand fighters from the men of al-Rayy; a thousand fighters with al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah, sent to him by al-Ḥajjāj from al-
[997] Kūfah; seven hundred Syrians; and some thousand men from the people of Iṣfahān and the Kurds. Altogether, they were nearly six thousand fighters. 'Adī advanced until he came up against Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ and[533] 'Abdallāh b. 'Alqamah: When Muṭarrif heard that they were marching against him, he had a trench dug around his forces; and they remained inside it until the government forces arrived.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Yazīd, the client of 'Abdallāh b. Zuhayr: I was with my master at that time. 'Adī b. Wattād went out and put the men in battle array. He put 'Abdallāh b. Zuhayr over his right wing, then sent word to[534] al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah to stand with the left. But al-Barā' was angry and said, "You order me to stand with the left, when I am a governor[535] like you! Those are my cavalry in the left, and I have put over them the horseman of Muḍar, al-Ṭufayl b. 'Āmir b. Wāthilah."[536] This reply was conveyed to 'Adī b. Wattād, and he said to Ibn Uqayṣir al-Khath'amī, "You go out and take command of the cavalry. Go to al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah and tell him, 'You have been commanded to obey me. You have nothing to do with right and left and cavalry and infantry. Your duty is to obey your orders. Do not cross me in anything and lose my good will.'" Until then, he had treated him with full respect.

Then 'Adī put 'Umar b. Hubayrah over his left, sending with him a hundred Syrians; he went and took his position, with his standard. One of his men said to al-Ṭufayl b. 'Āmir, "Take down your standard and go away; this position is ours." Al-Ṭufayl replied, "I will not quarrel with you. This standard was committed
[998] to me by al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah, and he is our commander. But we know that your man is in command of the assembled forces, and

533. Reading *wa-* for *'an*.
534. *Qāla li-*, "told," but apparently through a messenger; see below.
535. *Amīr*, also translated "commander" below.
536. See note 523 above, and Ziriklī, *A'lām*, III, 329.

if this has been committed to your master, then, may God bless him, we heed and obey immediately." Then 'Umar b. Hubayrah said to his men, "Take it easy! Desist from your brother and cousin!" and to al-Ṭufayl, "Our standard is yours, and if you wish, we will gladly surrender it to you." We have never seen two men as coolheaded as those two in that situation.

Then 'Adī b. Wattād dismounted and moved his forces against Muṭarrif.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ and 'Abdallāh b. 'Alqamah: Muṭarrif put al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah in charge of his right wing, al-Rabī' b. Yazīd al-Asadī in charge of his left wing, and Sulaymān b. Ṣakhr al-Muzanī in charge of his rearguard. He himself dismounted and walked with the infantry. His standard was with Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, the client of his father al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah.

As the two armies advanced and drew near each other, Muṭarrif said to Bukayr b. Hārūn al-Bajalī, "Go out to them and summon them to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet and reproach them for their wicked deeds." Bukayr b. Hārūn went out to them on a black horse with a blaze and a fine tail, wearing a cuirass, a leather helmet, and armlets, and with a spear in his hand; he had fastened his cuirass with a red sash made from the fringes of woolen robes.[537] He called out in his loud, high voice: "Men of our *qiblah*,[538] men of our religion, men of our confession![539] We beseech you by God, than Whom there is no other god, Whose knowledge of what you hide is as His knowledge of what you display, to be fair and honest with us, to speak out of commitment to God, not to His creatures, and to be witnesses for God against His servants of what God knows of His servants. Tell me about 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf: do you [999] not recognize them as tyrants and despots, who follow their own vain opinions, seizing people on idle suspicions and killing them out of simple anger?"

The men called out from every side, "Enemy of God! You lie! It

537. *'Iṣābah min ḥawāshī al-burūd.* See Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes,* 59–64, 300–5.

538. The direction of prayer for Muslims, toward Mecca; see *EI²*, s. v. ḳibla.

539. *Da'wah.*

is not so!" He said to them, "'Woe to you! Do not forge a lie against God, lest He destroy you by some punishment; he who forges a lie fails.'[540] Woe to you! Will you teach God what He does not know?[541] We have called on you to testify, and God has said about testimony, 'He who hides it is sinful of heart.'"[542] Then Ṣārim, the client of 'Adī b. Wattād and his standard-bearer, went out against him. He charged at Bukayr b. Hārūn al-Bajalī, and they fought with their swords. 'Adī's client's blow had no effect; then Bukayr struck him with his sword and killed him. Then he went forward and said, "Horseman to horseman!" but no one would come out to meet him. He recited:

Ṣārim, you have encountered a cutting (*ṣārim*) sword,
And a powerful maned lion.

Then al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah, who was in the right, attacked 'Umar b. Hubayrah, who was in the left. With 'Umar in the left was also al-Ṭufayl b. 'Āmir b. Wāthilah, and al-Ḥajjāj encountered him. They were close friends, and recognized each other just as each was raising his sword against the other, and held back.

The two wings fought for a long time before 'Adī b. Wattād's left gave a little ground, and al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah moved to occupy the space. Then al-Rabī' b. Yazīd attacked 'Abdallāh b. Zuhayr, and they also fought long, until the men made a concerted attack on al-Asadī and killed him; and Muṭarrif b. al-Mughīrah's left was [1000] driven back as far as his own position. Then 'Umar b. Hubayrah attacked al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah and his forces and fought long with him. The latter finally decided to desist and went to join Muṭarrif. Ibn Uqayṣir al-Khath'amī charged with the cavalry against Sulaymān b. Ṣakhr al-Muzanī, who was killed, and his cavalry driven back as far as Muṭarrif. This cavalry battle was the fiercest fighting the men had ever seen, but Ibn Uqayṣir finally reached Muṭarrif.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: On that day Muṭarrif kept calling out to them, saying, "'People of the Book! Come to a word we may acknowledge equally: that we serve no

540. Qur'ān 20:61.
541. An echo of Qur'ān 49:16.
542: Qur'ān 2:283.

one but God, and associate nothing as partner to him, and we do not take one another as lords apart from him. If they turn their backs, say: We testify that we are Muslims.' "[543] He continued to fight until he was killed. 'Umar b. Hubayrah cut off his head; it is said that it was he who killed him; although more than one had rushed at him, it was Ibn Hubayrah who cut off his head. 'Adī b. Wattād dispatched him with the head, and this meant advancement for him.[544] 'Umar b. Hubayrah fought bravely and well that day.

According to Abū Mikhnaf: Ḥakīm b. Abī Sufyān al-Azdī said he killed Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, the client of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah, who was Muṭarrif's standard-bearer.

They reached Muṭarrif's camp, which Muṭarrif had entrusted to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Afīf al-Azdī. He was killed; he was a good, temperate, abstemious man.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Zayd, their client:[545] I saw his head with Ibn Uqayṣir al-Khath'amī and was unable to restrain myself from saying to him, "By God, you have killed a man who prayed and worshipped and thought much on God." He came [1001] toward me and asked who I was, and my master said to him, "This is my attendant. What is the matter?" Ibn Uqayṣir told him what I had said, and he said, "He is mentally deficient."

Then we went off to al-Rayy with 'Adī b. Wattād. He sent some of the valiant men to al-Ḥajjāj, and he welcomed and honored them. When he returned to al-Rayy, the Bajīlah came to 'Adī b. Wattād and asked for safe-conduct for Bukayr b. Hārūn, and he granted it. Then the Thaqīf asked for safe-conduct for Suwayd b. Sirḥān al-Thaqafī, and he granted it. Then the kin of every man who had been with Muṭarrif asked for and were granted safe-conduct for him, which was a good deed on his part. Some of Muṭarrif's men had been surrounded in Muṭarrif's camp; they called out, "Barā'! Get safe-conduct for us! Barā'! Intercede for us!" He interceded for them, and they were released. 'Adī took many prisoners, and then he let them go.

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543. Qur'ān 3:64.

544. *Awfadahu bihi 'Adī b. Wattād wa-ḥaẓiya bihi*, presumably meaning that he took the head to al-Ḥajjāj, who was well pleased. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 436.

545. I.e., of the Azd.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ: He[546] set out and came to Suwayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān at Ḥulwān, and was welcomed and honored by him; then he went on to al-Kūfah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlqamah: Al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah al-Khathʿamī came to al-Rayy, where he had formerly been stationed, and appeal was made to ʿAdī on his behalf. But ʿAdī said, "This is a notorious man, who won notoriety along with his companion; and here is a letter from al-Ḥajjāj to me about him."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—his father—ʿAbdallāh b. Zuhayr: I was among those who spoke to ʿAdī on al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah's behalf. He took out and showed us this letter from al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf: "If God has killed al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah, good riddance! That is what I hope and desire. If he yet lives, seek him out from there, [1002] put him in chains, and send him directly to me, God willing. Peace." ʿAdī said to us, "I have received specific orders about him, which I have no choice but to heed and obey. If I had not had these specific orders, I would have granted him safe-conduct for you and held back from him, not seeking him out." We then departed from him.

Al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah remained in fear until ʿAdī b. Wattād was dismissed, and Khālid b. ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ came in his place. I went to him and spoke to him on al-Ḥajjāj's behalf, and he granted him safe-conduct.

Verses by Ḥabīb b. Khidrah, a client of the Banū Hilāl b. ʿĀmir:[547]

Has Fāʾid ever heard of our speeding away[548]
for fear of the sharp swords of an enemy,

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546. It is not clear who is meant here, although al-Barāʾ seems the most likely. Already in the previous paragraph several pronouns are ambiguous, and the state of the text seems questionable.

547. Mentioned with Shabīb at al-Kūfah; see text above, II, 968, and note 455. Ṭabarī's placing these verses here, as a sort of coda to his account of Shabīb's revolt, implicitly includes Muṭarrif's rebellion as part of that movement. For a review of opinions on whether Muṭarrif was a "Khārijite," see Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 194.

548. *Hal atā Fāʾida ʿan īsādinā*, adopting a reading suggested by the editors for text *aysārinā*.

When fear came upon us from a quarter we thought secure,
and we rode through the dark to another land?
Ask Hadyah whether she has ever seen
men of nobler character than us.
Ask her whether they remain amicable with us,
or are determined to hate us.
Many a sweetheart have I had before her,
with whom I cut the knot, and let her go.
We have experienced life at its calmest,
and we have experienced life at its most turbulent.
I have experienced Time—a Time of which
I am eager for one part and shun another.
I have seen the horses packed closely together,
only their eyes distinguishable,
Their riders passing, one to another, on the points of the spears,
a cup overflowing with the black blood of death.
It is the charge of the horsemen that delights me,
while diversion merely robs me of my delight
In the advancing helmets, as the horsemen leave
creases from their Indian swords in them.[549]
Many a morning of battle has there been that suited me [1003]
perfectly,
Just like an old waterskin and its cover.[550]

According to Abū Ja'far: In this year, dissension arose among the Azraqites who followed Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'ah.[551] Some of them dissented from him and withdrew from him, and gave allegiance to 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr, while others maintained their allegiance to Qaṭarī.[552]

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549. *Bi-mushīḥi l-bayḍi ḥattā yatrukū/ li-suyūfi l-Hindi fīhā ṭuraqā.*

550. Or: Just like Shann and Ṭabaqa(h). For the proverb and its interpretations, see Maydānī, *Amthāl*, II, 284f.

551. See text above, II, 944 and note 382, and *EI²*, s. v. Ḳaṭarī.

552. Ṭabarī makes no mention of an 'Abd Rabb al-Ṣaghīr (the Younger, as opposed to al-Kabīr, the Greater or Elder), but other sources do. Both men are involved in the schism in the accounts in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (*Futūḥ*, VII, 55ff.) and Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, II, 329ff.). Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 678, 685ff.) has only 'Abd Rabb al-Ṣaghīr, whom he calls a client of the Banū Qays b. Tha'labah (of Bakr); Ibn Khayyāṭ (*Ta'rīkh*, 275) gives the same tribal affiliation for his 'Abd Rabb (unqualified). Like Ibn Khayyāṭ, Dīnawarī (*al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 286–88) mentions only one 'Abd

Account of the Dissension among the Azraqites and the Reason for Its Breaking Out, until They Came to Ruin

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Yūsuf b. Yazīd: Al-Muhallab remained in Sābūr fighting Qaṭarī and his Azraqite supporters for about a year after al-Ḥajjāj recalled 'Attāb b. Warqā' from his army.[553] Then he attacked them on the day of the Orchard,[554] fighting them fiercely. Kirmān was then in the hands of the Khārijites, and Fārs in the hands of al-Muhallab. The Khārijite forces found themselves straitened in the position they occupied, with no supplies coming to them from Fārs and themselves far from home; so they withdrew to Kirmān. Al-Muhallab came after them, halting at Jīruft—Jīruft is the capital of Kirmān.[555] He fought fiercely with them there for more than a year, keeping them out of Fārs altogether. Once all of Fārs was in the hands of al-Muhallab, al-Ḥajjāj sent out his officials to administer it, taking it over from al-Muhallab. Word of this reached 'Abd al-Malik,
[1004] and he wrote as follows to al-Ḥajjāj: "Leave the land revenue of the mountains of Fārs in the hands of al-Muhallab; for it is imperative that the army be strong and the commander of the army adequately supported. Let him have the district of Fasā and Darābjird and the district of Iṣṭakhr."[556]

Al-Ḥajjāj left these to al-Muhallab, who sent out his officials to administer them; they served to give him strength against the

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Rabb. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, IV, 437ff.) combines the accounts of Ṭabarī and Mubarrad, but refers to the single rebel leader throughout as 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr.

553. See text above, II, 877f., 944.

554. *Yawm al-bustān*. Other independent published sources do not mention this battle under this name. Perhaps it is the same as the battle at Shi'b Bawwān, mentioned by Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (*Futūḥ*, VII, 34) and probably referred to in the verses by Ka'b al-Ashqarī quoted below (II, 1012, and see note 575). Shi'b Bawwān, fifty miles northwest of Shīrāz, was considered one of the world's beauty spots; see Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif* (Cairo, 1960), 157; Le Strange, *Lands*, 260.

555. Jīruft was some fifty miles southwest of Bam; see *EI²*, s. v. Djīruft.

556. For these three cities (and here two districts) of central Fārs, see *EI²*, s. vv. Fasā, Darābdjird, Iṣṭakhr.

enemy and his interests. In this regard, the poet of Azd has this to say, reproaching al-Muhallab:

We fight to defend the palaces of Darābjird
and collect taxes for al-Mughīrah and al-Ruqād.

Al-Ruqād b. Ziyād b. Hammām was a man of the 'Atīk, held in high esteem by al-Muhallab.[557]

Al-Ḥajjāj sent al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah to al-Muhallab,[558] and wrote to him as follows: "By God, it seems to me that if you really wished to, you could have exterminated these renegade Khārijites by now; but you like their continuing presence, so you may consume the land around you. I have sent you al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah to rouse you to attack them; attack them, then, when he comes to you, with all the Muslims, and wage the fiercest jihād against them. Let me hear no excuses or petty lies, or other such things that, coming from you, are distasteful and unacceptable to me. Peace."

Al-Muhallab sent out his sons, each with a cavalry detachment, and his troops according to their standards, ranks, and fifths.[559]
[1005] Al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah came and was positioned by al-Muhallab on a hill near the troops, where he could see them. The detachments attacked the enemy detachments, and the infantry the infantry;

557. Al-Muhallab himself belonged to al-'Atīk b. al-Asd of the Azd 'Umān; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 203, II, 421. The al-Mughīrah mentioned in the verses is al-Muhallab's son. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 560, cites the verse and names its author as Abū al-Bahā' al-Iyādī (of Azd; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 220). Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 684), in an account explicitly accusing al-Mughīrah and al-Ruqād of not passing the collected revenue on to the troops, quotes four other verses with the same meter and rhyme, and presumably from the same poem. See also Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 98f.; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 180.

558. This was presumably before al-Barā''s appointment as governor of Iṣfahān, but Ṭabarī gives no precise synchronisms. Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 671f., recounts the following incident before 'Attāb's arrival as co-commander.

559. *'Alā rāyātihim wa-maṣāffihim wa-akhmāsihim*. The first two terms probably refer to the cavalry and infantry respectively, while the "fifths" are those into which the Baṣran army was divided; see text above, II, 720, and Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 250.

they fought as hard as the men ever had from the morning prayer to midday, then withdrew. Al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah came to al-Muhallab and said to him, "No, by God! Never have I seen horsemen like your sons, or Arab horsemen like your horsemen! Nor have I ever seen the like of these people who fight you, of such stamina and valor! By God, you have a good excuse!" Al-Muhallab withdrew with the men until afternoon prayer, then took them out again, with his sons over the cavalry detachments, and they fought as they had in the morning.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mughallis al-Kinānī—his paternal uncle Abū Ṭalḥah: One of their detachments went against one of our detachments, and the battle between them grew fierce, neither side giving way to the other. They fought on until nightfall separated them. Then one side asked the other, "From what people are you?" They answered, "We are from the Banū Tamīm." Those on the other side then said, "We too are from the Banū Tamīm." They withdrew in the evening.

Al-Muhallab asked al-Barā', "What did you see?" He replied, "I saw a people, by God, against whom no help will avail you but God's!" Al-Muhallab rewarded al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah with generous treatment, giving him a mount and fine garments, and ordering ten thousand dirhams paid out to him. Al-Barā' then departed and returned to al-Ḥajjāj, conveying to him al-Muhallab's excuse and informing him of what he had seen. Al-Muhallab himself also wrote to al-Ḥajjāj as follows: "I have received the letter of the
[1006] amīr—may God cause him to prosper!—with his accusations against me concerning these renegade Khārijites. The amīr ordered me to attack them and let his messenger observe, and I have done so. Let him ask him about what he observed. As for me, by God, if I were able to exterminate them and eliminate them from this land, and desisted from doing so, I would be cheating the Muslims, betraying the Commander of the Faithful, and showing myself untrue to the amīr—may God cause him to prosper. God forbid that this should be my attitude and my way of serving God! Peace."[560]

560. Both Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 667–77, 681f., 688f.) and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (*Futūḥ*,

Al-Muhallab continued to fight them there for eighteen months. He neither made a dent in them nor himself suffered, with the men of Iraq who were with him, an attack in any battle with sword and spear that would drive them off and cause them to desist. Then one of the rebels, a man from the Banū Ḍabbah named al-Muqa'ṭar, who was an official for Qaṭarī over one of the regions of Kirmān, set out with a detachment of them and killed a man who had been a valiant warrior for the Khārijites and entered into clientage with them. When al-Muqa'ṭar killed him, the Khārijites ran to Qaṭarī and told him, saying, "Permit us to kill the Ḍabbī as vengeance for our comrade." But he replied, "That is not my decision. A man interprets and errs in his interpretation:[561] it is not my judgment that you should kill him. He is, besides, one of the best and most preeminent among you." They said, "Yes, we should kill him!" He said, "No!" Thus conflict arose among them, and they gave authority to 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr, repudiating Qaṭarī; but a band of them maintained their allegiance to Qaṭarī, perhaps a quarter or fifth of the whole. Qaṭarī fought these new opponents for nearly a month, morning and evening. [1007]

Al-Muhallab wrote as follows to al-Ḥajjāj to inform him of this: "God has cast the fierceness of the Khārijites in their own midst. Most of them have repudiated Qaṭarī and rendered allegiance to 'Abd Rabb, while a band of them have remained with Qaṭarī. They now battle one another mornings and evenings, and I have hope that this may be the cause of their ruin, God willing. Peace."

Al-Ḥajjāj responded as follows: "I have received your letter in which you mention the internal conflict among the Khārijites. When this letter of mine reaches you, take the field against them, while they are in conflict and divided, before they can reunite and become a more formidable foe to you. Peace."

VII, 17–23) stress al-Ḥajjāj's persistent harassment of al-Muhallab. In Mubarrad, al-Barā' is the first of a series of envoys sent out to the latter, while Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī lacks al-Barā' but mentions two of Mubarrad's other envoys, as well as a third not reported elsewhere. (Although frequently divergent from other versions, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī's account is in general the fullest we have for al-Muhallab's campaigns against the Azraqites.) See also Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 95–97; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 179f.

561. *Ta'awwala fa-akhṭa'a fī al-ta'wīl*. The official was apparently carrying out judicial as well as fiscal responsibilities.

Al-Muhallab replied as follows: "I have received the amīr's letter and understood everything in it. I do not believe I should fight them now, when they are killing one another and reducing each other's numbers. If they keep at this, we will have what we want and they will perish; if they do reunite, they will be doing so only after having exhausted one another; and at that point I will immediately attack them, when they are at their weakest and most vulnerable, God willing. Peace."

Al-Ḥajjāj let him be, and al-Muhallab let them fight among themselves for a month without moving against them. Then Qaṭarī departed with his remaining followers for Ṭabaristān, while most of them rendered allegiance to 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr. Al-Muhallab attacked the latter, and they put up a good fight; but then God killed them, only a few of them surviving. Their camp and what was in it were seized, and the survivors taken captive, because they had been taking Muslims captive.[562]

Ka'b al-Ashqarī—al-Ashqar is a clan of Azd—recited these verses on the battle day of Rāmhurmuz and the days of Sābūr and the days of Jīruft:[563]

562. The word used here, *saby*, refers to taking captives, usually noncombatants, after a battle, to be sold into slavery, as opposed to *asr*, taking captives on the battlefield, who were often killed; see Fries, *Heereswesen*, 90. Both measures should apply only to non-Muslims; but the Khārijites considered non-Khārijites non-Muslims, which is the point here.

Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 677–79, 684–96) gives a much more detailed account of the schism among the Azraqites, referring to seven separate incidents that created tensions before the final split over Qaṭarī's refusal to remove the unpopular al-Muqa'ṭar al-'Abdī (of 'Abd al-Qays, not Ḍabbah), and labeling the struggle one between *mawālī* and Persians (under 'Abd Rabb al-Ṣaghīr) and Arabs (under Qaṭarī). Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (*Futūḥ*, VII, 55–69) makes the split a three-way one, with separate parties under Qaṭarī, 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr, and 'Abd Rabb al-Ṣaghīr, but gives no indication of the origin of the dispute; his very detailed account of the ensuing four-way struggle has al-Muhallab defeating the temporarily reallied forces of Qaṭarī and al-Ṣaghīr, the latter dying in battle and the former fleeing to al-Rayy, then taking the city of Jīruft from al-Kabīr, whose forces were scattered. Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 286–88, is hopelessly muddled; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, 329f., and Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 275, give only brief summaries; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 437–39, combines information found in Ṭabarī and in Mubarrad. See also Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 99–103; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 180f.

563. On the poet Abū Mālik Ka'b b. Ma'dān (d. c. 95 [714]), see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 377f., and *Aghānī*[1], X, 54–61; on al-Ashqar (Sa'd b. 'Ā'idh) of Azd, see Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, I, 212, II, 492. According to Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 694), Ka'b was one of two envoys sent by al-Muhallab to al-Ḥajjāj to announce the victory and

Ḥafṣ! Traveling has taken me far from you, [1008]
and I have been sleepless, my eyes sore from wakeful nights.
Despite your gray hairs, Ka'b, you have been hooked by a girl;
gray hairs usually keep idle fancies at bay.
Do you still retain the commitment she made,
or, now that she is far away, is the tie severed?
I have been hooked by a girl who lives at the top of al-Ṭaff,[564]
in an upper chamber, beyond many doors and rooms,
Fleshy in the shoulders, and so full in the hips
that when she gets up to walk away, they almost stay behind.
I have left behind, on the banks of the two Zābīs,[565]
a home of hers where nomad and settled alike find good fortune;
And I have chosen an abode with a clan that pleases me,
among whom there are still select men if you choose them.[566]
When my land became disagreeable to me, I set out to seek favors
(and he who seeks good is full of desire and expectation)
From Abū Sa'īd[567]—for I came seeking favors, [1009]
hoping for your generosity, when I was touched by want.
Had it not been for al-Muhallab, we would never have visited their land,
so long as trees and water remain on the earth;
But there is no clan I know of among the people
among whom there is no visible sign of your beneficence.

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recited this ode before the latter; the *Aghānī* has the same account and quotes seventeen lines from the poem. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (*Futūḥ*, VII, 69) gives only one line of the poem in his account of al-Muhallab's occupation of Jīruft after the defeat and death of 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr.

564. The transition zone between the southern Euphrates valley and the desert to the west; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 539f.; Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, 198–200.

565. Probably a district south of al-Madā'in, named for the Zābī canal or canals, rather than the two Zāb or Zābī Rivers of northern Iraq; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 905f. Qudāmah, *Kharāj* (*BGA*, VI), 236, and other geographers refer to the former in the plural as al-Zawābī, with upper, middle, and lower subdistricts.

566. *Mā zāla fīhim li-man nakhtāruhum khiyaru* (in some MSS *yakhtāruhum*).

567. Al-Muhallab.

You have revived them with your munificent gifts
just as the land revives when touched by rain.
If I should fall into indigence, I would hope
to find it forestalled by favor from God through your hands.
Restore a brother whose strength has been sapped by poverty,
and perhaps the strength sapped from his bones will be restored.
My relations shun me, and my expectations have betrayed me;
God bless me, what can I do on my own?
You who have bestowed a slave girl with a face radiant in beauty
like the sun, fine of figure, with languor in her glance—
From you continue to come forth full moons of evening,
as well as others with blazes from your munificence gleaming like the dawn—
You were brought up for glory by kings whose heir you are,
proud-seeming men, yet of gentle character,
[1010] Who took vengeance for their dead, by acts they recount with glory,
at a time when no casualty of war was avenged.
When the enemy came upon them, the men resigned themselves,
and were at a loss what to do;
Not one of them would go beyond the gate of the bridge—
war had bitten the men of the garrison, and they had run to hide in their hole.[568]
Fear was brought into the interiors of the houses,
and fell on womanish men, men one would pay no bloodwit for.
But then the war intensified, and we were sorely tested,
and faced with something for which one must tuck up one's robe;
We kept at them without letup,

568. Here begins the poet's account of the Azraqite wars. The next few verses are too allusive to tie closely to the chronology but apparently refer to the period just before al-Muhallab's reappointment to the command directly by 'Abd al-Malik; see text above, II, 855. The bridge here is probably that over the Dujayl at al-Ahwāz; see the account in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VI, 298–309.

and when the danger grew great, the shaykh tucked up his robe.[569]
Before that day, we had belittled the threat they posed,
but then the insignificant became critical.
When we were worn out, and they had occupied our territory,
and the men had been called up repeatedly but not responded,
A call went forth from a man preeminent among his people,[570]
a man in no way unequal to the situation.
He distributed among them what had been there since they took refuge,[571] [1011]
benefits that had been stored up for them.
They dressed themselves in battle gear,
and the next morning had crossed the bridge and were beyond it.
They marched with standards of glory raised high,
above lions steady in the fray.
They had already left al-Ahwāz behind them,
and assembled at Rāmhurmuz when they heard the news—
The death of Bishr. Then the men broke up and scattered,
except for a few who remained, recalled to their sense of duty.[572]
Then there came to us one satisfied with his appointment,
a man of sincere loyalty; and we did not betray him as the others did.[573]
Then we assembled at Sābūr of the Armies,[574] and a fire
that threw sparks was kindled between us and them.
The bold warriors we encountered were mad dogs,
as if it were jinn we were fighting, nothing recognizably human.

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569. *Fa-shammara l-shaykhu lammā a'ẓama l-khaṭaru.* If this is not simply proverbial, it is unclear to whom it refers.

570. *Nādā mru'un lā khilāfa fī 'ashīratihi/ 'anhu.* This is al-Muhallab's reappointment by 'Abd al-Malik.

571. *Afshā hunālika mimmā kāna mudh 'aṣarū/ fīhim (ṣanā'i'a mimmā kāna yuddakharū).*

572. See text above, II, 857–59.

573. Probably a reference to al-Ḥajjāj and the rebellion of Ibn al-Jārūd; see text above, II, 873f.

574. *Sābūr al-junūd,* an epithet also given above, I, 2810, in some MSS, but undocumented by geographical writers.

In furious fighting we exchanged poisonous potions with them,
from nightfall until the break of dawn.
[1012] The dead there had no blood price and no vengeance;
our blood and theirs flowed unrequited.
Finally they began to withdraw before us from the place,
driven back by our lions boldly advancing.
That morning on the hill, among the spears, all their cunning
and all the tricks they could devise availed them nothing—
Our detachments ran on at will
around al-Muhallab, until the moon shone forth.
There the foe turned away, cheerless after their joy,
and put fences and rivers between them and us.
They mustered their forces below the mountains, when they halted
at Kāzarūn, but they neither overcame nor conquered.
They found us earnest fighters, in an encounter
where they thought they would win, but did not,
At Dasht Bārīn, on the day of the pass,[575] when those lions
who roared as they shed human blood were overtaken—
[1013] They encountered detachments that left them no gap to exploit,
disdainful of those who had the misfortune to fight them,
Advancing when challenged by the enemy cavalry,
and attacking again as they exposed their rear.
And at Jubayrayn,[576] when they advance in lines,
they turned back humiliated, having been defeated and routed.
By God, there was not a day they engaged us in combat
that they were not overcome by yet another of our victories,

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575. *Yawm al-shi'b.* Dasht Bārīn was a *rustāq* of the district of Sābūr, whose capital was al-Nawbandajān; see Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik*, 45; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 576. The "day of the pass" probably refers to the battle described by Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (*Futūḥ*, VII, 34) at Shi'b Bawwān, just east of al-Nawbandajān; see Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik*, 43, and note 554 above.

576. Considerable variation in pointing and even ductus in various manuscripts; the reading adopted is from Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik* (*BGA*, I), 105, 136, where this place is mentioned immediately after Dasht Bārīn. See also Ibn Ḥawqal, *Masālik* (*BGA*, II), 204, reading Jīnzīr.

Driven back from every position by our lances,
beset morning and night by our mad dogs.
They prudently retreated, having had enough of our spears,
toward al-Ḥarūb;[577] but their prudence could not save them.
A fair countenance, a generous hand, a man thoughtful,
generous, lacking neither strength nor experience,
Tested in battle, a man who achieves what he sets out to do,
not to be taken lightly, with opinions not to be ignored—
For three years he kept us at it, [1014]
engaged alternately in battle and planning,
Saying, "Tomorrow will come to him who waits for it,[578]
and there are lessons to be learned from the days and the nights;
Leave off running after them, and watch and wait;
a good warrior knows how to be patient,[579]
Until the situation changes, bringing hope of success,
and it becomes clear what he should and should not do."
Then he drove them back to Kirmān, and they broke up,
and their fate was sealed.
We marched against them, moving like a wave, and they came to meet us;
we already had plenty of reasons to hate each other.
Our abhorrence was only the greater when we called to mind our dead,
from whose memory our eyes would never dry.
When we remember al-Jazūr[580] and the dead there
who lay two years unburied,
We feel the pain in our breasts, and spare them nothing, [1015]
just as they spare us nothing if they can.
They allow us no slips in battle,
nor do we ever let their slips go by.

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577. Unidentified, unless this is a corruption of al-Jazūr, mentioned below.

578. *Inna ghadan mubdin li-nāẓirihī;* see Maydānī, *Amthāl,* I, 63f., for the proverb *inna ghadan li-nāẓirihi qarīb.*

579. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ,* VII, 57, cites this line in his account of the initial split between Qaṭarī and the two 'Abd Rabbs.

580. Site of the defeat by Qaṭarī of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam,* II, 66, and text above, II, 821ff.

They will accept no excuse from us but death,
just as no excuse they may offer is acceptable to us.
Two lines of men across the plain, like two mountains,
with flashes of lightning between them that rivet the eye
On a zeal that none will give up,
each side fighting to the recitation of Qur'ānic chapters.
As they advance, they walk in their helmets and cuirasses
like pack animals led in file by small bands of men.
Our chief has a crowd of us around him,
a clan from Azd, steadfast in adversity,
In a battle the very sight of which undoes valiant heroes,
and in which men are cut down at the first engagement.
But we still had men there smiting them
with Mashrafī swords, as the fire of battle blazed;
[1016] No blade one relied on could survive that vortex of death,
except the keenest and most deadly.
We trample them with our swift armored steeds,
with fragments of hardwood spears scattered among us,
Covering dead men and the still-dying wounded,
who look as if they have been sprinkled with saffron.
Dead men for dead men, retaliation taken in kind,
easing the breasts of men who have long awaited its fulfillment,
Lie there next to slaughtered steeds,
their bodies, like the horses, prey for scavengers,
In a battle where the dead on the field
look like palm trunks uprooted[581] by the driving wind.
So it was in previous battles, before this day,
in which the Azd won praise and victory,
In every battle in which the Azd faced a hideous foe,
the terror of whom would turn hair white in an hour.
The Azd, my people, are the best people ever known,
when their chieftains stride forth on the day of battle,
[1017] Citadels of might, where refuge can be sought
on the day war streaming with blood tucks up its robe—
A clan who seek their glory with their swords;
hateful war brings out noble actions quickly.

581. *A'jāzu nakhlin . . . yanqa'iru,* an echo of Qur'ān 54:20.

Had al-Muhallab not been over the army that came
to the rivers of Kirmān, under God, they would never have come back.
We held fast to the cord of God, while they denied
the clear pronouncements of revelation;[582] nor did we disbelieve as they disbelieved.
They strayed from the straight path and from Islam,
and followed a religion opposed to that brought by the Warners.

Verses by al-Ṭufayl b. 'Āmir b. Wāthilah, describing the death of 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr and his comrades and Qaṭarī's wanderings, how they pursued him, and how he eluded them:

At our hands, 'Abd Rabb and his troops have felt the touch of punishment,[583]
and their captives have become part of the booty.
He marched against them with his army, and in Kirmān
he swept them off a level plain of land.
The Qaṭarī of unbelief was then nothing but an ostrich[584]
tracked across the desert, running through the night without sleep.
When he ran from us in flight, he headed down a way
other than the true well-marked path;
Flight will not save him—not even were he to be carried
by an Ark over the still expanse of the sea.

According to Abū Ja'far: In this year, Qaṭarī, 'Abīdah b. Hilāl,[585] [1018]
'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr, and the Azraquites with them were destroyed.

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582. *Al-muḥkamāt*, as opposed to the obscure or ambiguous passages, *al-mutashābihāt*, both terms from Qur'ān 3:7; for various interpretations, see Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān* (Cairo, 1955–60), VI, 169–83.

583. *'Iqāb*. If the next line in the text followed this one in the original poem, perhaps a better reading would be *'uqāb*, "eagle," referring to al-Muhallab.

584. *Na'āmah*. Qaṭarī's *kunyah* in war was Abū Na'āmah; see Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 34f., III, 264. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s. v. qṭr, cites a verse mentioning *na'ā'im qaṭariyyah*, "ostriches from Qaṭar."

585. 'Abīdah b. Hilāl al-Yashkurī, of the Banū Yashkur of Bakr b. Wā'il, known for his oratory and poetry. See text above, II, 515; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 652, 682ff.; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, IV, 357f.

Destruction of the Azraqites

The circumstances of this were as follows: When those Azraqites of whom we have given an account split up because of the internal dissension that arose among them in Kirmān, and some followed 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr while others followed Qaṭarī, the latter, finding his strength much reduced, set out for Ṭabaristān.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Yazīd: When word of this reached al-Ḥajjāj, he sent Sufyān b. al-Abrad with a large army of Syrians in pursuit of Qaṭarī. Advancing first to al-Rayy, Sufyān set out after him. Meanwhile, al-Ḥajjāj wrote to Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, who was in command of an army of Kūfans in Ṭabaristān, ordering him to heed and obey Sufyān. Isḥāq advanced to join Sufyān and accompanied him in pursuit of Qaṭarī until they caught up with him in one of the defiles of Ṭabaristān and engaged him in battle. Qaṭarī's forces were scattered, and he fell off his mount down into the defile and rolled down until he lay prostrate at the bottom.

According to Mu'āwiyah b. Miḥṣan al-Kindī: I saw him fall but did not know who he was. Then I saw fifteen Arab women, all of them as comely and pleasing to the eye as your Lord willed, except for one old woman among them. I charged at them and drove them off toward Sufyān b. al-Abrad; but when I had brought them up close to him, the old woman lunged at me with her [1019] sword and struck my neck with it, cutting through my underhelmet and nicking a piece from my neck. I brandished my sword and struck at her face; the blow broke through her skull and she fell dead. Then I turned to the young women and pushed them back to Sufyān. He laughed about the old woman and said, "What did you kill her for, may God shame her?" I replied, "Did you not see how she struck me, may God cause you to prosper? By God, she almost killed me!" He said, "I did see, and, by God, I do not blame you for what you did, may God curse her."

Then one of the local inhabitants went to Qaṭarī where he had tumbled down the defile. Qaṭarī, who was very thirsty, said, "Bring me some water to drink." The man replied, "Give me something for bringing you drink." Qaṭarī said, "Woe to you! By God, I have nothing with me but my weapon, as you see; I will give it to you if you bring me water." The man replied, "No, give it to me now!" Qaṭarī said, "No, bring me the water first." The

man went around until he reached a point above Qaṭarī, and he sent a large stone rolling down on him from above, which struck him in the hip and prostrated him. This person then cried out to the men, and they came running to him—he did not know at the time that this man was Qaṭarī, although he assumed he must be one of their nobles, from his good appearance and the quality of his weapon. A group of Kūfans ran and got to him first and killed him; in this group were Sawrah b. Abjar al-Tamīmī; Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf; al-Ṣabāḥ b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath; Bādām, a client of the Banū al-Ash'ath; and 'Umar b. Abī al-Ṣalt b. Kanārā, a client of the Banū Naṣr b. Mu'āwiyah,[586] who was one [1020] of the *dihqāns*. All of these claimed to be his killer. Then Abū al-Jahm b. Kinānah al-Kalbī came up to them, and each claimed that it was he who killed Qaṭarī. Abū al-Jahm then said, "Give it[587] up to me until you can settle this among yourselves." They gave it up to Abū al-Jahm, and he took it to Isḥāq b. Muḥammad, who was in command of the Kūfans. Ja'far did not join Isḥāq, because of something that had arisen between them, so that Ja'far was not speaking to Isḥāq, and was with Sufyān b. al-Abrad rather than with him—Ja'far was in command of the quarter of the Medinese in al-Rayy, but when Sufyān met the forces from al-Rayy, he had selected their best horsemen to accompany him and marched them out with him. When, then, the men came to him[588] with Qaṭarī's head, arguing over it, and he saw the head in the possession of Abū al-Jahm b. Kinānah al-Kalbī, he said to him, "You go with it and leave these quarrelers here." Abū al-Jahm set out with Qaṭarī's head and brought it to al-Ḥajjāj; then he took it on to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. He was granted a bonus of two thousand dirhams and given a *fuṭm*—which means to assign to the younger soldiers a place in the military roll.[589]

Ja'far came to Sufyān and said to him, "May God cause you to prosper, Qaṭarī had cut down my father, and this was my only concern in the matter. Bring me together with those who claim

586. The vocalization Kanārā is uncertain. The Banū Naṣr b. Mu'āwiyah were a clan of the Qays 'Aylān; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 446.

587. Qaṭarī's head.

588. Sufyān, according to the paraphrase in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 442.

589. *Fa-ulḥiqa fī alfayn wa-u'ṭiya fuṭman ya'nī annahu yufraḍa lil-ṣighār fī al-dīwān*. See Ṭabarī, glossarium, s. v. fuṭm, and note 168 above.

that they killed him, and ask them whether I was not ahead of them and got to him before them and struck him a blow that felled him, after which they came up to me and began to strike him with their swords. If they confirm this account of mine, they will be telling the truth; if they deny it, I swear by God that I am the one who did it; and if I did not, then let them swear by God that it is they who killed him and that they know nothing of what I say and that I have no claim to him." Sufyān replied, "You come to me now, after we have sent off the head!" When he had gone away, he said to his comrades, "By God, you[590] have the best claim among the men to him."

Then Sufyān b. al-Abrad set off for the camp of 'Abīdah b. Hilāl,
[1021] who had fortified himself in a castle in Qūmis,[591] besieged him, and fought him for some days. Then Sufyān b. al-Abrad marched out with us against them, surrounded them, and ordered his herald to proclaim to them, "Any man who kills his master and then comes out to us will be granted safe-conduct." To this 'Abīdah b. Hilāl said:[592]

By my life! The deaf one[593] has given the doubter a speech
that fills our breasts with outrage!
By my life! If I were to give Sufyān my allegiance,
and forsake my religion, I would indeed be a fool!
I raise my complaint to God for the state in which you see our horses,
emaciated and stumbling, their marrow almost exhausted,
Beset by slingers from all sides,
in Qūmis, until the most spirited are beaten down.
If this siege is now their end,
yet many a dead man has lain at their feet, soaked in his own blood.

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590. Singular, probably referring to Ja'far; the speaker is probably Sufyān.

591. A province southeast of Ṭabaristān and west of Khurāsān; see *EI²*, s. v. Ḳūmis; Le Strange, *Lands*, 264–68. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 62, V, 65, quotes a verse (also in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 83) identifying the castle as Sadhawwar.

592. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 82–83, gives a partly overlapping selection of verses from the same poem, with many variants. For other citations, see 'Abbās, *Shi'r al-Khawārij*, 52f., 166.

593. *Al-Aṣamm*, Sufyān's sobriquet, probably meaning "undeterrable"; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 515; Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. aṣamm.

These were formerly steeds that, if led out on sore hooves,
would neigh at the doors of the tents.[594]

Sufyān maintained his siege of them until they were reduced to misery and ate their riding animals; then they came out and fought him, and he killed them and sent their heads to al-Ḥajjāj. He then proceeded on to Dunbāwand[595] and Ṭabaristān, and remained there until al-Ḥajjāj dismissed him, before the battle of al-Jamājim.[596]

According to Abū Ja'far: In this year, Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd killed Bukayr b. Wishāḥ al-Sa'dī. [1022]

Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh Kills Bukayr b. Wishāḥ in Khurāsān

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad[597]—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad: Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh, 'Abd al-Malik's governor over Khurāsān, put Bukayr in charge of the campaign in Transoxania. He had earlier put him in charge of Tukhāristān, and Bukayr had made his preparations for setting out for it and spent a great deal of money; but then Baḥīr b. Warqā' al-Ṣuraymī slandered him to Umayyah, as I have already recounted, and Umayyah ordered him to remain where he was.[598] Now, when he put him in charge of the campaign in Transoxania, he again made his preparations,

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594. *Wa-qad kunna mimmā in yuqadna 'alā l-wajā/ lahunna bi-abwābi l-qibābi ṣahīlū.*

595. Modern Damāwand, the highest peak in the Elburz, south and west of Ṭabaristān; see *EI²*, s. v. Damāwand.

596. On the final defeats of Qaṭarī and 'Abīdah, see Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 275 (Qaṭarī only, killed by Sawrah and Bādhān, year 78 [697–698]); Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, III, 264 (Qaṭarī killed by Sawrah); Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 289 (Sufyān takes Qaṭarī's head to al-Ḥajjāj). Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 329f., asserts that Qaṭarī was received hospitably by the *ispahbadh* of Ṭabaristān until he demanded that the latter convert to Islam; the *ispahbadh* then fetched the governor of al-Rayy, Sufyān b. al-Abrad, and defeated and killed Qaṭarī, in the year 79 (698–699). According to Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 79–84, Qaṭarī was killed by Bādhām after being pinned by his fallen horse; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī adds an account of a parley at the siege in Qūmis, in which 'Abīdah offered Sufyān's men the choice of Qur'ānic recitation or his own poetry but then reproached them for requesting the latter. See also Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 105f.; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 182.

597. Al-Madā'inī.

598. See text above, II, 859–62.

spending a great deal of money on horses and weapons, and going into debt with the Soghdians and their merchants. But Baḥīr said to Umayyah, "Once the river is between him and you and he encounters the kings there, he will cast off allegiance to the caliph and summon to his own authority." Umayyah then sent to Bukayr, saying, "Stay where you are; perhaps I will go on campaign myself, and you will accompany me." Bukayr was angry and said, "He seems to be doing me a deliberate injury." 'Attāb al-Liqwah al-Ghudānī[599] had gone into debt in order to accompany
[1023] Bukayr, and when he did not go, his creditors took him and had him put in prison; Bukayr paid off his debts and he was released. Then Umayyah made up his mind to go on campaign.

He ordered preparations made for a campaign against Bukhārā, to be followed by a march against Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim in al-Tirmidh.[600] The men made preparations and readied themselves. Umayyah left his son Ziyād as his deputy over Khurāsān, and Bukayr marched out with him. He camped at Kushmāhan,[601] and remained there a few days; then he ordered the army to move on. Then Baḥīr said to him, "I am afraid the men may lag behind; tell Bukayr to ride in the rear guard and keep the men together."

Umayyah gave Bukayr this order, and he took charge of the rear guard until they reached the river. Then Umayyah said, "Cross, Bukayr!" But 'Attāb al-Liqwah al-Ghudānī said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper, you cross, then let the troops cross after you." Umayyah crossed, and then the troops crossed. Then Umayyah said to Bukayr, "I am afraid my son will not be able to carry out his duties properly; he is, after all, little more than a boy. Return to Marw and see to its affairs for me; I put you in charge of it. Help my son in this way and see to his affairs." Bukayr selected horsemen from the cavalry of Khurāsān, men he knew and trusted, and

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599. In Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, IV, 444), 'Uqāb ("eagle") Dhū al-Liqwah ("the one of the swift eagle"); perhaps a better reading would be "al-Luqwah," "palsy of the mouth." Ghudānah b. Yarbū' was a clan of Tamīm; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat annasab*, I, 59, 71, II, 275.

600. Mūsā's band had taken al-Tirmidh, after various adventures in Transoxania, and held it since before the death of Mūsā's father; see text below, II, 1145–49. On al-Tirmidh, on the Oxus some two hundred miles southeast of Bukhārā, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 440f.

601. The first stage northeast of Marw, at the edge of the cultivation on the Bukhārā road; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 400.

crossed back over. Umayyah went on to Bukhārā, with Abū Khālid Thābit, a client of Khuzā'ah, over his vanguard. As Bukayr crossed back, after Umayyah had left, 'Attāb al-Liqwah said to him, "We killed ourselves and our kin gaining control of Khurāsān. Then we asked for a governor from Quraysh who would bring us together, and we were sent a governor who plays with us and transfers us from one prison to another." Bukayr asked, "What are you suggesting?" He replied, "Burn these boats, [1024] go back to Marw, throw off your allegiance to Umayyah, and stay in Marw for a while, exploiting its revenues."

'Attāb's opinion was seconded by al-Aḥnaf b. 'Abdallāh al-'Anbarī;[602] but Bukayr said, "I fear lest these horsemen who are with me may perish." Al-Aḥnaf said, "Are you afraid that you will lack men? I will bring you as many as you like from the people of Marw if these who are with you perish." Bukayr said, "I fear the Muslims may perish." He said, "All you have to do is have a herald proclaim that anyone who converts to Islam will be exempted from the land tax, and fifty thousand will come praying to you, men who will heed and obey better than these."[603] Bukayr said, "I fear Umayyah and those with him will perish." He said, "Why should they perish, when they have the equipment, numbers, courage, weapons, and everything they need to defend themselves as far as China?"

Bukayr burned the boats, returned to Marw, seized and imprisoned Umayyah's son, and summoned the people to renounce their allegiance to Umayyah, which they did. When Umayyah heard of this, he made peace with the Bukhārans for a small payment and headed back. He ordered boats constructed, and they were made for him and assembled. Then he said to the notables of Tamīm who were with him, "Does not Bukayr amaze you? When I came to Khurāsān, I was warned about him, and received all sorts of complaints and accusations about him and about various ill-gotten gains; but I turned a deaf ear to all of that and launched no investigation of him or of a single one of his

602. The Banū al-'Anbar b. 'Amr were a clan of the Tamīm; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 189.

603. Umayyah's imposition on Muslim landowners of the *kharāj*, which was collected by non-Muslim *dihqāns*, is cited below, II, 1029, as a source of dissatisfaction with Umayyah exploited by Bukayr.

officials. Then I offered him command of my security force, but he refused it, and I let it pass. Then I gave him a governorship, but I was warned against him and ordered him to stay where he was; I only did so out of consideration for him. Then I sent him back to Marw and give him authority there. But he showed no gratitude for any of this and now repays me in the way you see!" But some of the men replied, "O amīr, this was not his idea; the suggestion
[1025] to burn the boats came to him from 'Attāb al-Liqwah." Umayyah said, "And what is 'Attāb? Is 'Attāb anything but a hen sitting on her eggs?" When 'Attāb heard about this comment, he recited the following verses:

When you encounter these brooders, you will find them
armored, thick-necked, mounted on noble steeds.
You left off what you were about, out of cowardice and
weakness,
and foolishly came to us, O basest of the Arabs;
When you saw how forbidding were the mountains of Soghdia,
you turned tail on Mūsā and Nūḥ,[604]
And came running to us, like a bold hyena, without a word;[605]
but you flew from the palms of al-Baḥrayn like a cowardly
bustard.[606]
Make all the threats you like! You will find me
under the fluttering standards before a dark and rumbling
cloud of men,
Advancing slowly on a fine horse with sleek cheekbones,
which alternately ambles and runs as it goes to meet the
detachment.

When the boats were ready, Umayyah crossed over and headed for Marw, leaving Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh unmolested. Umayyah said, "O God, I was good to Bukayr, but he was ungrateful for my good treatment and did what he did. O God, take care of him for me!"
[1026] Shammās b. Dithār,[607] who had returned from Sijistān after the

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604. Sons of 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim; on Nūḥ, who accompanied his brother Mūsā in Transoxania, see text below, II, 1155–60.

605. *Wa-ji'ta dhīkhan mughidhdhan mā tukallimunā.*

606. A reference to Umayyah's defeat in battle with Abū Fudayk; see text above, II, 829, 860f.

607. Al-'Uṭāridī, one of the leaders of the revolt of Tamīm against Ibn Khāzim,

death of Ibn Khāzim and gone on campaign with Umayyah, said, "O amīr, I will take care of him for you, God willing!" Umayyah sent him ahead with eight hundred men; he advanced as far as Bāsān,[608] which belongs to the Banū Naṣr,[609] and halted there. Bukayr marched out against him, having with him Mudrik b. Unayf, whose father was with Shammās. Bukayr sent a message to Shammās, saying, "Could Tamīm find no one to fight me but you?" and blaming him. Shammās sent back to him, saying, "You are more blameworthy and have behaved more badly than I. You broke faith with Umayyah and showed him no gratitude for his favor to you when he came and honored you, not laying a finger on you or any of your agents."

Bukayr launched a surprise night attack against Shammās and scattered his forces; but he told his men, "Do not kill any of them, but take their weapons." Accordingly, when they took a man, they stripped him of his equipment and left him. The troops were scattered, Shammās himself going to a village of Ṭayyi' named Būyanah.[610] Umayyah, meanwhile, advanced as far as Kushmāhan, and Shammās b. Dithār returned to him there. Then Umayyah sent out Thābit b. Quṭbah, a client of Khuzā'ah. Bukayr offered battle, took Thābit captive, and scattered his forces; but then Bukayr let Thābit go because of a favor he owed him.

Thābit returned to Umayyah, and Umayyah advanced with his forces. Bukayr engaged him in combat. Bukayr's security force was under the command of Abū Rustam al-Khalīl b. Aws al-'Abshamī; he fought valiantly that day, but Umayyah's men called out to him, "O commander of the security force of 'Ārimah!" 'Ārimah was Bukayr's concubine. Abū Rustam drew back, but Bukayr said to him, "Damn it, pay no mind to what

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and a personal enemy of Bukayr; see text above, II, 495f., 593–96. On 'Uṭārid b. Ḥājib of Tamīm, see Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, I, 60, II, 580.

608. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 468, 766f., mentions Bāshān or Fāshān as a village of Marw. It was northwest of the city; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 399.

609. Probably the Banū Naṣr b. Mu'āwiyah, of Qays 'Aylān, mentioned above, II, 1019f. On the mass migration that brought fifty thousand Kūfan and Baṣran fighters with their families to the Marw oasis in 51 (671), see text above, II, 81, 155f., and Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 410. Ṣ. al-'Alī, "Istīṭān al-'arab fī Khurāsān," *Majallat Kulliyyat al-ādāb—Baghdād*, 1958, 37f., 67f., suggests that villages were residences for "their" Arab clans rather than sources of revenue.

610. Two *farsakhs* from Marw, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 766f.

these people call out! This 'Ārimah has a stallion to protect her! Advance your standard!" They fought until Bukayr was forced back. He withdrew inside the wall and quartered in the old market, while Umayyah quartered in Bāsān. Then followed a series of encounters in the Field of Yazīd.[611] One day Bukayr's forces were driven back, but Bukayr protected them. Another day, there was another encounter in the Field, in which one of the men of the
[1027] Banū Tamīm was hit in the foot and began to hobble away, while Huraym[612] gave him protection. The man said, "O God, help us and strengthen us with angels!" Huraym said to him, "Fight for yourself, man! The angels have better things to do!" The man restrained himself for a time, but then again called out, "O God, strengthen us with angels!" Huraym said, "Either you spare me this or I leave you to the angels!" But he continued to protect him until he brought him back to the men.

One of the men of the Banū Tamīm called out, "Umayyah! Scandal of Quraysh!" Umayyah swore an oath that if he got the better of this man, he would slit his throat. He did get the better of him, and did slit his throat, between two of the battlements of the city. Another day, in yet another encounter, Bukayr b. Wishāḥ struck Thābit b. Quṭbah on the head, calling out his ancestry and saying, "I am Ibn Wishāḥ!" Thābit's brother Ḥurayyith b. Quṭbah then attacked Bukayr, and Bukayr was thrown back and his forces driven off. Ḥurayyith pursued Bukayr until he reached the bridge, and called to him, "Where are you going, Bukayr?" Bukayr turned back to attack him, and Ḥurayyith gave him a sword blow on the head that cut through the underhelmet and penetrated to his head, and he fell. His comrades took him and brought him into the city.

That is the way they fought them. But otherwise, Bukayr's men would go around garbed in brightly dyed garments, with red and yellow mantles and wrappers,[613] and sit talking in the outskirts

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611. *Maydān Yazīd*, mentioned below (II, 1477) as a place of assembly. Perhaps it was named (subsequently) for Yazīd b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah, governor of Khurāsān 82–85 (701–704); see text below, II, 1083, 1138ff.

612. Huraym b. Abī Ṭaḥmah al-Mujāshi'ī, later noted as commander of the cavalry of Tamīm; see text below, II, 1202, and Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 287.

613. *Mutafaḍḍilīn fī thiyāb muṣabbaghah wa-malāḥif wa-uzur ṣufr wa-ḥumr*. See Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, 24–46,

of the city, while a herald proclaimed, "He who shoots an arrow will be shot at by us with the head of one of his children or his kin." No one took any shots at them.

But Bukayr was worried, and feared that if the siege was prolonged, the men would desert him; so he asked for a truce. Umayyah's forces also favored a truce, because of their families inside the city, and asked Umayyah to make a truce with Bukayr. Umayyah was a peace-loving man, and made the truce, on the following terms: Umayyah was to pay Bukayr 400,000 dirhams, as well as gifts to his comrades, to appoint Bukayr to any of the districts of Khurāsān he wished, and not to listen to what Baḥīr [1028] said about him; if Umayyah found any reason to be suspicious of him, he would have forty days safe-conduct to get out of Marw. Umayyah got safe-conduct for Bukayr from 'Abd al-Malik and wrote the document up for him at the Sanjān Gate.[614] Then Umayyah entered the city.

Some people say that Bukayr did not go out on campaign with Umayyah, but rather that when Umayyah went out on campaign, he left Bukayr as his deputy over Marw. Then Bukayr rebelled, and Umayyah returned and fought him, then made a truce with him and entered Marw. Umayyah kept faith with Bukayr and treated him with the same honor and complaisance as formerly. He also sent for 'Attāb al-Liqwah and said to him, "You were the mastermind of the plot." 'Attāb said, "Yes, may God cause the amīr to prosper." Umayyah asked, "Why?" 'Attāb replied, "I had little money and many debts, so I turned against my creditors." Umayyah said, "Woe to you! So you stirred up strife among the Muslims, and burned the boats, with the Muslims in the middle of enemy territory, with no fear of God?" 'Attāb said, "That is the way it was, and I ask God for forgiveness." Umayyah asked, "How large are your debts?" 'Attāb answered, "Twenty thousand." Umayyah said, "If you will refrain from stirring up trouble among the Muslims, I will pay off your debts." 'Attāb said, "I will, may God make me your ransom!" Umayyah laughed and said, "I have little faith in what you say, but I will nevertheless pay off

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401–3. Bright colors apparently indicated non-bellicose intentions, as with the red sash of Muṭarrif's summoner, mentioned above, II, 998.

614. On the southeast side of the city; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 399.

your debts." He paid the twenty thousand. Umayyah was a gentle, easygoing, and generous man; no one among the governors of Khurāsān gave out such generous gifts there as he.[615]

He was nevertheless at the same time oppressive to them. He was extremely pompous and used to say, "Khurāsān and Sijistān hardly suffice me for my kitchen!"[616] Umayyah dismissed Baḥīr from the command of his security force and gave it to 'Aṭā' b. Abī
[1029] al-Sā'ib. He wrote to 'Abd al-Malik explaining the affair with Bukayr and his pardoning him, and 'Abd al-Malik responded by selecting an expeditionary force to send to Umayyah in Khurāsān; the men made their arrangements for who would pay and who would go, and Shaqīq b. al-Sulayk al-Asadī transferred his stipend to a man of Jarm.[617] Umayyah levied the land tax on the people[618] and pressed them hard. One day Bukayr was sitting in the mosque with some people from the Banū Tamīm, and they spoke of Umayyah's harshness to the people, blaming him and saying, "He has made the *dihqān*s masters over us in collecting taxes." Also present in the mosque were Baḥīr, Ḍirār b. Ḥuṣayn,[619] and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Jāriyah b. Qudāmah.[620] Baḥīr brought

615. Bukayr's rebellion is mentioned very briefly in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 416f., Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 324, and Ibn Ḥabīb, *Asmā' al-mughtālīn min al-ashrāf fī al-jāhiliyyah wa-al-Islām* (in A. S. Hārūn, ed., *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt* [Cairo, 1951–54], II), 176f. According to the slightly fuller account in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VI, 290f., the siege of Marw lasted four months, and Umayyah's payoff to Bukayr was 200,000 dirhams in addition to whatever wealth Bukayr had already laid his hands on. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 443–46; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 111.

616. According to *Aghānī*[1], XIII, 54, Umayyah wrote back to 'Abd al-Malik that "the revenue of Khurāsān is insufficient to cover the expenses of my kitchen" but was dismissed after 'Abd al-Malik read a confidential note (of undisclosed contents) slipped by the poet Thābit Quṭnah into the same delivery.

617. On the process of *ju'ālah*, or paying for substitutes on expeditions, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. ju'ālah; Ṣ. al-'Alī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-ijtimā'iyyah wa-al-iqtiṣādiyyah fī al-Baṣrah fī al-qarn al-awwal al-hijrī* (Baghdad, 1953), 139–40. The point of the specific reference to the Asadī and the Jarmī is unclear.

618. *Akhadha Umayyah al-nās bi-al-kharāj*. The "people" here and in the following sentence are the Arab emigrés, who were acquiring land and paying *kharāj* on it; since in Marw collection was in the hands of the *dihqān*s, non-Arabs and non-Muslims were now collecting taxes from Arab Muslims. See Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 173f.

619. Last mentioned as an intermediary between Baḥīr and Bukayr, text above, II, 860.

620. Son of Jāriyah b. Qudāmah al-Tamīmī, a prominent supporter of 'Alī against Mu'āwiyah; see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, i, 38f.

word of this incident to Umayyah, but Umayyah refused to believe him. Baḥīr appealed to the witness of these men, as well as to the witness of Muzāḥim b. Abī al-Mujashshir al-Sulamī.[621] Umayyah summoned Muzāḥim and asked him, but he said, "He was only joking." Umayyah then left Bukayr alone. But Baḥīr came to him and said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper, Bukayr—I swear to God—has summoned me to cast off my allegiance to you; he said, 'Were it not for your position, I would kill this Qurayshite and enjoy the fruits of Khurāsān.'" But Umayyah said, "I cannot believe this, after he has done what he has done and I have granted him safe-conduct and given him gifts."

Then Baḥīr brought him Ḍirār b. Ḥuṣayn and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Jāriyah, and they bore witness that Bukayr said to them, "If you would obey me, I would kill that effeminate Qurayshite," and thus summoned them to assassinate Umayyah. Umayyah said, "You know best what you saw. I would not suspect this of him; but to let him be, after the witness you have borne, would show weakness." Then he told his chamberlain,[622] 'Ubaydah, and the captain of his guard,[623] 'Aṭā' b. Abī al-Sā'ib, "When Bukayr comes in with his brother's sons Badal and Shamardal, and I stand up, seize them." When Umayyah sat in public audience, Bukayr and his brother's sons came; when they sat down, Umayyah stood up from his dais and withdrew. The people left, and as Bukayr was [1030] leaving, they arrested him and his brother's sons. Umayyah summoned Bukayr and said, "You are the one who said thus-and-so?" Bukayr replied, "Be not rash, may God cause you to prosper, and do not listen to the words of that son of a bitch."[624] But Umayyah threw him in prison, and took his concubine al-'Ārimah and imprisoned her; he also imprisoned al-Aḥnaf b. 'Abdallāh al-'Anbarī, saying, "You are one of those who counseled Bukayr to rebel."

The next day, Umayyah brought out Bukayr; and Baḥīr, Ḍirār,

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621. Probably of the Banū Sulaym b. Manṣūr, a tribe of Qays; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 516.

622. *Ḥājib*, perhaps "chief bodyguard;" see *EI²*, s. v. ḥādjib.

623. *Ṣāḥib ḥarasihi*. This man has been identified above as the head of the *shurṭah*, which suggests that, at least in Khurāsān, the two terms may refer to the same body of men.

624. *Ibn al-maḥlūqah*. For various interpretations of the meaning of this mild imprecation, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. ḥalaqa.

and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Jāriyah bore witness against him that he had summoned them to rebel against Umayyah and assassinate him. Bukayr said, "May God cause you to prosper, be not hasty; for these are my enemies." Then Umayyah asked Ziyād b. 'Uqbah, the chief of the Ahl al-'Āliyah,[625] Ibn Wālān al-'Adawī, at that time one of the chiefs of the Banū Tamīm,[626] and Ya'qūb b. Khālid al-Dhuhlī,[627] "Will you kill him?"—but they declined. Then he asked Baḥīr, "Will you kill him?" and he answered, "Yes." Umayyah handed Bukayr over to Baḥīr; but then Ya'qūb b. al-Qa'qā' al-A'lam al-Azdī,[628] who was a friend of Bukayr's, got up from his place and embraced Umayyah, saying, "I appeal to you to think of God, O amīr, in Bukayr's case—after you have been so generous to him." Umayyah said, "Ya'qūb, no one will kill him but his own people, who have borne witness against him."[629] Then 'Aṭā' b. Abī al-Sā'ib al-Laythī, who was the captain of Umayyah's guard, said, "Leave the amīr alone!" Ya'qūb said, "No!" and 'Aṭā' struck him with the hilt of his sword and bloodied his nose, and then withdrew. Then Ya'qūb said to Baḥīr, "O Baḥīr, the men pledged Bukayr their word when they made peace with him, and you were one of them. Do not break your pledge!" Baḥīr replied, "O Ya'qūb, I gave him no pledge!" Then Baḥīr took Bukayr's extended[630] sword, which he had taken from Uswār al-Turjumān, Ibn Khāzim's interpreter. Bukayr said, "O Baḥīr, you will break up the Banū Sa'd if you kill me; let this Qurayshite
[1031] himself do with me as he will." But Baḥīr said, "No, by God, O son of an Iṣfahānī mother! The Banū Sa'd will not be at peace so

625. Tribes from the upper Ḥijāz, mostly Qays 'Aylān, constituting one of the "fifths" of the Baṣran army, operative also in Khurāsān; see Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 246; al-'Alī, "Istīṭān al-'arab fī Khurāsān," 40ff.

626. 'Abdallāh b. Wālān al-'Adawī is mentioned below (II, 1188) as a confidant of Qutaybah b. Muslim and identified as one of the Banū Milkān. The latter were a branch of the Thawr b. 'Abd Manāt, who were joined with the related clans of Taym, 'Adī, 'Ukl, and Ḍabbah in a confederation called al-Ribāb, itself related to and allied with Tamīm. See Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 59, 85, II, 486.

627. Probably of the Banū Dhuhl b. Taym b. 'Abd Manāt of al-Ribāb; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 85.

628. Called Ibn al-A'lam and *qāḍī Khurāsān* below, II, 1485. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, ii, 103.

629. That is, the Tamīm and their allies of al-Ribāb, or specifically the Banū Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, to which both Baḥīr and Bukayr belonged.

630. *Mawṣūl*, fitted with an extension called a *ṣilah*; see Ṭabarī, glossarium, s. v. waṣala.

long as we are both alive!" Bukayr said, "Get on with it, then, you son of a bitch!" Baḥīr killed Bukayr. It was a Friday. Umayyah killed Bukayr's brother's two sons and gave Bukayr's concubine, al-'Ārimah, to Baḥīr. Umayyah also heard accusations against al-Aḥnaf b. 'Abdallāh al-'Anbarī; he summoned him from prison and said, "You too are one of those who gave Bukayr this counsel," and reviled him, then said, "I hereby hand you over to these men."

Then Umayyah sent out a man from Khuzā'ah against Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim, but he was treacherously murdered by 'Amr b. Khālid b. Ḥuṣayn al-Kilābī, and his army scattered. One group of them asked Mūsā for safe-conduct, and joined him; others returned to Umayyah.[631]

In this year, Umayyah crossed the river of Balkh to campaign. He and his forces were surrounded and reduced to misery, and were on the point of perishing before they escaped. Umayyah and the troops with him then returned to Marw. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-'Āṣ b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah[632] satirized Umayyah in the following verses:

Tell Umayyah that he will get his reward for bad actions—
and these do have their reward.
Whoever may consider reproaching you or desire to do so,
I myself have no such intention with you.[633]
Any good you have done is wiped out by your bad qualities,
whose evil fruits have been parceled out to you.
Whoever named you Umayyah,[634] when passing out names
at the time of your birth, got it right.

According to Abū Ja'far: In this year, the leader of the pilgrimage was Abān b. 'Uthmān, who was the governor of Medina.[635] The governor of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah was al-Ḥajjāj b.

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631. A fuller account of this appears below, II, 1149–51.

632. A Makhzūmī of Quraysh, and brother of the well-known poet al-Ḥārith b. Khālid al-Makhzūmī, whom 'Abd al-Malik appointed governor of Mecca in 80 (699–700); see *Aghānī*[1], III, 97; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 307; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 417.

633. *Wa-man yanẓur 'itābaka aw yuridhū/fa-lastu bi-nāẓirin minka l-'itābā.*

634. Diminutive of *amah*, "slave woman."

635. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 275, 301; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 336.

[1032] Yūsuf, and the governor of Khurāsān was Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—anonymous—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: Abān b. 'Uthmān was leader of the pilgrimage twice while he was governor of Medina, in the years 76 (695–696) and 77 (696–697).[636] According to some, Shabīb perished in the year 78 (697–698);[637] some say the same for the deaths of Qaṭarī, 'Abīdah b. Hilāl, and 'Abd Rabb al-Kabīr.[638] In this year, al-Walīd conducted a summer expedition.[639]

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636. See text above, II, 940, and note 369.

637. So Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 328; see text above, II, 972, and note 461.

638. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 275, dates Qaṭarī's death to 78, and Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 330, dates it to 79.

639. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 275, reports that al-Walīd campaigned in the region between Malaṭyah and al-Miṣṣīṣah. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 337, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam had done this the previous summer, and in 78 al-Walīd raided Aṭmār (?) from the direction of Malaṭyah. See F. 'Uthmān, *al-Ḥudūd al-islāmiyyah al-bīzanṭiyyah bayn al-iḥtikāk al-ḥarbī wa-al-ittiṣāl al-ḥiḍārī* (Cairo, 1966), II, 74, and note 655 below.

The Events of the Year 78

(March 30, 697—March 19, 698)

The Important Events Occurring in This Year

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān dismissed Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh from the governorship of Khurāsān and included Khurāsān and Sijistān under the jurisdiction of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. When they were included in his jurisdiction, al-Ḥajjāj dispersed his officials throughout them.

The Officials Whom al-Ḥajjāj Appointed in Khurāsān and Sijistān, and Why He Appointed Whom He Did, with Further Details

It is reported: When al-Ḥajjāj had finished with Shabīb and Muṭarrif, he transferred from al-Kūfah to al-Baṣrah, leaving as his deputy over al-Kūfah al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Aqīl.[640] According to some reports, he first deputized 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir al-Ḥaḍramī, but then dismissed him and replaced

640. Al-Thaqafī, according to text below, II, 1381. He was probably a cousin of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'Aqīl).

[1033] him with al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh.[641] Al-Muhallab came to him in al-Baṣrah, having finished with the Azraqites.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī: When al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah had finished with the Azraqites, he came to al-Ḥajjāj; this was in the year 78. Al-Ḥajjāj seated him beside him and called for the distinguished fighters among his forces. Whomever al-Muhallab mentioned as a man who showed valor among his forces, al-Ḥajjāj took his word for it. Al-Ḥajjāj gave them mounts and good bonuses and increased their stipends; he said, "These are men of action and have the best claim to the wealth; these are the defenders of the frontiers and the bane of the enemy."[642]

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq: Al-Ḥajjāj assigned al-Muhallab Sijistān as well as Khurāsān. But al-Muhallab said to him, "Let me refer you to a man who is better acquainted with Sijistān than I; he was formerly governor of Kābul and Zābul,[643] and collected taxes, waged war, and made peace with the people there." Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "Indeed! Who is that?" Al-Muhallab said, "'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah."[644]

Then al-Ḥajjāj sent out al-Muhallab over Khurāsān and 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah over Sijistān. The governor over these provinces had been Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd b. Abī al-'Īṣ b. Umayyah; he was 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's governor, al-Ḥajjāj having nothing to do with him, from the time he was sent out to Iraq until this year, when 'Abd al-Malik dismissed Umayyah and added the area of his authority to that of al-Ḥajjāj. Al-

641. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 296, mentions only 'Abd al-Raḥmān as al-Ḥajjāj's deputy over al-Kūfah at this time. This man is called 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir below, II, 1069f.

642. A parallel account in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 310; more briefly in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 78 (620 fighters honored), and Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 289.

643. The regions around Kābul and to its southwest, toward Ghaznah and Qandahār; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 904f., IV, 220f.; Le Strange, *Lands*, 334, 349f.; *EI*², s. vv. Kābul, Kābulistān.

644. On him, see C. E. Bosworth, "'Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the 'Army of Destruction' in Zābulistān," *Der Islam* 50 (1973), 268–83; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, IV, 345. His father Abū Bakrah was a slave of Thaqīf who became a client of the Prophet, but 'Ubaydallāh later tried to pass himself off as a real Thaqafī; see *Aghānī*¹, XVII, 9; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 137f., 141. 'Ubaydallāh was governor of Kābul under Ziyād b. Abīhi, 51–53 (671–673); see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 397.

Muhallab went out to Khurāsān and 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah to Sijistān; 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah remained inactive the rest of this year.[645] This is the account of Abū Mikhnaf from Abū al-Mukhāriq.

The account of 'Alī b. Muḥammad—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad: Khurāsān and Sijistān were joined with Iraq under al-Ḥajjāj's authority at the beginning of the year 78, after the Khārijites had been killed. He appointed 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah over Khurāsān and al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah over Sijistān. But al-Muhallab disliked Sijistān. He met 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd b. Ṭāriq al-'Abshamī,[646] who was the head of al-Ḥajjāj's security force, and said, "The amīr has appointed me to Sijistān and Ibn Abī Bakrah to Khurāsān, even though I know Khurāsān better than he does, since I got to know it in the time of al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī,[647] and Ibn Abī Bakrah is better able to deal with Sijistān than I. Speak to the amīr and get him to switch me to Khurāsān and Ibn Abī Bakrah to Sijistān." 'Abd al-Raḥmān replied, "I will; you speak also to Zādhān Farrūkh[648] and get him to help me." Al-Muhallab spoke to him, and he agreed to help. Then 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd said to al-Ḥajjāj, "You have appointed al-Muhallab to Sijistān, but Ibn Abī Bakrah is better able to deal with it than he." Zādhān Farrūkh added, "That is true!" Al-Ḥajjāj said, "But we have already written up his letter of appointment." Zādhān Farrūkh said, "His letter of appointment could be changed without difficulty." Al-Ḥajjāj then reassigned Ibn Abī Bakrah to Sijistān, and al-Muhallab to Khurāsān. [1034]

Al-Muhallab was, however, required to pay up 1,000,000 dirhams from the revenue of al-Ahwāz, where he had been governor under Khālid b. 'Abdallāh. Al-Muhallab said to his son al-Mughīrah, "Khālid made me governor of al-Ahwāz, and made you

645. That is, before launching an expedition against Zunbīl; see the continuation of this account below, II, 1036. The following year, 79, began in late March.

646. Of the Banū 'Abd Shams b. Sa'd of Tamīm; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat annasab*, I, 78, II, 130.

647. See text above, II, 109.

648. Zādhān Farrūkh b. Payrōazh, head of the *dīwān al-kharāj* and the last to keep the accounts in Persian; according to Jaḥshiyārī, *Wuzarā'* (Cairo, 1980), 38, his assistant, Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, converted them to Arabic in this same year (78). See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 300f.; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 53f.

governor of Iṣṭakhr.[649] Now al-Ḥajjāj has demanded that I pay up 1,000,000 dirhams. I will pay half of it, and you pay the other half." Al-Muhallab had no money when he was dismissed, and had had to borrow. He spoke to Abū Māwiyyah, the client of 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir, who had been in charge of 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir's treasury,[650] and he lent al-Muhallab 300,000 dirhams. But
[1035] Khayrah al-Qushayriyyah, al-Muhallab's wife, said, "This will not cover your obligation," and she sold some jewelry and other things, bringing the total up to 500,000. Then al-Mughīrah brought 500,000 to his father, and he took the money to al-Ḥajjāj. Al-Muhallab then sent out his son Ḥabīb with his vanguard.[651] The latter came to al-Ḥajjāj to bid him farewell, and al-Ḥajjāj ordered him given 10,000 dirhams and a gray mule. Ḥabīb set out on this mule for Khurāsān, traveling with his men, who rode the post. He traveled for twenty days, and then as they entered the city, they were met by a beast carrying a load of firewood, and the mule shied; they marveled at her shying after all that traveling and fatigue. Ḥabīb did not interfere with Umayyah or his officials. He stayed there ten months, until al-Muhallab came out to him in the year 79 (698–699).[652]

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik;[653] so I was informed by Aḥmad b. Thābit—anonymous—

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649. See text above, II, 822–26.

650. It is unclear whether 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir is here in both instances 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz, governor of al-Baṣrah under Mu'āwiyah (see *EI*², s. v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir), or, in one or both instances, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Misma', later head of the *shurṭah* in al-Baṣrah (see text below, II, 1062).

651. *Muqaddimah*, here apparently more an advance party.

652. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 266, 310f., and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VI, 293, Umayyah was dismissed because of his avoidance of raiding and the corresponding decrease in plunder; but Balādhurī also reports (*Futūḥ*, 399) that Umayyah's son 'Abdallāh, who deputized for his father in Sijistān, made a disgraceful truce with Zunbīl there, and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (*Futūḥ*, VII, 111f.) has a distorted version of the same incident, attributing it to Umayyah himself. Balādhurī further states (*Ansāb*, XI, 266, 310f.) that al-Ḥajjāj sent 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah to 'Abd al-Malik to ask for the governorship of Khurāsān (for al-Ḥajjāj) and that it was only after the caliph had offered it to 'Ubaydallāh himself, who declined it, that he granted it to al-Ḥajjāj. Al-Muhallab's being preceded to Khurāsān by his son Ḥabīb is mentioned in neither the above sources nor the short notices in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 275, 297; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 330; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 78. See also Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 154f.; Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 52f., and the article cited in note 644; M. A. Shaban, *The 'Abbāsid Revolution* (Cambridge, 1970), 54f.

653. So also Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 276, 301. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 336, has Abān b. 'Uthmān, but the text is questionable.

Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar. The governor of Medina in this year was Abān b. ʿUthmān. The governor of al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, Khurāsān, Sijistān, and Kirmān was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf; his deputy in Khurāsān was al-Muhallab, and in Sijistān ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah. Shurayḥ was in charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah, and it is reported that Mūsā b. Anas was in charge of the judiciary in al-Baṣrah.[654] In this year ʿAbd al-Malik sent out Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam on campaign.[655]

654. Son of Anas b. Mālik; see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, i, 140.

655. Against the Byzantines. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 275–78, dates a campaign by Yaḥyā against Marj al-Shaḥm to the following year, 79, as well as a campaign by al-Walīd "from the direction of Malaṭyah," and, for 78, reports rather a campaign by Muḥriz b. Abī Muḥriz, who conquered Azqalah (? Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX,21, reads Irqīliyyah), but whose army was devastated by a storm on its way back. The plague that prevented campaigning in 79, according to Ṭabarī, however, is dated by Ibn Khayyāṭ to 80. See also note 639 above.

The Events of the Year 79

(March 20, 698–March 8, 699)

The Important Events of This Year

In this year the people of Syria were visited by a plague so severe
[1036] that they were all but annihilated. No one launched any campaigns in this year, it is reported, because of the plague there and the large number of deaths.[656]

In this year, it is reported, the Byzantines attacked the people of Antioch.[657]

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656. The same information in Elias of Nisibis, *Opus chronologicum* (Baethgen), year 79. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A. M. 6192, mentions a great plague, without specifying its location, in the same year in which al-Ḥajjāj defeated Ibn al-Ash'ath (dated 82 or 83 [701–702] by Ṭabarī, text below, II, 1070); Michael the Syrian, *Chronique* (Paris, 1899–1910), II, 474f., dates the beginning of a great seven-year plague to the year 75 (694–695). This plague is not included in what became the (rather Iraqi-oriented) standard list; see M. Dols, "Plague in Early Islamic History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (1974), 378.

657. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A. M. 6192, records a major Byzantine raid on Syria, as far as Samosata (not Antioch), for the year of the "great plague" (see previous note). See also 'Uthmān, *al-Ḥudūd al-islāmiyyah al-bizanṭiyyah*, II, 74.

In this year, 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah campaigned against Zunbīl.[658]

The Campaign by 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah in Sijistān

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī: When al-Ḥajjāj appointed al-Muhallab to Khurāsān and 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah to Sijistān, al-Muhallab went out to Khurāsān and 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah to Sijistān; this was in the year 78 (697–698). 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah remained inactive the rest of this year, then attacked Zunbīl.[659] Zunbīl had been under a truce, with the Arabs collecting land taxes from him; but he had several times held back and refused to pay.[660] Al-Ḥajjāj then wrote to 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah saying, "Take the field against him with the Muslims you have with you and do not return until you have plundered his land, razed his fortresses, killed his fighting men, and taken his women captive." 'Ubaydallāh set out with the Muslims he had with him, Kūfans and Baṣrans. In command of the Kūfans was Shurayḥ b. Hāni' al-Ḥārithī al-Ḍabābī,[661] who had been a companion of 'Alī; in command of the Baṣrans was 'Ubaydallāh, who also commanded the entire army. He advanced and penetrated into the lands of Zunbīl, seizing cattle, sheep, and other property as he wished, and razing fortresses and castles. He conquered a great deal of their territory, [1037] as Zunbīl's Turkish[662] forces fell back from one land after an-

658. For a full analysis of this episode, with a review of the sources, see Bosworth, "'Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the 'Army of Destruction' in Zābulistān (79/698)." For the reading Zunbīl, emended from text Rutbīl (and representing a local title, not a personal name), see Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 34–36.

659. Ṭabarī here resumes the account interrupted above, II, 1033.

660. According to Balādhurī and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh (or his son 'Abdallāh) had exempted Zunbīl from tribute for the duration of his governorship, as part of a disgraceful treaty that led to his replacement; see note 652 above.

661. Of Madhḥij; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 261, II, 533. For his long and eventful career, and his fervent support of 'Alī, see text above, I, 3259–62, 3354–60, II, 134–37, and Bosworth, "'Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra," 275. According to Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 113, he was at this time nearly a hundred years old.

662. On the vagueness of this term in early sources, see Bosworth, "'Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra," 271.

other, until they were in the heart of their territory and drew near their city.[663] But when they were within eighteen *farsakh*s of the city, Zunbīl's forces occupied the passes and defiles against the Muslims, leaving them in the country districts.[664]

The Muslims were in a predicament and feared they were doomed. Ibn Abī Bakrah sent to Shurayḥ b. Hāni', saying, "I am going to offer the enemy a truce, giving them money in exchange for safe passage out of here"; he then sent them this message, offering them 700,000 dirhams for a truce.[665] But Shurayḥ came to him and said, "Any amount you pay out for a truce will be credited by the government against your stipends." Ibn Abī Bakrah replied, "Even if the government should withhold our stipends for the rest of our lives, that would not be as bad as perishing!" But Shurayḥ said, "By God, I have reached an age where my pleasures are at an end, and there is not an hour, day or night, that I do not expect to die before it elapses. I have been seeking martyrdom for a long time, and if I miss it today, I do not think I will find it before dying a natural death." Then he said to the men, "People of Islam! Help one another against your enemy!" Ibn Abī Bakrah said to him, "You are an old man and have gone senile." Shurayḥ retorted, "Your only claim to nobility is that people say 'the Orchard of Ibn Abī Bakrah' and 'the Bath of Ibn Abī Bakrah!'[666] People of Islam! Those of you who wish for martyrdom, come to me!" A few of the volunteers followed him, and some of the horsemen in the army and some of the more dedicated. They fought until all but a few were cut down.[667]

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663. The summer capital, in Zābulistān (probably in the Ghaznah region), according to Bosworth, *ibid.*, 276.

664. *Wa-khallawhum wa-al-rasātīq*; see note 213 above.

665. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 312, the terms were either 500,000 or 700,000 dirhams, plus a number of hostages, including Ibn Abī Bakrah's three sons, and a pledge not to raid Zunbīl's territory while Ibn Abī Bakrah remained governor; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 112, has one million dirhams, half the invaders' arms, and ten years' exemption from *kharāj*, as well as the hostages.

666. 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah, whose origins were extremely lowly (see note 644 above), had built a bath in al-Baṣrah after his brother Muslim had reaped great profit from his bath and a third brother, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, had followed suit; see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 353–54, and Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 270. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 113, also has Shurayḥ refer to 'Ubaydallāh's bath and orchard (*bustān*) in al-Baṣrah.

667. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 313, states that Shurayḥ had previously attempted to

On that day Shurayḥ recited the following *rajaz* verses:[668]

I have become a man of sorrow, suffering from old age. [1038]
Long did I live among the polytheists;
Then I lived to see the Prophet, the Warner,
and after him his Ṣiddīq and 'Umar;
And the Day of Mihrān,[669] and the Day of Tustar,[670]
and the assemblies at Ṣiffīn and al-Naharā,[671]
And at Bājumayrāt[672] as well as al-Mushaqqar[673]—
Fie! How long this life is!

He fought until he was killed, along with many of his comrades, although some escaped.

They then withdrew from the territory of Zunbīl and were met by Muslims with food. But when one of them ate his fill of the food, he would die. When the people saw that, they were afraid to feed them, but then began to feed them ghee, little by little, until they were able to eat properly.[674] Word of all this came to al-

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persuade Ibn Abī Bakrah to retreat, having acquired sufficient booty, without attempting to capture towns; but at this juncture Shurayḥ offered an eloquent speech in favor of martyrdom and persuaded some volunteers of Madhḥij and Hamdān to join him; the ensuing casualties included members of the Baṣran and Kūfan contingents, as well as some Syrians. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 113, also refers to Madhḥij and Hamdān but makes the conflict essentially one between Shurayḥ and the Kūfans and Ibn Abī Bakrah and the Baṣrans; ten thousand Kūfans entered the battle and were killed.

668. Also in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 313f., and, with variants, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 113f.

669. A victory by the Muslims, under al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah, over the Persians, under Mihrān b. Mihribandādh al-Hamadhānī, in 13–14 (634–635), a little over a year before the great victory at al-Qādisiyyah; also known as *yawm al-nakhīlah* or the Battle of al-Buwayb. See text above, I, 2184–2201; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 253f.; Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, 197–200.

670. On the siege and conquest of Tustar (modern Shushtar) by the Muslims under Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī in the year 17 (638), see text above, I, 2551f.; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 380; Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, 215f.

671. On Shurayḥ's participation at the confrontation between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah at Ṣiffīn in 37 (657), see text above, I, 3354–60. Al-Naharā is for al-Nahrawān, where 'Alī's forces massacred the Khārijites in 38 (658); see text above, I, 3360–89.

672. For Bājumayrā, near Takrīt, where Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr encamped before his final defeat by 'Abd al-Malik in 72 (691), see text above, II, 797, 805; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 454f.

673. In al-Baḥrayn, site of the defeat of the Khārijite Abū Fudayk by 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar in 73 (693); see text above, II, 853; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 541f.

674. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 314–17, reports that only five thousand men made it

Ḥajjāj, whose dismay at the entire story from start to finish knew no bounds. He wrote as follows to 'Abd al-Malik:

> The troops of the Commander of the Faithful that are in Sijistān have met disaster, and only a few of them escaped. The enemy has been emboldened by this success against the people of Islam and has entered their lands and conquered all their fortresses and castles. Now I want to send out against them a massive force of men from the two garrisons and would like to consult the opinion of the Commander of the Faithful on that. If it is his opinion that I should dispatch this force, I will do so. If that is not his opinion, the Commander of the Faithful remains the supreme authority over his own
> [1039] forces; but I fear that if Zunbīl and the polytheists with him are not met quickly by a massive force, they will overrun that entire frontier.

In this year, al-Muhallab arrived in Khurāsān as governor, and Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh quit the province.[675] It is reported that the judge Shurayḥ asked to be relieved of his position in this year and suggested Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī as his replacement. Al-Ḥajjāj relieved him and appointed Abū Burdah.[676]

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was Abān b. 'Uthmān, according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—anonymous—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar; the same is reported by al-Wāqidī and other historians.[677] Abān was in this year governor over Medina for 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Governor over Iraq and the entire East was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. Al-Muhallab was governor over Khurāsān for al-Ḥajjāj; according to some, al-Muhallab was the military governor and his son al-Mughīrah the tax governor. In charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah was Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā, and in charge of the judiciary in al-Baṣrah was Mūsā b. Anas.

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back to Bust and quotes verses by A'shā Hamdān attacking Ibn Abī Bakrah for attempting to profit from their misery; see Bosworth, "'Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra," 278–83.

675. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 297, and see note 652 above.

676. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 298, and see notes 49 and 322 above.

677. *Ahl al-siyar*. The same information in Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 277, 301; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 336.

The Events of the Year 80

(March 9, 699–February 25, 700)

The Important Events of This Year

In this year, according to Ibn Sa'd[678]—Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, there was a flash flood in Mecca that swept away the pilgrims and inundated the buildings. That year was named the [1040] Year of Sweeping Away[679] because that flash flood swept away everything in its path.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Rifā'ah b. Tha'labah—his father—his grandfather: The flash flood came down and swept away the pilgrims in the valley of Mecca; that is why it was called the Year of Sweeping Away. I saw loaded camels, men, and women caught in the flood and unable to resist it. While I was watching the water, it reached the Rukn[680] and rose above it.

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678. Muḥammad b. Sa'd, d. 230 (845), the author of the *K. al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*; see *EI*², s. v. Ibn Sa'd.

679. *'Ām al-Juḥāf*. A fuller account in Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 395f. See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 54; Elias of Nisibis, *Opus chronologicum* (Baethgen), year 80; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 357.

680. The "corner," that is, the eastern corner of the Ka'bah, where the Black

In this year the Sweeping Plague struck al-Baṣrah, according to the statement of al-Wāqidī.[681]

In this year al-Muhallab crossed the river of Balkh and attacked Kish.[682]

Al-Muhallab Attacks Kish

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad and others: When al-Muhallab attacked Kish, his vanguard was under the command of Abū al-Adham Ziyād b. ʿAmr al-Zimmānī, with three thousand, which really counted as five thousand[683] because Abū al-Adham by himself was worth two thousand in valor, leadership, and strategy.

While al-Muhallab was attacking Kish, there came to him the paternal cousin of the king of al-Khuttal,[684] urging him to attack that province. Al-Muhallab sent off with him his son Yazīd. Yazīd camped with his forces and the king's cousin camped apart. The king, whose name was al-Sabal,[685] was at that time encamped at
[1041] some distance. But then al-Sabal surprised his cousin by night, raising the call "God is great!" in his camp. Al-Sabal's cousin thought that the Arabs had betrayed him out of fear lest he betray them after he encamped apart from them. Al-Sabal took him captive and had him brought to his fortress and killed.

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab surrounded al-Sabal's fortress, and the latter's forces made peace with him on the basis of a ransom that they brought him. Yazīd then returned to al-Muhallab. The mother of the one whom al-Sabal killed sent to al-Sabal's mother,

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Stone is mounted; see *EI²*, s. v. Kaʿba. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 54, and Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 395, state that the water surrounded the Kaʿbah.

681. *Ṭāʿūn al-Jārif*, usually dated to 69 (688–689), as observed by Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 31, quoting Ṭabarī here; see Dols, "Plague in Early Islamic History," 379.

682. Modern Shahrisabz, about fifty miles south of Samarqand; see *EI²*, s. v. Kishsh.

683. *Abū al-Adham . . . fī thalāthat ālāf wa-hum khamsat ālāf illā ann Abā al-Adham kāna yughnī ghanā' alfayn . . . .* Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 45, understands this as meaning that Abū al-Adham had three thousand men and al-Muhallab himself five thousand.

684. A princedom of the Upper Oxus, east of modern Dushanbe; see *EI²*, s. v. Khuttalān.

685. Possibly a title; see J. Marquart, *Ēranšahr* (Berlin, 1901), 302f.

saying, "What hope have you for al-Sabal's survival after killing his cousin? He has seven brothers whose vengeance al-Sabal has drawn on himself, and you are the mother of only one." Al-Sabal's mother sent back to her saying, "Lions have few offspring, but pigs have many."

Then al-Muhallab sent his son Ḥabīb out to Rabinjan,[686] where he encountered the lord of Bukhārā with forty thousand men. One of the polytheists called out a challenge for single combat, and Ḥabīb's personal retainer[687] Jabalah came forward to engage him. He killed the polytheist, then attacked the rest of them, and killed three of them before he withdrew. The entire army then withdrew, as did the enemy to their territory. When a group of enemy forces halted at a village, Ḥabīb marched against them with four thousand men, fought and defeated them, burned the village, and then returned to his father. This village was subsequently called "the Burned";[688] according to some, it was Ḥabīb's retainer Jabalah who burned it.

Al-Muhallab remained at Kish for two years. It was suggested to him that he advance to al-Sughd[689] and beyond, but he said, "All I ask from fortune in this campaign is the well-being of these troops until they get back to Marw safe and sound."

One day a man from the enemy came out with a challenge to single combat. Huraym b. 'Adī, the father of Khālid b. Huraym,[690] went out to meet him, wearing a turban wound around his [1042] helmet. He came to a brook, where the polytheist circled about him for some time until Huraym killed and despoiled him. But al-Muhallab reproached him and said, "If you had been cut down, and then I received reinforcements of a thousand horsemen, they would not have offset my loss."

While he was at Kish, al-Muhallab became suspicious of a

686. Or Arbinjan, halfway between Bukhārā and Samarqand. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 468; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 189f.; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 99.

687. *Ghulām*; see note 421 above.

688. *Al-Muḥtariqah*, between Kish and Samarqand. According to the text below, II, 1229, the village, formerly known as Faryāb (or Qaryāt), was burned by the forces of Qutaybah b. Muslim in 91 (710). See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 137f.

689. Soghdia, the Zarafshan valley, north of Kish; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 460.

690. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, Huraym b. 'Adī belonged to the Banū Mujāshi' of Tamīm (Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 61, II, 287); but the text below (II, 1569) identifies his son Khālid as one of the Banū Tha'labah b. Yarbū', also of Tamīm.

group of Muḍarites, and held them confined there; but when he withdrew, after a truce had been arranged, he let them go. Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him saying, "If you were right to confine them, you were wrong to let them go; and if you were right to let them go, you wronged them by confining them." Al-Muhallab replied, "I feared them, so I confined them. Once I felt secure, I let them go." Among those he confined was 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Shaykh al-Qushayrī.[691]

Then al-Muhallab agreed on a truce with the people of Kish on the basis of a ransom. While he was waiting to collect it, he received a letter from Ibn al-Ash'ath informing him of his rebellion against al-Ḥajjāj and summoning him to support him in his rebellion. Al-Muhallab sent Ibn al-Ash'ath's letter on to al-Ḥajjāj.[692]

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath Campaigns in Sijistān

In this year, al-Ḥajjāj sent out 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath to Sijistān to do battle with Zunbīl, the lord of the Turks. There is disagreement among the historians on the reason why al-Ḥajjāj sent him out there and on where 'Abd al-Raḥmān was when al-Ḥajjāj appointed him to Sijistān and to do battle with Zunbīl.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq: When 'Abd al-Malik received the letter of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf informing him of the army that had been with 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah in the territory of Zunbīl and their fate there, he wrote to him as follows:

I have received your letter reporting the blow suffered by
[1043] the Muslims in Sijistān. These are people whom God had

691. Probably of the Banū Qushayr b. Ka'b, a clan of 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah (of Qays 'Aylān of Muḍar); see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 105. Al-Muhallab presumably feared a return of the Muḍarite leader 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim. On conflict between Azd and Qays under al-Muhallab, see also *Aghānī*[1], XIII, 56f.; Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 112.

692. Reported also by Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 329, 335–36, where al-Muhallab expresses his indignation at this proposal from someone younger than some of his sons. Ṭabarī (text below, II, 1058f.) and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, (*Futūḥ*, VII, 118f.) give two versions of al-Muhallab's reply to Ibn al-Ash'ath, attempting to dissuade him from his rebellion.

decreed would be killed; they came out to where they were to lie, and their reward is with God.[693] As for your request for my opinion—whether to lead out the troops and direct them to that frontier where the Muslims suffered this blow or to keep them there—my opinion in this matter is that you should carry on according to your own opinion, proceeding rightly; and I wish you all success.

There was no one in all of Iraq whom al-Ḥajjāj hated more than 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath; he used to say, "I never see him without wanting to kill him!"

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Numayr b. Wa'lah al-Hamdānī al-Yanā'ī[694]—al Sha'bī:[695] I was sitting with al-Ḥajjāj when 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath was admitted. When al-Ḥajjāj saw him, he said, "Look at the way he walks! By God, I would like to cut off his head!" When 'Abd al-Raḥmān withdrew, I also withdrew, and got ahead of him and awaited him at the door of Sa'īd b. Qays al-Sabī'ī.[696] When he came up, I said, "Let us go in the door here. I want to speak to you about something, but I adjure you by God never to mention it so long as al-Ḥajjāj is alive." He agreed, and I told him what al-Ḥajjāj had said about him. He said, "May I fare as al-Ḥajjāj said if I do not expend every effort to strip him of his power! We have coexisted for too long!"[697]

Then al-Ḥajjāj set to fitting out twenty thousand Kūfans and twenty thousand Baṣrans, devoting himself to this task with great zeal. He paid the men their stipends in full, ordering them to equip themselves with excellent horses and full arms. Then he began to [1044] review the troops, and whenever he saw a man who had been cited

693. A paraphrase of Qur'ān 3:154, revealed after the defeat at Uḥud.

694. On the Yanā' b. Dawmān of Hamdān, see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 230, II, 590.

695. Abū 'Amr 'Āmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Sha'bī, d. 103 (721), the famous traditionist; see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 277.

696. Of the Banū al-Sabī' b. Sab' of Hamdān, an important clan in al-Kūfah; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 492.

697. Variants of this account in Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 318f., and Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 322. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 108–10, records from al-Sha'bī Ibn al-Ash'ath's earlier rejection of an offer to head al-Ḥajjāj's *shurṭah*, as well as other illustrations of his arrogance. On the former amity between the two men and the marriage of al-Ḥajjāj's son to 'Abd al-Raḥmān's sister, see Périer, *Vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj*, 159f.; *EI²*, s. v. Ibn al-Ash'ath.

for bravery, he gave him a generous bonus.[698] 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Miḥjan al-Thaqafī came upon 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabiṭī,[699] who was with al-Ḥajjāj, as he was going to meet 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī,[700] who was reviewing the troops. 'Abbād said, "I have never seen a finer or more beautiful horse than this. A horse provides both strength and a weapon.[701] This is also a powerful mule." Al-Ḥajjāj thereupon gave 'Ubaydallāh a bonus of 550 dirhams. Then 'Aṭiyyah al-'Anbarī[702] came upon him, and al-Ḥajjāj said, "'Abd al-Raḥmān, be generous to this one."

When al-Ḥajjāj had these two forces in good order, he sent out 'Uṭārid b. 'Umayr al-Tamīmī, who encamped at al-Ahwāz. Then he sent out 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥujr b. Dhī al-Jawshan al-'Āmirī of the Banū Kilāb,[703] but then changed his mind and sent out to command them 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, dismissing 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥujr. 'Abd al-Raḥmān's paternal uncle, Ismā'īl b. al-Ash'ath, came to al-Ḥajjāj and said, "Do not send him out! I fear that he may disobey your orders. By God, he has never crossed the Euphrates bridge and continued to recognize the authority or claim to obedience of any governor." Al-Ḥajjāj replied, "Not in this case. He both fears and respects me too much to disobey my orders or throw off his obedience to me." He then sent him out in command of that army, and he led them forth and came to Sijistān in the year 80 (699–700).[704] Upon arrival, he assembled the men already there.

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698. *Aḥsana ma'ūnatahu.*

699. A descendant of al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Tamīm, known as al-Ḥabiṭ, and formerly a commander for Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in al-Baṣrah. See text above, II, 720ff; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 102; Zirikli, *A'lām*, IV, 28. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 368f., the city of 'Abbādān was named for this 'Abbād.

700. Governor of al-Kūfah under Mu'āwiyah in 58 (678); see text above, II, 181. Umm al-Ḥakam was Mu'āwiyah's sister.

701. *Wa-inn al-faras quwwah wa-silāḥ.*

702. 'Aṭiyyah b. 'Amr of al-'Anbar b. 'Amr b. Tamīm; see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 81, II, 205.

703. On Dhū al-Jawshan Shuraḥbīl b. al-A'war b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiyah al-Ḍibāb b. Kilāb b. Rabī'ah b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 98, II, 532.

704. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 319f., has either twelve thousand or ten thousand men from al-Kūfah, put initially under the command of either 'Uṭārid or a descendant of Dhū al-Jawshan; these marched to al-Baṣrah, where a like number of men were chosen and commanded by 'Aṭiyyah. Balādhurī agrees with Ṭabarī on the transferral to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, despite the warning by the latter's uncle, but dates this to the end of 79 (699). The account in Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 114ff.,

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Zubayr al-Arḥabī, a man of Hamdān who was with 'Abd al-Raḥmān: He ascended the pulpit, praised and glorified God, and said:

> Men, the amīr al-Ḥajjāj has appointed me to your frontier district and charged me with jihād against your enemy, who has plundered your land and destroyed your property. Let no man of you shirk his duty and bring punishment down on himself. Go out to your camp and muster there with the troops. [1045]

The men all mustered in their camp. Markets were set up for them, and the men began to ready themselves and prepare their equipment for battle. When word of this reached Zunbīl, he wrote to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, apologizing to him for the blow inflicted on the Muslims and informing him that he had acted only reluctantly and that they had forced him to fight them; and he asked for peace if 'Abd al-Raḥmān would accept payment of the land tax from him. 'Abd al-Raḥmān neither accepted nor replied but immediately set out against him with his forces and came to the borders of his territory.[705] Zunbīl began to call in his forces, leaving the land to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, district by district and fortress by fortress. Ibn al-Ash'ath, as he took control of an area, would send out a tax official over it, accompanied by armed attendants.[706] He also set up a post between the various areas, positioned lookouts in the passes and ravines, and stationed advance parties[707] in every potentially dangerous spot. Then, when he had taken possession of a large part of Zunbīl's territory and filled his hands with cattle, sheep, and great amounts of plunder, he held the men back from further penetration into Zunbīl's lands, saying, "We will content ourselves with the territory we have conquered from them this year until we can collect the taxes and get to know it and the Muslims may boldly travel its roads. Next year we will advance farther, and so we will continue year by year to [1046]

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which parallels Ṭabarī's second version below, has Ibn al-Ash'ath's four half-brothers warning al-Ḥajjāj against him.

705. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 116, records a threatening letter sent by Ibn al-Ash'ath to Zunbīl, and the latter's conciliatory reply.

706. *A'wān*.

707. *Masāliḥ*.

deprive them of more pieces of their territory, until, in the end, we will fight them for their treasures and their women, in their most remote districts and in their most impregnable fortresses; and we will not leave their land until God destroys them." Then he wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, informing him of the conquests God had given him in the land of the enemy and His gracious favor to the Muslims, and explaining the strategy he was pursuing.[708]

The other account, beside that of Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq and the others that I have given in the matter of Ibn al-Ash'ath, explains his appointment to Sijistān and his march against the territory of Zunbīl differently from what is reported on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf. According to this account, the reason for that was as follows: Al-Ḥajjāj sent out Himyān b. 'Adī al-Sadūsī[709] to Kirmān with an advance party to provide reinforcements to the administrator over Sijistān and Sind if such reinforcements were needed. But Himyān and his comrades rebelled, and al-Ḥajjāj sent out Ibn al-Ash'ath to fight him, and he defeated him and took his place. Then 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah, who was the administrator over Sijistān, died, and al-Ḥajjāj wrote out a letter of appointment for Ibn al-Ash'ath to administer it. Al-Ḥajjāj also mustered an army, on which he expended two million dirhams, in addition to the stipends. It was called the Peacock Army, and al-Ḥajjāj ordered Ibn al-Ash'ath to march out with it against Zunbīl.[710]

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was Abān b. 'Uthmān, according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—anonymous—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū
[1047] Ma'shar, and also according to Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī.

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708. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 321–23, reports that Ibn al-Ash'ath was based in Bust and posted his brother in al-Rukhkhaj; according to his account, Zunbīl was advised by a renegade Tamīmī Khārijite named 'Ubayd b. Suba'. The summary account in Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 331, which gives Ibn al-Ash'ath ten thousand picked troops, also places Ibn al-Ash'ath in Bust, from which he led a preliminary campaign which frightened him enough to put off further campaigning for a year; his letter to al-Ḥajjāj explaining this was answered with threats, which led him to revolt.

709. Formerly head of the *shurṭah* in al-Baṣrah; see text above, II, 445–47, 464.

710. The term "Peacock Army" is also mentioned by Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 319ff., and many other sources. Balādhurī has versions of both of Ṭabarī's accounts, as well as a third stating that Ibn al-Ash'ath was fighting the Khārijites when appointed by al-Ḥajjāj. Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 115f., has Ibn al-Ash'ath defeat Himyān on his way to Sijistān, after his appointment there. See Dixon, *Umayyad Caliphate*, 152ff.; Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 58ff.

According to others, the leader of the pilgrimage in this year was Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik.[711] The governor of Medina in this year was Abān b. 'Uthmān. The governor of Iraq and the entire East was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. The governor of Khurāsān under al-Ḥajjāj was al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah. Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā was in charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah, and Mūsā b. Anas was in charge of the judiciary in al-Baṣrah. In this year 'Abd al-Malik sent out his son al-Walīd on campiagn.

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711. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 278, 301, and Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 336, agree that Abān led the pilgrimage.

The Events of the Year 81

(FEBRUARY 26, 700–FEBRUARY 14, 701)

The Events of This Year

In this year occurred the conquest of Qālīqalā.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad: 'Abd al-Malik sent out his son 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik in the year 81, and he conquered Qālīqalā.[712]

In this year, Baḥīr b. Warqā' al-Ṣuraymī was killed in Khurāsān.

Account of Baḥīr b. Warqā''s Death in Khurāsān

The circumstances of his being killed: It was Baḥīr who undertook to kill Bukayr b. Wishāḥ when Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh ordered him to do so.[713] Then 'Uthmān b. Rajā' b. Jābir b. Shaddād, one of the Banū 'Awf b. Sa'd, of the Abnā', incited a man from the Abnā', one of Bukayr's clan, to vengeance with these verses:[714]

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712. Modern Erzurum; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 116f., and *EI*², s. v. Erzurum.

713. See text above, II, 1022–31.

714. On the Abnā' and the Banū 'Awf b. Sa'd (possibly to be understood as 'Awf b. Ka'b b. Sa'd), see text above, II, 860, and note 38.

By my life! How patiently you bear this mote in your eye! [1048]
You sleep well at night with a bellyful of the best wine.
You have left a killing unavenged, preferring gentle sleep;
but he who drinks the ruby liquor is in debt for a slaying![715]
If you were a true noble of the 'Awf b. Sa'd,
you would have left Baḥīr in a pool of blood.
Tell Baḥīr: Sleep well and fear no avenger from 'Awf!
for 'Awf are simple herders of little lambs.
Forget the mutton for one day! You are all in debt for a slaying!
And you have become a subject for wagging tongues east and west.
Rouse yourselves! If Bukayr were here tonight, as he used to be,
well and healthy, he would meet them tomorrow in a dusky detachment.[716]

He also said:

If Bakr had gone out in his armor, to challenge him,
by the Lord of the Throne, Baḥīr would not have come out to fight him.
I seek something of Time, if Time should let me live,
as one fully qualified, before God, for such a quest.

Baḥīr heard that the Abnā' were threatening him, and said:

The Abnā' threaten me in ignorance, as if
they see my halls empty of the Banū Ka'b!
I raise against them my hand with a sharpened blade, [1049]
a sword the color of salt, keen and glittering.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad: Seventeen men of the Banū 'Awf b. Ka'b b. Sa'd made a compact to take blood vengeance for Bukayr. One of them, a young man named al-Shamardal, came out of the desert to Khurāsān, found Baḥīr standing, and assaulted and stabbed him. Baḥīr fell to the ground, and he thought that he had killed him. The men cried

715. *Wa-man shariba l-ṣahbā'a bi-l-witri yusbaqī.*
716. *La-ghādāhum bi-ja'wā'a faylaqī.* The usual phrase is *katībah ja'wā'*; see Zamakhsharī, *Asās*, s. v. ja'wā'.

out, "A Khārijite!" Al-Shamardal raced to get away from them, but his horse stumbled and threw him, and he was killed.

Then Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Ḥarb al-'Awfī, one of the Banū Jundab,[717] came out of the desert, having sold some of his booty and bought an ass. He went to Sijistān and took up residence near some of Baḥīr's relatives there. He befriended them and told them he was a man from the Banū Ḥanīfah, from the people of al-Yamāmah.[718] He continued to come and sit with them often until they became friends with him; then he said to them. "I have a legacy in Khurāsān that I have been cheated out of. I hear that Baḥīr is a very powerful man in Khurāsān. Please write to him on my behalf and ask him to help me obtain my rights." They wrote to him, and Ṣa'ṣa'ah set out, arriving at Marw while al-Muhallab was on campaign.

He met some people from the Banū 'Awf and told them what he was about. A client of Bukayr's, an armorer, came up and kissed his head. Ṣa'ṣa'ah said to him, "Make me a dagger." He made him a dagger, heating it and plunging it into ass's milk repeatedly. Then Ṣa'ṣa'ah set out from Marw, crossed the river, and came to al-Muhallab's camp, which was at that time at Akharūn.[719] He met Baḥīr, gave him the letter, and said, "I am a man from the
[1050] Banū Ḥanīfah. I was a companion of Ibn Abī Bakrah. I lost my money in Sijistān, but I have a legacy in Marw. I have come to sell it and then return to al-Yamāmah."

Baḥīr ordered him given expense money, had him stay with him, and told him to ask him for whatever he wished. Ṣa'ṣa'ah replied, "I will stay with you until the troops withdraw." He stayed a month or so, accompanying him to al-Muhallab's public and private audiences until he became known.

Baḥīr was afraid of attempts on his life and trusted no one. But when Ṣa'ṣa'ah turned up with a letter from his relatives, he said, "This is a man from Bakr b. Wā'il," and trusted him. Ṣa'ṣa'ah came one day when Baḥīr was sitting in al-Muhallab's private

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717. Neither Ibn al-Kalbī (*apud* Caskel) nor Ibn Ḥazm mentions a Jundab of the 'Awf b. Ka'b b. Sa'd.

718. The Ḥanīfah b. Lujaym of the oases of al-Yamāmah in central Arabia were a tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il; see *EI²*, s. v. Ḥanīfa b. Ludjaym.

719. Or Kharūn, a district north of the Oxus, near modern Dushanbe; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 76; *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (trans. Minorsky), 337, 353.

audience, wearing a shirt, a robe, and sandals.[720] He sat down behind him, then drew up close to him and leaned over him as if he were going to say something to him, and stabbed him in the flank with his dagger, burying it deep inside him. The people cried out, "A Khārijite!" He cried, "O slayers of Bukayr! I have taken vengeance for Bukayr!" He was seized by Abū al-'Ajfā' b. Abī al-Kharqā', who was then head of al-Muhallab's security force, and brought to al-Muhallab. Al-Muhallab said, "Woe to you! You have not achieved your vengeance, and have killed yourself, while Baḥīr does well!" Ṣa'ṣa'ah said, "I stabbed him with a thrust that, if divided up among the army, would have killed them all! I also felt the wind from his belly on my hand." Al-Muhallab imprisoned him; some of the Abnā' came to the prison to visit him and kissed his head.

Baḥīr died the next day around midday. Ṣa'ṣa'ah was told of his death and said, "Do with me now as you like and however seems best to you. Have not the vows of the women of the Banū 'Awf been fulfilled, and have I not achieved my vengeance? I am indifferent to my fate. By God, he gave me more than one chance to do the deed while he was alone, but I was unwilling to kill him in private." Al-Muhallab said, "Never have I seen a man more generously willing to give up his life while in bonds than this one!" [1051] Then he ordered Abū Suwayqah, a paternal cousin of Baḥīr's, to kill him. Anas b. Ṭalq said, "Woe to you! Baḥīr has already been killed; do not kill this one as well!" But Abū Suwayqah refused to heed him, and killed Ṣa'ṣa'ah. Anas reviled him.

According to others, al-Muhallab sent Ṣa'ṣa'ah to Baḥīr before the latter died. Anas b. Ṭalq al-'Abshamī said to him, "Baḥīr, you killed Bukayr; now let this one live." But Baḥīr said, "Bring him nearer me! No, by God, I will not die while you still live!" They brought him nearer him, and he put his head between his legs and said, "Kill 'Ifāq in cold blood—he is an abiding evil!"[721] Ibn Ṭalq

720. *Qamīṣ wa-ridā' wa-na'lān.* See Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, 59n., 371–75, 421–24.

721. *Iṣbir 'Ifāq innahu sharr bāqin.* This line, which must have been proverbial, occurs in a variant form in an anecdote recorded by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, IV, 85, according to which a man known for his eloquence in rhymed prose was asked by the Shī'ites of al-Kūfah to silence the militantly anti-Shī'ite 'Ifāq b. Shuraḥbīl al-Taymī (so read for text al-Tamīmī; see Caskel, *Gamharat an-*

said to Baḥīr, "God curse you! I speak to you on his behalf, and you kill him right in front of me!" Baḥīr stabbed him with his sword until he was dead; then Baḥīr himself died. Al-Muhallab said, "'We are God's, and to God we return'—so I say of a campaign in which Baḥīr has been cut down."[722]

'Awf b. Ka'b and the Abnā' were angry and said, "Why was our comrade killed, when he was only seeking his vengeance?" They were opposed by Muqā'is and the Buṭūn, until people feared the situation would get out of hand. But the more temperate men said,[723] "Take responsibility for the blood of Ṣa'ṣa'ah and accept the blood of Baḥīr as retribution for Bukayr." So they paid the bloodwit[724] for Ṣa'ṣa'ah.

One of the men of the Abnā' praised Ṣa'ṣa'ah with these verses:

God be praised for a young man whose ambition
    went beyond Iraq, across deserts and seas;
He kept pressing and driving himself
    until he caught up with Baḥīr at Kharūn.

'Abd Rabbih al-Kabīr Abū Wakī', who was one of Ṣa'ṣa'ah's kin, went out into the desert and told Bukayr's kin, "Ṣa'ṣa'ah has been killed seeking vengeance for the death of your comrade. Pay his bloodwit!" Thus he received two bloodwits for Ṣa'ṣa'ah.[725]

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nasab, I, 150, II, 353); he said to 'Ifāq, "O God, kill 'Ifāq! He is a hypocrite within and a troublemaker without, an unabashed schismatic with an unstable character!" (*Allāhumma qtul 'Ifāq fa-innahu asarra nifāqā, wa-aẓhara shiqāqā, wa-bayyana firāqā, wa-talawwana akhlaqā*).

722. The quotation is from Qur'ān 2:156, where it is introduced by the phrase "Those who say, when afflicted by a disaster . . ."

723. To Muqā'is and the Buṭūn.

724. Reading *waddaw* for text *waddū*.

725. A garbled version of this in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Asmā' al-mughtālīn*, 176f.; see also Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 34f.

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VOLUME XXIII

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TRANSLATED BY MARTIN HINDS

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This volume covers the years 700-715 A.D., a period that witnessed the last five years of the caliphate of the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and the whole of the caliphate of his son al-Walīd. In retrospect, this period can be seen to have marked the apogee of Marwānid Umayyad power. It began with the dangerous revolt of the Iraqi tribal leader Ibn al-Ashʿath, which seriously imperilled Marwānid control of Iraq and was countered with considerable difficulty; but this proved to be the last of the obstacles faced by ʿAbd al-Malik in the wake of the Second Civil War of 685-693. Thereafter he was able to preside over a strong and dynamic Arab kingdom, with al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusuf as his powerful governor of Iraq and the East.

When ʿAbd al-Malik died in 705, the caliphate passed to his son al-Walīd, during whose decade of office al-Ḥajjāj remained at his post and further Arab expansion took place in Central Asia, in Sind, and in the Iberian Peninsula. To many of their contemporaries, the Arabs of that time must have looked like potential world conquerors.

The volume ends shortly after the deaths of al-Ḥajjāj and al-Walīd and just two years before the dispatch in 717 of the ill-fated Arab expedition to Constantinople.

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AND

THE CALIPHATE OF AL-WALĪD

A.D. 700–715/A.H. 81–96

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabari's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually translated according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

The early years of the eighth century constitute what in retrospect can be seen as the high point of Marwānid Umayyad power. When, in 693, the prolonged war against the Zubayrids had finally come to an end, the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had been free to set about Umayyad consolidation; this took longest in Iraq, in a sequence of events culminating in the revolt led in 700–702 by the Iraqi *sharīf* 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Kindī (with which this volume begins), which seriously imperiled Marwānid control of Iraq and was countered with considerable difficulty. Thereafter, however, 'Abd al-Malik presided over a strong and dynamic Arab kingdom, with al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī as his powerful governor of Iraq and the East. When 'Abd al-Malik died in 705, the kingdom passed to his son al-Walīd, during whose ten-year caliphate al-Ḥajjāj remained at his post and further Arab expansion took place: in Central Asia, in Sind, and in the Iberian Peninsula. To many of their contemporaries, the Arabs of that time must have looked like potential world conquerors. The volume ends in 715, shortly after the deaths of al-Ḥajjāj and al-Walīd, and just two years before the dispatch of the ill-fated Arab expedition to Constantinople.[1]

1. For general literature relating to this period, see J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*, Calcutta 1927, pp. 232–57, 427–44; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History A.D. 600–750 (A.H. 132): A New Interpretation*, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 110–26; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, London and New York, 1986, pp. 100–4; G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate, A.D. 661–750*, London and Sydney, 1986, pp. 58–71.

In this volume, as is often the case in his chronicle, al-Ṭabarī's focus is on events in Iraq and the East, and he pays only fleeting attention to what was going on in Syria, Egypt, and the West; and it so happens that the central figure in the Arab history of this period was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. Both of the subjects receiving the most attention in this volume involved him: (1) the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'th and how al-Ḥajjāj managed to deal with it;[2] and (2) events in Khurasan and Transoxania, notably the conquests effected by al-Ḥajjāj's protégé and governor of Khurasan, Qutaybah b. Muslim.[3] In the case of the first of these subjects, much of what is relayed by al-Ṭabarī is also relayed by al-Balādhurī; in the case of the second, al-Ṭabarī is unquestionably the major source.

Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt began in Sijistān and moved to Iraq; many grievances were involved, but the main reason why the revolt so nearly succeeded was that it brought together, on an unprecedented scale, highly disparate elements of Iraqi opposition to Syrian domination. The earlier Sufyānid Umayyad administration of Iraq had involved controlling the Iraqi Arab tribesmen through the local tribal *ashrāf*, and the Zubayrids tried similarly to involve them in the power structure (albeit with less success than the Sufyānids); on occasions when the established order in Iraq was exposed to any local threat or opposition, the *ashrāf* formally aligned themselves (or were required to align themselves) with the representatives of Umayyad/Zubayrid government there. It is therefore a telling comment on the state of affairs in Iraq under al-Ḥajjāj that the *sharīf* Ibn al-Ash'ath, supported by other *ashrāf*, led a revolt against the representative of Marwānid rule; it was a revolt that constituted a major departure from the earlier pattern of sharīfian behavior and provided a leadership capable of uniting the various disgruntled Iraqi interest groups.

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2. On this, see Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, pp. 232–50; C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Saffārids (30–250/651–864)*, Rome, 1968, pp. 55–63; *EI²*, s.v. Ibn al-Ash'ath (L. Veccia Vaglieri); 'A. 'A. Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate (65–86/684–705): A Political Study*, London, 1971, pp. 153–68; and, most recently, R. Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Aš'aṯ und die Koranleser: Ein Beitrag zur Religions- und Sozialgeschichte der frühen Umayyadenzeit*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1977.

3. See Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, pp. 427–44; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, London, 1923, pp. 29–58; also *EI²*, s.v. Ḳutayba b. Muslim (C. E. Bosworth).

Al-Ḥajjāj was able to counter it only by bringing in massive Syrian reinforcements for the Syrian troops already with him. Following the suppression of the revolt, the role of the Iraqi Arab tribesmen and their leaders was obviously to be diminished even more than it had been already, and al-Ṭabarī gives us detailed accounts of the stern measures then taken by al-Ḥajjāj in Iraq. In addition, he established Wāsiṭ (rather than making any more use of al-Baṣrah and/or al-Kūfah) as the base for his Syrian troops in Iraq. The Iraqi Arabs were for the time being well and truly subjugated to Syrian domination.

As for events in Khurasan and beyond, the period opens with Muhallabid governors of Khurasan, first al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah himself, then successively his sons Yazīd and al-Mufaḍḍal. Following the failure of Ibn al-Ash'ath's insurrection, the Muhallabids were the last Iraqi family of major importance, and al-Ḥajjāj soon succeeded in ousting them from Khurasan. Al-Ṭabarī goes on to regale us with the remarkable story of Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim, the Sulamī who for fifteen years operated independently from his base at al-Tirmidh, before proceeding to the most important part of his account: the conquests effected in Central Asia by Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, al-Ḥajjāj's governor of Khurasan from 86 (705). Between that date and 96 (715), Qutaybah brought the whole of Lower Ṭukhāristān and Transoxania under Arab sway and made important inroads beyond the Jaxartes. Despite the fact that the account of the expedition to Kāshghar in 96 (715) seems to be an exaggeration (as Gibb has shown), it is nonetheless clear that Qutaybah achieved more in Central Asia than any other Arab conqueror of the Umayyad period; "with Ḥajjāj at his back, [he] held his conquests together, and when he disappeared there was neither leader nor organization to take his place."[4] Al-Ṭabarī tells us a great deal about these important conquests, but he says almost nothing about the less important conquests in Sind effected at the same time by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī,[5] who was a relative of al-Ḥajjāj's and was directly responsible to him; one might have thought that the Ḥajjāj

4. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, p. 54.
5. See F. Gabrieli, "Muḥammad ibn Qāsim and the Arab Conquest of Sind," *East and West*, N.S. 15 (1965), pp. 281–95.

connection would have led al-Ṭabarī to say more about these operations, but it is necessary in fact to turn to al-Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-buldān* for details about them. More predictably, al-Ṭabarī also pays very little attention to the third instance of Arab expansion at this time, namely, the conquest of much of the Iberian Peninsula by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr and Ṭāriq b. Ziyād.[6]

Of the other matters touched on in this volume, something may be said, first, about Arab operations against the Byzantines. Here, as is apparent from the digest made by Brooks,[7] al-Ṭabarī tells us more than any other single Arabic source; and it is clear that in general there was more activity on that front in the caliphate of al-Walīd than in that of ʿAbd al-Malik, which is scarcely surprising in view of ʿAbd al-Malik's more pressing concerns. Even so, the sum of information available is depressingly meager, and numerous contradictions and problematic place names remain to be resolved.[8]

Secondly, there were two attempts during this period to divert succession to the caliphate. The first of these, when ʿAbd al-Malik wished to divert it from his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to his son al-Walīd, was blocked by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; the matter was resolved for ʿAbd al-Malik when his brother predeceased him. The second, when al-Walīd wished to divert the succession from his brother Sulaymān to his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, was blocked by Sulaymān, who outlived al-Walīd and succeeded to the caliphate. As Hawting has remarked, "In view of the potentiality for conflict inherent in the lack of a fixed order of succession to the caliphate in the Umayyad period, it is remarkable how seldom real trouble developed from it."[9]

Thirdly, it can be noted, too, that during this period there emerged into prominence two figures who would subsequently play roles of major importance. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, a son of ʿAbd al-Malik's brother mentioned in the preceding para-

6. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, new ed., Leiden and Paris, 1950–53, vol. I; also *EI*², s.v. al-Andalus (E. Lévi-Provençal).

7. E. W. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor (641–750) from Arabic Sources," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 18 (1898), pp. 190–94.

8. See, most recently, R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber* (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 22), Munich, 1976, pp. 113–22.

9. *First Dynasty of Islam*, p. 59.

graph, and later the Caliph 'Umar II, served as governor of Medina for six years under al-Walīd, until the latter was persuaded by al-Ḥajjāj to dismiss him; and Khālid al-Qasrī, who was to become the governor of Iraq for most of the caliphate of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, served as governor of Mecca for perhaps as long as the last seven years of al-Walīd's caliphate.[10]

This was above all what Shaban had styled "the age of Ḥajjāj,"[11] and particularly so in the caliphate of al-Walīd, who, as Wellhausen has pointed out, "gave him a free hand, and even in his own sphere of government gave in to him and consulted his wishes."[12] This most unforgettable of Arab governors did more than any other individual to turn the period covered by the present volume into the pinnacle of the Marwānid achievement. Yet even he did not get his way in one important regard: in 90 (708–9), Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and other Muhallabids escaped from his custody in Iraq and gained the protection of the Caliph's brother, Sulaymān, in Palestine. Al-Ḥajjāj's attempts to put pressure on al-Walīd to remedy the matter came to nothing. Six years later, Sulayman was caliph and the Muhallabids were in the ascendant.

There remains only the agreeable task of thanking those who have been kind enough to put their expertise at my disposal in the course of making and annotating this translation. Professor Iḥsān 'Abbās not only gave freely of his time to provide me with *fatwās* on all manner of queries that came up in the course of making the translation, but he also went through the penultimate draft and made further valuable suggestions. Professor Edmund Bosworth and Dr. Patricia Crone also went through the draft and made helpful comments and criticisms, for which I am grateful. All three scholars are of course to be absolved from any blame for such infelicities as may appear in the translation in its final form.

Martin Hinds

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10. See *EI*², s.v. Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (G. R. Hawting), where the chronological difficulties relating to Khālid's governorship of Mecca are discussed.
11. *Islamic History*, ch. 6; see also *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf (A. Dietrich).
12. *Kingdom*, p. 251.

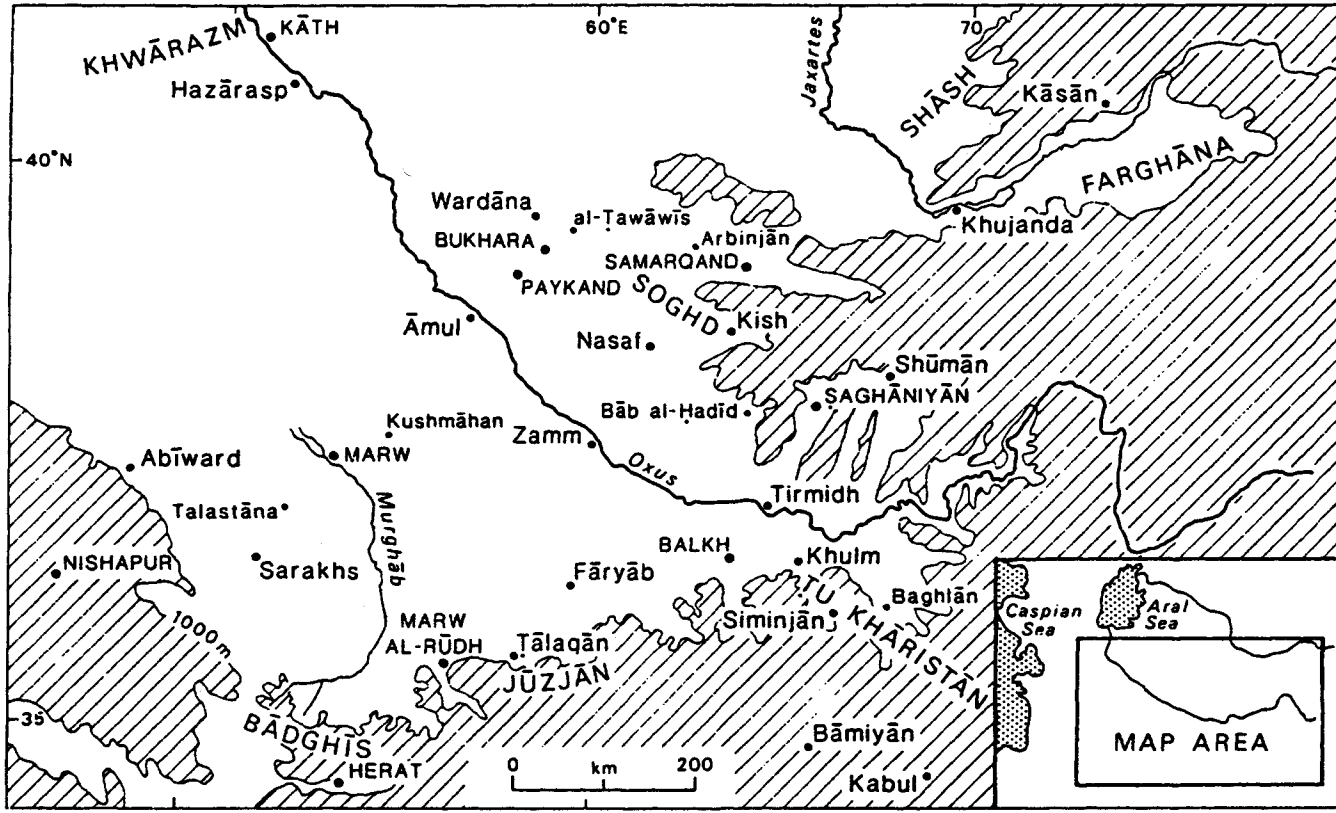

Khurasan and Transoxania in the Early Eighth Century

The Last Years of ʿAbd al-Malik

The Events of the Year 81 (cont'd)

(FEBRUARY 26, 700–FEBRUARY 14, 701) [1052]

Abū Ja'far said: In this year 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath and those of the Iraqi army who were with him disobeyed al-Ḥajjāj and advanced upon him to fight him. This is what Abū Mikhnaf said on the authority of Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī; as for al-Wāqidī, he claimed that this took place in the year 82.

What Led 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath to Do What He Did, with an Account of His Actions after Disobeying al-Ḥajjāj

We have already mentioned under the year 80 the presence of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad in the territory of the Zunbīl[1] and his letter to al-Ḥajjāj concerning what he had done there and what he proposed to do in the future. We shall now mention what happened to him in the year 81, this being the account of Abū Mikhnaf on the authority of Abū al-Mukhāriq.

1. The literature relating to the question of whether this title was Rutbīl (and variants) or Zunbīl (and variants) is listed by Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Aš'aṯ und die Koranleser*, p. 148. The form Zunbīl has been preferred here and below (the text consistently gives the form Rutbīl).

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī: Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, in reply to his letter, "To continue: Your letter has reached me and I have understood what you have mentioned in it. Your letter is the letter of a man who wants a truce and is pleased with reconciliation, having blandished a lowly and slight foe. They have struck down Muslim troops whose performance was good and whose capacity in the cause of Islam was mighty. By your life, O son of the mother of
[1053] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, if you hold back from the enemy with my troops and arms you will be heedless of those Muslims who were struck down. I do not consider the decision you claim to have reached to be based on a strategem; I think that all that impels you to do that is your weakness and your confused judgment. So do what I ordered you to do, penetrating far into their territory, destroying their fortresses, killing their fighting men, and taking their children captive."

Then he sent after [that letter] another in which he said, "To continue: Order the Muslims who are with you to till the soil and settle. That is your abode until God grants [you] victory over them."

Then he sent after [that letter] a further one in which he said, "To continue: Do what I ordered you to do, and penetrate far into their territory. Otherwise your brother Isḥāq b. Muḥammad[2] is to be the amīr of the people, and you are to let him have that to which I have appointed him."

When [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] read [this] letter, he said, "Shall I bear responsibility for Isḥāq?" and he showed [the letter] to him.[3] [Isḥāq] said, "Don't do it." [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] said, "By the Lord of this," meaning the copy of the Qur'ān, "if you mention [this] to anyone, I'll kill you." [Isḥāq] thought that he meant the sword and put his hand on the pommel of his sword.

Then [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] summoned the people, praised God, and said, "O people, I am one who gives you sincere advice, one who has your well-being at heart, and one who is watchful of all benefit that encompasses you. My view in the matter of your dealings

2. According to al-Balādhurī (*Anonyme arabische Chronik*, Band XI [henceforward *AAC*], p. 324), Isḥāq had been sent out by al-Ḥajjāj at the head of a separate army.

3. The drift of what immediately follows is not entirely clear, and it is likely that some text is missing.

with the enemy was a view about which I consulted [both] the discerning among you and those of you who are experienced in war. They were satisfied with it in respect of you, considering it to be conducive to your well-being, and in both the short term and the long. I wrote to your amīr al-Ḥajjāj [telling him this], and he responded with a letter in which he charged me with incompe- [1054] tence and weakness and ordered me to hasten the business of taking you far into the territory of the enemy, that being the territory in which your brethren perished but yesterday. I am one of you: I go on when you go on, and I balk when you do." [At this,] the people were stirred up in support of him and said, "No, we balk against the enemy of God: We shall not heed him, nor shall we obey."

Abū Mikhnaf said: Muṭarrif b. ʿĀmir b. Wāthilah al-Kinānī told me that his father,[4] who was a poet and *khaṭīb*,[5] was the first to speak on that day. After praising God, he said, "To continue: Al-Ḥajjāj wants for you none other than what the sayer of yore[6] wanted when he said to his brother, 'Mount your servant on the mare: If he perishes he perishes, and if he escapes [then so much the better] for you.' By God, al-Ḥajjāj does not care that he is taking chances with you by forcing you into a territory of sheer cliffs and narrow passes. If you win and take booty, he will devour the territory and appropriate [its] wealth, thereby extending his dominion; while if your enemy wins, you will become hated enemies, whose distress will be of no concern to him and whom he will not pity. So disavow al-Ḥajjāj, the enemy of God, and give the oath of allegiance to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. I [hereby] cause you to witness that I am the first to disavow [him]." [At this,] the people called out from every side, "We do so, we do so, we disavow the enemy of God."

ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. Shabath b. Ribʿī al-Tamīmī,[7] who was in charge of [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's] police force when he arrived [in Sijistān], stood up next and said, "O servants of God, if you obey al-Ḥajjāj he will make this land your land for as long as you live. He

4. Abū al-Ṭufayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthilah: see Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (henceforward *GAS*), vol. II, p. 412.

5. A term signifying a tribal spokesman in pre-Islamic times and subsequently the deliverer of the Friday sermon (see *EI*², s.v.).

6. So rendering *al-qāʾil al-awwal*; al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 325, gives simply *al-qāʾil*. I have not encountered elsewhere the piece of wisdom that follows.

7. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 118.

will keep you out in the field in the manner of Pharaoh, who, I have been informed, was the first to keep armies out in the field; I think that most of you will be dead before seeing your loved ones. So give the oath of allegiance to your amīr, set off against your
[1055] enemy, and expel him from your land (that is, Iraq)." [At this] the people rose up to 'Abd al-Raḥmān and gave him the oath of allegiance. He said, "Give me the oath of allegiance to disavow al-Ḥajjāj, the enemy of God, and to help me, and to fight against him along with me until God expels him from the land of Iraq"; and they rendered the oath of allegiance to him. No mention was made at that time of any disavowal of 'Abd al-Malik.

Abū Mikhnaf said: 'Umar b. Dharr,[8] the *qāṣṣ*,[9] related to me that his father was there with him and that 'Abd al-Raḥmān had flogged him and imprisoned him because of his attachment to his brother al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad.[10] But when he came out in revolt, he summoned Dharr, and gave him a mount, raiment, and gifts; [Dharr] was among those who set off with him, functioning as a *qāṣṣ* and *khaṭīb*.[11]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sayf b. Bishr al-'Ijlī—al-Munakhkhal b. Ḥābis al-'Abdī: When Ibn Muḥammad set off from Sijistān, he appointed over Bust 'Iyāḍ b. Himyān[12] al-Bakrī, from the Banū Sadūs b. Shaybān b. Dhuhl b. Tha'labah, and over Zaranj 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir al-Tamīmī al-Dārimī. Then he sent to the Zunbīl and made peace with him on the understanding that, if Ibn al-Ash'ath were to win, the Zunbīl would not be liable to tax (*kharāj*) as long as he lived, and, if Ibn al-Ash'ath were to be defeated and so desired it, the Zunbīl would give him refuge with him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Khushaynah b. al-Walīd: When 'Abd al-Raḥmān left Sijistān heading for Iraq, al-A'shā went before him on a mare, saying (*rajaz*):[13]

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8. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register.
9. Teller of popular stories (see *EI*², s.v. Ḳāṣṣ).
10. A slightly fuller account of this is given in al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 326.
11. Cf. the account given by Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, p. 279.
12. Thus too in Ibn al-Athīr, but 'Iyāḍ b. 'Amr according to al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 327.
13. This is A'shā Hamdān (see *EI*², s.v., and Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 345–46). Regarding the following verses, cf. von Goutta, *Der Aġaniartikel über 'A'šà von Hamdān*, pp. 38, 54; Geyer, *The Díwán of al-A'shà*, pp. 341–42 (Arabic text); al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, pp. 328–29; *Aghānī*,² vol. VI, p. 59; and al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, vol. V, p. 356 = par. 2109.

Distant is he whose residence is at the Īwān,[14] [1056]
the Īwān of Chosroes, the possessor of villages
and sweet-smelling plants,
For a lover who has emerged in Zābulistān.
There have been two liars from Thaqīf,
Their past liar[15] and a second one.
May my Lord give power to Hamdān over Thaqīf,
For a day until nighttime, so consoling us for what took place
[before].
We betook ourselves to the devilish infidel,
When, in unbelief after belief, he exceeded the bounds
with the noble lord 'Abd al-Raḥmān.
He set forth with a throng of Qaḥṭān, like locusts,
while from Ma'add b. 'Adnān he brought
A tumultuous and mighty multitude.
So tell Ḥajjāj, Satan's friend, [if he can]
Stand steady against Madhḥij and Hamdān,
that they will give him to drink from the
goblet of poison,
And will send him off to the villages of Ibn Marwān. [1057]

He (sc. Abū Mikhnaf) said: 'Abad al-Raḥmān sent 'Aṭiyyah b. 'Amr al-'Anbarī over his vanguard. Al-Ḥajjāj sent the cavalry against him, but he defeated it at each engagement. Al-Ḥajjāj asked who it was and was told that it was 'Aṭiyyah. This is why al-A'shā said (*kāmil*):

When you put the mountain roads of Fārs,
one by one, behind them,
Then send 'Aṭiyyah with the cavalry
to cast them down upon him.[16]

Then 'Abd al-Raḥmān advanced with the people. He asked about Abū Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī,[17] whom he had inscribed among his companions, saying, "You are my maternal uncle"; [Abū Isḥāq] was told,

14. The Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon is meant here (see *EI*², s.v.).
15. Presumably, al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd is meant.
16. Reading *'alayhi* (von Goutta, *Aġaniartikel*, p. 55; Geyer, *The Dīwān of al-A'shà*, p. 312 [Arabic text]; al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 320; and al-Mas'ūdī, loc. cit.) in place of *'alayka*. Cf. Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 129.
17. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register, s.v. 'Amr b. 'Abd Allāh.

"Don't go to him, for he has asked about you," and he did not like to go. 'Abd al-Raḥmān then went on until he passed through Kirmān and placed over them (sc. the people of Kirmān) Kharashah b. 'Amr al-Tamīmī. Abū Isḥāq stayed there and did not take part in the civil war (*fitnah*) until [the battle of Dayr] al-Jamājim. When ['Abd al-Raḥmān] entered Fārs, the people gathered together and said, "If we have disavowed al-Ḥajjāj, the governor of 'Abd al-Malik, then we have [as a consequence] disavowed 'Abd al-Malik"; and they gathered around 'Abd al-Raḥmān.[18]

Abū Mikhnaf said: Among what Abū al-Ṣalt related to me [was this]: [The first person who][19] disavowed 'Abd al-Malik was Tayḥān b. Abjar of the Banū Taym Allāh b. Tha'labah. He stood up
[1058] and said, "O people, I have disavowed Abū Dhibbān[20] just as I divest myself of my shirt." All but a few of the people then disavowed him, rose up to Ibn Muḥammad, and rendered the oath of allegiance to him. His oath of allegiance was: "Do you swear allegiance on [the basis of] the Book of God, the Sunnah of his Prophet,[21] disavowal of the imāms of error, and struggle against those who violate that which is sacred?" If they said "Yes," he accepted the oath.

When it reached al-Ḥajjāj that he had been disavowed, he wrote to 'Abd al-Malik informing him about 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath and asking him to hasten the sending of troops to him. He sent his letter to 'Abd al-Malik, citing at the end of it these verses by al-Ḥārith b. Wa'lah (*basīṭ*):[22]

Ask the one who is the neighbor (or: under the protection,
mujāwir) of Jarm, "Have I brought upon
them a war that will divide neighbors of

18. Omitting the following *fa-kāna awwal al-nās*.

19. Inserting *kāna awwal man*, as given by manuscripts O and B.

20. Literally, "father of the flies," i.e., one who has stinking breath, an epithet applied in particular to 'Abd al-Malik (see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 952b); see also al-Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, p. 36 (English trans. pp. 56–57)).

21. On the significance of this wording, see Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, pp. 59ff.

22. On the poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 147. Regarding the following verses (and their attribution), cf. al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 333; *Aghānī*,[2] vol. XXII, p. 219; Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, p. 279; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, p. 155; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, vol. II, p. 454; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. III, p. 877. Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, pp. 123–24) has Ibn al-Ash'ath proclaiming these verses while in Fārs.

sincere and friendly conduct?
Have I risen up with a clamorous army full of
neighing horses between the plain and the mountain?[23]
Have I left the women of the tribe exposed to the sun,
out in the open, trying to make fires out of
hawdaj saddles?"

And he went along until he stopped at al-Baṣrah.

[News of] the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān while he was in Sijistān reached al-Muhallab,[24] who wrote to him, "To continue: O Ibn Muḥammad, you have put your foot in a stirrup that is very [1059] wrong for the community of Muḥammad. By God, look to yourself and do not destroy it; do not spill Muslim blood; do not sunder unity; do not violate the oath of allegiance. By God, if you say, 'I fear the people for myself (*nafs*),' [know that] God is more properly to be feared for it than the people. Do not expose it to God['s anger] by shedding blood or by deeming licit that which is not. Peace be upon you."

Al-Muhallab [also] wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, "To continue: The people of Iraq have advanced toward you, like a flood coming down from above, unstoppable until it reaches its resting place. The people of Iraq are fierce at the start of their exodus, desiring their sons and womenfolk; nothing will stop them getting to their families and embracing (lit. sniffing)[25] their children. So encounter them there. God willing, He will give you victory over them." When al-Ḥajjāj read this letter, he said, "God damn him; he is not looking to my interests but to those of his cousin."[26]

When al-Ḥajjāj's letter came to ʿAbd al-Malik, it appalled him. He descended from his throne, sent for Khālid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah,[27] called him [in], and had him read the letter. When

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23. Reading *bayna 'l-sahli wa'l-furuṭi*, as given in other versions, rather than *bayna 'l-jammi wa'l-furuṭi* (which appears to have arisen by dittography).

24. Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah, the governor of Khurasan at this time (see *EI*², s.v. [forthcoming]).

25. *Yashummū*: al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 336, gives *yatakassamū*, which makes no obvious sense and is presumably a corruption of *yashummū*; cf. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, p. 280 (*shammū nisāʾahum wa-awlādahum*) and Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 37, line 10 (*shammū awlādahum*).

26. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 336.

27. *EI*², s.v.

[Khālid] saw his concern, he said,[28] "O Commander of the Faithful, if this incident [arises from] the direction of Sijistān, do not fear it; [but] if it is from the direction of Khurasan, then I [myself] fear it." Then ['Abd al-Malik] went to the people, stood
[1060] up among them, praised God, and said, "The people of Iraq have found my life too long and wish to hasten my demise. O God, empower the swords of the people of Syria over them, so that they may achieve Thy pleasure; if they do so, they will fall short of Thy displeasure." Then he descended.

Al-Ḥajjāj stayed in al-Baṣrah, prepared himself for the encounter with Ibn Muḥammad, and ignored the advice of al-Muhallab. At the same time Syrian horsemen were reaching him daily from 'Abd al-Malik, borne on post-mules in groups of one hundred, fifty, ten, and less, while he daily sent to 'Abd al-Malik letters and messages with information about Ibn Muḥammad—what district he had stopped in, what district he had set off from, which people had hastened to him [and so on].

Abū Mikhnaf said: Fuḍayl b. Khadīj[29] related to me that the place where he was registered [as a soldier] (*maktab*) was in Kirmān, where there were four thousand Kūfan and Baṣran horsemen, and that, when Ibn Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath passed by them, [these forces] quickly went off with him. Al-Ḥajjāj [in the meantime] resolved to engage Ibn al-Ash'ath and went with the Syrians to Tustar; and [from there] he sent out advance parties led by Muṭahhar b. Ḥurr al-'Akkī—or al-Judhāmī—and 'Abdallāh b. Rumaythah al-Ṭā'ī, with Muṭahhar in overall command. These reached [the river] Dujayl, which had already been crossed by a troop sent by 'Abd al-Raḥmān—three hundred horsemen commanded by 'Abdallāh b. Abān[30] al-Ḥārithī—who formed a strongpoint for 'Abd al-Raḥmān and his army. When Muṭahhar b. 'Amr got to them, he ordered 'Abdallāh b. Rumaythah to advance on
[1061] them; the cavalry of 'Abdallāh [b. Abān] was defeated and pushed back to [the river], and his companions were wounded.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Zubayr al-Hamdānī: I was among the companions of Ibn Muḥammad when he summoned

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28. Preferring al-Balādhurī's *fa-lammā ra'ā . . . qāl* to al-Ṭabarī's *wa-ra'ā . . . fa-qāl*.

29. Al-Kindī (see the index to al-Ṭabarī's text).

30. Muḥammad b. Abān b. 'Abdallāh, according to al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 339.

and gathered the people. Then he said, "Cross to [the enemy][31] from this place." So the people impelled their horses into the Dujayl from that place which he had designated, and, by God, no sooner had most, though not all, of our horses crossed than we attacked Muṭahhar b. Ḥurr and al-Ṭā'ī and defeated them, that being on the Day of Sacrifice, 81 (January 25, 701). We killed on a large scale and took their camp.[32]

[News of] the defeat reached al-Ḥajjāj while he was delivering the sermon. Abū Ka'b b.[33] 'Ubayd b. Sarjis ascended [the pulpit] to him and informed him of the people's defeat, at which he said, "O people, go to al-Baṣrah for a camp and a place for fighting, for grain and supplies: This place in which we are cannot support us." Then he set off, returning, and the cavalry of the Iraqis[34] followed him; whenever they came upon a straggler, they killed him and [in this way] acquired [much] baggage, which they gathered together. Al-Ḥajjāj went on, without deviating, until he stopped at al-Zāwiyah.[35] He sent for the grain of the merchants at al-Kallā',[36] took it and [had it] transported to him, and left al-Baṣrah to the Iraqis [that is, the Iraqi army], his governor over it being al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb b. Abī 'Aqīl al-Thaqafī;[37] and the Iraqis came on until they entered al-Baṣrah. When he had suffered this setback and retreated, al-Ḥajjāj called for al-Muhallab's letter and [re]read it. Then he said, "What a man! What a general! He advised us correctly, and we did not accept [what he said]."

According to authorities other than Abū Mikhnaf, al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb was the civilian governor of al-Baṣrah, while 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Misma'[38] was in command of the police. [1062]

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31. Al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 339, gives *aṣḥāb al-Ḥajjāj*.

32. The account of this engagement given by al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, pp. 339–40, is rather fuller and clearer: *Inter alia*, it includes the information that Muṭahhar's force consisted of 7,000 Syrians; Ibn A'tham, on the other hand, opts for a force of 8,000 horsemen (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 130).

33. Al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 340, omits "Abū Ka'b b."

34. Ibn al-Athīr reads *aṣḥāb 'Abd al-Raḥmān*.

35. Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 911) knew this as no more than a place near al-Baṣrah.

36. The river port of al-Baṣrah and one of its markets (see Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, pp. 20, 235).

37. A relative and son-in-law of al-Ḥajjāj (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 131).

38. A member of the important Baṣran Shaybānī family known as the Masāmi'ah (ibid, p. 117, and *EI*², s.v. Masāmi'ah).

Then al-Ḥajjāj went with his army until he stopped at Rustāqubādh,[39] which was part of Dastawā, one of the districts of al-Ahwāz, and pitched camp there. Ibn al-Ash'ath advanced and stopped at Tustar, [with the result that] there was a river between them. Al-Ḥajjāj sent Muṭahhar b. Ḥurr al-'Akkī with two thousand men,[40] and they rushed a strongpoint of Ibn al-Ash'ath's. Ibn al-Ash'ath proceeded swiftly and attacked them, this being in the evening of 'Arafah in the year 81 (January 24, 701). It is said that they killed fifteen hundred of the Syrians, the rest of whom returned to [al-Ḥajjāj] in defeat. He had with him one hundred fifty million [dirhams], which he distributed among his commanders, making them responsible for them, and went in defeat to al-Baṣrah. [Meanwhile,] Ibn al-Ash'ath addressed his companions, saying, "As for al-Ḥajjāj, he is nothing. We want to carry the war to 'Abd al-Malik." [At the same time, news of] the defeat of al-Ḥajjāj reached the people of al-Baṣrah, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Misma' wanted to cut the bridge to prevent his passage; but al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb bribed him with one hundred thousand [dirhams], and he desisted from this [action]. [Then] al-Ḥajjāj entered al-Baṣrah: He sent to Ibn 'Āmir and wrested the one hundred thousand [dirhams] from him.

The account reverts to that of Abū Mikhnaf on the authority of Abū al-Zubayr al-Hamdānī: When 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad entered al-Baṣrah, all of its *qurrā'*[41] and middle-aged men rendered the oath of allegiance to him to fight al-Ḥajjāj and dis-
[1063] avow 'Abd al-Malik; and a Jahḍamī of al-Azd called 'Uqbah b. 'Abd al-Ghāfir,[42] who was a Companion, jumped up and gave the oath of allegiance to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, being strong in his conviction of the rightness of fighting al-Ḥajjāj. Al-Ḥajjāj entrenched himself against ['Abd al-Raḥmān],[43] and 'Abd al-Raḥmān entrenched himself against al-Baṣrah. 'Abd al-Raḥmān's entry into al-Baṣrah took place at the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 81 (mid-February 701).

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39. On the Dujayl river between al-Ahwāz and Tustar (see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 237, and *EI*², s.v. 'Askar Mukram).

40. Cf. n. 32 above.

41. Generally held to have been Qur'ān reciters (see *EI*², s.v. Ḳurrā'). For a detailed discussion of these particular Baṣran *qurrā'*, see Sayed, *Revolte*, chap. v.

42. Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 350.

43. Where al-Ṭabarī has *'alayhi*, Ibn al-Athīr has *'alā nafsihi*.

Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage in this year: This is what Aḥmad b. Thābit related to me on the authority of he who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on the authority of Abū Ma'shar; and so too said al-Wāqidī. He (sc. al-Wāqidī) [also] said: Ibn Abī Dhi'b[44] was born in this year; the governor of Medina in this year was Abān b. 'Uthmān;[45] over Iraq and the East was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf; over the military affairs (*ḥarb*) of Khurasan was al-Muhallab, and over its taxation (*kharāj*) was al-Mughīrah b. al-Muhallab,[46] [both of these being appointees acting] on behalf of al-Ḥajjāj; in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah was Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā,[47] and in charge of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Udhaynah.[48]

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44. A traditionist who died in 158 (774) or 159 (775) (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. IX, p. 306).
45. A son of the Caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (see *EI*², s.v.).
46. *EI*², s.v. (Banū) 'l-Muhallab (forthcoming).
47. *EI*², s.v. al-Ash'arī.
48. 'Abd al-Raḥān b. Udhaynah b. al-Ḥārith al-'Abdī (see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register; Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāh*, vol. I, pp. 304–7).

The Events of the Year 82

(February 15, 701–February 3, 702)

[*Operations at al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah*]

Among the events of this year were the battles that took place between al-Ḥajjāj and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad at al-Zāwiyah.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Zubayr al-Hamdānī: 'Abd al-Raḥmān's entry into al-Baṣrah took
[1064] place at the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and they fought in Muḥarram of the year 82 (February–March 702). They came together one day, and their fighting intensified. Then the Iraqis defeated [the Syrians], forcing them back to al-Ḥajjāj and fighting them in their trenches. The defeat of the whole of Quraysh and Thaqīf was such that 'Ubayd b. Mawhab, the mawlā and secretary of al-Hajjāj, said (*ṭawīl*):

Al-Barā' and his cousin Muṣ'ab fled,
and Quraysh fled, but for Āl Sa'īd.[49]

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49. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 347, where it is clear that al-Ḥajjāj's relatives al-Barā' b. Qabīṣah b. Abī Aqīl and Muṣ'āb b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Aqīl are meant; the Banū Sa'īd in question were probably the descendants of Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ al-Umawī (see the reference to 'Anbasah b. Sa'īd on p. 348).

Then they came together at the end of al-Muḥarram, on the day when the Iraqis defeated the Syrians: The [Syrian] right and left wings turned back, their spears were in disarray, and their [front] line was routed, to the extent that [the Iraqis] drew near to us. When al-Ḥajjāj saw that, he fell to his knees, drew his sword a span, and said, "How admirable Muṣ'ab was! How noble he was when there overtook him what overtook him, and I know, by God, that he did not wish to flee."

He (sc. Abū al-Zubayr) said: I signaled to my father with my eye to give me permission to smite [al-Ḥajjāj] with my sword, and he signaled back firmly [that I should not], and I kept still. Then I happened to turn, and, lo and behold, Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī[50] had attacked them and defeated them on the right wing. So I said, "Rejoice, O amīr, for God has defeated the enemy." He said to me, "Stand up and look," so I stood up and looked and said, "God has defeated them." He said, "Stand up, Ziyād, and look"; so Ziyād stood up and looked and said, "It's true, God has certainly caused you to prosper; they have been defeated." And al- [1065]
Ḥajjāj cast himself down in prostration. When I returned, my father reviled me and said, "Did you want to kill me and my family?"

The following were killed in the battle: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awsajah Abū Sufyān al-Nihmī[51] and 'Uqbah b. 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Azdī al-Jahḍamī,[52] among those *qurrā'* who were all killed in the same place; 'Abdallāh b. Rizām al-Ḥārithī;[53] al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd;[54] and 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Misma'.[55] The head of this last-named was brought to al-Ḥajjāj, who said, "I do not think that this [fellow] left me in order to have his head brought to me."

Sa'īd b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ[56] fought a duel on that day with a

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50. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register.

51. Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 357 (wrongly an-Nuhmī).

52. See above, n. 42.

53. This cannot be right, for we find him alive and well below (p. 25). It can be noted that Mss. O and B (as well as al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 346) omit the words *b. Rizām . . . al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd . . . 'Abd Allāh b.*

54. This cannot be al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd, who had already been dead for twenty years (Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register, and cf. preceding note); possibly one of his sons is meant (cf. below, p. 69, where his son Bishr is killed at Maskin).

55. Cf. above, p. 11 and n. 38.

56. Al-Umawī (Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register).

man who killed him; they claimed that he was a mawlā of al-Faḍl[57] b. 'Abbās b. Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib,[58] a brave man called Nuṣayr. [Al-Ḥajjāj] had earlier criticized his gait, and, when he saw him going about between the [battle] lines, he said, "Never again shall I criticize him for this gait."

Al-Ṭufayl b. 'Āmir b. Wāthilah was killed.[59] It was he who had said in Fārs, while advancing on al-Ḥājjāj with 'Abd al-Raḥmān from Kirmān (*ṭawīl*):[60]

[The phantom of] Janūb[61] paid us a night visit at
al Ghariyyān,[62] after we,
the distance being long, had become fatigued.
They (that is, our troops) have come to you leading the fates;
our vanguard[63] has been guided to you by [your] sins.
[1066] There is no good on earth for anyone who does not have
a share from God in the world to come.
Inform al-Ḥajjāj that there has drawn near to him
chastisement that will strike [him] through
the hands of the believers.
When we come to the two *miṣrs* (that is, al-Baṣrah and
al-Kūfah), Muḥammad[64] will flee,
but flight will not save the son of the accursed one.

[Al-Ḥajjāj] said [when he learned of al-Ṭufayl's death], "The fate [which you wanted for us] is a matter which God knew you to be more deserving of. He hastened it for you in this world and will chastise you in the next."

[The Iraqis] were defeated, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān set off toward al-Kūfah, followed by those Kūfans who were with him and the

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57. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda.*

58. A Hāshimī who had been killed in 63 (683) (Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register).

59. For his father, see above, n. 4.

60. The fourth of the following verses is given also by al-Balādhurī (*AAC*, p. 346).

61. I am grateful to Professor Iḥsān 'Abbās for pointing out to me that this is to be read as a woman's name; her identity, however, remains unclear.

62. "Two well-known buildings in El-Koofeh, at El-Thaweeyeh, where is the tomb of 'Alee, the Prince of the Faithful, asserted to have been built by one of the Kings of El-Ḥeereh" (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2254b). See the discussion by Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, p. 91–94.

63. Preferring *ūlānā to awlānā.*

64. The son of al-Ḥajjāj (cf. below, p. 48).

strongest of the Baṣran horsemen. When he had gone, the Baṣrans flocked to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbbās b. Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[65] and swore allegiance to him. For five nights he fought al-Ḥajjāj with them; it was the fiercest fighting the people had seen. Then he went off and joined Ibn al-Ashʿath, and was followed and joined by a group of Baṣrans. There also went out [of al-Baṣrah] al-Ḥarīsh b. Hilāl al-Saʿdī,[66] from the Banū Anf al-Nāqah,[67] who was wounded; he went to Safawān[68] and died of his wound. [Also] killed was Ziyād b. Muqātil b. Mismaʿ,[69] from the Banū Qays b. Thaʿlabah, who was in command of the *khums*[70] of Bakr b. Wāʾil with Ibn al-Ashʿath and was over the infantry. His daughter[71] Ḥamīdah stood up and lamented him, saying [1067]
(*mutaqārib*):

Ziyād defended his two banners,
and the protector of the Banū al-ʿAnbar fled.[72]

Al-Baltaʿ[73] al-Saʿdī came and heard her lamenting her father and stigmatizing the Tamīmī. He had been selling clarified butter at al-Mirbad;[74] he left his clarified butter with his friends, came until he stood beneath her, and said (*mutaqārib*):

Why do you blame one who did not commit blameworthy actions?
May the night be long for a marriageable young lady such as you!

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65. Al-Hāshimī (Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register).
66. Who had earlier been a Tamīmī leader of importance in Khurasan (Caskel, loc. cit.).
67. I.e., the Banū Jaʿfar b. Quray' b. ʿAwf of Saʿd/Tamīm (see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, vol. I, chart 77).
68. A place one day's journey from al-Baṣrah on the road to the Ḥijāz (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. III, pp. 98–99).
69. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 117.
70. One of the "fifths" into which the Baṣran fighting men were divided (Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, p. 23).
71. According to al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 351, she was Ḥamīdah (or Ḥumaydah) bt. Muqātil, i.e., the *sister* of Ziyād.
72. *Rāyatayhi*, "banners": al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 351, reads *qawmihi*. Reading *muḥāmī* "protector," with *AAC* (rather than *judayy*, "small kid," with al-Ṭabarī), since al-Ḥarīsh was not himself a member of the Banū al-ʿAnbar.
73. The pointing is lacking or impressionistic; the name could also be al-Balīgh or al-Nabīgh or al-Tabīʿ.
74. The Baṣran halting place for caravans (*EI*², s.v. [forthcoming]).

If the spear point destroyed your father,
the horses may reach he who was in flight
(that is, the father)
And they may butt under the dust
one who was not innocent[75] and had no excuse.
We defended the standard of al-Ḥarīsh,
while the standard of the Banū Jaḥdar[76] went astray.

[1068] 'Āmir b. Wāthilah said, elegizing his son Ṭufayl (*basīṭ*):

Ṭufayl left care weighing upon me and departed this life,
and that has crushed my strength signally.
I shall never forget the two sons of Sumayyah,[77]
whatever else I may forget, [the loss of] each of
whom was for me a source of fatigue.
The fates [earlier] missed me, not trying to come
forward to me
until my old age, when they left me with nothing.
After Ṭufayl I have become as one from whom the waters
have dried up and the water has disappeared into
the earth,[78]
One who has no camel to ride in the land and who,
if he strives in the track of him who has escaped
him, becomes weary.
There arose from the land of Khāqān,[79] which the sons
[1069] of Fārs had subjugated like lions[80] in their squadrons,[81]
And from Sijistān a web of circumstances rendered attractive
to you by fate, perdition brought for you
Until you reached the basins of death and the squadrons
went away from you, leaving no one behind [alive].

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75. *Al-barī: Al-shahīd*, "martyred," is given as a variant.
76. The Masāmi'ah were descendants of Jaḥdar b. Ḍubay'ah (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 116).
77. Presumably, the poet's wife.
78. The text has *al-miyāh*, "waters," while Ibn al-Athīr gives *al-suyūl*, "the floods." Reading *aw naḍabā*, "disappeared into the earth," as given by manuscripts O and B.
79. A title used by the Turks to signify "[supreme] ruler" (*EI*², s.v. Khāḳān).
80. Reading *ghulubā* in place of the *ghalabā* given by the editor.
81. *Fī arbā'ihā*: see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, vol. XIX, p. 20, who gives the definition *jamā'āt min al-nās*.

They left you felled, a hostage to the battlefield,
where you see the vultures in groups over the dead.
They made a compact and then did not fulfill what
they had undertaken,
[instead] handing the captives and the plunder
over to the enemy.
What a disgrace it is for a people when their women
are taken captive,
when they are numerous and they experience
disgrace and destitution!

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Hishām b. Ayyūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Aqīl: Al-Ḥajjāj stayed put for the rest of al-Muḥarram and the beginning of Ṣafar. Then he appointed over al-Baṣrah Ayyūb b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'Aqīl.[82] Ibn al-Ash'ath went to al-Kūfah, where al-Ḥajjāj had left in charge 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir al-Ḥaḍramī, a confederate (*ḥalīf*) of Ḥarb b. Umayyah.[83]

Abū Mikhnaf said: As Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq related it to me, he was in command of four thousand Syrians.

Abū Mikhnaf said: Sahm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Juhanī related to me that there were two thousand of them. Hanẓalah b. al-Warrād al-Tamīmī,[84] from the Banū Riyāḥ b. Yarbū', and Ibn 'Attāb b. Warqā'[85] were over al-Madā'in, while Maṭar b. Nājiyah,[86] from the Banū Yarbū', was in charge of the ma'ūnah.[87] When [news of] [1070]
the Ibn al-Ash'ath affair reached [Maṭar b. Nājiyah], he advanced until he came near to al-Kūfah. Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī fortified himself in the citadel, and the Kūfans rose up with Maṭar b. Nājiyah

82. Here, and below (pp. 46, 130), "Ayyūb b. al-Ḥakam" should be taken to signify "al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb" (see above, n. 37, and cf. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, pp. 295, 314).

83. The text gives 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir, but the second "'Abd al-Raḥmān" appears to have arisen by dittography (cf. Ms O; al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 353; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 132).

84. About whom al-Ṭabarī has nothing else to say.

85. Presumably Khālid b. 'Attāb (see the index to the Ṭabarī text and Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register).

86. Caskel, loc. cit.

87. The exact responsibilities of such an appointment at this time remain unclear; they may have included fiscal duties, in addition to general administration and/or the maintenance of law and order (see *EI*², s.v. [forthcoming]).

against Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī and the Syrians who were with him. [Maṭar] besieged him, and they offered peace with him in return for getting out and leaving him the citadel; so he made peace with them.

Abū Mikhnaf said: Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq related to me that he saw them coming down from the citadel in haste. The door of the citadel was opened for Maṭar b. Nājiyah, the people crowded up to it, and Maṭar was crushed against it.[88] He drew his sword and with it smote the lip of one of the mules of the Syrians; then he cast its lip aside and entered the citadel. The people gathered to him, and he gave them two hundred dirhams [each].

Yūnus said: I saw [the dirhams] being divided among them; Abū al-Saqr[89] was among those who were given them. [Then] Ibn al-Ash'ath came in defeat to al-Kūfah, followed thither by the people.

Abū Ja'far said: In this year, according to one [of the authorities], there took place between al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn al-Ash'ath the battle of Dayr al-Jamājim. Al-Wāqidī said: The battle of Dayr al-Jamājim was in Sha'bān of this year (September–October 701). Others have said that it took place in the year 83.

The Reason for Ibn al-Ash'ath's Progress to Dayr al-Jamājim and [the Battle] between Him and al-Ḥajjāj

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Zubayr al-Hamdānī al-Arḥabī: I had sustained a wound. The Kūfans went out to [1071] receive Ibn al-Ash'ath when he came, and received him after he had crossed the Zabārā[90] bridge. As he was drawing near to it, he said to me, "I'd be grateful if you would turn off the road, so that the people will not see your wound. I don't want the wounded to receive them." I did so,[91] and the people entered al-Kūfah.

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88. According to al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 353, he was crushed against the door by a mule.

89. If this is how the name is to be read.

90. Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 912) knew this as a place ("I think it was one of the *nawāhī* of al-Kūfah") mentioned in connection with the Qarāmiṭah in the time of al-Muqtadir (see de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes*,[2] p. 97).

91. Reading *fa'altu*, as proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

When he entered al-Kūfah, all the Kūfans inclined to him—Hamdān got to him first[92]—and surrounded him at the residence of 'Amr b. Ḥurayth, except for a group from Tamīm which was not great in number; these last had gone to Maṭar b. Nājiyah and had wanted to fight for him, but were unable to take on the people. 'Abd al-Raḥmān called for ladders of various kinds,[93] and these were placed in position so that the people might climb up the citadel; they did this and took [Maṭar], who was brought to 'Abd al-Raḥmān and said to him, "Spare me, for I am the worthiest of your horsemen and the most able of them to replace you." ['Abd al-Raḥmān] ordered that he be imprisoned. Then he called for him subsequently and pardoned him, and Maṭar rendered the oath of allegiance to him. The people entered into ['Abd al-Raḥmān's] presence and rendered the oath of allegiance to him. The Baṣrans came to him, and the strongpoints and frontier ways of access fell to him; among those Baṣrans who came to him was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-'Abbās b. Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib—so he was known—who had fought al-Ḥajjāj for three [nights][94] at al-Baṣrah after the exodus of Ibn al-Ash'ath. [News of] that reached 'Abd al-Malik, who said, "May God fight 'Udayy al-Raḥmān![95] He has fled, and some of the young men of Quraysh [1072]
have fought for three [nights] after him."

Al-Ḥajjāj set off from al-Baṣrah and went through the land until he passed between al-Qādisiyyah and al-'Udhayb.[96] [The Iraqis] prevented him from stopping at al-Qādisiyyah: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath sent against him 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-'Abbās with a large force made up of cavalry from the two *miṣrs* (that is, al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah), and they prevented him from stopping at al-Qādisiyyah. Then they kept pace with him until they came out at the top of Wādī al-Sibā';[97] they kept pace with

92. Al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 356, notes that they were his maternal uncles (see also above, p. 7, and below, note 237).

93. So rendering *al-salālim wa-al-'ajal*.

94. Cf. above (p. 17), where we are told that he had fought him for five nights.

95. Literally, "the small enemy of the Merciful," this being a play on the name 'Abd al-Raḥmān, "the servant of the Merciful."

96. To the south-southwest of al-Kūfah. For discussion of their exact location, see *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳādisiyya (p. 384b).

97. Which receives passing attention from Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, vol. IV, p. 876) as one of the *nawāḥī* of al-Kūfah.

each other until al-Ḥajjāj stopped at Dayr Qurrah[98] and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-'Abbās stopped at Dayr al-Jamājim.[99] Then Ibn al-Ash'ath came and stopped at Dayr al-Jamājim, while al-Ḥajjāj was [still] at Dayr Qurrah. Al-Ḥajjāj used to say subsequently, "Couldn't 'Abd al-Raḥmān augur from the birds when he saw that I had stopped at Dayr Qurrah and he had stopped at Dayr al-Jamājim?"[100]

There gathered together at Dayr al-Jamājim the Kūfans, the Baṣrans, the people of the frontier ways of access and the strongpoints, and the *qurrā'* of the two *miṣrs*. They were unanimous in making war on al-Ḥajjāj, being united in that by their hatred and loathing of him. They were at that time one hundred thousand stipendiary fighting men, accompanied by a like number of their mawlās.

Al-Ḥajjāj's reinforcements from 'Abd al-Malik had come to him before he stopped at Dayr Qurrah; before stopping there, he had wanted to go up to Hīt[101] and the area of the Jazīrah, out of a desire to be near[er] to Syria and the Jazīrah and so that he could be close to the *rafāghah*[102] of the price [of the foodstuffs] of the Jazīrah. But when he passed by Dayr Qurrah, he said, "This place isn't far from the Commander of the Faithful, and al-Falālīj[103] and 'Ayn al-Tamr[104] are nearby"; and he stopped there and entrenched himself in his camp, [just as] Ibn Muḥammad had in his.

[1073] The people would make sorties every day and fight, while at the same time advancing their trenches toward each other; and the fighting intensified. When [news of] that reached the heads of Quraysh and the Syrians with 'Abd al-Malik and his mawlās, they said, "If the only thing that will please the people of Iraq is the

98. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 685, where its location is described simply as "opposite Dayr al-Jamājim"; also *EI*², s.v. Dayr Ḳurra.

99. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 652, where it is said to have been seven parasangs from al-Kūfah. For further details, see *EI*², s.v. Dayr al-Djamādjim; and Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 211.

100. Dayr Qurrah means literally "the monastery of satisfaction," while Dayr al-Jamājim means literally "the monastery of the skulls" (for all that other explanations are volunteered).

101. An Iraqi town situated on the right bank of the Euphrates and generally regarded as the border town between Iraq and the Jazīrah (*EI*², s.v. al-Djazīra).

102. "Ampleness, or abundance, of the means of subsistence" (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1124c); presumably, "cheapness" is meant here (cf. below, n. 109).

103. According to Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, vol. III, p. 908), the *falālīj* of the Sawād were its villages.

104. A settlement some eighty miles to the west of al-Kūfah (see *EI*², s.v.).

removal of al-Ḥajjāj from them, that is easier than fighting them; so remove him from them, and that will secure obedience and spare our blood and theirs." [At this, 'Abd al-Malik] sent his son 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik to his brother, Muḥammad b. Marwān, [who was] in the territory of al-Mawṣil, ordering him to come to him. Both joined him, with their armies, and he ordered them to put it to the people of Iraq that al-Ḥajjāj would be removed from them, that they would be assigned the same stipends as those assigned to the Syrians, and that Ibn Muḥammad could stop in any part of Iraq he wished and could be governor of it for as long as he wished and as long as 'Abd al-Malik was ruler.[105] If they accepted this, al-Ḥajjāj would be dismissed and Muḥammad b. Marwān would be amīr of Iraq; and if they refused to accept it, al-Ḥajjāj would [remain] amīr of the Syrian army and war commander, with Muḥammad b. Marwān and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik responsible to him.[106]

No order ever came to al-Ḥajjāj that was harder or more vexatious and hurtful to him than this, on account of [his] fear that they would accept and he would be dismissed. He wrote to 'Abd al-Malik, "O Commander of the Faithful, if you present the Iraqis with my removal, it will not be long before they disobey you and go against you. That will simply make them bolder against you. [1074] Did you not see and hear of the uprising of the Iraqis with al-Ashtar against Ibn 'Affān? When he asked them what they wanted, they said, 'The removal of Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ'; and, when he had removed him, the year was not out before they went to him and killed him.[107] It takes iron to cleave iron.[108] May God be propitious to you in your deliberations. Peace be upon you." 'Abd al-Malik[, however,] insisted on proposing these conditions to the Iraqis, desiring freedom from war.

When [Muḥammad b. Marwān and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik] had joined up with al-Ḥajjāj, 'Abdallāh went forth and said, "O people of Iraq, I am 'Abdallāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful. He will give you such-and-such," and he mentioned the

105. *Wāliyan*: Ibn al-Athīr reads *khalīfatan*, "caliph."

106. Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 137, gives a different version: According to him, 'Abd al-Malik's offer to the Iraqis consisted of (i) the dismissal of al-Ḥajjāj, (ii) the evacuation of the Syrians, and (iii) the appointment over them of whomever they might want.

107. Cf. Hinds, "Kūfan Political Alignments," pp. 360–61.

108. Cf. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, vol. I, pp. 9–10.

conditions which we have mentioned. [Then] Muḥammad b. Marwān said, "I am the messenger of the Commander of the Faithful to you, and he proposes to you such-and-such," and he mentioned these conditions.

They said, "We shall come back this evening," and went back and joined Ibn al-Ash'ath. Every single commander, chief, and horseman came to him. Ibn al-Ash'ath praised God and then said, "To continue: You have been presented with something which, if you take it today, [appears to be] an opportunity, and I am not sure that it will tomorrow [prove to] be a [matter for] regret for one possessed of insight. You are today all square [with them]. If they take al-Zāwiyah into account [against you], you may take the battle day of Tustar into account against them. Accept what they have offered you while you are mighty and strong, while the [Syrians] are fearful of you and you are still able to look down on them; and, by God, you will remain bold against them and mighty in their eyes if you accept, forever, as long as you live."

[1075] The people rose up on every side and said, "God has destroyed them. They are in a state of anguish, distress, famine, dearth, and abasement, while we have large numbers, [foodstuffs at] a cheap[109] price, and supplies nearby. No, by God, we shall not accept." And they repeated their disavowal of ['Abd al-Malik]. The first to do so at al-Jamājim were 'Abdallāh b. Dhu'āb and 'Umayr b. Tayḥān. Their disavowal of him at al-Jamājim was more united than it had been in Fārs. [At this], Muḥammad b. Marwān and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik returned to al-Ḥajjāj and said, "Your camp and your army are your affair, so do as you think best. We have been ordered to heed and obey you." He said, "I told you that none other than the two of you are wanted for this command." Then he said, "I shall fight for you, and my authority is yours," and, whenever they met him, they greeted him as the amīr; [however,] it has been claimed by Abū Yazīd al-Saksakī that he also greeted them as amīrs when he met them. They let him get on with the war, which he took charge of.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Kalbī, Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib: When the people gathered at al-Jamājim, I heard 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad say, "The Banū Marwān are reviled on account of

109. *Al-rafīgh* [cf. above, n. 102]: Ibn al-Athīr reads *al-rakhīṣ*.

[their] blue-eyed (that is, non-Arab) [mother].[110] By God, they have a lineage no better than that; and the Banū Abī al-ʿĀs[111] [are worse still, being] *aʿlāj*[112] from the people of Saffūriyyah![113] If this matter (that is, the caliphate) is among Quraysh, then I can adduce an origin from Quraysh,[114] and, if it is among the Arabs, I am the son of al-Ashʿath b. Qays!"[115] He said this at the top of his voice, to make the people hear.

They went forth to fight. Al-Ḥajjāj placed over his right wing ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym al-Kalbī,[116] over his left wing ʿUmārah [1076]
b. Tamīm al-Lakhmī,[117] over his cavalry Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī,[118] and over his infantry ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[119] b. Ḥabīb[120] al-Ḥakamī. Ibn al-Ashʿath placed over his right wing al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah al-Khathʿamī,[121] over his left wing al-Abrad b. Qurrah al-Tamīmī,[122] over his cavalry ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbbās b. Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith al-Hāshimī,[123] over his infantry Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ,[124] and over his cataphracts ʿAbdallāh b. Rizām al-Ḥārithī.[125] He placed Jabalah b. Ẓahr b. Qays al-Juʿfī—who was accompanied by fifteen men from Quraysh—over the *qurrāʾ*, among whom were ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī, Saʿīd b. Jubayr, Abū al-Bakhtarī, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā.[126]

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110. *Al-zarqāʾ*: see Glossarium, p. CCLXXVII.

111. On this Qurashī group, see *EI*², suppl., s.v. Aʿyāṣ.

112. Singular *ʿilj*, a term signifying a man who is strong, sturdy, non-Arab, and an unbeliever.

113. A district in al-Urdunn, near al-Ṭabariyyah (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. III, p. 402). For some of the background to this piece of abuse, see Crone, *Meccan Trade*, p. 102, n. 70.

114. *Fa-ʿannī fuqiʿat* (or *taqawwabat*) *bayḍat Quraysh*. His grandmother, the wife of al-Ashʿath, was a sister of Abū Bakr's (*EI*², s.v. al-Ashʿath).

115. Cf. Ibn Aʿtham's (somewhat similar) version of this outburst (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 140).

116. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, pp. 130–31.

117. Ibid., p. 140.

118. See above, n. 50.

119. "ʿAbdallāh" according to Mss. O and B, as well as Ibn al-Athīr.

120. "Khubayb" according to Ibn al-Athīr.

121. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register.

122. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, pp. 112–13.

123. See above, n. 65.

124. Who, oddly, does not figure in Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamharah*; see the index to al-Ṭabarī's text.

125. For all that we have been told above (p. 15 and n. 53) that he had been killed at the battle of al-Zāwiyah; he also reappears below (pp. 39, 43).

126. See the list of *qurrāʾ* provided by Sayed (*Revolte*, pp. 350ff., nos. 44, 15, 14, 23, and 17, respectively).

Then they began to engage each other every day and to fight. The supplies of the Iraqis came to them from al-Kūfah and its Sawād, and they were abundantly provided for as they wanted, [both the Kūfans] and their brethren the Baṣrans. The Syrians[, on the other hand,] were in dire straits: Prices went up to their disadvantage, food supplies became scarce for them, and they lacked meat; it was as if they were under siege. But, for all that, they took on the Iraqis throughout the day, fighting very fiercely. First al-Ḥajjāj would advance his trench, and then [the Iraqis] would [advance theirs, and so it went on] until the day on which Jabalah b. Zaḥr was struck down; then ['Abd al-Raḥmān] sent [word] to Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakha'ī,[127] who was a grave man, steadfast in war, possessed of courage, and a voice among the people. His (that
[1077] is, Jabalah's) squadron was called "The Squadron of the Qurrā'." When attacked, they would scarcely move, and, when attacking, they would not retreat; they were known for that. One day, they made a sortie as usual, and the people made a sortie with them. Al-Ḥajjāj deployed his companions and then marched among his battle ranks. Ibn Muḥammad made a sortie with seven battle ranks, one after another. Al-Ḥajjāj deployed against Jabalah b. Zaḥr's squadron of *qurrā'* three squadrons, over which he placed al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī;[128] they advanced against them.

Abū Mikhnaf said: Abū Yazīd al-Saksakī related to me: I, by God, was among the cavalry deployed against Jabalah b. Zaḥr. We attacked him and his companions three times, one attack per squadron, and, by God, we found them in no way wanting.

[*The Death of al-Mughīrah b. al-Muhallab*]

In this year al-Mughīrah b. al-Muhallab[129] died in Khurasan.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad: Al-Mughīrah b. al-Muhallab was his father's deputy at Marw over the whole of his province; then he died in Rajab 82 (August–September 701). The news reached Yazīd [b. al-Muhallab], and the army learned of it, but they did not inform al-Muhallab. Yazīd

127. See Sayed's list, p. 357, no. 27.
128. *EI*², s.v. al-Djarrāḥ b. 'Abd Allāh; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, pp. 132–33.
129. See above, n. 46.

wanted to let [al-Muhallab] know, so he instructed the women to cry out. Al-Muhallab said, "What is this?" and he was told, "al-Mughīrah has died." At this, he exclaimed, "Verily to God we belong, and verily unto Him we return!" and he grieved until his grief became apparent upon him and one of his intimates took him to task. He summoned Yazīd and sent him to Marw, having advised him as to what he should do, while his tears poured down onto his beard. Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to al-Muhallab, offering his condolences in respect of al-Mughīrah, who had been a *sayyid*. On [1078] the day when al-Mughīrah died, al-Muhallab was stationed at Kish[130] in Transoxania, for the purpose of making war on its people.

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Yazīd went off with sixty—also put at seventy—horsemen, including Mujjā'ah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Atakī, 'Abdallāh b. Mu'ammar b. Shumayr[131] al-Yashkurī, Dīnār al-Sijistānī, al-Haytham b. al-Munakhkhal al-Jurmūzī, Ghazwān al-Iskāf the lord of Zamm[132]—who had converted to Islam at al-Muhallab's hand—Abū Muḥammad al-Zammī, and 'Aṭiyyah, [who was] a mawlā of 'Atīk. They were encountered in the desert of Nasaf by 150 Turks, who said to them, "Who are you?" and they replied, "Merchants." "Where are [your] loads?" asked [the Turks], and they replied, "We have sent them on ahead." "Well, give us something," said [the Turks]. Yazīd refused, but Mujjā'ah gave them a garment, some pieces of cloth, and a bow, and they departed. Then they acted treacherously and returned to them, and Yazīd said, "[There,] I knew best about them—fight them." The fighting between them intensified. Yazīd was on a horse near to the ground,[133] and with him was a Khārijī man whom he had taken [prisoner]. [This man] said [to him], "Allow me to live," and [Yazīd] acceded to that. Then he said to [the man], "What are you capable of?" and [the man] charged upon [the Turks] until he mingled with them; then he was behind them, having killed a man, then he rushed again and mingled with them until he came out in front of them, having killed [another] man; then he returned to Yazīd, who had [in the meantime] killed one of their lords and

130. *EI*², s.v.
131. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda*.
132. See below, n. 346.
133. Presumably, he was on a small horse or pony; Ibn al-Athīr omits the phrase.

been shot in the leg. [The Turks now] put on more pressure, and Abū Muḥammad al-Zammī fled; but Yazīd doggedly faced up to them, until they ultimately abstained from fighting [Yazīd and his companions]. They said, "We acted treacherously, but we shall not depart until either we all die, or you die, or you give us something."
[1079] Yazīd swore that he would not give them anything, but Mujjāʿah said, "For heaven's sake! Al-Mughīrah has perished, and you saw what an effect his death had on al-Muhallab. I beseech you by God not to be struck down today." [Yazīd] said [to him], "Al-Mughīrah did not exceed his allotted span, and I shall not exceed mine." Then Mujjāʿah threw them a yellow turban, and they took it and departed, [after which] Abū Muḥammad al-Zammī came with horsemen and food. Yazīd said to him, "You deserted us, O Abū Muḥammad," to which he replied, "I simply went off to bring reinforcements and food." The *rajaz* poet said:

Yazīd, you sword of Abū Saʿīd,[134]
peoples and armies, together with
The throng on the gathering day which is witnessed, know
that you, on the battle day with the Turks,
are made of stern stuff.

And al-Ashqarī[135] said (*basīṭ*):

The Turks know, when [Yazīd] encounters their throngs,
that they have met one who is [like] a meteor that
dispels darkness,
[One accompanied] by young men like lions of the thicket,
who know no refuge save patience and endurance.
We see streaks of blood covering the people,
but I do not see any sign of them shrinking back
or fearing to advance.
Beneath them are full-grown horses that endure the adversity
that they (the riders) endure, until they (the horses)
are shoed[136] with blood.
[1080] In the turmoil of death, until nighttime envelops them,
neither side either flees or suffers defeat.

134. I.e., al-Muhallab.
135. Kaʿb b. Maʿdān al-Ashqarī (see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 377–78).
136. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

In this year al-Muhallab made peace with the people of Kish in return for tribute[137] and left it, heading for Marw.

The Reason for al-Muhallab's Departure from Kish

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad: Al-Muhallab was suspicious of some people from Muḍar. He accordingly imprisoned them and departed from Kish, leaving them [there]; he also left Ḥurayth b. Quṭbah, the mawlā of Khuzāʿah, saying to him, "When you have exacted the whole of the tribute, return the[ir] hostages to them." He crossed the river [Oxus] and, when he got to Balkh, he stopped there. He wrote to Ḥurayth, "I cannot be sure that, if you return the hostages to them, they will not attack you; accordingly, when you take possession of the tribute, do not set the hostages free until you reach Balkh territory." Ḥurayth said to the king of Kish, "Al-Muhallab has written to me [telling me] to detain the hostages until I reach Balkh territory." If you hasten [to let me have] what you owe, I shall hand your hostages over to you and go and tell him that his letter arrived after I had exacted the whole of what was owing and had handed the hostages over to you." [At this, the king] hastened [to pay] to [Ḥurayth and those with him the sum stipulated in] their peace agreement, and [Ḥurayth] returned to them those of them whom he held. [Ḥurayth] then set off and [was en route when he] was confronted by the Turks, who said, "Ransom yourself and those who are with you; we encountered Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, and he ransomed himself." Ḥurayth said, "Do you imagine that [1081]
Yazīd's mother gave birth to me?" and he fought them and killed [some of] them and took prisoners, whom [the Turks] then ransomed; he treated them with favor, released them, and returned the ransom to them. His words, "Do you imagine that Yazīd's mother gave birth to me?" reached al-Muhallab, who said, "That slave is disdainful of [the idea] that he might have been born of his kinsmen,"[138] and he became angry.

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137. So rendering *fidyah* (see Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, p. 434).

138. So rendering *an talidahu raḥimuhu* (Ibn al-Athīr says *an talidahu ummu Yazīd*); it is difficult to understand what al-Ṭabarī's version is driving at here, since Ḥurayth was a mawlā of Khuzāʿah and not of al-Azd.

When [Ḥurayth] came to [al-Muhallab] at Balkh, the latter said to him "Where are the hostages?" [Ḥurayth] replied, "I took possession of what was owing and let them go." [Al-Muhallab] said, "Didn't I write to you [telling you] not to let them go?" "Your letter reached me after I had let them go," [Ḥurayth] replied, "and after I had been spared what you feared." "You are lying," said [al-Muhallab], "you approached them and their king, and you apprised him of my letter to you," and he ordered that [Ḥurayth] be stripped. The latter exhibited much distress at being stripped, to such an extent that al-Muhallab thought that he must have leprosy; then he stripped him and gave him thirty lashes. Ḥurayth said, "I should have preferred you to have given me three hundred lashes without having stripped me," out of modesty and shame at being stripped; and he swore that he would kill al-Muhallab.

Al-Muhallab rode forth one day, and Ḥurayth also rode. While he was going along behind al-Muhallab, he ordered two *ghulāms*[139] of his to smite him; one of them refused and left him and departed, while the other did not dare to advance on [al-Muhallab] on his own. When he returned, [Ḥurayth] said to his *ghulām*, "What prevented you from [attacking] him?" [The *ghulām*] replied, "Fear for you, by God. I did not fear for myself, by God. I knew that, if we killed him, both you and we would be killed. My consideration was for you: Had I known that you would be safe from being killed, I should have killed him."

[Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Ḥurayth left off coming to al-Muhallab and made a show of being in pain. It reached al-Muhallab that he was feigning illness and that he wished to murder him, and he said to Thābit b. Quṭbah, "Bring me your
[1082] brother, for he is to me as one of my sons. I did what I did to him only out of consideration for him and as a matter of discipline, just as I might give one of my sons a hiding in order to discipline him." Thābit accordingly came to his brother and besought him and asked him to ride to al-Muhallab. But he refused, being fearful of [al-Muhallab], and said, "I shall not go to him after he has done to me what he has done. I do not trust him, and he does not trust me." When his brother Thābit saw that, he said to him, "If that is

139. This term has been translated as "young man" or "youth" when it clearly means no more than that, but has sometimes been left untranslated when some sort of servile or subservient status is implied (see *EI*², s.v.).

your view, set forth with us to Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim," for Thābit feared that Ḥurayth would murder al-Muhallab and that they would then all be killed. They accordingly set forth with three hundred of their *shākiriyyah*[140] and Arab adherents.

Abū Ja'far said: In this year al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah died.

The Cause and Place of the Death [of al-Muhallab]

'Alī b. Muḥammad said: Al-Mufaḍḍal related to me: When he departed from Kish, al-Muhallab went off heading for Marw, and, when he was at Zāghūl[141] [in the territory of] Marw al-Rūdh, he was struck by pleurisy—some people say by plague.[142] He summoned Ḥabīb and those of his [other] sons who were present, called for some arrows that were tied in a bundle, and said, "Do you think that you could break these while they are gathered together?" They said, "No." He said, "Do you think that you could break them when they are separated?" They said, "Yes." He said, "This is the collective body (*jamā'ah*). My testamentary command to you is pious fear of God and [respect for] the bond of kinship. The bond of kinship prolongs the allotted span, multiplies wealth, and increases numbers. I forbid you the forsaking of relations, for that occasions [hell]fire and brings about abasement and destitution. Love one another, relate to one another in a friendly fashion, be united and not at variance, and do good for one another; in this way your affairs will be as one. When the sons of a single mother fall out with one another, what hope is there for the sons of co-wives?! Incumbent upon you are obedience and [respect for] the collective body. Let your good-doing be nobler than your words. I like it in a man that his action be superior to [what] his tongue [says]. When answering, be on your guard against slips of the tongue: A man's foot may slip, and he [1083]

140. "Personal guard" (Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 180); from Persian *chākar*, "servant."

141. Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 907) knows it simply as one of the villages of Marw al-Rūdh, its only claim to fame being the presence there of al-Muhallab's tomb.

142. Following Lane in the rendering of *shawkah*; Dozy, however, defines it as "a painful ulcer, usually in the thumb" (*Supplément*, s.v.), which fits well with al-Ya'qūbī's *akilah waqa'at fī rijlihi*, "an ulcer which manifested itself in his foot" (*Buldān*, p. 299).

can recover himself; but his tongue may slip, and he can be destroyed. Acknowledge the entitlement of everyone who comes to you. A man's coming to you, whether in the morning or the evening, suffices to commend him to you. Prefer generosity to miserliness. Love the Arabs and do good [to them]. An Arab is a man to whom you can make [no more than] a promise and he will die in defense of you; how then [do you think] he will behave [if you have done him good]? In war, exercise patience together with trickery, which is more beneficial in war than courage. When the battle encounter takes place, [God's] decree domes down: If a man is resolute and then triumphs over his enemy, people say, 'He went about things head-on and then triumphed,' and he is praised; but if, after exercising patience, he does not triumph, people say, 'He was not remiss, nor did he throw away his chances, but [God's] decree prevailed.' Recite the Qur'ān and learn the established practices and the discipline of the virtuous. Beware of levity and of too much talking in your gatherings. I have deputed Yazīd over you and have put Ḥabīb in command of the army until he takes it to Yazīd. Do not oppose Yazīd."[143] Al-Mufaḍḍal said to him, "[Even] if you had not preferred him, we should have."

Al-Muhallab died, having made his testament to Ḥabīb. Ḥabīb prayed over him and then went to Marw. Yazīd wrote to 'Abd al-Malik with [news of] the death of al-Muhallab and his deputing of him; and al-Ḥajjāj confirmed him [in his position]. It is said that [al-Muhallab] said on the occasion of his death and testament, "If it were up to me, I should appoint Ḥabīb as the chief of my sons."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] said: He died in Dhū al-Ḥijjāh 82 (January
[1084] 702); and Nahār b. Tawsi'ah al-Taymī[144] said (*ṭawīl*):

The campaigning that brought riches nigh has ended,
and generosity and munificence have died
after al-Muhallab.

143. For another version of this *waṣiyyah*, see Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, pp. 119ff.

144. The text wrongly says "al-Tamīmī" (a common error on the part of copyists). On this poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 379. The first two of the following verses are much cited: Cf., for example, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ser. ii, p. 1251 (below, p. 199); al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *al-Akhbār al-muwaffaqiyyāt*, p. 386; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, vol. III, p. 298; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. IV, p. 506; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, vol. V, p. 354; Hinds, *Early Islamic Family*, par. 54.

They have stayed at Marw al-Rūdh as two pledges
at his sepulcher
and have been rendered totally absent from
east and west.
If anyone says, "Who of all people most deserves
a blessing?"
we name him, without fear [of contradiction].
He made both flat and rugged territory available to us,
with cavalry like flocks of swift sandgrouse,
Exposing them to the thrusting of spears until
it was as if
he were honoring them with dyed purple.
He is surrounded by Qaḥṭān, who have bound
themselves to him,
and by their allies from the tribe[s] of
Bakr and Taghlib.
The two tribes of Ma'add take refuge with his
standard,
offering themselves and their mothers and
fathers as ransoms for him.

In this year al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf appointed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [1085]
over Khurasan after the death of al-Muhallab.

In it, too, 'Abd al-Malik dismissed Abān b. 'Uthmān[145] from Medina. Al-Wāqidī said: He dismissed him from it on 13 Jumādā II (25 July 701).

He (sc. al-Wāqidī) said: In it, too, 'Abd al-Malik appointed Hishām b. Ismā'īl al-Makhzūmī[146] over Medina. When he was appointed there, Hishām b. Ismā'īl dismissed from the judiciary of Medina Nawfal b. Musāḥiq al-'Āmirī,[147] who had been appointed to that position by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam; when Abān b. 'Uthmān took over there after the dismissal of Yaḥyā, he confirmed [Nawfal in his position] in charge of the judiciary. Abān's tenure of office lasted seven years, three months, and thirteen nights. When Hishām b. Ismā'īl dismissed Nawfal b. Musāḥiq from the

145. See above, n. 45.
146. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register; *EI*², s.v. Makhzūm.
147. From 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy of Quraysh (Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register).

judiciary, he appointed in his place 'Amr b. Khālid al-Zuraqī.[148]

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was Abān b. 'Uthmān: Thus it has been related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on the authority of Abū Ma'shar. Over al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah and the East was al-Ḥajjāj, while over Khurasan was Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, acting on behalf of al-Ḥajjāj.

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148. 'Amr b. Khaldah al-Zuraqī according to Khalīfah (*Ta'rīkh*, p. 299 [and 'Umar b. Khuldah al-Z., according to the 1968 Damascus edition by Zakkār, p. 390]); the clan in question is presumably Zurayq b. 'Āmir of Khazraj of the Anṣār (see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, chart 192, where a certain Khaldah b. 'Āmir is to be found, albeit without a son named 'Amr/'Umar).

The Events of the Year 83

(February 4, 702–January 23, 703)

In it there took place the defeat of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath at Dayr al-Jamājim. [1086]

The Cause of [Ibn al-Ash'ath's] Defeat

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Zubayr al-Hamdānī: I was among the cavalry of Jabalah b. Zaḥr. When the Syrians attacked him time after time, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā, the specialist in religious law (*faqīh*), called to us, saying,[149] "O body of *qurrā'*, for no one is flight more unseemly than for you. I heard 'Alī—may God raise his station among the virtuous and grant him the best reward of martyrs and those who are veracious—say on the day when we encountered the Syrians [at Ṣiffīn]: 'O Believers, he who sees aggression being committed and something disliked being enjoined and denies it in his heart, he is safe and secure; he who denies [it] with his tongue is rewarded, he being worthier than his companion [who simply de-

149. According to Ibn al-Athīr (and al-Maqrīzī—see the *Addenda et Emendanda*), it was Jabalah who said this, to 'Abd al-Raḥmān and the *qurrā'*.

nied it in his heart]; and he who denies it with the sword, so that the Word of God may be uppermost and the word of the oppressors the lowest,[150] he is the one who achieves the path of right guidance, the one whose heart is illuminated with certainty.' So fight these innovators, who deem licit that which is illicit, who neither know nor acknowledge that which is right, and who have committed an aggression which they do not deny."

Abū al-Bakhtarī said, "Fight for your religion and for [this] world of yours. By God, if they triumph over you, they will corrupt your religion for you and take over your worldly interests."

Al-Sha'bī said, "O people of Islam, fight them. No harm will overtake you in fighting them. By God, I know of no people on the face of the earth more oppressive or tyrannical in rule than they. [1087] So hasten against them."

Sa'īd b. Jubayr said, "Fight them. You will not sin by fighting against them and their sins with [firm] intention and certitude. Fight against their tyranny in rule, their insolent behavior in [matters pertaining to] religion, their abasing of the weak, and their 'causing the death of' ritual prayer."[151]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Zubayr: We prepared to charge them, and Jabalah said to us, "When you charge them, make the charge a true one: Do not turn your faces away from them before you fall upon their line." [Abū al-Zubayr] continued: We charged them single-mindedly and strongly. We smote the three squadrons until they split up; then we went on until we fell on their line and smote them until we removed them from [their position]; then we withdrew and passed by Jabalah, fallen, and we did not know how he had been killed.

[Abū al-Zubayr] said: That shook us. We became faint-hearted and stopped where we were. Our *qurrā'* were numerous,[152] and

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150. Cf. Qur'ān 9:40.

151. *Imatātihim al-ṣalāt*. Cf. Hawting, *First Dynasty of Islam*, p. 70, to which it may be added that it was known in Baṣran and Omani Ibāḍī circles of the late second/early third century A.H. that al-Ḥajjāj had sometimes delayed the Friday prayer until sunset, when the noon, afternoon, and sunset prayers were performed together (*al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt li-'ulamā' wa-a'immat ahl 'Umān*, vol. I, pp. 291, 309–10 [the source being Abū Sufyān Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl]), and the seventeenth-century chronicler Ibn al-'Imād (*Shadharāt al-dhahab*, vol. I, p. 92) was aware that al-Ḥajjāj *kāna yumītu al-ṣalāt ḥattā yakhruja waqtuha*, literally, "he used to cause the death of ritual prayer until the [proper] time for its performance passed."

152. According to Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 139), there were over 8,000 *min al-qurrā' wa-al-zuhhād wa-al-'ubbād mimman yarā qatl al-Ḥajjāj jihād*[an].

we passed the news of the death of Jabalah b. Zaḥr from one to another. For each of us, it was as if he had lost his father or his brother; indeed, on that battlefield it was an even more grievous loss. Then Abū al-Bakhtarī al-Ṭā'ī said to us, "Do not let the killing of Jabalah b. Zaḥr show its effect upon you. He was simply a man among you whose fate came to him on its [appointed] day; there was no way his [death] day could have been put either forward or back. Each of you will taste what he has tasted: [Each [1088]
will be] called and will answer." [Abū al-Zubayr] continued: I looked at the faces of the *qurrā'*, and despondency was clearly written on them. Their tongues were tied. [A sense of] failure was manifest among them. The Syrians, glad and joyful, called out, "O enemies of God, you are destroyed. God has killed your wayward leader."[153]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Yazīd al-Saksakī: When Jabalah and his companions charged, we were put to flight, and they followed us. A group split off from us and was to one side, and we looked, and, lo and behold, his companions were following our companions, and he had stopped on top of an elevated piece of ground, [waiting] for his companions to return to him. One of us said, "That, by God, is Jabalah b. Zaḥr. Charge him while his companions are distracted from him by the fighting; perhaps you will strike him down." [Abū Yazīd] continued: So we charged him. I testify that he did not flee: Rather, he charged us with his sword. When he came down from the elevation, we transfixed him with spears and dislodged him from his horse; he fell down dead. His companions returned, and, when we saw them coming, we turned aside from them. When they saw him dead, we saw from their exclamations[154] and grief what gladdened our eyes. He continued: We distinguished that plainly [too] in their [manner of] fighting us and their coming out against us.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sahm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Juhanī: When Jabalah was struck down, his death shook the people. Then Bisṭām b. Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah al-Shaybānī came, and his arrival encouraged the people. They said, "This man can take the place of Jabalah." Abū al-Bakhtarī heard such talk from one of

153. So rendering *ṭāghūt* (which seems preferable to the variant *ṭāghiyah*).

154. *Istirjā'ihim*, i.e., their exclamation of the words *innā li-Allāh wa-innā ilayhi rāji'ūn*, "To God we belong and to Him we return!"

them and said, "How foul that you have been made [by God]! If
[1089] one man among you is killed, you think that you are surrounded; if Ibn Maṣqalah is now killed, will you surrender yourselves to destruction, and will you say that there is no one left to fight alongside? How fit you are for our hope of you to be altered!" Bisṭām had come from al-Rayy, and on the way he and Qutaybah [b. Muslim] had encountered each other. Qutaybah had invited him to [side with] al-Ḥajjāj and the Syrians, while Bisṭām had invited [Qutaybah] to [side with] 'Abd al-Raḥmān and the Iraqis. Each had declined the other's proposal, and Bisṭām had said, "I would rather die with the Iraqis than live with the Syrians"; he had stopped at Māsabadhān.[155]

When [Bisṭām] arrived, he said to Ibn Muḥammad, "Give me the command of the cavalry of Rabī'ah"; and he did so. Then [Bisṭām] said to them, "O band of Rabī'ah, I have a bad disposition in war; please tolerate it for me." He was a brave man. One day, the people went out to fight and he attacked with the cavalry of Rabī'ah until he entered the [Syrian] camp. They took, among others, about thirty women—slave girls and concubines—and he brought them back with him until he drew near to his [own] camp, when he let them go, and they went off and entered al-Ḥajjāj's camp. "Woe to them!" said [al-Ḥajjāj], "Let [the Iraqis] protect their women! Had they not returned [our women], I would be taking their women captive[156] tomorrow when I triumph." Then they fought on a subsequent day, and 'Abdallāh b. Mulayl al-Hamdānī made an attack with his cavalry, entered [the Syrian] camp, and took eighteen women captive. With him was Ṭāriq b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī, who was an archer. An old Syrian man came out of his tent, and the Asadī began to say to one of his companions, "Conceal this old man from me, lest I shoot him or attack him and transfix him." The old man said, raising his voice, "O
[1090] God, gather us and them together with well-being"; the Asadī said, "I do not want to kill someone like this," and he left him. [At this] Ibn Mulayl brought the women [to a place] not far [from the Syrian camp] and let them go too. Al-Ḥajjāj said [by way of

155. A district of Jibāl bordering Iraq (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 202).

156. Preferring Ibn al-Athīr's *la-sabaytu nisā'ahum* to al-Ṭabarī's *la-subiyat nisā'uhum*.

reaction] something similar to what he had said on the first occasion [when women were taken].

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]—his father: Al-Walīd b. Naḥīt[157] al-Kalbī, from the Banū 'Āmir, advanced in a squadron upon Jabalah b. Zaḥr. Al-Walīd, who was a huge man, got down from his riding animal,[158] and he and Jabalah, who was a man of middling size, engaged each other. [Al-Walīd] smote [Jabalah] on the head, and he fell. His companions were defeated, and his head was brought.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf and 'Awānah al-Kalbī: When the head of Jabalah b. Zaḥr was brought to al-Ḥajjāj, he carried it on two spears and then said, "O people of Syria, rejoice. This is the beginning of victory. No sedition has ever been put down without a leading Yemeni being killed in it, and this is one of their leading men."

Then they made a sortie one day, and a Syrian came forth calling for a duel. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah went out to him, attacked him, transfixed him, and brought him off his mount. His companions charged and saved him, he being a man from Khath'am called Abū al-Dardā'. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah said, "I didn't recognize him until he fell. Had I done so, I should not have fought him; I do not want someone like him from my people to be struck down."

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf al-Ru'āsī, Abū Ḥumayd, went forth and [1091]
called for a duel. A cousin (*ibn 'amm*) of his among the Syrians went out to him, and they exchanged blows with their swords. Each of them said, "I am the champion (lit. 'young man') of Kilāb," and then each said to the other, "Who are you?" When they had questioned each other, they abstained from fighting.

'Abdallāh b. Rizām al-Ḥārithī went out to the squadron of al-Ḥajjāj and said, "Come out to me one by one." A man was sent out to him, and he killed him. He did this for three days, killing a man each day. Then he arrived on the fourth day and they said, "He has come, would that God had not brought him!" He called for a duel. Al-Ḥajjāj said to al-Jarrāḥ [sc. b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī], "Go out to him," so he went out to him. 'Abdallāh b. Rizām, who

157. The text gives "Nukhayt," and it can be seen from the variants that the form of this name is uncertain.

158. Preferring the variant *dābbatihi* to *rāyatihi*.

was a friend of his, said to him, "Woe to you, O Jarrāḥ, whatever made you come out to me?" He said, "I have been put to the test with you." ['Abdallāh] said to him, "Are you in favor of something good?" [Al-Jarrāḥ] said, "What is that?" ['Abdallāh] said, "I shall lose for you, and you [will be able to] go back to al-Ḥajjāj having done well in his eyes, and he will praise you. As for me, I shall [be able to] put up with people's talk about you concerning my defeat, out of love for your safety. I do not want someone like you from my people to be killed." [Al-Jarrāḥ] said, "Do [that]," and attacked him; ['Abdallāh] began to simulate flight, running in front of him. The Hārithī's uvula had been cut,[159] and he was very thirsty; with him was a lad who had a skin of water and gave him to drink whenever he was thirsty. Al-Ḥārithī ran in front of him and al-Jarrāḥ [caught up and] attacked him in earnest, wanting nothing more than to kill him. The lad shouted to him, "The man is serious about killing you." But the Ḥārithī felt compassion for him, smote him on the head with an iron bar, felled him, and said to the lad, "Sprinkle some of the water in the skin on his face and give him to drink"; the lad did so. Then [the Ḥārithī] said, "O Jarrāḥ, you rewarded me badly. I wanted well-being for you, and you wanted to make me visit destiny." [Al-Jarrāḥ] said, "I did not want that." He said, "Go; I have left you on account of our kinship and [for the sake of] the clan."

[1092] According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī—Ibn Abī Sabrah—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān—Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī:[160] I was in the battle line on that day when an Iraqi called Qudāmah b. al-Ḥarīsh al-Tamīmī came out and stood between the two lines and said, "O band of the Jarāmiqah[161] of the Syrians, we call you to the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Messenger;[162] if you refuse [to accept this], let a man come out to me." A Syrian man went out to him, and he killed him, [and more went out] until he had killed four. When al-Ḥajjāj saw that, he ordered a crier to call out, "Let no one

159. Not in the fighting, of course, but previously; presumably, because it had become swollen. Professor Iḥsān 'Abbās informs me that this practice still persists in Middle Eastern village life.

160. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register.

161. A term signifying natives (i.e., non-Arabs) of al-Jazīrah (see *EI*², s.v. Djarādjima [vol. II, p. 457b]), and hence clearly intended here as an insult.

162. See above, n. 21.

go out to this dog"; and the people held back.

Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī continued: I drew near to al-Ḥajjāj and said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper! You have decided that no one should go out to this dog, at a time when these people have perished according to their allotted spans. This man too has his allotted span, and I hope that it has now run its course. Give permission to my companions who have come with me that one of them may go against him." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "This dog has turned the thing into a habit and has frightened [our] people. [But] I [nonetheless] give permission to your companions; he who wishes to stand up may do so." Al-Ḥarashī accordingly returned to his companions and informed them [of this], and, when Qudāmah called out for a duel, one of al-Ḥarashī's companions went out against him, only to be killed by him. That distressed Sa'īd and weighed heavily upon him, on account of what he had said to al-Ḥajjāj. Then Qudāmah called out [yet again] for a duel, and Sa'īd drew near to al-Ḥajjāj and said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper! Give me permission to go against this dog." He said, "Are you up to it?" Sa'īd said, "Yes, I am just as you want." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Show me your sword," and he gave it to him. Al- [1093]
Ḥajjāj said, "I have with me a sword that is heavier than this one," and he ordered that the sword be his and gave it to him. Then he looked at Sa'īd and said, "You have fine armor and a strong horse, [but even so] I do not know how the matter will turn out with this dog." Sa'īd said, "I hope that God will give me victory over him." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Go forth with God's blessing."

Sa'īd said: So I went out to him and, when I drew near to him, he said, "Stop, O enemy of God!" and I stopped, pleased. He said, "Choose: Either you let me strike you three times [first], or I let you strike me three times and then you let me." I said, "Let me [go first]," and he placed his chest on his saddle bow and said, "Strike." I grasped my sword with both hands and struck [him] on the helmet as hard as I could; he did nothing, and I was displeased with both my sword and my blow. Then I decided to strike him at the base of his neck,[163] hoping thereby either to cut right through or [at the very least] to disable his hand. I struck it and did noth-

163. So rendering *aṣl al-'ātiq*.

ing, so displeasing both myself and those who were remote from me in the area of the camp, when what I had done reached them. The third [attempt was] similarly [unsuccessful]. Then he unsheathed a sword and said, "[Now] let me [have a go]." I let him and he struck me a blow with which he felled me. Then he dismounted from his horse, sat on my chest, pulled a dagger or knife out of his boot and placed it on my throat, intending to slay me. I said to him, "I beseech you by God, you will not acquire the nobility and renown by killing me that you will acquire by sparing me." He said, "Who are you?" I said, "Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī." He said, "Woe, enemy of God! Depart, and inform your master of what you have encountered." Saʿīd said: I accordingly departed,
[1094] hastening, until I got to al-Ḥajjāj. He said, "What do you think?" I said, "The amīr knew better."

The account returns to that of Abū Mikhnaf on the authority of Abū Yazīd [al-Saksakī]: Abū al-Bakhtarī al-Ṭāʾī and Saʿīd b. Jubayr used to say, "It is not given to any soul to die, save by the leave of God, at an appointed time," to the end of the verse,[164] and then they charged until they fell upon the battle line.

Abū al-Mukhāriq said: We fought them for a full hundred days, which I counted. He went on: We stopped at Dayr al-Jamājim with Ibn Muḥammad on the morning of Tuesday, 1 Rabīʿ I, 83 (April 4, 702), and we were defeated on Wednesday, 14 Jumādā II (July 15, 702),[165] when the sun was at the highest point of the day. We were never bolder against them, nor they weaker against us, than on that day.

He continued: We went out to them, and they to us, on Wednesday, 14 Jumādā II, and we fought them for most of the day the best we had ever fought them. We felt safe from defeat, gaining the upper hand, when Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī sallied forth with the cavalry from the [Syrian] right wing until he drew near to al-Abrad b. Qurrah al-Tamīmī, who was in command of ʿAbd al-

164. Qurʾān 3:145 = 139.

165. Ibn al-Athīr gives the same dates and correctly arrives at a total of 103 days. Ibn Aʿtham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 138) knows the hundred-day report and another report to the effect that the fighting lasted for four months; cf. Khalīfah (*Taʾrīkh*, pp. 284–85), who states that the defeat took place on 14 Jumādā [sic] 82 [sic]. For further discussion, see Périer, *Vie d'al-Hadjdjadj ibn Yousof*, p. 186n.; Sayed, *Revolte*, pp. 220–21.

Raḥmān b. Muḥammad's left wing. Then, by God, after not much fighting, [al-Abrad b. Qurrah] was defeated. This was something on his part that the people disapproved of, since he was a brave man and flight was not a habit of his; they suspected that he had been granted an assurance of safety and that an agreement had been reached with him [by the Syrians] that he would be defeated [1095] with the people. When he did that, the battle lines near him were routed, and the people rode off in all directions. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad ascended the pulpit and began to call to the people, "To me, O servants of God! I am Ibn Muḥammad!" 'Abdallāh b. Rizām al-Ḥārithī came to him and stopped under his pulpit; and 'Abdallāh b. Dhu'āb al-Sulamī came with his cavalry. ['Abd al-Raḥmān] stood near him and stayed put until the Syrians were close to him and their arrows began to get the better of him. At this, ['Abd al-Raḥmān] said, "O Ibn Rizām, attack these men and cavalry," and he did so until they ran off. Then more Syrian cavalry came, together with infantry, and he said, "Attack them, O Ibn Dhu'āb," and he did so until they ran off. ['Abd al-Raḥmān himself] stayed where he was, not leaving his pulpit, and the Syrians entered [his] camp and cried out, "God is great!" 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdī—whose brother's daughter Mulaykah was the wife of 'Abd al-Raḥmān[166]—climbed up to him and said, "Come down. I am afraid you will be taken captive if you do not come down. Maybe, if you leave [now], you will [be able to] gather together a force with which God will destroy them on another day." 'Abd al-Raḥmān then came down, and the Iraqis left the camp in defeat and disorder. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad went off with Ibn Ja'dah b. Hubayrah,[167] accompanied by members of his family, and, when they were opposite the village of the sons of Ja'dah at al-Fallūjah,[168] they summoned a ferryboat and crossed in it. Bisṭām b. Maṣqalah joined them and said, "Is 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad in the boat?" but they did not

166. Mulaykah would thus be the granddaughter of Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal, rather than his daughter, as Ibn al-Kalbī thought (Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, vol. I, chart 218, and vol. II, p. 427); in Ibn al-Athīr "al-Mughaffal" is wrongly rendered as "al-Mufaḍḍal."

167. Presumably, either Ja'far b. Ja'dah or 'Abdallāh b. Ja'dah (see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register).

168. A locality on the Euphrates downstream from al-Anbār (*EI*², s.v.).

speak to him. [Bisṭām] suspected that [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] was among them and said (*ṭawīl*):

May a soul for which you are cautious not find refuge.

[and (*mutaqārib*)]:[169]

[1096] Qays set the country on fire against me,
until, when it blazed, he desisted.

Then he went off until he reached his house, wearing arms and riding his horse, from which he had not dismounted. His daughter came out to him, and he clasped her; and his family came out to him, weeping. He made his testament to them and said, "Do not weep. Don't you know, if I do not leave you, how long I am likely to remain with you before I die? If I do die, then He who grants you sustenance now is alive and will not die. He will sustain you after my death, just as He sustains you in my lifetime." Then he bade his family farewell and left al-Kūfah.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Kalbī, Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib: When they were defeated, the sun was at its highest point in the day. He went on: I set off, straining, with my spear, sword, and shield, until I reached my family on the same day without having discarded any of my arms. Al-Ḥajjāj had said, "Leave them. Let them scatter and do not follow them," and a crier called out, "Whoever returns will be given safe-conduct."

After the battle, Muḥammad b. Marwān returned to al-Mawṣil and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik to Syria, leaving Iraq to al-Ḥajjāj. He went on until he entered al-Kūfah, seated beside him Maṣqalah b. Karib b. Raqabah al-ʿAbdī, who was a *khaṭīb*,[170] and said, "Revile in all possible ways every man to whom we have done good; revile [each one] for ingratitude and disloyalty. Stigmatize in all possible ways everyone you know to have a defect and make him slight in his own eyes." No one rendered [al-Ḥajjāj] the oath of allegiance but that he [first] said to him, "Do you testify that
[1097] you have been in a state of unbelief?" If he acknowledged this, [al-Ḥajjāj] accepted the oath of allegiance; if not, he killed him. There

169. This verse is ascribed to al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād (see, for example, Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, vol. XIV, p. 356).

170. See above, n. 5.

came to him a man from Khath'am, who had kept himself apart from all [the Iraqis], on the other side of the Euphrates, and [al-Ḥajjāj] asked him what he had been up to. [The man] said, "I stayed apart, on the other side of this river, waiting to see what would happen to [the Iraqi army], until you were victorious. Then I came to you in order to render you the oath of allegiance along with the people." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Were you waiting [to see the result]? Do you testify that you are an unbeliever?" [The man] said, "What a bad man I would be—I, who have worshiped God for eighty years—if I were now to testify against myself to unbelief." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "In that case, I shall kill you." He said, "If you kill me, well, by God, there is very little life left in me anyway. I wait for death morning, noon, and night." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Behead him!" and he was beheaded. [People] have claimed that no Qurashī or Syrian or anyone of the two sides remained around [that man] but that he felt compassion for him and deplored the killing of him.[171]

[Al-Ḥajjāj] summoned Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakha'ī[172] and said to him, "You are the one who retaliated by killing 'Uthmān, the Commander of the Faithful. I have [long] wanted to find a way of getting at you." [Kumayl] said, "I do not know which of us you are getting angry with: With him, when he laid himself open to retaliation, or with me, when I turned away from punishing him." Then he said, "O you man of Thaqīf, do not gnash your fangs at me, do not come down on me like a sand dune, do not bare your wolfish teeth at me! By God, there is very little life left in me anyway.[173] Carry out what you have decided; the appointment [will be with] God; the killing will be followed by [divine] judgment." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "The decisive proof [will be] against you." He said, "That [will be the case only] if you are sitting in judgment." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "O yes, you were among those who killed 'Uthmān and disavowed the Commander of the Faithful. [1098]
Kill him!" and he was killed, his killer being Abū al-Jahm b.

171. Dixon (*Umayyad Caliphate*, pp. 167–68, n. 109) correctly observes that this sentence was misunderstood by Veccia Vaglieri (*EI*², s.v. Ibn al-Ash'ath [vol. III, p. 719a]).

172. See above, n. 127.

173. Literally, "all that has remained of my life is the period between the two drinkings of the ass: He drinks in the morning and dies in the evening, and he drinks in the evening and dies in the morning."

Kinānah al-Kalbī, of the Banū 'Āmir b. 'Awf, the cousin (*ibn 'amm*) of Manṣūr b. Jumhūr.[174] After him, somebody else was brought, and al-Ḥajjāj said, "I see a man who will not, I think, testify against himself to unbelief." [The man] said, "Do you [think you can] trick me as if I did not know myself? I am the most unbelieving person on earth. I am even more of an unbeliever than Pharaoh, the master of the stakes!"[175] Al-Ḥajjāj laughed and let him go. He stayed in al-Kūfah for a month and kept the Syrians away from the houses of the Kūfans.[176]

In this year there took place the battle at Maskin between al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn al-Ash'ath, after [the latter] had been put to flight from Dayr al-Jamājim.

The Cause of the Battle [of Maskin], with a Description of It

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Yazīd al-Saksakī: Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ went off after the battle of [Dayr] al-Jamājim until he stopped at al-Madā'in; there he was joined by a great many people. [At about the same time] 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams al-Qurashī went off to al-Baṣrah, in which was Ayyūb b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'Aqīl,[177] the cousin of al-Ḥajjāj, and took it.
[1099] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad [thereupon] went to al-Baṣrah, while ['Ubaydallāh] was there; the people rallied to him, and he stopped there. At this, 'Ubaydallāh went to Ibn Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath and said to him, "It was not my intention to be separate from you; I took [the city] for you." Al-Ḥajjāj [now] set forth and started with al-Madā'in. He stopped opposite it for five [nights], during which time he readied [his] men in ferryboats. When it reached Muḥammad b. Sa'd that they had crossed to them, [he

174. Who rose to prominence as a general at the very end of the Umayyad period (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 158).

175. This being a form of reference to Pharaoh occurring in the Qur'ān (89:10 = 9 and 38:12 = 11); for some discussion of it, see *EI*², s.v. Fir'awn.

176. *'Azala ahl al-Sha'm 'an buyūt ahl al-Kūfa.* Ibn al-Athīr, on the other hand, tells us just the opposite: *anzala ahl al-Sha'm buyūt ahl al-Kūfah*, and he goes on to say: *anzalahum al-Ḥajjāj fīhā ma'a ahlihā, wa-huwa awwal man anzala al-jund fī buyūt ghayrihim. . . .*

177. For 'Ubaydallāh see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register. On Ayyūb see above, n. 82.

and] all [who were with him] set off and joined Ibn al-Ash'ath. Al-Ḥajjāj advanced toward him, and the people [at al-Baṣrah] went out with ['Abd al-Raḥmān] to Maskin[178] on [the] Dujayl [river]. [There] the Kūfans and the fugitive elements from the peripheral areas came to him. The people reproved each other for having taken to flight, and most of them rendered an oath of allegiance to Bisṭām b. Maṣqalah to fight to the death. 'Abd al-Raḥmān dug in around his companions and protected one flank by flooding, so making fighting [possible] in [only] one direction; he was also joined by Khālid b. Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī,[179] who came from Khurasan with people from the Kūfan contingent [there]. They fought most furiously for fifteen nights in Sha'bān (September), until Ziyād b. Ghunaym al-Qaynī, who was in charge of al-Ḥajjāj's strong-points, was killed; that shook [al-Ḥajjāj] and his companions very considerably.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū Jahḍam al-Azdī: Al-Ḥajjāj stayed awake all night, going about among us and saying to us, "You are people of obedience, and they are people of disobedience; you are striving after God's pleasure, while they are striving after His displeasure. God's wont with you concerning them is good. You will never fight them gallantly on any battlefield or show endurance against them but that God will requite you with victory against them and triumph over them. So go against them in the morning aggressively, earnestly. I do not doubt victory, God willing."

[Abū Jahḍam] continued: we went against them in the morning, [1100]
having made our dispositions shortly before daybreak. We were afoot earlier than they were, and we fought them the hardest we had ever fought them. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab came to us on an armored horse[180] at a time when the cavalry of Sufyān b. al-

178. This is not the better-known Maskin (watered by the Dujayl canal) to the north of what would later be the city of Baghdad (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, map II and p. 51), but a more obscure Maskin somewhere on or near the Dujayl (Kārūn) river (see Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 225, for further details; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. IV, p. 531, seems himself to be mistaken when he says, "al-Ḥāzimī mentioned that Maskin is also [a place] at the Dujayl of al-Ahwāz where al-Ḥajjāj's battle with Ibn al-Ash'ath took place, and that is a mistake on his part").

179. This appears to be the one and only reference to a person of this name (cf. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 114); Wellhausen's reference to this name (*Kingdom*, p. 251) should be changed to Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī.

180. Reading *mujaffif*^{an} where the text has *muḥaffif*^{an}.

Abrad was without armor. Al-Ḥajjāj said to him, "Join these oddments to you[r men], O 'Abd al-Malik; I may be making an attack." He did so, and the Iraqis were attacked from every side and put to flight. Abū al-Bakhtarī al-Ṭā'ī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā were killed. Before being killed, they said, "Flight is always odious to us"; then they were struck down.

[Abū Jahḍam] continued: Bisṭām b. Maṣqalah al-Shaybānī went with four thousand of the most steadfast [people] from the two *miṣrs* (that is, al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah); they broke the sheaths of their swords. Ibn Maṣqalah said to them, "If, in fleeing from death, we might escape it, we would flee; but we know that it will come upon us soon, and where can one take oneself away from what is inevitable? O you people, you are manifesting what is right, so fight for what is right. By God, [even] if you were not in the right, death with honor would [still] be better than life in a state of abasement." He and his companions then fought fiercely and put the Syrians to flight several times. Eventually al-Ḥajjāj said, "Bring in the archers: No one else can fight them." When the archers came and the [Syrians] surrounded them on every side, all but a few of them were killed. Bukayr b. Rabī'ah b.[181] Tharwān al-Ḍabbī was taken captive and was brought to al-Ḥajjāj, who killed him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Jahḍam: I brought a captive known to al-Ḥajjāj for his bravery. Al-Ḥajjāj said, "O Syrians,
[1101] it is part of God's favor to you that this young man has brought the horseman of the Iraqis as a captive. Behead him!" And he killed him.

[Abū al-Jahḍam] continued: Ibn al-Ash'ath and those who had been put to flight with him went in the direction of Sijistān. Al-Ḥajjāj sent after him 'Umārah b. Tamīm al-Lakhmī, together with his son Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj, with 'Umārah as the amīr over the people. 'Umārah b. Tamīm went to 'Abd al-Raḥmān and caught up with him at al-Sūs.[182] ['Umarāh] fought him for one hour in the daytime; then he and his companions were defeated and went off until they reached Sābūr.[183] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b.

181. Omitting "Abī," as proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda.*

182. Ancient Susa, in Khūzistān (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 240).

183. I.e., Shāpūr in Fārs (ibid., p. 262).

Muḥammad was [in the meantime] joined by the Kurds, together with the routed troops who were with him. 'Umārah b. Tamīm next fought them fiercely in the narrow pass, until he and many of his companions were wounded; then they were defeated and left the mountain road to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who went on until he passed through Kirmān.

Al-Wāqidī said: The battle of al-Zāwiyah at al-Baṣrah was in Muḥarram 83 (February 702).

[The Breakup of Ibn al-Ash'ath's Defeated Army]

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sayf b. Bishr al-'Ijlī—al-Munakhkhal b. Ḥābis al-'Abdī: When 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad entered Kirmān, he was met by 'Amr b. Laqīṭ al-'Abdī, who was his governor over it; [this 'Amr] prepared hospitality for him, and he stopped. A shaykh of 'Abd al-Qays called Ma'qil then said to him, "By God, it has reached us concerning you, O Ibn al-Ash'ath, that you were a coward." 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "By God, I was not a coward. By God, I have advanced with infantry upon infantry, and I have wrapped up cavalry with cavalry; I have fought both horseman and infantryman, and I have not been defeated. I have not left the battlefield to the enemy at any time until I found no place in [1102] which to fight and saw no one to fight along with me; rather, [far from being a coward,] I sought a premature sovereignty."[184] Then he went with those who were with him until he entered the desert of Kirmān.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Hishām b. Ayyūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Aqīl: When Ibn Muḥammad went into the desert of Kirmān, followed by the Syrians, one of the Syrians entered a residence in the desert, and there he found, inscribed by one of the Kūfans, some of the poetry of Abū Jildah al-Yashkurī, [from] a long ode [of his] (*wāfir*).[185]

O woe and all [-embracing] sorrow,
what anguish [there is] at what we have encountered!

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184. So rendering *zāwaltu mulk^an mu'ajjal^an*.

185. On this poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 375–76 (also Bosworth, *Sīstān*, p. 59 and n. 6). Regarding the following verses, cf. *Aghānī*², vol. XI, pp. 312–13; verses 3 and 4 also occur in Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 143.

We have left both the religion and this world,
and we have abandoned [our] wives and children.
We were not religious people,
that we might endure tribulation when tested,
Nor were we people of this world,
able to protect it, even though we did not
aspire to religion.
We have left our homes to the rabble of 'Akk
and [to] the indigenous villagers and the Ash'arīs.[186]

Then Ibn Muḥammad went on until he reached Zaranj, the [chief] city of Sijistān, in which was a man from the Banū Tamīm whom he had put in charge of it, namely, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir al-
[1103] Na''ār,[187] from the Banū Mujāshi' b. Dārim. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad came to him in defeat, he shut the gate of the city in his face and prevented him from entering it. 'Abd al-Raḥmān stayed put for some days in the hope of gaining access to it, but, when he saw that he would not achieve this, he went off to Bust, in charge of which he had appointed a man from Bakr b. Wā'il called 'Iyāḍ b. Himyān Abū Hishām b. 'Iyāḍ al-Sadūsī.[188] [This 'Iyāḍ] received him and invited him to stop [at Bust], which he accordingly did; ['Iyāḍ] thereupon waited until 'Abd al-Raḥmān's companions were off guard and had strayed away from him, and then pounced upon him and put him in bonds, desiring thereby to be secure vis-à-vis al-Ḥajjāj and to achieve [good] standing in his eyes.

News of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's arrival had in the meantime reached the Zunbīl, who went to meet him. When 'Iyāḍ took ['Abd al-Raḥmān], the Zunbīl moved on Bust[189] and invested it, sending [word] to the Bakrī [as follows]: "By God, if you harm as much as a hair of his head,[190] I shall not leave the battlefield until I bring you

186. As Wellhausen points out (*Kingdom*, p. 249), "'Akk and Ash'ar as *pars pro toto* . . . seems to be an insulting phrase to dub [the Syrian troops] barbarians."

187. Reading "al-Na''ār" here and below, with the *Naqā'iḍ* (p. 751, line 2) and Sayed (*Revolte*, pp. 228, 241: an-Na'ār [sic]); *na''ār* means "clamorous," while the form *ba''ār* appears to be unattested.

188. Ibn al-Athīr names him as 'Iyāḍ b. Himyān b. Hishām, while al-Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 333) knows him as 'Iyāḍ b. 'Amr (cf. above, n. 12).

189. Al-Ṭabarī's text is confused at this point; I have drawn inspriation from Ibn al-Athīr.

190. Literally, "If you hurt him with what casts a mote in his eye, or harm him in any way, or deprive him of a single hair."

down and kill you and all who are with you; I shall take your offspring captive and divide all you own among the troops." The Bakrī sent [word] to him [as follows]: "Give us a safe-conduct for ourselves and for what we own, and we shall hand him over to you safe and sound, together with what he owns in its entirety." [The Zunbīl] made peace with them on [that basis] and gave them a safe-conduct, and they in turn opened the gate for Ibn al-Ash'ath and set him free. He came to the Zunbīl and said to him, "This [man] was my governor over this city, and I trusted him and was satisfied with him when I appointed him; he, however, acted treacherously toward me and perpetrated against me what you have seen, so let me kill him." [The Zunbīl] said, "I have given him a safe-conduct and dislike [the idea of] acting treacherously toward him." ['Abd al-Raḥmān] said, "In that case, let me push him and punch him in the chest and neck and demean him." [The Zunbīl] agreed to this, and [1104]
'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad did so.[191]

['Abd al-Raḥmān] then went off with the Zunbīl until they entered the latter's territory, [where] the Zunbīl lodged him and did him honor. With ['Abd al-Raḥmān] were numerous routed troops. There were [in addition] large numbers of [other] routed troops, together with companions of 'Abd al-Raḥmān and those chiefs and leaders who had stood with Ibn al-Ash'ath against al-Ḥajjāj in every battlefield, did not hope for a safe-conduct, did not accept al-Ḥajjāj's safe-conduct[192] when it was first offered,[193] and strove wholeheartedly against him. [These people] set off after Ibn al-Ash'ath, in search of him, until they fetched up in[194] Sijistān; they, together with those of the [Arabs] of Sijistān and of the indigenous inhabitants[195] who followed them, numbered about sixty thousand. They went against 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir al-Na''ār and besieged him; they also wrote to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who was [still] with the Zunbīl, informing him of their advance, their

191. In Ibn A'tham's account (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 152), 'Abd al-Raḥmān kills the Bakrī.

192. Where al-Ṭabarī has *wa-lam yaqbalū amān al-Ḥajjāj*, Dhahabī (*Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, vol. III, p. 229) reads *mimman lam yathiq bi-amān al-Ḥajjāj*, "of those who did not trust al-Ḥajjāj's safe-conduct."

193. The text reads *fī awwali marrah*, which seems otiose; it is omitted by Ibn al-Athīr.

194. *Ḥattā saqaṭū bi-* in al-Ṭabarī; Ibn al-Athīr has *fa-balaghū*.

195. So rendering *ahl Sijistān wa-ahl al-balad*, following Bosworth (*Sīstān*, p. 61); *wa-ahl al-balad* is omitted by Ibn al-Athīr.

number, and their being together. The person who led them in ritual prayer was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-ʿAbbās b. Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. They [then] wrote [again] to [Ibn al-Ashʿath]: "Come to us. Perhaps we shall go to Khurasan. Many [Iraqi][196] troops are there, and they may swear allegiance to us in fighting the Syrians. It is a broad and spacious land, containing men and fortresses." At this, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad and those who were with him went forth to them, and they besieged ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir al-Naʿʿār until they dislodged him; on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's orders, he was beaten, tortured, and imprisoned.

[Next,] ʿUmārah b. Tamīm advanced toward them with [an army of] Syrians, and the companions of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. [1105] Muḥammad said to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, "Take us out of Sijistān; let us leave it to [ʿUmārah] and betake ourselves to Khurasan." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad said, "Over Khurasan is Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who is a resolute and bold young man who is not going to let his authority pass to you. If you were to enter [Khurasan], you would find him hastening toward you. Nor will the Syrians leave off pursuing you. I dislike [the idea of] the Khurasanis and the Syrians combining against you, and I fear that you will not achieve what you seek." They said, "The people of Khurasan are from us,[197] and we hope that, if we were to enter it, those of them who would follow us would outnumber those who would fight us. It is a very extensive land, in which we may direct ourselves wherever we wish and remain until God destroys al-Ḥajjāj and[198] ʿAbd al-Malik, or [until] we decide otherwise."[199] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said to them, "Go [relying] on [the mention of] the name of God," and they went off until they reached Herat. [Next, those who remained with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān were taken unawares when][200] ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah al-Qurashī departed from [ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's] camp with two thousand [men] and left him, taking a road different from the road [taken by those who had left for Herat]. On the following morning, Ibn Muḥammad

196. So understanding *minnā*; cf. Ibn al-Athīr's reference to *man bihā min ʿashāʾirihim*.
197. I.e., Iraqis; see the preceding note.
198. Reading the variant *wa-*, rather than *aw*.
199. So understanding *narā min raʾyinā* (or *mā raʾyunā*).
200. So rendering *fa-lam yashʿurū bi-shayʾin ḥattā*.

stood up among [those who remained with him], praised God, and said, "To continue: I have witnessed you in these battlefields, and among them there has been no place of witnessing but that in it I have steeled myself for you[r sakes] until no one of you has remained in it. When I saw that you would neither fight nor show fortitude in adversity, I came to a refuge and place of safety. Once I was there, there came to me your letters to the effect that I should come to you and that we were as one and would perhaps fight our enemy. So I came to you. Then you were of the opinion that I should go to Khurasan, and you claimed that you were united with me and that you would not separate from me. Now this [man] 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān has done what you have seen, and today I have had enough of you. Do as you see fit. As for [1106] me, I am going off to the friend from whom I came to you. Those of you who want to follow me may do so, and those who do not wish to do that may go wherever they want, seeking protection from God."

One group detached itself from them, and another group went off with ['Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad], but the bulk of the army stayed put. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān [b. Muḥammad] had departed, they rallied to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-'Abbās and gave the oath of allegiance to him. Ibn Muḥammad went to the Zunbīl, and they went to Khurasan, ending up in Herat, where they encountered al-Ruqād al-Azdī—from [the clan of] al-'Atīk—and killed him; [at this,] Yazīd b. al-Muhallab moved against them.

As for 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, he mentioned on the authority of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad that Ibn al-Ash'ath, when he had been defeated at Maskin, went to Kābul and that 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah came to Herat and blamed and stigmatized Ibn al-Ash'ath for his flight. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abbās [then] came to Sijistān, was joined by Ibn al-Ash'ath's routed forces, proceeded to Khurasan with a body [of men] put at twenty thousand, and stopped at Herat; [there] they encountered al-Ruqād b. 'Ubayd[201] al-'Atakī and killed him. With 'Abd al-Raḥmān [b. 'Abbās] from [the tribe of] 'Abd al-Qays was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd,[202] to whom Yazīd b. al-

201. Or "Ziyād" (cf. al-Ṭabarī's text, ser. ii, p. 1004).
202. On his father, see above, n. 54.

Muhallab sent [the following message]: "You could have a lot of leeway in the territory, and [could be dealing with] someone a lot less sharp and strong than I. Move to a territory in which I have no authority, for I do not like [the idea of] fighting you. If you want me to support you with the wherewithal for your journeying, I shall help you." ['Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mundhir] responded to him: "We have not stopped in this territory in order to wage war, nor in order to settle; all we want to do is rest up and then
[1107] move on, God willing. We have no need of what you have proposed." Yazīd's messenger went off [bearing this message] to [Yazīd].

Then ['Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abbās] al-Hāshimī started levying taxes. [This] reached Yazīd, who said, "He who wants to rest and then pass on does not collect tax (*kharāj*)." He sent out al-Mufaḍḍal [b. al-Muhallab] over an advance party of four thousand—also put at six thousand—and then sent four thousand [men] after him. Yazīd weighed himself in his armor, which came to four hundred *riṭls*,[203] and said, "I think that I am too heavy to fight. What horse could carry me?" Then he called for his horse al-Kāmil,[204] deputed over Marw his maternal uncle, Juday' b. Yazīd,[205] and set forth for Marw al-Rūdh, where he visited the tomb of his father, stayed there for three days, and gave one hundred dirhams to each of those who were with him. Then he went to Herat and sent [word] to the Hāshimī [as follows]: "You have rested, fattened yourself, and collected taxes. You may keep the taxes you have collected. If you want more, we shall give you more. But leave, by God. I do not want to fight you."

[Al-Madā'inī] said: ['Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abbās al-Hāshimī, now] accompanied by 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah, insisted on fighting. Al-Hāshimī clandestinely subverted the army of Yazīd, making them promises and calling them to himself. One of them informed Yazīd, who said, "This is no longer a matter of mere reproof: I'll have him for lunch before he has me for dinner," and he went against him. In due course, the two armies drew near to each other and prepared for battle. A chair

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203. Assuming an Umayyad *riṭl* (or *raṭl*) of 400 g. (see *EI*², s.v. Makāyil and Mawāzīn), it weighed approximately 80 lbs.

204. "The Perfect."

205. Possibly Juday' b. Sa'īd is meant (see al-Ṭabarī's text, ser. ii, p. 856, and Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register).

was set up for Yazīd, and he sat upon it; he put his brother al-Mufaḍḍal in command of the fighting. There advanced one of the companions of al-Hāshimī, called Khulayd 'Aynayn[206] from [the tribe of] 'Abd al-Qays, mounted on his horse, and he raised his [1108]
voice and said (*ṭawīl*):

She[207] made a call, O Yazīd b. al-Muhallab,
a grief-stricken call; then her eyes filled
with tears.
If the caller were to make the call heard, [Yazīd]
would respond to it
with compact spears and with swords, the
scabbards of which would be cast aside.
The *ashrāf* of Iraq have fled and have left
hornless cattle there to meet their fate.

He wanted [thereby] to incite Yazīd. Yazīd remained silent for a long time, until the people thought that the poetry had moved him. Then he said to a man, "Call out and let them hear. . . ."[208] They imposed that upon them, despite its difficulty, and Khulayd said (*ṭawīl*):

Bad is the one whose name is called and extolled;
the virgins and non-virgins of Iraq call to him.
When Yazīd is called to a grievous battle day involving
the defense of those whom he is honor-bound to defend,
sexual organs are protected only by their real
protectors.
I think that he will soon be
committed, just as he used to commit others.
No free-born women will weep for him, only hired
wailing women,
the spotted and the black (that is, the slaves)
among them will be weeping over him.

Yazīd said to al-Mufaḍḍal, "Take your cavalry forward," and he
did so and they rushed upon one another. After not much fighting [1109]

206. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. III, p. 755, explains that the 'Aynayn in question was a well or watering place in al-Baḥrayn; cf. al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, p. 498 and n. i].

207. Judging by the verses that follow these, "she" would appear to be the Arab women of Iraq.

208. It looks as if some of the text has been lost here.

between them, the people separated from 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and he held out, together with a group of those who were most steadfast and the 'Abdīs. Sa'd b. Najd al-Qurdūsī[209] charged Ḥulays al-Shaybānī, who was [positioned] in front of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and Ḥulays speared him and unseated him from his horse; his companions protected him, and then [Yazīd's] people outnumbered ['Abd al-Raḥmān's, who] were put to flight. Yazīd ordered [his men] to desist from following them; they took what was in their camp, and they took [some] of them captive. Yazīd put 'Aṭā' b. Abī al-Sā'ib in charge of the camp and instructed him to collect together what was in it. They came across thirteen women, whom they brought to Yazīd; he made them over to Murrah b. 'Aṭā' b. Abī al-Sā'ib, who transported them [first] to al-Ṭabasayn[210] and then[ce] to Iraq. Yazīd said to Sa'd b. Najd, "Who speared you?" and [Sa'd] replied, "Ḥulays al-Shaybānī, and I, by God, as a foot soldier am stronger than he is as a cavalryman." [This] reached Ḥulays, who said, "He lies, by God! I am stronger than he is, both as a cavalryman and as a foot soldier."

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mundhir b. Bishr b. Ḥārithah[211] fled and went to Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim.

[Al-Madā'inī] continued: Among the prisoners were Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ; 'Umar b. Mūsā b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar; 'Ayyāsh b. al-Aswad b. 'Awf al-Zuhrī; al-Hilqām b. Nu'aym b. al-Qa'qā' b. Ma'bad b. Zurārah; Fayrūz Ḥuṣayn; Abū al-'Ilj, [who was] the mawlā of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar; a man from
[1110] the Āl Abī 'Aqīl;[212] Sawwār b. Marwān; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf; and 'Abdallāh b. Fuḍālah al-Azhrānī.[213] ['Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-'Abbās] al-Hāshimī made it to Sind, while Ibn Samurah reached Marw. Then Yazīd departed to Marw and sent the prisoners to al-Ḥajjāj with Sabrah b. Nakhf b. Abī Ṣufrah,[214] having [first] let Ibn Ṭalḥah and 'Abdallāh b. Fuḍālah go; [in addition, some] people calumniated 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-

209. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register.
210. Two towns, each called Ṭabas, in Qūhistān [see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 359ff.].
211. Possibly 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd [Bishr] is meant.
212. This identification is striking, since the Āl Abī 'Aqīl was the family of al-Ḥajjāj; it is omitted by Ibn al-Athīr.
213. On these prisoners, see Sayed, *Revolte*, pp. 239–41.
214. I.e., a first cousin of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's.

Raḥmān b. Samurah, and Yazīd took him and imprisoned him.

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī—Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar b. Qabīṣah—a man from the Banū Ḥanīfah called Jābir b. 'Umārah: Yazīd b. al-Muhallab detained 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṭalḥah with him and kept him safe; [this] Talḥī had sworn an oath that he would never see Yazīd b. al-Muhallab on any occasion without going to him to kiss his hand by way of thanks for what he had done.

[Hishām also] said: Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ said to Yazīd, "I ask you [to free me] in return for my father's invocation for your father," and he let him go;[215] there is rather a long story behind Muḥammad b. Sa'd's words to Yazīd.[216]

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Hishām b. Ayyūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Aqīl al-Thaqafī: Yazīd b. al-Muhallab sent the rest of the prisoners to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. [First,] 'Umar b. Mūsā b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar (was brought forward)[217] and [al-Ḥajjāj] said, "You are the police chief of 'Udayy al-Raḥmān."[218] [1111]
He said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper! It was a sedition that engulfed both the righteous and the unrighteous, and we entered into it. God has [now] given you power over us. If you forgive, then that will be by virtue of your moderation[219] and graciousness; if you punish, you will punish sinning wrongdoers." Al-Ḥajjāj said, "As for your words 'that engulfed both the righteous and the unrighteous,' you have lied; it engulfed the unrighteous, while the righteous were preserved from it. As for your acknowledgment of your sin, perhaps it will benefit you," and he was removed; people entertained hopes for his well-being until al-Hilqām b. Nu'aym was brought forward and [al-Ḥajjāj] said to him, "Tell me what you hoped for in following 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad. Did you hope that he would become caliph?" He said, "Yes, I did hope that, and it was my aspiration that he would cause me to occupy a position the like of yours vis-à-vis 'Abd al-Malik."

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215. But cf. below, p. 65.

216. Sa'd made the invocation after al-Muhallab had distinguished himself on al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī's expedition to Khurasan in the late 40s (660s) (see Hinds, *Early Islamic Family*, pars. 24–25).

217. Inserting something like *fa-quddima* before *bi-'Umar*; the *Addenda et Emendanda* suggest *fa-lammā qadimū 'alayhi da'ā*.

218. See above, n. 95.

219. So rendering *ḥilm* here and in what follows; see *EI*², s.v.

[Hishām] continued: Al-Ḥajjāj became angry and said, "Behead him!" and he was killed.

[Hishām] continued: He looked at 'Umar b. Mūsā[220] b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar, who had been set away from him to one side, and said, "Behead him!"; and the rest of them were [all] killed. He had [earlier] given a safe-conduct to 'Amr b. Abī Qurrah al-Kindī of the clan of Ḥujr,[221] who was a *sharīf* from an old family. He said to him, "O 'Amr, you used to tell me of and relate to me your dislike of Ibn al-Ash'ath and of al-Ash'ath before him. Then you followed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath. By God, there [was] not in you [any] dislike of following them; I don't believe a word you say."[222]

[Hishām] continued: When al-Ḥajjāj had defeated the people at [Dayr] al-Jamājim, his crier had called out, "Whoever reaches
[1112] Qutaybah b. Muslim at al-Rayy will be given a safe-conduct."[223] Many people reached Qutaybah, among them 'Āmir al-Sha'bī. Al-Ḥajjāj remembered al-Sha'bī one day and said, "Where is he, and what has he been doing?" Yazīd b. Abī Muslim[224] said to him, "It has come to my attention, O amīr, that he has reached Qutaybah b. Muslim at al-Rayy." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "I shall send [word] to [Qutaybah]; let [al-Sha'bī] be brought to us," and he wrote to Qutaybah: "To continue: Send al-Sha'bī to me when you read this letter of mine. Peace be upon you." [Al-Sha'bī] was sent to him.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Sarī b. Ismā'īl—al-Sha'bī: I was a friend of Ibn Abī Muslim's. When I was brought to al-Ḥajjāj, I met Ibn Abī Muslim and said to him, "Advise me." He said, "I don't know how to advise you except [to say] that you should excuse youself as much as you can"; and I was similarly advised by [other] counselors and brethren. When I entered into his presence, [however,] I adopted a view different from theirs. I saluted him as amīr and then said, "O amīr, people have told me to excuse myself to you, adducing other than what God knows to be the truth. By God, in this situation I shall not say other than what

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220. The text wrongly gives "Mūsā b. 'Umar."

221. See Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register, s.v. 'Amr b. Salama.

222. Ibn al-Athīr makes it clear that al-Ḥajjāj killed him.

223. So rendering *fa-huwa amānuhu* (lit. "he (sc. Qutaybah) will be his safe-conduct").

224. A mawlā and foster brother of al-Ḥajjāj (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 243, n. 420).

is true. By God, we have set up a chief against you,[225] have urged [people to oppose you], and have struggled against you as hard as we could, without falling short. We were neither strong and sinful, nor pious and innocent. God gave you victory over us. If you act violently, then that is by reason of our sins and the measures we took; if you forgive us, that will be by reason of your moderation and after clear proof you possess against us." Al-Ḥajjāj said to him, "By God, you are dearer to me in respect of what you say than one who enters into our presence with his sword dripping [1113] with our blood and then says, 'I did nothing and witnessed nothing.' You are safe with us, O Sha'bī. Depart."

[Al-Sha'bī] said: So I departed. When I had walked a little way, he said, "Come here, O Sha'bī."

[Al-Sha'bī] said: At that my heart sank. Then I remembered his words "You are safe, O Sha'bī," and I felt tranquil. He said, "How did you find the people, O Sha'bī, after me?"

[Al-Sha'bī] said: He had [earlier] treated me with honor,[226] and I said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper. After you, by God, I had no kohl but sleeplessness;[227] I found my place of habitation difficult, and I was in a state of unending fear; I lost upright brethren, and I found no [adequate] substitute for the amīr." He said, "Depart, O Sha'bī," and I departed.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Khālid b. Qaṭan al-Ḥārithī: Al-Ḥajjāj was brought al-A'shā—[that is,] A'shā Hamdān[228]—and said to him, "Well now, O enemy of God, recite to me your words *'bayna al-ashajj ⟨wa-⟩bayna Qays'*:[229] Deliver your verse." He said, "I would rather recite what I said regarding you." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Very well, recite that to me," and he recited to him (*ṭawīl*):[230]

God insisted on bringing His light to fulfillment
and on extinguishing the light of evildoers,
Making the people of truth victorious in every

225. So rendering *qad sawwadnā 'alayka.*
226. Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 49) adds *qabla 'l-khurūj 'alayhi.*
227. So rendering *qad iktaḥaltu ba'daka'l-sahar.*
228. See above, n. 13.
229. See below, p. 62 and n. 237.
230. For the following verses, cf. Geyer, *The Díwán of al-A'shà*, pp. 320–21 (Arabic texts); *Aghānī*², vol. VI, pp. 60–61 (which differs considerably); von Goutta, *Aġaniartikel*, pp. 39–41, 56–58.

battlefield;
the sword blow will straighten the inclining
neck of the one who was a proud king,
[1114] And bring down abasement on Iraq and its people,
because of their breaking of the certain and
firm compact,
[Because of] their innovation and their big words,
which do not ascend to God,
And [because of] their breaking of an oath of allegiance:
They make [such an oath] today and break it tomorrow.
Their Lord has filled their hearts with cowardice,
and they only approach people as if threatened.
They are bereft of veracity and of fortitude in adversity;
they are full of boasting and bravado.
How do you think God disunited them
and scattered them far and wide?
Their dead are the dead of waywardness and sedition,
while their living have become abased and pursued.
When we advanced on Ibn Yūsuf in the early morning
and the two armies flashed and thundered,
[1115] We crossed toward him, over the two trenches;
we just crossed and reached the death that was waiting.
Al-Ḥajjāj confronted our lines,
without having given warning,
With a line which was as if it had lightning in its ranks,
when its helmets shone and gleamed.
We moved toward it in lines which were like
the mountains of Sharawrā,[231] if they could
be brought to move.
Al-Ḥajjāj forthwith drew his sword
against us, and our army fled and broke up.
Al-Ḥajjāj never fights but that you see him
well supported (i.e., by God) and provided for,
accustomed to victories.
Ibn 'Abbās[232] is in a state of indecision,
which we liken to a black portion of the night:
They neither pointed a spear at him nor unsheathed;

231. To the east of Tabūk (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. III, p. 282).
232. I.e., 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-'Abbās al-Hāshimi, as Ibn al-Athīr points out.

surely the coward often encountered [a foe] [1116]
and unsheathed?
The cavalry of Sufyān[233] wheeled round against us
with its horsemen, their lances broken (i.e.,
from much use).
Sufyān led them, and it was as if his standard,
from [much] piercing, was a red cloth stiff
with dye.
Around him were mature men and beardless youths
from Quḍā'ah,
furious heroes in situations where the coward
would turn aside.
When he said, "Attack!" they charged as one,
and the spear points were brought to their
drinking places
By the troops and cavalry of the Commander of the
Faithful,
and his authority became mighty and supported.
May the Commander of the Faithful be given joy by
his victory
over a community [of people] who were
oppressors and enviers!
They leapt up complaining of oppression from
their amīrs,
while it was they who were the most oppressive
and obdurate of the oppressors.
We have found the Banū Marwān to be the best imāms,
and the worthiest of these people in moderation
and the exercise of authority,
And the best of Quraysh by way of origin, [1117]
and the noblest of them, except for the Prophet
Muḥammad.
When we reflect on the consequences of his rule,
we find the Commander of the Faithful to have
been directed aright.
People who have openly contended with God will be
overcome,[234]

233. I.e., Sufyān b. al-Abrad al-Kalbī.
234. Al-Ṭabarī has *sa-yughlabu qawm*^{un}, while Ibn al-Athīr gives *sa-yaghlibu qawm*^{an}.

if they try to deceive Him, He [proves to be]
stronger and more crafty.
Thus does God mislead him whose heart is
sick and him who espouses hypocrisy and blasphemes.
They have left families and property behind them,
and fair virgins clad in gowns,
Who call to them, shedding tears on their account,
and allowing those tears, together with
antimony, to fall on their cheeks.
If you do not offer them compassion,
they will become captives and the[ir] menfolk slaves.
Will you perpetrate the braking of compacts,
disobedience, perfidy, and abasement?
May God despise and make distant those who are
despicable!
Muḥammad's chick[235] has brought ill luck upon the
two *miṣr*s [of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah]—
justly so—and he did not encounter anything
more propitious from the bird of omen,
[1118] Just as God brought ill luck upon al-Nujayr[236]
and its people,
by reason of a grandfather of his who was
[even] more wretched and troublesome.

The Syrians said, "He has done well, may God cause the amīr to prosper!" Al-Ḥajjāj said, "He has not done well. You do not know what he meant by it." Then he said, "O enemy of God, we do not praise you for these words. You only said [what you did] out of sorrow that he was not victorious and by way of incitement of your companions against us. It is not about this that we have asked you. Deliver to us your words (*kāmil*):

'Between the man with the scarred face and Qays is a
proud and lofty [glory].' "[237]

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235. I.e., 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad.

236. The castle in Ḥaḍramawt where 'Abd al-Raḥmān's grandfather al-Ash'ath finally surrendered after staging a revolt following the death of the Prophet (see *EI*², s.v. al-Ash'ath).

237. Cf. *Aghānī*², vol. VI, pp. 46, 61; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vol. V, p. 358 = par. 2110; and Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 147. "The man with the scarred face" (*al-*

He did so, and, when he said (that is, reached the words) "Say, 'bravo' for his father and for the son," al-Ḥajjāj said, "No, by God, you won't say 'bravo' after this for anyone ever again"; and he sent him forward, and he was beheaded.

Regarding the matter of the prisoners taken by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and sent by him to al-Ḥajjāj, and regarding, too, the matter of Ibn al-Ash'ath's troops routed on the battle day of Maskin, there is information other than that mentioned by Abū Mikhnaf on the authority of his sources. It is mentioned on their authority in that connection that, when Ibn al-Ash'ath was defeated, these [troops] went with the rest of the routed troops to al-Rayy, which had been taken by 'Umar b. Abī al-Ṣalt b. Kanārā,[238] a mawlā of the Banū Naṣr b. Mu'āwiyah, who was one of the [1119] finest of horsemen, and they joined him. Then Qutaybah b. Muslim arrived in al-Rayy on behalf of al-Ḥajjāj, who had appointed him over it. The people whom I have mentioned as being sent by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab to al-Ḥajjāj in bonds, and the rest of the routed troops of Ibn al-Ash'ath who had gone to al-Rayy, said to 'Umar b. Abī al-Ṣalt, "We put you in command of us; with us you will wage war on Qutaybah." 'Umar consulted his father, Abū al-Ṣalt, and his father said to him, "By God, my son, if these people will go under your standard, I do not care if you are killed tomorrow," and he tied his standard. Then ['Umar] went forth and was defeated together with his companions. They fled to Sijistān, where the routed troops gathered, and wrote to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, who was with the Zunbīl. Then there happened to them with Yazīd b. al-Muhallab what I have mentioned.

Abū 'Ubaydah [Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā][239] mentioned: When Yazīd wanted to send the captives to al-Ḥajjāj, his brother Ḥabīb said to him, "How do you regard the Yamaniyyah, given that you

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ashajj) was 'Abd al-Raḥmān's paternal grandfather, al-Ash'ath, while "Qays" refers to the father of his maternal grandfather, Sa'īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī (see Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, p. 247; *EI*², s.v. Ibn al-Ash'ath); Ibn al-Athīr mistakenly thought that *al-ashajj* referred to 'Abd al-Raḥmān's father, Muḥammad, and that 'Abd al-Raḥmān's maternal grandfather was Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī.

238. This being the form proposed (to replace "Kannāz") in the *Addenda et Emendanda* (in which connection see the references given by Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 155, s.v. Kanarang 4); it is also given by Khalīfah (*Ta'rīkh*, pp. 284, 288, where "'Amr" is read in place of "'Umar").

239. Died in 209 (824–25), or thereabouts (*EI*², s.v.).

have sent Ibn Ṭalḥah?" Yazīd said, "He is al-Ḥajjāj and he should not be thwarted." [Ḥabīb] said, "Habituate yourself to [the idea of] being dismissed, and do not send him; we do owe him a favor." [Yazīd] said, "How so?" [Ḥabīb] said, "Al-Muhallab was dunned for two hundred thousand [dirhams][240] in the congregational mosque, and Ṭalḥah[241] paid them for him." So [Yazīd] set Ibn Ṭalḥah free and sent the remaining [prisoners to al-Ḥajjāj]; al-Farazdaq said (*kāmil*):

Ibn Ṭalḥah found the best grouping on the day when
his people
encountered Qaḥṭān on the battle day of Herat.[242]

It has been said that al-Ḥajjāj, when he was brought the prisoners from Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, said to his chamberlain, "If I call upon you to bring their leader, bring me Fayrūz." Then he put his
[1120] throne in a prominent position—he was at that time at Wāsiṭ al-Qaṣab, [this being] before the city of Wāsiṭ had been built—and said to his chamberlain, "Bring me their leader." [The chamberlain] said to Fayrūz, "Stand up," and al-Ḥajjāj said to him, "Abū 'Uthmān, what made you rebel with these people? By God, you are not from the same flesh and blood." He said, "[It was] a sedition in which everyone was caught up, including us." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Write down for me [a list of] your assets." He said, "Then what?" [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "[Just] write them down first." He said, "Will my life then be safe?" [Al-Ḥajjāj said], "Write them down; then I'll see." He said, "O *ghulām*,[243] write down one million [dirhams] and[244] two million [dirhams]," and he mentioned much money. Al-Ḥajjāj said to him, "Where are these assets?" He said, "With me." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "So hand them over." He said, "Will my life then be safe?" [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "By God, you will hand them over, and I shall then kill you." He said, "By God, you're not going to have both my money and my life." Al-Ḥajjāj then said to the chamberlain, "Put him to one side,"

240. 100,000 dirhams, according to Ibn al-Athīr.
241. He being the distinguished Khuzā'ī general Ṭalḥah b. 'Abdallāh (Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalaḥāt), "der freigebigste Araber seiner Zeit" (see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register).
242. This verse does not appear in al-Farazdaq's *Dīwān*.
243. See above, n. 139.
244. This "and" is given by Ms B and Ibn al-Athīr.

and he did so.

Then [al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Bring me Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ." [The chamberlain] called him and al-Ḥajjāj said to him, "You shadow of Satan,[245] you most wayward and arrogant of people, you decline to take the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, you liken yourself[246] to Ḥusayn and Ibn 'Umar, and then you become muezzin for Ibn Kanārā,[247] the slave of the Banū Naṣr"—meaning 'Umar b. Abī al-Ṣalt—and he struck him on the head with a stick [which he held] in his hand until he caused it to bleed. Muḥammad said to him, "[Easy,] man! You have [already] won; so be forgiving,"[248] and [al-Ḥajjāj] stayed his hand. Then [Muḥammad] said, "If you see fit, you can write to the Commander of the Faithful; if a pardon [for me] comes to you, you will have been party to that and [will be duly] praised; and if there comes to you other than that, you will [at least] have gone to great lengths." [Al-Ḥajjāj] remained silent for a long time with downcast eyes; then he said, "Behead him!" and he was beheaded.

Then he called for 'Umar b. Mūsā and said to him: "You philanderer,[249] will you stand with an iron bar protecting the head of [1121]
the son of the weaver,[250] drink [intoxicating] drink with him in the bathhouse of Fārs, and say what you said?[251] Where is al-Farazdaq? Stand and recite to him what you said about him?" And [al-Farazdaq] recited to him (*kāmil*):[252]

You dyed your penis for fornication and you were
not about
to dye the heroes (i.e., with blood) on the
day of battle.

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245. *Ẓill al-shayṭān*, a sobriquet explained by al-Tha'ālibī with reference to Ibn Sa'd's height, swarthiness, and stout build (*Laṭā'if al-maārif*, p. 40 [English trans., p. 59]).

246. Reading *tatashabbahu*, with Ibn al-Athīr (cf. Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 155: *yatashabbahu*); the Ṭabarī text has *t.sh.b.h.*

247. See above, n. 238.

248. Cf. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, vol. II, p. 630.

249. If this is how *'abd al-mar'ah* is to be understood.

250. I.e., Ibn al-Ash'ath, this being an insult because weaving was a despised occupation (see Brunschvig, "Métiers vils en Islam," pp. 50ff.) and one which Yemenis were stereotypically mocked for engaging in (al-Tha'ālibī, *Laṭī'if al-ma'ārif*, p. 40 [English trans., p. 59]).

251. This allusion remains in need of clarification.

252. This verse does not appear in al-Farazdaq's *Dīwān*.

['Umar] said, "By God, I have kept it away from your secluded women." Then [al-Ḥajjāj] ordered that he be beheaded.

Then he called for Ibn 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah, [who proved to be just] a young man. He said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper! I am guiltless. I was a young lad with my father and mother, with no say whatever, being with them wherever they happened to be." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Was your mother with your father in all of these seditions?" He said, "Yes." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "May God's curse be upon your father!"

Then he called for al-Hilqām b. Nu'aym and said [to him], "Supposing that[253] Ibn al-Ash'ath sought what he sought, what did you hope for with him?" He said, "I hoped that he would gain mastery and appoint me over Iraq, just as 'Abd al-Malik has appointed you." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said (addressing one of his staff), "Stand up, O Ḥawshab, and behead him." [Ḥawshab] moved toward him, and al-Hilqām said to him, "You son of a bitch";[254] [Ḥawshab] beheaded him.

Then 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir[255] was brought. When he stood before [al-Ḥajjāj], he said, "May your eyes never see Paradise, O Ḥajjāj, if you forgive[256] Ibn al-Muhallab for what he has done." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "What has he done?" and 'Abdallāh replied (*basīṭ*):[257]

Because he cleverly set his family free
and drove Muḍar to you in fetters.
With your people he protected his family from death's onset,
and your people were of less consequence to him.

Al-Ḥajjāj remained silent for a long time with downcast eyes, and [these words] rested in his heart. [Then] he said, "What does that have to do with you? Behead him!" and he was beheaded. [But the

253. Ibn al-Athīr reads *aḥbabta anna* where the Ṭabarī text gives *ij'al*.

254. Reading *yā ibna laṭīfati iskatay al-farj*, "you son of a woman with (?)tight *labia majora*," and translating freely; I cannot take the credit for this inspired reconstruction of the text (which rests on what survives in Ms B).

255. Presumably, the 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir al-Na"ār who had earlier been at Zaranj (see above, p. 00).

256. *Aqalta*, while Ibn al-Athīr has *aflatta*; cf. Khalīfah (*Ta'rīkh*, p. 284) and the Omani version of this story (see Hinds, *Early Islamic Family*, par. 61 and n. 135).

257. In Khalīfah's version and in the Omani version of this, al-Ḥajjāj's interlocutor is al-Hilqām; the following verses are given in both of these versions.

words] remained in al-Ḥajjāj's soul until he dismissed Yazīd from Khurasan and imprisoned him. [1122]

Then he gave the order and Fayrūz was tortured. As part of his torture, split Persian cane was tied to him, and he was dragged on it until it pierced his body in many places; then [a mixture of] vinegar and salt was sprinkled onto him. When he felt [the onset of] death, he said to [his] torturer, "The people will not doubt that I have been killed; owing to me are deposits of wealth with the people that will never be handed over to you. Show me to the people, that they may know that I am alive and hand over the money." Al-Ḥajjāj was informed [of this] and said, "Put him on view." So he was taken out to the city gate, and he called to the people, "Those who know me know me; [as for] those who do not know me, I am Fayrūz Ḥuṣayn. [Some] people have money owing to me. Anyone who has anything owing to me may keep it, perfectly legally. Let not anyone hand over a [single] dirham of it. Let those who have witnessed this inform those who are not present." Al-Ḥajjāj gave the order and [Fayrūz] was killed. This is part of what al-Walīd b. Hishām b. Qaḥdham related on the authority of Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī.

Ḍamrah b. Rabīʿah related on the authority of Ibn Shawdhab that al-Ḥajjāj's governors[258] wrote to him, "The land tax has become depleted. The *ahl al-dhimmah* have become Muslims and have gone off to the garrison cities." [Al-Ḥajjāj] wrote to al-Baṣrah and elsewhere, "Whoever originates from a village must go out [and return] to it." The people went out and camped and began to weep and call out, "O Muḥammad! O Muḥammad!" and they had no idea of where to go. Then the *qurrāʾ* of the Baṣrans began to go out to them, masked,[259] and to weep at what they heard from them and what they saw. [Ḍamrah] continued: Then [1123] Ibn al-Ashʿath came in the wake of that, and the *qurrāʾ* of the Baṣrans committed themselves to fighting al-Ḥajjāj with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath.

According to Ḍamrah b. Rabīʿah—al-Shaybānī: On the battle day of al-Zāwiyah, al-Ḥajjāj killed eleven thousand [people] and spared only one, whose son was one of al-Ḥajjāj's secretaries. [Al-

258. *ʿUmmāl*: This may be an early example of the term in the sense of "fiscal intendants" (cf. *EI*², s.v. ʿĀmil).

259. So rendering *mutaqanniʿīn*.

Ḥajjāj] said to [the secretary], "Do you want us to forgive your father for you?" He said, "Yes," and [al-Ḥajjāj] left [the father] to his son. [Al-Ḥajjāj] deceived them by means of the safe-conduct: He gave orders to a crier, who called out at the defeat, "There is no safe-conduct for so-and-so, nor for so-and-so," and he named men from those *ashrāf*, without saying, "The people will be safe." The rank and file then said, "He has given safe-conduct to all the people except those individuals," and they advanced to his compound. When they had gathered together, he ordered them to lay down their arms. Then he said, "Today I shall order to deal with you a man to whom you are not related." He ordered 'Umārah b. Tamīm al-Lakhmī to deal with them; ['Umārah] brought them near and then killed them.

It has been related on the authority of al-Naḍr b. Shumayl that Hishām b. Ḥassān said: The number of people killed in bonds by al-Ḥajjāj reached 120,000 or 130,000.

[*A Second Account of the Battle of Maskin*]

Concerning the defeat of Ibn al-As'ath at Maskin, an account other than that of Abū Mikhnaf has been mentioned: Ibn al-Ash'ath and al-Ḥajjāj met at Maskin, in the territory of Abazqubādh.[260] The camp of Ibn al-Ash'ath was next to a river called Kh.dāsh[261] at the back part of al-Nahr—[that is,] Nahr Tīrā.[262]
[1124] Al-Ḥajjāj stopped at the river Afr.y.dh,[263] and the two camps were in their entirety between the Tigris, al-Sīb,[264] and al-Karkh.[265] They fought for a month—also said to be less than that—and al-Ḥajjāj did not know of any way to them other than the way on which they were engaging each other. Then he was brought an old man who was a herdsman called Zawraq, and he showed him a

260. A place lying between al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ and not far from Maysān and Dast-i Maysān, associated in the chronicles of the early conquests with al-Madhār (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. I, pp. 90–91).

261. Which remains to be identified.

262. A right-bank affluent of the lower Karkhah river in Khūzistān (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 241).

263. Which remains to be identified.

264. Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, vol. III, p. 209) knew this as "the Baṣran river" (*nahr al-Baṣrah*), which had a large settlement in it (*fīhi qaryah kabīrah*).

265. Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, vol. IV, p. 253) knew Karkh al-Baṣrah as a place in Maftaḥ (which was itself a place between al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ [vol. IV, p. 586]).

way round behind al-Karkh, six parasangs long,[266] through a thicket and some shallow water. [Al-Ḥajjāj] selected four thousand of the most eminent of the Syrians and said to their leader, "Let this unbeliever (*'ilj*) be in front of you. Here are four thousand dirhams for you to take with you. If he gets you to their camp, pay the money to him; if he [proves to have] lied to us,[267] behead him. If you see them, attack them with those who are with you. Let your battle cry be 'O Ḥajjāj! O Ḥajjāj!' " The leader set off at the time of the afternoon prayer, and al-Ḥajjāj's army and that of Ibn al-Ash'ath met when the leader moved off with those who were with him at the time of the afternoon prayer. They fought until nighttime, and al-Ḥajjāj withdrew until he crossed [the] al-Sīb [river], which he had bridged;[268] Ibn al-Ash'ath entered his camp and plundered what was in it. He was asked, "Why not follow him?" He said, "We are worn out," and he returned to his camp; his companions cast down their weapons and passed the night sure that they had won. The people [making up the force of four thousand] attacked them halfway through the night, shouting their battle cry, and the companions of Ibn al-Ash'ath did not know where to direct themselves: Dujayl to the left [or] the Tigris, with its awful eroded bank, straight ahead? Those who drowned were more numerous than those who were killed. Al-Ḥajjāj heard the noise and crossed [the] al-Sīb to his camp. Then he sent his cavalry to the [other force], and the two armies met at the camp of Ibn al-Ash'ath. [The latter] fled with three hundred [men] and went along the bank of the Tigris until he reached [the] Dujayl [river], which he crossed in boats. They hocked their riding animals and went downstream in the boats to [1125]
al-Baṣrah. Al-Ḥajjāj entered [Ibn al-Ash'ath's] camp and plundered what was in it. He killed anyone he found, until he had killed four thousand [people]. It is said that among those he killed was 'Abdallāh b. Shaddād b. al-Hād;[269] also killed were Bisṭām b. Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah; 'Umar[270] b. Ḍubay'ah al-Raqāshī; Bishr b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd[271] and al-Ḥakam b. Makhramah, who were

266. About 36 kilometers.
267. Reading *kadhabanā*, as proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda*.
268. So rendering *'aqada*.
269. Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 355, no. 16.
270. 'Amr, according to Ibn al-Athīr.
271. See above, n. 54.

both 'Abdīs; and Bukayr b. Rabī'ah b. Tharwān al-Ḍabbī. Al-Hajjāj was brought their heads on a shield. He began to look at the head of Bisṭām and recited (*basīṭ*):[272]

If you pass along the valley of a male serpent,
go and leave me to deal with[273] the serpent
of the valley.

Then he looked at the head of Bukayr and said, "How did this wretch get to be with these? Take hold of his ear, boy, and cast it away from them." Then he said, "Place this shield in front of Misma' b. Mālik b. Misma'."[274] It was placed before him, and he wept. Al-Ḥajjāj said, "What has made you weep? Is it out of sorrow for them?" He said, "No, rather out of fear of hell fire for them."

[*The Reason Why al-Ḥajjāj Built Wāsiṭ*]

In this year al-Ḥajjāj built Wāsiṭ. The reason for his building it, in among what has been mentioned, was that al-Ḥajjāj raised Kūfan levies [to go] to Khurasan, and they camped at Ḥammām 'Umar.[275] A young Kūfan man from the Banū Asad, who had recently married his paternal uncle's daughter, departed from the camp to his cousin at night. Somebody knocked hard on the door, and, lo and behold, it was a drunken Syrian. The cousin said to the [Asadī] man, "We've had a lot of trouble from this Syrian. He does this sort of thing every night, wanting something not very
[1126] nice. I have complained about him to the shaykhs among his companions, and they know about it." [The Asadī] said, "Let him in," and they did so. Then he locked the door, the woman having [first] seen to the house and made it pleasant. The Syrian said, "Your time has come," and the Asadī killed him and struck off his head. When the dawn call to prayer was made, the [Asadī]

272. The poet is Ḥārithah b. Badr al-Ghudānī (Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 326) and another version of the following verse can be found (with others) in *Aghānī*[1], vol. XXI, p. 44 (= p. 425 of the supplement to vol. VIII of *Aghānī*[2]).

273. The *Aghānī* here gives *umāris*, which is preferred in the *Addenda et Emendanda* to the *uqāsī* given in the text.

274. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 117.

275. A place between Jāmi'ān (later al-Ḥillah) and Niffār (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 73).

went out to the camp, saying to his wife, "When the dawn prayer has been prayed, send [word] to the Syrians that they should remove their man. They will take you to al-Ḥajjāj; tell him the truth, just as it was." She did so, and the dead man was borne off to al-Ḥajjāj. The woman was brought into his presence; with him on his throne was ʿAnbasah b. Saʿīd.[276] [Al-Ḥajjāj] said to her, "What happened?" She told him, and he said, "You have told the truth." Then he said to the blood claimants[277] of the Syrian, "Bury your relative. He has been killed by God [and is headed] for hell fire; there will be no retaliation and no blood money." Then his crier called out, "No one [of the Syrians] may stop off with any one [of the Iraqis]. Move out and make camp." [Al-Ḥajjāj] sent out scouts to reconnoiter [and find] for him a place to settle. He worked assiduously until he stopped at the fringes of Kaskar, and, while he was at the site of Wāsiṭ, lo and behold, a monk advanced on a donkey of his and crossed the Tigris. When he was at the site of Wāsiṭ, the she-ass parted her legs and urinated; the monk dismounted and dug up the urine and then carried it and threw it into the Tigris, during all of which time al-Ḥajjāj was watching. Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Bring him to me," and he was brought. [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "What possessed you to do what you did?" [The monk] said, "We find [it written] in our books that there will be built in this place a mosque in which God will be worshiped as long as there remains on earth anyone who proclaims His oneness." Al-Ḥajjāj marked out the city of Wāsiṭ and built the mosque at that place.

In this year, according to what al-Wāqidī said, ʿAbd al-Malik [1127]
dismissed Abān b. ʿUthmān from Medina and appointed over it Hishām b. Ismāʿīl al-Makhzūmī.

Hishām b. Ismāʿīl led the pilgrimage in this year: Thus it was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit on the authority of he who related it to him on the authority of Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā on the authority of Abū Maʿshar.

The governors of the *amṣār* in this year, apart from Medina were [the same as] the governors of the preceding year. As for Medina, we have mentioned those who were over it in [this year].

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276. I.e., ʿAnbasah b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿAṣ al-Umawī (cf. above, n. 49).
277. So rendering *wulāt* in this context.

The Events of the Year 84

(January 24, 703–January 13, 704)

In [this year] there took place the campaign of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān against the Byzantines, in [the course of] which he conquered al-Maṣṣīṣah.[278] Thus it was mentioned by al-Wāqidī.

In [this year, too,] al-Ḥajjāj killed Ayyūb b. al-Qirriyyah,[279] who was one of those who had been with Ibn al-Ash'ath. The reason why he killed him—in among what has been mentioned—was that, after his departure from Dayr al-Jamājim, he used to enter into the presence of Ḥawshab b. Yazīd, who was al-Ḥajjāj's governor of al-Kūfah, and Ḥawshab would say, "Look at this fellow standing with me. Tomorrow or the day after there will arrive from the amīr a letter [containing orders] that I shall have to implement." [Then] one day, while he was standing, there came to him a
[1128] letter from al-Ḥajjāj [which said]: "To continue: You have become a haven and a refuge for the hypocrites of Iraq. When you read this letter of mine, send Ibn al-Qirriyyah to me with his hand tied to his neck in the company of one of your confidants." When Ḥawshab

278. Ibn al-Athīr here gives additional information on these Arab operations at al-Maṣṣīṣah.

279. See *EI*², s.v. Ibn al-Qirriyya.

had read the letter, he threw it to [Ibn al-Qirriyyah], who read it and said, "To hear is to obey"; [Ḥawshab] sent him in bonds to al-Ḥajjāj. When [Ibn al-Qirriyyah] entered into al-Ḥajjāj's presence, [the latter] said to him, "O Ibn al-Qirriyyah, what have you prepared for this situation?" He said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper, three words, like riders at a standstill:[280] this world, the next world, and doing good." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Explain yourself; otherwise you will be in trouble."[281] He said, "I shall do so. As for this world, it [consists of] available wealth, to be consumed by both the righteous and the unrighteous; as for the next world, it is a just scale and a place of assembly in which there is nothing false; as for doing good, if I am asked to do it I shall accept, and, if others are asked to do it to me, I shall take it with both hands." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "In that case, accept the sword when it falls upon you." He said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper, forgive me my slip and grant me some delay.[282] Every fleet steed takes a fall, and every brave man [at some time] underachieves."[283] Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Certainly not. By God, I shall make you visit[284] hell." He said, "Then let me be at rest, for I [almost] feel its heat." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Take him forward, guard, and behead him!" When al-Ḥajjāj looked at him floundering in his own blood, he said, "If only we had left off Ibn al-Qirriyyah, so that we might hear [more] of his words." Then he gave the order and [the cadaver of Ibn al-Qirriyyah] was removed and discarded.

According to Hishām—'Awānah: When al-Ḥajjāj prohibited Ibn al-Qirriyyah from speaking, Ibn al-Qirriyyah said to him, "By God, if you and I had been on an equal footing, we should both have fallen[285] or you would have found me unassailable." [1129]

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280. Cf. the account given by al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vol. V, pp. 323–24 = par. 2081. If, here and in what follows, Ibn al-Qirriyyah's remarks seem stilted, it is because they are in rhyming prose in the original.

281. So rendering *ukhruj mimmā qulta*.

282. So rendering *wa-asighnī* (which is rightly preferred in the *Addenda et Emendanda* to *wa-asqinī*) *rīqī*.

283. *Laysa jawād illā lahu kabwah wa-lā shujā' illā lahu habwah*; Ibn al-Athīr adds *wa-lā ṣārim illā lahu nabwah*. Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, pp. 326–27 (*li-kull^i jawād^in kabwah wa-li-kull^i ḥalīm^in hafwah wa-li-kull^i shujā'^in nabwah*), and Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, vol. II, p. 430 (*li-kull^i ṣārim^in nabwah wa-li-kull^i jawād^in kabwah*).

284. Reading *la-uzīrannaka*, with the *Addenda et Emendanda* (and Ibn al-Athīr), in preference to *la-uriyannaka*.

285. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda* (*la-shiknā*).

In this year Yazīd b. al-Muhallab conquered the fortress of Nīzak[286] at Bādghīs.

The Reason Why [Yazīd b. al-Muhallab] Conquered [the Fortress of Nīzak]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab: Nīzak was staying in a fortress at Bādghīs, and Yazīd watched for a good time to campaign against him and set spies on him. [News] reached him that [Nīzak] had sallied forth, and Yazīd went to [the fortress] in his absence. [News of this] reached Nīzak, who returned, and [Yazīd] made peace with him on condition that he would hand over to him the treasures that were in the fortress and would leave it with his dependents. [In this connection,] Ka'b b. Ma'dān al-Ashqarī said (*basīṭ*):[287]

Bādghīs—which [is such that] he who occupies its
upper part
overcomes kings and, if he wishes, may act
tyrannically and oppressively—
Is well fortified: No king before [Yazīd] has
taken it by guile;
[it can be taken] only when it is faced by
a vast army of his.
Its fires, viewed from a distance, could be imagined
to be
stars, in the first third of the night.
When [Yazid] circled round it, their hearts sank
until they left it to him to judge, and he decided.
He humbled its inhabitant (that is, Nīzak) after his
[previous] greatness
[by making him] pay poll tax,[288] [he thereby]
acknowledging abasement and oppression.
[1130] A few days thereafter,
before which you had revealed grief and

286. See Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, p. 26; Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, p. 102; *EI²*, s.v. Bādghīs.

287. On the poet, see above, n. 135. Some of the following verses appear also in Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 225.

288. So rendering *al-jizā*.

oppression,
The Provider gave you that, dividing it
among [God's] creatures; and the deprived one
is he who is deprived.
With one of your hands you give the enemy poison
to drink, while the generosity of the other
is ceaseless.
Can the gift and grace of Yazīd be compared with
anything other than the Euphrates and the
Nile in spate?
When they are at their high points, they are no
more generous than he,
[even] when they rise above elevated ground
and hillocks.

And he said (*ṭawīl*):

My praise for the clan of al-ʿAtīk is that they
are generous in hospitality and noble of origin.
When they make an agreement with one they protect,
he occupies an elevated place of safety,
securely high and well defended.
He expelled Nīzak from Bādghīs, and Nīzak
was in a position which was too difficult for
kings to snatch from him,
[A position] soaring beneath the sky, like
a white summer cloud from which the rain clouds
have passed away.
Not even the mountain goats reach its uppermost parts, [1131]
nor birds, save its eagle and osprey.
The children of its people have not been frightened
by the wolf,
nor have its dogs barked at anything save the
stars.
I have desired to encounter al-ʿAtīk, the possessors
of wisdom,
made to have mastery, with their riding camels
protected,
Just as the son of the soil whose lands are parched
desires rain from abundant clouds,

Then, after despair, he is given to drink, to the
point where [his land's] conduits cannot cope
and the billows [of water] gurgle.
God has gathered together those who were remote from
one another, and there have come together
groups from many and varied distant places.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] said: Nīzak used to glorify the fortress; when he saw it, he prostrated himself to it. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab wrote to al-Ḥajjāj concerning the conquest; Yazīd's letters to al-Ḥajjāj were written by Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar al-ʿAdwānī,[289] who was a confederate (*ḥalīf*) of Hudhayl. He wrote: "We encountered the enemy, and God gave us the upper hand.[290] We killed some and took some captive, while others took themselves to the tops of the mountains, the bottoms[291] of the valleys, the low-lying fields, and the bends of the rivers." Al-Ḥajjāj asked who it was who acted as Yazīd's secretary and was told that it was Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar. He wrote to Yazīd [telling him to send Yaḥyā to him], and [Yazīd] sent him via the messenger service. Then [this] most eloquent of
[1132] people came to him, and [al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Where were you born?" He said, "In al-Ahwāz." "And this eloquence?" "I memorized the speech of my father, who was an eloquent man." "Now tell me, does ʿAnbasah b. Saʿīd make grammatical mistakes?" "Yes, often." "And so-and-so?" "Yes." "Tell me about myself; do I make grammatical mistakes?" "Yes, you make a barely perceptible mistake. You add a letter and you drop a letter: You [also] say *'inna'* instead of *'anna'* and *'anna'* instead of *'inna.'*" [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "I'll give you three days. If, after three days, I find you in Iraqi territory, I'll kill you." [Yaḥyā] returned to Khurasan.[292]

The pilgrimage in this year was led by Hishām b. Ismāʿīl al-Makhzūmī: Thus it was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit on the authority of him who mentioned it to him on the authority of Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā on the authority of Abū Maʿshar.

The governors of the *amṣār* in this year were the same as those I have named above under the year 83.

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289. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register.

290. Lit. "God gave us their shoulders."

291. *ʿArāʿir*: See the *Addenda et Emendanda* and the learned note in the *Glossarium*.

292. A briefer version of this story is given by al-Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, p. 158).

The Events of the Year 85

(JANUARY 14, 704–JANUARY 1, 705)

In [this year] the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath took place.

What [Ibn al-Ashʿath] Died of and How It Came About

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf: When Ibn al-Ashʿath departed from Herat, returning to the Zunbīl, there was with him a man from [the tribe of] Awd called ʿAlqamah b. ʿAmr. [This man] said to him, "I do not want to enter [the territory of the Zunbīl] with you." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said to him, "Why?" [1133]
He said, "Because I fear for you and for those who are with you. By God, in my mind's eye it is as if the letter of al-Ḥajjāj has already arrived, coming to the Zunbīl and filling him with fear, and he has either sent you (sing.) off in submission or he has killed you (pl.). Here [we] are five hundred [men]; you could make an oath with us to the effect that we shall enter the city, entrench ourselves in it, and fight until we are either given a safe-conduct or die nobly." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said to him, "If you were to enter with me, I should be munificent to you and honor you." But ʿAlqamah refused, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān entered into the presence

of the Zunbīl. These five hundred [men] went off, placed over themselves[293] Mawdūd al-Naḍrī[294] and then stayed put until 'Umārah b. Tamīm al-Lakhmī advanced upon them; ['Umārah] besieged them and they fought him and resisted him until he gave them a safe-conduct and they went forth to him. He kept his word to them.

[Hishām] continued: One letter of al-Ḥajjāj's after another came to the Zunbīl concerning 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, saying, "Send him to me; otherwise, by the One other than Whom there is no god, I shall cause a million[295] fighting men to trample your land." With the Zunbīl there was a man from the Banū Tamīm, from [the clan of] the Banū Yarbū', called 'Ubayd b. Abī Subay',[296] and he said to the Zunbīl, "I shall obtain for you from al-Ḥajjāj a compact [to the effect that] he will refrain from taxing your land for seven years on condition that you hand 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad over to him." The Zunbīl said to 'Ubayd, "If you do that, you will have of me what you ask." ['Ubayd] then wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, [telling him] that the Zunbīl would not disobey him and that he would keep on at the Zunbīl until he sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad to him. At that, al-Ḥajjāj gave him money, and he
[1134] took money from the Zunbīl in that regard. The Zunbīl sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad's head to al-Ḥajjāj, [who] for seven years let him keep [the taxation stipulated in] the peace agreement that he [normally] took from him. Al-Ḥajjāj used to say, "The Zunbīl sent the enemy of God to me after he [had] cast himself off a roof and died."

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Sulaymān b. Abī Rāshid—Mulaykah the daughter of Yazīd:[297] When 'Abd al-Raḥmān died—

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293. Reading *ja'alū 'alayhim*, with Ibn al-Athīr; the Ṭabarī text gives *ba'athū 'alayhim*.

294. Ibn al-Athīr reads "al-Baṣrī," which seems unlikely. We are told below (p. 79) that he was from the Banū al-'Anbar, but that clan does not appear to have had any subclan by the name of Naḍr; it is just possible that "al-Naḍrī" is a scribal distortion of "al-'Anbarī."

295. 100,000, according to al-Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 333).

296. The "Abī" is missing in Ibn al-Athīr; according to the *Naqā'iḍ* (p. 413, ll. 1–2 [in an account that differs somewhat]), he was 'Abd Allāh or 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Subay' of the Banū Rabī'ah b. Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik b. Zayd[manāt] Tamīm.

297. Wife of 'Abd al-Raḥmān; see above, p. 43, where she is identified as the daughter of the brother of 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdī; Ibn A'tham, on the other hand, identifies her as the daughter of a certain Yazīd *al-'Amirī* (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 157). Cf. Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 236.

and his head was [at the time resting] on my thigh—he was suffering from tuberculosis. When he died and they wanted to bury him, the Zunbīl sent for him, cut off his head, and sent it to al-Ḥajjāj.[298] He [also] took eighteen male descendants of al-Ash'ath and detained them with him, while leaving all [the rest of] his companions who had been with ['Abd al-Raḥmān]. He wrote to al-Ḥajjāj about his taking of the eighteen men from 'Abd al-Raḥmān's family, and al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him instructing him to execute them and send their heads to him. He disliked [the idea of] their being brought to him alive, [lest] a petition be made to 'Abd al-Malik about them and [any] one of them be set free.

On the matter of Ibn Abī Subay' and Ibn al-Ash'ath, there has been said other than what I have mentioned on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf. This is what has been mentioned on the authority of Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā, who used to say: It has been claimed that 'Umārah b. Tamīm set forth from Kirmān and came to Sijistān, over which was a man from the Banū al-'Anbar called Mawdūd. He [first] besieged him and then gave him a safe-conduct. Then he gained mastery of Sijistān and sent [word] to the Zunbīl, to whom al-Ḥajjāj wrote:[299] "To continue: I have sent to you 'Umārah b. Tamīm with [a force of] thirty thousand Syrians who have neither forsaken obedience, nor disavowed a Caliph, nor followed an imām of waywardness. He pays each of them one [1135] hundred dirhams a month. War is very much to their taste. They seek Ibn al-Ash'ath." But the Zunbīl refused to hand him over.

With Ibn al-Ash'ath was 'Ubayd b. Abī Subay' al-Tamīmī, whom he had singled out for his special favor. He was a messenger to the Zunbīl, for whose special favor he was also singled out and to whom he gave cheer. Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath said to his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān, "I can't be sure that this Tamīmī will not betray you; do kill him," and ['Abd al-Raḥmān] intended to do so. [News of this] reached Ibn Abī Subay', who feared him and misrepresented him to the Zunbīl; he put [the latter] in fear of al-Ḥajjāj and called upon him to betray Ibn al-Ash'ath. [The Zunbīl] responded positively to him, and [Ibn Abī

298. Al-Dhahabī's personal view of this report is dismissive (*hādhā qawl shādhdh wa-Abū Mikhnaf kadhdhāb: Ta'rīkh al-Islām*, vol. III, p. 235).

299. Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 156) gives a slightly fuller version of this letter.

Subay'] went out clandestinely to 'Umārah b. Tamīm[300] and stipulated a reward[301] in respect of Ibn al-Ash'ath. He specified one million [dirhams] and stayed with ['Umārah]. 'Umārah wrote of this to al-Ḥajjāj, who replied: "Give 'Ubayd and the Zunbīl what they ask for: Come to terms [with them]." The Zunbīl stipulated that his territory should not be campaigned against for ten years and that he should thereafter pay [annual tribute in the amount of] nine hundred thousand [dirhams].[302] [The Zunbīl] and 'Ubayd were given what they asked for, and the Zunbīl sent [word] to Ibn al-Ash'ath. He had him brought into his presence together with thirty of his relatives, having prepared neck collars[303] and fetters for them. He put a neck collar on each of ['Abd al-Raḥmān] and al-Qāsim and sent them all to the nearest to him of 'Umārah's strong points; to the body of people who had been with Ibn al-Ash'ath he said, "Split up to wherever you wish." When Ibn al-Ash'ath came near to 'Umārah, he cast himself from the top of a residence[304] and died. His head was cut off, and it and the prisoners were brought to 'Umārah. He executed them and sent the head of Ibn al-Ash'ath and the heads of his relatives, together with his wife, to al-Ḥajjāj. Concerning that, one of the poets said (*kāmil*):[305]

[1136] How far away the place of the cadaver is from its head:
a head in Egypt and a cadaver at al-Rukhkhaj.[306]

Al-Ḥajjāj [had] sent [the head] to 'Abd al-Malik, and he [had] sent it to [his brother] 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was at that time over Egypt.[307]

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300. Who was at Bust at this time, according to al-Ya'qūbī.

301. This being the definition given in the *Glossarium*.

302. Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 53) says 100,000.

303. *Al-jawāmi'*, i.e., neck collars fitted with hand manacles (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *jāmi'ah*).

304. So rendering *qaṣr*; he is also said to have cast himself from a mountain (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 400).

305. Ibn Khurradādhbih (*al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik*, p. 40) cites this verse and puts it into the mouth of 'Abd al-Malik. Al-Mas'ūdī (*al-Tanbih wa'l-ishrāf*, p. 316) gives this and a second verse, but not the name of the poet.

306. The area in Sijistān watered by the Qandahār river (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 339).

307. Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 54) says that 'Abd al-Raḥmān's head was buried in Egypt; according to Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 158), the heads of 'Abd al-Raḥmān and others were taken from Egypt to Ḥaḍramawt and dropped into a well there.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Ibn 'Ā'ishah—Sa'd b. 'Ubaydallāh: When 'Abd al-Malik was brought the head of Ibn al-Ash'ath, he sent it with a eunuch to a woman from [the family of al-Ash'ath] who was married to a man from Quraysh. When it was put in front of her, she said, "Welcome to a visitor who does not speak. He is one of the kings, who sought something of which he was worthy, but the fates decreed otherwise." The eunuch made to go off with the head, but she drew it out of his hand, saying, "No, by God, [not] until I have done what is necessary." Then she called for [some] althea[308] [with which] she washed it and smeared it[s beard]; then she said, "Now you may have it," and he took it. He informed 'Abd al-Malik [of this], and, when her husband entered into his presence, he said, "If you are able to produce a daughter[309] by her[, that will be a very good thing]."

It has been mentioned that Ibn al-Ash'ath looked at one of his companions while he was fleeing to the territory of the Zunbīl and recited (*mutaqārib*):[310]

Fear pursues him, and he has lost his course:
    Thus is one who dislikes the heat of battle.
His boots are full of holes, [and] he complains of chafing;
    the edges of sharp pumice stones[311] hurt his feet.
There would have been rest for him in death,
    and death is inevitable for [God's] servants.

[The man] turned to him and said, "O you insignificant blamer [of others],[312] why were you not steadfast in one of the battlefields, so that we might die in front of you? That would have been better for you than what you have come to."

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf: Al-Ḥajjāj set forth in [1137]

308. *Khiṭmī*: see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 768a.

309. *Sakhlah*, literally "a kid."

310. Lines 2 and 3 of the following verses are given by Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 151), where another verse is also given. Cf. also al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 391, and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ser. iii, p. 167 (in the contexts of Zayd b. 'Alī and Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah respectively).

311. See Dozy (*Supplément*, s.v.) for this definition of the term *marw*.

312. Reading *luḥayyah* (rather than *liḥyah*), i.e., the diminutive of (the feminine) *lāḥiyah*.

those days of his, going about accompanied by Ḥumayd al-Arqaṭ,[313] who said (*rajaz*):

He still constructs a trench and destroys it,
    in protection of an army that he leads and betrays,
Until his plunder is in your hands;
    how far from his place of mustering is his
    place of defeat!
He who is fitted for vehement striving for mastery
    is he who does not turn away from it in disgust.[314]

Al-Ḥajjāj said, "This is truer than what the wicked Aʿshā Hamdān said (*kāmil*):

I have been informed [that] al-Ḥajjāj b.[315] Yū-
    suf slipped, fell, and perished.

Now it is clear to him who it was who slipped and perished,[316] feared and failed, and doubted and suspected." He raised his voice, and there was no one who did not fear his anger. Al-Urayqiṭ[317] was silent, and al-Ḥajjāj said to him, "Go back to what you were saying. What is the matter with you, O Arqaṭ?" He said, "May I be made your ransom, O amīr; and the authority of God is mighty. You became angry, and my muscles became aquiver, my joints tight, my sight dim, and I felt giddy." Al-Ḥajjāj said to him, "Yes indeed, the authority of God is mighty. Go back to what you were doing." And he did so.

One day, when al-Ḥajjāj was going along accompanied by Ziyād b. Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī,[318] who was one-eyed, he said, "What was it you said to Ibn Samurah?" He said, "I said (*rajaz*):

O one-eyed man, may I be the ransom of the one-eyed;
    you thought that the dug trench

313. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥumayd al-Arḳaṭ; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 333.
314. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, vol. I, p. 85; Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2615a.
315. Reading *Ḥajjāja 'bna* in place of *anna bunayya* (see Geyer, *The Díwán of al-Aʿshà*, p. 312, line 6 [Arabic text], and p. 310 of his apparatus; *Aghānī*², vol. VI, p. 59); Ibn Aʿtham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 129) reads *anna 'bna* at this point.
316. The arabic is wordier: *zalaqa wa-tabba wa-daḥaḍa wa-ankabba.*
317. Sic, being the diminutive form of al-Arqaṭ.
318. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 114.

Would repel from you what fate had in store
and [stop] calamities befalling."

It has been said that the death of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad took place in the year 84. [1138]

In this year al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf dismissed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab from Khurasan and appointed over it al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab, the brother of Yazīd.

The Reason Why al-Ḥajjāj Dismissed [Yazīd b. al-Muhallab] from Khurasan and Appointed al-Mufaḍḍal

'Alī b. Muḥammad mentioned on the authority of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad that al-Ḥajjāj went on a delegation to 'Abd al-Malik and on his way back stopped at a monastery. He was told that in the monastery there was a learned old man of the People of the Books,[319] so he summoned him and said, "O shaykh, do you find in your books [any reference to] our current situation?" He said, "Yes, we find [references to] your past, your present, and your future." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Are names given or [just] general descriptions?" He said, "Both: [You can find] a description without a name and a name without a description." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Don't you find a description of the Commander of the Faithful?" He said, "We find it in [respect of] the time in which we are living: A bald king—whoever gets in his way is felled." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Then who?" He said, "A man called al-Walīd." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Then what?" He said, "A man whose name is the name of a prophet,[320] through whom the people will be possessed of good fortune." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Do you know me?" He said, "I have been told about you." [Al-Ḥajjāj said], "Do you know what I govern?" He said, "Yes." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Who will govern it after me?" He said, "A man called Yazīd." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "In my life[time] or after my death?" He said, "I don't know." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "Do you know his description?" He said, "He will commit an act of perfidy. I don't know anything other than that." [1139]

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319. *Min ahl al-kutub*; Ibn al-Athīr omits the phrase, while Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, pp. 55) has *ahl al-kitāb* here and below.

320. I.e., Sulaymān (b. 'Abd al-Malik).

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: Yazīd b. al-Muhallab came to his mind and he set off. He traveled for seven [nights], fearful of what the old man had said, and arrived [at Wāsiṭ]. Then he wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik, asking to be relieved of Iraq. [ʿAbd al-Malik] wrote to him, "O son of the mother of al-Ḥajjāj, I know what you are getting at and that you want to know my opinion of you. By my life, I see the influence of Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlqamah.[321] Divert yourself from this until God brings you what is coming."

Al-Farazdaq said, mentioning his journey (*ṭawīl*):[322]

If birds had been charged with making the like of
his journey
from Jerusalem to Wāsiṭ, they would have
become weary!
He went by night on fleet camels from Palestine, after
nighttime had drawn near to the sun of the
day and [the sun] had set.
That day was not out[323] before he made [the camels] kneel
in Maysān, weary and weak from their night journey.
It was as if a hungry falcon were in the saddle,
when the deep gloom revealed him.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: One day, when al-Ḥajjāj was unoccupied, he summoned ʿUbayd b. Mawhab,[324] who entered striking the ground [with a stick]. [Al-Ḥajjāj] raised his head and
[1140] said, "Woe, O ʿUbayd, the people of the Books mention that what I govern will be governed by a man called Yazīd. I have thought of Yazīd b. Abī Kabshah and Yazīd b. Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr and Yazīd b. Dīnār,[325] and it can't be any of those, since they are not up to it. It must be Yazīd b. al-Muhallab." ʿUbayd said to him, "You have ennobled [the Muhallabids] and have made their dominion mighty. They are possessed of numbers, endurance, obedience,

321. Presumably, this was the name of the learned old man.

322. Cf. al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, vol. I, p. 116 (where an extra verse is given and we are told that the journey took seven days), and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. I, p. 424 (where the verses are ascribed to *baʿd al-aʿrāb*).

323. Preferring Yaqut's *ghāba* to al-Ṭabarī's (and the *Dīwān's*) *ʿāda*.

324. See above, p. 14.

325. For the first two of these, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, pp. 96 and 97, respectively; the third is mentioned only at this point by al-Ṭabarī.

and good fortune. How worthy [Yazīd] is." [But] al-Ḥajjāj decided to dismiss Yazīd; he did not, however, find any way of proceeding against him until the arrival of al-Khiyār b. Sabrah b. Dhu'ayb b. 'Arfajah b. Muḥammad b. Sufyān b. Mujāshi',[326] who had been one of al-Muhallab's horsemen and was with Yazīd. Al-Ḥajjāj said to him, "Tell me about Yazīd." He said, "He is good in obedience and easygoing in his way of proceeding." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "You are lying! Tell me the truth." He said, "God is most sublime and great, [Yazīd] has saddled up without a bridle." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "You speak truly," and he thereafter appointed al-Khiyār over 'Umān.[327]

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Then [al-Ḥajjāj] wrote to 'Abd al-Malik, blaming Yazīd and the family of al-Muhallab for [their] adherence to the Zubayrids, and 'Abd al-Malik wrote to him: "I do not consider the obedience of the Muhallabids to the Zubayrids to be a shortcoming; rather, I see it as loyalty on their part to them, and that loyalty will induce them to be loyal to me." Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him making him fearful of their perfidy, on account of what the old man had told him, and 'Abd al-Malik wrote to him: "You have said a lot about Yazīd and the Muhallabids. Give me the name of a man who would be suitable for Khurasan," and he gave him the name of Mujjā'ah b. Si'r al-Sa'dī.[328] 'Abd al-Malik wrote to him: "The opinion that induced you to regard the Muhallabids as corrupt is the same as that which induced you [to name] Mujjā'ah. Look out for me a tough [1141] man who will carry out your orders," and he named Qutaybah b. Muslim. ['Abd al-Malik] wrote to him: "Appoint him."

It reached Yazīd that al-Ḥajjāj had dismissed him, and he said to his family, "Whom do you think al-Ḥajjāj will appoint over Khurasan?" They said, "A man from Thaqīf." He said, "By no means. He will write to one of you with his appointment. [Then,] when I reach him, he will dismiss [that man], and he will appoint a man from Qays: How worthy Qutaybah would be."

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326. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 133 (wrongly Khiyār b. *Abī* Sabrah).

327. For a rather fuller (if somewhat confused) account of this episode, see Hinds (*Early Islamic Family*, pars. 62–67), where "[Yazīd] has saddled up without a bridle" (i.e., acted without adequate preparation) comes out as "a people who have saddled up without bridles" (par. 66).

328. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 136.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: When ʿAbd al-Malik gave permission to al-Ḥajjāj to dismiss Yazīd, [al-Ḥajjāj] did not like to write to [Yazīd] about his dismissal; so he wrote to him [saying], "Appoint al-Mufaḍḍal as your deputy and come." Yazīd sought the advice of Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir,[329] who said, "Stay, and make an excuse, for the Commander of the Faithful has a good opinion of you. The order has only come from al-Ḥajjāj.[330] If you stay [here] and do not hurry off, I hope that [the Commander of the Faithful] will write to [al-Ḥajjāj instructing him] to confirm [you in your position]." Yazīd said, "We are a family that has been blessed in [respect of] obedience; I do not like disobedience and conflict," and he began to get ready. But he did so too slowly for the liking of al-Ḥajjāj, who wrote to al-Mufaḍḍal, "I have put you over Khurasan." [At this,] al-Mufaḍḍal began to nag Yazīd, and Yazīd said to him, "Al-Ḥajjāj will not confirm you in your position after I [have gone]. It was only fear that I might resist him that induced him to act as he has." [Al-Mufaḍḍal] said, "No, you are envious of me." [Yazīd] said, "O son of Bahlah![331] Would I envy you? You'll see." Yazīd went off in Rabīʿ II 85 (April–May 704), and al-Ḥajjāj then dismissed al-Mufaḍḍal. The poet said to al-Mufaḍḍal and to his full brother ʿAbd al-Malik (*kāmil*):

[1142] O two sons of Bahallah, my Lord disgraced you
on the morning when the shining hero went off.
You forsook your brother and fell
to the bottom of a dark place, the denizen of
which is exposed to harm.
Repent much and sincerely; it is only
the greatest loser who refuses and disdains to repent.

Ḥuḍayn said to Yazīd (*ṭawīl*):

I gave you a prudent instruction and you defied me,
only to become stripped of office and regretful.

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329. The poet (al-)Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir al-Raqāshī: See *EI*², s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 376.

330. So understanding *innama utīta min al-Ḥajjāj*.

331. Bahlah (or Bahallah), as becomes apparent in the first of the following verses, was the mother of al-Mufaḍḍal. It is specified below, p. 157, that she was an Indian woman.

I am not going to weep over you out of longing,
and I am not going to pray for you to return safely.[332]

When Qutaybah arrived in Khurasan, he said to al-Ḥuḍayn, "What was it you said to Yazīd?" He said, "I said:

I gave you a prudent instruction and you defied me:
if you blame, you yourself are more deserving of blame.
If it reaches al-Ḥajjāj that you have defied him,
you will find yourself in deep trouble with him."[333]

[Qutaybah] said, "What was it you instructed him to do that he disobeyed?" [Al-Ḥuḍayn] said, "I instructed him to take to the amīr all the gold and silver he could find." A man said to 'Iyāḍ b. Ḥuḍayn, "As for your father, when Qutaybah tested him, he found him wise when he said, 'I instructed him to take to the amīr all the gold and silver he could find.'"

'Alī [b. Muḥammad] said, and Kulayb b. Khalaf [also] related to us: Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to Yazīd, "Campaign in Khwārazm." [Yazīd] wrote to him, "O amīr, it has little plunder and fierce dogs."[334] Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him, "Appoint a deputy and come [to me]." [Yazīd] wrote to him, "I want to campaign in Khwārazm." [Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him, "Do not campaign in it. It is as you have described it." [Yazīd] then campaigned [there] and did not obey [al-Ḥajjāj]. The people of Khwārazm made a peace agreement with [1143]
him; he took captives according to the peace terms and made his return journey in the winter. The cold became intense for [Yazīd and his men], and they took the clothes of the prisoners and put them on. Those captives died of cold.

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Yazīd stopped at Talastānah,[335] and a plague afflicted the people of Marw al-Rūdh that year. Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him, "Come," and he set off: He did not pass through any place but that [its people] spread out aromatic plants for him.

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332. Cf. Hinds, *Early Islamic Family*, par. 68.
333. Ibid., par. 71.
334. A piece of rhyming prose difficult to replicate in English.
335. "A halting place six parasangs before Dandānaqān on the road from Sarakhs to Marw" (Cornu, *Atlas: Répertoires*, p. 155).

Yazīd was given his appointment in the year 82 and was dismissed in the year 85. He set out [to Iraq] from Khurasan in Rabī' II 85 (April–May 704), and Qutaybah was appointed.

As for Hishām b. Muḥammad, he mentioned on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf, concerning al-Ḥajjāj's dismissal of Yazīd from Khurasan, a cause other than the one mentioned by 'Alī b. Muḥammad. He mentioned in that connection on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī and others: Al-Ḥajjāj, when he had finished with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, had no concern save Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and his family. Al-Ḥajjāj had humbled all the Iraqis except for Yazīd and his family and those of the people of the two *miṣrs* who were with them in Khurasan; after 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, he feared in Iraq only Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. Al-Ḥajjāj [accordingly] began to try to deceive Yazīd, in an attempt to extract him from Khurasan. He would send to [Yazīd] to come to him, and [Yazīd] would adduce to him the excuse of the enemy and the war in Khurasan. He kept on in this wise until the last part of the rule of 'Abd al-Malik. Then al-Ḥajjāj wrote to 'Abd al-Malik, advising him to dismiss Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and informing him of the obedience of the Muhallabids to Ibn al-Zubayr, [as a result of which] they would not be loyal to
[1144] him. 'Abd al-Malik wrote to him: "I do not consider the obedience and loyalty of the sons of al-Muhallab to the Zubayrids to be a shortcoming; their obedience and loyalty to them is what has induced them to be obedient and loyal to me." Then [Hishām b. Muḥammad] mentioned the rest of the report along the lines mentioned by 'Alī b. Muḥammad.

In this year al-Mufaḍḍal campaigned against Bādghīs and conquered it.

[*Al-Mufaḍḍal's Conquest of Bādghīs*]

'Alī b. Muḥammad mentioned on the authority of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad: Al-Ḥajjāj dismissed Yazīd and wrote in the year 85 to al-Mufaḍḍal concerning his appointment over Khurasan, which lasted for nine months. He campaigned against Bādghīs and conquered it. He took plunder, which he divided among the people: Every man received eight hundred dirhams. Then he cam-

paigned against Akharūn and Shūmān,[336] where he was victorious, took plunder, and divided what he had taken among the people. Al-Mufaḍḍal had no treasury; he [simply] gave out to the people when anything came [his way], and, if he took anything as plunder, he divided it among them. Ka'b al-Ashqarī said, in praise of al-Mufaḍḍal (*ṭawīl*).[337]

You see rich and poor from every [tribal] grouping,
bands of all sorts heading for al-Mufaḍḍal.
One visitor [comes] hoping for the benefits of
his generosity,
while another goes off having had his needs attended to.
If we head for a land other than yours, we shall not find
in it a better place to head for nor [shall
we find] a place of contentment.
If we enumerate the noblest ones, those who are
sagacious,
those who have provided good for themselves
[with God], you are the first!
By my life, al-Mufaḍḍal has made an overpowering assault, [1145]
which has made available the watering places
and herbage in Shūmān.
On the battle day of Ibn 'Abbās,[338] you received
the like of that,
and it was for us [as] a sharp sword between
the two sides.
All of al-Muhallab's moral qualities have become
clear in you,[339]
you have been clad with the same means of
attaining honor as that with which he clad
himself—
[He,] your father, who strove as no one else did
and passed on a glory that was not falsely claimed.

336. To the southeast of Samarqand (see Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 74, for details); Shaban, (*The 'Abbāsid Revolution*, p. 62) judges these operations to have been "minor raids."

337. The following verses appear not to occur elsewhere.

338. Presumably, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abbās al-Hāshimī is meant.

339. Taking *laka* to signify *fīka*.

In this year Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī was killed at al-Tirmidh.[340]

[Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh's] Going to al-Tirmidh [and His Activities] until He was Killed There

It has been mentioned that the reason for his going to al-Tirmidh was that, when his father, 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim, killed those of the Banū Tamīm whom he killed at Fartanā[341]—an account of his killing of them has been mentioned above[342]—the bulk of those who had remained with him separated from him. He went out to Nishapur and feared [what] the Banū Tamīm [might do] to his baggage[343] in Marw. He therefore said to his son Mūsā, "Move my baggage from Marw and cross the Balkh river (that is, the Oxus), so that you may take refuge with one of the kings or in a fortress where you may stay." Mūsā accordingly set off from Marw with two hundred and twenty horsemen. By the time he reached Āmul,[344] some down-and-out robbers[345] had taken refuge with him, and his party numbered four hundred; [at Āmul] he was joined by [some] men from the Banū Sulaym, including
[1146] Zur'ah b. 'Alqamah. He then reached Zamm,[346] [whose people] fought him, and he defeated them, acquired money, and crossed the river. He then reached Bukhārā and asked its lord for refuge. [The latter] refused, fearing him, and said, "[He is] a murderer, and his companions are like him, people given to war and evil; I do not feel secure from him," and he sent him a present of gold coins and riding animals, and a set of clothes. [Mūsā next] de-

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340. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 27–28; Shaban, *The 'Abbāsid Revolution*, pp. 59ff.; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 417–19.

341. Described by Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, vol. III, p. 868) as a *qaṣr* at Marw al-Rūdh.

342. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ser. II, pp. 593ff. and 695ff.

343. The concern about *thaqal* or *athqāl* exhibited here and in subsequent instances makes it plain that the "baggage" in question contained items of value (cf. the observation made by Shaban, *The 'Abbāsid Revolution*, p. 127, n. 2).

344. A town three miles from the left bank of the Oxus, near the crossing on the way from Marw to Bukhārā (Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 80; *EI*[2], s.v.).

345. So rendering *qawm min al-ṣa'ālīk*.

346. A town on the left bank of the Oxus, 125 miles upstream of Āmul (Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 80; *EI*[2], s.v. Āmul).

scended on one of the lords of the people of Bukhārā in Nūqān,[347] and [this man] said to him, "No good will come to you from staying in this place; the people are afraid of you and do not feel secure from you." He stayed with the dihqān of Nūqān for a few months and then went off looking for [either] a king with whom he might take refuge or a fortress; but he did not come to any place but that [its people] did not want him to stay among them and asked him to move away from them.

'Alī b. Muḥammad said: Then he reached Samarqand and stayed there. Ṭarkhūn,[348] its king, honored him and allowed him to stay, and he stayed for a long time. Now the people of Soghd have a table on which are put greasy meat,[349] bread, and a ewer of something to drink. On a [particular] day every year that is set out for the Horseman of Soghd,[350] and no one but he may go near it; it is his food on that day. If anyone else eats from it, he fights a duel with him, and the table goes to whichever one kills the other. One of Mūsā's companions said, "What is this table?" and he was told about it and fell silent. Then Mūsā's companion said, "I shall eat what is on this table, and I shall fight a duel with the Horseman of Soghd; if I kill him, I shall be their Horseman"; and he sat and ate what was on it. [The Horseman of Soghd] was told [of this] and came, much angered, and said, "O Arab, fight a duel with me." The Arab said, "Yes. I don't want anything other than a duel"; [the Horseman] fought him, and Mūsā's companion killed him. [At this,] the king of Soghd said [to Mūsā and his companions], "I accommodated you and honored you, and you have killed the Horseman of Soghd. Had I not given you and your companions a safe-conduct, I would kill you. Get out of my ter- [1147]
ritory," and he gave [Mūsā] a gift.

[Mūsā next] reached Kish, and the lord of Kish wrote to Ṭarkhūn asking him for help. [Ṭarkhūn] came to him, and Mūsā went out to [Ṭarkhūn] with a force of seven hundred and fought

347. This is what the text says, but Nūqān (Mashhad), to the east of Nishapur, does not fit the context.

348. The Ikhshīd of Soghd and the "leader of the native princes" (Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 184).

349. *Laḥm wadik*; on the other hand, Ms. B and Ibn al-Athīr read *laḥm wakhall*, "meat and vinegar."

350. Noted by Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], pp. 181–82.

them until evening. Then they abstained from fighting, Mūsā's companions having sustained many wounds. In the morning, Mūsā gave them the order, and they shaved their heads, just as the Khārijīs do,[351] and cut their tent poles,[352] just as the [Iranian] foreigners do when they [decide to] fight to the death. Mūsā said to Zur'ah b. 'Alqamah, "Set off to Ṭarkhūn and try a ruse on him." He came to him, and Ṭarkhūn said to him, "Why have your companions done what they have done?" He said, "They have chosen to defy death, and what need do you have, O king, of killing Mūsā and [yourself] being killed? You will not get to him before there is killed among you[r] people the like of their number. If you were to kill him and all of them, you would not [thereby] gain good fortune, because he has high standing among the Arabs and no one will govern Khurasan without seeking to avenge his blood. If you get away safely from one [governor], you will not get away safely from another." [Ṭarkhūn] said, "There is no way that I am going to leave Kish in his hand[s]." [Zur'ah] said, "Well, desist from him, so that he may depart." He desisted, and Mūsā came to al-Tirmidh, in which was a fortress next to the river, looking out over it. Mūsā happened upon one of the dihqāns of al-Tirmidh coming from the fortress, [this] dihqān being someone who was avoiding the Tirmidh Shāh. He said to Mūsā, "The lord of al-Tirmidh is reticent and extremely shy. If you treat him kindly and give him presents, he will let you into his fortress; for he is weak." [Mūsā] said, "Certainly not. I shall ask him to let me into his fortress." He then asked him, and [the Tirmidh Shāh]
[1148] refused. [At this,] Mūsā used guile on him,[353] giving him presents and treating him kindly, until relations between them became good and [the Tirmidh Shāh] came out [of his fortress]. They went out hunting together, with Mūsā going to great lengths in treating him kindly. The lord of al-Tirmidh prepared some food and sent to Mūsā, "I want to honor you. So take lunch with me and bring one hundred of your companions." Mūsā chose one hundred of his companions, and they entered [the city] on their horses. When

351. For two examples, see Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, p. 217, and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Sīrat 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz*, p. 78.

352. So understanding *ṣ.f.n.ā.t. akhibiyatihim*; see the comments in the *Glossarium*.

353. Reading *mākarahu* (not *mā k.r.h.*), with Ibrāhīm.

[the horses] were in the city, they neighed to one another, and the people of al-Tirmidh augured evil and said to them, "Dismount! Dismount!" Then they were brought into a house fifty by fifty and given lunch. When they had finished the lunch, Mūsā reclined, and they[354] said to him, "Get out!" He said, "I shall not [in the future be able to] take a house like this one; I shall not leave it until it is either my house or my grave," and they fought them in the city. A number of the people of al-Tirmidh were killed, the others fled, and [Mūsā and his companions] entered their dwellings. Mūsā took control of the city and said to the Tirmidh Shāh, "Go forth! I shall confront neither you nor any of your companions." So the king and the people of the city set forth and went to the Turks, seeking their help. [The Turks] said to them, "A hundred men came in to you and expelled you from your land. We fought them at Kish. We shall not fight these [people again]." Mūsā stayed in al-Tirmidh, and his companions, who numbered seven hundred, came in to him. When his father was killed, he was joined by his father's companions, [they being] four hundred horsemen. He became strong and took to going out and making raids on those who were around him.

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: The Turks sent some people to the companions of Mūsā to find out what he was up to. When they arrived, Mūsā said to his companions, "There has to be a stratagem for [dealing with] these [people]."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: That was [at a time of] the most intense heat. Mūsā then gave an order for fire, and it was kindled; he gave an order to his companions, and they put on winter clothes, and saddlecloths on top of those, and stretched out their hands to the fire as if warming themselves at it. Mūsā [now] gave [1149] permission to the Turks [to come in], and they entered and were fearful at what they saw. They said, "Why have you done this?" They said, "We find it cold at this time [of the year], and we find it hot in winter." [The Turks] returned and said, "[They are] jinn; we shall not fight them."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: The chief of the Turks wanted to campaign against Mūsā. He sent messengers to him, and he

354. In Ibn al-Athīr's version, they are in the fortress, and it is the Tirmidh Shāh who says what follows.

sent poison together with arrows in musk. He meant by the poison that fighting them was hard; the arrows [represented] war and the musk peace, [and his message was,] "Choose war or peace." [Mūsā] burned the poison, broke the arrows, and scattered the musk. The [Turks] said, "They don't want peace. [Mūsā] is letting [us] know that fighting them is like fire and that he will break us," and they did not campaign against them.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: Bukayr b. Wishāḥ, as governor of Khurasan, neither confronted him nor sent anyone against him. Then Umayyah [b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd] came [as governor] and went in person seeking [Mūsā]; but Bukayr rebelled against him and renounced allegiance and he returned to Marw.[355] When Umayyah made peace with Bukayr, he stayed put for that year. In the following year, he sent to Mūsā a man from Khuzāʿah with a large force. The people of al-Tirmidh went back to the Turks and asked for their help, but [the Turks] refused. [The people of al-Tirmidh] then said to them, "Some of their own people have campaigned against them and have besieged them; if you help us against them, we shall overcome them." [At this,] the Turks went with the people of al-Tirmidh in a large force, and Mūsā [found himself] surrounded by the Turks and the Khuzāʿī. He would fight the Khuzāʿī in the first part of the day and the Turks in the latter part; and [in this way] he fought them for two or three months. Mūsā then said to ʿAmr b. Khālid b. Ḥuṣayn, who was a horseman, "This has gone on long [enough]. I have
[1150] decided to make a night attack on the camp of the Khuzāʿī, for they think that they are safe at night. What do you think?" [ʿAmr] said, "A night action would be good, but let it be against the foreigners, for the Arabs are more wary, faster at repelling, and braver at night than the foreigners. So attack them by night, and I hope that God will help us against them. Then we shall be free to fight the Khuzāʿī, we being in the fortress and they being in the open; they are no abler in fortitude or more knowledgeable in war than we are."

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: Mūsā decided to make a night attack on the Turks. When a third of the night had passed, he set out with four hundred [men] and said to ʿAmr b. Khālid, "Set out

355. For the background on Bukayr and Umayyah [a Tamīmī and a Qurashī, respectively], see Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, pp. 44–47.

after us and keep near us. When you hear our *takbīr* (that is, our call "God is great"), make one yourselves." He went along the riverbank until he was upstream of the camp. Then he went by way of the district of Guftān,[356] and, when he came near to their camp, he made his companions into "fourths" (*arbāʿ*). Then he said, "Circle their camp, and, when you hear our *takbīr*, make one yourselves," and he went on, with ʿAmr in front of him and [the others] going behind him. When the lookouts saw them, they said, "Who are you?" They replied, "People passing through."

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: When they had passed the lookout post, they split up, circled the camp, and made a *takbīr*; the next thing the Turks knew was swords falling [upon] them, and they were stirred up, [began] killing one another, and fled. There were sixteen Muslim casualties. [The Muslims] then took possession of their camp and acquired arms and money. In the morning, the Khuzāʿī and his companions were shaken by that, feared a similar night attack, and were on their guard. ʿAmr b. Khālid said to Mūsā, "You'll only win with a stratagem. They have supplies, [1151] and they are numerous. Let me go to them. Maybe I shall gain the opportunity to be alone with their leader and kill him. [First] give me a beating." [Mūsā] said, "You [want to] rush into being beaten and to expose yourself to being killed?" [ʿAmr] said, "As for exposing myself to being killed, I do that every day. As for being beaten, how easy that is in comparison with what I intend." So [Mūsā] gave him a beating, fifty lashes, and [ʿAmr] left Mūsā's camp and went to the camp of the Khuzāʿī, seeking safety. He said, "I am one of the people of the Yemen, and I was with ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim. When he was killed, I went to his son and stayed with him. I was the first to go to him. When I reached him, he suspected me, acted in a partisan fashion against me,[357] and disliked me, saying to me, 'Your partisanship is with the enemy, and you are a spy of his.' He beat me, and I was not sure that I would not be killed; so I fled." The Khuzāʿī gave him a safe-conduct, and he stayed with him.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: One day [ʿAmr] entered [into

356. If this is how *k.ftān* is to be rendered; Barthold (*Turkestan*³, p. 74) says that it "was probably in the southern part of the Surkhān valley, or somewhere west of it, in the present district of Shirabad." Shaban (*ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, p. 64) opts for "Kiftān (Kifyāin)" (?).

357. So rendering *taʿaṣṣaba ʿalayya*.

the Khuzāʿī's presence] when he was unoccupied, and he saw no weapon with him. He said, as though offering him good advice, "May God cause you to prosper, someone like you, in a situation like yours, should at no time be without a weapon." [The Khuzāʿī] said, "I have a weapon with me," and he lifted the top part of his bedding, and there was an unsheathed sword. ʿAmr took it, struck him, and killed him; [then] he set off, riding his horse. [The Khuzāʿī's companions only] realized what [ʿAmr] had been up to when he was far away. They sought him, but he gave them the slip and reached Mūsā. That army [of the Khuzāʿī] then broke up: Some of them crossed the river, while others came to Mūsā seeking safe-conduct, which he granted.

Umayyah [b. ʿAbdallāh] did not send anyone against [Ibn Khāzim]. [ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: Umayyah was dismissed, and al-Muhallab came as amīr. He did not confront Ibn Khāzim and said to his sons, "Beware of Mūsā. You will remain
[1152] governors of this march as long as this heavy-bellied[358] [fellow] stays in his place. If he is killed, the first person to come against you as amīr of Khurasan will be a man from Qays." Al-Muhallab died without having sent anyone against [Mūsā]. Then Yazīd b. al-Muhallab took over, and he did not confront him. Al-Muhallab had beaten Ḥurayth b. Quṭbah al-Khuzāʿī, and [Ḥurayth] and his brother Thābit had gone off to Mūsā. When Yazīd b. al-Muhallab became governor, he took their property and their womenfolk and killed their uterine brother al-Ḥārith b. Munqidh, together with an affine of theirs who was the husband of Umm Ḥafṣ, the daughter of Thābit. What Yazīd had done reached [Ḥurayth and Thābit].

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: Thābit went to Ṭarkhūn and complained to him of what [Yazīd] had done to him. [Now] Thābit was much loved among the non-Arabs, enjoying wide renown; they honored him and guarded themselves [from anything untoward] by [invoking his name]. If one them made a compact which he wished to fulfill, he would swear by the life of Thābit and would not break his word. Ṭarkhūn became angry on his account and gathered Nīzak, al-Sabal,[359] and the people of Bukhārā and al-

358. So rendering *thatt*, which can also mean "thin-bearded"; Ibn al-Athīr gives *thabit*, "stupid."

359. The title of the ruler of al-Khuttal (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 69–70, 302).

Ṣaghāniyān;[360] they went, together with Thābit, to Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh. [In the meantime,] there had fetched up with Mūsā the routed troops of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-ʿAbbās from Herat, the routed troops of Ibn al-Ashʿath from Iraq and the vicinity of Kābul, and Khurasani Tamīmīs who had been among those fighting Ibn Khāzim in the civil war. Gathered with Mūsā were eight thousand [men] from Tamīm, Qays, Rabīʿah, and Yemen. Thābit and Ḥurayth said to him, "Go until you cross the river and expel Yazīd b. al-Muhallab from Khurasan; then we shall make you governor. Ṭarkhūn, Nīzak, al-Sabal, and the people of Bukhārā are with you." He intended to do so, but his companions said to him, [1153] "Thābit and his brother acted unfaithfully to[361] Yazīd. If you expel Yazīd from Khurasan and they become safe, they will take charge and overcome you. So stay where you are." He accepted their opinion and stayed at al-Tirmidh. He said to Thābit, "If we expel Yazīd, a[nother] governor of ʿAbd al-Malik's will come; we shall [instead] expel Yazīd's governors in Transoxania, in the areas adjacent to us, and the region will be ours to devour." Thābit was satisfied with that and expelled those of Yazīd's governors who were in Transoxania. The revenues[362] were transported to them, and they and Mūsā became strong. Ṭarkhūn, Nīzak, the people of Bukhārā, and al-Sabal departed to their territories; Ḥurayth and Thābit ran affairs, while Mūsā was no more than nominal amīr. Mūsā's companions said to him, "We don't see that you are any more than nominal amīr, while Ḥurayth and Thābit are running affairs. Kill them and take charge." But he refused, saying, "I am not going to betray them after they have strengthened my rule." They, however, envied [Ḥurayth and Thābit] and pressed Mūsā in respect of them until they turned his heart [against them], making him fearful of their treachery. He [then] intended to help them in rising against Thābit and Ḥurayth, and matters became confused. While this was going on, there came against them the Hephthalites,[363] the Tibetans,[364] and the Turks, advancing in [an army numbering] seventy thousand, not counting those without

360. See *EI*², s.v. Čaghāniyān.
361. Preferring the variant *khāʾināni li-* to the reading *khāʾifāni li-*.
362. So rendering *al-amwāl*.
363. Al-Hayāṭilah (see *EI*², s.v.).
364. Al-Tubbat: See Dunlop, "Arab Relations with Tibet in the 8th and Early 9th Centuries A.D.," *Islâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 5 (1973), p. 304.

helmets and coats of mail and those with plain helmets, but counting only those with tapering helmets.[365]

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: Ibn Khāzim went out to the suburb of the city with three hundred cataphracts. A chair was set up for him, and he sat upon it.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: Ṭarkhūn ordered that the wall
[1154] of the suburb be breached. Mūsā said, "Let them be," and they demolished [part of] it, and the first of them entered. Mūsā said, "Let them become [more] numerous," and he started to rotate an ax in his hand. When they had become numerous, he said, "Now resist them," and he rode and attacked them and fought them until he expelled them through the breach. Then he returned and sat on the chair. The king urged his companions to return, but they refused. He said, "This is Satan! He who wishes to look at Rustam should look at the man on the chair . . . ;[366] and he who refuses should advance upon him." Then the non-Arabs moved to the district of Guftān.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] said: [The Turks and their allies] made a raid on Mūsā's cattle; he grieved, did not eat, and began to play with his beard. Then he went by night with seven hundred [men] by way of a river[bed] which led to their trench; [this riverbed] had plants on both sides[367] and contained no water. In the morning, they were at the camp [of the enemy]. [Mūsā's] cattle came out, and [Mūsā himself] pounced on them and led them off; some of the [enemy] followed him and Sawwār, a mawlā of Mūsā's, turned on them and speared one of them and felled him. [The others] turned back from them, and Mūsā was safe with the cattle.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: The non-Arabs renewed the fighting in the morning. Their king stood on a hill with ten thousand perfectly equipped [men]. Mūsā said [to his followers], "If you remove these [enemies], the rest will be [as] nothing." Ḥurayth b. Quṭbah headed for them, fought them in the first part of the day, and pressed them hard until he removed them from the hill; [he] was on that day shot in the forehead by an arrow. They abstained from fighting [for a time], and Mūsā then staged a

365. So rendering *bayḍah dhāt qūnus* (see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1440a, s.v. *sunbuk*); the exaggeration is obvious.

366. The text seems to be corrupt here.

367. Reading *ḥāfatayhi* (rather than *ḥāf.y.t.h*), as proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

night attack. His brother, Khāzim b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim, charged until he reached their king's candle bearers[368] and stabbed one of them with the pommel of his sword; his horse was speared, ran off with him, and threw him into the Balkh river, where he drowned, wearing two coats of mail. The non-Arabs[369] were killed quickly, and those who escaped were in a bad way. Ḥurayth [1155] b. Quṭbah died after two days and was buried in his yurt.[370]

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Mūsā set off, and they carried the heads to al-Tirmidh, where they made them face each other in two pyramids.[371] News of the battle reached al-Ḥajjāj, who said, "Praise be to God, who has helped the hypocrites against the unbelievers." Mūsā's companions said, "We had had enough of Ḥurayth being in charge; [now] relieve us of Thābit." [Mūsā] refused. [Meanwhile,] some of what they were getting up to reached Thābit, who infiltrated into Mūsā's service Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Marthad al-Khuzā'ī, the paternal uncle of Naṣr b. 'Abd al-Hamīd, [who was later] Abū Muslim's governor of al-Rayy.[372] [Thābit] said to him, "Beware of speaking Arabic. If they ask you where you are from, say, 'From the captives of al-Bāmiyān.' "[373] [This Muḥammad, then,] used to serve Mūsā and carry news about them to Thābit. [Thābit] said to him, "Remember what they say." Thābit was on his guard and used not to sleep until the young man returned. He ordered some of his *shākiriyyah* to guard him and spend the night with him in his house, they being accompanied by some Arabs.

The people put pressure on Mūsā and vexed him. One night he said to them, "You are going on at me too much. In what you desire [lies] your [own] destruction. You have wearied me. On what pretext will you murder him? I shall not act treacherously toward him." Nūḥ b. 'Abdallāh, the brother of Mūsā, said, "Leave him to us. When he comes to you in the morning, we shall take

368. Taking *shama'ah* to be the plural of *shāmi'*, as proposed in the *Glossarium* and the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

369. Ibn al-Athīr reads *al-turk* where Ṭabarī has *al-'ajam*.

370. So rendering *qubbah* here and in what follows in the contexts of Khurasan and Transoxania (i.e., the round tent-like structure used by Turkomans and others).

371. Literally, "two pavilions" (*jawsaqayni*).

372. This would have been in the early 130s (747ff.); al-Ṭabarī makes no other reference to him.

373. *EI*², s.v.

him off to one of the houses and behead him in it before he can reach you." [Mūsā] said, "By God, it will be the end of you, and you know best." The young man heard [all this], and he went to Thābit and told him. [Thābit] set off on that same night with twenty horsemen and went on his way. In the morning, [Mūsā's men] found that he had gone and did not know how they had been outmaneuvered. [Then] they missed the young man and knew that he had spied on them for [Thābit].

Thābit reached Ḥ.shwrā[374] and stopped at the city. There came out to him many people, both Arab and non-Arab. [When] Mūsā [learned of this, he] said to his companions, "You have opened a door against yourselves; close it," and [he] went against [Thābit].
[1156] Thābit came out to him in a large group and fought them. Mūsā ordered that the stockade be set on fire, and he fought them until [his men] forced Thābit and his companions to take refuge in the city and to fight [to repel] them from the city. Raqabah b. al-Ḥurr al-ʿAnbarī[375] advanced, plunged through the fire, and reached the door of the city. One of Thābit's companions was standing there guarding his companions, and [Raqabah] killed him. Then he returned, passing through the blazing fire, which caught the edges of a piece of dyed clothing he was wearing; he cast it from him and stopped. Thābit fortified himself in the city, and Mūsā stayed in the suburb.

When he was traveling to Ḥ.shwrā, Thābit had sent [word] to Ṭarkhūn, and Ṭarkhūn [now] came to help him. [News of the advent of Ṭarkhūn reached Mūsā, who returned to al-Tirmidh. ⟨Thābit and Ṭarkhūn went after him, accompanied by⟩[376] the people of Kish, Nasaf, and Bukhārā, with [an army of] eighty thousand [men]. They besieged Mūsā and cut off his supplies, until [he and his followers] were severely affected. In going against Mūsā, the companions of Thābit used to cross a river in

374. Thus, too, in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 418; Kh.shwrā in Ms. P. This place remains to be identified; Shaban (*The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, p. 60) has it from Wellhausen that this was Khushwāragh (Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, p. 425, in fact says Khushwarâgh), but in neither case are we told where that may have been.

375. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, register.

376. This rendering is inspired by Ibn al-Athīr, where "Mūsā returned to al-Tirmidh" is followed by *wa-aqbala Thābit wa-Ṭarkhūn wa-maʿahumā*; in al-Ṭabarī, however (and similarly in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 418.17), it is followed simply by *aʿānahu*, which suggests (wrongly, judging by the context) that the people of Kish, etc., were supporting Mūsā.

the daytime and go back to their camp at night. One day, Raqabah, who was a friend of Thābit's and had advised the companions of Mūsā against doing what they had done, came out, wearing a tunic of silk (*khazz*), and called Thābit to a duel. [Thābit] said to him, "How are you, O Raqabah?" [Raqabah] said, "Do not ask about a man wearing a garment made of silk in the most intense of the summer heat," and he complained to him of their condition. [Thābit] said, "You brought this upon yourselves." [Raqabah] said, "I did not [willingly] take part in what they did. I did not like what they wanted." Thābit said, "Where will you be until there comes to you what has been foreordained for you?" [Raqabah] said, "I shall be with al-Muḥill al-Ṭufāwī, a man from [the] Ya'ṣur[377] [branch] of Qays"; al-Muḥill was a drinker, and Raqabah stopped with him. [1157]

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Thābit sent five hundred dirhams to Raqabah via 'Alī b. al-Muhājir al-Khuzā'ī, [together with the message], "We have [some] merchants coming from Balkh. When it reaches you that they have arrived, send [word] to me and what you need will come to you." 'Alī came to al-Muḥill's door, and there were Raqabah and al-Muḥill sitting with a large bowl of drink between them, together with a table on which were chickens and loaves of bread. Raqabah was tousle-headed and wearing a red waist wrapper around his middle. ['Alī] handed him the bag [of dirhams] and delivered the message. [Raqabah] did not speak to him. He took the bag, gestured to him with his hand to get out, and did not speak to him.

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Raqabah was a heavily built [man], sunken-eyed, prominent-cheeked, and gap-toothed, with a face [round? flat?] like a shield.

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: When Mūsā's companions were in dire straits and the siege had intensified, Yazīd b. Huzayl said, "These people will stay on [besieging us] with Thābit [as long as he is alive], and it is better to be killed than to die of hunger. By God, I shall murder Thābit or die [in the attempt]," and he went out to Thābit and asked him for a safe-conduct. Ẓuhayr said to [Thābit], "I know more about this [man] than you do. He has not come to you because he likes you or because he

377. Synonymous with A'ṣur (on this, see al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, vol. III, p. 406, line 38), the father of the Banū al-Ṭufāwah, Bāhilah, and Ghanī (see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, vol. I, chart 92).

fears you. He has come to you in order to act treacherously. Beware of him and leave him to me." [Thābit] said, "I am not going to take measures against a man who has come to me without my knowing whether he is like that or not." [Ẕuhayr] said, "Let me take hostages from him," and Thābit sent [word] to Yazīd, saying, "As for myself, I am not given to suspecting a man of treachery after he has asked for a safe-conduct, [but] your cousin knows more about you than I. So see to what he requires in order to deal with you." Yazīd said to Ẕuhayr, "O Abū Saʿīd, you are raising objections out of envy. Don't you think I have been humbled enough already? I had to leave Iraq and my family and came to
[1158] Khurasan as you see. Doesn't [our] kinship make you sympathetic?" Ẕuhayr said to him, "By God, if I had had my own way, this would not have happened; but[, as it is,] give us your sons Qudāmah and al-Ḍaḥḥāk as hostages." [Yazīd] handed them over to them, and they were held by Ẕuhayr.

[Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Yazīd kept looking out for inadvertency on the part of Thābit, and he was not able to do to him what he desired until one of the sons of Ziyād al-Qaṣīr al-Khuzāʿī died. News of his death reached [Ziyād] from Marw, and Thābit courteously went out to console [him], accompanied by Ẕuhayr and a group of his companions, including Yazīd b. Huzayl. The sun had set. When [Thābit] reached the river of al-Ṣaghāniyān, Yazīd b. Huzayl and two men who were with him tarried, Ẕuhayr and his companions having gone ahead. Yazīd then drew near to Thābit and smote him: The sword bit into his head and reached the brain.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: Yazīd and his two companions cast themselves into the river of al-Ṣaghāniyān. [Ẕuhayr and his companions] shot at them: Yazīd escaped by swimming, while his two companions were killed. Thābit was carried to his house. In the morning, Ṭarkhūn sent [word] to Ẕuhayr, "Bring me the two sons of Yazīd," and he brought them. Ẕuhayr [first] presented al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Yazīd, and [Ṭarkhūn] killed him and threw [his cadaver] and his head into the river. [Ẕuhayr then] presented Qudāmah so that [Ṭarkhūn] might kill him. [Qudāmah] turned and the sword hit his chest instead of cutting [his head off]; [Ṭarkhūn] threw him into the river alive, and he drowned. Ṭarkhūn said, "Their father and his treachery killed them." Yazīd b. Huzayl said, "[In vengeance] for my sons, I shall kill every Khuzāʿī

in the city." 'Abdallāh b. Budayl b. 'Abdallāh b. Budayl b. Warqā', who was one of the routed troops of Ibn al-Ash'ath who had come to Mūsā, said to him, "If you want to do that to Khuzā'ah, it will be difficult for you." Thābit lived for seven days and then died. Yazīd b. Huzayl was a brave and generous [man], a poet, who governed the island of Ibn Kāwān[378] in the days of Ibn Ziyād. He said (*ṭawīl*): [1159]

I used to call upon God secretly and sincerely
to grant me taxes and legal income[379]
So that I might thereby leave Ṭalḥah[380] forgotten
and my gifts and actions might thereby be praised.

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: After the death of Thābit, Ṭarkhūn took charge of the non-Arabs, and Ẓuhary took charge of the companions of Thābit. However, they were weak, and this became well known. Mūsā decided to attack them by night, and a man came and informed Ṭarkhūn [of this]. Ṭarkhūn laughed and said, "Mūsā is too weak to enter his [own] privy [unaided]! How can he stage a night attack against us? You have lost courage. No one will guard the camp tonight." When a third of the night had elapsed, Mūsā set out with eight hundred [men] whom he had mobilized in the daytime and had made into "fourths."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: He placed in charge of one fourth Raqabah b. al-Ḥurr, over another his brother Nūḥ b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim, over [the third] Yazīd b. Huzayl, while he himself was over the fourth. He said to them, "When you enter their camp, spread out. Let no one of you pass anything without striking it." The entered their camp from four directions and did not pass any riding animal or man or tent or sack without striking it. Nīzak heard the commotion, donned his arms, stood in the dark night, and said to 'Alī b. al-Muhājir al-Khuzā'ī, "To to Ṭarkhūn, let him know where I am, and ask him what he thinks I should do with [Mūsā]." ['Alī] came to Ṭarkhūn and lo, he was in a tent, sitting on a chair, and his *shākiriyyah*[381] had lit fires before

378. I.e., Abarkāwān or Barkāwān or Kāwān or Banī Kāwān; also called Lāft and now Qishm, being a large island near the mouth of the Persian Gulf (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 79, and vol. III, p. 837; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 261); *EI*², s.v. Ḳishm.

379. Reading *wa-ḥalālī* (instead of *wa-rijālī*), with Ms. P.

380. See n. 241 above.

381. See above, n. 140.

him. [ʿAlī] delivered Nīzak's message to him, and [Ṭarkhūn] said, "Sit." He was raising his eyes in the direction of their camp and the noise when Maḥmiyah al-Sulamī came saying, "*Ḥāʾ, mīm*,[382]
[1160] they will not be given victory."[383] The *shākiriyyah* scattered, and Maḥmiyah entered the tent. Ṭarkhūn rose to [resist] him, and [Maḥmiyah] came to him quickly. [Ṭarkhūn] smote him and put him out of action.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] said; Ṭarkhūn wounded him in the chest with the sharp edge of [his] sword, felled him, returned to his chair, and sat on it; Maḥmiyah went out at a run.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] said: The *shākiriyyah* returned, and Ṭarkhūn said to them, "You fled from a [single] man. Do you think, if it had been a fire, it would have burned more than one of you?" No sooner had he finished speaking than his slave girls entered the tent and the *shākiriyyah* fled out. He said to the slave girls, "Sit," and to ʿAlī b. al-Muhājir, "Stand."

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] said: The two of them went out and lo, there was Nūḥ b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim in the ancillary tent. They wheeled about for a time and exchanged a couple of blows, but did nothing, and Nūḥ fled. Ṭarkhūn followed [Nūḥ] and wounded his horse in its flank. [The horse] reared up, and both it and Nūḥ fell into the river of al-Ṣaghāniyān. Ṭarkhūn returned with his sword dripping with blood. He and ʿAlī b. al-Muhājir went into the ancillary tent and then into the main tent. Ṭarkhūn said to the slave girls, "Go back," and they went back into the ancillary tent. Ṭarkhūn sent [word] to Mūsā, "Restrain your companions. We are moving out in the morning." Mūsā returned to his camp, and in the morning Ṭarkhūn and all the non-Arabs moved out. Each people returned to its country.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] said: The people of Khurasan used to say, "We have never seen or heard of the like of Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim. He fought along with his father for two years. Then he went roaming about in the land of Khurasan until he came to a king and relieved him of his city and expelled him from it. Then

382. Seven sūrahs of the Qur'ān begin with this pair of "mysterious letters" (see *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳur'ān [vol. V, pp. 412ff.]), but the words that follow it here are not matched by the words that follow it there.

383. Qur'ān 3:111=107, 28:41, 41:16=15, 59:12. Al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 414) identifies *ḥāʾ mīm lā yunṣarūna* as the battle cry of ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim.

Arab and Turkish troops went to [fight] him, and he fought the Arabs in the first part of the day and the non-Arabs in the latter part of the day. He stayed in his fortress for fifteen years. Transoxania was his and no one strove with him to gain mastery over it." [1161]

['Alī b. Muḥammad] said: In Qūmis there was a man called 'Abdallāh at whose place young men (*fityān*) would gather to keep one another company at his trouble and expense. [This man] incurred a debt, and he came to Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh, who gave him four thousand [dirhams]; he took them to his companions. The poet said, reproving a man called Mūsā (*ṭawīl*):

You are not Moses, when he confided in his God,
nor [are you] the giver [to] young men,[384] Mūsā b. Khāzim.

['Alī b. Muḥammad] said: When Yazīd [b. al-Muhallab] was dismissed and al-Mufaḍḍal took over, [al-Mufaḍḍal] wanted to enjoy al-Ḥajjāj's favor by fighting Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh. He sent out 'Uthmān b. Mas'ūd,[385] whom Yazīd had imprisoned, saying to him, "I want to send you against Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh." ['Uthmān said, "By God, he has killed people related to me without my having obtained revenge. I seek revenge for Thābit—the son of my paternal aunt—and for the Khuzā'ī. The treatment meted out to me and my family by your father and your brother has not been good. You (pl.) have imprisoned me and scared away my cousins and appropriated their property." Al-Mufaḍḍal said to me, "Put [all] this aside. Go and exact your revenge," and he sent him off with three thousand [men] saying to him, "Order a crier to cry out, 'Whoever joins us will have a regular place in the army.'"[386] He had that called out in the market, and people hastened to him. Al-Mufaḍḍal wrote to [his brother] Mudrik, who was at Balkh, instructing him to go with ['Uthmān]. ['Uthmān] set forth and, when he was at Balkh, he went out one night touring the camp and heard a man say, "I have killed him, by God." [At this,] he returned to his companions and said, "Surely I shall kill Mūsā, by [1162]

384. The text reads *al-qaynāt*, "singing girls," while the *Addenda et Emendanda* propose *al-qinyān*, which is presumably to be regarded as a misprint for *al-fityān* ("young men") in view of the preceding story.

385. On him, cf. Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, pp. 215–17, 229–30.

386. So rendering *fa-lahu dīwān*.

the Lord of the Ka'bah."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] said: In the morning he set off from Balkh—Mudrik went out sluggishly with him—crossed the river and stopped with fifteen thousand [men] at an island at al-Tirmidh which is today called the Island of 'Uthmān,[387] on account of [his] stopping there. He wrote to al-Sabal and to Ṭarkhūn, and they came to him. They besieged Mūsā and rendered him and his companions in straitened circumstances. Mūsā went out at night to Guftān, supplied himself with provisions from it, and then returned and remained for two months in a straitened condition. 'Uthmān had dug a trench and was watching out for a night attack, so that Mūsā was not able to catch him off guard. [Mūsā] said to his companions, "How much longer? Let us make a sortie and make our battle day one of either victory or death"; and he said, "Head for Soghd and the Turks." Then he made a sortie, having left al-Naḍr b. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim in the city; he had said to him, "If I am killed, do not hand the city over to 'Uthmān; hand it over to Mudrik b. al-Muhallab." He sortied and placed a third of his companions opposite 'Uthmān, saying [to them], "Do not engage him unless he fights you." He [himself] headed for Ṭarkhūn and his companions, and fought them gallantly. Ṭarkhūn and the Turks were defeated, and [Mūsā and his men] took their camp and began to carry it off.

Mu'āwiyah b. Khālid b. Abī Barzah looked at 'Uthmān, who was on a non-Arabian horse belonging to Khālid b. Abī Barzah al-Aslamī, and said, "Dismount, O amīr." But Khālid said, "Do not dismount, Mu'āwiyah brings ill luck.

The Soghdians and the Turks returned the charge and interposed themselves between Mūsā and the fortress. He fought them, and [his horse] was hamstrung and he fell. He said to a mawlā of his, "Carry me." [The Mawlā] said, "Death is disagreeable. Ride mounted behind me. If we escape, we shall both escape; if we perish, we shall both perish."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] said: [Mūsā] mounted behind him. 'Uthmān looked at him when he jumped up and said, "A jump [by] Mūsā, by
[1163] the Lord of the Ka'bah." [Mūsā was] wearing a helmet of his which was adorned with red silk (*khazz*) and had a blue sapphire at its top.

387. According to Barthold (*Turkestan*[3], p. 75), this is "undoubtedly Aral-Payghambar."

'Uthmān came out of the trench and [he and his men] put Mūsā's companions to flight. Then ['Uthmān] headed for Mūsā. Mūsā's riding animal stumbled, and he and his mawlā fell. ['Uthmān and his men] ran up to him, gathered around him, and killed him. 'Uthmān's crier called out, "Do not kill anyone you encounter; take him prisoner."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: The companions of Mūsā scattered. Some of them were taken prisoner and were paraded before 'Uthmān. When he was brought an Arab prisoner, he said, "Our blood is licit for you and your blood illicit for us," and he ordered that he be killed. When he was brought a mawlā prisoner, he abused him and said, "These Arabs fight me. Why did you not become angry on my account?" and he ordered that he be beaten.[388] He was rough and coarse. No prisoner greeted him on that day apart from 'Abdallāh b. Budayl b. 'Abdallāh b. Budayl b. Warqā'—whose mawlā he was; when ['Uthmān] saw him, he turned away from him and gestured with his hand that he should be released—and Raqabah b. al-Ḥurr;[389] when he was brought [the latter], he looked at him and said, "There was no great sin against us from this [fellow]; he was a friend of Thābit's and was with people to whom he acted loyally. The wonder is that you took him prisoner." They said, "His horse was wounded, and he fell off it into a deep hole and was taken prisoner." ['Uthmān] set him free and gave him a mount, saying to Khālid b. Abī Barzah, "Let him stay with you."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] said: The person who despatched Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh was Wāṣil b. Ṭaysalah al-'Anbarī. One day 'Uthmān looked at Zur'ah b. 'Alqamah al-Sulamī, al-Ḥajjāj b. Marwān, and Sinān al-A'rābī, [who were standing] to one side, and said to them, "You have a safe-conduct." The people suspected that he did not give them a safe-conduct until they wrote to him [and made an arrangement with him].

['Alī b. Muḥammad] said: The city remained in the hands of al-Naḍr b. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim. He said, "I shall not [1164]
hand it over to 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad, but I shall hand it over to Mudrik." He did so, and [Mudrik] gave him a safe-conduct and

388. Ibn al-Athīr makes it clear that the mawlās were set free after being beaten.
389. Al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 419) renders this name "Raqyah b. Al-Ḥ.rfānah."

handed [the city] over to 'Uthmān. Al-Mufaḍḍal wrote of the conquest to al-Ḥajjāj. Al-Ḥajjāj said, "What an astonishing fellow Ibn Bahlah is! I order him to kill Ibn Samurah, and he writes to me that he is at death's door,[390] and he [then] writes to me that he has killed Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim."[391]

['Alī b. Muḥammad] said: Mūsā was killed in the year 85. Al-Bakhtarī[392] mentioned that Maghrā b. al-Mughīrah b. Abī Ṣufrah killed Mūsā. He said (*ṭawīl*):

The cavalry crushed Khāzim, Nūḥ, and Mūsā at
al-Tirmidh, as if crushed under the[ir] chests.

One of the army struck Mūsā's leg. When Qutaybah became governor, he was told about him and said, "What induced you to [do] what you did to the young man of the Arabs after his death?" [The man] said, "He had killed my brother." [Qutaybah] gave the order, and [the man] was killed in front of him.

In this year 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān wanted to remove his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz [from the succession].[393]

['*Abd al-Malik's Desire to Remove His Brother from the Succession*]

Al-Wāqidī mentioned that 'Abd al-Malik intended that [removal] and Qabīṣah b. Dhu'ayb[394] advised him against it, saying, "Do not do this; you will raise a rebellious voice against yourself. Maybe death will come to him and you will be relieved of him." 'Abd al-Malik desisted from that, while yet yearning in his heart to remove ['Abd al-'Azīz]. [Then] there entered into his presence Rawḥ b. Zinbā' al-Judhāmī,[395] who was the person most respected by 'Abd al-Malik. He said, "O Commander of the Faithful, if you remove him, there will be no discord." ['Abd al-

390. Reading *li-mā bi-hi* in place of *li-ma'ābihi*.

391. Ibn al-Athīr adds at this point, "the killing of Mūsā did not please him because he was from Qays."

392. Correctly proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda* in preference to the form given in the text.

393. See al-Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, pp. 334–35) for a different account.

394. 'Abd al-Malik's secretary and brother-in-law (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 128).

395. Ibid., pp. 99–100 (where the form "Zanbā" is wrongly preferred).

Malik] said, "Do you think so, O Abū Zur'ah?" He said, "Yes, by God. I shall be the first to acquiesce in that." ['Abd al-Malik] said, "You advise me well, God willing." [1165]

[Al-Wāqidī] said: While this was going on—and 'Abd al-Malik and Rawḥ b. Zinbā' had fallen asleep—Qabīṣah b. Dhu'ayb entered into their presence at night. 'Abd al-Malik had previously instructed his chamberlains, "Qabīṣah is not to be kept from me, whatever time he may come, by night or by day, whether I am unoccupied or have a man with me. Even if I am with the women, he is to be brought into the session and I am to be informed of his position," and he would come in. He was in charge of the seal and the coinage; reports came to him before [they came to] 'Abd al-Malik, and he would read letters before him; he would bring a letter to 'Abd al-Malik unrolled and ['Abd al-Malik] would read it—[all of this] being in honor of Qabīṣah. [Qabīṣah] entered into ['Abd al-Malik's] presence, greeted him, and said, "May God reward you,[396] O Commander of the Faithful in respect of your brother!" He said, "Has he died?" [Qabīṣah] said, "Yes." 'Abd al-Malik said, "We belong to God and to Him we return!" Then he advanced upon Rawḥ and said to him, "God has sufficed us, O Abū Zur'ah, with what we wanted and what we had decided on. That was contrary to [what] you [advised], O Abū Isḥāq." Qabīṣah said, "What was that?" and ['Abd al-Malik] informed him of what had taken place. Qabīṣah said, "O Commander of the Faithful, the right opinion always lies in patience; in haste there is what there is."[397] 'Abd al-Malik said, "Many a time there can be much good in haste. You saw the affair of 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq. Wasn't haste in that better than patience?

In this year 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān died in Egypt in Jumādā I (May–June 704). 'Abd al-Malik assigned his governorship to his son 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik and put him in charge of Egypt.

As for al-Madā'inī, he said in among what was related to us by Abū Zayd on his authority: Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to 'Abd al-Malik commending to him the oath of allegiance to al-Walīd [as heir to the caliphate], and he sent in that regard a delegation led by 'Imrān b. [1166]

396. *Ājaraka Allāh (fī-)*, a standard form of condolence.

397. A polite expression of objection or contradiction (see Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2466c).

'Imrān b. 'Iṣām al-'Anazī.[398] 'Imrān stood up and gave an address, and the delegation spoke, and they urged 'Abd al-Malik and asked him to do that. 'Imrān b. 'Iṣām said [*wāfir*]:[399]

O Commander of the Faithful, to you we bring
    from a distance a greeting and a salutation!
Acquiesce in what I want concerning your sons. Let
    your response to me
    be a noble action[400] for them and a support
    for us.
If I am to be obeyed in respect of al-Walīd,
    I make the caliphate and rule[401] over to him.
He resembles you. Quraysh surround his *qubbah*;[402]
    through him the people seek rain from the clouds,
And he is like you in piety. He has not acted
    childishly since the day
    when he took off his necklaces and amulets.
If you prefer your brother for [the caliphate], we,
    by your grandfather, are not able to level any
    accusation against that;
But we are on our guard lest, through his sons,
    the sons by different mothers, we be given
    poison to drink.[403]
And we fear, if you place dominion among them,
    clouds coming back to them without water.
Let not what you have milked [belong] tomorrow to
    people [who are such that]
    after tomorrow, your [own] sons will thirst.

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398. Sayed, *Revolte*, pp. 351–52, no. 7.

399. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 241; *Aghānī*², vol. XVII, p. 275; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 59.

400. The Balādhurī and *Aghānī* variant *ukrūmat*^{an} seems preferable to *'ādiyyat*^{an} or *'āriyyat*^{an}.

401. The Balādhurī and *Aghānī* variant *wa'l-zimāmā* seems preferable to *wa'l-dhimāmā*.

402. Presumably, some sort of audience tent is meant.

403. The *Addenda et Emendanda* point out that the word *ma'tharat*^{an}, which is given in the text at this point, "corrupta videtur," and propose instead *mā'idat*^{an}, i.e., "we are on our guard against . . . poisoned fare"; al-Balādhurī's *an nusqā* seems preferable.

I swear, if 'Iṣām[404] were to go beyond me[405]
in that regard, I should not forgive him that.
If I gave my brother [something] for the sake of merit,
desiring thereby good repute and standing,
[That brother] would cause it to return to my sons, [1167]
to the exclusion of his [own] sons;
such [would be the case], or I would find some
[other] way of dealing with him.
He who has cleavages among his relatives,
the cleavage of dominion is the slowest to mend.

'Abd al-Malik said, "O 'Imrān, it is 'Abd al-'Azīz [whom you are talking about]." He said, "Use artifice on him, O Commander of the Faithful!"

'Alī [b. Muḥammad] said: 'Abd al-Malik wanted to have the oath of allegiance to al-Walīd [as heir] taken before the Ibn al-Ash'ath affair, because al-Ḥajjāj had sent 'Imrān b. 'Iṣām [to him] in that [connection]. When 'Abd al-'Azīz refused, 'Abd al-Malik turned away from what he wanted until 'Abd al-'Azīz died. When he wanted to remove 'Abd al-'Azīz and have the oath of allegiance taken to his son al-Walīd, he wrote to his brother, "If you think it right to make this matter over to your nephew. . . ." ['Abd al-'Azīz] refused, and ['Abd al-Malik] wrote to him, "Well, let [the caliphate] be his after you, for he is the dearest of creation to the Commander of the Faithful." 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote to him, "I see in Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz what you see in al-Walīd." 'Abd al-Malik said, "O God, 'Abd al-'Azīz has severed his relationship with me, and I shall sever mine with him," and he wrote to him, "Transport the revenue[406] of Egypt [to me]." 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, you and I have both reached an age that no one in your family has reached without having only a little time left. Neither of us knows which of us will be reached by death first. If you are minded to make the rest of my life unpleasant for me, [by all means] do [so, but I would prefer otherwise]." [At this,] 'Abd al-Malik became gentle and said, "By my

404. The poet's father.
405. Reading *takhaṭṭānī* instead of *takhaṭṭa'anī*.
406. Thus rendering *kharāj* here; Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 59) notes that 'Abd al-'Azīz used to remit nothing.

life, I shall not make the rest of his life unpleasant for him," and he said to his two sons, "If God wants to give you [the caliphate], no one of his servants will be able to avert that"; and he said to
[1168] his two sons, al-Walīd and Sulaymān, "Have you ever committed anything forbidden?" They said, "No, by God." He said, "God is great! You will gain it, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah."

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] said: When ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz refused to acquiesce in what ʿAbd al-Malik wanted, ʿAbd al-Malik said, "O God, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz has cut his relationship with me, and I shall cut mine with him," and, when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz died, the Syrians said, "[ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz] has returned the Commander of the Faithful's affair to him; he made an invocation against him, and his call was answered."

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] said: Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik advising him to use Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī as a secretary. He wrote to him, "If you want a discreet, submissive, easy-tempered, intelligent, worthy, and trusty man, whom you may take for yourself and with whom you may lodge your secret[s] and that which you do not wish to be manifest, then take Muḥammad b. Yazīd." ʿAbd al-Malik [accordingly] wrote to [al-Ḥajjāj], "Convey him to me," and he did so, and ʿAbd al-Malik took him as a secretary.

Muḥammad said: No letter reached [ʿAbd al-Malik] but that he passed it to me, and he concealed nothing but that he informed me of it, while keeping it from the people; nor did he write to any one of his governors but that he told me of it. I was sitting one day, in the middle of the daytime, when an official courier came from Egypt. He said, "[I request] permission to [meet] the Commander of the Faithful." I said, "This is not a time [when] permission [can be given]. Tell me what you have come for." He said, "No." I said, "If you have a letter, give it to me." He said, "No."

[Muḥammad] continued: One of those who were present with me informed the Commander of the Faithful, and he came out and said, "What is this?" I said, "A messenger who has come from Egypt." He said, "Well, take the letter." I said, "He has claimed that he has no letter." He said, "Then ask him what he has come for." I said, "I have asked him, and he did not tell me." He said, "Bring him in," so I took him in and the messenger said, "May God reward you, O Commander of the Faithful, in respect

of 'Abd al-'Azīz!" ['Abd al-Malik] said, "We belong to God and to Him we return!" and wept, and [then] remained silent with downcast eyes for a time. Then he said, "May God have mercy on 'Abd al-'Azīz! By God, 'Abd al-'Azīz has passed on and left us and this life of ours," and the women and the people of the house wept. Then he summoned me on the next day and said, "'Abd al-'Azīz, may God have mercy on him, has gone on his way, and the people must have a waymark and someone to be in charge after me. Who do you think?" I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, the lord of the people and the most pleasing and most worthy of them, al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik." He said, "You are right, may God grant you success! Who do you think should be after him?" I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, who other than Sulaymān,[407] the young man of the Arabs?" He said, "May you be granted success! If we were to leave [the caliphate] to Al-Walīd, he would make it over to his sons. Write a covenant for al-Walīd and [for] Sulaymān after him!" So I wrote an oath of allegiance to al-Walīd and then Sulaymān after him. [At this,] al-Walīd became angry with me. He did not put me in charge of anything after I had advised Sulaymān's succession to him. [1169]

'Alī [b. Muḥammad] said on the authority of Ibn Ju'dubah: 'Abd al-Malik wrote to Hishām b. Ismā'īl al-Makhzūmī to summon the people [of Medina] to the oath of allegiance to al-Walīd and Sulaymān. They took the oath of allegiance, apart from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab,[408] who refused and said, "I shall not take the oath of allegiance while 'Abd al-Malik is alive." Hishām beat him violently, clad him in haircloth, and sent him to Dhubāb,[409] a mountain pass at Medina where they used to kill and crucify[410] [people]. He thought that they intended to kill him; but, when they got to that place with him, they brought him back, and he said, "Had I thought that they would not crucify me, I should not have worn haircloth drawers; but I said [to myself], 'They will crucify me, [1170]

407. Literally, "Where will you turn it away from Sulaymān?"

408. For a view of Sa'īd's role in the nascent religious law of the time, see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 15–17 and index.

409. Or Dhibāb, which Yāqūt knows simply as a mountain at Medina (*Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 716).

410. As Nöldeke pointed out (*ZDMG* 56 [1902], p. 433), Arab crucifixion appears usually to have involved headless cadavers; for an apparent exception, see Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 232.

and [the drawers] will cover up [my private parts].'" News [of that] reached 'Abd al-Malik, who said, "May God remove Hishām from all that is good! He should have summoned [Sa'īd] to the oath of allegiance, and, on his refusing [to take it], he should [either] have beheaded him or have desisted from him."

In this year 'Abd al-Malik had the oath of allegiance taken to al-Walīd and then, after him, to Sulaymān; and he made them the two heirs of the covenant of the Muslims. He sent his oath for them out in writing to [all Muslim] territories, and the people took the oath. Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab[, however,] refrained from that, and Hishām b. Ismā'īl, who was 'Abd al-Malik's governor of Medina, beat him, paraded him around, and imprisoned him. 'Abd al-Malik wrote to Hishām, blaming him for what he had done in that regard. The beating consisted of sixty lashes, and he paraded him as far as the top of the mountain pass [clad] in breeches made of hair.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far and other companions of ours: 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr appointed over Medina Jābir b. al-Aswad b. 'Awf al-Zuhrī, who summoned people to the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr. Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab said, "No. Not until the people are united," and Jābir gave him sixty lashes. That reached Ibn al-Zubayr, who wrote to Jābir blaming him and saying, "Why should we bother with Sa'īd? Leave him."

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—
[1171] 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far and other companions of ours: 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān died in Egypt in Jumādā (*sic*) 84 (*sic*: May–June or June–July 703). 'Abd al-Malik then made the covenant to his two sons al-Walīd and Sulaymān, and sent the written oath to them to the territories. His governor [of Medina] at the time was Hishām b. Ismā'īl al-Makhzūmī, who summoned the people to the oath. They took it, and he summoned Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab to take the oath. He refused, saying, "No. I'll see." Hishām b. Ismā'īl gave him sixty lashes and paraded him in breeches made of hair as far as the top of the mountain pass. When they brought him back, he said, "Where are you bringing me back to?" They said, "To prison." He said, "By God, had I not thought it was going to be crucifixion, I should never have worn these breeches." [Hishām] returned him to the prison and detained him, and he wrote to

'Abd al-Malik informing him of [Sa'īd's] disobedience and what had happened. 'Abd al-Malik wrote to him blaming him for what he had done and saying, "There is more need to draw Sa'īd close [to you] by kind treatment of his kindred than to beat him. We know that he has no dissension or disobedience in him."[411]

The pilgrimage was led in this year by Hishām b. Ismā'īl al-Makhzūmī: Thus it was related to us by Aḥmad b. Thābit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on the authority of Abū Ma'shar; and al-Wāqidī said the same. The governor of the East, together with Iraq, in this year was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.

411. Cf. the accounts of this episode given by Khalīfah (*Ta'rīkh*, pp. 290–91).

The Events of the Year 86

[1172] (JANUARY 2–DECEMBER 22, 705)

[*The Death of 'Abd al-Malik*]

One of [the events that took place] in [this year] was the death of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in the middle of Shawwāl (early–mid October).

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—him who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān died on Thursday in the middle of Shawwāl in the year 86. His caliphate [lasted] ten years and five months.

As for al-Ḥārith, he related to me on the authority of Ibn Sa'd on the authority of Muḥammad b. 'Umar, who said: Shuraḥbīl b. Abī 'Awn related to me on the authority of his father: The people became unanimous about 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in the year 73 (692–93).

According to Ibn 'Umar—Abū Ma'shar Najīḥ: 'Abd al-Malik died in Damascus on Thursday in the middle of Shawwāl in the year 86. His rule, from the day when the oath of allegiance was taken to him until the day he died, was twenty-one years and one and a half months. For nine of these years, he was fighting Ibn al-Zubayr and was recognized as caliph in Syria; then [he was recognized as caliph] in Iraq, after Muṣ'ab had been killed, and remained [so

recognized] after 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr had been killed. The people were unanimous about him for thirteen years and four months, less seven nights.

As for 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, he, according to what Abū Zayd related to us on his authority, said: 'Abd al-Malik died [1173] in Damascus in the year 86. His rule [lasted] thirteen years, three months and fifteen days.

Report on His Age When He Died

The biographers (*ahl al-siyar*) differ in that [regard]. According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Abū Ma'shar Najīḥ: 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān died aged sixty.

Al-Wāqidī said: It has been related to us that he died when he was fifty-eight.[412]

[Abū Ja'far] said: The first [of these reports] is more secure, [since] it conforms with his birth date. He was born in the year 26, in the caliphate of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him, and he witnessed the Yawm al-Dār[413] with his father when he was ten.

Al-Madā'inī, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, said, in among what Abū Zayd mentioned on his authority: 'Abd al-Malik died at the age of sixty-three.

*His Descent and His Teknonym (*Kunyah*)*[414]

As for his descent, [he was] 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf. As for his *kunyah*, [it was] Abū al-Walīd. His mother [was] 'Ā'ishah bt. Mu'āwiyah b. al-Mughīrah b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah. To ['Abd al-Malik] Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt says (*kāmil*):[415]

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412. Cf. al-Balādhurī (*AAC*, p. 152), who cites al-Wāqidī to the effect that 'Abd al-Malik was fifty-*three* when he died.

413. I.e., the occasion of the murder of the Caliph 'Uthmān in Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 35 (June 656).

414. See *EI*², s.v.

415. On the poet, see *EI*², s.v. Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, and Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 418–19; regarding the following verses, cf. al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, pp. 152–53; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, vol. IV, p. 399; and *Der Dîwân des 'Ubayd-Allâh Ibn Ḳais ar-Rukajjât*, pp. 215–16 (where further parallels are given).

You are the son of 'Ā'ishah, who
excelled her fellow women in descent.
She paid no attention to her coevals
and went off on her own sweet way.

[1174] *His Children and Wives*

Among them were al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Marwān al-Akbar (who was without issue), and 'Ā'ishah: Their mother was Wallādah bt. al-'Abbās b. Jaz' b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhayr b. Jadhīmah b. Rawāḥah b. Rabī'ah b. Māzin b. al-Ḥārith b. Quṭay'ah b. 'Abs b. Baghīḍ.

Yazīd, Marwān, Mu'āwiyah (who was without issue), and Umm Kulthūm: Their mother was 'Ātikah bt. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān.

Hishām, whose mother was Umm Hishām bt. Hishām b. Ismā'īl b. Hishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī. Al-Madā'inī said: Her name was 'Ā'ishah bt. Hishām.

Abū Bakr, whose name [was] Bakkār. His mother was 'Ā'ishah bt. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh.

Al-Ḥakam, who died without issue. His mother was Umm Ayyūb bt. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

Fāṭimah bt. 'Abd al-Malik, whose mother was Umm al-Mughīrah bt. al-Mughīrah b. Khālid b. al-'Āṣ b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah.

'Abdallāh, Maslamah, al-Mundhir, 'Anbasah, Muḥammad, Sa'īd al-Khayr, and al-Ḥajjāj, who [were born] to *ummahāt awlād*.[416]

Al-Madā'inī said: His wives, other than those we have mentioned, were (a) Shaqrā' bt. Salamah b. Ḥalbas al-Ṭā'ī, (b) a daughter of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's,[417] peace be upon him, and (c) Umm Abīhā bt. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far.

Al-Madā'inī mentioned on the authority of 'Awānah and others than him that Salamah b. Zayd b. Wahb b. Nubātah al-Fahmī
[1175] entered into 'Abd al-Malik's presence and ['Abd al-Malik] said to

416. Plural of *umm walad*, a "female slave who has borne a child to her owner" (Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic law*, index).

417. Thus, too, in al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 160, but according to Ibn al-Athīr this is untrue.

him, "Which time you have experienced is the noblest and which of the kings the most endowed with perfection?" [Salamah] said, "As for kings, I have only seen those who can be both blamed and praised; as for time, it raises some people and lays others low. Everyone blames his own time, because it wears out the new and renders the young decrepit; all that is in it becomes cut short, except for hope." ['Abd al-Malik] said, "Tell me about Fahm." [Salamah] said, "They are just as the one who said [the following verses] said (*khafīf*):[418]

Night and day crept over Fahm
    b. 'Amr and they became like old bones.
Their abode became desolate,
    after glory, wealth and ease.
Thus does time put an end to
    people; their abodes remain like traces."

['Abd al-Malik] said, "And which of you says (*wāfir*):

I have seen people since time began,
    liking him who is rich among men,
Even if the rich man does little good
    and is niggardly, giving out small amounts.
I do not know why this should be so,
    and what people can hope for from misers.
Is it for material gain? There is no material gain,
    nor can he be hoped [to help] when the nights
    bring disaster."

[Salamah] said, "I."

'Alī [b. Muḥammad] said: Abū Qaṭīfah 'Amr b. al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayṭ said to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (*ṭawīl*):[419]

I have been informed that Ibn al-Qalammas[420] has
    stigmatized me,

418. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, pp. 198–99.

419. On the poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 424–25; regarding the following verses, cf. al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, pp. 212–13; *Aghānī*², vol. I, p. 34.

420. Or al-'Amallas; according to Ibn Manẓūr (*Lisān al-'arab*, s.vv.), *qalammas* means "great lord" or "bountiful," while *'amallas* means "vicious wolf" or "vicious dog." It is not clear who is meant here.

and who among people is wholly free of fault?
[1176] The chief of his people sees the paths of what is right,
and the beturbaned leader may see what is right.
[But] who are you? Tell me, who are you,
when things are now visible, now concealed?

'Abd al-Malik said, "I did not think that the likes of us would have 'Who are you?' said to him. By God, but for what I know, I should have said something which would have caused you to join your base ancestors and should have had you beaten to death."

'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Tha'labī said to 'Abd al-Malik (*rajaz*):[421]

O Ibn Abī al-'Āṣ, O best of young men,
you are the preserver of the religion if the
religion becomes frail.
You are the one who does not let rule be of no avail;
Quraysh are rent from you, just as the mill
stone is rent [from its pivot].[422]
Abū al-'Āṣ—and in this he excelled—
gave his sons advice which they heeded,
That they should kindle war and reject what he rejected,
[sons] who thrust fiercely at necks and kidneys,
And advance boldly with swords
to the fighting, and gather together [the like
of] what he gathered.

[1177] A'shā Banī Shaybān said (*kāmil*):[423]

All of Quraysh acknowledge
that rule belongs to the sons of Abū al-'Āṣ,
To the most pious and deserving of them,
as determined by consultation.
They defend what they govern,

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421. On this poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 353–54; regarding the following verses, cf. *Aghānī*[2], vol. XIII, p. 169.

422. Reading *jība* and *jawba* in place of *ḥība* and *ḥawba*, as is suggested in the *Addenda et Emendanda*, the signification being that "you" are the center and "Quraysh" are around "you"; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 479b.

423. On the poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 330; regarding the following verses, cf. al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 213; Geyer, *The Dīwān of al-A'shà*, p. 280.

and benefit those who are in distress.
Of Quraysh they are the most deserving of it
(i.e., the Caliphate),
in good times and in bad.

'Abd al-Malik said, "I do not know that anyone had a stronger hold on this rule than I. Ibn al-Zubayr prayed long and fasted much, but, because of his avarice, he was not fitted to be a leader."

The Caliphate of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik

The Events of the Year 86 (cont'd)

(JANUARY 2–DECEMBER 22, 705)

In this year the oath of allegiance was taken to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik as caliph. It has been mentioned that, when he had buried his father, he departed from his grave, entered the mosque, and ascended the pulpit. The people gathered to him, and he made an address. He said, "To God we belong and to Him shall we return. God is the One Whose aid is sought against our loss at the death of the Commander of the Faithful. Praise be to God for having bountifully bestowed the caliphate on us. Stand and take the oath of allegiance." The first to stand for the oath was 'Abdallāh b. Hammām al-Salūlī. He stood, saying (*rajaz*):[424]

God has given you that which cannot be excelled;
    heretics have wished to divert it
From you, but God insisted on leading it
    to you, until he invested you with its neck ring.

And he took the oath of allegiance to him. Then the people followed one another in taking the oath. [1178]

As for al-Wāqidī, he mentioned that al-Walīd, when he came back from the burial of his father—he was buried outside Bāb al-

424. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *AAC*, p. 27; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, vol. IV, p. 411; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 70.

Jābiyah[425]—did not go into his house but [instead] ascended the pulpit of Damascus, praised God and extolled Him as He deserves, and then said,[426] "O people, there can be no hastening of that which God has delayed, nor any delaying of that which God has hastened. Death is part of God's decree, of His prior knowledge, and of what He has written for His prophets and the bearers of His throne. The one charged with this community has taken to the dwelling places of the pious that which justifies for God [whatever He may dispense] by way of severity toward him who occasions doubt and gentleness toward the people of right and merit, [the people who] establish such of the beacon of Islam and its waymarks as God has established, by making the pilgrimage to this House, campaigning against these frontier ways of access, and waging these wars on the enemy of God. He (i.e., 'Abd al-Malik) was neither incapable nor remiss. O people, incumbent upon you are obedience and cleaving to the collective body, for Satan is with the individual. O people, he who reveals to us his inner thoughts (that is, of opposition), we shall smite that in which his eyes are; and he who remains silent will die of his malady (that is, of his rancor)."[427] Then he descended, looked at what there was of the . . .[428] of the caliphate, and took it for himself. He was a froward tyrant.[429]

In this year Qutaybah b. Muslim arrived in Khurasan as governor on behalf of al-Ḥajjāj.

[1179] According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Kulayb b. Khalaf—Ṭufayl b. Mirdās al-'Ammī and al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd—Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-'Ammī—his paternal uncle: I saw Qutaybah b. Muslim when he arrived in Khurasan in the year 86. He arrived while al-Mufaḍḍal, who intended to campaign in Akharūn and Shūmān,[430] was reviewing the army. Qutaybah addressed the people and urged them

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425. The west gate of Damascus (*EI*², s.v. Dimashḳ [vol. II, p. 279]), al-Jābiyah itself being situated about 80 km to the south of Damascus (*EI*², s.v. al-Djābiya).

426. Cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, vol. IV, p. 91, for what follows.

427. Also in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 338, and *Kitab al-'uyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iq*, p. 2.

428. The text gives here *al-dawābb*, "the riding animals" (as does Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 70), which can hardly be right.

429. To use Arberry's rendering of the expression *jabbār 'anīd*, which occurs in the Qur'ān (11:59=62, 14:15=18); cf. al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, vol. V, p. 360 = par. 2114.

430. See above, n. 336 (first part).

to wage holy war. He said, "God has caused you to alight in this place so that He may make His religion strong, protect sacred things by means of you, and through you increase the abundance of wealth and the meting out of harsh treatment to the enemy. He promised His Prophet, may God bless him, in true speech and an articulate book and said, 'It is He who has sent His Messenger with the guidance and the religion of truth, that He may make it victorious over all religion, though the unbelievers be averse';[431] and He promised those who strive on His path the best reward and the greatest resource with Him. He said, 'That is because they are smitten neither by thirst, nor fatigue, nor emptiness on the path of God' up to where He says, 'the best of what they were doing.'[432] Then He gave the information concerning him who is killed on His path, that he is alive and provided for. He said, 'Count not those who were slain on God's path as dead, but rather living with their Lord, by Him provided.'[433] So fulfill the promise of your Lord and habituate yourselves to the greatest of distances and the sharpest[434] of pains; and beware of looking for easy ways out."[435]

What Happened to Qutaybah in Khurasan in This Year[436]

Qutaybah then reviewed the army, complete with weapons and animals, and went off, having deputed at Marw over its military [1180] affairs (*ḥarb*) Iyās b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr and over its taxation (*kharāj*) 'Uthmān b. al-Sa'dī. When he was at al-Ṭālaqān, he was met by the dihqāns of Balkh and some of their dignitaries, who went with him. When he crossed the river, he was met with gifts and a gold key[437] by Tīsh[438] al-A'war, the king of al-Ṣaghāniyān, who invited him to his country. Then there came to him[439] with

431. Qur'ān, 9:33, 61:9.
432. Qur'ān, 9:120f. = 121–22.
433. Qur'ān, 3:169 = 163.
434. Reading *amaḍḍ* in place of *amḍā*.
435. This address is given in abbreviated form by Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 217).
436. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 31–32.
437. Thus too in al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 419); "keys," according to Ibn al-Athīr.
438. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda* (see Marquart, *Ērānsāhr*, pp. 70, 226–27); see also the remarks of Bosworth, "The Rulers of Chaghāniyān in Early Islamic Times," *Iran* 19 (1981), p. 17, n. 10.

gifts and wealth the king of Guftān,[440] who [also] invited him to his country. He went with Tīsh to al-Ṣaghāniyān and handed his country [back] to him. [Now] the king of Akharūn and Shūmān had been a bad neighbor to Tīsh, having campaigned against him and hemmed him in; Qutaybah went to Akharūn and Shūmān, which [formed part] of Ṭukhāristān,[441] and Ghushtāsbān[442] came to him and made peace with him in return for tribute which he made over to him. Qutaybah accepted it and was satisfied.

Then he departed for Marw and deputed over the army his brother, Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim; he went ahead of his troops and reached Marw before them. After Qutaybah's return [to Marw], Ṣāliḥ conquered . . . ;[443] he was accompanied by Naṣr b. Sayyār, who showed valor on that day, and he gave him a village called Tinjānah.[444] Then Ṣāliḥ went to Qutaybah, who appointed him over al-Tirmidh.

['Alī b. Muḥammad] said: As for the Bāhilīs, they say [that] Qutaybah arrived in Khurasan in the year 85. He reviewed the army and the total of the coats of mail they counted was 350. He
[1181] campaigned against Akharūn and Shūmān, and then came back; he embarked in boats, went downstream to Āmul, and left the army, which took the Balkh road to Marw. [News of that] reached al-Ḥajjāj, who wrote to him blaming him and impugning his decision to leave his army. He wrote to him, "If you are on campaign, be at the head of the people; if you come back, be among the last of them and [in] the rear guard."

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439. Ignoring the second component of *fa-atā-hu wa-atā*.

440. See above, n. 356.

441. In this connection, Wellhausen noted (*Arab Kingdom*, p. 430) that, while Ṭukhāristān was "properly speaking, the mountainous country on both sides of the middle Oxus as far as Badakhshân . . . usually only the country south of the Oxus is understood under this name." Barthold states simply that "the term 'Ṭurkhāristān' was also used in a much broader sense to embrace all the provinces on both shores of the Amu-Darya which were economically dependent on Balkh" (*Turkestan*[3], p. 68).

442. Following Marquart's reading (*Ērānsāhr*, p. 226), rather than the form given in the text (cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 372).

443. Two unclear components. According to the *Addenda et Emendanda*, the first of these is to be read as Bāsārā or Bāsārān, on which see Marquart, *Ērānsāhr*, p. 227 (for further discussion, see Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 70, n. 1); note, however, that the parallel passage in al-Balādhurī's *Futūḥ* (p. 420) reads "Kāsān and Ūrasht (leg. Ūrast) in Farghānah."

444. Not even Marquart knows more about this place.

It has been said that, before he crossed the river, Qutaybah in this year stayed [to take action] against Balkh, because some of it was in revolt against him and had waged open war against the Muslims. He accordingly fought its people, and one of the captives was the wife of Barmak, the father of Khālid b. Barmak; Barmak was in charge of al-Nawbahār.[445] [This woman] fell to the lot of ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim, called al-Faqīr ("the poor one"),[446] the brother of Qutaybah b. Muslim, and he had sexual relations with her; he suffered from elephantiasis. Then the people of Balkh made peace on the day after Qutaybah had made war on them, and Qutaybah ordered that the captives be returned. Barmak's wife said to ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim, "O Arab, I have conceived by you," and ʿAbdallāh, who was at death's door, made a testamentary disposition that what was in her womb should be brought to him. She was returned to Barmak.

It has been mentioned that, in the days of al-Mahdī, when [the latter] arrived at al-Rayy, the descendants of ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim went to Khālid [b. Barmak] and asserted his relationship to them. Muslim b. Qutaybah said to them, "If you claim him as a relative and that is formalized, you will have to provide him with a wife [from your family]," so they left him and turned away from their claim.

Barmak was a physician: He subsequently cured Maslamah [b. ʿAbd al-Malik] of a malady he was suffering from.

In this year Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik made a campaign in Byzantine territory.

In it, too, al-Ḥajjāj imprisoned Yazīd b. al-Muhallab; he also [1182]
dismissed Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab from Kirmān and ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab from [the command of] his police.

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was Hishām b. Ismāʿīl al-Makhzūmī: Thus it was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā on the authority of Abū Maʿshar; and al-Wāqidī said the

445. See *EI*², s.v. al-Barāmika, and R. W. Bulliet, "Naw Barār and the Survival of Iranian Buddhism," *Iran* 14 (1976), pp. 140–45.

446. According to al-Thaʿālibī, he acquired this sobriquet because of his persistent pleading of poverty when importuning Qutaybah for extra shares of booty (*Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, p. 40 [English trans., p. 59]).

same. The amīr over the whole of Iraq and the whole of the East was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf; over civilian affairs (*ṣalāt*) at al-Kūfah was al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Aqīl, and over military affairs (*ḥarb*) there, on behalf of al-Ḥajjāj, was Ziyād b. Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh; over al-Baṣrah was Ayyūb b. al-Ḥakam;[447] and over Khurasan was Qutaybah b. Muslim.

447. See above, n. 82.

The Events of the Year 87

(December 23, 705–December 11, 706)

In this year al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik dismissed Hishām b. Ismā'īl from Medina. [Notice of] his dismissal arrived [there], according to what has been mentioned, on the night of Sunday, 7 Rabī' I (February 26) in the year 87. His governorship there lasted four years, less a month or so.

[*The Appointment of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz as Governor of Medina*]

In this year, too, al-Walīd put 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in charge of Medina.

Al-Wāqidī said: He arrived there as governor in the month of Rabī' I, aged twenty-five, having been born in the year 62 (681–82). [Al-Wāqidī also] said: He arrived [with his baggage] on thirty camels and stopped at Dār Marwān.[448]

According to [al-Wāqidī]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Zinād—

448. Which apparently served as the governor's residence. The Marwān in question was Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who had himself served two terms as governor of Medina (de Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 24); for an earlier reference to his *dār*, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ser. ii, p. 164, 1.6.

[1183] his father: When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz arrived at Medina and stopped at Dār Marwān, the people came into his presence and greeted [him]. When he had prayed the noontime prayer, he summoned ten of the jurisprudents of Medina, [namely,] 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah, Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Abū Bakr b. Sulaymān b. Abī Ḥathmah,[449] Sulaymān b. Yasār, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, Sālim b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Rabī'ah, and Khārijah b. Zayd. They entered into his presence and sat down. He then praised God and extolled Him as He deserves, and said, "I have summoned you for a matter for which you will be rewarded and in which you will be helpers [in achieving] what is right. I do not wish to make any decision without [knowing] your opinion or [at least] the opinion of those of you who are present. If you see anyone transgressing, or [information about] injustice on the part of [any] [sub]governor of mine reaches you, I entreat you, in such circumstances, to inform me." Then they went out, saying, "May God reward you with good," and dispersed.

[Abū Ja'far?] said: Al-Walīd wrote to 'Umar, instructing him to make Hishām b. Ismā'īl stand before the people; [al-Walīd] had a poor opinion of [Hishām].

Al-Wāqidī said: Dāwūd b. Jubayr said: The *umm walad*[450] of Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab informed me that Sa'īd summoned his son and his mawlās and said, "This man will be made to stand before the people, or has been, and let no one confront him or harm him with a [single] word; we shall leave that to God and [his] kindred, even if what I know is no good for him. As for speaking to him, I shall never speak to him."

[Al-Wāqidī] said: Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar related to me on the authority of his father: Hishām b.
[1184] Ismā'īl used to be a bad neighbor and harm us; 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn[451] met with serious harm from him. When [Hishām] was dismissed, al-Walīd ordered that he be made to stand before the people, and he said, "I fear only 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn." 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn went past him when he had been made to stand at Dār Marwān, having previously told his intimates that no one of them should confront

449. Ḥathmah is proposed by the *Addenda et Emendanda* in preference to Khaythamah. For Khārijah cf. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 41–42.

450. Cf. above, n. 416.

451. I.e., 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn, grandson of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Hishām with a [single] word. When ['Alī] passed, Hishām b. Ismā'īl called out to him, "God knows very well where to place His messages."[452]

In this year Nīzak went to Qutaybah, and Qutaybah made peace with the people of Bādghīs on the basis that he would not enter it.

[*Qutaybah's Peace Agreement with the People of Bādghīs*][453]

'Alī b. Muḥammad mentioned that Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jushamī informed him on the authority of Khurasani shaykhs and Jabalah b. Farrūkh on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā that there were Muslim prisoners in the hands of Nīzak Ṭarkhān. When Qutaybah made peace with the king of Shūmān, he wrote to [Nīzak] concerning those Muslim prisoners whom he had, [telling him] to release them and threatening him in his letter. Nīzak feared him, set the prisoners free, and sent them to Qutaybah. Qutaybah then sent to him Sulaym al-Nāṣiḥ, mawlā of 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah, calling him to peace and a safe-conduct. [Qutaybah] also sent him a letter in which he swore by God that, if [Nīzak] did not go to him, he would campaign against him and pursue him wherever he might be, not turning back from him until he either defeated him or died before so doing. Sulaym brought [1185] Qutaybah's letter to Nīzak, and [Nīzak] took to seeking [Sulaym's] advice. He said to him, "O Sulaym, I do not think that your friend has any good [in mind]. He has written to me a letter [of the sort] that should not be written to someone like me." Sulaym said to him, "O Abū al-Hayyāj, this man is severe in his government, easygoing when he is treated gently, and difficult when he is treated badly. Do not let the coarseness of his letter prevent you from [going to] him. You will be very well treated by him and by all of Muḍar." Nīzak accordingly went with Sulaym to Qutaybah and, the people of Bādghīs made peace with [Qutaybah] in the year 87 on the basis that he would not enter Bādghīs.

In this year Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik campaigned in Byzan-

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452. Thus, too, in al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 339; cf. Qur'ān, 6:124 (which has *risālatahu*, in the singular). The remark was presumably intended as a compliment to 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn in his capacity as a member of the Ahl al-Bayt.

453. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, p. 32.

tine territory accompanied by Yazīd b. Jubayr.[454] He encountered a large force of Byzantines at Sūsanah[455] in the region of al-Maṣṣīṣah.

Al-Wāqidī said: In [this year] Maslamah encountered Maymūn al-Jurjumānī[456]—with Maslamah there were about one thousand fighting men from the people of Anṭākiyah[457]—at Ṭuwānah.[458] He killed many of [the enemy], and at his hands God conquered fortresses.

It has been said that the person who campaigned against the Byzantines in this year was Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, at whose hands God conquered the fortress of Būlaq, the fortress of al-Akhram, and the fortress of Būlus and Qumqum.[459] He killed about one thousand *musta'ribah*[460] fighting men and took their offspring and women captive.

In this year Qutaybah campaigned against Paykand.[461]

Report of [Qutaybah's] Campaign [against Paykand]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Abū 'l-Dhayyāl—al-Muhallab
[1186] b. Iyās—his father—Ḥusayn b. Mujāhid al-Rāzī and Hārūn b. 'Īsā—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq and others: When Qutaybah made peace with Nīzak, he stayed [put] until the time for campaigning,[462] and then in that year—the year 87—he campaigned against

454. Who seems to be otherwise unknown.

455. I.e., Sision: See Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 191, and Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 115, from which it emerges (i) that this action must have taken place earlier than A.H. 87, and (ii) that the Arabs suffered a serious defeat.

456. Thus in the *Addenda et Emendanda*, in preference to the "al-Jurijānī" given in the text. This is Maymūn the Mardaite, who, contrary to what is implied here, was fighting on the Arab side against the Byzantines: See Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," pp. 191, 203; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 116; *EI*², s.v. Djarādjima (vol. II, p. 457a).

457. I.e., Antioch (see *EI*², s.v. Anṭākiya).

458. I.e., Tyana: See Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 191; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 116.

459. The rendering of these place names is tentative, and they appear to be unidentified (Khalīfah gives *twl.q*, and Ibn Kathīr gives *q.myq.m*).

460. Defined by Lammens (in a somewhat earlier context) as "tribus arabes raliées à Byzance at au christianisme" ("Le califat de Yazīd 1 er," pp. 606–7).

461. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 33–34; Narshakhī, *The History of Bukhara*, (trans. Frye), pp. 43ff.

462. Which, as becomes apparent below, was at the very beginning of spring.

Paykand. He went from Marw to Marw Rūdh to Āmul to Zamm,[463] crossed the river, and went to Paykand, which is the nearest of the cities of Bukhārā to the river and is called the City of the Merchants; it is at the end of the desert [adjacent to?] Bukhārā. When he stopped in the surrounding area, [the people of Paykand] asked the Soghdians for help and sought reinforcements from around them, and large numbers came to them, taking the road. No messenger of Qutaybah's could be sent off, nor could [any] messenger get to him; for two months no news reached him. Al-Ḥajjāj found news of him slow [in coming] and feared for the army. He ordered the people to make invocations for them in the mosques and wrote to this effect to the *amṣār*. [Qutaybah and his men] were fighting every day.

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Qutaybah had a non-Arab spy called Tīdhar,[464] to whom the people of Upper Bukhārā gave money on [the understanding] that he would remove Qutaybah from them. [Tīdhar] came to [Qutaybah] and said, "Let me be alone with you," and the people [present] stood up [and left, although] Qutaybah kept Ḍirār b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ḍabbī back. Tīdhar said, "[There is] a [new] governor coming to you, for al-Ḥajjāj has been dismissed; you ought to go off with the people to Marw." Qutaybah called for Siyāh, his mawlā, and said, "Behead Tīdhar!" and he killed him. Then he said to Ḍirār, "There remains no one who knows this report but you and me, and I give God a covenant [1187] that, if this story comes out before this war of ours is finished, I shall make you join [Tīdhar]. Control your tongue, for the spreading of this story will weaken the forearms of the people."[465]

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Then [those who had earlier been present] came in and were alarmed by the killing of Tīdhar. They stayed silent, with downcast eyes, and Qutaybah said, "Do not be alarmed by the killing of a slave who has been destroyed by God." They said, "We thought that he was a sincere adviser to the Muslims." He said, "On the contrary, he was advising insincerely. God has destroyed him for his crime, and he has gone on his way. Go and fight your enemies, and encounter them with

463. See above, nn. 344 and 346.

464. This seems to be the likeliest rendering (see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 324), the other forms given being T.ndh.r, Y.tdh.r, T.nd.r, and B.nd.r.

465. Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 219, gives a longer account of this.

[something] other than that with which you have been encountering them."[466]

The people then went off, readying themselves, and formed their lines. Qutaybah went and spurred on the flag bearers, and there was some fighting with spears. [The fighters] then came together, and swords were used to good effect; God sent fortitude down to the Muslims, and they fought them until the sun had set. Then God gave the Muslims the upper hand, and [their opponents] were routed, heading for the city. The Muslims followed them and distracted them from entering [the city]. They scattered, and the Muslims came upon them, killing and taking prisoners at will.

The few who had entered the city preserved themselves in it, and Qutaybah set workmen onto the foundation [of its wall] in order to demolish it. They asked him for a peace, and he made peace with them, appointing over them one of his sons.[467] [Then] he went away from them, intending to return [to Khurasan], but, when he had gone a stage or two and was five parasangs distant from them, they broke faith, killed the governor and his companions, and cut off their noses and ears. [This] reached Qutaybah, who returned to them, they having fortified themselves, and fought them for a month. Then he set the workmen onto the foundation of [the wall of] the city, and they [excavated it and]
[1188] propped it up with wood; [Qutaybah] intended, when the [work of excavating and] propping was finished, to set fire to the wood so that [the wall] might be demolished. But the wall fell down while they were still propping it up, and forty of the workmen were killed. [The people in the city now] sought peace, but he refused, fought them, took [the city] by force of arms, and killed those fighting men who were in it. Among those taken in the city was a one-eyed man who had been responsible for mobilizing the Turks against the Muslims, and he said to Qutaybah, "I shall ransom myself." Sulaym al-Nāṣiḥ said, "What will you give?" He said, "Five thousand pieces of Chinese silk worth one million [dirhams]." Qutaybah said [to his men], "What do you think?"

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466. That is, fight them more strongly.

467. So rendering *rajul*^{an} *min banī Qutaybah*; thus too *apud* Khalīfah (*Ta'rīkh*, p. 303); however, Narshakhī (*The History of Bukhara*, p. 44) names the man appointed as Warqā' b. Naṣr al-Bāhilī, a name known also to al-Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 342), albeit not specifically in the context of Paykand.

They said, "We think that his ransom will augment the booty of the Muslims. What mischief can this [fellow] possibly do?" Qutaybah said [to the man], "No, by God, no Muslim woman will ever be frightened by you," and he gave the order, and he was killed.[468]

According to ʿAlī [b. Muḥammad]—Abū al-Dhayyāl—al-Muhallab b. Iyās—his father and al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd—Ṭufayl b. Mirdās: When Qutaybah conquered Paykand, they there came upon innumerable gold and silver vessels. He put in charge of the booty and the division ʿAbdallāh b. Wa'lān al-ʿAdawī, [who was] one of the Banū al-Malakān and was called by Qutaybah "the trustworthy one, the son of the trustworthy one," and Iyās b. Bayhas al-Bāhilī. They melted down the vessels and the idols and presented [the resultant bullion] to Qutaybah. They also presented to him the dross of what they had melted down, and he gave it to them. They were then given forty thousand [dirhams] for it, and they told [Qutaybah]. [At this, Qutaybah] changed his mind and ordered them to melt down [the dross]. They did so, and there emerged from it one hundred fifty thousand *mithqāls*, or fifty thousand *mithqāls*.[469]

They acquired much at Paykand. From Paykand there came into the hands of the Muslims [booty] the like of which they had [1189] never acquired in Khurasan. Qutaybah returned to Marw, and the Muslims became strong. They bought weapons and horses, and riding animals were procured for them. They competed with one another in fine attire and equipment, and they bought weapons at high prices, until the [price of a] spear reached seventy [dirhams].[470] Al-Kumayt said (*basīṭ*):[471]

And the battle day of Paykand, the wonders of which
cannot be enumerated,
and Bukhārā did not fall short of that.

468. A similar account of this one-eyed prisoner is given by Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 224).

469. A *mithqāl* being approximately 4.4 g (see *EI*², s.v. Makāyil and Mawāzīn). The figure of 150,000 *mithqāls* is reflected in Narshakhī's report (p. 45) of the total amount of treasure taken (rather than what issued from the dross, which he does not mention).

470. Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 221) adds here that the price of a coat of mail reached 700 dirhams (cf. Narshakhī's remark that "a spear was worth fifty *dirhams*, a shield fifty or sixty, and a coat of mail seven hundred *dirhams*" [p. 46]).

471. *EI*², s.v. al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 347ff. The following verse is also given in *Shi'r al-Kumayt*, no. 147.

In the treasuries were many weapons and much war matériel. Qutaybah wrote to al-Ḥajjāj seeking his permission to hand out these weapons to the troops, and he gave him permission. They brought out such war matériel and traveling equipment as was in the treasuries; he divided it out, and they equipped themselves. When springtime came, he summoned the people and said, "I am going to take you on campaign [now], before you need to carry provisions, and I shall bring you back before you need warm clothes"; and he set off finely equipped with riding animals and weapons. He went to Āmul and crossed from Zamm to Bukhārā; he went to Tūmushkath,[472] in Bukhārā [territory], and [its people] made peace with him.

According to 'Alī [b. Muḥammad]—Abū al-Dhayyāl—shaykhs from the Banū 'Adī: [Qutaybah's father,] Muslim al-Bāhilī, [had earlier] said to Wa'lān, "I have [some] money I should like to deposit with you." [Wa'lān] said, "Do you want it to be kept secret, or do you not mind the people knowing?" [Muslim] said,
[1190] "I should like to keep it secret." [Wa'lān] said, "Send it with a man you trust to such-and-such a place and tell him that, when he sees a man in that place, he is to put down what he has with him and depart." "Yes," said Muslim, and he put the money in a saddlebag, loaded it on a mule, and said to a mawlā of his, "Set off with this mule to such-and-such a place and, when you see a man sitting, leave the mule and depart." The man set off with the mule. [Meanwhile] Wa'lān had reached the place at the appointed time, while Muslim's messenger was slow in getting to him. The time appointed by Wa'lān was past, and he thought that [Muslim must have] changed his mind; so he departed. There [now] came to that place a man from the Banū Taghlib and, [when] Muslim's mawlā came, he saw [the Taghlibī] sitting, left the mule, and returned [home]. The Taghlibī went up to the mule and, when he saw the money and did not see anyone with the mule, he led it to his house and took possession of both the mule and the money. Muslim thought that the money had gone to Wa'lān, and he did not ask him about it until he needed it. Then he met him and said, "My money." [Wa'lān] said, "I did not receive anything. I don't have any money of yours."

472. So reading *nūmushakath*, following Wellhausen (*Kingdom*, p. 434) and Gibb (*Arab Conquests*, p. 34); Barthold (*Turkestan*[3], p. 132, citing Yāqūt) identifies it as a "neighbourhood of Bukhara."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Muslim used to complain of [Wa'lān] and speak ill of him.

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: He came one day to a gathering (*majlis*) of the Banū Ḍubay'ah and complained of him. The Taghlibī was sitting [there], went up to him, spoke to him in private and asked him about the money, and then told him [that he had it]. He took [Muslim] to his house, brought out the saddlebag, and said, "Do you recognize it?" "Yes," said Muslim. "And the seal?" "Yes," said Muslim. "Take your money," said [the Taghlibī], and he told him the story [of how he had come by it]. Muslim went to the people and the tribes to whom he had complained of Wa'lān, exonerating him and telling them the story. Concerning Wa'lān, the poet says (*ṭawīl*):

I am not like Wa'lān, who was a leader in piety, [1191]
and I am not like 'Imrān or like al-Muhallab.

[This] 'Imrān [was 'Imrān] b. al-Faḍīl al-Burjumī.[473]

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year, according to what Aḥmad b. Thābit related to me on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on the authority of Abū Ma'shar, was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was the amīr over Medina. Over the judiciary of Medina in this year was Abū Bakr b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, on behalf of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Over Iraq and the whole of the East was al-Ḥajjāj; his deputy over al-Baṣrah in this year was, according to what has been said, al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī, while 'Abdallāh b. Udhaynah was in charge of the judiciary [there]; his governor over military affairs (*ḥarb*) at al-Kūfah was Ziyād b. Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh, while Abū Bakr b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī was over the judiciary [there]; over Khurasan was Qutaybah b. Muslim.

473. An early Arab campaigner in the East (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ser. i, pp. 2830–31).

The Events of the Year 88

(DECEMBER 12, 706–NOVEMBER 30, 707)

Among them was God's conquest for the Muslims of one of the fortresses of the Byzantines, called Ṭuwānah, in Jumādā II (May–June); they spent the winter there. In command of the army were Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.

Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī mentioned that Thawr b. Yazīd
[1192] related to him on the authority of his companions: The conquest of Ṭuwānah was [effected] at the hands of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd. The Muslims inflicted an [initial] defeat on the enemy on that day. [The enemy] went to their church and then returned, and [the Muslims] suffered a defeat from which they thought they would never recover. Al-'Abbās remained with a party [of men], including Ibn Muḥayrīz al-Jumaḥī. He said to Ibn Muḥayrīz, "Where are the people of the Qur'ān who desire Paradise?" Ibn Muḥayrīz said, "If you call them, they will come to you." Al-'Abbās called, "O people of the Qur'ān!" and they all came forward. Then God defeated the enemy until they went into Ṭuwānah.[474] Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik

474. Cf. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 192; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 116ff.

had required the people of Medina to provide levies in this year.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—his father: Makhramah b. Sulaymān al-Wālibī said: He required them to produce two thousand [levies]. They stipulated among themselves to give pay to such of them as would serve as substitutes,[475] and fifteen hundred set out and 500 stayed behind. They made the summer campaign with Maslamah and al-'Abbās, who were in command of the army; and they wintered at Ṭuwānah and conquered it.

In [this year] al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik was born.

[*Reconstruction of the Mosque of Medina*]

In [this year] al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik ordered the pulling down of the mosque of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, and the pulling down of the rooms of the wives of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, and the incorporation of them into the mosque.

Muḥammad b. 'Umar mentioned that Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Wardān al-Bannā' (i.e., "the builder") said: I saw the messenger sent by al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. He arrived in the month of Rabī' I in the year 88 (February–March 707), with a turban wound round his head. He entered into the presence of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz bearing al-Walīd's letter ordering him to incorporate the [1193] rooms of the wives of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, into the mosque, and to buy [the land, etc.] behind it and beside it so that it might [measure] two hundred cubits by two hundred cubits. He also said to him [in the letter]: "Move the *qiblah* [wall] forward, if you are able, and you *are* able, because of the standing of your maternal uncles;[476] they will not go against you. If any of them objects, order the people of the *miṣr* to estimate a fair value for him. Then demolish and pay them the prices. You have good precedents [for this in the actions of] 'Umar and 'Uthmān." ['Umar] had [the uncles] read the letter, they being with him; the people agreed to the price, and he gave them it and began to pull down the rooms of the wives of the Prophet, may God bless and preserve him, and to build the mosque. Soon afterward there arrived the workmen sent by al-Walīd.

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475. All of this being the sense of *tajā'alū*; (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).
476. 'Umar's mother being a descendant of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Mūsā b. Ya'qūb—his paternal uncle: I saw 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz pulling down the mosque; with him were [such] leading people [as] al-Qāsim, Sālim, Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith, 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah, Khārijah b. Zayd, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, showing him key features (*al-a'lām*) in the mosque and taking measurements. They laid its foundation.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Yaḥyā b. al-Nu'mān al-Ghifārī—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: When al-Walīd's letter came from Damascus—it took fifteen [nights][477]—with the order to pull down the mosque, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz applied himself to the task with vigor.

Ṣāliḥ said: He put me in charge of pulling it down and [re-]building it. We pulled it down using the workers of Medina,
[1194] and we began to pull down the rooms of the wives of the Prophet, may God bless and preserve him. [This went on] until there came to us the workmen sent by al-Walīd.

According to Muḥammad—Mūsā b. Abī Bakr—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: We started pulling down the mosque of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, in Ṣafar in the year 88 (January–February 707). Al-Walīd sent [word] to the Byzantine Emperor informing him that he had ordered the pulling down of the mosque of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, and [asking him] to help him in [that regard]. [The Byzantine Emperor] sent to him one hundred thousand *mithqāl*s of gold, one hundred workers, and forty loads of mosaic; he ordered that mosaic be sought in cities that had been ruined and sent it to al-Walīd. Al-Walīd sent [all] that on to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.[478]

In this year 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz began building the mosque.[479]

In it, too, Maslamah campaigned against the Byzantines. Three fortresses were conquered at his hands: the fortress of Qusṭanṭīn, [the fortress of] Ghazālah, and the fortress of al-Akhram; and he killed about a thousand of the *musta'ribah*,[480] along with taking

477. Following the suggestions made in the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

478. On this *locus classicus*, see Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate," pp. 52ff.

479. Al-Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 340 [where the same figures are given for *mithqāls*, etc.]) notes that the work was finished in A.H. 90.

480. See above, n. 460.

the offspring captive and appropriating wealth.[481]

In this year Qutaybah campaigned against Tūmushkath and Rāmīthanah.[482]

[Qutaybah's] Campaign [against Tūmushkath and Rāmīthanah]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab—his father and Muṣʿab b. Ḥayyān—a mawlā of theirs: Qutaybah [1195] campaigned against Tūmushkath in the year 88, having deputed over Marw Bashshār b. Muslim. Its people met him, and he made peace with them. Then he went to Rāmīthanah and its people made peace with him, and he departed from them. [At this point], the Turks, accompanied by the Soghdians and the people of Farghānah, marched on him and tried to intercept the Muslims while they were on their way. They caught up with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, who was in command of the rear guard, there being a [distance of an Arab] mile[483] between him [on the one hand] and Qutaybah and the troops at the front [on the other]. When they drew near to him, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān sent a messenger with his report to Qutaybah. The Turks came toward him and fought him. The messenger reached Qutaybah, who came back with [reinforcements] and joined ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was [still] fighting them. The Turks had almost gained mastery over them, but when [the Muslims fighting them] saw Qutaybah, they took heart, showed fortitude, and fought them until noontime. Nīzak, who was with Qutaybah, showed valor on that day, and God defeated the Turks and dispersed them. Qutaybah went back, heading for Marw: He crossed the river by way of al-Tirmidh, heading for Balkh, and reached Marw.

The Bāhilīs said: In command of the Turks [when] they engaged the Muslims was Kūrbaghānūn[484] al-Turkī, the son of the sister

481. Cf. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 192, where Ghazālah is identified as Gazelon. There are problems of chronology here (see Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 118n.).

482. On Tūmushkath, see above, n. 472. Rāmīthanah was one of the districts of Bukhārā and contained a fortified village of the same name (Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 116); cf. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, pp. 304–5.

483. Ca. two kilometers.

484. See Marquart, "Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften," p.

of the king of China. [His force numbered] two hundred thousand [men], over whom God gave the Muslims victory.[485]

In this year al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik wrote to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz concerning making the mountain passes easier and digging wells in the [Ḥijāzī] territories.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ibn Abī Sabrah—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: Al-Walīd wrote to 'Umar concerning making the mountain passes easier and digging wells at Medina, and his letters to that [effect] went out to [all the] Muslim territories; al-Walīd also wrote to Khālid b. 'Abdallān [al-Qasrī] to that [effect]. [Ibn Kaysān?] said: He stopped those with elephantiasis from going out among the people and arranged for allowances to be allocated to them.

[1196]

Ibn Abī Sabrah said on the authority of Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: Al-Walīd wrote to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz [telling him] to construct the drinking fountain which is today at the house of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. 'Umar constructed it and caused its water to flow. When al-Walīd made the pilgrimage, he stopped at it, looked at the building and the drinking fountain [itself], and was pleased by them. He ordered that it should have superintendents to look after it and that the people of the mosque should be given to drink from it. That was done.

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in the account of Muḥammad b. 'Umar. He mentioned that Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Jubayr, mawlā of the Banū al-'Abbās, related to him on the authority of Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz took out in that year—meaning the year 88—a number of Quraysh to whom he had sent gifts and baggage camels. They entered into a state of *iḥrām* with him at Dhū al-Ḥulayfah,[486] and he led with him animals for sacrifice. When they were at al-Tan'īm,[487] they were met by some Qurashīs, in-

182 [where [*pace* the *Addenda et Emendanda*] the readings Kūrbaghānūn and Kūrmaghānūn are proposed], and, more recently, Frye's remarks [Narshakhī, *The History of Bukhara*, pp. 133–34, n. 178].

485. Gibb [*Arab Conquests*, p. 35] casts doubt on the historicity of this report.

486. A settlement six or seven *mīl* [ca. twelve or fourteen km] from Medina [Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 324].

487. A place two parasangs [ca. twelve km] from Mecca [Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. I, p. 879].

cluding Ibn Abī Mulaykah and others, who informed him that Mecca was short of water and that they feared for the pilgrims in respect of thirst; [the reason for] that [was] that the rain had been scanty. 'Umar said, "What is wanted here is clear. Come! We shall call [upon] God." [Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān] said: I saw them doing so, and he with them, and they were insistent in the[ir] prayer. Ṣāliḥ said: And, by God, no sooner had we reached the House on that [1197] day than it was raining, which it did into the nighttime; the heavens opened, the flash flood came down the valley, and there came about a situation that the people of Mecca feared. 'Arafah, Minā, and Jam'[488] were washed out, and could only [be reached] by bridging. [Ṣāliḥ] said: Mecca produced plants that year, because of the fertility.

As for Abū Ma'shar, he said: The leader of the pilgrimage in the year 88 was 'Umar b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. That was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit on the authority of he who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on his (i.e., Abū Ma'shar's) authority.

The governors over the *amṣār* in this year were the same as those we have mentioned as governors in the year 87.

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488. Jam' is synonymous with al-Muzdalifah (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 118); Ibn al-Athīr reads "Arafah and Mecca," while Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 75) gives "Arafah, Muzdalifah and Minā."

The Events of the Year 89

(December 1, 707–November 19, 708)

Among them was the conquest by the Muslims in this year of the fortress of Sūriyah; in command of the army was Maslamah b. 'Abd al-malik.

Al-Wāqidī claimed that Maslamah campaigned in this year in Byzantine territory, accompanied by al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd, [that] they entered it together and then separated, and [that] Maslamah conquered the fortress of Sūriyah, while al-'Abbās conquered Adhrūliyyah and encountered a body of Byzantines and defeated them.

[An authority] other than al-Wāqidī has said that Maslamah
[1198] headed for 'Ammūriyyah, where he encountered a large body of Byzantines. God defeated them, and he conquered Hiraqlah and Qamūdiyyah. Al-'Abbās made the summer campaign from the direction of al-Budandūn.[489]

In this year Qutaybah campaigned in Bukhārā and conquered Rāmīthanah.

'Alī b. Muḥammad mentioned on the authority of the Bāhilīs

489. The identifications are Isauria, Dorylaion, Amorion, Herakleia, Kamouliana, and Podendon, respectively (see Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," pp. 192–93; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 118, 134 [map]).

that they said that and [that they said] that he returned, after he had conquered it, by way of Balkh. When he was at al-Fāryāb, there came to him al-Ḥajjāj's letter telling him to go to Wardān Khudhāh;[490] Qutaybah accordingly went back in the year 89. He went to Zamm, crossed the river, and was encountered on the desert road by the Soghdians and the people of Kish and Nasaf. They fought him, and he defeated them, went to Bukhārā, and stopped at Lower Kharqānah,[491] on Wardān's right. They engaged him with a large force, and he fought them for two days and nights; then God granted victory over them. Nahār b. Tawsi'ah said (*ṭawīl*):[492]

They had a [long] night from us at Kharqān,
and our night at Kharqān was [even] longer.

'Alī [b. Muḥammad] said: According to (i) Abū al-Dhayyāl—al-Muhallab b. Iyās, and (ii) Abū al-'Alā'—Idrīs b. Ḥanẓalah: [1199]
Qutaybah campaigned against Wardān Khudhāh, the king of Bukhārā, in the year 89, made no headway against him, and did not conquer any of his territory. He returned to Marw and wrote to al-Ḥajjāj about that. Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him, "Portray [the terrain] to me," and [Qutaybah] sent him a representation of it. Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him, "Return to your wallowing place, repent to God for what you have done, and make your approach from such-and-such a place"; and it has been said [that] al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him, "Outwit Kish, smash Nasaf, and reach Wardān;[493] beware of beating about the bush and spare me the byways."[494]

In this year Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī became governor of Mecca, according to what al-Wāqidī claimed. He mentioned that 'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ related to him on the authority of Nāfi', mawlā of the Banū Makhzūm, who said: I heard Khālid b. 'Abdallāh say on the pulpit of Mecca, while he was delivering a sermon, "O people, who is greater? A man's deputy (*khalīfah*) over his people or his

490. "The rulers of Wardāna, who bore the title of Wardān-Khudāts, were until the beginning of the eighth century the rivals of the Bukhār-Khudāts" (Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 113).

491. One of the districts of Bukhārā (Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 114).

492. Also cited by Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 76.

493. There is a play on words here; in addition, the text gives the vocalization *wa-rid Wardān*, which Gibb (*Arab Conquests*, p. 35) understood as "and drive Wardān back" (i.e., he read *wa-rudda Wardān*).

494. *Wa-da'nī min bunayyāt al-ṭarīq*; cf. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, vol. I, p. 483.

messenger (*rasūl*) to them?[495] If you were not to know the superiority of the caliphate, [I would tell you] that Abraham, the friend of the Merciful, prayed for water, and He gave him bitter salt to drink, and the Caliph prayed to Him for water, and He gave him sweet water," ⟨meaning by "salt" Zamzam and by "sweet water"⟩[496] a well dug by al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik between[497] the two mountain passes of Ṭawā and al-Ḥajūn.[498] The water [of this
[1200] well] used to be transported and placed in a tank made of leather beside Zamzam, so that its superiority over [the water of] Zamzam might be known. [Al-Wāqidī] said: Then the well caved in and disappeared; today it is not known where it is.

In [this year] Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik campaigned against the Turks until he reached al-Bāb[499] in the region of 'Adharbayjān; he conquered fortresses and cities there.

The pilgrimage was led in this year by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz: thus it was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on the authority of Abū Ma'shar. The governors of the *amṣār* in this year were [the same as] the governors in the preceding year; we have mentioned them already.

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495. For discussion of the significance of this, see Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, p. 29.

496. The words in brackets have been added from Ibn al-Athīr.

497. The text reads *bi-*, "at." The parallel passage in *Aghānī*², vol. XXII, p. 18, reads *bayna*.

498. Al-Ḥajūn is identified as a mountain one and a half *mīl* (3 km) from the Ka'bah (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 215). Ṭawā (Dhū Ṭuwā in the *Aghānī*) is more problematic: Yāqūt knows it as the "most famous wādī at Mecca" (vol. III, p. 554), while Dhū Ṭuwā is simply "a place at Mecca" (vol. III, p. 553).

499. I.e., Bāb al-Abwāb (see *EI*², s.v.), modern Derbent, which could have been more accurately described as being in the region of Arrān.

The Events of the Year 90

(November 20, 708–November 8, 709)

In this year, according to what Muḥammad b. ʿUmar mentioned, Maslamah campaigned in Byzantine territory in the region of Sūriyah and conquered the five fortresses there.

In it, too, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd campaigned, as far as al-Arzan according to some, and as far as Sūriyah according to others. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar said: It is sounder to say that he went as far as Sūriyah.[500]

In [this year] Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, who was in command of an army on behalf of al-Ḥajjāj, killed Dāhir b. Ṣaṣṣah,[501] the king of Sind.

In it, too, al-Walīd appointed Qurrah b. Sharīk[502] over Egypt in [1201]
place of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

In [this year] the Byzantines took prisoner Khālid b. Kaysān, the sea commander, and took him to their king; the king of the By-

500. Cf. Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 193; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 118. "Al-Arzan" seems to constitute a problem: Brooks says that it "should be Arzanene or its chief town, but this is clearly out of place here."

501. I.e., Dāhir the son of Chach (for detailed discussion of this expedition, see F. Gabrieli, "Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafī and the Arab Conquest of Sind," *East and West*, n.s. 15 (1965), pp. 281–95).

502. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳurra b. Sharīk.

zantines gave him to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.[503]

In it, too, Qutaybah conquered Bukhārā and defeated the armies of the enemy there.[504]

[*Qutaybah's Conquest of Bukhārā*]

'Alī b. Muḥammad said: According to (i) Abū al-Dhayyāl—al-Muhallab b. Iyās, and (ii) Abū al-'Alā'—Idrīs b. Ḥanẓalah: When there reached Qutaybah al-Ḥajjāj's letter—[the letter in which] he ordered him to repent of having departed from Wardān Khudhāh, the king of Bukhārā, before defeating him, [and ordered him] to go against [Wardān], informing him of the place from which he should proceed to [Wardān's] territory—Qutaybah went out to Bukhārā on campaign in the year 90. Wardān Khudhāh sent [word] to the Soghdians and the Turks and those who were around them, requesting their help, and they came. Qutaybah, however, reached [Bukhārā] first and besieged [it], and, when the reinforcements arrived, [the Muslims] went out to fight them. The Azd said, "Keep us on our own and let us fight them." Qutaybah said, "Go forward," and they went forward, fighting them, while Qutaybah sat wearing a yellow *ridā'*[505] over his weapons. They all showed fortitude for a long time; then the Muslims wheeled round, and the polytheists came at them, broke them, entered Qutaybah's camp, and crossed it until the women struck the faces of [the polytheists'] horses and wept. Then they returned to the charge, and the two wings of the Muslims closed in on the Turks
[1202] and fought them until they repelled them to their positions.

The Turks stood on an elevation, and Qutaybah said, "Who will dislodge them from this place for us?" No one came forward; all the clans stood [stock-still]. Qutaybah went to the Banū Tamīm and said, "O Banū Tamīm, you are in the position of the *ḥuṭamiyyah*.[506] [All I need is one] battle day like the battle days [in your glorious past], may my father be your ransom." ['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Wakī' [b. Abī Sūd][507] took the standard

503. Cf. Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 119.
504. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 35–36.
505. See below, n. 596 (first part).
506. "Coat of mail on which swords break" (see the *Glossarium*).
507. A leading Tamīmī in Khurasan (see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register, s.v. Wakī' b. Ḥassān).

in his hand and said, "O Banū Tamīm, will you abandon me today?" They said, "No, O Abū Muṭarrif." Huraym b. Abī Ṭaḥmah al-Mujāshi'ī[508] was in command of the cavalry of the Banū Tamīm, and Wakī' was their chief. The people were standing, and all of them held back. Wakī' said, "Forward, O Huraym," and he gave him the banner, "take your cavalry forward," and Huraym went forward, while Wakī' walked slowly behind with the infantry. Huraym got as far as a river that was between him and the enemy and then stopped. Wakī' said to him, "Press on, O Huraym."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Huraym gave Wakī' the look of a fierce camel and said, "Am I to impel my cavalry across this river? If they are defeated, that will be the end of them. By God, you are stupid!" [Wakī'] said, "You son of a stinking woman![509] I'm not going to see you disobey my order," and he struck him with an iron bar he had with him. [At this,] Huraym whipped his horse and impelled it [across the river], saying, "There can't be anything harder to take than this," and he crossed with the cavalry. Wakī' came to the river, called for wood, and bridged it. He said to his companions, "Whoever of you has accustomed himself to [the idea of] death, let him cross; he who has not, let him stay in his place." Only eight infantrymen crossed with him. He walked slowly with them until, when they were tired, he sat them down and they rested, while he went near the enemy. He made the cavalry into two wings and said to Huraym, "I am going to thrust at the [enemy]. Distract them from me with the cavalry." He said to the [infantrymen], "Attack!" and they charged straight [1203]
at [the enemy] until they were mixed with them. Huraym attacked them with his cavalry, and they thrust at them with spears. By the time [the Muslims] desisted from [the Turks], they had dislodged them from their position. Qutaybah called out, "Do you not see the enemy defeated. No sooner did someone cross that river than the enemy fled in defeat." The [Muslims] followed them, and Qutaybah called out, "Whoever brings a[n enemy] head shall have one hundred [dirhams]."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] said: Mūsā b. al-Mutawakkil al-Quray'ī claimed: On that day eleven men from the Banū Quray' came,

508. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register, s.v. Huraym b. 'Adī.

509. I.e., a slave girl; note Ibn Qutaybah's observation that *al-lakhnā' 'inda al-'arab al-amah* ("Kitāb al-'arab," p. 352).

each of them bringing a head; each was asked, "Who are you?" and said, "A Qurayʿī." Then a man from al-Azd brought a head and they said to him, "Who are you?" He said, "A Qurayʿī." Jahm b. Zaḥr[510] was sitting [nearby] and said, "He is lying, by God! May God cause you to prosper, he is my cousin." Qutaybah said to [the Azdī], "Woe to you! What induced you to [say] this?" He said, "I saw that everyone who came said, 'A Qurayʿī,' and thought that everyone who brought a head had to say, 'A Qurayʿī.'" Qutaybah laughed.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] said: On that day Khāqān[511] and his son were wounded.

Qutaybah returned to Marw and wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, "I sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim and God conquered at his hands." [ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: A mawlā of al-Ḥajjāj's had witnessed the conquest, and he came and told [al-Ḥajjāj] what had [really] happened. Al-Ḥajjāj was angry with Qutaybah, and [Qutaybah] grieved at that. The people said to [Qutaybah], "Send a delegation of the Banū Tamīm to [al-Ḥajjāj]; give [generously] to them and please them, and they will tell the amīr that the matter was as you [described it when you] wrote." [Qutaybah] accordingly sent [some] men, including ʿUrām b. Shutayr al-Ḍabbī, and, when they reached al-Ḥajjāj, he shouted at them and stigmatized them. He called for the cupper, [who had his] scissors in his hand, and said,
[1204] "I'll cut off your tongues if you don't tell me the truth." They said, "The amīr is Qutaybah, and he sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in command of them; the conquest belongs to the amīr and the one who is head of the people." It was ʿUrām b. Shutayr who spoke these words to him. Al-Ḥajjāj quietened down.

In this year Qutaybah renewed the peace between himself and Ṭarkhūn, the king of Soghd.

[*Renewed Peace between Qutaybah and the Soghdians*]

According to ʿAlī [b. Muḥammad]—Abū al-Sarī al-Marwazī—al-Jahm al-Bāhilī: When Qutaybah fell upon the people of Bukhārā and broke them up, the people of Soghd feared him. Ṭarkhūn, the

510. Al-Juʿfī, brother of Jabalah (Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register).
511. See above, n. 79.

king of Soghd, went back accompanied by two horsemen until he stood near Qutaybah's camp, with the Bukhārā river between the two of them. He asked [Qutaybah] to send to him a man to whom he might talk. Qutaybah ordered a man [to go], and [this man] drew near to [Ṭarkhūn].

As for the Bāhilīs, they say that Ṭarkhūn called to Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī,[512] who went to them. [Ṭarkhūn] asked for a peace in return for tribute that he would pay to them, and Qutaybah agreed to his request, made peace with him, and took from him hostages [to remain with him] until [such time as] Ṭarkhūn might send to him [the tribute] on the basis of which he had made peace with him. Ṭarkhūn departed to his country, and Qutaybah returned [sc. to Marw], accompanied by Nīzak.

In this year Nīzak broke the peace between himself and the Muslims, held out in his fortress, and reverted to war. Qutaybah campaigned against him.[513]

[Nīzak's] Perfidy and Why He Was Vanquished

'Alī [b. Muḥammad] said: According to (i) Abū al-Dhayyāl—al-Muhallab b. Iyās, (ii) al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī—his father, (iii) 'Alī b. [1205]
Mujāhid, and (iv) Kulayb b. Khalaf al-'Ammī—each mentioned something and I have put [what they said] together [in a single account]; and the Bāhilīs mentioned something, and I have annexed [that] to the report of these [others] and have put it in [with the rest]: Qutaybah left Bukhārā accompanied by Nīzak, who had been alarmed by the conquests he had seen and who feared Qutaybah. [Nīzak] said to his companions and his intimates among them,[514] "I am with this [fellow], and I don't feel safe with him, for the Arab is like a dog: If you beat him, he barks, and if you feed him, he wags his tail. If you campaign against him and then give him something, he is pleased and forgets what you have done to him. Ṭarkhūn fought him several times, and when he gave him tribute, he accepted it and was pleased. He is a dissolute brute. The best thing will be for me to take my leave and return." They said, "Take your leave of him," and, when Qutaybah was at Āmul, [Nīzak] sought leave of him to return to Ṭukhāristān.

512. On him, see Shaban, *The 'Abbāsid Revolution*, pp. 65.
513. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 36ff.
514. Reading the variant *minhum* in preference to *muttaham*.

[Qutaybah] gave him leave, and, when he left his camp heading for Balkh, [Nīzak] said to his companions, "Hasten," and they went at great speed until they reached al-Nawbahār. He stopped to pray in it and regarded it as a blessing, and said to his companions, "I do not doubt that Qutaybah regretted it when we left his camp with his permission to me and [that] his messenger will at any moment reach al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh, ordering him to detain me. So set up a lookout, and if you see [that] the messenger has passed through the city and has gone out of the gate, he will not reach al-Barūqān before we reach Ṭukhāristān. Al-Mughīrah will send a man, but he will not catch up with us before we enter the Khulm pass." They did so.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] said: A messenger set off from Qutaybah to al-Mughīrah with orders to him to detain Nīzak. When the mes-
[1206] senger passed [on his way] to al-Mughīrah, who was at al-Barū-qān[515]—the city of Balkh being in ruins at that time—Nīzak and his companions rode off and went on their way. The messenger reached al-Mughīrah, and [al-Mughīrah] himself went in search of [Nīzak]. [But] he found that he had entered the Khulm pass, and departed.

Nīzak [now] openly disavowed [Qutaybah]. He wrote to the Iṣbahbadh of Balkh, to Bādhām, the king of Marw Rūdh, to Suhrak,[516] the king of al-Ṭālaqān, to Tūsik,[517], the king of al-Fāryāb, and to al-Jūzjānī, the king of al-Jūzjān, calling upon them to disavow Qutaybah. They responded positively to him, and he appointed the spring as the time for them to join forces and campaign against Qutaybah. He also wrote to the Kābul Shāh, seeking his help, sent to him his baggage and money, and asked him to give him permission—if he was driven to it—to go to him and receive a safe-conduct in his country; [the Kābul Shāh] agreed to that and held his baggage.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] said: Jabghūyah, the king of Ṭukhāristān,

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515. Following the destruction of Balkh, "the Arabs built a new town in the locality of Barūqān, two farsakhs from Balkh" (Barthold, *Turkestan*,[3] p. 77).

516. The *Addenda et Emendanda* point to the form S.hr.b (sc. Suhrab) below (pp. 1566, 1569 of the Arabic text), but Justi is ready to settle for Suhrak (*Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 292, sub Εατράκης).

517. Following the *Addenda at Emendanda* and G. Schlegel, *La stèle funéraire du Teghin Giogh*, p. 23.

whose name was al-Shadh,[518] was weak. Nīzak took him and put him in a gold fetter, for fear that he might stir up discord against him, Jabghūyah being the king of Ṭukhāristān, and Nīzak [one] of his slaves. When he was sure [that Jabghūyah could not cause him trouble], he set watchmen over him and expelled Qutaybah's governor, Muḥammad b. Sulaym al-Nāṣiḥ, from Jabghūyah's territories. [News of] his disavowal reached Qutaybah [just] before the winter, [at a time when] the troops had gone their separate ways; only the people of Marw remained with Qutaybah. He sent his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān to [the district of] Balkh, to al-Barūqān, [1207] with [an army of] twelve thousand [men], saying to him, "Stay there and do not initiate anything. When the winter is over, gather the army and go to Tukhāristān (sic); know that I [shall be] near you." 'Abd al-Raḥmān went off and stopped at al-Barūqān, and Qutaybah took his time until, late in the winter, he wrote to Abrashahr,[519] Bīward,[520] Sarakhs, and the people of Herat [instructing them] to come to him. They did so, this being at an earlier time than usual.

In this year Qutaybah fell upon the people of al-Ṭālaqān, according to one of the collectors of historical reports [*ahl al-akhbār*], and killed them on a massive scale; he crucified them in two straight parallel rows four parasangs long.[521]

[*Qutaybah's Retribution against the People of al-Ṭālaqān*]

The reason for that, according to what has been mentioned, was that, when Nīzak Ṭarkhān acted treacherously, disavowed Qutaybah, and resolved to make war on him, the king of al-Ṭālaqān concurred with [Nīzak] in making war on [Qutaybah],

518. As Gibb points out (*Arab Conquests*, p. 9), this identification of the Shadh with the Jabghūyah "is obviously impossible." Gibb takes the Shadh in question here (see below, pp. 1224–25 of the Arabic text) to be "the chief prince in Lower Ṭukhāristān," a description which "best suits the king of Chaghāniān." For more recent discussion of these titles, see Bosworth and Clauson, "Al-Xwārazmī on the Peoples of Central Asia," pp. 6, 9; Bombaci, "On the Ancient Turkish Title 'Šaδ'"; Bosworth, "The Rulers of Chaghāniyān in Early Islamic Times," p. 1.

519. I.e., Nishapur (see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 383).

520. I.e., Abīward (ibid., p. 394).

521. Concerning al-Ṭālaqān at this point, Gibb (*Arab Conquests*, p. 37) remarks that "the traditions are hopelessly confused."

and he appointed a time for going to him along with those of the [other] kings who had agreed to rise with him to make war on Qutaybah. When, however, Nīzak fled from Qutaybah and entered the Khulm pass, which leads to Ṭukhāristān, he knew that he was impotent against Qutaybah, and fled. Qutaybah went to al-Ṭālaqān, fell upon its people, and did what I have mentioned earlier.

The person who said [all] this has been contradicted in what he has said; I shall come back to this in [dealing with] the events of the year 91.

[1208] The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz: Thus it was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on the authority of Abū Ma'shar; and so too said Muḥammad b. 'Umar. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was in this year al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik's governor of Mecca, Medina, and al-Ṭā'if. Over Iraq and the East was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf; al-Ḥajjāj's governor of al-Baṣrah was al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh, and in charge of its judiciary was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Udhaynah; over al-Kūfah was Ziyād b. Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh, and in charge of its judiciary was Abū Bakr b. Abī Mūsā. Over Khurasan was Qutaybah b. Muslim, and over Egypt was Qurrah b. Sharīk.

In this year Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and his brothers who were in prison with him fled with others and joined Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, seeking protection through him from al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.[522]

The Reason for [the Muhallabids'] Escape from al-Ḥajjāj's Prison and Their Going to Sulaymān

According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad]—Abū Mikhnaf—Abū al-Mukhāriq al-Rāsibī: Al-Ḥajjāj went out to Rustāqubādh to send
[1209] out troops, for the Kurds had gained control over the whole of the territory of Fārs. He took with him Yazīd and his brothers al-Mufaḍḍal and 'Abd al-Malik, brought them to Rustāqubādh, placed them in his camp, put around them something like a trench, housed them in a tent near his own quarters, placed them

522. Similar accounts of this appear in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, vol. VI, pp. 291ff.; Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, pp. 209ff; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, vol. IX, pp. 78–79.

under Syrian guard, fined them six million [dirhams], and began to torture them. Yazīd showed great fortitude, which vexed al-Ḥajjāj. Then [al-Ḥajjāj] was told that [Yazīd] had been shot by an arrow, the head of which had lodged in his leg; if anything touched it he would scream, and if it was moved, however slightly, you would hear him exclaim. He ordered that [Yazīd] be tortured and that his leg be subjected to severe pressure;[523] when that was done to him, he screamed. His sister, Hind bt. al-Muhallab, was married to al-Ḥajjāj; when she heard Yazīd's screaming, she screamed and wailed, and al-Ḥajjāj divorced her. Then he desisted from them and started to try to get them to pay up. They started to pay, while at the same time working at escaping from their situation.

They sent [word] to Marwān b. al-Muhallab, who was at al-Baṣrah, instructing him to prepare horses for them by reducing them to scanty food; he was to make people think that he wanted to sell them, to exhibit them for sale, and overprice them so that they would not be bought, "so that they will be ready for us if we are able to escape from what is here." Marwān did that. Ḥabīb was in al-Baṣrah [too], also being tortured.

Yazīd ordered that much food be made for the guards, and they ate. He ordered drink, and they were provided with it and diverted one another's attention with it. Yazīd [then] put on the clothes of his cook, put a white beard over his [own] beard, and went out. One of the guards said, "[It is] as if this is the gait of Yazīd," and he went until he stood in front of him [to see] his face in the night, saw the whiteness of the beard, and departed from him; he said, "This is an old man." Al-Mufaḍḍal went out in [Yazīd's] footsteps undetected, and they reached their boats, which had been pre- [1210]
pared for them in the Baṭā'iḥ.[524] They were eighteen parasangs from al-Baṣrah. When they got to the boats, 'Abd al-Malik was slow in reaching them and was diverted from them. Yazīd said to al-Mufaḍḍal, who had the same mother as 'Abd al-Malik, she being Bahlah, an Indian woman, "No, by God. I shall not leave until he comes, even if it were to mean going back to the prison." Yazīd stayed put until he came to them, and at that they embarked on the boats and traveled that night until morning. In the morning, the guards knew that they had gone, and that was re-

523. *Yudhaq*: See the *Glossarium*.

524. The swamps of southern Iraq between the Tigris and the Euphrates (see *EI*², s.v. al-Baṭīḥa).

ferred to al-Ḥajjāj. Al-Farazdaq said concerning their exodus (*ṭawīl*):[525]

I have not seen [anything] like the group who followed
one another
on the palm trunk,[526] while the guards were not
sleeping.
They went off convinced that their allotted spans
[were headed] for [immediate] destiny and death.
Not one of them did not quieten his fear
with a sharp, cutting, burnished sword,[527]
And when they met, they did not meet a faint-hearted
old man, nor a soft-boned youth;
[1211] They were like their father when they grew up,
fifty [of them,], one after the other, [each
of them replete with] courage and perfection.

Al-Ḥajjāj became fearful at [the escape] and imagined that they had gone in the direction of Khurasan. He sent the official courier to Qutaybah b. Muslim, warning him of their arrival and instructing him to be ready for them. He sent [word] to the amīrs of the frontier ways of access and the districts to be on the look out for them and to be ready for them, and he wrote to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik informing him of their flight and [of the fact] that he did not think that they were heading [for anywhere] but Khurasan. Al-Ḥajjāj continued to suspect Yazīd for what he had done; he used to say, "I suspect that he is telling himself [to do] the like of what Ibn al-Ash'ath did."

When Yazid drew near to Mawqū'[528] in the Baṭā'iḥ, he was met by the horses that had been prepared for him and his brothers. They went off on them, accompanied by a guide of theirs from Kalb called 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Yazīd b. al-Rab'ah;[529] he took them by way of al-Samāwah.[530] Al-Ḥajjāj was brought [information]

525. *Dīwān*, vol. II, p. 265.
526. *'Alā 'l-jidh'i*, which must refer to the boats.
527. The *Dīwān* reads *bi-qalb*[in] in place of *bi-'aḍb*[in].
528. Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, vol. IV, p. 688) knew this as a watering place or well (*mā'*) in the region of al-Baṣṣah.
529. See Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register and chart 283, where the name of his grandfather is given as Rabī'ah.
530. The name of the desert (and of a watering place or well) between al-Kūfah and Syria (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. III, p. 131).

two days later and was told, "The man has taken the Syria road, and these horses [have become] tired on the way; someone has come who has seen them going along in the desert." [Al-Ḥajjāj] sent [word] to al-Walīd, informing him of that.

Yazīd went on until he reached Palestine and stopped with Wuhayb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī, who was held in high estimation by Sulaymān; he lodged some of his baggage and family with Sufyān b. Sulaymān al-Azdī. Wuhayb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went and entered into the presence of Sulaymān and said, "This [man] Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and his brothers are in my house. They have come to you as fugitives from al-Ḥajjāj, taking refuge with you." [1212] [Sulaymān] said, "Bring them to me, for they are safe. They will never be got at as long as I am alive." [Wuhayb] brought them and conducted them into his presence; they were in a secure position. Their guide, the Kalbī, said concerning their journey (*ṭawīl*):

Surely God has made all good friends
    a ransom for Ibn al-Muhallab, irrespective of what has
    happened!
What a fine young man [he is], O grouping of al-Azd!
Your riding camels
    drew near to al-Wahb,[531] to the east of a
    mountain pass,
They [then] turned to the right, [?alongside] the
    sand of ʿĀlij,[532]
    while on the right of the people were the
    heights of Ghurrab.[533]
If our riding camels do not reach Sulaymān in the
    morning after five [nights]
    from the people of al-Liwā,[534] they will
    return by night.[535]

531. Not known to Yāqūt.

532. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, vol. III, p. 591) knew ʿĀlij as "sands between Fayd and al-Qurayyāt . . . adjoining al-Thaʿlabiyyah on the Mecca road."

533. According to Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, vol. III, p. 783), Ghurrab is "a mountain this side of Syria in the *diyār* of the Banū Kalb."

534. In addition to meaning "a place where the sand stops," al-Liwā is a place name signifying "one of the valleys of the Banū Sulaym" (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, vol. IV, p. 366).

535. The sense of this is not clear to me.

We flee like[536] the sun from what is behind us
and go, in the darkness of blackest night,
With people who were kings. I guided them
in the gloom in which no light of a star could be seen,
Nor a moon, save faintly, as if it were
a gilded bracelet, fashioned by a bracelet smith.

According to Hishām—al-Ḥasan b. Abān al-'Ulaymī: While 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Yazīd b. al-Rab'ah was journeying with them, [1213] Yazīd's turban fell off, and he missed it. He said, "O 'Abd al-Jabbār, go back and seek it for us." ['Abd al-Jabbār] said "Someone like me should not be ordered [to do] this." [Yazīd] repeated [the order], and ['Abd al-Jabbār] refused. [Yazīd] caught him with [his] whip, and 'Abd al-Jabbār proclaimed his genealogy to him; [Yazīd] felt ashamed, and that [is the context in which 'Abd al-Jabbār] said:

Surely God has made all good friends
a ransom for Ibn al-Muhallab, irrespective of what has happened!

Al-Ḥajjāj wrote, "The family of al-Muhallab have embezzled God's money and have fled from me and joined Sulaymān." The family of al-Muhallab reached Sulaymān after the order had been given for people to be gathered to be sent to Khurasan, [since the authorities were sure] that Yazīd had gone in the direction of Khurasan in order to rouse those who were there to rebellion. When it reached al-Walīd that he was with Sulaymān, that made some of what he felt easier for him, [but he remained] angry about the money which [Yazīd] had taken.

Sulaymān wrote to al-Walīd, "Yazīd b. al-Muhallab is with me, and I have given him a safe-conduct. He owes three million [dirhams], al-Ḥajjāj having fined them six million and they having paid three million; I shall pay the remaining three million." [Al-Walīd] wrote to him, "No, by God, I shall not give him a safe-conduct until you send him to me." [Sulaymān] wrote to him, "If I send him to you, I shall come with him [myself]. I beseech you by God not to disgrace me and not to violate my [protection]." [Al-Walīd] wrote to him, "If you come to me, I shall not give him

536. Reading, with Ms B, *nafirru furāra*, rather than *taqarru qarāra*.

a safe-conduct." Yazīd said [to Sulaymān], "Send me to him, by God. I do not want to occasion enmity and war between you and him, nor [do I want] the people to see a bad omen for the two of you in me. Send me to him, and send your son with me, and write to [al-Walīd] in the kindest terms you can manage"; [Sulaymān] accordingly sent his son Ayyūb with him.

Al-Walīd had ordered [Sulaymān] to send [Yazīd] to him in bonds, and he sent him to him saying to his son, "When you are about to enter [al-Walīd's] presence, you and Yazīd are to bind [1214] yourselves with a chain and go in to al-Walīd's presence together." [Ayyūb] did that with [Yazīd] when they got to al-Walīd, and they went into his presence [together]. When al-Walīd saw his nephew in a chain, he said, "By God, we have gone rather far with Sulaymān." Then the young man handed his father's letter over to his uncle and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, may I be your ransom, do not violate my father's protection, you being the most worthy of those who have defended it, and do not cut short the hope of one who has hoped for safety in taking refuge with us because of our [good] standing with you; do not abase one who has hoped for high rank in resorting to us because of our high rank with you."

[Al-Walīd] read the letter: "To 'Abd Allāh al-Walīd, the Commander of the Faithful, from Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik. To continue: I used to think that, even if an enemy who had thwarted you and striven against you sought my protection and I lodged him and gave him protection, you would neither abase my protégé nor violate my protection. As it is, I have only protected an obedient and compliant [man]—he and his father and his family have contributed much to Islam—and I have sent him to you. If you intend cutting off relations with me, violating my protection, and going to excess in doing me harm, you are [of course] able to do that if you want; but I would wish you to seek preservation by God from [any] intention of cutting off relations with me, violating my honor, and ignoring my solicitous regard [for you] and my connection [with you]. By God, O Commander of the Faithful, you know neither how much longer either of us has to live nor when death will part us. If the Commander of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his joy, is able [to bring it about] that the appointed time of death does not come to us but that he is [still] respect-

ing our blood tie, giving me my due, and refraining from harming
[1215] me, let him do so. By God, O Commander of the Faithful, nothing on earth—after piety to God—pleases me more than pleasing you. Your pleasure is part of that through which I seek God's pleasure. If for once, O Commander of the Faithful, you desire my joy, my friendly connection, my honor, and the exaltation of my due, pass over Yazīd for me without punishing him; everything you seek of him will be my responsibility."

When [al-Walīd] had read the letter, he said, "We have been burdensome to Sulaymān; and he summoned his nephew and brought him near to him. [Then] Yazīd spoke. He praised God and extolled Him, blessed His Prophet, may God bless him, and then said, "O Commander of the Faithful, our benefit through you is the best. Whoever may forget that, we shall not forget it; and whoever may deny that, we shall not deny it. There has issued from our benefit as a family, in [our] obedience to you, [in our] thrusting at the eyes of your enemies in great battlefields east and west, that in which there is for us a mighty grace." [Al-Walīd] said to him, "Sit," and he sat, and [al-Walīd] gave him safe-conduct and desisted from him.

[Yazīd] returned to Sulaymān, and his brothers strove to acquire the money he owed. [Al-Walīd] wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, "I could not make any headway with Yazīd. His family is with Sulaymān. Desist from them, and stop writing to me about them." When al-Ḥajjāj saw that, he desisted from them. Abū 'Uyaynah b. al-Muhallab owed al-Ḥajjāj one hundred thousand [dirhams, which al-Ḥajjāj] left to him; and he desisted from Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab.

Yazīd returned to Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik and stayed with
[1216] him, teaching him how to dress well,[537] making delicious dishes for him, and giving him large presents. He was one of those held in [Sulaymān's] highest regard. No gift reached Yazīd b. al-Muhallab but that he sent it to Sulaymān; and no gift or benefit reached Sulaymān but that he sent half of it to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. No slave girl pleased him but that he sent her to Yazīd, except for the slave girl Khaṭī'ah.[538]

That reached al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, who summoned al-

537. If this is how we are to understand *yu'allimuhu al-hay'ah*. Ibn al-Athīr omits it, while Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 79) reads *ḥasan al-hay'ah*.

538. About whom no more information seems to be available.

Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Rabīʿah al-Ashʿarī and said [to him], "Go off to Sulaymān and say to him, 'O you who are inimical to your family. It has reached the Commander of the Faithful that no gift or benefit comes to you but that you send half of it to Yazīd, and that one of your slave girls comes to you, and no sooner does her state of purity come to an end than you send her to Yazīd.' Show him the foulness of that and revile him for it. Do you think you can convey what I have instructed you to do?" [Al-Ḥārith] said, "Obedience [consists of] obeying you. I am simply a messenger." [Al-Walīd] said, "Go to him, say that to him, and stay with him. I shall send him a present. Hand it over to him and take from him a receipt for what you hand over to him."

[Al-Ḥārith] went until he reached [Sulaymān], who had a copy of the Qur'ān in front of him and was reciting. He entered into his presence and greeted him; [Sulaymān] did not return his greeting until he had finished his recitation. Then [al-Ḥārith] raised his head to him and said everything that al-Walīd had instructed him to say. [Sulaymān's] face became distorted [with] anger. Then he said, "By God, if I am able to get hold of you one of these days, I shall cut part of you off!" [Al-Ḥārith] said to him, "Obedience was incumbent upon me," and he went out of his presence.

When that [present] sent by al-Walīd to Sulaymān arrived, al- [1217]
Ḥārith b. Rabīʿah al-Ashʿarī entered into [Sulaymān's] presence and said to him, "Give me the receipt for what I have handed over to you." [Sulaymān] said, "What did you say to me?" He said, "I shall never repeat it to you.[539] Obedience was incumbent upon me in respect of it." [Sulaymān] was quiet and knew that the man had told him the truth. Then he went out and [those present] went out with him, and he said, "Take half of these bundles and baskets and send them to Yazīd."

[Hishām] continued: The man knew that [Sulaymān] would not obey anyone in respect of Yazīd. Yazīd stayed with Sulaymān for nine months; and al-Ḥajjāj died in the year 95, on Friday, 20 Shawwāl (July 8, 714).[540]

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539. Following Ibrāhīm's *ilayka abad*^{an} in preference to the text's seemingly unintelligible *ʿāl.mā abad*^{an}.

540. The suspicion that something is wrong here is fortified by Ibn Kathīr's version (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 79): "Yazīd b. al-Muhallab stayed with Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik until al-Ḥajjāj died in the year 95."

The Events of the Year 91

(November 9, 709–October 28, 710)

In it, according to what Muḥammad b. 'Umar and others have mentioned, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd made the summer campaign. In command of the army was Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik.

In it, too, Maslamah campaigned against the Turks until he reached al-Bāb[541] in the region of Ādharbayjān. Cities and fortresses were conquered at his hands.

In it, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr campaigned against al-Andalus. Cities and fortresses were conquered at his hands.[542]

[*Qutaybah's Capture and Killing of Nīzak*]

[1218] In this year Qutaybah b. Muslim killed Nīzak Ṭarkhān.[543]

The narrative returns to that of 'Alī b. Muḥammad and the story of Nīzak and Qutaybah's victory over him until he killed him. When there reached Qutaybah those of the people of Abrashahr, Bīward, Sarakhs, and Herat to whom he had written instructing them to join him, he went with [his entire force] to

541. See above, n. 499.
542. See *EI*², s.v. al-Andalus.
543. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 36ff.

Marw Rūdh, having deputed [at Marw] over military affairs (*ḥarb*) Ḥammād b. Muslim and over taxation (*kharāj*) ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ahtam. [When news of] the advance of [Qutaybah] into his territory reached the marzbān of Marw Rūdh, he fled to the land of the Furs.[544] Qutaybah arrived in Marw Rūdh, took two sons of his, killed them, and crucified them. Then he went to al-Ṭālaqān, the lord of which stayed put, not fighting him and desisting from him. [In al-Ṭālaqān] were brigands, whom Qutaybah killed and crucified. He appointed over al-Ṭālaqān ʿAmr b. Muslim[545] and went on to al-Fāryāb. The king of al-Fāryāb went out to him, submissively, and professing his obedience, and [Qutaybah] was satisfied with that and did not kill anyone there; he appointed over it a man from Bāhilah.

News of them reached the lord of al-Jūzjān, and he left his territory and went out into the mountains in flight. Qutaybah went to al-Jūzjān, and its people met him, compliant and obedient, and he accepted [that] from them and did not kill anyone there; he appointed over it ʿĀmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī. Then he reached Balkh; the Iṣbahbadh and the people of Balkh met him, and he entered it. He stayed in it only one day and then went on, following ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. Muslim], until he reached the [1219]
Khulm pass. Nīzak had gone off and camped at Baghlān,[546] leaving fighting men at the mouth and the defiles of the pass in order to defend it, and placing fighting men in a strong fortress behind the pass. Qutaybah stayed for [some] days fighting them at the defile of the pass without being able to make any progress against them. He was unable to enter it, it being a defile through which the valley passed, and he did not know of any way by which he could get to Nīzak other than the pass or a desert which would not support the troops. He remained, turning his face to right and left in perplexity, looking for strategems.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: He was in this [dilemma] when there came to him the Ru'b Khān, the king of al-Ru'b[547] and

544. Which does not make sense in this context; in the *Addenda et Emendanda*, Marquart proposes that we should understand this as *bilād al-Gharsh*, i.e., Gharshistān, a territory in the mountains to the east of Herat (see *EI*², s.v. Ghardjistān).

545. This appointment (together with that of ʿĀmir b. Mālik—see the next paragraph) is also mentioned in the account of Ibn Aʿtham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 232).

546. Two days' journey from Siminjān (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 67).

547. A town near Siminjān (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 427).

Siminjān,[548] seeking a safe-conduct from him on the basis that he would show him a way of getting into the fortress that was behind this pass. Qutaybah gave him a safe-conduct, gave him what he asked for, and sent with him at night men with whom he got to the fortress which was behind the Khulm pass. They fell upon [the men of the fortress] at night, they feeling perfectly secure [from attack], and killed them; those who survived and those who were in the pass fled, and Qutaybah and [his army] entered the pass and reached the fortress. Then he went on to Siminjān, Nīzak being at Baghlān, at a spring called Fanj Jāh;[549] between Siminjān and Baghlān is a desert that is not particularly difficult.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: Qutaybah stayed in Siminjān for [some] days and then went off to Nīzak; he sent his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān on ahead, and he reached Nīzak. [At this,] Nīzak set off from his house, crossed the Farghānah valley,[550] sent his baggage and wealth to the Kābul Shāh, and went on until he stopped at al-Kurz,[551] being followed [all the while] by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān stopped and took control of
[1220] the defiles of al-Kurz, and Qutaybah stopped at Iskīmisht,[552] two parasangs away. Nīzak took refuge in al-Kurz, having no way out save in one direction, which was difficult, since it could not be negotiated by riding animals.

Qutaybah besieged Nīzak for two months, until Nīzak's stock of grain became scanty and they were afflicted by smallpox, which Jabghūyah caught. Qutaybah feared the winter, and he summoned Sulaym al-Nāṣiḥ[553] and said, "Go off to Nīzak and use artifice to get him to come to me without a safe-conduct. If he gives you trouble and refuses, give him a safe-conduct. Know that, if I see you and you don't have him with you, I shall crucify you. So work for your own sake." [Sulaym] said, "Write for me to

548. Two days' journey from Khulm (Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 67).

549. Rendered *Pang-čāh*, "Schneebrunnen" (rather than "Five Wells"), by Marquart (*Ērānšahr*, p. 219).

550. As Marquart points out (*Ērānšahr*, p. 220), this Farghānah must have been to the south of Baghlān.

551. Not even Marquart knows any more about this place.

552. Rendered thus by Marquart (*Ērānšahr*, pp. 219–20); if Wellhausen's identification (*Kingdom*, p. 435, n. 1) is correct, it was not far southeast of Baghlān.

553. In a roughly similar account, Ibn Aʿtham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 226) identifies Sulaym al-Nāṣiḥ as Sulaym b. ʿAbdallāh.

'Abd al-Raḥmān, [telling him] not to disobey me." [Qutaybah] said, "Yes," and he wrote for him to 'Abd al-Raḥmān. [Sulaym] then went to ['Abd al-Raḥmān] and said to him, "Send men to be [stationed] at the mouth of the pass and, when Nīzak and I come out, let them slip round behind us, interposing themselves between us and the pass."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: 'Abd al-Raḥmān sent cavalry, and they were [stationed] where Sulaym instructed them [to be]. Sulaym [now] went off, carrying with him foodstuffs to last for days and loads of *khabīṣ*,[554] until he reached Nīzak. Nīzak said to him, "You have abandoned me, O Sulaym." Sulaym said, "I haven't abandoned you, but you disobeyed me and did harm to yourself. You disavowed [Qutaybah] and acted perfidiously." [Nīzak] said, "What is the right thing to do?" [Sulaym] said, "The right thing to do now is to go to him. You have angered him with your contention, and he is not going to leave this place of his. He is resolved to winter *in situ*, whether he perishes or survives." [Nīzak] said, "Am I to go to him without a safe-conduct?" [Sulaym] said, "I don't think that he will give you one, on account of what [he holds] against you in his heart, for you have filled him with wrath. I think that you should place your hand in his before he is aware of you, and I hope that, if you do that, he will be ashamed and will forgive you." [Nīzak] said, "You think that?" He said, "Yes." [Nīzak] said, "I can't bring myself to accept that. If Qutaybah sees me, he will kill me." Sulaym said to him, "I have only come to advise you to do this. If you do it, I hope that [1221] you will be safe and that your position with him will revert to what it was. If you refuse, I shall be off." [Nīzak] said, "Then let us give you lunch." [Sulaym] said, "I suspect that you (pl.) are too busy to prepare food; we have plenty of food with us."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: Sulaym called for lunch [to be served], and [his servants] brought abundant food, the like of which [Nīzak's men] had been unfamiliar with since they had been besieged. The Turks devoured it, and that grieved Nīzak. Sulaym said, "O Abū al-Hayyāj, I am one of your [most] sincere advisers. I see that your companions have been worn out. If the siege goes on for a long time and you stay as you are, I can't be

554. Lane (*Lexicon*, p. 697c) defines this as "a kind of food, sweet, well known, made of dates and clarified butter, mixed together."

sure that they won't make use of you in order to gain safe-conduct. Set off and go to Qutaybah." [Nīzak] said, "I have never felt safe with him, and I shall not go to him without a safe-conduct. My feeling about him is that he is going to kill me even if he does give me a safe-conduct, but the safe-conduct gives me more excuse from blame and more hope." [Sulaym] said, "He has given you a safe-conduct: do you have any doubts about me?" Nīzak said, "No." [Sulaym] said, "So set off with me." His companions said to him, "Accept what Sulaym has said; he would not have said but what is true." So he called for his riding animals and went with Sulaym.

When he reached the steps by which he might descend to the plain, he said, "O Sulaym, whoever may not know when he will die, I [for one] know when I shall die. I shall die when I see Qutaybah." [Sulaym] said, "By no means. Will he kill when you have a safe-conduct?" Then [Nīzak] rode, accompanied by Jabghūyah, who had recovered from smallpox, and Ṣūl and 'Uthmān, the sons of Nīzak's brother, and Ṣūl Ṭarkhān, [who was] Jabghūyah's deputy, and Kh.n.s.[555] Ṭarkhān, [who] was the police chief.

['Alī b. Muḥammad] said: When he emerged from the pass, the cavalry left by Sulaym at the mouth of the pass slipped around and interposed themselves between the Turks and the exit. Nīzak
[1222] said to Sulaym, "This is the first bad [sign]." [Sulaym] said, "Don't think that.[556] The [fact that] these people are staying behind[557] you is better for you." Sulaym went on, together with Nīzak and those who had had gone out with him, until they entered into the presence of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim, who sent a messenger to Qutaybah informing him [of this]. Qutaybah sent 'Amr b. Abī Mih-zam to 'Abd al-Raḥmān [with the message], "Bring them to me," and 'Abd al-Raḥmān brought them to him. Qutaybah imprisoned the companions of Nīzak and handed Nīzak [himself] over to Ibn Bassām al-Laythī. He wrote to al-

555. Or "Ḥ.b.s.," as in Ms P and Ibn al-Athīr.

556. So understanding *lā taf'al* in the text; Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 227) reads *lā 'alayka*, "don't worry," at this point.

557. Reading *takhallufu* in place of *tukhallifu* (*pace* the *Addenda et Emendanda*).

Ḥajjāj asking his permission to kill Nīzak.

Ibn Bassām placed Nīzak in his yurt, dug a trench around the yurt, and set guards over him. Qutaybah sent off Muʿāwiyah b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAlqamah al-ʿUlaymī, who removed what goods and people there were in al-Kurz and brought them to Qutaybah. [Qutaybah] imprisoned [these people], pending [the arrival of] al-Ḥajjāj's letter concerning what he had written to him about. Al-Ḥajjāj's letter instructing him to kill Nīzak reached him after forty days.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] said: [Qutaybah] called for [Nīzak] and said, "Do you have any commitment from me or from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān or from Sulaym?" He said, "I have one from Sulaym." [Qutaybah] said, "You are lying," and he stood up and went into [an inner chamber]. He returned Nīzak to his prison and remained [indoors] for three days without appearing to the people.

According to [ʿAlī b. Muḥammad]—Al-Muhallab b. Iyās al-ʿAdawī: The people talked about the matter of Nīzak. Some of them said, "It is not lawful for [Qutaybah] to kill him," while others said, "It is not lawful for him to let him be." Much was said about this.

[ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] continued: On the fourth day Qutaybah came out, sat, and gave permission to the people [to come into his presence]. He said, "What do you think about killing Nīzak?" They held differing opinions: There were those who said, "Kill him," those who said, "You have given him a commitment; do not kill him," and those who said, "We are not sure [that he will not do harm] to the Muslims," Ḍirār b. Ḥuṣayn entered, and [1223]
[Qutaybah] said to him, "What do you say, O Ḍirār?" He said, "I say that I heard you say that you had given God a covenant that if He delivered [Nīzak] into your hands, you would kill him, and that if you did not do so, [you wished that] God would never help you." Qutaybah sat silently and with downcast eyes for a long time and then said, "By God, if there were to remain of my allotted span no more than three words, I would say, 'Kill him, kill him, kill him.'" He sent for Nīzak and ordered that he and his companions be killed; he was killed along with seven hundred [others].

As for the Bāhilīs, they say that neither [Qutaybah] nor Sulaym gave him a safe-conduct. When [Qutaybah] intended to kill him,

he called for him and for a Ḥanafī sword.[558] He unsheathed it, lengthened[559] his sleeves, and executed him with his [own] hand. He ordered 'Abd al-Raḥmān to behead Ṣūl, and he ordered Ṣāliḥ to kill 'Uthmān, called Shaqrān, the son of Nīzak's brother. He said to Bakr b. Ḥabīb al-Sahmī, from Bāhilah, "Have you [enough] strength [to deal with the rest]?" He said, "Yes, more than enough";[560] there was roughness in Bakr. [Qutaybah] said [to him], "Take these dihqāns."

['Alī b. Muḥammad] continued: When he was brought a man, he would behead him and say, "Begin and keep at it."[561] Those who were killed on that day [numbered] twelve thousand, according to what the Bāhilīs say. [Qutaybah] crucified Nīzak and the two sons of his brother at the source of a spring called Wakhsh Khāshān[562] in Iskīmisht. Al-Mughīrah b. Ḥabnā' said, mentioning that in a long piece (*ṭawīl*):[563]

By my life, what a good campaign by the army that was;
    it put an end to Nīzak and became lofty [in merit].

According to 'Alī—Muṣ'ab b. Ḥayyān—his father: Qutaybah
[1224] sent the head of Nīzak with Miḥfan b. Jaz' al-Kilābī and Sawwār b. Zahdam al-Jarmī. Al-Ḥajjāj said, "Qutaybah should have sent Nīzak's head with one of the sons of Muslim."[564] Sawwār said (*wāfir*):

I say to Miḥfan, when an auspicious [bird]
    has flown [from on my left]
    and another [bird], an inauspicious one,
    from my right,
And disasters have begun to
    rise up all around him, and stop short of me,

558. According to Lane (*Lexicon*, p. 658), Ḥanafī swords were "*certain swords, so called in relation to El-Aḥnaf Ibn-Ḳeys*; because he was the first who ordered to make them."

559. Sic: unrolled? One might rather have expected him to roll his sleeves up.

560. Following the preference of the *Glossarium* and of the *Addenda et Emendanda* for *wa-azīdu* (rather than *wa-urīdu*).

561. *Awridū wa-aṣdirū*: cf. al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās*, s.v. *ṣ.d.r.*

562. Not even Marquart has anything to say about this place.

563. On the poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 374–75. The following verse is given (in mangled form) by Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 229); Ibn al-Athīr ascribes it to Nahār b. Tawsi'ah.

564. I.e., one of his brothers.

"I beseech you, does it please you that my saddle and yours are on Bādhibīn[565] mules?"

Miḥfan said, "Yes, [both here] and in China."

'Alī said: According to (i) Ḥamzah b. Ibrāhīm, (ii) 'Alī b. Mujāhid—Ḥanbal b. Abī Ḥuraydah—the marzbān of Qūhistān, and (iii) [an authority/authorities] other than those two: Qutaybah called for Nīzak one day, while he was imprisoned, and said, "What is your opinion about al-Sabal and al-Shadh? Do you think that they will come if I send to them [to come]?" [Nīzak] said, "No."

['Alī] continued: Qutaybah sent to them, and they came to him. He summoned Nīzak and Jabghūyah, and they entered, and there were al-Sabal and al-Shadh sitting in front of him. [Nīzak and Jabghūyah] sat down opposite them, and al-Shadh said to Qutaybah, "Jabghūyah, even though he is an enemy of mine, is older that I; and he is the king, while I am as his slave. Give me permission to draw near to him." [Qutaybah] gave him permission, and he drew near to him, kissed his hand, and prostrated himself before him.

['Alī] continued: Then al-Sabal[566] asked [Qutaybah's] permission [in respect of Jabghūyah]; [Qutaybah gave him permission, and he drew near to him and kissed his hand. Nīzak said to Qutaybah, "Give me permission to draw near to al-Shadh, for I am his slave." He gave him permission, and he drew near to him [1225] and kissed his hand. Then Qutaybah gave leave to al-Sabal and al-Shadh, and they departed to their lands; he joined to al-Shadh['s party] al-Ḥajjāj al-Qaynī, who was a leading Khurasani.

Qutaybah killed Nīzak, and al-Zubayr, the mawlā of 'Ābis[567] al-Bāhilī, took a boot of Nīzak's in which there was a jewel. Owing to that jewel, which he had acquired in [Nīzak's] boot, he became the richest and most landed person in his territory. Qutaybah allowed him it, and he remained rich until he died at Kābul in the governorship of Abū Dāwūd.[568]

565. A place in Iraq to the east of Wāsiṭ (see Cornu).

566. Following Ms B. (*Thumma ista'dhanahu al-sabal*) in preference to the version that inserts *fī* before *al-sabal*; the latter version would involve al-Shadh's paying homage to al-Sabal, which seems less likely.

567. Ibn al-Athīr reads "'Abbās."

568. Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm al-Dhuhlī, who was governor of Khurasan from 137/754–55 to 140/757–58 (see Omar, *The 'Abbāsid Caliphate, 132/750–170/786*, pp. 203–4).

['Alī] continued: Qutaybah set Jabghūyah free, gave generously to him, and sent him to al-Walīd; he stayed in Syria until al-Walīd died. Qutaybah returned to Marw, and appointed his brother 'Abd al-Raḥman over Balkh. The people used to say that Qutaybah behaved perfidiously toward Nīzak. Thābit Quṭnah[569] said (*ṭawīl*):

Do not consider perfidy [to be the equal of] resolution;
with it feet may ascend one day and then slip.

['Alī] said: Al-Ḥajjāj used to say, "I sent Qutaybah as an inexperienced young man: Whenever I gave him an extra *dhirā'*, he gave me an extra *bā'*."[570]

'Alī said: According to (i) Ḥamzah b. Ibrāhīm—Khurasani shaykhs, (ii) 'Alī b. Mujāhid—Ḥanbal b. Abī Ḥuraydah—the marzbān of Qūhistān, and (iii) [an authority/authorities] other than those two: When Qutaybah b. Muslim had returned to Marw and killed Nīzak, he sought the king of al-Jūzjān, who had fled from his country. [The king] sent [word to Qutaybah], requesting a safe-conduct, and [Qutaybah] gave him one on condition that he come to him and make peace with him. [The king] requested hostages, to be held by him, while he [in turn] would give hos-
[1226] tages. Qutaybah gave [him] Ḥabīb b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥuṣayn al-Bāhilī, and the king of al-Jūzjān gave [him] hostages from his family. The king of al-Jūzjān left Ḥabīb in al-Jūzjān, in one of his fortresses, and came to Qutaybah and made peace with him. Then he returned and died in al-Ṭālaqān. The people of al-Jūzjān said, "They have poisoned him," and they killed Ḥabīb; [at this,] Qutaybah killed the hostages who were with him. Nahār b. Tawsi'ah said to Qutaybah (*wāfir*):[571]

May God show you a judgment concerning the Turks
like [His] judgment concerning Qurayẓah and al-Naḍīr![572]
A decree from Qutaybah, not tyrannical,
through which thirsting bosoms are cured.

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569. Thābit (b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān) b. Ka'b al-'Atakī (see Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 376–77).

570. I.e., he repaid him amply or fourfold. *Dhirā'* signifies "forearm, cubit," and the *dhirā' shar'iyyah* is the canonical ell of 49.875 cm; *bā'* signifies the "span of two outstretched arms" and is the equivalent of four canonical ells.

571. The first two of the following verses are given also by Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 233).

572. Two of the Jewish groupings at Yathrib against whom the Prophet took harsh measures (*EI*², s.v. Ḳurayẓa).

If Nīzak sees disgrace and abasement,
then how many amīrs have been rendered stupid
in the war?

Al-Mughīrah b. Ḥabnā' said, eulogizing Qutaybah and mentioning the killing of Nīzak, Ṣūl, and Nīzak's nephew [called] 'Uthmān or Shaqrān (*kāmil*):[573]

For whom have the abodes effaced at the foot of
a piece [of land]
[everything] except for what remains of dry
herbage and panic grass?
The winds have violently blown about the dust and
rubbish there and have obliterated them,
sweeping right across their open spaces.
An abode of a slave girl, whose saliva is
as if it were musk, the mixture of which is
mingled with wine.
Inform Abū Ḥafṣ Qutaybah of my eulogy,
and recite to him my greeting and salutation.
O sword, convey it, for its praise is
good, and you are witness to my deed.
He is elevated, and, when he is elevated, men are humbled
to Qutaybah, the protector of the preserve of Islam.
The finest one, the one who is chosen for a matter
of moment,
the experienced one, through whom the numerous
enemy is taken.
He goes forth when the coward fears and the war has
become hot, its fire kindled with blazing
kindling grass.
The spear, with the standard before it, is given to drink
blood, under flashing [weapons] and [gushing]
throats;
Heads are cut off by swords as if they were [1227]
broken ostrich eggs, when you see them in
the hole.
You see slender steeds readied

573. The first of the following verses appears also (in mangled form) in Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 224).

in his courtyard for whatever may befall;
With them he brought Nīzak down from a high place
and al-Kurz, where [Nīzak] was doing what he
wanted.
You gave to his brother, Shaqrān, to drink from
his cup,
and you gave their two cups to Bādhām to
drink from.
You left Ṣūl, when he attacked, knocked down,
with the horses treading on him with the
backs and edges of their hooves.

In this year—I mean the year 91—Qutaybah made his second campaign in Shūmān, Kish, and Nasaf, and he made peace with Ṭarkhān.[574]

[*Qutaybah's Campaign in Transoxania*]

'Alī said: According to (i) Bishr b. 'Īsā—Abū Ṣafwān, (ii) Abū al-Sarī and Jabalah b. Farrūkh—Sulaymān b. Mujālid, (iii) al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd—Tufayl b. Mirdās al-'Ammī, (iv) Abū al-Sarī al-Marwazī—his paternal uncle, (v) Bishr b. 'Īsā and 'Alī b. Mujāhid—Ḥanbal b. Abī Ḥuraydah—the marzbān of Qūhistān, (vi) 'Ayyāsh b. 'Abdallāh al-Ghanawī—Khurasani shaykhs, and (vii) my foster father—"each has mentioned something, and I have put it [all] together and have inserted some parts into other parts": Qaybishtasbān[575]—one of them said Ghushtāsbān[576]—the king of Shūmān, threw out Qutaybah's governor and withheld the tribute on the basis of which he had made peace with Qutaybah.
[1228] Qutaybah sent to him 'Ayyāsh al-Ghanawī, accompanied by one of the Khurasani ascetics, to induce the king of Shūmān to pay the tribute on the basis of which he had made peace with Qutaybah. They reached the country, and [the people] came out to them and shot at them. [The ascetic] turned back, while 'Ayyāsh al-Ghanawī stayed [where he was]. He said, "Is there no

574. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 38ff.
575. Following the proposal of Marquart in the *Addenda et Emendanda* (see also *Ērānšahr*, p. 226 [= Kai-Bištaspān; cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 372]).
576. Following the proposal of Marquart in the *Addenda et Emendanda* (see also *Ērānšahr*, loc. cit. = Ghuštāspān, and cf. above, p. 128 and n. 442).

Muslim here?" and a man came out of the city to him and said, "I am a Muslim; what do you want?" ['Ayyāsh] said, "[I want] you to help me make holy war (*jihād*) against them." [The man] said, "Yes." 'Ayyāsh said to him, "Be behind me to protect my back," and he stood behind him; the man's name was al-Muhallab. 'Ayyāsh fought them; he charged them, and they scattered away from him. [Then] al-Muhallab attacked 'Ayyāsh from behind and killed him. They found sixty wounds on him, and his death grieved them; they said, "We have killed a brave man."

[News of this] reached Qutaybah, who went to them in person, taking the Balkh road. When he reached [Balkh], he sent his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān on ahead and placed 'Amr b. Muslim over Balkh. The king of Shūmān was a friend of Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim's, and Ṣāliḥ sent to him a man to order him to [render] obedience and guarantee him Qutaybah's pleasure if he reverted to the [terms of the] peace. [The king] refused and said to Ṣāliḥ's messenger, "With what will you make me frightened of Qutaybah? I, among the kings, have the strongest fortress. When I shoot at the top of it—I, the strongest of people with the bow and the strongest of them in shooting—my arrow does not [even] get halfway up my fortress. I do not fear Qutaybah."

Qutaybah went on from Balkh, crossed the river, and reached Shūmān, where the king had fortified himself. Qutaybah set up mangonels against it and pounded it. When [the king] feared that he would be vanquished and saw what had befallen him, he gathered all the money and jewels he had and dropped them in a spring in the middle of the fortress, the bottom of which was not known.

['Alī] said: Then [Qutaybah] conquered the fortress. [The king] went out to them, fought them, and was killed. Qutaybah took the fortress by force of arms, killed the fighting men, and took the offspring captive. Then he returned to Bāb al-Ḥadīd,[577] and passed [1229]
from there to Kish and Nasaf. Al-Ḥajjāj had written to him, "Outwit Kish, and smash Nasaf; and beware of beating about the bush."[578] He conquered Kish and Nasaf, [but] F.ryāb[579] held out

577. The famous Iron Gate, i.e., the Buzgala pass, on the road from al-Tirmidh to Kish and Nasaf (Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 186; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 441–42).

578. Cf. above, p. 147.

579. Thus, too, in Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 83), but this cannot be the

against him; so he burned it, and it was called "The Burnt."[580] From Kish and Nasaf, Qutaybah sent his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim to Ṭarkhūn in Soghd. ['Abd al-Raḥmān] went along until he stopped at a meadow near [Ṭarkhūn and his followers], that being at the time of the afternoon prayer. [His army] broke up into groups and drank until they became silly and made mischief. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ordered Abū Mardiyyah, a mawlā of theirs (sc. the Bāhilīs), to prevent the people from drinking the [fermented] juice;[581] he beat them, broke their vessels, and poured out their wine, which flowed into the valley. It was called "Wine Meadow." One of their poets said (*kāmil*):

As for wine, I do not drink it;
    I fear the dog Abū Mardiyyah,
Going vigorously and violently with his ax handle,[582]
    jumping over walls, [looking] for drink.

'Abd al-Raḥmān took from Ṭarkhūn something on the basis of which Qutaybah had made peace with him, handed over to him [some] hostages that were with him, and departed [heading] for Qutaybah, who was at Bukhārā. They then returned to Marw.

The Soghdians said to Ṭarkhūn, "You have been satisfied with humiliation, and you have deemed the [paying of] tax agreeable; you are an old man, and we have no need of you."

['Alī] said: They put Ghūrak[583] in charge and imprisoned Ṭarkhūn. Ṭarkhūn said, "There is nothing after being stripped of kingship other than being killed; I prefer that that should be by my [own] hand rather than that someone other than myself should take charge of it in respect of me"; and he leaned on his
[1230] sword until it came out of his back.[584] ['Alī] said: They did this to

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well-known Fāryāb, since the context is Transoxanian; see Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 138 (also Wellhausen, *Kingdom*, pp. 435 [n. 3], 466).

580. As Barthold (*Turkestan*[3], p. 138, citing al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ser. ii, p. 1041) notes, a village in this area had become known as "The Burnt" as a result of the earlier activities of Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab.

581. So rendering *al-'aṣīr*, which was clearly alcoholic in this case (Dr. D. F. Waines has informed me that this sense of *'aṣīr* is not uncommon).

582. Preferring *bi-shikkatihi*, as proposed by the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

583. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda*, rather than the text (see also Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, p. 42 and n. 15 thereto); Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 84) gives this form and says that Ghūrak was Ṭarkhūn's brother.

584. According to al-Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 344), Ghūrak killed Ṭarkhūn.

Ṭarkhūn when Qutaybah went out to Sijistān; and they put Ghūrak in charge.

As for the Bāhilīs, they say: Qutaybah besieged the king of Shūmān and set mangonels against his fortress. He set up a mangonel that they used to call "The Pigeon-Toed," shot the first stone, and hit the [city] wall; he shot another, and it landed in the city. Then the stones followed one another, landing in the city. One of them landed in the king's court, hitting a man and killing him. [Qutaybah] conquered the fortress by force of arms. Then he returned to Kish and Nasaf, and thence to Bukhārā. He stopped at a village in which there were a fire temple and a house of gods; in [this village] there were peacocks, and they called it "The Dwelling Place of the Peacocks."[585] Then he went to Ṭarkhūn in Soghd, in order to collect from him that on the basis of which he had made peace with him. When he looked out on the valley of Soghd and saw how good it was, he recited (*basīṭ*):

A green and fertile valley that has been protected
    from people, out of caution against death and battle.[586]
I have come to it with fine horses, that are urged along,
    bringing at a run tousle-headed [fighters]
    thirsty for blood.

['Alī] said: [Qutaybah] took from Ṭarkhūn his [tribute as stipulated in the] peace. Then he returned to Bukhārā. He made a young man Bukhārā Khudhāh, and killed those he feared would oppose him. Then he went by way of Āmul to Marw.

According to ['Alī]—the Bāhilīs—Bashshār b. 'Amr—a man from Bāhilah: [Qutaybah's men] kept on bombarding their buildings until the fortress was conquered.

[*Khālid al-Qasrī's Strict Governorship of Mecca*]

In this year al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik appointed over Mecca Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, who remained governor there until [1231]
al-Walīd died.

585. *Manzil al-ṭawāwīs.* See Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], pp. 98–99.
586. Reading *ḥadhāru 'l-mawti wa-'l-rahaji,* with Ms B.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī—Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Uqbah—Nāfi', mawlā of the Banū Makhzūm: I heard Khālid b. 'Abdallāh say, "O people, you are in the most sacrosanct of God's lands. God chose it from [all] the lands and put His House in it. Then He prescribed for His servants the making of pilgrimage to it, 'he who is able to make his way there.'[587] O people, incumbent upon you are obedience and cleaving to the collective body. Beware of uncertainties. By God, no one who impugns his imām (that is, the Caliph) will be brought to me but that I shall crucify him in the Ḥaram. God has placed the caliphate in relation to Him in the position in which He has placed it. Assent, obey, and do not say, 'Thus and thus.' The only [right] view concerning what the Caliph writes about or opines is to put it into effect. Know that it has reached me that some of those [given to] disobedience are coming to you and staying in your land. Beware not to accommodate anyone you know to be deviating from the collective body. I shall not find any one of them in the house of any one of you but that I shall demolish his house. Look [carefully] at those you accommodate in your houses. Incumbent upon you are the collective body and obedience. Disunity is the great affliction."

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm—Mūsā b. 'Uqbah—Abū Ḥabībah: I performed the lesser pilgrimage and stopped at the residences of the Banū Asad, in the houses of al-Zabīr. Suddenly, there was [Khālid], calling me. I went into his presence, and he said to me, "Who are you from?" I said, "From the people of Medina." He said, "What made you stop in the houses of the one who went against obedience?" I said, "It is where I stay, if I stay for a day or so. Then I go back to my [own] house. There is no disobedience in me. I am one of those who
[1232] exalt the matter of the caliphate. I claim that he who disowns it will be destroyed." He said, "Where you stayed will not be held against you. But it is disliked that there stays [here] anyone who is scornful of the Caliph." I said, "God forbid!" [In addition,] I heard him one day saying, "By God, if I were to know that this wild animal that is safe in the Ḥaram had spoken without acknowledging obedience, I would expel it from the Ḥaram. No one who goes

587. Qur'ān, 3:97 = 91.

against the collective body, who scoffs at [the caliphs], may dwell in the Ḥaram of God." I said, "May God grant the amīr success."

[*Al-Walīd's Visit to Medina*]

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. Aḥmad b. Thābit related to me on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on the authority of Abū Ma'shar, who said: Al-Walīd made the pilgrimage in the year 91.

Similarly, Muḥammad b. 'Umar said: Mūsā b. Abī Bakr related to me: Ṣaliḥ b. Kaysān related to us: When the arrival of al-Walīd took place, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz ordered twenty men from Quraysh to go out with him to meet al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik; they included Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, his brother Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥman, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. They went out until they reached al-Suwaydā',[588] they being with 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz; with them on that day were riding animals and horses. They met al-Walīd, who was mounted. The chamberlain said, "Dismount for the Commander of the Faithful," and they dismounted. Then [al-Walīd] gave them an order, and they rode. [Al-Walīd] summoned 'Umar and went with him until he stopped at Dhū Khushub.[589] Then they were presented: [Al-Walīd] summoned them one by one, and they greeted him. [After this, al-Walīd] called for lunch, and they lunched with him; he left Dhū Khushub in the evening.

When he entered Medina, he went in the morning to the mosque, to look at its building. The people were cleared out of it, and no one was left in it except[590] Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, whom [1233] none of the guards dared to send out. [Sa'īd] was in his place of prayer wearing only two thin garments, worth no more than five dirhams. Someone said to him, "If only you would stand," and he said, "I shall not stand until there comes the time when I usually stand." Someone said to him, "If only you would greet the Commander of the Faithful," and he said, "No, by God. I shall not

588. Two stages from Medina on the way to Syria (see Cornu).
589. One stage from Medina on the way to Syria (see Cornu).
590. Literally, ". . . no one was left in it. Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab remained. . . ."

stand up for him." 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz said, "I began to steer al-Walīd to the side of the mosque, hoping that he would not see Sa'īd until he stood up." But al-Walīd happened to glance toward the *qiblah* and said, "Who is that [person] sitting? Is he the shaykh Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab?" 'Umar said, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful, he's unpredictable.[591] If he knew that you were here, he would stand up and greet you, [but] his sight is weak." Al-Walīd said, "I know about him. We shall go to him and greet him." He took a turn in the mosque until he stopped at the grave [of the Prophet], and then advanced until he stood before Sa'īd. He said, "How are you, O shaykh?" Sa'īd neither moved nor stood, and [then] said, "Well, praise be to God. And how is the Commander of the Faithful?" Al-Walīd said, "Well, praise be to God," and he departed, saying to 'Umar, "This is the last of the old school."[592] I said, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful."

[Muḥammad b. 'Umar] said: Al-Walīd distributed in Medina many foreign slaves,[593] vessels of gold and silver, and wealth. He gave the sermon in Medina on the Friday and led the prayer.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā: I saw al-Walīd delivering the sermon on the pulpit of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, on Friday in the year when he made the pilgrimage. His troops were lined up in two rows from the pulpit to the back wall of the mosque; in their hands
[1234] were iron rods, and on their shoulders were iron bars. I saw him ascend it wearing a *durrā'ah*[594] and a *qalansuwwah*,[595] without a *ridā'*.[596] He went up the pulpit, and, when he reached the top, he

591. *Wa-min ḥālihi wa-min ḥālihi*: Ibn al-Athīr has *wa-min ḥālihi kadhā wa-kadhā*, while Ibn Kathīr's version (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 82) is somewhat different at this point.

592. So rendering *baqiyyat al-nās* (thus, too, in al-Ya'qūbī [*Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 341] and Ibn al-Athīr); Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 82) more prosaically reads *faqīh al-nās*.

593. *Raqīq^an kathīr^an ujm^an*. Ibn al-Athīr has *daqīq^an kathīr^an*, but al-Ṭabarī's *'ujm^an* is the clincher as far as the *raqīq^an* reading is concerned.

594. A "[garment of the kind called] *jubba*, slit in the fore part" (Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 872b, s.v. *midra'a*), lined, according to *EI*², s.v. Libās (vol. V, p. 737a); see also Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, pp. 177–81.

595. Originally a close-fitting cap, this could also designate a hood or cowl (*EI*², s.v. Libās (vol. V, pp. 734b–735a); see also Dozy, *Noms des vêtements*, pp. 365–71.

596. "Garment covering the upper half of the body" (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.); al-Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 341) provides an abbreviated version of this report.

proclaimed a greeting. Then he sat, and the muezzins made the call to prayer. Then they were quiet, and he delivered the first sermon sitting; then he stood, and delivered the second standing. Isḥāq said: I met Rajā' b. Ḥaywah,[597] who was accompanying [al-Walīd], and said, "Do they [always] do it this way?" He said, "Yes. Mu'āwiyah did it in this way, and so on." I said, "Aren't you going to speak to him [about it]?" He said, "Qabīṣah b. Dhu'ayb informed me that he spoke to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān [about it], and he refused to do [anything different], saying, "Uthmān delivered sermons in this way.'" I said, "By God, he did not deliver sermons in this way; 'Uthmān only delivered sermons standing up." Rajā' said, "They were told this and took to it." Isḥāq said: We did not see any [Umayyad caliph] more proud than [al-Walīd].

Muḥammad b. 'Umar said: [al-Walīd] brought the incense of the mosque of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, its thurible, and the covering of the Ka'bah. [The covering] was spread out on ropes in the mosque, [it being made] of good brocade. The like of it had never been seen. He spread it out one day, and then folded [it] and moved [it].

The governors of the *amṣār* in this year were [the same as] those who were their governors in the year 90, except for Mecca, the governor of which in this year was Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, according to al-Wāqidī. [An authority/authorities] other than al-Wāqidī said: The governorship of Mecca was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's in this year too.

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597. On him, see Bosworth, "Rajā' b. Ḥaywa al-Kindī and the Umayyad Caliphs," *The Islamic Quarterly* 16 (1972), pp. 36–80.

The Events of the Year 92

[1235] (October 29, 710–October 18, 711)

Among them was the campaign of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Umar b. al-Walīd in Byzantine territory. Three fortresses were conquered at the hands of Maslamah; the people of Sūsanah migrated to the inner part of Byzantine territory.

In this year Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, the mawlā of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, campaigned in al-Andalus with twelve thousand [men]. He encountered the king of al-Andalus—al-Wāqidī claimed that he was called Adrīnūq[598]—who was one of the people of Iṣbahān. He (?al-Wāqidī) said: They are the kings of the foreigners of al-Andalus.[599] Ṭāriq marched on him with all his forces, and al-Adrīnūq went forward on the king's throne, wearing his crown, his gloves, and all the adornments kings used to wear. They fought a hard battle until God killed al-Adrīnūq. Al-Andalus was conquered in the year 92.

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598. I.e., Roderic; "al-Adrīq" in al-Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 341) and both "Adhrīqūn" and "Adrūnīq" in Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 83).

599. Al-Ya'qūbī's version of what is clearly the same report (*Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 341) is to be taken to mean at this point "they are the Goths, the kings of al-Andalus."

In [this year], according to what one of the biographers (*ahl al-siyar*) claimed, Qutaybah campaigned in Sijistān, heading for the great Zunbīl and al-Zābul.[600] When he stopped in Sijistān, the messengers of the Zunbīl met him with [a proposal for] a peace agreement.[601] [Qutaybah] accepted that, departed, and appointed over them 'Abd Rabbihi b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr al-Laythī.

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was over Medina: Thus it was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit on the authority of he who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on the authority of Abū Ma'shar; and al- [1236]
Wāqidī and [an authority/authorities] other than him said the same. The governors of the *amṣār* in this year were [the same as] their governors in the preceding year.

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600. i.e., Zābulistān (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 247).
601. Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 234) provides some details.

The Events of the Year 93

(October 19, 711–October 6, 712)

Among [the events] in [this year] was the campaign of al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd in Byzantine territory. God conquered Samasṭiyyah[602] at his hands.

In it, too, was the campaign of Marwān b. al-Walīd against the Byzantines. He reached Khanjarah.[603]

In it was the campaign of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik in Byzantine territory. He conquered Māsah,[604] and Ḥiṣn al-Ḥadīd, Ghazālah, and Tarḥamah[605] in the region of Malaṭyah.

In it Qutaybah killed the king of Khām Jird and made a renewed peace with the king of Khwārazm.[606]

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602. Sabasṭiyya, according to Ibn al-Athīr. Brooks ("The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 193n.) and Lilie (*Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 120n.) take it to signify Mistheia.

603. I.e., Gangra.

604. I.e., Amaseia.

605. Following the Mss. and Brooks ("The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 194n); Khālifah's version (*Ta'rīkh*, p. 309) is even more mangled.

606. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 42ff.; Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, pp. 235–37. It looks as if it remains for Khām Jird to be identified, but Gibb rightly points out that its king is to be identified with Khurrazādh (who figures in the account that follows here), "or at least with his party" (p. 43).

[*The Killing of the King of Khām Jird and Renewed Peace with Khwārazm*]

'Alī b. Muḥammad said: According to (i) Abū al-Dhayyāl—al-Muhallab b. Iyās, (ii) al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd—Ṭufayl b. Mirdās al-'Ammī, (iii) 'Alī b. Mujāhid—Ḥanbal b. Abī Ḥuraydah—the [1237]
marzbān of Qūhistān, (iv) Kulayb b. Khalaf, (v) the Bāhilīs, and (vi) [an authority/authorities] other than [the foregoing]—some of them mentioned what others did not mention, and I have put it all together: The king of Khwārazm was weak, and his younger brother Khurrazādh seized power. If it reached him that anyone who concerned himself with the king had a slave girl or a riding animal or fine goods, he sent and took it [from him]; or [if] it reached him that any one of them had a daughter or a sister or a beautiful wife, he sent to him and constrained him by force, taking what he wanted and withholding what he wanted. No one could hold out against him, nor could the king protect [anyone]. When [the king] was spoken to [about this], he said, "I am not strong [enough to deal] with him." [Khurraz]madh] had nonetheless filled him with anger, and, when that had gone on for a long time on the part of [Khurrazādh], to the detriment of [the king], he wrote to Qutaybah, calling him to his land [and] desiring to hand it over to him. He sent to him the keys of the cities of Khwārazm—three keys of gold—and he stipulated that [Qutaybah] should hand over to him his brother and all who had opposed him, so that he might judge concerning [them] as he saw fit. He sent messengers concerning [all] that, and he did not apprise any of his marzbāns or dihqāns of what he had written about to Qutaybah. His messengers reached Qutaybah in the last part of the winter, at the time [when] campaigning [started]; Qutaybah had [already] prepared himself for campaigning, and he made it look as if he were heading for Soghd. The Khwārazm Shāh's messengers returned to him with welcome news from Qutaybah, who went and deputed over Marw Thābit al-A'war, Muslim's mawlā.

['Alī] said: [The Khwārazm Shāh] gathered together his kings, his religious leaders (*aḥbār*), and his dihqāns, and said, "Qutaybah is heading for Soghd and won't be campaigning against you; come, let us take our ease in this spring of ours," and they began drinking and taking their ease, thinking themselves safe from campaigning.

['Alī] said: The next thing they knew was that Qutaybah had [1238]

stopped at Hazārasp,[607] on the other side of the river. The Khwārazm Shāh said to his companions, "What do you think?" They said, "We think that we should fight him." He said, "But I do not think that. People stronger and more powerful than we are have been helpless before him. I think that we should turn him away by giving him something. We'll turn him away for this year and [then] see what we think." They said, "We agree with your view." The Khwārazm Shāh accordingly set off and stopped at the city of al-Fīl on the other side of the river.[608] ['Alī] said: The cities of the Khwārazm Shāh [were] three [in number], surrounded by a single moat;[609] the city of al-Fīl is the most strongly fortified of them.

The Khwārazm Shāh stopped at [al-Fīl] while Qutaybah was at Hazārasp, on the other side of the river; he had not crossed it, and [indeed] only the Balkh river (that is, the Oxus) lay between him and the Khwārazm Shah. [The latter] made peace with Qutaybah for ten thousand slaves,[610] for gold and goods, and on the conditions that [Qutaybah] would help him against the king of Khām Jird and would fulfill what he had written for him. Qutaybah accepted that from him and fulfilled [what he had said he would do] for him. [He] sent to the king of Khām Jird—who had been hostile to the Khwārazm Shāh—his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who fought him, killed him, and gained mastery over his land. He then came to Qutaybah from [there] with four thousand prisoners; [Qutaybah] killed them. When his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān brought them, Qutaybah ordered that his throne be brought out, and he appeared before the people [sitting on it].

['Alī] said: He ordered that the prisoners be killed: One thousand were killed in front of him, one thousand to his right, one thousand to his left, and one thousand behind him.

According to ['Alī]—al-Muhallab b. Iyās: The swords of the

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607. *EI*², s.v.

608. I.e., at Kāth, the ancient capital of Khwārazm; "at the time of the Arab invasion the town consisted of three parts, of which the most strongly fortified, *i.e.*, the citadel, bore the name of Fīl or Fīr" (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, p. 144).

609. *Fārqīn*, which is defined in the *Glossarium* as "fossa quae cingit murum urbis"; according to the *Glossarium* (p. 82) accompanying al-Balādhurī's *Futūḥ*, this is the arabized form of Persian *bārgīn* or *pārgīn*.

610. Translated thus here and below; literally, "heads."

nobles were taken on that day, and heads were cut off with them. Among them were [swords] that could neither cut nor wound. [1239] They took my sword, with which nothing had been struck without being cut clean through. One of Qutaybah's family envied me [it], and he indicated to the one who was performing the executions that he should cut to one side with it; he cut a little to one side and it hit the molar of the dead man and was notched. Abū al-Dhayyāl said: I have the sword.

['Alī] said: Qutaybah handed over to the Khwārazm Shāh his brother and those who had gone against him, and he killed them, appropriated their wealth, and sent it to Qutaybah. Qutaybah entered the city of Fīl[611] and accepted from the Khwārazm Shāh that on the basis of which he had made peace with him. Then he returned to Hazārasp. Ka'b al-Ashqarī said (*basīṭ*):[612]

Fīl has cast to you what is in it and has not transgressed;
    before you, the boastful babbler[613] wanted it.
He who is weak with the spear will not suffice
    for the frontier, nor
    will the one who is soft when put to the test,
    [the one with] a palpitating heart.
Do you remember the nights when you were killing
    Turks
    on the other side of Kāzah,[614] while the
    babbler was wrapped in his sheet?
They only rode horses once they were grown men,
    heavy [men], hard on their backs.
You (pl.) are Sh.bās and Mardādhān, [who is] despicable,
    and Baskharā', tombs filled with foreskins.[615] [1240]

611. Which has now lost its definite article.

612. Verses 1, 4, 5, and 7 occur in *Aghānī*², vol. XIV, p. 299; verse 6 occurs in Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 237; verses 4 and 5 occur in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 387, and verse 1 in vol. III, p. 933.

613. Presumably, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab is meant.

614. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. IV, p. 226 ult., knows this as one of the villages of Marw.

615. This verse calls for several comments: (i) As will become clear and as was noted by Hell ("al-Farazdak's Lieder auf die Muhallabiten," p. 591 n.), the purpose of the verse is to point to the non-Arab origins of the Muhallabids. The Persian names come in various forms: (a) Sh.bās (Ṭab.), Shunās (*Agh.*), and B.shāsh (Yāqūt),

I have seen that the battle days of Abū Ḥafṣ (that is,
Qutaybah) prefer him,
while the efforts of the people differ.
[He is] the pure Qaysite,[616] while some of the
people[617] are allotted to
villages and countryside, those with real
genealogies and those with fake ones.
If you had obeyed the people of weakness, they would
not have shared
seventy thousand [slaves], with the glory of Soghd
commencing anew.
In Samarqand there is more [booty]: you are the one
to divide it up,
if death hangs back from your soul.
You have been ahead with whatever good people have
preferred, and no nobility of what they have left misses
you.

['Alī] said: 'Alī b. Mujāhid recited to me [as the wording of the beginning of the first line], "Fīl has cast to you what is beyond Kāzah"; ['Alī] said: And so too said al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd al-Jūzjānī. As for [someone] other than those two, he said, "Fīl has cast

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while Ibn Ḥajar (*Iṣābah*, vol. II, p. 241) opts for Sanās; (b) M.rdādhān (Ṭab.), Mardādhā' (*Agh.*), B.hbwdhān (Yāqūt; and Ibn Rustah [*al-A'lāq al-nafīsah*, p. 206]); (c) B.skharā' (Ṭab.), Faskharā' (*Agh.*), Baskharah (Yāqūt and Ibn Rustah), and Y.sf.rwḥ or B.sf.rwḥ (*Kitāb al-'uyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iq*, p. 49). The compiler of the *Aghānī* (vol. XIV, p. 300) cites the view that Shunās was the Persian name of al-Muhallab's father, Abū Ṣufrah Ẓālim b. Sarrāq, while Mardādhā' was the name of Abū Ṣufrah's father, and Faskharā' was the name of Abū Ṣufrah's grandfather. On the other hand, Ibn Rustah and Yāqūt identify Abū 'Ubaydah [Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā] as their source for the information that Abū Ṣufrah's original name was Baskharah b. Bahbūdhān (and that he was a Zoroastrian weaver from Khārg Island who went to Oman, attached himself to the Azd, became a groom for 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī, etc.); and it is pretty clear that the information in the *Kitāb al-'uyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iq* comes from the same source.

(ii) The reference to "foreskins" is of course an unambiguous suggestion that Muhallabid origins were non-Arab. (It can be noted that Ibn Ḥajar [*Iṣābah*, vol. I, p. 345] knew that Abū Ṣufrah was not circumcised until he was a *shaykh*, in the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; and it can be added that, according to the *Aghānī*[2] [vol. XXIII, p. 230], even right at the end of the Umayyad period, "Quraysh did not think that any one of the Azd from Oman was an Arab.")

(iii) Where in al-Ṭabarī's version the word following M.rdādhān is *muḥtaqar*^{un}, in the *Aghānī* it is *na'rifuhu*, and in Yāqūt it is *mukhtabar*^{un}.

616. Preferring the *Aghānī's ṣarīḥu Qays*^{in} to al-Ṭabarī's *Qays*^{un} *ṣarīḥ*^{un}.

617. I.e., Yemen.

to you what is in it." They [all] said: Fīl is the [principal] city of [the region of] Samarqand.[618] ['Alī] said: In my opinion, what 'Alī b. Mujāhid said is sounder.

According to ['Alī]—the Bāhilīs: Qutaybah acquired one hundred thousand slaves from Khwārazm.[619]

['Alī] said: Qutaybah's intimates spoke to him in the year 93 saying, "The people are becoming weary," they had come from [1241] Sijistān, "let them rest this year." He refused.

['Alī] said: When [Qutaybah] had made peace with the people of Khwārazm, he went to Soghd. Al-Ashqarī said:

If you had obeyed the people of weakness, they would
not have shared
seventy thousand [slaves], with the glory of Soghd
commencing anew.

Abū Ja'far said: In this year Qutaybah, on his departure form Khwārazm, campaigned against Samarqand and conquered it.[620]

[*Qutaybah's Conquest of Samarqand*]

We have already referred to the chain of authorities (*isnād*) of the people from whom 'Alī b. Muḥammad mentioned that he took [material concerning events] when Qutaybah made peace with the lord of Khwārazm. Then he mentioned, by way of insertion into that [account], that, when he took the peace [tribute] of the lord of Khwārazm, al-Mujashshar[621] b. al-Muzāḥim al-Sulamī said, "I need [to say something to you]; let me be alone with you." [Qutaybah] did so, and [al-Mujashshar] said, "If you want [to conquer] the Soghdians one of these days, do so now, for they feel secure from your moving against them this year. They are only ten days away." [Qutaybah] said, "Has anyone advised you [to suggest] this?" He said, "No." [Qutaybah] said, "Have you informed anyone of it?" He said, "No." [Qutaybah] said, "If anyone speaks of it, I shall execute you."

618. Where al-Ṭabarī has *qālū: Fīl madīnat Samarqand*, al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 421) has *qāla 'Alī b. Mujāhid: innamā madīnat Fīl Samarqand.*

619. Khalīfah (*Ta'rīkh*, p. 309) says ten million, which is amended in the margin to ten thousand.

620. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 44–45; Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, pp. 238ff.

621. Following the emendation proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda.*

[Qutaybah] stayed put that day. On the morning of the next day he summoned 'Abd al-Raḥmān [b. Muslim] and said, "Go with the horsemen and archers and take the baggage[622] to Marw." The baggage was sent off in the direction of Marw, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān spent all that day following it, heading for Marw. In the
[1242] evening, [Qutaybah] wrote to him, "In the morning, send the baggage to Marw and go with the horsemen and archers to Soghd. Keep [this] information secret. I shall be following [you]." ['Alī] said: When [this instruction] reached 'Abd al-Raḥmān, he ordered the people in charge of the baggage to go on to Marw, and he went where he [himself] had been ordered to go.

Qutaybah addressed [his army] and said, "God has conquered this place for you at a time when campaigning in it is possible. Now this [region of] Soghd has no one to defend it. They have broken the covenant that was between us. They have withheld that on the basis of which we made peace with Ṭarkhūn, and have done to him that which has reached you. God has said, 'Whosoever breaks his oath breaks it but to his own hurt.'[623] Go with God's blessing. I hope that Khwārazm and Soghd will be like al-Naḍīr and Qurayẓah,[624] for God has said, 'And other [spoils] you were not able to take; God has encompassed them already.'"[625]

['Alī] said: Qutaybah reached Soghd—'Abd al-Raḥān had reached it before him—with twenty thousand [men].[626] Qutaybah reached it, accompanied by Khwārazmians and Bukhārans, three or four nights after 'Abd al-Raḥmān had stopped there, and said, "When we light on a people's courtyard, how evil will be the morning of them that are warned."[627] He besieged them for a month; in the course of being besieged, [the Soghdians] fought [Qutaybah's men] several times from a single direction. Fearful throughout the siege, the Soghdians wrote to the king of al-Shāsh and the Ikhshād[628] of Farghānah, "If the Arabs vanquish us, they will visit upon you the like of what they brought us."

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622. See above, n. 343.
623. Qur'ān 48:10.
624. See above, n. 572.
625. Qur'ān 48:21.
626. Alternatively, the 20,000 men were with 'Abd al-Raḥmān.
627. Cf. Qur'ān 37:177.
628. Rather than the more usual "Ikhshīd" (see *EI*², s.f.); for further discussion of this form, see Bombaci, "On the Ancient Turkish Title 'Šaδ,'" pp. 182–83.

[The king of al-Shāsh and the Ikhshād and their followers] agreed to go to [the Soghdians] and sent [word] to them: "Send [against the Arabs] those who may distract them, so that we may make a night attack on their camp."

['Alī] said: They chose horsemen from [among] the sons of the marzbāns, the Asāwirah,[629] and heroic men of strength, and sent them off, having ordered them to stage a night attack on the [Arab] camp. The spies of the Muslims came bearing information [of this], and Qutaybah chose three hundred—or six hundred—men of courage, put Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim in charge of them, and sent them along the road from which he feared that he might be approached. Ṣāliḥ sent out spies to bring him information [about the enemy], while he [himself] stopped two parasangs away from their camp. The spies returned and informed him that [the enemy] would be coming to him that night. Ṣāliḥ split his cavalry into three groups, kept two of them hidden, and [himself] stayed on the main road. The polytheists came by night, unaware of the position of Ṣāliḥ and confident that no one would engage them before [they reached Qutaybah's] camp. They did not know about Ṣāliḥ until they ran into him. [1243]

['Alī] said: [Ṣāliḥ and his men] charged them and, when spear thrusts were being exchanged, the two hidden groups came out and fought.

According to ['Alī]—one of the Barājim:[630] I was present [on that occasion], and I have never seen people fighting more strongly or with more fortitude in adversity than the sons of those kings; only a few of them fled. We gathered together their weapons, cut off their heads, and took prisoners. We asked them about those whom we had killed, and they said, "You have killed none other than [here] a son of a king, or [here] one of the nobles, or [here] one of the heroes. You have killed men [among whom were those who were each] the equal of a hundred men; [in those cases,] we have written [their names] on their ears."[631] Then we entered the camp in the morning, and there was not a single man

629. Persian knights, "who under Persian rule were exempt of taxes together with the other higher classes" (Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, p. 171).

630. A name applied to two separate clan groupings, one in Tamīm and one in 'Abd al-Qays (Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, vol. II, p. 224).

631. The syntax is complicated here; Ibn al-Athīr simplifies and changes it.

among us who did not hang up[632] a head known by name. We took as plunder excellent weapons, fine goods, and brisk riding animals, and Qutaybah let us have all that as *nafal*.[633]

That broke the Soghdians. Qutaybah set up mangonels against [1244] [the Soghdians], and shot at them, fighting them without desisting. He was well advised by those of the Bukharans and Khwārazmians who were with him; they fought hard and gave of themselves unstintingly. Ghūrak[634] sent [word] to [Qutaybah]: "You are fighting me with my brothers and family from [among] the non-Arabs. Send Arabs out to me." Qutaybah became angry, summoned al-Jadalī, and said, "Review the [army] and pick out the bravest people," and [al-Jadalī] gathered the [army] together. Then Qutaybah set, reviewing them himself. He summoned the platoon commanders (*ʿurafāʾ*) and began to call for one man after another, saying, "What do you have?" The platoon commander would say, "[This is] a brave [man]." "And what is this?" "[This is] one of limited ability." "And what is this?" "[This is] a coward." Qutaybah called the cowards "the Stinkers," took their good weapons, and gave them to the brave men and those of limited ability, and left them the most worn-out weapons. Then Qutaybah took them forward and fought [the enemy] with them, [using both] horsemen and infantrymen. He bombarded the city with the mangonels and made a breach [in the wall] which [the enemy] blocked with sacks of millet. There emerged a man who stood on top of the breach and shouted abuse at Qutaybah. Qutaybah said to the archers who were with him, "Choose two of your number," and they did so. Qutaybah said, "Which of the two of you will shoot at this man [on the understanding that,] if he hits him, he will receive ten thousand [dirhams] and, if he misses him, his hand will be cut off?" One of them held back, while the other came forward and shot him, right in the eye. [Qutaybah] ordered that he be given ten thousand [dirhams].

According to [ʿAlī]—the Bāhilīs—Yaḥyā b. Khālid—his father, Khālid b. Bāb, the mawlā of Muslim b. ʿAmr: I was among the

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632. Preferring Ibrāhīm's *muʿalliq*^{un} to Guidi's *muʿallaq*^{un}.

633. "That part of the booty which was left to the free disposal of the leader, when distributing the portions of booty that were due to the soldiers" (Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, p. 19).

634. See above, n. 583.

archers of Qutaybah. When we conquered the city, I climbed up the wall and reached the place in which that man was. I found him dead on the wall; the arrow had gone right through his eye and come out the nape of his neck.

On the morning of the next day, they bombarded the city and [1245] breached it [again]. Qutaybah said, "Press on to [the breach], so that you may cross on it." They fought [the enemy] until they were on the breach, and the Soghdians shot them with arrows. [The Arabs] put up their shields—a man would put his shield up over his eye and then charge—until they were on the breach. [The Soghdians] said to [Qutaybah], "Depart from us today, so that we may make peace with you tomorrow."

As for Bāhilah, they say: Qutaybah said, "We shall not make peace with you without our men being on the breach and our mangonels moving up and down [bombarding] your heads and your city."

As for [authorities] other than [Bāhilah], they say: Qutaybah said, "The slaves have become frightened. Depart victorious," and they departed. He made peace with them the next day, on [the following terms]: [1] 2,200,000 [dirhams] *per annum;* [2] in that year, 30,000 slaves free of defect and including neither young boys nor old men;[635] [3] that they would empty the city for Qutaybah, and would not have in it any fighting men; [4] that there would be built for Qutaybah in it a mosque, so that he might enter [it] and pray, and [that] a pulpit would be set up in it, so that he might preach a sermon, eat lunch, and go forth.

['Alī] said: When the peace had been concluded, Qutaybah sent ten men—two from each fifth—and they took receipt of that on the basis of which [the Soghdians] had made peace with him. Qutaybah said, "Now they have been humbled—now that their brethren and children have fallen into our hands." Then they emptied the city, built a mosque, and set up a pulpit. Qutaybah went into the city with four thousand [men] he had chosen. When

635. The first of the two preceding figures is also given by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 421), and both of them are given by Khalīfah (*Ta'rīkh*, p. 309); but Ibn A'tham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 243) mentions [1a] an immediate payment of 2,000,000 dirhams; [1b] an annual payment of 200,000 dirhams; and [2] 3,000 (sic) slaves including neither young boys nor old men (see also what purports to be the *'ahd* document formalizing the peace arrangements (pp. 244–46).

he had entered it, he went to the mosque and prayed and preached a sermon. Then he ate lunch and sent [word] to the Soghdians:
[1246] "Whoever of you wants to take his goods may do so, for I am not going out of [the city]. I have done this for you, and I shall not take from you more than that on the basis of which I made peace with you; but the troops will stay in [the city]."

['Alī] said: As for the Bāhilīs, they say: Qutaybah made peace with them in return for one hundred thousand slaves, the fire temples, and the adornments of the idols. He took receipt of that on the basis of which he had made peace with them, and he was brought the idols, which were despoiled and then placed before him; gathered together, they were like an enormous edifice. He ordered that they be burned, and the non-Arabs said to him, "Among them are idols the burner of which will be destroyed." Qutaybah said, "I shall burn them with my [own] hand." Ghūrak came, knelt before him, and said, "Devotion to you is a duty incumbent upon me. Do not expose yourself to these idols." Qutaybah called for fire, took a brand in his hand, went out, proclaimed "God is great," and set fire to them; [others then also] set fire [to them], and they burned fiercely. In the remains of the gold and silver nails that had been in them, they found fifty thousand *mithqāls*.[636]

According to ['Alī]—Makhlad b. Ḥamzah b. Bīḍ—his father—someone who witnessed the conquest of Samarqand, or one of the districts of Khurasan: They brought out of it [some] huge copper cooking pots, and Qutaybah said to Ḥuḍayn, "O Abū Sāsān, do you think that Raqāsh[637] ever had cooking pots like these?" He said, "No, but 'Aylān[638] had a pot like these." Qutaybah laughed and said, "You have gained your revenge."

['Alī] said: Muḥammad b. Abī 'Uyaynah[639] said to Salm b. Qutaybah in the presence of Sulaymān b. 'Alī,[640] "The non-Arabs revile Qutaybah for perfidy; he acted perfidiously at Khwārazm

636. See above, n. 469, and cf. the story given at that point.

637. I.e., Ḥuḍayn's own clan.

638. 'Aylān being the grouping to which Bāhilah belonged; the wordplay seems to be that *'aylān* can signify "hungry, going about looking for sustenance."

639. I.e., Muḥammad b. Abī 'Uyaynah b. al-Muhallab (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, p. 369).

640. I.e., Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh al-'Abbāsī, governor of al-Baṣrah from 133 (750–51) to 137 (754–55) (de Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 40).

and Samarqand."

According to ['Alī]—a shaykh from the Banū Sadūs—Ḥamzah b. Bīḍ:[641] Qutaybah acquired in Khurasan—in Soghd—a slave girl [1247] who was one of the descendants of Yazdajird. He said, "Do you think that the son of this [girl] will be *hajīn*?"[642] They said, "Yes, he will be *hajīn* through his father." He sent her to al-Ḥajjāj, who sent her to al-Walīd; she bore him Yazīd b. al-Walīd.

According to ['Alī]—one of the Bāhilīs—Nahshal b. Yazīd—his paternal uncle, who was contemporary with all that: When Ghūrak saw Qutaybah's pressure against them, he wrote to the king of al-Shāsh, the Ikhshād of Farghānah, and Khāqān, "We are between you and the Arabs. If we are reached [by them], you will be weaker.[643] Exert whatever strength you have." They took stock and said, "We shall be outmaneuvered [if we use] our common people, for they do not have our ability. We, the grouping of the kings, are the ones to be concerned with this matter. Choose the sons of the kings and the people of valor from [among] the young men of their kings, and let them go forth until they reach Qutaybah's camp, which should be subjected to a night attack while he is distracted with besieging the Soghdians."

They did [this], put in command a son of Khāqān's, and went off, having agreed to make a night attack on the camp. [News of this] reached Qutaybah, who chose people of valor and courage and leading figures—among them Shu'bah b. Ẓuhayr[644] and Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān; there were four hundred of them. He said to them, "Your enemies have seen God's favor with you and His support of you in your fighting and your contending. [In view of] all that, God will give you mastery over them. They have decided to use your heedlessness as an expedient and to attack you by night, and have chosen their dihqāns and kings. You are the dihqāns and horsemen of the Arabs, and God has favored you with [1248] His religion, so do Him a good deed,[645] and you will thereby merit reward, together with defense of your honor."

['Alī] said: Qutaybah set spies on the enemy [and was informed

641. *EI*², s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, p. 333–34.
642. Baseborn, having an Arab father and a non-Arab slave mother.
643. So rendering *aḍ'af wa-adhall.*
644. Guidi renders this "Ẓahīr."
645. So transposing the Qur'ānic expression *ablāhu Allāhu balā'an ḥasan'an.*

by them] until, when [the enemy] were near [enough] to him to be able to reach his camp in the course of the night, he brought in those whom he had chosen, spoke to them, exhorted them, and placed Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim in charge of them. They went out of the camp at sunset, proceeded [on their way], and stopped two parasangs from the camp on the road of the [enemy] described to them by [the spies]. Ṣāliḥ split his cavalry into groups, placing one in hiding on his right and one in hiding on his left; halfway—or two-thirds of the way—through the night, the enemy came, together, quickly, and silently. Ṣāliḥ stood with his cavalry, and when they saw him they attacked him. When spear thrusts were exchanged, the two hidden groups attacked from right and left, and we heard only battle cries. We have never seen people tougher than they.

According to [ʿAlī]—one of the Barājim—Zuhayr or Shuʿbah: We were repeatedly thrusting at them and smiting them when I discerned Qutaybah under the [cover of] night. I had struck a blow that had pleased me, and I looked toward Qutaybah and said, "What do you think, may you [be ransomed] by my father and mother?" He said, "Shut up, may God smash your mouth!" He continued: We killed them and only the [odd] stray escaped. We stayed, gathering plunder and cutting off heads, until morning; then we went to the camp, and I have never seen a group bring the like of what we brought. There was not a [single] man among us who did not hang up[646] a head known by name and [did not have] a prisoner in his bonds. He continued: We took the heads to
[1249] Qutaybah, and he said, "May God reward you with good for [what you have done for] the religion and personal honor!" Qutaybah showed me regard, without articulating anything to me [by way of special compliment]; in the presenting of gifts and the showing of regard, he joined with me Ḥayyān al-ʿAdawī and Ḥulays al-Shaybānī, and I thought that he [must have] seen from the like of what he had seen from me. That [battle] broke the people of Soghd. They sought peace and offered tribute. [But Qutaybah] refused, saying, "I am going to avenge the blood of Ṭarkhūn, who was my mawlā and one of the people under my protection."

[The main authorities all] said: ʿAmr b. Muslim related on the authority of his father, who said: Qutaybah prolonged his stay,

646. See n. 632 above.

and the breach was made at Samarqand. [Muslim?] said: A crier who was eloquent in Arabic called out, abusing Qutaybah.

['Amr b. Muslim?] said: 'Amr b. Abī Zahdam said: We were around Qutaybah. When we heard the abuse, we went out in haste and waited for a long time while he persisted in [his] abuse. I went to Qutaybah's tent and looked, and, there was Qutaybah, sitting with his knees bound to his chest (*muḥtab*[in]) by a wrapper, saying, as one talking to himself, "For how much longer, O Samarqand, will Satan nest in you? By God, in the morning I shall do my damnedest with your people." I departed to my companions and said, "How many intransigent souls from among us and them will die tomorrow!" and I told them [what he had said].

['Alī] said: As for Bāhilah, they say: Qutaybah journeyed, keeping the river on his right, until he arrived in Bukhārā. He rallied [the people of Bukhārā] with him and journeyed until, when he was at the city of Arbinjān[647]—the one from which Arbinjān saddlecloths come—Ghūrak, the lord of Soghd, engaged him with a large force of Turks and people from al-Shāsh and Farghānah. There took place skirmishes between them, without [any large- [1250]
scale] fighting; the Muslims won all of these, and [the two sides then] desisted from fighting until they drew near to the city of Samarqand. At that point they joined in fighting: The Soghdians made an all-out charge on the Muslims, broke [their ranks, and] passed through their camp; then the Muslims wheeled round on them [and] pushed them back to their camp. God killed a large number of the polytheists; and [the Muslims] entered the city of Samarqand, [the population of which] made peace with them.

According to ['Alī]—the Bāhilīs—Ḥātim b. Abī Ṣaghīrah: I saw the cavalry on that day exchanging spear thrusts with the Muslims. Qutaybah had given the order on that day for his throne to be brought out, and he sat on it. [The enemy] exchanged spear thrusts with [the Muslims] until they got as far as Qutaybah, who was sitting with his knees up to his chest, [propping himself] with his sword; he stayed just like that, and the two wings of the Muslims swept in on those who had defeated the center, defeated them, and pushed them back to their camp. Many polytheists

647. Also called Rabinjān, to the west of Samarqand [Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 97].

were killed. [The Muslims] entered the city of Samarqand, [the population of which] made peace with them. Ghūrak prepared food and invited Qutaybah [to partake of it with him]; [Qutaybah] went to him with a number of his companions and, when he had finished lunch, [Qutaybah] asked [Ghūrak] to give him Samarqand. He said to the king, "Depart from it," and he did so; Qutaybah recited, "And that He destroyed 'Ād, the ancient, and Thamūd, and He did not spare [them]."[648]

According to ['Alī]—Abū al-Dhayyāl—'Umar b. 'Abdallāh al-Tamīmī: The person sent by Qutaybah to al-Ḥajjāj with [news of] the conquest of Samarqand related to me: I reached al-Ḥajjāj, and he sent me to Syria. I reached Syria, entered the mosque [of
[1251] Damascus], and sat, [it being] before sunrise. Next to me was a blind man, and I asked him something about Syria. He said to me, "You are a stranger." I said, "Yes." He said, "Where are you from?" I said, "From Khurasan." He said, "What brought you?" and I told him. He said, "By Him Who sent Muḥammad with the truth, you have only[649] conquered it by perfidy. You, O people of Khurasan, are those who will strip the Banū Umayyah of their dominion, and pull Damascus down stone by stone."

['Alī] said: Al-'Alā' b. Jarīr informed us: It has reached me that, when Qutaybah conquered Samarqand, he stood on its hill, looked at the people scattering in the meadows of Soghd, and recited the words of Ṭarafah (*ṭawīl*):[650]

And peoples pastured; had we not alighted
at Makhshiyyah, they would have taken their
camels off and their tents down.

['Alī] said: Khālid b. al-Aṣfaḥ informed us: Al-Kumayt said (*basīṭ*):[651]

Samarqand was Yamanī for [many] years;
now Muḍar are giving it a Qaysī lineage.

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648. Qur'ān, 53:50–51 = 51–52.

649. Reading *illā* in place of the misprint in the text (which is noted in the *Addenda et Emendanda*).

650. This line is not to be found in Ṭarafah's *Dīwān* (ed. D. al-Khaṭīb and L. al-Ṣaqqāl, Damascus, 1975).

651. Judging by *Shi'r al-Kumayt*, no. 188, the following verse survives only here and in Ibn al-Athīr.

[ʿAlī] said: Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jushamī said: When Qutaybah made peace with the people of Soghd, he summoned Nahār b. Tawsiʿah and said, "[Well now,] O Nahār, what about your words (*ṭawīl*):[652]

The campaigning that brought riches nigh has ended,
and generosity and munificence have died
after al-Muhallab.
They have stayed at Marw al-Rūdh as two pledges
at his sepulcher,
and have been rendered totally absent from
both east and west.

Is this campaigning, O Nahār?" [Nahār] said, "No, this is the congregation,[653] and I am he who says (*ṭawīl*):

Neither in our own lifetimes, nor before us,
nor after us, is the like of Ibn Muslim.
He killed Turks hither and yon with his sword,
and made abundant divisions of spoil among us,
one division after another."

[ʿAlī] said: Then Qutaybah set off, returning to Marw. He deputed ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim[654] over Samarqand, and left with him massive [numbers of] troops and much war matériel, saying to him, "Do not let [any] polytheist enter any of Samarqand's gates without having a seal on his hand. If the clay has dried before he goes out, kill him. If you find on him a piece of iron, [or] a knife, [or] anything else, kill him. If you close the gate at night and find any one of them in [the city], kill him." Kaʿb al-Ashqarī—or, it has been said: a man from Juʿfī—said (*Khafīf*):[655] [1252]

652. Cf. above, p. 32 and n. 144; Ibn Aʿtham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, pp. 241–42) wrongly takes the poet in question to have been Kaʿb b. Maʿdān al-Ashqarī.

653. I.e., on the day of resurrection (reading *al-ḥashr*, as proposed in the *Addenda et Emendanda*); cf. Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Shiʿr waʾl-shuʿarāʾ*, p. 538; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, vol. IV, p. 87.

654. According to al-Yaʿqūbī (*Taʾrīkh*, vol. II, p. 344) and Ibn Aʿtham (*Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 246), Qutaybah appointed his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim. It can be added that al-Yaʿqūbī's account of this episode is rather muddled and that he thought that the peace was concluded in A.H. 94.

655. Thus, too, in Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 86). The *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn waʾl-ḥadāʾiq* (pp. 2–3) also says that the poet was Kaʿb al-Ashqarī and cites all the following verses; but al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 421) says that the poet was al-Mukhtār b. Kaʿb al-Juʿfī and cites only verse 3.

Every day Qutaybah gathers plunder
and increases wealth even more
A Bāhilī who has been given a crown to wear until
partings of the hair that were black have
become gray.
He subdued Soghd with the squadrons until
he left it stripped and prone.
The infant weeps at the loss of his father,
and a pained father cries for his infant.
Whenever [Qutaybah] stops in, or reaches, a place,
his cavalry leaves [its] mark there.

['Alī] said: Qutaybah said, "This is [real] succession, not [just] successive killing of a couple of asses [*lā 'idā' 'ayrayn*]," because he conquered Khwārazm and Samarqand in a single year. [The explanation of] that [expression is] that, when a horseman fells two asses in a single heat, people say, "He made a succession, one to the other, between the two asses."[656] Then [Qutaybah] departed from Samarqand and stayed at Marw. His governor over
[1253] Khwārazm was Iyās b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, over its military affairs (*ḥarb*)—he was weak—and over its taxation (*kharāj*) was 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī 'Ubaydallāh, the mawlā of the Banū Muslim.[657]

['Alī] said: The people of Khwārazm thought Iyās to be weak and gathered together against him. 'Ubaydallāh wrote to Qutaybah, and Qutaybah sent 'Abdallāh b. Muslim in the winter as governor, saying [to him], "Flog Iyās b. 'Abdallāh and Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, and shave [their heads]. Draw 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh, the mawlā of the Banū Muslim, close to you, and listen to him, for he is loyal." ['Abdallāh] went on until, when he was one stage from Khwārazm, Iyās was clandestinely informed and warned, and withdrew. 'Abdallāh then arrived, took Ḥayyān, gave him a hundred lashes, and shaved [his head].

['Alī] said: Then Qutaybah sent al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh with troops to Khwārazm, after 'Abdallāh. [News of] that reached them, and, when, al-Mughīrah arrived, the sons of those whom

656. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1978b, where my source of translational inspiration will be obvious.

657. According to al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 421), Qutaybah appointed over Khwārazm "his brother 'Ubaydallāh b. Muslim."

[the] Khwārazm Shāh had killed said, "We shall not help you," and he fled to the land of the Turks. Al-Mughīrah arrived, and took captives and killed. Those who survived made peace with him; he took the tax and went to Qutaybah, who appointed him over Nishapur.

In this year Mūsā b. Nuṣayr dismissed Ṭāriq b. Ziyād from al-Andalus and sent him to Toledo.

[*Mūsā b. Nuṣayr's Dismissal of Ṭāriq b. Ziyād*]

Muḥammad b. 'Umar mentioned that Mūsā b. Nuṣayr became angry with Ṭāriq in the year 93 and went to him in Rajab of that year (April–May 712), accompanied by Ḥabīb b. 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' al-Fihrī. When he went off, he deputed over Ifrīqiyah his son, 'Abdallāh b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. Mūsā crossed [the sea] to Ṭāriq with [a force of] ten thousand [men] and met him. [Ṭāriq] sought to please [1254] him, and he was pleased with him and accepted his excuse from him. [Mūsā] sent [Ṭāriq] from [where he was] to the city of Toledo, which was one of the great cities of al-Andalus, twenty days' [journey] from Cordova. There he acquired the table of Solomon the son of David, containing God knows how much [by way of] gold and jewels.[658]

[Muḥammad b. 'Umar] said: In [this year] the people of Ifrīqiyah suffered a terrible drought. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr went out and prayed for rain,[659] making invocations until the middle of that day, and preaching a sermon to the people. When he wanted to step down, he was asked whether he was going to make an invocation to the Commander of the Faithful. He said, "This is not a day for that." They were given to drink that which sufficed them for a time.

In this year 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was dismissed from Medina.

Why al-Walīd Dismissed ['Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz]

The reason for that, according to what has been mentioned, is that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote to al-Walīd informing him of the harshness of al-Ḥajjāj toward the people of his governorship in Iraq, of his aggression toward them and his oppression of them,

658. Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, p. 341.
659. See *EI*², s.v. Istisḳā'.

without any right [on his part] or offense [on theirs], and that reached al-Ḥajjāj, who held it against 'Umar and wrote to al-Walīd, "I have with me the deviant elements of the Iraqis and the people of schism. They have emigrated from Iraq and have taken refuge in Medina and Mecca. That [constitutes a point of] weakness." Al-Walīd wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, "Suggest to me [the names of] two men," and [al-Ḥajjāj] wrote to him suggesting 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān[660] and Khālid b. 'Abdallāh. Al-Walīd appointed Khālid over Mecca, and 'Uthmān over Medina, and dismissed 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.

Muḥammad b. 'Umar said: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz went out of Medina and stayed at al-Suwaydā', saying to [his mawlā] Muzāḥim, "Does it make you fearful that you are one of those whom Ṭaybah has expelled?"[661]

[1255] In this year 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz flogged Khubayb b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr on al-Walīd's order to him and poured on his head a skin of cold water.[662]

Muḥammad b. 'Umar mentioned that Abū al-Mulayḥ related to him on the authority of someone who was present when 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz gave Khubayb b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr fifty lashes, poured a skin of water on his head on a wintry day, and made him stand at the door of the mosque; he stayed [there] all that day and then died.

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik: Thus it was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on the authority of Abū Ma'shar. The governors of the *amṣār* in this year were [the same as] the governors in the preceding years, except for the case of Medina, where the governor was 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī, who took over, so it has been said, in Sha'bān of the year 93 (May–June 712). As for al-

660. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, register.

661. The reference being to the [Prophetic] *ḥadīth*, "*innahā Ṭaybah wa-innahā tanfī al-khabath*," "It is Ṭaybah (i.e., Medina) and it expels/will expel dross" (Wensinck, *Concordance*, vol. IV, p. 69). Ibn al-Athīr spells it out: "When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz went out [of Medina], he said, 'I fear that I shall be one of those whom Medina has expelled,' meaning by that the saying of the Messenger of God, may God bless and preserve him, 'It will expel its dross.'"

662. Al-Ya'qūbī explains (*Ta'rīkh*, vol. II, pp. 339–40) that Khubayb had objected to the pulling down of the rooms of the wives of the Prophet (cf. above pp. 141–42).

Wāqidī, he said that 'Uthmān reached Medina on Shawwāl 27 in the year 94 (July 26, 713). One of [the authorities] said: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz departed from Medina, dismissed, in Sha'bān of the year 93, and campaigned in [the same year]. When he went off, he deputed over it Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī. 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān reached Medina on Shawwāl 27 (August 6, 712).

The Events of the Year 94

(October 7, 712–September 25, 713)

Among them was the campaign of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd in Byzantine territory. It has been said that he conquered Anṭākyah[663] in [this year].

[1256] In [this year], according to what has been said, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Walīd campaigned in Byzantine territory until he reached Ghazālah; al-Walīd b. Hishām al-Muʿayṭī reached the land of Burj al-Ḥamām,[664] and Yazīd b. Abī Kabshah [reached] the land of Sūriyah.

In it there was an earthquake in Syria.

In it, too, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī conquered the land of al-Hind.[665]

In [this year] Qutaybah campaigned in al-Shāsh and Farghānah

663. I.e., Antiocheia in Pisidia (Wellhausen, "Die Kämpfe der Araber," p. 437; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 121, 134 [map]).

664. Not identified. As Wellhausen has pointed out ("Die Kämpfe der Araber," p. 437n.), it may be interchangeable with al-Yaʿqūbī's "*marj al-shaḥm*" (s.p.; *Taʾrīkh*, vol. II, p. 337), which was between Malaṭyah and al-Maṣṣīṣah.

665. I.e., parts of Sind. Clearly Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim should be understood in place of al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (see above, p. 141).

until he reached Khujandah and Kāsān,[666] the two [principal] cities of Farghānah.[667]

Qutaybah's Campaign [in al-Shāsh and Farghānah]

'Alī b. Muḥammad said that Abū al-Fawāris al-Tamīmī informed him on the authority of Māhān and Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq that Qutaybah campaigned in the year 94. When he crossed the river, he imposed a levy of twenty thousand fighting men on the people of Bukhārā, Kish, Nasaf, and Khwārazm. ['Alī] said: They went with him to Soghd; they were then sent to al-Shāsh, while [Qutaybah] himself went to Farghānah. He went as far as Khujandah, the people of which gathered against him and engaged him. They fought several times, with the Muslims being victorious on each occasion. One day [the Muslims] were unoccupied and rode their horses [about, here and there]; one man went to the top of an elevated place and said, "By God, I haven't seen [anything] like today [for us to be caught] off guard. If there were any commotion today, with us as spread about as I see, we would be shamefully [defeated]." A man beside him said, "By no means; we are as 'Awf b. al-Khari'[668] said (*mutaqārib*):

We betake ourselves to the land because of love [1257]
of engaging [in fighting],
and we do not guard against a bird of omen
when it flies;
Whether it be auspicious or inauspicious,
either way we meet with prosperity."

Saḥbān Wā'il[669] said, mentioning their fighting at Khujandah (*kāmil*):

Ask the horsemen in Khujandah,
[who are] beneath sharp/slim spears,
"Wasn't I the one who used to gather them together

666. Reading this, as in Ms B, rather than Kāshān, as in the text; Kāshān is in Jūzjān, not Farghānah (see Cornu).
667. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 48–49.
668. Sezgin, *GAS*, vol. II, pp. 206–7.
669. The following verses are also given by Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, pp. 95–96), who says that Ibn al-Jawzī says in his *Munaẓẓam* that Saḥbān died in the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah some time after A.H. 50. Al-Ṭabarī makes no other reference to Saḥbān.

[again] when
they were defeated, and came forward to fight?
Wasn't I the one who smote the head of
the insolent and endured the spears?"
This, and you are the hero of all
Qays, giving out on a large scale.
You have excelled Qays in generosity,
[just as] your father did in past years.
The justice of your judgment among
them in all money [matters] has become clear.
Your (pl.) manliness is complete and your (pl.)
glory has risen up to the loftiest of mountains.

['Alī] said: Then Qutaybah went to Kāsān,[670] the [principal] city of Farghānah, [where] he was joined by the troops he had sent to al-Shāsh, which they had conquered and most of which they had burnt; [from Kāsān,] Qutaybah departed to Marw. Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, "Send such Iraqis as you have with you to Qutaybah, and send to (i.e., with) them Jahm b. Zaḥr b. Qays, for he is better with Iraqis than with Syrians." Muḥammad was fond of Jahm b. Zaḥr; when Jahm bade him farewell, he wept and said, "O Jahm, [this is] the [moment of] parting." [Jahm] said, "It cannot be avoided." ['Alī] said: [Jahm] reached Qutaybah in the year 95 (713–14).

[1258] In this year 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī arrived in Medina as governor for al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.

['Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī's] Governorship

We have already mentioned the reason for al-Walīd's dismissal of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz from Medina and Mecca and his appointment of 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān as amīr of Medina.

Muḥammad b. 'Umar claimed that 'Uthmān reached Medina as amīr on 27 Shawwāl in the year 94 (July 26, 713) and stopped there at Dār Marwān,[671] saying, "By God, [this is] a repellent place;[672] he who is [really] deceived is he who is deceived by you"; and he placed Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm in charge of the judiciary.

670. See n. 666 above.
671. See above, n. 447.
672. So rendering *miẓ'ān*: See the *Glossarium*.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥurrah—his paternal uncle: I saw 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān take Riyāḥ b. 'Ubaydallāh and Munqidh al-'Irāqī; he imprisoned them, punished them, and then sent them in neck collars[673] to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. He let no Iraqi, whether a merchant or anyone else, [stay] in Medina. He ordered [all of] them out, from every place [in the area under his control], and I saw them in neck collars. He hounded the nonconformists and arrested Hayṣam, on whom he inflicted amputation,[674] and Manḥūr; the two of them were from Khawārij.

[The same authority] said: I heard ['Uthmān] deliver a sermon on the pulpit, saying, "O people, we have found you, both long since and more recently, to be insincere to the Commander of the Faithful. [Now] there have taken refuge with you those who will increase your unsoundness. The people in Iraq are people of schism and hypocrisy. By God, they are the nest of hypocrisy and the egg that split apart and produced it! By God, I have never put an Iraqi to the test but that I have found him who thinks most of himself to be him who says about the family of Abū Ṭālib what [1259] he says.[675] They are not [in reality] partisans of [the family of Abū Ṭālib]; [rather,] they are enemies of them and of [persons] other than them. Because of what God desires by way of spilling their blood, I shall not, by God, be brought anyone who has given refuge to any one of them, or has rented him a house, or has accommodated him, but that I shall demolish his house and shall cause to befall him what he deserves. When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb garrisoned[676] the territories, striving after what was good for his subjects, those who wanted to make holy war would stop by him and seek his advice, [asking,] 'Is Syria dearer to you or Iraq?' and he would say, 'Syria is dearer to me. I think that Iraq is an incurable disease; in it Satan has hatched [his brood] and they have made things difficult for me.[677] I can see myself scattering them

673. See n. 303 above.

674. The text reads simply *fa-qaṭa'ahu*. According to the *Kitāb al-'uyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iq* (p. 16), 'Uthmān was ordered by al-Walīd to cut off his hand and his foot and then kill him.

675. Apparently a roundabout way of suggesting that the most arrogant and hypocritical of the Iraqis professed themselves to be extreme philo-Ṭālibids.

676. So rendering *maṣṣara*.

677. *La-qad a'ḍalū bī*: Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2074, renders this "[the people of El-Koofeh have caused that] the means of effecting my object in their affair . . . have

in the [various] territories. [But] then I say, "If I were to scatter them, they would corrupt those into whose presence they enter by [using] argument and contention, [saying,] 'How?' and 'Why?' and by [their] swiftness of entering into sedition.'" If they are put to the test with swords, no superiority on their part emerges. They did no good for 'Uthmān, who met with death and disaster from them. They were the first of the people to occasion this enormous breach, undoing the loops of Islam one by one and spoiling [its] territories. By God, I shall draw nearer to God with everything I do to them, because of what I know of their view[s] and their tenets. Then the Commander of the Faithful Mu'āwiyah took charge of them; he cajoled them and they did him no good. [Next,] a real man[678] took charge of them, flogging them and extending [his] sword over them; he made them fearful, and they became orderly for him, whether willingly or otherwise, that being because he tested them and knew them. O people, by God, we have never considered [any] rallying cry to be the like of security; nor have we considered [any] basis [for life] to be worse than fear. So cleave to obedience. O people of Medina, I have experience of disobedience. By God, you are not people given to
[1260] fighting; keep to your houses and grit your teeth. For I have sent to your gathering (*majālis*) those who will hear [what you say] and will inform me about you. [Something] other than unnecessary talk is more requisite for you. Leave off the stigmatizing of governors; for [such stigmatizing causes] the situation gradually to deteriorate, until sedition comes about. Sedition is an affliction; seditions destroy the religion, property, and children."

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Khālid b. al-Qāsim—Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī: I saw 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān's crier call out among us, "O Banū Umayyah b. Zayd,[679] God's protection will be removed from anyone who gives refuge to an Iraqi." There was with us a Baṣran of some merit, one of the pious people, called Abū Sawādah, and he said, "By God, I do not want to occasion something unpleasant for you. Convey me to somewhere where I may

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become strait to me . . . and the treating them with gentleness has become difficult to me."

678. *Rajul min al-nās*: Presumably, al-Ḥajjāj is meant.

679. Presumably, the Aws and Anṣār clan of Umayyah b. Zayd b. Mālik is meant.

be safe." I said, "There is no good for you in going out. God will protect both you and us." [Sa'īd b. 'Amr] continued: I took him into my house, and [news of that] reached 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān, who sent guards. I removed him to my brother's house, and [the guards] came across nothing; [the person] who had got me into trouble was an enemy. I said to the amīr, "May God cause the amīr to prosper! He is bringing [to your attention] a falsehood. Do not punish on the basis of it." He continued: ['Uthmān] gave the person who had got me into trouble twenty lashes. We got the Iraqi out. He used to perform the ritual prayer with us, not missing a single day. The people of our house showed kindness to him and said to him, "We shall die in defense of you." He did not leave until 'Uthmān was dismissed.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Abd al-Ḥakīm[680] b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Farwah: Al-Walīd sent 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān to [1261] Medina to expel those Iraqis who were there and to scatter the nonconformists and those who controlled them and those who espoused their cause. He did not send him as governor; he neither ascended the pulpit nor gave a sermon on it. When ['Uthmān] had done what he did to the Iraqis and to Manḥūr and others, [al-Walīd] established him over Medina [as governor], and he [thenceforward] used to ascend the pulpit.

In this year al-Ḥajjāj killed Sa'īd b. Jubayr.[681]

The Report of [Sa'īd b. Jubayr's] Death

The reason why al-Ḥajjāj killed him was that he had gone against [al-Ḥajjāj], together with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath. Al-Ḥajjāj had put [Sa'īd] in charge of the troops' stipends when he sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān to fight the Zunbīl. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān disavowed al-Ḥajjāj, Sa'īd was among those who disavowed him with him; and, when 'Abd al-Raḥmān was defeated and fled to the Zunbīl's country, Sa'īd [also] fled.

According to Abū Kurayb—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh: Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to so-and-so, who was in charge of Iṣbahān—and Sa'īd was [there]: Abū Ja'far said: I think that, when he fled from al-Ḥajjāj,

680. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda.*
681. For other versions, see Sayed, *Revolte*, p. 353 and n. 546 thereto.

he went to Iṣbahān. [Al-Ḥajjāj] wrote to [this governor]; "Sa'īd is with you. Arrest him." The order came to a man who held himself aloof from doing wrong, and he sent [word] to Sa'īd, "Move yourself away from me." Sa'īd did so and went to Ādharbayjān, where he remained [for some time]. Then he felt that he had been there long enough, and he made the lesser pilgrimage; he went out to Mecca and stayed there. [In Mecca] there were people of his sort, lying low and not revealing their names.

[1262] [Abū Kurayb?] continued: Abū Ḥuṣayn said, relating this to us: It reached us that so-and-so had been made amīr of Mecca, and I said to [Sa'īd], "O Sa'īd, this man cannot be trusted; he is a man of evil nature, and I am on my guard against him for you. Go off! Depart!" [Sa'īd] said, "O Abū Ḥuṣayn, by God, I have been a fugitive until I have become ashamed before God. Let there come to me what God has prescribed for me." I said, "By God, I think that you are happy (*sa'īd*), just as your mother named you." [Abū Ḥuṣayn] continued: That man came to Mecca and sent [for Sa'īd], who was arrested. Then he treated [Sa'īd] gently and spoke to him and tried him this way and that.[682]

According to Abū 'Āsim—'Amr b. Qays: Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to al-Walīd, "The people of hypocrisy and schism have taken refuge in Mecca. If the Commander of the Faithful sees fit to allow me [to get] at them[, that will be a good thing]." Al-Walīd wrote to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, who arrested 'Aṭā', Sa'īd b. Jubayr, Mujāhid, Ṭalq b. Ḥabīb, and 'Amr b. Dīnār.[683] As for 'Amr b. Dīnār and 'Aṭā', they were released, since they were Meccans. As for the others, they were sent by [Khālid] to al-Ḥajjāj; Ṭalq died on th eway, Mujāhid was held in prison until al-Ḥajjāj died, and Sa'īd b. Jubayr was killed.

According to Abū Kurayb—Abū Bakr—al-Ashja'ī: When the two guards brought Sa'īd b. Jubayr, he was accommodated in a house near to al-Rabadhah.[684] One of the guards went off to answer a call of nature, while the other remained. The one who was with [Sa'īd] woke up, having had a dream, and said, "O Sa'īd, by

682. Reading *yudīruhu*, as proposed by the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

683. 'Aṭā'b. Abī Rabāh (d. 114/732), Mujāhid b. Jabr (d.±102/721), 'Amr b. Dīnār (d.125/742)—see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, p. 40; on Ṭalq, cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, vol. V, pp. 31–32.

684. Near Dhāt al-'Irq on the road from Fayd to Mecca (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 749); see S. A. A. al-Rashid, *Al-Rabadhah. A Portrait of Early Islamic Civilization in Saudi Arabia*, Riyadh, 1985.

God, I'll have nothing to do with killing you. In my dream I was told, 'Woe to you, have nothing to do with killing Sa'īd b. Jubayr.' [1263] Go where you want. I shall never pursue you." Sa'īd said, "I hope for well-being and [keep on] hoping," and he refused. Then [the other guard] came, and on the next day he had a similar dream and was told, "Have nothing to do with killing Sa'īd." He said, "O Sa'īd, go where you wish. I'll have nothing to do with killing you," [and he kept on saying this?] until he brought him to his house; the house in which Sa'īd was is this house of theirs.[685]

According to Abū Kurayb—Abū Bakr—Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād, the mawlā of the Banū Hāshim: I entered into [Sa'īd's] presence in this house of Sa'īd's, and he was brought in fettered. Then the Kūfan *qurrā'* entered into his presence. I said, "O Abū 'Abdallāh, did he speak to you?" [686] He said, "Yes, by God," laughing and talking to us, with a little daughter of his on his lap. She glanced and saw the fetter, and wept. I heard him say, "My daughter, be careful not to take [it] as a bad omen," and, by God, that was hard on him. We followed him, saying goodbye to him, until we got to the bridge with him. The two guards said, "We shall never take him across until he gives us a surety. We are afraid that he may drown himself." [Yazīd] continued: We said, "Sa'īd drown himself?" but they did not cross until we made ourselves responsible for him.

According to Wahb b. Jarīr—his father—al-Faḍl b. Suwayd: Al-Ḥajjāj sent me off for something. Sa'īd b. Jubayr was brought [in my absence], and I then returned and said [to myself], "I'll see [1264] what [al-Ḥajjāj] does," and I stood by al-Ḥajjāj's head. Al-Ḥajjāj said to him, "O Sa'īd, did I not cause you to partake of my trust? Did I not appoint you? Did I not do [such-and-such]?" until I thought that he was going to let him go. [Sa'īd] said, "Yes." "Then what induced you to go against me?" [Sa'īd] said, "It was enjoined upon me [to do so]." [The narrator] continued: [At this, al-Ḥajjāj] flew into a rage and said, "Hah! You thought that the enjoining of the Enemy of the Merciful[687] [constituted] a duty incumbent upon you, and you did not think that you had any duty to God, to the Commander of the Faithful, and to me. Behead him!" and he

685. Presumably, the narrator was in, or in sight of, the relevant house at this juncture in his narrative. The text is rather tangled here.

686. The identity of the subject here is unclear.

687. *'Aduww al-raḥmān*: Cf. above, n. 95.

was beheaded; his head fell, attired in a small white item of headgear.

According to Abū Ghassān Mālik b. Ismā'īl—Khalaf b. Khalīfah—a man who said: When Sa'īd b. Jubayr was killed and his head fell, he called out "There is no god but God" three times; the first time he articulated it clearly, and the next two times he said something like that, without clear articulation.

According to Abū Bakr[688] al-Bāhilī—Anas b. Abī Shaykh: When al-Ḥajjāj was brought Sa'īd b.Jubayr, he said, "May God curse the son of the Christian woman"—[Anas] said: Meaning Khālid al-Qasrī, who had sent [Sa'īd] from Mecca—"didn't I know the place where he was? Yes, by God, and the [very] house in Mecca where he was." The he advanced upon Sa'īd and said, "What induced you to go out against me?" He said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper, I am simply a Muslim man who makes a mistake on one occasion and gets it right on another." [Anas] continued: Al-Ḥajjāj cheered up, and his face brightened, and he hoped that he might find a way out of [this] situation. [Anas] continued: Then he came back at [Sa'īd] about something, and Sa'īd said, "But I was bound by an oath of allegiance to ['Abd al-Raḥmān]." [Anas] continued: Then [al-Ḥajjāj] became filled with rage, to the extent that one of the ends of his *ridā'*[689] fell from his
[1265] shoulder, and he said, "O Sa'īd, did I not go to Mecca and kill Ibn al-Zubayr, and then take its people's oath of allegiance and your oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abd al-Malik?" He said, "Yes." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "And did I not then arrive in al-Kūfah as governor of Iraq and renew the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful and take your oath of allegiance to him for a second time?" He said, "Yes." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "And you then forswear two oaths of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful and fulfill one to the weaver, the son of the weaver? Behead him!" [Anas?] said: It was [Sa'īd] that Jarīr meant with his words [*kāmil*]:[690]

How many a breaker of two oaths of allegiance have you left,
with his beard dyed with the blood of [his]
jugular veins.

688. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda.*
689. See above, n. 596.
690. *Dīwān*, p. 90.

According to 'Attāb b. Bishr—Sālim al-Afṭas: Al-Ḥajjāj was brought Sa'īd b. Jubayr when he was about to go riding and had put one of his feet in the stirrup.[691] He said, "By God, I shall not ride until you occupy your sitting place in hellfire. Behead him!" and he was beheaded. Then al-Ḥajjāj's mind became confused on the spot, and he started saying, "Our fetters, our fetters."[692] [The people present] thought that he was referring to the fetters on Sa'īd b. Jubayr; they cut his legs at the knees and removed the fetters.

Muḥammad b. Ḥātim said: 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abdallāh related to us on the authority of Hilāl b. Khabbāb:[693] Sa'īd b. Jubayr was brought to al-Ḥajjāj, who said [to him], "Did you write to Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr?" He said, "No, Muṣ'ab wrote to me." [Al-Ḥajjāj] said, "By God, I shall kill you." [Sa'īd] said, "In that case I shall be happy (*sa'īd*), just as my mother named me."

[The narrator] said: [Al-Ḥajjāj] killed him and then [himself] lasted only about forty days after him. When he slept, he would see [Sa'īd] in his sleep, taking hold of the front part of his clothing and saying, "O enemy of God, what did you kill me for?" and he would say, "What concern is Sa'īd b. Jubayr of mine? What concern is Sa'īd b. Jubayr of mine?" [1266]

Abū Ja'far said: This year was called the year of the specialists in religious law (*fuqahā'*), [for] in it most of the Medinan *fuqahā'* died, [starting with] 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, at the beginning of it, then 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, and then Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab and Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām.[694]

In this year al-Walīd placed Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb[695] in charge of the judiciary in Syria.

There is disagreement about who led the pilgrimage in this year. Abū Ma'shar said, according to what Aḥmad b. Thābit related to me on the authority of him who mentioned it on the author-

691. Thus rendering simply *al-gharz aw al-rikāb*.

692. *Quyūdunā quyūdunā*, and thus, too, in the *Kitāb al-'uyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iq* (p. 10) and Ibn Kathīr (*Bidāyah*, vol. IX, p. 97); the variants suggest an alternative possible reading *qayyidūnā qayyidūnā*, "fetter us, fetter us!"

693. Following the *Addenda et Emendanda*.

694. Cf. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, pp. 41–42.

695. Al-Muḥāribī. Cf. Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāh*, vol. III, pp. 210–12, where we are told that he was 'Abd al-Malik's judge over Ḥimṣ and that he was a judge for 'Umar II and Hishām, but where no mention is made of al-Walīd.

ity of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on his (Abū Ma'shar's) authority: Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage in the year 94. [However,] al-Wāqidī said: In the year 94 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage. [Al-Wāqidī] added: It is said [that] Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik [did so].

The governor of Mecca in [this year] was Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī; over Medina was 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī; over al-Kūfah was Ziyād b. Jarīr, with Abū Bakr b. Abī Mūsā in charge of the judiciary; over al-Baṣrah was al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh, with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Udhaynah over the judiciary; over Khurasan was Qutaybah b. Muslim; and over Egypt was Qurrah b. Sharīk. Over Iraq and the East in its entirety was al-Ḥajjāj.

The Events of the Year 95

(SEPTEMBER 26, 713–SEPTEMBER 15, 714)

In it there took place the campaign of al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik in Byzantine territory. At his hands God conquered [1267] three fortresses, according to what has been said, they being Ṭūlus, al-Marzbānayn,[696] and Hiraqlah.

In it the rest of al-Hind was conquered, except for al-Kayraj and al-Mandal.[697]

In it Wāsiṭ al-Qaṣab was built, in the month of Ramaḍān (May–June 714).

In it Mūsā b. Nuṣayr left al-Andalus for Ifrīqiyah. He performed the rites of the Feast of the Sacrifice (10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah/August 26, 714) at Qaṣr al-Mā', one [Arab] mile from al-Qayrawān.

In it Qutaybah b. Muslim campaigned against al-Shāsh.

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696. It remains for these two places to be identified with any certainty (Brooks, "The Arabs in Asia Minor," p. 194; Lilie, *Byzantinische Reaktion*, p. 121).

697. Yāqūt knows Mandal (sic) as a place in al-Hind from which fine aloes come (*Mu'jam*, vol. IV, p. 660); he does not mention al-Kayraj. Both places figure in al-Balādhurī's account of Arab operations in Sind (*Futūḥ*, pp. 440, 442).

The Report of [Qutaybah's] Campaign [in al-Shāsh]

The narrative returns to that of 'Alī b. Muḥammad, who said: Al-Ḥajjāj sent from Iraq an army that joined Qutaybah in the year 95; and [Qutaybah] went on campaign. When he was at al-Shāsh or at Kushmāhan,[698] [news of] the death of al-Ḥajjāj in Shawwāl reached him. That grieved him; he turned back to Marw and recited (*ṭawīl*):[699]

By my life, how good is the man from the Āl Ja'far,
who was caught by snares in Ḥawrān.
If you live, I shall not tire of my [own] life, and if you die,
there will be no avail in life after your death.

['Alī b. Muḥammad] said: He returned with [his army] and dispersed them; he left some people in Bukhārā and sent some people to Kish and Nasaf. Then he reached Marw and stayed there.
[1268] There came to him al-Walīd's letter: "The Commander of the Faithful knows your testing and your striving in the waging of holy war against the enemies of the Muslims, and the Commander of the Faithful raises you[r station] and does to you what ought to be done. [Now] consolidate your campaigns and await the reward of your Lord; let not your letters to the Commander of the Faithful fall short, so that it may be as if I can see your territory and the frontier on which you are."

In [this year] al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf died in Shawwāl (mid-June–mid-July 713), aged fifty-four years, also put at fifty-three years; it has [also] been said that his death took place in this year on 25 Ramaḍān (June 13, 713).

In it, when death was imminent, al-Ḥajjāj deputed over the ritual prayer his son 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥajjāj. According to al-Wāqidī, al-Ḥajjāj's rule over Iraq lasted for twenty years.

In this year al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd conquered Qinnasrīn.[700]

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698. One stage from Marw on the Bukhārā road (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 400).

699. The poet is al-Ḥuṭay'ah. Cf. *Aghānī*², vol. XVI, p. 295 (where an extra verse is given); Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, vol. II, p. 358 (where two extra verses are given).

700. This cannot be right (and is ignored by Brooks, Wellhausen, and Lilie); there is no evidence that Qinnasrīn (see *EI*², s.v. Ḳinnasrīn) had fallen out of Arab control. Possibly this is a mangled version of the report that al-'Abbās raised levies from Qinnasrīn (see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 189).

In it, al-Waḍḍāḥī[701] and about one thousand men with him were killed in Byzantine territory.

In it, according to what has been mentioned, al-Manṣūr, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī was born.

In it al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik put Yazīd b. Abī Kabshah in charge of military affairs (*ḥarb*) and civilian affairs (*ṣalāt*) in the two *miṣr*s of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah; and he put Yazīd b. Abī Muslim in charge of their taxation (*kharāj*). And it has been said that, when his death was imminent, al-Ḥajjāj deputed Yazīd b. Abī Kabshah over the military affairs of the two places and [over] the civilian affairs of their people and Yazīd b. Abī Muslim over their taxation and [that], after the death of al-Ḥajjāj, al-Walīd confirmed them [in their positions] over what al-Ḥajjāj had deputed them over. He did the same with all of al-Ḥajjāj's governors; after [his death], he confirmed them [in their positions] over the governorships they occupied during his lifetime. [1269]

The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was Bishr b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik: Thus it was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit on the authority of him who mentioned it on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on the authority of Abū Ma'shar; and al-Wāqidī said the same. The governors of the *amṣār* in this year were the same as those who were [governors] in the preceding year, except for al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, which were joined to those whom I have mentioned, after the death of al-Ḥajjāj.

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701. This (together with the parallel reference in Ibn al-Athīr) appears to be the sole reference to him; presumably, he was one of the lieutenants of al-Waḍḍāḥ, the Berber freedman of 'Abd al-Malik who commanded the force known as the Waḍḍāḥiyyah (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 38).

The Events of the Year 96

(SEPTEMBER 16, 714–SEPTEMBER 4, 715)

In it there took place, according to what al-Wāqidī said, the winter campaign of Bishr b. al-Walīd; he returned after al-Walīd had died.

[*The Death of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik*]

In it there took the place the death of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik on Saturday in the middle of Jumādā II in the year 96 (late February 715), according to what all the biographers (*ahl al-siyar*) say. There has been disagreement about the length of his caliphate. According to Ibn Wahb—Yūnus—al-Zuhrī: Al-Walīd ruled for ten years less one month. According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: The caliphate of al-Walīd lasted for nine
[1270] years and seven months. Hishām b. Muḥammad said: The rule of al-Walīd lasted for eight years and six months. Al-Wāqidī said: His caliphate lasted for nine years, eight months, and two nights. There has also been disagreement about the length of his life.

Muḥammad b. 'Umar said: He died at Damascus aged forty-six years and six months. Hishām b. Muḥammad said: He died aged forty-five. 'Alī b. Muḥammad said: He died aged forty-two and a

few months. 'Alī said: The death of al-Walīd took place at Dayr Murrān;[702] he was buried outside Bāb al-Ṣaghīr,[703] and it has been said: in the al-Farādīs graveyards.[704] And it has [also] been said that he died aged forty-seven.

According to what 'Alī said, he had nineteen sons: 'Abd al-'Azīz, Muḥammad, al-'Abbās, Ibrāhīm, Tammām, Khālid, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Mubashshir, Masrūr, Abū 'Ubaydah, Ṣadaqah, Manṣūr, Marwān, 'Anbasah, 'Umar, Rawḥ, Bishr, Yazīd, and Yaḥyā. The mother of 'Abd al-'Azīz and Muḥammad was Umm al-Banīn bt. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, and the mother of Abū 'Ubaydah was a Fazāriyyah; the rest of [the sons] were by various mothers.[705]

Report of Some of What He Did [1271]

According to 'Umar [b. Shabbah]—'Alī: In the opinion of the Syrians, al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik was the worthiest of their caliphs. He built mosques—the mosque of Damascus and the mosque of Medina—set up pulpits,[706] gave out to the people, and gave to those afflicted with elephantiasis, telling them not to beg from the people; he gave every cripple a servant and every blind person a guide. During his rule massive conquests were effected: Mūsā b. Nuṣayr conquered al-Andalus, Qutaybah conquered Kāshghar, and Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim conquered al-Hind. [The narrator] continued: Al-Walīd would stop by at the greengrocer's, take a bunch of greens, and say, "How much is this?" [The greengrocer] would say, "[One] *fals*,"[707] and [al-Walīd] would say, "Put more [greens] in it."

[The narrator] continued: A man from the Banū Makhzūm came to him asking him [for help] in respect of a debt of his. [Al-Walīd] said, "Yes, if you are deserving of that." [The Makhzūmī] said, "O Commander of the Faithful, how can I not be deserving

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702. A monastery near Damascus (see *EI*², s.v.).

703. A gate on the south side of Damascus (*EI*², s.v. Dimashḳ, vol. II, p. 279a; for the graveyard in question, p. 281a).

704. Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, vol. III, p. 862) says that al-Farādīs is "a place near Damascus"; presumably, what is meant here is the graveyard near the Bāb al-Farādīs, on the north side of Damascus (*EI*², s.v. Dimashḳ, vol. II, pp. 279a, 281a).

705. Cf. *Kitāb al-'uyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iq*, p. 12; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, vol. IV, p. 422; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vol. V, p. 361 = par. 2114.

706. Reading *al-manābir* with the *'Iqd* (vol. IV, p. 424); the text has *al-manār*.

707. A copper or bronze coin (*EI*², s.v.).

of that, given my relationship [to you]?"[708] [Al-Walīd] said, "Have you recited the Qur'ān?" He said, "No." [Al-Walīd] said, "Draw near to me." He drew near, and al-Walīd knocked off his turban with a rod he had in his hand and struck him several times with it; he said to a man [in attendance], "Keep this [fellow] with you, and do not let him part from you until he has recited the Qur'ān."

'Uthmān b. Yazīd b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd[709] betook himself to [al-Walīd] and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I have a debt." [Al-Walīd] said, "Have you recited the Qur'ān?" He said, "Yes," and [al-Walīd] asked him to recite ten verses from [the Sūrah of] the Spoils and ten from Repentance. He did so, and [al-Walīd] said, "Yes, we'll pay up for you, and we shall
[1272] make close our ties of relationship thereby."

[The narrator] continued: Al-Walīd became ill and fell unconscious. He remained most of that day thought by [those who were in attendance] to be dead. He was wept over, and the official couriers went off with [news of] his death. When a messenger reached al-Ḥajjāj, [the latter] said, "We belong to God and to Him shall we return!" and called for a rope, which was tied to his hand and then secured to a pillar; he said, "O God, do not empower over me one who has no mercy; how often have I asked you to make my death [take place] before his!" and he began to make invocations. He was thus engaged when an official courier reached him with [the news of al-Walīd's] regaining of consciousness.

'Alī said: When al-Walīd regained consciousness, he said, "No one will be happier at the well-being of the Commander of the Faithful than al-Ḥajjāj." 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz said, "How great is God's bounty to us through your well-being! In my mind's eye I envisage a letter coming to you from al-Ḥajjāj, in which he mentions that, when [news of] your recovery reached him, he sank to the ground prostrating himself to God, freed every mamlūk of his, and sent out [as gifts] bottles of Indian preserved fruit." A few days later there arrived a letter saying just that.

['Alī] said: Al-Ḥajjāj did not die before becoming burdensome to

708. Presumably, because the mother of Hishām, al-Walīd's brother, was a Makhzūmiyyah.

709. Of the Banū Abī'l-'Īṣ of 'Abd Shams of Quraysh [see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, chart 8].

al-Walīd. A servant of al-Walīd's said: One day I was washing al-Walīd for lunch. He stretched out his hand, and I began pouring the water on him; he was inattentive, the water was flowing, and I couldn't speak. Then he splashed the water in my face and said, "Are you dozing?" and he raised his head up to me and said, "You don't know what happened last night?" I said, "No." He said, "Woe to you! Al-Ḥajjāj died." I said, "We belong to Him and to Him shall we return!" He said, "Be quiet. It wouldn't please your master [any more] if he had an apple in his hand to smell."

'Alī said: Al-Walīd was an enthusiast for building and making constructions and estates. When people met in his time, they would ask one another about building and constructions. Then [1273] there took charge Sulaymān, who was an enthusiast for sexual intercourse and food, and people took to asking one another about coupling and slave girls; and, when 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz took charge, they would meet, and one man would say to another "What is your *wird*[710] tonight? How much of the Qur'ān have you memorized? When will you complete memorizing [it]? When did you complete memorizing [it]? For how much of the month will you fast?" Jarīr said, elegizing al-Walīd (*basīṭ*):[711]

O eye, weep copious tears aroused by remembrance;
    after today there is no point in your tears' being stored.
The Caliph's noble qualities have been concealed by
    earth in which a burial niche has been dug,
    a niche the side of which inclines.
When the catastrophe had become clear, his sons were
    like stars whose central moon has fallen.
They were all [together]; neither 'Abd al-'Azīz,
    nor Rawḥ, nor 'Umar, repelled his fate.

According to 'Umar—'Alī: Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik made the pilgrimage, and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf[712] did likewise from the Yemen, carrying presents for al-Walīd. Umm al-Banīn said to [her husband] al-Walīd, "O Commander of the Faithful, make Muḥammad b. Yūsuf's present over to me!" and he ordered that it should be delivered to her. The messengers of Umm al-Banīn

710. A section of the Qur'ān recited privately.
711. *Dīwān*, pp. 296–97 (where two additional verses are given).
712. The brother of al-Ḥajjāj (see *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥadjdjāj b. Yūsuf [p. 42a]).

reached Muḥammad concerning [this matter], and Muḥammad refused [to hand the presents over], saying, "Not until the Commander of the Faithful takes a look at them and decides," for there were many presents. [Umm al-Banīn] said, "O Commander of the Faithful, you ordered that Muḥammad's presents were to be delivered to me; I have no need of them." [Al-Walīd] said, "Why?" She said, "It has reached me that he took them from
[1274] people by force, required them to make them, and oppressed them." Muḥammad transported the goods to al-Walīd, who said, "It has reached me that you acquired [these] by force." [Muḥammad] said, "God forbid." [Al-Walīd] gave the order, and [Muḥammad] was required to swear fifty oaths by God, between the Corner [in which the Black Stone is accommodated] and the Standing Place [of Abraham],[713] that he had not taken any of [the gifts] by force, had not oppressed anyone, and had only acquired them lawfully. He swore; al-Walīd accepted [his oaths] and handed [the presents] over to Umm al-Banīn. Then Muḥammad b. Yūsuf died in the Yemen, afflicted by a disease from which he became decomposed.[714]

[*Al-Walīd's Desire to Remove Sulaymān from the Succession*]

In this year al-Walīd had wanted to go to his brother Sulaymān to remove him from the succession, desiring [that] the oath of allegiance [be taken] to his son as his successor; that was before the illness from which he died.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAlī: Al-Walīd and Sulaymān were the two designated successors of ʿAbd al-Malik. When power passed to al-Walīd, he wanted to have the oath of allegiance taken to his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [as his successor] and to remove Sulaymān from the succession. [Sulaymān] refused, and [al-Walīd then] endeavored to induce him [to agree] on the basis that he would make the succession his after [ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz]. [Sulaymān] refused, and [al-Walīd] offered him large amounts of money. [Sulaymān still] refused. [Al-Walīd] wrote to his governors, [instructing them] to take the oath of allegiance to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. No one responded to

713. See *EI*², s.v. Maḳām Ibrāhīm.
714. Which is presumably intended to suggest that he had sworn a false oath.

that except for al-Ḥajjāj and Qutaybah and some of the notables of the people. 'Abbād b. Ziyād[715] said [to al-Walīd], "The people are not responding to you positively in this matter; and, even if they were to do so, I would not be sure that they would not act perfidiously toward your son. Write to Sulaymān to come to you, for he does owe you obedience, and endeavor to induce him [to agree] to the oath of allegiance being taken to 'Abd al-'Azīz as his successor. He won't be able to hold out while he is with you; and, if he does refuse, the people will be against him." Al-Walīd accordingly wrote to Sulaymān, ordering him to come [to him]. [Sulaymān] delayed, and al-Walīd resoled to go to him and remove him from the succession. He ordered [his retinue] to get ready, and he gave the order for his mare,[716] which was brought out. Then he became ill, and died before he could go, still desiring that.

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Abū 'Āṣim al-Ziyādī—al-Hilwāth al-Kalbī: We were in al-Hind with Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim. God killed Dāhir, and a letter came to us from al-Ḥajjāj [instructing us] to disavow Sulaymān. When Sulaymān had taken charge, a letter came to us from him: "Sow and till; no Syria for you." We stayed in that land until 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz came to power. Then we returned. [1275]

According to 'Umar—'Alī: Al-Walīd wanted to build the mosque of Damascus, in which there was a church.[717] He said to his companions, "I beg of you nothing but that each of you bring me one brick," and each man began to do so. An Iraqi brought him two bricks, and he said to him, "Whom are you from?" He said, "From the people of Iraq." [Al-Walīd] said, "O people of Iraq, you go to excess in everything, even in obedience." They demolished the church and built it into a mosque. When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz took charge, [some of the Christians] complained to him of that. It was said [to him], "Everything outside the city was conquered by force of arms," and he said to [the people who had complained], "We'll return your church to you and demolish the church of Thomas, which was conquered by force of arms, and

715. 'Abbād b. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (see *EI*², s.v.).

716. Reading *ḥajr* or *ḥijr*, where Guidi has understood *ḥujar*; Ibn al-Athīr gives *khiyām*.

717. This is what the text says. In fact, al-Walīd wanted to enlarge the existing mosque onto adjoining land occupied by the church of St. John the Baptist (see *EI*², s.v. Dimashḳ, at vol. II, pp. 280–81).

build it into a mosque." When he said that to them, they said, "Never mind. We'll leave you to what al-Walīd demolished and you leave the church of Thomas to us." 'Umar did that.

In that year Qutaybah conquered Kāshghar and campaigned in China.[718]

[*Qutaybah in Kāshghar and China*]

The narrative returns to that of 'Alī b. Muḥammad with the list of authorities I mentioned earlier. He said: Then Qutaybah campaigned in the year 96, taking with [his troops] their dependents and desiring to afford his dependents a safe refuge in Samarqand, [1276] out of fear of Sulaymān. When he had crossed the river, he put one of his mawlās, a man called al-Khwārazmī, in charge of the river crossing and said, "No one may cross except with a pass." He went to Farghānah and sent [ahead] to the 'Iṣām pass[719] [troops] to facilitate for him the road to Kāshghar, the nearest of the cities of China; [news of] the death of al-Walīd reached him while he was at Farghānah.

According to ['Alī]—Abū al-Dhayyāl—al-Muhallab b. Iyās—Iyās b. Zuhayr: When Qutaybah crossed the river, I went to him and said to him, "I didn't know your view about the dependents, so that we might make preparations in that regard. My older sons are with me, but there are dependents I have left behind, and an old mother, and they do not have with them anyone to take care of them. If you see fit, [I hope] that you will write a letter for me [to go] with one of my sons, whom I shall send to bring me my family." He wrote the letter and gave it to me. I then reached the river, the man in charge of the [crossing] being on the other side. I beckoned with my hand, and some people came [across] in a boat. They said, "Who are you, and where is your pass?" I informed them, and some of them sat with me while others took the boat back to the man in charge and informed him. [Iyās] went on: Then they returned to me and transported me, and I reached [the people

718. Cf. Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, pp. 52–53, and "The Arab Invasion of Kashgar in A.D. 715," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 2 (1923), pp. 467–74, who disputes the historicity of this report; also Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, vol. VII, p. 251.

719. Named after 'Iṣām b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhilī, who is reported to have been appointed in this area by Qutaybah (Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], p. 186, and Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, p. 49, both citing al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ser. ii, p. 1440).

on the other side]; they were eating, and I was hungry, so I hurled myself [at the food]. [The man in charge] asked me things while I was eating and not answering him. He said, "This bedouin is [half-] dead from hunger." Then I rode, reached Marw, transported my mother, and returned, heading for the camp. [News of] the death of al-Walīd came, and I departed for Marw.

According to ['Alī]—Alū Mikhnaf—his father: Qutaybah sent Kathīr[720] b. fulān to Kāshghar; he took captives from it and sealed their necks [with the words] "Part of what God has granted to Qutaybah." Then Qutaybah returned, and [news of] the death of al-Walīd reached them.

['Alī] said: According to (i) Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā' al-Hamdānī—Khurasani shaykhs, and (ii) al-Ḥakam b. 'Uthmān—a Khurasani [1277] shaykh: Qutaybah penetrated far, until he drew near to China. ['Alī] continued: The king of China wrote to [Qutaybah], "Send to us one of the nobles who are with you, [that] he may tell us about you and we may ask him about your religion." Qutaybah chose twelve—one of them said: ten—men from his army, from assorted tribes,[721] good-looking, beefy men, eloquent, hirsute, and brave, [this being] after he had asked about them and found them to be the best of those from among whom they came. Qutaybah spoke to them and contended with them in sagacity; he perceived intellects and good looks, and he ordered that they be well equipped with weapons, fine silks, embroidered garments, soft delicate white clothing, sandals, and perfume. He mounted them on fine horses, to be led with them, and riding animals for them to ride.

['Alī] said: Hubayrah b. al-Mushamraj al-Kilābī was eloquent, unconstrained with his tongue. [Qutaybah] said to him, "O Hubayrah, how are you going to conduct [this]?" [Hubayrah] said, "May God cause the amīr to prosper! I have a sufficiency of self-discipline. Say what you wish, and I shall say [that] and hold to it." [Qutaybah] said, "Go with God's blessing; through God comes success. Do not remove your turbans until you reach [the king's] country. When you enter into his presence, inform him that I have sworn that I shall not depart until I tread on their land, seal [the necks of] their kings, and collect their tax."

['Alī] said: They went off, led by Hubayrah b. al-Mushamraj.

720. Ibn al-Athīr has "Kabīr."
721. Taking this to be the sense of *min afnā' al-qabā'il* here.

When they arrived, the king of China sent to them, summoning them. They entered the bathhouse, and then emerged and donned white clothes with tunics underneath; they applied *ghāliyah*[722] perfume to themselves, censed themselves, put on sandals and *ridā*'s,[723] and entered into [the king's] presence; with him were the grandees of his kingdom. They sat down, and neither the king nor any of those sitting with him spoke to them; then they stood up [and went out]. The king said to those who were present with
[1278] him, "What do you think of these [people]?" They said, "We think they are people who are nothing but women; there was not one of us who, on seeing them and smelling their perfume, did not have an erection."

['Alī] said: On the next day the king sent for them, and they donned embroidered garments, silken turbans, and *maṭārif*[724] and went to him in the morning. When they entered into his presence, they were told, "Return." [The king said to his companions, "What do you think of this attire?" They said, "This attire is more like the attire of men than that first one was. They are [indeed men]."

On the third day the king sent for them, and they strapped on their weapons, donned their head mail and helmets, girded themselves with their swords, took up their spears, shouldered their bows, mounted their horses, and went [to him] in the morning. The king of China looked at them, and he saw what resembled mountains advancing. When they drew near [to him], they fixed their spears into the ground. Then they advanced toward [the king and his companions], tucking up their garments. Before they could enter, they were told, "Return," on account of the fear of the [Arabs] that had entered the hearts of [the king and his companions].

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722. Which is variously defined as "a sort of perfume, well known"; "a certain compound of perfumes"; "musk mixed or boiled [with other perfumes]"; and "a perfume composed of musk and ambergris and camphor and oil of ben" (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

723. See above, n. 596.

724. The *miṭraf* is defined by Lane (*Lexicon*, s.v.) as "a garment, . . . or [such as is termed] *ridā'*, . . . of [the kind of cloth called] *khazz*, . . . square, or four-sided . . . having ornamental or coloured or figured, borders (*a'lam*): . . . or a garment having, in its two ends, or sides, (*fī ṭarafayhi*) two such borders ('*alamān*): . . . or a square, or four-sided, garment of *khazz*."

['Alī] said: They departed; they mounted their horses, pulled up their spears, and urged on their horses, as if pursuing one another with them. The king said to his companions, "What do you think of them?" They said, "We have never seen the like of these." In the evening the king sent [word] to them: "Send me your leader, the worthiest of you as a man." They sent Hubayrah to him. When [Hubayrah] had entered into his presence, [the king] said to him, "You have seen the might of my dominion and that no one can protect you from me while you are in my country. You are in the position of an egg in the palm of my hand. I am going to ask you about something, and, if you do not tell me the truth, I shall kill you." [Hubayrah] said, "Ask!" He said, "Why did you do what you did with [your] dress on the first, second, and third days?" [Hubayrah] said, "As for our dress on the first day, that is what we wear among our families, and the perfume we use when with them. As for the second day, [that is what we wear] when we go to our amīrs. As for the third day, [that is] our dress for our enemies. When we are aroused and provoked, we [dress] thus." [The king] said, "How well you organize your customs. Depart to your mas- [1279]
ter and tell him to depart, for I know his cupidity and the small number of his companions; otherwise I shall send against you someone who will destroy both you and him." Hubayrah said, "How can one whose front cavalry are in your country, while the last of them are in the places where the olive trees grow, be said to have a small number of companions? How can one who has left the world behind him, under his control, and has campaigned against you, be charged with cupidity? As for your [attempt] to frighten us with being killed, we have allotted spans; when [their ends] come about, the noblest of them [involves] being killed. We do not dislike [that], nor do we fear it." [The king] said, "What then will satisfy your master?" [Hubayrah] said, "He has sworn an oath that he will not depart until he treads your land, seals your kings, and is given tax." [The king] said, "We shall extricate him from his oath. We shall send some soil from the soil of our land, so that he may tread on it; we shall send him some of our sons so that he may seal [their necks]; and we shall send him some tax, so that he may be pleased with it." [The narrator] said: He called for some dishes of gold with soil in them, and he sent silk and gold and four young men from [among] the sons of their

kings; he gave them leave [to depart] and presented them with fine gifts, and they went off and reached [Qutaybah] with what [the king] had sent. Qutaybah accepted the tax, sealed the young men and returned them, and trod on the soil. Sawādah b. 'Abdallāh al-Salūlī said (*kāmil*):[725]

There is no disgrace in the delegation you sent
to China, if they followed the right way.
They broke their eyelids against the motes, out
of fear of death,
except for the noble Hubayrah b. Mushamraj.
He wanted nothing but to seal their necks
and [to take] hostages, handed over [as a pledge]
for the remission of tax.
[1280] He transmitted the message you asked him to be
mindful of,
and brought a way out of violating the oath.

['Alī] said: Qutaybah sent Hubayrah to al-Walīd, and he died at Qaryah[726] in Fārs. Sawādah elegized him, saying (*kāmil*):

To God be attributed [the excellence of] the
grave of Hubayrah b. Mushamraj;
what generosity and beauty it contains!
And eloquence that the eloquent fall short of,
when people gather to witness what men say.
He was [like] spring, when the droughts had
followed one another,
and [like] a lion, when heroes quailed.
May clouds raining torrents give water
to Qaryah, where his grave is.
The pawing[727] steeds wept at the loss of him,
as did every straight and waving spear,

725. Both the poet and the verses that follow are apparently known only here (and in the parallel passage in Ibn al-Athīr).

726. In her entries on Fārs, Cornu (*Atlas: Répertoires*, p. 55) lists twelve place names in which the first component is Qaryah.

727. *Ṣāfināt*. More exactly, Lane (*Lexicon*, s.v.) defines *ṣāfin* as [a horse] "standing upon three legs and the extremity of the hoof of the fourth leg: . . . or standing upon three legs, and turning back the extremity of the fore part of the fourth hoof, that of his foreleg: . . . or standing upon three legs. . . ."

And there wept for him tousle-headed women, who did
not find anyone to console them
in the year that was affected by drought and
barrenness.

According to ['Alī]—The Bāhilīs: When Qutaybah returned from campaigning each year, he would buy twelve fine mares and twelve dromedaries, paying no more than four thousand [dirhams] per mare, and have them looked after until the time for campaigning [came round again]. When he was ready for the campaign and was encamped, he had [the mares] tethered and made lean; he would not cross a river with horses until their flesh was lean. He used to mount his advance parties on them; he used to send on his advance parties horsemen from [among] the *ashrāf*, together with non-Arabs he thought to be faithful, [these latter being mounted] on the dromedaries. When he sent out an advance scout, he would order that a tablet be inscribed; then he would break it into two pieces and give him one piece and keep the other, which he would not be able to simulate, and would order [1281] him to bury [his piece] in a place that he would describe to him, such as a well-known ford or tree, or a ruin. Then he would send someone to search it out, so that he might know whether his advance scout was telling the truth or not. Thābit Quṭnah al-'Atakī said, concerning those of the kings of the Turks whom [Qutaybah] killed (*wāfir*):[728]

The killing of Kāz.r.nk and K.shbyz gladdened
the eye, as did what B.yār encountered.[729]

Al-Kumayt said, concerning the campaign in Soghd and Khwārazm (*basīṭ*):[730]

Afterwards, in a campaign that was blessed,
[a campaign that] destroys peoples' agriculture
and reaps,

728. Cf. above, n. 569; the following verse appears not to occur elsewhere.

729. The forms and significations (if any) of these names/titles remain to be elucidated ("B.yār" is given in the *Addenda et Emendanda* in preference to the "Y.bād" given in the text).

730. If we are to judge by *Shi'r al-Kumayt*, no. 146, the following verses are found only here.

The cloud [of this campaign] brought Fīl its heavy rain,
and Soghd, when its cold shower poured on them.
[Fīl] still has plunder to give as booty
at the divisions of spoil—[and] nothing
mean or paltry.
Those [are the] conquests by which the Câliph is afforded
the proof that we are people who exert our
fullest efforts.
You did not avert your face from [any] people in
[any] campaign against them,
until they were told, "May you die!" and they
were killed.
You were not pleased with any fortress of theirs
if it was holding out,
until the One, the Everlasting, could be proclaimed
in it with the words "God is great!"

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXIV

The Empire in Transition

TRANSLATED BY DAVID STEPHAN POWERS

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Volume XXIV
Translated by David Stephan Powers

In this volume, which covers the caliphates of Sulaymān, ʿUmar II, and Yazīd II, al-Ṭabarī provides vivid and detailed accounts of the events spanning the period from 96-105/715-724. We listen to the stirring speeches of Qutaybah b. Muslim, in which he urges his followers to renounce their allegiance to Sulaymān; are present at the disastrous third and final attempt to take Constantinople; watch from behind the scenes as Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywah skillfully engineers the accession of ʿUmar II; and follow the remarkable career of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, first as governor and conqueror, then as prisoner, and finally as rebel.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXIV

The Empire in Transition

THE CALIPHATES OF SULAYMĀN, ʿUMAR, AND YAZĪD

A.D. 715–724/A.H. 97–105

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l mulūk)

VOLUME XXIV

The Empire in Transition

translated and annotated
by

David Stephan Powers

Cornell University

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash

(—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume 1.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

EI: *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, first edition
EI[2]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition
GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Leiden, 1967–

Translator's Foreword

During the ten-year period covered in this volume, the reins of Umayyad power were held by three caliphs bearing distinctive personalities: Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 96–99/715–717), a man with a reputation for luxurious living who is nevertheless favorably remembered for reversing the policies of al-Ḥajjāj and appointing ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as his successor; the pious ʿUmar (r. 99–101/717–720), a quasi-messianic figure whose accession to the caliphate, engineered by Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywah, constituted a virtual coup d'état; and Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 101–105/720–724), a profligate whose own demise was caused by his inconsolable grief for his singing slave girl, Ḥabābah.

By the year 96/714–715, the Arab conquests had reached what ultimately would become their farthest limits in both the East and the West. With the exception of the disastrous third and final campaign against Constantinople, Sulaymān adopted a cautious policy that favored the consolidation of previous conquests over further expansion. This policy was taken to its logical extension by ʿUmar II, who recalled Maslamah from the campaign against Constantinople, ordered a complete stop to every expedition on the eastern front, and called for a general withdrawal of the Arab soldiers from Transoxiana. Initially, this same cautious policy was continued by Yazīd II, whose governor over Khurāsān, Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, did not pass beyond Samarqand. On the two occasions on which he crossed over the Oxus River, he punished his own raiding parties, and was dubbed "Khudhaynah," "the little princess," by his own soldiers because of his perceived weakness. But the governorship of Khudhaynah's successor, Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī,

marked a return to a more aggressive policy that resulted in the brutal pacification of Soghdia and the subjugation of Kiss and Rabinjān.

Internally, the unity of the Umayyad Empire was threatened by several phenomena, the most important being the rise of tribal factionalism. Although scholars disagree over whether the terms "Qays" and "Yaman" refer to tribal confederations, political parties, or interest groups, it is generally accepted that the Qays stood for the expansion of the empire and the exclusion of non-Arab clients, while the Yaman criticized the policy of expansion and advocated equal status for Arab Muslims and non-Arab converts to Islam. The accession of Sulaymān, who had allied himself with the Yamanīs while serving as governor of Palestine, signaled a shift in the balance of power away from the Qaysīs, as the new Caliph proceeded to dismiss the Qaysī governors appointed by his predecessors, replacing them with men from the Yaman. In distant Farghānah, the Qaysī commander, Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, realizing that his political usefulness had come to an end, tried to raise a revolt against the new Caliph, but his supporters, both Arab and non-Arab, turned against him, slew him, and returned to their homes. An effort to mollify tribal factionalism was made by 'Umar II, who chose governors over whom he had control and whom he believed to be competent, irrespective of their tribal affiliations. This policy was short-lived, however, as 'Umar reigned for only two years. Under his successor, Yazīd II, who sought to reestablish the old order, the Qaysīs returned to power, embittered by the humiliations they had suffered since the accession of Sulaymān; they were determined to take revenge. It was during the caliphate of Yazīd II, in the year 101/719–720, that Yazīd b. al-Muhallab al-Azdī staged his revolt, an episode to which Ṭabarī devotes considerable attention. Although this was not, strictly speaking, a tribal conflict—Ibn al-Muhallab's own tribe of the Azd sided against him—it nevertheless contributed to the intensification of the factional schism as Qaysīs were installed in Iraq and the East in its aftermath. More than any other factor, these tribal rivalries, which spanned the entire empire, contributed to the downfall of the Umayyads.

The administrative boundaries of Iraq and the eastern provinces shifted several times during the short span of ten years

covered in this volume. Previously, Khurāsān had been governed from the usual seat of the governor in Iraq, but Yazīd b. al-Muhallab persuaded Sulaymān to let him govern from Khurāsān itself, which became the base of his campaigns against Jurjān and Ṭabaristān. Under 'Umar II, who supervised the actions of his governors to an unprecedented degree, the vast eastern governorate was broken up into different units, each responsible to the Caliph. Under Yazīd II, Maslamah was given joint control over al-Kūfah, al-Basrah, and Khurāsān, appointing his own governors over each locality. These shifts in administrative policy point to the fact that by the turn of the century the Umayyad government had effectively lost control of the administration of Khurāsan and the East.

In addition to the conduct of the Holy War, another major concern of the provincial governors was the collection and distribution of tribute money. The governors, the Arab tribesmen, and the Caliph were divided over the issue of whether the income from the yearly tribute should be disposed of in its entirety in the provinces or conveyed to the central government. In the year 97/715–716, Sulaymān, sensitive to the complaints of his subjects in Iraq, who had suffered under the fiscal policy of al-Ḥajjāj, sought to keep the fiscal affairs of that province under his own control by appointing his own personal representative there with special responsibility for taxation. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was arrested by 'Umar II in the year 100/718–719 because of his failure to convey to the treasury the fifth of the booty that he had collected during the conquest of Jurjān and Ṭabaristān, a sum of six million dīnārs about which he had vainly boasted in a letter to Sulaymān. Similarly, Maslamah was dismissed by his half brother Yazīd in the year 102/720–721 when he failed to send surplus revenue to the Caliph in Damascus. His replacement, 'Umar b. Hubayrah, introduced a plan according to which the right of the Arab tribesmen to the yearly tribute was limited to the amount of their stipends, while the surplus belonged to the central treasury. These struggles further reflect the breakdown of central control.

Another major source of discontent was the non-Arabs who expected to be relieved of certain taxes upon converting to Islam. This expectation posed a dilemma for the central government which, in an effort to prevent a decline in revenues, either tried to

prevent conversion to Islam or took no note of it when collecting taxes. The issue seems to have reached a climax during the caliphate of 'Umar II, who instituted his famous fiscal rescript designed to address the problems related to conversion. According to the rescript, non-Arab clients were to be freed from the *kharāj* tax and stipends were to be paid to every Muslim who accepted his military obligation, regardless of whether he was an Arab or a convert. These reforms, however, were allowed to lapse upon 'Umar's death.

Religious opposition also posed a threat to the Umayyad regime. A Khārijite revolt in the year 100/718–719, led by Shawdhab, was initially handled in a diplomatic manner by 'Umar II, "the righteous man," who summoned representatives of the rebels to enter into negotiations. After 'Umar's untimely death, the revolt was brutally suppressed by Yazīd II. Religious opposition was a factor in the revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who summoned his followers to "the Book and the *Sunnah*," and received support from both the Khārijites and the Murji'ites. But the main source of religious opposition was the clandestine 'Abbāsid movement that would eventually topple the dynasty. Ṭabarī reports that 'Abbāsid propaganda began in earnest in the year 100/718–719, when three emissaries who were sent to Khurāsān by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās succeeded in enlisting seventy recruits for the movement. Even if the suspicions of Western scholars regarding the chronological accuracy of this report are justified, it is nevertheless the case that the 'Abbāsid propaganda was in place by the year 104/722–23.

Ṭabarī presents the events of the years 96–105/715–724 in considerable detail and with great vividness. We listen to the stirring speeches of Qutaybah b. Muslim in which he urges his followers to renounce their allegiance to Sulaymān; are present at the disastrous third and final attempt to take Constantinople; watch from behind the scenes as Rajā' b. Ḥaywah skillfully engineers the accession of 'Umar II; and follow the remarkable career of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, first as a governor and conqueror, then as a prisoner, and finally as a rebel. Throughout this volume we observe the struggle of the Umayyad regime to maintain control over a rapidly expanding but increasingly dissatisfied subject population. Governors are appointed and dismissed with dizzying

rapidity, administrative boundaries are drawn and redrawn, Arab tribesmen express dissatisfaction with the diminishing rewards of military conquest, non-Arab converts chafe at the differential treatment they receive, and religious opponents revolt in the name of "the Book and the *Sunnah*." Important in their own respect, the events of this period also constitute an essential key to understanding the ʿAbbāsid revolution that was about to unfold.

There remains the pleasant duty of acknowledging the indispensable assistance of friends and colleagues who contributed to the making of this translation. My colleague, Samia Mehrez, read through much of the Arabic text with me and helped to clarify the meaning of many difficult expressions. Richard Jacquemond offered valuable comments on an early draft of the manuscript. Three members of the Ṭabarī editorial board who read parts or all of the manuscript with great care, Franz Rosenthal, Jacob Lassner, and Ihsan Abbas, were especially helpful with difficult sections of the Arabic text and poetry. Finally, I am grateful to Judith Ginsburg for assistance with the Latin glosses of the Leiden text, to Penny Beebe for help with matters of style, and to Raihana Zaman for her patience and fortitude when called upon to type seemingly endless drafts of the translation. Needless to say, the responsibility for any mistakes that remain are mine and mine alone.

David Stephan Powers

The Caliphate of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik

The Events of the Year 96 (cont'd)

(September 16, 714–September 4, 715)[1] [1281]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) said: In this year, the oath of allegiance was rendered to Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik as Caliph.[2] This took place in al-Ramlah on the day on which al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik died.[3]

In this year, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik dismissed the governor of Medina, 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān.[4] Muḥammad b. 'Umar mentioned that Sulaymān removed 'Uthmān from Medina on the twenty-fourth of Ramaḍān in the year 96 (June 3, 715). Abū Ja'far con- [1282]
tinued: He served as governor of Medina for three years. It is also said: His term of office was two years, less seven nights.

According to al-Wāqidī: 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān consented to a

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1. For other sources on the caliphate of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, see Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 360–61; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 38–45; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 252–306; *FHA*, 16–37; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 173–81; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 166–84; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 257ff.

2. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 314; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 166.

3. Al-Walīd died on a Saturday in the middle of Jumādā II in the year 96 (February 23, 715). See text above, II/1269–70.

4. That is, 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī, who al-Walīd had appointed in Sha'bān of the year 93 (May 13—June 10, 712) or Shawwāl of 94 (June 30—July 28, 713). See text above, II/1255, 1258ff.; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 39.

request from Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm[5] for permission to sleep (late) the following morning and not to grant an audience to the people, so that he might observe the twenty-first night of Ramaḍān.[6] Ayyūb b. Salamah al-Makhzūmī, who was on bad terms with Abū Bakr b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, was with 'Uthmān at that time, and he said to him, "Have you not considered what that one is saying? He is merely making a show of piety." 'Uthmān answered, "I thought of that, but, if I do not find him holding court tomorrow morning when I send for him, then as surely as I am my father's son, I shall flog him one hundred lashes and shave his head and his beard." Ayyūb said, "Pleasantly surprised by his statement, I hastened at dawn to his house, through which I found my way by candlelight. I said (to myself), 'al-Murrī (that is, 'Uthmān) has also come in haste (to fulfill his oath).'" But lo and behold, Sulaymān's messenger had already arrived, carrying orders to appoint Abū Bakr as governor and to have 'Uthmān dismissed and flogged.[7] Ayyūb continued, "I entered the governor's residence, and there was Ibn Ḥayyān sitting on the floor, while Abū Bakr was sitting on a chair saying to the blacksmith, 'Put the chains on this man's feet.' 'Uthmān looked at me and recited:

They turned their backs and fled
But things are not forever the same."

In this year, Sulaymān removed Yazīd b. Abī Muslim from Iraq, replacing him with Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.[8] He put Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān in charge of the fiscal administration and ordered him to torture and kill the family of Abū 'Aqīl.[9]

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5. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm was chief qāḍī of Medina, apparently from the year 88 (706–07). See text above, II/1191, 1255.

6. It is particularly meritorious to undertake the *i'tikāf*—a period of retreat in a mosque during which the believer fasts, prays, and recites the Qur'ān. It occurs during the last ten days of the month of Ramaḍān, when the *laylat al-qadr* (night on which the Qur'ān was first revealed) is presumed to have taken place. See *EI*, s.v. Ramaḍān; *EI²*, s.v. I'tikāf.

7. 'Uthmān was reportedly flogged twice, once for drinking wine, and a second time in retaliation for an accusation he had leveled against 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 39.

8. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 40.

9. That is, the family of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, who had slain Ṣāliḥ's brother, Ādam. See Crone, *Slaves*, 43; *EI²*, s.v. al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 540.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad: Ṣāliḥ reached Iraq, where he took charge of the fiscal administration, [1283] while Yazīd was in charge of military affairs. Yazīd then sent Ziyād b. al-Muhallab to serve as governor of 'Umān,[10] saying to him, "Correspond with Ṣāliḥ, and, when you write to him, mention his name first." (Upon reaching Iraq) Ṣāliḥ seized the family of Abū 'Aqīl and tortured them; 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab administered the torture.

In this year, Qutaybah b. Muslim[11] was slain in Khurāsān.[12]

The Slaying of Qutaybah b. Muslim

The circumstances surrounding this: Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik wanted to designate his son, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd, as the heir apparent, and he secretly conveyed his intent to the generals and the poets.[13] Jarīr[14] said with regard to this:

When they ask, "Which man would be the best Caliph?"
the fingers point to 'Abd al-'Azīz.
They consider him the most deserving of all the people,
and they were not mistaken when they hurried and swore
the oath of allegiance to him.[15]

Jarīr also recited, urging al-Walīd to nominate 'Abd al-'Azīz:

Toward 'Abd al-'Azīz the eyes of the people turned,
when the rulers were at a loss about whom to choose.
To him his merits call attention, when
the pillars of state and the heavens fall down.
And the leaders of Quraysh say,

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10. See *EI*, s.v. 'Oman.

11. Qutaybah is Abū Ḥafṣ Qutaybah b. Abī Ṣāliḥ Muslim b. 'Amr al-Bāhilī. He was an Arab commander who extended Arab power over the boundaries of Khurāsān. See *EI²*, s.v. Ḳutayba b. Muslim; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 434–35; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, IV, 86–91.

12. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 318; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 519–22; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 40–41; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 253–80, *FHA*, 17–19; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 167–69; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 439ff.

13. 'Abd al-Malik had stipulated in his succession covenant that Sulaymān was to succeed al-Walīd as Caliph. See text above, II/1170.

14. Jarīr b. 'Aṭiyyah b. al-Khaṭafah (Ḥudhayfah) b. Badr (d. 110/728–29) was one of the most famous poets of the Umayyad period. See *EI²*, s.v. Djarīr.

15. *Fa-bāyi'ūhu wa-sāri'ū*; read *fa-bāya'ūhu wa-sāra'ū*, following Band P. See *Naḳā'iḍ Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, I, 351.

"We must swear the oath of allegiance now that the race
has reached its end."
They consider ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to be the heir apparent,
and they have not made a mistake or done wrong.
What do you wait for, when you are the ones that bear
onerous deeds and rise to glory?
So pass it (that is, the caliphate) on to him wholly,
O Commander of the Faithful, if you so desire.
[1284] For the people have already extended their hands to him,
and the matter has become generally known.
And had they given the oath of allegiance to you as heir
apparent,
the balance would have been even and the building would
have been straight.[16]

Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and Qutaybah concurred in the renunciation of Sulaymān. Then al-Walīd died, and Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik assumed power. This was why Qutaybah feared him.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Bishr b. ʿĪsā, al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd and Kulayb b. Khalaf—Ṭufayl b. Mirdās and Jabalah b. Farrūkh—Muḥammad b. ʿUzayz al-Kindī, Jabalah b. Abī Rawwād,[17] and Maslamah b. Muḥārib—al-Sakin b. Qatādah: When Qutaybah learned of the death of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and the accession of Sulaymān, he feared Sulaymān because, together with al-Ḥajjāj, he had worked for the nomination of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Walīd. Thus, he feared that Sulaymān would appoint Yazīd b. al-Muhallab as governor of Khurāsān.[18]

Qutaybah wrote a letter to Sulaymān in which he congratulated him on becoming Caliph, consoled him about al-Walīd, and informed him of his achievements and of his obedience to ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd. He also indicated that Sulaymān could count on the same measure of obedience and sincere advice as had the former two, provided he did not remove him from Khurāsān. He (also) wrote him another letter in which he informed him of his conquests and his ferocity against the enemy, of his exalted

16. Ibid., I, 350–51.
17. Text: Dāwūd; read Rawwād, following the Cairo ed.
18. Ten years earlier, in 86/705, al-Ḥajjāj had dismissed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab as governor of Khurāsān and appointed Qutaybah in his place. See text above, II/1178ff., sub anno 86.

standing among the non-Arab rulers, of the awe he inspired in their hearts, and of his great renown among them. He also dis- [1285] paraged al-Muhallab and his family and swore by God that if Yazīd b. al-Muhallab were appointed governor of Khurāsān, he (that is, Qutaybah) would throw off his allegiance to Sulaymān. And (finally) he wrote a third letter in which he renounced his allegiance to him.

Qutaybah sent the three letters with a man from the tribe of Bāhilah, saying: "Give the first letter to the Caliph. If Yazīd b. al-Muhallab is present and the Caliph reads it and then hands it to him, give him the second letter. If the Caliph reads it and gives it to Yazīd, give him the third letter. But if he reads the first letter and does not give it to Yazīd, hold on to the other two."

Qutaybah's messenger arrived and presented himself to Sulaymān, who was with Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. The messenger gave the letter to the Caliph, who read it and then showed it to Yazīd. The messenger gave the Caliph another letter, which he read and threw at Yazīd. Then he gave him the third letter. The Caliph read it, and the color of his face changed. He called for some clay, sealed the letter, and kept it in his possession.

According to Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā: The first letter contained slanderous remarks about Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, noting his perfidy, infidelity, and ingratitude. The second letter contained praise of Yazīd. The third letter contained the following statement: "If you do not confirm me in my present position and if you do not grant me a writ of safe conduct, I will renounce my allegiance to you as quickly as one removes a shoe, and I will fill the earth around you with horsemen and foot soldiers."

He also said: When Sulaymān read the third letter, he put it between two mattresses under him and made no comment.

Returning to the account of 'Alī b. Muḥammad: Then he—that is, Sulaymān—ordered that Qutaybah's messenger be provided with accommodations, whereupon the latter was transferred to the guest house. That evening, Sulaymān called for him. He gave him a purse containing some dīnārs and said, "Here is your reward, and here is your master's document of appointment as gov- [1286] ernor of Khurāsān. Be on your way in the company of my messenger, who is carrying Qutaybah's document of appointment."

The Bāhilī tribesman set out, and Sulaymān sent with him a

man from the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays, one of the Banū Layth by the name of Ṣa'ṣa'ah or Muṣ'ab. When they reached Ḥulwān,[19] the people informed them that Qutaybah had renounced the Caliph. The 'Abdī tribesman turned back, having given the document of appointment to Qutaybah's messenger, although Qutaybah had already renounced the Caliph. There was considerable confusion.[20] The messenger gave the document of appointment to Qutaybah, who then sought the counsel of his brothers. They said, "Sulaymān will not trust you, after this."

According to 'Alī—one of the 'Anbarīs—some of their shaykhs—Tawbah b. Abī Asīd al-'Anbarī: Ṣāliḥ[21] arrived in Iraq and sent me to Qutaybah in order to find out about the latter's situation. I was accompanied by a man from the Banū Asad, who asked me about the nature of my journey, but I concealed it from him. While we were traveling, a bird passed from our left to our right, causing my companion to look at me and say, "I think that you are on an important mission and that you are hiding it from me." I continued on my way. When I reached Ḥulwān, the people informed me that Qutaybah had been slain.

According to 'Alī—Abū al-Dhayyāl, Kulayb b. Khalaf and Abū 'Alī al-Jūzjānī—Ṭufayl b. Mirdās, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jashamī, and Muṣ'ab b. Ḥayyān[22]—his brother, Muqātil b. Ḥayyān, Abū Mikhnaf, and others: When Qutaybah was contemplating renouncing his allegiance to the Caliph, he sought the counsel of his brothers. 'Abd al-Raḥmān said to him, "Dispatch an army and include in it all those whom you fear: Send one contingent to Marw;[23] then you set out, until you reach Samarqand.[24] Then say to those who are with you, 'Whoever wants to stay will receive his share of the booty; whoever wants to leave will not be com-
[1287] pelled to stay, and no evil will befall him.' In this way, only those

19. An ancient town situated near the entrance to the Paytak Pass through the Zagros range, on the Khurāsān highway. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥulwān.

20. According to Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 258–59, the Caliph's messenger returned to Syria, taking the document of appointment with him, thereby causing Qutaybah to regret his actions.

21. That is, Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

22. Text: Ḥabbān; read Ḥayyān, following the Cairo ed.

23. Marw was the capital and most famous city in Khurāsān. See *EI*, *Supplement*, s.v. Merw al-Shāhidjān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 397ff.

24. Samarqand and Bukhārā were the principle towns of Transoxiana. See *EI*, s.v. Samarḳand; Le Strange, *Lands*, 463ff.

who are loyal will remain with you."[25] 'Abdallāh said to him, "Repudiate the Caliph right here, and call on the soldiers to repudiate him, for no one will oppose you."

Qutaybah accepted 'Abdallāh's advice: He renounced his allegiance to Sulaymān and called on the troops to repudiate him, saying:

> I have brought you together from 'Ayn al-Tamr[26] and Fayḍ al-Baḥr.[27] I have united brother with brother and son with father. I have distributed your booty among you, and I have paid you your stipends in full and without delay. You have had experience with the governors who preceded me: Umayyah[28] came to you and wrote to the Commander of the Faithful, saying, 'The tribute of Khurāsān does not support[29] the expenses of my kitchen.' Then Abū Sa'īd[30] came to you and he spun you around for three years, during which time you did not know whether you were in obedience or in disobedience. He did not collect any levies or hurt an enemy. Then his son, Yazīd,[31] came to you, after him, a stallion for whom women compete.[32] Your Caliph is (as foolish as) Yazīd b. Tharwān Habbanaqat al-Qaysī.[33]

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25. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 260, adds: "Then renounce your allegiance to Sulaymān."

26. 'Ayn al-Tamr was a small town in Iraq on the borders of the desert, between Anbār and al-Kūfah, that commanded the military approaches to Iraq. See *EI*², s.v. 'Ayn al-Tamr.

27. Fayḍ al-Baḥr was a well-known canal in al-Baṣrah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 285.

28. Umayyah b. 'Abdallāh was the governor of Khurāsān under 'Abd al-Malik until 78/697–98. See text above, II/1032ff.; Crone, *Slaves*, 232, n. 289.

29. Text: *lā yuqīmu*. The Cairo ed. has *lā yaqūmu*.

30. Abū Sa'īd al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah, deputy governor of Khurāsān under al-Ḥajjāj, reopened the campaigns towards Central Asia. He died in 82/701–02 and was succeeded by his son, Yazīd. See text above, II/1033ff., sub anno 78; *EI*², s.v. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

31. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was appointed governor of Khurāsān by al-Ḥajjāj in the year 82/701–02, upon the death of his father, al-Muhallab. See text above, II/1085ff.

32. Text: *faḥlun tabārā ilayhi al-nisā'*. If one were to read *tabāzā* instead of *tabārā* the sense would be, "a stud to whom women raise their hips." Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 134, has *thumma atākum banūhu ba'dahu mithla aṭbā'i-l-kalbah minhum Ibn al-Daḥmah*, "Then their sons came to you, after him, like bitch's teats, among them Ibn al-Daḥmah (that is, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab)."

33. Yazīd b. Tharwān (his nickname was Dhū al-Wada'āt) would give his fat camels much fodder and pasture, to the neglect of his thin ones. Likewise, Sulaymān would confer favors on the wealthy and prosperous and neglect others. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 519–20.

Our source continued: But no one responded, so Qutaybah became angry and said:

> May God never give strength to whomever you support. By God, were you to unite in order to attack a goat, you would not break its horn. O people of lowly places—I do not say people of elevated places[34]—O rabble of the alms tax, I have gathered you, just as the camels of the alms tax are brought together from all directions. O tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il, O people of pretense, lying, and stinginess, during which of your two days do you boast? The day you go out to war or the day you make peace? By God, I am more powerful than you, O followers of Musaylimah,[35] O blameworthy ones—I do not call you upright ones[36]—O people of weakness and perfidy. You used to call "perfidy," during the pre-Islamic era (*jāhiliyyah*), "Kaysān."[37] O followers of Sajāḥ,[38] O tribe of 'Abd al-Qays, the farters,[39] you have taken up the pollination of palm trees in exchange for horses' reins. O tribe of Azd, you have taken
[1288] ships' cables in exchange for the reins of fleet[40] stallions. This is innovation in Islam! And the Bedouins? What are the Bedouins? May the curse of God be on the Bedouins. O refuse of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, I have brought you together from the places where wormwood, southernwood, and wild senna[41] are grown.[42] You were riding

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34. Text: *yā ahl al-sāfilah wa-lā aqūlu ahl al-'āliyah.* It is a pun.

35. Musaylimah was a prophet of the Banū Ḥanīfah in al-Yamāmah; he was contemporary with Muḥammad. See *EI*, s.v. Musailimah.

36. Text: *yā banī dhamīm wa-lā aqūlu tamīm.* This is a pun on the tribe of Tamīm, who are being addressed here.

37. *Kaysān* is a name for perfidy. It is not related to Kaysān, the companion of al-Mukhtār. See *Lisān*, s.v. *k-y-s.*

38. Sajāḥ, Umm Ṣādir bt. Aws b. Ḥikk b. Usāmah, or Bint al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd b. 'Uqfān, was a prophetess and soothsayer who appeared in Arabia during the *riddah* wars. See *EI*, s.v. Sadjāḥ.

39. Text: *qusāt*, "the cruel ones"; read *fusāt*. I owe this point to Professor Ihsan Abbas.

40. Text: *al-ḥuṣun*, "horses." This should be amended to read *al-ḥuḍur*. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

41. Text: *al-filfil*, "pepper." Read: *al-qilqil*, as in Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 133. There are no pepper trees in Arabia.

42. These three plants grow in the desert.

cows and donkeys on the island of Ibn Kāwān,[43] and, when I gathered you, just as the scattered portions of clouds[44] are brought together at the beginning of winter, you started saying such and such! By God, I am the son of his father and the brother of his brother. By God, I will draw you together and beat you as one does the *salamah* tree.[45] Verily, around the *ṣilliyān* plant is neighing.[46] O army of Khurāsān, do you know who your leader is? Your leader is Yazīd b. Tharwān. It is as if I am confronted by a commander from the Ḥā' and the Ḥakam[47] who came to you and displaced you from your homes and your abodes.[48] There is a fire over there. Shoot at it, and I will shoot with you. Aim for your farthest mark! Abū Nāfi', Dhū al-Wada'āt, has been put in charge of you.[49] Syria is a father who is treated with filial respect, while Iraq is a father who is treated with ingratitude. How long will the Syrian army[50] continue to lie in your courtyards and under the roofs of your homes? O army of Khurāsān, if you investigate my ancestry, you will find that I have an Iraqi mother, an Iraqi father, an Iraqi birthplace, and Iraqi inclinations, opinions, and religion. Today, as you know,

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43. The largest island in the Persian Gulf, situated off the southern coast of Persia between 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn; it takes its name from a certain al-Ḥārith b. Imru 'l-Qays. See *EI*², s.v. Kishm; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 139, s.v. Jazīrat Kāwān.

44. Text: *qara'*; read *qaza'*, following the Cairo ed.

45. A *salamah* tree has thorns and leaves; the latter are used to tan hides. The leaves are removed by drawing the branches of the tree together, binding them tightly with a rope, and beating them with a staff. See Lane, *Lexicon*, pt. 4, p. 1414.

46. The *ṣilliyān* is a plant known as "the bread of the camels." The phrase *ḥawl al-ṣilliyān al-zamzamah* is a proverbial expression applied to a man who hovers round a thing without making apparent his desire. See Lane, *Lexicon*, pt. 3, p. 1248.

47. The Ḥā' are a tribe from the Madhḥij, and the Ḥakam are a tribe from the Yemen. See Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 132, n. 7.

48. Text: *ka-annī bi-amīr mizjā' wa-ḥakam qad jā'akum fa-ghalabakum 'alā fay'ikum wa-azlālikum*. My translation follows Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 132–33: *ka-annī bi-amīr min ḥā' wa-ḥakam qad atākum*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 14, has *ka-annī bi-amīr jā'akum fa-ghalabakum 'alā fay'ikum wa-ẓilālikum*.

49. That is, Yazīd b. Tharwān.

50. Text: *ahl al-Shām*. The Imperial Army were composed of warriors from Syria unequivocally loyal to the Umayyad rulers; they were stationed in fortified cities and sensitive areas where disturbances were expected to break out. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 61–2.

you enjoy a state of safety and well-being. God has laid open countries to you and made your roads secure, so that a woman can travel in a litter from Marw to Balkh[51]
[1289] without an escort. So praise God for the blessing He has bestowed on you and ask Him for forgiveness and increase.

Then Qutaybah stepped down and entered his house. The members of his household came to him and said: "We have never seen a day like today.[52] By God, you did not limit yourself to the Ahl-ʿĀliyah, who are your close friends, but you even included the Bakr, your followers. Not satisfied with that, you included the Tamīm, your brothers. Still not satisfied, you included the Azd, your supporters."

Qutaybah said: "When I spoke, and not a single person responded, I became angry, and I did not know what I was saying. The Ahl al-ʿĀliyah are like the camels of the alms tax that have been gathered from every direction;[53] the Bakr are like a slave girl who does not ward off a sexual advance; the Tamīm are like mangy camels; the ʿAbd al-Qays are that part of the wild ass that he hits with his tail; and the Azd are wild asses—the worst that God created. Were I their master, I would brand them."[54]

The troops were angry and unwilling to throw off allegiance to Sulaymān, and the tribes were also angry, because of the abusive terms that Qutaybah had cast at them. They all agreed to oppose and denounce Qutaybah. The first to speak in this matter were the Azd, who approached Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir[55] and said, "That one has called for what he has called for, namely, throwing off allegiance to the Caliph; however, that way will lead to corruption in matters of both religion and the temporal world. Not

51. An important city in Khurāsān situated at the meeting place of the trade routes; the city was subdued by Qutaybah b. Muslim. See *EI*², s.v. Balkh; Le Strange, *Lands*, 420ff.

52. Text: *mā ra'aynā ka-l-yawmi qaṭṭ*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 14, has *mā ra'aynāka ka-l-yawmi qaṭṭ*: "We have never seen you behave as you did today."

53. The Ahl al-ʿĀliyah were a heterogeneous group made up of sundry tribes.

54. This statement may be an allusion to al-Ḥajjāj, who branded peoples' hands. For parallel versions of Qutaybah's speeches, see al-Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 132–35; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 261–65.

55. Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir was a notable and poet of al-Baṣrah, who was head of the Bakr b. Wāʾil; he died ca. 100/718–19. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir; Crone, *Slaves*, 113.

satisfied with this, he has humiliated and reviled us. What do you recommend, O Abū Ḥafṣ?" His nom de guerre was Abū Sāsān; it is also said that his patronymic is Abū Muḥammad. Ḥuḍayn said to them, "The Muḍar in Khurāsān are equal to the other three tribal groups (*khums*), and within the Muḍar the Tamīm form the majority. They are the heroes of Khurāsān who will never agree that the ruling power pass from the Muḍar. Thus, if you exclude them from power, they will support Qutaybah."[56] The Azd said, "Qutaybah wronged the Banū Tamīm by the slaying of Ibn al- [1290]
Ahtam."[57] Ḥuḍayn said, "Do not pay any attention to that, for the Banū Tamīm are partisans of the Muḍar confederation." The Azd left, rejecting Ḥuḍayn's advice. They wanted to put 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawdhān al-Jahḍamī[58] in charge, but he refused. After arguing among themselves, with each refusing to be the leader, they went back to Ḥuḍayn and said, "We have debated the question of leadership and decided to put you in charge of us, for the Rabī'ah will not oppose you." He said, "I will have nothing to do with this matter." They said, "What do you suggest?" He said, "If you give the leadership to the Tamīm, you will be powerful." They said, "Whom do you recommend from the Tamīm?" He said, "Only Wakī'."[59]

Ḥayyān, a client of the Banū Shaybān, said: "Only that Bedouin, Wakī', will take charge of this affair, enduring its heat, shedding his blood, and exposing himself to death, and, if a governor comes, he will punish him for what he has done though the credit goes to somebody else, for he is a brave man who neither cares what he mounts nor what the consequences will be. He has many loyal kinsmen and a score to settle; he has a claim against Qutaybah because of the leadership that the latter took from him and gave to Ḍirār b. Ḥuṣayn b. Zayd al-Fawāris b. Ḥuṣayn b. Ḍirār

56. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 60.

57. During the campaign against Bukhārā in the year 91 (709–10), Qutaybah had appointed 'Abdallāh b. al-Ahtam as his deputy governor in Marw. 'Abdallāh had taken the opportunity to intrigue with al-Ḥajjāj against Qutaybah, but fared badly and was forced to flee to Syria. Qutaybah made 'Abdallāh's brothers pay the penalty in his stead—he slew some of them and cut off the arms and legs of the others, thereby calling down upon himself the revenge of Tamīm. See text above, II/1218; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 40; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 522–23; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 441–42.

58. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawdhān al-Jahḍamī was one of the chiefs of the Azd. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 266.

59. Abū Muṭarrif al-Ghudānī, Waqī' b. Ḥassān b. Qays b. Abī Sūd al-Tamīmī.

al-Ḍabbī."[60] The troops then began to consult with one another in secret.

Someone said to Qutaybah, "No one creates dissension among the troops except Ḥayyān." Qutaybah therefore wanted to murder him; however, Ḥayyān had ingratiated himself with the servants of the governors,[61] who would not conceal anything from him. Qutaybah summoned a man and ordered him to kill Ḥayyān. But one of the servants heard him, came to Ḥayyān and told him of the order. Thus, when Qutaybah sent a message to Ḥayyān, summoning him, the latter was on his guard and feigned illness. Meanwhile, Wakī' accepted the soldiers' request that he serve as their leader.

(Wakī') cited the verse of al-Ashhab b. Rumaylah:

I will reap what I have sown. Verily, my power
rests on a solid foundation.

In Khurāsān there were at that time nine thousand warriors
[1291] from the Baṣran army representing the Ahl al-'Āliyah; seven thousand from the Bakr, headed by al-Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir; ten thousand from the Tamīm, led by Ḍirār b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ḍabbī; four thousand from the 'Abd al-Qays, led by 'Abdallāh b. 'Alwān al-'Awdhī;[62] and ten thousand from the Azd, headed by 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawdhān. There were seven thousand from the Kūfan army, led by Jahm b. Zaḥr or 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Alī, and seven thousand of the clients (*mawālī*),[63] led by Ḥayyān. Some say that Ḥayyān is from al-Daylam,[64] while others say that he is from Khurāsān. He is called "*Nabaṭī*" (the Nabataean) because of his mispronunciation of Arabic.[65]

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60. Wakī' had sworn to take vengeance on Qutaybah because the latter had removed him from his position as head of the Banū Tamīm in Khurāsān, replacing him with al-Ḍabbī. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 523; *EI*², s.v. Ḍabba.

61. Text: *ḥasham al-wulāt*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 15, has *khadam al-wulāt*, which means the same thing.

62. Text: 'Awdhī; read al-'Awdhī, following the Cairo ed.

63. A *mawlā* (pl. *mawālī*) was a non-Arab convert to Islam who attached himself to an Arab tribe. See Crone, *Slaves*, 49ff.

64. A region encompassing the entire southern coast of the Caspian and the lands forming a belt to the south of the Alburz range. See *EI*², s.v. Daylam.

65. Text: *li-luknatihi*. Ḥayyān apparently had difficulty pronouncing the guttural consonants of the Arabic language, such as *ḥā* and *'ayin*. See *FHA*, 68–69, where examples of his speech are quoted.

Ḥayyān sent to Wakīʿ, saying, "If I leave you alone and lend you my support, will you assign me the land tax of one side of the Balkh River for as long as I am alive and you are governor?" When Wakīʿ agreed, Ḥayyān said to the non-Arabs, "Those (Arabs) are fighting over something other than religion, so let them kill one another." They agreed and swore allegiance to Wakīʿ in secret.

Ḍirār b. Ḥuṣayn approached Qutaybah, saying, "The troops are going back and forth to Wakīʿ, swearing allegiance to him." Now Wakīʿ was in the habit of visiting ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim al-Faqīr at his house, where the two of them would drink together. ʿAbdallāh said, "That one (that is, Ḍirār) is envious of Wakīʿ, and this claim is false. Wakīʿ is in my house, drinking, becoming intoxicated, and shitting in his clothes, yet Ḍirār claims that they are swearing allegiance to him."

Wakīʿ then came to Qutaybah and said, "Beware of Ḍirār, for I do not trust him with you." Qutaybah therefore attributed what they said to their mutual envy. Wakīʿ pretended to be sick, whereupon Qutaybah sent Ḍirār b. Sinān al-Ḍabbī to Wakīʿ as a spy. Ḍirār swore allegiance to Wakīʿ secretly. In this manner, Qutaybah learned that the soldiers were, in fact, swearing allegiance to Wakīʿ, and Qutaybah now said to Ḍirār (b. Ḥuṣayn), "You spoke the truth." He replied, "I reported to you nothing but what I knew, but you attributed what I said to my envy. I have [1292] fulfilled my obligation." "You were right," said Qutaybah.

Now Qutaybah sent a message to Wakīʿ, summoning him, but Qutaybah's messenger found him with a sticky substance smeared on his foot and beads and shells placed on his leg.[66] He was attended by two men from the Zahrān, who were uttering incantations over his foot. When the messenger said to Wakīʿ, "Answer the governor," the latter replied, "You see the problem with my foot." The messenger then returned to Qutaybah, who sent him back to Wakīʿ, saying, "Qutaybah says to you, 'Come to me carried on a litter.'" Wakīʿ answered, "I cannot." Qutaybah said to Sharīk b. al-Ṣāmit al-Bāhilī, one of the Banū Wāʾil—the commander of his guard—and to a man from the Ghanī, "Go to Wakīʿ and bring him to me. If he refuses, cut off his head." He sent

66. Text: *wa-ʿalā sāqihi kharazan wa-wadaʿan*. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 16: *wa-ʿallaqa ʿalā raʾsihi ḥirzan*, "He tied an amulet on his head."

horsemen with them—some say that Warqāʾ b. Naṣr al-Bāhilī was the commander of the guard in Khurāsān.

According to ʿAlī—Abū al-Dhayyāl—Thumāmah b. Nājidh al-ʿAdawī: Qutaybah sent someone to fetch Wakīʿ, and I said, "I will bring him to you, may God cause you to prosper." Qutaybah said, "Bring him to me." So I went to Wakīʿ, who had already been informed that the horsemen were on their way. When he saw me, he said, "O Thumāmah, summon the troops." I called out, and the first one to arrive was Huraym b. Abī Ṭaḥmah, with eight men.

Al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd al-Jūzjānī related: Qutaybah sent for Wakīʿ, and Huraym said, "I will bring him to you," whereupon Qutaybah replied, "Go." Huraym reported: "I mounted my horse, fearing that he would recall me, and I went to Wakīʿ. But he had already set out."

Kulayb b. Khalaf said: Qutaybah sent Shuʿbah b. Ẓahīr,[67] one of the Banū Ṣakhr b. Nahshal, to Wakīʿ. When he arrived, Wakīʿ
[1293] exclaimed, "O Ibn Ẓahīr, wait a while until the cavalry catch up." Then Wakīʿ called for a knife and cut off the beads that were on his legs. Next, he put on his armor and quoted the verse:

Tightly tie my navel so that it will not burst.
One day for the Hamdān and one day for the Ṣadif.[68]

Wakīʿ set out by himself, and some women who noticed him said, "Abū Muṭarrif[69] is alone." It was at this moment that Huraym b. Abī Ṭaḥmah arrived with eight men, including ʿAmīrat al-Barīd[70] b. Rabīʿah al-ʿUjayfī.

According to Ḥamzah b. Ibrāhīm and others: Wakīʿ set out and was met by a man who asked, "What is your tribe?" He answered, "The Banū Asad." The man then asked, "What is your name?" He replied, "Ḍirghāmah." He asked, "The son of whom?" He answered, "Ibn Layth." The man said, "Take this banner."

According to al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī: Wakīʿ gave his banner to ʿUqbah b. Shihāb al-Māzinī.

Then returning to our original chain of transmission, our

67. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 16: Ẓuhayr; cf. below, pp. 150–53, 159.
68. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 270.
69. Wakīʿ's patronymic was Abū Muṭarrif. See note 59 above.
70. Text: ʿAmīrah b. al-Barīd; read ʿAmīrat al-Barīd, following the Cairo ed.

source said: When Wakī' set out, he ordered his servants, saying, "Take my baggage to (my) paternal cousins." They replied, "We do not know where their camp is." He said, "Look for two spears that have been tied together, one on top of the other, with a nosebag on top of them. They are my paternal cousins." There were five hundred of them in the army.

Wakī' called out to the troops, who approached him, one company after the other, from every direction. He set out, leading the troops, saying:

A brave man who, when he is required to carry out an onerous task,
keeps his ribs and his bosom tightly drawn.[71]

Some people said that when Wakī' set out he recited:

Do we face Luqmān b. 'Ād[72] and his type?
Bring me my sword. They shall not carry off an unarmed man.

Qutaybah was joined by the members of his household and the chiefs from among his companions and trusted supporters, including: Iyās b. Bayhas b. 'Amr, Qutaybah's paternal cousin, who was closely related, and 'Abdallāh b. Wa'lān al-'Adawī, with men from his tribe, the Banū Wā'il. Ḥayyān b. Iyās al-'Adawī came to him with ten men, including 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥārith. [1294]

Maysarah al-Jadalī, who was a brave man, came to him, saying, "If you want, I will bring you Wakī''s head." He said, "Stay where you are." Qutaybah ordered one of his men, saying, "Call out among the soldiers, 'Where are the Banū 'Āmir?'"[73] He called out, "Where are the Banū 'Āmir?" Miḥfan b. Jaz' al-Kilābī[74] said, "Where you placed them"—Qutaybah had treated them roughly. Qutaybah then said, "Call out, 'I remind you of God and our kinship.'" But Miḥfan called out, "You severed the ties of rela-

71. This saying means that a brave man gets himself fully ready for the task. See text below, II/1298, where the verse is repeated with a slight variant; see also Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 271.

72. Luqmān b. 'Ād was a legendary hero of pre-Islamic Arabia, famous for his wisdom and longevity. See *EI*², s.v. Luḳmān.

73. The Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, of the Qays. See Caskel, *Ǧamharah*, I, 92.

74. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, V, 16) gives his name as Muḥaqqir b. Jaz' al-'Alā'ī. Both men were from the Qays.

tionship." Qutaybah said, "Call out, 'Accept our conciliation.'" But Miḥfan, or someone else, called out, "No, may God never forgive us if we do." Qutaybah then recited:

O my soul, endure the pain with patience,
since I have not found equals to the tribe's eminent ones.

Then Qutaybah called for a turban that his mother had sent him, put it on—it was his custom to wear it in times of difficulty—and called for one of his well-trained horses that he considered lucky in war.[75] The horse was brought close to him so that he might mount it, but it started to jump about until it exhausted him. When Qutaybah saw this, he returned to his couch, lay down, and said, "Let it be, for this is God's will."[76]

Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī approached, leading the non-Arabs, and made his stand, even though Qutaybah was angry with him, and ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim[77] made his stand next to him. ʿAbdallāh said to Ḥayyān, "Attack both wings." When he answered, "It is not time for that," ʿAbdallāh became angry and said, "Give me my bow." Ḥayyān said, "This is not a day for the bow." Wakīʿ then sent a message to Ḥayyān that said, "I am waiting for you to fulfill your
[1295] promise." Ḥayyān said to his son, "When you see me turn my cap around and move in the direction of Wakīʿ's troops, bring to me the non-Arabs who are with you." Ibn Ḥayyān stood with the non-Arabs and, when Ḥayyān turned his cap around, they moved in the direction of Wakīʿ's troops, whereupon his followers exclaimed, "God is great."

Qutaybah sent his brother, Ṣāliḥ, to the soldiers, but he was wounded in the head by a man from the Banū Ḍabbah known as Sulaymān al-Zanjīrj, that is, the Carob[78]—some say that he was shot by one of [Wakīʿ's] paternal cousins.[79] Ṣāliḥ was carried to Qutaybah, his head leaning to the side, and placed in his prayer room. Qutaybah shifted his position and sat with Ṣāliḥ for a while. Then he went back to his couch.

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75. Text: *kāna yataṭayyir ilayhi fi-l-zuḥūf.*

76. Text: *fa-inna hādha amrun yurād.* Compare text below, II/1295, where a parallel passage specifies *inna lahu la-sha'n.*

77. That is, Qutaybah's brother.

78. Text: al-Khurnūb. Kūfī (*Futūḥ*, VII, 273) gives his nickname as Barīḥ Atranj.

79. Text: *Bal'amm*, an abbreviated form of *banū-l-'amm*, "the paternal cousins."

Abū al-Sarī al-Azdī said: Ṣāliḥ was shot and felled by a man from the Banū Ḍabbah; he was then stabbed by Ziyād b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī, one of the Banū Sharīk b. Mālik.

Abū Mikhnaf said: A man from the Ghanī attacked the troops and saw a man who was wearing a coat of mail.[80] He mistook him for Jahm b. Zahr b. Qays and stabbed him, saying:

The Ghanī are mighty and trustworthy
when they go to war, even if the other soldiers quarrel among themselves.

But the man who was stabbed was a non-Arab, and the troops were aroused. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim advanced toward them, but he was stoned to death by the market people and the rabble. The soldiers set fire to an enclosure containing Qutaybah's camels and riding animals; they closed in on him. Fighting for him was a man from the Bāhilah, from the Banū Wā'il, and Qutaybah said to him, "Save yourself." But he replied, "How miserable a repayment, in that case, for you gave me bread to eat and soft clothes to wear."[81]

Qutaybah now called for a riding animal. A horse was brought to him, but it would not stand still long enough for him to mount it. He said, "There is something the matter with it."[82] So he did not mount the horse but sat, and the troops advanced toward the tent. When the troops reached the tent, Iyās b. Bayhas and 'Abdallāh b. Wa'lān fled, abandoning Qutaybah. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥārith went out looking for his son, 'Amr—or 'Umar; al-Ṭā'ī met him but was wary of engaging him, so that 'Abd al-'Azīz found his son, who mounted the horse behind his father. [1296]

Qutaybah observed al-Haytham b. al-Munakhkhal, who was one of those who had plotted against him, and said:

I used to teach him to shoot every day.
However, when his arm became well-trained with the bow,[83] he shot at me.

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80. Text: *mujaffaf*, from *tijfāf*, which Lane defines as "a kind of armor with which a horse is clad in war, in the manner of a coat of mail." See *Lexicon*, pt. 2, p. 432.

81. Kūfī, who identifies the man as a certain Junādah, adds: "So he fought and was slain." See *Futūḥ*, VII, 275.

82. Text: *inna lahu la-sha'n*. See note 76, above.

83. Text: *istadda*; the Cairo ed. has *ishtadda*, "when he became powerful."

Slain along with Qutaybah were his brothers, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Abdallāh, Ṣāliḥ, Ḥuṣayn, and 'Abd al-Karīm, the sons of Muslim. His son, Kathīr b. Qutaybah, was also slain, as were several members of his household. But his brother, Ḍirār, escaped, having been saved by his maternal uncles—the latter's mother was Gharrā' bt. Ḍirār b. al-Qa'qā' b. Ma'bad b. Zurārah.

Some people said: 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muslim was killed in Qazwīn.[84]

According to Abū 'Ubaydah—Abū Mālik: They slew Qutaybah in the year 96/715. Eleven of Muslim's descendants were slain—Wakī' crucified them. Seven of them were the sons of Muslim, and four were grandsons: Qutaybah, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Abdallāh al-Faqīr, 'Ubaydallāh, Ṣāliḥ, Bashshār, and Muḥammad, the sons of Muslim; and Kathīr b. Qutaybah and Mughallis b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (and two others, the grandsons).[85] None of Muslim's sons escaped, except for 'Amr, who was the governor of al-Jūz-
[1297] jān,[86] and Ḍirār, whose mother was al-Gharrā' bt. Ḍirār b. al-Qa'qā' b. Ma'bad b. Zurārah; his maternal uncles came and removed him (from his position), thereby saving him.[87]

Al-Farazdaq recited about this:

The evening that Ibn Gharrā' did not wish—when he called
out—that he had parents from a tribe other than us.[88]

Iyās b. 'Amr, the nephew of Muslim b. 'Amr, was wounded in the collarbone, but he lived.

The source continued: When the tribe overran the great tent, they cut its ropes.

According to Zuhayr: Jahm b. Zaḥr said to Sa'd,[89] "Dismount and cut off his head, for he has been weakened by the wounds."

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84. A famous city 102 km. from al-Rayy and 72 km. from Abhar. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 342–44; *EI*², s.v. Ḳazwīn; Le Strange, *Lands*, 218–20.

85. Compare Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 274–75; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 17.

86. Al-Jūzjān was one of the districts of Balkh, in Khurāsān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 182–83.

87. Text: *najjawhu*; read *naḥḥawhu*, following the Cairo ed. Compare Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 17–18, where it is 'Umar [*sic*] b. Muslim, who is saved by his maternal uncles.

88. See *Dīwān*, II, 332. "Ibn Gharrā'" refers to Ḍirār b. Muslim, Qutaybah's brother, who was dismissed as governor of Khurāsān by Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik. Compare text below, II/1301.

89. This man was probably Sa'd b. Najd al-Azdī. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 275.

Sa'd replied, "I fear that the horses will bolt." Jahm exclaimed, "You are afraid, though I am next to you!" Sa'd dismounted, split the top of the tent, and cut off his head. Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir recited:

Verily, Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Zaḥr took turns
with their swords on the head of the crowned hero.
The evening that we brought Ibn Zaḥr and you brought
a black-nosed (man) with brands on his arms, blackish,
Deaf, from the Ghudānah, as if his forehead
were a blot of ink on a skin that had been scrawled over.[90]

When Maslamah slew Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, he appointed Sa'īd Khudhaynah b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ governor of Khurāsān, and Yazīd's subgovernors were imprisoned.[91] Among those imprisoned was Jahm b. Zaḥr al-Ju'fī, who was tortured by a man from the Bāhilah. Someone said to the Bāhilī tribesman, "This is Qutaybah's murderer," whereupon he tortured him to death. Sa'īd criticized him for this, but the man retorted, "You ordered me to extract money from him; I tortured him, and it was his time to die."

On the day that Qutaybah was slain, one of his Khwārazmian slave girls was with him; when he was slain, she fled. Subsequently, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab captured her. She is Umm Khulaydah. [1298]

According to 'Alī—Ḥamzah b. Ibrāhīm and Abū al-Yaqẓān: When Qutaybah was slain, 'Umārah b. Junayyah[92] al-Riyāḥī ascended the pulpit and spoke at length. Wakī' said to him, "Spare us your filth and gossip." Then Wakī' began to speak, saying, "The likes of me and the likes of Qutaybah are as the first one said:

He who fucks an ass fucks a catamite.[93]

Qutaybah sought to slay me, but I am deadly.

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90. Text: *ka-anna jabīnahu luṭakhat niqs fī adīm mumajmaj*. See *Naḳā'iḍ Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, I, 362.
91. See text below, II/1417, sub anno 102.
92. The vocalization of Junayyah is conjectural.
93. See text above, I/901.

They tried me once; then they tried me again,
from a distance of two bow shots and from a distance of a hundred bow shots.
Until, when I grew old and they gave me white hair,
they gave up on my rein and avoided me.

I am Abū Muṭarrif!"

According to Abū Mu'āwiyah—Ṭalḥah b. Iyās: Wakī' recited on the day that Qutaybah was slain:

I am the son of Khindif.[94] Her tribes ascribe
good deeds to me. And my paternal uncle is Qays 'Aylān.[95]

Then he grabbed his beard and recited:

A shaykh who, when he is required to carry out an onerous task,
keeps his ribs and his bosom tightly drawn.[96]

"By God, I will slay, indeed I will slay, and I will crucify, indeed I will crucify. I want to taste blood. This Marzubān[97] of yours, the son of the adulteress, has inflated the prices of your goods. By God, if he does not set the price of one *qafīz*[98] in the market tomorrow at four (dirhams), I will crucify him. Remember the Prophet in your prayers." Then he stepped down from the pulpit.

According to 'Alī—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad and a shaykh
[1299] from the Banū Tamīm, and Maslamah b. Muḥārib: Wakī' demanded Qutaybah's head and his signet ring but was told, "The Azd have taken it." Wakī' emerged, saying, "You have added falsehood to falsehood, O Sa'd the blacksmith."[99]

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94. The Khindif was a major division of the Muḍar that included the Hudhayl, the Tamīm, and the Kinānah. See *EI*², s.v. Djazīrat al-'Arab.

95. Qays 'Aylān was one of the two subdivisions of Muḍar. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳays 'Aylān.

96. Compare text above, II/1293.

97. By referring to Qutaybah as a Marzubān, the Arabic form of the title of provincial governors in the Sasanian Empire, Wakī' likened him to an alien grandee after the Iranian fashion. See *EI*, s.v. Marzubān.

98. A *qafīz* is a measure of dry goods equivalent to eight *makākīk* or twelve *ṣā'*. See Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, II, 788; Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 48–50.

99. Text: *Duh durrayni Sa'd alqayni*, a proverbial expression. See Lane, *Lexicon*, pt. 3, pp. 922–23, s.v. *dahdara*.

On which of my two days will I escape[100] from death,
a day that has not been ordained or a day that has been?
There is no good in a broad-breasted horse, the fleet
ones that run in the races,
Is there a day on which I will neither frighten (others)
nor be frightened (myself)?

"By God—than Whom there is no other God—I will not leave until either Qutaybah's head is brought to me, or my head is added to his." Then he brought some wooden stakes and said, "These horses must have riders"—thereby alluding to the threat of crucifixion. Ḥuḍayn said to him, "O Abū Muṭarrif, it will be brought to you, so calm down."

Ḥuḍayn came to the Azd and said, "Are you fools? We swore allegiance to Wakī' and accepted his leadership. He exposed himself to danger, and then you take Qutaybah's head! Give it up," that is, the head, "may God curse it." They brought out the head, saying, "O Abū Muṭarrif, this person is the one who cut it off, so reward him." He agreed and gave him three thousand dirhams. He sent the head (to Sulaymān) with Salīṭ b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ḥanafī and men from the various tribes—who were led by Salīṭ—but he did not send anyone from the Banū Tamīm.

According to Abū al-Dhayyāl: Among those who accompanied the head was Unayf b. Ḥassān, one of the Banū 'Adī.

According to Abū Mikhnaf: Wakī' paid Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī in return for what the latter had given him.[101] [1300]

According to Khuraym b. Abī Yaḥyā—shaykhs from the Qays: Sulaymān asked al-Hudhayl b. Zufar, when Qutaybah's head and the heads of the members of his household were put in front of him, "Does this distress you, Hudhayl?"[102] He replied, "If it distresses me, it distresses many others as well." Then Khuraym b. 'Amr[103] and al-Qa'qā' b. Khulayd[104] spoke to Sulaymān saying,

100. Text: *afir*; read *afirru*, following the Cairo ed.

101. See text above, II/1291.

102. Zufar's family were considered to be the very incarnation of *Qaysiyyah*. See Crone, *Slaves*, 108.

103. Khuraym b. 'Amr al-Murrī seems to have been implicated in Qutaybah's revolt. See text below, II/1312, sub anno 97; Crone, *Slaves*, 98, no. 6.

104. Al-Qa'qā' appears to have supported al-Walid's efforts to deprive Sulaymān of the succession. See text below, II/1312, sub anno 97; Crone, *Slaves*, 105–6, n. 15.

"Grant permission to bury their heads." He said, "Certainly, for I did not want any of this."

According to ʿAlī—Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Sulamī—Yazīd b. Suwayd: A Persian from the army of Khurāsān said: "O ye Arabs, you have slain Qutaybah. By God, had Qutaybah been one of us and had he died among us, we would have put him in a coffin that would have served as a mascot for us in our raids. Nobody ever accomplished in Khurāsān what Qutaybah did. Nevertheless, he betrayed (us). This is because al-Ḥajjāj wrote to him, saying, 'Lay a trap for them and slay them, for the sake of God.'"

According to al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd: The *iṣbahbadh*[105] said to a man, "O ye Arabs, you have slain Qutaybah and Yazīd,[106] the two lords of the Arabs." The man asked, "Which of the two, in your opinion, was more awesome and commanded more respect?" The *iṣbahbadh* replied, "If Qutaybah were in the Maghrib, in the deepest hole in the earth, tied up in chains, and Yazīd was with us, in our country, serving as our governor, Qutaybah would still be more awesome and more highly respected than Yazīd."

According to ʿAlī—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī: A man approached Qutaybah on the day he died, while he was holding court, and said, "Today the King of the Arabs will be slain"—they considered Qutaybah to be the King of the Arabs. Qutaybah said to him, "Sit down!"

According to Kulayb b. Khalaf—a man from among those who were with Wakīʿ when Qutaybah was slain: On Wakīʿ's order, a
[1301] man called out, "No spoils are to be taken from any corpse." But Ibn ʿAbīd al-Hajarī passed by Abū al-Ḥujr al-Bāhilī and stripped him. When Wakīʿ was informed of this, he cut off the man's head.

According to Abū ʿUbaydah—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar from the Taym Allāt: Wakīʿ mounted his horse one day, and they brought him a man who was drunk. On his order, the man was killed. Someone said to Wakīʿ, "He deserved to be flogged,[107] not killed." He replied, "I punish with the sword, not the whip."

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105. *Iṣbahbadh* in Persian means "army chief"; it is the Islamic form of a military title used in the pre-Islamic Persian Empires. See *EI*², s.v. Ispahbadh.

106. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was slain in the year 102/720–21. See text below, II/1405, sub anno 102.

107. Text: *ḥadd*, a term that refers to certain acts, namely, unlawful intercourse, false accusation of unlawful intercourse, drinking wine, theft, and highway robbery, which have been forbidden or sanctioned by punishments in the Qur'ān. The punishment for drinking wine is eighty lashes. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥadd.

Nahār b. Tawsi'ah[108] recited:

We used to cry because of al-Bāhilī,
but this Ghudānī is much more evil.[109]

He also recited:

When we saw al-Bāhilī, Ibn Muslim,
acting tyrannically, we struck him on the head with a sharp sword.

Al-Farazdaq recited, recalling the battle of Wakī':

To us belongs the one who drew swords and sheathed them,
the evening of the battle of the Gate of al-Qaṣr, from Farghānah.[110]
The evening that no tribe could defend its sons
by invoking an Iraqi or Yemenite glory.
The evening that Ibn Gharrā' did not wish—when he called out—that he had parents from a tribe other than us.
The evening that the Hawāzin of 'Āmir and Ghaṭafān
did not cover the nakedness of Ibn Dukhān.[111]
The evening that the people wished to be our slaves,
when the two armies were fighting.
They saw one mountain towering over the others,[112] when the heads of their two leaders met, butting together.
Men for Islam who, as soon as they fought [1302]
for religion, caused it to spread in every place.
Until a herald called out from the walls of every city,
issuing the call to prayer.
But Wakī' will be rewarded in the name of the community,
since he realized
its solidarity with a cutting sword and spearhead.
A reward for the deeds of men, just as a reward was given
at Badr and al-Yarmūk from the shades of Paradise.[113]

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108. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, I, 448–49, no. 95.
109. "Al-Bāhilī" refers to Qutaybah, and "Ghudānī" to Wakī'.
110. See *EI*², s.v. Farghānā.
111. Ibn Dukhān is the nickname of Bāhilah, Qutaybah's tribe.
112. The text is *ya'lū-l-jibāl*. *Dīwān*, II, 332, has *daqqa-l-jibāl*, "They saw one mountain crushing the others."
113. See *Dīwān*, II, 331–32.

Al-Farazdaq also recited about this:

I received the news, when my saddlebags were in Medina,
about a battle waged by the family of Tamīm; it was
satisfying and comforting.[114]

According to 'Alī—Khuraym b. Abī Yaḥyā—one of his paternal uncles—shaykhs from the Ghassān: We were in the gap of al-'Uqāb[115] when suddenly we encountered a man carrying a stick and a leather bag who looked like one of the Caliph's messengers. We asked, "Where have you come from?" He replied, "From Khurāsān." We asked, "Is there any news?" He replied, "Yes, Qutaybah b. Muslim was slain yesterday." We were amazed at his statement, and, seeing that we did not believe him, he asked, "How far shall I be from Ifrīqiyah tonight, do you think?" He set off and we followed him on our horses, but he was so fast that he disappeared at the blink of an eye.

Al-Ṭirimmāḥ[116] recited:

Had it not been for the horsemen of Madhḥij, the daughter of
Madhḥij, and (the horsemen of) Azd, the army would have
been discomfited and plundered
And dispersed in the lands, and nobody bringing news
about them would have returned to the army of Iraq.
The bonds of the community would have been loosened, scorn
heaped on the authority of the Caliph, and illicit doings
would have become permissible.
People who slew Qutaybah by violence,
while the horses were racing inclined to the ground,
covered with dust.
In the meadow, the meadow of al-Ṣīn, where
the Muḍar of Iraq understood who was the noblest and
greatest.
[1303] When all of Rabī'ah gave themselves up to despair,

114. Text: *aq'adat kulla qā'im*, literally, "It caused every standing person to sit down." See ibid., II, 310, l.4.

115. A gap in the mountains overlooking the oasis of Damascus. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 133.

116. Al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm al-Ṭā'ī was a celebrated poet of the first century of Islam. See *EI*, s.v. al-Ṭirimmāḥ; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, II, 585–90, no. 160.

and the Muḍar and those who claimed to belong to the Muḍar were scattered abroad.
And the Azd of Iraq and the Madhḥij advanced toward death, one common ancestor uniting them both.
The Qaḥṭān were smiting the head of every full-armed warrior; they protect their eyes, but they do not see.[117]
And the Azd know that under their standard is either a glorious sovereignty or bloody death.
For by our strength the Prophet Muḥammad triumphed, and through us it has come to pass that the pulpit is firmly established in Damascus.[118]

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jumānah al-Bāhilī recited:

It is as if Abū Ḥafṣ Qutaybah never led one army to the other, and never ascended a pulpit.
And the flags did not flutter when the tribe was standing around him, and the people never witnessed an army under his command.
The Fates called him, so he answered his Lord and went to Paradise, chaste and pure.
Islam did not suffer a loss—after Muḥammad—like that of Abū Ḥafṣ. So mourn him, 'Abhar.[119]

"'Abhar" refers to an *umm walad*[120] belonging to Qutaybah.
Al-Aṣamm b. al-Ḥajjāj recited, elegizing Qutaybah:

Is it not time for the living to recognize (our distinction) for us? Surely we are the people most deserving of praise and glory.
We lead the Tamīm, the clients, and the Madhḥij, the Azd, 'Abd al-Qays, and the tribe from Bakr.
We massacre whomever we wish by the power of our sovereignty, [1304]

117. Text: *taḥmī baṣā'irahunna idh lā tubṣiru*. See *Dīwān al-Ṭirimmāḥ*, p. 251, where the text is *wa-'alā baṣā'irihā wa-idh lā tubṣiru* "(smiting the head of every full-armed warrior) and their eyes, and so they become unable to see."
118. See *The Dīwāns of aṭ-Ṭufail and aṭ-Ṭirimmāḥ*, 147 (Arabic text), and 62 (translation).
119. See *Naḳā'iḍ Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, I, 363.
120. An *umm walad* is a slave girl who has borne her master a child; she becomes free on the death of her master. See *EI*, s.v. Umm al-Walad.

and force whomever we wish to succumb to disgrace and subjugation.
Sulaymān—Many are the soldiers that we rounded up for you by our spears while our horses were riding at full speed.
Many are the impregnable fortresses that we ravaged.
And many are the lowlands and the rocky mountains.
And towns which no soldiers had raided before us,
we raided, driving the horses month after month.
Our horses became used to protracted raids, and to be quiet at the sight of charging warriors so that they were no longer frightened by them.
Even if the fire is kindled, and they are forced
toward the fire, they rush into the brunt of fire in war.
With their breasts they toy with spearheads and lances,
while death is surging with black waves.
With these horses we have ravaged many a city
of unbelievers, until they passed beyond the place where the dawn breaks.
And if Fate had not hurried us, they would have carried us beyond Dhū al-Qarnayn's wall of rock and molten brass.[121]
But the good Banū ʿAmr met their preordained fate
when their life-span came to an end.

[1305] In this year, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Mālik dismissed Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī as governor of Mecca, replacing him with Ṭalḥah b. Dāwūd al-Ḥaḍramī.

In this year, Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Mālik raided Byzantium in a summer expedition and conquered a fortress (*ḥiṣn*) known as "Ḥiṣn ʿAwf."[122]

In this year, Qurrah b. Sharīk al-ʿAbsī, the governor of Egypt, died, in the month of Ṣafar (October 16–November 13), according to some of the biographers. Others said: Qurrah died during the

121. Text: *wa-l-qaṭri*, "and rain"; read *wa-l-qiṭri*, which means molten brass. Dhū al-Qarnayn ("the two-horned one") refers to Alexander the Great who, according to Qur'ān 18:82–98, was given power on earth. In response to an appeal from oppressed people, he built a rampart of iron and brass against the incursions of Gog and Magog. See *EI*², s.v. al-Iskandar.

122. I have not been able to identify Ḥiṣn ʿAwf.

lifetime of al-Walīd (b. 'Abd al-Malik), in the year 95/714, in the month in which al-Ḥajjāj died.[123]

In this year, the pilgrimage was led by Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī—as I was told by Aḥmad b. Thābit, on the authority of the one he mentioned—on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—on the authority of Abū Ma'shar; and the same was related by al-Wāqidī and others.

The governor of Medina in this year was Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, and the governor of Mecca was 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd.[124]

In Iraq, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was in charge of military and religious affairs, and Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was in charge of the fiscal administration. Sufyān b. 'Abdallāh al-Kindī, serving on behalf of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, was governor of al-Baṣrah. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Udhaynah was in charge of the judiciary there. In charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah was Abū Bakr b. Abī Mūsā. Wakī' b. Abī Sūd was responsible for military affairs in Khurāsān.[125]

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123. Al-Ḥajjāj died in Ramaḍān. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf.

124. The identification of 'Abd al-'Azīz as the governor of Mecca may be a mistake. See text below, II/1314, sub anno 97, where Ṭabarī indicates that Ṭalḥah b. Dāwūd continued to serve as governor of Mecca until the year 97/715–16, at which time he was replaced by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd.

125. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 41; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 444–45.

The Events of the Year 97

(SEPTEMBER 5, 715—AUGUST 24, 716)

Among the events taking place in this year: Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-
[1306] Malik equipped the armies and dispatched them to Constantinople. He put his son, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān, in charge of the summer campaign, which resulted in the capture of Ḥiṣn al-Mar'ah.[126]

According to al-Wāqidī, in this year Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik raided Byzantium and conquered the fortress that had previously been taken by al-Waḍḍāḥ, the leader of the Waḍḍāḥiyyah.[127]

In this year, 'Umar[128] b. Hubayrah al-Fazārī undertook a naval expedition against Byzantium, where he spent the winter.

In this year, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr was killed in al-Andalus and Ḥabīb b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Fihrī brought his head to Sulaymān.

In this year, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik appointed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab as governor of Khurāsān.[129]

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126. "The Woman's Fortress" was in the region of Malaṭyah. See text below, II/1335, sub anno 98.

127. The Waḍḍāḥiyyah were a separate military regiment of non-Arabs, named after their commander, a Berber freedman of 'Abd al-Malik. See Crone, *Slaves*, 38.

128. Text: 'Amr; read 'Umar, following the Cairo ed.

129. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 319; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 41; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 278–85; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 170.

The Appointment of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab as Governor of Khurāsān

The circumstances: When Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik became Caliph, he put Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in charge of military, religious, and fiscal affairs in Iraq.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf: Upon being given these responsibilities in Iraq, Yazīd reflected as follows: "Iraq has been ruined by al-Ḥajjāj. Today I am the hope of the people of Iraq. But if I go there and force the people to pay the tribute and punish them for nonpayment, I will have become just like al-Ḥajjāj, throwing the people into conflict and returning them to those prisons from which God had released them. On the other hand, if I do not send Sulaymān an amount equal to what was collected by al-Ḥajjāj, he will not be pleased with me." Therefore, Yazīd approached Sulaymān, saying, "I should like to bring to your attention a man who is very skillful in collecting the tribute, and whom you may want to put in charge of that function, so that you will receive it from him: Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al- [1307]
Raḥmān, a client of the Banū Tamīm." Sulaymān said to him, "We accept your suggestion." Whereupon Yazīd set off for Iraq.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī: Ṣāliḥ preceded Yazīd to Iraq, where he established himself in Wāsiṭ.[130]

According to 'Alī—'Abbād b. Ayyūb: Yazīd approached, and the troops went out to meet him. Someone said to Ṣāliḥ, "Yazīd is here, and the troops have gone out to meet him." However, he did not go out until Yazīd drew near to the city. Then Ṣāliḥ went out, wearing a tunic (*durrā'ah*)[131] and (carrying) a small, yellow mace. He was leading four hundred men from the Syrian army. He met Yazīd and traveled along with him. When Yazīd entered the city, Ṣāliḥ pointed to a house, saying, "I have emptied this house for you." Yazīd dismounted and Ṣāliḥ went to his residence.

Ṣāliḥ placed severe restraints upon Yazīd, refusing to transfer any money to him. Yazīd prepared one thousand tables to feed his

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130. Wāsiṭ was built by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf in 83–84/702–3 and served as the capital of Iraq for most of the Umayyad period; the city was called "Wāsiṭ" (middle) because it was equidistant between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. See *EI*, s.v. Wāsiṭ.

131. See Dozy, *Vêtements*, 177–81.

men, but Ṣāliḥ seized them. Yazīd said to him, "Charge the cost of the tables to me." Yazīd purchased many goods and wrote checks[132] to Ṣāliḥ for the benefit of the vendors; however, Ṣāliḥ would not accept the checks, and they referred to Yazīd. Yazīd became angry and said, "I have brought this upon myself." Soon thereafter, Ṣāliḥ came, and Yazīd set aside a place for him. He sat down and said to Yazīd, "What are these checks? The levies are not to be used for those purposes. Several days ago I cashed a check for one hundred thousand dirhams, and I have paid your (soldiers') stipends promptly, and when you asked for money for the army, I gave it to you. But this expense cannot be covered.[133]
[1308] The Commander of the Faithful will not be pleased, and you will be questioned about it." Yazīd said to him, "O Abū al-Walīd, accept these checks, just this once." And he joked with him. Ṣāliḥ asked, "If I allow them, will you not ask me again?" Yazīd replied, "No, I will not."

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Maslamah b. Muḥārib, Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Taymī, al-Ṭufayl b. Mirdās al-ʿAmmī, and Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī—his source—Jahm b. Zaḥr b. Qays and al-Ḥasan b. Rushayd—Sulaymān b. Kathīr and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Khurāsānī—al-Kirmānī, ʿĀmir b. Ḥafṣ, and Abū Mikhnaf—ʿUthmān b. ʿAmr b. Miḥṣan al-Azdī, Zuhayr b. Hunayd, and others—the reports of some of these men contain details not contained in the reports of others, and I (that is, Ṭabarī) have collated them: Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik appointed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab as governor of Iraq, not of Khurāsān. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik asked ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab, when the latter was in Syria and Yazīd was in Iraq, "What would you think, O ʿAbd al-Malik, if I appointed you as governor of Khurāsān?" He replied, "The Commander of the Faithful will find me wherever he wants." Subsequently, however, Sulaymān's attention was diverted from that.

Our source continued: ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab wrote to Jarīr b. Yazīd al-Jahḍamī and to some of his close associates, saying, "The Commander of the Faithful has offered me the governorship of Khurāsān." The news reached Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in

132. On the use of checks and other instruments of credit, see *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, s.v. Banking, Islamic.

133. Ṣāliḥ is referring to the expense for the one thousand tables.

Iraq, where he was greatly vexed because Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was placing severe constraints upon him in such a way that Yazīd could not attain anything he wanted. Yazīd summoned ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ahtam, saying, "I need your assistance in a matter that has been troubling me and I want you to resolve it for me." He said, "I [1309] am at your command." He said, "As you see, I am in straitened circumstances, and this has made me uneasy. At the same time, Khurāsān has no governor, and I have learned that the Commander of the Faithful has offered this position to ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab. Is there any stratagem we might employ (to get it)?" He said, "Yes. Send me to the Commander of the Faithful, and I hope to bring you your document of appointment as governor of Khurāsān." Yazīd said, "Don't tell anyone about our conversation." Yazīd wrote two letters to Sulaymān: In the first, he mentioned the condition of Iraq and spoke highly of Ibn al-Ahtam, stressing the latter's knowledge of the country. He dispatched Ibn al-Ahtam on a post-horse, giving him thirty thousand dirhams. He traveled for seven nights bringing Yazīd's letter to Sulaymān. When he reached Sulaymān, the Caliph was dining, so he sat off to the side and ate two hens that were brought to him.

Ibn al-Ahtam entered, and Sulaymān said to him, "I will receive you on another occasion." Then Sulaymān summoned him three nights later and said to him, "Yazīd b. al-Muhallab wrote to me, praising you and mentioning your expertise with regard to Iraq and Khurāsān. What is the extent of your knowledge about these countries?" Ibn al-Ahtam replied, "I know more about them than anyone, for I was born and raised there, and I have knowledge and information about them and their people." Sulaymān said, "The Commander of the Faithful needs someone like you to advise him about Iraq and Khurāsān. Whom do you recommend that I appoint as governor of Khurāsān?" Ibn al-Ahtam answered, "The Commander of the Faithful knows best whom he wants to appoint as governor, but if he mentions the name of a candidate, I will tell him whether or not I think he is qualified for the appointment."

Sulaymān mentioned the name of a man from the Quraysh, and Ibn al-Ahtam said, "O Commander of the Faithful, he is not the real man for Khurāsān." Sulaymān then said, "Then ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab." He said, "No." The Caliph enumerated

the names of many men, the last one being that of Wakī' b. Abī Sūd. Ibn al-Ahtam said, "O Commander of the Faithful, although Wakī' is bold, fearless, courageous, and brave, he is not right for
[1310] the job, for he has neither led three hundred men nor acknowledged that he owes submission to anyone."[134] The Caliph responded, "You are right, woe unto you, so whom?" Ibn al-Ahtam said, "There is one man whom I know and whose name you have not mentioned." He asked, "Who is he?" Ibn al-Ahtam replied, "I will not disclose his name unless the Commander of the Faithful assures me that he will keep this matter secret, and that he will protect me from the person in question should the latter learn of it." The Caliph said, "Agreed. Name him. Who is he?" He said, "Yazīd b. al-Muhallab." [The Caliph] said, "But he is in Iraq, which he prefers to Khurāsān." He said, "That is true, O Commander of the Faithful, but if you compelled him to transfer, he would appoint a deputy governor over Iraq and go." At that, the Caliph said, "That is a good idea." Sulaymān then wrote a document in which he appointed Yazīd as governor of Khurāsān. He also wrote him a letter, saying: "I found Ibn al-Ahtam to be as intelligent, pious, virtuous, and as wise as you mentioned." He gave the letter to Ibn al-Ahtam, together with Yazīd's document of appointment. Seven nights after setting out, Ibn al-Ahtam reached Yazīd, who asked him, "What news have you brought me?"

Ibn al-Ahtam gave him the letter, causing Yazīd to exclaim, "Woe is you! Don't you have anything better than this?" Then he gave him the document of appointment, whereupon Yazīd ordered that provisions be made for setting out immediately; he summoned his son, Makhlad,[135] sending him ahead to Khurāsān.

Makhlad set out that very day, and Yazīd set out soon thereafter, having designated al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī as his representative in Wāsiṭ, and 'Abdallāh b. Hilāl al-Kilābī as his deputy in al-Baṣrah. He assigned to Marwān b. al-Muhallab,

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134. Text: *fa-ra'ā li-aḥad 'alayhi ṭā'atan*. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 279: *wathiqa bithalāthimi'ah rajul min aṣḥābihi lā yarā li-aḥad 'alayhi ṭā'ah*, "If he trusts three hundred of his soldiers, he will not obey anyone who is over him."

135. The text gives Makhlad, here, but Mukhallad below, II/1312. I vocalize this name as Makhlad throughout the translation.

whom he considered the most trustworthy of his brothers, the responsibility for his personal wealth and affairs in al-Baṣrah.

Abū al-Bahā' al-Iyādī recited to Marwān:

I found Abū Qabīṣah every day
to be the most noble among them under all circumstances.
When they refused to undertake [1311]
the heavy part of the affair, he took on what he could.
And if they are overwhelmed by something,
you excel them in magnanimity and generosity.

As for Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā—Abū Mālik: When Wakī' b. Abī Sūd sent an expression of his obedience, together with Qutaybah's head, to Sulaymān, that made a great impression on the Caliph. But Yazīd b. al-Muhallab promised 'Abdallāh b. al-Ahtam one hundred thousand dirhams on the condition that he denounce Wakī' in the presence of Sulaymān. Therefore, Ibn al-Ahtam said to the Caliph: "May God cause the Commander of the Faithful to prosper! By God, there is no one who is more deserving of my gratitude and no one who has rendered me greater services than Wakī'. He took blood revenge on my behalf and dealt with my enemy to my contentment. Nevertheless, my duty to the Commander of the Faithful is greater and more compelling, and the obligation to provide good counsel requires me to inform the Commander of the Faithful that Wakī' never assembled one hundred horsemen without thinking of an act of perfidy. He is nobody where the collective good is concerned, but remarkable in mischief." Sulaymān said, "He is not, therefore, one of those upon whom we can call for help."

Now the Qays were claiming that Qutaybah had not thrown off allegiance to the Caliph. When Sulaymān put Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in charge of military affairs in Iraq, he gave him the following order: "If the Qays can prove that Qutaybah did not throw off allegiance and did not withdraw obedience, then retaliate against Wakī' for him." But Yazīd acted treacherously. He did not give 'Abdallāh b. al-Ahtam what he had promised him and he sent his son, Makhlad b. Yazīd, against Wakī'.

The transmission of the account returns to 'Alī. According to 'Alī—Abū Mikhnaf—'Uthmān b. 'Amr b. Miḥṣan and Abū al-

Ḥasan al-Khurāsānī—al-Kirmānī: Yazīd sent his son, Makhlad, to Khurāsān. When Makhlad approached Marw, he sent ahead ʿAmr
[1312] b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sinān al-ʿAtakī (also, al-Ṣunābiḥī). Upon his arrival in Marw, ʿAmr sent a message to Wakīʿ, saying, "Meet me." But he refused, and ʿAmr sent to him, saying, "You stupid, foolish, crude Bedouin, come out to meet your commander." The leading men from the army of Marw went out to meet Makhlad, but Wakīʿ held back from going out until ʿAmr al-Azdī forced him to go out. When they reached Makhlad, all of the soldiers dismounted, except for Wakīʿ, Muḥammad b. Ḥumrān al-Saʿdī, and ʿAbbād b. Laqīṭ, one of the Banū Qays b. Thaʿlabah. Eventually, however, they were forced to dismount. When Makhlad reached Marw he put Wakīʿ in prison and tortured him, and he seized his followers and tortured them. This took place prior to the arrival of his father.

According to ʿAlī—Kulayb b. Khalaf—Idrīs b. Ḥanẓalah: When Makhlad reached Khurāsān, he put me in prison, whereupon Ibn al-Ahtam came to me, saying, "Do you want to save yourself?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Take out the letters that al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Khulayd al-ʿAbsī and Khuraym b. ʿAmr al-Murrī wrote to Qutaybah about throwing off allegiance to Sulaymān." I asked him, "O Ibn al-Ahtam, are you tricking me out of my religion?" Then Ibn al-Ahtam called for some papyrus and said, "You are a fool." He wrote letters to Qutaybah in the name of al-Qaʿqāʿ and certain men from the Qays, saying, "Al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik has just died, and Sulaymān will send this Mazūnī[136] to Khurāsān. So renounce your allegiance to Sulaymān." I said, "O Ibn al-Ahtam, by God, you are destroying yourself. By God, if I enter into his presence, I will surely tell him that the letters were written by you."

In this year, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab went to Khurāsān as its governor.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Abū al-Sarī al-Azdī—his paternal uncle: After Qutaybah was slain, Wakīʿ served as governor
[1313] of Khurāsān for nine or ten months. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab arrived

136. Mazūnī refers to an ʿUmānī or southern Arab; Mazūn is one of the names of ʿUmān. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 122. The allusion is to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.

in the year 97/715–16. According to 'Alī—al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad—his father: Yazīd drew near to himself the army of Syria[137] and a group from the army of Khurāsān. (With respect to this,) Nahār b. Tawsi'ah recited:

We never expected from any governor
what we expected from Yazīd.
But we were wrong about him and it has been our custom
to abstain from dealing with the unworthy.
If a governor did not give us justice,
we set out toward him like lions.
So gently, O Yazīd, come back to us,
and let aside the company of slaves.
We come, but you turn away from us,
although we send greetings from afar.
And we return disappointed, without any gifts.
What is the reason for the sour face and aversion?

According to 'Alī—Ziyād b. al-Rabī'—Ghālib al-Qaṭṭān: I saw 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz standing at 'Arafāt[138] during the Caliphate of Sulaymān—Sulaymān had performed the pilgrimage that year—saying to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd, "How strange that the Commander of the Faithful appointed (such) a man as governor of the Muslims' best frontier post! I have learned from one of the merchants coming from that direction that that governor gives one of his slave girls a stipend equal to that of a thousand soldiers. By God, the Caliph's appointment of him as governor was not done for the sake of God!" Knowing that 'Umar was referring to Yazīd and the Juhanī woman,[139] I said to him, "He is rewarding them for their tribulations during the war against the Azāriqah."[140]

137. The Syrian government troops had been kept away from Khurāsān by al-Ḥajjāj, who employed them exclusively in India. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 446.

138. 'Arafāt is a plain about twenty-one km. east of Mecca; it is the site of the central ceremonies of the annual Pilgrimage. See *EI*², s.v. 'Arafa.

139. The Juhanī woman was Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's concubine.

140. The Azāriqah were a Khārijite sect named after their leader, Nāfi' b. al-Azraq, who maintained that all adversaries should be put to death with their wives and children. The Azāriqah were defeated by Yazīd's father, al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah, in 78/692, after several years of fighting. See *EI*², s.v. Azāriḳa; Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate*, 181.

Our source continued: Yazīd bestowed a gift upon 'Abd al-Malik b. Sallām al-Salūlī, whereupon the latter recited:

Your copious rain, O Yazīd, kept falling on my need[141]
until my thirst was quenched, and your generosity cannot be denied.
You are the spring by means of which, when starvation prevails,
the sick and the destitute live.
[1314] The cloud of spring has spread over all your lands,
so they drank their fill; and rain-bearing clouds yielded copious rain.
May God send you, wherever you are, a cloud full
of rain, every evening and every morning.[142]

In this year, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage. I was told that by Aḥmad b. Thābit—his source—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

In this year, Sulaymān dismissed Ṭalḥah b. Dāwūd al-Haḍramī as governor of Mecca.[143]

According to al-Wāqidī—Ibrāhīm b. Nāfi'—Ibn Abī Mulaykah: When Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik returned from the pilgrimage, he dismissed Ṭalḥah b. Dāwūd al-Haḍramī as governor of Mecca after the latter had served in office for six months, and he appointed in his place 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd b. Abī al-'Īṣ b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf.

The governors of the garrison towns in this year were the same as they had been in the previous year, with the exception of Khurāsān, where Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was responsible for military, fiscal, and religious affairs. His representative in al-Kūfah—according to some—was Ḥarmalah b. 'Umayr al-Lakhmī, who served for a few months, after which he was dismissed; he was replaced by Bashīr b. Ḥassān al-Nahdī.

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141. Text: *ḥawbah*, which means the same as *ḥājah*.
142. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 285.
143. But see text above, II/1305, sub anno 96.

The Events of the Year 98

(AUGUST 25, 716—AUGUST 13, 717)

Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik Besieges Constantinople

Among the events which took place that year: Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik sent his brother, Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik, to Constantinople, and ordered him to stay there until he either conquered the city or received Sulaymān's order to return. So he spent the winter and the summer there.[144]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Thawr b. Yazīd—Sulaymān b. Mūsā: When Maslamah approached Constantinople, he ordered every horseman to load two *mudds*[145] of food on the back of his horse so that he might bring it to Constantinople. Upon his command, the food was heaped as high as certain mountains. Then Maslamah said to the Muslims, "Do not eat any of this food; rather, attack their lands and sow for yourselves." He built houses made of wood and passed the winter in them. The soldiers [1315]

144. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 44; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 298–306; *FHA*, 25ff.; Ibn Kathir, *Bidāyah*, IX, 174–75; Maqdisī, *Bad'*, VI, 43–44.

145. Text: *muddayn*. The Cairo ed. has *mudyayn*. A *mudd* is a dry measure for grain, used in Syria and Egypt. See Ṭabarī, *Glossary*, CDLXXXII; Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 45–47.

cultivated the land, while the aforementioned food remained in the desert, totally exposed; the soldiers ate what they obtained from raiding and, later, from what they had sown. Maslamah remained, besieging Constantinople and oppressing its inhabitants; he was accompanied by the most illustrious commanders of the Syrian army: Khālid b. Ma'dān, 'Abdallāh b. Abī Zakariyyā' al-Khuzā'ī, and Mujāhid b. Jabr. He remained there until he learned of Sulaymān's death. A poet recited:

> It carries her two *mudd*s and the two *mudd*s of Maslamah.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad: When Sulaymān became Caliph he raided the Byzantines, setting up camp in Dābiq[146] and sending Maslamah ahead. The Byzantines feared him. Leo[147] came up from Armenia[148] and said to Maslamah, "Send someone to negotiate with me." Maslamah sent Ibn Hubayrah, who asked Leo, "What do you consider to be the height of stupidity?" He replied, "The man who fills his stomach with everything that he finds."[149] Ibn Hubayrah said to him, "We are men of religion, and our religion calls for obedience to our leaders." Leo said, "You are right. In the past, we used to fight one another and get angry for the sake of religion. Today, however, we fight for the sake of conquest and sovereignty. (But, if you with-
[1316] draw) we will give you one dīnār for the head of every (soldier who leaves)." Ibn Hubayrah returned to the Byzantines the next day and said, "Maslamah does not accept your terms. I approached him after he had eaten the morning meal, filled his stomach, and taken a nap. When he woke up, he was groggy[150] and did not understand what I said."

The Byzantine commanders said to Leo, "If you rid us of Maslamah, we will make you emperor." And they bound themselves to him by the oath. Then Leo came to Maslamah and said, "The

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146. A village in the 'Azāz district north of Aleppo, situated on the edge of a plain where the Umayyad armies prepared for their annual summer raids into Byzantine Anatolia. See *EI*², s.v. Dābiḳ.

147. Leo III, the Isaurian.

148. See *EI*², s.v. Armīniya.

149. This saying is an allusion to Sulaymān, who reportedly consumed one hundred *raṭl* of food daily. See Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 175; *FHA*, 34; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 180.

150. Literally, this means, "The phlegm had overcome him."

people (of Constantinople) know that you will not advance against them in a bold attack and that you intend to prolong the siege as long as you have food. But if you were to burn the food, they would submit." So Maslamah burned it. Then the enemy became strong, while the Muslims entered into dire straits until they were on the point of death. This was their situation until Sulaymān died.

When Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik set up camp in Dābiq, he swore to God that he would not leave until the army that he had sent against the Byzantines entered Constantinople.

When the Byzantine emperor died, Leo came to (Sulaymān), gave him the news, and assured him that he would deliver the land of the Byzantines (to the Caliph). So the latter sent Maslamah with Leo, and Maslamah set up camp there, collected all the food around Constantinople, and laid siege to the city. But Leo went to the inhabitants of the city, who made him emperor. He then wrote to Maslamah informing him of what had taken place and asking him to allow enough food to enter the city to feed the people; in this way, the people would believe that his word and Maslamah's word were one and that they were safe from being captured and expelled from their lands; he also asked Maslamah to give them permission to gather food one night. Meanwhile, Leo had prepared ships and men. Maslamah agreed to his request, and the inhabitants of the city carried away large quantities of food from those enclosures in a single night. At this point, Leo began to act in a hostile manner, having deceived Maslamah by means of a trick that would shame even a woman. The Muslim army suffered what no army had suffered previously, to the extent that a soldier was afraid to leave camp by himself. They ate animals, skins, tree roots, leaves—indeed, everything [1317] except dirt. Meanwhile, Sulaymān, who was residing in Dābiq, was unable to send reinforcements due to the arrival of winter. This was the situation until Sulaymān died.[151]

In this year, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik had the oath of allegiance taken to his son, Ayyūb b. Sulaymān, making him his heir apparent.[152]

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Alī b. Muḥammad: 'Abd al-

151. For the Byzantine perspective, see *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, 82–90.
152. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 43; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 175.

Malik had charged al-Walīd and Sulaymān to take the oath of allegiance on behalf of Ibn 'Ātikah,[153] and to Marwān b. 'Abd al-Malik after him.

According to Ṭāriq b. al-Mubārak: Marwān b. 'Abd al-Malik died during the Caliphate of Sulaymān, on his way out of Mecca, whereupon Sulaymān took the oath of allegiance on behalf of Ayyūb. He withheld (the nomination) from Yazīd, waiting for something bad to happen to him and hoping that he would die. But (it was) Ayyūb (who) died while he was heir apparent.

In this year, the city of the Slavs[154] was conquered.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar: In the year 98/716–717, Burjān[155] attacked Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik when he was short of men. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik dispatched either Mas'adah or 'Amr b. Qays with reinforcements, but the Slavs tricked them. Then God put them to flight after they had slain Sharāḥīl (b. 'Abd) b. 'Abdah.[156]

According to what has been claimed by al-Wāqidī, in this year al-Walīd b. Hishām and 'Amr b. Qays carried out a raid in which some soldiers from the army of Antioch were killed. Al-Walīd killed people living on the outskirts of Byzantium, taking many of them captive.

[The Conquest of Jurjān and Ṭabaristān][157]

In this year, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab raided Jurjān[158] and Ṭabaristān.[159]

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153. Ibn 'Ātikah is Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, whose mother was 'Atikah bt. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān.

154. The city of the Slavs was a city immediately beyond the Byzantine border. See *EI*², s.v. Slavs.

155. Burjān is the name of the most important Bulghār state and its inhabitants. See *EI*², s.v. Bulghār.

156. Sharāḥīl is Abū 'Āmir al-Sha'bī. The words within parentheses (b. 'Abd) are added by the Cairo ed.

157. The text lacks the rubric, which is supplied by the Cairo ed. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 319–20; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), II, 412–17; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 41; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 286–98; Maqdisī, *Bad'*, VI, 42–43; *FHA*, 21–24; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 175–76; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 446–48.

158. Jurjān is a province situated at the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea. See *EI*², s.v. Gurgān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 376–81.

159. Ṭabaristān is a Persian province north of Mount Alburz, called "the land of Ṭabar" because of the thick forests that cover the country. See *EI*, s.v. Ṭabaristān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 368–76.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf: Yazīd b. al-Muhallab reached Khurāsān, where he remained for three or [1318] four months; then he advanced toward Dihistān[160] and Jurjān, sending his son, Makhlad, to serve (as deputy governor) over Khurāsān. When he reached Dihistān, which was inhabited by a tribe of Turks, he established himself there and besieged its inhabitants. With him were the armies of al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, and Syria, together with the leading men from the armies of Khurāsān and al-Rayy.[161] He had one hundred thousand soldiers, not including clients, slave soldiers, and irregular volunteers.[162] The Muslims attacked the enemy, quickly putting them to flight and causing them to return to their fortress. Later, they would emerge from time to time and fight with intensity.

Jahm and Jamāl, the two sons of Zaḥr, had a favored position with Yazīd, who honored them. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Sabrah al-Ju'fī was an eloquent and courageous man, except for the fact that he used to corrupt himself with drink. However, it was not his custom to visit Yazīd and his household frequently. Perhaps the good influence they had on the two sons of Zaḥr, Jahm and Jamāl, kept him away. Now, when the herald would cry out, "O ye horsemen of God, mount up and rejoice at the good news," Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Sabrah would be the first horseman from among the troops to hasten to the brunt of battle. One day, the call went out to the soldiers, and Ibn Abī Sabrah preceded all the others. He was standing on a mound when 'Uthmān b. al-Mufaḍḍal passed by him and said, "O Ibn Abī Sabrah, I have never been able to beat you to the muster." He replied, "What good is that to me, when you prefer the boys of the [1319] Madhḥij and ignore the worth of the elderly men of experience and prowess?" He said, "Had you wanted what we have, we would not have withheld from you what you deserve."

Our source continued: The troops went out and fought with

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160. A rich agricultural region located to the north of the lower Atrek. Its capital, Akhūr, was a four-day journey to the north of Jurjān, on the road to Khwārazm. See *EI*², s.v. Dihistān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 379–80.

161. The capital of al-Jibāl; its ruins can be seen five miles south-southeast of modern Tehran. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 116–22; *EI*, s.v. Raiy; Le Strange, *Lands*, 214–17.

162. Text: *wa-l-mutaṭawwi'īn*. On these unpaid and/or irregular volunteers, see Crone, *Slaves*, 53.

intensity. Muḥammad b. Abī Sabrah attacked a Turk, whom the other soldiers had avoided. They exchanged blows, and the Turk's sword became fixed in Ibn Abī Sabrah's helmet. But Ibn Abī Sabrah struck him dead. Then he advanced, bloody sword in hand, with the Turk's sword stuck in his helmet, and the soldiers witnessed the finest spectacle that they had ever seen on the part of a horseman. When Yazīd saw the glitter of the two swords, the helmet, and the armor, he asked, "Who is that?" They answered, "Ibn Abī Sabrah." He said, "How excellent a father who gave birth to such a son![163] What a man he would be, were it not for the fact that he drinks to excess!"

Subsequently, Yazīd went out one day, seeking a place from which he might attack the enemy. Suddenly, a band of Turks attacked him from out of nowhere. With him at the time were the leading soldiers and their horsemen. He had approximately four hundred men, while the enemy had approximately four thousand. After fighting the Turks for a while, Yazīd's men said to him, "O Commander, leave and we will fight for you." But he refused. Yazīd himself engaged in the fighting on that day, like one of his soldiers. Ibn Abī Sabrah, the two sons of Zaḥr, al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah al-Khathʿamī, and his most distinguished followers fought valiantly. Finally, when they wanted to leave, Yazīd put al-Ḥajjāj b. Jāriyah in charge of the rear guard; he fought those who were behind him until the others reached water, for they were thirsty. They drank, and the enemy moved away without gaining anything from them.

Sufyān b. Ṣafwān al-Khathʿamī recited:

[1320] Were it not for Ibn Jāriyah, the white-faced one,
you would have been given a bitter cup to drink.
He protected you with his horsemen and his horses
until you reached water, unafflicted.

Then Yazīd persisted in the siege, stationing the troops on every side of the city,[164] thereby cutting off its supplies. When the Turks tired and were unable to fight the Muslims, for the

163. Text: *lillāhi abūhu*, which means, to God alone belongs the power to create the likes of this man from whom has proceeded this wonderful action. See Lane, *Lexicon*, pt. 1, p. 11.

164. Probably the city of Dihistan.

siege and trial weighed heavily on them, Ṣūl, the *dihqān*[165] of Dihistān, sent to Yazīd, saying, "I will make peace with you on the condition that you provide safe-conduct for me, for the members of my household, and for my animals, in which case, I will deliver the city to you, together with its contents and its inhabitants." Yazīd made peace with Ṣūl, who submitted to him; he carried out the agreement. He entered the city and seized the animals, treasures, and numberless captives, and put to the sword fourteen thousand defenseless Turks. He wrote about this to Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Then he set out, making his way to Jurjān. Now, it had been customary for the Jurjānīs to pay the army of al-Kūfah one hundred thousand, two hundred thousand, and sometimes even three hundred thousand (dirhams) in return for peace. These were the terms upon which they would make peace with them. When Yazīd came to them, they presented themselves to him with the peace treaty, for they regarded him with awe, and they offered him more than they were accustomed to paying. He appointed a man from the Azd by the name of Asad b. ʿAbdallāh as their governor.

Yazīd then entered the territory of the *iṣpahbadh* in Ṭabaristān, accompanied by laborers who cut down trees and smoothed the roads. Finally, they reached him, and Yazīd set up camp, besieging the *iṣpahbadh* and occupying his land. The *iṣpahbadh* sued Yazīd for peace, offering him more than it was his custom to pay. But Yazīd refused, hoping to conquer the land by force. One day, he sent out his brother, Abū ʿUyaynah, leading the armies of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah; he climbed into the mountains making his way toward the *iṣpahbadh*. Meanwhile, the *iṣpahbadh* had sent to Daylam, summoning additional military forces. The two armies met in battle, and the Muslims prevailed over them for a [1321]
while, putting them to flight. When the chief of al-Daylam[166] came forward, challenging the Muslims, Ibn Abī Sabrah went out to engage him in combat and he slew him. The rout continued

165. The *dihqān* was the village head and a member of the lesser feudal nobility of Sassanian Persia who, after the Arab conquest, continued to be responsible for local administration and the collection of tribute. In Transoxiana, the local rulers were designated by the term *dihqān*. See *EI*², s.v. Dihḳān.

166. The chief of Daylam is identified by Kūfī (*Futūḥ*, VII, 290) as Sulaymān al-Daylamī.

until the Muslims reached the opening of the mountain pass. As they began their ascent, the enemy soldiers, who were looking down on them, opened fire on them with arrows and stones. The soldiers fled from the opening of the mountain pass without suffering great losses, for the enemy did not have the strength to pursue them and search for them. But the Muslims began to press on one another, to the point that they began to fall over one another into the ravines, and the men rolled from the top of the mountain until they reached Yazīd's army, oblivious to their misfortune.[167]

Yazīd held his ground, unperturbed. Meanwhile, the *iṣpahbadh* wrote to the army of Jurjān, asking them to attack Yazīd's followers and to cut off his supplies and the roads between him and the Arabs, and promising to compensate them for their efforts. Accordingly, they fell upon the Muslims that Yazīd had left behind, slaying those that they could. The survivors assembled and fortified themselves in a secluded spot, where they remained until Yazīd rescued them. Yazīd continued to press against the *iṣpahbadh* in his land until he made peace with him in return for seven hundred thousand dirhams, four hundred thousand in cash,[168] two hundred thousand (garments),[169] four hundred donkeys loaded with saffron, and four hundred slaves; on the head of each slave, he requested a cloak, and on the cloak a scarf, a silver cup, and a piece of fine white silk[170]—previously they had sued for peace in exchange for two hundred thousand dirhams. Then Yazīd and his followers left, looking as if they had been defeated! Had it not been for the actions of the Jurjānīs, he would not have
[1322] left Ṭabaristān until he had conquered it by force.

As for sources other than Abū Mikhnaf on the subject of the encounter between Yazīd and the Jurjānīs: According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad—Kulayb b. Khalaf and others: Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ[171] made peace with the people of Jurjān.[172] Subse-

167. Text: *sharr*, which may also mean "danger."
168. Text: *naqdan*. Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 176, has *dīnārs*.
169. The text states "two hundred thousand." Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 176, adds the word *thawb*, "garments."
170. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), II, 414.
171. Sa'īd b. al-'Aṣ died in 59/768–9. See *EI*, s.v. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ.
172. For further details on the initial conquest of Jurjān, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), II, 411.

quently, however, they refused to pay and violated their treaty.[173] No Muslim went to Jurjān after Sa'īd, for they blocked that road. Indeed, no one could travel the Khurāsān road from that direction except in fear and dread of the Jurjānīs. This was the road to Khurāsān from Fārs[174] to Kirmān. The first person to traverse the road from Qūmis[175] was Qutaybah b. Muslim, when he became governor of Khurāsān. Then Maṣqalah raided Khurāsān, in the days of Mu'āwiyah, leading ten thousand soldiers. But he was slain when his army was in Rūyān,[176] which is adjacent to Ṭabaristān. They died in one of the wādīs of that region when the enemy attacked them in the mountain passes, killing all of them. Therefore, it is called "Maṣqalah's Wādī." Our source said: He is the one referred to in the proverb, "Until Maṣqalah returns from Ṭabaristān."[177]

According to 'Alī—Kulayb b. Khalaf al-'Ammī—Ṭufayl b. Mirdās al-'Ammī and Idrīs b. Ḥanẓalah: Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ concluded a peace treaty with the people of Jurjān. Sometimes they would bring one hundred thousand (dirhams) and say, "This is our settlement." And sometimes two hundred thousand, and sometimes three hundred thousand. Sometimes they would pay one of these amounts; at other times they would refuse to pay. Then they refused to pay and violated the treaty.[178] They failed to pay the tribute until Yazīd b. al-Muhallab came to them, for no one opposed him when he reached Jurjān. When he made peace with Ṣūl and conquered al-Buḥayrah and Dihistān, he concluded a peace treaty with the people of Jurjān on the same terms they had received from Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ. [1323]

According to Aḥmad—'Alī—Kulayb b. Khalaf al-'Ammī—Ṭu-

173. The text specifies *wa-kafarū*, which literally means "and they turned away from Islam." But since the Jurjānīs had not become Muslims upon payment of the poll tax, the word *kafarū* here should be taken in the sense of *naqaḍū-l-'ahd*, "they violated the treaty." I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

174. A Persian province bounded on the northwest by Khūzistān, on the northeast by Iṣfahān, on the east by Kirmān, and on the west and southwest by the Persian Gulf. See *EI*², s.v. Fārs; Le Strange, *Lands*, 248–98.

175. A small province lying to the south of the Alburz chain watershed between al-Rayy and Nishābūr. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳūmis; Le Strange, *Lands*, 264–68.

176. Rūyān was an independent district attached to Ṭabaristān. See *EI*, s.v. Rūyān; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 104–5; Le Strange, *Lands*, 373–74.

177. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), II, 411–12.

178. See note 173 above.

fayl b. Mirdās and Bishr b. ʿĪsā—Abū Ṣafwān[179]—ʿAlī said (I was told this also by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī—Sulaymān b. Kathīr, and others): Ṣūl the Turk used to camp at Dihistān and at al-Buḥayrah, an island in the (Caspian) sea five *farsakhs* (30 km.) from Dihistān, both of which were part of Jurjān, on the side of Khwārazm. Ṣūl used to carry out raids against Fayrūz b. Qūl, the Marzubān of Jurjān—they were twenty-five *farsakhs* (150 km.) apart—during which he would kill their noble men and then return to al-Buḥayrah and Dihistān. Now, a dispute broke out between Fayrūz and one of his paternal cousins, who was called, "the Marzubān," as a result of which the Marzubān separated himself from Fayrūz and settled in al-Bayāsān.[180] Fearing that the Turks would carry out raids against him, Fayrūz set out for Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in Khurāsān. Meanwhile, Ṣūl seized Jurjān. When Fayrūz reached Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the latter asked him, "Why have you come here?" Fayrūz replied, "I was afraid of Ṣūl, so I fled." Yazīd asked him, "Is there any stratagem we might use to fight him?" Fayrūz answered, "Yes, there is one thing which, if you attain it, either you will kill him or he will submit." Yazīd asked, "What is it?" Fayrūz counseled, "If he leaves Jurjān in order to establish camp in al-Buḥayrah, and then you come to him there and lay siege to the island, you will be victorious over him. Therefore, write a letter to the *iṣpahbadh* in which you ask him to trick Ṣūl by having him remain in Jurjān. Pay him something for this and promise him more. He will then send your letter to Ṣūl, seeking to ingratiate himself with him, because he regards him with great honor. As a result, Ṣūl will leave Jurjān and set up camp in al-Buḥayrah."

[1324] Yazīd b. al-Muhallab therefore wrote to the leader of Ṭabaristān: "I intend to carry out a raid against Ṣūl while he is in Jurjān, but I fear that if he learns of my intention he will leave for al-Buḥayrah and set up camp there. If he does go there, I will not be able to attack him. Now, he listens to you and considers you to be a faithful adviser. If you were to confine him in Jurjān this year, so that he would not go to al-Buḥayrah, I will convey to you fifty

179. Text: Ṣafwān. The Cairo ed. specifies Abū Ṣafwān.
180. A village in Marw al-Shāhijān. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 528.

thousand mithqāls.[181] So devise some stratagem to keep him in Jurjān, for, if he stays there, he will be mine." When the *iṣpahbadh* saw the letter, he sought to ingratiate himself with Ṣūl by sending the letter to him. When the letter arrived, Ṣūl ordered the troops to depart for al-Buḥayrah; he loaded foodstuffs so that he would be secure there.

Yazīd learned that Ṣūl had traveled from Jurjān to al-Buḥayrah; he determined to leave for Jurjān. He set out, leading thirty thousand men, accompanied by Fayrūz b. Qūl. He appointed Makhlad b. Yazīd as his deputy in Khurāsān, designated his son, Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd, as his deputy in Samarqand, Kiss,[182] Nasaf,[183] and Bukhārā, and appointed Ḥātim b. Qabīṣah b. al-Muhallab as his deputy in Ṭukhāristān.[184] He marched to Jurjān which, at that time, was not a city, but rather a locality surrounded by mountains, with gates and rugged roads[185]—when a man stood at one of the gates, no one could advance against him. Yazīd entered Jurjān without encountering any resistance and he captured great wealth. The Marzubān fled, and Yazīd set out, with his soldiers, for al-Buḥayrah, where he laid siege to Ṣūl.

When he attacked them, he recited:

The sword flashed and his hands trembled;
By him, himself, souls were saved.

Our source continued: He besieged them. Ṣūl would come out toward him during the day and fight, and then return to his fortress. With Yazīd were the armies of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah.

Then he mentioned the story of Jahm b. Zaḥr and his brother, and Muḥammad (b. Abī Sabrah), more or less as was reported by

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181. A unit of weight for gold, taken over by 'Abd al-Malik from the Roman *solidus* of the Constantinian system, equivalent to 65.6 grains or 4.25 grams. "Mithqāl" is used as a synonym for "dīnār." See *EI*, s.v. Mithḳāl.

182. A town near Samarqand. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 460.

183. A town in the district of Bukhārā. See *EI*, s.v. Nakhshab; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 285.

184. Ṭukhāristān was the region situated between Balkh and Badakhshān. See *EI*², s.v. Badakhshān.

185. See Balādhurī *Futūḥ* (Cairo), II, 413: "Surrounded by a wall of baked bricks that reached to the sea." See also Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 286; *FHA*, 21; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 29.

[1325] Hishām, except that he said, regarding the Turk's striking of Ibn Abī Sabrah: "The Turk's sword became caught in Ibn Abī Sabrah's shield."[186]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—ʿAnbasah: Muḥammad b. Abī Sabrah fought the Turks in Jurjān. They surrounded him, taking turns against him with their swords. Three swords broke in his hand.

Then, returning to our original chain of transmission, our source said: They, that is, the Turks, were under siege for six months, during which time they would emerge, fight, and then return to their fortress.[187] Finally, they were reduced to drinking ground water, whereupon they were afflicted with a disease known as *al-suʿād*[188] and began to die. At this point Ṣūl sued for peace, but Yazīd b. al-Muhallab said, "No, not unless he submits to my rule." Ṣūl refused and sent a message to Yazīd, saying: "I will make peace with you on behalf of myself, my belongings, and three hundred members of my household and companions, on the condition that you provide safe passage for me. If you accept these terms, you may occupy al-Buḥayrah." Yazīd agreed to these terms, and Ṣūl emerged with his belongings and three hundred of his favorites and joined Yazīd. Then Yazīd put to the sword fourteen thousand defenseless Turks, letting the others go without killing any of them. The soldiers said to Yazīd, "Give us our stipends," so he summoned Idrīs b. Ḥanẓalah al-ʿAmmī, saying, "O Ibn Ḥanẓalah, give us an account of al-Buḥayrah's wealth so that we may pay the troops." Idrīs entered al-Buḥayrah, but he was unable to estimate the value of its wealth. He said to Yazīd, "I am unable to assess its wealth because it is stored in receptacles. We will have to count the sacks, make a sign indicating the contents of each sack, and say to the soldiers, 'Enter and take.' In this way, when someone takes something, we will announce what he took, that is, wheat, barley, rice, sesame, and honey." At that, Yazīd said, "That is a good idea." They determined the

186. See text above, II/1319, where it is stated that the sword became stuck in Ibn Abī Sabrah's helmet.

187. Wellhausen argues that the siege could not have lasted six months. See *Arab Kingdom*, 447, n. 1.

188. A disease that attacks the liver as a result of drinking brackish water. See Lane, *Lexicon*, pt. 4, p. 1462.

number of sacks, put a sign on each sack indicating its contents, [1326]
and said to the soldiers, "Take." As each man left al-Buḥayrah, having taken clothing, food, or whatever could be carried away, the number of sacks he had taken would be recorded in his name. They took considerable amounts.

According to ʿAlī—Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī: Shahr b. Ḥawshab,[189] who was in charge of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's coffers, was accused of stealing a leather purse.[190] Yazīd asked him about it, and Shahr brought it to him. Then Yazīd summoned the person who had made the accusation, rebuked him, and said to Shahr, "It's yours." Shahr said, "I have no need for it."

The following was recited by al-Quṭāmī al-Kalbī[191]—some say by Sinān b. Mukammal al-Numayrī:

Shahr sold his religion for a purse of leather.
Now who will trust the Qur'ān reciters[192] after you, O Shahr?
You received for it something insignificant and sold it
to Ibn Jūnabūdh. Verily, this is perfidy.

Murrah al-Nakhaʿī recited, with regard to Shahr:

O Ibn al-Muhallab, what did you have in mind for a man
who,[193]
were it not for you, would have been an upright reciter (of the Qur'ān)?

According to ʿAlī—Abū Muḥammad al-Thaqafī: Yazīd b. al-Muhallab acquired a crown in Jurjān in which there was a precious stone and he asked, "Do you know anyone who would not desire this crown?" They replied, "No." Yazīd then summoned Muḥammad b. Wāsiʿ al-Azdī and said, "Take this crown—it's yours." He said, "I have no need for it." Yazīd said, "I insist." So Muḥammad took it and left. Then Yazīd ordered someone to

189. Abū Saʿīd Shahr b. Ḥawshab al-Ashʿarī (d. 111 or 112/730 or 731), a Syrian transmitter of *ḥadīth*. See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 369–72.

190. Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 176, adds: "With one hundred dīnārs in it."

191. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Jammāl b. Ḥabīb al-Quṭāmī al-Kalbī, d. 101/720. See Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 339; and *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳuṭāmī.

192. Text: *al-qurrā'*, which could also mean "officials." See note 408 below.

193. Text: *mā aradta ilā-mri'in*.

observe what he would do with the crown. Muḥammad met a
[1327] beggar and gave it to him. Yazīd's agent took the beggar, brought him to Yazīd, and told him what had happened. Yazīd took the crown and gave the beggar a large sum of money in return.

According to ʿAlī: Every time that Qutaybah made a new conquest, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik would say to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, "Don't you see what God is accomplishing through Qutaybah?" Yazīd would reply, "What about Jurjān, which separated the soldiers from the 'Main Road,'[194] and thus disrupted things in Qūmis and Abrashahr?"[195] Yazīd would also say, "These conquests are nothing. Jurjān is what counts." Thus, when Yazīd b. al-Muhallab became governor, his sole ambition was to conquer Jurjān. It is said: Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had one hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, including sixty thousand soldiers from the Syrian army.

According to ʿAlī—the one who mentioned the Jurjān report—on their authority, supplemented by ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—Khālid b. Ṣubayḥ: After Yazīd b. al-Muhallab made peace with Ṣūl, he had a great desire to conquer Ṭabaristān. Having resolved to travel there, he designated ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿammar al-Yashkurī as his governor in al-Bayāsān and Dihistān, leaving him with four thousand men. Then he advanced toward the nearest parts of Jurjān, adjacent to Ṭabaristān. He designated Asad b. ʿAmr—or b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rubʿah—as his governor in Andarastān,[196] which is adjacent to Ṭabaristān, leaving him with four thousand men. Then Yazīd entered the lands of the *iṣpahbadh*, who sent to him, suing for peace and asking him to leave Ṭabaristān. But Yazīd refused,
[1328] for he hoped to conquer it by force. He then sent his brother, Abū ʿUyaynah, in one direction, his son, Khālid b. Yazīd, in another, and Abū al-Jahm al-Kalbī in a third, saying, "When you join forces, Abū ʿUyaynah is to be in command of the troops." Yazīd said to Abū ʿUyaynah, as the latter set out leading the armies of

194. Text: *al-ṭarīq al-aʿẓam*. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 287, has "Khurāsān" instead of "the Main Road."

195. Abrashahr, the ancient name of Nīshāpūr, was the capital of one of the four quarters of the province of Khurāsān. See *EI*², s.v. Abrashahr; also *EI*, s.v. Ṭūs; Le Strange, *Lands*, 383.

196. A village in Khwārazm, about one day's march south of Jurjāniyyah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 453.

al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, accompanied by Huraym b. Abī Ṭaḥmah, "Take counsel with Huraym, for he is a faithful adviser." Yazīd remained in the camp.

The *iṣpahbadh* sought support from the people of Jīlān and al-Daylam, and they came to him. The two opposing armies met near the foot of a mountain.[197] The polytheists were put to rout, and the Muslims pursued them until they reached the mouth of the mountain pass. But when the Muslims entered the passageway, the polytheists climbed up into the mountains, pursued by the Muslims. The enemy then shot at them with arrows and stones, putting Abū 'Uyaynah and the Muslims to flight. They pressed on one another, falling over one another from the mountain, not stopping until they reached Yazīd's troops. At this point, the enemy gave up the chase.

The *iṣpahbadh*, fearing the Muslims, wrote to the Marzubān, the paternal cousin of Fayrūz b. Qūl, who was at the farthest reaches of Jurjān, adjacent to al-Bayāsān, saying, "We have slain Yazīd [*sic*] and his followers,[198] so kill the Arabs in al-Bayāsān." The Marzubān and his men joined the army of Bayāsān, having reached a consensus to kill the Muslims, who were (carelessly asleep) in their dwellings. They were all slain during a single night. 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'ammar was slain, together with four thousand Muslims—not one of them escaped; fifty of the Banū-l-'Amm were slain, among them al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. Shammās. The Marzubān wrote to the *iṣpahbadh* that he should take control of the mountain passes and the roads.

When Yazīd learned that 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'ammar and his followers had been slain, his men were distressed and frightened. Yazīd, therefore, sought the assistance of Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, saying, "Do not let the misunderstanding between us prevent you from serving the Muslims.[199] We have heard the news from Jurjān, where that one (that is, the *iṣpahbadh*) has seized control of [1329]

197. Text: *fī sanad jabal*, "near the face of a mountain." The translation follows Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 31, who specifies *fī safḥ jabal*, "near the foot of a mountain."

198. Text: *Yazīd wa-aṣḥābahu*. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), II, 413, has *aṣḥāb Yazīd*, "Yazīd's followers," which makes better sense.

199. The misunderstanding will be explained below.

the roads, so make peace." Ḥayyān agreed and approached the *iṣpahbadh*, saying, "I am one of you, even if religion has separated us.[200] I will give you good advice, for you are dearer to me than Yazīd. He has summoned reinforcements, and his soldiers are nearby. Since the Jurjānīs eliminated only one segment of his army, I am concerned that you will not be able to withstand him. So relieve yourself from him and make peace with him, for, if you make peace with him, he will turn his weapons against the Jurjānīs,[201] who deceived and killed many Muslims." The *iṣpahbadh* made peace with Yazīd, agreeing to pay seven hundred thousand dirhams.

According to 'Alī b. Mujāhid: The terms were five hundred thousand dirhams,[202] four hundred loads of saffron or their value in ready money, and four hundred slaves—each slave wearing a cloak and a scarf and carrying a silver vessel, a piece of silk cloth and a suit of clothes.[203]

Then Ḥayyān returned to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, saying, "Send some people to carry away the terms of the agreement that I have concluded with them." He asked, "Who is paying, we or they?" He replied, "They are." Yazīd, who would have been happy to give them whatever they asked for and return to Jurjān, sent some people to carry away the terms of the agreement that Ḥayyān had worked out with them, and he set out for Jurjān. Previously, Yazīd had penalized Ḥayyān two hundred thousand dirhams. This was why he feared that Ḥayyān would not provide him with good counsel.

The circumstances of his having penalized Ḥayyān in this manner were related to me as follows by 'Alī b. Mujāhid—Khālid b. Ṣubayḥ: I was serving as a tutor to Ḥayyān's son, when he summoned me, saying, "Write a letter to Makhlad b. Yazīd." Makhlad, at that particular time, was in Balkh, while Yazīd was in [1330] Marw. I took up a scroll of papyrus, and he said, "Write: 'From Ḥayyān, the client of Maṣqalah, to Makhlad b. Yazīd.'" But Mu-

200. It is reported that Ḥayyān was originally from al-Daylam. See text above, II/1291.

201. Text: *ṣayyara ḥaddahu 'alā ahl Jurjān*. Kufi, *Futūḥ*, VII, 292, has *yakūnu ḥarbuhu wa-saṭwatuhu 'alayhim*, "His war and attack will be against them."

202. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 320, mentions seven hundred thousand dirhams.

203. See text above, II/1321, for another version of the agreement.

qātil b. Ḥayyān gestured to me, indicating, "Don't write that." Then he approached his father and said, "O my father! You write to Makhlad and yet mention yourself first!" He said, "Yes, my son, and if he does not like it he will suffer the same fate as Qutaybah." Then he said to me, "Write." So I wrote. He had Makhlad bring the letter to his father. This was why Yazīd made Ḥayyān pay two hundred thousand dirhams.

In this year, Yazīd reconquered Jurjān after the Jurjānīs had treacherously waylaid his army and broken the agreement.[204]

According to 'Alī—the group that transmitted to him the report about Jurjān and Ṭabaristān: Then, when Yazīd made peace with the army of Ṭabaristān, he headed for Jurjān. He swore to God that if he triumphed over them, he would neither loosen his hold on them nor raise the sword from them until he mixed blood into the wheat, made bread out of the mixture, and ate the bread.

When the Marzubān learned that Yazīd had made peace with the *iṣpahbadh* and was making his way toward Jurjān, he gathered his supporters and went to al-Wajāh,[205] where he fortified himself. Whoever controls al-Wajāh needs no reserves of food or water. Meanwhile, Yazīd arrived and surrounded the place, while the Marzubān and his men fortified themselves inside. Al-Wajāh was surrounded by dense thickets, so that only one way in and out was known. Yazīd maintained the siege for seven months[206] without making any progress against them, for he did not know of any way to approach them except from the one side. The Marzubān and his men would emerge during the day, fight, and then return to their fortress. Now, while matters were like this, it [1331] happened that a man—one of the Persians from Khurāsān who was with Yazīd—went out to hunt, accompanied by members of his Shākiriyyah corps.[207]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf: One of his soldiers, from the tribe of Ṭayyi', went out to hunt and spotted an antelope climbing in the mountains. He followed it, saying to his companions, "Stay where you are." He climbed the mountain following the tracks. Suddenly he came upon their army, where-

204. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 320–21; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 41; *FHA*, 23.
205. Apparently, the name of a fortress in the mountainous region of Jurjān.
206. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 293–94, specifies "four months."
207. On this term, see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 496.

upon he turned back seeking his companions. Afraid that he would not be able to find his way back, he began to tear up his garment and tie markers on the trees. Finally, he reached his companions and then returned to the army camp. It is said: the man who was hunting was al-Hayyāj b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī, a resident of Ṭūs[208] and an avid hunter. When he returned to the army camp, he approached 'Āmir b. Aynam al-Wāshijī, who was the commander of Yazīd's guard. But they would not let him enter, so he cried out, "I have important information."

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf: Finally, he brought the matter to the attention of the two sons of Zaḥr b. Qays, who took him and brought him to Yazīd. Al-Hayyāj gave him the report, and Yazīd gave him an assurance, confirmed by al-Juhaniyyah, a slave girl of his who had borne him a child,[209] to pay him an agreed-upon sum.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his companions: Yazīd called for al-Hayyāj and asked, "What information do you have?" He replied, "Do you want to enter Wajāh without a fight?" He said, "Certainly." He said, "What will you give me?" He said, "Name
[1332] your price." He said, "Four thousand." He said, "You are entitled to blood payment (*diyah*)."[210] He said, "Give me four thousand now and whatever you give me later will be a gratuity." Whereupon Yazīd gave an order to pay him four thousand dirhams. Then he called out to his soldiers, fourteen hundred of whom responded. Al-Hayyāj said, "Due to the density of the thickets, the path will not bear such a large group." Yazīd therefore chose three hundred and sent them off under the command of Jahm b. Zaḥr.

Some sources said: He put his son, Khālid b. Yazīd, in command of them, saying, "You may be deprived of life, but you cannot be deprived of death.[211] God help you if I see you in my presence after having been put to flight." He sent Jahm b. Zaḥr along with him. Yazīd asked the man who called out to the sol-

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208. A district in Khurāsān containing the towns of Nawqān and Ṭābarān. See *EI*, s.v. Ṭūs; Le Strange, *Lands*, 388–90.

209. See text above, II/1313, sub anno 97.

210. A specified amount of money (either one thousand dīnārs or twelve thousand dirhams), or goods, due in cases of homicide or other injuries unjustly committed upon the person of another. See *EI*², s.v. Diya.

211. Text: *in ghulibta 'alā-l-ḥayāt fa-lā tughlibanna 'alā-l-mawt*, that is, "Do not let fear of death dampen your courage."

diers, "When will you reach them?" He replied, "Tomorrow at noon, in the interval between the two prayers."[212] He said, "Go, with the blessing of God, and I will endeavor to engage them tomorrow at the time of the noon prayer." They set out. The next day, shortly before the time of the afternoon prayer, Yazīd ordered his men to set fire to some wood that he had collected and put into piles during the course of the siege. They set fire to the piles of wood, and before the sun had declined from the meridian, his army was surrounded by mountain-like flames of fire. When the enemy saw the fire, they were frightened by the magnitude of what they saw and they came out toward them. When the sun had declined from the meridian, Yazīd ordered his men to pray, and they combined the two prayers. Then they marched off toward them, and the two armies met in battle.

Meanwhile, the other contingent marched for the remainder of that day and the morrow, and attacked the Turk's army shortly before the time of the afternoon prayer. The Jurjānīs, engaged in combat with Yazīd on the one side, and, believing themselves to be secure on the other, did not sense anything until the moment when they heard the *takbīr*[213] behind them, whereupon they all headed for their fortress, with the Muslims in hot pursuit. They surrendered, submitting to Yazīd's rule. He captured their women and children and slew their soldiers, crucifying them at a distance of two *farsakh*s (12 km.) to the left and right of the road. He also drove twelve thousand of them to al-Andarhaz,[214] the Wādī of [1333]
Jurjān,[215] and said, "Whoever seeks blood revenge from them may slay whomever he wishes." A single Muslim slew as many as four or five men in the wādī, turning the wādī's water into blood. There was a millstone by the wādī, and Yazīd was able to mix blood into the ground wheat, thereby releasing himself from his oath.[216] He ground wheat, made bread, ate, and built the city of Jurjān.

Some sources said: Yazīd killed forty thousand of the people of

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212. The noon and midday prayers.
213. The *takbīr* is the formula "God is great." See *EI*, s.v. Takbīr.
214. Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 321, has al-Andar rather than al-Andarhaz.
215. The Wādī of Jurjān is the modern Gurgān river. See *EI*², s.v. Gurgān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 376–77.
216. See text above, II/1330.

Jurjān. There had been no city there previously. Then he returned to Khurāsān, leaving Jahm b. Zaḥr al-Juʿfī as his governor of Jurjān.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad–Abū Mikhnaf: Yazīd summoned Jahm b. Zaḥr and sent four hundred men with him. They began with the place to which they had been directed, having been instructed by Yazīd as follows: "When you reach the city, wait until daybreak, then pronounce the *takbīr* and proceed toward the city gate. You will find me there, having already rushed all of the men to the gate." Accordingly, when Ibn Zaḥr entered the city he waited until the hour at which Yazīd had ordered him to attack and then ordered his men to advance. They slew every single one of the guards that they encountered and pronounced the *takbīr*. The inhabitants of the city were filled with terror the likes of which they had never experienced previously. All of a sudden they saw the Muslims with them in their city pronouncing the *takbīr*, which astonished them. God cast terror in their hearts until they didn't know in which direction they were turning. However, one group of men—not a large one—advanced toward Jahm b. Zaḥr, and the two sides fought for a while. Jahm's hand was broken, but he and his men held their positions; it was not long before they killed most of them. When
[1334] Yazīd b. al-Muhallab heard the *takbīr*, he drove the soldiers toward the gate, where they found that the guards had been drawn away by Jahm b. Zaḥr; thus, there was no one there to keep Yazīd from entering, or to put up serious resistance. He stormed the gate and entered the fortress at that very hour. He brought out the soldiers that were inside and, after erecting palm trunks at a distance of two *farsakhs* (12 km.) to the right and left of the road, he crucified them over the course of four *farsakhs* (24 km.). Yazīd then captured the inhabitants of the fortress and took possession of its contents.

According to ʿAlī—his authorities: Yazīd wrote to Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik: "Now then, God has made a great conquest on behalf of the Commander of the Faithful and He has performed the greatest favor for the Muslims. Praise be to our Lord for His blessings and His kindness, for He has granted us victory, during the caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful, over Jurjān and Ṭabaristān—something which had escaped Sābūr Dhū al-Ak-

tāf,[217] Kisrā b. Qubādh,[218] and Kisrā b. Hurmuz.[219] Likewise, al-Fārūq 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, and the Caliphs of God who succeeded them were unable to achieve this, until God made this conquest on behalf of the Commander of the Faithful, in order to bestow His honor upon him, and in order to increase the blessing He has bestowed upon him. Now, I have in my possession the fifth[220] that God has bestowed upon the Muslims, after every man took the share of the booty to which he was entitled, which amounts to six million (dīnārs),[221] and I shall bring this to the Commander of the Faithful, if God wills."

But his scribe, al-Mughīrah b. Abī Qurrah, a client of the Banū Sadūs, said to him, "Do not mention a specific amount of money, for you will be caught between two possible responses: Either he will consider it to be a large sum of money, in which case he will order you to bring it to him; or he will express disdain for it[222] and confer it on you, in which case you will be obligated to make a gift. In the latter case, he will find whatever he receives from [1335] you to be insignificant.[223] It seems to me that you would risk all that you have named without impressing him. The amount you name will remain forever in their records as a debit against you. Thus, if someone assumes authority after him, he will claim it from you; furthermore, if the person who assumes authority does not favor you, he will not accept even twice that sum from you. Therefore, do not send your letter; rather, write about your victory and ask him for permission to appear before him so that you can speak to him directly about whatever you desire. But shorten your account, for it is more appropriate to abbreviate the account

217. Shāpūr II b. Hurmizd (A.D. 310–79) was called Dhū al-Aktāf because he had the shoulders of Arab prisoners dislocated or pierced. See *EI*, s.v. Shāpūr.

218. Khusraw I b. Kawādh (r. 531–79), a Sāsānian King of Persia, known in Persian sources as Anūshirvān (of the immortal soul). See *EI*, s.v. Sāsānians.

219. Khusraw II Parviz (The Victorious) b. Hurmizd (r. 590–628), a Sāsānian King of Persia. See *EI*, s.v. Sāsānians.

220. The *khums* is the share of God and the Prophet that is to be spent on the community as a whole. See *EI*², s.v. Bayt al-Māl.

221. The translation follows *FHA*, 24, where dīnārs are specifically mentioned. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 297, mentions "twenty million dirhams."

222. Text: *sakhat nafsuhu laka bihi*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 35, has *samaḥat nafsuhu laka bihi*, "He will treat you generously regarding it."

223. Text: *istaqallahu*; the Cairo ed. has *istaqbalahu*: "He will accept it."

you wish to make than to exaggerate it." But Yazīd refused and he sent the letter.

Some said: The letter mentioned the figure of four million dirhams.[224]

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: In this year, Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik died.[225] According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—a shaykh from al-Rayy who was a contemporary of Yazīd: After finishing with Jurjān, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab went to al-Rayy, where he learned of Ayyūb b. Sulaymān's death while he was walking in the vineyard of Abū Ṣāliḥ, near the gate of al-Rayy. A poet recited some *rajaz* verse[226] in his presence:

Although Ayyūb has died,
    Dāwūd has taken his place,
Restoring whatever power had been lost.[227]

In this year, the city of the Slavs was conquered.[228]

In this year, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik raided the land of the Byzantines and conquered "Ḥiṣn al-Marʾah,"[229] which is near Malaṭyah.[230]

In this year, the pilgrimage was led by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd who, at that time, was governor of Mecca. I was
[1336] informed of this by Aḥmad b. Thābit—on the authority of the one he mentioned—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar.

The governors of the garrison towns in this year were the same as in the year 97/715–716, as noted earlier, except that Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's governor over al-Baṣrah in this year was, according to some, Sufyān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Kindī.

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224. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), II, 414, mentions the figure of twenty-five million dirhams.

225. Ayyūb was the heir apparent. See text above, II/1317.

226. *Rajaz* verse is the simplest and, according to the tradition, the oldest meter of Arabic poetry. See *EI*², s.v. ʿArūḍ.

227. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 307.

228. See text above, II/1317, note 154. See also Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 321; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 44; *FHA*, 25.

229. See text above, II/1306, sub anno 97, note 126.

230. An old city, not far from the upper Euphrates, that served as headquarters for the summer campaign against Byzantium. See *EI*, s.v. Malaṭya; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 192–93.

The Events of the Year 99

(August 14, 717—August 2, 718)

[The Death of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik][231]

Among the events taking place that year was the death of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik.[232] I was told on the authority of Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf, that he died in Dābiq, in the province of Qinnasrīn,[233] on Friday the nineteenth of Ṣafar (October 1, 717). Thus, his term of office was two years and eight months, less five days.

It is said that he died on the tenth of Ṣafar (September 22, 717).[234] According to some, his caliphate lasted two years and seven months, while others maintain that it lasted two years, eight months, and five days.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Ḥammād—Ṭalḥah Abū Muḥam-

231. The text lacks the rubric, which is supplied from the Cairo ed.

232. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 322; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 44; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 306; Masʿūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 173; *FHA*, 33–34; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 177–79.

233. One of the provinces of Syria. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳinnasrīn.

234. The discrepancy in the date is apparently due to confusion as to whether Sulaymān died ten days into the month of Ṣafar, or ten days before the end of the month. (Ṣafar has twenty-nine days.)

mad—his shaykhs: Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik served as caliph after al-Walīd for three years. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz prayed over his body.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—his source—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar: Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik died on Friday the nineteenth of Ṣafar in the year 99 (October 1, 717). His caliphate lasted three years, less four months.

[1337] *Aspects of His Character*

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: The people used to say, "Sulaymān is the key to goodness." When al-Ḥajjāj left them and Sulaymān assumed power he freed the captives, released the prisoners, treated the people well, and designated ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as his successor.[235]

Ibn Bīḍ recited:

Your grandfather and your father both assumed the caliphate,
amidst the anger of the malcontent, or the obedient one.[236]
Your grandfather and your father, then your brother became the
third, and on your forehead is the light of the kingship of
the fourth.

According to ʿAlī—al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab: I went in to see Sulaymān at Dābiq on Friday, and he called for some robes. He put them on, but he did not like them, so he called for others—for green Sūsī[237] robes that had been sent by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. After he put them on and arranged his turban, he asked, "O Ibn al-Muhallab, do you like them?" I replied, "Yes." He uncovered his forearms and said, "I am a king in the prime of his manhood." Then he prayed the Friday prayers for the last time. He wrote his last will and testament and summoned Ibn Abī Nuʿaym, the bearer of the seal, who sealed it.

According to ʿAlī—some of the scholars: One day Sulaymān

235. Sulaymān was called "the key to goodness" (*miftāḥ-l-khayr*) because his reign opened and closed with acts of goodness. See *FHA*, 17.

236. This is a conjectural translation. The text gives *min bayna sukhṭati sākhiṭ aw ṭāʾiʿ*.

237. Sūs was a town in Khūzistān famous for its weaving and silk. See *EI*, s.v. al-Sūs; Le Strange, *Lands*, 240.

put on a green robe and a green turban and he looked in the mirror and said, "I am a king in the prime of his manhood." He lived only one week after that.

According to 'Alī—Suḥaym b. Ḥafṣ: A slave girl belonging to Sulaymān looked at him one day, and he asked, "How do you like what you see?" She recited:

You are the best object of delight—if only you would last.
But man does not possess immortality.
I do not know of any blemish in you [1338]
that other people have, except that you will pass away.

He then unwound[238] his turban.

According to 'Alī: Sulaymān's qāḍī was Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb al-Muḥāribī. Ibn Abī 'Uyaynah used to tell stories in his presence.

According to Abū 'Ubaydah—Ru'bah b. al-'Ajjāj: Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik performed the pilgrimage, accompanied by the poets, myself included. When he was in Medina, on the way back, the troops came to meet him with approximately four hundred Byzantine prisoners. Sulaymān sat down and the person sitting closest to him was 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The Byzantine commander was brought forward, and Sulaymān said, "O 'Abdallāh, strike off his neck." 'Abdallāh stood up, but no one gave him a sword; eventually, one of the guards handed him his sword, and 'Abdallāh smote the commander, severing his head and cutting off his forearm and part of the chains. Sulaymān exclaimed, "By God, it is not because of the excellence of the sword that the stroke was exquisite, but because of his ancestry." Sulaymān continued to hand over the rest of the prisoners to the commanders and men for execution. Eventually, he gave one of the prisoners to Jarīr, into whose hand the Banū 'Abs thrust a sword sheathed in a white scabbard, whereupon he smote him and severed his head. Then one of the prisoners was given to al-Farazdaq, but he could not find a sword. Into his hand they thrust a crooked,[239] blunt sword that would not cut, and he smote the prisoner with it several times, but nothing happened. Sulaymān and the people laughed, and the Banū 'Abs, Sulaymān's

238. Text: *fa-nafaḍa*, "to shake off." This should be amended to read *fa-naqaḍa*. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

239. Text: *matīn*, "strong, solid"; read *muthniyyan*, following the Cairo ed.

maternal uncles, delighted in al-Farazdaq's misfortune. He threw down the sword and began to speak, making excuses to Sulaymān
[1339] and recalling how the sword of Warqā' glanced off the head of Khālid:

If there was ever an unreliable sword, or a fate which delayed
the soul of someone whose destiny has yet to arrive.
Then it is the sword of the Banū 'Abs; they struck with it,
through the hand of Warqā', and it glanced off Khālid's
head.
Such are the swords of India; sometimes their edges have no
effect.
Although sometimes they cut necks.[240]

Warqā' is Warqā' b. Zuhayr b. Jadhīmah al-'Absī, who struck Khālid b. Ja'far b. Kilāb. Khālid was on top of Warqā's father, Zuhayr, smiting him with the sword and felling him. Warqā' b. Zuhayr approached and struck Khālid, but the blow had no effect, and so the former recited:

When I saw Zuhayr under Khālid's chest,
I approached, running, like a mother bereft of her child,
hurrying.
May my right hand be paralyzed if I smite Khālid,
and double armor protects him from me.[241]

Al-Farazdaq recited at the same session:

Are the people surprised that I made the best of them laugh,
God's Caliph, by whom rain is invoked?
The sword did not fail due to cowardice or bewilderment in
the presence of the Imām; rather, his day was delayed by
fate.
Had I struck his neck with the intent to kill,[242]
his body would have fallen separated from his head.
[1340] (It would have rolled away from him when I smote him,

240. See *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, I, 157.
241. See *Aghānī* (Beirut), XI, 84.
242. The text is *'alā 'Amrin*. This should be amended to read *'amdan*. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

like a stone that rolls off a slippery spot).[243]
The soul is not hastened before its preordained time of death
by a two-handed grip, or by the sharp sword itself.[244]

Jarīr recited in connection with this:

With the sword of Abū Raghwān, the sword of Mujāshi',
you struck. But you did not strike with the sword of Ibn Ẓālim.
You struck with it in the presence of the Imām, and your hands
trembled. So they said, "That is an inexperienced sword, not a cutting one."[245]

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Uyaynah—Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays: Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik attended a funeral in Dābiq at which the corpse was buried in a field. He picked up some of the soil and said, "How good and how fine is this soil!" Before a week or so had passed, he was buried next to that grave.

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243. This verse, omitted by Ṭabarī, is supplied from *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, I, 291, where the text has *idhan tadahda' 'anhu ḥīna aḍribuhu kamā tadahdā 'ani-l-zuḥlūfati al-ḥajaru.*

244. See *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, I, 291.

245. See *Naḳā'iḍ Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, I, 413, ll. 15–16.

The Caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz

The Events of the Year 99 (cont'd)

(August 14, 717–August 2, 718)[246]

In this year 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was appointed as Caliph.[247]

The Reason Why Sulaymān Appointed 'Umar as Caliph[248]

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—al-Haytham b. Wāqid: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was appointed as Caliph at Dābiq, on Friday, the tenth of Ṣafar, in the year 99 (September 22, 717).

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Dāwūd b. Khālid b. [1341]

246. For other sources on the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, see Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 362–63; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 332; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 45–53; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 306–23; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 182–95; *FHA*, 37–64; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 184–219.

247. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 322; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 44–45; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 182; *FHA*, 37.

248. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 92–96; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 183; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 181–83.

Dīnār—Suhayl b. Abī Suhayl—Rajā' b. Ḥaywah:[249] On Friday, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik put on green robes made of silk and looked in the mirror, saying, "By God, I am a king in the prime of his manhood." Then he went out to lead the people in the Friday prayers. Upon his return, however, he fell ill. When his condition deteriorated, he entrusted the succession, in a document he wrote himself, to one of his sons, a youth who had not yet attained puberty.[250] I said to him, "What are you doing, O Commander of the Faithful? One of the things that preserves a caliph in his grave is the appointment of an upright man[251] to serve as his successor over the Muslims." Sulaymān replied, "I will ask God for guidance, and I will consider the matter, for I have not made up my mind yet."

Sulaymān tarried a day or two and then tore up the document. He called for me and asked, "What is your opinion of Dāwūd b. Sulaymān?" I replied, "He is away in Constantinople, and you do not know whether he is dead or alive." He asked me, "Whom would you propose, then?" I replied, "The decision is yours, O Commander of the Faithful." I wanted to see whom he would mention. He asked, "What is your opinion of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz?" I replied, "By God, I know him to be a worthy, excellent man and a sincere Muslim." He said, "By God, he is exactly as you describe him." Then he said, "But if, by God, I appoint him and do not appoint anyone else, there will surely be civil strife, for (the Banū 'Abd al-Malik) will never allow him to rule over them, unless one of them is put next in succession." Now Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik was away at that moment on the pilgrimage. Sulaymān said, "Therefore, I will appoint Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik to be Caliph after him; that should placate them, and they will accept him." I said, "The decision is yours."

[1342] Then Sulaymān wrote, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is a document from the servant of God,

249. Abū al-Miqdām Rajā' b. Ḥaywah b. Khanzal al-Kindī (d. 112/730). On this figure see C. E. Bosworth, "Rajā' ibn Ḥaywa al-Kindī and the Umayyad Caliphs," 36–80. The translation of the following section, from p. 70 to p. 74, may be compared to that by Bosworth in the aforementioned article, pp. 52–59.

250. According to Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 332, Sulaymān's oldest son, Muḥammad, was twelve years old when his father died.

251. An allusion to 'Umar, who was known as *al-rajul al-ṣāliḥ*, "the upright man." See text below, II/1375.

Sulaymān, Commander of the Faithful, to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. I have appointed you to be my successor to the caliphate, and you are to be succeeded by Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. Therefore, hearken to him, O people, and obey; fear God and avoid dissension, lest enemies take advantage of you." He sealed the document and sent a message to Ka'b b. Ḥāmid al-'Absī, his Commander of the Guard, saying, "Order the members of my household to assemble." Ka'b ordered them to assemble, and they did so. After they had gathered, Sulaymān said to Rajā', "Take this document of mine to them, tell them that it is my document, and order them to swear the oath of allegiance to whomever I have appointed." Rajā' did as he was told. When Rajā' said that to them they asked, "May we go in to greet the Commander of the Faithful?" He replied, "Yes." They entered, and Sulaymān said to them, "This document"—to which he was directing their attention and at which they were looking, in the hand of Rajā' b. Ḥaywah—"is my succession covenant, so listen, obey, and swear allegiance to the person I have named in this document." Accordingly they swore allegiance to him, individually. Then the document was taken out, still sealed, in the hand of Rajā' b. Ḥaywah.[252]

Rajā' said: After they had dispersed, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz approached me and said, "I fear that Sulaymān has involved me in this matter. I beseech you by God, and by your deference to and your affection for me, let me know if this is the case so that I might ask to be excused now, before a situation develops in which I am unable to accomplish what I can accomplish at the present moment." Rajā' answered, "No, by God, I will not tell [1343] you a single word." Thus, 'Umar went away, furious.

Rajā' continued: Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik met me and said, "O Rajā', you have a long-standing feeling of deference to and affection for me, and I owe you a debt of gratitude, so tell me about this affair. If I have been appointed, I will be aware of it; and if someone else has been appointed, I can speak up, for a man like me cannot be sold short. Tell me, and I swear to you in the name of God that I will never mention anything about this." Rajā' said: But I refused, saying, "By God, I will not tell you a single word of

252. The validity of this document, for which there were apparently no witnesses, was subsequently disputed by the jurists. See Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 197.

what has been confided to me." Hishām departed in despair, striking one hand over the other and saying, "In favor of whom have I been passed over? Will the caliphate pass out of the hands of the sons of 'Abd al-Malik?"

Rajā' said: I went in to see Sulaymān and found him dying. When the agony of death came over him, I set about turning him toward the *qiblah*, but whenever he recovered his senses he would say, "The time for that has not yet arrived, Rajā'." I did this twice, and on the third attempt he said, "Do it now, Rajā', if you wish to do something. I bear witness that there is no God but God and I bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger."[253] I turned him toward the *qiblah* and he died. After shutting his eyes, I covered him with a green velvet coverlet and locked the door. His wife sent a messenger to me, asking, "How is he?" I replied, "He is sleeping and has covered himself." The messenger looked at him, wrapped in the coverlet. He returned and told her this report, which she accepted, imagining that he was asleep.

Rajā' said: I stationed a trustworthy man in front of the door
[1344] and ordered him not to leave until I returned and not to let anyone go in to the Caliph. I left and sent a message to Ka'b b. Ḥāmid al-'Absī, who gathered the household of the Commander of the Faithful. When they had assembled in the mosque of Dābiq, I said, "Swear the oath of allegiance." They replied, "We have already sworn once. Why should we swear again?" I said, "This is the Commander of the Faithful's command, so swear allegiance, in accordance with his command, to the person named in this sealed document." They then swore the oath of allegiance a second time, individually.

Rajā' continued: When they had sworn the oath of allegiance after Sulaymān's death, and I realized that I had put the matter on a solid footing, I said, "Rise out of reverence for your master, for he has just died." They recited, "Surely we belong to God, and to him we return."[254] Then I read the document to them. When I reached the point at which 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz is mentioned, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik cried out, "We will never swear alle-

253. That is, he died with credo of the faith (*shahādah*) on his lips.
254. Qur'ān 2:156.

giance to him." I said, "By God, then I will cut off your head. Rise and swear allegiance." Reluctantly, he stood up.

Rajā' said: While he was reciting *innā lillāhi* on account of what had happened to him, I took 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz by the arms and seated him on the pulpit. At the same time Hishām was reciting *innā lillāhi* on account of what had escaped him. When Hishām finally reached 'Umar, the latter exclaimed, "'Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return,'[255] when what I dislike has come to me,"—because he did not want to become Caliph. Meanwhile, (Hishām) was reciting, "'Surely we belong to God, and to him we return,' when I have been passed over."

Sulaymān's body was washed and wrapped in a shroud, and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz prayed over him. When the burial ceremony had been completed, the caliphal stable of animals was brought out to 'Umar: There were slow-paced horses, swift riding horses, and mules, each animal with its own groom. 'Umar asked, "What is this?" They replied, "The Caliph's stable." He said, "My own mount will suffice." Then 'Umar mounted it and, after [1345] those animals had been sent away, he departed.[256] Someone asked, "Will you occupy the Caliph's residence?" 'Umar replied, "The family of Abū Ayyūb (that is, Sulaymān) is still living there, and my own pavilion will suffice until they leave." He therefore remained in his own living quarters until they eventually vacated the Caliph's residence.

Rajā' said: On the evening of the same day, 'Umar said, "O Rajā', summon a scribe for me." I called one. Now up to this point I was pleased with everything that he had done, that is, the actions he had taken with regard to the riding animals and Sulaymān's residence. I said to myself, "How is he going to handle writing? Will he make drafts or what?" When the scribe had taken his seat, 'Umar dictated a single letter, directly from his mouth to the hand of the scribe, without any preliminary drafts. He dictated in the finest, most eloquent and most succinct manner possible. He then decreed that copies of the letter should be sent to every land.

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255. Qur'ān 2:156.

256. Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 183, adds: "Then he rode to Damascus with the soldiers."

Meanwhile, 'Abd al-Azīz b. al-Walīd, who was away at the time, learned of the death of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik. Since he was unaware of the fact that the people had sworn allegiance to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and that Sulaymān had designated 'Umar as his successor, he unfurled the banner and summoned the people to acknowledge him as the next Caliph. Subsequently, when he learned that the people had sworn allegiance to 'Umar in accordance with Sulaymān's succession covenant, he went to see 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. 'Umar said to him, "I have been informed that you made your supporters swear the oath of allegiance to you and that you wanted to enter Damascus." 'Abd al-'Azīz replied, "Both of those things are true, but I only acted in that manner because I was told that the Caliph, Sulaymān, had not appointed a successor; I feared that the holdings of the treasury would be plundered." 'Umar said, "If the oath of allegiance had been sworn to you[257] and if you had taken power, I would not have opposed you; indeed, I would have remained in my house." 'Abd al-'Azīz said, "There is no one beside you that I would like to have seen assume power." He then swore the oath of allegiance to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. People invoked God's blessings upon Sulaymān because he appointed 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz as his successor and passed over his own children.[258]

[1346] In this year, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz sent a message to Maslamah, who was in Byzantine territory, ordering him to return together with the Muslims who were accompanying him.[259] 'Umar sent him swift and excellent horses and considerable quantities of food; he urged the people to render assistance to Maslamah and his men. According to some sources, the number of purebred horses that he sent to him was five hundred.

In this year, the Turks attacked Ādharbayjān,[260] killing a group of Muslims and causing serious damage.[261] 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz dispatched Ibn Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhilī,[262] who killed those

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257. Text: *bāya'ta*; read *būyi'ta*, following the Cairo ed.

258. See note 250 above.

259. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 326; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 307–11; *FHA*, 39; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 184.

260. Ādharbayjān was a Persian province. See *EI*², s.v. Ādharbaydjān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 159–71.

261. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 326.

262. Some sources give his name as 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ḥātim, others as Ḥātim b.

Turks; only a small number managed to escape. He brought fifty of them as prisoners to 'Umar in Khunāṣirah.[263]

In this year, 'Umar dismissed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab from Iraq.[264] He sent 'Adī b. Arṭāt al-Fazārī to serve as governor of al-Baṣrah and its surrounding territory. He dispatched 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-A'raj al-Qurashī, one of the Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b, to serve as governor of al-Kūfah and its surrounding territory, accompanied by Abū al-Zinād, who was 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān's scribe. 'Adī b. Arṭāt sent Mūsā b. al-Wajīh al-Ḥimyarī in pursuit of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.

In this year, the pilgrimage was led by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, who was 'Umar's governor in Medina.

'Umar's governor in Mecca in this year was 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd. Al-Kūfah and its surrounding territory were governed by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, while al-Baṣrah and its surrounding territory were governed by 'Adī b. Arṭāt. Khurāsān was governed by al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh. The judi- [1347]
ciary of al-Baṣrah was in the charge of Iyās b. Mu'āwiyah b. Qurrah al-Muzanī. As mentioned earlier, 'Adī had initially appointed al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan,[265] but when the latter complained, he asked Iyās b. Mu'āwiyah to take charge of the judiciary. The judiciary of al-Kūfah in this year was reportedly in the charge of 'Āmir al-Sha'bī.

Al-Wāqidī had reported: Al-Sha'bī was in charge of al-Kūfah's judiciary in the days of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, serving on behalf of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, while al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was in charge of al-Baṣrah's judiciary, serving on behalf of 'Adī b. Arṭāt. But when al-Ḥasan asked 'Adī to excuse him from that office, the latter complied with his request and appointed Iyās in his place.

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al-Nu'mān. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 326; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 47; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 43; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 183.

263. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 326; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 185. Khunāṣirah is a settlement located sixty km. to the southeast of Aleppo and one hundred km. to the northeast of Ḥamāh where 'Umar had a stronghold constructed in which he resided frequently. See *EI*², s.v. Khunāṣira.

264. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 326; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 46; *FHA*, 39–40.

265. That is, Abū Sa'īd b. Abī al-Ḥasan Yasār al-Baṣrī, known as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, d. 110/728. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

The Events of the Year 100

(August 3, 718—July 23, 719)

Among those events was the revolt of the Khārijites,[266] who rebelled against 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in Iraq.[267]

The Revolt of the Khārijites

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ibn Abī al-Zinād: The Ḥarūriyyah[268] in Iraq rose up in rebellion, and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, his governor in Iraq, ordering him to summon the rebels to act in accordance with the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Proph-
[1348] et.[269] When they ignored his summons,[270] 'Abd al-Ḥamīd sent an

266. The Khārijites were members of the earliest religious sect in Islam. See *EI*², s.v. Khārijites.

267. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 99–100; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 190–93; *FHA*, 41–47; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 187.

268. That is, the Khārijites, who are also known as the Ḥarūriyyah, after a town two miles from al-Kūfah, where they first assembled. See *EI*², s.v. Khārijites.

269. Text: *al-'amal bi-kitāb allāh wa-sunnat nabīhi*. On the significance of this phrase, see Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 62.

270. Text: *fa-lammā a'dhara fī du'ā'ihim*.

army against them, but it was defeated by the Ḥarūrīs. Upon being informed of this, 'Umar sent Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik against them leading a regiment of the Syrian army that he had equipped in al-Raqqah.[271] 'Umar wrote to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as follows: "Having learned of the defeat of your army—the evil army—I have dispatched Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik, who is to be given free access to the rebels." Maslamah engaged them in battle, leading the Syrian army, and it was not long before God granted him victory over them.

Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā mentioned that the person who headed the revolt against 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, in Iraq, during the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, was Shawdhab—his real name was Bisṭām—one of the Banū Yashkur. His rebellion was based in Jūkhā,[272] where he commanded eighty horsemen,[273] most of them from the tribe of Rabī'ah. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, saying, "Do not engage them in combat unless they shed blood or[274] cause corruption in the earth. But if they do act in that manner, intervene so as to prevent that. Choose a man who is strong and endowed with good judgment and send him against them with a detachment of soldiers, having charged him as I have commanded you." As a result, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd put Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī in command of two thousand Kūfans, charging him as he had been charged by 'Umar.

Meanwhile, 'Umar wrote to Bisṭām, summoning him and asking him about his revolt. Bisṭām received 'Umar's letter after Muḥammad b. Jarīr had arrived and deployed his troops opposite him, without, however, engaging him in combat or provoking him. 'Umar's letter to Bisṭām contained the following statement: "I have been informed that you have rebelled in anger for the sake of God and His Prophet. But you have no better right to that than I do. Come to me, then, so that I may discuss the matter with you:

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271. Capital of Diyār Muḍar in al-Jazīrah, on the left bank of the Euphrates. See *EI*, s.v. Raḳḳa; Le Strange, *Lands*, 101–3.

272. A district in the Sawād of Baghdad, between Khāniqīn and Khūzistān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 179; Morony, *Iraq*, 137ff. According to Mas'ūdī, the revolt took place in al-Jazīrah. See *Murūj* (Beirut), II, 190.

273. It is also reported that Bisṭām commanded either three hundred or six hundred horsemen. See *FHA*, 47.

274. Text: *aw*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 45, has *wa*, "and."

[1349] if we are in the right, you will join (the community) in what the people (believe); but if you are in the right, we will reconsider our position."[275] As a result, Bisṭām did not engage the Caliph's forces in combat and he wrote to 'Umar, saying, "You have been fair, and I am therefore sending you two men who will confer and debate with you."

According to Abū 'Ubaydah: One of the two men who were sent by Shawdhab to 'Umar was Mamzūj, a client of the Banū Shaybān,[276] and the other was a descendant of the Banū Yashkur.

Our source continued: It is reported that Bisṭām sent a group of men that included the aforementioned two, but that 'Umar sent a message to the group calling upon them to choose two men. They chose these two, who then went in to visit 'Umar. They engaged him in debate, saying, "Tell us about Yazīd. Why do you acknowledge him to be your successor as Caliph?"[277] 'Umar replied, "Someone else appointed him as my successor." They said, "Consider the following case: Suppose you were administering some property that belonged to someone else and you then entrusted it to someone who was unreliable. Do you think that you would have conveyed the trust to its owner?"[278]

'Umar said, "Give me three days," and the two men left. The Banū Marwān[279] were afraid that 'Umar would confiscate the properties that they owned and administered and that he would renounce Yazīd; therefore, they had someone poison his drink. He died less than three days after the two men left him.[280]

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275. A longer version of 'Umar's letter is cited in *FHA*, 41–42.

276. Some sources give the client's name as 'Āṣim and indicate that he was an Ethiopian. See Mas'ūdī *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 190; *FHA*, 43.

277. For longer versions of this debate, see Ibn Qutaybah, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 99–100; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 191–92; *FHA*, 43–46; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 45–47.

278. Text: *a-turāka kunta addayta al-amānah ilā man ītamanaka*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 48, has *a-tarāhu addā-l-ḥaqq alladhī yalzamuhu lillāhi aw tarāhu qad salama*, "Do you think that he fulfilled the obligation incumbent upon him (in the eyes) of God, or do you consider him blameless?" See also *FHA*, 46.

279. The Banū Marwān were the descendants of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the fourth Umayyad Caliph and father of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad family. See *EI*, s.v. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

280. It is also reported that one of the two messengers acknowledged the validity of 'Umar's arguments and stayed with the Caliph, who awarded him a stipend; and that 'Umar died not three, but fifteen days later. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 100; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 192–93; *FHA*, 47; and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 48. The claim that 'Umar was poisoned by the Marwānids was discounted by Well-

In this year, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz sent al-Walīd b. Hishām al-Mu'ayṭī and 'Amr b. Qays al-Kindī, from the army of Ḥimṣ,[281] on the summer campaign.

In this year, 'Umar b. Hubayrah al-Fazārī went to al-Jazīrah[282] in order to serve as 'Umar's governor over that province.

In this year, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was transported from Iraq to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.[283]

The Capture of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [1350]

The biographers disagree on this subject. According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf: When Yazīd b. al-Muhallab made his way to Wāsiṭ and then embarked on ships with the intention of sailing to al-Baṣrah, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz sent 'Adī b. Arṭāt to al-Baṣrah to serve as governor. 'Adī dispatched Mūsā b. al-Wajīh al-Ḥimyarī, who arrested Yazīd after overtaking him at the Baṣrah bridge of the Ma'qil Canal.[284] 'Adī sent Yazīd to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in the custody of Mūsā b. al-Wajīh. When the prisoner arrived, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz summoned him. Now 'Umar, who detested Yazīd and his household, used to say, "They are tyrants, and I do not approve of people like them." Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, likewise, hated 'Umar and used to say, "I suspect that he is a hypocrite." But when 'Umar came to power Yazīd learned that 'Umar was anything but a hypocrite. 'Umar summoned Yazīd and asked him about the moneys that the latter had mentioned in his letter to Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik.[285] Yazīd replied, "You know what my position was in the eyes of Sulaymān. I wrote to Sulaymān only in order to augment his reputation among the people; I knew that Sulaymān would not hold me accountable for something that I said (and I did not fear that he would treat me) in an

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hausen (*Arab Kingdom*, 311), but more recently supported by Crone and Hinds (*God's Caliph*, 76–77).

281. Ḥimṣ is a town (Ḥoms) in Syria on the eastern bank of the Orontes; it is situated midway along the route joining Aleppo and Damascus. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥimṣ.

282. The northern part of the territory situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates. See *EI*², s.v. al-Djazīra; Le Strange, *Lands*, 86–114.

283. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 326; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 46; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 311–22; *FHA*, 47–50; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 188.

284. A canal in al-Baṣrah named after Ma'qil b. Yasār al-Mazanī. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 323–24.

285. See text above, II/1334–35, sub anno 98.

unpleasant manner."[286] 'Umar said to him, "I see no alternative in your case but to put you in prison. Fear God and hand over whatever is in your possession, for it belongs to the Muslims and it is not in my power to abandon it." The Caliph returned Yazīd to his place of confinement.[287] Then he sent a message to al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī,[288] ordering him to leave for Khurāsān (where he would serve as governor).

Meanwhile, Makhlad b. Yazīd advanced from Khurāsān, dis-
[1351] tributing stipends to the soldiers and bestowing large sums of money on the inhabitants of every district through which he passed. Then he left Khurāsān and made his way to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. When he went in to see the Caliph, he praised God and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, God has favored the Muslim community by putting you in charge. But we (that is, the Muhallabids) have been smitten by you. Let us not be reduced to the utmost destitution on account of your taking power. On what grounds have you imprisoned this old man? I will take responsibility for whatever he owes. Make an agreement with me for (part of) the amount that you are asking from him." 'Umar said, "No, not unless you take responsibility for the entire amount that we seek from him." He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, if you have clear proof, produce it, but if you do not have clear proof, accept what Yazīd says as the truth. If you do not believe him, ask him to swear the oath; if he refuses to swear, work out a compromise with him." 'Umar said to him, "I have no alternative but to hold him accountable for the entire sum of money." When Makhlad left, 'Umar said, "I prefer him to his father." But Makhlad died shortly thereafter. Thus, when Yazīd refused to give any of the money to 'Umar, the latter had him dressed in a wool garment and placed on a camel. Then he said, "Take him to Dahlak."[289] When Yazīd had been taken out and paraded in front

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286. Text: *wa-lā bi-amrin akrahuhu*. I suspect that the text is defective here. My translation follows Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 318: *wa-lā kuntu akhāfu an ya'tiyanī min qibalihi amrun akrahuhu*.

287. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 49, adds: "in the fortress of Aleppo."

288. Abū 'Uqbah al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī, an Umayyad general, called "hero of Islam" and "cavalier of the Syrians." See *EI*², s.v. al-Djarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh; Crone, *Slaves*, 132, no. 16.

289. A group of islands off the west coast of the Red Sea, opposite Eritrea; Dahlak al-Kabīr, one of the largest islands, was used as a place of exile or prison by the Umayyad caliphs. See *EI*², s.v. Dahlak.

of the soldiers, he exclaimed, "Have I no kinsmen? Why should I be transported to Dahlak? Only sinners, disquieters, and thieves are sent to Dahlak. Praise be to God! Have I no kinsmen?" Then Salāmah b. Nuʿaym al-Khawlānī approached ʿUmar and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, send Yazīd back to his place of confinement, for I fear that if you send him away, his tribe will attempt to recover him. Indeed, I know that his tribe is angry on his behalf."[290] ʿUmar therefore sent him back to prison. And it [1352] happened that Yazīd was still in prison when he learned that ʿUmar had taken ill.

As for sources other than Abū Mikhnaf: ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wrote to ʿAdī b. Arṭāt, ordering him to arrest Yazīd b. al-Muhallab[291] and deliver him to the soldiers at ʿAyn al-Tamr. ʿAdī b. Arṭāt sent Yazīd with Wakīʿ b. Ḥassān b. Abī Sūd al-Tamīmī, bound in chains, on a boat. When he had been brought as far as the Abān Canal,[292] some men from the tribe of Azd confronted Wakīʿ in an effort to seize Yazīd. But Wakīʿ leapt down, drew his sword and cut the ship's cable. Then he took Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's sword and swore a weighty oath[293] to the effect that he would strike off Yazīd's head unless they dispersed. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab called out to them, informing them of Wakīʿ's oath, whereupon they dispersed. Wakīʿ proceeded until he had delivered Yazīd to the soldiers at ʿAyn al-Tamr, and he then returned to ʿAdī b. Arṭāt. The soldiers who were at ʿAyn al-Tamr took Yazīd b. al-Muhallab to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who threw him into prison.

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: In this year, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz dismissed al-Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh from Khurāsān, replacing him with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym al-Qushayrī.[294] Al-Jarrāḥ's term of office in Khurāsān had been one year and five months; he had

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290. Text: *qad ghaḍibū lahu*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 50, has *qad ʿaṣabū lahu*, "has rallied to his defense."

291. Text: *bi-tawjīh Yazīd b. al-Muhallab*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 48, has *bi-infādh Yazīd b. al-Muhallab ilayhi mūthaqan*, "to deliver Yazīd b. al-Muhallab to him in shackles."

292. The Abān Canal, below Wāsiṭ, was one of the navigable waterways by means of which the Tigris flowed into the Great Swamp. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 40–41.

293. Literally: "On the condition that he divorce his wife."

294. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 524; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 46–47; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 188.

gone there in the year 99/717–718 and left toward the end of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 100 (March 27–April 25, 719).

The Dismissal of al-Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh

The reason for this, according to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Kulayb b. Khalaf—Idrīs b. Ḥanẓalah and al-Mufaḍḍal—his grandfather and
[1353] ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—Khālid b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: When Yazīd b. al-Muhallab left Jurjān, he designated Jahm b. Zaḥr as governor of that province.[295] But when Yazīd's fate took a turn for the worse,[296] the governor of Iraq sent someone from Iraq to serve as governor of Jurjān. The (new) governor approached Jurjān from the direction of Iraq, but Jahm b. Zaḥr seized him, together with a group of men who had accompanied him, and bound them in shackles. Then Jahm set out, leading fifty of the Yaman, headed for al-Jarrāḥ in Khurāsān, whereupon the people of Jurjān released their governor from prison. Al-Jarrāḥ said to Jahm, "Were it not for the fact that you are my paternal cousin, I would not have allowed you to do that." To which Jahm replied, "Were it not for the fact that you are my paternal cousin, I would not have come to you" (Jahm was related to al-Jarrāḥ by ties of marriage, since their respective wives were the daughters of Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥārith; the two men were also paternal cousins, because their respective fathers, al-Ḥakam and Juʿfī, were the sons of Saʿd). Al-Jarrāḥ said to Jahm, "You have defied your Imām and risen up in rebellion. Carry out a raid; perhaps, if you are successful, you can improve your position with your Caliph." He therefore sent him toward Khuttal.[297] Jahm left and, upon approaching them, he traveled in disguise together with three men, having left in command of his army his paternal cousin, al-Qāsim b. Ḥabīb, who was also the husband of his daughter, Umm al-Aswad. When he finally made his way into the presence of the leader of the Khuttal, he said to him, "Come with me so that we can speak privately." They met privately. Jahm claimed to be the son of so-and-so, whereupon the

295. See text above, II/1333, sub anno 98.

296. Text: *fa-lammā kāna min amri Yazīd mā kāna*. The reference is to Yazīd's imprisonment.

297. A region on the right bank of the Oxus River, lying between the Wakhsh and the Panj Rivers. See *EI*², s.v. Khuttalān.

leader of the Khuttal came down from his throne and gave him whatever he needed. They say: The Khuttal are the clients of al-Nu'mān; thus, he acquired booty.

Al-Jarrāḥ then wrote to 'Umar. He also sent a delegation that included two Arab tribesmen and a client of the Banū Ḍabbah. The latter went by the patronymic of Abū al-Ṣaydā' and his name was Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf; he was virtuous in matters of religion. According to one source: The client was Sa'īd, the brother of Khālid or Yazīd al-Naḥwī. The two Arab tribesmen spoke, while the other delegate remained in his seat. 'Umar asked him, "Are you not a [1354] member of the delegation?" He replied, "Yes, I am." He said, "Then what prevents you from speaking?" He said, "O Commander of the Faithful, there are twenty thousand clients who make raids without receiving any stipend or allowance, and there are a similar number of 'protected people' (*ahl al-dhimmah*)[298] who have converted to Islam, yet are still made to pay the tribute. Our governor is a partisan of the Arabs, a rough man who stands on the pulpit and proclaims, 'I come to you out of solicitude. Today, I am a partisan of the Arabs and, by God, one man from my tribe is dearer to me than a hundred men who are not.' His harshness reached the point that the sleeve of his coat of mail is equal in value to one-half of another's coat of mail.[299] He is, after all,[300] one of the swords of al-Ḥajjāj, who committed acts of tyranny and oppression." 'Umar said, "Let them send messengers like you."

'Umar then wrote to al-Jarrāḥ, saying, "Whoever prays with you in the direction of the *qiblah* is to be relieved of the poll tax." As a result, many people hastened to accept Islam. Someone said to al-Jarrāḥ, "The people are rushing to accept Islam in order to avoid the poll tax, so test them by requiring that they submit to circumcision." Al-Jarrāḥ conveyed this suggestion to 'Umar, who wrote back, "God sent Muḥammad in order to summon people to Islam, not to circumcise them."

'Umar said, "Find me a trustworthy man who can advise me about the situation in Khurāsān." Someone replied, "You have

298. That is, non-Muslim adherents of a revealed religion. See *EI*², s.v. *Dhimma*.
299. Text: *yablaghu niṣf dir'ihi*. The translation is conjectural.
300. Text: *ba'du*. The reading *yu'addu*, "He is considered," is also possible.

already found him. You must summon Abū Mijlaz." 'Umar then wrote to al-Jarrāḥ, saying, "Come here and bring Abū Mijlaz with you. Put 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym al-Ghāmidī in charge of military affairs in Khurāsān and put 'Ubaydallāh—or 'Abdallāh—b. Ḥabīb in charge of fiscal affairs."

Al-Jarrāḥ then addressed the soldiers, saying, "O army of Khurāsān, I came to you wearing the clothes that are on my back and riding my own horse. I have not taken any of your wealth, except for the ornamentation on my sword." Indeed, he had noth-
[1355] ing except a horse and a she-mule whose faces had turned white. He set out in the month of Ramaḍān (March 27–April 25), leaving 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym as his deputy. When he arrived, 'Umar asked him, "When did you set out?" He replied, "In the month of Ramaḍān." He said, "Whoever described you as being coarse spoke the truth! Why didn't you wait there until you had broken the fast before setting out?" Al-Jarrāḥ used to proclaim, "By God, I am a partisan of the Arabs who travels during Ramaḍān in order to promote the cause of the Arabs."[301]

Now, when al-Jarrāḥ first arrived in Khurāsān, he had written to 'Umar, saying, "I have reached Khurāsān and found people who have become arrogantly seditious, leaping and bounding in mischief. There is nothing that they would like better than to revolt so that they might withhold what they owe God. Nothing will check them except the sword and whip, but I would not want to undertake that without your permission." 'Umar wrote back, saying, "O son of the mother of al-Jarrāḥ, you desire sedition even more than they do! Do not apply the whip to a believer or to one of the tributaries unless he deserves it and do not inflict punishment, for you will arrive in the presence of one who 'knows the treachery of the eyes and what the breasts conceal'[302] and you will recite a Book 'that leaves nothing behind, small or great, but it has numbered it.' "[303]

When al-Jarrāḥ was preparing to leave Khurāsān on his way to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, he took twenty thousand dirhams—according to some sources: ten thousand—from the Public Treasury and said, "I am borrowing this until I turn it over to the

301. Text: *'aṣabī 'aqabī yurīdu min al-'aṣabiyyah.* The translation is conjectural.

302. Qur'ān 40:20.

303. Qur'ān 18:49.

Caliph." He reached 'Umar, who asked him, "When did you set out?" He replied, "At the end of the month of Ramaḍān. I owe money, so settle the debt."[304] He said, "Had you set out after you broke the fast, I would have settled it for you." As a result, his kinsmen paid for him out of their stipends.

'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Appoints 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh al-Qushayrī over Khurāsān [1356]

The reason for this, according to what was reported to me: al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh was dismissed from his position in Khurāsān at the time that the complaint was lodged against him. He was summoned by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and went to see him, as I have already reported above.[305]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Khārijah b. Muṣ'ab al-Ḍabb'ī and 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak, and others: Then, when 'Umar wanted to appoint someone as governor of Khurāsān, he said, "Find me a trustworthy man who might advise me about conditions in Khurāsān." Someone said to him, "Abū Mijlaz Lāḥiq b. Ḥumayd." The Caliph wrote a letter summoning Abū Mijlaz, who came to him. Abū Mijlaz, who was not the type of man who stands out in a crowd, went in to see 'Umar, together with a group of people. But 'Umar did not recognize him, and he left with the other men. Later, when 'Umar asked about him, he was told, "He entered with the group of men and then left." 'Umar then summoned him and said, "O Abū Mijlaz, I did not recognize you." He responded, "When you failed to recognize me, why didn't you ask about my identity?" He said, "Tell me about 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh." He said, "He rewards those who are competent but treats enemies with hostility. He is a military commander who acts independently and will advance boldly if he finds supporters." 'Umar asked, "What about 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym?" He replied, "Soft, flexible, forgiving, and gentle."[306] 'Umar said, "I prefer the one who is

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304. Text: *wa-'alayya dayn fa-qḍihi*. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 524, where the text is *kāna 'alayhi dayn fa-qaḍāhu*, which Murgotten (*Origins*, II, 197) translates as "'Umar owed him a debt, but paid him."

305. See text above, II/1352–55.

306. Text: *ta'attā lahu*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 52, has *wa-l-ta'annī*. The two verbs are synonymous.

forgiving and gentle." He therefore put 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym in charge of prayer and military affairs and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī—he was one of the Banū al-A'war b. Qushayr—in charge of the fiscal administration. 'Umar wrote to the army of Khurāsān as follows: "I have put 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym in charge of your military affairs and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh in charge of your fiscal administration, not on the basis of any personal knowledge of them and without choosing them from a list of candidates, but rather on the basis of what was reported to me about them. If you
[1357] are satisfied with them, praise God; but if they act in a manner that displeases you, seek help from God, for there is no power and no strength, save in God."

According to 'Alī—Abū al-Sarī al-Azdī—Ibrāhīm al-Ṣa'īgh: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym as follows: "Now then, if you are a sincere servant of God with regard to His servants, no reproach that anyone might utter will have any effect on you in the cause of God, for God is closer to you than the people are, and what you owe Him is greater than what you owe them. Do not commission anything in the affairs of the Muslims except that which is known to be good for them and that which promotes their welfare, and be faithful to what is entrusted to you. Beware lest you incline toward anything but what is right, for the unseen is not concealed from God.[307] And do not walk along a path that leads away from God, for there is no refuge from God, except with Him."

According to 'Alī—Muḥammad al-Bāhilī—Abū Nuhayk b. Ziyād and others: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz sent the document of appointment in which he put 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym in charge of military affairs in Khurāsān and Sijistān[308] in the hands of 'Abdallāh b. Ṣakhr al-Qurashī. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym was still in office in Khurāsān when 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz died, and he remained in office until Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was slain, at which time Maslamah appointed Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam.[309] Thus, 'Abd al-Raḥmān's term of office was more than a year and a half; he took office in the month of Ramaḍān in

307. See Qur'ān 69:18.

308. The border district between Persia and Afghanistan. See *EI²*, s.v. Sistān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 334–51.

309. That is, Sa'īd Khudhaynah. See text below, II/1417ff., sub anno 102.

the year 100 (March 27–April 25, 719) and was dismissed in the year 102/720–721, after Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was slain.

According to 'Alī: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym's term of office in Khurāsān was sixteen months.

The Beginning of the Da'wah[310] [1358]

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) said: In this year, that is to say, the year 100/718–719, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās sent Maysarah[311] from the land of the Sharāt[312] to Iraq, and he[313] sent Muḥammad b. Khunays, Abū 'Ikrimah al-Sarrāj, that is, Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq,[314] and Ḥayyān al-'Aṭṭār, the maternal uncle of Ibrāhīm b. Salamah, to Khurāsān. At that time, Khurāsān was governed by al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī, on behalf of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Muḥammad b. 'Alī ordered them to recruit for him and for the members of his household. They met with certain people and then departed, bearing letters to Muḥammad b. 'Alī from those people who had responded to their call. They conveyed these letters to Maysarah, who sent them on to Muḥammad b. 'Alī. Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq chose for Muḥammad b. 'Alī the following twelve chiefs: Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzā'ī; Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ al-Tamīmī; Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb al-Ṭā'ī; Mūsā b. Ka'b al-Tamīmī; Khālid b. Ibrāhīm Abū Dāwūd, one of the Banū 'Amr b. Shaybān b. Dhuhl; al-Qāsim b. Mujāshi' al-Tamīmī; 'Imrān b. Ismā'īl Abū al-Najm, a client of the family of Abū Mu'ayṭ; Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzā'ī; Ṭalḥah b. Zurayq al-

310. *Da'wah* refers to propaganda for an 'Abbāsid descendant of the Prophet's family. See *EI*², s.v. Da'wa; Maqdisi, *Bad'*, VI, 59–60; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 189; Cahen, "Points de vue"; F. Omar, *The Abbāsid Caliphate*, 67–74; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 73–99; Lassner, *Islamic Revolution*, 62ff.

311. Abū Riyāḥ Maysarah al-Nabbāl (or al-Raḥḥāl), a client of the Azd (or of the Banū Asad). See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 134, 149–50.

312. Text: *arḍ al-sharāt*, a reference to the homeland of the 'Abbāsids in Jordan. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 53; Sharon, *Black Banners*, index, s.v. Ḥumaymah.

313. The subject here could be either Muḥammad or Maysarah. See text below, II/1434, sub anno 102, where Maysarah is specifically mentioned. But according to Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 334, and Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 189, it was Muḥammad b. 'Alī who sent Abū 'Ikrimah and Ḥayyān al-'Aṭṭār to Khurāsān. See *Akhbār al-dawlah* for the fullest version of this report.

314. Abū 'Ikrimah al-Sarrāj Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Dīnār al-Madanī, d. 168/784–85. See Dhahabī, *Kāshif*, III, 53.

Khuzā'ī; 'Amr b. A'yan Abū Ḥamzah, a client of the Khuzā'ah; Shibl b. Ṭahmān Abū 'Alī al-Harawī, a client of the Banū Ḥanīfah; and 'Īsā b. A'yan, a client of the Khuzā'ah. Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq also chose seventy men, and Muḥammad b. 'Alī wrote a letter to them so that they might have a plan of action to follow.[315]

In this year, the pilgrimage was led by Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad
[1359] b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm. This was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit—the person he mentioned—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar. The same was reported by al-Wāqidī.

The governors of the garrison towns in this year were the same as in the previous year, as mentioned above,[316] with the exception of Khurāsān, for its governors, at the end of the year, were 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym, who was in charge of prayer and military matters, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh, who was in charge of the fiscal administration.

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315. Compare text below, II/1988, sub anno 130, where Ṭabarī mentions a second list of twelve chiefs. References to 'Abbāsid propaganda in the years following A.H. 100 have been collected by Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 506–14. The problem of the organization of the *Da'wah* is discussed in Sharon, *Black Banners*, 153–200.

316. See text above, II/1346–47, sub anno 99.

The Events of the Year

101

(July 24, 719—July 11, 720)

These events include the escape of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab from the prison of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.[317]

The Escape of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, upon being addressed on behalf of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab at the time that he wanted to banish him to Dahlak—that is, when someone said to him, "We fear that his tribe will attempt to recover him"—sent Yazīd back to prison,[318] where he remained until he learned that 'Umar had taken ill. At this point, Yazīd began to plot his escape from prison, due to his fear of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, whose in-laws, the family of Abū 'Aqīl,[319] had been tortured by him.[320] Umm al-Ḥajjāj, the daugh-

317. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 328; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 52; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 322. Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3; *FHA*, 50; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 191; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 313.

318. See text above, II/1351, sub anno 100.

319. The text specifies 'Uqayl.

320. See text above, II/1282, sub anno 96.

ter of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, the brother of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, was married to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and she bore him al-Walīd b. Yazīd, who would later be slain.[321]

Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik had sworn to God that if God would [1360] enable him to overcome Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, he would cut off one of his limbs. Fearing such an outcome, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab sent a message to his clients, who prepared some camels for him. Now 'Umar had taken ill in Dayr Sim'ān,[322] and when his illness became more severe Yazīd called for his camels, which were brought to a spot near the prison. When it became clear to Yazīd that 'Umar was seriously ill, he slipped out of the prison and set off on foot until he reached the place that he had agreed upon with his clients.[323] But he did not find them there, and his comrades-in-flight became anxious and annoyed.[324] Yazīd said to them, "Do you think that I am going to return to prison? No, by God, I will never return." Finally, the camels arrived, and he mounted and set off, accompanied by his wife, 'Ātikah, the daughter of al-Furāt b. Mu'āwiyah al-'Āmiriyyah, one of the Banū al-Bakkā, who rode in the enclosure of the camel litter. He traveled for a while and when he had gone a certain distance he wrote to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz as follows: "By God, if I knew that you were going to live, I would not have left my place of confinement; but I do not trust Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik." 'Umar exclaimed, "O God, if Yazīd (b. al-Muhallab) wishes evil on this community, ward off his evil deed, and turn this hostile action back on his own neck." Yazīd b. al-Muhallab proceeded until he passed by Ḥadath al-Zuqāq,[325] where al-Hudhayl b. Zufar, accompanied by tribesmen from the Qays, was present. The Qaysīs pursued Yazīd b. al-Muhallab at the point where he had passed by them and managed to capture part of his traveling apparatus and some of his

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321. Umm al-Ḥajjāj had been tortured by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, despite Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik's efforts to intervene on behalf of his wife. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 57. On al-Walīd b. Yazīd, see text below, II/1775ff., sub anno 126.

322. Site of a Christian monastery near Damascus named after Simon Peter. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 517; *EI²*, s.v. Dayr Sam'ān.

323. Yazīd reportedly secured his release from prison by bribing both the guards and the governor of Aleppo. See *FHA*, 50; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 58.

324. Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 191, states that Yazīd escaped with a group of people, including his wife.

325. A site in the Palmyra Desert. See *EI²*, s.v. al-Ḥadath.

young slaves. But al-Hudhayl b. Zufar sent after the Qaysīs, and when they had come back, he asked, "Tell me what you want. Do you seek blood revenge from Yazīd b. al-Muhallab or from one of his kinsmen?" They replied, "No." He asked, "Then what do you [1361] want? He is merely a man who fled from captivity out of fear for his life."

Al-Wāqidī maintained that Yazīd b. al-Muhallab did not escape from prison until after 'Umar's death.

In this year 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz died.[326]

[The Death of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz][327]

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—the person he mentioned—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz died on the twenty-fifth of Rajab in the year 101 (February 10, 720). Muḥammad b. 'Umar reported likewise.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Amr b. 'Uthmān: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz died on the twentieth of Rajab in the year 101 (February 5, 720).

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz died on Friday the twenty-fifth of Rajab, in Dayr Sim'ān, in the year 101 (February 10, 720). He was thirty-nine years and a few months old and had been Caliph for two years and five months. He died in Dayr Sim'ān.

According to al-Ḥārith—Aḥmad b. Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar—his paternal uncle, al-Haytham b. Wāqid: I was born in the year 97/715–716, and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was appointed as Caliph in Dābiq on Friday the nineteenth of Ṣafar in the year 99 (October 1, 717). I have three dīnārs that were distributed by him.[328] He died in Khunāṣirah on Wednesday the twenty-fifth of [1362] Rajab in the year 101 (February 10, 720) after an illness that lasted for twenty days. He had been Caliph for two years, five months,

326. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 328; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 52; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 323; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 182; *FHA*, 63–64; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 193, 212.

327. The rubric, which is not in the Leiden ed., is added from the Cairo ed.

328. Text: *fa-aṣābanī min qismihi*, which may also mean, "that were minted by him."

and four days. He died at the age of thirty-nine years and a couple of months and was buried in Dayr Sim'ān.

Some sources report: He was thirty-five years and five months old on the day he died. According to other sources: He was forty years old.

Hishām reported: 'Umar died at the age of forty years and a few months. His patronymic was Abū Ḥafṣ. The following verses were addressed to 'Umar by al-'Uwayf after the two of them had witnessed a funeral procession together:

Answer me, Abū Ḥafṣ. Did you meet Muḥammad
at his pool, giving good tidings to those who were behind you?
You are a man whose two hands are *both* useful.
Your left hand is better than the right of others.

His mother was Umm 'Āṣim, the daughter of 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He was known as "The Umayyad with the scar on his forehead" because one of his father's riding animals had wounded him in the face.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Sulaymān b. Ḥarb—al-Mubārak b. Faḍālah—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar—Nāfi': I frequently used to hear Ibn 'Umar[329] say, "Would that I knew who from among the children of 'Umar will have a sign on his face. That one will fill the world with justice."

According to Manṣūr b. Abī Muzāḥim—Marwān b. Shujā'—Sālim al-Afṭas: When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was a child in Damascus, he was kicked by an animal and carried to his mother, Umm 'Āṣim, the daughter of 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who
[1363] took him in her arms and wiped the blood from his face. His father came in to see her while she was taking care of the boy, and she turned to him and scolded him, blaming him for the accident, saying, "You have destroyed my son! Why didn't you make sure that he had a servant or a nurse to protect him from something like this?" He said to her, "Be quiet, Umm 'Āṣim. All is well that ends well, since he is destined to be 'The Umayyad with the scar on his forehead.'"

329. That is, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who died in 73/693. See *EI*², s.v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar.

Aspects of His Character

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Kulayb b. Khalaf—Idrīs b. Ḥanẓalah and al-Mufaḍḍal—his grandfather and 'Alī b. Mujāhid—Khālid: When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz became Caliph, he wrote to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab as follows: "Now then, Sulaymān was one of God's servants upon whom God bestowed His blessing and then took him away. He designated me as his successor and he designated Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik—if he is still alive—to succeed me. The office that God has entrusted and allotted to me is not easily borne. Were it my desire to take many wives and acquire wealth, then the sums that He has already given me are greater than that attained by any of his creatures.[330] But I fear, in connection with the office for which I have been chosen, a difficult reckoning and a painful questioning, except for whatever defense from trial God may grant me, in His mercy. Those at our end have sworn the oath of allegiance, so now let those at your end do the same."

The letter was brought to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who showed it to Abū 'Uyaynah. After the latter had read it, (Yazīd) said, "I will not be one of his governors." Abū 'Uyaynah asked, "Why not?" He replied, "This is not the way that members of his household have spoken in the past, and he does not intend to follow their example." Nevertheless, the soldiers swore the oath of allegiance after Yazīd called on them to do so. He said: 'Umar then wrote to [1364] Yazīd, saying, "Appoint someone as your representative in Khurāsān and come to me." He designated his son, Makhlad, as his representative.

According to 'Alī—'Alī b. Mujāhid—'Abd al-A'lā b. Manṣūr—Maymūn b. Mihrān: 'Umar wrote to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym as follows: "Indeed, Action (*'amal*) and Knowledge (*'ilm*) are closely related,[331] so be one who is knowledgeable of God and one who acts on His behalf. There have been people who were knowledgeable but did not act; their knowledge was detrimental to them."

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330. Text: *kāna fī-lladhī a'ṭānī min dhālika mā qad balagha bī afḍal mā balagha bi-aḥad min khalqihi.*

331. The Arabic words for "action" and "knowledge," *'amal* and *'ilm*, have the same three-letter roots.

According to Muṣ'ab b. Ḥayyān—Muqātil b. Ḥayyān: 'Umar wrote to 'Abd al-Raḥmān as follows: "Now then, act like a man who knows that God will not repair the deeds of those who cause corruption."

According to 'Alī—Kulayb b. Khalaf—Ṭufayl b. Mirdās: 'Umar wrote to Sulaymān b. Abī al-Sarī as follows: "Establish inns in your lands so that whenever a Muslim passes by, you will put him up for a day and a night and take care of his animals; if he is sick, provide him with hospitality for two days and two nights; and if he has used up all of his provisions and is unable to continue, supply him with whatever he needs to reach his hometown." When Sulaymān received 'Umar's letter, the people of Samarqand said to him, "Qutaybah deceived us, defrauded us, and seized our land.[332] But now that God has made justice and equity to triumph, grant us permission to send a delegation to the Commander of the Faithful in order to present our grievances. If we are in the right, then the land will be given back to us, and we are certainly in need of that." He gave his permission, whereupon they sent a group of their people to visit 'Umar, who then wrote
[1365] on their behalf to Sulaymān b. Abī al-Sariyy: "The people of Samarqand have complained to me about the injustice they were made to suffer and the mistreatment they received from Qutaybah, who expelled them from their land. Therefore, when my letter reaches you, have the judge sit and consider their complaint. If he decides in their favor, expel (the Arabs) to their campgrounds, thereby restoring the status quo to what it had been prior to Qutaybah's conquest of Samarqand."[333]

Sulaymān therefore ordered Jumay' b. Ḥāḍir al-Qāḍī al-Nājī to carry out a judicial investigation. He decreed that the Arabs of Samarqand should be sent back to their campgrounds and that the two sides should fight on equal terms, so that there would either be a new peace treaty or victory by force. The army of al-Sughd[334]

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332. Qutaybah b. Muslim had conquered Samarqand in the year 93/711–12, turning the city into an Arab garrison town. See text above, II/1249ff., sub anno 93.

333. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 519.

334. Al-Sughd (also spelled al-Ṣughd) is the name of a district in Transoxiana comprising the lands east of Bukhārā from Dabūsiyah to Samarqand, the latter being its capital. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 222–23; *EI*², s.v. Soghd; Le Strange, *Lands*, 460–73.

said, "But we are satisfied with the old agreement and we will not initiate hostilities." The two sides came to terms on that basis. The wise people[335] among them said, "These tribesmen have mixed with us, and we dwell with them. They trust us and we trust them. But if a judgment is rendered in our favor, we will return to war, and we do not know who will be victorious; and if the judgment is not in our favor, we will have brought hostility into the struggle."[336] Therefore, they left things as they were. They were satisfied and they did not fight.

'Umar wrote to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym ordering him to recall the Muslims who were in Transoxiana, together with their women and children. But they refused, saying, "Marw does not suffice us." 'Abd al-Raḥmān wrote to 'Umar about this, and 'Umar wrote back to him saying, "By God, I have already fulfilled my obligation. Therefore, do not send the Muslims on any more military campaigns. Let them be satisfied with the victories that God has already granted them."[337]

Our source continued: He also wrote to 'Uqbah b. Zur'ah al-Ṭā'ī, whom he had put in charge of the fiscal administration, after [1366]
al-Qushayrī: "Sovereignty has several pillars, without which it will not endure: The governor is a pillar; the judge is a pillar; the head of the Public Treasury is a pillar; and I am the fourth pillar. There is no Muslim frontier that is of greater concern to me or that I consider to be as important as the Khurāsān frontier. Therefore, collect the tribute in its entirety and guard it without committing any injustice: If it proves to be sufficient to cover their stipends, that is the path of God; if not, write to me and I will transfer the money to you, thereby making it possible for you to pay them their stipends in full measure." 'Uqbah arrived and determined that the tribute they collected was greater than the stipends to which they were entitled. He therefore wrote to 'Umar notifying him of this, and 'Umar wrote back to him saying, "Distribute the surplus among the needy."

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335. The text specifies *ahl al-Rayy*, "the people of al-Rayy." This should be amended to *ahl al-ra'ī*. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

336. Text: *qad iṭṭalabnā 'adāwah fī-l-munāza'ah*, which could also mean "introduced animosity."

337. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 47, where it is reported that 'Umar praised the Muslims for their decision to remain in Transoxiana.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh—his father—Sulaymān—'Abdallāh—Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah—Dāwūd b. Sulaymān al-Ju'fī: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote as follows: "Greetings from the servant of God, 'Umar, the Commander of the Faithful, to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Now then, the army of al-Kūfah has been stricken by trial, hardship, and deviation from the judgments of God, as well as by corrupt customs that were imposed on them by evil governors. The foundation of religion is justice and the performance of good deeds, and there is nothing more important to you than your soul. Remember that even the smallest sin is significant. Do not treat uncultivated land like cultivated land, nor cultivated land like uncultivated land. Examine the uncultivated land, take from it whatever it can bear, and improve it so that it will flourish. Nothing should be taken from cultivated land, except the rate of the tribute. Take it gently, leaving the peasants[338] unruffled. Do not take as tribute anything
[1367] but the weight of seven.[339] The following levies are not permitted: tolls;[340] the wages of mint officials; presents at the Nawrūz and Mihrajān festivals;[341] and fees for official papers, for couriers, for housing, and for weddings. No tribute shall be levied on those peasants who convert to Islam.[342] Follow my instructions in this matter, for I have commissioned you to carry out what I was commissioned to do by God. Furthermore, do not hasten, on your own initiative, to cut off the arm of the thief or to crucify someone until you have consulted with me on the matter. Finally, consider the request of women and children who desire to go on pilgrimage and immediately pay them one hundred dirhams by means of which they may perform the pilgrimage. Farewell."

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338. Text: *ahl al-arḍ*.

339. Text: *wazn sab'ah*, that is, a dīnār weighing seven *mithqāls*. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 571ff.

340. Text: *āyīn*. On this term, see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 303.

341. The spring and autumn festivals of Nawrūz and Mihrajān were the pivots of the Sassanian administrative and ceremonial year. Public audiences were held, and gifts were presented to the monarch on both occasions. The requirement for gifts at Nawrūz and Mihrajān was revived by 'Abdallāh b. Darrāj, perhaps in his capacity as royal agent, who added ten million dirhams in gifts to the income from taxes. See Morony, *Iraq*, 73; *EI*[1], s.vv. Nawrūz and Mihrgān.

342. See Gibb, "The Fiscal Rescript of 'Umar II," 1–16.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh—his father—Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Shihāb b. Sharīʿah al-Mujāshiʿī: ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz included the wives and children of the soldiers who received stipends (in the Dīwān). Lots were cast among them, and those on whom the lot fell were assigned one hundred (dirhams), while those on whom the lot did not fall were assigned forty. He distributed money to the poor people of al-Baṣrah, giving each man three dirhams and giving the chronically ill fifty dirhams each.

He said: And I think he also awarded stipends to children upon weaning.[343]

According to ʿAbdallāh—his father—al-Fuḍayl—ʿAbdallāh: I was told that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz wrote to the Syrian army as follows: "Peace upon you, and the mercy of God. Now then, whoever contemplates death frequently speaks little, while he who knows that death is certain is satisfied with a little. Farewell." [1368]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: Abū Mijlaz said to ʿUmar: "You have put us in a wasteland,[344] so send us money." He replied, "O Abū Mijlaz, you have reversed the matter." He said, "O Commander of the Faithful, does the money belong to us or to you?" ʿUmar said, "Indeed, it belongs to you when the amount you collect does not cover your stipends." He said, "But you have neither carried it to us, nor carried us to it,[345] and you have put one part of it upon the other." He said, "I will have it carried to you, God willing." But he fell ill that very night and died.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym's tenure of office in Khurāsān was sixteen months.

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) said: In this year, ʿUmārah b. Ukaymah al-Laythī, whose patronymic was Abū al-Walīd, died at the age of seventy-nine.

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343. Text: *rizq al-faṭm*. On this practice, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo) III, 562.

344. Text: *bi-munqaṭaʿi-l-turāb*.

345. Text: *wa-lā naḥmiluhu ilayka*—"and we have not carried it to you"; read *wa-lā taḥmilunā ilayhi*, as suggested in footnote (g) of the Leiden text. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

A Supplement to the Biography of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz That Is Not Part of Abū Ja'far's [al-Ṭabarī's] Book, to the Beginning of the Caliphate of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān

According to 'Abdallāh b. Bakr b. Ḥabīb al-Sahmī: We were told by a man in the mosque of al-Junābidh[346] that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz delivered a sermon to the people in Khunāṣirah in which he said:

> O people, you were not created in vain, nor will you be left to yourselves.[347] Rather, you will return to a place in which God will descend in order to judge among you and distinguish between you. Destitute and lost are those who forsake the all-encompassing mercy of God, and they will be excluded from Paradise, the borders of which are as wide as the heavens and the earth. Don't you know[348]
> [1369] that protection, tomorrow, will be limited to those who feared God (today), and to those who sold something ephemeral for something permanent, something small for something great, and fear for protection? Don't you realize that you are the descendants of those who have perished, that those who remain will take their place after you, and that this will continue until you are all returned to God?[349] Every day you dispatch to God, at all times of the day, someone who has died,[350] his term having come to an end. You bury him in a crack in the earth and then leave him without a pillow or a bed. He has parted from his loved ones, severed his connections with the living, and taken up residence in the earth, whereupon he comes face to face with the accounting. He is mortgaged to his deeds: He needs his accomplishments, but not the material things he left on earth.

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346. One of the districts of Nīshāpūr. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 165.

347. See Qur'ān 75:36.

348. Text: *a-lā wa-'lamū*. The translation follows Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 199, where the text is *a-lam ta'lamū*: "Don't you know?"

349. Text: *ilā khayri-l-wārithīn*. Literally, "to the best heir," applied to God, who causes those who worship him to inherit Paradise.

350. Text: *wa-fī kulli yawmin tushayyi'ūna ghādiyan wa-rā'iḥan ilā-llāhi qad qaḍā naḥbahu*. The expression *qad qaḍā naḥbahu* is Qur'ānic. See Qur'ān 33:23.

> Therefore, fear God before death descends and its appointed times expire.[351] I swear by God that I say these words to you knowing that I myself have committed more sins than any of you; I therefore ask God for forgiveness and I repent. Whenever we learn that one of you needs something, I try to satisfy his need to the extent that I am able. Whenever I can provide satisfaction to one of you out of my possessions, I seek to treat him as my equal and my relative, so that my life and his life are of equal value. I swear by God that had I wanted something else, namely, affluence, then it would have been easy for me to utter the word, aware as I am of the means for obtaining this. But God has issued an eloquent Book and a just example (*sunnah*) by means of which He guides us to obedience and proscribes disobedience.

He lifted up the edge of his robe and began to cry and sob, causing the people around him to break into tears. Then he stepped down. That was the last sermon he gave before he died, may God have mercy on him.[352]

According to Khalaf b. Tamīm—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd: I learned that when one of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's sons died, one of his governors wrote to him in an effort to console him over the loss of his son.[353] 'Umar said to his scribe, "Answer him in my name," whereupon the scribe began to sharpen a reed pen. Then 'Umar said to the scribe, "Make the pen very thin because in that way the papyrus will last longer and the words will be more concise.[354] Write, 'In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, now to the matter at hand. We had prepared [1370]

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351. Text: *qabla nuzūl al-mawt wa-nqiḍā' mawāqi'ihi*, or "before death descends and overtakes you"; read *mawāqitihi*, following Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, vol. 14, DCXCI.

352. For variant versions of this sermon, see Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrah*, 43–45, 132–33; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 199.

353. See Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 208, where the son is identified as 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umar.

354. 'Umar was known for the scrupulous attention he paid to the proper use of public funds. Elsewhere we find him quibbling with the governor of Medina about the latter's consumption of candle wax and wicks. See Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrah*, 64ff.

ourselves for this event, so that when it occurred, we did not reject it.[355] Farewell.'"

According to Manṣūr b. Muzāḥim—Shu'ayb, that is, Ibn Ṣafwān—Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz said:

> He who gives sincere advice to his brother in matters of religion and looks out for the well-being of the latter's daily affairs has fulfilled his brotherly obligation and carried out the duty that was incumbent upon him. Fear God. Accept these words, for they are offered as sincere advice to you with regard to your religion; and cling fast to them, for they constitute a warning that will save you in the afterlife. The sustenance has been apportioned; therefore, let no believer exceed[356] what has been apportioned to him, and be united in seeking the good. In contentment there is abundance, subsistence, and sufficiency. The term of this life is in your necks, and Gehenna lies before you. What you see will pass away, what has been is as if it never was, and all will soon be dead. You have seen the stages of the dying man, both when he is in the agony of death, and then after his demise when he has tasted death and the people all around him are saying, "He has passed away, may God have mercy on his soul." You have witnessed the hasty manner in which he is removed, and the division of his estate, when his face is lost, his memory forgotten, and his doorway forsaken, as if he had not mixed with those who keep their word, nor inhabited the lands. Therefore, beware the horror of a day on which not so much as the weight of an ant on the scale will be despised.[357]

According to Sahl b. Maḥmūd—Ḥarmalah b. 'Abd al-'Azīz—his father—one of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's sons: 'Umar ordered us to

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355. Text: *lam nadhkurhu*: "We did not mention it"; read *lam nunkirhu*, following the Cairo ed.

356. Text: *yaghdira*, "betray"; the text should be amended to read *ya'duwa*. I owe this point to Professor Ihsan Abbas.

357. See Qur'ān 4:40, 10:61, and 34:3.

buy the plot for his grave, so we bought it from the monk. He said: One of the poets[358] recited: [1371]

Now that 'Umar's death has been announced to me, I say:
May the mainstay of justice and religion be not far away.
The people have left behind, in the tomb that they dug
in Dayr Sim'ān, the balance of the scales.

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Sufyān: 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz said: "He who acts without knowledge[359] causes more corruption than good, and he who does not consider his speech to be part of his actions sins repeatedly. Satisfaction is scarce, and the true believer should rely on patience: God never bestowed a blessing upon one of His servants and then took it away from him, giving him patience in return for that which was taken away, except that the replacement was better than what was taken away from him." Then he recited the following verse: "Surely the patient will be paid their wages in full without reckoning."[360]

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym received the following letter from him: "Do not destroy a church, synagogue, or fire temple with respect to which an agreement has been concluded with you, and do not permit the construction of a new church or fire temple.[361] Do not drag the lamb to its place of slaughter or sharpen the knife over the head of the animal. Do not combine two prayers without an excuse." [1372]

According to 'Affān b. Muslim—'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd—his father—Fāṭimah, the wife of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, said: He became extremely uncomfortable one night, and we stayed up with him. The next morning I instructed one of his servants, by the name of Marthid, saying, "Marthid, stay with the Commander of the Faithful so that if he needs anything you will be close at hand."

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358. The authorship of this poem is disputed. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 195, records a variant version of the poem in which al-Farazdaq is specified as the author. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 59, identifies the poet as Kuthayyir 'Azzah (d. 105/723).

359. Text: *'amila 'alā ghayr 'ilm*—a pun. See text above, II/1364, note 331.

360. Qur'ān 39:10.

361. On the status of non-Muslim places of worship in Muslim lands, see *EI*², s.vv. Dhimma, Kanīsa.

Then we left, and our heads were throbbing[362] because we had stayed up so late. At midday I awoke and went to him, but I found Marthid sleeping outside of his room. I woke him up, saying, "Marthid, who told you to leave?" He said, "[The Caliph] did. He said, 'Marthid, leave me for by God I see something that is neither human nor jinn.' As I left, I heard him reciting this verse: 'That is the Last Abode; we appoint it for those who desire not exorbitance in the earth, nor corruption. The issue ultimate is to the godfearing.' "[363] Marthid said: When I reentered the room, I found that he had turned his face toward the *qiblah* and closed his eyes. He was dead, may God have mercy on him.[364]

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362. Text: *fa-ḍarabnā bi-ru'ūsinā*. Literally this means "we were striking our heads."

363. Qur'ān 28:83.

364. This is the end of the supplement. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam preserves a variant version of 'Umar's deathbed scene in which Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik is reported to have been present. See *Sīrah*, 116–117.

The Caliphate of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān

The Events of the Year

101 (cont'd)

(July 24, 719–July 11, 720)[365]

In this year Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān—his patronymic was Abū Khālid—came to power. He was twenty-nine years old at the time, according to Hishām b. Muḥammad. Upon assuming the caliphate, he dismissed Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm as governor of Medina, replacing him with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī. According to al-Wāqidī, the latter arrived on a Wednesday toward the end of the month of Ramaḍān (April 10, 720). 'Abd al-Raḥmān put Salamah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd [1373]
al-Asad al-Makhzūmī in charge of the judiciary.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Umārah—Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm: When 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk arrived in Medina to replace me, I went in to see him. I greeted him, but he didn't welcome me. I said, "This matter (that is, the governorship of Medina) is one over which the Quraysh will not award

365. For other sources on the caliphate of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, see Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 364; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 334–36; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 53–58; Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 5–21; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 195–204; *FHA*, 64–81; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 219–33.

the Helpers (*Anṣār*)[366] jurisdiction."[367] Then I returned to my residence. I was afraid of him—he was a reckless young man—and indeed he let me know that he was saying, "Only old age prevents Ibn Ḥazm from coming to me, and I am aware of his deception." I realized then that my fears had materialized and when I was sure that he had uttered that statement, I said to my informant, "Tell him, 'It is not my custom to deceive, and I do not like those who do. The governor imagines that he is going to remain in power forever. But how many governors and caliphs have occupied this residence before you and then left it, so that now all that is left of them is stories, for better or for worse? Fear God and do not pay attention to what is said by a transgressor or an envious person.'"

Relations between the two men continued to deteriorate until a man from the Banū Fihr and another from the Banū al-Najjār appealed to Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk to resolve a dispute between them. Abū Bakr had previously rendered a decision in favor of the Najjārī and against the Fihrī with regard to some land, of which they each owned one-half. Abū Bakr had awarded the land to the Najjārī. The Fihrī sent to the Najjārī and to Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, calling on them to present themselves before Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk. The Fihrī complained about Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, saying, "He took my property out of my hands and awarded it to this Najjārī." Abū Bakr responded, "I beg God's forgiveness, but you know that I examined the dispute between you and your co-owner for several days, after which I decided to dispossess you of your land. Furthermore, I sent you to the legal scholars (*muftīs*) who advised me in the matter, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab[368] and Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, and you questioned them." The Fihrī said, "Indeed, but their word is not binding on me." At this point, Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk felt beaten and he interjected, saying, "Stand up."

[1374]

366. The term *Anṣār* designates Muḥammad's Medinese supporters in distinction from his Meccan following, known as the "emigrants" (*muhājirūn*). See *EI*², s.v. Anṣār.

367. This is a conjectural translation. Text: *hādha shay'un lā tamlikuhu qurayshun al-anṣāra*; read *li-l-anṣāri*, following the Cairo ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was a Qurashī, while Abū Bakr was one of the Helpers.

368. This dispute must have occurred at least six years earlier, since Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, one of the first specialists in religious law whose activity can be regarded as historical, died in 95/713–14. See *EI*², s.v. *Fiḳh*.

They stood up, and he said to the Fihrī, "You acknowledge to him that you questioned the *muftīs* about their judgment, but then you say to me, 'Give me my land back.' You are a fool! Leave, for you are not entitled to anything."

But Abū Bakr continued to fear Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk. Subsequently, Ibn Ḥayyān[369] asked Yazīd to allow him to retaliate against Abū Bakr, who had administered the *ḥadd* punishments to him on two occasions. Yazīd said, "I won't allow it, for that man was chosen and trusted by the members of my household. I will, however, appoint you as governor of Medina." He said, "I do not want that, for if I were to punish him by virtue of my authority, that would not constitute retaliation." Yazīd then wrote to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk as follows: "Now to the matter at hand. Investigate Ibn Ḥazm's punishment of Ibn Ḥayyān: If the punishment was a result of an obvious transgression, don't concern yourself with it; and if the punishment was a result of a matter that was subject to dispute, don't concern yourself with it; but if the punishment was a result of some other cause, allow Ibn Ḥayyān to retaliate against him."

'Uthmān brought the letter to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who said, "You have not accomplished anything. Do you think [1375] that Ibn Ḥazm punished you as a result of something that was not subject to dispute?" Then 'Uthmān said to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, "If you want to do me a favor, now is the time to do so." He said, "Now you have achieved your objective." 'Abd al-Raḥmān sent for Ibn Ḥazm and administered the *ḥadd* punishment to him twice, on a single occasion, without asking him a single question. Then Abū al-Maghrā'[370] b. Ḥayyān[371] returned, saying, "I am Abū al-Maghrā'[372] b. al-Ḥayyān [*sic*]. By God, I have not had any relations with women from the day that Ibn Ḥazm did what he did to me until this very day. Today, I shall resume my relations with women."[373]

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369. 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī, a former governor of Medina. See text above, II/1281.

370. Text: al-Ma'zā; read al-Maghrā', following the Cairo ed.

371. That is, 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān. See note 369, above.

372. See note 370 above.

373. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 56.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) said: In this year, Shawdhab the Khārijite was slain.[374]

The Slaying of Shawdhab the Khārijite

We have already mentioned the report about the delegation that Shawdhab sent to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in order to argue about his revolt against the Caliph.[375] According to Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā, when 'Umar died, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, desirous of winning the favor of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, wrote to Muḥammad b. Jarīr ordering him to attack Shawdhab and his men. Now at that moment, Shawdhab, whose two messengers had not yet returned, was unaware of 'Umar's death. Thus, when the Khārijites saw Muḥammad b. Jarīr preparing for battle, Shawdhab sent to him, asking, "What prompts you to engage in hostilities prior to the expiration of the time period upon which we had agreed? Did we not promise one another not to fight 'until Shawdhab's two messengers return?'" But Muḥammad replied, saying, "We cannot leave you in this state."

Sources other than Abū 'Ubaydah: The Khārijites said: These people would not have acted in this manner but that the righteous man[376] has died.

[1376] According to Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā: Shawdhab went forth into battle against them, and the two sides engaged in combat. Several of the Khārijites were wounded, but they killed many of the Muslims.[377] The latter turned and fled, with the Khārijites in hot pursuit, until they reached the wooden houses of al-Kūfah, where they took refuge with 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. Muḥammad b. Jarīr himself was wounded on the buttocks. Afterwards, Shawdhab returned to his camp where he remained, waiting for the return of his two messengers. They arrived and informed him of the demands they had made upon 'Umar and of the fact that he had died.

Yazīd confirmed 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as governor of al-Kūfah and

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374. See Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 6–8; *FHA*, 64–65; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 219.

375. See text above, II/1347ff.

376. That is, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. See note 251, above.

377. Text: *ahl al-qiblah*. On this term see *EI*², s.v. Ahl al-Ḳibla. Note, however, that Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 7, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 68, have *ahl al-Kūfah*, "the Kūfan army."

sent Tamīm b. al-Ḥubāb on his behalf, with two thousand soldiers. Tamīm sent a message to the Khārijites in which he informed them that Yazīd would not leave them intact on the same terms as 'Umar had. But they cursed him and they cursed Yazīd, whereupon Tamīm attacked them. But they slew him and put his men to flight: some of them took refuge in al-Kūfah, while the others made their way back to Yazīd.[378] Then Yazīd sent against them Najdah b. al-Ḥakam al-Azdī, leading a military division, but they slew him and put his men to flight. Next he sent against them al-Shaḥḥāj b. Wadā', leading two thousand soldiers. The two sides exchanged messages, and then the Khārijites slew al-Shaḥḥāj. But several of their men were slain, including Hudbah al-Yashkurī, the paternal cousin of Bisṭām, who was a pious man; and Abū Shaybān[379] Muqātil b. Shaybān, whom they considered to be a virtuous man. Abū Tha'labah Ayyūb b. Khawalī[380] recited the following, elegizing them:

We left Tamīm in the dust, torn to pieces, [1377]
mourned by his wife and his kinsmen.
Qays abandoned Tamīm and Mālik,
just as al-Shaḥḥāj was abandoned by his kinsmen
yesterday.
He came from Ḥarrān carrying a standard,
seeking to overcome the command of God, but God
overcame him.
O Hudbah, to war, O Hudbah to the muster,
O Hudbah to the tenacious adversary who attacks him!
O Hudbah! How many a cornered man[381] have you rescued,
when his Fate had delivered him to the spears?
Abū Shaybān was the best fighter[382]
to be sought after. His strength was feared by those who
fought him.

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378. Yazīd was in Damascus.

379. Text: Shubayl; read Shaybān, as in the sixth verse of the poem that follows; and as in Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 7.

380. Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 7, gives his name as Tha'labah b. Ayyūb b. Khawalī b. Bayham.

381. Text: *mulḥam*. Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, V, 69, has *muljim*.

382. Text: *muqātil*, a pun on Abū Shaybān's name, Muqātil.

He triumphed and met God with many good deeds to his
credit.
His slayer smote him with the sword while he was fighting
in the path of God.
He provisioned himself with implements of this world: armor,
mail,
and a sharp sword whose edges did not betray him.
And a short-haired sturdy horse, as if it were,
when it attacks, (a bird of prey,) full-feathered with crooked
claws.[383]

When Maslamah entered al-Kūfah, the residents of the city
[1378] complained to him about Shawdhab, who had terrified them and slain many of their men. Maslamah summoned Saʿid b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī, who was a horseman, put him in command of ten thousand men, and sent him against Shawdhab, who was at his camp. Confronted by these insurmountable forces, Shawdhab said to his men, "For those of you who are seeking God, the time to die as a martyr has arrived; as for those of you who only came out because of this world, know that this world has come to an end, while everlasting life is to be found in the next abode." Upon hearing this, they smashed the sheaths of their swords and attacked, repeatedly putting Saʿid and his men to flight, so that he was afraid of being disgraced. Then he rebuked his men, saying, "Woe to you,[384] are you fleeing from such a small number of men? O Syrians, beware of a distressing day!"

Our source continued: The Syrians attacked the Khārijites, crushing them to pieces, leaving not one of them alive. They slew Bisṭām—that is, Shawdhab—and his horsemen, including al-Rayyān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Yashkurī, who was among those who were submissive to God.[385] His brother, Shimr b. ʿAbdallāh, recited the following elegy:

I was distressed about chiefs and horsemen
from the Banū Shaybān who kindled the fire of war.

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383. See Azdī, *Taʾrīkh*, 8.

384. Text: *lā abā lakum*, literally, "may you have no father." This proverbial expression is used as an imprecation. See Lane, *Lexicon*, pt. 1, pp. 10–11.

385. Text: *min al-muḥiththīn*, "one of the instigators"; read *min al-mukhbitīn*, following the Cairo ed.

The accidents of time detained and destroyed them,
leaving me by myself, brotherless.
Sad, with grief ringing in my heart,
like a fire, because of my deep feelings for the loss of al-Rayyān.
And (about) horsemen who sold their souls to God,
from the Yashkur, proving themselves knights in battle.

Ḥassān b. Ja'dah recited the following elegy:

O eye! Shed copious tears on your own,
and cry for Bisṭām's men, and for Bisṭām.
As long as you live, you will never see the likes of them,
none more pious or more perfect, gentle and wise.
They took their equals as an example during their time of difficulty, [1379]
and had no wish to hold back from enemies.
Until they went to meet the one on whose behalf they had rebelled,
leaving us landmarks and signposts as an inheritance.
Verily I know that they have been made to dwell in rooms of Paradise, where they will live in eternity, and obtained there servants.
May God water the lands where they met their deaths
with abundant spring rains!

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) said: In this year, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab reached al-Baṣrah and took control of the city. He arrested Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik's governor, 'Adī b. Arṭāt al-Fazārī, threw him into prison, and renounced his allegiance to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.[386]

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab Renounces His Allegiance to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik

Having already mentioned the report of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's escape from the prison in which he had been confined by 'Umar b.

386. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 328; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 54; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 1–11; Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 8–10; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 199–200; *FHA*, 51–60; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 219–20; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 312ff.

'Abd al-'Azīz,[387] I will discuss here his actions following his escape in the year 101/719–20. On the very day that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz died, the oath of allegiance was sworn to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. Upon being informed of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's escape, the Caliph wrote to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, ordering him to search for the fugitive and confront him. The Caliph also wrote to 'Adī b. Arṭāt, informing him of Yazīd's escape; he ordered 'Adī to prepare for the confrontation and to arrest those members of Yazīd's household who were in al-Baṣrah.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf: 'Adī b. Arṭāt arrested several of Yazīd's brothers and threw them into prison: al-Mufaḍḍal, Ḥabīb, and Marwān, the sons of al-Muhallab. Meanwhile, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab advanced until he passed by Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.[388] Yazīd said to his men, "Let's
[1380] block his way, seize him, and take him with us." But his men replied, "No. Rather, advance with us and leave him alone." He marched forward, climbing up above Quṭquṭānah.[389]

'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān dispatched Hishām b. Musāḥiq b. 'Abdallāh b. Mukhrimah b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Qays b. 'Abd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. 'Āmir b. Luwayy al-Qurashī, leading a segment of the Kūfan army that included the security force, the notables, and the powerful people. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd instructed Hishām as follows, "Set off until you come face to face with Yazīd, who will today pass by the shore of al-'Udhayb."[390] Hishām traveled a short distance but then returned to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and asked him, "Shall I bring him to you dead or alive?" He replied, "That's up to you." This statement greatly astonished those who heard it. Hishām made his way to al-'Udhayb, where he set up camp at a point not far from where Yazīd was located. But Hishām and his men avoided attacking Yazīd, who marched off in the direction of al-Baṣrah. The poet recited, referring to Yazīd:

Ibn al-Muhallab traveled without stopping,

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387. See text above, II/1359ff.

388. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik's brother, who would later serve as governor of Mosul and Palestine respectively. He died in 132/749–50. See Crone, *Slaves*, 129.

389. Located near al-Kūfah, facing the desert. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 374.

390. A body of fresh water between al-Qādisiyyah and al-Maghīthah, four miles from the former and thirty-two miles from the latter. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 92.

while Dhū al-Qaṭīfah, from the Kinānah, rested during the night.
He took the left side, thus taking the wise course,
and he did not approach the fortresses of Quṭquṭānah.[391]

Dhū al-Qaṭīfah refers to Muḥammad b. 'Amr, (whose father, 'Amr) b. al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayṭ is known as Abū Qaṭīfah. He was given the name Dhū al-Qaṭīfah because his beard, face, and chest were very hairy. Muḥammad is also known as Dhū al-Shāmah ("The one with the birthmark").

When Yazīd b. al-Muhallab drew near, Hishām b. Musāḥiq returned to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, and Yazīd then marched toward al- [1381]
Baṣrah. Meanwhile, 'Adī b. Arṭāt had rallied the Baṣran army, dug a trench around the city, and put al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Aqīl al-Thaqafī in command of the Baṣran cavalry.

'Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab said to 'Adī b. Arṭāt, who was from the Banū Fazārah: "Take my son, Ḥumayd, and put him in prison in my place. I give you my solemn pledge that I will divert Yazīd from al-Baṣrah and make him retreat to Fārs, where he will seek a promise of safe-conduct for himself and be far removed from you." But 'Adī refused. When Yazīd arrived with his soldiers, al-Baṣrah was surrounded with men, for Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab, who was not one of those who had been imprisoned, had assembled some men and youths from his household together with some of his clients and gone out to rendezvous with Yazīd. He advanced with a detachment of cavalry that struck fear in the hearts of those who saw it.

'Adī had summoned the army of al-Baṣrah and put one man in command of each tribal division (*khums*): He put al-Mughīrah b. Ziyād b. 'Amr al-'Atakī in command of the Azd; Muḥriz b. Ḥumrān al-Sa'dī, from the Banū Minqar, in command of the Banū Tamīm; and 'Imrān b. 'Āmir b. Misma', from the Banū Qays b. Tha'labah, in command of the Bakr b. Wā'il. But Abū Minqar, a tribesman from the Qays b. Tha'labah, said, "We will not be victorious unless the the Banū Mālik b. Misma' carry the standard." 'Adī then summoned Nūḥ b. Shaybān b. Mālik b. Misma' and put him in command of the Bakr b. Wā'il; he summoned

391. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 2–3.

Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd and put him in command of the
[1382] ʿAbd al-Qays; and he summoned ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir al-Qurashī and put him in command of the Ahl al-ʿĀliyah. The ʿĀliyah are composed of the following tribes: Quraysh, Kinānah, Azd, Bajīlah, Khathʿam, all of Qays ʿAylān, and Muzaynah. In al-Kūfah the Ahl al-ʿĀliyah are known as the "Ahl al-Madīnah fourth-division" (*rubʿ*), and in al-Baṣrah they are known as the "Ahl al-ʿĀliyah fifth-division" (*khums*). In al-Kūfah there were, at first, five divisions, but Ziyād b. ʿUbayd reorganized them into four.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf: Yazīd b. al-Muhallab advanced, but every horseman and tribal unit that he encountered turned away from him, allowing him to continue. Finally, he was confronted by al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Thaqafī, who was leading the cavalry. Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab attacked him with his horsemen, but al-Mughīrah and his men moved out of his way. Yazīd proceeded to his house, where the people came to visit him in turns. He began to send messages to ʿAdī b. Arṭāt, saying, "If you deliver my brothers to me, I will conclude a peace agreement with you with regard to al-Baṣrah. I will leave you and the city alone so that I might acquire what I want from Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik."[392] But ʿAdī rejected his offer. Earlier, Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab had gone to see Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who sent him back, accompanied by Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī and by ʿUmar b. Yazīd al-Ḥakamī. They were carrying a promise of safe-conduct for Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and his household.[393]

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab began to award stipends to the soldiers who joined him, distributing pieces of gold and silver, thereby causing the soldiers to be well-disposed toward him. ʿImrān b. ʿĀmir b. Mismaʿ joined him because he was angry with ʿAdī b. Arṭāt for taking the standard—that is, the standard of the Bakr b. Wāʾil—from him and giving it to his paternal cousin. Also joining Yazīd
[1383] were the tribes of Rabīʿah, the remainder of Tamīm, Qays, and many individual soldiers, including ʿAbd al-Malik and Mālik, the

392. Yazīd wanted a guarantee of safe-conduct. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 3, where the parallel passage has, "so that I might acquire a guarantee of safe-conduct." When Yazīd b. al-Muhallab arrived in al-Baṣrah after escaping from prison, he wrote to the new Caliph asking for a promise of safe-conduct. See *FHA*, 52.

393. ʿUmar reportedly awarded the promise on the condition that Yazīd stay put. See *FHA*, 67.

two sons of Misma'. There were also some soldiers from the Syrian army with him.

'Adī, on the other hand, could offer each man only two dirhams. He would say, "I cannot give you a single dirham from the Public Treasury without the authorization of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. Be content with this until such authorization is granted." Al-Farazdaq recited in connection with this:

I suspect that the "two-dirham men" are driven
to death by their Fate and by their destined ends.
The most sensible one among them is he who remains inside
his house,
certain that the end is inevitable.[394]

The Banū 'Amr b. Tamīm split off from 'Adī's men and established themselves in al-Mirbad.[395] Yazīd b. al-Muhallab sent against them one of his clients, known as Dāris, who attacked them and put them to flight. Al-Farazdaq recited with regard to this:

The 'Reds'[396] scattered when Dāris shouted,
for they could not endure the sharp swords.
God repaid Qays for 'Adī as a reproach.
Couldn't they hold fast until the fighting broke out?[397]

After the soldiers had rallied to him, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab marched to the cemetery of the Banū Yashkur, located midway between him and the fortress, where he set up camp. The Banū Tamīm, the Qays, and the Syrian army approached him, and the two sides fought for a little while. Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab attacked them and struck Miswar b. 'Abbād al-Ḥabaṭī with his sword, smashing the nosepiece of his helmet, and then quickly [1384] thrust the sword into his nose. He also attacked Huraym b. Abī Ṭaḥmah[398] b. Abī Nahshal b. Dārim, grabbing his belt and throwing him off his horse. When (Huraym) fell between him and the

394. See *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, I, 421; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 4; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 72.

395. The Mirbad of al-Baṣrah was the famous caravan quarter at the western end of the city. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 97–99; Le Strange, *Lands*, 45.

396. The 'Reds' are the Persian "*mawāli*" (clients).

397. See *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, II, 224; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 5–6.

398. Read *Ṭaḥmah*, as in the text; the Cairo ed. has *Ṭalḥah*. See Caskel, *Ǧamharah*, II, 287; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 5, n. 2.

horse, (Muḥammad) exclaimed, "What a futile attempt! Your paternal uncle is heavier than that."[399] The soldiers fled, pursued by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who followed them until he approached the fortress. There, they engaged them in battle, with ʿAdī himself going out to fight Yazīd. Several of ʿAdī's men were slain, including al-Ḥārith b. Muṣarrif al-Awdī, one of the nobles of the Syrian army who had been a horseman under al-Ḥajjāj, Mūsā b. al-Wajīh al-Ḥimyarī—later al-Kalāʿī, and Rāshid the Muʾadhdhin. ʿAdī's forces fled.

Yazīd's brothers, who were in ʿAdī's prison, heard the shouts getting closer and the arrows falling inside the fortress. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab said to them, "I see the arrows falling inside the fortress and hear the shouts coming closer. Although I think that Yazīd has triumphed, I fear that the Muḍarīs, that is, the Syrians who are with ʿAdī, will come and slay us before Yazīd can reach us here in the room. Therefore, barricade the door and throw some furniture against it."[400] They obeyed his instructions. Shortly thereafter they were approached by ʿAbdallāh b. Dīnār, a client of Ibn ʿUmar[401] who was the commander of ʿAdī's guards. He and his men tried to force their way in, but the Muhallabids had thrown some furniture[402] against the door and were leaning on it. The others tried, unsuccessfully, to push in
[1385] the door, but abandoned them when the soldiers told them they had to hurry.

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab advanced and occupied the house of Sālim b. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān,[403] which was adjacent to the fortress. Ladders were brought forward, and it was not long before ʿUthmān[404] stormed the fortress. ʿAdī b. Arṭāt was captured and brought out, smiling. Yazīd said to him, "Why are you laughing?

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399. The context here suggests that it is Muḥammad who attacks Huraym and throws him off his horse, although the subjects could be reversed, as in Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 5, where Muḥammad fails in his attempt to throw Huraym from his horse, whereupon it is the latter who laughs and exclaims, "What a futile attempt, O nephew! Your paternal uncle is heavier than you think."

400. Text: *thiyāb*, which literally means "clothing." Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 73, specifies *al-raḥl*, "saddlebags."

401. Text: ʿAmir; read ʿUmar, following the Cairo ed.

402. Text: *matāʿ*.

403. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 73, specifies Sulaymān b. Ziyād b. Abīhi. According to Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 6, the house belonged to Umm Muḥammad bt. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān al-Thaqafī.

404. ʿUthmān b. al-Mufaḍḍal. See *FHA*, 58.

By God, two things ought to prevent you from laughing. First, the fact that you fled from a noble death and surrendered like a woman, that is the first thing; second, the fact that you have been brought to me like a runaway slave that is dragged back to its masters. You have no covenant or pact with me, so what makes you so confident that I will (not) cut off your head?" 'Adī replied: "You have, indeed, overpowered me. But I know that your survival depends on mine and that there is a price on the head of whoever might slay me. You have seen the armies of God in the West,[405] and you are aware of how God helps those people in every single place where treachery and disloyalty prevail. Make amends, then, for your hasty actions and your mistakes by repenting and asking for forgiveness before the sea casts its waves over you, because if you ask for forgiveness later, it will not be granted. Furthermore, if you sue for peace after I have sent the army against you, you will find them keeping their distance from you, but so long as the army has not been sent against you, they will not deny you anything that you may request, namely, safe passage for yourself, your family and your property."

Yazīd replied as follows:

> As for your statement, "Your survival depends on mine"—may God not keep me alive longer than the time it takes a frightened bird to sip water if that is the case. And as for your statement, "There is a price on the head of whoever slays you"—by God, suppose I had in my control [1386]
> ten thousand soldiers from the Syrian army who were all of greater status than you, and I cut off their heads in one spot; they would not be as frightened and terrified by those slayings as they would be by my threat to abandon and oppose them. Furthermore, were I to ask them to shed their blood in vain for me, to give me control of their treasures, and to secure for me a great portion of their sovereignty, in exchange for terminating the war between us, they would certainly comply. Therefore, do not delude yourself: the army would forget you if news of us[406] reached them, and whatever they devise or machinate will

405. That is, the Umayyad armies in Syria.

406. The text is *akhyārunā*, "our best men." This should be amended to read *akhbārunā*. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

be only for themselves; they will not remember you, nor will they pay any attention to you. Finally, as for your statement, "Make amends for your deed, ask for forgiveness, and do this and do that"—by God, I did not ask for your advice, and you are neither my friend nor a trusted adviser. Indeed, what you have said is a redundancy uttered out of weakness. Take him away!

But an hour or so after they had taken ʿAdī away, Yazīd said, "Bring him back." When they had brought him back, Yazīd said, "I would not have imprisoned you had you not imprisoned and tortured the Banū Muhallab, despite our request that you treat them gently. But you did not ease your oppression, torture, and opposition." After hearing this statement, ʿAdī manifested a greater sense of security, and he mentioned what Yazīd had said to everyone who visited him.

A man named al-Samaydaʿ al-Kindī, from the Banū Mālik b. Rabīʿah—he was a resident of ʿUmān—held the beliefs of the Khārijites.[407] As Yazīd's and ʿAdī's forces were lining up in rows, he emerged and seceded, taking with him many of the Qurʾān reciters.[408] A group from Yazīd's forces and a group from ʿAdī's forces said, "We accept the judgment of al-Samaydaʿ." Yazīd then
[1387] sent a message to al-Samaydaʿ, inviting him to join forces with him. He accepted the summons, and Yazīd appointed him governor of al-Ubullah,[409] where he turned his attention to perfumes and pleasure. When Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was victorious, the leaders of the Baṣran army, from the tribes of Qays, Tamīm, and Mālik b. al-Mundhir, fled, joining ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in al-Kūfah. Some of them made their way to Syria. Al-Farazdaq recited:

My life for a group from the Tamīm who followed one another
to Syria rather than accept the judgment of al-Samaydaʿ.
Would they accept the judgment of a Ḥarūri,[410] who has
strayed from the true religion,

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407. On the Khārijites, see note 266 above.

408. Text: *al-qurrāʾ*. For a speculative view of the meaning of this term, see Shaban, *Islamic History*, 23, 51; cf. Juynboll, "The Qurrāʾ in Early Islamic History," 113–129; and Hinds, "Kūfan Political Allignments," 358ff.

409. A town located four *farsakhs* (24 km.) from al-Baṣrah, between the main course of the Tigris and one of the channels. See Barthold, *Geography*, 203.

410. That is, a Khārijite. See note 268, above.

more erroneous and more deviant than an ass with its ear cut off?[411]

To which Khalīfah al-Aqṭa' responded:

His judgment was sought neither because he sent a delegation to ask for it,
nor because of an opportunity from which some desirable outcome was expected.
Rather, they traveled to get it, by day and by night,
on the baldest buttocks that can be seen on a day of wearisome travel.
For fear that the enemy would catch up with them,
they would camp only every fourth or fifth night.

Al-Ḥawārī b. Ziyād b. 'Amr al-'Atakī set out with the intention of reaching Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, fleeing from Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. He encountered Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī and 'Amr b. Yazīd al-Ḥakamī, who were traveling with Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab. They were returning from Yazīd b. 'Abd al- [1388] Malik with a promise of safe-conduct for Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and everything that he wanted[412] from the Caliph. Al-Ḥawārī greeted the two men, who asked him about the latest events. But when he saw Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Malik (b. al-Muhallab) with them, he took them aside, privately. "Where are you going?" he asked. "To Yazīd b. al-Muhallab," they replied. "We have brought him everything that he wanted." Al-Ḥawārī said, "You cannot do anything for Yazīd, and he cannot do anything for you. He has defeated his enemy, 'Adī b. Arṭāt, slain many men, and imprisoned 'Adī. Turn back, both of you!" At that moment, a tribesman from the Bāhilah named Muslim b. 'Abd al-Malik passed by without stopping to greet them. They called after him and asked him to account for himself, but he still would not stop. Al-Qasrī said, "Shouldn't you bring him back and administer one hundred lashes?" But his companion said to him, "Let him go,"[413] and they waited until he disappeared.

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411. See *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, I, 409.

412. Text: *arādahu*; the Cairo ed. has the dual form, *arādāhu*, "(everything that) the two of them wanted." On this mission, see note 392, above.

413. Text: *gharribhu 'anka*; the Cairo ed. reads *'azzibhu 'anka*, "leave him alone."

Al-Ḥawārī b. Ziyād continued on his way to Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and the two men turned back, taking Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (b. al-Muhallab) with them. Ḥumayd said to them, "I adjure you by God not to violate the mission on which you were sent by the Caliph, for Yazīd (b. al-Muhallab) is well disposed toward you, although that one[414] and the members of his household have always been our enemies. I adjure you by God not to listen to what he says." But they rejected Ḥumayd's plea and took him with them. Eventually, they delivered him to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym[415] al-Kalbī, who had been sent to Khurāsān by Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik to serve as his governor there. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān learned that Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had renounced his allegiance to Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, he wrote to the Caliph as follows: "Holy war against those who have opposed you is dearer to me than my appointment in Khurāsān, for which I have no
[1389] need. Therefore, count me among those whom you are sending to me in order to fight against Yazīd b. al-Muhallab." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān sent Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (b. al-Muhallab) to Yazīd (b. ʿAbd al-Malik).

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb arrested Khālid b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who was in al-Kūfah, and Ḥammāl b. Zaḥr al-Juʿfī, neither of whom had uttered a word against the Caliph—although they were aware of the fact that the Banū al-Muhallab had thrown off allegiance to him. He put them in chains and sent them to Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who imprisoned them, together (in Damascus); they died there, never having left the prison.

Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik sent some soldiers from the Syrian army to al-Kūfah in order to reassure (the Kūfans), to commend them for their obedience, and to promise to increase their stipends. Included among those who were sent was al-Quṭāmī[416] b. al-Ḥuṣayn, that is, Abū al-Sharqī—al-Sharqī's proper name is al-Walīd. When al-Quṭāmī learned that Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had thrown off allegiance to the Caliph, he recited:

Perhaps my eye might see Yazīd,
leading a large, powerful army.

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414. Probably al-Ḥawārī b. Ziyād, who was from the tribe of ʿAtīk.
415. Text: Sulaymān; read Sulaym, following the Cairo ed.
416. The alternative vocalization—al-Qaṭāmī.

(An army) which lets you hear the earth reverberating noisily.
(Yazīd) is not sordid, weak, or envious,[417]
Nor a coward in battle, trembling in fear.[418]
You see the crowned ones prostrating themselves to him,
Bowing down, submissive, overpowered,
while others welcomed (him) with welcoming delegations.
He violates neither the pact nor the stipulations
of people who were of a kingly and good breed.
Every day you see them celebrating a holiday,
having slaughtered their enemies deliberately.

Subsequently, al-Quṭāmī traveled to al-ʿAqr, where he witnessed the fighting between Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik.[419] Yazīd b. al-Muhallab exclaimed, "How great is the discrepancy between al-Quṭāmī's poetry and his actions!"

Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik sent al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd,[420] leading [1390] four thousand horsemen without any infantry, hurrying toward al-Ḥīrah in an effort to get there before Yazīd b. al-Muhallab did. Then, Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik and regiments of the Syrian army advanced and seized al-Jazīrah along the bank of the Euphrates. The Baṣran army rallied to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who appointed his own governors over al-Ahwāz,[421] Fārs, and Kirmān. These provinces were governed by al-Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥakamī—until he was recalled by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; (then) by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym al-Azdī, who was in charge of prayer, and by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī, who had been put in charge of the fiscal administration by Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Mudrik b. al-Muhallab advanced, reaching Ra's al-Mafāzah.[422] Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym sent an agent to say to the Banū Tamīm, "Mudrik b. al-Muhallab seeks to stir up war among you. But you live in a peaceful and obedient country and you care for

417. Text: *ḥasūdan*. The Cairo ed. reads *ḥayūdan*, "turning away."
418. Text: *ʿadīdan*, "equal"; read *riʿdīdan*, following the Cairo ed.
419. See text below, II/1395ff., sub anno 102.
420. Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd was an Umayyad general, son of the Caliph, al-Walīd I. See *EI*², s.v. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd.
421. An administrative district between al-Baṣrah and Fārs. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 284–86; *EI*², s.v. al-Ahwāz.
422. Al-Mafāzah (the wilderness) is the name of the Great Desert of Khurāsān that stretches across the high plateau of Iran from northwest to southeast. It is approximately eight hundred miles long. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 322–28; Barthold, *Geography*, 133–35.

the unity of the community." They set out at night in order to confront Mudrik. But the Azd learned of this, and approximately two thousand of their horsemen set out and intercepted the Banū Tamīm before they reached Ra's al-Mafāzah. The Azd asked the Banū Tamīm, "What has brought you here, and what has caused you to come to his place?" They made some excuses without acknowledging that they had come out in order to slay[423] Mudrik b. al-Muhallab. The Azd said to them, "We know that you have come out to confront our leader. Look, there he is, nearby. What do you want?"

Then the Azd left and joined up with Mudrik b. al-Muhallab at Ra's al-Mafāzah. They said to him, "You are dearer to us and more esteemed than any man. Your brother has revolted, declaring war on the Caliph. If God grants him victory, that will be good for us, for we are the quickest to come to you, O family of al-Muhallab, and the most ready to do that. In the other case, by
[1391] God, there shall be no solace for you in our misfortune." Upon hearing this, Mudrik resolved to leave. The following was recited by Thābit Quṭnah, that is, Thābit b. Ka'b, from the tribe of Azd, from al-'Atīk:[424]

Did you not see that the Dawsar protected their brother,
when the Tamīm had massed to slay him?
They saw the blue spearheads surrounding him,
and a tribe whose sacred precincts are inviolable.
[I mean] Dawsar's two branches: Shunū'ah and 'Umrān b.
Ḥazm.
There the glory and the most noble descent lie.
They did not attack, but were held back
by the spears of the Azd and its long-standing invincibility.
We turned Mudrik back truly and properly,
without any wound on his face from you.
With horses, like divining arrows, let free with their riders
on a piece of land whose parts are rich with grass.

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423. Text: *li-yutlifū*. The Cairo ed. reads *li-yutliffū*, probably a typographical error for *li-yatalaqqaw*, "to meet." Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 8, has *li-liqā'i*, "to confront."

424. Thābit Quṭnah was a poet and cavalier who was a companion of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, II, 630–31, no. 117; *Aghānī* (Beirut), XIV, 247–65.

On their backs are every haughty and mighty Dawsarī
who does not flee or leave his place in battle.
By means of them fools are put right by reproach,
until you begin to see fools restrained by wise censure.[425]

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Mu'ādh b. Sa'd: When the army of al-Baṣrah had assembled, Yazīd stood before them and praised God. After informing them that he was summoning them to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet, Muḥammad,[426] he incited them to holy war, claiming that those who fought in the holy war against the Syrian army would receive a greater reward than those who fought against the Turks and the Daylamīs.[427]

Our source continued: I entered the mosque with al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, whose hand was on my shoulder.[428] He asked me, "Look around. Do you recognize anyone?" I replied, "No, by God, I don't." Al-Ḥasan said, "By God, these people are transgressors."[429] We then made our way forward until we reached the pulpit. I heard (Yazīd) mention the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet. Then al-Ḥasan raised his voice and exclaimed, "By God, we have seen you as both governor and governed, and that does not suit you." At that, we jumped on al-Ḥasan, grabbing his hand and covering his mouth, and made him sit down. By God, [1392] we were sure that Yazīd had heard him, even though he did not pay any attention to him and continued his sermon. Our source said: Then we went out to the gate of the mosque where, lo and behold, al-Naḍr b. Anas b. Mālik[430] was standing at the gate, saying, "O servants of God, what prevents you from responding to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet? By God, none of us has seen the likes of that one (that is, Yazīd) since the day you were born—except during the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd

425. See al-A'shā, *Dīwān*, 340.

426. It was customary for rebels of the Umayyad period, whatever their sectarian stance, to make a call to the Book of God and the precedent of the Prophet; the collocation stood for justice. See Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 61, 66.

427. Turks and Daylamīs were non-Muslims.

428. The context suggests that al-Ḥasan had gone blind, a point that I am unable to corroborate.

429. Text: *al-a'tā'*. The Cairo ed. reads *al-ghuthā'*, "the scum of the the earth."

430. For information on this figure, see al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif*, III, 203, no. 5926.

al-ʿAzīz." Al-Ḥasan exclaimed, "Praise be to God. Al-Naḍr b. Anas, too, has testified (in favor of Yazīd)."

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—al-Muthannā b. ʿAbdallāh: Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī passed by the soldiers, who had arranged themselves in two rows and raised the standards and spears in anticipation of Yazīd's emergence. They were saying, "Yazīd has summoned us to the example of the two ʿUmars."[431] Al-Ḥasan said, "Only yesterday Yazīd was striking off the heads of those whom you see here and sending them to the Marwānids, seeking thereby to win the approval of the Umayyads. But when he became angry, he lifted up a stick, tied some rags to it, and said, 'I have thrown off allegiance to (the Marwānids), so you do the same.'" Those people said, "Yes." Then al-Ḥasan said, "I summon you to the example of the two ʿUmars, which requires that chains be put on (Yazīd's) legs and that he be sent back to the prison in which ʿUmar had imprisoned him." After hearing this, some soldiers who supported al-Ḥasan said to him, "By God, it appears, Abū Saʿīd, as if you approve of the Syrian army." To which he replied, "I approve of the Syrian army! May God afflict them and render them hideous! Are they not the ones who desecrated the sacred precinct of the Messenger of God, slaughtering
[1393] its inhabitants for three days and three nights, declaring them lawful for their Nabataeans and Copts, carrying off free, pious women, and not holding back from violating the honor of any sacred thing? Then they went to God's sacred house and destroyed the Kaʿbah, lighting fires amidst its stones and coverings. May the curse of God and the evil of the (Last) Abode be upon them!"[432]

Our source continued: Then Yazīd left al-Baṣrah, having appointed Marwān b. al-Muhallab as his governor. Taking weapons and the contents of the Public Treasury with him, he set out for Wāsiṭ. Now, as he was turning in the direction of Wāsiṭ he sought the counsel of his officers, saying, "Give me your advice, for the Syrian army is advancing quickly in this direction." Ḥabīb[433]—and others—advised him as follows: "We think that you should

431. That is, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Abū Bakr, or ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

432. The Syrian troops of the Umayyads ravaged Mecca in 64 (683) and 74 (694). See *EI*², s.v. Kaʿba.

433. Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab was Yazīd's brother.

leave (al-Baṣrah) and go to Fārs, where you can seize the mountain roads and passes and draw near to Khurāsān. In this way, you will outlast the enemy, so that when the army of al-Jibāl[434] is deployed around you,[435] you will control the fortresses and strongholds." He replied, "I do not agree with your recommendation, which is unacceptable to me. You seek to turn me into a bird on a mountaintop."

Then Ḥabīb said to him:

> The plan that should have been adopted at the outset is no longer feasible. When you took control of al-Baṣrah, I ordered you to send horsemen led by members of your household back to al-Kūfah, where 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (is the governor). Earlier, you passed by him with seventy foot soldiers, and he was unable to defeat you. He would have had even less success against a large number of your horsemen. In this way, we would have beaten the Syrian army to al-Kūfah, where the great majority of its eminent people accept you; indeed, most of them would prefer to be governed by you than by the Syrians. But since you did not obey me, I now advise you as follows: send some of your most accomplished horsemen to al-Jazīrah, together with the members of your household. Let them make their way there quickly and occupy one of its fortresses. You yourself should follow them. Thus, when the Syrian army approaches, looking for you, they will not escape any of your regiments in al-Jazīrah. As they advance toward you, they will be bogged down with your cavalry, who will keep them away from you until you come to them, at which point you will be joined by those of your tribesmen who are in Mosul.[436] The armies of Iraq and of the frontiers will be deployed [1394]

434. Al-Jibāl is the broad mountain region stretching across from the plains of Iraq in the west to the Great Desert of Khurāsān in the east. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 99–100; Le Strange, *Lands*, 185; *EI²*, s.v. Djibāl.

435. This is a conjectural translation. The text is *yanfaḍḍūna ilayka*, literally, "scattered around you." Compare Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 12 (*wa-ahl al-jibāl ma'aka*, "and the army of al-Jibāl will be with you"); Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 9 (*yanhadūna ilayka*, "they will hasten toward you"); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 76 (*ya'tūna ilayka*, "they will come to you").

436. The capital of the Diyār Rabī'ah, located on the west bank of the Tigris, opposite the ancient Niniveh. See *EI*, s.v. Moṣul.

around you,[437] and you will engage them in battle in a land of abundance and cheap prices,[438] having put all of Iraq behind you.

He said, "I do not want to divide my forces." When he arrived in Wāsiṭ, he remained there only a few days.

According to Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī): In this year, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī led the pilgrimage. This was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit—his source—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar. A similar report was transmitted by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk was the governor of Medina on behalf of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, while Mecca was governed by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd. In al-Kūfah, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān served as governor, and al-Shaʿbī was in charge of the judicial administration. Al-Baṣrah had been taken over by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym was in charge of Khurāsān.

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437. Text: *yanfaḍḍu ilayka.* Azdī, *Taʾrīkh,* 10, reads *yanqaḍḍu ilayka,* "will rush to you." See note 435 above.

438. Text: *fī arḍin rafīʿati-l-siʿr,* "a land of high prices." The text should be amended to read *fī arḍin rafīghati-l-siʿr.* I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

The Events of the Year 102

(July 12, 720—June 30, 721)

One of the events of this year was the march undertaken by al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik in the direction of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, having been sent to fight him by Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. [1395]

In this year, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was slain in the month of Ṣafar (August 11–September 8).[439]

The Slaying of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Mu'ādh b. Sa'īd: Yazīd b. al-Muhallab decided to leave Wāsiṭ in order to confront Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-'Abbās. He designated his son, Mu'āwiyah, as his representative in that city, entrusting him with the Public Treasury, the coffers, and the prisoners of war, and he dispatched an advance party headed by his brother, 'Abd al-Malik.

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439. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 332; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 54–55; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 11–25; Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 10–14; *FHA*, 65–74; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 220; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 316–19.

Then he set out and, after passing by Fam al-Nīl,[440] he set up camp at al-'Aqr.[441] Meanwhile, Maslamah advanced, marching along one of the banks of the Euphrates until he reached al-Anbār,[442] where, after laying a bridge over the river, he crossed over at a point near a village known as Fāriṭ.[443] Then he advanced until he encountered Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.

Yazīd's brother, 'Abd al-Malik, who had been sent ahead in the direction of al-Kūfah, was confronted in Sūrā[444] by al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd. The two armies engaged in battle after arranging themselves in ranks. The Baṣran army charged, putting (the Syrians) to flight. With al-'Abbās were some soldiers from the Banū Tamīm and Qays, who had fled from Yazīd, from al-Baṣrah; indeed, there were a good number of them with al-'Abbās, including Huraym b. Abī Ṭaḥmah al-Mujāshi'ī. When the Syrian army was put to flight in that manner, Huraym b. Abī Ṭaḥmah called out to them, "O Syrians, fear God, fear God, and do not abandon us!" 'Abd al-Malik's soldiers had forced them to the river. In response, they called out to him, "Don't worry. It is customary for the Syrian
[1396] army to feign defeat at the outset of battle. But assistance is on its way."

Then the Syrian army gained the offensive, exposing 'Abd al-Malik's forces and putting them to flight. Among those slain was al-Mantūf, a client of the Bakr b. Wā'il. Al-Farazdaq recited the following lines in an attempt to incite the Bakr b. Wā'il:

The Bakr b. Wā'il weep for al-Mantūf,
    but they don't let anyone cry for the two sons of Misma'.
Two youths who grew up amid the fires of war and
    accomplished
    noble deeds before their beards began to grow.
Were Mālik and Ibn Mālik alive,

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440. A town in the Sawād of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 334–39, s.v. al-Nīl.

441. 'Aqr of Babel was near Karbalā', in the administrative district of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 136; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 316, n. 1.

442. A town on the east bank of the Euphrates, near the 'Īsā Canal. See *EI*², s.v. al-Anbār; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 316, n. 1.

443. There is no entry in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary for this village.

444. An old Jewish town on the upper Sūrā Canal, near the site of the later Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 278; Le Strange, *Lands*, 70–72.

then they would have lit two fires whose flames would
have risen high.[445]

The two sons of Misma' were Mālik b. Misma' and 'Abd al-Malik b. Misma', who were slain by Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. In response to al-Farazdaq, al-Ja'd b. Dirham,[446] a client of [Suwayd b. Ghafalah][447] from the tribe of Hamdān, recited the following lines:

We weep for al-Mantūf because he aided his tribe,
but we do not weep for the two dead ones who disgraced
their father.[448]
The two of them sought the ruin of the Bakr b. Wā'il,
and the strength of Tamīm, had their home been attacked.
May they not find any comfort from God for even an hour,
and may the eyes of the mourner who cries for them
continue to shed tears forever.
Should we cry for them deceitfully, if ever we cry, [1397]
when they met their death having deceived us too?

'Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab rejoined his brother in al-'Aqr, where he ordered 'Abdallāh b. Ḥayyān al-'Abdī to cross over the river to the side where the Ṣarāt al-Aqṣā[449] is located—there was a bridge between the two places. 'Abdallāh, together with his troops and one of Yazīd's units, set up camp there and dug a trench [around the camp]. But Maslamah, accompanied by Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī, crossed over the water—some authorities maintain that it was al-Waḍḍāḥ who crossed over—and the two sides came face to face.

Meanwhile, Yazīd was joined by a large number of soldiers from al-Kūfah and from al-Jibāl, and soldiers from the frontiers were making their way towards him. He put 'Abdallāh b. Sufyān b. Yazīd b. al-Mughaffal al-Azdī in command of the Kūfan con-

445. See *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, II, 203.
446. See *EI*², s.v. Ibn Dirham.
447. The lacuna in the text is filled in by the editor of the Cairo ed.
448. The text, *al-shā'idayn*, should be amended to read *al-shā'inayn*. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.
449. The Ṣarāt Canal branched off from the 'Īsā Canal just above the town of al-Muḥawwal. Yāqūt mentions two canals by this name, the Greater and Smaller Ṣarāt. See *Mu'jam*, III, 399–400; Le Strange, *Lands*, 66–67.

tingents that had joined him, as well as of the Medinese contingent; he put al-Nuʿmān b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar al-Nakhaʿī in command of the contingent from the Madhḥij and Asad; he put Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath in command of the contingent from the Kindah and Rabīʿah; and he put Ḥanẓalah b. ʿAttāb b. Warqāʾ al-Tamīmī in command of the contingent from the Tamīm and Hamdān. He brought all of them together with al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab.[450]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf—al-ʿAlāʾ b. Zuhayr:[451] By God, we were sitting with Yazīd that day when suddenly he asked, "Do you think that they have one thousand soldiers?"[452] To which Ḥanẓalah b. ʿAttāb replied, "Yes, by God. They probably have four thousand." He said, "By God, they have never attacked with even a thousand men. By God, I reckon that
[1398] there are one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers listed in my military register. But by God, I wish that I had my tribesmen from Khurāsān with me at this hour, instead of them."

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf: Then he stood up on that day, inciting us for battle. Later, he said, as he put it to us, "Those soldiers will not be turned away from their misguided actions except by a thrust into their eyes[453] and a blow on the head with the sword." Then he added, "I have been told about this yellow locust"—that is, Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik—"and that she-camel slaughterer from Thamūd,"[454] that is, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd, who had blue eyes and red skin, his mother being a Greek. "By God, Sulaymān wanted to negate his lineage until I intervened on his behalf, whereupon the Caliph allowed him to adhere to his lineage. But now I learn that the two of them have no other objective but to search for me throughout the land. By God, were they to gather all of mankind,[455] while I was by myself, I would not quit the field of

450. Perhaps this should read: "under the command of al-Mufaḍḍal."

451. Text: Ruhayr; read Zuhayr, following the Cairo ed.

452. Text: *alf sayf yuḍrabu bihi*. Literally: "a thousand swords capable of being struck."

453. Text: *ʿuyūnihim*. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 15, has *nuḥūrihim*, "their throats," which makes better sense.

454. The tribe of Thamūd, which disappeared from Arabia some time before the appearance of Islam, was punished because one of its members had hamstrung a sacred camel. See *EI*, s.v. Thamūd.

455. Text: *ahl al-arḍ*, literally, "peasants."

battle until victory had been achieved by one side or the other." They said, "We fear that you will impose hardships upon us, just as 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad[456] did." Yazīd said, "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad brought shame upon his family and upon his noble reputation. Was he able to exceed his appointed time?" Then he stepped down.

Our source continued: We were joined by 'Āmir b. al-'Amaythal, a soldier from the Azd, who had combined several military units. He came to Yazīd and swore the oath of allegiance to him. The wording of the oath of allegiance sworn to Yazīd was as follows: "You swear allegiance to the Book of God and to the *sunnah* of His Prophet that no army will pillage our country or our headquarters and that we will never again be subject to the behavior of that sinner al-Ḥajjāj. We accept the allegiance of anyone who will swear on these terms and we will engage in holy war against anyone who refuses, putting God between him and us." Then he would ask, "Do you swear allegiance to us?" If they responded affirmatively, he would accept allegiance from them.

Meanwhile, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān had ordered his troops to set up camp in al-Nukhaylah.[457] He sent some men to the water, and they broke through the bank of the river, flooding the area between al-Kūfah and Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, so as to prevent him from reaching the city. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd also estab- [1399]
lished observation points and lookouts in the vicinity of al-Kūfah in order to prevent the Kūfan army from joining Yazīd.

'Abd al-Ḥamīd sent Maslamah a military unit from al-Kūfah commanded by Sayf b. Hāni' al-Hamdānī. After flattering the soldiers and praising them for their fidelity, Maslamah exclaimed, "By God, how few are the number of those who have come to us from al-Kūfah!" 'Abd al-Ḥamīd learned of this and he sent a second, larger unit commanded by Sabrah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf al-Azdī. When Sabrah arrived, Maslamah praised him, saying, "This man's household has obedience and heroic deeds. Attach to him all of the soldiers from the Kūfan army that are here." Then Maslamah sent a message to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-

456. That is, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, who led a revolt against al-Ḥajjāj in 80–82 or 83/699–700 or 702. See text above, II/1042ff., sub anno 80; *EI*², s.v. Ibn al-Ash'ath; Crone, *Slaves*, 110–11.

457. A town in Iraq, near al-Kūfah. See *EI*, s.v. al-Nukhaila.

Raḥmān, dismissing him. In his place, he appointed Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah, who is known as Dhū al-Shāmah.[458]

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab summoned the chiefs of his army and addressed them as follows: "I have decided to assemble twelve thousand soldiers and to send them with Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab. They will attack Maslamah by night, taking with them packsaddles and containers for use in filling in their trench. They will engage the enemy in battle at the trench throughout the night, during which time I will be sending reinforcements to Muḥammad. The next morning I will rush out to them, leading the soldiers, and we will engage them in battle. I hope that God will grant us victory over them."

But al-Samayda' objected, "We have summoned (the Syrians) to the Book of God and to the *sunnah* of His Prophet, Muḥammad, and they claim to have accepted this from us. Thus, we should not engage in deceit or treachery, nor should we wish any evil upon them until they reject what they claim to have accepted from us."

Abū Ru'bah, the leader of a group of Murji'ites,[459] who was accompanied by his supporters, said, "Al-Samayda' is correct. [1400] That is the proper course." But Yazīd exclaimed, "Alas! Do you really believe that the Umayyads will act in accordance with the Book and the *sunnah* when they have neglected both for as long as they have been around? They say[460] to you, 'We accept you,' and they claim not to want to exercise their authority except in accordance with your orders and your instructions. But, in fact, they seek to drive you away from them so that they might engage in treachery. Therefore, do not let them deceive you first. Beat them to it. I have had experience with the Marwānids and, by God, none of them is more devious or more deeply immersed in falsehood[461] than that yellow locust"—that is, Maslamah. But

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458. Dhū al-Shāmah means: "the one with the birthmark." See text above, II/1380, sub anno 101.

459. The Murji'ites were an early Islamic sect that advocated postponement (*irjā'*) of any decision about a grave sinner. See *EI*, s.v. al-*Murdji'a*. On Abū Ru'bah, see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 317.

460. Text: *lam yaqūlū*, "they did not say"; read *yaqūlū*, following the Cairo ed.

461. Text: *ab'ada ghawran*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 80, has *ab'ada ghadaran*, "more treacherous."

they said, "We do not agree to act in that manner until they reject what they claim to have accepted from us." Meanwhile, Marwān b. al-Muhallab was in al-Baṣrah, inciting the soldiers to go to war against the Syrian army and sending soldiers to Yazīd. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, on the other hand, was imploring the soldiers not to rise with Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Baṣrī: Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was saying at that time:

> O people, stay in your homes[462] and restrain yourselves.[463] Fear God, your Lord, and do not kill one another on account of this transient world or on account of greed for trifling things that will not survive for the people who seek them, for God is not pleased with them because of their personal acquisitions. There never was a civil war except that most of the rebels were preachers, poets, fools, drifters, and conceited men. No one is safe from that (that is, civil war), except the unknown person who is hidden[464] and the God-fearing person who is well-known. Therefore, let the hidden person among you adhere to the truth and let him hold himself back from the things of this world over which the people are contending with one another. By God, let him be satisfied with God's good opinion of him, as a sign of honor, and let that be sufficient for him in place of the things of this world. As for the person among you who is well-known and distinguished, he avoids the things of this world over which his peers vie with one another, seeking thereby to please God. Oh, how happy and righteous he is, and how greatly will God magnify his reward and lead him along His path! Tomorrow, that is to say, on the Day of Resurrection, that person will have the greatest satisfaction and will be the one most welcomed by God. [1401]

When Marwān b. al-Muhallab was informed of al-Ḥasan's statement, he stood up, as was his custom, to deliver the sermon. After ordering the soldiers to be diligent and to assemble together, he said to them, "I have learned that that errant, hypocritical

462. Text: *rijālakum*, "your men"; read *riḥālakum*, following the Cairo ed.
463. Text: *wa-kuffū aydiyakum*, a Qur'ānic expression. See Qur'ān 4:77.
464. Text: *khafiyy*. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 13, reads *ḥaqīr*, "despicable."

shaykh"—he did not mention his name—"is discouraging the soldiers. By God, if his neighbor had stolen a piece of wood from the roof of his house, the neighbor's nose would still be bleeding. Does he deny to us and to the people of our town the right to seek our welfare[465] and to refute injustices that we have suffered? By God, if he does not stop mentioning us and likening us to the vile ones of al-Ubullah and the Nabataeans of the Baṣran Euphrates—people who have no connection to us and who have not received a favor from a single one of us, I shall finish him off harshly."[466]

When al-Ḥasan was informed of Marwān's remarks, he said, "By God, it does not displease me that God should honor me by chastising him."[467] Then some soldiers who were his supporters said, "If he were to have evil designs on you, and you wanted us to, we would defend you." To which he replied, "In that case I would cause you to do the thing that I have forbidden you to do. I have ordered you not to kill one another for the sake of someone else. (And now it is as if) I am calling on you to kill one another for my sake."[468] Marwān b. al-Muhallab was informed of this, and he became more violent with them, frightened them, and made demands on them, forcing them to disperse. Al-Ḥasan continued to make speeches, but Marwān b. al-Muhallab avoided him.

On Friday, the fourteenth of Ṣafar (August 25), eight days after Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and Maslamah had first encountered one another, Maslamah ordered al-Waḍḍāḥ to take the Waḍḍāḥiyyah
[1402] regiment in boats and to set fire to the bridge; he complied with the order. Maslamah then emerged from his camp and, after preparing the Syrian army, he marched forward with them in the direction of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. He stationed Jabalah b. Makhramah al-Kindī on his right flank and al-Hudhayl b. Zufar b. al-

465. Text: *khayranā*. The Cairo ed. reads *ḥaqqanā*.

466. Text: *la-unḥiyanna ʿalayhi mibradan khashanan*, literally, "I will finish him off with a rough file." See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 13: *illā nālahu minnā mā yakrahu*, "We will see that he comes to an unpleasant end"; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 221, reads *la-afʿalanna wa-la-afʿalanna*, "I will do this and that (to him)."

467. Text: *mā akrahu an yukrimanī-llāhu bi-hawānihi*. Compare Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 14: *fa-innī akrahu an yukrimanī rabbī bi-hawāni Marwān b. al-Muhallab*," It displeases me that my master should honor me by chastising Marwān b. al-Muhallab."

468. Text: *dūnī*. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 14, has *li-ajlī*, "because of me."

Ḥārith al-ʿĀmirī on his left. Al-ʿAbbās stationed Sayf b. Hāniʾ al-Hamdānī on his right flank and Suwayd b. al-Qaʿqāʿ al-Tamīmī on his left. Maslamah was in command of the soldiers. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab emerged from his camp, having put Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab on his right flank and al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab on his left flank. The Kūfan army was with al-Mufaḍḍal, who was in command of it; with him also were a substantial number of horsemen from the tribe of Rabīʿah. He was adjacent to al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—al-Ghanawī—Hishām—I suspect that al-Ghanawī is al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Minhāl: One of the Syrians went out, challenging his opponents to a single combat, but no one accepted his challenge. Then Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab stepped forward and attacked him. The Syrian protected himself with his hand—he was wearing a glove made of iron—but Muḥammad stabbed him, tearing the iron glove, and quickly thrust the sword into his hand.[469] As the man held on to his horse's neck, Muḥammad advanced and stabbed him, saying, "A reaping hook would have served you better."[470] According to one source, that man was Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī.[471]

Al-Waḍḍāḥ approached the bridge and set fire to it, sending smoke billowing in the air. Meanwhile, the war had begun and the two sides were engaged in light fighting. But when the soldiers saw the smoke and were told that the bridge had been set on fire, they fled. After learning that the soldiers had fled, Yazīd [1403] exclaimed, "What have they fled from? Is this the type of battle from which one flees?" Someone said to him, "When they were told that the bridge had been set on fire, not a single one of them held firm in battle." He said, "May God render them hideous! (They are like) an insect that flies off when some smoke is di-

469. That the unnamed Syrian was the standard-bearer of the Syrian army is suggested by the fact that he was the first to attack Yazīd's army; also he was wearing an iron glove. It was customary for one army to try to cut down the flag of the other by either severing or severely wounding the hand of the standard-bearer. For further details on this aspect of Islamic warfare, see Juynboll, "The Qur'ān Reciter on the Battlefield and Concomitant Issues," 25–26.

470. That is, you are better suited for farming than for fighting duels. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 17.

471. Nabataeans were viewed as peasants. On Ḥayyān, see text above, II/1290ff., sub anno 96.

rected towards it." He emerged together with his supporters, his clients, and his fellow tribesmen, saying, "Strike off the heads of the deserters." They complied with his order until there were many heads, which he accepted from them in huge piles. Then he said, "Leave them alone for by God I hope that God will never again cause me to occupy the same spot as they do. Leave them alone, may God expose them to hardships.[472] (They are like) sheep attacked by a wolf." Yazīd would never consider fleeing from battle.

Earlier, while in Wāsiṭ before arriving in al-ʿAqr, Yazīd had been approached by Yazīd b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ[473]—his mother was the daughter of al-Zibriqān al-Saʿdī—who recited:

Verily, the kingship of the Marwānids has come to an end.
If you have not noticed that, then notice it now.

Yazīd said, "I hadn't noticed." Then Yazīd b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ al-Thaqafī recited:

Live as a king or die with dignity, for if you die
with your sword unsheathed in your hand, you will be forgiven.

He said, "That may be."

When Yazīd went out to his forces and was confronted by the rout, he asked al-Samaydaʿ, "Who was right—you or I? Didn't I
[1404] tell you what the army had in mind?" He replied, "Yes, by God, you were right. I am here with you and I will not leave you. I am at your command." He said, "If you will not leave me, then attack," so he attacked, leading his forces. Then someone came to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and announced that Ḥabīb had been slain.

According to Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Thābit, a client of Zuhayr b. Salamah al-Azdī: I testify that when Yazīd was informed of Ḥabīb's death, I heard him say, "Life is not worth living without Ḥabīb! By God, I have always hated life after a defeat and, by God, this only increases my hatred. Advance!" By God, we

472. Text: *yuraḥḥimuhumu-llāhi*, "may God have mercy on them." This should be amended to read *barramahumu-llāhi*. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

473. Yazīd b. al-Ḥakam was an Umayyad poet who died in 105/723. See Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 332.

knew that Yazīd was desperate, and those who did not want to fight began to withdraw and slip away in secret. Nevertheless, a substantial number of soldiers remained with Yazīd as he approached his destiny. Whenever he passed the cavalry, he put them to flight; the units of the Syrian army turned away from him and from the path of his soldiers. Abū Ru'bah al-Murji'ī approached Yazīd and said, "The soldiers have fled." I was listening to him as he was indicating this to him. Abū Ru'bah asked, "Do you want to go to Wāsiṭ, a fortified city where you might remain until reinforcements arrive from the army of al-Baṣrah and until the armies of 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn[474] arrive by sea? You can dig a trench (around the city)." Yazīd replied, "What a bad suggestion! Are you suggesting that to *me*? Death would be far easier for me." Abū Ru'bah said, "I am afraid for you, for reasons that are known to you. Do you not see the iron mountains around you?" He was gesturing at him. Yazīd said to him, "I don't care whether they are mountains of iron or mountains of fire! Leave us if you do not want to fight." Our source added: Yazīd quoted the verses of Ḥārithah b. Badr al-Ghudānī.[475] Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) said: That is a mistake. The verses are by al-A'shā:[476]

Is it with death that some people[477] threaten me, [1405]
when I see that those who cower in death suffer anyway?
A death I die not powerless is not
a shame when the soul is taken away by its death.[478]

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab advanced toward Maslamah, riding his gray horse, oblivious to everyone else. When he drew near, Maslamah went to his horse in order to mount it.[479] But the Syrian

474. 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn are on the mainland of eastern Arabia, embracing the oases of Qaṭif and Ḥajar. See *EI*², s.v. al-Baḥrayn.

475. Ḥārithah b. Badr al-Ghudānī was a poet and notable of the Tamīmī clan of the Banū Ghudānah, at al-Baṣrah; he died in 64/684 or 66/686. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥārithah b. Badr al-Ghudānī.

476. Maymūn b. Qays al-A'shā was a prominent poet of the tribe of Qays b. Tha'labah; he died ca. A.D. 625. See *EI*², s.v. al-A'shā; *Aghānī* (Beirut), IX, 104–25.

477. Text: *'ibād*; the Cairo ed. has *'ubād*, referring to the Banū 'Ubād.

478. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 19.

479. It is reported that Yazīd challenged Maslamah to a single combat, but that he declined on the recommendation of his supporters. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 17–18.

cavalry attacked Yazīd and his forces, slaying Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. Al-Samayda' and Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab were also slain.

There was a man from the tribe of Kalb, from the Banū Jābir b. Zuhayr b. Janāb al-Kalbī, by the name of al-Qaḥl b. 'Ayyāsh, who, when he saw Yazīd, said, "O Syrians, by God, there is Yazīd, and by God, either I will slay him or he will slay me. He has soldiers with him, so who will attack with me and engage his forces so that I might reach him?" Some of his comrades said to him, "We will attack with you." They did. All of them attacked, and they fought one another for a while. When the dust rose, the two sides cleared themselves away from Yazīd, who lay dead, and from al-Qaḥl b. 'Ayyāsh, who was on the point of death. Al-Qaḥl signaled to his comrades with his head, showing them the spot where Yazīd lay, and said to them, "I slew him."[480] Then he pointed at himself so as to indicate that he had been mortally wounded by Yazīd. Maslamah passed by al-Qaḥl b. 'Ayyāsh, who was lying on the ground next to Yazīd, and al-Qaḥl said, "I think that (Yazīd) is the one who mortally wounded me." A client of the Banū Murrah brought forward Yazīd's head, and someone asked him, "Did you slay him?" He replied, "No." The head was brought to Mas-
[1406] lamah, who could not identify it for sure. Al-Ḥawārī b. Ziyād b. 'Amr al-'Atakī said to him, "Order that his head be washed and wrapped in a turban." When this was done, Maslamah recognized it. He sent his head to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, with Khālid b. al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah b. Abī al-Mu'ayṭ.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Thābit, a client of Zuhayr: After Yazīd was slain and the army defeated, al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab continued to fight the Syrian army, unaware of the fact that Yazīd was dead and the soldiers routed. He was riding a powerful, low-built horse, and in front him was a horse covered with a coat of mail. Every time he attacked it, it turned back and withdrew; then he withdrew. He would attack with soldiers from his forces so that he was in the middle of the army and then he would return to a spot behind his forces. Whenever he saw one of us turn his head, he would point to him with his hand, thereby

480. It is also reported that Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was slain by al-Hudhayl b. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 83.

indicating that he should not turn his head, so that the soldiers would direct their faces exclusively against their enemy.

Our source continued: We fought for a while. It was as if I were looking at ʿĀmir b. al-ʿAmaythal al-Azdī as he brandished his sword, reciting:

The mother of the newborn child knew
that I am not afraid to use the blade of the sword.

By God, we fought for an hour or so, and the horsemen from Rabīʿah were put to flight. By God, I don't think that any of the Kūfan forces persevered greatly or fought vehemently. Then al-Mufaḍḍal stood before the Rabīʿah, brandishing a sword, and called out to them, "O tribe of Rabīʿah, attack, attack! By God, you never fled before, nor were you ignoble. That is not your custom. So do not let the Iraqi army be attacked from your side today. O Rabīʿah, my soul for you, persevere for a while." Then they rallied around him and came back to him and, lo, your little rally[481] took place.

We assembled, wanting to attack them, until al-Mufaḍḍal [1407]
came. But someone asked him, "What are you doing here? Yazīd, Ḥabīb, and Muḥammad have all been slain, and the soldiers fled long ago." The news spread among the soldiers, who then scattered, whereupon al-Mufaḍḍal set out on the road to Wāsiṭ. I never saw an Arab of his stature who was more willing to engage in the actual fighting and to smite with his sword, or better at arraying his comrades for battle.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Thābit, a client of Zuhayr: I passed by the defensive trench and, behold, above it was a wall on which men armed with arrows were standing. I was wearing a coat of mail, and they called out, "O you, wearing the coat of mail, where are you going?" The coat of mail that I was wearing was extremely heavy, and as soon as I had passed beyond them, I dismounted and threw off the coat of mail so as to lighten my horse's burden.

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481. This is a conjectural translation. The text is *kuwayfatuka*. Yāqūt mentions a place by the name of Kuwayfah ("little al-Kūfah") near Baziqiyyah. See *Muʿjam*, IV, 496.

The Syrian army reached Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's camp, where Abū Ru'bah, the leader of the Murji'ites, engaged them in combat for an hour or so, until most of (the Murji'ites) had gone. The Syrians captured approximately three hundred men, and Maslamah sent them to Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-Walīd, who imprisoned them. When Muḥammad b. 'Amr received a letter from Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik ordering him to slay the prisoners, he said to al-'Uryān b. al-Haytham, the commander of his guard, "Take them out in groups of twenty and thirty."

Our source continued: Approximately thirty men from the Banū Tamīm stood up and said, "We led the soldiers in flight. Fear God and give us precedence. Send us out before the others (are slain)."[482] Al-'Uryān said to them, "Go out, in the name of God."[483] He brought them out to the square and sent a message to Muḥammad b. 'Amr, informing him that he had brought them out (and informing him) of what they had said. But Muḥammad replied that al-'Uryān should slay them.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Najīḥ, Abū 'Abdallāh, a client of Zuhayr: "By God, I was looking at them as they were exclaiming,
[1408] 'O God, we led the soldiers in flight, and this is our reward!' " No sooner had he finished with them than a messenger arrived with a letter from Maslamah in which he pardoned the prisoners and forbade their being slain. Ḥājib b. Dhubyān, from the Banū Māzin b. Mālik b. 'Amr b. Tamīm, recited:

By my life, (the tribe of) Mu'ayṭ has waded in our blood
with their swords until they were covered with muck.
The tribes have never been burdened with anything graver than
(shedding) forbidden blood,
or retaliation, when retaliation was sought.
All of you forbade shedding the blood of those who brandished
their swords against you,
but murder was committed against the cavaliers of your
group.

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482. The Banū Tamīm may have expected to be spared because their flight facilitated the victory of the Syrian army.

483. Text: *'alā-smi-llāhi*, which is equivalent to *bismi-llāhi*. The functions of *'alā* and *bi* overlap to a certain extent in classical Arabic. See Hopkins, *Studies*, 125 (no. 119); Lane, *Lexicon*, pt. 5, p. 2145.

Al-ʿUryān protected the cavaliers of his tribe with their bodies.
How strange! Where is integrity and justice?[484]

Al-ʿUryān used to say, "By God, it was neither my intention nor wish (to slay) them, until they said, 'Give us precedence. Send us out.' I brought them out and dutifully informed the person who was charged with slaying them (that is, Muḥammad b. ʿAmr), but he rejected their plea and issued the order to slay them. By God, despite what happened, I would not want a fellow tribesman to be killed in place of them. If they blame me, I am not one who heeds their reproach. So do not blame me excessively."[485] [1409]

Maslamah advanced towards al-Ḥīrah, where he set up camp. With him were approximately fifty prisoners whom he had kept with himself rather than send to al-Kūfah. When the soldiers saw that he intended to slay them, al-Ḥuṣayn b. Ḥammād al-Kalbī approached him and asked to be given three prisoners as a gift: Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī, ʿUtbah b. Muslim, and Ismāʿīl, a client of the family of the Banū ʿAqīl b. Masʿūd. Maslamah gave the three prisoners to al-Ḥuṣayn and complied with his followers' requests for the other prisoners.

When the news of Yazīd's defeat reached Wāsiṭ, Muʿāwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab took out thirty-two prisoners who were in his possession and slew them. Among those slain were ʿAdī b. Arṭāt; Muḥammad b. ʿAdī b. Arṭāt; Mālik and ʿAbd al-Malik, the sons of Mismaʿ; ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAzrah al-Baṣrī; ʿAbdallāh b. Wāʾil; and Ibn Abī Ḥāḍir al-Tamīmī, from the Banū Usayyid b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm.[486] These men had said to him, "Woe to thee! We think that you are killing us only because your father was slain. But killing us will be of no use to you in this world and it will be to your disadvantage in the next." But he slew all of the prisoners with the exception of Rabīʿ b. Ziyād b. al-Rabīʿ b. Anas b. al-Rayyān.[487] When he passed over him, some men asked, "Did you forget him?" He replied, "I did not forget him, but I will not slay him for he is a noble shaykh from my tribe with a good reputation

484. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 20–21.

485. Text: *wa-lā tukabbir ʿalayya*, "But do not praise me." This should be amended to read *fa-lā yukaththar ʿalayya*." I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

486. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 332–33; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 54; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh*, 12; *FHA*, 74; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 221.

487. Text: al-Raffān; read al-Rayyān, following the Cairo ed.

and a mighty family. I cannot doubt his affection and I have no fear that he will turn against us."

Thābit Quṭnah recited, on the subject of the slaying of 'Adī b. Arṭāt:

The slaying of al-Fazārī and his son, 'Adī, did not make me
happy,
and I did not want Ibn Misma' to be slain.
But, O Mu'āwiyah, it was a mistake,
by which you misplaced my order.

[1410] Mu'āwiyah (b. Yazīd) marched to al-Baṣrah carrying with him the Public Treasury[488] and the coffers. When al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab arrived, the entire Muhallab family was gathered in al-Baṣrah. Fearing that they would suffer the same fate as Yazīd, they prepared seagoing vessels, taking on all necessary provisions.

Earlier, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had sent Wadā' b. Ḥumayd al-Azdī to serve as the governor of Qandābīl,[489] saying to him, "I am going out to face the enemy and when I encounter them, I will not quit the field of battle until one side or the other prevails. If I am victorious, I will bestow honors upon you; if not, you will be in Qandābīl, so that the members of my household can go to you and fortify themselves there until such time as they are able to secure a guarantee of safe-conduct for themselves. As for me, I have chosen you for my household from all of my tribesmen and I trust that you will live up to my faith in you." Yazīd made him swear weighty oaths that he would serve as a faithful counselor to his household if they took refuge with him in their hour of need.

When the Muhallabids gathered in al-Baṣrah after the defeat, they loaded their families and their possessions on the seagoing vessels and put out to sea. Upon reaching al-Baḥrayn, they were told by Harim b. al-Qarār al-'Abdī, who had been appointed governor of that province by Yazīd: "I advise you not to leave your boats, upon which you are dependent for your survival, for I fear that if you disembark from these boats, the soldiers will capture

488. Text: *al-māl*. See text below, II/1411, where a parallel passage reads *bayt al-māl*.

489. The capital of a district known as Nudhah in the province of Sind, Qandābīl is on the road from Bālis to Quṣdār. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳandābīl; Barthold, *Geography*, 75; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 402.

you and bring you to the Marwānids." So they sailed on until they were opposite Kirmān, where they disembarked from the boats and loaded their families and possessions on horses and mules.

Earlier, Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had arrived in al-Baṣrah, carrying the coffers and the Public Treasury, acting as if [1411] he wanted to become the head of the family. But the Muhallabids assembled and said to al-Mufaḍḍal, "We accept you as our leader and our chief, even though you are only a young man of tender years, like one of your family's young slaves." Al-Mufaḍḍal continued to serve as their chief until they reached Kirmān, where he was joined by large numbers of runaway soldiers.

Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik sent Mudrik b. Ḍabb al-Kalbī in pursuit of the Muhallabids and the runaway soldiers. Mudrik caught up with al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab in Fārs after the latter had been joined by the runaway soldiers. He pursued them, finally overtaking them in 'Aqabah,[490] where they attacked him, engaging him in a heated battle. Slain along with al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab were al-Nu'mān b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar al-Nakha'ī and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath. Taken prisoner were Ibn Ṣūl, the King of Quhistān,[491] and al-'Āliyah, al-Mufaḍḍal's concubine. 'Uthmān b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath was severely wounded, but he fled to Ḥulwān,[492] where he was slain when someone identified him; his head was sent to Maslamah in al-Ḥīrah.

Some soldiers who had supported Yazīd b. al-Muhallab came back and asked for a guarantee of safe-conduct, which they received. Among these were Mālik b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar and al-Ward b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥabīb al-Sa'dī, from the tribe of Tamīm, who had been present with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad at all of the battles and wars in which he had participated. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān requested the guarantee of safe-conduct for al-Ward from Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik, who [1412] was both his paternal uncle and his father-in-law, and Maslamah

490. This town is possibly 'Aqabah of al-Ṭīn, in Fārs. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 134. Alternatively, the text could mean, "finally overtaking them at a mountain pass ('*aqabah*)."

491. The mountainous region in the southern part of Khurāsān. See Barthold, *Geography*, 209; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳūhistān.

492. See note 19, above.

agreed to his request. But when al-Ward came to him, Maslamah stopped him and rebuked him, while standing. He said, "You are disobedient, rebellious, hypocritical, and cowardly whenever there is a civil strife; one day you side with the weaver of the Kindah, the next with the sailor of the Azd.[493] You do not deserve to receive a guarantee of safe-conduct." Then he left.

The guarantee of safe-conduct for Mālik b. Ibrāhim b. al-Ashtar was requested by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sharāḥīl—Sharāḥīl's nickname was Rustam al-Ḥaḍramī. When Maslamah came and looked at Mālik, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥaḍramī said to him, "This is Mālik b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar." Maslamah told Mālik to leave, whereupon al-Ḥasan said to Maslamah, "May God cause you to prosper! Why don't you rebuke him as you did his comrade?" Maslamah said, "I hold your family in too high esteem for that, and you are dearer and more loyal to me than the family of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh." Al-Ḥasan said, "But we want you to swear at him for, by God, compared to al-Ward b. ʿAbdallāh, his ancestors are of greater rank, and he has had a worse influence on the Syrian army." Several months later al-Ḥasan said, "Maslamah left Mālik alone out of envy lest our companion become distinguished. He wanted to show us that he held him in great contempt."

The Muhallabids, together with the runaway soldiers who had taken refuge with them, continued their journey until reaching Qandābīl. Meanwhile, Maslamah recalled Mudrik b. Ḍabb al-Kalbī and sent Hilāl b. Aḥwaz al-Tamīmī, from the Banū Māzin b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm, to search for them. Hilāl caught up with them (as they were about to enter) Qandābīl.[494] The Muhallabids wanted to enter Qandābīl, but were prevented from doing so by Wadāʿ b. Ḥumayd. Hilāl b. Aḥwaz had written to Wadāʿ, who did not, (at first), abandon the Muhallabids. (After receiving the letter, however, Wadāʿ) left them.[495] The Muhallabids became aware of the

493. The phrase "the weaver of the Kindah" refers to Ibn al-Ashʿath, who led a revolt against al-Ḥajjāj; see note 456, above. The phrase "the sailor of the Azd" refers to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab; see text above, II/1287, sub anno 96.

494. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 334; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 540; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 54–55; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh*, 15; Masʿūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 200–1; *FHA*, 74.

495. This is a conjectural translation. The text is: *wa-lam yubāyin āl al-Muhallab fa-yufāriquhum*. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 86, where the subject of the verb *yubāyin* is Hilāl b. Aḥwāz.

fact that Wadā' had abandoned them when they assembled and lined up in military ranks. Wadā' b. Ḥumayd was on the right [1413] flank and 'Abd al-Malik b. Hilāl on the left—both of them were Azdīs. Hilāl b. Aḥwaz waved the peace flag at them, whereupon Wadā' b. Ḥumayd and 'Abd al-Malik b. Hilāl joined them. The soldiers dispersed, leaving the Muhallabids by themselves.

When Marwān b. al-Muhallab witnessed this, he started to make his way to the women, but al-Mufaḍḍal asked him, "Where are you going?" He replied, "I am going to our women, whom I intend to slay so that they will never fall into the hands of those sinners." Al-Mufaḍḍal exclaimed, "Woe to you! Would you slay your sisters and the women of your household? By God, they are not in any danger from them." He convinced him not to slay them. Then they charged with their swords and fought until they were all slain,[496] except for Abū 'Uyaynah b. al-Muhallab and 'Uthmān b. al-Mufaḍḍal, both of whom escaped and joined up with the Khāqān, Rutbīl.[497] Their women and children were sent, together with the heads of the slain men, to Maslamah, who was in al-Ḥīrah; Maslamah conveyed the heads to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, who sent them to al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, the governor of Aleppo.[498] When the heads had been set out on display, al-'Abbās went out to look at them and said to his men, "This is the head of 'Abd al-Malik and this is the head of al-Mufaḍḍal. By God, it is as if he were sitting here talking to me."

Maslamah swore, "Verily, I will sell their women and children while they are in Dār al-Rizq (the Abode of Sustenance)."[499] Then al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh said, "I will buy them from you in order to relieve you from your oath." He bought them from him for one hundred thousand (dirhams). Maslamah said, "Give me the mon- [1414]

496. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 86, adds: "They are: al-Mufaḍḍal, 'Abd al-Malik, Ziyād, and Marwān, the sons of Muhallab; Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and al-Minhāl b. Abī 'Uyaynah b. al-Muhallab; and 'Amr and al-Mughīrah, the two sons of Qabīṣah b. al-Muhallab. Their heads were carried away; in the ear of each one was a chit bearing his name."

497. Text: Khāqān wa-Rutbīl, "The Khāqān and Rutbīl." The term Khāqān is a title meaning "supreme ruler"; it applies to the heads of the various Turkish confederations. Rutbīl (or Zanbīl) was the name of the Turkish ruler of Zābulistān. See *EI*², s.v. Khāḳān; Ṭabarī, *Index*, s.v. Rutbīl; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 41.

498. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥalab.

499. The sale of Muslims as slaves is contrary to Islamic law. Dār al-Rizq seems to have been a depot for provisions in both al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah; in the latter, it was adjacent to Zābūqah. See Ṭabarī, Index; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 41.

ey." Al-Jarrāḥ replied, "Take it whenever you want." But Maslamah did not take any (money) from al-Jarrāḥ, who released the women and children, except for nine boys whom he sent to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. They were brought to Yazīd, and he beheaded them.[500]

Thābit Quṭnah recited the following elegy when he learned that Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had been slain:

O Hind,[501] how long a night have I spent!
    Even the shortest night has become too long.
As if, when the Pleiades were high overhead,
    I was given an adder's spittle[502] or poison to drink.
One day embittered the sweetness of life,
    turning my hair white though I was still a youth.
(That is the day when) your father's sons were killed while I
    was far away
    and could not see them. They departed nobly.
No, by God, I shall never forget Yazīd,
    or the dead who were slain unlawfully.
I hope to slay Yazīd[503] one day in retaliation for your brother,
    or else slay Hishām in retaliation for him.
I hope to lead the horses until they are disheveled,
    lean and lank, pounding the hillsides.
I will very shortly surprise the Ḥimyar with them in the
    morning,
    and the 'Akk, and frighten with those two the Judhām.
And we will give the Madhḥij and the tribe of Kalb
    long draughts of deadly poison to drink.
(I mean) our kinsmen who mistreat us and
    regularly put us to the test year after year.[504]
Were it not for them and the crime they committed against us,
    he would have become, in the midst of us, a king and hero.

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500. Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 22, mentions eighty men who were slain by order of the Caliph. Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 15, mentions fourteen prisoners who were slain in retaliation for 'Adī b. Arṭāt and his comrades.

501. That is, Hind bt. al-Muhallab, Yazīd's sister.

502. Text: *lu'āb aswad*. Literally, "black drivel."

503. That is, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.

504. Text: *'āman bi-'āmā*. This should be amended to read *'āman fa-'āma*. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

He also recited the following elegy for Yazīd b. al-Muhallab:

The length of this night has refused to come to an end,
and concern stirred your captivated heart.
I stayed awake, while Umm Khālid[505] slept alongside me.
I couldn't sleep for a full year.
Because of the deceased whose loss crushed the tribe. [1415]
When the Fates summoned him, he responded and submitted.
Because of a king, O friend, in al-'Aqr, to whose
cavalry detachments cowardice was attributed,
who met his death with his well-known emblem (of courage).
He was slain, but I was not present. Had I been present,
I would have put on the garments of mourning[506] if the tribe did not observe a day of mourning.
In the vicissitudes of time, O Hind, know
that someone who seeks to retaliate has to bide his time because he has to go about it carefully.
Perhaps, if the wind blows me
in the direction of Ibn Abī Dhibbān,[507] he will repent.
O Maslamah, if our spears reach you,
with them we will make you taste the venom of black serpents—O Maslamah.[508]
And if al-'Abbās[509] should ever stumble,
we will repay him for what he did that day.
In retaliation. Yet we will not exceed what he did
to us, and even then Ibn Marwān[510] would be the wrongdoer.
You will know, if your foot slips,
and some people reveal the shame they want to suppress,

505. Umm Khālid is either Thābit Quṭnah's wife or concubine.

506. Text: *tassalaytu*, "I would have been consoled"; read *la-sallabtu*, following Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 88.

507. Ibn Abī Dhibbān is either Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (see Ṭabarī, *Glossary*, s.v. Ibn Abī Dhibbān), or his brother, Maslamah (see Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 14, n. 1).

508. Text: *muslamā*, "having been given up to destruction." This should be amended to read *maslamā*. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

509. Al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd.

510. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

[1416] Who the transgressor is who drags mischief to his household,
whether the causes of a matter are clear or obscure.
Verily, we are inclined to clemency out of generosity—after
we see ignorance from the extravagance of a base person.
Verily, we have established ourselves in frontier fortresses
in which no one resides except for a large military
regiment.
We see that the neighbors have needs and deference,[511]
when such a neighbor's deference is not considered by
other people.
Verily, we feed the guest from the highest part of the camel's
hump,
when the offers of those who can offer are made
reluctantly.
When the cold wind brings forth incessant ice,
on the backs of tired grey mares that stand still without
eating fodder.
Our father is the father of the 'Helpers,' 'Amr b. 'Āmir,[512]
and they gave birth to 'Awf, Ka'b, and Aslam.[513]
There was considerable glory in Ghassān,
a glory that was old and considered magnificent.

In the year in which Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik concluded the conflict with Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik gave
[1417] him joint control over the governorships of al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, and Khurāsān.[514] Having been charged with these assignments by Yazīd, Maslamah appointed Dhū al-Shāmah Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah b. Abī Mu'ayṭ as governor of al-Kūfah.

Now, after the Muhallabids had left al-Baṣrah, control of that city was taken—according to some authorities—by Shabīb b. al-Ḥārith al-Tamīmī, who managed its affairs. But when al-Baṣrah was put under Maslamah's jurisdiction, he appointed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym al-Kalbī as his governor there; and he put

511. The text is *ḥājan wa-ḥurmatan*. See Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 14: *ḥaqqan wa-ḥurmatan*, "rights and deference"; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 88: *ḥaqqan wa-dhimmatan*, "rights and protection."

512. See text above, I/1132; Caskel, *Ǧamharah*, II, 169, s.v. 'Amr b. 'Āmir.

513. See Caskel, *Ǧamharah*, I, 176.

514. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 332; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 334; *FHA*, 75.

'Umar b. Yazīd al-Tamīmī in charge of the police and the militia. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym wanted to review the Baṣran army,[515] but when he revealed his plan to 'Umar b. Yazīd, the latter said to him, "Do you want to review the Baṣran army when you have neither proceeded towards a fortress in Kuwayfah,[516] nor staffed it with your supporters?[517] By God, if the soldiers of the Baṣran army were to throw stones at you and your forces, I fear that they would kill us. Wait ten days so that we can prepare ourselves for that." 'Umar then sent a messenger to Maslamah, informing him of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's plan, whereupon Maslamah sent 'Abd al-Malik b. Bishr b. Marwān to serve as governor of al-Baṣrah, and he confirmed 'Umar b. Yazīd's position as head of the police and the militia.

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) recounted: In this year, Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik dispatched Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ, who is known as Sa'īd Khudhaynah, (to serve as governor of Khurāsān).[518] He was given this nickname, according to some authorities, because he was a soft, easy, man who lived in comfort and luxury. He arrived in Khurāsān, riding a Bukhtiyyah camel,[519] with a knife hanging from his belt. When the King of [1418]
Abghar[520] went in to see him, Sa'īd was wearing dyed garments and was surrounded by dyed cushions. The King emerged and was asked, "How did you find the governor?" He replied, "He is a *khudhaynah* whose hair style resembles that of Sukaynah."[521] This is why he was given the nickname "Khudhaynah." The word *khudhaynah* means "the wife of the *dihqān*," (hence,) "the mistress of the house." Maslamah appointed Sa'īd Khudhaynah as governor of Khurāsān because the latter was his son-in-law, for Sa'īd was married to Maslamah's daughter.

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515. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 89, adds: "in order to kill them."

516. See note 481 above.

517. Text: *wa-tudkhilu taḥtāju ilayhi*; read *wa-tudkhilu man taḥtāju ilayhi*, following the Cairo ed.

518. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 335; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 524–25; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 334; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 55; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 451–52.

519. A Bukhtiyyah camel is a species of camel of Turkoman or Bactrian breed. See Lane, *Lexicon*, pt. 1, p. 158.

520. A district of Samarqand. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 74; Le Strange, *Lands*, 466.

521. Text: *khudhayniyyah limmatuhu sukayniyyah*. Sukaynah bt. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī had a special hair style that was named for her.

Maslamah Appoints Saʿīd Khudhaynah as Governor of Khurāsān

When Maslamah appointed Saʿīd Khudhaynah as governor of Khurāsān, the latter dispatched to that province, prior to his own departure, Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr, who was from the Banū Dārim. According to some authorities, Sawrah arrived there one month before Saʿīd did. Saʿīd also appointed Shuʿbah b. Ẓuhayr al-Nahshalī as governor of Samarqand. Shuʿbah set out for that province, accompanied by twenty-five members of his household, taking the road to Āmul[522] and reaching Bukhārā,[523] where he was joined by two hundred men. Then he reached al-Sughd,[524] the inhabitants of which had renounced Islam during the administration of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym al-Ghāmidī, who had served as governor for eighteen months. Subsequently, they returned to the terms of the peace treaty. Shuʿbah delivered a speech to the army of al-Sughd in which he denounced the Arab inhabitants of the province and accused them of cowardice, saying, "I do
[1419] not see a wounded man among you, nor do I hear anyone groaning." They made excuses to him, attributing cowardice to their governor, ʿIlbāʾ b. Ḥabīb al-ʿAbdī, who was in charge of military affairs. Then, when Saʿīd arrived, he arrested and imprisoned the governors of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qushayrī, who had been appointed during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qushayrī appealed to him on behalf of them, but Saʿīd responded, "They are accused of stealing money from the tribute." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān offered to assume liability for the stolen money—the security for them was seven hundred thousand (dirhams)—but Saʿīd did not collect the sum from him.

Next, as is reported by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, Saʿīd was informed that eight men—including Jahm b. Zaḥr al-Juʿfī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zabīdī, al-Muntajiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī, and al-Qaʿqāʿ al-Azdī—who had been appointed as governors by

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522. A town in Khurāsān situated three miles from the left bank of the Oxus. See *EI*², s.v. Āmul.

523. See *EI*², s.v. Bukhārā.

524. See note 334 above.

Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, had in their possession monies that they had stolen from the levies belonging to the Muslims. He sent for them and imprisoned them in the Marw citadel.[525] Someone said to him, "These men will not pay up unless you raise your hand against them,"[526] so he sent for Jahm b. Zaḥr, who was brought from the Marw citadel on a donkey and put on display in front of al-Fayḍ b. ʿImrān. Al-Fayḍ stood before him and struck him on the nose, whereupon Jahm said to him, "O sinner, why didn't you do that when they brought you to me, drunk on wine, and I administered the *ḥadd* punishment to you?" Angered by Jahm, Saʿīd administered two hundred lashes to him. The merchants praised God when Jahm b. Zaḥr received his beating. Saʿīd then ordered that Jahm and the other seven men who were in the prison were [1420] to be handed over to Warqāʾ b. Naṣr al-Bāhilī,[527] but when Warqāʾ asked to be excused from that job, Saʿīd complied with his request.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Dithār—or ʿAbd al-Malik b. Dithār—and al-Zubayr b. Nushayṭ, a client of the tribe of Bāhilah and husband of Saʿīd Khudhaynah's mother, said, "Give us control over their imprisonment."[528] Warqāʾ agreed, and they slew Jahm, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAmr, and al-Muntajiʿ, after torturing them; they tortured al-Qaʿqāʿ and several others to the point of death. They were still in prison when the Turks and the Soghdian army attacked, at which point Saʿīd ordered the release of those who remained. Saʿīd used to exclaim, "May God render al-Zubayr hideous, for he slew Jahm."

In this year, the Muslims carried out raids against the Soghdians and the Turks; this was the year in which the battle took place at the fortress of al-Bāhilī.

In this year, Saʿīd Khudhaynah dismissed Shuʿbah b. Ẕuhayr as governor of Samarqand.[529]

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525. Text: *quhunduz Marw*. On the Arabic term *quhunduz*, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 419.

526. Text: *tabsuṭu ʿalayhim*, a Qurʾānic expression. See Qurʾān 5:11, 60:2.

527. Warqāʾ had reportedly served as commander of the guard in Khurāsān under Qutaybah b. Muslim. See text above, II/1292, sub anno 96.

528. Text: *maḥābisahum*; the Cairo ed. has *maḥāsibahum*, "(Let us settle) the score with them."

529. See Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 222–23; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 61.

Saʿīd's Dismissal of Shuʿbah and the Battle at the Fortress of al-Bāhilī

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his aforementioned authorities: When Saʿīd Khudhaynah arrived in Khurāsān, he summoned a group of *dihqān*s and asked them to recommend the names of men that he might send out to the districts. They recommended a group of Arabs, whom he then appointed. Subsequently, however, he began to receive complaints about them. One day, when the people had come to see him, he said, "I arrived in this province not knowing anything about its inhabitants, so I asked for advice, and a certain group was recommended to me. I inquired about them and, after receiving positive reports, I appointed them. I adjure you to inform me about my governors!" [1421] Then the people praised them. But ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qushayrī said, "Had you not adjured us, I would have desisted, but now that you have adjured us I can say that you sought counsel from polytheists who recommended to you people who would be amenable to themselves and their likes. This is all that we know about them." At that, Saʿīd steadied himself on his elbow[530] and then sat up straight. Then he recited, "'Take the abundance, and bid to what is honorable, and turn away from the ignorant.'[531] Leave!"

Our source continued: Saʿīd dismissed Shuʿbah b. Ẓuhayr from al-Sughd, putting ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭarrif b. al-Shikhkhīr in command of the military administration and Sulaymān b. Abī al-Sarī, a client of the Banū ʿUwāfah, in charge of the fiscal administration. He appointed Maʿqil b. ʿUrwah al-Qushayrī as his governor in Herat,[532] whereupon Maʿqil set out for that city. The soldiers, who considered Saʿīd to be a weak man, gave him the nickname "Khudhaynah," and the Turks therefore became eager to defeat Saʿīd. The Khāqān of the Turks rallied his men and sent them to al-Sughd. The commander of the Turks was a certain

530. Text: *ittakā*. The Cairo ed. has *ittakaʿa*, which means the same thing.
531. Qurʾān 7:199.
532. One of the principal cities of Khurāsān and a great trading center, strategically located on the trade routes linking the Mediterranean Sea with India and China. See *EI*², s. v. Harāt; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 396–97.

Kūrṣūl.[533] They advanced to the Bāhilah fortress, where they set up camp.

Some sources say: One of the great *dihqān*s wanted to marry a Bāhilī woman who was in that fortress; he sent her a proposal of marriage. When she refused, he raised up an army in the hope of capturing the inhabitants of the fortress and seizing the woman.

Kūrṣūl advanced and surrounded the inhabitants of the fortress, in which there were one hundred families. Fearing that 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh, the governor of Samarqand at the time, would be slow to send them reinforcements, they sued the Turks for peace in exchange for forty thousand (dirhams); they also gave the Turks seventeen men as hostages. Meanwhile, 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh called for volunteers. Al-Musayyab b. Bishr al-Riyāḥī responded to the summons; in addition, four thousand men from all of the tribes volunteered. But Shu'bah b. Ẕuhayr scoffed, "Had the horsemen of Khurāsān been here, they could not have attained their goal."[534] Among those who volunteered from the Banū Tamīm were Shu'bah b. Ẕuhayr al-Nahshalī; Bal'ā' b. Mujāhid al-'Anzī; 'Amīrah b. Rabī'ah, one of the Banū al-'Ujayf, who is known as 'Amīrat al-Tharīd; Ghālib b. al-Muhājir al-Ṭā'ī—the paternal uncle of[535] Abū al-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī; Abū Sa'īd Mu'āwiyah b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Ṭā'ī; Thābit Quṭnah; Abū al-Muhājir b. Dārah, from the tribe of Ghaṭafān; Ḥulays[536] al-Shaybānī; al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Amr al-Ṭā'ī; Ḥassān b. Ma'dān al-Ṭā'ī; and al-Ash'ath Abū Ḥaṭāmah and 'Amr b. Ḥassān, both from the Ṭayyi'. [1422]

When the forces had assembled, al-Musayyab b. Bishr said, "You are about to arrive at the arena of the Turks, the arena of the Khāqān, and others. The reward, if you are steadfast, is Paradise, and the punishment, if you flee, is Hellfire. Let those of you who intend to attack and be steadfast come forward." At this point, thirteen hundred men left him, and he marched forwards with the rest. After advancing one *farsakh* (6 km.), he addressed the soldiers in terms similar to those in the first speech, and one thou-

533. Kūrṣūl was also known as *Köl-chür*. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 61.

534. Their goal was to rescue the Muslims from the Turks.

535. The word *'amm*, "paternal uncle," is omitted in the text but supplied in the Cairo ed.

536. Text: Julays; read Ḥulays, following the Cairo ed.

sand of them withdrew. He advanced another *farsakh* and repeated his speech, and another thousand withdrew.[537] He marched forwards—al-Ashhab b. 'Ubayd al-Ḥanẓalī served as their guide—until he was two *farsakh*s (12 km.) from the enemy, whereupon he set up camp. Then the Turkish Khāqān, the King of Qiyy,[538]
[1423] approached the Muslims and said, "All of the *dihqān*s have sworn allegiance to the other Turk,[539] but I command three hundred fighters who are at your disposal. According to my information, the inhabitants of the fortress sued the Turks for peace in return for forty thousand (dirhams); they also gave them seventeen men to serve as hostages until the tribute is paid. But when the Turks learned that you were marching towards them, they slew the hostages." Among the hostages were Nahshal b. Yazīd al-Bāhilī, who managed to escape without being slain, and al-Ashhab b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Ḥanẓalī. The (Muslims) had sworn to attack (the Turks) on the morrow or let them conquer the fortress.

That night, al-Musayyab sent out two horsemen, one an Arab and the other a non-Arab, instructing them as follows, "When you approach the fortress, tether your animals to a tree and determine the status of the people." The two men set out on a dark night, but the Turks had flooded the area around the fortress in order to prevent anyone from reaching it. When they drew near to the fortress, the sentry called out to them. They responded, "Be quiet and summon 'Abd al-Malik b. Dithār for us." The sentry complied. The two men said to 'Abd al-Malik, "We have been sent by al-Musayyab, and deliverance is here." He asked, "Where is he?" He replied, "Two *farsakh*s (12 km.) from here. Can you hold out for the remainder of tonight and tomorrow?" 'Abd al-Malik said, "We have sworn to protect our women and to send them to their death ahead of us[540] so that we might all die to-

537. Thus, of four thousand initial volunteers, seven hundred remained.

538. A town near Samarqand, located on a canal of the Zarafshan River. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 452, n. 2.

539. Text: *al-turk ghayrī*, referring to the "Khāqān of the Turks" mentioned in text above, II/1421.

540. Text: *qad ajma'nā 'alā taslīmi nisā'inā wa-taqdīmihim* (sic) *li-l-mawti amāmanā*. The translation is conjectural.

gether tomorrow." The two men reported back to al-Musayyab, who then said to his supporters, "I will march against the enemy (immediately). If anyone wants to leave, let him go." Not a single person left him, and they swore to fight to the death.

By the time al-Musayyab set out, additional water had been released around the city in order to render it inaccessible. When he was half a *farsakh* (3 km.) from the Turks, he dismounted and resolved to carry out a surprise attack by night. That evening, he gave the men their orders. They saddled up their horses, and he mounted his. He urged them to be steadfast; he not only incited their interest in the rewards to be received in the next life by those who had accumulated pious deeds and were steadfast but also enticed them with the honor and booty that they would receive in this world, if they were victorious. He instructed them as follows: [1424]

> Muzzle your horses and lead them forward. When you approach the enemy, mount and attack with earnestness. Exclaim the expression "God is great" and let your battle cry be "O Muḥammad." Do not pursue someone who has turned his back and fled. You are responsible for the horses, so make their backs sore,[541] for animals with sore backs will charge them more furiously than you will. A small number of steadfast men is preferable to a large number of cowards. Nor are your numbers insignificant. One cannot strike the enemy with seven hundred swords without weakening him, regardless of his number.

Our source continued: He arranged them in their places, putting Kuthayyir b. al-Dabūsī on the right flank and a man from the tribe of Rabīʿah known as Thābit Quṭnah on the left. They marched forward until they were two bowshots away from them, whereupon they exclaimed, "God is great." This occurred at dawn. The

541. The translation is conjectural. The text is *fa-ʿqirūhā*, which literally means "cut their hamstrings." A hobbled camel, however, is presumably immobile. The hobbling of camels was indeed practiced by the Arabs as a military tactic, but as a defensive, not an offensive maneuver. See J. Jandora, "The Battle of the Yarmūk," p. 16. According to Professor Abbas, the text may be amended to read *fa-aʿdhirūhā*, "tighten their reins."

Turks leaped to their feet. The Muslims penetrated to the middle of the camp, having made the backs of their horses sore,[542] but the Turks persevered against them. The Muslims were routed and they withdrew to al-Musayyab, pursued by the Turks, who wounded the back of al-Musayyab's horse. Many Muslims dismounted in order to fight, including al-Bakhtarī Abū 'Abdallāh al-Murā'ī; Muḥammad b. Qays al-Ghanawī—also known as Muḥammad b. Qays al-'Anbarī; Ziyād al-Iṣbahānī; Mu'āwiyah b. al-Ḥajjāj; and Thābit Quṭnah. Al-Bakhtarī fought, and when his right arm
[1425] was slashed he transferred the sword to his left; it, too, was slashed, and he began to defend himself with his hands until, finally, he was slain as a martyr. Also slain as martyrs were Muḥammad b. Qays al-'Anbarī—or al-Ghanawī—and Shabīb b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Ṭā'ī.

Then the polytheists were put to flight. Thābit Quṭnah struck one of their best soldiers, slaying him. Al-Musayyab's herald called out, "Do not pursue them, for they do not understand (the meaning of) fear, whether you pursue them or not! Head for the fortress, but do not carry off any goods, except money, and do not carry off anyone who can walk." Al-Musayyab said, "Whoever carries off a woman, a young boy, or a weak person for the sake of God receives his wages from God, and whoever abstains will receive forty dirhams. If there is anyone in the fortress with whom you have a pact, take him with you."

Our source continued: They all headed for the fortress and carried off whoever was in it. A man from the Banū Fuqaym reached a woman who implored him, saying "Help me, may God help you." He halted and said, "Jump onto the back of the horse." She leaped and, behold, there she was on the back of the horse; she was more skillful on a horse than a man. Al-Fuqaymī grabbed her son's hand—he was a young child—and put him between his arms. The Muslims made their way to the Turkish Khāqān, who took them into his fortress and brought them food. He said, "Go to Samarqand and do not retrace your steps." As they were setting out for Samarqand, the Turkish Khāqān asked them, "Is there anyone left in the fortress?" They replied, "Hilāl al-Ḥarīrī." He

542. Text: *fa-'aqirū-l-dawābba*. See the preceding note.

said, "I will not abandon him." He found him, with over thirty wounds on his body, and carried him away. He recovered, but was slain subsequently together with al-Junayd at the Battle of the Pass.[543] When the Turks returned the next day, they found nothing in the fortress except the corpses of their comrades. They said, "Those who came were not human."

Thābit Quṭnah recited:

My life for the horsemen of Tamīm, [1426]
on the morning of the battle in the tight spot.
My life for horsemen who had protected me[544]
from the enemy amidst the dark dust.
In the fortress of al-Bāhilī. They had seen me
defending where the defender was reluctant.
With my sword, after the spear had broken, boldly.
I drove them away with a sharp, well-made sword.
Circling around them with my horse,
like drinkers passing a jug of wine around.
I charge with it at the time of the adversities until
the adversities vanish and I no longer feel their tight grip.
Were it not for God—He has no partner—
and my striking the head of the heroic king.
Then the women of the Banū Dithār would have been driven
before the Turks with their anklets uncovered.
Who among the Tamīm is conspicuous like al-Musayyab,
Abū Bishr, like feathers at the wing tips of a pigeon?

Jarīr recited, mentioning al-Musayyab:

Had (the Banū) Yarbū' not protected your women, [1427]
people other than you would have made use of their days of purity.
Al-Musayyab defended (them) when the two armies were in trouble,
since Māzin's neighbor there has no protector.
Since there is no 'Iqāl[545] to defend your sacred things,

543. See text below, II/1546–53, sub anno 112; *EI*², s.v. al-Djunayd.
544. Text: *iktafawnī*; read *aknafūnī*, following the Cairo ed.
545. 'Iqāl b. Shabbah b. 'Iqāl al-Mujāshi'ī.

and no Zurārah[546] to defend them, nor anyone attached to Zurārah.[547]

Our source continued: That night, Abū Sa'īd Mu'āwiyah b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Ṭā'ī, who had served as a provincial governor on behalf of Sa'īd, was blinded in one eye and his hand was crippled. But when he failed to pay part of what was claimed from him, he was taken to account. Sa'īd turned him over to Shaddād b. Khulayd al-Bāhilī so that the latter might settle the account with him and retrieve (the money). Shaddād treated Abū Sa'īd harshly, causing the latter to exclaim, "O tribe of Qays, when I went to the fortress of al-Bāhilī, I was a man of great might and powerful eyesight. But I was blinded in one eye and my arm was crippled while fighting with the other warriors in the effort to rescue (the Muslims in the fortress) who were on the verge of being either slain, captured, or imprisoned. Now look at the manner in which your comrade is treating me! Keep him away from me." They released him.

According to 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad—a man who was present that night at the fortress of al-Bāhilī: "We were inside the
[1428] fortress, and when the two armies engaged in battle, we thought that the Day of Resurrection had arrived on account of what we heard, namely, the groans emitted by the soldiers, the clashing of iron, and the neighing of the horses."

In this year, Sa'īd Khudhaynah crossed over the Balkh River and attacked the Soghdians, who had violated their treaty and aided the Turks against the Muslims.[548]

Sa'īd Khudhaynah's Military Expedition against the Soghdians

It is reported that Sa'īd carried out this military expedition because, after the Turks returned to al-Sughd, the troops spoke to him, saying, "The fact that you are no longer carrying out military expeditions has allowed the Turks to take the offensive and caused the Soghdians to renounce Islam." He therefore crossed over the river and headed for al-Sughd. He was met by the Turks,

546. Zurārah b. 'Udus.
547. Text: *zurrār*; the Cairo ed. has *wuzzār*. See *Dīwān Jarīr*, I, 326.
548. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 55.

together with a detachment of the Soghdian army, but the Muslims put them to flight. Sa'īd said, "Do not pursue them, for al-Sughd is the garden of the Commander of the Faithful, and you have already defeated them. Do you want to annihilate them? O army of Iraq, you have fought against the caliphs several times, but did they destroy you?"

The Muslims advanced until they reached a gorge that stood between them and the meadow.[549] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ declared, "Let no man who is clad in armor nor any foot soldier cross over this gorge; everyone else may cross over." They crossed over. But the Turks saw them and prepared an ambush. The Muslim cavalry appeared before them, and the two armies engaged in battle. The Turks retreated, and the Muslims pursued them until they passed by the ambuscade, where they were attacked (by the Turks) and put to flight, retreating all the way back to the gorge. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ said to them, "Try to defeat them without crossing over, for if you do cross over, they will destroy you." They held off the Turks, who eventually withdrew without being [1429] pursued by the Muslims.

Some authorities say: Shu'bah b. Ẓuhayr and his forces were killed on that very day. Other authorities say: The Turks withdrew from them on that day, accompanied by a detachment of the Soghdian army, having been defeated. The next day, a Muslim vanguard—the members of the vanguard at that time were from the Banū Tamīm—went out and were surprised by the Turks, who attacked them from behind a thicket. Shu'bah b. Ẓuhayr, who was in command of the cavalry of the Banū Tamīm, fought against them but was slain when they drove him off his mount. One of the Arab soldiers was slain and his slave girl was brought out carrying some henna. She exclaimed, "How long shall I prepare henna such as this for you when you are dyed with blood?" She spoke for a long time, bringing the inhabitants of the military camp to tears. Approximately fifty soldiers were slain, and the members of the vanguard were put to flight.

When the cry for help reached the troops, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Muhallab al-'Adawī said, "I was the first one to reach them after we received the news. I was riding a swift horse and, behold, there

549. Apparently, a meadow in al-Sughd.

was 'Abdallāh b. Zuhayr[550] next to a tree. There were so many arrows in his body that he looked like a porcupine. He had been slain."

Al-Khalīl b. Aws al-'Abshamī, a young man from the Banū Ẓālim, mounted his horse and cried out, "O Banū Tamīm, I am al-Khalīl. Follow me." A detachment of soldiers joined al-Khalīl, who attacked the enemy with them. They held off the enemy, keeping them far away[551] from the soldiers until the military commander arrived with reinforcements and the enemy was put to flight. Al-Khalīl became the leader of the Banū Tamīm cavalry on that day, a position he held until Naṣr b. Sayyār was appointed governor (of Khurāsān),[552] at which point al-Khalīl's brother, al-Ḥakam b. Aws, became the leader of the Banū Tamīm.

[1430] According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his shaykhs: Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr said to Ḥayyān, "Leave, O Ḥayyān." He exclaimed, "Shall I abandon God's martyrs and depart?" He said, "O you Nabataean." He said, "May God cause you to become a Nabataean."[553] He said: Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī's nom de guerre was Abū al-Hayyāj.[554] About him the poet recited:

Verily, Abū al-Hayyāj is generous
in assistance. The wind makes a sound in his garments.

Our source continued: Sa'īd crossed over the river twice but did not pass beyond Samarqand. On the first occasion, after establishing his camp across from the enemy, he was advised by Ḥayyān, the client of Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah al-Shaybānī, "O commander, attack the Soghdian army." But he replied, "No, these lands belong to the Commander of the Faithful." Later, however, he inquired about some smoke rising into the sky and was told, "The Soghdians have renounced Islam, and some of the Turks are with them." Only then did Sa'īd initiate a skirmish, whereupon the Soghdians were put to flight with the Muslims close on their heels. But Sa'īd's herald called out, "Do not pursue them, for al-Sughd is the garden of the Commander of the Faithful, and you

550. 'Abdallāh b. Zuhayr b. Salīm al-Azdī.
551. Text: *wa-warra'ūhu*; read *wa-waza'ūhum*, following the Cairo ed.
552. See text below, II/1659ff., sub anno 120.
553. Text: *anbaṭa-llāhu wajhaka*. This was considered an insult. See note 471, above.
554. Abū al-Hayyāj literally means "Father of fury."

have already put them to flight. Do you want to annihilate them? O army of Iraq, you fought against the Commander of the Faithful several times; but he forgave you and did not seek to destroy you, and he withdrew."

The next year, Sa'īd sent some men from the Banū Tamīm on a mission to Waraghsar.[555] They said, "Would that we might encounter the enemy so that we could attack them." But whenever a raiding party sent by Sa'īd scored a victory, acquiring booty and taking prisoners, he would send back the captives' women and children and punish the raiding party. Al-Hajarī, who was a poet, recited:

You advanced toward the enemy by night playing with a [1431]
concubine,
with your penis drawn and your sword sheathed.
And you are for your enemies a very courteous wife.[556]
Against us you are like a sharp sword.
How excellent were the Soghdians when they assembled!
And how strange your wavering stratagem!

Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr, who had protected Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī despite the fact that the latter had insulted him by saying, "May God cause you to become a Nabataean!," said to Sa'īd, "That slave is the person most hostile to the Arabs and to the provincial governors. He ruined Khurāsān for Qutaybah b. Muslim and he will fall upon you, ruining Khurāsān for you. Then he will fortify himself inside one of those strongholds." Sa'īd replied, "O Sawrah, don't mention this to anyone." Several days later, Sa'īd asked for sour milk to be brought to his chamber. Some gold that he had ordered previously was ground into powder and put in Ḥayyān's cup. Ḥayyān drank the sour milk that had been laced with gold powder. Sa'īd and his soldiers then mounted their horses and rode four *farsakhs* (24 km.) to Bārkath,[557] pretending that they were pursuing an enemy. Then they returned. Ḥayyān lived for four days after drinking the milk and died on the fourth day.

555. Literally, "the head of the dam"; one of the twelve districts of Samarqand. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 372; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 83, 92.

556. Text: *'irsu khafiyyatin*, "a hidden wife." This should be amended to read *'irsun ḥafiyyatun*. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

557. The chief town in Buzmājan, which was one of the districts of Samarqand, on the main road to the Syr Darya. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 320; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 94; Le Strange, *Lands*, 466.

Saʿīd placed heavy burdens on the soldiers, who considered him to be weak. There was a man from the Banū Asad by the name of
[1432] Ismāʿīl who was devoted to Marwān b. Muḥammad.[558] Someone mentioned Ismāʿīl's devotion to Marwān, in the presence of Khudhaynah, causing Saʿīd to exclaim, "Who is this bastard?" In response, Ismāʿīl satirized him, saying:

Khudhaynah alleges that I am a bastard,
but Khudhaynah has the mirror and the comb.
(Incense) burners and kohl containers have been laid out,
and musical instruments. On her cheek are spots.
Is this better, or a full coat of mail composed of double rings,
and a sharp sword fashioned to cut,
In the possession of a trustworthy, powerful male,
not nourished by effeminacy and effeminate embellishments?[559]
Are you angry because your mother's son spent the night
with them and because your father has no reputation?
Verily, I saw their arrows covered
with fitting feathers, while your arrows are featherless.[560]
And I saw them reclining on their cushions
at the assembly place, while you were roaming astray in the desert.[561]

In this year, Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik departed for Syria after having been relieved of his duties in Iraq and Khurāsān.[562]

The Dismissal of Maslamah from Iraq and Khurāsān

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, Maslamah was dismissed because, after being put in charge of the provinces of Iraq and

558. Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān al-Jaʿdī was an Umayyad general and later Caliph. See *EI*, s.v. Marwān II b. Muḥammad.

559. Text: *wa-l-laqṭu*, "and the (base) status of being a foundling." This should be amended to read *wa-l-luʿṭu*. A *luʿṭah* is a black or yellow line that a woman draws on her cheek. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

560. Text: *innī raʾaytu nibālahum kusiyat rīsha-l-luʾām wa-nablukum murṭ*. That is to say, their men were positioned in the right places, while yours were not. See Lane, *Lexicon*, pt. 3, p. 1200; *Wörterbuch*, s.v., *luʾām*.

561. Text: *wa-antum khilṭu*, "while you were half-breeds." This should be amended to read *wa-antum ḥulṭu*. I owe this point to Professor Abbas.

562. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 335; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 337; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 55; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh*, 16; *FHA*, 75.

Khurāsān, he did not send the surplus tribute (to Damascus).[563] Yazīd b. 'Ātikah[564] wanted to dismiss him, but was ashamed to do so. He wrote to him, saying, "Appoint a deputy governor and [1433] come here."

It is reported that Maslamah consulted with 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān regarding his departure to visit Ibn 'Ātikah. 'Abd al-'Azīz said to him, "Are you going because you long for him? Why are you so emotional when you have recently been with him?" Maslamah said, "I must go." 'Abd al-'Azīz said, "In that case, no sooner will you leave this province than you will meet the new governor." Then Maslamah departed. At Dūrayn[565] he was met by 'Umar b. Hubayrah, who was traveling with five post-horses. Ibn Hubayrah came in to greet him, and Maslamah asked, "Where are you going, Ibn Hubayrah?" He replied, "The Commander of the Faithful sent me to collect the wealth of the Muhallabids." When he left, Maslamah sent for 'Abd al-'Azīz, who came to him. Maslamah said, "Behold, Ibn Hubayrah met us, as you know." 'Abd al-'Azīz said, "I told you so." He said, "But Yazīd sent him merely for the purpose of collecting the wealth of the Muhallabids." He said, "(Do you believe that) Ibn Hubayrah has been dismissed from al-Jazīrah and sent to collect the wealth of the Muhallabids? The latter is more astonishing than the former!"[566] Shortly thereafter Maslamah learned that Ibn Hubayrah had dismissed the governors he had appointed and treated them roughly. Al-Farazdaq recited:

The horses carried Maslamah away, bidding farewell.[567]
So graze, Fazārah,[568] (but) may the grazing not fatten you!
Ibn Bishr was dismissed, and Ibn 'Amr before him,
and the governor of Herat expects a similar fate.
I know that if the Fazārah are invested with authority,

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563. Text: *lam yarfa' min al-kharāj shay'an*. See *FHA*, 75, where the text is *lam yursil ilā Yazīd shay'an*, "He did not send anything to Yazīd."

564. That is, his brother, the Caliph, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. See note 153, above.

565. There is no entry for Durayn in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary. Dūr and Dūrān were common place names in Iraq.

566. 'Abd al-'Azīz means that Maslamah's naiveté with regard to the real purpose of Ibn Hubayrah's mission is more astonishing than his naiveté with regard to his recall by the Caliph.

567. Text: *muwadda'an*; read *muwaddi'an*, following the Cairo ed.

568. 'Umar b. Hubayrah was from the tribe of Fazārah.

the Ashjaʿ will soon covet the emirate.
What is their situation vis-à-vis your Lord's creatures? The likes of them
do covet something similar to what the Fazārah attained.[569]

[1434] "Ibn Bishr" refers to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bishr b. Marwān; "Ibn ʿAmr" refers to Muḥammad Dhū al-Shāmah b. ʿAmr b. al-Walīd; and "the governor of Herat" refers to Saʿīd Khudhaynah b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who served as governor of Khurāsān on behalf of Maslamah.

In this year, ʿUmar b. Hubayrah attacked the Byzantines in Armenia, putting them to flight and capturing large numbers of prisoners. According to some sources, he took seven hundred prisoners.

It is reported that in this year, Maysarah sent his messengers from Iraq to Khurāsān, where the (ʿAbbāsid) propaganda began to circulate.[570] A man from the Banū Tamīm by the name of ʿAmr b. Baḥīr b. Warqāʾ al-Saʿdī came to Saʿīd Khudhaynah and said, "There are people here who are saying ugly things." Saʿīd sent for them, and when they were brought to him, he asked, "Who are you?" They replied, "We are merchants." He asked, "What is the meaning of the things that are being said about you?" They replied, "We don't know." He asked, "Have you come to disseminate propaganda?" They replied, "We are too busy with our personal affairs and with our business to be able to do that." He asked, "Who knows these people?" Some soldiers from the army of Khurāsān, the majority of whom were from the tribes of Rabīʿah and Yaman, came and said, "We know them and will assume responsibility for them should they do anything that you find displeasing." Then he released them.[571]

[1435] In this year, that is, the year 102/720–21, Yazīd b. Abī Muslim was slain in Ifrīqiyah,[572] where he had been serving as governor.[573]

569. See *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, I, 408.

570. See text above, II/1358, sub anno 100, note 310.

571. Many of the clients who served as leaders of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda movement posed as members of the merchant and artisan class in order to provide camouflage for their clandestine activities. See Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 335; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 144.

572. The eastern part of the Maghrib. See *EI*², s.v. Ifrīḳiya.

573. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 333; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 56–57.

The Slaying of Yazīd b. Abī Muslim

It is reported that the circumstances of Yazīd's death were as follows: He had determined to apply to (the inhabitants of Ifrīqiyah) the policy that al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf had applied to those Muslims living in the garrison towns who were originally protected peoples (*ahl al-dhimmah*) from the rural districts; although they converted to Islam in Iraq, al-Ḥajjāj sent them back to their villages and lands, where they were made to pay the poll tax,[574] just as they had been prior to their conversion. When Yazīd determined to carry out such a policy, they plotted against him, reportedly resolving to murder him. They slew him and appointed as their leader the person who had served as their governor prior to Yazīd b. Abī Muslim, that is, Muḥammad b. Yazīd, a client of the Helpers, who was a soldier in Yazīd b. Abī Muslim's army. They wrote to Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik as follows: "We have not renounced our allegiance to you. However, Yazīd b. Abī Muslim imposed on us things that were displeasing to God and to the Muslims, so we slew him and reappointed your governor." Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik wrote back to them, saying, "Indeed, I was not pleased with the policies of Yazīd b. Abī Muslim and I hereby confirm Muḥammad b. Yazīd as governor of Ifrīqiyah."[575]

In this year, ʿUmar b. Hubayrah b. Muʿayyah b. Sukayn b. Khudhayj b. Mālik b. Saʿd b. ʿAdī b. Fazārah was appointed governor of Iraq and Khurāsān. [1436]

In this year, the pilgrimage was led by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, as reported by Abū Maʿshar and al-Wāqidī.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk was governor of Medina; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd was governor of Mecca; Muḥammad b. ʿAmr Dhū al-Shāmah was governor of al-Kūfah; al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd was in charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah; ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bishr b. Marwān was governor of al-Baṣrah; Saʿīd Khudhaynah was governor of Khurāsān; and Usāmah b. Zayd was governor of Egypt.

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574. Literally, "The *jizyah* was sealed on their necks."

575. But see Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 57, where it is reported that Yazīd appointed Bishr b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī as the new governor.

The Events of the Year 103

(July 1, 721—June 20, 722)

The Dismissal of Sa'īd Khudhaynah as Governor of Khurāsān

Among the events of this year was 'Umar b. Hubayrah's dismissal of Sa'īd Khudhaynah as governor of Khurāsān.[576] The circumstances of his dismissal, as reported by 'Alī b. Muḥammad on the authority of his shaykhs, were as follows: Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr al-Laythī approached 'Umar b. Hubayrah and complained to him about Sa'īd. As a result, 'Umar dismissed Sa'īd and appointed as governor of Khurāsān Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. al-Aswad b. Mālik b. Ka'b b. Waqdān b. al-Ḥarīsh b. Ka'b b. Rabī'ah b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. Khudhaynah, at the time, was on a military expedition near the Gate of Samarqand. The soldiers learned of his dismissal, and Khudhaynah turned back, leaving a thousand horsemen in Samarqand. Nahār b. Tawsi'ah recited:

[1437] Who will inform the youths of my tribe
that the arrows are completely covered with feathers?[577]

576. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 525; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 223.
577. Text: *rīshat kulla raysh*. See note 560, above.

And that God replaced one Sa'īd
with another—not the effeminate one from the Quraysh?

Our source continued: Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī did not interfere with any of Khudhaynah's governors. When the man who read out his document of appointment made a grammatical mistake, Sa'īd exclaimed, "Be quiet. Whatever you people heard is the responsibility of the scribe, and the governor (that is, 'Umar b. Hubayrah) is free from any guilt." In connection with this statement, the poet recited the following verse in which he attributed weakness to al-Ḥarashī:

We were given one Sa'īd for another—
bad fortune and the ordained fate.

Al-Ṭabarī reported: In this year, al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd attacked the Byzantines and conquered a city known as Raslah.[578]

In this year, the Turks invaded Alān.[579]

In this year, Mecca was added to the jurisdiction of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Fihrī and combined with his jurisdiction over Medina.

In this year, 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh al-Naḍrī was appointed governor of al-Ṭā'if, and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd was dismissed from Mecca.

In this year, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk was ordered to effect a reconciliation between Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm and 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī. The relations between 'Abd al-Raḥmān and the other two men in previous years has already been mentioned.[580]

In this year, the pilgrimage was led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī—as reported by Abū Ma'shar and al-Wāqidī.

In this year, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk was governor of Mecca and Medina on behalf of Yazīd b. 'Ātikah; 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh al-Naḍrī was governor of al-Ṭā'if; 'Umar b. Hubayrah was governor of Iraq and Khurāsān; Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī was [1438]

578. Raslah may be the Byzantine city of Larissa. See Cheira, *Arabes et Byzantines*, 222, n. 1, and the sources cited there. Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 17, gives the name of the city as Awāsā.

579. A region in the northern Caucasus near Bāb al-Abwāb inhabited by the Alans, an Iranian people. See *EI*², s.v. Alān; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 8.

580. See text above, II/1281–82, sub anno 96; and II/1372–75, sub anno 101.

governor of Khurāsān on behalf of 'Umar b. Hubayrah; al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd was in charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah; and 'Abd al-Malik b. Ya'lā was in charge of the judiciary in al-Baṣrah.

In this year, 'Umar b. Hubayrah appointed Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī as governor of Khurāsān.[581]

'Umar b. Hubayrah's Appointment of Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī as Governor of Khurāsān

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: When Ibn Hubayrah was appointed governor of Iraq, he sent Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik the names of those men who had demonstrated their bravery at the battle of al-'Aqr.[582] Al-Ḥarashī's name did not appear on the list, causing Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik to exclaim, "Why didn't he mention al-Ḥarashī?" Yazīd then wrote to Ibn Hubayrah, ordering him to appoint al-Ḥarashī as governor of Khurāsān, which he did. Al-Ḥarashī dispatched al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī to take command of his vanguard in the year 103/721–22. Then al-Ḥarashī traveled to Khurāsān, where he found the army face to face with the enemy, having already suffered a disastrous defeat. In a speech to the soldiers, he urged them to engage in holy war, saying, "The struggle against the enemy of Islam is not undertaken on the basis of numbers, but on the basis of the support of God and the might of Islam. Say, 'There is no power and no strength except in God.'" Then he recited the following lines:

I don't belong to the 'Āmir if you do not see me
    in front of the horsemen stabbing with the spearheads.
[1439] For I will strike the head of their greatest warrior
    with the edge of a well-polished, sharp sword.
I am not one who submits in battles,
    nor do I fear the combat of the soldiers.
My father protected me from every censure,

581. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 525; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 26; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 223; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 452.
582. See text above, II/1395ff., sub anno 102.

and my maternal uncle is the best maternal uncle during
times of misfortune.
When the tribe of Ka'b paraded haughtily before me,
and the Banū Hilāl strutted like mountains.

In this year, at the time of Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī's arrival, the Soghdian army left their lands and traveled to Farghānah, where they asked the king for assistance against the Muslims.[583]

The Soghdians Leave Their Country for Farghānah

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: The Soghdians had aided the Turks during the administration of Khudhaynah. Therefore, when al-Ḥarashī was appointed as their governor, they feared for their lives, and their leaders resolved to leave their lands. Their king, however, advised them as follows: "Don't do this. Stay where you are; pay him whatever tribute you owe and guarantee him all future tribute; promise him that you will maintain your lands in a good state of cultivation and that you will accompany him on raids should he desire that; apologize for your past behavior, and give him hostages to hold." They said, "We fear that he will not be satisfied and that he will not accept these terms from us. Therefore, we are going to Khujandah,[584] where we will ask the king for protection. Then we will send a message to the governor (that is, al-Ḥarashī), asking him to forgive us for our past behavior and assuring him that henceforth we will not commit any repugnant acts." Their king said, "I am one of you, and my advice to you is in your best interests." But they rejected [1440]
his advice and set out for Khujandah.

Kārzanj, Kishshīn, Bayārkath, and Thābit took the army of Ishtīkhan,[585] and they sent a message to al-Ṭār, the King of Farghānah, asking him to protect them and to allow them to settle in

583. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 335–36; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 525; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 452–54.

584. A town and district in Transoxiana; the town was strung out along the left bank of the middle Sir Darya at the entrance to the Farghānah valley. See *EI*², s.v. Khudjand(a); Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 347–48.

585. A city five *farsakhs* (30 km.) from Samarqand that was administered independently of the latter. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 196.

his city. He was on the verge of agreeing when his mother said to him, "Don't let those satans enter your city. Rather, clear out some rural district for them to reside in." He sent to them, saying, "Name a rural district so that I might clear it out for you. Give me a delay of forty days"—according to some sources—twenty days. "If you wish, I will clear out for you the pass occupied by ʿIṣām b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bāhilī, who had been left behind by Qutaybah to serve as their governor. They agreed to accept ʿIṣām's Pass and sent to al-Ṭār, saying, "Clear it out for us." He said, "I will, but you have no agreement and no covenant of protection with me until you enter it. If the Arabs should overtake you before you enter it, I will not protect you." They accepted his terms, and he cleared out the pass for them.

Some authorities say: Ibn Hubayrah appealed to them before they left their lands, asking them to remain and offering to appoint a governor of their choice. But they rejected his offer and set out for Khujandah.

ʿIṣām's Pass is in the rural district controlled by Asfarah, who at that time was the heir apparent to the King of Farghānah, Bilādhā.[586] Bīlādhā,[587] Abū Anūjūr, was the King.

It is said that Kārzanj said to them, "I will give you three options from which to choose. Failure to choose at least one will result in your destruction. Saʿīd, who is known as "the horseman
[1441] of the Arabs," has sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qushayrī with his vanguard, leading a detachment of his men. Carry out a surprise attack against him at night and kill him. Thus, when al-Ḥarashī learns of this, he will not attack you." But they rejected this suggestion. He said, "Cross over the Shāsh River[588] and ask them, 'What do you want from us?' If they respond then you are saved; if not, then go to Sūyāb."[589] This, too, they rejected. He said, "Then pay them (the tribute)."

586. But see text above, II/1440, where the King of Farghānah is identified as al-Ṭār.

587. The discrepancy in the spelling of the King's name is in the text. De Goeje suggests that Bilādhā and Bīlādhā should both be read Naylān as at text below, II/1442 sub anno 104 and II/1554, sub anno 112.

588. The Shāsh River is in Transoxiana. See *EI*, s.v. Tashkent; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 308–09.

589. The Turgesh capital, destroyed by the Chinese in A.D. 748. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 195, 201.

Our source continued: Kārzanj and Jalnaj set out with the army of Qiyy, while Abār b. Mākhnūn and Thābit set out with the army of Ishtīkhan. The army of Bayārkath[590] and the army of Sabaskath[591] set out with a thousand men wearing gold belts, accompanied by the *dihqān*s of Buzmājan.[592] Al-Dīwāshinī set out with the army of Bunjīkath[593] for the fortress of Abghar. Kārzanj and the Soghdian army reached Khujandah.

590. There is no entry for Bayārkath in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary. Bayārkath may be identical with the place name Bārkath mentioned at text above, II/1431, sub anno 102, or with the personal name mentioned at text above, II/1440. *Kath* is the usual ending of town names.

591. Yāqūt mentions a town by the name of Isbaskath, two *farsakh*s (12 km.) from Samarqand. See *Mu'jam*, I, 172.

592. One of the twelve districts of Samarqand; its chief town was Bārkath. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 92, 94; Le Strange, *Lands*, 466.

593. A town near Samarqand; it is not to be confused with the town of the same name in Ushrūsanah (see n. 598, below). See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 452, n. 2; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 499.

The Events of the Year 104

(June 21, 722—June 9, 723)

In this year, the battle took place between al-Ḥarashī and the Soghdian army in which he slew many *dihqāns*.[594]

The Battle between al-Ḥarashī and the Soghdian Army

According to 'Alī—his authorities: Al-Ḥarashī undertook a military expedition in the year 104/722–23. He crossed over the river
[1442] and reviewed the soldiers. Then he traveled to Qaṣr al-Rīḥ ("The Castle of the Winds"),[595] two *farsakhs* (12 km.) from al-Dabūsiyah,[596] where he set up camp. But his army did not join him. Therefore, al-Ḥarashī ordered the soldiers to pack up and leave. But Hilāl b. 'Ulaym al-Ḥanẓalī rebuked him, saying, "I say! You

594. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 525; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 26–27.

595. A village in the area of Nīshāpūr. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 357; Le Strange, *Lands*, 388, 430.

596. A town in Transoxiana located in the administrative district of al-Sughd. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 437–38; Le Strange, *Lands*, 468, 471.

are a better political leader than you are a military commander. The land has no one to defend it. Yet, when your army failed to join you, you gave the order to pack up and leave." Al-Ḥarashī asked, "What should I do?" Hilāl replied, "Order them to establish camp." Al-Ḥarashī accepted his advice.

Al-Naylān, the paternal cousin of the King of Farghānah, came to al-Ḥarashī, who had set up camp near Mughūn,[597] and said, "The Soghdian army is in Khujandah." Al-Naylān apprised al-Ḥarashī of their actions and said, "Try to overtake them before they reach 'Iṣām's Pass, for their protection agreement with us does not take effect until the expiration of the (forty day) time period." Al-Ḥarashī put 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī and Ziyād b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī in command of a division of soldiers and sent them off, accompanied by al-Naylān. Subsequently, however, he regretted what he had done, saying, "I have endangered the lives of a division of Muslims on the strength of what I was told by an infidel. But I don't know if he was telling the truth or lying." Al-Ḥarashī set off in pursuit of them, reaching Ushrūsanah,[598] where he made peace with (the inhabitants of that district) in return for a trifling sum. Then, while he was eating his dinner, one of his men interrupted him, saying, "'Aṭā' al-Dabūsī is here." He was one of the men whom al-Ḥarashī had sent with al-Qushayrī. Startled, al-Ḥarashī dropped the morsel of food that was in his hand and summoned 'Aṭā'. When he entered, al-Ḥarashī asked, "Woe is you! Have you engaged anyone in battle?" He replied, "No." He said, "Praise be to God." Al-Ḥarashī resumed his meal and informed 'Aṭā' of his regrets regarding the mission.[599]

Al-Ḥarashī set out at an extremely quick pace and managed to catch up with al-Qushayrī after three days. He advanced and, [1443]
upon reaching Khujandah, he asked al-Faḍl b. Bassām, "What do you think we should do?" He replied, "I think we should attack

597. One of the villages of Busht, in the administrative district of Nīshāpūr. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 162.

598. The mountainous district between Samarqand and Khujandah, including the upper course of the Zarafshan River. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 197; *EI*², s.v. Afshīn; Le Strange, *Lands*, 474–76.

599. Text: *mā qadama lahu 'alayhi*. The translation is conjectural.

them immediately." He said, "I disagree. Where can a soldier go if he is wounded, and where can we take the body of someone who is slain? I think that we should establish camp here, proceed deliberately, and make preparations for battle." He established camp, erecting some buildings and busying himself with preparations. But when the enemy did not come forward, the soldiers accused al-Ḥarashī of cowardice, saying, "That one is renowned for his valor and good judgment in Iraq, but when he comes to Khurāsān, he acts like a fool."

One of the Arab soldiers attacked, striking the Khujandah gate with a pole, whereupon the gate was opened. Earlier, the Soghdians had dug a defensive trench on the outskirts of the city, beyond the outer gate. They covered the trench with reeds and placed dirt on top of it, as a trick. They reasoned that if they were forced to retreat after the two armies met in battle, they would know the way, while the Muslims, who would not, would fall into the trench. When the Soghdians emerged, they fought the Muslims and were put to flight, but they took the wrong path and fell into the trench. The Muslims removed forty soldiers from the trench, each one wearing a double coat of mail. Al-Ḥarashī surrounded the city, setting up mangonels. The Soghdians sent a message to the King of Farghānah, claiming that he had deceived them and asking for assistance. In his reply, he said to them, "I did not deceive you, nor will I help you. Take care of yourselves, for the Arabs reached you before the deadline expired. Thus, you are not under my protection." When the Soghdians had despaired of receiving his assistance, they sued for peace and asked for safe-conduct so that they might return to al-Sughd. Al-Ḥarashī im-
[1444] posed the following stipulations on them: they were to return the Arab women and children who were in their possession, pay all arrears in tribute, not murder anyone, and not leave anyone behind in Khujandah. Furthermore, if they caused any mischief, their blood would become lawful.

The man who negotiated the agreement between the two sides was Mūsā b. Mishkān, a client of the Bassām family. Kārzanj approached al-Ḥarashī and said, "I have a favor to ask of you." He asked, "What is it?" He said, "If one of my men commits a crime after the peace treaty has taken effect, I want you to absolve me of responsibility for his action." Al-Ḥarashī said, "I have a favor to

ask of you." He asked, "What is it?" He said, "Don't attach anything repugnant to my stipulations!"

He removed the nobles[600] and merchants from the eastern side of the town, but left the people of Khujandah, who were the inhabitants of the town, as they were. Kārzanj asked al-Ḥarashī, "What are you doing?" He replied, "I fear that the army will attack you without permission."[601]

The Soghdian leaders who were with al-Ḥarashī in the military camp stayed as guests with the soldiers who were known to them. Kārzanj stayed with Ayyūb b. Abī Ḥassān. When al-Ḥarashī was told that the Soghdians had slain one of the women who had been in their possession, he said to them, "I have learned that Thābit al-Ishtīkhanī slew a woman and buried her under a walled garden." But they denied the allegation. Al-Ḥarashī sent for the judge of Khujandah and upon investigation it was determined that the woman had, indeed, been slain.

Our source continued: Al-Ḥarashī summoned Thābit. Meanwhile, Kārzanj sent his servant to the Surādiq Gate to gather information. Al-Ḥarashī asked Thābit and others about the woman, but Thābit denied the charge. Convinced that Thābit had slain her, al-Ḥarashī put him to death. The servant then returned to Kārzanj and informed him that Thābit had been slain, whereupon Kārzanj grabbed his beard and began to bite it off with his teeth. Fearing that al-Ḥarashī would slay the Soghdians indiscriminately, Kārzanj said to Ayyūb b. Abī Ḥassān, "I am your guest and [1445]
your friend. How will it look if your friend is slain wearing old, worn-out trousers?" Ayyūb said, "Take my trousers." Kārzanj replied, "How will it look if I am slain wearing your trousers? Send one of your servants to my nephew, Jalnaj, so that he might bring me new trousers." Earlier, Kārzanj had explained to his nephew, "If I send to you asking for trousers, you will know that they intend to slay me." When his nephew received the request for trousers, he took out some green cloth, cut it into strips, and tied the strips around the heads of his armed retinue. Then he went out, accompanied by his armed retinue, and advanced

600. Text: *al-mulūk*, literally "kings."

601. Text: *akhāfu 'alaykum ma'arrata-l-jund*. This may also mean, "I want to spare you the disgrace that may be brought upon you by the soldiers."

against the soldiers, killing many men. He passed by Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn and wounded him slightly on his leg, leaving him with a permanent limp. The inhabitants of the military camp submitted, and the soldiers suffered greatly from Jalnaj, until he encountered Thābit b. ʿUthmān b. Masʿūd on a narrow road. Thābit slew him using ʿUthmān b. Masʿūd's sword.

The Soghdians slew one hundred and fifty Muslim prisoners who were in their possession. Some say: they slew forty of them. A young boy escaped and informed al-Ḥarashī of the slaughter. Some say: A man came to him and reported what was happening. He asked the Soghdians about the Muslim prisoners but, when they denied the allegation, he sent someone to them in order to determine what was happening. Upon discovering that the report was true, al-Ḥarashī ordered that the Soghdians be put to death. First, however, he separated the merchants from the rest of them—there were four hundred merchants who possessed large quantities of merchandise; they had brought the wares from China.

Our source continued: Although they did not have any weapons the Soghdian soldiers tried to defend themselves. They fought with wooden clubs and were slain to the last man. The next day, al-Ḥarashī summoned the farmers, who were unaware of what their comrades had done. He put a seal on every man's neck and sent him from one field to the next, whereupon the man would be slain. There were three thousand of them. Some say: There were
[1446] seven thousand. Al-Ḥarashī sent Jarīr b. Himyān, al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-ʿAmarraṭah, and Yazīd b. Abī Zaynab to assess the value of the property belonging to the merchants who had been separated from the others. The merchants said, "We shall not participate in the fighting." He made a selection from the property of the Soghdians and from their women and children, taking whatever he wanted. Then he summoned Muslim b. Budayl al-ʿAdawī, from the tribe of ʿAdī of al-Ribāb and said, "I am putting you in charge of dividing up the spoils." Muslim said, "After what your agents did during the night, you can give the job to someone else!" Al-Ḥarashī then assigned this task to ʿUbaydallāh b. Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān al-ʿAdawī, who put aside the fifth and then divided up the wealth. Al-Ḥarashī wrote a letter to Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, but he did not write to ʿUmar b. Hubayrah. This is one reason why ʿUmar

b. Hubayrah was angry with him. Thābit Quṭnah recited, recalling the leaders that they had slain:

There is consolation in the slaughter of Kārzanj
and Kishshīn and the fate of Bayār,
And Dīwāshinī, and the fate of Jalnaj,
in the fortress of Khujandah, when they perished and were annihilated.

According to another transmission, the first line cited reads: "There is consolation in the slaughter of Kārzanj and Kishkīsh." It is said that Dīwāshinī was a Samarqandian *dihqān* whose name, Dīwā-shanj, was arabicized as Dīwāshinī.

It is reported that 'Ilbā' b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī, who was in charge of the spoils in Khujandah, sold a small basket to a man for two dirhams. When the man found gold ingots in the basket, he returned clutching his beard; his eyes bulged out of his head.[602] [1447]
He returned the basket and took back his two dirhams. They looked for him, but did not find him.

Our source said: Al-Ḥarashī sent Sulaymān b. Abī al-Sarī, a client of the Banū 'Uwāfah, to a fortress that was surrounded by the wādī of al-Sughd[603] on all sides except one. He was accompanied by Shawkar b. Ḥamīk, by the Khwārazm Shāh,[604] and by 'Awram, the ruler of Akhrūn[605] and Shūmān.[606] Sulaymān b. Abī al-Sariyy put al-Mussayab b. Bishr al-Riyāḥī in command of his vanguard and dispatched him. The Soghdians met him one *farsakh* (6 km.) from the fortress in a village known as Kūm,[607] where al-Musayyab defeated them, forcing them back into the fortress. Sulaymān then besieged them. The *dihqān* of the fortress was known as "Dīwāshinī."

Al-Ḥarashī wrote to Sulaymān offering to send reinforcements.

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602. Text: *ka-annahu ramada*. Literally: "as if he were suffering from ophthalmia."

603. Text: *lā yuṭīfu bihā wādī al-sughd*. In the translation, I ignore the negative particle *lā*, following Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 109.

604. On the use of this title, see *EI*², s.v. Khʷārazm-Shāhs.

605. A province in Transoxiana west of Shūmān. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 74, 185.

606. A small, independent principality in Transoxiana bounded by the Zarafshan and Qizil-Ṣu Rivers. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥiṣār; Le Strange, *Lands*, 440.

607. There is no entry for Kūm in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary.

But the latter wrote back, saying, "The spot where we would rendezvous is very narrow, so march towards Kiss.[608] We are under the protection of God, if God wills." Al-Dīwāshinī asked Sulaymān to place him under the authority of al-Ḥarashī and to send him to the latter, accompanied by al-Musayyab b. Bishr. Sulaymān kept his promise and sent him to Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī, who treated him with kindness and generosity, but only as a ploy. The inhabitants of the fortress sued for peace after al-Dīwāshinī's departure on the condition that Sulaymān agree not to harm one hundred families who were living there. In return, they agreed to deliver the fortress to him. Sulaymān wrote to al-Ḥarashī requesting that he send trustworthy agents to collect the contents of the fortress.

Al-Ḥarashī dispatched Muḥammad b. ʿAzīz al-Kindī and ʿIlbāʾ b.
[1448] Aḥmar al-Yashkurī, who auctioned off the contents of the fortress to the highest bidders. He took the fifth and divided the rest among them. Al-Ḥarashī set out for Kiss, the inhabitants of which sued him for peace, agreeing to pay ten thousand sheep.[609] It was stated that al-Ḥarashī made peace with the *dihqān* of Kiss, whose name is Wayk, in return for six thousand sheep to be delivered in forty days, on the condition that he would not attack him. When he was done in Kiss, al-Ḥarashī set out for Rabinjan,[610] where he slew al-Dīwāshinī, crucifying him on a (Christian) burial place. He imposed upon the people of Rabinjan the obligation to pay one hundred (dīnārs) if the body were removed from its place. He put Naṣr b. Sayyār[611] in charge of collecting the settlement agreed upon in Kiss. Then he dismissed Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr, replacing him with Naṣr b. Sayyār, and put Sulaymān b. Abī al-Sarī in charge of military and fiscal affairs in Kiss and Nasaf. He sent al-Dīwāshinī's head to Iraq and his left hand to Sulaymān b. Abī al-Sarī in Ṭukhāristān.

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608. A fortified town on the Kushkah Daryā River, known in Persian as Shahr-i-Sabz ("The Green City"). See Le Strange, *Lands*, 469.

609. Text: *raʾs*; literally, "heads."

610. A town between Bukhārā and Samarqand, on the south side of the Sughd River. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 468, 471.

611. Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī, d. 131/748 at the age of 85. See *EI*, s.v. Naṣr b. Saiyār.

Our source continued: When Khuzār[612] proved to be impregnable, al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim asked Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī, "May I recommend to you someone who will conquer it on your behalf without a fight?" Sa'īd replied, "Of course." Mujashshir said, "Al-Musarbal b. al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nājī." Al-Ḥarashī sent him to that province. Now, al-Musarbal was a friend of Subuqrī,[613] the King of Khuzār, whose people held al-Musarbal in high esteem. He frightened the King by telling him what al-Ḥarashī had done to the people of Khujandah, whereupon the king asked him, "What do you think I should do?" He replied, "I think that you should accept his protection." The King replied, "But what shall I do with all of my retainers?" He said, "Include them with you in the protection agreement." He sued them for peace, and [1449] they granted protection to him and his lands.

Al-Ḥarashī returned to Marw, taking Subuqrī with him. He encamped at Usnān[614] and, after dispatching Muhājir b. Yazīd al-Ḥarashī with an order to deliver Bardhūn b. Kushānīshāh, he slew Subuqrī and crucified him, although he had a guarantee of protection. It is said: That was a *dihqān* from Buzmājan[615] who approached Ibn Hubayrah and received a guarantee of safe-conduct for the Soghdian army. But al-Ḥarashī imprisoned him in the Marw citadel. When al-Ḥarashī reached Marw, he summoned him. Then he slew him, crucifying him in the public square. The poet recited, in the *rajaz* meter:

Behold, Sa'īd marched off with the tribal divisions,
in dust that takes the breath away.
The bitterest cup turned against the Turks,
who fled on the backs of their camels.
They turned in flight, with no strings on their bows.

In this year, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik dismissed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī from Medina and Mecca. This oc-

612. A site near Wakhsh, in the district of Balkh, south of Nasaf. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 364. Note: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 110, has *khazā'in*, "treasure houses," instead of Khuzār.

613. Vocalization follows Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 64.

614. One of the villages of Herat. See Yāqūt *Mu'jam*, I, 189.

615. The text is *dihqān Ibn Mājir*. See Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, DCCII, where the reading *dihqān Buzmājan* is given.

curred in the middle of the month of Rabīʿ I (early September, 704), after he had served as governor of Medina for three years.

In this year, Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik appointed ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bishr) al-Naḍrī as governor of Medina.

Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik's Dismissal of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk from Medina

The circumstances of his dismissal,[616] as reported by Muḥam-
[1450] mad b. ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Yaḥyā: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī proposed to Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn,[617] but she replied, "By God, I do not want to marry, for I already have these children to raise." She tried to hold him off without antagonizing him, for she was afraid of him. But he pressed her, saying, "By God, if you don't marry me, I will flog your oldest son"—that is, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan—"for drinking wine." Now, at that time, the military register in Medina was headed by Ibn Hurmuz, a soldier in the Syrian army. Yazīd wrote to Ibn Hurmuz, asking him to prepare his reckoning and deliver the register. The latter went to see Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn in order to say good-bye to her. He asked, "Is there anything I can do for you?" She replied, "Inform the Commander of the Faithful of the manner in which Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk is treating me and how he imposes himself on me."

Fāṭimah sent a messenger to Yazīd, carrying a letter in which she informed him of what had transpired; she reminded Yazīd of the blood ties that connected her to him, and mentioned Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk's threat and his behavior toward her. Ibn Hurmuz and Fāṭimah's messenger arrived together. Ibn Hurmuz went in to see Yazīd, who inquired about the situation in Medina. When asked if there was any news to relate, Ibn Hurmuz said nothing about Bint al-Ḥusayn. Then the chamberlain announced, "May God cause the Commander to prosper! A messenger sent by Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn is at the gate." Then Ibn Hurmuz said, "May God cause the Commander to prosper! On the day I set out, Fāṭimah bt. al-

616. See Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 56; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh*, 17; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 229.
617. Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, d. 111/729–30. See Dhahabī, *Kāshif*, III, 478.

Ḥusayn gave me a message for you." Only then did he tell him [1451]
the story.

Our source continued: Yazīd came down from on top of his cushions and said, "You bastard![618] Why didn't you tell me about the message you were carrying when I asked you if there was any news to report?" Ibn Hurmuz claimed that he forgot. Then the messenger was granted permission to enter. Yazīd took the letter, read it, and began to strike the ground with a rod that was in his hand,[619] exclaiming, "How dare Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk! What man will give me the pleasure of hearing him scream in pain while I am reclining on my cushions?" Someone said to him, "'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh b. Bishr al-Naḍrī." Then he called for some papyrus and wrote the following letter in his own hand to 'Abd al-Wāḥid, who was in al-Ṭā'if: "Greetings. Now to the matter at hand. I have appointed you to serve as governor of Medina. When you receive my letter, go there and remove Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk from office. Fine him forty thousand dīnārs and torture him so that I can hear him screaming while I am reclining on my cushions."

Our source continued: The postal messenger took the letter and brought it to Medina, where Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk became apprehensive when the courier did not come to see him; he summoned the courier and showed him a thousand dīnārs that were hidden under a blanket, saying, "These thousand dīnārs are for you. You have my solemn promise that if you tell me why you were sent here, I will give you the money." The messenger told him. Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk asked the courier to wait three days before leaving for al-Ṭā'if, and he complied with this request. Then Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk set [1452]
out at a quick pace and, when he had reached Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik,[620] he said, "I am under your protection." The next day, Maslamah went to visit Yazīd, to whom he addressed some carefully chosen words regarding a certain need on account of which he had come. Yazīd said, "I am willing to grant you any request so long as it does not involve Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk." He said, "By God, it is

618. Text: *lā umma laka*, literally, "You have no mother," said in anger and reviling. See Lane, *Lexicon*, pt. 1, p. 89.

619. Text: *fī yadayhi*, "in his hands." Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 114, reads *fī yadihi*, "in his hand."

620. Maslamah was reportedly in Damascus at the time. See Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 229.

about Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk!" He said, "By God, I will never forgive him after what he has done." So Maslamah sent Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk back to Medina, to al-Naḍrī.

'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad said: I saw Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk in Medina, wearing a wool garment, begging from the people, after having been tortured and ill-treated. Al-Naḍrī arrived in Medina on a Saturday in the middle of Shawwāl in the year 104 (March 27, 723).

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Farwah—al-Zuhrī: I advised 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk as follows: "You are putting (yourself) ahead of your kinsmen, but they reject everything that is contrary to their customs.[621] Therefore, adhere to whatever they have resolved upon and consult with al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad[622] and Sālim b. 'Abdallāh,[623] for they will spare no effort in guiding you." Al-Zuhrī said, "But he rejected my advice, acted in a hostile manner towards all of the Helpers, and unjustly and wrongfully flogged Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm on the basis of a false accusation. The poets all mock him in verse, and righteous men reproach him and say ugly things about him. When Hishām became Caliph,[624] I saw Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk in a state of abasement."

'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh b. Bishr became governor of Medina and established his residence in that city. The Medinese were never fonder of a man who came to them as governor, for he pursued excellent policies and always consulted with al-Qāsim and Sālim before deciding on a matter.

[1453] In this year, al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī, the governor of Armenia and Ādharbayjān, carried out an expedition in the land of the Turks.[625] He commanded the conquest of Balanjar[626] and

621. Text: *innaka tuqdimu 'alā qawmika wa-hum yunkirūna kulla shay'in khālafa fi'lahum*. The translation is conjectural.

622. Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, d. 107/725–26. See Dhahabī, *Kāshif*, II, 393; Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 42.

623. Sālim b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, d. 106/724–25. See Dhahabī, *Kāshif*, I, 344; Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 42.

624. See text below, II/1466, sub anno 105.

625. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 337; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 56; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 29–34; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 111–13.

626. An important Khazar town lying on the river of the same name, north of Bāb al-Abwāb at the eastern extremity of the Caucasus. See *EI*², s.v. Balanjar.

defeated the Turks, slaying them, together with most of their women and children, by drowning them in water.[627] The Muslims took as many prisoners as they desired. Al-Jarrāḥ also conquered the strongholds adjacent to Balanjar, forcing most of their inhabitants into exile.

It is reported that in this year, Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī[628] was born in the month of Rabī' II (September 18—October 16, 722).

In this year, Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq went to visit Muḥammad b. 'Alī, accompanied by a number of his Khurāsānī supporters.[629] The visit took place fifteen days after the birth of Abū al-'Abbās. Muḥammad b. 'Alī brought out the infant, wrapped in diapers, and said to them, "By God, this cause will be fulfilled so that you might take revenge upon your enemy."

In this year, 'Umar b. Hubayrah dismissed Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī as governor of Khurāsān, replacing him with Muslim b. Sa'īd b. Aslam b. Zur'ah al-Kilābī.[630]

'Umar b. Hubayrah's Dismissal of Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī as Governor of Khurāsān

It is reported that 'Umar dismissed al-Ḥarashī because the latter had angered him in connection with al-Dīwāshinī.[631] This is because al-Ḥarashī had slain al-Dīwāshinī, despite the fact that 'Umar had written to him ordering him to release the Turk. Al-Ḥarashī regularly treated Ibn Hubayrah's orders with contempt: Whenever a courier or messenger arrived from Iraq, al-Ḥarashī would ask him, "How is Abū al-Muthannā?" Then he would say to [1454]
his scribe, "Write to Abū al-Muthannā"—without saying 'the governor.' He would often say, "Abū al-Muthannā said" and "Abū al-Muthannā did." When Ibn Hubayrah learned about this, he summoned Jumayl b. 'Imrān and said to him, "I have heard certain

627. Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 17, specifies that al-Jarrāḥ drowned the Turks in a river.
628. The first 'Abbāsid caliph, d. 136/754. See *EI*², s.v. Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Ṣaffāḥ.
629. See text above, II/1358, sub anno 100; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 82; Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 18; Maqdisī, *Bad'*, VI, 59; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 143, n. 162.
630. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 525; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 229–30; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 453–54.
631. See text above, II/1448.

things about al-Ḥarashī. Go to Khurāsān and pretend that you are there for the purpose of inspecting the military registers, but let me know what you find out about him." Jumayl arrived, and al-Ḥarashī asked him, "How is Abū al-Muthannā?" Then he began to inspect the military registers. Someone said to al-Ḥarashī, "Jumayl has come here to spy on you, not to inspect the military registers." Ibn Hubayrah therefore laced a watermelon with poison and sent it to Jumayl, who ate it and became sick, losing all of his hair. Jumayl returned to Ibn Hubayrah where, after receiving medical treatment, he recovered and regained his health. He said to Ibn Hubayrah, "Things are even worse than you thought. Saʿīd thinks that you are merely one of his agents." Enraged, Ibn Hubayrah dismissed Saʿīd and tortured him until his stomach was covered with small pustules. At the time of his dismissal, Saʿīd made the following statement, "Were ʿUmar to ask me for a dirham so that he might buy some koḥl with it,[632] I would not give it to him." But when he was tortured, he paid. Someone mocked him, saying, "Didn't you claim that you wouldn't give him a single dirham?" To which Saʿīd replied, "Don't chide me, for I broke down when the iron struck me." Udhaynah b. Kulayb, or Kulayb b. Udhaynah, recited:

Be steadfast, Abū Yaḥyā, for according to our knowledge you used to be
patient, rising up under the weight of debts.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: Ibn Hubayrah's anger with Saʿīd is related to the following incident: Ibn Hubayrah sent Maʿqil b. ʿUrwah to Herat to serve either as his governor there or in
[1455] some other capacity. Maʿqil went down to Herat without stopping to see al-Ḥarashī. Maʿqil arrived in Herat, but al-Ḥarashī wouldn't allow him to assume his new position. Maʿqil wrote to al-Ḥarashī, who wrote to his governor as follows, "Send Maʿqil to me." When he was brought to him, al-Ḥarashī asked, "Why didn't you come to me before you went to Herat?" He replied, "I am one of Ibn Hubayrah's governors, having been appointed by him in the same manner as you were." Saʿīd administered two hundred lashes to Maʿqil and shaved off his hair. This was why Ibn Hubayrah dis-

632. Text: *yaḍaʿuhu fī ʿaynihi*, literally, "so that he might put it in his eye."

missed Sa'īd and appointed Muslim b. Sa'īd b. Aslam b. Zur'ah as governor of Khurāsān.

Ibn Hubayrah wrote a letter to al-Ḥarashī in which he called him the son of a foul-smelling woman. After reading the letter, Sa'īd exclaimed, "He is the son of a foul-smelling woman." Then Ibn Hubayrah wrote to Muslim saying, "Send al-Ḥarashī to me, together with Ma'qil b. 'Urwah." He sent al-Ḥarashī to Ibn Hubayrah, who treated him with great severity. Then, one day he gave an order to torture al-Ḥarashī, saying, "Torture him until he dies." That evening, while Ibn Hubayrah was engaged in conversation with his companions, he asked, "Who is the most eminent man among the Qays?" They replied, "You are." He said, "What! The most eminent man among the Qays is al-Kawthar b. Zufar.[633] He has only to sound the bugle at night and twenty thousand men show up; furthermore, they do not ask, 'Why have you summoned us?' nor do they question his orders. But that ass lying in prison whom I have ordered to be slain is their bravest man. Am I not the man who seeks the best interests of the Qays? Indeed, whenever some matter comes to my attention and I think that I will be able to derive some benefit or advantage from it (for the Qays), I pursue it." To which a bedouin from the tribe of Banū Fazārah replied, "You are not what you claim to be, for if you really had the best interests of the Qays in mind, you would not have ordered that their bravest man be slain." He then sent a message to Ma'qil, saying, "Ignore my previous order."

According to 'Alī—Muslim b. al-Mughīrah: When Ibn Hubayrah fled, Khālid[634] sent Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī to apprehend him. He overtook him at a point on the Euphrates as he was crossing over to the other side of the river in a boat. Inside the boat was a servant of Ibn Hubayrah by the name of Qubayḍ. Al-Ḥarashī recognized him and asked, "Are you Qubayḍ?" The servant replied, [1456]

633. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith, whose family was considered to be the very incarnation of Qaysiyyah, is invariably described as a man of great nobility who was above political considerations. His sons, Hudhayl and Kawthar, inherited the respect accorded to him. They too were held in high esteem by the caliphs. See text above, II/1300, sub anno 96 and II/1360, sub anno 101; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 211, 321; Crone, *Slaves*, 100, no. 19.

634. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī replaced Ibn Hubayrah as governor of Iraq and Khurāsān in Shawwāl of the year 105 (March, 724). See text below, II/1467–71, sub anno 105.

"Yes." He asked, "Is Abū al-Muthannā in the boat?" Again, the servant said, "Yes." Then Ibn Hubayrah emerged, and al-Ḥarashī asked him, "Abū al-Muthannā, what do you imagine that I am going to do with you?" He said, "I think that you are a man who would not hand over a fellow tribesman to a Qurashī.[635] He said, "You are right." Ibn Hubayra said, "Then I am saved."

According to ʿAlī—Abū Isḥāq b. Rabīʿah: When Ibn Hubayrah imprisoned al-Ḥarashī, Maʿqil b. ʿUrwah al-Qushayrī approached the former, saying "May God cause the governor to prosper! You have put the bravest man of the Qays in chains and disgraced him. Now, although I don't like him, I wouldn't want you to torture him to the extent that I was tortured." He said, "Serve as an arbiter between us. When I came to Iraq, I appointed him governor of al-Baṣrah; subsequently, I appointed him governor of Khurāsān. But I dismissed him because he sent me a diseased horse, treated my orders with contempt, and betrayed me. I referred to him as Ibn Nasʿah, and he referred to me as Ibn Busrah."[636] Maʿqil said, "Did he act like that, the son of the prostitute?"

Maʿqil went to visit al-Ḥarashī in the prison. "O Ibn Nasʿah," he said, "your mother entered and was sold for eighty mangy she-goats. She was with the shepherds, who came to her one after the other as if she were the riding animal of someone who is con-
[1457] stantly coming and going.[637] Do you consider her the equal of Bint al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarajah?"[638] And he uttered other calumnies against him.

When Ibn Hubayrah was removed from office and Khālid[639] arrived in Iraq, al-Ḥarashī asked for permission to take vengeance on Maʿqil b. ʿUrwah. Al-Ḥarashī brought proof that Maʿqil had

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635. ʿUmar and Saʿīd were both Qaysīs. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 319–21.

636. Nasʿah and Busrah were the mothers of al-Ḥarashī and ʿUmar b. Hubayrah, respectively. It was considered an insult to refer to someone by his matronymic rather than his patronymic.

637. Text: *tarādafahā al-riʿāʾ maṭiyyat al-ṣādir wa-l-wārid.* The translation is conjectural.

638. Al-Ḥārith was a military commander who fought against the Turks in Ādharbayjān. See text below, II/1526, sub anno 111, and II/1532, sub anno 116; Caskel, *Ǧamharah*, I, 130.

639. Khālid al-Qasrī. See note 634, above.

made false accusations against him, whereupon Khālid said to al-Ḥarashī, "Flog him." As al-Ḥarashī was administering the *ḥadd* punishment to him, he said, "Were it not for the fact that Ibn Hubayrah sapped my strength, I would have pierced you through the heart." A tribesman from the Banū Kilāb said to Ma'qil, "You mistreated your paternal cousin and slandered him; therefore God has allowed him to prevail over you, and you are no longer a credible witness among the Muslims." As the *ḥadd* punishment was being administered to Ma'qil, he slandered al-Ḥarashī again, causing Khālid to order that the punishment be administered a second time. But the qāḍī said, "He is not to be flogged again."

He said: 'Umar b. Hubayrah's mother is Busrah bt. Ḥassān, of the tribe of 'Adī, from 'Adī of al-Ribāb.

In this year, 'Umar b. Hubayrah appointed Muslim b. Sa'īd b. Aslam b. Zur'ah b. 'Amr b. Khuwaylid al-Ṣa'iq as governor of Khurāsān, after having dismissed Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī from that office.[640]

The Appointment of Muslim b. Sa'īd as Governor of Khurāsān

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Abū al-Dhayyāl, 'Alī b. Mujāhid, and others: When Sa'īd b. Aslam was killed, al-Ḥajjāj took his son, Muslim b. Sa'īd, and raised him together with his own children, providing him with an excellent education. When 'Adī b. Arṭāt arrived,[641] he wanted to confer an appointment upon Muslim, so he consulted with his scribe, who said, "(First) give him a minor appointment and then promote him." 'Adī put him [1458] in charge of a certain province, where he established himself, doing a fine job of managing its affairs. At the time of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's revolt,[642] (Muslim) took the revenues (of that province) to Syria. Subsequently, when 'Umar b. Hubayrah arrived,[643] he summoned Muslim, having resolved to appoint him to a gover-

640. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 525; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 28.

641. That is, arrived in al-Baṣrah, to serve as governor. See text above, II/1346, sub anno 99.

642. See text above, II/1379ff., sub anno 101.

643. That is, arrived in Khurāsān, to serve as governor. See text above, II/1433, sub anno 102.

norship. ʿUmar looked at Muslim, who until then had no grey hair, and saw white hair in his beard. "God is great," he exclaimed.

ʿUmar stayed up late one night talking, and Muslim, who was one of his companions, stayed behind after the other men had left. Ibn Hubayrah threw a quince that he was holding in his hand at Muslim, saying, "Would it please you if I were to appoint you as governor of Khurāsān?" He said, "Yes." He said, "Tomorrow, if God wills." The next morning ʿUmar held an audience and when the people came to see him, he appointed Muslim as governor of Khurāsān. He wrote out the document of appointment and ordered him to depart. He also wrote to his fiscal agents, ordering them to correspond with Muslim b. Saʿīd. Then he summoned Jabalah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, a client of the Bāhilah, and appointed him governor of Kirmān. Jabalah said, "What has my clientage done to me? It was Muslim's hope[644] that I would become governor of a great province and then put him in charge of a district. Now he has been appointed governor of Khurāsān, while I have been appointed governor of Kirmān!"

Muslim set out, reaching Khurāsān at the end of the year 104/722–23 or 103/721–22. He arrived in the middle of the day, but found the gate of the royal residence locked. He went to the royal stable, but it, too, was locked. Finally, he entered the mosque, where the gate to the ruler's enclosure (*al-maqṣūrah*) was locked. As Muslim was performing his prayers, a servant emerged from the enclosure, and someone said to him, "The governor is here." The servant led him to the governor's audience room in the royal residence. Al-Ḥarashī was told that Muslim b. Saʿīd b. Aslam had arrived, and he sent him the following message: "Have you come as a governor, as a minister, or as a visitor?" Muslim replied, "A man of my stature would not come to Khurāsān as either a visitor or as a minister." Al-Ḥarashī ap-
[1459] proached Muslim, who swore at him and ordered that he be thrown into prison. Someone said to him, "If you send him out in broad daylight, someone may slay him." Muslim therefore ordered that al-Ḥarashī be kept near him until evening. Then, during the night, he sent him to the prison, where he was tied up in

644. Text: *yanbaghī yaṭma'*; read *yanbaghī*, following the Cairo ed.

shackles. Some time later he ordered the jailor to put on additional shackles. The latter approached al-Ḥarashī with a sad look on his face. "What is the matter with you?" al-Ḥarashī asked. "I have been ordered to put on more shackles," he replied. Al-Ḥarashī then said to his scribe, "Write to Muslim as follows: "Your jailor tells me that you ordered him to put additional shackles on me. If this order issued from a higher authority, we hear and obey; but if this was your idea, you will pay for this."[645] He recited:

If they manage to find me, they will slay me;
but whomever I overtake will not last.

But some relate it thus:

If you find me, then slay me;
but whomever I overtake will not last.
They are the enemies, whether present or absent,
full of hatred, with black livers.
Do pursue me in your own manner, for verily I,
with (my horse) Ḥadhfah,[646] am like the bone sticking fast
in the throat beneath the carotid artery.

And some relate it thus:

Do seek me in your own manner.

Our source continued: Muslim dispatched a man to his districts to serve as his agent in charge of military affairs there.

Previously, Ibn Hubayrah, in his zeal, had arrested and imprisoned a man who had worked as a steward for Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and who was knowledgable about Khurāsān and its leading men. The steward accused all the leading men of the province (of misappropriating revenues). Ibn Hubayrah dispatched Abū 'Ubaydah al-'Anbarī, together with a man known as Khālid, and he wrote to al-Ḥarashī ordering him to hand over those men who had been named by the steward so that he might demand the money from [1460] them. But al-Ḥarashī refused and he sent back Ibn Hubayrah's messenger. Now, when Ibn Hubayrah appointed Muslim b. Sa'īd

645. Text: *fa-sayruka al-ḥaqḥaqah*, literally, "You will be driven to exhaustion."

646. The text is Ḥidhqah. See Lane, *Lexicon*, pt. 3, p. 1189, s.v. *r-w-gh*.

as governor, he ordered him to collect those revenues. Muslim arrived and wanted to hold the people accountable for the revenues that had been distributed among them,[647] but he was advised as follows:

> If you do that to those men, you will not have any peace and quiet in Khurāsān. If, on the other hand, you are dismissed because of your failure to accomplish this,[648] Khurāsān will be ruined, both for you and for them. The men whom you want to hold accountable for those revenues—the chiefs of the country—have been falsely accused: Mihzam b. Jābir owed only three hundred thousand (dirhams), but they added a hundred thousand, raising the debt to four hundred thousand. But most of those whose names have been given to you are among those whose debts have been greatly exaggerated.

Muslim wrote to Ibn Hubayrah informing him of the situation, and sent him a delegation that included Mihzam b. Jābir among its members. Mihzam said to Ibn Hubayrah, "O Commander, the accusation that has been brought before you is false and unjust. If the truth were told, we are accountable for only a small portion of that sum, which we would pay—if we were asked to do so." Then Ibn Hubayrah recited, "God commands you to deliver trusts back to their owners." But Mihzam said, "Recite the remainder of the verse: 'And when you judge between the people, that you judge with justice.'"[649] Ibn Hubayrah said: "We must have that money." Mihzam declared:

> By God, if you take it, you will be taking it from men who are capable of inflicting great havoc upon your enemies. Furthermore, that would harm the army of Khurāsān with respect to its military equipment, horses, and weapons. We live on a frontier where we fight against an en-
> [1461] emy that is constantly at war. We wear iron so often that the rust sticks to our skin; indeed, the smell of iron causes a female servant to turn her face away from her

647. Text: *qurifat 'alayhim*; read *furriqat 'alayhim*, following the Cairo ed.
648. Text: *ta'mal fī hādhā ḥattā tūḍa'a 'anhum*. The translation is conjectural.
649. Qur'ān 4:58.

> master and from other men that she serves. You, on the other hand, stay at home, adorning yourselves in fine clothes dyed with saffron. Now, the men who have been accused of appropriating those revenues—the leaders of the army of Khurāsān and the army of the provinces—undertake enormous expenses in order to carry out military expeditions. There are men here who have come to us riding on donkeys from the deepest ravines. Having been appointed as governors of the provinces, they collected the revenues which are heaped up in abundance.[650]

Ibn Hubayrah wrote to Muslim b. Sa'īd informing him of the delegation's statement and ordering him to seize the revenues from the men who, according to the delegation, possessed them. When Muslim received Ibn Hubayrah's letter, he arrested the tributaries in connection with those revenues and ordered Ḥājib b. 'Amr al-Ḥārithī to torture them. After they had been tortured, he seized the revenues that had been distributed among them.[651]

In this year, the pilgrimage was led by 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh al-Naḍrī, as was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit—his authority—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar. Al-Wāqidī reported the same.

The governor of Mecca, Medina, and al-Ṭā'if in this year was 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh al-Naḍrī. 'Umar b. Hubayrah was governor of Iraq and the East.[652] Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Kindī was in charge of the judiciary in al-Kūfah. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ya'lā was in charge of the judiciary in al-Baṣrah.

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650. Text: *muwaffarah*; the Cairo ed. reads *mawqarah*, "a tree overladen with fruit."

651. Text: *qurifa 'alayhim*; read *furriqa 'alayhim*, following the Cairo ed.

652. 'The East' refers to Khurāsān.

[1462]

The Events of the Year 105

(June 10, 723—May 28, 724)

The events of this year included a military expedition against Alān that was carried out by al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī, who passed through that country to the towns and strongholds beyond Balanjar.[653] He conquered some of that region, expelling many of its inhabitants and collecting considerable quantities of booty.

In this year, Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik raided Byzantium. He dispatched a military detachment that included approximately one thousand fighters, all of whom reportedly perished.

In this year, Muslim b. Sa'īd carried out a military expedition against the Turks, but when he did not conquer any lands, he returned to Khurāsān. Later in the year, he carried out a raid against Afshīnah,[654] one of the towns in al-Sughd, where he concluded a peace agreement with its king and inhabitants.[655]

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653. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 339; Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 20.

654. Afshīnah was located in the district of Samarqand. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 454, n. 1.

655. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 525.

Muslim b. Sa'īd's Expedition against the Turks

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: Muslim b. Sa'īd appointed Bahrām Sīs as a provincial governor.[656] Late in the summer of the year 105/723–24, Muslim undertook a military expedition, but when he did not make any conquests, he turned back. The Turks pursued him, overtaking him as the soldiers were crossing over the Balkh River. The cavalry of Tamīm, led by 'Ubaydallāh b. Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān, was in command of his rear-guard and they protected the other soldiers until they had crossed over the river. (This was when) Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik died, and [1463] Hishām became Caliph. Then Muslim raided Afshīn[657] and concluded a peace agreement with its King whereby he was to receive six thousand head (of sheep). He left at the end of the year 105/723–24, after the King had delivered the fortress to him.

The Death of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik

In this year, the Caliph, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, died on the twenty-sixth of Sha'bān (January 28, 724).[658] This was related to me by Aḥmad b. Thābit—his authority—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar. Al-Wāqidī transmitted the same report.

According to al-Wāqidī: He died in Balqā',[659] which is in the district of Damascus, at the age of thirty-eight. Some authorities say that he died at the age of forty, while others maintain that he was thirty-six.

According to Abū Ma'shar, Hishām b. Muḥammad, and 'Alī b. Muḥammad, he served as Caliph for four years and one month. According to al-Wāqidī, he was Caliph for four years. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik's patronymic was Abū Khālid. This was related by Abū Ma'shar, Hishām b. Muḥammad, al-Wāqidī, and others.

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656. Text: *al-marzubān*. On this term, see note 97 above.

657. Note the discrepancy between the spelling of the name here and in the previous paragraph. On the distinction between Afshīn, a personal name, and Afshīnah, the name of a town, see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 432, 454; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Cairo), III, 525.

658. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 339–40; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 336; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 58; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 35; Azdī, *Ta'rīkh*, 18; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 195; *FHA*, 80–81; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 231.

659. The administrative district of Transjordan, dependent on the *jund* of Damascus. See *EI*², s.v. Balqā'.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik died at the age of thirty-five or thirty-four, on Friday the twenty-sixth of Shaʿbān in the year 105 (January 28, 724). He died in Arbad,[660] in the district of Balqāʾ. His son, al-Walīd, who was fifteen years old, prayed over him.[661] On that day, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik was in Ḥimṣ. This was related to me by ʿUmar b. Shabbah, on the authority of ʿAlī.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad: Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik died at the age of thirty-three.

According to ʿAlī: Abū Māwiyah or some other Jew said to
[1464] Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, "You will reign for forty years." One of the Jews said, "He lied, may God curse him. He predicted that he would reign for forty *qaṣabahs*." A *qaṣabah* is equivalent to one month. But he turned a month into a year.

Aspects of His Character[662]

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—ʿAlī: Yazīd b. ʿĀtikah was one of their (that is, the Marwānids') youths.[663] One day, when he was in a good mood, he said, in the presence of Ḥabābah[664] and Sallāmah,[665] "Let me fly." Ḥabābah said, "To whom will you entrust the Muslim community?"[666] When he died, Sallāmah of al-Qass[667] recited:

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660. A village in Jordan, near Tiberias. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 136ff.

661. It is also reported that Yazīd's brother, Hishām, prayed over his body. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 340; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 233.

662. See Azdī, *Taʾrīkh*, 18–21; Maqdisī, *Badʾ*, VI, 48–49; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 232–33.

663. Text: *min fityānihim*. According to Azdī, *Taʾrīkh*, 5, Yazīd's nickname was *al-fatā*, "the youth."

664. Ḥabābah was a singing slave girl of Medina who exerted complete control over the Caliph Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik due to his infatuation with her. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥabāba.

665. Sallāmah was a Medinese slave girl, purchased by the Caliph Yazīd, who performed as a singer. See *EI*², s.v. Ḥabāba; *Aghānī* (Beirut), VIII, 336–53.

666. Yazīd reportedly answered, "To you." See Masʿūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 199; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 121.

667. An allusion to her love affair with the Meccan jurist and Qurʾān reciter, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAmmār al-Jushamī, who was known as *al-Qass* ("the priest"), because of his great piety. See *Aghānī* (Beirut), VIII, 336ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 122–23.

Do not criticize us if we submit
or are on the point of submitting.
By my life, I stayed up all night,
as if afflicted by a painful disease.
Anxiety slept closer to me
than did my bedfellow.[668]
Because of what happened to us to-
day, namely, the difficult affair.[669]
Every time that I saw a home
that was empty, my eyes began to tear.
It is empty of a lord who
never neglected us.[670]

Then she cried out, "O Commander of the Faithful!"[671] The poetry was composed by one of the Helpers.[672]

According to 'Alī: Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik performed the pilgrimage during the caliphate of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, and it was on this occasion that he purchased Ḥabābah, whose (original) name was al-'Āliyah, for four thousand dīnārs from 'Uthmān b. Sahl b. Ḥunayf. Sulaymān said, "I want to prohibit Yazīd from squandering his money." As a result, Yazīd returned Ḥabābah, who was then purchased by an inhabitant of Egypt. Subsequently, Su'dah asked Yazīd, "O Commander of the Faithful, is there anything in the world that you still desire?" He said, "Yes there is: [1465]
Ḥabābah." Su'dah therefore sent a man who purchased Ḥabābah for four thousand dīnārs. Su'dah made her up and adorned her so that she would not look travel weary, and then she brought her to Yazīd and placed her behind a curtain. She asked, "O Commander of the Faithful, is there anything in the world that you still desire?" He replied, "Yes. Didn't I tell you when you asked me this question previously?" Then she lifted up the curtain and said, "Behold! Ḥabābah." Su'dah stood up, leaving Ḥabābah alone with

668. Text: *thumma bāta-l-hammu minnī dūna man lī min ḍajī'*. Literally, "Then anxiety slept with respect to me not as close as (my) bedfellow."

669. Text: *al-faḍī'*; read *al-faẓī'*, following the Cairo ed.

670. See al-Aḥwaṣ, *Shi'r*, no. 103, p. 152; *FHA*, 80.

671. Her cry signaled the Caliph's death. See *Aghānī* (Beirut), VIII, 348.

672. It is reported that al-Aḥwaṣ composed the poem for Sallāmah, who recited it as a lamentation. See *Aghānī* (Beirut), VIII, 350; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Beirut), III, 196.

the Caliph. This act endeared Suʿdah to Yazīd, who was generous with her and gave her many presents. Suʿdah, who was from the family of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, was Yazīd's wife.

According to ʿAlī—Yūnis b. Ḥabīb: One day, Ḥabābah, a slave girl belonging to Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, sang the following song:

Between the collarbones and the uvula is a burning heat
that does not subside and is not easy to swallow, and thus cool down.[673]

Yazīd extended his arms to fly, but she said, "O Commander of the Faithful, we need you." When she became very ill,[674] he asked, "How are you, Ḥabābah?" But she did not answer. He cried and recited:

If the soul forgets you, or desire abandons you,
the heart forgets out of despair, not out of hardness.

Yazīd heard one of her servants recite the following line:

It is sufficient mourning for the love-sick, bewildered one to see
the abodes of the one he desired left untended and deserted.

Yazīd also recited this.

[1466] According to ʿUmar—ʿAlī: Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik refused to see anyone for seven days after Ḥabābah died, on the recommendation of Maslamah, who feared that Yazīd would appear foolish in the eyes of the people.[675]

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673. See *FHA*, 77.

674. Yazīd, who wanted to be alone with Ḥabābah, ordered his servants not to disturb him under *any* circumstances. While the two of them were sitting together in a garden, Ḥabābah began to choke on a pomegranate seed (according to some versions: a grape seed that the Caliph threw at her). Ḥabābah died after Yazīd's pleas for assistance were dutifully ignored by his servants. See *FHA*, 77–78; Maqdisī, *Bad'*, VI, 48–49; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 121.

675. That is, because of his grief over Ḥabābah. See *FHA*, 77.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXV

The End of Expansion

TRANSLATED BY KHALID YAHYA BLANKINSHIP

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Volume XXV
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This volume deals with the part of Ṭabarī's great *History* covering the first fifteen years of the caliphate of the Umayyad Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, which represents almost the last period of universal political unity in Islamic history. Ṭabarī's work is generally recognized as among the most important sources for Hishām's reign. Here the bitter fighting faced by the Muslim forces on the frontiers receives extensive and graphic coverage. In particular, the unrewarding and continuous war against the pagan Turks in Khurāsān, a struggle that did so much to alienate the troops and thus to spread disaffection with Umayyad rule, is recorded in much more detail than elsewhere. Military disasters such as the Day of Thirst, the Day of Kamarjah, and the Day of the Defile are vividly portrayed.

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission *(isnād)* to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, according to Ibn Ḥumayd–Salamah–Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others which cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

This volume of Ṭabarī's history covers the first fifteen years of the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-120/724-738), which represents nearly the last epoch of universal political unity in Islamic history and of apparent political stability under the Umayyads. Ṭabarī's general subject is the history of Islam and its universal caliphate, which reached its widest extent at this time. Thus one might hope for a comprehensive treatment in this volume of the lands under Hishām's rule, but this is not the case. A historian covering such a large geographical area must be selective, and Ṭabarī must be thanked for giving us as much as he has. But his interest is confined in this volume almost entirely to the East, particularly Khurāsān and Iraq, with even metropolitan Syria brought in mainly to show the relationship of these two provinces to the seat of Umayyad power. Not only is North Africa almost entirely ignored, as throughout Ṭabarī generally, but so are Egypt, Arabia, and Western Iran. This seems to be a conscious selection on the writer's part, as local sources for these areas were apparently available. Like most ancient histories, Ṭabarī's work is also somewhat limited in the way it covers even the provinces it is concerned with, by stressing the noble and ruling elements rather than the common people, for example, or by evincing more interest in wars and battles than in peaceful developments. However, this deficiency is perhaps less than that often met with in similar chronicles of ancient or medieval history, as much social and economic information can be gleaned from the pages of the

present volume. In this respect Ṭabarī's narratives may prefigure more modern historical concerns. And Ṭabarī's own special interests, such as campaigns in Khurāsān, enjoy by far the best coverage available in any source and are thoroughly dealt with.

Ṭabarī's value as a historian depends heavily on the value of his sources, as his own input is mainly limited to the selection and arrangement of the material. He quotes extensively from the works of historians of the end of the second and the beginning of the third century of the hijrah, prominent among whom are, in order of frequency of quotation, Madā'inī (d.215/830), Wāqidī (d.207/822), Abū 'Ubaydah (d.210/825) and al-Haytham b. 'Adī (d.207/822). These men were born around the beginning of 'Abbasid rule and thus were able to hear the accounts of other eyewitnesses to the period covered by the present volume. Frequently however, their accounts came through intermediate transmitters who probably had often written them down some time before the later historians included them in their works. In either case, the likelihood of the accuracy of Ṭabarī's narratives relating to Hishām's reign is enhanced by the relatively short time between the events and their being written down and by the fact that living eyewitnesses or contemporaries to the events were used as informants for the written sources Ṭabarī used.

Indeed, the narratives themselves here show less tendentiousness than is found in some other parts of Ṭabarī, such as in the material drawn from Sayf b. 'Umar. Hishām, though so hated by the 'Abbāsid revolutionaries that his corpse was exhumed, hacked up and crucified, is not painted in the blackest of colors here, which lends some credibility to Ṭabarī's accounts. For example, on his pilgrimage to Mecca in 106/725, Hishām is shown unwilling to curse 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (p. 1483), he piously leads the prayers over recently deceased religious personages, one a grandson of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and he greets the grandson of Abū Bakr in a friendly manner (p.1472). Khālid al-Qasrī, the great viceroy of the East, receives a mixed treatment, evidently a composite from different sources. Each governor of Khurāsān is also dealt with from various points of view, not wholly unfavorably. Thus Ashras al-Sulamī is nicknamed both "the Perfect" (p. 1504) and "Frog" (p. 1505), showing opposite views about him. Interestingly, both reports come through Madā'inī, and their respective tribal sources,

the Muḍar and the Bakr, reveal that these are expected partisan opinions. Also, al-Junayd al-Murrī, though probably rightly condemned by Khurāsānī poets for the disastrous Battle of the Defile (pp. 1553-9), is favorably portrayed elsewhere (pp. 1533, 1565).

This does not mean, though, that Ṭabarī's accounts are free from bias. Indeed, many of the competing tribal accounts are violently biased against their rivals. But the author shows no favoritism for one group over another, as he quotes from all the different tribal factions.

A notable tendency of this section of Ṭabarī, and not unique to him among the sources, is his heavy reliance for Hishām's reign on Khurāsānī sources, which tend to exalt Khurāsānī personages and army units at the expense of others, especially the Syrians. Naṣr b. Sayyār, for example, is always seen in a favorable light and his self-congratulatory poetry extensively quoted. The sufferings of the Khurāsānī troops are graphically portrayed in the various battles. But the Khurāsānīs do also sometimes come in for criticism. Al-Mujashshir al-Sulamī, who had an extremely long career as a Khurāsānī notable, usually is shown giving good advice to the amirs (e.g., p. 1544) but on the day of Kharīstān is ridiculed by Asad al-Qasrī for his timidity (p. 1608).

Probably the most problematic accounts are those telling about early 'Abbāsid missionary work, as this was carried on in secret and as embarrassing facts were probably early suppressed. Certain statements, such as the accusations levelled against 'Ammār or 'Umārah b. Yazīd ("Khidāsh") are probably false (p. 1588). Otherwise, the brave martyrs of the 'Abbāsid movement are gloriously portrayed (pp. 1501-3). But the coverage of the movement is uneven and must be read in conjunction with other sources, such as the anonymous and immensely important *Akhbār al-Dawlah al-'Abbāsiyyah*.

The literary quality of Ṭabarī's history also deserves consideration. Though some lines consist of dry chronicling of events, the bulk of the text contains lively, exciting war narratives that make fascinating reading, conveying a vibrant portrayal of the feelings of the participants. Outstanding among these are the detailed accounts of the campaigns of Kamarjah (pp. 1516-25), the Defile (pp. 1531- 59) and Kharīstān (pp. 1593-1618), which reveal the desperation felt by the Muslims in their long struggle with the Turks.

Ṭabarī's text is also punctuated by poetry, especially that relating to the battles and their results. Startling the reader with their graphic imagery and stirring language, the poems by the otherwise unknown al-Sharʿabī al-Ṭāʾī and Ibn ʿIrs al-ʿAbdī (pp. 1554-9) convey the poets' impression of the exhaustion and desperation the Muslims felt after the Battle of the Defile, as well as of their rage toward their commander. Contrasting with this virile poetry is the elaborate literary language of the court, with its complex parallelisms epitomized by the long letters sent by Hishām to Khālid al-Qasrī and the Umayyad notable the latter had insulted (pp. 1642-6). Although flowery and carefully constructed rather than spontaneous, these too are not ineffective in getting their message across. Even if they turn out to be inauthentic compositions of somewhat later date, like the speeches of Thucydides, they do still clearly represent the development of the chancery style so widely met with in official writing in the Muslim world for a long time after.

Analyzing the contents of this volume reveals the fewness of the subjects Ṭabarī has chosen to dwell on, which in turn discloses his purpose. He has opted to treat narrow areas in depth while totally omitting much else, rather than to spread himself thin over the whole territory of Dār al-Islām. Dealing with the reign of Hishām, he has concentrated with a singleness of purpose on painting the background of the ʿAbbāsids' advent to power, although events in other provinces such as North Africa were significant. Hence the desperate conditions of the Khurāsānīs receive top billing, while even Iraq and Syria are mainly subordinated to events in the far eastern province where ʿAbbāsid rule arose.

In fact, the fifteen years covered by this volume were indeed ones of epic struggle, as the Muslim caliphate seemed to be fighting for its very life. Hishām's reign witnessed the state's resources stretched to the breaking point. The furious Turkish onslaught of 102-19/720-37 detailed by Ṭabarī left the Khurāsānī Arab tribal regiments decimated, even though the enemy was finally defeated. A continuous series of hard-fought battles including the relief of Qaṣr al-Bāhilī 102/720, the Day of Thirst 106/724, Kamarjah 110/728, the Day of the Defile 113/731, and Kharīstān 119/737, along with many others mentioned by Ṭabarī and possibly others not mentioned, such as the fall of Samarqand possibly in 113/731,

led to high Muslim losses. It is most notable that after the Day of the Defile, many Khurāsānī tribal surnames never again appear as part of the army in Khurāsān, leading one to suppose they had been annihilated or their men had given up fighting. Some Khurāsānī troops remain, of course, but their divisions are now parallelled by Syrian ones. Thus it appears, particularly from Ṭabarī's emphasis, that the Day of the Defile was practically a turning point in the war with the Turks, at least as far as the Khurāsānīs were concerned and, despite the army being rescued, was a Pyrrhic victory at best. Elsewhere, the period had witnessed only a year previously in 112/730 the destruction of al-Jarrāḥ al-Ḥakamī in the Caucasus, another big, or possibly bigger, disaster in which even the commander, a famous general, was slain. Ṭabarī describes this only briefly, however, as he also does with regard to the annual campaigns against the Byzantines, some of which were also disastrous for the Muslims, such as that of 113/731 (p. 1560). Unmentioned are the festering troubles in North Africa and the defeat of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī at Balāṭ al-Shuhadā' in France in 114/732, where the Muslim advance into Europe was permanently checked. These military crises on virtually every front belie the apparent calm inside the boundaries of the Muslim caliphate and must have contributed heavily to releasing the pent-up internal forces that would bring down the Umayyads.

Indeed, Ṭabarī reveals the actual internal instability of the state under Hishām, despite the general outward calm on the surface. Crises in Khurāsān resulting from backsliding on the promised removal of tax burdens from the *mawālī*, the non-Arab Muslims, as described in this volume, had their parallels elsewhere, for example, in North Africa under Yazīd b. Abī Muslim. Failure to deal effectively with the problem led ominously to the revolt of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj from at least 116/734 onward. In Iraq, small Khārijite revolts occurred, whose leaders are often given the stature of heroes. Most remarkable is the government's frightened overreaction, which lays bare a jittery state of mind, despite the smallness of the revolts themselves. Also, the cruel punishments meted out to rebels and heretics by the Umayyad government in this period stick in the reader's mind, as Ṭabarī doubtless intended, and further point to the frenzied alarm it felt.

That all is not well with the state is also emphasized by the ap-

parent corruption of the governors. As governorships were often briefly held, they seem to have been looked on as an opportunity to get rich, as in the story of Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī (pp. 1468-71). This possibility gains support from the frequent torturing of ex-governors by their successors in order to get them to disgorge their wealth. In the present volume, this befell ʿUmārah b. Ḥuraym al-Murrī (p. 1565), the successor of al-Junayd, ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbdallāh (p. 1581) and Khālid al-Qasrī (e.g., pp. 1654-5). In addition ʿUmar b. Hubayrah and Muslim b. Saʿīd at least felt the threat of similar treatment (pp. 1485, 1488). The vast estates amassed and sums of money supposedly embezzled by Khālid al-Qasrī also paint for us an extravagant picture of exploitation of an office for one's own benefit and that of one's retainers (pp. 1641-2, 1648, 1654-5).

If all this is to find any explanation aside from personal greed, it must be sought in the realm of tribal party politics. As the spoils system then at work allowed every new governor to fill all posts with political appointees from his own party, his own supporters and retainers would inevitably clamor for such posts. And this indeed seems to have been the fate of Khālid al-Qasrī, who is shown almost broke after having distributed all his gains to his party (p. 1651).

The downfall of Khālid in 120/738 after more than fourteen years as viceroy of the East is another epochmaking, watershed event to which Ṭabarī devotes considerable attention. Unfortunately, in spite of the numerous possible causes cited in these pages, the exact reason for his dismissal cannot be discerned with certainty, but it is highly likely that Ṭabarī has not included all of the background of this important change. Some of the reasons alleged, such as slighting comments made by Khālid about Hishām or the former's insulting behaviour toward Ibn ʿAmr b. Saʿīd (pp. 1642-7), are too trivial to be the cause, though altogether they may have presented an uppitiness the Umayyads found provoking. The financial reasons are perhaps important, especially given a possible financial crisis caused by the vast scale of military operations in Hishām's reign. This may have led him to demand much greater fiscal accountability and stringency than was the case in previous reigns, which in turn may have left Hishām with his lasting reputation for avarice. But it is also probable that partisan disputes in

the Umayyad house itself, perhaps extending to the Syrian army leadership, had much to do with Khālid's dismissal. It is unlikely that the death of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik only five months before Khālid's downfall was irrelevant to that event. Maslamah, the elder statesman of the Umayyad house, himself deprived of the succession owing to his being the son of a concubine, had always been a guiding and restraining influence, and Khālid probably would not have held the governorship of Iraq for fourteen years without his approval. Hishām had been unable to alter the succession in favor of his own son over Maslamah's opposition, and with Maslamah gone might have been more willing to bow to family pressures to remove Khālid, which Ṭabarī alludes to (pp. 1646, 1655-6). Whatever the case, the subject needs further study. It is Khālid's long rule that gives the period some of its outward appearance of stability, just as his sudden exit from the political stage at the end of this volume, along with the death of his brother Asad in the same year, foreshadows the Umayyads' own collapse shortly afterwards.

Khālid's replacement as viceroy of the East was the fanatical Qaysī Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī. His appointment and harsh acts against the opposing Yamanī faction nearly completed the total breakdown in the ability of the two groups to live in peace in the same state. Such factionalism had already appeared at al-Barūqān early in Hishām's reign in 106/724 in a clash between the Muḍar and the Yaman-Rabī'ah (pp. 1473-7). In fact, the increasing tribal factionalism is one of the salient motifs of Hishām's reign. It not only took place between the dominant Syrians and the provincial Arabs, such as the Khurāsānīs, as we have pointed out already, but was often more virulent between the Qays or Muḍar and Yaman-Rabī'ah factions inside each province and apparently throughout the caliphate, as it is attested in Ṭabarī or elsewhere in Khurāsān, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, North Africa and Spain, for Hishām's time or shortly thereafter. The underlying basis of it has been much discussed, for example, by Wellhausen[1], Shaban[2] and Crone.[3] Generally it has been felt that such widespread rivalries and disor-

1. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 180-2, 201-2, 208-11, 259-61, 322, 326, 328-9, 359-60 and passim.
2. Shaban, *Islamic History*, 120-4, 146, 152, 154-5, 170-1.
3. Crone, *Slaves*, 37-48.

ders must have a more immediate effective cause than mere tribal feuding and that the tribes in any case do not represent primeval social groups but rival army units or political factions. This belief receives support from the ability of certain tribes to change their membership in the larger groupings almost at will, like the seemingly opportunistic Bāhilah in 106/724 (pp. 1473-7). Originally from southeastern Arabia near the Gulf, perhaps near Abū Ẓabī, this large tribe became great with Qutaybah b. Muslim, the inveterate Qaysī (d. 96/715), but here, only a few years later, Qutaybah's brother is leader of the Yaman-Rabīʿah faction, the Bāhilah now claiming to belong to the Banū Maʿn, part of the Yamanī Azd. Additionally, the Rabaʿī Taghlib try to claim them. In each case, a genealogy is provided justifying their factional membership. Another example is Asad al-Qasrī's beating of the leaders of each of the four major tribal groupings in Khurāsān (pp. 1498-1500) and then wrongly being accused of tribal favoritism. Here the Khurāsānīs' resentment toward the central government is more important than tribal divisions among themselves.

But certain observations are in order before tribal group feeling is dismissed as a motivation. First, throughout Ṭabarī's history of the Umayyads all persons, whether in the military or not, are usually identified by their tribal *nisbah*, the badge of membership in one of the 200 or more primeval or at least pre-Islamic tribes of Arabia. Non-Arabs also have this membership as clients *(mawālī)* of one tribe or another. Although a certain amount of intermarriage was possible, often for political reasons, this did not strongly affect the feeling of belonging to a patrilineal descent in a particular primeval tribe. Thus, although Naṣr b. Sayyār's mother was from the Rabaʿī Taghlib and his two known wives from the Tamīm, his own loyalty to the Layth is shown by the number of his close associates from that tribe. Suffice it to say that membership in a smaller tribal group was in this period the main means of social identification inside the Muslim community. The larger tribal groupings were more artificial, although not wholly so, as they also tended to go back to defined geographical areas in Arabia. But they too took on a strong tribal coloration replete with ethnic feeling that prevailed right down to the end of the Umayyad rule and recurred sporadically thereafter. That certain tribes changed their larger groupings does not mean that

most did so. The Bāhilah's finding their way back to membership in the Ma'n of the Yamanī Azd shows only their understandable reversion to the group of their original geographical neighbors in Arabia after they were unnaturally sundered from them by Qutaybah's service to al-Ḥajjāj and the opportunity that gave him to promote his tribe to better status. Finally, it might well be wondered whether the Muḍar tribes on the whole were not more nomadic and the Yaman more sedentary and whether that did not play a role in forming their attitudes originally and contributing to their rivalry and mutual aversion across the caliphate. This is also a subject for further study.

I would like to thank the Ṭabarī Translation Project for the opportunity to participate in their great enterprise. I would especially like to thank Professor Jere L. Bacharach of the University of Washington for his generous help in all phases of the translation and especially for the many helpful suggestions he made to improve both the wording of the text and the quality of the notes. I would also like to thank Professor Jacob Lassner for his painstaking editing of my text. Further, I would like to express my gratitude to Ali Bakr Hassan of the Arabic Language Academy in Cairo and the University of Washington who helped to elucidate certain obscure words and passages in the Arabic. Deepest thanks is also due to April Richardson of the University of Washington who kindly typed the manuscript and bore with me through numerous subsequent corrections and emendations. Last but not least, I wish to thank my wife, may Allah bless her heart, who gave me moral encouragement and urged me on to complete the work in the shortest time possible.

Khalid Yahya Blankinship

The Events of the Year

105

(JUNE 10, 723—MAY 28, 724)

The Caliphate of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik [1466]

In this year, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik was made Caliph in the latter part of Sha'bān [105] (January 3–31, 724). He was then some months beyond his thirty-fourth birthday.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah[1] —'Alī[2] —Abū Muḥammad al-Qurashī,[3] Abū Muḥammad al-Ziyādī, al-Minhāl b. 'Abd al-Malik and Suḥaym b. Ḥafṣ al-'Ujayfī:[4] Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik was born the year Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr was slain, that is the year 72 (691). His mother was 'Ā'ishah bt. Hishām b. Ismā'īl b. Hishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm. As she was retarded, her family ordered her not to speak to 'Abd al-Malik until she gave birth. She would pile up pillows and then climb on one of them, driving it as if it were a steed. She would also

1. Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Zayd (nicknamed Shabbah) b. 'Ubayd b. Rayṭah, the mawlā of the Banū Numayr c. 172(788)–262(876). Well-known historian and traditionist from al-Baṣrah. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 125; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 345.

2. That is, al-Madā'inī.

3. Possibly Abū Muḥammad b. Dhakwān al-Qurashī. Compare isnāds in Ṭabarī, II/2, 209–10.

4. Abū al-Yaqẓān 'Āmir b. Abī Muḥammad Ḥafṣ, the mawlā of the Banū 'Ujayf. Nicknamed Suḥaym. Famous genealogist and historian of the Tamīm as well as other Muḍarī tribes. Died 170(786) or 190(806). See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 106–7; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 266–7; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 235.

buy frankincense and, after chewing it up, she would mold out of it images which she would then set on the pillows. Having given to each image the name of a slave girl, she would call out, "O so-and-so," and so on. 'Abd al-Malik later divorced her because of her retardedness. When 'Abd al-Malik went out to fight Muṣ'ab and killed him, the news of the birth of Hishām reached the Caliph. Looking upon his birth as a good omen, he named the child Manṣūr, but the mother gave him the name of her father, Hishām. 'Abd al-Malik did not oppose that, and he thus became Hishām. He was given the patronymic Abū al-Walīd.

[1467] According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar[5]—his informants: The Caliphate came to Hishām while he was at al-Zaytūnah[6] at his residence on a small estate of his there. Muḥammad b. 'Umar saw it himself and regarded it as small. (There) a postal rider brought Hishām the staff and ring of office, and he was saluted as Caliph, whereupon he rode from al-Ruṣāfah[7] until coming to Damascus.

Bukayr b. Māhān and the 'Abbāsid Revolutionaries

In this year Bukayr b. Māhān[8] came from Sind, where he had been serving as a translator for al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.[9] When al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was removed from office, Bukayr came to al-Kūfah, having with him four bars of silver and one of gold. There he met Abū 'Ikrimah al-Ṣādiq,[10] Maysarah,[11] Muḥammad

5. That is, al-Wāqidī.

6. A Syrian desert retreat of Hishām, it was believed to be on or near the Euphrates, but possibly may be identified with Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī near al-Qaryatayn between Palmyra and Damascus. See *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 163.

7. Thought to be Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī between Palmyra and al-Raqqah, it was Hishām's favorite residence. See *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī; *EI*[1], s.v. al-Ruṣāfa.

8. Abū Hāshim al-Hurmuzfarrahī, the mawlā of the Yamanī Banū Musliyah. From the village of Hurmuzfarrah in the Marw oasis, he was the chief agent of the Hāshimiyyah in al-Kūfah until his death about 127(745). See *EI*[2], s.v. Bukayr b. Māhān.

9. Al-Murrī, wrongly called Ibn 'Abdallāh in *EI*[2]. Governor of Khurasan 111(729)-116(734). See *EI*[2], s.v. Djunayd b. 'Abd Allāh; Crone, *Slaves*, 98.

10. Abū 'Ikrimah Ziyād b. Dirham al-Sarrāj al-Ṣādiq, the mawlā of the Hamdān, who assumed the kunyah of Abū Muḥammad for purposes of secrecy. See note 120; also Ṭabari, III/2, 1358, 1453; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 191–2, 203–5; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 136–7.

11. Abū Rabāḥ (or Riyāḥ) al-Nabbāl, also al-Raḥḥāl, the mawlā of the Azd. See

b. Khunays,[12] Sālim al-A'yan,[13] and Abū Yaḥyā, the mawlā of the Banū Musliyah.[14] They told Bukayr about the missionary work of the Banū Hāshim. He accepted their call completely and spent all that he had with him on them. Afterwards, he went to Muḥammad b. 'Alī,[15] and, when Maysarah died,[16] Muḥammad b. 'Alī sent Bukayr b. Māhān to Iraq to take over Maysarah's post.

Ibrāhīm b. Hishām Leads the Pilgrimage

Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl[17] led the pilgrimage this year while al-Naṣrī[18] was governor of al-Madīnah.

According to al-Wāqidī—Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbīl—his father: Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl, while leading the pilgrimage, sent a messenger to 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ[19] to ask when he should give his sermon at Mecca. 'Aṭā' answered, "After the noon worship a day before the watering."[20] But Ibrāhīm then gave the sermon before noon, saying that his messenger had brought

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Akhbār al-Dawlah, 183; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 134.

12. The mawlā of the Hamdān. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 183.

13. Probably the same as Sālim b. Bujayr b. 'Abdallāh al-A'mā, the mawlā of the Banū Musliyah, he died on the way to al-Kūfah from al-Ḥumaymah during the early phase of revolutionary activity. He was leader of the Hāshimite missionaries. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 183, 191–2; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 136,146.

14. Text: *Salamah*; read *Musliyah*. As we have seen Bukayr b. Māhān himself, the Sālim in this list, and many of the early Hāshimite agents were clients of the Musliyah. *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 192.

15. Grandson of 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and progenitor of the 'Abbāsid dynasty. See *EI*², s.v. 'Abbāsids; Sharon, *Black Banners*, passim.

16. In 100(719). Ṭabarī's story about Bukayr b. Māhān here compresses the events of a number of years. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 149–50.

17. Maternal uncle of the Caliph Hishām, he was executed with his brother by al-Walīd b. Yazīd's order in 125(743). See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 354; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 329.

18. Text: *al-Naḍrī*; read *al-Naṣrī*, as in Mss. B and O. He is 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh b. Ka'b al-Naṣrī. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 270.

19. Text: *Riyāḥ*; read *Rabāḥ*. That is Abū Muḥammad 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ 27(646)–114(732) or 115(733), the mawlā of Quraysh and a Meccan jurist. See *EI*², s.v. 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ.

20. The day of watering *(tarwiyah)* in the pilgrimage is the eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, when the pilgrims draw a supply of water for their move to Minā that day and to 'Arafah the following day. The sermons delivered at 'Arafah on the ninth and Minā on the tenth are the main ones, so it is strange that importance is attached to the timing of a sermon by the pilgrimage leader on the seventh, especially when that leader seems to have had a choice in the timing of the main sermons. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. r-w-a and n-f-r; Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, II, 199, 215.

him such instructions from 'Aṭā', whereupon the latter responded that he had only instructed him to speak after the noon worship. In this way Ibrāhīm b. Hishām was put to shame on that day, for the people believed that the incident showed his ignorance.

Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī Becomes Governor of the East

In this year Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik dismissed 'Umar b.
[1468] Hubayrah[21] from the governorship of Iraq and the eastern provinces that went with it. He turned all of it over in Shawwāl (March 2 - 30, 724) to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī.[22]

According to Muḥammad b. Salām al-Jumaḥī—'Abd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarī[23] —'Umar b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr al-Usayyidī[24] : I entered into the presence of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik while Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī was there, reminding him of the loyalty of the Yaman. At this, I gave one loud clap of the hands saying, "By God, I never before saw such a mistake nor anything so nonsensical. By God, never was discord begun in Islam except by the Yaman. It was they who slew the Commander of the Faithful 'Uthmān and they who renounced (their allegiance to) the Commander of the Faithful 'Abd al-Malik. Our swords yet drip with the blood of the family of al-Muhallab."[25] Then when I got up, a man of the family of Marwān[26] who had been present followed me and said, "O brother from the Banū Tamīm, my fire has been kindled by you! I heard your remarks. The Commander of the Faithful has just appointed Khālid as governor over Iraq; it is no place for you now."

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21. Governor of Iraq and the East 103(721)-105(724). See *EI*², s.v. 'Umar b. Hubayra.

22. Governor of Iraq and the East 105(724)–120(738) and governor of Mecca ca. 89(708)–96(715) and possibly once before. See *EI*², s.v. Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī.

23. Abū Rifā'ah al-Sulamī of al-Baṣrah, a descendant of Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī, the early tribal leader. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 368.

24. He was in charge of the security force at al-Baṣrah in 102(721) and earlier, and was killed in 109(727). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1417, 1495–6.

25. Refers to the slaughter of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab al- Azdī's family in 102(720) after the failure of his revolt. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1401, 1411–3; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 318–9.

26. That is, a relative of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the progenitor of the ruling family.

According to 'Abd al-Razzāq[27] —Ḥammād b. Sa'īd al-Ṣan'ānī— Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh[28] I came to Syria (*al-Sha'm*) and secured a loan (*iqtaraḍtu*).[29] One day, while I was at the door, that is, Hishām's door, a man suddenly came out from his presence and asked me, "Where are you from, young man?" I said that I was a Yamanī. Then he asked who I was. I told him Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Madān. Thereupon he smiled, saying, "Get up and go to the military camp and tell my companions to set out, for the Commander of the Faithful is well pleased with me and has bidden [1469] me to set out and assigned me someone to see to my departure." I then asked, "Who are you, may God have mercy on you?" He said, "Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī. Now command them, young man, to give you the head cloth from my clothes and my yellow horse." When I had gone a few steps, he called out, saying to me, "Young man, if you hear one day that I have been appointed governor of Iraq, then join me."

After that I went to them and said, "The amīr has sent me to you to say that the Commander of the Faithful is well pleased with him (i.e., Khālid) and has ordered him to go forth." At this, some started hugging me while others kissed my head. When I saw them doing that, I continued, "He has also ordered that you give me the head cloth from his clothes and his yellow steed." They answered, "Yes, by God, gladly," and they gave me both the head cover from his clothes and his yellow steed. No one in the camp was better dressed than I nor had a better mount after that.

It was only a little while later when it was said, "Khālid has been made governor of Iraq." That worried me, whereupon one of our officers from the ranks asked me, "Do I see you worried?" I

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27. Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Humām b. Nāfi' al-Ṣan'ānī, the mawlā of the Ḥimyar, 125(744)–211(827). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 310–5.

28. Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥijr b. 'Abd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī, the brother-in-law of Muḥammad b. 'Alī, the 'Abbāsid imām. See Crone, *Slaves*, 149; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 26-31.

29. Text: *iqtaraḍtu*. Crone insists that this should read (*iftaraḍtu*), giving the meaning of the sentence, "I enrolled in the Damascus division of the army." However, there is no indication that Hishām was in Damascus at the time, so that *al-Sha'm* here may be taken to mean geographical Syria rather than Damascus. Presumably Ziyād came from outside Syria then, perhaps from Iraq. While the meaning could be that Ziyād had enrolled in the army, the attested reading in the text is not impossible either, especially if he was there seeking largesse from Hishām near the outset of the latter's reign. See Crone, *Slaves*, 55, 149, 243n.

answered, "Yes, Khālid has been made governor of such and such. I have found a pittance to get by on here, but I am afraid that if I go to him my circumstances may change and I may wind up a loser one way or another. Therefore, I don't know what I should do." The officer then asked, "Would you make an arrangement?" I asked what it might be. He said, "Let me manage your sources of income here while you set out. Then if you get what you want, I will keep (the revenues from) your sources of income for myself, and if not, you will come back and I will turn them over to you." I agreed and set out.

When I came to al-Kūfah, I put on some of my best clothes. The people were summoned (to the mosque). I waited until they sat down, then I entered and stood at the door, giving them greetings, wishing them well and invoking praise. Here the narrator raised his head and said: I gave them most friendly greetings indeed and did not return to my residence until I had gathered six hundred
[1470] dīnārs in cash and goods.

Afterwards, I used to visit Khālid often. One day he asked me, "Can you write, Ziyād?" I answered, "I can read, but I can't write, may God make the amīr prosper!" At this Khālid hit his forehead with his hand, saying, "We are God's and unto Him we return![30] There goes nine-tenths of what I wanted from you! Only one-tenth is left to you, in which there is the wealth of all time." I asked, "O amīr, is that one thing worth the price of a slave?" He answered, "What are you driving at now?" I said, "Buy a slave who can write and send him to me; he can teach me (to write)." To which Khālid replied, "Come now! You're too old for that!" But I said, "I am not," so he bought a slave who knew both writing and arithmetic for sixty dīnārs and sent him to me. Then I threw myself into the (study of) writing, and began to come to Khālid only at night. After only fifteen nights, I could write and read as I wished.

One night when I was at Khālid's, he questioned whether I had made any progress in the matter, to which I answered that I had and could now both write and read as I liked. But he said, "I think that you have only grasped a little bit, and that has impressed you." I said, "Certainly not!" Thereupon he raised his quilted cloak, and behold, there was a scroll. He then said, "Read this

30. Qur'ān 2:156.

scroll." I read it from end to end, and lo, it was from Khālid's governor in al-Rayy. Khālid said, "Go, for I have given you his office."

I then went forth until I reached al-Rayy. There I seized the official in charge of taxation. He had sent a messenger to me, (first telling him), "This is only a crazy bedouin Arab, for the governor never sent an Arab to supervise taxation before. He is only in charge of the (military) supplies. Tell him if he keeps me in my office he can have three hundred thousand (dirhams)." I looked at my commission and saw that I was indeed only in charge of the supplies. So I said, "By God, no! I am beaten!" Then I wrote to Khālid, "You sent me to al-Rayy and I thought you had given me [1471] complete charge, but the official in charge of taxation has asked me to keep him in office and offered me three hundred thousand dirhams." Khālid wrote back to me saying, "Accept what he has given you and know that you have been cheated." After that, I remained there for a certain period of time. Then I wrote to Khālid saying, "I long for you, so recall me." He did so, and when I came to him he made me commander of his security force.

Governors

The governor of al-Madīnah, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if this year was 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh al-Naṣrī.[31] The judiciary of al-Kūfah was entrusted to al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan[32] al-Kindī and that of al-Baṣrah to Mūsā b. Anas.[33]

It has also been said that Hishām only appointed Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī over Iraq and Khurāsān in 106 and that his governor of Iraq and Khurāsān in the year 105 was 'Umar b. Hubayrah.

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31. See note 18.

32. Text: *Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan*; read *al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan*. For his *nasab*, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 237, II, 355.

33. Son of the young companion of the Prophet Anas b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 351; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 192.

The Events of the Year 106

(MAY 29, 724—MAY 18, 725)

In this year, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik removed 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh from al-Madīnah as well as from Mecca and al-Ṭā'if and appointed over all of them his own material uncle Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl al-Makhzūmī. He came to al-Madīnah on Friday the seventeenth of Jumādā II of the year 106 (November 10, 724). Al-Naṣrī's governorship of al-Madīnah lasted a year and
[1472] eight months.

In it, Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik[34] led the summer campaign (against the Byzantines).

In it al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik[35] campaigned against al-Lān.[36] He made peace with the populace, whereupon they handed over the *jizyah*.[37]

Also in this year, 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī[38] was born in Rajab (November 22–December 21, 724).

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34. Hishām's half-brother, killed by the 'Abbāsids 132(750). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 89; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 165.

35. Another half-brother of Hishām. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 89; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 165.

36. A Christian land in the North Caucasus near the pass of Derbent by the Caspian Sea. See *EI*², s.v. Alān, al-Ḳabḳ.

37. Tribute taken from non-Muslims. See *EI*², s.v. Djizya.

38. 'Abd al-Ṣamad was the half-brother of Muḥammad b. 'Alī, the 'Abbāsid imām, by a concubine. Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 29.

The Pilgrimage of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik

In this year, the imām Ṭā'ūs,[39] the mawlā of Baḥīr b. Raysān al-Ḥimyarī, died at Mecca. Sālim b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar[40] also died. Hishām led the prayers over them. Ṭā'ūs's death was at Mecca and that of Sālim at al-Madīnah.

According to al-Hārith[41] —Ibn Sa'd—Muhammad b. 'Umar—'Abd al-Ḥakīm b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Farwah: Sālim b. 'Abdallāh died in the year 105 at the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (about May 28, 724). Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik led the prayer over him at al-Baqī'.[42] There I saw al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr[43] sitting at the grave when Hishām approached wearing only a loose-fitting robe.

He stopped before al-Qāsim to greet him, and al-Qāsim rose to meet him. Hishām asked him, "How are you, Abū Muḥammad? How is your health?" Al-Qāsim answered, "Fine." Hishām said, "I wish, by God, that He make you (all) well." Noticing that the people were many, Hishām levied from them a draft of four thousand (men for military service). Therefore, this year became known as the Year of the Four Thousand.

In it, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām entrusted Muḥammad b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥi[44] with the judiciary (at al-Madīnah), then replaced him with al-Ṣalt al-Kindī.[45]

In this year, the fight occurred between the Muḍar on the one hand and the Yaman and the Rabī'ah on the other at al-Barūqān[46] near Balkh.

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39. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥman Ṭā'ūs b. Kaysān al-Jundī, the Ḥijāzī jurist, also said to have died 101(720). Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 8–10.

40. Abū 'Umar, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's grandson, Medinese scholar. Also said to have died in 105(723), 107(725) or 108(726). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 436–8.

41. That is, al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad.

42. Famous Muslim cemetery at al-Madīnah in which many of the Prophet's companions are buried. See *EI*², s.v. Bakī' al-Gharḳad.

43. The Caliph Abū Bakr's grandson and Madinan scholar born before 38(658), died between 101(720) and 112(730). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 333–5.

44. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 24, II, 424; Wakī', *al-Quḍāh*, I, 168–9.

45. He is al-Ṣalt b. Zubayd b. al-Ṣalt b. Ma'dīkarib b. Walī'ah, the ḥalīf of the Banū Jumaḥ. See Wakī', *al-Quḍāh*, I, 169–70. His complete *nasab* may be derived from Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 239.

46. A village about six miles from Balkh, possibly center of Muslim army camp at this time, after destruction of Balkh by Qutaybah a few years earlier. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 405; *EI*², s.v. Asad b. 'Abdallāh and Balkh; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 77, 189.

[1473] *The Reason for the Fight at al-Barūqān*

According to what has been reported, the reason for it was that when Muslim b. Sa'īd[47] went out to cross the Oxus to raid the enemy, many of the people delayed in joining him, among them al-Bakhtarī b. Dirham.[48] When Muslim reached the Oxus, he sent back to Balkh Naṣr b. Sayyār,[49] Salīm b. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim,[50] Bal'ā' b. Mujāhid b. Bal'ā' al-'Anbarī, Abū Ḥafṣ b. Wā'il al-Ḥanẓalī,[51] 'Uqbah b. Shihāb al-Māzinī, and Sālim b. Dhu'ābah, making Naṣr b. Sayyār their overall commander and ordering him to get the people (to come) out (of Balkh) to join him. Therefore, Naṣr burned down the door of al-Bakhtarī and Ziyād b. Ṭarīf al-Bāhilī, but 'Amr b. Muslim,[52] who was in charge of Balkh, prevented Naṣr's forces from entering the city.

Muslim b. Sa'īd crossed the Oxus anyway, while Naṣr camped at al-Barūqān. While there, he was joined by the forces of Ṣaghāniyān,[53] which included Maslamah al-'Uqfānī[54] of the Banū Tamīm and Ḥassān b. Khālid al-Asadī, each of whom had five hundred men, and also Sinān al-A'rābī,[55] Zur'ah b. 'Alqamah,[56] Salamah b. Aws, and al-Ḥajjāj b. Hārūn al-Numayrī,[57] with his household. Meanwhile, (the forces of) the Bakr and the Azd gath-

47. Muslim b. Sa'īd b. Aslam b. Zur'ah al-Kilābī, governor of Khurāsān 104(722)–106(724). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 286 – 287; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 356.

48. Or Ibn Abī Dirham, of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Ubād b. Ḍubay'ah b. Qays b. Tha'labah, a branch of the Bakr b. Wā'il. See Ṭabarī III/2, 1475, 1498.

49. Abū Layth al-Laythī ca. 46(666)–131(748), the great Muḍarī warrior and governor of Khurāsān 120(738)–131(748). *EI*[1], s.v. Naṣr b. Saiyār.

50. Al-Sulamī, grandson of the famous governor Ibn Khāzim. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 262.

51. Probably Abū Ḥafṣ 'Alī b. Wā'il of the Rabī'ah b. Ḥanẓalah of the Tamīm, father-in-law to Naṣr b. Sayyār. See Ṭabarī III/2, 1664, 1860.

52. Abū Qays al-Bāhilī, died 120/738, pro-Yaman brother of Qutaybah b. Muslim. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 246; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 519.

53. Hephthalite principality in the valley of the Chaghān Rūd directly north of al-Tirmidh. Its ancient capital of the same name is now Denaw in Soviet Uzbekistan. See *EI*[2], s.v. Caghāniyān and Caghān-Rūd.

54. Of a very small branch of the Yarbū'. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 145.

55. Al-Sulamī. A former supporter of Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim, he was still active in 128(746) for the Muḍar party. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1163, III/2, 1583, 1595, 1929.

56. Al-Sulamī. At al-Tirmidh with Mūsā in 85(704). See Ṭabarī II/2, 1163.

57. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Hārūn b. Mālik b. Sāriyah, of an important Qaysite family with Syrian connections. See Ṭabarī III/2, 1723.

ered at al-Barūqān under al-Bakhtarī, who camped half a *farsakh*[58] away from Naṣr's forces. Naṣr sent to the people of Balkh saying, "You've taken your stipends; therefore, go join your commander who has already crossed the Oxus!" Thereupon the Muḍar came out to Naṣr, while the Rabī'ah and the Azd joined 'Amr b. Muslim. Some of the Rabī'ah said, "Muslim b. Sa'īd intends to revolt and (thus) is forcing us to go forward." At this point, the Taghlib[59] communicated with 'Amr b. Muslim saying, "You are one of us," and they recited for him a poem which traced back the origin of Bāhilah to Taghlib. (Likewise,) the Banū Qutaybah who were of Bāhilah, said, "We are (descended) from Taghlib." But the Bakr[60] disliked that those should be from the Taghlib, who would thereby become too numerous, and one of them expressed this, saying:

The Qutaybah claim that they are (descended) from Wā'il[61]
A genealogy far-removed indeed, Qutaybah, (just try to) climb.

It has been said that the Banū Ma'n of the Azd are called the Bāhilah. [1474]

According to Sharīk b. Abī Qaylah al-Ma'nī: 'Amr b. Muslim used to say, while attending the tribal councils of the Banū Ma'n, "If we are not from you, then we are not Arabs." When a Taghlibī traced him back (genealogically) to the Banū Taghlib, 'Amr b. Muslim said, "As for a blood relationship, I don't know of any, but as for protection, I will protect you!"[62]

'Amr sent al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim[63] and Yazīd b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḥuddānī to speak to Naṣr and plead with him, but he would have none of it. Thus the troops of 'Amr b. Muslim and al-Bakhtarī attacked Naṣr's forces, shouting "O for the Bakr!" However, they were repulsed and Naṣr returned the attack against them. The first to be slain was a Bāhilī. 'Amr b. Muslim, (as commander, now) had with him al-Bakhtarī and Ziyād b. Ṭarīf al-Bāhilī. Besides those

58. About 5.95 km or 3.7 mi. See *EI*², s.v. Farsakh.
59. A branch of the Rabī'ah.
60. The other large branch of the Rabī'ah.
61. The mutual parent of the Bakr and the Taghlib.
62. On the Bāhilah's complex connections, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 244–5; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 271; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, III, 161; *EI*², s.v. Bāhila.
63. Abū al-Qāsim, of the Banū 'Abd Manāf b. Hilāl, a Muḍarī group, he was a jurist at Balkh. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 453–4; Ibn Qutaybah *Ma'ārif*, 457.

slain in flight, eighteen of ʿAmr's troops were killed in the clash, including Kardān, brother of al-Furāfiṣah, Masʿadah, and a man
[1475] from the Bakr b. Wāʾil called Isḥāq. ʿAmr b. Muslim, defeated, was driven back into his fortress.

At this juncture, ʿAmr sent to Naṣr (asking), "Send to me Balʿāʾ b. Mujāhid." When the latter came, ʿAmr said (to him), "Get me a guarantee of safe-conduct from Naṣr." Naṣr complied but said, "If only I would not have made the Bakr b. Wāʾil maliciously delighted by it, I would have killed you."

It is said: ʿAmr b. Muslim was captured in a mill and taken with a rope around his neck to Naṣr, who granted him safety and said to him as well as to Ziyād b. Ṭarīf and al-Bakhtarī b. Dirham, "Go join your commander."[64]

It is said: Rather Naṣr and ʿAmr met at al-Barūqān, and thirty of the Bakr b. Wāʾil and of the Yaman were killed. Whereupon the Bakr said, "Why should we fight our brothers and our commander, when we have ascribed a blood relationship (with ourselves) to this man, but he has denied it?" Then they stood aside, while the Azd fought on (alone), were beaten, and fled to a fortress which Naṣr thereupon laid siege to. After this, ʿAmr b. Muslim, al-Bakhtarī, who was one of the Banū ʿUbād, and Ziyād b. Ṭarīf al-Bāhilī were taken, each of whom Naṣr gave a hundred lashes and then shaved their heads and beards and dressed them in hair cloth. It is said that al-Bakhtarī was taken in a thicket which he had entered, after which Naṣr said about the day of al-Barūqān:

I see the eye is stormy, running with tears, but that which
    Answers it is not running with tears.
I am not slow when war rolls up its sleeves (for action),
[1476] Its fire burning in the side of the armies,
But I call upon the Khindif[65] whose
    Backbone rises up eagerly to (bear) a heavy burden.
The Bakr did not keep their alliance there;
    Now they have on them the shame of (betraying) the
    Qays as well as their (new) shame.

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64. That is, Muslim b. Saʿīd, who had already crossed the Oxus.

65. Khindif, the wife of Ilyās b. Muḍar to whom his descendants are usually traced back. The Khindif, including the Quraysh, Kinānah and Tamīm, among others, is one half of the Muḍar, the other half being the Qays ʿAylān. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 10.

Even if the Bakr in Iraq acknowledge their being part of Nizār,
In the land of Marw are found their weak ones and their deviation.
They tried on the day of al-Barūqān a fight
In which the Khindif were victorious, while destruction came upon the Bakr,
I have heard news of a victory of the Qays over the Bajīlah
And that was long awaited before today.

This last verse means when Yūsuf b. 'Umar seized Khālid and his sons.[66]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—al-Walīd b. Muslim: 'Amr b. Muslim, having fought and defeated Naṣr b. Sayyār, said to a man of the Banū Tamīm who was with him, "What do you think of the buttocks of your people (showing in flight), O brother of the Banū Tamīm?" thus mocking him for their defeat. But the Tamīm came back, defeating 'Amr's forces. When the dust had cleared, revealing Bal'ā' b. Mujāhid leading a group of the Banū Tamīm driving 'Amr's forces (before him), the Tamīmī said to 'Amr, "These are the buttocks of my people!"

Thus, 'Amr was defeated. Bal'ā' ordered his men, "Do not kill the prisoners, but strip them and cut out holes in the rear of their [1477] trousers," and so they did. Bayān al-'Anbarī said this, mentioning their fight at al-Barūqān:

While I was at the city, I heard news of a battle
Which the Tamīm won that shook everything most severely.
The eyes of the spotted ones, the Bakr b. Wā'il, continue
To weep when mention is made of those slain at al-Barūqān.
They delivered 'Amr b. Muslim over to death
And scattered in flight while the spearheads were bleeding.
There was ever a custom for (their) young men in war,
And they did not persevere where the spears were broken.

In this year Muslim b. Sa'īd attacked the Turks. After he had crossed the Oxus to fight them, (news of) his removal from (the

66. This happened in 126(743), thus dating the poem twenty years after al-Barūqān. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1821–2.

governorship of) Khurāsān and the appointment of Asad b. 'Abdallāh[67] to it reached him from Khālid b. 'Abdallāh.

Muslim b. Sa'īd's Campaign (the Day of Thirst)

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: Muslim campaigned in this year. Speaking to the people in Maydān Yazīd, he said, "I am not leaving behind anything more worrisome to me than a group of people who stay behind, with perfumed necks, leaping from behind walls on the women of those out fighting for their faith. O God, deal with them and deal with them again! I
[1478] have ordered Naṣr to slay every malingerer that he finds. I will not pity them on account of any torment which God sends down upon them," meaning 'Amr b. Muslim and his companions.

When Muslim got to Bukhārā, he received a letter from Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, informing him that he had been made governor of Iraq. But Khālid had written, "Complete your campaign"; therefore, Muslim marched toward Farghānah. At this point, Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Rawāḥī, one of the Banū Rawāḥah from the Banū 'Abs, who are numbered among the Azd[68] —he attended to the account of the military roll—declared that no one who stayed behind this year would be held disobedient. At that, four thousand stayed behind, while Muslim b. Sa'īd went forth.

When Muslim got to Farghānah, he heard that the Khāqān[69] had drawn near him. Shumayl or Shubayl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Māzinī came to him and reported, "I have seen the Khāqān's troops in such and such a place." Thereupon Muslim sent to 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh al-Kirmānī, the mawlā of the Banū Sulaym, [70] commanding him to prepare to march out. When it was

67. The brother of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, governor of Iraq and the East. See *EI*², s.v. Asad b. 'Abd Allāh.

68. The 'Abs would normally belong to the Qays, but in Khurāsān and perhaps elsewhere they became part of the Azd. Such switches, usually involving a changed genealogy, were quite common. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 114–5.

69. The khān or king of the Turgesh or Western Turks. In this case and for most of Hishām's reign he was Sū-Lū (717–737/8). Barthold, *Turkestan*, 187; *EI*², s.v. Khāḳān.

70. This man, a mawlā of Iranian origin, is apparently the same as Qutaybah b. Muslim's financial officer in Khwārizm in 93(712) and was in charge of supplies and disbursements for the army in 112(730). Ṭabarī, II/2, 1253, III/2, 1544, 1548–9, 1551. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 287.

morning, he set out with the troops and covered three days' journeying in a day. Then the next day he went on till he crossed Wādī al-Subūḥ.[71] The Khāqān drew near them, as horsemen rallied to him from all directions. At this, ʿAbdallāh b.Abī ʿAbdallāh had a group of lesser tribal commanders and clients set up camp. The Turks attacked those whom ʿAbdallāh had stationed at that place and killed them, while seizing pack animals belonging to Muslim. Al-Musayyab b. Bishr al-Riyāḥī, al-Barā', who was one of al-Muhallab's cavalrymen, and Ghūrak's[72] brother were slain, but the men became aroused facing the Turks and drove them from their encampment. Muslim gave the battle standard to ʿĀmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī[73] and departed with the men. Thereafter they [1479] travelled (continuously) for eight days while the Turks surrounded them. When the ninth evening came, Muslim wished to camp; therefore, he consulted the men, who advised him to camp, saying, "In the morning we will go straight to the water, which is not far away, but if you camp on the meadow, the men will split up (foraging) for fruit and your camp will be plundered." Muslim then asked Abū al-ʿAlā' Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr,[74] "O Abū al-ʿAlā', what do you think?" He answered, "I agree with the others." So they pitched camp.

However, no structures were raised inside the camp, and the men burned all the heavy vessels and baggage, to the value of one million (dirhams). In the morning, they went on until they came to the water, but there, before the river, were the forces of Farghānah and al-Shāsh.[75] Muslim b. Saʿīd thereupon declared, "I urge every man to unsheathe his sword," and so they did, the whole place becoming swords. Then the Turks left the water and

71. Exact location unknown, but apparently beyond the Jaxartes.

72. The Sughdī prince of Samarqand, ruled ca. 92(711)–ca. 120(738). See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 72, 79.

73. Of one of the noblest houses of the Tamīm, commander of the Tamīmī division of the army in 112(730) and possibly here. His home was in Jūzjān in Lower Ṭukhāristān, and his career extended from 91(710) to 128(746) or 129(747). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 220; Ṭabarī, II/2, 1218, III/2, 1535, 1921, 1971.

74. Ibn Abjar, al-Abānī al-Tamīmī. Entered Khurāsān 102(721), slain by Turks 112(730). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 229; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rikh*, 505; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1418, 1541.

75. The district northwest of Farghānah on the north bank of the Jaxartes, modern Tashkent. These forces were, of course, hostile to the Muslims. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 169–75; *EI*[1], s.v. Tashkent.

the Muslims crossed. Muslim stayed a day and then departed on the next day. A son of the Khāqān followed them.

Ḥumayd b. ʿAbdallāh, the commander of the rear, sent to Muslim saying, "Stop an hour so that I can fight the two hundred Turks who are behind me," although he was suffering from a wound. Thereupon the troops stopped, while Ḥumayd turned back against the Turks, taking captive the men of al-Sughd,[76] their commander and the commander of the Turks with seven (men), while the rest fled. Ḥumayd went on, but was hit by an arrow in the knee and died.

[1480] The men thirsted. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym al-Ghāmidī[77] was carrying twenty waterskins on his camels, and when he saw how the men suffered, he brought them forth and they drank a swallow. Also Muslim b. Saʿīd asked for water on the Day of Thirst; they brought him a vessel, but Jābir or Ḥārithah b. Kathīr, brother of Sulaymān b. Kathīr,[78] grabbed it away from his mouth. At this, Muslim said, "Let him go, for were it not for the heat he wouldn't have fought with me for my drink."

When at last they reached Khujandah[79] suffering from hunger and exhaustion, the troops spread out in disorder. Suddenly two horsemen (appeared) asking for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym. They had brought him his appointment as (temporary) governor of Khurāsān from Asad b. ʿAbdallāh. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān made Muslim read it, at which Muslim said, "I heed and obey."

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the first to use tents in the desert of Āmul.[80]

The richest of the troops on the Day of Thirst was Isḥāq b.

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76. Ancient Sogdiana, the district of Samarqand. See *EI*[1], s.v. Soghd.

77. Text: *al-ʿĀmirī*; read: *al-Ghāmidī*. His patronymic is Abū Zuhayr. A well-known Yamanī, formerly governor of Khurāsān for ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 100(719)–102(721). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 378; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1357.

78. He is only known from this passage, but his brother Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī d. 133(750) was the leader of the secret Hāshimite movement's Khurāsānī supporters. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 242.

79. An ancient town at the entrance to the Farghānah valley and just south of the Jaxartes. Now Leninabad in Tajikistan. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 164–5; *EI*[2], s.v. Khujand.

80. Āmul, modern Charjuy in Turkmenistan, was the main crossing point on the Oxus between Marw and Bukhārā. Mention of the desert of Āmul here seems not to relate to the expedition of 106(724). See *EI*[2], s.v. Āmul.

Muḥammad al-Ghudānī.[81]

Ḥājib al-Fīl[82] said to Thābit Quṭnah,[83] who is Thābit b. Ka'b:

We decide matters, but the Bakr do not witness them,
Being busy between the oars and the rudder.
People don't know anything about him except his piece of cotton;[84]
Except for it, his ancestors are unknown.

'Abd al-Raḥmān had these sons: Nu'aym, Shadīd, 'Abd al-Salām, Ibrāhīm and al-Miqdām,[85] the strongest of whom were Nu'aym and Shadīd.

When Muslim b. Sa'īd was removed, al-Khazraj al-Taghlibī said: We fought the Turks, but they surrounded the Muslims until we [1481] were sure we would perish. I looked at them and their faces had turned pale. Ḥawtharah b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥurr b. al-Ḥunayf b. Naṣr b. Yazīd b. Ja'wanah[86] attacked the Turks with four thousand troops, fought them for an hour and then retreated. But Naṣr b. Sayyār came up with thirty horsemen and fought them until he drove them out of their positions. At this, the entire force assaulted the Turks, who were defeated. This Ḥawtharah is the nephew of Raqabah b. al-Ḥurr.[87]

'Umar b. Hubayrah had said to Muslim b. Sa'īd at the time he made him governor of Khurāsān, "Let your chamberlain be one of the best of your mawālī for he is your tongue and spokesman.

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81. Nephew of Wakī' b. Ḥassān b. Qays b. Abī Sūd, the Tamīmī governor of Khurāsān 96(715)–97(716). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1513–4.

82. Ḥājib b. Dhubyān al-Māzinī, a Tamīmī tribal poet. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 211; Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XIII, 50–52.

83. Abū al-'Alā'. A well-known Arab poet of al-Sughd, affiliated with the 'Atīk, the Muhallabīs' branch of the Azd, but the mention of the Bakr here coupled with Ḥājib al-Fīl's comments on Thābit's lack of genealogy make it possible that he was originally from the Bakr but was raised in status by his Muhallabī patrons to affiliation with their own tribe. This is not mentioned, though, by the sources, which say he was an Azdī or at least a client of the Azd. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XIII, 49–56.

84. His nickname, Quṭnah, was because he wore a piece of cotton as an eyepatch. See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XIII, 49.

85. Text: *al-Miqdād*; read: *al-Miqdām*, as in Ṭabarī, III/2, 1607, 1609, 1830, 1923–4.

86. Al-'Anbarī, later the chief of the Tamīm, of noble lineage. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1582; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 208.

87. Famous Khurāsānī warrior. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 696–8, 1156–7, 1159, 1163.

Encourage[88] the commander of your guard to be faithful. Also take for yourself governors of excuse." Muslim asked, "What are governors of excuse?" 'Umar answered, "Command every town to choose for themselves. When they have chosen a man, appoint him. If he turns out well, it will be to your credit; if he turns out badly, it will be their fault, not yours, and you will be excused." After this, Muslim b. Sa'īd wrote Ibn Hubayrah to send Tawbah b. Abī Usayd, the mawlā of the Banū al-'Anbar.[89] Thereupon Ibn Hubayrah wrote to his governor in al-Baṣrah saying, "Send Tawbah b. Abī Usayd to me." He then sent Tawbah, who came. Tawbah was a handsome, striking man of fine bearing, and when he entered into Ibn Hubayrah's presence, the latter declared, "The like of this (man) should be appointed to office!" When he sent him to Muslim, Muslim said to him, "This is my ring, so do as you see
[1482] fit." Remaining with Muslim until Asad b. 'Abdallāh came, Tawbah wished to depart with Muslim, but Asad said to him, "Stay with me, because I need you more than Muslim does." Thus he stayed with Asad, treating the people well and softening his heart (towards them), while behaving kindly toward the troops, giving them their provisions.[90] Asad told him, "Make them swear to divorce [their wives] if any should stay behind from his expedition or put a substitute in his place." But Tawbah refused to do that and thus did not make them swear to divorce (their wives). After Tawbah, his successors made the soldiers swear such oaths. When 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh[91] came, he wished to make the troops swear to divorce (their wives), but they refused, saying, "We only swear by the oaths of Tawbah." They knew that (henceforth) as "the oaths of Tawbah."

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88. Text: *ḥutt*; read: *ḥuthth*.

89. A Baṣran, his name is more probably Abū al-Muwarra' Tawbah b. Kaysān b. Abī al-Asad ca. 57(677)-131(749), born in al-Yamāmah to a Sijistānī Iranian father and Arab mother from the Banū Numayr. He was always in demand for his administrative skills. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 240–1; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 515.

90. That is, he was in charge of supplies and disbursements.

91. Al-Hilālī, governor of Khurāsān 116(734)–117(735). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 274; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1564, 1573.

The Pilgrimage of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (Cont'd.)

This year Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit,[92] —his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā[93] —Abū Ma'shar,[94] and likewise al-Wāqidī and others reported that, there being no difference between them.

According to al-Wāqidī—Ibn Abī al-Zanād[95] —his father: Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik wrote to me before he entered al-Madīnah asking me to write the recommended rituals *(sunan)* of the pilgrimage for him, so I wrote them. Then Abū al-Zanād met Hishām. According to Abū al-Zanād: That day I was in a procession behind him, when Sa'īd b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān[96] encountered him, while Hishām was going along. Hishām got down for him and greeted him; then Sa'īd went to his side. Hishām called out, "Abū al-Zanād!" whereupon I advanced, going to his other side. Thereupon, I heard Sa'īd say, "O Commander of the Faithful, God has not ceased blessing the people of [1483] house of the Commander of the Faithful and helping his wronged Caliph![97] Nor have they stopped cursing Abū Turāb[98] in these good lands; likewise, the Commander of the Faithful ought to curse him in these good lands." But his talk was hard for Hishām to bear and wore heavy upon him. Then he said, "We did not come to revile anyone nor to curse him; we have come as pilgrims." At that, he cut short his speech and approached me saying, "O 'Abdallāh b. Dhakwān, have you finished what I wrote to you to be done?" I answered, "Yes." Abū Zanād added: That which I had witnessed him say before Hishām weighed heavily on Sa'īd, and I noticed he looked broken whenever he saw me.

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah[99] spoke to

92. Al-Jaḥdarī, of al-Baṣrah, alive 255(869). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 21.

93. Apparently Abū Ya'qūb Isḥāq b. 'Īsā b. Nujayḥ al-Baghdādī 140(757)–215(830). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 245.

94. Nujayḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Madanī al-Sindī, a historian of Yamanite origin. Died 170(786). See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 291–2.

95. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Dhakwān 100(719)–174(790). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 170–2. For Abū al-Zanād himself, 64(684)–130(748). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 203–5.

96. Great-grandson of the third caliph 'Uthmān, also great-great-grandson of the first caliph Abū Bakr. Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 121.

97. That is, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

98. Pejorative nickname of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. See *EI*², s.v. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

99. Al-A'raj, the grandson of Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Taymī (killed 36(656)). See

Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik while Hishām was standing after he had just worshiped in al-Ḥijr.[100] He said to him, "I ask you by God and by the sacredness of this house[101] and city[102] whose right you have gone forth to honor that you set right for me the injustice done to me." Hishām asked, "What injustice?" Ibrāhīm answered, "My house." Hishām then asked, "Where did you stand with the Commander of the Faithful ʿAbd al-Malik?" Ibrāhīm replied, "He wronged me." Hishām then asked, "And with al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik?" Ibrāhīm answered, "He wronged me." Again Hishām inquired, "And with Sulaymān?" Ibrāhīm returned, "He wronged me." The Caliph asked, "And with ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz?" Ibrāhīm answered, "May God have mercy on him, he gave it back to me, by God." Hishām then asked, "And with Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik?" Ibrāhīm replied, "He wronged me, by God. He took it from me after I had taken possession of it, and it is now in your hands." Hishām then said, "By God, if you could bear a beating, I would beat you!" Ibrāhīm said, "I can stand, by God, being struck with the sword or the whip!" Then Hishām went off, with al-Abrash[103] following him. Hishām asked al-Abrash, "O Abū
[1484] Mujāshiʿ, how did you hear this tongue?" He answered, "What an excellent tongue this is!" He added, "This is the Quraysh, whose tongue still shows up among the people in remnants that I have seen such as this."

Asad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī in Khurāsān

In this year Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī came as governor to Iraq. In the same year, Khālid appointed his brother Asad b. ʿAbdallāh as governor of Khurāsān. Asad came to his province while Muslim b. Saʿīd was still on his expedition in Farghānah. It has been reported about Asad that when he came to the Oxus to cross, al-Ashhab b.

Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 283–4, *for this story in more detail.*

100. A semicircular, partially enclosed space on the north side of the Kaʿbah. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥidjr.

101. That is, the Kaʿbah.

102. That is, Mecca.

103. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, he is Saʿīd b. al-Walīd b. Bakr ('Abd 'Amr) b. Jabalah; according to Ibn Ḥazm he is Saʿīd b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Qays b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd ʿAmr, Hishām's chief minister. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 289, II, 501; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 458.

'Ubayd al-Tamīmī, one of the Banū Ghālib[104] who was in charge of the ferry at Āmul, prevented him. Asad said to him, "Take me across." But al-Ashhab replied, "There is no way I can take you across, because I have been commanded not to do that." Asad then said, "Give him kind treatment and food," but al-Ashhab refused. Finally Asad said, "I am the (new) governor." At this al-Ashhab took him over. Asad then said (to his companions), "Mark this (man) so that we may give him a share in (guarding) our trust." Thus Asad crossed the Oxus and came to al-Sughd.

Asad camped in the fields of al-Sughd. In charge of the tax office at Samarqand was Hāni' b. Hāni'. The people came out to meet Asad, coming to the meadow where he was camped while he was sitting on a stone. This the people took as a good omen, saying, "A lion[105] on a rock; what this brings is good." Hāni' asked him, "Have you come as governor, so that we should do by you what we do by governors?" Asad answered, "Yes, I have come as governor." Then he called for lunch, which he had at the meadow. He said, "Who hurries along on his way when he has only fourteen dirhams? (It is said also that he said thirteen dirhams.) Yet here they are in my sleeve." Meanwhile, he would cry profusely, saying, "I am only a man like yourselves."

Then Asad mounted up and entered Samarqand, sending two men with the appointment of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym to command the army. The two men came to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym while he was in Wādī Afshīn in command of the rear guard, which consisted of mawālī[106] from the people of Samarqand and of the tribal regiments from the people of al-Kūfah. They asked after 'Abd al-Raḥmān and were told, "He is in the rear." They brought him his appointment and a letter about returning (from the expedition) and giving permission to the troops to do so. 'Abd al- [1485]

104. Of al-Barājim, a group of the 'Abd al-Qays that had entered the Tamīm and been enrolled in the subtribe of the 'Abdallāh b. Dārim. However, they called themselves the Rabī'ah b. Ḥanẓalah, which betrays their original association with the Rabī'ah, of which the 'Abd al-Qays are a part. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 222, 295–6.

105. *Asad* means "lion" in Arabic.

106. Plural of mawlā, which may be translated as client but really has a much wider meaning. Here it refers to those Sughdīs who had recently become Muslims but, not being Arabs, had to associate themselves with Arab tribes as their "clients" in order to serve in the army, whose organization was based on such tribal affiliations. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. w-l-y; *EI*[1], s.v. Mawlā.

Raḥmān read the letter and then brought it, together with his appointment, to Muslim, who said, "I heed and obey." At this, 'Amr b. Hilāl al-Sadūsī—or it is said al-Taymī—stood up and whipped Muslim a couple of lashes for what he had done at al-Barūqān, while Ḥusayn b. 'Uthmān b. Bishr b. al-Muḥtafiz[107] reviled him, but 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym rebuked both of them.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his sources: They came to Asad when he was at Samarqand. Then Asad went off to Marw, removing Hāni' and appointing over Samarqand al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-'Amarraṭah al-Kindī[108] from the family of Ākil al-Murār.

While Ya'qūb b. al-Qa'qā'[109] was judge of Khurāsān, al-Janūb[110] who was the daughter of al-Qa'qā' b. al-A'lam, the chief of the Azd, and (also) the wife of al-Ḥasan came to her husband, and he came out to meet her. The Turks had attacked the Muslims, and al-Ḥasan was told, "These Turks have come to you." They were seven thousand. Al-Ḥasan said, "They haven't come to us; rather, we have come to them, taken their country from them and en-
[1486] slaved them. By God, despite this I will most certainly bring you close upon them and tie the forelocks of your horses to the forelocks of their horses." Then he went out (to fight), but procrastinated until the Turks had raided and departed. Thus the people said, "He went out to his wife to meet her in a hurry, but he went out to the enemy procrastinating." Al-Ḥasan heard this; therefore, he spoke to the people saying, "You talk and criticize! O God, cut off their traces! Hurry up their destinies! Send harm down upon them! Take happiness away from them!" For this, the people cursed him inside themselves.

Al-Ḥasan's deputy when he went out against the Turks was Thābit Quṭnah. When he tried to give a sermon before the people, he faltered, saying, "Whoever obeys God and His messenger has gone astray." At this, he became confused and did not speak a word. When he had come down from the pulpit, he said:

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107. Al-Muzanī, from a Qaysī subtribe associated with the Tamīm, at least in Khurāsān, where this family had been long established. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 201–2; Ṭabari, II/2, 596, 696; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 511–3.

108. His father fought for the Shī'īte rebel Ḥujr b. 'Adī against Mu'āwiyah. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 427.

109. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Azdī. This family's subtribe is unknown. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 329–30, XI, 393–4.

110. Sister of the Ya'qūb b. al-Qa'qā' just mentioned.

Even if I am not a speaker among you, still I am certainly
A speaker with my sword when the clamor (of battle) is in earnest.

It was said to him then, "If only you had said this on the pulpit, you would have been (accounted) a speaker!" Ḥājib al-Fīl al-Yashkurī[111] said, criticizing his faltering:

O Abū al-'Alā', you met with a misfortune
Of anxiety and choking, on (that) Friday.
You twisted your tongue when you wanted to speak with it,
Just as one who slips tumbles from a lofty peak.
When the eyes of people turned to you in public. [1487]
You began, on standing up, to swallow your saliva hard from worry.
As for the Qur'ān, you will never be guided to a single firm (verse)
Of the Qur'ān, nor will you ever be guided to success.

Governors

In this year, 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī was born in Rajab (November 22–December 21, 724). The governor of al-Madīnah, Mecca and al-Ṭā'if this year was Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī. Over Iraq and Khurāsān was Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī. Khālid's official in charge of worship at al-Baṣrah was 'Uqbah b. 'Abd al-A'lā,[112] in charge of the guard there was Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd,[113] while the judiciary was given to Thumāmah b. 'Abdallāh b. Anas.[114] Asad b. 'Abdallāh ruled Khurāsān.

111. This is a mistake, for Ḥājib was a Māzinī, not a Yashkurī. See note 82.
112. Al-Kalā'ī of the Banū Dhī al-Kalā', a subtribe of the Ḥimyar. Also a Damascene. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 535, Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 434, 478.
113. Al-'Abdī from the 'Abd al-Qays, whose most noted family at al-Baṣrah were descendents of al-Jārūd. See Crone, *Slaves* 115–6.
114. Grandson of Anas b. Mālik al-Anṣārī. See note 30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 28–9.

The Events of the Year 107

(MAY 19, 725—MAY 7, 726)

Among these (events) was the Khārijite rebellion of 'Abbād al-Ru'aynī[115] in the Yaman. Yūsuf b. 'Umar[116] killed him, and all his companions were slain with him, three hundred in all.

In this year Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām[117] led the summer expedition. Maymūn b. Mihrān[118] commanded the Syrian army, crossing the sea until he reached Cyprus. The force which Hishām had ordered prepared during his pilgrimage in the year 106 went with the other
[1488] forces. This (new) force came in the year 107 on fixed stipends, half of them going out to fight and half staying behind. Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik[119] led the land attack.

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115. Of Dhū Ru'ayn, a large subtribe of Ḥimyar. According to Ibn Khayyāṭ, this took place in 108(726) not in the Yaman but at or near al-Rayy. But apparently Ṭabarī is to be preferred here, as Yūsuf b. 'Umar was governor of the Yaman from 106(725). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 433–4; Ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 495.

116. Al-Thaqafī, the cousin of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, governor of the Yaman 106(725)–120(738) and of Iraq and the East 120(738)–126(744), killed 127(745). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 267; *EI*[1], s.v. Yūsuf b. 'Omar.

117. The son of the Caliph by a concubine, he was a commander on the Byzantine front for much of his father's reign. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 168.

118. Abū Ayyūb al-Jazarī d. 117(735), a jurist born in al-Kūfah who flourished in al-Raqqah, near Hishām's residence. He is said to have been governor of al-Jazīrah for 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz; more probably he was in charge only of taxation and the judiciary. Anti-Shī'ite. No doubt of non-Arab origin. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 390–2; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 314–9.

119. The half-brother of Hishām, he was the son of a concubine, a great military

During the year, a severe plague occurred in Syria.

In it, Bukayr b. Māhān sent Abū 'Ikrimah, that is, Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq,[120] Muḥammad b. Khunays, and 'Ammār al-'Ubādī,[121] with a number of their party, including Ziyād, the maternal uncle of al-Walīd al-Azraq, to Khurāsān. A man from the Kindah then came to Asad b. 'Abdallāh and denounced them to him. Thereupon Abū 'Ikrimah, Muḥammad b. Khunays and most of their companions were brought to Asad, though 'Ammār escaped. Asad cut off the hands and feet of those he had captured and crucified them. At this, 'Ammār went back to Bukayr b. Māhān, telling him the news. Then Bukayr wrote about it to Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who wrote back, "Praise be to God Who has shown the truth of your words and your mission! But victims who will be slain yet remain among you."

Also, in this year Muslim b. Sa'īd was conveyed to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh. Asad b. 'Abdallāh had treated Muslim kindly in Khurāsān: he tried neither to harm nor imprison him. When Muslim came (to Iraq), Ibn Hubayrah decided to flee, but Muslim forbade that, saying to him, "Those people have a better opinion of us than you had of them." [1489]

Also, in this year Asad attacked the mountains of Namrūn, King of al-Gharshistān,[122] which are next to the mountains of al-Ṭālaqān.[123] Namrūn made peace with Asad and became a Muslim through him. Thus today they are mawālī of the Yaman.

In it, Asad attacked al-Ghūr,[124] which is the mountain region of Herat.

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commander famous for his siege of Constantinople 99(717)–100(718) and governor of Iraq 102(721)–103(722), in addition to his service under Hishām. See *EI*[1], s.v. Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik.

120. It would appear from this text that Abū 'Ikrimah al-Sarrāj and Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq are two different persons, but that is specifically refuted by Ṭabarī, III/2, 1358, and by *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 203. See note 10; also, Sharon, *Black Banners*, 136–7n.

121. Text: *al-'Abbādī*; read: *al-'Ubādī*. He seems most likely to have been a mawlā of the Banū 'Ubād b. Ḍubay'ah b. Qays b. Tha'labah of the Bakr, though other possibilities exist. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 109–11.

122. Or Gharchistān. The mountainous country northeast of Herat in northwest Afghanistan. *EI*[2], s.v. Ghardjistān.

123. Now the town of Qeyṣār in northwest Afghanistan. *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭālaḳan; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 79.

124. The high, mountainous country of central Afghanistan. *EI*[2], s.v. Ghūr.

The Attack of Asad in This Campaign (to al-Ghūr)

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: When Asad attacked al-Ghūr, its people took their valuable possessions and hid them in a cave to which there was no path, but Asad ordered boxes to be prepared, put men in them, and lowered them with chains, thus bringing out what they could. Thābit Quṭnah said:

I see Asad responsible for excesses
By which kings, possessors of screening, are frightened.
He went high in the country around Marw with horses,
And you urge them on between (shouts of) 'go' and 'giddy-up,'
To Ghūrīn[125] where the hairy one[126] won possession
And came to fight with swords and spearpoints.
God guided us (there) by the slain whom you see
Crucified in the mouths of the ravines.
Battles did not leave to the lords of Kalb
Abuse, nor to the Banū Kilāb.[127]
He brought to them spoils and came back from them
With the best of what can be taken of spoils.
And he would, when he camped in the dwelling-place of a people,
Show them humiliating kinds of torment.
Did he not cause the mountains to be visited, the mountains of Mulʿ,
Beneath which you see pieces of the clouds,
[1490] By a vast army which did not leave them even a fugitive,
And (did he not) punish them with burning punishment?

Mulʿ is in the mountains of Khūṭ,[128] where Mulʿī girdles are made.

In this year, Asad moved those of the soldiers who were living at al-Barūqān to Balkh, giving each one who had a dwelling at al-Barūqān a (new) dwelling equivalent to his former one. To each who did not have one, he assigned a dwelling as well. He intended

125. The same as Ghūr.
126. Possibly an epithet for Asad as a lion, which is the meaning of his name.
127. The Kalb are a prominent Syrian tribe representing the Yaman; the Kilāb are a Syrian Qaysī tribe. Thus Asad's achievements cannot be belittled by Syrians of either tribal party. *EI*², s.v. Kalb b. Wabara, Kilāb b. Rabīʿa.
128. Mountains near Balkh, hence precisely in Ghūr where the expedition took place. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 406.

to settle them according to their *akhmās*,[129] but he was warned that tribal quarrels would break out; therefore, he mixed them. To build the city of Balkh, he requisitioned a quota of workmen from each district according to the amount of its tax. He entrusted the construction of the city of Balkh to Barmak, the father of Khālid b. Barmak.[130] Al-Barūqān was the residence of the governors. Between al-Barūqān and Balkh are two *farsakh*s, and between the city and Nawbahār[131] about two *ghalwah*s.[132] Abū al-Barīd said about Asad's building the city of Balkh:

There has busied your heart—and passion is making you love—
A white gazelle affectionate toward her calf at Ḥawmal.
She grazes on the first fruits of the thorn bush, her sides hanging loosely,
A watered place to which no tame thing goes at night,
By the places where animals come in a winding gully, to which are inclined
Cows which sway, their flanks adorning them.
In the blessed one that you have fortified,
The weak is protected and the fearful settles down. [1491]
Therefore, I see (for) you in it what any good man has seen:
A triumph, while the doors of heaven are pouring.[133]
There has come to you the name by which the insightful
Is satisfied with you, because of what you, the kind one, has intended.
O best ruler to (ever) direct the affairs of subjects,
I most certainly swear to the truth of my oath.
God has made it[134] safe by your work after
Earthshaking events have been the terror of hearts.

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129. Sing. *khums*, lit. "fifth." The larger political- military groupings of the Arab tribes in al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān. They are the Ahl al-'Āliyah, the Tamīm, the Bakr, the 'Abd al-Qays, and the Azd. The Ahl al-Kūfah had by this time become a sixth *khums* in Khurāsān. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1290–1; 'Alī, *Tanẓīmāt*, 41–3.

130. This Barmak was the keeper of the Buddhist shrine of Nawbahār at Balkh. See *EI*², s.v. al-Barāmika.

131. The Buddhist shrine near Balkh. See note 130.

132. A measure equaling one-twenty-fourth of a *farsakh*. Ibn Rustah, *A'lāq*, 22.

133. Rain is seen as a blessing.

134. That is, Balkh.

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām led the pilgrimage.

This is what I heard from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar. Al-Wāqidī, Hishām,[135] and others said likewise.

The governors of the major provinces in this year were the same as those whom we mentioned before in the year 106.

135. Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sāʾib b. Bishr al-Kalbī, died 204(819) or 206(821), famous historian, genealogist, etc. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 108; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 268–71.

The Events of the Year 108

(MAY 8, 726—APRIL 27, 727)

In it, the campaign of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik occurred. He reached Qaysariyyah,[136] the Byzantine city near al-Jazīrah[137] and conquered it.

Also in it, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām campaigned and captured one of the Byzantine strongholds. [1492]

In it, Bukayr b. Māhān sent a group which included 'Ammār al-'Ubādī to Khurāsān. But a man denounced them to Asad b. 'Abdallāh, who captured 'Ammār and cut off his hands and legs, although his companions escaped. Coming to Bukayr b. Māhān, they gave him the news. He wrote about that to Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who wrote in reply to the letter, "Praise be to God Who has shown your mission to be true and has rescued your party."

In it, a fire occured at Dābiq.[138]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar—'Abdallāh b. Nāfi[139] —his

136. Caesarea Mazaca, capital of ancient Cappadocia, now Kayseri in central Turkey. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳaysariyya; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 96.

137. The area of Mesopotamia northwest of Baghdad, now in Iraq, northeast Syria, and southern Turkey. See *EI*², s.v. al-Djazīra.

138. A town about 15 mi. from Aleppo near A'zāz, used as a mobilization point by the Banū Marwān for their summer campaigns against Byzantium. See *EI*², s.v. Dābiḳ.

139. The mawlā of the Banū 'Adī of Quraysh, died 154/771, he was active as a

father:[140] The grazing land burned, even the animals and men burned.

Campaign of Asad in al-Khuttal

In it, Asad b. 'Abdallāh campaigned in al-Khuttal.[141]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad: The Khāqān came against Asad when the latter had [already] gone back to al-Quwādhiyān[142] and recrossed the Oxus, so that there was no fighting between them in that campaign.

According to Abū 'Ubaydah:[143] Rather, they defeated Asad and put him to shame, so that young boys sang:

You have come form Khuttalān.[144]
With a spoiled face you have come.

Al-Sabal[145] was fighting against him and brought in the Khāqān. Asad had pretended that he would winter in Surkh Darah.[146] Then Asad ordered the troops to depart and sent forth his standards,
[1493] going in one dark night to Surkh Darah. His men shouted, "God is the Greatest." Asad asked, "What's the matter with the men?" He was told, "This is their sign when they are going home." He then said to 'Urwah the herald, "Announce that the amīr is heading for Ghūrīn." Thus he went on his way, and the Khāqān came when they had [already] gone off to Ghūrīn, Asad having recrossed the Oxus, so that neither he nor they met. Asad returned to Balkh. The poet said about that in praise of Asad:

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transmitter in al-Madīnah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 53–4.

140. The mawlā of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, a very famous Medinese jurist, he died between 117(735) and 120(738). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 412–4.

141. Mountainous region centered south of the present Kulyab in Tajikistan. In the early eighth century A.D. it was an autonomous principality tributary to the Islamic empire. *EI*², s.v. Khuttalān.

142. Text: *al-Quwādiyān*; read *al-Quwādhiyān*, as Ms. O. The district to the east of Ṣaghāniyān and northeast of al-Tirmidh, modern Termez, in Tajikistan. In the early eighth century A.D., it was a small principality tributary to the Islamic empire. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 71–2; Le Strange, *Lands*, 439–40.

143. Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā al-Baṣrī, the mawlā of the Taym, d. 210(825), the great traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 246–8.

144. The same as al-Khuttal.

145. The ruler of al-Khuttal. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 9, 81–2.

146. An unidentified place in eastern Tajikistan.

I assigned[147] myself two thousand [men] from each *khums*,
From each heavily-armed, broad-fronted [division].

The Muslims went on to al-Ghūriyān,[148] whose people they fought for a day, withstanding them. A man among the pagans showed forth and stood before his comrades. He planted his spear in the ground and had suspended a green band [from his horse] as a mark. Salm b. Aḥwaz[149] was then standing with Naṣr b. Sayyār. Salm said to Naṣr, "I already know the view of Asad, but I am going to attack this lout [anyway]; perhaps I will kill him and Asad will be satisfied." Naṣr answered, "As you wish." So Salm attacked the enemy horseman, who did not even pull out his spear before Salm came over him and stabbed him, leaving him [lying] in front of his horse, scraping the ground with his leg. Then Salm returned, stopping to say to Naṣr, "I am going to make another attack." Then he charged until, when he came near them, a man of the enemy opposed him. They struck each other, and Salm killed his opponent. Then Salm returned, wounded. Naṣr said to Salm, "Wait here until I attack them." He charged until he was in the enemy's midst, where he slew two men, then came back wounded. Stopping [by Salm] he said, "Do you think what we have done will please him, may God not please him?" Salm answered, "No, by God, I do not suppose so." [1494]

At this point the messenger of Asad came to the two of them saying, "The amīr says to you, 'I have taken note of your stance from today as well as your worthlessness to the Muslims, may God curse you!'" They replied, "Amen, if we come back again to the like of this." The two sides held each other off that day, then both fought again the next day. The pagans were soon defeated. The Muslims captured their camp and conquered the land, taking prisoners, captives and spoils.

But some say that Asad came back from al-Khuttal routed in the year 108. The people of Khurāsān said:

You have come from Khuttalān.

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147. Text: *nadaytu*; read: *nadabtu*, as in Ms. BM.

148. Another name for al-Ghūr. See note 124.

149. Al-Māzinī of the Tamīm, the chief of Naṣr b. Sayyār's *shurṭah* later, he was an inveterate Qaysī warrior who was slain by Abū Muslim in 130(748). Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 211–2.

With a spoiled face you have come.
Broken-spirited you have come back.

In the campaign in al-Khuttal, the troops were struck with a severe hunger. Asad sent forth a young servant[150] of his with two sheep, telling him, "Do not sell them for less than five hundred [dirhams]." When the boy was gone, Asad said, "No one will buy them except Ibn al-Shikhkhīr,"[151] who was at the outpost. Ibn al-Shikhkhīr, upon entering in the evening, found the two sheep in the market and bought them for five hundred [dirhams]. He slaughtered one of them [for himself] and sent the other to one of his brothers. When the boy came back to Asad and told him the story, Asad sent him one thousand dirhams.

Ibn al-Shikhkhīr is 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr, the brother of Muṭarrif b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr al-Ḥarashī[152]

Pilgrimage and Officials

Ibrāhīm b. Hishām led the pilgrimage this year while he was governor of al-Madīnah, Mecca and al-Ṭā'if.

[1495] I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant —Isḥāq b. 'Īsā —Abū Ma'shar. Al-Wāqidī said likewise.

The officials of the main cities in charges of worship, warfare, and the judiciary were the same in this year as in the preceding year, and we have already noted them before.

150. Or: Young man, boy, page, slave. Often ghulāms were formally slaves and made up a guard force exclusively loyal to their master. However, the word does not necessarily denote a slave. See *EI*[2], s.v. Ghulām.

151. The son of a companion of the Prophet. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 288.

152. Abū 'Abdallāh, the well-known Baṣran jurist. Most probably he died 86(705)–87(706). Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 173–4; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 382.

The Events of the Year 109

(APRIL 28, 727—APRIL 15, 728)

In it occurred the campaign of 'Abdallāh b. 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' al-Fihrī[153] leading the seaborne force. There was also campaign of Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām against Byzantine territory, where he took a fortress called Ṭībah.[154] However, a group from the people of Antioch who were with him suffered losses.

In it, 'Umar b. Yazīd al-Usayyidī was killed. Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd slew him.

The Report about the Slaying of 'Umar b. Yazīd al-Usayyidī

The reason for that, according to what has been reported, is that Khālid b. 'Abdallāh witnessed (the prowess of) 'Umar b. Yazīd at the time of the war with Yazīd b. al-Muhallab,[155] and thus Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik became impressed with him. Yazīd said, "This is the man of Iraq!" That angered Khālid, who therefore commanded [1496] Mālik b. al-Mundhir, who was in charge of the security forces in

153. Of the Quraysh, the son of the original conqueror of North Africa and founder of Qayrawān. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 178.

154. Unidentified. Reading uncertain.

155. See note 25.

al-Baṣrah, to exalt 'Umar b. Yazīd and not disobey any command of his until he had made it known to the people. Then Mālik devoted himself to finding a pretext against him (by which) to kill him, and so he did. One day, when 'Abd al-A'lā b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir[156] was mentioned, Mālik slandered him, whereupon 'Umar b. Yazīd objected, "Do you slander the like of 'Abd al-A'lā!" Mālik then answered him rudely and beat him with whips, until he had slain him.

Campaign of Asad against al-Ghūr

This year Asad b. 'Abdallāh campaigned against Ghūrīn. Thābit Quṭnah said:

I see Asad[157] in war when it comes to him,
And he fights the enemy; he wins and imposes.
He took al-Sabal's[158] land, of which the Khāqān is the guardian,
Burning whatever resisted him and destroying.
Groups of the Turks came to you (from) what is between Kabul
And Ghūrīn, for they did not escape from you by flight.
The enemies did not overwhelm a lion of the jungle,
The father of ferocious beasts, whom they stirred up, but he turned on them pursuing,
A hairy one, as if saffron were upon his arm,
Repulsive of countenance, he has grown teeth and proven (himself).
Was there no protection in the blessed fortress
[1497] For your troops, the coward dreading, while he instilled fear?
'Abdallāh[159] built for you a fortress that you inherited
Long ago, if the old be reckoned, and begat a noble son.

In this year, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik removed Khālid b. 'Abdallāh from Khurāsān and dismissed his brother Asad from it.

156. Al-Qurashī, the son of the conqueror of Khurāsān, a noble Baṣran noted for his piety. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 75; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 95.
157. Or: a lion.
158. Full vocalization gives *al-Sabal*, but the last vowel has been omitted for the sake of the poetic meter.
159. Asad's father.

Hishām's Removal of Khālid and His Brother from Khurāsān

The reason for that was that Asad, the brother of Khālid, was so zealous for his tribal grouping that he alienated the people.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad: Abū al-Barīd said to one of the Azd, "Let me go in to your fellow tribesman 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ;[160] commend me to him and tell him about me." At this he let him in. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ was then Asad's governor of Balkh. The Azdī said, "May God make the amīr prosper! This is Abū al-Barīd al-Bakrī, our brother and helper. He is the poet of the people of the East. He it is who says:

If the Azd break an alliance which was guaranteed
In an earlier time by 'Abbād and Mas'ūd,
And Mālik and Suwayd,[161] (two) who guaranteed it together
When swords were drawn against the Azd so fiercely
That they called to one another, 'May God give you a respite
on the sidelines,'
While (men's) skins were bleeding from the blows."

At this, Abū al-Barīd pulled the Azdī's hand, saying, "May God curse you as an intercessor!" (To the amīr he said,) "He lied, may [1498] God make you prosper! Rather I am he who says:

The Azd are our brothers; they are our allies.
There is neither breach nor alteration between us."

The amīr replied, "You have told the truth," and laughed. Abū al-Barīd is from the Banū 'Ilbā' b. Shaybān b. Dhuhl b. Tha'labah.

Asad was zealously partisan against Naṣr b. Sayyār and a group with him of the Muḍar. He beat them with whips on a Friday and said in his sermon: "May God disfigure these faces, the faces of the adherents of dissension, hypocrisy, disturbance, and corruption! O God, separate me from them and take me out to my refuge and my

160. Al-Kharaqī, clearly also an Azdī, from the village of Kharaq in the Marw oasis. Ṭabarī, III/2, 1428, 1544. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 360.

161. These lines refer to the anti-Tamīm alliance during the tribal fighting in al-Baṣrah in the second civil war (*fitnah*) 64–5(684–5). The four men who guaranteed it are 'Abbād b. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ma'nī of the Azd, Mālik b. Misma' al-Ḍubay'ī of the Bakr, and Suwayd b. Manjūf al-Sadūsī, also of the Bakr. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 325.

homeland! Few are those who would eagerly desire (to face) what is before me or to open their mouths when the Commander of the Faithful is my maternal uncle, Khālid b. 'Abdallāh is my brother, and I have twelve thousand Yamanī swords."

Then he came down from his pulpit. When he had led the Friday worship and the people had come into his audience and taken their seats, he drew out a document from beneath his bed and read it to the people. In it were mentioned Naṣr b. Sayyār, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym al-Ghāmidī,[162] Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr al-Abānī of the Abān b. Dārim, and al-Bakhtarī b. Abī Dirham of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Ubād.[163] These he called and rebuked, reducing the group to misery.[164] Not one of them spoke. Then Sawrah spoke, mentioning his position, obedience and sincere intentions. He said that Asad ought not to accept the report of a prattling enemy; rather, he should bring them together with the one who accused them
[1499] falsely. Asad, however, did not accept his plea. Rather he ordered them to be stripped. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym was beaten. He was a pot-bellied man with thin hips and spindly legs; therefore, when he was beaten, he bent over and his long underpants began to slip from their place. A man from his family stood up, taking a Harawī[165] cloak of his own, and began to hold out his garment with his hand, while he looked at Asad, desiring that he give him permission to cover 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Asad signalled to him that he do so, whereupon the man approached and covered 'Abd al-Raḥmān. It is said that it was rather Abū Numaylah[166] who covered him, saying to him, "Cover yourself, Abū Zuhayr, for the amīr is a governor of good breeding."

It is also said: Rather Asad beat them in the corners of his reception hall. When he was done, he said," "Where is the he-goat of the Banū Ḥimmān?" This man had recently been punished by the amīr. He is 'Āmir b. Mālik b. Maslamah b. Yazīd b. Ḥujr b.

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162. See note 77.

163. Asad's four victims represent all the great tribal groupings or army divisions or *akhmās* of Khurāsān: the Ahl al-'Āliyah, Azd, Tamīm, and Bakr, thus refuting the statement that their punishment was a case of Asad's tribal partisanship.

164. Text: *fa'azam*; read: *fa'aram*, as in Codd.

165. Of Herat.

166. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Abbār, the mawlā of the 'Abs, who were associated with the Yaman in Khurāsān. He was a minor Khurāsānī poet and also a supporter of the 'Alid rebel Yaḥyā b. Zayd in 125(743). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1692–3, 1723–5; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 129.

Khaysaq b. Ḥimmān b. Ka'b b. Sa'd. Asad is said to have shaven them after the beating. Turning them over to 'Abd Rabbihi b. Abī Ṣāliḥ, the mawlā of the Banū Sulaym, one of his guards, and to 'Īsā b. Abī Burayq, he then sent them to Khālid. Asad wrote to Khālid, "These men intended to overthrow me." As often as the hair of any of them grew out, Ibn Abī Burayq would shave it off. Al-Bakhtarī b. Abī Dirham would say, "I would like it if he would beat me for a month along with this one," meaning Naṣr b. Sayyār, owing to what had happened between them at al-Barūqān. The Banū Tamīm sent a message to Naṣr (saying), "If you wish, we [1500] will rescue you from them," but Naṣr prevented them. When they were brought before Khālid, he blamed and rebuked Asad, saying, "Could you not have sent their heads?" 'Arfajah al-Tamīmī[167] said:

How is it that all the supporters of the Caliph
    Are in trouble while the enemies of the Caliph are left free?
I wept, my tears uncontrolled, as was right for me to do,
    While Naṣr, war's meteor, was bound in manacles.

Naṣr said:

She has sent (me) reproach for no fault;
    In a letter Umm Tamīm[168] puts forth blame.
If I am shackled as a prisoner before them
    In worry, anxiety and graveness,
The hostage of the Qasr,[169] you will not find any affliction
    Like the captivity of honorable men by a wicked one.
Tell those who claim they belong to the Qasr, the Qasr
    Being the possessors of a spearshaft having cracks:
Have you been weaned from betrayal and treachery,
    Or are you like the perpetually unjust?

Al-Farazdaq[170] said:

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167. Al-Dārimī, a minor poet apparently from Ṭukhāristān. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1525–6.

168. Al-Marzubānah bt. Qudayd b. Manī' al-Minqarī of the Tamīm, of a noble Tamīmī lineage, the wife of Naṣr and the mother of at least six of his sons. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, MS Istanbul, II, 706–7.

169. Or: compulsion, the meaning of the word in Arabic, an obvious play on words.

170. The nickname of Hammām b. Ghālib al-Mujāshi'ī, the great Tamīmī poet

Khālid, isn't it that, if not for God, you would not have been obeyed,
And if not for the Banū Marwān you would not have shackled Naṣr?
Therefore you would have met, had his shackles not been tightly bound,
The sons of war, neither unarmed in the meeting nor worried.

Asad b. 'Abdallāh spoke from the pulpit in Balkh, saying in his sermon, "O people of Balkh, you have nicknamed me the Raven, and by God I will most certainly send your hearts astray."[171] Thus, [1501] when Asad had become zealously partisan and alienated the people by his partisanship, Hishām wrote to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, "Remove your brother." Thereupon he dismissed him but asked permission for him to make the pilgrimage. Thus Asad came back to Iraq, bringing with him the *dihqāns*[172] of Khurāsān, in the month of Ramaḍān (December 20-January 18 of the year 109). Asad left as his deputy in charge of Khurāsān al-Ḥakam b. 'Awānah al-Kalbī.[173] Al-Ḥakam stayed a summer campaigning season but did not go out to fight.

'Abbāsid Missionaries in Khurāsān

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad: The first missionary of the Banū al-'Abbās to come to Khurāsān was Ziyād Abū Muḥammad, the mawlā of the Hamdān. He was sent forth in the first governorship of Asad b. 'Abdallāh by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, who told him, "Call the people to us, stay among the Yaman, and treat the Muḍar gently." He also warned him to avoid a man from Abrashahr[174] called Ghālib[175] because of his excessive

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of the Umayyad court. See *EI*², s.v. al- Farazdaḳ.

171. The verb "to send astray" (*uzīghanna*) here is a play on the nickname Raven (*zāgh*), as well as an allusion to Qur'ān 61:5.

172. Sing. *dihqān*. The class of native Iranian nobles and landlords. See *EI*², s.v. Dihḳān.

173. Of Syrian origin, he was later governor of Sind. See *EI*², s.v. 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī.

174. That is, Naysābūr or Nīshāpūr, still today an important city of Iranian Khurāsān. See *EI*², s.v. Nīshāpūr.

175. Apparently a supporter of the 'Alid Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. See

feeling for the descendants of Fāṭimah.[176]

It is said that the first to bring a message to Khurāsān from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was Ḥarb b. ʿUthmān, the mawlā of the Banū Qays b. Thaʿlabah of the inhabitants of Balkh.

When Ziyād Abū Muḥammad arrived, he summoned (people) to (the imāmate of) the Banū al-ʿAbbās, while mentioning the behavior of the Banū Marwān along with their oppression. He also began feeding the people. At this juncture, Ghālib came to him from Abrashahr. There was a struggle between them, Ghālib preferring the family of Abū Ṭālib while Ziyād favored the descendants of al-ʿAbbās. Ghālib having left him, Ziyād spent a winter in Marw. Among the inhabitants of Marw who used to visit him were Yaḥyā b. ʿAqīl al-Khuzāʿī and Ibrāhīm b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-ʿAdawī.

Suwayd al-Kātib was staying at Barzan[177] in the houses of the family of al-Ruqād[178] when al-Ḥasan b. Shaykh was in charge of finances for Marw. Suwayd told al-Ḥasan about the matter of Ziyād; al-Ḥasan then informed Asad b. ʿAbdallāh about him. Asad summonded Ziyād, who had with him a man with the patronymic Abū Mūsā. While looking at the latter, Asad said to him, "I know you." Abū Mūsā answered, "Yes." Asad said to him, "I saw you in a wine shop in Damascus." Abū Mūsā replied, "Yes." Asad asked Ziyād, "What is this which has reached me regarding you?" Ziyād answered, "Falsehood has been brought to you; I only came to Khurāsān to trade. I have given out my money among the people. When it comes back to me, I will leave." Asad said to him, "Leave my province (forthwith)." Therefore, Ziyād went away but later came back to his business (in Khurāsān). Al-Ḥasan then renewed (his warning to) Asad, giving him the impression that Ziyād was involved in something serious. Thus Asad sent for Ziyād, and when he looked upon him, he said, "Did I not forbid you from remaining in Khurāsān?" Ziyād responded, "O amīr, there is no harm to you from me." By this he enraged Asad, who ordered that they be killed. Abū Mūsā then said to him, "Decree whatever you will!"[179] Owing to this, Asad's wrath increased further, and he said [1502]

Sharon, *Black Banners*, 148, 162–3, 171.

176. That is, the ʿAlids.

177. A village in the Marw oasis. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 382.

178. Descendants of al-Ruqād b. al-Mundhir al-Ḍabbī, of a subtribe associated with the Tamīm. See Ibn al- Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 89, II, 491.

179. Qurʾān 20:72.

to Abū Mūsā, "Have you made me the equal of Pharaoh?" Abū Mūsā replied, "I have not made you so, but God has!" Thus Ziyād and his companions were slain. They were ten from the noblest lineage of al-Kūfah. None were spared among them that day except two boys whom Asad considered too young. He ordered the rest to be killed at Kushānshāh.[180]

Some say that Asad ordered a line to be drawn around Ziyād's middle. Then he was stretched between two men and struck at, but the sword missed him, whereupon the people in the market shouted, "God is Greater!" Asad asked, "What is going on?" He was told, "The sword did not cut him." Asad then gave Abū Ya'qūb a sword. He went out in long underwear, the people having gathered about Ziyād. Abū Ya'qūb struck at him, but the sword missed. Then he struck again and cut him in two.

Others say that Asad offered clemency to them: whoever among them would recant what he had been accused of, he would let
[1503] him go. Eight among them rejected the (offer of clemency; two recanted. On the next day, one of the two came while Asad was in his audience chamber overlooking the market in the old city. He said, "Is this not our prisoner of yesterday?" The man came toward Asad saying, "I ask that you join me with my companions." They were overlooking the market with him while he was saying, "We are content with God as Lord, Islam as religion, and Muḥammad as Prophet." Asad called for the sword of the Bukhārā Khudhāh[181] and cut off the man's head four days before the Feast of Sacrifice.[182]

Then, after them, a man from the people of al-Kūfah named Kathīr[183] came. He stayed with Abū al-Najm.[184] Those who met Ziyād used to come to him (too). He would speak and preach to them, continuing to do so for a year or two. Kathīr was illiterate.

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180. An unidentified place in the Marw oasis.

181. The local ruler of the Bukhārā oasis, under the suzerainty of the Islamic state but partially autonomous. His name was Ṭughshādah, and he ruled from 91(710) to 121(739). See *EI*², s.v. Bukhārā.

182. Apparently, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 6, 109(March 23, 728). However, this conflicts with the version on p. 1501 above, which says Asad left Khurāsān in Ramaḍān 109(December 727–January 728).

183. Abū al-Ḥusayn Kathīr b. Sa'd. He was the chief Hāshimite missionary in Khurāsān ca. 108(726)–ca. 111(729). See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 166–7, 172, 184.

184. Abū al-Najm 'Imrān b. Ismā'īl, the mawlā of the family of Abū Mu'ayṭ al-Qurashī, one of the twelve 'Abbāsid *nuqabā'* in Khurāsān and the father-in-law of Abū Muslim. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 155, 166, 192, 215.

Khidāsh[185] came to him while he was at a village called Mar'am.[186] He got the better of Kathīr. His name is said to have been 'Umārah, but he was called Khidāsh ecause he marred the faith.

Thābit Quṭnah's Anger at Asad

Asad, by having appointed 'Īsā b. Shaddād al-Burjumī as the sub-governor of a certain district, had placed him over Thābit Quṭnah. Thābit as a result became angry and hence disparaged Asad, saying:

I see every people know their father,
While the father of Bajīlah wavers between them.
I found my father to be your father, so do not
Join against me with the enemy, clamoring.
I will shoot with my arrow whoever shoots at you with his arrow,
Whoever you attack being an enemy undeniable.
Asad b. 'Abdallāh, may his pardon be exalted,
Is a possessor of sins, then how can it be with one who has not sinned?
Have you made me a travelling bag for al-Burjumī,
While al-Burjumī is the base, unproductive one? [1504]
A slave: when noblemen contend together in a race, you see him
Coming along sluggishly, (as if) bearing (a burden) in a procession.
I take refuge with the tomb of Kurz[187] from being seen
As a subordinate of an unfruitful slave from the Tamīm.

185. 'Umārah or 'Ammār b. Yazīd. He was a native of the district of Naysābūr and founded a strong movement in Khurāsān that favored the 'Alids and threatened 'Abbāsid plans. He dominated the work of the *da'wah* in Khurāsān from 111(729) to his execution in 118(736). See *EI*², s.v. Khidāsh.

186. An unidentified place in the Marw oasis, perhaps rather to be transliterated M-r-gh-m, with vocalization undetermined.

187. Kurz b. 'Āmir b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, the great-great-grandfather of Asad b. 'Abdallāh. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 222, II, 374.

Ashras b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī Becomes Governor of Khurāsān

In this year, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik appointed Ashras b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī[188] governor of Khurāsān.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Abū al-Dhayyāl al-'Adawī[189] and Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah[190]—Ṭarkhān[191] and Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafī: Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik removed Asad b. 'Abdallāh from Khurāsān, putting Ashras b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī in charge of it as governor (instead) and commanding him to correspond with Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī. Ashras was virtuous and benevolent; the Khurāsānīs used to call him "the Perfect" on account of his virtuous behavior towards them. Thus he went to Khurāsān. When he reached it, the people were delighted by his arrival. He put in charge of his security force 'Umayrah Abū Umayyah al-Yashkurī, then removed him and appointed al-Simṭ. He entrusted the judiciary of Marw to Abū al-Mubārak al-Kindī,[192] who had no knowledge of judicial affairs. Because of this, Ashras consulted Muqātil b. Ḥayyān.[193] Muqātil advised him to appoint Muḥammad b. Zayd,[194] whom he then entrusted with the judiciary. He remained judge until Ashras was dismissed. Ashras was also the first to establish the mobile frontier force.[195] He put in command of the mobile frontier force 'Abd al-Malik b. Dithār al-

188. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, II, 201.

189. Or Abū al-Walīd al-Hunayd b. Iyās b. Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān. From a family of Khurāsānī warriors and historical transmitters from the 'Ādī al-Ribāb, he may have witnessed the death of Qutaybah b. Muslim in 96(715). *Naqā'iḍ*, 357.

190. Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah b. 'Amr al-Aslamī al-Khuzā'ī, the Ḥijāzī transmitter. See Ṭabarī, IV/1, 2128; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127.

191. Possibly Abū Ḥumayd, the mawlā of the family of Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalaḥāt al-Khuzā'ī, of Baṣran connections. He must have been a contemporary of the Caliph Hishām. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 252.

192. Or: Abū al-Munāzil 'Uthmān b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥārith, the nephew of the famous Kūfan jurist Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 425.

193. Abū Mu'ān or Abū Bisṭām al-Nabaṭī al-Balkhī, the mawlā of the Shaybān, a subtribe of the Bakr. He enjoyed a long career as a counselor of the amīrs of Khurāsān from at least 98(717) to 130(748), when he was resisting Abū Muslim in Ṭukhāristān, and died in exile in Kabul before 150(767). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 277–9; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1330, 1998.

194. He is Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. (Abī) al-Qamūṣ al-Kindī, also described as an 'Abdī or a Jarmī. He is said to have been from al-Baṣrah, but in that case probably would not have been a Kindī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 173–4.

195. That is, a force of cavalry placed in frontier garrisons. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ribāṭ; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 189; Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 110.

Bāhilī.[196] Ashras took charge of affairs both small and great personally.

When Ashras came to Khurāsān, the people shouted, "God is Greater," out of delight with him. One man said: [1505]

The All-Compassionate One has heard a people's shouts of
'God is Greater'
On the day that their imām came to them from the Sulaym.
An imām[197] of guidance has strengthened their commonwealth by him,[198]
(A people who) were scrawny, their bones not marrowy.

When he came, he rode a donkey. Thus Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī[199] said to him, "O amīr, if you wish to be governor of Khurāsān, ride horses, hold tight the reins of your steed, and use the whip constantly on his flank so that he advances to the fire. Otherwise, go back!" Ashras answered, "Then I will go back, for I will not plunge into the fire, O Ḥayyān." Nevertheless, he stayed and rode horses.

According to 'Alī: Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn said, "I dreamt before Ashras came that someone said, 'There comes to you one harsh of heart, weak in helpers, ill-omened.' I awoke in alarm. The second night I dreamt, 'There comes to you one harsh of heart, weak of helpers, ill-omened, a traitor to his people, Jaghr.'"[200] Then he said:

An army is lost whose commander is Jaghr;
Is there a remedy before the tribes are crushed?
If (the enemy) were turned away from them by him he might be (acceptable),
And if not they will become stories of a teller of Tales.

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196. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1420, 1423.
197. That is, the Caliph.
198. That is, Ashras.
199. Abū al-Hayyāj, the mawlā of Masqalah al-Shaybānī of the Bakr, adviser to the governors of Khurāsān. But his mention here must be a mistake, as he was poisoned on the orders of his last patron, Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, in 102(721). Possibly the story related to Ḥayyān but is wrongly placed in time under Ashras; alternatively, it could relate to one of Ḥayyān's sons, perhaps Muqātil, who was just mentioned. See p. 1504 above. For Ḥayyān, see Ṭabarī, III/2, 1430–1; see also note 193.
200. A Persian word meaning "frog." See Steingass, *Persian Dictionary*, s.v. jagr, chughr.

Ashras was called Jaghr in Khurāsān.

Ibrāhīm b. Hishām Leads the Pilgrimage

This year Ibrāhīm b. Hishām led the pilgrimage.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar. Al-Wāqidī and others said likewise.

According to al-Wāqidī: Ibrāhīm b. Hishām delivered the ser-
[1506] mon to the people at Minā[201] in this year on the day after the Day of Sacrifice[202] following the noon worship. He said, "Ask me, for I am the descendant of the unique one.[203] You will not ask one more knowing than me." Then a man from the people of Iraq stood up facing him and asked him about the sacrifices, as to whether they were required or not. Ibrāhīm did not know anything with which to answer him and hence came down (from the pulpit).

Governors

The Governor of al-Madīnah, Mecca, and al-Ṭāʾif in this year was Ibrāhīm b. Hishām. In charge of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah was Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh. In charge of worship at al-Baṣrah was Abān b. Ḍubārah al-Yazanī,[204] in charge of its security force was Bilāl b. Abī Burdah,[205] and in charge of its judiciary was Thumāmah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Anṣārī, appointees of Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh. In charge of Khurāsān was Ashras b. ʿAbdallāh.

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201. The main camping site, to the northeast of Mecca, for pilgrims during the greater pilgrimage or ḥajj. See *EI*², s.v. Minā.

202. The Day of Sacrifice is Dhū al-Ḥijjah 10. The day after it here is Dhū al-Ḥijjah 11, 109(March 28, 728). See *EI*², s.v. Ḥadjdj.

203. A reference to Ibrāhīm's great-great-grandfather al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah, who is said to be referred to by this name (Ar. *waḥīd*) in Qurʾān 74:11.

204. Of the Dhū Yazan clan of the Ḥimyar. He was a Syrian from Ḥimṣ. See Crone, *Slaves*, 146.

205. Al-Ashʿarī, grandson of the famous governor of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah Abū Mūsā. See Crone, *Slaves*, 147.

The Events of the Year

110

(April 16, 728 - April 4, 729)

Among its events was the campaign of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik against the Turks. He approached them near Bāb al-Lān[206] until he met the Khāqān with his hordes. They fought for nearly a month, while suffering from heavy rain. God defeated the Khāqān, who fled away. Thus Maslamah returned (homeward), going by way of the Mosque of Dhū al-Qarnayn.[207]

In this year, according to what has been reported, Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām campaigned against the Byzantines' territory, taking Ṣamāluh.[208] [1507]

In it, 'Abdallāh b. 'Uqbah al-Fihrī led the summer campaign. He was in charge of the seaborne force. But according to al-Wāqidī, it was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj[209] who was in

206. The pass in the central Caucasus between Alania (now North Ossetia) and Georgia, guarded by an impregnable fortress used by Maslamah in his campaign. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 246; *EI*², s.v. Alān, al-Ḳabḳ.

207. An unidentified place in the Caucasus, but probably near Bāb al-Lān.

208. Or Ṣamālū, a fortified town of Cilicia near Ṭarsūs and al-Maṣṣīṣah. Probably the same as a Samalouos of the Byzantines. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 423; Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 278, 355.

209. Or b. Khadīj al-Sakūnī of the Kindah, the son of a famous companion of the Prophet and a great warrior of Egypt. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 429; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, II, 413.

charge.

In this year, Ashras[210] called the dhimmīs among the inhabitants of Samarqand and Transoxiana to Islam, stipulating that the *jizyah* would be removed from them. They accepted that, but when they became Muslims, Ashras nevertheless (continued to) impose the *jizyah* on them. Therefore they made war on him.

Ashras and the Affair of the People of Samarqand and Those Who Followed Them in It

It is stated that Ashras said while governor of Khurāsān, "Seek out for me a man possessing piety and excellence, that I may send him beyond the Oxus to call them to Islam." He was then advised to appoint Abū al-Ṣaydā' Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf, the mawlā of the Banū Ḍabbah.[211] But this man said, "I am not skillful in Persian"; therefore they attached to his service al-Rabī' b. 'Imrān al-Tamīmī.[212] Abū al-Ṣaydā' declared, "I am going forth on the condition that whoever becomes a Muslim will not have the *jizyah* taken from him, and thus only the *kharāj*[213] of Khurāsān will be on the heads of the men." Ashras said "Yes." Abū al-Ṣaydā' then said to his companions, "I am going forth. If the officials do not deal in good faith, will you help me against them?" They said, "Yes." Thus he
[1508] travelled to Samarqand, where al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-'Amarraṭah al-Kindī was in charge of both the military forces and the financial office.

Abū al-Ṣaydā' called on the people of Samarqand and its environs to become Muslims, stipulating that the *jizyah* would be removed from them. At this, the people hurried (to become Muslims). Therefore, Ghūrak wrote to Ashras saying, "The *kharāj* has

210. Text: *al-Ashras*; read: *Ashras*.

211. In 100(719), this prominent fighter for the rights of the mawālī in Khurāsān even complained to the Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz himself about their condition. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1353–4.

212. Of unknown connections. Crone's assertion that he may be a son of 'Imrān b. al-Faḍīl al-Burjumī is an unsupported speculation, as his names are common ones. See Crone, *Slaves*, 114.

213. Theoretically, the *jizyah* was the head tax on non-Muslims, while the *kharāj* was the land tax; but in practice these terms were often used loosely or interchangeably in early documents, as here. See *EI*², s.v. Kharādj; also, note 37. For an alternative view, that the terms were used with precision from the earliest times, defended in detail, see Kabīsī, *Aṣr Hishām*, 293–336.

fallen off drastically." Ashras then wrote to Ibn Abī al-ʿAmarraṭah saying, "In the *kharāj* there is power for the Muslims. I have heard that the inhabitants of al-Sughd and their likes have not become Muslims by (their own) desire, but rather they have only entered into Islam to escape the *jizyah*. Therefore, see who has been circumcised, performs the ritual obligations, practices his Islam rightly, and can recite a chapter from the Qur'ān. From him (alone) lift (the burden of) the *kharāj*."

Then Ashras dismissed Ibn Abī al-ʿAmarraṭah from the financial office, giving it (instead) to Hāni' b. Hāni', to whom he joined al-Ikhshīdh.[214] Ibn Abī al-ʿAmarraṭah said to Abū al-Ṣaydā', "I have nothing to do with the *kharāj* anymore, but beware of Hāni' and al-Ikhshīdh.[215] Therefore, Abū al-Ṣaydā' began forbidding them from taking the *jizyah* from whoever had become a Muslim. Hāni' wrote (to Ashras), "The people have become Muslims and built mosques." Then the *dihqān*s of Bukhārā came to Ashras to say, "Who will you take the *kharāj* from, now that all the people have become Arabs?" Ashras wrote back to Hāni' and to the (financial) officials, "Take the *kharāj* from whomever you used to take it from." Thus they brought back the *jizyah* upon those who had become Muslims.

At this, seven thousand of the inhabitants of al-Sughd refused (to pay) and seceded, setting up camp seven *farsakh*s from Samarqand. These went out to them to support them: Abū al-Ṣaydā', Rabīʿ b. ʿImrān al-Tamīmī, al-Qāsim al-Shaybānī,[216] Abū Fāṭimah al-Azdī,[217] Bishr b. Jurmūz al-Ḍabbī,[218] Khālid b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Hajarī,[219] Bishr b. Zunbūr al-Azdī, ʿĀmir b. Qushayr or Bashīr al- [1509]
Khujandī, Bayān al-ʿAnbarī and Ismāʿīl b. ʿUqbah.

Ashras removed Ibn Abī al-ʿAmarraṭah from the military command (as well), putting in his place al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-

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214. Text: *al-Ishḥīdh*; read: *al-Ikhshīdh*. The title of Ghūrak as prince of Samarqand. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 93, 95, 185, 189–190.

215. Text: *al-Ishḥīdh*; read: *al-Ikhshīdh*.

216. Of the Bakr, he was later a loyal follower of al- Ḥārith b. Surayj al-Tamīmī. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1584, 1868, 1923, 1932.

217. Also called al-Iyādī, but that is probably a copyist's mistake. No Iyādīs are known from Khurāsān, nor are any likely to have been there. See note 454.

218. Of the Tamīm, he was later a prominent follower of al- Ḥārith b. Surayj al-Tamīmī, and was slain with him 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1931–4.

219. Text: *ʿAbdallāh al-Naḥwī*; read: *ʿUbaydallāh al-Hajarī*.

Sulamī,[220] joining to him 'Umayrah b. Sa'd al-Shaybānī.

When al-Mujashshir arrived, he wrote to Abū al-Ṣaydā', asking that he come to him with his companions. When Abū al-Ṣaydā' and Thābit Quṭnah came, he imprisoned them both. Abū al-Ṣaydā' declared, "You have committed betrayal and gone back on what you said!" Hāni' answered him, "It is not betrayal as long as bloodshed is prevented by it." He transported Abū al-Ṣaydā' to Ashras[221] but kept Thābit Quṭnah in his own prison. When Abū al-Ṣaydā' was transported, his companions met and put Abū Fāṭimah in command in order that they might fight Hāni'. But Hāni' said to them, "Wait until I write to Ashras, so that we may get his opinion and act according to his command." Thus they wrote to Ashras. Then Ashras wrote, "Impose the *kharāj* upon them."

After this, Abū al-Ṣaydā"s followers went back (to their opposition), but their movement weakened, while their leaders were pursued, taken, and carried to Marw. Thābit remained imprisoned. Ashras appointed Sulaymān b. Abī al-Sarī, the mawlā of the Banū 'Uwāfah,[222] as a colleague for Hāni' b. Hāni' in charge of the *kharāj*. Hāni' and his agents pressed on with the collection of the *kharāj* insistently, treating the Iranian nobles with disregard. Al-Mujashshir gave 'Umayrah b. Sa'd power over the *dihqāns*, who
[1510] were made to stand while their clothes were torn and their belts were tied around their necks. The agents also took the *jizyah* from those of the humble who had become Muslims. As a result, (the people of) al-Sughd and Bukhārā became apostates, calling upon the Turks to send an army (to support them).

Thābit Quṭnah stayed in al-Mujashshir's prison until Naṣr b. Sayyār came as governor with authority over al-Mujashshir and had Thābit taken by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh al-Laythī to Ashras, who imprisoned him. Naṣr b. Sayyār had treated Thābit kindly and well. Therefore Thābit Quṭnah, while imprisoned by Ashras,

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220. Abū al-'Adabbas. He enjoyed a long career as an important leader in Khurāsān at least from 91(710) to 141(758). He was the first cousin of Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim through his aunt, who was Mūsā's mother, and like Mūsā hailed from the Banū Ḥarām b. Sammāl branch of the Sulaym. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1241, III/2, 1544, 1660, I/3, 135; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 231, 238, 246.

221. Text: *al-Ashras*; read: *Ashras*.

222. A famous Iranian mawlā who had once been apppointed by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz himself to set up inns for travellers and who had been in charge of the *kharāj* of Transoxiana in 102(721). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1364, 1421, 1447–8.

praised Naṣr, saying:

What trench at a tent site and (what) stones have stirred up your longing,
And (what) traces which a downpour of rain has effaced?
Nothing is left of them nor of the stones marking their courtyard
Except broken fragments and except the fireplace
And a (lone) dweller in the encampments of the tribe, after they (have gone),
Like an exposed scout in his worn-out clothes.
The dwellings of Laylā are barren deserts with no friend in them
Nearer than al-Ḥujūn,[223] and how great is its distance from my dwelling!
I was given in exchange for her, when she had become too far to visit:
The valley of fear, in which no night traveler goes,
In the featureless desert, constantly, in a scorched and dry spot,
While a flooded place[224] separates us, its wavy sea running.[225] [1511]
We battle the Turks, and the mourning woman does not cease (weeping),
Among us and among them over a reckless possessor of courage.
If my opinion of Naṣr was ever truthful,
Among what refutation I devise and what I allow to pass,
He does not send the troops home until he has led them to take
Great spoils, while he gains possession of a great (ruler's) kingdom.
The horses stumble in chains at times,
Carrying the plunder to those seeking vengeance,
Until they see them to be dazzling just before they are sent home;
Among them is a standard like the shadow of a predatory hawk.

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223. A hillside at Mecca, the site of the famous Muslim cemetery. Since Thābit was at Samarqand, the reference to a place in Arabia emphasizes the enormous physical as well as spiritual distance. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 225.

224. Text: *mu'niq*; read: *mughriq*, as in B. Both readings are possible, but *mughriq* conforms better with the rest of the verse as we have interpreted it. See next note.

225. Text: *adhiyyatun jārī*; read: *ādhiyyuhu jāri*, as in Cairo ed. The line is obscure.

The frontier cannot be protected except by a possessor of perseverance
From among the generous, those driving for vengeance.
I, while I am of the stock from which the branches
Leafed out, and my forearm's (thrust) is piercing and accurate,
Will certainly mention a matter about you in which you excelled
Whoever was before you, O Naṣr b. Sayyār:
You stood up for me like a free man when (my) tribe
[1512] Failed me, and I found my supporters slow (to help).
While every friend in whom I had hoped became
Hostile to me, and ties with my neighbors were tattered.
But I did not clothe myself in the matter which they caused to fall
On me, nor did I defile my poor garments,
Nor did I rebel against an imam who had a right
To my obedience, nor did I commit any shameful act.

According to ʿAlī: Ashras went out to campaign and stopped at Āmul, where he stayed for three months. He sent ahead Qaṭan b. Qutaybah b. Muslim,[226] who crossed the Oxus with ten thousand men. Thereupon the forces of al-Sughd and Bukhārā, accompanied by the Khāqān and the Turks, approached, beleaguering Qaṭan in his camp which was protected by a trench. The Khāqān began to choose a horseman every day who would cross the Oxus with a group of Turks. Some of the Turks suggested, "Attack their animals while they are unsaddled." Thus they crossed and made their raid while the Muslims were dispersed. Ashras then released Thābit Quṭnah on the surety of ʿAbdallāh b. Bisṭām b. Masʿūd b., ʿAmr,[227] sending him forth with the latter and the cavalry. They followed the Turks and fought them at Āmul until they had rescued what the Turks held. Then (other) Turks crossed the Oxus to their compatriots who were returning, (enabling them to escape). Then Ashras crossed with the Muslims to join Qaṭan b. Qutaybah.

226. The son of the famous governor of Khurāsān 86(705)–96(715). See Crone, *Slaves*, 137.

227. Of the Azdī subtribe of the Banū Maʿn. He was the grandson of Masʿūd b. ʿAmr, Qamar al-ʿIrāq, the famous Azdī leader of al-Baṣrah, commanded the Azdī army division in Khurāsān and was killed in 112(730), unless the ʿAbdallāh b. Bisṭām supporting Abū Muslim in 129(747) is the same person. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 381; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 213, II, 402; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1535, 1546, 1968.

Ashras sent a man called Mas'ūd, one of the sons of Ḥayyān, on a raid, but the enemy met and fought them. Some men of the Muslims were stricken, and Mas'ūd was defeated, so that he returned to Ashras. A certain poet of theirs said: [1513]

The raid of Mas'ūd failed; it did not gain as booty
Other than varieties of charging and galloping.
They camped in a land of deserts containing no friend:
Their (horses) at the mountain's base were the likes of drones (swarming).

The Battle of Baykand

The enemy approached, and, when they were close by, the Muslims met and fought them for a short time, then broke off the engagement. In that time, some men of the Muslims were slain. Then the Muslims renewed the battle, (this time) persevering. The polytheists were defeated. Ashras passed on with the troops until they camped at Baykand.[228] At this, the enemy cut off their water. Ashras and the Muslims stayed in their camp that day and night. When they arose in the morning, their water being exhausted, they dug (for water) but did not find any and became thirsty. Thereupon they left for the city[229] where the waters had been cut off from them, Qaṭan b. Qutaybah being in charge of the Muslim vanguard. The enemy met and fought them to the point that the Muslims were exhausted from thirst. Seven hundred of them died and the troops were unable to fight. Only seven men were left in the battle line of al-Ribāb.[230] Ḍirār b. Ḥuṣayn[231] was almost captured owing to the exhaustion he suffered. Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj[232] urged the men on, saying, "O people, being killed by the

228. A city outside the great wall of the Bukhārā oasis towards the Oxus River, five *farsakhs* southwest of the city of Bukhārā. Baykand is its Arabic name, locally it was called Paykand. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 463; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 117–8.

229. That is, Bukhārā.

230. That is, of the subtribe of 'Adī al-Ribāb of the Tamīm.

231. Al-Ḍabbī, of the leading family of the Ḍabbah. An early Khurāsānī, he first appears in 74(693). He was a consistent supporter of the government and led the *khums* of the Tamīm in Khurāsān from at least 93(712) to 96(715). He must have been rather old here, and presumably he died shortly afterwards. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 860, 1029, 1291; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 246; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 203–4.

232. Al-Mujāshi'ī of the Tamīm, the famous revolutionary leader, Tamīmī parti-

sword is nobler in (this) world and greater in reward with God than death by thirst." At this al-Ḥārith b. Surayj, Qaṭan b. Qutaybah, and Isḥāq, the son of Wakī''s brother Muḥammad, advanced with
[1514] horsemen of the Banū Tamīm and the Qays. They fought until they drove the Turks from the water, whereupon the men hurried to it, drinking and quenching their thirst.

Thābit Quṭnah passed by 'Abd al-Malik b. Dithār al-Bāhilī and said to him, "O 'Abd al-Malik, do you follow the traditions of the jihād?" The latter answered, "Wait for me while I wash and embalm myself!"[233] Thābit stood waiting for him until he came out, then the two of them went on their way. Thābit said to his companions, "I am more knowledgeable about fighting those than you are," and urged them on. Thus they attacked the enemy. The fighting grew furious, and Thābit was slain along with a number of the Muslims, who included: Ṣakhr b. Muslim b. al-Nu'mān al-'Abdī, 'Abd al-Malik b. Dithār al-Bāhilī, al-Wajīh al-Khurāsānī, and al-'Aqqār b. 'Uqbah al-'Awdhī.[234] Qaṭan b. Qutaybah and Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Ḥassān gathered together horsemen from the Banū Tamīm and the Qays who pledged each other to (fight to) the death, and boldly assaulted the enemy, fighting them and causing them to retreat. The Muslims pursued them, killing them until night stopped them and the enemy scattered. Then Ashras came to Bukhārā and besieged its populace.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak[235] —Hishām b. 'Umārah b. al-Qa'qā' al-Ḍabbī[236] —Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān:[237] Wajīh al-Bunānī told me while we were circumambulat-

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san, supporter of Murji'ite doctrines and precursor of Abū Muslim. He led a long-lasting frontier revolt 116(734)–126(744), gave the governors of Khurāsān almost interminable trouble and even joined the Turks. He was killed 128(746). See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 464–72, 476, 485–8.

233. In preparation for a certain death.

234. Text: *al-'Ūdī*; read: *al-'Awdhī*. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 157, from which it is clear that only al-'Awdhī is a tribal name, as the text demands, and that the 'Awdh had become part of the Azd.

235. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Marwazī, the mawlā of the Ḥanẓalah of the Tamīm, 118(736)–181(797), the great religious scholar of Khurāsān and Iraq. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 382–7

236. Almost certainly of al-Kūfah and very likely a mawlā as well, as are those before and after him in this *isnād*. His father is given as one of the sources of Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 297.

237. Abū al-Faḍl Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān b. Jarīr al-Kūfī, the mawlā of the Ḍabbah. He was a traditionist and was killed in the reign of al-Manṣūr (136(754)–158(775)).

ing the House,[238] "We met the Turks, who slew a group of us. I was struck down. I watched them while they sat and asked for water, until at last they came to me. A man of them said, 'Leave him, for he has a step he (still) must take and a fate he must meet.' This[239] is the step which I have just taken; now, I hope for martyrdom." After this, he went back to Khurāsān and was martyred with Thābit. [1515]

According to al-Wāzi' b. Mā'iq: Al-Wajīh passed by me leading two mules on the Day of Ashras. I said, "How did you arise this morning, O Abū Asmā'?" He answered, "I arose between being perplexed and gathering together. O God, join the two battle lines together in combat!" Then, wearing his bow and sword around his shoulders and wrapped in a hood, he attacked the opposing force and was martyred. Al-Haytham b. al-Munakhkhal al-'Abdī[240] was also martyred.

According to 'Alī —'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak: When Ashras met the Turks, Thābit Quṭnah said, "O God, as I was the guest of Ibn Bisṭām yesterday, make me your guest today! By God, the Banū Umayyah will not look upon me bound in iron!" Then he charged forward, as did his companions, but his companions were proven false, while he stood firm. His steed was shot, causing it to run away briskly, but Thābit struck it and then advanced boldly. Thābit was hit and returned from the fight wounded. He said while he lay prostrated, "O God, I arose in the morning the guest of Ibn Bisṭām and have entered the evening as your guest; therefore, receive me in the heaven of your goodly reward!"

According to 'Alī: It is said that Ashras crossed the Oxus and camped at Baykand, but found no water there. Thus, when his forces arose in the morning, they departed. When they neared the fortress of the Bukhārā Khudhāh, which was at that point a mile[241] away from them, a thousand horsemen met them, surrounding

See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 297–8.

238. That is, the Ka'bah, during the pilgrimage.

239. That is, the pilgrimage.

240. Actually, al-Jurmūzī of the Azd. His being attributed to the 'Abd al-Qays is unique to this place in the text and must be a mistake, unless the Jurmūz were at some time a subtribe of the 'Abd al-Qays; but there is no indication of that in the sources. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 222. Al-Haytham had been with al-Muhallab as early as 82(701) and had helped to overthrow Qutaybah in 96(715). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1078, 1296; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 500.

241. The Arabic mile equals 4,000 cubits *(dhirā')* of 22.75 inches each, thus

the troops. A cloud of dust spread (over them), so that a man could not see his neighbor.

Six thousand of the Muslims, including Qaṭan b. Qutaybah and Ghūrak[242] of the *dihqāns*, were cut off. These reached a fortress
[1516] among the forts of Bukhārā thinking that Ashras had perished, while (actually) Ashras was inside the forts of Bukhārā. Thus the two forces did not meet up for two days. Ghūrak joined the Turks in that battle. He had entered the fortress with Qaṭan, but when Qaṭan sent a man to him, (Ghūrak's troops) shouted at Qaṭan's messenger and Ghūrak joined the Turks.

It is said that Ghūrak fell in that day with a (Turkish) cavalry force and had no choice but to join them. It is (also) said that Ashras sent a message to Ghūrak asking him for a drinking cup, but that he answered Ashras's messenger, "Nothing is left to me to use in anointing myself except this cup; therefore, leave it!" Then Ashras sent a message to him (again), saying, "Drink from a gourd and send me the cup." Thus Ghūrak left him.

Naṣr b. Sayyār was in charge of Samarqand and 'Umayrah b. Sa'd al-Shaybānī was in charge of its taxation while they were besieged. 'Umayrah was among those who had come with Ashras.

Quraysh b. Abī Kahmas approached on horseback and said to Qaṭan, "The amīr and his men have made camp. None of the troops were lost except for you." Thus Qaṭan and his men made their way to the camp, which was a mile away.

It is said that Ashras camped near the city of Bukhārā, about a *farsakh* away, that place being called al-Masjid.[243] Then he moved to a grassy field called Bawādirah.[244]

The Siege of Kamarjah

Sabābah or Shabābah, the mawlā of Qays b. 'Abdallāh al-Bāhilī, came to the troops who were encamped at Kamarjah.[245] Kamarjah

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measuring 7,508.33 English feet or 1.43 English miles. See Hava, *al-Farā'id al-Durriyyah*, s.v. m-y-l, dh-r-'. However, there were many different measurements for a *dhirā'*.

242. Text: *Ghūzak*; read: *Ghūrak*, as Codd. and throughout the text.

243. This may be identical with the fortified village of Afshīnah, west of Bukhārā. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 119.

244. Outside the walls of Bukhārā. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 70.

245. A fortified place seven *farsakhs* west of Samarqand in the Zarafshān Valley.

was one of the noblest battle days of Khurāsān, and the greatest of them (to take place) in the days of Ashras in his governorship. Sabābah or Shabābah said to those at Kamarjah, "The Khāqān will be passing by you tomorrow. I suggest to you that you show your [1517] weapons and let him see earnestness and supreme effort, so that he will lose his taste for fighting you." One man among them said, "Secure yourselves against this one, for he has come to weaken you." They answered, "We will not do so; this is our mawlā whom we have come to know for his good advice." Thus they did not accept what the man said, but did what the mawlā had commanded them.

The Khāqān came upon them in the morning. When he was opposite them, he went up to the road to Bukhārā, as if he intended going there, but then he descended (toward the river) with his troops, (passing) behind a hill separating the Muslims and himself. The Turks camped and made ready, while the Muslims were unaware of them. When this, which surprised them, happened, the Muslims climbed up the hill, and suddenly there was a mountain of steel, (including) the forces of Farghānah, al-Ṭāraband,[246] Afshīnah,[247] Nasaf[248] and portions of the forces of Bukhārā.

The Muslim army then regretted (that it had come out). Kulayb b. Qanān al-Dhuhlī said, "They intend to come against you; therefore, send groups of your mailed animals along the road to the river as if you mean to have them drink. When you have stripped off their armor, take the road to the gate and slip in by groups, one group at a time." When the Turks saw them slipping away, they attacked them in the defiles. But the Muslims knew the road better than the Turks and beat them to the gate. The Turks overtook them there, killing a man called al-Muhallab who was part of the Muslims' garrison and was an Arab. The Turks fought the Muslims and took the gate outside the trench; then they entered (through) it and both parties continued fighting. One of the Arabs brought out a bundle of stalks which he had set ablaze and threw it in their faces, whereupon they drew back and cleared the [1518]

See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 125; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 71, and especially 86 n. 14.

246. The ancient capital of al-Shāsh. See *EI*[2], s.v. Tashkent.

247. Apparently a suburb of Samarqand or a town nearby. Probably not the Afshīnah of Bukhārā. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 87, 119.

248. An important city of Transoxiana, it was called Nakhshab in Persian and is now Karshi (Qarshi) in Uzbekistan. See *EI*[1], s.v. Nakhshab.

place, leaving dead and wounded behind. When it was evening, the Turks withdrew while the Arabs burnt the bridge. Then Khusraw b. Yazdigird[249] came to them with thirty men saying, "O Arabs, why do you kill yourselves when I have brought the Khāqān to restore my kingdom to me and (at the same time) will obtain a safe-conduct for you?" But they reviled him, and he went away.

Bāzagharī[250] came to them with two hundred men. He was a shrewd man from Transoxiana whom the Khāqān used not to oppose. With him were two relatives of the Khāqān and horses from the frontier cavalry force of Ashras. He said, "Grant us a safe passage so that we can come close to you and I can propose to you what the Khāqān has sent me to you for." They then gave him a safe-conduct, and he came near the city, its defenders looking down on him. He had with him Arab prisoners. Bāzagharī said, "O Arabs, let down one of your men to me so that I may speak to him about the message of the Khāqān." Thereupon they let down Ḥabīb, the mawlā of the Mahrah, of the inhabitants of Darqīn.[251] The Turks spoke to him, but he did not understand. At this, Bāzagharī said, "Let down to me a man who will undersand me." Thus they let down Yazīd b. Sa'īd al-Bāhilī, who spoke a little Turkish.

Bāzagharī said, "These are the horses of the (Muslim) frontier cavalry force, and the leaders of the Arabs are prisoners with them." He also told them, "The Khāqān sent me to you to say to you, 'I will give to whoever of you had a stipend of six hundred (dirhams one of) one thousand (dirhams), and to whoever had a stipend of three hundred (dirhams one of) six hundred (dirhams).' He is also decided besides this to treat you well." Yazīd answered him, "This is a matter that will not come together. How can the
[1519] Arabs, who are wolves, be with the Turks, who are sheep? There will not be between us and you peace." Bāzagharī became angry. The two Turks who were with him said, "Should we not cut off his head?" Bāzagharī answered, "No. He came down to us on a safe-conduct." Yazīd understood what the two had said and was afraid;

249. Probably Khusraw b. Fayrūz b. Yazdigird, grandson of the last Sassanid king. If so, he would be the maternal uncle of the Caliph Yazīd b. al-Walīd. He could hardly be the son of Yazdigird III, who died 31(651), but rather his grandson. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 71; Tabari, III/2, 1874; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 310.

250. Vocalization uncertain.

251. Vocalization uncertain.

therefore he said, "O Bāzagharī, will you not make us two halves? One half will go with our moveable possessions, while the (other) half will go with the Khāqān. If the Khāqān is victorious, we will be with him; if it is otherwise, we will be like the rest of the cities of the people of al-Sughd." Bāzagharī and the two Turks agreed with what Yazīd had said. Bāzagharī said to him, "Propose to the people what we have agreed to." So Yazīd approached (the wall) and grasped the end of the rope, and they pulled him up until he was on the wall of the city. He called out, "O people of Kamarjah, unite together, for there has come to you a people who call you to unbelief after faith! What do you think?" They answered, "We will neither respond nor agree!" He said, "They call on you to fight against the Muslims on the side of the polytheists!" They replied, "We will all die together sooner than that!" He said, "Then let them know!"

They looked down on them and said, "O Bāzagharī, will you sell the captives in your hands? We will redeem them. But as for that which you have called us to, we will not submit to it." Bāzagharī responded, "Will you not rather purchase yourselves from us? For with you are nothing but the like of those of you who are in our hands." In their hands was al-Ḥajjāj b. Ḥumayd al-Naḍrī,[252] to whom they said, "O Ḥajjāj, will you not speak?" He said, "I am under surveillance." The Khāqān commanded that trees be cut down, whose green wood his men began to throw (into the trench), while the defenders of Kamarjah threw in dry wood, [1520] until the trench was level for the Turks to cross. But the Muslims set fires in it, and a strong wind, a work of God, arose.

The fire blazed in the wood and burnt up all that they had done in six days in one hour of daylight. We[253] shot (arrows) at them, injuring them and causing them to be preoccupied with wounds.

An arrow struck Bāzagharī in his navel, causing his urine to be retained so that he died that night. His Turks cut off their ears, becoming the worst of those with bowed heads, weeping. Then

252. Perhaps of the Banū al-Naḍr b. 'Uwāfah b. Sa'd al-Fizr of the Tamīm. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 215; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 75. But see note 452.

253. Sometimes traces of direct narrative like this appear in al-Ṭabarī, implying the account here is that of an eyewitness. Changing person like this in Arabic is called *iltifāt*. It is quite common in the Qur'ān and is more acceptable than in English.

a horrible thought occurred to them: when the daylight was prolonged, they brought out the captives, who were one hundred, including Abū al-ʿAwjāʾ al-ʿAtakī and his companions, and killed them. They threw to the Muslims the head of al-Ḥajjāj b. Ḥumayd al-Naḍrī. The Muslims had two hundred of the sons of the polytheists as hostages in their hands, whom they now slew, though they fought desperately. The fighting became heavy. The enemy stood on the gate of the trench, then five Turkish chiefs went along on top of the wall. At this Kulayb said, "Who will help me against these?" Ẓuhayr b. Muqātil al-Ṭufāwī said, "I will help you against them." Then he went forward hurrying, saying to certain young men, "March behind me," as he was wounded. And two of those chiefs were slain on that day, while three escaped.

One of the Transoxianan princes said to Muḥammad b. Wassāj,[254] "It is strange that there does not remain a single prince in Transoxiana who has not fought at Kamarjah other than me. It is hard on me that I do not fight along with my equals and that my prowess has not been seen." The people of Kamarjah continued to suffer from (attacks) until Arab troops advanced, descending on (the forces) of Farghānah. At this, the people of al-Sughd, Farghānah and al-Shāsh and the *dihqāns* blamed the Khāqān, who said to them, "You claimed that there were fifty donkeys in this (town) and that we would take it in five days, but now the five days have become two months." Thus he reviled them and ordered them to depart. They said, "We will not spare any effort, but rather bring us forth tomorrow and watch." On the next day, the Khāqān came and stood. The prince of al-Ṭāraband went up to him, asking permission to give battle and go into the Muslims' town. But the Khāqān said, "I do not think you should fight in this place," which he regarded as dangerous. The prince then said, "Give me two Arab girls as slaves, and I will go out against them." At this the Khāqān gave his permission.

[1521]

Thus the prince fought. Eight of his men were killed, but he came on until he stopped before a breach (in the wall) beside which was a house. In the house there was a hole that opened on to the

254. Text: *Wishāḥ*; read: *Wassāj*, as B and Cairo ed. Probably a Tamīmī related to Bukayr b. Wassāj al-ʿUṭāridī, governor of Khurāsān 72(691)–74(693), or even his son. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 219, where A.M. Hārūn also has preferred *Wassāj* to the commonly given *Wishāḥ*.

breach. Inside the house was a man of the Banū Tamīm who was sick. He threw at the prince a hooked iron which caught on his mail. Then he called the women and boys, who dragged him. The prince fell on his face and knees. A man threw a stone at him, which struck him at the base of his ear. He was knocked prostrate, and a man stabbed him, killing him. A beardless youth of the Turks came up and slew the killer, taking his plunder and his sword, but we overcame them regarding his body. It is said that he who answered the call to this was the best horseman of the people of al-Shāsh.

The Muslims took up a wooden water basin and stuck it against the wall of the trench; then, they made doors for it and set archers behind them. These included Ghālib b. al-Muhājir al-Ṭā'ī, the [1522] paternal uncle of Abū al-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī[255] and two other men, one of whom was a Shaybānī, the other a Nājī. When the Khāqān came to look at the trench, the Nājī shot at him, hitting the bone of his nose, but he was wearing a Tibetan helmet,[256] so that the shot did not harm him. The Shaybānī also shot at him, but could not see more of him than his eyes. Finally, Ghālib b. al-Muhājir shot him, the arrow entering his chest, throwing him over. Nothing more severe touched the Khāqān.

It is said that the Khāqān only killed al-Ḥajjāj and his companions on that day because he had become alarmed. He sent a message to the Muslims saying, "It is not our practice to withdraw from a city on which we have descended without conquering it, or without its defenders leaving it." Kulayb b. Qanān answered him, "It is not of our religion to give over our hands until we are killed, so do what seems best to you." The Turks decided that their siege against the Muslims was harmful (to themselves); therefore, they gave them a safe-conduct with the stipulation that they go away—both the Khāqān and the Muslims—from the town with their families and possessions to Samarqand or al-Dabūsiyyah.[257]

255. Ghālib earlier was in the expedition to save Qaṣr al-Bāhilī 102(721). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1422. Abū al-'Abbās is al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān, a famous 'Abbāsid agent *(dā'ī)*. See Crone *Slaves*, 174.

256. Ar. *kashkhūdah*. Not found in the dictionaries, but its meaning is evident from both the context and from the element *khūdah*.

257. A large town about midway between Samarqand and Bukhārā on the south bank of the Zarafshān River. As it was 17 or 18 *farsakhs* west of Samarqand, it also lay to the west of Kamarjah. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 97; Le Strange, *Lands*, 468.

Then the Khāqān told them, "Choose for yourselves whether to depart from this city."

The people of Kamarjah realized what difficulty they were in owing to the siege and hardship. They said, "We will consult the inhabitants of Samarqand," and sent Ghālib b. al-Muhājir al-Ṭā'ī. He descended into a place in the valley and went along to a fortress named Farzāwinah,[258] whose *dihqān* was his friend. He
[1523] said to him, "I have been sent to Samarqand; therefore, carry me there." The *dihqān* replied, "I cannot find any mount except certain of the mounts of the Khāqān, who has fifty animals in the pasture." Therefore, they went forth together to that pasture, where Ghālib took a steed and mounted it. A second steed was familiar with Ghālib's steed and thus followed him. Ghālib reached Samarqand that very night and told the folk there about the matter of the people of Kamarjah. They advised him (to tell them to go) to al-Dabūsiyyah, saying, "It is closer." Thus he came back to his companions. They took hostages from the Turks so that the latter would not interfere with them, and they also requested a man from the Turks through whom they would be strengthened, along with men from among themselves. The Turks said to them, "Choose whomever you want." They chose Kūrṣūl[259] to be with them, and he stayed with them until they reached where they wanted.

It is said that when the Khāqān saw that he would not get at them, he cursed his companions and commanded them to travel away from the Muslims. Al-Mukhtār b. Ghūrak and the prince of al-Sughd spoke to him, saying, "Do not do so, O King, but rather give the Muslims a safe-conduct so that they may go out of the town and may think that you only did that for them for the sake of Ghūrak, who is with the Arabs, loyal to them. His son al-Mukhtār has only beseeched you concerning that fearing for his father." The Khāqān gave his consent to them about that and sent Kūrṣūl over to the Muslims, to be with them, protecting them from whomever sought (to attack) them.

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258. Vocalization uncertain.

259. Al-Turqashī. His Turkish name is Kōl-chūr, his title the Baga Tarkhan. He first appears fighting the Arabs in 102(721) as one of the Khāqān's great nobles. Later he murdered the Khāqān in 120(738) and usurped his place. He seems to have been executed by the Chinese in 126(744). See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 61, 85, 91; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 472, 476.

Thus the Turkish hostages came into the Muslims' hands, while the Khāqān departed, giving the impression that he was heading for Samarqand. The hostages which were in the Muslims' hands were from among the Turkish princes. When the Khāqān left, Kūrṣūl said to the Arabs, "Depart!" They answered, "We do not like to leave while the Turks have not yet gone, nor do we trust them not to threaten any of the women, at which the Arabs would get angry, and thus return to the same kind of war we were (just) in."

Therefore, Kūrṣūl left them alone until the Khāqān and the Turks had gone on. When they had performed the noon worship, Kūrṣūl bid them to depart, saying, "Difficulty, death, and fear are only until you have gone two *farsakhs*; then you will reach contiguous villages." They then departed, there being in the hand [1524] of the Turks a group of Arab hostages who included Shu'ayb al-Bakrī or al-Naṣrī, Sibā' b. al-Nu'mān[260] and Sa'īd b. 'Aṭiyyah. In the hands of the Arabs were five of the Turks. They had mounted behind every Turkish man a man of the Arabs with a dagger. Each Turk was wearing only a gown with full sleeves, and thus they led them along. Then the Iranians[261] said to Kūrṣūl, "Al-Dabūsiyyah holds ten thousand fighting men. We don't guarantee that they will not come forth against us." He answered, "If the Arabs fight you, they will fight us with you," and thus they kept going. When they had drawn within about a *farsakh* of al-Dabūsiyyah or less, its inhabitants, seeing horsemen, standards, and a vast force, supposed that Kamarjah had been taken and that the Khāqān was aiming at them.

We drew near to them, they having readied themselves for war. Kulayb b. Qanān sent forth a man from the Banū Nājiyah called al-Ḍaḥḥāk galloping on a steed. In command of al-Dabūsiyyah was 'Aqīl b. Warrād al-Sughdī. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk came to them while they were arranged in rows of cavalry and infantry, giving them the news. At this, the men of al-Dabūsiyyah galloped forward to carry whoever was too weak to walk or was wounded. Then Kulayb sent

260. Al-Azdī. He was already a revolutionary by 126(744), when his execution was sought; in 130(748) he was governor of Samarqand for Abū Muslim, but in 135(753) was arrested for plotting against him. Al-Ya'qūbī gives his name as Sibā' b. Ma'mar. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1858, 2001, I/3, 82; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 410.

261. These must be mawālī who had been in Kamarjah with the Arabs.

a message to Muḥammad b. Karrāz and Muḥammad b. Dirham, so that they would inform Sibāʿ b. al-Nuʿmān and Saʿīd b. ʿAṭiyyah that they had arrived safely. Then they freed the hostages: the Arabs began sending back one of the Turkish hostages who were in their hands, while the Turks sent back one of the Arab hostages who were in their hands, until there was left Sibāʿ b. al-Nuʿmān
[1525] in the hands of the Turks and one of the Turks in their hands. Each side began to fear treachery from the other. Sibāʿ said, "Let the Turkish hostage go"; therefore, they freed him, leaving Sibāʿ in the Turks' hands. Kūrṣūl asked him, "Why did you do this?" He answered, "I trusted in your view of me and said that your spirit would be above treachery in such an instance." At this Kūrṣūl rewarded him, armed him, mounted him on a horse and returned him to his companions.

The siege of Kamarjah lasted fifty-eight days. It is said that they did not water their camels for thirty-five days.

The Khāqān divided the sheep among his followers, saying, "Eat their meat, fill their skins with earth, and fill up your trench," which they did, filling it up. But God sent against them a cloud pouring rain, which carried away what they had thrown in (the trench) and deposited it in the greater river.[262]

Also, a group of Khārijites was with the inhabitants of Kamarjah, including Ibn Shunj, the mawlā of the Banū Nājiyah.

In this year the people of Kurdar[263] became apostates, but the Muslims fought and conquered them. The Turks had helped the people of Kurdar. Therefore, Ashras sent to the vicinity of Kurdar a thousand men to help the Muslims. When they arrived, the Muslims, having defeated the Turks, triumphed over the forces of Kurdar. ʿArfajah al-Dārimī said:

We protected the people of Marw and others,
[1526] And we drove the Turks away from the people of Kurdar.
If you give what we have taken as spoil to others,
An honorable man may be wronged and then wait patiently.

262. That is, the Zarafshān. This report refers to the time of the siege, being a doublet of the account appearing on pp. 1517–8.

263. A town in the delta of the Oxus, on the right bank. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 455; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 151.

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year, Khālid b. 'Abdallāh gave charge of the worship at al-Baṣrah together with the security force, youths *(aḥdāth)*,[264] and judiciary to Bilāl b. Abī Burdah, bringing all these together under him and thereby dismissing Thumāmah b. 'Abdallāh b. Anas from the judiciary.

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl led the pilgrimage, as reported by Abū Ma'shar, al-Wāqidī and others.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

Ibrāhīm b. Hishām was governor of al-Madīnah, Mecca and al-Ṭā'if in this year, while Khālid b. 'Abdallāh was governor of al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah and all of Iraq and Ashras b. 'Abdallāh was governor of Khurāsān.

264. What is meant by *aḥdāth* is obscure, but already at this time they may have constituted a loosely organized urban militia for secondary duties, analogous to the *vigiles* of Augustan Rome. See *EI*², s.v. Aḥdāth.

The Events of the Year

111

(April 5, 729—March 25, 730)

Among the year's events, Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām led the summer campaign on the left flank (against the Byzantines), while Sa'īd b. Hishām[265] led the summer campaign on the right, even reaching Qaysariyyah.

According to al-Wāqidī: In the year 111, 'Abdallāh b. Abī Maryam[266] led the seaborne force. Also, Hishām made al-Ḥakam b. Qays b. Makhramah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf[267] commander of all the men from the inhabitants of Syria and Egypt.

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265. Son of of the Caliph Hishām by a concubine, he commanded at Ḥimṣ for his brother Sulaymān in the civil war against Marwān and, being captured by the latter, was imprisoned in Ḥarrān until 132(750), when he was slain. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1912, I/3, 43; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 168.

266. Perhaps the mawlā of the Banū Sā'idah of the Khazraj, as Bakr b. Suwādah al-Judhāmī, who transmitted from him, is said to have died in the sea near Spain in 128(746). They could have been associates in seaborne expeditions. 'Abdallāh is said to have seen Abū Ḥumayd al-Sā'idī, who died around 60(680), and therefore he was probably born around 50(670) or slightly later. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 483–4, VI, 26, XII, 79.

267. Since Qays b. Makhramah was a companion of the Prophet a century earlier, and since no son al-Ḥakam is attributed to him by the genealogists, one or two generations are almost certainly missing from this genealogy. 'Abdallāh b. Qays b. Makhramah was in charge of the judiciary of al-Madīnah 74(693)–75(694) for al-Ḥajjāj. Perhaps this al-Ḥakam is his son or nephew. See Wakī', *Quḍāh*, I, 124–5; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 92–3.

In this year the Turks moved againts Ādharbayjān, but al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr[268] met and defeated them. [1527]

In it Hishām appointed al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī[269] governor of Armenia.

This year, Hishām removed Ashras b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī from Khurāsān and appointed al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī[270] as governor.

The Reason for Hishām's Removal of Ashras from Khurāsān and His Appointment of al-Junayd

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Abū al-Dhayyāl: The reason for the dismissal of Ashras was that Shaddād b. Khālid al-Bāhilī went to Hishām to complain about him. Therefore, Hishām dismissed him, appointing al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān as governor of Khurāsān in the year 111(730).[271]

The reason for Hishām's appointment of Junayd was that he had given a jeweled necklace to Umm Ḥakīm bt. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam, the wife of Hishām.[272] It pleased Hishām; thus al-Junayd gave Hishām another necklace. After this, he appointed al-Junayd governor of Khurāsān and had him carried (thither) by eight (animals) of the state post.[273] Al-Junayd sought from him more animals than those, but Hishām did not give (them to him).

Al-Junayd came to Khurāsān with five hundred (men) while Ashras b. 'Abdallāh was fighting the people of Bukhārā and al-Sughd. He asked for a man who would go with him to Transoxiana, and al-Khaṭṭāb b. Muḥriz al-Sulamī,[274] Ashras's deputy,[275] was

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268. Al-Ṭa'ī. He had ruled al-Balqā' in Syria and then had been governor of Armenia for Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. See Crone, *Slaves*, 127.

269. The Umayyad general who governed al-Baṣrah, Iraq, Khurāsān and Armenia at different times. See Crone, *Slaves*, 132.

270. Text: *al-Muzanī*; read: *al-Murrī*. See note 9.

271. The appointment probably came late in the year. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 459–60n.

272. The Umayyad wife of Hishām, his first cousin once removed, the mother of five of his children. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 167; Kaḥḥalah, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, I, 285–7.

273. The communications network at the Caliph's disposal, also used for intelligence gathering. See *EI*², s.v. al-Barīd.

274. Still alive in 130(748), when he was part of a Muḍarī delegation to Abū Muslim. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1985.

275. In Marw.

recommended to him. When he reached Āmul, al-Khaṭṭāb advised him to stop there and write to those at Zamm[276] and those around
[1528] it to come to him. But he refused, rather sending a message to Ashras, "Supply me with cavalry," and was afraid to cross before the cavalry reached him. Therefore, Ashras sent him 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī. When 'Āmir was on a certain part of the road, the Turks and Sughdīs attacked him in order to cut him off before he could reach al-Junayd. 'Āmir retreated to a strongly walled garden and fought the enemy at its entrance. With him was Ward b. Ziyād b. Adham b. Kulthūm, the (grand)son of the brother of al-Aswad b. Kulthūm.[277] A man of the enemy shot Ward with an arrow, hitting him in the side of the nose and piercing both nostrils. 'Āmir b. Mālik said to him, "O Abū al-Zāhiriyyah, you look like a brooding chicken!" One of the great men of the Turks was slain by the gate, while the Khāqān was on a hill behind which was a swampy thicket. 'Āṣim b. 'Umayr al-Samarqandī[278] and Wāṣil b. 'Amr al-Qaysī[279] went forth with (a force of) *shākiriyyah*,[280] circling round until they were behind that waterhole. Then they joined together wood, reeds, and whatever else they could, to make a path through the water to cross on. The Khāqān did not notice (anything) until (they shouted), "God is Greater!" Wāṣil and the *shākiriyyah* assaulted the enemy and fought them, a horse being killed from under Wāṣil. The Khāqān and his forces were defeated. 'Āmir b. Mālik came out of the garden and went on his

276. A town on the left bank of the Oxus at an important ford, the modern Kerki or Karkhi. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 80–1; Le Strange, *Lands*, 403–4.

277. Al-'Adawī of 'Adī al-Ribāb. Al-Aswad led the first Muslims to reach Bayhaq into one of its walled gardens, but was cut off by the enemy at the entrance and slain there by the enemy while trying to get out. This is a curious inversion of the story of 'Āmir here, both stories having the Muslims beleaguered in a walled garden and fighting at the entrance, which suggests a possible doublet. Adham completed the conquest of Bayhaq 31(650). See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 500.

278. Al-Ṣarīmī al-Sughdī al-Hazārmard. He was a great warrior and one of the inveterate Khurāsānī supporters of the Umayyads who stayed with Naṣr b. Sayyār to the bitter end, then was finally killed by Abū Muslim's followers in 131(749) at the capitulation of Nihāwand. He was apparently from Ṭukhāristān, like 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1691, 1920–1, 2000, I/3, 6–8.

279. An Arab inhabitant of Bukhārā who was assassinated while governing for Naṣr there 121(739). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1693–4.

280. From the Persian *chākir*, servant. These were a body of servant-soldiers personally attached to their patron, who often formed an elite bodyguard. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 180, 183; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 496.

way to al-Junayd with seven thousand (troops). Finally, he met al-Junayd and proceeded with him.

In charge of al-Junayd's vanguard was 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym.[281] [1529] When al-Junayd reached a point two *farsakhs* from Baykand, the Turkish cavalry met him, and he fought them. Al-Junayd and those with him nearly perished. Then God gave him victory, and he went along until he reached the camp. Al-Junayd was triumphant, killing the Turks. The Khāqān marched against him, so that they met below Zarmān[282] in the territory of Samarqand. Qaṭan b. Qutaybah was in charge of al-Junayd's rear, while Wāṣil commanded the men of Bukhārā, of which he was a resident. The king of al-Shāsh was taken prisoner,[283] and in this battle al-Junayd also captured the nephew of the Khāqān, whom he sent to the Caliph. Al-Junayd had left behind al-Mujashshir[284] b. Muzāḥim as his deputy at Marw during his campaign and appointed Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr of the Banū Abān b. Dārim over Balkh. When he had achieved so much of his purpose,[285] he sent 'Umārah b. Mu'āwiyah al-'Adawī, Muhammad b. al-Jarrāḥ al-'Abdī and 'Abd Rabbihi b. Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Sulami[286] as a delegation to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. Immediately they departed, but fell to quarreling among themselves at al-Tirmidh, where they remained for two months. Then al-Junayd reached Marw, having triumphed. The Khāqān said, "This is an easy-living boy who defeated me this year, but I will destroy him in a future year."

Pilgrimage and Governors

Al-Junayd appointed his officials, giving appointments only to Muḍarīs. He appointed Qaṭan b. Qutaybah as governor of Bukhārā, al-Walīd b. al-Qa'qā' al-'Absī[287] as governor for Herat, Ḥabīb b.

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281. Or Ibn Khuraym, al-Murrī, al-Junayd's first cousin on his father's side. See Crone, *Slaves*, 98.

282. A town between Samarqand and Bukhārā in the Zarafshān Valley seven *farsakhs* west of Samarqand and thus necessarily close to Kamarjah. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 96–7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 468.

283. Text: *fa-usimm*; read: *fa-usir*, as Ms. BM and Cairo ed.

284. Text: *Mujashshir*; read: *al-Mujashshir*.

285. By defeating the Turks.

286. A mawlā. See above, p. 1499.

287. A relative of the Umayyads through his cousin, the wife of 'Abd al-Malik

Murrah al-ʿAbsī[288] as chief of his security force, and Muslim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bāhilī[289] over Balkh. Naṣr b. Sayyār had been
[1530] subgovernor of Balkh, and he and the Bāhilīs were estranged from one another owing to what had happened between them at al-Barūqān. Therefore, Muslim sent (his men) to Naṣr. They found him sleeping and thus brought him back in a long nightshirt which was tucked up. He was not wearing long underpants but was trying to cover himself with his shirt.[290] Muslim was embarrassed and said, "You have brought a chief of the Muḍar in this condition!" Then al-Junayd dismissed Muslim from the governorship of Balkh and appointed al-Tujībī[291] b. Ḍubayʿah to it. He also put Shaddād b. Khālid al-Bāhilī in charge of the finance office of Samarqand. Al-Samharī b. Qaʿnab[292] was with al-Junayd.

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī led the pilgrimage. His governorship included the same area in this year as it had the year before, which I have mentioned earlier. The governor of Iraq was Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh while that of Khurāsān was al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

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and the mother of al-Walīd and Sulaymān, he was a Syrian from Qinnasrīn. After his eastern service with al-Junayd, he was back in Syria as governor of Qinnasrīn by 119(737). See Crone, *Slaves*, 105.

288. Probably a mistake for al-Murrī. A supporter of Marwān, he fought the ʿAbbāsids in the *jund* of al-Urdunn 132(750). See Crone, *Slaves*, 167.

289. The most important Bāhilī in Khurāsān after Qutaybah his uncle, he held the rule in Balkh in 111(730), 120(738) and 123(741) at least, was considered for the governorship of Khurāsān 120(738), was later a supporter of Naṣr and fought Abū Muslim until at least 130(748). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1663–4, 1723, 1999.

290. Text: *qamīṣayh*; read: *qamīṣah*; there being no justification in the context for the dual. For *qamīṣ*, see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 371–5.

291. Text: *Yaḥyā*; read: *al-Tujībī*. Al-Tujībī was of the Murrah like al-Junayd, whom he served as governor of Herat as well as Balkh before being killed in 116(734). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1566–8.

292. Probably a Riyāḥī of the Tamīm. See Crone, *Slaves*, 113.

The Events of the Year 112

(MARCH 26, 730 - MARCH 14, 731)

Among the events of this year was the summer campaign of Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām, in which he captured Kharshanah[293] and burned Farandiyyah in the region of Malaṭyah.[294]

In this year, the Turks went forth from al-Lān. Al-Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥakamī met them with those Syrians and Ādharbayjānīs he had with him. But his army did not gather in full strength, so that al-Jarrāḥ and those with him died as martyrs on the field of Ardabīl, and the Turks took Ardabīl.[295] Al-Jarrāḥ had left his brother al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿAbdallāh as his deputy for Armenia. [1531]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: The Turks slew al-Jarrāḥ b.

293. Kharsianon in Byzantine Cappadocia near Malaṭyah. The event is also reported by Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, who agrees with al-Ṭabarī's dating and naming of the commander and by Theophanes, who places it in a year beginning with September 730 and erroneously calls the Muslim commander Maslamah. The event may thus be dated to early autumn, about Jumādā II–Rajab 112(September-October 730). See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 504; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 101; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 359;Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 248–9.

294. An important city on the upper Euphrates, it still bears the same name. It was then in the hands of the Muslims. See *EI*[1], s.v. Malaṭya.

295. A large city still bearing the same name in eastern Ādharbayjān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 159, 168; *EI*[2], s.v. Ardabīl.

ʿAbdallāh at Balanjar.[296] When Hishām heard the news, he summoned Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī[297] and said to him, "I have heard that al-Jarrāḥ has fled before the polytheists." Saʿīd replied, "Certainly not, O Commander of the Faithful. Al-Jarrāḥ knows God too well to flee from the enemy. Rather he has been killed." Hishām then asked, "What is your opinion?" Saʿīd answered, "That you send me along with forty post animals, that you then send me every day forty animals with forty men on them, and that you then write to the commanders of the troops so that they will come to me." Thereupon Hishām did that.

It is mentioned that Saʿīd b. ʿAmr came upon three groups of Turks which were going to the Khāqān with those Muslims and dhimmīs whom they had captured. Al-Ḥarashī rescued those who had been taken and made great slaughter among the Turks.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: Al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said on one of the nights of his fighting with the Turks in the defile, "A night like the night of al-Jarrāḥ and a day like his day!" It was said to him, "May God make you prosper, when al-Jarrāḥ was attacked, the men of sagacity and perseverance were slain, so that when night came on him, his troops slipped away under the cover of darkness to cities of theirs in Ādharbayjān, and al-Jarrāḥ, having few (men) by morning, was killed."

In this year, Hishām sent his brother Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik
[1532] to follow the Turks. He traveled in a winter of severe cold, rain and snow, nevertheless pursuing them—according to what has been reported—until he passed beyond al-Bāb[298] in their footsteps. He left al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr al-Ṭāʾī behind at al-Bāb.

In this year, the battle between al-Junayd and the Turks, whose leader was the Khāqān, occurred in the defile. In this fight Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr was slain. It has been said that this battle happened in the year 113.[299]

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296. A town north of the Caucasus in Khazaria. See *EI*², s.v. Balandjar, al-Ḳabḳ.

297. A Syrian from Qinnasrīn, he served as governor in al-Baṣrah, Khurāsān, and Armenia. See Crone, *Slaves*, 144.

298. The Caspian Gates. See *EI*², s.v. Bāb al-Abwāb, al-Ḳabḳ.

299. By Ibn Khayyāṭ, for example. Gibb and Wellhausen concur with the later dating, which seems to make more sense, as events of the previous years appear much compressed. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 505; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 73; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 460n.

The Battle of the Defile: What Its Cause Was and How It Happened

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: Al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān went forth campaigning in the year 112, heading for Ṭukhāristan. He camped by the river of Balkh, sending 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym to Ṭukhāristān[300] with eighteen thousand (men) and Ibrāhīm b. Bassām al-Laythī[301] in another direction with ten thousand. The Turks then raised their army and came against Samarqand, where Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr, one of the Banū Abaṅ b. Dārim, was governor. Sawrah wrote to al-Junayd, "The Khāqān has mobilized the Turks. I went out against them, but I was unable to defend the (outer) wall[302] of Samarqand. Help!" Al-Junayd thereupon commanded his forces to cross (the Oxus). Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī, Ibn Bisṭām al-Azdī, and Ibn Ṣubḥ al-Kharaqī went to him and said, "The Turks are not like others; they neither meet you in a battle line nor marching slowly in readiness. You have scattered your troops: Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān is at al-Nayrūdh, al-Bakhtarī is at Herat, the forces of al-Ṭālaqān have not [1533] yet come to you and 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym is away." Al-Mujashshir told him, "The possessor of Khurāsān ought not to cross the Oxus with less than fifty thousand (men). Therefore, write to 'Umārah so that he may come to you. Wait and do not hurry." Al-Junayd responded, "What about Sawrah and the Muslims who are with him? Even if I had only the Banū Murrah or those who came with me of the Syrians, I would cross." He added:

Is not the worthiest man he who witnesses the roar of battle,
Where heroes are slain, giant upon giant?

He also said:

What would be my plea, what would be my plea, what would be

300. Upper Ṭukhāristān, lying east of Balkh, is clearly meant. See Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 10.

301. Rather, the mawlā of the Layth. His was a well-known family of mawālī who served Naṣr but secretly supported the Hashimite cause. Thus in 128(746) Ibrāhīm was still fighting for Naṣr, but by 130(748) he was pursuing him on behalf of Abū Muslim. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1927; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 591; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 233.

302. This probably refers to a wall or walls enclosing gardens or suburbs rather than to the city itself.

my plea,
If I did not fight? Therefore cut my side curl!

Al-Junayd then crossed, making camp as Kishsh.[303] He had sent al-Ashhab b. 'Ubayd al-Ḥanẓalī to find out about what the enemy was doing. Al-Ashhab came back to him saying, "They have come upon you; therefore, get ready to set out!" The Turks advanced (a force) to spoil the wells which were on the road to Kishsh, as well as whatever waterholes were on it. Al-Junayd then asked, "Which of the two roads to Samarqand is better?" Those with him answered, "The road of al-Muḥtaraqah."[304] But al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī interposed, "Being killed by the sword is better than being killed by fire. The road of al-Muḥtaraqah has trees and (tall) grass in it, not having been cultivated for years, so that these by now have overgrown each other. If you meet the Khāqān, he will set fire to all that, so that we will be killed by the fire and smoke. Rather take the road of the steep ascent, on
[1534] which there will be equality between us and them." Therefore, al-Junayd took the road of the steep ascent and climbed up into the mountains. Al-Mujashshir took the reins of his mount, saying, "It used to be said that certain of the troops of Khurāsān would perish at the hands of a luxury-loving man from the Qays. We now fear that you may be he." Al-Junayd replied, "Dispell your fear." Al-Mujashshir said, "But while the like of you is among us it will not be dispelled." He spent the night at the bottom the ascent, then departed when he arose in the morning. Al-Junayd found himself between those leaving and those staying. He met a horseman and asked him, "What is your name?" He answered, "Ḥarb." Al-Junayd asked, "The son of whom?" He replied, "The son of Maḥrabah." Al-Junayd again asked, "From which subtribe?" Ḥarb answered, "The Banū Ḥanẓalah." Al-Junayd told him, "May God give warfare,[305] rage, and rabies power over you!" Al-Junayd went

303. Text: *Kiss*; read: *Kishsh*, and likewise throughout the text. An important city like Nasaf-Nakhshab between the Oxus and Samarqand; now Shahr-i-Sabz in Uzbekistan. See *EI*², s.v. Kash; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 134–5; Le Strange, *Lands*, 469–70.

304. A village near Samarqand north of the mountains separating Samarqand and Kishsh. It was formerly called Faryāb and seems to have been in a wooded area. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 138.

305. Arabic: *ḥarb*. A play on the name Ḥarb b. Maḥrabah, who is seen here retreating, despite his fierce name.

on with his troops until he entered the defile, there being four *farsakhs* between him and the city of Samarqand. But the Khāqān came against him on the morrow with a huge force. The inhabitants of al-Sughd, al-Shāsh, and Farghānah, as well as part of the Turks, marched against al-Junayd.

The Khāqān attacked the vanguard, which was commanded by 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr. These returned to the camp, while the Turks followed them, coming at them from every direction. Al-Ikhrīd[306] had said to al-Junayd, "Return the troops to the camp, for a numerous force has come against you." The first of the enemy came up while the men were having lunch. 'Ubaydallāh b. Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān[307] saw them but did not wish to tell the men until they had finished their lunch. Abū al-Dhayyāl looked about, saw them and said, "The enemy!" Therefore the men rode to (warn) al-Junayd. He put the Tamīm and the Azd on the right and the Rabī'ah on the left next to the mountain. In command of the armored cavalry of the Banū Tamīm was [1535]
'Ubaydallāh b. Zuhayr b. Ḥayyān, while 'Umar or 'Amr b. Jirfās b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shuqrān al-Minqarī commanded the light cavalry. 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī commanded the division of the Banū Tamīm. 'Abdallāh b. Bisṭām b. Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ma'nī commanded the Azd, whose armored and light cavalry were commanded by al-Fuḍayl b. Hannād[308] and 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawdhān,[309] the one in charge of the armored and the other the light cavalry. It is said that rather the last was Bishr b. Ḥawdhān, the brother of 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawdhān al-Jahḍamī. These met with (the forces of) the Rabī'ah near the mountain in a narrow place where no one

306. The local Iranian ruler of Kishsh, from which al-Junayd has just come. See Ṭabarī I/3, 79–80. Not to be confused with al-Ikhshīdh, the ruler of Samarqand, who was with the Turks at this time.

307. Al-'Adawī, from the famous family of 'Adawī transmitters. He was present at the killing of Qutaybah in 96(715) and on later occasions was entrusted with division of spoils and led the Tamīm cavalry division. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1446, 1463; *Naqā'iḍ*, 357, 361.

308. Text: *Fuḍayl*; read: *al-Fuḍayl*. He belongs to the Banū al-Ḥārith al-Ghiṭrīf, a subtribe of the Azd. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 217, II, 247; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 514.

309. He is reputed to have been at the siege of Bukhārā with Salm b. Ziyād as early as 62(682) and in 96(715) was in command of the Azd division of the Khurāsānī army. See Ṭabarī II/2, 1290–1; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 275–6; Narshakhī, *Ta'rīkh Bukhārā*, 67.

approached them.

The enemy made for the (Muslim) right wing, where the Tamīm and the Azd were in a wide place which had space for cavalry. Ḥayyān b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Zuhayr dismounted in his father's view to give his horse to his brother 'Abd al-Malik. His father then said to him, "O Ḥayyān, hurry to your brother, for he is but a youth, and I fear for him." But Ḥayyān refused; therefore, his father said, "O my little son, if you are slain in this state of yours, you will be slain disobedient." Therefore, Ḥayyān went back to the place where he had left his brother and the horse. He found his brother had joined the camp and had tethered the horse. Ḥayyān cut its halter and rode off on it, coming to the enemy, which had now surrounded the place where he had left his father and his companions.
[1536] Al-Junayd sent to their aid Naṣr b. Sayyār with seven (others), including Jamīl b. Ghazwān al-'Adawī. 'Ubaydallāh b. Zuhayr joined them, and they charged the enemy, whom they put to flight. Then the enemy returned the charge against them, so that they were all slain together, not one of them who were in that place escaping.[310] 'Ubaydallāh b. Zuhayr, Ibn Ḥawdhān, Ibn Jirfās, and al-Fuḍayl b. Hannād were killed.

The right wing fell back while al-Junayd was standing in the center. He came now to the right and stood beneath the standard of the Azd. He had behaved harshly towards them, so that the standard bearer of the Azd said to him, "You have not come to us to give us an award nor to honor us, but rather you have learned that no harm will come to you as long as a man of us is alive. If we win, it will be for your benefit; if we perish, you will not weep over us. By my life, if we win and I survive, I will never speak a word to you." He then advanced and was killed. Ibn Mujjā'ah[311] took up the standard also and was then slain. The standard was held by eighteen (different) men of the Azd, who were killed. On that day, eighty men of the Azd were killed.

The men fought persistently until they were exhausted. Their swords would neither wound nor cut anything.[312] Their slaves cut wooden staves to fight with, until (finally) the two sides

310. Naṣr b. Sayyār, however, was not killed.

311. Ḥamzah b. Mujjā'ah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Atakī. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 203, II, 419.

312. Because they were dulled by so much use.

wearied, the battle being close-fought, so that they abstained from further fighting. Of the Azd who were killed were: Ḥamzah b. Mujjā'ah al-'Atakī, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawdhān al-Jahḍamī, 'Abdallāh b. Bisṭām al-Ma'nī, his brother Zunaym, al-Ḥasan b. Shaykh, al-Fuḍayl al-Ḥārithī, who was the cavalry com- [1537]
mander, and Yazīd b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḥuddānī, who had made the pilgrimage, spending 180,000 (dirhams) on it. He had said to his mother Waḥshiyyah, "Pray to God that he grant me martyrdom"; thus she prayed for him. He lost consciousness and thus was martyred thirteen days after his coming back from the pilgrimage. Two slaves of his fought beside him, although he had ordered them to go away, and both were slain and thus martyred.

On the Day of the Defile, Yazīd b. al-Mufaḍḍal had brought in a hundred camels loaded with gruel of parched barley for the Muslims. He began asking about people, and did not ask about anyone except it was said to him, "He has been killed." Therefore, he advanced saying, "There is no god but God," and fought until he was slain. On that day, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥawdhān fought while on a sorrel horse wearing a gilded coat of mail. He charged seven times, killing a man in every charge, then he returned to his station. Those in his part of the battlefront were awed by him; therefore, the enemy's interpreter called out, "The king says to you, 'Do not advance, but come over to us: we will reject our idol which we worship and worship you (instead).'" Muḥammad declared, "I am fighting you so that you will leave the worship of idols and worship God alone!" He then fought on and was martyred. Jusham b. Qurṭ al-Hilālī of the Banū al-Ḥārith[313] was killed. Al-Naḍr b. Rāshid al-'Abdī was also slain. He had entered the room of his wife while the troops were fighting and said to her, "How would you be if you were brought Abū Ḍamrah on a saddle blanket, stained with blood?" She then tore the front (of her garment)
and called out in affliction. He said, "Enough from you! If every [1538]
female loudly bewailed me, I would disobey her out of longing for the fair black-eyed women of paradise." He returned then to fight until he was martyred.

While the men were (undergoing) the like of this, a dust cloud

313. Of the Azdī subtribe of the Banū al-Ḥārith al-Ghiṭrīf. The Banū Hilāl mentioned here are from the Hilāl b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith al-Ghiṭrīf al-Aṣghar. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 217.

approached; then horsemen appeared. Al-Junayd's herald called out, "To the ground! To the ground!" and dismounted, as did the troops also. Then al-Junayd's herald called out, "Let every commander dig a trench in front of his position," and thus the men dug trenches.

Al-Junayd, watching 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Makkiyyah attack the enemy, said, "Who is this heady wine pouring?" He was answered, "This is Ibn Makkiyyah." Al-Junayd said, "Is he the tongue of the people? How excellent he is! What a man he is!" The sides then refrained from fighting further. One hundred and ninety Azdīs were casualties.

They had met the Khāqān on a Friday. Al-Junayd sent a message to 'Abdallāh b. Mu'ammar b. Sumayr al-Yashkurī,[314] telling him to stop in the district near Kishsh and hold back whoever passed by him, keeping both the baggage and infantry. The mawālī came, infantry except for a solitary horseman. The enemy were pursuing them. 'Abdallāh b. Mu'ammar stood firm against the enemy and thus suffered martyrdom along with men from the Bakr.

The Muslims arose on Saturday morning. The Khāqān drew nigh at midday, but he did not see any place to fight in easier than the position of the Bakr b. Wā'il, who were commanded by Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith. When the Khāqān came at them, the Bakr said to Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith, "Their forces outnumber us. Therefore, let us attack them before they attack us." Ziyād answered them, "I have
[1539] practiced (warfare) for seventy years. If you charge them, going up to them, you will be defeated; rather, leave them alone until they draw near," and so they did. When the enemy neared them, they charged them, clearing them away from themselves, so that al-Junayd prostrated himself. The Khāqān said that day, "The Arabs, when they are put in difficult straits, defy death. Therefore, leave them alone until they come out, and do not oppose them, for you cannot stand up to them." Certain maids belonging to al-Junayd came out making ululations, and some men from the people of Syria answered back saying, "God, God, O people of Khurāsān, whither (are you going)?" Al-Junayd said, "(It is) a night like al-

314. A member of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's entourage as early as 82(701), he commanded large forces in Jurjān in 98(717) and in Transoxiana 99–100(718–9), when he is reported to have passed Farghānah. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1078, III/2, 1327–8; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 524; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 302; *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā'*, 196a.

Jarrāh's night and a day like his day."

In this year, Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr al-Tamīmī was slain.

The Killing of Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr al-Tamīmī and the Rest of the Campaign

According to 'Alī—his authorities: 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥabīb[315] said to al-Junayd, "Choose between you yourself perishing or else Sawrah." Al-Junayd answered, "It is easier for me that Sawrah perish." 'Ubaydallāh said, "Then write to him so that he may come to you with the forces of Samarqand, for if it reaches the Turks that Sawrah has set out toward you, they will go off toward him to fight him." Therefore, al-Junayd wrote to Sawrah ordering him to come.

It is said that al-Junayd wrote, "Help me." 'Ubādah b. al-Salīl al-Muḥāribī,[316] the father of al-Ḥakam b. 'Ubādah, said to Sawrah, "Look for the coldest house in Samarqand and sleep in it, for then, when you go out, you will not care whether the amīr is angry with you or satisfied." Ḥulays b. Ghālib al-Shaybānī[317] said to him, "The Turks are between you and al-Junayd. If you go out, they will fall on you and take hold of you." Thus he wrote to al-Junayd, "I cannot go out." Al-Junayd wrote back to him, "O son of a stinking [1540] mother, you will come out, for if not, I will send to you Shaddād b. Khālid al-Bāhilī," who was an enemy of Sawrah. "Therefore come, put so-and-so at Farrukhshādh[318] with five hundred bowmen, and

315. Al-Hajarī al-Asbadhī of the 'Abdallāh b. Dārim subtribe of the Tamīm, he belongs to a family of probably at least partly Iranian descent originally from al-Baḥrayn. In 100(719), he was in charge of the finance office for Khurāsān, in 102(721) he sarcastically assailed the governor in an Arabic poem, and in 130(748) an 'Abdallāh b. Ḥabīb al-Hajarī is mentioned supporting Naṣr at Marw. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1354, 1430; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 286; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 234; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 171–2, V, 393.

316. Possibly the same as the Abū al-Salīl al-Bakrī who was the first to stand up in the mosque in 126(744) to oppose the rule of Naṣr and who denounced Marwān b. Muḥammad in 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1856, 1917.

317. A famous Shī'ite warrior originally from al-Kūfah, he is reputed to have taken part in the revolt of al-Mukhtār as early as 65(685). He entered Khurāsān in 83(702), to which he had fled with the remnants of Ibn al-Ash'ath's rebels, and later fought in 93(712) and 102(721) against al-Sughd and the Turks. See Ṭabarī, I/2, 574, II/2, 1109, 1249, II/2, 1422.

318. Or: Farrukhshīdh. A village outside the wall of Samarqand, for which one of the city's gates was named. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 87–8.

stay close to the water and do not leave it." At this, Sawrah decided to set out. Al-Wajaf b. Khālid al-ʿAbdī said, "You are most certainly going to cause yourself and the Arabs to perish by your setting out, as well as causing the destruction or whoever is with you." Sawrah answered, "My lamb will not be removed from the oven until I go." ʿUbādah and Ḥulays said to him, "If you refuse except to set out, then take (the way) by the river." Sawrah answered, "I would not reach al-Junayd by way of the river in two days time, while there is between me and him in this direction (only) a night, so that I will reach him in the morning. Therefore, when the companies of people[319] are quiet (for the night), I will set out to traverse the distance." The Turks' spies came (back to their masters), bringing them the news, while Sawrah ordered the departure, leaving as his deputy in Samarqand Mūsā b. Aswad, one of the Banū Rabīʿah b. Ḥanẓalah. Sawrah went out with twelve thousand. By morning he was at the top of a mountain to which only a non-Arab named Kārtaqabad[320] had guided him. There the Khāqān met him when it was morning. Sawrah had traversed three *farsakh*s, while one *farsakh* remained between himself and al-Junayd.

According to Abū al-Dhayyāl: Sawrah fought the Turks in a lowland between hills. Both he and the Turks persevered until the heat (of day) became fierce.

Some say that Ghūrak said to the Khāqān, "Your day is a hot
[1541] day; therefore, do not fight until the sun is hot upon them, while they are wearing weapons which weigh them down." Thus the Khāqān did not fight, following instead Ghūrak's opinion. Rather, he set fire to the grass, stood against the Muslims and kept them from the water. Sawrah asked ʿUbādah, "What is your opinion, O Abū al-Salīl?" He answered, "My opinion is, by God, that there is no one of the Turks but that he desires spoil; therefore, slaughter these animals, burn these supplies, and bare the sword, and then they will leave the way clear for us."

According to Abū al-Dhayyāl: Sawrah said to ʿUbādah, "What is your opinion?" He answered, "I have given up my opinion." Sawrah asked, "What do you think now?" ʿUbādah replied, "That we go down, pointing our spears (outward in readiness), and march

319. Text: *rijl*; read: *zujal*, as Cairo ed. *Zujal* (sing. *zujlah*) could also here mean "conditions" rather than "companies of people."

320. Vocalization uncertain.

along slowly, for it is only one *farsakh* until we reach the camp." Sawrah said, "I am not strong enough to do this, nor are so-and-so and so-and-so," and he enumerated certain men, "but I am of the opinion that I should collect the cavalry along with whomever I think can fight and (with these) strike the Turks, whether I come through safely or perish." Thus he gathered the forces, and they attacked; the Turks were driven back. Dust was stirred up, so that they could not see, while behind the Turks were the flames, which they fell into, the enemy and the Muslims falling into them together. Sawrah also fell, his thigh having been smashed. The Muslims scattered. The dust cloud cleared while the men were thus scattered, so that the Turks cut them off and slew them. None of the Muslims escaped save two thousand, and it is (also) said one thousand. Among those who did escape was ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmayr al-Samarqandī, whom a man of the Turks recognized and gave [1542]
protection. Ḥulays b. Ghālib al-Shaybānī was martyred. An Arab commented, "Praise be to God, Ḥulays has been martyred! I saw him bombarding the House[321] in the days of al-Ḥajjāj saying, 'My surging force is an eagle, with brickbats and wooden shafts,' while a woman who was standing there, as often as he threw a stone, would say, 'O Lord, (let it strike) me and not Your House.' Now he has been martyred."

Al-Muhallab b. Ziyād al-ʿIjlī fled with seven hundred men, including Quraysh b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAbdī, to a district named al-Murghāb, where they fought the people of one of its fortresses. Al-Muhallab b. Ziyād was wounded, whereupon they put al-Wajaf b. Khālid in command. Then al-Ishkand,[322] the ruler of Nasaf, came against them with cavalry, Ghūrak also being with him. Ghūrak said, "O Wajaf, you have a safe-conduct." Quraysh said, "Do not trust them, but rather when night falls on us, we will go out in spite of them until we reach Samarqand, for if we are with them in the morning, they will slay us." But they disobeyed him and stayed; thus the Turks drove them along to the Khāqān, who said, "I will not allow the safe-conduct given by Ghūrak." Ghūrak said to al-Wajaf, "I am a slave of the Khāqān from his *shākiriyyah*." The Muslims asked, "Then why did you deceive us?" Thereupon

321. That is, the Ka'bah.

322. The personal name of the ruler of Nasaf, possibly in charge of Sughdī refugee forces. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 85, 86–7 n.25.

al-Wajaf and his companions fought them but were slain, except for seventeen men who entered a walled garden. Evening fell, and the polytheists cut down a tree and laid it across the garden's en-
[1543] trance. Quraysh b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAbdī came to the tree, threw it aside, and went out with three men. They slept in a sepulchral vault, hiding therein. Being too cowardly, the others did not go out and were killed on the morrow.

Sawrah was also slain. When he was killed, al-Junayd, coming out of the defile, headed for Samarqand in haste. Khālid b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Ḥabīb[323] said to him, "Go! Go!" while al-Mujashshir[324] b. Muzāḥim al -Sulamī was saying, "I plead with you by God, stay!" while al-Junayd was going forward. When al-Mujashshir saw that, he dismounted and took al-Junayd's bridle, saying, "By God, you will not go! Rather you will most certainly make camp whether you like it or not! We will not let you destroy us owing to the talk of this Hajarī! Make camp!" Therefore, al-Junayd made camp, while the people encamped also. But their encampment was not yet complete when the Turks appeared. Al-Mujashshir said, "Had they met us while we were going, would they not have extirpated us?" When it was morning, the two sides engaged in battle. A group of the Muslims fled, and the men retreated. Al-Junayd said, "O people, it is hellfire!" At this, they returned. Al-Junayd ordered a man to call out, "Any slave who fights is free!" At this, the slaves fought so fiercely that the people were astonished by it. One of them would take a saddle blanket, cut an opening in it (for his head) and put it around his neck to protect himself with it. The troops were pleased by what they saw of the perseverance of the slaves.

The enemy renewed the attack, but the men persisted until the enemy was beaten. Then the Muslims went on their way. Mūsā b. al-Naʿir said to the men, "Are you delighted by what you saw the slaves doing? By God, you will most certainly suffer a critical day from them (sometime)!" Al-Junayd went on his way. The enemy
[1544] took a man of the ʿAbd al-Qays, tied him up and hung around his neck the head of Balʿā' al-ʿAnbarī, the son of Mujāhid b. Balʿā'.

323. Al-Hajarī from the ʿAbdallāh b. Dārim. He rebelled with al-Ḥārith b. Surayj from 116(734) to 128(746), but then joined Naṣr's forces. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1572, 1582, 1928; also, note 315.

324. See note 284.

When the men found the 'Abdī, the Banū Tamīm took the head and buried it.

Al-Junayd passed on into Samarqand. He then took the families of those who had been with Sawrah to Marw, while he stayed in al-Sughd four months. The chief commanders of Khurāsān in war were: al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ al-Kharaqī, and 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥabīb al-Hajarī. Al-Mujashshir would camp the men according to their divisions and also position the outposts, no one having the like of his wise opinion regarding that. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣubḥ, if some grave development occurred during war, was second to none in his wise opinion. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥabīb was in charge of mobilization for battle. There were also men of the mawālī who were the like of those in wise opinion, sound advice and knowledge about warfare, including al-Faḍl b. Bassām, the mawlā of the Banū Layth,[325] 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh, the mawlā of the Banū Sulaym and al-Bakhtarī b. Mujāhid, the mawlā of the Banū Shaybān.[326]

When the Turks had gone away to their country, al-Junayd dispatched Sayf b. Waṣṣāf al-'Ijlī from Samarqand to Hishām, but Sayf was too cowardly to go, as he feared the way, and he asked to be relieved (of his mission). Thereupon al-Junayd relieved him and sent Nahār b. Tawsi'ah,[327] one of the Banū Taym al-Lāt, and Zumayl b. Suwayd al-Murrī, (of) the Murrah of the Ghaṭafān. Al-Junayd wrote to Hishām, "Sawrah disobeyed me. I ordered him to stick to the water, but he did not do so. Thus his forces scattered from him, a group coming to me at Kishsh, a group (going) to Nasaf and [1545]
a group to Samarqand, while Sawrah and rest of his forces were stricken." Hishām then summoned Nahār b. Tawsi'ah to ask him

325. Surely the brother of Ibrāhīm b. Bassām. See note 301. Al-Faḍl first appears in 93(712) or possibly 91(710), where he is recorded only as Ibn Bassām al-Laythī. In 104(722), he was an adviser of the governor Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1222, III/2, 1443; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 246.

326. From the class of government officials who remained loyal to the Umayyads, he later appears with Naṣr b. Sayyār as the latter's adviser and secretary in 120(738) and 130(748), when he was executed by Abū Muslim. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1661, 1666, 1995.

327. One of the best-known Khurāsānī poets and the most famous of them to come from the Bakr. Probably from al-Baṣrah originally, he first appears in the entourage of al-Muhallab in 82(701) and subsequently in the entourages of many of the governors of Khurāsān until 120(738). His poems nearly always reflect support for the current governor, whoever that might be. See 'Aṭwān, *al-Shi'r al-'Arabī fī Khurāsān*, 280–9; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r wa Shu'arā'*, I, 537–8.

about the news, and the latter told him what he had witnessed. Nahār b. Tawsi'ah then said:

By your life, you did not favor me when you sent me
But rather you only exposed me to dangerous spots.
You invited a group to do it,[328] but they were afraid of mounting it,
While I was a man skillful in riding[329] terrors.
Thus I became sure—if God did not forbid—that I
Would be the food of beasts of prey or birds that circle overhead,[330]
The Companion of 'Irāk, who was the easiest for you
To lose, whom you had wrapped up with leaves of paper,[331]
For I—even if you prefer 'Irāk owing to blood relationship—
Am more greatly preferred by the favor of the Caliphs.
In the time of 'Uthmān, we came as delegations, and before him,
And we were (ever) the possessors of glory both ancient and newly acquired.

'Irāk, a cousin of al-Junayd through their fathers, was with them in the delegation.

Hishām wrote to al-Junayd, "I have just sent to you twenty thousand men as reinforcement, ten thousand from the forces of al-Baṣrah under 'Amr b. Muslim, and from the forces of al-Kūfah ten thousand under 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym,[332] besides weapons including thirty thousand spears and a like number of shields. Enlist, for there is no limit for you in enlistment up to fifteen thousand men."[333]

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328. That is, to undertake the mission.

329. Text: *rikabuh;* read: *rakkabah,* as in Cairo cd.

330. That is, vultures.

331. Apparently a reference to their dangerous mission of carrying letters without adequate protection.

332. Both of these commanders were Khurāsānīs.

333. M.A. Shaban has translated this obscure and crucial sentence differently: "Enlist (only) 15,000 men because enlistment is purposeless to you." He claims that this command actually entailed a dropping of tribesmen from the army list in Khurāsān. Despite the arguments he adduces, probably the crisis made acute by the Battle of the Defile, (which may have been even worse for the Muslims than is indicated by al-Ṭabarī here), can hardly have led to the dropping of any possible Muslim forces. Therefore, we find little justification for Shaban's view here and follow the more traditional interpretation. See Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution,* 114–7; Gibb, *Arab Conquests,* 75.

It is said that al-Junayd dispatched the delegation to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, and then Khālid sent a delegation to Hishām to say, "Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr went out hunting with his companions, whereupon the Turks beset them and thus they were stricken." When Hishām was informed of the calamity of Sawrah, he said, "We are God's, and to Him we return![334] The disaster of Sawrah b. al-Ḥurr in Khurāsān and of al-Jarrāḥ at al-Bāb!" [1546]

Naṣr b. Sayyār fought bravely that day, though his sword was broken and the straps of his stirrups were cut, for he took his stirrup straps and beat a man with them until he wore him out. On that day, 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥanafī and eleven men who were with him fell into the flames with Sawrah. Among those in the forces of Sawrah who escaped were one thousand men. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān[335] said, "I saw tents built between the sky and the earth and asked, 'Whose are these?' They told me, 'Those of 'Abdallāh b. Bisṭām and his forces.' Then they were slain on the morrow. Later a man said, 'I passed through that place some time after that and found the fragrance of musk emanating.'"

But al-Junayd did not thank Naṣr for the bravery he had shown. Therefore Naṣr said:

If you envy me for bravely fighting for you
    Someday, then the like of my bravery has brought upon me envy.
God forbids, Who by His power has raised
    My heel over you and Who has given (me) strength above you,[336]
As well as my smiting the Turks for you on the day you were parted
    In the defile by the sword, until it had passed over the summit.

On the Day of the Defile, al-Junayd started into the defile, sup-

334. Qur'ān 2:156.

335. Possibly the son, but more likely a grandson, of the Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhilī mentioned by Crone, though she entirely omits the latter's well-attested role in the conquest of Khurāsān. See Crone, *Slaves*, 104–5; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 501; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 173; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 46.

336. Compare these two verses with those of Naṣr on p. 1553, below.

posing that no one would come against him from the mountains. He sent Ibn al-Shikhkhīr ahead in charge of the vanguard, while
[1547] he himself undertook (to command) the rear. He did not set out wings (at all). The Khāqān approached and defeated the vanguard, which lost killed whom it lost killed. The Khāqān came at al-Junayd from the latter's left, while the Jabghūyah[337] came against the right. Men from the Azd and the Tamīm were struck down, while the Turks also captured tents and structures belonging to al-Junayd. Al-Junayd, when it was evening, gave an order to a man of his own house, saying to him, "Walk among the ranks and the siege engines, listening for what the men are saying and how they are." The man did so and then returned to al-Junayd to report, "I perceived them to be well in spirit, reciting poetry to each other and reading the Qur'ān." That pleased al-Junayd, wherefore he praised God.

It is said that on the Day of the Defile, the slaves took a stand at the side of the camp, when the Turks and Sughdīs had come near and were pouring down on it. The slaves met them and, battling them with tent poles, slew nine of the enemy, whose spoils al-Junayd gave to them.

Ibn al-Sijf said about the Day of the Defile, intending Hishām:

Remember orphans lost in the land of the Turks,
Emaciated, as if they were partridges in their enclosure,
And have mercy, and if not, then reckon it[338] a ruined community
Having neither any breath left in it, nor weight.
Do not hope at all for the continuation of time after them,
[1548] Though hope be extended to a man as long as he is alive.
They met regiments from the Khāqān, marked out with banners,
For whom the expanse of the plain and the mountain were narrow.
After they had looked upon them for a little without crying out,
They held out their hands to God, supplicating.

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337. Or apparently originally Jabghū. He was the paramount ruler of all Ṭukhāristān in pre-Islamic times, but his influence had been curtailed and was at this time confined to Upper Ṭukhāristān, the center of his territory, where his capital was at Warwālīz, near modern Qundūz, east of Balkh. He seems to have been of Hephthalite Turkish origin. Probably the Jabghū was not present at the Battle of the Defile. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 8–9, 74; Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 11–3.

338. That is, the community of Khurāsānī Muslims.

They paid to the Lord of Moses a true homage:
There was neither doubt in their hearts nor confusion.

Al-Junayd remained at Samarqand that year. The Khāqān went off to Bukhārā, where Qaṭan b. Qutaybah was in command. The people were afraid for Qaṭan on account of the Turks. When al-Junayd consulted them, some said, "Stay in Samarqand and write to the Commander of the Faithful that he supply you with troops." Some said, "You (should) go along until you reach Rabinjan,[339] then from it you go to Kishsh, then from it you go to Nasaf. From it you reach the territory of Zamm and, crossing the Oxus you descend to Āmul, whence you take the road to Qaṭan."[340]

After this, al-Junayd sent to 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh, saying, "People have been giving me conflicting advice." Then al-Junayd informed him of what they said and asked, "What do you think?" 'Abdallāh then demanded of al-Junayd that he not oppose him in what he advised him to do, whether it concerned setting out, encamping, or fighting. Al-Junayd said, "I agree." 'Abdallāh said, "I seek from you certain actions." Al-Junayd asked, "What are they?" 'Abdallāh continued, "That you dig a trench around wherever you encamp. Also do not forget to carry water even if you are on the bank of a river. And that you obey me regarding [1549] your encamping and your setting out." Al-Junayd gave him (the undertaking) that he wanted. 'Abdallāh said:

"As for what they have advised you to do regarding staying in Samarqand until help reaches you, help will come too slow for you. And if you set out, taking the people by another way,[341] you will sap their strength, so that they will be too broken to face their enemy, and the Khāqān will make bold against you. Today he is trying to open (the gates of) Bukhārā, but the Muslims have not opened (them) for him. But if you take another way, the people will scatter from you, hurrying to their homes. The people of Bukhārā will hear of it and surrender to their enemy. However, if you take the mightiest way, the enemy will be in awe of you. My advice to

339. A town on the road between Samarqand and Bukhārā on the Zarafshān River, twelve or thirteen *farsakhs*, west of Samarqand. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 96–7.

340. This circuitous route is meant to show the cowardice of those proposing it. See Le Strange, *Lands*, map IX.

341. Than the one 'Abdallāh is suggesting.

you is that you direct yourself towards the families of those who were present among Sawrah's forces at the defile, so that you may divide them according to their subtribes and transport them with you. I hope that by this God will help you against your enemy. My advice is also that you give to every man who stays behind in Samarqand one thousand dirhams and a horse."

Al-Junayd followed his advice, leaving as his deputy in Samarqand 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr with eight hundred (men), four hundred cavalry and four hundred infantry, whom he supplied with weapons. They reviled 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh, the mawlā of the Banū Sulaym, saying, "He has exposed us to the Khāqān and the Turks; he does not want other than our destruction!" 'Ubaydallah[342] b. Ḥabīb asked Ḥarb b. Ṣubḥ, "How many of you were in the rear today?" Ḥarb answered, "Sixteen hundred." 'Ubaydallāh declared, "We have just been exposed to de-
[1550] struction!"

Then al-Junayd ordered the families to be transported. He went out, the people being with him. In charge of his advanced detachments were al-Walīd b. al-Qa'qā' al-'Absī and Ziyād b. Khayrān al-Ṭā'ī. Al-Junayd also sent al-Ashhab b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Ḥanẓalī ahead with ten (men) from the vanguard of the troops, telling him, "As often as you go a stage, send a man back to me to provide me with information."

Al-Junayd went on his way. But when he was at Qaṣr al-Rīḥ,[343] 'Aṭā' al-Dabūsī[344] seized al-Junayd's bridle to hold him back. At this Hārūn al-Shāshī, the mawlā of the Banū Khāzim,[345] beat 'Aṭā' over the head with a spear, until he broke it on his head. Al-Junayd said to Hārūn, "Leave al-Dabūsī alone!" He continued, "What is the matter, O Dabūsī?" Al-Dabūsī answered, "Look for the weak-

342. Text: *'Abdallāh*; read: *'Ubaydallāh*. See note 315.

343. Unidentified place on the road between Samarqand and Bukhārā.

344. Probably of the Tamīm, he also figured in Sa'īd al- Ḥarashī's campaign in 104(722) and later supported Ibn Surayj. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1442.

345. Text: *Ḥāzim*; read: *Khāzim*. No Banū Ḥāzim can be identified from the genealogy books. On the other hand the descendants of Ibn Khāzim al-Sulamī were prominent and had many mawālī. This is supported by manuscript B, where *Ibn Ḥāzim* replaces *Banū Ḥāzim*; thus *Ibn Khāzim* could be the original reading. The violently pro-Qaysi politics of this Hārūn also agree with what we know of the family of Ibn Khāzim. This Hārūn is almost certainly identical with the Hārūn b. al-Siyāwush or Siyāwush who enthusiastically supported Naṣr, in 121(739) and 123(741). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1693, 1722.

est old man among your soldiers, arm him with a complete set of arms, gird him with a sword, quiver, and shield, and give him a spear, then make us go at the speed of his walk, for we are not able to stand being driven, fighting and swiftness of march while we are on foot." Al-Junayd then did that, and no one bothered the troops until they had gone out from the dangerous places.

When al-Junayd drew near to al-Ṭawāwīs,[346] the reconnaissance parties came back (with news) about the approach of the Khāqān. They opposed him at Karmīniyah[347] on the first day of Ramaḍān (113) (November 6, 731).[348] When al-Junayd had gone from Karmīniyah, Muḥammad b. al-Zandī[349] came with the *asāwirah*[350] at the end of the night. When he was at the edge of the desert of Karmīniyah, he saw the enemy's weakness and thus returned to al-Junayd to inform him. Al-Junayd's herald called out, [1551]
"Will the registered[351] not go out to their enemy?" Then the people went out, and the battle began. A man called out, "O people, you have become Ḥarūrīs[352] and thus have risked your lives!"

ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAbdallāh came to al-Junayd laughing. Al-Junayd said to him, "This is not a day for laughing!" He was answered, "He (only) laughed out of wonder. Praise be to God who has not made you meet these (Turks) except in mountains causing thirst, they being on a mountain top and exhausted at the end of the day, while you have made a camp fortified by a trench, and

346. An important city seven or eight *farsakhs* northeast of Bukhārā but within the great wall of that oasis. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 98–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 462.

347. A very large town between al-Ṭawāwīs and Dabūsiyyah, the present Karmine, surrounded by fertile lands watered by canals from the Zarafshān River. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 97–8; Le Strange, *Lands*, 468.

348. This date can better be assigned to 113(731) than to 112(730). See note 299.

349. Tex: *al-Randī*; read: *al-Zandī*. This is the nearest possible reading attested by the genealogists and very probable, as it refers to Zandanah, a town four *farsakhs* north of Bukhārā, west of al-Ṭawāwīs and southwest of Karmīniyah. That al-Junayd would employ a local scout is very likely. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 511; Le Strange, *Lands*, 462 and map IX.

350. An Arabicized Persian word meaning "heavy, mailed cavalry." Some *asāwirah* became Muslims as a group in the earliest phase of the Islamic state in Iran and continued to form a separate group in al-Baṣrah, where they became a subtribe of the Tamīm, and probably in Khurāsān. It is presumably these, or other Iranian cavalrymen, that are meant here. See Morony, *Iraq*, 198, 207–8, 528.

351. That is, in the dīwān.

352. That is, Khārijites. Implications of the line are obscure, except that the Khārijites had a reputation for fighting furiously.

you have supplies with you." Thus the Turks fought (only) a little and then retreated. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAbdallāh had said to al-Junayd while they were fighting, "Break camp and depart," whereupon al-Junayd asked him, "And is there any way?" ʿAbdallāh answered, "Yes, you go with your standard about three *ghalwas*.[353] The Khāqān would have wished you to stay put and thus gather his forces around you when he wanted." Therefore, al-Junayd gave orders to set out. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAbdallāh was in command of the rear. He sent a message to al-Junayd saying, "Make camp." Al-Junayd replied, "Shall I make camp in a waterless place?" ʿAbdallāh again sent him a message, "If you do not make camp, you will lose Khurāsān." Thereupon he made camp, commanding the men to make a provision of water, whereupon the troops—the infantry and the archers—went in two columns, drawing water and passing the night. When they arose in the morning, they departed. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAbdallāh said:

"You, O Arabs, are (in) four divisions, which must not find fault with one another. No fourth can desert its place. There is a vanguard, which is (also) the center, two wings and a rear. If
[1552] the Khāqān gathers his cavalry and infantry and then hits a certain division of yours, namely the rear, it will be your destruction, and it is likely that he will do so. I expect that today. Therefore, strengthen the rear with cavalry."

Thus al-Junayd sent (there) the cavalry of the Banū Tamīm, including the armored cavalry. The Turks came to assault the rear when the Muslims had drawn near to al-Ṭawāwīs. They fought, the battle becoming severe between them. Salm b. Aḥwaz attacked one of the Turkish nobles, slaying him.

The Turks drew a bad omen (from the outcome of the battle) and went away from al-Ṭawāwīs. The Muslims went on their way, coming to Bukhārā on the day of (the feast of) al-Mihrijān.[354]

They met us with Bukhārī dirhams, giving them out ten to each man. ʿAbd al-Muʿmin b. Khālid[355] said, "I saw ʿAbdallāh b. Abī

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353. See note 132.

354. A Zoroastrian festival associated with the autumnal equinox, Mihrijān should fall in September, but here occurs on about November 7. Apparently the Zoroastrian festivals had become unsynchronized with the seasons. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 461n; *EI*[1], s.v. Mihr.

355. Abū Khālid al-Ḥanafī, a judge of Marw and a traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 432-3; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 323.

'Abdallāh after his death in a dream. He said, 'Tell people about me by (citing) my (sound) advice on the Day of the Defile.'"

Al-Junayd use to mention Khālid b. 'Abdallāh saying, "A rag among rags; a man without family, the son of a man without family; a lonely man *(qull)*, the son of a lonely man; a thin-bellied one *(hayfah)* among the thin-bellied." It is claimed that *hayfah* means 'hyena,' that *'ujrah*[356] means 'pig' and that *qull* means 'solitary one.'

The troops with 'Amr b. Muslim al-Bāhilī from the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah and with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym al-Ghāmidī[357] from among the inhabitants of al-Kūfah came while al-Junayd was at al-Ṣaghāniyān. He sent with them al-Ḥawtharah b. Yazīd al-'Anbarī and those whom he had deputed (to go) with him among [1553]
the merchants and others, commanding them to bear away the families of the people of Samarqand but to leave the fighters there, and they did so.

Abū Ja'far:[358] It has been said that the Battle of the Defile between al-Junayd and the Khāqān was in the year 113.[359]

Naṣr b. Sayyār said, remembering the Day of the Defile and the slaves' fighting:

I have lived while those who envy me are many.
    O Owner of the Ascending Stairways,[360] do not lessen
    their number!
If you[361] envy me for the like of (my) bravery for you
    One day, then the like of my bravery will have drawn
    envy to me.
God, Who has raised my heel over you by his power
    And has equipped (me) better than you, refuses (except that I
    be so).[362]
I charged the enemy with wounded horses,

356. This word does not appear in the text just cited by al-Ṭabarī, as is stated in a footnote in the Leiden edition. Unless it originally occurred earlier in the text before being lost in transmission, its mention here is superfluous as explanation.

357. Text: *al-'Āmirī*; read: *al-Ghāmidī*. See note 77.

358. That is, al-Ṭabarī himself.

359. As we have seen this is the correct date. See note 248.

360. A title of God. See Qur'ān 70:3.

361. Plural, referring to the enviers.

362. Compare this and the preceding verse with Naṣr's verses on p. 1546, above.

Until they took (an upper) hand against their enviers.
Who is he among you, in the defile, when the enemy came,
Who did not head for the main part of the baggage as (his) goal?[363]
You did not thereby keep the command from God, nor
Did you perseverantly seek the good (reward)[364] of what He has promised.
Nothing prevented you from sitting in camp at the time of hardship
Except the slaves breaking wooden staves by smiting (with them).[365]
Should you have not thanked my defense of your Junayd
When the spears were clashing, the meteor of war having
[1554] blazed up?

Ibn 'Irs al-'Abdī, praising Naṣr on the Day of the Defile and blaming al-Junayd, because Naṣr performed outstandingly on that day, said:

O Naṣr, you are hero of all of Nizār;[366]
Yours are the brilliant deeds and highest action.
You cleared away anxiety from all the tribes
In the defile, when they had submitted and been humbled.
On the day of al-Junayd, when the spears were contending,
The throat bloody and the banners brightly flapping,
You did not cease charging them with a free soul,
Until their multitude opened up and broke apart.
All the people after it are your freedmen;
Yours are the noble and exalted qualities all together.

Al-Shar'abī al-Ṭā'ī said:

I remembered Hind in a strange country:
O how much longing you have! Will you ever be reunited?
I remembered her, though al-Shāsh lay between me and her,

363. Rather than fighting.
364. That is, martyrdom is God's path.
365. That is, the troops fought only because the slaves were putting them to shame by fighting well.
366. Note that the 'Abdī poet uses Nizār, the nearest shared ancestor of his tribe with Naṣr, to include himself and his people with Naṣr's group.

And the defile of 'Iṣām,[367] while destinies were being fulfilled,[368]
A country wherein is the Khāqān, his slow-marching armies huge in numbers,
And iron-helmeted Naylān[369] with seventy thousand men.
When the Khāqān moves and his troops go forth,
(Many) deaths come near to us at that time. [1555]
There, Hind, we do not amount to half of them,
Nor do we have, O Hind, anything we covet from the enemy.
Have I not seen many a fleshy young woman
Whom an ugly, fat-faced, small-eared Sughdī was driving along (as a captive)?
I try to protect her when her intimate friend has turned away;
She calls the Muslims to herself, making herself heard.
She calls in her loudest voice to the warriors of her people,
'Is there not a man among you who is jealous (for me) and will return (to rescue me)?
Is there not a noble man among you who will bring me back,
Who realizes that death in some instances profits?'
They did not answer her, except that her veil
In the palm of the young man in the midst of the squadrons is more hideous.
To God I complain about a shrinking in their[370] hearts
And a terror which has filled their insides and is spreading.
Who will carry from me a letter (on) paper
To Khālid before we are divided up (as booty):
That, like our remnants, our amīr,
If we count him, is the humiliated one brought low. [1556]
They[371] made the Khāqān and his soldiers greedy for us:

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367. This place, named for 'Iṣām b. 'Abdallāh al-Bāhilī, was in the southern part of Farghānah in the district of Isfarah. It had only been briefly held by the Muslims under Qutaybah and then lost following a possible defeat in Farghānah unmentioned in Ṭabarī. By mentioning this place, the poet seems to be exaggerating the length of separation from his beloved as well as stirring up memories of past debacles to compare with al-Junayd's. See Gibb, *Arab Conquest*, 49, 62; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 160–1, 186.

368. By death in the present battle.

369. Abū Unūjūr, the cousin of the king of Farghānah through their fathers and the king's governor of Isfarah in 103(721). See Ṭabari, III/2, 1440, 1442.

370. That is, the Muslim fighters.

371. An ambiguous "they," referring to traitors or bunglers on the Muslim side.

Should not we wish we were dry and broken grass shaken (by the wind)?

Ibn 'Irs's name is Khālid b. al-Mu'ārik of the Banū Ghanm b. Wadī'ah b. Lukayz b. Afṣā.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—an informant from the 'Abd al-Qays: Ibn 'Irs's mother was a slave girl; therefore, his brother Tamīm b. al-Mu'ārik sold him to 'Amr b. Laqīṭ, one of the Banū 'Āmir b. al-Ḥārith.[372] Being about to die, 'Amr freed him, saying, "O Abū Ya'qūb, how much wealth do I have in your keeping?" He answered, "Eighty thousand (dirhams)." 'Amr said, "You are free, and what is in your hands is yours."

'Amr used to live in Marw al-Rūdh.[373] The 'Abd al-Qays had fought with each other concerning Ibn 'Irs and sent him back to his people. Ibn 'Irs said to al-Junayd:

Where are the protectors in war of a group
Who were the beauty of the angry vanguard?
They have perished according to destinies which they came to,
And the wandering one granted a respite (from death) is like he who has perished.
The eye causes its tears to flow copiously:
There is nothing to hold back the eye's tears.
Look: do you see that the dead ever return,
[1557] Or do you see in time anything everlasting?
Formerly, our strength used to be feared,
When we would throw back defeated enemy ranks against those still coming on,
Until we were tried by that which blemished us
After (we had possessed) mighty, overwhelming strength.
Like he who hocks his camel without swerving
At first, being enraged and exhausted,
You split open a thing whose breach could not be repaired
With an abundantly numerous, assembled army.

372. Of the 'Abd al-Qays like Ibn 'Irs, he was in 83(702) Ibn al-Ash'ath's governor of Kirmān, whence he presumably fled to Khurāsān, where he was spared by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab's clemency to the Yaman and the Rabī'ah. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1105.

373. An important town of the upper Murghāb River about 160 miles south of Marw, it was a center for the Banū Tamīm. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 404–5; Ṭabarī, passim.

You weep because of war[374] when it has shown itself:[375]
May you be mutilated and cut up as a commander!
You abandoned us, pieces of a slaughtered beast
Which the slaughterer divides for a round-breasted girl.
Drawn swords rose,
Cutting off (arms at the elbow) between the upper and lower arms.
Heads fell continuously from their blows
Between two sides flashing with lightning, thundering.
While you were like an infant girl in her (women's) tent,
Not ever knowing the trick of the trickster. [1558]
We are people whose war is difficult:
It blasts (both) the standing and the sitting.
Samarqand and its contingents have become
The talk of (both) those absent and those present.
How many a resolute (warrior) is buried in the defile,
Robust of powers, a possessor of strength, praiseworthy,
Who sought relief in the disaster and engaged blindly in the clamor (of battle),
Neither fearstruck, feeble nor holding back.
If only you[376] were on the Day of the Defile in a pit
Covered over with hard, dry mud!
War and its sons play with you
As hawks play with quails coming (to water).
Your heart flew, owing to the battle, out of fear;
Your flying heart will not return.
You should not ever have thought the battle on the day of the forenoon
(To be) like your drinking tangy wine with ice.
I hate the wide beauty of your eye,
As well as a face in a corrupt body.
Junayd, your stock is not attributable
To an (authentic) origin, nor was your ancestor ascendant (in stature). [1559]
Fifty thousand were slain having gone astray,
While you cried out for them like a shepherd for lost sheep.

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374. That is, the disaster of the defile.
375. Lit., "when it has uncovered its leg."
376. That is, al-Junayd.

Do not press at all to meet with war:
You are not to be praised in rushing upon (the enemy).
I have put on him[377] as a collar around his neck,
the collar of a lone, warbling pigeon,
A poem which a poet penned,
That the posts might hurry it to Khālid.

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī led the pilgrimage.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar:

It has been stated that the one who led the pilgrimage in this year was Sulaymān b. Hishām.[378] The governors of the main provinces in this year were the same as those who were (in office) in the year 111, whom we have mentioned before.

377. That is, the messenger of Ibn 'Irs to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh.

378. Abū al-Ghamr, the son of the Caliph Hishām. He was later famous for his campaigns against the Byzantines as well as for his army of personal retainers, the Dhakwāniyyah, which were a mainstay of the regime of Yazīd b. al-Walīd and which he used against Marwān b. Muḥammad. He was executed by the 'Abbāsids 132(750). See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 168; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 339, 375–6, 381–2, 554; Shaban, *Islamic History* 600-750, 147, 154, 157, 161–3.

The Events of the Year 113

(MARCH 15, 731 - MARCH 2, 732)

Among the events in it was the death of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht[379] while he was with al-Baṭṭāl ʿAbdallāh[380] in the land of the Byzantines.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—ʿAbdal-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar: [1560]
ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht went out campaigning with al-Baṭṭāl in the year 113, but al-Baṭṭāl's forces were defeated and fell back. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, however, tried to make his horse turn again to attack, saying, "I have never seen a horse more cowardly than it! May God spill my blood if I do not spill yours!" Then he threw his helmet off his head and shouted, "I am ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Bukht! Is it from Paradise that you flee?" Then he advanced against the throats of the enemy. As he passed a man, he was saying, "I am so thirsty!" The man said, "Go forward, water is before you." Thus he charged into the enemy and was slain along with his horse.

Among the events was what Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik did in splitting up his armies in the lands of the Khāqān. Thereby cities

379. Abū ʿUbaydah. A Meccan mawlā of the Marwānids, also a transmitter of ḥadīth. See Ibn Kathir, *Bidāyah*, IX, 304–5.

380. The great Muslim frontier fighter against the Byzantines and an epic hero, he conquered Gangra in Paphlagonia in 109(728) and fell near Akroinos in central Anatolia, apparently in the summer of 122(740). See *EI*², s.v. al-Baṭṭāl, ʿAbd Allāh.

and fortresses were conquered at his hands, (many) of their people being killed, taken prisoner, and made captive. A great number of the Turks burned themselves up with fire. Those who were behind the mountains of Balanjar submitted to Maslamah; also, the son of the Khāqān was slain.

Among the events was the campaign of Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām against the territory of the Byzantines. He stationed himself in the vicinity of Marʿash,[381] then returned.

In this year a group of the missionaries of the Banū al-ʿAbbās went to Khurāsān. Al-Junayd arrested a man from among them, killing him. He declared, "Whoever of them is found, his blood may be shed with impunity."

Pilgrimage and Governors

Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik led the pilgrimage in this
[1561] year according to the statement of Abu Maʿshar.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar: Al-Wāqidī said likewise.

Some have said that the one who led the pilgrimage in this year was Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī. The governors of the major provinces in this year were those who had been their governors in the year 112(730), of whom mention has been made by us already.

381. Formerly the Byzantine Germanikeia, this important city of northeast Cilicia in the Taurus foothills is still Maraş in modern Turkey. See *EI*[1], s.v. Marʿash.

The Events of the Year 114

(MARCH 3, 732—FEBRUARY 20, 733)

Among the events were the summer campaign of Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām (against the Byzantines) on the left flank and the summer campaign of Sulaymān b. Hishām on the right flank. It has been recorded that Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām took the outer city of Aqrun[382] and that 'Abdallāh al-Baṭṭāl met a force under Constantine,[383] defeating them and taking Constantine prisoner. Sulaymān b. Hishām reached Qaysariyyah. In this year, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik removed Ibrāhīm b. Hishām from al-Madīnah, appointing as its governor (instead) Khālid b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam.[384]

According to al-Wāqidī: Khālid b. Abd al-Maḷik came to al-Madīnah on the fifteenth of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal (March 16, 732). The governorship of Ibrāhīm b. Hishām in al-Madīnah lasted eight years.

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382. Akroinos, now Afyonkarahisar, in western Anatolia. See Ramsay, *Asia Minor*, 54; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 101, 103; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 509–10; *EI*², s.v. Afyūn Ḳara Ḥiṣār and s.v. al-Baṭṭāl, 'Abd Allāh.

383. Not, of course, the heir to the Byzantine throne, the future Constantine V (718–775).

384. Al-Umawī, he is the second cousin of the Caliph Hishām. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 170–1; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, I, 171–4. Ibn al-Kalbī has a slightly variant genealogy for him. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, I, 10, II, 340.

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī[385] was made governor of Mecca.

According to certain authorities: Rather Muḥammad b. Hishām was made governor of Mecca in the year 113. When Ibrāhīm was dismissed, Muḥammad b. Hishām was confirmed as governor of Mecca.

[1562] In this year, the plague reportedly broke out at Wāsiṭ.[386]

In it, Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik returned from al-Bāb after defeating the Khāqān. He built al-Bāb and fortified what was there.

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year, Hishām appointed Marwān b. Muḥammad[387] governor of Armenia and Ādharbayjān.

There is a difference of opinion about who led the pilgrimage in this year.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: Khālid b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam led the pilgrimage in the year 114 while he was governor of al-Madīnah.

According to certain authorities: Muḥammad b. Hishām led the pilgrimage in this year while governor of Mecca. Khālid b. 'Abd al-Malik stayed at home that year and did not attend the pilgrimage.

Al-Wāqidī—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far[388]—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān[389] said the same.

According to al-Wāqidī—Abū Ma'shar: Khālid b. 'Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage in the year 114 while Muḥammad b. Hishām was governing Mecca—we regard this as the correct version.

The governors of the major provinces in this year were the same

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385. Maternal uncle of the Caliph Hishām, executed by Yūsuf b. 'Umar 125(743). See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 329; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 354.

386. The great military base of the Umayyads, a large city in its own right, halfway between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah in southern Iraq. See *EI*[1], s.v. Wāsiṭ.

387. Later the last Umayyad caliph 126(744)–132(750). See *EI*[1], s.v. Marwān II b. Muḥammad.

388. Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar b. Makhramah al-Zuhrī al-Madanī ca. 95(714)–170(786), a traditionist from a family of traditionists and also a scion of a noble Qurashī lineage. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 171–3.

389. Abū Muḥammad al-Madanī ca. 60(680)-145(762), the famous traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 399–400.

as those in the year before, except that the governor of al-Madīnah in this year was Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik, the governor of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif was Muḥammad b. Hishām, and the governor of Armenia and Ādharbayjān was Marwān b. Muḥammad.

The Events of the Year 115

(FEBRUARY 21, 733—FEBRUARY 9, 734)

Among the events in it was the campaign of Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām
[1563] in the land of the Byzantines.

In it, the plague broke out in Syria.

Pilgrimage and Governors

Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl led the pilgrimage in this year while he was governor of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit — his informant — Isḥāq b. 'Īsā — Abū Ma'shar.

The governors of the major provinces in this year were the same as those in the year 114, except that there is a difference of opinion about the governor of Khurāsān in this year.

According to al-Madā'inī: Its governor was al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

According to certain authorities: Its governor was 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym al-Murrī. He who has said that claims that al-Junayd died in this year, naming as his successor 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym, but as for al-Madā'inī, he reported that the death of al-Junayd was in the year 116.

In this year, a severe drought and famine befell the people in

Khurāsān. Al-Junayd wrote to the rural districts, "Marw used to be secure and tranquil, its provision coming to it abundantly from every place, but it became ungrateful for the blessings of God![390] Therefore, bring food to it!"

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad: This year al-Junayd gave a man a dirham with which he bought a loaf (of bread). Al-Junayd said to them,[391] "You complain of hunger and of a loaf for a dirham! When I was in India, a grain of cereal used to sell by piece for a dirham!" He said, "Marw is as God said, 'And God strikes a parable: a city which used to be secure and tranquil.'"[392]

390. Qur'ān 16:112.
391. Apparently meaning "those present."
392. Qur'ān 16:112.

The Events of the Year 116

(FEBRUARY 10, 734 - JANUARY 30, 735)

[1564] Among these were what happened in the summer campaign of Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām in the territory of the Byzantines.

In this year, a severe plague occurred in Iraq and Syria, the severest of it being—according to what has been reported—at Wāsiṭ.

In it occurred the death of al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and (the beginning of) the governorship of 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Hilālī in Khurāsān.

The Matter of al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī and 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilāli in Khurāsān

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: Al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān married al-Fāḍilah bt. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. At this, Hishām became angry with al-Junayd and appointed 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh as governor of Khurāsān (instead). As al-Junayd was suffering from dropsy, Hishām said to 'Āṣim, "If you reach him while he still has a last spark of life, cause his soul to depart." But when 'Āṣim arrived, al-Junayd had died.

(Certain authorities) report that Jabalah b. Abī Rawwād came in to visit al-Junayd when he was sick. Al-Junayd said, "O Ja-

balah, what are the people saying?" I[393] said, "They are in pain for the governor." He said, "This is not what I asked you about. What are they saying?" as he pointed towards Syria with his hand. I said, "Yazīd b. Shajarah al-Rahāwī[394] is coming to Khurāsān." Al-Junayd said, "That (man) is the lord of the Syrians." Then he asked, "And who else?" I said, "'Iṣmah or 'Iṣām," hinting at 'Āṣim. He said, "If 'Āṣim comes, he will be a trying enemy. There is (to be) no greeting for him nor welcome." [1565]

Al-Junayd died in that illness of his in al-Muḥarram of the year 116 (February 10 - March 11, 734). He left behind as his deputy 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym. 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh came and imprisoned 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym and al-Junayd's officials, torturing them. Al-Junayd's death was at Marw. Abū al-Juwayriyyah 'Īsā b. 'Iṣmah[395] said, eulogizing him:

Generosity and al-Junayd have perished together;
Upon generosity and al-Junayd be peace!
They have both become buried in the the ground of Marw
As long as the pigeons sing on the branches.
You two were the pleasure of noble persons; thus when
You died, generosity died as did the noble.

Then Abū al-Juwayriyyah came to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, praising him, but Khālid said to him, "Did you not say: 'Generosity and al-Junayd have perished together?' You will get nothing from us." Thereupon Abū al-Juwayriyyah left, saying:

The shining one of the horizons continues to bear us
To 'Umārah and the strong-necked camels fat of hump.[396]

(This is from) a poem in which he praised 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym, the cousin of al-Junayd through their fathers. 'Umārah was the

393. That is, Jabalah.

394. Of the Sahm b. Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh b. Rahā' branch of the Madhḥij. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 265, II, 596; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 483. Curiously, a man with the same names is represented as active from 39(659) to 58(678), when he is reported killed. See Ṭabarī, VI/1, 3448, 1/2, 86, 173, 181.

395. Possibly the same as Abū al-Juwayriyyah, the mawlā of the Juhaynah, a Kūfan poet in 122(740), but pro-Yaman. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1711.

396. Or possibly, "To 'Umārah and the lofty, broad-based mountains," though this seems less likely.

grandfather of Abū al-Haydhām,[397] the leader in the factionalism in Syria.

'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh arrived and imprisoned 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym and the officials of al-Junayd, torturing them.

In this year al-Ḥārith b. Surayj rebelled, and war occurred be-
[1566] tween him and 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh.

About the Revolt of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj

According to 'Alī—his authorities: When 'Āṣim came to Khurāsān as governor, al-Ḥārith b. Surayj advanced from al-Nakhudh[398] until he reached al-Fāryāb.[399] He sent Bishr b. Jurmūz ahead of him.

'Āṣim sent al-Khaṭṭāb b. Muḥriz al-Sulamī, Manṣūr b. 'Umar b. Abī al-Kharqā' al-Sulamī,[400] Hilāl b. 'Ulaym al-Tamīmī,[401] al-Ashhab al-Ḥanẓalī, Jarīr b. Hamyān al-Sadūsī[402] and Muqātil b. Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, the mawlā of Maṣqalah, to al-Ḥārith. Khaṭṭāb and Muqātil b. Ḥayyān had said, "Do not meet him without offering a safe-conduct," but the group refused. When they reached him at al-Fāryāb, he bound them with chains and imprisoned them, assigning a man to guard them.

But they tied the man up and escaped from the prison, riding their mounts and driving off the mounts of the post. They passed through al-Ṭālaqān, where Suhrab,[403] the ruler of al-Ṭālaqān, in-

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397. His geneology (*nasab*) given in various works as 'Āmir b. 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym obviously cannot be correct, as al-Ṭabari here specifically states that he is 'Umārah's grandson, not his son, and as his leadership of the Qays at the factionalism in Damascus in 176(792) comes sixty years after 'Umārah's activity. A note in a manuscript of Ibn Durayd calls him 'Amir b. Ḍubārah, but Ḍubārah is probably only a copyist's error for 'Umārah. Thus it seems the name of his father has dropped from his geneology. Perhaps his true name is Abū al-Haydhām b. 'Āmir b. 'Umārah. See Crone, *Slaves*, 98; Ṭabarī, 1/3, 624–5; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 127, II, 168; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 289.

398. The present Andkhuy in northern Afghanistan. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 426; *EI*², s.v. Andkhuy.

399. Now Dawlatābād in Afghanistan, though Le Strange identifies it with the nearby Khayrābād. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 426; *EI*², s.v. Fāryāb.

400. A diehard Muḍarī, supporter of Naṣr b. Sayyār and opponent of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj, he held various posts and was executed at Marw in 130(748) by Abū Muslim. See Ṭabarī, III/2 1688–9, 1868–9, 1989.

401. Abū Muḥārib al-Mujāshi'ī. He was with Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī in 104(722) counselling caution. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1442; Ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 587.

402. He too was with Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī in 104(722). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1446.

403. The local Iranian prince, apparently already on the throne in 90(709). See

tended to do them ill but then held back and left them alone. When they reached Marw, 'Āṣim commanded them to deliver sermons dealing with al-Ḥārith, in which they mentioned the wickedness of his behavior and his treachery. Then al-Ḥārith moved on to Balkh, where Naṣr was in charge. The troops (there) fought him, but he defeated the men of Balkh, whereupon Naṣr went away to Marw.

According to certain authorities: When al-Ḥārith was drawing near to Balkh, al-Tujībī b. Ḍubay'ah al-Murrī and Naṣr b. Sayyār were in charge of it, both having been appointed by al-Junayd. [1567]

Al-Ḥārith reached the Bridge of 'Aṭā', which is on the Balkh River[404] two *farsakh*s from the city, and met Naṣr b. Sayyār, who had ten thousand (men) with him, while al-Ḥārith b. Surayj had four thousand. Al-Ḥārith called them to (obey) the Qur'ān and the Sunnah and to pay homage to an acceptable candidate.[405] At this, Qaṭan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Juzayy al-Bāhilī said, "O Ḥārith, you call (us) to God's book and the Sunnah. By God, even if Gabriel was on your right and Michael was on your left, I would not respond to you!" Qaṭan fought them, but a shot hit him in the eye, so that he was the first killed. The forces of Balkh fled to the city in defeat. Al-Ḥārith followed them until he entered it, while Naṣr went out from another gate. Al-Ḥārith commanded (his men) to desist from (attacking) the men of Balkh further. A man in the forces of al-Ḥārith said, "I was walking in one of the streets of Balkh when I passed by women weeping, one of whom was saying, 'O father, would that I knew who struck you!' A bedouin Arab who was walking beside me asked, 'Who is this weeping woman?' Someone said to him, 'The daughter of Qaṭan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Juzayy.' The bedouin said, 'I, by your father, struck you (with this misfortune)!' I asked him, 'Did you kill him?' He answered, 'Yes.'

It is said that Naṣr came while al-Tujībī was in charge of Balkh. Naṣr imprisoned al-Tujībī, who remained a prisoner until al-Ḥārith defeated Naṣr. Al-Tujībī had whipped al-Ḥārith forty lashes during the governorship of al-Junayd, wherefore al-Ḥārith trans-

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Ṭabarī, II/2, 1206.

404. Presently the Dehās River. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 78.

405. That is, for the position of amīr. Al-Ḥārith did not specify that "the chosen one" (*al-riḍā*) should be from the Prophet's family.

ferred him to the castle of Bādhkar[406] at Zamm. A man from the Banū Ḥanīfah came claiming that al-Tujībī, when he was in charge
[1568] of Herat, had slain his brother. Al-Ḥārith gave him over to the Ḥanafī. Al-Tujībī said to him, "I will ransom myself from you for one hundred thousand (dirhams)," but the man did not accept (it) from him and killed him. Some say that al-Tujībī was slain in the governorship of Naṣr before al-Ḥārith came against him.

When al-Ḥārith gained control of Balkh, he appointed as governor for it a man from the sons of 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim[407] and departed. When he was in al-Jūzjān,[408] he summoned Wābiṣah b. Zurārah al-'Abdī and also summoned Dujājah and Waḥsh, the two 'Ijlīs, Bishr b. Jurmūz and Abū Fāṭimah to ask, "What is your sound advice?" Abū Fāṭimah answered, "Marw is the iron helmet of Khurāsān and its horsemen are many; even if they only met you with their slaves, they would obtain their due from you. Therefore, stay (where you are). If they come against you, you will fight them, if they stay (where they are), you will cut off their supplies." Al-Ḥārith said, "I do not see (it) that way; rather, I will go to them." Thus al-Ḥārith having taken Balkh, al-Jūzjān, al-Fāryāb, al-Ṭālaqān, and Marw al-Rūdh, advanced to Marw. The people of religion among the people of Marw said, "If he passes on to Abrashahr and does not come to us, he will divide our community; if he comes against us, he will be overtaken by misfortune."

It reached 'Āṣim that the people of Marw were corresponding with al-Ḥārith. 'Āṣim resolved to set out, saying, "O people of Khurāsān, you have rendered the oath of allegiance to al-Ḥārith b. Surayj.[409] He does not proceed to a city except that you have left it to him. I am going to betake myself to the land of my people, Abrashahr, and write from it to the Commander of the Faithful so that he may supply me with ten thousand (troops) from the inhabitants of Syria." Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim said to him, "If they[410] give you their oath of allegiance (promising) to divorce their wives and free their slaves (if they fail to uphold it), then stay;
[1569] if they refuse, then go until you reach Abrashahr and write to the

406. The citadel of Samm. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 78.

407. Text *Ḥāzim*; read: *Khāzim*. He is Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh. See note 50.

408. A large district west of Balkh in Lower Ṭukhāristān, a center of the Tamīm. See *EI*[2], s.v. Djūzdjān.

409. Text: *Shurayḥ*; read; *Surayj*.

410. That is, the Muslim forces from Marw.

Commander of the Faithful, that he may supply you with Syrian troops." Khālid b. Huraym,[411] one of the Banū Tha'labah b. Yarbū', and Abū Muḥārib Hilāl b. 'Ulaym said, "By God, we will not let you go. Your debt to the Commander of the Faithful constrains us. We are with you until we die, provided that you pay generously." 'Āṣim said, "I will do so." Yazīd b. Qarrān al-Riyāḥī[412] said three times, "If I do not fight beside you as long as you fight, then the daughter of al-Abrad b. Qurrah[413] is divorced." She was his wife. 'Āṣim asked, "Are you all in accord with this?" They said, "Yes," whereupon Salamah b. Abī 'Abdallāh,[414] the commander of 'Āṣim's guard, made them swear to divorce their wives (if they were unfaithful to their oaths).

Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj approached Marw with a numerous assemblage (of forces)—it is said with sixty thousand men—including the cavalry of the Azd and the Tamīm, among whom were: Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā,[415] Ḥammād b. 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī,[416] Dāwūd al-A'sar, Bishr b. Unayf al-Riyāḥī,[417] and 'Aṭā' al-Dabūsī. Some of the *dihqān*s of al-Jūzjān (were present), as well as Tarsul[418] the *dihqān* of al-Fāryāb,[419] Suhrab the prince of al-Ṭālaqān, and Qaryāqis[420] the *dihqān* of Marw, along with their

411. Apparently the son of the famous Khurāsānī warrior Huraym b. Abī Ṭaḥmah 'Adī b. Ḥārithah al-Mujāshi'ī, despite his identification here with the very different Banū Tha'labah b. Yarbū'. This group is not mentioned in the sources as being in Khurāsān after 32(653) and perhaps had been integrated with the Banū al-Mujāshi'. Khālid was a supporter of Naṣr in 128(746). See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1041, III/2, 1917; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 61, II, 287.

412. He appears once more with Naṣr in 121(739). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1691.

413. A partisan of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, he later revolted with Ibn al-Ash'ath and is last heard of in 83(702). See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1094; Crone, *Slaves*, 112–3.

414. A brother of 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Abdallāh al-Kirmānī, the mawlā of the Sulaym, Salamah was a supporter of Juday' b. 'Alī al-Kirmānī in 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1933–4.

415. Al-Farāhīdhī of the Azd. He was a famous warrior of Khurāsān who at different times supported al-Ḥārith, Naṣr, and al-Kirmānī, and is last heard of in 130(748). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1971–2, 1985; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 244.

416. The son of 'Amir b. Mālik, the Tamīmī leader of al-Jūzjān. See note 73. Ḥammād was governor of al-Jūzjān for Naṣr in 125(743) and was later with Naṣr in 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1918, 1922; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 244.

417. After reconciling with Naṣr, he was still fighting for him in 129(747). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1970.

418. Vocalization uncertain. He was called "King of al-Fāryād" in 90(709). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1206.

419. Text: *li-Fāryāb*; read: *al-Fāryāb*, as Cairo ed.

420. Vocalization uncertain.

likes.

'Āṣim went forth with the forces of Marw and others and camped at Jiyāsar[421] beside the synagogue.[422] He gave the troops a
[1570] dīnār each, but the men spoke evil of him. Then gave them three dīnārs each, giving to both the troops and others. When the two sides drew near to each other, 'Āṣim ordered the bridges to be destroyed. Al-Ḥārith's men came up and said (to 'Āṣim's men), "You are holding us in the desert! Allow us to cross over to you, that we may debate with you about the matter for whose sake we have mobilized." But 'Āṣim's men refused, whereupon al-Ḥārith's infantry set about repairing the bridges. The infantry of the inhabitants of Marw came to fight them. Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā al-Farāhīdhī went over to 'Āṣim with his standard, bringing it over with two thousand men. He joined the Azd (division in 'Āṣim's army). Ḥammad b. 'Āmir b. Mālik al-Ḥimmānī went over to 'Āṣim as well. He joined the Banū Tamīm.

According to Salamah al-Azdī: Al-Ḥārith had sent envoys to 'Āṣim, including Muḥammad b. Muslim al-'Anbarī, to ask him to act in accord with the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet. Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj that day wore black.

When Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā changed sides, al-Ḥārith's troops began to attack. The forces met. The first to be slain was Ghiyāth b. Kulthūm of the family of al-Jārūd. Al-Ḥārith's troops were defeated. Many men of al-Ḥārith's forces drowned in the canals of Marw and the Great River.[423] The *dihqān*s returned to their own lands. On that day, Khālid b. 'Ilbā' b. Ḥabīb b. al-Jārūd[424] was hit on his face.

'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh sent 'Abd al-Mu'min[425] b. Khālid al-Ḥanafī,
[1571] 'Ilbā' b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī,[426] Yaḥyā b. 'Aqīl al-Khuzā'ī, and Muqātil b. Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī to al-Ḥārith to ask him what he

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421. Original name: Sarīkyārah; Jiyāsar is the Arabicized form. A village in the Marw oasis. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 195.

422. Or: church.

423. Probably the Murghāb itself. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 398–9, 401n.

424. Of the leading family of the 'Abd al-Qays, his father was commander of the *khums* of 'Abd al-Qays in Khurāsān from at least 93(712) to 102(721). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1419; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VII, 246.

425. Text: *al-Mu'min*: read: *'Abd al-Mu'min*. See note 355.

426. A Baṣran who had migrated to Marw, he was a transmitter of traditions. He was already in Khurāsān with Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī in 104(722). Ṭabarī, III/2, 1447; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 273–4.

wanted, while al-Ḥārith sent Muḥammad b. Muslim al-'Anbarī alone (to meet with them). Muḥammad said to them, "Al-Ḥārith and your brothers greet you with peace and say to you, 'We are thirsty and our animals are thirsty (as well). Therefore, let us make camp tonight, to that we may exchange envoys about what is between us and debate with each other. If we agree with you about what you want, fine; if not, you are responsible for your business," But they refused him and spoke rudely. Muqātil b. Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī said, "O people of Khurāsān, we used to be the equivalent of one household, our frontier was one and our hand against our enemy was one. We disapprove what your leader has done: while our amīr has sent him the learned men of Islam and reciters of the Qur'ān from among his companions, he has sent only a single man." Muḥammad answered, "I have only come to you to deliver a message: we seek the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet. What you seek will come to you tommorrow, God willing." Then, Muḥammad b. Muslim went back to al-Ḥārith.

When it was midnight, al-Ḥārith moved off. 'Āṣim was informed, so that when it was morning he went against al-Ḥārith, and the forces met. In charge of al-Ḥārith's right was Rābiḍ b. 'Abdallāh b. Zurārah al-Taghlibī. The troops fought furiously. Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn—he was the chief of the Bakr b. Wā'il (for 'Āṣim), while in charge of the Bakr b. Wā'il (for al-Ḥārith) was Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith b. Surayj—attacked, and many of al-Ḥārith's men were killed. [1572] Thereupon al-Ḥārith crossed the valley of Marw,[427] setting up a tent beside the monks' dwellings, and 'Āṣim desisted from (pursuing) him.

The slain were a hundred. Sa'īd b. Sa'd b. Jaz' al-Azdī was killed, and Khāzim b. Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim,[428] who was with al-Ḥārith, drowned. About three thousand (men) mustered to al-Ḥārith.

Al-Qāsim b. Muslim: When al-Ḥārith was defeated, 'Āṣim refrained from (pursuing) him, though if he had pressed on against him, he would have destroyed him. He sent a message to al-Ḥārith (saying), "I am returning to you that which I guaranteed to you and

427. Presumably to the other side of the river.

428. Al-Sulamī, the son of the famous rebel Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh and grandson of the renowned governor of Khurāsān, he probably hailed from the vicinity of his father's base at al-Tirmidh. See note 50; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 423–6.

your troops, on the condition that you depart," and al-Ḥārith did so.

Khālid b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥabīb had come to al-Ḥārith the night he was defeated. His companions had decided to desert al-Ḥārith, saying, "Did you not claim that he would not reject your advice?"[429] But he came to them and quieted them.

'Aṭā' al-Dabūsī was one of the horsemen. He said to his servant on the Day of Zarq[430] "Saddle my horse for me, that I may play with this female donkey." He called out offering combat. A man from the inhabitants of al-Ṭālaqān came out to face him, saying in his language, "O Kīrikhar!"[431]

Pilgrimage and Governors

Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī: In this year, al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, who was the heir apparent, led the pilgrimage.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b.
[1573] 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar. Al-Wāqidī and others said likewise.

The governors of the major provinces in this year were the same as those in the one before, except for Khurāsān, whose governor in this year was 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilālī.

429. Text: *rāyah*; read: *ra'yah*. The text is obscure. If we follow it as written, it means "that he would not return a standard to you"; that is, that he would fail. But the reference to a standard is hard to explain, especially for this Khālid, who seems to have been more of an adviser than anything else. See note 323. Likewise his father 'Ubaydallāh. See note 315.

430. A town on the Murghāb about seven *farsakhs* southeast of Marw, apparently at the edge of the Marw oasis. This reference establishes the site of the battle. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 400–1.

431. Obscure term, apparently Iranian.

The Events of the Year 117

(JANUARY 31, 735 - JANUARY 19, 736)

Among the events in it were the summer campaign of Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām (against the Byzantines) on the left flank and the summer campaign of Sulaymān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik on the right flank from the direction of al-Jazīrah, whence he scattered his raiding parties into the land of the Byzantines.

In it, Marwān b. Muḥammad, who was governor of Armenia, sent out two expeditions, one of which conquered three fortresses in al-Lān, while the other descended on Tūmānshāh, whose inhabitants made peace (on terms).

In it, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik removed 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh from Khurāsān, which he joined to (the province of) Khālid b. 'Abdallāh. Khālid made his brother Asad b. 'Abdallāh governor of it.

According to al-Madā'inī: Hishām's dismissal of 'Āṣim from Khurāsān and the subordination of Khurāsān to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh happened in the year 116/734.

The Reason for Hishām's Dismissal of 'Āṣim and His Appointment of Khālid for Khurāsān

According to 'Alī—his authorities: The reason for that was that

'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh wrote to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, "Now then:
[1574] O Commander of the Faithful, the scout is not false to his people. The matter which the Commander of the Faithful has entrusted me with requires me to give him sincere counsel: Khurāsān will not be well unless it is joined to (the province of) the governor of Iraq, so that supplies, advantages, and assistance for it in events and misfortunes will be nearby, (and this is) owing to the remoteness of the Commander of the Faithful from it and the slowness of his help in reaching it." When his letter had gone forth, he went out to his companions, Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn and al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī and their companions, telling them the news. Al-Mujashshir said to him, "After the letter has gone forth, are you (jolted) as if a lion has just surprised you?" After this came Asad b. 'Abdallāh, whom Hishām had sent forth (as governor) a month after 'Āṣim's letter. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī[432] sent the people of Marw this poem:

Will you not deliver to the community of the people of Marw,
Despite its remoteness[433] and distance,
A letter from a sincere counselor giving a greeting of peace
And enjoining earnestness regarding that which they have undertaken.
And deliver an apology to Ḥārith, from us
To him, that those near me are strained with exertion.
If that were not so, cavalry would have visited you
From the two metropoli[434] with horsemen who cut down (enemies).
Therefore, do not weaken, nor be satisfied with ignominy,
Nor let Asad deceive you with any promise.
Be like prostitutes if you are shortchanged
[1575] And if you admit of injury from a scoundrel!
And if not, then raise up banners black
Against those who go astray and transgress.
How can it be, when you are seventy thousand

432. Famous pro-Muḍar Kūfan Shī'ī poet. See al-Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XV, 113–130.
433. Text: *nā'*; read: *na'y*, as in Cairo ed.
434. Ar. *al-miṣrayn*, sing. *miṣr*. Originally garrison cities for the Arab Muslim troops on the edge of the desert, these had by now become major cities and seats of power. Here al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah are meant. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. m-ṣ-r; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 26.

That Khālid has laid you low with the like of an ape,
And those whom he charged—on his responsibility—with Razīn
And his party, but he did not keep his promise,
And those who covered the Quḍā'ah with a robe of humiliation
By killing the father of Salāmān b. Sa'd.[435]
So go slowly, O Quḍā'ah, do not be
Followers having no roots for themselves in Najd[436]
If you were to summon the Banū Nizār,
Horsemen would come to you having both lank and curly hair.
May every nose of the Quḍā'ah be cut off,
And may they never gain any glory!

Razīn who is mentioned had rebelled at al-Kūfah against Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, who had given him a safe-conduct but did not keep to it. Naṣr b. Sayyār said regarding him at the time al-Ḥārith approached Marw and raised black banners, al-Ḥārith being of the opinion of the Murji'ah:[437]

Leave behind you a worldly life and a family you are
going to leave;[438]
What good is there in a world and a family that do not last,
Except for a remainder of days to an appointed time?
Therefore, seek from God a family who do not die.
Strive after much fear of God regarding secrets:
The best of fear of God is what is hidden.
Know that you are hostage to your works;
Therefore be much worried, sad.
I see murderous deceit in the master of he
Who in these days has been deceived.
(The world) will be for a man various times; it will make him

435. A subdivision of the 'Udhrah, a subtribe of the Quḍā'ah. Any event alluded to here must have taken place in the Jāhiliyyah (pre-Islamic times). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 447.

436. The home of the Arabs tracing descent from 'Adnān, as opposed to the Yaman. The Quḍā'ah's position between the two was ambiguous and had been changing toward the Yaman. Here they are exhorted to remember their ties with 'Adnān. See *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳudā'a.

437. The followers of a religious doctrine propounded by Jahm b. Ṣafwān, al-Ḥārith's associate. See *EI*[1], s.v. Murdji'a.

438. That is, when you die anyway.

[1576] Stumble one day, and another time it will give him ease,
While time transforms a youth having a pleasant
Life, so that he later gets knocked about:
(Life) is sweet to him one time, so that he is pleased with it
For a while, and becomes bitter in taste for him (other) times.
Is it a passing moment from the remnants of time which you wait for,
Other than like that which has elapsed, in which you may carry out (your plans)?
Make your struggle against those who do not hope for an afterlife,
And be an enemy to a people who do not offer Islamic worship.
And slay their follower among us and their helper,
Sometimes declaring them unbelievers, and curse them sometimes,
And those finding fault with us regarding our religion, who are
The worst followers of religion if you searched out information on them,
And those saying, 'The path of God is our desire';
How far they have deviated from what they say!
Therefore, slay them in anger for God, triumphing
Over them by it, and leave the doubter seduced (by the rebelliousness).
Your delay (of judgment) has pushed you together with polytheism in a coupling,
So that you are a people of polytheism and delayers (of judgment at the same time).
May God not exile into the tombs other than you,
For your religion has been tied to polytheism.
God has cast fear into your throats because of it,
While God decrees for us goodness and exalts us,
So that we may be the helpers, when a fearful event occurs
Owing to what you are aiming at through polytheism for Islam and the world.
Do you (people) fault us, lying about it, (saying that
We are between) extremist and oppressor? What is among us is enough for me!
He among those of you whom God afflicted first refused
(Being afflicted with) hypocrisy, nor did He thus afflict us.

Then al-Ḥārith came back again to make war on ʿĀṣim. When ʿĀṣim heard that Asad b. ʿAbdallāh had drawn near, that he had [1577] sent in charge of his vanguard Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Hamdānī[439] and that he had stopped at al-Dandānqān,[440] he made peace with al-Ḥārith. He drew up a document between the two of them stipulating that al-Ḥārith could abide in whatever districts of Khurāsān he wished and that the two of them would write together to Hishām, asking him (to obey) the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet. If he refused, they were to join together against him. Some of the (tribal) leaders stamped the document, but Yaḥyā b. Ḥudayn refused to stamp it, saying, "This is rebellion against the Commander of the Faithful." Khalaf b. Khalīfah[441] said to Yaḥyā:

Your heart's concern refuses except to be joined together,
While your sleep refuses except to refrain
Without hearing, and you would not find me
Trying to hear one possessed by distraction.
We preserved the Umayyah in their sovereignty,
And we expose ourselves to danger for them that they
may be be feared.
We defend them and their sovereignty
If we do not find them able to defend themselves.
The genealogical connection that was of old between us
And the Umayyah has refused except to break apart.
Did we not snatch away the head of Ibn al-Zubayr
And tear the sovereignty from him?
We settled the Caliphate in its deserving family
When the people were struggling with each other
fiercely over it.
We supported the Umayyah with Yamanī sword
When the sovereignty was stripped from them altogether.
Among us is he who strengthened the people of Iraq,
And if Yaḥyā left the frontier, it would be lost.

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439. Al-Khaywānī. He was the chief of the division of the Tamīm and the Hamdān at al-Kūfah in 122(740). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1702; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 228.

440. An important town two day's march southwest of Marw. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 400.

441. Al-Aqṭaʿ, of unknown connections but sympathetic to the Yaman-Rabīʿah. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Shiʿr wa Shuʿarāʾ*, 714–5; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1822–3, 1847, 1862, 1946.

We wrecked matters for Ibn Surayj,
[1578] Although he had made them as firm as he could.
What he says is wise; (it is) wisdom (to say)
When a group of people are dispersed, they are united.
On the evening of Zarq, after they had determined (on battle),
We repressed the determination of the oath-breakers;
But if not for the hero of the Wā'il,[442] no leader would
Have been able to cook sheep's trotters thoroughly.[443]
Tell Umayyah therefore to consider our
Hands that have not been rewarded for it, and our good work.
Will you give up killing our chiefs,
As we reject other than your right (to the Caliphate)?
Is he among those devoted (to you) who did not offer you for sale
Like another who chanced upon a market and sold (you) out?
Ibn Ḥuḍayn, in reaction to what you do, refuses
Except to bear patiently and except to follow.
Had al-Ḥārith felt safe from the two Wā'ils,[444]
He would have frightened you in the number of those he had frightened,
While he was a wry-mouthed causer of mischief
Who spread error among that which he spread.
We sufficed the Umayyah as a sealed document
By which 'Āṣim obeyed whom he obeyed.
If not for the positions of our standards
With the troops, the troops would have feared being lost.
We brought together the old (effort) for them with the new,
But the Umayyah refuse except cutting (us) off, (from)
Treasures whose benefit belongs to other than us;
We have not known any benefit from them.
If our banners came to your treasures, the veil being parted,
You would be frightened on your insides.
Therefore, where is the good faith for the people of good faith?
Thanks is too good to be made lost.
Where are the stored up provisions belonging to the Banū Wā'il,

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442. That is, Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn, chief of the Bakr b. Wā'il.

443. Text: *li-yunḍiḥ*; read: *li-yunḍij* as in Cairo ed. Sheep's trotters here symbolize the whole sheep slaughtered for a victory feast.

444. Text: *al-Wā'ilīn*; read: *al-Wā'ilayn*. This must refer to the Bakr and the Taghlib b. Wā'il, the two branches of Wā'il.

If stores are to be returned to the people? [1579]
Do you not know that our swords
Treat violent hatred and cure headache?
When Ibn Ḥuḍayn goes forth with the battle standard,
And the people of the citadels have handed over the citadels,
When Ibn Ḥuḍayn goes forth with the battle standard,
Vultures and hyenas point him out.
When Ibn Ḥuḍayn goes forth with the battle standard,
He slaughters, while the Ma'add are an unwholesome pasture.

'Āṣim b. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṣharāḥīl al-Yashkurī, who was one of the people of counsel, advised Yaḥyā to break the agreement, saying, "Signs. Later they will become clear, while they also are equivocal words; therefore, render (your speech) ambiguous."

'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh was in a village belonging to the Kindah in the highest part of Marw, while al-Ḥārith encamped at a village of the Banū al-'Anbar. They met with horses and men. With 'Āṣim were a man from the Banū 'Abs leading five hundred men from the inhabitants of Syria and Ibrāhīm b. 'Āṣim al-'Uqaylī[445] with the like of that.[446] 'Āṣim's herald called out, "Whoever brings a head will get three hundred dirhams." After that, one of his officials brought a head while biting on its nose. Then a man from the Banū Layth called Layth b. 'Abdallāh brought a head. Then another brought a head. It was said to 'Āsim, "If the men become greedy in this, they will not leave a boatman nor a peasant but that they will bring you his head." Thus his herald called out, "Let no one bring a head, for whoever brings one will get nothing from us." Al-Ḥārith's forces were defeated, prisoners being taken from [1580] them. 'Āṣim's forces captured 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr al-Māzinī, the head of the forces of Marw al-Rūdh. The prisoners were eighty, most of them from the Banū Tamīm. 'Āṣim b. 'Abdallāh slew them on the canal of al-Dandānqān.

The Yaman had sent from Syria with five hundred men a man who was equal to one thousand men and whose patronymic was Abū Dāwūd in the days of the factionalism. He would not pass

445. A Jazīran commander who later became governor of Sijistān. See Crone, *Slaves*, 150–1; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, II, 352.

446. These two contingents of Syrian troops represented respectively the Syrian Yaman and the Qays.

through a village among Khurāsān's villages without saying, "It is as if you have seen me while I was passing by bearing the head of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj." When the forces met, Abū Dāwūd invited a single combat, and al-Ḥārith b. Surayj came forward against him, striking him on his left shoulder and knocking him to the ground. His companions protected him and bore him away. He became mixed up and would say, "O Abrashahr! O poor al-Ḥārith b. Surayj! O possessors of the inhabited world!" The horse of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj was shot in its breast. Al-Ḥārith pulled out the arrow and made it run, urging it on by hitting it so that he made it leap and sweat, distracting it from the pain of the wound.

A man from among the Syrian troops charged al-Ḥārith. At the moment when he thought the spear would hit him, he leaned over from his horse. After that, he pursued the Syrian, who said to him, "I ask you by the sanctity of Islam for my blood (to be spared)." Al-Ḥārith said, "Get down from your horse." He got down, and al-Ḥārith mounted it. The Syrian said, "Take the saddle, for by God, it is better than the horse."

A man of the ʿAbd al-Qays said:

The Quraysh have taken up the pleasure of life while guarding
[1581] Through us every dust-colored ravine in Khurāsān.
Would that the Quraysh some night found themselves
Swimming in a dark green depth of the sea!

The Syrian troops glorified Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn owing to what he did in the matter of the document which ʿĀṣim wrote. They wrote a letter and sent it with Muḥammad b. Muslim al-ʿAnbarī and a man from the Syrian forces. They met Asad b. ʿAbdallāh at al-Rayy. It is also said that they met him at Bayhaq.[447] He said, "Go back, for I will set this matter straight." Muḥammad b. Muslim said, "My house has been destroyed." He responded, "I will rebuild it for you and will set right for you every injustice."

Asad wrote to Khālid, boasting falsely that he had defeated al-Ḥārith and telling him about the matter of Yaḥyā. Khālid allowed Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn ten thousand dīnārs and provided him with a hundred sets of clothes.

ʿĀṣim's governorship lasted less than a year. It has been said it

447. The modern Sabzavār, a large city west of Naysābūr. See *EI*², s.v. Bayhaḳ; Le Strange, *Lands*, 391.

was for seven months. Asad b. ʿAbdallāh arrived when al-Ḥārith had gone away. Asad imprisoned ʿĀṣim, asking him about what he had spent, holding him to account and taking from him a hundred thousand dirhams. He said, "You did not campaign nor did you go outside of Marw," while ʿUmārah b. Ḥuraym was standing (there) and the subordinates of al-Junayd were in prison. Asad said to them, "I will act among you either according to our custom or according to the custom of your people." They responded, "Rather, according to your custom." Therefore, he let them go.

According to ʿAlī—his authorities: When Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik heard of the affair of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj, he wrote to Khālid [1582] b. ʿAbdallāh, "Send your brother to put aright what has been upset. If it is to turn out as hoped, let it be by him." Thus, he dispatched his brother Asad to Khurāsān. When Asad arrived, ʿĀṣim did not hold anything in Khurāsān except Marw and the district of Abrashahr, while al-Ḥārith b. Surayj was at Marw al-Rūdh and Khālid b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Hajarī was at Āmul. Asad feared if he headed toward al-Ḥārith in Marw al-Rūdh, Khālid b. ʿUbaydallāh would enter Marw from the direction of Āmul, while if he made for Khālid (at Āmul), al-Ḥārith would enter Marw from the direction of Marw al-Rūdh. Therefore, he resolved to dispatch ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym al-Ghāmidī with the troops of al-Kūfah and the troops of Syria to the district of Marw al-Rūdh to seek out al-Ḥārith, while Asad went with (the rest of) the troops to Āmul. He put in command of the Banū Tamīm al-Ḥawtharah b. Yazīd al-ʿAnbarī. The cavalry of the inhabitants of Āmul led by Ziyād al-Qurashī, the mawlā of Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, met Asad's forces at ʿUthmān's wells,[448] but Asad defeated them, (pursuing them) up to the city gate. Then they charged back against Asad's troops. A servant of Asad b. ʿAbdallāh called Jabalah, who was his standard bearer, was slain. The forces of Āmul fortified themselves in three cities they possessed.

Asad descended upon them, laying siege to them and setting up mangonels against them. They were commanded by Khālid b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Hajarī, from among al-Ḥārith's adherents. The besieged sought a safe-conduct. Ruwayd b. Ṭāriq al-Quṭaʿī, a mawlā [1583] of the Quṭayʿah, went out to them and asked, "What do you

448. Probably on the road to Marw near Āmul. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 403.

seek?" They answered, "The Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet." Ruwayd said, "You may have that." They said, "On condition that you not take the people of these cities to account for our crime." He gave them that and put as governor over them Yaḥyā b. Nuʿaym al-Shaybānī,[449] one of the Banū Thaʿlabah b. Shaybān and the son of Maṣqalah b. Hubayrah's[450] brother.

Then Asad advanced along the road to Zamm, heading toward the city of Balkh, whereupon he met a mawlā of Muslim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who told him that the people of Balkh had rendered the oath of allegiance to Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim.[451] Asad then came to Balkh and, using boats, went from it to al-Tirmidh. (There) he found al-Ḥārith besieging al-Ḥajjāj b. Hārūn al-Numayrī, the sons of Zurʿah and the family of ʿAṭiyyah al-Aʿwar al-Naṣri[452] along with the forces of al-Tirmidh, while al-Sabal was with al-Ḥārith. Asad camped on the opposite side of the river, able neither to cross over to them nor to supply them. The forces of al-Tirmidh came out of the city and fought al-Ḥārith fiercely. Al-Ḥārith pretended to flee from them, then came back charging them, and they were defeated. Yazīd b. al-Haytham b. al-Munakhkhal and ʿĀṣim b. Muʿawwil al-Bajalī[453] were slain along with one hundred and fifty of the Syrian troops and others. Bishr b. Jurmūz, Abū Fāṭimah al-Azdī[454] and those with al-Ḥārith from the villages would come to the gates of al-Tirmidh to weep, to complain about the Banū Marwān and their oppression, and to ask the inhabitants to come down to (join) them in order to help them make war on the Banū Marwān. But those in al-Tirmidh refused them (this). Al-Sabal, who was with al-Ḥārith, said, "O Ḥārith,
[1584] al-Tirmidh has been built with drums and flutes. It will not be

449. Abū al-Maylā', he was an important Khurāsānī noble of Balkh of Kūfan origin who changed parties many times and ended joining with Abū Muslim then turning on him in 130(748). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1925, 1966–7, 1970, 1997–98; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 148; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 354.

450. A Kūfan notable who tried to conquer Ṭabaristān under Muʿāwiyah but was killed. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 411; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 321.

451. Al-Sulamī. See note 50.

452. Text: *al-Naḍrī*; read: *al-Naṣrī*. Being here in al-Tirmidh, he is far more likely to belong to the Qaysī Banū Naṣr b. Muʿāwiyah than to any Banū al-Naḍr; and, indeed, as a tribal *nisbah* al-Naḍrī seems almost nonexistent. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, III, 226–7, 229; also note 252.

453. Text: *al-Najalī*; read: *al-Bajalī*.

454. Text: *al-Iyādī*; read: *al-Azdī*. See note 217.

conquered by weeping, but it will only be by the sword. Therefore, fight, if you are able to fight!" Afterward, al-Sabal left him and came to his own country.

When Asad passed through the land of Zamm, he faced al-Qāsim al-Shaybānī, who was in a fortress by Zamm called Bādhkar. Asad went along until he came to al-Tirmidh, where he camped on the opposite side of the Oxus, placing his elevated seat on the river bank. The men began to cross. Al-Ḥārith in his vessel attacked those whose vessels were downstream from the vessels of the city. The two sides met in a vessel in which were Asad's men, including Aṣghar b. ʿAynāʾ al-Ḥimyarī, and the vessel of al-Ḥārith's men, in which was Dāwūd al-Aʿsar. Aṣghar shot at and struck the (other) vessel. He said, "I am the Aḥmarī boy!" Dāwūd al-Aʿsar said, "Owing to a certain matter, I do not trace back my origin to him, may no land be yours!" He stuck his vessel to the vessel of Aṣghar, and they fought.

Al-Ishkand approached. He had desired al-Ḥārith to go away and said to him, "I have only come to you in order to help you." Al-Ishkand concealed himself behind a monastery. Al-Ḥārith came near with his forces. When the people of al-Tirmidh came out against him, he pretended to flee from them, and they pursued him. Naṣr was with Asad sitting watching, and he showed disgust, knowing that al-Ḥārith had tricked the people of al-Tirmidh. But Asad supposed that he had only done that out of solicitude for al-Ḥārith when he had turned about (to flee). At this point, [1585]
Asad wished to reproach Naṣr, when suddenly al-Ishkand came out against the people of al-Tirmidh, charging against them, and they fled. In the battle Yazīd b. al-Haytham b. al-Munakhkhal al-Jurmūzī of the Azd and ʿĀṣim b. Muʿawwil, who was of the Syrian forces' cavalry, were killed. Then Asad departed for Balkh. The men of al-Tirmidh went out against al-Ḥārith, defeating him and killing Abū Fāṭimah, ʿIkrimah and a group from among the people having clear insight.

Then Asad went to Samarqand by way of Zamm. When he came to Zamm, he sent a message to al-Qāsim[455] al-Shaybānī, who was in Bādhkar and was of the forces of al-Ḥārith, saying:

"You have only censured your people for what bad behavior oc-

455. Text: *al-Haytham*; read: *al-Qāsim*. A copyist's error.

curred among them. That did not extend to the women, nor to the allowance of rape, nor to the seizure by the polytheists of the like of Samarqand. I am headed for Samarqand. May God's covenant and His guarantee be against me if I begin acting evilly toward you. You will receive munificent gifts, kindness, honor and safe-conduct, as well as whoever is with you. But in case you ungratefully despise what I have invited you to accept, then may God's covenant and the guarantee of the Commander of the Faithful, as well as the guarantee of the Amīr Khālid be against me when you shoot (even) an arrow, if I do not refuse to give you a safe-conduct after it. Even if I were to give you a thousand safe-conducts then, I would not uphold them."

Thus al-Qāsim went out to him according to what safe-conduct he had undertaken towards him, and Asad protected him from harm. Al-Qāsim went with Asad to Samarqand.

Asad paid the troops a double stipend. He transported them on what animals there were that he had driven along with him. He
[1586] carried with him food from Bukhārā and drove along with him many sheep belonging to the Kurds, which he divided among the men. Then he went up to Waraghsar,[456] from which the water of Samarqand is derived. He blocked up the watercourse at its origin,[457] diverting it away from Samarqand. He would even bear the stones with his own hands in order to throw them onto the dam. Then he came back from Samarqand until he stopped at Balkh.

Certain authorities claim that that which I have mentioned regarding the matter of Asad and the matter of the adherents of al-Ḥārith was in the year (1)18.

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year, Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik led the pilgrimage.

In it, the governor of al-Madīnah as well as of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif was Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl, that of Iraq and the East

456. A town, now Rabāṭ-i-Khawja, four *farsakhs* east and upstream from Samarqand on the south bank of the Zarafshān River. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 83, 92–3, 191; Le Strange, *Lands*, 465, 467.

457. Probably the present Dargham Ariq, which separated at Waraghsar. That Asad had to do this shows that Samarqand had been lost in the preceding years, perhaps in 113. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 83; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 78–9.

was Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, and that of Armenia and Ādharbayjān was Marwān b. Muhammad.

In it, Fāṭimah bt. 'Alī[458] and Sukaynah, the daughter of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī,[459] died.

Punishment of 'Abbāsid Missionaries in Khurāsān

In this year, Asad b. 'Abdallāh arrested a group of the missionaries of the Banū al-'Abbās in Khurāsān, killing some, mutilating some, and imprisoning some. Among those arrested were Sulaymān b. Kathīr, Mālik b. al-Haytham, Mūsā b. Ka'b, Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ, Khālid b. Ibrāhīm, and Ṭalḥah b. Ruzayq.[460] When they were brought to Asad, he said to them, "O depraved ones, did God not say, 'God forgives what has gone before, but whoever repeats (his offence), God will wreak vengeance upon him, and God is Mighty, the Possessor of vengeance'?"[461] It has been reported that Sulaymān b. Kathīr asked, "Shall I speak or keep silent?" Asad said, "Rather, speak up!" Sulaymān said, "We, by God, are as the [1587] poet said:

If, being without water, my throat were choked,
I would be like a choking man; I drink water a
little at a time, to stop choking.

You know what our story is. By God, scorpions have been hunted by your hands! O amīr, we are men from your own people! These Muḍarīs have only raised this (matter) to you because we were the harshest of people against Qutaybah b. Muslim; thus, they have only sought their revenge." Then the son of Sharīk b. al-Ṣāmit al-Bāhilī spoke, saying, "These people have been arrested time after time!" Mālik b. al-Haytham said, "May God make the amīr prosper! You ought to consider this man's speech in conjunc-

458. The daughter of the Caliph 'Alī by a concubine. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 44, 46; Kaḥḥālah, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, IV, 81.

459. The granddaughter of the Caliph 'Alī and great-granddaughter of the Prophet. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 59; Kaḥḥālah, *A'lām al-Nisā'*, II, 202–24.

460. These men were all naqībs of the 'Abbāsid da'wah in Khurāsān and thus all natives to the province. The first two are Khuzā'īs, the second two Tamīmīs from the marginal subtribe of Imru' al-Qays, and the last two a Bakrī from the Dhuhl and an Iranian mawlā of the Khuzā'ah. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 192–3 and passim; Crone, *Slaves*, 181, 186.

461. Qur'ān 5:95.

tion with that of others." They said, "It is as if, O brother from the Bāhilah, you seek revenge for Qutaybah. We, by God, were the harshest of people against him!" Asad sent them to jail. Then he summoned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym and asked him, "What do you think?" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān answered, "I think you should make gifts of them to their tribes." Asad asked, "What about the two Tamīmīs who are with them?" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān answered, "You should let them go." Asad said, "In that case, I would be disowned by ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd."[462] Then Asad asked, "What would you do with the Rabaʿī?" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān answered, "By God, I would let him go." Asad then called for Mūsā b. Kaʿb to be brought and gave orders regarding him that he be bridled with a donkey's bridle. He then commanded that the bridle be drawn back, and it was pulled back so that his teeth were shattered. Then he said, "Smash his face," whereupon his nose was broken, his beard cut off, and one of his molars fell out. Then he called for Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ. Lāhiz
[1588] said, "By God, there is no right in this, that you do this to us and leave the Yaman and the Rabīʿah alone!" At this, he whipped him three hundred lashes then said, "Crucify him!" But al-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Azdī[463] said, "He is under my protection and is innocent of that which he has been slandered[464] with." Asad asked, "What about the others?" Al-Ḥasan answered, "I know they are innocent; therefore, let them go." Thus Asad let them go.

462. Asad's father.

463. Al-Azdī here is almost certainly a mistake for al-ʿAnbarī. He was the head of the Tamīm in Khurāsān at least 125(743)–129(747) and probably here as well, where his intervention on behalf of his tribal division saved his fellow tribesman's life. *Akhbār al-Dawlah* has b. Yazīd for his filiation. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1771, 1773; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 276.

464. Text: *fudhif*; read: *qudhif*.

The Events of the Year 118

(JANUARY 20, 736—JANUARY 7, 737)

Among these events was the campaign of Muʿāwiyah and Sulaymān, the two sons of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, against the land of the Byzantines.

Asad in Khurāsān

In this year, Bukayr b. Māhān sent ʿAmmār b. Yazīd[465] to Khurāsān to be in charge of the party of the Banū al-ʿAbbās. He settled—according to what has been reported—in Marw and changed his name, calling himself Khidāsh. He called (people) to (the imāmate of) Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. The people hastened to him, accepting what he had brought, hearing him and obeying. Then he changed what he called them to, affecting a lie, expounding the religion of the Khurramiyyah[466] and calling (people) to it. He gave them license regarding each other's wives, telling them that that was by the order of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. News of him reached Asad b. ʿAbdallāh, who set out spies against him, leading to his seizure.

465. See note 185.

466. Latter-day Mazdakites. See *EI*², s.v. Khurramiyya. But the claim ʿAmmār/Khidāsh was a Khurramī is probably false. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 166–9, 182–3.

He was brought to Asad when the latter had made ready for the campaign of Balkh. Asad asked him how he was, but Khidāsh spoke rudely to him. Therefore, Asad gave orders concerning him, and his hand was cut off, his tongue torn out, and his eye gouged
[1589] out.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī—his authorities: When Asad came to Āmul, immediately they brought him Khidāsh, the leader of the Hāshimiyyah. Asad ordered Qurʿah[467] the doctor to cut out his tongue and gouge out his eye. Asad said, "Praise be to God who has taken revenge on you for Abū Bakr and ʿUmar." Then he handed him over to Yaḥyā b. Nuʿaym al-Shaybānī, the governor of Āmul. When he returned from Samarqand, he wrote to Yaḥyā, who killed Khidāsh and crucified him at Āmul. Also, Asad was brought Ḥazawwar, the mawlā of al-Muhājir b. Dārah al-Ḍabbī, and beheaded him on the river bank.

Then Asad, when he had gone away from Samarqand, stopped at Balkh. He sent Juday' al-Kirmānī[468] to a castle containing the heavy baggage of al-Ḥārith and that of his companions. The name of the castle was al-Tubūshkān in Upper Ṭukhāristān. In it were the Taghlibī Banū Barzā, al-Ḥārith's relatives by marriage. Al-Kirmānī besieged them until he took the place, slaying their warriors, massacring the Banū Barzā, and making captive the whole range of its population, Arabs, mawālī, and children, (all of) whom he sold at auction in the market of Balkh.

According to ʿAlī b. Yaʿlā, who witnessed that: Four hundred and fifty men among al-Ḥārith's adherents became full of rancor toward him. Their leader was Jarīr b. Maymūn, who was in charge of the judiciary, and among them were Bishr b. Unayf al-Ḥanẓalī and Dāwūd al-Aʿsar al-Khwārizmī. Al-Ḥārith said, "If you must separate from me and seek a safe-conduct, then seek it while I am present, for it is more probable (thus) that they will answer to you
[1590] positively. But if I depart before that, they will not give you a safe-

467. Later present with Naṣr at Bukhārā in 121(739). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1694.

468. Al-Maʿnī of the Azd. Though of ʿUmānī origin, he was apparently born and raised in Kirmān, as shown by his name as well as by his association with the Kirmānī mawlā of the Sulaym. See note 414. He was briefly governor of Khurāsān in 120(738) and was most famous for leading the Yaman in the disastrous factionalism of 126(744)–129(747). Masʿūd b. ʿAmr, leader of the Azd in al-Baṣrah, was Juday"s cousin. See *EI*², s.v. Juday'; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 381; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 483, 502; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 213, II, 263.

conduct." They said, "Depart and leave us alone." Then they sent Bishr b. Unayf and another man to seek a safe-conduct. Asad gave the two of them a safe conduct and gifts. At this, they betrayed the people in the castle, informing him that those (therein) had neither food nor water.

Asad sent out al-Kirmānī with six thousand men, including Sālim b. Manṣūr al-Bajalī[469] in command of two thousand men, al-Azhar b. Jurmūz al-Numayrī with his own forces and the troops of Balkh numbering two thousand men, and five hundred men from the Syrian forces under Ṣāliḥ b. al-Qa'qā' al-Azdī.[470] Al-Kirmānī sent out Manṣūr b. Sālim with his troops. Manṣūr crossed the Dirgham River,[471] passing the night (on the other side). In the morning, he remained where he was until the day was advanced. Then, he spent the day travelling nearly seventeen *farsakh*s, tiring out his horses. Then he came to Kishm[472] in the land of Jabghūyah. He reached a walled garden containing a planting which had sent forth stalks. The men in the camp sent their animals into it, there being four *farsakh*s between them and the castle. Then al-Kirmānī departed. When he had come to the watercourse, his scouts came to him to tell him that a group was coming headed by al-Muhājir b. Maymūn. When they reached al-Kirmānī, he struggled against them, after which they went away. Al-Kirmānī went along until he stopped beside the castle. When he first encamped there were about five hundred men in a mosque which al-Ḥārith had built. When it was morning, the cavalry all joined him, and al-Azhar's forces and the forces of Balkh followed. When they had gathered, [1591] al-Kirmānī delivered a speech to them, praising God and extolling Him and then saying:

"O people of Balkh, I do not find a similtude for you except the adulterous woman who gives access to her leg to whomever

469. He appears later as Manṣūr b. Sālim and Manṣūr b. Muslim; Manṣūr b. Sālim is most likely to be right. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1607, 1609.

470. He fought for the Yaman in the civil strife of 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1936.

471. Now called the Gukchah or Kowkcheh, it is the main river in the interior of Badakhshān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 435–6.

472. Text: *Kishtam*; read: *Kishm*, as BM. This important town south of the Dirgham River in Badakhshān still exists, its identification made probable by its proximity to the lands of the Jabghū in Upper Ṭukhāristān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 437.

comes to her. Al-Ḥārith came to you with a thousand men of the Iranians, and you gave your city over to his power, after which he slew your nobless and drove out your amīr. Then you went along with him among his helpers to Marw, where you forsook him. Then he came back to you beaten, but you gave the city (again) over to his power. By Him in Whose hands is my soul, I will not hear about any man of you having written a message to them on an arrow but that I will cut off his hand and foot and crucify him. As for whoever is with me from among the inhabitants of Marw, they are my special friends. I do not fear their treachery."

Then he rushed up to the castle, staying by it a day and a night without fighting. When it was the next day, a crier called out, "We have cast off our covenant with you." After that, they fought those inside, who were thirsty and hungry. Those besieged requested that they submit (themselves) to a judgement, but that their women and children be put aside for them. Thus they yielded (themselves) to Asad's judgement. After some days had passed, al-Muhallab b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿAtakī came with a letter from Asad (saying), "Transport to me fifty of their men, including al-Muhājir b. Maymūn and his equals from their chiefs." They were borne to him, and he killed them. Asad also wrote to al-Kirmānī that he divide those who remained with him into thirds, that he crucify a third, cut off the hands and feet of a third, and cut off (only) the hands of a third. Al-Kirmānī did that and also brought forth their valuables, selling them at auction. Those whom he killed and crucified were four hundred.

In the year 118, Asad adopted the city of Balkh as his capital, bringing to it the government offices and building stongholds. Then he campaigned against Ṭukhāristān, then the land of Jabghūyah, where he conquered and took captives.

Hishām Dismisses Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik from al-Madīnah

[1592] In this year, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik dismissed Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam from (the governorship of) al-Madīnah, appointing to it Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl.

According to al-Wāqidī: On the day Khālid was dismissed from

al-Madīnah, Abū Bakr b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm[473] received a letter containing his appointment as governor, after which he mounted the pulpit and led the people in worship for six days. Then Muḥammad b. Hishām came from Mecca as governor of al-Madīnah.

'Ali b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās Dies

In this year, 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās[474] died. His patronymic was Abū Muḥammad. His death took place at al-Ḥumaymah[475] in the land of Syria. He was seventy-eight or seventy-seven years old. It has been said he was born on the night in which 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was struck, which was the night of the seventeenth of Ramaḍān of the year 40 (January 24, 661), and thus his father named him 'Alī, saying, "I have given him the name of the most beloved of creation to me." He also gave him the patronymic of Abū al-Ḥasan. When 'Alī came to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, the latter honored him, seating him on his elevated couch. 'Abd al-Malik asked him about his patronymic, and 'Alī told him. 'Abd al-Malik said, "Among my troops this name and patronymic are not borne together by anyone." Then he inquired if any sons had been born to him. At that time, Muḥammad b. 'Alī had been born to him. He informed 'Abd al-Malik of that, and thus 'Abd al-Malik gave him the patronymic of Abū Muḥammad.

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year, Muḥammad b. Hishām led the pilgrimage while he was governor of Mecca, al-Madīnah, and al-Ṭā'if. It has been said that the governor of al-Madīnah in this year was Khālid b. 'Abd al-Malik and that Muḥammad b. Hishām during it held (only) Mecca

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473. He is Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm al-Najjārī al-Khazrajī, governor of al-Madīnah for al-Walīd, Sulaymān and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and also sometimes in charge of the judiciary. His death date is disputed, 100(719), 110(728), 117(735), and 120(738) being given; apparently the last date is correct. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 38–40; Wakī, *Quḍāh*, I, 135–46; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 186, II, 223.

474. Progenitor of the 'Abbāsids. See *EI*², s.v. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās.

475. A ruined site in southern Jordan near al-'Aqabah, it was the location of the 'Abbāsid imām's clandestine activities from 98(717) to 131(749). See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥumayma; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 120.

[1593] and al-Ṭā'if, the first statement being that of al-Wāqidī. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh was governor of Iraq, holding the entire East. His governor for Khurāsān was his brother Asad b. 'Abdallāh, while his governor for al-Baṣrah, (in charge of) its youths (*aḥdāth*), its judiciary, and leading the public worship of its inhabitants was Bilāl b. Abī Burdah. In charge of Armenia and Ādharbayjān was Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān.

The Events of the Year 119

(JANUARY 8, 737—DECEMBER 28, 737)

Among these was the campaign of al-Walīd b. al-Qa'qā' al-'Absī against the territory of the Byzantines.

In this year, Asad b. 'Abdallāh campainged against al-Khuttal, capturing the castle of Zagharzak.[476] From it, he went to Khidāsh,[477] filling his hands with captives and sheep. Al-Ḥanash[478] had fled to China.

In it, Asad met the Khāqān, the ruler of the Turks, killing him and a great many of his troops, while Asad and the Muslims were unharmed and went away with many spoils and captives.

The Story of This Campaign in al-Khuttal

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: Ibn al-Sā'ijī[479] wrote to the Khāqān Abū Muzāḥim—he was only given the patronymic Abū Muzāḥim because he used to put the Arabs in

476. Vocalization and location uncertain.
477. A place name, vocalization and location uncertain.
478. Text: *al-Jaysh;* read: *al-Ḥanash,* throughout the text, as Gibb. He was the blooded heir of al-Sabal. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests,* 81–2.
479. The regent of al-Khuttal. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests,* 82.

hard straits *(yuzāḥim)*—when the latter was at Nawākith[480] to inform him about Asad's having entered al-Khuttal and scattered his
[1594] troops in it, and that he was in a losing situation. When the letter reached the Khāqān, he commanded his troops to make ready. The Khāqān possessed a meadow and a mountain, a protected area which no one drew near to or hunted in. The two were left as a space for (practice) warfare: what was in the meadow for three days and what was in the mountain for three days. In these, they prepared themselves, pasturing (their animals) freely and tanning the freshly flayed skins of the game animals, from which they made containers. They also stocked up bows and arrows. The Khāqān called for a saddled, bridled horse and commanded that an ewe be cut up and hung by leather straps. Then he took some salt, putting it in a bag and attaching it to his belt, and commanded each Turk to do likewise, saying, "This is your ration until you meet the Arabs in al-Khuttal."

He took the road of Khushwarāgh. When Ibn al-Sā'ijī perceived that the Khāqān had drawn near, he sent a message to Asad saying, "Depart from al-Khuttal, for the Khāqān has cast his shadow over you." Asad cursed the messenger and did not believe him. Thereupon the ruler of al-Khuttal sent the message:

"I did not lie to you. I am he who informed the Khāqān of your entry and the scattering of your troops. I told him that it was an opportunity for him and asked him for help. Besides, you have stripped the country bare and taken spoils, so that if he meets you in this condition he will triumph over you. The Arabs have been ever hostile to me for as long as I have been surviving, but the Khāqān has overwhelmed me, his weight has become severe, and he holds me in his obligation by his saying, 'I have expelled the Arabs from your country and returned your rule to you.'"

Asad then knew that he had told the truth. He ordered that the (valuable) heavy baggage[481] be sent ahead and put in charge
[1595] of it Ibrāhīm b. 'Āṣim al-'Uqaylī al-Jazarī, who later governed Sijistān. Asad sent out with him the old men, among them Kathīr

480. According to Gibb, the Khāqān's capital on the Chu River in present-day Kazakhstan, but this is uncertain. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 82; Le Strange, *Lands*, 487. See Cairo ed. for an alternative reading.

481. Shaban thinks this consisted of trade goods destined for China. See Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 127.

b. Umayyah, the father of Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī, Fuḍayl b. Ḥayyān al-Mahrī, and Sinān b. Dāwūd al-Quṭaʿī. The commander of the Ahl al-ʿĀliyah[482] was Sinān al-Aʿrābī al-Sulami, while ʿUthmān b. Shabāb al-Hamadhānī,[483] the grandfather[484] of the judge of Marw, was in charge of receipts. Thus the heavy baggage went on its way.

Asad also wrote to Dāwūd b. Shuʿayb[485] and al-Aṣbagh b. Dhuʿālah[486] al-Kalbī, both of whom he had sent off in a certain direction, saying, "The Khāqān has drawn near; therefore, join the heavy baggage train with Ibrāhīm b. ʿĀṣim." Dāwūd and al-Aṣbagh met a Dabūsī who told them a rumor that the Khāqān had defeated the Muslims and killed Asad. Al-Aṣbagh said, "Even if Asad and those with him have been stricken, Hishām is still with us, and we (can) retreat to him." But Dāwūd b. Shuāyb said, "May God make life repugnant after the men of Khurāsān!" Al-Aṣbagh said, "How lovely is life after the men of Khurāsān! Al-Jarrāḥ and those with him were slain, but the Muslims were not much harmed thereby. Even if Asad and the forces of Khurāsān have perished, God will not desert His religion. God is Living, Everpresent, the Commander of the Faithful is living and the Muslims' troops are many." Dāwūd said, "Shall we not see what Asad has done, so that we may depart with (accurate) information?" Thus the two of them went along until they overlooked the camp of Ibrāhīm. (There) they suddenly saw campfires. Dāwūd said, "These are the Muslims' campfires; I see them close together, while the Turks' campfires are (always) scattered." Al-Aṣbagh said, "They are in a narrow place." They drew closer and heard the braying of the donkeys. Dāwūd asked, "Do you not know that the Turks do not have donkeys?" Al-Aṣbagh replied, "They captured them yesterday and would not be able to eat them in one day or two." Dāwūd [1596]

482. One of the tribal sections (*akhmās*) of al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān, consisting mainly of Muḍarī tribes from central and western Arabia. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 398n.

483. Probably a mawlā, unless his *nisbah* is a mistake for al-Hamdānī.

484. Or: ancestor.

485. Al-Ḥuddānī of the Azd, he later supported al-Kirmānī in 126(744) and 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1861, 1925, 1932.

486. Text: *Dhuwālah*; read: *Dhuʿālah*, as in Cairo ed. A Syrian who later fought for the Yaman in Iraq and Syria during the tribal factionalism. See Crone, *Slaves*, 156.

said, "Let us dispatch two horsemen to shout, 'God is Greater.'" Thus they sent two horsemen out. When they neared the camp they shouted, "God is Greater." The camp answered them with the same shout. Then they approached the camp, in which was the heavy baggage. With Ibrāhīm were the forces of al-Ṣaghāniyān and the Ṣaghān Khudhāh. Ibrāhīm b. ʿĀṣim lost no time in breaking camp.

Asad came from al-Khuttal toward Jabal al-Milḥ,[487] intending to ford the River of Balkh.[488] Ibrāhīm b. ʿĀṣim had already crossed with the captives and what he had taken (as booty). Asad was overlooking the river at the time when the Khāqān came against him after having travelled from Sūyāb[489] for seventeen nights. Abū Tammām b. Zaḥr and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khanfar, both Azdīs, came to Asad to say, "May God make the amīr prosper! God has given you exemplary success in this campaign, so that you have taken spoils and are unscathed. Therefore, cross this water, leaving it behind your back." But Asad, after ordering that they be beaten on their necks and they be driven out of the camp, remained where he was that day. On the next day, he departed. In the river are twenty-three places where people ford it, and where the river channel is, it reaches the two sides of the saddle. Thus the troops forded it. Asad commanded every man to carry across a sheep, and he (even) carried over a sheep himself. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭarrif b. al-Shikhkhīr said to him, "What you are
[1597] doing in carrying a sheep is not more serious than what you are afraid of. You have scattered the men and diverted their attention while your enemy has cast his shadow over you. Put these sheep aside, may God's curse be upon them, and command the men to make ready (for battle)." Asad responded, "By God, no man who does not have a sheep with him may cross until these sheep are finished but that I will cut off his hand." Thus the men began carrying the sheep, the horseman carrying it in front of him, the footsoldier around his neck, and they waded in. It is said that when the foreparts of the horses' hooves dug into the river(bed), it became

487. Lit. the Mountain of Salt.

488. Here this means the Oxus. See note 404.

489. Text: *Sūyāt*; read: *Sūyāb* as in Cairo ed. A town of the Turks and their sometime capital on the Chu River near the present Tokmak. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 82; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 195, 201.

mucky[490] in some places. Some of the horsemen were tipping to the side and falling off their mounts. Therefore, Asad commanded that the sheep be thrown away, and the men forded. They had not finished crossing when the Turks came up against them en masse, killing those who had not crossed. The men began charging into the river (to escape).

It is said that the Azd and the Tamīm were responsible for the (rear) guard, the weak among the troops having been left behind. Asad rode into the river, commanding that the camels be brought across to the Transoxanian side, so that they could be loaded with the heavy baggage. A dust cloud approached from the direction of al-Khuttal, which was the Khāqān. When a major part of his troops had fully come up with him, he attacked the Azd and the Banū Tamīm, who retreated. Asad galloped until he reached his camp. He sent a message to those with the heavy baggage whom he had dispatched ahead of him, (saying), "Make camp and fortify your place in the middle of the valley." The Khāqān drew near. The Muslims supposed that he would not cross to them since the river was between them and him. When the Khāqān saw the river, he ordered al-Ishkand, who was at that time the Iṣbahbadh of Nasaf,[491] to go along the battle line until he reached its farthest point, ask- [1598]
ing the horsemen and the people of insight regarding warfare and water, "Can the river crossing and attacking Asad be supported (together)?" All of them replied, "It cannot be borne," until he came to al-Ishtīkhan,[492] who said, "Yes, it can be supported, for we are fifty thousand horsemen; thus, if we charge in a single mass, we will throw back the water from each other and its flow will cease." Thereupon they beat on their kettle drums, which Asad and those with him supposed to be only a threat from them. But the Turks made their mounts charge by spurring them on most severely. When the Muslims saw the Turks' charge, they turned (retreating) into their camp. The Turks crossed, causing a great dust cloud to rise by which a man could not even see his mount, nor could they recognize each other. The Muslims entered their

490. Text: *sibāḥah*; read: *sibākhah*, as in Cairo ed.

491. Text: *Nasā*; read: *Nasaf*, as in Cairo ed.

492. Apparently the local ruler of an important fortified town of the same name seven *farsakhs* due north of Samarqand. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 466; Barthold, *Turkestan* 95–6.

camp, hurrying with what was (still) outside. The slave youths went out with pack-saddle cloths (worn as armor) and tent poles (as weapons) and struck the faces of the Turks, who turned back in flight.

Asad passed the night. When he rose in the morning—having kept his troops in a state of alert through the night in fear of the Khāqān's treachery and his coming (to attack them) before sunrise -and saw nothing, he summoned the chief men to consult them. They said to him, "Accept good health!" Asad responded, "This is not good health; rather, it is a calamity. We met the Khāqān yesterday, and he triumphed over us, capturing troops and weapons. Nothing has kept him from us today except that prisoners have fallen to his hands who have told him about the location of the heavy baggage ahead of us, so that he has given up confronting us out of greed for it." Therefore, Asad broke camp, sending ahead of him scouts, one of whom came back to report to him that he had seen the Turks' green hoods, as well as banners from those belonging to al-Ishkand, but few men. Thus Asad went along, the pack animals being heavily loaded. He was told, "Make camp, O amīr, and accept good health!" He answered, "Where is the good
[1599] health that I accept it? It is naught but a calamity, a loss of souls and wealth!" When it was evening, Asad found himself at a (possible) campsite. He consulted the men as to whether they should make camp or go on. The men said, "Accept good health! What could the loss of property be in comparison to our well-being and the well-being of the troops of Khurāsān?" But Naṣr b. Sayyār was silent. Asad said, "What is the matter with you, O Ibn Sayyār, that you are silent, not speaking?" Naṣr said, "May God make the amīr prosper! Two possible dispositions in your favor (are): if you go, you will aid those who are with the heavy baggage, rescuing them. But if you reach them and find that they have perished, you will have performed a hard task which must be performed." Asad accepted his view and marched on during all of that day.

Asad summoned Sa'īd al-Ṣaghīr,[493] who was a horseman, the mawlā of the Bāhilah, and was knowledgeable about the land of al-Khuttal. Asad wrote a letter to Ibrāhīm commanding him to

493. He later brought aid to Naṣr from Ṭukhāristān in 128(746). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1920–1.

prepare (for battle), "For the Khāqān has set off in your direction." Asad told Sa'īd, "Go with the letter to Ibrāhīm, to where he was before the night. If you do not do so, Asad will be quit of Islam if he does not kill you. If you join al-Ḥārith, Asad will be responsible for the same oath, if the auctioneer does not sell your wife in the market of Balkh and all the people of your household." Sa'īd said, "Then give me your fine-tailed, dark-bay horse." Asad said, "By my life, if I offered your blood easily and was stingy to you regarding the horse, I would most certainly be vile," and he gave it to him. Sa'īd then went on a mount of those led by the side. His servant boy was on a horse of his and had with him Asad's horse, [1600] which he led by the side. When he drew opposite the Turks, who had set off after the heavy baggage, their scouts chased him. He transferred to Asad's horse so that they did not overtake him, thus bringing the letter to Ibrāhīm. Some of the scouts followed him—it is said about twenty men—until they saw Ibrāhīm's camp. Then they turned back to the Khāqān, informing him.

The Khāqān attacked the heavy baggage (train) in the earliest morning. Ibrāhīm had dug a trench (for fortification) which the Khāqān came against while the Muslims were guarding it. He ordered the men of al-Sughd to fight them. But when they drew near the Muslims' garrison, the latter rose up in their face, driving them back and killing one of their men. The Khāqān said, "Mount up!" At this point, the Khāqān climbed a hill and began to look for a breach and the direction of the battle.

Then he would do (the following): he would go off alone with two or three men. If he saw a breach, he would order his troops to charge into the area of the gap. When he climbed the hill, he saw behind the camp an island, before which lay a ford. He summoned some of the Turks' commanders and ordered them to cross above the camp by a way he described until they came to the island. Then they were to descend onto the island until they came against the Muslims' camp from behind. He also ordered them to begin (fighting) against the Iranians and the troops of al-Ṣaghāniyān and to leave the others, who were Arabs. He had identified them by their (tent) structures and their banners. He said to the detachment, "If the enemy (forces) stay within their trench but (then) draw near to you, we will enter their trench; if they stay in their trench, enter it against them from behind." The detachment went

in against the Muslims from the Iranians' side, killing the Ṣaghān
[1601] Khudhāh and the whole of his forces and taking possession of their goods. They also entered Ibrāhīm's camp, taking all that was in it. The Muslims gave up their order of battle to gather in a (certain) place, feeling (the likelihood of) annihilation. Suddenly, a cloud of dust and black earth rose, and it was Asad and his troops who had come to (aid) the Muslims. The Turks began to draw back from the Muslims to the place where the Khāqān was. Ibrāhīm was astonished at their withdrawal, since they had been victorious, having killed whom they killed and captured what they captured, while he had no hope in Asad.

Asad had hastened his journey, advancing until he stood on the hill upon which was the Khāqān. The Khāqān moved away in the direction of the mountain. Those who survived among those who had been with the heavy baggage went out to Asad. Many of their men had been slain; on that day were slain Barakah b. Khawlī al-Rāsibī and Kathīr b.[494] Umayyah, along with old men from the Khuzāʿah. The Ṣaghān Khudhāh's wife went out to Asad weeping for her husband, and Asad wept with her until the sound of him (weeping) became loud. The Khāqān moved on, leading the prisoners from Asad's troops in nooses and driving the camels, laden (with spoils), and the slave girls.

Muṣʿab b. ʿAmr al-Khuzāʿī and a group of men from among the inhabitants of Khurāsān resolved to intercept the enemy, but Asad restrained them, saying, "These are a people for whom the wind has become pleasing, and they have become savage; therefore, do not interfere with them." With the Khāqān was a man from the companions of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj whom he commanded to call out, "O Asad, is not that which you had in Transoxiana (now) a seat of war? You are most certainly extremely greedy. You were
[1602] disengaged from al-Khuttal, which is the land of my fathers and forefathers." Asad responded, "It was as you saw. It may be that God will wreak vengeance on you."

Kūrmaghānūn,[495] who was one of the Turkish nobles, said, "I have not seen a day better than the Day of the Heavy Baggage (Train)." Someone asked him, "How is that?" He answered, "I gained great wealth and did not see an enemy fouler than the Arab

494. Text: *Abū*; read: *bn* (=b.), as in Cairo ed.
495. Vocalization unknown.

prisoners. When one of them would charge, he would hardly move from his place."

According to certain authorities: The Khāqān came against the heavy baggage. Asad departed (to rescue the baggage train). When the Khāqān looked out from the mountaintop, and the Turks saw the Muslims, they refrained (from attacking). They had fought the Muslims and then held back. (Instead,) they came against the Iranians who were with the Muslims and fought them, capturing their children. Every man among them put a boy or a girl on his horse behind him. Then they drew near Asad's camp at sunset.

Asad went with the men until he encamped with the heavy baggage. The Turks attacked Asad the morning of the next day, which was the day of the breaking of the fast,[496] and almost prevented the Muslims from (their) worship. Then the Turks went away. Asad proceeded to Balkh, encamping in its plain until the winter came. Then the troops scattered into their houses, while Asad entered the city. Regarding this campaign, it was said to him in Persian:

From Khuttalān you have come,
With a destroyed face you have come. [1603]
A fugitive you have come back,
Lowly and emaciated you have come.[497]

Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj was in the region of Tukhāristān and joined the Khāqān. When it was the eve of the (Feast of) Sacrifice,[498] Asad was told, "The Khāqān has encamped at Jazzah." Asad commanded signal fires (to be lit). After they were raised over the city, the men came from the country districts to the city of Balkh.[499] Asad arose in the morning, performed the worship and spoke to the people, saying:

"God's enemy, al-Ḥārith b. Surayj, has brought his tyrant to put out God's light and change His religion. But God will humiliate him, God willing. Your enemy, the dog, has taken of your brethren whom he has taken. But if God wishes to help you, neither your fewness nor your multitude will harm you. Therefore, seek God's

496. Shawwāl 1, 119 (October 1, 737). For chronological difficulties, see Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 81–2.
497. Compare above pp. 1492, 1494.
498. Dhū al-Ḥijjah 9, 119 (December 7, 737). See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 83.
499. Text: *Balj*; read: *Balkh*, as in Cairo ed.

help." He also said, "It has reached me that the worshipper is as near as he can be to God when he puts his forehead (to the ground) to (worship) God.[500] I am coming down (from the pulpit) to put my forehead (to the ground). Therefore, pray to God and prostrate yourselves to your Lord, making (your) prayer to him sincere."

They did so, then raised their heads, not doubting victory. Then Asad came down from the pulpit, sacrificed, and consulted the men about going against the Khāqān. Some said, "You are a young [1604] man and are not of those who have (ever) feared to raid a sheep or a mount. You are taking a risk by your setting out." He responded, "By God, I will set out! Either victory or else martyrdom!"

It is said that the Khāqān drew support from Transoxiana, the inhabitants of Tukhāristān and Jabghūyah[501] al-Ṭukhārī, along with their princes and their *shākiriyyah*, to the number of thirty thousand. They descended on Khulm,[502] where there was a garrison under Abū al-ʿAwjāʾ b. Saʿīd al-ʿabdī. He skirmished with them so that they did not gain any victory from him at all. The enemy marched off in a state of defense on the road of Fayrūz Bakhshīn[503] of Ṭukhāristān. Abū al-ʿAwjāʾ wrote to Asad about their going.

Asad gathered the men together, causing to be read to them the letter of Abū al-ʿAwjāʾ and the letter of al-Furāfiṣah, the garrison commander at Jazzah, (written) after the Khāqān had passed his way. Then Asad consulted the men. Some said, "You (should) take to the gates of the city of Balkh (for your defense) and write to Khālid and to the Caliph, asking him for help." Others said, "You (should) take the road to Zamm and beat the Khāqān to Marw." Some said, "Rather, you (should) go out to them, seeking aid from God against them." The statement of these agreed with Asad's view and what he had resolved on about meeting them (in battle).

It is said that the Khāqān, when he separated from Asad, went up until he was in the land of Ṭukhāristān belonging to

500. This closely parallels a canonical hadith. See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, s.v. Kitāb al-Ṣalāt, Bāb Mā Yuqāl fī al-Rukūʿ wa al-Sujūd.

501. Text: *Jayghūyah*; read: *Jabghūyah*, as in Cairo ed.

502. A small city two stages east of Balkh on the Khulm River, it still exists. See *EI*[2], s.v. Khulm.

503. Spelling and vocalization uncertain. Gibb has Peroz Nakhsher = Fayrūz Nakhshayr. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 83.

Jabghūyah.[504] When it was the middle of the winter, he advanced, passing by Jazzah, going to al-Jūzjān and sending out raiding parties. That was because al-Ḥārith b. Surayj told him that Asad would not resist and that he did not have a large force with him. Al-Bakhtarī b. Mujāhid, the mawlā of the Banū Shaybān, said to Asad, "Rather, send the cavalry out until they descend on al-Jūzjān." When he had sent out the cavalry, al-Bakhtarī asked him, "How did you find my opinion?" Asad said, "How did you find God's work when your opinion was adopted?" Asad took one hundred twenty thousand dirhams from Jabalah b. Abī Rawwād, commanding that the men be given twenty each. He had with him Khurāsānī and Syrian troops amounting to seven thousand men. He left as his deputy in charge of Balkh al-Kirmānī b. ʿAlī,[505] commanding him not to let anyone leave its (walled) city, even if the Turks struck the city gate. Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī, al-Qāsim b. Bukhayt al-Murāghī[506] of the Azd, Salīm b. Sulaymān, ʿAmr b. Muslim b. ʿAmr, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿAtakī, ʿĪsā al-Aʿraj al-Ḥanẓalī, al-Bakhtarī b. Abī Dirham al-Bakrī, Saʿīd al-Aḥmar, and Saʿīd al-Ṣaghīr, the mawlā of the Bāhilah said to Asad, "May God make the amīr prosper! Let us go forth! Do not insult our obedience!" At this, he allowed them (to go forth). Then he went out, encamping at one of the gates of Balkh, where a pavilion was set up for him (consisting of) two tents with two poles each, one of the tents abutting the other. He led the people in a worship of two prostrations, which he made lengthy. Then he faced towards Mecca and called out to the people, "Pray to God," making the invocation long and praying for victory. The people said "Amen" to his prayer. He said, "You will be given victory, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah." Then he turned away from his prayer, saying three times, "You will be given victory, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah, God willing." Then his crier announced, "God's protection is removed from any man from among the troops who transports a woman." They said, "Asad has only gone forth fleeing." Asad (himself) left behind Umm Bakr, the mother of his children, and his children. He looked about, and, behold, there was a servant

[1605]

[1606]

504. See note 501.
505. That is, Juday' b. 'Alī al-Kirmānī al-Ma'nī.
506. Or: Ibn Najīb. In 126/744, he urged clemency on Naṣr towards al-Kirmānī. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1863.

girl on a camel. He said, "Ask who this girl belongs to." One of the *asāwirah* went to ask, then came back and said, "To Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith al-Bakrī." Ziyād was sitting (with them). Asad frowned and said, "Will you not stop[507] until I harshly treat a man among you who is dear to me, beating his back and his front?" Ziyād said, "If she is mine, she is free. No, by God, O amīr, I do not have a woman with me, for this[508] is (only) an envious enemy."

Asad went on. When he was at the Bridge of 'Aṭā', he said to Mas'ūd b. 'Amr al-Kirmānī,[509] who was at that time the deputy of al-Kirmānī in charge of the Azd, "Help me in getting fifty men and mounts to leave behind on this bridge, so that they might not let anyone who crosses it return to it." Mas'ūd said, "From where can I (get) fifty men?" Asad thereupon commanded that he be flung down from his mount and also ordered that he be beheaded. But a group of men went to Asad to speak to him, so that he refrained from (harming) him. When Asad had crossed the bridge, he encamped in a suitable place, staying in it until it was morning. Then he wanted to spend the day (there), but al-'Udhāfir[510] b. Zayd said to him, "Let the amīr consider staying all day in this place so that the men may catch up." Thereupon
[1607] Asad commanded departure, saying, "We have no need for latecomers!" Then he departed. In charge of his vanguard was Sālim b. Manṣūr al-Bajalī[511] with three hundred (men), who met three hundred of the Turks, a reconnaissance party of the Khāqān. Sālim captured their leader and seven (others) of them, while the rest escaped. The leader was brought to Asad. The Turk was weeping. Asad asked, "What makes you cry?" He answered, "I do not weep for myself, but I weep because of the destruction of the Khāqān." Asad asked, "How?" The Turk replied, "Because he has scattered his troops over what is between him and Marw."

507. Text: *yantahūn*; read: *tantahūn*, as in Cairo ed.

508. That is, the man who identified him as owner of the girl.

509. Doubtless a Ma'nī from the Azd and a close relative of Juday' b. 'Alī al-Kirmānī. See note 468.

510. Text: *al-Ghudāfir*; read: *al-'Udhāfir*, as in Cairo ed. He was of the Taym Allāh of the Bakr, not the Tamīm. See Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 353.

511. See note 469.

The Campaign of Kharīstān

Asad then went on until he stopped at al-Sidrah, a village by Balkh. In charge of the cavalry of the Ahl al-ʿĀliyah was Rayḥān b. Ziyād al-ʿĀmirī al-ʿAbdallī of the Banū ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb. Asad removed him, putting Manṣūr b. Sālim[512] in charge of the Ahl al-ʿĀliyah. Then he left al-Sidrah, encamping at Kharīstān. Asad heard the neighing of a horse and asked, "Whose is this?" He was told, "It belongs to al-ʿAqqār b. Dhuʿayr." Asad drew a bad omen from the man's name as well as his father's name and said, "Send him back." ʿAqqār said, "I will be killed going out against the Turks!" Asad answered, "May God kill you!" Then Asad went on until he overlooked the hot springs. Bishr b. Razīn—or Razīn b. Bishr—received him. Asad said, "Good news (*bishārah*) and sound judgement (*razānah*)![513] What do you have to report, O Razīn?" Razīn said, "If you do not help us, we will lose our city." Asad responded, "Say to al-Miqdām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to vie with my spear in excellence." Asad went on, encamping two *farsakh*s from the (capital) city[514] of al-Jūzjān. [1608]

Then we arose in the morning, the two cavalry forces having seen each other. The Khāqān asked al-Ḥārith, "Who is this?" Al-Ḥārith answered, 'This is Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā and his banner." It is said that scouts of the Khāqān returning to him told him that a spreading cloud of dust had risen from the direction of Balkh. The Khāqān summoned al-Ḥārith and said, "Did you not claim that Asad would not come out to resist? But this dust cloud has come from the direction of Balkh." Al-Ḥārith said, "This is the brigand whom I have told you is one of my companions." Thereupon the Khāqān sent out scouts, saying, "Look whether you see a raised seat or chairs on the camels." When the scouts came (back), they told him that they had seen these things with their own eyes. The Khāqān said, "Brigands do not carry raised seats and chairs. This is Asad who has come against

512. See note 478.

513. Asad here makes a play on the man's name.

514. The capital of al-Jūzjān was either Anbār, now Sar-i-Pul; or more probably al-Yahūdiyyah, now Maymanah; or Kundaram, now Gurziwan, as Gibb thinks. He associates the nearby Kharīstān with Sān, a city in the mountains near Maymanah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 423–6, map VIII opposite p. 335; Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 84, 86 n.23; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 79.

you." Asad went on for a *ghalwah* whereupon Sālim b. Junāḥ met him and said, "Be of good cheer, O amīr, I have looked at them, and they do not reach four thousand (men). I hope that the Khāqān may be God's slaughter." Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim, who was travelling along with Asad, said, 'O amīr, make your men set up camp.' But Asad struck his mount in the face, saying, "Had you been obeyed, O Mujashshir, we would not have arrived here." Then he went on not far and said, "O people of the morning, encamp!" They encamped, drawing their mounts near them and taking up arrows and bows. The Khāqān was in the open field in which he had passed that night.

According to 'Amr b. Abī Mūsā: Asad departed when he had performed the early morning worship. He passed through al-Jūzjān, which the Khāqān had devastated, to the extent that his horse-
[1609] men had reached al-Shubūrqān.[515] The castles of al-Jūzjān were at that time submissive.[516] Al-Miqdām b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym al-Ghāmidī came to Asad with his warriors and the forces of al-Jūzjān, he being its governor. They offered their services to Asad, but he said, "Remain in your city." However, Asad said to al-Jūzjān b. al-Jūzjān,[517] "Go with me." Al-Qāsim b. Bukhayt al-Murāghī was in charge of the order of battle. He put the Azd, the Banū Tamīm and al-Jūzjān b. al-Jūzjān along with his *shākiriyyah* on the right flank. He added to them the troops of Filasṭīn commanded by Muṣ'ab b. 'Amr al-Khuzā'ī and the troops of Qinnasrīn commanded by Maghrā'[518] b. Aḥmar. Al-Qāsim set the Rabī'ah on the left flank under Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn, joining to them the troops of Ḥimṣ under Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī[519] and the troops of al-

515. The nearest town of al-Jūzjān to Balkh, which it lies to the west of. Shubūrqān still exists under its ancient name. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 426.

516. Or: weak.

517. Apparently the son of the local ruler who rebelled against Qutaybah in 90(709), he reappears with Naṣr in 121(739). Ṭabarī, II/2, 1206, III/2, 1694.

518. Text: *Ṣaghrā'*; read: *Maghrā'*. His full name is Maghrā' b. Aḥmar b. Mālik b. Sāriyah al-Numayrī, a Qaysī from Qinnasrīn whose family appear in Iraq and Khurāsān. Maghrā' later went to Iraq to join the arch-Qaysī Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī in 123(741). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1719–25. For his cousin, see p. 1473 above.

519. Abū Khālid. A Yamanī Syrian commander who came to Khurāsān with Asad in 116–7(734–5), was acting governor of Khurāsān for a brief span in 120(738) and then went to Iraq, where he fought for the Umayyads against the 'Abbāsids but was spared at the capitulation of Wāsiṭ in 132(750) and joined the service of al-Manṣūr, where he is found until at least 146(763). See Ṭabarī, I/3. 68, 116, 125, 223–4, 291–2,

Urdunn[520] under Sulaymān b. 'Amr al-Muqrī[521] from the Ḥimyar. In charge of the vanguard was Manṣūr b. Muslim al-Bajalī,[522] to whom he joined the forces of Damascus under Ḥamlah b. Nu'aym al-Kalbī.[523] He also joined to them the guard, the security force, and the servants of Asad.

The Khāqān placed on the right flank al-Ḥārith b. Surayj and his followers, the king of al-Sughd, the ruler of al-Shāsh, Kharā Bughrah (the father of Khānākhurrah,[524] who was the grandfather of Kāwūs[525]),the ruler of al-Khuttal, Jabghūyah and all the Turks. When the armies met, al-Ḥārith and those with him of the Sughdī troops, al-Bābiyyah[526] and others charged against the left flank (of the Muslims), in which were the Rabī'ah and two of the divisions of Syrian troops. Al-Ḥārith routed them, so that nothing stopped [1610] them before (they reached) Asad's tent. At this, the right wing, consisting of the Azd, the Banū Tamīm, and (the forces of) al-Jūzjān, came to their support. They had hardly reached the left flank before al-Ḥārith and the Turks fled. Then the Muslims attacked all together. Asad said, "O God, they have disobeyed me; but help them!" The Turks went (fleeing) through the land randomly, not turning against anyone. The Muslims pursued them for a distance of three *farsakh*s, killing whomever they could, until they reached their spoils, (from which) they carried off more than 155,000[527] sheep and many beasts of burden. The Khāqān took a road other than the main one into the mountains, while al-Ḥārith b. Surayj protected him. Asad overtook them about noon.

It is said than when Asad stood against the Khāqān on the Day of Kharīstān, a deep river lay between them. Asad ordered that his tent be taken up. A man of the Banū Qays b. Tha'labah said,

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318, 327; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 328, II, 253; *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā'*, 211b.

520. Text: *al-Azd*; read: *al-Urdunn*. This is the only Syrian *jund* herein omitted. Al-Azd is never referred to as Ahl al-Azd.

521. Text: *al-Maqrī*; read: *al-Muqrī*.

522. See note 469.

523. He appears in a delegation from Naṣr to Hishām in 123(741). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1721–4.

524. Apparently the same as Khānākhurrah or Khārākhurrah, the Prince of Ushrūsanah in 178(794). See Ṭabarī, I/3, 631.

525. Ruler of Ushrūsanah to 207(822). See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1066.

526. Probably Sughdīs. See Gibb, *Arab Conquests*, 87.

527. Probably better read as one hundred fifty thousand. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 205.

"O men of Syria! Is your opinion like this? If[528] the (enemy) forces appear, do you take up the tents?" Asad commanded that he be thrown down. The wind of war named "the light one" arose. God defeated them. They faced the direction of Mecca, praying to God and shouting, "God is Greater!" The Khāqān approached with nearly four hundred horsemen, (their faces) dyed red. A man called Sūrī said, "You are the king of al-Jūzjān only if you keep the Arabs safe. Whomever you see among the men of al-Jūzjān turning away (to flee), kill him." Al-Jūzjān said to 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhir, "I certainly know my country and its roads. Will you participate in a matter that will cause the Khāqān to perish and for which you will be remembered as long as you live?" 'Uthmān asked, "What is it?" Al-Jūzjān continued, "That you follow me."
[1611] 'Uthmān said, "Yes." Al-Jūzjān took a road named Warādak,[529] so that they overlooked the Khāqān's round tents from safety. The Khāqān commanded the kettle drums to be beaten with the order to march away, but the fighting had flared so that the Turks could not depart. Then the drums were struck a second time, but they still could not (leave). Then they were beaten a third time, but (still) they could not (leave), owing to their being engaged. Ibn al-Shikhkhir and al-Jūzjān then charged the tents. The Khāqān turned away in flight, the Muslims taking possessior of the Turks' camp. The Turks left behind their pots, (still) boiling, and women, including some Arab and mawālī women, and some Turkish women. The Khāqān's horse sank into the mire with him, but al-Ḥārith b. Surayj protected him.

The Muslims did not know that it was the Khāqān. The Turks' camp was found crammed with every kind of silver vessel, and with Turkish women who play the cymbals. The eunuch tried to bear the Khāqān's wife away, but the Muslim troops prevented him from that. Therefore, he stabbed her with a dagger. They found her moving and took her shoes of quilted wool.

Asad sent the Turkish slave girls to the *dihqāns* of Khurāsān and rescued those of the Muslims who were in their hands. Asad remained (where he was) for five days.

The Turkish cavalry which had been scattered would come back, and Asad would capture them. Thus he took victory as his

528. Text *idh*; read: *idhā*, as in Cairo ed.
529. Vocalization uncertain.

spoil and returned to Balkh on the ninth day from his setting out. Ibn al-Sijf al-Mujāshi'ī said:

If you were to travel in the land measuring the land,
Measuring of it its length and its breadth,
You would not find one better in strength and destructive power
Than the amīr Asad, nor one sharper. [1612]
He brought goodness to us when he went forth,
Bringing together our unity which was scattered.
The Khāqān did not escape him except by running;
There had broken up of his multitudes that which had broken up.
O Ibn Surayj, you have found bitter herbs,
Bitter herbs by which the headache of sick people is cured.

Asad departed, encamping at Jazzah of al-Jūzjān on the next day. The Khāqān was at it also but departed, fleeing from Asad. Asad urged the men on, and many troops from the forces of Syria and the forces of Iraq answered his summons. He made Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī their commander. They set out, stopping to pass the night at a city named Ward[530] in the territory of Jazzah. They were hit by wind and rain and—it is said—by snow, wherefore they returned. The Khāqān went on his way, stopping at (the place of) Jabghūyah al-Ṭukhārī. Al-Bahrānī went back to Asad, who returned to Balkh. He met the Turkish cavalry that had been at Marw al-Rūdh when they were going off to raid Balkh. The Muslims slew whom they could of them. The Turks had reached the synagogue[531] of Marw al-Rūdh. On that day, Asad captured four thousand shirts of mail. When he reached Balkh, he ordered the people to fast (in thanksgiving) for God's having granted them victory.

Asad sometimes sent out al-Kirmānī with raiding parties. These did not cease to capture one, two, three and more men of the Turks. The Khāqān went away to Upper Ṭukhāristān and stayed with Jabghūyah al-Kharlukhī, strenghthening himself through him. He commanded kettle drums to be made. When they had [1613] dried and their sounds had become good enough, he departed

530. Vocalization uncertain.
531. Or: church.

for his own country. When he came to Ushrūsanah,[532] Kharā Bughrah[533]—the father of Khānākhurrah, who was the grandfather of Afshīn[534]—met him with entertainers and prepared presents for him, as well as mounts for him and his troops. The relations between the two of them, however, were strained. When the Khāqān returned defeated, Kharā Bughrah desired to ingratiate himself with him; therefore, he brought him everything he could. Then the Khāqān came to his own country and began to prepare for fighting and laying siege to Samarqand. He transported al-Ḥārith and his forces on five thousand horses and also distributed horses among the Turks' commanders.

One day, the Khāqān played Kūrṣūl at backgammon for the stake of a partridge. Kūrṣūl al-Turqashī won the game and sought the partridge, saying, "A female!" while the other said, "A male!" Thus they fought each other. Kūrṣūl broke the Khāqān's hand, whereupon the Khāqān swore that he would certainly break Kūrṣūl's hand. Kūrṣūl was worn out and therefore withdrew. He gathered a multitude of his companions and attacked the Khāqān by night, killing him. When the Turks arose in the morning, they scattered, leaving him stripped. Zurayq[535] b. Ṭufayl al-Kushānī and the household of the Ḥamūkiyyūn, who are among the important Turkish nobles, came to the Khāqān to carry him away for burial and to do with him what is done with the like of him when he is slain. The Turks split into factions, making raids on one another . Some of them withdrew to al-Shāsh. When that happened,
[1614] the people of al-Sughd became desirous of returning to their land. None of the Turkish horsemen who scattered in (the) raids came through safely except for Zarābin al-Kissī[536] He went safely until he reached Ṭukhāristān.

Asad had sent forth Sayf b. Waṣṣāf al-'Ijlī on horseback from

532. Text: *Shurūsanah*; read: *Ushrūsanah*, as usually in al-Ṭabarī, though Shurūsanah may be an alternative spelling, among others. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 474.

533. This suggests Kharā Bughrah was not on the campaign with the Khāqān, contradictiong the version given on p. 1609 above. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 471–2n.

534. The famous commander of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim, executed 226(841). For him and this family generally, see *EI*², s.v. Afshīn.

535. Or possibly Zarīn, as in Ms. B.

536. The name is perhaps corrupt; it could be Zarīn al-Kushānī and thus might refer to the person mentioned as Zurayq on the preceding page.

the city of Balkh. He travelled until he stopped at al-Shubūrqān, where Ibrāhīm b. Hishām was in charge of a garrison. The latter forwarded Sayf from al-Shubūrqān on the horses of the post, until he came to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, to whom he gave the news. On hearing of it, (the Caliph) Hishām reckoned the matter unlikely and therefore did not believe it. He said to al-Rabī',[537] his chamberlain (*ḥājib*), "Woe to you! This old man has brought us the greatest calamity if[538] he be truthful, though I do not think him truthful. Go visit him; then, ask him about what he says and return to me with that." Al-Rabī' went off to him to do that which he had been ordered to do. The messenger told him what he had told Hishām. Thereupon the Caliph was struck by a great concern, so that he summoned the man again and asked, "Who is al-Qāsim b. Bukhayt among you?" The man answered, "That (man) is the master of the camp." The Caliph said, "He has now come." The messenger said, "If he has come, then God has given victory to the Commander of the Faithful." Asad had sent al-Qāsim when God had given him victory. Al-Qāsim b. Bukhayt arrived at the door, shouting, "God is Greater." Then he entered, shouting, "God is Greater," while Hishām responded to his shout by shouting, "God is Greater," until Al-Qāsim reached him. Al-Qāsim then said, "Victory, O Commander of the Faithful!" and told him the news. Hishām came down from his raised seat and made a prostration of thanksgiving, which is for them is one prostration.

The Qaysiyyah were jealous of Asad and Khālid. They advised Hishām to write to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh to command his brother [1615] to send Muqātil b. Ḥayyān (to confirm the news). Thus he wrote to him. Asad summoned Muqātil b. Ḥayyān into the presence of the people and said, "Go to the Commander of the Faithful. Tell him what you saw with your own eyes. Say the truth, for you will not say other than the truth, God willing. Take from the treasury what you require." The people said, "In that case, he will not take anything." Asad said, "Give him so much of money and so much of clothing," equipping him. Then he went on his way

537. He is al-Rabī' b. Sābūr, the mawlā of the Banū al-Harīsh. More precisely, he was in charge of the privy seal (*khātam*) and also, from 109(727), the guard (*ḥaras*). His name indicates an Iranian origin. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 545; Kubaysī, *'Aṣr Hishām*, 68–9, 85.

538. Text: *idh*; read: *idhā*, as in Cairo ed.

and came to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik when he and al-Abrash were both sitting. Hishām asked him (what news he had). Muqātil said, "We campaigned in al-Khuttal, gaining a great spoil. Asad was warned about the Turks, but we did not concern ourselves with them until they overtook us, rescued some of what we had taken as spoils, and plundered part of our camp. Then they threw us back near Khulm. Our troops reached their winter quarters thereafter. Then we heard about the Khāqān's journeying to al-Jūzjān while we were yet fresh from having fought with the enemy. Asad brought us along until we met (the enemy) in a district between us and the land of al-Jūzjān. We fought them, they having captured some of the Muslims' families. They attacked our left, causing it to retreat. Then our right attacked them. God gave us victory over them so that we pursued them for several *farsakh*s, until we plundered the Khāqān's camp, and he was driven out of it."

Hishām had been reclining on his side but sat up straight at the mention of the Khāqān's camp. He said three times, "You plundered the Khāqān's camp?!" Muqātil said, "Yes." Hishām asked, "Then what?" Muqātil answered, "They entered al-Khuttal and
[1616] went away." Hishām said, "Asad is certainly weak!" Muqātil interposed, "Gently, O Commander of the Faithful, Asad is not weak. He could not have endured (doing) beyond what he did."

Hishām asked him, "Your need?" Muqātil answered, "Yazīd b. al-Muhallab unrightfully took a hundred thousand dirhams from my father Ḥayyān." Hishām said to him, "I will not require you to provide a witness. Swear by God that it is as you said." Muqātil swore, whereupon Hishām restored the money to him from the treasury of Khurāsān, writing to Khālid that he write to Asad about it. Khālid wrote to him, at which Asad gave Muqātil a hundred thousand dirhams, which he divided among the heirs of Ḥayyān according to the Book of God and His requirements. It is said, rather, he wrote to Asad that he investigate that (matter) and, if what Muqātil had mentioned were true, that he be given a hundred thousand dirhams. He who brought (news of) the victory of Khurāsān to Marw was 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Ashhab b. 'Ubayd[539] al-Ḥanẓalī.

Asad sent a delegation to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh regarding his rout

539. Text: *'Utbah*; read: *'Ubayd*, as in Ms. B. He is the son of the famous scout of the Banū 'Abdallāh b. Dārim. See note 104.

(of the Turks) on the Day of Sān.[540] They had with them the Khāqān's round tents and the heads of the Turks who were slain. Khālid sent them on to Hishām, who made them swear they were telling the truth. Thus they swore, whereupon Hishām gave them gifts. Abū al-Hindī al-Asadī said to Asad commemorating the Day of Sān:

Abū Mundhir, you eagerly desired (certain) matters and hence took their measure,
Persistently asking about them like a covetous bargainer. [1617]
No possessor of informed opinion among the people, when you compare him
With your own view is except like (a holder of) the opinion of dumb animals.
Abū Mundhir, if not for your going (to battle), there would have been no
Iraq, nor would the Iranians' kings have been subordinated,
Nor would any rider have made the pilgrimage to God's house since pilgrimages have been made to it,
Nor would al-Baṭḥā'[541] have been inhabited after the seasons (of pilgrimage).
How many a dead man between Sān and Jazzah,
Having many powers, from among great kings,
Did you leave in the land of al-Jūzjān, whom beasts of prey
And eagles visit, that they may tear at the backs of necks?
(And how many) a possessor of subjects, in whom the sword took its course,
But who has a last breath of life, while birds of prey hover around him?
(And how many) a fugitive from us and a submitter to us,
A captive who endures fetters unknown?
Souls from the Tamīm and the 'Āmir redeemed you,
And from the Muḍar al-Ḥamrā', during difficult straits,
They[542] made the Khāqān covetous concerning us, so that [1618]
the followers he brought with him

540. A city of al-Jūzjān near Maymanah. See note 514.
541. A place near Mecca. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 446.
542. This can hardly refer to the Tamīm, 'Āmir, and Muḍar just mentioned in the preceding line.

Began hoping to get possession of spoils.

At his death, al-Sabal had charged Ibn al-Sā'ijī, at the time he made him his successor,[543] with three arrangements, saying:

"Do not treat the people of al-Khuttal high-handedly as I did, for I am a prince, but you are not a prince. You are only a man from among them. They will not bear on your account what they will bear from the princes. Do not cease demanding al-Ḥanash until you return him to your country, for he is the prince after me. Princes represent rule, and whenever the people have no rule, they are a vile mass. Do not make war on the Arabs, but trick them with every trick by which you can hold them at bay."

Ibn al-Sā'ijī responded to al-Sabal, "As for what you mentioned about my leaving aside high-handed behavior toward the people of al-Khuttal, I already know that. As for what you have enjoined regarding bringing al-Ḥanash back, the prince has spoken the truth. But as for your statement, 'Do not make war on the Arabs,' how can you forbid making war on them when you were the most warlike of princes toward them?"

Al-Sabal answered, "You have done well to ask about what you do not know. I have tried your strength compared with my strength but did not find you came up to my level. When I battled the Arabs, I did not escape except half dead. If you were to fight them, you would all perish in your first battle with them."

[1619] Al-Ḥanash had fled to China. It was Ibn al-Sā'ijī who informed Asad b. 'Abdallāh about the movement of the Khāqān. Thus Asad disliked making war on Ibn al-Sā'ijī.

In this year, al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd[544] and Bayān[545] rebelled with a small party of men. Khālid arrested and executed them.

The Execution of al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd and Bayān

As for al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd, he was—according to what has been

543. Or rather, regent for his son. See note 479.

544. Al-Ṭjlī or, according to Ibn Qutaybah, the mawlā of the Bajīlah. It is likely that he was a mawlā, as extreme Shī'itc ideas are attributed to him. His execution took place near Wāsiṭ. See Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, II, 146–9; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, I, 31; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1700.

545. Bayān b. Sam'ān al-Tamīmī, another Shī'ite. See Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, II, 148.

reported—a sorcerer.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd[546]—Jarīr[547]—al-A'mash:[548] I heard al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd say, "If I wanted to resurrect 'Ād, Thamūd[549] and many generations between them, I would resurrect them." Al-A'mash continued: Al-Mughīrah would go out to the graveyard and speak, at which the like of locusts would be seen on the tombs, or in any case, he said something like this.

According to Abū Nu'aym[550]—al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad[551]—Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā:[552] A man from among the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah came to us seeking knowledge. He was staying with us. One day, I ordered my servant girl to buy two dirhams' worth of fish for me. Then I went off with the man from al-Baṣrah to al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd. He asked me, "O Muḥammad, would you like me to tell you why your eyebrows are separated?" I answered, "No." He asked, "Would you like me to tell you why your family named you Muḥammad?" I replied, "No." He said, "Have you not sent your servant to buy [1620] two dirhams' worth of fish for you?" Then we rose and left him.

According to Abū Nu'aym: Al-Mughīrah used to study sorcery. Then Khālid al-Qasrī arrested, executed and hung him in public display.

According to Abū Zayd—Abū Bakr b. Ḥafṣ al-Zuhrī[553]—Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl—Sa'īd b. Mardāband, the mawlā of 'Amr

546. Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd b. Ḥayyān al-Tamīmī al-Rāzī d. 248(862). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 127–31.

547. Abū 'Abdallāh Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Qurṭ al-Ḍabbī al-Rāzī 107(725) or 110(728)–188(804). He was born in a village near Iṣfahān and therefore probably a mawlā. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 75–7.

548. Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Kūfī, the mawlā of the Kāhil of the Asad, 60(680) or 61(681)–148(765). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 222–6; *EI*², s.v. al-A'mash.

549. Ancient Arabian peoples mentioned in the Qur'ān as destroyed by God for their iniquities.

550. Al-Faḍl b. 'Amr, nicknamed Dukayn, b. Ḥammād b. Zuhayr b. Dirham al-Mulā'ī al-Kūfī, the mawlā of the family of Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Taymī, 130(748)–219(834). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 270–6; *EI*², s.v. Abū Nu'aym.

551. Probably Abū 'Abdallāh al-Marwazī, the mawlā of the 'Āmir of the Quraysh, d. 183(800). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 444–5.

552. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī al-Kūfī, d. 148(765), the judge of al-Kūfah for Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 301–3; Wakī', *Quḍāh*, III, 129–144.

553. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ al-Madanī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 188–9.

b. Ḥurayth:[554] I saw Khālid when he was brought al-Mughīrah and Bayān with six or seven men. He ordered his raised seat, whereupon it was brought out to the Friday mosque. He commanded bundles of reeds and tar to be brought. Then he ordered al-Mughīrah to take up a bundle, but the latter shrank from it faintheartedly and delayed. Lashes were rained down on his head, whereupon he took up the bundle, embracing it. He was tied to it; then tar was poured over him and over the bundle. Then fire was kindled on both of them, and they were consumed. Khālid ordered the followers (to do likewise), and they did so. He now commanded Bayān, the last of them, who hastened to come to the bundle and embrace it. Khālid said, "Woe to you! Do you act foolishly in everything? Did you not see this al-Mughīrah?" Then he burned him.

According to Abū Zayd: When Khālid slew al-Mughīrah and Bayān, he sent a messenger to Mālik b. A'yan al-Juhanī. He interrogated him, believed him regarding himself and released him. When Mālik was alone with those he trusted, among whom was Abū Muslim the (later) master of Khurāsān, he said:

I struck for him an open path between the two roads
And muddied the sun for him among those who muddy it.
[1621] I threw him into doubt when he questioned me,
As a letter *sīn* and its *shīn* are confused in handwriting.

Abū Muslim said when his affair appeared, "Had I found him, I would have killed him for his admission against himself."

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr[555]—'Alī b. Muḥammad: Al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd rebelled with seven men who were called 'the servants.' Their rebellion took place outside of al-Kūfah. Khālid al-Qasrī, being told of their rebellion while he was on the pulpit, said, "Give me a drink of water!" Ibn Nawfal[556] reproached him

554. 'Amr b. Ḥurayth b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm, a wealthy notable of al-Kūfah. See Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 333.

555. His father was Abū Khaythamah Zuhayr b. Ḥarb b. Shaddād al-Nasā'ī, the mawlā of the Ḥarīsh, a Baghdādī traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 342–4; Ṭabarī, Indices, 15.

556. Abū Ma'mar Yaḥyā b. Nawfal al-Ḥimyarī, a Kūfan of an Arab father and non-Arab mother (*muwallad*). The incident referred to here is famous. See Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 50, 122, II, 266–7, III, 205, *Ḥayawān*, II, 267, VI, 390; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, I, 31–2, 54; Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, III, 48, *Shi'r wa Shu'arā'*, 741–5.

for that, saying:

O Khālid, may God not reward you with good,
And a penis in your mother's vagina as an amīr!
You wish for glory among the Qays and the Qasr,
As if you were from the leaders of the Banū Jarīr.[557]
Your mother is a servile non-Arab and your father a scoundrel,
Lowly followers are not equal to the chiefs.
Jarīr is of the possessors of authentic Yamanī (blood),
Noble of origin, a possessor of great eminence,
While you claim to be from Yazīd,[558]
But have been removed as a yearling ewe or goat (when it is weaned).
You were before al-Mughīrah a wretched slave
Pissing out of fear of (mere) bellowing.
You said, owing to what had stricken you, 'Give me
A drink'; then you pissed on your raised seat,
Because of eight (men) and a man [1622]
Of great age who did not possess any helper.

In this year, Bahlūl b. Bishr,[559] nicknamed Kuthārah, led a Khārijite revolt and was killed.

The Rebellion and Execution of Bahlūl b. Bishr

According to Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā: Bahlūl would worship (much). He would have with him food the weight of a dāniq. He became famous for being bold with Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. He went forth intending to make the pilgrimage and ordered his servant to buy a dirham's worth of vinegar, but this servant came to him with wine (instead). Bahlūl ordered the servant to return and recover the dirham, but the shopowner did not fulfill his request. Bahlūl came then to the governor of the town, which was in the Sawād,[560] and spoke to him. The governor

557. The reference is to the descendents of Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī, whose house had the greatest prominence among the Bajīlah before the rise of Khālid. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 224; Crone, *Slaves*, 114–5.

558. Khālid's grandfather.

559. Ya'qūbī gives as his name Bahlūl b. 'Umayr al- Shaybānī. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 387.

560. The alluvial plane of Iraq. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Sawād.

said, "Wine is better than you and your people." Bahlūl went on with his pilgrimage until he finished it, and was now resolved to rebel against the authorities. At Mecca, he met those having a like opinion. They made an appointment with each other (to meet) in one of the villages of the district of al-Mawṣil. Forty men gathered there, making al-Bahlūl their amīr. They unanimously resolved not to pass anyone without telling him that they had come from Hishām to take up certain administrative posts and[561] that he had sent them to Khālid so that the latter might install them in their offices. Thus they did not pass an official but that they in-
[1623] formed him of that (arrangement) and took mounts belonging to the post.

When they reached the town in which the servant had sought to buy vinegar but had been given wine, Bahlūl said, "Let us begin with this governor who said what he said." But his companions said to him, "We want to kill Khālid! If we start with this one, we will become known, and Khālid and others will be warned about us. Therefore, we adjure you by God that you (not) kill this one, for then Khālid—who tears down mosques, builds synagogues and churches, appoints Zoroastrians in preference to Muslims, and gives Muslim women in marriage to dhimmīs—would escape from us. It may be that we will kill him, and God will thereby deliver us from him." Bahlūl answered, "By God, I will not discard what is obligatory for me for what follows! I hope to kill this one who said to me what he said and to catch up with Khālid and to kill him (too). If I leave this one and come to Khālid, our business will become known, so that this one will escape. God has said, 'Fight those of the unbelievers who are near to you, and let them find endurance in you!'"[562] His companions said, "As you decide."

Thus they came to the governor and slew him. Thereby being warned of them and knowing that they were Khārijites, the people hastened to the road in flight. Meanwhile, postal riders went forth to Khālid, telling him that some Khārijites had rebelled, but they did not yet know who was their leader. Khālid went forth

561. Text: *wajjahahum;* read: *wa wajjahahum,* as in Cairo ed., relying on other manuscript evidence.

562. Qur'ān 9:123.

from Wāsiṭ, until he came to al-Ḥīrah.[563] At that time, he was with troops, as in those days a Syrian commander from the Banū al-Qayn had arrived with an army which had been sent as aid for Khālid's governor of India, and these were encamped at al- [1624]
Ḥīrah. Owing to that, Khālid headed for it. Then he summoned their commander, saying, "Fight these rebels! Whoever kills one of their men, I will give him a stipend in addition to that received in Syria and will excuse him from going forth to the territory of India." Going out to the land of India was onerous to them, therefore they hastened to accept that offer, saying, "We will kill that bunch and return to our own country."

Thus al-Qaynī went against the Khārijites with six hundred men, to whom Khālid joined two hundred from the security forces of al-Kūfah. They met on the Euphrates. Al-Qaynī arranged his troops and dismissed the Kūfan security forces, saying, "Do not be with us." He only intended by that that he and his men be left alone with the enemy. As such, the victory would be theirs without (the help of) others, owing to what Khālid had promised them. Bahlūl came out against them and asked who their commander was, so that he might learn his location. Then he waited for him with a black standard. After this, he bore down on him, stabbing him in the gap in his armor and running him through. Al-Qaynī said, "You have slain me, may God kill you!" Bahlūl said, "To the hellfire, may God banish you!" The Syrian troops then fled with the security forces of al-Kūfah until they reached the gate of al-Kūfah, while Bahlūl and his men kept killing them. As for the Syrians, they were on fleet horses and thus escaped them. But as for the Kūfan security forces, he overtook them. They said, "Fear God regarding us, for we are forced, compelled!" But he began smiting their heads with spears, saying, "Catch up! Deliverance! Deliverance!"

Al-Bahlūl found on al-Qaynī a money bag, which he took. In al-Kūfah were six persons who held the opinion of al-Bahlūl. They went out in his direction intending to join him but were slain. Al-Bahlūl went forth to where they were, carrying the money bag [1625]
with him. He said, "Who slew these persons, so that I may give him these dirhams?" Thereupon this one began to say, "I did,"

563. A famous Iraqi city beside al-Kūfah near the Euphrates. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥīra.

and that one, "I," until he learned who they were, while they thought that he had come from Khālid to give them money for their slaying of those who were slain. Then Bahlūl asked the people of the village, "Did these speak the truth? Did they slay the band?" They answered, "Yes." Bahlūl had feared that they claimed it out of greed for money. He said to the people of the village, "You go away." Then he ordered those (who had slain his followers) to be killed. His companions faulted him, but he argued with them until they accepted his argument.

Khālid heard of the defeat of the force (of al-Qaynī) as well as the news of those killed from the people of Ṣarīfīn.[564] Therefore, he dispatched a commander from the Banū Shaybān, one of the sons of Ḥawshab b. Yazīd b. Ruwaym.[565] He met the enemy between al-Mawṣil and al-Kūfah, but al-Bahlūl dealt with (his) force severely, whereupon the commander said, "I beg of you on behalf of our close relationship, for I am going over to (you), seeking refuge." At this, Bahlūl left him alone while his men were defeated. They came to Khālid, who was staying at al-Kūfah, waiting. Nothing frightened him except the routed army suddenly coming upon him.

Al-Bahlūl set off on the same day heading for al-Mawṣil. The governor of al-Mawṣil was afraid of him and therefore wrote to Hishām that rebels had gone out to create havoc and ruin and that he did not feel that his province was safe. He asked him for troops with which to fight them. Hishām wrote back to him, "Send Kuthārah b. Bishr against them." Hishām did not know al-Bahlūl except by his nickname. At this, the governor wrote to
[1626] him, "The rebel *is* Kuthārah!"

Then al-Bahlūl said to his followers, "By God, we will not do anything to the son of the Christian woman (meaning Khālid). I did not rebel except for God. Therefore, why do we not seek out the head who has given power to Khālid and Khālid's relations?" Thereupon he set out, heading for Hishām in Syria. Hishām's gov-

564. Apparently the large village next to 'Ukbarā' on the Tigris on the way from al-Kūfah to al-Mawṣil. Presumably it belonged then to al-Kūfah, which accounts for Yāqūt's seeming duplication of it. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 403–4.

565. Al-Shaybānī. Ḥawshab had had charge of al-Ḥajjāj's security force in al-Kūfah. For his complete *nasab*, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 147, II, 322; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 325.

ernors feared he would break out in anger if they let al-Bahlūl pass through their lands in order to reach Syria. Thus Khālid mobilized against him troops from the inhabitants of Iraq. The governor of al-Jazīrah mobilized against him troops from the inhabitants of al-Jazīrah, and Hishām dispatched troops from the inhabitants of Syria. They gathered at a monastery between al-Jazīrah and al-Mawṣil. Bahlūl advanced until he reached them. It is said that they met at al-Kuḥayl[566] below al-Mawṣil. Bahlūl advanced to encamp at the gate of the monastery. His opponents said to him, "Draw back from the gate of the monastery so that we may come out to (fight) you." Thereupon he moved aside, and they emerged. When he saw their multitude, while he had only seventy (men) with him, he made right and left wings of his followers and asked (his opponents), "Does every one of you hope to kill us and then go back to his hometown to find his family safe?" They answered, "We hope for that, God willing." Then one of them attacked him, but Bahlūl slew him and said, "As for this one, he will never go back to his family!" He did not cease persisting in that until he had slain six of their men. At this, they were beaten and reentered the monastery, whereupon Bahlūl besieged them.

But reinforcements came to his opponents, so that they were twenty thousand. His followers said to him, "Should we not slaughter our mounts, then attack them in one charge?" He answered, "Do not do so until we offer to God an excuse for holding back from (slaughtering) our mounts for as long as we have held back."[567] The rebels fought the government forces all day long into the late afternoon, until they had left many killed and wounded [1627] among them. Then Bahlūl and his followers slaughtered their riding beasts, went on foot and drew their swords against their enemy, causing them injury. Bahlūl's followers were mostly slain, while he fought on, defending his men. A man from the Jadīlah of the Qays nicknamed Abū al-Mawt[568] attacked him, stabbing him and knocking him down. Those of Bahlūl's followers who survived came to him and said to him, "Designate someone to

566. A city on the west side of the Tigris between the mouths of the two Zāb rivers. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 439.

567. That is, "Let us fight well for as long as we can before we slaughter our mounts to prevent their capture and make a desperate last charge."

568. That is, the Father of Death, not a normal patronymic.

be in charge after you." Bahlūl said, "If I perish, the Commander of the Faithful is to be Di'āmah al-Shaybānī. If Di'āmah perishes, the Commander of the Faithful is to be 'Amr al-Yashkurī." But Abū al-Mawt had only struck al-Bahlūl by stealth. Bahlūl died the same night. When his companions arose in the morning, Di'āmah fled and left them. A man from their poets said:

Di'āmah is the worst Commander of the Faithful,
A pillar[569] who in war is the worst of supports.

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays[570] said, eulogizing Bahlūl and his followers:

I have been given in exchange, after Abū Bishr and his companions,
A people who are helpers with the divisions against me,
As if they were not of our comradeship,
Nor were intimate friends of ours yesterday.
O eye, shed your tears in continuous flow
And weep on our behalf for companions and brothers who have departed,
They left for us the outward appearance of the world and its hidden aspect
And have become neighbors in gardens of immortality.

According to Abū 'Ubaydah: When Bahlūl was slain, 'Amr al-Yashkurī went out in rebellion but was soon killed. Then al-'Anazī,[571] the companion of al-Ashhab—and by this he was known—rebelled against Khālid with sixty men. Khālid dis-
[1628] patched al-Simṭ b. Muslim al-Bajalī against him with four thousand (men). They met in the vicinity of the Euphrates. Al-'Anazī attacked al-Simṭ, but the latter smote him between his fingers, so that he threw down his sword, his hand being paralyzed. After this, al-Simṭ charged al-'Anazī's men, and the Ḥarūriyyah were defeated. The slaves of the people of al-Kūfah and their vulgar people met them and threw stones at them until they slew them.

569. *Di'āmah* means 'pillar' or 'support' in Arabic.

570. Al-Shaybānī, the famous Khārijite leader who subjugated Iraq in 127(745) and fell fighting Marwān b. Muḥammad in 128(746). See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al- Shaybānī.

571. Ibn al-Athīr has al-Bakhtarī. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 212.

The Execution of Wazīr al-Sakhtiyānī

According to Abū 'Ubaydah: Then Wazīr al-Sakhtiyānī rebelled against Khālid with a small number of men. His rebellion took place at al-Ḥīrah. He would not pass by a village but that he would burn it, nor by a person but that he would kill him. He got control over what was there and over the treasury. Khālid sent against him a commander from among his companions and a detachment from the security forces of al-Kūfah. They fought him, while he had with him a very small number of men. Wazīr fought on until most of his companions were slain and he was badly wounded. He was taken captive half-dead and brought to Khālid. He approached Khālid, admonishing him and reciting for him verses from the Qur'ān. What Khālid heard from him pleased him, so that he refrained from killing him, but rather he incarcerated him in his prison. During his nights, Khālid kept sending for Wazīr to be brought to him so that he might converse with him and ask him questions. That reached Hishām and so Khalīd was denounced to him. It was said, "He has taken a Harūrī who has killed, burned and plundered property, has allowed him to live and has (even) adopted him as a companion for evening entertainment." Hishām became enraged and wrote to Khālid, cursing him and saying, "Do not allow an offender who has killed, burned, and plundered property to live." Khālid used to say, "I console myself with his company against death," owing to what he would hear of his elucidation and eloquence. He wrote to Hishām regarding him and softened (the seriousness of) the matter—and it is said, rather, he did not write but delayed his affair and put it [1629]
off—until Hishām wrote to him rebuking him and commanding him to execute Wazīr and burn him. When (such) a command of resolve which he could not put off came to Khālid, he sent for Wazīr and for the small number of men of his companions who had been taken with him. Then he ordered that they be brought into the mosque. Bundles of reeds were also brought in, to which they were tied. Then tar was poured over them, and they were brought out and set up in the courtyard, where fire was tossed onto them. There was not one of them but that he was troubled and showed anxiety, all except for Wazīr, who did not move and kept reciting the Qur'ān until he died.

In this year, Asad b. ʿAbdallāh campaigned in al-Khuttal. In it, Asad slew Badr Ṭarkhān, the prince of al-Khuttal.

Asad's Campaign against al-Khuttal: This Campaign and the Reason for His Killing Badr Ṭarkhān

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his authorities whom we have mentioned before: Asad campaigned against al-Khuttal—it was the campaign against Badr Ṭarkhān—dispatching Muṣʿab b. ʿAmr al-Khuzāʿī to it. Muṣʿab kept going along until he encamped near Badr Ṭarkhān, who sought safe conduct for the purpose of going forth to Asad. Muṣʿab responded positively, whereupon Badr Ṭarkhān went forth to Asad to ask him for certain things, but Asad held back. Then Badr Ṭarkhān asked him that he accept from him
[1630] one million dirhams. Asad responded to him, "You are a stranger from the people of al-Bāmiyān.[572] Leave al-Khuttal as you entered it." Badr Ṭarkhān said to him, "You entered Khurāsān on ten readied mounts, but if you were to leave it today, you would not be transported by (even) five hundred camels. Besides that, I entered al-Khuttal with something; therefore, give that thing back to me so that I may go out of al-Khuttal as I entered it." Asad said, "What is that?" Badr Ṭarkhān said, "I entered it as a youth, winning wealth by the sword, while God provided a family and children. Therefore, give me back my youth so that I may leave al-Khuttal. Do you think I should abandon my family and children? What would my survival be (worth) after my family and children?" Thus Asad became angry.

Badr Ṭarkhān trusted in the guarantee of safe conduct. But Asad said to him, "I will put a seal on your neck, as I fear for you on account of the treachery of the troops." Badr Ṭarkhān said, "I do not want that. I will be satisfied from your side by a man who will convey me to Muṣʿab." But Asad only wanted to put a seal on his neck. Thus he put a seal on his neck and turned him over to Abū al-Asad, his mawlā. Abū al-Asad set out with him until he reached al-Muṣʿab's camp in the evening. Salamah b. Abī ʿAbdallāh was among the mawālī with Muṣʿab. Abū al-Asad came to Salamah while he was putting the siege engine in

572. A city south of Balkh deep in the Ghūr mountains. See *EI*², s.v. Bāmiyān.

its place. Salamah asked Abū al-Asad, "What has the amīr done in the matter of Badr Ṭarkhān?" Abū al-Asad then related what Badr Ṭarkhān had proposed, Asad's refusal of that and his sending Badr Ṭarkhān with him to al-Muṣ'ab so that the latter might let him enter the fortress. Salamah said:

"The amīr has not done right in what he has done. He will reconsider that and regret (it). Rather, he should have taken what [1631] Badr Ṭarkhān offered him, or held him without letting him enter his fortress. For we only have entered it by bridges which we set up and narrows which we repaired.[573] The hope of peace has kept him from sallying out against us. But if he despairs of peace, he will not leave aside any effort (against us). Therefore, leave him in my tent tonight. Do not go off with him to al-Muṣ'ab, for as soon as he sees him, he will allow him to enter his fortress."

Thus Abū al-Asad and Badr Ṭarkhān remained in Salamah's tent. Asad advanced with the men along a narrow way where the troops became cut off from one another. Asad passed on until he reached a river. He had become thirsty. Not having with him any of his servants, he called for water. Al-Sughdī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Ṭu'mah al-Jarmī[574] had a *shākirī* with him. The *shākirī* had a Tibetan horn. Al-Sughdī took the horn, put some parched barley in it, poured water from the river on it, and shook it. He then gave Asad and a group of the troops' leaders a drink from it. Next, Asad alighted in the shade of a tree, summoning a man from his guards, that he might rest his head on the guardsman's thigh. Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī came up leading his horse until he sat down opposite him, where Asad was looking. Asad asked him, "How are you, O Abū al-'Adabbas?" Al-Mujashshir replied, "Badr Ṭarkhān was in our hands. He offered what he offered, but neither did the amīr accept from him what he offered him, nor did he tighten his grip on him. Rather, he let him go, command- [1632] ing that he be brought into his fortress, owing to what he has—he claims—of good faith."

Asad regretted (his act) at (hearing) that. He summoned a guide from the people of al-Khuttal and a man from the Syrian forces

573. This probably refers to filling in the moat. Apparently the fortress had been partially taken.

574. His personal name probably Muḥammad. He later appears as a Yamanī leader in the civil strife of 128(746)–129(747). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1924–6, 1971.

who was skilled at getting through and had a brisk horse. The two of them were brought to him. He said to the Syrian, "If you overtake Badr Ṭarkhān before he enters his fortress, you will get a thousand dirhams. The two then set off until they came to Muṣ'ab's camp. The Syrian called out, "What has the lout done?" He was told, "[He is] with Salamah." The guide went back to Asad with the news. The Syrian stayed with Badr Ṭarkhān in Salamah's tent. Asad sent for Badr Ṭarkhān, transferring him (back) to himself. When Asad reviled him, Badr Ṭarkhān knew that he had broken his pledge. Therefore, he threw a pebble toward the sky saying, "This is God's pledge!" He took another and threw it toward the sky, saying, "This is Muḥammad's pledge!" He began to do likewise with the pledge of the Commander of the Faithful and the pledge of the Muslims. Asad ordered that his hand be cut off. Asad said, "Who here is of the relations of Abū Fudayk?" —a man from the Azd whom Badr Ṭarkhān had slain. A man from the Azd stood up and said, "I am." Asad said, "Behead him!" The Azdī did so. Asad then overcame the greater castle. Above it, a small castle remained, in which were Badr Ṭarkhān's children and possessions, but Asad did not reach it. Asad dispersed his cavalry in the valleys of al-Khuttal.

[1633] Asad arrived at Marw, where Ayyūb b. Abī Ḥassān al-Tamīmī[575] was governor. He dismissed him, appointing (instead) Khālid b. Shadīd, his own paternal cousin. When he went away to Balkh, he heard that 'Umārah b. Ḥuraym had married al-Fāḍilah bt. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. He wrote to Khālid b. Shadīd, saying, "Compel 'Umārah to divorce the daughter of Yazīd. If he refuses, whip him a hundred lashes." Therefore, Khālid sent a message to 'Umārah, who came while al-'Udhāfir b. Zayd al-Taymī was with Khālid. Khālid ordered 'Umārah to divorce al-Fāḍilah, which he did after an (initial) refusal. 'Udhāfir said, "By God, 'Umārah is the champion of the Qays and its lord. Al-Fāḍilah is no more splendid than he." That is to say, she was not nobler than he was. Khālid b. Shadīd died and was succeeded by al-Ash'ath b. Ja'far al-Bajalī.[576]

In this year, al-Ṣuḥārī b. Shabīb[577] rebelled as a Khārijite at

575. He seems to have had interests in al-Sughd, where he appears with Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī in 104(722). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1444.

576. Text: *al-Najalī*; read: *al-Bajalī*, as in Cairo ed.

577. Al-Shaybānī, the son of the notorious Kūfan Khārijite Shabīb b. Yazīd

Jabbul.[578]

The Story of al-Ṣuḥārī b. Shabīb

According to Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā: Al-Ṣuḥārī b. Shabīb came to Khālid (b. 'Abdallāh) requesting a stipend. Khālid said, "What would the son of Shabīb do with a stipend?" Therefore, Ibn Shabīb took his leave of him and departed. Khālid repented, fearing that he would cause an outbreak against him. Thus he sent a message to him, summoning him. Al-Ṣuḥārī said, "I was at his place before." But the messengers refused to leave him alone, wherefore he drew his sword against them. At this, they left him, while he rode off, going until he passed beyond Wāsiṭ. [1634] Then he slaughtered his horse and boarded a skiff to hide his location. Then he headed toward a band of the Banū Taym Allāt b. Tha'labah who were at Jabbul. He came to them girded with his sword and told them his story and the story of Khālid. They said to him, "What did you hope for by a stipend? You would have been better off to go in to the son of the Christian woman and smite him with your sword!" Al-Ṣuḥārī said, "By God, I did not want the stipend; I did not want except to reach him so that he would know who I was. Then I would assassinate the son of the Christian woman for his having killed so-and-so"—before that, Khālid had tortured to death a man from those of the Ṣufriyyah[579] who stayed at home. Then al-Ṣuḥārī called on them to rebel with him. Some of them answered him positively; others said, "We will wait," while others refused, saying, "We are in good circumstances." When he saw that, he said:

I did not seek the stipend from him except,
    Out of eagerness to kill him, to get at him
And to relieve the earth from him and from whomever
    Creates havoc in it and inclines away from right.
Every stubborn oppressor I see
    Has abandoned right and follows waywardness as sunnah.

(26(647)–77(696) or 78(697)). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 327; Ṭabarī, II/2, 972.

578. A small town on the east bank of the Tigris in the Lower Nahrawān district about halfway between Wāsiṭ and al-Madā'in. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 38 and map II.

579. One of the Khārijite parties. See *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣufriyya.

I am sacrificing myself for my Lord,
Abandoning talk among the people and gossip.
Giving up my family and wealth, I hope for
Family and wealth in gardens of immortality.

About thirty men gave him the oath of allegiance. He rebelled at Jabbul, then set out until he came to al-Mubārak.[580] That reached Khālid, who said, "I was afraid he might do this." Then Khālid sent troops against him. They met al-Ṣuḥārī in the district of al-Manādhir.[581] He fought them fiercely, but then they enveloped him, killing him and all of his companions.

Pilgrimage and Governors

[1635] According to Abū Ja'far: In this year, Abū Shākir Maslamah b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī[582] made the pilgrimage with him in this year. The governor of al-Madīnah, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if in this year was Muḥammad b. Hishām. In charge of Iraq and the East was Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī. Khālid's governor in charge of Khurāsān was his brother Asad b. 'Abdallāh. It has been said that Asad perished in this year, leaving as his successor in charge of Khurāsān Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī. It has also been stated that Asad, the brother of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, only perished in the year 120. In charge of Armenia and Ādharbayjān was Marwān b. Muḥammad.

580. A town about five *farsakhs* below Jabbul on the east bank of the Tigris opposite Nahr Sabūs. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 38.

581. Two districts just north of al-Ahwāz in Khūzistān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 239, 242n.

582. The famous Madīnan scholar. See *EI*[1], s.v. al-Zuhrī.

The Events of the Year 120

(DECEMBER 29, 737—DECEMBER 17, 738)

Among these was the summer campaign of Sulaymān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, in which he reportedly captured Sindirah;[583] the campaign of Isḥāq b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī,[584] who captured the castles of Tūmānshāh and devastated his land; and the campaign of Marwān b. Muḥammad against the land of the Turks.

In this year was the death of Asad b. 'Abdallāh, according to the statement of al-Madā'inī.

The Reason for Asad's Death

The reason for it: He reportedly had an internal abcess.[585] He attended (the feast of) al-Mihrijān while he was at Balkh, when the amīrs and *dihqāns* brought him presents. Among those who came to him was Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥanafī, his governor

583. This would appear to be the same as the fortress of Sideroun mentioned by Theophanes, but it cannot be further identified. See Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 103; Brooks, "Arabs in Asia Minor," *Hellenic Studies*, XVIII, 201.

584. A Jazarī lieutenant of Marwān b. Muḥammad, he was in charge of Armenia in 132(750) when he switched sides to join the 'Abbāsids, becoming thereby one of al-Manṣūr's prominent companions. His family was prominent for generations. See Crone, *Slaves*, 106.

585. Ar. *dubaylah*. Also: a tumor. The exact nature of the disease, usually fatal, is unclear. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, s.v. d-b-l.

[1636] of Herat and Khurāsān, and the *dihqān* of Herat. The two of them brought him a gift valued at a million (dirhams). Among that which they brought were a fortress of silver, a fortress of gold,[586] pitchers of gold, pitchers of silver, and large dishes of gold and silver. The two of them came forward as Asad was sitting on the raised seat and the nobles of Khurāsān on the chairs. They set down the two fortresses, then put behind them the pitchers, large dishes and silk garments[587] of Marw, Qūhistān[588] and Herat, until the cloth spread out (for the feast) was filled. Among what the *dihqān* brought Asad was a ball of gold. Then the *dihqān* stood to deliver a speech and said:

"May God make the amīr prosper! We Iranian people ruled the world for four hundred years. We ruled it with forbearance, reason, and dignity, though there was not among us a clear book nor a God-sent prophet. (Great) men with us were three. (First) is one fortunate in nature; wherever he goes, God conquers through him. (Second) is a man whose manly qualities have been completed in his house; if he is like that, he will be welcomed, greeted, exalted, given command, and advanced. (Third) is a man whose heart is big and whose hand is open (with generosity), so that he is wished for; if he is like that, he will be given command and advanced. God has put in you the characteristics of these three by whom we ruled for four hundred years, O amīr. We do not know of any-
[1637] one who is more perfect in leadership than you. You have kept your household, entourage, and mawālī in line so that there is not one of them who can transgress against either a little man or a great one, a rich man or a poor one. This is perfection of leadership. Then, you have built arched halls in the deserts to which one visitor comes from the east, another from the west. Neither of them finds a fault, but rather they say, 'Glory be to God! How excellent is that which has been built!' Included in your natural good fortune is that you met the Khāqān when he was leading a hundred thousand men and accompanied by al-Ḥārith b. Surayj. You defeated him, made him flee, killed his men, and plundered

586. These must be models.

587. Dozy mentions that Marw was famous for these garments. See Dozy, *Vêtements*, 113n.

588. The mountainous district south of Naysābūr. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 352–63.

his camp. As for your big-heartedness and open-handedness, we do not know which of two kinds of wealth is more delightful to you: wealth that has come to you or wealth which has gone forth from you. Indeed, you are more delighted by that which has gone forth!"

Asad laughed and said, "You are the best of Khurāsān's *dihqāns* and the most excellent in giving." Asad gave him an apple which was in his hand. The *dihqān* of Herat prostrated himself before Asad. Asad fell silent looking at those gifts. He looked to his right, saying, "O 'Udhāfir b. Yazīd![589] Command someone to bear away this gold fortress." Then he said, "O Maghrā'[590] b. Aḥmar, head of the Qays!—or he said, of Qinnasrīn—Command someone to bear this fortress away." Then he said, "O so-and-so, take a pitcher," and, "O so-and-so, take a pitcher." He gave away the large dishes until two large dishes remained. He said, "Stand up, O Ibn al-Ṣaydā', and take a little dish." Ibn al-Saydā' took one, lifted it to test its weight, then put it down. Then he took the other one and [1638]
lifted it, testing its weight. Asad asked him, "What is the matter?" Ibn al-Ṣaydā' answered, "I will take the heavier one." Asad said, "Take them both together." He gave also to the lesser officers and to those who had performed outstandingly in war. Abū al-Ya'fūr, who used to go before the ruler of Khurāsān in military campaigns, rose and called out, "Onward, to the road!" Asad said, "How excellent is that which you have called attention to regarding yourself! Take two silken garments." Maymūn al-'Adhdhāb[591] stood up, saying, "To me, to your left, to the thoroughfare!" Asad said, "How excellent is that which you have called attention to regarding yourself! Take a silken garment."

Asad gave away all that was on the cloth spread on the ground. Nahār b. Tawsi'ah said:

You (people) are few when one who rewards summons to war,
But on the morning of al-Mihrijān you are many.

Then Asad fell sick, but, recovering somewhat, he came out one day and was brought the first pears that came (that season). He fed the people from them one by one. He took a pear and threw

589. Elsewhere given Ibn Zayd. See note 510.
590. Text: *Ma'n*; read: *Maghrā'*, as elsewhere.
591. That is, the one who carried out punishments.

it to Khurāsān, the *dihqān* of Herat, whereupon Asad's internal abscess ruptured (from the strain), causing him to perish. He left as his successor Ja'far al-Bahrānī—who is Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah—in the year 120. The latter held office for four months. The appointment of Naṣr b. Sayyār came in Rajab of the year 121. Ibn 'Īrs al-'Abdī said:

A herald has announced the death of Asad b. 'Abdallāh,
And the heart has been shocked for the obeyed king.
At Balkh, destiny met (him), coming by night;
The decree of your Lord cannot be held back.
Pour forth tears, O eye, in a generous flow.
Does not the sundering of the union make you sad?
His death came to him inside of Ṣīgh,[592]
[1639] And how many a brave hero is at al-Ṣīgh!
Regiments that answered the summoner
Upon lightly loaded, freely raiding, quick-stepping mounts.
You were given abundant rain; you were yourself rain
Bringing forth rich pasturage for the seeker of wholesome pasture.

Sulaymān b. Qattah, the mawlā of the Banū Taym b. Murrah,[593] who was a friend of Asad, said:

God has watered Balkh, the plain of Balkh and its rugged ground,
And the two Marws[594] of Khurāsān with clouds filled to excess.
I am not concerned about your being watered by it, but about a pit
In which they have buried noble remains and bones,
A contender with great peoples who cuts them down,
A seeker of vengeance, mighty like a lion, huge.
He would give his sword its due in war,

592. The seat of Asad's estates in Khurāsān, presumably beside Balkh. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 439.

593. Also said to be al-'Adawī, he was a Baṣran traditionist (*muḥaddith*) famed for his poetry. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r wa Shu'arā'*, 62. He must have been quite old if he is the same as the Sulaymān b. Qattah who was quoted by al-Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr (d. 72(691)). See Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 165. Elsewhere he is even said to have heard Mu'āwiyah (d. 60(680)) and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (d.ca. 43(664)), though this can hardly be correct. Qattah was his mother. See Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 596.

594. That is, Marw al-Shāhjān, the provincial capital, and Marw al-Rūdh.

And water the straightened Zā'ibī[595] spearhead (with blood).

According to Abū Ja'far: In this year, the party of the Banū al-'Abbās in Khurāsān sent Sulaymān b. Kathīr to Muhammad b. 'Alī b. al-'Abbās to inform him about their activity and its current state.

The Reason for the Khurāsānīs' Sending Sulaymān b. Kathīr to Muḥammad b. 'Alī

The reason for that was the anger of Muḥammad b. 'Alī against those of his party who were in Khurāsān, owing to their having obeyed Khidāsh, whose story we have referred to before, and their [1640] acceptance from him of those lies that were transmitted on his authority. Therefore, Muḥammad ceased writing to them. When his letter was slow in coming to them, they met, making mention of that among themselves. They resolved on the appointment of Sulaymān b. Kathīr to meet Muḥammad regarding their activity, to inform him about themselves, and to return to them with what he answered. Sulaymān b. Kathīr—according to what has been reported—came to Muḥammad b. 'Alī while the latter was alienated from those of his party who were in Khurāsān. Sulaymān told him about them. Muḥammad rebuked them on account of their following Khidāsh and what he had summoned them to, saying, "May God curse Khidāsh and those who follow his religion!" Then he sent Sulaymān away to Khurāsān. He also wrote them a letter to be taken by him. Sulaymān came to them with the letter, which was sealed. They broke its seals but found nothing in it except, "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful."[596] That was hard for them (to bear), and they (now) knew that what Khidāsh had brought them was at variance with the command of Muḥammad b. 'Alī.

In this year, Muḥammad b. 'Alī sent Bukayr b. Māhān to his party in Khurāsān after Sulaymān b. Kathīr had departed from him to them. He wrote a letter (for Bukayr to take) with him to them, telling them that Khidāsh had led his party to a position at vari-

595. Referring to a town of Zā'ib. See Fayrūzābādī, *Muḥīt*, s.v. z-'-b.
596. This formula opens all Muslim Arabic letters.

ance with his own. Bukayr came to them with his letter, but they did not believe him and made light of him. Bukayr went back to Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who sent with him rods covered some with iron and some with brass. When Bukayr came (again) to them, he gathered the *nuqabā'*[597] and the faction, giving a rod to each man among them. Thus they learned that they had been at variance with his position, whereupon they came back repenting.

[1641] In this year, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik dismissed Khālid b. 'Abdallāh from all of the offices to which he had appointed him.

The Reason for Hishām's Dismissal of Khālid al-Qasrī

(Sundry) statements have been given about that. We will mention those which have reached us containing a report on that subject.

It has been said regarding that: Farrūkh Abū al-Muthannā had assumed an obligation for the estates of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik in a place called Rustāq al-Rummān or Nahr al-Rummān. He was called thereby Farrūkh al-Rummānī. His position was hard for Khālid to bear. Khālid said to Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī,[598] "Woe to you! Go forth to the Commander of the Faithful and (ask him to) increase the payment (required) of Farrūkh." After this, he increased it against him by a million dirhams.'" Hishām then sent out two men from among the honest inhabitants of Syria to take possession of the estates. Ḥassān thereby became more burdensome to Khālid than Farrūkh. Therefore, Khālid began to do harm to him. Ḥassān said to him, "Don't alienate me, for I am your disciple." But Khālid refused except to do him injury. When Ḥassān came to Khālid, the latter broke the dikes to flood the estates (that Ḥassān was responsible for). Then Ḥassān went to Hishām to say, "Khālid has broken the dikes to flood your estates." Hishām sent a man to look at them. Then the man came back to Hishām, telling him (the news). Ḥassān said to one of Hishām's servants, "If you will speak a word which I will tell you where Hishām will hear it, you will receive from me a thousand dinars." The servant said,

597. The twelve highest-ranking leaders of the party in Khurāsān.

598. He had charge of great land reclamation projects in Iraq. He last appears in 126(744) in the entourage of the Caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 252n, 331, 333; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1779.

"Hurry the one thousand to me (now) and I will say what you wish." Thereupon Ḥassān paid him and said to him, "Make one [1642] of Hishām's boys cry. When he has cried, say to him, 'Be quiet! By God, it is as if you are the son of Khālid al-Qasrī, whose income is thirteen million (dirhams).'" He made Hishām hear that, but the latter disregarded it. Following that, Ḥassān came in to him. Hishām said to him, "Draw near to me," whereupon Ḥassān drew near. He asked him, "How much is Khālid's income?" Ḥassān answered, "Thirteen million (dirhams)." Hishām asked, "How is it that you did not tell me about this?" Ḥassān replied, "Did you ask me?" This thought became established in Hishām's mind, so that he resolved to dismiss Khālid.

It has been said that Khālid used to say to his son Yazīd. "You are not less than Maslamah b. Hishām, for you most certainly outshine the people in three things the like of which no one else can boast of: I have controlled the Tigris with dikes, I have the honor of providing water to the pilgrims at Mecca, and I hold the governorship of Iraq."

It has been said that the only thing that made Hishām angry with Khālid was: A man from the Quraysh went in to Khālid, whereupon the latter made light of him, upbraiding him. The man then wrote to Hishām to complain, whereupon Hishām wrote to Khālid:

"Now then: The Commander of the Faithful—even if he has left your hand free, as well as your policy, with regard to those whose rule he has entrusted you with and made you the keeper of, owing to that which he has hoped for of your competence and that which he has relied on of the excellence of your management—has not laid before you the eminent man of his household in order for you to trample him with your foot, nor for you to look sharply at him with your glance. Indeed, when you have turned your tongue against their eminent man in Iraq with reproach, seeking thereby to lessen his importance and to scorn his standing, how could you claim to have dealt fairly with him? That has even brought you out to using rude language toward him in the public audience, not [1643] even moving aside for him, when you saw him approaching, from the middle of your elevated seat which God has made smooth for you! Among your people is he who surpasses you in his personal merit and who overwhelms you by his priority. You obtained your

seat by means of the family of 'Amr,[599] who elevated (you) from your lowliness, and in particular made you equal to the branches of the best tribes and their chiefs before the Commander of the Faithful. You have even settled on a mountain whence you have begun to look down on them with boastful pride. This (is your position), if your paltry gratitude does not cause you to roll down smashed and fallen. O son of the woman among your people who takes the scurf off her head with a comb,[600] should you not have highly esteemed the man of the best tribe when he entered your presence, should you not have made ample place for him to sit when you saw him approach and should you not have withdrawn from the center of your couch to honor him? Should you not have conversed with him, facing him with your joyful countenance, in order to honor the Commander of the Faithful? When he was seated comfortably, you should have chatted with him amiably, exalting his close relationship (to the Caliph) and acknowledging his right, for he is the tooth and tusk of the two houses, as well as the son of the patriarch of the house of Abū al-'Āṣ and of Ḥarb and their eminent man. The Commander of the Faithful swears by God to you that if not for the esteem you were held in before and (if not) that he would hate to see the malicious rejoicing of your enemy over you, he would most certainly have abased you as much as he raised you, so that he would have returned you to a condition by which you would miss (even) the needy people in your Iraq and the crowding of processions at your door. How close I am to making you a follower of he who was a follower of you!

"Therefore, arise in any case when the messenger of the Com-
[1644] mander of the Faithful meets you with his letter, whether at night or day, and go walking on your feet with those of your servants who are with you, until you stand at Ibn 'Amr's door ignomin-

599. That is, 'Amr al-Ashdaq b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, the son of 'Uthmān's governor of al-Kūfah and famous as a rebel executed by 'Abd al-Malik. Khālid's father 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Qasrī had been the chief of 'Amr's security force (*shurṭah*). The Qurashī in question here is one of 'Amr's sons, probably Sa'īd b. 'Amr, who had been with his father during his revolt and subsequently migrated to al-Madīnah and al-Kūfah, whence he paid a visit at an advanced age in 126/744 to the anti-Yamanī Caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd. See Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 200-1; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 178-80, 182. Khālid's offence is not merely maltreatment of an Umayyad but the ingratitude of a client to the son of his patron as well.

600. Ar. *mujarrishah*. This could be read simply as *mujarrasah*, a disgraced woman, though this has no support either from ancient texts or modern editors.

iously, seeking permission to enter to justify yourself to him, whether he lets you in or denies you (entry). If feelings of mercy move him, he will bear your (presence). But if disdain and scorn keep him from giving you access to him, then stand by his door for a year, neither moving aside nor retiring. Your matter will be up to him after that, whether he dismisses (you) or appoints (you) to office, whether he takes his revenge (on you) or pardons (you). May God curse you as one trusted with confidence (betrayed)! How many are your faults! How unseemly to people of noble station are your expressions, which have not ceased reaching the Commander of the Faithful, owing to your risking them against one who is more deserving of that which you have of the governorship of the two major cities of Iraq, as well as more senior and more righteous. The Commander of the Faithful has written to his paternal cousin regarding that which he has written to you about his disapproval of you, so that he may give his opinion regarding pardoning you or remaining angry with you. The Commander of the Faithful has given him jurisdiction in that, and he is responsible for it. He will be held praiseworthy by the Commander of the Faithful whichever of the two he brings to you, with success, God willing."

His letter to Ibn ʿAmr:

"Now then. Your letter has reached the Commander of the Faithful, who has understood what you mentioned concerning Khālid's upbraiding you in public audience while despising your station, belittling your relationship to the Commander of the Faithful and your sympathetic feelings toward the Caliph as a result of family ties. (I have also understood) your refraining from (answering) him, thereby exalting the Commander of the Faithful and his authority, and thereby holding fast to the bonds of protection given by obedience to him. (This you did) despite the painfulness of what befell you owing to Khālid's reprehensible words, the malevolence of his speech, and his continuing to attack you, [1645] though you were silent towards him, (while he was) enjoying to the full that the Commander of the Faithful had freed his tongue, loosened his reins, raised up his lowliness, and elevated (him from) his obscurity. Just so you, the family of Saʿīd, in cases like this, when exposed to the babbling of riffraff and the foolishness of their minds, are mute, not (trying to) silence (your opponents),

but rather having a forbearance which would lighten the weight of the mountains.

"The Commander of the Faithful commends your exaltation of him and your respect for his authority and his thanks. He has also made over to you the matter of Khālid regarding your removing him or confirming him in office. If you dismiss him, your dismissal will be effected. If you confirm him, that will be a benefit from you to him that the Commander of the Faithful will not thank you for. The Commander of the Faithful has written to him that which will bring him to his senses. It commands him to come to you on foot in whatever condition the letter of the Commander of the Faithful finds him—whether the messenger sent to him happens to meet him in the night or the day—until he stands by your door, whether you admit him or block him, whether you confirm him in office or dismiss him. The Commander of the Faithful has authorized his messenger to beat him on the head with twenty lashes in your presence, unless you dislike that happening to him owing to your respect for his past service to you. Whichever of the two you decide to effect, the Commander of the Faithful will agree (to it) and will love it, in accordance with your righteousness, the greatness of your esteem, your relationship, and your ties of blood, according to what he intends with regard to enforcing the rights of the family of Abū al-ʿĀṣ[601] and Saʿīd. Therefore, write to the Commander of the Faithful about whatever you like, whether you begin (the correspondence) or respond. (Do this) both to converse and to pass along requests from your family, who are members of the Commander of the Faithful's own household, to you
[1646] concerning their needs. For modesty may have kept them from obtaining these before, owing to the distance of their homes from the Commander of the Faithful and the paucity of their opportunity for traveling to bring their needs to his attention. You ought not to be ashamed of (applying to) the Commander of the Faithful, nor be afraid of repeating their requests to him, owing to the status of their relationship, their stations, and their noble lineages. Whether seeking a grant, asking for help, making a request, or asking for more, you will find the Commander of the Faithful to be swift to (respond to) you in good faith, owing to his desire to ce-

601. A mistake for al-ʿĀṣ. See note 599.

ment your relationship (through gifts) and to enforce your rights. The Commander of the Faithful seeks God's help to accomplish what he intends and turns to Him hoping for help to effect the right of his blood relationship. He trusts in Him and has confidence in Him. God is his Ally and his Master. Peace."

It has been said that Khālid would often in mentioning Hishām say, "The son of the retarded woman". The mother of Hishām used to behave foolishly. We have mentioned her story already.

It has been reported that Khālid wrote a letter to Hishām which enraged him. Hishām wrote back to him, "O son of Umm Khālid, it has reached me that you say, 'The governorship of Iraq is not an honor for me.' O son of a stinking woman, how is the governorship of Iraq not an honor for you, when you are from the small, contemptible Bajīlah? Rather, by God, I think that the first who comes unto you from the Quraysh will bind your arms to your neck."

It has been reported that Hishām wrote to him, "I have heard about what your saying, 'I am Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Asad b. Kurz; I am not the most noble of the five.'[602] Rather, by God, I will send you back to your mule and your Fayrūzī[603] hood." [1647]

It has been reported that it reached Hishām that Khālid would say to his son, "How will you be when the sons of the Commander of the Faithful need you?" At this, anger appeared on Hishām's face.

It has been said that a man of the people of Syria came to Hishām to say, "I heard Khālid mentioning the Commander of the Faithful by that which should not escape from two lips." Hishām interjected, "He said, 'The crosseyed one.'" The man said, "No, rather he said worse than that." Hishām asked, "What is it?" The man said, "I will never say it." Hishām did not cease hearing about Khālid that which he disliked until his attitude toward him changed.

It has been reported that a *dihqān* entered the presence of Khālid and said, "O amīr, your son's income has exceeded ten million (dirhams). I fear that this may reach the Commander of the Faithful and that he may consider it too much. The people love your

602. That is, "I did not ennoble my family, but it already had high standing."

603. This probably refers to a town that produced the garment, possibly the village of Fayrūz near Ḥimṣ. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 233.

body, but I love your body and your soul." Khālid responded, "Asad b. ʿAbdallāh has spoken to me in the same vein, and you put him up to it!" The *dihqān* said, "Indeed." Khālid said, "Woe to you! Leave my son alone, for it may be that he will seek a dirham and not be able to get it." Then, when the matters communicated to him about Khālid that he did not like became too many for him, Hishām resolved to dismiss him. But when he decided on that, he hid what he had decided to do to him by his command.

The Action of Hishām in Removing Khālid When His Resolve to Dismiss Him Had Become Firm

According to ʿUmar—ʿUbayd b. Jannād—his father and certain scribes: Hishām concealed Khālid's dismissal. He wrote to Yūsuf
[1648] in his own handwriting while the latter was the governor of the Yaman, (telling) him to come (to Iraq) with thirty of his companions. Yūsuf went forth until he reached al-Kūfah, alighting for rest during the night near it. Ṭāriq, Khālid's deputy in charge of the *kharāj*, had just circumcised his son, giving him a thousand excellent horses, a thousand slave youths, and a thousand slave girls, besides money, clothes and other things. The night patrol passed by Yūsuf and his companions while Yūsuf was performing his worship and the odor of perfume was emanating from his robes. The watchman asked, "Who are you?" They answered, "Travelers." He asked, "Where are you headed for?" They replied, "A certain place." Then the patrol came to Ṭāriq and his companions, and said, "We have seen a group whom we are unacquainted with. We think we ought to kill them, for if they are rebels, we will be delivered from them, while if they are going to (attack) you, we will learn that so that you will be ready with regard to them." But they forbade them to kill them. The patrol returned to its rounds. While it was still dark in the early morning, Yūsuf had moved on and gone to the dwellings of the Thaqīf, and thus the night patrol passed by them. The watchman asked, "Who are you?" They answered, "Travelers." He asked, "Where are you headed for?" They replied, "A certain place." The patrol came to Ṭāriq and his companions, and said, "They have gone to the dwellings of the Thaqīf. We think we should kill them." But they forbade them.

Yūsuf commanded one of the Thaqafīs, saying, "Gather for me

whoever is in al-Kūfah from the Muḍar," and he did so. Yūsuf entered the mosque with the dawn and ordered the *mu'adhdhin* to call for the worship service to begin, but the latter said, "Not until the imām comes." At this, Yūsuf roughly shoved him aside and called for the worship service to start. Yūsuf stepped forward and [1649] recited, "When the event befalls,"[604] and, "A questioner asked."[605] Then he sent (forces) to Khālid, Ṭāriq and their companions, so that they were taken away while the pots were boiling.

According to 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad—al-Rabī' b. Sābūr, the mawlā of the Banū al-Ḥarīsh, to whom Hishām had entrusted the privy seal along with the guard: A letter came to Hishām from Khālid, making him angry. Also on that day, Jundab, the mawlā of Yūsuf b. 'Umar came to him with Yūsuf's letter. Hishām read it and then said to Sālim, the mawlā of 'Anbasah b. 'Abd al-Malik,[606] "Answer him in your own words." Hishām himself wrote a small note in his own handwriting. Then he said to me, "Bring me Sālim's letter." Sālim was in charge of the correspondence office. I brought his letter to Hishām, who put the small note inside it. Then, he said to me, "Seal it," and I did so. Then he summoned Yūsuf's messenger and said, "Your master certainly has an aggressive disposition and makes requests above his station." Then he said to me, "Rip up his clothes." Then he ordered that he be whipped. After that he said, "Take him away from me and give him the letter." Thus I gave him the letter, saying to him, "Woe to you! Make your escape!"

Bashīr b. Abī Thaljah of the inhabitants of al-Urdunn, who was Sālim's deputy, doubted (the matter), saying "This is a trick. He [1650] has made Yūsuf the governor of Iraq." He wrote to a subordinate of Sālim in charge of Ajamat Sālim,[607] who was called 'Iyāḍ, saying, "Your family have sent you a Yamanī robe. When it comes to you, put it on and praise God. Inform Ṭāriq of that." Thus 'Iyāḍ sent

604. Qur'ān 56:1. The title of the chapter is meant, so that he also would have recited the succeeding verses.

605. Qur'ān 70:1. The rest of the verse is, "...concerning a torment about to befall."

606. Abu al-'Alā'. Ibn Khayyāṭ calls him the mawlā of Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik. He was still in office at Hishām's death in 125(743) and was influential with the Caliph. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1729–31; Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 545.

607. Or: Sālim's canebrake. But it appears to be a place name in Iraq.

a letter to Ṭāriq b. Abī Ziyād.[608] Bashīr regretted his letter and wrote to ʿIyāḍ, "Your family have decided to keep back the robe. Therefore, do not rely on it." ʿIyāḍ then brought the latter letter to Ṭāriq. Ṭāriq said, "The news is in the first letter, but your master has regretted (sending it) and fears that the news may leak out." Having written this down, Ṭāriq rode from al-Kūfah to Khālid, who was at Wāsiṭ. He traveled for a day and a night, reaching him in the morning. Dāwūd al-Barbarī, who was in charge of admission to Khālid's presence and of his guard as well as being in charge of the correspondence office, saw Ṭāriq. Dāwūd informed Khālid, who became angry, saying, "He has come without permission!" But he admitted him.

When he saw him he asked, "What has brought you?" Ṭāriq replied, "A matter in which I erred." Khālid asked, "What is it?" Ṭāriq answered, "The death of Asad, may God have mercy on him. I wrote to the amīr to tender my condolences to him regarding Asad, but I ought to have come to him walking." At this, Khālid softened and his eye shed a tear. He said, "Go back to your work." Ṭāriq said, "I wished to mention a subject to the amīr in private." Khālid said, "There is no secret of which Dāwūd is not aware." Ṭāriq said, "It is a matter relating to myself." Dāwūd became angry and went out. Ṭāriq told Khālid, who asked, "What do you think?" Ṭāriq answered, "You (should) ride to the Commander of the Faithful to apologize to him for anything that may have reached him about you." Khālid said, "What an evil man I would be then, if I rode to him without his permission." Ṭāriq
[1651] said, "Then another thing." Khālid inquired, "What is it?" Ṭāriq replied, "You travel in your province while I go ahead of you to Syria to ask permission of him for you. You will not have reached the farthest borders of your province before his permission comes to you." Khālid said, "Not this either." Ṭāriq said, "Then I will go and guarantee to the Commander of the Faithful all that has been lost in these years. Afterwards I will personally bring you your (re)appointment ." Khālid asked, "How much does it amount to?" Ṭāriq answered, "One hundred million (dirhams)." Khālid asked, "Where will I get this? By God, I would not find ten thousand dirhams." Ṭāriq said, "I and Saʿīd b. Rāshid will bear forty mil-

608. Text: *Ziyādh*; read; *Ziyād*, as in Cairo ed.

lion dirhams, al-Zaynabī and Abān b. al-Walīd[609] twenty million, and the rest will be apportioned among the subordinate officials." Khālid said, "In that case, I would most certainly be vile, if I gave a group of people something then went back on it." Ṭāriq said, "That we only protect you as well as protect ourselves with our money, so that we may resume our life of this world, and that (its) blessing may remain upon you and upon us, is better than someone coming to demand from us our money, which is with the merchants of the people of al-Kūfah. They would hold aloof and wait, so that we would be killed and they would consume that money." But Khālid refused. Ṭāriq took leave of him weeping. He said, "This is the last time we will meet in this world."

When he had gone on his way, Dāwūd entered. Khālid told him what Ṭāriq had said. Dāwūd declared, "He knew that you would not go forth without permission. Thus he wanted to deceive you and go to Syria to take hold of Iraq, he and the son of his brother, Sa'īd b. Rāshid." Ṭāriq returned to al-Kūfah, while Khālid went out to al-Ḥammah.

Yūsuf's messenger came to him in Yaman. Yūsuf asked, "What do you bring?" The messenger said, "Evil. The Commander of the Faithful is angry. He has beaten me and did not write the answer to your letter; this is the letter of Sālim, the secretary of the correspondence office." Yūsuf opened the letter and read it. When he reached the end of it, he read the note of Hishām in the latter's own handwriting saying, "Go to Iraq, for I have now appointed you to it. Beware lest anyone learn of that. Arrest the son of the Christian woman and his officials and cure me of them." Thereupon Yūsuf said, "Look for a guide knowledgeable about the road." He was brought a number and chose a man from among them. He set out the same day, leaving as his successor in Yaman his son al-Ṣalt,[610] who saw him off. When he wanted to go back, he asked him, "Where are you headed for?" Yūsuf beat him a hundred lashes, saying, "O son of a stinking woman, is it hidden from you when I finally find a firm position?" Yūsuf then went on. Whenever he would come upon two (diverging) roads, [1652]

609. He was later in charge of the security force of Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī in al-Kūfah briefly in 127(745). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1902.

610. He was slain by Khārijites in the Yaman 129(747). See Ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 583.

he would ask (about them). If he was told, "This one is for Iraq," he would say, "Take the way to Iraq," until he arrived at al-Kufah.

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Bishr b. 'Īsā—his father—Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī: I arranged for a physician for Hishām. I was in his presence while he was looking at that physician when he asked, "O Ḥassān, how long does it take someone to reach Iraq from the Yaman?" I answered, "I do not know." He said:

I gave you a decisive order but you disobeyed me
And hence have become deprived of rule, regretful.

It was only a little while before Yūsuf's letter came from Iraq. He had reached it, that being in Jumādā al-Ākhirah of the year 120.

According to 'Umar—'Alī—Sālim Zunbīl: When we reached al-
[1653] Najaf,[611] Yūsuf said to me, "Go bring me Ṭāriq." I could not refuse him. I said inside myself, "Who do I have to range against Ṭāriq and his power?" Then I came to al-Kūfah. I said to the servants of Ṭāriq, "Ask leave for me to (see) Ṭāriq," but they beat me. Thereupon I shouted to him, "Woe to you, O Ṭāriq! I am Sālim, the messenger of Yūsuf. He has come to Iraq." At this, he came forth shouting at his servants, "I am coming to him."

It has been related that Yūsuf said to Kaysān,"Go bring Ṭāriq to me. If he comes, transport him on the pack saddle of an ass. If he does not come, drag him to me." At al-Ḥīrah, I[612] came to the house of 'Abd al-Masīḥ,[613] who was the chief of the people of al-Ḥīrah. I told him, "Yūsuf has arrived in Iraq. He commands you to bind Ṭāriq and bring him to him." He went forth with his sons and servants until they came to Ṭāriq's residence. Ṭāriq had a brave servant who had brave servants armed and equipped. The servant said to Ṭāriq, "If you give me permission, I will go forth along with those with me against these and kill them. Then you may flee headlong, going whither you will." But Ṭāriq admitted Kaysān and said, "Tell me about the amīr. Does he want money?" Kaysān answered, "Yes." Ṭāriq said, "I will give him what he asks for." They traveled to Yūsuf and arrived at al-Ḥīrah. When Yūsuf

611. A town four miles west of al-Kūfah still in existence. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 76.

612. That is, Kaysān.

613. Probably al-Ghassānī, a descendent of the 'Abd al- Masīḥ who surrendered al-Ḥīrah to the Muslims in 12(633). See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 207, II, 126.

saw him with his own eyes he beat him severely—it is said five hundred lashes.

Yūsuf entered al-Kūfah and sent 'Aṭā' b. Muqaddam[614] to Khālid at al-Ḥammah.

According to 'Aṭa': I came to the *ḥājib* (chamberlain) and said, "Ask permission for me to see Abū al-Haytham." He went in, his face being changed. Khālid asked him, "What is the matter with you?" He answered, "(Only) good." Khālid said, "You have not brought good." The *ḥājib* said, "'Aṭā' b. Muqaddam. He said, 'Ask permission for me to see Abū al-Haytham.'" Khālid said, "Let him in." Thus I went in. Khālid said, "The woe of her mother is a fit of anger."[615] I did not settle down until al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt[616] entered and sat with Khālid, who said to him, "There is no one who would succeed me more beloved to me than your family." [1654]

Yūsuf delivered a speech in al-Kūfah, saying, "The Commander of the Faithful has ordered me to arrest the officials of the Christian woman's son and to cure him of them. I will do so and more, by God. O people of Iraq, I will most certainly slay your hypocrites by the sword and your criminals and transgressors by torture." Then he descended (from the pulpit) and went to Wāsiṭ. He was brought Khālid while he was at Wāsiṭ.

According to 'Umar—al-Ḥakam b. Naḍr—Abu 'Ubaydah: When Yūsuf imprisoned Khālid, Abān b. al-Walīd obtained the promise of his release from him for nine million dirhams. Then Yūsuf regretted that. He was told, "Had you not done so, you would have taken a hundred million dirhams." Yūsuf said, "I will not turn back when I have pledged my tonque to something." Khālid's friends informed Khālid (of what they had done). He said, "You did wrong when you gave him at the first moment nine million. I do not feel secure that he will not take it and then come back to you (for more). Therefore, go back." They came to Yūsuf, saying, "We have told Khālid, but he did not consent to what we have brought together. He told us that he is not able to pay the money." Yūsuf

614. He lived into the reign of al-Mahdī (158(775)–169(785)) at least. See Ṭabarī, I/3, 588.

615. Or: "The woe of her mother is Sukhṭah," though Sukhṭah is not a known feminine name, but neither is the word attested in the dictionaries. Probably it is an obscure proverb.

616. Al-Thaqafī, of the family of Yūsuf and al-Ḥajjāj, he was governor of al-Kūfah for Yūsuf in 122(740). See Crone, *Slaves*, 150.

responded, "You and your master know better. As for myself, I will
[1655] not revoke my promise to you. If you go back on your offer, I will not stop you." They said, "We have withdrawn it." Yūsuf asked, "Have you done so?" They said, "Yes." He said, "The breach has come from you. By God, I will not be satisfied with nine million nor its like, nor twice its like." He took more than that. It has been said that he took a hundred million.

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī[617]—Ibn 'Ayyāsh:[618] Hishām resolved to dismiss Khālid. The reason for that: Khālid acquired property and dug canals, so that his income reached twenty million (dirhams). Among his estates were: Nahr Khālid, which produced an (annual) income of five million (dirhams), Bājawwā,[619] Bārummānā, al-Mubārak, al-Jāmi', Kūrat Sābūr and al-Ṣilḥ.[620] He would often say, "By God, I am unjustly treated. There is nothing under my feet except that it belongs to me"—meaning that 'Umar[621] had made over a quarter of al-Sawād to the Bajīlah.

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī—al-Ḥasan b. 'Umārah[622] —al-'Uryān b. al-Haytham:[623] I would often say to my companions, "I reckon that this man[624] has been gotten rid of. The Quraysh will not bear this one and his like, for they are an envious people, while this one makes known what he makes known." One day I said to him: "O amīr, the people have turned to you with their harsh glances. It is the Quraysh. There is not any compact between you and them. They may find an escape from you, but you will find no
[1656] escape from them. I adjure you by God that you write to Hishām to tell him about your wealth and to offer him whatever he would like from it. How able you are to take up the like of it! Meanwhile,

617. Al-Thu'alī ca. 130(747)–206(821) or 207(822), he was a Kūfan historian and genealogist who lived in Wāsiṭ. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 272.

618. He is 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh al-Mantūf al-Hamdānī al-Murhibī, a Kūfan transmitter. See Ṭabarī, Indices, 333; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, III, 128.

619. A place near Babylon by al-Quff. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 314.

620. A canal flowing east from the Tigris seven *farsakhs* above Wāsiṭ. Also, its district. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 38.

621. That is, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He is said to have made this grant after the battle of al-Qādisiyyah. See Donner, *Islamic Conquests*, 242.

622. Abū Muḥammad al-Kūfī, the mawlā of the Bajīlah, d. 153(770), the judge of Baghdad for al-Manṣūr. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 304–8.

623. Al-Nakha'ī al-Kūfī. He had charge of Khālid's security force in al-Kūfah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 190–1.

624. That is, Khālid.

he will not consider you wanton, even if he is eager for that. By my life, that some goes and some is left is better than that it all go. It would not be better in what is between you and him that he take all of it. I am apprehensive that an unjust or envious person may come to him and that he may accept (accusations against you) from that person. That you give to the Caliph through willful obedience is better than that you give to him through compulsion."

Khālid responded, "You are not an accuser,[625] and that will never happen." I said, "Hearken to me and make me your messenger. By God, he will not untie a knot except that I will bind it more strongly, nor will he tie a knot but that I will undo it." But Khālid said, "By God, we will not give in humiliation." I asked, "Did you have these estates except during his rule? Can you refuse him to take them?" Khālid answered, "No." I said, "Then anticipate him, for he will keep them for you and thank you for them. If you were not obliged to him for other than what he started you with, you would deserve to keep it," Khālid said, "No, by God, that will never be." I said, "Whatever you will do if he dismisses you and takes your estates, do (now), for his brothers, his sons, and his household have anticipated you, constantly speaking to him about you, though they are obliged to you for favors which are manifest to you. Then, make up for your faults by completion of what you have done of your favors to Hishām." He said, "I see what you are [1657]
saying. But there is no way to achieve that." Al-ʿUryān would say: It is as if you were with him when he was removed, his money was taken and he was falsely charged with crimes. Then he would not profit by anything. That is how it was.

According to al-Haytham—Ibn ʿAyyāsh: Bilāl b. Abī Burdah, who was his governor in charge of al-Baṣrah, wrote to Khālid when Hishām's reproof reached him, "Something has happened which I find no escape from talking to you about personally. If you decide to give me permission, it is only a night and its day to you, a day with you and a night and its day to go back." Khālid wrote to him, "Come, if you like." Thus Bilāl himself and two mawlās of his rode on swift-footed asses, travelling a day and a night. Then he performed the sunset worship at al-Kūfah, which was (a distance of) eighty *farsakhs* (from al-Baṣrah). Khālid was informed of

625. Or: accused.

his place and came to him, having put on a turban.

Khālid said, "O Abū ʿAmr, you have tired yourself out!" Bilāl said, "Indeed." Khālid asked, "When did you leave al-Baṣrah?" Bilāl answered, "Yesterday." Khālid asked, "Is it true what you say?" Bilāl replied, "By God, it is what I said." Khālid inquired, "What has wearied you?" Bilāl answered, "That which reached me about the reproof of the Commander of the Faithful and his statement, as well as that which his sons and his household desire concerning you. If you think fit, I will face him to offer him some of our wealth. Then, we will invite him to (take) of it what he likes, we ourselves being agreeable to it. Then, I will offer him your wealth. Whatever he takes from it will be for us to recoup later." Khālid responded, "I[626] do not accuse you, but I will look into it." Bilāl said, "I fear that you may be dealt with swiftly." Khālid said, "Certainly not." Bilāl said, "The Quraysh are those whom you know about, especially their speed in acting against
[1658] you." Khālid said, "O Bilāl, by God, I will never give anything under compulsion." Bilāl asked, "O amīr, may I speak?" Khālid answered, "Yes." Bilāl said, "Hishām is more justified than you. He will say, 'I appointed you when you had nothing. Do you not think it right that you offer to me some of what has become yours?' I fear that Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī will make attractive to him that which you will not be able to overtake. Therefore, seize (the opportunity of) this period of time." Khālid responded, "I am considering that. Now go back rightly guided."

Bilāl went back, saying, "It is as if you are with this man when there has been sent to him a man who is a foreigner and a spurious intruder, who is violent, of a detestable nature, stupid in religion, shameless, who is seized with deep-rooted hatreds and blood-feuds." He[627] was as he said.

According to Ibn ʿAyyāsh: Bilāl had taken up a house in al-Kūfah. He only asked Khālid for permission to come so that he might look over his house. But he did not stay in it except in chains. Since then, the house has been made into a prison to this day.

According to Ibn ʿAyyāsh: Khālid would give a sermon and say,

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626. Or: "He has not accused you!"
627. This refers to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar.

"You have claimed that I have made prices expensive for you. May God's curse be upon he who makes them dear!" Hishām had written to Khālid, "Do not sell anything of the crops until the crops of the Commander of the Faithful have been sold, so that a measure of grain may reach a dirham."

According to al-Haytham—Ibn 'Ayyāsh: The governorship of Khālid began in Shawwāl of the year 105. Then he was dismissed in Jumādā I of the year 120.

In this year, Yūsuf b. 'Umar came to Iraq as its governor. I have previously mentioned the reason for his governorship of it. [1659]

In this year, Yūsuf b. 'Umar made Juday' b. 'Alī al-Kirmānī governor of Khurāsān, removing Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah.

It has been said that Yūsuf, when he came to Iraq, wanted to appoint Salm b. Qutaybah[628] governor of Khurāsān. He wrote to Hishām about that, asking him permission to effect it. Hishām wrote (back) to him, "Salm b. Qutaybah is a man who does not have a tribe in Khurāsān. Had he had a tribe in it, his father would not have been killed there."

It has been said that Yūsuf wrote to al-Kirmānī, appointing him to the governorship of Khurāsān, (and sent the letter) with a man of the Banū Sulaym who was at Marw. The Sulamī went out to the people to give them a sermon. He praised God and lauded him. He mentioned Asad, his coming to Khurāsān, what they had suffered of fatigue and discord and what had been done for them at Asad's hand. Then he made kind mention of his brother Khālid, praising him. He also mentioned Yūsuf's arrival in Iraq and urged the people to obedience and adherence to unity. Then he said, "May God forgive the dead one"—meaning Asad—"and may God pardon the one dismissed and bless the one who has come." Then he descended (from the pulpit).

In this year, al-Kirmānī was dismissed from Khurāsān, whose governorship was assumed by Naṣr b. Sayyār b. Layth b. Rāfi' b. Rabī'ah b. Jurayy b. 'Awf b. 'Āmir b. Junda'[629] b. Layth b. Bakr b.

628. Al-Bāhilī, he was a prominent son of the great Qutaybah b. Muslim and governed al-Baṣrah near the end of Umayyad rule, as well as both al-Baṣrah and al-Rayy for al-Manṣūr. See Crone, *Slaves*, 137.

629. Ibn al-Kalbī has Naṣr b. Sayyār b. Rāfi' b. Judayy b. Rabī'ah b. 'Āmir b. Hilāl b. 'Awf b. Junda'. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 40. The same without b. Hilāl is given by Ibn Ḥazm. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 183–4.

ʿAbd Manāh b. Kinānah. His mother was Zaynab bint Ḥassān of the Banū Taghlib.

The Reason for Naṣr b. Sayyār's Governorship of Khurāsān

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: When (news of)
[1660] the death of Asad b. ʿAbdallāh reached Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, he consulted his companions about a man who would be suitable for Khurāsān. They indicated various groups of men, writing down their names for him. Among those who were written down for him were: ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr, Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir al-Riqāshī, Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī, Qaṭan b. Qutaybah b. Muslim, and al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī, one of the Banū Ḥarām. As for ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr, Hishām was told, "He is a drinker." Hishām was also told, "Al-Mujashshir is a decrepit old man," while it was said to him, "Ibn Ḥuḍayn is a man in whom there is haughtiness and pride." It was said to him as well, "Qaṭan b. Qutaybah is a seeker of revenge." Thereupon he chose Naṣr b. Sayyār. He was told, "Naṣr has no tribal grouping in Khurāsān." At this, Hishām declared, "I will be his tribal grouping," and appointed him governor.

Hishām sent Naṣr's appointment with ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Salīṭ b. ʿUqbah[630] al-Hiffānī, of the Hiffān b. ʿAdī b. Ḥanīfah. ʿAbd al-Karīm brought his appointment, having with him his secretary Abū al-Muhannad, the mawlā of the Banū Ḥanīfah. When he arrived in Sarakhs,[631] no one knew about him. Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbbād al-Taymī, the brother of Tamīm b. ʿUmar was in charge of Sarakhs. Abū al-Muhannad gave Ḥafṣ the news, whereupon Ḥafṣ dispatched a messenger and had him conveyed to Naṣr. Ibn Salīṭ having reached Marw, Abū al-Muhannad gave the news to al-Kirmānī. Al-Kirmānī dispatched Naṣr b. Ḥabīb b. Baḥr b. Māsik
[1661] b. ʿUmar al-Kirmānī to Naṣr b. Sayyār. But Ḥafṣ's messenger preceded him to Naṣr b. Sayyār, becoming the first to greet him with the title of rule. Naṣr said to him, "Perhaps you are (only) a crafty

630. This element is given elsewhere as b. ʿAṭiyyah, which is probably correct. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 552; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 341.

631. A still-existing city currently on the border of the extreme northeast of Iran and of Soviet Turkmenistan. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 395–6.

poet," and gave the letter (back) to him.

Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah had appointed 'Amr b. Muslim governor of Marw, while he removed al-Kirmānī. He appointed Manṣūr b. 'Amr governor of Abrashahr and appointed Naṣr b. Sayyār governor of Bukhārā.

According to Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah: I summoned Naṣr some days before his appointment came, and proposed to him that I appoint him governor of Bukhārā. He consulted al-Bakhtarī b. Mujāhid. Al-Bakhtarī, who was the mawlā of the Banū Shaybān, said to him, "Do not accept it." Naṣr asked, "Why not?" Al-Bakhtarī answered, "Because you are the chief of Muḍar in Khurāsān. It is as if your appointment over all of Khurāsān has come." When his appointment came, he sent a messenger to al-Bakhtarī. Al-Bakhtarī said to his companions, "Naṣr b. Sayyār has assumed the governorship of Khurāsān." When al-Bakhtarī then came to him, he greeted him as amīr. Naṣr asked him, "How did you know?" Al-Bakhtarī replied, "When you sent a messenger to me, though before that you used to come to me yourself, I knew that you had assumed the governorship."

It has been said: Hishām said to 'Abd al-Karīm when the news about Asad b. 'Abdallāh, regarding his death, reached him, "Whom do you think we should appoint to Khurāsān? For it has reached me that you have knowledge about it and its people."

According to 'Abd al-Karīm: I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, as for the man of Khurāsān in regard to resoluteness and courage, he is al-Kirmānī." Hishām turned his face away, saying, "What is his name?" I said, "Juday' b. 'Alī." He said, "I have no need for him," having drawn an ill omen (from his name).[632] He next said, "Name someone else for me." I said, "The experienced, eloquent one, Yaḥyā b. Nu'aym b. Hubayrah al-Shaybānī, Abū al-Maylā'." He said, "The frontiers will not be blocked with the Rabī'ah." [1662]

According to 'Abd al-Karīm: I said to myself, "He dislikes the Rabī'ah and the Yaman; therefore, I will throw the Muḍar at him." I said, "'Aqīl b. Ma'qil al-Laythī,[633] if you would forgive a weak-

632. The name Juday' is a diminutive for "one whose nose is cut off."

633. 'Aqīl b. Ma'qil b. Ḥassān, a close relative of Naṣr b. Sayyār. He was killed by Abū Muslim in 130/748 after having been a companion of Naṣr. See Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 128; Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 354–6; Ṭabarī III/2, 1989.

ness." He asked, "What is it?" I replied, "He is not chaste." He said, "I have no need of him." I said, "Manṣūr b. Abī al-Kharqā' al-Sulamī, if you would forgive a negative characteristic, for he is ill-omened." Hishām said, "Other than him." I said, "Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim al-Sulamī, sensible, brave, who has sound thinking despite his being somewhat of a liar." He responded. "There is no good in lying." I said, "Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn." He said, "Did I not tell you that the frontiers will not be blocked with the Rabī'ah?" Whenever I mentioned the Rabī'ah and the Yaman, he turned away.

According to 'Abd al-Karīm: I held back mentioning Naṣr, though he was the most manly of the group, as well as the most resolute of them and the most knowledgeable of them about governmental policy. I said now, "Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī." Hishām said, "He's the one for it." I said, "If you would forgive one thing, for he is chaste, experienced and sensible." He said, "What is it?" I said, "There are few of his tribal group there." Hishām said, "May you have no father! Do you want a tribal group more numerous than me? I will be his tribal group."[634]

According to others: When Yūsuf b. 'Umar arrived in Iraq, he said, "Show me a man whom I may make governor of Khurāsān." His companions suggested to him Maslamah b. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim,[635] Qudayd b. Manī' al-Minqarī,[636] Naṣr b.
[1663] Sayyār, 'Amr b. Muslim, Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim, Manṣūr b. Abī al-Kharqā', Salm b. Qutaybah, Yūnus b. 'Abd Rabbihi,[637] and Ziyād b. 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Qushayrī.[638] Yūsuf

634. Curiously, the same is said about Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī having no tribal grouping on his appointment in 86(705). Actually, both the Bāhilah and the Layth seem to have been quite numerous in Khurāsān, judging by the frequency with which their members are mentioned there. See Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 128; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 429–30.

635. Al-Sulamī. See note 50.

636. Naṣr b. Sayyār's father-in-law, of a very noble Tamīmī lineage. He appears in Naṣr's entourage in 126(744) and 128(746). See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 76; Ṭabarī, III/2 1865, 1889, 1921–2, 1925.

637. A stalwart supporter of Naṣr until his execution by Abū Muslim in 130(748). Possibly the son of 'Abd Rabbihi b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr al-Laythī. See Ṭabarī, II/2, 1235, III/2, 1846, 1920, 1929, 1989, 1995. Pace Crone, *Slaves*, 53, 241–2, his mention here requires an Arab lineage.

638. A son of the fiscal governor of Khurāsān under 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Ziyād governed Naysābūr for Naṣr and in 130(748) resisted Abū Muslim's forces as Naṣr's governor of Balkh. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1409, 1442, 1997–9; Ibn al- Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I,

wrote a letter with their names to Hishām, praising the Qaysīs. He put Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Kinānī as the last of those whose names he wrote. Hishām said, "Why is the Kinānī the last of them?" There was in Yūsuf's letter to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, Naṣr has only a small tribal group to support him in Khurāsān." Hishām wrote back to him, "I have understood your letter and your praise for the Qaysīs. You have mentioned Naṣr and the smallness of his tribal group. How can it be small when I am his tribal group? Rather, you have preferred the Qaysīs to me, but I prefer the Khindif to you. Send forth the appointment of Naṣr, for the Commander of the Faithful will not make his tribal grouping less, let alone that the Tamīm are the most numerous of the people of Khurāsān."[639] Hishām wrote to Naṣr that the latter might correspond with Yūsuf b. 'Umar. Yūsuf sent Salm as an emissary to Hishām, praising him, but Hishām did not appoint him. Then Yūsuf sent Sharīk b. 'Abd Rabbihi al-Numayrī as an emissary, praising him so that Hishām would appoint him governor of Khurāsān, but Hishām refused him.

Naṣr sent al-Ḥakam b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr al-Usayyidī[640] from Khurāsān as an emissary to Hishām. Naṣr praised him. Yūsuf beat him and prevented him from going forth to Khurāsān. When Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah[641] came (to power later) he made al-Ḥakam b. Yazīd his governor of Kirmān. Hishām sent the appointment of Naṣr with 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ḥanafī, who had with him his secretary Abū al-Muhannad, the mawlā of the Banū Ḥanīfah. When he came to Sarakhs, snow had fallen; therefore, he stayed, lodging with Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar b. 'Abbād al-Taymī. He told him, "I have brought the appointment of Naṣr as governor of Khurāsān." Ḥafṣ was at that time the governor of Sarakhs. Ḥafṣ summoned his ser- [1664]
vant, mounted him on a horse and gave him money, saying to him,

105, II, 127, 606.

639. This refers to the fact that the Tamīm are closer to Naṣr than to the Qays in the tribal genealogy of the Muḍar, and hence Naṣr would be more likely to garner their support than a Qaysī, especially since he was married to at least two Tamīmī women. See note 65.

640. Text: *al-Asadī*; read: *al-Usayyidī*. See Crone, *Slaves*, 167, where he is incorrectly identified as a candidate of Yūsuf b. 'Umar rather that Naṣr. For the vocalization of Usayyidī, also given erroneously by Crone, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, I, 48–9.

641. Abū Khālid al-Fazārī, the governor of Iraq for Marwān b. Muḥammad, he was killed in Wāsiṭ by the 'Abbāsids in 132(750). See Crone, *Slaves*, 107.

"Fly, and kill the horse (if need be). If it falters under you, buy another than it so that you may reach Naṣr." The servant went forth until he came to Naṣr at Balkh. Finding him in the market, he gave him the letter. Naṣr asked him, "Do you know what is in this letter?" He replied, "No." Naṣr grasped it in his hand and retired to his house.

The people said, "Naṣr's appointment to Khurāsān has come to him." A group of his intimates came to him to ask him. He replied, "Nothing has come to me," and thus he remained that day. On the next day, there came to him Abū Ḥafṣ b. ʿAlī, one of the Banū Ḥanẓalah, who was his relative by marriage, since Abū Ḥafṣ's daughter was his wife. Abū Ḥafṣ was tall and fickle and had much wealth. He said to Naṣr, "The people have been talking and saying much about your governorship. Has something come to you?" Naṣr answered, "Nothing has come to me." Thereupon Abū Ḥafṣ stood up to go out, but Naṣr said, "Stay in your place." He read him the letter. Abū Ḥafṣ said, "Ḥafṣ would not write to you other than the truth." While he was speaking to him, ʿAbd al-Karīm suddenly asked permission to enter. ʿAbd al-Karīm presented his appointment to him, whereupon Naṣr rewarded him with ten thousand dirhams.

Then Naṣr put Muslim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim in charge of Balkh, and put Wassāj b. Bukayr b. Wassāj[642] in charge of Marw al-Rūdh, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥashraj[643] in charge of Herat, Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī in charge of Abrashahr, Abū Ḥafṣ b. ʿAlī, his father-in-law, in charge of Khwārizm and Qaṭan b. Qutaybah in charge of al-Sughd. A man from the Syrian troops said, "I never saw tribal favoritism like this." Naṣr said, "Yes (you did), that which was before this." For four years, he did not appoint
[1665] anyone but a Muḍarī. Khurāsān throve with a prosperity the like of which it had not enjoyed before that. Naṣr lowered the *kharāj* and performed the duties of ruling and tax collecting well. Sawwār b. al-Ashʿar said:

Khurāsān has become safe after fear

642. Text: *Wishāḥ b. Bukayr b. Wishāḥ*; read: *Wassāj b. Bukayr b. Wassāj*, as in Ms. B. His *nisbah* is al-ʿUṭāridī. He is the son of a governor of Khurāsān. See note 254.

643. Al-Jaʿdī. He appears as a poet in 126(744). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1857; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, I, 106, II, 112.

Of the oppression of every tyrant covetous of rule.
When news of what it had met came to Yūsuf,
He chose Naṣr for it, Naṣr b. Sayyār.

Naṣr b. Sayyār said regarding those who disliked his rule:

Console yourself for love; you will not be blamed.
Likewise anxiety will not seize you.
Have you, if Kabīrah has become wrathful after nearness,
Stayed in love with her, and has sickness touched you?
She holds out hope today for that which she promised recently
And the noble have been disappointed in the expectation of her appointments.
Have you not seen that what women who shun adornment do
Is difficult, talk not looming[644] about it?
My obedience refused me, as my bravery refused me,
Along with my triumph when the contest is fought.
We cause neither one who takes refuge with us to perish,
Nor personal merit when right has been lost,
Nor do we overlook treachery, but we ourselves
Keep good faith, so that we are not blamed.
Our Caliph is he whose hands have won
The cup of praise, and he is the magnanimous king.
We dominate them through him, and we have over them—
If we say (it) tremendous noble qualities. [1666]
Abū al-ʿĀṣ is his ancestor, and ʿAbd Shams,
Ḥarb and the generous, noble lords,
And Marwān, the father of the Caliphs, upon whom
Praise is exalted, he being a standard for them.
Among us is the house of the Caliph of the All-Compassionate,
Whose two houses are the Holy[645] and the Inviolable.[646]
We are the noblest ones, if our genealogy is mentioned,
And the first of terrestrial beings and the chief.
There has come into our possession from every subtribe
The noses of the living beings (by which they are led) and the reins.

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644. Text: *yurīgh*; read: *yarī'*, as Mss. B, BM, and in the Cairo ed.
645. That is, the sanctuary at Jerusalem, containing the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqṣā mosque.
646. That is, the sanctuary at Mecca containing the Ka'bah.

We have hands by which we do good and we exhaust,
And hands in whose foreparts are swift (swords),
And violent strenght in war when we meet (the enemy),
When the warner in it is ever the sword.

Naṣr's appointment came to him in Rajab of the year 120.[647] Al-Bakhtarī said to him, "Read your appointment and deliver a sermon to the people." Thus Naṣr delivered a sermon to the people. He said in his sermon, "Stick, O companions of ours, to your way, for we have come to know your good and your evil."

Pilgrimage and Governors

In this year, Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl led the pilgrimage.

I heard this from Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar.

It has been said that he who led the pilgrimage in it was Sulaymān b. Hishām. It has also been said that Yazīd b. Hishām[648] led the pilgrimage.

The governor in this year of al-Madīnah, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if was Muḥammad b. Hishām. In charge of Iraq and the whole East was Yūsuf b. 'Umar. In charge of Khurāṣān was Naṣr b. Sayyār, though it has been said it was Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah. In charge of al-Baṣrah
[1667] was Kathīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī[649] on behalf of Yūsuf b. 'Umar. In charge of its judiciary was 'Āmir b. 'Abīdah al-Bāhilī.[650] In charge of Armenia and Ādharbayjān was Marwān b. Muḥammad. In charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah was Ibn Shubrumah.[651]

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647. This date clashes with the statement that 'Abd al-Karīm, Hishām's messenger, was held up by snow at Sarakhs. See above, p. 1663.

648. Al-Afqam, the son of the Caliph Hishām by his wife Umm Ḥakīm. He was arrested by al-Walīd b. Yazīd in 125(743), then was one of the first to render the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd in 126(744). See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1776, 1835; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 167.

649. Abū al-'Aj. He was the head of the security force (*shurṭah*) for al-Walīd b. Yazīd's governor of Damascus in 126(744). See Crone, *Slaves*, 151.

650. He was in office until 126(744). See Wakī', *Quḍāh*, II, 42–3; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1698, 1875.

651. He is 'Abdallāh b. Shubrumah al-Ḍabbī 72(691)–144(761). Appointed by Yūsuf b. 'Umar as judge of al-Kūfah, he was sent by Yūsuf to govern Sijistān in 122(740). He is one of the greatest Kūfan jurists (*fuqahā'*). See Waki', *Quḍāh*, III, 36–129; Ṭabarī, III/2, 1717; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 250–1.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXVI

The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate

TRANSLATED BY CAROLE HILLENBRAND

The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate
Volume XXVI
Translated by Carole Hillenbrand

The years 738-745/121-127, which this volume covers, saw the outbreak in Syria of savage internecine struggles between prominent members of the Umayyad family, which had ruled the Islamic world since 661/41. After the death of the caliph Hishām in 743/125, the process of decay at the center of Umayyad power—the ruling family itself—was swift and devastating. Three Umayyad caliphs (al-Walīd II, Yazīd III, and Ibrāhīm) followed Hishām within little more than a year, and the subsequent intervention of their distant cousin Marwān b. Muhammad (the future Marwān II) could not arrest the forces of opposition that were shortly to culminate in the ᶜAbbāsid Revolution of 750/132.

In this volume al-Ṭabarī deals extensively with the end of Hishām's reign, providing a rich store of anecdotes on this most able of Umayyad caliphs. He also covers in depth the notorious lifestyle of al-Walīd II, the libertine prince and poet, whose career has attracted much scholarly attention in recent years. Moreover, al-Ṭabarī chronicles at great length the events of the rebellion and death of the Shīᶜite pretender, Zayd b. ᶜAlī, at al-Kūfah, as well as recording in detail the activities farther to the east, where Naṣr b. Sayyār was serving as the last Umayyad governor of Transoxiana and Khurāsān, the very area from which the ᶜAbbāsid Revolution was to spring. The text also contains several official letters which shed much light on Umayyad propaganda and on early Islamic epistolary style.

The hindsight conferred by subsequent centuries highlights the full significance of these half-dozen years or so. Al-Ṭabarī documents the incubation of the ᶜAbbāsid Revolution, an event of great importance in world history, and traces the failure of the principal Shīᶜite revolt of the eighth century, a debacle which was also to have serious repercussions, for it generated the foundation of Zaydi principalities in Iran and the Yemen. Yet even these major themes are secondary to the epic tale that al-Ṭabarī unfolds of the tragic downfall of the first dynasty in Islam.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXVI

The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate

PRELUDE TO REVOLUTION

A.D. 738–745/A.H. 121–127

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXVI

The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate

translated and annotated
by

Carole Hillenbrand

University of Edinburgh

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into thirty-eight volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash

(—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

Arch. Or.: Archiv Orientální
BEO: Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas
EI[1]: Encyclopaedia of Islām, first edition.
EI[2]: Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition.
JA: Journal Asiatique
JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JHS: Journal of Hellenic Studies
JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies
RSO: Rivista degli studi orientali
SI: Studia Islamica

Translator's Foreword

The years 121–26 (738–44), which are covered in this volume, saw the outbreak of savage internecine struggles between members of the ruling Umayyad family in Syria. Once the towering figures of the Umayyad caliph Hishām, presented in the sources as a most able if somewhat unattractive and parsimonious figure, and his redoubtable governor in Iraq, Khālid al-Qasrī, had died, the process of decay at the center of Umayyad power, the ruling family itself, was swift and devastating. Al-Walīd II, his cousin Yazīd b. al-Walīd and Yazīd's brother Ibrāhīm all ruled as caliph within the space of little more than a year, and when finally their distant cousin, the shrewd and seasoned politician Marwān b. Muḥammad, made his move from Armenia to seize power in Syria, he was not able to arrest the impetus of the forces of opposition that were gathering momentum against the Umayyads and that were shortly to culminate in the ʿAbbāsid revolution.

In its account of these momentous years, al-Ṭabarī's history concentrates on three major areas of the Islamic world: Syria, the center of Umayyad power; the garrison town of al-Kūfah in Iraq; and the eastern provinces of Khurāsān and Transoxiana. It is worthy of note that Spain, North Africa, Egypt, and the Ḥijāz are barely mentioned at all.

Al-Ṭabarī records the end of Hishām's reign in exhaustive detail, and with a rich store of biographical anecdotes, before turning his attention to the notorious life-style of al-Walīd II, both before and after his accession to the caliphate. In spite of al-Ṭabarī's protestations that he has omitted many of the scabrous

stories about al-Walīd (cf. p. 1775), he gives a detailed account of this talented, if slightly deranged, member of the Umayyad family on whom subsequent 'Abbāsid anti-Umayyad propaganda fell with particular weight.

Al-Ṭabarī chronicles at great length the events surrounding the last years of the Prophet Muḥammad's great-great-grandson, Zayd b. 'Alī, his various litigation proceedings, his unsuccessful rebellion and his death in al-Kūfah, and finally, the hounding and eventual murder in Khurāsān of Zayd's son, Yaḥyā. Turning further to the east, al-Ṭabarī records in detail the activities of the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār.

To what extent al-Ṭabarī's selection of his material for these five crucial years is dictated by the availability of historiographical, oral, and archival sources, or by a deliberate emphasis on these three geographical areas, it is impossible to say. The reader cannot, however, dispute the undeniable importance of the events chronicled by al-Ṭabarī for an understanding of the manifold elements of disaffection against the Umayyads which shortly afterward erupted into revolution.

What of the sources on which al-Ṭabarī draws for his account of the events in these three main geographical areas? For his coverage of the Umayyad caliphs—Hishām, al-Walīd II, and Yazīd III—in Syria, al-Ṭabarī relies heavily on reports from al-Madā'inī (died probably in 228/843), through the latter's pupil Aḥmad b. Zuhayr (died 279/892), a Ḥanbalī from Baghdad whose work *al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr* (extant only in fragmentary form) was a direct source for al-Ṭabarī.

For his narrative of events in Iraq, for the torture and death of Khālid al-Qasrī at the hands of Yūsuf b. 'Umar and especially for the lengthy accounts of the litigation and rebellion of Zayd b. 'Alī, al-Ṭabarī's major source is Abū Mikhnaf (died 157/774), usually through reports transmitted by Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (died 204 or 206/819 or 821). The importance accorded by Abū Mikhnaf to the rebellion of Zayd b. 'Alī probably sprang more from geographical factors than religious conviction. The Kūfan historian naturally gave thorough coverage of local events without necessarily revealing a Shī'ite bias. Indeed, Abū Mikhnaf's account of Zayd's marriage in al-Kūfah (pp. 1685–86) could be

construed as slightly derogatory to him. Nor, moreover, does al-Ṭabarī opt to omit this episode, as does al-Balādhurī.

Al-Ṭabarī uses reports of Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, quoting either Abū Mikhnaf or other unspecified sources. Hishām al-Kalbī was also a Kūfan and had access to material both from Abū Mikhnaf and from his own father, Muḥammad al-Kalbī. Hishām's son, al-ʿAbbās, who is known to have been an informant for al-Balādhurī, may well have been the missing transmitter through whom al-Ṭabarī derived the information, if it was passed on orally.

For his material on Khurāsān and Transoxiana, all of al-Ṭabarī's attributed reports come from al-Madāʾinī, a historian who was highly praised by ʿAbbāsid and later Muslim scholars as an authority on events in the eastern Islamic world. Much of the information provided by al-Madāʾinī in al-Ṭabarī's coverage of these years is not extant in any other sources. The material is therefore difficult to assess: sometimes it is very lacunary and on other occasions the anecdotes are full and have the flavor of composite accounts or folk tales.

This section of al-Ṭabarī's history contains a number of interesting chancery or *inshāʾ* documents which, if authentic (and they probably are), have considerable value. These include the correspondence between the caliph Hishām and his heir-apparent, al-Walīd, which records the deterioration in their relationship (pp. 1746–49). For this correspondence there are parallel versions in the *Ansāb* and the *Aghānī*. By far the most challenging of these documents (and of daunting difficulty to the translator) is the elaborate and lengthy epistle of al-Walīd, designating his two young sons as his successors (pp. 1756–64). It is clear that the text is corrupt in a number of places and there is no other extant version with which to compare it. Nevertheless, in spite of its verbal conceits, contorted style, and tedious length, it is at times a *tour de force*, an arousing and persuasive piece of early Arabic rhetorical prose.

The poetry in this volume is of varying quality, most of it poor. The arrangement of the lines of verse is often unsatisfactory and probably on occasion out of sequence. Rising above the mediocre, however, is the fine poetry that is attributed to al-Walīd II himself

and that was edited by Gabrieli from the texts of al-Ṭabarī, al-Iṣfahānī, and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi.

My remarks on the manuscripts of al-Ṭabarī's history, which form the basis of this section of the Leiden edition, must inevitably be limited, since I have not had the opportunity to view the manuscripts personally. M. J. de Goeje, who took over from D. H. Müller the task of editing these pages, used three manuscripts—those in Oxford (O), the British Museum (BM), and Berlin (B)—for most of this section of the text (pp. 1667–1811). Thereafter he was limited to only two (BM and B), since the Oxford manuscript had come to an end (pp. 1811–25). For the final pages he had only one manuscript (O), as the British Museum manuscript had also finished (p. 1825).

Considerable help is provided by other parallel sources at certain points in this section of al-Ṭabarī's text. The *Kitāb al-'uyūn wa-al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq*, edited by M. J. de Goeje and P. de Jong under the title *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum* (and abbreviated in this volume as *Fragmenta*) covers much of the material on the Umayyad caliphs. Many of the details of the relationship between Hishām and al-Walīd and of the brief caliphate of al-Walīd, provided by al-Ṭabarī, are also to be found in al-Iṣfahānī's *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*. The wording of the *Ansāb* is almost always identical with that found in the later *Fragmenta*.

For the events concerning Zayd b. 'Alī and his son Yaḥyā, there are parallel, often identical, accounts to be found in the *Ansāb* and in al-Iṣfahānī's *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*. For Khurāsān and Transoxiana there is, however, a paucity of early extant sources which would help to clarify a number of obscurities in the relevant part of al-Ṭabarī's text. There are only Narshakhī's *History of Bukhārā*, which gives an account of the murder of the Bukhār Khudāh very like that of al-Ṭabarī (pp. 1693–94), and al-Dīnawarī's version of the exploits of al-Kirmānī (pp. 1858–66), which at times diverges considerably from al-Ṭabarī's account.

The basis of the translation provided here has been the Leiden text. Although there are a number of unsolved textual difficulties, de Goeje's editing achievement with its full critical apparatus still excites admiration even after the lapse of a century. The Cairo edition of al-Ṭabarī has also been consulted throughout. At

times it has helped in the clarification of textual problems. On other occasions it has been found to make changes in the text without satisfactory explanation.

There is a considerable corpus of secondary scholarly literature which helps to throw light on this crucial section of Umayyad history. The general reader is directed to G. R. Hawting's recent book, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate. A.D. 661–750*, for a clear and balanced account of the Umayyads. Further detailed accounts can be found in the pioneer works of Wellhausen, Gibb, and Gabrieli and in the more recent studies of Shaban. For the topography of al-Kūfah, the work of Massignon is still useful, if taken in conjunction with the more recent researches of Djaït.

Several small miscellaneous points require brief mention. All quotations from the Qur'ān have been made from *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, translated by M. Pickthall (London, 1957). Often in the translation names or nouns have been provided instead of pronouns to clarify the narrative, and I have freely used synonyms for the ubiquitous 'said' and 'came.' Bolder changes of word order or other points of translation have been explained in the footnotes. It was not possible to identify all the personalities and place names mentioned in this section of al-Ṭabarī's text, but the notes cover the great majority of these.

Finally, I should like to thank those who have helped with the task of producing this volume. I am most grateful to Mrs. Mona Bennett for her meticulous and patient typing of the translation and footnotes. Warm thanks also go to Dr. 'Abd al-Mu'nim al-Zubaydī, who gave unstintingly of his vast expertise and knowledge to help with the clarification of the substantial quantity of poetry in this volume. Without his help certain of the verses would have remained obscure. My colleague, Dr. M. F. El-Shayyal, read through the whole of the translation and made many valuable suggestions. I would also like to acknowledge the help given to me by Dr. James Allan; by my brother-in-law Dr. Peter Hillenbrand, who advised me on Hishām's alleged angina; by Dr. Ian Howard, who advised me on a number of points of detail; and by Dr. Martin Hinds and Dr. Patricia Crone, who gave me access, just before I completed this book, to the relevant sections of their new book, *God's Caliph*. Martin Hinds also gave me

other helpful information on certain detailed points in the text. Above all, I should like to thank Professor Edmund Bosworth for his constant willingness to help with advice and moral support; and my husband, Dr. Robert Hillenbrand, for his most valuable criticisms and comments.

Carole Hillenbrand

Table I. Genealogy of the Later Umayyads

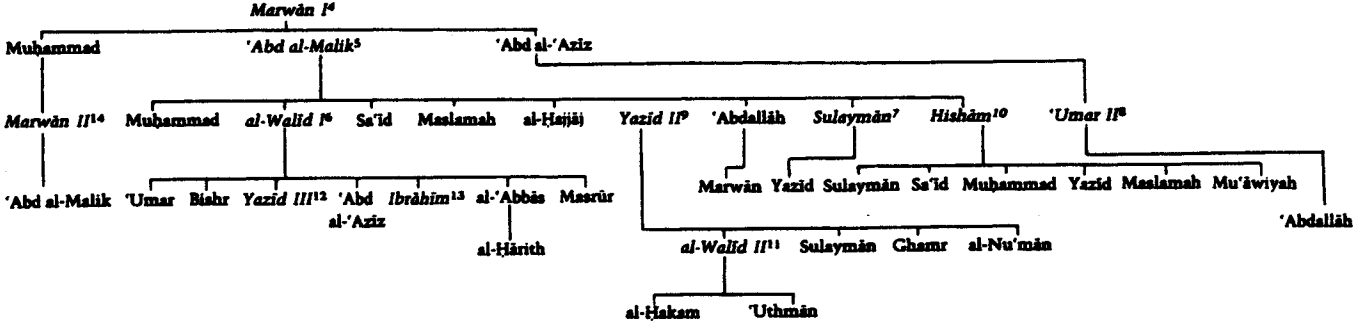

Notes:
Italics denote an Umayyad caliph.
The numbers by the names of the caliphs denote the chronological order of their rule.
This table is not comprehensive. It includes the names of those Umayyads mentioned in this volume of al-Ṭabarī's history.

Table II. Genealogy of the Prophet's Family (The Shī'ah and the 'Abbāsids)

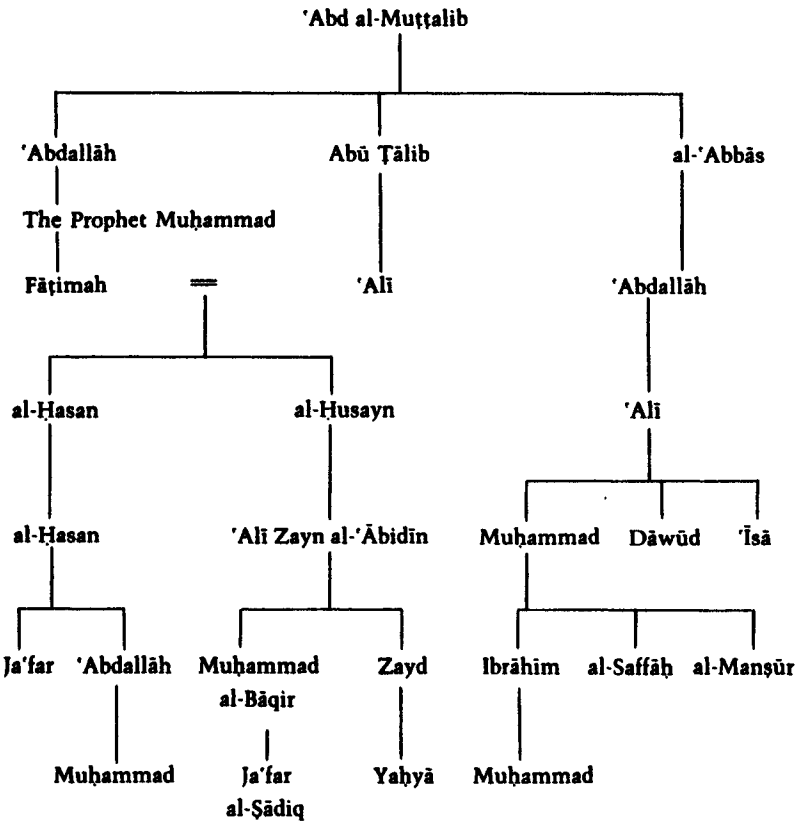

The names shown here are only those of importance to this volume of al-Ṭabarī's history.

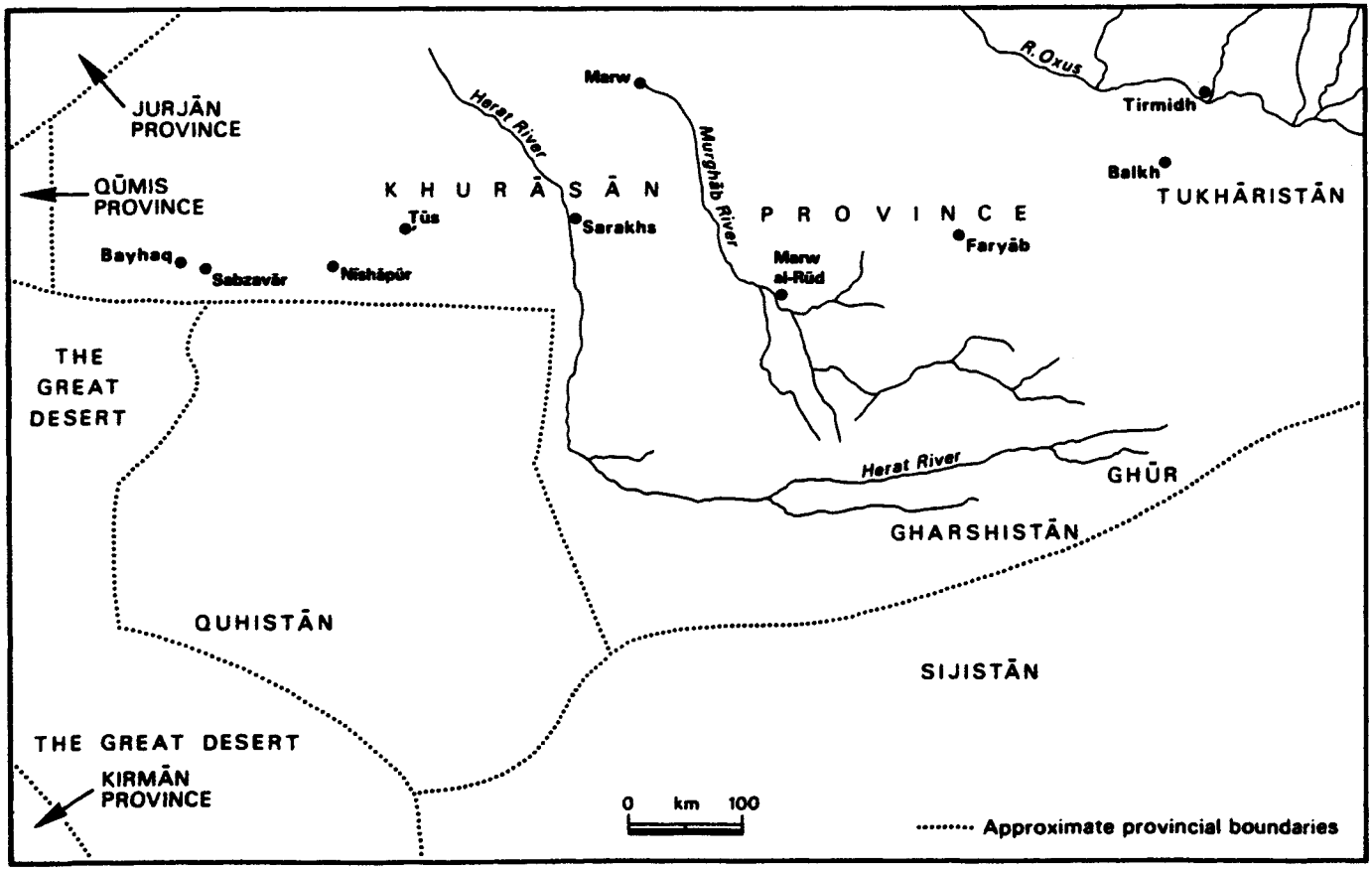

Map I. Khurāsān

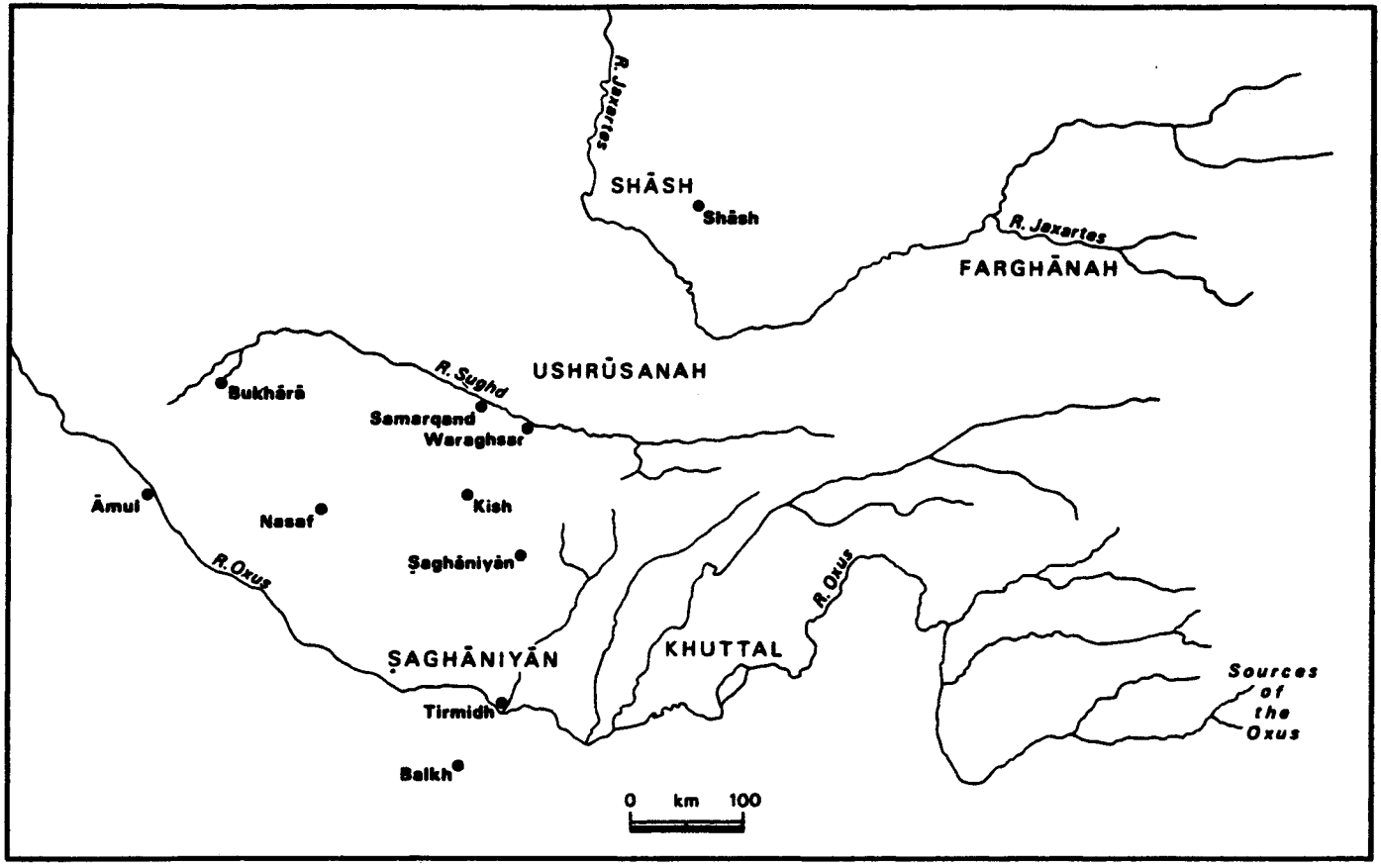

Map II. Transoxiana

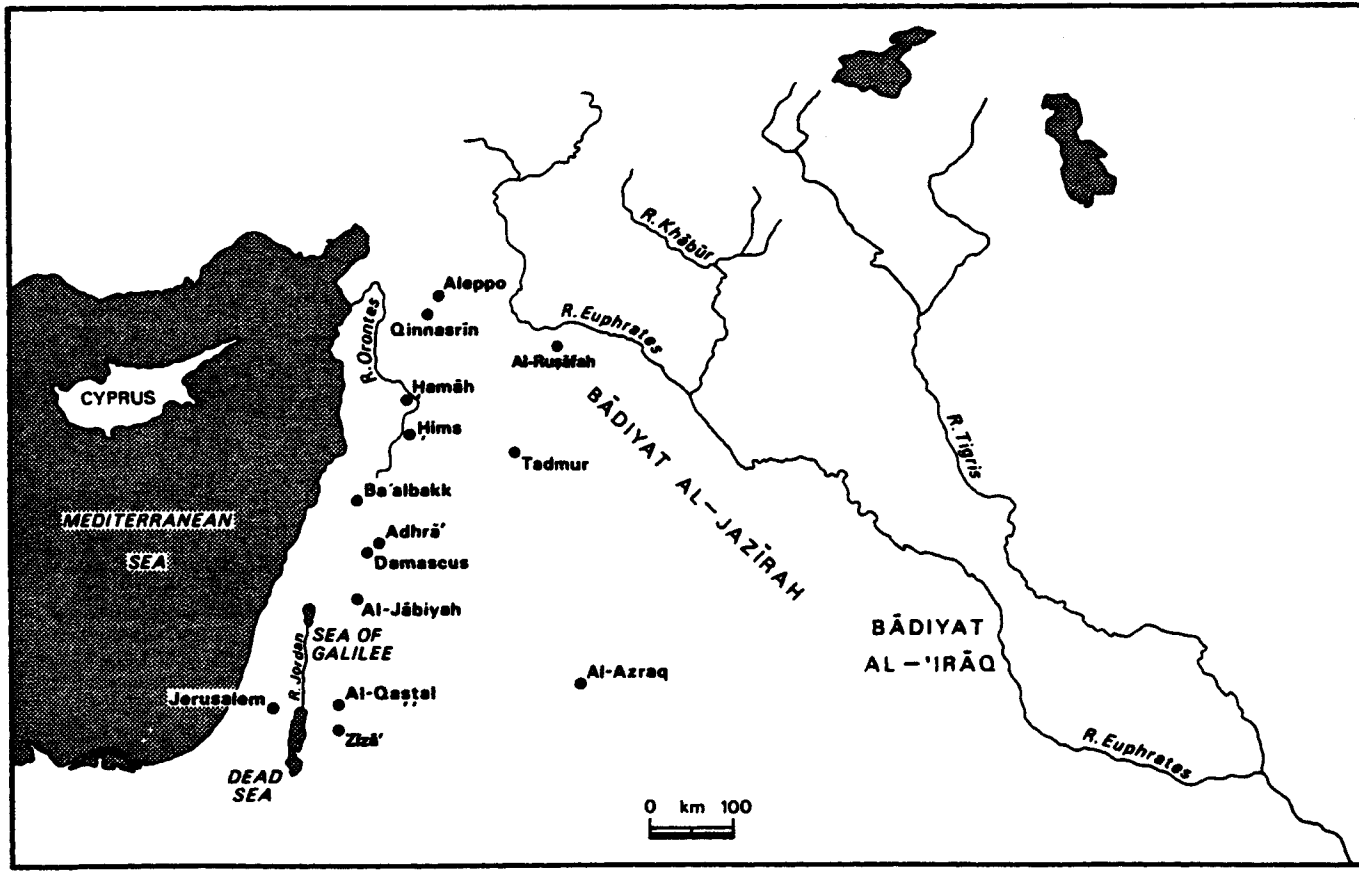

Map III. Syria in the Umayyad Period

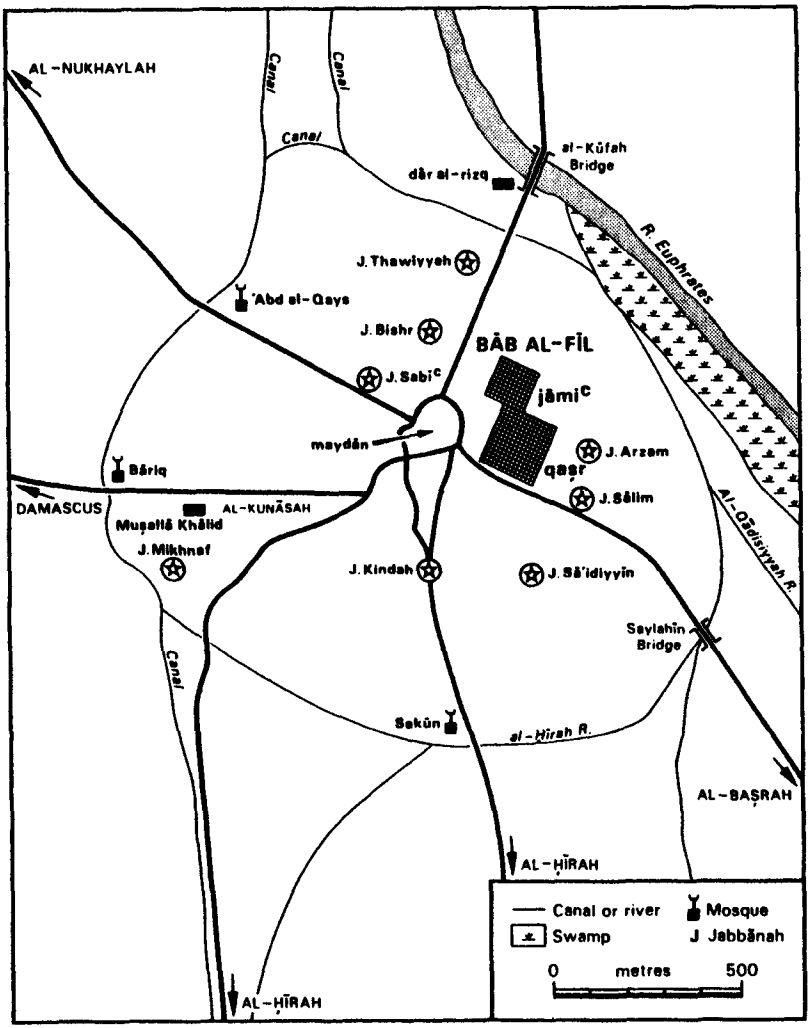

Map IV. Al-Kūfah and Its Environs

The Caliphate of Hishām

The Events of the Year [1667]

121

(December 18, 738–December 6, 739)

Among the events taking place during this year were the raid into Byzantium of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik,[1] during which he conquered Maṭāmīr,[2] and the raid into the country of the Lord of the Golden Throne[3] by Marwān b. Muḥammad.[4] Marwān captured

1. There is some confusion in the sources as to which Maslamah conducted this raid. It is more likely that the Umayyad commander concerned here was the experienced Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik who had conducted a number of campaigns into Asia Minor and Armenia and had been governor of the Jazīrah, Armenia, and Āzarbāyjān. This is the view of Ibn Khayyāṭ (II, 367) and al-Ya'qūbī (*Historiae*, II, 395). For the career of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik, cf. Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 136ff; Wellhausen, 316–19; Crone, 125.

2. The word *maṭāmīr* means underground caves or cellars, often used for storing corn (cf. Freytag, 381). Here, however, Maṭāmīr appears to be a specific place, probably identifiable with the famous caves in Cappadocia. This is the name given to them by E. Honigmann (*Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, 45–46). Brooks definitely thinks Maṭāmīr is a place name ("The Arabs in Asia Minor (641–750) from Arabic sources," *JHS* XVIII (1898): 201).

3. *Ṣāḥib sarīr al-dhahab*. The area of the Sarīr whom Wiet identifies as the Avars was visited by Ibn Rustah some time before 290 (902) and is to be identified as Daghestan. According to Ibn Rustah, "the king possesses a golden throne (*sarīr*) and a silver throne." The people were thus named because of the throne story. Cf. Ibn Rustah, *Les Atours*, trans. by G. Wiet, 165; *Ḥudūd*, 447–50; V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*, 167–68.

4. Since 115 (733–34) Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān had been governor of

his fortresses and laid waste his land. He submitted to Marwān, having agreed to give him as *jizyah*[5] one thousand slaves.[6] Marwān took a pledge from him on that basis and reinstated him in control of his territory.

In this year al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad was born.[7]

In this year Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed.[8] Al-Wāqidī[9] said this was in Ṣafar 121 (January 17–February 14, 739), whilst Hishām b. Muḥammad (al-Kalbī)[10] claimed that he was killed in Ṣafar 122 (January 6–February 4, 740).

The Reason for [Zayd b. 'Alī's] Death, an Account of His Circumstances, and the Cause of His Rebellion[11]

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī[12]—'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh:[13]
[1668] Zayd b. 'Alī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib[14] and Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās[15] went to see Khālid b. 'Abdallāh,[16] when he was governor of Iraq. Khālid gave them

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Armenia, whence he conducted raids into the Caucasus. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 367; al-Ṭabarī, II, 1431–32. For an account of his career, cf. Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 144–45, 160–64; Wellhausen, 370–96.

5. Poll-tax payable to the Muslims by the "People of the Book." For a fuller definition, cf. *EI*², s.v. (C. Cahen). Cf. also n. 105 and n. 107.

6. Literally, "one thousand heads."

7. Al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, the brother of the 'Abbāsid caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (K. Zetterstéen).

8. Cf. the genealogical table of the 'Alids.

9. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī (130–207/748–823), the famous historian and author of the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*. Cf. Duri, 37; *EI*¹, s.v. (J. Horovitz).

10. Abū al-Mundhir Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, an important and prolific scholar of history and genealogy. Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 205–13; Sezgin, I, 268, 271; Duri, 146–48.

11. For other accounts in primary sources of the rebellion of Zayd b. 'Alī, the great-great-grandson of the Prophet, cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 229–59; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 127–51; Ibn A'tham, V, 108–25; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 390–91; *Fragmenta*, 92–100; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 467–71.

12. The famous historian and genealogist, d. 206 (821) or 207 (822). Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 216–19; Duri, 53–54; Sezgin, I, 272.

13. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh b. al-Rabī'ah, a *muḥaddith*. Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 68.

14. Cf. the genealogical table of the 'Alids.

15. Cf. the genealogical table of the 'Abbāsids.

16. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī had been appointed governor of Iraq in 105 (723–24) or 106 (724–25). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1471. He fell from power in 120 (738), so this incident must have occurred before that date.

money and they returned to Medina. When Yūsuf b. 'Umar[17] became governor, he wrote to Hishām listing their names and telling Hishām what Khālid had given them.[18] Yūsuf also mentioned that Khālid had bought land in Medina from Zayd b. 'Alī for ten thousand dīnārs and that he had then handed the land back to Zayd. Hishām[19] wrote to the governor of Medina[20] asking him to send the men to him. This he did. Hishām questioned them and they admitted that they had been given money, but they denied everything else. Then Hishām asked Zayd about the land (in Medina) and he denied the allegation. The men then took an oath before Hishām and he believed them.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf:[21] The affair of Zayd b. 'Alī began as follows. Yazīd b. Khālid al-Qasrī[22] claimed that he was owed money from Zayd b. 'Alī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf al-Zuhrī and Ayyūb b. Salmah b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī. Yūsuf b. 'Umar wrote about them to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. Zayd b. 'Alī was at that time in al-Ruṣāfah[23] in litigation with the sons of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib about the *ṣadaqah* of the Prophet of God[24] and Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī was with Zayd. When the letters of Yūsuf b. 'Umar reached Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, he wrote to the men concerned

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For Khālid's career, cf. Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 5–34; *EI*², s.v. (G. R. Hawting); al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 53–63; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 275 ff.

17. Yūsuf became governor on the dismissal of Khālid al-Qasrī. Cf. Dīnawarī, 339; *Fragmenta*, 92. For the career of Yūsuf b. 'Umar, cf. *EI*¹, s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); Hawting, 82–83, 96–97.

18. *Bi-mā ajazahum bihi*. Cf. line 2, *fa-ajāzahum*.

19. Umayyad caliph, ruled 105–25 (726–43). Cf. *EI*², s.v. (F. Gabrieli).

20. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī, the maternal uncle of the caliph Hishām.

21. The famous genealogist and historian (d. 157/774). Cf. U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḫnaf*; Duri, 43–44.

22. There is confusion in the sources as to whether it was Khālid, his son Yazīd, or both who made the allegations. Whichever of the two made the claims about the money did so under torture. Cf. Ibn A'tham, VIII, 108; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 133; *Fragmenta*, 93.

23. Hishām's preferred place of residence. Cf. the fuller discussion in n. 426.

24. *Fī ṣadaqat rasūl Allāh*. This phrase is used in other sources. Cf. Shaykh al-Mufīd, 402; *Fragmenta*, 92. Zayd was appointed by his brother Muḥammad to represent the Ḥusaynids in litigation against the Ḥasanids. Later on, al-Ṭabarī uses the term *wuqūf 'Alī* when probably referring to the same litigation. Cf. n. 35. Cf. *EI*², "Fadak" (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Hrbek, "Muḥammads Nachlass und die Aliden," 145, 148; *EI*¹, "Ṣadaḳa" (T. H. Weir).

stating that Yūsuf b. 'Umar had written to him about a sum of money which Yazīd b. Khālid claimed they owed him. They denied it, so Hishām said to them: "We will send you to Yūsuf so
[1669] that he may bring you and your accusers together." Zayd b. 'Alī said to Hishām: "I implore you by God and kinship not to send me to Yūsuf b. 'Umar." Hishām said: "What is it that you fear from Yūsuf b. 'Umar?" Zayd said: "I am afraid that he will act aggressively toward me."

Hishām replied, "Yūsuf cannot do that," called his scribe, and wrote to Yūsuf b. 'Umar as follows:[25] "Now when these persons come to you, bring them and Yazīd b. Khālid al-Qasrī together; if they admit the allegations made against them, send them to me. If they deny them, ask Yazīd for proof. If he does not produce the proof, then following the afternoon prayer make them swear in the name of the One God that Yazīd b. Khālid al-Qasrī did not entrust them with any deposit and that he is entitled to nothing from them. Then let them go." They said to Hishām: "We are afraid that Yūsuf will go against your letter and will act aggressively toward us." Hishām said: "Not at all! I will send one of the guards with you to make sure that Yūsuf carries out this order and expedites the matter." They said: "May God reward you for honoring the ties of kinship! You have judged fairly." Then Hishām sent them to Yūsuf but he kept back Ayyūb b. Salmah, because Hishām's mother was the daughter of Hishām b. Ismā'īl b. Hishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī, and Ayyūb was one of Hishām's maternal uncles. So the caliph did not want him involved at all in that suspicious matter.[26]

When they came to Yūsuf, they were ushered into his presence. Yūsuf sat Zayd b. 'Alī near him and questioned him in a kindly manner. Then he asked the men about the money and they all denied it, saying: "Yazīd did not leave any money with us nor is he owed anything from us." Then Yūsuf brought Yazīd b. Khālid out (of prison) to them and he put him and them together. Yūsuf
[1670] said to Yazīd: "This is Zayd b. 'Alī and this is Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī and this is so-and-so and this is so-and-so against

25. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 135; Ibn A'tham, VIII, 109.
26. *Qarf*. The variant reading from MSS. BM and O, *qadhf* ("calumny"), also makes good sense.

whom you have made the allegations that you have made." Yazīd said: "I am not owed any sum, either small or great, from them." Yūsuf said: "Are you ridiculing me or the Commander of the Faithful?" Then Yūsuf tortured Yazīd so much that day that he thought he had killed him. He took the other men to the mosque when the afternoon prayer was over and made them take an oath. When they had sworn an oath to him, he ordered these men to be flogged, with the exception of Zayd b. 'Alī, from whom he withheld his hand. He did not dare to do anything (more) with them and he wrote to Hishām informing him of the situation.[27] Hishām replied that he should make them swear an oath and release them. So Yūsuf set them free. They left and went to Medina but Zayd b. 'Alī stayed in al-Kūfah.

According to 'Ubayd b. Jannād—'Aṭā' b. Muslim al-Khaffāf: Zayd b. 'Alī dreamt that he lit a fire in Iraq which he extinguished, and that thereafter he died. This frightened him and he said to his son Yaḥyā: "My son, I have had a dream that frightened me." So he told him about it. Then came the letter from Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik requesting his presence. Zayd went and Hishām said to him: "Go to your *amīr*,[28] Yūsuf." Then Zayd said to him: "I implore you, for God's sake, O Commander of the Faithful! By God, if you send me to him, I am not sure that you and I will ever again meet alive on the face of the earth." Then Hishām said: "Go to Yūsuf as you have been commanded to do." So Zayd went to him.[29]

Some reports said that Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik summoned Zayd from Medina only because of the letter from Yūsuf b. 'Umar.

According to Abū 'Ubaydah:[30] The reason for Hishām's summoning Zayd was that when Yusuf b. 'Umar tortured Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh, Khālid claimed that he had deposited a great deal of money with Zayd b. 'Alī, Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and two men of the Quraysh, one of whom was a Makhzūmī and [1671]

27. Ibn al-Athīr's account is clearer (V, 172).
28. For the use of the term *amīr*, cf. *EI*², s.v. (A. A. Duri).
29. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 231.
30. Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā (110–210/728–825) was a scholar of wide-ranging activities, highly praised by al-Iṣfahānī, Ibn al-Nadīm, and al-Jāḥiẓ. Cf. Duri, 55–56; Sezgin, I, 265.

the other a Jumaḥī. Yūsuf wrote to Hishām about this and Hishām thereupon wrote to his maternal uncle Ibrāhīm b. Hishām, who was his governor in Medina, ordering him to bring the men to him. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām summoned Zayd and Dāwūd and asked them about what Khālid had said. They swore that Khālid had not deposited anything with them. Ibrāhīm said: "In my view, you are telling the truth, but the letter from the Commander of the Faithful has come with these instructions and I am obliged to carry out his orders." He took them to Syria and they swore an inviolable oath that Khālid had never deposited anything with them. Dāwūd said: "I came to Khālid in Iraq and he ordered 100,000 dirhams[31] for me." Hishām said: "In my view the two of you are more truthful than Ibn al-Naṣrāniyyah.[32] Go to Yūsuf so that he may bring you and Khālid together; then expose him as a liar before Yūsuf."

It was said that Zayd only went to Hishām to litigate against his paternal cousin 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī. This account came from Juwayriyah b. Asmā'[33] who said: "I saw Zayd b. 'Alī and Ja'far b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan disputing[34] over the guardianship of the endowments (*wuqūf*) of 'Alī.[35] Zayd was arguing on behalf of the Ḥusaynids and Ja'far was arguing on behalf of the Ḥasanids.
[1672] Ja'far and Zayd used all the arguments at their disposal[36] in the presence of the governor, and then they stood up and never spoke another word about the disagreement between them. When Ja'far died, 'Abdallāh said: "Who will take on Zayd for us?" and Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan said: "I will take him on for you." Then 'Abdallāh said: "Not at all! We fear your tongue and your hand. I will do it." Ḥasan said: "In that case you will not achieve your aim or

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31. Cf. *EI*², "Dirham" (G. C. Miles).

32. Khālid was often called Ibn al-Naṣrāniyyah and was accused *inter alia* of pro-Christian sympathies. He was said to have built a church for his Christian mother behind the mosque in al-Kūfah. Cf. Hawting, 81–82, and Hell, 33, quoting Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, 451: *bana bi'atan fīhā al-ṣalību li-ummihi* ("he built a church in which is the cross, for his mother").

33. Juwayriyah b. Asmā' b. 'Ubayd al-Baṣrī, d. 173 (789), who transmitted reports from his father. Cf. Sezgin, II, 94.

34. Ja'far argued the Ḥasanid case. After he died, his place was taken by 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 231.

35. Cf. n. 24.

36. *Yatabālaghāni . . . ilā kulli ghayah.* An alternative translation might be: "They were extremely skillful in argument."

win your argument." 'Abdallāh said: "As far as my argument is concerned, I will win it." Then Zayd and 'Abdallāh went off to contest the dispute before the governor, who at that time, according to some reports, was Ibrāhīm b. Hishām.[37]

'Abdallāh said to Zayd: "Do you want to obtain this[38] when you are only the son of an Indian slave-girl?" Zayd retorted: "Ismā'īl was the son of a slave-girl and he obtained more than that," and 'Abdallāh fell silent. They both went to extremes in their arguments that day. On the morrow the governor summoned them together with the Quraysh and the Anṣār[39] and they contested their dispute afresh. One of the men of the Anṣār objected and intervened between them. Zayd said to him: "What are you doing intervening between us? You are a man from the Qaḥṭān."[40] He said: "By God, I am better than you not only as a person but also so far as my father and mother are concerned." Zayd fell silent but a man of the Quraysh intervened on his behalf and said: "In the name of God, you have lied! He is better than you as a person and also in respect to his father and mother, from beginning to end, above the earth and beneath it." The governor said: "What has this to do with you?" The Qurashī[41] took a handful of stones, threw them on the ground and said: "By God, I do not have any patience with this." At this point, 'Abdallāh and Zayd realized that the governor harbored malicious intentions toward them. 'Abdallāh made as if to speak but Zayd asked him not to do so and he was silent. Then Zayd said to the governor: "By God, you have brought us together on a matter for which neither Abū Bakr nor 'Umar would have brought us together. I [1673]

37. The editor notes (1672, n. g) that Ibrāhīm b. Hishām was dismissed in 114 (732) and replaced by Khālid b. 'Abd al-Malik, who governed until 118 (736).

38. *Aṭṭma'u an tanālahā.* This is either a reference to the *wilāyat wuqūf 'Alī* (the guardianship of 'Alī's endowments), which has already been mentioned, or to the caliphate. One of the accounts from al-Balādhurī refers specifically to the caliphate: *aṭṭma'u fī al-khilāfah* (*Ansāb*, 230).

39. "The Helpers." The term was originally used to designate the men of Medina who supported the Prophet. In Umayyad times, the Anṣār formed a "pious opposition" to the regime. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

40. Qaḥṭān was the legendary forefather of the "Southern" tribes just as Quḍā'ah was the ancestor of the "Northerners." Cf. *EI*², s.v. (A. Fischer-A. K. Irvine).

41. 'Abdallāh b. Wāqid b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Cf. p. 11.

call God to witness that I will not litigate before you again on this matter, either rightly or wrongly, as long as I live." Then Zayd said to 'Abdallāh: "Get up, cousin." So they stood up and the people dispersed.

Some sources said that Zayd continued litigating against Ja'far b. Ḥasan and then against 'Abdallāh after him until Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik made Khālid b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam governor of Medina. Zayd and 'Abdallāh were in litigation and 'Abdallāh spoke rudely to Zayd saying: "You son of a Hindu woman!"[42] Zayd laughed it off and said: "You've done it now, Abū Muḥammad." Then he retaliated by mentioning 'Abdallāh's mother in some (disparaging) connection.[43]

According to al-Madā'inī:[44] When 'Abdallāh said that to Zayd, Zayd said: "Yes, indeed. By God, she was patient after the death of her master. She never crossed her threshold, whilst other women[45] were not as patient." Zayd repented and was ashamed of what he had said about his aunt[46] and he did not go in to see her for a time. She sent a message to him saying: "I know, nephew, that you feel about your mother just as 'Abdallāh feels about his mother."

Some sources said that Fāṭimah sent a message to Zayd: "If 'Abdallāh has insulted your mother, then you insult his mother." She said to 'Abdallāh: "Did you say such-and-such about Zayd's mother?" He said: "Yes." She said: "O wretched man to have done that! By God, she was the best woman of our kinsfolk."

It is reported that Khālid b. 'Abd al-Malik said to Zayd and 'Abdallāh: "Give us a break until tomorrow morning, for I am not the son of 'Abd al-Malik if I cannot decide between you." During the night the city (Medina) seethed like a cauldron.[47] Some said

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42. "You son of the Sindī woman": MS. B and Ibn al-Athīr, V, 172. In one report from al-Balādhurī, 'Abdallāh calls Zayd's mother "a witch" (*sāḥirah*) (*Ansāb*, 230). Zayd's mother was a slave given by al-Mukhtār to 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 127.

43. Al-Balādhurī quotes in the mouth of Zayd a scabrous story about 'Abdallāh's mother. Cf. *Ansāb*, 230.

44. Al-Madā'inī, the famous historian, d. 225 (839). Cf. Duri, 48; *EI*[1], s.v. (C. Brockelmann); *EI*[2], s.v. (U. Sezgin).

45. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Zayd is referring here to his aunt who married again after the death of her husband (V, 172).

46. Fāṭimah bint al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī.

47. For an almost identical account, cf. *Fragmenta*, 92–93.

one thing and others another. Some said Zayd had said such-and-such and others said 'Abdallāh had said such-and-such. The next [1674] morning Khālid held an audience in the mosque and the people assembled, some gloating, some grieving, and Khālid called the two of them, wanting them to insult one another. 'Abdallāh made as if to speak, so Zayd said: "Don't hurry, Abū Muḥammad! Zayd will free all his slaves before he ever litigates with you in front of Khālid." Then Zayd went up to Khālid and said to him: "Khālid, you have assembled the descendants of the Prophet of God in a way in which Abū Bakr and 'Umar would never have done." Khālid said: "Is there no one here to answer this fool?" Then one of the Anṣār from the family of 'Amr b. Ḥazm spoke and said: "You descendant of the 'dustman' ('Alī)[48] and of that fool Ḥusayn! Can't you see that you have a duty to the governor and that you owe him obedience?" Zayd retorted: "Shut up, Qaḥṭānī, we don't reply to the likes of you." The man said: "Why are you shunning me? By God, I am better than you and my father is better than your father and my mother is better than your mother." Zayd laughed it off and said: "O tribe of Quraysh! This religion has gone, but has honorable lineage gone too? By God, the religion of the people may disappear, but their honorable lineage does not." Then 'Abdallāh b. Wāqid b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said: "You are a liar, you Qaḥṭānī! By God, he is better than you as a person and in respect of his father and mother and in every way." He spoke about Zayd for a long time and the Qaḥṭānī said: "Leave us alone, Ibn Wāqid." Then Ibn Wāqid took a hand- [1675] ful of stones and threw them on the ground and said: "By God, I have no patience with this," and he stood up (and left).

Then Zayd went to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. Hishām began by not allowing Zayd into his presence, so Zayd complained in writing to Hishām, and whenever he did so Hishām wrote at the bottom of it: "Go back to your *amīr*." Zayd said: "By God, I won't go back to Khālid ever again. I am not asking for money. I am only a litigant." Then one day, after a long delay, Hishām allowed Zayd in to see him.

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48. Literally, "O descendant of Abū Turāb" ("father of dust," "dustman"). This was a name given contemptuously to 'Alī by his enemies, but it was later interpreted as an honorific and legends developed on this theme. Cf. *EI*², "'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib" (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah[49]—Ayyūb b. 'Umar b. Abī 'Amr[50]—Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Zuhrī: When Zayd b. 'Alī went to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, his chamberlain (*ḥājib*)[51] informed the caliph that Zayd was there. Hishām went up to a long upper chamber of his, and then allowed Zayd in. He ordered a servant to walk behind Zayd and told this man not to let Zayd see him and to listen to what Zayd said. (The servant said): "I followed Zayd up the stairs. He was stout and he stopped on some of the stairs and said: 'By God, anyone who loves this world will be humiliated.'" When Zayd came to Hishām, the latter met Zayd's demands and Zayd departed for al-Kūfah.[52] Hishām forgot to ask the servant what had happened until a few days had elapsed. Then Hishām inquired and the servant told him. Hishām turned to al-Abrash,[53] who said: "By God, may the first news that reaches you be that of his removal!" That was the first news to reach Hishām, and it happened as al-Abrash had said it would.

It was reported that Zayd took an oath on some matter before
[1676] Hishām, who said to him: "I don't believe you." Zayd replied: "O Commander of the Faithful, God does not make it a prerequisite that He should be pleased with someone in order to elevate him nor does He make His displeasure a reason for bringing him low."[54] Hishām said to him: "I have heard that you are thinking of the caliphate and wanting it; but you will not obtain it, since you are the son of a slave girl." Zayd replied: "I have an answer for you, O Commander of the Faithful." Hishām said: "Speak." Zayd went on: "Nobody is closer to God nor more exalted in rank with Him than a prophet whom He has sent. Ismā'īl was amongst

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49. Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah al-Numayrī (d. 264/877), historian and *muḥaddith*. Cf. Sezgin, I, 345; Rosenthal, 386.

50. 'Umar in the text. The editor later corrects it in *Introductio*, p. DCCX.

51. On the office of *ḥājib*, cf. *EI*², s.v. (D. Sourdel).

52. An important garrison town (*miṣr*) in early Islamic times. For a further discussion of al-Kūfah, cf. n. 221 and n. 233.

53. Al-Abrash Sa'īd b. al-Walīd al-Kalbī. For stories about his dealings with Hishām, cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, I, 74, 148; II, 124; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, II, 121; X, 62; al-Jahshiyārī, 37.

54. Zayd is presumably implying that just because Hishām is caliph, God is not necessarily pleased with him. Cf. Shaykh al-Mufīd, 404; Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 67. Al-Mas'ūdī has "No one is too high or too humble to dispense with fearing God" (*Murūj*, V, 468).

the best of the prophets and was the ancestor of the best of them, Muḥammad. Ismā'īl was the son of a slave girl and his brother was born of a pure woman, just as you were; but God chose Ismā'īl in preference to his brother and caused the best of mankind to come forth from him and no one disputes that. A man whose ancestor was the Prophet of God should not therefore be ignored, whoever his mother was." Then Hishām said to him: "Get out." Zayd said: "I am leaving and you will not see me (again) except where you do not want to see me." Sālim[55] said to him: "O Abū Ḥusayn, this is certainly not what is expected of you."

The account now goes back to the narrative of Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf: The Shī'īs[56] began to rally behind Zayd and to put pressure on him to rebel, saying: "We hope that you will be *al-Manṣūr*[57] and that this will be the time when the Banū Umayyah will perish." Zayd stayed in al-Kūfah and Yūsuf b. 'Umar began asking questions about him and was told that Zayd was there. Yūsuf sent a message to Zayd asking him to leave. Zayd said that he would do so, but he made the excuse that he was ill and he delayed a good while. Then Yūsuf asked about Zayd again, and he was told that he was still living in [1677] al-Kūfah and that he had not gone away. Yūsuf sent a message to Zayd, urging him to come in person. Zayd fobbed him off with the excuse that he had things to buy and he told Yūsuf that he was preparing himself (for the journey). Zayd now realized how persistent was Yūsuf's interest in him, so he got ready and went as far as al-Qādisiyyah.[58]

Some sources say that Yūsuf sent a messenger with Zayd who took him as far as 'Uthayb.[59] The Shī'īs joined him there and said

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55. This is probably a reference to Sālim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Hishām's *kātib*, who was in charge of the *dīwān al-rasā'il*. The Leiden index differentiates between Sālim the *kātib* and another Sālim, the mawlā of the 'Anbasah. For a clear discussion of the names and identity of Sālim, cf. Grignasci, 12–13.

56. Cf. a similar account in Ibn A'tham, VIII, 110–11.

57. "The one to whom victory is given." Cf. n. 206.

58. Two towns bear this name. This is a reference to the large hamlet five leagues west of al-Kūfah, the first stage on the road to Mecca. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 76, 83.

59. 'Uthayb was 6 *mīls* (12 km) from al-Qādisiyyah and was a fortified place in the desert. Cf. Ibn Rustah, 202.

to him: "Why are you leaving us, when you have 100,000 men of al-Kūfah fighting on your side tomorrow with their swords and there is only a small number of Syrians against you? Even if one of our tribes like Madhḥij or Hamdān or Tamīm or Bakr joined them, there would still be enough men for you to deal with them if God Almighty wills it so. We implore you by God to come back." They kept on urging Zayd until they brought him back to al-Kūfah.[60]

Accounts other than that of Abū Mikhnaf come from 'Ubayd b. Jannād—'Aṭā' b. Muslim: When Zayd b. 'Alī went to see Yūsuf, Yūsuf said to him: "Khālid has claimed that he has entrusted money to you." Zayd said: "How would anyone who cursed my ancestors from his pulpit entrust money to me?" Then Yūsuf sent a messenger to Khālid and the latter came to him wearing a cloak (*'abāh*). Yūsuf said: "This is Zayd. You have alleged that you deposited money with him and he has denied it." Khālid looked at both of them, and then he said (to Yūsuf): "Do you want to add to your crime against me a crime against this man? How would I entrust money to him when I curse him and his ancestors from the pulpit?" Yūsuf cursed him and sent him away.

Abū 'Ubaydah's account is as follows: Hishām believed Zayd
[1678] and the other men against whom Yūsuf had made accusations and he sent them to Yūsuf. Hishām said: "They have sworn oaths to me and I have accepted their oaths and have pronounced them innocent in regard to the money. I have sent them to you only so that you may bring them and Khālid together so that they may prove him a liar." Then Hishām gave them presents.

When they came to see Yūsuf, he received them hospitably and treated them well. He sent for Khālid, who was duly brought in. Yūsuf said to Khālid: "These people have sworn oaths and this is the letter from the Commander of the Faithful exonerating them. Do you have any proof about what you have alleged?" Khālid had no proof, and the men said to him: "What made you do what you did? Khālid said: "Yūsuf tortured me severely and I made the allegation that I made, hoping that God would give me relief before you arrived."[61] Then Yūsuf released them. The two men of

60. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 135.
61. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 94–95.

Quraysh, the Jumaḥī and the Makhzūmī, went to Medina and the two Hāshimīs, Dāwūd b. 'Alī and Zayd b. 'Alī, stayed behind in al-Kūfah.

It was reported that Zayd stayed in al-Kūfah for a period of four or five months. Yūsuf then ordered him to leave and wrote to his agent ('*āmil*)[62] in al-Kūfah—Yūsuf being at that time in al-Ḥīrah[63]—ordering him to harass Zayd. Zayd said that he was in litigation with some of the family of Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh[64] about money in Medina. Yūsuf's agent wrote to him about this and Yūsuf let Zayd stay on a few days. Then the news reached Yūsuf that the Shī'īs were rallying to Zayd. So Yūsuf wrote to his agent saying: "Send Zayd away and don't allow him to stay any longer. If he asserts that he is in litigation, then let him appoint an agent and choose a trustee to take his place in the legal pro- [1679] ceedings." A group of people, amongst whom were Salamah b. Kuhayl, Naṣr b. Khuzaymah al-'Absī, Mu'āwiyah b. Isḥāq b. Zayd b. Ḥārithah al-Anṣārī, Ḥujayyah b. al-Akhlaj al-Kindī,[65] and other Kūfan leaders, had given Zayd the oath of allegiance.

When Dāwūd b. 'Alī discovered this, he said to Zayd: "Cousin, don't let these men make you delude yourself, for you should learn a lesson from the members of your family and the way in which these people (the Kūfans) let them down." Zayd said: "Dāwūd, the Umayyads have been inordinately proud and pitiless." Dāwūd continued speaking (to Zayd) in this way until Zayd decided to leave (al-Kūfah) and they both went as far as al-Qādisiyyah.

According to Abū 'Ubaydah: The Kūfans followed Zayd to al-Tha'labiyyah[66] and they said to him: "We are forty thousand. If

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62. For this term, which was used for a variety of government officials, including the governor of a province and the director of finances in a provincial centre, cf. *EI*², s.v. (A. A. Duri).

63. Al-Ḥīrah, situated close to the Euphrates and to the southeast of present-day Najaf, was the center of Lakhmid power in the late Sasanian period. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 75; *EI*², s.v. (I. Shahid).

64. One of the Companions of the Prophet. Cf. *EI*¹, s.v. (G. Levi della Vida).

65. The text has al-Akhlaj. This is emended by the editor to al-Ajlaḥ (*Introductio*, p. DCCX).

66. A town on the road from Iraq to Mecca, between Biṭāniyyah and Khuzaymiyyah. In 'Abbāsid times it was one-third of the route from Baghdad to Mecca. Cf. Ibn Rustah, 204.

you return to al-Kūfah everyone will join you." They made covenants with him and swore inviolable oaths. Then Zayd began to remonstrate: "I am afraid that you will desert me and hand me over, as you did with my father and grandfather." So they swore further oaths to him (that they would not desert him). Then Dāwūd b. 'Alī said: "Cousin! These men will let you down! Did they not desert someone who was dearer to them than you, your great-grandfather 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, so that he was killed? Then they gave the oath of allegiance to al-Ḥasan[67]; after that they attacked him, snatched his cloak from round his neck, plundered his tent, and wounded him. Moreover, did they not force your grandfather al-Ḥusayn to rebel? They made binding oaths to him, then they deserted and abandoned him and were not satisfied until they had killed him. So don't do it and don't go back (to al-Kūfah) with them." Then the Kūfans said: "This man doesn't want you to be victorious. He is claiming that he and the members of his family are more entitled to this authority than you."
[1680] Zayd b. 'Alī said to Dāwūd: "'Alī had Mu'āwiyah,[68] with his sagacity and cunning,[69] and the Syrians fighting against him and al-Ḥusayn had Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah[70] fighting against him, and the situation went in their favor." Dāwūd said: "I am afraid that if you go back with them nobody will be more violent toward you than they will be, but you know best." Then Dāwūd went to Medina and Zayd returned to al-Kūfah.

According to 'Ubayd b. Jannād—'Aṭā' b. Muslim al-Khaffāf: Hishām wrote to Yūsuf telling him to send Zayd to his own town, since whenever he lived in any other town and summoned his followers they responded to his call. So Yūsuf sent him away and when he had got as far as al-Tha'labiyyah or al-Qādisiyyah, the wretches, that is, the Kūfans, caught up with him, brought him back (to al-Kūfah), and gave the oath of allegiance to him. Salamah b. Kuhayl[71] came to him and asked permission to see him.

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67. The Prophet's grandson. Cf. the genealogical table of the 'Alids.

68. The first Umayyad caliph, who ruled from 41 to 60 (661–80).

69. *Bi-dahā'ihi wa-nakhrā'ihi.* The two words are synonyms. Cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, III, 715.

70. The second Umayyad caliph, who ruled from 60 to 64 (680–83). During his reign (in 61/680) the Prophet's grandson, al-Ḥusayn, was martyred at Karbalā'.

71. For the conversation between Salamah and Zayd, cf. also *Fragmenta*, 95–96.

This he was allowed to do. He mentioned Zayd's kinship with the Prophet of God and his rightful claim and he spoke well. Zayd replied and he too spoke well. Then Salamah said to him: "Give me permission to speak frankly." Zayd said: "God forbid that the likes of you should ask the likes of me for permission to speak." Salamah only wanted his companions to hear that. Then Zayd said: "You can go ahead." Salamah said: "I beseech you, by God! How many people have given the oath of allegiance to you?" Zayd replied: "Forty thousand." Salamah went on: "How many gave the oath of allegiance to your grandfather?" and Zayd replied "Eighty thousand." Then Salamah inquired: "How many remained with him?" and Zayd said "Three hundred." Then Salamah said: "I adjure you by God, is it you or your grandfather who is the better man?" and Zayd answered: "My grandfather." Then Salamah asked: "Who are the better men, the companions with whom you have rebelled or the companions with whom your grandfather rebelled?" Zayd replied: "The companions with [1681] whom my grandfather rebelled." Salamah said: "Do you expect that these men will keep faith with you when those men acted treacherously with your grandfather?"

Zayd said: "They have given the oath of allegiance to me and the oath of allegiance is binding on me and them." Thereupon Salamah said: "Will you allow me to leave the town?" Zayd asked "Why?" Salamah responded: "I cannot guarantee that if anything happens to you I could control myself."[72] Zayd said: "I grant you permission (to leave)". Salamah then went to al-Yamāmah[73] and Zayd rebelled, was killed, and was put on a cross. Hishām wrote to Yūsuf blaming him for allowing Salamah b. Kuhayl to leave al-Kūfah, saying, "Salamah's staying (in al-Kūfah) would have been better for you than your having such-and-such a number of cavalry with you."

According to 'Umar—Abū Isḥāq—a *shaykh* of the people of Iṣfahān: 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan wrote to Zayd b. 'Alī as follows:

> Cousin! The Kūfans are puffed up with wind on the outside and weak inside. They are loud when circumstances are easy

72. *Lā amliku nafsī. Fragmenta*, 96, has *lā ahliku nafsī* ("I would not destroy myself").

73. District of Central Arabia. Cf. *EI*[1], s.v. (A. Grohmann).

and impatient when you meet them. Their tongues go ahead of them but their hearts do not accompany them. They do not spend their nights preparing for possible misfortunes nor will they bring about a hoped-for change of government. They have sent me a succession of letters inviting me, but I have remained deaf to their summons and in sheer despair and rejection of them have draped my heart with a cloth so as not to remember them. There is no way to describe them except in the words of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: "If you are left to your own devices you rush in (recklessly). If you are attacked, [1682] you collapse. When people gather round an imām you join in (but) once you have answered the call to rebel, you (then) beat a retreat."[74]

It was related that Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik wrote to Yūsuf b. 'Umar about Zayd b. 'Alī as follows:[75]

Now to our topic. You know what love the Kūfans feel for the members of this family. You know that the Kūfans have placed them in positions where they should not be, because they have made obedience to them an obligation on themselves. They have put them in charge of the statutes of their religion and they have falsely attributed to them a knowledge of what is to come, until, thanks to the fragmented state of the community, they have brought them to a situation in which they have incited them to rebel. Zayd b. 'Alī came to the Commander of the Faithful on the matter of the lawsuit of 'Umar b. al-Walīd, and the Commander of the Faithful settled the matter between them. The Commander of the Faithful found Zayd argumentative, eloquent, able to embellish and mold speech, and to attract men by the sweetness of his tongue. (Zayd achieved this) by virtue of the many solu-

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74. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 241. Parts of this are susceptible to more than one interpretation. The meaning of *ṭa'antum* is especially difficult. However, in view of the fact that the other parts of 'Alī's statements are in the form of sharp contrasts, *ṭa'ana* has been translated as "to join in" (Cf. Lane, I, 1855). Other possible translations would include "you defame (him)" or even "you go away." (Cf. Lane, loc. cit.).

75. Al-Balādhurī has a shorter version of this letter from Hishām to Yūsuf. Al-Balādhurī attributes the letter to Sālim (*Ansāb*, 238).

tions in arguments and the sharp, forceful (verbal) attacks he produces against his opponent to obtain victory. Send him quickly to the Ḥijāz[76] and do not let him stay with you. For if the people lend him their ears, so that he fills them, because of the softness of his speech and the sweetness of his diction as well as the appeal of his kinship with the Prophet of God, he will find the Kūfans inclined toward him, their hearts not [1683] slow, their minds[77] far from tranquil, and their religious oaths no longer honored.

I would rather take repressive measures against Zayd which will harm him, and send him away and cast him off, thereby ensuring communal safety, the prevention of bloodshed, and security against division, than see a situation in which their (the people's) blood is shed, discord is spread amongst them, and their offspring cut down.[78] Communal unity is God's firm covenant, true obedience to Him and His most secure support.[79] So I am leaving the leaders of the Kūfans to you. Threaten them with flogging and confiscation of their wealth, and those of them who have any contract or covenant (with me) will be slow to join up with Zayd. The only people who will be swift to rally to him, delighting in strife, will be the rabble, the masses, people impelled by dire need and those who are in league with Satan and who have been enslaved by him. So threaten them publicly, lash them with your whip and unsheath your sword amongst them. Terrorize the leaders before those of middle rank and those of middle rank before the common people. Know that you stand at the door that leads to union, that you are summoning the people to obedience, that you are promoting unity and doing your utmost to maintain God's covenant. So do not flinch from their large numbers but make as your stronghold in [1684] which you take refuge, and as your hiding place from which you emerge, your trust in your Lord, your zeal for your religion, your desire to preserve communal unity, and your

76. The northwestern part of the Arabian peninsula. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (G. Rentz).
77. *Aḥlāmuhum*. Cf. Qur'ān 52, v. 32.
78. *Qaṭ'u naslihim*. It is possible that the phrase has to do with *qaṭ'u raḥmihi* ("the severing of the ties of kinship"). Cf. Freytag, 509.
79. Cf. Qur'ān 2, v. 255.

hostility and animosity toward anyone who wants to break down this door through which God has commanded us to enter.

Indeed, the Commander of the Faithful has exonerated Zayd and has pronounced judgment, decreeing indemnity for him. Zayd's only chance of claiming a right that is his and of saying that he has been deprived of his own portion, either as permanent booty (*fay'*)[80] or as a gratuity for those related to him is, as the Commander of the Faithful fears, by causing the rabble to undertake something that would probably make them more wretched and misguided (i.e., rebellion). (The exonerating of Zayd) makes them more secure, (makes) the Commander of the Faithful stronger, and makes it easier for him to protect and preserve true religion.[81] For he does not want to see in his community a disruptive situation which could become the reason for their punishment and perdition. Therefore, he will consider long and carefully and will prepare himself to make the right decision; he will steer them away from the abodes of fear, draw them toward right paths, and turn them away from places of perdition, just as a tender father does with his child or a kind shepherd with his flock.

Know that a means to gain the upper hand over them and to render yourself worthy of assistance from God, if they do disobey, is to meet their demands in full, to give money to their children, and to forbid your army to attack their women
[1685] and their houses. So seize the chance to please God on the path on which He has placed you. There is no sin more quickly punished than injustice; the devil has ensnared these people and led them astray toward it and has guided them to it. He who sets his face against injustice approaches most closely to infallibility. The Commander of the Faithful calls on God for help against these people and against his other subjects of like mind, and he calls on his God and his Lord and his Friend to set to rights that which is corrupt in them and to bring them speedily to salvation and deliverance. Verily He is the Listener, the One near at hand.

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80. In pre-Islamic times a term used for chattels taken as booty. For its usage in the early Islamic period, cf. *EI*², s.v. (F. Løkkegaard).

81. This passage is discussed at length in Appendix I.

The narrative returns to the account of Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī):[82] Zayd returned to al-Kūfah and went into hiding. When he wanted to go back to al-Kūfah, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said to him: "May God grant you wisdom, O Zayd, when you rejoin your people. Do not accept the word of any of those who are inviting you to do as they suggest, for they will not keep faith with you." However, Zayd did not accept that advice from him and returned to al-Kūfah.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf: When Zayd returned to al-Kūfah, the Shī'īs came rallying round him and gave the oath of allegiance to him, until his register numbered fifteen thousand men. Zayd stayed in al-Kūfah some ten months, although he was in al-Baṣrah for about two months of that period and then he came to al-Kūfah where he stayed.[83] He sent men to the people of the Sawād[84] and of al-Mawṣil inviting them to join him.

When Zayd came to al-Kūfah, he married the daughter of Ya'qūb b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī, one of the Banū Farqad, and he also married the daughter of 'Abdallāh b. Abī al-'Anbas al-Azdī. The reason for his marrying her was as follows:[85] her mother, Umm [1686]
'Amr, daughter of al-Ṣalt, was of the Shī'ī persuasion. She heard where Zayd was and she went to greet him. She was a corpulent, good-looking, fleshy woman who was already getting on in years, although she did not look her age. When she went in to see Zayd b. 'Alī and greeted him, he thought that she was a young woman. She chatted to him and she was the most eloquent of people and most beautiful in appearance. Zayd asked her about her lineage and she told him about it and she informed him who her family were. Zayd then said to her: "May God's mercy be upon you, how would you like to marry me?" She said to him: "By God, may He have mercy on you, you are the one I would like to marry, if I were in a position to do so." Zayd rejoined: "What prevents you from doing so?" She said: "What prevents me from doing so is that I am too old." Zayd said to her: "Not at all! I am satisfied.

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82. Cf. p. 13.

83. Al-Balādhurī's account is clearer: "He stayed in al-Kūfah about ten months and went to al-Baṣrah and stayed there for two months" (*Ansāb*, 237). Cf. also al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 135.

84. The alluvial plain of southern Iraq. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 24.

85. This anecdote is also given by Ibn A'tham, VIII, 112.

You are far from being too old."[86] She said: "May God have mercy on you! I know myself better than you do and I know better what time has done for me. If I were to marry one day, I would not prefer anyone else to you. But I do have a daughter, whose father was my paternal cousin and who is more beautiful than I am. I will give her to you in marriage, if you like." He said to her: "I will be satisfied if she is like you." She said: "Her Creator and Maker was not content to make her like me, so He made her whiter, more good-looking, more corpulent, and finer than me in coquettishness and form." Zayd laughed and said to her: "You have been blessed with your full share of eloquence and fine speaking. How does her eloquence compare with yours?" She said: "I am not sure about that, because I grew up in the Ḥijāz and
[1687] my daughter grew up in al-Kūfah, so I don't know. Perhaps my daughter speaks as the Kūfans do." Zayd said: "I don't object to that." Then he arranged a meeting with her, came to her, and contracted a marriage with her. Then he went in to her. She bore him a daughter, after which she died. As for Zayd, he was madly in love with her.

Zayd b. 'Alī lived in various houses in al-Kūfah:[87] in his wife's house with the Azd on one occasion, with his Sulamī sons-in-law on another occasion, once with Naṣr b. Khuzaymah from the Banū 'Abs, and once with the Banū Ghubar. Then he moved from the Banū Ghubar to the house of Mu'āwiyah b. Isḥāq b. Ḥārithah al-Anṣārī at the far end of the Jabbānah of Sālim al-Salūlī.[88] He also lived with the Banū Nahd[89] and the Banū Taghlib near the mosque of the Banū Hilāl b. 'Āmir. He remained there, receiving the oath of allegiance from his followers. The oath of allegiance

86. An alternative translation might be: "I would be satisfied, as long as (*mā*) I could keep you (*ub'iduki*) from growing old."

87. For the subsequent accounts of Zayd's revolt in al-Kūfah, the researches of Massignon and Djaït are invaluable in clarifying the topography and tribal organization of the town.

88. There were a number of *jabbānāt* at al-Kūfah. Massignon translates *jabbānah* as "tribal cemetery," but states that such open spaces were used for public ceremonies and for mobilizing troops ("Explication," 347–48). Djaït plausibly suggests that the *jabbānah* was not a cemetery but a space used for public prayer on special occasions and also for mobilizing the tribesmen (*Yamanites*, 176–77). The Jabbānah Sālim al-Salūlī mentioned here belonged to the Banū 'Āmir of Qays (cf. Massignon, loc. cit.).

89. Ibn al-Athīr has the *Banū Hind* (*Kāmil*, V, 177).

which he made with the people was as follows:[90] "We summon you to the Book of God and the *sunnah*[91] of His Prophet, and to wage war against those who act tyrannically, to defend those who have been oppressed,[92] to give pensions to those who have been deprived of them, to distribute this booty (*fay'*) equally amongst those who are entitled to it, to make restitution to those who have been wronged, to bring home those who have been detained on the frontiers, and to help the *ahl al-bayt*[93] against those who have opposed us and disregard our just cause. Do you swear allegiance on that basis?" If they said "Yes," Zayd would place his hand on theirs[94] and he would say: "The pledge, treaty, and covenant of God and the covenant of His Prophet are upon you so that you keep your allegiance to me, fight my enemy, and act in good faith toward me both secretly and publicly." If they said "Yes," Zayd would rub his hand on their hands[95] and would say: "May [1688] God be our witness." The situation remained like this for some ten months. When the time for his uprising drew near, he ordered his followers to make their preparations. Those who wanted to keep faith and rebel with him began to get ready and his activities became widely known amongst the people.

In this year Naṣr b. Sayyār[96] raided Transoxiana twice, then he raided it a third time[97] and killed Kūrṣūl.[98]

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90. Versions of this oath are given by Ibn A'tham (VIII, 113) and al-Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, 237–38).

91. Muḥammad's *sunnah* comprises his deeds, sayings, and unspoken approval. Cf. *EI*[1], s.v. (A. J. Wensinck).

92. Cf. Qur'ān 28, vv. 4–5.

93. The family of the Prophet.

94. Literally, "on his hand."

95. Again the plural has been used here for consistency.

96. The last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, appointed by Hishām in 120 (738).

97. It is likely that these three campaigns were spread out over a number of years (121–23/739–41); cf. Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 66.

98. For the career of Kūrṣūl, a Türgesh leader, cf. Gibb, 85, 91. Gibb believes that al-Ṭabarī's narrative here, which attributes the capture of Kurṣūl to Naṣr b. Sayyār, is later Muslim glorification of Arab achievements. He adds that if Kūrṣūl is to be identified with Bagha Ṭarkhān, he was executed by the Chinese in 126 (744). Gabrieli accepts al-Ṭabarī's account (*Califfato*, 66 ff.).

The Raids of Naṣr b. Sayyār[99]

According to 'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī)—his *shaykhs*: Naṣr raided Transoxiana from Balkh[100] in the region of the Gate of Iron,[101] then he returned to Marw[102] and delivered the following sermon (*khuṭbah*):

> Verily, Bahrāmsīs[103] was the protector of the Magians (*majūs*); he favored them, protected them and put their burdens[104] on the Muslims. Verily, Ashbdād son of Gregory was the protector of the Christians, just as Aqiva the Jew protected the Jews. But I am the protector of the Muslims. I will defend them and shield them and make the polytheists carry their burdens. Nothing less than the full amount of the *kharāj*[105] as written and recorded will be accepted by me. I have placed Manṣūr b. 'Umar b. Abī al-Kharqā as agent ('*āmil*) over you and I have ordered him to act justly toward you. If there is a man amongst you who is a Muslim and from whom *jizyah* has been levied, or who has been charged an excessive amount of *kharāj*, thus lightening the burden for the poly-
> [1689] theists, then let him raise that with Manṣūr b. 'Umar so that he may take the burden away from the Muslim and impose it on the polytheist.

By the following Friday, Manṣūr had dealt with thirty thousand Muslims who had been paying the *jizyah* and eighty thousand

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99. For the activities of Naṣr b. Sayyār in Central Asia, cf. Gibb, 88–99; van Vloten, 71–72; Wellhausen, 473–86; Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 27–70.

100. A city now in Afghanistan. According to al-Ya'qūbī, Balkh was the greatest city of Khurāsān (*Buldān*, trans. by G. Wiet, 100). Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 420–22.

101. *Bāb al-Ḥadīd*, the famous "Iron Gate," two marches to the north of Hāshimjird. This defile in the mountains was the thoroughfare between Samarqand and India. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 441–42.

102. Marw al-Shāhijān, the important city of medieval Khurāsān. The epithet al-Shāhijān was used to distinguish it from Marw al-Rūd. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 397–403; *EI*², s.v. (A. Yakubovski-C. E. Bosworth).

103. Bahrāmsīs had been appointed Marzubān of Marw by Muslim b. Sa'īd al-Kilābī in 105 (723–24). It was Muslim's policy to appoint officials acceptable to the Persians. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1462.

104. I.e. taxation.

105. It is difficult to define exactly the use of such terms as *kharāj* and *jizyah* in this period and area. Cf. Van Vloten, 72; *EI*², "Kharādj" (Cl. Cahen).

polytheists[106] who had been exempted from the *jizyah*. He imposed the *jizyah* on the polytheists and removed it from the Muslims. Then he readjusted the *kharāj*, allocating it properly, and reassessed the amount (of tribute) payable in accordance with the peace treaty (*ṣulḥ*). In the time of the Umayyads, the revenues of Marw amounted to one hundred thousand dirhams, not including the *kharāj*.[107]

Naṣr b. Sayyār made a second raid to Waraghsar[108] and Samarqand[109] and returned to Marw. He then went out on a raid from Marw a third time, to al-Shāsh,[110] but Kūrṣūl, accompanied by fifteen thousand men, prevented him from fording the river, which was the river at al-Shāsh. Kūrṣūl was paying each of his men per month one piece of silk, which at that time was worth twenty-five dirhams. The two armies remained a bowshot apart and Kūrṣūl prevented Naṣr from crossing to al-Shāsh. Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj was at that time in Turkish territory and he had come with the Turks[111] and was positioned opposite Naṣr. He shot a short arrow at Naṣr who was sitting on his litter (*sarīr*)[112] on the river bank. The arrow hit a servant of Naṣr's in the side of the mouth while he was performing Naṣr's ablutions. Naṣr got down from his litter and shot an arrow at a horse belonging to one of the Syrians and it fell dead.

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106. Literally, "Thirty thousand Muslims who had been paying the *jizyah* and eighty thousand polytheists who had been exempted from the *jizyah* came to him."

107. For a clear summary of the preceding fiscal situation in Khurāsān and of this celebrated tax reform introduced by Naṣr b. Sayyār, cf. Hawting, 106. Cf. also Wellhausen, 477–82; Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 68. Here Naṣr established that all cultivators of taxable land, whatever their religious affiliation, would be liable to pay land tax (*kharāj*) and that non-Muslims only would pay poll tax (*jizyah*).

108. A large village between Banjīkath and Samarqand. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 465, 467.

109. For this important Central Asian city, cf. *EI*[1], s.v. (H. H. Schaeder).

110. Nowadays Tashkent. The medieval city of al-Shāsh lay to the west of Farghānah, on the right bank of the Jaxartes. It was the greatest of the Arab towns beyond the Jaxartes. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 480–82.

111. In 116 (734) al-Ḥārith b. Surayj from the Banū Tamīm had led a revolt of Arabs and Soghdian mawlās against the Umayyads and in support of the rights of the mawlās (non-Arab Muslims). Al-Ḥārith was willing to collaborate with the Türgesh with whom he eventually took refuge. Cf. Gibb, 76–85; Hawting, 86–88, 107–09; Shaban, *'Abbāsid revolution*, 118–22; *EI*[2], s.v. (M. J. Kister).

112. For the meanings of *sarīr*, cf. Sadan, 32–41.

[1690] Then Kūrṣūl crossed with forty men and made a night raid on Naṣr's camp, driving away some sheep which belonged to the people of Bukhārā. (This was possible because) the Bukhārans were at the rear and it was a dark night when Kūrṣūl went round the camp. Naṣr had with him men from Bukhārā, Samarqand, Kish,[113] and Ushrūsanah[114] and they numbered twenty thousand. Naṣr made the following proclamation to his tribal units:[115] "Let nobody leave his tent; hold firm to your positions."

'Āsim b. 'Umayr, who was in charge of the *jund*[116] of the people of Samarqand, was outside (the camp) when the army of Kūrṣūl passed. The Turks had shouted (as they went) and the people in the camp thought that the Turks had all crossed (the river).[117] Then still more of Kūrṣūl's troops passed by, and 'Āsim attacked the last of these. He captured a man who was one of their kings and the lord of four thousand tents (*qubbah*), and they took him to Naṣr. He was an old man who had a lifetime of fighting[118] behind him. He was wearing brocade gaiters with rings of metal in them and a silk *qabā'* hemmed with brocade. Naṣr asked him who he was and he told Naṣr that he was Kūrṣūl. Naṣr said to him: "Praise be to God who has enabled us to get hold of you, you enemy of God!" Kūrṣūl said: "What do you hope for by killing an old man? I will give you one thousand Turkish camels[119] and one thousand draft horses[120] with which to strengthen your army. So let me go." Naṣr asked the Syrians and the Khurāsānīs around him for their opinion and they said that he should let Kūrṣūl go. Then Naṣr asked Kūrṣūl: "How old are you?" He said: "I do not know." Naṣr said: "How many raids have you made?" and Kūrṣūl answered, "Seventy-two." Naṣr said: "Were you present at the

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113. *Kiss* in the text. This should be identified as Kish (or Kishsh), which was later called Shahr-i Sabz and lies to the south of Samarqand. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 469.

114. The province of Ushrūsanah lay to the east of Samarqand. There was a city of the same name. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 474–76.

115. *Akhmās*, plural of *khums* ("fifths"). From 50 (670), Arab tribal settlements were divided into quarters or fifths. Cf. Crone, 31.

116. A regular regiment of soldiers under a *qā'id*. Cf. Crone, 38.

117. The sequence of events in this passage is rather obscure.

118. Literally, "who had trailed his coat of mail for a (life-) span."

119. Ibn al-Athīr (V, 177) has four thousand camels.

120. *Birdhawn:* the heavy Persian warhorse.

Day of Thirst (*Yawm al-'Atash*)?"[121] and Kūrṣūl said: "Yes." [1691]
Naṣr said: "Even if you were to give me everything on which the sun rises, you would not escape me now that you have said that you were present at that battle." Naṣr said to 'Āsim b. 'Umayr al-Sughdī: "Get up, disarm and seize him." When Kūrṣūl realized that he was going to be killed, he said: "Who was it who took me prisoner?" Naṣr said laughing: "Yazīd b. Qurran al-Ḥanẓalī"[122] and he pointed to him. Kūrṣūl said: "He can't wash his backside properly"—or, according to another report, he said: "He cannot stop his urine,"[123]—"so how could he have taken me prisoner? Tell me who it really was who captured me, for I am worth killing seven times." He was then told that it was 'Āsim b. 'Umayr. Kūrṣūl said: "I will not feel the pain of death if the person who took me prisoner is a (true) Bedouin horseman." Then Naṣr killed him and crucified him upon the river bank. (The narrator said): 'Āsim b. Umayr, who had the sobriquet al-Hazārmard,[124] was killed at Nihāwand[125] in the lifetime of Qaḥṭabah.[126]

When Kūrṣūl was killed, the Turks were in disarray.[127] They went to his quarters and burnt them. They cut their ears and tore the skin on their faces[128] and began weeping over him. When evening came and Naṣr wanted to leave he sent someone to Kūrṣūl with a bottle of naphtha (*naft*), which he poured over him. He then set fire to the body lest people should take away his bones.

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121. The defeat of Muslim b. Sa'īd al-Kilābī and the Arab troops in 106 (724) by the Türgesh and rebel Soghdians was called "The Day of Thirst." It was a major military disaster for the Arabs. Cf. Gibb, 64–67; Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 106–07; al-Ṭabarī, II, 1480.

122. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1569.

123. These expressions denote contempt at a man's lack of manly qualities in war. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CXLIV.

124. The word denotes either "having one thousand men under him" or "as strong as one thousand men." A number of other warriors were given this epithet. Cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 128.

125. Nihāwand was a city some forty miles south of Hamadān. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 196–97.

126. Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb al-Ṭā'ī was appointed by the imām Ibrāhīm as military commander of the Hāshimiyyah. Qaḥṭabah and his son defeated the Umayyad forces at Nihāwand in Dhū al-Qa'dah 131 (June 22–July 22, 749). Cf. Wellhausen, 540; al-Ṭabarī, III, 7–8.

127. *Takhaddarū*: cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCXIV.

128. *Wa-jarradū wujūhahum*. Nöldeke prefers a variant in the apparatus: *wa-khadadū wujūhahum*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCXIV.

(The narrator commented): This action upset the people more than Kūrṣūl's killing. Then Naṣr went up to Farghānah[129] and took from there thirty thousand captives.

According to 'Anbar b. Bur'umah al-Azdī: Yūsuf b. 'Umar wrote
[1692] to Naṣr as follows: "Go to the man who has fixed himself in al-Shāsh,"[130] meaning al-Ḥārith b. Surayj. "If God gives you victory over him and the people of al-Shāsh, lay waste their country and take their children captive, but take care not to get into a situation from which the Muslims cannot extricate themselves."[131] Naṣr called the people, read the letter to them and asked them their opinion. Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn said: "Fulfill the decree of the Commander of the Faithful and the order of the *amīr* (i.e., Yūsuf)." Naṣr said: "Yaḥyā, in the time of 'Āsim you said something[132] which reached the caliph and you obtained favor by that. He increased your salary, he gave stipends to the members of your family, and you achieved high rank. So you said to yourself: 'Why don't I say the same thing now?' Off you go, Yaḥyā. I have appointed you as my advance party." The people went up to Yaḥyā and reproached him. Naṣr then said: "What disaster[133] could be worse than that we should have to travel while they (the enemy) can stay where they are?" Then he went to al-Shāsh and al-Ḥārith b. Surayj came to him and set up two *'arrādahs*[134] against the Banū Tamīm. When he was told that they were the Banū Tamīm,[135] he moved the *'arrādahs* and set them up against the Azd.—Another report said that it was against Bakr b. Wā'il.

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129. The city of Farghānah, otherwise known as Akhsīkath, lay on the north bank of the Jaxartes. There was a province of the same name. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 477, and map opposite p. 433.

130. *Sir ilā hādhā al-ghāriz dhanabahu bi-al Shāsh* (lit., "go to that one who sticks his tail in al-Shāsh"). Cf. the example *aqāma bi-arḍinā wa-gharaza dhanabahu* ("he stayed in our land and remained fixed"). Cf. Lane, I, 980.

131. *Warṭat al-Muslimīn. Warṭah* means literally slime or thin mud into which sheep or goats fall and from which they cannot extricate themselves. Cf. Lane, I, 2938.

132. In 106 (724) Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn al-Bakrī had advised 'Āṣim to stand firm against al-Ḥārith b. Surayj. Wellhausen describes him as "the most esteemed leader of the Bakr." Cf. Wellhausen, 467, 487.

133. Again the word used is *warṭah*. Naṣr is being sarcastic about the warning Yūsuf b. 'Umar has given him in his letter.

134. For a definition of *'arrādah* and *manjanīq*, both medieval artillery machines, cf. *EI*², "'Arrādah" (C. Cahen).

135. I.e., al-Ḥārith's own people.

Al-Akhram, who was a Turkish horseman,[136] made a raid on them and the Muslims killed him, taking prisoner seven of his companions. Naṣr b. Sayyār ordered that al-Akhram's head should be shot amongst the enemy troops with a *manjanīq*. When they saw the head, they made a great din and fled in disarray. Naṣr went back and wanted to cross the river but he was prevented from doing so. Abū Numaylah Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abbār said:

When Naṣr returned after his absence, we felt [1693]
like someone who watches a storm until the rain sheets down on him.
When it stopped, there abated with it a cold drenching climax[137]
which threatened the destiny of the people.

Naṣr went and attacked Samarqand in the year in which he fought al-Ḥārith b. Surayj. Then the Bukhār Khudāh[138] fled to his protection. The Muslims had the garrison[139] in their possession, and with them were two of the *dihqān*s[140] of Bukhārā, who had accepted Islam from the hand of Naṣr.[141] These men had resolved to kill both Wāṣil b. 'Amr al-Qaysī,[142] who was the agent (*'āmil*) of Bukhārā, and the Bukhār Khudāh. They accused the Bukhār Khudāh, whose name was Ṭughshādah,[143] of injustice.[144] The

136. For a discussion of al-Akhram, cf. Gibb, p. 91.

137. *Awdā bi-ākhira minhu 'ariḍun baridun.* Nöldeke prefers the reading *bi-Akhrama;* cf. *Add.*, p. DCCX. The Cairo edition of al-Ṭabarī (VII, 176) follows Nöldeke.

138. This episode, with similar details, is given by Narshakhī, 60–62. The Bukhār Khudāh was the local ruler of Bukhārā (ibid.).

139. *Wa-kānat al-maslaḥah 'alayhim wa-ma'ahum dihqānān.* The translation is only tentative. The meaning of *maslaḥah* is obscure in this context. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCXCV. As well as an arms depot, the word can denote the task of protecting the roads. Another possibility is the translation "they were armed." If the word is translated as "garrison," it is still not clear whether the use of the third person masculine plural suffix refers to the Muslims or to the Bukhār Khudāh and his followers.

140. *Dihqān:* a local Persian landlord. Cf. Morony, 529.

141. *Wa-kānā aslamā 'alā yaday Naṣr,* rendered by Frye in his translation of the similar passage in Narshakhī as "Both had accepted Islam from Naṣr." Cf. Narshakhī, 61.

142. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1528.

143. The text has *Ṭūq Siyādah.* This is corrected by the editor on the basis of his reading of Narshakhī to Ṭūq Shādah. Cf. *Add.*, DCCX. A more likely reading is *Tughshādah,* as given by Gibb, 91.

144. He had seized their villages. Cf. Narshakhī, 61.

Bukhār Khudāh said to Naṣr: "May God bless the *amīr*. I have heard that the two of them have become Muslims in your presence, so why do they have daggers hanging on them?" So Naṣr said to the two *dihqān*s: "Why do you have daggers on you when you have become Muslims?" They said: "There is enmity between us and the Bukhār Khudāh, and we do not trust his intentions toward us." Naṣr gave orders to Hārūn b. al-Siyāwush, the mawlā[145] of the Banū Sulaym, who was in charge of the garrison,[146] and he seized the two men forcibly and removed their daggers.[147] The Bukhār Khudāh went up to Naṣr and spoke secretly to him about the two men. Then the two of them said: "We will die nobly." One of them attacked Wāṣil b. ʿAmr and stabbed him in the belly with a knife. Wāṣil struck him on the head with his sword, cleaving his skull, and killed him. The other (*dihqān*)
[1694] went in search of the Bukhār Khudāh. Prayer commenced[148] and the Bukhār Khudāh remained seated on a chair.[149] Naṣr stood up, went into the tent, and summoned the Bukhār Khudāh. He tripped at the door of the tent and the *dihqān* stabbed him. Al-Jūzjān b. al-Jūzjān[150] attacked the *dihqān*, striking him with an iron rod he had with him, and killed him. The Bukhār Khudāh was picked up and taken into Naṣr's tent. Naṣr ordered a cushion for him and he leaned back against it. Qarʿah,[151] the physician, came to him and began treating him. The Bukhār Khudāh made his will before Naṣr and then died soon afterward. Wāṣil was buried in the tent and Naṣr prayed over him. As for Ṭughshādah,

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145. Mawlā: a client or protégé. Cf. Morony, 532.

146. *Al-rābiṭah* is given as a synonym for *al-maslaḥah*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCLVI.

147. *Qaṭaʿahumā:* "he disarmed them." The words *their daggers* have been added, since in the following lines it is clear that the two *dihqān*s had other weapons on them.

148. Literally, "the *iqāmah* was performed." For the *iqāmah*, cf. I. K. A. Howard, "The Development of the *Adhān* and *Iqāma* of the *Ṣalāt* in Early Islam," 219–28.

149. Narshakhī adds, "He did not pray, for he was still an unbeliever in secret." Cf. Narshakhī, 61. For *kursī*, cf. Sadan, 123–37. Probably it was a stool, being more portable.

150. A *dihqān* who is mentioned in 116 (734) in the company of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1569.

151. The vocalization of this name is uncertain. This same doctor in 118 (736) cut out the tongue of Khidāsh and put out his eye. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1589.

they removed the flesh from him and took his bones to Bukhārā.[152]

Naṣr made for al-Shāsh and when he came to Ushrūsanah, its *dihqān*, Abārākharrah,[153] gave him money. Then Naṣr went on to al-Shāsh. He made Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Azdī agent[154] (*'āmil*) of Farghānah and despatched him there with ten people. Muḥammad sent back from Farghānah Jaysh's[155] brother and those *dihqān*s who were with him, both from al-Khuttal[156] and from other areas. He took away many idols from there and put them in Ushrūsanah.

Some sources said that when Naṣr came to al-Shāsh, the ruler, Qadīr,[157] received him, offering peace terms, a gift, and a pledge. Naṣr imposed on him the condition that he should expel al-Ḥārith b. Surayj from his town. He therefore sent him away to Fārāb.[158] Then Naṣr appointed as the agent (*'āmil*) of al-Shāsh [1695]
Nīzak b. Ṣāliḥ, the mawlā of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. Naṣr moved on and came down to Qubā,[159] which is in the region of Farghānah. The people there had heard that Naṣr was coming, so they burned the grass and stored away the provisions.

In the remaining part of the year 121, Naṣr sent people to the *walī 'ahd* of the ruler of Farghānah[160] and they besieged him in one of its citadels. The Muslims were caught unprepared by the people in the citadel, who seized and drove away their horses and

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152. For a bibliography on Zoroastrian burial customs, cf. Frye's n. 223 in his translation of Narshakhī, 141.

153. *Abārākharahh* in the text is corrected by the editor to Abārākharrah. Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCX.

154. Al-Ṭabarī mentions this name here only.

155. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1593, 1618, where the form given is al-Jaysh.

156. The mountainous tract on the upper course of the Oxus, between the rivers Panj and Wakhshāb. The term was also vaguely applied to all lands of the infidel to the east and north of Khurāsān. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (C. E. Bosworth); Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 299–303; Le Strange, *Lands*, 437–39.

157. Q.d.r.: the form of this name is unclear. In the apparatus it is suggested that the person may be B.d.r Ṭurkhān (cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1629). The editor later suggests another form, Tudun. Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCX.

158. Fārāb: the city on the east bank of the Jaxartes, later known as Utrār. This city should not be confused with Fāryāb in Khurāsān. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 484–85.

159. A city in the province of Farghānah. Cf. Yāqūt, IV, 24–25; Ibn Ḥawqal, 490.

160. *Walī 'ahd:* the appointed heir and successor. Ibn al-Athīr has *walī ṣāḥib Farghānah* (V, 179).

took a number of them captive. Then Naṣr sent them reinforcements from the Banū Tamīm[161] accompanied by Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā,[162] who was a cavalryman. The Muslims laid a trap for the people in the citadel by abandoning their horses and lying in wait for them. The people in the citadel duly came out and took some of the horses. Then the Muslims emerged against them, put them to flight, killed the *dihqān*, and took some of the enemy prisoner. [163] The son of the slain *dihqān*, who was a beardless youth, attacked Ibn al-Muthannā. Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā tricked him and took him prisoner. He brought him to Naṣr, who beheaded him.

Naṣr sent Sulaymān b. Ṣūl[164] to the lord of Farghānah with the peace treaty between them (the Muslims and the people of Farghānah). Sulaymān gave the following account: I went in to the lord of Farghānah and he asked me who I was. I said: "I am a hired servant (*shākir*) and the *amīr*'s deputy scribe." He said (to his servants): "Take him into the storehouse, so that he can see what preparations we have made and tell him to stand up." I said: "I cannot walk (there)." He replied: "Give him a beast to ride." So I went into his storehouses and I said to myself: "Sulaymān, may Isrā'īl and Bishr b. 'Ubaydah rejoice at your misfortune! All this can only mean that he does not want peace and I will go away empty-handed."[165] I went back to the lord of Farghānah and he
[1696] said: "How did you find the road between us and you?" I said: "Easy, with plentiful water and pasturage." He was not pleased with what I told him, so he said: "How do you know?" I said: "I have gone on raids into Gharshistān,[166] Ghūr,[167] al-Khuttal, and

161. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, I, tables 59–84; and II, 7–10.

162. Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā al-Azdī. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1761–62.

163. The narrative only sometimes mentions explicitly who is performing what action here. To clarify the passage the phrase "the people in the citadel" has been adopted for one group of the protagonists.

164. This may be the son of a Turkish leader, Ṣūl, who was active against Yazīd b. Muhallab in 98 (716–17). Cf. Wellhausen, 446–47.

165. *Bi-khuffay Ḥunayn*. Cf. Freytag, *Proverba*, I, 539.

166. Gharshistān (or Gharistān) or more usually Gharjistān is the mountainous region to the east of Bādghīs, at the headwaters of the Murghāb river. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 415.

167. The mountainous area to the east and south of Gharjistān was called Ghūr (or Ghūristān); it stretched from Herat to Bāmiyān and the borders of Kābul and Ghaznah. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 416; *EI*², s.v. (A. D. H. Bivar); *Ḥudūd*, 342–44.

Ṭabaristān,[168] so how can I not know?" He said: "What did you think of the preparations we have made?" I said: "I saw good supplies, but did you not know that even the lord of a citadel[169] is not proof against all perils?"[170] He said: "What are they?" I said: "He is not free from the fear that those closest to him, most liked by him and most trusted by him might attack him, coveting his position, and advance themselves thereby. Then (there is the fear) that what he has hoarded will melt away and that he will be utterly ruined. Or an illness could afflict him and he might die." He scowled and did not like what I had said to him. He told me to go to my house, so I went off and stayed for two days, not doubting that he would reject the idea of peace. Then he summoned me. I gave the peace treaty to my slave and I said to him: "If a messenger comes from me to you asking for the treaty, go to the house and do not show the treaty, and say[171] that I have left the treaty in the house."[172] I went in to see the lord of Farghānah and he asked me about the letter, so I said: "I have left it behind in the house." He said: "Send someone to bring it to you." Then he accepted the (offer of) peace and gave me a fine reward. He sent his mother with me and she was in charge of his affairs. When I went in to see Naṣr, he looked at me and said: "The saying of an ancient is most appropriate for you:

> Send a wise man and you will not need to give him any orders."

I told Naṣr what had happened and he said: "You did well." Then he gave permission for the mother of the ruler of Farghānah to come in. She came in to him and he began talking to her, with the interpreter explaining what she was saying. Then Tamīm b.

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168. The well-known province to the south of the Caspian Sea. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 368–76.

169. Ibn al-Athīr has al-Maḥṣūr "the one under siege" (V, 179).

170. *Khiṣāl:* literally, "good or bad qualities." Cf. Lane, I, 751.

171. The variant *qul* in the apparatus has been preferred here since it makes better sense than *qul lī* in the text.

172. This seems a rather obscure narrative. Presumably, if the text is not faulty, which it may well be, Sulaymān's elaborate *démarche* was aimed at giving an impression of surprise if the *amīr* of Farghānah should decide after all to sign the treaty.

[1697] Naṣr[173] came in and said[174] to the interpreter: "Ask her: 'Do you know who this is?'" She said: "No." He said: "This is Tamīm b. Naṣr." She said: "By God, I see in him neither the sweetness of youth nor the nobility of age."

According to Abū Isḥāq b. Rabī'ah:[175] She said to Naṣr: "Every king is not a king unless he possesses six things: a vizier to whom he may divulge his secret intentions and from whom he may seek advice and receive trustworthy counsel in every contentious issue within his bosom that he wishes to discuss; a cook who, whenever the king does not fancy food, will bring him what he does like; a wife who, whenever he goes in with troubled mind to see her and he looks at her face, causes his trouble to disappear;[176] a fortress to which he betakes himself when he is afraid or in trouble and it rescues him [she meant his horse]; a sword which will not fail him when he fights the enemy; and a storehouse sufficient to live off no matter where in the world he takes it."

Then Tamīm b. Naṣr came in with a large group of people.[177] She said: "Who is this?" They said: "This is the hero of Khurāsān. This is Tamīm b. Naṣr." She said: "He has neither the nobility of old men nor the sweetness of young ones." Then al-Ḥajjāj b. Qutaybah came in and she said: "Who is this?" They said: "Al-Ḥajjāj b. Qutaybah." She greeted him and asked about him. Then she said: "You Arabs, you don't keep faith nor do you behave properly with one another. It was Qutaybah[178] who laid the foun-

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173. Tamīm b. Naṣr was killed in 130 (748) fighting the Hāshimiyyah near Ṭūs. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 2016.

174. It is not clear whether Tamīm or Naṣr asks the woman this question.

175. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1456.

176. Literally, "his trouble disappears."

177. The text has *fī mirfalatin wa jamā'atin*. For *mirfalah*, a long flowing garment, cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCLXVII. Lane (I, 1128) suggests that the term denotes a conceited gait. If this reading is accepted, a possible translation would be: "with conceited gait and a group of people." The Cairo edition (VII, 187) interprets the variant in the apparatus as *azfalah* ("a group or collection of people"), which makes good sense here.

178. Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī became governor of Khurāsān in 85 (704). He was killed when he tried to rebel at the time of Sulaymān's succession in 96 (714–15). During his governorship he undertook many campaigns beyond Khurāsān. Cf. Wellhausen, 429–44; Gibb, 31–57. Qutaybah laid the foundations on which Islamic rule in Central Asia was built. Although many of his family held high office later, al-Ḥajjāj apparently did not. Cf. Crone, 137–38.

dations of your power,[179] as I myself saw. This is his son and yet you make him sit down below you. It is your duty to raise him to this position (*majlis*) and you should sit where he is."

In this year Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl al-Makhzūmī[180] [1698]
led the pilgrimage. This report came from Abū Ma'shar[181]—Aḥmad b. Thābit[182]—his informants—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—his father. Al-Wāqidī and others also gave the same report.

The governor ('*āmil*) of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik in charge of Medina, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if in this year was Muḥammad b. Hishām. Hishām's '*āmil* over the whole of Iraq was Yūsuf b. 'Umar, his '*āmil* in Āzarbāyjān and Armenia was Marwān b. Muḥammad, and his '*āmil* in Khurāsān was Naṣr b. Sayyār. In the post of *qāḍī* in al-Baṣrah was 'Āmir b. 'Ubaydah[183] and the *qāḍī* of al-Kūfah was Ibn Shubrumah.[184]

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179. *Waṭṭana lakum.*

180. Hishām's '*āmil* in Medina.

181. Abū Ma'shar Nājiḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sindī al-Madanī (d. 170/786–87) was a younger contemporary of Ibn Isḥāq. Cf. Sezgin, I, 291–91; *EI*², s.v. (J. Horovitz-F. Rosenthal); Brockelmann, I, 207; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 419–22.

182. Aḥmad b. Thābit b. 'Attāb al-Rāzī. Cf. Sezgin, I, 292, 796.

183. 'Āmir b. 'Ubaydah al-Bāhilī. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 378.

184. 'Abdallāh b. Shubrumah al-Ḍabbī. Cf. ibid.

The Events of the Year 122

(December 7, 739–November 25, 740)

The Killing of Zayd b. 'Alī

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf: When Zayd b. 'Alī commanded his followers to get ready to rebel and to make preparations, those who wanted to adhere to their pledge of allegiance to him began what he had ordered them to do in that eventuality. Sulaymān b. Surāqah al-Bāriqī[185] went to Yūsuf b. 'Umar and gave him the information[186] that Zayd was making repeated visits to a man from amongst their number called 'Āmir and to a man from the Banū Tamīm called Ṭu'mah,
[1699] the nephew of Bāriq,[187] and that Zayd was living with them. Yūsuf sent people to their house in search of Zayd b. 'Alī, but he was not to be found there. Then the two men were seized and brought to Yūsuf. When he had spoken to the two of them, the situation with Zayd and his followers became clear to him.

185. This man is also mentioned in a similar context by Ibn A'tham (VIII, 114) and al-Iṣfahānī (*Maqātil*, 135).

186. Literally, "gave him news about him and informed him that. . . ."

187. Literally, "the son of a sister of Bāriq."

Zayd[188] became afraid that he would be arrested, so he put forward the date that he had fixed between himself and the people of al-Kūfah (for the insurrection to begin).

In charge of the people of al-Kūfah at that time was al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt.[189] In charge of his police force was 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, a man from the Qārah;[190] he was with the Thaqīf, who were his maternal uncles. He also had with him 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās al-Kindī[191] with some groups of Syrians. Yūsuf b. 'Umar was in al-Ḥīrah.

When those supporters of Zayd b. 'Alī who had given him the oath of allegiance found out that Yūsuf b. 'Umar had heard about Zayd's activities, was scheming against Zayd, and was making inquiries about him, a group of their leaders assembled in his presence and said:[192] "May God have mercy on you! What do you have to say on the matter of Abū Bakr and 'Umar?"[193] Zayd said: "May God have mercy on both of them and forgive them both! I have not heard anyone in my family renouncing them both nor saying anything but good about them."[194] They said: "In that case, why are you seeking the blood of the members of this family? Is it not perhaps because they have disputed your power and seized it from your hands?" Zayd replied: "My strongest argument against you is that we were more entitled than anyone else to assume the authority of the Prophet of God and that they [1700] appropriated our power for themselves and deprived us of it. In our opinion, that did not amount to unbelief (*kufr*) on their part,

188. Literally, "Zayd b. 'Alī."

189. Al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafī. He was related to Yūsuf b. 'Umar. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 536.

190. A tribal group that included some branches of al-Hawn b. Khuzaymah. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 465.

191. For a discussion of this man's career, cf. Crone, 152–53. He later became governor of al-Kūfah. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1855.

192. This incident is also recorded in *Fragmenta*, 96–97, and al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 240.

193. Ibn A'tham (VIII, 116) writes, "those two tyrannical men, Abū Bakr and 'Umar."

194. This acceptance by Zayd of Abū Bakr and 'Umar is an instance of the *imāmat al-mafḍūl*, the "imamate of the inferior." If this passage is an accurate reflection of Zayd's view, he was trying here to mobilize a wide spectrum of support to overthrow the Umayyads. For a general discussion of the *imāmat al-fāḍil* and the *imāmat al-mafḍūl*, cf. Watt, *Formative Period*, 226–27.

(for) when they were entrusted with government they behaved justly with the people and acted according to the Qur'ān and the *sunnah*." They said: "Then these men have not acted tyrannically toward you if (in your view) those did not do so. So why are you summoning people to fight those who are not tyrannical to you?" Zayd said: "These men are not like those others. These are tyrannical to me, to you, and to themselves. We are only summoning you to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His prophet so that God's ordinances (*sunan*) may be revived and innovations (*bida'*) may be wiped out. If you answer our call, you will prosper; but if you refuse, I will not be responsible for you."

Then the group left him and broke their allegiance to him, saying: "The real imām has precedence." They were claiming that it was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī, the brother of Zayd b. 'Alī, who was the imām. Muḥammad had died by that time[195] but his son, Ja'far b. Muḥammad, was still alive. They said: "Today Ja'far is our imām in succession to his father. He is the person most entitled to rule after his father. We will not follow Zayd b. 'Alī. He is not an imām."

This is the group that Zayd called Rāfiḍīs.[196] Today this group claims that the person who called them Rāfiḍīs when they broke with Zayd was al-Mughīrah.[197] Before Zayd's revolt, a group of them had gone to Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī and said to him: "Zayd b. 'Alī is among us, asking us to give him the oath of allegiance. Do you think it right that we should do so?" Ja'far said to them: "Yes, give your oath of allegiance to him, for, by God, he is the most excellent of us. He is our master and the best of us."
[1701] But they came back and kept secret what it was that Ja'far had instructed them to do.[198]

Arrangements were made for the revolt of Zayd b. 'Alī, and he fixed the time with his followers as the night of Wednesday, the first night of Ṣafar, 122 (Wednesday, January 6, 740). When Yūsuf b. 'Umar heard that Zayd had resolved on rebellion, he sent word

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195. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. Cf. the 'Alids' genealogical table.

196. For this group, cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, who writes: "They are called al-Rāfiḍah only because they deserted (the claims of) Abū Bakr and 'Umar." (*'Iqd*, I, 217).

197. Al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd al-'Ijlī. Cf. Watt, *Formative Period*, 51.

198. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 240.

to al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt, ordering him to assemble the people of al-Kūfah in the Great Mosque[199] and to detain them there. Al-Ḥakam sent for the *'urafā'*,[200] the police, the *manākib*,[201] and the soldiers, and stationed them in the mosque. Then he issued the following proclamation: "Verily, the *amīr* says: 'We will not be responsible for the consequences for those whom we find in their houses, so go to the Great Mosque.'" So the people went to the mosque on the Tuesday, one day before Zayd's rebellion.[202]

They searched for Zayd b. 'Alī in the house of Mu'āwiyah b. Isḥāq b. Zayd b. Ḥārithah al-Anṣārī[203] but he left there during the night before the Wednesday.[204] It was a night of extreme cold.[205] Then the rebels raised burning torches and shouted: "O Manṣūr, kill! Kill, O Manṣūr!"[206] Whenever fire had consumed one torch they raised up another, and they continued like this until sunrise. In the morning, Zayd b. 'Alī sent al-Qāsim al-Tin'ī,[207] who was later called al-Ḥaḍramī, and another of his followers to proclaim their war-cry (*shi'ār*). When they were in the Jabbānah of 'Abd al-Qays, Ja'far b. al-'Abbās al-Kindī[208] met them. They attacked him and his companions.[209] The man who was with al-Qāsim al-Tin'ī

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199. For the background history of the Great Mosque of al-Kūfah, cf. Massignon, 353.

200. *'Arīf*, plural *'urafā'*: an official in charge of a military division in the garrison towns. Cf. *EI*², "'Arīf" (S. el-Ali and C. Cahen).

201. *Mankib*, plural *manākib*: an official below the *'arīf*. Cf. Lane, I, 2846.

202. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 243; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 136.

203. Cf. p. 22.

204. One report from al-Iṣfahānī adds that this was seven nights before the end of al-Muḥarram. Cf. *Maqātil*, 136.

205. The translation has simplified the repetitiveness of the original. A literal translation would read: "They searched for Zayd in the house of Mu'āwiyah b. Isḥāq b. Zayd b. Ḥārithah al-Anṣārī. He (Zayd) left the house of Mu'āwiyah b. Isḥāq in the night, which was the night of Wednesday, on an extremely cold night."

206. *Yā Manṣūr, amit, amit ya Manṣūr* ("Kill, kill, you who are given victory"). This was the Prophet's war-cry on the Day of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. Cf. Ibn Hishām, 2, 218.

207. Other sources give al-T. b. 'ī. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 182; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 136; *Fragmenta*, 97.

208. Later he was to become governor of Armenia. In 127 (745) he fell in battle against the Khārijite al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays b. al-Ḥusayn. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 253.

209. Al-Ṭabarī's account is ambiguous: *shaddū 'alayhi wa aṣḥābihi*. *Fragmenta*, 97 has *shadda 'alayhimā* ("he attacked the two of them"). This latter version seems to suggest that it was Ja'far who began the fight against the two supporters of Zayd. Al-Iṣfahānī's account is clear: "Ja'far met them; they attacked him and his companions" (*Maqātil*, 136).

was killed and al-Qāsim himself was wounded and taken to al-Ḥakam. The latter questioned him, but al-Qāsim gave him no reply. Then al-Ḥakam gave orders as to his fate and he was executed at the gate of the citadel. Al-Qāsim and his companion were the first of the followers of Zayd b. 'Alī to be killed.

[1702] Al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt gave orders concerning the entrances to the market and they were shut and the doors of the mosque were locked on the Kūfans.

The following people were in charge of the quarters[210] of al-Kūfah at that time: Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. Jarīr al-Bajalī[211] was in charge of the Medinans; 'Amr b. Abī Badhl al-'Abdī was in charge of Madhḥij[212] and Asad;[213] al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī[214] was in charge of Kindah[215] and Rabī'ah;[216] and Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Hamdānī,[217] who was later called al-Khaywānī, was in charge of Tamīm[218] and Hamdān.[219]

Al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt sent word to Yūsuf b. 'Umar informing him of what was going on. Then Yūsuf gave orders to his herald, who proclaimed to the Syrians: "Who will go to al-Kūfah, approach the rebels, and bring me back news of them?" Ja'far b. al-'Abbās al-Kindī[220] responded: "I will," and he rode off with fifty horsemen. When he reached the Jabbānah of Sālim al-Salūlī,[221] he asked for information about the rebels. He then returned to Yūsuf b. 'Umar and told him the news. The next morning Yūsuf went out to a hill near al-Ḥīrah and camped there. He was accompanied by some Quraysh and by leaders (*ashrāf*) of the people. In charge of his

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210. For the tribal organization of al-Kūfah, cf. Djaït, 154–55; Massignon, 345; Crone, 31.
211. Cf. ibid., 115.
212. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, I, 176; II, 381–82.
213. Cf. ibid., II, 194.
214. For his family history, cf. Crone, 111.
215. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 371–72.
216. Cf. ibid., II, 481.
217. For his family tree, cf. ibid., I, 228.
218. Cf. ibid., II, 544.
219. Cf. ibid., II, 277.
220. One report from al-Iṣfahānī has *'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās al-Hamdānī*. Cf. *Maqātil*, 137.
221. For the function of the *jabbānah*s of al-Kūfah, cf. Djaït, 176–77.

shurṭah that day was al-'Abbās b. Sa'īd al-Murrī.[222] Then Yūsuf despatched al-Rayyān b. Salamah al-Arāshī[223] with two thousand men.[224] He had with him three hundred Qīqāniyyah[225] foot soldiers armed with arrows.

In the morning, Zayd b. 'Alī found that the total of those who had come to him that night numbered only 218 men. He said: "Good God! Where are the people?" and he was told: "They are shut in the Great Mosque." Zayd said: "For God's sake, what sort [1703] of excuse is that for people who gave us their oath of allegiance?"[226]

Naṣr b. Khuzaymah heard the shouting and went toward it. Then he encountered 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the police chief of al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt, accompanied by his cavalry from the Juhaynah,[227] near the house of al-Zubayr b. Abī Ḥakīmah on the road that led to the mosque of the Banū 'Adī. Naṣr b. Khuzaymah said: "O Manṣūr, kill!" but 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān vouchsafed him no reply, so Naṣr and his companions attacked him. 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was killed and those with him fled.

Zayd b. 'Alī came from the Jabbānah of Sālim to the Jabbānah of al-Ṣā'idiyyīn,[228] where five hundred Syrians were stationed. Zayd b. 'Alī and the men he had with him attacked the Syrians and he put them to flight. That day Zayd b. 'Alī was riding a jet-black horse which a man from the Banū Nahd b. Kahmas b. Marwān al-Najjārī had sold him for 25 dīnārs. Later, when Zayd was killed, al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt took it.

Zayd b. 'Alī went to the door of the house belonging to a man from Azd who was called Anas b. 'Amr. He was one of the people who had given the oath of allegiance to Zayd. They shouted out-

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222. The text has al-Muzanī, as elsewhere in al-Ṭabarī's history. Cf. II, 1707, 1711. The name should be read as al-Murrī. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 99; Ibn Khayyāṭ, 556; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 103.

223. This person is called al-Arrānī by Ibn al-Athīr, V, 182.

224. These are specified as cavalry in *Fragmenta*, 98.

225. A well-known regiment of archers from Qīqān.

226. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 137.

227. For this tribal group, cf. *EI*², "Ḳuda'a" (M. J. Kister).

228. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 614; Massignon, 347. This *jabbānah* was for the Banū Asad.

side his house, and although he was there he remained silent.[229] Then Zayd called to him: "Anas, come out and join me! May God have mercy on you! Truth has come and falsehood has vanished away. Lo! falsehood is ever bound to vanish."[230] But still Anas did not go out to him. Then Zayd said: "What made you break your
[1704] promise? You have indeed acted (iniquitously)[231] and God will take account of this behavior of yours."[232]

Zayd went to al-Kunāsah,[233] attacked a group of Syrians who were there, and put them to flight. He then went into the *jabbānah* where Yūsuf b. 'Umar was on the hill looking down at him and his followers.[234] In front of Zayd was Ḥizām b. Murrah al-Muzanī[235] and Zamzam b. Sulaym al-Tha'labī, who were in charge of a group of men wearing armor (*al-mujaffafah*). Zayd had about two hundred men with him and by God, if he had approached Yūsuf then, he could have killed him[236] while al-Rayyān b. Salamah was away with the Syrian troops looking for Zayd in al-Kūfah. Then Zayd bore right by the oratory (*muṣallā*) of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh and he went into al-Kūfah.[237]

When Zayd had gone to al-Kunāsah, one group of his followers split off and went toward the Jabbānah of Mikhnaf b. Sulaym.[238] Then one of them suggested to the others that they should go to the Jabbānah of Kindah.[239] The man had no time to say more than that before the Syrians appeared. When Zayd's men saw them,

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229. Literally, "he was shouted to while he was in the house and he began by not answering."

230. Qur'ān, 17, v. 81. These words were recited by the Prophet when he witnessed the destruction of the Ka'bah after the conquest of Mecca. Cf. Pickthall, 290, n. 1.

231. *Fa 'altumūhā. Fragmenta*, 98, has *fa'altumūhā Ḥusayniyyatan* ("You have behaved in the same way as [other Kūfans did] with al-Ḥusayn").

232. Literally, "God is your Reckoner."

233. "The Place of Sweepings," one of the chief quarters of al-Kūfah which lay to the western side of the town. It was in al-Kunāsah that the town's gibbet was situated. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 75; Massignon, 354–55; Yāqūt, IV, 481.

234. *Wa-Yūsuf b. 'Umar 'alā al-talli yanẓuru ilayhi huwa wa-aṣḥābihi.* An alternative translation might be: "Yūsuf b. 'Umar *and his followers* were looking down at Zayd," reading *aṣḥābuhu.*

235. This *nisbah* may also be al-Murrī. Cf. n. 222 above.

236. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 138.

237. For this route, cf. Massignon's map.

238. Cf. Massignon, 347.

239. Cf. Massignon, loc. cit.

they went into a lane and walked down it. One of Zayd's men hung back and went into the mosque, where he prayed two *rak'ah*s.[240] He then went out to the Syrians, whom he fought for some time. They got him on the ground and began striking him with their swords. One of them, who was a horseman wearing an iron helmet, shouted out: "Take off the helmet and then hit him on the head with iron bars." They did that and he was killed. The man's companions attacked the Syrians and pulled them away from him but he was already dead. Then the Syrians went away. They had taken one of Zayd's men but the rest of them got away. The man (they captured) had gone into the house of 'Abdallāh b. 'Awf and the Syrians went in after him and took him prisoner. [1705] They brought him to Yūsuf b. 'Umar, who killed him.[241]

When Zayd b. 'Alī came and saw how the Kūfans had forsaken him, he said: "Naṣr b. Khuzaymah, are you afraid[242] that they will behave as they did with al-Ḥusayn?" Naṣr said: "May God make me a ransom for you! By God, I shall certainly fight by your side with this sword of mine until the death!" (His fight in fact took place that very day in al-Kūfah). Then Naṣr b. Khuzaymah said to Zayd b. 'Alī: "May God make me a ransom for you! The Kūfans are detained in the Great Mosque. So come with us to them."

Zayd went with them toward the mosque and he passed the house of Khālid b. 'Urfuṭah.[243] 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās al-Kindī heard that Zayd was coming, so he sallied forth with the Syrian troops. Zayd approached and the two sides met at the door of (the house of) 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.[244] The standard-bearer[245] of 'Ubaydallāh, who was Salmān, his mawlā, recoiled in fear.

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240. I.e., he performed two bowings of the head and body in prayer. Cf. Lane, I, 1147.

241. For a similar account, cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 138.

242. Ibn al-Athīr has: "I am afraid that . . ." (V, 183).

243. Khālid b. 'Urfuṭah fought at the battle of al-Qādisiyyah against the Persians and at al-Nukhaylah near al-Kūfah against the Khārijites. He was put in charge of the Banū Tamīm and the Banū Hamdān in 51 (671). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 131; Shaykh al-Mufīd, 249; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 343. His house was a well-known landmark in al-Kūfah for a long time. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 615.

244. He led the Umayyad army against al-Ḥusayn in 61 (680). Cf. Shaykh al-Mufīd, 341–45.

245. *Ṣāḥib liwā'i 'Ubaydallāh*. The *liwā'* was the banner of a particular commander. Cf. Lane, I, 3015.

When 'Ubaydallāh wanted to attack and saw that Salmān was holding back in fear, he said: "Attack, you son of a trollop." Then Salmān launched an attack on Zayd's men and he did not withdraw until his banner was stained with blood.

Then 'Ubaydallāh himself came forth to fight[246] and Wāṣil al-Ḥannāṭ[247] went out against him and they struck each other with their swords. Wāṣil said to 'Ubaydallāh, who had a squint:[248] "Take this from me: I am the boy who sells wheat." The other
[1706] said: "May God cut off my hand if you ever manage to measure a *qafīz*[249] again," and Wāṣil struck 'Ubaydallāh but 'Ubaydallāh did not retaliate,[250] and he and his men fled until they came to the house of 'Amr b. Ḥurayth.[251]

Zayd and his followers proceeded as far as the Bāb al-Fīl.[252] His men began placing their flags above the doors and saying: "You people in the mosque, come out!" Naṣr b. Khuzaymah began shouting to them saying: "Kūfans, forsake ignominy for glory! Come forth for your own good in both this world and the next.[253] (In your present position) you have the blessings neither of this world nor of the next." The Syrian troops looked down on them and they began throwing stones at them from the top of the mosque.

There was that day a large gathering of people in the environs of al-Kūfah—some reports say it was in the Jabbānah of Sālim. Al-

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246. I.e., in individual combat.

247. "The wheat-seller."

248. *Fa-qāla li'l-aḥwali* ("he said to the squint-eyed man"). The apparatus indicates that there are words missing here, but the editor believes the protagonist is al-Aḥwal, the mawlā of al-Ash'ariyyīn. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1711. It seems unlikely, however, that there is a third person involved here. Al-Balādhurī, whose account has been followed here, makes it clear that 'Ubaydallāh was the man with a squint: *ḍaraba Wāṣil al-Ḥannāṭ al-Aḥwala 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās al-Kindī.* Cf. *Ansāb*, 247.

249. *Qafīz:* a measure of capacity. Cf. Hinz, 48–49.

250. *Thumma ḍarabaḥu fa-lam yaṣna' shay'an.* This translation is only tentative. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 247.

251. The text has *'Amr min Ḥurayth.* Citing this reference, the index gives 'Amr b. Ḥurayth al-Makhzūmī, 415–16. 'Amr b. Ḥurayth (d. 98/716–17) was a leader of the Kūfans and an opponent of the Shī'īs. Cf. Shaykh al-Mufīd, 244; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 176.

252. The Bāb al-Fīl was situated near the Friday mosque and the citadel. Cf. Massignon's map.

253. On *dīn*, cf. *EI²*, s.v. (L. Gardet). On *dunyā*, cf. *EI²*, s.v. (A. S. Tritton).

Rayyān b. Salamah left for al-Ḥīrah in the evening and Zayd b. 'Alī went away with his men. Some of the Kūfans went out to Zayd and he settled in the *dār al-rizq*.[254] (Before he left for al-Ḥīrah)[255] al-Rayyān b. Salamah came to Zayd and fought fiercely with him at the *dār al-rizq*. A large number of the Syrian troops were wounded and killed and Zayd's men pursued them from the *dār al-rizq* as far as the mosque. The Syrian troops returned home on the Wednesday evening with the worst possible forebodings. The following day, the Thursday morning, Yūsuf b. 'Umar summoned al-Rayyān b. Salamah but he was not to be found at that time.

Some reports say: Al-Rayyān did go to Yūsuf. Al-Rayyān was [1707] not wearing his weapons and Yūsuf reproached him, saying: "Fie on you! Who is supposed to be the head of the cavalry round here? Sit down."[256] Then Yūsuf called al-'Abbās b. Sa'īd al-Murrī,[257] his chief of police, and sent him off with the Syrian troops. Al-'Abbās made for Zayd b. 'Alī in the *dār al-rizq*. There was a lot of wood piled up for the carpenter and this made the road difficult to pass through. Zayd came out with his men. On his right and left wings he had Naṣr b. Khuzaymah al-'Absī and Mu'āwiyah b. Isḥāq al-Anṣārī. When al-'Abbās saw them—and he himself did not have foot soldiers with him—he shouted, "You Syrian troops, get down on the ground, the ground." Many of his men did dismount and they fought fiercely in the battle.

One of the Syrians from the Banū 'Abs[258] who was called Nā'il[259] b. Farwah had said to Yūsuf b. 'Umar: "By God, if I set eyes on Naṣr b. Khuzaymah I will surely kill him or he will surely kill me." Yūsuf said to him: "Take this sword," and he gave him a sword that would cut through anything it touched. When the soldiers of al-'Abbās b. Sa'īd and those of Zayd met and fought each other, Nā'il b. Farwah caught sight of Naṣr b. Khuzaymah.

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254. The army storehouse which was near the bridge over the Euphrates. Cf. Massignon, 349.

255. The sequence of events is clearer in *Fragmenta*, 99.

256. Al-Iṣfahānī gives a similar conversation between Yūsuf and al-Rayyān. Cf. *Maqātil*, 139.

257. Cf. n. 222 above.

258. For the Banū 'Abs, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 135–36.

259. Ibn al-Athīr calls him Nabīl (V, 184).

He went toward him, struck him, and cut his thigh. Then Naṣr dealt him a blow which killed him. Naṣr also died soon afterward. The battle raged on fiercely and Zayd b. ʿAlī put the Syrians to flight, killing about seventy of them. The Syrians departed in a sorry state after al-ʿAbbās b. Saʿīd had called out to them: "Get back on your horses. In a narrow place cavalry can't do anything against foot soldiers." So they got back on their horses.

[1708] In the evening Yūsuf b. ʿUmar prepared them for battle again and sent them off. They came and met up with Zayd's men. Zayd launched an attack on them and routed them. Then he pursued them, driving them into the swamp (*sabkhah*).[260] He attacked them in the swamp, pushing them toward the Banū Sulaym.[261] Then he followed them with his horsemen and foot soldiers until he and his men had taken possession of the dam.

Zayd then sallied forth[262] against the Syrians in the area between the Bāriq[263] and the Ru'ās,[264] and there he engaged in a fierce battle with them. His standard-bearer that day was a man called ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Abī Mālik b. Masrūḥ from the Banū Saʿd b. Zayd, the ally (*ḥalīf*)[265] of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[266] Masrūḥ al-Saʿdī had married Ṣafiyyah, the daughter of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. The Syrian cavalry began by breaking in the face of Zayd's cavalry and his foot soldiers. Then al-ʿAbbās b. Saʿīd al-Murrī[267] sent to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar informing him of this and asking him to send him archers. So Yūsuf sent them Sulaymān (b. Sulaym) b. Kaysān al-Kalbī[268] with the Qīqāniyyah and the Bukhāriyyah[269] who were archers. They began shooting at Zayd

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260. The word is vocalized in the text as *sabkhah* but is later corrected to *sabakhah;* the lexica give both forms as correct. Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCX. For the location of the swamp, cf. Massignon's map.

261. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 517.

262. The text has *aẓhara lahum*. The Cairo edition (VII, 185) has *ẓahara lahum*, which is followed here. This reading is supported by al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 140.

263. Many of the Banū Bāriq had settled in al-Kūfah. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 489.

264. For the Banū Ru'ās, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 489.

265. *Ḥalīf:* one who unites in a confederacy or covenant. Cf. Lane, I, 627.

266. The uncle of the Prophet. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (W. M. Watt).

267. Cf. n. 222 above.

268. Properly Sulaymān b. Sulaym b. Kaysān al-Kalbī. Cf. *Index*, 249; Crone, 139.

269. This group had been formed by ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād when he had taken four thousand Bukhārans prisoner in 53–54 (673–74). Cf. Narshakhī, 37; Crone, 230, n. 271.

and his men. (In fact), Zayd had wanted to send his men away when they reached the swamp but they had refused. Muʿāwiyah b. Isḥāq al-Anṣārī fought fiercely in front of Zayd b. ʿAlī and was killed.[270] Zayd b. ʿAlī and his men held firm until, when night was at hand, someone shot an arrow which struck him on the left side of his forehead and lodged in his head. Zayd then withdrew with his men. The Syrians, however, thought they had with- [1709]
drawn only because night was falling.[271]

Salamah b. Thābit al-Laythī, who was with Zayd b. ʿAlī and who, together with a slave belonging to Muʿāwiyah b. Isḥāq, was the last person to leave that day, said: I went with my companion, following in close behind Zayd b. ʿAlī, and we found that he had been lifted down from his horse and taken into the apartment (*bayt*) of Ḥarrān b. Karīmah,[272] a mawlā of one of the Arabs in the *sikkah al-barīd*,[273] into the living area (*dūr*) of Arḥab[274] and Shākir.[275] [Salamah b. Thābit went on:] I came into the presence of Zayd and I said to him: "May God make me your ransom, Abū al-Ḥusayn!" His companions went off and fetched a physician called Shuqayr,[276] a mawlā of the Banū Ru'ās. This man took the arrow out of his forehead while I was watching him and, by God, hardly had he taken it out before Zayd began screaming and it was not long before he died. The people around said: "Where shall we bury him and where can we conceal him?" One of his companions said: "Let's dress him in his coat of mail and throw him in the water." Another of them said: "No, let's cut off his head and put it amongst those slain in battle." Zayd's son, Yaḥyā, said: "No, by God, the dogs shall not eat the flesh of my father." Another of them said: "Let's take him to al-ʿAbbāsiyyah and bury him."[277]

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270. Literally, "He was killed in front of him."
271. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 250; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 141.
272. Al-Iṣfahānī has Ḥarrān b. Abī Karīmah. Cf. ibid.
273. "The street of the post."
274. The Banū Arḥab were the clan of Yazīd b. Qays, the police chief of ʿAlī. Cf. Djaït, 159.
275. The Banū Shākir were a big clan from whom Ibn Kāmil, one of Mukhtār's associates, recruited men. Cf. Djaït, loc. cit.
276. The doctor's name in some sources was Sufyān. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 251; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 142.
277. Ibn Aʿtham, VIII, 121, relates that Zayd was buried in the swamp.

[Salamah continued]: I suggested to them that we should take him to the clay pit and bury him there. They accepted my advice and we went and dug a grave for him between two ditches, where there was at that time a lot of water. When we had prepared the
[1710] grave properly for him, we buried him and allowed the water to flow over him. There was a Sindī slave of his with us.

Then we went with Zayd's son as far as the Jabbānah of al-Sabī', where we remained, and at that point the people left us. I stayed with Yaḥyā in a group of less than ten men. I said to Yaḥyā: "Where do you intend to go now that daybreak is upon you?" He had with him Abū al-Ṣabbār al-'Abdī. Yaḥyā replied: "The two rivers (*al-nahrayn*)." I said to him: "So you only want to go to the two rivers?"—I thought that he wanted to go alongside the Euphrates and fight them. Then I said to him: "Don't leave your position. Fight them until you are killed or until God decrees what He will." Yaḥyā said to me: "I want to go to the two rivers of Karbalā.' "[278] So I replied: "Well, then, flee before daybreak." Accordingly he left al-Kūfah, accompanied by me, Abū al-Ṣabbār, and a small group of men. As we left al-Kūfah we heard the call to prayer of the muezzins and we performed the dawn prayer at al-Nukhaylah.[279] Then we made off quickly in the direction of Nineveh.[280] Yaḥyā said to me: "I want to see Sābiq, the mawlā of Bishr b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Bishr, so hurry up." Whenever I met people I would ask them for food and I would be given loaves. These I gave to Yaḥyā and he ate them and we ate with him. We reached Nineveh when darkness had already fallen. We arrived at Sābiq's house, I called through the door, and he came out to us. I said to him: "I'm going to al-Fayyūm[281] and I'll be staying there, so if you want to communicate with me, you know where to find me." Then I went away, leaving Yaḥyā with Sābiq, and that was the last time I ever saw him.

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278. Karbalā' lies to the northwest of al-Kūfah and marks the place where al-Ḥusayn was martyred in 61 (680). Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 78. For al-Nahrayn, cf. Massignon's map.

279. A place near al-Kūfah. Cf. Yāqūt, IV, 771; Wellhausen, 76–77.

280. Nīnawā: the village where the prophet Job lived. According to Yāqūt (IV, 870–71), it was in the Sawād of al-Kūfah. Cf. *EI*[1], s.v. (M. Streck).

281. Besides the well-known town of this name in Egypt, there was a place called al-Fayyūm near Hīt in Iraq, which is probably meant here. Cf. Yāqūt, III, 933.

Then Yūsuf b. 'Umar sent the Syrian troops to carry out a search for the wounded in the houses of the Kūfans. The troops [1711] brought the women out into the courtyard of the house while they went around the inner apartments looking for the wounded. Then on the Friday the Ṣindī slave of Zayd b. 'Alī revealed where Zayd was to be found. Al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt dispatched al-'Abbās b. Sa'īd al-Murrī[282] and Ibn al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt, and they went off and took Zayd away. Al-'Abbās did not want Ibn al-Ḥakam to get in first,[283] so he parted company with him. Early on the Friday al-'Abbās sent a messenger, accompanied by al-Ḥajjāj b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'Aqīl, to take the head of Zayd b. 'Alī to Yūsuf b. 'Umar.

Abū al-Juwayriyah, the mawlā of the Juhaynah,[284] composed the following lines:

Say to those who have dishonored women
and who have set up candles in the desert of Sālim:
How did you find the fight against noble men,
O Yūsuf b. al-Ḥakam b. al-Qāsim?

When the messenger came to Yūsuf b. 'Umar, the latter gave orders concerning Zayd. His body was crucified at al-Kunāsah, together with Naṣr b. Khuzaymah, Mu'āwiyah b. Isḥāq b. Zayd b. Ḥārithah al-Anṣārī, and Ziyād al-Nahdī. Yūsuf had proclaimed that anyone who brought a head would receive five hundred dirhams. Muḥammad b. 'Abbād brought the head of Naṣr b. Khuzaymah and Yūsuf b. 'Umar ordered that he should have one thousand dirhams. When al-Aḥwal, the mawlā of al-Ash'ariyyīn, brought the head of Mu'āwiyah b. Isḥāq, Yūsuf said to him: "Did you kill him?" Al-Aḥwal replied: "May God make the *amīr* prosper! It was not I who killed him but I saw him and recognized him." Yūsuf said: "Give him seven hundred dirhams." The only thing that prevented al-Aḥwal from having the full one thousand

282. Cf. n. 222 above.
283. That is, to receive the reward.
284. This poet is probably the same Abū al-Juwayriyah 'Īsā b. 'Iṣmah whose verses are quoted under the year 116 by al-Ṭabarī, II, 1565; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 130, 137; Sezgin, II, 342.

dirhams was the fact that he asserted that he had not killed Mu'āwiyah.

[1712] Other reports say that it was only when Yūsuf b. 'Umar was so informed by Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik that he heard about Zayd's activities and how, having left al-Kūfah and gone some distance, Zayd had gone back there.[285] That came about because a man from the Banū Umayyah wrote—according to the reports—to Hishām, mentioning Zayd's activities to him. Then Hishām wrote to Yūsuf, reproaching him, calling him ignorant and saying: "You are being negligent while Zayd has fixed himself at al-Kūfah and the oath of allegiance is being given to him. Keep on[286] searching for him. Give him a guarantee of safe conduct and, if he does not accept, fight him." Yūsuf wrote to al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt, who was of the family of Abū 'Aqīl and was Yūsuf's deputy in al-Kūfah, asking him to look for Zayd. Al-Ḥakam looked for Zayd but he could not find where he was hiding. Then Yūsuf secretly summoned a Khurāsānī *mamlūk* of his who was a stutterer. He gave him five thousand dirhams and ordered him to ingratiate himself with some of the Shī'ah. Yūsuf told him to tell them that he had come from Khurāsān out of love for the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) and that he had money that he wished to use to support their cause. After the *mamlūk* had met the Shī'ah on a number of occasions and told them about the money that he had with him, they took him in to see Zayd. Then the *mamlūk* went away and told Yūsuf where Zayd was to be found. Yūsuf sent out cavalry to Zayd. Zayd's men raised their war cry but only three hundred or less of them gathered to him. Zayd said: "Dāwūd b. 'Alī knew you (Kūfans) better. He warned me that you would desert me but I took no heed."[287]

Other reports say that the person who revealed the place where Zayd was buried—and he was buried, according to these reports, in the river of Ya'qūb, where his followers had blocked the river,

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285. The text is very obscure here. The translation has attempted to clarify it. The literal translation would be: "Yūsuf b. 'Umar knew about the affair of Zayd and his going back from the road to al-Kūfah after he had set out only by being informed about it by Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik."

286. The text has *fa-iljaj fī ṭalabihi*. This is emended later to *fa-alḥiḥ*; cf. *Add.*, p. DCCX. There is no great difference in meaning between the two.

287. Cf. also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 244.

dug a grave for him in the riverbed, buried him in his clothes, and [1713] allowed the water to flow over him—was the slave[288] of a fuller who happened to be there. The slave, having first agreed on a price to show Yūsuf's men where Zayd was laid, showed them the place. They took Zayd away, cut off his head, and crucified his body. They ordered that a guard should be posted over him in case anyone should try to take down the body, and a guard was indeed posted over him for some time.

Some reports say that Abū Khaythamah Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiyah[289] was amongst the people guarding Zayd. Zayd's head was sent to Hishām, who gave orders that it should be put up on the gate of the city of Damascus. Then it was sent to Medina. The body remained on the gibbet until Hishām died.[290] Then al-Walīd ordered that it should be taken down and burned.[291]

Other reports say that it was Ḥakīm b. Sharīk who informed on Zayd to Yūsuf.

Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā gave the following report about Yaḥyā b. Zayd: When Zayd was killed, one of the Banū Asad went to Yaḥyā b. Zayd and said to him: "Your father has been killed. The people of Khurāsān will give you their support. I think you should go to them." Yaḥyā said: "How can I do that?" The man said: "Hide yourself until the search for you has been called off, then leave." So the man hid Yaḥyā in his house for one night. Then he lost his nerve and went to 'Abd al-Malik b. Bishr b. Marwān,[292] saying to him: "Zayd was a close kinsman of yours. It is your duty to uphold his rights." 'Abd al-Malik said: "Yes, but it would have been a more pious act to pardon him." The man said: "Zayd has been killed and this is his son, a young boy who has committed no crime. If Yūsuf b. 'Umar finds out where he is he will kill him, so you must protect him and hide him with

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288. *'Abdu qaṣṣārin.* The text itself has *'inda qaṣṣārin,* which makes little sense. Nöldeke emends the reading to *'abdu,* which is a variant in the apparatus. Cf. *Add.,* p. DCCX. This reading has been followed in the translation. According to *Fragmenta,* 100, it was the fuller himself who revealed where Zayd's body was.

289. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, I, 269.

290. According to al-Mas'ūdī, Zayd's body remained attached to the gibbet in al-Kūfah for five years. Cf. *Murūj,* V, 472–73.

291. Zayd was forty-two when he died. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil,* 130; Ibn Sa'd, V, 240.

292. He was an Umayyad. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, I, 10.

[1714] you." 'Abd al-Malik said: "Yes, with great pleasure." So the man brought Yaḥyā to him and he hid him in his house. This came to the ears of Yūsuf and he sent the following message to 'Abd al-Malik: "I have heard that this boy is with you. I swear to God, if you do not bring him to me I will certainly inform the Commander of the Faithful about you." 'Abd al-Malik said to him: "This is a tissue of falsehood and lies. Would I hide somebody who would challenge my authority and have a better claim to it than I have myself? I would never have thought that you could believe such a thing of me nor that you would listen to the author of such lies." Yūsuf said: "He's telling the truth. By God, Ibn Bishr is not the sort of person to hide away the likes of Yaḥyā." So Yūsuf called off the search for Yaḥyā and when the hue and cry had died down, Yaḥyā escaped with a number of Zayd's supporters to Khurāsān.

After the killing of Zayd, Yūsuf delivered the following exhortation in al-Kūfah: "O people of al-Kūfah! Verily Yaḥyā b. Zayd has entered the bridal chambers of your women just as his father did. By God, if he were to show his face to me, I would rip off his testicles just as I ripped off the testicles of his father!"

The following report came from one of the Anṣār: When the head of Zayd was brought and displayed[293] in Medina in the year 123 [November, 26, 740–November 14, 741], one of the Anṣār poets came and stood before Zayd and said:

O violator of the covenant,
    rejoice in what has brought you disaster!
You have violated the trust and the covenant.
    You are steeped in wrongdoing.
Satan has broken faith
    over what he promised you.[294]

[1715] People said to the poet: "Woe on you! How dare you say this about the likes of Zayd?" He replied: "The *amīr* is angry and I wanted to please him." Then one of their poets gave him the following response:

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293. The text has *ṣuliba*. The apparatus suggests an alternative, *nuṣiba*, which makes better sense.

294. The meter is *hazaj*.

You poet of evil,
    you have become a liar!
Are you reviling[295] the son of the messenger of God,
    just to gratify those who govern over you?

May God confound you,
    morning and evening!
And on the Day of Gathering, make no mistake,[296]
    the fire will be your abode!

Some reports say that Khirāsh b. Ḥawshab b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī was head of police for Yūsuf b. 'Umar and that it was he who dug up Zayd and crucified him. Al-Sayyid[297] recited the following:

I spent the night sleepless
    and wakeful, composing poetry.
After reciting,
    I remained for a long time in a state of perplexity.
(I said) "May God shower on Ḥawshab
    and Khirāsh and Mazyad—
And Yazīd, for he
    was still more insolent and rebellious—
A million million
    curses for ever and ever,
For it was they who waged war on
    God and wrought harm on Muḥammad.
Rebelliously they have shared in shedding the blood
    of the pure one,[298] Zayd,
Then they raised him high on a rood,[299]
    stark naked and stripped to the skin.
O Khirāsh b. Ḥawshab,
    tomorrow it is you who will be the most wretched of
    men!"[300]

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295. The text has *atashtimu ibna al-rasūl*, which breaks the meter (*hazaj*). The editor emends this later to read: *ashatmu ibna rasūli Allāhi*; cf. *Add.*, DCCXI. The Cairo edition (190) follows this emendation.

296. Literally, "there is no doubt that."

297. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī, whose *laqab* was al-Sayyid. Cf. Ibn A'tham, VIII, 205; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 185; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VII, 229.

298. *Al-Muṭahhar*. Ibn al-Athīr has al-Ḥusayn (V, 1815).

299. Literally, "a tree stump."

300. The meter is *muqtaḍab*.

[1716] According to Abū Mikhnaf: When Yūsuf had killed Zayd b. 'Alī, he went into al-Kūfah, mounted the *minbar*, and said:

O you citizens of an abominable city! By God, even a refractory camel can achieve nothing against me;[301] I am neither daunted by the clattering of worn-out water-skins[302] nor am I frightened by the wolf. Far from it! I was endowed with the mightiest of forearms. Lament, O men of al-Kūfah, your disgrace and degradation. Expect neither stipend nor allowance for yourselves from us. Indeed, I am resolved to destroy your city and your homes and to despoil your possessions. I have mounted[303] my *minbar* only to make you understand what repressive measures will be taken against you.[304] You are a people of violence and contumacy. All of you, except Ḥakīm b. Sharīk al-Muḥāribī, wage war against God and His Prophet. I have asked the Commander of the Faithful to give me permission to take action against you. If he gives me a free hand, I shall kill your fighting men and enslave your children.[305]

In this year Kulthūm b. 'Iyāḍ al-Qushayrī[306] was killed. He was the man whom Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik had sent with the Syrian cavalry to Ifrīqiyah[307] when strife broke out amongst the Berbers.

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301. *Mā tuqarranu bī al-ṣa'batu*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDXXI; Freytag, *Prov.*, II, 589.

302. *Lā yuqa'qa'u lī bi-al-shināni* ("a confused and clattering noise will not be made for me with the old and worn-out water skins"). Cf. Lane, I, 1602. Yūsuf is suggesting that he is frightened by nothing.

303. An alternative translation could be: "I will never mount my *minbar* again until I have made you understand what repressive measures will be taken against you."

304. *Mā tukrahūna 'alayhi* (lit., "what you will be forced to do"). Cf. Ullmann, 152.

305. Other versions of this *khuṭbah* can be found in *Fragmenta*, 100, and al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 258–59.

306. According to Ibn Khayyāṭ, Kulthūm was sent as governor of Ifrīqiyah at the beginning of Sha'bān 123 (June 21–July 19, 741) and he died in 124 (741–42) (*Ta'rīkh*, 369–70). For an analysis of Kulthūm's career, cf. Crone, 128; Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 98–101. It was in 124 (741–42) that the great Berber revolt occurred in Spain.

307. For definitions of the boundaries of the province of Ifrīqiyah, cf. *EI*², s.v. (M. Talbi).

Also in this year 'Abdallāh al-Baṭṭāl was killed with a group of Muslims in Byzantine territory.[308]

In this year were born al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ[309] and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī.[310]

Also in this year Yūsuf b. 'Umar sent Ibn Shubrumah to govern Sijistān[311] and he appointed Ibn Abī Laylā as *qāḍī* (of al-Kūfah). [1717]

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—his narrators—Isḥāq b. 'Isā—Abū Ma'shar: In this year Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī led the people on the pilgrimage. Al-Wāqidī and others also gave the same account.

The agents (*'ummāl*) of the garrison cities in this year were the same as in the previous year, and their names have already been mentioned, except that the *qāḍī* of al-Kūfah in this year is reported to have been Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā.

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308. 'Abdallāh al-Baṭṭāl b. al-Ḥusayn, the semilegendary hero to whom are attributed many raids into Byzantine territory. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 100; Ibn Khayyāṭ, 367. Ibn Khayyāṭ puts al-Baṭṭāl's death in 121 (738–39). Cf. also Brooks, "Arabs in Asia Minor," 198–200.

309. Al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, governor of Cairo in 169 (785–86). Cf. Zambaur, 26, and genealogical table 9, n. 206.

310. A member of the 'Abbāsid family who was twice governor of Mecca, the first time from 149 to 158 (766–67 to 774–75) and the second from 178 to 184 (794–95 to 800). Cf. Zambaur, 20.

311. The province of Sijistān (or Sīstān) lay to the south of Khurāsān. Its capital in medieval times was Zaranj. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 334–51. 'Abdallāh b. Shubrumah al-Ḍabbī is not mentioned amongst the governors of Sijistān by Ibn Khayyāṭ (*Ta'rīkh*, 375).

312. The leader of the Turks. Cf. Wellhausen, 433.

The Events of the Year 123

(November 26, 740–November 14, 741)

Amongst the events taking place during this year was the drawing up of a peace treaty between Naṣr b. Sayyār and the Soghdians.

The [Treaty with the Soghdians] and the Reason for It

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—his *shaykhs*: When the *khāqān*[312] was killed during the governorship of Asad,[313] the Turks scattered in disarray, making forays against each other. The Soghdians wanted to return home and a group of them withdrew to al-Shāsh.[314] When Naṣr b. Sayyār became gov-

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312. The leader of the Turks. Cf. Wellhausen, 433.

313. Asad b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, Khālid's brother, was appointed governor of Khurāsān for the second time in 117 (735). He defeated the Türgesh in 119 (737) at the battle of Kharistān. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (H. A. R. Gibb); Gibb, 81–85; Wellhausen, 467–74.

314. Juday' al-Kirmānī had routed most of the Khāqān's forces; just one band of Soghdians managed to retreat. Cf. Hawting, 88.

ernor, he sent messages to the Soghdians inviting them to return home and he complied with all their requests. They had asked for conditions that (previous) *amīr*s of Khurāsān had rejected:[315] namely, that those who had been Muslims and then apostasized from Islam should not be punished; that no excessive demands for repayment of debts should be inflicted on any of the people; that they should not be required to pay any tax arrears (*qabālah*) which they owed to the treasury;[316] and that they should have to [1718] return Muslim prisoners only at the decree of a *qāḍī* and on the testimony of trustworthy witnesses. People reproached Naṣr for having made this agreement and they taxed him about it. He replied: "Verily, by God, if you had seen with your own eyes—as I have done—the military prowess that the Soghdians displayed toward the Muslims and the havoc that they wrought amongst them, you would not have disapproved of this agreement." Then Naṣr sent a messenger to inform Hishām about that matter. When the messenger arrived, the caliph refused to support Naṣr in that affair.[317] So the messenger said: "O Commander of the Faithful, you have had experience of us in war and in peace alike, so decide for yourself." Hishām became angry. Then al-Abrash al-Kalbī said: "O Commander of the Faithful, win the people over with kindness and use forbearance toward them, for you know the havoc they have wrought amongst the Muslims." Thereupon Hishām endorsed the action that Naṣr had taken.[318]

In this year Yūsuf b. 'Umar sent al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, asking him to put Khurāsān under his jurisdiction and to dismiss Naṣr b. Sayyār.

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315. Cf. the discussion in Barthold, *Turkestan*, 192.

316. For the term *qabālah*, cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDXII; *EI*², "Ḳabāla" (Cahen). As Cahen says, it is difficult to define this term precisely. It would appear that the term generally refers to a practice whereby, when individuals had difficulty in paying the full amount of land tax, a local notable would advance the sum needed and would have to ensure future reimbursement. In this passage, however, the word may well mean simply "arrears."

317. *Fa-lammā qadima al-rasūl abā an yunfidha dhālika* ("When the messenger arrived, he refused to endorse that"). This sentence is ambiguous. The subject of the main clause could be the messenger or Hishām.

318. *Fa-anfadha Hishām mā sa'ala* (lit., "Hishām ratified what he (Naṣr) asked").

The Reason for Yūsuf's Request and the Outcome of It

According to 'Alī [al-Madā'inī]—his *shaykhs*: After Naṣr b. Sayyār had been governor for a long time and Khurāsān was well under his control, Yūsuf b. 'Umar, who was envious of Naṣr, wrote to Hishām saying: "Khurāsān is indeed a running sore![319] If the Commander of the Faithful deems it appropriate to annex Khurāsān to Iraq, I will send al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt there, for he was with al-Junayd,[320] he governed the bulk of the [eastern] provinces, and he made the lands of the Commander of the Faithful prosper with good government. I am sending al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt to the
[1719] Commander of the Faithful, for he is cultured and wise. Al-Ḥakam's counsel to the Commander of the Faithful will be like our own counsel, just as his love for the *ahl al-bayt* is like our own."

When Yūsuf's letter reached Hishām, he sent people to the public guesthouse [*dār al-ḍiyāfah*] where Muqātil b. 'Alī al-Sughdī[321] was lodging. They brought him to Hishām, who said: "Are you from Khurāsān?" Muqātil said: "Yes, and I am a friend of the Turks." [He had come to Hishām with one hundred and fifty Turks.][322] Hishām said: "Do you know al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt?" Muqātil said "Yes." Hishām said: "What were his responsibilities in Khurāsān?" Muqātil said: "He was in charge of a borough [*qaryah*] called al-Fāryāb;[323] its *kharāj*[324] amounts to seventy thousand [dirhams]. Then al-Ḥārith b. Surayj took him

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319. The text has *dabiratun dabiratun*. This is emended to *dabaratu dabiratin* ("the sore of an ulcerated camel"). Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCXI. The Cairo edition [193] has *dabaratun dabiratun* and its editor explains in a footnote that the phrase means a disturbed area.

320. Al-Junayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Murrī was governor of Khurāsān from 111 [730] to 115 [733]. He died in 116 [734]. Cf. *EI*², "Al-Djunayd b. 'Abdallāh" [Veccia Vaglieri]; Gibb, 72–76; Wellhausen, 459–62; Ibn Khayyāṭ, 375.

321. The text has al-Sa'dī, as does Ibn al-Athīr, V, 189. The name is later emended to al-Sughdī. Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCXI.

322. This is a comment by the narrator.

323. For al-Fāryāb, cf. *EI*², Faryāb [R. Frye]. Of the various possible locations, the most likely is that it is a village in Sughd.

324. *Kharāj:* usually, land tax. For more precise definitions of the term, cf. *EI*², s.v. [Cahen]; Morony, 99–106.

prisoner." Hishām said: "Oh dear! How did he escape from al-Ḥārith?" Muqātil said: "Al-Ḥārith twisted his ear, slapped him on the back of his head, and let him go."[325]

Later on, al-Ḥakam brought the *kharāj* revenues of Iraq to Hishām. Hishām found that al-Ḥakam was handsome and eloquent, so he wrote to Yūsuf saying: "Al-Ḥakam has arrived. He is as you described. In the area you govern there is ample scope for him. Dismiss al-Kinānī[326] (i.e., Naṣr) and make al-Ḥakam agent (*'āmil*) (in his place)."

In this year Naṣr made a second raid on Farghānah and he sent Maghrā' b. Aḥmar to Iraq. The latter, however, denounced him to Hishām.

An Account of [the Denunciation of Naṣr] and of the Part Played in It by Hishām and Yūsuf b. 'Umar

It is reported that Naṣr sent Maghrā' b. Aḥmar as his envoy to Iraq after Naṣr had returned from his second raid on Farghānah. Yūsuf [1720] b. 'Umar said to Maghrā': "Ibn Aḥmar! Is Ibn al-Aqṭa'[327] [meaning Naṣr] getting a hold over you, you men of Qays?"[328] Ibn Aḥmar replied: "That has been so, may God make the *amīr* prosper!" Then Yūsuf said: "When you go to see the Commander of the Faithful, destroy Naṣr." So the delegation went to Hishām, who questioned them about the situation in Khurāsān. Maghrā' began to speak, giving praise and thanks to God and then referring to Yūsuf b. 'Umar in the most fulsome terms. Hishām said: "Enough of that! Tell me about Khurāsān". Then Maghrā' said: "O Commander of the Faithful, there is no army (*jund*) of yours that can march faster[329] than they can and there are no falcons in the sky

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325. Ibn al-Athīr (loc. cit.) adds that al-Ḥārith told al-Ḥakam that he was too contemptible for him to kill him.

326. The *nisbah* of Naṣr b. Sayyār. For the Banū Kinānah, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 371. They were a "small and almost neutral tribe" (Gibb, 89).

327. This term of abuse, probably meaning "son of a man with an amputated hand," would suggest thieving, for which the fixed penalty is well known.

328. Ibn al-Athīr (V, 189) has *Quraysh*.

329. *Aghaththu* ("more speedy"). There is some doubt about this reading. The apparatus cites two variants, *a'addu* and *aghazzu*.

more courageous[330] than they are; their cavalry[331] are like elephants; they have adequate supplies of men and equipment—but they have no leader." Then Hishām said: "Shame on you! What has al-Kinānī (Naṣr) been doing?" Maghrā' said: "Naṣr is so old that he does not even recognize his own son." But Hishām did not accept Maghrā'"s statement. He sent someone to the public guesthouse and Shubayl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Māzinī[332] was brought to him. Hishām said to him: "Tell me about Naṣr." Shubayl said: "There is no need to fear that he is so old as to be in his dotage nor that he is too young to possess sound judgment. He is experienced and tried. He was in charge of all the borders and wars in Khurāsān even before he became governor."

Yūsuf was told by letter about what had happened and he posted spies. When Naṣr's delegation reached al-Mawṣil, they left the road taken by the postal service[333] and instead used byways until they reached Bayhaq.[334] Naṣr had also been informed by letter about what Shubayl had said. Now Ibrāhīm b. Bassām was in the delegation. Yūsuf practiced a deception on him, telling him that Naṣr was dead and that accordingly he had himself appointed
[1721] al-Ḥakam b. al-Ṣalt b. Abī 'Aqīl as governor of Khurāsān. So Ibrāhīm suggested to him the people to whom he should allocate all the provinces of Khurāsān.[335] Then Ibrāhīm b. Ziyād, the envoy of Naṣr, came to Ibrāhīm b. Bassām and told him that Yūsuf had tricked him. Ibrāhīm b. Bassām replied: "Yūsuf has destroyed me."

It is said that Naṣr sent Maghrā' together with Ḥamlah b. Nu'aym al-Kalbī (to Hishām). When they came to Yūsuf, Yūsuf aroused ambition in Maghrā', promising that if Maghrā' impugned Naṣr's reputation in front of Hishām, he (Yūsuf) would make Maghrā' governor of Sind. When Maghrā' and Ḥamlah came to

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330. *Anjadu* ("more courageous"). The apparatus has a variant, *aḥaddu* ("more sharp"), which is followed by the Cairo edition (194).

331. *Firāsiyyah*. It is suggested tentatively in the glossary that this is a collective term for men skilled in horsemanship. This meaning is followed here.

332. Presumably this man was a visitor from Khurāsān.

333. For the route taken by the postal service, cf. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*.

334. The district of Bayhaq lay four days' march west from Nishāpūr. The town of Sabzavār was also known in medieval times as Bayhaq. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 391.

Hishām, Maghrā' mentioned Naṣr's courage, valor, and skill in affairs, and he was profuse in his praise. Then he continued: "Would that God would allow us to enjoy (for a while longer) what is left of him!" Hishām sat up straight and said: "What do you mean by 'what is left of him'?" Maghrā' said: "Naṣr can recognize a man only by his voice, he only understands what is said to him if people get up close to him, and his own voice is so faint that it is scarcely intelligible because he is so old." Then Ḥamlah al-Kalbī stood up and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, Maghrā' is lying. By God, Naṣr is not as he said he is. He is as he is."[336] Hishām said: "Naṣr is not as Maghrā' has described him. This is the doing of Yūsuf b. 'Umar, who is motivated by envy of Naṣr."

Yūsuf had written to Hishām mentioning that Naṣr was old and infirm, recommending Salm b. Qutaybah to him.[337] Hishām wrote back to him: "Stop talking about al-Kinānī." Then on his return to Yūsuf, Maghrā' said: "You are aware of what Naṣr has suffered at my hand and you know how (badly) I have behaved [1722] toward him. So there is no future[338] for me in being with him and there is no point in my staying on in Khurāsān. Therefore give orders for me to stay here." Yūsuf accordingly wrote to Naṣr saying: "I have transferred Maghrā''s name (from the Khurāsān register to that of Iraq).[339] So send me those of his family who are with you."

It is said that when Yūsuf ordered Maghrā' to give false witness against Naṣr, Maghrā' said: "How can I run him down after the difficult times he has been through and his kind actions toward me and my family?" But Yūsuf continued to press him, so

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335. *Qassama lahu Ibrāhīm Khurāsāna kullahu.* This seems to mean that Ibrāhīm made suggestions as to who should assume rule over the individual parts of Khurāsān now that he believed Naṣr was dead. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDXXIII.

336. *Mā huwa kamā qāla huwa wa huwa.* The Cairo edition (194) punctuates this phrase to make better sense and omits the *wa*: *mā huwa kamā qāla; huwa huwa.* This reading has been followed in the translation.

337. Salm b. Qutaybah was not the only member of his family who was a contender for the governorship of Khurāsān. His brother Qaṭan and his cousin Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān were also in the running. For Salm's career, cf. Crone, 137.

338. *Khayr* (lit., "benefit").

339. *Qad ḥawwaltu ismahu.*

Maghrā' said: "With what can I reproach him? Should I find fault with his experience, his obedience, his good fortune in affairs, or his skillful government?" Yūsuf said: "Reproach him for being old." When Maghrā' went in to see Hishām, he spoke about Naṣr in the most glowing terms, and then, at the end of his speech, he said: "If only. . ." Then Hishām sat up straight and said: "What do you mean by 'If only'?" Maghrā' said: "If only old age had not overtaken him." Hishām said: "Come on now! Old age has not yet overtaken him." Maghrā' said: "Naṣr only recognizes a man close up and then only by his voice. He has become too weak to raid and ride." This distressed Hishām but then Ḥamlah b. Nu'aym spoke up.

When Naṣr heard about what Maghrā' had said he sent Hārūn b. al-Siyāwush to al-Ḥakam b. Numaylah, who was in the saddlers' quarter (*al-sarrājīn*) reviewing the troops (*jund*). Hārūn grabbed him by the foot, dragged him from a carpet on which he was sitting, and broke his flag on his head. Then he hit him in the face with his carpet and said: "This is how God deals with traitors."

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—al-Ḥārith b.
[1723] Aflaḥ b. Mālik b. Asmā' b. Khārijah: When Naṣr became governor of Khurāsān he made particular favorites of Maghrā' b. Aḥmar b. Mālik b. Sāriyah al-Numayrī,[340] al-Ḥakam b. Numaylah b. Mālik, and al-Ḥajjāj b. Hārūn b. Mālik. Maghrā' b. Aḥmar al-Numayrī was the leader of the people of Qinnasrīn.[341] Naṣr gave preference to Maghrā', appointed him to a privileged position,[342] and accepted his intercessions in respect of what he needed.[343] Naṣr appointed Maghrā''s nephew, al-Ḥakam b. Numaylah, as agent ('*āmil*) of al-Jūzajān (Jūzjān).[344] Then he put him in charge of the *ahl al-'āliyah*.[345] This was a responsibility that his father in al-

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340. Some of the Banū Numayr had settled in Northern Syria in the early Islamic period. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 450.

341. A town in northern Syria. The medieval geographers speak of its former greatness and comment on its insignificance in their own time. Cf. Yāqūt, IV, 184–87; Ibn Ḥawqal, 118; *EI*², "Ḳinnasrīn" (N. Elisséeff); Le Strange, *Palestine*, 486.

342. *Sannā manzilatahu*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCXCIX.

343. *Wa-shaffa'ahu fī ḥawā'ijihi*.

344. A district in Afghan Turkestan between the Murghāb and the Oxus. Cf. *EI*², "D̲jūzd̲jān" (R. Hartmann); Le Strange, *Lands*, 423; *Ḥudūd*, 328–32.

345. The *ahl al-'āliyah* were a group consisting predominantly of Qays who are mentioned as one of the divisions (*akhmās*, "fifths") in al-Baṣrah. Cf. Djaït, 163.

Baṣrah had had before him; and 'Ukabah b. Numaylah took it on after him. Later on, Naṣr dispatched a delegation of Syrians and Khurāsānīs, and he appointed Maghrā' to be in charge of them. Ḥamlah b. Nu'aym al-Kalbī was also in the delegation. 'Uthmān b. Ṣadaqah b. Waththāb said to Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim,[346] the agent (*'āmil*) of Ṭukhāristān:[347]

Muslim gave me a choice of his riding animals
and I said: "It is enough for me to have Muslim as my judge;
This is the hero and lord of the Banū 'Āmir.
It is honor enough for anyone to rule over the Banū 'Āmir."

The poet was referring to al-Ḥakam b. Numaylah. Naṣr's attitude toward the Qays altered for the worse and he was troubled by what Maghrā' had done.

Abū Numaylah Ṣāliḥ al-Abbār, the mawlā of the Banū 'Abs, had left (al-Kūfah) with Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn and he stayed with Yaḥyā until the latter was killed in Jūzjān. Naṣr had been angry with Abū Numaylah because of this, so the latter approached 'Ubaydallāh b. Bassām, Naṣr's friend, and recited as follows:

I was in distress, perplexed and troubled
until 'Ubaydallāh removed my anxiety from me. [1724]
I cried out to him and he rose joyfully to the honor
just as the whiteness of the full moon illuminates the darkness.[348]
So rise up with the judgment and the springing leap of a lion!
If on the day of battle you act like a high-minded man,
You will win to your side one whose courage (*muruwwah*) has reached its zenith
and whose Lord has singled him out for His favor.
Steadfast in resolution, striking blows like a lion,
he advances against death on the day of fear.

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346. Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim al-Bāhilī had been governor of Balkh for Junayd. He was the nephew of Qutaybah b. Muslim. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1529–32, 1663–64.

347. The area to the east of Balkh which stretched along the south side of the Oxus as far as the frontiers of Badakhshān. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 426–27.

348. The text has *aẓlāmi*. The Cairo edition (196) has *iẓlāmi*, which seems better.

He is not one to prattle in the assembly, nor to blab his secrets
in his speech. Nor is he one who argues his opponents into silence.
The garment and seat of forbearance are his,
at a time when men of understanding are dishonored by public assemblies.

So 'Ubaydallāh took Abū Numaylah in to see Naṣr. Then Abū Numaylah said: "May God order your affairs aright! Indeed, I am weak. If you think it appropriate, give me permission to recite." Naṣr gave him permission and Abū Numaylah recited the following:

The gaming arrow of al-Kalbī has won the day, but as for
Maghrā', his efforts were impeded by his ignoble descent.
O sons of Numayr, make it clear and then make it clear again,
was Maghrā' born a slave or was he of pure parentage?
If he is to you as treason
and faithlessness are to the character of an honorable man,
[1725] And if he is a descendant of slaves,
then no blame will attach to you because of his treason.
The sons of Layth gave him their patronage—and what great patronage it was!—
granting him unsolicited favors and an important position.
They fattened him up and when he had attained an enviable state of well-being
through the kindness[349] they had accorded him,
He betrayed his patrons as easily as
the wild striped ass brays in the wilderness.
So, as a warning to others and in censure of him, we likened him
to a dog[350]—for blame should go to him who is worthy of it—
And we praised the sons of Layth, for excellence

349. The text has *min sabīhā al-maqsūmi*. This is corrected in the Cairo edition (196) to *min saybihā al-maqsūmi*, which makes better sense.

350. Cf. Qur'ān 7, 176: *fa-mathaluhu ka-mathali al-kalbi*. Cf. also the saying: "Fatten up your dog and he will eat you," quoted in G. R. Smith and M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, *The Book of the Superiority of Dogs over many of Those who wear Clothes*, Warminster, 1978, p. xxx.

is the exclusive mark of men of liberality, generosity, and
good judgement.
Learn, then, you sons of mighty, victorious lions,
and you people of al-Ṣafāh and of al-Ḥatīm,[351]
That the gratitude of pious men is enough to outweigh
the words of one who is suspected of evil conduct and
whose honor is impugned.[352]
God has seen what you have done and
the barking of dogs[353] will never stop the stars shining.[354]

When Abū Numaylah had finished, Naṣr said: "You have spoken truly." The Qays then spoke and asked for pardon.

Naṣr scorned the Qays and sent them away because of what Maghrā' had done. In this context, a poet recited the following:

God has made the noble ones hateful to you
just as the Merciful One made the Qays hateful to Naṣr.
I saw Abū Layth scorning their leaders
and bringing close to him all those who have only tenuous
links with him.[355]

In this year Yazīd b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik led the people on the pilgrimage.[356] I was told this by Aḥmad b. Thābit from his informants on the authority of Isḥāq b. 'Īsā from Abū Ma'shar. The same report was also given by al-Wāqidī.

The agents (*'ummāl*) of the garrison cities in this year were the same as in the preceding one, and I have already mentioned them.

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351. Evocative place names from the Ḥijāz.

352. *Mawṣūm* ("one whose honor is subjected to envious detracting"). Cf. *Gloss.*, p. DLVIII.

353. There may well be an astronomical allusion here. Cf. Sirius, Procyon, and the *kilāb al-shitā'* (stars that set aurorally in winter).

354. The text wrongly has *lan yanquṣu*. This is corrected to *lan yanquṣa* in *Add.*, p. DCCXI.

355. *Wa-yudnā ilayhi kulla dhī wālithin ghumri*. This seems to be analogous to the phrase *dhū 'ahdin wālithin* ("he who has a weak covenant"). Cf. *Gloss.*, p. DLXV.

356. Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 394. Yazīd b. Hishām was given the nickname of al-Afqam. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 370.

The Events of the Year

[1726]

124

(November 15, 741–November 3, 742)

Amongst the events taking place during this year was the arrival in al-Kūfah of a group of 'Abbāsid supporters who were making for Mecca.[357] According to some historians, Bukayr b. Māhān bought Abū Muslim, the leader of the 'Abbāsid *da'wah*, from 'Īsā b. Ma'qil al-'Ijlī.

The Reason Why Bukayr b. Māhān Bought Abū Muslim

The sources differ on this matter. According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—Ḥamzah b. Ṭalḥah al-Sulamī—his father: Bukayr b. Māhān[358] was scribe to one of the agents (*'ummāl*) of Sind. He went to al-Kūfah and the 'Abbāsid supporters assembled in a house there. Then mischievous rumors circulated about

357. These men were the leaders (*nuqabā'*) of the 'Abbāsids in Khurāsān.

358. Bukayr b. Māhān came originally from Sijistān and had served the governor of Sind, al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He was won over to the Hāshimiyyah in 102 (720–21). He had visited Khurāsān twice on behalf of the imām Muḥammad. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (D. Sourdel); al-Ṭabarī, II, 1639.

them and they were arrested. Bukayr was imprisoned and the others were released. Also in the prison were Abū 'Āṣim Yūnus and 'Īsā b. Ma'qil al-'Ijlī, who had Abū Muslim[359] with him as his servant. Then Bukayr invited them to support the 'Abbāsid cause and they were won over to his views. Then Bukayr said to 'Īsā b. Ma'qil: "Who is this young man?" 'Īsā replied: "He is a slave." Bukayr inquired: "Will you sell him?" 'Īsā responded: "He is yours." Bukayr said: "I would like you to take a proper price for him." 'Īsā replied: "He is yours for whatever price you want," so Bukayr gave 'Īsā four hundred dirhams. Then they were released from prison and Bukayr sent Abū Muslim to Ibrāhīm,[360] who gave him to Mūsā al-Sarrāj.[361] Abū Muslim learned (much) from Mūsā and memorized what the latter told him. Then he began making repeated journeys to Khurāsān.

Other reports said: In the year 124 [November 15, 741–November 3, 742] Sulaymān b. Kathīr,[362] Mālik b. al-Haytham, Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ,[363] and Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb[364] left Khurāsān, [1727]
making for Mecca. When they entered al-Kūfah, they went to 'Āṣim b. Yūnus al-'Ijlī, who was in prison under suspicion of spreading propaganda on behalf of the 'Abbāsids. With 'Āṣim were 'Īsā and Idrīs, the sons of Ma'qil, whom Yūsuf b. 'Umar had imprisoned, and those agents (*'ummāl*) of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh whom he had also put in prison. 'Īsā and Idrīs were accompanied by Abū Muslim, who was their servant. The Khurāsānīs recognized unusual qualities (*'alāmāt*) in Abū Muslim, and they said: "Who is this?" The people in the prison replied: "A young man from al-Sarrājīn[365] who is with us." Abū Muslim had listened to 'Īsā and

359. The future leader of the revolutionary 'Abbāsid movement in Khurāsān. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (S. Moscati); Wellhausen, 518 ff; Shaban, *'Abbāsid revolution*, 153–57.

360. Ibrāhīm succeeded his father as 'Abbāsid imām in 125 (743).

361. Ibn al-Athīr has *Abū* Mūsā al-Sarrāj (V, 191).

362. After the death of Khidāsh in 118 (736), Sulaymān b. Kathīr was appointed by the 'Abbāsid imām, Muḥammad, to take charge of the 'Abbāsid organization in Khurāsān. He is named as one of the six 'Abbāsid chiefs in Marw. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1586; Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 151–54.

363. Mālik b. al-Haytham and Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ were amongst a group of 'Abbāsid supporters who had been imprisoned by Asad al-Qasrī in 117 (735). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1586.

364. Cf. *EI*², Ḳaḥṭaba (M. Sharon).

365. Abū Muslim learned the trade of saddler from Abū Mūsā al-Sarrāj and would take saddles to Iṣfahān, Mosul, and other places to sell them. Cf. Ibn al-

Idrīs talking about the 'Abbāsid cause[366] and when he heard them he wept. When they saw him reacting in this way, they invited him to join their movement and he agreed.[367]

In this year Sulaymān b. Hishām[368] went on a summer raiding expedition. In battle he met Leo, the king of Byzantium, and he returned safely, having taken plunder.[369]

According to al-Wāqidī: In this year Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās died.[370] According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informants—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismā'īl led the people on the pilgrimage in this year.[371] Al-Wāqidī gave the same report.

Also in this year 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik[372] went on the pilgrimage, accompanied by his wife, Umm Salamah, the daughter of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī)—Yazīd, the
[1728] mawlā of Abū al-Zinād: I saw Muḥammad b. Hishām at Umm Salamah's door.[373] He was sending in his greetings and there were many gifts from him at her door. He begged her to accept

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Athīr, V, 191–92. Al-Sarrājīn (the saddle makers' [quarter]) was apparently in Marw.

366. Literally, "this viewpoint."

367. For other reports on Abū Muslim in Yūsuf's prison, cf. al-Dīnawarī, 339–41; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 392–93.

368. This son of the caliph Hishām was later to play an important role at the time of the coup of Marwān b. Muḥammad in 127 (744). Cf. Hawting, 96–99. He had considerable military experience on the Byzantine frontier and was at the head of an armed force known as the Dhakwāniyyah, which numbered several thousand men. Cf. Crone, 53.

369. There is a similar report in al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 395. According to Christian sources, however, it was Leo's son whom Sulaymān met in battle, since Leo III had died on June 18, 741 (i.e., in the preceding Muslim year, 123 A.H.). Cf. Brooks, "Arabs in Asia Minor," 202.

370. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 372; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 195. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās had come to prominence on the death of Abū Hāshim in 98 (716), when one group known as the Hāshimiyyah held him to be their imām. Muḥammad sent out missionaries to Khurāsān from around 100 (718). Cf. *EI*², "'Abbāsids" (B. Lewis); and n. 395.

371. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 372.

372. The caliph Hishām's nephew. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

373. The inclusion of this anecdote probably suggests that Muḥammad b. Hishām was acting in an improper way toward Umm Salamah. Presumably the Muḥammad b. Hishām mentioned here is the man mentioned as being in charge of the pilgrimage.

them and she refused. Finally, when he had given up hope of her accepting his presents, she gave orders that they should be taken in.[374]

The agents (*'ummāl*) of the garrison cities in this year were the same as in the years 122 [December 7, 739–November 25, 740] and 123 [November 26, 740–November 14, 741], and they have already been mentioned.

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374. Literally, "When he had given up hope of her accepting his present, she gave orders that it should be taken in."

The Events of the Year 125

(November 4, 742–October 24, 743)

Amongst the events taking place during this year was a summer raid made by al-Nu'man b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.[375]

Also in this year occurred the death of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. According to Abū Ma'shar: Hishām died after six nights had elapsed of the month of Rabī' II [February 6, 743]. The same report was given by Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informants—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā. Al-Wāqidī, al-Madā'inī, and others gave the same report, but they said that Hishām's death occurred on a Wednesday, after six nights had elapsed of the month of Rabī' II [Wednesday, February 6, 743].

The length of Hishām's caliphate, according to all reports, was nineteen years. According to al-Madā'inī and Ibn al-Kalbī: Hishām ruled for nineteen years, seven months and twenty-one days. According to Abū Ma'shar: (nineteen years) and eight and one-half months. According to al-Wāqidī: (nineteen years,) seven months and ten nights.

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375. For this expedition, cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 395. For al-Nu'mān, cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

There was some divergence of opinion over Hishām's age. According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī: Hishām died when he [1729]
was fifty-five years old. Some reports said: Hishām died when he was fifty-two years old. According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: On the day Hishām died he was fifty-four years old. His death occurred at al-Ruṣāfah, where his grave is to be found. His *kunyah* was Abū al-Walīd.[376]

The Malady That Caused Hishām's Death

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr[377]—'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]—Shaybah b. 'Uthmān—'Amr b. Kalī'[378]—Sālim Abū al-'Alā':[379] One day, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik came out to us.[380] His appearance betrayed the fact that he was in melancholy mood. His clothes were hanging loosely on him and he had slackened the reins of his steed. He rode for an hour [in this state] and then he roused himself from his listlessness, arranged his clothes, took the reins of his horse, and said to al-Rabī': "Call al-Abrash." Al-Abrash was summoned and Hishām walked between me and al-Abrash. Al-Abrash said to him: "O Commander of the Faithful, I saw you doing something that troubled me." Hishām said: "What is that?" Al-Abrash said: "I saw you go out in a state of mind that troubled me." Hishām replied: "Come on now, Abrash! How can I not be troubled when men of wisdom (*ahl al-'ilm*) have claimed that I will be dead in thirty-three days' time?"

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376. For the length of Hishām's rule, the date of his death and his age, cf. also Ibn Khayyāṭ, 372; Ibn Qutaybah, 185; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 394; *Fragmenta*, 107; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 456–57; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 295; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 286; Hamzah, 129.

377. Aḥmad b. Zuhayr, also known as Aḥmad b. Abī Haythamah, d. 279 (892–93), was a Ḥanbalī jurist. He was one of al-Ṭabarī's authorities for the Baṣran and Medinan historical traditions, which he reported from his father. Cf. Pedersen, *'Alī and Mu'āwiya*, 110; Ibn Ḥajar, *Mīzān*, I, 174; Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 174.

378. The reading Kalī' is uncertain. Other variants, Wakī' and Dulay', are cited in the apparatus.

379. According to the Leiden index, this Sālim is not Hishām's famous *kātib*, who was in charge of the *dīwān al-rasā'il*. The index is probably wrong. Grignasci, who presents a clear discussion of the identity of Sālim, the *kātib*, calls him Sālim Abū al-'Alā; cf. *Rasā'il*, 12–13.

Sālim continued: I went back to my house and I wrote on a scroll: "The Commander of the Faithful said on such-and-such a day that he would die[381] in thirty-three days." On the night when the thirty-three days were up, a slave came knocking at my door saying: "Come to the Commander of the Faithful and bring with you the medicine for diphtheria (*dhubaḥah*)."[382] Hishām had
[1730] taken the medicine once before, had treated himself with it,[383] and had regained his strength. So I left, taking the medicine with me. Hishām gargled with it. The pain increased in intensity and then subsided. Hishām said to me: "Sālim, some of the pain I was feeling has eased, so go to your family and leave the medicine with me." Then I went away and hardly had an hour passed before I heard loud voices lamenting: "The Commander of the Faithful is dead."

As soon as Hishām had died, the treasurers shut the doors. People looked for a copper pan in which to heat some water to wash Hishām's body, but they could not find one until they asked a neighbor to lend them one. One of the people present on that occasion said: "There is a warning in this for anyone who heeds it."[384] Hishām died of diphtheria. When he died, his son, Maslamah b. Hishām, prayed over him.

Some Biographical Details about Hishām

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—Wasnān al-'Arajī[385]—Ibn Abī Nuhaylah—'Aqqāl b. Shab-

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380. A similar story is also given in *Fragmenta*, 106.

381. *Yusāfiru*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCXCI.

382. Although *dhubaḥah* is used in modern Arabic to denote angina pectoris, it may well not be the illness that is meant here. Gabrieli states that Hishām died of angina, cf. *Califfato*, 140. *Dhubaḥah* most probably denotes a throat obstruction caused by diphtheria or quinsy, hence Hishām's gargling with the medicine.

383. *Fa-ta'ālaja*.

384. Hishām's avarice was legendary. Cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, I, 233; al-Jāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, 28, 214. Alternatively, this may be a sententious comment to the effect that death is no respecter of persons.

385. The reading Wasnān is uncertain. The apparatus has two variants, Rasnān and Rasyān. This appears to be the only place where this person is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī.

bah:[386] I went in to see Hishām, who was wearing a tunic (*qabā'*) made of green fur. Hishām was sending me to Khurāsān and he began to give me my instructions. I kept looking at the cloak and he became aware of this and inquired: "What is the matter with you?" I said: "Before you become caliph, I saw you wearing a tunic made of green fur. I was wondering if this is the same one or a different one." Hishām said: "By the One God, this is the same [1731] one. I do not possess any other tunic. But this money that you see me collecting and hoarding is for you all." 'Aqqāl was in the service of Hishām. As for Shabbah, 'Aqqāl's father, he worked for 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.[387] 'Aqqāl used to say: "When I went in to see Hishām, I found him a man chock-full[388] of intelligence."

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—Marwān b. Shujā', a mawlā of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam:[389] I was in the service of Muḥammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. He sent for me one day and I went in to see him. He was angry and sorrowful, so I said: "What is the matter with you?" Muḥammad said: "A Christian hit my servant on the head," and he began railing against the Christian. I said to him: "Take it easy." He said: "What can I do?" I replied: "Arraign him before the judge." He said: "Is there nothing else I can do?" I replied: "No." Then a eunuch of his said to him: "I will settle this for you." So the eunuch went and gave the Christian a beating. When Hishām heard about this, he sought out the eunuch, who called on Muḥammad for protection. Muḥammad b. Hishām said: "I gave you no orders." The eunuch retorted: "Yes, by God, you certainly did give me orders!" Then Hishām gave the eunuch a beating and rebuked his son.

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī): In the time of Hishām nobody went around with a retinue except Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik. One day Hishām saw Sālim with a retinue, so he forbade him to do so and warned him: "I shall certainly find out if you go around with a retinue!" Thereafter, whenever a stranger came up and walked along with him, Sālim would stop and say, "What do you want?" and he would prevent the man from walk-

386. 'Aqqāl b. Shabbah al-Tamīmī al-Khaṭīb. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1755–56, 1820.
387. Umayyad caliph who ruled 65–86 (685–705).
388. Literally, "stuffed."
389. Umayyad caliph who ruled 64–65 (684–85).

ing along with him. Yet it seems that it was Sālim who dominated Hishām.[390]

None of the Marwānids[391] used to draw an army stipend[392]
[1732] unless they had to go on raids. Some of them raided in person and some of them sent out a substitute. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik had a mawlā called Ya'qūb, who used to take Hishām's stipend, i.e. two hundred and one dīnārs, for he was treated to an extra dīnār. Ya'qūb would take the money and go out on raids. The Marwānids used to make themselves *dīwān* guards[393] and gave themselves other posts which allowed them to stay put and which exempted them from the obligation of going out on raids. Dāwūd and 'Īsā,[394] the two sons of 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās[395] by the same mother, served as guards to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh[396] in the east, in Iraq.[397] They stayed with Khālid and he gave them money. If that had not been the case, he would not have been able to detain them.[398] Khālid made them guards and they spent their nights talking to Khālid and engaging him in their conversations.

Hishām entrusted an estate of his to one of his mawlās. The mawlā made it flourish and the estate yielded a large income. He continued to make the estate prosper and its income was doubled. The mawlā sent his son to take the income; the latter presented it to Hishām and told him how the estate was faring. Hishām re-

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390. *Wa-kāna Sālimun ka-annahu huwa ammara Hishāman.* Literally: "it was as if Sālim had made Hishām *amīr*." This translation is only tentative.

391. The Banū Marwān, the descendants of Marwān I (cf. n. 389 above), from whose number the Umayyad caliphs were drawn from 65 (685) until the fall of the dynasty in 132 (750).

392. *'Aṭā'*. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (C. Cahen).

393. *Fī a'wāni al-dīwāni.* Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCCLXXXIII.

394. Prominent members of the 'Abbāsid family who were subsequently involved in the overthrow of the Umayyads. Cf. Wellhausen, 543–44.

395. The grandson of al-'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle. 'Alī was the father of the imām Muḥammad. Cf. n. 370.

396. Khālid al-Qasrī.

397. *Fī a'wāni al-sharqi bi-al-'Irāqi.* This translation is only tentative. The apparatus has a variant reading, *fī al-sūqi* ("in the market"), which is preferred in the Cairo edition, 202. Neither version is very satisfactory when followed by "in Iraq."

398. *Fa-aqāmā 'indahu fa-waṣalahumā wa-lawlā dhālika lam yastaṭi' an yaḥbisahumā.* This is rather obscure. *Waṣalahumā* has been translated as "he gave them money," and the verb *ḥabasa* as "to detain," rather than "to imprison." Presumably, Khālid made guards of the two 'Abbāsids as a device to keep them close to him.

warded him well and the boy saw that Hishām was pleased, so he said: "O Commander of the Faithful, I have a request." Hishām said: "What is it?" The boy said: "Ten more dīnārs in my stipend." Hishām said: "You all seem sure that ten dīnārs in the stipend are a mere trifle.[399] No, by my life, I will not do it!"

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—Ja'far b. Sulaymān[400]—'Abdallāh b. 'Alī:[401] I scrutinized the registers (*dawāwīn*) of the Marwānids and I have never seen a more sound register than that of Hishām nor one which was more beneficial both to the common people and to the government. According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—Ghassān b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd:[402] Nobody amongst the Marwānids was more avaricious [1733] in dealing with his associates and registers than Hishām nor did any of the Marwānids investigate (the activities of) his officials with such extreme thoroughness as did Hishām.[403]

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—Ḥammād al-Abaḥḥ: Hishām said to Ghaylān:[404] "Fie on you, Ghaylān! People have been spreading gossip about you, so let's hear your side of the argument. If it is the truth, we shall support you; and if it is false you will be made to stop thinking that way." Ghaylān agreed, so Hishām called Maymūn b. Mihrān[405] to question

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399. Literally, "the value of an almond."

400. Ja'far b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī al-Hāshimī was governor of Medina under al-Manṣūr (r. 136–58/745–75). Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 106, 277, 494; al-Ṭabarī, III, 247, 249.

401. This may well be a reference to 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, the uncle of the 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Manṣūr. Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 259, 330; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 73–77, 176–77, 214–18.

402. Perhaps this is the son of Sālim's successor, the *kātib* 'Abd al-Hamīd. Cf. *EI*², "'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā" (H. A. R. Gibb), and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, III, 89. Ghassān b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was the secretary of Ja'far b. Sulaymān. Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 274, 277.

403. Hishām was apparently interested in the administrative methods of the ancient empires. Cf. Gibb, *Studies*, 63. According to al-Mas'ūdī, al-Manṣūr followed the fine precedents established by Hishām, whom he admired as one of the three great Umayyad leaders; the other two were Mu'āwiyah and 'Abd al-Malik.

404. Abū Marwān Ghaylān b. Muslim (or b. Marwān) al-Qibṭī al-Dimashqī was one of the Qadariyyah who advocated free will in Islam. For Ghaylān's career and writings, cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 257, 274, 388; Ibn Qutaybah, 244; Cook, 81, 141, 232; Van Ess, *Anfänge*, 45; Watt, *Formative Period*, 85–86.

405. Maymūn b. Mihrān was in charge of justice in the Jazīrah under the caliph 'Umar II (r. 99–101/717–20). For an analysis of this discussion in front of Hishām, cf. Watt, 86.

Ghaylān. Maymūn said to Ghaylān: "You ask first, since the case is strongest if you ask first." So Ghaylān said to Maymūn: "Has God willed that he should be disobeyed?" Then Maymūn replied to Ghaylān: "Was God disobeyed if He did not will it so?" Ghaylān was silent and Hishām said: "Give him an answer." But Ghaylān still did not answer him. Then Hishām said to Maymūn: "God will not forgive me for my errors if I forgive Ghaylān his." So Hishām gave orders that Ghaylān's hands and feet should be cut off.

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—a man of Banū Ghanī[406]—Bishr, the mawlā of Hishām: A man who had singing girls, wine, and a guitar in his home was brought to Hishām. Hishām said: "Break the lute over his head." The instrument struck the *shaykh*, who wept. Bishr (the narrator) said: "I said to him, by way of consolation: 'Be patient.' He retorted: 'Do you think I am crying because I was struck? I am only crying because of the contempt which Hishām showed toward the guitar when he called it a lute!'"

A man spoke rudely to Hishām, and Hishām said to him: "You should not speak rudely to your imām."

Hishām went in search of one of his sons who had not attended the Friday prayer. Hishām said to him: "What prevented you from performing the prayer?" His son said: "My horse has died." Hishām said: "Why didn't you walk instead of missing the Friday prayer?" Then he deprived his son of a horse for a year.

Sulaymān b. Hishām wrote to his father as follows:[407] "My mule is too weak to carry me. If the Commander of the Faithful
[1734] thinks it appropriate to issue orders for me to be given a horse, then let him do so." Hishām wrote back to Sulaymān as follows: "The Commander of the Faithful has understood your letter and what you have said about the weak condition of your riding animal. The Commander of the Faithful thinks that this situation has arisen from your negligence in feeding the animal, and that its fodder is being wasted. So see to the maintenance of your animal personally and the Commander of the Faithful will further consider the matter of your transport."[408]

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406. On the Banū Ghanī, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 272.
407. Al-Mas'ūdī relates the same story. Cf. *Murūj*, V, 478.
408. *Fī ḥumlānika:* Literally, "your riding beast." Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCX.

One of Hishām's finance officials wrote to him as follows: "I have sent the Commander of the Faithful a basket of peaches.[409] Let the Commander of the Faithful write and tell me that it has arrived safely." Hishām wrote back to him: "The peaches which you sent have reached the Commander of the Faithful and he liked them. So send him some more and close the receptacle tightly."

Hishām wrote to one of his finance officials as follows: "The truffles which you sent the Commander of the Faithful have arrived. There are forty of them and some of them have gone bad. The only reason they got like that was because of the way they were packed. If you send any more of them to the Commander of the Faithful, fill with sand the jar in which you put them so that they will not move about and knock against each other."

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—al-Ḥārith b. Yazīd—a mawlā belonging to Hishām: A mawlā belonging to Hishām who was on one of his estates sent me with two fine birds. I then went in to see Hishām, who was sitting on a sofa[410] in the courtyard of the house. Hishām said: "Put them in the house." So I did so and he looked at them. Then I said: "O Commander of the Faithful, what about my reward?" Hishām said: "Shame on you! What is a suitable reward for two birds?" I said: [1735] "Whatever you think." Hishām said: "Take one of the birds," so I ran into the house to look at the birds. Hishām said: "What are you doing?" I replied: "I am choosing the better of the two birds." Hishām said: "Are you choosing the better of the two and leaving me with the worse one? Leave them both and we will give you forty or fifty dirhams."[411]

(Before becoming caliph) Hishām was assigned a piece of land called Dawrīn. He sent people to take possession of it and they found it in a state of ruin. Hishām said to Dhuwayd, a scribe who was (working) in Syria: "Now then, what strategem can we use here?" Dhuwayd said: "What will you do for me in return?" Hishām said: "Four hundred dīnārs." So Dhuwayd set down the words "Dawrīn and its villages" in the registers. Hishām drew a lot of income (from this estate). Later, when Hishām became

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409. *Durrāqin:* "Syrian peaches." Cf. *Lisān*, I, 971.
410. For a discussion of *sarīr*, cf. n. 112.
411. This story is also told by al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 477.

caliph, Dhuwayd went in to see him. Hishām said: "Dawrīn and its villages. No, by God, you will never govern a province for me," and he banished Dhuwayd from Syria.

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Umayr b. Yazīd—Abū Khālid—al-Walīd b. Khulayd: Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik saw me riding a Ṭukhārī horse, and he said to me: "O Walīd b. Khulayd, what is this horse?" I said: "Al-Junayd gave it to me." Hishām was envious of me and he said: "By God, there are too many of these Ṭukhārī horses around." Yet when 'Abd al-Malik had died, we found amongst his riding-animals only one single Ṭukhārī horse. His sons vied with one other as to which of them should take it, and each of them thought that if he did not possess it himself he had not inherited anything worth having from 'Abd al-Malik.[412]

One of the family[413] of Marwān[414] said to Hishām: "How can
[1736] you, who are miserly and cowardly, want the caliphate?" Hishām replied: "Why should I not want it, seeing that I am forbearing and decent?"[415]

One day Hishām said to al-Abrash: "Have your she-goats given birth yet?" Al-Abrash said: "By God, yes." Hishām said: "But my she-goats are late in giving birth. Take me out to see your she-goats and let me have some of their milk." Al-Abrash said: "Yes. Shall I send people on in advance (to make preparations)?" Hishām said "No." Al-Abrash said: "Shall we send a tent ahead so that it can be put up for us?" Hishām said "Yes." Accordingly, al-Abrash sent out two men with a tent and it was put up. Early the next morning, Hishām, al-Abrash and the people went out, Hishām and al-Abrash each seated themselves on a stool, and an ewe was brought to each of them. Hishām milked the ewe with his own hand and said: "Take note, Abrash, that I had no difficulty in

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412. It is possible that this was the type of horse that had been much in demand for the Sasanian armored cavalry and had also been exported for centuries to China—the celebrated "blood-sweating" horse of the Oxus. Cf. Watson, *Genius*, 110, 119–20. A similar story is told by al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 478–79.

413. The text has *āli*. This is corrected later to *āli*. Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCXI. The Cairo edition (VII, 205) has the corrected form.

414. According to al-Mas'ūdī, it was Maslamah, the brother of Hishām, who teased Hishām in this way. Cf. *Murūj*, V, 479.

415. *Anā ḥalīmun 'afīfun*. Al-Mas'ūdī has *anā ḥakīmun wa-'ālimun* ("I am wise and knowledgeable"). Cf. *Murūj*, loc. cit.

getting the milk to flow."[416] Then Hishām ordered that the bread dough should be brought and it was kneaded.[417] Then Hishām lit the fire himself, made a hollow in it for the bread, and threw in the bread. He began turning it over with the poker and said: "Well Abrash, what do you think of my expertise?" When the bread was cooked thoroughly Hishām removed it. He began hitting it with the poker, saying: "This is just for you!" And al-Abrash would reply "Here I am"[418] (this is what young boys say when bread is being baked for them). Then Hishām and the people ate lunch and he returned home.

'Ilbā' b. Manẓūr al-Laythī came to Hishām and recited the following to him:

'Ulayyah said, when I decided to undertake a journey
on a bewildered she-camel flapping her ears:
"How can you contemplate a journey when all the people of your family,
old and young alike, are dependent on you?
The young ones are like little sand-grouse,
wealthy neither in property nor in kinsfolk."

(I replied): "I am traveling to the king of Syria, the one to whom every care-burdened man[419] makes his way.

I will certainly leave you rich, provided I stay alive, [1737]
through the gifts of the caliph, that dispenser of glittering largesse.
We are indeed a people whose court is dead;[420]

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416. *Lam abuss al-ḥalaba.* Cf. *Lisān,* I, 212. Hishām is clearly proud of his prowess in milking.

417. *Amara bi-mallaṭin fa-'ujinat.* The *mallah* can mean the hollow made in the fire for baking bread, or the hot dust and ashes in which the bread is cooked. *Khubzu mallatin* is bread baked in hot ashes. Cf. Lane, I, *Supplement,* 3023. In view of the following verb, *'ujinat* ("it was kneaded"), the word *mallah* has been translated as "bread dough." Cf. *EI²,* "Khubz" (C. Pellat).

418. *Yaqūlu jabīnaka, jabīnaka wa-al-Abrash yaqūlu labbayka, labbayka.* This translation is only tentative. *Jabīnaka* may be analogous to the phrase *min jabīnī,* "I alone."

419. The text has *muwaqqari.* Nöldeke prefers the reading *mūqari.* Cf. *Add.,* p. DCCXI. This emendation is followed by the Cairo edition, VII, 206.

420. *Mayyitun dīwānunā.* An alternative translation is provided in the *Gloss.,* p. CCXLVII: "We accept no stipends."

but once it is touched by the generosity of the caliph it will be raised to life again."

Hishām said to 'Ilbā': "You have tried hard and petitioned well." So he gave orders that 'Ilbā' should receive five hundred dirhams and gave him an increase in his stipend.

Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb[421] came to Hishām, who said: "I have nothing for you." Then he added, "Take care lest anyone deceive you and say that the Commander of the Faithful has failed to recognize you. I have indeed recognized you. You are Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Do not stay and spend what money you already have, for you will get no gift from me. So go back to your family!"

One day, Hishām stopped near a walled garden of his in which there was an olive tree. With him was 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī.[422] 'Uthmān was standing with his head almost at a level with the head of the Commander of the Faithful, who was talking to him. Then Hishām heard the olive tree shaking and he said to someone: "Go to them and tell them to pick the olives properly and not to shake the tree; otherwise its fruit will burst open and its branches will break."

Hishām went on the pilgrimage. Al-Abrash took along some *mukhannaths*[423] who had guitars with them. Hishām said: "Imprison them and sell their possessions"—Hishām was not aware of what their goods were—"and put the proceeds in the treasury. If they mend their ways, return the money to them."

Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik lived at the Ruṣāfah which is reported to have been in the area of Qinnasrīn.[424] According to Aḥmad b.
[1738] Zuhayr b. Ḥarb—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī): The reason why Hishām lived at al-Ruṣāfah was that the caliphs and their sons used to seclude themselves[425] to escape the plague. So they

421. The great-grandson of the caliph 'Umar (r. 13–23/634–44).

422. 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī was made governor of Medina in 93 or 94 (711–712 or 712–713) and dismissed in 96 (715). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1282; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, I, 93; II, 51; III, 43.

423. The term *mukhannath* is difficult to define precisely. It denotes an effeminate man or someone who is neither entirely male or female. Cf. *Lisān*, I, 908.

424. For a discussion of al-Ruṣāfah, cf. n. 426.

425. *Yantabidhūna:* "They would retire apart." The apparatus has a variant reading, *yatabaddūna*, "they would go into the desert," which is adopted by the Cairo edition (VII, 207).

lived in the desert far away from people. When Hishām wanted to move to al-Ruṣāfah, he was told: "Do not leave! Caliphs are not touched by plague. It is unheard of for a caliph to catch the plague." Hishām said: "Do you want to experiment with me?" So he moved to al-Ruṣāfah, which is a desert place, and he built two castles there. Al-Ruṣāfah is a Byzantine city built by the Byzantines.[426]

Hishām had a squint (*aḥwal*). According to Aḥmad (b. Zubayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī): Khālid b. 'Abdallāh[427] sent a camel-driver (*ḥādī*) to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, and he recited[428] before Hishām a poem of Abū al-Najm (al-'Ijlī)[429] in the *rajaz* meter:

The sun on the horizon is descending like the eye of a man
with a squint.
It intends to set but has not yet done so.

At this Hishām became angry and dismissed him.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—Abū 'Āṣim al-Ḍabbī: I noticed Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām pass me when I was in the clearing (*raḥbah*) of Abū Sharīk. Abū Sharīk was a Persian after whom the clearing—which was a field under cultivation—was named. I had been baking bread. Mu'āwiyah stopped near me and I said: "Have some lunch." He dismounted and I took out the bread, put it on some bricks,[430] and he ate. Then other people came along and I asked, "Who is this?" They replied: "Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām." Mu'āwiyah ordered that I

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426. There has been a long controversy about the interpretation of this passage. The reference to "two castles" (*qaṣrayn*) was interpreted by Sauvaget ("Remarques", 2–13) and by Creswell (*Architecture*, 513, 537–38) as denoting Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī in the Palmyrene steppe, which has two adjoining enclosures of Umayyad date. One of these, however, is a city and the other apparently a *khān*; for neither of them does the term *qaṣr* seem appropriate. Moreover, subsequent excavations on the site have revealed no traces of a Roman or Byzantine city (Grabar, *City*, 13). It seems preferable, therefore, to assume with Grabar that the Ruṣāfah mentioned by al-Ṭabarī is Ruṣāfat al-Shām/Sergiopolis, the major Byzantine city of northeastern Syria, situated in the desert some twenty-five miles south of the Euphrates. Cf. *EI*[1], "Al-Ruṣāfa" (E. Honigmann).

427. Khālid al-Qasrī.

428. *Ḥadā*: to urge on a camel by reciting verses to it in the *rajaz* meter. Cf. Lane, I, 532–33.

429. Abū al-Najm al-Faḍl (or al-Mufaḍḍal) b. Qudāmah al-'Ijlī was a well-known *rajaz* poet. He enjoyed particular success under Hishām. Cf. Sezgin, II, 371–72.

430. The text has *fī labinin*, "on bricks." An alternative reading could be *fī labanin*, "in milk."

should be given a present and then he rode off. Suddenly a fox appeared in front of him and he chased after it. He had not fol-
[1739] lowed it for more than a bow-shot's distance when his horse unseated him and he fell. They took him away dead. Hishām said: "By God, I had resolved to choose him for the caliphate but here he is, chasing after a fox!" Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām had with him the daughter of Ismāʿīl b. Jarīr and another woman. Hishām settled on each of them one-half of the eighth (i.e., their legal inheritance), namely, forty thousand (dīnārs).

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—ʿAlī (al-Madāʾinī)—Qaḥdam, Yūsuf's secretary: Yūsuf b. ʿUmar sent me to Hishām to take him a red ruby,[431] the sides of which were bigger than my palm, and a pearl as large as could be.[432] I went in to see Hishām and approached him, but I could not see his face because the couch was so long and there were so many cushions.[433] He reached out for the stone and the pearl and asked: "Did you bring papers indicating what weight they are?" I replied: "O Commander of the Faithful, they are too heavy for anyone to write down their weight. Where can the likes of them be found?" Hishām said: "You are right." The ruby had belonged to al-Rāʾiqah, the slave girl of Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh. She had bought it for seventy-three thousand dīnārs.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī[434]—Ḥusayn b. Yazīd—Shihāb b. ʿAbd Rabbihi—ʿAmr b. ʿAlī: I was walking along with Muḥammad b. ʿAlī[435] to his house, which was near the bathhouse, and I said to him: "Hishām's rule and authority have lasted a long time. It is nearly twenty years.

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431. According to another source, the ruby was one and one-half *qabḍahs* in length. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 101. The *qabḍah* was usually measured as one-sixth of a cubit. Cf. Hinz, 63.

432. The pearl weighed three and one-half *mithqāls*. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 101. For the weight of the *mithqāl* in various parts of the Islamic world, cf. Hinz, 1–7.

433. *Fursh*. This usually means "carpets." Given the common Sasanian royal custom of piling cushions one upon another beside the monarch as he reclined (Grabar, *Sasanian Silver*, plates 13–14) and Hishām's readiness to favor Persian culture and customs, it seems probable that he had adopted this aspect of Sasanian court ceremonial. Even if *fursh* were to be translated as "carpets," the context (and the Sasanian silver dishes published by Grabar) establishes that such carpets were being used as cushions in this instance.

434. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī (d. 236/850–51), was a traditionist. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, I, 967; Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 244, 246; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, III, 190, 210.

People say that Solomon asked his Lord to bestow on him sovereignty such as should not belong to any after him. They do claim that that period was twenty years."[436] Muḥammad b. 'Alī said: "I don't know what tales are current with the people, but my father told me on the authority of his father on the authority of 'Alī on the authority of the Prophet, who said: "God will not prolong the life of a king in a community (*ummah*)—in the event that he has been preceded by a prophet—for a period longer than the life of that prophet." [1740]

In this year al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān[437] became caliph after the death of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī: Al-Walīd became caliph on a Saturday in Rabī' II, 125[438] [February 1–March 2, 743]. According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī): Al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik acceded to the caliphate on Wednesday, the sixth of Rabī' II, 125 [Wednesday, February 6, 743]. 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī) concurred with Muḥammad b. 'Umar in this dating.

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435. Cf. n. 370.
436. An allusion to Qur'ān 38, v. 5.
437. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.
438. The possible Saturdays were February 2, 9, 16, or 23, 743.

The Caliphate of al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān

The Events of the Year 125 (cont'd)

(November 4, 742–October 24, 743)

Some of the Reasons Why al-Walīd Acceded to the Caliphate

I have already mentioned why al-Walīd's father, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, nominated al-Walīd to succeed to the caliphate after his (Yazīd's) brother, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. On the day when al-Walīd's father, Yazīd, appointed him (to succeed after Hishām), al-Walīd was eleven years old and Yazīd did not die until his son al-Walīd reached the age of fifteen. Later on, Yazīd regretted having nominated his brother Hishām as caliph. When [1741] he looked at his son al-Walīd, Yazīd would say: "It is God who stands between me and the one who put Hishām between me and you."[439] When Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik died, his son al-Walīd was

439. For the early life of al-Walīd II, cf. Gabrieli, "Al-Walīd"; Derenk, *Leben*, 27–38. Al-Walīd's father, Yazīd, had been persuaded in 101 (719) by Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik to nominate Hishām as caliph and that Yazīd's own son, al-Walīd, should be second successor. Yazīd may well have regretted this decision, but, as his exclamation here suggests, he regarded the arrangement as a solemn obligation before God which he could not change. Therefore Hishām had duly succeeded to the caliphate in 105 (724) and al-Walīd had to wait another nineteen years for his turn.

fifteen years old and Hishām became caliph. Hishām was generous, respectful, and kind toward al-Walīd and their relationship continued in that style until al-Walīd b. Yazīd began to show signs of wanton behavior and to drink wine.[440]

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—Juwayriyah b. Asmā', Isḥāq b. Ayyūb, 'Āmir b. al-Aswad,[441] and others: It was 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-'Alā al-Shabbānī,[442] the brother of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Alā,[443] who incited al-Walīd to act in this way. 'Abd al-Ṣamad was the tutor of al-Walīd. Al-Walīd also acquired drinking companions. Hishām wanted to keep them away from al-Walīd, so he put him in charge of the pilgrimage in 116 [January 8–13, 735].[444] Al-Walīd took with him some dogs[445] in boxes, one of which, according to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—his *shaykh*s whose names I have given—fell from the camel. In the box was a dog. People trained whips on the man who had hired out the camel and they beat him hard. Al-Walīd also took with him a domed canopy,[446] which had been made to the exact size of the Ka'bah so that he could place it over the Ka'bah. He also took wine with him. He wanted to erect the domed canopy over the Ka'bah and to sit in it.[447] His compan-

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440. For al-Walīd's relationship with Hishām, cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 102–03, 107–08; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 117, 282, 285; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 6–9.

441. 'Āmir b. Ḥafṣ, also known as Suḥaym b. Ḥafṣ (d. 190/806), was a prolific writer. Many fragments of his work are preserved in Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*. According to Ibn Durayd, he was the mawlā of the Banū al-'Ujayf. Cf. *Ishtiqāq*, 235. Cf. also Sezgin, II, 266–67; Rosenthal, 381.

442. Scabrous stories were rife about this man. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, II, 78; VI, 102, 104–05. His *nisbah*, which appears in the text as al-Shaybānī, is corrected by the editor to al-Shabbānī (*Add.*, p. DCCXI). The Cairo edition (209) has al-Shabbānī. bānī. Al-Balādhurī calls him 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-'Alā, al-Shā'ir ("the poet"). Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 6.

443. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Alā al-Shabbānī, the poet. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, I, 2064; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 111; XVI, 157.

444. The pilgrimage proper begins on the eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah and ends on the thirteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. In 116 A.H. these days correspond to January 8–13, 735. For corroboration of the year 116 (735), cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 377; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, II, 78; *Fragmenta*, 113; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 198; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 7.

445. Presumably for the hunt. The dog was ritually unclean. Cf. Smith, *Dogs*, p. xxix–xxx.

446. *Qubbah*. Cf. Ibn A'tham, VIII, 137; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 400.

447. Ibn al-Athīr (loc. cit.) and *Fragmenta* (loc. cit.) have "to drink wine in it."

ions frightened him off the idea and said: "We don't feel safe, either on your behalf or our own,[448] from what the people might do." So al-Walīd did not move the canopy [on to the Ka'bah]. Even so, the people saw him behaving in a contemptuous and flippant way toward religion, and Hishām came to hear about it. Hishām wanted to depose him (as his heir) and to have the oath of allegiance given to his son Maslamah b. Hishām. Hishām tried to [1742] persuade al-Walīd to annul the oath of allegiance sworn to him and to give it instead to Maslamah, but al-Walīd refused. Hishām then said to al-Walīd: "Give Maslamah the oath of allegiance (to succeed) after yourself," but this too al-Walīd refused to do. Thereafter Hishām changed his attitude toward al-Walīd and did him mischief. He took steps in secret to have the oath of allegiance given to his son, and a number of people complied with Hishām's request. Amongst those who did so were his maternal uncles, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of Hishām b. Ismā'īl al-Makhzūmī, and the sons of al-Qa'qā' b. Khulayd al-'Absī,[449] as well as others among Hishām's close followers.

Al-Walīd persisted in his wine-drinking and his pursuit of pleasure and he exceeded all due bounds. Hishām said to him: "Fie on you, Walīd! By God, I do not know whether you are for Islam or not. You commit every reprehensible action without feeling any shame or bothering to conceal it." So al-Walīd wrote Hishām the following poem:

O you who ask about our religion,
    we follow the religion of Abū Shākir.
We drink it (the wine) both pure and mixed,
    sometimes warmed and sometimes cooled.[450]

Hishām was furious with his son Maslamah, whose *kunyah* was Abū Shākir,[451] and he said to him: "Al-Walīd is making use of

448. Literally, "We do not feel safe for you or for us who are with you from the people."

449. For the history of this family, who were involved in several Umayyad succession disputes, cf. Crone, 105–06.

450. The meter is *sarī'*. For these verses, cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 102; *Fragmenta*, 114; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 198; Gabrieli, "al-Walīd," 46; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 7.

451. Maslamah had become friendly with al-Walīd and had joined in some of al-Walīd's hedonistic activities. Cf. al-Balādhurī, loc. cit. Al-Walīd's response involv-

you to mock me. To think I was rearing you for the caliphate! Behave in a civilized way and attend the collective prayer." Hishām put Maslamah in charge of the pilgrimage in 119 [December, 737].[452] Maslamah devoted himself to acts of religious devotion and behaved in a steady and gentle manner. He distributed money in Mecca and Medina, and a mawlā belonging to the Medinans recited the following lines:

O you who ask about our religion,
    we follow the religion of Abū Shākir.
The one who generously donates hairless horses[453] with their halters
    and who is neither a free-thinker[454] nor an unbeliever.

The poet was referring obliquely to al-Walīd.

The mother of Maslamah b. Hishām was Umm Ḥakīm,[455] the daughter of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ.[456] Al-Kumayt[457] recited as follows:

Verily the stakes (of the tent) of the caliphate will be transferred
    after al-Walīd to the son of Umm Ḥakīm.

[1743] Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī said: "I want nothing to do with a caliph whose *kunyah* is Abū Shākir." Maslamah b. Hishām was

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ing Maslamah is therefore particularly offensive to Hishām. For al-Walīd's affection and kind treatment toward his friend Maslamah, cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 103–04; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 286.

452. For Maslamah's leading the pilgrimage, cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 377.

453. *Al-jurda* ("horses endowed with fine hairs"). Cf. Freytag, *Lexicon*, 77. *Jurd* is the reading followed by *Fragmenta*, 114; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 7; and Ibn al-Athīr, V, 198. Al-Iṣfahānī has *al-buzla* (camels that have attained their full strength). Cf. *Aghānī* VI, 102; Lane, I, 200.

454. *Zindiq* is a difficult term to translate accurately since it is often used as a general term of abuse, as well as to denote Manichaeans and those of other "heretical" beliefs.

455. Umm Ḥakīm was famous for her beauty as her mother Zaynab bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān had been before her. Umm Ḥakīm was very fond of wine, a characteristic of hers that is recorded in verse by al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XV, 48.

456. The uncle of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik and governor of Palestine. Cf. Crone, 125.

457. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī (d. 126/743 or 127/744). Other verses of his are quoted in al-Ṭabarī, II, 1574–75. Cf. *EI*², "Kumayt b. Zayd" (J. Horovitz/ C. Pellat); Sezgin, II, 347–49; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVII, 40; XV, 113. The meter is *kāmil*.

furious with Khālid, and so when Asad b. 'Abdallāh,[458] the brother of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, died, Abū Shākir (Maslamah) wrote to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, sending a poem in which Nawfal[459] lampooned Khālid and his brother Asad:[460]

May a Lord who has given the people respite from Asad
liberate them from Khālid by destroying him too!
As for his father, he was of impure lineage,
a low-born slave who was himself begotten of slaves with stunted limbs.[461]

Maslamah sent a scroll by postal courier to Khālid. Khālid thought that it contained a message of condolence on the death of his brother. He broke the seal but found in the scroll nothing but the lampooning verses. Then he said: "Never have I seen condolences like those I have received today."[462]

Hishām used to criticize and denigrate al-Walīd. He frequently scoffed at al-Walīd and his friends and often pointed out his faults. When al-Walīd realized what Hishām's attitude was he went away, accompanied by some of his retinue and his mawlās, and lived in al-Azraq between the territory of the Balqayn[463] and the Fazārah[464] at a watering-place called al-Aghdaf.[465] Al-Walīd

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458. Cf. n. 1116.

459. The text has Nawfal. This is later emended to Yaḥyā b. Nawfal; cf. *Add.*, p. DCCXI. The poet's *nisbah* was al-Ḥimyarī. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, II, 149; III, 138; XIV, 57.

460. The repetition of the phrase "when he (Asad) died" has been omitted in the translation.

461. *Li-a'budin qufudi. Qufud* is used here instead of *qufd*, the plural of *aqfad*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDXXX. *'Abdun aqfadu:* "a slave having rigid and contracted arms and legs, with short fingers and toes." Cf. *Lisān*, III, 135. The meter of these lines is *munsariḥ*.

462. For a discussion of this incident, cf. Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 22–23, n. 3. These verses in a longer form are given in Ibn al-Athīr, V, 162. Cf. also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 8.

463. Balqayn is a contraction of the name Banū al-Qayn. The Balqayn were a subgroup of the Quḍā'ah. Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Les Pays*, 175; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 455; *EI*², "Al-Ḳayn" (W. M. Watt).

464. The Fazārah were a subgroup of the Dhubyān. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 246.

465. On the topographical problems presented by this passage, cf. Gabrieli, "al-Walīd," 6, n. 4. Gabrieli translates the Arabic *fa-nazala bi-al-Azraq bayna arḍi Balqayn wa-Fazārah 'alā mā'in yuqālu lahu al-Aghdaf* as "e ando a stabilirsi . . . ad al-Azraq, tra la terra dei Balqayn e dei Fazarah, sul fiumicello al-Aghdaf." The problem which Gabrieli sets out clearly is that elsewhere al-Azraq and al-Aghdaf

left behind at al-Ruṣāfah his scribe 'Iyāḍ b. Muslim, the mawlā of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and he said to 'Iyāḍ: "Write to me about whatever is going on where you are." Al-Walīd took with him 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-'Alā. They were drinking one day, and
[1744] when the wine began to have an effect on them al-Walīd said to 'Abd al-Ṣamad: "Abū Wahb, recite some verses". So 'Abd al-Ṣamad recited the following:[466]

Did you not see how the star, the moment that it ceased to shine,[467]
went hurrying back to its mansion?
In confusion it strayed from its proper path,
and having arrived at its place of setting,[468] it sought its place of rising.
I said, having marvelled at its activity
and with burgeoning hope as it appeared,
"Perhaps the reign of al-Walīd has drawn near,
now that the time has become auspicious.
We have been hoping that he would rule,
just as the owner of barren land hopes that it will become verdant.
We have made the firmest plans[469] for him
with all our hearts, since he is a worthy repository for them."[470]

The poem was recited (in other places) and Hishām came to hear

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are shown to be in two distinctly separate localities. Al-Azraq is a citadel in the Wādī Sirḥān, 27 km from Quṣayr 'Amrah. Cf. Dussaud, 21, 81, 136, 175; Creswell, I, 405–06. Al-Aghdaf has been identified as Qaṣr al-Ṭūbah, 61 km south of al-Azraq. Cf. Derenk, 121; Gabrieli, loc. cit. The account of al-Balādhurī is clear: "He (al-Walīd) settled in al-Azraq." *Ansāb* (Derenk), 10.

466. This episode and the verses that follow are recounted by al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 104–05. Cf. also *Fragmenta*, 116; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 11.

467. *Shuyyi'ā*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 105 has *sab'ā*.

468. *Al-Ghawr*. This term also denotes the low-lying area of Jordan where al-Walīd liked to spend his time.

469. *Muḥkamāti al-umūri*. The variant reading in the apparatus and in *Fragmenta*, 116 also makes good sense: *muḥkamāti al-'uhūdī*, "the firmest oaths."

470. The meter is *mutaqārib*. The tenor of these lines indicates that they probably date from the time when al-Walīd still enjoyed Hishām's favor to the full, a theory corroborated by their immediate sequel. This was probably the time, too, that al-Farazdaq wrote his panegyric to al-Walīd as crown prince. Cf. Hell, 37–65.

of it. He stopped the regular allowance he paid to al-Walīd and he wrote to him as follows: "I have heard that you have taken 'Abd al-Ṣamad as friend, confidant, and drinking companion. As far as I am concerned, that just confirms what I have already heard about you. Moreover, I do not find you blameless in any wickedness (that has been done). Send 'Abd al-Ṣamad away in disgrace."[471] Al-Walīd therefore sent 'Abd al-Ṣamad away, and he recited the following verses about him:

They have accused Abū Wahb of a great sin—
no indeed, of one far greater than great!
I testify that they have lied against him,
with the testimony of one knowledgeable and with long experience of them.[472]

Al-Walīd wrote to Hishām telling him that he had sent 'Abd al-Ṣamad away, and he apologized for what Hishām had heard about his drinking companion.[473] He then asked Hishām if he would permit Ibn Suhayl to join him. Ibn Suhayl was a Yamanī who had [1745] governed Damascus on more than one occasion,[474] and he was among al-Walīd's close circle of friends. Hishām, however, flogged Ibn Suhayl and sent him away. Hishām then seized 'Iyāḍ b. Muslim, al-Walīd's scribe, as he had heard that 'Iyāḍ was sending information to al-Walīd. He gave him a severe flogging and made him wear coarse cloth. When al-Walīd heard about this he exploded: "Who can trust anybody? What's the point of doing good to others? My father preferred this accursed cross-eyed man to the members of his own family and he made him his heir. Now you see how he treats me. As soon as he finds out that I have become attached to someone, he trifles with him. He wrote to me asking me to send 'Abd al-Ṣamad away, so I sent him away. Then I

471. Al-Balādhurī is more explicit: "Bring 'Abd al-Ṣamad to me with my messenger." Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 11.

472. The meter is *wāfir*. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 105; *Fragmenta*, 116; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 11.

473. *Munādamatihi* ("the person(s) with whom he drank"). The subsequent fate of 'Abd al-Ṣamad is recorded in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 11 and *Fragmenta*, 116–17. Hishām sent him and his brother to Yūsuf b. 'Umar, who walled them up in a room where they died of thirst.

474. Al-Balādhurī adds that he may have been head of the *shurṭah* in Damascus. Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 12.

wrote to him asking him to allow Ibn Suhayl to come and join me. So he beat Ibn Suhayl and sent him away, although he knew how highly I thought of him.[475] He found out how attached 'Iyāḍ b. Muslim is to me and that he is under my protection. He knew that I have a high regard for him and that he is my scribe. So he beat him and imprisoned him, just to harm me. O God, protect me from him!"[476] Then al-Walīd recited as follows:

It is I who[477] warn the man who would constantly bestow favor
on people of dubious character,[478] not having experienced their faithlessness.
If you treat them with honor, you will find them insolently ungrateful;[479]
if you treat them with contempt, you will find them tractable.
How can you exalt yourself above us when we are the very source of your prosperity?
Just you wait until[480] fortune veers in our favor.
Look around, and if the only likeness you can find
for him is that of a dog,[481] then try that![482]
[1746] His master fattens him up for the hunt
until he has grown strong,[483] after his formerly emaciated state,
And thereupon the dog attacks him—and although that assault fails to harm him,
if he were able to devour him, he would do so.[484]

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475. *Ra'yī fīhī* ("my (good) opinion about him"). Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCLV.
476. For Hishām's treatment of 'Iyāḍ b. Muslim, cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 105; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 12.
477. Literally, "I am the warner who."
478. *Al-maqārīf*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDXX.
479. *Buṭur*: plural of *baṭūr*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CXXXVI.
480. Literally, "You will find out when."
481. Cf. n. 350.
482. The text has *fa-uḍrubhu*. This is emended to *fa-aḍribhu* by Gabrieli, "Al-Walīd," 54.
483. *Nawā*. Al-Iṣfahānī has *istawā*; cf. *Aghānī*, V, 105.
484. The meter is *basīṭ*. There is a strong possibility that some of the last few lines (1746, 11.1–4) are out of order here. The version of al-Balādhurī is more coherent, incorporating parts of al-Ṭabarī's version: *baynā yusamminuhā li-al-*

Al-Walīd wrote the following letter to Hishām:[485]

I have heard what cuts the Commander of the Faithful has made in my income and how he has ruined my friends, my women, and my family. I had never thought that God would thus test the Commander of the Faithful nor that he (Hishām) would thus defame me. Even if Ibn Suhayl did behave in that way,[486] it would be like the ass presuming to think it is as good as the wolf.[487] My kind actions toward Ibn Suhayl, my favorable treatment of him, and my letter to the Commander of the Faithful about him do not deserve the extreme measures taken by the Commander of the Faithful in breaking off relations with me. But if this has come about because of something specific in the mind of the Commander of the Faithful against me, (let him remember that) the succession which God decreed for me, the span of life which He ordained for me, and the substance which He allotted to me are matters which nobody apart from God can ever diminish by one jot from their appointed term; nor can anyone change their allotted times in any way. For the irreversible decree of God (*qadar*) runs according to His predetermined decisions, irrespective of the wishes of men.[488] There is no way to delay Him when He hastens and there is no hastening of His allotted span.[489] In such a situation, the sins that men under God commit are against themselves and because of them they [1747] deserve punishment. The Commander of the Faithful is the person in his community best fitted to perceive this and

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ṣaydi ṣāḥibuhu 'adā 'alayhi falaw yastaṭī'uhu aklā ("while his master is fattening him up for the hunt, he attacks him and, if he could, he would eat [him]"). Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 13.

485. For other versions of this letter, cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 106–07; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 13–14. For a detailed analysis of the various textual and translation problems connected with this letter and Hishām's reply, cf. Appendix 1.

486. "Even if Ibn Suhayl were as the Commander of the Faithful made him out to be"; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, loc. cit.

487. "It would be enough for the ass (i.e., Ibn Suhayl) merely to approach the wolf (Hishām)" (in order to be devoured); al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, loc. cit.

488. Literally, "whether people like it or dislike it."

489. Literally, "there is no delaying of His hastening and no hastening of His allotted span."

should be the one most mindful of it. May God be the One who directs the Commander of the Faithful to good judgments in his conduct of affairs!

Hishām inquired of Abū Zubayr: "Nasṭās,[490] do you think that the people will be satisfied with al-Walīd if anything happens to me?" Nasṭās said: "Rather, may God prolong your life, O Commander of the Faithful!" Hishām retorted: "Fie on you! Death is an inevitable fact. So do you think that the people will be satisfied with al-Walīd?" Nasṭās said: "O Commander of the Faithful, an oath of allegiance to al-Walīd is already obligatory for the people." Thereupon Hishām replied: "If the people are satisfied with al-Walīd, I can only think that the popular dictum 'anyone who is caliph for three days will not enter the fire' is false."

Hishām then wrote to al-Walīd as follows:[491]

The Commander of the Faithful has understood what you have written about the cuts he has imposed on you and about other matters. The Commander of the Faithful asks pardon from God for the allowance he used to give you. The Commander of the Faithful is more afraid for his own soul because of the wrong he has done against himself in giving you the allowance he gave you than because he has made the cuts he has made and ruined those of your companions whom he has ruined. This is for two reasons. The first is that the Commander of the Faithful gave you preferential treatment in the allowance he bestowed on you, even though he knew what your attitude toward it was and that you spent it in an inappropriate way.[492] The second reason is that he made much of your friends and gave them lavish allowances (too). They do not have to put up with the kind of setbacks that the Mus-
[1748] lims undergo every year when the campaigns are curtailed. Your friends remain in your company and you drag them off

490. Naṣṭās was the freedman of Ṣafwān b. Umayyah; the name is obviously an arabicized form of the Greek name Anastasios. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 103.

491. For other versions of Hishām's letter, cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 107–08; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 14–15. For a discussion of textual and translation problems in this letter, cf. Appendix 1.

492. Al-Balādhurī has: "even though he knew the places where you put it and that you were spending it on the path of disobedience." Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 14.

with you in your folly. The Commander of the Faithful feels that it is more fitting for him to impose cuts on you and to give you only a bare minimum rather than to exceed the proper limits with you in this matter. But God has supported the Commander of the Faithful in the cuts that he has imposed on you, which he has made in the hope of His forgiveness for what he dreads may result from his previous actions in this matter.[493]

As for Ibn Suhayl, by my life, if he enjoyed the special position he had with you, and he was worthy of your affection,[494] God would not have made him as he is. Is Ibn Suhayl—for goodness' sake![495]—anything more than a singer and dancer, whose foolishness knows no bounds? Moreover, Ibn Suhayl is no worse than any other of the characters whom you choose as your companions in those activities which, out of nobility, the Commander of the Faithful refrains from mentioning but for which you, by God's life! would be worthy of censure. If you think that the Commander of the Faithful is eager to make trouble for you, then that would release you from any family obligation[496] because of the evil inclinations of the Commander of the Faithful in that matter. As for that which you said God has ordained for you, it was God who gave the Commander of the Faithful precedence in that respect and He chose him for it, and verily God attains His purpose.[497] The Commander of the Faithful has come to the firm conviction[498] that it is not for his own profit that he possesses what God in His goodness has given

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493. I.e., Hishām fears God's anger for his former generosity toward al-Walīd and his friends.

494. Literally, "and he was worthy that you should be pleased about him or displeased."

495. It is difficult to find an appropriate translation for *lillāhi abūka*, an expression that denotes wonder and praise. Cf. Lane, I, 11.

496. The text has *bi-ghayri illin* ("without a compact"). The Cairo edition (VII, 214) has *bi-ghayri ālin* ("without family [obligation]"). This latter reading has been used in the translation.

497. Qur'ān 65, v. 3.

498. The text has *wa-huwa 'alā al-yaqīni min rabbihi* . . . ("he is sure from his Lord . . ."), as does al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 15. Al-Iṣfahānī's version (loc. cit.) makes better sense: *wa-huwa 'alā al-yaqīni min ra'yihi* ("he is firm in his opinion").

him—for the attainment of either evil or good—but that it is only a trust to him from God and that it is inevitable that he must (eventually) relinquish it. God is too merciful and compassionate to His servants to entrust command over them to one of them—no matter who—that is not pleasing to Him. Indeed, the Commander of the Faithful, because of his high [1749] regard for his Lord, is extremely hopeful that He will give him the task of delivering that office to one who is acceptable to Him and to them. Indeed, God's goodness to the Commander of the Faithful far exceeds his ability to describe it or to render Him sufficient thanks, except by God's own help. If He has decreed an imminent death for the Commander of the Faithful, there is in that place to which he is ultimately traveling, if God wills and by the goodness of God, a replacement for this earthly life. By my life, the content of your letter to the Commander of the Faithful is fully in accord with your foolishness and stupidity. So restrain yourself from committing excesses and be moderate in your actions. To God belong chastisements and mighty power. He strikes therewith those of His servants whom He wishes,[499] and He inclines his ear to those of His servants whom He wishes. The Commander of the Faithful implores God for protection and for right direction toward those things that are dearest and most pleasing to Him.

Al-Walīd wrote the following reply to Hishām:

I have seen you sparing no effort to erect a barrier between you and me;
(whereas) if you possessed a grain of intelligence,[500] you would demolish what you have built.
You sow a crop of hatred against those still alive;
woe to them, when you die, from the evil harvest you have garnered!
I can imagine them saying at best, "If only we were"
but by then "if only we were" will be of no avail.

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499. There is an echo here of Qur'ān 7, v. 156: *'adhābī uṣību bihi man ashā'u* ("I smite with My punishment whom I will").

You have spurned the hand of one who offers kindness. If you had taken it, [1750]
the Compassionate One, the possessor of grace and beneficence, would have rewarded you for it.[501]

Al-Walīd continued to live in that desert until Hishām died. On the morning of the day that al-Walīd became caliph[502] he sent for Abū al-Zubayr al-Mundhir b. Abī 'Amr. The latter came to al-Walīd, who said to him: "Abū Zubayr! As far back as I can remember I have never spent a longer night than last night. During the night I was assailed with anxieties and I kept thinking about things connected with the rule of that man (meaning Hishām). He has evil designs on me.[503] Come riding with us and let's get some air." So they went riding. After going two *mīls*,[504] al-Walīd stopped at a sandy hill and began complaining about Hishām. Then suddenly he saw a cloud of dust and he exclaimed: "These are messengers from Hishām. Let us pray to God that they bring good news." Then two men on post-horses hove into sight; one of them was a mawlā of Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī and the other was Jardabah. When they came nearer they went toward al-Walīd, dismounted, ran up to him, and greeted him as caliph. Al-Walīd was struck dumb with amazement. Jardabah began to repeat his salutation to him as caliph, so al-Walīd said: "Steady on! Are you telling me that Hishām is dead?" Jardabah said: "Yes." So al-Walīd asked: "Who sent your letter?" Jardabah replied: "Your mawlā, Sālim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the master of the chancellery." Al-Walīd read the letter and the two men turned to leave. Then

500. *Fa-law kunta dhā irbin.* Al-Iṣfahānī (loc. cit.) has *fa-law kunta dhā hazmin* ("if you had any determination/judgment"). *Fragmenta*, 117, has . . . *dhā 'aqlin* ("if you had any intelligence").

501. For these verses, cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 104; *Fragmenta*, 117–18; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 15 (only part of the verses); Ibn al-Athīr, V, 199; Gabrieli, "al-Walīd," 60–61. The meter is *ṭawīl*. In the *Aghānī* the verses occur in a different context, namely, when Hishām is attempting to depose al-Walīd and make his own son his heir.

502. For similar accounts of the way in which al-Walīd heard of Hishām's death, cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, (Derenk), 20–21; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 108; Ibn A'tham, VIII, 139.

503. *Qad awla'a bī:* i.e., Hishām wishes al-Walīd dead.

504. Two *mīls*: approximately 4 km. Cf. Hinz, 63.

al-Walīd called back the mawlā of Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī and asked him about his secretary, 'Iyāḍ b. Muslim. The mawlā said: "O Commander of the Faithful, he stayed in prison until
[1751] God's decree struck Hishām. When Hishām reached a point where he was no longer expected to recover, 'Iyāḍ sent a message to the storekeepers asking them to keep hold of what they had in their possession and saying that on no account should anyone remove anything.[505] Hishām recovered consciousness and asked for something, but they refused to let him have it. Then Hishām said: 'So it seems that we have been storekeepers for al-Walīd!' and he died shortly afterwards. 'Iyāḍ came out of prison, sealed the doors of the storehouses, and gave orders concerning Hishām. Hishām was taken from his bed, but people could not find a container in which to warm the water to wash him and they actually had to ask to borrow one. Nor could they procure a shroud from the storehouses. So Ghālib, the mawlā of Hishām, found him a shroud."

Al-Walīd wrote to al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān,[506] telling him to go to al-Ruṣāfah to estimate what possessions and how many sons Hishām had there and to arrest his agents and dependents, except for Maslamah b. Hishām. In the case of Maslamah, al-Walīd wrote to al-'Abbās saying that he should not interfere with him nor should anyone enter his house, for Maslamah had often begged his father to show leniency in regard to al-Walīd and had made Hishām refrain from taking steps against him. So al-'Abbās went to al-Ruṣāfah and carried out the written instructions that al-Walīd had given him. Then he wrote to al-Walīd informing him that he had arrested Hishām's sons and dependents and that he had counted Hishām's possessions. Al-Walīd responded as follows:[507]

Would that Hishām were alive to see
his capacious milking pail topped up!

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505. In an earlier version of this story (cf. p. 72) the closing of the treasury occurred after the death of Hishām, not before.

506. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

507. For some of these lines, cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 22. The meter is *sarī'*.

Al-Walīd recited:[508]

Would that Hishām had lived to see [1752]
his capacious corn-measure sealed up.
We have meted out to him the same measure that he meted
out (to us before),
and we have not deprived him of a single ounce of it.[509]
It was not out of innovation that we did so,
but the Distinguishing Book[510] fully permitted it to us.

Al-Walīd appointed agents, and (letters giving him) the oath of allegiance reached him from far-flung areas. The agents wrote to him and delegations came to him. Marwān b. Muḥammad wrote to him as follows:[511]

> May God's blessing[512] be on the Commander of the Faithful in the command of His servants and the inheritance of His lands which He has bestowed on him! It was because Hishām was overwhelmed by the submerging flood[513] brought on by the intoxication of power that he was induced to attempt to diminish those rights of the Commander of the Faithful which God had magnified. He sought to achieve something that was too difficult for him. People of unsound opinions and beliefs responded to him in that, but they also found[514] what he desired too difficult. It was then that he buckled under the full weight of the decrees of God.

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508. For these verses (with minor variants), cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 109; *Fragmenta*, 121, Ibn al-Athīr, V, 200; Gabrieli, "al-Walīd," 49–50. The meter is *sarī'*.

509. Cf. Qur'ān 4, v. 44; 11, vv. 85–86.

510. *Al-furqān:* "the Criterion of right and wrong." Cf. Qur'ān 2, v. 53. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 22, and *Fragmenta*, 121, have "*al-Qur'ān.*"

511. Marwān b. Muḥammad was the cousin of al-Walīd's father and later was to become the last Umayyad caliph. He had served on the frontier in Armenia. For a good summary of his career, cf. Schönig, 7. Cf. also n. 4.

512. For other versions of this letter, cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 35–36; *Fragmenta*, 124–25.

513. Cf. Qur'ān 23, v. 56: *fa-dharhum fī ghamratihim* ("therefore leave them in [the submerging flood of] their ignorance"). Cf. also Qur'ān 23, v. 65; 51, v. 11.

514. *Fa-wajadū* ("they found"). The apparatus has a variant, *fa-wajada* ("he found"), which is adopted also by the Cairo edition (VII, 216). This makes better sense.

The Commander of the Faithful (i.e., al-Walīd) was in a place of God's protection until the time when He girded him with the noblest belt of the caliphate. He has assumed responsibility for matters which God has judged him competent to decide, and he stands confirmed in absolute control of the charge which has been laid upon him. Previous revelations[515] have foretold the appointed span of his rule. God has singled him out from His creatures to rule, for He sees their circumstances. God has invested him with the caliphal ornament hanging around his neck and has bestowed on him the reins of the caliphate and the torque[516] of authority. Praise be
[1753] to God Who has chosen the Commander of the Faithful for His caliphate and to maintain the firm foundations of His religion![517] He has preserved him from the evil designs of the wicked;[518] and He has elevated him and has brought them low. Anyone who persists in such base actions[519] destroys his soul and angers his Lord, but anyone whom repentance directs to the true course, abstaining from what is wrong and turning to what is right, will find God ever disposed to forgive and be merciful.

I should like to inform the Commander of the Faithful, may God's beneficence be upon him, that when I heard about his accession to God's caliphate I mounted my pulpit, holding two swords in readiness against any mischief-makers. I announced to the people in front of me the favor that God had conferred on them in appointing the Commander of the Faithful. At this they rejoiced and said: "No other caliphal accession has filled us with greater hope or made us more joyful than the accession of the Commander of the Faithful." I had already stretched out my hand to give the oath of allegiance to you. Now I renewed it and confirmed it with weighty convenants, repeated pledges, and strong oaths.

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515. *Al-zubur.*
516. *'Iṣam* is the plural of *'uṣmah* ("collar").
517. *Wathā'iqi 'urā dīnihi.*
518. Cf. Qur'ān 12, v. 76; 21, v. 58; 86, v. 16.
519. *Al-khasīsah min al-umūri.* Al-Balādhurī has *al-khaṭī'ah* ("crime, sin"): *Ansāb* (Derenk), 35.

Thereafter, all of them gave excellent and obedient responses.

O Commander of the Faithful, reward them for their obedience from the wealth of God which He has given you, for you are the most generous and open-handed of men! They have been waiting for you, hoping that you would reveal your bounty toward them because of the close ties of kinship that they claim with you. Show more generosity toward them than your predecessors did, so that your preference for them over your other subjects may thus be made manifest.[520] Were it not for the efforts I am making to guard the frontier where I now am, I fear that my strong yearning for the Commander of [1754] the Faithful would lead me to appoint a deputy against his orders and to come in person to see the Commander of the Faithful face to face, for there is no pleasure, however great it might be, which would equal that for me. If the Commander of the Faithful thinks it appropriate to allow me to travel to him so that I may speak of matters which I do not want to put in writing, then let him do so.

When al-Walīd came to power he made provision for the cripples and blind amongst the people of Syria. He gave them clothing and ordered that each of them should have a servant. He made available perfume and clothing among those with large families to support[521] and he increased what Hishām had given them. He augmented the stipend for everyone by ten dirhams and then, after that increase of ten, he made a further increase of ten for the Syrians in particular.[522] He doubled the allowances of those of his family who came asking for his help. When al-Walīd had been heir-apparent, he used to give food to those who came to him on their way back from the summer campaign. At a staging-post called Zīzā'[523] he would also feed for a period of three days people

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520. *Wa-zidhum ziyādatan yufḍalu bihā man kāna qablaka ḥattā yaẓhara faḍluka 'alayhim 'alā ra'iyyatika.* Here the Cairo edition (217) adds a *wa*: *ḥattā yaẓhara faḍluka 'alayhim wa-'alā ra'iyyatika* ("so that your favor to them and your subjects may be manifest").

521. Cf. Ibn A'tham, VIII, 139.

522. Cf. Wellhausen, 353.

523. Zīzā' was a large village, one of the stages on the *ḥajj* route. It was in the Balqā' province. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 554.

returning from the pilgrimage. He would give fodder to their riding animals and would refuse nothing that was asked of him. People used to say to him: "If you (just) say 'Let me see,' it is a promise with which the suppliant will be satisfied."[524] Al-Walīd replied: "I do not train my tongue to say anything that I am not accustomed to doing."

Al-Walīd recited the following:[525]

I guarantee to you, if no obstacles hinder me,
that the cloud of affliction will be lifted from you.
Soon both augmentation and increase,
as well as gifts, will be bestowed on you by me.
[1755] Sacred (to me) is your register in which
each month scribes write down and seal your grants.

In this year al-Walīd b. Yazīd had the oath of allegiance given to his two sons, al-Ḥakam and 'Uthmān, so that they should succeed him, and he made them both his heirs, one after the other, putting al-Ḥakam before 'Uthmān. Al-Walīd wrote letters on this matter to the garrison cities, and one of the people to whom he wrote about this was Yūsuf b. 'Umar, who was at that time al-Walīd's agent in Iraq. Yūsuf b. 'Umar wrote to Naṣr b. Sayyār about this and the text of the letter to him was as follows:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Yūsuf b. 'Umar to Naṣr b. Sayyār. And now to our subject. I have sent 'Aqqāl b. Shabbah al-Tamīmī and 'Abd al-Malik al-Qaynī to bring you a copy of the letter from the Commander of the Faithful in which he wrote informing those under my authority that he has appointed his sons, al-Ḥakam and 'Uthmān, as his heirs after him.[526] I have given orders to 'Aqqāl and 'Abd al-Malik to expatiate on this matter with you. When they reach you, gather the people together to hear the reading of the letter from the Commander of the Faithful. Give orders that people should be brought together

524. *Inna fī qawlīka anẓuru 'idatan mā yuqīmu 'alayhā al-ṭālibu.* The translation is only tentative.

525. The meter is *ṭawīl.* For these verses, cf. also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 26; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī,* VI, 111; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 201.

526. The word order in the Arabic is very unwieldy and has been changed around in the translation.

for it and perform with them what the Commander of the Faithful has written. When you have finished, have the letter read out and allow those who want to speak to do so. Then have the people give the oath of allegiance to the two sons of al-Walīd in God's name and blessing. Exact oaths from them according to what I have copied for you at the end of this letter of mine, (which is taken) from what the Commander of the Faithful wrote to us in his letter. Explain it and have the [1756] oath of allegiance given on that basis. We ask God to bless the Commander of the Faithful and his subjects in what He has decreed for them through the words of the Commander of the Faithful. We ask God to set al-Ḥakam and 'Uthmān on the right path and to bless them and us through them. Greetings to you.

Al-Naḍr[527] wrote on a Thursday, in the middle of Sha'bān 125 [Thursday, June 13, 742]:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, give the oath of allegiance to the servant of God, al-Walīd, the Commander of the Faithful, and to al-Ḥakam, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, if he outlives him, and to 'Uthmān, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, if he outlives al-Ḥakam, to heed and to obey. And if anything should happen to either of them, the Commander of the Faithful will appoint as his successor someone from amongst his sons or subjects, giving precedence to whom he wishes and holding back whom he wishes. In this matter the oath and covenant of God are binding upon you.

A poet recited the following lines about this matter:[528]

We have high expectations of 'Uthmān, after al-Walīd,
or of al-Ḥakam, and then we hope for Sa'īd,
Just as when Yazīd was in power
he used to have hopes for al-Walīd.[529]

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527. The identity of this person is not clear. He may be al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, who is mentioned in the company of Hishām. Cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, III, 17, 19.

528. For these verses, cf. *Fragmenta*, 131. The meter is *mutaqārib*.

529. *Nu'ammilu 'Uthmāna ba'da al-Walīdi li'l-'ahdi fīnā wa-narjū Yazīdan* ("We are hoping for 'Uthmān after al-Walīd to rule among us and we hope for

But the caliphate became too remote (from us),
so we hope that it will return to what it was before,
And if it does return, then satisfy the
near relative with it,[530] so that the distant one will despair of it.

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—his *shaykhs* whom I have already mentioned: 'Aqqāl b. Shabbah and 'Abd al-Malik b. Nu'aym came to see Naṣr and they brought the letter, which read as follows:[531]

Now to our subject. Verily God, may His names be blessed, His praise be made glorious and all reference to Him be exalt-
[1757] ed, made Islam the religion of His choice and He created Islam as the best thing for the chosen of His creatures.[532] Then He chose messengers from amongst angels and men.[533] He sent them forth with His message (Islam) and gave them orders concerning it. And between them and the nations which succeeded each other and throughout the centuries which elapsed in turn (there was conflict), but they would (still) summon men to what is better[534] and call them to a straight path. This continued until the grace of God culminated in His calling of Muḥammad, may the blessings of God

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Yazīd"). For the second hemistich, the version in *Fragmenta*, 131, makes better sense in the context: *aw Ḥakaman thumma narjū Sa'īdan* ("or Ḥakam, then we hope for Sa'īd"). Al-Walīd had fifteen sons, one of whom was Sa'īd. Cf. the discussion of al-Walīd's family, listing primary sources, in H. 'Aṭwān, *Al-Walīd b. Yazīd: 'arḍun wa-naqḍun* (Beirut, 1981), 90–91. The Cairo edition (VII, 219) has *nubā'ī* for *nu'ammilu*.

530. *Fa-awṣī al-qarība 'anhā* ("bequeath it to the near relative[?]"). The Cairo edition (VII, 219) has *fa-arḍī al-qarība 'anhā*. With *awṣā*, the normal preposition would be *bi*. The version in the Cairo edition based on one manuscript reading is better grammatically and has been preferred here.

531. For a full discussion of the background and significance of this letter, cf. Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 116–18. They provide an annotated translation of the letter, 118–26. A longer discussion of this letter is to be found in Appendix 2.

532. *Wa-ja'alahu khayra khiyaratihi*. The apparatus (BM and O) has *dīn* for *khayr*, as does the Cairo edition, 219. Crone and Hinds, 118, prefer this reading: "he has made it the religion of the chosen ones of His creation."

533. Cf. Qur'ān 35, v. 1.

534. The syntax of this passage is faulty and it is clear that some words have been omitted. The missing words must refer to the succession of prophets whose message was ignored by their own people and on whom God inflicted His punishments. The words in brackets in the translation are purely hypothetical.

be upon him, to prophethood, at a time when knowledge had passed beyond recall,[535] when blindness afflicted the people, when disunity was rife with men following their own personal inclinations,[536] when faction had made people take divergent paths and when the signs of the truth had become obliterated. (It was at such a time that) God made the right way clear by means of Muḥammad; by him He dispelled the darkness[537] and by him He brought deliverance from error and destruction. By him He made religion flourish[538] and He caused him to be a blessing for His creatures.[539] By him He set the seal on His revelation. In Muḥammad, God accumulated the bounties which He had bestowed on the prophets who had preceded him. He made him follow in their footsteps, reaffirming and embracing all that He had revealed through them, summoning to it and commanding by it.

In due course there emerged those of His community who responded to Muḥammad's call and adopted the religion which God had graciously bestowed on them. They were able to confirm the truth of the message preached by earlier prophets of God which their own people had rejected as false[540] and to accept the good counsels of those prophets which (once) they used to spurn. So they defended their sacred things which once they had violated and exalted that which they used to belittle. There was no member of the community of Muḥammad who, having been made to listen to anyone denying any of God's prophets through the message which God had entrusted to him, speaking disparagingly about him or harming him by treating him contemptuously or giving him the lie, denying what God had revealed through [1758]
him, did not consider it to be licit to shed his blood and to

535. Literally, "had become effaced."

536. *Tashtitin min al-hawā:* Literally, "a state of disunion from (following) divergent inclinations."

537. Literally, "blindness."

538. *Wa-abhaja bihi al-dīna.* Crone and Hinds read *anhaja* ("He elucidated the religion through him"). Cf. *God's Caliph,* 119. Their reading follows Ṣafwat, *Rasā'il,* II, 448.

539. *Raḥmatan li'l-'ālamīn.* Cf. Qur'ān 21, v. 107. Cf. also Qur'ān 3, v. 8; 11, v. 28; 44, v. 5.

540. Literally, "in that in which their people used to call them liars."

break the bonds that existed between them, even if he were his father, son or fellow tribesman.

Then God appointed His caliphs to follow in the path of Muḥammad's prophetic ministry, after He had taken His prophet unto Himself, and (after) He had sealed His revelation by Muḥammad, in order that His rule should be accomplished, His *sunnah* and His penalties established, and His precepts and laws adopted. This was done so that, by His caliphs, God might confirm Islam, by them He might consolidate its sway,[541] by them He might strengthen its ties,[542] by them He might safeguard its sanctities,[543] (and) by them He might administer justice amongst His servants and might maintain the common weal in His lands. For God, most blessed and glorious, says: "And if God had not repelled some men by others the earth would have been corrupted. But God is a Lord of Kindness to (His) creatures."[544]

The caliphs of God succeeded each other as sovereigns over that which God had made them inherit from His prophets and that which He had entrusted to them. No one contests the right of the caliphs without God striking him down; no one abandons their commonality[545] without God destroying him; no one treats their authority lightly and challenges the decree of God vested in them without God granting them mastery and power over such a person and making an example of him and a warning to others. Thus does God deal with those who forsake the obedience to which God has called them and which He has commanded to be adopted and observed and by which the heavens and the earth are sustained. God, may He be blessed and glorified, said: "Then turned He to the heaven when it was smoke, and said unto it and unto
[1759] the earth: Come both of you, willingly or loth." They said: "We come, obedient."[546] God, may the utterance of His

541. The text has *tashyīdan*. The apparatus has *tashdīdan*, which is better.
542. Literally, "the strengthening of His rope."
543. *Daf'an bi-him 'an ḥarīmihi:* literally, "fending (people) off from its (Islām's) or His (God's) forbidden things."
544. Cf. Qur'ān 2, v. 251.
545. *Jamā'ah.*
546. Cf. Qur'ān 41, v. 11.

name be glorified, also said: "And when thy Lord said unto the angels: 'Lo! I am about to place a viceroy in the earth,' they said: 'Wilt Thou place therein one who will do harm therein and will shed blood, while we, we hymn Thy praise and sanctify Thee?' He said: 'Surely I know that which ye know not.'"[547]

So it is by the caliphate that God preserves those of His servants on earth whom it is His will to preserve[548] and those whom He has appointed to inhabit the earth. It is in showing obedience to those whom God has appointed to rule on earth that there lies happiness for those whom God inspires thereto and who are made to understand it.[549] For God, may He be praised and glorified, knows that there is no stability or well-being for anything save through that same obedience, by which God preserves His due, by which He carries out His command, by which He repulses those who rebel against Him, safeguarding those things that are sacred to Him and protecting His inviolable precepts. He who accepts his portion of that obedience becomes the friend of God; he is obedient to His command, he obtains right guidance from Him, and he is singled out for God's blessing both in this life and in the life to come. But he who abandons that obedience, turns his face against it and opposes God thereby, squanders his allotted portion, disobeys his Lord, and loses for himself the things of this life and the next. His lot is cast with those overcome by wretchedness, possessed by sinful actions[550] which drag those in their thrall to drink in the foulest of waterholes and which betray them to the most dreadful of ends,[551] so that God afflicts them (even) in this world with humiliation and retribution and reduces them to a state of

547. Cf. Qur'ān 2, v. 30.

548. Literally, "God has preserved those of His servants on earth whom He has preserved."

549. The text has *su'ida man ulhimahā wa-nuṣirahā* ("those who are inspired thereto and who are assisted therein attain a state of felicity"). Dr. M. F. Al-Shayyal suggested the reading *wa-buṣṣirahā*, which has been followed here. Both *ulhimahā* and *buṣṣirahā* are passive since the action comes from God.

550. *Al-umūru al-ghāwiyatu:* Literally, "deviating matters."

551. *Ilā sharri al-maṣāri'i* ("the most dreadful places of slaughter").

dreadful punishment and intense sorrow (in the next world).[552]

Next to the proclamation of God's oneness, by which He distinguishes between His servants, obedience is the very pinnacle of this matter; obedience is its uppermost peak, its most prominent aspect, its guide, its foundation, its protection and its mainstay. It is by obedience that the successful receive their stations from God and are entitled to their reward from Him; whereas it is disobedience[553] that causes others (the unfortunate) to be assailed and struck down by
[1760] His retribution and that necessitates His (just) displeasure and chastisement, because they have abandoned obedience, lost it, turned their back on it and given it away. God destroys those who go astray, who are inordinately proud, who are blind, who exceed proper limits and depart from the paths of piety and fear of God. So hold fast to obedience in God in those matters which may befall you, come to you, or happen to you. Be the faithful advocate of obedience, hold firmly to it, hasten toward it, take honest action to attain it, and seek diligently to approach nearer God by it. For you have seen the workings of God's judgment on behalf of those who practice obedience, by His exalting them and making their argument prevail and by His rejecting as false those who oppose them, who attack them, who compete with them, or who want to extinguish God's light which shines upon them. You have been warned, moreover, what those who are disobedient can expect in the way of reproof and straitening until their situation is reduced to sheer destruction, abasement, humiliation, and perdition. For anyone who possesses judgment and accepts sound advice, there is in that a clear warning[554] from

552. *Fīmā 'indahum*. Crone and Hinds, op. cit., 121, have the reading *fīmā a'adda lahum* "(grief) which He has prepared for them," following Ṣafwat, *Rasā'il*, II, 450 n.

553. *Wa-al-tabaddulu bi-hā* ("giving it away in exchange for it [i.e., disobedience]"). Variants mentioned in the apparatus add *li-al-ma'ṣiyati* or *bi-al-ma'ṣiyati*. Crone and Hinds (loc. cit.) read *tabadhdhul* ("carelessness").

554. *Wa-fī dhālika li-man kāna ra'yun wa-maw'iẓatun 'ibratun*. Crone and Hinds translate this as "In that there is a warning and a lesson for the perceptive person" (op. cit., 122). The problem here is the *wa* between *ra'yun* and *maw'iẓatun* (or *aw* in the variant reading). The text as it stands should take *ra'yun wa-maw'iẓatun* together.

which he may derive benefit[555] and from which he may attain a state of felicity, and by which he may know the blessing of God's decree to those who are deserving of it.[556]

Moreover, God—to whom belongs praise and who dispenses favor and beneficence—has rightly guided the community to the best of outcomes,[557] making its condition healthy, by preventing the shedding of its blood, by consolidating the bonds of its fellowship, by making all its tongues agree, by establishing its pillars in good order, and by promoting the weal of its common people. The special repository of blessing bestowed on the community in this world, next to His caliphate which He established for them as a foundation and as a support for ruling them, is the covenant which God directed His caliphs to confirm and oversee for the Muslims in matters of moment; so that, whenever something befalls their caliphs, it might be an assurance of refuge, a shelter in [1761] times of calamity, a means of repairing disorder and of reconciling mutually hostile men, a way of consolidating the boundaries of Islam and of frustrating that which the Devil's followers desire from his enticements and to which he incites them, which is the destruction of this religion, the division of the unity of its people, and the sowing of dissension where He has united them through His religion. God's sole judgement for the evildoers in this matter is to afflict them[558] and to frustrate their desires. They will find that God's ordinance for His followers is to safeguard the conduct of their affairs[559] and that He has driven away from them anyone who wishes to make mischief or practice dishonesty in those affairs, or who wishes to weaken what God has made fast or who wishes to rely on what God has shunned.

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555. Literally, "from whose clarity he may derive benefit."

556. *Bi-hā*. It is not clear to which of the feminine antecedents this may refer. It is probably the blessing.

557. The text has *'āfiyatan*. The Cairo edition (VII, 221), which prefers the variant reading *'āqibatan*, has been followed here. Cf. also Crone and Hinds, loc. cit.

558. Literally, "God will show the evildoers in this matter only that which will harm them. . . ."

559. Literally, "they will find God has made firm, by that which He has decreed for His followers thereby, the knots (*'uqad*) of their affairs."

It is by these (blessings)[560] that God has consummated—both for His caliphs and for His party which fears Him and whom He has entrusted with obedience to Him—the best of those things to which He has accustomed them; and He has enabled them to attain their purpose by what He has afforded them of His might, ennobling power, and ability to exalt and strengthen.[561] The authority embodied in this covenant[562] is integral to the completeness of Islam; it is a fraction[563] of the perfect bounties by which God has made the Muslims indebted to Him; it is an earnest of what God has in store, through this covenant, for those whom He has willed to execute it and those whom He has decreed should pronounce it.[564] He has made this covenant efficacious for those whom He has appointed to this office so as to be for Him the most excellent of treasures and the best reminder for Muslims of the benefits which He bestows on them and the protection which He affords them and of His strength on which they rely and His refuge to which they resort, a refuge which God himself has made for them, as a means of protection. For by it He defends them from every danger, by it He unites them against every faction, by it He lays low the hypocrites, and by
[1762] it He preserves them from every division or schism.

So praise God, your Lord, who has been merciful to you, and who has applied in your affairs what He has shown you of this covenant—a covenant that He has made for you as an abode, a place of shelter[565] in which you may find rest, (a tree) in whose branches you may find shade, an instrument by which He has directed you to the right path wherever you

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560. *Bi-hā*. It is not clear to what the *hā* refers. Rather than referring to obedience or the caliphate, it probably refers to God's benevolent actions toward those who follow Him.

561. Literally, "God has perfected . . . the best of that to which He has accustomed them and enabled them to attain from His reinforcing, honoring, exalting, and empowering."

562. *Fa-amru hādhā al-'ahdi. Amr* can also mean "matter." Cf. Crone and Hinds, op. cit., 123.

563. The words *it is a fraction* have been added for stylistic reasons.

564. Literally, "and is part of that which God has made therein (in the covenant? Islam?) for the one by whose hands He has accomplished it and on whose tongue He has decreed it."

565. *Mu'awwalan:* literally, "a place in which one may place confidence."

may turn your heads,[566] point your faces or convene[567] in your activities in this world and the next. In this there is a rich store of blessing; in this there is a great favor[568] from God who lavishly bestows (His) well-being. This is recognized by men of understanding and goodwill who think carefully about the consequences of their actions and who know the light that illumines the paths of right guidance. For it is proper that you should thank God for the way in which He has preserved your religion and your state of unity, (since) you are able to realize how greatly He deserves such thanks and praise for what He has determined for you by His religion. So let the position that religion has in your heart and its excellent status within your souls match God's great favor toward you in this matter, if God wills. There is no power but in God.

Moreover, ever since God appointed the Commander of the Faithful as His caliph, he (the Commander of the Faithful) has been more concerned and preoccupied with this covenant than with anything else, because he knows its crucial role in the affairs of the Muslims and because he knows those things which God has revealed to them in it for which they should be thankful. The caliph is gracious to them in his decrees. Of his own volition, he expends all his energies in this matter, both for his own good and for that of the people. He entreats his Lord and Master, in whose hand is authority and who possesses knowledge of what is hidden, to pass judgment therein on behalf of himself and his people, for He is all-powerful. In this matter the caliph asks God to help him to do what is most just, for himself in particular and for the [1763] Muslims in general.

So the Commander of the Faithful has thought it appropriate to bequeath to you a double covenant (of succession) that thereby you, like your predecessors before you, might be freed from care and blessed with abundant hope and peace of

566. Literally, "necks."
567. Literally, "the meeting of your forelocks (*nawāṣīkum*) in the matter of your religion and this world."
568. Cf. Qur'ān 8, v. 17.

mind, and with mutual hostilities allayed. Thus you will realize to the full the importance of this matter which God has ordained for His people as a means of protection, salvation, well-being and life, while for every hypocrite and transgressor who wishes to destroy this religion and corrupt its people it is a means of abasement, destruction, and straitening. Therefore the Commander of the Faithful has appointed as his successor in that office his son al-Ḥakam and thereafter 'Uthmān, another son of the Commander of the Faithful. It is the hope of the Commander of the Faithful that the two of them are of those whom God created and fashioned for that office and in whom He perfected the ideal qualities of those whom He would wish to appoint to it, namely good judgment, sound religion, abundant manliness, and a knowledge of the proper management of affairs. In this the Commander of the Faithful has spared no effort both in his own interest and in yours.

Therefore give the oath of allegiance to al-Ḥakam, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, in the name of God and with His blessing, and after al-Ḥakam give the oath to his brother to heed and to obey. Expect as a reward for that the best of what God has already showered on you, repeatedly given you, accustomed you to, and taught you about through similar instances in the past when He bestowed widespread prosperity, general good, and great bounty, the hope,[569] security, well-being, safety, and protection of which you have achieved. This is the matter that you thought to be slow in coming and that you sought to hasten. You praised God for
[1764] having achieved it and for ordaining it for you. You gave hearty thanks for it and you saw it as your good fortune. You will compete with each other and do your utmost to fulfill God's due which is incumbent on you, for you have already received from God's blessings, goodness, and generous portion all that you could (legitimately) want, and your enthusi-

569. Crone and Hinds read *rakhā'ihi* ("ease") for *rajā'ihi* (op. cit., 125). This makes better sense than the version in the Leiden text, which has been translated here.

asm for it matches what He has conferred on you and what He has done for you therein.

Moreover, if anything should happen to one of his two heirs, the Commander of the Faithful is entirely within his rights to fill his position and to put in his place whomsoever he wishes to put there, whether from his community or from his sons, and to give such a person precedence over the survivor of the two sons, if he so wishes, or to put him after that son. Be sure you understand that. We ask God—there is no God but He—Knower of the Invisible and the Visible,[570] the Merciful, the Compassionate, to bless the Commander of the Faithful and you in what He has determined and decreed through the words of the caliph. We ask Him to ensure that the outcome of His covenant is soundness, happiness, and joy, for the entire matter is in His hand; He alone has power over it. No one makes requests outside its remit. May the peace and the mercy of God be upon you.

Samāl[571] wrote this letter on Tuesday, eight days before the end of Rajab 125 [Tuesday, May 21, 743(?)].[572]

In this year al-Walīd appointed Naṣr b. Sayyār as governor of the whole of Khurāsān and put him in sole charge of it.

In this year Yūsuf b. 'Umar came to al-Walīd and he bought off Naṣr and his agents from al-Walīd, who gave him back the governorship of Khurāsān.

In this year Yūsuf b. 'Umar wrote to Naṣr b. Sayyar ordering him to come to him and to bring with him what he could in the way of tribute and money.[573] [1765]

570. Cf. Qur'ān 6, v. 74.

571. This name is odd and the person has not been identified.

572. The last day of Rajab in that year [i.e., Wednesday, the thirtieth of Rajab 125] corresponds to May 29, 743; eight days before corresponds to the twenty-second of Rajab (Tuesday, May 21, 743).

573. This is a rather obscure passage and the sequence of events is not clear. The following anecdotes have to do with Naṣr being first confirmed in his office by al-Walīd and then, after Yūsuf's machinations, dismissed. Cf. Wellhausen, 482–83.

What Transpired between Yūsuf and Naṣr in the Matter [of Tribute]

According to 'Alī [al-Madā'inī]—his *shaykhs*: Yūsuf b. 'Umar wrote to Naṣr on that matter and ordered him to come to him with all his dependents. When Yūsuf's letter reached Naṣr, he raised tribute from the people of Khurāsān and his agents.[574] He made ready every slave, female and male, and every spirited horse in Khurāsān, and he bought a thousand slaves, equipped them with weapons, and mounted them on horses.[575]

Some reports said: Naṣr made ready five hundred maidservants, and he gave orders that gold and silver ewers and statues of gazelles, lions' heads, ibexes, and other things should be made. When Naṣr had finished all these preparations, al-Walīd wrote to him urging him to hurry, so Naṣr sent the presents and the first of them reached Bayhaq.[576] Then al-Walīd wrote to him ordering him to send him guitars and lutes, and one of their poets recited the following lines:

Rejoice, you who are God's entrusted one,
    rejoice in the good news,
In camels laden with wealth
    like granaries
And mules carrying wine,
    their bags bulging like mandolins,
And the coquetry of Berber women
    as they play the bass[577] and high[578] strings [of the lute]
With now the beating of a tambourine
    and now the piping of flutes
Such is your portion in this world
    and in Paradise delight itself will be yours.[579]

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574. *Qasama 'alā ahli Khurāsān al-hadāyā*. The context that follows, where Naṣr is busy collecting valuable items to take to Yūsuf, makes it clear that this sentence does not mean that Naṣr distributed presents to the people of Khurāsān and his officials, as Muir suggests (*Caliphate*, 415–16). For the use of the term *hadāyā* as tribute, cf. Løkkegaard, 144.

575. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 202.

576. Cf. n. 334.

577. *Al-bamm*.

578. *Al-zīr*.

579. Cf. Qur'ān 43, v. 70.

In Hishām's time, al-Azraq b. Qurra al-Mismā'ī came from al- [1766]
Tirmidh[580] to Naṣr and he said to Naṣr: "I dreamed I saw al-Walīd b. Yazīd when he was heir-apparent, fleeing, as it were, from Hishām. I saw him on a couch, drinking honey, and he gave me some of it to drink." Then Naṣr gave al-Azraq four thousand dīnārs and a set of clothes and he dispatched him to al-Walīd with a letter.[581] Al-Azraq came to al-Walīd and gave him the money and the set of clothes. Al-Walīd, pleased with this, gave al-Azraq presents and also rewarded Naṣr well. Then al-Azraq departed; he heard about Hishām's death on his way back to Naṣr before Naṣr had any idea of what he had been doing. When al-Azraq reached Naṣr, he told him what had happened. On becoming caliph, Walīd wrote to al-Azraq and to Naṣr and gave orders to his messenger that he should go first to al-Azraq and give him his letter. The messenger reached al-Azraq at night and gave him his letter as well as Naṣr's letter, but al-Azraq did not read his own letter. (Instead) he brought the two letters to Naṣr. Walīd's letter to Naṣr instructed him to acquire guitars, mandolins, and gold and silver ewers for him, to collect from Khurāsān as many female cymbal players, falcons, and spirited horses as he possibly could, and to dispatch all this personally with prominent people from Khurāsān.

A man from the Banū Bāhilah said: A number of astrologers kept warning Naṣr that a time of trial (*fitnah*) was imminent, so Naṣr sent for Ṣadaqah b. Waththāb, who was in Balkh and was an astrologer in his service. Yūsuf kept asking Naṣr to come and see [1767]
him and Naṣr continually hesitated to do so. Then Yūsuf sent a messenger with instructions that he should keep on pressing Naṣr to come, and that if he did not do so Yūsuf would proclaim publicly[582] that Naṣr had been dismissed from his office. When the messenger reached Naṣr, Naṣr gave him presents and bought him off.[583] Then Naṣr made for his citadel, which nowadays is the *dār al-imārah*, and he was on his way there when trouble

580. The most important town of the Ṣaghāniyān district at the place where the Zamīl and Oxus rivers join. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 440–41; Bosworth, "Chaghāniyān," 1–2.

581. Literally, "he sent him to al-Walīd and Naṣr wrote to him."

582. Literally, "or he would proclaim publicly."

583. Literally, "satisfied him."

broke out. So Naṣr went to his citadel in Mājān.[584] He appointed 'Iṣmah b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī as his deputy to govern Khurāsān. He put al-Muhallab b. Iyās al-'Adawī in charge of the *kharāj* and he made Mūsā b. Warqā' al-Nājī governor of al-Shāsh. He made Ḥassān al-Asadī, who was from Ṣaghāniyān,[585] governor of Samarqand, and he put Muqātil b. 'Alī al-Sughdī in charge of Āmul.[586] Naṣr gave orders to these men that if they heard that he had left Marw, they were to gather[587] the Turks together and to raid[588] the land across the Oxus. In that way, he could join them after leaving Marw, using that fighting as an excuse. Then one day, as Naṣr was on his way to Iraq, a mawlā from the Banū Layth came to him by night (with the news of al-Walīd's death).[589] In the morning the people were called to prayer, and Naṣr sent for al-Walīd's messengers. After praising and glorifying God, Naṣr said: "You know where I was going and you have seen what tribute I have sent. Now somebody comes to me at night and tells me that al-Walīd has been killed, unrest has broken out in Syria, Manṣūr b. Jumhūr has gone to Iraq, and Yūsuf b. 'Umar has fled.[590] You know the state of the country we live in and how numerous our
[1768] enemies are!" Then Naṣr called for the leader (of the messengers) and made him swear that the news he had brought was the truth. The man swore that it was so. Then Salm[591] b. Aḥwaz said: "May God keep the *amīr* on the right path! If I had taken an oath I would have told the truth. This is a trick of the Quraysh who

584. Mājān was a village in the Marw area. Cf. Yāqūt, IV, 378. Mājān became a flourishing suburb of Marw under Abū Muslim. Cf. Ibn Ḥawqal, 420–21; Le Strange, *Lands*, 398–99.

585. Ṣaghāniyān is probably to be identified as the modern town of Sar-i Asyā on the upper course of the Ṣaghāniyān River. Ṣaghāniyān was also the name of a district that lay to the west of the Wakhsh River and that was bounded on the south by the Oxus. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 439–40.

586. Āmul lay on the left bank of the Oxus, about 120 miles to the northeast of Marw. To distinguish it from Āmul in Ṭabaristān, it was later called Amū or Amūyah. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 403–04; Yāqūt, I, 365; *EI*², s.v. (M. Streck).

587. *Amarahum . . . an yastaḥlibū*. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 202, has *yastajlibū*. For *yastaḥlibū* ("urge to assemble"), cf. *Gloss.*, p. CC. For *yastajlibū* ("to summon"), cf. *Gloss.*, p. CLXIV. Both verbs make good sense in the context.

588. For *yughīru*, Ibn al-Athīr (V, 202) has *ya'burū* ("that they should cross").

589. The addition in parentheses is from Ibn al-Athīr, V, 202.

590. This isolated snippet about al-Walīd's murder and the events that ensued is placed too early in al-Ṭabarī's narrative. These events are discussed in detail later, under the year 126 (744). Cf. Wellhausen, 482–83.

591. He is called Sālim by Ibn al-Athīr (V, 202).

want to cast aspersions on your obedience. So clear off and don't speak calumny against us." He (the messenger)[592] said: "Salm, you are a man who is knowledgeable about military matters. You are, moreover, obedient to the Umayyads. But as for this kind of matter, your opinion on it is (as valueless as) the opinion of a slave girl with her front teeth broken!" Then Naṣr said: "Since (the time of) Ibn Khāzim,[593] I have encountered no difficult situation where my judgment was not superior (to that of others)."[594] The people said: "We know that and we think your opinion is correct."

In this year al-Walīd b. Yazīd sent his maternal uncle Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī to be governor of Medina, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if, having handed over to his custody Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad, the two sons of Hishām b. Ismā'īl al-Makhzūmī, who were tied up tightly in their cloaks.[595] Yūsuf arrived in Medina with them on Saturday, twelve days before the end of Sha'bān 125 [Saturday, June 14, 743] and paraded them before the people of Medina. Then al-Walīd wrote to him ordering him to send them to Yūsuf b. 'Umar, who was at that time his agent in Iraq. When Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad came to Yūsuf, he tortured them to death. They had been accused before al-Walīd of having embezzled large sums of money.

In this year Yūsuf b. Muḥammad dismissed Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm from the post of *qāḍī* of Medina and appointed to it Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī.

In this year al-Walīd b. Yazīd sent his brother al-Ghamr b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik to carry out raids. Al-Walīd put al-Aswad b. Bilāl al-Muḥāribī[596] in charge of his naval forces and ordered him to go to Cyprus and to give the population the choice of going [1769]

592. The speaker is probably the messenger.

593. The allusion here is unclear (Ibn al-Athīr omits this saying of Naṣr's) but according to the index (321), the Ibn Khāzim in question is 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī (d. 73/692–93), a governor of Khurāsān around whom legends developed. Cf. Wellhausen, 416–21; *EI*², s.v. (H. A. R. Gibb).

594. *Lam ashhad . . . amran mufẓi'an ilā kuntu al-mufri'a fī-al-rā'yi.* The Cairo edition (VII, 226) has *al-mufẓi'a* for *al-mufri'a*. The Leiden text has been preferred in the translation. For a definition of *mufri'*, cf. *Lisān*, II, 1082.

595. They had now to pay the penalty for having sided with the caliph Hishām when he tried to have allegiance sworn to Maslamah instead of al-Walīd. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1742; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 397.

596. Al-Muḥādhī in Ibn al-Athīr, V, 206.

either to Syria or to Byzantium. One group of them opted for asylum in Muslim territory, so al-Aswad took them to Syria. Others of them chose to go to Byzantium and they went in that direction.[597]

In this year Sulaymān b. Kathīr, Mālik b. al-Haytham, Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ, and Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb arrived in Mecca.[598]

According to some biographers, they met Muḥammad b. 'Alī[599] and they told him about Abū Muslim and what they had seen of him. Muḥammad asked them: "Is Abū Muslim a free-born man or a slave?" They replied: "'Īsā[600] alleges that he is a slave but Abū Muslim himself says that he is free-born." Muḥammad said: "Buy him and manumit him." Then they gave Muḥammad b. 'Alī two hundred thousand dirhams and clothes worth thirty thousand dirhams. Muḥammad said to them: "I do not think that you will ever meet me again after this year. Should anything happen to me, your master is Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. I trust him and I enjoin you to treat him well just as I have enjoined him to treat you well."[601] Then they left Muḥammad b. 'Alī and he died on the first night of Dhū al-Qa'dah [Monday, July 25, 743] at the age of 63.[602] Between his death and the death of his father, 'Alī, was seven years.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informants—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā—Abū Ma'shar: In this year Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī led the pilgrimage.

[1770] In this year Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī was killed in Khurāsān.

The Killing of Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī

We have already mentioned how Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī came to be in Khurāsān and the reason for his being there.[603] We will now

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597. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 206. For the early history of the Muslims in Cyprus, cf. *EI*², "Ḳubrus" (A. H. de Groot).

598. Cf. the preceding account given by al-Ṭabarī (II, 1726–27). The 'Abbāsid *nuqabā'* were on the pilgrimage. Cf. also al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 397.

599. Cf. n. 370.

600. I.e., 'Īsā b. Ma'qil al-'Ijlī.

601. Cf. al-Dīnawarī, 340.

602. The death of Muḥammad b. 'Alī is reported in the sources as having occurred in either 124 or 125 A.H. Ibn al-Athīr says that Muḥammad was seventy-three when he died (V, 206).

603. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1714.

give an account of why he was killed, since that occurred in this year.[604]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf: Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī stayed with al-Ḥarīsh[605] b. 'Amr b. Dāwūd in Balkh until Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik died and al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik became caliph. Yūsuf b. 'Umar wrote to Naṣr b. Sayyār telling him that Yaḥyā b. Zayd had left Iraq and letting him know where he was staying. Finally, Yūsuf told Naṣr that Yaḥyā was at the house of al-Ḥarīsh and he instructed Naṣr to send his men for Yaḥyā and to take him by force. So Naṣr b. Sayyār sent word to 'Aqīl b. Ma'qil al-'Ijlī ordering him to seize al-Ḥarīsh and not to let him go until al-Ḥarīsh gave up the ghost or until he brought Yaḥyā b. Zayd to him. Accordingly, 'Aqīl sent for al-Ḥarīsh and questioned him about Yaḥyā. Al-Ḥarīsh said: "I know nothing about him." Then 'Aqīl gave him six hundred lashes. Al-Ḥarīsh said to him: "By God, if he were under my very feet I would not lift them from him so that you could take him." When Quraysh b. al-Ḥarīsh heard of this he went to 'Aqīl and [1771] said: "Don't kill my father. I will show you where Yaḥyā is." 'Aqīl sent someone with Quraysh, who showed him where Yaḥyā was. He found Yaḥyā in a (concealed) room inside a house and seized him, together with Yazīd b. 'Umar,[606] and al-Faḍl, the mawlā of 'Abd al-Qays who had come with Yaḥyā from al-Kūfah. 'Aqīl brought Yaḥyā to Naṣr b. Sayyār, who put him in prison and wrote to Yūsuf b. 'Umar informing him of what he had done. Yūsuf wrote on this matter to al-Walīd b. Yazīd, who then wrote to Naṣr b. Sayyār ordering him to grant Yaḥyā safe-conduct and to set him and his associates free. Naṣr b. Sayyār summoned Yaḥyā and he ordered him to fear God, warned him against making discord, and commanded him to go to al-Walīd b. Yazīd. Naṣr ordered that Yaḥyā should have two thousand dirhams and two

604. For other accounts of the death of Yaḥyā b. Zayd, cf. Ibn A'tham, VIII, 126–36; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 397–98; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (ed. Maḥmūdī), 260–65; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 2–4.

605. This name is uncertain. The apparatus also has al-Jarīsh, while Ibn al-Athīr gives al-Ḥuraysh (V, 203). According to al-Balādhurī, al-Ḥarīsh was from the Rabī'ah (*Ansāb*, 261).

606. Yazīd b. 'Umar had looked after Yaḥyā for six months in Sarakhs. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 260.

mules,[607] and Yaḥyā and his associates departed. Yaḥyā got as far as Sarakhs[608] and then he stayed there. In charge of Sarakhs was 'Abdallāh b. Qays b. 'Ubbād. Naṣr b. Sayyār wrote to him requesting that he should send Yaḥyā away from Sarakhs. Naṣr also wrote to al-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Tamīmī, who was the leader of the Banū Tamīm and who was in charge of Ṭūs,[609] saying: "Keep your eyes open for Yaḥyā b. Zayd, and if he passes your way don't let him stay in Ṭūs but send him away from there." Naṣr further ordered both 'Abdallāh and al-Ḥasan that if Yaḥyā passed them they should make sure that they handed him over[610] to 'Amr b. Zurārah in Abrashahr.[611] Accordingly, 'Abdallāh b. Qays sent Yaḥyā out of Sarakhs. Yaḥyā then passed al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, who ordered him to be on his way and put him in the care of Sirḥān b.
[1772] Farrukh b. Mujāhid b. Bal'ā' al-'Anbarī Abū al-Faḍl, who had charge of a group of armed guards.

Sirḥān said: When I went in to see Yaḥyā, he spoke disparagingly about Naṣr b. Sayyār and about what Naṣr had given him.[612] Then he mentioned the Commander of the Faithful, al-Walīd b. Yazīd, and spoke ill of him.[613] He said that he went around with his associates and that he only did so because he was afraid that he would be poisoned or suffocated. He made a veiled reference to Yūsuf (b. 'Umar) and said that he was frightened of him. He confessed that he had also wanted to criticize Yūsuf, but had refrained from doing so. I said to Yaḥyā: "Say what you like, may God have mercy on you, for you need fear no spying on my part. Indeed, Yūsuf has behaved toward you in a way that should

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607. Al-Balādhurī has: "Two thousand dirhams and a pair of sandals." Cf. *Ansāb*, 261.

608. Sarakhs in Khurāsān lay on the road from Ṭūs to Marw. It was on the great postal route. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 395–96; *Ḥudūd*, 104; al-Ya'qūbī, *Les Pays*, 85–86; Ibn Rustah, 200–01.

609. Ṭūs: a city in Khurāsān, due east of Nīshāpūr. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 388–89; Ibn Ḥawqal, 419; al-Ya'qūbī, *Les Pays*, 83–84.

610. Literally, "they should not leave him until they had given him to 'Amr."

611. The text has "Abarshahr." This is corrected later to "Abrashahr." Cf. *Introd.*, p. DCCXI. Abrashahr was one of the names of Nīshāpūr in the early Islamic period. This is the name given on Umayyad and 'Abbāsid dirhams. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 383; al-Ya'qūbī, *Les Pays*, 417.

612. Literally, "he mentioned Naṣr b. Sayyār and what he gave him and there he was as if belittling him."

613. The text has *fa-athnā 'alayhi*. This phrase is ambiguous since *athnā* can mean both to speak well or ill of someone, although the former is more common.

invite comment from you." Then Yaḥyā replied: "What a surprising remark from someone who appoints guards or commands guards!"[614] In saying that, he was trying to elicit information(?).[615] By God, if I had wanted to send men after him, he would have been brought (to me) in fetters. Then I said to him: "No, by God, those guards are not meant for you. This is a practice which is always followed in this area because the treasury is here."[616] I then apologized to him for accompanying him and I went with him for over a *farsakh* until we chanced upon 'Amr b. Zurārah.[617] 'Amr ordered one thousand dirhams for him and gave him an escort as far as Bayhaq. Yaḥyā was afraid that Yūsuf might act treacherously toward him and having left Bayhaq, which is on the border of Khurāsān and Qūmis,[618] he then returned to 'Amr b. Zurārah with seventy men.[619] Some merchants passed Yaḥyā (on the road) and he took their riding beasts, saying: "We must pay for them."[620] Then 'Amr b. Zurārah wrote to Naṣr b. Sayyār, who [1773] in turn wrote to 'Abdallāh b. Qays and al-Ḥasan b. Zayd requesting them forthwith to go to join 'Amr b. Zurārah, who was in authority over them, and instructing them to provoke a fight with

614. *Alladhī yuqīmu al-aḥrāsa aw amara al-aḥrāsa.* The speaker obviously cannot remember the exact wording he used and therefore gives two versions.

615. The text has *yatafassaḥa* ("to speak eloquently"). The Cairo edition (229) also has this reading. Later, the editor emends this to *yatafaḥḥasa* ("to seek information"). Cf. *Introd.*, p. DCCXI.

616. Literally, "No, by God, this has not been done because of you, but this is a thing that is always done in this area because of the position of the treasury."

617. Literally, "I went with him . . . and we came with him until we chanced upon 'Amr . . ." A *farsakh* consists of three *mīls*, i.e., about six km. Cf. Hinz, 62.

618. The province of Qūmis lay between the two provinces of the Jibāl to the west and Khurāsān to the east. Its major city was Damghān. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 364–68.

619. The sequence of events is very confused here and the text corrupt: "He advanced (*aqbala*) from Bayhaq, which is the furthest point of the territory of Khurāsān and the nearest of Qūmis, and he advanced (*aqbala*) with seventy men toward 'Amr b. Zurārah." The account of al-Balādhurī is much clearer: "When he left Bayhaq he was afraid that he would fall into the hands of Yūsuf and that he would cause him mischief, and Bayhaq is the border of the province of Khurāsān . . . so he (Yaḥyā) returned to 'Amr b. Zurārah." Cf. *Ansāb*, 261–62. It would appear that Yaḥyā felt panic and *returned* to Abrashahr (Nīshāpūr) where 'Amr was and asked permission to stay there a little while before going to Balkh. Cf. *Ansāb*, 262. This is also the version given by Ibn al-Athīr, V, 203.

620. *Qāla 'alaynā athmānuhā.* This action in acquiring more riding animals was clearly viewed as irregular by 'Amr and was used as the pretext to attack Yaḥyā.

Yaḥyā b. Zayd. So they went and joined 'Amr b. Zurārah, and those assembled numbered ten thousand men. Yaḥyā b. Zayd took the field against them, having with him only seventy men. (Yet) Yaḥyā routed them, killing 'Amr b. Zurārah and striking down numerous horses. Then Yaḥyā advanced as far as Herat. In charge of Herat was Mughallis b. Ziyād al-'Āmirī. Neither Yaḥyā nor Mughallis made a hostile move toward the other. Then Yaḥyā b. Zayd passed through Herat. Naṣr b. Sayyār sent Salm b. Aḥwaz in search of Yaḥyā b. Zayd, but when Salm reached Herat, Yaḥyā b. Zayd had already left the city. Salm then went in pursuit of Yaḥyā and caught up with him at a village in the area of al-Jūzajān,[621] which was under the charge of Ḥammād b. 'Amr al-Sughdī.

Yaḥyā b. Zayd was joined by a man of the Banū Ḥanīfah called Abū al-'Ajlān. This man was killed that day with Yaḥyā. Yaḥyā was also joined by al-Ḥasḥās al-Azdī. Later on, Naṣr cut off his hand and his foot. Salm b. Aḥwaz put Sawrah b. Muḥammad b. 'Azīz al-Kindī on his right side and Ḥammād b. 'Amr al-Sughdī on his left. Then he launched into a fierce battle against Yaḥyā. Some accounts said that a man from the Banū 'Anazah[622] whose
[1774] name was 'Īsā, the mawlā of 'Īsā b. Sulaymān al-'Anazī, shot an arrow at Yaḥyā and hit him in the forehead.[623] Muḥammad was present on that day.[624] Salm had ordered him to prepare his men for battle, but Muḥammad pretended to be ill, so it was Sawrah b. Muḥammad b. 'Azīz al-Kindī who made them ready. They fought and were killed to the last man. Sawrah passed Yaḥyā b. Zayd and took away his head. Al-'Anazī had seized his spoils and his shirt, but then Sawrah took Yaḥyā's head away from him by force.

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Mūsā b. Ḥabīb: When Yaḥyā b. Zayd was killed and al-Walīd b. Yazīd received news of it, al-Walīd wrote to Yūsuf b. 'Umar as follows: "When this letter of mine reaches you, look for the calf[625] of Iraq,

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621. The village was called Arghūnah. Cf. Ibn A'tham, VIII, 134. Al-Mas'ūdī has Ar'awanah. Cf. *Murūj*, VI, 2.

622. For the Banū 'Anazah, cf. *EI*², s.v. (E. Gräf).

623. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 262.

624. Presumably the Muḥammad in question is Muḥammad b. 'Azīz al-Kindī, the father of Sawrah. This, at any rate, is the tentative opinion of the editor. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1774, note b.

625. *'Ijl*. Cf. Qur'ān 20, v. 88; 7, v. 148. These details about burning the "calf of

burn him, then scatter him as dust in the river."[626] Yūsuf gave orders to Khirāsh b. Ḥawshab and he brought Yaḥyā down from the gibbet,[627] burned his body, then crushed it, put it in a date basket, placed it in a boat, and then scattered Yaḥyā's remains in the Euphrates.

In this year the agents of the garrison cities were the same as in the preceding year and we have already mentioned them.

Iraq" are also mentioned in some sources in connection with Zayd. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 257; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 143–44.

626. *Fī al-yammi*. Cf. Qur'ān 20, v. 39.

627. Literally, "from his tree."

The Events of the Year 126

[1775]

(October 25, 743–October 12, 744)

One of the important events taking place during this year was the killing of al-Walīd b. Yazīd by Yazīd b. al-Walīd,[628] who was known as the Inadequate (*al-Nāqiṣ*).[629]

The Reason for Yazīd's Killing of al-Walīd and the Manner of His Killing

We have already given some account of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, mentioning his immorality, his wantonness, and his flippant and frivolous attitude toward religion before he became caliph. When his accession came and the caliphate passed to him, he only persisted

628. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

629. Although, as will be discussed later, Yazīd b. al-Walīd was given the pejorative title *al-Nāqiṣ* because he cut back (*naqaṣa*) on the people's pensions, there is also a suggestion here of incompleteness and of physical inadequacy as well. The term *al-Nāqiṣ* has therefore been translated as "inadequate" rather than as "curtailer" in an attempt to render the double entendre. On the reasons for Yazīd's receiving this nickname, cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, I, 17; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 19–20.

all the more in his pursuit of idle sport and pleasures, hunting, drinking wine, and keeping company with libertines. I have left to one side the accounts which deal with all this as I would hate to make my book any longer by mentioning them. These aspects of al-Walīd's behavior troubled his subjects and his soldiery deeply and they hated what he was doing. One of the worst offences he committed against himself, and which finally led to his death, was the way in which he aroused disaffection against himself amongst the sons of his two uncles, Hishām and al-Walīd, who were the sons of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān,[630] as well as amongst the Yamāniyyah who formed the major part of the Syrian *jund*.

Part of the Account of al-Walīd's Causing Disaffection among the Sons of His Two Uncles, Hishām and al-Walīd [1776]

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—al-Minhāl b. 'Abd al-Malik: Al-Walīd loved idle sport, hunting, and pleasures. When he became caliph he began to dislike places where there were people. This continued to be the case until he was killed.[631] He kept on moving about and going out hunting, and he distressed the people and his soldiers. He (particularly) upset the sons of Hishām, for he sentenced Sulaymān b. Hishām[632] to one hundred lashes, shaving his head and beard and banishing him to 'Ammān, where he put him in prison; there Sulaymān remained until al-Walīd was killed.

Al-Walīd took a slave-girl belonging to the family of al-Walīd (b. 'Abd al-Malik). 'Umar b. al-Walīd spoke to al-Walīd about this matter but al-Walīd said: "I will not give her back." So 'Umar

630. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

631. After he became caliph, al-Walīd never once entered a Syrian city until his death. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 130–31.

632. According to *Fragmenta*, 130, al-Walīd could not forget that Sulaymān b. Hishām had been against him when Hishām was caliph. Sulaymān had advised his father to depose al-Walīd as his heir. Cf. also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 45. The text has *wa-ishtadda 'alā Banī Hishāmi ḍaraba Sulaymāna*. The Cairo edition, 231, punctuates this passage differently and adds *fa*: *wa-ishtadda 'alā Banī Hishāmi; fa-ḍaraba Sulaymān*. This alternative has been followed in the translation. Al-Balādhurī has a clearer version: *wa-ishtadda 'alā Banī Hishāmi ḥattā ḍaraba Sulaymāna*. Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 46.

said: "In that case, there will be much neighing of horses around your troops."[633]

He (al-Walīd) imprisoned Yazīd b. Hishām al-Afqam[634] and wanted the oath of allegiance to be given to his two sons, al-Ḥakam and 'Uthmān.[635] Al-Walīd consulted Sa'īd b. Bayhas b. Suḥayb on this, who said: "Don't do it; for they are young boys who have not yet reached puberty. Have the oath of allegiance given to 'Atīq b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik." Al-Walīd was furious and put Sa'īd in prison, where he died. Al-Walīd wanted Khālid b. 'Abdallāh[636] to give the oath of allegiance to his two sons but Khālid refused. Some of Khālid's family said to him: "The Commander of the Faithful wanted you to give the oath of allegiance to his two sons yet you refused to do so!" Khālid retorted: "Fie on you! How can I give the oath of allegiance to those behind whom I cannot say my prayers or whose testimony (*shahādah*) I cannot accept?"[637] They replied: "What about al-Walīd? You know all about his wantonness and depravity, yet you still accept his testimony!" Khālid replied: "Al-Walīd's activities
[1777] are hearsay. I cannot be sure about them. It is only vulgar tittle-tattle." But al-Walīd was furious with Khālid.

'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Thaqafī said: "Yūsuf b. 'Umar sent me to al-Walīd. When I went in to see him, al-Walīd greeted me: 'Well, how do you find the libertine?' meaning by that himself. Then he went on: 'Beware lest anyone should hear you saying such a thing.' I rejoined: 'I would divorce Ḥabībah, the daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr, rather than allow my ear to hear such things as long as you live.'" Then al-Walīd laughed.

Al-Walīd deeply distressed the people (by his behavior), and the sons of Hishām and of al-Walīd (b. 'Abd al-Malik) charged him with being an unbeliever and with having debauched the mothers of his father's sons. They also alleged that al-Walīd had taken one hundred collars(?) and had written on each of them the name of one of the Umayyads whom he intended to kill thereby.[638] His

633. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 131.

634. Al-Afqam was the *laqab* of Yazīd b. Hishām. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 140; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 291; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 46.

635. Cf. the genealogical table of the Umayyads.

636. Al-Qasrī.

637. They were minors. For a similar account, cf. *Fragmenta*, 131; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 46.

638. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 45; *Fragmenta*, 130. The text has *wa-*

detractors also accused him of being a free-thinker.[639] The most vociferous of the critics of al-Walīd was Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. The people were well-disposed to listen to him because he performed public acts of asceticism and would adopt a humble stance, merely saying: "We cannot afford to be satisfied with al-Walīd." (This continued) until he induced the people to assassinate al-Walīd.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—Yazīd b. Maṣād al-Kalbī—'Amr b. Sharāḥil: Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik sent us to Dahlak[640] where we remained until Hishām's death and the accession of al-Walīd. Then our case was brought up, but al-Walīd refused to do anything and said: "By God, Hishām never did anything that is more deserving of forgiveness by me than his killing and banishment of the Qadariyyah".[641] Al-Ḥajjāj b. Bishr b. Fayrūz al-Daylamī was in charge of us and he used to say: "Al-Walīd will survive for only eighteen months before he is killed [1778] and his killing will bring about the destruction of the rest of his family."

A group of the Quḍā'ah, and especially of al-Yamāniyyah from Damascus, resolved to kill al-Walīd. Then Ḥurayth, Shabīb b. Abī Mālik al-Ghassānī, Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ḥibāl b. 'Amr, who was Manṣūr's cousin, Ḥumayd b. Naṣr al-Lakhmī, al-Aṣbagh b. Dhu'ālah, Ṭufayl b. Ḥārithah, and al-Sarī b. Ziyād b. 'Ilāqah came to Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, and asked him to join in their enterprise.[642] Khālid did not agree to it.[643] Then they

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kataba 'alā kulli jāmi'atin isma rajulin. The meaning of *jāmi'ah* as a collar or manacles joining the hands to the neck is well attested. Cf. *Lisān*, II, 501 and Kazimirski, I, 328. Presumably, if such collars were made of metal (or even leather) they could be both written on and tightened so as to strangle the wearer. However, this is only a tentative translation. It may be that *jāmi'ah* could be translated more blandly as "document," but the lengthy entries in the standard dictionaries give no support for this interpretation. Moreover, there might then be a problem with the phrase "*li-yaqtula bihā.*" Al-Balādhurī, however, omits *bihā* (*Ansāb*, 45).

639. *Al-zandaqah.*

640. The term *Dahlak* refers to a group of islands off the west coast of the Red Sea opposite Eritrea. Dahlak al-Kabīr was used as a place to which the Umayyad caliphs sent opponents, such as the Qadariyyah. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (S. H. Longrigg).

641. Cf. Hishām's treatment of Ghaylān.

642. For a recent discussion of the elements that comprised the opposition to al-Walīd II, cf. Hawting, 93. Al-Walīd's father, Yazid, had espoused anti-"southern" (Kalbī and Yemeni) policies, and al-Walīd had already in his short rule confirmed Yūsuf b. 'Umar (a Qaysī) in the key post of governor of Iraq.

643. Literally, "he did not answer them."

asked him to keep quiet about their plans and Khālid said: "I will not mention any of your names." But when al-Walīd wanted to go on the pilgrimage, Khālid was afraid that the conspirators would assassinate him en route. Khālid therefore went to al-Walīd and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, put off going on the pilgrimage this year." When al-Walīd asked him why, Khālid would not tell him. So al-Walīd ordered that Khālid should be cast into prison and that whatever Iraqi revenues Khālid had should be taken from him.[644]

According to ʿAlī (al-Madāʾinī)—al-Ḥakam b. al-Nuʿmān: Al-Walīd resolved to dismiss Yūsuf (b. ʿUmar) and to appoint as governor ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj. So he wrote to Yūsuf as follows:

> You have written to the Commander of the Faithful explaining how Ibn al-Naṣrāniyyah (i.e., Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī) has allowed the country to go to rack and ruin, and you go on to say that it was for that reason that you delivered such small revenues to Hishām.[645] It was only to be expected that you would have made the land prosper to such an extent that you restored it to its former state. So come to the Com-
> [1779] mander of the Faithful and confirm his high expectations of you by what you bring him to show how you have made the land prosper. (Do this so that) the Commander of the Faithful may be assured of your superiority over other men, because of the close kinship that God has made between you and the Commander of the Faithful—for you are his maternal uncle and the person most entitled to give generously to him—and because you know that the Commander of the Faithful has given instructions that the stipends of the Syrians and of others should be increased. (You know, too,) what he has given the members of his family—to the detriment of the treasuries—because of the churlish treatment which they endured for so long at the hands of Hishām.[646]

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644. Al-Balādhurī adds after the same account: "He (al-Walīd) gave him (Khālid) to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, who tortured him to death." Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 47. Cf. also *Fragmenta*, 132.

645. Literally, "you brought to Hishām what you brought."

646. Cf. Wellhausen, 357. This letter is a transparently desperate ploy on the part of al-Walīd to raise money and was to culminate in al-Walīd's selling Khālid al-Qasrī to Yūsuf b. ʿUmar.

Yūsuf accordingly set out, having appointed as his deputy his cousin Yūsuf b. Muḥammad and taking with him unprecedented quantities of money, goods, and drinking vessels from Iraq. When he arrived, Khālid b. 'Abdallāh was in prison. Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī met Yūsuf at night and told him that al-Walīd was determined to appoint 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj as governor and that Yūsuf would have to ingratiate himself with al-Walīd's ministers.[647] Yūsuf said: "I don't have any spare cash." Ḥassān replied: "I have five hundred thousand dirhams. If you want them, you can have them, and you can return them if you like, should things go well for you." Yūsuf said: "You know more than I do about these men and their standing with the caliph, so distribute the money amongst them to the best of your knowledge." Ḥassān acted accordingly and when Yūsuf arrived,[648] the people treated them respectfully. Then Ḥassān said to Yūsuf: "Don't go in to see al-Walīd in the morning but go to him in the evening. Write a letter to yourself from your deputy saying, 'I have written to tell you that your only hope lies in the palace.' Go in to see al-Walīd, having the letter hidden on you and wearing a sad expression. Read the letter to him and order Abān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al- [1780]
Numayrī to buy Khālid from al-Walīd for forty million dirhams." Yūsuf acted accordingly and al-Walīd said to him: "Return to your post." Then Abān said to al-Walīd: "If you give me Khālid, I will give you forty million dirhams." Al-Walīd replied: "Who will act as your guarantor?" Abān said: "Yūsuf." So al-Walīd asked Yūsuf: "Will you act as his guarantor?" Yūsuf replied: "No! On the contrary, give him to me and I will extract fifty million dirhams from him."[649] So al-Walīd gave Khālid to Yūsuf, who took him away on a litter without a seat below to sit on.[650]

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim said: I took pity on Khālid and I put some tasty things we had with us, including some dried dates and other things, in a napkin. I was riding a

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647. Literally, "it was inevitable that he would have to settle the matter of his ministers." Ibn al-Athīr has: "he advised him to take bribes to his ministers" [V, 212].

648. At the court.

649. Ibn al-Athīr's account is much more straightforward. Yūsuf bought Khālid from al-Walīd for fifty million dirhams and al-Walīd gave him to Yūsuf [V, 212]. Cf. also al-Dīnawarī, 347–48.

650. *Wiṭā'*: "what is placed or spread beneath one, to sit or lie upon." Cf. Lane, I, 2949.

lively she-camel and I hurried up to Khālid without Yūsuf noticing,[651] and threw the napkin into his litter. Then Khālid said to me: "These are goods from 'Umān," referring to the fact that my brother al-Fayḍ[652] was in charge of 'Umān and that he had sent me a large sum of money. So I said to myself: "Here is this man in this (miserable) state and he still won't drop this matter." Then Yūsuf noticed me and said to me: "What did you say to Ibn al-Naṣrāniyyah?" (i.e., Khālid). I replied: "I asked him if he needed anything." Yūsuf said: "You did well. He is a prisoner." [Muḥammad continued:] If Yūsuf had been aware of what I had thrown to Khālid, some harm would have befallen me at his hands. Yūsuf arrived in al-Kūfah and killed Khālid under torture.

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī: Al-Walīd b. Yazīd recited a poem in which he reproached the Yamāniyyah for failing to come to the help of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh. According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—Muḥammad b. Sa'īd
[1781] al-'Āmirī, from the Banū 'Āmir of Kalb:[653] This poem was recited by one of the Yamanī poets who put it into the mouth of al-Walīd in order to rouse the Yamāniyyah against him:[654]

Have your emotions not been stirred to recall your union (with your beloved),
and a knot which once was tied and then was loosed?
Yes, indeed! So let your tears flow freely,
like water gushing continuously from clouds.[655]
Remember no more the people of Su'dā,[656]
for we are the greatest in numbers and wealth.[657]

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651. *Fa-taghaffaltu Yūsufa.* Literally, "I watched for Yūsuf to be unmindful."

652. Al-Fayḍ b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī. He was from Yūsuf's family. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 553. Presumably the money was tainted in some way.

653. The text has 'Āmir Kalb. This should probably read "'Āmir b. Kilāb" or "'Āmir b. Ka'b." Cf. *EI*², "'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a" (W. Caskel); Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 160.

654. The order of the lines or half-lines of this poetry, as presented by al-Ṭabarī, is rather unsatisfactory. A number of them seem to be in the wrong place. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 212–13; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 48; *Fragmenta*, 132–33; al-Dīnawarī, 347. The meter is *wāfir*. Only the most important textual differences have been noted here. Al-Dīnawarī's version is the most at variance with the others.

655. *Ka-mā'i al-muzni yansajilu insijālā.* Al-Dīnawarī, 347, has *ka-mā'i al-gharbi yanhamilu inhimālā.*

656. For the Banū Su'dā, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 515.

657. This hemistich seems to be in the wrong place.

We are kings who rule men by force,
inflicting on them humiliation and punishment.[658]
We have trampled on the Ash'arīs with the might of Qays,[659]
and what a trampling for you! Its like will not recur.
Behold Khālid a prisoner in our midst![660]
Had they been true men they would have protected him,
Their lord and master in days of yore.
We have made shame dog him like a shadow.
Had they been tribes who wielded any power,
We would not have showered benefits (on them) in vain.
Nor would they have left him dispossessed and in captivity,
with only our heavy chains to talk to.[661]

Al-Madā'inī reported: "struggling with our chains."

As for the tribes of Kindah and Sakūn,[662] they have never risen up again,[663]
nor have their horses been relieved of their saddles.
Through them we have inflicted every sort of ignominy on mankind,
and devastated both the plains and the mountains.
But battles have brought them low,
and torn them up and driven them away,
So they remain forever subservient to us; [1782]
We inflict humiliation and degradation upon them.[664]
And so the next morning I was ruling the people,
with a crown on my head which will not be removed.

'Imrān b. Halbā' al-Kalbī gave the poet the following reply:[665]

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658. Al-Dīnawarī has an extra line here.

659. *Bi-'izzi Qaysin.* Al-Dīnawarī has *bi-kulli arḍin.* For the Ash'arīs (al-Ash-'ariyyūn), cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 200.

660. *Fīnā. Fragmenta,* 132 and *Ansāb,* 48 have *amsā asīran* (a *ḥāl* clause). Ibn al-Athīr has *asīrun,* which is also possible grammatically as the *khabar.*

661. *Yu'āliju min salāsilinā.* This is the version preferred by Ibn al-Athīr (V, 212); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 48; *Fragmenta,* 133. Al-Dīnawarī, 348, has *nuḥammiluhu salāsilanā.*

662. The Sakūn were a branch of the Kindah. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 503.

663. The text has *fa-mā istiqālū.* Ibn al-Athīr, V, 212, has *fa-mā istaqāmū,* which makes better sense. Al-Dīnawarī, 348, has *qad ista'ādhū.*

664. The second hemistich is almost a repetition of 1781, line 6.

665. This reply is not in the other sources.

Rein in your riding she-camel, O Ḥalāl,
and cut the cord of the one who has already severed union.
Has it not grieved you that he who has opposed
the chieftains of Yaman should be held in high esteem?
We have given long days
to the tribes of Nizār[666] on the Day of al-Marj[667]
And through us the crowned one of the Quraysh became king,[668]
and the good fortune of those who had perished perished with them.
When[ever] you confront the Sakūn and the Kalb
and the ʿAbs,[669] you may be sure that your sovereignty is at an end.
For unless a man is found to be just,
his own words will compass his downfall.
Prepare, O people of Ḥimyar,[670] whenever the call to arms is raised,
Indian swords and blood-spilling[671] spears,
And every[672] youthful horse with high short ribs
and endowed with two flanks, lean in belly and tall as mountains[673]
Will leave behind on every battlefield a dead warrior,
a man who had grown tired of the call[674] (to battle),
surrounded by birds.
If you reviled us for the deeds we have done,
you would be saying a dreadful thing.

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666. I.e., Muḍar and Rabīʿah.

667. This is probably a reference to the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ near Damascus in 64 (684), at which the Quḍaʿah led by the Kalb tribe defeated a confederation of Qays tribes and ensured that the caliphate would remain in the Marwānid line. For a discussion of the tribal implications of this battle, cf. Crone, 35; Wellhausen, 171–83; Rotter, 126–51; Dixon, 83–120.

668. I.e., the Umayyad caliph, Marwān I.

669. For the Banū ʿAbs, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 135; cf. *EI*², "Ghaṭafān" (J. Fück).

670. For the Banū Ḥimyar, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 324.

671. *Al-nihālā:* literally, "(blood) drinking."

672. The text has *wukulla.* This is emended to *wakullu.* Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXI.

673. The text has *al-ḥibālā.* The Cairo edition (236) has *al-jibālā,* which has been preferred in the translation.

674. *Qad madhila al-suʿālā.* This is instead of *min al-suʿāli* (lit., "who has become weary of asking"). Cf. *Gloss.*, p. DCLXXXIII.

As for the brothers of al-Ash'ath,[675] they were killed,
but they were neither trampled on nor humiliated.
As for the sons of al-Muhallab,[676] we have joined battle
against them, but you have fought none of them.
And the men of Judhām,[677] together with those of Lakhm,[678] [1783]
have set themselves against their brothers,
killing and scattering them.
We fled, refusing to help you against them,
but those who have assisted you have committed a grave error.
So if you do return, you should know that we have swords
which are sharp and which we polish continually.
We will mourn[679] Khālid by using your Indian swords,
nor will his great deeds be lost [from memory].
Has not Khālid been the rain sought by orphans
when they came to you and you gave them nothing?[680]
Khālid used to provide shrouds for the dead of Nizār,
and enrich the quick (of Nizār) with land and wealth.
If those who had done him wrong had been
in the courts of his own people, they would have been severely punished.
You will encounter, if you remain alive, clearly marked horses,
stern of expression, which are never without[681] their trappings.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī): The people's rage against al-Walīd only increased when

675. This is probably a reference to the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash'ath in 80–82 (699–702). Cf. *EI*², s.v. (Veccia Vaglieri); Hawting, 67–71; Dixon, 151–68; Crone, 110–11; Wellhausen, 232–48.

676. For the rebellion of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in 102 (720), cf. Wellhausen, 312–18; Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 93–95; Hawting, 73–76; al-Ṭabarī, II, 1402–05.

677. For the Banū Judhām, cf. *EI*², "Djudhām" (C. E. Bosworth). In the Umayyad period, they were close supporters of the Banū Marwān. The text has *Judhāmun*. This is corrected to *Judhāmu*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXII.

678. For the Banū Lakhm, cf. *EI*², s.v. (H. Lammens-I. Shahid). They were closely linked in Umayyad times with the Judhām.

679. The Leiden text has *satabkī*. The Cairo edition (VII, 236) has *sanabkī* ("we will mourn"), as does the emended version. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXII.

680. Literally, "while you were leanness for them."

681. The text has *lā yuzāyalna*. This is later emended to *lā yuzāyilna*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXII.

this poem was recited. Then Ibn Bīḍ[682] declaimed the following lines:[683]

You have loaded the cloud of affliction with further affliction, after
you asserted that the cloud of affliction would be lifted from us.
Would that Hishām were still alive ruling over us,
and that we still had our hopes and aspirations intact!

Hishām had appointed al-Walīd b. al-Qa'qā'[684] as agent of Qinnasrīn[685] and 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Qa'qā' in charge of Ḥimṣ. Al-Walīd b. al-Qa'qā' had given Ibn Hubayrah one hundred lashes.[686] When al-Walīd became caliph, the Banū al-Qa'qā'[687] fled from him and sought refuge at the grave of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.[688] Al-Walīd sent people to seize them. He then handed them over to Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah,[689] who was in charge of Qinnasrīn. Ibn Hubayrah tortured them, and al-Walīd b. al-Qa'qā', 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Qa'qā' and two other men from the Qa'qā' family died under torture.

[1784] The sons of al-Walīd (b. 'Abd al-Malik) and of Hishām, as well as the family of al-Qa'qā' and the Yamāniyyah, conceived a deep

682. Ibn al-Athīr has Hamzah b. Bīḍ (V, 213). *Fragmenta*, 133, and al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 48, give the poet the *nisbah* al-Ḥanafī. Cf. also Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, I, 289; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 42–43.

683. The meter is *ṭawīl*. Ibn al-Athīr has more lines of poetry, also by Ibn Bīḍ, at this point (loc. cit.). These are also in *Fragmenta*, 133.

684. Al-Walīd b. al-Qa'qā' had served in Armenia under Maslamah and in Khurāsān under Junayd. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 206; al-Ṭabarī, II, 1529, 1550. He was appointed *'āmil* of Qinnasrīn by Hishām in 119 (737). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1593. For the history of this family, cf. Crone, 105.

685. For this well-known city of northern Syria, cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 353–57; *EI*², s.v. (N. Elisséeff).

686. 'Umar b. Hubayrah al-Fazārī had been made governor of al-Jazīrah under 'Umar II in 100 (718–19). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1349; Wellhausen, 319–22, 326–28, 453–55. For the one hundred lashes, cf. also *Fragmenta*, 122.

687. The Banū al-Qa'qā' had supported Hishām in his unsuccessful attempts to have al-Walīd ousted as his heir apparent. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1742.

688. The Umayyad caliph, Yazīd II, who ruled 101–05 (720–24). Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table. *Fragmenta*, 122 has the Banū al-Qa'qā' fleeing to the grave of Marwān.

689. Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah later joined up with Marwān II. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 564. He was killed by the 'Abbāsids in 132 (749–50). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1913; III, 61; Crone, 107.

hatred for the caliph al-Walīd because of his treatment of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh. Accordingly, the Yamāniyyah went to Yazīd b. al-Walīd and tried to persuade him to have the oath of allegiance given to him. Yazīd consulted 'Amr[690] b. Yazīd al-Ḥakamī, who said: "The people will not give the oath of allegiance to you over this matter. Consult your brother al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd, for he is the head of the Banū Marwān.[691] If al-'Abbās gives you the oath of allegiance, no one else will oppose you. If al-'Abbās refuses, then the people will be more likely to obey him. If you insist on sticking to your opinion, then proclaim publicly that al-'Abbās has given the oath of allegiance to you." At that time Syria was plague-ridden and the conspirators went out into the desert country. Yazīd b. al-Walīd was encamped in the desert and al-'Abbās was at al-Qasṭal.[692] There was a distance of a few *mīl*s between the two of them.[693]

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī (al-Madā'inī): Yazīd came to his brother al-'Abbās and told him what had been happening.[694] Yazīd asked his advice and spoke abusively of al-Walīd. Then al-'Abbās said to him: "Go easy, Yazīd. By breaking God's oath you corrupt both true religion and this life on earth." Yazīd returned home and worked secretly among the people, who clandestinely gave him the oath of allegiance. Yazīd also issued secret instructions to al-Aḥnaf al-Kalbī, Yazīd b. 'Anbasah al-Saksakī, and a group of notables and chiefs who were in his confidence, and they privately canvassed people to join the cause. Then Yazīd paid another visit to his brother al-'Abbās, accompanied by their mawlā, Qaṭan.[695] Yazīd sought his brother's advice on this whole matter and told him that people were coming to him and trying to persuade him to accept their oath of allegiance. Al-'Abbās chided

690. The text has 'Amr. Ibn al-Athīr has 'Umar. For his biography, cf. Crone, 156.

691. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

692. Al-Qasṭal was a place near al-Balqā' in the area of Damascus, on the road to Medina. Cf. Yāqūt, IV, 95; Derenk, 121; Dussaud, 80, 85; Gaube, 67–73, 76–78, 85–86.

693. For these events, cf. *Fragmenta*, 133–34; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 48–49; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 213.

694. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 381.

695. According to al-Jahshiyārī, Qaṭan was in charge of *al-khātam al-kabīr* (*Wuzarā'*, 44).

him and said: "If you resort to this kind of behavior again, I will certainly tie you up tightly and take you to the Commander of the Faithful," so Yazīd and Qaṭan went away. Then al-ʿAbbās sent word to Qaṭan, saying: "Look here, Qaṭan! Do you think that Yazīd is in earnest?" Qaṭan said: "To tell the truth, I don't think
[1785] he is. But he can no longer endure[696] what he has heard of al-Walīd's treatment of the sons of Hishām and the sons of al-Walīd (b. ʿAbd al-Malik) and of the caliph's flippant and contemptuous attitude toward religion." Al-ʿAbbās replied: "By God, I myself think that he is the ill-starred one[697] of the Banū Marwān. Were it not for the fact that I am afraid that al-Walīd would act hastily and unfairly toward us, I would truss up Yazīd hand and foot[698] and take him to al-Walīd. So dissuade him from what he plans to do. He listens to you." Then Yazīd said to Qaṭan: "What did al-ʿAbbās say to you when he saw you?" So Qaṭan told Yazīd what al-ʿAbbās had said and Yazīd said: "No, by God, I won't hold back!"[699] When Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAmr b. ʿUtbah heard about the people's activities, he went to al-Walīd and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, you coax forth my tongue when we have a friendly conversation, but I hold it back out of reverence for you. I hear what you do not hear and I fear things which do not worry you.[700] Shall I speak honestly or remain silent out of obedience?" Al-Walīd said: "Everything is acceptable from you. God has hidden knowledge about us; it is our destiny to reach him. If the Banū Marwān knew that they are kindling a fire on red-hot stones which they are casting into their own bellies, they would not act in this way. Let us go back[701] (to what we were talking about) and we will hear what you have to say." Marwān b. Muḥammad heard

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696. *Mā qad ḍāqa bihi dharʿan.*

697. *Ashaʿma sakhlatin* ("the most inauspicious lamb"). It is tempting to use the English idiom "black sheep" here, but such an idiom does not take account of the nuance of ill luck in Arabic. Men who are *sukhkhāl* are weak and commit foul deeds (*ardhal*): cf. *Lisān*, II, 114. *Fragmenta*, 134 has *ashamma* ("disdainful"). Ibn al-Athīr, V, 213 has *ashaʿma mawlūdin* ("the most inauspicious offspring").

698. Literally, "I would tie Yazīd up tightly."

699. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 49; *Fragmenta*, 134.

700. Literally, "I fear that against which I see you feeling secure."

701. The text has *naʿūdhu* as does *Fragmenta*, 134. The apparatus has one suitable variant, *naʿūdu*, which is adopted by the Cairo edition (238), and which makes better sense. Al-Balādhurī also has *naʿūdu*. Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 50.

in Armenia that Yazīd was fomenting discord amongst the people and inciting them to depose al-Walīd. So Marwān wrote to Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān,[702] who was a God-fearing man,[703] ordering him to forbid the people to take such action and to restrain them, and saying:[704]

> Verily God has created for the benefit of all the members of a family pillars on which they may lean and by which they may guard themselves against dangers. By the grace of your Lord, you are one of the pillars of [the members of] your family. I have heard that a group of fools in your household have set in motion a certain matter.[705] If they achieve their aim in this matter, having agreed to abrogate their oath of allegiance, they will open a door which God will not shut for them until much blood of theirs has been shed. I myself am fully occupied on the most perilous of the Muslim frontiers. If I could get hold of these people, I would put their wrongdoing to rights with my own hand and with my own words. I would, moreover, fear God[706] if I did not act in this way[707] because I know what mischief is caused to religion and to this earthly life as a consequence of schism. (I know too) that the strength of a group will only ever be destroyed if they fall into disagreement amongst themselves and that if their words become confused their enemy will seek to overcome them. You are closer to these people than I am. Use deceit to find out what they are plotting and pretend to be on their side. When you find out anything about their conspiracy, [1786]

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702. Cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 192, 292, 298; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 332. He was made governor of Palestine. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1831.

703. The text has *wa-kāna Sa'īdu yatallahu*. The editor says that he has put this only as a tentative reading but that it was known that Sa'īd had a pious reputation. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1174. The editor's reading is supported by al-Balādhurī, who has *wa-kāna Sa'īdu muta'allihan*. Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 50. The Leiden text does not have the *hamzah*: it should read *yata'allahu*, as the Cairo edition (238) has it.

704. For another version of Marwān's letter, cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 50.

705. *Qad istannū amran*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCXCVIII. Al-Balādhurī has *qad assasū amran*. Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 50.

706. I.e., God's wrath.

707. Literally, "in neglecting that."

threaten that you will reveal their secrets. Grip them by your words and make them afraid of the consequences (of their acts). Perhaps God will restore to them what they have lost of their religion and their senses, for in the course of their striving, the general good is blighted[708] and the state is destroyed. So act quickly in this matter, whilst the cord of friendship is still tied fast, whilst the people are quiet and the frontiers are still protected. For (in the course of time) communal unity turns to disunity, prosperity is ousted by poverty,[709] and the numbers (of men) diminish. For the people of this world, [1787] these are (only) vicissitudes which come and go in the fluctuation between waxing and waning.[710] We, the people of this family, have received a prolonged series of blessings and this has caused distress[711] to all nations, to those who are hostile to such blessings and who envy those that possess them. It was because of the envy of Iblīs that Adam was driven out of Paradise. This group (of conspirators) have pinned their hopes on strife, but perhaps it is their souls which will perish without their achieving what they anticipated. Every family has ill-fated individuals because of whom God removes His favor. May God protect you from being one such person. Keep me informed of what they are up to. May God preserve your religion for you, may He deliver you from what He has made you enter into, and may He cause your reason to overcome your natural inclinations!

Sa'īd took this matter seriously and he sent Marwān's letter to al-'Abbās. Al-'Abbās summoned Yazīd and he reproached and threatened him. Yazīd warned al-'Abbās, saying: "I am afraid, brother, that one of those enemies of ours who envy us this prosperity wants to stir up trouble between us." Then Yazīd swore an

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708. Literally, "there is a changing of favors (from God)." Cf. Qur'ān 8, v. 55.

709. Here al-Balādhurī's version of the letter ends.

710. *Wa-duwalu al-layālī mukhalifatun 'alā ahli al-dunyā wa-al-taqallubu ma'a al-ziyādati wa-al-nuqṣāni:* literally, "The turnings of the nights are varied on the people of this world and (there is) fluctuation between increasing and decreasing." Cf. Qur'ān 3, v. 140.

711. The text has *qad yu'nā bihā*. The Cairo edition (238) has *qad ya'ībuhā* ("have castigated them").

oath to al-'Abbās that he had not done anything wrong, and his brother believed him.

According to Aḥmad—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—Ibn Bishr b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik: My father Bishr b. al-Walīd[712] went in to see my uncle al-'Abbās and spoke to him on the matter of deposing al-Walīd and giving the oath of allegiance to Yazīd. Al-'Abbās was against the idea and my father argued the opposing point of view with him. I rejoiced and told myself: "Here is my father daring to speak to my uncle and to dispute what he says with him." I could see where my father was correct in what he said, but the truth (really) lay with what my uncle said.[713] Al-'Abbās sighed: "O Banū Marwān! I do believe that God has permitted your destruction." He then recited the following verses:[714] [1788]

I beseech God to protect you from temptations
that loom as high as mountains, and then violently erupt.
Verily God's creatures have grown tired of your policies,
so hold fast to the pillar of religion, and keep a tight rein on yourselves.
Do not offer yourselves as prey to men who are wolves,
for wolves devour meat whenever they are offered it.
And do not rip open your bellies with your own hands,
for by then neither sorrow nor alarm will bring you relief.

After Yazīd had made his arrangements and while he was still living in the desert, he went toward Damascus until he reached a distance of four nights from Damascus; he was in disguise, accompanied by seven people, riding asses. They then stopped at Jarūd,[715] which was a day's journey from Damascus. Yazīd threw himself down and went to sleep. The people with him said to a mawlā of 'Abbād b. Ziyād: "If you have any food, we will buy it." The mawlā replied: "I won't sell you anything, but you may have

712. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table. Bishr and al-'Abbās were brothers.

713. This is presumably what is meant here. The text has *wa-kuntu arā anna al-ṣawāba fīmā yaqūlu abī wa-kāna al-sawabu fīmā yaqūlu 'ammī*. Alternatively, Ibn Bishr could mean that he saw the right in both viewpoints.

714. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 51; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 137; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 214. The meter is *basīṭ*.

715. A village of Ma'lūlā. Cf. Yāqūt, II, 65; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 463.

hospitality and food enough from me." So he brought them hens, young chickens, honey, clarified butter, and curds, which they ate. Then Yazīd set off again and entered Damascus at night. Most of the people of Damascus had already given the oath of allegiance secretly to Yazīd, as had the people of al-Mizzah,[716] apart from Muʿāwiyah b. Maṣād al-Kalbī, who was their leader.
[1789] Accordingly, Yazīd marched off immediately to the house of Muʿāwiyah b. Maṣād, accompanied by a small group of his followers. Al-Mizzah was a *mīl* or more away from Damascus. (On their way) they met with heavy rain. When they arrived at the house of Muʿāwiyah b. Maṣād, they knocked on his door and somebody opened it for them. Yazīd went in and Muʿāwiyah said to him: "Mind the carpet, for God's sake." Yazīd replied: "Indeed, I do have mud on my feet and I don't want to ruin your carpet." Muʿāwiyah said: "What you want us to do is worse" (than ruining the carpet). Then Yazīd talked to him and Muʿāwiyah gave him the oath of allegiance. Some reports said that his name was Hishām b. Maṣād.

Thereafter, Yazīd returned to Damascus, taking the canal road and riding on a black ass.[717] He then lodged in the house of Thābit b. Sulaymān b. Saʿd al-Khushanī.[718] Al-Walīd b. Rawḥ departed, having sworn that he would enter Damascus only if he were armed. So he girded himself with his weapons and covered them with his clothes. He took the Nayrāb[719] road, riding a piebald horse, and rode until he had caught up with Yazīd. In charge of Damascus (at this time) was ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.[720] Since he was afraid of the plague, he left Damascus and took up residence in Qaṭāna,[721] having appointed his son as his deputy in Damascus while Abū al-ʿĀj Ka-

716. Al-Mizzah was a large village in the upper part of the Ghūṭah of Damascus. Cf. Yāqūt, IV, 522; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 508. The area was well-known for its Qadarī sympathies. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 135; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 51.

717. Perhaps this is a hint at a messianic status. Cf. Hawting, 93.

718. The text has al-Khushanī. *Fragmenta*, 135, has al-Khushaynī. Al-Iṣfahānī has al-Ḥasanī; cf. *Aghānī*, VI, 137.

719. Al-Nayrab was a village near Damascus, famous for its gardens. Cf. Yāqūt, IV, 855; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 515.

720. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1778–79.

721. Qaṭanā was one of the villages in the area. Cf. Yāqūt, IV, 137; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 483.

thīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī[722] was in charge of his *shurṭah*. Then Yazīd decided to come out into the open. The governor was told that Yazīd was raising a rebellion, but he did not believe it. Yazīd sent for his followers between the dusk prayer and the late night prayer on a Thursday night in 126 [October 25, 743–October 12, 744].[723] They hid themselves at the Farādīs Gate[724] until the [1790] muezzins had made the dusk call to prayer. Then the rebels went into the mosque and performed the prayer. Now there were at the mosque guards who had the task of dispersing the people from the mosque at night. So after the people had prayed, the guards shouted to them to leave. Yazīd's followers lingered behind and began leaving by the *maqṣūrah* door[725] and going back in again by another door. This continued until there was no one left in the mosque but the guards and Yazīd's followers, who then seized the guards. Yazīd b. 'Anbasah went to Yazīd b. al-Walīd, told him what had happened, took his hand, and said: "Rise, O Commander of the Faithful and rejoice in God's help and succour!" Yazīd arose and said: "O God, if it is pleasing to you, then assist me to perform this task and reveal to me the right way in it. If it is not pleasing to you, then relieve me of the task by my death."[726]

Yazīd went forth with twelve men. On reaching the donkey market, they met forty of their companions. When they came to the grain market, they were joined by some two hundred of their supporters.[727] Then they proceeded to the mosque. They went inside, made for the *maqṣūrah* door and knocked on it, saying: "We are messengers from al-Walīd." A servant opened the door to them. They seized him, went inside, and captured Abū al-'Āj, who

722. He had been governor of al-Baṣrah from 120 to 122 (737–40). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1667.

723. This rather unsatisfactory date is repeated in the other sources. Only al-Iṣfahānī is more precise. He gives a Friday in the following year, Jumādā II, 127 [March 10–April 7, 745]. Cf. *Aghānī*, VI, 138.

724. There was a quarter of the city of Damascus called Farādīs, after which the city gate was named. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 439; Yāqūt, III, 862.

725. For the probable location of the *maqṣūrah* door of the mosque, cf. Creswell, I, 172, fig. 89.

726. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 135–36; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 51–52; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 137–38; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 214.

727. Al-Balādhurī writes that they were about two hundred and sixty men. Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 52. Cf. also *Fragmenta*, 136.

was drunk. They also seized the treasurers of the *bayt al-māl*[728] and the postmaster. Then Yazīd sent men to all the people whom he feared and they were arrested. Yazīd immediately sent people to Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydah, the mawlā of Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, who was in charge of Ba'labakk,[729] and he was arrested. Yazīd also dispatched men at once to 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj,
[1791] and he too was seized. Then Yazīd sent to al-Thaniyyah[730] to his followers requesting them to join him. Yazīd ordered the gatekeepers[731] (of the city): "In the morning, open the gate only to those who give you our password," and they left the gates chained up. There were many weapons inside the mosque which Sulaymān b. Hishām had brought from the Jazīrah. The treasurers had not managed to appropriate them, so Yazīd's followers took them, and acquired a large number of them. In the morning Ibn 'Iṣām and the people of al-Mizzah came, and by the middle of the day the people had given the oath of allegiance to Yazīd, who recited the following lines:[732]

When they are made to dismount from their horses to stab
each other, they stride
toward death in the manner of refractory camels.

Yazīd's followers were amazed and said: "Look at this man! Before dawn he was glorifying God and now he is reciting poetry!"

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbī—Razīn b. Mājid: In the morning we went with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maṣād—we numbered around fifteen hundred

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728. The *bayt al-māl* was situated inside the Great Mosque of Damascus, on the northwest side of the courtyard. Cf. the description given by al-Muqaddasī and quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine*, 227.

729. Ba'labakk (Heliopolis) was part of the *jund* of Damascus in Umayyad times. Cf. Ya'qūbī, *Les Pays*, 172–73; Yāqūt, I, 672, 675; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 295–98; *EI*², s.v. (J. Sourdel-Thomine).

730. This is a reference to Thaniyyat al-'Uqāb (the Eagle's Gorge), which was a pass situated to the north of Damascus. Cf. Yāqūt, I, 936; III, 691; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 383, 545.

731. It is not quite clear whether this is a reference to the doors of the mosque or the gates of the city. *Fragmenta*, 137, specifies that it was the gates of the city; this seems more probable.

732. The meter is *ṭawīl*. For these verses, cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 53; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 128; *Framenta*, 137. The Cairo edition of al-Ṭabarī, 241, notes that this is from the *dīwān* of al-Nābighah.

men—as far as the Jābiyah Gate.[733] We found it to be locked, and there was a messenger of al-Walīd. He said: "Why these (warlike) preparations and equipment? Indeed, by God, I shall certainly inform the Commander of the Faithful," so a man from al-Mizzah killed him. Then we entered Damascus by the Jabīyah Gate. We went first into the Kalbiyyīn alley, but it was too narrow for us (because of our large numbers). So some of us took the route through the grain market. Then we assembled at the door of the mosque and we went in to see Yazīd. Before the last of our [1792] number had finished greeting Yazīd, the Sakāsik[734] arrived, numbering around three hundred men. They had entered the city from the Sharqī Gate and when they reached the mosque they came in by the Daraj door.[735] Thereafter Ya'qūb b. 'Umayr b. Hānī al-'Absī[736] arrived with the people of Dārayyā.[737] They entered Damascus through the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr.[738] Then 'Īsā b. Shabīb al-Taghlibī[739] came with the people of Dūma and Ḥarastā,[740] and they came in through the Tūmā Gate.[741] Ḥumayd b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī brought the people of Dayr al-Murrān,[742] al-Arzah, and Saṭrā,[743] entering Damascus by the Farādīs Gate. Al-Naḍr b.

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733. The Bāb al-Jābiyah was at the western end of the "Street called Straight." Jābiyah was a suburb of the city. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 231.

734. The Sakāsik were a branch of the Kindah. They had fought for the Umayyads at Marj Rāḥit in 64 (683). Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 503.

735. The Daraj door is not identifiable but in this same context al-Balādhurī calls it Bāb Jayrūn. Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 53. This was the eastern door of the mosque. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 260.

736. There is some doubt about this man's *nisbah*. In the text it is al-'Absī but in the apparatus the variant al-'Ansī is given. Ya'qūb's father, 'Umayr, was used by al-Ḥajjāj to control the Kurds and was later made deputy governor of al-Kūfah. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 385; Crone, 140. Al-Balādhurī gives him no *nisbah* (loc. cit.). Ibn al-Athīr, V, 215, has al-'Absī.

737. Dārayyā was a village in the Damascus area. Cf. Yāqūt, II, 536; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 436.

738. The Bāb al-Ṣaghīr was situated at the southwestern angle of the Damascus city wall. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 231.

739. Cf. Crone, 160–61.

740. Ḥarastā was a farmstead in the Damascus area. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 237; Yāqūt, II, 241.

741. The Bāb Tūmā was a city gate of Damascus facing northeast. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 254.

742. Dayr al-Murrān was a monastery near Damascus. Cf. Yāqūt, I, 696; IV, 480.

743. Saṭrā was a village of the Damascus area. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 532; Yāqūt, III, 90.

'Umar al-Jarashī came with the people of Jarash,[744] al-Ḥadīthah,[745] and Dayr Zakkā,[746] entering by the Sharqī Gate. Rib'ī b. Hāshim al-Ḥārithī arrived with a group of the Banū 'Uthrah[747] and Salāmān,[748] and they came in by the Tūmā Gate. The Banū Juhaynah[749] and those affiliated to them came with Ṭalḥah b. Sa'īd,[750] and one of their poets recited the following verses:[751]

Their supporters flocked to them at daybreak,
among them the Sakāsik, the courageous tent-dwellers.
The Kalb brought them horses, and furnished them[752]
with bright white swords and with their torsos and forearms.
[1793] Honor them as the bulwarks of a tradition (*sunnah*),[753]
for it was they who protected their honor against every unbeliever.
And Sha'bān[754] and al-Azd joined them with spears extended,
and 'Abs and Lakhm acted as protectors and defenders,
As did Ghassān[755] and the two tribes of Qays and Taghlib,[756]
whilst every weak-kneed laggard declined the challenge.
So as soon as morning broke upon them, they were kings of powerful authority,

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744. Jarash (the ancient Gerasa) was a town in Transjordan to the southeast of the Jabal 'Ajlūn. Cf. Yāqūt, II, 61; *EI*², s.v. (D. Sourdel).

745. Al-Ḥadīthah was a village in the Ghūṭah of Damascus. It was also called Ḥadīthat Jarash. Cf. Yāqūt, II, 225; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 445.

746. Dayr Zakkā was also a village in the Ghūṭah. Cf. Yāqūt, II, 665; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 435.

747. For the Banū 'Uthrah, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 565–66. The tribe were within the sphere of the Ghassānids, and well before the coming of Islam had gone to Syria and become Christians.

748. The Banū Salāmān were a subgroup of the Banū 'Uthrah who settled in Syria. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 414.

749. For the Banū Juhaynah, cf. n. 227.

750. This may be the same person who had earlier been deputy governor of al-Baṣrah. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 414, and the discussion in Crone, 139.

751. The meter is *ṭawīl*. For these verses, cf. also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 54. The textual differences are only minor.

752. Literally, "brought them horses and supplies."

753. Literally, "honor them as the firm supporters of a tradition."

754. For the Banū Sha'bān, a branch of the Ḥimyar, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 521.

755. For the Banū Ghassān, cf. *EI*², s.v. (I. Shahid).

756. For the Banū Taghlib, an important tribe of the Rabī'ah, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 541–42. The Taghlib were allowed to remain Christians during the Umayyad period without having the status of the *ahl al-dhimmah*.

and firm was their hold over every disobedient, insolent rebel.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbī—Qusaym b. Ya'qūb and Razīn b. Mājid and others: Yazīd b. al-Walīd sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maṣād with two hundred or so horsemen to Qaṭanā[757] to seize 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, who had entrenched himself in his castle. 'Abd al-Raḥmān gave him safe-conduct and 'Abd al-Malik came out to him. We then entered the castle and there we discovered two saddlebags, each containing thirty thousand dīnārs. When we reached al-Mizzah, I said to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maṣād: "Take one or both of these saddlebags home with you. You will never get anything like them from Yazīd!" 'Abd al-Raḥmān replied: "(If I did that) I would be the first to [1794] commit treachery. No, the Arabs shall not say that I was the first person to act treacherously in this affair." Then he took the money to Yazīd b. al-Walīd.

Yazīd b. al-Walīd sent word to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik and gave him orders that he should station himself at the Jābiyah Gate.[758] Then Yazīd said: "Let anyone who has a stipend come and get it. Anyone who has no stipend may have a subsidy of one thousand dirhams." Next, Yazīd instructed the sons of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik—he had thirteen of them with him: "Disperse yourselves among the people so that they can see you, and whip up enthusiasm in them." He then said to al-Walīd b. Rawḥ b. al-Walīd: "Bring al-Rāhib down,"[759] and al-Walīd did so.

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbī—Dukayn b. al-Shammakh al-Kalbī and Abū 'Ilāqah b. Ṣāliḥ al-Salāmānī: Yazīd b. al-Walīd issued the following proclamation: "Anyone who joins up to fight against the libertine (al-Walīd) will have one thousand dirhams." Even so, fewer than one thousand men gathered to Yazīd. Then he caused the

757. The text has Qaṭan. Earlier, al-Ṭabarī reported that 'Abd al-Malik had fled the plague and taken up residence in Qaṭanā. Cf. II, 1789.

758. Literally, "he ordered him and he stood at the Jābiyah Gate."

759. *Anzil al-rāhiba fa-fa'ala* ("bring the monk down, so he did (?)"). This isolated snippet is not explained nor is there information in any of the other sources.

760. For a long biography of Manṣūr b. Jumhūr al-Kalbī, cf. Crone, 158–59.

following proclamation to be made: "Anyone who joins up to fight the libertine will have fifteen hundred dirhams", and on that day fifteen hundred joined up. Yazīd put Manṣūr b. Jumhūr[760] in charge of one contingent, Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym al-Kalbī in charge of another, Harim b. 'Abdallāh b. Daḥyah[761] over
[1795] another, and Ḥumayd b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī over another. In overall charge of these men, Yazīd appointed 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik, who set out and made camp at al-Ḥīrah.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbī—Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd: When Yazīd b. al-Walīd rose up in rebellion, a mawlā of al-Walīd got on his horse and went off at once to al-Walīd. His horse died when he reached his destination. The mawlā told al-Walīd what had happened, whereupon al-Walīd gave him one hundred lashes and threw him into prison. Then al-Walīd summoned Abū Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, gave him money, and sent him to Damascus. Abū Muḥammad departed and on reaching Dhanabah,[762] he made a halt. Yazīd b. al-Walīd sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maṣād to him. Then Abū Muḥammad made his peace with him and gave the oath of allegiance to him. News of this reached al-Walīd when he was at al-Aghdaf,[763] which is in the 'Ammān area. Bayhas b. Zumayl al-Kilābī said—or, according to another report, the speaker was Yazīd b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah—"O Commander of the Faithful, go and establish yourself in Ḥimṣ, as it is well-fortified. Send troops against Yazīd so that he may be killed or imprisoned." However, 'Abdallāh b. 'Anbasah b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ said: "It is not fitting for a caliph to leave his camp[764] and his women before he has fought and (thus) shown himself to be without blame. It is God who strengthens and succors the Commander of the Faithful." Yazīd b. Khālid said: "What should the caliph have to fear for his women when it

761. The editor gives two vocalizations: Daḥyah and Diḥyah. The latter has been preferred because of the known form of the name Diḥyah b. Khalīfah, who was one of the Prophet's Companions. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 232; Crone, 156–57.

762. Dhanabah was one of the districts of Damascus. Cf. Yāqūt, II, 724; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 437.

763. For al-Aghdaf, cf. n. 465. Al-Balādhurī has al-Azraq; cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 55.

764. It would be more appropriate in this context to translate *'askar* as "camp" rather than "troops." Al-Balādhurī has "his camp, his treasures, and his women." Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 56. Cf. also a similar version in *Fragmenta*, 139.

is only 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik[765] who would head the opposing forces? (After all,) he is their paternal cousin." Al-Walīd, (however,) took the advice of Ibn 'Anbasah. Then al-Abrash Sa'īd b. al-Walīd al-Kalbī said to al-Walīd: "O Commander of the Faithful, Tadmur[766] is well fortified and my people there will defend you." Al-Walīd replied: "I don't think it is wise for us to go to Tadmur,[767] since the people there are the Banū 'Āmir who are the ones who have rebelled against me. But suggest another fortified place to me." Al-Abrash said: "I think you should stay in al-Qaryah."[768] Al-Walīd replied: "I don't like it." Al-Abrash said: "Then there is al-Hazīm."[769] Al-Walīd said: "I hate its name." So al-Abrash said: "Then there is al-Bakhrā',[770] the citadel of al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr." Whereupon al-Walīd exclaimed: "Fie on you. How ugly are the names of your watering places!" Then al-Walīd set out with two hundred men on the Samāwah[771] road and he left the cultivated land behind him. Al-Walīd recited the following verses:[772] [1796]

If you do not mingle good with evil, you will not find
a faithful adviser nor anyone to help you when need
overtakes you.
Whenever they intend to commit one of their sinful actions,
I will bare my head and uncover my face.

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765. Literally, "it is only 'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik coming to them."

766. Viz., Palmyra. Cf. *EI*[1], "Palmyra" (F. Buhl); Yāqūt, I, 828.

767. Al-Balādhurī and *Fragmenta* add: "and its name is its name" (loc. cit.). *Tadmuru* means "you perish."

768. Al-Qaryah. This is vocalized by Guidi in the indices to the *Aghānī*, 761, as al-Qurayyah. Probably this is a place-name too. Perhaps it is a reference to the village at Palmyra or to the well-known place al-Qaryatayn.

769. Hazīm was due south of Palmyra. Cf. Dussaud, 79. *Hazīm* can mean "a voice like thunder." Cf. *Lisān*, III, 805.

770. Al-Bakhrā': the feminine of *abkhar* ("to have a stinking mouth"). Al-Bakhrā' has been sited variously in eastern Syria (Huart, I, 276); near al-Qaryatayn between Damascus and Palmyra (von Kremer, I, 152); and 25 km south of Palmyra (Derenk, 46). Derenk's location is probably the correct one. Al-Nu'man b. Bashīr was a Companion of the Prophet, after whom the town of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān was named. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 495–97.

771. Al-Samāwah was the name of the desert between al-Kūfah and Syria. Cf. Yāqūt, III, 131; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 530.

772. These verses are also to be found in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, loc. cit.; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 111. The meter is *ṭawīl*.

Al-Walīd passed by the well country[773] of al-Ḍaḥḥāk[774] b. Qays al-Fihrī, where he came across some of his[775] sons and grandsons, who numbered forty men, and they went with him. They said to al-Walīd: "We are unarmed. What about ordering some arms for us?" but he did not give them a single sword or spear. Then Bayhas b. Zumayl said to al-Walīd: "Since you have refused to go to Ḥims or Tadmur, what about this fortress, al-Bakhrā'? It is well fortified and was built by the Persians. Stay here." Al-Walīd [1797] replied: "I am afraid of the plague." Whereupon Bayhas replied: "What is in store for you is worse than the plague." Then al-Walīd settled at the fortress of al-Bakhrā'.

Yazīd b. al-Walīd summoned the people to fight with 'Abd al-'Azīz against al-Walīd, and he issued a proclamation that anyone who went with 'Abd al-'Azīz would receive two thousand dirhams. Then two thousand men joined up and Yazīd gave them two thousand dirhams each, saying to them: "Your destination is Dhanabah".[776] But (only) twelve hundred men reached Dhanabah. Then Yazīd said to them: "You must now go to the stronghold of the sons of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd[777] in the desert." But only eight hundred men reached it. 'Abd al-'Azīz[778] moved on and met up with al-Walīd's baggage train, which they seized. They then camped near al-Walīd.

An envoy from al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd reached al-Walīd with a message from al-'Abbās to the effect that he was coming to join him. Then al-Walīd said: "Bring out a couch." A couch was brought out and he sat down on it, saying: "So men dare to attack me, when I attack the lion and strangle the serpent?"[779] and al-Walīd and his followers awaited the arrival of al-'Abbās.

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773. *Fa-marra bi-shabakati Ḍaḥḥāk.*

774. Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihrī was a very influential leader of the Qays in Mu'āwiyah's time, first as his *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* and then as governor of Damascus. He was killed at Marj Rāhiṭ in 64 (684). For an account of his career, cf. *EI²*, s.v. (A. Dietrich).

775. Ibn al-Athīr makes it clear that "his" sons and grandsons is a reference to al-Ḍaḥḥāk (V, 216).

776. Al-Iṣfahānī has D.nyah for this place name. Cf. *Aghānī*, VI, 138.

777. The sons of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. Cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

778. It is not clear from the text who is meant here. Presumably it is the leader, 'Abd al-'Azīz, who had been sent out against al-Walīd by Yazīd.

779. The text has *a-'alayya tawaththaba al-rijālu wa-anā athibu 'alā al-asadi?*

Then 'Abd al-'Azīz launched the attack against al-Walīd and his followers.[780] In charge of his right flank was 'Amr b. Ḥuwayy al-Saksakī[781] whilst Manṣūr b. Jumhūr headed the vanguard.[782] In charge of the infantry was 'Umārah b. Abī Kulthūm al-Azdī.[783] 'Abd al-'Azīz called for a black mule of his to be brought and he mounted it. 'Abd al-'Azīz sent Ziyād b. Ḥusayn al-Kalbī to speak to al-Walīd and his followers and to summon them to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet, but Qaṭarī,[784] the mawlā of al-Walīd, killed Ziyād. Then Yazīd's men withdrew, 'Abd al-'Azīz dismounted, and his followers fled. A number of soldiers of 'Abd [1798] al-'Azīz had been killed and their heads had been taken to al-Walīd, who was at the gate of the citadel of al-Bakhrā', having displayed the flag of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam which Marwān had raised at al-Jābiyah.[785] 'Uthmān al-Khashabī[786] was amongst the followers of al-Walīd b. Yazīd who were killed; he had been slain by Junaḥ b. Nu'aym al-Kalbī. 'Uthmān was one of the sons of the Khashabiyyah[787] who had been with al-Mukhtār.

When 'Abd al-'Azīz heard that al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd was com-

The version in al-Balādhurī is more satisfactory, replacing *tawaththaba* with *yatawaththabu*. Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 57. Cf. also *Fragmenta*, 140.

780. Literally, "'Abd al-'Azīz fought them."

781. 'Amr b. Ḥuwayy al-Saksakī was a descendant of a *sharīf* of Damascus who fought for Mu'āwiyah at Ṣiffīn.

782. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 222. Oddly enough, 'Amr b. Ḥuwayy himself is listed as being amongst those men on whom Yazīd showered honors, having suppressed their rebellion. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1831; Crone, 155.

783. This is the form of the name given by al-Ṭabarī. Al-Balādhurī and *Fragmenta* have 'Umārah b. Kulthūm al-Azdī (loc. cit.). He was a close associate of Khālid al-Qasrī and was executed by Marwān II. Cf. Crone, 163.

784. Al-Balādhurī also has Qaṭarī (loc. cit.). A variant in the apparatus (from MS. B) has Qaṭan. Qaṭan was certainly a mawlā, too, but he was the mawlā of Yazīd and his brother, al-'Abbās. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 145.

785. Before the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ in 64 (684), the aged Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (Marwān II) had pitched camp at al-Jābiyah. Cf. *EI*[1], s.v. (H. Lammens). Al-Balādhurī and *Fragmenta* have: "which he had raised at al-Jābiyah to fight al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays." (loc. cit.).

786. Al-Iṣfahānī has Yazīd b. 'Uthmān al-Khashabī (loc. cit.).

787. *Khashabiyyah* ("men armed with clubs") was originally an abusive name for the mawlās who were armed with clubs and formed the main body of al-Mukhtār's supporters. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 684; *EI*[2], "Khashabiyya" (C. van Arendonk). For a recent account of the revolt of al-Mukhtār, which centered on al-Kūfah between 65 and 68 (685–687), cf. Hawting, 51–53.

ing, he despatched Manṣūr b. Jumhūr with some cavalry and said: "You will meet al-'Abbās and his sons at al-Shi'b.[788] Seize them." So Manṣūr left with some cavalry, and when they came to al-Shi'b they saw al-'Abbās with thirty of his sons. Manṣūr's men said to al-'Abbās: "Join 'Abd al-'Azīz," whereupon al-'Abbās hurled insults at them. Then Manṣūr said to al-'Abbās: "By God, if you advance any further, I will surely penetrate your stronghold, by which I mean your breastplate."[789] According to Nūḥ b. 'Amr b. Ḥuwayy al-Saksakī: It was Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym al-Kalbī who met al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd. Ya'qūb asked al-'Abbās to join forces with 'Abd al-'Azīz but al-'Abbās refused to do so.

Then Ya'qūb said: "O son of Qusṭanīn,[790] if you refuse, I shall strike you on the head."[791] Al-'Abbās looked at Harim b. 'Abdallāh b. Diḥyah and said: "Who is this?" Harim replied: "It is Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym." Then al-'Abbās said: "In-
[1799] deed, by God, how horrified his father would be to see his son in this position." Then Ya'qūb brought al-'Abbās to the camp of 'Abd al-'Azīz.[792] Al-'Abbās did not have his followers with him, as he had gone ahead of them with his sons, so he said: "We belong to God!" Al-'Abbās was brought before 'Abd al-'Azīz, who adjured him: "Give the oath of allegiance to your brother Yazīd b. al-Walīd." This al-'Abbās did. Then he stood up and the rebels raised a flag, saying: "This is the flag of al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd, who has given the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful, Yazīd b. al-Walīd." Thereupon al-'Abbās said: "We belong to God! This is one the wiles of the Devil. The house of Marwān is destroyed!"

Thereafter, people defected from al-Walīd's army[793] and came to join al-'Abbās and 'Abd al-'Azīz. Al-Walīd came forth, wearing two coats of mail, and his two horses, al-Sindī and al-Zā'id,[794]

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788. Al-Shi'b ("the Pass").

789. Literally, "your stronghold, meaning your breastplate."

790. He was called son of Constantine because his mother was a Christian. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. DCCXII. *Fragmenta*, 141, has Qusṭanin.

791. Literally, "I will strike that in which your (two) eyes are."

792. Al-Balādhurī adds: "He (al-'Abbās) was like a prisoner amongst them." Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 58. Cf. also *Fragmenta*, 141.

793. Literally, "defected from al-Walīd."

794. For these two horses, cf. Mas'ūdī, VI, 13, 16. The horse called al-Zā'id had belonged to Hishām. *Fragmenta* has al-Sandarī for al-Sindī (loc. cit.).

were brought to him. Then he launched himself fiercely into the fray.[795] Somebody shouted to the rebels: "Kill the enemy of God in the way Lot's family were killed. Throw stones at him." When al-Walīd heard that, he went into the citadel and locked the door and 'Abd al-'Azīz and his followers surrounded the citadel. Then al-Walīd went up to the door and said: "Is there anyone amongst you who is an honorable man of noble descent and who has a proper sense of shame, to whom I can speak?" Yazīd b. 'Anbasah al-Saksakī said to him: "Speak with me." Al-Walīd asked him who he was and he replied: "I am Yazīd b. 'Anbasah." Then al-Walīd exclaimed: "O brother of the Sakāsik! Did I not increase your stipends? Did I not remove onerous taxes from you? Did I not make gifts to your poor and give servants to your cripples?" Yazīd b. 'Anbasah replied: "We don't have any personal grudge against you. We are against you because you have violated the sacred ordinances of God, because you have drunk wine, because [1800] you have debauched the mothers of your father's sons, and because you have held God's command in contempt."[796] Al-Walīd replied: "That's enough from you, brother of the Sakāsik! By my life, you have said too much and gone too far. God's dispensation to me leaves scope for what you have mentioned."[797] With that he went into the room, sat down, took a copy of the Qur'ān, and said: "This is a day like the day 'Uthmān was killed,"[798] and he began to recite. Then the rebels began to scale the wall. The first person over the top was Yazīd b. 'Anbasah al-Saksakī. He climbed down and went up to al-Walīd, whose sword was at his side. Then Yazīd said to him: "Take off your sword." Al-Walīd replied: "If I had wanted my sword, the situation between you and me would have been different from this." Then Yazīd took al-Walīd's hand, wanting to take him into custody and to have consultations about

795. Literally, "then he fought them a fierce fight."

796. Al-Balādhurī adds to this catalog of sins the allegation that al-Walīd was a homosexual (loc. cit.).

797. *Wa-inna fīmā uḥilla lī la-sa'atan 'ammā dhakarta* ("In what has been allowed to me there is scope for what you have mentioned"). Cf. the same wording in al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 139. Al-Balādhurī (loc. cit.) has *wa-inna fīmā aḥalla Allāhu la-mandūḥatun 'ammā dhakarta* ("verily in what God has decreed as permissible there is ample scope for what you have mentioned").

798. The third caliph of Islam, 'Uthmān, had been killed while reading the Qur'ān.

what should be done with him.[799] At that point ten men came down from the wall;[800] amongst them were Mansūr b. Jumhūr, Ḥibāl b. 'Amr al-Kalbī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ajlān, who was the mawlā of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, Ḥumayd b. Naṣr al-Lakhmī, al-Sarī b. Ziyād b. Abī Kabshah, and 'Abd al-Salām al-Lakhmī. 'Abd al-Salām struck al-Walīd on the head and al-Sarī hit him in the face; then five of them seized him to take him outside. A woman who was with al-Walīd in the room screamed, so they let go of al-Walīd and did not take him out. Then Abū 'Ilāqah al-Quḍā'ī cut off al-Walīd's head. He took some gut and sewed up the wound on al-Walīd's face. Thereupon Rawḥ b. Muqbil took al-Walīd's head to Yazīd (b. al-Walīd) and said: "Rejoice, O Commander of the Faithful. The libertine, al-Walīd, has been slain and those who were with him and with al-'Abbās have been taken prisoner!"
[1801] Yazīd was eating his lunch and both he and his companions prostrated themselves (in thanks to God).[801] Then Yazīd b. 'Anbasah al-Saksakī stood up, took the hand of Yazīd (b. al-Walīd)[802] and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, arise and rejoice in God's victory." Yazīd removed his hand from the hand of Ibn 'Anbasah and said: "O God, if this is pleasing to you, then direct me to the right way." Yazīd asked Yazīd b. 'Anbasah: "Did al-Walīd speak to you?" Ibn 'Anbasah said: "Yes, al-Walīd spoke to me from behind the door. He said: 'Is there anyone of noble descent among you to whom I may speak?' So it was I who spoke to him and I upbraided him. Then al-Walīd replied: 'That's enough from you. By my life, you have gone too far and said too much. The disunity amongst you will never be healed,[803] and dissension amongst you will never be put right and your tongues will never agree.'"

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799. Al-Balādhurī has: "to have consultations with Yazīd b. al-Walīd about him" (loc. cit.).

800. The account in the *Aghānī* is clearer and has been followed here: *fa-nazala min al-ḥā'iṭi 'asharatun fīhim* (loc. cit.). The text in al-Ṭabarī states that there were ten men and then enumerates only six of them.

801. Ibn A'tham has: "he (Yazīd) and those with him prostrated themselves out of joy before Almighty God, just as Abū al-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ prostrated himself when Marwān b. Muḥammad died" (VIII, 140–41).

802. In view of the fact that the narrative involves two people called Yazīd, the aim here has been to clarify which Yazīd is performing which action.

803. Cf. al-Balādhurī, loc. cit. This might be an optative, which may use the present tense: "may the disunity amongst you never be healed . . ."

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbī—Nūḥ b. 'Amr b. Huwayy al-Saksakī: We went out to fight against al-Walīd on nights when there was no moon; (it was so dark that) I could not see the stones at all, let alone distinguish between black stones and white.[804] Al-Walīd b. Khālid, the nephew of al-Abrash al-Kalbī, was on the left flank of al-Walīd's forces with the Banū 'Āmir. There were also men of the Banū 'Āmir on the right flank (of the forces) of 'Abd al-'Azīz, so the men on al-Walīd's left flank would not fight those on the right flank of 'Abd al-'Azīz, and they defected en masse to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj. Nūḥ b. 'Amr said: "I saw the servants and dependents of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, on the day he was killed, seizing hold of the rebels' hands and showing them where al-Walīd was."[805]

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbī—al-Muthannā b. Mu'āwiyah: Al-Walīd came and camped at al-Lu'lu'ah.[806] He ordered his son, al-Ḥakam, and [1802]
al-Mu'ammal b. al-'Abbās to apportion a stipend of sixty dīnārs to anyone who would join them. So I went with my paternal cousin, Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, to al-Walīd's camp. Al-Mu'ammal allowed me to approach him[807] and he said: "I will take you in to see the Commander of the Faithful and I will speak to him about his assigning you one hundred dīnārs." (The narrative of al-Muthannā continues). Then al-Walīd left al-Lu'lu'ah and camped at al-Mulaykah,[808] where a messenger from 'Amr b. Qays[809] came to him from Ḥimṣ to tell him that 'Amr had sent

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804. This is only a tentative translation.

805. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 59; *Fragmenta*, 142.

806. Lu'lu'ah is a quarter of Damascus outside the Bāb al-Jābiyah. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 494; Yāqūt, IV, 371.

807. Literally, "let me come near and brought me close."

808. This form is uncertain and the place itself has not been identified. The name could also be al-Malīkah.

809. Qays b. Thawr al-Sakūnī was a *sharīf* from Ḥimṣ in the entourage of Mu'āwiyah. His son, 'Amr b. Qays, had fought with Maslamah in 98 (716–17). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1317; Crone, 99.

810. Al-Walīd was well known to have been a lover of fine clothes. He preferred colored garments, especially of yellow. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, II, 65. For a detailed discussion of this topic, cf. R. Hillenbrand, "*La Dolce Vita* in early Islamic Syria," 12, 27. The Umayyad caliphs and their courtiers used clothing of luxury fabrics. Sulaymān and his retinue wore exclusively garments of *washī* (variegated silk). Cf. *EI*², "Libās" (Y. K. Stillman).

him five hundred horsemen under the leadership of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Janūb al-Bahrānī. Then al-Walīd summoned al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ayman from the Banū 'Awf b. Kalb and ordered him to go to Ibn Abī al-Janūb, who (by this time) had reached al-Ghuwayr, and to tell him to come in all haste to al-Walīd at al-Mulaykah. The following morning al-Walīd ordered the company to break camp. He himself left (as well), riding on a chestnut horse. He was wearing a silk gown and silk turban. Around his waist he wore a thin roll of cloth and over his shoulders he had draped a yellow shawl over his sword.[810] En route the sons of Sulaym b. Kaysān joined him with sixteen horsemen. When al-Walīd had gone a little further, the Banū al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr met him with more horsemen. Then al-Walīd (b. Yazīd) was joined by al-Walīd, the nephew of al-Abrash, with the Banū 'Āmir of Kalb. Al-Walīd took the nephew of al-Abrash along with him and gave him clothes. Al-Walīd continued along the road and then he turned off at a hill[811] called al-Mushbihah,[812] where Ibn Abī al-Janūb met up with him, accompanied by the men from Ḥimṣ. Then al-Walīd arrived at al-Bakhrā'. It was then that the troops clamored and said: "We have no fodder for our riding animals." So al-Walīd gave orders that it should be announced publicly that the Commander of the Faithful had bought the standing corn
[1803] from the village. The soldiers said: "What can we do with green corn? It will make our animals ill." The soldiers only wanted dirhams.

Al-Muthannā said: I came to al-Walīd and I went in to see him, entering at the back of the tent. He asked for a meal, and when the food had been put in front of him, a messenger who was called 'Amr b. Murrah came to him from Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. The messenger told al-Walīd that 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj had camped at al-Lu'lu'ah, but al-Walīd paid no attention to him. Then Khālid b. 'Uthmān al-Mikhrāsh,[813] who was his chief of police, brought al-Walīd a man

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811. *Tal'ah* ("high land"). The word can also mean "stream".

812. This is tentative vocalization. The text has *al-M.sh.b.hah*. There is a variant reading, *al-M.s.b.h.h.*

813. For a history of this man's family, cf. Crone, 93–94. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, he had been head of police for Hishām as well (II, 343).

from the Banū Ḥārithah b. Janāb,[814] who said to al-Walīd: "I was in Damascus with 'Abd al-'Azīz and I have come to tell you what I know. Here are fifteen hundred dirhams which I have brought with me." At this point he untied a purse from his waist and showed it (to al-Walīd). (He went on:) "'Abd al-'Azīz has encamped at al-Lu'lu'ah and he will be coming to you from there tomorrow morning." Al-Walīd vouchsafed him no reply. Instead, he turned to a man who was beside him and began a conversation with him which I could not hear. I asked one of the people who were standing between al-Walīd and me what al-Walīd was saying. That person informed me: "Al-Walīd was asking the man about the canal which he had dug in Jordan and inquired how much more there was to do."[815] Then 'Abd al-'Azīz approached from al-Lu'lu'ah. Having arrived in al-Mulaykah he took possession of it. He dispatched Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, who took Sharqī al-Qurā, a high hill in a desert area[816] on the road from Nihyā[817] to al-Bakhrā'.

Al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd was making preparations with about one hundred and fifty of his mawlās and sons. He then sent a man from the Banū Nājiyah,[818] who was called Ḥubaysh,[819] to al- [1804]
Walīd to ask him to decide whether al-'Abbās should come and join him or march against Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Al-Walīd had his suspicions about al-'Abbās, so he sent word ordering him to come and join him. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr intercepted al-Walīd's messenger and asked him what his mission was, and the messenger told him. Then Manṣūr said to the messenger: "Tell al-'Abbās: By God, if you leave your present position[820] before sunrise, I will certainly kill you and your men! In the morning let him go wher-

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814. The Banū Ḥārithah b. Janāb were a branch of the Banū 'Abdallāh b. Kinānah from the Banū Kalb. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 316.

815. Cf. Braslavski, "Hat Welīd II den Jordan ablenken wollen?", 97–100.

816. *Fī arḍin malsā'a. Malsā'u:* a desert in which there are no herbage, trees, or wild animals. Cf. Lane, I, 2736.

817. For a tentative siting of Nihyā (southwest of Palmyra) cf. Dussaud's map (op. cit., 79).

818. For the Banū Nājiyah, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 442.

819. The vocalization comes from the Cairo edition, 248.

820. The text has *zaḥalta* ("if you withdraw"), which is a conjecture on the part of the editor. The Cairo edition (249) has *raḥalta* ("if you march"), which also makes good sense.

ever he wants." Al-'Abbās continued to make his preparations.[821] In the morning we heard the soldiers of 'Abd al-'Azīz, who had reached al-Bakhrā', uttering the *takbīr*.[822] Then Khālid b. 'Uthmān al-Mikhrāsh came out and deployed al-Walīd's men in battle order; but there was no fighting between them until after sunrise. The soldiers of Yazīd b. al-Walīd carried a notice board[823] attached to a spear on which was written: "We summon you to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His prophet, and (we request) that the matter should be determined by consultation" (*shūrā*).[824] Then they began to fight and 'Uthmān al-Khashabī was killed. About sixty of al-Walīd's men were also killed. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr advanced on the Nihyā road and approached al-Walīd's troops from behind. Manṣūr went toward al-Walīd, who was in his tent at a time when there was nobody to stop Manṣūr attacking al-Walīd.[825] When I saw Manṣūr, 'Āṣim b. Hubayrah al-Mu'āfirī, the deputy of al-Mikhrāsh, and I came out. The soldiers of 'Abd al-'Azīz withdrew as did those of Manṣūr. Sumayy b. al-Mughīrah was struck down and killed. Then Manṣūr turned to join 'Abd al-'Azīz.

[1805] Al-Abrash was on a horse of his called al-Adīm, and was wearing a hat with two straps which he had tied securely under his beard.[826] He began shouting to his nephew: "You son of a stinking woman![827] Hoist your flag!" His nephew replied: "I can't find

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821. I.e., he did not move until after sunrise.

822. The *takbīr* is the pronouncement of the statement *Allāhu akbaru*.

823. *Kitāb* has been translated here as "notice-board," since the object involved must have been large enough to have been seen aloft on a spear.

824. The appeal to a *shūrā* ("consultation") had often been made by opponents of the Umayyads, such as Ibn al-Zubayr and al-Ḥārith b. Surayj. For an analysis of the call for a *shūrā* by Yazīd b. al-Walīd, cf. Hawting, 94–95. Yazīd justified the use of force against al-Walīd II because the latter had used force to resist the call (ibid.).

825. Literally, "he was in his tent, there being nobody between him and Manṣūr."

826. *'Alayhi qalansuwatun dhātu 'uthnayni qad shaddahā taḥta liḥyatihi*. The *qalansuwah* could designate a close-fitting cap or hood. It was under the 'Abbāsids that the use of the tall, conical, Persian hat, the *qalansuwah ṭawīlah*, became widespread. Cf. *EI*², "Libās" (Y. K. Stillman).

827. *Lakhnā'*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDLXVII. According to the definition given by Ibn Qutaybah, *lakhnā'* is used to designate someone with stinking breath. Cf. Ibn Qutaybah, *Kitāb al-'Arab* in M. Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'* (Cairo, 1953), 352. This is the prime meaning given in *Lisān*, III, 356. It does, however, indicate that *lakhnā'* may also mean a woman who has not been circumcised.

a way forward. These men are from the Banū 'Āmir."[828] Then al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd arrived, but the men of 'Abd al-'Azīz blocked his path. A mawlā of Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Diḥyah who was called al-Turkī launched an attack on al-Ḥārith b. al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd and thrust at him with a blow which knocked him from his horse.[829] Al-'Abbās struck out in the direction of 'Abd al-'Azīz. Al-Walīd's men were confused[830] and retreated in disarray.

Then al-Walīd b. Yazīd sent al-Walīd b. Khālid to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj to tell him that al-Walīd would give him fifty thousand dīnārs, that he would appoint him to the governorship of Ḥimṣ for his lifetime, and that he would protect him in every difficult situation (that might arise), provided he went away and stopped fighting. 'Abd al-'Aziz rejected this offer[831] and would not agree to any of these terms.[832] Al-Walīd (b. Yazīd) prevailed upon al-Walīd b. Khālid to go back to 'Abd al-'Azīz and make him the same offer again. Al-Walīd b. Khālid did so, but 'Abd al-'Azīz remained obdurate. Then al-Walīd (b. Khālid) moved a short distance off, turned his horse around, approached 'Abd al-'Azīz once more, and addressed him as follows: "Will you put five thousand dīnārs at my disposal and do likewise for al-Abrash, seeing that I have an exclusive status with my people? Then I will come in with you and join your enterprise." 'Abd al-'Azīz replied: "On condition that you attack al-Walīd's soldiers at once." Accordingly, al-Walīd b. Khālid did so. Now in charge of the right flank of [1806]
the caliph al-Walīd's army was Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān b. Yazīd b. Khālid.[833] He said to 'Abd al-'Azīz:[834] "Will you give me twenty thousand dīnārs, the governorship of Jordan, and a share of the command if I join up with you?" 'Abd al-'Azīz answered: "On condition that you attack al-Walīd's army immediately." This

828. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 143; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 60.

829. The text has *ardāhu*. The Cairo edition, 249, has *adhrāhu*, as does a variant MS. reading.

830. *Fa-usqiṭa fī aydī aṣḥābi al-Walīdi*. Cf. *Fragmenta* and *Ansāb*, which have *suqiṭa* (loc. cit.). According to Lane, *suqiṭa* is better. The phrase denotes repentance or perplexity or error. Cf. Qur'ān 7, v. 148; Lane, I, 1380. Thus the translation could also be: "al-Walīd's men repented (of what they had done)" or "al-Walīd's men realized they had committed an error." With the close relationship between the men on both sides, any of these translations make sense.

831. Literally, "he did not agree to it/answer him."

832. Literally, "he did not agree with him in anything."

833. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 547; Crone, 154.

834. Literally, "it was said to him."

Mu'āwiyah did and al-Walīd's army fled; al-Walīd himself arose and went into al-Bakhrā'.

'Abd al-'Azīz came forward and stood by the gate which was barred by a chain. Then one man after another began entering (the citadel) under the chain. Thereupon 'Abd al-Salām b. Bukayr b. Shammākh al-Lakhmī came up to 'Abd al-'Azīz and said to him: "Al-Walīd is saying that he will come out on your authority." So 'Abd al-'Azīz said: "Let him come out." But no sooner had he turned around than people upbraided him: "What are you doing, letting him come out? Leave him there and let the people deal with him for you." So 'Abd al-'Azīz called back 'Abd al-Salām and said: "There is no need for me to do what has been suggested to me." [Al-Muthannā's narrative continues]: At this juncture I saw a tall young man on a horse approaching the wall of the citadel. Then he climbed over it and went inside the citadel. I myself entered the citadel and I saw al-Walīd standing there. He was wearing a shirt shot through with silver[835] and trousers of variegated cloth,[836] and his sword was in a scabbard; the people were shouting abuse at him. Then Bishr b. Shaybān, the mawlā of Kinānah b. 'Umayr, who was the man who had climbed over the wall to get inside, went toward al-Walīd. Al-Walīd moved toward the door—I think he wanted to go to 'Abd al-'Azīz—and 'Abd al-Salām was on his right and the messenger from 'Amr b. Qays was on his left. Then Bishr hit al-Walīd on the head; the other men struck him repeatedly with their swords and he fell dead. 'Abd al-Salām threw himself on to al-Walīd and cut off his head. Yazīd b. al-Walīd had put a price of one hundred thousand dirhams on al-
[1807] Walīd's head. Then Abū al-Asad, the mawlā of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, came up and ripped off a handful of al-Walīd's skin and he took it to Yazīd b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, who was being held prisoner in al-Walīd's camp. The people plundered al-Walīd's camp and stores. Then Yazīd al-'Ulaymī Abū al-Baṭrīq b. Yazīd, whose daughter was married to al-Ḥakam b. al-Walīd, came to me and said: "Protect my daughter's belongings for me," for every-

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835. As well as the basic meaning of "reeds," *qaṣab* is "anything made of silver and of other material, resembling (in form) the kind of round and hollow bone thus called" and "fine, thin, delicate or soft garments." Cf. Lane, I, 2529–30.

836. *Washī*. For al-Walīd's taste for fine clothes, cf. n. 810.

body was appropriating whatever they could lay their hands on.[837]

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbī: After al-Walīd was killed,[838] his left hand was cut off. It was bundled off to Yazīd b. al-Walīd and it arrived before al-Walīd's head. The hand arrived on the Thursday night and the head was brought the next day. After the prayer, Yazīd displayed the head prominently to the people. The people of Damascus had been in a state of agitation about 'Abd al-'Azīz, but when al-Walīd's head was brought to them they quietened down and their behavior was restrained.

When Yazīd ordered that al-Walīd's head should be displayed, Yazīd b. Farwah, the mawlā of the Banū Marwān,[839] remonstrated with him: "Only the heads of rebels are displayed publicly. This is your paternal cousin and a caliph. I am afraid that if you exhibit his head, the people's hearts will soften toward him and the members of his family will be angry about what has happened to him." Yazīd replied: "By God, I certainly will exhibit it!" and he stuck al-Walīd's head on a spear. Then he said to Ibn Farwah: "Off you go with it. Take it around the city of Damascus and go into his father's house[840] with it." Ibn Farwah did as he was told and was greeted with an uproar from the citizens and al-Walīd's family. Then he brought the head back to Yazīd who said: "Take it to your house."[841] The head remained with Ibn Farwah for nearly a month until Yazīd told him to hand it over to al-Walīd's brother Sulaymān. Now Sulaymān, al-Walīd's brother, [1808] was one of the people who had acted against his brother. Ibn Farwah washed the head, put it in a basket, and took it to Sulaymān. When Sulaymān saw it he said: "A curse on him! I testify that he was a wine-bibber, wanton and licentious, and that he tried to corrupt me."[842] So Ibn Farwah left the house. Directly

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837. *Fa-mā waṣala aḥadun ilā shay'in za'ama annahu lahu.* This sentence seems a little odd. It has been translated tentatively as if it read *fa-mā waṣala . . . illā za'ama* ("nobody came to anything except that he claimed that it was his").

838. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 60–61; *Fragmenta*, 143–44.

839. Ibn al-Athīr has the Banū Murrah (V, 217).

840. *Fragmenta*, 144, has *dāra ibnihi* ("the house of his son").

841. Literally, "the people of the house."

842. *La-qad arādanī 'alā nafsī al-fāsiqa.* Even seduction may be suggested here.

afterwards he met a slave girl of al-Walīd[843] to whom he said: "Alas! How violently Sulaymān abused al-Walīd! He alleged that al-Walīd had tried to corrupt him." The woman retorted: "By God, that wicked blackguard was lying! Al-Walīd did not do that. If he had wanted to corrupt Sulaymān, he would have done so and Sulaymān would not have been able to prevent him from doing so."

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbī—Yazīd b. Maṣād: Yazīd b. al-Walīd sent me to Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī.[844] Al-Walīd had sent him off as governor of Damascus when he had heard the news of Yazīd's rebellion. When Abū Muḥammad reached Dhanabah, Yazīd received the news about him and he sent me to Abū Muḥammad. When I reached Abū Muḥammad, he made his peace (with our party) and gave the oath of allegiance to Yazīd. We did not even have time to move on before someone appeared in the distance, coming from the direction of the desert. I sent people to him and he was brought to me. The man turned out to be Abū Kāmil al-Ghuzayyil[845] the singer, riding on a she-mule called Maryam[846] which belonged to al-Walīd. He told us that al-Walīd had been killed. Then I sped off to Yazīd, but he had heard the news before I reached him.[847]

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b.
[1809] Marwān al-Kalbī—Dukayn b. Shammākh al-Kalbī al-'Āmirī: I saw Bishr b. Halbā' al-'Āmirī on the day al-Walīd was killed. He struck the gate of al-Bakhrā' with his sword and said:[848]

We shall weep for Khālid with Indian swords,
and may his good deeds not go for nought.

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—Abū

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843. Literally, "a female mawlā of al-Walīd met him."

844. Abū Muḥammad (b. Yazīd) al-Sufyānī is to be identified as Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, who was related to al-Walīd through al-Walīd's grandmother. Cf. Wellhausen, 362.

845. Abū Kāmil (or Kumayl) Ghuzayyil al-Dimashqī. Cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, III, 207.

846. Even al-Walīd's choice of name for his she-mule, Maryam, is shown to be irreverent. Al-Balādhurī omits this name. Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 63.

847. Literally, "I found the news had reached him before I reached him."

848. For these lines, cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1783. The meter is *wāfir*.

'Āṣim al-Ziyādī: Ten men claimed that they had killed al-Walīd. (Abū 'Āṣim continued): "I saw Wajh al-Fals holding a piece of skin from al-Walīd's head in his hand and he said: "I killed al-Walīd and I took this piece of his skin. Then somebody came and cut off al-Walīd's head and this piece of skin remained in my hand." The real name (*ism*) of Wajh al-Fals ("Farthing-face") was 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

Al-Ḥakam b. al-Nu'mān, the mawlā of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, said: Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, accompanied by ten men, amongst whom was Rawḥ b. Muqbil, brought al-Walīd's head to Yazīd. Then Rawḥ said: "Rejoice, O Commander of the Faithful, that the libertine has been killed and al-'Abbās has been taken prisoner." Amongst those who brought the head were 'Abd al-Raḥmān Wajh al-Fals and Bishr, the mawlā of the Kinānah[849] of Kalb. Yazīd gave each of them ten thousand dirhams. On the day al-Walīd was killed, he said, while he was fighting the rebels: "Anyone who brings a head will have five hundred dirhams." When a number of people brought heads, al-Walīd said: "Write their names down."[850] Then a mawlā of his who was one of the people who had brought a head, said: "O Commander of the Faithful, today is not a day on which to use credit!"[851]

The singers Mālik b. Abī al-Samḥ[852] and 'Umar al-Wādī[853] were with al-Walīd. When his men forsook him and he was sur- [1810]
rounded, Mālik said to 'Umar: "Let's leave."[854] 'Umar replied: "That would be disloyal; besides, we won't be touched, since we are not fighting men." Mālik said: "Come off it! By God, if the rebels are victorious against us, you and I will be the first to be

849. The Kinānah (b. 'Awf) were a branch of the Kalb. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 371.

850. In exactly the same context, al-Balādhurī (loc. cit.) tells this story about Yazīd, not al-Walīd. In view of al-Walīd's well-known attitude toward money and his lack of ready cash earlier to pay his troops (cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1803), the anecdote is more likely to refer to al-Walīd. Al-Iṣfahānī also attributes this story to al-Walīd. Cf. *Aghānī*, VI, 139.

851. *Laysa hādhā bi-yawmin yu'malu fīhi bi-nasi'atin*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. DXI. Al-Iṣfahānī has *laysa hādhā . . . yawman yu'āmilu fīhi bi-al-nasi'ati* (loc. cit.).

852. For Mālik b. Abī al-Samḥ al-Ṭā'ī, cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, III, 198, 207.

853. The text has 'Amr al-Wādī. The name is given in other sources as 'Umar al-Wādī b. Dāwūd b. Zādhān. Cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, III, 207; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 64–65, 109–10, 139–44. The form 'Umar has been used in the translation.

854. Literally, "go with us."

killed. Al-Walīd's head will be put between our heads and the people will be told: 'Look who was with him even in this (abject) state.' There will be no worse criticism of him than that."[855] So the two of them fled.

According to Abū Ma'shar—Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant(s)—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā: Al-Walīd b. Yazīd was killed on a Thursday, two nights before the end of Jumādā II, 126 [Thursday, April 15, 744]. Hishām b. Muḥammad, Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, and 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī give the same date. Historians disagree, however, as to the length of al-Walīd's caliphate.[856] According to Abū Ma'shar—Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informants—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā:[857] Al-Walīd's caliphate lasted one year and three months. Hishām b. Muḥammad (al-Kalbī) said: Al-Walīd's caliphate lasted one year, two months and twenty-two days.

Historians also disagree about al-Walīd's age on the day he was killed. Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī said that al-Walīd was killed when he was thirty-eight years old. Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī) said he was killed when he was thirty-six. Some other historians said he was killed when he was forty-two; others said it was when he was forty-one, others said forty-five, and yet others forty-six.[858]

Al-Walīd's patronymic was Abū al-'Abbās. His mother was Umm al-Ḥajjāj,[859] the daughter of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Tha-
[1811] qafī. Al-Walīd was a man of great strength and he had prehensile toes.[860] He used to take an iron ploughshare with a rope in it, have the rope tied to his foot, and then jump on his horse and pull the ploughshare along. He could ride without holding onto his horse, and he was a poet, much addicted to wine-drinking.

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—Ibn Abī al-Zinād[861]—his father: (Abū al-Zinād's narrative begins): Once I

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855. Literally, "they will not censure him for anything worse than this."

856. Literally, "they disagreed on the amount of time in which he was caliph."

857. This chain of transmitters has been arranged in the usual way, although it is somewhat different from usual in the text.

858. For other sources on the date of al-Walīd's death and the length of his life and his caliphate, cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (Derenk), 66–67; *Fragmenta*, 145; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 400; Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 380; Hamzah, 129; Ibn Qutaybah, 186; Ibn A'tham, VIII, 140.

859. Al-Walīd's mother's name was Zaynab. Cf. 'Aṭwān, 61.

860. Literally, "long toes." Cf. Ibn A'tham, VIII, 137.

861. Literally, "Ibn Abī al-Zinād, who said, 'My father said.'" For Abū al-Zinād,

was with Hishām when al-Zuhrī[862] was present. They referred to al-Walīd, criticizing him and finding serious fault with him. However, I myself took no part in what they were saying. Then al-Walīd asked permission to enter; this was granted to him. I saw anger on his face. He sat for a little while and then he got up. Later, when Hishām died, somebody wrote a letter against me and I was taken to al-Walīd. He greeted me, saying "How are you, Ibn Dhakwān?" and asked kindly about me. Then he said: "Do you remember the day when that squint-eyed man (Hishām) had that libertine[863] al-Zuhrī with him and they were pulling me to pieces?" I said: "I remember that, but I took no part in what they were saying." Al-Walīd replied: "That's true. Did you see the slave who was standing behind Hishām?" I said: "Yes." Al-Walīd said: "It was he who passed on to me what they said. By God, I swear if that libertine—meaning al-Zuhrī—had lived, I would have killed him." I replied: "I saw from your face that you were angry when you came in." Then al-Walīd said: "Ibn Dhakwān, that squint-eyed man has made me waste the best years of my life."[864] I said: "No, rather may God prolong your life for you, O Commander of the Faithful, and may He allow the community to enjoy your continuing presence!" Then al-Walīd called for supper and we ate it. When it was time for the evening prayer, we performed it and we conversed until the hour for the late night prayer. After we had prayed, al-Walīd sat down and asked for something to drink and they brought in a covered vessel. Three slave girls came and they lined up between him and me.[865] Then

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the important jurist and traditionist, cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 106; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, III, 287. His names were Abū al-Zinād 'Alī b. Dhakwān al-Qurashī. He had been secretary to 'Umar II; cf. Wellhausen, 270, 347. He died in 131 (748); cf. Sezgin, I, 405.

862. For Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) the famous traditionist and historian, cf. Sezgin, I, 28; Duri, 95–121. He was on very good terms with Hishām, who made him his son's tutor. Cf. Duri, 118.

863. *Al-fāsiq*.

864. Literally, "that squint-eyed man has taken away my life."

865. The text has *ṣaffaqna bayna yadayhi baynī wa-baynahu*. *Ṣaffaqa* can mean to transfer wine from one vessel to another in order for it to become clear, i.e., to decant the wine (Cf. Lane, I, 1700). Thus a literal translation would be "they decanted (the wine) in front of him between me and him." The wording *baynī wa-baynahu* is rather odd; it is unlikely that the girls divided the wine between al-Walīd and Abū al-Zinād. *Fragmenta*, 129, has *fa-ṣuffifna baynī wa-baynahu* ("they were positioned between me and him"). The version of al-Iṣfahānī

[1812] al-Walīd began to drink, they went away[866] and we chatted. When al-Walīd asked for another drink, the slave girls did as they had done before.[867] Al-Walīd went on talking and asking for more to drink, and the slave girls continued bringing him wine until dawn. I counted that he had drunk seventy cups.

In this year Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī was killed.

The Killing of Khālid al-Qasrī and the Reason for It

We have already given an account of how Hishām dismissed Khālid from his post as governor of 'Irāq and Khurāsān[868] and of how Hishām had appointed Yūsuf b. 'Umar as governor of 'Irāq. As already mentioned, Khālid had worked in that post for Hishām for fifteen years, apart from a few months, since as already said he became governor of 'Irāq for Hishām in 105 [June 10, 723–May 28, 724] and was dismissed from the post on Jumādā I, 120 [April 26, 738–May 25, 738]. When Hishām dismissed Khālid, Yūsuf came to Wāsiṭ[869] to get Khālid, seized him, and imprisoned him there. Then Yūsuf b. 'Umar went to al-Ḥīrah and Khālid remained imprisoned in al-Ḥīrah for a full eighteen months, with his brother Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh, his son Yazīd b. Khālid, and his nephew al-Mundhir b. Asad b. 'Abdallāh. Yūsuf begged Hishām for permis-

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(*Aghānī*, VI, 106) is the most straightforward: *fa-qumna baynī wa-baynahu* ("they stood between me and him"). Later the editor emends the reading to *ṣafafna* (his vocalization). Cf. *Add.*, p. DCCXII. The Cairo edition (253) has *ṣufifna*, which is more satisfactory. It is always conceivable that *ṣaffaqna*, the original reading of the editor, was correct, especially in view of the sentence that follows: "He asked for drink and they did as they had done at first." The tentative translation provided here omits the phrase *bayna yadayhi* and thus follows the *Fragmenta* and the *Aghānī*.

866. The text has *dhahabna*. The Cairo edition (loc. cit.) has *dhahabnā* ("we went away").

867. Literally, "continued doing like that."

868. Literally, "from his post and his governorship." For a parallel account, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 207–10.

869. Wāsiṭ, in Iraq, had been founded by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf in 83 (702) or 84 (703). He had built a large prison there, which is presumably where Khālid al-Qasrī was put by Yūsuf b. 'Umar. For a long discussion of the exact site of medieval Wāsiṭ, cf. *EI*[1], s.v. (M. Streck). Cf. also Yāqūt, IV, 881–88; Le Strange, *Lands*, 39–40. The city was called Wāsiṭ because it lay equidistant from al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, and Ahwāz.

sion to be allowed a free hand with Khālid and to torture him, but (at first) Hishām would not allow Yūsuf to do that. Then, after Yūsuf had asked repeatedly and had made excuses to him for a shortfall in the *kharāj* and for loss of revenue, Hishām did on one occasion give Yūsuf permission.[870] But he sent a guard to witness the torture and he swore that if Khālid met his end while he was in Yūsuf's hands, then he (Hishām) would certainly kill Yūsuf. So Yūsuf summoned Khālid and he sat on a bench (*dukkān*) in al- [1813]
Ḥīrah,[871] with the people all assembled. Yūsuf was free with his tongue[872] against Khālid, but Khālid did not utter a single word until Yūsuf abused him by calling him Ibn Kāhin, meaning Shiqq b. Sa'b al-Kāhin.[873] Thereupon Khalid retorted: "You fool! You revile me by questioning my noble birth, but your father, O Ibn al-Sabbā', was only a wine-merchant," meaning that he sold wine. At this, Yūsuf sent Khālid back to his prison. Then in Shawwāl 121 [September 10, 739–October 8, 739] Hishām wrote to Yūsuf ordering him to release Khālid, and Khālid settled in the citadel of Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh in Dūrān behind the Kūfah bridge. Yazīd b. Khālid set out by himself, going through the territory of the Banū Ṭayy[874] as far as Damascus. Then Khālid set out, accompanied by Ismā'īl and al-Walīd, after 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Anbasah b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ had equipped them (for the journey). Khālid sent the heavy baggage to the citadel of the Banū Muqātil,[875] but Yūsuf had sent

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870. Cf. al-Jahshiyārī, 41.

871. *Fa-jalasa 'alā dukkānin fī-al-Ḥīrah. Dukkān:* "a kind of wide bench, of stone or brick, etc., generally built against a wall, upon which one sits." Cf. Lane, I, 900. A shop (also *dukkān*) in the market was a booth with a raised platform (*maṣṭabah*). Cf. J. M. Rogers, *The Spread of Islam*, 66. For a detailed discussion of *maṣṭabah* and *dukkān*, cf. Sadan, 123–24.

872. *Wa-basaṭa 'alayhi.* As well as verbal attacks, this phrase could also mean that Yūsuf stretched out his hand against Khālid.

873. For an account of the attempts made by Abū 'Ubaydah and others to denigrate the genealogy of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, cf. Goldziher, I, 188–89. Khālid traced his origins back to the South Arabian tribe of the Bājilah and he counted amongst his ancestors the famous soothsayer Shiqq. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIX, 57–58. Shiqq was allegedly only half a man (one arm and one leg, hence *shiqq*). Cf. the biography of Khālid given by Ibn Khallikān, II, 313; al-Dīnawarī, 344. According to al-Dīnawarī, Khālid's response to Yūsuf was: "Your father and grandfather were only shopkeepers in al-Ṭā'if" (ibid.).

874. For this important North Arabian tribe, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 555.

875. This citadel was at 'Ayn al-Tamr on the route from al-Ḥīrah to Syria and was named after Muqātil b. Ḥassān. Cf. Yāqūt, IV, 121, 137; Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 431.

cavalry (after them) and they seized Khālid's provisions, heavy baggage and camels as well as his mawlās who were looking after Khālid's possessions. Yūsuf confiscated and sold[876] what he took from them and sent some of the mawlās back into slavery. So when Khālid arrived at the citadel of the Banū Muqātil, all the (movable) possessions which he and his sons owned had been taken. After moving on to Hīt,[877] they made for al-Qaryah,[878] which is situated opposite the gate of al-Ruṣāfah, where Khālid remained for the remainder of Shawwāl and during the months of Dhū al-Qa'dah, Dhū al-Ḥijjah, al-Muḥarram, and Ṣafar [October 9, 739–February 3, 740]. (During this time) Hishām would not allow them to come in and see him. Al-Abrash was in correspondence with Khālid (during this period, which was the time that) Zayd b. 'Alī rose in rebellion and was killed.

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī—his relaters: Yūsuf wrote to
[1814] Hishām as follows: "The members of this family, the Hāshimites, had been dying of hunger, to the point that every one of them was preoccupied solely with finding food for their dependents. Then, when Khālid became governor of Iraq, he gave them money, by means of which they so recovered their strength that they began to cherish aspirations to the caliphate. Zayd rose in rebellion only on Khālid's advice. That is proved by the fact that Khālid stayed at al-Qaryah, which is on the route to Iraq, so that he could get news from there." Hishām remained silent until he had finished reading the letter. Then Hishām said to al-Ḥakam b. Ḥazn al-Qaynī, who was in charge of the delegation (from Yūsuf), and whom Yūsuf had ordered to confirm what was written in it—he had in fact done so—"You are lying and so is the person who sent you. Whatever suspicions we may have had about Khālid, we have never doubted his obedience." Then Hishām ordered that the messenger's throat should be cut.[879] When Khālid heard

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876. *Fa-ḍaraba wa bā'a*. Presumably this is the meaning of *ḍaraba* in this context. Certainly if the mawlās were beaten, the text would have to read *ḍarabahum*.

877. Hīt, a town in Iraq, lay on the right bank of the Euphrates, at the spot where caravans trading between Iraq and Syria crossed the river. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (M. Streck); Le Strange, *Lands*, 64–65.

878. The phrasing of the Arabic here seems to indicate that al-Qaryah is a place name rather than "the village": *thumma taḥammalū ilā al-qaryati wa-hiya*. Ibn al-Athīr has *al-qaryati allatī* ("the village which . . ." (V, 207).

879. Literally, "he gave orders concerning him and his throat was cut."

about that, he went to Damascus where he stayed until the (time for) the summer expedition arrived. Then he left with the expedition, accompanied by Yazīd and Hishām, his two sons.[880]

The person in charge of Damascus at that time was Kulthūm b. 'Iyāḍ al-Qasrī,[881] who was ill-disposed[882] toward Khālid. When the expedition was well on the way to Byzantine territory,[883] fires began to break out every night in the houses of Damascus. A man from Iraq called Abū al-'Umarras and some companions of his started the fire, and while it raged they would plunder and steal.[884] Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh and al-Mundhir b. Asad b. 'Abdallāh and the two sons of Khālid, Sa'īd and Muḥammad, were on the coast because there had been bad news from Byzantium.[885] At this juncture, Kulthūm wrote to Hishām mentioning the fire and saying that there had never been such a fire before and that it was the work of the mawlās of Khālid, who wanted to attack the treasury (*bayt al-māl*). Hishām wrote back ordering Kulthūm to [1815] imprison Khālid's family, both young and old, as well as their mawlās and womenfolk. So Kulthūm seized Ismā'īl, al-Mundhir, Muḥammad, and Sa'īd from where they were stationed on the coast, and they were brought back in manacles, together with those mawlās whom they had with them. Kulthūm imprisoned Umm Jarīr, Khālid's daughter, al-Rā'iqah,[886] and all the women and young boys.

Then Abū al-'Umarras was overpowered and he and his associates were seized. Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the superintendent

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880. Literally, "the two sons of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh." According to al-Dīnawarī (345), Khālid asked Hishām's permission to raid in the direction of Ṭarsūs.

881. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1716. Kulthūm was sent as governor of Ifrīqiyah in 123 (740–41) and died in 124 (741–42). Cf. n. 306.

882. *Wa-kāna mutaḥāmilan.* Cf. *Gloss.*, pp. CCIII–CCIV.

883. *Fa-lammā adrabū.* Cf. Lane, I, 866.

884. Cf. al-Dīnawarī, 345; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 208.

885. *Li-ḥadathin kāna min al-Rūmī* ("because of bad news which was from Byzantium[?]"). If, as al-Dīnawarī says, Khālid was at Ṭarsūs, he was at the most important of the frontier fortresses, since it guarded the Cilician Gates. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 132. Ṭarsūs is on the coast, as al-Ṭabarī says. Alternatively, *ḥadath* might be a reference to the Darb al-Ḥadath, the northeastern pass through the Taurus guarded by the fortress of Ḥadath. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 121–22. This is improbable, given the statement that Khālid was on the coast. According to al-Balādhurī, as cited by Le Strange, the Darb al-Ḥadath ("the road of bad news") was given the name Darb al-Salāmah ("the road of safety") after the fortress was captured by the Muslims (loc. cit.).

886. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1739.

of the *kharāj* in Damascus, wrote to Hishām telling him that Abū al-'Umarras and his associates had been taken, giving their names one by one and detailing their tribes and garrison towns. Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān did not, however, include amongst them a single one of Khālid's mawlās. Then Hishām wrote to Kulthūm upbraiding and reproaching him, and ordering him to release all the people he had imprisoned. Kulthūm let them all go, but he appropriated the mawlās for himself in the hope that Khālid would speak to him about them when the latter returned from the summer campaign. When the soldiers returned from the frontier,[887] Khālid received word that his family had been imprisoned; but he did not hear that they had been set free again. Yazīd b. Khālid secreted himself in a crowd of men until he reached Ḥimṣ, whilst Khālid came and stayed in his house in Damascus. When people came to Khālid the following morning, he sent for his two daughters, Zaynab and 'Ātikah, and said: "I am growing old and I would like you to look after me." His daughters were very happy to do that. Then his brother Ismā'īl and his sons, Yazīd and Sa'īd, came in to see him. Khālid gave permission (to other people to come in), and his daughters stood up intending to withdraw.[888] So Khālid said: "Why should they withdraw when Hi-
[1816] shām drives them to prison day after day?" Then the people came in and Ismā'īl and Khālid's two sons stood in front of his two daughters concealing them.

Khālid said: "I went out raiding in God's cause, hearing and obeying. Then people machinated behind my back and my women and the women of my family were seized and put in prison with criminals as is the practice with unbelievers. What was to stop a group of you standing up and saying: 'Why have the women of this man who hears and obeys been imprisoned?' Were you afraid that you would all be killed? May God inspire fear in you!" Then Khālid added: "As for the position between me and Hishām, (it is this): If he does not lay off me, I will certainly summon (people to follow) the one who is 'Irāqī in passion, Syrian in family, and Ḥijāzī in origin (meaning Muḥammad b. 'Alī b.

887. Literally, "when the people came and they went away from the frontier."
888. *Fa-qāmat ibnatāhu li-yatanaḥḥayā*. Ibn al-Athīr (V, 208) has *fa-qāma banātuhu yaḥtajibna* ("his daughters stood up to veil themselves").

'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās).[889] You have my permission to go and tell Hishām that." When Hishām heard what Khālid had said he declared: "Abū al-Haytham[890] has lost his reason."[891]

According to Abū Zayd—Aḥmad b. Mu'āwiyah—Abū al-Khaṭṭāb: Khālid said: "By God, if the lord of al-Ruṣāfah—meaning Hishām—does wrong,[892] we will certainly raise in support of us the Syrian, the Ḥijāzī, the 'Irāqī (i.e. Muḥammad b. 'Alī) and if he makes the slightest noise,[893] it (i.e., al-Ruṣāfah) will collapse on all sides." When Hishām heard what Khālid had said he wrote to him as follows: "You talk raving nonsense.[894] Are you threatening me with the insignificant, vile tribe of Bajīlah?"

(The narrative of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb continues.) By God, no one, apart from a man of the Banū 'Abs, supported him either in deed or word. The man from the Banū 'Abs recited the following:[895]

Verily, the sea of generosity has become calm, [1817]
a captive of the Banū Thaqīf,[896] bound in chains,
But even though you have imprisoned al-Qasrī, you will not
have imprisoned his reputation,
nor will you have imprisoned his beneficence amongst the tribes.

Khālid and Yazīd and other members of Khālid's family remained in Damascus, while Yūsuf (b. 'Umar) kept plying Hishām with requests for Hishām to send him Yazīd. Then Hishām wrote to Kulthūm b. 'Iyāḍ ordering him to seize Yazīd and to send him to Yūsuf. Accordingly, Kulthūm sent cavalry to take Yazīd, who was in his house. Yazīd attacked the cavalry, who fell back from him, and then Yazīd himself escaped on horseback. Then the

889. The imām of the Shī'īs. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1769. Al-Dīnawarī, 345, has Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās.

890. The *kunyah* of Khālid al-Qasrī. Cf. Ibn Khallikān, II, 308.

891. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr (loc. cit.); al-Dīnawarī (loc. cit.).

892. *La'in sā'a*. A variant reading has *lā'in shā'a* ("if he wishes"). It might have been more usual to expect *la'in asā'a*.

893. Literally, "if he snorts a snort."

894. *Innaka hadhdhā'atun hudharatun*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. DXL.

895. The meter is *ṭawīl*. The poet is named by Ibn Khallikān as Abū al-Shaghb al-'Absī. Ibn Khallikān also quotes the verses (loc. cit.). Al-Dīnawarī, 347, has similar, although not always identical, lines, which he attributes to al-Ash'ath b. al-Qīnī.

896. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 553.

cavalry returned to Kulthūm and told him what had happened. The day after Yazīd had left, Kulthūm sent cavalry to take Khālid. Khālid called for his clothes and he put them on. His women[897] all began to wail, so one of the cavalrymen said (to Khālid): "Why don't you tell these women to shut up?" Khālid replied: "Why should I? Were it not for my obedience (to the caliph), the slave of the Banū Qasr would learn that he can't treat me in this way. So tell him what I said and if he is a true Arab, as he claims to be, just let him come and seek his fortune from me."[898] Then Khālid left with the cavalry and he was incarcerated in the prison at Damascus. Ismā'īl immediately left for al-Ruṣāfah to see Hishām. Ismā'īl went in to see Abū al-Zubayr,[899] his chamberlain (*ḥājib*), and told him that Khālid had been imprisoned. Then Abū al-Zubayr went in to Hishām and informed him. Hishām wrote to Kulthūm[900] reproaching him, saying: "You have released those whom I ordered you to imprison, and you have imprisoned those whom I did not order you to imprison," and ordering Kulthūm to release Khālid. This Kulthūm did.

[1818] Whenever Hishām wanted anything done, he would order al-Abrash (to deal with it). Accordingly, Hishām wrote through al-Abrash to Khālid. Al-Abrash wrote as follows: "The Commander of the Faithful has heard that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Thuwayb al-Dinnī, of the Banū Dinnah of Sa'd, the brothers of 'Uthrah b. Sa'd,[901] stood up before you and said: 'O Khālid, I love you because you have ten special qualities. Truly, God is noble and so

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897. Literally, "the women."

898. *La-yaṭlub jaddahu minnī:* there are a number of problems with the word *jaddahu* (thus vocalized by the editor). Firstly, it is not clear whether Khālid is speaking about Yūsuf, Hishām, or Kulthūm. Secondly, *jadd* may mean "fortune" or "grandfather." Thirdly, there is a variant reading, *ḥadd* ("prescribed punishment, extremity"). A possible solution is as follows. Although most evidence points to Kulthūm's not being a relation of Khālid's (he would appear to have been a Qaysī; cf. Crone, 128, and *EI*², s.v. [R. Basset]), there was obviously at least one strand of tradition that said he was (cf. al-Dīnawarī, 345, who claims that Kulthūm was a paternal cousin of Khālid's). Thus, it may be that here too Khālid is making a furiously ironic allusion to the fact that his relative is the one who is arresting him.

899. Abū al-Zubayr Nasṭās. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1749.

900. Cf. n. 306.

901. Al-Dīnawarī (346) has al-Kalbī. For this rather complicated genealogy, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 242.

are you. God is generous and so are you. God is merciful and so are you. God is forbearing and so are you.' And so ('Abd al-Raḥmān continued in this way) until he had enumerated ten qualities.[902] Now the Commander of the Faithful swears by God that if that incident is authenticated to his own satisfaction, the shedding of your blood will be licit. So write and tell me about the matter properly, so that I may inform the Commander of the Faithful about it." Then Khālid wrote the following reply: "That assembly had too many people present for it to be possible that unjust or wicked persons could falsify the truth of what was said. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Thuwayb stood before[903] me and said: 'O Khālid, I love you because you have ten special qualities. Truly, God is noble; He loves every noble person and He (therefore) loves you and I love you because God loves you. . .' and 'Abd al-Raḥmān continued in this way until he had enumerated ten qualities. But worse than that was (your condoning) the way in which Ibn Shaqqī al-Ḥimyarī stood up before the Commander of the Faithful and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, which do you prize more highly: your deputy (*khalīfah*) among your people, or your messenger?' So the Commander of the Faithful replied: 'My deputy among my people.'[904] Then Ibn Shaqqī[905] said: 'You are the deputy of God and Muḥammad is His messenger. By my life, if a man of the Banū Bajīlah[906] goes astray, it is certainly a more paltry matter both to the common people and to the court [1819] that if the Commander of the Faithful (himself) goes astray.'" Al-Abrash read out Khālid's letter to Hishām, who said: "Abū al-Haytham has become senile."[907]

Khālid remained in Damascus during the (remainder of the time) that Hishām was caliph, until Hishām died. After Hishām's

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902. Al-Dīnawarī lists all ten qualities (loc. cit.).

903. *Fa-amma* ("he turned"). The Cairo edition (257) has *fa-qāma*, which is the emended version of the Leiden edition. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXII.

904. According to al-Dīnawarī, Hishām was angry because 'Abd al-Raḥmān had attributed to Khālid merits that no single caliph had possessed (loc. cit.).

905. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 209. Al-Dīnawarī calls him 'Abdallāh b. Ṣayfī (loc. cit.).

906. Khālid's own tribe. He means himself here.

907. Al-Dīnawarī's account is less elliptical. In it Khālid upbraids Hishām for his harsh treatment of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, whilst in the face of the blasphemous remarks of 'Abdallāh b. Ṣayfī (called Ibn Shaqqī by al-Ṭabarī), Hishām did nothing at all to refute them (loc. cit.).

death, al-Walīd became caliph and the leaders of the *junds*, including Khālid, came to see him, but al-Walīd would not allow a single one of them in to see him. Khālid complained (that he was unwell)[908] and sought permission (to go home). This was granted to him, and accordingly he went back to Damascus where he remained for some months. Then al-Walīd wrote to Khālid as follows: "The Commander of the Faithful is apprised of the matter of the fifty million (dirhams). Didn't you know?[909] So come to the Commander of the Faithful with his envoy. He has ordered him to give you enough time to make your preparations." Then Khālid sent for a number of his close advisers, amongst whom was 'Umārah b. Abī Kulthūm al-Azdī, and Khālid read out the letter to them and said: "Advise me on what I should do." They replied: "Al-Walīd is not to be trusted in regard to you. We think that you should go into Damascus, seize the treasuries, and summon people to follow whomsoever you wish. The majority of the people are for you, and nobody will raise a dissenting voice against you." Khālid said: "What action other than that (could I take)?" They replied: "Seize the treasuries and stay put until your position has become secure." Khālid then asked: "What else could I do?" His advisers replied: "You could hide."

Then Khālid declared: "As regards your suggestion that I should summon people to follow whomsoever I wish, I would hate to have discord and disagreement on my hands. As for your suggestion that I should make my position secure, you do not feel that I am safe against al-Walīd when I have done nothing wrong, so how can you hope that he will keep faith with me when I have seized the treasuries? As for hiding, by God, I have never covered my head in fear of anyone, and now that I have reached the age I am now, I won't do so either. On the contrary, I will go (to al-Walīd) and I will ask God for help." Then Khālid departed and came to al-Walīd, but al-Walīd did not summon him or speak to
[1820] him and Khālid remained in his own house with his mawlās and his servants until the time that the head of Yaḥyā b. Zayd was

908. *Wa-ishtakā*. Later on in this narrative Khālid says that he is unable to walk and that he has to be carried. It may be that this was the result of the earlier torture he had undergone at the hands of Yūsuf b. 'Umar.

909. *A-lam ta'lam!* Ibn al-Athīr has *allatī ta'lamu* ("which you know about") (V, 209).

brought from Khurāsān. Then the people were assembled in a portico (*riwāq*) and al-Walīd sat down (with them). The chamberlain came and stood (by Khālid) and Khālid said to him: "You can see the state I am in. I can't walk. I can only be carried in my chair." The chamberlain replied: "Nobody who is being carried can go in to see al-Walīd," and he gave permission for three other people to go in. Then he said: "Stand up, Khālid!" to which Khālid replied: "I have already told you what a state I am in." So the chamberlain allowed another one or two people to enter. Then he repeated "Stand up, Khālid!" to which Khālid again replied: "I have already told you what a state I am in." This continued until the chamberlain had allowed ten people in. Then, after saying once more: "Stand up, Khālid," he gave permission for everyone to go in[910] and gave instructions that Khālid should be admitted in his chair. So Khālid was taken in to see al-Walīd, who was sitting on his couch. The tables were set; the people were in front of him in two rows. Shabbah b. 'Aqqāl or 'Aqqāl b. Shabbah was speaking and the head of Yaḥyā b. Zayd had been raised aloft. Khālid was taken to one of the two rows and when the speaker had finished his speech al-Walīd stood up. The people were sent away and Khālid was taken back to his family. When he had taken off his clothes, al-Walīd's messenger came to him and took him back again. When Khālid reached the door of the tent he stopped. Then the messenger of al-Walīd came out to him and said: "The Commander of the Faithful asks you: 'Where is Yazīd b. Khālid?'" Khālid replied: "Yazīd became the object of Hishām's anger.[911] Hishām sent people to look for him and Yazīd fled from him. We used to see Yazīd in the company of the Commander of the Faithful until God made him caliph. Then when Yazīd did not appear we thought that he was in his home territory of al-Sharāh[912] or thereabouts." The messenger came back to him again and said: "No: you have left Yazīd behind to stir up trouble." Then Khālid said to the messenger: "The Commander of the Faithful knows that we are a family of obedience—I, my father,

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910. Literally, "Then he said, 'Stand up, Khālid!' and allowed all the people to go in."

911. Literally, "a claw struck him from Hishām." Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCCXLVI.

912. In the Damascus province. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 32–33.

and my grandfather before me." Then Khālid interpolated (to the
[1821] narrator): "I could tell by the speed of the messenger's return that al-Walīd was near enough to hear what I was saying." Then the messenger came back and said: "The Commander of the Faithful says to you: 'Either you bring Yazīd or I will surely kill you.'"[913] At that Khālid raised his voice and said: "Say to him: 'So that's what you have been wanting all along, is it? By God, even if Yazīd were under my very feet I would not lift them up for you, so do whatever you want.'" Then al-Walīd ordered Ghaylān,[914] the chief of his guards, to beat Khālid, saying: "Let me hear his voice." So Ghaylān took Khālid to his house and tortured him with chains but Khālid did not open his mouth. Then Ghaylān went back to al-Walīd and said: "By God, I won't torture anyone who never speaks or cries out!" Al-Walīd said: "Lay off him and imprison him at your place." So he kept Khālid in prison until Yūsuf b. 'Umar brought money from Iraq.[915] Then al-Walīd and his associates deliberated the matter amongst themselves and al-Walīd held an assembly with the people at which Yūsuf was present. He[916] spoke to Abān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Numayrī about Khālid and said: "I will buy him for fifty million (dirhams)." Then al-Walīd sent word to Khālid saying: "Yūsuf will buy you for fifty million. If you can guarantee (to give me) that amount, (well and good). Otherwise I will hand you over to Yūsuf." Khālid replied: "(True) Arabs cannot be sold. By God, if you asked me to guarantee this"—and he picked up some wood from the ground—"I would not do it. So think again." Accordingly, al-Walīd handed Khālid over to Yūsuf, who stripped him of his clothes, threw a woolen cloak over him, bundled him into another, and took him away in a litter without a seat. Khālid's companion on the road was Abū Quḥāfah al-Murrī, the nephew of al-Walīd b. Talīd, who had been Hishām's governor in al-Mawṣil.[917]

Yūsuf took Khālid away and he camped at al-Muḥdathah, about

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913. The text has *la-urhiqanna*. The Cairo edition (259) has *la-uzhiqanna* ("I will surely kill"). The latter version has been followed.

914. Al-Dīnawarī (347) calls him Sa'īd b. Ghaylān.

915. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1779–80.

916. It is not clear whether this refers to Yūsuf or al-Walīd.

917. According to al-Dīnawarī (348) Yūsuf took Khālid to Wasiṭ.

a day's journey from al-Walīd's camp. Then Yūsuf called Khālid and referred to his mother (in a scandalous context). Khālid replied: "Why are you talking about mothers? May God curse you! [1822] By God, I will never speak a word to you again." Then Yūsuf lashed Khālid and tortured him severely but Khālid did not utter a single word. Then Yūsuf proceeded on his journey with Khālid. After some distance, Zayd b. Tamīm al-Qaynī sent a mawlā of his called Sālim al-Naffāṭ[918] to give Khālid a drink of *sawīq*[919] made from pomegranate seeds. When Yūsuf heard about this, he sentenced Zayd to five hundred lashes and Sālim to one thousand lashes. Then Yūsuf reached al-Ḥīrah and he summoned Khālid, together with Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad, the sons of Hishām (b. Ismā'īl al-Makhzūmī). Yūsuf had Khālid flogged but Khālid did not tell him anything. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām bore up under torture but Muḥammad b. Hishām was broken. After Khālid had remained under torture for one day, Yūsuf placed the spiked rack[920] on his chest and killed him that night. Khālid was buried in the cloak which he had been wearing in the area of al-Ḥīrah in al-Muḥarram 126 (October 25–November 24, 743) according to the report given by al-Haytham b. 'Adī. Then 'Āmir b. Sahlah al-Ash'arī came and killed[921] his horse at Khālid's grave and Yūsuf gave him seven hundred lashes.

According to Abū Zayd—Abū Nu'aym—an (unnamed) man: I was present when Yūsuf brought Khālid. Yūsuf called for some wood, which was placed on Khālid's feet, and then people stood on him until his feet were broken. But by God, he did not cry out or allow any expression[922] to cross his face. Then they stood on his legs until they were broken, then on his thighs, on his loins, and on his chest until he died. But by God, he did not (once) cry out or allow any expression to cross his face.

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918. The naphtha thrower.

919. *Sawīq:* a soup or paste made from flour and water to which honey, oil or pomegranate syrup is added. Cf. *Lisān*, II, 243; *EI*[1] s.v. (J. Ruska).

920. *Al-muḍarrasah.* Cf. al-Dīnawarī, 348; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 210. Here Ibn al-Athīr quotes from al-Farazdaq's verses against Khālid al-Qasrī.

921. *Fa-'aqara farsahu:* "he hamstrung/killed his horse." A pre-Islamic practice. Cf. the tradition quoted by Lane: *lā 'aqra fī al-Islāmi* ("there will be no slaughtering (at the grave) in Islam"). Cf. Lane, I, 2108.

922. Literally, "frown."

When al-Walīd b. Yazīd was killed, Khalaf b. Khalīfah[923] recited the following:[924]

The Kalb and the forefathers of Madhḥij[925] have silenced
[1823] a soul tormented with thirst[926] which clamored sleeplessly the whole night long.
In avenging Khālid, they have left[927] the Commander of the Faithful
prostrate upon his nose, though not in the act of worship.
So if you have snapped the cord of a necklace of ours,
we have in retaliation rent the cords of many necklaces of yours.
And if you have diverted our attention from dispensing largesse,
we have in turn diverted al-Walīd's attention from the singing of maidens.
And if al-Qasrī has embarked on a journey of no return,
(Remember that) Abū al-'Abbās also is no longer to be seen.

Ḥassān b. Ja'dah al-Ja'farī[928] gave the lie to Khalaf b. Khalīfah in these verses of his:[929]

Surely a man who claims that he himself killed al-Walīd and not
the caliph's uncles, has a soul brimful of lies.
He is naught but a man whose hour of death is nigh,

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923. Khalaf b. Khalīfah, the mawlā of Qays b. Tha'labah. Cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 301.

924. Cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, loc. cit. The meter is *ṭawīl.*

925. For the Banū Madhḥij, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 381.

926. *Ṣadan.* Cf. Lane, I, 1671. The translation here is based on the basic meaning of *ṣadiyā* ("to thirst vehemently"). Others will argue that what is meant here is the bird (often an owl) that cries in the head of the slain when his blood has not been avenged by retaliation. Cf. ibid. The translation here, "tormented with thirst," is based on an oral explanation of the term *ṣadan* given in 1970 by Professor A. F. L. Beeston, who convincingly related the term to the Ugaritic practice of placing water in the grave so that the soul of the deceased should not thirst in eternity.

927. *Tarakna* ("they have left"). Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (loc. cit.) has *taraknā* ("we have left").

928. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1378.

929. The meter is *basīṭ.*

one against whom the Banū Marwān have marched
alongside the Arabs.

Abū Miḥjan, Khālid's mawlā, recited the following:[930]

Ask al-Walīd, ask his troops,
when in the morning our hailstorm rained down on him,
Did a single soul from the Muḍar come to shield him,
when the horses were charging under the dust cloud of [1824]
death?
The man who in his folly lampoons us in verse we will cut to
pieces
with shining white swords; indeed, we use them to
lampoon and smite (our foes).

Naṣr b. Sa'īd al-Anṣārī recited the following:[931]

Convey to Yazīd[932] of the Banū Kurz a stark message,[933]
that from afar my thirst for vengeance has been slaked and
that I am no longer after revenge.[934]
You have cut down the limbs of a slave (*qinnawr*)[935] in rage
with a sharp, well-worn Indian sword.
In the evening, the wives of a slave have suffered mutilation
because of the downfall of the slave, the son of a slave,
And the dogs of Damascus continued to grip him with their
teeth,
as if his limbs were the limbs of a pig.
They left only fragments of him at the place where he died,
the debris of a decaying corpse dragged over the tent ropes.
You made your sword the judge when you were not satisfied
with their judgment,

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930. This meter is also *basīṭ*.

931. Again, the meter is *basīṭ*.

932. Yazīd, Khālid's son. Kurz was an ancestor of Khālid al-Qasrī. Cf. Ibn Khallikān, II, 309; Goldziher, I, 188–89.

933. *Mughalghalatan*.

934. The text has *qinnawr*. This is later changed tentatively to *qinnūr*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXII. The original version seems to accord better with the form in *Lisān*, III, 179, where the vocalization is *qinnawr* and the word is defined as *al-'abd* ("slave"). This is also the view expressed by the editor. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDX-CDXXIII. The Cairo edition (261) has *qannūr*.

935. The double force of *al-'abdi qinnawrin* has not been rendered in English.

for only the sword passes judgment without seeking justification.
So do not accept from Khālid, if you are far-sighted,
anything except every great and famous deed.
[1825] You have set fire to the kingdom of the Nizār and then terrified them
with galloping horses which bear haughty warriors.
There were none among the family of a slave, nor
among their offspring,[936] equal to the moon in the sky,
suffused with light.

In this year the oath of allegiance was given to Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, who was called Yazīd the "Inadequate"[937] (*al-Nāqiṣ*). Yazīd was given the title of the "Inadequate" only because he cut back the increase of ten dirhams in the people's stipends which al-Walīd b. Yazīd had decreed for them. After al-Walīd was killed, Yazīd revoked their increase and restored their stipends to what they had been in the time of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. It was said that the first person to call Yazīd by this name was Marwān b. Muḥammad.[938]

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī): Marwān b. Muḥammad reproached Yazīd b. al-Walīd and called him al-Nāqiṣ b. al-Walīd. So he dubbed him the "Inadequate" and that is why the people called him that.

936. Literally, "nor did they beget."
937. Cf. n. 629.
938. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 220.

The Caliphate of Yazīd b. al-Walīd

The Events of the Year 126 (cont'd)

(October 25, 743–October 12, 744)

In this year the unity of the Banū Marwān was disturbed and discord prevailed.

The Discords That Occurred

One such source of discord was the uprising of Sulaymān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik in 'Ammān after the killing of al-Walīd b. Yazīd. According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī): When al-Walīd was killed, Sulaymān b. Hishām came out of prison—he had been imprisoned in 'Ammān[939]—took what revenues there were in 'Ammān, and made for Damascus, where he began cursing al-Walīd and upbraiding him for being an unbeliever.

In this year the people of Ḥimṣ attacked the dependents of al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd. They destroyed his house and declared publicly that they were seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Walīd b. Yazīd. [1826]

939. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1776. For Sulaymān's activities after his release from prison, cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, V, 220; *Fragmenta*, 146.

The Uprising in Ḥimṣ

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī): Marwān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik was al-Walīd's governor in Ḥimṣ. He was one of the most prominent members of the Banū Marwān as far as nobility, generosity, intellect, and good looks were concerned. When al-Walīd was killed and the news of his murder reached the people of Ḥimṣ, they closed the town gates and they long continued to lament and mourn for al-Walīd. The people asked how al-Walīd had come to be killed and one of the people who had come to them (to tell them the news) said: We continued to maintain law and order among the people, and to keep them under control, until al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd arrived and defected to the side of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj. Then the people of Ḥimṣ rose up and wrecked and looted the house of al-'Abbās; they carried off his women and took away his sons, whom they cast into prison. They began searching for al-'Abbās, but he escaped to Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Then the people wrote to the *junds*, summoning them to seek vengeance for al-Walīd's blood, and the *junds* responded. The people of Ḥimṣ who were in the *junds* wrote to the effect that they would not give the oath of obedience to Yazīd, that if al-Walīd's two heirs[940] were still alive they would give the oath of allegiance to them and that otherwise they would give it to the best person they knew, on the condition that he give them stipends each Muḥarram and that he make provision that their children should inherit them.[941] They chose Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. Ḥuṣayn[942] as their leader. He wrote a letter to Marwān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik, who was in the *amīr*'s residence in Ḥimṣ. When Marwān had read the letter he said: "This is a letter that was written with God's approval,"[943] and he agreed to do what they wanted. When Yazīd b. al-Walīd heard about the people of Ḥimṣ he sent envoys to them, amongst whom was Ya'qūb b. Hānī', and he wrote a letter to them saying that he was not calling them to accept himself but that he was summoning them to the

940. The two sons mentioned in al-Walīd's succession letter, i.e., al-Ḥakam and 'Uthmān.

941. Literally, "he would give (stipends) to them for the children."

942. Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī. Cf. Crone, 97.

943. This translation is only tentative.

shūrā. 'Amr b. Qays al-Sakūnī[944] replied: "We are content with our heir-apparent" (*walī 'ahd*), meaning the son of al-Walīd b. Yazīd. At that Ya'qūb b. 'Umayr[945] took hold of 'Amr's beard and berated him: "You decrepit old man! Your judgment is unsound and you have lost your reason. Even if the person you mean[946] were an orphan in your care, it would not be lawful for you to give him his money, so how could it be otherwise in the case (not just of money, but) of the *ummah* itself?"[947] Then the people of Ḥimṣ attacked the envoys of Yazīd b. al-Walīd and drove them out. In charge of Ḥimṣ was Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. Ḥuṣayn. Marwān b. 'Abdallāh had no authority over them. Al-Simṭ b. Thābit[948] was with the people of Ḥimṣ, too, but relations between him and Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd were strained. Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī,[949] who was also with the rebels, declared to them: "If I went to Damascus and showed only myself to the people there, they would not oppose me." [1827]

Then Yazīd b. al-Walīd dispatched Masrūr b. al-Walīd and al-Walīd b. Rawḥ with a large number of troops, most of whom were from the Banū 'Āmir of Kalb, and they camped at Ḥuwwārayn.[950] Thereafter, Sulaymān b. Hishām came to Yazīd. Sulaymān was well received by Yazīd, and Yazīd married Sulaymān's sister, Umm Hishām, the daughter of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. Yazīd also returned to Sulaymān those of his family's possessions that al-Walīd had seized. Then Yazīd sent Sulaymān b. Hishām to Masrūr b. al-Walīd and al-Walīd b. Rawḥ, ordering them to heed and obey him. Then the people of Ḥimṣ arrived and camped at a village belonging to Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah.

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b.

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944. For his biography, cf. Crone, 99.

945. The name is written thus in the text. On the preceding page, however, Ya'qūb b. Hānī' was mentioned in the delegation sent to Ḥimṣ by Yazīd. There is probably a scribal error here and the name should be Ya'qūb b. Hānī'.

946. One of the two sons of al-Walīd, who were still minors.

947. Literally, "how is the case of the *ummah*!"

948. Al-Simṭ b. Thābit b. Yazīd b. Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ. For his later career, cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 404, 495. For the history of his family, cf. Crone, 101–02.

949. Abū Muḥammad Muḥammad b. 'Abdāllah b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah al-Sufyānī, an Umayyad. For a discussion of this name, cf. *Fragmenta*, 138, and the editor's note C. Cf. also Wellhausen, 362, 365–66.

950. Of the places that bear this name in Syria, the most likely here is a fortress near Ḥimṣ. Cf. Yāqūt, II, 355; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 465; Dussaud, 79.

Marwān al-Kalbī—'Amr b. Muḥammad and Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bahrānī: Marwān b. 'Abdallāh stood up and addressed them: "You who are gathered here! You have risen up in rebellion
[1828] to wage war against your enemy and to avenge the blood of your caliph and you have taken a path of rebellion for which I hope that God will reward you and give you a good recompense. People have shown their readiness to fight you and have revealed aggressive intentions toward you. If you foil their attempts, the rest will follow of itself and you will be nearer to your objectives and (your enemies) will be easier for you (to deal with). I do not think it is advisable for you to go to Damascus with this army at your back."[951] Then al-Simṭ said: "By God, this is an enemy who is right on your doorstep and who wants to disrupt your unity. And he has Qadarī inclinations." Thereupon the soldiers attacked and killed Marwān b. 'Abdallāh and his son, and exhibited their heads[952] to the people. By making these remarks, however, al-Simṭ had only wanted to disagree with Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd.

When Marwān b. 'Abdallāh was killed, the people of Ḥimṣ appointed as their governor Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī. They further sent word to Sulaymān b. Hishām, saying: "We are coming to you, so remain where you are," so he stayed put. Then the people of Ḥimṣ bypassed Sulaymān's troops on their left and advanced toward Damascus. Sulaymān got wind of where they were going, so he departed in haste and met up with them at al-Sulaymāniyyah, which was an estate belonging to Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (and was located) behind 'Adhrā',[953] fourteen miles from Damascus.

According to 'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān b. Bashshār and al-Walīd b. 'Alī: When Yazīd heard about what the people of Ḥimṣ had been up to, he summoned 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj and sent him off with three thousand men, ordering him to make himself master of the 'Uqāb pass.[954] Yazīd also sent for Hishām b.

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951. Literally, "and to leave this army behind you." Ibn al-Athīr has: "if you are victorious over them what follows them will be easier for you" (V, 221).

952. There is no dual in the Leiden text here, but the Cairo edition (VII, 264) corrects it without comment.

953. 'Adhrā' was a well-known village of the Ghūṭah district around Damascus. Cf. Yāqūt, III, 625; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 383.

954. This is presumably a reference to the Eagle's Gorge which lay near 'Adhrā'. Cf. Le Strange, loc. cit.

Maṣād and dispatched him with fifteen hundred men, ordering him to seize the mountain road at al-Salāmah[955] and instructing the forces to provide each other with mutual support.

According to 'Amr b. Marwān—Yazīd b. Maṣād: I was with Sulaymān's troops. When we came upon the people of Ḥimṣ, they had camped at al-Sulaymāniyyah. They had positioned themselves with the olive grove on their right, the mountain to the north of them, and the wells behind them. So there was only one way of approaching them. They had camped there at the begin- [1829]
ning of the night and had rested their riding animals, whereas we had spent the whole night traveling until we had come upon them. When the sun was high and the heat had become intense and our animals were exhausted and our armor weighed heavily on us, I went up to Masrūr b. al-Walīd and said to him, within earshot of Sulaymān: "O Abū Sa'īd, I swear to you by God that the *amīr* (of Ḥimṣ) is sending his *jund* forward to fight (us) at this very moment." Then Sulaymān rode up and said: "Young man, be steadfast. By God, I will not dismount until God has decreed His will for me and them (the people of Ḥimṣ)."[956] Then Sulaymān moved forward (into the fray); in charge of his right flank was al-Ṭufayl b. Ḥārithah al-Kalbī and in command of his left was al-Ṭufayl b. Zurārah al-Ḥabashī.[957] The people of Ḥimṣ launched an attack on us and our right and left flanks withdrew a distance of more than two bowshots, whilst Sulaymān maintained his position in the center. Then Sulaymān's men attacked the army of Ḥimṣ, pushing them back to their original position. Thereafter there were repeated attacks from both sides. Around two hundred of the men of Ḥimṣ were killed, including Ḥarb b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, and about fifty of Sulaymān's followers lost their lives. Abū al-Halbā' al-Bahrānī, who was a prominent horseman from Ḥimṣ, sallied forth and issued a challenge to single combat, so Ḥayyah b. Salāmah al-Kalbī came out against him. Abū al-Halbā' struck Ḥayyah a blow which unseated him from his horse. Then Abū Ja'dah, a mawlā of Quraysh from Damascus,

955. The text has al-Salāmah. Ibn al-Athīr has al-Salāmiyyah (V, 221). Certainly al-Salāmiyyah (unlike al-Salāmah) can be located in the area between Ḥamāh and Ḥimṣ. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 528; Dussaud, 79.

956. Literally, "until God has decreed what He decrees between me and them."

957. For these two men called Ṭufayl, cf. Crone, 162.

attacked Abū al-Halbā' and killed him. Next, Thubayt b. Yazīd al-Bahrānī sallied forth and issued a challenge to single combat, whereupon Īrāk al-Sughdī, who was a descendant of the kings of Sughd and was attached to Sulaymān b. Hishām, came out against him. Now Thubayt was short and Īrāk was massive. When Thubayt saw Īrāk advancing toward him he retreated, so Īrāk stood and shot an arrow at him which pinned his leg muscle
[1830] to his saddle cloth. While they were thus engaged, 'Abd al-'Azīz approached from the 'Uqāb pass and he attacked the men of Ḥimṣ with such vigor that he broke through their lines killing (some of them) and then reached us.

According to 'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān—Sulaymān b. Ziyād al-Ghassānī:[958] I was with 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj. When he caught sight of the troops of Ḥimṣ, he said to his followers: "Your destination is that hill which is in the center of their troops. By God, any of you who falls behind will be beheaded by me personally." Then, ordering his personal standard-bearer to advance, he launched into the fray and we went with him. We killed everyone in our way until we reached the hill. 'Abd al-'Azīz had split up the troops of Ḥimṣ who were in disarray. Then Yazīd b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī shouted: "Fear God, fear God when dealing with your own people!"[959] and thus he restrained them, for his heart misgave him at what Sulaymān and 'Abd al-'Azīz had done. Hostilities almost broke out between Sulaymān, supported by the Dhakwāniyyah,[960] and the Banū 'Āmir from Kalb. The Dhakwāniyyah were stopped from attacking the Banū 'Āmir on being assured that the latter would give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Then Sulaymān b. Hishām sent men to Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī and Yazīd b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, and they were seized. As they were being taken past al-Ṭufayl b. Ḥārithah, they shouted out to him: "We beseech you, uncle,[961] by God and kinship, (help us)." So al-Ṭufayl went with them to

958. The Cairo edition (265) puts in Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr) at the beginning of this chain of transmitters.

959. *Allāha Allāha fī qawmika.*

960. The Dhakwāniyyah were the armed retinue of Sulaymān b. Hishām, numbering several thousand men. Cf. Crone, 53, 241, n. 393.

961. Their maternal uncle.

Sulaymān, but he imprisoned them both. The Banū 'Āmir were afraid that he would kill the two of them, so a group of the Banū 'Āmir came and remained with the two captives in the tent. Then Sulaymān sent them on to Yazīd b. al-Walīd, who imprisoned them in the Green Palace[962] with al-Walīd's two sons. Yazīd also imprisoned with them Yazīd b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān, the maternal uncle of 'Uthmān b. al-Walīd. Then Sulaymān and 'Abd al-'Azīz went toward Damascus and lodged at 'Adhrā'. The people of Damascus reached agreement and gave the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Then the people went (back) to Damascus and Ḥimṣ. Yazīd allotted them stipends and gave presents to their leaders, amongst whom were Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Simṭ b. Thābit, 'Amr b. Qays, Ibn Ḥuwayy, and al-Ṣaqr b. Ṣafwān. Yazīd appointed Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. Ḥuṣayn, [1831]
who was from Ḥimṣ, as governor. The remainder (of the rebels) stayed in Damascus and then left to join the people of Jordan and Palestine. Three hundred of the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ had been killed that day.[963]

In this year the inhabitants of Palestine and Jordan rose up and killed their governor.[964]

The Rebellion of the People of Palestine and Jordan and the Treatment They Received from Yazīd b. al-Walīd

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbī—Rajā' b. Rawḥ b. Salāmah b. Rawḥ b. Zinbā':[965] Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik, a man of good character, was al-Walīd's governor in Palestine. Yazīd b. Sulaymān (b. 'Abd al-Malik) was the chief of his father's sons.[966] They had been

962. *Al-Khaḍrā'*: the palace built at Damascus by Mu'āwiyah, the first Umayyad caliph. It is perhaps significant that the audience hall at al-Ruṣāfah and the palace at Wāsiṭ also had green domes. Cf. the discussion in Grabar, *Al-Mushatta*, 106.

963. For an analysis of the revolt of the men of Ḥimṣ, cf. Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 157; Wellhausen, 365–66.

964. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 222–23.

965. For the history of this family, cf. Crone, 99–101.

966. Literally, "the sons of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik." For Yazīd b. Sulaymān, cf. the Umayyad genealogical table.

living in Palestine, and the people there liked them because of the protection that they extended to them. When al-Walīd was killed, the leader of the people in Palestine at that time, Sa'īd b. Rawḥ b. Zinbā', wrote to Yazīd b. Sulaymān, saying: "The caliph has been killed. Come to us and we will appoint you to rule over us." Then Sa'īd (b. Rawḥ) gathered his people to him and wrote to Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik, who was at that time camped at al-Saba',[967] saying: "Leave us. The situation here has become very troubled and we have chosen as our ruler a man under whose government we can be content." Accordingly, Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik went away to Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Then Yazīd b. Sulaymān summoned the people of Palestine to fight against Yazīd b. al-Walīd. The people of Jordan heard about their activities and so they appointed Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik to rule over them, whilst it was Sa'īd b. Rawḥ and Ḍib'ān b. Rawḥ[968] who were in command of the people of Palestine. When Yazīd (b. al-Walīd) heard about the doings of the people of Jordan and Palestine, he sent Sulaymān b. Hishām against them, accompanied by the men of Damascus and the men of Ḥimṣ who had been with al-Sufyānī. According to 'Alī (al-
[1832] Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān—Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Khuzā'ī: The men of Damascus numbered eighty-four thousand even before Sulaymān b. Hishām went out to join them.[969]

According to Muḥammad b. Rāshid: Sulaymān b. Hishām[970] kept on sending me to Ḍib'ān and Sa'īd, the two sons of Rawḥ, and to al-Ḥakam and Rāshid, the two sons of Jir' of the Balqayn, and I would make them promises and raise their hopes (of what they would receive) if they gave the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Accordingly, they agreed to do so. According to 'Uthmān b. Dāwūd al-Khawlānī: Yazīd b. al-Walīd sent me, together with Ḥudhayfah b. Sa'īd, to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik and Yazīd b. Sulaymān to call on them to submit to him and to make them promises and raise their hopes. So we began with the men of

967. Two places called al-Saba' (Le Strange has al-Sab') were located in the province of Filasṭīn. The more likely one here is the district that lies between Jerusalem and al-Karak. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 523.

968. Ḍib'ān is the vocalization given by the editor. *Fragmenta*, 152, has Ḍab'ān.

969. Literally, "the men of Damascus were eighty-four thousand, and Sulaymān b. Hishām went to them."

970. Cf. n. 368.

Jordan and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik. A group of them had gathered to him and I addressed him. Then one of them said: "May God show the *amīr* the right way! Accept what this young man says."[971] Then the prayer began,[972] and I spoke privately with him and said: "I have been sent by Yazīd with a message for you.[973] By God, all the flags I have left behind me are hoisted over the heads of your own people. Every dirham that has left the treasury is in their hands and they (all) have some kind of grievance against you."[974] Muḥammad said: "Are you sure about that?" I said: "Yes." Then I went away, came to Ḍib'ān b. Rawḥ, and said the same things to him. I also said to him: "Yazīd will make you governor of Palestine for as long as he remains in power." So Dib'ān agreed to what I had proposed and I left. Before the following day the people of Palestine had decamped.

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwan al-Kalbī—Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Ḥassān al-Urdunnī: I was a scout for Yazīd b. al-Walīd in Jordan. When the situation had settled down in his favor, he made me superintendent of the *kharāj* in Jordan. When the people rebelled against Yazīd b. al-Walīd, I went to Sulaymān b. Hishām and I asked him to detail some cavalry to accompany me in making a raid on Ṭabariy- [1833]

971. The text has *aqbil hādhā al-fatā uqīmat al-ṣalātu*. This would appear to be faulty. At minimum the insertion of *wa* or *fa* before *uqīmat* is necessary. Thus a literal translation would be: "'Accept this young man' and then the prayer began." The Cairo edition (VII, 267) has a longer, quite different reading here: *uqtul hādhā al-Qadariyya al-khabītha fa-kaffahum 'annī al-Ḥakam b. Jir' al-Qīnī*, which the editor says is a variant reading, although the Leiden edition gives no variants at all. Ibn al-Athīr glosses over this problem by omitting it (V, 222). In this very unsatisfactory situation, the former solution with the addition of *wa* has been adopted. It accords better with the following details of a private conversation between the messenger and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik.

972. Cf. n. 148.

973. Literally, "I am Yazīd's messenger to you."

974. The meaning of this is rather obscure. A literal translation of the text would be: "By God, I have not left behind me any flag except that it is raised over the head of a man of your family and there is no *dirham* which leaves the treasury except in the hand of a man from amongst them." The Arabic then continues: *wa-huwa yaḥmilu laka kadhā wa-kadhā*. Presumably what the messenger is suggesting here is that there are troops mobilized and paid from the family of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik already on the side of Yazīd b. al-Walīd and that Muḥammad would do well to submit at once. The precise meaning of *yaḥmilu* is not clear, but *ḥamala* may mean "to be angry, to have a grievance" (cf. Lane, I, 647) and has tentatively been translated thus in this sentence.

yah.[975] But Sulaymān refused to send anyone with me. Then I went to Yazīd b. al-Walīd and told him what had happened. Yazīd wrote a letter over his own signature to Sulaymān, ordering him to let me take with me whatever I wanted. Then I took the letter to Sulaymān, and he sent Muslim b. Dhakwān[976] and five thousand men with me. I left with them at night and made them camp at al-Baṭīḥah. Then they dispersed into the villages. I went with a group of them to Ṭabariyyah and they wrote letters contacting their own groups. The people of Ṭabariyyah said: "Why should we stand by when troops are searching our houses and oppressing our people?" Then they went to the residence of Yazīd b. Sulaymān and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik, plundered their belongings, seized their riding-animals and weapons, and returned to their own villages and houses.

When the people of Palestine and Jordan had dispersed, Sulaymān went to al-Ṣannabrah,[977] where the people of Jordan gathered to him and gave the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Then on the Friday Sulaymān sent people toward Ṭabariyyah; he himself crossed the lake by boat and traveled alongside his men[978] (who were on the road) until he reached Ṭabariyyah. Then he led the people in the Friday prayer, made the oath of allegiance (to Yazīd b. al-Walīd) with the people who were there, and returned to his camp. According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—ʿAlī (al-Madāʾinī)—ʿAmr b. Marwān al-Kalbī—ʿUthmān b. Dāwūd: When Sulaymān camped at al-Ṣannabrah, he sent me to Yazīd b. al-Walīd, instructing me to transmit the following message to Yazīd: "You know how churlish the people of Palestine are, but God has (so far) taken it upon Himself to defend you from them. I have resolved to appoint Ibn Surāqah as governor of Palestine and al-Aswad b. Bilāl al-Muḥāribī as governor of Jordan." So I went to

975. Ṭabariyyah (Tiberias), the capital of the province of Jordan. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 334–51.

976. The commander of the Dhakwāniyyah, a freedman of Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Cf. Crone, 241, n. 394.

977. This place is vocalized in the text as al-Ṣinnabrah. According to Le Strange, basing his reading on Yāqūt, III, 419, it should be al-Ṣannabrah. This was a place in the province of Jordan, three miles from Ṭabariyyah (*Palestine*, 531).

978. The text has *wajjaha Sulaymānu ilā . . . fa-jaʿala yusāyiruhum*. There would appear to be an implied object ("them," "the people") with *wajjaha*. Otherwise, *tawajjaha* would be more usual.

Yazīd and I told him what Sulaymān had instructed me to tell him. Yazīd said: "Tell me what you said to Ḍib'ān b. Rawḥ," so I told him. Then he said: "And what did Ḍib'ān do?" I replied: "Before morning, he decamped with the people of Palestine and Ibn Jirw and the people of Jordan did likewise." Then Yazīd said: "No one keeps his promises better than we do. Go back and tell Sulaymān not to leave until he has gone to al-Ramlah and make the people there give the oath of allegiance (to me). I have already [1834] appointed Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd as governor of Jordan, Ḍib'ān b. Rawḥ as governor of Palestine, Masrūr b. al-Walīd over Qinnasrīn, and Ibn al-Ḥusayn over Ḥimṣ."

After the murder of al-Walīd, Yazīd b. al-Walīd delivered a sermon. After giving praise and thanks to God and praying for His prophet Muḥammad he went on:[979]

> O people! By God, I did not rise up in rebellion out of overweening insolence and pride[980] nor out of a craving (to possess the things of) this world nor out of a desire for kingship. Nor do I have an inflated opinion of myself. Indeed, without the mercy of my Lord, I would be lost. On the contrary, I have rebelled out of righteous anger for God's cause, His prophet, and His religion, and I came to summon people to God, His book, and the *sunnah* of His prophet. (And this was at a time) when the signposts indicating the right path had been destroyed,[981] the light of pious folk had been extinguished, and there had appeared that stiff-necked tyrant who declared licit every forbidden thing and who was responsible for one innovation (*bid'ah*) after another. Nor, moreover, by God, did he confirm the truth of the Book or believe in the Day of Reckoning, although in the matter of noble descent he was my (paternal) cousin and was my equal as regards lineage. When I saw (all) this, I sought God's favor in my dealings with him

979. For other versions of this famous *khuṭbah*, cf. *Fragmenta*, 150–51; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqah, 130–31; Ibn Khayyāṭ, 382–83; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 144; al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, II, 141–42. Only significant differences are noted below. For a recent discussion of this *khuṭbah*, cf. Hawting, 95.

980. *Baṭaran*. Cf. Qur'ān 28, v. 58.

981. *Hudimat*. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (loc. cit.) and Ibn Khayyāṭ (loc. cit.) have *durisat* ("had been effaced").

(al-Walīd) and I implored Him not to let me yield to self-interest in this matter. I summoned to that cause those under my command who answered my call and I strove therein until God, by His own power and might and not through mine, granted His servants and lands surcease from him (al-Walīd).

O people, I give you my pledge that I will not place stone upon stone nor brick upon brick,[982] I will not dig any river, I will not accumulate wealth or give it to any wife or child. (I swear too) that I will not transfer wealth from one town to another until I have made good the loss to that town and
[1835] repaired adequately the fortune of its people.[983] If there is any surplus, I will take it[984] to the next town and to those who are in greatest need of it.[985] I will not detain you for long periods at the frontiers, thereby sorely testing you and your families. I will not close my door against you so that the strong amongst you will devour the weak, nor will I place on those of you who pay the poll-tax (burdens) which will drive you from your lands and decimate your progeny.[986] With me in charge you will receive your stipends every year and your rations every month, so much so that there will be an abundance of sustenance for (all) Muslims, be they far distant or near at hand. If I keep my word to you, then it is your duty to heed, to obey, and to provide help generously. But if I do not keep faith with you, it is up to you to depose me, with the proviso that you should (first) ask me to repent and if I do so you should accept such repentance from me. If you know of anyone of proven probity who of his own accord will give you

982. These are attacks on the building activities of his predecessor, al-Walīd.

983. *Ḥattā asudda . . . khasāsata ahlihi bi-mā yu'nīhum.* This is later amended to *yughnīhum* ("until I have restored the fortune of its people by that which satisfies them"). Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII. The Cairo edition (269) has *bi-mā yu'īnuhum* ("by that which keeps them").

984. *Fa-in faḍala faḍlatun naqaltuhu.* The Cairo edition (269) corrects *faḍlatun* to *faḍlun.*

985. *Naqaltuhu ilā al-baladi yalīhi mimman huwa aḥwaju ilayhi.* The version of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (loc. cit.) makes better sense: *ilā al-baladi alladhi yalīhi wa-man huwa aḥwaju ilayhi.* This is the version adopted in the translation.

986. Literally: "will drive *them* from *their* lands and decimate *their* progeny."

what I would give you, and you want to give the oath of allegiance to him, then I would be the first to give him my allegiance and submit to him.

O people! Obedience to a (created) human being should not involve disobedience to the Creator nor should you keep faith (with a human ruler) by breaking a covenant (with God). Obedience consists solely in obedience to God. So obey him (the caliph), in (your) obedience to God, as long as he (the caliph) obeys (God). But if he (the caliph) disobeys God and summons (you) to disobey God too, then he deserves to be disobeyed and killed. This is what I have to say and may God forgive me and you.

Then Yazīd b. al-Walīd called on the people to renew their oath of allegiance to him. The first person to do so was Yazīd b. Hishām, whose *laqab* was al-Afqam. Then Qays b. Hāni' al-'Absī gave him the oath of allegiance and declared: "O Commander of the Faithful, fear God and continue to conduct yourself as you are doing now, for no member of your family has behaved as (well as) you have. If people affirm that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz[987] (did so), (the difference is that) you obtained the caliphate by upright means,[988] whereas 'Umar took it in a wicked way." When Marwān b. Muḥammad heard what Qays had said, he exclaimed: [1836]
"What's wrong with him? May God strike dead him who defamed us all and 'Umar as well." (Later) when Marwān became caliph he sent somebody and said: "When you go into the mosque at Damascus, look for Qays b. Hāni'—he has been praying there for a long time—and kill him." So the man went away, entered the Damascus mosque, caught sight of Qays saying his prayers, and killed him.

In this year Yazīd b. al-Walīd dismissed Yūsuf b. 'Umar from the governorship of Iraq and appointed Manṣūr b. Jumhūr to it.

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987. *Fragmenta*, 151, gives an alternative *laqab*, al-Ashdaq ("having a wide mouth") for Yazīd b. Hishām. The Umayyad 'Umar II, 99–101 (717–20) is traditionally characterized as the only pious caliph of the dynasty and the only legitimate caliph in a line of "kings." Cf. Hawting, 15.

988. The text has *bi-ḥablin ṣāliḥin*. *Fragmenta* has *bi-sababin ṣāliḥin* (loc. cit.).

The Dismissal of Yūsuf b. 'Umar and the Appointment of Manṣūr b. Jumhūr (as Governor of Iraq)

When Yazīd b. al-Walīd had secured for himself the obedience of the Syrians, it was reported that he invited 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Hārūn b. 'Abdallāh b. Daḥyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī to be governor of Iraq. 'Abd al-'Azīz said to Yazīd: "If I had a *jund*, I would accept." So Yazīd dropped the idea of choosing him[989] and appointed Manṣūr b. Jumhūr to the post.

According to Abū Mikhnaf—Hishām b. Muḥammad (al-Kalbī): Al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik was killed on a Wednesday, two nights before the end of Jumādā II, 126 [Wednesday, April 15, 744], and the people gave the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik in Damascus. On the day that al-Walīd b. Yazīd was killed, Mansūr b. Jumhūr, who was the seventh (son) of seven,[990] left al-Bakhrā' for Iraq. When Yūsuf b. 'Umar heard that Manṣūr was coming, he fled.[991] Manṣūr b. Jumhūr arrived in al-Ḥīrah early in Rajab [mid-April, 744].[992] He seized the treasuries and distributed the stipends to those entitled to them and (did
[1837] likewise with) the rations. Manṣūr appointed Ḥurayth b. Abī al-Jahm[993] as governor of Wāsiṭ, having gone by night to the previous governor, Muḥammad b. Nubātah,[994] imprisoning him and putting him in fetters. Manṣūr also appointed Jarīr b. Yazīd (b. Yazīd) b. Jarīr[995] as governor of al-Baṣrah. After that, Manṣūr remained there, appointing governors and receiving the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd from the people in the various regions of Iraq. He stayed there for the remainder of Rajab and

989. Literally, "left him."

990. *Wa-huwa sābi'u sābi'atin.* On the significance of the number seven in the Islamic world, cf. F. C. Endres and A. M. Schimmel, *Das Mysterium der Zahl*, 162–66.

991. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 151; Ibn Khayyāṭ, 348; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 223.

992. Rajab 126 began on Sunday, April 19, 744.

993. Ḥurayth b. Abī al-Jahm al-Kalbī was from the subtribe of 'Āmir. Cf. Crone, 157.

994. Muḥammad b. Nubātah al-Kilābī. For a biography of his family, cf. Crone, 152.

995. The name appears in the text as Jarīr b. Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jarīr. This must be a mistake. One Yazīd has therefore been omitted.

during Sha'bān and Ramaḍān [April–mid-July, 744] and left a few days before the end of Ramaḍān.

According to reports other than that of Abū Mikhnaf: Manṣūr b. Jumhūr was a rough Bedouin. He was a supporter of Ghaylān and was not a man of religion. He joined Yazīd's cause only because of his Ghaylānī beliefs and out of zeal to avenge the killing of Khālid. That was also why he was present at the murder of al-Walīd. When Yazīd appointed Manṣūr as governor of Iraq, he said to him: "I have appointed you as governor of Iraq. Go there and fear God! (You should) know that I killed al-Walīd only because of his depravity and tyranny.[996] It is not fitting that you should behave in the manner that caused us to kill al-Walīd."

Then Yazīd b. Ḥajarah al-Ghassānī came in to see Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Yazīd b. Ḥajarah was a pious and virtuous man who was influential amongst the Syrians and who had fought against al-Walīd for religious reasons. He said (to Yazīd b. al-Walīd): "O Commander of the Faithful, have you appointed Manṣūr as governor of Iraq?" The caliph answered: "Yes, I have done so, because of his achievements and the valuable assistance (he gave me)." Yazīd b. Ḥajarah said: "O Commander of the Faithful, there is no one there like Manṣūr in his rough Bedouin ways and his coarseness in matters of religion." The caliph replied: "If I do not appoint Manṣūr, who has given such valuable assistance (to me), whom should I appoint?" Yazīd b. Ḥajarah said: "You should appoint someone who is God-fearing and upright, who hesitates before (judging) doubtful legal matters,[997] and who is well acquainted with the precepts and punishments (of Islam). Why is it that I don't see any of the Qays, either in attendance on you or standing at your door?" Yazīd b. al-Walīd replied: "If it were not for the fact that I want nothing to do with bloodshed I would have dealt quickly with the Qays. By God, they are strong only when Islam is weak."

When Yūsuf b. 'Umar received the news that al-Walīd had been killed, he began to seek out those of the Yamāniyyah who were in his entourage and to throw them into prison. Then he began to

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996. Literally, "because of what he manifested in the way of tyranny."
997. *Wa-al-wuqūfi 'inda al-shubhāti.* This translation is only tentative.

speak privately to a succession of men from the Muḍariyyah and
[1838] to say to them: "What would you do if a covenant were broken or a compact were dissolved?" Each man would say in reply: "I am a Syrian. I give the oath of allegiance to the person to whom the Syrians give allegiance and I do as they do." Yūsuf did not care for their attitude, so he released those of the Yamāniyyah who were in prison. He sent word to al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abdallāh al-Baṣrī and Manṣūr b. Naṣīr, who were aware of the situation between Yūsuf and the Syrians, and he ordered them to keep him informed by letter of what was going on. Yūsuf also posted lookouts on the road to Syria and remained in al-Ḥīrah, a prey to fear. Manṣūr approached (al-Ḥīrah) and when he was at al-Jum'[998] he wrote the following letter to Sulaymān b. Sulaym b. Kaysān:[999]

> Now for the substance of my letter. Verily, God does not change the condition of a folk until they (first) change that which is in their hearts; and if God wills a misfortune for a folk there is none than can repel it. Truly, al-Walīd b. Yazīd exchanged the blessing of God for unbelief. He shed blood, so God shed his blood and hastened his progress toward the Fire (of hell). God (then) appointed to His caliphate one who was better than al-Walīd, one who follows the right path more closely—Yazīd b. al-Walīd—and the people have already given him the oath of allegiance. Yazīd has appointed al-Ḥārith b. al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd as governor of Iraq. Al-'Abbās has sent me to seize Yūsuf and his agents and he is camped at al-Abyaḍ,[1000] which is a two days' journey behind me. So seize Yūsuf and his agents. Do not let a single one of them escape you and I will imprison them on your behalf. But beware if you oppose (this), for that would bring down upon you and your family a fate that you would be powerless to resist. So make up your mind or leave.

Other reports said that when Manṣūr was at 'Ayn al-Tamr[1001]

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998. Al-Jum' was a castle in the Petra area, in the Jabal al-Sharāh. Cf. Yāqūt, II, 118; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 466.

999. The leader of the Syrian troops at al-Ḥīrah. Cf. Wellhausen, 368.

1000. For Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ, cf. Dussaud, 79.

1001. 'Ayn al-Tamr is a small town between Anbār and al-Kūfah eighty miles west of Karbalā'. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (S. A. El-Ali).

he wrote to those Syrian commanders who were in al-Ḥīrah informing them that al-Walīd had been killed and ordering them to seize Yūsuf and his agents. Manṣūr sent all the letters to Sulaymān b. Sulaym b. Kaysān and ordered him to distribute them to the commanders. Sulaymān took them and went in to see Yūsuf. When Sulaymān had read out to Yūsuf the letter from Manṣūr, Yūsuf was at his wit's end (as to what he should do next).[1002]

According to Ḥurayth b. Abī al-Jahm: I was staying in Wāsiṭ [1839] when the letter from Manṣūr b. Jumhūr came to me out of the blue telling me to seize Yūsuf's agents, for it was I who carried out his orders in Wāsiṭ. So I assembled my mawlās and my men and we rode, forming a group of around thirty armed men, as far as the city (of Wāsiṭ).[1003] (At once) the gatekeepers said: "Who are you?" I answered: "I am Ḥurayth b. Abī al-Jahm." Then they replied: "We swear by God that it must be an important matter if it brings Ḥurayth here." When they had opened the gate, we went inside and seized the governor, who submitted to us. The following morning we received the oath of allegiance from the people in the name of Yazīd b. al-Walīd.

According to 'Umar b. Shajarah: When 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim[1004] was governor of Sind, he seized Muḥammad b. Ghazzān—or 'Izzān—al-Kalbī, and beat him. He then sent him to Yūsuf, who (also) beat him and demanded a large sum of money from him which he was to pay in installments every Friday. (Yūsuf ordered that) if Muḥammad did not do so, he would be given twenty-five lashes. (Eventually) Muḥammad's hand and some of his fingers became shriveled.[1005] When Manṣūr b. Jumhūr became governor of Iraq, he appointed Muḥammad b. Ghazzān as governor of Sind and Sijistān. When Muḥammad arrived in Sijistān he took the oath of allegiance on behalf of Yazīd (from the people there). Then he advanced to Sind, where he seized 'Amr b. Muḥammad, trussed him up in fetters, and ap-

1002. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 223.

1003. Presumably this story only makes sense if Ḥurayth was outside the city of Wāsiṭ when he received Manṣūr's letter.

1004. 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim had been appointed governor of Sind by Yūsuf b. 'Umar in 122 (739–40). Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 369.

1005. The clear inference is that Muḥammad did not keep up with the payments.

pointed guards to keep watch over him. After that, as Muḥammad was rising to perform the prayer, 'Amr seized a sword from the guards and fell on it when it was drawn so that it went right into his belly. People began shouting and Ibn Ghazzān came out and said: "What made you do what you have done?" 'Amr replied: "I was afraid of being tortured." Ibn Ghazzān said: "I was not going to go to the extremes to which you have gone yourself." 'Amr survived for three days and then he died. Ibn Ghazzān received the oath of allegiance on behalf of Yazīd (from the people there).

When Sulaymān b. Sulaym b. Kaysān al-Kalbī had read the letter of Manṣūr b. Jumhūr to Yūsuf b. 'Umar, Yūsuf said to him: "What do you think I should do?" Sulaymān replied: "You do not have an *imām* on whose side you can fight. The Syrians will not fight beside you against al-Ḥārith b. al-'Abbās and I do not think
[1840] you are safe from Manṣūr b. Jumhūr if he takes the field against you. Your only sensible course of action is to return to your own country, Syria." Yūsuf said: "That is my view too, but how can I manage it?" Sulaymān said: "Make a public profession of obedience to Yazīd and pray for him in your sermon. Then when Manṣūr comes, I will send you off with people I can trust." When Manṣūr had camped in a place from which his men could reach the town the following morning, Yūsuf made his way to the house of Sulaymān b. Sulaym, where he remained for three days. Then Sulaymān sent men with Yūsuf to accompany him on the road to al-Samāwah until he reached al-Balqā'.[1006]

It is said that Sulaymān advised (Yūsuf): "You should hide and leave Manṣūr to take over the job."[1007] Yūsuf replied: "With whom (can I hide)?" Sulaymān said: "With me. I will put you in a safe place." Then Sulaymān went to 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, told him what the situation was, and asked him to grant asylum to Yūsuf. Sulaymān said to 'Amr: "You are a man of the Quraysh and your maternal uncles are from the Bakr b. Wā'il." So 'Amr gave Yūsuf a place to hide.

'Amr said: "I have never seen a man so overweeningly proud

1006. Al-Balqā' is one of the districts of the province of Damascus. Its major town was 'Ammān. Cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 34–35. For more details of its limits, cf. *EI*², s.v. (J. Sourdel-Thomine).

1007. Literally, "leave Manṣur and the governorship/job."

and yet so thoroughly scared as he was. I brought him a valuable slave girl and I said (to myself:) "She will warm him up and calm him down." But, by God, he did not go near her nor did he even look at her. Then one day he sent for me and I went in to see him. He said to me: "You have done very well and you have behaved admirably. But I still need one thing." I said to him: "Tell me what it is." Yūsuf said: "Get me out of al-Kūfah and back to Syria." I said I would do so. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr reached us the next morning. He referred to al-Walīd and fulminated against him; he mentioned Yazīd b. al-Walīd and praised him;[1008] he touched on Yūsuf and his tyranny. Then the preachers stood up and poured censure on al-Walīd and Yūsuf. I went to Yūsuf and I told him what these people had been saying. Whenever I mentioned one of the people who had spoken disparagingly of him he would interrupt: "It is my duty to God to give him one hundred lashes—or two or three hundred." I was amazed that he still wanted to be governor and that he was still threatening people. Sulaymān b. Sulaym left Yūsuf (for a while) and then he sent him to Syria, where he hid, before moving to al-Balqā'.[1009]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī): Yūsuf b. 'Umar sent a man from the Banū Kilāb with five hundred men and he [1841] said to them: "If Yazīd b. al-Walīd comes your way, do not on any account allow him to pass." Then Manṣūr b. Jumhūr approached them with thirty men and they did not engage him in battle. He relieved them of their weapons and made them accompany him to al-Kūfah. The only people who left al-Kūfah with Yūsuf b. 'Umar were Sufyān b. Salāmah b. Sulaym b. Kaysān, Ghassān b. Qi'ās al-'Udhrī, and some sixty of Yūsuf's own children, both male and female. Manṣūr entered al-Kūfah early in Rajab,[1010] took possession of the treasuries, distributed the stipends and rations, and released those agents and tax officials who were in Yūsuf's prisons. It was when Yūsuf reached al-Balqā' that Yazīd b. al-Walīd received word of his activities.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b.

1008. The text has *fa-qarraḍahu*. This is emended by the Cairo edition (273) to *fa-qarraẓahu* ("he eulogized him"). Both versions are acceptable.

1009. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 224.

1010. Rajab 126 began on April 19, 744.

Yazīd b. Huraym—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, the mawlā of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān—Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Kalbī, who was one of the commanders of Yazīd b. al-Walīd: When Yazīd received word that Yūsuf was with his family at al-Balqā', he sent Muḥammad b. Sa'īd to search for Yūsuf b. 'Umar. [Muḥammad's narrative continues:] So I set off with fifty or more horsemen and surrounded Yūsuf's house at al-Balqā'. We carried out a thorough search (of the house) but we could not find anything, (for) Yūsuf had put on women's clothes and was sitting with his wives and daughters. Then Muḥammad searched among the women and found him in their midst. He brought Yūsuf out in fetters and threw him into prison with the two young sons of al-Walīd. Yūsuf remained in prison for the whole period of Yazīd's caliphate and for two months and ten days of Ibrāhīm's rule. Then, when Marwān came to Syria and approached Damascus, he gave Yazīd[1011] b. Khālid the task of killing them. So Yazīd dispatched a mawlā of Khālid's, whose patronymic was Abū al-Asad,
[1842] with a number of other henchmen of his.[1012] Abū al-Asad went into the prison and battered in the heads of the two young boys with clubs and then he brought out Yūsuf b. 'Umar and executed him.

Other reports said that when Yazīd b. al-Walīd heard that Yūsuf had reached al-Balqā', he sent out fifty horsemen. Thereupon a man from the Banū Numayr[1013] came to Yūsuf and said: "By God, cousin, you are a dead man. So do as I say and put up a fight. Leave it to me and I will snatch you out of the clutches of these men." Yūsuf said: "No." So the Numayrī said: "Let me kill you then, and don't let these Yamāniyyah kill you and thus arouse our intense wrath at your murder." Yūsuf replied: "I don't have the option of either of the suggestions you have made to me." The man said: "You know best." Then they brought Yūsuf to Yazīd, who said: "What has brought you here?" Yūsuf said: "Manṣūr b. Jumhūr came to take over as governor, so I left him and the job." Yazīd replied: "No! It was you that hated (the idea of) governing

1011. Yazīd was the most suitable person to avenge the death of his father by killing Yūsuf.

1012. Ibn al-Athīr suppresses the details of the way in which the two sons of al-Walīd and Yūsuf met their end (V, 224).

1013. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 450.

for me," and he then ordered that Yūsuf should be thrown into prison.

Other reports said that Yazīd summoned Muslim b. Dhakwān and Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Muṭarrif al-Kalbī, and he said to them: "Word has come to me that the libertine Yūsuf b. 'Umar has reached al-Balqā'. Go and bring him to me." So they searched for him but they could not find him. Then they frightened a son of Yūsuf's into saying: "I will show you where he is," and he told them that Yūsuf had gone to an estate of his, thirty *mīl*s away. The two men took with them fifty men from the *jund* at al-Balqā' and they found Yūsuf sitting there. When he realized that they had found him, he ran away, leaving his sandals behind. The two men searched for him and they found him with some women who had thrown a silk drape over him and were sitting on the hem of it, with their heads bared. The men dragged him away by his foot while Yūsuf started imploring Muḥammad b. Sa'īd to use his good offices with the Kalb and (in return) he would pay (him) ten thousand dīnārs and the blood-money of both Kulthūm b. 'Umayr and Hāni' b. Bishr. When Muslim and Muḥammad came to see Yazīd (with Yūsuf), an agent of Sulaymān's, who was taking his turn at guard duty, came up to Yūsuf. He grabbed Yūsuf's beard, tugged at it, and pulled some of it out; Yūsuf's stature was of the shortest, just as his beard was of the longest.[1014] Then Muslim and Muḥammad took Yūsuf in to see Yazīd, whereupon Yūsuf grabbed hold of his own beard, which at that time reached below [1843] his navel, and said: "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, he has pulled out my beard and he has not left me a single hair of it." Then Yazīd gave orders concerning Yūsuf and he was imprisoned in the Green Palace. (Later) Muḥammad b. Rashīd went in to see Yūsuf and he asked him: "Are you not afraid that one of the people whom you have wronged will bear down on you and throw stones at you?" Yūsuf replied: "No, by God, I hadn't thought of that. I beseech you, by God, to speak to the Commander of the Faithful about moving me to a different place from this, even if it

1014. Literally, "he was one of the largest of men as regards beard and one of the shortest as regards stature." Cf. the marked hostility shown toward Yūsuf by Wellhausen, who calls him in the same paragraph both a goblin and a toad (op. cit., 368).

is more cramped than this one." Muḥammad b. Rashīd said: "I told Yazīd (what Yūsuf had said) and Yazīd replied: "This is just one sign of Yūsuf's foolishness. I imprisoned Yūsuf only in order to send him to Iraq, so that he should be presented to the people and so that the injustices that he has perpetrated should be put right by his own money and by his own blood."

When Yazīd b. al-Walīd had killed al-Walīd b. Yazīd and sent Manṣūr b. Jumhūr to Iraq, Yazīd b. al-Walīd wrote a letter to the people of Iraq in which he outlined the evil deeds of al-Walīd. According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī): Some of the contents of the letter were as follows:[1015]

> God has chosen Islam as a religion; He has looked with favor upon it and has purified it. He has prescribed laws in it whereby He has laid down (what good men should do) and prohibited (men) from committing those acts that He has forbidden, so as to test the obedience or disobedience of His servants. In Islam, God has perfected every embodiment of good and the greatest of His bountiful gifts. Moreover, He took on the responsibility for it, preserving it and keeping charge of those of its people who observe its ordinances, protecting them and making known to them the excellence of Islam. Whenever God gives the blessing of the caliphate to anyone who submits to the divine command and acts according to it, and then somebody else competes with God's caliph through the medium of a covenant, or tries to give away what God has bestowed on him (the caliph) or breaks a compact, that person's perfidy is always brought to naught and his machinations are foiled[1016] until such time as God has

1015. This letter has recently been translated by Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 126–28. They draw attention to the version of the letter found in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (MS.), fols. 170a–b, where the date of the letter is given as 28 Rajab 126/May 15, 744 and the scribe is named as Thābit b. Sulaymān b. Sa'īd (i.e., Sa'd). Crone and Hinds follow the text of al-Ṭabarī and point out only the significant variants found in al-Balādhurī's version.

1016. Literally, "God does not give the blessing of the caliphate to anyone who accepts the command of God and comes to Him, then someone (else) competes with him (the caliph) with a covenant or tries to give away what God has bestowed on him (the caliph) or a violator violates (a compact) except that that person's perfidy is most feeble and his deceit is most worthless." In 1.17, the reading *aw bi-ḥulūli ṣarfi* has been changed to *aw yuḥāwilu ṣarfa mā*, following the Cairo edition (VII, 275). This is based on a variant in the apparatus.

finished giving His gifts to the caliph, and bestowed on him His reward and the recompense which He has kept in store for him, whilst He makes his enemy lose his way totally and frustrates all his efforts.

The caliphs of God succeeded each other as guardians of His religion, passing judgement therein by His ordinance and [1844] following therein His book. Because of that they had an abundance of blessings (heaped) upon them as a result of God's friendship and His assistance;[1017] and God was pleased with His caliphs in that office[1018] until the time when Hishām died. Then the command passed to the enemy of God, al-Walīd, the violator of sacred things such as no Muslim would ever approach and toward which (even) an infidel would not venture, but rather avoid going near their like.[1019] When (the news of) that behavior of his spread abroad and became publicly known, when the affliction he caused worsened, blood was shed because of him, possessions were unlawfully seized, and acts of profligacy were committed which God will condone only for a little while in those who commit them, I went to al-Walīd, expecting that he would return (to the right path), whilst excusing myself in the sight of God and the Muslims,[1020] repudiating al-Walīd's activities and the flagrant way in which he had disobeyed God, and seeking from God the fulfillment of what I purposed; namely,[1021] to restore the pillars of religion and to adopt for His people that which is pleasing to Him.

1017. Literally, "because of that, they had from His friendship and help that which completed the blessings upon them."

1018. *Al-amru.* Crone and Hinds have "office" (loc. cit.).

1019. *Tukarruman 'an.* This presumably applies to both the Muslim and non-Muslim.

1020. *Sirtu ilayhi ma'a intiẓāri murāja'atihi wa i'dhārin ilā Allāhi wa-ilā al-Muslimīna munkiran li-'amalihi. . .* Crone and Hinds have: "I went to him with the expectation that he would mend his ways and apologize to God and to the Muslims, disavowing his behavior. . . ." (loc. cit.). An alternative translation could read: "I went to him with the expectation that he would return (to the right path) and *excusing myself* to God and the Muslims, rejecting his activities." The interpretation here is based on the premise that Yazīd, not al-Walīd, is apologizing to God and the Muslims and that he (Yazīd) is dissociating himself with al-Walīd's profligate activities.

1021. Literally, "the fulfillment of that which I purposed consisting of the restoring. . . ."

Then I came across a *jund* whose breasts seethed with wrath at the enemy of God because of the way they had seen him behaving—for truly, whenever the enemy of God encountered one of the ordinances of Islām he wanted to change it and to act in respect of it in a manner that was contrary to God's revelation. (All) that (conduct) on his part was known to all and comprehensive in scope;[1022] it was in full view (of everyone), for God had drawn no veil over it, nor was anybody in any doubt about it. Then I mentioned to the *jund* what I abominated and feared, which was the corruption of both religion and worldly affairs. So I roused them to restore and defend their religion. They vacillated in this, fearing that they would only be saving themselves by the action they would be taking. Then I summoned them to put the matter right and they hastened to answer my call. God sent a group of them, men who were pious and pleasing (to Him), to inform the rest[1023] and I sent ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿAbd al-Malik to be in charge of them. He met the enemy of God near a village called al-Bakhrāʾ. They called upon al-Walīd to agree that the matter should be referred to a *shūrā* in which the Muslims should decide for themselves whom they would agree to appoint to rule (over them). The enemy of God would not agree to that and opted only to sink deeper into error. He was the first to launch an attack on them in ignorance of
[1845] God, but he found God a mighty judge and His grip agonizingly painful. God killed al-Walīd because of his evildoing and He killed a group of his followers—they did not number as many as ten—who were companions of his and

1022. *Shāmilan.* Crone and Hinds have "generally" (loc. cit.).

1023. The text has *fa-ibtaʿatha Allāhu minhum baʿthan yukhbiruhum man/min awlā al-dīni wa-al-riḍā.* This is very unsatisfactory. It is possible to render it as "God sent a group of them to inform them (the others), those (*man*) possessed of religion and what is pleasing to God," with *man awlā al-dīni wa-al-riḍā* in apposition to *baʿthan.* This is certainly the inference of the punctuation of the Cairo edition (VII, 276). Alternatively, if *min* is read instead of *man,* a possible translation would be: "God sent a group of them to inform them (the others), (a group) consisting of those possessed of religion and what is pleasing." Crone and Hinds emend *yukhbiruhum* to *bi-khayrihim,* which makes good sense (loc. cit.). Their translation thus reads: "God sent a deputation made up of the best of those possessed of religion and what is pleasing."

came from the depraved inner circle of his intimates. The remainder of al-Walīd's associates agreed to follow the right path to which they had been summoned. Thus God extinguished his fire and granted His servants relief from him. A curse on him and those who follow in his way!

I wanted to tell you (all) this and to notify you quickly about it so that you might give praise and thanks to God, for you have today reached the best possible situation for yourself (in view of the fact that) your governors are the best people from amongst you and justice has opened wide its arms to you and you will not be ruled in any other way than this. On that account, therefore, praise your Lord all the more and follow[1024] Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, for I have selected him for you on the basis that God's covenant and compact and the culmination of what has been promised and laid down for any of His creatures are binding upon you. So heed and obey me and those whom I shall appoint to succeed me and on whom the community has agreed. I have a similar duty toward you. I shall certainly deal with you according to the ordinance of God and the *sunnah* of His prophet, and I shall follow in the path of the best of your predecessors. We ask God, our Lord and our Guardian, to favor us most generously with His assistance and the best of His decree.

In this year Naṣr b. Sayyār refused to give up his post to the agent of Manṣūr b. Jumhūr after Yazīd b. al-Walīd had appointed Manṣūr to govern Khurāsān together with Iraq. According to Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī himself: I have already given some account of Naṣr. (I mentioned) what happened about the letter of Yūsuf b. 'Umar to Naṣr in which he instructed Naṣr to bring him the tribute for al-Walīd b. Yazīd and to go in person from Khurāsān to Iraq; and (I mentioned) how Naṣr traveled slowly and how he then received the news of al-Walīd's murder.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—al-Bāhilī: Bishr b. Nāfi', the mawlā of Sālim al-Laythī who was in charge of coinage in Iraq, came to Naṣr. Bishr said: "When Manṣūr b. Jumhūr [1846]

1024. The text has *tābi'ū*. Crone and Hinds follow al-Balādhurī, who has *bayi'ū* (loc. cit.).

came as *amīr* of Iraq, Yūsuf b. 'Umar fled. Manṣūr sent his brother Manẓūr b. Jumhūr[1025] as governor of al-Rayy[1026] and I accompanied him there. Then I said (to myself): "I will go to Naṣr and tell him (what is going on)." When I reached Nīshāpūr,[1027] Ḥumayd, Naṣr's mawlā, threw me into prison and said: "You will not get out of here until you tell me (why you are here)." So I told him and I made him swear by God's oath and covenant that he would not tell anyone until I had reached Naṣr and informed him, so Ḥumayd did that. Then we all went to Naṣr, who was in his citadel in Mājān. We asked permission to go in and see him, but a eunuch of his said that Naṣr was asleep. We pressed him further and he went off and told Naṣr. Naṣr came out and grabbed my hand and took me inside. He did not say anything to me until we were inside the room. Then he asked me (why I had come) and I told him. Naṣr said to Ḥumayd, his mawlā: "Take him away and give him a present." Then Yūnus b. 'Abd Rabbihi[1028] and 'Ubaydallāh b. Bassām came to me and I told them (the news). Salm b. Aḥwaz (also) came to me and I told him.

(Bishr's narrative continues.) Al-Walīd b. Yūsuf was with Naṣr. When Naṣr heard the news, Naṣr kept al-Walīd with him. Al-Walīd sent people to me and when I had told them the news[1029] they called me a liar. So I said (to Naṣr): "You should get these men to confirm (what they say)." After three days had passed

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1025. Manẓūr b. Jumhūr was later murdered in India by Rifā'ah b. Thābit al-Judhāmī. Rifā'ah was seized by Manṣūr b. Jumhūr and walled up alive in a pillar. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1895; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 407; Crone, 159.

1026. Al-Rayy was an important city of the province of Jibāl, which stood near the site of modern Tehran. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 214–17; al-Ya'qūbī, *Les Pays*, 79–80; Schwarz, 446–48, 740–83.

1027. Nīshāpūr was one of the four great cities of Khurāsān. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 382–88; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 95–102.

1028. For a discussion of Naṣr's relationship with Yūnus b. 'Abd Rabbihi, another of his mawlās, cf. Crone, 53.

1029. This is rather an obscure narrative, which seems to be in no other source. A literal translation would be: "he made him stay (*aqarrahu*) when the news reached him; then he sent (people) to me, and when I told them, they called me a liar, so I said: 'Seek confirmation (*istawthiq*) from these people.'" A possible sequence of events here is that Naṣr kept Yūsuf's son with him. Al-Walīd b. Yūsuf sent some of his associates to Bishr. They tried to refute the news that Bishr told them—namely that al-Walīd was dead and Yūsuf b. 'Umar had fled. Bishr then told Naṣr to make the others confirm the truth of what they had said. The emended version of this passage in the Cairo edition (VII, 277) is of no use.

Naṣr posted eighty men to guard me. The news was slower to arrive than I had expected. Then on the ninth night, which was the night of Nawrūz,[1030] the news reached them, confirming what I had already told them. Naṣr publicly sent me most of the tribute (intended for al-Walīd)[1031] and he ordered that I should be given a horse with its saddle and bridle. He (also) gave me a Chinese saddle and he said to me: "Stay on so that I can give you a full hundred thousand (dirhams)."

When Naṣr was sure that al-Walīd had been killed, he gave back that tribute (intended for al-Walīd), freed the slaves, divided up the pick of the slave girls amongst his sons and his close associates, distributed those vases amongst the common people,[1032] and sent out governors, ordering them to act honorably. (Bishr's narrative continues.) The Banū Azd in Khurāsān caused turmoil by spreading false rumors[1033] that Manẓūr b. Jumhūr was coming [1847] there. Then Naṣr preached a sermon in which he said: "If a suspect *amīr* comes to us, we will cut off his hands and his feet." After that, Naṣr revealed the man's name, calling him 'Abdallāh, the deserted one, the mutilated one.[1034]

Naṣr appointed (governors) over the Banū Rabī'ah and the Yamāniyyah. Naṣr made Ya'qūb b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn governor of upper Ṭukhāristān and appointed Mas'adah b. 'Abdallāh al-Yashkirī to rule over Khwārazm.[1035] Khalaf recited the following verses about Mas'adah:[1036]

When I am close to Kardar I say to my companions,

1030. Nawrūz is the first day of the Persian solar year, which now occurs at the vernal equinox. It was also in earlier times deemed to be at the midsummer solstice. For a discussion of the history of the dating of Nawrūz, cf. *EI*[1], s.v. (R. Levy).

1031. *Al-hadāyā*. Cf. n. 574.

1032. *Ibid.*

1033. *Wa-arjafat al-Azdu. Arjafa*, "to cause agitation in others by spreading false rumors." Cf. Lane, I, 1042.

1034. *Thumma bāḥa bihi ba'du fa-kāna yaqūlu 'Abda Allāhi al-makhdhūla al-mabtūra* ("then he revealed it after that and he would say 'Abdallāh, the deserted one, the mutilated one"). These imprecations were no doubt intended as a warning to anyone who wanted to take Khurāsān from Naṣr. The Cairo edition (VII, 278) has *al-mathbūr* ("overcome") for *al-mabtūr*.

1035. Khwārazm was the province lying along the lower course of the Oxus. Cf. *EI*[2], s.v. (C. E. Bosworth).

1036. The meter is *ṭawīl*.

"Truly Mas'adah al-Bakrī is the reviving rain supplicated by widows."

Then Naṣr appointed Abān b. al-Ḥakam al-Zahrānī (in place of Mas'adah) and he appointed al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah al-Jahḍamī as governor of Quhistān.[1037] Naṣr ordered his governors to behave uprightly. He summoned the people to give the oath of allegiance, which they did. In this connection a poet recited (the following lines):[1038]

I declare to Naṣr, having pledged allegiance to him
against most of the (Banū) Bakr and their allies,
My hand is surety for you against the Bakr of Iraq,
against their leader and the son of the most distinguished one amongst them.
I (You)[1039] have given assurance to the Muslims,
to the people of the (Muslim) lands near and far
(That) whenever we exceed[1040] your desire,
Swift, light-footed camels will make their way to you.
You have called upon the troops to give allegiance (to you),
and you were absolutely in the right to do so.[1041]
You have safeguarded Khurāsān for the Muslims
when the earth was about to convulse.
And when the Muslims were restored to mutual harmony,
you lavished money on those who composed their differences.
You have granted[1042] protection and security to the people of the towns
and to those settled on their borders;

1037. A number of areas were called Quhistān ("the mountain country"). The district meant here is Quhistān-i Khurāsān, the mountainous region that stretches south from Nīshāpūr to Sīstān. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 352–63; *EI*², s.v. (J. H. Kramers).

1038. The meter is *mutaqārib*.

1039. The text has *akhadhtu*. It would make better sense if it is read as *akhadhta*.

1040. The text has *idhā lā tujību ilā mā turīdu*. This is later emended to *idhā mā nuzīdu*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII.

1041. This hemistich seems to be in the wrong place. An alternative translation might be "and you treated all of them with absolute justice."

1042. This line seems also to be in the wrong place and it is difficult to determine the subject of *ajāra*.

And to the soldiers in both east and west you have become
a milch-camel, its udders overflowing with milk for them.
We will remain in that situation[1043] [1848]
until the paths to be followed become clear to the pathfinders,
And until the Quraysh have revealed that which
is hidden in the depths of their hearts.
I have sworn that it is better for the
grazing-camels who make journeys to be stripped of their wool,[1044]
And added to what is paid by those of the Quraysh who live in the valleys,[1045]
first those of noble birth and then the base-born.[1046]
If he who becomes powerful robs the weak,
we will beat their horses on their manes.
We have found fodder, no matter what its source,
which the horses feed on once it has been heated up for them.
As long as they have a share in it, their
flanks will become heavy (with fat), when formerly they were lean.
We continue as before to maintain our support for
the Quraysh, and we are content with their allies;
We shall be satisfied to have your power as a place of refuge for them,
for your power is their bulwark.
Perhaps the Quraysh, when they vie amongst themselves,
will hit some[1047] of their targets,
And they will overwhelm the plotters in Iraq
who have up-ended the bucket from the east by its hooks.

1043. This line also does not fit here. The meaning seems to be "we will remain loyal to you."

1044. The text has *li'l-ghazwi*. This is emended by the editor to *lal'urwu*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII. The Cairo edition (VII, 279) follows this correction.

1045. Literally, "the Quraysh of the valleys."

1046. Literally, "their low-ranking men after their high-born ones."

1047. The text has a lacuna here: *tuqarṭisu . . . fī ahdāfihā*. The Cairo edition (VII, 279) has *tuqarṭisu fī ba'ḍi ahdāfihā*.

Indeed, we are like lions,[1048] and lions are endowed with
manes above their shoulders.
If they scatter in fright, fearing destruction,
(they will find that) the vicissitudes of time are yet closer
to them (in destruction).
For your sake we have remained steadfast (in battle)[1049]
when their ranks crumbled and collapsed.[1050]
We have found you to be benevolent and kind to us,
showing us the tender loving kindness of a mother.
Our allegiance to you was not a passing whim
to be rescinded at the earliest opportunity,
Like a young girl who rushed to meet her (intended) husband,
before her fingers had been dyed
And who was unveiled by the bridegroom before the marriage
contract had been drawn up,
and who therefore encountered him with aversion.

[1849] Naṣr had appointed 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī as governor of Khwārazm. 'Abd al-Malik used to preach to the people there and in his sermon he would say: "I am neither a rough Bedouin nor a Fazārī[1051] who follows the ways of the Nabateans.[1052] Circumstances have favored me and I have taken full advantage of them. Verily, by God, I shall certainly use the sword where appropriate and the whip where appropriate, and I shall throw open the prison (to be used). You will assuredly find me extremely harsh in crushing any dissension. Either you will go undeviatingly along the same road as me, galloping like a young camel on the widest of paths, or I shall certainly strike you in the way a lynx-eyed man strikes water birds,[1053] striking them first on one side and then on the other."

1048. The translation is only tentative. The Cairo edition (loc. cit.) has *wa-bi-al-usdi minnā* ("and with lions of ours").

1049. Literally, "by you our feet have remained firm."

1050. Literally, "when their banks collapse."

1051. For the Banū Fazārah, a North Arabian tribe, cf. *EI*², s.v. (W. M. Watt).

1052. For the pre-Islamic Aramaic-speaking Arab people, the Nabataeans (*al-Anbāṭ*), cf. *EI*¹, s.v. (E. Honigmann). During the Islamic period the term *Nabataean* in the mouth of Arabs was one of abuse. Cf. the long discussion in Goldziher, I, 145.

1053. *Al-qāriba* "water birds." Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CDXIX.

(One day) a man of the Balqayn turned up in Khurāsān at the behest of Manṣūr b. Jumhūr. A mawlā of Naṣr's called Ḥumayd, who was in charge of coinage[1054] in Nīshāpūr, seized him, beat him, and broke his nose. The man complained to Naṣr, who ordered twenty thousand (dirhams) to be given to him and presented him with a set of clothes. Naṣr said: "The person who broke your nose is a mawlā of mine. He is not a social equal, so that I may take retaliation from him on your behalf. So don't complain any more."[1055] Then 'Iṣmah b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī said: "Brother from the Balqayn, broadcast what manner of man it is that you have come to see. We have lined up the Qays for the Rabī'ah, and the Tamīm for the Azd. Only the Kinānah do not have anyone to equal them!" Naṣr retorted: "Whenever I have put a matter right you ruin it."

According to Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah—Aḥmad b. Mu'āwiyah—Abū al-Khaṭṭāb: Qudāmah b. Muṣ'ab al-'Abdī and a man from the Banū Kindah came to Naṣr b. Sayyār on behalf of Manṣūr b. Jumhūr. Naṣr said: "Is the Commander of the Faithful (really) dead?" They said: "Yes." Then Naṣr asked: "And Manṣūr b. Jumhūr has been made governor of Iraq and Yūsuf b. 'Umar has relinquished control of Iraq?"[1056] The two men confirmed that this was so. Then Naṣr said: "We have no faith in what you lot have said."[1057] Thereupon Naṣr imprisoned both the men but he allowed them ample living space. Naṣr (then) dispatched a man who, when he got to al-Kūfah, saw Manṣūr preaching. Then Naṣr released the two men and said to Qudāmah: "Has a man from the Banū Kalb been appointed as governor over you?" Qudāmah replied: "Yes. We are only from the Qays and the Yamāniyyah." So Naṣr said: "Why isn't one of you appointed as governor (of Iraq)?" Qudāmah said: "Because it is with us as the poet said: [1850]

If ever we fear any tyranny from a ruler,
we call on Abū Ghassān and he comes to the rescue with his troops.

1054. *Sikak*. This is rather ambiguous, since it can mean either the engraved pieces of metal used for stamping coins or streets.
1055. Literally, "so do not say anything but good."
1056. Literally, "has fled from the throne of Iraq."
1057. *Innanā bi-jumhūrikum min al-kāfirīna*.

Naṣr laughed and attached Qudāmah to his retinue.

When Manṣūr b. Jumhūr reached Iraq, he either appointed 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās as governor of al-Kūfah, or he found him already ensconced as governor there and confirmed him in the post.[1058] Manṣūr put Thumāmah b. Ḥawshab in charge of his *shurṭah*. Later on he dismissed him and appointed al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāh al-Nakha'ī.[1059]

In this year Marwān b. Muḥammad wrote to al-Ghamr b. Yazīd, the brother of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, ordering him to avenge the blood of his brother al-Walīd.

The Text of Marwān's Letter to al-Ghamr

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī): Marwān wrote to al-Ghamr b. Yazīd as follows:

> Now to the point. Truly this caliphate is from God and follows the paths laid down by the prophethood[1060] of His messengers and the establishment of the precepts of His religion. God has blessed the caliphs by that with which He has invested them, honoring them (thereby) and honoring those who honor them. May destruction fall on anyone who vies with His caliphs and who seeks to follow a path different from theirs! The caliphs have continued to be trustees of what God has set apart for them in the caliphate, with one after another of them appearing[1061] to conduct its affairs justly, with the help of those Muslims who support it.
>
> Of (all) God's creatures, the Syrians were the most obedient to Him, the most zealous to defend His sacred ordinances, the most faithful in keeping His covenant,[1062] and the most severe in destroying anyone who deviated from, opposed, obliterated, and strayed from the truth. God's bounty flowed copiously upon them, Islam flourished through them, and

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1058. On 'Ubaydallāh cf. Crone, 152.

1059. Cf. his biography in Crone, 157. He later became the *kātib* to the 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Manṣūr. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, III, 276, 322.

1060. Literally, "on the basis of the paths of prophethood."

1061. Literally, "one riser after (another) riser performs."

1062. The text has "a covenant."

polytheism and its followers were brought low by them. But (recently) they have violated God's command and tried to violate His covenants. For that reason there came forward someone to fan the flames (of *fitnah*),[1063] even though men's hearts had turned away from him.[1064] Those who (now) seek [1851] (vengeance for) the blood of the caliph[1065] are the (true) leaders of the Banū Umayyah, for his (al-Walīd's) blood will not have been shed in vain, even though discord has been stilled by them (the rebels) and public affairs have been restored to good order.[1066] For there is no opposing what God has willed.

You have written (telling me) about your situation and your opinion on what they have done. I will remain silent until I think the moment is right for a rebellion,[1067] and then I will attack in vengeance, and I will avenge God's religion which has been persecuted and His precepts which have been abandoned as if they were of no value.[1068] I have a group of men whose hearts God has made obedient to me; they are people who are daring enough for what I have in mind for them to do. There are (also) other people like them, whose hearts are full to overflowing and look only to find an opportunity (for revenge). Retribution has its auspicious moment and appointed time from God.[1069] I would not be worthy of

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1063. *Man ash'ala ḍirāmaha.* The reference is presumably to *fitnah* ("discord"), which, however, has not been explicitly mentioned, and to Yazīd's rebellion.

1064. *Wa-in kānat al-qulūbu 'anhu nāfiratun* ("although hearts had turned away from him"). This is rather obscure. It is more probable that the people would have turned away from al-Walīd, whose behavior had alienated them, than from Yazīd, who stepped forward to oppose him. However, it may simply mean that Yazīd was not in the public eye until he rebelled. Alternatively, *'anhu* could refer to God.

1065. I.e., al-Walīd.

1066. Another possible translation of this might be: "Those demanding the blood of the caliph (i.e., al-Walīd's murderers) are the leaders of the Banū Umayyah. But [instead of 'for' (*fa-inna*)] his blood will not have been shed in vain, even though discord has been stilled by them and public affairs have been restored to good order."

1067. *Ghiyaran.* Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCCXCIV.

1068. The text has *antaqimu li-dīni Allāhi al-matbūlī wa-farā'iḍihi al-matrūkati majjānatan.* The Cairo edition (VII, 281) has "I am exacting vengeance for God's religion, whose precepts have been cast aside (*al-manbūthati*), and which has been abandoned as valueless (*majjānatan*)." *Majjān* is not usually feminine.

1069. Literally, "vengeance has its turning which comes from God and an appointed time."

the name[1070] of Muḥammad or Marwān if, when I saw a rebellion, I did not exert myself to the utmost against the Qadariyyah and if I did not strike them with my sword, wounding and stabbing them, with God's decree ordaining what He wills therein and visiting His punishment on those whom He chooses to punish.[1071] I am remaining silent only because of what I am expecting to come from you, so do not be too feeble to exact blood vengeance for your brother, for truly God is your protection and your sufficiency and God's will and help are sufficient.

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—'Amr b. Marwān al-Kalbī—Muslim b. Dhakwān: Yazīd b. al-Walīd spoke to al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd about Ṭufayl b. Ḥārithah al-Kalbī, saying that Ṭufayl had incurred a bloodwit and had asked al-'Abbās if he would write to Marwān b. Muḥammad interceding for Ṭufayl with him, so that Marwān would allow Ṭufayl to ask his kinsfolk for it. (It so happened that) Marwān b. Muḥammad used to prevent people from drawing from the stipend fund for that purpose.[1072] Now al-'Abbās agreed to do as Yazīd asked and he deposited the letter with the postal service. The letter of al-'Abbās with its full contents reached the most far-flung areas (of the empire). Then Yazīd (also) wrote to Marwān, saying that he had made a transaction to buy[1073] an estate for eighteen thousand dīnārs from Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Walīd and that he needed (an extra) four thousand dīnārs.

[1852] According to Muslim b. Dhakwān: Yazīd called me and said: "Go with Ṭufayl taking these letters with you and discuss this matter with him." So we went off, without al-'Abbās knowing that I had gone, and when we reached Khilāṭ[1074] we met 'Amr b.

1070. Literally, "I would not resemble Muḥammad or Marwān." Muḥammad was his father and Marwān his grandfather.

1071. Here, the Cairo edition (VII, 282) adds *bī* after *qaḍā'u Allāhi* and *bihim* after *yarmī*: "whatever God's decree ordains therein for me or whatever punishment He inflicts on those whom He chooses to punish."

1072. Literally, "prevent people from asking for any of that with the stipend."

1073. *Ishtarā*. Presumably the transaction had not yet been completed, as Yazīd needed four thousand more dīnārs.

1074. Khilāṭ (Akhlāṭ) is a town at the northwestern corner of Lake Van (in modern Turkey). Cf. *EI*², "Akhlāṭ" (V. Minorsky).

Ḥārithah al-Kalbī. He asked us how we were and we told him, whereupon he said: "You are lying! There is something going on between you two and Marwān." We said: "What could that be?" Then when I wanted to leave, 'Amr took me aside and said to me: "Do the people of al-Mizzah number one thousand?" I said: "More (than that)." Then 'Amr said: "How far is it between al-Mizzah and Damascus?" I replied: "Within hailing distance." He then inquired: "At what do you estimate the numbers of the Banū 'Āmir to be" (meaning the Banū 'Āmir of Kalb)? I said: "Twenty thousand men." Then 'Amr moved his finger (to indicate that I should leave) and turned his face away.

(Muslim's narrative continues:) When I heard that, I wanted (to see) Marwān, and I wrote him the following letter purporting to come from Yazīd: "Now to the point of my letter. I have sent Ibn Dhakwān, my mawlā, to you, on a matter that he will mention to you and put before you. So say what you like to him, for he is one of the best of my associates and the most trustworthy of my mawlās. He will be a trusty person and a reliable confidant, if God wills." Then we came to Marwān and Ṭufayl gave the letter from al-'Abbās to the chamberlain. Ṭufayl told the chamberlain that he had with him the letter from Yazīd b. al-Walīd and he read it (out). The chamberlain came out and said: "Do you have any letter other than this one with you? Did he entrust you with any message?" Ṭufayl replied:[1075] "No, but I do have Muslim b. Dhakwān with me." Then the chamberlain went in and told Marwān. He emerged (again) and said: "Order the mawlā of al-'Abbās to go away."

(Muslim's narrative continued:) So I went away, and when the time came for the dusk prayer I made my way to the *maqṣūrah*. When Marwān (had) performed the prayer, I left to say the prayer a second time, for I did not put any value on Marwān's prayer. When I straightened up in the prayer a eunuch came up to me, and after he had scrutinized me he made off. I shortened my prayer and caught up with him. He took me in to see Marwān, who was in one of the women's rooms. I greeted him and sat down. Then Marwān inquired: "Who are you?" I replied: "Muslim b. Dhakwān, the mawlā of Yazīd." Marwān said: "Are you a [1853]

1075. Reading *qāla* for *qultu*.

manumitted mawlā or a voluntarily commended (*tibā'ah*) mawlā?"[1076] I replied: "A manumitted one". Marwān said: "That is better. There is merit in both kinds. Now tell me whatever you want." Then I said: "It is up to the *amīr* to guarantee my personal safety no matter what I say, whether I agree with him or disagree," and he granted my request. Then I praised God and prayed for His prophet. I described how God had graciously bestowed the caliphate on the Banū Marwān and how the common people had been satisfied with them. (I then mentioned) how al-Walīd had broken covenants and corrupted the people's hearts and how the common folk poured censure upon him. I told Marwān everything about al-Walīd and when I had finished, Marwān began to speak. By God, he did not give praise to God nor did he recite the *shahādah*. He merely said: "I have heard what you have said. You have done well and your words have struck home. The judgment of Yazīd is best. I call God to witness that I have given the oath of allegiance to Yazīd (al-Walīd), freely expending my efforts and my money in this matter and only desiring thereby my due from God. By God, I could not have asked for more from al-Walīd. Indeed, he honored kinship and delegated authority to us and let us share in his rule,[1077] but I testify that he did not believe in the Day of Reckoning." Then Marwān asked me how Yazīd was and I magnified and exaggerated the situation. Marwān said: "Hide your business here. I have satisfied your friend's need, have discharged for him the matter of his bloodwit, and have ordered that he be given one thousand dirhams." I stayed on for a few days, and then one day Marwān summoned me at noon and instructed me: "Go to your friend and say to him: 'May God direct you on the right path! Go ahead as God has commanded, for you are in God's sight.'" Then Marwān wrote an answer to my letter and he said to me: "If you can travel without stopping or fly, then fly, for there will be a rebellion in the Jazīrah within six or seven days, and I am afraid that it will be a protracted affair[1078] and you will

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1076. Clientage was known as *walā'*. It arose either on *'itāqah* (manumission) or *tibā'ah* (voluntary commendation). Cf. Crone, 49, 236–37.

1077. *Laqad waṣala wa-fawwaḍa wa-ashraka fī mulkihi*. The translation is tentative, taking *waṣala* to mean "to keep close family ties," *fawwaḍa* as "to delegate," and *ashraka* as "to give a share."

1078. Literally, "a rebel will rebel in the Jazīrah within six or seven days and I am afraid that their affair will become protracted."

not be able to get through." I asked Marwān: "What does the *amīr* know about this?" Marwān laughed and said: "I satisfy all those with deviant views so that they will tell me their secret intentions."[1079] I said to myself: "I am one of those people"; then I remarked (to Marwān): "If you have done that, God will set you aright. Indeed, the following story was told about Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, who said: 'I obtained this information (in the following way). I went along with the people in their erroneous ideas and shared their sentiments with them until they divulged to me what they were thinking and passed on to me their innermost thoughts.'" [1854]

(Muslim's narrative continues:) Then I took my leave of Marwān and departed. When I got as far as Āmid,[1080] I met a succession of postal couriers (who reported) al-Walīd's murder and that 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had attacked al-Walīd's agent in the Jazīrah and driven him out of the area, and that he had placed scouts on the road. Then I left the postal couriers, hired a riding-animal and a guide, and came back to Yazīd b. al-Walīd.

In this year Yazīd b. al-Walīd dismissed Manṣūr b. Jumhūr from (his post as governor of) Iraq, appointing in his place 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān.

The Dismissal of Manṣūr b. Jumhūr from the Post of Governor of Iraq

It is reported that Yazīd b. al-Walīd said to 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz:[1081] "The people of Iraq have shown themselves to be well disposed to your father. So go there. I have appointed you governor of Iraq."

According to Abū 'Ubaydah: 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar was a pious man who was in bad health.[1082] When he came to Iraq he personally sent out messengers and letters to the Syrian commanders

1079. Literally, "there are no people of erroneous opinions (*ahli hawā*) except that I give them satisfaction until they have told me their secret intentions."

1080. The well-known city of the province of Diyār Bakr, now known in modern Turkey as Diyarbakir. It stands on the left bank of the Tigris. Cf. *EI*², "Diyār Bakr" (M. Canard and C. Cahen).

1081. The son of the Umayyad caliph 'Umar II. For the dismissal of Manṣūr b. Jumhūr and the appointment of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 228–29; *Fragmenta*, 152–53.

1082. *Muta'allimun. Ta'allama:* "to be in pain."

who were in Iraq, for he was afraid that Manṣūr b. Jumhūr would not surrender the post to him. All the commanders submitted to his authority and Manṣūr b. Jumhūr handed over (the post) to him and left for Syria. Then 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar appointed his own agents to office and issued the people with their rations and their stipends. Then the Syrian commanders began to dispute with him and said: "You are distributing our *fay'* to these people, yet they are our enemy." 'Abdallāh said to the people of Iraq: "I wanted to return your *fay'* to you, for I knew that you were more entitled to
[1855] it. (Now) these men have disputed with me and found fault with me." Then the people of al-Kūfah went out to the *jabbānah* and mobilized (there). The Syrian commanders sent messengers to them, making excuses and denying (their own words) outright and swearing that they had not said any of the things that the Kūfans had heard. Then a mixed rabble of men rose up from both sides and began stabbing each other with spears, and a small group of them were killed. These were not identified. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar was in al-Ḥīrah and 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās al-Kindī was in al-Kūfah. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr had appointed him as his deputy in the city and the people of al-Kūfah wanted to drive him out of the citadel. So 'Ubaydallāh sent word to 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍbān b. al-Qaba'tharī,[1083] who came to him, kept the people away from him, calmed them down, and rebuked them until they had dispersed peaceably with one another.[1084] When 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar heard about this he sent for Ibn al-Ghaḍbān, gave him a set of clothes and a beast to ride,[1085] rewarded him generously, and put him in charge of his *shurṭah* and the *kharāj* of the Sawād. He also entrusted him with the auditing[1086] and ordered him to assign a portion (in the *dīwān*) to his family, so he assigned (them) sixty or seventy (dirhams).

In this year discord broke out in Khurāsān between the Yamāniyyah and the Nizāriyyah, and al-Kirmānī[1087] rose up in opposition to Naṣr b. Sayyār. A group of supporters rallied to each of them.

1083. 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍbān al-Shaybānī. For a discussion of the activities of his father, al-Ghaḍbān, and himself, cf. Crone, 162.

1084. Literally, "some of them felt safe from others."

1085. *Wa-ḥamalahu.* Cf. Lane, I, 647. Cf. also Qur'ān 9, v. 92.

1086. *Al-muḥāsabāt.*

1087. Juday' al-Kirmānī of the Banū Azd had been the general of Asad al-Qasrī, governor of Khurāsān, who, after al-Ḥārith b. Surayj had been driven back across

The Discord between Naṣr and al-Kirmānī and What Had Caused It

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—his *shaykhs*: When 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar came to Iraq as its governor on behalf of Yazīd b. al-Walīd, he wrote to Naṣr appointing him as governor of Khurāsān.

According to another report: 'Abdallāh's letter reached Naṣr after al-Kirmānī had escaped from Naṣr's prison.[1088] The astrologers said to Naṣr: "There will be discord in Khurāsān." So Naṣr gave orders that the remaining funds should be taken from the treasury and he gave the people some of their stipends in silver [1856] coins and some in gold which originated from the vases[1089] that he had collected to send to al-Walīd b. Yazīd.[1090] The first person to speak up (about all this)[1091] was a man from the Banū Kindah who was eloquent and loquacious. He said: "What about the stipends?" The following Friday Naṣr gave orders to some of the guards; they put on their weapons and he dispersed them through the mosque, fearing that someone would speak up. The man from the Banū Kindah stood up and said: "What about the stipends?" Then a man who was a mawlā of the Banū Azd, whose *laqab* was Abū al-Shayāṭīn, stood up and spoke his piece. Ḥammād al-Ṣā'igh and Abū al-Salīl al-Bakrī also rose to their feet and said: "What about the stipends?" So Naṣr replied: "Preserve me from disobedience![1092] It is your duty to obey and to remain united. Fear God and heed what is preached to you." Then Salm b. Aḥwaz went up to Naṣr, who was on the *minbar*, and spoke to him, saying: "Your talking to us in this way does not satisfy us one bit." Thereupon the people of the bazaar ran off to their market stalls. Naṣr was

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the Oxus, and had taken refuge with the Türgesh, was sent by Asad in 118 (736) against some of al-Ḥārith's followers in Badakhshān. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1589–91; Gibb, 81; Wellhausen, 467–69; Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 124; Hawting, 86–88.

1088. This is looking forward to events discussed later in detail by al-Ṭabarī (II, 1861–62).

1089. Literally, "gold from the vases." This is ambiguous. It is not clear whether the gold came from the melting down of the vases or whether the vases had been used to store gold coins. The former possibility is more likely.

1090. Cf. n. 574.

1091. As it appears to have been a Friday, the discussion must have taken place in the mosque.

1092. *Iyyāya wa-al-ma'ṣiyata:* "preserve me from disobedience (on your part)." Cf. the examples quoted in Wright, II, 82.

furious and declared: "You will not receive any stipends from me after this behavior of yours today." Then he went on: "My position with you is as if one of you[1093] rose up against his brother or his cousin and slapped his face when he was being given a camel or a garment to wear (as presents) and who (then) said: "My lord and my foster-father!" Or I feel as if[1094] some intolerable evil has materialized from under your very feet[1095] and it is as if you are being flung down in the bazaars like slaughtered camels.[1096] Truly people become disenchanted with the rule of anyone who rules for a long time. You, people of Khurāsān, are a garrison in the very heart of the enemy. Beware lest there should be any dissension amongst you."

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak: Naṣr said in his oration:

> Verily, I am one who pronounces (people) unbelievers[1097] and, further, who tells (them) when they are doing wrong. That is probably better for me. Indeed, you are striving to attain your ends but deliberately arousing discord in so doing.[1098] May God (therefore) not preserve you. By God, I know you through and through[1099] and I do not have (even) ten of you left on my side. The situation with me and you is
> [1857] as one of your predecessors said:[1100]
>
> Hold fast, comrades,[1101] and we shall urge on[1102] your

1093. Literally, "it seems to me that a man amongst you . . ." (*ka-annanī bi-rajulin minkum*). Cf. Wright, II, 170.

1094. The text has *ka-annanī bihim*. Ibn al-Athīr changes *bihim* to *bikum* (V, 229). This makes better sense in the context and has been followed in the translation.

1095. Similarly here, Ibn al-Athīr (loc. cit.) has *taḥtā arjulikum* for al-Ṭabarī's *arjulihim*.

1096. *Wa-ka-annanī bikum muṭarraḥīna fī al-aswāqi*. Probably some prophetic allusion to the forthcoming revolution is being attributed here to Naṣr.

1097. *Mukaffir*. Cf. Ullman, 263.

1098. Literally, "you are striving to attain a matter in which you want discord."

1099. Literally, "I have stretched you out and rolled you up and rolled you up and stretched you out."

1100. The meter is *rajaz*. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 229.

1101. Literally, "our comrade."

1102. The text has *naḥdū*. This is later emended to *naḥdu*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII. *Ḥadā*: "to urge on camels by singing to them"; cf. Lane, I, 532–33.

camels by singing to them,
for we have experienced both your good side and your bad.

Fear God! By God, if there should be any disagreement amongst you, it would be preferable for each of you to be deprived of your money and children than to see what would ensue.[1103] O people of Khurāsān, you have held communal concord in contempt and you have veered toward divisiveness. Is it authority of an unpredictable kind[1104] that you want and expect? Verily, therein lies your destruction, O assembly of Arabs.

Then he quoted the words of al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī:[1105]

If your evil nature triumphs over you,
I have nevertheless striven for your good.

Al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hashraj b. al-Mughīrah b. al-Ward al-Ja'dī said:

I pass the night leaning on my elbow, contemplating the stars;
whenever the last of them depart, the first of them reappear.[1106]
Because discord has become widespread,
encompassing all the people of prayer,
Those in Khurāsān and Iraq, and those
in Syria, are all grieved and troubled about it.
For this reason, the people are in pitch darkness;
their cries of confusion are enmeshed in the darkness.[1107]
In the dark the fool who is rebuked for
his folly is equal to the wise man.
People are in such distress that pregnant women
have almost disowned their children.

1103. Literally, "then each man amongst you would certainly want to be deprived of his money and children and not to have seen it."

1104. *A-sulṭāna al-majhūli turīdūna. . . ?*

1105. The meter is *wāfir*. Al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī was born in the second half of the sixth century. He enjoyed a high reputation, and the caliph 'Umar was said to have called him the best poet of the Arabs. Cf. Sezgin, II, 110–13.

1106. Literally, "whenever they depart, their first ones reappear."

1107. Literally, "entangled are its woods."

For this reason, they stray blindly in total confusion;
its dangers slay them unawares.[1108]
The people see in this situation only
all kinds of unknown hazards[1109]
Like the whickering of a young she-camel or the cry
of a woman in labor whose child has become stuck fast,
around whom stand her midwives.[1110]
He has come[1111] into our midst, despised in manner,
with calamitous affairs whose afflictions are red in
color.[1112]

[1858] When Naṣr's letter of appointment to govern on behalf of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar reached him, al-Kirmānī announced to his followers: "There is discord among the people, so look for someone to run your affairs." (Now he was only called al-Kirmānī because he was born in Kirmān. His name was Juday' b. ʿAlī b. Shabīb b. Bararī b. Ṣunaym al-Maʿnī.) His followers said: "You are the man for us." Then the Muḍariyyah said to Naṣr: "Al-Kirmānī is fomenting discord against you. Send people against him and kill him." Naṣr replied: "No, but I have children, both male and female. I will marry my sons to his daughters and his sons to my daughters." The Muḍariyyah said: "No." Then Naṣr said: "I will send him one hundred thousand dirhams, for he is miserly and gives nothing to his followers. They will get to hear of this and will desert him." The Muḍariyyah rejected that idea, too, saying: "That would only strengthen him." Thereupon Naṣr rejoined: "Leave him as he is, with him on his guard against us and us on

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1108. Literally, "because of it they are in every blind confusion, tested by its tangled complexities[?]." The text has *fī-kulli mubhamatin*. The Cairo edition (VII, 276) has *fī ẓilli mubhamatin* ("in the shadow of blind confusion"). The text has *tumnā lahum*. The Cairo edition (loc. cit.) has *taghtāluhum*, which makes much better sense.

1109. Literally, "the people do not see in its consequences except that which its speaker does not explain." The text has *yabīnu*. This is later emended to *yubīnu*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII.

1110. *Kaṣayḥati ḥublā ṭarraqat, ḥawlahā qawābiluhā*. The text has *ṭaraqat*, but a reading of *ṭarraqat* makes better sense. Cf. *Lisān*, II, 589.

1111. The text has *fa-jā'in*. This is later emended to *fa-jā'a*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII.

1112. Possibly a reference to the newborn child as well as the bloodshed of *fitnah*.

our guard against him." So the Muḍariyyah said: "Send your men to him and imprison him."[1113]

Naṣr received word that al-Kirmānī was saying: "My ultimate aim in obeying the Banū Marwān was that I would be made a commander[1114] and then I would seek vengeance for the Banū Muhallab[1115] as well as for the treatment that we have received at the hands of Naṣr, what with his coarseness and the prolonged restrictions he has imposed on us and his retaliation against us for what Asad did to him."[1116] Then 'Iṣmah b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī said to Naṣr: "This is the beginning of discord. Accuse al-Kirmānī of some foul deed, announce publicly that he is a dissident, and execute him. Execute Sibā' b. al-Nu'mān al-Azdī and also al-Farāfiṣah[1117] b. Zuhayr al-Bakrī, who continues to be angry at (Asad b. 'Abd) Allāh because he thought himself to be superior to the Muḍar and the Rabī'ah when he was in Khurāsān"(?).[1118] Jamīl b. al-Nu'mān said (to Naṣr): "You have treated al-Kirmānī

1113. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 230. The Cairo edition interprets this passage differently. The Leiden text is vocalized to read: "They said, 'Send (people) to him and imprison him.'" The Cairo edition (VII, 287) has *qālū [lā, qāla]* (brackets are those of the Cairo editor) *fa-arsala ilayhi fa-ḥabasahu:* "They said 'no.' So he sent (people) to him and he imprisoned him."

1114. *An tuqallidanī al-suyūfu.* The Cairo edition (loc. cit.) has *an yuqallada wuldī al-suyūfa* ("that my sons would be invested with swords (i.e., given command)").

1115. Cf. n. 676.

1116. Probably a reference to Asad's having ordered that Naṣr should be lashed. Cf. Wellhausen, 455.

1117. The form of this name is uncertain. The editor earlier had al-Furāfiṣah (II, 1604) but has al-Farāfiṣah here.

1118. This part of the text is clearly faulty and neither the Leiden nor Cairo editions have satisfactory versions. Ibn al-Athīr omits it altogether and al-Dīnawarī's account sheds no light on the matter (op. cit., 350–51). The Leiden text has *fa-innahu lam yazil muta'aṣṣaban 'alā Allāhi bi-tafaḍḍulihi 'alā Muḍari [wa-bi-tafaḍḍulihi 'alā Rabī'ata kāna bi-Khurāsān.]* By the editor's own admission he guessed at what is between the brackets. The Cairo edition (VII, 287) has *fa-innahu lam yazil mutaghaḍḍaban 'alā Allāhi bi-tafḍīlihi Muḍara 'alā Rabī'ah* (and then, in a new paragraph:) *wa kāna bi-Khurāsān.* It is possible that words may have been omitted here, e.g., part of a name before Allāh (e.g., Asad b. 'Abdallāh, the preceding governor of Khurāsān, who supported a pro-Yemeni and anti-Rabī'ah and Muḍar policy). A possible reconstruction of the sentence might therefore lead to the following translation: "for he continues to be angry (*mutaghaḍḍaban*) against Asad b. 'Abdallāh (?) because of his thinking himself superior (*bi-tafaḍḍulihi*) to Muḍar and to Rabī'ah when (?) he was in Khurāsān." Various textual problems remain unsolved, however.

honorably. If you can't face killing him (yourself), hand him over to me and I will kill him."

It was said that Naṣr became angry with al-Kirmānī only be-
[1859] cause the latter wrote to Bakr b. Firās al-Bahrānī, the governor of Jurjān, telling him about Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, and because he (Bakr?) sent a letter with Abū al-Zaʿfarān, the mawlā of Asad b. ʿAbdallāh, appointing al-Kirmānī. So Naṣr instituted a search for al-Kirmānī but he could not find him. The man who wrote to al-Kirmānī informing him of the killing of al-Walīd and the coming of Manṣūr b. Jumhūr to Iraq was Ṣāliḥ al-Athram al-Ḥirār.

It is said that a group of people came to Naṣr and reported: "Al-Kirmānī is encouraging faction." Aṣram b. Qabīṣah said to Naṣr: "If Juday' could achieve power and authority only by means of Christianity or Judaism, he would become a Christian or a Jew."[1119] Naṣr and al-Kirmānī had been on friendly terms and al-Kirmānī had behaved well toward Naṣr during the governorship of Asad b. ʿAbdallāh. Then when Naṣr became governor of Khurāsān he dismissed al-Kirmānī from (his) command[1120] and appointed to it Ḥarb b. ʿĀmir b. Aytham al-Wāshijī. His leadership was not successful[1121] and Naṣr reinstated al-Kirmānī in office; but only a short time later he dismissed al-Kirmānī, appointing in his stead Jamīl b. al-Nuʿmān. Relations between Naṣr and al-Kirmānī became strained and then Naṣr imprisoned al-Kirmānī in the citadel. The man in charge of the citadel was Muqātil b. ʿAlī al-Mara'ī—or according to some sources, al-Murrī.[1122]

When Naṣr had made up his mind to imprison al-Kirmānī, he gave orders to ʿUbaydallāh b. Bassām, the commander of his guards, who brought al-Kirmānī to Naṣr. Naṣr said to him: "Kirmānī, did I not receive a letter from Yūsuf b. ʿUmar ordering me to kill you, and write back to him saying: 'Al-Kirmānī is a *shaykh* and a knight of Khurāsān,' and prevent the shedding of your blood?" Al-Kirmānī said: "Yes." Naṣr went on: "Did I not pay the debts you had incurred and did I not take it equally out of the

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1119. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 230.

1120. *Al-riʿāyasah*. Cf. Crone, 31.

1121. *Fa-mā zujirat*. The Cairo edition (VII, 287) has *fa-māta Ḥarb* ("then Ḥarb died").

1122. This last being the form preferred by Nöldeke. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII.

people's stipends?" Al-Kirmānī said: "Yes." Naṣr said: "Did I not appoint[1123] your son 'Alī to a position of authority, even though your people were against it?" Al-Kirmānī replied: "Yes." Then Naṣr went on: "And yet you repaid that (kindness) by arousing [1860] discord." Then al-Kirmānī said: "There was more to it than what the *amīr* has said.[1124] And I give thanks for that. Just as the *amīr* prevented the shedding of my blood, so too I behaved during the time of Asad b. 'Abdallāh in the way that he knows. So let the *amīr* act without haste and make sure (of the truth), for I am no friend to faction." Then 'Iṣmah b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī said: "You are lying. Your aim is sedition and that you will not achieve." Salm b. Aḥwaz urged: "Behead him, O *amīr*." Al-Miqdām and Qudāmah, the two sons of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym al-Ghāmidī, said: "Truly the companions of Pharaoh were better than you when they said 'Put him off (for a while), both him and his brother.'[1125] By God, do not let al-Kirmānī be killed, as Ibn Aḥwaz recommends." So Naṣr gave orders to Salm, who put al-Kirmānī in prison, three days before the end of Ramaḍān, 126 [July 14, 744]. Then the Banū Azd spoke up (about al-Kirmānī) and Naṣr said: "I have sworn that I would imprison him and that no evil will befall him at my hands. If you fear for his safety, then choose a man to keep him company." So the Banū Azd chose Yazīd al-Naḥawī and he remained with al-Kirmānī in the citadel.[1126] Naṣr appointed the Banū Nājiyah, who were the associates of 'Uthmān and Jahm, the two sons of Mas'ūd, to guard al-Kirmānī. The Banū Azd sent al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah al-Jahḍamī and Khālid b. Shu'ayb b. Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥuddānī to Naṣr and they spoke to Naṣr about al-Kirmānī. Al-Kirmānī remained in prison for twenty-nine days.

According to 'Alī b. Wā'il, one of the Banū Rabī'ah b. Ḥanẓalah: I went in to see Naṣr and al-Kirmānī was sitting apart and complaining: "What have I done wrong? If Abū al-Za'farān had come,

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1123. The text has *a-lam artash*. This is later emended to *a-lam ura"is*. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII.

1124. Literally, "the *amīr* did not say anything except there was more than it." In other words, in everything Naṣr said there was more to be added.

1125. Cf. Qur'ān 7, v. 111.

1126. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 231.

by God, I would never have hidden him; and I do not know where he is."

On the day that al-Kirmānī was imprisoned, the Banū Azd had wanted to snatch him away from his escorts, but al-Kirmānī implored them in God's name not to do that and he went away laughing under escort from the guards of Salm b. Aḥwaz. Then
[1861] when al-Kirmānī was put in prison, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥarmalah al-Yaḥmadī, al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah, ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. Shuʿayb b. ʿAbbād, and a group of the Banū Azd talked (over the matter). They went down to Nawsh[1127] and said: "We do not accept that al-Kirmānī should be imprisoned when he has committed no crime or offense." Some *shaykh*s from the Banū al-Yaḥmad[1128] said: "Do not take any action. See what your *amīr* does." The Banū Azd replied: "We are not satisfied. Just let Naṣr keep his hands off us or we will certainly start on you." Then ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbbād b. Jābir b. Hamā(m)[1129] b. Ḥanẓalah al-Yaḥmadī joined them with one hundred men, and also Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā and Dāwūd b. Shuʿayb. They spent the night in Nawsh with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥarmalah and those men who were with him. The following morning they marched to Ḥawzān and set fire to the house of ʿAzzah, Naṣr's concubine. They remained (there) for three days, proclaiming: "We are not satisfied." Thereupon they (Naṣr's men?) appointed trustworthy men to watch over al-Kirmānī and they put Yazīd al-Naḥawī and others with al-Kirmānī. Then one of the people of Nasaf[1130] came and said to Jaʿfar, the servant of al-Kirmānī: "What would you give me if I got al-Kirmānī out (of prison)?" They replied: "You could have whatever you requested." Then the man went to the water conduit (leading) from the citadel and widened it. Then he made his way to al-Kirmānī's sons and said to them: "Write a letter to your father telling him to be ready to escape tonight." So they wrote to him and they put the letter in the food. Al-Kirmānī called Yazīd al-Naḥawī and Ḥuṣayn[1131] b. Ḥukaym and they ate supper with him

1127. A number of villages in the Marw district bore this name. Cf. Yāqūt, IV, 823–24.
1128. For the Banū al-Yaḥmad, a subgroup of the Azd, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 589.
1129. The text has Hamā.
1130. For the city of Nasaf in Sughd, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 469–71.
1131. Ibn al-Athīr has: Khiḍr b. Ḥukaym. (V, 231).

and then they went out. Al-Kirmānī went in to the (subterranean) conduit and his rescuers pulled him by his arm. Then a serpent wound itself around al-Kirmānī's stomach, but it did not harm him. One of the Banū Azd said: "The snake was Azdī and so it did not harm him." He came finally to a narrow place where they dragged him out; his shoulder and side were grazed. When al- [1862] Kirmānī emerged (from the conduit) he mounted his she-mule, Dawwāmah (according to some sources, he mounted his horse, al-Bashīr), with the fetters still on his foot. The men then brought him to a village called Ghalaṭān, where 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥarmalah was waiting, and al-Kirmānī was cut loose from the fetters.

According to 'Alī (b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī) and Abū al-Walīd[1132] Zuhayr b. Hunayd al-'Adawī: Al-Kirmānī had his servant Bassām with him (in prison). Bassām noticed a hole in the citadel and he kept on making it wider until he made it possible to escape through it.[1133] Al-Kirmānī sent a message to Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā and 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥarmalah, saying: "I am escaping tonight." So al-Kirmānī's supporters assembled. Then when al-Kirmānī had escaped, his mawlā Farqad[1134] came to them and told them the news and they met up with him at the village of Ḥarb b. 'Āmir. Al-Kirmānī was wearing a sheet with a sword around his waist. With him were 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Shu'ayb and the two sons of al-Kirmānī, 'Alī and 'Uthmān, together with his servant Ja'far. Al-Kirmānī gave orders to 'Amr b. Bakr to go to Ghalaṭān, Andagh, and Ushturj[1135] together(?). Al-Kirmānī ordered the people to meet him at the gate of al-Rayyān b. Sinān al-Yaḥmadī in Nawsh, in the meadow, which was the place where they prayed during the *'īd*. So 'Amr went to the people and told them (what al-Kirmānī had said). Then the people left their vil-

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1132. The name Abū al-Walīd in the text is later emended to Abū al-Dhiyal. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII. This is not accepted by the Cairo edition (VII, 289).

1133. Al-Dīnawarī gives a detailed account of al-Kirmānī's escape from prison, giving a longer version of the story involving Bassām (op. cit., 351–52). Cf. also Ibn A'tham, VIII, 146–53.

1134. The text has Farqadu, later emended to Farqadun. Cf. *Emend.*, p. DCCXIII.

1135. Ushturj is a town in the district of Andkhoy in Khurāsān. Cf. *Ḥudūd*, 336, n. 61; al-Iṣṭakhrī, I, 270–71. The text has Ushturj Ma'nan. The Cairo edition (VII, 290) has *ma'an* ("together"). Ma'an is the name of a tribe, but it makes little sense here.

lages, armed with weapons, and al-Kirmānī led them in the morning prayer. They numbered around one thousand. Before sunset, however, their number had increased to three thousand. Then the people of al-Saqādim joined them. Al-Kirmānī marched to Marj Nīrān, getting as far as Ḥawzān. Khalaf b. Khalīfah recited the following lines:[1136]

Go forth to the meadow which most effectually removes
blindness,
for the people of the conduit have already departed.[1137]
Truly the meadow of the Azd is extensive,
and in it the feet stand equal to the knees.

It is said that the Banū Azd gave the oath of allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥarmalah on the basis of God's Book on the night that al-Kirmānī escaped. Once they had assembled in the meadow at
[1863] Nawsh, prayer began[1138] and 'Abd al-Malik and al-Kirmānī were in dispute for a while. Then 'Abd al-Malik conceded al-Kirmānī precedence, handing the command over to him, and al-Kirmānī led the prayer.

When al-Kirmānī had escaped, Naṣr went and camped hard by the gate of Marw al-Rūdh[1139] on the Ibrdānah(?)[1140] side where he remained for a day or two. It is said that when al-Kirmānī escaped, Naṣr appointed as his own deputy 'Iṣmah b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī, while he himself made for the five bridges at the gate of Marw al-Rūdh, where he addressed the people and carped at al-Kirmānī, saying: "He was born in Kirmān and was a Kirmānī. Then he came to Harāh (Herat) and was a Harawī. He who falls between two stools[1141] has no firm base nor does he flourish."[1142] Then Naṣr said, referring to the Banū Azd: "If they gather together,

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1136. The meter is *ramal*.

1137. Surely a reference to the escape of al-Kirmānī from the conduit (*al-sarab*) and to al-Kirmānī's meeting at the *marj*. In a more general way, the lines could be interpreted as praise of desert instead of city life.

1138. *Uqīmat al-ṣalāt*.

1139. Marw al-Rūdh or Little Marw was thus named to differentiate it from Marw al-Shāhijān. Marw al-Rūdh was situated about 160 miles further up the Murghāb river than Marw al-Shāhijān. Cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 404–05; Yāqūt, IV, 506; *EI*², s.v. (C. E. Bosworth).

1140. This place has not been identified and the editor is not sure of the vocalization.

1141. Literally, "two beds."

1142. Literally, "nor is he a growing branch."

they are the most contemptible of people; and if they refuse to do so, they are as al-Akhṭal[1143] said:

(They are) frogs answering one another in the darkness of night;
their voices guide the water-snake toward them."

Then Naṣr regretted his hasty words and added: "Pronounce the name of God, for to pronounce God's name is a sovereign remedy. To pronounce God's name is a blessing, with no tincture of evil, that drives away sin.[1144] To pronounce God's name is to be absolved from hypocrisy." Thereafter many people gathered to Naṣr, and he sent Salm b. Aḥwaz in heavy armor with many men to al-Kirmānī. People mediated between Naṣr and al-Kirmānī and they asked Naṣr to grant al-Kirmānī safe-conduct and not to imprison him, while al-Kirmānī's family would guarantee that he would not oppose Naṣr. Al-Kirmānī placed his hand in Naṣr's hand and Naṣr ordered him to stay in his house. Then al-Kirmānī heard something about Naṣr, so he left (his house) to go to a village that belonged to him. Then Naṣr sallied forth and camped at the bridges (at the gate of Marw), where al-Qāsim b. Najīb came to him. He spoke to Naṣr about al-Kirmānī and Naṣr guaranteed his safety (no matter what he said). Al-Qāsim said to Naṣr: "If you want, al-Kirmānī will go away from Khurāsān for you or, if you so desire, he will stay in his house." Naṣr thought it wise to banish al-Kirmānī, but Salm said to him: "If you banish him, you will [1864] make his name and reputation famous and people will say: 'Naṣr banished him because he was afraid of him.'"[1145] Naṣr replied: "What I fear from him if he is banished is less than what I fear from him if he is living (here); for a man who is exiled from his country becomes less powerful." They urged him not to do it, so Naṣr stayed his hand from al-Kirmānī and gave his followers ten (dīnārs) each. Then al-Kirmānī came to Naṣr and entered his tent and Naṣr promised him safe-conduct.

1143. The famous Christian Arab poet (d. probably before 92/710). Cf. *EI*², s.v. (R. Blachère).

1144. Literally, "the mentioning of God is a cure, the mentioning of God is a blessing in which there is no evil."

1145. *Qāla al-nāsu akhrajahu annahu hābahu.* Ibn al-Athīr (V, 232) has *li-annahu,* which has been followed here. The Cairo edition (VII, 291) also has *li-annahu.*

'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Rabbihi joined al-Ḥārith b. Surayj.[1146] Then, in Shawwāl 126 [July 17–August 14, 744], Naṣr received word that Manṣūr b. Jumhūr had been dismissed and that 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz had been made governor (of Iraq). Then Naṣr addressed the people, mentioning Ibn Jumhūr and saying: "I have found out that he is not a governor of Iraq. God has dismissed him from office and has appointed (in his stead) the Virtuous One (al-Ṭayyib, i.e., 'Abdallāh), the son of the Virtuous One (al-Ṭayyib, i.e., 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz)." Al-Kirmānī was angry about Ibn Jumhūr and began collecting men and taking up arms again. He would attend the Friday prayer, accompanied by about fifteen hundred men, and would perform the prayer outside the *maqṣūrah*, before going in to see Naṣr. He would greet Naṣr but would not sit down. Then al-Kirmānī stopped going in to see Naṣr and began to oppose him publicly.

So Naṣr sent the following message to him by Salm b. Aḥwaz: "By God, I did not want to do you any harm by imprisoning you, but I was afraid that you would cause mischief amongst the people. So come to me." Al-Kirmānī gave Salm the following reply: "Were it not for the fact that you are in my house I would kill you. Were it not for what I know of your foolishness I would teach you how to behave. Go back to Ibn al-Aqṭa'[1147] and tell him whatever you like, be it good or bad." So Salm returned to Naṣr and gave him the message.[1148] Then Naṣr said to him: "Go back to him." Salm replied: "No, by God! I am not afraid of him but I would hate him to make me listen to things about you that I do
[1865] not like (to hear)." So Naṣr dispatched 'Iṣmah b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī, who said (to al-Kirmānī): "Abū 'Alī, I fear for your fate in this world and the next as a result of what you have begun. We are going to make certain proposals to you. So go to your *amīr*, who will give you the details.[1149] Our aim in this is only to warn you."

1146. The text has no obvious break between the events occurring with Naṣr and al-Kirmānī and then the reference to al-Ḥārith b. Surayj. This is probably an early allusion to the men who rallied to al-Ḥārith (under the year 127) amongst whom 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Rabbihi was one. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1890; Wellhausen, 485–86.

1147. Cf. n. 327. Cf. also al-Dīnawarī, 352.

1148. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 232. Hereafter, Ibn al-Athīr's account omits the details of the various attempts to persuade al-Kirmānī to go to see Naṣr.

1149. Literally, "we are proposing certain proposals to you. So go to your *amīr*, who will suggest them to you."

Al-Kirmānī replied: "I know that Naṣr did not charge you with this message, but that you wanted (what you said) to reach his ears and thereby to gain favor (with him). By God, I will not say another word (to you) after I have finished what I am saying now until you have gone back to your house. So let him send anyone he likes so long as it is not you." Then 'Iṣmah went back and said (to Naṣr): "I have not seen a more undisciplined lout than al-Kirmānī. I do not wonder at him, but I do wonder at Yaḥyā b. Ḥudayn (and his people)—may God curse them![1150]—indeed, they respect him more than his (own) associates do."

Salm b. Aḥwaz said: "I am afraid that this frontier and the people will become corrupted. So send Qudayd to al-Kirmānī." Then Naṣr told Qudayd b. Manī' to go to him. Qudayd did so and said to al-Kirmānī: "Abū 'Alī, you have been stubbornly persistent (in this matter) and I am afraid that the situation will become too difficult, that we will all perish, and that these foreigners[1151] will gloat over us." Al-Kirmānī replied: "Qudayd, I am not suspicious of you; but what has happened has made me mistrustful of Naṣr. The Prophet of God said: 'The Bakrī is your brother, but do not trust him.'" Qudayd said: "If that is what you think, give him some surety." Al-Kirmānī asked: "Who?" Qudayd answered: "Give me 'Alī and 'Uthmān." Al-Kirmānī rejoined: "Who is he giving me? He has nothing good to offer." Qudayd replied: "Abū 'Alī, I swear to you, by God, do not let the ruin of this city be on your hands." Then Qudayd went back to Naṣr and he said to 'Aqīl b. Ma'qil al-Laythī: "What I most fear is that disaster will befall this frontier. So speak to your (paternal) cousin." So 'Aqīl said to Naṣr, "O *amīr*, I beseech you, by God, not to cause evil fortune to befall your tribe. Rebels (*khawārij*) are fighting Marwān in Syria. Both the people and the Banū Azd are in a state of dissension.[1152] They are light-headed and foolish; but

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1150. The text is perhaps faulty here. The editor notes that after Ḥudayn there may have been the words *wa-qawmihi*, i.e., Bakr b. Wā'il. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1571. This makes good sense with the plural suffix of *la'anahum*.

1151. *Al- a'ājim:* the non-Arab population of Khurāsān.

1152. There are various ways in which this passage could be punctuated. It could be translated as: "Indeed, Marwān is in Syria (and) the rebels are fighting him, and the people and the Azd are in discord . . ." Alternatively, it could read: "Indeed, Marwān is in Syria (and) the rebels and the people are fighting him, and the Azd are in discord . . ." The punctuation of the Cairo edition (VII, 292) places a comma after "rebels."

they are your neighbors." Naṣr replied: "What am I to do? If you know a way of restoring the people to good order, then go ahead,
[1866] for al-Kirmānī has made up his mind not to trust me."

Then ʿAqīl went to al-Kirmānī and said: "Abū ʿAlī, you have instituted a custom which will be followed by other *amīr*s after you. Indeed, I foresee a situation in which I fear that people will act quite unreasonably." Al-Kirmānī said: "Naṣr wants me to go to him, but I do not feel safe from him. We want him to withdraw. (Then) we ourselves will withdraw and we will choose a man from Bakr b. Wāʾil who is satisfactory to all of us to be our governor until a decree comes from the caliph. (But) Naṣr refuses (to do) this." ʿAqīl replied: "Abū ʿAlī, I am afraid that the people of this frontier will perish, so go to your *amīr* and say that whatever he (Naṣr) wants will be agreed to by you. But do not incite the fools amongst your people to action in this affair that they have undertaken." Al-Kirmānī said: "I am not suspicious of you so far as your advice or your reasoning are concerned, but I do not trust Naṣr. Let him take what he wants from the wealth of Khurāsān and go away." ʿAqīl said: "Are you willing to do something that would lead to agreement between you? You can make marriage alliances with his family and he can make marriage alliances with yours." Al-Kirmānī replied: "I don't feel safe from him in any situation." ʿAqīl said: "No good will come of this. I am afraid that tomorrow you will be wiped out and all to no purpose." Al-Kirmānī replied: "There is no power and no strength except in God." ʿAqīl asked him: "Shall I come back to you?" Al-Kirmānī replied: "No, but take him a message from me and tell him: "I fear that people will incite you to do what you do not want (to do) and that you will behave toward us in a way that has irrevocable consequences. But, if you insist, I will go away from you, not out of fear of you but (because) I would hate to be the cause of any disaster to the inhabitants of the province or to cause bloodshed in it." So al-Kirmānī prepared himself to leave for Jurjān.

In this year Yazīd b. al-Walīd granted al-Ḥārith b. Surayj safe-
[1867] conduct and he wrote to al-Ḥārith accordingly. He also wrote to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar ordering him to return to al-Ḥārith such of his money and sons as had been seized from him.

The Reason for Granting Safe-Conduct to al-Ḥārith b. Surayj[1153]

It is reported that when the disagreement between Naṣr and al-Kirmānī occurred in Khurāsān, Naṣr was afraid that al-Ḥārith b. Surayj would muster his followers and the Turks against him, and that the situation would be worse for him than it had been with al-Kirmānī and others. Naṣr therefore was keen[1154] to consult al-Ḥārith. So he sent Muqātil b. Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, Tha'labah b. Ṣafwān al-Banānī, Anas b. Bajālah al-'Arajī, Hudbah al-Sha'rāwī, and Rabī'ah al-Qurashī to al-Ḥārith to bring him back from the country of the Turks.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—his *shaykhs*: Khālid b. Ziyād al-Baddī, who was one of the inhabitants of Tirmidh, and Khālid b. 'Amr, a mawlā of the Banū 'Āmir, went to Yazīd b. al-Walīd to ask for safe-conduct for al-Ḥārith b. Surayj. When they reached al-Kūfah, they met Sa'īd Khudaynah,[1155] who said to Khālid b. Ziyād: "Do you know why people called me Khudaynah?" Khālid said: "No." So Sa'īd said: "They wanted to make me kill the Yamāniyyah and I refused to do so." Then the two men asked Abū Ḥanīfah[1156] to write on their behalf to al-Ajlaḥ, who was one of the close associates of Yazīd b. al-Walīd. So he wrote to al-Ajlaḥ on their behalf and al-Ajlaḥ took them in to

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1153. For an analysis of the amnesty granted to al-Ḥārith through the mediation of Naṣr, who hoped that al-Ḥārith would support him against al-Kirmānī, cf. Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 136; Hawting, 107–08.

1154. Literally, "desired."

1155. Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was an Umayyad and the son-in-law of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik, had been governor of Khurāsān in 102 (720). He preferred a policy of conciliation in Khurāsān but was forced to go out against the Turks and, after initial success, was severely defeated by them. He was recalled in 103 (721) because of his weakness and complaints of tyranny. The father of one of the men in this delegation to Yazīd, Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, had vigorously opposed Sa'īd's policies and had intrigued against him. The nickname Khudhaynah ("little lady") was given to him by his enemies in Khurāsān, although some Arab elements called him "a sword held over our heads." The term *khudhaynah* is explained as *dihqanah* ("lady of the house"). Cf. Gibb, 61–62; Shaban, *'Abbāsid Revolution*, 95, 99–101; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 188–89; al-Ṭabarī, II, 1418.

1156. Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān b. Thābit, born *ca.* 80 (699) and died 150 (767), the eponymous founder of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. He lived in al-Kūfah and became the foremost authority on religious law there. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (J. Schacht).

see Yazīd. Khālid b. Ziyād said to Yazīd: "O Commander of the Faithful, you killed your cousin in order to establish the Book of God. Yet now your agents are acting unjustly and tyrannically." Yazīd replied: "I can find no helpers other than them, and yet I hate them." Khālid said: "O Commander of the Faithful, appoint as governors people from noble families[1157] and attach to every governor men who are of known piety and knowledgeable in *fiqh* to make them adhere to the terms of your covenant." Yazīd replied: "I will do so." Then the two men asked Yazīd to grant safe-conduct to al-Ḥārith b. Surayj and Yazīd wrote to him as follows:

> Now to our subject matter. We have been angry on God's behalf that His ordinances have been neglected and that His
> [1868] servants have sunk into every kind of excess. Blood has been shed unlawfully and money has been seized illegally. We wanted our actions in this community to be according to the Book of God, may He be praised and glorified, and the *sunnah* of His prophet. There is no power except in God. We have explained this to you ourselves. So come in safety, you and those who are with you, for you are our brothers and our helpers. I have written to 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz asking him to return such of your wealth and children as were confiscated.

Then the two men (i.e. Khālid b. Ziyād and Khālid b. 'Amr) came to al-Kūfah and went in to see Ibn 'Umar. Khālid b. Ziyād said: "May God preserve and prosper the *amīr*! Do you not order your agents to conduct themselves as your father did?" 'Abdallāh replied: "But isn't 'Umar's (irreproachable) conduct clear and known to all?" Khālid said: "People don't benefit from it and it has not been put into practice." Then the two men arrived in Marw and they gave Yazīd's letter to Naṣr, who returned as much as he could of what had been taken from al-Ḥārith and his followers.[1158] They then called on al-Ḥārith, where they met Muqātil b. Ḥayyān and his associates, whom Naṣr had sent to al-Ḥārith. Ibn 'Umar had written to Naṣr saying: "You have granted safe-conduct to al-Ḥārith without my permission and without the permission of the caliph." So Naṣr regretted[1159] what he had

1157. *Ahla al-buyūtāti*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CXLV.
1158. Literally, "them."
1159. *Fa-usqiṭa fī yadayhi*. Cf. Lane, I, 1380.

done. He dispatched Yazīd b. al-Aḥmar with orders to kill al-Ḥārith when he had got him onto the boat. When Khālid b. Ziyād and Khālid b. 'Amr met Muqātil in Āmul, Muqātil himself crossed over to al-Ḥārith and prevented Yazīd from attacking him.

Al-Ḥārith traveled to Marw, after living in the country of the infidels for twelve years, accompanied by al-Qāsim al-Shaybānī and Muḍarris b. 'Imrān, his judge, and 'Abdallāh b. Sinān. When al-Ḥārith arrived in Samarqand, the governor in charge of the city was Manṣūr b. 'Umar.[1160] The latter did not receive al-Ḥārith and he said: ("Should I see him) because of his good deeds?"[1161] Then Manṣūr wrote to Naṣr asking his permission to attack al-Ḥārith, and whichever of them killed the other would go to Paradise or the Fire. Manṣur wrote as follows:[1162] "If al-Ḥārith comes to the *amīr*, having already impaired the authority of the Banū Umayyah, lapping up more and more blood, and having severed all [1869]
ties with this world, whereas while he was under their rule he had been the most hospitable of them to a guest, the fiercest of them in courage and the most zealous of them against the Turks, then he will cause division among the Banū Tamīm and do you a mischief."[1163]

The Sardarkhudāh was imprisoned with Manṣūr b. 'Umar because he had killed Baysān. His son Jundah sought vengeance from Manṣūr and Manṣūr imprisoned him.[1164] Al-Ḥārith spoke to Manṣūr about him, so Manṣūr released him. Thereupon al-Ḥārith took over his debt and he paid it for him in full.

According to some sources: In this year the imām Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad[1165] sent Abū Hāshim Bukayr b. Māhān[1166] to Khurāsān, furnished with a mandate[1167] and injunctions

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1160. Manṣūr b. 'Umar al-Sulamī. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1677, 1679; Wellhausen, 477.

1161. *A-li-ḥusni balā'ihi!* Presumably a sarcastic comment.

1162. It is not clear from the text whether this is Manṣūr's letter to Naṣr or Naṣr's reply to Manṣūr. The former possibility has been adopted in the translation.

1163. Literally, "to your disadvantage."

1164. *Fa-ista'adā ibnuhu J.nd.h Manṣūran fa-ḥabasahu.* The vocalization of the name is uncertain, but it appears in the indices, 109, as J.nd.h b. Baysān.

1165. Cf. *EI*², Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (F. Omar).

1166. Cf. n. 358.

1167. *Bi-al-sīrati.* I.e., having been given instructions as to how he should proceed.

(*waṣiyyah*). He arrived in Marw and assembled the *naqīb*s and those *dā'ī*s who were present there. He announced the death of the imām Muḥammad b. 'Alī, called on them to support Ibrāhīm, and gave them Ibrāhīm's letter. They accepted what it said and handed over to him such subscriptions to the Shī'ī cause as had come in to them. Bukayr then took these monies to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad.

[1870] In this year Yazīd b. al-Walīd had the people give the oath of allegiance to his brother Ibrāhīm and he made him his heir.[1168] He also had the oath of allegiance given to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik as the heir of Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd. According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī): The reason for that was that Yazīd b. al-Walīd fell sick in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 126 [September 14–October 12, 744]. People said to him: "Have the oath of allegiance given to your brother Ibrāhīm and to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj after him." The Qadariyyah kept on pressing him to have the oath of allegiance sworn, and urging him: "It is not lawful for you to neglect the leadership of the community. So have the oath of allegiance taken to your brother." (They did this) until Yazīd had the oath of allegiance taken for Ibrāhīm and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj after him.

In this year Yazīd b. al-Walīd dismissed Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf[1169] from the governorship of Medina, appointing in his place 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān. According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar (al-Wāqidī): It is alleged that Yazīd b. al-Walīd did not appoint Yūsuf b. Muḥammad as governor but that the latter forged a letter of appointment as governor of Medina. Later, Yazīd dismissed him and appointed 'Abd al-'Azīz to the post and he went there (to Medina) two nights before the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah (126) [August 15–September 13, 744].

In this year Marwān b. Muḥammad rebelled against Yazīd b. al-Walīd. He left Armenia for the Jazīrah, on the pretext that he was

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1168. For Yazīd's nomination of his brother Ibrāhīm as his heir, cf. *Fragmenta*, 153; Ibn Khayyāṭ, 387.

1169. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, the brother of al-Walīd II's mother, Umm Ḥajjāj, had been sent as governor to Medina by al-Walīd on his accession. Cf. Wellhausen, 354; al-Ṭabarī, II, 1768.

seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Walīd b. Yazīd. But when he reached Ḥarrān,[1170] he gave the oath of allegiance to Yazīd.

The Account of [Marwān's Rebellion] and of the Reason That Prompted Marwān to Oppose (Yazīd) and Then to Give Allegiance to Yazīd

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Huraym—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, the mawlā of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān: I asked Abū Hāshim how closely he had witnessed the events he related to us and he said: "I was staying in the camp of Marwān b. Muḥammad." (Abū Hāshim's account continues:) When 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān returned from his summer raiding campaign, he was with al-Ghamr b. Yazīd in Ḥarrān. While 'Abd al-Malik was there he received the news of al-Walīd's murder. Al-Walīd's agent in the Jazīrah was 'Abdah b. Rabāḥ al-Ghassānī. When he heard that al-Walīd had been killed, 'Abdah left the Jazīrah and made for Syria. Then 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān b. Muḥammad attacked Ḥarrān and the (other) cities of the Jazīrah; he held on to them and appointed Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. [1871]
'Ulāthah to govern them. 'Abd al-Malik then wrote to his father in Armenia informing him of what he had done and advising him to hasten to join him. Marwān made his preparations for the journey and announced publicly that he was seeking (vengeance for) the blood of al-Walīd. Marwān did not like to leave the frontier unguarded before he had put his affairs in order. He dispatched to the people of al-Bāb[1171] Isḥāq b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī,[1172] who was the

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1170. Ḥarrān is the well-known city in Northern Mesopotamia (now in Turkey). Marwān was to make it his residence when he became caliph. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (G. Fehérvári).

1171. I.e., Bāb al-Abwāb, Darband on the Caspian. This was a pass and a frontier town at the eastern end of the Caucasus. Yāqūt describes the great wall which lay to the west of it and which had been built in the sixth century A.D. to keep out the barbarians. After the Muslim conquest the Bāb became the base for future Arab operations against the Khazars. In Hishām's reign, Maslamah is said to have established twenty-four thousand Syrians there. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 207; Le Strange, *Lands*, 180; Minorsky, *Sharvān and Darband*, 18–19; *EI*², s.v. (D. M. Dunlop).

1172. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1635; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 206; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 403; Crone, 106.

head of the Banū Qays, and Thābit b. Nu'aym al-Judhāmī,[1173] a man from Palestine who was the head of the Yamāniyyah. The reason why Thābit was in Marwān's company was that Marwān had released him from Hishām's prison at al-Ruṣāfah. Marwān used to visit Hishām once every two years to discuss the affairs of the frontier, its condition, what would be good for his troops, and what he thought should be done against the enemy. The reason that Hishām had imprisoned Thābit was, as we have mentioned above, because of what had happened between him and Ḥanẓalah b. Safwān. Hishām had sent Ḥanẓalah with a *jund* to fight the Berbers[1174] and the people of Ifrīqiyah after they had killed Hishām's agent over them, Kulthūm b. 'Iyāḍ al-Qushayrī. Thābit had turned this *jund* against Ḥanẓalah. Ḥanẓalah then wrote a letter to Hishām complaining about his situation, whereupon Hishām ordered Ḥanẓalah to send Thābit to him in irons. Ḥanẓalah accordingly sent Thābit to Hishām, who put him in prison, where he remained until Marwān b. Muḥammad came to Hishām on one of his visits. We have already said something about Kulthūm b. 'Iyāḍ and his activities in Ifrīqiyah in the relevant section of this book of ours.

While Marwān was visiting Hishām, those leaders of the Yamāniyyah who were with Hishām came to him and sought his help over the matter of Thābit. Amongst the people who spoke to Marwān about Thābit were Ka'b b. Ḥāmid al-'Ansī,[1175] Hishām's chief of police; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍakhm; and Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb, his judge.[1176] Then Marwān asked Hishām to hand Thābit over to him, so Hishām did so. Thābit went (with Marwān) to

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1173. For his biography, cf. Crone, 161.

1174. Literally, "The reason for Hishām's imprisoning Thābit was what we have already mentioned of his affair with Ḥanẓalah b. Ṣafwān and his (Thābit's) turning against him (Ḥanẓalah) of the *jund*, which Hishām had sent with him (Ḥanẓalah) to fight the Berbers . . ." Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1716.

1175. The text has al-'Absī. Crone proves convincingly that Ka'b b. Ḥāmid, who had been the head of the *shurṭah* of 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Yazīd, and Hishām, is often called al-'Absī. Ibn Ḥabīb, on the other hand, has him as al-'Ansī, and therefore of Yamanī descent, as the passage here suggests. Cf. Crone, 163–64; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 374.

1176. There were two men of this name. One was a judge and was a Qaysī. Cf. Ibn Khayyāṭ, 557; al-Ṭabarī, II, 1226, 1338. The other was a well-known Yamanī leader and is most probably the one mentioned here. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1946, 1977. Crone argues that the phrase "his judge" is an incorrect gloss (op. cit., 164).

Armenia and Marwān placed him in authority and behaved generously to him. When Marwān sent Thābit with Isḥāq to the people [1872]
of al-Bāb, he wrote a letter to them which the two men were to take with them. In it he informed them about the state of their frontier, and what remuneration they would receive if they followed their orders and remained in their posts; by standing firm they would ward off the evil of the enemy from the sons of the Muslims. Marwān also sent the people's stipends with the two men and he appointed as commander over the people of al-Bāb a man from Palestine called Ḥumayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Lakhmī, who was acceptable to them, who had been their governor before, and whose rule they had praised. The two envoys carried out Marwān's orders amongst the people; they transmitted his message and read out his letter to them. The people agreed to stand firm on their frontier and to remain in their posts.

Then news reached Marwān that Thābit had been plotting with the local commanders[1177] to leave their frontier post and to join their *junds*. When the two men got back to Marwān, he made preparations to leave and inspected his troops. Thābit b. Nu'aym plotted with those Syrians whom he had with him to break away from Marwān and to join up with himself so that he could take them to their *junds* and be in command of them. Then they broke away from their camp together with (other) people who fled at night[1178] and they pitched camp separately.

Marwān got wind of their activities, so he and his men kept watch, fully armed, throughout the night. The following morning he and his men sallied forth against them. Thābit's followers were twice as many as those of Marwān. They lined the men up in battle order. Then Marwān gave orders to heralds, who shouted between the two lines on the right, on the left, and in the middle. They proclaimed the following announcement to them: "People of Syria, what has prompted you to defect and for what conduct on my part have you conceived a dislike for me? Did I not rule you in a way that won your approval and behave correctly toward you and govern you well? What is it that has prompted you into shedding your own blood?" The rebels gave Marwān the follow-

1177. Literally, "their commanders."
1178. *Ma'a man farra laylān.* This is somewhat obscure.

ing reply: "We were obedient to you because of our obedience to
[1873] our caliph. Then our caliph was killed and the Syrians gave the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd. We are content to be governed by Thābit and we have made him our leader to march with us under our banners until we return to our *junds*." Then Marwān gave orders to his herald to proclaim:[1179] "Truly you have lied! You do not want what you have said you want. Your sole desire has been to act rashly and to seize wrongfully the possessions, food, and fodder of any *dhimmī*s whom you pass. The only thing between you and me will be the sword until such time as you submit to me. I will go with you as far as the Euphrates and then I will take my leave of every commander and his *jund*. Then rejoin your *junds*."

When the rebels had seen how serious Marwān's intentions were, they submitted to him and cast in their lot with him. They then handed over Thābit b. Nuʿaym and his sons to Marwān. Thābit had four sons: Rifāʿah, Nuʿaym, Bakr, and ʿImrān. Marwān gave orders concerning them and they were hauled off their horses and stripped of their weapons. He put chains on their feet and appointed some of his guards to keep watch over them. He took a group of the *jund* from Syria and the Jazīrah and attached them to his troops. He kept a tight rein on them during the journey, so that none of them were able to attack or act tyrannically against any of the villagers or to obtain anything without paying. (This state of affairs prevailed) until he reached Ḥarrān. Then Marwān ordered the Syrians to rejoin their *junds*, but he kept Thābit under his own eye in prison. He then invited the people of the Jazīrah to mobilize and he paid stipends to more than twenty thousand stalwarts. Then Marwān made preparations to march on Yazīd. Yazīd wrote to him saying that if Marwān gave him the oath of allegiance, he would appoint Marwān as governor of the lands over which ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān had appointed his father, Muḥammad b. Marwān, in the Jazīrah, Armenia, al-Mawṣil, and Āzarbāyjān. Marwān duly gave the oath of allegiance to him and he sent Muḥammad b. ʿUlāthah and a number of other notables of the Jazīrah to Yazīd.[1180]

1179. Literally, "who proclaimed."
1180. For this episode, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 234–35; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 403.

In this year Yazīd b. al-Walīd died. His death was at the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 126 [October 12, 744]. According to Abū Ma'shar— [1874]
Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informants—Isḥāq b. 'Īsā: Yazīd b. al-Walīd died after the Feast of the Sacrifice in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 126 [after September 23, 744].

According to all of our informants, his caliphate lasted six months. It is (also) said[1181] that his caliphate lasted five months and two nights. According to Hishām b. Muḥammad (al-Kalbī): Yazīd ruled for six months and several days. According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī): He ruled for five months and twelve days.[1182] Yazīd b. al-Walīd died ten days before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 126 [October 3 or 4, 744][1183] at the age of forty-six.

According to some sources: Yazīd ruled for six months and two nights.

He died in Damascus but there is disagreement as to how old he was when he died. According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī): Yazīd died when he was thirty-seven. According to some sources: He died when he was thirty-seven. Yazīd's patronymic was Abū Khālid.[1184] His mother was a concubine. Her name was Shāh-i Āfrīd.[1185] She was the daughter of Fīrūz[1186] b. Yazdigird b. Shahriyār b. Kisrā. Yazīd used to say:[1187]

I am the son of Kisrā; my father is Marwān.
One grandfather is a *qayṣar;* the other a *khāqān.*[1188]

It is said that he was a Qadarī.

1181. There is an apparent contradiction here with the preceding sentence.

1182. "'Alī b. Muḥammad said" is repeated here.

1183. The exact date is somewhat uncertain since it is not clear whether this statement includes or excludes the last day of Dhū-al Ḥijjah itself. Al-Mas'ūdī gives the date of Yazīd's death as *hilāl* (new moon) in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 126. Cf. *Murūj,* VI, 18. Ibn A'tham (VIII, 141) has a date in Muḥarram, 127. Ibn Khayyāṭ (387) has ten days remaining of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 126.

1184. Cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj,* VI, 32.

1185. She was the daughter of Fīrūz, the son of Yazdigird III. She was taken prisoner in Sughd by Qutaybah and placed in the harem of al-Walīd I. For a discussion of this and other forms of the name, cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch,* 272.

1186. The editor vocalizes the name as Fayrūz.

1187. For this line, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit., and Muir, 417.

1188. Literally, "my grandfather is a *qayṣar* and my (other) grandfather a *khāqān.*"

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī): In appearance he was brown-skinned, tall, with a small head, and a mole on his face. He was a handsome man. He had quite a wide mouth but not excessively so. According to al-Wāqidī: He was nicknamed Yazīd the Inadequate because he cut back the people's stipends which al-Walīd had increased. According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī): Marwān b. Muḥammad railed against Yazīd and called him: "The Inadequate (*al-Nāqiṣ*) Son of al-Walīd," so the people called him the "Inadequate."

[1875] According to al-Wāqidī: In this year 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān led the pilgrimage.[1189] According to some sources: In this year 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik led the pilgrimage. He was appointed by Yazīd b. al-Walīd. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was in charge of Medina, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if, went with him.

Yazīd's governor of Iraq in this year was 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. The judge of al-Kūfah was Ibn Abī Laylā. In charge of the *aḥdāth*[1190] of al-Baṣrah was al-Miswar b. 'Umar b. 'Abbād.[1191] The judge of al-Baṣrah was 'Āmir b. 'Abīdah. The governor of Khurāsān was Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Kinānī.

1189. Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 402.

1190. From the fourth/tenth century to the sixth/twelfth century the term *aḥdāth* referred to a kind of urban militia, often representing a "municipal opposition" to political authority. It is, however, more difficult to define the term in earlier periods of Islamic history. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (C. Cahen). Probably the term referred either to some kind of auxiliary police force or auxiliary troops.

1191. Cf. Crone, 109.

The Caliphate of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd and the Rise of Marwān II

The Events of the Year 126 (cont'd)

(October 25, 743–October 12, 744)

Then came Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, but his rule was not recognized.[1192]

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī): The rule of Ibrāhīm was not universally recognized. One week he would be recognized as caliph, another week as *amīr*, and another as neither caliph nor *amīr*.[1193] This situation continued until Marwān b. Muḥammad arrived to depose him and kill 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik. According to Hishām b. Muḥammad (al-Kalbī): Yazīd b. al-Walīd nominated as his successor Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd. He remained in office for four months and was then deposed in Rabī' II 126 [January 22–February 19, 744].[1194] Thereafter he remained alive until he

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1192. *Lam yatimm amrun*. Literally, "a command/an affair was not accomplished." Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit., has *al-amru*; *Fragmenta*, 154, has *amruhu*.

1193. Cf. the verse of a poet quoted by al-Mas'ūdī: "We give the oath of allegiance to Ibrāhīm every Friday" (*Murūj*, VI, 19).

1194. The dating is somewhat uncertain here. According to al-Ya'qūbī (loc. cit.), Ibrāhīm was deposed by Marwān, who then had the oath of allegiance given to himself on a Monday halfway through Ṣafar 127. For the reign of Ibrāhīm, cf. also Ibn A'tham, VIII, 141–42; *Fragmenta*, 154.

was killed in 132 [August 20, 749–August 8, 750]. His mother was a concubine.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad: The rule of Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd lasted seventy nights.

The Events of the Year [1876]

127

(October 13, 744 – October 2, 745)

Among the events taking place during this year were the journey of Marwān b. Muḥammad to Syria and the battle that took place between him and Sulaymān b. Hishām at 'Ayn al-Jarr.[1195]

The Account of Marwān's Journey and What Caused The Battle [at 'Ayn al-Jarr][1196]

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): The cause (of the battle) sprang from what I have already mentioned in part:[1197] namely Marwān's going from Armenia to the Jazīrah after the murder of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, his conquering of it (the Jazīrah), professing that he was incensed on account of al-Walīd, out of disapproval of his murder; then his taking of the *ba'yah* for Yazīd b. al-Walīd after Yazīd had appointed him as governor of the province of his father, Muḥammad b. Marwān; and his subsequent behavior and

1195. 'Ayn al-Jarr was an important site in the Biqā' and contained a vast enclosure with towers. It is generally held to have been founded by al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik around 95–96/714–15. Cf. *EI*², s.v. (J. Sourdel-Thomine); M. Chehab, "The Umayyad palace at 'Anjar" in *Ars Orientalis*, V (1963): 17–27.

1196. For parallel accounts, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 243–45; *Fragmenta*, 154–56.

1197. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1870–73.

his sending Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ulāthah and a group of notables from the people of the Jazīrah (to Yazīd) while he (Marwān) was in Ḥarrān.

According to Aḥmad (b. Zuhayr)—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad: When Marwān heard about the death of Yazīd he sent a message to Ibn 'Ulāthah and his associates, recalling them from Manbij,[1198] whilst he (himself) set out for Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd. Marwān departed with the *jund* of the Jazīrah, having appointed his son 'Abd al-Malik as his deputy with forty thousand men from the garrison in al-Raqqah.[1199] When he reached[1200] Qinnasrīn, where there was a brother of Yazīd b. al-Walīd called Bishr, whom Yazīd had appointed as governor of Qinnasrīn, Bishr sallied forth toward him, drew up his forces (in preparation to fight) against Marwān, and made a proclamation to the people. Marwān called upon them to give the oath of allegiance to him.[1201] Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah, along with the Qaysiyyah, favored Marwān, and they handed over Bishr and a brother of his called Masrūr b. al-Walīd
[1877] who was Bishr's brother on his mother's and father's side. Marwān took him and his brother Masrūr b. al-Walīd and imprisoned them. He (then) departed with those people from the Jazīrah and from Qinnasrīn whom he had with him, making in the direction of the people of Ḥimṣ. When Yazīd b. al-Walīd died, the people of Ḥimṣ had refused to give the oath of allegiance to Ibrāhīm and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj. So Ibrāhīm dispatched 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj and the *jund* of the people of Damascus, and he laid siege to them in their city. Marwān hastened his pace, and when he came near to the city of Ḥimṣ 'Abd al-'Azīz departed from them (the people of Ḥimṣ).[1202] They all came out to Marwān, gave the oath

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1198. For Manbij, cf. *EI*[1], s.v. (E. Honigmann).

1199. For al-Raqqah, the principal city of Diyār Muḍar, cf. *EI*[1], s.v. (E. Honigmann).

1200. The text has *itnahā*. It is later corrected to *intahā* (cf. *Add.*, II, p. DCCXIV). The Cairo edition has the correct form (VII, 300).

1201. *Fa-kharaja ilayhi fa-ṣāffahu fa-nādā al-nās wa-da'āhum Marwān ilā mubāya'atihi.* This is rather ambiguous, but presumably Bishr is performing all the actions here until Marwān is specifically mentioned. Certainly this is the interpretation to be inferred from the punctuation of the Cairo edition (loc. cit.).

1202. Ibn al-Athīr has "departed from it" (i.e., the city; V, 244).

of allegiance to him, and left with him. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd sent out contingents with Sulaymān b. Hishām, who went with them and encamped at 'Ayn al-Jarr where Marwān came to him. Sulaymān had one hundred and twenty thousand horsemen and Marwān had eighty thousand with him. They (the two sides) met each other and Marwān called on them to refrain from fighting him and to release the two sons of al-Walīd, al-Ḥakam and 'Uthmān, who were imprisoned in the jail in Damascus. He guaranteed on their behalf (i.e., al-Ḥakam and 'Uthmān) that they would not take reprisals against them (al-Walīd's murderers) because the latter had killed their father (i.e., al-Walīd) and that the two of them would not seek out any of those who had been responsible for his murder. They (Sulaymān's men) refused to accept it (the guarantee) and persisted in fighting Marwān. They fought from the time that the sun was high[1203] until late afternoon, and the slaughter on both sides mounted and was general amongst them. Marwān was experienced and wily, so he called three of his commanders, one of whom was a brother of Isḥāq b. Muslim[1204] called 'Īsā, and he ordered them to go behind his line with his cavalry, which numbered three thousand, sending with them laborers with axes. The two lines of Marwān's men and those of Sulaymān b. Hishām filled the area between the two mountains that enclosed the meadow, whilst between the two armies there flowed a slowly moving river.[1205] Marwān ordered them to cut down the trees when they reached the mountain, to tie the logs together, to cross over to Sulaymān's army, and to make a surprise attack on it.

Sulaymān's cavalry, who were[1207] busy fighting, were aware [1878]
only of the horses and swords and of the *takbīr* (being said) by their own men behind them. So when they saw that (i.e., Mar-

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1203. *Irtifā' al-nahār*. Cf. Lane, I, 1123.

1204. Isḥāq b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī had served in Armenia and Āzarbāyjān. For his biography, cf. Crone, 106. Little is known of his brother 'Īsā.

1205. *Jarrār*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CLXI. Riḍā suggests that the term means "slowly moving on account of its abundance" (I, 507).

1206. *Jusūr*: that on which one crosses over a river or the like (Lane, I, 424).

1207. *Huwa mashghūlūn* is corrected by the editor to *hum mashghūlūn*. Cf. *Add.*, II, p. DCCXIV.

wān's men crossing the river) they fled in disarray and were routed. The people of Ḥimṣ thrust their weapons into them because of their anger toward them, and they killed about seventeen thousand of them. The people of the Jazīrah and Qinnasrīn (on the other hand) recoiled from slaughtering them, and they did not kill a single one of them. They brought to Marwān prisoners from amongst them who were as many as those killed or even more, and Marwān's men were permitted to plunder Sulaymān's army.[1208] Marwān took the *ba'yah* from them in favor of the two boys, al-Ḥakam and 'Uthmān; he released them (the prisoners) after he had provided them[1209] with a *dīnār* each, and he allowed them to rejoin their families. He killed only two men from their number, one of whom was called Yazīd b. al-'Aqqār and the other al-Walīd b. Maṣād, both of them Kalbīs. They were among those who had gone after al-Walīd and compassed his murder. Yazīd b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī was with them, and he took flight with those who escaped with Sulaymān b. Hishām to Damascus. One of the two, i.e, the two Kalbīs, had been in command of the guards of Yazīd (b. al-Walīd), and the other had been in charge of his police.[1210] Marwān beat them with whips then and there.[1211] He subsequently gave orders concerning them, and they were thrown into prison, where they perished.[1212]

Sulaymān and those men who were with him kept going until they reached Damascus, where the leaders of the people[1213]—Yazīd b. Khālid al-Qasrī, Abu 'Ilāqah al-Saksakī,[1214] al-Aṣbagh b. Dhu'ālah al-Kalbī,[1215] and the likes of them—gathered to him, Ibrāhīm, and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj. They said to one another: "If the two boys, the sons of al-Walīd, survive until Marwān

1208. Lit. "their *'askar* was made lawful."

1209. *Fragmenta*, 156, has "after he had given them stipends."

1210. I.e., *ṣāḥib al-ḥaras* and *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*.

1211. Lit. "in that stopping place of his."

1212. Lit. "they were imprisoned, and they perished in his prison."

1213. *Ru'ūs min ma'ahum*. *Fragmenta*, 156, is less ambiguous: *ru'ūs al-nās*.

1214. The text has Abū 'Ilāqah. Crone vocalizes this name as 'Ulāqah (op. cit., 96 and 294). This person is Sarī b. Ziyād, one of the conspirators against al-Walīd II (cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1778, 1800).

1215. Cf. his biography in Crone, 156.

arrives and gets them out of prison and authority devolves onto them, they will not spare any of their father's murderers. The best thing for us is to kill them both." So they appointed Yazīd b. Khālid to do that. In prison with the two of them were Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī and Yūsuf b. 'Umar. Yazīd sent a mawlā affiliated to Khālid (al-Qasrī) called Abū al-Asad with a number of [1879] his associates. Abū al-Asad went into the prison and broke the skulls of the two young boys with clubs.[1216] He brought out Yūsuf b. 'Umar in order that they should kill him, and he was (accordingly) beheaded. They (also) wanted to kill Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī.[1217] He went into one of the rooms of the prison, locked the door,[1218] threw carpets and cushions behind it,[1219] and leant against it, so that nobody could open it.[1220] They called for fire to burn him out,[1221] but it was not brought before news came that Marwān's cavalry had entered the city.[1222] Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd fled and hid himself. Sulaymān plundered[1223] what was in the treasury, distributed it amongst those contingents he had with him, and left the city.

In this year[1224] 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib[1225] summoned people in al-Kūfah to his cause and fought 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān[1226] there. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar defeated 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah, who made for al-Jibāl[1227] and took possession of it.

1216. For a previous account of this murder, cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1841–42.

1217. For this person, cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1828, 1830–31.

1218. *Fa-aghlaqahu.*

1219. *Khalfahu.* Presumably the door is meant here, although it could be translated as "behind him."

1220. *Fa-lam yaqdir 'alā fatḥihi.* Both the Cairo edition (VII, 302) and Ibn al-Athīr (V, 245) have *yaqdirū.*

1221. *Li-yuḥriqūhu.* It is possible that the prison is meant here, rather than al-Sufyānī.

1222. Here Ibn al-Athīr adds: "and they (Yazīd's associates) fled" (loc. cit.).

1223. *Wa-anhaba.* Ibn al-Athīr has the more appropriate usage of *intahaba* (loc. cit.). *Fragmenta* (156) has *nahaba.*

1224. The apparatus has the variant "Abū Ja'far said" before the account begins.

1225. This man was a Shī'ite, the great-grandson of 'Alī's brother Ja'far. Cf. Shaban, *Islamic History,* 161; Wellhausen, 384.

1226. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1854–55, 1858, 1864, 1867–68, and subsequent accounts.

1227. For the province of Jibāl, cf. Le Strange, *Lands,* 185–231; *EI*², s.v. (L. Lockhart).

The Account of the Cause of the Uprising of 'Abdallāh (b. Mu'āwiyah) and of His Summoning the People to Himself

According to Hishām (b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī)—Abū Mikhnaf: 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah rebelled against 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and declared war on him in Muḥarram 127 (October 13, 744–November 11, 744).[1228]

According to Aḥmad—'Alī b. Muḥammad—'Āṣim b. Ḥafṣ al-Tamīmī and other knowledgeable people: The reason for the uprising of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far against 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was that the former came to al-Kūfah on a visit to the latter seeking remuneration from him[1229]
[1880] and not intending to rebel, and he married the daughter of Ḥātim b. al-Sharqī b. 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Shabath b. Rib'ī.[1330] When tribal discord surfaced, the Kūfans said to him: "Call on people to join you, for the Banū Hāshim are more entitled to rule than the Banū Marwān." Then 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah summoned people secretly in al-Kūfah whilst Ibn 'Umar was in al-Ḥīrah, and Ibn Ḍamrah al-Khuzā'ī gave him the oath of allegiance. Then Ibn 'Umar got in touch with Ibn Ḍamrah secretly and gave him a bribe.[1331] Then Ibn Ḍamrah[1232] sent a message to Ibn 'Umar saying, "When we meet the people I will retreat with them." This message reached Ibn Mu'āwiyah and when the people assembled he said: "Ibn Ḍamrah has acted treacherously, and he has promised Ibn 'Umar that he will retreat with the people. So do not be alarmed when he retreats,[1233] for he will be doing so out of treachery." When they assembled, Ibn Ḍamrah retreated, and the people retreated (too), and nobody remained with Ibn Mu'āwiyah. He recited:

1228. For other accounts of the revolt of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah, cf. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 228–32; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 246–48; Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 394–95.

1229. *Yaltamisu ṣilatahu*. The *Aghānī* (XII, 228) has *mustamīhan* "asking for a stipend."

1230. For the family of this man, cf. Crone, 118. He must have been a local notable.

1231. *Fa-arḍāhu*: lit: "gave him what satisfied him."

1232. The *Aghānī* calls him Ibn Ḥamzah (XII, 229).

1233. Lit: "do not let his running away alarm you." And yet, as the sequel shows, the people did do exactly as Ibn Ḍamrah wanted, leaving Ibn Mu'āwiyah in the lurch.

The gazelles have departed from Khidāsh,[1234]
so Khidāsh does not know what to hunt.

Ibn Mu'āwiyah returned to al-Kūfah—they had met at a place between al-Ḥīrah and al-Kūfah—and then he went to Ctesiphon (al-Madā'in), and the people gave the oath of allegiance to him. A group of Kūfans joined him, and he departed and took possession of Ḥulwān[1235] and al-Jibāl.

It is said: 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah came to al-Kūfah and collected a group of people, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar did not know (about it) until 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah went out to the *jabbānah*, assembling (his men) for battle. When they met, Khālid b. Qaṭan al-Ḥārithī[1236] was in charge of the Yemenis. Al-Aṣbagh b. Dhu'ālah al-Kalbī with the Syrians pressed Khālid, and he and the Kūfans fled. (One group of) Nizār held back from (attacking another group of) Nizār, and they returned (to al-Kūfah). Fifty men of the Zaydiyyah came to the house of Ibn Muḥriz al-Qurashī intending to fight, and they were killed. None of the Kūfans apart from them were killed.

Ibn Mu'āwiyah left al-Kūfah for Ctesiphon in the company of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās al-Tamīmī. Then he left there and took possession of al-Māhān,[1237] Hamadhān, Qūmis, Iṣfahān, and al-Rayy.[1238] The slaves of the Kūfans joined him and he recited (the following):[1239] [1881]

Do not embark on an action[1240]
for the like of which you blame your brother.
Of no pleasure to you will be the saying of a man
who contradicts what he says in what he does.

1234. For Khidāsh, cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1503, 1588, 1593; Wellhausen, 504, 509–11, 514–17; *EI*², s.v. (M. Sharon).

1235. For the city of Ḥulwān in the province of Jibāl, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 191; *EI*², s.v. (L. Lockhart).

1236. For this man's family, cf. Crone, 111–12.

1237. For the city of Māhān in the province of Kirmān, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 307.

1238. Ibn al-Athīr has a slightly different list of places in his account—Ḥulwān, al-Jibāl, Hamadhān, Iṣfahān, and al-Rayy (V, 248).

1239. Those lines are found, along with others not included here, in the *Aghānī* (XII, 232).

1240. *Al-ṣanī*. Cf. Lane, I, 1734.

As for Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā, he asserted that the reason for that (i.e., the rebellion of Ibn Mu'āwiyah) was that 'Abdallāh, al-Ḥasan, and Yazīd b.[1241] Mu'āwiyah b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far came to 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, and they lodged amongst the (Banū) Nakh'[1242] in the house of a mawlā of theirs called al-Walīd b. Sa'īd. Ibn 'Umar treated them kindly, gave them presents, and spent three hundred dirhams on them every[1243] day. Their situation remained like this until Yazīd b. al-Walīd died and the people gave the oath of allegiance to his brother Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd and after him to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik. (News of) the *ba'yah* in their names came to 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar in al-Kūfah. So the people gave the oath of allegiance to the two of them, and he increased the people's stipends by a hundred (dirhams) each. He wrote to the outlying districts (announcing) that the oath of allegiance had been given to them, and (news of) the oath (being taken there) reached him. While he was thus engaged, he heard that Marwān b. Muḥammad had gone with the people of al-Jazīrah to Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd and that Marwān had held back from giving Ibrāhīm the oath of allegiance. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar kept 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah close by him; he increased what he was spending on him and prepared him to face up to Marwān b. Muḥammad, so that, if Marwān was victorious over Ibrāhīm, 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah would give him ('Abdallāh b. 'Umar) the oath of allegiance and would fight Marwān with him. The people were in an uproar about what was going on. As Marwān came near to Syria, Ibrāhīm sallied forth to him and fought him. When Marwān had defeated and routed him, Ibrāhīm fled.[1244] 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj stood firm in the battle until he was killed. Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh, the brother of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī,
[1882] fled until he reached al-Kūfah. He had been in Ibrāhīm's army. He

1241. The editor rightly notes that it would be more accurate to say "Banū" (Notes, 1881).

1242. The Banū Nakh' were brought from Yemen to al-Kūfah at the time of the wars of conquest (cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 444).

1243. Ibn al-Athīr has "on him and his brothers" (V, 246).

1244. *Wa-kharaja ilayhi Ibrāhīm fa-qātalahu fa-hazamahu Marwān wa-ẓafara bihi wa-kharaja hāriban*. The Cairo edition has a version of the text that is different in some places, although its apparatus makes no reference to this: *wa-kharaja ilayhi Ibrāhīm fa-qātalahu Marwān fa-hazamahu wa-ẓafara bi-'askarihi wa-kharaja hāriban* (VII, 304).

fabricated a letter allegedly from Ibrāhīm about the governorship of al-Kūfah. Then he sent a message to the Yamāniyyah and secretly informed them that Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd had appointed him governor of Iraq, and the Yamāniyyah accepted that from him. When 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar heard about this, he came for Ismā'īl at the daybreak prayer, accompanied by 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍban,[1245] and attacked him straightaway. When Ismā'īl saw that—having no letter of contract with him and (knowing that) his master, in whose name he had counterfeited the appointment, was fleeing in disarray—he became afraid that his doings might be made public and that he would be disgraced and killed. So he said to his companions: "I dislike the shedding of blood, and I did not realize that the matter would end like this. So hold back your hands (from fighting)." Then the group left him, and he said to the people of his family: "Ibrāhīm has fled, and Marwān has entered Damascus." This was related by the people of Ismā'īl's family, and the news spread. Strife became general, and tribal discord broke out amongst the people. The cause of that was as follows: 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar had given Muḍar and Rabī'ah very large stipends and had not given anything to Ja'far b. Nāfi' b. al-Qa'qā' b. Shawr al-Dhuhlī and 'Uthmān b. al-Khaybarī, the brother of[1246] Banū Taym al-Lāt,[1247] and had not treated them equally with their peers. So the two of them went to see 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and spoke rudely to him. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar became angry and gave orders concerning them. 'Abd al-Malik al-Ṭā'ī, who was in charge of his police force (and) who was standing at his head, went up to them. He pushed them away, and they pushed him and went out angrily. Thumāmah b. Ḥawshab b. Ruwaym al-Shaybānī[1248] was present, and he left in angry protest because of his two friends. Then they all departed for al-Kūfah. This occurred while Ibn 'Umar was in al-Ḥīrah. When they came to al-Kūfah, they shouted: "O family of Rabī'ah!" Then the Rabī'ah rose up on their behalf; they assembled and were in an angry mood. When Ibn 'Umar heard the news, he sent his brother 'Āṣim against them. When he reached

1245. For this head of the *shurṭah* for 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, cf. Crone, 162.
1246. Ibn al-Athīr has "from," rather than "the brother of" (V, 246).
1247. For this branch of the Bakr, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 543.
1248. Thumāmah had been head of police for Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, apparently in Wāsiṭ (cf. Crone, 119).

them they were in Dayr Hind,[1249] where they had gathered together.[1250] He precipitated himself among them and said, "This is my hand (as a pledge) for you, so make your decision." They felt
[1883] ashamed and honored and thanked 'Āṣim. 'Āṣim went up to their two leaders, but they remained silent and held back. In the evening, under cover of night, Ibn 'Umar sent to 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍbān with one hundred thousand (dirhams), and he distributed them amongst his tribe, the Banū Hammām b. Murrah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān.[1251] He sent to Thumāmah b. Ḥawshab b. Ruwaym with one hundred thousand (dirhams), and the latter distributed them amongst his tribe. He sent to Ja'far b. Nāfi' b. al-Qa'qā' with ten thousand (dirhams)[1252] and to 'Uthmān b. al-Khaybarī with ten thousand.

According to Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī): When the Shī'ites saw his[1253] weakness, they censured him, became enboldened against him, sought to overcome him, and called for 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah b. Ja'far—the person who was in charge of that was Hilāl b. Abī al-Ward, the mawlā of the Banū 'Ijl. The Shī'ites rose up with the rabble from the people and reached the mosque where they assembled. Hilāl was the one in charge of matters. The Shī'ites joined him in giving the oath of allegiance to 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah. Then they went immediately to 'Abdallāh (b. Mu'āwiyah), removed him from the house of al-Walīd b. Sa'īd, brought him into the citadel, and prevented 'Āṣim b. 'Umar from entering the citadel. So 'Āṣim joined his brother 'Abdallāh in al-Ḥīrah. The Kūfans came to Ibn Mu'āwiyah and gave the oath of allegiance to him; amongst them were 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍbān b. al-Qaba'tharī, Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, and those Syrians who had family connections[1254] in al-Kūfah. He remained in al-Kūfah for a few days, and the people gave the oath of allegiance to him. The oath of allegiance was (also) given to him in Ctesiphon (al-Madā'in) and Fam al-Nīl,[1255] and the people

1249. There were two sites known as Dayr Hind in al-Ḥīrah (Yāqūt, II, 707 and 709).

1250. Lit: "they had assembled and collected."

1251. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, II, 278.

1252. Ibn al-Athīr has simply "money" (V, 247).

1253. Presumably Ibrāhīm is meant here, although it could equally apply to Ibn 'Umar.

1254. Lit: "who had family and stock."

1255. Cf. Wellhausen, 541.

flocked to him. Then he left, making for 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar in al-Ḥīrah. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar came out to (meet) him with those Syrians who were with him. One of the Syrians sallied forth demanding single combat. So al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-'Ijlī came out against him. The Syrian said to him: "I issued my challenge when I did, but I did not think that a man from the Bakr [1884] b. Wā'il would come out to me. By God, I do not want to fight against you—but I would like to tell you what (information) has reached us. I should tell you that there is no Yemeni with you, neither Manṣūr nor Ismā'īl nor any other, who has not written to 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, and letters have (also) come to him from the Muḍar. (Yet) I have seen, O tribe of Rabī'ah, no letter or messenger on your behalf. They are not fighting you today, but in the morning they will do so.[1256] Therefore, if you can see to it that no blow is struck amongst you,[1257] then do so, for I am a man of Qays, and we shall be ranged opposite you tomorrow. If you want to write a letter to our master, then I will deliver it (to him); and if you want to keep faith with those in whose company you have rebelled, I have told you how matters stand with the people." Then al-Qāsim called men from his tribe, and he told them what the man had said to him and that the right wing of Ibn 'Umar, Rabī'ah and Muḍar, would be drawn up opposite his (Ibn Mu'āwiyah's) left wing, in which Rabī'ah[1258] would (also) be. 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah said: "This is a matter that will become clear to us if we wait until the morning.[1259] If 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍbān wishes, then let him meet me tonight; and, if some activity in which he is involved prevents him, it is (only) an excuse.[1260] Tell him that I think that the Qaysī has been lying." The messenger brought 'Umar that (news), and he sent him back to Ibn Mu'āwiyah with a letter informing him that its bearer had some standing with him

1256. Lit: "they are not fighting you today until you get up in the morning and they will fight you." Ibn al-Athīr has: "Tomorrow we will be opposite you, for today they are not fighting you" (loc. cit.).

1257. *In istata'tum an lā takūna bikum al-ḥazzata*. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CLXCI.

1258. The Cairo edition has *min Rabī'ah*, and its punctuation yields the translation: "that the left wing of Ibn 'Umar is from Rabī'ah, and Muḍar will be standing opposite his (Ibn Mu'āwiyah's) right wing, in which is Rabī'ah" (VII, 306). This is less satisfactory.

1259. Lit: "This is a sign that will appear to us if we get up in the morning."

1260. *Fa-huwa ghadara*. The Cairo edition prefers the reading *fa-huwa 'udhrun*: "it is an excuse" (loc. cit.). This latter reading has been followed in the translation.

('Umar) and ordering him to obtain assurances from Manṣūr and Ismā'īl—'Umar wanted no more than to let the two of them know what was happening.[1261] Ibn Mu'āwiyah refused to comply. The following morning the people began to fight. Ibn Mu'āwiyah had put the Yamāniyyah on the right wing and Muḍar and Rabī'ah on the left. A herald announced: "Anyone who brings a head will have such and such or (anyone who brings) a prisoner will have such and such, and the money is with 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍbān." The people met (in battle) and began fighting. 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍbān attacked the right flank of Ibn 'Umar, and they withdrew in disor-
[1885] der. (Thereupon) Ismā'īl and Manṣūr departed straightaway to al-Ḥīrah. The rabble from among the people attacked the Yamāniyyah with the Kūfans, and they killed more than thirty of them. The Hāshimite al-'Abbās b. 'Abdallāh, the husband of the daughter of al-Malāt, was killed.

According to 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—his father—'Ātikah, daughter of al-Malāt: "I married a number of husbands amongst whom was al-'Abbās b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, who was killed with 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-'Azīz in the tribal discord in Iraq." Mubakkir b. al-Ḥawārī b. Ziyād and others of them (the Kūfans) were killed. Then they (the rest), including 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah, withdrew, and he entered the citadel of al-Kūfah. The left wing, consisting of the Muḍar and Rabī'ah, remained (on the battlefield), with the Syrians opposite them. Those Syrians who were stationed amongst the people in the center launched an attack on the Zaydiyyah, and they fled and entered al-Kūfah. The left wing, numbering some five hundred men, remained (firm). 'Āmir b. Ḍubārah, Nubātah b. Ḥanẓalah b. Qabīṣah, 'Utbah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tha'labī, and al-Naḍr b. Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī came along and stopped at the Rabī'ah. They said to 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍbān: "As for us, O tribe of Rabī'ah, we do not feel that you are safe against what the people did with the Yamāniyyah, and we are afraid that you will receive similar treatment, so go away." 'Umar said: "I will not leave until I

1261. *Wa-innamā arāda an yu'allamahumā bi-dhālika.* This is a little obscure. Presumably 'Umar wanted by the ploy of seeking guarantees from Manṣūr and Ismā'īl to inform them of the forthcoming conflict, which would involve fellow-tribesmen fighting each other. This sentence is omitted from Ibn al-Athīr's account (V, 248).

die."[1262] They retorted: "This will avail you and your companions nothing." So they took the reins of his horse and brought him into al-Kūfah.

According to 'Umar—'Alī b. Muḥammad—Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh al-Nawfalī—his father—Khirāsh b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Aṭiyah, a mawlā of the Banū Layth—his father: "I was the scribe of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar. By God, I was with him one day, when he was in al-Ḥīrah, and somebody came to see him and said: "That man[1263] [1886]
'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah has arrived with the people." 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar remained silent for a while, and his head baker came to him and stood in front of him as if notifying him that his food was ready, so 'Abdallāh made a sign to him that he should bring it in and he brought in the food. We were anxious,[1264] fearful that Ibn Mu'āwiyah would attack us while we were with Ibn 'Umar. I began to scrutinize Ibn 'Umar to see whether he had changed in any aspect of his eating or drinking or appearance or the instructions[1265] (he was giving). But no, by God! I failed to see any change either great or small in his mien. When his food was brought in, a bowl was placed in front of each pair of us. A bowl was put between me and so and so and another bowl between so and so and so and so until (all) those who were at his table were included. When he had finished his breakfast and his ablutions, he ordered (that) money (should be brought), and it was (duly) brought, together with vessels of gold and silver and clothes. He distributed most of that amongst his commanders. Then he summoned a mawlā of his, or (perhaps it was) a *mamlūk*, who used to bring him luck and good fortune because of his name; he was called either Maymūn or Fatḥ or one of the names of good augury.[1266] Ibn 'Umar said to him: "Take your standard, go to such and such a hill, stick it in the ground, call your companions, and

1262. *Ḥattā amartu*: "until I give the command." The Cairo edition has *amūta* (VII, 307). This has been followed in the translation, especially in view of the version of Ibn al-Athīr: *ḥattā uqtala*, "until I am killed" (V, 248).

1263. Presumably the word *hādhā* forms part of the sentence that forms part of the sentence that contains "'Abdallāh." This is certainly the interpretation of the Cairo editor (VII, 307).

1264. Lit: "our hearts became swelled" (disquieted).

1265. Lit: "in any thing of his affair consisting of his place of eating or drinking or outward appearance or ordering or forbidding."

1266. Lit: "from whom he used to look for a blessing (*yatabarraku bihi*) and

remain until I come to you." So he did that. 'Abdallāh (b. 'Umar) set out, accompanied by us, and he reached the hill, where the ground was white with the companions of Ibn Mu'āwiyah. Then 'Abdallāh (b. 'Umar) gave orders to a herald, and he announced that anyone who brought a head would have five hundred (dirhams). By God, it was not long before a head was brought and placed in front of him. He ordered five hundred (dirhams) for it, and they were given to the person who had brought it. When his companions saw the way he had kept faith with the person who had brought the head,[1267] they spread (the news) amongst the people,[1268] and by God it was only a short while before I saw around five hundred heads that had been thrown in front of him. Ibn Mu'āwiyah and those with him withdrew in disarray. The first of his followers who entered al-Kūfah in flight was Abū al-
[1887] Bilād, the mawlā of the Banū 'Abs, accompanied by his son Sulaymān. Abū al-Bilād was a Shī'ite supporter. Every day the Kūfans began (afresh) to yell at them as if rebuking them for the defeat of Ibn Mu'āwiyah. Abū al-Bilād began shouting to his son Sulaymān: "Go and let the camels die."[1269] 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah passed by. He hurried through al-Kūfah and did not remain there but went as far as the mountain.[1270]

According to Abū 'Ubaydah: 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah and his brothers entered the citadel. When evening came, they said to 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍbān and his associates: "O company of Rabī'ah, you have seen what the people have done to us. We have made you responsible for our lives with your own[1271] (lives as surety). If you fight together with us, we will fight together with you, and, if you see the people forsaking both us and you, then take a pledge

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from whose name he would seek a good augury (*yatafā'alu bi-ismihi*), being called Maymūn or Fatḥ or one of the names through which blessing is sought by uttering the name of God (*al-mutabarrak bihā*)." Ibn al-Athīr adds "Riyāḥ . . . or another auspicious name" (V, 247). Cf. *EI*², "fa'l" (T. Fahd).

1267. Lit: "the owner of the head," a phrase that might be misinterpreted as it stands!

1268. The Cairo edition has *thārū bi-al-qawm*: "they rose up with the people" (VII, 308).

1269. *Al-nawāḍiḥ*, plural of *nāḍiḥ*: "a camel or ass or bull upon which water is drawn"; cf. Lane, I, 2807.

1270. This is possibly a reference to al-Jibāl, since preceding accounts in al-Ṭabarī mention that area as the destination of Ibn Mu'āwiyah.

1271. Cf. *Gloss.*, p. CCCLXXIII.

of safe-conduct both on our behalf and on your own, for whatever you take in respect to yourselves we will (also) be satisfied with for ourselves." 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍbān assured them: "We will not leave you without fulfilling one of two conditions:[1272] either that we will fight together with you or that we will take a pledge of safe-conduct for you as we take for ourselves. So calm yourselves." So they stayed in the citadel, whilst the Zaydiyyah were at the entrances of the streets with the Syrians hastening[1273] out to them (the Zaydiyyah) and embarking on fighting them (and beginning a conflict that lasted) for several days. Then the Rabī'ah took a pledge of safe-conduct for themselves, the Zaydiyyah, and 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah; (this specified) that they would not pursue[1274] them and that they (Ibn Mu'āwiyah's men) might go wherever they wanted. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar sent a message to 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍbān ordering him to attack the citadel and to bring out 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah. So Ibn al-Ghaḍbān sent a message to him and removed Ibn Mu'āwiyah and those of his party and his followers from amongst the people of Ctesiphon, the Sawād, and al-Kūfah who were with him. The envoys of 'Umar accompanied them until they had driven them from the bridge, and then 'Umar came down from the citadel.

In this year al-Ḥārith b. Surayj came to Marw,[1275] making his way there from the land of the Turks with the safe-conduct that [1888] Yazīd b. al-Walīd had written for him. He came to Naṣr b. Sayyār; then he opposed Naṣr and displayed hostility toward him, and a large group of people gave the oath of allegiance to him on that basis.

The Account of the Affair of al-Ḥārith and Naṣr after al-Ḥārith Came to See Him

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—his *shaykhs*: Al-Ḥārith went to Marw on his departure from the land of the

1272. *Min iḥdā khallatayn*: lit: "from one of two qualities."

1273. The text has *yaghdūna*. This is later corrected to *yaghdū*. Cf. *Add.*, II, p. DCCXIV. The Cairo edition has the corrected form (VII, 308).

1274. The text has *lā yamna'ūnahum*. Nöldeke suggests *allā yatba'ūhum*. Cf. *Add.*, II, p. DCCXIV. The Cairo edition follows Nöldeke (loc. cit.).

1275. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1866–69.

Turks.[1276] He reached Marw on the last Sunday of Jumādā II 127 (Sunday, April 4, 745), when the month had three days left to run. Salm b. Aḥwaz and the people met al-Ḥārith at Kushmāhan.[1277] Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl[1278] b. ʿAṭiyah al-ʿAbsī proclaimed: "Praise be to God who has caused us to rejoice at your coming and who has handed you back to the ordinance to Islam and the community." Al-Ḥārith announced: "O my people, did you not know that the many, when they are in disobedience to God, are few and that the few, when they are in obedience to God, are many? I have not been happy from the time I rebelled until today, and there is no happiness for me unless God is obeyed." When he entered Marw, he said: "O God, I have had no purpose in anything (that has transpired) between them and me other than to keep faith. If they want to act treacherously, then help me against them." Naṣr met him and lodged him in the citadel of the Bukhār Khudāh. Naṣr set aside fifty dirhams for his daily expenses, and he used to restrict himself to one dish. Naṣr released those of al-Ḥārith's family who were in his custody. He set free Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith and al-Alūf, the daughter of al-Ḥārith and Umm Bakr. When his son Muḥammad came to him, he (al-Ḥārith) said: "O God, make him pious and God-fearing."

Al-Waḍḍāḥ b. Ḥabīb b. Budayl came to Naṣr b. Sayyār on behalf of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar. A sharp cold had afflicted him, so Naṣr wrapped him in garments and ordered hospitality and two slave girls for him. Then al-Waḍḍāḥ went in to see al-Ḥārith, who had a group of his companions standing at his head. Al-Waḍḍāḥ said:
[1889] "We in Iraq have heard a lot about the size and weight of your mace, and I would like to see it." Al-Ḥārith replied: "It is like one of those (maces) that you see wielded by those (men)" and pointed to his followers. "But whenever I strike with it, my blow becomes well known."[1279] His mace weighed eighteen Syrian *raṭls*.

Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj came in to see Naṣr wearing the coat of mail

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1276. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 249.

1277. For Kushmayhan, one march from Marw on the road to Bukhārā, cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 400. According to al-Yaʿqūbī, it was called Kushmāhan (ibid.).

1278. The text has al-Fuḍayl. This is later corrected to al-Faḍl. Cf. *Add.*, II, p. DCCXIV.

1279. The text seems unsatisfactory here: *walākinnanī idhā ḍarabtu bihi ḍarbatī*. The Cairo edition has: *walākinnanī idhā ḍarabtu bihi shuhirat ḍarabatnī* (V, 309). The translation given is very tentative and is based on the reading *idhā ḍarabtu bihi shuhirat ḍarbatī*.

that he had obtained from a *khāqān*. The *khāqān* had made al-Ḥārith choose between one hundred thousand Danbakāniyyah *dīnār*s and the coat of mail, and he had chosen the coat of mail. Al-Marzubānah, the daughter of Qudayd and the wife of Naṣr b. Sayyār, caught sight of it. She sent al-Ḥārith a sable garment of hers with a slave girl who (also) belonged to her with the message: "Greet my cousin and say to him that it is cold today, so warm yourself up with this sable garment, and praise be to God who has brought you safely (here)." Al-Ḥārith said to the slave girl: "Greet my cousin and say to her: 'Is this a loan or a gift?'" She said: "It's a gift." Then al-Ḥārith sold it for four thousand *dīnār*s and distributed them amongst his companions. Naṣr sent al-Ḥārith many carpets and a horse. Al-Ḥārith sold all that and distributed the proceeds equally amongst his companions. Al-Ḥārith used to sit on a saddle with a rough cushion folded for him. Naṣr suggested to al-Ḥārith that he (Naṣr) should entrust him with authority and give him one hundred thousand dīnārs. Al-Ḥārith refused to accept and sent a message to Naṣr saying: "I have no liking at all for this world nor for its (lit: 'those') pleasures nor for marriage with the most excellent of the Arabs. I ask only for the Book of God, may He be praised and glorified, and for conduct in accordance with the *sunnah* and for fair treatment of the people who are good and have merit. If you act accordingly, I will help you against your enemy." Then al-Ḥārith sent to al-Kirmānī saying: "If Naṣr deals with me by the Book of God and fair treatment of the people who are good and have merit, as I have asked him, I will support him and will fulfill God's command. If he does not do so, I will call on God's help against him, and I will help you if you guarantee to me what I want in the way of conduct in accor- [1890] dance with justice and the *sunnah*." Whenever the Banū Tamīm came in to see him, he would summon them to himself—and Muḥammad b. Ḥumrān, Muḥammad b. Ḥarb b. Jirfās al-Minqariyyān, al-Khalīl b. Ghazwān al-ʿAdawī, ʿAbdallāh b. Mujjāʿah, Hubayrah b. Sharāḥīl al-Saʿdiyyān, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Rabbihi al-Laythī, Bishr b. Jurmūz al-Ḍabbī, Nahār b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥutāt al-Mujāshiʿī, and ʿAbdallāh al-Nubātī took the oath of allegiance to al-Ḥārith. Al-Ḥārith said to Naṣr: "I left this city thirteen years ago in disgust at tyranny, and (now) you want to incite me to that." Then three thousand men joined al-Ḥārith.

Appendix I

Problems of Translation

i. Al-Walīd's letter to Hishām (al-Ṭabarī, II, 1746–47)

(a) *1746, l.6: min . . . maḥwi mā maḥā min aṣḥābī wa-ḥuramī wa-ahlī.* Al-Iṣfahānī (*Aghānī*, VI, 107) has *min . . . maḥwi mā maḥā min aṣḥābī wa-annahu ḥarramanī wa ahlī* ("how he has ruined my friends and has ostracized me and my dependents").

(b) *1746, ll.7–8: wa-lam akun akhāfu an yabtaliya Allāhu amīra al-mu'minīna bi-dhālika wa-lā ubālī bi-hi minhu.* For both the literal and more elegant Latin translations of this passage and a detailed discussion, cf. *Gloss.*, CXLI. Al-Iṣfahānī has *wa-lam akun akhāfu an yabtaliya Allāhu amīra al-mu'minīna bi-dhālika fiyya wa-lā yunālunī mithlahu minhu* (lit., "I would never have thought that God would thus test the Commander of the Faithful through me and that he (Hishām) would defame me like that"). Cf. *Aghānī*, loc. cit. This version, as suggested in the Ṭabarī apparatus, is much better and has been adopted here.

Cf. also al-Balādhurī's version: "I did not fear that God would thus test the Commander of the Faithful nor that He would test me thereby" (*Ansāb* (Derenk), 13).

(c) *1746, l.10:* The text has *istiṣlāḥihi*. The apparatus has the variant *istiṣḥābī*, which makes good sense, especially with the suggested amendment *lahu* (II, 1746, n. 1.) The transla-

tion given is based on the variant. Cf. al-Iṣfahānī's version: *istiṣḥābī li-Ibni Suhayl*. Cf. *Aghānī*, loc. cit.

(d) *1746, l.16–1747, l.1: fa-al-nāsu bayna dhālika yaqtarifūna al-āthāma 'alā nufūsihim min Allāhi aw yastawjibūna al-ujūr 'alayhi* ("in such a situation men commit sin against themselves before God or deserve punishments on that basis"). The Cairo edition (VII, 213) has a very significant change in the text, a change for which no textual justification is given: *wa-lā yastawjibūna al-'uqūbata 'alayhi* ("they do not deserve punishment on that basis").

A more satisfactory reading is that in the *Aghānī*, 107: *wa-yaqtarifūna al-āthamā 'alā anfusihim min Allāhi bi-mā yastawjibūna al-'uqūbata 'alayhi* ("They commit sins against themselves before God for which they deserve punishment"). This version has been used in the translation.

For al-Walīd's views on the *Qadariyyah*, cf. n. 641.

ii. *Hishām's letter to al-Walīd (al-Ṭabarī, II, 1747–49)*

(a) *1747, ll.11–13*

The text is rather problematical. It reads: *wa-amīr al-mu'minīn akhwafu 'alā nafsihi min iqtirāfi al-ma'thami 'alayhā fī alladhī kāna yujrī 'alayka minhu fī alladhī aḥdatha min qaṭ'i mā qaṭa'a wa-maḥwi mā maḥā min saḥābatika li-amrayni.*

Al-Iṣfahānī's version of the same part of the letter is as follows: *wa-lā yatakhawwafu 'alā nafsihi iqtirāfa al-ma'thami fī alladhī aḥdatha min qat'i mā qaṭa'a wa-maḥwi maḥā min ṣahābatika li-amrayni* ("but he (the caliph) does not fear that he has committed wrong in the matter of the cuts he has made and the way in which he has ruined those of your friends whom he has ruined. (This absence of fear is) for two reasons"). Cf. *Aghānī*, VI, 107.

The version in the *Aghānī* is adopted without comment by the Cairo al-Ṭabarī edition (VII, 213).

The version given by al-Balādhurī is of some help in clarifying the Leiden al-Ṭabarī text: *wa-amīru al-mu'minīn yastaghfiru Allāha min ijrā'ihi mā kāna yujrī 'alayka fa-inna al-ma'thama fī dhālika akhwafu minhu 'alā nafsihi fī qat'ihi mā qaṭa'a li-amraynī*. Cf. *Ansāb* (Derenk), 14. A possible

translation would be: "The Commander of the Faithful asks God's forgiveness for his having given you the allowance that he gave you, for the wrong in (doing) that is more frightening (to him) than the wrong (lit., what) he has (done) against his soul by making the cuts he has made. (This is) for two reasons".

Appendix II

Al-Walīd's Letter Appointing His Two Sons, al-Ḥakam and ʿUthmān, as His Successors: al-Ṭabarī, II, 1756–64

The notes in the commentary itself deal with small points of clarification raised by the text of al-Walīd's letter. The purpose of this appendix is to consider at greater length the manifold problems of translating the letter. Its style is tortuous and full of rhetorical devices. On a number of occasions the text is clearly corrupt. Throughout, it presents the translator with the problem of striking the right balance between a literal English version which adheres as closely as possible to the Arabic (however convoluted that may be) and a more elegant rendering which might invite the charge of straying too far from the original and thus becoming more of a paraphrase than a proper translation.

The translation offered here took many weeks because of the inherent difficulty of the text. Fortunately, Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds have also been working on this letter (cf. their recent book, *God's Caliph*, 116–26). As well as a literal translation, they provide a detailed discussion of the background and significance of the letter, concluding that it is authentic.

The translation presented here was made before I saw that of Drs. Crone and Hinds. However, the notes have been adjusted slightly in the light of their comments, and I have made one major emendation in my translation (specified later in this appendix) on the basis of their version. I am very grateful to them for

most generously allowing me access to their work just before I completed this volume.

(a) *1757, l.14–1758, l.2.*

The decision to omit the extremely problematic phrase *fa-lam yabqa kāfirun,* supported by the apparatus (BM and O), was made after reading the version of Crone and Hinds (cf. *God's Caliph,* 119), which makes much better sense. The Leiden text as it stands would require the translation: "there remained no infidel whose blood was not licit thereby and the cutting of ties which were between them [lit., him (the member of the *ummah*) and him (the infidel)] even if he [lit., they] were his father, son, or tribesman [lit., their fathers, sons, or kinsmen]". For this change from singular to plural, cf. Crone and Hinds, op. cit., 119, n.16.

(b) *1759, l.17–1760, l.1.*

The text here is extremely corrupt. The text as it stands reads *wa-fī-al ma'ṣiyati mimmā yuḥillu bi-ghayrihim min naqmātihi wa-tuṣībuhum 'alayhi wa-yuḥiqqu min sukhtihi wa-'adhābihi.* Crone and Hinds (loc. cit.) make drastic but convincing emendations to the text and give better balance to the different elements of the sentence.

In this translation, the following more modest changes and additions are suggested: *wa-fī-al ma'ṣiyati nāla ghayruhum mā yuḥillu bi-him min naqmātihi wa-yusībuhum 'alayhi wa-yuḥiqqu min sukhtihi wa-'adhābihi* ("by disobedience others obtain those punishments with which He assails (them) and by which He strikes them and that which befalls them of His displeasure and chastisement").

(c) *1760, ll.1–3*

The text has *wa-yunzalu bi-al-ṭā'ati.* The reading of the Cairo edition (221), *wa-bi-tarki al-ṭā'ati* (which is partly based on the apparatus), has been preferred in the translation. Even so, it is difficult to decide whether the whole phrase *wa-bi-tarki al-ṭā'ati . . . wa-al-tabadduli bi-hā* should belong to the preceding sentence or to the following one. Crone and Hinds consider it to belong to the following sentence, thus: "In abandonment and neglect of obedience, in departure from it, lack of attention to it and carelessness of it, God destroys [all] those who stray and disobey. . ." (loc. cit.). There is here,

however, a slight non sequitur in the shift of subject from the miscreants to God. If, on the other hand, the phrase *bi-tarki al-ṭā'ati . . . al-tabadduli bi-hā* is taken with the preceding sentence, the result is perhaps more coherent (if a period is placed after *bi-hā*.) This alternative has been followed in the translation but with the full awareness that the result is still slightly unsatisfactory. The text would read better with a *wa* or *fa* before *ahlaka*.

(d) *1760, ll.13–14*

Once again there is a problem of punctuation. The Cairo edition (VII, 222) makes a break in the sentence after *dahmā'ihā*, whereas Crone and Hinds make the next phrase *dhukhru al-ni'mati* part of the preceding sentence. Neither solution is entirely satisfactory. In this translation, the former alternative has been followed and the text is read as *wa-dhukhru al-ni'mati 'alayhā . . . huwa al-'ahdu. . .* Here *'alayhā* refers to the community and the *wa* before *huwa* has been omitted.

(e) *1761, ll.1–4*

Literally, "a cutting of the enticements of the Devil in that for which his followers long and to which he (the Devil) incites them, concerning the destruction of this religion, the splitting of the unity of its people, and their disagreeing about that in which God united them through it (His religion)".

(f) *1762, l.3*

Tastaẓillūna fī afnānihi. There is a variant reading, *afnā'ihi*. Crone and Hinds read *afyā'ihi* (op. cit., 123), rejecting *afnānihi* because of the following preposition *fī*. *Afyā'ihi* ("shades") is certainly very plausible. Reading the text as it stands with *afnānihi* still makes quite good sense. Perhaps there is here an indirect allusion to Qur'ān 55, v.48. This sūrah enumerates the favors of God toward men.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXVII

The ʿAbbāsid Revolution

TRANSLATED BY JOHN ALDEN WILLIAMS

The ʿAbbāsid Revolution
Volume XXVII
Translated and Annotated by
John Alden Williams

By 735 an Arab empire stretched from Arles and Avignon in southern France to the Indus River and Central Asia, and a vital young civilization fostered by a new world religion was taking root. Yet the Muslim conquerors were divided by tribal quarrels, tensions among new converts, and religious revolts. In 745 a vigorous new successor to the Prophet took control in Damascus and began to restore the waning power of the Umayyad dynasty. Marwān II's attempts were thwarted, however, by revolts on every hand, even among his own relatives. The main body of dissidents was a well-trained group of revolutionaries in Khurāsān, led by the remarkable Abū Muslim. By 748 they had seized control of the province and driven the governor, Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī, to his death and were advancing westward. This volume tells of the end of the Umayyad caliphate, the ʿAbbāsid Revolution, and the establishment of the new dynasty.

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXVII

The ʿAbbāsid Revolution

A.D. 743–750/A.H. 126–132

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(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXVII

THE ʿAbbāsid Revolution

translated and annotated
by

John Alden Williams
University of Texas at Austin

State University of New York Press

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In 1971 the General Editor proposed to the UNESCO to include a translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* in its Collection of Representative Works. UNESCO agreed, but the Commission in charge of Arabic works favored other priorities. Deeming the project worthy, the Iranian Institute of Translation and Publication, which collaborated with UNESCO, agreed to undertake the task. After the upheavals of 1979, assistance was sought from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The invaluable encouragement and support of the Endowment is here gratefully acknowledged.

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of

the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Each volume has an index of proper names. A general index volume will follow the publication of the translation volumes.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

In this volume I have followed the transliteration system adopted by the Series, in deference to the judgement of the editor. My personal preference would always be to eliminate the Greek suffix *id* on Arabic and Persian names and nouns to obtain an adjectival form, e.g. ᶜAbbāsid, ᶜAlid, Umayyad, and to use the Islamic *nisba* form used in the Middle East ending in *-ī*, which has gained currency in modern English usage, e.g. Israel*i*, Pahlav*i*, Saud*i*. The terminal *h* for a *tā marbūṭa(h)* might also in my view be left to the general desuetude into which it is falling, e.g. in the new *Enclopaedia of Islam*.

I must express my deep gratitude to the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University which kindly sustained me with a research fellowship for one year during which parts of this volume and of others were completed; to the Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions, which offered me and my family its hospitality during the year, and to the American University in Cairo which allowed me a year of leave. My colleagues Ahmed Sharkas at Harvard and Adel Sulaiman Gamal at American University in Cairo and University of Arizona helped me often with the poetry passages, and I would record my thanks to them here.

Professor George Makdisi of the University of Pennsylvania read the greater part of the translation against the originals and offered invaluable suggestions in the midst of trying circumstances: a most generous act. Professor Jacob Lassner made many thoughtful addi-

tions to the footnotes, and where this occurred I have indicated it in the notes. To Professor Ehsan Yar-Shater who has seen to the publication of this volume and others of al-Ṭabarī, very special thanks are due.

John Alden Williams
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The Caliphate of Marwān b. Muḥammad

In this year the oath of allegiance was given in Damascus to Marwān b. Muḥammad as Caliph.[1]

Why The Oath of Allegiance Was Given to Marwan

'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm reported the following from Abū Hashīm Mukhallad b. Muḥammad, the mawlā of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān: When people announced that Marwān's cavalry had entered Damascus, Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd fled and went into hiding. At this, Sulaymān (b. Hishām) seized what was in the treasury, divided it among his troops, and left the city. Those mawlās of al-Walīd b. Yazīd who were in the city rushed to the house of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj and slew him. Then they ransacked the grave of Yazīd b. al-Walīd and hung his body on the Jābiyah Gate. Marwān entered Damascus, and

Footnotes followed by (J.L.) have been added by Jacob Lassner. Others are those of the translator.

1. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1879; Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 392; Azdī, 62ff; *FHA*, 156; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 404ff; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 46; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 366.

stopped at 'Āliyah.[2] The two young sons of al-Walīd b. Yazīd who had been slain were brought to him, as well as the body of Yūsuf b. 'Umar, and he ordered that they be given burial.[3] Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī was carried to him in shackles, and he saluted Marwān as
[1891] Caliph. Up until that day, Marwān had only been hailed with the title of amīr, so he asked al-Sufyānī, "What's this?" Al-Sufyānī replied, "Both [the sons of al-Walīd] made the Caliphate over to you as their successor."

He then recited some verses composed by al-Ḥakam in prison.

Our source adds that they had both reached legal maturity; al-Ḥakam had begotten offspring, and the other had reached puberty two years before.[4]

The verses of al-Ḥakam were:

Who shall tell Marwān about me,
and my noble uncle, yearning long there,

That I have been oppressed and my people
have become parties to the slaying of al-Walīd?

Shall their Kalb (also: dog) take my blood and my substance
while I obtain neither gristle nor fat?

And Marwān is in the land of the Banū Nizār
like a lion of the thicket, a neckbreaker in his lair.

Does not the slaying of that youth of Quraysh afflict you,
and their shattering the staff [of unity] of the Muslims?

Now convey my regards to Quraysh.
and to Qays in the Jazīrah, all of them:

---

2. The text is 'Āliyah; perhaps it should be read al-'Āliyah. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 403 reads *Dayr al-'Āliyah*. The term *al-'āliyah* generally means the heights of an area as distinct from the low lying areas. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 592.

3. Yūsuf had been imprisoned throughout the reign of al-Walīd. His death and that of al-Walīd was ordered by 'Abd al-'Azīz. The two boys are elsewhere identified as 'Uthmān and al-Ḥakam. They are also called the "two lambs" (*ḥaml*). See n.1 above.

4. That is, it was legal for them to transfer their authority. A short variant of these verses is found in *FHA*, 156–57.

The deficient Qadarī[5] has lorded it over us
and incited war among the sons of our father.

Had the riders of Sulaym taken part in the battle,
and those of Ka'b, I would not be a prisoner.

Had the lions of the Banū Tamīm taken part,
we'd not have sold the inheritance we had from our fathers.

Did you break your oath to me because of my mother?
you have sworn allegiance before to a concubine's son.

Would that my maternal uncles were other than Kalb,
and had been born to some other people!

Yet if I and my heir-presumptive should perish,
then Marwān shall be Commander of the Faithful. [1892]

Then Abū Muḥammad said, "Stretch out your hand and I'll swear allegiance to you." Those of the Syrian army *(ahl al-shām)* who were with Marwān heard him, and the first to come forward was Mu'āwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr with the chief people of Ḥimṣ. They swore allegiance to Marwān, whereupon he commanded them to choose governors for their military districts. The men of Damascus chose Zāmil b. 'Amr al-Jibrānī; the men of Ḥimṣ chose 'Abdallāh b. Shajarah al-Kindī; the people of the Jordan chose al-Walīd b. Mu'āwiyah b. Marwān; and those of Palestine chose Thābit b. Nu'aym al-Judhāmī, whom Marwān had extricated from Hishām's prison, and who then had betrayed him in Armenia.[6] Marwān took sure promises and binding oaths from them when they

5. Yazīd b. Walīd had been a Qadarī, or believer in free will. He was called "the Deficient," because he reduced his soldiers' pay. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1874.

6. As chief of the local Yamanī faction, Thābit acted out of partisan motives against Marwān whose support was mostly from the Qays. Thābit took the title al-Qaḥṭānī to indicate descent from the alleged progenitor of the southern tribes and to thus draw wide support. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1871ff; Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 393; Azdī, 66; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 314.

gave him the handclasp of allegiance; then he withdrew to his residence in Ḥarrān.[7]

Abū Ja'far reported that when order had been restored in Syria (al-Shām) on behalf of Marwān b. Muḥammad and he had gone off to his residence in Ḥarrān, Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd and Sulaymān b. Hishām asked for a guarantee of security *(amān)*, and Marwān granted it.[8] Sulaymān, who was then at Tadmur (Palmyra), came to Marwān with his brothers, the members of his family and his mawlās, the Dhakwāniyyah,[9] who were there, and they swore allegiance to Marwān.

In this year, too, the people of Ḥimṣ as well as some of the other people of Syria rebelled against Marwān, and he fought with them.

Revolt of the People of Ḥimṣ[10]

According to Aḥmad—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ: When Marwān left for his residence in Ḥarrān after settling with the Syrian army, he had not been there more than three months before they openly opposed him and rebelled against him. The one who incited them to that was Thābit b. Nu'aym, who sent them messengers and wrote them letters. Information about them reached Marwān, and he marched against them himself. The army of Ḥimṣ sent word to the Kalb who were at
[1893] Tadmur, whereupon al-Aṣbagh b. Dhu'ālah al-Kalbī set off toward them, accompanied by three of his sons, full grown men, Ḥamzah, Dhu'ālah and Furāfiṣah. Also accompanying him were Mu'āwiyah al-Saksakī, one of the Syrian cavalry, and 'Iṣmah b. al-Muqsha'irr, Ḥishām b. Maṣād, Ṭufayl b. Ḥārithah and about a thousand horsemen of their tribe. They entered the city of Ḥimṣ on the night of the

---

7. Ḥarrān thus became the unofficial capital of the new Caliph. Not surprisingly Marwān wished to avoid taking up residence among the followers of his enemies, preferring to remain instead in the area where he had long resided. For Ḥarrān see Le-Strange, *Lands*, 103.

8. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 393; Azdī, 64; *FHA*, 157; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, IV, 468.

9. A Syrian regiment named after its commander Muslim b. Dhakwān. These were apparently Sulaymān's guard. While Ṭabarī's terming them mawlās does not necessarily mean they were non-Arabs, it suggests that some of them may not have been Arabs. Such elite regiments supplied the backbone of Marwān's support. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 372, 375. For a challenging and highly speculative view of the late Umayyad military, see P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, esp. 42–57.

10. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 393ff; Azdī, 66; *FHA*, 158ff.

'Id al-Fiṭr[11] in 127 (June 25, 745). Marwān was at Ḥamāh, no more than thirty miles[12] from Ḥimṣ when the news of them reached him on the morning of the 'Id al-Fiṭr, so he moved quickly. With him at the time were Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd, the deposed Caliph, and Sulaymān b. Hishām. They had sent him messages and asked him for a guarantee of security, and (having received it) they traveled with him as part of his army. Treating them generously, he positioned them both near him, so they sat at his table for dinner and supper and rode with him in his train. He reached Ḥimṣ two days after the 'Id al-Fiṭr, and the Kalb in the city had blocked the gates from inside. He was prepared, as his guard *(rābiṭah)* was with him. Surrounding the city with his horsemen, he stationed himself opposite one of the gates and looked out over a group of defenders along the wall. His herald then called out, "What call had you to break faith?" They answered, "We still obey you; we have not broken faith with you!" He then told them, "If what you say about yourselves is true, then open the gate!" At this, they opened it. 'Amr b. al-Waḍḍāḥ burst in at the head of the Waḍḍāḥiyyah,[13] who numbered about three thousand men, as they fought the Kalb inside the city. When Marwān's cavalry became too much for them, they ran for one of the gates, called Bāb Tadmur. They went out by it, but Marwān's guard was stationed there and fought them; most of them were thus killed. Al-Aṣbagh b. Dhu'ālah and al-Saksakī got away, but Dhu'ālah and Furāfiṣah, the two sons of al-Aṣbagh, and more than thirty of their men were captured. They were brought to Marwān, who had them killed on the spot. He ordered that all their slain, some five or six hundred, be collected and crucified around the city, and he tore down about a [1984]
bowshot's length of the city wall.

The inhabitants of the Ghūṭah (the oasis of Damascus), attacked the city, besieged their governor, Zāmil b. 'Amr, and chose Yazīd b. Khālid al-Qasrī to rule over them. The city and its inhabitants and an officer, named Abū Habbār al-Qurashī, with about four hundred men held fast with Zāmil. Marwān sent Abū al-Ward b. al-Kawthar b. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith, whose name was Majza'ah, from Ḥimṣ to aid the defenders, as well as 'Amr b. al-Waḍḍāḥ and ten thousand men.

11. 'Id al-Fitr is the Feast of Fast-breaking at the end of Ramaḍān, see *EI* s.v. 'īd.
12. One Arabic mīl is 2 km., one third of a *farsakh*. See E.I2, s.v.
13. The Waḍḍāḥiyyah were a military contingent similar to the Dhakwāniyyah. See n.8 above.

When they came near the city they attacked the besiegers. Abū al-Habbār and his horsemen came out from the city, and they routed the rebels and seized their camp. Then they burned al-Mizzah, one of the villages of the Yamanīs. Yazīd b. Khālid and Abū ʿIlāqah sought refuge with a man of the Lakhm tribe from al-Mizzah. Their whereabouts was reported to Zāmil, who sent for them, but they were both killed before they were brought before him. He then sent their heads to Marwān at Ḥimṣ.

Thābit b. Nuʿaym of the army of Palestine rebelled, advancing as far as Tiberias,[14] and besieged its people. Their governor was Walīd b. Muʿāwiyah b. Marwān, son of the brother of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. They fought the rebel for several days, whereupon Marwān wrote to Abū al-Ward ordering him to go there and assist them. Abū al-Ward set off from Damascus some days later. When word reached the inhabitants that he was near, they came out of the city against Thābit and his men and seized their camp. Thābit fled to Palestine and gathered his kinsmen and military forces *(jund)*. Abū al-Ward now moved against him and put him to flight a second time, and those who were with Thābit deserted him. Three of his grown sons were captured: Nuʿaym, Bakr, and ʿImrān. Abū al-Ward sent them to Marwān; they were brought to him at Dayr Ayyūb,[15] wounded, and he gave orders for their wounds to be treated.

Thābit b. Nuʿaym went into hiding, and al-Rumāḥis b. ʿAbd al-
[1895] ʿAzīz al-Kinānī was made governor of Palestine. Escaping with Thābit was one of his sons, Rifāʿah, who was the worst of them all. (Later) he joined Manṣūr b. Jumhūr,[16] who honored him with gifts, gave him a position and made him his lieutenant along with a brother of his called Manẓūr b. Jumhūr. But Rifāʿah assaulted Manẓūr and murdered him. This came to Manṣūr's ears as he was setting out for Multān—his brother had been at Manṣūrah,[17] so Manṣūr

14. Tiberias (Ṭabariyyah) was the headquarters of the military district of the Jordan (al-Urdunn). See *EI* s.v. Ṭabariyya.

15. A village situated in the Ḥawrān district near Damascus. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 645.

16. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr was a leader of the Kalb who had helped plan the death of al-Walīd b. Yazīd. He was subsequently made governor of Iraq and later, of Sind. See Ṭabarī, II, 1778, 1800, 1809, 1836; also Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 367, 368.

17. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 629 lists a Multān which he indicates is also recorded as Mūltān. It was a great city in Hind on the way to Manṣūrah (the capital of Sind). For Manṣūrah, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 331.

turned back and seized Rifāʿah. He then built a hollow column of burnt brick, placed Rifāʿah inside it, fastened him to it, and bricked him in.[18] Marwān wrote al-Rumāḥis to look for Thābit and display kindness to him. At last a man from Thābit's tribe told where he was, and he was taken, along with a number of others. After two months, he was brought in. Marwān ordered that Thābit and his sons, who were already in Marwān's hands, be brought forward. Then their hands and feet were cut off, and they were transported to Damascus. Abū Hāshim stated, "I saw them cut in pieces and fixed on the gate of the city mosque." This was done because word had reached Marwān that people were spreading alarming rumors about Thābit, saying that he had gone to Egypt, gained control there, and slain Marwān's governor.

Marwān now came from Dayr Ayyūb to arrange the oath of allegiance to his sons ʿUbaydallāh and ʿAbdallāh. He married them to two daughters of (the Caliph) Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, Umm Hishām and ʿĀʾishah. For this occasion he gathered together all the people of his family; Muḥammad, Saʿīd and Bakkār, the sons of (the Caliph) ʿAbd al-Malik, and the children of (the Caliphs) al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Yazīd and Hishām, and others of the Quraysh and the chiefs of the Arabs.

He mobilized the army of Syria, strengthened it, and placed one of the Syrian officers over each corps. He then ordered them to join Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah, whom he had sent ahead before his Syrian campaign with twenty thousand men of Qinnasrīn and the Jazīrah. He had ordered Ibn Hubayrah to camp at Dūrayn[19] until he should come, thus establishing this force as his vanguard. Marwān [1896]
left Dayr Ayyūb for Damascus when all of Syria except for Tadmur had been pacified. He ordered that Thābit b. Nuʿaym, his sons, and the group he had mutilated be brought forward. They were put to death and then crucified on the gates of Damascus. Abū Hāshim reports, "I saw them at the time they were slain and gibbeted." He

18. This elaborate execution may be indirectly explained by a variant in Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 407. The victim is identified here as one Ibn ʿArār, governor of Sind and a relative. When the treacherous Ibn ʿArār was apprehended, Manṣūr put him to death without shedding his blood, because he was a kinsman. On the legal ramifications of such executions see Lassner, *ʿAbbāsid Rule*, 39–57, esp. 43–46. (J.L.)

19. There is no entry for this place in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary. Dūr and Dūrān were common place names in Iraq.

adds, "Marwān spared one man among them, called 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith al-Kalbī; it is claimed he had knowledge of the wealth which Thābit had deposited with certain kinsmen." Then Marwān moved on with his men to camp at Qasṭal,[20] in the territory of Ḥimṣ adjacent to that of Tadmur, the distance between them being three days' march. Word reached him there that the enemy (i.e., the Kalb) had spoiled all the wells lying between him and Tadmur, filling them in with stones, so he prepared waterskins, canteens, fodder, and camels to transport the provisions for him and his men. Al-Abrash b. al-Walīd, Sulaymān b. Hishām and other Umayyads interceded with him and asked that they (the Kalb) be excused, and that they make representations to them. He agreed to this, and al-Abrash sent them his brother 'Amr b. al-Walīd. Al-Abrash wrote them a letter urging caution and informing them that he feared they would be the death of him and all their kinsmen. They drove 'Amr away, however, and did not comply. Al-Abrash now asked Marwān to let him go to them himself, and to give him a few days. This, Marwān did. Al-Abrash went to them, spoke to them, and put fear into them. He told them that they were stupid and that they could not withstand Marwān and his troops. Most of them agreed with this, while those who did not trust him fled into the desert lands of the Kalb. These were al-Saksakī, 'Iṣmah b. al-Muqsha'irr, Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārithah, and Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, who was the son-in-law of al-Abrash. Al-Abrash wrote to Marwān informing him of this, and Marwān wrote back to him, "Tear down the walls of their city and come back to me with those who have given you their allegiance." He therefore went back to Marwān with their chief men, al-Aṣbagh b. Dhu'ālah and his son Ḥamzah, and a number of others. Marwān
[1897] then set out with them on the desert road for Sūriyyah[21] and Dayr al-Lathiq[22] until he came to Ruṣāfah (residence of the Caliph Hishām). With him were Sulaymān b. Hishām, his paternal uncle Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik and all his brothers, as well as Ibrāhīm the deposed Caliph and a number of the sons of the Caliphs Walīd, Sulaymān and Yazīd. They stayed there for a day; and then Marwān left for

20. A place between Ḥimṣ and Damascus. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 95.

21. A place in Syria between Khunāṣirah and Salamiyyah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 87.

22. Vocalization conjectural. This place is not listed by Yāqūt.

Raqqah. Sulaymān b. Hishām asked for permission and begged Marwān to allow him to stay on for some days, so that his mawlās might recover their strength and his beasts be rested. Sulaymān would then follow after him. Marwān gave him permission and went on his way, halting at a camp on the bank of the Euphrates where he used to stay, near Wāsiṭ.[23] He remained there for three days and went on to Qarqīsiyyah (Circesium), where Ibn Hubayrah was waiting to precede him to Iraq to fight al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī al-Ḥarūrī.[24] At this time about ten thousand men of those whom Marwān had mobilized for the campaign in Iraq while he was at Dayr Ayyūb came up with their officers and stopped at Ruṣāfah. Here they called on Sulaymān to renounce his allegiance to Marwān and fight him.

This year al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī entered Kūfah.

The Revolt of al-Ḍaḥḥāk the Khārijite (Muḥakkim)[25]

Sources differ in their accounts of this affair. As for Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad: The occasion for the revolt of al-Ḍaḥḥāk was that when al-Walīd was slain, a Ḥarūrī called Sa'īd b. Bahdal al-Shaybānī rebelled in the Jazīrah at the head of two hundred men of the region. One of them was al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who took advantage of al-Walīd's death and Marwān's preoccupation with Syria to rebel in the territory of Kafartūtha.[26] At the same time Bisṭām al-Bayhasī, who differed [1898] with Sa'īd in his views, set out with a like number of the Rabī'ah, and each of them marched against the other. When the two forces were near each other, Sa'īd b. Bahdal sent al-Khaybarī, one of his of-

23. Not to be confused with the famous city of Wāsiṭ founded by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. This city was situated near Qarqīsiyāh. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 882 ff.

24. Ḥarūrā' was the district near Kūfah where the Khārijites rebelled against 'Alī in Rabī' I, 37 (August 17-September 15, 758). It subsequently gave its name to the sect known as the Ḥarūriyyah. See *EI*[2] s.v. Ḥarūrā'.

25. Literally one who submits only to God's judgment; that is, the Khārijites who opposed the arbitration at Ṣiffīn by crying out *la ḥukm illā li-llāh*. For al-Daḥḥāk's entry, see Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 395ff; Azdī, 67ff; *FHA*, 157; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 389–92, and *The Religious Political Opposition Parties*, 164ff; *EI*[2] s.v. ad-Daḥḥak b. Ḳays al-Shaybānī.

26. The Kafartūthā mentioned here is a large village in the Jazīrah some five *farsakhs* (30 km) from Dārā.

ficers, the one who later routed Marwān, with about a hundred and fifty riders to attack Bisṭām by night. He came to Bisṭām's camp undetected, and ordered each of his men to have with him a white cloth to wrap around his head so they might recognize each other. Then they gave the cry of *"Allāhu Akbar!"*[27] in Bisṭām's camp and smote them hard for their neglect (to keep watch). On this, al-Khaybarī recited:

Though he was Bisṭām, surely I am al-Khaybarī;
I strike with the sword and set guards in my camp.

They slew Bisṭām and all who were with him except for fourteen men who escaped to Marwān. They stayed with him, and he gave them positions in his personal guard *(rābiṭah)*, putting one of them, a man called Muqātil who had the patronymic *(kunyā)* of Abū al-Naʿthal, in charge of the others.

Saʿīd b. Bahdal then moved in the direction of Iraq, because word had reached him of the disorders there and of the differences within the Syrian army leading to clashes between the supporters of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar (b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz) and al-Naḍr b. Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī. The Yaman tribesmen among the Syrians were with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar at Ḥīrah, while the Muḍar tribesmen were with Ibn al-Ḥarashī at Kūfah, and they fought each other morning and evening in the area between them.[28]

Saʿīd b. Bahdal died of pestilence he contracted en route to Iraq, and al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays was appointed his successor. Saʿīd had a wife named Ḥawmāʾ, and in connection with this, al-Khaybarī recited the verse:

God moisten, O Ḥawmāʾ, the grave of Ibn Bahdal;
When the night riders saddle up, he'll no longer depart.

Around a thousand men joined al-Ḍaḥḥāk, and they turned to-
[1899] ward Kūfah. He passed through the territory of Mosul, and around three thousand men from there and from the army of the Jazīrah followed him. Al-Naḍr b. Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī and the Muḍarīs were in Kūfah at this time, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar and the Yamanīs were in

27. The text is *bakkarū*; it should be read *kabbarū*, following the Cairo edition.
28. The distance between the old Christian town of Ḥīrah and the Muslim city of Kūfah was three *farsakhs* (18 km).

Ḥīrah. (They were) engaged in a tribal feud in the territory between, but when al-Ḍaḥḥāk approached, Ibn ʿUmar and al-Ḥarashī made peace and joined forces to fight him. They entrenched themselves at Kūfah, and between them at that time they had about thirty thousand men of Syria, a strong force well armed and provisioned. With them was an officer from the forces of Qinnasrīn called ʿAbbād b. al-Ghuzayyil, commanding a thousand horsemen whom Marwān had sent to reinforce Ibn al-Ḥarashī. The enemy challenged them to give combat, and they fought. ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Jaʿfar b. ʿAbbās al-Kindī were both slain that day, and al-Ḍaḥḥāk's forces put them to a most ignominious flight. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar escaped to Wāsiṭ with his men, and Ibn al-Ḥarashī, i.e., al-Naḍr, and the Muḍarīs set out along with Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī for Marwān. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk and the men of the Jazīrah thus took possession of Kūfah and its territories, and they collected the taxes of the Sawād. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk put one of his followers, a man called Milḥān, in charge of Kūfah with two hundred horsemen, and set off with most of his men after ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar at Wāsiṭ. There, he laid siege to the city. ʿAbdallāh had with him an officer of Qinnasrīn called ʿAṭiyyah al-Thaʿlabī, one of the hardiest of men. When it seemed likely that al-Ḍaḥḥāk would besiege the city, ʿAṭiyyah left with seventy or eighty of his own men intending to reach Marwān. They left by way of Qādisiyyah, and Milḥān received word of their movements; so he moved out quickly, seeking him. ʿAṭiyyah met him at the bridge of Saylaḥūn,[29] where Milḥān had hastened with about thirty horsemen. Milḥān engaged ʿAṭiyyah, and the latter killed him and some [1900]
of his men. The rest of them fled until they came into Kūfah, and ʿAṭiyyah went on with his men until he reached Marwān.

Another account, from Abū ʿUbaydah Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā—Abū Saʿīd: When Saʿīd b. Bahdal al-Murrī died and the Khārijites gave their allegiance to al-Ḍaḥḥāk as their Imām, he stayed at Shahrazūr.[30] The Ṣufriyyah[31] came to him from every direction, until he headed some four thousand of them. No such num-

29. Al-Saylaḥūn or Saylaḥīn was a village situated between Kūfah and Qādisiyyah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 219 and index, 125.

30. A large district in Jibāl between Irbīl and Hamadhān. This places al-Ḍaḥḥāk surprisingly far from the events he was to participate in. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 320.

31. The Ṣufriyyah were a less intransigent subgroup of the Khārijites. A brief description of them can be found in Watt, *Islamic Thought*, 24–27.

ber had ever joined any Khārijite leader before him. When Yazīd b. al-Walīd perished, his functionary in Iraq was ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar. Marwān then came down from Armenia and ultimately camped in the Jazīrah. He appointed al-Naḍr b. Saʿīd, one of the officers of Ibn ʿUmar, as his governor for Iraq. Al-Naḍr set out for Kūfah, and Ibn ʿUmar settled in Ḥīrah. The Muḍar tribesmen rallied to al-Naḍr and the Yaman to Ibn ʿUmar, who fought the former for four months. Then Marwān reinforced al-Naḍr with Ibn al-Ghuzayyil, but al-Ḍaḥḥāk advanced on Kūfah. This was in 127 (744–5). Ibn ʿUmar sent a message to al-Naḍr saying, "This man means [harm] to none but you and me; so come, let us unite against him." And they made a pact agreeing to this.

Ibn ʿUmar came forward and camped at Tall al-Fatḥ, while al-Ḍaḥḥāk advanced to cross the Euphrates, so Ibn ʿUmar sent Ḥamzah b. al-Aṣbagh b. Dhuʾālah al-Kalbī to prevent him from crossing. Then ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās al-Kindī said, "Let him cross over; it is easier for us than looking for him." Hence Ibn ʿUmar sent a message to Ḥamzah telling him to desist from this. Ibn ʿUmar then camped at Kūfah. He would pray at the governor's mosque with his followers, while al-Naḍr b. Saʿīd would pray with his own followers in the outskirts of Kūfah. He neither associated with Ibn ʿUmar nor prayed with him; however, they had both stopped fighting each other and had agreed to fight al-Ḍaḥḥāk. When Ḥamzah returned, al-Ḍaḥḥāk advanced. He crossed the Euphrates and camped at Nukhaylah[32]
[1901] on the fourth of Rajab, 127 (April 9, 745). The Syrian troops of Ibn ʿUmar and al-Naḍr rushed upon them before they were settled in their camp, and killed fourteen horsemen and thirteen women. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk then dismounted, bivouacked, and set his followers in order, and they rested. Beginning early the next morning, a Thursday, the two forces fought a fierce battle. Ibn ʿUmar and his followers were put to flight, and the Khārijites slew his brother ʿĀṣim. The man who killed him was al-Birdhawn b. Marzūq al-Shaybānī. The descendants of al-Ashʿath b. Qays buried him in their residence.[33] The Khārijites also slew Jaʿfar b. al-ʿAbbās al-Kindī, the brother of

32. A place situated near Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 771.

33. Burial within a residence was a common practice in early Islam. There was, of course, the example of the Prophet, who was buried under the floor of his wife ʿĀʾishah's quarters.

'Ubaydallāh. Ja'far was in command of the security force *(shurṭah)* of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, and the one who slew him was 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Alqamah b. 'Abd al-Qays. Just as this man was overtaking him, Ja'far called to a paternal cousin of his named Shāshilah. The latter wheeled toward him, but one of the Ṣufriyyah struck him, splitting his face in two.

Abū Sa'īd reported: I saw him after that; as if he had two faces. 'Abd al-Malik bent down and slit Ja'far's throat. Umm al-Birdhawn al-Ṣufriyyah[34] made up these verses:

We slew both 'Āṣim and Ja'far, also
The Ḍabbī rider, when they came out,
And we came to the hollowed-out trench.

The followers of Ibn 'Umar took flight and the Khārijites came after us, stopping at our defensive trench until nightfall. Then they went away. We got up early Friday morning, and by God we hadn't come out at all before they put us to flight; we retreated behind our trench. On Saturday we got up and our people were all slipping out and running away to Wāsiṭ. They'd seen an enemy whose like they had never seen before, of the fiercest courage, like a lion over its cubs. Ibn 'Umar went to look at his followers, and lo, most of them had run away under cover of night. The majority of them reached [1902]
Wāsiṭ. Some of those who got there were al-Naḍr b. Sa'īd, Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh, Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, Aṣbagh b. Dhu'ālah with his two sons Ḥamzah and Dhu'ālah, al-Walīd b. Ḥassān al-Ghassānī and all of the chiefs *(wujūh)*. Only Ibn 'Umar remained, leading such of his followers as stayed; he stood his ground and did not quit.

It is said that when 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar was made governor of Iraq, he appointed 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās al-Kindī governor of Kūfah with 'Umar b. al-Ghaḍbān b. al-Qaba'tharī in charge of security. Neither one of them stepped down until Yazīd b. al-Walīd died; then Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd came and reappointed Ibn 'Umar as governor in Iraq. Ibn 'Umar made his brother 'Āṣim governor of Kūfah, and reappointed Ibn al-Ghaḍbān to take charge of security. They continued in this capacity until 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah rebelled,[35] whereupon

34. Khārijite women often rode with their men in battle. This is evidence that some of them also improvised mocking verses about enemies in the old Arab manner.

35. For this rebellion, see text above.

ʿUmar b. al-Ghaḍbān came under suspicion. When the affair of ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah was ended (in Kūfah), ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar appointed ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb governor of Kūfah, with al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtaybah al-Asadī, from the army of Syria, over security. Then he removed ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd from his position at Kūfah, appointing ʿUmar b. al-Ghaḍbān governor there with al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtaybah al-Asadī over security. Then he removed ʿUmar b. al-Ghaḍbān as governor of Kūfah[36] and gave this post to al-Walīd b. Ḥassān al-Ghassānī. Ibn ʿUmar then appointed Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī governor, with Abān b. al-Walīd in charge of security. He then relieved Ismāʿīl and appointed ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Abān b. al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣarī. Removing him, he appointed his brother ʿAṣim b. ʿUmar governor.

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī advanced. It is also said that al-Ḍaḥḥāk only advanced when Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī
[1903] was residing in the governor's palace at Kūfah. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar was situated at Ḥīrah, and Ibn al-Ḥarashī was at the Convent of Ḥind.[37] Then al-Ḍaḥḥāk prevailed over Kūfah, and made Milḥān b. Maʿrūf al-Shaybānī governor there, with Ṣufr, a Ḥarūrī Khārijite of the Banū Ḥanẓalah, in charge of security. Then Ibn al-Ḥarashī came out, seeking to make his own way to Syria. Milḥān opposed him and Ibn al-Ḥarashī slew him. After this, al-Ḍaḥḥāk made Ḥassān governor of Kūfah, with Ḥassān's son al-Ḥarīth in charge of security. Lamenting his brother ʿĀṣim when the Khārijites killed him, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar said:

The ill vicissitudes of time cast at the object of their aim,
leaving to the morrow no arrow in the hand for bow to throw;

They cast at my most precious target and killed ʿĀṣim,
a brother; to me a fortress, a shelter, and a refuge.

If grief and flowing tears have dissolved
the fresh blood of my vitals pooled,

36. Following the suggestion of the editor in the apparatus to the Leiden edition. The text reads, "from [his position in charge of] security."

37. There were two convents of that name at Ḥīrah. One was built by Hind bt. al-Nuʿmān b. Mundhir (Dayr Hind al-Ṣughrā), the other by Hind the mother of ʿAmr b. Hind (Dayr Hind al-Kubrā). Both were from the pre-Islamic period. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 707–708.

I've swallowed them, sipping them slowly for ʿĀṣim.
much greater are those he's supped and swallowed.

And would the Dooms had left me ʿĀṣim,
so we might live together, or taken us together!

It is mentioned that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar used to say, "I have heard that ʿAyn b. ʿAyn b. ʿAyn slew Mīm b. Mīm b. Mīm. He had hoped to kill him, but ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAli b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib killed him (Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān)!"[38] [1904]

It is also mentioned that when the followers of ʿUmar fled and got away to Wāsiṭ, they asked him, "What are you staying for, when these people have run away?" He told them, "I'll linger and see!" They stayed a day or two, and saw no one but deserters whose hearts were filled with dread of the Khārijites. At last he ordered the journey to Wāsiṭ. Khālid b. al-Ghuzayyil gathered his followers together and joined Marwān, staying in the Jazīrah. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās al-Kindī saw what had befallen the people, and did not feel that he was safe, so he went over to al-Ḍaḥḥāk, swore allegiance to him and served in his army. Abū ʿAṭāʾ al-Sindī[39] coined these verses, shaming him for following al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who had slain his brother:

Tell ʿUbaydallāh, "If it were Jaʿfar who
had lived, he'd not submit once you were slain.

He'd not have followed the heretics when revenge was due
while in his hand was a sharp and shining blade!

A rabble who killed your brother and called your
father an infidel; what do you say to that?"

When ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās heard this verse of Abū ʿAṭāʾ, he said, "Why, I say, 'God make you bite your mother's clitoris!'" Abū ʿAṭāʾ's verses continue:

May your kinship be disowned by any relative
or one seeking revenge: low lies the lowly.

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38. The literary device using the first initials of a name to predict a future event is characteristic of the apocalyptical traditions. For other examples of these traditions see Lassner, *ʿAbbasid Rule*, 42–43; also Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 87–88 (J.L.)

39. A pro-Umayyad poet from Kūfah. See *EI*[2] s.v. Abū ʿAṭaʾ al-Sindī.

You let the brother of Shaybān plunder his weapons
while a fleet-wheeling horse on a long rein rescued you!

[1905] Ibn 'Umar occupied the residence of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf at Wāsiṭ, it is said, with the Yaman, while al-Naḍr b. Sa'īd and his brother Sulaymān and Ḥanẓalah b. Nubātah with his sons Muḥammad and Nubātah settled with the Muḍar on the right side of the road as you come up from Baṣrah. They abandoned Kūfah and Ḥīrah to al-Ḍaḥḥāk and the Khārijites, and everything there fell into their hands. The war between 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and al-Naḍr b. Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī reverted to its situation before the advent of al-Ḍaḥḥāk, al-Naḍr demanding that Ibn 'Umar deliver the government of Iraq to him according to Marwān's writ and Ibn 'Umar refusing; the Yaman (siding) with Ibn 'Umar and the Nizār with al-Naḍr. This was because the forces *(jund)* of the Yaman were on the side of Yazīd the Deficient[40] in their feud with al-Walīd, after he delivered Khālid al-Qasrī over to Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī who put him to death. The Qays, however, were with Marwān, since he had called for vengeance for al-Walīd. The Qays were the maternal relatives of al-Walīd, by way of Thaqīf, since his mother was Zaynab bt. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, the niece of al-Ḥajjāj. Thus, war resumed between Ibn 'Umar and al-Naḍr.

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk entered Kūfah and stayed there, and he appointed as governor of the city Milhān al-Shaybānī in Sha'bān 127 (May 745). At the head of the Khārijites, al-Ḍaḥḥāk moved swiftly against Wāsit in pursuit of Ibn 'Umar and al-Naḍr, and he camped at the Hippodrome Gate (Bāb al-Miḍmār). When they saw that, Ibn 'Umar and al-Naḍr abstained from fighting each other and united against al-Ḍaḥḥāk, as they had at Kūfah. Al-Naḍr and his officers would cross the bridge and fight al-Ḍaḥḥāk and his followers alongside Ibn 'Umar; then they would return to their own places, and not stay with Ibn 'Umar. They continued in this fashion during the months
[1906] of Sha'bān, Ramaḍān and Shawwāl (May–July 745). One day, they were engaged in combat when the battle grew fierce. At the gate called Bāb al-Quraj, Manṣūr b. Jumhūr charged at one of al-Ḍaḥḥāk's officers, a man of great rank with the Khārijites called 'Ikrimah b. Shaybān, and struck him, cutting him in two and killing him. Al-

40. See n. 5 above.

Ḍaḥḥāk sent one of his officers called Shawwāl—he was from the Banū Shaybān—to the Zāb Gate, saying, "Burn it down over them; the siege has gone on too long for us." Shawwāl set off in the company of al-Khaybarī, also one of the Banū Shaybān, at the head of their horsemen. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAlqamah met them and asked, "Where are you going?" Shawwāl told him, "We're going to the Zāb Gate. The Commander of the Faithful (i.e., al-Ḍaḥḥāk) has ordered me to do this and that." ʿAbd al-Malik then said, "I'm with you," and went back with them, though he was bare-headed and had no breastplate on him. He, too, was an officer of al-Ḍaḥḥāk and a most redoubtable man. They went to the Zāb Gate and set fire to it, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar sent out Manṣūr b. Jumhūr against them with six hundred cavalry of the Kalb. The latter engaged them in fierce combat. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAlqamah attacked them, although he had no armor, and killed a number of them. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr saw this, and ʿAbd al-Malik's prowess enraged him. He therefore charged him and struck him between his shoulder and neck, cutting him to the haunch, and he fell dying. A hardy Khārijite woman then came forward and seizing the bridle of Manṣūr's horse cried, "You sinner! Answer to the Commander of the Faithful!" But he cut off her hand—or, it is also said, he cut the rein of his horse while it was in her hand—and got away. Al-Khaybarī came into the city after Manṣūr, and a paternal cousin of Manṣūr from the Kalb came at him, but al-Khaybarī struck and killed him.

(Ḥabīb b. Khudrah, the mawlā of the Banū Hilāl)[41] claimed that ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAlqamah was a descendant of the kings of Persia, and composed these verses lamenting him:

The woman speaks while tears flow from her eye: [1907]
"may peace be on the soul of Ibn ʿAlqamah!"

Has death overtaken you in mid-career?
each man in his due course finds death.

And so there is no trembling of the hands, nor slowing down of age;
no slackening in the battle, nor weakening with time.

41. This phrase is missing from the Leiden text and is supplied from the Cairo edition.

Being killed for the Khārijites is no disgrace;
but they are slain, and they are noble.

The dregs of mankind have no path to follow;
'tis they who make me mourn, O Ibn ʿAlqamah, the dregs.

Manṣūr then said to Ibn ʿUmar, "I've never seen anyone like these people," meaning the Khārijites. "Why are you fighting them and keeping them too busy to deal with Marwān? Give them your approval, and put them between yourself and Marwān. If you do that, they'll let us alone and go off to [fight] him. Their intensity and courage will be directed against him, and you can remain at rest here in your own place. If they defeat him, you will have gotten what you wanted, and you'll be on good terms with them. If he should defeat them and you want to oppose him and fight him, you'll do battle with him fully rested; his dispute with them will go on a long time, and they'll give him ample trouble." But Ibn ʿUmar said, "Don't rush; let's wait and see!" "What shall we wait for?" Manṣūr asked. "You can't get out with them, and you can't go on. If we went out against them, we could not stand up to them. What can we expect will happen to them? Meanwhile, Marwān is untroubled, because we have absorbed the cutting edge of their power and diverted them from him! As for me, I'm going out and joining them!" He then went out, and, standing opposite their lines, he cried, "I am ready to listen! I want to submit as a Muslim and hear the Word of God!" The informant adds, "This is their trial *[mihnah]*." Then Manṣūr went over to them and gave them his oath of allegiance, saying, "I have become a Muslim." With that, they invited him to the mid-morning meal, and he ate. Then he asked them, "Who was the rider who seized my bridle that day by the Zāb?" meaning the day he slew Ibn ʿAlqamah. They called, "O Umm al-ʿAnbar!" Lo, the most beautiful woman came out to them. She asked him, "Are you Manṣūr?"
[1908] "Yes," he answered. "May God shame your sword wherever you mention it," she told him. "By God, it did nothing, and gave nothing!" She meant by this, why could he not have killed her when she seized his bridle so she would have entered Paradise (as a martyr). Until that moment, Manṣūr had not known that she was a woman. He said, "O Commander of the Faithful, marry her to me!" Al-Ḍaḥḥāk replied, "She has a husband." She was, in fact, the wife of

'Ubaydah b. Sawwār al-Taghlibī.[42] Finally, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar sent out to them at the end of Shawwāl (late April 745) and gave al-Ḍaḥḥāk the oath of allegiance.

In this year, 127 (744–745), Sulaymān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān threw off his allegiance to Marwān b. Muḥammad, and waged open war.[43]

The Revolt of Sulaymān b. Hishām

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ: When Marwān set out from Ruṣāfah to Raqqah to send Ibn Hubayrah to Iraq to fight al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī, Sulaymān b. Hishām requested his permission to stay behind a few days to rest his forces and set his affairs in order. Marwān consented and went his way. About ten thousand men came forward, of those whom Marwān had levied at Dayr Ayyūb to campaign in Iraq. They journeyed with their officers to Ruṣāfah, where they called on Sulaymān to throw off his allegiance to Marwān and fight him. They told him, "You are considered more acceptable than he is by the army of Syria, and more worthy of the Caliphate." On this, Satan caused Sulaymān to err, and he agreed. He went out to them with his brothers, his sons, and his mawlās. He formed his army, and then he marched with all his forces to Qinnasrīn. He wrote letters to the troops of Syria, and they slipped away [1909] to join him from every direction and from the district forces *(jund)*. Then Marwān drew near, having turned back after he had gone above Qarqīsiyyā.[44]

He wrote to Ibn Hubayrah ordering him to secure himself with his troops at Dūrayn until he moved his camp to Wāsiṭ. The mawlās of Sulaymān and the children of Hishām who had been at Hanī[45] gathered together with their families and entered the fortress of al-

42. Al-Taghlibī was one of the leading Khārijites and a member of the electoral council (*shūrā*) that chose al-Ḍaḥḥāk.

43. See Azdī, 51; *FHA*, 158ff; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 405ff.

44. Qarqīsiyyah (ancient Circesium) was situated on the left bank of the Euphrates 200 miles below al-Raqqah. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 105.

45. the Hānī was one of two canals (the other being the Mārī) dug by the Caliph, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. They gave their names to adjacent estates. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 994.

Kāmil, fortifying themselves within and barring the doors against Marwān. He sent to them asking, "What have you done? Have you thrown off obedience and broken your oath of allegiance to me after you gave me solemn pledge and covenants?" They replied to his messengers, "We are with Sulaymān, against all who oppose him." He then told them, "I earnestly warn you and caution you that if you oppose any one of those following me in my army, or let any harm come to him from you, you will bring my punishment upon you. There will be no safety for you from me." They sent word, "We shall desist." And Marwān passed on. Then they took to coming out of their fortress, attacking stragglers and scattered groups of the army who were following Marwān, and stripping them of their horses and weapons. Word of this came to him, and he burned with rage against them. Around seventy thousand men of the Syrian army had gathered around Sulaymān, including the Dhakwāniyyah and other groups, and camped at a village of the Banū Zufar, called Khusāf,[46] in the territory of Qinnasrīn. When Marwān drew near there, Sulaymān sent out al-Saksakī at the head of about seven thousand men, and Marwān sent ʿIsā b. Muslim with about the same number. The two forces met in the area between the two camps and fought a fierce battle. Al-Saksakī and ʿIsā, each one a heroic cavalryman, clashed in battle. They jousted until their lances were broken, then they drew their swords. Al-Saksakī struck the forepart of ʿIsā's horse so its harness fell down to its chest, and the horse went out of
[1910] control. Al-Saksakī cut him off, struck him with his mace, and felled him. He then dismounted and took him prisoner. At this, one of the cavalry of Antioch called Silsāq,[47] an officer of the Slavs (Ṣaqālibah)[48] appeared and captured al-Saksakī. Marwān's vanguard was put to flight, and word of this reached him en route. He kept on, concentrating on his preparations, and did not dismount until he reached Sulaymān. Marwān had set his troops in order and was now ready to fight. Sulaymān did not expect him and was taken by surprise. He and those with him fled. Marwān's horsemen pursued them, killing some and capturing others, until he reached and

46. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 441 lists a Khusāf but makes no mention of this particular village.

47. Silsāq: the initial 'i' is conjectural.

48. The Ṣaqālibah were captives of Slavic origin who were brought to the Islamic lands as slaves. The initial "*i*" in Silsāq is conjectural.

overran their camp. Then Marwān took up his position, and commanded his two sons to take theirs, while Kawthar, the chief of security, was in another place. He then ordered his army to take no prisoners except those who were slaves *(mamlūk)*. The count of the slain on Sulaymān's side that day exceeded thirty thousand. Ibrāhīm the oldest son of Sulaymān was slain, and a maternal uncle of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik called Khālid b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī was brought in. A big and very fleshy man, he was brought up to Marwān with his tongue lolling out. "You profligate!" cried Marwān. "Weren't the wines and slave girls of Madīnah[49] enough to keep you from running out with this excrement to fight against me?" He said, "Commander of the Faithful, he made me do it! I beg you, for God's sake, and that of kinship!" Marwān answered, "So you tell lies, too! How would he have forced you, when you came out with your singing-girls and wineskins and guitars *(barabīṭ)* with you in his camp!" Marwān then killed him. Many of the prisoners from the district forces claimed that they were slaves. He therefore refrained from slaying them and commanded that they be sold with the other slaves, along with the booty taken from their camp.

Sulaymān fled on until he reached Ḥimṣ, where he was joined by those of his supporters who had escaped. He made camp there and rebuilt that part of the city walls which Marwān had ordered torn down. On the day that Sulaymān was routed, Marwān sent ahead officers and guards *(rabiṭah)* with a detachment of cavalry. He ordered them to reach the fortress of al-Kāmil before any news (of the battle) [1911]
arrived, and in his rage against those within (he ordered this detachment) to surround it until he came there. The advance force arrived and set up camp, and Marwān advanced and halted at his camp at Wāsiṭ. He sent a message to the defenders to deliver themselves to his judgment, but they replied, "No, not until you guarantee all of us safety." He took his time with them, and had mangonels set up against them. When the stones began to fall on them, they submitted to his judgment. He made an example of them, mutilating them, but the people of Raqqah transported them, gave them shelter and treated their wounds. Some of them perished, but most of them survived. Their number altogether was around three hundred.

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49. Madīnah was the resort of the idle rich in the Umayyad period and noted for its pleasures; see Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 254–44, or Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 236–37.

Then Marwān set out after Sulaymān and those who had gathered around him at Ḥimṣ. As he drew near, they had a meeting, and some of them said to the others, "How long shall we be forced to run from Marwān? Come, let us make a covenant to seek death, and not disperse once we have seen him until all of us are dead!" Around nine hundred of their cavalry who were prepared to die agreed to this. Sulaymān put Muʿāwiyah al-Saksakī in charge of half his forces, setting Thubayt al-Bahrānī over the other half. They set out against Marwān, having agreed to attack him by night, if they could take him unawares. News of them and their plan reached Marwān, however, and he took precautions. He marched slowly, digging trenches, and staying in defensive battle formation. They were eager to attack him by night but could not, so they prepared for him by setting an ambush among some olive groves above the route he would take, in a village named Tall Mannas of Jabal al-Summāq.[50] They came out against him while he was marching in battle formation, and turned their weapons on those who were with him, so he withdrew and called up his cavalry. Elements of his vanguard, the two wings and the rearguard gathered about him, and they fought
[1912] the enemy from midmorning until after the afternoon prayer. Al-Saksakī[51] encountered one of the riders of the Banū Sulaym, and they clashed. The Sulamī pulled him off his horse, and dismounted to deal with him. He was assisted by a man of the Banū Tamīm, and together they brought him prisoner to where Marwān had stationed himself. He said, "Praise to God who has empowered us over you; you've had too much from us!" Al-Saksakī cried, "Spare me, for I am the best rider among the Arabs!" But Marwān told him, "You lie, for the man who brought you in is a better rider than you are." He gave the order, and he was bound. The number of those bound like him and put to death was six thousand. Thubayt and those who had been put to flight escaped.

When they came to Sulaymān, he put his brother Saʿīd b.

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50. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 871 lists Tall Mannas as a village in the district of Ḥimṣ and as a fortress near Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān. The latter was situated between Ḥimṣ and Ḥalab (Aleppo) and was famous for its olive groves. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 575. The Jabal al-Summāq was a large mountain region with many settlements. It was considered part of the western districts of Ḥalab. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 21.

51. At least two men of the Banū Saksak are identified in the accounts of the times: Muʿāwiyah and Abū ʿIlāqah. The text rarely distinguishes between them. The identity of the individual here cannot be ascertained.

Hishām in charge of the city of Ḥimṣ. Recognizing that there was nothing he could do there, Sulaymān went to Tadmur and stayed there. Marwān encamped against Ḥimṣ and besieged the defenders for ten months. He erected more than eighty mangonels and bombarded them with stones night and day. Throughout this time they made daily sallies and fought him. At times they raided the outskirts of his camp by night, attacking positions where they hoped they would find a breach or a gap in his defenses. When one setback after another had befallen them, they were forced to act humbly. They asked him to guarantee them all safety on condition they deliver to him Sa'īd b. Hishām and his two sons 'Uthmān and Marwān, as well as a man named al-Saksakī,[52] who used to raid Marwān's camp, and an Abyssinian who used to insult and slander him. Marwān consented to these terms. The story of the Abyssinian was that he would climb up on the city wall and fasten to his own penis that of a donkey. Then he would shout, "O Banū Sulaym, you sons of this and that, here is your banner!"[53] and he would revile Marwān. When Marwān got control of him, he handed him over to the Banū Sulaym, who cut off his male organs and his nose and made an example of him. Marwān ordered the man called al-Saksakī killed , and Sa'īd and his two sons tightly secured. Then he began to move against al-Ḍaḥḥāk. [1913]

A source other than Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad gives a different account of what happened to Sulaymān b. Hishām after he was routed at the Battle of Khusāf: When Marwān routed Sulaymān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik on the day of Khusāf, he fled to 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and went with him to al-Ḍaḥḥāk. He gave al-Ḍaḥḥāk his oath of allegiance and informed him of Marwān's transgressions and injustice. Inciting them against him, Sulaymān said, "I'll march with you, with my mawlās and all who follow me." He accompanied al-Ḍaḥḥāk when he moved against Marwān.

Shubayl b. 'Azrah al-Ḍubba'ī says of their pledging allegiance to al-Ḍaḥḥāk:

See ye not that God made His religion prevail,
so Quraysh prayed behind Bakr b. Wā'il?

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52. See n. 51 above.

53. This was an insult to Marwān who was called Marwān "al-Ḥimār," that is, "the ass." The expression "al-Ḥimār" was not intended to denigrate the Caliph's intelligence. On the contrary, it denoted strength and endurance.

Ibn 'Umar and his companions were of one accord in opposing al-Naḍr b. Sa'īd. Thus he he knew that there was nothing he could do with them, so he departed at once to seek Marwān in Syria.

According to Abū 'Ubaydah—Bayhas: By Dhū al-Qa'dah 127 (early August 745), Syria was pacified under Marwān and he had removed all those opposing him. Hence he summoned Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah and sent him as governor to Iraq, adding the troops of the Jazīrah to his command. He advanced until he camped at the Canal of Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik,[54] and Ibn 'Umar sent a message to al-Ḍaḥḥāk informing him of this. Bayhas continues: Al-Ḍaḥḥāk assigned Maysān[55] to us, saying, "That will suffice you until we see what transpires." Ibn 'Umar appointed his mawlā al-Ḥakam b. Nu'mān in charge of it.

As for Abū Mikhnaf—Hishām:[56] 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar made peace
[1914] with al-Ḍaḥḥāk with the understanding that al-Ḍaḥḥāk should retain all of Kūfah and its surrounding lands, while Ibn 'Umar should retain all that he still held of Kaskar, Maysān, Dastmaysān, the districts of the Tigris, Ahwāz and Fārs. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk moved on to encounter Marwān at Kafartūthā in the Jazīrah territory.

Abū 'Ubaydah reported: Al-Ḍaḥḥāk made preparations to go against Marwān, and al-Naḍr passed making for Syria. He camped at Qādisiyyah, and word of it came to Milḥān al-Shaybānī, al-Ḍaḥḥāk's governor of Kūfah. Milḥān came out against al-Naḍr and fought him, although he had with him only a few of the Khārijites. Al-Naḍr gave battle, and Milḥān persisted until al-Naḍr slew him. In a lament for him and 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Alqamah, Ibn Khudrah said:

How many are like Milḥān, Khārijite trusted brother,
and Ibn 'Alqamah, a Khārijite who found martyrdom?

A sincere man to whom I devoted my affection,
who sold my house at highest bargain of any abode;[57]

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54. The canal (*nahr*) named after Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik was situated outside of Raqqah. The reference here is probably to a second Nahr Sa'īd which was in the area of Baṣrah. See n. 54 below and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 840.

55. Maysān was a district between Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 840.

56. Hishām b. 'Ammār al-Dimashqī d. 244–46/858–60. See *Ta'rīkh Dimashq*, I, pp. 581, 586, 587.

57. I.e., exchanged this world for paradise.

Brothers in truth whom I hoped for and forsook;
I complain to God of my desertion and abandonment.

Word reached al-Ḍaḥḥāk of the slaying of Milḥān, so he appointed al-Muthannā b. 'Imrān of the Banū 'A'idah as his governor in Kūfah. Then al-Ḍaḥḥāk marched in Dhū al-Qa'dah 127 (May 745), and took Mosul. Ibn Hubayrah now moved from the Canal of Sa'īd and camped at Ghazzah by 'Ayn al-Tamr.[58] Word of this reached al- [1915]
Muthannā b. 'Imrān al-'Ā'idhī, al-Ḍaḥḥāk's governor in Kūfah, so he marched against Ibn Hubayrah with the Khārijite troops at his disposal. With him was Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, who had gone over to him when he pledged allegiance to al-Ḍaḥḥāk, in opposition to Marwān. The two forces met at Ghazzah and fought a violent battle for several days. Al-Muthannā was slain, as were 'Uzayr and 'Amr, two of al-Ḍaḥḥāk's chieftains, while Manṣūr fled and the Khārijites were routed. Muslim, the chamberlain of Yazīd, said concerning this:

War let al-Muthannā see his death, that day of Ghazzah,
and flung 'Uzayr dead among those boulders,

She brought to 'Amr doom, while already
about Manṣūr were drawn the ropes of the snare.

Ghaylān b. Ḥurayth says in his panegyric of Ibn Hubayrah:

You vanquished on the Day of al-'Ayn those whom you met,
like the victory of a David over a Goliath.

When those slain on the Day of al-'Ayn were slain and Manṣūr b. Jumhūr had fled, he went straight on until he entered Kūfah and gathered together a group of the Yaman faction and the Ṣufriyyah, including those who had dispersed the day Milḥān was slain and those who had held back from following al-Ḍaḥḥāk. Manṣūr gathered all these together and marched with them to camp at Rawḥā',[59] while Ibn Hubayrah advanced with his troops until he encountered them. He fought them for several days and then put

58. 'Ayn al-Tamr is situated between al-Anbār and Kūfah. It commanded the military approaches from the western desert to Iraq and especially Kūfah. See *EI*[2] s.v. 'Ayn al-Tamr. The Ghazzah mentioned here cannot be identified.

59. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 820 lists al-Rawḥā' as a village in the vicinity of Baghdad along the 'Īsā Canal.

them to flight. Al-Birdhāwn b. Marzūq al-Shaybānī was slain, and Manṣūr fled. Concerning this, Ghaylān b. Ḥurayth said:

The day of Rawḥā' al-'Udhayb when they dispatched
Ibn Marzūq, a deadly swift poison.

Ibn Hubayrah advanced until he was settled in Kūfah and drove
[1916] the Khārijites from the city. Word of what had happened to his followers reached al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who sent for 'Ubaydah b. Sawwār al-Taghlibī and sent him against Ibn Hubayrah's forces. Ibn Hubayrah moved from Kūfah, intending to get to Wāsiṭ while 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar was there. He appointed 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Bashīr al-'Ijlī as governor of Kūfah. On the next day 'Ubaydallāh b. Sawwār came up with his cavalry and stationed himself at the Ṣarāt Canal,[60] where he was joined by Manṣūr b. Jumhūr. Word of this reached Ibn Hubayrah and he marched against them. The two forces encountered each other at the Ṣarāt in the year 127 (745).

According to what is mentioned,[61] in this year (the 'Abbāsid *naqībs*) Sulaymān b. Kathīr, Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ, and Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb went to Mecca, where they met with Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad the Imām (of the 'Abbāsid Shī'ah). They informed him that they had with them twenty thousand dīnārs and two hundred thousand dirhams, as well as much musk and other goods. He ordered them to turn it over to Ibn 'Urwah the mawlā of Muḥammad b. 'Alī. This

60. It is not clear from context whether the reference to the Ṣarāt is to the canal that emptied into the Tigris at Baghdad (at this time a village) or to the Shaṭṭ al-Nīl which Ibn Serapion called the "Great Ṣarāt" that linked the Euphrates and Tigris north of the ruins of Babylon. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 72.

61. General surveys of the 'Abbasid Revolution can be found in G. Van Vloten, *De Opkomst der Abbasiden in Khunasan* (Leiden, 1882), *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le chiitisme et les croyances messianiques sous le Khalifat des Omayyades* (Amsterdam, 1890); Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 357–566; R. Frye, "The 'Abbāsid Conspiracy and Modern Revolutionary Theory," *Indo-Iranica*, 5/3 (1952–53): 9–14; C. Cahen, "Pointes de vue sur la revolution 'Abbāside," *Revue Historique*, 230 (1963): 295–338; F. Omar, *The* 'Abbāsid Caliphate *132–70/750–80* (Baghdad, 1969), 57–136; *Al-'Abbāsiyyūn al-awā'il: 132–70/750–86* (Beirut, 1970), v.1; M. Shaban, *The 'Abbāsid Revolution* (Cambridge, 1970); H. Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate* (New York, 1981), 35–45. See also the dissertations of M. Sharon, "'Alīyat ha-'Abbāsīm la-Shiltōn," Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1970 (soon to be published in Hebrew and in an expanded two-volume work in English); and D. Dennet, "Marwān b. Muḥammad; the passing of the Umayyad Caliphate," Harvard University, 1939. (J.L.)

year they had brought Abū Muslim with them, and Ibn Kathīr told Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, "This is your mawlā."

Also this year, Bukayr b. Māhān wrote to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad informing him that he was at death's door, and that he had chosen (Abū Salamah) Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān as his successor and the latter was willing.[62] Ibrāhīm wrote to Abū Salamah instructing him to take command of his followers, and wrote to his people in Khurāsān informing them that he had entrusted Abū Salamah with their affairs. Abū Salamah then went to Khurāsān. The Khurāsānīs approved of him and accepted his leadership, and turned over to him what had been gathered on their behalf as contributions of their Shī'ah, and the fifth part of their wealth. [1917]

'Abd al-Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz led the Pilgrimage this year. He was Marwān's governor for Madīnah, Mecca and Ṭā'if. Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī reported this from someone—Isḥāq b. 'Isā—Abū Ma'shar; al-Wāqidī and others have said the same.

The governor of Iraq in this year was al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥarashī. We have already mentioned what transpired between him and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar and al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Ḥarūrī. In Khurāsān Naṣr b. Sayyār was governor, but there were also those who contended with him for power there, such as Juday' al-Kirmānī (leader of the Yamanīs) and al-Ḥārith b. Surayj (al-Murji'ī).[63]

62. Bukayr was the non-Arab leader of the revolutionary apparatus of the 'Abbāsid Shī'ah in Kufah. Abū Salamah, his son-in-law, had taken his place on a mission to Khurāsān the previous year. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 247–49; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 118 seemingly refers to this event and places it in the lifetime of Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d. 125 or 125 .AH.).

63. Al-Ḥārith is identified elsewhere as a Murji'ī, or member of a sect which left judgment of others to God.

The Events of the Year

128

(October 3, 745–September 21, 746)

Among the events of this year was the slaying of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj in Khurāsān.[64]

The Slaying of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj

We have already mentioned the letter of Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. al-Walīd to al-Ḥārith with a pardon for him, and how al-Ḥārith then left the land of the Turks for Khurāsān and went to Naṣr b. Sayyār. We also mentioned how Naṣr treated him,[65] and how adherents collected around al-Hārith in answer to his call.

According to 'Ali b. Muḥammad (al-Madā'inī)—his shaykhs: When Ibn Hubayrah took control of Iraq, he wrote to Naṣr b. Sayyār of his appointment, and Naṣr gave his allegiance to Marwān. Then al-Ḥārith said, "It was only Yazīd b. al-Walīd who gave me his promise of safety, and Marwān will not confirm a pardon made by Yazīd —I do not trust him."

Naṣr called for the oath of allegiance to Marwān, but Abū al-Salīl reviled Marwān. When he called on al-Ḥārith to give the oath, Salm

64. See Ibn Khayyāt, II, 405.
65. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1887ff, *sub anno* 126.

b. Aḥwaz al-Tamīmī came to him, as well as Khālid b. Huraym, Qaṭan b. Muḥammad, ʿAbbād b. al-Abrad b. Qurrah and Ḥammād b. ʿĀmir. They spoke with him, saying, "Why should Naṣr render his authority and his governorship into the hands of your people? Didn't he bring you out of the land of the Turks, away from the rule of the Khāqān? He delivered you so that your enemies would not take heart against you. But you opposed him; you forsook the rule of your own tribe *[ʿashīrah]* and emboldened their enemy against them. We would remind you of God, lest you scatter our unity *[jamāʿah]*!" Al-Ḥārith replied, "Truly, I see the governorship in the hands of al-Kirmānī, but the rule in the hands of Naṣr." Thus he would not agree with them as they desired. He went out to a walled garden belonging to Ḥamzah b. Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Sulamī, opposite the palace of the Bukhārākhudā,[66] and camped there. He sent a message to Naṣr saying, "Submit the [question of] rule to consultation *[shūrā]*."[67] But Naṣr refused. Then al-Ḥārith came out and went to the dwellings of Yaʿqūb b. Dāwud. He ordered Jahm b. Ṣafwān the mawlā of the Banū Rāsib[68] to read a document describing al-Ḥārith's program *(sīrah)* to the people. At that, they went away exclaiming "Allāhu Akbar!" Al-Ḥārith sent a messenger to Naṣr saying, "Discharge Salm b. Aḥwaz from your security force and employ Bishr b. Bisṭām al-Burjumī." There occurred some words between him and Mughallis b. Ziyād, whereupon the Qays and the Tamīm split into separate factions.[69] At this, Naṣr discharged Salm, but employed Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The two groups then chose some men to nominate for them men mindful of the Book of God. Naṣr chose Muqātil b. Sulaymān and Muqātil b. Ḥayyān, while al-Ḥārith selected al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah al-Jahḍamī and Muʿādh b. Jabalah. Naṣr instructed his secretary to record whatever precedents *(sunan)* were acceptable to [1918]

66. Bukhārākhudā was the title of the native prince of Bukhārā.

67. That is, the ruler would have been chosen by an electoral council (*shūrā*). The decision would thus have been taken out of the hands of Naṣr b. Sayyār and given to a wider community.

68. Jahm b. Ṣafwān was the secretary and advisor of al-Ḥārith as well as the intellectual protagonist of his revolt. His views were obscure, but a sect identified as his followers was later condemned by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal as propagating belief in the created Qur'ān. They also held to an extreme view of predestination. See *EI*[2] s.v. Djahmiyya. The Banū Rāsib were a sub-group of the Azd, a major group of the Yaman in Khurāsān. See *EI*[2] s.v. Azd.

69. Text: *faqarrat*; read *fatafarraqat Qays wa Tamīm* following the Cairo ed.

them[70] and the governors they chose, so that he might appoint them to the two frontier zones, that is, the frontier of Samarqand and that of Ṭukhāristān.[71] He also instructed him to write to those who governed there what they saw fit in the way of programs and
[1919] precedents. At this, Salm b. Aḥwaz asked Naṣr for permission to assassinate al-Ḥārith, but he refused, and appointed in his stead Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣāʾigh, who used to send his son Isḥāq to Marw with turquoises.

Al-Ḥārith had proclaimed that he was "He of the Black Banners."[72] Naṣr sent to him saying, "If you are the one you claim, you will tear down the walls of Damascus and bring the rule of the Banū Umayyah to an end. So take five hundred men from me and two hundred camels, and load up with whatever wealth and weapons you will, and go! By my life, if you are the one you mention, then I am indeed in your hands; but if you are not that one, then you have destroyed your tribe." Al-Ḥārith replied, "I have learned that this [claim] is true, but none of my followers have given me an oath of allegiance on that basis." Naṣr answered, "Then it is clear that they are not of your opinion, and have nothing like your clairvoyance, and that they are sinners and ruffians. I exhort you in God's name for the twenty thousand of the Rabīʿah and the Yaman that shall perish in the conflict between you!" Naṣr also proposed to make al-Ḥārith governor of Transoxiana, and to give him three hundred thousand (pieces of silver), but he did not accept. Then Naṣr told him, "If you wish then begin with al-Kirmānī, and if you kill him, then I will obey you. Or if you wish, stay out of our quarrel, and if I am victorious over him, then do as you see fit. Or if you wish, then

70. Perhaps the precedents of the Prophet and his companions. Al-Ḥārith's movement had called for governing by the book of God and the precedent (*sunnah*) of the Prophet, and Naṣr was trying to conciliate al-Ḥārith and the pietists, who demanded justice for the convert element.

71. These areas had a large Turkish population and many Iranians who had converted to Islam. Ibn Surayj had a large following there.

72. That is, he who leads the revolt against the Umayyad regime and ushers in the messianic age. The movement of Ibn Surayj had many parallels to that of the ʿAbbāsids who were similarly imbued with messianic fervor and saw themselves as restoring the *sunnah* of the Prophet. See Sharon, *ʿAlīyat*, 139ff. On the black flags see Omar, "al-Alwān," *Bulletin of the College of Arts* (Baghdad University, XIV (1571): 828ff.

go with your followers,[73] and once you pass Rayy then I shall do as you say!"

Naṣr and al-Hārith came face to face, and agreed that Muqātil b. Ḥayyān[74] and Jahm b. Ṣafwān should arbitrate their differences. Their judgment was that Naṣr should abdicate, and the government be decided by consultation *(shūrā)*, but Naṣr did not accept it. Jahm kept telling stories in his tent in al-Ḥārith's camp, while al-Ḥārith kept opposing Naṣr. Then Naṣr issued orders to his people of the Banū Salamah and others. He sent Salm into the city to the house of Ibn Sawwār, and gave him command of the guard *(rābiṭah)*. He gave [1920] Hudbah b. ʿĀmir al-Shaʿrāwī some cavalry, and sent him into the city as well. Naṣr appointed ʿAbd al-Salām b. Yazīd b. Ḥayyān al-Sulamī governor of the city, and transferred the weapons and the government registries to the Quhandiz.[75] He suspected that a group of his followers had corresponded with al-Ḥārith. He thus had those whom he suspected, and who had not been put to the test, sit to his left, and he had those whom he had empowered and entrusted sit at his right. He then spoke, and mentioned the Banū Marwān and those who had rebelled against them, and how God had given him victories. Then he said, "I praise God, but I blame those on my left hand. I took over Khurāsān when you, O Yūnus b. ʿAbd Rabbihi, were one of those who wanted to flee from the burden of providing for Marw. You and the people of your family were of those who wanted Asad b. ʿAbdallāh[76] to put his seal on their necks, and make foot-soldiers of them.[77] Yet I befriended you when I became your governor and treated you well. I commanded you to take away what you had received when I wanted to travel to al-Walīd. Some of you

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73. Text: *aṣḥābī* "my followers;" read *aṣḥābuka* "your followers" as in the Cairo ed.

74. Muqātil b. Ḥayyān was the son of the Iranian convert and mediator Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī. For the latter see Ṭabarī, index, 158, and Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, pp. 473, 496, 536.

75. The Quhandiz was the inner citadel at Marw, the size of a small city. It was surrounded by a larger walled urban area beyond which were the suburban districts that stretched along the canals of the oasis. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 358.

76. That is Asad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, the former governor of Khurāsān who favored the Yamani faction and brought Juday' al-Kirmānī in as his lieutenant.

77. Arabs rode to battle. To be made infantry was regarded as degrading. Foot-soldiers were usually non-Arabs.

took a million [pieces of silver], more or less. And then you conspired with al-Ḥārith against me. Why didn't you look at these free men who stuck with me, recipients of bounty, suffering no distress?" Here he indicated those who were on his right hand. At this, those on his left apologized to him, and he accepted their plea.

A number of people came to Naṣr from the districts of Khurāsān when word reached them of the internal strife he was encountering. Among them were 'Āsim b. 'Umayr al-Suraymī, Abū al-Dhayyāl al-Nājī, 'Amr al-Fādusbān[78] al-Sughdī al-Bukhārī and Ḥassān b. Khālid al-Asadī from Ṭukhāristan with their cavalry. They also included 'Āqil b. Ma'qil al-Laythī, Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim and Sa'īd al-Ṣaghīr with more horsemen.

Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj wrote out his program and it was read in the
[1921] great public street of Marw and in the mosques, and many people responded to it.

A man read it out at Naṣr's door in Majān,[79] whereupon Naṣr's slaves beat him. At this, al-Ḥārith broke his compact with Naṣr. Hubayrah b. Sharāḥīl and Yazīd Abū Khālid came and informed Naṣr, and he summoned al-Ḥasan b. Sa'd, the mawlā of Quraysh, ordering him to proclaim, "Al-Ḥārith b. Surayj is the enemy of God. He has broken faith and declared war, so call upon God for aid; there is no might nor power save in God!" That same night he sent 'Āṣim b. 'Umayr to al-Ḥārith, and asked al-Khālid b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, "What shall we employ as our battle cry tomorrow?" Muqātil b. Sulaymān said, "When God sent a prophet and he fought the enemy, his battle cry was '*Hā-Mīm*, they shall not be victorious!'" Thus their battle cry was "*Hā-Mīm*, they shall not be victorious!" The emblem on their lances was wool.[80]

Salm b. Aḥwaz, 'Āṣim b. 'Umayr, Qatan, 'Āqil b. Ma'qil, Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Sa'īd al-Ṣaghīr, 'Āmir b. Mālik, and a number of others were on the edge of the Ṭukhāriyyah quarter, while Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn and the Rabī'ah were in [the quarter of] the Bukhārīs. A man from the city of Marw guided al-Ḥārith to a hole in the wall, and al-Ḥārith went there, breached the wall and entered the city in

78. Text: *al-Qāwusān*; Cairo ed. *al-Fādusbān*.

79. A large western suburb of Marw where the Government Palace [Dār al-Imārah] stood in 'Abbāsid times. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 399.

80. The wearing of wool was a sign of asceticism in early Islam. It appears that Naṣr's forces were countering pietism with pietism.

the area near the Bālīn Gate[81] with fifty men. They cried out "*Yā Manṣūr*! [O divinely aided],"[82] al-Ḥārith's battle cry. They then came to Bāb Nīq, where Jahm b. Mas'ūd al-Nājī fought them. A man charged at Jahm, but he speared him in the mouth, killing him. Then they went out through Bāb Nīq until they came to the pavilion *(qubbah)* of Salm b. Aḥwaz, where 'Iṣmah b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī, Khaḍir b. Khālid and al-Abrad b. Dāwud of the family of al-Abrad b. Qurrah fought them. At the Bālīn Gate was Ḥāzim b. Ḥātim, and they slew all who were guarding it and began to plunder the dwellings of Ibn Aḥwaz and of Qudayd b. Manī', Al-Ḥārith forbade them to take anything except mounts and weapons from these houses or [1922] from the house of Ibrāhīm and 'Īsā, the two sons of 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī. This occurred on Sunday night at the end of Jumādā II [March 14, 746].

A messenger from Salm came to inform Naṣr that al-Ḥārith was nearby, and he sent back the message, "Delay him until morning." Then Muḥammad b. Qaṭan b. 'Imrān al-Asadī also sent word to him that most of his followers had rebelled, and Naṣr replied, "Don't you be the one to begin the fighting." What provoked the conflict was that a slave of al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad the Jurist, a man called 'Aṭiyyah, went over to Salm's followers. At this, the followers of al-Ḥārith said, "Give him back to us." This they refused, and so they started fighting. A slave of 'Āṣim was struck in the eye and died, and 'Āṣim fought them along with 'Aqīl b. Ma'qil and put them to flight. They ran off to al-Ḥārith, who was saying the prayer of daybreak in the mosque of Abū Bakrah, the mawlā of the Banū Tamīm. As soon as he finished the prayer he went up to them, and they went back to the edge of the Ṭukharian quarter. Then two men approached him and 'Āṣim called out to them, "Hamstring his horse!" At this, al-Ḥārith struck one of them with his mace killing him, and retreated to the street of the Ṣughdīs. There he saw A'yan, the mawlā of Ḥayyān, and forbade him to fight, but he fought (nonetheless) and was killed. Al-Ḥārith turned into the street of the Banū 'Iṣmah, and Ḥammād b. 'Āmir al-Ḥimmānī and Muḥammad b. Zur'ah followed

81. The Bālīn Gate was the northwest gate of the inner city. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 399.

82. For messianic titles in late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid times see Lewis, "Regnal Titles" in the *Dr. Zakir Hussain Presentation Volume* (New Delhi, 1968).

him. He broke both their spears, and then charged Marzūq, the mawlā of Salm. As he drew near him, however, al-Ḥārith's horse bolted with him into a shop. He drove his mount into the rear wall, and it was killed.

When Salm awoke in the morning, he rode to Bāb Nīq and ordered the people to dig a trench. They dug it, and he instructed a herald to proclaim, "Whoever brings in [an enemy] head shall have three hundred [silver pieces]." The sun had hardly risen before al-Ḥārith was routed—he had fought them all night long. When we awoke in the
[1923] morning Naṣr's followers took the Razīq Canal.[83] They overtook 'Abdallāh b. Mujjā'ah b. Sa'd, and slew him. Salm went as far as al-Ḥārith's camp and then turned back to Naṣr, who forbade him to advance, but he said, "I'm not stopping until I get into the city and fight that *dabbūsī* [club-wielder]!"[84] Muḥammad b. Qatan and 'Ubaydallāh b. Bassām went with him to the Dar Sankān Gate,[85] which is in the Quhandiz, and found it shut. However, 'Abdallāh b. Mazyad al-Asadī climbed the wall with three men and opened the gate. Ibn Aḥwaz entered, and set Abū al-Muṭahhar Ḥarb b. Sulaymān to guard the gate. That day Salm slew a secretary of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj whose name was Yazīd b. Dāwud. He gave the order to 'Abd Rabbihi b. Sīsan, who killed him. Salm went on to Bāb Nīq and opened it and killed a man from the Butchers' Quarter who had showed al-Ḥārith the hole (in the wall).

Al-Mundhir al-Raqqāshī, the paternal cousin of Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn said, mentioning the fortitude of al-Qāsim al-Shaybānī:

None of you fought the enemy but our comrade,
With a band who fought steadfastly, unafraid;

They fought at the gate of the fortress and weakened not
Till God's help came to them and they conquered.

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83. The Razīq was one of the four main canals which issued from the basin created by damming the Murghāb River. The canals watered the Marw Oasis and then ran into a marsh and were lost in the desert. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 398–99.

84. *Dabbūsī* was a disparaging term. Clubs, which were a favored weapon of the Iranian converts to Islam, may have acquired a symbolic meaning, e.g. schismatics.

85. That is the gate leading to Dar Sankān, a village adjacent to Marw. According to Yāqūt the village was also called Sinjān or Sanjān. See *Mu'jam*, III, 160.

Thus Qāsim following God's command guarded it,
While you confined yourself to withdrawal from that place.

It is said that when the matter of al-Kirmānī and al-Ḥārith grew rough, Naṣr sent a message to al-Kirmānī, who came to him under a truce. Present with them were Muḥammad b. Thābit the Qāḍī, Miqdām b. Nuʿaym the brother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym al- [1924]
Ghāmidī, and Salm b. Aḥwaz. Naṣr called on them to unite, and said to al-Kirmānī, "You will be the happiest of men in that." Then some words occurred between Salm and Miqdām, and Salm spoke rudely to him. Miqdām's brother then took his part, and al-Sughdī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥazmī became angry with them both. Salm said, "I'd like to cut your nose off with a sword." And al-Sughdī told him, "Were you to touch your sword, your hand would not come back to you." At this, al-Kirmānī feared that this was a plot on Naṣr's part, so he rose and clung to Naṣr. He would not sit down, but went back to the door of the *maqṣūrah*.[86] His followers met him with his horse, and he mounted there in the mosque. Naṣr said, "He intended treachery to me." Al-Ḥārith then sent Naṣr the message, "We do not accept you as a leader of prayer." Naṣr replied, "How should you know [of such things]? You dissipated your life in the land of idolatry and raided the Muslims with idolators! Do you think that I would humble myself to you more than I have already done?"

That day Jahm b. Ṣafwān, the leader of the Jahmiyyah[87] was taken prisoner and he told Salm, "I have a promise[88] from your son Ḥārith!" He replied, "He should not have given it, and even if he did, I would not give you protection. Even if you filled this wrapper with stars, and Jesus the son of Mary pronounced you guiltless to me, you would not be delivered! By God, if you were in my belly, I would cut my belly open to kill you! And by God, no one will rise against us with the Yamanīs to an extent greater than you have done!" He then ordered ʿAbd Rabbihi b. Sīsan to kill him, and the people said, "Abū Muḥriz is slain;" for Jahm's patronymic was Abū Muḥriz.

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86. It appears that this meeting was arranged in the *maqṣūrah* of the mosque, the governor's prayer enclosure, so as to afford the participants maximum privacy and protection.

87. See n. 68 above.

88. The text is *walī*; it should be read *walth*, following the Cairo edition.

[1925] Hubayrah b. Sharāḥīl and ʿAbdallāh b. Mujjāʿah were taken prisoner that day, and he (Salm) said, "May God not spare him who spares you, though you are both of Tamīm." It is also said that Hubayrah was killed when the cavalry overtook him at the house of Qudayd b. Manīʿ.

When Naṣr routed al-Ḥārith, the latter sent his son Ḥātim to al-Kirmānī. At this, Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā[89] told al-Kirmānī, "They are both your enemies. Let them fight each other." But al-Kirmānī sent al-Sughdī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥazmī back with him, and al-Sughdī entered the city near the Maykhān Gate.[90] Then al-Ḥārith came, and entered the tent of al-Kirmānī. With al-Kirmānī were Dāwud b. Shuʿayb al-Ḥuddānī and Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā. The time for prayer came, and al-Kirmānī prayed with them.[91] Then al-Ḥārith mounted, and Jamāʿah b. Muḥammad b. ʿAzīz Abū Khalaf went with him. The next day al-Kirmānī went to the gate of Maydān Yazīd, and fought Naṣr's followers. Saʿd b. Salm al-Marāghī was slain, and the banner of ʿUthmān b. al-Kirmānī was captured.

The first to bring the news of al-Ḥārith's rout to al-Kirmānī—he was encamped at Bāb Māsarjasān, one *farsakh* (6 km) from the city—were al-Naḍr b. Ghallāq al-Sughdī and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. al-Munakhkhal. Then came Sawādah b. Surayj[92] (Ḥātim b. al-Ḥārith, and Khālil b. Ghazwān al-ʿAdawī, bringing him the oath of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj).[93] The first to give the oath of allegiance to al-Kirmānī was Yaḥyā b. Nuʿaym b. Hubayrah al-Shaybānī. Then al-Kirmānī sent
[1926] Sawrah b. Muḥammad al-Kindī to al-Ḥārith (at Asmānīr),[94] as well

89. According to Dīnawarī, 352, this man was a chief of the Rabīʿah in Marw who joined al-Kirmānī, while Ṭabarī's accounts seem always to associate him with the Azd. Dīnawarī's extended account (352–62) of the tribal war contains details not found in Ṭabarī, but there is no mention of Ibn Surayj. The account is confined to al-Kirmānī's quarrel with Naṣr b. Sayyār.

90. Both editions read *maykhān*, "tavern;" *mijān* is also possible.

91. This was the forging of a coalition against the Qays. It was, however, an inherently unstable alliance, for while al-Ḥārith had a following of converts and tribesmen of the Yaman, he and his core following were from the Tamīm. Some of the Tamīm, such as Salm b. Ahwāz, supported Naṣr b. Sayyār. The Tamīm were the natural allies of the Qays.

92. The brother of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj.

93. This phrase is missing from the text and is supplied from the Cairo edition.

94. The text records that a word is missing. The reading is supplied by the Cairo edition. There is no entry for Asmānīr in Yāqūt.

as al-Sughdī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Ṭuʿmah, and Saʿb or Suʿayb, and Ṣabbāḥ. They entered the city from Bāb Maykhān until they came to Bāb Rakak. Then al-Kirmānī advanced to the gate of Ḥarb b. ʿĀmir and sent his followers against Naṣr on Wednesday. They exchanged volleys, but abstained from further combat, and there was no fighting on Thursday. Then they encountered each other on Friday, and the Azd fled back to al-Kirmānī. He took their standard in his hand and fought with it. Al-Khaḍir b. Tamīm charged (Naṣr's men) wearing a coat of mail, and they shot arrows at him. Then Ḥubaysh, a mawlā of Naṣr, dashed at him, and wounded him in the throat. Al-Khaḍir tore the spearhead from his throat with his left hand and his horse set off with him. He charged Ḥubaysh, speared him and threw him off his horse, and al-Kirmānī's foot-soldiers finished him off with clubs.

Naṣr's followers fled, and al-Kirmānī's men captured eighty of their horses. Tamīm b. Naṣr was thrown, and two mounts of his were taken; al-Sughdī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān took one of them, and al-Khaḍir took the other. Al-Khaḍir encountered Salm b. Aḥwaz, took a mace from his nephew and clubbed Salm, and wrested him off his horse. Two men of Tamīm charged Salm, but he got away, and threw himself from the bridge. He had sustained some ten blows on his iron helmet, and he collapsed. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaddād carried him to Naṣr's camp, and the forces withdrew. A few nights later, Naṣr came out of Marw, and ʿIṣmah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Asadī was slain. He was defending Naṣr's men, and Ṣāliḥ b. al-Qaʿqāʿ al-Azdī overtook him. ʿIṣmah called, "Come on, Mazūnī!"[95] And Ṣāliḥ replied, "Hold tight, eunuch!" For ʿIṣmah was childless. ʿIṣmah turned his horse and it reared, whereupon he fell. Then Ṣāliḥ speared him and killed him. Ibn al-Daylīmarī,[96] a *rajaz* poet, fought and was slain [1927]
at ʿIṣmah's side. ʿUbaydallāh b. Ḥawtamah al-Sulamī was slain; Marwān al-Bahrānī hurled an iron bar at him, and he was killed. They brought his head to al-Kirmānī, and he recoiled, for ʿUbaydallāh had been a friend of his. A Yamanī man seized the reins of Muslim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim's horse, but he recognized him, so he let him go. They fought each other for three days and on

95. This was an insult reserved for the Azd (Mazūn was once a Persian name for ʿUmān). The Azd regarded it as an ethnic sneer. See *Lisān al-ʿArab*, XVII, 294 and n. 103.

96. Vocalization conjectural.

the last day the Muḍar put the Yaman to flight. Then al-Khalīl b. Ghazwān called, "O men of Rabiʿah and Yaman, al-Ḥārith has entered the bazaar; Ibn al-Aqṭaʿ [Naṣr] is slain; Muḍar's strength has been broken!" The first who fled was Ibrāhīm b. Bassām al-Laythī. Tamīm, Naṣr's son, dismounted to fight on foot, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jāmiʿ al-Kindī took his horse. Hayyāj al-Kalbī was slain, and Laqīt b. Akhḍar was killed by a slave of Hāniʾ al-Bazzār.

It is said that when Friday came, they prepared for battle and tore down (part of) the walls in order to give themselves more space. Al-Naṣr sent Muḥammad b. Qaṭan to al-Kirmānī with the message, "You are not like this club-wielder; fear God, and do not enter civil war *[fitnah]*." Tamīm b. Naṣr sent his armed retinue (Shākirīyyah),[97] who were within the house of Janūb bt. al-Qaʿqāʿ, but the followers of al-Kirmānī shot at them from the roofs and were wary of them. Then ʿAqīl b. Maʿqil said to Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, "Why are we killing ourselves for Naṣr and al-Kirmānī? Come, let us return to our own country in Ṭukhāristān!" However, Muḥammad replied, "Naṣr did not keep faith with us, and we shall not stop fighting him."

The partisans of al-Ḥārith and al-Kirmānī used to shoot at Naṣr and his followers with a ballista. Naṣr's awning was struck while he was under it, but he did not move from it. Then he sent Salm b. Aḥwaz against them, and he engaged them in battle. At first, the victory went to Naṣr, but when al-Kirmānī saw that, he took his banner from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmayrah and fought
[1928] with it until he broke it. Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā then set out with al-Zāgh and Ḥiṭṭān for Kārābakul,[98] so that they emerged on the Razīq Canal where Tamīm b. Naṣr held the bridge. When he came up to Tamīm, Muḥammad told him, "Stand aside, boy!" Muḥammad was carrying a yellow banner while al-Zāgh accompanied him. They unhorsed Aʿyan the mawlā and chief clerk of Naṣr and slew him, along with a number of his Shākiriyyah. Al-Khaḍir b. Tamīm attacked Salm b. Aḥwaz and speared him, but he deflected the blow. Then al-Khaḍir struck him on the chest with an iron bar,

97. Shākiriyyah are frequently mentioned in Arabic sources of the early period. Their precise composition and function however remains unknown.

98. Reading conjectural. Al-Zagh and Ḥittān seem to be non-Arab names, and Kārābakul a place.

and again on his shoulder. He struck him a third time on his head, and Salm fell down. Naṣr defended his followers with eight hundred men, and kept the enemy from entering the market.

When the Yaman had put the Muḍar to flight, al-Ḥārith sent Naṣr the message, "The Yaman blame me for your getting away, and I am refraining from fighting. Now set the staunchest of your followers in front of al-Kirmānī." At this, Naṣr sent Yazīd al-Naḥawī or Khālid[99] to him to ascertain from him that he would keep his word to refrain from fighting. It is said that al-Ḥārith only desisted from fighting Naṣr so that 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl al-Azdī and the people of his house, and 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Adawī and Khālid b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ḥabīb al-'Adawī and most of his followers might be avenged on al-Kirmānī for what he did to the people of Tabūshkān.[100] That was when Asad had sent al-Kirmānī against them, and they came out to submit themselves to Asad's judgment. However, he slit open the bellies of fifty men and threw them into the Oxus, and cut off the hands and feet of three hundred of them. He crucified three men and sold their households to the highest bidder. They were thus taking revenge on al-Ḥārith for helping al-Kirmānī and fighting Naṣr.

When matters changed between him and al-Ḥārith, Naṣr said to his followers, "Muḍar will not unite in support of me as long as al- [1929]
Ḥārith is with al-Kirmānī. They cannot agree on anything; the best idea is to leave them both, since they are quarreling." He then went out to Julfar[101] where he found 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Aḥwal al-'Adawī and 'Umar b. Abī al-Haytham al-Ṣughdī, and asked them, "Are you pleased to stand with al-Kirmānī?" 'Abd al-Jabbār told him, "May you never lack for affliction so long as you occupy this place!" When Naṣr came back to Marw, he ordered that 'Abd al-Jabbār be given four hundred lashes.

Naṣr now went to Kharaq[102] and stayed there for four days. With him were Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim, Salm b. Aḥwaz and Sinān al-A'rābī. Naṣr told his wives, "Al-Ḥārith will take my place,

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99. The text has "and Khālid," but the Cairo edition says it should read "or Khālid."

100. Tabūshkān was a fortress in upper Tukharistān where in 117 (January 31, 735—January 20, 736), Asad b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī had al-Kirmānī massacre the relatives of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1589 *sub anno* 118.

101. Julfar (also Julfār) was one of the villages of Marw. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 104.

102. Yāqūt lists Kharaq as a village in the Marw oasis. See *Mu'jam*, II, 445.

and will protect you." When he drew near to Naysābūr the people sent messengers asking, "What has brought you? Has some tribal quarrel flared up which God had extinguished?" Naṣr's governor at Naysābūr was Ḍirār b. ʿĪsā al-ʿAmirī, and Naṣr sent him Sinān al-Aʿrābī, Muslim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Salm b. Aḥwaz, who spoke to the Naysābūrīs. Then they came out, and met Naṣr with a princely retinue, slave-girls, and gifts. At this, Salm told him, "God make me your ransom! This tribe is of Qays, and Qays was only remonstrating." Naṣr replied:

> I am the son of Khindif; its tribe increases me
> In good deeds, and my paternal uncle is Qays ʿAylān!

When Naṣr departed from Marw, Yūnus b. ʿAbd Rabbihi, Muḥammad b. Qaṭan and Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān accompanied him, with others who were their peers.

The source says that ʿAbbād b. ʿUmar al-Azdī, ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm b. Saʿīd al-ʿAwdhī and Abū Jaʿfar ʿĪsā b. Jurz came to Naṣr at
[1930] Abrashahr[103] from Mecca, and Naṣr told ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm al-ʿAwdhī, "Do you not see what the foolish men of your folk have done?" He replied, "Say rather the foolish men of your own folk. Their rule was prolonged in your governorship, and you rendered the government to your own people, excluding Rabīʿah and Yaman, so that they became insolent. There are forbearing people and foolish ones in both the Rabīʿah and Yaman, and the foolish ones prevailed over the wise." ʿAbbād said, "Do you receive the Amīr with such words?" But Naṣr told him, "Let him alone; he's spoken the truth." Then Abū Jaʿfar ʿĪsā b. Jurz—a man who came from a village on the river of Marw—said, "O Amīr, you have merit *[ḥasab]* in these matters and in your governorship, for truly a momentous matter is at hand. A man of obscure origins will rise and display black colors, and call men to a revolution *[dawlah]*[104] which is to come. He will take the authority, and you shall see it and be shaken." However, Naṣr said, "I do not think that will be, because of the lack of agreement among the people, their rancor and their mutual enmity. I sent an emissary

103. In early Islamic time Naysābūr (Nishāpūr) was known as Abrashahr. See Le-Strange, *Lands*, 383.

104. For the term *dawlah*, see *EI*[2] s.v. Dawla. The man of unknown origins is a reference to Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī, and the aim of the account is to score a propaganda point for the ʿAbbāsids.

to al-Ḥārith when he was in the land of the Turks and offered him a governorship and money, yet he refused and stirred up mischief, and rose up against me." Then Abū Jaʿfar ʿĪsā said, "Al-Ḥārith is already slain and crucified, and al-Kirmānī is not far from that fate." Naṣr bestowed gifts on ʿĪsā for this. Salm b. Aḥwaz used to say, "I never saw a folk more generous in response or more giving of their blood than the Qays."

When Naṣr departed from Marw, al-Kirmānī gained the upper hand there, and told al-Ḥārith, "I want only the Book of God." (Later) Qaḥṭabah said, "If he'd been telling the truth, I would have reinforced him with a thousand horsemen."[105]

Muqātil b. Ḥayyān asked, "Is it in the Book of God to tear down houses and seize wealth?" And al-Kirmānī confined him in a tent in the camp. Then Muʿammar b. Muqātil b. Ḥayyān, or Muʿammar b. Ḥayyān, spoke to al-Kirmānī, and he let Muqātil go. Later al-Kirmānī went to the mosque, and al-Ḥārith stood by. Al-Kirmānī addressed the people and gave all of them a guarantee of safety, except Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr and one other man. Dāwud b. Abī Dāwud [1931]
b. Yaʿqūb then asked him for surety for Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr. The secretary came in and gave Muḥammad a guarantee. Al-Ḥārith went to the Gate of Dūrān and Sarakhs,[106] while al-Kirmānī camped in Muṣallā Asad. He sent for al-Ḥārith, who came before him and denied that he had destroyed people's homes and taken their possessions. Al-Kirmānī pondered but did nothing, and he remained for several days. Then Bishr b. Jurmūz al-Ḍabbī rebelled at Kharqān,[107] summoning men to the Quarʾān and the *sunnah*. He told al-Ḥārith, "I only fought beside you seeking justice, but since you have been with al-Kirmānī I have realized that you only fight so that it will be said 'al-Ḥārith has won.' These people are [only] fighting out of tribalism, so I'm not fighting on your side." He then with-

105. The reference here is to Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb, the great ʿAbbāsid general who did much to defeat the Umayyads (see *EI*[2] s.v. Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb). This interjected tradition supports the "message" that the ʿAbbāsids alone were able and willing to support the Book of God, and so fulfill the apocalyptic traditions.

106. That is, the main gate of Marw, Bāb al-Madīnah, to the southwest. See Le-Strange, *Lands*, 399.

107. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 424–25 lists several places under Kharaqān, Kharqān and Kharraqān, but none seems to be the place mentioned here. He also mentions a Kharqān Canal in the vicinity of Marw (I, 66), which is mentioned later in Ṭabarī's narrative. There is also the possibility that Kharaq was intended. See n. 102 above.

drew *(i'tazal)*[108] at the head of fifty-five hundred men—some say with only four thousand—and said, "We are the just detachment; we summon [people] to the truth, and we fight none but those who fight us." Al-Ḥārith came to the Mosque of 'Iyāḍ, and sent to al-Kirmānī calling upon him to let the government be decided by consultation, but al-Kirmānī refused. Al-Ḥārith sent his son Muḥammad, and he moved his household[109] from the house of Tamīm b. Naṣr. At this, Naṣr wrote to his own tribe and the Muḍar, "Stay with al-Ḥārith as good advisers." So they came to him, and al-Ḥārith told them, "You are the root and branch of the Arabs, but you are about to be routed, so come out to me with your households." They replied, "We never agree on anything without encountering it."

One of the administrative assistants in al-Kirmānī's camp was Muqātil b. Sulaymān. A man of the Bukhārīs came to him and said, "Give me the payment for the mangonels I set up." He told him, "Establish the proof that you set them up for the sake of the Muslims." At this, Shaybah b. Shaykh al-Azdī testified for him. A draft on the treasury was then written for the man at Muqātil's behest.

[1932] The followers of al-Ḥārith wrote to al-Kirmānī, "We advise you to fear God and to obey Him, to follow the path of imāms of guidance and to forbid of your blood what God has forbidden. If God joins us together, it will be for al-Ḥārith's earnest desire for a relationship with God and his sincere advice to His servants. We have exposed ourselves to war, our blood to spilling, and our property to destruction. All that is little to us, beside the reward we hope for from God. We are all brothers in religion, and helpers against the enemy. So fear God and return to the truth, for truly we desire not the spilling of blood unless it be lawful."

They remained for several days, and then al-Ḥārith b. Surayj came and bored a hole in the wall, near Nawbān at the house of Hishām b. Abī Haytham. At this, cautious people parted company with al-

108. Bishr b. Jurmūz had fought with the Murji'ites of Jahm b. Safwān earlier. Some of the early Mu'tazilah were accused of following the teachings of Jahm later on. The Mu'tazilah, whose political program was "an upright Imām," took their name from a ḥadīth which orders withdrawal from factions when the Imāmate is in doubt. The expression *i'tazala*, "he withdrew," is at least suggestive of possible connections between the followers of Jahm b. Ṣafwān and the Mu'tazilah.

109. The text is *naqalahu*, "he moved him;" it should be read *ḥawala thaqalahu*, "he moved his household," as in the Cairo edition.

Ḥārith, saying, "You have acted treacherously." Al-Qāṣim al-Shaybānī and Rabīʿ al-Taymī remained in one group, while al-Kirmānī came into the city from the Sarakhs Gate. Al-Ḥārith opposed them. Al-Munakhkhal b. ʿAmr al-Azdī passed by, whereupon al-Samaydaʿ, one of the Banū al-ʿAdawiyyah, slew him, crying out, "Now for the avengers of Laqīṭ!" Thereupon the two sides fought one another. Al-Kirmānī put Dāwud b. Shuʿayb and his brothers Khālid, Mazyad and Muhallab on his right wing, and Sawrah b. Muḥammad b. ʿAzīz al-Kindī on his left, leading the Kindah and the Rabīʿah. The fighting grew fierce and al-Ḥārith's followers were put to flight and slain in the area between the breach in the wall and al-Ḥārith's camp. Al-Ḥārith, who was on a mule, got off it and mounted a horse. He struck it, and it sped off as his followers fled. He stayed with some of his followers, and was slain at a tree. His brother Sawādah, Bishr b. Jurmūz and Qaṭan b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAjrad were also killed. Then al-Kirmānī stopped the fight. A hundred men were slain along with al-Ḥārith, and so were a hundred of al-Kirmānī's followers. Al-Ḥārith's headless body was crucified at the city of Marw. Hid death came thirty days after Naṣr's departure [1933]
from Marw, the last Sunday of Rajab (April 25, 746).

It was said that al-Ḥārith was killed in this manner under an olive or sorb tree in the year 128 (745–746). Al-Kirmānī found sheets of gold belonging to al-Ḥārith, which he seized. He put al-Ḥārith's concubine *(umm walad)* in confinement; then he let her go—she had once belonged to Ḥājib b. ʿAmr b. Salamah b. Sakan b. Jawn b. Dabīb. He also seized the property of those who departed with Naṣr, and he took his choice of the furnishings of ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmayr. Ibrāhīm[110] asked him, "By what right do you acquire his property?" At this, Ṣāliḥ of the family of al-Waḍḍāḥ said, "Pour out his blood for me!" But Muqātil b. Sulaymān stepped between them and brought him to his house.

According to ʿAlī (al-Madāʾinī)—Zuhayr b. al-Hunayd: Al-Kirmānī went out to Bishr b. Jurmūz and camped outside the city of Marw. Bishr had four thousand men, and al-Ḥārith camped with al-Kirmānī. Al-Kirmānī stayed thus for some days, at a distance of two *farsakh*s (12 km) from Bishr's camp. Then he advanced until he was close to it, intending to do battle with Bishr. He told al-Ḥārith,

110. Perhaps Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sulamī, mentioned above.

"Move up." But al-Ḥārith regretted having followed al-Kirmānī and said, "Don't be in a hurry to fight them; I'll get them back for you." He left the camp with ten horsemen and rode until they came to Bishr's camp in the village of Darzījān and stayed with them, saying, "I was not one to fight against you with the Yamanīs!" Then the Muḍar began to steal away from the camp of al-Kirmānī to al-Ḥārith until none of the Muḍar remained with al-Kirmānī except two men: Salamah b. Abī ʿAbdallāh the mawlā of the Banū Sulaym, who said, [1934] "By God, I shall never follow al-Ḥārith, for I know that he is a deceiver;" and Muhallab b. Iyās, who said, "I will not follow him, for I have never seen him except leading cavalry which has been repulsed."

Then al-Kirmānī engaged them repeatedly. They would fight each other, and then go back behind their trenches. One time the advantage would be with one side, and another time with the other. On one such day they met in battle when Marthad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mujāshiʿī had been drinking. He went out drunk on a horse belonging to al-Ḥārith. He was hit with a lance and thrown from his mount. Some horsemen of the Banū Tamīm protected him until he was safe, but the horse ran away. When he came back, al-Ḥārith blamed him, and said, "You almost killed yourself." He told al-Ḥārith, "You only say that because of your horse; may his wife be divorced if I don't bring you a livelier [horse than yours from their camp!" The next day they fought again, and Marthad said,][111] "Who has the liveliest horse in their camp?" They told him, "ʿAbdallāh b. Daysam al-ʿAnazī," and pointed to where he stood. Marthad fought until he reached him, and then struck him. Ibn Daysam threw himself from his horse, and Marthad hooked the reins of the horse on his lance and led it until he came to al-Ḥārith. Then he said, "Take this in place of your horse." Mukhallad b. al-Ḥasan encountered Marthad later, and said in jest, "How fine the horse of Ibn Daysam is under you!" At this, he dismounted and said, "Take it!" He replied, "You want to disgrace me! You took it from us in war, and shall I take it in peace?"

They remained thus for some days. Then al-Ḥārith moved off by night and came to the walls of Marw and bored an opening and entered within the walls. Then al-Kirmānī entered, and al-Ḥārith

111. The text lacks the bracketed words, which are supplied by the Cairo edition.

moved off. At this the Muḍar told al-Ḥārith, "We left the trenches when the day was ours, and you've run away more than once, so dismount and fight on foot!" He told them, "I'm more good to you as a horseman than as a foot-soldier." However, they said, "We will not be satisfied unless you dismount." He thus dismounted to fight between the wall of Marw and the city. Al-Ḥārith was killed along with his brother and Bishr b. Jurmūz and a number of cavalry from the Tamīm, while the rest were put to flight. Al-Ḥārith was crucified, and Marw was given over to the Yaman, who tore down the houses of the Muḍar. [1935]

When al-Ḥārith was slain, Naṣr b. Sayyār composed these verses:

Now, bringer of humiliation upon his folk,
may removal and distance be yours in death!

Your evil fortune made all Muḍar to fall,
and diminished the reputation of your people.

Azd and its partisans were not wont [before you]
to hope to overcome ʿAmr or Mālik

Nor the Banū Saʿd, when they bridled
each swift horse deadly black in color!

It is also said that Naṣr addressed these verses to ʿUthmān b. Ṣadaqah al-Māzinī. Umm Kathīr al-Ḍabbiyyah said:

May God not bless any female, but torment her
to the end of time, if she marries a Muḍarī!

Convey to the men of Tamīm the word of a woman distressed,
whom you lodged in the house of humiliation and poverty!

If you return not to the battle after your wheeling,
until you make the men of Azd retreat in a victory,

I am ashamed for you that you give your obedience
to this Mazūnī who mulcts you by oppression.

ʿAbbād b. al-Ḥārith said:

Now, O Naṣr, the hidden is revealed,
though hope and expectation were protracted.

The Mazūn have exercised in the Land of Marw
the office of the governor, decreeing as they will.

Their ruling is held lawful in every judgment
against Muḍar, though the ruling is unjust

While Ḥimyar[112] sit in their assemblies,
and blood is pouring from their [Muḍar's] necks.

If Muḍar is content with that and is abased,
then may their abjection and distress be long!

And if they turned from that 'twere well; if not,
[1936] then let destruction fall upon their armies!

He also recited:

Well then, O you man whom
emotions have split asunder,

Wake up! and leave aside the thing
you sought, and we also sought for.

For there have occurred in our presence
matters of strange condition.

I beheld the Azd become mighty
in Marw, while the Arabs were humiliated,[113]

And brass became current when that
happened, while gold became a trifle.

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112. The Banū Ḥimyar were a kingly Yamanī tribe. Here apparently all Yaman tribes are meant.

113. The Azd were taunted with being fisherfolk of 'Umān, and no true Arabs. See *EI*[2] s.v. Azd.

Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm, addressing ʿAlī and ʿUthmān the sons of al-Kirmānī:

I travel intending with my poem of praise
two brothers whose qualities excel those of all men,

Outracing noble stallions, never lacking forage,
while the guest, the stranger, never lacks their cheer.

Ascendant and yet racing for the height,
their tribe lives under their protection.

I mean that ʿAlī and his chief helper
ʿUthmān; never was humiliated one who followed them,

Still racing that they may overtake their father,
like stallions from afar who near the goal.

And if they did attain it, 'tis partly due to noble sire,
that they race up the slope to catch up to a father.

And if he should outrun them, many times
he ran surpassing them and others too.

Indeed I shall praise them for what my eyes
have seen, though I've not numbered all their qualities.

They are two pious men, to whom all are directed;
both bearers of their tribe's burden, perfect men;

They removed from the haughtiness of kingly state
a Naṣr, who found humiliation in opposing them;

They drove Ibn Aqṭaʿ [Naṣr] away after slaying his defenders;
divided are his spoils among their horsemen.

Also al-Ḥārith b. Surayj, when they aimed at him
so that their swords took turns in striking his head.

They took the best part of their father in his prime
[1937] so that their folk are mighty, and those who follow them.

In this year Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (the 'Abbāsid) sent Abū Muslim to Khurāsān, and wrote his followers there, "I have given him my command, so listen to him and accept his words, for I have given him command over Khurāsān and whatever he may gain control over beyond it."[114] Abū Muslim came to them, but they did not accept his words. Those who were opposed went and met in Mecca in the presence of Ibrāhīm. Abū Muslim informed Ibrāhīm that they had not acted in accord with his letter and command, and Ibrāhīm said, "I have offered this authority to more than one, and they have refused it." This was because, before he sent Abū Muslim, he had offered it to Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzā'ī, who said, "I shall never take on two functions." Then he offered it to Ibrāhīm b. Salamah, and he refused. He now informed them that he had decided on Abū Muslim, and commanded them to hear and to obey. Then he said to Abū Muslim, "'Abd al-Raḥmān,[115] you are one of us, people of the House, so learn my instructions well. Look to this tribe of Yaman; honor them and settle among them, for truly God will not complete this matter without them. Look to this tribe of Rabī'ah, and be suspicious of all they do. Look to this tribe of Muḍar; they are indeed the enemy close to the House, so slay anyone of whom you are in doubt, or in whose actions there is ambiguity, or anyone of whom you come to feel any suspicion. If you can not leave one Arab tongue in Khurāsān,[116] then do it; any boy who has attained five handspans height, whom you suspect, slay! But do not quarrel with the shaykh, that is, Sulaymān b. Kathīr, and do not disobey him. If any matter gives you difficulty then go to him rather than to me."

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114. For Abū Muslim's mission to Khurāsān see *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 267ff; *FHA*, 164ff; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 155ff; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, IV, 478ff; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 120ff; Azdī, 65; Dīnawarī, 360.

115. One of several proper names attributed to him. The most detailed treatment of his origins is found in the *Akhbar al-Dawlah*, 253ff.

116. Given the instruction to court one group of Arabs and known 'Abbāsid practice, this is a very problematic statement. (On it, see Sharon, *'Alīyat*, 156-J.L.) The need to rely on the Yaman and Rabī'ah vis-a-vis the Muḍar is found in various traditions. See for example Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 154; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, IV, 477.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad who reported it from Abū Mikhnaf, in this year al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Khārijī was killed. [1938]

The Death of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays the Khārijite

When al-Ḍaḥḥāk was besieging ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz at Wāsiṭ and Manṣūr b. Jumhūr gave him the oath of allegiance, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar saw that he could not withstand al-Ḍaḥḥāk. He therefore sent him a message, "Your stand against me is worth nothing. Here is Marwān, so march against him. If you do battle with him I shall be with you." He became reconciled with him, as we have mentioned in the conflicting accounts of this event. Hishām reported from Abū Mikhnaf that al-Ḍaḥḥāk set out from Ibn ʿUmar to engage Marwān at Kafartūtha in the territory of the Jazīrah, and was slain the day the armies met.

According to Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ—Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm: ʿAṭiyyah al-Thaʿlabī[117] slew Milḥān, al-Ḍaḥḥāk's follower and governor for Kūfah, at the Bridge of Saylaḥūn. News of Milḥān's slaying reached al-Ḍaḥḥāk while he was besieging ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar at Wāsiṭ, and al-Ḍaḥḥāk sent as replacement one of his followers called Muṭāʿin. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar and al-Ḍaḥḥāk made peace on the condition that Ibn ʿUmar enter into obedience to al-Ḍaḥḥāk. Ibn ʿUmar did this, and prayed behind him. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk went off to Kūfah, and Ibn ʿUmar stayed with his followers at Wāsiṭ. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk entered Kūfah, and the inhabitants of Mosul wrote to him inviting him to come there, whereupon they would give him control of their city. After twenty months he marched with all his troops to Mosul. Ruling there at that time was Marwān's governor, a man of the Banū Shaybān of the Jazīrah called al-Qaṭirān b. Akmah. The people of Mosul [1939]
opened the city for al-Ḍaḥḥāk, and al-Qaṭirān fought them with a small number of his tribe and the people of his house to the last man. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk thus took possession of Mosul and its districts.

Word of this reached Marwān while he was besieging Ḥimṣ and

117. The text is al-Taghlibī; it should be read al-Thaʿlabī as in the Cairo edition. This is supported by *FHA*, 164, and is more probable, since many of the Taghlib were fighting for the Khārijites.

preoccupied in fighting its inhabitants. He wrote to his son ʿAbdallāh, who was his viceregent for the Jazīrah, ordering him to march with those of his guard *(rawābiṭ)* whom he had with him to the city of Naṣībīn[118] in order to prevent al-Ḍaḥḥāk from cutting the Jazīrah in half. ʿAbdallāh set out for Naṣībīn with all of his guard, about seven or eight thousand men, leaving as his deputy at Ḥarrān an officer with one thousand men or thereabouts. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk, too, marched from Mosul toward ʿAbdallāh at Naṣībīn. ʿAbdallāh fought him but could do nothing against the great number of troops who were with al-Ḍaḥḥāk.These were, according to the accounts which have reached us, one hundred and twenty thousand. He paid monthly stipends of one hundred and twenty dirhams to a cavalryman, one hundred to a footsoldier, and eighty to a mule driver.

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk stayed at Naṣībīn besieging it, and he sent two of his officers, named ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bishr al-Taghlibī and Badr al-Dhakwānī the mawlā of Sulaymān b. Hishām, with four or five thousand men and they came to Raqqah. Marwān's cavalry there, about five hundred horsemen, fought them. As soon as word reached Marwān of their presence at Raqqah, he sent cavalry from his guard. As they neared the city, al-Ḍaḥḥāk's followers began leaving to go back to him. Marwān's cavalry pursued them, and more than thirty of the men in their rearguard were unhorsed. Marwān had them cut in pieces when he came to Raqqah. He went on, intent on battle against al-Ḍaḥḥāk and his forces, until they encountered each other at a place called Ghazz[119] in the territory of Kafartūtha. They
[1940] fought a battle that same day. When it was evening, al-Ḍaḥḥāk and almost six thousand of his most steadfast followers dismounted to fight on foot, though the people of his camp for the most part did not know what had become of him. Marwān's cavalry surrounded them and pressed them hard until they killed them around nightfall. The remainder of al-Ḍaḥḥāk's followers went back to their camp, and neither Marwān nor al-Ḍaḥḥāk's followers knew that he was among the slain until they missed him in the middle of the night. Some of those who had seen him when he dismounted to fight on foot came and told them of it and that he was killed. They wept for him and be-

118. One of the most important towns in upper Mesopotamia on the reaches of the Hirmās, a tributary of the Tigris. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 94, 95.

119. The vocalization is conjectural. This place is not listed by Yāqūt.

wailed his death. 'Abd al-Malik b. Bishr al-Taghlibī, the officer he had sent against Raqqah, went out to Marwān's camp, and entering Marwān's presence informed him that al-Ḍaḥḥāk had been killed. Marwān sent men from his guard with him carrying firebrands and candles to the site of the battle. They turned over the slain until they found al-Ḍaḥḥāk and carried him to Marwān. There were more than twenty cuts on his face. The people of Marwān's camp shouted "God is Great!" Then those in al-Ḍaḥḥāk's camp realized that they had learned of his death. Marwān sent his head that night to the cities of the Jazīrah, where it was paraded about.

Some say that al-Khaybarī and al-Ḍaḥḥāk were only killed in the year 129 (746–47).

According to Hishām who heard it from Abū Mikhnaf, in this year al-Khaybarī the Khārijite was slain.[120]

The Slaying of al-Khaybarī and Shaybān's Succession

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ: When al-Ḍaḥḥāk was slain, the people in his camp arose at daybreak and gave their oath of allegiance to al-Khaybarī. They remained there that day and went to him the morning of the next day. They lined up before him and he put their ranks in order. Sulaymān b. Hishām was there that day with his mawlās and the people of his house; he had come to al- [1941]
Ḍaḥḥāk at Naṣībīn with more than three thousand of the people of his house and his mawlās. Sulaymān also married the sister of Shaybān al-Ḥarūrī, the man to whom they gave the oath of allegiance after the slaying of al-Khaybarī. Al-Khaybarī attacked Marwān with about four hundred Khārijite riders, and routed Marwān's men, and him in the midst of them. Marwān fled his encampment, and al-Khaybarī entered it with his followers. They shouted their battle cry, "O Khaybarī, Khaybarī!" They also killed all those whom they overtook, until they came to Marwān's tent. They cut its ropes, and al-Khaybarī sat upon Marwān's own carpet. Marwān's right wing, commanded by his son 'Abdallāh, had held its ground, and his left wing commanded by Isḥaq b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī was still firm. When the people of Marwān's camp saw how few were accompa-

120. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, I, 400ff; Azdī, 71ff; *FHA*, 159ff.

nying al-Khaybarī, some slaves from the camp assaulted him with tentpoles and slew him and all of his companions at Marwān's tent and in the area around it. The news reached Marwān when he had fled five or six miles *(mīl)* from the camp. At this he returned to his camp, ordered his cavalry back from their places and stations, and spent that night in his camp. The people of al-Khaybarī's army went back and elected Shaybān as their ruler and gave him the oath of allegiance. After this, Marwān fought them only with cavalry squadrons *(karādīs)*,[121] and he gave up using battle lines from that day forward. On the day al-Khaybarī was slain Marwān had sent Muḥammad b. Saʿīd, one of his trusted men and secretaries, to al-Khaybarī (with a message). However, word reached Marwān that this man had incited the enemy and encouraged them at that time. He was brought to Marwān as a prisoner, and Marwān cut off one of his hands and a foot and then cut out his tongue.

Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah is Sent to Iraq

In this year Marwān sent Yazīd b. ʿUmar Hubayrah to Iraq to fight the Khārijites who were still there.

[1942] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz led the Pilgrimage at Mecca in this year; that is what Abū Maʿshar (al-Sindī) said, according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—from one who mentioned it—Isḥāq b. ʿIsā—Abū Maʿshar. Al-Wāqidī and others say the same.

Al-Wāqidī reported: Marwān conquered Ḥimṣ and tore down its walls, and took Nuʿaym b. Thābit al-Judhāmī captive and slew him in Shawwāl 128 (June 26–July 24, 746). We have mentioned those who differ with him on this earlier.

The governor of Madīnah, Mecca and Ṭāʾif, according to what is mentioned for this year, was ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. In Iraq were the governors of al-Ḍaḥḥāk and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar. In charge of the judiciary of Baṣrah was Thumāmah b. ʿAbdallāh. Naṣr b. Sayyār was (governor) in Khurāsān, which was torn by civil war.

121. Marwān is generally credited with having replaced the battle lines (*ṣufūf*) with more mobile cavalry squadrons (*karādīs*).

This year Abū Ḥamzah the Khārijite met ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq, who summoned him to his way of religion *(madhhab)*.[122]

According to ʿAbbās b. ʿĪsā al-ʿUqaylī—Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Farwī[123]—Mūsā b. Kathīr the mawlā of the Sāʿidīs: The beginning of the affair of Abū Ḥamzah who was al-Mukhtār b. ʿAwf al-Azdī al-Salīmī from Baṣrah is as follows. He would go each year to Mecca calling on people to oppose Marwān b. Muḥammad and the Marwānids. He continued to oppose them until ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā came at the end of 128 (August–September 746) and told him, "O Man, listen to a good word. I see that you summon people to what is just, so come with me. I am a man obeyed among my people." [1943] ʿAbdallāh then left Mecca and came to Ḥaḍramawt, where Abū Ḥamzah swore allegiance to him as Caliph and preached opposition to Marwān and to the Marwānid house. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan reported that Abū Ḥamzah passed by Maʿdin Banī Sulaym,[124] where the governor was Kathīr b. ʿAbdallāh. He heard some of Abū Ḥamzah's talk, and ordered that he be given seventy lashes. Abū Ḥamzah went on his way to Mecca. Later when he conquered Madīnah, Kathīr hid himself until matters had run their course.

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122. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, I, 406ff, *sub anno* 129; Aghānī, XX, 97–99; Azdī, 77, 101; *FHA*, 168ff. ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī was known as the "Seeker of Justice" (Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq). A devout qāḍī for the governor of Ḥaḍramawt, he had been contacted by the leadership of Ibāḍī Khārijites in Baṣrah. They sent agents such as Abū Ḥamzah to him in order to initiate an Ibāḍī revolt in Ḥaḍramawt and the Yaman. See *EI*[2] s.v. Ibaḍiyya.

123. The text is Ghazawī; it should be read Farwī, following the Cairo edition.

124. Maʿdin Banī Sulaym was a populated oasis in the district of Madīnah on the road to Najd. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 572, and III, 565–66, s.v. Farān.

The Events of The Year 129

(SEPTEMBER 22, 746–SEPTEMBER 10, 747)

One of the events of this year was the death of Shaybān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Yashkurī, known as Abū al-Dalfāʾ.[125]

The Death of Shaybān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz the Khārijite

When al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī the leader of the Khārijites was slain, and al-Khaybarī after him, those Khārijites who were opposing Marwān b. Muḥammad and making war on him chose Shaybān as their leader and gave him the oath of allegiance. Marwān then fought them.

Hishām b. Muḥammad and al-Haytham b. ʿAdī reported: When al-Khaybarī was slain, Sulaymān b. Hishām who was in their camp told the Khārijites, "What you are doing is not a good idea. If you accept my advice, fine. If you won't, then I'm leaving you." They asked, "What should we do?" He told them, "If one of you wins a victory, he then tries to get himself killed, and succeeds. I think we should leave here in a defensive posture so that we may set up camp at Mosul and entrench ourselves." They did this, and Marwān pursued them. The Khārijites were on the east bank of the Tigris and

125. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, I, 409; *FHA*, 165–66; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 405.

Marwān was directly opposite them. They then fought each other for nine months. 'Umar b. Hubayrah was at Qarqīsiyyah with a large [1944] body of troops, men of Syria and of the Jazīrah. Marwān now ordered him to go to Kūfah, which was then governed by al-Muthannā b. 'Imrān, a client *('ā'idh)* of Quraysh and a Khārijite.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad: Marwān b. Muḥammad used to fight the Khārijites with the battle line *(ṣaff)*; but when al-Khaybarī was killed and Shaybān received the oath of allegiance, Marwān fought them with cavalry squadrons, and discontinued the battle line from that time forward. The Khārijites also began to form squadrons like those of Marwān with which to protect themselves against his squadrons and to fight them. Many of those who followed them for pay now separated from them and deserted,[126] so there now remained around forty thousand. Sulaymān b. Hishām advised them to retreat to the city of Mosul and make it a place in which they could find refuge and ample supplies. They accepted his advice, and set off by night. Marwān woke the next day and set off after them. They would hardly leave a place before Marwān would alight there. They went on to the city of Mosul and camped on the banks of the Tigris, entrenched their position, and fastened pontoon bridges between their camp and the city, which was their source of provisions and facilities. Marwān dug his trench opposite them, and remained six months sallying forth against them morning and evening.

A son of Sulaymān b. Hishām's brother was brought to Marwān. He was called Umayyah b. Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām, and had been with his uncle in the camp of Shaybān at Mosul. He went out to fight one of Marwān's horsemen in single combat, and the man captured him and brought him in. He told Marwān, "I implore you, for God and kinship's sake, uncle!" But Marwān replied, "There is no kinship between me and you this day." He gave the order and, while

126. The small dedicated core of the Khārijites were mostly from the Bakr and Rabī'ah tribes of the Jazīrah. They had been joined by some former followers of Sulaymān b. Hishām and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar. These followers were drawn from the Yaman. The Khārijites had thus apparently become a large scale movement. They were the proponents of the equality of all Muslims regardless of genealogy. Marwān's support came from the Qays of the Jazīrah.

Umayyah's uncle Sulaymān and his brothers looked on, first his hands and then his head were cut off.

[1945] Marwān wrote to Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah commanding him to march from Qarqīsiyyah with all his troops against 'Ubaydah b. Sawwār, al-Ḍaḥḥāk's deputy in Iraq. He encountered 'Ubaydah's cavalry at 'Ayn Tamr, engaged them, and routed them. Commanding them at that time were al-Muthannā b. 'Imrān, of the clients of Quraysh, and al-Ḥasan b. Yazīd. They then regrouped against him at Nukhaylah[127] by Kūfah, and he put them to flight. Then they gathered at the Ṣarāt Canal, and this time 'Ubaydah was with them. Ibn Hubayrah fought them, and 'Ubaydah was slain. His followers fled, and Ibn Hubayrah plundered their camp. Now they had no one remaining in Iraq, and Ibn Hubayrah took control of the province. Marwān wrote to him from the trenches at Mosul, commanding him to send 'Āmir b. Ḍubārah al-Murrī to reinforce him, and he sent him with about six or eight thousand men. Word of this reached Shaybān and the Khārijites so they sent two officers at the head of four thousand men against Ibn Ḍubārah. These men were named Ibn Ghawth and al-Jawn. They encountered Ibn Ḍubārah at Sinn[128] outside Mosul, and engaged him in fierce combat, but Ibn Ḍubārah put them to flight. When the defeated Khārijites came back to them, Sulaymān b. Hishām advised them to move from Mosul, telling them that they would have no place to stand if Ibn Ḍubārah came upon them from the rear while Marwān mounted a frontal attack. At this, they moved on, and took the road to Ahwāz and Fārs by way of Ḥulwān.[129] Marwān sent three of his officers with about thirty thousand of his guard *(rawābiṭ)* to Ibn Ḍubārah. The officers were Muṣ'ab b. al-Ṣaḥsaḥ al-Asadī, Shaqīq, and 'Uṭayf al-Sulamī).[130] Shaqīq was the one of whom the Khārijites said:

Both your sisters know, O Shaqīq,
that you do not recover from your drunkenness.

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127. The scene of a serious battle against the Khārijites in the time of Mu'āwiyah I. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 771.

128. For Sinn, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 91.

129. Ḥulwān was on the border between Jibāl and Iraq. It was situated along the great road leading to Khurāsān. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 191.

130. The *nisbah* of al-Sulaymānī is furnished by the Cairo edition.

Marwān wrote to Ibn Ḍubārah to pursue the Khārijites and not to stop until he had annihilated them. Therefore he did not cease pursuing them until they reached and then left Fārs. During all this time he picked off any of their stragglers whom he encountered. [1946] Then they scattered. Shaybān led one group to Baḥrayn and was slain there, and Sulaymān b. Hishām with his mawlās and family embarked on ships for Sind. Marwān returned to his residence in Ḥarrān and stayed there until he set out for the Zāb.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad, Abū Mikhnaf stated: Marwān ordered Yazīd b. Hubayrah, who was at Qarqīsiyyah with many troops from the armies of Syria and the Jazīrah, to march against Kūfah. At that time Kūfah was governed by a Khārijite called al-Muthannā b. 'Imrān al-'Ā'idhī, one of the 'A'idhat Quraysh. Ibn Hubayrah marched along the Euphrates until he came to 'Ayn Tamr; then he moved on and met al-Muthannā at Rawḥā'. He came to Kūfah in Ramaḍān 129 (May 17–June 14, 747), routed the Khārijites and entered the city. Ibn Hubayrah then went to the Ṣarāt Canal, while Shaybān sent 'Ubaydah b. Sawwār at the head of many cavalry. He camped on the east bank of the Ṣarāt, while Ibn Hubayrah was on the west side. They joined battle, and 'Ubaydah was slain along with a number of his followers. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr was with them at the events on the Ṣarāt, and he went on from there to gain control of the two Māhs[131] and all the mountain region. Ibn Hubayrah marched now on Wāsiṭ, seized Ibn 'Umar and confined him. He sent Nubātah b. Ḥanẓalah against Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb who was ruling the districts of Ahwāz. Sulaymān sent Dāwud b. Ḥātim with a force to fight Nubātah, and they encountered each other at Muriyān[132] on the banks of the Kārūn. These people were put to flight, and Dāwud b. Ḥātim was slain. Concerning this, Khalaf b. Khalīfah said:

131. Dīnawar was called Māh al-Kūfah while Nihāwānd was known as Māh al-Baṣrah, because their tax revenues went to the two garrison towns of Iraq in early Islamic times. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 189, 196–97.

132. The vocalization of Muriyān is uncertain. Perhaps this is a variant of, or an error for, Mūriyān, a village in Khūzistān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 679. For the Dujayl or the Kārūn which flows in the Ahwāz district of Khūzistān, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 232–36; 245–47.

Would that I'd been a ransom and protection to Dāwud,
when the army surrendered the son of Ḥātim!

He was a Muhallabī, shining of face,
never regretting the favors he'd done.

I asked "Who will let me know the thing as it was
[1947] truly [for the ignorant is not like the knowing]."[133]

They said, "We beheld him on an outcrop,
attacking like a fierce lion;

Then he doubled over, falling in blood
that flowed over his smooth body,

And the Copts[134] came up [to stand] over his head,
quarrelling over his sword and his ring."

Sulaymān went on until he caught up with Ibn Muʿāwiyah al-Jaʿfarī[135] in Fārs, while Ibn Hubayrah stayed where he was for a month; then he sent ʿĀmir b. Ḍubārah with Syrian troops to Mosul. ʿĀmir marched until he reached Sinn, where al-Jawn b. Kilāb al-Khārijī encountered him. He put ʿĀmir b. Ḍubārah to flight, driving him into Sinn, where he fortified himself. Marwān began to send Ibn Ḍubārah reinforcements. They took the overland route until they came to the Tigris, and then crossed over to him. This continued until their number was great. At the same time, Manṣūr b. Jumhūr was supplying Shaybān with money from the mountain districts. When the troops who followed Ibn Ḍubārah became numerous, he struck out against al-Jawn b. Kilāb, and al-Jawn was slain. Ibn Ḍubārah

133. This lacuna in the text is filled by the Cairo edition.

134. The text is *al-qibṭ*. It seems very unlikely that Egyptian Christians were in Ibn Hubayrah's army. Probably this should be read *al-qabṭ*, "the group," but the text has been followed in translation.

135. That is ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar, the great-grandson of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's brother. ʿAbdallāh revolted in Kūfah in 127. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1879–87; Ibn Khayyāṭ, I, 394–95; Azdī, 66; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 44ff. See also Sharon, *ʿAlīyat*, 194–201; *EI*[2] s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya. Regarding the incidents recorded here see Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 409; *FHA*, 162–63; Masʿūdī, 67ff, 169; Azdī, 107 *sub anno* 129; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 251. Check also the index to the Aghānī for numerous references to him.

then continued on to Mosul. When news of al-Jawn's death and Ibn Ḍubārah's approach came to Shaybān, he did not care to stay between the two (Umayyad) armies, so he withdrew with his own troops and the Yamanī cavalry from Syria. Ibn Ḍubārah proceeded with his men to join Marwān at Mosul. Marwān supplied him with many of his own troops, and commanded him to go against Shaybān. If Shaybān maintained his position, he should do likewise; if he marched, he should march too. He should not initiate a struggle, but if Shaybān attacked him he should fight back. If Shaybān refrained, he should refrain as well, and if Shaybān withdrew, he should follow him. So it was, until Shaybān moved through the mountains and came to Bayḍā' of Iṣṭakhr,[136] where 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah was with a great body of troops. Matters between him and Ibn Mu'āwiyah had not been settled, so he continued until Jīraft in Kirmān,[137] where he halted. Ibn Ḍubārah advanced until he was opposite Ibn [1948]
Mu'āwiyah and halted for several days. Then he set about attacking him, and Ibn Mu'āwiyah ran away, escaping to Harāt. Ibn Ḍubārah and his troops went on and encountered Shaybān at Jīraft in Kirmān. They fought a violent battle, the Khārijites were put to flight, and their camp was put to auction. Shaybān went on to Sijistān, where he perished in the year 130 (747–748).

Abū 'Ubaydah reported: When al-Khaybarī was slain, Shaybān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Yashkurī took command of the Khārijites and made war on Marwān. Their war went on for a long time, but meanwhile at Wāsiṭ Ibn Hubayrah had killed 'Ubaydah b. Sawwār and driven out the Khārijites. He had with him the chief officers of the armies of Syria and the Jazīrah, and he sent 'Āmir b. Ḍubārah with four thousand men to reinforce Marwān. He took the route of Madā'in,[138] and Shaybān learned of his progress. Fearing that Marwān would join forces with Ibn Ḍubārah's men, he sent al-Jawn b. Kilāb al-Shaybānī to engage Ibn Ḍubārah. They encountered each other at Sinn, and al-Jawn detained 'Āmir for several days.

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136. Bayḍā' was the "White City" of Fārs where Arab armies had camped when invading the country. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 791–94. Iṣṭakhr was Persepolis.

137. For Jīraft, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 314. The Shaybān mentioned here may actually be Shaybān b. Salamah. See n. 158.

138. Madā'in, meaning, "the cities," had a legendary history of settlement by conquerors. The Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon had been situated in this area. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 33–35.

According to Abū ʿUbaydah—Abū Saʿīd: We covered them, by God, and forced them to fight us. They were already afraid of us and wanted to run away, but we left them no way out. Then ʿĀmir told them, "You're dead men; there's no avoiding that, so die with honor." They hit us with a charge nothing would have stood against, and killed our leader, al-Jawn b. Kilāb. We retreated until we joined up with Shaybān, but Ibn Ḍubārah was following right behind us, until he halted a short way from our camp. We were fighting on two sides: Ibn Ḍubārah would come down on us from behind, on the Iraq side, and Marwān was in front in the direction of Syria. We were cut off from provisions and supplies, and the prices went high. A round of bread went for a silver piece; then the bread was gone, and nothing could be bought dear or cheap. Ḥabīb b. Khuḍrah[139] told Shay-
[1949] bān, "Commander of the Faithful, you're in a tight place for subsistence. If only you would move to some other place!" He did, and went to Shahrazūr in the territory of Mosul, but his followers blamed him for it, and there were arguments about it."

One source says that when Shaybān took command of the Khārijites, [he went back with his followers to Mosul],[140] and Marwān followed him, halting when he halted. [Marwān fought him for a month, then][141] Shaybān fled until he came to Fārs. Marwān sent ʿĀmir b. Ḍubārah after him [and Shaybān crossed over][142] to the island of Ibn Kāwān [or Kishm][143] and kept on going until he came to ʿUmān, where Julandā b. Masʿūd b. Jayfar b. Julandā al-Azdī killed him.[144]

In the year 129 (746–747), Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās commanded Abū Muslim, who had set forth from Khurāsān to visit him and had reached as far as Qūmis, to go

139. The text is Ibn Jadarah. The Cairo edition has Ibn Khudrah (vocalization uncertain), mentioned above as Ḥabīb b. Khudrah, mawlā of the Banū Ḥilāl, a Khārijite poet.

140. The text is marked by three lacunae. The phrases are supplied from the Cairo edition.

141. See n. 140.

142. See n. 140.

143. This island is known under many names. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 261.

144. The Banū Julandā were the hereditary Azdī princes of ʿUmān. Ironically, Ibn Julandā was also a Khārijite imām. He later fought the ʿAbbāsids as an Ibāḍī. See *EI*[2] s.v. Ibāḍiyya; *D*julandā.

back to the 'Abbāsid Shī'ah in Khurāsān and order them to openly proclaim the revolution and put on the black color.[145]

Abū Muslim Preaches the 'Abbāsid Revolution in Khurāsān

'Alī b. Muḥammad reported the following from his shaykhs: Abū Muslim kept making visits to Khurāsān, until finally the tribal feuds broke out there. Then when the local authority began to unravel, Sulaymān b. Kathīr wrote to Abū Salamah al-Khallāl requesting him to write to Ibrāhīm and ask him to send a man of the people of his House. Abū Salamah thus wrote to Ibrāhīm, and he sent Abū Muslim.[146] In the year 129 (746–747), Ibrāhīm wrote to Abū Muslim asking him to come to him so that he might obtain a report from him. Abū Muslim left halfway through Jumādā II (early March 747) [1950] with seventy of the 'Abbāsid agents (*nuqabā'*).[147] When they had come as far as Dandānqān in Khurāsān,[148] Kāmil—or Abū Ḳamil—stopped him and asked where they were going. "On pilgrimage," they said. Then Abū Muslim took him aside and summoned him to their cause. He responded favorably and let them alone. Abū Muslim continued on to Abīward and stayed there some days, and then proceeded to Nasā,[149] where 'Āṣim b. Qays al-Sulamī was the governor for Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī. As he drew near, he sent al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī with a message to Asīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Khuzā'ī[150] to inform him that he was coming.

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145. See n. 72 above.

146. See Sharon, *'Alīyat*, 127–38. The *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 271ff, is particularly rich in its treatment of Abū Muslim's relations with Sulaymān b. Kathīr. See also Ṭabarī, II/3, 1960ff. [J.L.]

147. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 290ff; *FHA*, 176ff. The agents designated as *naqībs* were divided into two groups, a council of twelve which retained primary control, chosen exclusively from agents in Marw, the major revolutionary station in Khurāsān; the individuals were part of a larger group of seventy that included operatives from various regional centers. For details see Sharon, *'Alīyat*, 105–17. [J.L.]

148. Dandānqān was a town southwest of Marw on the road to Sarakhs. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 400.

149. Abīward or Bīward is on the edge of the Marw desert west of Dandānqān off the main road to Sarakhs. Nasā or Nisā is in a fertile valley west of Abīward. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 394. The 'Abbāsids had *naqībs* in these towns. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 218–19. The text gives a full listing of the 'Abbāsid agents.

150. Al-Ṭūsī was a *naqīb* from Abīward and Asīd al-Khuzā'ī was the agent from Nasā. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 218–19.

Al-Faḍl went on and stopped at a village of Nasā where he met a man from the Shīʿah who knew him. He asked for Asīd, but the man rebuffed him. Then al-Faḍl said, "O ʿAbdallāh, what is wrong in my asking where is the man's house?" The man replied, "There has been evil in this village. Two men were brought before the governor and slandered. It was said that they were propagandists. They were taken, and al-Aḥjam b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khuzāʿī, Ghaylān b. Faḍālah, Ghālib b. Saʿīd and al-Muhājir b. ʿUthmān were taken too."[151] At this, al-Faḍl went back to Abū Muslim and informed him. He left the road and took another through the villages lower down, and sent Ṭarkhān al-Jammāl to Asīd saying, "Ask him to come to me with as many of the (ʿAbbāsid) Shīʿah as he can, and beware of speaking to anyone you do not know." Ṭarkhān went to Asīd and invited him, and he told him where Abū Muslim was staying. At this, Asīd came to him, and Abū Muslim asked him what had happened. He replied, "Yes, it is true; al-Azhar b. Shuʿayb and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Saʿd came with letters from the Imām for you. They left the letters with me
[1951] and started back, and they were taken;[152] I do not know who betrayed them. The governor sent them to ʿĀṣim b. Qays, and he had al-Muhājir b. ʿUthmān and other leading men of the Shīʿah beaten." "Where are the letters?" Abū Muslim asked. "At my house," Asīd said. "Bring them to me," said Abū Muslim, (so he brought him the letters and he read them).[153]

Then he went on to Qūmis,[154] which was governed by Bayhas b. Budayl al-ʿIjlī, and Bayhas came to them and said, "Where are you going?" "On pilgrimage," they said. "Do you have a good horse you

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151. Al-Aḥjam and Ghaylān b. Faḍālah were *naqībs*. Al-Muhājir was a lesser functionary, belonging to a group known as the Propagandists of the Propagandists (*duʿāt al-duʿāt*). They seem to have been substitutes for a larger group of seventy known as the *duʿāt*. The *duʿāt* were undoubtedly subordinate to the *naqībs*. Ghālib b. Saʿīd (or Saʿd) was an ʿAbbāsid agent whose function cannot be determined. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 218–19, 222, 291. The account would seem to indicate that the authorities were extremely anxious at this time. This would explain the circuitous routes followed by Abū Muslim and his associates. [J.L.]

152. Al-Azhar b. Shuʿayb was a native of Marw who traveled with Bukayr b. Māhān in the eastern provinces soliciting support and monies for the revolutionary movement. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 223–24. It would appear from this text that he then served as a carrier from the Imām to the revolutionary centers in Khurāsān. [J.L.]

153. These words are missing in the text and are supplied by the Cairo edition.

154. That is to say the small province (or the capital of the province) adjacent to Khurāsān. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 364ff.

would sell?" he asked. "As for selling, no," said Abū Muslim, "but take any of our animals you wish." "Show them to me," he said. They showed them, and he admired a light bay horse. Abū Muslim then said, "It is yours." To this he replied, "No, I'll not accept it without a price." "You be the judge of its worth," Abū Muslim said. "Seven hundred [dirhams]," he said. "It is yours," said Abū Muslim. While Abū Muslim was in Qūmis a letter came from the Imām, and another for Sulaymān b. Kathīr. The one to Abū Muslim said, "I have sent you a flag of victory. Return from wherever my letter finds you, and send me Qaḥṭabah with whatever you have to deliver to me during the Pilgrimage Season." At this, Abū Muslim returned to Khurāsān, and sent Qaḥṭabah to the Imām. When they were in Nasā, the leader of an armed party confronted them in a village, and said, "Who are you?" "We intended to make the Pilgrimage," they said, "and we heard something about the road which frightened us." He brought them to ʿĀṣim b. Qays al-Sulamī who questioned them. They gave him the same answer, and he said, ("Be off." And he ordered)[155] al-Mufaḍḍal b. Sharqī al-Sulamī, who was in charge of security, to expel them from the area. Then Abū Muslim took this man aside and revealed their business to him. He responded favorably and said, "Go at your ease, and do not hurry." He remained with them until they left.

Abū Muslim came to Marw on the first day of Ramaḍān (May 16, 747), and handed the Imām's letter to Sulaymān b. Kathīr. The letter stated, "Proclaim your summons without delay; the time has come." They showed high esteem to Abū Muslim, and said, "He's a man of the People of the House *[ahl al-bayt]*."[156] They called on people to obey the Banū ʿAbbās, and sent to their partisans whether near or far, commanding them to reveal what was happening, and calling on them for support. Abū Muslim settled in one of the vil- [1952]

155. These words are missing in the text and are supplied by the Cairo edition.

156. *Ahl al-bayt* in pre-Islamic times meant the immediate family of a tribal leader. The term appears twice in the Qur'ān, once in a context which allows one to suppose that the family of the Prophet is indicated (33,33). The Shīʿah of ʿAlī have usually interpreted this through a tradition, the *ḥadīth al-kisā'*, which limits it to the family of ʿAlī. The Shīʿah of the ʿAbbāsids used another, the *ḥadīth al-thaqalayn*, whereby "people of the house" is extended to include the family of ʿAbbās, of ʿAlī, and of his two brothers ʿAqīl and Jaʿfar, as well as their mawlās. In still another *ḥadīth*, Salmān al-Fārisī, a mawlā of the Prophet, is declared to be of the *ahl al-bayt*. See *EI*² s.v. Ahl al-bayt.

lages of the (Arab tribe of) Khuzā'ah called Safīdhanj.[157] At this time Shaybān[158] and al-Kirmāni were fighting Naṣr b. Sayyār together, so Abū Muslim circulated his summons to people, and his affair became manifest. The people said, "A man has come from the Banū Hāshim." They came to him from all directions. On the day of 'Id al-Fiṭr (ca. June 15, 747), he appeared at the village of Khālid b. Ibrāhīm.[159] Qāsim b. Mujāshi' al-Mara'ī led the people in prayer. Then Abū Muslim moved and settled at the village of Alīn, also called Allīn,[160] belonging to the Khuzā'ah. In one day, the people of sixty villages joined him, and he stayed there forty-two days. Abū Muslim's first victory[161] was at the hands of Mūsā b. Ka'b al-Tamīmī at Abīward while he was occupied with the killing of 'Āṣim
[1953] b. Qays. Then victory came at Marwarrūdh.[162]

According to Abū al-Khaṭṭāb : Abū Muslim returned to the territory of Marw from Qūmis, having first sent Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb (al-Ṭā'ī) with the money and other things he had with him for the Imām Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad.[163] He arrived on Tuesday, the ninth of Sha'bān 129 (April 27, 747), and settled in a village called Fanīn with Abū al-Ḥakam 'Isā b. A'yan the *naqīb*.[164] This was the village of Abū Dāwud the *naqīb*. From there he sent Abū Dāwud, accompanied by 'Amr b. A'yan to Ṭukhāristān and the areas this side of

157. Safīdhanj, following the text. The reading is problematic. Note the variants in the apparatus. The Khuzā'ah's origins were disputed, but they were frequently reckoned an offshoot of the Azd. See *EI*[2] s.v. Khuzā'a.

158. Not to be confused with Shaybān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Yashkurī who is mentioned above, this is Shaybān b. Salamah al-Ḥarūrī. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 395, 490, 498, 529, 537.

159. This is Abū Dāwud Khālid b. Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī al-Bakrī, one of the 'Abbāsid *naqībs*; see *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 216. The village is later identified as Fanīn. See n. 164 below.

160. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 375 lists Allīn as a village in Marw. There is no entry for Ālīn or Bālīn. Note Ṭabarī, II/3, 1969, which gives a reading of Ālīn for Abū Muslim's headquarters and 1965, which gives Bālīn. LeStrange, *Lands*, 399 refers to a Bālīn Gate in Marw.

161. Details of Abū Muslim's initial campaign are found in the *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 299ff.

162. Not to be confused with Marw, Marwarrūdh was situated about 160 miles from the former. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 404.

163. The revolutionaries transferred large sums of money and valuables to the Imām during their periodic visits with him.

164. A report that Abū Muslim stayed at the house of 'Isā b. A'yan occurs in the entry on Fanīn in Yāqūt. He indicates that Fanīn was one of the villages of Marw. See *Mu'jam*, III, 921.

Balkh, to proclaim publicly the call (to revolution) during the month of Ramaḍān 129 (May 16–June 14, 747). He also sent al-Naḍr b. Ṣubayḥ al-Tamīmī with Sharīk b. Ghaḍī al-Tamīmī[165] to Marwarrūdh to proclaim the propaganda during Ramaḍān, and he sent Abū 'Āṣim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym[166] to Ṭālaqān. He sent Abū al-Jahm b. 'Aṭiyyah to 'Alā' b. Ḥurayth[167] in Khwārizm to proclaim the call publicly on the twenty-fourth of Ramaḍān (June 8, 747). If their enemy should move against them before the appointed time, exposing them to injury and suffering, he permitted them to defend themselves and to bare their swords, unsheathing them in struggle against the enemies of God. Those whom the enemy distracted from rising at the appointed time would suffer no harm if they did it at a later time.

Then Abū Muslim moved from the house of Abū al-Ḥakam 'Īsā b. A'yan and stayed with Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzā'ī in his village, called Safīdhanj in the quarter *(rab')* of Kharqān, on the second night of Ramaḍān (May 17, 747). On Wednesday night, the twenty-fifth of [1954]
Ramaḍān (June 9, 747), he unfurled the banner, sent to him by the Imām and called "The Shadow," on a lance fourteen cubits high, and he fastened the flag, sent by the Imām and called "The Clouds," on a lance thirteen cubits high, reciting the verse, "Permission is given to those who fight because they have been wronged; surely God is able to assist them."[168] Then he and Sulaymān b. Kathīr and Sulaymān's brothers and mawlās and those among the people of Safīdhanj who responded put on black garments. These included Ghaylān b. 'Abdallāh al-Khuzā'ī, who was Sulaymān's brother-in-law through his sister Umm 'Amr bt. Kathīr, and Ḥumayd b. Razīn and his brother 'Uthmān b. Razīn.[169] All the Shī'ah from the dis-

165. These two were listed as *naqībs*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 217–18.

166. Perhaps the Abū 'Āṣim who is listed among the *du'āt al-du'āt* in the revolutionary organization. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 223. The *Akhbār*, 221 also lists an 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān who was a *dā'ī*, hance a member of a more prestigious network of agents. The *du'āt al-du'āt* were most likely the substitutes for the *du'āt* just as the *nuẓarā' al-nuqabā'* substituted for the *naqībs*. (J.L.)

167. He is listed among the *naqībs*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 215.

168. Qur. 22:39.

169. Like his brother-in-law, Sulaymān b. Kathīr, Ghaylān al-Khuzā'ī is listed among the *naqībs*. The *Akhbār al-Dawlah* lists an 'Umayr b. Razīn, the brother of Ḥumayd b. Razīn, the mawlā of the Khuzā'ah. This 'Umayr was one of the *du'āt al-du'āt*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 218, 222.

trict of Kharqān lit fires that night, which was the prearranged signal, and they began to gather to Abū Muslim the next morning. The interpretation of the two names "The Shadow" and "The Clouds" was: as the clouds cover the earth, so would the ʿAbbāsid preaching, and as the earth is never without a shadow, so it would never be without an ʿAbbāsid caliph to the end of time.

The propagandists *(duʿāt)* of Marw came to Abū Muslim with all those who had answered their call. The first to come were the early
[1955] settlers[170] who were with Abū al-Waḍḍāḥ al-Hurmuzfarrī ʿIsā b. Shubayl, consisting of nine hundred men and four horsemen.[171] Among the people of Hurmuzfarrah were Sulaymān b. Ḥassān with his brother Yazdān b. Ḥassān, al-Haytham b. Yazīd b. Kaysān, Buwayʿ the mawlā of Naṣr b. Muʿāwiyah, Abū al-Khālid al-Ḥasan, Jardā, and Muḥammad b. ʿAlwān. Then came the early settlers who were with Abū al-Qāsim Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm al-Jūbānī, with thirteen hundred men on foot and sixteen horsemen. Also with them were the propagandists Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Marwazī, Khidhām b. ʿAmmār and Ḥamzah b. Rutaym.[172] The early settlers (of the first group) began to shout "God is great!" and those with Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm would answer from their side, "God is Great!" They kept this up until they entered Abū Muslim's camp at Safīdhanj. This was on Saturday (June 12, 747), two days after Abū Muslim's public proclamation. Abū Muslim gave orders that the fort of Safīdhanj be repaired, fortified, and set in order. When the ʿId came in Safīdhanj, Abū Muslim told Sulaymān b. Kathīr to lead him and the (ʿAbbāsid) Shīʿah in prayer. He set up a minbar for him in the camp, and told him to begin the prayer before the *khuṭbah* address without the call to prayer or the *iqāmah*.[173] The Umayyads used to begin with the *khuṭbah*

170. The text is *ahl al-Suqādim*; see Ibn al-Athīr, V, 273: *ahl al-taqādum*. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 522–23 reads Suqādim, as a place name, though no such place is known. Shaban, *ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, 158, reads *taqādum*, to mean "the old [Arab] settlers in Marw."

171. The early supporters of the ʿAbbāsids were not part of the active fighting force operating in Khurāsān, hence their small number of horsemen. The Arab fighters had aligned with al-Kirmānī or Naṣr b. Sayyār. The later addition of the Arab tribal forces to the ʿAbbāsid camp enabled Abū Muslim to challenge the professional armies of the Umayyads. (J.L.)

172. The text is Zunaym; read Rutaym, as in the *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 222, where he is listed as one of the *duʿāt al-duʿāt*.

173. The *iqāmah* is the ritual proclamation that the prayer has begun.

and the call to prayer, and then they had the ritual prayer; the *iqāmah* was added on Friday. On feastdays and Fridays they used to deliver the *khuṭbah* seated in the minbars. But Abū Muslim told Sulaymān b. Kathīr to call "God is Great!" six consecutive times with the first prostration, then to recite (the Qur'ān portions), and afterward to bow down on the seventh "God is Great!" In the second prostration, he was to call it out five consecutive times, then recite, and bow down on the sixth call. He was to begin the *khuṭbah* [1956]
with "God is Great!" and close it with a recitation from the Qur'ān. The Banū Umayyah used to employ four calls of "God is Great!" in the first prostration on a feast day, and three in the second.

When Sulaymān b. Kathīr completed the prayer and the *khuṭbah*, Abū Muslim and the Shī'ah went off to a feast spread for them by Abū Muslim. They feasted rejoicing in anticipation of future success *(mustabshirīn)*.

While Abū Muslim was entrenching himself, he would write to Naṣr b. Sayyār, addressing him as "the Amīr Naṣr." When he had grown powerful by means of the ('Abbasid) Shī'ah who gathered in his camp, he disclosed himself and wrote to Naṣr, "As for what follows, truly God, blessed be His names and exalted be His mention, reproaches certain folk in the Qur'ān saying, 'They swore the most binding oaths by God that if a warner came to them they would be more guided than any community, but when a warner came it only increased them in aversion, waxing arrogant in the land and plotting evil; but evil plots encompass only those who make them. Do they expect anything but the way of the ancients? You will find no changing in God's way, nor any evading of the way of God.' "[174]

Naṣr was much astonished at the letter, and that Abū Muslim had shown himself. He closed one eye (and pondered long)[175] and said, "This letter has one answer." When Abū Muslim was settled in his camp at Mākhuwān,[176] he ordered Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm[177] to dig a defensive trench at Jīranj and gather together his followers with those of the Shī'ah who were so inclined and cut off the communications of Naṣr b. Sayyār with Marwarrūdh, Balkh and the districts of

174. Qur. 35:42–43.
175. This phrase is missing in text and is supplied by the Cairo edition.
176. For Mākhuwān, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 380. Jīranj was a small town (*bulaydah*) in the vicinity of Marw. See Yāqūt, II, 175.
177. Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm was a *naqīb*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 217.

Ṭukhāristān. Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm did that, and about a thousand men gathered at his camp which was surrounded by a moat. Abū Muslim
[1957] also ordered Abū Ṣāliḥ Kāmil b. Muẓaffar[178] to send a man to Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm's camp to review the troops there and enter them in a register with their names, their fathers' names and their villages.[179] He thus sent Abū Ṣāliḥ Ḥumayd al-Azraq to do that. Ḥumayd, who was a scribe, counted 804 able-bodied men in Muḥriz's camp. Among the well-known officers there were Ziyād b. Sayyār al-Azdī in the quarter of Kharqān, from the village called Asbiwādiq; Khidhām b. 'Ammar al-Kindī of the quarter of the early settlers,[180] from a village called al-Awāyiq; Ḥanīfah b. Qays of the early settlers' quarter, from the village called al-Shanj; 'Abdawayh al-Jardāmadh b. 'Abd al-Karīm, of the people of Harāt, who used to bring sheep to Marw; Ḥamzah b. Rutaym[181] al-Bāhilī of the Kharqān quarter, from the village called Mīlādhjird;[182] Abū Hāshim Khalīfah b. Mihrān of the quarter of the early settlers, from the village of Jūbān;[183] Abū Khadījah Jīlān b. al-Sughdī, and Abū Nu'aym Mūsā b. Ṣubayḥ.[184]

Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm remained entrenched in his camp until Abū Muslim entered the walls of Marw, vacated the camp at Mākhuwān and camped at Mārsarjas on the way to Naysābūr. Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm then reinforced Abū Muslim with his troops.

One of the events that occurred while Abū Muslim was at Safīdhanj was that Naṣr b. Sayyār sent a mawlā of his called Yazīd with a large force of cavalry to fight Abū Muslim eighteen days after his public proclamation, and Abū Muslim sent Mālik b. Haytham al-Khuzā'ī together with Muṣ'ab b. Qays[185] out against him. They met at the village called Alīn, and Mālik called on them to follow

178. Abū Ṣāliḥ was one of the highest ranking operatives in the revolutionary apparatus. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 215.

179. That is, the military roll was based on geographical rather than tribal affiliation, an 'Abbāsid principle. See n. 217 below.

180. The text is *rab' al-Suqādim*; it should be read rab' *al-taqādum*, following Ibn Athīr. References to early settlers below are similarly based on this reading. Also, see n. 170 above.

181. The text is Zunaym; it should be read Rutaym. See n. 172 above.

182. The text is Hātladjūr; it should be read Mīlādhjird, as in the Cairo edition.

183. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 139.

184. Vocalization is conjectural here.

185. For Mālik b. Haytham, see the entry in Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 181–83. Muṣ'ab b. Qays was a *naqīb*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 218.

the Chosen One *(al-Riḍā)* from the family of God's messenger, God bless him and give him peace. They were too haughty for that, so [1958] Mālik fought them with a battle line—he had about two hundred men—from daybreak until the time of the afternoon prayer.

Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān al-Ḍabbī,[186] Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd and Ziyād b. ʿIsā had joined Abū Muslim, so he sent them to Mālik b. Haytham. They came to him at the time of the afternoon prayer, and he was strengthened by their presence. Then Yazīd the mawlā of Naṣr b. Sayyār said to his followers, "If we let them alone this evening, reinforcements will come to them, so attack these people." And they did. Then Abū Naṣr (Mālik b. Haytham) dismounted to fight on foot, and incited his followers saying, "Truly, I trust that God will cut off a part of the unbelievers,[187] so strike them well and truly." Both parties kept on fighting. Thirty-four men of the Marwānid party were killed, and eight were taken prisoner. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭāʾī attacked Yazīd, the mawlā of Naṣr and the leader of the enemy group; they captured him, and his followers fled. Abū Naṣr sent ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭāʾī and his prisoner with some men of the Shīʿah, along with some prisoners and the heads (of the slain), while he remained in his camp at Safīdhanj. In the delegation were Abū Ḥammād al-Marwazī and Abū ʿAmr al-Aʿjamī. Then Abū Muslim ordered the heads to be displayed on the gate of the wall in his camp. He sent Yazīd al-Aslamī to Abū Isḥāq Khālid b. ʿUthmān and ordered him to treat wounds that Yazīd the mawlā of Naṣr had received, and to treat him with great kindness and consideration. He wrote to Abū Naṣr to come to him. When Naṣr's mawlā Yazīd was healed of his wounds, Abū Muslim called him and said, "If you wish to stay with us and join our cause, then God will have guided you rightly. If you do not, then go back to your master in safety; but give us God's oath not to fight against us or to lie about us, and to say of us [only] what you have seen." Yazīd chose to return to his master, so he sent him on his way. Then Abū Muslim said, "This man will avert from us those [1959] men of piety and morality who assert that we have departed from Islam."

Yazīd came to Naṣr b. Sayyār, who told him, "No welcome to

186. A substitute *naqīb* who became one of the great field commanders of the early ʿAbbāsid armies. His family had a long and meritorious role in the affairs of state.

187. Based on Qur. 3:127.

you; by God, I think the enemy only let you live in order to make you an argument against us." "And by God, it's just as you think," said Yazīd. "What's more, they have made me swear not to lie about them, so I'll tell you that they pray the prayers at the proper time, with a call to prayer and *iqāmah*; they recite the Scripture, they make frequent mention of God, and they call men to God's Messenger. I reckon their business will succeed, and were you not my master who freed me from slavery, I'd not have come back to you; I'd have stayed with them." This was the first battle between the (ʿAbbāsid) Shīʿah and the partisans of the Banū Marwān.

In this year, Khāzim b. Khuzaymah[188] prevailed over Marwarrūdh, and Naṣr b. Sayyār's governor there was killed. Khāzim sent a letter with his son Khuzaymah to Abū Muslim announcing the victory.

The Account of Khāzim b. Khuzaymah's Victory Over Marwarrūdh

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jushamī,[189] Zuhayr b. Hunayd and Ḥasan b. Rashīd: When Khāzim b. Khuzaymah was ready to set out for Marwarrūdh, leaders of the Tamīm wanted to prevent him, but he said, "I am a man of your tribe, with Marw as my object. Perhaps I shall be victorious, in which case it will be yours; if I am slain, then you will be done with me." So they let him alone, and he went out and camped in a village called Kanj Rustāh.[190] Then Naḍr b. Ṣubayḥ[191] and Bassām b. Ibrāhīm came to him from Abū Muslim. When it was evening, Khāzim attacked the
[1960] people of Marwarrūdh by night, and Bishr b. Jaʿfar al-Saʿdī who was Naṣr b. Sayyār's governor in Marwarrūdh was slain. This was in the beginning of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (mid-July 747), and Khāzim sent news of the victory to Abū Muslim by Khuzaymah b. Khāzim, ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd and Shabīb b. Wāj.

188. Khāzim b. Khuzaymah al-Tamīmī was a deputy *naqīb* from Marwarrūdh, an important later general: see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 180–81.

189. The text is al-Ḥusmī, emended to al-Jushamī by the Cairo edition.

190. The text gives "Kanj Rustāh," however the textual apparatus lists the variant Kanj Rustaq, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 308, lists a Kanjrustāq, which LeStrange describes as a district between Bādhghīs and Marwarrūdh.

191. Ibn Ṣubayḥ was a *naqīb*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 218.

Abū Jaʿfar stated, concerning Abū Muslim's proclamation of revolution, his travels to and from Khurāsān and his return there, a source other than those we have cited gives a differing account: Ibrāhīm the Imām married the daughter of Abū al-Najm to Abū Muslim at the time he sent him to Khurāsān, and sent her dowry with him.[192] Then he wrote to the *naqībs* in Khurāsān, ordering them to listen to Abū Muslim and obey him. According to some assertions, Abū Muslim was from the village of Khuṭarniyyah near Kūfah, and was the steward of Idrīs b. Maʿqil al-ʿIjlī.[193] Then his status changed and he became the mawlā of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, then of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, and then of the other Imāms who were Muḥammad's sons. He came to Khurāsān while he was still young in years, and Sulaymān b. Kathīr would not accept him. He feared that Abū Muslim would not be strong enough for their task, and fearing for himself and his companions, he sent him away.[194] At this time Abū Dāwud Khālid b. Ibrāhīm was away, beyond the Oxus *(nahr Balkh)*, but when he left there and arrived in Marw, the Imām's letter was read to him, and he asked about the man whom he had sent. They told him that Sulaymān b. Kathīr had sent him away, and so he sent for all of the *naqībs*, who gathered in the house of ʿImrān b. Ismāʿīl.[195] Then Abū Dāwud said to them, "The letter from the Imām came to you with the man he sent while I was absent, and you sent him away. Now what is your case for sending him off?" "His youth," Sulaymān b. Kathīr replied, "and our fear that he would not be able to manage this affair, and our solicitude for him we call men to, and for ourselves, and for those who are answerable [1961]

192. Abū al-Najm was a *naqīb*. The marriage was to establish a tie between Abū Muslim, the Imām's representative, and the Khurāsān apparatus. Despite his *nisbah*, "al-Khurāsānī," Abū Muslim apparently came from Iṣfahān. Note Sulaymān b. Kathīr's initial reaction to Abū Muslim's arrival in the *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 271–73, and in Ṭabarī below. The relationship of the ʿAbbāsid imāms to the Khurāsān apparatus is a complex problem that has not yet been fully worked out. There is reason to believe that the Khurasānīs were quite independent until Bukayr b. Māhān's mission to them following the death of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. See Sharon, *ʿAliyat*, 84–116. (J.L.)

193. The reports of Abū Muslim's origins are marked by considerable confusion. The confusion is perhaps deliberate so as to present Abū Muslim as a man for all peoples and seasons, that is, the ideal picture for a revolutionary operative. A full study of Abū Muslim's origins has been completed by J. Lassner and will appear in a forthcoming festschrift for Franz Rosenthal, edited by Lassner and J.V. Bellamy (J.L.)

194. See n. 192 above.

195. That is, Abū al-Najm.

to us." Then Abū Dāwud said, "Are there any among you who deny that God, blessed be He and exalted, chose Muḥammad, may He bless him and his family and give them peace, and elected him and selected him and sent him with His message to all men? Is there any among you who would deny that?" "No," they said. "Then would you doubt that God, be He exalted, sent down His Book to him, and that Gabriel the trusted spirit came to him making legal what God permits therein, and prohibiting what He forbids, and prescribing what He lays down, and showing His ways, and that he informed him therein of what had been before, and what shall be, up to the Day of Resurrection?" "No," they said. "Then do you doubt that God took His Prophet to Himself after he had delivered the message of his Lord?" "No," they said. "Then," said he, "do you believe that the divine knowledge that was revealed to him was raised [to heaven] with him, or that he left it behind him?" "Of course he left it behind," they said. "Then do you think that he left it behind with those who were not of his family *[ʿitrah]*, nor people of his house, who were the nearest of the near to him?" "No," they said. "Then," he asked, "would any one of you who had seen this matter progressing, and people receptive to it, see fit to try to turn it all to himself?" "Good God, no!" they replied. "How should that be?" "I do not say that you have done so," he told them, "but sometimes Satan incites great evil concerning what may or may not come to pass. Is there any one of you who would like to transfer control of this matter from the People of the House to some other relatives of the Prophet?" "No," they said. "Then do you doubt that they are the mine of the divine knowledge and keepers of the legacy of the Messenger of God?" "No," they said. "Yet I see," he said, "that you
[1962] doubted their command, and rejected their knowledge, for had they not known that this was the man who should manage their affairs, they would not have sent him to you. No one has accused him of not being devoted to them, or not being their assistant, or of not standing up for their due."[196]

196. Possession of esoteric knowledge was one of the qualities of a Shīʿī Imām. There are numerous ʿAbbāsid traditions which indicate that this knowledge was passed directly from Muḥammad to the ʿAbbāsid line. Other traditions argue that when the Prophet died without leaving any surviving male offspring, his oldest surviving uncle al-ʿAbbās inherited the Prophet's legacy and passed it to his progeny. The earliest ʿAbbāsid claims were based on a transmission of the Imāmate from ʿAlī's

At these words from Abū Dāwud, they sent for Abū Muslim and brought him back from Qūmis, accepted him as their leader and listened to him and obeyed him. But there still lingered something in Abū Muslim's soul against Sulaymān b. Kathīr, and he still acknowledged it to Abū Dāwūd.

The *naqībs* and other members of the ('Abbāsid) Shī'ah hearkened to Abū Muslim, obeyed him, deferred to him, and accepted all that came from him. The propagandists spread their word through all the regions of Khurāsān. People joined in droves, their numbers grew, and the propagandists fanned out into all of Khurāsān. Then Ibrāhīm the Imām wrote to Abū Muslim commanding him to come to him during the Pilgrimage that year, that is in 129 (747), so that he could give him his orders for the public proclamation of revolution. He asked him to bring Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb with him, and whatever monies had been collected. Three hundred and sixty thousand dirhams had been amassed with Abū Muslim, and so he took part of it to buy goods of the stuffs that merchants of Qūh and Marw sell, and sheer and heavy silks. The rest he melted into small ingots of gold and silver and put them in the lining of their cloaks. Then he brought mules and set out midway through Jumādā II (early March 747). Among the *naqībs* who accompanied him were Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb, Qāsim b. Mujāshi' and Talḥah b. Zurayq, along with forty-one men of the Shī'ah. They outfitted the caravan in the villages of the Khuzā'ah, loading their packs on twenty-one pack mules. An armed man from the Shī'ah was mounted on each mule. They took the desert route, avoiding the armed patrols of Naṣr b. Sayyār, until they came to Abīward.

Abū Muslim wrote to 'Uthmān b. Nahīk[197] and his followers, ordering them to come forward to him. Between them was a distance of five *farsakhs* (30 km). Fifty of their men came to him, and then he journeyed from Abīward, until reaching one of the villages of Nasā called Qāqas. He sent al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān to Andūmān, the village of Asīd, and he met there a man from the Shī'ah and asked him where Asīd was. The man replied, "Why are you asking about him? There has been great evil from the governor today, and he has been [1963]

grandson Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah to the 'Abbāsid Muḥammad b. 'Alī. See, e.g., Omar, *'Abbāsid Caliphate*, 59–67; *EI*[2] s.v. 'Abbāsids.

197. For 'Uthmān b. Nahīk, who was a *dā'ī* from Abīward, see the entry in Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 189.

taken, along with al-Aḥjam b. ʿAbdallāh,[198] Ghaylān b. Faḍālah, Ghālib b. Saʿīd and Muhājir b. ʿUthmān, to the governor ʿĀṣim b. Qays b. al-Ḥarūrī, who has imprisoned them." Abū Muslim and his companions moved on to Andūmān, and Abū Mālik (Asīd) and the Shīʿah at Nasā came to him. Abū Mālik informed him that the letter which had been with the Imām's messenger was in his possession, so Abū Muslim told him to bring it to him. He brought him the letter and a banner and a flag. Lo, the letter told him to turn back as soon as he received it and publicly declare the revolution. At this, he fastened the flag that had come to him from the Imām to a lance and the banner as well. The Shīʿah among the people of Nasā gathered to him along with the propagandists and chiefs. He already had the people of Abīward who had come to Nasā with him.

Word of this reached ʿĀṣim b. Qays al-Ḥarūrī, and he sent (men) to Abū Muslim to question him about his situation. He told him that he was a pilgrim, traveling to the House of God, and that he had with him a number of friends who were merchants. He requested ʿAṣim to set free those of his companions whom he had detained, so that they might leave his province. They then demanded that Abū Muslim write a personal contract for them, stating that he would exchange all the slaves, riding animals and weapons that were with
[1964] him so that his companions, those who had come from the province of the Imām and others, might go their ways. Abū Muslim consented to this, and his friends were set free. He now ordered those of the Shīʿah among his followers to return home. He read the Imām's letter to them, and ordered them to proclaim the revolution publicly. One group of them then went home. Abū Mālik Asīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khuzāʿī, Zurayq b. Shawdhab[199] and those who had come to him from Abīward continued with him, and he ordered all who turned back to hold themselves in readiness. He went on with those of his companions who had remained, and with Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb, until they camped at the borders of Jurjān. Abū Muslim then sent

198. Al-Aḥjam was a *naqīb*. Muhājir b. ʿUthmān was a replacement for a *naqīb*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 218, 220.

199. Zurayq b. Shawdhab is listed among the *duʿāt al-duʿāt*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 222.

word to Khālid b. Barmak and Abū 'Awn[200] ordering them to bring whatever funds they had collected from the Shī'ah. They both presented themselves, and he stayed there some days until the caravans had assembled. He outfitted Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb and gave him the money he had with him and the means of transporting it, and sent him on to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, while Abū Muslim and those with him went back to Nasā, and from there traveled to Abīward. From there he traveled on in disguise to Marw, where he stayed at one of the villages of the Khuzā'ah, called Fanīn. This was on the twenty-third of Ramaḍān (June 7, 747). He had designated the day of 'Īd as the time for his followers to meet him at Marw. He sent Abū Dāwud and 'Amr b. A'yan to Ṭukhāristān and al-Naḍr b. Ṣubayḥ to Amul and Bukhārā, with Sharīk b. 'Isā. Mūsā b. Ka'b[201] he sent to Abīward and Nasā, and Khāzim b. Khuzaymah to Marwarrūdh. The people then came to him, and al-Qāsim b. Mujāshi' al-Tamīmī led them in the prayers on the day of the feast at the prayer-ground *(muṣallā)* of the Qanbar family in the village of Abū Dāwud Khālid b. Ibrāhīm.

This year most of the Arab tribesmen in Khurāsān swore an oath [1965]
and made a compact to fight Abū Muslim. This was at the time his followers increased and his forces became powerful. Also still in this year he moved from his camp at Safīdhanj to Mākhuwān.

The Arab Tribesmen of Khurāsān Ally Against Abū Muslim

According to 'Alī—al-Ṣabbāḥ the mawlā of Jibrīl—Maslamah b. Yaḥyā: When Abū Muslim openly proclaimed revolution, people hastened to join him, and the people of Marw began to come to him. Naṣr did not prevent them from this nor did he forbid them. Nor did al-Kirmānī and Shaybān disapprove of Abū Muslim's activities, be-

200. For Khālid b. Barmak and his progeny, who later served the 'Abbāsid house, see *EI*[2] s.v. Barāmika; Lassner, *'Abbāsid Rule*, index, 319; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 176–77. For Abū 'Awn, see the entry in Crone, ibid., 174.

201. Mūsā b. Ka'b al-Tamīmī was one of the highest ranking agents in the 'Abbāsid revolutionary apparatus. He later served as a great field commander and security officer. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 215–16; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 186.

cause he was calling for deposing Marwān b. Muḥammad. Abū Muslim was staying at a village called Bālīn[202] in a tent, without any guards or doorkeepers. The people magnified his authority and said, "A man from the Banū Hāshim has appeared, endowed with urbanity, gravity and calm." A number of young men from the people of Marw set out, pietists who sought religious insight *(fiqh)* and they came to him at his camp, and asked him about his genealogy.[203] He responded, "What I have to say is better for you than my genealogy." Then they asked him about matters relating to *fiqh*. He told them, "The command to do good and reject what is reprehensible is more important for you than this. We have work to do, and have more need of your assistance than of your questions, so excuse us." They said, "By God, we do not know your genealogy, and we think that it won't be long before you are slain. Nothing is lacking for that except for one of these two to be free."[204] Abū Muslim replied, "On the contrary, it is I who shall slay them both, God willing."

The young men returned and went to Naṣr b. Sayyār and told him (what they had heard). He told them, "May God reward you well; you are the sort to seek him out and learn about him." Then they went to Shaybān and informed him, whereupon he sent a message to
[1966] Naṣr, "We have each choked the other." Naṣr then wrote to him, "Desist from attacking me so that I can fight him or, if you wish, join me in fighting him until I kill him or drive him away; then we may return to the business we are now engaged in." Shaybān was anxious about what to do, and that became apparent to those in his camp. The spies of Abū Muslim now came to him and informed him of this. Sulaymān said, "What is this matter that has reached them? Have you been talking to somebody?" Abū Muslim then informed him about the young men who had come to him, and Sulaymān said, "Then this is all because of that." They wrote to ʿAlī b. al-Kirmānī saying, "You are a wronged man unable to take revenge. Your father has been murdered.[205] We know that you are not of the

202. Bāb Bālīn was the northwest gate of Marw. However, the reference to Bālīn here may be an error for "Allīn," one of villages of Marw. See n. 160 above.

203. The name he used, "Father of a Muslim, Khurāsānī," was deliberately ambiguous.

204. That is Naṣr b. Sayyār and Shaybān al-Khārijī.

205. According to Dīnawarī, 362, the death of Juday' al-Kirmānī was arranged by Naṣr, who invited him to a parley. Other sources indicate that it was a son of al-

same mind as Shaybān; you are only fighting for revenge, so prevent Shaybān from a reconciliation with Naṣr." ʿAlī went to Shaybān and spoke to him, and deterred him from what he intended. Naṣr then wrote to Shaybān, "Truly you are being deceived, and I swear by God that this matter is so momentous[206] that by the side of it, you should find me small."

While they were thus engaged, Abū Muslim sent al-Naḍr b. Nuʿaym al-Ḍabbī to Harāt, which was governed by ʿIsā b. ʿAqīl al-Laythī, and al-Naḍr drove him out of Harāt, so that ʿIsā fled to Naṣr and al-Naḍr took over the city. Then Yaḥyā b. Nuʿaym b. Hubayrah said (to the Khārijites), "Choose whether you will perish before the Muḍar, or the Muḍar before you." They asked, "How is that?" He replied, "This man's affair only surfaced a month ago, but already as many men as are in your army have joined his army." "What shall we do?" they asked. "Make peace with Naṣr," he told them, "for if you have peace with him, these people will fight Naṣr and leave you alone, because the Muḍar have the government. If you do not make peace with Naṣr, they will, and they will fight you and it will go against you." "What shall we do?" they said. "Get ahead of them,"

Ḥārith b. Surayj al-Murjiʾī who killed him. See Ṭabarī II/3, 1975; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 408; Ibn Khayyāṭ, I, 410; *FHA*, 188. Juday''s son ʿAlī succeeded him as leader of the Azd.

206. Naṣr wrote verses in which he urged the Arabs to unite with him to war against Abū Muslim, as follows:

Go tell both the Rabīʿah in Marw and the Yamanīs:
arouse yourselves, before it will be of no avail;

What are you thinking of, to enkindle the feud between you
as if men of wit were absent from your counsels?

You neglect an enemy who has surrounded you,
a rabble of no religion or consequence,

Not Arabs like those among men you would know,
nor yet true mawlās, if their origins be reckoned;

Who would ask me about the root of their religion?
truly, their religion is that the Arabs should perish;

A sect professing doctrines you never heard of
from the Prophet, nor brought by the Scriptures.

—Ibn Athīr, v. IV. 304, and also quoted by al-Dīnawarī, 361.

he said, "if by only one hour, and comfort yourselves by their slaying."

[1967] Then Shaybān sent to Naṣr offering him a truce, and he agreed. Following that, he sent a message to Salm b. Aḥwaz, and between them they concluded an agreement. Shaybān came, with Ibn al-Kirmānī on his right and Yaḥyā b. Nuʿaym on his left, and Salm said to Ibn al-Kirmānī, "One-eyed one, I do not take you to be the one-eyed man at whose hands we are told that the Muḍar will perish."[207] They then made a truce for one year, and put their agreement in writing. This came to Abū Muslim, and he wrote to Shaybān, "We would make a truce with you for some months, so grant us a truce of three months." Then Ibn al-Kirmānī said, "I never made peace with Naṣr; it was Shaybān who did so while I was unwilling. I am a man with blood to avenge, and I will not stop fighting Naṣr." Ibn al-Kirmānī resumed hostilities, but Shaybān refused to help him, saying, "Treachery is not permissible." At this Ibn al-Kirmānī sent a message to Abū Muslim asking his help against Naṣr b. Sayyār. Abū Muslim proceeded to al-Mākhuwān, and sent Shibl b. Ṭahmān[208] to Ibn al-Kirmānī with the message, "I am with you against Naṣr." Ibn al-Kirmānī said, "I should indeed like Abū Muslim to meet me," and Shibl brought word of this. Abū Muslim waited fourteen days, and then he went to Ibn al-Kirmānī, leaving his army behind at al-Mākhuwān. ʿUthmān b. al-Kirmānī met him with cavalry and rode with him until he entered the camp. Then Abū Muslim went to ʿAlī b. al-Kirmānī and stayed mounted outside his chamber. He was asked to dismount, and entered saluting ʿAlī as "Amīr." ʿAlī had prepared a lodging[209] for him in a palace belonging to Makhlad[210] b. Ḥasan al-Azdī. Abū Muslim stayed two days, and then went back to his camp at al-Mākhuwān. This was on the fifth day of Muḥarram, 130 (September 16, 747).

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207. "One-eyed one" is an insult renderable as "you prick." It is also a reference to the Dajjāl, the one-eyed "great deceiver" who will persecute the faithful and usher in the second coming of Jesus and the Messianic age according to certain *ḥadīths*. Ibn Aḥwaz appears to be saying, "You may be this and that, but you are not the Antichrist who will precede the messianic age and destroy the Muḍar." For al-Dajjāl see *EI*[2] s.v. ad-Dadjdjāl.

208. Shibl b. Ṭahmān was a *naqīb*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 216.

209. The text is *qaṣrān*, "a palace"; it should be read *manzilān*, "lodging," as in the Cairo edition.

210. According to the Cairo edition, Mukhallad.

Abū al-Khaṭṭāb reported that when the Shī'ah in Abū Muslim's camp became numerous, Safīdhanj was too confining for him, and he desired a more spacious encampment. Al-Mākhuwān answered his need. It was the village of al-'Alā' b. Ḥurayth, and Abū Isḥāq Khālid b. 'Uthmān, and Abū al-Jahm b. 'Aṭiyyah and his brothers [1968] lived there.[211] His stay at Safīdhanj had lasted forty-two days, and from there he went to al-Mākhuwān. He stopped at the house of Abū Isḥāq on Wednesday, the ninth night of Dhū al-Qa'dah (July 19, 747). He dug a trench around the place, with two entrances to it, and he and the Shī'ah camped there. He put Muṣ'ab b. Qays al-Ḥanafī and Bahdal b. Iyās al-Ḍabbī[212] in charge of one entrance, and Abū Sharāḥīl and Abū 'Amr al-A'jamī in charge of the other. He appointed Abū Naṣr Mālik b. Haytham in charge of security, and made Abū Isḥāq Khālid b. 'Uthmān captain of the guard. Kāmil b. Muẓaffar Abū Ṣāliḥ was put in charge of the army register, and Aslam b. Ṣubayḥ was in charge of his chancery. Qāsim b. Mujāshi' the Tamīmī *naqīb* he made qāḍī, and he reinforced Mālik b. al-Haytham with Abū al-Waḍḍāḥ and a number of the early settlers.[213] He put the men from the two villages (called) Nawshān—they were eighty-three men—under Abū Isḥāq in the guard.[214]

Qāsim b. Mujāshi' used to lead the prayers for Abū Muslim in the camp and narrate anecdotes after the afternoon prayer, mentioning the virtues of the Banū Hāshim, and the shameful deeds of the Banū Umayyah. Abū Muslim now settled at the camp at al-Mākhuwān, appearing like any man of the Shī'ah, until 'Abdallāh b. Bisṭām came to him and brought him tents, pavilions, cooking vessels, nose-bags for the horses and leather troughs for water. The first official that Abū Muslim appointed was Dāwud b. Karrāz.[215] Abū Muslim refused to let the (runaway) slaves join him at his camp, and had an entrenched position dug for them at the village of Shawwāl,[216] putting it in the charge of Dāwud b. Karrāz. When a large number of [1969]

211. It was thus the village of two *naqībs* and a substitute *naqīb*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 221.

212. Ibn Iyās was one of the *du'āt*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 221.

213. The text is *ahl al-Suqādim*.

214. Nawsh was the name of several villages in Marw. The two villages here are not specified. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 823–24.

215. Ibn Karrāz was a subsitute *naqīb*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 221.

216. Shawwāl was a village situated three *farsakhs* (18 km) from Marw. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 332.

slaves had gathered, he sent them to Mūsā b. Ka'b at Abīward. He ordered Kāmil b. Muẓaffar to enroll the people at the camp according to their names and their fathers' names and designate them by their villages, recording all that in the register.[217] Kāmil, who was called Abū Ṣāliḥ, did so, and their numbers came to seven thousand men. Their pay was three dirhams per man; then each of them received four at the hands of Abū Ṣāliḥ Kāmil.

At last the tribesmen of the Muḍar, the Rabī'ah and the Qaḥṭān[218] agreed to lay aside their feuds and unite as one in fighting Abū Muslim. Once they had driven him from Marw, they would look to their own affairs and what they had agreed upon. They therefore wrote a carefully worded treaty among themselves, and word of this reached Abū Muslim. It alarmed him, and he took it seriously and reconsidered his situation. Lo, the water supply of Mākhuwān dropped, and he feared that Naṣr b. Sayyār might cut off his water, so he moved to Alīn, the village of Abū Manṣūr Ṭalḥah b. Zurayq[219] the *naqīb*. This was after he had stayed four months at the camp at Mākhuwān, and he settled at Alīn on Thursday the sixth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 129 (August 14, 747). He dug a trench at Alīn between Alīn and Balāsha Jird.[220] Thus the village was behind the camp, and he (dug so as to) place the house of Muḥtafiz b. 'Uthmān b. Bishr al-Mazanī inside the trench. The inhabitants of Alīn drank the water of a canal called the Kharqān, so Naṣr b. Sayyār could not cut off the
[1970] drinking-water from Alīn. The Feast of the Day of Sacrifice[221] came, and Qāsim b. Mujāshi' led the prayers for Abū Muslim and the Shī'ah at the prayer-ground of Alīn.

Naṣr b. Sayyār was camped on the 'Iyād Canal, and he positioned 'Āṣim b. 'Amr at Balāsha Jird and Abū al-Dhayyāl at Ṭūsān. Bishr b. Unayf al-Yarbū'ī he placed at Julfar, and he stationed Ḥātim b. al-Ḥārith b. Surayj at Kharaq, seeking to attack Abū Muslim. Abū Dhayyāl quartered his troops with the inhabitants of Ṭūsān while

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217. That is, they were officially enrolled according to place, not tribe, or origin. This became the standard 'Abbāsid practice. The advantage was that it played down tribal feelings (*'aṣabiyyah*). See n. 179 above.

218. That is, the Yaman.

219. The text is Ruzayq; read Zurayq, as in textual apparatus variants and *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 215, 216.

220. The text is Balāsha Jird. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 708, lists a Balāshjird which was a village four *farsakhs* (24 km) from Marw.

221. See *EI*[2] s.v. 'Id al-Aḍḥā.

Abū Muslim was in his camp, and they injured the people there, treating them like servants, butchering their chickens, cattle and pigeons, and making them bear the cost of their victuals and fodder. The Shīʿah complained of this to Abū Muslim, and he sent some cavalry with them. They encountered Abū Dhayyāl and drove him away, and captured Maymūn al-Aʿsar al-Khwārizmī with about thirty men. Abū Muslim gave them clothing, treated their wounds, and set them free.

In this year, Juday' b. ʿAlī al-Kirmānī was slain and crucified.[222]

The Account of the Slaying of Juday' b. ʿAlī al-Kirmānī

We have already mentioned the slaying of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj and that al-Kirmānī was the one who killed him. When al-Kirmānī had slain al-Ḥārith, Marw became wholly his, due to that slaying, and Naṣr b. Sayyār removed from Marw to Abrashahr. Al-Kirmānī's rule grew stronger, and according to what is said, Naṣr sent Salm b. Aḥwaz against him. He marched with Naṣr's guards and cavalry until he encountered the followers of al-Kirmānī; he found Yaḥyā b. Nuʿaym al-Maylā' stationed at the head of a thousand soldiers of the [1971]
Rabīʿah, Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā at the head of seven hundred horsemen of the Azd, Ibn al-Ḥasan b. al-Shaykh al-Azdī with one thousand of their young men *(fityān)*, and al-Ḥazmī al-Sughdī with a thousand Abnā' of the Yaman.[223] When they stood opposite each other, Salm b. Aḥwaz called to Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, "O Muḥammad al-Muthannā, get these sailors (i.e., the Azd)[224] to come out against us!" Then Muḥammad said to Salm, "Whoreson, do you say that to Abū ʿAlī?" The two armies moved slowly against each other, and fought with swords. Salm b. Aḥwaz was routed, and over one hundred of his followers were slain, while more than twenty of Muḥammad's followers were killed. Naṣr's men returned to him in disorder, and ʿAqīl b. Maʿqil told him, "Naṣr, you've brought bad luck on the Arabs; when you've gone this far, exert yourself and bare your shank!" Naṣr now sent ʿIṣmah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Asadī, who stood

222. See n. 205 above.

223. From the context it is not certain whether these *fityān* were Arabs of the Azd or slaves that they had formed into a military contingent. For the Abnā', see *EI*[2] s.v. Abnā'.

224. See n. 113 above.

where Salm b. Aḥwaz had stood. He called out, "O Muḥammad, you know well that a fish can't beat a sea-wolf!" Muḥammad replied, "Then hold on until we get there, you bastard!" He ordered Muḥammad al-Sughdī to go out to him with the Yaman, and they fought a fierce battle. ʿIṣmah fled until he came back to Naṣr b. Sayyār; four hundred of his followers had been slain.

Naṣr then sent Mālik b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī, and he advanced with his followers. He called out, "O Ibn Muthannā, come out and fight
[1972] me, if you're a man!" He answered his challenge, and the Tamīmī struck him between his neck and his shoulder, without effect. Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā struck him in turn with a mace and smashed his head. The fighting became desperate, and they fought a fierce battle, as great a battle as any. Naṣr's followers were routed, and seven hundred of them were slain. Three hundred of al-Kirmānī's followers were killed, and the bad blood between them kept on, so that they all went out to the trenches and fought each other bitterly.

When Abū Muslim was certain that each side had inflicted great losses on the other and would not receive reinforcements, he began to write letters to Shaybān.[225]

Then he would say to the messenger, "Make your way by the Muḍar. They will stop you and take your letters." They would take the letters, and read in them, "I observe that the Yaman will not last, and there is no good in them, so do not rely on them or put trust in them, for I trust that God will show you what you desire, and if He spares me I shall leave them neither hair nor nails." Then he would send another messenger by a different road with a letter in which he mentioned the Muḍar and praised the Yaman in similar terms, so that each party came to favor him. He now began to write to Naṣr b. Sayyār and to al-Kirmānī, "The Imām has recommended you to me, and I shall not act counter to his opinion of you." At the same time he wrote to the districts of the province (telling them) to proclaim the revolution (by showing their colors), and the first one to put on black—it is reported—was Asīd b. ʿAbdallāh at Nasā, who cried, "O Muḥammad! O Manṣūr!"[226] Muqātil b. Ḥakīm and Ibn

225. That is, the Khārijite leader operating in Khurāsān.
226. See n. 82 above.

Ghazwān put on black at the same time. So did the people of Abīward and Marwarrūdh and those of the villages around Marw.

Abū Muslim advanced to a position midway between the camps of Naṣr b. Sayyār and that of Juday' al-Kirmānī. Both sides came to fear him, and his followers grew in number. Naṣr b. Sayyār wrote to Marwān b. Muḥammad, informing him of Abū Muslim's circumstances and his revolt. He told him of the multitude that were with Abū Muslim and his following, and that he was proclaiming a summons to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. He wrote him some verses of poetry: [1973]

I see among the ashes the flash of live coals,
and deem that they will have a kindling;

A fire may be kindled with two sticks,
and a war begin with a few words.

I say in astonishment "Would that I knew;
is [the Clan of] Umayyah awake, or sleeping?"

But Marwān wrote him, "The witness sees what the absent cannot see; cauterize the wart according to your own lights." Then Naṣr exclaimed, "Well, your master has shown us plainly that there is no assistance (*naṣr*: a pun) with him." He then wrote to Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah the governor of Iraq, requesting aid, and wrote these verses for him:

Go tell Yazīd—for the best speech is the truest;
long since, I saw that there's no good in lying—

Khurāsān is a land wherein I have seen
eggs which, were they to hatch, would astonish you; [1974]

Chicks two years hatching, and already big,
though they haven't yet flown, and are covered with down.

But should they fly before they are prevented,
they will set warfires blazing, wherever fires may blaze.

But Yazīd said, "There's no winning without numbers, and I have not a man." Naṣr then wrote to Marwān informing him about Abū

Muslim and his manifesting a revolution and about his strength, and that he was summoning men to follow Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. The letter found Marwān when a messenger from Abū Muslim to Ibrāhīm had already fallen into his hands. The messenger had been returning from Ibrāhīm to Abū Muslim with a letter from Ibrāhīm in answer to one from Abū Muslim. In it he cursed and reviled Abū Muslim for not exploiting his opportunity with Naṣr and al-Kirmānī while he could, and told him not to leave one Arab in Khurāsān unslain.[227] The messenger handed the letter over to Marwān, and Marwān wrote to al-Walīd b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbd al-Malik, his gover-
[1975] nor for Damascus, ordering him to write to the administrator of the Balqāʾ[228] to go to Ḥumaymah Wells, and seize Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, bind him securely and send him to him with a mounted escort. Al-Walīd wrote to the governor of the Balqāʾ, and he came upon Ibrāhīm at the mosque in the village. He seized him, tied his hands behind his back, and brought him to al-Walīd. The latter sent him to Marwān, who threw him into a prison.[229]

To return to the account of Naṣr and al-Kirmānī, when their quarrel was at its height, Abū Muslim sent word to al-Kirmānī, "I am with you." Al-Kirmānī accepted this and Abū Muslim joined him, so that matters grew critical for Naṣr. He sent word to al-Kirmānī, "Woe to you! Do not make a mistake! By God, I am fearful for you and your followers from this man. Make a truce with me; we shall enter Marw, and write a treaty of peace between us." He hoped in this way to separate al-Kirmānī from Abū Muslim. Al-Kirmānī then went to his dwelling, and Abū Muslim remained at his camp. Then al-Kirmānī went forth until he halted at the courtyard *(raḥbah)* with one hundred horsemen, wearing a tunic of *khashkashūnah*, and sent

227. See n. 116 above on the matter of killing Arabs in Khurāsān. It is, of course, possible that statements of this sort were used by the Umayyads to rally support against the ʿAbbāsids.

228. The Balqāʾ was a name given to all of Transjordan or to the central part of it. See *EI*² s.v. Balḳāʾ. Note *FHA*, 189, reads "Kirār and al-Ḥumaymah," indicating two distinct places.

229. It is highly unlikely that Ibrāhīm al-Imām would have been identified in correspondence. His true identity would have been known only to the inner circles of the movement and they were enjoined not to risk exposing him. This tradition would appear to be part of the ʿAbbāsid historiography which describes various members of the Banū ʿAbbās as martyrs. There is reason to doubt that he was "imprisoned" because the Umayyads became fully aware of his activities, or that they had him murdered. For a detailed exposition see Sharon, *ʿAlīyat*, 237–61. (J.L.)

word to Naṣr, "Come out, so we may write that treaty between us." Naṣr perceived deceit in him, and sent the son of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj against him with about three hundred horsemen. They clashed in the courtyard and fought each other for a long time. Finally al-Kirmānī was speared in his side and fell from his horse. His followers protected him until they were overwhelmed. Naṣr then had al-Kirmānī killed and crucified the body with a fish[230] beside it. Al-Kirmānī's son ʿAlī now advanced; he had gone to Abū Muslim and had gathered a large force which he led against Naṣr b. Sayyār. He fought him until he drove him from the governor's palace, whereupon Naṣr went to one of the mansions in Marw. Then Abū Muslim [1976] entered Marw, and ʿAlī b. Juday' al-Kirmānī came to meet him. Abū Muslim saluted him with the title of "Amīr" and informed him of his support, saying, "Give me your orders." ʿAlī then told him, "Do just what you are doing until I have some other order to give you."

In this year ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib gained control of Fārs.[231]

ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah al-Jaʿfarī Gains Control of Fārs

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—ʿĀṣim b. Ḥafṣ al-Tamīmī and others: When ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib was driven out of Kūfah, he went to Madā'in,[232] where the people swore allegiance to him, and a group from Kūfah joined him. He then went to Jibāl and seized control there as well as in Ḥulwān, Qūmis, Iṣbahān and Rayy. The slaves of the Kūfans ran away to join him. When he had prevailed, he resided at Iṣbahān.

Muḥārib b. Mūsā, a mawlā of the Banū Yashkur, had been very powerful in Fārs, and he came walking in his sandals to the Govern-

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230. A contemptuous symbol for the Azd.

231. The revolt of ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah, the Jaʿfarid, represented a great threat to the ʿAbbāsids. Their own revolution was predicted in the collapse of the ʿAlid movement of Zayd b. ʿAlī. They assumed that they could attract his following. The movement of the Jaʿfarid pretender thus threatened to undercut ʿAbbāsid support at a critical moment. Ibn Muʿāwiyah attracted support and initially met with success in battle. The ʿAbbāsids at first supported the revolt in order to show the solidarity of the Banū Hāshim, but they were ready to abandon him at first opportunity. They later had him killed. For a detailed treatment of his revolt, see Sharon, *ʿAliyat*, 154–205. (J.L.)

232. Meaning "the cities." The Arab name of the site of Ctesiphon-Seleucia, the Persian capitals on the Tigris just to the south of later Baghdad. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 33–35.

ment House of Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis) and expelled the governor appointed by Ibn ʿUmar (b. ʿAbd al- ʿAzīz) and said to a man whose name was ʿUmārah, "Have the people swear allegiance." The inhabitants said, "On what?" He then said, "On what you love and hate." They then swore allegiance to Ibn Muʿāwiyah. Then Muḥārib went to Kirmān and raided there, and on his raid he took some camels belonging to Thaʿlabah b. Ḥassān al-Māzinī and drove them back with him. Thaʿlabah then went out looking for his camels at a village of his called Ashhar. With Thaʿlabah was a mawlā of his, who asked him, "Why don't we murder Muḥārib? If you like, you can strike him down while I keep his people busy, or if you like I'll kill him
[1977] while you keep them busy." Thaʿlabah replied, "Alas! Would you commit murder [and the camels get away from us, when we didn't even meet][233] the man?" Then he went in to see Muḥārib, who welcomed him, and said, "What would you ask of me?" "My camels," he told him. "[Yes", he said, "I took them][234] not knowing whose they were. Now I know, and here are your camels." Then Thaʿlabah took them and said to his mawlā, ["This is better. And what was it you wanted?"][235] The mawlā replied, "Something which, if we had taken it, would have been even more useful."

Muḥārib was joined by officers and commanders of the Syrian army, and he moved against Muslim b. Musayyab who was governing Shīrāz for Ibn ʿUmar, and slew him in the year 128 (745–746), and then went up to Iṣbahān. ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah then moved to Iṣṭakhr, appointing his brother Ḥasan to govern Jibāl. Then he settled at a monastery one mile *(mīl)* away from Iṣṭakhr. He appointed his brother Yazīd to rule Fārs, and remained where he was. People came to him, members of the Banū Hāshim and others. He collected taxes, and sent out governors. With him were Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and Shaybān b. al-Ḥils b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Shaybanī the Khārijite. Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbdallāh and ʿAbdallāh and ʿIsā b. ʿAlī came to him as well.[236]

Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah then came as governor of Iraq, and sent Nubātah b. Ḥanẓalah al-Kilābī against ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah.

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233. The text has three lacunae here. The Cairo edition supplies the missing phrases from manuscripts not available to the earlier editors.

234. See n. 233 above.

235. See n. 233 above.

236. That is, the future Caliph al-Manṣūr and two of his paternal uncles.

Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb learned that Ibn Hubayrah had made Nubātah governor of Ahwāz, and he dispatched Dāwud b. Ḥatim, who stationed himself at Kurbuj Dīnār[237] to keep Nubātah out of Ahwāz. [1978]
Then Nubātah advanced and fought him and Dāwud was killed. Sulaymān fled to Sābūr,[238] where the Kurds had seized control and driven out al-Masīḥ b. al-Ḥawārī.[239] Sulaymān fought them and drove them out. He then wrote to ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah swearing allegiance to him, but ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab said, "He will not keep faith with you; he only wants to keep you away from him and devour Sābūr. Write to him and have him come before you, if he is sincere." He wrote to him, and Sulaymān came. But he told his followers, "Come in with me, and if anyone tries to prevent you, fight him." Then they went in, and he told Ibn Muʿāwiyah, "I am the most obedient of men to you." Ibn Muʿāwiyah told him, "Return to your position." And he went back.

Then Muḥārib b. Mūsā broke with Ibn Muʿāwiyah. He gathered a force and marched on Sābūr. His son Mukhallad[240] b. Muḥārib was detained at Sābūr, for Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, brother of ʿAbdallāh, had seized him and put him in prison. Someone told Muḥārib, "Your son is in this man's hands, and you make war on him! Aren't you afraid that he'll kill your son?" But he replied, "May God put him far away!" Yazīd fought him, and Muḥārib was put to flight. He went to Kirmān where he stayed until Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath approached, whereupon he went with him. But he broke with Ibn al-Ashʿath, who killed him and twenty-four of his sons. ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah remained at Iṣṭakhr, until Ibn Ḍubārah came against him with Dāwud, the son of Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah. Ibn Muʿāwiyah gave orders to cut the (pontoon) bridge at Kūfah, so Ibn Hubayrah sent Maʿn b. Zāʾidah from the other side. Sulaymān then said to Abān b. Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām, "The enemy has come against you." And he replied, "I was not commanded to fight them." Sulaymān said, "And by God, you'll never get any orders about

237. The text is Kurbukh Dīnār; it should be read Kurbuj Dīnār, which was a place near Ahwāz. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 249.

238. Sābūr of Bishāpūr had been a Sasanian royal residence, and was one of the five great districts (*kūrah*) of Fārs. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 248.

239. A curious name; "Messiah son of Disciple." The Cairo edition gives al-Ḥimārī.

240. Vocalization is conjectural.

them, either!" Maʿn came and fought them by Marw al-Shādhān,[241] and recited this *rajaz*:

[1979] The Prince of the enemy is not the great deceiver;
he fled from death, and fell into death.

Both Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and another authority give: "He fled from death, and in it he fell." (Maʿn) called out, "A stay? I told you, I've done." Then Ibn Muʿāwiyah fled, and Maʿn did not pursue them. In the battle, a man from the family of Abū Lahab was killed.[242] It had been predicted that a man of the Banū Hāshim would be slain in Marw al-Shādhān. Many prisoners were taken, and Ibn Ḍubārah put a large number of them to death. It is said that among those killed that day was Ḥakīm al-Fard, Abū al-Majd. But it is also said that he was killed at Ahwāz, by Nubātah.

When Ibn Muʿāwiyah fled, Shaybān fled to the island of Ibn Kāwān, and Manṣūr b. Jumhūr to Sind. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd ran away to ʿUmān, and ʿAmr b. Sahl b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz escaped to Egypt. The remainder of the prisoners were sent to Ibn Hubayrah.

Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl reported: He set those prisoners free, and none of them were put to death except Ḥuṣayn b. Waʿlah al-Sadūsī. When Ibn Hubayrah ordered him slain, Ḥuṣayn said, "I alone am to be killed, among all these prisoners?" "Yes," he said, "you are a polytheist, for you composed the verse:

And were I to command the sun, it would not rise.

Ibn Muʿāwiyah went directly to Sijistān; then he came to Khurāsān and Manṣūr b. Jumhūr went to Sind. Maʿn b. Zāʾidah went in search of him along with ʿAṭiyyah al-Thaʿlabī and others of the Banū
[1980] Thaʿlabah, but they could not catch him and turned back. Ḥuṣayn b. Waʿlah al-Sadūsī had been with Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, who then abandoned him, [and he joined up with ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah.][243]

241. That is the Marw of Fārs which was originally a quarter of Iṣṭakhr. Perhaps it had already become the separate village it was in later times. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 280.

242. Abū Lahab was an uncle of the Prophet; in his position of leadership of the Banū Hāshim following the death of Abū Ṭālib, he cooperated with the Prophet's enemies. See *EI*[2] s.v. Abū Lahab.

243. These passages in parenthesis are given in the Cairo edition and fill in the lacunae of the text.

Muwwari' al-Sulamī [captured Ḥuṣayn].[244] He had seen him go inside a thicket and seized him and brought him [to Ma'n b. Zā'idah][245] who sent him to Ibn Ḍubārah, and he sent him to Wāsiṭ. Ibn Ḍubārah marched against 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah at Iṣṭakhr, and settled down opposite the city along the river of Iṣṭakhr.[246] Then Ibn al-Ṣaḥṣaḥ crossed the river with a thousand men. Abān b. Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām and his Syrian troops, followers of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah who had once supported Sulaymān b. Hishām, met this force and they engaged in battle. Ibn Nubātah made for the bridge, and those of the Khārijites who followed Ibn Mu'āwiyah engaged his force. Abān and the Khārijites were routed and a thousand of them were captured and brought to Ibn Ḍubārah, who let them go.[247]

One who was taken that day was 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās. Ibn Ḍubārah learned his genealogy, and said, "What brought you to Ibn Mu'āwiyah, when you knew that he was opposing the Commander of the Faithful?" He replied, "I had a debt, and I paid it." Then Ḥarb b. Qaṭan al-Kinānī spoke on his behalf, saying, "He is our sister's son!"[248] Ibn Ḍubārah gave 'Abdallāh to him, and said, "I wouldn't have proceeded against a man of Quraysh." Then Ibn Ḍubārah said, "The man you were with is charged with certain offenses; do you have any knowledge of them?" "Yes," he said, and he reproached Ibn Mu'āwiyah and accused his friends of sodomy. They brought Ibn Ḍubārah youths who were wearing bright mantles dyed in different colors, more than a hundred boys, and Ibn Ḍubārah stood them before the people, so that they might look upon them. Then Ibn Ḍubārah sent 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī by post-horse to Ibn Hubay- [1981]
rah so he might give him his information. Ibn Hubayrah sent him with Syrian troops to Marwān, and he used to reproach him.

At this time, Ibn Ḍubārah was in the Kirmān desert pursuing 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah. Word of Nubātah's death[249] had reached

244. See n. 243 above.

245. See n. 243 above.

246. That is, the Pulwār. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 275–77.

247. This was a departure from the usual practice with these intransigents. Ibn Ḍubārah seems to have dealt mildly with all the vanquished that day.

248. That is, there were blood relations between them. The Quraysh are a subgroup of the Kinānah.

249. Nubātah was not killed until 130 (September 11, 747–August 30, 748). See Ṭabarī, II/3, 2003 *sub anno* 130, and III/1, 4ff *sub anno* 131. The revolt of 'Abdallāh b.

Ibn Hubayrah. He sent Kurab b. Maṣqalah, al-Ḥakam b. Abī Abyaḍ al-ʿAbsī and Ibn Muḥammad al-Sakūnī, all of whom were eloquent speakers, and they spoke in praise of Ibn Ḍubārah. Ibn Hubayrah also wrote to Ibn Ḍubārah to march with his troops to Fārs; then there came a letter from him ordering him to march to Iṣbahān.

In this year Abū Ḥamzah al-Khārijī led the Pilgrimage acting on behalf of ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq, and as a Khārijite manifesting open opposition to Marwān b. Muḥammad.[250]

How Abū Ḥamzah the Khārijite Led the Pilgrimage

According to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿIsā al-ʿUqaylī—Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Farwī—Mūsā b. Kathīr the mawlā of the Sāʿidīs: At the end of 129 (August 747), the pilgrims had not yet gone to ʿArafah[251] when standards appeared (in Mecca) made of black turbans of *ḥirqānī* stuff fixed to the heads of lances, carried by seven hundred men. The people were frightened as soon as they saw them, and asked, "What are you doing, and what do you want?" The men then told them of their opposition to Marwān and the Marwānids, and their disavowal of him. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaymān, who was at that time governor of Madīnah and Mecca,[252] sent messages to them under the truce (of the Pilgrimage), and they replied, "Our minds are resolved upon our pilgrimage, and we begrudge any other business." He made a peace agreement with them on the condition that each party should guar-
[1982] antee the other's safety until the last pilgrims returned from Minā.[253] However, they rose early on the morrow and took their stance as a separate group on Mt. ʿArafah,[254] and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b.

Muʿāwiyah extended over several years. He was ultimately killed by the ʿAbbāsids. See n. 231 above.

250. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1942, 1943 and 2006–2014; III/1, 11; *FHA*, 168ff; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 406, 417.

251. The assembly on Mt. ʿArafah on the ninth day of the Month of Pilgrimage from noon to sunset is the central rite of the pilgrimage. See *EI*² s.v. ʿArafa and Ḥadjdj.

252. His father Sulaymān was the son of the Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik.

253. The three days at Minā conclude the pilgrimage season in a mood of celebration and festivity from the 11th to the 13th of the month. See *EI*² s.v. Ḥadjdj. The text then has *yaṣbaḥū*, "they rise at morning," corrected by the Cairo edition to *aṣbaḥū*.

254. As followers of a different caliph, the Khārijites could not follow the rites of Marwān's appointee.

Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was pushed aside with the people. When the pilgrims were at Minā, people reproached 'Abd al-Wāḥid and said, "You made a mistake with them. Had you incited the pilgrims against them, they'd have been no more than an itch on your head." Abū Ḥamzah stayed at Qurayn al-Tha'ālib,[255] and 'Abd al-Wāḥid at the governor's residence *(manzil al-sulṭān)*. Then 'Abd al-Wāḥid sent 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ b. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as well as Rabī'ah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and such (notables) to visit Abū Ḥamzah. They found him wearing a rough cotton waist-wrapper. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan (the 'Alawī) and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh (the 'Uthmānī) presented them to him, and he asked for their own genealogies, so they traced their lineage for him. He looked sternly into their faces and showed his aversion.[256] He then asked 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qāsim (the Bakrī) and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar (the 'Umarī), and they traced their lineage for him. He was cheerful toward them, and smiling in their faces, he said, "By God, we only became Khārijites that we might follow the course of both your forefathers!" At this, 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan (the 'Alawī) told him, "And by God, we didn't come out so that you could show your favor to some of our forefathers; the amīr sent us to you with a message, and Rabī'ah will inform you of it!"

When Rabī'ah mentioned "breach of agreement," Balj and Abrahah, who were two of his officers, said, "Now! Now!" But Abū Ḥamzah turned to them and said, "God forbid that we should break our agreement or detain you. By God, I would not do it, though this [1983] neck of mine were to be cut. However, you are breaking the truce that is between us and you." When he had refused them, they left and informed 'Abd al-Wāḥid. When the pilgrims left Minā, 'Abd al-Wāḥid was in the first party. He left Mecca to Abū Ḥamzah, who entered it without a fight.

'Abbās—Hārūn—Ya'qūb b. Ṭalḥah al-Laythī recited some verses in which 'Abd al-Wāḥid was satirized. He said, "They are by some poet whose name I don't remember:"

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255. For Qurayn al-Tha'ālib, see Azraqī, I, 410, 414.

256. The Khārijites regarded both 'Uthmān and 'Alī as grave sinners. For them, only Abū Bakr and 'Umar among the first four caliphs were "rightly guided shaykhs."

There visited the pilgrims a gang who contravened
God's own religion, so ʿAbd al-Wāḥid fled.

He left his women and his amirate running,
striking the ground like a runaway camel.

Had his father stripped his bone of flesh,
his origin had been purer, due the father's root.

Then ʿAbd al-Wāḥid went on until he entered Madīnah and called for the registry *(dīwān)*. He called up the people in a levy, and gave each of them a ten dirham increase in their pay. According to ʿAbbās—Hārūn—Abū Ḍamrah Anas b. ʿIyāḍ: He was among those who were registered, but then his name was erased. He also said, "More than one of our companions told me that ʿAbd al-Wāḥid appointed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān to lead the people, and they went out. When they were at the Ḥarrah[257] they came upon slaughtered camels, and passed on."

ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān led the
[1984] Pilgrimage this year, according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone—Isḥāq b. ʿIsā—Abū Maʿshar al-Sindī. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī and others say the same. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was governor of Mecca and Madīnah. The governor of Iraq was Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah. According to what is mentioned, al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿĀṣim al-Muḥāribī was in charge of the judiciary at Kūfah, while at Baṣrah it was ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr. Khurāsān was ruled by Naṣr b. Sayyār, and there was civil war.

257. The basalt desert outside of Madīnah. See *EI*[2] s.v. al-Ḥarra.

The Events of the Year 130

(SEPTEMBER 11, 747–AUGUST 30, 748)

Among the events of this year was Abū Muslim's entry into the walled city of Marw and his occupation of the Government House (Dār al-Imārah) there, and the agreement of 'Alī b. Juday' al-Kirmānī to join him in fighting Naṣr b. Sayyār.[258]

How Abū Muslim Entered the Walled City of Marw

Abū al-Khaṭṭab reported:[259] Abū Muslim's entrance into the walled city of Marw and his occupation of the Government House where the governors of Khurāsān reside occurred on Thursday, the ninth of Jumādā II 130 (February 14, 748). The reason for 'Alī b. Juday' al-Kirmānī's move to Abū Muslim was as follows. Sulaymān b. Kathīr was camped opposite 'Alī b. Kirmānī when the latter made a pact with Naṣr to fight Abū Muslim. Sulaymān b. Kathīr said to 'Alī, "Abū Muslim says, 'Aren't you reluctant to make up with Naṣr b. Sayyār, when only yesterday he killed your father and crucified him? I had not reckoned you would join with Naṣr b. Sayyār [even] [1985]
to pray in one mosque with him.'" At this, 'Alī b. al-Kirmānī's zeal

258. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 310ff; Ibn Khayyāṭ, I, 412.
259. That is Ḥamzah b. 'Alī b. Muḥfiz al-Rāwī. See index to Cairo edition, X, 230.

was stirred, and he went back on his decision; the truce of the Arabs thus came apart.

When the truce came apart, Naṣr sent to Abū Muslim asking him to come in on the side of the Muḍar, while the Rabī'ah and the Qaḥṭān sent similar requests on their own behalf. They had exchanged messages on this for some days, when Abū Muslim told them to let delegations from both factions come to him so that he might choose one or the other. They did so. But Abū Muslim ordered the ('Abbāsid) Shī'ah to choose the Rabī'ah and the Qaḥṭān, since authority *(sulṭān)* was vested in Muḍar and it was they who were governing for Marwān al-Ja'dī[260] and the murderers of Yaḥyā b. Zayd.[261] The two delegations then appeared. In the delegation of Muḍar there were 'Aqīl b. Ma'qil b. Ḥassān al-Laythī, 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd Rabbihi al-Laythī, al-Khaṭṭāb b. Muḥriz al-Sulamī and others among their leading men. The delegation of Qaḥṭān were 'Uthmān b. al-Kirmānī, Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, Sawrah b. Muḥammad b. 'Azīz al-Kindī and other leading men of theirs. Abū Muslim told 'Uthmān b. al-Kirmānī and his companions to go into the orchard of al-Muḥtafiz where carpets and cushions were spread for them. They seated themselves there while Abū Muslim took his place in a room of the house of al-Muḥtafiz. Permission was given to 'Aqīl b. Ma'qil and his companions from the delegation of Muḍar, and they entered. There were seventy men of the Shī'ah[262] in the room with Abū Muslim. He read aloud a document he had written for the Shī'ah, that said they should choose one side or the other. When he had finished reading the document, Sulaymān b. Kathīr rose and spoke. He was an eloquent orator, and he chose 'Alī b. al-Kirmānī and his followers. Then Abū Manṣūr Ṭalḥah b. Zurayq the *naqīb* stood up. He was also an accomplished speaker, and he said much the same as
[1986] Sulaymān b. Kathīr. Mazyad b. Shaqīq al-Sulamī[263] then rose and

260. That is, the Caliph. The name "Ja'dī" can mean "curly-haired." This is most often used to discredit Marwān.

261. Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was the son of the Zayd from whom the Zaydī Shī'ah take their name, who had been killed in an uprising in Kūfah in 122(740). Yaḥyā fled to Khurāsān and hid in Balkh for three years and was slain in 126 (744). His death aroused great sympathy in Khurāsān. There had been links between him and the 'Abbāsids, and Abū Muslim's acting as his avenger was a popular move. See Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 338.

262. Presumably the seventy *naqībs* and *du'āt*.

263. Mazyad b. Shaqīq was a *naqīb*. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 217.

said, "Muḍar are the slayers of the Prophet's family, the supporters of the Banū Umayyah and the party of Marwān al-Ja'dī. Our blood is on their necks, our possessions are in their hands, and the consequences (of their acts) await them. Naṣr b. Sayyār is Marwān's governor for Khurāsān, who carries out his orders, and calls for allegiance to him in his minbar, and calls him 'Commander of the Faithful.' Before God, we are innocent of all that, or that Marwān should command the Faithful or that Naṣr should judge what is guidance or right behavior. We have chosen 'Alī b. al-Kirmānī and his followers from the Qaḥṭān and the Rabī'ah." Then the seventy who had gathered in the room agreed with the words of Mazyad b. Shaqīq.

The delegation of Muḍar then got up humiliated and distressed, and Abū Muslim sent al-Qāsim b. Mujāshi' with horsemen to escort them back to where they were safe, while the delegation of 'Alī b. al-Kirmānī returned full of joy and triumph. Abū Muslim stayed at Alīn for twenty-nine days, and from there went back to his camp at Mākhuwān. He told the Shī'ah to build dwellings for themselves and to lay in supplies for the winter, since God had spared them from a united Arab front against them, and at their hands, had led the Arabs to disunity, as He had preordained in His might. After journeying from Alīn, Abū Muslim entered Mākhuwān on Thursday, midway through Ṣafar 130 (October 25, 747). He stayed at Mākhuwān three months, or ninety days, and entered the walled city of Marw on Thursday, the ninth night of Jumādā I that same year (January 26, 748).

The walled city of Marw was then held by Naṣr b. Sayyār, since he was the governor of Khurāsān. 'Alī b. al-Kirmānī now sent a message [1987]
to Abū Muslim, "Enter the walled city and my tribe with me will also enter, and thus we shall gain control of the walled town." Abū Muslim sent this reply, "I fear that you will join with Naṣr b. Sayyār to fight me, but go on; enter and engage him and his followers in combat." 'Alī b. al-Kirmānī did so, and Abū Muslim sent Abū 'Alī Shibl b. Ṭahmān the *naqīb* with a force. They came inside the walled city, settled in the palace of the Bukhārākhudā and sent word to Abū Muslim to come. Abū Muslim came into the city from the camp at Mākhuwān. Over his vanguard he put Asīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Khuzā'ī, Mālik b. Haytham al-Khuzā'ī led the right flank, and al-Qāsim b. Mujāshi' al-Tamīmī the left. He proceeded until he was in-

side the walls, where the two factions were fighting each other. He then ordered them to desist, reciting the words from God's Book, "And he entered the city at a time when its people were careless, and found there two men fighting; the one was of his own Shī'ah, and the other was one of his enemies."[264] Abū Muslim then went on to the Government Palace of Marw, where the governors of Khurāsān stayed. This was on Thursday, the ninth of Jumādā I (January 27, 748).

The next day, Friday, the tenth of Jumādā (January 28, 748), Naṣr b. Sayyār fled Marw, leaving the city to Abū Muslim. When he entered the walled city of Marw, Abū Muslim ordered Abū Manṣūr Ṭalḥah b. Zurayq to administer the oath of allegiance to the forces of the Hāshimiyyah.[265] Abū Manṣūr was an eloquent man of noble mien, skilled in speech, and learned in the polemics of the Hāshimiyyah and their esoteric doctrines. He was one of the twelve *naqībs* whom Muḥammad b. 'Alī had selected from among the seventy who had responded favorably to him when he sent his emissary to Khurāsān in 103 or 104 (721 or 722). Muḥammad b. 'Alī had instructed the emissary to have them swear allegiance to the Chosen One *(al-Riḍā)* but not to specify anyone by name.

[1988]

He set patterns of action for his emissary, and described what justice should be like. The latter then went out to them and propagandized secretly, and people responded to him. When their numbers reached seventy, he took twelve of them as *naqībs*. From the Khuzā'ah, Sulaymān b. Kathīr, Mālik b. al-Haytham, Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, Ṭalḥah b. Zurayq and 'Amr b. A'yān. From the Ṭayy', Qaḥṭabah whose name was Ziyād b. Shabīb b. Khālid b. Ma'dān. From the Tamīm, Mūsā b. Ka'b called Abū 'Uyaynah, Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ and al-Qāsim b. Mujashi', all from the Banū Imru' al-Qays, and Aslam b. Sallām, called Abū Sallām.[266] From Bakr b. Wā'il there were Abū Dāwud

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264. Qur. 18:15.

265. The Hāshimiyyah in Khurāsān are almost certainly to be identified with the Rāwandiyyah. They believed that Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib at his death, ca. 98 (716-717) had transferred the Imāmate to Muḥammad b. 'Alī the 'Abbāsid. Most of his following, based in Iraq, had transferred their allegiance to the 'Abbāsids. This Iraqī group represented only one part of the 'Abbāsid Shī'ah but it was the inner core, in which the Khurāsānī following was subsumed. See *EI*[2] s.v. Hāshimiyya.

266. The *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 282, 288, 291, mentions an Aslam b. Abī Sallām who was active in the 'Abbāsid cause. He is, however, not listed among the *naqībs*.

Khālid b. Ibrāhīm, the brother of Sadūs, of the Banū 'Amr b. Shaybān and Abū 'Alī al-Harawī. Elsewhere it is stated that Shibl b. Ṭaḥmān was in place of 'Amr b. A'yan, and that 'Isā b. Ka'b or Abū al-Najm 'Imrān b. Isma'īl was in the place of Abū 'Alī al-Harawī, who was a relative of Abū Muslim's wife.[267]

The only one of the *naqībs* whose father was still alive was Abū Manṣūr Ṭalḥah b. Zurayq b. As'ad known as Abū Zaynab al-Khuzā'ī. He had seen the campaign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, and had been a comrade of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah in frontier raids *(maghāzī)*. Abū Muslim used to consult him on matters, and ask him about his experiences in wars and raids. He would call him by his *kunyā* of Abū Manṣūr, and would say, "Abū Manṣūr, what do you say? What do you think?"

Abū al-Khaṭṭāb reported: One who was there when Abū Manṣūr [1989]
administered the oath of allegiance to the Hāshimiyyah told us he said, "I ask you for allegiance to the Book of God, may He be exalted and glorified, and to the *sunnah* of His prophet, God bless him and give him peace, and to obey the Chosen One from the family of God's messenger. You must swear to do this by solemn oath and covenant with God, that [otherwise] your wives will be divorced and your slaves set free and you must go on foot to the House of God. Pledge that you will not ask for wage or pay until your superiors *[wulāt]* initiate it for you. Even if the enemy of one of you should be beneath his foot, you will not stir up strife except by the order of your superiors." When Abū Muslim had imprisoned Salm b. Aḥwaz, Yūnus b. 'Abd Rabbihi, 'Aqīl b. Ma'qil and Manṣūr b. Abī al-Khirqā' and his companions, he consulted Abū Manṣūr. He told him, "Make

267. If one substitutes the replacements indicated by Ṭabarī, his list is identical to that of the *Akhbār al-'Abbās*, 215ff. This list, as it stands in this text of Ṭabarī, is identical to the first group of *naqībs* allegedly formed at the turn of the first Islamic century. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1358 *sub anno* 100. The earlier account of Ṭabarī is apparently recalled here. This would imply that there were two lists of *naqībs*: one drawn up in 100 (718-719) and the other drawn up by Bukayr b. Māhān after the death of Muḥammad b. 'Alī in 125 (November 4, 742-October 23, 743). It would have been remarkable that so many *naqībs* of the Khurāsān apparatus continued to be active in their positions thirty years after their initial recruitment to the 'Abbāsid cause. It may well be that the early list mentioned by Ṭabarī *sub anno* 100 (August 3, 718-July 23, 719) is a backformation to give the 'Abbāsids an active revolutionary presence in that region from almost the beginning of Muḥammad b. 'Alī's īmāmate, and that the likes of Sulaymān b. Kathīr, Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb and the others only later became part of a formal revolutionary organization. (J.L.)

your whip the sword, and your prison the grave." So Abū Muslim brought them out and killed them. Their number was twenty-four men.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—al-Ṣabbaḥ the mawlā of Jibrīl—Maslamah b. Yaḥyā: Abū Muslim appointed Khālid b. 'Uthmān chief of his guard; Mālik b. al-Haytham was made chief of security; al-Qāsim b. Mujāshi' was put in charge of the judiciary; and Kāmil b. Muẓaffar was in charge of the registry *(dīwān)*.[268] He gave each man a salary *(rizq)* of four thousand dirhams. Abū Muslim stayed in his camp at Mākhuwān for three months and then marched by night with a large force for the camp of Ibn al-Kirmānī. Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ had command of his right, al-Qāsim b. Mujāshi' had the left, and Abū Naṣr Mālik b. al-Haytham commanded the vanguard. He left Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mākhuwānī in charge of his fortified camp. By the early morning, Abū Muslim was in the camp
[1990] of Shaybān, so Naṣr feared that Abū Muslim and Ibn al-Kirmānī would join together to fight him. He therefore sent a message to Abū Muslim proposing that the latter enter the city of Marw and he would be reconciled with him. Abū Muslim responded favorably, so Naṣr was reconciled toward Abū Muslim. All that same day, Naṣr had exchanged messages with Ibn Aḥwaz, while Abū Muslim was in the camp of Shaybān. The next morning Naṣr and Ibn al-Kirmānī engaged in combat, and Abū Muslim came up to enter the city of Marw. He warded off Naṣr's cavalry as well as that of Ibn al-Kirmānī, and entered the city on the seventh or ninth of Rabī' II 130 (January 12 or 14, 748) reciting the verse, "And he entered the city, at a time when its people were careless, and found there two men fighting; the one was of his own Shī'ah, and the other was one of his enemies. Then the one that was of his Shī'ah cried to him to aid him against the one that was of his enemies; so Moses struck him and killed him, and said, 'This is of Satan's doing; surely he is a misleading and manifest enemy!' "[269]

According to 'Alī—Abū al-Dhayyāl and Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī:

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268. That is, Abū Muslim created elements of a shadow government even before he displaced the Umayyads from rule in Khurāsān. The expanded shadow governments in Khurāsān and Iraq (under Abū Salamah) then became the 'Abbāsid government in place and tended to ease the transition between the end of the Umayyads and the establishment of their successors. See Sharon, *'Alīyat*, 176–84. (J.L.)

269. Qur. 28:15.

When Abū Muslim entered the city of Marw, Naṣr told his followers, "I see that this man's strength has grown and that the people have come running to him. I have made a truce with him, and what he wants will be, so let us get out of this city and leave him here." Then they differed, some saying "yes" and some "no". At last he said, "You will surely remember what I said." He told his particular friends among the Muḍar, "Go off to Abū Muslim, meet him, and obtain whatever terms you can from him." Abū Muslim sent Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ to Naṣr to summon him, and Lāhiz quoted the Qur'ānic verse, "The Council are conspiring to kill you."[270] He recited the verses before that as well. Naṣr understood, and he told his slave, "Prepare my ablution for me." He rose as if he were going to make his ablutions, went into an orchard, slipped out of it and mounted a horse and fled.[271]

According to 'Alī—Abū al-Dhayyāl—Iyās b. Ṭalḥah b. Ṭalḥah: I was with my father, and my paternal uncle had gone to Abū Muslim to offer him his allegiance but had delayed until I prayed the afternoon prayer. There was little daylight left and we were waiting for [1991] him. We had prepared dinner for him, and I was sitting with my father, when Naṣr suddenly passed by us on a horse which I knew was the best in his palace. With him were his chamberlain and al-Ḥakam b. Numaylah al-Numayrī. My father said, "Surely he's fleeing; no one is with him, and there is no spear or banner carried before him." He passed by us and barely saluted us. When he'd gone past, he struck his horse, and al-Ḥakam b. Numaylah called to his slaves, and they mounted and followed him.

According to 'Alī—Abū al-Dhayyāl—Iyās: Our place was four *farsakhs* (24 km) from Marw, and Naṣr passed by us after dark. The people of the village began to clamor and ran away. My family and my brothers said, "Get out, don't be killed!" They wept, so I left with my father's brother, al-Muhallab b. Iyās, and we caught up with Naṣr after part of the night had passed. He had forty men with him. His horse had stopped, and he had dismounted from it. Bishr b. Bisṭam b. 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl al-Burjumī put him on his own horse. Then Naṣr said, "I don't feel safe from pursuit. Who's going to lead

270. Qur. 28:20.

271. Dīnawarī, 363, indicates that Naṣr had agreed to join Abū Muslim and had in fact been given a surety. Nevertheless, he fled.

us?" ʿAbdallāh b. ʿArʿarah al-Ḍabbī said, "I'll lead you." "You're the man to do it," Naṣr told him. He hurried us through that night, until we stopped at dawn at a well in the desert twenty *farsakhs* (120 km) or so away. We were six hundred now, and we traveled all day and dismounted at the afternoon prayer within sight of the houses and strongholds of Sarakhs. By now we were fifteen hundred. I went off with my uncle to a friend of ours from the Banū Ḥanīfah called Miskīn, and we slept through the night there without eating anything. We woke up next morning and he brought us a dish of gruel of which we ate. We were very hungry, not having eaten for a day and a night. Then the people gathered together, and they had become three thousand. We stopped at Sarakhs two days, and when no one came after us, Naṣr went on to Ṭūs and told them the news about Abū Muslim. He stopped there for fifteen days, and then moved on, as did we, to Naysābūr and stayed there.

Now Abū Muslim had settled in the governor's palace after Naṣr
[1992] fled Marw. Ibn al-Kirmānī had come and had entered Marw when Abū Muslim did. Abū Muslim said when Naṣr escaped, "Naṣr considers me a wizard, but by God, he's one."

Another source that I have not mentioned says this on the matter of Naṣr and Ibn al-Kirmānī and Shaybān al-Ḥarūrī: Abū Muslim moved in 130 (747–748) from his camp at the village of Sulaymān b. Kathīr to a village called Mākhuwān and camped there. He sought the aid of ʿAlī b. Juday' al-Kirmānī and his Yamanī followers, and he also sought help from Naṣr b. Sayyār and his followers. He sent messages to both sides, showing each of them that he was prepared to make peace with them and come to an agreement with them, and ready to obey them. ʿAlī b. Juday' accepted this, and acted as Abū Muslim wanted him to by entering into a pact with him. When Abū Muslim was assured by ʿAli b. Juday''s pledge to him, he wrote to Naṣr b. Sayyār to send a delegation to be present when he and his companions discussed the promise he had made to side with Naṣr. He sent a similar message to ʿAlī b. Juday'. This source describes how the leaders of the Shīʿah chose the Yaman over the Muḍar, much as it is described by the man whose account we have mentioned above in this book, and he observes that when Abū Muslim sent Shibl b. Ṭahmān with others to Marw to occupy the palace of the Bukhārākhudāh, he only sent him as a reinforcement for ʿAlī b. Al-Kirmānī. He says (that) Abū Muslim and all his followers went

from his fortified camp at Mākhuwān to 'Alī b. Juday'. The chief men *(ashrāf)* of the Yaman were there with 'Alī and his brother 'Uthmān, as well as their allies of the Rabī'ah. When Abū Muslim was opposite the walled city of Marw, 'Uthmān b. Juday' and the chief men of the Yaman and Rabī'ah received him with a great body of horsemen. He entered the camp of 'Alī b. al-Kirmānī and Shaybān [1993] b. Salamah al-Ḥarūrī along with the *naqībs*, and waited at 'Alī b. Juday''s chamber. 'Alī entered and agreed to (the alliance), and gave him and all those with him guarantees of safety. They then went together to the chamber of Shaybān, who was saluted in those days as Commander of the Faithful (that is, Caliph). Abū Muslim told 'Alī to go sit beside Shaybān, informing 'Alī that it was not lawful for him to salute Shaybān (in this way). Abū Muslim wanted to greet 'Alī as "Amīr," so that Shaybān would think that he was saluting Shaybān. 'Alī did this, and then Abū Muslim went in and said, "Peace be to you, Amīr." He was gracious to Shaybān and made much of him. Then Abū Muslim took his leave and stayed two nights at the palace of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Azdī. He then returned to his entrenched camp at Mākhuwān and stayed there three months. He moved from Mākhuwān to Marw on the seventh of Rabī' II 130 (January 12, 748) leaving Abū 'Abd al-Karīm al-Mākhuwānī behind in charge of his army. Abū Muslim appointed Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ to command his right wing, Qāsim b. al-Mujāshi' his left, and Mālik b. al-Haytham over his vanguard. Marching by night, he came early in the morning to the gates of Marw, and sent word to 'Alī b. Juday' to send his cavalry. When he came to the gate of the governor's palace, he found the two factions engaged in a violent battle within the walled city. He sent messengers to them to cease fighting and each go to their own camp, and they complied. He then sent Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ, Quraysh b. Shaqīq, 'Abdallāh b. al-Bakhtarī and Dāwud b. Karrāz to Naṣr, summoning him to the Book of God and obedience to the Chosen One, from the family of Muḥammad. When Naṣr saw what the Yaman and the Rabī'ah and the non-Arabs were doing, and that he was powerless against them, he saw no way out but to show his acceptance of the message sent [1994] him, that is, to come to Abū Muslim and pay his allegiance. He delayed until evening, due to the thoughts of faithlessness and of flight which troubled him. He then ordered his followers to leave that night for a place where they would be safe. However, it was not easy

for them to leave that night and Salm b. Aḥwaz told him, "It is not feasible for us to leave tonight, but we shall leave the next." When dawn came, Abū Muslim began to array his cavalry squadrons, and kept at this into the afternoon. He sent Lāhiz b. Qurayẓ, Quraysh b. Shaqīq, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Bakhtarī, Dāwud b. Karrāz and a number of the non-Arabs of the Shīʿah to Naṣr. They went in to see him, and Naṣr said, "How evil is what you return for." Lāhiz replied, "There is no way out of this for you." Then Naṣr said, "Well then, if there is no way out, I shall make my ablutions and go out to him. I shall send a messenger to Abū Muslim, and if this is his idea and his command I shall go to him, and may it be pleasant in his sight. I shall ready myself until my messenger returns." Then Naṣr stood, and when he stood, Lāhiz recited this verse of the Qur'ān, "The council are conspiring to kill you; depart, for I am one of your sincere advisers."[272] Naṣr went into his dwelling and told them he would wait for his messenger's return from Abū Muslim. As soon as night fell, he slipped out from behind his chamber with Tamīm his son and al-
[1995] Ḥakam b. Numaylah al-Numayrī, his chamberlain, and his wife, and they fled. When Lāhiz and his companions missed him, they entered his dwelling and discovered that he had left. When this came to (the ears of) Abū Muslim, he went to the camp of Naṣr and took his trusted followers and their chief men and tied their hands behind their backs. One of these was Salm b. Aḥwaz, Naṣr's chief of security. The others were al-Bakhtarī his secretary, and two of his sons; Yūnus b. ʿAbd Rabbihi, Muḥammad b. Qaṭan, Mujāhid b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn, [Naṣr b. Idrīs, Manṣūr b. ʿUmar b. Alī al-Khirqā', ʿAqīl b. Maʿqil al-Laythī, Sayyār b. ʿUmar al-Sulamī, and leading men of the Muḍar]. He put them in irons [and put ʿIsā b. Aʿyan in charge of them].[273] They stayed in confinement with him until Abū Muslim ordered them all put to death.

Naṣr stopped at Sarakhs with the Muḍar who had followed him, who numbered three thousand. Abū Muslim and ʿAlī b. Juday' set out in pursuit of him, and followed him all that night, until at daybreak they came to a village called Naṣrāniyyah. They found that

272. Qur. 28:20.

273. These passages in brackets are taken from the Cairo edition and replace lacunae in the text.

Naṣr had left his wife, al-Marzubānah, behind in the village and (thus) saved himself.

Abū Muslim and ʿAlī went back to Marw, and Abū Muslim asked those whom he had sent to Naṣr, "What made him suspicious of you?" "We do not know," they replied. "Did one of you say anything?" he asked. They replied, "Lāhiz recited this verse of the Qur'ān, 'The council are conspiring to kill you.'" "That is what put him to flight," Abū Muslim said. Then he asked, "Lāhiz, would you corrupt religion?" and cut off his head.

This year Shaybān b. Salamah al-Ḥarūrī was killed.

The Death of Shaybān b. Salamah the Khārijite and the Reason for It

According to what has been reported the reason for his death is as follows. ʿAlī b. Juday' and Shaybān had joined forces to fight Naṣr b. Sayyār because of Shaybān's hostility to Naṣr. This was because he was one of Marwān b. Muḥammad's governors, while Shaybān held [1996]
the opinions of the Khārijites. ʿAlī b. Juday' was opposed to Naṣr because ʿAlī was a Yamanī and Naṣr was a Muḍarī and (because) Naṣr had killed ʿAlī's father and crucified him, and because of the tribal feeling *(ʿaṣabiyyah)* that separated the two factions, Yaman and Muḍar. When ʿAlī b. al-Kirmānī entered an agreement with Abū Muslim and Shaybān abandoned them, Shaybān left Marw, since he knew he could not fight Abū Muslim and ʿAlī (combined against him). Meanwhile Naṣr had fled Marw (and gone to Sarakhs).[274]

According to [ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Abū Ḥafṣ and] al-Ḥa [san b. Rashīd and Abū al-Dhayyāl]: When [the period of truce between Abū Muslim and Shaybān][275] was over, Abū Muslim sent to Shaybān asking him for his allegiance. Shaybān said, "It is I who call on you for allegiance." Abū Muslim then sent him this message, "If you will not live under our rule, then leave the place where you are dwelling." At this, Shaybān sent to ʿAlī al-Kirmānī asking for help, but he refused to give it. Shaybān thus went to Sarakhs, where a large number of the Bakr b. Wā'il joined him. Abū Muslim sent him

274. See n. 273 above.
275. See n. 273 above.

nine men of the tribe of Azd, among them al-Muntajiʿ b. al-Zubayr, calling on him to join their movement and asking him to stop what he was doing. Shaybān sent back an answer, and then arrested Abū Muslim's messengers and put them in prison. At this, Abū Muslim wrote to Bassām b. Ibrāhīm, the mawlā of the Banū Layth at Abīward, ordering him to march against Shaybān and fight him. Bassām did so, and put him to flight and pursued him into the town. Shaybān was killed along with a number of the Bakr b. Wāʾil. Someone told Abū Muslim, "Bassām is taking revenge for his father, and slays the innocent with the guilty." Abū Muslim wrote him to come to Marw, and he did, leaving a man behind in charge of his forces.

According to ʿAlī—al-Mufaḍḍal: When Shaybān was killed, a man
[1997] of Bakr b. Wāʾil called Khafāf came upon the messengers whom Abū Muslim had sent to Shaybān. They were imprisoned in a house, and he took them out and killed them. It is also said that Abū Muslim sent a force on his behalf against Shaybān, headed by Khuzaymah b. Khāzim and Bassām b. Ibrāhīm.

In this year Abū Muslim killed ʿAlī and ʿUthmān the sons of Juday' al-Kirmānī.

Why Abū Muslim Killed the Sons of Juday' al-Kirmānī

The reason for this, according to what is said is that Abū Muslim had sent Mūsā b. Kaʿb against Abīward. He captured the city, wrote of this to Abū Muslim, and sent Abū Dāwūd to Balkh, where Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī was. When word that Abū Dāwud was making for Balkh reached Ziyād, he left there for Jūzjān together with troops of Balkh, Tirmidh, and others from the districts of Ṭukhāristan. When Abū Dāwud drew near, they fled back to Tirmidh, and Abū Dāwud entered the city of Balkh. Abū Muslim wrote Abū Dāwud ordering him to come to him, and sent Yaḥyā b. Nuʿaym Abū al-Maylāʾ to replace him [at Balkh. Abū Dāwud left][276] and a letter from Abū Muslim came to him on the way, ordering him to turn back. He did, and Abū al-Maylāʾ advanced toward him. Yaḥyā b. Nuʿaym al-Maylāʾ then wrote to Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī that they should join forces, and Ziyād responded favorably. Ziyād then returned, with Muslim b. ʿAbd al-

276. This passage is taken from the Cairo edition and replaces a lacuna in the text.

Raḥmān b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, ʿIsā b. Zurʿah al-Sulamī and the inhabitants of Balkh and Tirmidh and the kings of Ṭukhāristan and the districts on both sides of the river (Oxus). Ziyād and his followers camped one *farsakh* (6 km) from the city of Balkh. Yaḥyā b. Nuʿaym Abū Maylāʾ came out to him with his own followers, and [1998] they joined forces. In full accord, the Muḍar, the Yaman, the Rabīʿah and the non-Arabs with them, as well, agreed to fight the black-clad warriors. They gave the command to Muqātil b. Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, disliking that it should go to anyone from the three tribal divisions. Abū Muslim now ordered Abū Dāwud to al-ʿŪd,[277] and Abū Dāwud proceeded together with his men until they gathered at the river Sarjanān. Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and his men had already sent Abū Saʿīd al-Qurashī as a lookout in the area between ʿŪd and a village called Amadiyān, lest the followers of Abū Dāwud come upon them from the rear, and Abū Saʿīd's flags and banners were the (ʿAbbāsid) black.

When Abū Dāwud and Ziyād gathered with their followers in battle formation, Abū Saʿīd al-Qurashī ordered his own men to join Ziyād and his followers from their rear. They turned and came out behind them from the road to ʿŪd with black banners, so Ziyād's men supposed that this was a surprise attack from Abū Dāwud's side. The battle between the two factions had already been joined, and Ziyād and his followers fled, while Abū Dāwud pursued them. Most of Ziyād's followers plunged into the river Sarjanān, while the majority of his men who stayed behind were killed. Abū Dāwud settled at their camp, taking possession of all that was in it. He did not follow Ziyād or [his followers. Most of those who did pursue them were the forward units of the vanguard][278] of Abū Dāwūd's cavalry, but [only as far] as the city [of Balkh].[279] Ziyād and Yaḥyā and those with them went on to Tirmidh, while Abū Dāwud stayed all that day and part of the next where he was and did not enter the city of Balkh, plundering the goods of those killed at the Sarjanān and of [1999] the Arabs and others who had fled. Balkh was now secure for Abū Dāwud.

Abū Muslim then wrote Abū Dāwud ordering him to come to

277. A large village three *farsakhs* (18 km) from Balkh. See text apparatus n. C.
278. See n. 276 above.
279. See n. 276 above.

him, and sent al-Naḍr b. Ṣubayḥ al-Murrī to govern Balkh. Abū Dāwud came, and he and Abū Muslim agreed to separate 'Alī and 'Uthmān the two sons of al-Kirmānī. Abū Muslim thus sent 'Uthmān to serve as governor of Balkh, and when he got there he appointed al-Furāfiṣah b. Ẓuhayr al-'Absī as his deputy in the city. Meanwhile the Muḍar advanced from Tirmidh, under the command of Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bāhilī. The forces confronted each other, while 'Uthmān's followers were at a village between Barūqān and Dastajird.[280] They fought each other in a violent battle, and 'Uthmān b. Juday'ʿ's followers were routed while the Muḍar and Muslim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān took possession of the city of Balkh, driving out al-Furāfiṣah. The news reached 'Uthmān b. Juday' and al-Naḍr b. Ṣubayḥ while they were at Marwarrudh, so they marched against them. Word of their approach reached Ziyād b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān's men, and they fled that night. Al-Naḍr was slow to pursue them, hoping they would get away. 'Uthmān b. Juday'ʿ's men then encountered them, and they engaged in a violent battle. 'Uthmān's forces were routed, many of his men were killed, and the Muḍar made their way to their friends.

Abū Dāwud returned from Marw to Balkh, and Abū Muslim, accompanied by 'Alī b. Juday', went to Naysābūr. Abū Muslim had agreed with Abū Dāwud that he would kill 'Alī while Abū Dāwud would kill 'Uthmān on the same day. So, when Abū Dāwud arrived at Balkh, he sent 'Uthmān as governor to Khuttal,[281] along with his
[2000] troops from the Yaman and Rabī'ah of Marw and of Balkh. When he left Balkh, Abū Dāwud left [in pursuit of him, and caught up with him on the banks of the Wakhshāb at Wakhsh][282] in the land of Khuttal. Abū Dāwud then fell upon 'Uthmān and his followers. He imprisoned them all, and bound them and beheaded them. Abū Muslim killed 'Alī b. al-Kirmānī that same day. He had already told 'Alī to name for him his special friends, so that he might award

280. These were villages in the vicinity of Balkh. Dastajird was probably the village known as Dastajird Jumūkiyān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 597; II, 573.

281. Khuttal was the region between the Wakhsh river on the west and the Upper Oxus river, or Jaryāb, on the east. To the south, Khuttal was bounded by the Oxus, or Amū Daryā. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 437–38.

282. This passage is taken from the Cairo edition and fills in a lacuna in the text. For the Wakhshāb and Wakhsh, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 434–35.

them positions of trust and give them presents and raiment. ʿAlī had given him the names, so he now put all of them to death.

In this year, Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb came to Abū Muslim in Khurāsān from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. Qaḥṭabah brought the standard which had been given to him by Ibrāhīm, and as soon as he arrived, Abū Muslim put him in charge of his vanguard. He put troops under Qaḥṭabah's command and granted him the power to remove and appoint officers. Abū Muslim then wrote to the army to pay heed to Qaḥṭabah and obey him.

He sent Qaḥṭabah this same year to Naysābūr to encounter Naṣr. According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Abū Dhayyāl, al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jushamī: When Shaybān b. Salamah al-Ḥarūrī was killed, his followers joined Naṣr who was at Naysābūr. Al-Nābī b. Suwayd al-ʿIjlī wrote to Naṣr asking for aid, and Naṣr sent him his son Tamīm b. Naṣr with two thousand men. Meanwhile, Naṣr was preparing to go to Ṭūs. Abū Muslim then sent Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb with other officers, including al-Qāsim b. Mujāshiʿ and Jahwar b. Marrār. Al-Qāsim went by way of Sarakhs, while Jahwar went by way of Abīward. Tamīm sent ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmayr al-Sughdī against Jahwar, who was nearest to him, and ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmayr drove him off. Jahwar then entrenched himself at Kubādqān. Qaḥṭabah and al-Qāsim drew near where al-Nābī was, so Tamīm sent word to ʿĀṣim, "Turn away from Jahwar and confront them." He did, and Qaḥṭabah fought his men. [2001]

Abu Jaʿfar reported from another source than those from whom ʿAlī b. Muḥammad received the information we have cited about Qaḥṭabah and how Abū Muslim sent him against Naṣr and his followers: When Abū Muslim had killed Shaybān al-Khārijī and the sons of al-Kirmānī, driven Naṣr out of Marw and gained the upper hand in all of Khurāsān, he sent his governors to all its territories. He appointed Sibāʿ b. al-Nuʿmān al-Azdī for Samarqand and Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm for Ṭukharistān. He sent Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath to the two Ṭabases and Fāris[283] and set Mālik b. al-Haytham over his security forces. Qaḥṭabah he sent to Ṭūs with a number of officers, including Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Yazīd, Mu-

283. Ṭabas al-ʿUnnāb, Ṭabas al-Tamr and Fāris were the chief towns of the province south of Nīshāpūr (Naysābūr). See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 513; LeStrange, *Lands*, 352ff.

qātil b. Ḥakīm al-ʿAkkī, Khālid b. Barmak, Khāzim b. Khuzaymah, Mundhir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿUthmān b. Nahīk, Jahwar b. Marrār al-ʿIjlī, Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ṭūsī, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān al-Ṭāʾī, Salamah b. Muḥammad, Abū Ghānim ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Ribʿī, Abū Ḥumayd, Abū al-Jahm, whom Abū Muslim appointed as army secretary for Qaḥṭabah, ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl, and Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm, who had with him a number of officers. They engaged the forces at Ṭūs, who were put to flight; the number of those who were trampled to death in the rout was greater than those who were slain in combat. The total number killed that day was about ten thousand.

Abū Muslim sent al-Qāsim b. Mujāshiʿ to Naysābūr along the
[2002] main road, and wrote to Qaḥṭabah ordering him to engage Tamīm b. Naṣr b. Sayyār and al-Nābī b. Suwayd and those Khurasānīs who were attached to them. He also ordered him to send Mūsā b. Kaʿb to him from Abīward. When Qaḥṭabah arrived at Abīward, he sent Mūsā to Abū Muslim and wrote to Muqātil b. Ḥakīm ordering him to send a man to Naysābūr to relieve Qāsim b. Mujāshiʿ. Abū Muslim sent ʿAlī b. Maʿqil with ten thousand men against Tamīm b. Naṣr, ordering him to go to Qaḥṭabah with his men, so that [when Qaḥṭabah entered][284] Ṭūs they could reinforce him. ʿAlī b. Maʿqil went on to camp at a village called Ḥulwān. Word reached Qaḥṭabah of ʿAlī's march and the position he had taken, so he hastened to march to Sūdhqān, the camp of Tamīm b. Naṣr and al-Nābī b. Suwayd. He sent his vanguard with Asīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khuzāʿī commanding [three thousand men of the Shīʿah] from Nasā and Abīward, and Asīd marched to camp at a village called [Ḥabūsān as Tamīm and al-Nābī prepared] to do battle with him. Asīd then wrote Qaḥṭabah informing him [of their resolve to do battle, and that if][285] Qaḥṭabah did not come to him soon, he would be summoning Asīd's men to the judgment of God. He informed him, as well, that these two commanded thirty thousand of the best Khurasānī troops and their cavalry. Qaḥṭabah then sent Muqātil b. Ḥakīm al-ʿAkkī

284. The phrase in parentheses is taken from the Cairo edition and replaces the lacuna in the text.

285. The passages in parentheses are taken from the Cairo edition and replace lacunae in the text.

with a thousand men and Khālid b. Barmak[286] with another thousand. They went to join Asīd, but word reached Tamīm and al-Nābī, who drove them off. Then Qaḥṭabah and his followers came up and prepared to do battle with Tamīm. Qaḥṭabah put Muqātil b. Ḥakīm, Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd and Khālid b. Barmak in charge of his right wing, and Asīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khuzāʿī, al-Ḥasan b. [2003] Qaḥṭabah, al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr and ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in charge of his left, while he himself took the center. He then moved slowly toward the enemy, and called on them to obey the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet, as well as the Chosen One from the family of Muḥammad. However, they did not respond affirmatively. With that, he ordered his right and left wings to attack, and the two forces fought a violent battle, as violent as it could be. Tamīm b. Naṣr was killed in the fighting, and there was great slaughter of his men. Their camp was overrun. Al-Nābī took flight with a number of others, and they locked themselves up in the town. The soldiers then laid siege to the town, breached the wall and entered it, and al-Nābī and those with him were slain. ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmayr al-Samarqandī and Sālim b. Rāwiyah al-Saʿīdī fled to Naṣr b. Sayyār at Naysābūr and told him how his son, Tamīm, and al-Nābī had been slain, along with their followers.

When Qaḥṭabah gained possession of their camp and all that was in it, he placed it in the charge of Khālid b. Barmak and sent Muqātil b. Ḥakīm al-ʿAkkī in command of his vanguard to Naysābūr. News of this reached Naṣr b. Sayyār and he set out, fleeing after the people of Abrashahr. He camped in Qūmis, where his followers left him to join Nubātah b. Ḥanẓalah in Jurjān. Meanwhile Qaḥṭabah advanced on Naysābūr with his troops.

This same year Nubātah b. Ḥanẓalah, governor of Jurjān for Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah (the Umayyad governor of Iraq) was slain.[287]

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286. The ancestor of the Barmakī family of wazīrs. He was son of the last *Parmak* or hereditary high priest of the Nawbahār Buddhist temple near Balkh, and he was active in the Hāshimiyyah movement. *EI*[2] s.v. Barāmika.

289. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 328–31; Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 413ff; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 410; *FHA*, 193.

The Slaying of the Governor of Jurjan

[2004] According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Zuhayr b. Hunayd, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jushamī, Jabalah b. Farrūkh and Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣbahānī: Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah sent Nubātah b. Ḥanẓalah al-Kilābī to Naṣr. He went to Fārs and Iṣbahān and then marched to Rayy and on to Jurjān, but he did not reinforce Naṣr b. Sayyār. At this the Qays told Naṣr, "You'll not take us to Qūmis." They then went off to Jurjān. Nubātah dug a defensive trench. When it ran through the habitation of a particular group, they would bribe him and he would put it off. His trench extended for about a *farsakh* (6 km).

Qaḥṭabah came into Jurjān in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 130 (July 748), with Asīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khuzāʿī, Khālid b. Barmak, Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd, Mūsā b. Kaʿb al-Marāʾī, al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr, and ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī. Mūsā b. Kaʿb commanded his right wing, Asīd b. ʿAbdallāh his left, and al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah led the vanguard. Qaḥṭabah addressed (his forces), "Men of Khurāsān, do you know against whom you are marching and with whom you will do battle? You are going to fight with the remnants of those who burned the House of God, Mighty and Glorified be He."[288]

Al-Ḥasan went forward with the vanguard to the borders of Khurāsān and camped. He sent out ʿUthmān b. Rufayʿ, Nāfiʿ al-Marwazī, Abū Khālid al-Marwarrūdhī and Masʿadah al-Ṭāʾī against an armed party of Nubātah headed by a man called Dhuʿayb. They attacked him by night, killing Dhuʿayb and seventy of his men, and then returned to al-Ḥasan's camp. Qaḥṭabah now arrived and camped opposite Nubātah. The Syrians appeared in greater number than people had ever seen, so that upon beholding them the Khurasānīs were awed and spoke openly to this effect. This reached Qaḥṭabah, and he addressed them saying, "Men of Khurāsān, this land belonged to
[2005] your forefathers before you, and they were given victory over their enemies because they were just and behaved rightly, until they changed and behaved unjustly. God the Mighty and Glorious was then angered with them. Their authority was taken from them, and the humblest people *[ummah]* to share the earth with them was given power over them and took their land and their women and en-

288. The reference is to the Syrian troops of the Umayyads who had ravaged Mecca in 64 (683) and 74 (694). See *EI*[2] s.v. Kaʿba, history.

slaved their children. Yet this people ruled justly withal and kept their word and succored the oppressed. Then they changed and altered; they went astray in their governance, and people of probity and piety came to fear from the race of God's Apostle, may God's benediction be on him, and peace! Thus God has empowered you against them in order that revenge be enacted through you, that you should be their greatest punishment, for you have sought them out for vengeance. The Imām has sworn to me that you would encounter them in numbers great as these, but that God would give you victory over them, and you will rout and slay them."[289]

Qaḥṭabah had a letter from Abū Muslim read out loud: "From Abū Muslim to Qaḥṭabah, in the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Rise up against your enemy, for God the Mighty and Glorified is your helper. And when you prevail against them, let the slaughter be great."

They clashed on a Friday, the first night of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 130 (about June 29, 748), and Qaḥṭabah said, "Men of Khurāsān, God—blessed and glorified be He—has preferred this day above all days, when deeds are increased manifold above all days. This is a great month, wherein is the greatest of your feasts in the sight of God. The Imām has already informed us that you will win a victory on this day of this month against your enemy, so meet him firmly and steadfastly, reckoning on God's reward, for truly, God is with those who persevere."

Qaḥṭabah set off against them with al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah commanding his right wing and Khālid b. Barmak and Muqātil b. Ḥakīm al-ʿAkkī commanding his left. The armies engaged in combat, each persevering against the other. Nubātah was slain, the Syrians were put to flight, and ten thousand of them were killed. Qaḥṭabah then sent Abū Muslim the head of Nubātah and that of his son Ḥayyah. [2006]

According to an elder of the Banū ʿAdī—his father: Sālim b. Rāwiyah al-Tamīmī was one of those who had fled from Abū Muslim and left with Naṣr. Then he was with Nubātah and fought against Qaḥṭabah in Jurjān. When the army fled, he stayed on fighting by himself. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭāʾī, who was one of Qaḥṭabah's cavalrymen, attacked him, and Sālim b. Rāwiyah struck him in the face, putting

289. This speech, if it is authentic, would seem to show that the majority of Qaḥṭabah's "Men of Khurāsān" were non-Arab Muslims: a disputed question.

out his eye. Sālim continued to fight until he was pushed back to the mosque. He went in, and his opponents followed him. Everywhere he attacked them, he made them scatter. He then began shouting, "Give me a waterjug, and by God I'll really give them trouble this day!" They set fire to the roof of the mosque and threw stones at him until they killed him. They brought his head to Qaḥṭabah; there was not a single unmarked spot on the head or the face, so that Qaḥṭabah said, "I've never seen anything like this."

In this year the battle at Qudayd between Abū Ḥamzah the Khārijite and the people of Madīnah[290] took place.

Abū Ḥamzah's Battle with the Madīnans at Qudayd

According to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿIsā al-ʿUqaylī—Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Farwī—more than one source: ʿAbd al-Waḥīd b. Sulaymān (b. ʿAbd al-Malik) appointed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān to lead the people, and they went out (from Madīnah). When they were at the Ḥarrah,[291] they came upon slaughtered camels, and went on. When they were at ʿAqīq[292] their banner caught on a thorn tree, and the pole broke. They thought this beginning boded ill, but kept going until they halted at Qudayd for the night. The village of Qudayd was in the vicinity of the castle which is standing there today; the
[2007] water-tanks were in that place. They made a camp close together, being no warriors, and no one paid attention to them but a group who came out to them from the castle.[293]

Some have asserted that it was the tribe of Khuzāʿah who showed Abū Ḥamzah their exposed situation, and who led them to the Khārijites who slew them. The killing was at the expense of the Quraysh, they being most of the people, the ones with effective power *(al-shawkah)*; a great number of them were slain.

According to ʿAbbās—Hārūn—one of his informants: A man of the Quraysh saw a man from the Yaman who was saying, "Praise be

290. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, I 413ff; *FHA*, 168–70; Azdī, 108–110; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 406. Qudayd was a place between Mecca and Madīnah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 42.

291. See *EI*² s.v. al-Ḥarra.

292. The "blessed valley" west of Madīnah, where according to tradition the Prophet was once told to pray by an angel. See *EI*² s.v. al-ʿAḳīḳ.

293. The reading *al-qaṣr* is from the Cairo edition, emending *al-faḍl* in the text.

to God, who has cooled my eye with the slaughter of Quraysh!"[294] Then he said to his son, "My boy, begin with this one." And it was one of the men of Madīnah. His son came up near him and cut off the man's head. Then the father would say to his son, "Come lad, up this way." And so they fought, until they both were killed. The survivors fled back to Madīnah, and the people mourned their slain. Women grieved at great length for their relatives and would not leave until news about their men arrived. Then the women went out, one after another, each going to her relative, until not one woman remained.

Abū Ḍamrah recited these verses to me concerning his kinsmen slain at Qudayd; one of their comrades lamented them, and said:

What a loss for me; and a loss, no mistake,
for the riders in the dry gulch on the uplands;

There is ʿAmr, and ʿAmr, and ʿAbdallāh among them,
and both their sons—five, and al-Ḥārith makes six.

In this year, Abū Ḥamzah the Khārijite entered Madīnah, city of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and give him peace, and ʿAbd al-Waḥīd b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik fled to Syria.

Abū Ḥamzah's Entry into Madīnah and What Came of It [2008]

According to ʿAbbās b. ʿIsā—Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Farwī—Mūsā b. Kathīr: Abū Ḥamzah entered Madīnah in the year 130 (747–748), as ʿAbd al-Waḥīd b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik fled to Syria. Abū Ḥamzah ascended the *minbar*,[295] praised God and eulogised Him, and said, "People of Madīnah, we have asked you about these rulers of

294. To the Khārijites, who recognized "no genealogy [*nasab*] in religion," the Quraysh were the subverters of the Prophetic community.

295. The *minbar* was the governor's throne in a mosque at this time, and this particular minbar had been the pulpit of the Prophet. Abū Ḥamzah's addresses from this pulpit were considered models of excellent rhetoric and are preserved in a number of collections dealing with Arab eloquence. Parts of the addresses are translated in various editions of Williams, *Islam* s.v. The Khārijīs. See also Ibn Khayyaṭ, I, 407ff *sub anno* 129; Azdī, 106; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, IV, 144ff; al-Jaḥiẓ, *Bayān*, II, 124ff; Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn*, II, 249ff.

yours, and as God lives, what you had to say of them was bad. We asked you, 'Did they put people to death on suspicion?' You told us, 'Yes.' We asked you, 'Did they take, as lawful, wealth and women that are forbidden to them?' You replied, 'Yes.' So we said to you, 'Come, let us go together and ask them in God's name to turn away from you and from us.' You said, 'They will not do it.' Then we told you, 'Come, let us go and fight them together, and if we prevail, we shall bring those who will establish among us the Book of God, and the *(sunnah)* tradition of His Prophet Muḥammad, God's blessing and peace be upon him.' You said, 'We are not strong.' Then we told you, 'Then leave us and them alone. And if we are victorious, we shall be fair in our judgments towards you, and rely with you on the *sunnah* of your Prophet, and divide your *fay'* among you'.[296] Yet you refused, and fought us without them, and we therefore killed you. May God keep you from good and prosperity!"

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar[297]—Ḥizām b. Hishām: The Khārijites numbered four hundred. One group was headed by al-Ḥārith, and one group by Bakkār b. Muḥammad al-'Adawī (that is, the) 'Adī of Quraysh, and another was led by Abū Ḥamzah. They clashed with the people of Madīnah after the latter had made ready to fight them after pleas from the Khārijites to desist. These told them, "By God, we have no need to fight you. Let us go on against our ene-
[2009] mies." But the men of Madīnah refused. They met in battle on Thursday, after the seventh night of Ṣafar 130 (October 19, 747), and the men of Madīnah were massacred. None escaped but those who ran away. Their commander 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh was slain, and the Quraysh suspected that the Khuzā'ah had betrayed them with the Khārijites. Ḥizām told me (Muḥammad b. 'Umar), "By God, I gave shelter to some men from Quraysh until people were given a guarantee of safety. Balj had charge of the vanguard, and the

296. *Fay'* was revenue of properties taken in conquest. The disposition of these revenues by the second and third caliphs was a sore topic. 'Umar and 'Uthmān had in effect held the properties in trust and used the revenues for the community. 'Alī and his followers, and the later Khārijites, were known to favor dividing the *fay'* among the victors. 'Umar had not permitted Arabs to farm land outside the Arabian Peninsula. This especially offended the Yamanīs, who had old agricultural traditions. See *EI*[2] s.v. Fay'.

297. That is, Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, a historian of Madīnah whose works reflect the traditions of the city. He was, however, a beneficiary of the 'Abbāsids, and careful not to offend his patrons. See Petersen, *'Alī and Mu'āwiya*, 83–93.

Khārijites advanced on Madīnah on the 19th night of Safar [October 31, 747]."

According to 'Abbās b. 'Isā—Hārūn b. Mūsā—some of their shaykhs: When Abū Ḥamzah entered Madīnah, he stood up and delivered an address, saying, "People of Madīnah, I passed among you in the time of the squint-eyed Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, when a blight had struck your dates. You wrote to him requesting him to lower the tax on them, and he wrote back lowering it for you. The rich became richer, and the poor became poorer, but you said, 'May God reward you with good!' May God reward neither you nor him with good!"

According to 'Abbās—Hārūn—Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā': Abū Ḥamzah gave the following address; he went up into the minbar, praised God and lauded Him, and then said,

> Know, O people of Madīnah that we did not leave our homes and our possessions lightly or carelessly, or to no avail, nor to overthrow a kingdom wishing to immerse ourselves in government, nor for revenge for an old grievance that touched our honor; but when we saw the lamps of truth had been neglected, and the speaker of truth was upbraided, and that he who stood up for justice was slain, then the earth in all its width became narrow for us, and we heard a herald *[dā'ī]* calling us to obey the Merciful Lord and the rule of the Qur'ān. We responded to the summoner of God, "And he who answers not God's summoner shall not frustrate God's plan on earth."[298] We came forward from scattered tribes, a group of us on one camel carrying ourselves and our supplies, sharing one blanket among ourselves, little people, held as weak on earth; and He received us and aided us by His succor, and we all became brothers to each other, by God, through His grace. Then we met your men at Qudayd, and we summoned them to obey the Merciful Lord and the rule of the Qur'ān. But they summoned us to obey Satan and the judgment of the family of Marwān. And by God's life, far apart are guidance and error! They scurried forward hastening, for Satan had struck in them his partners; his cauldrons boiled with their blood, and his supposition about them was con- [2010]

298. Qur. 46:32.

firmed. But the helpers of God, Mighty and Majestic, came forward in small bands and in squadrons, with every sharpened blade gleaming; and our coil turned, and their coil twisted away, with a blow from which triflers recoil. As for you, O people of Madīnah, if you aid Marwān and the family of Marwān, the God of might and majesty shall destroy you with punishment delivered by Himself or at our hands, and the breasts of faithful folk will recover health. O people of Madīnah, the first among you were the very best, and the last among you are the very worst. O people of Madīnah, the people are of us, and we are of them, unless it be a polytheist who worships idols, or a polytheist among the People of the Book,[299] or an imām who acts unjustly. O People of Madīnah, if anyone asserts that God the Mighty, the Majestic, charges any soul with what is beyond its power or asks of it more than is given to it, then he is an enemy of God, and we have war. O People of Madīnah, they have told me that there are eight divisions of the *zakāt*[300] which God has ordained upon strong and weak alike in his Book. Now a ninth has come, due no part of it, not one portion, and takes all of it for himself, arrogant in opposition to his Lord!

O People of Madīnah, it has reached me that you belittle my comrades. You say they are callow young men, barefoot bedouins. Alas for you, O people of Madīnah! What were the followers of the Messenger of God, God bless him and give him peace, but callow young men? Youths, by God, who were fully mature in their youth—youths whose eyes were closed to evil and whose feet were slow to approach wrongdoing; exchanging with God the life that dies for the life that dies not, they mingled all that was theirs with their fatigue, and rose at night to watch and pray after fasting all the day. They bent their backs over por-
[2011] tions of the Qur'ān, and so oft as they came upon a verse [of fear,

299. "People of the Book," e.g., Jews and Christians who possessed revealed scriptures, are often accused of having "associated" lesser being with God, thereby becoming guilty of idolatry, the worst of sins. See *EI*[2] s.v. Ahl al-Kitāb.

300. The *zakāt* is a tax imposed on all, as it says in Qur'ān 10:60, for carefully defined community purposes. The eight legal beneficiaries are the poor, needy, collectors of the tax, "those whose hearts are to be reconciled," slaves to be ransomed, debtors, "those in God's Way," and travelers. The abbreviated form in which this address is cast, even omitting the proof-text as the speaker would not have done, demonstrates that we have here only a sketch of the main points.

they were racked with terror of the Fire, and when they came upon a verse][301] of desire they were racked with longing for Paradise. When they looked to swords drawn against them, lances pointed at them, arrows notched for them, when a detachment of cavalry thundered at them with bolts of death, they made little account of the threat of that detachment beside the threat of God. They did not take God's threat lightly beside the threat of a detachment; so blessed were they, and fair the place where they returned! And how many an eye which had overflowed long in the depth of night from fear of God met the beak of a bird! How many a hand left its wrist whereon its owner long supported himself [in his prostration to God! How many an excellent cheek and fine forehead was cleft by maces of iron! God have mercy upon those bodies, and make their souls to enter His gardens].[302] I say my say, and I ask God to forgive our deficiencies, for there is no success for me but in God; in Him have I put my trust, to Him shall I repair.

According to ʿAbbās—Hārūn—his grandfather Abū ʿAlqamah: I heard Abū Ḥamzah on the minbar of God's messenger saying, "Whoever fornicates is an infidel; whoever doubts it is an infidel. Whoever steals is an infidel; whoever doubts that he is an infidel is also an infidel."

According to ʿAbbās—Hārūn—his grandfather: He had conducted himself so well among the people of Madīnah that people inclined to him even when they heard him say, "Whoever fornicates is an infidel."

According to ʿAbbās—Hārūn—one of his companions: When he ascended the minbar he said, "The concealed has been revealed, wherever you may be taken. Whoever fornicates is an infidel; whoever steals is an infidel." Hārūn also said that someone recited these verses about the Battle of Qudayd:

What's wrong with Time, and wrong with me, ah—[303] [2012]
Qudayd has destroyed my menfolk, ah—

301. This phrase is missing in the text and is added from the Cairo edition.
302. See n. 301 above.
303. Read *mā li-l-zamān* with the Cairo edition and *al-Aghānī*; the text has *mā li-Qudayd*.

Then let me weep by all means secretly;
and surely I shall weep in public, ah—

I'll weep until I gasp,[304]
like the dogs that bark, ah—

Abū Ḥamzah and his men entered Madīnah on the 17th of Ṣafar (October 29, 747). The authorities differ about how long they remained there: al-Wāqidī says it was three months. Another says they stayed there for the rest of Ṣafar, the two months of Rabīʿ, and part of Jumādā I (i.e., into January 748). The number of the people from Madīnah who were slain at Qudayd according to al-Wāqidī was seven hundred.

It is mentioned that Abū Ḥamzah sent ahead a group of his men commanded by Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar al-Qurashī. After him, it was one of the Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, then Balj b. ʿUyaynah b. al-Hayṣam al-Asadī, a man of Baṣrah. Marwān b. Muḥammad sent ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. ʿAṭiyyah, one of the Banū Saʿd, from Syria with a Syrian contingent.

According to ʿAbbās b. ʿIsā—Hārūn b. Mūsā—Mūsā b. Kathīr: Abū Ḥamzah went out from Madīnah, leaving one of his followers in charge, and went on until he halted at the Wādī.[305]

According to ʿAbbās—Hārūn—a companion from whom Abū Yaḥyā al-Zuhrī used to recite traditions: Marwān picked four thousand men of his army, put Ibn ʿAṭiyyah in command, and ordered
[2013] him to move resolutely. He gave each man a hundred gold dīnārs, an Arab horse, and a mule for his baggage. He ordered Ibn ʿAṭiyyah to go engage them, and if he was victorious, to go on to the Yaman and fight ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā and his followers. Ibn ʿAṭiyyah went out and halted at ʿUlā.[306] A man from Madīnah called al-ʿAlā' b. Aflaḥ

304. Read *shajītu*, "I gasp," with the Cairo edition; the text has *shaḥantu*, "I chase in vain."

305. Presumably the Wādī al-Qurā, a long valley of many villages which was the gateway from the Ḥijāz to Syria. Whoever controlled this Wādī could exert great pressure on the Ḥijāz by cutting off supplies from the north. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 81, 878; Lassner, *ʿAbbāsid Rule*, 71, 264, n. 44. For this account see Ibn Khayyāt I, 416ff; Azdī, 110ff; *FHA*, 181–85; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 66ff. (J.L.)

306. ʿUlā is the biblical Dedan, an oasis town on the incense road in the north Ḥijāz with extensive remains of an advanced pre-Islamic civilization. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 709.

the mawlā of Abū al-Ghayth used to say, "I was a boy at that time, and one of Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's men met me and asked, 'What's your name, boy?' I told him, 'al-ʿAlā.' 'Son of whom?' he asked. 'Son of Aflaḥ,' I told him. 'Mawlā of whom?' he asked. 'Mawlā of Abū al-Ghayth,' I told him. 'Where are we?' he asked. 'At ʿUlā,' I told him. 'And where shall we be tomorrow?' said he. 'At Ghālib,'[307] I told him. He said nothing, but mounted me behind him and rode off taking me to Ibn ʿAṭiyyah. 'Ask this boy his name,' he said. He asked me the questions and I answered as before. He was pleased at that, and gave me several dirhams."

According to ʿAbbās—Hārūn—ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Mājashūn: When Abū Ḥamzah and Ibn ʿAṭiyyah encountered each other, Abū Ḥamzah told his people, "Don't engage them until you are informed about them." They called out to Ibn ʿAṭiyyah's men, "What do you say about the Qur'ān, and doing as it says?" Ibn ʿAṭiyyah shouted back, "We put it in a bag." They called, "What do you say about the property of the orphan?" He replied, "Let's consume the property and commit debauchery with his mother!" These are only some of the things I have heard that they questioned them about. When they had heard their answers, they fought with them until evening. Then they called, "Woe to you, Ibn ʿAṭiyyah; God has made the night for repose;[308] so you repose and we'll repose!" But he refused, and fought them until he killed them.

According to ʿAbbās—Hārūn: When Abū Ḥamzah went out, he took leave of the people of Madīnah saying, "O people of Madīnah, we are going out against Marwān. If we prevail, we will be fair in ruling you, and treat you in accord with the *sunnah* of your Prophet Muḥammad, and divide fairly your *fayʾ* among you. If it goes as they [2014]
wish, 'those who have done wrong shall learn by what an overturning they will be overturned.'"[309]

According to ʿAbbās—Hārūn—one of his companions: "When the news of Abū Ḥamzah's death came to the people [of Madīnah], they fell upon his followers and slew them."

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307. Ghālib was a place in the Ḥijāz near Madīnah; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 869. There is a play on *ghālib* here, which means "a winner," as well as on other words in the responses with fortunate connotations.

308. Qur. 6:96.

309. Qur. 26:227.

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar reported that Abū Ḥamzah and his followers marched against Marwān, and his cavalry, led by Ibn ʿAṭiyyah al-Saʿdī of Qays, met them in Wādī al-Qurā and attacked them. They returned in flight to Madīnah, and the people of Madīnah met them and killed them. He continues: The commander of Marwān's army, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. ʿAṭiyyah al-Saʿdī, that is, Saʿd of Hawāzin,[310] came on to Madīnah at the head of four thousand Arab horsemen. Each had a mule, and some wore two breastplates, or one breastplate and armor[311] and coats of mail and other equipment the likes of which had not been seen at that time. They then went on to Mecca.

Another source reports that when Ibn ʿAṭiyyah entered Madīnah, he stayed there for a month, and then went on to Mecca. He appointed as his deputy in Madīnah al-Walīd b. ʿUrwah b. Muḥammad b. ʿAṭiyyah and continued on to Mecca and the Yaman. He appointed as his deputy in Mecca Ibn Māʿiz, from the Syrian army. Ibn ʿAṭiyyah went on; word reached ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā at Ṣanʿā' that he was coming against him, so he advanced against him with his supporters. The two forces clashed, and Ibn ʿAṭiyyah killed ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā, and sent his son Bashīr to Marwān. Ibn ʿAṭiyyah went on to enter Ṣanʿā', and then sent ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā's head to Marwān.[312] Then Marwān wrote Ibn ʿAṭiyyah, ordering him to march posthaste and lead the Pilgrimage at Mecca. According to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿIsā—Hārūn: He left leading a small group of his men, until they
[2015] camped at Jurf,[313] as ʿAbbās has it. This attracted the attention of some of the people of the village, who said, "He's running away, by God!" Then they started to attack him. He told them, "Woe betide you! This is the leader of the Pilgrimage! By God, the Commander of the Faithful has written to me!"

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Abū al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: I went out along with twelve other men with Ibn ʿAṭiyyah

310. The Saʿd b. Bakr were a subtribe of the Hawāzin, a large North Arabian group of tribes of Qays ʿAylān, which was mostly of Ḥijāzi origin. See *EI*² s.v. Hawāzin.

311. Read *sannawar* with the Cairo edition, emending the text which has *tannūr*.

312. The head would have been taken first to Ṣanʿā' to show people there the proof that ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā's reign was over.

313. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 63, lists a place called al-Jurf in the Yaman. However Azdī, 113, and Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 67, say the place was al-Jurash. Yāqūt, 59, describes Jurash as both a province of the Yaman and a place where a great city had flourished.

al-Sa'dī, who had Marwān's deed of appointment for the Pilgrimage. He had forty thousand dīnārs in his saddlebag. His army and cavalry were behind at Ṣan'ā', and until he camped at Jurf making for the Pilgrimage, by God, we felt secure and confident. Then I overheard a woman saying, "God smite both the sons of Jumānah! How grim-faced[314] they are!" I stood up as if I were going for water, and went up on a hillock. And lo, there was a band of men with swords, horses, and slings. Then the aforementioned sons of Jumānah were standing over us; we were surrounded on every side. We said, "What do you want?" They then said, "You're robbers!" Ibn 'Aṭiyyah took out his document and said, "This is the letter of the Commander of the Faithful, and his deed of appointment for the Pilgrimage. I am Ibn 'Aṭiyyah." But they said, "This is no good; you are robbers!" At this, we foresaw evil, and al-Ṣafar b. Ḥabīb mounted his horse, and fought well until he was slain. Ibn 'Aṭiyyah got on his horse, and fought until he too was killed. Then all those who were with us were killed, and I remained. They said, "Who are you?" "A man of Hamdān,"[315] I replied. "What Hamdān are you from?" they said. I traced back a lineage to one of their sub-groups, since I knew the sub-groups of Hamdān, and they let me alone. They told me, "Your life is safe, and everything that is yours in this place you can take." If I had claimed all of the money, they'd have given it to me. Then they sent some riders with me as far as Ṣa'dah, and I was safe and went on until I came to Mecca.

In this year the summer campaign against the Byzantines was led by al-Walīd b. Hishām. He went down to 'Amq and built the citadel of Mar'ash.[316]

This year the plague broke out at Baṣrah.

This year Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb killed many of the people of Jurjān; [2016]
some say it was as many as thirty thousand. A version coming from people of Jurjān has it that after the slaying of Nubātah b. Ḥanẓalah

315. The Hamdān were a large tribe of northern Yaman, whose range was between Ṣan'ā' and Sa'dah. The western moiety, the Hāshid, are still active there. Historically, they have been mostly Shī'īs. See *EI*[2] s.v. Hamdān. Sa'dah is a district some 60 *farsakhs* (360 km) from Ṣan'ā'. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 388.

314. The text is *mā ashtam*; the Cairo edition has *mā ash'am*, "how inauspicious."

316. 'Amq is the alluvial plain of Cilicia, situated northeast of Antioch. See *EI*[2] s.v. al-'Amk. The Marwānid construction of the citadel of Mar'ash is confirmed by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 498. See also LeStrange, *Lands*, 128–29.

they all decided to fight Qaḥṭabah. When word reached Qaḥṭabah of this, he went in and indiscriminately killed those whom I have mentioned.

When Naṣr b. Sayyār learned that Qaḥṭabah had killed Nubātah and a number of people of Jurjān, he was in Qūmis. He then moved to Khuwār of Rayy.[317]

Naṣr's reason for camping at Rayy according to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Abū Dhayyāl, Ḥasan b. Rashīd and Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jushamī: Abū Muslim sent a letter with al-Minhāl b. Fattān to Ziyād b. Zurārah al-Qushayrī with a deed of appointment to govern Naysābūr, after Tamīm b. Naṣr and al-Nābī b. Suwayd al-ʿIjlī were killed. He also wrote to Qaḥṭabah ordering him to pursue Naṣr. Qaḥṭabah then sent al-ʿAkkī with his vanguard, while he went to Naysābūr and stayed there for the months of Ramaḍān and Shawwāl 130 (early May to end of June 748). He was there while Naṣr was staying at a village in Qūmis called Badhash.[318] The Qaysīs with him stayed in
[2017] another village, called Mumidd.[319] Naṣr then wrote to Ibn Hubayrah at Wāsiṭ asking him for aid, and sent the message with notables of Khurāsān to stress the importance of the matter. But Ibn Hubayrah threw his messengers in prison. Naṣr then wrote to Marwān, "I have sent some of the leading men of Khurāsān to Ibn Hubayrah to inform him on our behalf of the situation of the people there and to ask him for reinforcements. He has imprisoned my messengers and has not reinforced me with a single man. My situation is that of a man driven from his bedroom to his chamber, and from his chamber to his sitting-room, and from the sitting-room to the courtyard. If someone will come to him and help him, he may perhaps return to his house and it will remain his; but if he is driven from the house to the street, he will have neither house nor courtyard." Marwān wrote to Ibn Hubayrah ordering him to assist Naṣr, informing him of that. Naṣr then sent a letter to Ibn Hubayrah with Khālid the mawlā of the Banū Layth, asking him to send the army to

317. Khuwār of Rayy was the westernmost town of Qūmis, on the road from Khurāsān, and the first important town east of Rayy. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 479; also LeStrange, *Lands*, 367.

318. Badhash was the first village inside Jurjān on the post-road from Nīshāpūr (Nayṣābūr). Yāqūt states that it was two *farsakhs* (12 km) from Bisṭām. See also LeStrange, *Lands*, 368.

319. The text is al-Maydā, corrected by the Cairo edition. The vocalization is uncertain.

him quickly, "For I have lied to the people of Khurāsān until not a man among them will believe a word I say; so reinforce me with ten thousand men before you have to reinforce me with a hundred thousand, and after that nothing will be of use."

In this year Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān led the Pilgrimage. That is what is related by Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone—Isḥāq b. ʿIsā—Abū Maʿshar (al-Sindī).

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik was governor of Mecca, Madīnah and Ṭāʾif.

Iraq was governed by Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah.

Al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿĀṣim al-Muḥāribī was in charge of the judiciary at Kūfah, and ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr at Baṣrah.

Naṣr b. Sayyār was governor of Khurāsān, but matters there were as we have mentioned.

The Events of the Year

[1/III]

131

(AUGUST 31, 748–AUGUST 19, 749)

One of the events of this year was that Qaḥṭabah sent his son al-Ḥasan to Naṣr while he was in Qūmis.[320]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Zuhayr b. Hunayd, al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd and Jabalah b. Farrūkh al-Tājī: When Nubātah was killed, Naṣr moved from Badhash and entered Khuwār, whose governor was Abū Bakr al-ʿUqaylī. Qaḥṭabah sent his son al-Ḥasan to Qūmis in Muḥarram 131 (September 748), and after that he sent Abū Kāmil, Abū al-Qāsim Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm, and Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Marwazī to Ḥasan with seven hundred men. When they were close to him, Abū Kāmil ran away from them, left his camp, and went over to Naṣr informing him of the whereabouts of the officer who was leading them. Naṣr then sent troops against them and besieged them in the walled town where they were. Jamīl b. Mihrān then pierced the wall and fled with his followers, leaving part of their equipment which
[2] Naṣr's followers seized, and which Naṣr sent to Ibn Hubayrah. ʿUṭayf[321] interfered in this at Rayy; he took Naṣr's letter and the

320. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 331ff; Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 419; Dīnawarī, 362; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 410; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿāriff*, 370.

321. Probably ʿUṭayf al-Sulamī sent by Marwān to join Ibn Hubayrah. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1945. He was now following the orders of Ibn Hubayrah, who would not help Naṣr.

booty from the messenger, and sent them on to Ibn Hubayrah. At this Naṣr was furious, and said, "Does Ibn Hubayrah want to play with me? Is he stirring up all the good-for-nothings of Qays against me? By God, I will surely have nothing to do with him. Let him fully understand that he is nothing, and neither is his son from whom great things are expected." He went on and stopped at Rayy, which was being governed by Ḥabīb b. Budayl al-Nahshalī. 'Uṭayf left Rayy as soon as Naṣr came there, for Hamadhān. Mālik b. Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhilī was at Hamadhān commanding the Ṣaḥṣaḥiyyah corps,[322] so when 'Uṭayf saw that Mālik was at Hamadhān, he turned away from there and went to 'Āmir b. Ḍubārah at Iṣbahān. 'Uṭayf had three thousand men with him, and Ibn Hubayrah sent him to Naṣr at Rayy. 'Uṭayf went to Rayy and stayed there, but did not go to see Naṣr. Naṣr stayed a couple of days at Rayy; then he fell ill and had to be carried on a litter until he reached Sāwah, near Hamadhān, and there he expired. When he died, his followers went on into Hamadhān. It is said that his death occurred on the twelfth of Rabī' I 131 (November 9, 748), when he was eighty-five years old.

It is also said that when Naṣr set out from Khuwār towards Rayy, he did not enter Rayy but stayed in the desert between Rayy and Hamadhān, and died there.

Returning to what 'Alī (al-Madā'inī) was told by his shaykhs: When Naṣr died, Qaḥṭabah's son al-Ḥasan sent Khāzim b. Khuzaymah to a village called Simnān[323] while Qaḥṭabah came up from Jurjān sending Ziyād b. Zurārah al-Qushayrī ahead of him. Ziyād regretted having followed Abū Muslim, and deserted Qaḥṭabah. He took the road to Iṣbahān, wishing to join 'Āmir b. Ḍubārah, but Qaḥṭabah sent al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī after him, who caught up with him the next afternoon and fought him. Ziyād fled, and most of his followers were killed. Musayyab then returned to Qaḥṭabah and Qaḥṭabah went to Qūmis where his son al-Ḥasan was. Khāzim came forward from the direction in which al-Ḥasan had sent him, and Qaḥṭabah had his son advance to Rayy. News of [3]

322. This was apparently a regiment organized along the lines of the Dhakwāniyyah, perhaps by Muṣ'ab b. Ṣaḥṣaḥ (see Ṭabarī, II/3, 1945, 1980). They were Marwān's own men and 'Uṭayf was avoiding them as part of Ibn Hubayrah's plan to appear to be helping Naṣr without doing so.

323. Simnān later became an important town. It was situated on the Khurāsān road east of Khuwār. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 366.

al-Ḥasan's march reached Ḥabīb b. Budayl al-Nahshalī and the Syrian troops who were with him, so they left Rayy. Al-Ḥasan then entered the city and stayed there until his father joined him. Upon arriving at Rayy, Qaḥṭabah wrote to Abū Muslim, informing him that he was encamped there.

In the same year, Abū Muslim moved from Marw to Naysābūr and camped there.

Qaḥṭabah at Rayy and Abū Muslim at Naysābūr

When Qaḥṭabah wrote to Abū Muslim that he was encamped at Rayy, the latter left Marw, as we have mentioned, and settled at Naysābūr, where he dug a defensive trench. Qaḥṭabah sent his son al-Ḥasan on to Hamadhān three days after he himself had entered Rayy.

ʿAlī reports the following from his shaykhs and other authorities. When al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah set out for Hamadhān, Mālik b. Adham and the Syrians and Khurāsānīs who were with him there left for Nihāwand. Mālik summoned them to take their allowances, saying, "Let everyone who is registered in a *diwān* take his pay." At this, a great number of people left their registries and went away. Mālik positioned himself with those who stayed with him, Syrians and Khurāsānīs who had been with Naṣr b. Sayyār. Meanwhile al-Ḥasan marched from Hamadhān to Nihāwand and camped four *farsakh*s (24 km) from the city. Qaḥṭabah then reinforced him with Abū Jahm
[4] b. ʿAṭiyyah the mawlā of the (tribe of) Bāhilah and seven hundred men, so that he was now able to surround the city and lay siege to it.[324]

In this year ʿĀmir b. Dubārah was slain.

The Death of ʿĀmir b. Ḍubārah and the Reason For It

The reason for his slaying was that ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar fled toward Khurāsān when he was put to flight by Ibn Ḍubārah. He took his route by way of Kirmān, and ʿAmir b. Ḍubārah set off in pursuit of him. Meanwhile word reached Yazīd b. ʿUmar of Nubātah b. Ḥanẓalah's death in Jurjān.

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324. For these events, see *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 333–39.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Abū al-Sarī al-Marwazī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jushamī, al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd, Jabalah b. Farrūkh and Ḥafṣ b. Shabīb: When Nubātah was killed, Ibn Hubayrah wrote to 'Amir b. Ḍubārah and to his son Dāwud b. Yazīd b. 'Umar to march against Qaḥṭabah; they were both in Kirmān. They went with fifty thousand men and halted in (the oasis of) Iṣbahān at the city of Jayy.[325] People used to call Ibn Ḍubārah's army "the army of armies." Qaḥṭabah sent Muqātil (al-'Akkī) against him with Abū Ḥafṣ al-Muhallabī, Abū Ḥammad al-Marwazī the mawlā of the Banū Sulaym, Mūsā b. 'Aqīl, Aslam b. Hassān, Dhu'ayb b. al-Ash'ath, Kulthūm b. Shabīb, Mālik b. Ṭarīf, al-Mukhāriq b. Ghifar and al-Haytham b. Ziyād, with al-'Akkī in command. They marched to Qumm and halted there. Word reached Ibn Ḍubārah that al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah had camped among the people of Nihāwand, and he wanted to go to them and aid them. News of this reached al-'Akkī so he sent to inform Qaḥṭabah of it. Qaḥṭabah then dispatched Zuhayr b. Muḥammad to Qāshān[326] while al-'Akkī quit Qumm, leaving behind Ṭarīf b. Ghaylān. However, Qaḥṭabah wrote to al-'Akkī ordering him to wait until he could catch up with him and to then re- [5]
turn to Qumm. Qaḥṭabah joined the latter's forces to his own. Then 'Āmir b. Ḍubārah came against them—the distance between him and Qaḥṭabah's force was one *farsakh* (6km). 'Āmir stayed there some days, and then Qaḥṭabah marched against his forces and the two armies met in battle.[327] Al-'Akkī, who had Khālid b. al-Barmak with him, commanded Qaḥṭabah's right wing, and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Rib'ī al-Ṭa'ī, assisted by Mālik b. Ṭarīf, commanded the left wing. Qaḥṭabah had twenty thousand men and Ibn Ḍubārah a hundred thousand—it is even said he had a hundred and fifty thousand. Qaḥṭabah gave orders for a copy of the Qur'ān, which was fixed on a lance, and then proclaimed, "Men of Syria, we would call you to what is in this Book!" They then reviled him with foul language, so Qaḥṭabah sent the order, "Attack them!" Al-'Akkī attacked the Syrians and the forces rushed into combat. There was not much fighting before the Syrians were routed, suffering extensive casualties.

325. For this city, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 203.

326. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 209.

327. That is, at the battle of Jābalq, a place in the district of Iṣfahān (Iṣbahān). See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 2. For the battle, perhaps the most important of the 'Abbāsid revolution, see *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 343ff; Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 418ff; Azdī, 116.

Qaḥṭabah's forces took possession of their camp and obtained quantities of weapons, equipment and slaves that could not be reckoned. Qaḥṭabah sent word of the victory by Shurayḥ b. ʿAbdallāh to his son al-Ḥasan.

ʿAlī reported the following from Abū al-Dhayyāl: When Qaḥṭabah met ʿĀmir b. Ḍubārah (in battle) the latter had with him leading men from Khurāsān, including Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Numayrī, Bishr b. Bisṭām b. ʿImrān b. al-Faḍl al-Burjumī, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Shammās al-Māzinī. Ibn Ḍubārah was commanding only cavalry while Qaḥṭabah had both horse and foot soldiers, so his men shot arrows at the horses, and Ibn Ḍubārah fled back into his camp. Qaḥṭabah pursued him, so Ibn Ḍubārah quit his camp and gave the call, "To me!" Nonetheless, his people fled and he was killed.

[6] ʿAlī reported the following from al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī: When Qaḥṭabah met Ibn Ḍubārah, Dāwud b. Yazīd b. ʿUmar fled. ʿĀmir asked about him and was told, "He's fled." At this, ʿĀmir exclaimed, "God has cursed our wickedness with this reversal!" Then he fought on until he was killed.

According to ʿAlī—Ḥafṣ b. Shabīb—an eyewitness with Qaḥṭabah: I've never seen any army that collected what the Syrians had collected at Iṣbahān in the way of horses, weapons and slaves. It was as if we had conquered a city. We obtained more guitars *(barābiṭ)*, drums and flutes than one might count. There was not a tent or shelter that we entered in which we did not find a wineskin, be it large or small. Thus one of the poets said:

When we overthrew the chiefs of Muḍar,[328]
Qaḥṭabah cut them up a dry fare;

They called on Marwān as one calls on the Lord.

In this year befell Qaḥṭabah's battle at Nihāwand with the troops of Marwān b. Muḥammad who had taken refuge there. Also, it is said that the battle at Jābalq in Iṣbahān occurred on Saturday, the twenty-third of Rajab 131 (March 18, 749).

328. A line is missing in the text and is supplied by the Cairo edition.

Qaḥṭabah's Battle at Nihāward

'Alī reported the following from al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd and Zuhayr b. al-Hunayd: When Ibn Ḍubārah was killed, Qaḥṭabah wrote of it to his son al-Ḥasan[329] (at Nihāwand). When the letter arrived, he cried, "Allāhu Akbar!" and so did all his army. Then they shouted that Ibn Ḍubārah had been killed. At this, 'Āṣim b. 'Umayr al-Sughdī said, "These people would never shout about killing Ibn Ḍubārah unless it were true, so go out to Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah and his followers and don't stand about for them; leave any way you please before his father comes to him or sends him reinforcements." At this, the footsoldiers said, "You'll go out as cavaliers on horseback and then run off and leave us!" Then Mālik b. Adham al-Bāhilī said, "Ibn Hubayrah has written to me. I will not retreat until he comes [7] to me." At this, they stayed where they were, and Qaḥṭabah stayed at Iṣbahān for twenty days. He then moved to join al-Ḥasan at Nihāwand, where he besieged the city for some months. Then he offered the defenders a safe-conduct, but they rejected it, so he set up mangonels against them. When Mālik saw that, he sought a guarantee for himself and the Syrian troops, unbeknownst to the Khurāsānīs (in his forces). Qaḥṭabah gave him his guarantee, and kept his word. Not one of these men was killed, but all the men of Khurāsān who were in Nihāwand were slain except al-Ḥakam b. Thābit b. Abī Mas'ar al-Ḥanafī. Among the people of Khurāsān who were killed were Abū Kāmil, Ḥātim b. al-Ḥārith b. Shurayḥ, the son of Naṣr b. Sayyār, 'Āṣim b. 'Umayr, 'Alī b. 'Aqīl and Bayhas b. Budayl of the Banū Sulaym of the people of the Jazīrah, and a man of Quraysh known as al-Bukhturī who was a descendant of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—some assert that the family of al-Kaṭṭāb do not recognize him—and Qaṭan b. Ḥarb al-Hilālī.

According to 'Alī—Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam al-Hamadhanī—one of their mawlās: When Mālik b. Adham made terms with Qaḥṭabah, Bayhas b. Budayl said, "Ibn Adham has made peace at our expense, and by God we will surely murder him." The attackers from Khurāsān found that the gates had been opened for them, and they entered

329. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 336–38, 353–56.

the city. One of the Khurāsānīs with Qaḥṭabah then let him in
[8] through a protective wall.

Other sources say that Qaḥṭabah sent to the Khurāsānīs inside Nihāwand inviting them to come out to him, and offered them a guarantee of safeconduct, but they refused. He then sent the same offer to the Syrian troops there, who accepted. They entered an agreement after they had been besieged for three months: Shaʿbān, Ramaḍān, and Shawwāl (April, May and June 749). The Syrians sent word to Qaḥṭabah, requesting him to keep the people of the city occupied so that they might open the gate unperceived.

Qaḥṭabah did this, keeping the people of the city busy in combat. Then the Syrians opened the gate that they were defending. When the Khurāsānī troops who were inside the city saw the Syrians going out, they asked what they were doing. The Syrians told them, "We have made terms for ourselves and for you." The Khurāsānī leaders (inside the city) went out to Qaḥṭabah, who put each one of them in the care of an officer from Khurāsān. Later he ordered his herald to proclaim, "Let everyone who has a prisoner from those who came out to us from the city cut off his head and bring it to me." They acted accordingly, and not one of those who had fled from Abū Muslim to the walled city remained alive, except for the Syrians. These he set free, exacting their promise not to conspire with the enemy against him.

Returning to the account of ʿAlī on the authority of his shaykhs: When the Syrians and Khurāsānīs who were in Nihāwand had let Qaḥṭabah inside the walls, ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmayr told them, "Woe to you! Now they enter the walls!" ʿĀṣim then went out. He had already put on his breastplate and a black garment he had. He was met by a Shākirī trooper who had been attached to him in Khurāsān, who recognized him and said, "You're wearing black now?" "Yes," he replied. At this, the Shākirī brought him to an underground conduit, and told a slave of his, "Watch over him, and let no one come upon him here." Then Qaḥṭabah ordered, "Whoever has a prisoner with him, bring him to me." At this the slave who was entrusted with ʿĀṣim said, "I have a prisoner that I fear will be taken from me by force." A man from the Yamanī troops heard this and said, "Let me see him." The slave showed ʿĀṣim to the Yamanī, and he recognized him. He went off to Qaḥṭabah and informed him, saying, "Here is one head of the tyrants!" Then Qaḥṭabah sent for ʿĀṣim and put him

to death. But he kept his word to the men of Syria so that not a single one of them was killed.

According to ʿAlī—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Khurāsānī and Jabalah b. Farrūkh: When Qaḥṭabah came to Nihāwand and al-Ḥasan was laying siege to it, Qaḥṭabah took charge and sent al-Ḥasan to Marj al- [9]
Qalʿah.[330] Al-Ḥasan sent Khāẓim b. Khuzaymah on to Ḥulwān where ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-Kindī was governing, and ʿAbdallāh fled the city leaving it unprotected.

ʿAlī reported the following from Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm: When Qaḥṭabah conquered Nihāwand, people wanted to write to Marwān using Qaḥṭabah's name, and they said, "This is an abominable name; turn it around." It then came out "Habaṭḥaq." At this they said, "The first name, awful as it is, is easier than that." Hence they changed it back to Qaḥṭabah.[331]

Abū ʿAwn's Battle at Shahrazūr

In this year occurred Abū ʿAwn's battle at Shahrazūr. ʿAlī reported the following from Abū al-Ḥasan and Jabalah b. Farrūkh: Qaḥṭabah sent Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd al-Khurāsānī and Mālik b. Ṭarīf[332] al-Khurāsānī with four thousand men to Shahrazūr, where ʿUthmān b. Sufyān commanded the advance forces of ʿAbdallāh b. Marwān. Abū ʿAwn and Mālik came up and camped two *farsakh*s (12 km) from Shahrazūr. They held their positions for a day and a night, and then fought ʿUthmān b. Sufyān on the twentieth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 131 (August 10, 749). ʿUthmān b. Sufyān was killed, and Abū ʿAwn sent Ismāʿīl b. al-Mutawakkil with the good news. Abū ʿAwn then stayed in the area of Mosul.

Some say that ʿUthmān b. Sufyān was not killed but fled to ʿAbdallāh b. Marwān, while Abū ʿAwn decimated his army and killed an enormous number of his followers after a violent battle. It is said that Qaḥṭabah sent Abū ʿAwn to Shahrazūr with thirty thousand men at the order of Abū Muslim himself. They also say that when news of Abū ʿAwn's victory came to Marwān at Ḥarrān, he set out [10]

330. Marj al-Qalʿah (Castle Meadow) was two days travel from Ḥulwān on the way to Hamadān, in Jibāl. By the tenth century, it was a large and fine walled town. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 192.

331. His name was actually Ziyād. See *EI*² s.v. Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb.

332. Ibn Athīr has "Ṭarāfah."

from there with the troops of Syria, the Jazīrah and Mosul. The Umayyad family rallied their Abnā' to Marwān as he moved to meet Abū 'Awn, until he reached Mosul. He then began to dig a network of trenches, until he was encamped at the Greater Zāb river. Abū 'Awn stayed at Shahrazūr for the rest of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 131 and Muḥarram 132 (August and early September 749), and he gave military pay to five thousand men.

Other Events

[11] This year Qaḥṭabah marched against Ibn Hubayrah. According to 'Alī—Abū al-Ḥasan, Zuhayr b. Hunayd, Ismā'īl b. Abī Ismā'īl and Jabalah b. Farrūkh: When Ibn Hubayrah's son fled to him from Ḥulwān, Ibn Hubayrah came out and gave battle to Qaḥṭabah. With him he had a great number of men that could not be reckoned, as well as Ḥawtharah b. Suhayl al-Bāhilī whom Marwān had sent to reinforce him. Putting Ziyād b. Sahl al-Ghaṭafānī in charge of his rear guard, Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah marched until he came to the battleground of Jalūlā'.[333] He dug in there, clearing out the old trench dug by the Persians at the Battle of Jalūlā'. Qaḥṭabah advanced until he came to Qirmāsīn.[334] He then marched to Ḥulwān and stopped in Khāniqīn. Then he left Khāniqīn, and Ibn Hubayrah left his position, returning to Daskarah.

Hishām reported the following from Abū Mikhnaf: Qaḥṭabah advanced, while Ibn Hubayrah was entrenching himself at Jalūlā', and then went up to 'Ukbarā' and crossed the Tigris, moving on until he stopped at Dimimmā below Anbār on the Euphrates.[335] Ibn Hubayrah and those with him then left to get to Kūfah before Qaḥṭabah. He stopped on the east bank of the Euphrates and sent on Ḥawtharah with fifteen thousand men to Kūfah (on the west bank and to the south). Qaḥṭabah crossed the Euphrates at Dimimmā so that he was on the west side and marched for Kūfah, until he reached the place where Ibn Hubayrah was.

This year the Pilgrimage was led by al-Walīd b. 'Urwah b. Muḥam-

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333. A district and town in the Sawād of Iraq between Daskarah and Khānaqīn. It was famous as the site of a great battle won by the Muslims in 16 (637) against the Sasanians. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 62; *EI*[2] s.v. Djalūlā'.

334. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 186–87.

335. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 50; 65–66.

mad b. ʿAṭiyyah al-Saʿdī, of the Saʿd division of the tribe of Hawāzin, who was brother's son to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. ʿAṭiyyah who killed Abū Ḥamzah al-Khārijī. Al-Walīd was governor of Madīnah on behalf of his uncle, as I have been told by Aḥmad b. Thābit—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar. Al-Wāqidī and others report the same.

It has also been reported that al-Walīd b. ʿUrwah was just outside Madīnah when Marwān wrote to al-Walīd's uncle ʿAbd al-Malik ordering him to lead the Pilgrimage though he was in the Yaman, busied as we have mentioned elsewhere.[336] When his uncle was detained, al-Walīd forged a letter from him deputing him to lead the Pilgrimage, and then led it. It has been mentioned that word reached al-Walīd b. ʿUrwah that his uncle ʿAbd al-Malik had been killed, whereupon al-Walīd went against those who had killed his uncle and slew a great number of them. He ripped open the bellies of their women and slew the male children, burning in fires all those who fell into his hands.

Al-Walīd b. ʿUrwah al-Saʿdī was governor of Mecca, Madīnah and Ṭāʾif this year in place of his uncle ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad. The governor of Iraq was Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah, while in Kūfah al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿĀṣim al-Muḥāribī was in charge of the judiciary. ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr al-Nājī was in charge of the judiciary in Baṣrah.

336. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 2014 *sub anno* 130. For his activities in the Yaman see *FHA*, 175ff.

The Events of the Year 132

(AUGUST 20, 749–AUGUST 8, 750)

[12] One of the events of this year was the death of Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb.[337]

The Death of Qaḥṭabah and the Reasons For It

The reason is as follows. When Qaḥṭabah stopped at Khāniqīn en route to Ibn Hubayrah, who was at Jalūlā', the latter moved from Jalūlā' to Daskarah. According to what is mentioned, Qaḥṭabah sent his son al-Ḥasan as a scout to learn news of Ibn Hubayrah. Ibn Hubayrah was returning to his trench at Jalūlā', and al-Ḥasan found him there, so he returned to his father and told him of Ibn Hubayrah's whereabouts.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Zuhayr b. Hunayd, Jabalah b. Farrūkh, Ismā'īl b. Abī Ismā'īl and al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd: When al-Ḥasan returned and informed his father concerning Ibn Hubayrah's activities, Qaḥṭabah asked his companions, "Do you know a road that will bring us to Kūfah bypassing Ibn Hubayrah?" Khalaf b. Muwarri' al-Hamadhānī, one of the Banū Tamīm, replied, "Yes, I will

337. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 369–71; Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 422ff; Azdī, 118ff; *FHA*, 194-95; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*,, II, 412; Dīnawarī, 368; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 73.

guide you." Qaḥṭabah crossed the Tāmarrā with him at Rūstuqbādh and took the main road until he halted at Buzurg Sābūr. Then he came to 'Ukbarā' and crossed the Tigris to Awānā.[338]

According to 'Alī—Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Khurāsānī: Qaḥṭabah camped at Khāniqīn when Ibn Hubayrah was at Jalūlā' with a distance of five *farsakh*s (30 km) between them. Qaḥṭabah sent out his scouts to gain information about Ibn Hubayrah, and they returned and informed him that Ibn Hubayrah had taken up a position. Qaḥṭabah then ordered Khāzim b. Khuzaymah to cross the Tigris. [13] Khāzim crossed over and proceeded between the Tigris and the Dujayl until he came to Karnabā.[339] Qaḥṭabah now wrote to Khāzim ordering him to march to Anbār (on the Euphrates) and send down to him whatever boats and craft he could find to cross with. Qaḥṭabah would then meet him at Dimimmā. He crossed the Euphrates in Muḥarram 132 (August–September 749). He sent the baggage into the open country while the horsemen proceeded with him along the bank of the Euphrates. Ibn Hubayrah now camped in the area of Upper Fallūjah[340] at the mouth of the Euphrates, twenty-three *farsakh*s (138 km) from Kūfah. Ibn Ḍubārah's fleeing men had gathered there with him and Marwān had reinforced him with Ḥawtharah b. Suhayl al-Bāhilī at the head of twenty thousand Syrian troops.

'Alī reported the following from al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd and Jabalah b. Farrūkh: When Qaḥṭabah left Ibn Hubayrah and marched on Kūfah, Ḥawtharah b. Suhayl al-Bāhilī and chiefs of the Syrian army told Ibn Hubayrah, "Qaḥṭabah has turned toward Kūfah. So you set out for Khurāsān and leave him to Marwān, and you'll break him; or more likely, he'll follow you." But Ibn Hubayrah replied, "That's not how I see it. He won't follow me and leave Kūfah, so the best thing is to beat him to Kūfah."

When Qaḥṭabah had crossed the Euphrates and marched along the

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338. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 604 lists a Buzurjsābūr as one of the districts (*ṭassūj*) of Baghdad. Rustuqbādh was a district of Kūfah, see Yāqūt, II, 733–34. For 'Ukbarā', see LeStrange, *Lands*, 50. The course of his travels was northwest.

339. The Dujayl or "little Tigris" was also known as the Karun. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 232ff. The text has Kūthbā; read Karnabā as in Ms. B. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 268.

340. Upper and Lower Fallūjah were districts between the main stream of the Euphrates on the west and the Sūrā Canal on the east, after it bifurcated below the ruins of Babylon. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 74.

river bank, Ibn Hubayrah moved from his camp in the Fallūjah district. He put Ḥawtharah b. Suhayl in charge of his vanguard, ordering him to march to Kūfah, so both groups were marching along the banks of the Euphrates—Ibn Hubayrah between the Euphrates and the Sūrā branch, and Qaḥṭabah to the west, adjacent to the open country. Qaḥṭabah halted, and a bedouin crossed over to him in a skiff and greeted him peaceably. Qaḥṭabah asked, "What tribe are you from?" "From Ṭayyʾ," he replied. Then the bedouin said to Qaḥṭabah, "Drink of this water, and give me what you leave over to drink." Qaḥṭabah filled a bowl and drank, and gave the bedouin to
[14] drink. Then the bedouin said, "Praise be to God, who has delayed my death until I beheld this army drink of this water!" "Is your thirst quenched now?" asked Qaḥṭabah. "Yes," replied the bedouin. "Then who are you from?" Qaḥṭabah asked him. "Of Ṭayyʾ," said the bedouin, "One of the Banū Nabhān." Qaḥṭabah then exclaimed, "My Imām has spoken truthfully. He said that I shall fight a battle on this river and have the victory. Brother of the Banū Nabhān, is there a ford in this place?" "There is, but I don't know it," said the bedouin. "I can show you who does: al-Sindī b. ʿAṣamm." Qaḥṭabah sent for this man, who came with his father and with help, and they showed him the ford. That evening they came against Ibn Hubayrah's vanguard, twenty thousand men led by Ḥawtharah.

ʿAlī reported the following from Shihāb al-ʿAbdī: Qaḥṭabah camped at Jabbāriyyah,[341] and he said, "The Imām has spoken truthfully to me. He informed me that the victory would occur in this place." He then paid the troops their allowances. The paymaster gave him back sixteen thousand dirhams, more or less, and said, "You'll do fine, as long as you're like this." The Syrian cavalry met him, and the bedouins had already showed him the ford, so he said, "I only wait for a holy month and the eve of ʿAshūrāʾ."[342] This was the year 132 (749–750).

As for Hishām b. Muḥammad—Abū Mikhnaf: Qaḥṭabah reached the site of a ford which had been mentioned to him at sundown on the night of Wednesday, the eighth of Muḥarram 132 (August 28, 749). When he came to the ford he rushed blindly forward with some

341. The text is unclear. The Cairo edition gives "al-Jabbāriyyah."

342. *ʿAshūrāʾ*, the tenth of the "holy month" of Muḥarram, marked the anniversary of the slaying of the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn by the Umayyad governor of Iraq at the Euphrates in the vicinity of Kūfah. See *EI*² s.v. ʿAshūrāʾ and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.

of his men to attack Ibn Hubayrah, whose men turned and fled. Then they dismounted at the mouth of the Nīl Canal, while Ḥawtharah continued until he stopped at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah.[343] At dawn the Khurāsānīs found that their commander was missing and reconciled themselves, and al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah took command of the army.

Going back to the account of 'Alī—Shihāb al-'Abdī: As for Qaḥṭabah's personal standard-bearer, his mawlā Khayrān or Yasār, Qaḥṭabah told him, "Cross over!" He said the same to his flag-bearer Mas'ūd b. 'Ilāj who was from the Bakr b. Wā'il. To his chief of security 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Rib'ī, called Abū Ghānim, a man of the Banū Nabhān of Ṭayy', he called out, "Cross over, Abū Ghānim, and bring us good news of the plunder!" A group crossed over until they numbered four hundred, whereupon they fought Ḥawtharah's troops until they denied them access to the water. They met with Muḥammad b. Nubātah's forces and fought them. They raised their torches, and the Syrian troops fled. The 'Abbāsid forces then found that Qaḥṭabah was missing, and they reluctantly acclaimed Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah as their leader. They appointed a man called Abū Naḍr with two hundred men to see after the baggage, and Ḥumayd pressed on until he came to Karbalā', then to Dayr al-A'war, then to 'Abbāsiyyah.[344] [15]

According to 'Alī—Khālid b. al-Aṣfaḥ and Abū al-Dhayyāl: Qaḥṭabah was found, and Abū al-Jahm buried him. Then a prominent man said, "If anyone knows of some testament of Qaḥṭabah, then let him inform us of it." Muqātil b. Mālik al-'Akkī said, "I heard Qaḥṭabah say, 'If anything happens to me, then al-Ḥasan is the army's commander.'" The army then gave its allegiance to Ḥumayd who accepted on behalf of al-Ḥasan, and they sent word to al-Ḥasan. The messenger caught up with him outside the village of Shāhī,[345] and al-Ḥasan came back. Abū al-Jahm gave him Qaḥṭabah's seal, and the

343. The government complex near the Sūrā Bridge midway between Kūfah and Baghdad. It is frequently confused with Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah. See Lassner, *'Abbāsid Rule*, 283, n. 41.

344. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 644, lists Dayr al-A'war as a place adjacent to Kūfah. There were several places of that name, but none conveniently fit the topographical setting here. See Yāqūt, III, 600ff for Karbalā', the site of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī's death. See *EI*[2] s.v. Karbalā'.

345. A place near Qādisiyyah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 246.

army swore allegiance to him. Al-Ḥasan said, "If Qaḥṭabah is dead, I am Qaḥṭabah's son." On this night were slain Ibn Nabhān al-Sadūsī, Ḥarb b. Salm b. Aḥwaz and ʿIsā b. Iyās al-ʿAdawī and a man of the Asāwira[346] called Muṣʿab. Those who claimed to have killed
[16] Qaḥṭabah were Maʿn b. Zāʾidah and Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn.

ʿAlī reported the following from Abū Dhayyāl: They found Qaḥṭabah slain in a ditch, with Ḥarb b. Salm b. Aḥwaz slain beside him, and they supposed that they had killed each other.

ʿAlī gives the following from ʿAbdallāh b. Badr: I was with Ibn Hubayrah on the night Qaḥṭabah attacked. They crossed over to us and fought us on a quay on which were five horsemen. Ibn Hubayrah sent Muḥammad b. Nubātah who engaged them in combat and we pushed them back some distance. Then Maʿn b. Zāʾidah struck Qaḥṭabah on the tendon of his shoulder, and the sword went deep. Qaḥṭabah fell into the water, and they pulled him out. He said, "Tie up my arm," and they tied it up in a turban. Then he said, "If I die, throw me into the water so that no one will know I've been killed." Then the Khurāsānīs returned the charge, and Ibn Nubātah and the Syrians were surrounded. They pursued us—one of the patrols on the flank had already been taken. A group of Khurāsānīs caught up with us, and we fought them a long time. Had it not been for two soldiers of the Syrian army who put up a terrific struggle on our behalf, we would not have been saved. Then one of the Khurāsānīs said in Persian, "Leave these dogs!" At this, they went away from us. Qaḥṭabah died, but before dying he said, "When you get to Kūfah, the Imām's wazīr is Abū Salamah. Put yourselves at his disposal." After that, Ibn Hubayrah went back to Wāsiṭ.

Other reports have been given of Qaḥṭabah's death than those we have mentioned from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad's shaykhs. One such account states that when Qaḥṭabah came up opposite Ibn Hubayrah on the west side of the Euphrates, with the river between them, he sent Ḥasan his son on with an advance force, and then ordered ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭāʾī, Masʿūd b. ʿIlāj, Asad b. al-Marzubān and their troops to cross the Euphrates on their horses. They crossed in the late afternoon. The first rider of Ibn Hubayrah's men they met was speared, and the others took flight, as far as the bridge over the Sūrā. Here

346. A Persian military unit that had become mawlās of the Tamīm. See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 38, 237, n. 362.

Suwayd, Ibn Hubayrah's chief of security, opposed them, striking the leaders and their mounts until he had forced them to retreat to their position at sundown. The Syrians pressed until they came up against Mas'ūd b. 'Ilāj and his men, a force that they outnumbered. [17]

Then Qaḥṭabah ordered al-Mukhāriq b. Ghiffār, 'Abdallāh b. Bassām and Salamah b. Muḥammad, who were attached to a contingent of cavalry, to cross over and help Mas'ūd b. 'Ilāj. They crossed, and Muḥammad b. Nubātah came against them. He surrounded Salamah and those with him in a village on the bank of the Euphrates. Salamah and those with him dismounted, and the fighting grew hot. Muḥammad b. Nubātah would attack Salamah and those with him, and ten or twenty of Salamah's men would be killed. Then Salamah and his men would attack Muḥammad b. Nubātah and kill one or two hundred of his men. Salamah sent to Qaḥṭabah asking him for reinforcements, and he sent all his officers to reinforce him. Then Qaḥṭabah crossed over with his cavalry, ordering every horseman to carry a footsoldier with him. This was on the eve of the first Thursday of Muḥarram (August 25, 749). Then Qaḥṭabah attacked Muḥammad b. Nubātah and those with him. They fought a violent battle, and Qaḥṭabah put the enemy to flight, forcing them to retreat until they joined up with Ibn Hubayrah. He then fled as well, seeing the rout of Ibn Nubātah. The Syrians abandoned their camp and all that was in it in the way of wealth, weapons, furnishings, vessels and other things. The rout continued until they cut the pontoon bridge across the Ṣarāt Canal, and then, retreating all that night, they came at morning to the mouth of the Nīl Canal. When Qaḥṭabah's men greeted the morning, they had already noted that he was missing, but they kept on hoping to find him until the day was half spent. Then they gave up hope and realized he had drowned. The officers agreed on al-Ḥasan, his son, and put him in command and swore to follow him, whereupon he took charge. He ordered that what was in Ibn Hubayrah's camp be reckoned. He put the booty in charge of a Khurāsānī, called Abū al-Naḍr,[347] with two hundred horsemen and ordered that it be taken to Kūfah in boats. Al-Ḥasan moved on with the troops to camp at Karbalā', then moved again and stopped at Sūrā.[348] After that he halted at Dayr al-A'war, then [18]

347. The text is al-Naṣr; it should be read al-Naḍr, as in the Cairo edition.
348. That is, the settlement. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 184.

marched from there and settled at 'Abbāsīyyah. Ḥawtharah was informed of Ibn Hubayrah's flight, and he and such men as were with him joined Ibn Hubayrah at Wāsiṭ.

The cause of Qaḥṭabah's death, according to these authorities, was what Aḥlum b. Ibrāhīm b. Bassām the mawlā of the Banū Layth stated: When I saw Qaḥṭabah in the Euphrates, his horse had already carried him until he had nearly crossed over to the side where I was positioned with my brother Bassām b. Ibrāhīm who was in charge of Qaḥṭabah's vanguard. Then I thought of the sons of Naṣr b. Sayyār who had been slain, and of other things. I was apprehensive for my brother Bassām because of a report that had reached him about Qaḥṭabah, and I said, "May I never seek revenge again if you are spared this night." Bassām said, "Then go meet him." Qaḥṭabah's horse was about to emerge from the Euphrates, while I was standing on the bank. I struck him with my sword on the forehead. His horse reared and death came to him quickly, as he fell into the Euphrates with his weapons.[349]

A similar account was related by Ibn Ḥuṣayn al-Sa'dī after Aḥlum b. Ibrāhīm's death. Ibn Ḥuṣayn said of this, "Were it not that Aḥlum confirmed it as he was dying, I'd not have repeated anything about it."

This year Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī rebelled in Kūfah and put on black before al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah had entered the city. Ibn Hubayrah's governor left the city, and al-Ḥasan occupied it.[350]

Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī Revolts at Kūfah

Hishām reported the following from Abū Mikhnaf: Muḥammad b. Khālid rebelled in Kūfah on the eve of 'Ashūrā', while Zīyād b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥārithī was governing the city. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Bashīr al-'Ijlī was in charge of security for him. Muḥammad put on black and
[19] marched to the fortress *(qaṣr)*, and Zīyād b. Ṣāliḥ, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Bashīr al-'Ijlī and the Syrians they had with them moved out, aban-

349. Bassām had defected to Abū Muslim after first serving Naṣr in Khurāsān. He was to lead an uprising against the 'Abbāsids in 133 (749–750) at Tadmur. He had been in trouble with Abū Muslim for taking private revenge on members of the Bakr b. Wā'il. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1996.

350. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 371–73; *FHA*, 195ff; Azdī, 119ff; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 412–13.

doning the castle, which Muḥammad b. Khālid occupied. When he woke on Friday, the second morning after Qaḥṭabah's death, he learned that Ḥawtharah and those with him had camped at Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah,[351] and were getting ready to march against Muḥammad. Most of the common sort who were with Muḥammad split from him as soon as word reached them that Ḥawtharah was camped at Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah and was coming to fight him. The exceptions were some horsemen from the Yamanī cavalry drawn from those who had fled from Marwān, and Muḥammad's mawlās. Abū Salamah al-Khallāl, who had not yet declared himself, sent word to Muḥammad b. Khālid ordering him to go out of the castle and get to the lowlands of the Euphrates. He feared for Muḥammad due to the small number (of men) with him and the large number with Ḥawtharah—neither of the two groups had as yet learned that Qaḥṭabah had perished. Muḥammad b. Khālid declined to act until it was full day. Ibn Ḥawtharah prepared to march against Muḥammad when word reached him that few supported Muḥammad and that the common people had abandoned him. While Muḥammad was still at the fortress, one of his scouts came to him and said, "Horsemen are coming—Syrians." At this, he sent a detachment of his mawlās. They had positioned themselves at the door of the house of 'Umar b. Sa'd, when the Syrian standards came into view. They prepared to fight them, when the Syrians called out, "We are of Bajīlah![352] Malīḥ b. Khālid al-Bajalī is with us, and we've come to enter the service of the Amīr!" They then entered the fortress. Then came an even greater body of horsemen, with a man of the family of Baḥdal. When Ḥawtharah saw what his followers were doing, he and those with him left for Wāsiṭ. That night Muḥammad b. Khālid wrote to Qaḥṭabah, not knowing he had perished, informing him that he had prevailed in Kūfah. He dispatched the message with a fast rider who then came before al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah. When he handed him Muḥammad b. Khālid's letter, al-Ḥasan read it to his people, and then set out for Kūfah. Muḥammad stayed in Kūfah Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, and al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah came to him [20]
early on Monday morning. They then went to Abū Salamah who

351. Not to be confused with Qaṣr b. Hubayrah, this government complex was situated adjacent to Kūfah. See n. 343 above.

352. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī had been of the tribe of Bajīlah. Hence the tribesmen now deserted to his son.

was with the Banū Salamah and brought him out. Abū Salamah camped at Nukhaylah for two days, and then set out for Ḥammām A'yan,[353] sending Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah to Wāsiṭ to fight Ibn Hubayrah.

'Alī b. Muḥammad reported the following from 'Umārah, the mawlā of Jibra'īl b. Yaḥyā: The Khurāsānīs took the oath to al-Ḥasan after Qaḥṭabah, and went to Kūfah which was commanded at that time by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Bashīr al-'Ijlī. A man of the Banū Ḍabbah came to him and said, "Al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah will enter today or tomorrow." 'Abd al-Raḥmān said, "You act as if you'd come to threaten me!" He then gave him three hundred lashes. Then 'Abd al-Raḥmān fled, and Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī put on black. He came out with eleven men, called on the people to give their allegiance, and took control of Kūfah. Al-Ḥasan came in the next day. They had been asking on the way, "Where is Abū Salamah the wazīr of the family of Muḥammad staying?"[354] People guided them to him, and they came and stood at his door. He came out to them, and they presented him with one of Qaḥṭabah's horses, which he mounted and rode as far as the cemetery *(jabbānah)* of the Sabī'.[355]

The Khurāsānīs then swore allegiance to him. Abū Salamah Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān the mawlā of al-Sabī', who was called "wazīr of the family of Muḥammad," stayed where he was and appointed Muḥammad b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī to govern Kūfah, and he was called the Amīr until Abū al-'Abbās appeared.

'Alī reported the following from Jabalah b. Farrūkh, Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Marwazī, 'Umārah the mawlā of Jibrīl, Abū al-Sarī and others who knew about the beginnings of the 'Abbāsid propaganda: Abū Salamah sent al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah against Ibn Hubayrah at Wāsiṭ.[356] The officers he attached to his command included Khāzim b. Khu-

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353. Ḥammām A'yan was actually located in Ḥīrah, the old Christian town that stood three *farsakhs* (18 km) from Kūfah. The area of Ḥīrah had enjoyed a revival in late Umayyad times when it actually became the government center of Kūfah. It was only natural, then, that the 'Abbāsid armies would prefer to situate themselves in an established military camp some distance from the unruly population of Kūfah. Ḥammām A'yan functioned as the first of several 'Abbāsid administrative centers in Iraq. See Lassner, *'Abbāsid Rule*, 143–51, especially 143–45, also n. 29. (J.L.)

354. Abū Salamah's role in what followed is discussed in detail by Sharon, *'Alīyat*, 237ff. See also Lassner, *'Abbāsid Rule*, 59–64, 145–47. (J.L.)

355. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 16–17.

356. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, II 424ff; Azdī, 125ff.

zaymah, Muqātil b. Ḥakīm al-ʿAkkī, Khafāf b. Manṣūr, Saʿīd b. ʿAmr, Zīyād b. Mushkān, al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muslim, ʿUthmān b. Nahīk, Zuhayr b. Muḥammad al-Azdī, al-Hay- [21]
tham b. Zīyād, Abū Khālid al-Marwazī and others; altogether sixteen officers, with al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah heading them. He sent Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah to Madāʾin with officers, including ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nuʿaym and Masʿūd b. ʿIlāj, each officer accompanied by his men. In addition, Abū Salamah sent al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr and Khālid b. Barmak to Dayr Qunnā,[357] and al-Muhallabī and Sharāḥīl with four hundred men to ʿAyn Tamr. Bassām b. Ibrāhīm b. Bassām was sent to Ahwāz where ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah was.

When Bassām got there, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid left Ahwāz for Baṣrah. Bassām then sent a letter with Ḥafṣ b. al-Sabīʿ to Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah (al-Muhallabī) appointing him to govern Baṣrah. Al-Ḥārith Abū Ghassān al-Ḥārithī, one of the Banū al-Dayyān who had some pretensions to being a soothsayer, said, "This appointment will not be carried out." Nonetheless Ḥafṣ forwarded the letter to Sufyān. Then Salm b. Qutaybah[358] fought Sufyān, and so his appointment came to nought.

Abū Salamah left where he was and camped at Ḥammām Aʿyan, some three *farsakh*s (18 km) from Kūfah, while Muḥammad b. Khālid resided in Kūfah.

The reason that Salm b. Qutaybah fought Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, according to what is mentioned, is that when Abū Salamah al-Khallāl assigned governors to the provinces, he sent Bassām b. Ibrāhīm the mawlā of the Banū Layth against ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah who was at Ahwāz, and Bassām fought him until he chased him out. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid then joined Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī in Baṣrah. Salm was governing for Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah. Abū Salamah wrote to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah to send whomever he thought best among his officers to fight Salm. He wrote to Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah appointing him governor of Baṣrah and commanding him to proclaim there the claims of the Banū ʿAb- [22]
bās in the city, to summon people to al-Qāʾim among them, and to

357. Dayr Qunnā, also known as the Monastery of Marmarī, was just east of the Tigris above Dayr al-ʿAqūl, the "Monastery of the River Loop," with a town which was the chief place of the Middle Nahrawān district. Yāqūt states that it had over a hundred places for monks and high walls like a castle. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 36–37.

358. That is, the local governor of the Umayyads.

drive out Salm b. Qutaybah.[359] Sufyān wrote to Salm, ordering him to vacate the Government Palace, and informed him of what Abū Salamah had in mind, on the basis of reports he had received. However, Salm refused to comply and prepared his defense. All the Yamanīs rallied to Sufyān, with their allies among the Rabīʿah and others. One of Ibn Hubayrah's officers went over to him—Ibn Hubayrah had sent this officer with two thousand men of the Kalb tribe to assist Salm. They concurred on a plan to march on Salm b. Qutaybah, and Salm prepared for the battle. Rallying to Salm were the Qays and divisions of the Muḍar over whom he had control, as well as those Umayyads and their mawlās who were at Baṣrah. The Banū Umayyah hastened to come to his aid.

Sufyān advanced on a Thursday in the month of Ṣafar 132 (25 September or 2, 9, or 16 October 749). Salm came to the Mirbad of Baṣrah[360] and took his stand there at the camel-market. He sent horsemen on the Mirbad Road and other roads into Baṣrah, to encounter those whom Sufyān sent against him. He also proclaimed, "Whoever brings a head shall have a thousand." Muʿāwiyah b. Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah came with a special force of Rabīʿah, and the cavalry[361] of the tribe of Tamīm met him on the road which connects with (the settlement of) the Banū ʿĀmir from the Mirbad Road—at the house which became the property of ʿUmar b. Ḥabīb. One of the Tamīm speared Muʿāwiyah's horse, and it reared and threw him. At this, a man of the Banū Ḍabbah, called ʿIyāḍ, threw himself upon him and killed him, and he carried his head off to Salm b. Qutaybah, who gave him a thousand dirhams for it. Sufyān was shattered by the slaying of his son, and he and those with him retreated. He and the people of his house departed immediately and traveled to Qaṣr al-Abyaḍ,[362] and they occupied it. Then they moved from there to Kaskar.

After Salm got the upper hand at Baṣrah, Jābir b. Tawbah al-Kilābī

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359. The term *al-Qāʾim* is a title for a promised deliverer, a "messianic" title. See Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, IV, 476, also above. The text has "*yaqiya* Salm," emended by the Cairo edition as *yanfiya*.

360. The Mirbad of Baṣrah was the famous caravan quarter at the western end of the city. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 45.

361. The text has *rajul*, emended by the Cairo edition as *khayl*.

362. The identification of this place is not given. It is not to be confused with locations of that name situated at Ctesiphon and in Fārs. This place was between Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ, the major city of the Kaskar district. For Kaskar, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 39.

and al-Walīd b. 'Utbah al-Firāsī, descendants of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah, advanced toward him with four thousand men. Ibn Hubayrah had written to them to go to the aid of Salm while he was at [23]
Ahwāz. The next day Jābir and the men with him appeared at the dwellings of the Muhallab and the rest of the Azd. They attacked them, but the Azd who remained there fought them in a fierce battle until many of the defenders were slain. The Azd then fled, and Jābir and his followers took their women captive, destroyed the houses and plundered for three days. Salm stayed on at Baṣrah until he received word that Ibn Hubayrah was slain, whereupon he left the city. Then the descendants of al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who were in Baṣrah gathered behind Muḥammad b. Ja'far and selected him as leader. He governed for a few days, until Abū Mālik b. 'Abdallāh b. Asīd al-Khuzā'ī came to Baṣrah on behalf of Abū Muslim and governed for five days. When Abū al-'Abbās became Caliph, he gave the city to Sufyān b. Mu'āwiyah to govern.

In this year the oath of allegiance was given to Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim on the eve of Friday, the thirteenth of Rabī' II (November 26, 749). This is according to Aḥmad b. Thābit—someone—Isḥāq b. 'Isā—Abū al-Ma'shar. Hishām b. Muḥammad said the same. As for al-Wāqidī, he says: Abū al-'Abbās had allegiance sworn to him as Caliph at Madīnah in Jumādā I 132 (December 6, 749–January 4, 750). Al-Wāqidī also says that Abū al-Ma'shar told him it was in the month of Rabī' I 132 (October 18–November 16, 749), and Abū Ma'shar is the trustworthy authority.

The Caliphate of Abū Al-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās

The Origins of His Caliphate

According to what has been mentioned as coming from God's Messenger, may God bless him, it all began when he informed al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib that he would pass the caliphate to his descendants. His descendants therefore never stopped expecting it, and passed on the tradition among themselves. [24]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan—Rashīd b. Kurayb: Abū Hāshim (b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib) went to Syria and met Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās and said, "Cousin, I have religious knowledge *(ʿilm)* which I shall leave to you by default. Do not divulge it to anyone; this authority which men long for will be in your family." He said, "I knew it already; by no means let anyone hear it from you!"

According to ʿAlī—Sulaymān b. Dāwud—Khālid b. ʿAjlān: When Ibn al-Ashʿath opposed al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and the latter wrote of it to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, ʿAbd al-Malik sent a message to Khālid,

son of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, informing him of developments. Yazīd replied, "If the rupture *(fatq)* is in Sijistān, then have no fear; we need only worry if it comes from Khurāsān."[363]

'Alī reported the following from al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd, Jabalah b. Farrūkh al-Tājī, Yaḥyā b. Ṭufayl Nu'man b. Sarī, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī and others: The Imām Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās said, "There are three turning points for us: the death of the profligate Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, the turn of the first century, and disruption in Ifrīqiyah. With that, propagandists will call men to our cause, then our helpers will advance from the east until the hooves of their horses strike the lands of the Maghrib and extract the treasures hidden there by tyrants." When Yazīd b. Abī Muslim was slain in Ifrīqiyah and the Berbers revolted, Muḥammad b. 'Alī sent a man to Khurāsān, ordering him to call men to the Chosen One, not mentioning any other name.

We have already mentioned the story of Muḥammad b. 'Alī and the propagandists whom he sent to Khurāsān.[364] Then Muḥammad
[25] b. 'Alī died, appointing his son Ibrāhīm as his legatee. Ibrāhīm sent Abū Salamah Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān the mawlā of al-Sabī' to Khurāsān, with letters to the *naqībs* there. They received his letters and Abū Salamah remained with them. Then he returned to Ibrāhīm, who sent him back (to Khurāsān) with Abū Muslim, whose story we have mentioned earlier. A letter from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad to Abū Muslim then fell into the hands of Marwān b. Muḥammad. It was an answer to a letter from Abū Muslim, in which Ibrāhīm ordered him to kill everyone who spoke Arabic in Khurāsān. At this Marwān wrote to his governor in Damascus, ordering him to write to his colleague in the Balqā' to go to Ḥumaymah, seize Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, and send him to Marwān.[365]

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363. This statement is typical of the many forebodings the Umayyads allegedly had of the revolt in Khurāsān and the coming of 'Abbāsid rule. These traditions were to establish the legitimacy of 'Abbāsid claims. The turn of the first Islamic century was to have ushered in the Messianic age. Various 'Abbāsid traditions deal with these expectations and tie them to the transfer of authority from Abū Hāshim to Muḥammad b. 'Alī. See Kūfī, *Futūh*, VIII, 153 and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, IV, 476. A full study of these traditions is being prepared by J. Lassner. (J.L.)

364. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1358 *sub anno* 100.

365. The internment of Ibrāhīm al-Imām is a complex problem. Later 'Abbāsid tradition makes him out to be a revolutionary martyr. For a detailed discussion of his internment, death and succession, see Sharon, *'Alīyat*, 237ff, which includes full references to primary sources. (J.L.)

According to Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah—'Īsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—'Uthmān b. 'Urwah b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Ammār b. Yāsir: I was with Abū Ja'far at Ḥumaymah and his two sons Muḥammad and Ja'far. I was bouncing them on my knee, when Abū Ja'far said, "What are you doing? Don't you see what's happening?" I looked, and there were the messengers of Marwān looking for Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. I said, "Let me go out to them." He said, "You would go out of my house, and you're the descendant of 'Ammār b. Yāsir?"[366] They seized the doors of the mosque when (the 'Abbāsids) were at dawn prayer, and then said to the Syrians[367] who were with them, "Where's Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad?" They told them, "That's him there." And they took him. When Marwān had ordered them to seize Ibrāhīm, he had described the appearance of Abū al-'Abbās, as he found it in books that such a one would kill the Umayyads. When they brought him Ibrāhīm, Marwān said, "This is not the man I described to you!" They said, "We did not see such a one as you described." He sent them back to look for him, but the 'Abbāsids were warned and fled from him to Iraq.[368]

According to 'Umar—'Abdallāh b. Kathīr b. al-Ḥasan al-'Abdī—'Alī b. Mūsā—his father: Marwān b. Muḥammad sent a [26]
messenger to Ḥumaymah to bring him Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, describing him to him, and the messenger came and found that the description fitted Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad. When Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad appeared and was given safety, people told the messenger, "You were ordered to bring Ibrāhīm, but this is 'Abdallāh!" When this was made clear to him he let Abū al-'Abbās go, and he took Ibrāhīm and departed with him. Mūsā said, "We set out with him, I and a crowd of the Banū 'Abbās and their mawlās. The messenger went off with Ibrāhīm, who had with him a concubine *(umm walad)* of whom he was very fond. We told Ibrāhīm, "Only one man came for you, so come, let us kill him. Then we'll turn off

366. 'Ammār had been the staunch supporter of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. His father, Yāsir, had been tortured by the Meccan ancestors of the Umayyads in the time of the Prophet. It was therefore not politic to be seen leaving the house of an 'Abbāsid to confront them. See *EI*[2] s.v. 'Ammār b. Yāsir.

367. Following the Cairo edition.

368. This is another of the apocalyptical traditions spoken of earlier. See n. 363 above.

for Kūfah where the people are our Shīʿah." He replied, "That's for you to do." We said, "Wait until we get to the road that takes us to Iraq." So we went on until we reached the fork where one road goes off to Iraq while the other goes on to the Jazīrah. Then we made camp. Whenever Ibrāhīm stopped for the night, he would withdraw to the place of his concubine. The time came for us to do what we had agreed on, and we called out to him to come. He got up to come out, but his concubine threw herself on him and cried, "This is no time for you to leave; what's making you go?" He went aside with her and explained to her, and she said, "I conjure you by God not to kill this man and bring misfortune on your family! By God, if you slay him Marwān will kill every member of the family of ʿAbbās in Ḥumaymah." She wouldn't let go of him until he'd sworn to her not to do it. When he came out to where we were and informed us, we said, "You know best."

ʿAbdallāh says that a son of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā the secretary of Marwān told his father: "I asked Marwān b. Muḥammad, 'Are you suspicious of me?' 'No,' he replied. So I asked him, 'Is Ibrāhīm related to you by marriage?' 'No,' he said. I told him, 'Well, in my opinion this is what you must do—give him a wife and take a wife from him. Then if he is victorious you will have tied a knot between you that will not reduce you to beggary; and if you beat him, the marriage won't dishonor you.' He told me, 'Woe to you! By God, if I [27] knew he was the one [foretold] I'd hurry to do it, but he's not the man for that.'"

It is mentioned that when Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad was seized to be taken to Marwān, he foretold his death to the people of his house who accompanied his departure. He ordered them to go to Kūfah with his brother, Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad, and to hear and obey him. Then he bequeathed his authority to Abū al-ʿAbbās, appointing him as his successor. At this, Abū al-ʿAbbās set out with the people of his house for Kūfah. Among them were ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad and Dāwud b. ʿĪsā; Ṣāliḥ, Ismāʿīl, ʿAbdallāh and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad the sons of ʿAlī; Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad and ʿIsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad the two sons of Ibrāhīm; Mūsā b. Dāwud and Yaḥyā b. Jaʿfar b. Tammām. They traveled until they arrived in Kūfah in Ṣafar (ca. September 15–October 17, 750), and Abū Salamah put them up in the house of Walīd b. Saʿd, the mawlā of the Banū Hāshim, situated

among the Banū Awd. He concealed their business for some forty nights from all the officers and the Shī'ah. According to what is mentioned, Abū Salamah wanted to change the succession to the family of Abū Ṭālib when word reached him of the death of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad.

'Alī b. Muḥammad reported the following from Jabalah b. Farrūkh, Abū al-Sarī and others: The Imām came to Kūfah with some of the people of his House, and Abū al-Jahm said to Abū Salamah, "What is the Imām doing?" He replied, "He still has not come." But Abū al-Jahm pressed him until Abū Salamah said, "You ask too many questions. This is not the time for him to emerge." Finally Abū Ḥumayd met a servant of Abū al-'Abbās, called Sābiq al-Khuwārizmī, and asked him where his masters were. He informed Abū Ḥumayd that they were in Kūfah, and that Abū Salamah had told them to conceal themselves. At this he went with Abū Ḥumayd to Abū al-Jahm and informed him about the 'Abbāsids. Abū al-Jahm then sent Abū Ḥumayd with Sābiq to learn where they were staying in Kūfah, and he came back bringing with him Ibrāhīm b. Salamah, a man with the 'Abbāsid family. He told Abū al-Jahm about their lodging, that the Imām was staying among the Banū Awd, and that when they arrived the Imām had sent to ask Abū Salamah for a hundred dīnārs, but he had not sent the money. Then Abū al-Jahm and [28]
Abū Ḥumayd and Ibrāhīm went to Mūsā b. Ka'b and told him the story, and they sent the Imām two hundred dīnārs. Abū al-Jahm then went to Abū Salamah and questioned him about the Imām. Abū Salamah told him, "This is no time for him to come out, for Wāsiṭ has not been conquered."[369] Abū al-Jahm went back to Mūsā b. Ka'b and informed him, and they decided to meet the Imām. Then Mūsā b. Ka'b, Abū al-Jahm, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Rib'ī and Salamah b. Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm b. Salamah and 'Abdallāh al-Ṭā'ī, Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, Sharāḥīl, 'Abdallāh b. Bassām, Abū Ḥumayd Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, Sulaymān b. al-Aswad and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn all went to the Imām. Word of this got to Abū Salamah and he made inquiries about them and was told, "They rode to Kūfah on some errand they had."

The group came to Abū al-'Abbās, entered into his presence, and

369. That is, the Umayyad capital of Iraq held by Ibn Hubayrah, the governor of the province.

said, "Which of you is ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārithiyyah?" "This one," the ʿAbbāsids said. The officers then saluted him as the Prophet's successor. Mūsā b. Kaʿb and Abū al-Jahm left the last, remaining with the Imām. Then Abū Salamah sent to Abū al-Jahm, asking, "Where have you been?" He replied, "I rode to my Imām." At this, Abū Salamah rode to the ʿAbbāsids. Abū al-Jahm then sent word to Abū Ḥumayd, "Abū Salamah is on his way to you. By no means let him go in to the Imām unless he is alone." So when Abū Salamah arrived they forbade him to go in accompanied by anyone. Thus he entered alone and greeted Abū al-ʿAbbās as successor of the Prophet.

On Friday, Abū al-ʿAbbās went out on a piebald horse, and prayed with the people.[370] ʿAmmār the mawlā of Jibraʾīl and Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Sulamī reported that when Abū Salamah greeted Abū al-ʿAbbās as Caliph, Abū Ḥumayd said to him, "He's Caliph in spite
[29] of you, you mother-sucker!" And Abū al-ʿAbbās said, "Easy does it."

It is mentioned that when Abū al-ʿAbbās ascended the minbar on the day they swore allegiance to him as Caliph, he stood at the top, while Dāwud b. ʿAlī ascended and stood below him. Abū al-ʿAbbās spoke, and said:

> Praise be to God who has chosen Islam as the pillow of His glory, who has exalted it and made it great, who has chosen it for us, and aided it by means of us. He has made us the people of Islam, its cave and its fortress, and made us to uphold it, to protect it and support it. He has caused us to cleave to His word of piety, and deemed us worthy of that as the people of the Word. He has specified us as the kin of God's Messenger, God's benediction and peace be upon him and his family. He created us from the ancestors of the Prophet, causing us to grow from his tree, and be derived thereby from common origins, making him one of us, causing what distresses us to weigh heavy on him, and making him watchful over us, for with the faithful He is gentle, compassionate. God placed us in the exalted place with Islam and its folk, sending down to the people of Islam the written Word to be recited to them, for He has spoken—glorious is

370. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 424; Azdī, 123ff; *FHA*, 200ff; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 413; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 98ff.

He who speaks—in unambiguous verses sent down in the Qur'ān, "God only desires to put far from you abomination, O people of the house, and to cleanse you with purification".[371] He has said, "Say [O Muḥammad]: I ask not of you any wage for this save affection for the kinfolk."[372] He has said, "And warn your clan, your closest kin."[373] He has said, "Whatever spoils God has given His Messenger from the people of the towns is for God and for the Messenger, and the near kinsman, and orphans."[374] He has said, "Know that if you take anything as booty, one fifth of it is for God and for the Messenger and for the near kinsmen and for orphans".[375] So He, glorious be His praise, has informed them of our merit and made our rights and affection for us incumbent on them. He has bestowed upon us our share of the booty and the spoils in kindness toward us and in favor to us. God is the Lord of mighty favor.

The erring Sabā'iyyah[376] have asserted that others than we are more worthy of headship, authority, and the successorship than we; may their faces be struck by an evil eye! By what and [30]
for what, ye people? By us God guided the people when they were gone astray, and caused them to see when they were ignorant, and delivered them after they had perished. By us He caused right to prevail, and through us refuted falsehood, setting aright by us the corrupt, uplifting by us the vile, completing by us what was defective, and joining together the separation. Thus after their enmity men became a family of mutual affection, kindness and solace in both their religion and their worldly affairs, "brothers reclining on couches face to face"[377] in their after-life. That is what God has opened up [for men] in grace and favor to Muḥammad, God bless him and give him peace. When God took him to Himself, his companions took on this authority after him, and their affair was by mutual counsel.

371. Qur. 33:33.
372. Qur. 42:23.
373. Qur. 26:214.
374. Qur. 59:7.
375. Qur. 8:41.
376. The followers of 'Abdallāh b. Sabā', the extremist whom enemies of the Shī'ah of 'Alī accused of founding the 'Alid doctrine in early Islam. See *EI*[2] s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Sabā'.
377. Qur. 15:47.

They took possession of the inheritance of the nations and distributed it justly, put it in its proper place, gave it to those entitled to it, and left with their own bellies empty. Then up reared the Banū Ḥarb and the Banū Marwān.[378] They took it away and passed it among themselves, and did battle for it, appropriating it to themselves, tyrannizing, oppressing those entitled to it; and God forbore with them for long, until they had afflicted Him; and when they afflicted Him, He took revenge on them at our hands. He restored to us our rights, and our Community became united through us. He vouchsafed our victory and established our authority in order to grant benefit through us to those grown feeble on the earth, closing an (epoch) with us as He had begun it with us. Most truly I hope that tyranny will not come upon you even as good has come, nor corruption overtake you as soundness has done. For what support have we, as People of the House, except in God?

People of Kūfah, you are the halting-place of our love, the lodging of our affections. You it is who remained steadfast, you who were not deflected from our love by the injustice of the people of tyranny against you until you reached our epoch and God brought you our revolution. You of all mankind are most fortunate in us and most worthy of our generosity. We have increased your allowances to a hundred dirhams. Make ready, then; for I am the manifest Spiller *(Saffāḥ)*,[379] the desolating Avenger.

He had been exhausted by a fever, and his weakness now in-
[31] creased. So he sat in the minbar, and Dāwud b. 'Alī went up and stood below him on the steps of the minbar and said:

Praise be to God, with gratitude, gratitude, and yet more gratitude! Praise to Him who has caused our enemies to perish and brought to us our inheritance from Muḥammad our Prophet, God's blessing and peace be upon him! O ye people, now are the dark nights of this world put to flight, its covering lifted; now light breaks in the earth and the heavens, and the sun rises from

378. The two branches of the Umayyad dynasty.

379. This sobriquet, which does not appear to be a regnal title, can mean either a spiller of wealth or of blood; a generous or an implacable ruler. During his lifetime the first 'Abbāsid caliph seems always to have been known as Abū al-'Abbās.

the springs of day while the moon ascends from its appointed place. He who fashioned the bow takes it up, and the arrow returns to him who shot it. Right [to rule] has come back to where it originated, among the people of the house of your Prophet, people of compassion and mercy for you and sympathy toward you. O ye people, by God we did not rebel seeking this authority to grow rich in silver and in gold; nor to dig a canal or build a castle. What made us rebel was the shame of their taking away our rights, our anger for our cousins,[380] our grief for your affairs and the burden that oppressed us for your sakes. It was for your situation that we burned in anger on our beds, and the evil conduct of the Banū Umayyah toward you increased our pain: their coarseness with you, their contempt for you, their appropriation of your booty, your alms and your spoils. You are under the protection of His Messenger, may God bless him and his family and give them peace, and the protection of ʿAbbās, may God have mercy on him. We shall rule you according to what God has sent down and treat you in accordance with the Book of God, and act with the commoner and the elite among you according to the behavior of God's messenger. Woe, woe to the Banū Ḥarb b. Umayyah and the Banū Marwān! In their space and time they preferred the ephemeral to the eternal, the transient abode to the everlasting one. Crime them obsessed; God's creatures they oppressed; women forbidden to them they possessed, all honor grieving and by sin deceiving. They tyrannized God's servants by their deport with evil custom where they sought disport; themselves with vice's burdens decked and their idolatry unchecked; at management of every fault most lively, cheerful; withal to race on error's course not fearful; God's purpose in respiting sin not comprehending and trusting they had tricked Him by pretending![381] God's severity came on [32]
them like a night raid when they were sleeping, and at dawn

380. That is, the ʿAlids. The ʿAbbāsids professed to avenge the wrongs against their kinsmen, while at the same time denying them any prior right to rule.

381. According to the Qur'ān, God permits sinners to flourish, so as to increase their guilt. See 17:15–19; 57:20; 35:39. This section of rhymed prose, generally intended to denigrate Umayyad rule, is a rhetorical flight which can be only approximately translated.

they were only legends. They were torn all to tatters, and thus may an oppressive people perish!

God has let us prevail over Marwān, for by God he was deceived with delusions, an enemy of God given the rein until he should stumble because of the superiority of his harness; for this enemy of God supposed that we should never prevail over him. He called upon his factions, employed all his stratagems and threw in his squadrons. Yet he found before him, behind him, and to his right and left, God's stratagem, His affliction and His judgment, to put to death his falsehood and efface his error. It was He who appointed the changes of ill-fortune for him, and revived our honor and our glory, returning to us our rights and our heritage.

O ye people, God has indeed helped the Commander of the Faithful to a mighty victory, but he turned to the minbar only after the prayer, for he hated to mix aught else with the congregation's words [with God], and only the severity of his fever deterred him from finishing his remarks. So call upon God to restore the Commander of the Faithful's health; for God has given you an exchange for Marwān, the enemy of the Merciful, the vice-regent of Satan, followed by base folk who corrupted the world when once it was wholesome, who replaced the true religion and violated the honor of the Muslims' protected women. [God has replaced him] with a youthful man of maturity and deliberation, one who is guided by his forefathers, those just and best who made the earth wholesome once it was corrupted, by following the waymarks of guidance and the well-traced road of piety.

The people then raised their voices in prayers for Abū al-ʿAbbās, and Dāwud continued:

Men of Kūfah, surely we continued wronged and bereft of our rights, until God ordained for us our Shīʿah, the people of Khurāsān, and by them revivified our rights. By them He adduced our compelling argument, and made our revolution to prevail. God has let you behold what you were awaiting, and now you look upon him. He has made manifest among you a Caliph of the clan of Hāshim, brightening thereby your faces and making you
[33] to prevail over the army of Syria, and transferring the sover-

eignty and the glory of Islam to you. He has graced you with an Imām whose gift is equity, and granted him good government. Receive with gratitude what God has given you, cleave to our allegiance, and practice not deceit against yourselves, for surely this authority is your authority; surely every dynasty has its center-point, and you are our center-point.[382] Has any successor to God's Messenger ascended this your minbar save the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and the Commander of the Faithful 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad?[383]

and he gestured with his hand toward Abū al-'Abbās

So know that the authority is with us, and shall not depart from us until we surrender it to Jesus the son of Mary[384]—God's benediction be on him—and praise be to God, Lord of the universe, for that with which He has tried us and entrusted us!

Then Abū al-'Abbās descended from the minbar, with Dāwud b. 'Alī in front of him until they entered the palace. He had Abū Ja'far sit and receive the handclasp of allegiance *(bay'ah)* from the people in the mosque. He kept on receiving it until he had prayed both the afternoon and the sunset prayer with them and night had enfolded them. Then he entered (the palace).

It is mentioned that when Dāwud b. 'Alī and his son Mūsā were in Iraq, or somewhere else, they had left wishing to reach Sharāt. Abū al-'Abbās met them at Dūmat al-Jandal while on his way to Kūfah. With him were his brother Abū al-Ja'far 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad, 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, 'Isā b. Mūsā, and Yaḥyā b. Ja'far b. Tammām b. al-'Abbās and a party of their mawlās. Dāwud asked them, "Where are

382. This reference to Kūfah was hardly reflected by 'Abbāsid practice. They immediately withdrew to Ḥīrah and eventually established their administrative center at a new capital, Baghdad. See n. 353 above.

383. The question has a twofold thrust: that all caliphs between 'Alī and Abū al-'Abbās were in fact illegal usurpers, and that there is a special relationship between the Kūfans and the Prophet's family.

384. That is, at the Messianic age which will precede the end of the world. According to one ḥadīth, "There will be no Mahdī but Jesus." This is preserved only in Sunnī collections of ḥadīths, however. The 'Alid Shī'ī sects emphasize the Mahdist ḥadīths which state that the Messianic rule of justice will be fulfilled by a Mahdī of the line of 'Alī. This statement therefore rejects the claims of the 'Alids and suggests that the 'Abbāsids are ushering in a messianic age which will see the second coming of Jesus. For a detailed treatment of Mahdism see J.A. Williams, *Themes of Islamic Civilization*, Ch. V, "The Expected Deliverer."

you going, and what is your story?" Abū al-ʿAbbās told him their story, and said that they were heading for Kūfah to make their appearance there and openly proclaim their authority. Dāwud told him, "Abū al-ʿAbbās, you are coming to Kūfah when the shaykh of the Umayyads, Marwān b. Muḥammad, is at Ḥarrān to oversee Iraq along with the armies of Syria and the Jazīrah. And Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah, the shaykh of the Arabs, is already in Iraq with the cavalry[385] of the Arabs!" Abū al-ʿAbbās replied, "O uncle,[386] Abū al-
[34] Ghanā'im says, 'He who loves life will be humbled.'" And he quoted the words of al-Aʿshā:

'Tis no kind of death if I die not powerless,
and a shame if what destroys a life is not its own demon.

Then Dāwud turned to his son Mūsā and said, "By God, your cousin's right, so let us go back with him and either live graciously or die nobly." At this they all turned back together. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā used to say when he mentioned their exodus from Ḥumayah to Kūfah, "A party of fourteen men left their homes and families to stake our claim; mighty was their purpose, great were their spirits, and strong their hearts."

The Remaining Reports of Events of this Year

Completion of the account of the oath of allegiance that was given to Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, and what came of his authority: As Abū Jaʿfar said, we have previously mentioned [information] concerning Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī on the authority of certain scholars. We have also mentioned something of his affair and that of Abū Salamah. A reason that the Caliphate of Abū al-ʿAbbās was confirmed is what I now mention. When word reached Abū Salamah that Marwān b. Muḥammad had killed Ibrāhīm, who had been called the Imām, he thought it proper to declare for the descendants of ʿAbbās. Thus he suppressed any declaration for others. When Abū al-ʿAbbās arrived in Kūfah, Abū Salamah had settled him and the people of his house who came with

385. The text is *ḥalbah*, "fast horses," Perhaps read *jillah*, "great men," as in *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 410–11.

386. The text is *fa-qāla Abū al-Ghanā'im*. Ibn Athīr supplies *fa-qāla yā ʿammī*.

him in the house of al-Walīd b. Sa'd among the Banū Awd. When Abū Salamah was asked about the Imām, he would say, "Don't be hasty." This situation continued while he was at his camp at Ḥammām A'yan, until Abū Ḥumayd went out to go to the Kunāsah[387] and met a servant of Ibrāhīm called Sābiq al-Khwārizmī. He recognized him, for he used to come to them in Syria. Now he asked him, "What is the Imām Ibrāhīm doing?" Sābiq then informed him that Marwān had treacherously slain him and that Ibrāhīm had bequeathed his authority to his brother Abū al-'Abbās, appointing him as his successor. Moreover, Abū al-'Abbās had come to Kūfah with most of the people of his family. Abū Ḥumayd begged Sābiq to set off with him to the 'Abbāsids. Sābiq told him, "The appointment between us is tomorrow morning in this place;" he was reluctant to show him where the 'Abbāsids were without their permission. The following day, Abū Ḥumayd went out to the place where he had promised to meet Sābiq. He found him, and went off with him to Abū al-'Abbās and the men of his family. When he entered where they were, Abū Ḥumayd asked, "Which of them is the Caliph?" Then Dāwud b. 'Alī said, "Here is your Imām and Caliph," pointing to Abū al-'Abbās. Abū Ḥumayd then greeted him with the title of Caliph, and kissed his hands and his feet, saying, "We are at your command." He also condoled with him on the death of the Imām Ibrāhīm. [35]

Ibrāhīm b. Salamah had entered the army of Abū Salamah in disguise. He went to Abū al-Jahm and asked him for protection. Then he informed him that he was the messenger of Abū al-'Abbās and the people of his house. He also told him who was in the group and where they were. He added that Abū al-'Abbās had sent him to Abū Salamah to ask him for a hundred dīnārs with which to pay the cameldriver for the camels that brought them to Kūfah, but Abū Salamah had not sent them the money. Abū Ḥumayd also went back to Abū al-Jahm and informed them of their situation. Abū al-Jahm and Abū Ḥumayd together with Ibrāhīm b. Salamah went on foot until they entered where Mūsā b. Ka'b was. Abū al-Jahm told him the story, and what Ibrāhīm b. Salamah had related to him. Mūsā then said, "Hasten to send him the dīnārs, and see that the

387. One of the major quarters of Kūfah on the western side of the town. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v. Kunāsah, and LeStrange, *Lands*, 75.

man gets there." So Abū al-Jahm went off and handed the money over to Ibrāhīm b. Salamah. He put him on a mule and sent two men with him to see him into Kūfah. Then Abū al-Jahm told Abū Salamah, "It is rumored in the army that Marwān b. Muḥammad has slain the Imām. If he has been slain, then his brother Abū al-ʿAbbās
[36] is the successor and the Imām after him." Abū Salamah replied, "Abū al-Jahm, stop Abū Ḥumayd from entering Kūfah, for these people spread falsehood and corruption."

On the second night, Ibrāhīm b. Salamah came to Abū al-Jahm and Mūsā b. Kaʿb and delivered to them a letter from Abū al-ʿAbbās and the people of his family. He visited the officers and the Shīʿah that same night. They then gathered in the house of Mūsā b. Kaʿb. Among them were ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Ribʿī, Salamah b. Muḥammad, ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭāʾī, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, Sharāḥīl, ʿAbdallāh b. Bassām and other officers. They disagreed as to whether to go see Abū al-ʿAbbās and those of his family. Then they stole away the next morning into Kūfah, led by Mūsā b. Kaʿb, Abū al-Jahm and Abū Ḥumayd al-Ḥimyarī—that is, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. They came at last to the house of al-Walīd b. Saʿd, and went in. Mūsā b. Kaʿb and Abū al-Jahm said, "Which of you is Abū al-ʿAbbās?" At this the people pointed him out. They then wished him peace and condoled with him on the death of the Imām Ibrāhīm. Afterward they went off to the camp leaving behind with him Abū Ḥumayd, Abū Muqātil, Sulaymān b. al-Aswad, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith, Nahār b. Ḥusayn, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad and Abū Hurayrah Muḥammad b. Farrūkh.

Abū Salamah then sent to Abū al-Jahm to come to him. The latter had let him know that he had gone into Kūfah. "Where were you?" Abū Salamah asked. "I was with my Imām," Abū al-Jahm replied. Abū al-Jahm went out and called Ḥājib b. Ṣaddān and sent him to Kūfah, saying, "Go in and salute Abū al-ʿAbbās as Caliph." He sent word to Abū Ḥumayd and his friends, "If Abū Salamah comes to you, let him in only by himself. If he enters and offers allegiance, then let him go his way; otherwise, cut off his head." They had not waited long before Abū Salamah came, went in by himself, and greeted Abū al-ʿAbbās with the title of Caliph. Abū al-ʿAbbās or-
[37] dered him to go back to his camp, and he went off that night. The people waited for morning wearing their weapons and in formation, waiting for Abū al-ʿAbbās to emerge. They gave him horses, and he

and the members of his family who were with him rode until they entered the governor's palace of Kūfah on Friday, the twelfth night of Rabīʿ II (November 28, 729). He then entered the mosque from the govenor's palace and went up into the minbar, where he praised God and magnified Him, mentioning the mightiness of the Lord and the excellence of the Prophet. He then traced authority to the rule and the succession (to the Prophet) down to himself. He promised the people good times to come, and then was quiet.

Dāwud b. ʿAlī who was in the minbar three steps lower than Abū al-ʿAbbās then spoke. He praised God and glorified Him and spoke benedictions on the Prophet. Then he said, "Ye people, truly there has been no Caliph after God's Messenger save ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and this Commander of the Faithful who now sits behind me." Abū al-ʿAbbās then came down and left. He made his camp at Ḥammām Aʿyan in the camp of Abū Salamah, staying with him in the same chamber, with a curtain between them. The chamberlain *(ḥājib)* of Abū al-ʿAbbās at this time was ʿAbdallāh b. Bassām. Abū al-ʿAbbās left his paternal uncle Dāwud b. ʿalī to govern Kūfah and its province and sent his uncle ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī to Abū ʿAwn b. Yazīd. He sent his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah who was at this time at Wāsiṭ besieging Ibn Hubayrah. He also sent Yaḥyā b. Jaʿfar b. Tammām b. ʿAbbās to Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah at Madāʾin, Abū al-Yaqdhān ʿUthmān b. ʿUrwah b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir to Bassām b. Ibrāhīm b. Bassām at Ahwāz, and Salamah b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān to Mālik b. Ṭarīf.[388] Abū al-ʿAbbās stayed with the army for some months, and then moved and settled at (the new) Hāshimite City (Madīnah al-Hāshimiyyah) in the fortress at Kūfah.[389] He had disguised his intention to Abū Salamah before he moved, until Abū Salamah learned of it.

In this year, Marwān b. Muḥammad was put to flight at the Zāb.[390] [38]

388. The ʿAbbāsid family thus began the transition from a secretive revolutionary leadership into a ruling family. See Lassner, *ʿAbbāsid Rule*, 7ff. (J.L.)

389. This appears to be a broken text. It is hard to believe that Abū al-ʿAbbās would have chosen to establish his government in the city itself. He had, in similar circumstances, abandoned the Kūfans and gone to Ḥammām Aʿyan. It is more likely that what was originally intended was a place in the general vicinity of Kūfah. The text apparatus suggests such a reading. See Lassner, *ʿAbbāsid Rule*, 152–53. (J.L.)

390. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 427ff; Azdī, 126ff; *FHA*, 201ff; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 413ff; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 85ff; *Tanbīh*, 327.

Marwan's Defeat at the Zāb and Why and How it Came

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Abū al-Sarī, Jabalah b. Farrūkh, al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd, Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Marwazī and others: Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd al-Azdī was sent by Qaḥṭabah to Shahrazūr from Nihāwand. He then slew ʿUthmān b. Sufyān and stayed in the neighborhood of Mosul. Marwān was informed that ʿUthmān had been killed, and he advanced from Ḥarrān. He stayed at a place along the way, and asked, "What's the name of this place?" "Balwā [Calamity]," they told him. "Bal ʿAlwā [Nay, Superiority]; a good omen," he replied. He came to Ra's al-ʿAyn,[391] then to Mosul. Camping at the Tigris, he dug a moat. Abū ʿAwn marched to him and camped at the Zāb, and Abū Salamah sent Abū ʿAwn, ʿUyaynah b. Mūsā, Minhāl b. Fattān and Isḥāq b. Ṭalḥah, each at the head of three thousand men. When Abū al-ʿAbbās was proclaimed Caliph, he reinforced Abū ʿAwn sending Salamah b. Muḥammad with two thousand men, ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭāʾī with two thousand, and Wadās b. Naḍlah with five hundred. Then he asked, "Who among the men of my house will march against Marwān?" ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī said, "I." And Abū al-ʿAbbās told him, "Go with God's blessing."[392] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī came up with Abū ʿAwn, and Abū ʿAwn vacated his own pavilion, leaving it and all that was in it for ʿAbdallāh. The latter now appointed Ḥayyāsh b. Ḥabīb al-Ṭāʾī in charge of security and Nuṣayr b. al-Muḥtafiz in charge of his guard. Abū al-ʿAbbās put Mūsā b. Kaʿb in charge of the postal intelligence *(barīd)*[393] and sent him with thirty men to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī. On the second night of
[39] Jumāda II 132 (January 16, 750), ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī asked where there was a ford of the Zāb, and one was pointed out to him. He gave the order to ʿUyaynah b. Mūsā, who crossed over with five thousand men and proceeded to Marwān's camp. Marwān gave battle until evening fell and fires were lit. They broke off fighting and ʿUyaynah returned to the camp of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, crossing the river at the

391. For Ra's al-ʿAyn, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 95–96.

392. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī later based his claims to the caliphate on having taken the field against Marwān. See Ṭabarī, III/1, 92–93; Azdī, 163ff; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 438–39; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 177.

393. The posting system existed primarily for getting information to the Caliph with maximum efficiency. The "postmaster" in each province operated as the eyes and ears of the Caliph, and controlled the system by which information was carried by post horses to the capital. See *EI*² s.v. Barīd.

ford. Upon rising in the morning, Marwān secured the pontoon bridge and sent his son ʿAbdallāh to dig a moat further downriver from the camp of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī. At this, ʿAbdallāh sent al-Mukhāriq b. Ghifār with four thousand men. He advanced five miles from ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī before halting. ʿAbdallāh b. Marwān sent al-Walīd b. Muʿāwiyah against him. Al-Walīd engaged al-Mukhāriq, whose followers were put to flight or captured, and a good number of them were killed that day. Al-Walīd sent the prisoners to ʿAbdallāh, who sent them on to Marwān with the heads. Marwān ordered, "Send in one of the prisoners to me." They brought him al-Mukhāriq, who was a very thin man. Marwān said, "You're al-Mukhāriq." But he told him, "No, I am one of the slaves of the people of the army." "Then do you know al-Mukhāriq?" asked Marwān. "Yes," he said. "Then look at these heads—do you see him?" He looked at one of the heads and said, "He's the one." Then Marwān let him go. At the time, a man who was with Marwān stared at al-Mukhāriq and, not knowing him, said, "God curse Abū Muslim for bringing such as these to do battle with us!"

ʿAlī heard the following from a shaykh of the people of Khurāsān: Marwān said, "Do you know al-Mukhāriq when you see him? They say that his is among these heads that were sent to us." "I know him," al-Mukhāriq told him. Then Marwān said, "Show him those heads." And he looked and said, "I don't see his head among these. I can only suppose he escaped." Then they let him go. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī learned of the rout of al-Mukhāriq, and Mūsā b. Kaʿb told him, "Go out to Marwān before news of the rout reaches the army and what happened to al-Mukhāriq becomes widely known." ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī called Muḥammad b. Ṣūl and put him in charge of the army. [40]
Abū ʿAwn had command of the right wing, and in command of Marwān's left wing was al-Walīd b. Muʿāwiyah. With Marwān were three thousand of the Muḥammirah,[394] and he had with him the Dhakwāniyyah, the Ṣaḥṣaḥiyyah, and the Rāshidiyyah. When the two armies were face to face, Marwān told ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b.

394. Literally, "Redwearers." Later this word is used for Iranian heretics with Mazdakite doctrines. However, the later Qays faction of Greater Syria used red as their distinctive color. See e.g., *EI*[2] s.v. Ḳays ʿAylān. The "Muḥammirah" appear here as one of several elite regiments that served the last Umayyad Caliph, For colors as political tags, see the article of Omar cited in n. 72. See also Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 241, n. 93.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, "If the sun declines today before they have fought us, then it is we who shall yield up rule to Jesus the son of Mary; if they fight us before it declines, then we are God's, and to Him we shall return!"[395]

Marwān sent to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī asking for terms, and ʿAbdallāh said, "Ibn Zurayq[396] lied; God willing, before the sun declines our horses shall have trampled him." Marwān told the Syrians, "Hold off, and do not begin battle," while he kept looking at the sun. Then al-Walīd b. Muʿāwiyah b. Marwān (b. al-Ḥakam), who was married to Marwān's daughter, attacked. At this, Marwān became furious and cursed him. Ibn Muʿāwiyah fought the troops of the (ʿAbbāsid) right wing, and Abū ʿAwn fled toward ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī. Then Mūsā b. Kaʿb said to ʿAbdallāh, "Order the troops to dismount." At this the cry went out, "To the ground!" The troops dismounted and extended their lances while crouched. Then they engaged the enemy. The Syrians began to pause, as if they were quitting, and ʿAbdallāh went along on foot, saying, "Lord, how long shall we be slain for your sake?" He called out, "Men of Khurāsān! Revenge for Ibrāhīm! Yā Muḥammad! Yā Manṣūr!"[397] And the battle grew fiercer. Marwān shouted to the Qudāʿah, "Dismount!" They replied, "Say it to the Banū Sulaym; let them dismount!" He sent word to the Saksakīs, "Attack." They replied, "Tell the Banū ʿĀmir; let them attack." He then sent word to the Sakūn, "Charge!" They said, "Tell the Ghaṭafān; let them charge." He told his chief of security, "Dismount!" The man replied, "No, by God, I'll never make myself a
[41] target!" Marwān told him, "Well, by God, I'll surely cause you harm!" He replied, "By God, I wish you were able!" The Syrians fled, and then Marwān fled too, cutting the pontoon bridge. More were drowned that day than were slain in battle. Among those drowned was Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (the deposed Caliph). At ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's command the pontoon bridge over the Zāb was retied, and they took out the drowned—some three hundred—among whom were Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī then recited the verse, "And we divided the sea for you,

395. See n. 384 above. The expression "We are God's" is found in several verses of the Qur'ān.

396. Ibn Zurayq is an insulting name for Marwān, perhaps reflecting the story that he was not the son of Muḥammad b. Marwān at all. See Ṭabarī, III, 51.

397. For the title Manṣūr mentioned in this battle cry, see n. 82 above.

and delivered you, and drowned Pharaoh's people while you were beholding."[398]

'Abdallāh b. 'Alī remained in his camp for seven days. A man descended from Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ said these words, reviling Marwān:

Flight importunes Marwān, and I have told him,
'now the oppressor is one oppressed, whose desire is to flee.

What are flight and abdication of kingship, once gone
from you all forbearance? There is no religion or honor;

Lightwit in patience, a Pharaoh in persecution; and if
you seek his generosity, he's a dog before whom is a mad dog.'

'Abdallāh b. 'Alī wrote to the Commander of the Faithful of the victory and Marwān's flight, and he took possession of Marwān's army and all it had carried with it. They found many weapons and much wealth, but they found no women except a slavegirl of 'Abdallāh b. Marwān. When 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī's letter reached Abū al-'Abbās, he prayed two prostrations, and then recited the verses, "When Saul set out with the host, he said, 'God will try you by a river; whosoever drinks thereof is not of me, and whosoever tastes it not, he is of me, save him who scoops it with his hand.' Yet they drank thereof, all save a few of them, and when he had crossed with those who believed with him, they said, 'We can do nothing this day against Goliath and his hosts.' Those who reckoned that they were to meet God however said, 'How often a little band has overcome a numerous company by God's leave! God is with the patient.' So, when they went out against Goliath and his hosts, they said, 'Our Lord, bestow on us patience, make firm our feet, and aid us against the people of the unbelievers!' And they routed him, by God's leave, and David slew Goliath, and God gave him the kingship, and wisdom, and taught him such as He willed."[399] Then Abū al-'Abbās ordered that each man who had been at the battle should receive five hundred (dirhams) and he raised their monthly salaries to eighty (dirhams).

Aḥmad b. Zuhayr reported the following from 'Alī b. Muḥammad

398. Qur. 2:47.
399. Qur. 2:249–51.

—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Umayyah: When the men of Khurāsān met up with Marwān, he could manage nothing that was free of disorder and corruption. Aḥmad said that he received this account. On the
[42] day he was routed Marwān was standing firm, and the troops were engaged in combat, when he sent for money. It was brought, and he told the troops, "Stand fast and fight, and this money will be yours." Then some of the troops began to seize the money, and they sent word to him, "The troops are eager for the money, and we're not sure they won't run away with it." So he sent word to his son ʿAbdallāh, "Go with your men to the rear of your camp and kill anyone who takes that money, and stop them." ʿAbdallāh moved (to the rear) with his standard, and the troops said, "It's a retreat." and fled.

According to Aḥmad b. ʿAlī—Abū Jārūd al-Sulamī—a man from the Khurāsān army. We encountered Marwān at the Zāb, and the Syrians attacked us as if they were a mountain of iron; then we crouched and extended our lances and they turned from us like a cloud (of dust) and God gave us the backs of them. When they crossed (the river) the bridge was cut in front of those following them. A Syrian remained on it, so one of our men went out to him, and the Syrian slew him. Then another man went out, and he killed him, until finally he had killed three men. Then one of our men said, "Find me a sharp sword and a tough shield," so we got them for him. Then he went for him. The Syrian struck at him, but he fended him off with the shield and struck the Syrian's leg, cutting off his foot. He went on to kill him, and came back to us. We picked him up shouting, "*Allāhu Akhbar*!" The man was ʿUbaydallāh al-Kābulī.

The rout of Marwān at the Zāb, according to what is mentioned, took place on Saturday morning, the eleventh night of Jumādā II (January 25, 750).

In this year Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās was killed.

The Death of the Imām Ibrāhīm the ʿAbbāsid

The biographers have differed on the matter of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. Some of them say that he was not killed but that he died of plague in the prison of Marwān b. Muḥammad.[400]

400. See n. 365 above. However, death by plague is also regarded as a martyr's death, following a well-known ḥadīth.

Those Who Say He Died in Prison

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Waḥḥāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Khālid—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ: Marwān [43]
b. Muḥammad came to Raqqah the time he set out against al-Ḍaḥḥāk. He had with him Sa'īd b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik and Sa'īd's two sons 'Uthmān and Marwān. All of them accompanied him in bonds. He sent them to his lieutenant at Ḥarrān, who put them in the prison there along with Ibrāhīm (b. Muḥammad) b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd, and Abū Muḥammad the Sufyānī, who was called the Farrier *(al-Bayṭār)*. Of them there perished in prison from an epidemic that broke out in Ḥarrān, 'Abbās b. al-Walīd, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. One week before Marwān was routed at the Zāb by 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, Sa'īd b. Hishām and those who were imprisoned with him escaped when they killed the man in charge of the prison. Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī stayed behind in confinement and did not leave with those who escaped. Others who did not view escape from the prison as lawful stayed with him. The people of Ḥarrān and some of the rabble *(ghawghā')* in the city killed Sa'īd b. Hishām, Sharāḥīl b. Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abd al-Malik b. Bishr al-Taghlibī and the Patrikios of Armenia IV, whose name was Kūshān, by stoning them to death. Only fifteen days or so after they were killed, Marwān came to Ḥarrān fleeing from the Battle of the Zāb and set Abū Muḥammad and those confined with him in the prison free.

According to 'Umar—'Abdallāh b. Kathīr al-'Abdī—'Alī b. Mūsā—his father: Marwān pushed down the walls of a room on Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad and killed him.[401]

According to 'Umar—Muḥammad b. Ma'rūf b. Suwayd—his father—al-Muhalhil b. Ṣafwān ('Umar: Later al-Mufaḍḍal b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān also told me that al-Muhalhil b. Ṣafwān told this story): I [44]
was with Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad in the prison in which 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and Sharāḥīl b. Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik were detained. They would visit each other, especially Ibrāhīm and

401. The same method of assassination was reportedly utilized by the Caliph al-Manṣūr against his uncle 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī. The latter tradition with full explication of the legal consequences of this kind of killing is discussed in Lassner, *'Abbāsid Rule*, 39–57, esp. 40–46. (J.L.)

Sharāḥīl. One day Sharāḥīl's messenger brought Ibrāhīm some milk and said, "Your brother says, 'I drank some of this milk and enjoyed it, and I'd like you to have some too.'" He accepted it and drank, and immediately thereafter became ill and collapsed. It was a day when he was supposed to go see Sharāḥīl, but he delayed, so Sharāḥīl sent word to him, "Let me be your ransom, you have delayed; what has detained you?" He sent word back, "When I drank the milk you sent me, it disagreed with me." Sharāḥīl came to him badly frightened, and said, "No, by God, no god there is but He; I drank no milk today and I sent none to you! Truly we are God's, and to Him we shall return. By God, you have been deceived!" By God, he survived only that night and no other. The following morning Ibrāhīm was dead.[402]

Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Salamah b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥurmah b. Hudhayl b. al-Rabīʿ b. ʿĀmir b. Subayḥ b. ʿAdī b. Qays, that is, Qays b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr, lamented Ibrāhīm as follows:

I reckoned myself strong, but my wits are scattered
by a grave at Ḥarrān in which is religion's defense.

In it is the Imām and the best of all mankind,
among the slates and the stones and the clay;

The Imām whose misfortune became widespread,
depriving every rich man or poor.

May God not absolve Marwān for any wrongdoing,
but God pardon all who here say "Amen!"

This year Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam was slain.

The Death of Marwān and His Battle with the Syrians

[45] Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Khalīd—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad: When Marwān fled from the

402. Sudden or unexpected deaths from natural causes (e.g., appendicitis) were always prone to be later described as murder by poisoning. See Lassner, *ʿAbbāsid Rule*, 46ff.

Zāb I was in his army, and Marwān had one hundred twenty thousand men in his forces at the Zāb; sixty thousand were in his own army and about the same number were with his son ʿAbdallāh, with the Zāb between them. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī engaged Marwān with the troops accompanying him, Abū ʿAwn and a group of officers among whom was Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah. When Marwān's forces were put to flight, they went to Ḥarrān, where Abān b. Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Marwān, his brother's son, was governor. Marwān stayed at Ḥarrān more than twenty days. When ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī drew near, he packed up his people and children and family and fled, leaving at Ḥarrān Abān b. Yazīd who was married to a daughter of Marwān called Umm ʿUthmān. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī advanced and Abān went out to meet him dressed in black as a sign of his allegiance. Abān then took the oath to ʿAbdallāh and entered his service, while ʿAbdallāh gave him and all those in Ḥarrān and the Jazīrah guarantees of safety. Marwān continued past Qinnasrīn with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī pursuing him. Then he moved on from Qinnasrīn to Ḥimṣ where the people met him in the markets ready to hear and obey. He stayed there for two or three days, and then set out. When people saw how few there were with him they became emboldened against him, saying, "He's a coward, running away." They pursued him after he had set out from them and caught up with him some miles away. When he saw the dust raised by their horses, he set two officers of his mawlās, one called Yazīd and the other Mukhallad, in two ravines *(wādīs)*. When the pursuers came near him and passed the two ambush parties and his womenfolk had gone, he set his men in battle formation, and besought the pursuers in God's name. They refused to do anything but bandy words with him and do battle, so fighting broke out between them. Then the ambushers attacked them from the rear, and he put them to flight. His cavalry pursued them, killing them until they reached the vicinity of the city.

Marwān went on until he passed Damascus, which was governed by al-Walīd b. Muʿāwiyah b. Marwān, who was Marwān's son-in-law, married to a daughter of his called Umm al-Walīd. Marwān continued on his way, leaving al-Walīd b. Muʿāwiyah in charge of the city until ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī came against him. ʿAbdallāh besieged [46]
Damascus some days, and the city was taken. He entered Damascus by force, opposing its people. Al-Walīd b. Muʿāwiyah fell among those who were slain. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī tore down the walls of the

city. Marwān passed by the Jordan, and Thaʿlabah b. Salāmah al-ʿĀmilī, who was his governor there, set off with him, leaving the district without a governor until ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī arrived and appointed one for it. Then Marwān came to Palestine, which was governed on his behalf by al-Rumāḥis b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Rumāḥis also left with him, and Marwān went on until he arrived at Miṣr.[403] Then he left there and stopped one stage away at a place called Būṣīr.[404] He was attacked by night and slain there by ʿAmīr b. Ismāʿīl and Shuʿbah, accompanied by some of the cavalry of Mosul. On the same night that he was attacked, ʿAbdallāh and ʿUbaydallāh, the two sons of Marwān, fled to the land of the Abyssinians. They met misfortune at the hands of the Abyssinians, who fought them and slew ʿUbaydallāh. ʿAbdallāh got away with a number of men who were with them, including Bakr b. Muʿāwiyah al-Bāhilī. Bakr stayed free until the caliphate of al-Mahdī, when Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, the governor of Palestine, caught him and sent him to al-Mahdī.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Bishr b. ʿĪsā, al-Nuʿmān Abū Sarī, Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm, Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Marwazī and ʿAmmār the mawlā of Jibrīl: Marwān met ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī with one hundred and twenty thousand men, and ʿAbdallāh had only twenty thousand. The number who were with ʿAbdallāh that day is disputed, however, by other authorities.

Muslim b. al-Mughīrah reported the following from Muṣʿab b. al-Rabīʿ al-Khuthʿamī, father of Abū Mūsā b. Muṣʿab, who was a secretary of Marwān: When Marwān fled and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī conquered Syria, I asked for a guarantee of safety, and he accorded it to me. One day I was sitting in his presence, and while he was reclining, someone mentioned Marwān and his flight. He asked, "Were you at the battle?" "Yes," I told him, "May God make things right with the
[47] Amīr!" "Tell me about him," he said. So I said, "On that very day he told me, 'Count the enemy.' I told him, 'I'm only a man of the pen, not a man of war.' Then turning to the right and the left, he looked

403. Miṣr was both the name for Egypt and the general name for its capital, Fusṭāṭ. The context makes it clear that the city is intended here.

404. There were several locations of that name in Egypt. This was probably Būṣīr called Būṣīr al-Malaq on the west bank of the Nile at the entrance to the Fayyūm Oasis in Upper Egypt. Yāqūt calls it Būṣīr Qūrīdis. See *EI*[2] s.v. Būṣīr; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 760.

and said, "They are twelve thousand." At this, ʿAbdallāh sat up and said, "God smite him, what was with him? I do not reckon the military rolls carried more than twelve thousand men that day!"

Returning to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his authorities: Marwān fled until he came to the city of Mosul which was governed by Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī and Bishr b. Khuzaymah al-Asadī, and they cut the pontoon bridge. The Syrians shouted to them, "It's Marwān!" But they replied, "You lie; the Commander of the Faithful doesn't run away!" He therefore went to a village. He crossed the Tigris and went to Ḥarrān and then to Damascus, where he left al-Walīd b. Muʿāwiyah in charge, saying, "Fight them, until the people of Syria are united." Then Marwān moved on to Palestine and stopped at the River of Abū Fuṭrus. Al-Ḥakam b. Ḍabʿān al-Judhāmī had seized power in Palestine, so Marwān sent word to ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Rawḥ b. Zinbāʿ appointing him to power, but the treasury was in the hands of al-Ḥakam. Abū al-ʿAbbās wrote to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī commanding him to pursue Marwān, so ʿAbdallāh proceeded to Mosul. He was met by Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī and Bishr b. Khuzaymah who had displayed the color black with the people of Mosul, and they now opened up the city to him. He then marched to Ḥarrān, appointing Muḥammad b. Ṣūl as governor of Mosul. In Ḥarrān ʿAbdallāh demolished the house in which Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad had been confined. He then marched to Manbij, where the people had displayed black. He stopped in Manbij and appointed Abū Ḥumayd al-Marwazī as governor. The people of Qinnasrīn sent ʿAbdallāh their oath of allegiance; one of those who came to him on their behalf was Abū Umayyah al-Taghlibī. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī arrived from Abū al-ʿAbbās to reinforce him with four thousand men. [48]
ʿAbdallāh stayed there a couple of days after the arrival of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, but then moved to Qinnasrīn. When he came there, the people had already displayed the color black. He stayed a couple of days, and then moved on to stop at Ḥimṣ. ʿAbdallāh stayed there several days, while the inhabitants swore the oath of allegiance. Then he marched to Baʿalbakk where he stayed a couple of days before moving on. He stopped next at ʿAyn al-Jarr,[405] remaining there two days

405. The Umayyad princely city built by al-Walīd II in the anti-Lebanon and known today as ʿAnjar. See *EI*² s.v. ʿAyn al-Djarr.

before moving on. 'Abdallāh then camped at Mizzah,[406] one of the villages of Damascus. Then Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī arrived with reinforcements and he camped at Marj 'Adhra'[407] with eight thousand men. With him were Bassām b. Ibrāhīm, Khafāf, Shu'bah, and al-Haytham b. Bassām. Then 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī moved, and camped at the East Gate (Bāb Sharqī).[408] Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī settled at the Jābiyah Gate, Abū 'Awn at Bāb Kaysān, Bassām at Bab al-Ṣaghīr and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah at Bāb Tūmā. 'Abd al-Ṣamad, Yaḥyā b. Ṣafwān and al-'Abbās b. Yazīd were at Bāb al-Farādīs—al-Walīd b. Mu'āwiyah was still inside Damascus. The attackers laid siege to the people of Damascus and the Balqā'. Then the people of the city broke into factional rivalry; some of them killed others, and they slew al-Walīd. The 'Abbāsids forced the gates on Wednesday, the twentieth of Ramadān (May 2, 750). The first to scale the wall of the city from the East Gate was 'Abdallāh al-Ṭā'ī, and the first at Bāb al-Ṣaghīr was Bassām b. Ibrāhīm. They fought for three hours in the city. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī stopped at Damascus for fifteen days, and then set out for Palestine and stopped at the Kuswah River.[409] From there he sent Yaḥyā b. Ja'far the Hāshimite to Madīnah, and then he moved to the Jordan. The people had already adopted black, and they came out to meet him. He camped at Baysān,[410] then moved to Marj al-Rūm and came to the River of Abū Fuṭrus.[411] Marwān had fled, and 'Abdallāh stayed in Palestine. A letter from Abū al-'Abbās came to him, "Send Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī in pursuit of Marwān." And Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī marched from the

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406. See LeStrange, *Palestine*, 237.

407. A meadow lying twelve *mīl* (24 km.) from Damascus. See LeStrange, *Palestine*, 503.

408. Bāb al-Farādīs was the northern gate of Damascus. The Kaysān Gate was southeast, and Bāb al-Saghīr on the south. Bāb Tūmā was on the northeast. See *EI*[2] s.v. Dimashḳ.

409. Meaning the Nahr al-A'waj which flows from Mt. Hermon into the area known as al-Kuswah. The latter was situated some twelve *mīl* (24 km.) from Damascus. See LeStrange, *Palestine*, 488.

410. A town in the Jordan Valley known today as Bet Shan. See LeStrange, *Palestine*, 410ff.

411. Abū Fuṭrus was the ancient Antipatris on the Awjā', near Ramlah. Ṭabarī barely mentions, later on, a massacre of some eighty members, more or less, of the Umayyad family here by 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, though Ibn Athīr, Ya'qūbī, Azdī, and *al-Aghānī* all give details. See Ibn Athīr, II, 333; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 355; and Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 551–52. Ya'qūbī II, 356–57, also mentions how 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī opened the graves of the Umayyad caliphs and burned their bodies "sparing none." Others state that the tomb of 'Umar II was spared.

River of Abū Fuṭrus in Dhū al-Qa'dah 132 (June 11–July 10, 750). He had with him Ibn Fattān, 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥārithī and Abū 'Awn, [49]
and he sent Abū 'Awn to lead his vanguard along with 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl. Ṣāliḥ marched on, stopping at Ramlah;[412] then he continued, and they camped at the seacoast. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī gathered vessels and provisioned them to go after Marwān who was at Faramā. Ṣāliḥ marched along the coast road while the ships sailed alongside him until he stopped at 'Arīsh.[413]

Word of this reached Marwān, so he had the fodder and foodstuffs around him burned, and fled. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī pressed on, and stopped at the Nile, before moving on and camping in Upper Egypt (al-Sa'īd). Word reached Ṣāliḥ that Marwān's cavalry along the banks of the river were burning the fodder, so he sent some officers against them. These captured ten men and brought them to Ṣāliḥ, who was at Fusṭāṭ.[414] Marwān crossed the Nile, cut the pontoon bridge, and burned the fields. Ṣāliḥ went in pursuit of him, and clashed with a contingent of Marwān's cavalry at the Nile; they fought an engagement and Ṣāliḥ put them to flight. He then went on to a canal, where some (more) of Marwān's cavalry chanced upon him. He wounded some of them and drove the party away. Then he went on to another canal, and his force crossed over. They then saw a cloud of dust, and supposed it was Marwān, so Ṣāliḥ sent out a scouting party under al-Faḍl b. Dīnār and Mālik b. Qādim. They found no one to oppose, so they went back to Ṣāliḥ and he moved on. He then stopped and camped at a place called Dhāt al-Sāḥil. Abū 'Awn sent ahead 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥārithī along with Shu'bah b. Kathīr al-Māzinī. Encountering some of Marwān's cavalry, they put them to flight and took some men who were on foot as prisoners. Some of these they slew, and some they let live. They asked about Marwān's whereabouts, and the prisoners told them where he was, on condition that they be given guarantees of safety. They rode on, and found Marwān staying at a church in Būsīr. They attacked his force at the

412. Situated between the hill country and the coast, Ramlah was the administrative center of Palestine. See LeStrange, *Palestine*, 303ff.

413. That is, he was marching along the Via Maris, the ancient route to Egypt. Faramā' was between Egypt proper and 'Arīsh. The latter oasis was on the border between Sinai and Palestine. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 883.

414. See n. 403 above. Fusṭāṭ was the earliest Arab settlement in Egypt and the first of a series of settlements that was to comprise the area of Greater Cairo. See *EI*[2] s.v. al-Fusṭāṭ.

night's end, and his soldiers ran away. Marwān came out against them with a small party of men, and they surrounded him and killed him.

According to ʿAlī—Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan—ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl: We
[50] found Marwān at Būsīr. We were a small party, so they pressed us hard. We gathered together in a palm-stand, and if they had known how few we were, they would certainly have killed us. I said to the men with me, "If we wait until morning and they see how few we are in number, not one of us will get away." Then I recalled the words of Bukayr b. Māhān, "By God, you will slay Marwān; it's as though I hear you cry [in Persian], 'Give it to them, bullies! *[dahīd yā juvānkashān].*'"[415] Then I broke the sheath of my sword, and my companions broke theirs. And I cried out, "*Dahīd yā juvānkashān*!" It had the effect of molten fire poured on them, and they fled. Then a man attacked Marwān and struck him with his sword, killing him.

ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl rode back to Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, who wrote to the Commander of the Faithful Abū al-ʿAbbās, "We pursued al-Jaʿdī, the enemy of God, until we caused him to seek refuge in the land of God's enemy, Pharaoh—he who made himself like unto God—and in that land I slew him."

ʿAlī reported the following from Abū Ṭālib al-Anṣārī: It was a man from Baṣrah they called al-Maghūd who stabbed Marwān; he didn't recognize him when he felled him. Then someone gave a great cry, "The Commander of the Faithful is down!" They raced over to him, and a man from Kūfah, who used to sell pomegranates, got there first and cut off his head. ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl sent Marwān's head to Abū ʿAwn, who sent it to Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, and Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī sent the head with Yazīd b. Hāni', his chief of security, to Abū al-ʿAbbās on Sunday, the third day before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 132 (August 6, 750). Ṣāliḥ went back to Fusṭāṭ, then he left for Syria, turning over the booty to Abū ʿAwn, and the weapons, money and slaves to al-Faḍl b. Dīnār, and left Abū ʿAwn in command in Egypt.

According to ʿAlī—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Khurāsānī—a shaykh of the tribe of Bakr b. Wāʾil: I was at Dayr Qunnā with Bukayr b. Māhān, and we were talking together when a young man passed by with two
[51] waterskins, went to the Tigris and got water. Then he returned, and

415. Following the Cairo edition.

Bukayr called him, saying, "What's your name, young man?" "'Āmir," he said. "Son of whom?" asked Bukayr. "Of Ismā'īl," he replied. "Of Balḥārith?"[416] asked Bukayr. "I am of Balḥārith," he said. "Then you'll be of the Banū Musliyyah," Bukayr said. "I am," he told him. "Then, by God," said Bukayr, "you will slay Marwān; it is as though I hear you cry: *'Ya juvānkashān, dahīd!'*"

'Alī reported the following from al-Kinānī: I used to hear our shaykhs at Kūfah say, "The Banū Musliyyah will be the death of Marwān."[417] According to some, Marwān was sixty-two years old on the day that he was slain. Others say he was sixty-nine, and still others that he was fifty-eight. He was slain on Sunday three days before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (August 6, 750), and his reign from the time that allegiance was sworn to him until he was killed was five years, ten months and sixteen days. His patronymic *(kunyā)* was 'Abū 'Abd al-Malik. Hishām b. Muḥammad asserts that his mother was a Kurdish concubine.

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Alī b. Muḥammad—'Alī b. Mujāhid and Abū Sinān al-Juhnī: It was said that the mother of Marwān b. Muḥammad used to belong to Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar,[418] and that Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam acquired her the day Ibn al-Ashtar was slain; he took her to be a refined woman, from Ibn al-Ashtar's household. She bore Marwān in Muḥammad's bed. When Abū al-'Abbās took power, 'Abdallāh b. al-'Ayyāsh al-Mantūf came into his presence and said, "Praise be to God, who has exchanged for us the ass of the Jazīrah and the son of the slaughtered man's bondmaid with a descendant of the paternal uncle of God's Messenger and the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib!" This same year 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī killed those of the Banū Umayyah who were slain at the River of Abū Fuṭrus. They were seventy-two men.[419]

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416. The Balḥārith were the Arab tribe of the Yaman which included the Christians of the Najrān oasis. See *EI*² s.v. Ḥārith b. Ka'b.

417. The Banū Musliyyah were the earliest supporters of the 'Abbāsid revolution. Most leaders of the Kūfah apparatus were counted among them. Abū al-'Abbās was married to Rayṭah, one of the noble women of this clan. See *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 192–93. [J.L.]

418. That is, the famous 'Alid commander who also fought for the Zubayrids and was killed in 72 (October 691). See *EI*² s.v. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar.

419. See n. 411 above. The traditions concerning the annihilation of the Umayyad house are problematic.

In this year Abū al-Ward threw off his allegiance to Abū al-'Abbās at Qinnasrīn, and adopted the color white along with others.[420]

[52] *Abū al-Ward's Adopting White and What Happened*

The cause of this, according to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ: Abū al-Ward, whose name was Majza' ah b. Kawthar b. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, was a companion of Marwān and one of his cavalry officers. When Marwān was routed, Abū al-Ward was at Qinnasrīn, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī came there. Abū al-Ward gave him allegiance, and he and his troops placed themselves at 'Abdallāh's disposal. The descendants of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik lived next to Abū al-Ward at Bālis and Nā'ūrah.[421] One of the "Thousanders,"[422] an officer of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, came to Bālis at the head of a hundred and fifty cavalry and manhandled the sons of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik and their womenfolk. Some people complained of this to Abū al-Ward, and he came out in an agricultural settlement there called Zarā'at Banī Zufar—it was also called Khusāf—[423] with a number of people of his family to attack the officer, who was staying in Maslamah's fort. Abū al-Ward fought him until he had killed him and the men with him, and then he proclaimed the adoption of the color white and the deposing of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī. He called on the people of Qinnasrīn to do the same, and all of them displayed the white. Abū al-'Abbās was staying at this time in Hīrah, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī was occupied in armed conflict with Ḥabīb b. Murrah al-Murrī, fighting him in the Balqā', Bathaniyyah and Ḥawrān.[424] 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī had already encountered Ḥabīb with his

420. White became the color of the opposition to 'Abbāsid rule. See the article on colors and politics by Omar cited in n. 72 above. See also Azdī, 146.

421. Bālis, the ancient Barbalissus, was situated on the Syrian side of the Euphrates west of Raqqah. Nā'ūrah was between Aleppo and Bālis. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 477ff, and IV, 832.

422. The text is al-*azārmardīn*," it should be read *hazārmard*, literally, "thousand-man." The epithet *hazārmard* occurs regularly for outstanding officers in this period, and is probably traceable to the old Sasanian practice of giving certain officers of great merit and bravery the pay and importance of a thousand ordinary soldiers. See Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 61.

423. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 922, who lists a Zurā'at Zufar near Bālis. He also lists a Khusāf in the same region (ibid, 441).

424. For these districts of Syria, see *EI*² s.v. al-Bathaniyya, Ḥawrān.

troops and engaged them in several clashes. Ḥabīb had been one of Marwān's cavalry officers, and his reason for adopting white had been fear for himself and for his people. The Qays and other groups allied to them among the inhabitants of these districts, Bathaniyyah and Ḥawrān, had sworn to follow him. However, when word reached ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī of their adopting white (in Qinnasrīn), he invited Ḥabīb b. Murrah to make peace, made peace with him, pardoned him and those with them, and set out for Qinnasrīn to engage Abū al-Ward. He passed by Damascus and appointed as his deputy there Abū Ghānim ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Ribʿi al-Ṭāʾī, giving him command of four thousand men from his army. Also at Damascus at this time was the wife of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, Umm al-Banīn bt. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib al-Nawfaliyyah, the sister of ʿAmr b. Muḥammad, as well as concubine mothers of ʿAbdallāh's children, and some of his household. As ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī arrived at Ḥimṣ on his way, the people of Damascus rebelled against him when his back was turned, adopted white, and rose against him with ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Surāqah[425] al-Azdī. They encountered Abū Ghānim and those with him and put him to flight, killing a great number of his followers. They carried off all that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had left behind in the way of household goods and chattels, but did not harm his family. Displaying white, the people of Damascus united in opposition to (the ʿAbbāsids). ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī however continued on his way. Some of the people of Qinnasrīn had joined with Abū al-Ward, and had corresponded with their associates at Ḥimṣ and Tadmur. Thousands had come to join them under Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān.[426] The rebels made Abū Muḥammad their leader and called men to follow him, saying, "This is the Sufyānid who was foretold."[427] Their numbers were now about forty thousand. [53]

425. The text is Surāqah; emended by the Cairo edition to Sarādiqah.

426. That is, the descendant of Yazīd I, the second Umayyad Caliph and the son of the founder of the dynasty.

427. There is frequent mention of a Sufyānid as an eschatological figure in the ḥadīth collections on *fitan*, "troubles." What his role will be depends on the orientation of the source, Umayyad, ʿAlid, or ʿAbbāsid. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-Taʾrīkh*, II, 186, reports, "The Banū ʿAbbās will be destroyed at the hands of a man from the house of this woman" (the Prophet's wife Umm Ḥabībah bt. Abī Sufyān). All of these ḥadīths are politically tendentious; some of them come from a Syria resentful of ʿAbbāsid domination.

When ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was near them, he sent his brother ʿAbd al-Ṣamad ahead with ten thousand of his cavalry. Abū Muḥammad had camped with his following at a meadow called Marj al-Akhram. Abū al-Ward was in charge of the camp, and was Abū Muḥammad's executive and battle-chief. He thus came out to oppose them, and met them on the field between the two armies. There was a confused engagement between the two forces, but the enemy stood fast. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and those with him were routed, and thousands of his men were killed that day. When ʿAbd al-Ṣamad came back to him, ʿAb-
[54] dallāh advanced, along with Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah and a group of officers who were with him. They engaged the enemy again at Marj al-Akhram, and fought a fierce battle with them. A group of those who were with ʿAbdallāh were put to flight, but they regrouped, while ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah stood firm and repulsed the attackers. Abū al-Ward and about five hundred men of his family and clan held fast and were all killed. Abū Muḥammad and the Kalb who were with him fled until they got to Tadmur. ʿAbdallāh gave the people of Qinnasrīn a guarantee of safety, and they displayed black, swore allegiance to him, and became submissive to him. He then set out to go back to the people of Damascus because they displayed white in rebellion against him and drove out Abū al-Ghānim. As he neared Damascus, the people fled and scattered without any battle between them, and ʿAbdallāh pardoned the city's inhabitants. They swore allegiance to him, and he did not prosecute them for what they had done.

Abū Muḥammad continued to absent himself as a fugitive, and he reached the Ḥijāz. Word of his hiding place reached Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī, Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr's governor, and he sent cavalry for him. They engaged him in battle until he was killed and two sons of his were captured. Ziyād sent his head and his two sons to the Commander of the Faithful Abū Jaʿfar, who ordered that the sons be set free, and he pardoned them.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad reported the following from al-Nuʿmān Abū al-Sarī, Jabalah b. Farrūkh, Sulaymān b. Dāwud and Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Marwazī: Abū al-Ward threw off his allegiance at Qinnasrīn and Abū al-ʿAbbās wrote to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī at (Abū) Fuṭrus to engage Abū al-Ward in battle. ʿAbdallāh sent ʿAbd al-Ṣamad to Qinnasrīn at the head of seven thousand men, with Mukhāriq b. Shabīb in charge of security. He then sent five thousand men after him under the

command of Dhu'ayb b. al-Ash'ath, and after that he began to send the main contingents. 'Abd al-Ṣamad encountered Abū al-Ward at the head of a great force. The people fled from 'Abd al-Ṣamad until [55] they came to Ḥimṣ, so 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī sent al-'Abbās b. Yazīd b. Ziyād, Marwān al-Jurjānī and Abū al-Mutawakkil al-Jurjānī, each with their own followers, to Ḥimṣ. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī himself arrived, and camped four miles *(mīl)* from Ḥimṣ. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī was also at Ḥimṣ. 'Abdallāh wrote to Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, and he came to him from the Jordan. The people of Qinnasrīn swore allegiance to the Sufyānid Abū Muḥammad Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, and Abū al-Ward b. . . . .[428] They swore allegiance to him and he stayed forty days. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, together with 'Abd al-Ṣamad and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah came against them, and the two forces engaged in the fiercest of battles. Abū Muḥammad drove them into a narrow pass, and the people began to scatter. Then Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah said to 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, "What are we waiting for? They are increasing in numbers, and our followers are decreasing! Let us go forth against them!" They fought each other on Tuesday, the last of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 133 (July 27, 751). Abū Muḥammad had Abū al-Ward on his right, and in command of his left was al-Aṣbagh b. Dhū'ālah. Abū al-Ward was wounded and carried back to his people, and then he died. A group of Abū al-Ward's followers fled into a bushy area, and it was set on fire over their heads. The people of Ḥimṣ had thrown off their allegiance and wanted to follow Abū Muḥammad, but when they learned of his flight they stayed where they were.

In this year, Ḥabīb b. Murrah al-Murrī threw off (black) and put on white along with those of the people of Syria who were with him.

Ḥabib b. Murrah Puts on White

'Alī reported the following from his authorities: Ḥabīb b. Murrah al-Murrī and the people of the Bathaniyyah and Ḥawrān put on white [56] while 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī was in the camp of Abū al-Ward, who was slain in this year.[429]

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrā-

428. There is a lacuna in the text and in the Cairo edition.
429. See Azdī, 144ff *sub anno* 133.

hīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad: Ḥabīb b. Murrah's display of white and his struggle with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī occurred before Abū al-Ward put on white, and Abū al-Ward only did this while ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was occupied in fighting Ḥabīb b. Murrah in the Balqāʾ, or in the Bathaniyyah and Ḥawrān. ʿAbdallāh had already encountered Ḥabīb with his troops and engaged them in several clashes. Ḥabīb had been one of Marwān's cavalry officers, and the reason for his putting on white had been fear for his own safety and his people. The Qays and its allies among the inhabitants of those districts, i.e., Bathaniyyah and Ḥawrān, pledged allegiance to him. When word of the rebellion of the people of Qinnasrīn reached ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, he invited Ḥabīb b. Murrah to make peace. ʿAbdallāh then made peace with him and pardoned him and his men and set out for Qinnasrīn to encounter Abū al-Ward.

In this year also the people of the Jazīrah put on white and threw off their allegiance to Abū al-ʿAbbās.

The Revolt of the Jazarīs

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad: The people of the Jazīrah displayed white and threw off their allegiance as soon as word came to them of the revolt of Abū al-Ward and the uprising of the people of Qinnasrīn. The rebels marched to Ḥarrān, where at this time Mūsā b. Kaʿb was stationed with three thousand men of the army. The defenders stuck fast to the city, and wearers of white flocked to it from every direction. They besieged Mūsā and those with him, but their command was not unified and they had no single chief to unite them.

[57] Following this, Isḥāq b. Muslim came from Armenia.[430] He had set out from there when word came to him of Marwān's defeat. The people of the Jazīrah made him their leader, and he besieged Mūsā b. Kaʿb upwards of two months. Abū al-ʿAbbās sent Abū Jaʿfar, his brother, with the troops he had with him besieging Ibn Hubayrah at Wāṣit. He went on past Qarqīsiyyah, where the inhabitants had displayed white and locked the gates of the city. Then he came to Raq-

430. That is, Isḥāq b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī, the "chief man of Qays," who was an Umayyad commander along the Armenian frontier. See Ṭabarī, II/3, 1871, 1940.

qah, which was in the same condition under Bakkār b. Muslim, brother of Isḥāq. Abū Ja'far continued on toward Ḥarrān, and Isḥāq b. Muslim then moved to Ruhā'.[431] This occurred in the year 133 (750–751). Mūsā b. Ka'b and his followers came out of Ḥarrān and met Abū Ja'far, while Bakkār b. Muslim went to his brother, Isḥāq b. Muslim, who went to a group of the Rabī'ah at Dārā and Mārdīn. The leader of the Rabī'ah at this time was one of the Ḥarūriyyah (Khārijites) called Buraykah. Abū Ja'far went after him, and the two forces engaged in a violent battle in which Buraykah was killed. Bakkār then went back to his brother Isḥāq in Ruhā'. Isḥāq left him in charge of Ruhā' and went with most of their army to Sumaysāṭ,[432] where he entrenched himself with his troops. Abū Ja'far proceeded with his units until Bakkār confronted him at Ruhā', and there were several battles between them.

Abū al-'Abbās wrote to 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī to march with his troops against Isḥāq at Sumaysāṭ, and he came from Syria to camp opposite Isḥāq at Sumaysāṭ. There were sixty thousand men, all of them from the Jazīrah. Between the two forces lay the Euphrates. Abū Ja'far now came from Ruhā', whereupon Isḥāq wrote the 'Abbāsid commanders requesting guarantees of safety (in return for surrender). They assented to this and wrote to Abū al-'Abbās, who ordered them to give him and all those with him pledges of safety. They therefore composed a document in which Isḥāq was given firm assurances. Isḥāq then came out to meet Abū Ja'far, and there was a complete reconciliation between them. He later became one of Abū Ja'far's chosen men. The people of the Jazīrah and of Syria were thus pacified, and Abū al-'Abbās appointed Abū Ja'far as governor of the Jazīrah, Armenia and Ādharbayjān. He continued in that capacity [58]
until he became Caliph.

It is mentioned that Isḥāq b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī stayed at Sumaysāṭ seven months while Abū Ja'far besieged him. He used to say, "There is an oath of allegiance on my neck, and I shall not put it aside until I know that the man to whom I gave it has died or been killed." At this, Abū Ja'far sent word to him that Marwān had been slain, and he replied, "Let me be sure of this." Then he sought peace,

431. For Ruhā' (Edessa), see LeStrange, *Lands*, 103–4.

432. For Sumaysāṭ, ancient Samosata, which lay on the north bank of the Euphrates, see LeStrange, *Lands*, 108.

saying, "I have learned that Marwān has been slain." So Abū Jaʿfar pardoned him, and he went with Abū Jaʿfar and held a place of great esteem with him. It has also been said that it was ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī who pardoned him.

Also in this year, Abū Jaʿfar set out for Abū Muslim in Khurāsān to seek his opinion about slaying Abū Salamah Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān.

Abū Jaʿfar's Journey to Khurāsān

Earlier I mentioned the matter of Abū Salamah and what he had done to arouse the suspicions of Abū al-ʿAbbās and those of the Banū Hāshim who accompanied him when they arrived at Kūfah.

According to ʿAlī b. Muhammad—Jabalah b. Farrūkh—Yazīd b. Asīd—Abū Jaʿfar: When Abū al-ʿAbbās became Commander of the Faithful, we sat up one evening talking and mentioned what Abū Salamah had done. Then one man there said, "What do you know; maybe what Abū Salamah did was done by the advice of Abū Muslim!" Not one of us spoke, and then the Commander of the Faithful Abū al-ʿAbbās said, "Well, if that was by the advice of Abū Muslim, then we are up against trouble, unless God should rid us of him." Then we dispersed, and Abū al-ʿAbbās sent for me to ask, "What is your opinion of this?" I replied, "Whatever you think." He told me, "None of us is nearer to Abū Muslim than yourself, so go out to see him until you learn his thoughts. He will not disguise them from you. If you encounter him and discover that it was by his advice that Abū Salamah acted, we shall look to ourselves. If it was not, then our souls will be at peace."

[59] I left in some disquiet, and when I got to Rayy, the man in charge there had received a letter from Abū Muslim saying, "Word has reached me that ʿAbdallāh b. Muhammad is headed your way. When he arrives, send him on within the hour of his arrival." So, when I got there, the governor of Rayy came to me, informed me of Abū Muslim's letter, and ordered me to travel on. My disquiet increased; I left Rayy cautious and fearful and traveled on. As soon as I was at Naysābūr, the governor there came to me with a (second) letter from Abū Muslim, "If ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad arrives there, send him on and do not let him tarry, for your area is one of rebels and there is no security for him there." I felt better then, and said, "I see he is concerned about me." So I went on, and when I was two *farsakhs* (12

km) from Marw, Abū Muslim came with the notables to meet me. As soon as he drew near, he (dismounted and) walked toward me to kiss my hand. I told him, "Mount," At this he got on his horse and we went into Marw. I stayed in a house there for three days, and he didn't ask me about anything. Then on the fourth day, he asked me, "What brought you here?" I told him, and he said, "That was Abū Salamah's doing! I shall take care of him for you." Then he called Marrār b. Anas al-Dabbī and told him, "Set out for Kūfah, and kill Abū Salamah as soon as you encounter him. Finish with this as the Imām thinks best." Marrār then arrived at Kūfah, when Abū Salamah was spending the evening with Abū al-ʿAbbās. He waited in his path, and when Abū Salamah came out, Marrār killed him. It was then said that it was the Khārijites who had killed him.

ʿAlī reported the following from a shaykh of the Banū Sulaym—Sālim:[433] I accompanied Abū Jaʿfar from Rayy to Khurāsān as his chamberlain. Abū Muslim would come to see him, dismount at the door of the house, sit down in the antechamber, and say, "Ask for leave for me to enter." Then Abū Jaʿfar grew angry at me, and told me, "Woe to you! When you see him, open the door for him and tell him to ride in on his mount!" I did so, and told Abū Muslim, "He says thus-and-so." "Yes," he said, "I know. Go and ask him for leave for me to enter."

It was also said that Abū al-ʿAbbās had a dislike for Abū Salamah [60] even before he left his camp at Nukhaylah. He then moved from his camp to Hāshimiyyah[434] and stayed at the government palace there. He was hostile to Abū Salamah; this was known about him. He wrote to Abū Muslim informing him what he thought, telling him about the duplicity that concerned him and what he feared in consequence. Abū Muslim wrote, "If the Commander of the Faithful has come across such information about Abū Salamah, then have him killed." But Dāwud b. ʿAlī told Abū al-ʿAbbās, "Do not do it, Commander of the Faithful. It will be used against you by Abū Muslim and the people of Khurāsān who now are with you—his position

433. The text is Sālim, probably an error. The chamberlain's name was Sallām b. Sulaym.

434. That is, the Hāshimiyyah that was at Madīnat b. Hubayrah, near Kūfah. There were several ʿAbbāsid administrative centers before the building of Madīnat al-Salām at Baghdad. Each was known as Hāshimiyyah. There is thus much confusion about them. For a full discussion, see Lassner *ʿAbbāsid Rule*, 151–62. (J.L.)

with them being what it is. Rather, write to Abū Muslim and let him send someone to kill Abū Salamah." So he wrote Abū Muslim to this effect, and Abū Muslim sent Marrār b. Anas al-Ḍabbī. He came to Abū al-ʿAbbās at the city of Hāshimiyyah and let him know the reason for his coming. Abū al-ʿAbbās then ordered a crier to proclaim, "The Commander of the Faithful is well pleased with Abū Salamah and has summoned him and given him robes of honor." Abū Salamah went to visit him one evening after that, and he did not quit him until the greater part of the night had passed. Then he went out to go home, walking alone, until he entered the arcade. Along with some confederates who accompanied him, Marār b. Anas confronted Abū Salamah and killed him. The city gates were locked, and they said, "The Khārijites have murdered Abū Salamah." He was carried out the next day. Yahyā b. Muhammad b. ʿAlī led prayers over him, and he was buried in Hāshimiyyah. On this, Sulaymān b. Al-Muhājir al-Bajalī said:

> Indeed the wazīr, the wazīr of the family of Muḥammad
> has perished, and he who hates you became wazīr.

Abū Salamah was called "Wazīr of the Family of Muḥammad," and
[61] Abū Muslim "Trustee (*amīn*) of the Family of Muḥammad." Thus when Abū Salamah was slain, Abū al-ʿAbbās sent his brother Abū Jaʿfar at the head of thirty men to Abū Muslim; among them were al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāh and Isḥāq b. al-Faḍl al-Hāshimī.

When Abū Jaʿfar came to Abū Muslim, ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aʿraj kept pace with him. Alongside him rode Sulaymān b. Kathīr. Sulaymān then said to al-Aʿraj, "Friend, we have been hoping that your business would be done. If you wish, call on us, as regards your desire." ʿUbaydallāh then thought that he was an agent from Abū Muslim, and he became fearful. Word reached Abū Muslim of Sulaymān b. Kathīr's ride with him. ʿUbaydallāh went to Abū Muslim and mentioned what Sulaymān had said, thinking that if he did not do this, Abū Muslim would devise some mischief against ʿUbaydallāh and kill him. Abū Muslim sent for Sulaymān b. Kathīr and said to him, "Do you remember how the Imām told me, 'Whomever you suspect, kill him?'" "Yes," said Sulaymān. "Well," said Abū Muslim, "I suspect you." "I beseech you in God's name!" said Sulaymān. "Do not beseech me in God's name when you are

plotting treachery to the Imām," said Abū Muslim. He then ordered his head cut off. Abū Ja'far saw no one else whom Abū Muslim had beheaded, but he went home from Abū Muslim and told Abū al-'Abbās, "You are no Caliph, and your rule is nothing, if you leave Abū Muslim alone and do not kill him." "How so?" said Abū al-'Abbās. "By God, he does just what he pleases," said Abū Ja'far. Abū al-'Abbās told him, "Be quiet, and keep this to yourself."[435]

The Battle for Wāṣit

In this year, Abu al-'Abbas sent his brother Abū Ja'far to Wāṣit to do battle with Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah.[436] We have mentioned what happened when the troops of the Khurāsān army encountered Ibn Hubayrah (first) under Qaḥṭabah and then under Qaḥṭabah's son al-Ḥasan—how Ibn Hubayrah was routed and how his supporters among the Syrian troops had gotten to Wāṣit and fortified themselves in that city.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Abū 'Abdallāh al-Sulamī— [62]
'Abdallāh b. Badr, Zuhayr b. Hunayd, Bishr b. 'Īsā and Abū al-Sarī: When Ibn Hubayrah was routed, people deserted him. He had put a group of men in charge of the baggage, and they ran away with it. At this, Ḥawtharah asked him, "Where will you go? These people's leader (Qaḥṭabah) has been killed. Go to Kūfah; you have many troops with you. Then fight them until you are slain or win the fight." Ibn Hubayrah replied, "No, we shall go to Wāṣit and see what happens." Ḥawtharah said, "You will only strengthen them yourself that way, and [in the end] you'll be slain." Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn told him, "There is truly nothing dearer you could bring to Marwān than these troops. Follow the Euphrates until you come to him, and beware of Wāṣit; you'll walk into a siege there, with no future but death." He refused, however, since he was afraid of Marwān. He had

435. The murder of the veteran revolutionary was listed among the charges allegedly read against Abū Muslim shortly before the latter's execution. One could nevertheless argue that the 'Abbāsids would not have been sorry to see Ibn Kathīr eliminated since he seems to have represented an independent voice among the old guard operatives in Khurāsān. See *FHA*, 223. (J.L.)

436. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, II, 424ff; *FHA*, 208ff; Kūfī, *Futūḥ*, VIII, 202ff; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 42; Dīnawarī, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, 160.

written to Marwān about the situation, and Marwān had opposed him. He therefore feared that Marwān would kill him if he came to him. Hence he went to Wāṣit, entered the city and fortified it.

Abū Salamah sent al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah (off to Wāṣit), and al-Ḥasan and his followers dug trenches and camped in the area between the Zāb and the Tigris. Al-Ḥasan pitched his pavilion opposite the Hipprodrome Gate (Bāb al-Miḍmār), and the first battle that occurred between them was on a Wednesday. The Syrians said to Ibn Hubayrah, "Give us permission to fight them." This he did. They rode out and Ibn Hubayrah was with them. With his right flank was his son Dāwud, along with Muḥammad b. Nubātah and some men from Khurāsān.[437] Among them was Abū al-'Ūd al-Khurāsāni. The two armies met, with Khāzim b. Khuzaymah leading al-Ḥasan's right flank. Now Ibn Hubayrah was just in front of the Hip-
[63] podrome Gate, so Khāzim attacked him. He routed the Syrians, and they sought refuge behind their trenches. The people ran for the gate of the city, so many of them that the Hippodrome Gate was choked, and the men manning ballistas hurled stones as al-Ḥasan stood by. They began to move with the cavalry in the area between the river and the trench. The Syrians turned back, and al-Ḥasan outflanked them. At this, they shifted between him and the city and forced his men into the Tigris, so that many of them were drowned. The defenders also came out against them in boats. Then the ('Abbāsid) Khurāsānīs counterattacked. Ibn Nubātah threw away his weapons that day and rushed blindly into the water. They followed him in a boat, and he got in.

After this they abstained from fighting, remaining as they were for seven days, but on Tuesday the defenders made a sortie and engaged in battle. One of the Syrians attacked Abū Ḥafṣ Hazārmard[438] and struck him. Referring to his tribe, the Syrian crowed, "I am the Sulamī lad!" Abū Ḥafṣ struck him back retorting, "And I am the 'Atakī lad!" and felled him. The Syrians fled in disgrace and entered the city. They stayed there so long as God wished, fighting no more, except to cast missiles from behind the barbican.

While he was besieged there, Ibn Hubayrah heard that Abū Umayyah al-Taghlibī had appeared in black garments. He thus sent Abū

437. These, of course, were Umayyad troops.
438. See n. 422 above.

'Uthmān to al-Taghlibī's quarters. He came upon Abū Umayyah in his tent and said, "The Amīr has sent me to you to search your tent. If there is a black livery in it, I am to hang it about your neck, put a halter on you, and go with you to him. If there are no black garments in your quarters, then these fifty thousand (dirhams) are a gift to you." Abū Umayyah declined to let him search his tent, so he took him to Ibn Hubayrah, who imprisoned him. Man b. Zā'idah and leading men of the Rabī'ah discussed this turn of events and then seized three men of the Banū Fazzārah. They detained them and insulted Ibn Hubayrah. Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn then came to them and spoke with them, but they said, "We will not let them go until he lets our comrade go." Ibn Hubayrah refused, however, so Yaḥyā told him, "You are hurting no one but yourself. You are under siege; let [64] this man go his way." Ibn Hubayrah said, "No, not even as a favor." Ibn Ḥuḍayn returned to them and informed them (of his conversation). At this, Ma'n and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Ijlī withdrew (their support from Ibn Hubayrah) and Ibn Ḥuḍayn told Ibn Hubayrah, "These are your cavalry. You have already alienated them. If you persist in this, they will be harder on you than those who are besieging you." At this, he called for Abū Umayyah, gave him a robe of honor and let him go. The disaffected were thus reconciled to Ibn Hubayrah, and they became obedient as before.

Abū Naṣr Mālik b. Haytham arrived from Sijistān, and al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah sent a delegation to inform Abū al-'Abbās of Abū Naṣr's arrival, putting Ghaylān b. 'Abdallāh al-Khuzā'ī at the head of it. Ghaylān was grieved with al-Ḥasan because he had sent him to reinforce Rawḥ b. Ḥātim, and when he came before Abū al-'Abbās, he said, "I bear witness that you are the Commander of the Faithful, that you are God's firm bond, that you are the Imām of the pious." Abū al-'Abbās replied, "What do you want, Ghaylān?" He then said, "I beg your pardon." Abū al-'Abbās said, "May God pardon you." Dāwud b. 'Alī added, "May God prosper you, Abū Fuḍālah." Then Ghaylān said, "Commander of the Faithful, favor us with a man from the people of your house [to lead us]!" Abū al-'Abbās said, "Why, is there not already a man from the people of my house in command of you, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah?" Ghaylān repeated "Commander of the Faithful, favor us with a man from the people of your house!" Abū al-'Abbās replied as he had done at first. Then Ghaylān said, "Commander of the Faithful, favor us with a man from the

people of your house, that we may look on his face and our eyes be consoled by him" Abū al-ʿAbbās said, "Alright, Ghaylān." He then sent Abū Jaʿfar. He appointed Ghaylān as chief of security for him, and Abū Jaʿfar went to Wāṣit. Abū Naṣr then said to Ghaylān, "What I wished was not what you did." Ghaylān replied, "It was better this way [*beh būd*]." He stayed some days as chief of security, then he said to Abū Jaʿfar, "I am not forceful enough for the security, but I can point out someone who is tougher than I." "Who is he?" Abū
[65] Jaʿfar asked. "Jahwar b. Marrār," he told him. "I am not able to release you," Abū Jaʿfar said, "because it was the Commander of the Faithful who appointed you." "Write to him and inform him," Ghaylān told him. So Abū Jaʿfar wrote to Abū al-ʿAbbās, who replied, "Do as Ghaylān advises." He then made Jahwar his chief of security. Abū Jaʿfar said to al-Ḥasan, "Tell me a man I can appoint to command my guard." Al-Ḥasan said, "My own choice would be ʿUthmān b. Nahīk." At this, he put ʿUthmān in command of the guard.

According to Bishr b. ʿĪsā: When Abū Jaʿfar got to Wāṣit, al-Ḥasan turned over his quarters to him, and Abū Jʿfar engaged the enemy in combat. One day Abū Naṣr fought with the Syrians, and they fled to their defensive trenches. Maʿn b. Zāʾidah and Abū Yaḥyā al-Judhāmī had concealed themselves in ambush. When the Khurāsānīs passed through, they came out against them and fought them until nightfall. Abū Naṣr dismounted to engage them, and they fought each other at the trenches. Fires were lit for them while Ibn Hubayrah was at the tower at the Vinegar-sellers' Gate (Bāb al-Khallālīn). They fought each other for as long as God wished that night; then Ibn Hubayrah gave word to Maʿn to turn back, whereupon he returned. They remained this way for some days. Then the Syrians came out again, with Muḥammad b. Nubātah, Maʿn b. Zāʿidah, Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ and certain cavaliers of Syria. The Khurāsānīs fought them, and drove them toward the Tigris. They began to fall into the river, and Abū Naṣr called in Persian, "Men of Khurāsān, be waterless for these men of treachery, make them rise!"[439] The Khurāsānīs returned. Abū Naṣr's son had been felled, and Rawḥ b. Ḥātim had protected him. His father passed by him and said in Persian, "They've killed you, my son, and so to hell with all the world, now that you're

439. Persian: *mardumān-i khāʾineh beyābān hastīd ve bar khīzīd.*

gone." Then they charged the Syrians and chased them back into Wāṣit. The Syrians began to tell each other, "No, by God, there's no good fortune for us after this. We went out against them—we the cavalry of the Syrian army—and they drove us back into the city." Killed that evening among the Khurāsānī army were Bakkār al- [66] Anṣarī and another man, both of them cavalrymen. During the siege of Ibn Hubayrah, Abū Naṣr used to fill boats with wood and set them ablaze to consume all that passed by, while Ibn Hubayrah had prepared fireboats with iron hooks to drag these boats away. So things remained for eleven months, and when this grew too tedious for them the defenders asked for peace. However, they did not ask for peace until the news of Marwān's slaying reached them. It was brought by Ismā'īl b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī who asked them, "Why are you killing yourselves? Marwān has been slain!"

It has been said that Abū al-'Abbās sent Abū Ja'far to fight Ibn Hubayrah as soon as he arrived from Khurāsān, coming back from Abū Muslim. Abū Ja'far traveled to reach al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah who was besieging Ibn Hubayrah at Wāṣit. Al-Ḥasan turned over his quarters to Abū Ja'far, and Abū Ja'far settled there. When the siege grew tedious to Ibn Hubayrah and his followers, they became disaffected. The Yamanīs said, "We see no Marwān, and what he did to us, he did." The Nizārīs said, "We won't fight until the Yamanīs fight alongside us." The only people who did fight for him were the ragamuffins (*ṣa'ālīk*) and young toughs (*fityān*). Then Ibn Hubayrah thought of appealing to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan,[440] and wrote to him, but he delayed his answer. Abū al-'Abbās corresponded with Ibn Hubayrah's Yamanī followers and raised their hopes. Then the Ḥārithīs Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ and Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh went over to Abū al-'Abbās. They promised Ibn Hubayrah that they would bring about good relations between him and Abū al-'Abbās, but they did not do it. Emissaries went back and forth between Abū Ja'far and Ibn Hubayrah until the latter sent him a (version of) a guarantee of safety. Ibn Hubayrah had consulted the experts for forty days until he was satisfied with it. He then sent it [67] to Abū Ja'far, who transmitted it to Abū al-'Abbās, and he ordered

440. The strategy was to get a person of the Banū Hāshim to intercede. In this case the 'Alid known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah was chosen.

Abū Jaʿfar to implement it.[441] It was Abū Jaʿfar's opinion that everything in it must be faithfully carried out, but Abū al-ʿAbbās was not accustomed to making a final decision without Abū Muslim. Abū al-Jahm was the "eye" that Abū Muslim kept on Abū al-ʿAbbās, and Abū Jahm thus wrote to him with all the news about him. So Abū Muslim wrote Abū al-ʿAbbās, "Truly an easy road is spoiled if a boulder is thrown into it: by God, no road with Ibn Hubayrah in it is in good order."

When the document was completed, Ibn Hubayrah came out to Abū Jaʿfar at the head of thirteen hundred warriors.[442] He wanted to enter Abū Jaʿfar's enclosure while on his horse; however, the chamberlain Sallām b. Sulaym stood before him and said, "Welcome to you, Abū Khalīd! Dismount in good order!" The enclosure was encircled by upwards of ten thousand men of Khurāsān, so Ibn Hubayrah dismounted. Sallām called for a cushion for Ibn Hubayrah to sit upon, and he sent for the officers to come in. Then Sallām said, "Go in, Abū Khālid." The latter asked, "I and who else with me?" Sallām replied, "I sought permission for you alone." He went in, and a cushion was placed for him, and he spoke with him a while. Then he rose to leave and Abū Jaʿfar followed him with his gaze until he disappeared from view. Ibn Hubayrah continued to visit Abū Jaʿfar, absenting himself one day and waiting on him the next, at the head of five hundred riders and three hundred foot soldiers. Yazīd b. Ḥātim then said to Abū Jaʿfar, "Truly, Amīr, Ibn Hubayrah comes here and the whole camp is humble before him; nothing is lacking in his sovereignty. If he is to make a progress with all this cavalry and infantry, what will ʿAbd al-Jabbār and Jahwar say?" Then Abū Jaʿfar told Sallām, "Tell Ibn Hubayrah to leave this crowd behind him and come to us with a retinue [of about thirty]."[443] Sallām told Ibn Hubayrah this and his face changed. He then came with a retinue of about thirty, and Sallām said to him, "It seems you come so
[68] proudly!" He replied, "If you order us to, we shall come on foot."

441. The text of the document was reportedly framed by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. The agreements forced upon Abū Jaʿfar by the document were so carefully worded that they made him very uneasy.

442. The text has *bukhāriyyah*, which seems most unlikely. Following a suggestion in the textual apparatus, the reading *muhāribah* has been adopted.

443. The words in brackets are missing in the text, and are supplied by the Cairo edition.

Sallām told him, "We do not wish to treat you lightly; the Amīr ordered what he did so as to pay full attention to you." After that, Ibn Hubayrah would come with three companions.

The Death of Ibn Hubayrah

Abū Zayd reported the following from Muḥammad b. Kathīr: Ibn Hubayrah spoke to Abū Jaʿfar one day and said, "Look here," or "O man." Then he came back and said, "O Amīr, it has been my fashion to address people as I just spoke to you, and my tongue slipped, forcing me to say something I did not intend." Abū al-ʿAbbās used to press Abū Jaʿfar, ordering him to kill Ibn Hubayrah. But Abū Jaʿfar would refer it back to him, until finally Abū al-ʿAbbās wrote him, "By God, you shall certainly kill him, or I will certainly send someone to drag him out of your enclosure." At this, he undertook to have Ibn Hubayrah killed and made up his mind to do it. He sent Khāzim b. Khuzaymah and al-Haytham b. Shuʿbah b. Ẓuhayr and ordered them to seal the treasuries. He then sent for the leading men of the Qays and Muḍar who were with Ibn Hubayrah. Coming to him were Muḥammad b. Nubātah, Ḥawtharah b. Suhayl, Ṭāriq b. Qudāmah, Ziyād b. Suwayd, Abū Bakr b. Kaʿb al-ʿUqaylī, Abān and Bishr the two sons of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bishr, with twenty-two men of the Qays, as well as Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah and Hazzān b. Saʿd. Sallām b. Sulaym went out and said, "Where are Ḥawtharah and Muḥammad b. Nubātah?" They both stood up and went in. ʿUthmān b. Nahīk, al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān and Mūsā b. ʿAqīl had been sitting with one hundred men in an enclosure outside Abū Jaʿfar's enclosure. Both men had their swords taken away and their hands pinioned behind their backs. Then Bishr and Abān the sons of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bishr entered, and the same was done with them. Then Abū Bakr b. Kaʿb and Ṭāriq b. Qudāmah entered. At this, Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah rose up and said, "We are the chiefs of the army; why have these men been given precedence over us?" Sallām said, "What tribe [69]
are you from?" "From Bahrā,'" he said. And Sallām said, "You would do well to get out of here." Then Hazzān stood and spoke, and he was held back. Rawḥ b. Ḥātim then said, "Abū Yaʿqūb, the men's swords have been taken away!" Mūsā b. ʿAqīl now came out against them, and they told him, "You gave us an oath before God, and now you break it. We hope that God may catch up with you."

Ibn Nubātah began to make rude noises in his beard, and Ḥawtharah told him, "That will be of no use to you." He replied, "It seems to me I told you this would happen." Then they were slain, and their signet rings were taken from them.

Khāzim, al-Haytham b. Shuʿbah and al-Aghlab b. Sālim went off with about a hundred men and sent word to Ibn Hubayrah, "We intend to transport the money." Ibn Hubayrah told his chamberlain, "Go, Abū ʿUthmān, and show them where it is." They posted some men in each room, and began to look throughout the house. With Ibn Hubayrah were his son Dāwud, his secretary ʿAmr b. Ayyūb, his chamberlain, and a number of his mawlās. Also with him was a very young son whom he held in his arms. He began to feel misgiving at their looks, and said, "I swear by God that there is evil in the faces of these men." They came towards him, and his chamberlain stood up to them, and said, "Get out of here!" Al-Haytham b. Shuʿbah struck the chamberlain in the shoulder tendon, and felled him. His son Dāwud put up a struggle and was killed, and his mawlās were slain. Ibn Hubayrah put aside the child in his arms and said, "You have no need for this little boy." Then he prostrated himself in prayer, and was slain while prostrating himself. The slayers went with the heads to Abū Jaʿfar, whereupon he proclaimed amnesty for all the important poeple except al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Bishr, Khālid b. Salamah al-Makhzūmī and ʿUmar b. Dharr. However, Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh sought pardon for Ibn Dharr, and Abū al-ʿAbbās accorded it. Al-Ḥakam fled. Abū Jaʿfar gave a guarantee of safety to Khālid, but Abū al-ʿAbbās had Khālid killed and did not honor Abū
[70] Jaʿfar's guarantee. Abū ʿAllāqah and Hishām b. Hashīm b. Ṣafwah b. Mazyad, both of the Banū Fazzār, fled, but Ḥujr b. Saʿīd al-Ṭāʾī caught up with them and killed them both at the Zāb. Abū al-ʿAṭāʾ al-Sindī recited in lament:[444]

Surely an eye that did not find that day at Wāṣit
for you its tears overflowing was incapable of tears,

At evening when the wailing women rose, and torn
were neck-openings at their hands, and cheeks were gashed.

444. A Kūfan poet known for his pro-Umayyad activity. The elegy on the death of Ibn Hubayrah is one of his most famous poems. See *EI*[2] s.v. Abū ʿAṭa al-Sindī.

And if your courtyard is empty at evening now, yet often
there used to stay in it envoys after envoys.

You are not far away from one who frequents your grave,
though surely one who lies beneath the dust is far.

Munqidh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Hilālī recited in a lament:

The burning in my breast forbade all consolation
and grief prevented my heart's firm resolve on patience,

When once I heard a blow that struck
all white my hair at its place of parting.

Vanished those noble defenders, when appeared
snares of treachery, and promises were broken.

That noose entrapped in its toil a man
like the full moon, by stars surrounded.

A crier proclaimed the report of their death, and I said,
"Why did you not come with the cry of Doomsday?

May God reckon with you, you who assert to us
that the vicissitudes of time have encompassed him."

Who is there for the minbars, after their perishing,
or who could supply their excellent qualities of character?

Whenever I remember them, my heart complains
of pain for the bright-faced cavaliers

Slain at the Tigris; nothing could cover them
but billows of raging waves of the sea.

Now let our womenfolk weep for their riders,
best of defenders, through nights of terror.

According to Abū Zayd—Abū Bakr al-Bāhilī—a shaykh of the Khurāsānīs: (The Caliph) Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik asked Yazīd b. [71]

ʿUmar b. Hubayrah for his daughter as wife for Hishām's son Muʿāwiyah, but Yazīd refused. After this some words passed between Yazīd b. ʿUmar and al-Walīd b. al-Qaʿqāʿ, and Hishām sent Yazīd to al-Walīd b. Qaʿqāʿ, who beat him and had him incarcerated. Then Ibn Ṭaysalah recited:

> Little good is there for men who have no intelligence.
> who will justly treat the man detained at Aleppo,
>
> A man never struck by time's mischances
> but he made light of it, with heart at ease?

It is said that when Abū al-ʿAbbās sent Abū al-Jaʿfar to Wāṣit to fight Ibn Hubayrah, he wrote to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah, "The army is your army, and the officers are your officers. Still, I should like for my brother to be present, so listen to him and obey him and help him as best you can." He wrote something similar to Abū Naṣr Mālik b. Haytham. Then al-Ḥasan was the one who managed the army, by al-Manṣūr [Abū Jaʿfar]'s orders.

Other Events

This same year Abū Muslim sent Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath to rule Fārs, commanding him to seize the governors of Abū Salamah there and cut off their heads. This he did.

In the same year Abū al-ʿAbbās sent his paternal uncle ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī to Fārs, which Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath was controlling, and Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath worried what to do. Someone told him, "This is not a man you can treat like others." He however replied, "On the contrary, Abū Muslim ordered me not to let anyone he had not sent come here claiming to be a governor without cutting off his head." He shrank from that, fearing what the consequences might be, but he obliged ʿĪsā by the most binding oath not to go up into a minbar, [72] nor to gird on a sword except on jihād. ʿĪsā never held a governorship after that, nor put on a sword except in a campaign. After this, Abū al-ʿAbbās sent Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī as governor over Fārs.

In this year, Abū al-ʿAbbās sent his brother Abū Jaʿfar to the Jazī-

rah, Adharbayjān and Armenia as governor, and his brother Yaḥyā as governor for Mosul.[445]

He also removed his paternal uncle Dāwud b. ʿAlī as governor of Kūfah and its territory and gave him Madīnah, Mecca, the Yaman and Yamāmah to govern. In his place over Kūfah and its territory he appointed ʿĪsā b. Mūsā.

In this year, while he was in the Jazīrah Marwān had dismissed al-Walīd b. ʿUrwah as governor of Madīnah, and he appointed in his place al-Walīd's brother Yūsuf b. ʿUrwah. Al-Wāqidī mentions that he came to Madīnah on the fourth of Rabīʿ I (October 10, 750).

This year ʿĪsā b. Mūsā appointed Ibn Abī Laylā as judge for Kūfah.

The governor for Baṣrah this year was Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah al-Muhallabī. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāh was in charge of the judiciary there. The governor of Fārs was Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, and that of Sind was Manṣūr b. Jumhūr.[446] ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad governed the Jazīrah, Armenia, and Ādharbayjān, while Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad governed Mosul. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī governed the Syrian provinces, Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd governed Egypt, Abū Muslim ruled Khurāsān and Jibāl, and the Landtax Bureau was headed by Khālid b. Barmak. The leader of the Pilgrimage this year was Dāwud b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās.

445. Azdī states that this occurred the following year, 133 (749–750), and gives eyewitness reports of the pitiless massacre of the inhabitants carried out by Yaḥyā to punish them for repudiating the previous governor, a mawlā of the Ḥijāz tribe of Khath'am. See Azdī, 145–53; Ibn Athīr, IV, 339–40. Ṭabarī does not mention this act of the new dynasty, in which the people were persuaded to come out of hiding by proclamation of a general amnesty and then slain, it is said to the number of about thirty thousand men, women and children. Azdī also alludes to ʿAbbāsid massacres in Syria.

446. Ṭabarī does not discuss it, but this perennial rebel against the Qaysīs had at last joined the ʿAbbāsid revolt and had been rewarded with the governorate of Sind. See Omar, 161.

[73]

THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR 133

(AUGUST 9, 750–29 JULY, 751)

The Events of this Year

Among the events, Abū al-ʿAbbās sent his paternal uncle Sulaymān b. ʿAlī as governor for Baṣrah and its dependencies, as well as the Tigris districts, Baḥrayn, ʿUmān and Mihrijānqadhaq.[447] His paternal uncle Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī was made governor of the districts of Ahwāz.

This year Dāwud b. ʿAlī slew all members of the family of Umayyah arrested at Mecca and Madīnah.

In this year also, Dāwud b. ʿAlī died at Madīnah during Rabīʿ I (ca. October 18–November 16, 750). His governorship, according to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, lasted three months. He had chosen his son Mūsā to succeed him when his death drew near, but when the word of his death reached Abū al-ʿAbbās, the Caliph sent his maternal uncle Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī as governor for Madīnah, Mecca, Ṭaʾif and Yamāmah, and he sent Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Madān as governor for the Yaman. This man arrived in the Yaman in Jumādā I (December

447. Mihrijānqadhaq was a fertile district in the extreme west of Jibāl. The major town was Saymarah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam* s.v. Mihrijānqadhaq, and LeStrange, *Lands*, 184, 202.

16, 750–January 14, 751). Ziyād stayed at Madīnah, while Muḥammad went on to the Yaman. Then Ziyād sent Ibrāhīm b. Ḥassān al-Sulamī, who was Abū Ḥammād al-Abraṣ, against al-Muthannā b. Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah, who was in Yamāmah. Abū Ḥammād killed him and slew his followers.

This year Abū al-'Abbās wrote to Abū 'Awn, continuing his appointment as governor of Egypt. He did the same with 'Abdallāh and Ṣāliḥ, the sons of 'Alī, who ruled over the military districts in Syria.

He also sent Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath to Ifrīqiyah, and the latter [74]
engaged in fierce combat with (the Berber Khārijites) until he conquered the province.

This year Sharīk b. Shaykh al-Mahrī rebelled against Abū Muslim in Khurāsān at Bukhārā and reviled him, saying, "It was not for this that we followed the family of Muḥammad, to shed blood and act unjustly."[448] More than thirty thousand men followed his banner, so that Abū Muslim sent Ziyād b. Ṣaliḥ, who fought him and slew him.

Also, Abū Muslim sent Abū Dāwud Khālid b. Ibrāhīm from the Oxus to Khuttal, and he entered the country. Ḥanash b. al-Subul,[449] the king there, did not oppose him, but the leading men among the dihqāns of Khuttal came to him and put themselves in the fortress with him, while some of them resisted along the roads and in the mountain passes and forts. When Abū Dāwud pressed Ḥanash, he went out from his fortress by night accompanied by his dihqāns and his Shākiriyyah to the land of Farghānah, and from there to the land of the Turks, until he came to the King of China. Abū Dāwud took those he captured among the enemy and crossed back to Balkh, where he sent the captives to Abū Muslim.

In this year 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was slain by Sulaymān, called al-Aswad, who killed him with a safe-conduct he had written for him.

In this year Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī sent Sa'īd b. 'Abdallāh to lead the summer expedition behind the frontiers (of the Byzantines). Yaḥyā b.

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448. This man had been an early 'Abbāsid partisan. Narshakhī states that his rebellion was in favor of the 'Alids, though Ṭabarī, writing under the 'Abbāsids, draws a veil over his affiliations. Sharīk is quoted as saying that the plagues of the house of 'Abbās should not afflict him, and that the children of the Prophet must be the Prophet's successors. See Narshakhī (trans.), 62.

449. Ibn Athīr gives his name as Ḥubaysh b. al-Shibl (IV, 342).

Muḥammad was removed from the governorship of Mosul, and
[75] Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī was appointed in his place. Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī led the Pilgrimage this year, as I was told by Aḥmad b. Thābit—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar. Al-Wāqidī and others say the same.

ʿĪsā b. Mūsā governed Kūfah and its surrounding territory, while Ibn Abī Laylā was in charge of the judiciary there. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī governed Baṣrah, its dependencies, the Tigris districts, Baḥrayn, ʿUmān, ʿIrd[450] and Mihrijānqadhaq. In charge of the judiciary was ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī governed Ahwaz, and Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath governed Fārs. The governor of Sind was Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, and Abū Muslim governed Khurāsān and Jibāl. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī governed Qinnasrīn, Ḥimṣ, the districts of Damascus and the Jordan. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī governed Palestine.

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd, Abū ʿAwn, governed Egypt; ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr governed the Jazīrah. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī governed Mosul, Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣubayḥ governed Armenia, and Mujāshiʿ b. Yazīd was governor of Adharbayjān.

Khālid b. Barmak headed the Landtax Bureau.

450. An *ʿirḍ* is an Arabian wādī with villages and palms. *The* ʿIrḍ was a district contiguous to ʿUmān, part of Yamāmah in East Arabia. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam* s.v. ʿIrḍ.

THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR

134

(JULY 30, 751–JULY 17, 752)

The Rebellion of Bassām b. Ibrāhīm

In this year Bassām b. Ibrāhīm b. Bassām rebelled and threw off his allegiance.[451] According to what has been mentioned, he was a leading cavalryman of Khurāsān. He left the army of Abū al-ʿAbbās the Commander of the Faithful with a group of sympathizers who sought to keep their departure secret.[452] The Caliph made close inquiries to their purpose and where they were heading, until it was found that they were at Madāʾin. Abū al-ʿAbbās then sent Khāzim b. [76]
Khuzaymah after them. When he found Bassām, they came out to fight him. Bassām and his followers were put to flight, and most of them were slain. His camp was destroyed, and Khāzim and his followers went on to pursue them in the district of Jūkhā[453] until he came to Māh. Khāzim slew all of them he encountered, whether they fled or stood to fight. Then Khāzim turned back and passed by Dhāt al-Maṭāmīr, or a village resembling it, where were some of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb, of the Banū ʿAbd al-Madān—they were the

451. See Azdī, 140, *sub anno* 133, who says that Bassām revolted in Tadmur, among the Kalb, and called for an ʿAlid caliphate.

452. The text is *mustabshirīn*, corrected by the Cairo edition to *mustasirrīn*.

453. A district along what was then the dried-up eastern bed of the Tigris, stretching northwest to Kaskar. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 42.

less prestigious maternal kindred of Abū al-ʿAbbās. He passed by them while they were holding a gathering. They were thirty-five men, eighteen being from their own clan and others, and seventeen from their mawlās. Khāzim did not salute them, and as he passed they reviled him.[454] He held a grudge against them already because of what he had heard that they had done regarding al-Mughīrah b. al-Fazʿ, one of Bassām b. Ibrāhīm's followers who had taken refuge with them. Khāzim wheeled around and went back, and he asked them about al-Mughīrah's stay among them. They replied, "A man passed through here. We did not know him. He stayed in our village one night and left." Then Khāzim said, "You are the maternal relatives of the Commander of the Faithful and his enemy comes to you and finds shelter in your village! Why didn't you get together and seize him?" They gave him a rough answer, whereupon he ordered that all of them be beheaded. Their houses were demolished, and their property plundered. Then he went back to Abū al-ʿAbbās.

Word of what Khāzim had done came to the Yamanī tribesmen, who dwelt on the magnitude of it in full accord. Then Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī went to see Abū al-ʿAbbās with ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ al-Ḥārithī, ʿUthmān b. Nahīk and ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-
[77] Raḥmān, who at that time was chief of security for Abū al-ʿAbbās. They said, "Commander of the Faithful, a servant of yours[455] has dared to do something which the nearest and dearest of your father's sons would not venture to do against you. That is, he has made light of your justice and has slain your maternal relatives. They had left their home and come to you to glory in you, seeking your benevolence—then, when they had come to your abode and sought protection in your vicinity, Khāzim pounced on them and cut off their heads, destroyed their homes, carried off their possessions and ruined their estates, without their having done anything against him!" At this, Abū al-ʿAbbās proposed killing Khāzim, and word of it came to Mūsā b. Kaʿb and Abū al-Jahm b. ʿAṭīyyah. They went to Abū al-ʿAbbās and said, "Word has reached us, Commander of the Faithful, of what these people have said to you against Khāzim, how they have advised you to kill him, and what you have proposed to do

454. Khāzim was a Northern Tamīmī, and they were from the once Christian Yamanī tribe of Najrān and its vicinity, which may have predisposed them to hostility. Khāzim offered offense by not saying "peace" as he rode by.

455. The text is *khāzim*; read *khādim* with the Cairo edition.

about this. We invoke God's protection upon you against that. He has a record of obedience and long service. May he be forgiven for what he has done. Your Shīʿah among the people of Khurāsān have preferred you to their closest sons and fathers and brothers, and they killed all those who opposed you. You are the one whom their wrongdoing has strengthened most. If you are absolutely determined on his death, then do not undertake that yourself. Rather, put him among those who are sent where, if he is slain, you will have attained what you desire, and if he is victorious, then his victory will be yours." They advised him to send Khāzim against those of the (Ibāḍī) Khārijites who were in ʿUmān, i.e., against al-Julandā and his followers, and against the (Ṣufrī) Khārijites who were on the island of Ibn Kāwān with Shaybān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Yashkurī. Thus Abū al-ʿAbbās commanded that he be sent with seven hundred men and wrote to Sulaymān b. ʿAlī at Baṣrah to transport them in vessels to the island of Ibn Kāwān and ʿUmān. Khāzim then set out.

In this year, Khāzim b. Khuzaymah set out for ʿUmān, and attacked the Khārijites situated there. He conquered it and the neighboring lands and slew Shaybān the Khārijite. [78]

The Account of What Occurred in ʿUmān

It is mentioned that Khāzim b. Khuzaymah set out at the head of seven hundred men whom Abū al-ʿAbbās had given him. He also chose men of his house as well as cousins of his and his mawlās and men of Marwarrūdh whom he knew and could depend upon. They went to Baṣrah, where Sulaymān b. ʿAlī supplied them with ships, and where a number of the Banū Tamīm at Baṣrah joined him. They sailed until they landed at the island of Ibn Kāwān, and Khāzim sent Naḍalah b. Nuʿaym al-Nahshalī with five hundred of his men against Shaybān. They met and fought a violent battle. Shaybān and his followers then took to boats and crossed over to ʿUmān. They were Ṣufrīs, and when they came to ʿUmān, al-Julandā and his followers, who were Ibāḍīs, stood ready to do combat with them. They fought a pitched battle, and Shaybān and those accompanying him were killed. Then Khāzim set sail with his following until they reached the coast of ʿUmān, and there went into the desert. Al-Julandā and his followers encountered them, and they fought a sharp engagement. Many of Khāzim's followers were killed that day. At

the time they were on a stretch along the sea. Among those slain was a brother of Khāzim by the same mother, called Ismāʿīl, along with ninety men of the Marwarrūdh contingent. They clashed again on the following day and fought a sharp battle. Commanding Khāzim's right wing was a man from Marwarrūdh called Ḥumayd al-
[79] Wartakānī, on his left was a man of Marwarrūdh called Muslim al-Arghadī, and Naḍalah b. Nuʿaym al-Nahshalī was in command of the vanguard. On this day, nine hundred of the Khārijites were killed, and some ninety of them were burned. Seven days later, Khāzim's chief men agreed on an expedient suggested to him by a man of al-Ṣughd who happened to be in that country. He advised him to command his followers to fix tow on the ends of their spears and soak this in naptha and set fire to it, and then go with these and set fire to the dwellings of al-Julandā's followers, which were made of wood and withes. They did this and set fire to the houses. While the Khārijites were busy saving them and their children and families who were in them, Khāzim and his men pressed the attack and laid on with their swords, meeting little resistance from them. Al-Julandā was one of those who were slain, and the number came to ten thousand. Khāzim sent their heads to Baṣrah where they remained some days before being sent to Abū al-ʿAbbās. Khāzim stayed (in ʿUmān) some months until a letter from Abū al-ʿAbbās arrived bidding him to come back, and they returned.

This year Abū Dāwud Khālid b. Ibrāhīm raided the people of Kashsh[456] and killed its ruler, al-Ikhrīd. He was a loyal vassal who had come before this to Abū Dāwud at Balkh. Then he met him at Kandak,[457] near Kashsh. When he slew them Abū Dāwud took from al-Ikhrīd and his followers some ornamented and gilded Chinese vessels, the likes of which had not been seen. He also took Chinese saddles and furnishings, all of brocade and other stuffs, and
[80] many rare things of China. He transported all of this to Abū Muslim, who was at Samarqand. Abū Dāwud slew the dihqān of Kashsh along with a number of other dihqāns, but he spared Ṭārān, the brother of al-Ikhrīd, and made him ruler of Kashsh. He took Ibn al-Najāh and returned him to his own country, and Abū Muslim de-

456. Also known as Kash, later as Shahr-i Sabz. It was a town situated in the province of Ṣughd. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 441–43, 465, 470, 472; *EI*[2] s.v. Kash.

457. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 472.

parted for Marw after slaying some of the people of Ṣughd and Bukhārā. He ordered a wall to be built around Samarqand. He appointed Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ over Ṣughd and Bukhārā, and then Abū Dāwud went back to Balkh.

In this year Abū al-ʿAbbās sent Mūsā b. Kaʿb to India to fight Manṣūr b. Jumhūr.[458] He assigned him monies for three thousand men, Arabs and mawlās of Baṣrah, and a thousand men specifically chosen from the Banū Tamīm. He then set out, and al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr replaced him as chief of security for Abū al-ʿAbbās, subject to his arrival from Sind. Mūsā met Manṣūr b. Jumhūr at the head of twelve thousand men and put him and his followers to flight. Manṣūr kept going, and died of thirst in the sands.

It has been said that a member of Manṣūr's clan killed him. Manṣūr's lieutenant learned of his defeat at Manṣūrah[459] and set off with Manṣūr's family and treasures. Leaving with them a number of trusted men, he entered the land of the Khazars.[460]

This year Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh died while he was governor of the Yaman, so Abū al-ʿAbbās wrote to ʿAlī b. al-Rabīʿ b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī, the functionary of Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh for Mecca, appointing him as governor of the Yaman. ʿAlī then went there.

This same year Abū al-ʿAbbās moved from Ḥīrah to Anbār.[461] This, according to al-Wāqidī and other authorities, was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (June 19–July 13, 752).

In this year Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣubayḥ was removed from Armenia, and [81]
Yazīd b. Asīd[462] was appointed in his place. In this year Mujāshiʿ b. Yazīd was removed from Adharbayjān, and Muḥammad b. Ṣul was appointed for that province.

In this year the beacon system and milestones were set up from

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458. Al-Balādhurī states that Abū Muslim appointed another governor for Sind, whom the old Kalbite warrior then slew. At this, Abū Muslim sent Mūsā b. Kaʿb. Ṭabarī says the Caliph sent Mūsā and does not say why. See al-Balādhurī, *Futuḥ* III, p. 343.

459. The capital of Sind. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 331.

460. The kingdom of Turks and Huns in the south Russian steppes which later converted to Judaism. See *EI*[2] s.v. Khazar. It is a very long way from Sind to the land of the Khazars.

461. For the ʿAbbāsid capital at Anbār known as Hāshimiyyah, see Lassner, *ʿAbbāsid Rule*, 153–57.

462. The text is Usayd. The Cairo edition gives Asīd, a rare name, but here probable. See n. 150 above.

Kūfah to Mecca. The leader of the Pilgrimage was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who was governor of Kūfah and its territories.

In charge of the judiciary at Kūfah was Ibn Abī Laylā, and Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh was governor of Mecca, Madīnah, Ṭāʾif and Yamāmah. ʿAlī b. al-Rabīʿ al-Ḥārithī governed the Yaman. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī was governor of Baṣrah and the Tigris districts, Baḥrayn, ʿUmān, ʿIrḍ and Mihrijānqadhaq. ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr was in charge of its judiciary. Mūsā b. Kaʿb was governor of Sind; Abū Muslim was governor of Khurāsān and Jibāl; Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī governed Palestine; Abū ʿAwn governed Egypt; Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī governed Mosul; Yazīd b. Asīd governed Armenia; and Muḥammad b. Ṣūl governed Ādharbayjān. The Landtax Bureau was headed by Khālid b. Barmak. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad (Abū Jaʿfar) governed the Jazīrah, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī governed Qinnasrīn, Ḥimṣ, the districts of Damascus and the Jordan.

THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR

135

(JULY 18, 752–JULY 7, 753)

The Rebellion of Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ in Transoxania

Among the events of this year was the rebellion of Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, beyond the river of Balkh (the Oxus).[463] Abū Muslim set out from [82]
Marw, prepared to encounter him, while Abū Dāwud Khālid b. Ibrāhīm sent Naṣr b. Rāshid to Tirmidh[464] and ordered him to establish himself at the town, to prevent Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ from sending men and gaining possession of the fortress and the boats there. This Naṣr did. He stayed there for some days, and then some of the people of the Rāwandiyyah[465] from Ṭālaqān,[466] led by a man with the pat-

463. For this revolt see Daniel, *Khurāsān Under 'Abbāsid Rule*, 111–12.

464. The major town of the Ṣaghāniyān district north of the Oxus at its junction with the Zamil river. It was a great entrepot for trade coming from the north to Khurāsān. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 240.

465. Named after the village of Rāwand near Naysābūr (Nishāpūr) the Rāwandiyyah were apparently identical with the Hāshimiyyah Shī'ah, who believed that Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī had passed the Imāmate to the 'Abbāsids. The Rāwandiyyah included many Iranian converts. See Baghdadī, *Farq*, trans. by Halkin, 74–75; also Lassner, *'Abbāsid Rule*, 109ff.

466. A great city between Balkh and Marwarrūdh. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 423–24 (Ṭāliqān). Ṭālaqān was the scene of the first great victory won by Abū Muslim. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 129–30 s.v. Junduwayh.

ronymic of Abū Isḥāq,[467] rebelled against him and slew him. When Abū Dāwud learned this, he sent ʿĪsā b. Mahān in pursuit of Naṣr's murderers, and ʿĪsā tracked them down and killed them.

Abū Muslim marched quickly, until he arrived at Āmul.[468] With him was Sibāʿ b. al-Nuʿmān. This was the man who had brought the appointment of Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ on behalf of Abū al-ʿAbbās[469] and ordered him, if he found an opportunity, to fall upon Abū Muslim and slay him. Abū Muslim was informed of that, so he gave Sibāʿ b. Nuʿmān over to al-Ḥasan b. Junayd, his governor at Āmul, and ordered al-Ḥasan to confine him there. Then Abū Muslim crossed over to Bukhārā, and when he halted there, Abū Shākir and Abū Saʿd al-Sharawī came to him with officers who had deserted Ziyād. Abū Muslim questioned them about Ziyād's affair and who had corrupted him. They told him, "It was Sibāʿ b. al-Nuʿmān." At this he wrote to his governor at Āmul to give Sibāʿ a hundred lashes and then behead him. This he did.

When Ziyād's officers betrayed him and went over to Abū Muslim, he fled to the dihqān of Bārkath,[470] but the dihqān pounced on him, cut off his head and brought it to Abū Muslim.

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467. Ṭabarī is reticent here. This man is Abū Isḥāq Khālid b. ʿUthmān, ʿAbbasīd *dāʿī* and mawlā of Khuzāʿah, who had once been chief of Abū Muslim's guard. The slaying is linked with rebellion against Abū Muslim among the ʿAbbāsid Shīʿah, possibly fomented by the Caliph and his brother.

468. That is, the Āmul on the Oxus about 120 miles northeast of Marw. See Le-Strange, *Lands*, 404.

469. Here Ṭabarī lets out the secret. Abū Muslim had appointed Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, a mawlā of Khuzāʿah and ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī*, governor of Ṣughd. The Caliph however had sent him a deed of appointment of his own behalf, with instructions to kill Abū Muslim. A key to this covert struggle between the Caliph and the governor of Khurāsān was the control of appointments of governors in the eastern provinces, as we have seen in Fārs and Sind. Balādhurī indicates that the Caliph had appointed Ziyād governor of Khurāsān; no doubt in the event that he could rid him of Abū Muslim. See Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 159–60, quoting *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Paris manuscript, fol. 800b. Abū Muslim apparently intended to appoint the governors of the eastern provinces and wage jihād in Central Asia (and India?) at his own discretion, as the Umayyad viceroys of Iraq and the East had once done. The ʿAbbāsids however planned a more centralized regime. The man the Caliph chose as his messenger to Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, Sibāʿ b. Nuʿman al-Azdī, had been a follower of Juday' al-Kirmānī, and then had been appointed by Abū Muslim as his governor for Samarqand (Ṭabarī, II, 2001). Abū al-ʿAbbās had now acquired his services. When Abū Muslim took his revenge on Ziyād, and later on ʿĪsā b. Māhān, however, the Caliph feigned innocence and congratulated Abū Muslim on dealing with them. See Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 161, quoting Balādhurī in the unpublished portion of the *Ansāb*.

470. Bārkath was the major town of the Būzmajān district one day's journey north-

Abū Dāwud delayed in presenting himself before Abū Muslim, due to the affair of the Rāwandiyyah who had rebelled. At this, Abū Muslim wrote him as follows, "Let your dread be eased and your heart be at peace, for God has slain Ziyād; so come." Abū Dāwud then went to Kashsh and sent ʿĪsā b. Mahān to Bassām.[471] He sent [83]
al-Najāḥ to the Ispahbadh at Shāwaghar,[472] and Ibn al-Najāḥ besieged the fortress there. As for the people of Shāwaghar, they asked for peace, and it was granted. As for Bassām, ʿĪsā b. Māhān could get nowhere with him. Then Abū Muslim uncovered sixteen letters from ʿĪsā b. Māhān to Kāmil b. Muẓaffar, the friend of Abū Muslim, in which he blamed Abū Dāwud, accusing him of tribalism (*ʿaṣabiyyah*), and of preferring Arabs and his own tribe to all people of the ʿAbbāsid movement. ʿĪsā also accused him of having thirty-six tents in his camp for those to whom he had guaranteed protection. These letters Abū Muslim sent to Abū Dāwud, and wrote to him, "These are the letters of a barbarian (*ʿilj*) whom you rendered even as yourself; do with him as you will." At this, Abū Dāwud wrote ʿĪsā b. Māhān to come back to him from Bassām. When he arrived, he arrested him and handed him over to ʿUmar al-Naghm, at whose hands he remained in confinement. Then after two or three days he sent for ʿĪsā and reminded him of all that he had done for him and how he had preferred him even above his own sons, and he acknowledged all of that. Abū Dāwud then said, "Then the reward for all that I did for you was that you slandered me and desired my death?" This ʿĪsā denied, whereupon Abū Dāwud produced his letters, and he confessed that they were his. Abū Dāwud inflicted two legal punishments on him at that time, one of them on account of al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamdān.[473] Abū Dāwud then said, "As for me, I have left you in

east of Samarqand. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 466. The dihqāns of Central Asia were, for the most part, loyal to Abū Muslim out of fear or self-interest, or both.

471. Bassām b. Ibrāhīm was still at large, after leading a pro-ʿAlid revolt against the ʿAbbāsids in 133 (749–750), though where he was is not clear.

472. "Isbahbadh" was a title used by a number of Persian and even Turkish princes. See *EI*[2] s.v. Ispahbadh. Shāwaghar was a city in the land of the Turks, probably the one later called Yasi. See LeStrange, *Lands*, 435. We are not told why Ibn al-Najāḥ was sent there, but as the ʿAbbāsids expanded to the east and the Chinese to the west, the Turkish principalities were being asked to take sides.

473. Ṭabarī mentions this man only here and gives no reason for ʿĪsā's culpability. Narshakhī however mentions one Ḥamzah al-Hamdānī, a supporter of Sharīk b. Shaykh at Bukhārā, who was ambushed with his men. See Narshakhī, Frye translation, 63.

your sins, but the army has the final word. Depart in your chains." When he was sent out from the tents, Ḥarb b. Ziyād and Ḥafṣ b. Dīnār, the mawlā of Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn, fell upon him striking him with clubs and battleaxes, and he fell to the ground. Some men of
[84] Ṭālaqān[474] and others ran to him, put him in a sack, and struck him with clubs until he died. Abū Muslim then returned to Marw.

Other Events

Sulaymān b. ʿAlī led the Pilgrimage for this year, and he was governor for Baṣrah and its dependencies. ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr was in charge of the judiciary. The governor of Mecca was al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. Maʿbad b. ʿAbbās, and the governor of Madīnah was Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī. The governor of Kūfah and its territory was ʿIsā b. Mūsā, and Ibn Abī Laylā was in charge of the judiciary. Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr was governor of the Jazīrah, and Abū ʿAwn was governor of Egypt. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī governed Ḥimṣ, Qinnasrīn, Baʿalbakk, the Ghūṭah, Ḥawrān, the Jawlān, and the Jordan. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī was governor of the Balqāʾ and Palestine, and Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī governed Mosul. Muḥammad b. Ṣūl was governor for Ādharbayjān, and Khālid b. Barmak headed the Landtax Bureau.

474. Ibn Māhān may have slain relatives of theirs in fighting the Rāwandiyyah of Ṭalaqān. Wrapping him in a sack and beating him to death in concert would have avoided any specific guilt for killing him for which revenge could be exacted from an individual.

THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR 136

(JULY 7, 753–JUNE 26, 754)

In this year Abū Muslim came to Iraq from Khurāsān to visit Abū al-ʿAbbās the Commander of the Faithful.

What Happened When Abū Muslim Came to the Caliph

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, also al-Walīd b. Hishām—his father: Abū Muslim stayed on in Khurāsān until finally he wrote to Abū al-ʿAbbās requesting permission to present himself. The Caliph assented to this, and Abū Muslim came to Abū al-ʿAbbās at Anbār with an enormous contingent of the Khurāsān [85] army, as well as others who followed him. Abū al-ʿAbbās ordered the important people to go and meet him, and they did. Then he went to where Abū al-ʿAbbās was, and went in to meet him. Abū al-ʿAbbās made much of him and showed him favor. Then he requested Abū al-ʿAbbās's permission to go on the Pilgrimage, and he told him, "If only Abū Jaʿfar were not making the Pilgrimage this year, I would have made you my appointee for the Pilgrimage season." He lodged Abū Muslim close by, and each day the latter would present himself and offer his respects. There was however a coolness between Abū Jaʿfar and Abū Muslim, because Abū al-ʿAbbās had sent Abū Jaʿfar to Abū Muslim when he was at Naysābūr, after matters regarding Abū Muslim's rule in Khurāsān were described to him, to exact his alle-

giance to Abū al-ʿAbbās and to Abū Jaʿfar as his heir. Abū Muslim and the army of Khurāsān had given the oath of allegiance to him, and Abū Jaʿfar stayed there for some days until he was finished with the matter of the oath. He then left, but Abū Muslim had slighted Abū Jaʿfar upon his arrival, and when he came back to Abū al-ʿAbbās he told him how he had been slighted.

According to ʿAlī—al-Walīd—his father: When Abū Muslim came to Abū al-ʿAbbās, Abū Jaʿfar told the Caliph, "Commander of the Faithful, tell me and I will kill Abū Muslim, for by God, his head is full of treachery." However, Abū al-ʿAbbās said "My brother, you know the tests he has come through and what has happened because of him." Abū Jaʿfar replied, "Commander of the Faithful, that was only because of our revolution. By God, if you had sent a cat, it would have taken his place and done what he has done for this revolution." Then Abū al-ʿAbbās said, "How could we slay him?" Abū Jaʿfar replied, "When he has come in to see you and you are engaging him in conversation, while he is in front of you, I could come in and take him unawares and strike him a blow from behind that would take his life." Abū al-ʿAbbās said, "And what of his followers who hold him above their religion and all the world?" He replied, "All
[86] will result as you would desire. If they know he is already slain they will split up and be tractable." Abū al-ʿAbbās told him, "I beseech you not to carry this out." Abū Jaʿfar replied, "By God, I fear that if you do not breakfast on him today, he will dine on you tomorrow." The Caliph replied, "Then it is up to you. You know best [how to handle it]."

Abū Jaʿfar left his presence determined to carry it out, but Abū al-ʿAbbās had regrets and sent word to him, "Do not do that thing."

It is said that when Abū al-ʿAbbās had given Abū Jaʿfar permission to kill Abū Muslim, the latter came in to see the Caliph. Abū al-ʿAbbās sent a eunuch of his, saying, "Go see what Abū Jaʿfar is doing." He came to Abū Jaʿfar and found him sitting on his heels propped up by his sword. He asked the eunuch, "Is the Commander of the Faithful sitting in audience?" He replied, "He is just ready to sit." Then the eunuch went back to Abū al-ʿAbbās and told him what he had seen. At this, Abū al-ʿAbbās sent him back to Abū Jaʿfar, saying, "Tell him, 'Do not carry out the matter you have determined upon.'" At this Abū Jaʿfar desisted.

It was in this year that Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr led the Pilgrimage, and Abū Muslim went on the Pilgrimage with him.

Their Journey and a Description of Their Return to Abū al-ʿAbbās

As for Abū Muslim, according to what is mentioned, when he wished to present himself before Abū al-ʿAbbās, he also wrote asking for permission to go on the pilgrimage. This was granted. Abū al-ʿAbbās told him to come with five hundred soldiers, and Abū Muslim wrote, "I have irritated important people and am not sure that my life would be safe." Abū al-ʿAbbās then wrote him, "Come with a thousand. After all, you will be within the sovereignty of your own family and your own revolution. The road to Mecca will not bear any army." He set off at the head of eight thousand, and thinned them out between Naysābūr and Rayy. He brought with him great [87] wealth and treasures, and left these at Rayy. He also gathered together the money of Jibāl,[475] and then left Rayy with a thousand men and came on. When he was ready to enter (the capital), the officers and various important people went to meet him. He then sought Abū al-ʿAbbās's permission to make the pilgrimage, and he granted it to him, saying, "If only Abū Jaʿfar were not making the pilgrimage I should appoint you to lead it this season."

As for Abū Jaʿfar, he was the governor of the Jazīrah. According to al-Wāqidī, besides the Jazīrah, Abū Jaʿfar had Armenia and Ādharbayjān. He chose Muqātil b. Ḥakīm al-ʿAkki as his deputy, and he came to Abū al-ʿAbbās and asked his permission to make the pilgrimage.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—al-Walīd b. Ḥishām—his father: Abū Jaʿfar went to Mecca as a pilgrim and Abū Muslim made the pilgrimage with him in the year 136 (753–754). When the season of the pilgrimage was at an end, Abū Jaʿfar and Abū Muslim started back. When they were between Bustān and Dhāt ʿIrq,[476] a letter

475. The text is al-Jabal. The province of Jibāl must be intended, and the textual apparatus supports such a reading.

476. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 651 for Dhāt ʿIrq. The reference to Bustān is to Bustān b. ʿAmīr, also known as Bustān b. Maʿmar. See Yāqūt, I, 611. The letter arrived when Abū Jaʿfar and Abū Muslim were still in the pilgrimage territory.

came for Abū Ja'far that Abū al-'Abbās had died. Abū Ja'far who had preceded Abū Muslim by one stage, wrote to him, "Something has happened. Come quickly, quickly." The messenger arrived and informed Abū Muslim, who came on and joined Abū Ja'far, and together they came on to Kūfah.

In this year Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī had had the oath taken to his brother, Abū Ja'far, to have the caliphate after him. He made him the heir-apparent of the Muslims, with 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī as his successor. The Caliph recorded the deed of these appointments in a document, placed it in a container, sealed it with his own seal and the seals of his family, and entrusted it to 'Īsā b. Mūsā.[477]

This year Abū al-'Abbās the Commander of the Faithful died at Anbār on Sunday, the thirteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 136 (June 10, 754). His death is said to have been due to smallpox.

[88] According to Hishām b. Muḥammad: He died on the twelfth night of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (June 9, 754). There is a difference as to his age when he died; some have said he was thirty-three. Hishām b. Muḥammad says he was thirty-six years old, while others say he was twenty-eight.

His reign, from the time that Marwān b. Muḥammad was slain, lasted four years. From the time that he was acclaimed Caliph until he died, he ruled four years and eight months; some say nine. According to al-Wāqidī, he ruled four years and eight months, of which he spent eight months and four days fighting Marwān. He then reigned four years after the death of Marwān.

According to what is mentioned, he had curly hair, and was tall and white-skinned, with a hooked nose and a handsome face and beard. His mother was Rayṭah bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Madān b. al-Dayyān al-Ḥārithī. His wazīr was Abū al-Jahm b. 'Aṭiyyah.

His paternal uncle 'Īsā b. 'Alī prayed over him and buried him in his palace in the old city of Anbār. According to what is mentioned in the sources, he left behind nine full-sleeved gowns, four long gowns, five pairs of trousers, four cloaks, and three silk gowns.

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477. The significance of Abū Ja'far's appointment is discussed in Lassner, *'Abbāsid Rule*, 19–38.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXVIII

ʿAbbāsid Authority Affirmed

TRANSLATED BY JANE DAMMEN McAULIFFE

'Abbāsid Authority Affirmed
Volume XXVIII
Translated by Jane Dammen McAuliffe

The initial years (126-145) of al-Manṣūr's reign presented several significant challenges to nascent 'Abbāsid hegemony, and the resulting confrontations constitute the central focus of this section of Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*. After Abū Ja'far succeeded his brother Abū al-'Abbas as caliph, the second of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, he moved against his recalcitrant uncle, 'Abdallah b. 'Alī, and against the potential threat that he perceived in the person of the commander in Khurāsān, Abū Muslim. Eliminating the latter and containing the former freed the caliph to address a series of other onslaughts and insurrections.

Starting with the year 144, however, Ṭabarī turned to this volume's principal preoccupation, to which half of the book is devoted. Judging by the attention given to it, he clearly perceived the Ḥasanid rebellions of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh (the Pure Soul) and of his brother Ibrāhīm to be the most substantial attack on 'Abbāsid authority to arise in the first years of that dynasty. Ṭabarī's description of the prolonged search for Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm and of the caliphal venegeance visited upon their father and family provides an extended prelude to the vivid battle and death scenes in Medina and Bākhamrā. Yet, elaboration of these events does not eclipse mention of all other 'Abbāsid activity. To bridge the account of Muḥammad's defeat and that of Ibrāhīm's uprising, Ṭabarī inserted a narrative interlude depicting the site selection and preliminary construction of al-Manṣūr's most celebrated achievement, the City of Peace, Baghdad.

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXVIII

ʿAbbāsid Authority Affirmed

THE EARLY YEARS OF AL-MANṢŪR

A.D. 753–763 / A.H. 136–145

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*)

VOLUME XXVIII

ʿAbbāsid Authority Affirmed

translated and annotated
by

Jane Dammen McAuliffe

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For my children

Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 39 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Tabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the orginal Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

Addenda et Emendanda: List of textual additions and corrections included in the Leiden introductory volume of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*

AO: *Acta Orientalia*

BSOAS: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*

DMA: *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. Ed. Joseph R. Strayer. 13 vols. New York, 1982

EI[1]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Ed. M. T. Houtsma et al. 8 vols. and supplement. Leiden, 1913–36, reprint 1987

EI[2]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. Ed. H. A. R. Gibb et al. Leiden, 1960–.

EHR: *English Historical Review*

EJ: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. 16 vols. Jerusalem, 1972.

ER: *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. Ed. M. Eliade. 15 vols. and index. New York, 1987.

Fragmenta historicorum: *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn wa-al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq*

GAL: Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Leiden, 1943–49. *Supplementbände*. 3 vols. Leiden, 1937–42.

GAS: Fuat Sezgin. *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. Leiden, 1967–.

Glossarium: Glossary included in the Leiden introductory volume of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*

IC: *Islamic Culture*

IJMES: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*

IQ: *Islamic Quarterly*

IS: *Islamic Studies*

JA: *Journal asiatique*
JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JESHO: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JRAS: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSAI: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
MW: *The Muslim World*
REI: *Revue des études islamiques*
RH: *Revue historique*
SI: *Studia Islamica*
ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

Translator's Foreword

The caliphate of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr began and ended far from the city whose foundation was his most celebrated achievement. It was not in Baghdad that he commenced his caliphate but in Mecca. Less than five years after the ʿAbbāsids had assumed power, that power passed from one brother to another. The first caliph of the dynasty, ʿAbū al-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, died in 136/754 during the month of the pilgrimage, and Ṭabarī introduces this volume of his *Taʾrīkh* with an announcement of the oath of allegiance that was then rendered in absentia to the dead caliph's brother. At the time of al-Saffāḥ's death the new caliph was leading the Pilgrimage exercises in the Ḥijāz, where he received news of the transfer of power from his nephew, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. Twenty-one years later, in 158/775, al-Manṣūr was once again on the road to Mecca during this same month of the Pilgrimage, which had also been the month of his birth, when he became unexpectedly ill and died.

The initial years of al-Manṣūr's reign presented several significant challenges to nascent ʿAbbāsid hegemony. These confrontations constitute the central focus of Ṭabarī's attention in this volume. Before he concludes his presentation of the transition year 136/754, Ṭabarī relates an exchange that took place between the new caliph and Abū Muslim, a powerful Khurāsānī leader who had accompanied him on the Pilgrimage. In this prescient conversation converge the three principal preoccupations that Abū Jaʿfar was forced to address in the first decade of his caliph-

ate: ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, Abū Muslim himself, and the ʿAlid rebels Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Speaking to Abū Muslim, the caliph first expresses uneasiness about his uncle, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, and then alludes to his concern about those groups whose loyalties have coalesced around the figure of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the prophet Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law, and his descendants.

Ṭabarī's record of the year 137 describes the caliph's swift response to this uncle's refusal to acknowledge his sovereignty. He successfully sends Abū Muslim against ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī but then quickly comes to fear the increasing independence and power of the Khurāsānī warrior himself. The accounts of Abū Muslim's murder in the very presence of al-Manṣūr provide a powerful impression of the caliph's relentless resolution. That impression receives strong reinforcement in those scenes from the year 145 when the severed heads of the ʿAlid pretenders, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh, are brought before him.

The major events related in this volume commence, then, with al-Manṣūr's moves in 137 against his recalcitrant uncle and against the potential threat that he perceived in the person of Abū Muslim. They conclude with the defeat and death of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh in 145. The years immediately following 137 receive relatively brief treatment from Ṭabarī. He mentions the destruction and reconstruction of Malaṭyah, an important Byzantine border town, as well as a Khārijī rebellion and various uprisings consequent upon the death of Abū Muslim. In but a single sentence under the year 139 Ṭabarī notes that the Umayyad prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiyah went to Spain, where his descendants continue to rule, a sentence that represents virtually his only reference to events beyond the central Islamic lands.

For the year 141 Ṭabarī breaks this pattern of somewhat perfunctory reportage. Several episodes draw his attention, chief among them being the uprising of the Rāwandiyyah in al-Hāshimiyyah, the only engagement, in a volume that describes several decisive battles, in which the caliph actively participated. Ṭabarī presents al-Manṣūr as a bold and courageous commander, willing to risk his life to rally his forces and ready to lavish praise and recompense on the rehabilitated Umayyad soldier Maʿn b. Zāʾidah. Having experienced danger, however, al-Manṣūr moved promptly to forestall the recurrence of such strategic vulnerabil-

ity. The encounter with the Rāwandiyyah is later reckoned an important reason for the building of Baghdad and the caliph subsequently judged his self-exposure in that battle to be one of the three major mistakes from the likely consequences of which he had been divinely protected.

Starting with the year 144 Ṭabarī concentrates on this volume's central preoccupation. Half the pages in this text develop a description of what he clearly perceived to be the most substantial challenge to ʿAbbāsid authority faced in the first years of that dynasty, the Ḥasanid rebellions of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and his brother Ibrāhīm. Virtually all the action occurs within a limited geographical area, closely contained along the corridor running between the two holy sites in the Ḥijāz and the metropolitan areas of southern Iraq, especially al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah. The time-line charted in this chapter on the year 144 telescopes the actual sequence of events. Ṭabarī, in fact, first mentions the Ḥasanid problem in his record of the year 139, with the elliptical remark that summer campaigns against the Byzantines were suspended from that time until 146 "because Abū Jaʿfar was occupied with matters involving the two sons of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan." Although that single remark receives no elaboration until the full issue is introduced in the section on year 144, the events recorded therein cover a span of some years.

During those years, then, the caliph was confronted with a situation of unresolved resistance to his hegemony. His initial inclination to rely on the loyalty and enthusiasm of his governor in Medina proved mistaken. Throughout this period, several men held that post. When it was clearly established that the first, Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh, had failed to press the search for Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm because his sympathies lay more with them than with the caliph, the latter had him arrested and appointed Muḥammad b. Khālid in his stead. As this one also proved reluctant to move with alacrity, Abū Jaʿfar replaced him with Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān, whose complete dependence on the patronage of al-Manṣūr assured his antipathy to the Ḥasanids.

Once installed in office, Riyāḥ moved rapidly to secure the caliphal kudos that capture of Muḥammad would ensure. Riyāḥ's forces searched relentlessly and came near to discovering Muḥammad on several occasions. One poignant episode recounts

the death of Muḥammad's infant son, who plunged to his death at the moment his father's mountain hideout was abruptly invaded. By that time Muḥammad's father, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, had already been arrested for refusing to cooperate with the caliph in providing information on his sons' whereabouts. Other arrests rapidly followed, including that of Muḥammad's son ʿAlī, who was seized in Egypt. Eventually Abū Jaʿfar decided to have the imprisoned supporters, both Ḥasanids and others, taken out of Medina and commanded Riyāḥ to transport them to Iraq, specifically to al-Rabadhah, where the caliph was then in residence.

Ṭabarī vividly portrays the humiliations endured by the shackled prisoners during this transportation and includes dramatic accounts of the caliphal vengeance exacted upon those who were brought before the sovereign presence. The scenes involving Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan's stepbrother and great-grandson of the third caliph, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, depict his being severely beaten and stripped naked before a final beheading. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh, a brother to Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, was scourged to insensibility, while a cousin Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, was entombed alive in a building support. In a cunning effort to consolidate Khurāsānī allegiance, al-Manṣūr then sent the head of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr to that province with a proclamation intended to convince people that it was the head of the Ḥasanid pretender, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh.

Meanwhile, that insurgent himself was alive and active in Medina, gathering the support necessary to stage an open rebellion on 27 Jumādā II 145. After the initial actions of storming the city and capturing its governor, Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent representatives to the major administrative centers in the peninsula. His governor for Mecca, al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah, successfully subdued the superior forces of Abū Jaʿfar's incumbent. In the meantime, a succession of messengers informed al-Manṣūr of Muḥammad's uprising, and the caliph prepared his retaliation. When an exchange of correspondence between the two proved futile, Abū Jaʿfar sought knowledgeable advice, including that of his imprisoned uncle, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, and recruited his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to lead the countering forces.

Both internal and external pressures undermined the initial popular support that Muḥammad enjoyed. While ʿĪsā b. Mūsā

persuaded leading citizens of Medina to withdraw their allegiance, Muḥammad himself announced clemency for those whose fear of ʿĪsā's advancing forces drove them from the city. As a military staging ground, Medina was a strategic disaster, a fact made clear to both al-Manṣūr and Muḥammad in the respective advice offered to them. Despite the heroic efforts of Muḥammad's remaining supporters, therefore, the city proved ultimately indefensible, and the black banner of the ʿAbbāsid forces was soon flying from the minaret of the Prophet's mosque. Muḥammad himself fell at the hands of the redoubtable Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, and ʿĪsā sent his head to the caliph.

In the aftermath of defeat, civil chaos gripped Medina as a consequence of the new governor's refusal or inability to discipline the occupying forces. Cheated merchants lashed out, and black slaves rose in revolt, precipitating widespread public disorder. The particular incidents that Ṭabarī relates doubtless reflect the general sense of economic and political uncertainty in post-rebellion Medina.

After a narrative interlude describing the site selection and preliminary construction of Baghdad, Ṭabarī moves on to the second ʿAlid uprising, that mounted by Muḥammad's brother, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh. Once more, against a telescoped account of the protagonist's furtive contacts and frequent relocation, Ṭabarī builds a scene of impending eruption. Guided by the reports of his intelligence service, al-Manṣūr acted to forestall Ibrāhīm's suspected strategic maneuvers. Yet when the latter publicly proclaimed his rebellion in al-Baṣrah on the first day of Ramaḍān 145, less than nine weeks after his brother's uprising, the caliph's readiness to respond was hampered by insufficient troop strength. Ibrāhīm's rapid deployment of representatives and forces to al-Ahwāz, Fārs, and Wāsiṭ secured his initial advantage, while Abū Jaʿfar was forced to scour the provinces for military reinforcements.

The tide turned, however, when word of Muḥammad's defeat in the Ḥijāz allowed the caliph to recall ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. After a rapid return, ʿĪsā massed his forces for the final battle at Bākhamrā. Recounting the first stages of this engagement, which favored Ibrāhīm's forces, Ṭabarī depicts ʿĪsā's intrepid resistance in the face of his fleeing troops. After Ibrāhīm suffered strategic misfortunes, however, the ʿAbbāsid fortune began to ascend once again. An arrow struck the insurgent's throat, and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah

repeated his lethal attack against an ʿAlid pretender, as his troops converged on the stricken Ibrāhīm. Once again a severed head was set before Abū Jaʿfar, and as this volume draws to a close the caliph weeps at the sight of it, lamenting the consequences of his kinsman's abortive claim.

From the various materials and the multiple accounts with which Ṭabarī composed this section of his history, some elements of particular note stand forth. Among the more interesting are the character delineations offered for Abū Jaʿfar and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. The caliph emerges as a man of relentless intent, willing to pursue an objective by every available means and over a prolonged period of time. His resoluteness verges on atrocity when, for example, he orders the severed head of Muḥammad paraded around al-Kūfah or when he commands a young boy to view his father's corpse as he awaits his own execution. Ṭabarī reports instances when al-Manṣūr gave assurances of safe-conduct only to renege on them later. The caliph's attempt to placate or intimidate the Khurāsānīs through subterfuge, despite the later disclaimer that this was his only lie, compounds the impression of mendacity. More positively, Abū Jaʿfar is presented as a man willing to seek advice and to heed or reject it as he sees fit. The sources show a man capable of self-critical reflection and one who can acknowledge errors of judgment. A few telling vignettes portray him in prolonged periods of silence and withdrawal, brooding over the dangers he perceives and the decisions he must make. According to some accounts, he could retreat to such an extent that he would refuse to change his garments or to have sexual contact with his wives. In less troubling circumstances, he could offer praise to others and even confess the nickname "Father of Farthings"(Abū Dawānīq), which his reputation for miserliness had inspired.

More than that of his brother Ibrāhīm, the person of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh comes through these pages as a vivid, multifaceted reality. Physically he was a man of considerable bulk, one whose weight rattled the *minbar* as he mounted its steps. His love of certain foods is noted, and an account treating the day on which Muḥammad died in battle actually mentions his being fed honey dipped in water. His corpulence also provoked

adverse comment, however, because it was perceived as incompatible with the physique of a true warrior. Morally, Muḥammad is represented as a pious Muslim, a man of rectitude who rigorously kept the fast and the rhythms of required and supererogatory prayer and who modeled himself upon his namesake in the conduct of war. Repeatedly, the accounts portray a person reluctant to go to war and unwilling to use the guerrilla tactics that might ensure a speedy victory. His refusal to retreat when the battle turned against him demonstrates his military courage, but his willingness to release his supporters shows that he does not regard victory at any price as an acceptable choice. A final vignette should be noted, not for its inherent historical value, but simply because it so deftly demonstrates what a small detail can reveal about the human person. One day, as Muḥammad was preaching in the mosque of Medina, he kept trying to clear his throat of phlegm. He apparently suffered from certain speech problems, which such a situation could only have exacerbated. In any event, on this occasion, after several unsuccessful attempts, he finally freed his throat, threw back his head, and expectorated on the mosque ceiling.

In addition to the skillful character delineation that Ṭabarī presents within these pages, mention must made of the critical role that exchange of correspondence occupies within the primary episodes of this section. The most important of these, the letters that al-Manṣūr wrote to Abā Muslim and to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh represent significant statements of caliphal authority and hegemony. In particular, the lengthy exchange between the caliph and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh charts the principal lines of argumentation for the competing ʿAbbāsid and ʿAlid claims. In their initial statements the first two of these letters structurally parallel each other, commencing with a Qurʾānic prologue and extending corresponding grants of immunity. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's response to Abū Jaʿfar then opens the debate about purity of lineage, a challenge to which the caliph responds with both excoriation and counterclaim.

Finally, it is interesting to mark the manifold roles that women assume within these 231 pages of Ṭabarī's text. The lineage debate just noted focused repeatedly on the relative superiority of female forebears. Foreshadowing the developed argument made

by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh stands the sharp exchange between al-Manṣūr and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan in which the latter flaunts his genetic superiority. In addition to these frequently invoked female ancestors, however, there are intriguing glimpses of women in many scenes. Some are the royal wives and consorts who were brought to the caliph's household by capture or contract, such as the women taken in the conquest of Ṭabaristān and the niece of Abū Jaʿfar, Rayṭah bt. Abī al-ʿAbbās. Women close to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh figure in a number of episodes, as when his mother, Hind, disguises herself in order to visit her imprisoned husband. With the failure of Muḥammad's rebellion, it is his sister Zaynab and his daughter Fāṭimah who come forward to claim his body for burial.

ʿAbbāsid victory is signaled by a woman, as Asmāʾ bt. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh orders the black banner flown from the minaret of Medina. Yet more active involvement is credited to Ḥammādah bt. Muʿāwiyah, who is said to have killed her uncle Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar because his refusal to support Muḥammad's rebellion was jeopardizing the lives of her brothers in their own support for the claimant. The death of Abū al-Qalammas, a staunch defender of Muḥammad, is avenged by the clever trickery of his concubine. Beyond the confines of Muḥammad's action in Medina, there is additional mention of female battle involvement. In a particularly intriguing reference for the year 139, Ṭabarī notes that, when Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī fought in that year's summer campaign against the Byzantines, he was accompanied by his sisters, Umm ʿĪsā and Lubābah, "for they had vowed that if the Umayyad reign came to an end they would fight 'in the path of God.' "

Female companionship is also negatively assessed, at least by implication. During the period of hostilities surrounding ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAli, one soldier lost his life when he took the risk of slipping into town to visit a slave girl. As noted above, caliphal celibacy during the engagement with Muḥammad is contrasted with the latter's continuing access to accompanying concubines. A sense of negativity or ambivalence also surrounds the pejorative reference to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan as a woman in *ʿiddah* and to the mysterious appearance of jinn in female form. But disguised appearances are not limited to females, whether human or jinn. In one of the more vivid accounts that Ṭabarī presents of the

intensive search mounted for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh by Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān there occurs a surprising episode. When Riyāḥ happened upon him unexpectedly, Muḥammad quickly threw his cloak over his face and feigned a feminine posture. Despite his size, he was sufficiently convincing as a female impersonator to prompt Riyāḥ's polite withdrawal. In that moment, at least, Muḥammad was saved by a woman.

This volume of Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh* translates pages 88–319 of the Tertia series of the Leiden edition. That edition, which Brill issued between 1879 and 1898 in three parallel series of fascicles, was prepared under the general direction of M. J. de Goeje. The printed text for the entire first section of the Tertia series (3/1:1–459) was established by M. Th. Houtsma, who assumed the task from Max Grünert. Houtsma worked from a manuscript in Berlin (ms. orient. fol. 69, siglum B), whose orthographic peculiarities were described in the Leiden introduction by M. I. Guidi, and from one in Algiers (no. 594), of which de Goeje offered a description. Sections of the Leiden pp. 102–9 and 186–89 are missing in this latter manuscript, omissions that Houtsma signaled in the critical apparatus of his text. The more recent Cairo edition, prepared by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, with some additions to the Leiden manuscript base, incorporates the Leiden pagination, as well as extensive use of punctuation, paragraph division, and additional subheadings.

The sources upon which Ṭabarī relied in preparing this segment of ʿAbbāsid history vary from its earlier to its later sections. From the year 136 until 143 he most frequently cites the noted historian ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī (d. 235/850) but also includes such various informants as the author of *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), and al-Manṣūr's secretary/vizier Abū Ayyūb al-Mūriyānī (d. 154/770–71). For a number of these years, however, no specific authorities are mentioned for events that Ṭabarī notes in brief.

As indicated above, Ṭabarī has focused primary attention in his coverage of the early years of al-Manṣūr's caliphate on the Ḥasanid rebellions mounted by the two sons of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, in Medina and al-Baṣrah respectively. Abū Zayd ʿUmar b. Shabbah al-Numayrī (d. 264/877), Ṭabarī's senior by some fifty years, serves as his principal source

for this material. Not surprisingly, ʿUmar b. Shabbah is credited with a book entitled *Kitāb akhbār Muḥammad wa-Ibrāhīm ibnay ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan al-Hāshimī al-Qurashī*, which is also quoted extensively in *Maqātil al-ṭālibiyyīn* by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, (d. 356/967). A source-critical analysis of ʿUmar b. Shabbah's work on the Ḥasanid rebellion was published about twenty years ago by Tilman Nagel.[1]

Ṭabarī supplemented Abū Zayd's work, however, with significant use of eyewitness accounts, some of them secured from direct lineal descendants of those most closely involved with the insurgency. Because Ṭabarī was born about seventy-five years after these events, about the interval of a child born today from the time of World War I, it is not surprising that he had access to such material and the multiple perspectives that it provided.

In this translation I have attempted to follow the Arabic text with fidelity and precision but also to render that text in a manner pleasing and accessible to the English-speaking reader. Many pronominal referents have therefore been expressed more fully, and translations of the ubiquitous *qāla* (he said) have been varied in an effort to capture the tenor of the statement or response. Where necessary, interpolated words or phrases, enclosed in square brackets, have been added to the translation to provide clarification of the intended meaning. I have also tried to identify all personal and place names through reference to the standard bio/bibliographical and geographical sources. Inevitably some names that are cited only once in the *Taʾrīkh* eluded identification. Titles of primary and secondary sources cited more than once have been abbreviated in the footnotes but given fully in the bibliography. Technical terms have been offered in translation with an accompanying annotation of the Arabic original, and allusions to earlier events in Islamic and pre-Islamic history have been specified where significant.

My work on this text was supported by an award from the University Research Committee of Emory University and by grants

1. "Ein früher Bericht über den Augstand von Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh im Jahre 145 h," *Der Islam* XLVI (1970), 227–62. See also S. Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen*.

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Jane Dammen McAuliffe

The Caliphate of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr (whose personal names were ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad)

[88]

The Events of the Year

136 (cont'd)[1]

(July 7, 753–June 26, 754)

In this year the oath of allegiance[2] was given to Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr[3] on the day that his brother Abū al-ʿAbbās[4] died. Abū

1. Other sources for this part of the year 136: *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 215–17; Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 437–41; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Maʿārif*, 377; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 375–76; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 436–37; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 158–64; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 156–57; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 461–63; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 159–61; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 61; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 384–85; Suyūṭī, *Khulafāʾ*, 259–60.

2. The *bayʿah* is defined by Ibn Khaldūn as "a contract to render obedience." *Muqaddimah*, I, 428; *EI*², s.v. (E. Tyan).

3. Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was the second ʿAbbāsid caliph, his twenty-one-year reign following that of his brother, al-Saffāḥ; *EI*², s.v. (H. Kennedy). On his regnal titles "*al-Manṣūr*," see Lewis, "Regnal Titles"; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 176–77; Omar, *ʿAbbāsiyyāt*, 142–44; Hassuri, "Epithets."

4. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, the great-great-grandson of the Prophet's uncle, was hailed as caliph by the revolutionary generals in al-Kūfah on 12 Rabīʿ II 132 (November 28, 749). After a reign of less than five years, he died at about the age of thirty years on 13 Dhū al-Ḥijjah/June 10. *EI*¹, s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); *EI*², s.v. (S. Moscati); Ṭabarī, III, 87–88; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 46–56; Amedroz, "Laqab ʿal-Saffāḥʾ."

Jaʿfar being at the time in Mecca, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā[5] was the one who received the oath of allegiance in Iraq on behalf of Abū Jaʿfar after the death of Abū al-ʿAbbās. ʿĪsā then wrote to inform him of the
[89] fact that his brother Abū al-ʿAbbās had died and that the oath of allegiance had been rendered to him [as caliph].

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad[6]—al-Haytham[7]—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAyyāsh:[8] When Abū al-ʿAbbās was near death, he ordered the people to render the oath of allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad. Accordingly, the people gave the oath of allegiance to him in al-Anbār[9] on the day that Abū al-ʿAbbās died. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā assumed executive authority and sent Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-ʿAbdī[10] to Abū Jaʿfar (who was then in Mecca) to report to him on the death of Abū al-ʿAbbās and on the oath of allegiance. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn met Abū Jaʿfar at a place on the road called Zakiyyah. When the letter was delivered to him, Abū Jaʿfar called the people together, and they gave their oath of alle-

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5. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, the nephew and heir-designate of al-Saffāḥ, served as governor of al-Kūfah under both al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. According to Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 76, his was the "second longest tenure of any governor during the early Abbasid period," *EI*², s.v. (D. Sourdel); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 43.

6. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī (d. 225?/840) was a prominent early historian who was born in al-Baṣrah and died in Baghdad, and the titles, of whose books may, for the most part, be culled only from the quotes and citations of later authors. *EI*², s.v. (U. Sezgin); *GAS*, I, 314–15; *GAL*, I, 140–41; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, VII, 211; Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung"; Dūrī, *Historical Writing*, 48–50 and *passim*; Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya*, 92–99 and *passim*.

7. Al-Haytham b. ʿAdī al-Ṭāʾī (d. 206?/821) was a frequently quoted historian, genealogist (although his reliability as both did not go unquestioned), and attendant at the early ʿAbbāsid courts, including that of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr. *EI*², s.v. (C. Pellat); *GAS*, I, 272; *GAL*, I, 140; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, XIII, 156; Dūrī, *Historical Writing*, 53–54 and *passim*; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 177–80.

8. Abū al-Jarrāḥ ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAyyāsh al-Mantūf al-Hamdānī was an *akhbārī*, genealogist, transmitter of poetry, and frequenter of al-Manṣūr's court. The genesis of his *laqab*, "the one whose beard was plucked," is recounted by Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 393–94. Although Ṣafadī gives a death date of 158, the year in which al-Manṣūr died, Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 97, places him in the necrology of 136. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, X, 14–16.

9. Al-Anbār, "the Storehouses," was a city on the Euphrates, some fifty-five kilometers west of Baghdad, that served as the ʿAbbāsid capital under Abū al-ʿAbbās and remained so for Abū Jaʿfar until the development of Baghdad. *EI*², s.v. (M. Streck and A. A. Duri); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 257–58; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 45; Le Strange, *Lands*, 31–32, 65–66.

10. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-ʿAbdī is recorded as the governor of Ahwāz (Khūzistān) in 145. Ṭabarī, III, 301.

giance to him. Abū Muslim[11] also rendered the oath of allegiance to him. Abū Jaʿfar asked, "Where are we?" When he was told that the place was called "Zakiyyah," he [punned upon the place name and] said, "Things will go well for us,[12] God willing!" Some sources have said that after finishing the Pilgrimage Abū Jaʿfar received his oath of allegiance at a stage on the Mecca highway called Ṣufayyah.[13] He thought the name auspicious, and [playing upon the word] he exclaimed, "It [the caliphate] has become ours alone,[14] God willing!"[15]

To return to the account of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—al-Walīd[16]— [90]
his father: When the news of Abū al-ʿAbbās' death reached Abū Jaʿfar, he wrote to Abū Muslim, who was then encamped at a watering place, whereas Abū Jaʿfar had already gone on ahead of him. Abū Muslim then moved forward until he reached Abū Jaʿfar.

Additionally, other sources have said that Abū Muslim was the one who had advanced beyond Abū Jaʿfar and had, therefore, discovered the news of the caliph's death before him, so it was *he* who wrote to Abū Jaʿfar:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. May God keep you in good estate and give you enjoyment. I have heard something that has upset me deeply and has effected me as nothing before. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn met me as he was carrying a letter to you from ʿĪsā b. Mūsā about the death of Abū al-ʿAbbās, the Commander of the Faithful, may God have mercy upon him. We ask God to magnify greatly your future recompense,

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11. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim was a revolutionary leader of the ʿAbbāsid movement in Khurāsān and governor of that province. His name is later associated with both religious heterodoxies and literary romances. *EI*[1], s.v. (W. Barthold); *EI*[2], s.v. (S. Moscati); Moscati, "Abū Muslim"; Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim*; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 100–24; Lassner, "Origins."

12. *Amr yazkā lanā.*

13. Yāqūt (via al-Aṣmaʿī) identifies this as a watering place for the Banū Asad, lying near a hill and a stony tract. *Buldān*, III, 415.

14. *Ṣafat lanā.*

15. As Moscati notes, the radicals of both place-names permit the expression of a propitious signification. "Abū Muslim. III," 92, n3.

16. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, identifies him as al-Walīd b. Hishām b. Qaḥdham or al-Qaḥdhamī.

> to give you a good caliphate, and to bless you in whatever you do. Truly among your people there is no one who asserts your claim more vigorously, who counsels you with a purer heart, and who is more desirous of what would please you than I.

Abū Muslim dispatched the letter to Abū Jaʿfar but waited out that day, and only on the next did he send his oath of allegiance to him, intending thus to intimidate Abū Jaʿfar.

To return to the account of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: After Abū Muslim had sat down with him, Abū Jaʿfar tossed the letter announcing Abū al-ʿAbbās's death to him. He read it and wept, then piously invoked the formula "To God we belong and to Him is our return."[17] Abū Muslim looked at Abū Jaʿfar, who appeared to be very uneasy, and said to him, "Why this alarm when the caliphate is already yours?" Abū Jaʿfar replied, "I fear the malice of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī[18] and those loyal to (*shīʿah*) ʿAlī."[19] Abū Muslim responded, "Do not be afraid of him; God willing, I will deal with the problem of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī for you. The rank and file of his army and associates are Khurāsānī[20] troops, and they will surely not disobey me!" At this Abū Jaʿfar felt his anxiety relieved. Abū Muslim rendered him the oath of allegiance, as did all the other people present, and the two of them continued on until they reach al-Kūfah.[21]

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17. Qur'ān, 2:156. According to Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1040, the verb *istarjaʿa* signifies the repetition of this Qur'ānic formula in moments of affliction. Lings, *Sufi Saint*, 41, attests to this "much loved and often repeated verse which the Qoran recommends especially for recitation in time of adversity."

18. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, the uncle of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, was commander of the ʿAbbāsid forces in the critical battle against the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II. *EI*², s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen and S. Moscati). Historical sources record his large-scale exterminations, and Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 321, dubs him "one of the most cunning men." Tuqan, "ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlī."

19. The *shīʿah* of ʿAlī (b. Abī Ṭālib) represented a rival claim to valid dynastic succession from the Prophet Muḥammad. While in this period the connotation of the term *shīʿah* was still somewhat loose, the competing claims associated with the ʿAbbāsid and the Ḥasanids are represented in the exchange of letters between Abū Jaʿfar and the ʿAlid pretender, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh in the year 145.

20. Khurāsān was a large easterly region, comprising parts of what are now Iran, Afghanistan, and Soviet Central Asia, that was the center of ʿAbbāsid revolutionary activity. *EI*², s.v. (C. E. Bosworth).

21. Al-Kūfah, a military establishment on the Euphrates, became one of the principal political and cultural centers of the early Islamic world. *EI*², s.v. (H. Djaït).

Abū Jaʿfar sent Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh[22] back to Mecca, Ziyād [91]
having previously been governor both of it and of Medina under Abū al-ʿAbbās. Some sources recount that before he died Abū al-ʿAbbās had removed Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī as governor of Mecca and appointed al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. Maʿbad b. al-ʿAbbās[23] in his stead.

In this year ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī came to Abū al-ʿAbbās at al-Anbār, where the caliph entrusted him with responsibility for the summer campaign[24] at the head of forces drawn from Khurāsān, Syria, the Jazīrah,[25] and al-Mawṣil.[26] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī marched forth and got as far as Dulūk,[27] but he had not advanced into enemy territory at the time when news of Abū al-ʿAbbās's death came to him.[28]

In this year ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and Abū al-Jahm[29] sent Abū Ghassān Yazīd b. Ziyād[30] to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī to receive his oath of alle-

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22. Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī, maternal uncle of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph, was appointed governor of Mecca and Medina in 133, keeping this position until 141, except for the year 136 when the post was assigned to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh. Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20, 24. Ziyād's rise as a young army recruit under the tutelage of the Baṣran governor and general, Khālid al-Qasrī, is sketched in Crone, *Slaves*, 55.

23. Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20. Ṭabarī, III, 121, records his death in 137. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 439.

24. The summer raids (*ṣawāʾif*, sing. *ṣāʾifah*) against the Byzantine border positions were regular features of Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid military policy.

25. The Jazīrah was the northern province between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. *EI*², s.v. al-Djazīra (M. Canard); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 134–36.

26. Al-Mawṣil was a principal city in the Jazīrah; it lay across the Tigris from the site of ancient Nineveh. *EI*², s.v. (E. Honigmann and C. E. Bosworth); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 223–25.

27. Dulūk was a frontier fortress town on the Anatolian-Syrian border almost due north of Aleppo (Ḥalab). *EI*², s.v. (D. Sourdel); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 17; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 472, 478–79; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 461.

28. See Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 437, who contradicts this statement, and Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 159. Azdī later (p. 163) cites ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's location as Dābiq, also a city near Aleppo.

29. Abū Jahm b. ʿAṭīyah, a *mawlā* of the Bāhilah, is listed by Ṭabarī, III, 88, as al-Saffāḥ's vizier. Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 71, questions the significance of this when contrasted with other mentions in both Ṭabarī and Jahshiyārī. Goitein, *Studies*, 173; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 112, 136; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 165; Caetani, *Cronografia generale*, 82; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 6.

30. Abū Ghassān Yazīd b. Ziyād was a chamberlain of Abū al-ʿAbbās and son of the governor of Mecca and Medina, Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh. See note 22, above; Crone, *Slaves*, 149; *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 217; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 437.

giance to al-Manṣūr. But ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī proceeded to Ḥarrān[31] with his accompanying forces, who had already sworn the oath of allegiance to ʿAbdallāh.

Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr led the Pilgrimage in this year. We have already mentioned his governorship and the one to whom he delegated it while he was away as a pilgrim.[32]

The governor of al-Kūfah was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, while the head of its judiciary was Ibn Abī Laylā.[33] Sulaymān b. ʿAlī[34] was governor of al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts, while ʿAbbād b. al-Manṣūr[35] headed its judiciary. The governor of Medina was Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī; of Mecca, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. Maʿbad; and of Egypt, Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī.[36]

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31. Ḥarrān, an ancient city in the Jazīrah, served as capital for the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II. *EI*², s.v. (G. Fehérvári); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 235–36; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 18; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 481–82, 489, 495; Le Strange, *Lands*, 103, 124.

32. Abū Jaʿfar was governor of the Jazīrah and, according to al-Wāqidī, of Armenia and Ādharbayjān as well. His deputy during the Pilgrimage period was Muqātil b. Ḥakīm al-ʿAkkī. Ṭabarī, III, 87, 93.

33. Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā (d. 148/765), a prominent judge (serving as that of al-Kūfah for thirty-three years), jurisprudent (*faqīh*), and teacher of Qurʾānic recitation (*muqriʾ*). *EI*², s.v. (J. Schacht); Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 221–23; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 310–16; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 268–69; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, IV, 179–81.

34. Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 142/759) was an uncle of Abū al-ʿAbbās and Abū Jaʿfar and governor of al-Baṣrah under both of them. As one charged with responsibility for the Pilgrimage season during the caliphate of al-Saffāḥ, he is remembered for marking that event by the annual manumission of 100 slaves. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 162–63; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 406; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 185; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 20, 34; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 40.

35. Abū Salamah ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr al-Nājī (d. 152/769), whose reliability as a *muḥaddith* was questioned, served five appointments as the chief justice of al-Baṣrah. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 270; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 105–6; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 612–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 90–91; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 174.

36. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. *circa* 151/768) was an uncle of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr who commanded the expedition that pursued Marwān II to his death in Egypt. He was successively the governor of Egypt and of Syria. *EI*¹, s.v. (A. Grohmann); Kindī, *Wulāh*, 97–101; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 18–19; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 100–1; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 264–65; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 26, 28. Balog, "Pious Invocations," 63–65, notes the use of specific formulas associated with his name to be found on early Egyptian glass.

The Events of the Year [92]

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(June 27, 754–June 15, 755)

Among the events of this year were the arrival of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr from Mecca and his encampment at al-Ḥīrah.[37] He found that ʿĪsā b. Mūsā had already left for al-Anbār, having appointed Ṭalḥah b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath[38] to take his place in al-Kūfah. Abū Jaʿfar entered al-Kūfah and led its people in the Friday prayer.[39] He preached to them and told them that he would be

37. Al-Ḥīrah was a town just south of al-Kūfah that served as capital of the pre-Islamic Lakhmid domain. *EI*[1], s.v. (F. Buhl); *EI*[2], s.v. (A. F. L. Beeston and I. Shahid); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 29; Le Strange, *Lands*, 75; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 328–31; Lassner, *Shaping*, 143–51. On the signification of this toponym, see Lammens, "La «bādia» et la «ḥīra» sous les Omayyades: Le problème de Mśattā," in his *Études*, 325–50.

38. Ṭalḥah b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Kindī was the son of an Umayyad general and one of several descendants of Ashʿath b. Qays al-Kindī, who played a "modest role in the local politics of Kufa." More lasting prestige has accrued to their ninth-century kinsman, the philosopher Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī. Crone, *Slaves*, 111; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 313; Bligh-Abramski, "Evolution versus Revolution," 232.

39. The Friday *ṣalāt* is an occasion of mandated communal worship. Its leadership constituted one of the symbolic acts by which caliphal legitimacy was recognized in the early Islamic period. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, II, 70–73.

leaving them.[40] Abū Muslim appeared before him in al-Ḥīrah. Then Abū Jaʿfar left for al-Anbār and took up residence there, collecting his men about him.[41]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—al-Walīd—his father: ʿĪsā b. Mūsā had put a guard on the treasuries, storehouses, and government offices by the time Abū Jaʿfar reached him at al-Anbār. The people gave the oath of allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar as caliph, then to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā as his successor. Then ʿĪsā b. Mūsā turned over authority to Abū Jaʿfar. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā had already sent Abū Ghassān, whose name was Yazīd b. Ziyād and who was the chamberlain of Abū al-ʿAbbās, to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī to receive his oath of allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar. That was done by order of Abū al-ʿAbbās, who before he died had commanded the people to give the oath of allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar after him [i.e., as his successor].

Abū Ghassān reached ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī at the entrance to the mountain passes when the latter was starting out on his campaign against the Byzantines. He was encamped at a place called Dulūk at the time when Abū Ghassān came to him with news of Abū al-ʿAbbās's death. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī ordered a herald to announce a general gathering for the ritual prayer. The army commanders and troops gathered around him, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī read to them the death announcement for Abū al-ʿAbbās, but then called upon the people to support his own claim to the caliphate.[42] He told them that, at the time when Abū al-ʿAbbās wanted to send forces against Marwān b. Muḥammad,[43] he had
[93] summoned his paternal brothers and urged them to move out against Marwān b. Muḥammad. He had said, "Whoever of you rises up and proceeds against him will be my heir apparent."[44]

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40. Abū Jaʿfar's action echoes that of Abū al-ʿAbbās, who less than five years earlier also gave his coronation speech from the *minbar* in al-Kūfah. Ṭabarī, III, 29–30.

41. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭarafa*.

42. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 216–17; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 375; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 437–38; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 159, 163; Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, 373–74.

43. Marwān II, known as Marwān the Onager, or Wild Ass (*al-ḥimār*), or Marwān the Tight-fisted (*al-jaʿdī*), was the Umayyad caliph whose defeat ushered in the ʿAbbāsid era. *EI*[1], s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 74–77.

44. When presented in the account of the battle at the river Zāb, the dialogue between Abū al-ʿAbbās and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī does not include this promise. Ṭabarī, III, 38. On the institution of *walī al-ʿahd*, see Kennedy, "Succession Disputes," 29–30.

[ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī continued,] "No one but me declared for him. It was thus that I left Abū al-ʿAbbās and killed those whom I killed."

Abū Ghānim al-Ṭāʾī[45] and Khufāf[46] al-Marwarrūdhī[47] stood up with a number of the Khurāsānī commanders and testified to the truth of what ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had said. Therefore Abū Ghānim, Khufāf, Abū al-Aṣbagh, and all of the army commanders who were present rendered the oath of allegiance to him. Among them were Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah,[48] Khufāf al-Jurjānī, Ḥayyāsh b. Ḥabīb,[49] Mukhāriq b. Ghifār,[50] and Turārkhudā,[51] as well as others from Khurāsān, Syria, and the Jazīrah.

At this point ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was encamped at Tall Muḥammad.[52] When he had finished receiving the oath of allegiance, he set out to make camp at Ḥarrān, where Muqātil al-ʿAkkī,[53] whom Abū Jaʿfar had appointed as his deputy when he

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45. Abū Ghānim ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Ribʿī al-Ṭāʾī, one of the seventy *duʿāt* (sing. *dāʿī*, the chief proselytes of the ʿAbbāsid movement), served under Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb, fought in the battle of the Zāb, and numbered among those who swore allegiance to Abū al-ʿAbbās in the council that proclaimed him caliph. Ṭabarī, II, 2001, III, 15, 28; *EI*², s.v. Dāʿī (M. G. S. Hodgson); *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 221; Crone, *Slaves*, 174–75. Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 163, records him as Abū Ghānim al-Kindī.

46. Khufāf b. Manṣūr al-Jurjānī, whose attempt to organize an attack against the caliph is recounted in Ṭabarī, III, 127, is listed only as Khufāf in *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 217.

47. Marw al-Rūdh is a city in Khurāsān known to the classical geographers as "upper Marw" or "little Marw." *EI*², s.v. (C. E. Bosworth); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 112; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 152; Le Strange, *Lands*, 404–5.

48. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb al-Ṭāʾī (d. 159/775–76) was a son of the prominent revolutionary general Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb (*EI*², s.v. Ḳaḥṭaba b. Shabīb [M. Sharon]). Under al-Manṣūr he was governor of the Jazīrah, of Egypt, and of Khurāsān. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIII, 199; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 110–11. For use of the formula *aṣlaḥahu allāh* in association with him, see Balog, "Pious Invocations," 64.

49. See Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVI, for a citation from Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf* as Jannāsh and Ḥabbāsh. At the battle of the Zāb he was charged with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's police force (*shurṭah*). Ṭabarī, III, 38.

50. Presumably a genealogical affiliation with the Banū Ghifār (Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 42, II, 275), but textual variants include al-ʿIqān and al-ʿAffār. For the incident in which Mukhāriq tricked the Umayyad caliph Marwān II, see Ṭabarī, III, 39–40.

51. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 330.

52. A *tall* is a hill or mound. There is no mention of this site in the standard geographical sources.

53. Muqātil b. Ḥakīm al-ʿAkkī is listed by some sources as one of the alternates (*nuẓarāʾ al-nuqabāʾ*) to the twelve chiefs (*nuqabāʾ*, sing. *naqīb*) who were selected to direct the ʿAbbāsid movement. He fought for the ʿAbbāsid cause under

went out to meet Abū al-ʿAbbās, was in residence. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī urged Muqātil to offer him the oath of allegiance as caliph. Muqātil, however, refused to oblige him and fortified himself against ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī. The latter took action against him, besieging Muqātil until he had forced him to leave his stronghold. Then he killed him.[54]

Abū Jaʿfar then sent Abū Muslim to fight ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī.[55] When word of Abū Muslim's approach reached ʿAbdallāh, he decided to halt at Ḥarrān. Abū Jaʿfar had said to Abū Muslim, "Either you or I must go [and deal with it]," so Abū Muslim marched toward ʿAbdallāh at Ḥarrān.[56] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had already gathered troops and weapons to himself, had dug trenches and collected food, fodder, and whatever else he would need. Abū Muslim thus left al-Anbār in company with every last one of the army commanders, and dispatched Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzāʾī[57] to lead his vanguard. With him were al-Ḥasan[58] and

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Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb and in 136 was appointed Abū Jaʿfar's deputy when the latter served as governor of the Jazīrah. Ṭabarī, III, 4–5, 87; *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 220; Crone, *Slaves*, 185–86. Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 438, gives Mūsā b. Kaʿb as governor of Ḥarrān at the time of ʿAbdallāh's arrival. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, I, 46, cites Muqātil's death at the hand of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī in connection with that of one of the *duʿāt*, Abū ʿAmmārah Muḥammad b. Ṣūl.

54. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 217, mentions the seige but not the murder of Muqātil.

55. For the encounter between ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and Abū Muslim, see *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 217–19; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 441; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 375; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 438–9; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 103; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 164; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 117–18; Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, 374–75.

56. Cahen, "Points de vue," 332, suggests that Abū Muslim's willingness to accept this commission from the caliph, despite the latter's growing animosity, may lie in their having "quelques secrets de trop en commun."

57. Abū Naṣr Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzāʾī was a leading figure in the ʿAbbāsid revolution, head of Abū Muslim's security forces, and one of his trusted advisers. Although Abū Jaʿfar chastised him for his association with Abū Muslim (Ṭabarī, III, 117), five years later he appointed Mālik governor of al-Mawṣil. Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 177–78; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 115–16; Crone, *Slaves*, 181; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 192.

58. Al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb al-Ṭāʾī (d. 181/797), brother of al-Ḥumayd (see note 48) and eventually governor of Armenia, occupied al-Kūfah in the early months of 132, clearing the way for the proclamation there of Abū al-ʿAbbās as caliph on 12 Rabīʿ II (or Rabīʿ I). Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XII, 208 (where he is identified as one of the important generals during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd); Ṭabarī, III, 23; Caetania, *Cronografia generale*, 112; Crone, *Slaves*, 188; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 354.

Ḥumayd, the sons of Qaḥṭabah.[59] Ḥumayd had already withdrawn his allegiance from ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, so ʿAbdallāh wanted [94]
to kill him. Abū Isḥāq[60] and his brother and Abū Ḥumayd[61] and his brother, as well as a contingent of the Khurāsānī troops, joined him in this campaign. At the time that he left the province, Abū Muslim had appointed Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm[62] as his deputy in Khurāsān.

Al-Haytham said: ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's siege of Muqātil al-ʿAkkī lasted forty nights [and forty days]. When news of Abū Muslim's approach reached ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, he, not having yet defeated Muqātil and fearing that Abū Muslim would attack him, offered al-ʿAkkī a pledge of safe-conduct (*amān*).[63] Muqātil at the head of his confederates came out to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's camp and stayed there for a few days. Then ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī sent Muqātil, together with his two sons, to ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Surāqah al-Azdī[64] at al-Raqqah.[65] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī wrote a letter to ʿUthmān

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59. Abū ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb b. Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Ṭāʾī (d. 132/749), one of the twelve chiefs (*nuqabāʾ*) of the ʿAbbāsid revolution, died in the final days of battle before the occupation of al-Kūfah. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 216; *EI*², s.v. (M. Sharon); Crone, *Slaves*, 188; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 191. Shacklady explores his father's connections with the ʿAbbāsid family in "ʿAbbāsid Movement in Khurāsan," 103–4.

60. Abū Isḥāq Khālid b. ʿUthmān al-Mikhrāsh was from the Khurāsānī village of al-Mākhwān, a site that Abū Muslim used as a fortified encampment during the period of revolt. As commander of the guard (*ḥaras*), Abū Isḥāq served as a member of the military government Abū Muslim established before the occupation of Marw in 130. Ṭabarī, II, 1967, 1989.

61. Abū Ḥumayd al-Marwarrūdhī was an officer who served under Qaḥṭabah during the ʿAbbāsid revolt. In 132 he was appointed governor of Manbij in the Jazīrah by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī during the latter's pursuit of Marwān II. Ṭabarī, II, 2001; III, 47; Crone, *Slaves*, 175.

62. Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm, a *naqīb* from the Banū ʿAmr b. Shaybān, became governor of Khurāsān after Abū Muslim's death. The peculiar circumstances of his death are related in the chapter on year 140. Ṭabari, II, 1988; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 104–5; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 72; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 47.

63. For *amān*, see *EI*² s.v. (J. Schacht). For the symbolic use of four, forty, four hundred, etc., to express notions of magnitude or perfection, see L. Conrad, "Abraha and Muḥammad"; Rescher, "Einige nachträgliche Bemerkungen."

64. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, a general under Marwān II, in 132 led a rebellion against ʿAbdāllah b. ʿAlī in Damascus. Ṭabari, III, 53; Ṣafadī, *Umarāʾ Dimashq*, 76; Crone, *Slaves*, 129. Compare this passage with Yaqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 439, and Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 164, where there is no mention of the murder of Muqātil.

65. Al-Raqqah, "the Marshland," was the principal town of the Diyār Muḍar district in the Jazīrah. It lay on the left bank of the Euphrates about 100 kilometers

and handed it to al-ʿAkkī. After the party reached ʿUthmān, he killed al-ʿAkkī and imprisoned his two sons. When he [later] heard about the defeat of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and the Syrians at Naṣībīn,[66] ʿUthmān took Muqātil's two sons from prison and beheaded them.

Fearing that the Khurāsānī forces would not remain faithful to him, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had about 17,000[67] of them killed by way of an order to his prefect of police. He dispatched Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah to Aleppo,[68] which at that time was governed by Zufar b. ʿĀṣim,[69] with a letter that he had written about him. The letter read, "When Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah reaches you, behead him."[70] Partway through the journey Ḥumayd began to think about the letter he carried. Saying to himself, "My carrying a letter and not knowing what is in it is a dangerous business," he undid the scroll and read it. When he saw what was in the letter, he summoned some of his close comrades and told them the situation, revealing to them his predicament and seeking their counsel. He said, "Any of you who want to make for safe ground and get out of here should come with me; I am going to head for Iraq." He told them [again] what ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had written about him and said to them, "Anyone who cannot bring himself to make the trip
[95] should not on any account reveal my secret purpose but may go wherever he wishes."

Al-Haytham continued: Some of his men decided to stay with Ḥumayd in his flight. Ḥumayd commanded his horses to be shod,

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south of Ḥarrān. *EI*[1], s.v. [E. Honigmann]; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 22; Le Strange, *Lands*, 101–2; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 58–60.

66. Naṣībīn was an ancient city (classical Nisibis) lying on the river Hirmās in the Diyār Rabīʿah district of the Jazīrah. This is where ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was defeated by Abū Muslim's forces. Ṭabarī, III, 95–8; *EI*[1], s.v. [E. Honigmann]; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 21; Le Strange, *Lands*, 94–95; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 288–89.

67. This figure is repeated in *EI*[2], s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī [K. V. Zetterstéen and S. Moscati], and Tuqan, "ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī," 20, but questioned by Lassner, *Shaping*, 258, no. 30.

68. Ḥalab was the principal city of northern Syria. *EI*[2], s.v. [J. Sauvaget]; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 282–90.

69. Zufar b. ʿĀṣim al-Hilālī, although involved in ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's revolt, was later al-Manṣūr's appointed governor of Medina and then of the Jazīrah. Crone, *Slaves*, 166; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24, 36; Kenney, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 70 n. 13.

70. The treacherous letter is a familiar topos in Arabic literature. A prominent early example is the letter said to have been given to the Jāhilī poet Ṭarafah b. ʿAbd al-Bakrī by the king of al-Ḥīrah, ʿAmr b. Hind. *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭarafa [F. Krenkow].

and his companions did the same for their own mounts as they prepared themselves to go with him. He then took off with them into the desert, shunning the beaten path[71] and heading for al-Ruṣāfah, i.e., al-Ruṣāfah of [the Umayyad caliph] Hishām in Syria.[72] There lived in al-Ruṣāfah at that time a *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī named Saʿīd al-Barbarī. When he heard that Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah had set himself in opposition to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and taken to the desert, he set off in search of him with the cavalry under his command. Somewhere on the road Saʿīd overtook Ḥumayd. When Ḥumayd caught sight of him, he doubled back his horse to meet Saʿīd and said to him, "Look here! Surely you know who I am! In God's name, what good would it do you to fight me? Go back! Do not massacre my comrades and yours. That's your best course." When Saʿīd heard Ḥumayd hold forth, he recognized the truth of what he had said to him. Thereupon he returned to his place at al-Ruṣāfah, and Ḥumayd and his men continued on. The commander of his guard, Mūsā b. Maymūn, said to Ḥumayd, "I have a slave girl in al-Ruṣāfah. If you are of a mind to permit me, I shall go there and charge her with various commissions. Then I will catch up with you." Ḥumayd gave him permission, and Mūsā went and stayed with her. He then left al-Ruṣāfah to return to Ḥumayd, but Saʿīd al-Barbarī, the *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, happened upon Mūsā, seized him, and killed him.

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī marched forward until he encamped at Naṣībīn and dug a trench to thwart his opponent. Abū Muslim, too, drew near. Abū Jaʿfar wrote to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah, who was his deputy in Armenia,[73] to join forces with Abū Muslim. Al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah reached Abū Muslim when the latter was at al-Mawṣil. Abū Muslim, however, moved forward, stopping by himself and paying him no attention, then taking the road to Syria. Abū Muslim wrote to ʿAbdallāh, "I have not been ordered

71. *Bahraja al-ṭarīq*; see Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *bahraja*.

72. Al-Ruṣāfah was a desert city some forty kilometers southwest of al-Raqqah that had been the residence of the tenth Umayyad caliph, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105–25/724–43). s.v. (E. Honigmann) *EI*[1]; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 11; Le Strange, *Lands*, 106; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 47–48.

73. Armenia was a mountainous West Asian region under Muslim hegemony from which the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates derive. *EI*[2], s.v. Armīniya (M. Canard).

to fight you or sent to do so. The Commander of the Faithful has, however, put me in charge of Syria, and I simply intend to proceed thither." The Syrians who accompanied ʿAbdallāh said to him, "How can we stay with you when this man is coming to our homeland, where dwell our womenfolk, to kill those of our men whom he can and to take our children captive! We must leave for our own country, so that we can keep him away from our women and children and can fight him if he fights us." ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī said to them, "I swear, he is not making for Syria; the only reason he has been sent is to fight you. If you stay here, then he will surely come to you." The Syrian troops, however, were not persuaded and refused to do anything but strike out for Syria.

Abū Muslim moved forward and set up camp near them, just as ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī set out with his troops heading for Syria. Abū Muslim moved on to occupy ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's encampment in his stead and spoil the surrounding water sources by throwing decaying carcasses into them.[74]

News of Abū Muslim's stop at his encampment reached ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, who said to his Syrian confederates, "Did I not tell you!" So he moved back again but discovered that Abū Muslim had already forestalled him in his own encampment. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī therefore occupied the camp position that Abū Muslim had just vacated. They engaged each other for five or six months. The Syrians had more cavalry and were better equipped, having Bakkār b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī[75] on ʿAbdallāh's right flank, Ḥabīb b. Suwayd al-Asadī on his left, and ʿAbd al-Samad b. ʿAlī[76] leading the cavalry. On Abu Muslim's right flank was al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah, while on the left was Abū Naṣr Khāzim b. Khuzaymah.[77] They fought each other for several months.

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74. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 477 n. 1, offers *radama al-ʿuyūn*, i.e., "fill up the wells," as an equivalent of *ʿawwara al-miyāh*.

75. Despite his involvement with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, Abū Jaʿfar named Bakkār b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī governor of Armenia in 152. Crone, *Slaves*, 106; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 178. Bligh-Abramski, "Evolution versus Revolution," 231–32.

76. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī was ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's youngest brother and the only one to support his claim to the caliphate. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 466; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 59–60; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 103.

77. Khāzim b. Khuzaymah al-Tamīmī was an important Khurāsānī general who fought for Abū Jaʿfar against ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, against Mulabbid b. Ḥarmalah in the Jazīrah, ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Azdī in Khurāsān, the Ispahbādh of Ṭabaristān and Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh in al-Baṣrah. Crone, *Slaves*, 180; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 354; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 81–82.

According to ʿAlī—Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī:[78] I was in Abū Muslim's camp when one day those present were talking and the question of what people are strongest was raised. Abū Muslim said, "Speak up so that I may hear." One man said that it was the Khurāsānīs, while another said it was the Syrians. Abū Muslim said, "Every group is strongest in its own turn (*dawlah*)."[79] We met in combat, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's forces attacked us, sweeping us from our positions with the blow they struck and then retiring. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad assaulted us with cavalry alone and killed [97] eighteen of our men, only to draw back with his troops. Then they all assembled and flung themselves upon us, scattering our ranks so that we moved around in disorder. I said to Abū Muslim, "What if I were to prod my mount up to the top of that hill so I could shout to the troops, for they are in flight?" Abū Muslim told me to do so. I said, "You, too, could spur your horse." "Shrewd people would never turn their horses aside in such a way," Abū Muslim retorted, "but, by all means, call out: 'O men of Khurāsān, come back; surely the outcome favors the one who is on his guard.' "[80] I did so, and the troops came back. On that day Abū Muslim declaimed in *rajaz* meter this line:

The one who deserts his comrades and does not return
runs away from dying but into death will fall.

A shelter had been made for Abū Msulim in which he would sit when the troops engaged each other in order to watch the battle.[81] If he saw a gap on the right or the left flank, he would send word to its commander, saying, "There is disorder in your

78. Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī was a governor of al-Mawṣil for Marwān II but eventually switched his allegiance to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī. In 151 Abū Jaʿfar appointed him governor of Sind. Hishām's refusal to recognize and admit Marwān II after his defeat by the ʿAbbāsids is recounted by Ṭabarī, III, 47, and Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 133. Zambaur, *Manuel*, 279 (for Sind; he does not list him among the governors of al-Mawṣil); Crone, *Slaves*, 167–68.

79. For the use of *dawlah* to denote "the motion of history and changes of political fortune," see Sharon, *Black Banners*, 19–27. Similarly, Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, 185, defines the term as "the divinely granted turn in power."

80. Cf. Qurʾān 7:128, "the outcome is to the godfearing (*wa-al-ʿāqibah lil-muttaqīn*)."

81. In Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 387, Abū Muslim watches "the thick of the fight (*al-ḥawmah*)."

sector. Watch out lest your sector be the point where they break through our line![82] Do thus and so; advance your cavalry here, or move it back there to such and such a place." His runners carried his counsel back and forth to the commanders at such a pace that they were at each other's heels.

Hishām said: On Tuesday or Wednesday, the 7th of Jumādā II in the year 136 or 137, the armies came together and fought fiercely.[83] When Abū Muslim saw what was happening, he tricked the Syrians. He sent word to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah, commander of the right flank, "Strip the right flank; combine most of it with the left, but let your elite defense forces and bravest fighters stay on the right." When the Syrians saw that maneuver, they stripped their left flank, joining its forces to their right flank, which stood face-to-face with the left flank of Abū Muslim. Abū Muslim then
[98] sent word to al-Ḥasan, "Order the center forces, together with those who remain on the right flank, to attack the left flank of the Syrians." The Khurāsānīs did so and shattered the Syrian left flank, leaving the Syrian central and right flanks in disarray.

The Khurāsānīs bore down upon the Syrians with such force that it was a complete rout.[84] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī said to Ibn Surāqah al-Azdī, who was with him, "Well what do you think, Ibn Surāqah?" He answered, "By God, I think that you must stand fast and fight to the death. To flee would be abhorrent to one such as you. Earlier you denounced Marwān for it, saying, 'God shame Marwān! He was so fearful of dying that he fled.' " ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī then said, "I will go to Iraq," while Ibn Surāqah replied, "I will be with you." Thus were ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and his close associates put to flight. They abandoned their camp, and Abū Muslim took control of it.[85] He wrote to Abū Jaʿfar to tell

82. Following Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 478, *fa-ittaqi allā nuʾtā min qibalika*. Cf. the Leiden edition, *allā tuʾtā min qibalika*.

83. Thursday, November 28, 137. Wüstenfeld and Mahler, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, 4; Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 106. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 467, who gives both Tuesday and Wednesday of 136, and Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 387, who gives only Wednesday of 137.

84. For the effect of this victory upon the status of the Khurāsānī army, see Sharon, "Military Reforms," 132. According to *Chronicon Anonymum*, 168, the Syrian defeat was marked by a falling star.

85. According to Sourdel, "Syrie," 170, Abū Muslim seized ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's treasure at al-Raqqah and al-Ruṣāfah, not Naṣībīn.

him that. Abū Jaʿfar sent Abū al-Khaṣīb,[86] his *mawlā*, to calculate what they had acquired with the camp of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī.[87] This made Abū Muslim furious.

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī proceeded on their way. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad got to al-Kūfah, where ʿĪsā b. Mūsā requested a guarantee of safe-conduct for him, which Abū Jaʿfar ratified. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī went to Sulaymān b. ʿAlī in al-Baṣrah and stayed with him. Abū Muslim granted a general amnesty to the Syrian army without killing anyone and commanded that they be left alone.

Another source states that it was Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī[88] who requested indemnity for ʿAbd al-Ṣamad. One report is that, when ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was defeated, he and his brother ʿAbd al-Ṣamad fled to al-Ruṣāfah of Hishām. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad stayed there until the cavalry of al-Manṣūr, under the command of Jahwar b. Marrār al-ʿIjlī,[89] reached him. He seized ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and sent him, bound, to al-Manṣūr in the custody of Abū al-Khaṣīb, the caliph's *mawlā*. When ʿAbd al-Ṣamad came before al-Manṣūr, the caliph ordered him to be turned over to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. ʿĪsā, however, granted him indemnity and released him. He treated him most generously, presenting him with gifts and fine clothes. ʿAbdallāh

86. Abū al-Khaṣīb Marzūq was a chamberlain (*ḥajīb*) for Abū Jaʿfar and his appointee as governor of Ṭabaristān. Ṭabarī, III, 112; Crone, *Slaves*, 190; Rabino di Borgomale, "Préfets du Calīfat," 247–48.

87. Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 439, mentions as auditors, in addition to Abū al-Khaṣīb, the names of Isḥāq b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī, Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā, and Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Naṣībī al-Taghlibī. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 219, and Azdī's *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 164, mention Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā.

88. Abū al-Ḥasan Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 147/764), another brother of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and thus also a paternal uncle to Abū al-ʿAbbās and Abū Jaʿfar, was appointed governor of al-Mawṣil in 133 and charged with responsibility for the Pilgrimage season in 137. Ṭabarī, III, 73, 75, 121. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, IX, 156, refers to him as governor of al-Baṣrah, perhaps drawing upon Ṭabarī's mention in the events of the year 143. While Abū al-Ḥasan was governor of Wāsiṭ, al-Manṣūr convinced him to change his allegiance from ʿĪsā b. Mūsā as caliph-designate to al-Manṣūr's son, Muḥammad al-Mahdī. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 256.

89. Jahwar b. Marrār al-ʿIjlī, from an Arab tribe to which Abū Muslim is thought to have been attached as a slave, served as Abū Jaʿfar's chief of police during the battle for Wāsiṭ in 132 but is most noted for his campaign against Sunbadh, which will be detailed in the closing pages of this chapter. Ṭabarī, III, 64–65; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 64; *EI*², s.v. Abū Muslim (S. Moscati) and s.v. ʿIdj̱l (W. Montgomery Watt).

b. ʿAlī, however, stayed but one night in al-Ruṣāfah. At nightfall
[99] on the following day he set off with his officers and *mawlās* to go to Sulaymān b. ʿAlī in al-Baṣrah. At that time Sulaymān was the governor of al-Baṣrah. He gave lodging to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and his confederates and treated them generously.[90] They stayed with him in hiding for a while.[91]

In this year Abū Muslim was killed.

An Account of Abū Muslim's Murder and the Reason for It

According to Aḥmad b. Zuhayr[92]—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Salamah b. Muḥārib,[93] also Muslim b. al-Mughīrah,[94] Saʿīd b. Aws,[95] Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī,[96] al-Nuʿmān Abū al-Sarī,[97] Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm,[98]

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90. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's eventual arrest and detention are detailed under the year 139.

91. For other accounts, see *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 219; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 441; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 439; and Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 137.

92. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythamah Zuhayr b. Ḥarb al-Nasāʾī (d. 279/892), one of al-Ṭabarī's teachers, was a traditionist (*muḥaddith*), historian, and jurist, and himself a student of Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VI, 376–77; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, I, 227; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, I, 128; *GAL*, S I, 272; *GAS*, I, 319–20; Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 1134, where his death date is listed as 848–49; Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung," 110.

93. See Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVII, where the name is emended to Maslamah. Maslamah b. Muḥārib b. Salm b. Ziyād (d. between 148/765 and 168/785), a great-grandson of Ziyād b. Abīhi, the noted governor of Iraq under Muʿāwiyah, was a Baṣran historian and source for al-Madāʾinī whom Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya*, 92, 128, lists as "pro-Umayyad." Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung," 117.

94. In Ṭabarī his reports are always transmitted through Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī.

95. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī Saʿīd b. Aws b. Thābit (d. 215/830–31) was a Baṣran historian, grammarian, and littérateur. His grandfather, Abū Zayd Thābit b. Zayd b. al-Nuʿmān, was one of those charged with the collection of the Qurʾān during the lifetime of the Prophet. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 200–2; Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, I, 62; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IX, 494–96; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 378–80; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 4–5; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 504 (listed with the historians in al-Sakhāwī's *Iʿlān*).

96. He has previously, in Ṭabarī, II, 1996, and III, 24, served as a source for information about Abū Muslim, and later, in Ṭabarī, III, 102, appears as a guard for the treasure that Abū Muslim captured from ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī.

97. Cited by Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung", 130, as al-Nuʿmān Abū Sarī al-Marwadhī al-Khurāsānī.

98. Abū al-Qāsim Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm al-Jūbānī was one of the ʿAbbāsid *duʿāt* from Marw. Ṭabarī, III, 1955; *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 218.

and others: In the year 136 Abū Muslim wrote to Abū al-ʿAbbās, asking his permission to perform the Pilgrimage. As he was simply intending to perform the prayer ritual with the people, Abū al-ʿAbbās granted his request. Subsequently, Abū al-ʿAbbās wrote to Abū Jaʿfar, who was then governor of the Jazīrah, Armenia, and Ādharbayjān:[99] "Abū Muslim has written to me seeking my permission to make the Pilgrimage. I have given him my consent, but the thought has occurred to me that when he arrives he may ask me to appoint him the leader of the Pilgrimage. Write to me and ask my permission to perform the Pilgrimage, because when you are in Mecca he could not expect to take precedence over you." Accordingly, Abū Jaʿfar wrote to Abū al-ʿAbbās, seeking his consent to perform the Pilgrimage, which the latter granted, and Abū Jaʿfar went to al-Anbār. At this Abū Muslim came before the caliph and said, "Could Abū Jaʿfar find no other year to make the Pilgrimage than this one?" and he carried a grudge against Abū Jaʿfar in his heart.

According to ʿAlī—Muslim b. al-Mughīrah: In this year Abū Jaʿfar appointed al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah as his deputy in Armenia. (Another source said that he installed his foster brother Yaḥyā b. Muslim b. ʿUrwah,[100] who was a black *mawlā* of the ʿAbbāsids.) Abū Jaʿfar and Abū Muslim left for Mecca, but wherever he stopped, Abū Muslim would fill the needs of supplicants,[101] giving garments to the desert Arabs and bestowing largesse upon whoever petitioned him. He outfitted them with head wraps (*butūt*) and cloaks (*malāḥif*);[102] he dug wells and leveled road surfaces. He became celebrated, with the desert Arabs exclaim- [100]
ing, "This man has been lied about!" Eventually he reached Mecca and, upon seeing the Yemenite[103] forces there, Abū Muslim

99. Ādharbayjān was a mountainous northern province bordering the Caspian Sea that currently lies substantially in Iran. *EI*², s.v. (V. Minorsky); Le Strange, *Lands*, 159–71.

100. According to Goitein, *Studies*, 180, Yaḥyā and Abū Jaʿfar had been suckled by the same woman, thus creating a "milk relationship" between them. See also his "Origin of the Vizierate."

101. Translation follows the Leiden variant reading, *al-ʿufāt*.

102. A *batt* is a head wrapping made of coarse cloth, while a *milḥafah* is a rough bedouin cloak. Dozy, *Vêtements*, 54, 401; *EI*², s.v. Libās (Y. K. Stillman et al.)

103. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 468. The Yemen was a province in the southwestern segment of the Arabian peninsula with coastlines along both the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. *EI*¹, s.v. al-Yaman (A. Grohmann). For an analysis of the

slapped his thigh and exclaimed to Nayzak,[104] "O Nayzak, what an army this could be were a sharp-tongued man—but one quick to tears[105]—to take them in hand!"

To return to the account of the primary authorities: When the people emerged from the observance of the Pilgrimage, Abū Muslim hurried off ahead of Abū Jaʿfar. When word of Abū al-ʿAbbās's death and Abū Jaʿfar's appointment as his successor reached him, Abū Muslim wrote to Abū Jaʿfar, condoling with him for the death of the Commander of the Faithful but not congratulating him on his becoming caliph. He neither stayed put so that Abū Jaʿfar could catch up with him nor did he go back. Enraged, Abū Jaʿfar said to Abū Ayyūb,[106] "Write Abū Muslim a harsh letter." When Abū Muslim received Abū Jaʿfar's letter, he responded with congratulations on his accession to the caliphate. Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī[107] said to Abū Jaʿfar, "I dislike the thought that you might join up with Abū Muslim on the way. The people are his men, completely obedient to him, and they hold him in the highest awe, while no one is aligned with you." Abū Jaʿfar took Yazīd's advice and lagged behind while Abū Muslim went ahead. Abū Jaʿfar then commanded his forces to advance and gather all together. Their weapons were collected [i.e., for a tally], but there were only six coats of mail in his whole force. Abū Muslim went on to al-Anbār and invited ʿĪsā b. Mūsā

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religious and messianic connotations of "yamānī," see Bashear, "Yemen in Early Islam."

104. Persian for "javelin" or "spear." Ṭabarī, *Indices*, lists him simply as one of Abū Muslim's army commanders. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 221 n. *a*, cites him as a leader (*ṣāḥib*) in Rayy, while Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 61, 64, identifies him as "a leading eastern Iranian noble" and one of Abū Muslim's closest advisers. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 229, offers a *kunyah* of Abū Naṣr.

105. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 468, for *ghazīr al-damʿah*.

106. Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Abī Sulaymān Makhlad al-Mūriyānī al-Khūzī (d. 154/770–71) was secretary-vizier under al-Manṣūr after Khālid b. Barmak. He fell out of favor for various misdeeds and died in prison. Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 78–87; Goitein, *Studies*, 175–77; *EI*², s.v. al-Mūriyānī (C. E. Bosworth); Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 97–102; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 410–14; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 375–76; Goitein, "Origin of the Vizierate," 260–62.

107. Yazīd b. Usayd b. Zāfir al-Sulamī served as governor of Armenia, of al-Mawṣil, and of the Jazīrah. Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 217; *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 265; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 178. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, 322, notes the spelling of his name as "Usayd," but Crone, *Slaves*, 165, refers to him as Yazīd b. Asīd.

so that he might render his oath of allegiance to him, but ʿĪsā refused.[108] Abū Jaʿfar arrived and encamped at al-Kūfah, where he learned that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had renounced his fealty. He returned therefore to al-Anbār, summoned Abū Muslim, commissioned him, and said, "Set out for Ibn ʿAlī." Abū Muslim, however, responded, "Arrest ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[109] and Ṣāliḥ b. al-Haytham,[110] for they have been denouncing me." Abū Jaʿfar retorted, "ʿAbd al-Jabbār commands my police units, the same responsibility he had formerly discharged for Abū al- [101]
ʿAbbās. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Haytham is the Commander of the Faithful's [i.e., Abū al-ʿAbbās] foster brother. I am not about to arrest them merely because of your suspicion of them." Abū Muslim then said, "I see that those two have greater favor with you than I." Abū Jaʿfar became angry, so Abū Muslim apologized, saying, "I didn't mean all this."

According to ʿAlī—Muslim b. al-Mughīrah: I was with al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah in Armenia. When Abū Muslim was dispatched to Syria, Abū Jaʿfar wrote to al-Ḥasan that he should join Abū Muslim and march with him. We reached Abū Muslim at al-Mawṣil, where he stayed for a few days. When Abū Muslim was about to move on, I said to al-Ḥasan, "You and your forces are moving into battle;[111] you have no need of me. What if you were to allow me to go on to Iraq and stay there until, God willing, you turn up?" Al-Ḥasan said, "All right, but inform me when you are about to leave," to which I agreed. When I had finished my preparations, I informed him and said, "I have come to bid you farewell." Al-Ḥasan replied, "Wait for me by the gate until I come out to you." I went out and stopped there until he came out and said,

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108. This translation follows Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVII, which corrects the text's *fa-atā* to *fa-abā*. See Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 167, 175; Moscati, "Abū Muslim. III," 94.

109. ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī was an ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī* and revolutionary general who served as head of the *shurṭah* for al-Saffāḥ and al-Mansūr. The latter named him governor of Khurāsān in 140/757–58. For the caliph's treatment of his defection, see under the year 141 below. Ṭabarī, III, 76, 100; *EI*², s.v. [S. Moscati]; Crone, *Slaves*, 173.

110. Abū Ghassān Ṣāliḥ b. al-Haytham was a *mawlā* of Abū al-ʿAbbās and, according to *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 215, his chamberlain. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*; Crone, *Slaves*, 194. Ṭabarī, II, 840, gives him as the *mawlā* of Rayṭah bt. Abī al-ʿAbbās, the caliph's niece.

111. See Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVII.

"I want to pass something on to you so that you can report it to Abū Ayyūb. Were it not for my confidence in you, again I would not give you this information. Moreover, were it not for your standing with Abū Ayyūb, I would not tell you this. Inform Abū Ayyūb that, since my arrival here, I have developed grave doubts about Abū Muslim. When he receives a letter from the Commander of the Faithful and reads it, he turns down the corner of his mouth and tosses the letter to Abū Naṣr.[112] The latter reads it, and the two of them laugh derisively." I said, "Yes, I understand." Subsequently I met with Abū Ayyūb, thinking that I had brought him news of some consequence. He just laughed and said, "We are more suspicious of Abū Muslim than of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, but we place our hope in one thing. We know that the Khurāsānī troops do not like ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī because he killed some of them." (At the time when he renounced his fealty, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī feared the Khurāsānīs. Thus he killed 17,000 of them by an
[102] order to his prefect of police, Ḥayyāsh b. Ḥabīb.)

According to ʿAlī—Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī: Abū Muslim fought ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, put him to flight, and gathered up everything he had in his camp into an enclosed compound. Abū Muslim acquired various assets, household goods, and many jewels, all of it scattered at random in this confine. He put one of his commanders in charge of the compound and its safekeeping. I was in this man's unit, and he set us to guard it in shifts.[113] When anyone left the enclosure, he would search him. One day some of my colleagues came out of the compound, but I stayed behind. The commander asked them, "What's Abū Ḥafṣ doing?" They responded that he was in the enclosure. He then came and looked over the gate. I sensed his presence and slipped off my shoes while he was looking. I then shook out my shoes, and, while he was still looking, I shook out my trousers (*sarāwīl*) and sleeves. As he continued to watch, I put on my shoes [again]. Then he went to sit down in his [usual] seat, and I came out. He asked me what had kept me, but I told him that everything was all right, so he left me alone but said, "I saw what you did, but why did you do it?" I answered, "Pearls and dirham coins are scattered in the compound, and we were slipping and sliding all over them. I was afraid that

112. Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzāʿī.
113. *Fa-jaʿalahā nawāʾiba baynanā*; see Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *nāba*.

some of them had gotten into my shoes, so I pulled off my shoes and socks." That pleased him, and he told me to go on my way. So I continued to enter the compound together with the guard, taking some of those dirhams and fine fabrics, and putting some in my shoes and binding some around my middle. My colleagues would go out and be searched, but not me. I kept doing this until I had collected a fair-sized hoard, but I never touched the pearls.

To return to the account of those on whose authority ʿAlī related the story of Abū Muslim in the first place: After ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī had been put to flight, Abū Jaʿfar sent Abū al-Khaṣīb to record for the caliph[114] what Abū Muslim had acquired in the way of booty. Abū Muslim reproached[115] Abū al-Khaṣīb and [103] planned to kill him. But there was intercession on his behalf, and people said, "He's only a messenger; let him go." Accordingly, Abū al-Khaṣīb went back to Abū Jaʿfar. The officers then approached Abū Muslim to say: "We have dealt with the matter of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and pillaged his camp. Why is there interrogation about what's in our hands? The Commander of the Faithful is only entitled to his fifth of the booty."[116] When Abū al-Khaṣīb reached Abū Jaʿfar, he told the caliph that Abū Muslim had intended to kill him. Abū Jaʿfar feared that Abū Muslim would go back to Khurāsān, so via Yaqṭīn[117] he wrote him a letter stating, "I have placed you in charge of Egypt and Syria, which is better for you than Khurāsān. Send to Egypt whomever you like and take up residence in Syria. You will then be close to the Commander of the Faithful. If he wants a meeting with you, you can come to him from nearby." When he received the letter, Abū Muslim became angry and said, "He is appointing me governor of

114. The Leiden editor notes that for the next several pages the Algiers manuscript lacks folios.

115. *Iftarā*; see Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *farā*.

116. The text follows the Qur'ānic orthography with *al-khumus*. Qur'ān, 8:41, is the textual locus for division of the spoils of battle into five parts, four for the combatants and one for the sovereign. For Ṭabarī's exegesis of this verse, see *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, XIII, 545–63.

117. Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā al-Abzārī (d. 186/802) had been one of the leaders of the ʿAbbāsid *duʿāt* in al-Kūfah. For his avoidance of the abortive revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī in 122/740, see *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 231. Azdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 164 n. 4; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 166; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VIII, 207; Dodge, *Fihrist of Ibn Nadīm*, II, 1126 (where the name is given as Yāqṭīn). For his connection with Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, see Elad, "Siege of al-Wāsiṭ," 83 n. 109.

Syria and Egypt, but Khurāsān is mine." He was determined to go back there, so Yaqṭīn wrote to Abū Jaʿfar about that.[118]

Other accounts say that when Abū Muslim seized possession of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's camp, al-Manṣūr sent Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā (whom Abū Muslim was wont to call "Yak Dīn")[119] with the order to calculate what the camp contained. At this, Abū Muslim exclaimed, "O Yaqṭīn, am I [thought] trustworthy in matters of bloodshed but unreliable in matters of property!"[120] He vilified Abū Jaʿfar, which Yaqṭīn reported to him. Abū Muslim had come from the Jazīrah resolved to defy [the caliph's command] and in resistance turned off the route [to al-Anbār], promptly making for Khurāsān. Abū Jaʿfar left al-Anbār for al-Madāʾin[121] and wrote to Abū Muslim to come to him. From his encampment at the river Zāb[122] on the return route by way of Ḥulwān,[123] Abū Muslim wrote:[124]

> For the Commander of the Faithful, may God be gracious to him, there remains no foe of whom God has not given him the better. We would recount the saying of the Sāsānid kings, "Viziers are most fearful when the mob is
> [104] quiet."[125] We shy away from being near you, yet want to fulfill our obligations to you, so long as you reciprocate,

118. *Wa-iʿtazama bi-al-muḍīy*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVII, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿazama*.

119. As a Persian expression, this can mean "one religion" or "one debt," but the significance remains ambiguous.

120. The translation follows Ibn al-Athīr's wording, *Kāmil*, V, 469: *ana amīnun ʿalā dimāʾ*. See also *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 219, and Yaqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 439.

121. Al-Madāʾin, "the cities," including Ctesiphon, Aspānbur, and al-Rūmiyyah (see note 130), lay on both sides of the Tigris about thirty kilometers southeast of Baghdad. *EI*², s.v. (M. Streck and M. Morony); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 74–75; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 30; Le Strange, *Lands*, 33–35.

122. The Zāb was a tributary of the Tigris and site of the decisive ʿAbbāsid battle against Marwān II. *EI*¹, s.v. (E. Honigmann); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 123–24; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 24; Le Strange, *Lands*, 90–91.

123. Ḥulwān lay in the foothills of the Zagros mountains about 180 kilometers northeast of Sāmarrāʾ on the main road to Khurāsān. *EI*², s.v. (L. Lockhart); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 290–93; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 29; Le Strange, *Lands*, 191–92; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 198, 201.

124. See also Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 111.

125. Frye, "ʿAbbāsid Revolt," 29, cites this statement as an indication that Abū Muslim was conversant with Middle Persian literature.

apt to heed and obey, though from afar, where safety is yoked to that obedience. If that satisfies you, I shall be like the finest of your servants, but if you insist that your own will prevail, then I must renounce my pledged loyalty to you in due consideration of myself.

When the letter reached al-Manṣūr, he wrote to Abū Muslim:

> I have understood your letter, but your character is not that of those viziers who connived against their kings, wishing to disturb the bonds of authority because of the multitude of their misdeeds. Their comfort lay only in disruption of the social order. Why do you equate yourself with them when you are as you are, in your obedience, in your faithful counsel, and in your assumption of the burdens of this affair [of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī], which you have borne so well? In the obligation that you are [now] taking upon yourself, however, there is neither heeding nor obeying. The Commander of the Faithful has charged ʿĪsā b. Mūsā with a letter for you, by which you may be reassured, if you pay heed to it. I beg God to intervene between you and Satan with his evil promptings, for he has judged he could find no more certain way by which to corrupt your right intention, or one more accessible to his sorcery (*ṭibb*),[126] than the door that he has opened to you.

Abū Jaʿfar [now] sent to Abū Muslim Jarīr b. Yazīd b. Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī,[127] a man unique among his contemporaries,[128] and he inveigled him into coming back. Abū Muslim used to remark, "By God, I will most certainly be killed in Rūm

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126. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 483 n. 3, offers *siḥr* as a synonym for *ṭibb*, which ordinarily connotes "medicine." The line between medicine and magic is frequently blurred in such classical sources as *ḥadīth* collections, e.g., the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim and that of Bukhārī.

127. In 126 he was appointed Manṣūr b. Jumhūr's deputy governor for al-Baṣrah. Ṭabarī, II, 1837 (where his name is given as Jarīr b. Yazīd b. Yazīd b. Jarīr); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 40; Crone, *Slaves*, 115. Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 376; describes him as "charming and successful."

128. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 179, adds that he was "one of the shrewdest men of his era and a long-time acquaintance of Abū Muslim's."

(Byzantium)." (The astrologers repeatedly predicted that, too.)[129] In fact, he approached while al-Manṣūr was living in pavilions at al-Rūmiyyah.[130] The populace received him, and al-Manṣūr gave him hospitality, according him gracious treatment for several days.

[105] To return to the account of ʿAlī and his previously mentioned authorities: Abū Muslim wrote to Abū Jaʿfar:[131]

> I took as *imām*[132] and guide in what God has enjoined upon His creatures a man who lived in learning's quarter and to the Messenger of God was closely related.[133] However, he thought me ignorant of the Qurʾān and distorted its significations,[134] avid for what little God may relinquish to His creatures,[135] like one enticed by illusion. He commanded me to unsheathe the sword, to excise compassion, to accept no excuse, to overlook no mistake. Thus did I act to reinforce your authority until God made you known to those who had been ignorant of you. Then God rescued me by repentance. If He forgives me, that will be in accordance with His well-known and attributed practice as in former days, but if He punishes me for what

129. For further on this prediction, see ibid., VI, 180; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 153; Moscati, "Abū Muslim. III," 100; Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim*, 54.

130. Al-Rūmiyyah was one of the cities constituting al-Madāʾin (see note 121). Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 100–4; Le Strange, *Lands*, 34–35.

131. For an Italian translation of this letter, see Moscati, "Abū Muslim. III," 97.

132. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 132/749), known as Ibrāhīm al-Imām, was the half-brother of Abū Jaʿfar and patron of Abū Muslim. He succeeded his father, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, as titular head of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement. *EI*², s.v. (F. Omar). While the term *imām* carries the technical signification of leader of the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), it acquired far greater theological import within developed Shīʿī thought.

133. The "Messenger" is the most frequent Qurʾānic title for Muḥammad. Ibrāhīm the Imām's great-great-grandfather was Muḥammad's uncle. For a succint explanation of the ʿAbbāsid claim of *qarābah* with Muḥammad, see Bosworth, "Al-Maqrīzī's Epistle," 44.

134. *Wa-ḥarrafahu ʿan mawāḍiʿihi*, which echoes the Qurʾānic accusation in of 4:46, 5:13, 41. Abū Muslim is here accusing his former *imām* of the charge of scriptural distortion (*taḥrīf*), an accusation that is normally laid against Jews and Christians.

135. *Fī qalīlin qad taʿāfahu allāhu ilā khalqihi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *afā*; Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 2095.

my hands have done, God is not unjust to His servants [i.e., even that would be an instance of God's justice].[136]

Abū Muslim marched out, heading for Khurāsān and feeling hostility and opposition. When he entered Iraqī territory, al-Manṣūr left al-Anbār and moved forward, settling at al-Madāʾin. Thereupon Abū Muslim took the road to Ḥulwān, saying, "There's many a matter for God this side of Ḥulwān!" Abū Jaʿfar told ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī,[137] ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, and those of the Banū Hāshim[138] who accompanied him to write to Abū Muslim. They did so, extolling his accomplishments, thanking him for all he had done, asking him to continue in his course, enjoining him to obedience, and warning him of the punishment for perfidy. They further ordered him to return to the Commander of the Faithful and to seek his good will. Abū Jaʿfar sent the letter with Abū Ḥumayd al-Marwarrūdhī and said to him, "Speak to Abū Muslim with the utmost courtesy you would show anyone. Awaken hope in him, and let him know that I shall exalt his station and treat him as no one else has ever done if he mends his ways and respects my wishes once more. If he refuses to return, then say to him, 'The [106] commander of the Faithful says to you, "I am not of al-ʿAbbās, and I have nothing to do with Muḥammad if, after your having left in a state of opposition and not come back to me, I should hand over your affair to someone else and not make every effort to seek you out and fight you myself. Were you to plunge into the sea, I would dive in too. Were you to rush into fire, I would charge in too, until I had killed you or died trying." ' But by no means make this statement to him until you despair of his returning and cannot hope for anything better from him."

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136. The authenticity of this letter has been the subject of considerable debate. Moscati, "Abū Muslim. III," 97–98, cites the principal lines of argumentation.

137. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 164/780), an uncle of the first two ʿAbbāsid caliphs, twice served as governor of Fārs and is remembered as a scholar and an ascetic. His name was given to the deep canal, Nahr ʿĪsā, which marked the southern limits of Baghdad. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 409–10; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 105; *EI*², s.v. ʿĪsā, Nahr (J. Lassner); Lassner, *Topography*, 144–45; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 46.

138. An ʿAbbāsid form of self-reference denoting a lineage relation with the prophet Muḥammad, either remotely through his great-grandfather Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf, or proximately through his cousin's grandson Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah.

Accordingly, Abū Ḥumayd set forth at the head of his most trustworthy associates, and they eventually reached Abū Muslim at Ḥulwān. Abū Ḥumayd, Abū Mālik, and others entered and presented the letter to him. Abū Ḥumayd said to Abū Muslim, "Out of envy and spite, people are misrepresenting to you what the Commander of the Faithful says and thinks of you, with the intent to disrupt and deflect the good will he has toward you. Do not spoil what you have; talk to him." Then he went on to say, "O Abū Muslim, surely you remain a trusted agent of the family of Muḥammad,[139] as the people recognize. The heavenly recompense God has stored away to reward you for that is greater than all your earthly gain. Do not nullify your reward. Let Satan never tempt you!" Abū Muslim said to him, "Since when do you presume to speak to me like this?" He answered, "You are the one who summoned us to this cause and to obedience to the family of the house of the Prophet, the Banū al-ʿAbbās. You commanded us to fight those who opposed that. You called us from various lands and from diverse circumstances. God has drawn us together in obedience to them, united our hearts in love for them, and fortified us in our support for them. Among them we have never encountered anyone except with these God-given sentiments in our hearts, and so we have now come to them in their land with our sights rendered sharp and our obedience unclouded. Do you really intend, at the time when we have reached the culmination of our wishes and the consummation of our hope, to destroy our situation and to dissipate our authority? You were the one who said to
[107] us, 'Kill whoever opposes you. If I oppose you then kill me!' " Abū Muslim then turned to Abū Naṣr [Mālik b. Haytham] and said, "O Mālik, do you not hear what this fellow is saying to me? This is not his own utterance, Mālik [i.e., he speaks for the caliph]." Abū Naṣr replied, "Don't listen to what he is saying; such talk from him should certainly not alarm you. Upon my life, you rightly said that this is not his speech, but what may follow will be worse. Carry on with your own affair and do not return. By God, if you go to Abū Jaʿfar, he will most certainly kill you. Something has entered his mind such that he will never trust

139. For *amīn āl Muḥammad* as a title accorded to Abū Muslim, see Sharon, *Black Banners*, 199.

you."[140] Abū Muslim told his confederates to rise up, which they did. Then he sent for Nayzak and said, "By God, Nayzak, it's been a long time since I've seen anyone more sensible than you.[141] What do you think now that these letters have come and people have had their say?" Nayzak replied, "I don't think you should go to him. I think that you should go to al-Rayy[142] and stay there. The whole region between Khurāsān and al-Rayy falls to you. They are your forces, not one of whom opposes you. If he is being straight with you, then you can be straight with him. But if he refuses, then you are with your own army, Khurāsān is behind you, and you can follow your own judgment."[143] So Abū Muslim summoned Abū Ḥumayd and said, "Go back to your master; I have decided not to come to him." Abū Ḥumayd asked, "Have you really resolved to go against him?" to which Abū Muslim said, "Yes." "Don't do it," replied Abū Ḥumayd, but Abū Muslim answered, "I do not want to meet with him." Having abandoned all hope that Abū Muslim would return, Abū Ḥumayd said to him what Abū Jaʿfar had ordered him to say. Abū Muslim was silent for a long time. Then he said, "Rise up and go," but that speech had disturbed and frightened him.

Now at the time when he began to have doubts about Abū Muslim, Abū Jaʿfar had written to Abū Dāwūd, Abū Muslim's deputy in Khurāsān, to the effect that "You shall have control of Khurāsān for as long as you live."[144] Abū Dāwūd then wrote to Abū Muslim, "We did not revolt [i.e., against the Umayyads] in order to disobey God's caliphs and the family of the house of His Prophet. Do not oppose your *imām*; return [to Khurāsān] only with his permission." Abū Dāwūd's letter reached Abū Muslim at this juncture, making him yet more alarmed and concerned.

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140. Masʿūdi, *Murūj*, VI, 180 credits Mālik with the exclamation: "I have been tempted by Iblīs but never by the like of this!"

141. *Mā raʾaytu ṭawīlan aʿqala minka*. Ṭabari, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭāla*.

142. Al-Rayy was a city that lay in the northeastern corner of the province of Jibāl, whose remains now fall within the southern suburbs of Tehran. *EI*[1], s.v. (V. Minorsky); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 119–22; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 43; Le Strange, *Lands*, 214–18; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 121–26.

143. This speech is repeated in *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 221, with a slight rearrangement of clauses. See also Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 169; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 440; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 61–62; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 115.

144. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 485, vocalizes this as "for as long as *I* live (*mā baqītu*)."

Thus Abū Muslim sent word to Abū Ḥumayd and Abū Mālik: "I had made up my mind to go on to Khurāsān, but then I decided to send Abū Isḥāq, in whom I have confidence, to the Commander of the Faithful, so that he can bring me his assessment [of the situation]." Abū Muslim dispatched Abū Isḥāq, and, when the latter
[108] arrived, the Banū Hāshim received him with everything he could wish. Abū Jaʿfar said to him, "Make Abū Muslim change his mind and you shall have the governorship of Khurāsān," and he dismissed him. Abū Isḥāq returned to Abū Muslim and said to him, "I could not find fault with anything; I am of the opinion that they respect your rights highly, thinking as much of you as they do of themselves." He advised Abū Muslim to return to the Commander of the Faithful and apologize to him for what he had done. Abū Muslim made up his mind to do so, and Nayzak asked him, "Are you fully of a mind to return?" "Yes," said Abū Muslim and quoted:[145]

Men can do nothing against fate.
    Fate makes away with people's scheming.

Nayzak said, "Since you have made up your mind to do this, may God prosper you. But keep in mind this one thing I tell you: When you enter the presence of Abū Jaʿfar, kill him. Then give the oath of allegiance to whomever you wish, for the troops will not oppose you." Abū Muslim then wrote to Abū Jaʿfar to inform him that he would be coming to meet him.

According to some sources—Abū Ayyūb: One day I came into the presence of Abū Jaʿfar, who was then residing in a hair tent[146] at al-Rūmiyyah, while he was seated on a prayer carpet following the afternoon prayer. Abū Muslim's letter lay before him. He tossed it to me, and I read it. Then he said, "By God, if I lay eyes on him, I will surely kill him." I said to myself, " 'To God we belong and to Him is our return' [i.e., that's as may be, but I hope not!]. I have pursued the scribal career, and now, when I have reached its pinnacle and become the caliph's scribe, this had to happen among the people![147] By God, if he were killed, I do not

145. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 220; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 473.
146. Sourdel, "Questions," 132, specifies this as "camel's hair."
147. Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 111, reads: "This mix-up (*takhlīṭ*) had to happen among the people."

think his confederates would accept his killing and would let this man here, and anyone associated with him, remain alive. So I was not able to sleep." Then I said to myself, "Maybe the man will arrive in a confident frame of mind. If so, perhaps he will achieve his wish. But if he arrives behaving warily, the caliph will have no possible recourse but to deal with him harshly. If only I could put my finger on a clever scheme!"[148] I sent for Salamah b. Saʿīd b. Jābir[149] and said to him. "Do you have a sense of gratitude?" He said that he did. I continued, "If I got you appointed governor of a place from which you would garner what the governor of Iraq gets, would you let my brother Ḥātim b. Abī Sulaymān[150] go in [109] with you?" He agreed to that. "Would you give him half the proceeds?" I asked, wanting him to remain avid and not refuse. He still agreed. I then said, "Last year Kaskar[151] yielded such and such, but this year will be many times more than last year's yield. If I turn it over to you for the same impost as last year or with the right of stewardship, you will gain wealth beyond your wildest dreams."[152] "How can such wealth be mine?" Salamah asked. "You should go to Abū Muslim, meet with him, and talk to him tomorrow," I replied. "Ask him to include, among the petitions he will present, one to the effect that you be appointed there with what it yielded last year. When he arrives, the Commander of the Faithful intends to make him responsible for matters lying beyond his own sphere,[153] so he should feel at ease and put his mind to rest." Salamah asked, "How can I get the Commander of the Faithful to give me permission to meet Abū Muslim?" I told him

148. For the vizier's stratagem, see ibid., 112, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 474.

149. Ṭabarī, III, 141, cites him as governor of the Euphrates district and al-Ubullah in 142.

150. Some sources say that Abū Sulaymān, the father of both Abū Ayyūb and Ḥātim, was the *mawlā* of the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (99–101/717–20). Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 375. While Ṭabarī, III, 370, notes that a brother was arrested in 153 along with Abū Ayyūb, his name is not given.

151. Kaskar was a fertile district centered around the Tigris city of Wāsiṭ. *EI*², s.v. (M. Streck and J. Lassner); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 461; Le Strange, *Lands*, 38–43; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 29.

152. *Fa-in dafaʿtuhā ilayka bi-qabālatihā ʿaman awwala aw bi-al-amānati.* The *qabālah* contract was a form of tax farming whereby an individual assured the central treasury of a particular sum and could then pocket the difference between that and the amount actually collected. *EI*², s.v. Ḳabāla (C. Cahen); Cahen, "Fiscalité," 136–52; Donner, "Islamic State," 292. For this meaning of *amānah*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 39.

153. *Mā warāʾa bābihi.* Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 124.

that I would ask permission for him, and then I went to Abū Jaʿfar and told him the whole story. The caliph told me to call for Salamah, which I did. He said, "Abū Ayyūb has requested permission on your behalf; do you want to go and meet Abū Muslim?" "Yes," said Salamah. The caliph replied, "Then I grant you permission. Declare to Abū Muslim our salutation and inform him of our longing to see him." Salamah set off. He met Abū Muslim and said, "The Commander of the Faithful has the highest possible opinion of you." This cheered Abū Muslim, who had been in very low spirits before then. What Salamah said when he reached Abū Muslim made him overjoyed. He believed him and continued to be happy until he arrived.

Abū Ayyūb: When Abū Muslim drew near to al-Madāʾin, the Commander of the Faithful ordered the populace to go out and meet him.[154] He arrived in the evening. I entered the presence of the Commander of the Faithful while he was on a prayer mat in his tent and said, "This man is arriving later this evening; what do you intend to do?" Abū Jaʿfar said, "I intend to kill him as soon as I set eyes on him." "I adjure you by God," I said, "that his forces are entering [the city] along with him and they know what he has done. If he enters your presence but does not come out, I shall not feel safe from calamity. Rather, when he enters, give
[110] him permission to leave. When he comes to you tomorrow, you will have made your decision." I wanted only to defer the event with that speech, simply because of my fear, for him and for us all, of retaliation from Abū Muslim's comrades. Thus in the evening Abū Muslim came to Abū Jaʿfar and made salutation but remained standing before him. Abū Jaʿfar said, "Go away, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,[155] and make yourself comfortable. Go and bathe, for travel is a dirty business. Then come to me in the morning." Abū Muslim departed and everybody dispersed. When he had gone, the Commander of the Faithful reproached me unfairly, "When

154. The events immediately surrounding Abū Muslim's death are recounted in *Fragmenta historicorum*, II, 222–24; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 441–42; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 376–79, 440–41; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 111–12; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 165–66. See also Lassner, *ʿAbbasid Rule*, 63–67; Moscati, "Abū Muslim. III," 101–3; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 115–17.

155. Abū Muslim's given name (*ism*) is recorded as either ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim or ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VI, 48; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 145.

will I ever get a chance with him like this—standing on his two feet right before my eyes! I don't know what could happen tonight!" I left and returned in the morning. When he saw me, the caliph said, "You whoreson fellow,[156] no welcome for you! Yesterday you restrained me from him. By God, I did not sleep a wink all night." He reviled me so much that I feared that he would order me killed. Then he told me to summon ʿUthmān b. Nahīk,[157] which I did. Abū Jaʿfar said, "ʿUthmān, what do you think of the Commander of the Faithful's troubles?" "Commander of the Faithful," he replied, "I am merely your servant. By God, were you to order me to lean on my sword until it came out of my back, I would do so." Abū Jaʿfar said, "How would you take it if I were to command you to kill Abū Muslim?" For a while ʿUthmān was silent, not saying a word. Abū Ayyūb asked, "What's the matter; why aren't you saying anything?" His voice weak, ʿUthmān answered, "I would kill him."

Abū Jaʿfar said, "Hurry off and bring back four of the toughest officers of the guards." ʿUthmān set off, but when he got near the tent flap Abū Jaʿfar called out to him, "ʿUthmān, ʿUthmān, come back here." When he had come back in, the caliph said, "Sit down and send for the guards you trust; have four of them present themselves." ʿUthmān said to one of his servants, "Run and call Shabīb b. Wāj,[158] Abū Ḥanīfah,[159] and two others." They came in [111]
and the Commander of the Faithful repeated to them more or less

156. More specifically, *ibn al-lakhnāʾ* means "son of the uncircumcised woman" but carries the connotation of sexual promiscuity in the absence of clitoral excision. *EI*², s.v. Khafḍ (Ed.).

157. ʿUthmān b. Nahīk al-ʿAkkī, one of the seven *duʿāt* in the Khurāsānī city of Abīward and reckoned among the *naqīb* alternates (*nuẓarāʾ al-nuqabāʾ*), commanded Abū Jaʿfar's guard (*ḥaras*). *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 218, 220; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 73–74 (transliterated as "Nuhayk"); Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 377; Crone, *Slaves*, 189; Daniels, *Khurasan*, 48, 115.

158. Shabīb b. Wāj al-Marwarrūdhī served under the Khurāsānī general Khāzim b. Khuzaymah before entering the caliph's service. Daniel, drawing upon Ibn Nadīm, equates him with the Shabīb b. Rawāḥ, whom Abū Muslim sent to convert the Magian priest Bihāfarīd/Bihʾāfrīd. Ṭabarī, II, 1960; Daniel, *Khurāsān*, 91; Dodge, *Fihrist of Ibn Nadīm*, II, 822.

159. Abū Ḥanīfah Ḥarb b. Qays was appointed head of the guard for Mūsā b. al-Mahdī shortly after al-Mahdī's accession to the caliphate. In 171 he acted as Hārūn al-Rashīd's agent in the assassination of Abū Hurayrah Muḥammad b. Furrūkh. Ṭabarī, III, 456, 606. For the symbolic use of four, see Rescher, "Zahl

what he had said to ʿUthmān, and they agreed to kill Abū Muslim. He said, "Station yourselves behind the tent flap; when I clap my hands, come out and kill him."

He sent one messenger after another to Abū Muslim. They returned to say that he had already mounted. A servant came to the caliph to say that he had gone to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. I said, "Commander of the Faithful, should I go out and make the rounds in the camp to see what people are saying, whether anyone has any suspicions or has said anything?" He agreed, so I left, but Abū Muslim ran into me as he was coming in. He smiled and I greeted him and he then went inside. I came back only to see him sprawled out before me; there had been no waiting for my return. Abū al-Jahm[160] came in and when he saw him slain said, "To God we belong and to Him is our return." I went up to Abū al-Jahm and said to him, "You ordered his murder as soon as he revolted, yet when he is killed you have this to say?" By speaking so I brought a distracted man back to alertness. He said something to make up for what had come from his mouth and then asked, "Commander of the Faithful, should I not keep people away?" "Most certainly!" said Abū Jaʿfar, and Abū al-Jahm added, "Order fittings to be taken to another one of these pavilions of yours." He commanded carpets brought out as though he intended to prepare another pavilion for Abū Muslim. Abū al-Jahm then went out and said to the crowd, "Go away now; the Amīr wants to take his repose with the Commander of the Faithful." They saw the furnishings being transported and, assuming Abū al-Jahm to be telling the truth, they turned away. Then in the evening they came, and Abū Jaʿfar ordered rewards paid to them [i.e. Abū Muslim's army commanders]. He gave Abū Isḥāq 100,000 [dirhams].

Abū Ayyūb: The Commander of the Faithful said to me, "Abū Muslim came in, and I reproved and even reviled him. ʿUthmān struck him but it did nothing. Shabīb b. Wāj and his comrades came out and beat him, and he fell down. While they were beat-

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Vierzig." More recently, Conrad, "Conquest of Arwād," 355, has discussed "the notion of a graded élite of righteous warriors for the cause of God, as symbolized in the number four and its multiples by ten."

160. Abū Jahm b. ʿAṭīyah. See Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 112.

ing him, he yelled "Pardon!" "Son of a whore," I said, "Pardon? When swords have finally beaten you by turns!" Then I said, "Butcher him" and they did so.[161]

According to ʿAlī—Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī: I was with Abū Muslim when Abū Isḥāq came to him from Abū Jaʿfar with letters from [112] the Banū Hāshim and said, "I disagree with you about the people's attitude. They all think of you as due just what the caliph is due, and they recognize how mindful God has been of them by giving you [to them as a leader]." Abū Muslim went on to al-Madāʾin but left Abū Naṣr in charge of his baggage train, saying, "Stay here until a letter from me reaches you." "Arrange a sign between us," said Abū Naṣr, "by which I can recognize that the letter is from you." He replied, "If my letter reaches you sealed with half an impression, then I have written it. But if it reaches you with the whole signet, then I have neither written nor sealed it." When Abū Muslim drew near al-Madāʾin, one of his army commanders met him, greeted him, and said to him, "Do what I say and go back; if the caliph lays eyes on you, he is going to kill you!" Abū Muslim replied, "I have now drawn near the people, and I am reluctant to turn back." He arrived in al-Madāʾin at the head of 3,000 men but left the bulk of his host behind in Ḥulwān. He presented himself before Abū Jaʿfar, and the caliph ordered him to withdraw for that day. He tried to see him in the morning, but Abū al-Khaṣīb met him and said, "The Commander of the Faithful is busy, be patient for a bit until you can enter alone." He went to where ʿĪsā b. Mūsā was lodged—he was fond of ʿĪsā—and ʿĪsā invited him to break his fast with him. The Commander of the Faithful told Rabīʿ,[162] who at that time was a servant in the employ of Abū al-Khaṣīb, "Go and see Abū Muslim but don't let anyone know. Say to him, 'Marzūq [Abū al-Khaṣīb] says if you want to see the Commander of the Faithful in private, then hurry.' " Abū Muslim stood and mounted up. ʿĪsā said to him,

161. Cf. Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 118, where the caliph is asserted to have "killed him with his own hands."

162. Abū Faḍl al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Farwah (d. 170/786–87), who served each of the first four ʿAbbāsid caliphs, was first chamberlain and then vizier under Abū Jaʿfar. *EI*², s.v. (A. S. Atiya); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 6; Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, 87–90; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 123–24; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIV, 84–85; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 335–36; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 294–99.

"Don't be in a hurry to enter until I can be there to go in with you." ʿĪsā, however, lingered over his ablutions,[163] and Abū Muslim went ahead and entered. Thus he was killed before ʿĪsā arrived. ʿĪsā came after Abū Muslim was wrapped in a cloak[164] and said, "Where is Abū Muslim?" When Abū Jaʿfar responded that he was wrapped in the cloak,[165] ʿĪsā exclaimed, "To God we belong—" but the Caliph said, "Be silent! Your authority and status were achieved only today." Then he had Abū Muslim thrown into the Tigris.

According to ʿAlī—Abū Ḥafṣ: The Commander of the Faithful
[113] summoned ʿUthmān b. Nahīk and four of the guards and said to them, "When I clap my hands, one against the other, then strike the enemy of God." Abū Muslim came into his presence, and Abū Jaʿfar said to him, "Tell me about two blades that you acquired with the goods of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī." Abū Muslim responded, "This is one of the two, which I'm wearing." "Show it to me," said Abū Jaʿfar, so Abū Muslim unsheathed and handed it over. Abū Jaʿfar brandished the sword and then laid it under his cushion. He began to reprimand Abū Muslim, saying, "Tell me about your letter to Abū al-ʿAbbās where you forbid him to take unoccupied land (*mawāt*).[166] Did you want to teach us our religious duty!" Abū Muslim said, "I thought taking it was illicit, but he wrote to me and when his letter reached me I recognized that the Commander of the Faithful and his lineage are the mother lode of knowledge." Abū Jaʿfar said, "Tell me why you went ahead of me on the road [from Mecca]." Abū Muslim replied, "I didn't think it would be good for our people to all be together at the same watering place, so I went on ahead in order to seek comfort [for all

163. The term used, *al-wuḍūʾ*, is that which acquired the technical connotation of the prescribed washings for minor impurities done immediately before the ritual prayer.

164. The *ʿabāʾah*, a common bedouin garment, was a short, sleeveless cloak. Ahsan, *Social Life*, 44–45; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 292–97.

165. The *kisāʾ* was a large outer garment that doubled as a wrap or blanket. Ahsan, *Social Life*, 44; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 383–86.

166. *Mawāt* connotes "dead land," i.e., land that has never been cultivated or that has been allowed to lie fallow. The schools of Islamic jurisprudence disagree about how the reclamation of such land can constitute a legitimate claim to ownership. *EI*², s.v. (A.-M. Delcambre). For the broader issue of the acquisition of landed property in the conquered territories, see Kister, "Land Property and Jihād."

without crowding]." Abū Jaʿfar said, "At the time you learned of Abū al-ʿAbbās's death, what about your remark to the one who suggested that you should return to me: 'We will move forward and see whomever we see.' You went on, neither staying put so that we could catch up with you nor returning to us." Abū Muslim responded, "I was prevented from doing so because, as I have told you, I had to look out for the necessary comforts of my people. I said we should go ahead to al-Kūfah; that could not be considered opposition on my part." Abū Jaʿfar said, "As for the slave girl of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, did you intend to take her as your own?" Abū Muslim replied, "No, but I feared she would get lost, so I transported her in an enclosed litter, entrusting her care to someone who could protect her." Abū Jaʿfar asked, "What about your defiance of orders and your heading back to Khurāsān?" Abū Muslim responded, "I was afraid that I might in some way have offended you, so I told myself that I would return to Khurāsān and write to you with my apologies, to await that time when what was in your mind against me had departed." Abū Jaʿfar said, "By God, I have never seen a day like today. I swear you do nothing but increase my anger." He clapped his hands, and ʿUthmān came [114] out of concealment with his comrades to attack Abū Muslim and struck him until they had killed him.

According to ʿAlī—Yazīd b. Usayd: The Commander of the Faithful said, "I reproached ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, saying, 'What about the booty that you collected in Ḥarrān?' He said, 'I disbursed it and gave it to the army for their seed and land reclamation,'[167] I said, 'What about your recalcitrant return to Khurāsān?' Abū Muslim said, 'Stop this interrogation! I am not about to fear anyone but God.' I became angry and heaped abuse upon him. Then the guards came in and killed him."

Other sources than those I have already cited report as follows on the matter of Abū Muslim: On the day he was killed, having been summoned, Abū Muslim went and asked ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to ride along with him. ʿĪsā, however, said to him, "Go on ahead, as you are under my protection." Abū Muslim entered Abū Jaʿfar's pavilion when the latter had already ordered ʿUthmān b. Nahīk, the captain of his guards, to prepare Shabīb b. Wāj al-Marwar-

167. *Wa-aʿṭaytuhu al-junda taqwiyatan lahum wa-istiṣlāḥan.*

rūdhī, one of the guards, and Abū Ḥanīfah Ḥarb b. Qays for the deed. "When I clap my hands," Abū Jaʿfar told them, "go to it." He then gave permission for Abū Muslim to enter. When Abū Muslim asked Muḥammad, the Bukhārī gatekeeper,[168] how things stood, Muḥammad replied, "Everything's fine, but the Amīr should give me his sword." "This is not the way I'm used to being treated," Abū Muslim retorted, to which Muḥammad replied, "What are you worried about?" Abū Muslim then complained about it to Abū Jaʿfar, who responded, "May God rebuke whoever did that to you!" But then Abū Jaʿfar began to upbraid Abū Muslim, saying, "Were you not the one who wrote to me, putting your own name first, and were you not also the one who wrote to me asking for Amīnah bt. ʿAlī in marriage, claiming to be the son of Salīṭ b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās?[169] Furthermore, what induced you to kill Sulaymān b. Kathīr[170] despite his importance for our mission, he being one of our chiefs (*nuqabāʾ*) well before we included you in any part of this affair?" Abū Muslim replied, "He had insubordination in mind and disobeyed me, so I killed him." "But in our view his situation was as it should be," al-Manṣūr said, "yet you killed him and you disobeyed *me*, thus putting yourself in conflict with *me*. May God kill me if I do not

168. Following Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVII, and *Indices*, 507; the Leiden text reads Najjārī. Bukhārā, a city that now lies in the Uzbekistān region of the former U.S.S.R., was formerly a principal city of Transoxania. *EI*², s.v. (W. Barthold and R. N. Frye); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 353–56; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 160; Le Strange, *Lands*, 460–63.

169. Amīnah bt. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh was Abū Jaʿfar's paternal aunt, as the mention in Dīnawarī's *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 378, makes explicit. She is cited in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 154, in the biography of Abū Muslim, as Āsīyah. Had Abū Muslim's lineage claim been ratified, this alliance would have followed the common pattern of first-cousin marriage. The paternity of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās's son, Salīṭ, was itself contested. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 149–50, 256; Lassner, "Abū Muslim"; Lassner, "Origins"; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 123, 203; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 100–4.

170. Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī, the third *naqīb* listed in the document *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 216, which M. Sharon has dubbed the "Convention of the Daʿwah of Khurāsān," was replaced by Abū Muslim as head of the revolutionary effort in Khurāsān. Sharon, *Black Banners*, 192, 214–24; Ṭabarī, II, 1937, 1988; Caskel, *Ǧamarat an-nasab*, I, 200, II, 518. For the rivalry between Sulaymān and Abū Muslim, see Ṭabarī, II, 1962; Moscati, "Abū Muslim. I," 326; Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 113–15; and the epic account in Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim*, 119.

kill you!" Then he struck Abū Muslim with a staff, and Shabīb [115]
and Ḥarb came forth and killed him. That was on the 24th of Shaʿbān in the year 137.[171] Al-Manṣūr recited:

You thought that the debt would not be paid.
Pay now in full measure, Abū Mujrim (criminal).
You are given to drink a cup which you once passed round
More bitter to the throat than the wild gourd.[172]

The allusion is to the fact that in his time of authority and his battles Abū Muslim had killed about 600,000 in cold blood.

Another source: When Abū Jaʿfar chastized him, saying, "You did such and such and you did thus and so," Abū Muslim rejoined, "Such things should not be said to me after the trials I have undergone and the prowess I have displayed!" "Son of an impure woman," exclaimed Abū Jaʿfar, "by God, were a slave girl in your stead, she could have performed as well. You did what you did only within the ambit of our power and by our pleasure. Left to yourself, you could not trim a wick. Were you not the one who wrote to me, putting your own name first, and were you not also the one who wrote to me asking for Amīnah bt. ʿAlī in marriage, claiming to be the son of Salīṭ b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās? For a motherless wretch, you've made quite a difficult ascent!" Abū Muslim took the caliph's hand, stroked and kissed it, and apologized to him.

Another source: ʿUthmān b. Nahīk struck the first blow against Abū Muslim, hitting him lightly with his sword and doing no more than sever his sword straps. Yet Abū Muslim turned his attention to the severed straps,[173] so Shabīb b. Wāj struck at his foot, while the rest of Shabīb's cohort fell on him in turn until they had killed him.[174] All the while al-Manṣūr shouted at the slayers, "Keep hitting! May God cut your hands off [if you don't]!"

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171. Wednesday, February 12, 755. Wüstenfeld and Mahler, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, 4; Caetani, *Cronografia generale*, 107; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 154; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 476.

172. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVIII, gives the author of these lines as Abū ʿAṭāʾ al-Sindī (d. 158/774), a poet who was apparently out of favor during al-Manṣūr's reign. *EI*², s.v. (A. Schaade); *GAL*, I, 63, S I, 98; *GAS*, II, 471–72.

173. *Fa-iʿtaqala bihā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. ʿ*aqala*.

174. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 492, omits *fa-qaṭaʿa*.

One source recounts that as the first blow struck him, Abū Muslim cried, "Commander of the Faithful, spare me for your enemy's sword." "May God not spare me if I do," retorted Abū Jaʿfar, "for what enemy have I more treacherous than you?"

[116] Another source: ʿĪsā b. Mūsā arrived after Abū Muslim had been killed and asked, "Where is Abū Muslim, Commander of the Faithful?" "He was here just now," replied Abū Jaʿfar. ʿĪsā continued, "Commander of the Faithful, well you recognize his obedience, his sincere counsel, and the good opinion Imām Ibrāhīm had of him."[175] "What a fool you are!" retorted Abū Jaʿfar. "By God, I know on this earth no foe more hostile to you than he [was]. Look, there he is, over there in the rug," at which ʿĪsā intoned, "To God we belong and to Him is our return." Now as ʿĪsā had such an opinion of Abū Muslim, al-Manṣūr said to him, "May God cast him from your heart. Did you have authority or sovereignty or the power to command and prohibit in conjunction with Abū Muslim?"

Abū Jaʿfar then sent for Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah.[176] Jaʿfar entered, and the caliph said to him, "What have you to say about Abū Muslim?" "Commander of the Faithful," Jaʿfar responded, "if you have taken a single hair from his head, then kill, kill, kill." "God prosper you!" said al-Manṣūr and ordered him to stand up and look at Abū Muslim's corpse. Jaʿfar said, "From this day, Commander of the Faithful, will your caliphate be reckoned." Then permission was asked for Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī to enter, and he said, "Commander of the Faithful, last night I dreamt that you slaughtered a ram, and that I trampled it with my feet." "Abū al-Ḥasan, your eye was then asleep," said Abū Jaʿfar; "now stand up and verify your dream; God has indeed slain the sinner." Ismāʿīl went over to where Abū Muslim lay and stamped on him.

Al-Manṣūr was then of a mind to kill Abū Isḥāq, the captain of Abū Muslim's guards, and Abū Naṣr Mālik, prefect of police under Abū Muslim, but Abū al-Jahm spoke with him, saying,

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175. *Wa-raʾya al-imām Ibrāhīm kāna fihi.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *raʾā*.

176. Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah al-Baḥrānī was a Syrian commander who fought for the Umayyads but later achieved prominence as one of the close associates (*ṣaḥābah*) of al-Manṣūr. His strategic advice was sought in the actions taken against Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and his brother, Ibrāhīm. Ṭabarī, III, 223–24; Crone, *Slaves*, 67, 249; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, II, 253.

"Commander of the Faithful, Abū Muslim's army is your army; it is you who commanded them to obey him, and they did so." Al-Manṣūr therefore summoned Abū Isḥāq. When he entered the caliph's presence but had not yet seen Abū Muslim, Abū Jaʿfar said to him, "You have always been in close agreement with the enemy of God, Abū Muslim, whatever he decided to do, [haven't you?]." At this Abū Isḥāq recoiled and began to twist both right [117] and left in fear of Abū Muslim." "Say what you have in mind," continued al-Manṣūr, "for God has slain the sinner"; and he ordered Abū Muslim's badly hacked body to be brought forth. Seeing it, Abū Isḥāq sank to the ground in a prolonged prostration. Al-Manṣūr told him to raise his head and speak, which he did, saying, "Praise God, who today has placed me in your safekeeping. By God, from the time I became his associate, there was never a single day when I felt safe from him. On no day did I ever come to him without having made my will, and without being dressed for the grave and embalmed." He then lifted his outer garments and beneath them he actually wore new linen garments impregnated with embalming aromatics. When Abū Jaʿfar saw this, he felt sorry for him and said, "Assume, now, the duty of obedience to your caliph and praise God who has delivered you from that evil-doer." Finally, Abū Jaʿfar told him to send away[177] all the people who were around him.

The caliph then summoned Mālik b. al-Haytham[178] and spoke to him in similar fashion. Mālik apologized to him with the defense that the caliph had ordered him to obey Abū Muslim, that people had served Abū Muslim and had been quick to satisfy him[179] only with the caliph's approval and, further, that he had been in the faithful service of the ʿAbbāsids [long] before he knew Abū Muslim. Abū Jaʿfar accepted Mālik's apology and laid upon him the same injunction that he had given Abū Isḥāq about sending Abū Muslim's army on their way.

Abū Jaʿfar sent splendid rewards to a number of Abū Muslim's army commanders and gave his entire army enough to win them over. But Abū Muslim's close associates had second thoughts,

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177. *Farriq ʿannī hādhā al-jamāʿata.* Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 259; Moscati, "Abū Muslim. III," 103.

178. I.e., Abū Naṣr.

179. *Wa-khaffa lahu al-nāsu bi-marḍātihi.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khaffa*.

saying, "We sold our master for dirhams."[180] Abū Jaʿfar, therefore, called for Abū Isḥāq and said, "I swear by God, if they sever but a single one of my tent ropes, I shall have your neck and then wage all-out war against them." Abū Isḥāq thus went out to the malcontents and cried, "Get out of here, you dogs!"

According to ʿAlī—Abū Ḥafṣ al-Azdī: After Abū Muslim was killed, Abū Jaʿfar wrote a letter to Abū Naṣr, ostensibly coming from Abū Muslim, commanding him to load up his baggage and [118] whatever he had left behind in his charge and to come on ahead. He sealed the letter with Abū Muslim's seal; but when Abū Naṣr saw that the impress of the seal was whole, he knew that Abū Muslim had not written the letter. Saying to himself, "So you've done it, then," he went back down to Hamadhān[181] with the idea of making for Khurāsān. Abū Jaʿfar then wrote to Abū Naṣr appointing him to Shahrazūr[182] and dispatched a messenger to him with the charge. After the messenger had left with the commission, news reached the caliph that Abū Naṣr had already set off for Khurāsān. Abū Jaʿfar, therefore, wrote to Zuhayr b. al-Turkī, then the governor of Hamadhān, saying, "If Abū Naṣr passes your way, arrest him." The letter reached Zuhayr quickly [i.e., ahead of the earlier one], while Abū Naṣr was still in Hamadhān, so Zuhayr seized him and imprisoned him in the castle. Now Zuhayr was a *mawlā* of the Khuzāʿah[183] tribe [i.e., Abū Naṣr's tribe], and Abū Naṣr had a nephew on his mother's side, Ibrāhīm b. ʿArīf,[184] to whom he now appealed, asking him, "Ibrāhīm, would you kill your own uncle?" "Never, by God!" answered Ibrāhīm. Zuhayr

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180. Crone, *Slaves*, 56, sees the relation of Abū Muslim and his men as an instance where "companionship and clientage almost converged." Abū al-ʿAbbās states that Abū Muslim's followers "prize him above their religious (*dīnihim*) and worldly (*dunyāhum*) concerns." Ṭabarī, III, 85.

181. Hamadhān, a city in central Iran in the province of al-Jibāl, was the site of a long siege in the fight between the caliphs Ma'mūn and Amīn. Ṭabarī, III, 829; *EI*², s.v. (R. N. Frye); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 410–17; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 41; Le Strange, *Lands*, 194–96, 227–30; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 128–32.

182. Also in the province of al-Jibāl, the ruins of Shahrazūr are found not far from the present-day border between Iran and Turkey. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 375–76; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 44; Le Strange, *Lands*, 190; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 207–8.

183. Khuzāʿah b. Rabīʿah was an ancient Arabian tribe with multiple connections to Mecca, whose claims to Muḍarī descent have been contested. *EI*², s.v. (M. J. Kister); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 196, II, 35.

184. This is his only mention in Ṭabarī, and he is not cited in the standard biographical sources.

then made *his* placatory appeal to Ibrāhīm and confided, "I am under orders, and by God, though he is one of the dearest people in the world to me, there's no way I can refuse to do what the Commander of the Faithful orders. So, by God, if one of you so much as shoots an arrow [in his defense], I'll throw his head at you." Abū Jaʿfar then wrote another letter to Zuhayr: "If you have already taken Abū Naṣr into custody, then kill him." At this point the one charged with the caliph's commission to Abū Naṣr arrived with it, so out of his affection for him Zuhayr released him and Abū Naṣr left. One day later the letter about killing Abū Naṣr reached Zuhayr, who responded, "I received a letter with his commission, so I released him."

Abū Naṣr then came to Abū Jaʿfar, who said, "Did you advise Abū Muslim to go on to Khurāsān?" "Yes, Commander of the Faithful," Abū Naṣr replied. "I owed him both benefits and favors; he sought my counsel, and I gave him my best advice. If you treat me kindly, Commander of the Faithful, I would give counsel to you and gratitude." Thus Abū Jaʿfar forgave him. Later, on the day the Rāwandiyyah[185] attacked, Abū Naṣr took charge of the castle gate, declaring, "Today I am the gatekeeper. No one shall enter the castle while I am alive." When Abū Jaʿfar asked the whereabouts of [Abū Naṣr] Mālik b. al-Haytham and was told about [119] what he had done, the caliph saw that Abū Naṣr had indeed been sincere in his service.

Another source: When Abū Naṣr Mālik b. al-Haytham went on to Hamadhān, Abū Jaʿfar wrote to Zuhayr b. al-Turkī, saying, "God shall have your life blood if Mālik escapes you." Zuhayr, therefore, went to Mālik and said to him, "I have prepared a meal for you; would you not honor me by entering my house?" Mālik agreed to come. Zuhayr then armed forty men, whom he had handpicked, and placed them in the two rooms that opened on to the reception area that he had prepared. When Mālik entered, Zuhayr cried out, "Eat quickly, you blackguard!" Those forty men then burst in upon Mālik and bound him with fetters. Chains were put on his feet, and he sent him to al-Manṣūr. The latter treated him graciously, pardoned him, and installed him over al-Mawṣil.

185. The account of this is given in year 141.

In this year Sunbādh rebelled[186] in Khurāsān, seeking to avenge Abū Muslim.

The Episode of Sunbādh

It is said that this Sunbādh[187] was a Zoroastrian,[188] an inhabitant of a village called Ahan[189] in the district of Naysābūr,[190] and that at the time of his coming on the scene his followers were of a considerable number. It is said he rebelled in anger at the killing of Abū Muslim, seeking to avenge him because he was one of Abū Muslim's toadies. During his revolt, Sunbādh conquered Naysābūr, Qūmis,[191] and al-Rayy and was dubbed "Fayrūz the Iṣbahbadh."[192] Upon reaching al-Rayy, he took possession of Abū Muslim's storehouses, the latter having left his treasuries there when he departed to go to Abū [Jaʿfar] al-ʿAbbās. People from al-Jibāl[193] formed the greater part of Sunbādh's associates. Abū

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186. For other accounts, consult *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 224; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 246–48; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 441–42; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 188–89; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 171–72. See also Gholam Hossein Sadighi, *Les Mouvements religieux iraniens au iie et iiie siècle de l'hégire* (Paris, 1938), 132–49; Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim*, 55–56; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 63–65; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 183 n. 89; Lassner, *Topography*, 129–30.

187. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 314–16.

188. Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, I, 174, associates him with the Ghāliyyah, the "extremist" Shīʿī sects who were given different appelations: "In Iṣbahān they were called al-Khurramiyyah and al-Kūdhiyyah, in Rayy they were called al-Muzdikiyyah [*sic*, but better, Mazdakiyyah] and al-Sunbādhiyyah." For an earlier identification with al-Khurramiyyah, see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 188. Laoust, *Schismes*, 62–63, includes Sunbādh in his category "les abû muslimîya."

189. Given as "Ahrawānah" in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 481, which may be Ahar/Ahr. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 283–84; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 133; Le Strange, *Lands*, 169

190. The city of Nīshāpūr was a major site in the province of Khurāsān. *EI*[1], s.v. (E. Honigmann); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 331–33; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 132; Le Strange, *Lands*, 382–88.

191. Qūmis was a small province that lay between the Alburz chain and the Great Desert. *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳūmis (C. E. Bosworth); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 142; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 414–15; Le Strange, *Lands*, 364–68.

192. *Ispahbadh* is a Sāsānid military title that survived well into Islamic period. Morony, *Iraq*, 28 and *passim*, translates it as "military governor." *EI*[2], s.v. (C. E. Bosworth).

193. Al-Jibāl was the mountainous province that came to be called ʿIrāq ʿAjamī. *EI*[2], s.v. (L. Lockhart); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 99; Le Strange, *Lands*, 185–231.

Jaʿfar sent Jahwar b. Marrār al-ʿIjlī[194] against them with 10,000 troops.[195] The opposing forces met between Hamadhān and al-Rayy on the edge of the desert (*mafāzah*).[196] They fought, and Jahwar put Sunbādh to flight,[197] killing about 60,000 of his followers in the rout and taking their children and women prisoner. Subsequently, Sunbādh was killed between Ṭabaristān and Qūmis by Lūnān al-Ṭabarī.[198] Al-Manṣūr then made Wandāhurmuz b. al-Farrukhān[199] Iṣbahbadh of Ṭabaristān and crowned[200] him. Seventy nights elapsed between Sunbādh's revolt and his murder. [120]

In this year Mulabbid b. Ḥarmalah al-Shaybānī[201] came out in revolt.[202] He mounted a Khārijī insurrection[203] in the Jazīrah region, at which point the frontier troops in the Jazīrah, said to number 1,000,[204] advanced against him. Mulabbid fought and routed them, killing an unknown number. Then the frontier army stationed at al-Mawṣil moved against him, and he routed them. Next it was the turn of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī,[205] but after a fierce battle between them, Mulabbid defeated him.

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194. For coinage associated with Jahwar, see George C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy* (New York, 1938), 22–23.

195. Shaban, *Islamic History*, II, 13, suggests that so large a force was necessary because this revolt "threatened to cut off the vital northern route between Khurāsān and the west." For use of the figure 10,000 as a topos of magnitude, see Conrad, "Conquest of Arwād," 354.

196. Some sources identify the site as a village called Jarjānbān. Rekaya, "Khurram-Dīn," 27.

197. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 495: "Sunbādh was put to flight."

198. Daniel, *Khurasan*, 128, reads this as Lūzān. According to Ibn Isfandiyār, Sunbādh was killed by the Iṣbahbādh's cousin for responding to him discourteously. Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān*, 117.

199. Daniel, *Khurasan*, 129, gives this as Hurmuzd.

200. See Madelung, "Minor Dynasties," 199–200.

201. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVIII, for this vocalization.

202. For other accounts, see Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 166; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 248–50; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 482; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 73; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 149, II, 427.

203. The verb used here, *ḥakkama*, denotes the Khārijī assertion that judgment is reserved to God alone. According to the heresiographical literature, the earliest Khawārij were known as the Muḥakkimah. Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, I, 115–18; Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna al-firaq*, 51–55.

204. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 482, specifies this as 1,000 cavalry.

205. Yazīd b. Ḥātim b. Qabīṣah b. al-Muhallab (d. 170/786–87) served as governor of Ādharbayjān, of Egypt, and of North Africa (Ifrīqiyah). Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 233–35; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 446; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 111; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 11, 26, 63.

Mulabbid seized one of Yazīd's slave girls, who had become his concubine, and one of his army commanders was killed. Then Abū Jaʿfar dispatched against Mulabbid his *mawlā*, al-Muhalhil b. Ṣafwān,[206] with 2,000 of his best soldiers, but Mulabbid put them to flight and plundered their camp. The caliph next sent Nizār, one of the Khurāsānī commanders, against him, but Mulabbid killed him as well and put his comrades to flight. Then the caliph dispatched against him Ziyād b. Mushkān[207] with a large number of men. Mulabbid confronted and routed them as well. Trying again, the caliph sent Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣubayḥ[208] off with a dense host of an army and numerous cavalry and equipment, yet Mulabbid sent them fleeing. Next Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, then the governor of the Jazīrah, set out against him, but Mulabbid confronted and confounded him. Ḥumayd took refuge from Mulabbid in a fortified position and gave him 100,000 dirhams on condition that he leave him alone.[209]

Al-Wāqidī[210] claimed that Mulabbid's emergence and Khārijī proclamation occurred in the year 138.

[121] In this year the troops had no summer campaign, because the reigning power was occupied with the war against Sunbādh.[211]

As al-Wāqidī and others concur, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, then governor of al-Mawṣil, led the Pilgrimage in this year.

Governing Medina was Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh, while al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. Maʿbad was governor of Mecca. Al-ʿAbbās died at

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206. According to Ṭabarī, III, 494, 501, al-Muhalhil b. Ṣafwān eventually served as governor of Jurjān, a post from which he was dismissed in 163. A street (*sikkah*) on the west side of Baghdad was named after him. Lassner, *Topography*, 70, 256.

207. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 248, places this battle in Bājarmā. In 132/749–50 Ziyād b. Mushkān fought Ibn Hubayrah at Wāsiṭ under al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah's command. Ṭabarī, III, 20.

208. Identified as a *mawlā* of the Kindah tribe, Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣubayḥ was governor of Armenia from 133 to 134. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 248; Ṭabarī, III, 75, 81; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 178.

209. The eventual defeat and death of Mulabbid is described under year 138.

210. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), author of the *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, was a celebrated historian, biographer of the Prophet, and *qāḍī*. *EI*[1], s.v. (J. Horovitz); *GAS*, I, 294–97; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, IV, 238–40; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IX, 454–69; *DMA*, s.v. (L. Conrad); Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya*, 83–99; Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 223–26.

211. See Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs", 732.

the conclusion of the Pilgrimage ceremonies, so Ismāʿīl combined al-ʿAbbās's governorate with that of Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh, and Abū Jaʿfar confirmed the latter's jurisdiction over Mecca. In this year the governor of al-Kūfah was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; and of al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts, Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, while ʿUmar b. ʿĀmir al-Sulamī was in charge of its judiciary. Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm was governor of Khurāsān, and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah of the Jazīrah. The governor of Egypt was Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās.[212]

212. Although he was also governor of Syria, Sourdel, "Syrie," 158–59, notes that in this earlier period Ṭabarī does not include Syrian governors in his listings.

The Events of the Year 138

(June 16, 755–June 4, 756)

Among the events of this year was the violent entry,[213] by Constantine[214] the tyrant of Byzantium, into Malaṭyah,[215] overwhelming its populace and razing its walls but granting amnesty to its inhabitants, both combatants and children.[216]

Among the events was also the raid[217]—al-Wāqidī calls it a "summer campaign"—that al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b.

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213. For other accounts, see *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 224–25; Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, 376; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, v, 486; and Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 73. Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 435, records on attack against Malaṭya by Constantine in 133, as does Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 116, while Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 171, sets the event in 139.

214. Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 143, gives the name as Constantine Copronymus.

215. Also Malaṭīn or Malaṭiyah, this was a town in eastern Anatolia, near the western Euphrates, which became one of the frontier fortresses during the Umayyad period. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 192–93; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 19; *EI*², s.v. (E. Honigmann); Le Strange, *Lands*, 120–21; *EI*¹, s.v. al-Thughūr (E. Honigmann).

216. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 199, the Muslim inhabitants were expelled.

217. For other accounts, see *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 225; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 444; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 470; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 171 (under the year 139); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 486; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, X, 73.

ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās[218] made with Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh. Ṣāliḥ rewarded him with 40,000 dīnārs. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh went out with them, so Ṣāliḥ gave him 40,000 dīnārs too. Ṣāliḥ b. [122]
ʿAlī rebuilt what the leader of the Byzantines had destroyed in Malaṭyah.

Some sources say that the raiding expedition against Malaṭyah made by Ṣāliḥ and al-ʿAbbās occurred in the year 139.

In this year ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, who was then residing in al-Baṣrah with his brother Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, rendered the oath of allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar.[219]

In this year Jahwar b. Marrār al-ʿIjlī renounced his allegiance to al-Manṣūr.[220]

The Reason Jahwar Turned against al-Manṣūr

The reason for that mentioned in the sources is as follows: When Jahwar put Sunbādh to flight, he took possession of the contents of his camp, including the stored treasures that Abū Muslim had left behind in al-Rayy. Then Jahwar failed to forward these things to Abū Jaʿfar and, fearing the consequences, he turned [outright] renegade. Abū Jaʿfar then sent Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī[221] against him with a huge force. Muḥammad engaged Jahwar, and they waged a hard-fought battle. With Jahwar were

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218. Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās was a brother of the caliph al-Manṣūr (d. 186/802) who led other noted campaigns against the Byzantines and who served as governor of Syria for al-Manṣūr and as governor of the Jazīrah for the caliph al-Rashīd. *EI*², s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 534–35; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 638.

219. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 486. The account of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī's contestation of Abū Jaʿfar's claim to the caliphate may be found in the chapter on year 137.

220. For other accounts see *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 225; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 247–48; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 73–74; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 393–94; Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, 375.

221. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath (d. 149/766), one of Abū Muslim's governors in Khurāsān, was governor of Damascus for al-Manṣūr and later appointed to Egypt. In 144/761 he took al-Qayrawān back from the Ibāḍiyyah and subsequently built its fortification walls. Ṭabarī, II, 2001, III, 353; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 228; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 108–9; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 76–77, 190; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳayrawān (M. Talbi).

the elite of the Persian cavalry, Ziyād and al-Ishtākhanj,[222] yet Jahwar and his confederates were routed, with many of them being killed. Ziyād and al-Ishtākhanj were taken prisoner, but Jahwar escaped and managed to get to Ādharbayjān. Some time later he was arrested in Isbādhrū[223] and killed.[224]

In this year the Khārijite, al-Mulabbid, was slain.[225]

How al-Mulabbid Came to Be Killed

It is said that when al-Mulabbid[226] had bested Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, and Ḥumayd, in turn, had taken refuge from al-Mulabbid, Abū Jaʿfar sent against him ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,[227] the brother of ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,[228] in conjunction with Ziyād b. Mushkān. Al-Mulabbid waylaid him
[123] with 100 cavalry in such a way that when ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz met up with him, those lying in ambush came forth and routed him, killing the greater part of his confederates. At this Abū Jaʿfar dispatched against him Khāzim b. Khuzaymah[229] with about 8,000 men from Marw al-Rūdh. Khāzim marched forth as far as al-Mawṣil, where he encamped; from there he sent some of his associates forward toward Balad[230] along with the pioneer units.

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222. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVIII. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 196, cites an Ashtākhawst near Marw and an Ishtīkhan in Samarqand. For the latter, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 466.

223. Isbīdhrūdh or Sabīdhrūdh, more commonly Safīd-Rūd, was the name of a river in southeastern Ādharbayjān. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 172–73; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 141; Le Strange, *Lands*, 169–70.

224. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 247–48, the governor of Ādharbayjān, Yazīd b. Ḥātim, gave a guarantee of safe-conduct to Jahwar, but the guarantee was transgressed and Jahwar was killed. Yazīd then sent Jahwar's head and the heads of his assassins to al-Manṣūr.

225. For other accounts see *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 225; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 248–50; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 485–86; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 74; Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, 376.

226. This continues the account begun by Ṭabarī at III, 120.

227. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī was a governor of al-Baṣrah under al-Manṣūr and brother of the renegade Khurāsānī governor whose defeat is described under the year 141. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 230, 257; Crone, *Slaves*, 173.

228. See note 109.

229. See note 77.

230. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXIX. Balad (Balaṭ) was a city on the Tigris northwest of al-Mawṣil. Cornu, *Répertoires*, 16; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 484–85; Le Strange, *Lands*, 99, 125; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 482, 484, 500.

This advance party went on to Balad, where they dug trenches and set up booths (*aswāq*)[231] for him. News of that reached al-Mulabbid, so he came forth and encamped at Balad in the trench that Khāzim's diggers had prepared. When Khāzim learned of that, he went out to a heavily fortified spot on the outskirts of al-Mawṣil and set up camp there. Hearing of this, al-Mulabbid crossed the Tigris from Balad and headed for Khāzim on the other side going toward al-Mawṣil. When news of that reached Khāzim as well as Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī, the governor of al-Mawṣil, the latter ordered Khāzim to come back from his encampment [on the outskirts] so that he could cross by the bridge in al-Mawṣil. Khāzim, however, forebore doing so, preferring to make a bridge from his camp site and thereby cross [i.e., over the ditch; see below] to al-Mulabbid.

Naḍalah b. Nuʿaym b. Khāzim b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nahshalī[232] was in command of Khāzim's vanguard and scouts, while the right flank was headed by Zuhayr b. Muḥammad al-ʿĀmirī[233] and the left by Abū Ḥammād al-Abraṣ,[234] the *mawlā* of the Banū Sulaym.[235] Khāzim himself marched with the center. He kept up with al-Mulabbid and his confederates until evening fell, whereupon they took opposing positions for the night.[236] On Wednesday morning, al-Mulabbid and his men decamped, heading for the district of Ḥazzah.[237] Khāzim and his troops continued to keep level with them until night fell, and they resumed once more on Thursday. Al-Mulabbid and his men kept moving as if intend-

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231. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *sūq*.

232. Naḍalah b. Nuʿaym had previously commanded Khāzim b. Khuzaymah's vanguard in a battle against the Khārijīs in 134/751. Ṭabarī, III, 78–80. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 485, gives the name as Faḍalah b. Nuʿaym.

233. For earlier military services by Zuhayr b. Muḥammad, see Ṭabarī, III, 4, 21.

234. Some seven years later (see under the year 145) Abū Ḥammad al-Marwazī would fight for al-Manṣūr against another insurgent, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh.

235. Sulaym b. Manṣūr were a tribe of Qays-ʿAylān whose traditional territory lay in the Ḥijāz between Mecca and Medina. *EI*[1], s.v. (H. Lammens); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, 122; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 261–64; Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*.

236. Following Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 498, reading *tawāqafū* rather than the Leiden text's one of *tawāfaqū*.

237. Arḍ Ḥazzah, the Sāsānid district of Adiabene, lay southeast of al-Mawṣil. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 256; Morony, *Iraq*, 126, 127 (map), 204; *EI*[2], s.v. al-Mawṣil (E. Honigmann and C. E. Bosworth); Caetani, *Cronographia generale* 141; Ṭabarī, I, 820.

ing to escape from Khāzim. At this, Khāzim and his confederates marched out in their tracks, leaving behind the trench equipped with caltrops, which Khāzim had dug against al-Mulabbid and his men. When Khāzim's force abandoned their trench, al-Mulabbid and his troops whirled around to attack them. Seeing
[124] that, Khāzim threw down the caltrops in front of al-Mulabbid and his confederates, who then attacked Khāzim, rolled up his right flank, and did the same to the left. Finally, they reached the center, commanded by Khāzim himself. As he realized that, Khāzim shouted to his men, "To the ground, to the ground!"[238] The troops dismounted, as did al-Mulabbid and his forces. The latter hamstrung their mounts, and then the opposing forces flailed away with their swords until the swords were broken. At this point Khāzim commanded Naḍalah b. Nuʿaym, "When the dust rises and we can no longer see each other, you and your men return to your horses and remount. Then start shooting arrows." Ibn Nuʿaym did as he was ordered, while Khāzim's troops fell back from the right all the way to the left flank. They then rained arrows on al-Mulabbid and his confederates, killing al-Mulabbid along with 800 of the men who had dismounted. (About 300 had been killed before they dismounted.) The rest fled, but Naḍalah pursued them and killed another 150 men.

In this year the Pilgrimage was led by al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās,[239] as both al-Wāqidī and others have reported. It is also said that Ibn Ṣāliḥ left his father in Syria as a simple pilgrim, but while he was on the road, his commissioned responsibility for the Pilgrimage ceremonies and for leading the Pilgrimage reached him, so he went on through Medina and entered the state of consecration (*iḥrām*)[240] from there on.[241]

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238. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 499, omits the second *al-arḍ* without textual citation.

239. Ṭabarī, II, 1716, III, 466, 470, 484, 491, dates the birth of this cousin of al-Manṣūr to 122/739–40 and notes that he became governor of the Jazīrah in 159/775–76 and was removed from that position in 161/777–78. Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 67, 75; Lassner, *Shaping*, appendix E; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 149.

240. In this ritual state the requisite garb for male pilgrims consists of two large pieces of unstitched cloth.

241. Ṭabarī later, at III, 147, explains Abū Jaʿfar's expectations of al-Faḍl in the search for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and his brother Ibrāhīm.

Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh[242] was governor of Medina, Mecca, and al-Ṭāʾif.[243] The governor of al-Kūfah and its Sawād was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; of al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts, Sulaymān b. ʿAlī,[244] while its judiciary was headed by Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh.[245] Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm was governor of Khurāsān, and Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī[246] was governor of Egypt.

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242. Cf. Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 147; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20, 24.

243. Al-Ṭāʾif is a town in the Sarāṭ mountains southeast of Mecca. *EI*[1], s.v. (H. Lammens); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 8–12.

244. Cf. Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 148; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 40, as ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī.

245. Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh (d. 157/773–74) was the grandfather of the famous Baghdādī judge and traditionist Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh al-Tamīmī (d. 245/859–60). It is reported that, before pronouncing judgment, he raised his head heavenward and let tears well up in his eyes. Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, VII, 260–61; Ṭabarī, III, 380; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XI, 544; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 37.

246. Cf. Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 149; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 105, 106. Zambaur, *Manuel*, 26, has Abū ʿAwn.

The Events of the Year 139

(June 5, 756–May 24, 757)

[125] Among the events of this year was the fact that Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad stayed on in Malaṭyah until they had completed its rebuilding.[247] Then these two waged the summer campaign through Darb al-Ḥadath,[248] penetrating deeply in Byzantine territory. Campaigning with Ṣāliḥ were his two sisters, Umm ʿĪsā[249] and Lubābah,[250] both the daughters of ʿAlī,[251] for they had vowed that if the Umayyad reign came to an end, they

247. Other sources include Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 444–45; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 171; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 74; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 488; *Chronicon Anonymum*, 173.

248. A narrow pass northwest of al-Ḥadath, a frontier town between Marʿash and Malaṭyah, whose name the "Arabs changed to *darb al-salāma* in an attempt to exorcise the evil fate which seemed to be attached to it." *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥadath (S. Ory); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 227–29; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 18; Le Strange, *Lands*, 121–22.

249. Umm ʿĪsā bt. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, who was married to Ibn Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 72.

250. Lubābah bt. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, who was married to Ibn Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās. Ibid.

251. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 117 or 118/735–37) was the grandfather of the first two ʿAbbāsid caliphs. *EI*², s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 71–80; Ṭabarī, II, 1592.

would fight "in the path of God."[252] Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī[253] mounted a raid through the Malaṭyah pass.

In this year al-Manṣūr and the Byzantine ruler worked out a ransom agreement by which the caliph recovered the Muslim prisoners from them.[254] After that, the sources report, the Muslims had no summer campaign until 146,[255] because Abū Jaʿfar was occupied with matters involving the two sons of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan.[256] Some sources say, however, that al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah conducted a summer campaign in the year 140 along with ʿAbd al-Wahhāb,[257] the son of Ibrāhīm the Imām. They say that the Byzantine leader, Constantine, along with 100,000 troops, came forward and encamped at the Jayḥān.[258] When, however, news of the magnitude of the Muslim force reached him, he pulled back. Following that incident there was no summer campaign until 146.

In this year ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān[259] went to Spain, where the populace accepted his hegemony and where his descendants rule to this day.

In this year Abū Jaʿfar enlarged the Mosque in Mecca.[260] Sources report that it was a very fertile year and was accordingly named "the Year of Abundance".[261]

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252. A Qur'ānic expression first encountered in *sūrat al-baqarah*, 2, 154: "And do not say of those who are killed [fighting] in the path of God 'they are dead.' "

253. According to Azdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 171, Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah also planted crops and used lime (*kils*) in rebuilding the city.

254. Kennedy, "Arab Settlement," 23, notes that at this point the city was garrisoned with 4,000 troops.

255. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 74; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 488.

256. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan ("al-Muthannā") b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. See note 402. Also *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ṣāḥib Fakhkh (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

257. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām b. Muḥammad (d. 157/774), a nephew of Abū Jaʿfar, led the Pilgrimage in 146 and waged summer campaigns in 151 and 152. He married a daughter of his great-uncle Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 94, 127; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 179.

258. The Jayḥān, or Ceyhan, River flows southwest from Elbistan to the Mediterranean. *EI*², s.v. Djayḥān (M. Canard); Le Strange, *Lands*, 120, 122, 129–31; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 202; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 6.

259. He died in 172/788, after consolidating Umayyad power from his capital in Cordova. *EI*², s.v. (E. Lévi-Provençal); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 244–53; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 489–96.

260. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 227, calls this *masjid al-kaʿbah*.

261. Other sources include *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 227; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 74–75.

In this year Sulaymān b. ʿAlī was dismissed from the governor-
[126] ship of al-Baṣrah and from jurisdiction over its subdistricts. Some sources record this for the year 140.

In this year al-Manṣūr appointed Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah[262] to the governorship of al-Baṣrah previously held by Sulaymān b. ʿAlī. Sources date that to Wednesday in the middle of Ramaḍān.[263] When Sulaymān was dismissed and Sufyān appointed, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and his confederates went into hiding, fearing for their own safety. Abū Jaʿfar heard about that and forwarded a letter to Sulaymān and ʿĪsā, the sons of ʿAlī, about sending ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī on to him. He adjured them to do so without delay, giving a sufficiently satisfactory pledge of security for ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī to secure their trust.[264] The caliph then wrote to Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah informing him of this and instructing him to pester and prod the two brothers into bringing forth ʿAbdallāh and his entourage. This Sulaymān and ʿĪsā did, bringing ʿAbdallāh, the mass of his army commanders, his closest associates, and his *mawlās* to reach Abū Jaʿfar on Thursday, the 17th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.[265]

In this year Abū Jaʿfar ordered the detention of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and his entourage and the execution of some of them.[266]

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262. Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab remained governor of al-Baṣrah until 145, when he was replaced by Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī, who was dismissed by Abū Jaʿfar within the year. In 132 Sufyān had unsuccessfully attempted to displace this same Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī as the last Umayyad governor of al-Baṣrah. Ṭabarī, III, 21–23, 319, 327; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 74–78; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 280.

263. 15 Ramaḍān 139 would be February 10, 757, which was actually a Thursday. Wüstenfeld and Mahler, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, 4; Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 161.

264. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 442, this *amān* was composed by the celebrated literary figure Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (Sourdel, "Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ"), who was then in the service of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī. The constraints against caliphal transgression of the agreement that he included in the document led to his dismissal and eventual execution. The text of this *amān* is reproduced in Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 168–70, while Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 104–5, details the grievances against Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ for which Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah exacted mortal vegeance.

265. Thursday, May 12, 757.

266. For other accounts, see Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 442–43; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 170 (given for the year 138); Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 75; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 496–97.

The Arrest of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī

When Sulaymān and ʿĪsā, the sons of ʿAlī, reached Abū Jaʿfar, he gave them leave to enter his presence. They informed him that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was there and asked Abū Jaʿfar's permission for him to enter. The caliph acceded to their request and engaged them in conversation, having already prepared a place of confinement in his palace for ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and given orders that ʿAbdallāh be taken off there after ʿĪsā and Sulaymān had entered his presence. That having been done, Abū Jaʿfar rose from his seat and said to Sulaymān and ʿĪsā, "Hurry off with ʿAbdallāh." When they went out without finding ʿAbdallāh in the antechamber [127] where he had been waiting, they realized he had been arrested. Attempting to return to Abū Jaʿfar, however, their way was barred. At the same time those confederates of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī who were present were divested of their swords and imprisoned. Khufāf b. Manṣūr had forewarned them of that and now rued the fact that he had come himself, saying to them, "You should do what I say. We could make a concerted attack on Abū Jaʿfar and, by God, no one could get in our way before we'd done away with him! Then we'd rush these doors with our swords drawn and no one would dare try and stop us without our taking his life.[267] And so, eventually, we'd get out of here and escape." But they refused to obey him, so when their swords were seized and Abū Jaʿfar ordered their imprisonment, Khufāf began to make rude sounds in his beard[268] and spit in his comrades' faces. Abū Jaʿfar then ordered that some of them be killed in his presence and sent those remaining to Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm in Khurāsān, where the latter killed them. Other sources state that Abū Jaʿfar's imprisonment of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī occurred in 140.[269]

In this year al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās led the Pilgrimage.

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267. *Afatnāhu nafsahu*, following Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXIX.

268. *Yaḍriṭu fī liḥyatihi* as an expression of derision or impatience. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḍaraṭa*.

269. For an account of the death of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī in 147/764–65, see Ṭabarī, III, 328–31; Lassner, "Did the Caliph?" and *Shaping*, 39–57.

The governor of Mecca, Medina, and al-Ṭāʾif was Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī, while ʿĪsā b. Mūsā was in charge of al-Kūfah and its administrative territory. Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah headed al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts, with Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh in charge of its judiciary. Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm was governor of Khurāsān.

The Events of the Year 140

(May 25, 757–May 13, 758)

The Death of the Governor of Khurāsān and What Brought It About

It is related that one night some members of the army became so stirred up against Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm, then Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr's governor in Khurāsān, that they converged on the house where he lived near the Kushmāhan[270] gate in the city of Marw.[271] Perched on the edge of a protruding brick, Abū Dāwūd looked down from the parapet and began to shout out to his confederates so that they would recognize his voice. Near daybreak, however, the brick broke, and Abū Dāwūd fell onto the overhang (*sutrah*)[272] of a portico at the forward section of the terrace, breaking his back. He died about the time of the afternoon prayer.

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270. Also Kushmayhan, this was a village northeast of Marw on the road to Bukhārā. Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 43; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 151; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 463. Le Strange, *Lands*, 400, gives this as the Dār Mashkān gate.

271. Other sources include Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 498; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 226–27; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 75.

272. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *satara*.

ʿIṣām,[273] Abū Dāwūd's prefect of police, acted as his successor until ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī arrived.

In this year Abū Jaʿfar appointed ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān governor of Khurāsān.[274] He arrived and there arrested some of the army commanders whom he is said to have suspected of promoting the cause of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's descendants. Among them were Mujāshiʿ b. Ḥurayth al-Anṣārī, commander (*ṣāḥib*) of Bukhārā; Abū al-Mughīrah, a *mawlā* of the Banū Tamīm[275] (also known as Khālid b. Kathīr),[276] who was commander of Qūhistān;[277] and al-Ḥarīsh b. Muḥammad al-Dhuhlī, Abū Dāwūd's paternal first cousin. These he killed, while al-Junayd b. Khālid b. Huraym al-Taghlibī and Maʿbad b. al-Khalīl al-Muzanī[278] were imprisoned after a severe beating. ʿAbd al-Jabbār confined a number of the most prominent Khurāsānī army commanders and insisted on extracting the remaining revenues due from Abū Dāwūd's agents.

[129] In this year Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr went on the Pilgrimage, entering the state of consecration at al-Ḥīrah.[279] Upon completion of the Pilgrimage he returned to Medina and from there proceeded to Jerusalem.[280]

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273. Abū ʿIṣām ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaym, a *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXIX. According to al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 226, al-Manṣūr promised Abū ʿIṣām that he would be the "amīr of Khurāsān" if he killed Abū Dāwūd.

274. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 227–30; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 445; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 498; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 75; Moscati, "La Rivolta," 613–15.

275. Tamīm b. Murr was a major tribal group of central and east Arabia. *EI*², s.v. (G. Levi della Vida); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 59, II, 544.

276. Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 184, 202, lists these two as governors of Bukhārā and Qūhistān, respectively. See also Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 277, II, 298.

277. Qūhistān was the region of eastern Khurāsān centered around the town of Qāyin. *EI*², s.v. (J. H. Kramers); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 153; Le Strange, *Lands*, 352–63; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 416.

278. Maʿbad b. al-Khalīl al-Muzanī was appointed governor of Sind in 157/773 and died in 159/775–76. Ṭabarī, III, 380, 461.

279. To do so at such an early stage was presumably intended as a gesture of particular piety, because entering on the state of *iḥrām* carried various abstentions with it.

280. Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 379–80, speaks of Abū Jaʿfar's generosity to the people of Medina. See also *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 227; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Maʿārif*, 378; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 444, 469; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 173; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 75.

For this year, the governors of the major cities were the same as the year before except for Khurāsān, its governor being ʿAbd al-Jabbār. When Abū Jaʿfar reached Jerusalem he prayed at the mosque there and then took the road for Syria,[281] continuing on to sojourn at al-Raqqah. There he was brought Manṣūr b. Jaʿwanah b. al-Ḥārith al-ʿĀmirī[282] of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah,[283] whom he had executed. Leaving there, Abū Jaʿfar took the Euphrates as far as al-Hāshimiyyah, i.e., the Hāshimiyyah of al-Kūfah.[284]

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281. Sourdel, "Syrie," 166, marks this as one of two visits that al-Manṣūr made to Syria during his reign.

282. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 192, places this execution in 141. As a former official for ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, he is among those who went into hiding when ʿAbdallāh fled to al-Baṣrah in 137.

283. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah were a large tribal group in western central Arabia. *EI*², s.v. (W. Caskel); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, II, 163–64.

284. Al-Hāshimiyyah was the early ʿAbbāsid administrative center near Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah. *EI*², s.v. (J. Lassner); Lassner, *Shaping*, 151–62; Le Strange, *Lands*, 70–71; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 389.

The Events of the Year

141

(May 14, 758–May 3, 759)

Among the events of this year was the revolt of the Rāwandiyyah.[285] Some of the sources state that the episode involving the Rāwandiyyah and Abū Jaʿfar, which I am going to relate, took place in 137 or 136.[286]

The Rāwandiyyah Affair and How Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr Dealt with Them

According to the account given on the authority of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, the Rāwandiyyah were a Khurāsānī group who fol-

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285. The Rāwandiyyah were a largely Khurāsānī group of proto-Shīʿī Hāshimīs, linked to the eponymous ʿAbdallāh al-Rāwandī, who acknowledged Muḥammad b. ʿAlī's succession from Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyah and who through a belief in metempsychosis (*tanāsukh al-arwāḥ*) elevated Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr to divine status. Cahen, "Points de vue"; Laoust, *Schismes*, 62; Hodgson, "Early Shīʿa."

286. Other sources include *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 227–28; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 380; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 235–37; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 173; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 502–4; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 160–61; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 75–77; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 395–96.

lowed Abū Muslim,[287] leader of the Banū Hāshim cause.[288] They are said to have believed in the transmigration of souls,[289] claiming that the spirit (*rūḥ*) of Adam dwelt in ʿUthmān b. Nahīk;[290] that their Lord, who gave them food and drink, was Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr;[291] and that al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah[292] was Gabriel.

They arrived at al-Manṣūr's castle and began to circumambulate it, saying, "This is the castle of our Lord." Consequently al- [130]
Manṣūr sent for their leaders and imprisoned 200 of them. At this their comrades grew angry and asked, "Why were they imprisoned?" Al-Manṣūr forbade them to congregate, but they prepared a bier and, carrying the coffin[293] empty with no one in it, they crossed through the city as far as the gate of the prison, threw down the bier, attacked the people, and entered the prison. After extricating their confederates, the Rāwandiyyah, then 600 strong, started to make their way back to al-Manṣūr. The populace, however, sounded the alarm, and the city gates were fastened shut so that no one could enter. There being no riding horse stabled in the castle, al-Manṣūr left there on foot. (From that day on, he began to keep one of the caliphal palace horses tethered close by in the castle compound.)

When al-Manṣūr left the castle, a mount was brought for him. Bestriding it, he was himself heading for the Rāwandiyyah mob when Maʿn b. Zāʾidah[294] came to a halt before Abū Jaʿfar and

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287. According to al-Nawbakhtī, they claimed that Abū Muslim was a prophet sent by Abū Jaʿfar and that he had the power to cause death and revivification. Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-shīʿah*, 52.

288. For the connection of the Rāwandiyyah with Abū Muslim and the larger ʿAbbāsid cause, see Cahen, "Points de vue," 324–32.

289. See Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna al-firaq*, 254.

290. See note 157. See also Laoust, *Schismes*, 62, who gives the name as Ibn Nuhayk [Nuhaik].

291. The *imāmah* lineage from Muḥammad to Abū Jaʿfar is given by Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt al-islamiyyīn*, I, 94.

292. Al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah al-ʿAtakī was the governor of Mecca 141–43/758–61. In 155/771–72 al-Manṣūr appointed him to al-Baṣrah. A year later he died in Baghdad during intercourse with a slave girl, and at his burial rites the caliph prayed over his body. Ṭabarī, III, 138, 373, 378; *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 218, as al-ʿAkkī; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VIII, 105; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20.

293. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 235, the coffin ostensibly held the body of a dead woman but was actually filled with weapons.

294. Abū al-Walīd Maʿn b. Zāʾidah al-Shaybānī (d. 152/769–70) was an Umayyad commander who defended Wāsiṭ against the ʿAbbāsids and allegedly killed Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb. His rescue of al-Manṣūr won him forgiveness and ad-

threw himself into action.[295] Hastily dismounting and tucking the lower part of this tunic (*birkat al-qabāʾ*)[296] into his belt, he grabbed the rein of al-Manṣūr's horse and said, "By God I implore you, Commander of the Faithful, to go back,[297] for you are safe [if you do this]."[298] Abū Naṣr Mālik b. al-Haytham then arrived and stationed himself at the castle door, saying, "Today I shall be a gatekeeper."[299] The market folk were called out, and they hurled missiles upon the Rāwandiyyah, fighting until they had exhausted them. At this point the city gate was opened so that the people could enter. Khāzim b. Khuzaymah, arriving on a gelding, asked the Commander of the Faithful whether he should massacre the Rāwandiyyah. "Yes," Abū Jaʿfar replied, so Khāzim assaulted them, forcing them back against a wall. They then turned on Khāzim and laid the commander and his forces bare to attack. But Khāzim retaliated and again forced them back to the city wall. To al-Haytham b. Shuʿbah[300] he said, "When they wheel round against us, get behind them to the wall and kill them as they go back once more." The Rāwandiyyah attacked Khāzim,
[131] but he pretended to flee before them[301] and, with al-Haytham b. Shuʿbah coming up from behind them, they were all killed.

At that time ʿUthmān b. Nahīk went out and spoke to the Rāwandiyyah.[302] As he withdrew, they shot him in the back with an arrow, from which he died after a few days of illness. Standing at his grave until burial, Abū Jaʿfar prayed for ʿUthmān, saying, "May God have mercy on you, Abū Yazīd." In ʿUthmān's place as

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ministrative appointments in the Yemen and Sīstān. He was killed at Bust in a surprise attack by local Khārijīs. *EI*², s.v. (H. Kennedy); Ṭabarī, III, 15–16, 394–96; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 401–2; Crone, *Slaves*, 169; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, V, 244–54.

295. *Fa-ramā bi-nafsihi.*

296. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXVIX, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *baraka.*

297. *Allā rajaʿta*, following Wright, *Grammar*, II, 305.

298. This scene is presented in greater detail on p. 68, below.

299. For a somewhat expanded version of this pledge, see p. 43.

300. Al-Haytham b. Shuʿbah b. Zuhayr al-Tamīmī (d. 156/772–73) was a *mawlā* of al-Manṣūr who served under both Khāzim b. Khuzaymah and Khuzaymah b. Khāzim. Ṭabarī, III, 356–57, 856; Lassner, *Topography*, 70 (translating al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*).

301. *Fa-iṭṭarada lahum.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭarada.*

302. See p. 63, where the Rāwandiyyah esteem him as the embodiment of the prophet Adam's spirit.

head of his guard, the caliph then appointed ʿĪsā b. Nahīk,[303] who held that position until he died, whereupon Abū Jaʿfar named Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ṭūsi[304] to the post.

On that day, after the gates had been bolted, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī arrived and said to the gatekeeper, "Open up and you shall have 1,000 dirhams," but the gatekeeper refused. That was also the same day that al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Ḍirār,[305] prefect of police for ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, was in the city and gave proof of his courage. All of this occurred in the city of al-Hāshimiyyah near al-Kūfah.

When al-Rabīʿ came forward to seize al-Manṣūr's bridle that day, Maʿn said to him, "This is not one of your days!" Abarwīz,[306] son of the Maṣmughān,[307] the ruler of Dunbāwand,[308] also made a gallant showing. Having quarreled with his brother, he had come to Abū Jaʿfar, who treated him graciously, providing a subsidy for him. On this day, therefore, he again came before the caliph, made obeisance to him, and asked whether he should fight the Rāwandiyyah. With the caliph's approval, he proceeded to the task. As soon as he had struck and felled one, he would withdraw [to fight another].

When the Rāwandiyyah had been slain and al-Manṣūr had prayed the noon prayer, he called for dinner but said, "Bring Maʿn b. Zāʾidah here,"[309] not touching his food until Maʿn arrived. The

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303. ʿĪsā b. Nahīk al-ʿAkkī, like his brother ʿUthmān, was one of the seven *duʿāt* in the Khurāsānī town of Abīward. After his death Abū Jaʿfar proved extraordinarily generous to his family. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 218; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 73; Ṭabarī, III, 400; Crone, *Slaves*, 189.

304. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭāʾī al-Ṭūsī was also a *dāʿī* in Abīward and a revolutionary commander who fought against Ibn Hubayrah at Wāsiṭ. He later served in administrative positions under the caliphs al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, and Hārūn al-Rashīd. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 218; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 24; Ṭabarī, II, 1950, 1963, III, 20, 324, 517, 521; Crone, *Slaves*, 174.

305. For the year 147, Ṭabarī, III, 347, reports him as being in command of the police force (*shurṭah*) of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 60, II, 465; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 233.

306. In *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 228, Abarwīz's full title is give as "al-Maṣmughān Mālik b. Dīnār, *malik* of Dunbāwand."

307. A Zoroastrian dynasty whose name means "great one of the Magians." *EI*², s.v. (V. Minorsky).

308. Now Damāwand, the district and town, took their names from the highest peak in Ṭabaristān, a volcanic mountain mass visible from Tehran and well beyond. *EI*², s.v. Damāwand (M. Streck): Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 462, 475–77; Le Strange, *Lands*, 371; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 40; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 123.

309. *Aṭliʿū*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭalaʿ*.

caliph asked Qutham[310] to change places and had Maʿn sit in his place. When they finished the meal, al-Manṣūr said to ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, "Abū al-ʿAbbās, have you heard [of the phrase] "the lions[311] among men?" " With ʿĪsā's affirmative response Abū Jaʿfar continued, "Had you seen Maʿn today you would realize that he is one of those lions." "By God, Commander of the Faithful," interjected Maʿn, "indeed I came before you with a coward's heart. But when I saw how you disdained them and dauntlessly advanced
[132] against them, I saw something in warfare that I had hitherto never seen among men. That emboldened me and prompted the deeds you witnessed."

Ibn Khuzaymah said, "Commander of the Faithful, some of the Rāwandiyyah group are still alive." To this Abū Jaʿfar replied, "As I have charged you with authority in the matter, go ahead and kill them." Then I shall kill Rizām,[312] as he is one of them," said Ibn Khuzaymah. At this Rizām took refuge with Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar;[313] as his son had made an appeal on Rizām's behalf,[314] the caliph had granted him a guarantee of safe-conduct.

According to ʿAlī—Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī:[315] I was standing at the gate of the Commander of the Faithful when he made an appearance, and a man next to me said, "This is the Lord of Power!

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310. Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 159/775–76) was governor of al-Yamāmah from 143 until the time of his death, having died before al-Mahdī's letter of deposition reached him. Ṭabarī, III, 142, 466; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 74; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām* V, 190. Under the year 151, Ṭarbarī, III, 365–67, offers an account of the stratagem by which Qutham split Abū Jaʿfar's army into tribal and regional groupings for strategic reasons.

311. *Bi-usudi al-rijāl*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXIX; cf. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 506–7: *bi-ashadda al-rijāl*.

312. The *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī, the governor of Medina who was displaced in 144 by Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī. Rizām remained steadfastly loyal to his master despite savage beatings. Ṭabarī, III, 164–65.

313. Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar, the elder of two sons of the caliph who carried this name, was appointed governor of al-Mawṣil in 145 but predeceased his father, dying in 150/767 in Baghdad. He was buried in the cemetery of Quraysh, and al-Manṣūr wept at his interment. Ṭabarī, III, 353, 358, 442; Le Strange, *Bagdad*, 109, 160; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 36; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 266–67.

314. *Fa-ṭalaba fīhi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭalaba*.

315. Salamah b. ʿAbdallāh Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī (d. 159/775–6), a Baṣran *muḥaddith*, was numbered among the close associates (*ṣaḥābah*) of al-Manṣūr. A noted raconteur, he was once embarrassed by the caliph when reminded that he had repeated the same story. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 325; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 52.

This is the one who gives us food and drink." Upon the Commander of the Faithful's return, while people were being admitted to his presence, I entered when he was alone and exclaimed, "Today I heard something amazing!" I then repeated what the man had said. Poking at the ground he remarked, "O Hudhalī, when He raises them up I'd rather God send them to Hell while obedient to us, dragging them down, than send them to heaven while disobedient."[316]

According to Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh[317]—al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ[318]—his father:[319] I heard al-Manṣūr say, "I have made three mistakes from whose evil consequences God has protected me: I had Abū Muslim killed in a cloth tent (*khiraq*)[320] while surrounded by those who gave preference and precedence to obeying him. Had the cloth been rent asunder, I would have perished. I went forth on the day of the Rāwandiyyah revolt. Had a stray arrow struck me, I would have perished. I went off to Syria; had but two swords clashed in Iraq, the caliphate would have perished."

It has been said that Maʿn b. Zāʾidah was in hiding from Abū Jaʿfar because of the blame he bore for the repeated battles he fought, together with Ibn Hubayrah,[321] against the ʿAbbāsid partisans. Marzūq Abū al-Khaṣīb helped Maʿn to go into hiding and tried to seek protection for him. At the time of the Rāwandiyyah insurrection, Maʿn came to the caliph's gate and took a stand there. When al-Manṣūr asked Abū al-Khaṣīb, then the caliph's [133]
chamberlain, who was at the gate, he replied, "Maʿn b. Zāʾidah." At this al-Manṣūr exclaimed, "A man of the Arabs, strong-hearted, well-versed in warfare, and of able pedigree—show him

316. Cf. Qurʾān 44:47: *fa-iʿtilūhu ilā sawāʾ al-jaḥīm.*

317. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Rukānah, whom Ṭabarī cites only one other time, when recounting the events of the year 145.

318. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, the son of al-Manṣūr's chamberlain al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, succeeded Yaḥyā al-Barmakī as Hārūn al-Rashīd's vizier and retained that position during the reign of al-Amīn. He died in 207/822–23 or 208/823–24. *EI*[2], s.v. (D. Sourdel); Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 183–94; Chejne, "Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ," 237–44.

319. Al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus. See note 162.

320. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *kharaqa*.

321. Abū Khālid Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah al-Fazārī (d. 132/750) was the last Umayyad governor of Iraq. He was killed after the battle of Wāsiṭ by order of Abū Jaʿfar. Ṭabarī, II, 1984, III, 68–71; *EI*[1], s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); *EI*[2], s.v. (J. -C. Vadet), where the name is given as Yūsuf b. ʿUmar; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 207–8.

in!" When he entered al-Manṣūr said, "Tell me now, Maʿn, what ought we to do?" "I think that you should summon the people to arms," replied Maʿn, "and order them to be paid." Al-Manṣūr retorted, "Where would we get the people and the resources? Who would willingly venture to lay himself open to these infidels! You should not do anything [at all], Maʿn. It would be better if I were to go out and take a stand. When the people see me they will fight and prove valiant, rallying to me and pulling themselves together. If, however, I stay inside here they will become slack and careless." Taking his hand Maʿn said, "By God, Commander of the Faithful, if you do, you could be killed immediately. In God's name I implore you to think of yourself." Abū al-Khaṣīb came forward and said much the same thing to the caliph. Snatching his cloak from their grasp, Abū Jaʿfar called for his horse and leapt astride without using the stirrup. Then he adjusted his garments and headed out with Maʿn holding his bridle and Abū al-Khaṣīb at his stirrup. The caliph took his stand, and immediately a man came at him, at which the caliph said, "O Maʿn, look to that ruffian!" Maʿn fought him strenuously to the death and then did the same to four more, one right after another. The people rallied back to Abū Jaʿfar and braced themselves for the fray, and in not more than an hour annihilated the Rāwandiyyah. After that Maʿn disappeared. At this Abū Jaʿfar said to Abū al-Khaṣīb, "You'd better tell me where Maʿn is!" "God's truth," he answered, "I have no idea where on earth he is." Continued Abū Jaʿfar, "Does he suppose that the Commander of the Faithful will not forgive his offense after his bravery [today]? Give him a guarantee of safe-conduct and have him come to me." Abū al-Khaṣīb did so, and the caliph commanded that Maʿn be given 10,000 dirhams and [subsequently] made him governor of the Yemen.[322] [At that time] Abū al-Khaṣīb said to him, "Maʿn has already divided up what you gave him and won't have the means to do anything." "Were he to propose your [own] worth's equivalence a thousand times," retorted the caliph, "he could accomplish it."

322. More detail on the conditions of this appointment is provided in Ṭabarī, III, 393–95.

In this year Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr sent his son, Muḥammad,[323] who was then heir apparent,[324] to Khurāsān in command of the [134] troops. He ordered him to settle at al-Rayy, which Muḥammad did.

In this year Abū Jaʿfar's governor of Khurāsān, ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, renounced his allegiance.[325]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—someone (unspecified) who told him—Abū Ayyūb al-Khūzī: When al-Manṣūr heard that ʿAbd al-Jabbār was killing the Khurāsānī leaders, and received a letter from one of them declaring that the situation was ripe for insurrection,[326] he said to Abū Ayyūb al-Khūzī, "ʿAbd al-Jabbār has destroyed our base of support (*shīʿatanā*), doing so only because he intends to withdraw his allegiance." In response Abū Ayyūb said to the caliph, "How petty is his trickery! Write and tell him that you intend to make a raid against Byzantium so that he should send you the Khurāsānī forces together with their cavalry and commanders. When they have left Khurāsān, then send whomever you wish against the rebels. He will be unable to refuse this." Abū Jaʿfar agreed and wrote accordingly. In answer ʿAbd al-Jabbār wrote, "The Turks have been stirred up. If you disperse the troops, Khurāsān will be lost." Tossing the letter at Abū Ayyūb, Abū Jaʿfar asked what he advised now and was told, "He's played into your hands! Write and tell him: 'As Khurāsān is more important to me than anything else, I am sending on to you my own forces.' Then dispatch the troops to him so that they will be in Khurāsān and, if he is at the point of renouncing allegiance, they can grab him by the neck." Upon receipt of that letter ʿAbd

323. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad, whose regnal title was al-Mahdī, was the third ʿAbbāsid caliph. *EI*², s.v. al-Mahdī (H. Kennedy); S. Moscati, "Studi storici"; Omar, "Observations."

324. *Wa-huwa yawma'idhin waliyyu ʿahdin.* At the time of his death al-Saffāḥ had designated ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to succeed Abū Jaʿfar. The latter's successful efforts to dislodge ʿĪsā in favor his own son Muḥammad are placed by Ṭabarī among the events of year 147. See also Kennedy, "Succession Disputes," 29–33.

325. Other sources include *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 228–29; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 227–30; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 445–46; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 505–6; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 76; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 396–97; Agapius, *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, 376; Moscati, "La Rivolta," 613–15; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 203–8.

326. *Qad naghila al-adīmu.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *naghila*.

al-Jabbār wrote to Abū Jaʿfar, "The situation in Khurāsān has never been worse than this year. The troops will die if they come to Khurāsān, because of the shortages and high prices they will encounter here." When the letter reached Abū Jaʿfar, he threw it at Abū Ayyūb, saying, "Now he has really shown his hand and renounced his allegiance; debate with him no more."

Abū Jaʿfar then sent Muḥammad b. al-Manṣūr against ʿAbd al-Jabbār with orders to encamp at al-Rayy. Al-Mahdī[327] went there
[135] and sent Khāzim b. Khuzaymah ahead to fight as his vanguard[328] while he himself moved on to an encampment at Naysābūr. When the people of Marw al-Rūdh heard that Khāzim b. Khuzaymah had advanced against ʿAbd al-Jabbār, they moved [also] against him from their own district. Declaring war on him, they fought a fierce battle that ended in the rebel's defeat. He fled as a fugitive, finding refuge in a cotton plantation (*maʿṭabah*)[329] where he went into hiding. One of the people of Marw al-Rūdh, al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim,[330] came across him there and took him prisoner. When Khāzim arrived, al-Mujashshir brought ʿAbd al-Jabbār to him. Khāzim, in turn, dressed him in a woolen shift[331] and mounted him on a camel, with his face to the camel's rump,[332] all the way to al-Manṣūr. With him were his sons and confederates, who were extensively tortured. They were then beaten with whips until the caliph had extracted from them what moneys he could, at which point he commanded al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr[333]

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327. The contention that Abū Jaʿfar gave this title to his son in order to counter its application to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh (Ṭabarī, III, 209) remains a subject of debate. See Zaman, "Revolutionary Charisma," 257–64; Bacharach, "*Laqab* for a Future Caliph."

328. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 446, he sent ʿUsayd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khuzāʿī.

329. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXX, for *maqṭanah*; *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaṭiba*.

330. Al-Mujashshir b. Muzāḥim Abū al-ʿAddabas al-Sulamī was a Khurāsānī military commander who first appears in Ṭabarī as suggesting Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī's siege against the Soghdians. Ṭabarī, II, 1241, and *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCLXXXIV, for this amended form of the name.

331. A *midraʿah* was a coarsely woven tunic normally worn by slaves. Dozy, *Vêtements*, 177–82, and *Supplément*, I, 434.

332. A well-practiced form of humiliation; cf. Sharon, *Black Banners*, 123 n. 83; Moscati, "La Rivolta," 615.

333. Musayyab b. Zuhayr b. ʿAmr al-Ḍabbī (d. 175/791), an ʿAbbāsid *nazīr al-nuqabāʾ* who served under Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb, was head of the *shurṭah* for al-

to chop ʿAbd al-Jabbār's hands and feet off and then to behead him. Al-Musayyab did so. Al-Manṣūr further commanded that ʿAbd al-Jabbār's sons be sent to Dahlak,[334] an island just off the coast of the Yemen, where they remained until attacked by raiders from al-Hind and taken prisoner as part of a larger group. Eventually they [i.e., members of the group] were ransomed, with some being saved. The son of ʿAbd al-Jabbār was among those rescued. He was registered on the *dīwān* [i.e., for a stipend]. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār became the companion of caliphs, and remained thus until he died in Egypt during the caliphate of Hārūn [al-Rashīd][335] in 170.

In this year the [re]building of al-Maṣṣīṣah[336] was brought to completion by Jibraʾīl b. Yaḥyā al-Khurāsānī,[337] and Muḥammad, the son of Ibrāhīm the Imām,[338] took up a frontier posting in Malaṭyah.

The sources offer differing accounts of the affair involving ʿAbd al-Jabbār. Al-Wāqidī said that the episode occurred in 142, while others have said it was in 141.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: ʿAbd al-Jabbār arrived in [136]
Khurāsān on the tenth of Rabīʿ I in 141[339]—some sources say that

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Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr, and Hārūn al-Rashīd and governor of Khurāsān and the Jazīrah for al-Mahdī. He died at Minā and was buried at al-ʿAqabah. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 219; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 687, 697; Crone, *Slaves*, 186–87; *Ziriklī*, *Aʿlām*, VII, 225.

334. Dahlak is an island archipelago that actually lies closer to the coast of Ethiopia. *EI²*, s.v. [S. H. Longrigg]; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 72; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 492.

335. Hārūn al-Rashīd, the grandson of al-Manṣūr, was the fifth ʿAbbāsid caliph, ruling 170–93/786–809. *EI²*, s.v. [F. Omar].

336. Classical Mopsuestis and present-day Misis, al-Maṣṣīṣah was a town on the west bank of the Jayḥān about twenty-five kilometers north of the Mediterranean coast. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 166, al-Manṣūr built a great mosque there and called the city al-Maʿmūrah. *EI²*, s.v. [E. Honigmann]; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 9; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 144–45; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 306.

337. Jibraʾīl b. Yaḥyā al-Bajalī, a Khurāsānī officer, in 147/764–75 led an unsuccessful attempt to repel a Turkish attack on Armenia and later served as governor of Samarqand. Ṭabarī, III, 328, 459; Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 222; Crone, *Slaves*, 179.

338. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 185/801–2), son of the ʿAbbāsid family leader who was executed by order of Marwān II in 132/748, served various terms as governor of Mecca and Medina. Ṭabarī, II, 1716, III, 385; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IX, 88–89.

339. Friday, July 21, 758.

it was on the fourteenth[340]—and was put to flight on Saturday, the sixth of Rabīʿ I in 142.[341]

According to Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith[342]—Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ:[343] When al-Manṣūr sent al-Mahdī to al-Rayy—this occurred before the building of Bagdad—he sent him to fight ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Al-Mahdī, however, took care of the situation through others who actually did the fighting and defeated ʿAbd al-Jabbār. Abū Jaʿfar was unwilling that the expenses provided for al-Mahdī should be wasted, so he wrote telling him to raid Ṭabaristān, to encamp at al-Rayy, and to dispatch Abū al-Khaṣīb and Khāzim b. Khuzaymah with troops against the Iṣbahbadh.[344] At that time the Iṣbahbadh was feuding with the Maṣmughān, the king of Dunbāwand, and was encamped opposite him. Word reached the Iṣbahbadh that the caliph's troops had entered his territory and that Abū al-Khaṣīb had moved into Sāriyah.[345] That news, in turn, greatly troubled the Maṣmughān, who said to the Iṣbahbadh: "When they come against you, they come against me." With this they agreed to wage war against the Muslims. The Iṣbahbadh went off to his home territory and fought lengthy battles against the Muslims.

Abū Jaʿfar dispatched ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlāʾ,[346] of whom Bashshār [b. Burd][347] says:

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340. Tuesday, July 25, 758.

341. Sunday, July 7, 759.

342. Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad al-Ḥārith b. al-Mubārak al-Khazzāz or al-Kharrāz (d. 258/872) was a student of al-Madāʾinī and a prominent Baghdādī poet, littérateur, and historian. Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, I, 186; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, I, 109; *GAS*, I, 318–19; Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 947.

343. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṣfurī (d. 240/854), known as Shabāb, was a Baṣran historian and the third generation of a line of distinguished *muḥaddithūn*. *EI*², s.v. (S. Zakkar); *GAS*, I, 110; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 143–44.

344. For other accounts, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 506–7; *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 229; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 338–39; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 447; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 77; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 397.

345. Sāriyah is a town (now Sārī) in Ṭabaristān about sixty-five kilometers east of Āmul. Le Strange, *Lands*, 370; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 143; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 232; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 170–71.

346. ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlāʾ, originally a butcher from al-Rayy, fought with Jahwar b. Marrār al-ʿIjlī against Sunbādh and later served as governor of Ṭabaristān for al-Mahdī. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 246; *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 247; Ṭabarī, III, 500, 520; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 54; Rabino di Borgomale, "Préfets du Califat," 252–53.

347. Abū Muʿādh was a blind Baṣran poet who was active in the literary life of Baghdad from its founding until his violent death in 169/785–86. *EI*², s.v. (R. Blachère); Ṭabarī, III, 538–39.

If you come to him as counselor—a useless task
for the misquided—say to the caliph:
When enemy wars awaken you,
rouse ʿUmar for them and rest again,
A fine young man who does not easily forget a grudge
and drinks no water unmixed with blood.

The caliph sent ʿUmar at the suggestion of the Maṣmughān's brother, Abarwīz,[348] who said to him, "O Commander of the [137] Faithful, ʿUmar knows the land of Ṭabaristān better than anyone, so send him." Abarwīz had come to know ʿUmar during the period of Sunbādh's revolt and that of the Rāwandiyyah. Abū Jaʿfar, therefore, sent Khāzim b. Khuzaymah to join ʿUmar, who entered and conquered al-Rūyān.[349] He then took the citadel of al-Ṭāq,[350] as well as its contents, in a protracted battle. Waging a relentless war, Khāzim conquered Ṭabaristān and killed many of its inhabitants. Subsequently the Iṣbahbadh entered his citadel and appealed for clemency on the condition that he surrender the stronghold with all his treasures. Al-Mahdī wrote Abū Jaʿfar to that effect, so the caliph dispatched Ṣāliḥ, the *ṣāḥib al-muṣallā*,[351] with a team who inventoried the fortress contents and then left. Accepting this, the Iṣbahbadh went on to the district of Jīlān[352] in the province of Daylam,[353] where he eventually

348. He is cited as son of the Maṣmughān on p. 65.

349. Al-Rūyān is the name of a town and a mountainous region immediately north of al-Rayy. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 104–5; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 142; Le Strange, *Lands*, 373–74; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 233.

350. A. D. H. Bivar (*EI*², s.v. Ḥiṣn. ii. Iran) cites Yāqūt, describing this fortress as "surrounded by unscaleable mountains and entered only by a long tunnel. The entrance was closed by a stone so large that 500 men were required to move it. Inside the fortress was a stream of water." Bivar cites Awliyāʾ Allāh Āmulī's *Taʾrīkh-i Rūyān* in locating al-Ṭāq "to the south of Sārī, beyond the gorge of Kūlā." Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 6.

351. According to Sourdel, "Questions," 131–32, 146, the *muṣallā* was the prayer carpet used to cover the caliph's seat and thus one of the royal insignia; the *ṣāḥib al-muṣallā* was the palace official charged with its care and placement. Ṣāliḥ served from the reign of al-Manṣūr to that of al-Amīn. Ṭabarī, III, 367, 576; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XI, 439–40; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 100; Lassner, *Shaping*, 217.

352. Jīlān was the region of Persia that lay south of the Caspian Sea and north of the Alburz range. *EI*², s.v. Gīlān (B. Spuler); Le Strange, *Lands*, 172–75; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 201–2.

353. Daylam was the mountainous region behind the Jīlān coastal area. At various times both terms *Jīlān* and *Daylam* were used to designate the province at

died.[354] The Iṣbahbadh's daughter was taken captive, later becoming the mother of Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad.[355] The force then turned their attention to the Maṣmughān. Finally, they seized him along with al-Baḥtariyyah,[356] who became the mother of Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī,[357] and ṢM?R/Ṣ?MR,[358] [also] the daughter of the Maṣmughān, who became ʿAlī b. Rayṭah's[359] concubine. This was the first conquest of Ṭabaristān.

When the Maṣmughān died, the inhabitants of that mountainous region became wild men (*ḥūziyyah*),[360] reverting to a savage state like the asses of the wilderness.

In this year Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī was dismissed as governor of Medina, Mecca, and al-Ṭāʾif. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī[361] was put in charge of Medina, arriving there

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the southwest corner of the Caspian Sea. The tenth-century geographer al-Muqaddasī designated the entire southern rim of the Caspian, including Ṭabaristān, as Daylam. *EI*², s.v. (V. Minorsky); Le Strange, *Lands*, 173; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 140; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 544.

354. An alternative account of his subsequent activities and eventual suicide is provided in year 142.

355. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (d. 224/839) held power in Baghdad as an anticaliph for about two years during the reign of his nephew, al-Maʾmūn. After a period in hiding, he was eventually discovered, imprisoned, and then pardoned. *EI*², s.v. (D. Sourdel), where his mother's name is give as Shiklah; but see Ṭabarī, III, 140.

356. The name is offered tentatively as Bakhtariyyah by Minorsky, *EI*², s.v. al-Maṣmughān. She is later identified in Ṭabarī, III, 140, as the niece of the Iṣbahbadh. See also Vasmer, "Die Eroberung Ṭabaristāns," 87, 100; Le Strange, *Lands*, 371–72.

357. Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (d. 236/850), son of the third ʿAbbāsid caliph, accepted the military command (*imrah*) of Baghdad in 201/816 but refused to compromise the caliphate of his uncle, al-Maʾmūn, by acting as anticaliph. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 278; Ṭabarī, III, 1001; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VII, 303.

358. This name is offered tentatively as Ṣmyr by Minorsky, *EI*², s.v. al-Maṣmughān; Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 511, gives the radicals ṢYMR.

359. Rayṭah was the daughter of Abū al-ʿAbbās and bore two sons to al-Mahdī, whose names were ʿAlī and ʿAbdallāh. The former led the Pilgrimage in 164 and 168. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 180; Ṭabarī, III, 501, 522; *EI*², s.v. al-Mahdī (H. Kennedy).

360. Or *ḥawziyyah*. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXX, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥāza*.

361. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, son of an Umayyad governor of Mecca and Iraq, rebelled in al-Kūfah in favor of the ʿAbbāsid cause after Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb's death in 132/749–50. *EI*², s.v. Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (G. R. Hawting); Ṭabarī, III, 18–20; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 138, 143.

in the month of Rajab. The Khurāsānī, al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah al-ʿAtakī, was made governor of al-Ṭāʾif and Mecca.

In this year Mūsā b. Kaʿb[362] died. He had been al-Manṣūr's prefect of police, governor of Egypt, and governor of al-Hind.[363] He was succeeded there by his son, ʿUyaynah.[364] [138]

In this year Mūsā b. Kaʿb was dismissed as governor of Egypt.[365] Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath was then appointed governor, but he, in turn, was dismissed from the post, and Nawfal b. al-Furāt was named governor.[366]

Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, the governor of Qinnasrīn,[367] Ḥimṣ,[368] and Damascus, led the Prilgrimage in this year.

The governor of Medina was Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī; of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah; of al-Kūfah and its administrative territory, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; of al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts, Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah; in charge of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah was Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh. The governor of

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362. Mūsā b. Kaʿb al-Tamīmī, a leading member of the ʿAbbāsid revolution as *naqīb* and officer, served as head of the *shurṭah* for both al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr and as governor of Egypt for the latter. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 216; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 445; Crone, *Slaves*, 186.

363. More properly, of the province of al-Sind; *al-Hind* generally referred to that part of India that lay beyond the Muslim conquests. *EI*², s.v. al-Hind. i (S. Maqbul Ahmad).

364. ʿUyaynah b. Mūsā was an ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī*; he served as deputy governor of India until the appearance of ʿUmar b. Ḥafs b. ʿUthmān b. Abī Ṣufrah. For the circumstances of this transfer of power, see under year 142 below. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 221; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 279.

365. For a recently discovered letter dated to this last year of his administration, see Hinds and Sakkout, "Letter from the Governor of Egypt."

366. Nawfal b. al-Furāt was actually charged with fiscal administration as *ṣāḥib al-kharāj* and made directly responsible to the caliph. Kindī, *Wulāh*, 108–9; Kennedy, "Central Government and Provincial Élites," 33.

367. Known in ancient times as Chalkis and mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud as Kannishrayyā, its ruins lie about twenty kilometers southwest of Aleppo. *EI*², s.v. (N. Elisséeff); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 11; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 403–4; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 450–77. For a recent study of its significance in the Muslim conquest of northern Syria, see Kaegi, *Byzantium*, 159–71.

368. Present-day Homs, this Syrian city lies about 140 kilometers north of Damascus. As Emesa, it was an ecclesiastical center in the patristic Christian period. *EI*², s.v. (N. Elisséeff); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 7; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 302–5; Dussaud, *Topographie*, 110–15.

Khurāsān was al-Mahdī, whose successor there was al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh,[369] while the governor of Egypt was Nawfal b. al-Furāt.

369. Al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbbās was removed as governor of Mecca in 146/763–64. Ṭabarī, III, 328. For his defense of Mecca during Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's rebellion, see under year 145.

The Events of the Year 142

(May 4, 759–April 21, 760)

Among the events of this year was ʿUyaynah b. Mūsā b. Kaʿb's renunciation of allegiance in al-Sind.[370]

Why ʿUyaynah b. Mūsā b. Kaʿb Renounced His Allegiance

It has been said that the reason for his renunciation of allegiance was as follows:[371] Al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr was the deputy to Mūsā b. Kaʿb as prefect of police, and when Mūsā died,[372] al-Musayyab took over the full office of his duties with the police forces. Fearing that al-Manṣūr would write to ʿUyaynah about

370. Al-Sind was the province surrounding the lower reaches of the Indus River; it covers roughly the same area as the modern Pakistani province of Sind. *EI*[1], s.v. (T. W. Haig).

371. Other sources include Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 448; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 509; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 77–78; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 398.

372. Cf. p. 75.

assuming these responsibilities and would appoint him rather than al-Musayyab, the latter wrote anonymously to ʿUyaynah a line of poetry:

[139] Your territory shall be your [final] plot of earth should you
come to us,
so sleep a sleep that holds no dreams.

When Abū Jaʿfar heard about ʿUyaynah's renunciation, he set out for an encampment with his army near the large embankment in al-Baṣrah[373] and dispatched ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Abī Ṣufrah al-ʿAtakī[374] to take over al-Sind and al-Hind and to fight ʿUyaynah b. Mūsā. Consequently, ʿUmar went off to al-Sind and al-Hind, where he took forcible control.[375]

In this year the Iṣbahbadh of Ṭabaristān abrogated the pact between the Muslims and himself, killing the Muslims who lived in his country.[376]

The Affair of the Iṣbahbadh and the Muslims

It is related that when Abū Jaʿfar heard the news about the Iṣbahbadh and what he had done to the Muslims, he sent Khāzim b. Khuzaymah and Rawḥ b. Ḥātim[377] against him, together with

373. Perhaps the site of what came to be known as ʿAskar Abī Jaʿfar. Ṭabarī, III, 1843; Le Strange, *Lands*, 47; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 25; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 122–23.

374. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Abī Ṣufrah al-ʿAtakī, known also as Hazārmard, (Persian, "thousand men") was part of the noted Muhallabī family and served as an ʿAbbāsid governor in al-Baṣrah, Baḥrayn, and Sind. He is especially remembered for his battles against the Khārijī rebel forces in Ifrīqiyah and died there in 154/771. In the section on year 151, Ṭabarī describes the ploy used by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh to seek his allegiance. *EI*[1], s.v. ʿOmar b. Ḥafṣ (G. Marçais); Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 230; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 190–91; Crone, *Slaves*, 134; Ṭabarī, III, 359–64.

375. For al-Manṣūr's relations with his governors in al-Sind, see Friedmann, "Early History of Islam in India," 316.

376. For other sources, see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 338–39; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 509–10; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 77–78; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 398; *EI*[2], s.v. Dābūya (B. Spuler); Madelung "Minor Dynasties."

377. Rawḥ b. Ḥātim b. Qabīṣah al-Muhallabī (d. 174/791) fought for the ʿAbbāsids at Wāsiṭ and served various governorships for the first five ʿAbbāsid caliphs. According to Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIV, 149, the only other person with such a record was Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who held appointments under the Prophet and

Marzūq (i.e., Abū al-Khaṣīb, the *mawlā* of Abū Jaʿfar). They besieged the Iṣbahbadh's fortress, blockading him and those who were there with him until the stalemate became too prolonged. So Abū al-Khaṣīb resorted to a stratagem to solve the matter. He first told his confederates to beat him and shave his head and beard, which they did, and then he made his way to the Iṣbahbadh, the commander of the fortress. Abū Khaṣīb said to him, "I have been treated atrociously; I was beaten and my head and beard were shaved." "My confederates did that," he continued, "on the mere suspicion that my sympathies lie with you." Abū al-Khaṣīb went on to tell the Iṣbahbadh that he was on his side and would point out the weak spot in the Muslim campsite.

The Iṣbahbadh accepted Abū Kaṣīb's proposal, making him one of his close circle and showing him special favor. Now the gate of their city consisted of a single rock, counterweighted, which men raised and lowered when the gate was opened or closed. The Iṣbahbadh had charged his most trusted associates with this task, rotating the duty among them. Abū al-Khaṣīb therefore said to him, "It seems to me that you neither trust me nor accept my [140] sincerity!" "What gives you that idea?" asked the Iṣbahbadh. "The reason is," replied Abū al-Khaṣīb, "that you neither ask me to help with what concerns you most nor do you authorize me to do what you entrust only to your most reliable men." After that the Iṣbahbadh began to seek Abū al-Khaṣīb's help and was sufficiently pleased with what he saw to trust him enough to place him among those who took turns in opening and closing the gate of his city. Abū Khaṣīb carried out that duty for the Iṣbahbadh, winning the latter's full confidence. At this point Abū al-Khaṣīb wrote a letter to Rawḥ b. Ḥātim and Khāzim b. Khuzaymah, placed it in an arrow, and shot it to them. He informed them that this trickery had been successful and gave them a designated night when he would open the gate. In the course of the appointed night, the gate was opened for the caliph's forces, and they killed the warriors inside the city, taking the children captive. Al-Baḥtariyyah, who became the mother of Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, was

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the four Rāshidūn. In Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 249, Rawḥ b. Ḥātim is mentioned as one of those whom Abū Jaʿfar sent against Mulabbad b. Ḥarmalah. See the section on year 138.

seized. Her mother was Bākand,[378] daughter of the Iṣbahbadh known as al-Aṣamm ["the Deaf"], not the Iṣbahbadh who was king; that title was held by Bākand's brother. Shaklah,[379] who became the mother of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, was also taken. She was the daughter of Kharnābān,[380] al-Maṣmughān's steward. The Iṣbahbadh killed himself by licking a seal he possessed that contained poison.

Some sources say that Rawḥ b. Ḥātim and Khāzim b. Khuzaymah entered Ṭabaristān in 143.

In this year al-Manṣūr had the *qiblah* built in al-Ḥimmān[381] for the people of al-Baṣrah, i.e., the prayer orientation for their feast day.[382] He charged Salamah b. Saʿīd b. Jābir with its construction;
[141] at that time Salamah was Abū Jaʿfar's representative for the Euphrates district and al-Ubullah.[383] After fasting for the month of Ramaḍān, Abū Jaʿfar said the ritual prayer at the *qiblah* of al-Ḥimmān on the day of [ʿĪd] al-Fiṭr.[384]

In this year on Friday night, 21 Jumādā II,[385] Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh died in al-Baṣrah at the age of fifty-nine.[386] ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī said the prayers of the dead for him.

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378. A Persian word meaning "ruby." Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, 149.

379. Sourdel, *EI*², s.v. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, gives the name as Shiklah. Minorsky, *EI*², s.v. al-Maṣmughān, follows the Leiden text's spelling but suggests the identification of this woman with the daughter of al-Maṣmughān mentioned on p. 74.

380. In the Leiden text the fourth consonant is unmarked. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 513, reads "Khūnādān."

381. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 300, identifies this as a place near al-Baṣrah that takes it name from the Banū Ḥimmān b. Saʿd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 75, II, 324. Ibn Kathīr *Bidāyah*, X, 78, gives the place name as al-Jabbān.

382. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 78.

383. Al-Ubullah, originally a town east of al-Baṣrah on the right bank of the Tigris, is now part of the present-day city of al-Baṣrah. The Nahr al-Ubullah was the main canal connecting al-Baṣrah to the Tigris. *EI*¹, s.v. al-Obolla (J. H. Kramers); *EI*², s.v. al-Baṣra (C. Pellat); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 76–78; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 12–13.

384. The feast of 1 Shawwāl, which celebrates completion of the fast of Ramaḍān. *EI*², s.v. (E. Mittwoch).

385. October 19, 759; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 446, cites his death as in the year 141. Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 248–49, gives "quando rimanevano sette giorni di [22] Gumāda II = 20 ottobre 759."

386. Cf. Ṭabarī, III, 421, for the year 158, where Sulaymān is listed as one of the paternal uncles to whom al-Manṣūr gave a million dirhams.

In this year Nawfal b. al-Furāt was dismissed as governor of Egypt and Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath was given that position. Then Muḥammad was dismissed from the post, and Nawfal b. al-Furāt was reappointed. Finally, Nawfal was dismissed, and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah was charged with the governorship.

Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās led the Pilgrimage this year. The governor of Medina was Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh, and of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah. The governor of al-Kūfah and its administrative territory was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, and of al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts, Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah; of its judiciary, Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh. The governor of Egypt was Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah.

In this year, according to al-Wāqidī, Abū Jaʿfar appointed his brother, al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, governor of the Jazīrah and the Byzantine frontiers (*al-thughūr*)[387] and placed a number of the army commanders under his jurisdiction. He stayed there for some time.

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387. The *thughūr* were the fortresses guarding the frontier zone in Syria and Mesopotamia. *EI*[1], s.v. (E. Honigmann); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 79–81.

The Events of the Year 143

(April 22, 760–April 10, 761)

In this year al-Manṣūr authorized the people to raid the territory of Daylam.[388]

The Raid on al-Daylam

It is said that when Abū Jaʿfar had news from al-Daylam that the
[142] Daylamites were assaulting and killing Muslims in a large-scale massacre, he dispatched Ḥabīb b. ʿAbdallāh b. Rughbān to al-Baṣrah. At that time Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī was the governor of al-Baṣrah.[389] The caliph ordered Ismāʿīl to to make a list of all those in al-Baṣrah who had 10,000 dirhams or more and to enjoin each of those who possessed that sum to go forth personally to wage

388. For other accounts see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 512; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 80.

389. Ṭabarī, III, 124, records Sulaymān b. ʿAlī as the predecessor to Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah, while Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24, gives ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī.

war (*jihād*)[390] against al-Daylam. Abū Jaʿfar sent someone else to al-Kūfah for the same purpose.

In this year al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah was dismissed as governor of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, and al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was appointed in his stead. His commission for that post reached al-Sarī while he was in al-Yamāmah.[391] He went to Mecca, therefore, and Abū Jaʿfar sent to al-Yamāmah Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUbaydallāh[392] b. ʿAbbās.

In this year Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah was dismissed as governor of Egypt, and Nawfal b. al-Furāt was appointed. Then Nawfal was dismissed, and Yazīd b. Ḥātim appointed.

ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh[393] b. ʿAbbās, who was then governor of al-Kūfah and its Sawād, led the Pilgrimage in this year. The governor of Mecca was al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith. Al-Baṣrah and its subdistricts were under the jursidiction of Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah, while its judiciary was administered by Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh. Yazīd b. Ḥātim governed Egypt.

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390. While this term has acquired spiritual connotations within developed Islamic thought, it retains the signification of military action for the expansion and defense of Muslim territory. *EI*², s.v. (E. Tynan).

391. Al-Yamāmah is a distrct in central Arabia that now includes the region around Riyāḍ. *EI*¹, s.v. (A. Grohmann); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 441–48.

392. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXX.

393. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 516, gives ʿUbaydallāh.

The Events of the Year 144

(April 11, 761–March 31, 762)

Among the events of this year was the raid against Daylam, which Muḥammad, the son of Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, i.e., the son of the [former] Commander of the Faithful,[394] made against Daylam with troops drawn from al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, Wāsiṭ,[395] al-Mawṣil, and the Jazīrah.

[143] In this year Muḥammad b. Abī Jaʿfar, al-Mahdī, left Khurāsān for Iraq. Abū Jaʿfar went to Qarmāsīn,[396] where his son Muḥam-

394. According to the Leiden text: Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Amīr al-Muʾminīn. According to Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 314, he was known as Abū al-Dibs ("syrup") because he put so much perfume on his beard that it dripped. In 147/764–65 he was poisoned at the instigation of al-Manṣūr, and he died in Baghdad, mourned by his wife al-Baghūm b. ʿAlī b. al-Rabīʿ. Ṭabarī, III, 352, 422–23; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 180–81, which offers a variant explanation for his nickname.

395. Wāsiṭ was the Umayyad stronghold in Iraq created by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. *EI*[1], s.v. (M. Streck); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 347–53.

396. Qarmāsīn, present-day Kirmānshāh, is an Iranian town that lies southwest of Hamadhān. *EI*[2], s.v. Kirmānshāh (A. K. S. Lambton); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 330; Le Strange, *Lands*, 186–87.

mad met him on the way from Khurāsān. Together they departed for the Jazīrah.

In this year, on his arrival in Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. Abī Jaʿfar consummated his marriage with Rayṭah bt. Abī al-ʿAbbās,[397] his paternal first cousin.

Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr led the Pilgrimage in this year, having appointed Khāzim b. Khuzaymah as deputy commander of his army camp and of his storehouse.

In this year Abū Jaʿfar appointed Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān al-Murrī[398] governor of Medina and relieved Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī of that post.[399]

The Reason Abū Jaʿfar Dismissed Muḥammad b. Khālid and Appointed Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān, Having Removed Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī at the Instance of Muḥammad b. Khālid

The reason why the caliph dismissed Ziyād as governor of Medina is as follows: Abū Jaʿfar was preoccupied with the problem of Muḥammad[400] and Ibrāhīm,[401] the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib,[402] and with their absence from his au-

397. She bore two sons to Muḥammad and is described by Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 180, as a person of strength and power. Ṭabarī, III, 445–46, relates a macabre incident involving Rayṭah and her husband at the time of Abū Jaʿfar's death.

398. Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī was formerly charged with Damascus under Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī as governor of Syria. Further details of Riyāḥ's appointment to the post in Medina are related below, text III, 161–63. Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIV, 157; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 219–20.

399. Additional sources for the events antecedent to the Ḥasanid rebellions are: *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 230–37; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 450–52; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 123–24; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 180–81; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 198–202; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 513–28; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 164–65; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 80–82; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 398–404.

400. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, known as "the Pure Soul" (*al-nafs al-zakiyyah*), was the great-great-grandson of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah through their son Ḥasan. *EI*[1], s.v. (F. Buhl).

401. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan was the full brother of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh through their mother Hind b. Abī ʿUbaydah and was a corevolutionary with him. *EI*[2], s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri), and *EI*[1], s.v. (F. Buhl).

402. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was the acknowledged elder of the Ḥasanids. During the reign of the Umayyad Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, he was praised and accorded favor by the caliph, while during the ca-

dience with the rest of the Banū Hāshim who had paid their allegiance to him during the life of his brother Abū al-ʿAbbās, in the year when he had made the Pilgrimage in company with Abū Muslim.

It has been recounted that Muḥammad used to say that Abū Jaʿfar was among those who rendered the oath of allegiance to him on the night when the Banū Hāshim, together with the rest of the Muʿtazilah[403] who were there with them, deliberated in Mecca about whom they should choose as caliph.[404] [This was at the time when the situation of the Marwānids was unstable.] Abū Jaʿfar asked about Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, and Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh said to him, "How worried you are about them! I will bring them to you." At that time Ziyād was together with Abū Jaʿfar during the latter's arrival in Mecca in the year 136. Abū
[144] Jaʿfar reinstalled Ziyād as governor [of Medina] and made him responsible for Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm.

According to Abū Zayd ʿUmar b. Shabbah[405]—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl[406]—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān[407]—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿUbaydah

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liphate of Hishām he was permitted to argue his claim to the endowments of his great-grandfather, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, against his cousin Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn. He was known as al-Maḥḍ ("the Pureblooded") because of his unblemished Ḥasanid and Ḥusaynid descent. [His mother was Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn]. This claim to lineage purity was to become a contentious issue between ʿAbdallāh and Abū Jaʿfar. Ṭabarī, II, 1338, 1671; *EI*², s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 179–84; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 78.

403. The Muʿtazilah were a religio-political movement that was the official theological school in the first half of the ninth century. The origin of the name is a matter of conjecture, and the group's history in this early period can only be reconstructed from sources of a later date. *ER*, s.v. [Josef van Ess]. For the putative (but dubious) ʿAbbāsid-Muʿtazilah connection, see Cahen, "Points de vue," 321–22; H. S. Nyberg (*EI*¹, s.v. Muʿtazila); and Omar, *ʿAbbāsiyyāt*, 127–34.

404. See Van Arendonk, *Debuts*, 46–52 = *Opkomst*, 41–47, which includes a discussion of Muʿtazilī involvements in the rebellions of both Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm; and Omar, "Aspects," 171.

405. Abū Zayd ʿUmar b. Shabbah b. ʿAbīdah b. Rayṭah (or ʿAbdah b. Rāʾiṭah) al-Numayrī was a Baṣran poet, traditionist, and historian who died in Sāmarrāʾ in 264/877. He serves as Ṭabarī's principal source for the events of the ʿAlid uprising. *GAL*, S I, 209; *GAS*, I, 345–46; Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 1117; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 47–48; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 462; Nagel, "Bericht", 230–33. For other variants of his name, see Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XII, 369 n. 2.

406. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar al-Jaʿfarī was a grandson of Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh, brother to Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Nagel, "Bericht," 244; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 237.

407. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān b. al-Madanī al-Aʿraj was known as Ibn Abī Thābit al-Zuhrī. His death date is given as 197/812–13 or, more vaguely, as in the late

b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir:[408] When Abū Jaʿfar was appointed caliph, his sole concern was searching for Muḥammad, making inquiries about him and about his intentions. He summoned the entire Banū Hāshim, man by man, speaking to each of them privately and asking about Muḥammad. "Commander of the Faithful," they kept saying, "he well knows that you are aware of the fact that he sought this position before today.[409] While he fears you for his own sake, he neither intends conflict with you nor wishes to be disobedient to you." Each made a similar speech, except Ḥasan b. Zayd,[410] who gave the caliph his own account, saying, "By God, I don't feel secure against the possibility of his making an assault against you, for he is certainly someone who does not sleep for thought of you, so take prudent care." Ibn Abī ʿUbaydah's account goes: "Be on guard against one who never sleeps."

According to Muḥammad: I heard my grandfather, Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh[411] say, "O God, seek out Ḥasan b. Zayd for our bloodshed." Mūsā himself said, "By God, I heard my father say 'I testify to the fact that Abū Jaʿfar informed me of something that only Ḥasan b. Zayd had heard from me.' "

According to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān:[412] Muḥammad b. Wahb al-Sulamī told me that my father said, "Abū Jaʿfar told me something that only my brother, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, and

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160s or 170s. As a *muḥaddith* he was judged weak or untrustworthy by most authorities. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 537; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, X, 440–42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 312–13.

408. During the reign of al-Mahdī, he was brought before the caliph as a suspected Qadarī. Ṭabarī, III, 534.

409. *Bi-ṭalabi hādhā al-shaʾni qabla al-yawm*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXX.

410. Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 168/784) was appointed governor of Medina in 150/767–68, a post that he held for five years. He subsequently lost favor with the caliph, who imprisoned him in Baghdad. Ṭabarī, III, 358, 377; *EI*[1], s.v. (F. Buhl); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, VII, 309–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 243–44; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, II, 191.

411. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh, brother of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, lived until the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 390–97; Nagel, "Bericht," 243–44; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VII, 324.

412. Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān was a nephew of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm whose sister was Ibrāhīm's wife. For his father, whose sobriquet was "the Brocade," see note 592. Ṭabarī, III, 173–79.

Ḥasan b. Zayd heard from me. I testify that ʿAbdallāh did not
[145] tell it to the caliph, nor does the latter have knowledge of the hidden."[413]

According to Muḥammad: In the year when he made the Pilgrimage, Abū Jaʿfar asked ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan about Muḥammad's whereabouts, but ʿAbdallāh gave him the standard Hāshimī speech. The caliph told him that he would not be satisfied until ʿAbdallāh brought Muḥammad to him.

According to Muḥammad—his mother[414]—her father[415]—his father:[416] I said to Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, "O my brother, you know that I am related to you by marriage and kinship, so what do you think?" Sulaymān said, "By God, it is as though I could look at ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī[417] at the time when the veil has passed between us and he is signaling to us, 'This is what you have done to me. If he [Abū Jaʿfar] were a forgiving person, surely he would forgive his uncle.' " Sulaymān accepted ʿAbdallāh's opinion. Muḥammad continued: The family of ʿAbdallāh [b. Ḥasan] came to see this as establishing a close connection for them with Sulaymān.

According to Abū Zayd—Saʿīd b. Huraym[418]—Kulthūm al-Marāʾī—Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak:[419] Abū Jaʿfar bought some slaves held by the bedouins. He gave one of them a camel, another two camels, and a third several camels. Then he sent them in different directions to search for Muḥammad in the hinterlands of Medina. Any one of them would appear at some watering place as though a passerby or one lost, and they would seek information about him and spy about.

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413. A further account of Ḥasan b. Zayd's mode of operation is given in text, III, 149–50.

414. Ruqayyah bt. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 237.

415. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh.

416. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan.

417. For the account of his revolt against Abū Jaʿfar, see pp. 8–18.

418. Saʿīd b. Huraym al-Kātib was affiliated with the Bayt al-Ḥikmah during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn and renowned for his eloquence. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 269.

419. Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak, a governor of Ādharbayjān for al-Manṣūr, is most noted as the powerful vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd who eventually fell from favor and died in prison in 190/805. *EI*[1], s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 177; Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 127–82.

According to Abū Zayd—Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī:[420] Al-Sindī,[421] the Commander of the Faithful's *mawlā*, said to me, "Do you know what elevated ʿUqbah b. Salm[422] in the opinion of the Commander of the Faithful?" When I expressed ignorance, he went on to explain: "My uncle, ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ, sent a delegation from al-Sind led by ʿUqbah. They entered Abū Jaʿfar's presence, and when they had concluded their petitions they got up to go. The caliph, however, asked ʿUqbah to stay behind and told him to sit down. Then the caliph said to him, 'Who are you?' 'A member of the Commander of the Faithful's army and his following,' ʿUqbah replied: 'I am an associate of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ.' 'What's your name?' asked the caliph. "ʿUqbah b. [146]
Salm b. Nāfiʿ,' he replied. 'Who are your people?' inquired the caliph. 'I am an Azdī of the Banū Hunāʾah.'[423] The caliph continued, 'I find you to be of prepossessing appearance and good standing. In fact, I want you for an affair that preoccupies me and for which I continue to seek a man. Perhaps you are just the person. If you can settle it for me, I shall elevate your rank.' ʿUqbah said, 'I hope that I can confirm the Commander of the Faithful's estimate of me.' 'Keep yourself hidden and keep quiet about your mission,' said the caliph; 'come back to me on a day and at a time I will designate.' ʿUqbah returned at the appointed time and the caliph said to him, 'These cousins of ours have insisted upon assailing our regnal authority and seizing it.[424] In Khurāsān they have a faction (*shīʿatun*) in such and such a village who corre-

420. Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī was governor of al-Baṣrah for al-Maʾmūn, who, according to Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 190, reimbursed him for the debt incurred by his extreme generosity there. He died in al-Baṣrah in 216/831. Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VI, 181; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 183.

421. Ibrāhīm al-Sindī b. Shāhak was an ʿAbbāsid governor in Syria and later the member of Hārūn al-Rashīd's *shurṭah* responsible for multilating and displaying Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī's corpse in Baghdad. Ṭabarī, III, 680; *EI*², s.v. Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī (C. Pellat); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 28; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 236–37.

422. ʿUqbah b. Salm b. Nāfiʿ al-Hunāʾī later supported al-Manṣūr's successful efforts to change the succession from his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to his own son al-Mahdī and is mentioned as governor of al-Baṣrah in 150/767–68. Ṭabarī, III, 344, 359; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 40.

423. For Hunāʾah b. Mālik as a clan of Azd, see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 211, II, 286; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 379.

424. *Kaydan li-mulkinā wa-ightiyālan lahu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *kāda*.

spond with them and send contributions (*ṣadaqāt*)[425] to them of their wealth and fine local products. So leave here with some good fabrics, as well as various delicacies and specie, proceeding, in disguise and carrying a letter that you've written [as if] from the people of this village, until you reach them [i.e., ʿAbdallāh and those with him]. Then conduct an inspection of their area. If they really have broken away from their former way of thinking, then by all means show them affection and sheathe your sword. But if they maintain their posture, I shall know that and shall be cautious and wary.[426] Venture forth, then, until you make contact with ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, doing so with every appearance of being a homespun and humble fellow. If he rebuffs you—as well he might—then be patient and return to him again. If he does it again, remain patient until he becomes friendly with you and his attitude toward you softens. When you clearly see what is in his heart, hurry back to me.'

Al-Sindī continued: 'Uqbah journeyed until he reached ʿAbdallāh and met with him, letter in hand. ʿAbdallāh, however, refused to have anything to do with 'Uqbah and drove him away, saying, 'I don't know those people.' 'Uqbah kept going away and coming back to him until ʿAbdallāh finally accepted his letter and his fine things and grew friendly toward him. 'Uqbah asked him for the reply, but ʿAbdallāh said, 'I am not going to write a letter to anyone; you can be my letter to them. Greet them from me and tell them that my sons will come out in open opposition
[147] at such and such a time.' 'Uqbah then journeyed back to Abū Jaʿfar and gave him the report."[427]

According to Abū Zayd—Ayyūb b. 'Umar[428]—Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. 'Umar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf: In the year 138 Abū Jaʿfar charged al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī with responsibility for the Pilgrimage celebrations, saying to him, "If your eye lights upon Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, make

425. *Ṣadaqāt* is a term that carries the technical sense of voluntary alms offered for pious motives. *EI*[1], s.v. Sadaḳa (T. H. Weir).

426. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 520, adds *minhum*.

427. The account is continued on p. 96, below.

428. Ayyūb b. 'Umar b. Abī ʿAmr b. Nuʿaym b. Māhān's father was asked to identify Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's severed head but pleaded confusion and was later released by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. See Ṭabarī, III, 249; Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 580, for this vocalization.

sure they do not get away from you. If you don't see them, however, don't ask about them." Al-Faḍl arrived in Medina, and its entire populace came to meet him, including ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and the rest of the Ḥasanids, save Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. Al-Faḍl said nothing until he had completed the Pilgrimage ritual. He then went on to al-Sayyālah,[429] where he said to ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, "What kept your two sons from coming to meet me in company with their family?" "By God," rejoined ʿAbdallāh, "neither misgivings nor evil intentions prevented them. Rather, avid for the hunt and in pursuit of it, they were not present with their families for good reasons, not wicked ones." Al-Faḍl did not answer him but sat down on a bench that had been set up for him in al-Sayyālah. ʿAbdallāh ordered his herdsmen to pasture his camels for him, and he commanded one of them to draw milk over honey in a big tumbler and then to go up to the bench with it. ʿAbdallāh beckoned him to give the drink to al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ, so the man went straight to him. When he drew close to him, al-Faḍl bawled at him angrily, saying, "Away with you, you sucker at your mother's clitoris."[430] At this the herdsman turned tail, and ʿAbdallāh, who was a very mild-mannered sort, jumped to his feet, reached for the cup and began to walk with it over to al-Faḍl. When the latter saw him walking toward him, he felt embarrassed before him, so he accepted the cup and drank.

According to Abū Zayd—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā[431]—his father—his father: Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh had a Kūfan secretary named Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar. He had Shīʿī sympathies and frustrated Ziyād's efforts to look for Muḥammad. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd[432] wrote to Abū Jaʿfar about him and had him brought down to the caliph.[433] [148]

429. Al-Sayyālah was a stage on the route between Mecca and Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 292; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 85.

430. *Yā māṣṣa baẓrah ummihi*, which is repeated, in abbreviated form, by Abū Jaʿfar on III, 150.

431. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī al-Kinānī (Abū Ghassān) was one of a family of Medinese *kātibs* and a respected *muḥaddith*. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 456–57; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, V, 187; Nagel, "Bericht," 236–38.

432. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd (following Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI) was a confidential agent for Abū Jaʿfar and custodian of the voluntary alms. Ṭabarī, III, 169.

433. *Fa-ḥaddarahu ilayhi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI.

Ziyād, however, wrote to ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ al-Ḥārithī[434] about his secretary, and the two of them freed him to return to Ziyād.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: Muḥammad reached al-Baṣrah covertly with forty men. They went to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, who said to him, "You have destroyed me and publicly exposed me. Stay with me but send your confederates away." Muḥammad, however, refused, so ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said, "You may not stay with me; go stay with the Banū Rāsib."[435] This Muḥammad did.

According to ʿUmar—Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Sārī—Abū Habbār al-Muzanī:[436] We stayed in al-Baṣrah with Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, who summoned the people to his cause.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh:[437] Abū Jaʿfar said, "I crave absolutely nothing for myself when I remember the place of the Banū Rāsib in al-Baṣrah."

According to ʿUmar—Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl[438]—Ibn Jashīb al-Lihbī:[439] I stayed with the Banū Rāsib in the days of Ibn Muʿāwiyah,[440] and one day a young man from there asked me my name. One of their elders slapped him, saying, "What business is

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434. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī al-Madānī became governor of Medina in 145/762–63. Ṭabarī, III, 265, 319; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24.

435. According to Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 202, the Banū Rāsib had "connections with previous pretenders, notably Ibn Hanafiya and ʿAbd Allah b. Muʿawiya." Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 327, II, 485.

436. Abū Habbār al-Muzanī was sent to warn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh about a spy sent over by Abū Jaʿfar but escaped caliphal punishment because of confusion about his name. Ṭabarī, III, 157–58.

437. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was known as al-Mubārak. His mother was Umm al-Ḥasan bt. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Bāqir. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 458; Ṭabarī, III, 25; Nagel, "Bericht," 242–43.

438. Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhlad (d. 212/828) was a Baṣran *muḥaddith* whose transmissions were regarded as trustworthy. *EI*², Suppl., s.v. (C. Pellat); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 395–97; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 359–60.

439. Lihb b. Aḥjān were a clan of the Banū Azd. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 210, II, 378.

440. ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah was Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib's great-grandson. He asserted his claim to the imāmate in al-Kūfah in 127/744 and eventually attracted a sufficient following to win control of Fārs, Ḥulwān, Iṣfahān, and al-Rayy. He was probably executed by Abū Muslim, although other traditions mention his death by poisoning in Harāt. *EI*², s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 67–68; Laoust, *Schismes*, 35–36.

it of yours?" Then he looked at an old man who was sitting in front of him and said, "Do you see this old man? His father settled with us in the days of al-Ḥajjāj[441] and remained until this son of his was born. That young man has now matured and reached this age and, by God, to this day we know neither his name, nor his father's name, nor who his people are!"

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Hudhayl[442]—al-Zaʿfarānī:[443] Muḥammad arrived and stayed with ʿAbdallāh b. Shaybān, one of the Banū Murrah b. ʿUbayd. He remained for six days and then left. News of his arrival at al-Baṣrah having reached [149] Abū Jaʿfar, the caliph advanced in great haste but halted at the Great Bridge. We urged ʿAmr[444] to go and meet him, but he refused until we became angry with him. At this he went and met with him. "O Abū ʿUthmān," said the caliph, "is there anyone in al-Baṣrah whom we should fear in respect of our dominion?" "No," replied ʿAmr. The caliph continued, "Should I be content with your word alone and leave?" ʿAmr responded affirmatively, so the caliph left. Muḥammad had, in fact, already left before the arrival of Abū Jaʿfar.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—ʿĀmir b. Abī Muḥammad:[445] Abū Jaʿfar asked ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, "Have you given an oath of allegiance to Muḥammad?" "By God," he replied, "were the people to give me authority over their affairs, I would not acknowledge any place for those two [i.e., Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm]."

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441. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714), the famous Umayyad governor of Iraq. *EI*², s.v. (A. Dietrich).

442. Abū al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf (d. 226/840–41) was a prominent Muʿtazilī theologian and among the first systematicians of this school of thought. *EI*², s.v. (H. S. Nyberg); *GAS*, I, 617–18.

443. Abū ʿAlī (Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 1130, gives Abū Abdallāh) al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāh al-Zaʿfarānī (d. 260/874) was a Baghdādī *muḥaddith* and jurisprudent (*faqīh*), having studied with, among others, the jurisprudent al-Shāfiʿī. Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, III, 284, Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XII, 235; *GAS*, I, 491–92.

444. ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd b. Bāb (d. 144/761), an early Muʿtazilī, was a teacher of Muḥammad b. al-Hudhayl; see note 442, above. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 208–12, recounts some of his conversations with al-Manṣūr at the caliph's court. *EI*², s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

445. Abū al-Yaqẓān ʿĀmir b. Abī Muḥammad (d. 190/805–6), also known by other names such as Suḥaym and ʿĀmir b. Ḥafṣ, was a noted historian and genealogist. *GAS*, I, 266–67; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 381; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, V, 53.

According to ʿAlī—Ayyūb al-Qazzāz: I said to ʿAmr, "What would you say about a man who was content to endure the loss of his claim?" "I am that man," he said. "How can that be?" I responded. "Were you to issue a summons [to the cause], thirty thousand would answer you!" "By God," he said, "I don't know where there are even three who, having spoken, do what they promise. Were I to know them, I would be a fourth for them."

According to Abū Zayd—ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ[446]—his father: In dread of Abū Jaʿfar, Muḥammad and ʿIbrāhīm went to ʿAdan[447] and then to al-Sind, to al-Kūfah, and finally to Medina.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Ziyād guaranteed the Commander of the Faithful that he would produce for him the two sons of ʿAbdallāh. The caliph therefore installed him as governor of Medina. When Ḥasan b. Zayd found out anything about Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm's situation, he kept quiet about it until they had left wherever they
[150] were. Then he would inform Abū Jaʿfar, and whatever traces he had mentioned would be found. The caliph accepted the truth of what Ziyād reported to him until the year 140. At that time Abū Jaʿfar made the Pilgrimage and distributed gifts (*qusūm*),[448] in which he especially favored the family of Abū Ṭālib. As the sons of ʿAbdallāh did not present themselves to him, he sent for ʿAbdallāh and asked about them. ʿAbdallāh expressed ignorance of their whereabouts, to the point that he and the caliph spoke rudely to each other and Abū Jaʿfar told him to "Go suck!" "O Abū Jaʿfar," ʿAbdallāh replied, "by which of my mothers would you have me suck? By Fāṭimah,[449] daughter of the Messenger of God? Or by Fāṭimah bt. Asad?[450] Or by Fāṭimah bt.

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446. ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ b. Maʿmar al-Taymī (d. 228/843), also Ibn ʿĀʾishah or al-ʿAyshī, was a Baṣran historian and *muḥaddith* who traced his lineage from ʿĀʾishah bt. Ṭalḥah, niece of the Prophet Muḥammad's wife and granddaughter of Abū Bakr. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 564–67; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 196; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 505.

447. ʿAdan, i.e., Aden, is a peninsular seaport in the Yemen. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 89–90; *EI*², s.v. (O. Löfgren).

448. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qasama*.

449. Fāṭimah was the most famous of the Prophet's daughters. She was the wife of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, mother of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and thus great-great-grandmother of ʿAbdallāh. *EI*², s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

450. Fāṭimah bt. Asad b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf, the mother of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, II, 118; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 130.

Ḥusayn?[451] Or Umm Isḥāq bt. Ṭalḥah?[452] Or Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid?"[453] Abū Jaʿfar answered, "Not by a single one of them, but by al-Jarbāʾ bt. Qasāmah b. Zuhayr,[454] a woman of Ṭayyiʾ."[455]

Al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr jumped up and said, "Call upon me, Commander of the Faithful, to behead the son of a bitch!" Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh stood up and threw his mantle (*ridāʾ*)[456] over ʿAbdallāh, saying, "Give him to me, Commander of the Faithful. I will produce his two sons for you." Thus did he get ʿAbdallāh away from Abū Jaʿfar.[457]

According to ʿUmar—al-Walīd b. Hishām b. Qaḥdham: Al-Ḥazīn al-Dīlī[458] said to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, reproaching him for the birth of al-Jarbāʾ:

Would you [with the likes of] al-Jarbāʾ or Ḥukākah[459]
vie against Umm al-Faḍl[460] and the daughter of Mishraḥ?[461]

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451. Fāṭimah bt. Ḥusayn, granddaughter of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, was married first to al-Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī and then to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān. She died in 110/728. Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 130; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 179.

452. Umm Isḥāq bt. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh was the mother of Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn. Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, V, 319; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 179.

453. Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid was the first wife of the Prophet and mother of Fāṭimah. *EI*², s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, II, 109–17.

454. Al-Jarbāʾ bt. Qasāmah b. Zuhayr, the mother of Umm Isḥāq bt. Ṭalḥah, was thus named because of her beauty, a beauty so extraordinary that other women would shun her to avoid comparison. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 179; Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 404.

455. The Banū Ṭayyiʾ were an ancient Yamanī tribal group who migrated to the northern part of the peninsula. *EI*¹, s.v. Ṭaiy (H. H. Bräu); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 176, II, 555.

456. Ahsan, *Social Life*, 36; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 59–60.

457. *Fa-takhallaṣahu minhu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khalaṣa*.

458. Al-Ḥazīn al-Dīlī al-Kinānī, ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd b. Wuhayb, was an Umayyad poet who lived in Medina and died about 90/709. *GAS*, II, 426; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, II, 175.

459. According to Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 404, an additional meaning of *al-jarbāʾ* is "the sky, . . . its stars being likened to the marks of *jarab* (mange or scab)," while *ḥukākah* is defined (ibid., 615) as the residue from anything scraped or scratched.

460. Lubābah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn b. Bujayr (also Lubābah al-Kubrā) was the wife of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, the Prophet's uncle and the man from whom the dynasty took its name. Ṭabarī, III, 2335; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, II, 314–15; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 20.

461. Zarʿah b. Mishraḥ b. Maʿdī was the wife of ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, i.e., Ibn ʿAbbās, the famous Qurʾānic exegete (*mufassir*) and *muḥaddith*. Ṭabarī, III, 2335.

From them descends but one chaste woman of noble lineage,
held by her people in highest esteem.

[151] According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād: Al-Sindī, the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful, told me that when ʿUqbah b. Salm had made his report to Abū Jaʿfar, the caliph decided to make the Pilgrimage and said to ʿUqbah, "When I reach such and such a place, the Ḥasanids, led by ʿAbdallāh, will come to meet me. I shall treat him with deference, seat him in the place of honor, and call for the morning repast. After we have finished our meal, I will catch your eye, and you go stand right in front of him. He will avert his glance from you, so go round behind him until you can touch his back with your big toe, doing so until he is forced to look at you. That's all you need to do, but beware lest he sees you while he is eating."

Abū Jaʿfar then set off, pressing on through to the region where the Ḥasanids came to meet him. He seated ʿAbdallāh beside him and called for the meal. When they had eaten it, Abū Jaʿfar called for its removal. He then turned to ʿAbdallāh and said, "Abū Muḥammad, surely, recognizing the covenants and compacts you've given me, you wish me no evil nor conspire against me as ruler."[462] "That is so, Commander of the Faithful," he replied. At this Abū Jaʿfar glanced at ʿUqbah, who circled around until he stood in front of ʿAbdallāh, but the latter turned away from him. ʿUqbah then went around[463] until he stood behind ʿAbdallāh's back, and touched him with his toe, at which ʿAbdallāh lifted up his head and looked at him. Realizing the situation, ʿAbdallāh rushed over to kneel before Abū Jaʿfar and said, "Forgive me, Commander of the Faithful, and may God forgive you." The caliph retorted, "May God not forgive me if I forgive you." Then he ordered him to be confined.

According to ʿUmar—Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀṣim, the *mawlā* of Quraybah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq[464]—ʿAlī b.

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462. *Wa-lā takīda lī sulṭānan*. Cf. note 424.

463. *Fa-istadāra*, following Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 517, rather than Leiden's *rafaʿa raʾsahu*.

464. Quraybah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq was the daughter of the first caliph's eldest son, and niece of Muḥammad's wife ʿĀʾishah. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, II, 471–73.

Rabāḥ b. Shabīb,[465] the brother of Ibrāhīm—Ṣāliḥ, the *ṣāḥib al-muṣallā*: I was standing in attendance on Abū Jaʿfar while he was having breakfast in Awṭās[466] on his way to Mecca. With him at [152] table were ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, Abū al-Karrām al-Jaʿfarī,[467] and a group of the Banū al-ʿAbbās. He turned to ʿAbdallāh and said, "O Abū Muḥammad, I see that Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm feel an aversion to my company. I am most desirous that they be my friends,[468] that they come to me so that I can establish close contact and be on personal terms with them." ʿAbdallāh bowed his head in silence for a long time. Then he raised his head and said, "By your right [to know the truth], Commander of the Faithful, I have no knowledge of them or of what land they're in. They have entirely left my control." Abū Jaʿfar continued, "Don't say this,[469] Abū Muḥammad; write to them and to someone who will convey your letter to them."

On this day Abū Jaʿfar ignored the greater part of his morning repast, turning instead toward ʿAbdallāh. While ʿAbdallāh swore that he had no idea where Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm were, Abū Jaʿfar kept repeating, "Don't say this, Abū Muḥammad, don't say this, Abū Muḥammad, don't say this, Abū Muḥammad." The reason why Muḥammad was so strenuously avoiding[470] Abū Jaʿfar was because in Mecca, with certain of the Muʿtazilah, Abū Jaʿfar had contracted to support his claim.[471]

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar, i.e., Ibn Abī ʿAmr—Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Ismāʿīl b. Ayyūb b. Salamah al-Makhzūmī—his father—al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās: When Abū Jaʿfar made the Pilgrimage in the year 140, ʿAbdallāh and Ḥasan,[472] the sons of Ḥasan, came to him. Both

465. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 213, gives the name as ʿAlī b. Riyāḥ.

466. Awṭās was a stop on the route from al-Baṣrah to Mecca. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 281; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 71.

467. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI, for the addition of "al-Jaʿfarī"; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 213, omits.

468. *Yaʾnisā bī* with Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI.

469. *Lā taf'al*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *faʿala*.

470. *Wa-kāna shiddatu harabi Muḥammadin min Abī Jaʿfar*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *haraba*.

471. See the account on p. 86. Sources cited by Elad, "Siege of al-Wāsiṭ," 84, specify the location of this meeting as a village near Medina called al-Abwāʾ.

472. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 185–86; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 418–19.

they and I were in his presence while he was busy looking at a letter. At this point al-Mahdī [the caliph-designate] began to speak, but his Arabic was full of mistakes. ʿAbdallāh said, "Commander of the Faithful, will you put this fellow in the hands of someone who could correct his speech? He speaks as carelessly as the slave girl!"[473] The caliph didn't catch on, so I winked at ʿAbdallāh, but he didn't notice[474] and took up the subject again with Abū Jaʿfar. But the caliph would not rise to it and said, "Where is your son?" "I don't know," replied ʿAbdallāh. The caliph said, "You must bring him to me," to which ʿAbdallāh responded, "If he were right under my feet, I would not raise them
[153] from him." At this Abū Jaʿfar said, "O Rabīʿ, take him into custody."

According to ʿUmar—Mūsā b. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jumaḥī:[475] Abū Jaʿfar felt continuing resentment against ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan for having taken Abū al-ʿAbbās for use in a pastiche:

Haven't you seen Ḥawshab about to build
dwellings for use of the Banū Nutaylah?[476]

In fact, when he ordered ʿAbdallāh's imprisonment, the caliph said, "Were you not the one who said of Abū al-ʿAbbās:

Haven't you seen Ḥawshab about to build
dwellings for use of the Banū Nutaylah?

even though he had great trust in you and treated you most kindly?"

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473. *Yaʿfiku ʿafk al-amah.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *ghafala.*

474. *Fa-lam yantabih lahā*, following Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 524, and Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI.

475. He is also cited on p. 152.

476. Variants of this name include "Buqaylah" (Leiden text) and "Nufaylah" (*Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXI; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 175). Nutaylah bt. Janāb b. Kulayb b. Mālik b. ʿAmr is mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 2311, as the mother of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 525, and Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 175, complete the quatrain, quoting from the latter's *Kitāb al-aghānī*: "He hopes to live the span of Noah/but God's command comes to pass each night." Ṭabarī, III, 2507, also offers a variant: "Haven't you seen Ḥawshab recently building/palaces for the Banū Nutaylah?/He hopes to live the span of Noah/but God's command befalls (*yaṭruqu*) each night."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq—Abū Ḥunayn: I came to see ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan when he was in prison. He asked, "Did anything of note happen today?" "Yes," I said, "the caliph commanded that your household goods and slaves be sold, but I didn't see anyone offering a bid." ʿAbdallāh exclaimed, "And yet, you know, Abū Ḥunayn, I swear, had my daughters and I been brought forth as slaves, we would have been bought!"

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Abū Jaʿfar left while ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan was imprisoned. He remained in confinement for three years.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Isḥāq b. al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib—Abū Ḥarmalah Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān, the *mawlā* of the family of ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān—Abū Habbār al-Muzanī: When Abū Jaʿfar made the Pilgrimage in 140, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of ʿAbdallāh who were in hid- [154]
ing, made the Pilgrimage in that year, too. [Those who suported their cause] met, therefore, in Mecca, intending treachery against Abū Jaʿfar. Al-Ashtar ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh[477] said to them, "I will deal with him for you." Muḥammad declared, "No, by God, I will not assassinate him before I have summoned him to our cause." This wrecked their plans and what they had agreed upon. Incidentally, one of Abū Jaʿfar's Khurāsānī army commanders had collaborated with them in this.[478] Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Aʿraj[479] presented himself to Abū Jaʿfar and reported their scheme to him. Consequently, the caliph sent in search of the army officer, but without success. He did, however, succeed in seizing a group of his associates. The man himself got away, together with a slave with whom he had entrusted the sum of roughly 2,000 dīnārs, which the slave had brought to

477. Al-Ashtar ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh was sent by his father to solicit the support of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ during the time when he was governor of Sind. He was killed in 151/768–69 by ʿUmar's replacement as governor, Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī. Ṭabarī, III, 360–64; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 310–14.

478. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 518, identifies him as Khālid b. Ḥassān who was known as Abū al-ʿAsākir. See the account on p. 102.

479. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Aʿraj was the eldest son of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq and eponymous origin of the Ismāʿīliyyah. Ṭabarī, III, 2509; *EI*², s.v. Ismāʿīliyya (W. Madelung); Omar, "Aspects", 176–77.

him when he was with Muḥammad. The latter, in turn, divided it up among his associates.[480]

According to Abū Habbār: Muḥammad ordered me to buy camels for the man, to outfit him, and to transport him in a domed litter (*qubbah*).[481] Accordingly, I placed him in a camel train and set off with him in the direction of Medina until I had conveyed him there. Then Muḥammad arrived and brought the man to his father, ʿAbdallāh. ʿAbdallāh dispatched both the officer and his slave to a certain district in Khurāsān. Abū Jaʿfar began to kill the associates of this army officer whose situation we have just mentioned.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad—his father—his father: I came to Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh one morning when Abū Jaʿfar was in Medina. He said, "Let me tell you about a remarkable experience I had last night. The messengers of the Commander of the Faithful roused me at midnight. (Now Ziyād had moved because of the Commander of the Faithful's arrival at his house in al-Balāṭ.)[482] His messengers banged on the door, and I emerged [from my bed chamber] wearing nothing but my waist wrapper (*izār*).[483] I awoke my slaves and eunuchs in the gallery of the house, telling them, "Even if they tear down the house, none of you must say anything to them." Ziyād continued,
[155] "They knocked for a long time and then went away. They stayed away for a while and then showed up again with a battering ram, which made it seem like[484] they had with them again as many men or twice that number. They banged on the gate with iron clubs and shouted out, but still no one spoke to them. At this they went back and stayed away for another while. Then they brought something that there was no resisting. I thought, "By God, they are pulling down the house around me," so I ordered [the gate] to be opened, and I went out to them. They started to

480. The pronouns here do not allow a definite assignment of the action.

481. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qabba*.

482. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCXXX, notes this as the site of al-Zawrāʾ, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān's house in Medina. Ṭabarī, I, 2827.

483. Ahsan, *Social Life*, 34–35; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 24–38.

484. *Shabīh an*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *shabbaha*.

rush at me, intending to carry me off. I now began to hear one of them express condolences all the way to their handing me over to the Dār Marwān.[485] Two men grabbed me by the upper arms and made me quick-step over the ground [like an ostrich][486] or some such until they brought me to the antechamber of the great dome. There I saw al-Rabīʿ standing, who said, "Alas, Ziyād, what have you done to us and to yourself during this night?" He led me forward and drew back the curtain covering the door of the domed room. He then made me enter, standing behind me between the two doors. At the sides of the domed room there were glowing candles and a servant standing beside each. On a carpet, sitting back on his heels supported only by his sword straps, with neither cushion nor prayer rug under him, was Abū Jaʿfar. He had his head bowed and was scratching at his hand with a mace. Al-Rabīʿ informed me that he had been like this from the time of the dusk prayer until this hour. I stood there for so long that I expected the dawn would be called, affording me some relief. He spoke not a single word to me. Finally, he raised his head to me and said, "You son of a bitch, where are Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm?" He then bowed his head again, scratching even longer than before. Raising his head for a second time, he repeated, "Where are Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, you son of a bitch? May God kill me if I do not kill you." I said to him, "Hear me; let me [156] speak to you." "Speak," he said. I then said to him, "You scared them away; you sent a messenger with the money you ordered divided among the Banū Hāshim. Stopping in al-Qādisiyyah,[487] he drew forth a knife, sharpened it, and announced, 'The Commander of the Faithful sent me to slaughter Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm.' The two of them heard about that and fled." "Leave me," he said, so I went away.

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485. The governor's residence, its name deriving from the Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who served twice as governor of Medina, i.e., 41–48/661–68 and 54–57/674–77. *EI*², s.v. Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam (C. E. Bosworth).

486. *ʿAlā ḥāl al-zafīf ʿalā al-arḍ*. Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1235. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 526, amends this to *ʿalā ḥāl al-dafīf*.

487. Al-Qādisiyyah was the first stage southwest of al-Kūfah on the road to Mecca and site of the Muslim victory against the army of Yazdajird III. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 291–93; Le Strange, *Lands*, 76; *EI*², s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid b. Yazīd, who was nicknamed "al-Akkār" [the ploughman], a man from Fayd[488]—Naṣr b. Qādim, the *mawlā* of the Banū Maḥūl, the wheat dealers: ʿAbdawayh[489] and certain associates of his were in Mecca in the year that Abū Jaʿfar made the Pilgrimage. ʿAbdawayh said to his confederates, "Between [the hills of] al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah[490] I intend to run this lance [*ḥarbah*][491] through Abū Jaʿfar's mouth." ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan heard about that and forbade him to do so, saying, "You are in an exalted place[492] [i.e., holy ground], and I don't think you should do that." Abū Jaʿfar had an army officer by the name of Khālid b. Ḥassān, also called "Abū ʿAsākir" [Master of the Troops], who commanded 1,000 men and who had supported ʿAbdawayh and his confederates. Abū Jaʿfar said to him, "Tell me about yourself and about ʿAbdawayh and al-ʿUṭāridī.[493] What did you intend to do in Mecca?" When Khālid had described his plans, the caliph asked, "What held you back?" To this Khālid responded, "ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan." The caliph then made away with him, and he has not been seen up to the present.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Once ʿAbdallāh had been arrested, Abū Jaʿfar intensified the search for his two sons. He sent one of his spies along with a letter he had written as if it were addressed to Muḥammad from his supporters [*al-shīʿah*], in which they reminded Muḥammad of their obedience to him and their eagerness for action. He also sent money and fine things with the spy. The man arrived in Medina and, having presented himself to ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, asked him where Muḥammad was. ʿAbdallāh told him that Muḥammad

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488. Fayd was a settlement in the north-central area of the Arabian peninsula that lay about halfway along the pilgrimage route from al-Kūfah to Mecca and Medina. *EI*², Suppl., s.v. (C. E. Bosworth); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 282–83; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 91.

489. Kardām al-Khurāsānī. Vocalization following *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLV, and III, 302.

490. Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah are two little hills in Mecca that form the site of part of the mandated Pilgrimage rituals. *EI*¹, s.v. al-Ṣafā (B. Joel), and Saʿy (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes).

491. The *ḥarbah*, or *ʿanazah*, was a symbol of sovereign authority. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥariba*; *EI*², s.v. ʿAnaza (G. C. Miles).

492. *Fī mawḍiʿin ʿaẓīmin*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaẓuma*.

493. ʿUṭārid b. ʿAwf were a subgroup of the Banū Tamīm. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 77, II, 580.

was on the mountain of Juhaynah[494] and said, "Make your way to [157]
ʿAlī b. Ḥasan, the pious man known as "al-Agharr"[495] [the illustrious, the noble] who is at Dhū al-Abar.[496] He will guide you." The spy went to al-Agharr, and the latter guided him. Now Abū Jaʿfar had a confidential scribe who was sympathetic to the cause of the *shīʿah*. He wrote to ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, telling him about that spy and [the true nature of] what had been sent to him. When the letter reached ʿAbdallāh, they were frightened and sent Abū Habbār to ʿAlī b. Ḥasan and to Muḥammad to warn them about the man. Abū Habbār got as far as ʿAlī b. Ḥasan, who, upon questioning, informed Abū Habbār that he had guided the spy to Muḥammad. Abū Habbār said, "Then I came to where Muḥammad was and found him sitting in a cave together with ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir al-Aslamī,[497] the two sons of Shujāʿ, and others. The man [i.e., the spy] was with them, speaking the loudest and acting the jolliest. When he saw me, a certain air of distrust appeared on him,[498] but I sat down with the group and conversed for a time. Then I leaned over to Muḥammad and said that I needed something. He got up, as did I, and I told him about the man. Reciting the formula "We are God's and to Him is our return,"[499] he asked my opinion. I said, "You can do one of three things, as you wish." "What are they?" he asked. I said, "You could let me kill the man." To this he replied, "I must not let myself shed blood except under compulsion. What else?" I said, "You could clap him in irons and carry him with you wherever you roam." To this Muḥammad responded, "Are we to be concerned about him in addition to our fear and haste? What else?" I said, "You could

494. The territory belonging to the tribe so named, a division of the Quḍāʿah, lay along the northwestern littoral of the Arabian peninsula. Mount Raḍwā (see Ṭabarī, III, 166, below) lies within this region. *EI*[1], s.v. Djuhaina (C. H. Becker); *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳuḍāʿa (M. J. Kister); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 194–95.

495. This is ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan ("al-Muthallath") b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who was also known as ʿAlī b. ʿĀbid and ʿAlī al-Khayr. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 190–95; *EI*[2], s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ṣāḥib Fakhkh (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

496. Conjectural vocalization. There is no reference to this place in the standard geographical literature.

497. Abū ʿĀmir al-Madanī (d. 150/767) was a traditionist characterized variously as weak and as trusthworthy. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 241; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 313=*Opkomst*, 286–87.

498. *Ẓahara ʿalayhi al-nakaratu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *nakira*.

499. Qurʾān 2:156.

bind and fetter him and leave him with someone you trust here on Juhaynah." "That's what I'll do," he said. We returned [to the group]. The man, however, had taken alarm and fled. I asked where he was, and they said, "He stood up with his water bag and poured some water from it. Then he went behind that projecting rock as if to perform his ablution." We went all over the mountain and its environs, but it was if the earth had closed over him.

The spy proceeded on foot until he got onto the road. There some desert Arabs passed him, carrying a load to Medina. He said [158] to one of them, "Empty this grain sack and put me in it; I will deal equitably with its owner, and your reward will be such and such." The man agreed and emptied the sack and transported the spy as far as Medina. The latter then went to Abū Jaʿfar and gave him a complete report. Having forgotten both Abū Habbār's name and patronymic,[500] he [gratuitously] gave it as "Wabr". Abū Jaʿfar therefore wrote in search of Wabr [instead of Abū Habbār] al-Muzanī. A certain man by that name was brought to the caliph, who questioned him regarding the story of Muḥammad and what the spy had told him. The man swore that he knew nothing about this, but at the caliph's command he was given 700 lashes and confined until Abū Jaʿfar died.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Abū Jaʿfar remained intent on searching for Muḥammad, so he wrote urging Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī to redeem the pledges he had given. Now Muḥammad actually came to Medina,[501] and Ziyād heard of this. Ziyād acted graciously toward him, giving him a guarantee of safety so that he could show his face to the people in company with Ziyād. Muḥammad promised to do so. Ziyād then mounted before dawn, having made an appointment [to meet] Muḥammad at the camel market.[502] The two met there, and Muḥammad showed himself quite openly with no attempt at concealment. Ziyād stood right beside him

500. *Wa-ʿamiya ʿan ismi Abī Ḥabbār wa-kunyatihi.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿamiya.*

501. *Fa-qadima Muḥammadun al-madīnata qadmatan.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qadima.*

502. For the identification with *sūq al-ghanam* see Lecker, "Markets of Medina," 144; but compare with ʿAlī, "Topography of Medina," 88, as *sūq al-ẓuhr*, or "afternoon market."

and declared, "This man, O people, is Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan." Then he turned to him and said, "Take yourself to any place you wish in God's lands." Muḥammad went into hiding, and repeated reports of that incident continued to Abū Jaʿfar.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—someone whom he trusted: Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh entered Ziyād's presence wearing a mail shirt under his clothing. Ziyād touched it and said, "Abū Isḥāq, it's as if you suspect me of something that will never befall you from me!"

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Ziyād rode in company with Muḥammad and brought him to the market. The people of [159] Medina kept shouting out "the Mahdī, the Mahdī," so Muḥammad went into hiding, not to reappear until he came out in open revolt.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: When successive reports of what Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh had done reached Abū Jaʿfar, he dispatched Abū al-Azhar,[503] a man from Khurāsān, to Medina. The caliph wrote a letter for Abū al-Azhar to take with him and handed over some other documents, commanding Abū al-Azhar not to read the letter he was being given until he stopped at al-Aʿwaṣ[504] at one post station's (*barīd*)[505] distance from Medina. Upon arrival there, Abū al-Azhar read the letter and discovered therein the appointment of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh,[506] a judge for Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh, as governor of Medina. Further, it contained orders that Ziyād be bound in irons, that his wealth be confiscated, that everything he possessed be seized, that his agents and associates be arrested, and that both he and they be sent on to Abū Jaʿfar. Abū al-Azhar reached Medina on the 22d of Jumādā II in 141[507] and found Ziyād [had gone out] at the head of his retinue. Upon

503. Al-Muhallab b. al-ʿUbaythir al-Mahrī, as the name is given by Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 190. See also Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 328, II, 421.

504. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 223, identifies al-Aʿwaṣ as a ravine (*shiʿb*) belonging to the Banū Hudhayl in the Tihāmah region.

505. In the western part of the ʿAbbāsid lands, postal stages were normally situated about twenty-four kilometers apart and about half that distance in the eastern lands. *EI*², s.v. Barīd (D. Sourdel); Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī," 141–42; Sauvaget, *La Poste aux chevaux*.

506. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanẓab al-Makhzūmī, who died in the late 170s. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 563.

507. Monday, October 30, 758.

asking "Where is the Amīr?" he was told that Ziyād had ridden forth. Then the messengers conveyed news of his arrival to Ziyād. Abū al-Azhar moved quickly ahead to enter the Dār Marwān. He gained admittance to Ziyād and presented him with a letter from Abū Jaʿfar, written on a *thuluth*,[508] which commanded him to hear and obey. When Ziyād had read it, he said, "I am ready to hear and obey; command what you wish, Abū al-Azhar." "Send for ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib," Abū al-Azhar replied. Ziyād did so, and Abū al-Azhar [or Ziyād, who is still *amīr*] presented ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz with a letter ordering him to pay heed to Abū al-Azhar. When he read it, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said, "I am ready to hear and obey." Then Abū al-Azhar presented to Ziyād a letter ordering him to surrender the governorship to Ibn al-Muṭṭalib, while to Ibn al-Muṭṭalib he handed a letter of appointment. Next Abū al-Azhar said to Ibn al-Muṭṭalib, "Send me four fetters and a blacksmith." When both had been brought, he demanded, "Shackle Abū Yaḥyā." Ziyād, therefore, was shackled and his
[160] wealth confiscated. (In the treasury there were 85,000 dīnārs.) Every single one of his agents was arrested. Abū al-Azhar departed with Ziyād and these others. When they were in Ṭaraf al-Madīnah,[509] his agents stood before Ziyād and paid their respects to him. Impressed with their bearing and valor, Ziyād exclaimed: "You are as dear to me as my father! By God, when Abū Jaʿfar sees *you*, I don't care what he does to me!"

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq—his maternal uncle, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd:[510] We went to see Ziyād on his way, and one night, as I marched below his litter, he turned to me. "By God," declared Ziyād, "I don't feel that I've done anything wrong against the Commander of the Faithful, but I suppose he is angry with me about the sons of ʿAbdallāh and resents the fact that, for me, the blood of the sons [i.e., descendants] of Fāṭimah is precious." They then proceeded as far as al-

508. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *thallatha*, defines this as "a large piece of paper, the third part of an entire sheet" and provides the fuller term, *thuluth qirṭāsin*, from Iṣfahānī's *Kitāb al-aghānī*.

509. Ṭaraf al-Madīnah was the last station before Medina on the way from al-Kūfah. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 31; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 87.

510. Or ʿAbd al-Ḥumayd.

Shuqrah.[511] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[512] escaped from them and returned to Medina. Abū Jaʿfar imprisoned the others but eventually released them.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—a trusthworthy individual: When Abū Jaʿfar dispatched Mabhūt and Ibn Abī ʿĀṣiyah in search of Muḥammad, Mabhūt was the one who seized Ziyād, so Ziyād said:

I bear the offense of a people not my own,
but the left hand does not sin against the right.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh— ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān b. Abī Farwah: Al-Shaʿbānī, one of Abū Jaʿfar's army commanders, and I, together with Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh, frequently visited Abū al-Azhar in the days when Abū Jaʿfar had sent him in search of the Ḥasanids. In fact, one day I was traveling with Abū al-Azhar when someone came right up next to him and said, "I have some well-intentioned advice about Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm." Abū al-Azhar told him to go away, but the man persisted, "It is sincere advice for the Commander of the Faithful." "Leave us," said Abū al-Azhar, "and watch out; people have been killed for such." But [161] the man refused to go away, and Abū al-Azhar ignored him until the coast was clear. Then with his sword he made a gash in the man's belly and threw him to the side.

After Ziyād, Abū Jaʿfar installed Muḥammad b. Khālid as governor of Medina.[513]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Abū Jaʿfar installed Muḥammad b. Khālid as governor of Medina after Ziyād, commanding him to press on with the search for Muḥammad and to spend freely in the effort. Muḥammad b. Khālid traveled in haste and arrived in Medina at the new

511. Al-Shuqrah is later cited in Ṭabarī, III, 161, as lying between al-Aʿwaṣ and al-Ṭaraf. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 530, gives this as al-Shaqrāʾ. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 355.

512. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī, who has appeared earlier in Ṭabarī as a transmitter, was descended from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, an important Meccan convert from the Banū Zuhrah. *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf (W. Montgomery Watt).

513. This would indicate that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib (see p. 105, above) was an interim appointment.

moon[514] of Rajab 141. The people of Medina knew nothing of his appointment until his messenger arrived from al-Shuqrah, which lies between al-Aʿwaṣ and al-Ṭaraf, two nights' journey from Medina. In the treasury he found 70,000 dīnārs and 1 million dirhams. He used that entire sum, as well as many other monies that he raised in his audit, expending them on the search for Muḥammad. However, Abū Jaʿfar judged him to be sluggish and began to have suspicions about him, so he wrote ordering him to make a thorough search of Medina and its environs. Muḥammad b. Khālid gave orders to the treasury officials to pay wages to anyone who participated in the search. Thus they paid wages, but al-Ghāḍirī al-Muḍḥik[515] sold[516] [his share], incurring a debt with the people of 1,000 dīnārs, but this too was depleted and wiped out. They also went out to the surrounding areas in search of Muḥammad. Al-Qasrī [i.e., Muḥammad b. Khālid] ordered the people of Medina to remain in their houses for seven days. His messengers and soldiers made the rounds of the people's houses in order to search, but they did not come up with anything. (Al-Qasrī had written documents for his assistants, giving them supreme authority so that no one could reproach them.) But because Abū Jaʿfar found Muḥammad b. Khālid sluggish and saw what funds he had used up, he dismissed him.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—Ḥusayn b. Yazīd—Ibn
[162] Ḍabbah: The problem of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm weighed heavily upon Abū Jaʿfar, so he sent someone to summon Abū al-Siʿlāʾ,[517] a man of Qays b. ʿAylān,[518] and said, "Come now, advise me in the matter of these two men. The business with them has really given me grief." Abū al-Siʿlāʾ replied, "I think that you

514. Although actual observation of the new moon can be problematic, this term usually connotes the first day of the lunar month, i.e., 1 Rajab 141 (Tuesday, November 7, 758). *EI*², s.v. Hilāl (J. Schacht).

515. For his later confrontation with Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh see p. 194.

516. *Wa-bāʿa*, following Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXII.

517. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXII. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 519, gives the name as Abī al-ʿAlāʾ.

518. Qays ʿAylān was a principal subdivision of the Muḍar, one of two major tribal groupings in ancient northern Arabia. *EI*², s.v. Ḳays ʿAylān (G. Baer and M. Hoexter); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, II, 456.

should appoint as governor one of the descendants of al-Zubayr[519] or Ṭalḥah,[520] for those people would conduct a truly vengeful search for the two of them.[521] I swear they would not let Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm rest until they ferreted them out for you!" "May God confound you!" said the caliph; "what excellent advice you've brought! I had, of course, thought of that, but I vow to God that I will not take vengeance against the people of my house by the hands of my enemy or theirs. Yet I could send some poor Arab of no consequence,[522] and he could do just what you said." Abū Jaʿfar thus sent Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā[523]—Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: One day, after Abū Jaʿfar had decided to dismiss Muḥammad b. Khālid from the governorship of Medina, he went out riding and, upon leaving his house, was met by Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī.[524] The caliph called to him, and so Yazīd came alongside him. Abū Jaʿfar asked, "Could you put me on to some poor [but promising] Qaysī youth whom I could enrich and ennoble, empowering him over the Lord of the Yemen, who will lead him a dance, i.e., Ibn al-Qasrī?"[525] "Yes, Commander of the Faithful," replied Yazīd, "I know just the one." "Who is he?" the caliph asked. Yazīd replied, "Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī." The caliph cautioned, "Be sure not to men-

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519. Al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad al-Ḥawārī was an early convert of whom the Prophet Muḥammad said, "Every prophet has an apostle (*ḥawārī*), and my apostle is al-Zubayr." Dhahabī, *Siyar*, I, 41–67; *EI*[1], s.v. (A. J. Wensinck).

520. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh was a Companion of the Prophet who shielded the latter in his retreat at the Battle of Uḥud. *EI*[1], s.v. (G. Levi della Vida).

521. Both Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were central figures in the Battle of the Camel, an attempt to avenge ʿUthmān and to wrest power from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and lost their lives in that episode. Their descendants would thus not have any great affection for the ʿAlids.

522. *Ṣuʿaylīkan min al-ʿarab*. See Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṣaʿlaka*.

523. Perhaps the brother of Abū Ghassān Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad.

524. Yazīd b. Usayd b. Zāfir b. Asmāʾ al-Sulamī (d. after 162/779), son of a Christian mother, was a prominent army commander during the Umayyad caliphate and served as governor of Armenia for al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. Ṭabarī, III, 81, 374, 493; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 209–10; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VIII, 179; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 57–58.

525. I.e., Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī.

tion this to anyone." Then he left and ordered fine mounts, clothing, and baggage to be prepared for the journey. When the caliph came away from the final night prayer, he summoned Riyāḥ, told him what an affliction Ziyād and Ibn al-Qasrī's deception in the matter of the sons of ʿAbdallāh had been to him, and appointed him the governor of Medina. He demanded that Riyāḥ set off immediately, without even going back to his house, and he commanded him to exert every effort in the search for Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Riyāḥ left in such a hurry that he arrived in Medina
[163] on Friday, 23 Ramaḍān 144.[526]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf[527]—al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ—his father:[528] When Abū Jaʿfar's problem with Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm had worn him down, I went out one day from his presence—or from my house on the way to him—and suddenly found a man who approached me. He said, "I am Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān's messenger to you. Riyāḥ says to you, 'I have heard about the problem of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm and about the duplicity of the governors in their affair. If the Commander of the Faithful appoints me governor of Medina, I give him my guarantee that I will seize them and bring them forth.' " I conveyed that to the Commander of the Faithful, and he wrote to him with his commission without witness.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā—Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: When Riyāḥ entered the Dār Marwān and went into the gallery, he turned to one (some) of those with him and asked, "Is this the Dār Marwān?" They said it was, and he announced, "This is a place where people come and people go, unable to remain at rest;[529] we, then, shall be the first to leave it [and do something]."

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar—al-Zubayr b. al-Mundhir, the *mawlā* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-ʿAwwām: Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān arrived accompanied by his chamberlain, known as Abū al-Bakhtarī, who had been a friend of my father's in the days

526. December 25, 761.
527. Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf b. Suwayd.
528. I.e., al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, the caliph's *mawlā*.
529. *Hādhihi al-miḥlāl al-miẓʿān*, with Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 622, for *miḥlāl*, and Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ẓaʿana*, for *miẓʿān*.

of al-Walīd b. Yazīd.[530] Because of his friendship for my father, I used to visit him. One day he said to me, "Zubayr, when Riyāḥ entered the Dār Marwān, he said to me, 'Is this the Dār Marwān? By God, it is certainly a place where people come and people go, unable to remain at rest.' When the people parted from him[531]—ʿAbdallāh being confined in the domed structure of the Dār leading to the [caliph's] enclosure where Ziyād b.ʿUbaydallāh had imprisoned him—Riyāḥ said to me, 'Take my hand, Abū al-Bakhtarī. We shall go see this old man.' He advanced, leaning on me, until he came to a stop before ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and said, 'By God, old man, the Commander of the Faithful did not make me governor because of close kinship or for any favor that my [164] forebears did for him. You had better not lead me on as you did Ziyād and Ibn al-Qasrī. By God, I shall give you a bad time unless you bring me your sons, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm.' ʿAbdallāh lifted up his head to him and said, 'Yes; and, of course, you, by God, will be the Qaysī dripping red,[532] slaughtered for it [my soul] like a butchered sheep'. Abū al-Bakhtarī remarked, 'Riyāḥ left then, holding on to my hand. I could feel the chill of his hand and that he was shuffling on his feet because of what ʿAbdallāh had said to him. I said, 'By God, this man is not apprised of the unknown!' 'Alas,' replied Riyāḥ, 'God knows he only said what he has heard.' Abū al-Bakhtarī concluded, 'By God, he was in fact slaughtered for it like a sheep.' "

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Riyāḥ arrived in Medina and summoned [Muḥammad b. Khālid] al-Qasrī to ask him about the [public] funds. Muḥammad b. Khālid said, "This is my secretary; he is more knowledgeable about such matters than I." "I am asking you," Riyāḥ retorted, "and you are relegating me to your secretary!" He commanded that he be stabbed in the neck and that he be lashed about the head with whips. Then he arrested Rizām, Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī's secretary and *mawlā*, and punished him at length. He had him beaten fifteen lashes every other day, and, with his hand

530. Walīd II, an Umayyad caliph who reigned for little more than a year (from 125/743 to 126/744) before being killed by agents of his successor, Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. *EI*[1], s.v. (H. Lammens); Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 90–94.

531. *Fa-lammā takashshafa al-nāsu ʿanhu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *kashafa*.

532. *Innaka la azbarqu Qaysin*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXII.

manacled to his neck from morning to night, he was made to follow Riyāḥ around the courtyard of the mosque and the open square. Secretly, Riyāḥ tried to get him to make accusations against Ibn Khālid, but he did not find Rizām amenable. One day during that time ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh al-Judhāmī, deputy to the chief of police, took him out, intending to beat him, but from feet to head he was one suppurating ulcer. ʿUmar asked, "This is the
[165] day for your lashing[533] [again], so where do you want us to whip you?" "By God," Rizām replied, "there is no place left on my body to beat! But if you wish, then the palms of my hands." He then held out his hands and was beaten fifteen lashes on the palms.

Riyāḥ's messengers kept coming to Rizām, ordering him to make accusations against Ibn Khālid so that he could be set free. He sent back to Riyāḥ, "Tell them to leave me alone so that I can write a letter." Riyāḥ did so, but then he kept after him and sent word to him "to come with the letter that evening in front of the people and hand it over to me." When evening came, Riyāḥ sent for him. Rizām arrived to find Riyāḥ with a group of people, so he said, "Hear me, all of you, the Amīr ordered me to write a letter making accusations against Ibn Khālid. I have indeed written such a letter to escape harm.[534] I swear to you that everything in it is false." At Riyāḥ's orders he was given one hundred lashes and sent back to prison.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—his paternal uncle, ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī: When God cast Adam down from the Garden, he set him up on [Mt.] Abū Qubays[535] and raised up for him the entire earth so that he could view it, saying, "All of this is yours." Adam asked, "How, O Lord, will I know what is in it?" God then made for him the stars and said, "When you see the star such and such, it is [to be called] this, and when you see the star such and such it is [to be called] that." Therefore Adam came to know this from the stars. Then

533. *Hadhā yawmu ghibbika*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ghibb*.

534. *Kitāban atanajjā bihi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIII, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *najā*.

535. Abū Qubays is the name of a hill overlooking the Great Mosque in Mecca, where Adam is said to be buried. *EI*², s.v. Abū Ḳubays (G. Rentz); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 80–81.

that became too hard for him, so God sent from heaven a mirror in which Adam could see what was on earth, until, when Adam died, a satan called Faqṭas[536] went to get it. He then broke it and built upon the pieces a city in the east called Jābirat.[537] When Sulaymān b. Dāwūd[538] asked about the mirror, he was told that Faqṭas had taken it. Sulaymān summoned Faqṭas and asked him about it. Faqṭas said, "It is under the foundations of Jābirat." [166] "Bring it to me," said Sulaymān. "Who will tear down the city?" asked Faqṭas. Now they told[539] Sulaymān to tell him, "You," which he did. So Faqṭas brought the mirror to Sulaymān, and Sulaymān put the parts of it back together. Then he bound its circumference with a strap and kept looking into it until his death. At this the satans pounced on it and carried it off, but a bit of it remained. The Banū Isrāʾīl passed this bit down from one generation to the next until it came to the Exilarch (*raʾs al-jālūt*).[540] He brought it to Marwān b. Muḥammad,[541] who kept polishing it and affixed it to another mirror. In it he saw something that he found repulsive, so he threw down the mirror, beheaded the Exilarch, and handed it over to one of his slave girls. She put it into a wad of cotton and then placed it in a stone. When Abū Jaʿfar became caliph, he asked about it and was told that a certain woman had the mirror. He searched until he had found her, she being [already] in his household.[542] He, too, kept polishing it and put it into another mirror. Looking into it, he could see Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, so he wrote to Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān telling him that Muḥammad was in some country where there were citrons and grapes and that he should look for him there. Now one of Abū Jaʿfar's associates had written to Muḥammad, "Do not

536. For Faqṭas and Faqṭasah as the twin offspring of Iblīs, see al-Kisāʾī, *Tales of the Prophets*, 19.

537. This vocalization is conjectural.

538. I.e., the Biblical and Qurʾānic prophet Solomon. According to a later account in Ṭabarī, III, 321, the gates that Abū Jaʿfar used in building Baghdad came originally from the prophet Sulaymān via al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf's city of Wāsiṭ.

539. The identity of these advisors is left indefinite.

540. The Resh Galuta was the lay leader of the Jewish community in Iraq. According to Eliezer Bashan, *EI*, s.v. Exilarch, Solomon b. Ḥisdai served as Exilarch from 115–43/733–59. The caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad, however, died in 750.

541. Marwān II was the last caliph of the Umayyad dynasty. He reigned 127–32/744–50. *EI*², s.v. (G.R. Hawting).

542. Or the pronouns could refer to the mirror itself.

stay in any place for longer than it takes the courier to go from Iraq to Medina." Muḥammad, therefore, stayed on the move, and Abū Jaʿfar saw him in al-Bayḍāʾ,[543] which is about twenty miles beyond al-Ghābah,[544] belonging to Ashjaʿ.[545] So he wrote to Riyāḥ that Muḥammad was in a country where there were mountains and tarns.[546] Riyāḥ searched but did not find him. Abū Jaʿfar then wrote to him that now Muḥammad was on a mountain where there were terebinth berries[547] and pitch. Riyāḥ said to himself, "This must be Raḍwā,[548] so again he looked for Muḥammad but did not find him.

According to Abū Zayd[549]—Abū Ṣafwān Naṣr b. Qudayd b. Naṣr b. Sayyār:[550] I heard that Abū Jaʿfar owned a mirror in which he could distinguish his enemy from his friend.

[167] According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Riyāḥ intensified the search for Muḥammad and was informed that he was in one of the mountain gorges of Raḍwā, a mountain of Juhaynah in the administrative district of Yanbuʿ.[551] Riyāḥ thus appointed ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. Mālik al-Juhanī,[552] one

543. Al-Bayḍāʾ was the stage before Wādī al-Qurā on the northwestern route into Mecca. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 529–30; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 72.

544. Yāqūt, *Buldān* IV, 182, identifies al-Ghābah simply as a place near Medina on the way from Syria. The word itself connotes either a depression in the earth or a thicket of wood or reeds. Groom, *Arabic Topography*, 90.

545. The Banū Ashjaʿ were one of the tribal subdivions of Qays who affiliated with the Prophet during his years in Medina and subsequently fought in the wars of *riddah* and the further conquest of Arabia. Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 71, 88; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, II, 201; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 249–50.

546. The Leiden vocalization is *qillāt*, but see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 395, for de Goeje's references to the alternative *qullāt*.

547. *Al-ḥabb al-akhḍar*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥabb*.

548. Raḍwā is a mountain group in the territory of Juhaynah (see note 494, above) where Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah is believed to have gone into occultation. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 51; Farmayan and Daniel, *Shiʿite Pilgrimage to Mecca*, 284, 288.

549. I.e., ʿUmar b. Shabbah b. ʿAbīdah.

550. Presumably a descendant of the noted Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī (d. 131/748). *EI*², s.v. (C. E. Bosworth).

551. Yanbuʿ is now a seaport on the west coast of the Arabian peninsula almost on the same latitude as Medina; the name also applies to an inland oasis that lies northeast of the port. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 449–50, identifies it as the site of a *wuqūf* belonging to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. *EI*¹, s.v. (A. Grohmann); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 89.

552. Caetani, *Cronographia generale*, 308.

of the Banū Jusham,[553] as governor of Yanbuʿ and ordered him to search for Muḥammad, which he did. ʿAmr was told that Muḥammad was in a mountain gorge of Raḍwā, so he went there with cavalry and infantry. This frightened Muḥammad. ʿAmr appeared in force, but Muḥammad escaped. He had a little son,[554] however, who was born during this fearful period and was in the care of one of his slave girls, and the child fell from the mountain and was dashed to pieces. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān then went away.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm al-Ṭāʾī: When Muḥammad's son fell to his death and he suffered what he suffered, he spoke these lines:

In tattered clothes he suffers sore feet.[555]
    Sharp-edged flints afflict him.
Fear banished and disgraced him.
    Thus it is with one who hates the heat of battle.
In death he'll have rest.
    Death is a decree imposed on men's necks.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—his paternal uncle, ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad: Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh said, "While I was in Raḍwā together with a slave girl who was my concubine (and who had with her a little son of mine whom she was nursing), suddenly Ibn Sanūṭī, a *mawlā* of the people of Medina, pounced on me in the mountain area where he had been looking for me. I left in flight, and the slave girl fled, but the little boy fell from her [grasp] and was dashed to pieces." ʿUbaydallāh continued, "Ibn Sanūṭī was brought to Muḥammad after the time [168] when he came out in open revolt. 'Ibn Sanūṭī,' Muḥammad said, 'do you know what happened to the little boy?' 'Yes, by God, I do indeed,' he responded. Muḥammad, therefore, ordered him to be imprisoned, and he remained confined until Muḥammad was killed."

553. Jusham b. Muʿāwiyah was a subdivision of the Hawāzin tribal group. *EI*², s.v. Hawāzin (W. Montgomery Watt); Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 81, 99–100; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, II, 268–69.

554. His name is unknown (Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 230–31), but Iṣfahānī gives his mother's name as Rakhayyah.

555. Ṭabarī quotes these lines again at III, 194, with slight variation.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ziyād—his father: Muḥammad said, "I was going hither and thither in al-Ḥarrah[556] when suddenly I saw Riyāḥ and the horsemen. Quickly I turned away toward a well and stood between its two supporting posts. I had begun to draw water when Riyāḥ met me flat on. "God confound him," he said; "he's a true desert Arab with a good, strong arm!"

According to ʿUmar—Ibn Zabālah[557]—ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Juhanī—ʿUthmān b. Mālik: With his searching Riyāḥ made Muḥammad feel quite uneasy. Muḥammad said to me, "In the morning, come with us to the Mosque of Victory;[558] there we will pray to God." ʿUthmān continued, "I said the morning prayer, then went to him, and we set off together in the early morning. Muḥammad was wearing a rough shirt and a cloak of fine white linen.[559] We left the place where he had been, but drawing near the Mosque, he suddenly turned aside, for there was Riyāḥ with a group of his associates on horseback. I said to Muḥammad, "There's Riyāḥ! To God we belong and to Him is our return [i.e., the game is up!]." He said, paying him no heed: "Keep moving." So I moved on, though my feet would scarcely carry me. Muḥammad himself turned off the road and sat down, settling his back against something beside the road. He let the fringes of his cloak fall over his face. Now he was a well-built man, but when Riyāḥ stood opposite him, he turned to his companions and said, "A woman has seen us and she is embarrassed." ʿUthmān continued: I kept moving until the sun ascended, at

556. Broadly conceived, al-Ḥarrah connotes the mountainous, lava-strewn region that stretches from the Yemen to Wādī al-Qurā; more specifically, it applies to an area on the northeastern side of Medina that was the site of bloody revolt against the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah in 63/683. Cornu, *Répertoires*, 76; *EI*², s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 245; Kister, "Battle of the Ḥarra."

557. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah al-Makhzūmī (d. after 179/795) was a historian and traditionist of Medina and an associate of Mālik b. Anas. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 101–2; *GAS*, I, 343–44; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, IX, 191.

558. Masjid al-Fatḥ was a mosque in Medina associated with Muḥammad's victory over the Meccans. *EI*², s.v. Masdjid (J. Pedersen et al.).

559. *Wa-ʿalā Muḥammadin qamīṣun ghalīzun wa-ridāʾun furqubiyyun.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIII, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *fatala* and *furqub* for *qurqub*.

which time Riyāḥ came, went up and prayed two parts of the prayer cycle, and then left in the direction of Buṭḥān.[560] At this [169] point Muḥammad approached and entered the Mosque, where he said both the ritual prayer and a private prayer.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh continued to move about from place to place until his open rebellion. When the matter of Muḥammad had begun to prove wearisome for al-Manṣūr and he had not been able to lay hands on him, even though ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan remained imprisoned, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿīd said to Abū Jaʿfar (in what is mentioned on the authority of ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh from ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān b. Abī Farwah): "Commander of the Faithful, do you want Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm to be brought before you while the Ḥasanids are allowed to go free? The people hold any one of them in more awe than a lion!" ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said that it was this that induced Abū Jaʿfar to imprison the Ḥasanids. Then the caliph summoned him and asked, "Who suggested this idea to you?" "Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān,"[561] he replied. When ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Saʿīd, who was a confidential agent for Abū Jaʿfar and custodian of the voluntary alms, died, the caliph put Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān in his position and ordered seizure of the Ḥasanids.

According to ʿĪsā—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān b. Abī Farwah: Abū Jaʿfar commanded Riyāḥ to arrest the Ḥasanids, sending Abū al-Azhar al-Mahrī to him with that order. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan had already been imprisoned, his confinement lasting for three years. Out of mourning for ʿAbdallāh, Ḥasan b. Ḥasan had even neglected to dye his beard,[562] prompting Abū Jaʿfar to ask [tauntingly], "How are things with the woman in *ʿiddah*!"[563] Riyāḥ

560. Buṭḥān was a *wādī* that lay in the western part of the city and supplied water to it. It is now the site of a recently constructed dam. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 446–47; *EI*², s.v. al-Madīna (R. B. Winder); ʿAlī "Topography of Medina," 68.

561. Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān b. Abī al-Mughīrah (d. 168/784) was appointed co-governor of Medina by al-Manṣūr in 155/771–72. Ṭabarī, III, 377; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 272–74; *GAS*, I, 93.

562. *Qad naṣala khiḍābahu tasalluban ʿalā ʿAbdallāh*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCXXXIII, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *naṣala* and *salaba*.

563. Although here said ironically of a man, *ʿiddah* is the period of sexual abstention mandated for a widowed or divorced woman. During this stage of her mourning, a widow would neither wear jewelry nor use cosmetics. *EI*², s.v. (Y. Linant de Bellefonds).

arrested Ḥasan and Ibrāhīm,[564] the sons of Ḥasan b. Ḥasan;[565] and
[170] Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan and Sulaymān and ʿAbdallāh, the sons of Dāwūd b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan; and Muḥammad,[566] Ismāʿīl,[567] and Isḥāq, the sons of Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan.[568] They seized ʿAbbās b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib[569] at his gate. Although his mother, ʿĀʾishah bt. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar, pleaded, "Just let me smell him,"[570] they told her, "No, by God, not while you are living in this world." [They also seized] ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan al-ʿĀbid.[571]

According to ʿUmar—Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Ibrāhīm: With them Abū Jaʿfar imprisoned ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan, the brother of ʿAlī.[572]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Riyāḥ publicly reviled Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons

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564. Ibrāhīm's mother was Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn. He perished in prison at the age of sixty-seven, the first of the imprisoned Ḥasanids to die. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 187–88; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, V, 342.

565. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā (d. circa 97/715–16). Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, V, 319–20; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 416–18; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, II, 187.

566. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan was best remembered for his sobriquet "the Golden Brocade" (*al-dībāj al-aṣfar*), a verbal tribute to his beauty. In fact, Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 200, reports that people used to go and visit this fellow simply for the delight of looking at him. Later, in Ṭabarī, p. 133, the name is rendered as "the Younger Brocade."

567. Ismāʿīl b. Ibāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan was particularly remembered for his forebearance in tribulation. An account in Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 199, compares him to gold bullion that is purified by fire. He was given the name Ṭabāṭabā—some sources say that it was his son Ibrāhīm's name—because of a mispronunciation. In Persian the name Ṭabāṭabāʾī has come to designate an individual who claims both maternal and paternal descent from the Prophet Muḥammad. *EI*², s.v. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (B. Scarcia Amoretti); Haïm, *New Persian-English, II*, 299.

568. According to Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 188–89, Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan, his son al-Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar, Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan, and his sons Sulaymān and ʿAbdallāh, were among the Ḥasanids who were spared by Abū Jaʿfar after the deaths of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Iṣfahānī cites competing reports about Isḥāq and Ismāʿīl, the sons of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan, with one saying they were spared and another saying they were slain.

569. According to Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 198, he was thirty-five years old when he died in al-Manṣūr's prison.

570. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 198, expands her plea to "just let me take a sniff of him and give him a hug."

571. See note 495, above.

572. For both ʿAbdallāh and ʿAlī, see Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 196.

of ʿAbdallāh, and heaped abuse upon the people of Medina. Moreover, one day in the pulpit he made mention of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, calling them "vicious, morally depraved, and brigands." Then he referred to their mother, the daughter of Abū ʿUbaydah,[573] speaking of her in obscene terms. The people exclaimed, "God be praised,"[574] and regarded his words as monstrous. At this Riyāḥ turned on them and said, "As for you people, we have not wearied[575] of heaping abuse on them. May God paste your faces over with shame and ignominy, for, by God, I shall certainly write to your caliph and inform him of your deceit and of your lack of sincerity." The people said, "We are not going to listen to you, O Son of the Unlawful."[576] They went for him with pebbles, so he took off and rushed into the Dār Marwān and bolted the door behind him. At this the people went out and lined up facing him. They shot at him and called him names. Finally, they gave up and desisted.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—someone he considered trustworthy: Imprisoned with them were Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, as well as ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan[577] as soon as he arrived from Egypt.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥabīb: Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent his son, ʿAlī, to Egypt. Someone reported him to the governor of Egypt when he had an impetuous attack in mind. The governor tied him up and sent him on to Abū Jaʿfar. ʿAlī confessed to caliph, naming his father's associates. Among those whom he named were ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Mawālī[578] and Abū Ḥunayn. Abū Jaʿfar ordered the two of them imprisoned where Abū Ḥunayn was given 100 lashes. [171]

573. Hind bt. Abī ʿUbaydah b. ʿAbdallāh. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 232.
574. The sense here is shocked surprise, certainly not approval.
575. Reading it as *lā kalalnā*.
576. Ibn al-Maḥdūd.
577. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 201.
578. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān reportedly knew the whereabouts of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, was in frequent personal contact with them, and called himself their *dāʿī*. Ṭabarī later, III, 187, includes a long account of the arrest and transporting of the Ḥasanids on the authority of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 284, gives his death date as 173/789–90. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 288.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan passed Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan when the latter was feeding some camels of his. Ḥasan asked, "How can you go on feeding your camels when ʿAbdallāh is imprisoned! Untether them, boy!" Ibrāhīm did so, giving a [parting] shout behind them, and not a one of them was ever found [again].

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī:[579] We were present at Riyāḥ's door into the reserved section (*maqṣūrah*) of the mosque. The muezzin called out: "Let any of the Ḥusaynids who are here now enter." My uncle, ʿUmar b. Muḥammad,[580] said to me, "Watch what the people do." They entered by the door to the reserved section and left by the Marwān door.[581] Then the muezzin called out, "Let any of the Banū Ḥasan who are here now enter." They entered by the door to the ruler's section as blacksmiths entered by the Marwān door and fetters were called for.[582]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: When Riyāḥ had completed the morning prayer, he would send for me and for Qudāmah b. Mūsā and converse with us for a while. One day when I was with him, as we left there suddenly appeared a man who had muffled himself up in a head sash. Riyāḥ said to him, "Welcome and greetings! What do you wish?" The man replied, "I have come so that you can arrest me together with my people,"
[172] for, in fact, it was ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. "The Commander of the Faithful will certainly recognize what is due you!" exclaimed Riyāḥ. He then imprisoned ʿAlī together with [other members of the] the Banū Ḥasan.

According to ʿUmar—Yaʿqūb b. al-Qāsim—Saʿīd b. Nāshirah, the *mawlā* of Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān: Muḥammad sent his son ʿAlī away, but he was arrested in Egypt and died in Abū Jaʿfar's prison.

According to ʿUmar—Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh

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579. The only mention of him in Ṭabarī.

580. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī.

581. Bāb Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, was named for the Umayyad caliph (64–65/684–85) who served two terms as governor of Medina. For the *maqṣūrah*, a compartment for the ruler built near the *miḥrāb*, see *EI*², s.v. Masdjid (J. Pedersen et al.).

582. Hodgson "Early Shīʿa," 10, notes this episode as one in which "certainly al-Manṣūr set the Ḥusaynids off visibly from them [i.e. the Ḥasanids]."

b. Ḥasan[583]—his father—his father, Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh: When we were jailed, the prison was too cramped for us. My father therefore asked Riyāḥ to allow him to buy a house that he could convert into our place of arrest. Riyāḥ granted permission, so my father bought a house, to which we were moved. When our imprisonment had gone on for a long time, Muḥammad came to his mother, Hind, and said, "I have laid upon my father and my uncles something that they find an impossible ordeal. I have it in mind to put my hand in theirs so that perhaps they may be freed." Disguising herself and dressed in rags, Hind came to the prison in the guise of a messenger. She was given permission to enter, and when my father saw her, he made sure it was she and rose up to meet her. She told him what Muḥammad had said, but he replied, "On no account [should he do that]; we can endure it. But, by God, I do hope that God confers something good on him. My advice to him would be that he should continue to summon supporters to his cause and to press it intensely, for our relief is in God's hands." Hind then left, but Muḥammad fulfilled his purpose.

In this year the descendants of Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī were transported from Medina to Iraq.

The Reason [the Descendants of Ḥasan] Were Transported to Iraq and How Matters Stood for Them at That Time

According to ʿUmar—Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh—his father—his father: When Abū Jaʿfar made the Pilgrimage, he sent Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah[584] and Mālik b. [173]
Anas[585] to our associates [in prison], asking them to urge

583. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan was a Baghdādī traditionist whose grandfather was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's brother. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XIII, 39–40; Nagel, "Bericht," 244.

584. Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah, known as Abū Sulaymān, was a judge in Medina for the Umayyads and for al-Manṣūr. On the occasion of his death in 154, Abū Jaʿfar reportedly said, "Today Quraysh has been leveled." Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, IV, 235.

585. Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) was a renowned traditionist and jurist and eponymous founder of the Mālikī *madhdhab*. *EI*², s.v. (J. Schacht). For Abū Jaʿfar's connection with Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, see Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 86–88.

Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of ʿAbdallāh, to come to him. The two messengers entered our presence while my father [ʿAbdallāh] was standing in the ritual prayer and announced the caliph's message to those who were there. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan said, "This is all the doing of those two sons of an inauspicious mother. By God, this does not represent our view nor accord with our way of thinking.[586] I'm telling you frankly." Ibrāhīm approached him and said, "Why would you harm your brother through his two sons and harm your brother's son through his mother?" My father concluded his ritual prayer,[587] so Muḥammad and Mālik b. Anas gave him the message. "No, by God," he answered, "I shall not give you a word in response. If he wishes to give me permission to meet him, then let him do so." The two men went away and gave their report to the caliph. Abū Jaʿfar commented, "He simply wants to bewitch me,[588] but, by God, his eye will not see mine until he brings me his two sons."

According to ʿUmar—Ibn Zabālah: I heard one of our learned men say that ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan never spoke privately to anyone without cajoling him away from the judgment he had already made.

According to ʿUmar—Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh—his father—his grandfather: The Commander of the Faithful, Abū Jaʿfar, continued on toward his destination as a pilgrim,[589] but then started back without entering Medina, rather passing on to al-Rabadhah[590] until he came to the stream in its valley.[591]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: The Ḥasanids remained imprisoned within Riyāḥ's juris-

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586. *Mā hādhā ʿan mulāʾamatinā.* Ṭabarī, *Addendda et Emendanda,* p. DCCXXXIII, and *Glossarium,* s.v. *laʾuma.*

587. Or abandoned it [as being vitiated by the interruption].

588. *Arāda an yasḥaranī.* The Leiden edition records the alternative reading, *yaskhara bī,* "to make fun of me" (see also Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 539, with *yusakhkhiranī*), but notes confirmation of the selected reading in the account from Ibn Zabālah that follows.

589. *Sāra li-wajhihi ḥājjan.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium,* s.v. *wajuha.*

590. Al-Rabadhah was a stage on the route from al-Kūfah to Mecca; its remains are situated about 200 kilometers to the southeast of Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān,* III, 24–25; Cornu, *Répertoires,* 82. Recent excavations at this site have been described and lavishly illustrated in Rāshid, *Al-Rabadhah.*

591. *Thinā rahwatihā.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium,* s.v. *thanā;* Groom, *Arabic Topography,* 237.

diction until Abū Jaʿfar made the Pilgrimage in 144. At that time Riyāḥ met with the caliph in al-Rabadhah, and the latter sent him back to Medina with orders to dispatch the Ḥasanids to him, together with Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān,[592] who was the brother of the Ḥasanids on their mother's side. (The mother of them all was Fāṭimah bt. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbī Ṭālib.) [174] Riyāḥ, therefore, sent for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr when he was with his goods and property in Badr,[593] and had him brought down to Medina. Then Riyāḥ left with the Ḥasanids and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr for al-Rabadhah. When he came to Qaṣr Nafīs,[594] about three miles (*amyāl, sing. mīl*)[595] from Medina, he called for the blacksmiths, shackles, and fetters and threw every man of them into a foot shackle and neck iron. The two fettering rings on ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan's shackle were too tight. They cut into him, causing him to moan. His brother, ʿAlī b. Ḥasan, swore at him, saying that they should transfer his rings to ʿAbdallāh if they were more commodious. So the rings were transferred to ʿAbdallāh and Riyāḥ proceeded to al-Rabadhah with them.

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Khālid, the son of Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir's[596] sister—Juwayriyyah b. Asmāʾ,[597] the maternal uncle of his mother: When the Ḥasanids were transported to Abū Jaʿfar, shackles with which to fetter them were brought forth. At the time, ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan was standing in the ritual prayer.

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592. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, the great-grandson of the third caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, was known as "the Brocade" (*al-dībāj*) because of his physical beauty. As a half-brother of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, he was a maternal uncle of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, and his own mother was Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 224–25.

593. Also known as Badr Ḥunayn, it is a town southwest of Medina chiefly remembered for the victory the Prophet Muḥammad secured there in 2/624 against Meccan forces. *EI*², s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 357–58.

594. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 14, this citadel stood in the Ḥarrah area of Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 364, marks its connection to Nafīs b. Muḥammad, a *mawlā* of the Anṣār of Medina.

595. A *mīl* is the equivalent of about two kilometers. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 63.

596. Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥusayn b. Qays, who died in the first part of the third/ninth century, was secretary to the vizier Khālid b. Barmak. Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 1089.

597. Juwayriyyah b. Asmāʾ b. ʿUbayd b. Mukhāriq was a Baṣran traditionist who died in 173/789. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 107; *GAS*, I, 94.

Now among the shackles there was a particularly heavy one. Each time it was brought near to any of them, the man would shrink back from it and ask to be exempted. But ʿAlī, turning from his prayer, said, "Because you are so manifestly anxious, this obvious display of pain suffices him."[598] He then stretched forth his feet and was shackled with it.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān: The one who brought them down to al-Rabadhah was Abū al-Azhar.

According to ʿUmar—Ibn Zabālah—Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn:[599] Early one morning I went to the mosque. There I saw the Ḥasanids being led out of the Dār Marwān on their way to al-Rabadhah in the company of Abū al-Azhar. I then left and, Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad[600] having sent for me, I went to him. "What's on your mind?" he asked." I replied that I had seen the
[175] Ḥasanids being taken out in litters. He asked me to sit down, which I did, and then summoned one of his servants. Next he made many supplications to his Lord and then said to his servant, "Go on out, and when they have been carried off, come back and tell me." Eventually the messenger came to him and said, "Abū al-Azhar is approaching with them." Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad stood up and stepped behind a hair screen from which he could look out without being seen. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan came into view riding in a litter with one of the ʿAbbāsid partisans[601] seated on the other side as a counterbalance. His entire family was being treated likewise. When Jaʿfar looked upon them, his eyes overflowed until his tears ran down his beard. Then he came up to me, saying, "By

598. *Sharʿuhu hādhā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *sharaʿa*.

599. Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, whose patronymic was Abū ʿAbdallāh, was also known as *Dhū al-Damʿah* ("the Tearful") because he wept so much. Ṭabarī, III, 2557; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 387–89; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XII, 367.

600. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī ʿAbdallāh (d. 148/765), known as al-Imām al-Ṣādiq ("the Trustworthy Imām"), refined the foundational doctrines of Ithnā-ʿasharī Shīʿism. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 387, notes that Ḥusayn b. Zayd lived with Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq for a period and was instructed by him. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 255–70; *EI*², s.v. Ḏjaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (M. G. S. Hodgson); Omar, "Aspects," 171–76.

601. *Musawwid*, i.e., "Wearer of the Black," because the ʿAbbāsids used this as a representational color. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, II, 50–51; ʿAthamina, "Black Banners."

God, Abū ʿAbdallāh, when these are gone, God will no longer be honored!"[602]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah—Muṣʿab b. ʿUthmān:[603] At the time when the Ḥasanids were taken away, al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām encountered them in al-Rabadhah and exclaimed, "Praise God who has expelled you from our country." Ḥasan b. Ḥasan stuck out his neck in defiance of al-Ḥārith, but ʿAbdallāh adjured him to remain silent.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Ibn Abrūd, the chamberlain of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh: During the time when the Ḥasanids were being transported, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm used to come alongside disguised as desert Arabs. They would walk next to their father, questioning him and requesting his permission to come forth in open revolt. He, however, kept saying, "Don't be in a hurry until you are in a position to do so [successfully]." He also said to them, "If Abū Jaʿfar prohibits you from living nobly, he does not prevent you from dying nobly."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: When the Ḥasanids reached al-Rabadhah, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān came into Abū Jaʿfar's presence wearing only a shirt, a headwrap (*sāj*), and waist wrapper (*izār*) under his shirt.[604] As he came to a standstill before the caliph, [176]
Abū Jaʿfar said, "You there, what a pimp you are!" "Praise be to God," replied Muḥammad, "you have certainly known me to be

602. Compare Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 524: *lā yaḥfaẓu allāhu ḥaramayhi baʿda hāʾulāʾi*, "when these are gone, God will no longer protect the two sacred places (i.e., Mecca and Medina)."

603. Muṣʿab b. ʿUthmān b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr (as given in Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 552, but this is corrected by Nagel, "Bericht," 235, to Muṣʿab b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr) was descended from al-Zubayr al-Ḥawārī (see note 519), the Prophet Muḥammad's apostle, whose son Muṣʿab was governor of al-Baṣrah during the anticaliphate of his brother ʿAbdallāh. Muṣʿab b. ʿUthmān's grandfather, ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr (d. 93/712), was a renowned jurisprudent and traditionist in Medina. *EI*[1], s.v. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubair (H. Lammens) and ʿUrwah b. Zubair (V. Vacca); *EI*[2] *Suppl.*, s.v. Fuḳahāʾ al-Madīna al-Sabʿa (C. Pellat); Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 226; *GAS*, I, 278–79.

604. According to Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1459–60, *sāj* designates a dark or ash-colored or black *ṭaylasān*. See also Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 541 n. 2. For the *izār*, see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 34–35, and Dozy, *Vêtements*, 24–38.

otherwise, both as a child and as an adult." "Then how did your daughter[605] get pregnant?" asked Abū Jaʿfar. "She was still wed to Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan even though you swore to me that, by her being divorced and set free, you would not intrigue against me or join forces with an enemy [of mine]. You then come upon your daughter and find her with henna-dyed hands[606] and wearing perfume. Subsequently you see that she is pregnant, and yet her pregnancy does not alarm you. Certainly you are either a perjurer or a pimp! I swear by God that I'm of a mind to have her stoned." Muḥammad said, "As to the solemn oath I gave you, it remains incumbent upon me. If I had entered into any sort of deceit against you, I would certainly be aware of it. As for the aspersions that you have cast upon this poor girl, God has placed her above that by descent from the Messenger of God. When her pregnancy became visible, I assumed that her husband had cohabited with her at some time when we were not watching her carefully." Abū Jaʿfar was deeply angered by what he said and commanded that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's clothes be ripped off. His shirt was torn away from his waist wrapper and his private parts exposed. The caliph then commanded that he be given 150 lashes. The blows robbed him of all resistance while Abū Jaʿfar rebuked him, not confining himself to insinuations.[607] After one of the lashes struck his face, Muḥammad said to the caliph, "Woe betide you, stay away from my face; the Messenger of God has made it inviolable." At this Abū Jaʿfar urged on the whipper, saying, "[Go far] the head, the head." Muḥammad was thus beaten about the head some thirty blows. The caliph then called for a wooden yoke as long as Muḥammad was tall—Muḥammad was a tall man—and had it secured to his neck, with his hand being fastened to it as well. Then he sent him off thus trussed up. When he was brought forth from Abū Jaʿfar's chamber, one of his *mawlās* rushed up to him, saying, "You are as dear
[177] to me as my father and my mother, should I not wrap you in my

605. Ṭabarī later, III, 178, gives her name as Ruqayyah.

606. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khaḍaba*. For women to have the backs of their hands dyed with henna is still a common festive practice throughout the Muslim world, particularly in anticipation of marriage.

607. *Yaftarā ʿalayhi wa-lā yaknī*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV; *Glossarium*, s.v. *kanā*.

cloak?" "O yes," Muḥammad said, "you will be well recompensed. By God, the slits in my waist wrapper are harder for me to bear[608] than the beating that I sustained." The *mawlā* put his cloak around Muḥammad and took him to his imprisoned associates.

According to ʿUmar—al-Walīd b. Hishām—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān—Muḥammad b. Hāshim b. al-Barīd, the *mawlā* of Muʿāwiyah: I was in al-Rabadhah at the time when the Ḥasanids were brought there bound in chains. With them was al-ʿUthmānī, looking as if he were fashioned of silver.[609] They were made to sit down, but it was not long before a man came out from Abū Jaʿfar's presence and said, "Where is Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿUthmānī?" Muḥammad stood up and went in. Within a short time we heard the crack of whips. At this Ayyūb b. Salamah al-Makhzūmī[610] said to his sons, "My sons, I see a man who has no mercy in his heart for anyone. Watch out for yourselves. Don't let a word escape you."[611]

Muḥammad was brought forth looking like a black (*zanjī*); the blows had changed the color of his complexion and made his blood run down. One of the lashes had struck an eye so that blood flowed from it. He was made to sit beside his brother, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. Being thirsty, Muḥammad asked for a drink of water. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan thus said, "O my brethren, who will give a drink of water to the offspring of the Messenger of God?" But the people held back from him and would not give him a drink until finally a Khurāsānī came forward with water. He slipped it to Muḥammad, and Muḥammad drank. We waited for a little while longer until Abū Jaʿfar emerged riding in one side of a litter on a light-colored mule with al-Rabīʿ counterbalancing him in the litter on the right. ʿAbdallāh called out to him, "By God,

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608. *La-shuqūqu izarī ashaddu ʿalayya.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV.

609. I.e. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, who was known as "the Brocade." See note 592.

610. Ayyūb b. Salamah b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī was witness to the dismissal of ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān as governor of Medina during the caliphate of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik and appears as a defendant in the financial allegations made against the Prophet's great-great-grandson Zayd b. ʿAlī by Khālid b. ʿAdballāh al-Qasrī (or by his son Yazīd), an Umayyad governor of Iraq. Ṭabarī, II, 1282, 1668–69.

611. *Lā tusqiṭū bi-shayʾin.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *saqaṭa*.

Abū Jaʿfar, we didn't treat your captives like this on the Day of Badr!" Abū Jaʿfar shooed him away, spitting at him[612] and passing on without stopping.

It is said that when Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿUthmānī en-
[178] tered the presence of Abū Jaʿfar, the caliph questioned him about Ibrāhīm. "I know nothing of him," replied Muḥammad. At this Abū Jaʿfar hit him in the face with the mace (*jurz*).[613]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥarb: Abū Jaʿfar continued to have a good opinion of Muḥammad until Riyāḥ said to him, "Commander of the Faithful, the people of Khurāsān are your party and your supporters, whereas the people of Iraq are adherents of the family of Abū Ṭālib. As for the people of Syria, by God, in their eyes ʿAlī is nothing but an infidel, and they reckon nothing of any of his progeny. Yet Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr [b. ʿUthmān] is their brother; were he to call out the people of Syria, not a man of them would let *him* down." These words made a deep impression on Abū Jaʿfar. When he made the Pilgrimage, Muḥammad came to him and the caliph said, "Muḥammad, is your daughter not the wife of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan?" He said, "Yes, but I've had no dealings with him except at Minā[614] in the year such and such." The caliph asked, "Did you see your daughter when she had her hair dyed and dressed?" Muḥammad said that he had. "So she's an adulteress!" exclaimed the caliph. "Hold it, Commander of the Faithful!" said Muḥammad; "would you say such a thing about the daughter of your paternal uncle?" "You son of an uncircumcised woman!" retorted Abū Jaʿfar. "Which of my mothers was uncircumcised?" inquired Muḥammad. "You son of a whore!" exclaimed the caliph. Then he struck Muḥammad full face with the mace and knocked him out.[615] Ruqayyah, the daughter of

612. *Wa-tafala ʿalayhi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV; *Glossarium*, s.v. *tafala*.

613. Presumably a small ceremonial mace; a large one could kill, and was considered a most effective close-quarters weapon.

614. Minā is a site on the way from Mecca to ʿArafāt where the pilgrims gather to perform the rites of stoning and sacrifice. *EI*[1], s.v. (F. Buhl); *EI*[2], s.v. Ḥadjdj (B. Lewis).

615. *Wa-ḥaddadahu*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥadda*. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 543 n. 1. interprets this emendation as *shaqqa jildahu*, i.e., "and broke his skin."

Muḥammad, was the wife of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. Of her he says:

My friends of Qays, refrain from rebuke and sit down.
Does it gladden you that I sleep not but you can slumber?
I pass the night as if on fire with memories of
Ruqayyah, like a live coal of *ghaḍā* wood flaming forth.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad—Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. Ḥasan: On only one day did I see ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan truly distressed from any of the afflictions he sustained. That was because Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān's [179] camel started off while he was inattentive and unprepared. There was a chain on his feet and a yoke on his neck. He fell over, and the yoke became entangled in the litter. I saw him suspended by his neck, thrashing about, and at this I saw ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan weep bitterly.

According to Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā—my father—his father:[616] When we reached al-Rabadhah, Abū Jaʿfar sent word to my father, saying, "Send me one of your family, knowing that he will never return to you." His brothers' sons rushed to him, offering themselves to him. My father praised their good intentions but said, "I would hate to afflict my brothers with the loss of you; Mūsā, you go." So I went, at that time being still young. When the caliph caught sight of me, he said, "May God make no eye refreshed by sight of you;[617] scourge him, slave." By God, I was beaten until I lost consciousness and was no longer aware of the beating. Finally, they stopped flogging me. The caliph asked for me to be brought near him. He came still closer and said, "Do you know what's happening to you? This is a deluge flowing from me. I have now emptied one unreturnable bucket of it. On its heels is death—or you can ransom yourself from it." "O Commander of the Faithful," I implored, "by God, I'm not to blame; truly I am on the sidelines of this affair." "Go away, then," he said, "and bring me your two brothers." I replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, you are going to send me to Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān, who will put spies and observers on to me. I won't be able to take

616. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, a brother of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm.
617. *Lā anʿama allāhu bika ʿaynan*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 230.

any road without one of his messengers following me. Being well aware of that, my two brothers will flee from me!" The caliph therefore wrote to Riyāḥ informing him that he had no authority over Mūsā.

Mūsā continued: With me the caliph sent an armed escort with orders to keep him informed of my activities by letter. I reached Medina and stayed for several months at Dār Ibn Hishām[618] in al-Balāṭ. Riyāḥ, therefore, wrote to the caliph to say
[180] that Mūsā was staying at Dār Ibn Hishām eagerly watching for the Commander of the Faithful's fortunes to change. His letter continued, "When you read this letter of mine, send Mūsā [directly] down to me,"[619] and the caliph did so.

According to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Mūsā: My father sent word to Abū Jaʿfar, saying, "I am writing to Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, so send Mūsā, who may be able to effect a meeting with them." Their father then wrote to Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, telling them to come to him, while to me he said [privately]: "Tell them from me that on no account should they come." His sole purpose was to get me out of the caliph's power. He had a soft spot for me even though I was but the youngest of Hind's[620] offspring. This is what he sent to Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm:

O sons of Umayyah, I can do without you both.
What good is wealth now that I am trembling and exhausted?
O sons of Umayyah, if you two have no pity for my old age;
you and bereavement are but two of a kind.

I stayed in Medina with Abū Jaʿfar's messengers until Riyāḥ grew tired of my procrastination. He then wrote to Abū Jaʿfar about that, so the caliph had me sent down to him.

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618. Ṭabarī later, III, 193, identifies this as the jail. See also Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 120; ʿAlī, "Topography of Medina," 81.

619. *Fa-iḥdirhu ilayya*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥadara*.

620. Hind bt. Abī ʿUbaydah b. ʿAbdallāh, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan's wife and mother of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm.

According to ʿUmar—Yaʿqūb b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—ʿImrān b. Muḥriz of the Banū al-Bakkāʾ:[621] The Ḥasanids were taken to al-Rabadhah. With them were ʿAlī and ʿAbdallāh, the two sons of Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan, whose mother was Ḥubābah bt. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir b. Bishr b. ʿĀmir Mulāʿib al-Asinnah [the Spear-Juggler].[622] Ḥasan b. Ḥasan died in prison, as did ʿAbbās b. Ḥasan—whose mother was ʿĀʾishah bt. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh—ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan.

According to ʿUmar—al-Madāʾinī: When the Ḥasanids were taken forth, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan said: {ʿUmar adds: [181]
"Someone other than Abū al-Ḥasan [i.e. al-Madāʾinī] had already recited this poem of Ghālib al-Hamadānī to me"}:[623]

What you recall of ruins, of wastes, and of whether household
members are far or near to you,
Is but foolishness when white hair has covered you with a color
like cotton.
Fifty of your years have passed, as
the counters would count for you if they reckon.
Distant is the memory of youth.[624] It is yours no longer.
Youth shall not come round to you again.
Worries have fallen upon me and worry has settled upon my
pillow; my heart is shattered.
The people were taken out to misfortune, still I was made[625]
for an age with a hump in its back.

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621. Bakkāʾ b. ʿĀmir were a clan of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah. They are mentioned when Ṭabarī, I, 2491, discusses the creation of al-Kūfah. Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, I, 107, II, 221.

622. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 196, identifies her as Umm ʿAbdallāh bt. ʿĀmir.

623. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 228, introduces this poem as follows: "In that which ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAtakī recounted to me on the authority of his father, who received it from Abū Zayd [i.e., ʿUmar b. Shabbah], who, in turn, received it from al-Madāʾinī, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh said, recalling his father and his family and their transportation and imprisonment." In setting this poem, I have followed the Leiden text's pattern, i.e., not breaking the hemistichs where they are not broken in the text.

624. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 545, and Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 228, read: *fa-ʿaddi dhikra al-shabāb*, "so abandon the memory of youth."

625. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 545, and Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 228, read: *wa-khulliftu li-dahrin*, "I was left behind for an age . . ."

It is awry; the ignoble find it sweet.
And [even] the noble find it distasteful when they drink.[626]
My life here has been given for a hank of white hair and a shinbone, scarred from its shackles.
Well-born[627] lords were among his sons
but in his case no regard was had to God or lineage.
O links of the chain, what mercy and kindness you contain[628]
are tarnished by [his] high degree.
Female forebears from the noblest strains, fair, sensible and loving, have kept you pure.
What can be my excuse before God when
the fine, "wondrous" swords were not unsheathed for you?
Nor did I lead a massed raid, for which
the daughters of the pure-born were selected.[629]
The fleetest steeds and the spearheads with sharp points on them
To recompense the Banū Nutaylah[630] in just measure for the measure they have milked.
Murder for murder; and for the captive in bonds,
[there shall be] captives, shackled, bereft.
The family of the Messenger Aḥmad have become, among men, like one mangy with scabs on him.
[182] Woe betide them for what their blades have committed.
O, what a lifeline from a people they have cut off!
And with what a strand have they betrayed the King[631]
Tied with a promise, while its knots are lies!

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid b. Yazīd—al-Jarrāḥ b. ʿUmar, Khāqān b. Zayd, and others of his associates: When they brought ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and his family in shackles and stood with

626. *Wa-yajtawīhi al-kirāmu in sharibū.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV.
627. *Wa-al-sādata al-ghurra.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV.
628. Ironically.
629. *Banātu al-ṣarīḥi tuntakhabu.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIV.
630. See note 476.
631. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 229, reads: *wa-ayyu ʿahdin khānū al-ilāhu bihi.*

them before al-Najaf,[632] ʿAbdallāh said to his family, "Don't you know of anyone in this town who could defend us from this tyrant?" The two sons of Ḥayy,[633] al-Ḥasan[634] and ʿAlī, met him wrapped so as to conceal two swords. They said to ʿAbdallāh, "We have come to you, son [i.e., descendant] of the Messenger of God; command us to do what you want." "You have done your duty," ʿAbdallāh replied, "but you cannot prevail against these [people]." With this they went away.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān b. Abī Farwah: Abū Jaʿfar ordered Abū al-Azhar to imprison the Ḥasanids at al-Hāshimiyyah.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm: The Ḥasanids were brought before Abū Jaʿfar. He took a look at Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan and asked, "Are you the 'Younger Brocade'?"[635] When Muḥammad said that he was, the caliph exclaimed, "By God, you I shall kill as I have killed no other member of your family." Then he ordered a column that had been built to be split apart. Muḥammad was put inside and was built over while still living.

According to Muḥamad b. al-Ḥasan—al-Zubayr b. Bilāl: People would frequently visit Muḥammad simply to gaze at his beauty.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān—Abū al-Azhar: ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan said to me, "Try to get a cupper (*ḥajjām*)[636] for

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632. Al-Najaf is a town just southwest of al-Kūfah and is a major Shīʿī pilgrimage site. The tomb of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is an important monument, despite some differences in the early sources about his place of burial. *EI*², s.v. al-Naḏjaf (E. Honigmann); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 271–72.

633. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 526, gives this as "the two sons of his brother." An alternative version is provided by Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 295, where al-Ḥasan and ʿAlī are identified as the sons of Ṣāliḥ. Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, VI, 400, records an ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy.

634. Ṭabarī, III, 2526, mentions al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy in the obituary list for the year 161/777–78. He was the father-in-law of ʿĪsā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī, whom he concealed after Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm's death. Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 204.

635. Ibrāhīm's edition VII, 546, reflects Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's more common sobriquet "the Golden Brocade," but the one given here may have been used to distinguish him from his relative, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, who was known simply as "the Brocade," or it may be a scribal confusion of *fāʾ* and *ghayn*.

636. Cupping involved drawing blood to the surface of the body by application of a heated glass vessel.

me; I am in dire need of one." I therefore asked permission of the
[183] Commander of the Faithful, who said, "Bring him an eminent cupper."

According to ʿUmar—Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn:[637] Thirteen of the Ḥasanids were imprisoned. Al-ʿUthmānī and two of his sons were imprisoned with them in Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah,[638] which was east of al-Kūfah in the area that lies toward Baghdad. The first of them to die was Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan, then ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. The latter was buried near the place where he died, perhaps not in the tomb that people claim as his, but close to it.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥarb: Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr was imprisoned near Abū Jaʿfar, who was aware of his innocence. However, Abū ʿAwn[639] eventually wrote from Khurāsān to inform the Commander of the Faithful "that the people of Khurāsān are avoiding me; the matter of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh has gone on too long for their liking." At that, Abū Jaʿfar ordered Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr to be beheaded and sent his head to Khurāsān, swearing to them that it was the head of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, who was descended from Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God.

According to ʿUmar—al-Walīd b. Hishām—his father: When Abū Jaʿfar went to al-Kūfah, he said, "I cannot vent my anger enough upon this vile member of a vile house." He summoned Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh [b. ʿAmr] and asked, "Did you marry your daughter to ʿAbdallāh's son?" "No," said Muḥammad. The caliph continued, "But is she not his wife?" "Yes," he said, "her

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637. Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn al-Mulāʾī (d. 219/834) was a historian and *muḥaddith* who lived in al-Kūfah and transmitted considerable information about Ṭālibids and ʿAlids. *EI*², s.v. (F. Rosenthal); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 142–57; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 278.

638. Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah was a city founded by Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah that lies midway between Baghdad and al-Kūfah. Lassner cites this mention in Ṭabarī as an instance in which Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah has been mistakenly identified with Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah. Both Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, *V*, 526, and Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 225, give the same place name. *EI*², s.v. (J. Lassner) and s.v. al-Hāshimiyya; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 287; Lassner, *Shaping*, 151–58.

639. Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd al-Khurāsānī was an important commander in the service of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionaries. He then served as governor of Egypt and of Khurāsān. Although he was dismissed from the latter position by al-Mahdī, he was allowed to intercede with the caliph on behalf of his son, ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿAwn. Ṭabarī, III, 477, 536–37; *EI*², s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24, 48.

uncle and his father, i.e. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, contracted the marriage between them, and I gave my consent to his consummation of the marriage." The caliph then asked, "What about the assurances that you gave me?" "I am bound by them," replied Muḥammad. The caliph said, "Didn't you become aware of the dyeing with henna? Didn't you perceive the fragrance of perfume?" Muḥammad answered, "I have no knowledge of that. People knew what contractual obligations I have toward you, so that they kept all such things from me." The caliph said, "Would you like to ask me to release you from your obligations, so that I will discharge you and you can renew corresponding pledges to me?" [184] Muḥammad replied, "I have not broken my pledges, for you to reimpose them upon me. I have done nothing for which I should ask you to release me from my oath, so as to have you release me from it." At this the caliph ordered him to be beaten to death. Then he had his head severed and sent to Khurāsān. When ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan heard about that, he said, " 'We are God's and to him is our return'. By God, although we were safe with him in the time of their [Umayyad] authority, Muḥammad has been killed with us in the time of our [Hāshimī] authority."[640]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—Miskīn b. ʿAmr: When Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan came out in open revolt, Abū Jaʿfar ordered Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr's beheading and then sent it [his head] to Khurāsān. Together with him he sent leading men who would swear by God that it was indeed Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, descended from Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God.

According to ʿUmar: I asked Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Ibrāhīm why Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr was killed. He replied, "There was a need for his head."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥarb: ʿAwn b. Abī ʿAwn[641] succeeded his father as doorkeeper for the Commander of the Faithful. When Muḥamad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan was actually killed, Abū Jaʿfar sent his head off to Abū ʿAwn in Khurāsān. With the head he dispatched Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī al-

640. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr was a direct descendant of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 202.

641. For his father, see note 639.

Karrām[642] and ʿAwn b. Abī ʿAwn. When the head arrived there, the people of Khurāsān were suspicious and said, "Was he not killed once before and his head brought to us?" Then the story became clear to them, so that they realized what had really happened. People thereafter used to say, "Abū Jaʿfar was never known to have uttered any lie other than this."

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān b. Abī Farwah: Al-Shaʿbānī and I used to visit Abū al-Azhar when
[185] we were in al-Hāshimiyyah. Now Abū Jaʿfar would write to him, saying, "From ʿAbdallāh, the servant of God, the Commander of the Faithful to Abū al-Azhar, his *mawlā*." Abū al-Azhar would write to Abū Jaʿfar, "From Abū al-Azhar, his *mawlā* and devoted servant." One day when we were with him—Abū Jaʿfar had given him leave for three days, during which time Abū al-Azhar did not function in his official capacity,[643] and we were alone with him on those days—a letter from Abū Jaʿfar came to him. Abū al-Azhar read it and tossed it aside. He then went off to see those of the Ḥasanids who were imprisoned. I reached for the letter and read it. In it the caliph had said, "Abū al-Azhar, do what I ordered you to do with Mudallah.[644] Be quick about it and discharge the matter." Al-Shaʿbānī read the letter and said, "Do you know who Mudallah is?" "No," I replied. "By God," al-Shaʿbānī said, "it's ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. Watch what Abū al-Azhar does." We did not have long to wait before Abū al-Azhar came and sat down, saying, "By God, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan has perished." After a little while longer he went back in and then came out again looking downcast. "Tell me," he said, "about ʿAlī b. Ḥasan. What kind of man is he?" "Do you think that I'm a truthful man?" I asked. Al-Shaʿbānī replied, "Yes and more than that." "By God," I said, "he is the best of those whom this [earth] supports and this [heaven] overshadows."[645]

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642. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī al-Karrām b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar. He is later ordered by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to identify Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's head. See p. 289.

643. *Thalātha ayyāmin lā yanūbuhā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *nāba*.

644. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *daliha*, for its application to ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan as signifying one who is out of his mind with sorrow.

645. *Khayru man tuqilluhu hādhihi wa-tuẓilluhu hādhihi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qalla*. Another famous use of this expression is the statement often quoted from the first caliph, Abū Bakr: "What earth would bear me up, what heaven would overshadow me, were I to speak about the Qur'ān what I know not?" Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, I, 78.

"Well," replied Abū al-Azhar, "he's gone."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—his grandfather, Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh: In prison we were aware of the appointed times for ritual prayer only because ʿAlī b. Ḥasan kept reciting short portions (*aḥzāb*, sing. *ḥizb*)[646] [of the Qurʾān].

According to ʿUmar—Ibn ʿĀʾishah[647]—a *mawlā* of the Banū Dārim:[648] I said to Bashīr al-Raḥḥāl,[649] "Why are you in such a hurry to revolt against this man?" Bashīr answered, "After arresting ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, Abū Jaʿfar sent for me, so I came to him. One day he ordered me to go into a certain house, which I did. There I beheld the corpse of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and fell in a dead faint. When I regained consciousness, I gave God my [solemn] word that no two swords would clash over the caliph's without my being on the side of the one against him. To the messenger [186] who was with me as his representatives I said, "Don't tell Abū Jaʿfar what I witnessed;[650] if he finds out about it, he will kill me.' "

According to ʿUmar: I told Hishām b. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Rāshid,[651] a person from Hamadhān, the one known as "al-ʿAbbāsī," that Abū Jaʿfar had ordered ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan to be killed. Hishām swore by God that the caliph had not done so. Rather he had sent a secret message to ʿAbdallāh stating that Muḥammad had come forth in open revolt and had been killed. At this ʿAbdallāh's heart was broken, and he died.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh: One of the Ḥasanids who survived said that they were given poison[652] to drink and

646. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXV, revises this to *Aḥzāb*, the title of the thirty-third *sūrah*. This *sūrah*, which begins in the middle of the forty-second *ḥizb*, is slightly under one-and-a-quarter *aḥzāb* in length. The *aḥzāb* divisions, however, each of which is one-sixtieth of the Qurʾān, may be comparatively recent. *EI*[1] and *EI*[2], s.v. Ḥizb (D. B. Macdonald).

647. ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Taymī. See note 446.

648. Dārim b. Mālik were a clan of Tamīm. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 59, II, 231.

649. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXV. Madelung, *Al-Qāsim und die Zaiditen*, 73, identifies him as a Muʿtazilī ascetic. He fell in the battle at Bākhamrā, i.e., the defeat of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh by ʿĪsā b. Mūsa. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 339–41.

650. *Lā takhburhu bimā laqītu*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXV.

651. Al-Hamadhānī al-ʿAbbāsī.

652. *Kānū yusqūna al-samma*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXV.

that they all died except Sulaymān and ʿAbdallāh, the sons of Dāwūd b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan; Isḥāq and Ismāʿīl, the sons of Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan; and Jaʿfar b. Ḥasan.[653] All[654] of them who were killed were murdered only after Muḥammad's open rebellion.

ʿĪsā also said: A woman who was a *mawlā* of the Ḥasan family looked at Jaʿfar b. Ḥasan and said, "By my soul, how well Abū Jaʿfar understands men, in that he let you go free but had ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan killed!"

The Remaining Account of Events for 144[655]

Among these events was Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr's transport of the descendants of Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī from Medina to Iraq.

The Reason [Abū Jaʿfar] Had [the Descendants of Ḥasan] Transported to Iraq

According to al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad[656]—Muḥammad b.
[187] Saʿd[657]—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: When Abū Jaʿfar appointed Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī as governor of Medina, he ordered him to search strenuously for Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, not to treat them as of minor importance [as former governors had].

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Mawālī: Riyāḥ vigorously pressed the search for them, showing

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653. Jaʿfar b. Ḥasan had earlier been a litigant in the dispute between the Ḥasanids and the Ḥusaynids over the guardianship of the endowments (*wuqūf*) of ʿAlī. Ṭabarī, II, 1671–73.

654. *Kullu man qutila minhum*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXV.

655. The Leiden text's editor, M. T. Houtsma, notes that this concluding section of year 144 is missing from the Algiers manuscript and in the Berlin manuscript has been placed at the end of the year 145.

656. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad b. Abī Usāmah Dāhir al-Tamīmī (d. 282/895) was a Baghdādī historian and traditionist. *GAS*, I, 160; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, VIII, 218–19; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 260–61; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XIII, 388–90.

657. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Saʿd b. Manīʿ (d. 230/845), a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim, was a Baghdādī traditionist and author of *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*. He served as secretary (*kātib*) for Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī. *EI*², s.v. Ibn Saʿd (J. W. Fück); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, V, 321–22.

no leniency.[658] He used all means at his disposal in that effort, with the result that Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm became fearful and began to move about from place to place. Increasingly concerned with his desire to lay hands on them, Abū Jaʿfar wrote ordering Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān to seize their father, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, as well as his brothers, Ḥasan b. Ḥasan, Dāwūd b. Ḥasan, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. This last mentioned was their brother by their mother, Fāṭimah bt. Ḥusayn. He was also to seize several others of the Banū Ḥasan, to shackle them, and to send them to the caliph in al-Rabadhah, for in this year Abū Jaʿfar had made the Pilgrimage.[659] He also wrote telling Riyāḥ that he should seize me along with the others. Riyāḥ, therefore, sent me to the caliph as well. Having just begun the Pilgrimage, I was overtaken, arrested, cast in irons, and carried off on a back road[660] until I came to them in al-Rabadhah.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: I saw ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and his family being led forth from the Dār Marwān after the late-afternoon prayer. They were in irons and were transported in uncushioned litters. At that time I had already reached physical maturity, so I remember what I saw.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Mawālī: About 400 men from Juhaynah, Muzaynah[661] and other tribes were arrested with the Banū Ḥasan. I saw them in al-Rabadhah, standing in the sun with their hands bound behind their backs. I was imprisoned with ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan and his family when Abū Jaʿfar came to al-Rabadhah after coming from the Pilgrimage. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan requested Abū Jaʿfar's permission to enter his presence. Abū Jaʿfar, however, refused and did not [188]
see ʿAbdallāh until he had left this world. Then Abū Jaʿfar summoned me from among the others, and I was allowed to sit until I was brought into the caliph's presence. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī was with the

658. *Lam yudāhin* can also mean that he made no effort to dissemble or to mask his activities.

659. See p. 122 for the caliph's pilgrimage route.

660. *Wa-ʿūrida bī al-ṭarīqu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaraḍa*.

661. Muzaynah is reckoned genealogically among the subdivisions of Khindif. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 88, II, 439; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 201.

caliph, and upon seeing me he said, "Yes, Commander of the Faithful, he is the one. If you are forceful with him, he will tell you where they are." I greeted him with a "Peace be with you," but Abū Jaʿfar said, "May God grant you no peace! Where are those two reprobates, the sons of a reprobate, those two deceivers, the sons of a deceiver?" I replied, "Will the truth avail me anything in your eyes, Commander of the Faithful?" "What do you mean?" he said. "May my wife be repudiated and other evils befall me if I know where they are!"[662] Not accepting that from me, he called for the lashes. I was made to stand between two flogging poles (*ʿuqābān*)[663] while he had me beaten 400 times. I was not conscious of the lashing until it was over, having been carried senseless to my associates. The caliph then sent for al-Dībāj, i.e., Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, whose daughter was the wife of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. When Muḥammad was brought before him, Abū Jaʿfar said, "Inform me about those two deceivers, what they have done, where they are." "By God, Commander of the Faithful," Muḥammad answered, "I have no knowledge of them." At this the caliph retorted, "You had better give me information!" Muḥammad responded, "I have already told you—and by God, I am a truth-speaking man—previously I did have information about them, but today, I swear I know nothing of them." The caliph ordered him to be stripped. This was done, and he was given 100 lashes. An iron collar linking his hand to his neck[664] was fastened on him. When his whipping was finished, he was taken away, and a shirt of his made of pure white linen[665] was put on him over the effects of the beating. He was brought to us thus clothed and, by God, because of the shirt's sticking to the blood, they could not get it off him without milking a ewe over it. Then the shirt was stripped off, and they tended to him.

Abū Jaʿfar said, "Take them down to Iraq," so we were brought to al-Hāshimiyyah and confined there. The first of those who died in prison was ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. The jailer came and said, "The

662. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *in*, for this substitution of the third person for the first.

663. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaqaba*, and Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 2103.

664. *Jāmiʿatu ḥadīdin*. Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 458.

665. *Qamīṣun qūhiyyun*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qāha*.

one among you most closely related to him should come forth and pray for him." His brother, Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [189] went out and prayed for him. Then Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān died. His head was taken, and the caliph sent it to Khurāsān, accompanied by a group of the *shīʿah*. They made the rounds of the districts of Khurāsān, and began to swear by God that "this is the head of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, descendant of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of God."[666] Thus they led the people to suppose it to be the head of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, the one whose revolt against Abū Jaʿfar they kept hearing about.

In this year the governor of Mecca was al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh, the governor of Medina was Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān al-Murrī, and the governor of al-Kūfah was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah was the governor of al-Baṣrah, while its judiciary was headed by Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh. The governor of Egypt was Yazīd b. Ḥātim.

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666. Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn was the mother, by different fathers, of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr and of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan.

The Events of the Year 145

(April 1, 762–March 20, 763)

Among the events of this year was the revolt of Muhammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan in Medina and, later, the revolt of his brother, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh in al-Baṣrah, and their eventual murders.[667]

The Rebellion of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and His Murder

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: When Abū Jaʿfar had the Ḥasanids brought down [to al-Rabadhah], Riyāḥ went back to Medina and pressed on with the search, narrowing in on Muḥammad until the latter decided to come out in open revolt.

According to ʿUmar: I recounted to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Jaʿfarī[668] that Muḥammad had felt hemmed in and

667. Additional sources: *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 235–50; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 449; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Maʿārif*, 378; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 381; Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 452–53; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 181–94; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 189; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 529–54, Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 165–67; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 82–96; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 404–17.

668. A descendant of Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

therefore rebelled before the time that he had settled upon with his brother Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm [b. Muḥammad] denied this version and said, "Muḥammad remained the object of such an intensive search that his son tumbled down [the mountainside] and died, a [190] search that bore down on him to the point that he lowered himself into one of the wells in Medina [ostensibly] to draw water for his associates. He was plunged into it up to his head, but his body, which was bulky, could not be completely concealed. Even so, Ibrāhīm [b. ʿAbdallāh] postponed his timing because he was smitten with smallpox."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: The people of Medina were [all] discussing Muḥammad's uprising. We were in such a hurry to buy food that some people sold their wives' ornaments [to do so]. Riyāḥ heard that Muḥammad had come to al-Madhād[669] so he rode out toward there at the head of his army. Muḥammad had, in fact, left for al-Madhād before Riyāḥ, together with Jubayr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sulamī, Jubayr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿAṭāʾ,[670] and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir al-Aslamī. But they overheard a water carrier tell her mistress that Riyāḥ had ridden out to al-Madhād in search of Muḥammad and that he had already reached the marketplace. Muḥammad's supporters, therefore, entered a house belonging to one of the Juhaynah, barring its door against Riyāḥ's men. Riyāḥ passed right by the door without realizing that they were inside and then returned to the Dār Marwān. When it was time for the last evening prayer, Muḥammad said the prayer in the house rather than going out.[671]

Some sources say that it was Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah[672] of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy[673] who informed Riyāḥ about Muḥammad.

According to al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—a source: I heard that ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAmr b. Abī Dhuʾayb and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b.

669. Al-Madhād is a site where the Prophet Muḥammad had a trench dug during the siege of Medina in 8/627. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 88.

670. Van Arendonk, *Les débuts* 313 = *Opkomst*, 286, identifies this Jubayr with the Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAṭāʾ b. Yaʿqūb mentioned in the list of Muḥammad's supporters cited by Ṭabarī, III, 259–60.

671. Or this could be Riyāḥ praying in the Dār Marwān?

672. Alternatively, b. Abī Samrah, following Ṭabarī, *Indices*.

673. For mention of this Qurashī subgroup in the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad, see Ṭabarī, I, 1101–2. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 4, 27, II, 160.

Jaʿfar[674] came to see Muḥammad before his uprising and said to him, "Why are you waiting to come out in open revolt?[675] By God, in this community we find no one more ill-fated for it than you. What keeps you from coming out in revolt on your own?"

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Riyāḥ sent for us, so I
[191] came to him along with Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn,[676] Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī,[677] ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī,[678] and other leading men of Quraysh, including Ismāʿīl b. Ayyūb b. Salmah b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah, whose son Khālid was with him. While with Riyāḥ in the Dār Marwān, we heard the cry *Allāhu akbar*, the sound of which overwhelmed everything else. We assumed that it was coming from the guardsmen's quarters, whereas they assumed that it was coming from the Dār. Ibn Muslim b. ʿUqbah,[679] who was also with Riyāḥ, jumped up and leaned upon his sword, exclaiming, "Do what I tell you with these people and cut off their heads!" ʿAlī b. ʿUmar cried, "By God, this very night we're on the verge of being destroyed!" which prompted Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī to stand up and say, "What's that to you? We must act with loyalty and obedience." At this point Riyāḥ and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz rose and went into a cu-

674. Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. (Abī) al-Ḥakam b. Rāfiʿ (d. 153/770) was a respected traditionist known for his Qadarī views, but whose support of Muḥammad's uprising was deplored by such as Sufyān al-Thawrī. Muḥammad assigned him duties that included bearing his lance and heading his police forces. Ṭabarī, III, 292, later identifies him as a servant to Abū al-ʿAbbās. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 20–22; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 101–2; Caskel, *Ǧamharat annasab*, I, 195, II, 124; Ṭabarī, III, 193, 199.

675. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 553, has this as "Why are we . . ."

676. I.e., Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

677. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn, known as "The Younger Ḥusayn," was the brother of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the fifth *imām*, and was regarded as a trustworthy traditionist, quoted by al-Tirmidhī and al-Nisāʾī. He died toward the end of the 150s. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XII, 429–30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 299.

678. The grandson and great-grandson of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, respectively. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XXI, 348.

679. Ibn Muslim b. ʿUqbah was probably a descendant of Muslim b. ʿUqbah al-Murrī, the aged Syrian commander who quelled an anti-Ummayyad rebellion in Medina during the caliphate of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah. He died in 64/683, on his way to Mecca to fight the anticaliph ʿAbdallāh b. Zubayr. Ṭabarī, II, 409–27; *EI*[1] s.v. (H. Lammens).

pola (*junbudh*)[680] in the Dār Yazīd.[681] They stayed out of sight there while we got up and left by way of the Dār ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, continuing to the point where we had to scale a dung heap (*kiban*)[682] in the alley of ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr.[683] Ismāʿīl b. Ayyūb said to his son Khālid, "O my son, by God, I can't make this jump by myself, so lift me up." This his son did.

According to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān—his father: While Riyāḥ was in the Dār Marwān, news reached him that Muḥammad was coming out in open revolt that very night. He sent for my brother, Muḥammad b. ʿImrān, for al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-ʿAbbās, and for several others. My brother went and I went with him, and we entered Riyāḥ's presence after the final evening prayer. We offered him our salutations, but he did not answer us. We sat down, and my brother said, "How is the Amīr—may God prosper him—this evening?" "Fine," Riyāḥ answered in a subdued voice. Then he [192] was silent for a long time. Eventually he roused himself and said, "You people of Medina, the Commander of the Faithful has been seeking the object of his quest in the East of the earth and in the West while he has lived in hiding among you![684] I swear by God, if he comes forth in open rebellion, I shall not leave a single one of you with his head on his shoulders!" My brother said, "May God prosper you. I will be your surety[685] for him; this, by God, is false!" To this Riyāḥ responded, "You have the largest number of kinfolk of anyone here, and you are the *qāḍī* of the Commander

680. Arabicized form of Persian *gunbad(h)* or *gumbad(h)*. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, 1099; Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v.

681. For Medina, Ṭabarī, *Indices*, 706, mentions both a Dār Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and a Dār Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah. Later in the narrative of this year, III, 267, he cites both the Dār Marwān and the Dār Yazīd as army food depots.

682. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *kabā*.

683. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr of the Banū Tamīm was both a cavalry soldier and a poet who fought with Khālid b. al-Walīd in the conquest of Iraq. Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 378; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, III, 248–49. See also Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 111.

684. *Bayna aẓhurikum*. According to Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 1928, the expression carries the implication of staying among a people for the purpose of seeking aid of them, i.e., "as though it meant that the back of one of them was before him, and that of another behind him, so that he was defended in either direction." Muḥammad replies to this implication in his mosque oration on pp. 152–53. See also Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *nafaqa*.

685. *Ana gharīruka minhum*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXV, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *gharra*.

of the Faithful. Go summon your kinfolk." My brother jumped up to leave, but Riyāḥ told him to sit down and said, "Thābit, you go."[686] So I rose quickly and sent word to the Banū Zuhrah,[687] who live in Ḥashsh Ṭalḥah,[688] Dār Saʿd, and Dār Banū Azhar, that they should ready their weapons. Various of them presented themselves. Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿqūb b. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ,[689] who was one of the finest shots, came with a bow slung over his shoulder. When I saw what a large number they were, I entered Riyāḥ's presence and said, "Here are the Banū Zuhrah with their weapons, now with you, so give them permission to enter." "How absurd!" said Riyāḥ; "Do you intend to bring armed men into my presence at night?[690] Tell them to sit in the courtyard, and that if anything happens, they should fight." I therefore said to them, "He has refused to admit you. No, by God, there is nothing [for us] here! So sit down with us, and we will discuss matters."

We stayed for a little while, and then al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith left leading a contingent of cavalry to patrol as far as the top of al-Thaniyyah[691] He then went to his house and bolted it behind him. I tell you, we were in this very situation when two horsemen appeared from the direction of al-Zawrāʾ,[692] galloping to a halt between the Dār ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ[693] and Raḥbat al-

686. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān was known as Ibn Abī Thābit al-Zuhrī. See note 407.

687. Banū Zuhrah b. Kilāb were a branch of Quraysh. *EI*² s.v. Ḳuraysh (W. Montgomery Watt); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 20, II, 611; Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, 5–8; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 128–35.

688. In his entry on Ḥashsh Kawkab, Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 262, refers to this site, which means "Ṭalḥah's Garden," as simply another place in Medina. Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 112, associates this with Ṭalḥah b. Abī Ṭalḥah, i.e., ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Dār. Ṭabarī, I, 1386.

689. His great-grandfather Abū Waqqāṣ Mālik b. Uhayb b. ʿAbd Manāf was a cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad's mother, Āminah bt. Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 20; *EI*² s.v. Āmina (W. Montgomery Watt).

690. *Ṭurūqan*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭaraqa*.

691. Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ, the "farewell promontory," was a mountain exit from the city of Medina on the road to Mecca, a spot from which travelers could take a final look at the city they were leaving. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 86; Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *thanā*.

692. Al-Zawrāʾ was the area from which ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān's house took its name. Ṭabarī, I, 2827, notes its construction in 28/648–49. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 156; Lecker, "Markets of Medina," 142–46; ʿAlī, "Topography of Medina," 88.

693. ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ, a Qurashī of the Banū Adī, first appears in Ṭabarī offering advice to al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Ṭālib but is best remembered as Ibn al-Zubayr's

Qaḍā',[694] at the place of drawing water. We said [to each other], "By God, haste is the evil here."[695]

Then we heard sound in the distance, so we stayed there for a long night. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh approached from al-Madhād along with 250[696] men. As he entered upon the [divergence] of the [193]
Banū Salimah[697] and the Buṭḥān roads, he said, "Go by the way of the Banū Salimah so that you may be safe, God willing."[698] We heard a cry of *Allāhu akbar*, but then the sound died away. He drew closer until, having emerged from the alley of Ibn Ḥubayn,[699] he went deep into the marketplace as far as the date-sellers' area and passed through the basket-sellers' area. From there he reached the prison, which in those days was in the Dār Ibn Hishām, and breached it, releasing those who were there. Then he advanced until, when he was between the Dār Yazīd and the Dār Uways, we truly saw a terrifying sight.

Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿqūb alighted, unslung his quiver, and said, "Should I shoot?" but we told him not to. Muḥammad made a circle of the courtyard until he came to the Dār ʿĀtikah bt. Yazīd.[700] He sat down at its door while the people were skirmishing until a man of Sind was killed as he began his morning observance in the mosque. It was one of Muḥammad's partisans who killed him.

According to ʿUmar—Saʿd[701] b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar—Jahm b. ʿUthmān: Muḥammad left al-Madhād riding on a donkey, and

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governor in al-Kūfah at the time of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd's uprising there. Ṭabarī, II, 232, 598–638.

694. Raḥbat al-Qaḍā' was the name of a mosque in Medina and of the neighborhood around it. Ṭabarī, I, 2792.

695. *Sharru al-amri wa-allāhu jiddun.*

696. The number is given as 150 in *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 238, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 530.

697. Salimah b. Saʿd were a clan of the Khazraj tribe and were remembered for being among the earliest supporters of Muḥammad in Medina. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 174–76; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 594 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 879; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 190, II, 508; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 358–59.

698. The statement is a play of words on *Salimah* and the root *SLM*, which carries connotations of peace and safety.

699. Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 118.

700. ʿĀtikah bt. Yazīd was the daughter of the second Umayyad caliph, Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, wife of the fifth, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, and mother of the ninth, Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Ṭabarī, II, 1174; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 552–53.

701. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVI.

we accompanied him. He appointed Khawwāt b. Bukayr b. Khawwāt b. Jubayr[702] to head the foot soldiers and put ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar in charge of the [commander's] lance, saying, "Take care of it for me." ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd carried it, but then he asked to be released from doing so. Muḥammad released him and sent him off with his son, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad.[703]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Rukānah: Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh sent his brother two loads of swords, which Muḥammad stored in al-Madhād. He sent for us on the night he made his uprising, and we were not even 100 [194] strong. Muḥammad rode a bedouin donkey with a black coat. Two roads diverged from there, the Buṭḥān road and the Banū Salimah road. We asked him which one we should take, and he said, "On the Banū Salimah road God will keep you safe." We continued on until we reached the Marwān Gate.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Zanbīl b. Nahshal,[704] one of the Banū Yarbūʿ[705]—Abū ʿAmr al-Madīnī—a Qurashī *shaykh*:[706] The heavens beat down upon us for days in Medina. When the downpour subsided, toward the end of it I went out to feel the rain, removing myself some distance from Medina.[707] In fact, I was resting against my saddle when a man came upon me, seemingly out of nowhere, and sat down beside me. He was wearing filthy, ragged clothes and a tattered turban. I asked him, "Where have you come from?" "From a little flock I own," he replied; "I gave orders to its shepherd about something

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702. Khawwāt b. Bukayr was a descendant of one of the Anṣārī horsemen who fought at the side of the Prophet at the battle of Badr. According to al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIII, 426, he died in 40/660 at the age of ninety-four. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 443, 453 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 660, 675.

703. Abū al-Zift al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan's wine drinking was later an indirect cause of the insurrection in Medina that al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī mounted during the reign of the caliph Mūsā al-Hādī. Ṭabarī, III, 552–60; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ṣāḥib Fakhkh (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

704. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVI. The *Indices* also suggests "b. Ratbīl" and makes a tentative identification with Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿAbbās al-Bāhilī (d. 249/863). *GAS*, I, 20, 29, 79.

705. Yarbūʿ b. Ḥanẓalah was a clan of Tamīm. *EI*¹, s.v. Yarbūʿ (G. Levi della Vida); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 59, II, 591.

706. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVI.

707. *Kharajtu fī ghibbihā mutamaṭṭiran fa-intasaytu ʿan al-Madīnah*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *maṭara* and *nasaʾa*; *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVI.

I needed and then came on here, heading for my people." ʿUmar continued: I couldn't start down the road of any field of knowledge without his anticipating and even outdoing me[708] there. I began to be overcome by admiration of him and what he brought, so I said, "What people do you belong to?" "The Muslims," he replied. "Of course," I said, "but from which group of them are you?" "No need for you to continue,"[709] he replied. "But that's precisely what I must do," I insisted. "Now who are you?" At this he jumped up and said:

In tattered shoes he suffers sore feet [continuing to the end of the three verses [quoted earlier].][710]

Then he turned and left. But, by God, hardly had he vanished from my sight than I regretted losing him before I had any knowledge of him. So I went after him to question him further, but it was as if the earth had closed over him. At this point I returned to my saddle and went on to Medina. But a day and a night passed before I witnessed the dawn ritual prayer in Medina, and there was a man leading us in prayer whose voice I recognized. He recited, "We have indeed made for you a clear victory."[711] When he finished he ascended the *minbar*, and who should it be but my [195] acquaintance, who was, in fact, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan.

According to ʿUmar—Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Hūd, a *mawlā* of Quraysh—Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥakam b. ʿAwānah[712]—a man he named from whom he heard a similar story: Ismāʿīl said, "I told it to a man of al-Anbār whose patronymic was Abū ʿUbayd. He mentioned that Muḥammad or Ibrāhīm had dispatched a man from the Banū Ḍabbah[713]—according to what Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Hūd

708. *Wa-katharanī fīhi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCXXXVI, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *kathura*.

709. *Lā ʿalayka allā tazīda*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿalā*.

710. P. 115.

711. Qurʾān 48:1

712. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥakam b. ʿAwānah was a descendant of Abū al-Ḥakam ʿAwānah b. al-Ḥakam b. ʿIyāḍ (d. 147/764), a blind Kūfan historian and genealogist who is credited with works on Muʿāwiyah and the Umayyads. *EI*², s.v. ʿAwānah b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī (Saleh El-Ali); Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 93; *GAS*, I, 307–8.

713. Ḍabbah b. Udd were an important Arab tribe who formed part of the Ribāb confederacy. In both al-Baṣrah and Khurāsān, they were counted with

thought—so that the man could give him some knowledge of Abū Jaʿfar. The man came before al-Musayyab, who at that time was head of the police,[714] and sought to use his kinship connection with him. Al-Musayyab, however, said, "I've no choice but to take you before the Commander of the Faithful." He therefore took him to see Abū Jaʿfar, and the man confessed his identity. Abū Jaʿfar asked, "Have you not heard Muḥammad [or Ibrāhīm] say (he repeated the lines):

Fear banished and disgraced him.
Thus it is with one who hates the heat of battle."?

To this Abū Jaʿfar responded, "Inform him that we say:

O the shameful behavior we deem worse than death!
Because of it we would bid death welcome."

The caliph then said, "You are discharged; now go and tell him that."

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd b. Nāfiʿ, who was an actual witness: Muḥammad came out in open revolt on the first day of Rajab in 145.[715] He and his confederates spent the evening in al-Madhād. Later that night they came forward and stormed the prison and the treasury. Muḥammad ordered Riyāḥ and Ibn Muslim imprisoned together in the Dār Ibn Hishām.

According to ʿUmar—Yaʿqūb b. al-Qāsim—ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib:[716] Muḥammad made his uprising on 27 Jumādā II in 145.[717]

According to ʿUmar b. Rāshid:[718] He made his uprising on 27 Jumādā II in 145. On the night he came forth, I saw him wearing

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Tamīm. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 59, 89, II, 240; *EI*², s.v. (W. Caskel); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 203–6.

714. Cf. Ṭabarī, III, 293, where Musayyab is mentioned as charged with the caliph's personal guard (*ḥaras*). Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, one of the revolutionary *nuzarāʾ al-nuqabāʾ*, served the first five ʿAbbāsid caliphs. His assignments included governing first Khurāsān and then the Jazīrah for al-Mahdī. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 219; Ṭabarī, III, 500; Crone, *Slaves*, 186–87.

715. Saturday, September 25, 762.

716. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 262, repeats this *isnād* with the addition of ʿUmar b. Rāshid as an eyewitness.

717. Wednesday, September 22, 762.

718. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, identifies him as a *mawlā* of the Banū Anaj.

a yellow headdress of a quilted type,[719] a yellow robe,[720] one length [196]
of cloth that he used to bind up his breeches, another that he used as a turban, and a sashed sword. He started out saying to his confederates, "Do not kill! Do not kill!"[721] When the Dār [Marwān] proved inaccessible to them, he said, "Enter by the door to the reserved section [of the mosque]." However, they rushed blindly forward and set fire to the wicket door.[722] No one was able to pass through, so Rizām, al-Qasrī's *mawlā*, placed his shield on the fire and then walked across it. The people did what he did and entered through that door. Some of Riyāḥ's associates pushed hard against the door, but those who were with Riyāḥ in the Dār [Marwān] left via Dār ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz by way of the bathhouse. Riyāḥ, however, went up into[723] a latticed oriel in the Dār Marwān. Muḥammad ordered his men to climb up and tear it down. They went up to him, brought him down, and imprisoned him in the Dār Marwān. With him they imprisoned his brother, ʿAbbās b. ʿUthmān.[724] Muḥammad b. Khālid,[725] his nephew al-Nadhīr b. Yazīd, and Rizām had been in the prison, but Muḥammad had had them brought forth and then ordered al-Nadhīr to ensure the safety [in confinement] of Riyāḥ and his associates.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Muḥammad imprisoned Riyāḥ, his nephew, and Ibn Muslim b. ʿUqbah in the Dār Marwān.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Thābit[726]—his maternal uncle, Rāshid b. Ḥafṣ: Rizām said to al-Nadhīr, "Leave him to me. You saw how he harassed me." Al-

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719. *Qalanasuwatan ṣafrāʾa muḍarrabatan*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVI, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḍaraba*. For the *qalanasuwah*, see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 30, 52; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 365–71; *EI*², s.v. Libās (Y.K. Stillman et al.); Grabar, "Cérémonies umayyades," 55.

720. *Wa-jubbatan ṣafrāʾa*. For the *jubbah*, see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 40, 74; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 107–17.

721. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 530, reads *lā taqtulū illā yaqtulū*, i.e., "Do not kill unless they do."

722. For *bāb al-khawkhah*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 411.

723. *Wa-taʿallaqa Riyāḥu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaliqa*; cf. *Fragmenta historicorum*, I, 238: *fa-ṣaʿida Riyāḥu mashrabatan fī al-dār*.

724. In the account of his death at the hands of Ibn Khuḍayr, he is characterized as "a righteous man." Ṭabarī, III, 242.

725. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, the former governor of Medina.

726. See note 407.

Nadhīr replied, "That's between you and him," and then stood up to leave. Riyāḥ said to Rizām, "O Abū Qays, I did to you what I had to even though I knew you would prevail." Al-Nadhīr said to him, "You did what you are suited for, and we shall do the same." Rizām reached for him, but Riyāḥ kept appealing to him until he
[197] left off, saying, "By God, you are insolent when in possession of power and are contemptible when afflicted."

According to ʿUmar—Mūsā b. Saʿīd al-Jumaḥī: Riyāḥ imprisoned Muḥammad b. Marwān b. Abī Salīṭ, a descendant of the Anṣār, and also one of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf,[727] who said these lines while in prison:

The Qaysī noble forgets not the honor due him
that men offer to men they trust.[728]
Whenever Saʿīd rattles the gate,
we shamble toward him with the gawky gait of ostrichs.
Creeping like ants we match his march
with small steps, not prideful strides.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—Ismāʿīl b. Yaʿqūb al-Taymī: Muḥammad ascended the *minbar*, gave praise and glory to God, and then said:[729] "Now then, you people, in the matter of this tyrant, the enemy of God, Abū Jaʿfar, you well know how he constructed the Green Dome,[730] which he built as a way of opposing God in His dominion and belittling the sacred Kaʿbah.[731] God seized Pharaoh simply for saying "I am your most exalted Lord."[732] Certainly the people with the strongest claim to

727. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf was a division of Aws, one of the two main tribal groupings in pre-Islamic Medina. *EI*², s.v. al-Aws (W. Montgomery Watt); Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, I, 177, II, 171.

728. *Mulqā al-rijāli ilā al-rijāli*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *laqiya*; Lane, *Lexicon*, VIII, 3012.

729. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 531.

730. The audience chamber of al-Manṣūr's palace in Baghdad was topped by a green dome (*al-qubbah al-khaḍrā'*) that rose to such a height (48.36 meters) that it could be seen from far beyond the city. As most sources date commencement of the construction of Baghdad to the year 145/762, reference to the dome in this sermon is probably an anachronism. *EI*², s.v. Baghdad (A. A. Duri); Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 31–33; Lassner, *Topography*, 135.

731. The central sanctuary of the great mosque in Mecca, toward which Muslims orient themselves in prayer. *EI*² s.v. (A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier).

732. Qur'ān 79:24.

uphold this religion are the descendants of the first Muhājirūn[733] and the Anṣār[734] who assisted them.[735] O God, they [the ʿAbbāsids] have made lawful what You proscribed and have proscribed what You made lawful. They give security to the one You inspire with fear and [try to] frighten the one to whom You give security. O God, reckon them by number and kill them in Your might, omitting not a single one of them. O you people, by God I have not come out in revolt from among you.[736] For me you are people of strength, not of affliction. Indeed I have chosen you for myself. By God, I came here only when there was no city on earth in which God is worshiped where the oath of allegiance to me has not been taken."

According to ʿUmar—Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh— his father—his father: When Riyāḥ sent me off,[737] news of that reached Muḥammad, so he made his uprising that night. Now Riyāḥ had already instructed the soldiers who were with me that if a man should appear from the direction of Medina, they should behead me. When Riyāḥ was brought to Muḥammad, he said, "Where is Mūsā?" "There is no way to him," answered Riyāḥ "By God, I have already sent him down to Iraq." Muḥammad said, "Send someone after him and have him brought back." Riyāḥ replied, "I have alread arranged with the army who are with him that, if they see anyone approach from Medina, they should kill Mūsā." Muḥammad asked his associates, "Who will help me in the matter of Mūsā?" and Ibn Khuḍayr said that he would do so. Muḥammad said, "Then go look for some men." Ibn Khuḍayr selected some and then set off. [198]

By God, all of a sudden Ibn Khuḍayr[738] was in front of us as if he had approached from Iraq. Catching sight of him, the soldiers

733. Those who emigrated with the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina in 1/622. *EI*[1], s.v. (F. Buhl).

734. A name meaning "helpers" that was applied to the people of Medina who assisted and supported the Prophet Muḥammad and his followers. *EI*[2], s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

735. This part of Muḥammad's address is repeated on p. 192.

736. *Min bayna aẓhurikum*; see note 684.

737. This continues the account of Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, a brother of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, from p. 130.

738. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, identifies him as a descendant of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr. See note 958.

said, "It's the Commander of the Faithful's messengers." When Ibn Khuḍayr and his men were among us, they drew swords, and the commander and his associates took me, and he had me kneel down, released me from my bonds, and made me keep going until he brought me before Muḥammad.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd:[739] Abū Jaʿfar would write to Muḥammad as though from his army commanders, who would [seem to] summon Muḥammad to appear and would inform him that they were on his side.[740] Muḥammad used to say, "Were we to meet, all of the army commanders would side with me."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: When Muḥammad took Medina, he made ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. al-Zubayr[741] its governor, charged ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh al-Makhzūmī with its judiciary, Abū al-Qalammas ʿUthmān b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb[742] with its police forces, and ʿAbdallāh b.
[199] Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar b. Makhrimah[743] with its office of payment of stipends.[744] He sent word to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, saying, "I [confidently] assume that you will help us and stand together with us." Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz made excuses to him but said he would do so. Then he slipped away from Muḥammad and went to Mecca.

According to ʿUmar—Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Hūd—Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā Abū Sufyān al-Ḥimyarī[745]—ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar: I was head of

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739. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd b. ʿUbayd al-Jawharī (d. 230/845) was a Baghdādī *muḥaddith* and jewel merchant. *GAS* I, 105, VII, 51; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XI, 360–66; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 256–58; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 269.

740. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 531.

741. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid was a member of the prominent Qurashī family whose forefather, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, fought against ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib at the Battle of the Camel. Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 201–2; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 296.

742. Abū al-Qalammas ʿUthmān b. ʿUbaydallāh was a descendant of the second caliph, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

743. Abū Muḥammad al-Madanī was a Qurashī *muḥaddith* who died in 170/786. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 150–51, where the name is vocalized as Makhramah; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 312 = *Opkomst*, 285.

744. *Dīwān al-ʿaṭāʾ*. *EI*², s.v. ʿAṭāʾ (C. Cahen).

745. Abū Sufyān Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥimyarī al-Ḥadhdhāʾ al-Wāsiṭī (the cobbler from Wāsiṭ) was a *muḥaddith* deemed trustworthy by al-Sijistānī. He died in 202/818. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 87–8.

the police forces for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh until he sent me off on an assignment and put al-Zubayrī[746] in charge of his police.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd b. Nāfiʿ: None of the leading citizens stayed away from Muḥammad except a small group that included al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Ḥizām, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mundhir b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khālid b. Ḥizām, Abū Salamah b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,[747] and Khubayb b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.[748]

According to ʿUmar—Yaʿqūb b. al-Qāsim—his grandmother, Kulthum bt. Wahb: When Muḥammad made his uprising, the people of Medina turned aside. Among those who joined the revolt was my husband, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr,[749] who went to al-Baqīʿ.[750] I hid myself with Asmāʾ bt. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās.[751] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb wrote to me in verses that he had composed, and I wrote to him:

May God have mercy on youths
    who fought on the day of al-Thaniyyah[752]
They fought for him, [even] young girls
    and esteemed people of pure lineage
But [eventually] the people ran away and left him one and all,
    all but some lionhearted cavalry.

Continued Kulthum bt. Wahb, "It became popular to add:" [200]

May the all-merciful God kill ʿĪsā,
    the killer of the Pure Soul.

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746. I.e., ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. al-Zubayr.

747. Brother of Abū al-Qalammas above and thus also a descendant of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

748. Khubayb b. Thābit was a grandson of anticaliph ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, who opposed Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah and was killed by Syrian troops in 73/692. For Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh, see Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 19, II, 546.

749. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Yaḥyā was a great-grandson of the the anticaliph ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

750. Baqīʿ al-Gharqad was the first Muslim cemetery in Medina and the burial place of many of the Prophet's family. *EI*², s.v. Baḳīʿ al-Gharḳad (A. J. Wensinck and A. S. Bazmee Ansari); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 473–74.

751. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVI.

752. I.e., Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ. See note 691.

According to ʿUmar—Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥakam b. Sinān al-Ḥakamī, the brother of al-Anṣār—others: Mālik b. Anas was asked for a legal opinion about joining Muḥammad's uprising. People said to him, "We are obligated by an oath of allegiance to Abū Jaʿfar." Mālik responded, "You gave the oath of allegiance only under compulsion. A sworn contract is not incumbent upon anyone who has been coerced." At this, the people hurried off to join Muḥammad, but Mālik stayed at home.

According to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Ibn Abī Mulaykah,[753] the *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar: Muḥammad sent for Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar[754] (who was a man of advanced years), summoning him at the time he made his uprising to give his oath of allegiance. Ismāʿīl said, "O son of my brother, by God you are as good as dead, so how can I give you the oath of allegiance!" Therefore, the people held back from him for a little while. The sons of Muʿāwiyah,[755] however, had already hurried to Muḥammad's side. Ḥammādah, the daughter of Muʿāwiyah, came to Ismāʿīl and said, "O Uncle, my brothers have already hastened to their cousin's cause. If you keep saying this, you will hold people back from him, and my cousin and my brothers will be killed." The old man refused to do anything but proscribe Muḥammad. It is said that Ḥammādah rushed at Ismāʿīl and killed him. Muḥammad was about to say the ritual prayer for Ismāʿīl, but ʿAbdallāh b. Ismāʿīl[756] jumped at him, saying, "You order my father's killing and then you pray for him!" The guards pushed him aside, and Muḥammad prayed for Ismāʿīl.

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753. Ibn Abī Mulaykah, a descendant of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh (d. 117/735), known as Abū Muḥammad or Abū Bakr al-Taymī, was the muezzin of the sacred mosque at Mecca and the judge of Mecca for al-Zubayr. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 304; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 88–90.

754. In an earlier ʿAlid episode, his father, ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, tried to persuade his cousin Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī not to oppose Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah's assumption of the caliphate. *EI*[2] s.v. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḏjaʿfar (K.V. Zetterstéen).

755. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib was the son of the last of the Banū Hāshim to see the Prophet. He was an uncle of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, and the names of his sons, Muḥammad's cousins, are given as Ḥasan, Yazīd, and Ṣāliḥ. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 107–9; Nagel, "Bericht", 257; Ṭabarī, III, 202, 204.

756. ʿAbdallāh b. Ismāʿīl b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Muḥammad was brought ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.[757] [201]
The latter held his eyes squeezed shut and said, "I am under oath, if I see him, to kill him." ʿĪsā b. Zayd[758] said, "Let me behead him," but Muḥammad prevented him from doing so.

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Maʿn[759]—Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī:[760] I was in the prison of Ibn Ḥayyān[761] when Muḥammad made his public appearance, and he released me. When I heard the summons to his cause that he made from the *minbar*, I said to myself, "This is the call of one entitled to make it. By God, in [responding to] it I will acquit myself well before God."[762] I said to Muḥammad, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have now made your uprising in this area. If Abū Jaʿfar occupies any of its passages,[763] its people will die of hunger and thirst. Rise up with me. Within but ten days I could strike him with 100,000 swords." But Muḥammad refused me. One day when I was with him, he said to me, "We have never found such fine personal goods as something we found in the possession of Ibn Abī Farwah,[764] the son-in-law of Abū al-Khaṣīb." [Muḥammad

757. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was called al-Aʿraj ["the Lame"]. His grandfather was known as Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, and his great-great-grandfather was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. He himself betrayed Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī to Abū Muslim, prompting the former's execution. *EI*², s.v. ʿAlids (B. Lewis), especially the genealogical chart; Ṭabarī, III, 61.

758. ʿĪsā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, whose patronymic was Abū Yaḥyā. His father, Zayd b. ʿAlī, was the eponym of the Shīʿī sect of the Zaydiyyah. ʿĪsā b. Zayd and ʿĪsā b. Mūsā were the two figures of whom al-Manṣūr, shortly before his death, warned his son al-Mahdī. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 405–28; *EI*¹, s.v. Zaid b. ʿAlī (R. Strothmann); Ṭabarī, III, 448, 507.

759. Muḥammad b. Maʿn b. Muḥammad b. Maʿn b. Naḏlah b. ʿAmr al-Ghifārī was a *muḥaddith* of Medina, said to have died at about the time that Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah did, i.e., 196/811. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 412–13.

760. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Qasrī was the former governor of Medina. See note 361, above, under the year 141, and the account of his dismissal under year 144.

761. I.e., Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī.

762. *La-ubliyynna allāhu fīhā balāʾan ḥasanan*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *balā*. *Balāʾ*, in the sense of acquitting oneself well on the battlefield, was also grounds for a larger allotment from the army stipendiary system.

763. *Law waqafa ʿalā naqbin min anqābihi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *naqaba* and *waqafa*.

764. Perhaps the son of the man with whom Muḥammad's brother, Ibrāhīm, stayed in Baghdad. Ṭabarī, III, 287.

had seized him.) I said to myself, "Don't I see you eyeing those fine goods with intent to steal?"[765] Then I wrote to the Commander to the Faithful and informed him of how few still sided with Muḥammad. Although Muḥammad was well disposed toward me, he imprisoned me until such time as ʿĪsā b. Mūsā released me after killing Muḥammad.[766]

According to ʿUmar—Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar—his sister, Buraykah bt. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd—her father: One day while I was with Muḥammad, his foot in my lap, Khawwāt b. Bukayr b. Khawwāt b. Jubayr came to see him. He greeted Muḥammad, but Muḥammad returned the greeting perfunctorily. Then a young Qurashī lad came in and greeted him. To this young man Muḥammad returned a courteous greeting. I said [to Muḥammad], "You are still not putting your partisanship aside." "How's that?" he said. "The Anṣārī leader came to see you and
[202] gave his greetings, but you responded to them half-heartedly. Then some Qurashī vagabond comes and makes his salutations, and you were ceremonious in reciprocating them." He said, "I did no such thing, although you've examined me more closely than anyone should do to another."

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Isḥāq b. al-Qāsim: Muḥammad appointed al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar[767] as governor of Mecca. With him he dispatched al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq,[768] whom he named governor of the Yemen.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—his family: Muḥammad appointed al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq governor of the Yemen and set Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh over Syria, so that the two of them could proselytize for him. He was killed, however, before they arrived [at their respective posts].

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765. *Allā arāka qad abṣarta ḥurra al-matāʿ*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *baṣura*.

766. See pp. 108–12 for the circumstances of Khālid al-Qasrī's imprisonment.

767. Al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah supported his brother ʿAbdallāh's revolt in al-Kūfah in 127/744 and was charged with Jibāl by him. He was eventually imprisoned by al-Manṣūr and remained there until the caliph's death. Although al-Mahdī released him, al-Ḥasan died shortly thereafter. Ṭabarī, III, 1881, 1977; Nagel, *Entstehung*, 147–50; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 300–9; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XII, 274–75.

768. Al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq was a descendant of Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭalib and a cousin of al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 301; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 201.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd: At the time of his uprising Muḥammad appointed ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Darāwardī[769] as head of the aresenal.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah and others: When Muḥammad made his uprising, Ibn Harmah[770] said that a certain one of them—and he alone—has recited these verses to Abū Jaʿfar:

You have wrested the caliphate from one who desired it.
The misleader, the lost one raised his hopes.[771]
He has destroyed himself in foolishness and cowardice.
Of it not the smallest bit was alloted to him.
Greedy men assisted him, but they were
the scum on the flood that floods collect.
They called upon Iblīs when they lamented and lowed,[772]
but the tempter, the forsaken one, did not come to their rescue.
They were the people obedient to him, but he turned his back.
And a group of them [still] came behind him.
Truly, they did not fall short in this,
in following on the heels of the misguider, but they did not go far.
It was not the people who gave you the caliphate but [203]
the King, the Exalted One gave you that.
The legacy of Muḥammad is yours, and you are
the roots of legitimacy when the roots are torn up.

According to ʿUmar—Maḥmūd b. Maʿmar b. Abī al-Shadāʾid al-Fazārī[773] and Mawhūb b. Rashīd b. Ḥayyān al-Kilābī:[774] When

769. Known as Abū Muḥammad al-Juhanī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd (d. 187/803) was a Medinese *muḥaddith* and a *mawlā* of the Juhaynah tribe. His *laqab*, al-Darāwardī, is ascribed to a Khurāsānī town of that name or to his habit of using the Persian *andarūn* as a word of invitation. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 538; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 315–16; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 366–68.

770. Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Salamah al-Fihrī (d. 176/792) was a Medinese poet who composed panegyrics for the Umayyad caliph Walīd b. Yazīd and for ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan but who also gained the support of Abū Jaʿfar. *EI*² s.v. (C. Pellat); *GAS*, II, 444–45; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VI, 59–60; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, I, 50.

771. I.e., Iblīs/Satan.

772. *Daʿū Iblīsa idh karibū wa-jārā (jaʾarū)*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII.

773. Grandson of the poet quoted below.

774. Mawhūb b. Rashīd b. Ḥayyān b. Abī Sulaymān b. Samʿān al-Kilābī.

Muḥammad made his uprising and ʿĪsā proceeded against him, Abū al-Shadāʾid[775] said:

Fine mounts and blood mares have brought you
ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, so be in no hurry.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: Muḥammad was very swarthy—his complexion almost black—and corpulent. He was nicknamed "Tar Face" because of his dark complexion, and, in fact, Abū Jaʿfar used to call him "Charcoal Face" (*al-muḥammam*).

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Ibrāhīm b. Ziyād b. ʿAnbasah: I never saw Muḥammad ascend the *minbar*, while I was in my usual place [nearby], without hearing rumbling beneath him.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥabīb—one who was present when Muḥammad was preaching on the *minbar*: Phlegm in his throat got in his way, so he cleared his throat and it went away. Then the phlegm returned, so he cleared his throat and again it went away. Then it came back, so he cleared his throat once more. Again this happened. At this point he looked about without seeing any place in which to spit,[776] so he expectorated toward the ceiling of the mosque and made it stick there.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ[777]—Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī, who was of the family of Abū Rāfiʿ: Muḥammad was a stutterer. I saw him on the *minbar*, stammering words [that were] in his breast. Then he would strike his chest with his hand to make the speech come forth.[778]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: One day ʿĪsā b. Mūsā en-
[204] tered Abū Jaʿfar's presence and said, "May God gladden you, Commander of the Faithful." "Why?" replied the caliph. "I have bought the frontage of the Dār ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar[779] from

775. Abū al-Shadāʾid al-Fazārī was a satirical poet in Medina who died in 145/762. *GAS*, II, 647.

776. *Mawḍiʿan yabṣuqu fīhi*, following Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 553.

777. ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām (d. 216/831) was known as ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ the Younger to distinguish him from the *faqīh* ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Ṣāʾigh ("the Goldsmith") al-Makhzūmī, who died in 206/821. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 648–49; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 46–48.

778. Veccia Vaglieri "Divagazioni," 339, counts this speech defect among the reasons why Muḥammad was unable to attract broad public enthusiasm.

779. Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 112, further identifies this as Dār ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

Muʿāwiyah's sons, Ḥasan, Yazīd and Ṣāliḥ."[780] He said, "And you are happy! Indeed, by God, they only sold it so they could take advantage of you with its price."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān—Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Madān: Muḥammad made his uprising in Medina after al-Manṣūr had traced the outlines of his city, Baghdad, with a reed. The caliph then went to al-Kūfah, and I accompanied him. He yelled at me to catch up with him but then was silent for a long time. Eventually he said, "Ibn al-Rabīʿ, Muḥammad has come forth in open revolt." "Where?" I asked. "In Medina," he answered. "By God, he is destroyed," I exclaimed, "and will ruin [others]. He has revolted without sufficient forces and without [the support of] leading men. O Commander of the Faithful, come, I will tell you what Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. Jaʿdah al-Makhzūmī[781] told me. Saʿīd said, 'On the day of [the battle of] the Zāb,[782] I was standing with Marwān when he said, "O Saʿīd, who is that fellow leading the cavalry charge against me?" "ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās,"[783] I answered. He said, "Which of them is he? Point him out to me." "All right," I said, "he is a man of sallow complexion, with a handsome face and slender forearms, a man who entered your presence and heaped abuse upon ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah[784] when he was put to flight."[785] Marwān said, "Indeed, I recognize him now. By God, I wish that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib could fight me in his stead. ʿAlī and his descendants have no part in this affair. But this

780. See note 755.

781. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, gives b. Hubayrah al-Makhzūmī.

782. Al-Zāb al-Akbar, a tributary of the Tigris, was the site of the decisive battle against Marwān b. Muḥammad, the last Umayyad caliph. *EI*[1], s.v. (E. Honigmann); Ṭabarī, III, 38–42.

783. Abū Jaʿfar's uncle. For the account of his attempt to secure the oath of allegiance for himself, see under the year 137. His ʿAbbāsid prepotence is apparently here being favorably contrasted with the ʿAlid's.

784. ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib rebelled in al-Kūfah in 127/744 and, although unable to maintain power there, held areas of western Persia until 129/746–47. After retreating to Khurāsān, he was executed by Abū Muslim. The sect associated with him was known as al-Janāḥiyyah. *EI*[2] s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen) and s.v. al-Ḏjanāḥiyya (M. G. S. Hodgson and M. Canard); Ṭabarī, II, 1879–87, 1976–80; Shahrastānī, *Al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, I, 150–52; Laoust, *Schismes*, 35–36.

785. For an account of this incident see Ṭabarī, II, 1980–81.

is a man from the Banū Hāshim, descended from the Messenger of God's uncle and from Ibn ʿAbbās. He carries the whiff of Syria and the backing of Syria. O Ibn Jaʿdah, do you know what prompted me to settle the succession upon ʿAbdallāh and [205] ʿUbaydallāh,[786] the two sons of Marwān, to the neglect of ʿAbd al-Malik[787] although he is older than ʿUbaydallāh?" I said, "No." He said, "I found the one most capable of handling this affair to be ʿAbdallāh, and ʿUbaydallāh is more like ʿAbdallāh than ʿAbd al-Malik. Therefore I settled the succession on ʿAbdallāh [first]." Abū Jaʿfar then said, "I adjure you by God, did Ibn Jaʿdah really tell you this?" "May the daughter of Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah[788] be irrevocably divorced [from me]," I replied, "if he did not tell me what I have told you."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq:[789] During the night on which Muḥammad made his uprising, a man from the family of Uways b. Abī Sarḥ of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy[790] went to Abū Jaʿfar. He made the journey from Medina in nine days, arriving at night.[791] He stood at the gates of the city and shouted until his presence was announced and he was admitted. Al-Rabīʿ said to him, "What do you want at this hour, when the Commander of the Faithful is sleeping?" "I must

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786. ʿAbdallāh b. Marwān b. Muḥammad and ʿUbaydallāh b. Marwān b. Muḥammad were sons of the last Umayyad caliph. The circumstances in which he had the *bayʿah* given to them as his successors are described in Ṭabarī, II, 1895. ʿAbdallāh successfully checked the Khārijī rebellion led by al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī until his father arrived with sufficient forces to fight a conclusive battle. Although he escaped the pursuit of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, Abū Jaʿfar's uncle, he was eventually captured and remained in prison until his death during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Ṭabarī, II, 1938–40; *EI*[2] s.v. Marwān II (G. R. Hawting); Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 137.

787. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān b. Muḥammad campaigned with his father in the latter's ostensible avengement of Walīd b. Yazīd's murder. Ṭabarī, II, 1870–71, 1876.

788. See note 262.

789. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 533.

790. The ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy were a clan of Quraysh. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 4, II, 160; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 166–67. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 533, gives the man's name as al-Ḥusayn b. Sakhr with a variant of "b. Saḥr."

791. D. H. Hill, "Camel and Horse," 34, estimates that a courier could cover about 100 miles in a day and about 400 miles in a week. As the distance from Medina to al-Kūfah is roughly double the latter figure, the courier obviously made very good time.

see him," the man replied. Al-Rabīʿ said, "Give your information to us, and we will inform him." The man refused, however, so al-Rabīʿ entered the caliph's presence and apprised him of the situation. Abū Jaʿfar said, "Ask him what he wants and then tell me." To this al-Rabīʿ replied, "The man has insisted on speaking to you directly." The caliph thus gave permission for the man to enter his presence, whereupon he announced, "Commander of the Faithful, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh has come out in open revolt in Medina." Abū Jaʿfar replied, "You have killed him, by God, if you are speaking the truth. Tell me who has taken his side." The man gave him the names of those of the leading citizens of Medina and of the people of Muḥammad's family who had revolted with him. Abū Jaʿfar then asked, "Have you seen him and looked at him with your own eyes?" "I have seen him," the man replied, "and I have looked at him with my own eyes and spoken to him while he was sitting on the Messenger of God's *minbar*." Abū Jaʿfar had him taken to a room. In the morning a messenger of Saʿīd b. Dīnār, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's slave who was in charge of ʿĪsā's properties in Medina, came to Abū Jaʿfar. He told him about the Muḥammad affair, and [other] reports of it came to the caliph in constant succession. Abū Jaʿfar sent the Uwaysī away, saying, "I will have men following right behind you and I will enrich you." The caliph ordered for him the sum of 9,000 dirhams,[792] 1,000 for each night he traveled. [206]

According to ʿUmar—Ibn Abī Ḥarb: When news of Muḥammad's uprising reached Abū Jaʿfar, he was apprehensive about it, and al-Ḥārith, the astrologer,[793] began to say to him, "Commander of the Faithful, why are you concerned about him? By God, were he to rule the earth, he would last for ninety days."

According to ʿUmar—Sahl b. ʿAqīl b. Ismāʿīl[794]—his father: When the report of Muḥammad's uprising reached Abū Jaʿfar, he left immediately for al-Kūfah, saying, "I am Abū Jaʿfar, I have lured the fox from his lair."

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792. Specification is supplied in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 533.

793. Perhaps a forefather of al-Ḥārith al-Munajjim, a Baghdādī astrologist who served the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 995; *GAS*, VI, 146. For the accuracy of this prediction, see Ṭabarī, III, 316.

794. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Sulaymān—Ḥabīb b. Marzūq[795]—Tasnīm b. al-Ḥawārī:[796] When Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the two sons of ʿAbdallāh, made their uprising, Abū Jaʿfar sent word to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, who was in his custody, saying, "This man has now come out in revolt. If you have a thought on the matter, let us know." Now ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī did have an opinion about them, but he replied, "A restricted man has restricted judgment; let me out so that my opinion can emerge freely." Abū Jaʿfar, however, sent word to him, "Were Muḥammad to come knocking at my door, I would still not let you out. I am kinder to you than he, even though he were the head of your family." At this ʿAbdallāh sent word back to Abū Jaʿfar, "Leave immediately for al-Kūfah and press them hard, for they are partisans (*shīʿah*) of the family of this [Muḥammad's] house and their helpers. Surround al-Kūfah with strongpoints and behead whoever leaves it in any direction or comes to it from any direction. Additionally, send for Salm b. Qutaybah[797] (who was in al-Rayy) to
[207] come down to you. Write to the people of Syria and order them to convey to you as many men of strength and courage as the postal service [i.e., relay horses] can carry. Reward these people well and dispatch them together with Salm." The caliph did what ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī suggested.

According to ʿUmar—al-ʿAbbās b. Sufyān b. Yaḥyā b. Ziyād:[798] I heard our old men say that Muḥammad made his uprising during the period when ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was in detention. Abū Jaʿfar said to his brothers, "This fool still has some excellent ideas about warfare. Go see him and seek his advice, but don't tell him that I commanded you to do so." So the brothers went off to visit

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795. Ḥabīb b. Abī Ḥabīb Marzūq (d. 218/833) was a secretary for Mālik b. Anas and transmitter of *al-Muwaṭṭaʾ*. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 292.

796. In the last year of Abū Jaʿfar's reign, Tasnīm b. al-Ḥawārī appears as the administrator in Oman who sent certain Indian prisoners to the caliph. His son Ḥasan was governor there in 169/785. Ṭabarī, III, 385, 568; Crone, *Slaves*, 121.

797. Salm b. Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī (d. 149/766), whose patronymic was Abū ʿAbdallāh, served as governor of al-Baṣrah for Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayrah at the conclusion of the Umayyad period and again under al-Manṣūr. His father was governor of Khurāsān under al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Ṭabarī, II, 1180–82; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 299–300; Crone, *Slaves*, 136–37; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 40; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, III, 111; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 429–30; Bligh-Abramski, "Evolution versus Revolution," 231.

798. There is some variation in Ibn al-Athīr's account.

ʿAbdallāh, and when he saw them, ʿAbdallāh asked, "Why have you come? What brings all of you now when you've stayed away from me for such a long time?" They replied, "We asked permission of the Commander of the Faithful, and he gave it to us." ʿAbdallāh said, "This signifies nothing. What's going on?" "ʿAbdallāh [b. Ḥasan's] son has come out in open revolt," they said. ʿAbdallāh asked, "What do you think Ibn Sallāmah[799] [meaning Abū Jaʿfar] is going to do?" They replied, "By God, we don't know." At this ʿAbdallāh exclaimed, "Indeed stinginess has already killed him.[800] Order him to get out money and pay the troops. If he is victorious, his money will soon come back to him. But if he's vanquished, his opponent will not get his hands on a single dirham."

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shaybān[801]—Zayd, the *mawlā* of Mismaʿ b. ʿAbd al-Malik: When Muḥammad made his uprising, Abū Jaʿfar summoned ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and said to him, "Muḥammad has risen in revolt; head out against him." ʿĪsā responded, "Commander of the Faithful, these uncles of yours are all around you. Call for them and take counsel with them." The caliph replied, "What about the words of Ibn Harmah?"

You are looking at a man who does not show people his secret,
and does not whisper in their ears about what he is trying to do.
When he comes to something [daunting], he walks past with an air of scorn.
And if he says that he will do something, then he does so.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā: I transcribed these letters from Muḥammad b. Bashīr, who testified to their authenticity. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,[802] an Iraqi scribe, and al-Ḥakam b. [208]
Ṣadaqah b. Nizār related them to me. I also heard Ibn Abī Ḥarb declare them authentic. He had a version that when Muḥam-

799. The name of al-Manṣūr's mother, a Berber slave woman, was Sallāmah. *EI*², s.v. al-Manṣūr (H. Kennedy); Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 114.

800. His stinginess is said to have earned Abū Jaʿfar the nickname Abū Dawānīq, the *dāniq* (pl. *dawāniq* or *dawānīq*) being a small coin of little value. Ṭabarī includes a number of stories about the caliph's parsimonious nature in the accounts with which he concludes his section on al-Manṣūr's reign.

801. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shaybān b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Mismaʿ.

802. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Humānī.

mad's letter reached Abū Jaʿfar, Abū Ayyūb had said, "Let me respond to him on this." Abū Jaʿfar refused sharply, saying "I will answer him. Since our quarrel is about the comparative nobility of our lineages, leave him to me."[803]

When news of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's uprising in Medina reached Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, the caliph wrote to Muḥammad:[804]

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: From the servant of God, ʿAbdallāh, the Commander of the Faithful, to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh: "The recompense for those who war against God and His Messenger and on the earth strive for iniquity is that they will be slaughtered or crucified or their hands and feet on alternate sides shall be severed or they shall be exiled from the land.[805] That is their disgrace in the world, while in the Hereafter theirs will be a severe punishment, except for those who repent before you overpower them. Know that God is forgiving, merciful."[806] I am obligated to you by God's compact and His covenant, His promise of protection and that of His Messenger, so that if you repent and turn back before I overpower you, I will grant immunity to you, to all your sons, your brothers, and your family and whoever follows you, for your lives and for your worldly goods. I will also overlook the blood you have shed and the goods you have obtained. Further, I will give you 1,000,000 dirhams and anything else you request. I will let you settle anywhere in the country that you wish
> [209] and will release those of your family who are in my custody. I will grant immunity to all who came to your side, gave you the oath of allegiance, followed you, or had anything to do with your affair. Moreover, I will never pursue

803. See also Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 115.

804. See also Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 182–87; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 536–42; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 84–86; Two modern biographies of al-Manṣūr provide paraphrases of these letters: Jūmard, *Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr*, 186 (extracts); Rustum, *Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr*, 56–60.

805. This Qurʾānic citation is repeated in one version of al-Manṣūr's testament to his son al-Mahdī. Ṭabarī, III, 447; A. Dietrich, "Politische Testament."

806. Qurʾān 5:33–34. For the ʿAbbāsid use of Qurʾānic citation, see Zaman, "Considerations."

a single one of them for anything he has done. If you wish to make a completely secure agreement for yourself, then send to me whomever you wish to receive on your behalf such guarantee of safe-conduct, contract, and covenant as you would trust.

At the heading he had written "From the servant of God, ʿAbdallāh, the Commander of the Faithful, to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh."

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh wrote to Abū Jaʿfar:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: From the servant of God, the Mahdī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, to ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad: "Ṭāʾ, Sīn, Mīm. These are the verses of the book that makes clear. We recite to you from the story of Moses and Pharaoh with truth for a people who believe. Pharaoh was exalted in the land and made of its people factions, oppressing a group of them by slaughtering their sons but sparing their women. Truly he was one of those who commits iniquity. We wanted to act graciously toward those who on the earth were oppressed, to make them leaders and to make them inheritors. And to make them strong in the earth and to show Pharaoh and Hāmān and their armies that against which they were on guard."[807] To you I extend a grant of immunity like the one that you extended to me, because the right to do so belongs to us. You have laid claim to this office only through us. You made your uprising to acquire it through our support and attained it only thanks to us. Our paternal ancestor, ʿAlī, was the *waṣī* and the *imām*, so how could you have inherited his *wilāyah* when his own descendants are still alive.[808] Further you well know that no one has laid claim to this office who has a [210]
> lineage, nobility, and status like ours. By the nobility of our fathers, we are not the sons of the accursed, the out-

807. Qurʾān 28:1–6. Reference to Pharaoh as a secular tyrant was a standard feature of anti-Umayyad polemic.

808. In classical Shīʿī thought the religio-political authority (*wilāyah*) of the leader or guide (*imām*) of the community is secured through designation of one who stands in hereditary succession from the original agent (*waṣī*).

casts, and the freedmen![809] No one from the Banū Hāshim has the sort of bonds we can draw upon through kinship, precedence, and superiority. We are the descendants of the [fore]mother of God's Messenger, Fāṭimah bt. ʿAmr,[810] in the Jāhiliyyah[811] and descendants of his daughter Fāṭimah in Islām. You can make no such claim! Truly God has elected us and has chosen in our favor. Our forefather[812] is one of the prophets, Muḥammad.[813] One of our ancestors, ʿAlī, was the first to become a Muslim. Of the spouses among us is the most virtuous, Khadījah the Chaste, the first to pray facing the *qiblah*. The best of daughters is Fāṭimah, mistress of the women who dwell in the Garden. Among those born into Islam are Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, lords of the young men who dwell in the Garden. Hāshim[814] is the forefather of ʿAlī twice over,[815] as is ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[816] of Ḥasan. Twice is God's Messenger my forefather, through Ḥasan and through Ḥusayn. I am at the very center of the Banū Hāshim's kinship lines. My paternity is purest among them, undiluted with non-Arab blood, and no concubines dispute for me [in precedence].[817] In both the Jāhiliyyah and Islam, God has never stopped electing for me fathers and mothers, even

809. For a consideration of these epithets, *luʿanāʾ*, *ṭuradāʾ*, and *ṭulaqāʾ*, see Traini, "La Corrispondenza," 778 n. 28.

810. Fāṭimah bt. ʿAmr was the Prophet's grandmother as wife of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

811. The pre-Islamic period.

812. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCXXXVII, for references to early sources with *waladanā*.

813. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 537, adds "and the most excellent of them."

814. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf was the great-grandfather of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, while his mother was Fāṭimah bt. Asad b. Hāshim. *EI*[2] s.v. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf (W. Montgomery Watt); *EI*[1], s.v. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (C. Huart).

815. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, editor of the Cairo edition, VII, 567, evidently understands this to mean that Hāshim was the progenitor of two ʿAlīs whom he identifies as ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.

816. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the grandfather of Ḥasan b. ʿAlī's father and the great-grandfather of his mother Fāṭimah.

817. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 568 n. 1, notes that this is an allusion to Abū Jaʿfar's mother, Sallāmah, who was a Berber concubine. In replying to this charge, the caliph's response records it as *lam talidka al-ʿajamu wa-lam tuʿarriq fīka ummahātu al-awlād*. Ṭabarī, III, 112.

choosing for me in the Fire.[818] I am descended from the person of highest rank in the Garden and the one with the lightest punishment[819] in the Fire.[820] I am descended from the best of the good and the best of the bad, the best of the people of the Garden and the best of the people of the Fire. I am obligated[821] to you by God, so that if you become obedient to me and respond to my call, I will grant immunity for your life and your possessions and for [211] everything that you have done except in contravention of one of God's mandated punishments[822] or a legitimate claim by a Muslim or by someone who has executed a valid contract. You know well what your obligations are. I am more entitled to the office than you are, as well as more faithful to a covenant. You, however, have given me the kind of covenant and grant of immunity that you have given to other men before me. But what kind of assurances are these you give me? The grant of immunity given to Ibn Hubayrah,[823] or that given to your uncle, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, or that given to Abū Muslim![824]

Abū Jaʿfar wrote to him:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: Your statement has now reached me, and I have read your letter. My, how you pride yourself on kinship through

818. *Fī al-nār*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 537, reads *fī al-ashrār*, i.e., "among the wicked."

819. *Wa-[ibn] ahwanihim ʿadhāban*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII.

820. This could be Abū Ṭālib, the Prophet's grandfather, or his father ʿAbdallāh. Abū Jaʿfar's response, however, explicitly mentions the latter.

821. See Abū Jaʿfar's parallel pledge on pp. 166–67.

822. *Ḥaddan min ḥudūdi allāh*. Qurʾānic reference to these "limits" may be found at 2:187, 229, 230; 4:13, 14; 9:97, 112; 58:4; 65:1.

823. Abū Khālid Yazīd b. ʿUmar (see note 321) was governor of Iraq for the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. Muḥammad, and eponym of the settlement on the Euphrates, Qaṣr b. Hubayrah. The episode of the *amān* that was granted to him by al-Saffāḥ through the agency of Abū Jaʿfar but then nullified, as detailed in Ṭabarī, III, 66–71. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 207–8; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VIII, 185; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 287; *EI*[2] s.v. Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra (J. Lassner); Elad, "Siege of al-Wāsiṭ," 59–90.

824. The account of Abū Jaʿfar's treacherous dealings with Abū Muslim is given in year 137. See also Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, 65.

women, as to delude the uncouth and the rabble! But God did not make women equal [in such matters] to uncles and fathers or [even] to paternal relations and guardians.[825] God gave the uncle status equal to a father,[826] giving him [legal] precedence in His book over the less significant mother. Had God chosen these women according to their degree of kinship, Āminah[827] would be the closest womb relation, the greatest claim, and, one day, would have been the first to enter the Garden. God's choice of his creatures, however, is based on His knowing what will proceed from them and on His selecting the best of them. As for what you have to say about Abū Tālib's mother, Fāṭimah,[828] and her maternity, the fact is that God did not bless with Islam any of her offspring, not a single daughter or son. Had anyone been blessed with Islam through kinship, it would have been ʿAbdallāh,[829] who most deserves every good in this world and the Hereafter. Yet God's way is to choose for His religion whomever He wills, as when He said, "You do not guide whom you like, rather God guides whom He
[212] wills. He best knows those who are rightly guided."[830] God, in fact, sent Muḥammad, who had four uncles,[831] sending down on him the revelation, "Admonish your nearest relatives."[832] Muḥammad admonished them and summoned them [to Islam]. Two of them responded,[833] one of whom was my forefather. Two of them re-

825. On this argument, see Sourdel, "Appels et programmes," 121.

826. *Liʾanna allāha jaʿala al-ʿamma aban*. Further to this central argument for ʿAbbāsid hegemony, see Bosworth, "Al-Maqrīzī's Epistle," 43.

827. Āminah bt. Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf was the mother of Muḥammad. *EI*², s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

828. See note 810.

829. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the father of the Prophet. *EI*², s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

830. Qurʾān 28:56.

831. Abū Ṭālib, al-ʿAbbās, Ḥamzah, and ʿAbd al-ʿUzzah (Abū Lahab). *EI*², s.v. Muḥammad (F. Buhl and A. T. Welch).

832. Qurʾān 26:214.

833. Ḥamzah and al-ʿAbbās. Their respective conversions are related in Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 131–32, 546 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah* 184–85, 811.

fused,[834] one of whom was your forefather. So God severed Muḥammad's line of [spiritual] inheritance (*wilāyah*) from these two, placing between them and Muḥammad neither pact nor protection nor inheritance. You claim that you are the descendant of the persons with the lightest punishment in the Fire, descendant of the best of the bad. But in ingratitude to God there is no [such thing as a] small degree, nor is there lightness or triviality in God's punishment. There is no élite in evil. It is not fitting for a believer who believes in God to take pride in the Fire. But you shall go, and you shall find out: "Those who do evil shall come to know by what kind of reversal they will be overturned."[835] As to your boast about Fāṭimah, the [grand]mother of ʿAlī, and that Hāshim is his paternal ancestor on two counts and that Fāṭimah is the mother of Ḥasan, and that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is his paternal ancestor twice over, and further, that the Prophet is your paternal ancestor on two counts: The fact is that God's Messenger is the best of those of the beginning and the end, and to him Hāshim has only one lineage connection, as does ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. You claim to be at the very center of Banū Hāshim lineage, their purest both maternally and paternally, unbegotten by foreigners, your bloodlines undiluted by concubines. Apparently, you hold yourself superior to the Banū Hāshim, one and all. But look—woe upon you—where you will be with God tomorrow! Truly, you have gone beyond all bounds. You even hold yourself superior to one who was better than you in his essence (*nafs*) and his lineage, in the beginning and in the end, i.e., Ibrāhīm,[836] son of the Messenger of God, and [see yourself] superior, therefore, to the father who begot him! In particular, the best of your forefather's sons and the most excellent people among them are nothing but con-

834. Abū Ṭālib and Abū Lahab. The former became Muḥammad's guardian after the death of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and supported him against Qurashī opposition. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 79, 118–27 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah* 114–15, 166–77.

835. Qur'ān 26:227.

836. Ibrāhīm was the Prophet's son by his Coptic wife Māriyah. *EI*², s.v. Māriya (F. Buhl).

cubines' sons. After the death of God's Messenger there
[213] was no one born among you who was more excellent than ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn,[837] yet he was the son of a concubine. He was certainly better than your grandfather, Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. After ʿAlī there was no one among you to equal his son, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī,[838] yet his grandmother was a concubine. He was certainly better than your father. Further, there is no one the equal of his son, Jaʿfar,[839] yet his grandmother was a concubine. He is certainly better than you. Whereas you say that you are the descendant of God's Messenger, God in His book says, "Muḥammad was not the father of anyone among your men."[840] You are the descendants of his daughter, which is a close kinship. But it does not legitimate inheritance,[841] nor does it bequeath the *wilāyah*, neither does it confer the *imāmah* on her. So how could it be inherited from her? Your forefather sought her [in marriage] by every means. Then although he brought her forth during the day, he treated her rudely in private and buried her at night.[842] The people, however, insisted that the two *shaykhs*[843] be given their preeminence. Further, the tradition, with no disagreement among Muslims, has come down that the grandfather, i.e., the mother's father, and the maternal uncle and aunt do not inherit.[844] You boast about ʿAlī and his precedence,[845] yet when the Messenger of God was dying,

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837. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, the fourth *imām*, whose mother is said to have been a daughter of Yazdigird, the last Sāsānid king. Her name is given us Sulāfah. Ṭabarī, III, 2331; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 267; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 386.

838. Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (d. 114/732), known as Muḥammad al-Bāqir, was the grandson of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and acknowledged as the fifth *imām* of the Ithnā ʿasharī line. *EI*[1], s.v. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (F. Buhl).

839. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. See note 600, above.

840. Qurʾān 33:40.

841. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 539: *lā yajūzu lahā al-mīrāth*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII.

842. *Wa-marraḍahā sirran*. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 590. Veccia Vaglieri, *EI*[2], s.v. Fāṭima, refers to traditions that mention ʿAlī's harsh treatment of his wife, her nighttime burial, and Abū Bakr's and ʿUmar's initial ignorance of her death.

843. I.e., Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

844. For Muslim laws of succession and the division of inheritances, (*farāʾiḍ*), see Schacht, *Islamic Law*, 169–74.

845. I.e., his record of early commitment of Islam.

he commanded someone else to perform the ritual prayer. Subsequently, the people took one man after another [as caliph] without taking ʿAlī. He was among the six,[846] but all of them passed over him, as a way of keeping him from it [succession to the caliphate]. They did not judge that he had a claim to it. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[847] preferred ʿUthmān to ʿAlī. When ʿUthmān[848] was killed, ʿAlī was suspected of it. Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr fought him, while Saʿd[849] refused to give him the oath of allegiance and even shut his door to him. Saʿd then gave the oath of allegiance to Muʿāwiyah[850] after his death. ʿAlī sought the caliphate in every way and fought for it. But his associates split off from him, and his partisans had misgivings about him [even] before the arbitration. Then ʿAlī decided upon two arbitrators[851] with whom he was satisfied, giving them his pledge and his covenant. But these two decided to depose him. Then there was Ḥasan,[852] who sold his claim to Muʿāwiyah for a few gaudy robes and some cash[853] and [214]
took himself off to the Ḥijāz. He submitted his faction to the hand of Muʿāwiyah, handing affairs over to those who were not worthy of them [i.e., the Umayyads] and taking money from those who had no right [legally or spiritu-

846. The *shūrā*, or electoral body, was comprised of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

847. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf was an early Qurashī convert and, as one of the six-member *shūrā*, instrumental in the appointment of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān as the third caliph. *EI*[2], s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (M. T. Houtsma and W. Montgomery Watt); Ṭabarī, I, 2776–97.

848. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, the third caliph. *EI*[1], s.v. (G. Levi Della Vida).

849. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was an early Meccan convert who later led the conquest of central Iraq and was the founder and first governor of al-Kūfah. When ʿAlī became caliph, Saʿd refused to acknowledge him and retired to his estate in al-ʿAqīq, a valley lying near Medina. *EI*[1], s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 202–12; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 42.

850. Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb, the first Umayyad caliph. *EI*[2], s.v. (M. Hinds).

851. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who negotiated for Muʿāwiyah and ʿAlī respectively in the aftermath of the battle of Ṣiffīn.

852. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 49/669) was the second Shīʿī *imām*. In 40/660 he renounced his claim to the caliphate in favor of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. *EI*[2], s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

853. *Bi-khiraqin wa-darāhima*.

ally] to it [in the first place].[854] If you have anything to do with it, you too will sell it and take its price. Further, your uncle Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī[855] rebelled against Ibn Marjānah.[856] But the people fought with Ibn Marjānah against Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī until they had killed him and brought his head to Ibn Marjānah. Then you rebelled against the Umayyads, but they massacred you, crucified you on palm trunks, burned you in fires, and expelled you from the lands, so that Yaḥyā b. Zayd[857] was slain in Khurāsān. The Umayyads killed your men and took the children and women captive, transporting them to Syria in uncushioned litters[858] like enslaved prisoners of war. Consequently, we went forth against them, seeking to avenge you and to attain your blood retaliation. We made you heirs to their territory and their homes. We even raised the reputation of your ancestor and gave him a place of preeminence. You, however, now make use of that against us as proof. You also suggest [falsely] that we made mention of your forefather and gave precedence to him only so that we could set him ahead of Ḥamzah, al-ʿAbbās,[859] and Jaʿfar.[860] But it is not as you suppose. In fact, these men left the earth unblemished, [their reputa-

854. *Min ghayra wulātihi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII.

855. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was the grandson of the prophet Muḥammad and the third Shīʿī *imām*, whose challenge to the accession of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah as caliph concluded in the massacre at Karbalāʾ on 10 Muḥarram 61/680. *EI*², s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

856. ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān or b. Abīhi was the Umayyad governor of al-Kūfah charged with thwarting Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī's claim to the caliphate. He himself was killed six years after the battle of Karbalāʾ by Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar in an engagement fought at al-Jāzir on 10 Muḥarram 67/686. *EI*¹, s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen).

857. Yaḥyā b. Zayd was the grandson of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and an *imām* for the Zaydīs. He was killed in battle against a force sent by the governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār. *EI*¹, s.v. (C. Van Arendonk).

858. *Bi-lā waṭāʾin fī al-maḥāmil*. See Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 570 n. 6.

859. Both were sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and thus among the paternal uncles of the Prophet. The former became the subject of a famous Persian romance. *EI*², s.v. Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (G. M. Meredith-Owens).

860. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib was a cousin of Muḥammad and an older brother of ʿAlī. He is especially remembered for his skillful intervention with the Najāshī during the early Muslim emigration to Abyssinia. *EI*², s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

tions] accepted, their virtue agreed upon. Your forefather, however, was afflicted with fighting and war; the Umayyads used to curse him as the unbelievers are cursed in the prescribed prayer. But we argued in support of him and reminded them of his excellence. We have rebuked them and charged them with injustice for the way they defamed him. You know quite well that in the Jāhiliyyah our claim to honor rested on the task of supplying water for the great mass of pilgrims[861] and holding custody of the [well of] Zamzam.[862] This responsibility devolved upon al-ʿAbbās from among his brothers. Your forefather contested it with us, but ʿUmar judged in our favor against him. We have continued to discharge this responsibility in both the Jāhiliyyah and Islam. When the people of Medina were suffering a drought, ʿUmar made entreaties to his Lord[863] and sought His favor only through our forefather, with the consequence that God revived the people and gave them abundant rain to drink. Your fore- [215]
father was on the spot, but ʿUmar made no entreaties through him. You know very well that not one of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's sons outlived the Prophet but al-ʿAbbās, who, from among the Prophet's uncles, was his heir.[864] More than one of the Banū Hāshim has sought this office, but only al-ʿAbbās's descendants attained it. The water-supplying belonged to him, as his inheritance from the Prophet, and the caliphate lies with his progeny. There remains no eminence and excellence in the Jāhiliyyah or in Islam, in this world or in the Hereafter, that al-ʿAbbās does not inherit and bequeath. As for your remarks about Badr, it should be said that [the era] of Islam having ar-

861. *Siqāyatu al-ḥajīji al-aʿẓami*. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V 541: *siqāyatu al-ḥājji al-aʿẓami*.

862. A well within the precincts of the Great Mosque of Mecca, which Muslim tradition attributes to the angel Gabriel's intervention on behalf of Hājar and her son Ismāʿīl. *EI*[1], s.v. (B. Carra de Vaux); Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 8–9.

863. *Ṣalāt al-istisqāʾ* is the technical designation applied to supplication for rain in periods of great drought. T. Fahd, *EI*[2], s.v. Istisḳāʾ, mentions the occasion on which ʿUmar led the *istisqāʾ* prayer by holding the hand of al-ʿAbbās. See also the account in Ṭabarī, I, 2574–75.

864. Al-ʿAbbās lived until 32/652–53.

rived, al-ʿAbbās supplied Abū Ṭālib and his family with provisions and lavished money on them when disaster befell. Were it not for al-ʿAbbās's[865] being sent forth to Badr reluctantly, Ṭālib and ʿAqīl[866] would have died starving and licking the bowls of ʿUtbah and Shaybah.[867] He was one of those who give sustenance to others (*muṭʿimīn*).[868] He thus took from you shame and disgrace and gave you instead a sufficiency of support and provisions. Moreover, he even ransomed ʿAqīl on the day of Badr, so how can you hold yourself superior to us when we have sustained you in [the time of] unbelief and ransomed you from captivity? We have far outreached you with our forefathers' noble deeds. We, not you, are heirs to the Seal of the Prophets.[869] We sought to avenge you and secured what you were incapable of obtaining for yourselves. May the peace and compassion of God be upon you![870]

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Ibn al-Qasrī[871] decided to betray Muḥammad, so he said to him, "Commander of the Faithful, send Mūsā b.
[216] ʿAbdallāh together with Rizām, my *mawlā*, to Syria that they

865. References to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's alleged early, but concealed, conversion to Islam, and to his allegedly forced participation with the Qurashī contingent at Badr may be found in Ṭabarī, I, 1324, 1339, 1344. See also Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 320 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 475, where al-ʿAbbās leads the list of those Quraysh who assisted the combatants at Badr.

866. Ṭālib and ʿAqīl were the Prophet's cousins, sons of the latter's uncle and protector Abū Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. According to Ṭabarī, Ṭālib returned to Mecca before the engagement at Badr, while ʿAqīl and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith were the two nephews ransomed by al-ʿAbbās. Ṭabarī, I, 1308, 1344–45; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 338 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 513; *EI*², s.v. ʿAḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

867. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah and Shaybah b. Rabīʿah of the clan of ʿAbd Shams were among the leading Meccans killed at Badr. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 337 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 507; Ṭabarī, I, 1332–34, 1338.

868. For a list of the Meccan *muṭʿimūn*, see Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 320–21.

869. For a discussion of the Qurʾānic basis of caliphal authority that draws largely upon the sources used in Ṭabarī's *tafsīr*, see Qāḍī, "The Term 'Khalīfa.' "

870. Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 53 = *Opkomst*, 48, notes a perhaps apocryphal reply by Muḥammad to his letter, which is conserved in a Leiden manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Maṣābīḥ* by Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ḥasanī.

871. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī. See pp. 107–12.

may summon people to your cause." Muḥammad sent the two of them, and Rizām left with Mūsā for Syria. Muḥammad found out, however, that al-Qasrī had written to Abū Jaʿfar about his affair, so he imprisoned him, along with a group who sided with him, in the Dār Ibn Hishām, which lay south of the oratory used for funeral processions, which today belongs to Faraj the Eunuch. In the meantime, Rizām brought Mūsā to Syria and then slipped away from him and went on to Abū Jaʿfar. Mūsā wrote to Muḥammad, "I am reporting to you that I have now encountered Syria and its people. The mildest statement was that of one who said, 'By God, we've become so fed up with misfortune and so weary of it that there can be no place for us [Syrians] in this affair. We have no need of it.' Among them is a group who swear that 'if we awake from tonight or reach evening tomorrow, that will improve our lot greatly and be a very good omen for us.' I have written to you even though I've had to hide my face and been in fear of my life."

According to al-Ḥārith: It is said that Mūsā, Rizām, and ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar[872] headed off for Syria at the head of a cohort. When they got to Taymāʾ,[873] Rizām stayed behind in order to buy provisions for them. He then rode on to Iraq while Mūsā and his confederates went back to Medina.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh informed me in Baghdad—Rizām being present as well—as follows: "Muḥammad sent Rizām and me to Syria in command of the men who accompanied us so that we could summon people to his cause. We were in Dawmat al-Jandal[874] when a massive heat wave hit us. We therefore got down from our riding animals and bathed in a pool. Rizām unsheathed his sword and then stood behind me, crying, "O Mūsā, do you think that if I were to behead you and then take your head to Abū Jaʿfar that anyone would stand as well with him

872. See note 743.

873. Taymāʾ was an oasis city in the northwestern section of the Arabian peninsula that lies between Wādī al-Qurā and Syria. *EI*[1], s.v. Taimāʾ (F. Buhl); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 93; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 67.

874. Dawmat al-Jandal, or Dūmat al-Jandal, was a North Arabian oasis on the road from Medina to Damascus, about fifteen days' march from the former. *EI*[2] s.v. Dūmat al-Djandal (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 91; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 487–89; Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 151.

[217] as I?" I said, "You never stop fooling around, Abū Qays. Now sheathe your sword and may God forgive you." He sheathed his sword and we mounted.

Accorrding to ʿĪsā: Mūsā turned back before reaching Syria. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad and he went to al-Baṣrah, where they were pointed out and detained.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr—his brother, ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ the Elder:[875] When Muḥammad made his uprising, my father, Nāfiʿ b. Thābit,[876] did not come to him. Muḥammad thus sent for him, and my father went to him while he was in the Dār Marwān. "O Abū ʿAbdallāh," Muḥammad said, "I did not see you coming to us." Nāfiʿ b. Thābit replied, "I simply have no sympathy for what you intend to do." Muḥammad kept on at him, insisting, "At least wear your arms so that others will follow your example." "O fellow," exclaimed Ibn Nāfiʿ, "By God, I judge you're on a bad bet: You have made an uprising in a region in which there is no money or troops or mounts or weapons. But I'm not going to destroy myself with you or help [others] to shed my blood." "Go away," said Muḥammad. "After this you will count for nothing." Nāfiʿ continued to reside there, however, frequenting the mosque until Muḥammad was killed. In fact, Nāfiʿ alone prayed in the mosque of God's Messenger on the day Muḥammad was killed.

At the time of his uprising Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent—ʿUmar reported on the authority of Azhar b. Saʿīd b. Nāfiʿ—al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah to Mecca as its governor. With al-Ḥasan was al-ʿAbbās b. al-Qāsim, a member of Abū Lahab's[877] family. Al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh [Abū Jaʿfar's governor of Mecca] did not become aware of their presence until they were near to Mecca. He went out to them, and his *mawlā* said to him, "What do you

875. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 371–74, identifies him among those from whom his brother transmitted as ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Kabīr (rather than al-Akbar).

876. Nāfiʿ b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, grandson of the man who rebelled against the Umayyads in Mecca and was defeated in 72/692 by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf after a six-month siege. *EI*², s.v. ʿAbdallāh b. Zubayr (H. A. R. Gibb).

877. Abū Lahab ʿAbd al-ʿUzzah, a paternal uncle of Muḥammad, withdrew clan protection from the Prophet after the death of Abū Ṭālib. For this he was excoriated in the Qur'ān, in *sūrat al-Masad* [111], which draws one of its other titles from his sobriquet of Abū Lahab, meaning "Father of the Flame." *EI*², s.v. (W. Montgomery Watt).

think we should do now that we've come so close to them?" "Flee, all of you, with God's blessing," said al-Sarī, "and meet me at Bi'r Maymūn."[878] They did so, and al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah entered Mecca. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣakhr, a member of the Uways family, left the same night and reached Abū Jaʿfar in nine days. He reported to the caliph, who said, "The Qārah are fair to those who shoot at them." Then he rewarded him with 300 dirhams.[879]

According to ʿUmar— Ayyūb b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ [218]
b. Muʿāwiyah—his father: I was with Muḥammad at the time when he gave al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah charge of Mecca. Al-Ḥasan asked him, "Do you think there will be heavy fighting between us and the people in Mecca? What are your thoughts about al-Sarī?" "O al-Ḥasan," Muḥammad said, "al-Sarī has always shunned what we find hateful, loathing what Abū Jaʿfar has done. If you are victorious over him, then don't kill him or upset his people or seize his possessions. If he gets away from you, don't try to track him down."

ʿUmar continued: Al-Ḥasan said to Muḥammad, "O Commander of the Faithful, I never thought you'd say such things about someone from the family of al-ʿAbbās." Muḥammad replied, "But I do. Al-Sarī has always been angry at what Abū Jaʿfar did."

According to ʿUmar—ʿUmar b. Rāshid, the *mawlā* of the ʿAnj: I was in Mecca, and at the time when he made his uprising, Muḥammad dispatched to us al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah, al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAnbasah, who was called "Abū Jabrah." Al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah was in command of them. Against them al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh sent his secretary, Miskīn b. Hilāl, at the head of 1000, a *mawlā* of his, Miskīn b. Nāfiʿ, commanding another 1000, and a man from Mecca called Ibn Faras (who was renowned for his bravery), leading yet another 700. Al-Sarī gave Ibn Faras 500 dīnārs. The opposing forces met at Baṭn

878. Bi'r Maymūn was a well near Mecca whose precise location is unclear. It is later mentioned in Ṭabarī, III, 456, as the site of al-Manṣūr's death. *EI*², s.v. (G. Rentz); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 302; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 6, 157.

879. Qārah was a tribal group belonging to al-Hawn b. Khuzaymah. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I 49, II, 465. On p. 163 his reward is recorded as 9,000 dirhams.

Adhāḥir,[880] which is located between two passes. One was the pass that leads down to Dhū Ṭuwā[881] and over which the prophet Muḥammad and his Companions came down to Mecca. Therefore it is an entry into the sacred territory. The two groups sent messages to each other. Ḥasan sent word to al-Sarī, saying, "Quit the area between us and Mecca. Do not spill blood[882] in God's sacred territory." The two messengers swore to al-Sarī, saying, "We
[219] have waited until Abū Jaʿfar died to come to you." To them al-Sarī replied, "I will take the same oath upon myself [to say] that four days have passed since a messenger from the Commander of the Faithful has come to me. Therefore, grant me a delay of four nights, for I expect another of my messengers. In the meantime, I will undertake to look after you and your riding animals. If what you are saying is true, I will hand Mecca over to you. If it is false, I will strive against you until you conquer me or I conquer you." But al-Ḥasan refused, saying, "We won't delay until we've fought against you." Now with al-Ḥasan were [only] seventy men and seven horse soldiers.[883] When they drew close to al-Sarī, al-Ḥasan said to his troops, "Not one of you should advance until Wathīq[884] blows the trumpet. When he does so, then let your charge be as one." When we [the Meccans] came close to them and al-Ḥasan feared that al-Sarī would overwhelm him and his confederates, he shouted at Wathīq, "For God's sake, blow the trumpet." This he did, and they charged us as one man. Al-Sarī's associates were routed, however, with seven of their soldiers being killed.

According to ʿUmar: Al-Ḥasan overtook them with some horsemen from his forces. Al-Sarī's men were behind the pass

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880. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII. Given as Adhākhir in Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 127, and Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 549 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 817.

881. Also vocalized as Dhū Ṭawā in Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 45, it is identified as a site near Mecca that serves as one of the boundary markers for the *ḥaram*. The Qurʾān, 20:12, 79:16, refers to the valley by the name of Ṭuwā, as the place where God called Moses. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, XV, 21.

882. Second-person pl., following Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 574.

883. For the symbolic use of seven and seventy to express ideas of magnitude or of divine influence, see Conrad, "Seven and the Tasbīʿ."

884. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII, following the subseqent references. Wathīq is mentioned later at III, 267, as one of the leaders of an uprising of blacks in Medina.

with a Qurashī group who had gone forth with them. He reproached them, trying to get them to help him. But when the Qurashīs saw them, they said, "These associates of yours have already been routed." Al-Sarī retorted, "Don't be hasty; wait until the cavalry and the men appear in the mountains." But they asked him what was left, and he admitted, "By the grace of God they have all been routed." They continued to flee until they entered the government compound (*dār al-imārah*), throwing off their fighting gear, rushed at a soldier named Abū al-Rizām, and entered his house. They were still there when al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah entered the mosque and addressed the people, announcing to them the death of Abū Jaʿfar and calling upon them to support Muḥammad's cause.

According to ʿUmar—Yaʿqūb b. al-Qāsim—al-Ghamr b. Ḥamzah b. Abī Ramlah, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's *mawlā*: When [220]
al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah seized Mecca and al-Sarī fled, the news reached Abū Jaʿfar, and he said, "Poor old Ibn Abī al-ʿAḍal [i.e. al-Sarī]!"

According to ʿUmar—Ibn Abī Musāwir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Musāwir, the *mawlā* of the Banū Nāʾilah from the Banū ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿayṣ:[885] I was in Mecca with al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh when al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah reached him before Muḥammad's uprising. At that time al-Sarī was actually in al-Ṭāʾif, and his deputy in Mecca was Ibn Surāqah from the Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb.[886] Ibn Surāqah appealed to ʿUtbah b. Abī Khidāsh al-Lahabī for assistance against al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah in the matter of a debt that al-Ḥasan owed to him. ʿUtbah thus placed al-Ḥasan in confinement. Al-Sarī wrote to Ibn Abī Khidāsh on his behalf: "Now then, you've made a mess of things[887] and struck a bad judgment for yourself when you imprisoned Ibn Muʿāwiyah but got only money from his brother." Al-Sarī then wrote to Ibn Surāqah ordering him to release al-Ḥasan, and he wrote to [al-Ḥasan] b.

885. The Leiden text's vocalization; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 27, 28, II, 383, gives Maʿīṣ b. ʿĀmir and identifies them as a clan of ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy.

886. ʿAdī b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy was a clan of Quraysh. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 4, 26, II, 139; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 150–59.

887. *Fa-qad akhtaʾta ḥazzaka*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVII.

Muʿāwiyah telling him to stay there until he arrived and made a decision about his situation.

According to ʿUmar: Not long after this Muḥammad made his uprising, and al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah set out for al-Sarī as [Muḥammad's] governor of Mecca. Al-Sarī was told that, lo and behold, Ibn Muʿāwiyah had drawn near, to which he replied, "Surely he won't do anything, given my efforts on his behalf. In fact, how could the people of Medina come out against me? By God, there is no house in the city where some kind act of mine has not penetrated." He was told that al-Ḥasan had already established himself [in the city], so he came back [from al-Ṭāʾif].

According to ʿUmar: Ibn Jurayj[888] went to al-Ḥasan, and he said to him, "Listen here, fellow, you'll never get into Mecca. Its people are on al-Sarī's side. Do you think you can conquer Quraysh and force it to give up its home!" Al-Ḥasan replied, "O weaver's son, are you trying to scare me with the people of Mecca? By God, I shall either pass the night there or die outside it!" At this, he leapt up at the head of his associates as al-Sarī approached him,
[221] and he confronted him in Fakhkh.[889] One of al-Ḥasan's men struck al-Sarī's secretary, Miskīn b. Hilāl, on the head and split it open. Al-Sarī and his confederates were put to flight, and al-Ḥasan's men entered Mecca. Abū al-Rizām, one of the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār[890] from the family of Saybah, took al-Sarī under his protection,[891] keeping him hidden in his house as al-Ḥasan entered Mecca. In fact, al-Ḥasan stayed in Mecca for only a short time. Then a letter arrived from Muḥammad ordering al-Ḥasan to join him.

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888. Abū Walīd or Abū Khālid ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jurayj (d. 150/767) was a Meccan *muḥaddith* and *faqīh*; he is often cited as among the first to produce an ordered collection of *ḥadīths*. Cf. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 196–97, who qualifies this assertion. *EI*², Suppl., s.v. Ibn Djuraydj (Ch. Pellat); *GAS*, I, 91; Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 21–22.

889. Fakhkh, sometimes known as Wādī al-Ẓāhir, was a place near Mecca that was to become the site of a related ʿAlid insurrection in 169/786 led by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ṣāḥib Fakhkh. *EI*², s.v. (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 237–38.

890. The Banū ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy were a clan of Quraysh; they are first mentioned by Ṭabarī, I, 1137, in connection with the rebuilding of the Kaʿbah during the Prophet's lifetime. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 4, II, 123; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 125–28.

891. *Wa-iltaffa Abū al-Rizām . . . ʿalā al-Sarī*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *laffa*.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Isḥāq b. al-Qāsim: I heard countless of our associates mention that when al-Ḥasan and al-Qāsim took Mecca, they equipped themselves and gathered a large force. Then they went forth to meet Muḥammad and to assist him against ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. As their deputy in Mecca, they left a descendant of the Anṣār. In Qudayd,[892] news of Muḥammad's death met them. At this, people began to slip away from them. Al-Ḥasan took off for Basqah, there being in the sands a stony area called the Basqah of Qudayd.[893] He met up with Ibrāhīm and remained in al-Baṣrah until Ibrāhīm was killed. Al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq also headed toward Ibrāhīm. When he was in Yadīʿ,[894] in the region of Fadak, news of Ibrāhīm's death reached him. He therefore went back to Medina and remained hidden until the daughter of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar, the wife of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, obtained for him and for his brother a guarantee of safety. Then the sons of Muʿāwiyah came out of hiding,[895] and al-Qāsim did so as well.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUmar b. Rāshid, the *mawlā* of ʿAnj: When al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah had triumphed over al-Sarī, he halted a little while until the letter from Muḥammad came to him [222]
with orders to join him, and also reporting to him that ʿĪsā had drawn close to Medina and urging him to be quick in getting there.

According to ʿUmar: Al-Ḥasan left Mecca in a heavy rain on Monday, which they assert is the day on which Muḥammad was killed. One of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's couriers met up with him in Amaj,[896] a watering place of the Khuzāʿah [tribe] that lies between ʿUsfān[897] and Qudayd, with the news of Muḥammad's death. Hearing this, al-Ḥasan fled, as did his associates.

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892. Qudayd was a Ḥijāzī site, also known as al-Khaym or Khaym Umm Maʿbad, on the route from Mecca to Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 313–14; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 76, 82.

893. Like *ḥarrah*, the word *basqah* connotes an area of lava flow and volcanic debris. Groom, *Arabic Topography*, 59.

894. Yadīʿ was a district between Fadak and Khaybar. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 433.

895. *Fa-ẓahara* with Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 576. The Leiden text has *fa-ṣaharahu*.

896. Amaj was a site in the area of Khulayṣ. Cornu, *Répertoires*, 70; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 249.

897. ʿUsfān was a watering place on the route from Mecca to Medina and was thus called, according to Yāqūt, because a stream cut randomly through it. Cornu, *Répertoires*, 88; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV 121–22.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Thābit—Abū Sayyār: I was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's chamberlain, and a rider came to me at night and said, "I have just arrived from al-Baṣrah. Ibrāhīm has already made his uprising there and has taken control of the city." I went first to the Dār Marwān and then to the place where Muḥammad was staying. I banged on the door, and Muḥammad shouted at the top of his lungs, "Who's there?" "Abū Sayyār," I said. "There is no might and no power except in God,"[898] he responded. "O God, I seek protection with You from the evil of knockers in the night except from the one who knocks on Your behalf bringing good." He then added, "Is it good?" "It is," I said. He asked, "What is behind your call?" I answered, "Ibrāhīm has seized al-Baṣrah." Now, when Muḥammad said the sunset and the dawn prayer, someone would shout aloud, "Pray to God for your brothers among the people of al-Baṣrah and for al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah, and ask His assistance against your enemy."

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: A Syrian by the name of Abū ʿAmr came to us and stayed at our house. My father kept asking him, "What to do you think of this fellow?" To this Abū ʿAmr would answer, "When I've met him and sounded him out, then I'll let you know." Sometime later my father encountered Abū ʿAmr and questioned him. "By God," responded Abū ʿAmr, "he's a man all right, but I saw that the fat on his back was a yard thick. That's not how a true warrior looks." Yet afterward Abū ʿAmr gave Muḥammad the oath of allegiance and fought with him.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Salm,[899] the
[223] *mawlā* of al-Manṣūr who went by the name Ibn al-Bawwāb: Abū Jaʿfar wrote a letter, as if from the tongue of Muḥammad, to al-Aʿmash,[900] calling upon him for help. When he read it, al-Aʿmash said, "We know you well, O Banū Hāshim. You are the sort who

898. Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 532 s.v. *ḥāla*.

899. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Salm, identified also as ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Bawwāb, was doorkeeper to the caliph al-Ḥādī as the deputy of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, and later vizier for Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Amīn. Ṭabarī, III, 590.

900. Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Asadī (d. 148/765), a noted scholar of Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, was born in Ṭabaristān but lived most of his life in al-Kūfah and died there. The sources differ about whether his transmissions from

love bread soup (*tharīd*)."[901] When the messenger returned to Abū Jaʿfar, he made his report with the statement: "I swear, these are al-Aʿmash's very words."

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh had taken over Medina and, getting word of that, we went forth immediately. We were but lads; in fact, at that time I was only fifteen years old. We reached him when people had already gathered around to get a look at him. No one was being held back from him, so I got up close and took a good, long look at him. He was on horseback, wearing a pleated white shirt and a white turban. He was a broad-chested man with a face scarred by smallpox. His next move was to send someone off to Mecca. That city was seized in his name, and its people donned white.[902] He sent his brother, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh, to al-Baṣrah. Ibrāhīm occupied that city and brought it under his control, so its people put on white as well.

The account now returns to that transmitted by ʿUmar:

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: The Commander of the Faithful, Abū Jaʿfar, put ʿĪsā b. Mūsā in charge of the fight against Muḥammad, saying, "I don't care which of those two kills the other." The caliph gave ʿĪsā 4,000 soldiers detached from the army and sent with him Muḥammad, the son of Abū al-ʿAbbās, [the late] Commander of the Faithful.[903]

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shaybān—Zayd, the *mawlā* of Mismaʿ: When Abū Jaʿfar ordered ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to present himself, the latter said, "Seek the advice of your uncles." "Get going, fellow," retorted Abū Jaʿfar. "By God, no one is intended other than you or me. Either you must go, or I must." ʿĪsā therefore traveled until he reached us in Medina.

Anas b. Mālik are legitimate. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 342–44; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 226–48; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 429–31; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 309–10, 315–16 = *Opkomst*, 283, 288.

901. A soup made of bread, broth, and vegetables, it was counted among the favorite dishes of the Prophet Muḥammad. Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 290; *EI*², s.v. Ghidhāʾ (M. Rodinson); Waines, "Cereals, Bread, and Society, 266."

902. White was the color associated with ʿAlid support. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, II, 51; cf. ʿAthamina, "Black Banners," 323–24.

903. See note 394.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shaybān: Abū Jaʿfar
[224] summoned Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī who, though leprous for many years, was very knowledgeable about warfare.[904] He had even been on the battlefield with Marwān. The caliph said to him, "O Jaʿfar, Muḥammad has now come out in open revolt. What are your thoughts on this?" "Where did he make his uprising?" asked Jaʿfar. "In Medina," replied Abū Jaʿfar. At this Jaʿfar exclaimed, "Praise God, he has staged his revolt in a place where he will find no resources, no men, no weapons, and no mounts. Send one of your *mawlās* in whom you have confidence. Have him go as far as Wādī al-Qurā.[905] From there he can prevent Syrian provisions from reaching Muḥammad, who will starve to death where he is. The caliph did as Jaʿfar advised.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid b. Yazīd: I heard our associates Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā,[906] ʿĪsā b. al-Naḍr,[907] and others mention that Abū Jaʿfar sent Kathīr b. Ḥuṣayn al-ʿAbdī on ahead. Kathīr camped at Fayd and entrenched himself against Muḥammad until the time of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's arrival. Then Kathīr went on to Medina with ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. ʿAbdallāh added, "I actually saw the trench still there for a long time, but eventually it was obliterated and disappeared."

According to ʿUmar—Yaʿqūb b. al-Qāsim—ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib whom I encountered in Ṣanʿāʾ:[908] At the time when he sent him against Muḥammad. Abū Jaʿfar said to ʿĪsā, "You must let Abū al-ʿAskar Mismaʿ b. Muḥammad b. Shaybān b. Mālik b. Mismaʿ[909] travel with you. I once saw him hold Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b.

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904. Further to this conversation see Lassner, "Provincial Administration: Governors of the *Ḥaramayn*," 44–45.

905. Wādī al-Qurā was the valley that lay northwest of Medina as a principal corridor to Syria. Its Jewish inhabitants were defeated by the Prophet Muḥammad in 7/628. *EI*[1], s.v. Wādi -l-Ḳurā (A. Grohmann); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 88; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 345.

906. Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā al-Bajalī al-Sammān.

907. Both Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā and ʿĪsā b. al-Naḍr share the professional designation al-Sammān, i.e. "butter merchant."

908. Ṣanʿāʾ is the present-day Yemeni capital. It is situated on a broad plain in the Sarāt chain. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 425–31; *EI*[1], s.v. (R. Strothmann); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 84.

909. Abū al-ʿAskar Mismaʿ b. Muḥammad was a descendant of one of the leading households of Umayyad al-Baṣrah. Crone, *Slaves*, 118; Morony, *Iraq*, 257.

Jaʿdah b. Hubayrah back from the people of al-Baṣrah, who were ready to rally against him[910] when he was recruiting for Marwān. Saʿīd stayed, instead, with Abū al-ʿAskar, eating sugared marrow." ʿĪsā therefore went forth in the company of Mismaʿ. When ʿĪsā was in Baṭn Nakhl,[911] Mismaʿ and al-Masʿūdī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd[912] stayed behind until Muḥammad was killed. When Abū Jaʿfar heard about that, he said to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, "I hope you behead him!" [225]

According to ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—his father: As he was bidding him farewell, Abū Jaʿfar said to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā,[913] "ʿĪsā, I am sending you to what is between these two—and he pointed to his two sides [i.e., to what I hold most important]—so if you can subdue the fellow, then sheathe your sword and offer a general amnesty. But if he gets away, then make them a surety for him until they bring him to you. They will know where he goes." When ʿĪsā entered Medina, that is what he did.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: Abū Jaʿfar dispatched ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās against Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh in Medina. With him he sent Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās, son of the [former] Commander of the Faithful, and a number of the Khurāsānī commanders and their troops. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah al-Ṭāʾī[914] headed ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's vanguard. The caliph supplied them with horses, mules, weapons, and provisions, leaving nothing uprovided.[915] Along with ʿĪsā b. Mūsā he dispatched Ibn Abī al-Karrām al-

910. *Muḥlibūn ʿalayhi*, with Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 624.

911. Baṭn Nakhl was a stage on the route from al-Baṣrah to Medina. Ṭabarī, III, 267, 557, later specifies its situation as about two nights' journey, or thirty (*farsakhs*), from Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 449–50; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 71.

912. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVIII. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hudhalī al-Masʿūdī was a Kūfan *muḥaddith* and *faqīh* who died in 165/781. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 93–95; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 163; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 195–96.

913. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 544.

914. See note 48.

915. *Fa-lam yatruk lahu shayʾan*, following the suggested emendation in note *b*. The text reads *fa-lam yanzil*, which could mean "and ʿĪsā did not break his march," i.e., he was so well equipped that he did not need to make the usual halts to gather reinforcements.

Jaʿfarī,[916] one of Abū Jaʿfar's inner circle and favorably disposed to the ʿAbbāsids. Abū Jaʿfar had confidence in him and therefore sent him. . . .[917]

The account returns to that of ʿUmar b. Shabbah.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Abū Jaʿfar wrote to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, "Write down for me the names of those members of the Abū Ṭālib family who actually meet with you. As for those who do not, confiscate their property." ʿĪsā therefore seized the spring of Abū Ziyād because Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad [i.e. Abū Ziyād][918] stayed hidden away from him. But at the time of Abū Jaʿfar's arrival, Jaʿfar spoke with him and asked about his property. The caliph retorted, "Your Mahdī has already seized it."

[226] According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: When ʿĪsā got as far as Fayd, he wrote [messages] on strips of silk to certain leading men of Medina, including ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib al-Makhzūmī and ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥī.[919] When his letters arrived in Medina, many people broke away from Muḥammad, including ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muṭṭalib. He, however, was seized and brought back. He stayed for a short while and then left again but was returned yet another time. His brother ʿAlī b. al-Muṭṭalib[920] was among Muḥammad's strongest supporters. He kept talking to Muḥammad about his brother until he persuaded Muḥammad to leave him alone.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: ʿĪsā b. Mūsā wrote to my father on a piece of yellow silk, which a bedouin brought between the soles[921] of his sandals. I saw the bedouin sitting in our house, being at the time but a small boy. He handed the letter to my father.

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916. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karrām al-Jaʿfarī appears later in the narrative (pp. 231, 298) as the one who carries Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's head to Abū Jaʿfar and identifies Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's head for ʿĪsā b. Mūsā.

917. There is a portion missing here from the Algiers manuscript.

918. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. See p. 222, where the "spring of Abū Ziyād" (*ʿayn Abī Ziyād*) is identified as a land grant (*qaṭīʿah*).

919. ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṣafwān served as judge of Baghdad under Abū Jaʿfar and governor of Medina under al-Mahdī. He died in 160/776–77. Ṭabarī, III, 458, 460, 469, 482; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24, where the governor's name is given as Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, X, 306.

920. ʿAlī b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanṭab al-Makhzūmī. His brother was judge of Medina. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 563.

921. *Bayna khiṣāfay naʿlihi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khaṣafa*.

It read thus: "Muḥammad has taken upon himself what God has not bestowed on him and has reached out for what God has not given to him. In His book God said, 'Say: O God, Master of sovereignty, You give sovereignty to whom You will and You strip sovereignty from whom You will. You exalt whom You will and You abase whom You will. In Your hand is what is good. You have power over everything'."[922] [The letter concluded:] "Be quick to get it over with! Less waiting and watching! Call upon those of your people who obey you to go forth with you."

According to ʿUmar: He went off along with ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar and Abū ʿAqīl Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl. They called upon al-Afṭas Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to join them, but he refused, maintaining a steadfast allegiance to Muḥammad. Muḥammad was told that they had left, so he sent for their camels and confiscated them. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad thus came to Muḥammad and said, "You summon [people] to justice and to the repudiation of tyranny. Why then were my camels seized? I had just prepared them for a major or lesser Pilgrimage. Muḥammad handed the camels over to him and then they left under cover of the same night, [227] meeting up with ʿĪsā four or five nights out of Medina.

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar b. Abī ʿAmr b. Nuʿaym b. Māhān—his father: Abū Jaʿfar wrote letters to certain leading Qurashīs and others and ordered ʿĪsā to send the letters to them when he got near to Medina. Accordingly, as ʿĪsā drew close, he sent the letter to their intended recipients. Muḥammad's guardsmen, however, seized both the messenger and the letters. Among them Muḥammad found a letter to Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUmar b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Maʿmar and to a number of Qurashī leaders. Muḥammad sent for us all, except Ibn ʿUmar and Abū Bakr b. Abī Sabrah.[923] We were confined in the Dār Ibn Hishām, which was near the oratory. My father continued: Muḥammad sent for me and for my brother, and we were brought forward and beaten 300 times each. As he was beating me and saying, "You meant to kill

922. Qurʾān, 3:26.

923. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sabrah was a *muḥaddith* and judge of Mecca under al-Manṣūr. He died in Baghdad in 162/778. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, X, 228; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 29; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 330–32; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 312 = *Opkomst*, 286.

me," I said to him, "I spared you when you were keeping yourself hidden behind a rock and in a tent. But finally, at the point when Medina came into your hand and your position became harsh, I stood against you. With whom should I stand? I have no intention of losing my power, or my possessions, or my kinfolk [for your sake]." Then Muḥammad ordered us[924] back to prison, and we were fettered with leg irons and chains amounting to eighty *raṭls*[925] in weight. Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān[926] went to see Muḥammad and said, "I have beaten these two men viciously and so completely fettered them that they cannot pray the ritual prayer." Ayyūb b. ʿUmar's father and brother remained imprisoned until the arrival of ʿĪsā.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Thābit—ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥakam:[927] As ʿĪsā was drawing near Medina, we were with Muḥammad one night when he said, "Give me your advice. Should I get out of here or should I stay?"[928] His followers differed, so he turned to
[228] me and said, "Tell me what to do, Ibn Abī Jaʿfar." "Don't you know," I said, "that you are in the land of God least endowed with horses, food, and weapons and the most deficient in manpower?" "Yes, I do," he replied. "Don't you know," I said, "that you will be fighting the strongest of God's lands in men and the one with the most wealth and weapons?" "Yes, to be sure," he replied. "The best course, then," I said, "is to proceed to Egypt with those who support you. For I swear that no one there could turn you back, and you could fight the fellow with weapons like his, with mounts like his, with men like his, and with resources like his." At this Ḥunayn b. ʿAbdallāh shouted out, "God forbid that you should leave Medina" and recounted to him the saying of the

924. *Thumma amara binā*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVIII.

925. The Baghdādī standard for the *raṭl* (pl. *arṭāl*) is the equivalent of about 406 grams, i.e., about one pound. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 31.

926. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān was a Medinese *muḥaddith* and *faqīh* who died in 148/765. He was the *mawlā* of Fāṭimah bt. Walīd b. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah, whose father and grandfather were killed at the battle of Badr. According to Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, IV, 92, his mother was pregnant with him for three years and he was born with developed teeth. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 317–22; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 303–5; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 312–13 = *Opkomst*, 286.

927. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXVIII.

928. See Lassner, "Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr," 42–43, who notes this conversation as a parallel to that between Abū Jaʿfar and Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah (p. 186).

Prophet, "I saw myself in an invulnerable breastplate, and I took that to be Medina."[929]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar—someone close whom he trusted: At the time of his uprising, the people of Medina and its environs, as well as certain bedouin tribes such as Juhaynah, Muzaynah, Sulaym,[930] the Banū Bakr,[931] Aslam[932] and Ghifār,[933] responded to Muḥammad. [Unfortunately] he gave precedence to the Juhaynah, which angered the Qaysī tribes.

According to Muḥammad—ʿAbdallāh b. Maʿrūf, one of the descendants of Riyāḥ b. Mālik b. ʿUṣayyah b. Khufāf,[934] who had witnessed this himself: The Banū Sulaym came to Muḥammad under the leadership of their headmen. Their spokesman, Jābir b. Anas al-Riyāḥī, said, "Commander of the Faithful, we are your maternal uncles and your neighbors, and we have weapons and mounts in our possession. By God, Islam came at a time when the Banū Sulaym owned more horses than there were in the Ḥijāz. Indeed, if a bedouin had what remains with us now, the entire desert would be at his disposal. Do not dig a trench. The Messenger of God dug his trench for reasons God knows best. If you dig a trench, the footsoldiers will not be able to fight effectively and the horses will not be able to be moved on our behalf between the lines. Those in front of whom a trench is dug are those who must fight in it, while it prevents them from getting at those against whom it is dug." At this one of the Banū Shujāʿ[935] inter- [229]

929. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 268, gives this as "I saw myself putting my hand into an invulnerable breastplate, whose beginning was in Medina" and dates it to the year of the battle of Uḥud. See Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 120.

930. See notes 156, 187, and 123, respectively.

931. Bakr b. Wāʾil were a North Arabian tribal group belonging to Rabīʿah. *EI*², s.v. [W. Caskel]; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 141, II, 223; Donner, "Bakr b. Wāʾil Tribes."

932. Aslam b. Afṣā were a clan of Khuzāʿah, a group of whom became Muslims after meeting the Prophet Muḥammad on his *hijrah* to Medina. *EI*², s.v. Khuzāʿa [M. J. Kister]; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 200, 201, II, 197; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 240–42.

933. Banū Ghifār b. Mulayk [Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 42, gives Mulayl] b. Ḍamrah b. Bakr were a clan of Kinānah centered in the Ḥijāz between Mecca and Medina. They accepted an alliance with the Prophet and fought with him in the campaign against Mecca. *EI*², s.v. [J. W. Fück] and s.v. Kināna [W. M. Watt].

934. Riyāḥ b. Mālik were a clan of the Banū Sulaym. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 122, II, 488.

935. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, lists this as a clan of Juhaynah. Their steadfast bravery is given special mention at III, 240, 242, 255. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, II, 531.

vened, saying, "The Messenger of God dug a trench, so follow his way of thinking, or do you intend to set aside the Messenger of God's way for your own?" "O Ibn Shujāʿ," Jābir responded, "nothing weighs more heavily on you and your associates than actually meeting them [in battle], and nothing is more to my liking and that of my associates than fighting them directly." "With the trench," Muḥammad added, "we have simply followed the Messenger of God's footsteps. No one can turn us from him nor will I forsake him."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: When Muḥammad knew for certain that ʿĪsā had advanced, he excavated the trench, the one dug by the Prophet for the confederacies.

According to ʿUmar—Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar—Muḥammad b. ʿAṭiyyah, the *mawlā* of the Muṭṭalibīs. When Muḥammad had the trench dug, he rode out to it, wearing a white outer garment and a sash. With him rode the people. When he came to the place, he got down into it and took the lead in digging with his hand, extracting a brick from the Prophet's trench. He shouted *Allāhu akbar*, as did the people with him, who [also] exclaimed, "Rejoice in victory. This is the trench of your forefather, the Messenger of God."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah—Muṣʿab b. ʿUthmān b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr: As ʿĪsā made camp in al-Aʿwaṣ, Muḥammad ascended the pulpit to praise and glorify God. Then he said, "God's enemy and yours, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, has now encamped at al-Aʿwaṣ. Surely the people with the strongest claim to uphold this religion are the descendants [*abnāʾ*][936] of the first Muhājirūn and the Anṣār who assisted them.[937]

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Abī Isḥāq al-ʿAbsī,[938] a *shaykh* of the Ghaṭafān[939]—Abū ʿAmr, the teacher [*muʾaddib*] of

936. Often found within the expression *abnāʾ al-dawlah*, this term became one of special significance for the ʿAbbāsids as a designation for the family members and the descendants of their early Khurāsānī supporters. *EI*², s.v. (B. Lewis).

937. Cf. the sermon on p. 153.

938. He is subsequently identified in Ṭabarī, III, 234, as Ibrāhīm al-Ghaṭafānī.

939. The Banū Ghaṭafān b. Saʿd, a tribal subgroup of Qays ʿAylān, were late in offering allegiance to the Prophet and renounced their alliance in the *riddah*

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān— al-Zubayrī, i.e., [230]
ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid, whom Abū Jaʿfar killed: Gathered with Muḥammad was a group whose equal or augment I have never seen. I would estimate that we were 100,000. As ʿĪsā drew close to the city, Muḥammad preached to us, saying, "O people, this man has now come near you with a large force and full war apparatus. I hereby absolve you from your oath of allegiance to me. Whoever wishes to stay may do so. Whoever wishes to leave may do so." People slipped away until Muḥammad was left at the head of a band which was far from numerous.

According to ʿUmar—Mawhūb b. Rashīd b. Ḥayyān b. Abī Sulaymān b. Samʿān, one of the sons of Qarīṭ b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Kilāb—his father: When Muḥammad made his uprising, the people rallied to him. He crowded them together and seized control of the mountain passes so that no one could get out. Hearing that ʿĪsā and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah had approached, Muḥammad climbed the pulpit and said, "O people, we gathered you together to fight and closed the mountain passes against you. Now this enemy is near to you and at the head of a large force. Victory, however, comes from God, and the affair is in His hand. It seems right to me that I should give you permission [to leave] and open the passes for you. Whoever wishes to remain should stay but whoever wishes to be off may leave." A world of people left, including me. When we were in al-ʿUrayḍ,[940] which is about three *mīls* from Medina, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's vanguard met up with us just outside of al-Ruḥbah.[941] Their forces looked exactly like a swarm of locusts. We kept going, and ʿĪsā's forces headed for Medina going in the opposite direction to ours.[942]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Many people from Medina left the city with their children [231]
and their families for the outlying regions and the mountains. Muḥammad ordered Abū al-Qalammas to bring back those

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wars. *EI*², s.v. (J. W. Fück); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, II, 274; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 248–49.

940. Al-ʿUrayḍ is a district in the *ḥarrah* area near Medina. Ṭabarī, I, 1365, 1372; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 114.

941. Al-Ruḥbah is a town on the route to Syria that runs through Wādī al-Qurā. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 33.

942. *Wa-khālafūnā ilā al-Madīnah*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khalafa*; Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 396; Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 794.

whom he could, but a considerable number were impossible to reach, so he left them alone.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—al-Ghāḍirī:[943] Muḥammad asked me, "If I give you a weapon will you fight with me?" "Yes," I said, "if you give me a spear, I shall pierce them with it when they are in al-Aʿwaṣ, a sword and I shall strike them with it when them are in Hayfā."[944] Before very long he sent for me and asked, "What are you waiting for?" "How light a matter for you, may God preserve you!" I said. "If I am killed and people pass by, and someone will say, 'There, by God, was a real desert Arab!' [what will you care?]." Muḥammad replied, "Woe to you, the people of Syria, Iraq, and Khurāsān have already put on white." I said, "[Go ahead and] make the world be white as cream and me black as the pencase's wool! With ʿĪsā in al-Aʿwaṣ, what difference does it make to *me*?"

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father—his grandfather: Together with ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, Abū Jaʿfar dispatched Ibn al-Aṣamm ["the Deaf"], who attended to his staging posts for him. When they reached the environs of Medina, they settled about a *mīl* from the mosque of the Messenger of God. Ibn al-Aṣamm said, "Look you, the cavalry have no task alongside the foot soldiers. I am afraid that if the troops leave you exposed, they will penetrate your forces." ʿĪsā therefore moved them up to the watering place of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik in al-Jurf,[945] which was about four *mīls* from Medina. He cautioned, "No foot soldier should venture more than two or three *mīls* beyond until the cavalry catches up with him."

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karrām: Having made camp near al-Qadūm,[946] ʿĪsā sent for me in the mid-
[232] dle of the night, and I found him sitting with a [lighted] candle and monies in front of him. "Scouts have come to inform me," he said, "that this man is in a weak position, but I fear that he will sally forth. I assume that he has no road but to Mecca. Take for

943. Al-Ghāḍirī al-Muḍḥik.

944. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIX, while the Leiden text reads Hasfā. This is the only reference in Ṭabarī, and it is not cited in Yāqūt.

945. Al-Jurf was a site about three *mīls* from Medina on the way to Syria. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 128; ʿAlī, "Topography of Medina," 90.

946. Al-Qadūm was a mountain near Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 312.

yourself 500 men and go with them toward Mecca, yet veering from the road until you come to the tree. Then stay there." ʿĪsā b. Mūsā paid them by the light of the candle, and I went forth with them, passing the al-Baṣrah [road] in the Baṭḥāʾ, i.e., the Baṭḥāʾ Ibn Azhar,[947] about six *mīls* from Medina. The people there were afraid, so I said, "Don't be afraid. I am Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. Do you have any barley mush (*sawīq*)?"[948] They brought us some barley mush, and we drank, staying there until Muḥammad was killed.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—a trustworthy source he knew: As ʿĪsā drew close [to Medina], he sent al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd[949] to Muḥammad to prevail upon him to abandon his purpose and to inform him that the Commander of the Faithful had given him and his household a guarantee of safety. Muḥammad said to al-Qāsim, "By God, were it not for the fact that messengers are not to be killed, I would behead you. From the time you were a lad, I have never seen you faced with a choice between good and bad parties when you didn't go for the bad rather than the good." Muḥammad sent word to ʿĪsā, "Listen, fellow, certainly you are closely related to the Messsenger of God. Therefore do I summon you to the Book of God, to the *sunnah*[950] of His Prophet and to acting in obedience to Him. I warn you of God's retribution and His punishments. I will not abandon this affair until[951] God Himself has cast it aside. Hear me now, lest the one who calls you to God kills you, and you die as the worst

947. A *baṭḥāʾ* is a broad, shallow riverbed. The Prophet halted beneath a tree in the Baṭḥāʾ Ibn Azhar when making his raid on al-ʿUshayrah. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 285 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 421; Ṭabarī, I, 1268; Groom, *Arabic Topography*, 59; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 446.

948. Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1472, describes this as a kind of gruel made by moistening barley or wheat with water, clarified butter, or other forms of fat. A Qurashī expedition against the Prophet in the second year after the *hijrah* became known as *ghawzat al-sawīq* because of the sacks of barley meal which were discarded by the raiders as they made their retreat. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 361–62 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 543–44; Ṭabarī, I, 1364–67; Waines, "Cereals, Bread, and Society," 266, 282–83.

949. Al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd was the great-great-grandson of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Öhrnberg, *Offspring of Fāṭima*, table 8.

950. The "practice" of the Prophet, i.e., the norms for Muslim behavior that are drawn from the words and deeds of Muḥammad as recorded in the canonical collections of *ḥadīth*.

951. *Ḥatta*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIX.

[possible] victim. On the other hand, if you kill him, then surely your burden will be even greater and your offense more monstrous." Muḥammad sent this letter with Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar.[952] When Ibrāhīm delivered it to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, the latter said, "Go back to your master and say to him, 'There can be nothing between us but battle.' "

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karrām
[233] b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar—his father: When ʿĪsā drew near to Medina, he sent me to Muḥammad with a guarantee of safety for him. Muḥammad said to me, "Why would you people fight me and consider shedding my blood lawful when I am simply a man who is trying to avoid killing?"[953] "My people are calling you to [accept] the guarantee of safety," I said. "If you refuse to do anything but fight them, they will fight you just as the best of your ancestors, ʿAlī, fought Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr[954] for breaching the oath of allegiance made to them, for assailing their regnal authority,[955] and for striving against them." I later informed Abū Jaʿfar of that, and he said, 'It certainly does not make me happy that you said one thing to him and quite another to me.' "

According to ʿUmar—Hishām b. Muḥammad b. ʿUrwah b. Hishām b. ʿUrwah[956]—Māhān b. Bakht, Qaḥṭabah's *mawlā*: As we arrived at Medina, Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar b. Muṣʿab came to look us over, riding around our army until he had spied out all of it and then turning to leave. We were so frightened by him that ʿĪsā and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah began to exclaim with admiration, "One lone horseman is advance scout for his cohort!" As he got to the limit of our range of vision, we saw him standing in one place. "Blast you, go and find out what's happening with that fellow," said Ḥumayd, "I can see his horse is not moving at all." So Ḥumayd dispatched to Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar two men from his cohort, and they discovered that Ibrāhīm's mount had stumbled and

952. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 268, gives the name as Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar al-Zubayrī.
953. *Ana rajulun farrun*. Ibrāhīm's edition VII, 585, reads this as *farra*.
954. A reference to the Battle of the Camel.
955. *Wa-[ʿalā] kaydi al-mulk*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *kāda*. See note 424.
956. His great-grandfather Abū al-Mundhir Hishām b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām (d. 146/763) was a Medinese *muḥaddith* and *faqīh* who eventually joined al-Manṣūr's entourage in Baghdad and died there. *GAS*, I, 88; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VI, 34–47; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VIII, 87.

thrown him to the ground. His armor (*tannūr*)[957] had broken his neck. Ḥumayd's two men took his booty and brought us armor said to belong to Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr.[958] It was gilded and unlike any ever seen.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: ʿĪsā made camp at Qaṣr Sulaymān in al-Jurf early on a Saturday morning, 12 Ramaḍān 145[959] and stayed there both Saturday and Sunday. Early Monday morning he went out to take up a [234] position at Salʿ[960] so that he could survey Medina and those who were entering and leaving it. He covered all its approaches with cavalry and troops except the area around the mosque of Abū al-Jarrāḥ[961] at Buṭḥān. This he left open as an exit for those wanting to flee, and Muḥammad showed himself at the head of the people of Medina.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Muḥammad b. Zayd: We reached Medina together with ʿĪsā. He summoned Muḥammad [to desist and accept the guarantee of safety] three times, on Friday, on Saturday, and on Sunday.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shaybān—Zayd, the *mawlā* of Mismaʿ: After ʿĪsā had set up camp, he made a mounted advance, with something like 500 foot soldiers surrounding him as they marched. Before him moved a banner that he carried on the march. ʿĪsā halted at al-Thaniyyah and cried out, "O people of Medina, God has forbidden us to shed each other's blood. Come and take the guarantee of safety! Whoever takes his stand under our banner is safe, as is whoever goes into his house, enters the

957. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *tannūr*. The term ordinarily connotes a baking oven, especially one for bread.

958. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, son of the Prophet's cousin and early supporter, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, and brother of the anticaliph ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, was renowned as a warrior and especially remembered for his heroic stand against the Syrian troops of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in 71/690. *EI*[1], s.v. (H. Lammens), Ṭabarī, II, 803–14; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, V, 332–355; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, V, 240–42, 247–49.

959. December 4, 762.

960. Salʿ was a mountain pass near Medina; see the map on p. 1001 of *EI*[2], s.v. al-Madīna ii. The modern city (R. B. Winder) for Djabal Salaʿ [*sic*]. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 236–37.

961. Perhaps the *mawlā* of Umm Ḥabībah, a wife of the Prophet, who transmitted *ḥadīth* from her and from the third caliph, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 56.

mosque, throws down his weapons, or leaves Medina. Leave us and our opponent to face each other, and [may the victory go] to us or to him." The people of Medina heaped abuse upon him and vilified him, saying such things as, "O son of a sheep, O son of this, O son of that!" That very day ʿĪsā went away and returned next morning. He did what he had done the day before, and once again the people of Medina reviled him. On the third day, he approached with [many] horses, men, and weapons, the like of which I've never seen. Lord knows, we didn't have long to wait before he got the better of us, proclaimed the guarantee of safety, and left for his encampment.

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm al-Ghaṭafānī—Abū ʿAmr, teacher of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—al-Zubayrī, i.e., ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid: When we came face to face,
[235] ʿĪsā himself proclaimed, "O Muḥammad, the Commander of the Faithful has ordered me not to fight you before I extend to you the guarantee of safety. I am bound to offer this to you, your family, your descendants, and your associates. Furthermore, you will be given thus and thus amount of money. Your debt will be discharged, and you will be treated in an appropriate way."[962] Muḥammad shouted back, "Forget this! If you only understood that fear does not make me swerve from you nor does desire draw me near, you would not behave thus." The fighting was relentless, and Muḥammad dismounted to engage in it. I would estimate that he killed seventy men on that day by his own hand.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Muḥammad b. Zayd: On Monday ʿĪsā halted at Dhubāb.[963] Summoning a *mawlā* of ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiyah who had accompanied him as head of his armored troops. ʿĪsā said, "Take ten of your cohort, the ones who have protective armor." The man brought them forward, and ʿĪsā said to us, "Ten of you should stay with him, O family of Abū Ṭālib." This we did, and with us were the two sons of Muḥammad

962. More explicit promises are made in Abū Jaʿfar's letter to Muḥammad. See pp. 166–67.

963. Dhubāb was a mountain near Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 3; Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 135.

b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī,[964] ʿAbdallāh[965] and ʿUmar, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAqīl, al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, and ʿAbdallāh b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar, who was in command of ten of us. "Hurry to the people," ʿĪsā said, "call upon them to support us, and offer them a guarantee of safety. God's guarantee of safety is enduring." We first went as far as the market of the fuel vendors and made an appeal to them. But they called us names and showered us with arrows, saying, "This is the descendant of God's Messenger who is with us. We, therefore, are with him." Al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd spoke to them, saying, "I, too, am descended from the Messenger of God. Most of those whom you see are descended from God's Messenger. We call you to the Book of God, to the *sunnah* of His Prophet, to the sparing of your blood, and to a guarantee of safety for you." Again, they began to call us names and to shoot flights of arrows at us. Al-Qāsim told his servant to collect these arrows, which he did. [Al-] Qāsim then took hold of them and went to see ʿĪsā. "What are you waiting for?" he asked ʿĪsā. "Look what they did to us." ʿĪsā therefore sent Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah at the head of 100 men. [236]

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd b. Nāfiʿ—his brothers, ʿUthmān and Muḥammad, the sons of Saʿīd who were with Muḥammad: Al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan and a man from the Abū Ṭālib family who was with him halted at the top of Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ. They called upon Muḥammad to accept the guarantee of safety, but he hurled insults at them, so they retired. At this point, ʿĪsā advanced. He had already assigned the army commanders to their sectors, putting Hazārmard[966] near the baths of Ibn Abī al-Ṣaʿbah, Kathīr b. Ḥuṣayn near the house of Ibn Aflaḥ,[967] which was in Baqīʿ al-Gharqad, and Muḥammad b. Abī

964. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, IV, 238, placing his death about 140/757, identifies Muḥammad b. ʿUmar simply as a grandson of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and one of the sayyids of the Banū Hāshim. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 321.

965. His mother was Khadījah bt. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, daughter of the fourth Shīʿī *imām*, and he was known as Dāfin, i.e., "One who Conceals." He died in 152/769. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 16.

966. Not ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Abī Ṣufrah al-ʿAtakī (see note 374), who was also known as Hazārmard. For this Persian epithet, see Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien*, 152.

967. Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 143.

al-ʿAbbās at the Banū Salimah gate. The remaining army commanders he assigned to the passageways leading into Medina. ʿĪsā led his close associates to the head of al-Thaniyyah, where they shot arrows and catapulted stones for a while.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar: Muḥammad made the mosque curtains into chain armor for his associates.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Isḥāq b. al-Qāsim—ʿUmar, an Anṣārī *shaykh*: Muḥammad made mosque covers into quilted armor for his associates. Two men from [the tribe of] Juhaynah came to him, and to one he gave quilted armor, but not to the other. So the one who had the quilted armor fought, but the other one did not join him. During the battle, an arrow struck the one with the armor and killed him. His friend uttered this verse:

O Lord, do not make me like a treacherous one[968]
who sold his remaining days for [a piece of] quilted armor.

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar—Ismāʿīl b. Abī ʿAmr:
[237] We were stopped at the Banū Ghifār's trench when a man approached us on horseback, and all that could be seen of him were his two eyes. He called out for a guarantee of safety, which was granted him. He then came right up next to us and said, "Is there anyone with you who could give Muḥammad a message from me?" "Yes," I said, "I could." "Then give him a message from me," he said, uncovering his face. To our surprise it was an old man with dyed hair. He said, "Tell Muḥammad that so-and-so the man of Tamīm speaks to you with a sign to this effect: You and I sat in the shade of the rock on Jabal Juhaynah in the year such-and-such. Wait patiently until nightfall, because the greater part of the army is on your side." Ismāʿīl continued: I came to Muḥammad before morning—that was on Monday, the day when he was killed—and I found in front of him a waterskin of white honey split down the middle. A man was pulling out a handful of honey and dipping it in water. Then he fed it to Muḥammad little by little. Another man wrapped his belly with a turban cloth. At this point I delivered the message to him. "Now you have made your report," he said. I replied, "My two brothers are in your power." "Where they are is good for them," he said.

968. *Ka-man khān. Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIX.

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah b. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr[969]—Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. al-Zubayr: Muḥammad's banner was my father's responsibility. I used to carry it on his behalf.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Al-Afṭas Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn was accompanied by a yellow standard with the picture of a serpent on it. Each of Muḥammad's associates from the family of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was accompanied by a standard. Their war cry was "One and one alone!"[970] which was the Prophet's war cry at the Battle of Ḥunayn.[971]

According to ʿUmar—Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī al-Ḥakam—Jahm b. ʿUthmān, the *mawlā* of the Banū Sulaym as well as one of the Banū Bahz: On the day we faced ʿĪsā's associates in battle, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar said to me, "Today we number what the people of Badr did on the day [238] they faced the idolaters." We were a few more than 300.

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās[972]—his father: ʿĪsā b. Mūsā was born in 103 and took part in the war with Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm when he was forty-three years old.[973] Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah was in charge of ʿĪsā's vanguard, while Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās, son of the [former] Commander of the Faithful, led the right flank. The Khurāsānī Dāwūd b. Karrāz[974] was charged

969. Ibrāhīm b. Mūṣʿab would be the great-great-grandson of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr al-ʿAwwām (d. 72/691), the governor of al-Baṣrah who is remembered for the severity of his attack against the ʿAlid partisan al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī and his followers. Ṭabarī, II, 718–50; *EI*[1], s.v. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubair (H. Lammens); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 140–45.

970. According to the *Glossarium*, s.v. *aḥad*, this expression signifies that "God is one, without partner," i.e., it is the equivalent of the credal formula *inna allāha wāḥidun lā sharīka lahu*.

971. Ḥunayn was the site of a battle in 8/630, mentioned in the Qurʾān 9:25, where the Prophet's forces were initially ambushed but soon regrouped to rout the enemy. *EI*[2], s.v. (H. Lammens and Abd al-Hafez Kamal).

972. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā was the grandson of al-Saffāḥ's designated successor to al-Manṣūr.

973. Ṭabarī, III, 519, mentions his death in the year 167/783–84, and Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 435, notes that he lived to be 65. But see *EI*[2], s.v. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā (D. Sourdel).

974. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXXXIX. Dāwūd b. Karrāz served under Abū Muslim in Marw and is mentioned among the Khurāsānī *duʿāt*. Ṭabarī, II, 1968–69; *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 221.

with the left flank, and al-Haytham b. Shuʿbah was in command of the rear guard.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Abū al-Qalammas encountered Asad b. al-Marzubān's[975] brother, Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān, in the market of the firewood vendors. They laid on with swords, until the swords themselves were broken, and then returned to their respective battle stations. At this point Asad's brother grabbed another sword while Abū al-Qalammas picked up a trivet stone (*uthfiyyah*),[976] placed it on the bow of his saddle, and covered it with his armature. They then returned to each other, and as they drew close, Abū al-Qalammas stood up in his stirrups and hit Asad's brother in the chest with the trivet, knocking him down. Abū al-Qalammas then dismounted and cut off his head.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Qāsim b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿUmarī: While we were with Muḥammad, a man from Medina, a *mawlā* of the family of al-Zubayr named al-Qāsim b. Wāʾil, stepped forth and called for a duel. In response, a man came forward against him whose perfection and equipment was unique in my experience. When Ibn Wāʾil saw this man, he took off. We were very affected by that, and, in the grip of that emotion, I heard the sound of a footstep behind me.[977] I wheeled around and was surprised to see Abū al-Qalammas and hear him say, "God curse the prince of fools for [239] letting someone like that make bold with us. If a man steps out, he may be going out to something beyond his range." He then fought a duel with the opponent and killed him.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd b. Nāfiʿ: On that day al-Qāsim b. Wāʾil left the trench and called for a duel. Hazārmard answered the challenge, but when al-Qāsim saw him, he was so awed by the man that he retreated. Abū al-Qalammas then

975. Asad b. al-Marzubān was a Persian army officer who later appears in the incidents of harassment directed against ʿĪsā b. Mūsā in order to convince him to renounce his claim to the caliphate in favor of al-Manṣūr's son. Asad's eventual execution for suspected treason is graphically presented in the events of 151/768–69. Ṭabarī, III, 344, 368. In the late Sāsānid period, the *marzbān* was the military governor of a frontier district. Ṭabarī, I, 1056, and Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, 102.

976. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *thafā*.

977. *Khashfa rajulin*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khashafa* and *ṣāta*.

stepped forward to duel with him and said that he had never used his sword as he did on that day. Then he struck Hazārmard on his shoulder vein and killed him, saying, "Take that blow! I am the son of al-Fārūq!"[978] One of ʿĪsā's comrades retorted, "You have killed a better man than 1000 Fārūqs."

According to ʿUmar—the Kūfan ʿAlī Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥadhdhāʾ (the Cobbler)—Masʿūd al-Raḥḥāl: I was witness to Muḥammad's murder in Medina. In fact, I was watching them near the Aḥjār al-Zayt.[979] I was looking down on them from the mountain, i.e., Salʿ, when I noticed one of ʿĪsā's cohort come forward on horseback, armored in such a way that you could see nothing of him but his eyes. He came far enough forward that he left the line of his confederates behind. Then he came to a standstill between the two combat lines and called for a duel. One of Muḥammad's cohort went out to meet him wearing a white full-sleeved gown (*qabāʾ*)[980] and a white cap. He was on foot, and he conversed with the challenger for a long time. I assumed that he was asking him to dismount so that their positions would be equal. Eventually, I observed the man on horseback bend his leg and dismount. Then the two faced off against each other. Muḥammad's associate struck the challenger a blow on the iron helmet he was wearing, forcing him to sit back on his haunches stunned and motionless. At this point Muḥammad's man pulled off his helment, hit him on his head, and killed him. He then went back and joined his fellow soldiers. Without a moment's loss, another came forth from ʿĪsā's line, just like the first, and the original fellow from Muḥammad's side challenged him to combat and did to him what he had done to his comrade. Once again, he went back to his battle line. A third fellow came forth, and Muḥammad's man challenged him, dueled with him, and killed him. When the third was killed, he turned back to head for his associates but ʿĪsā's men attacked him in waves, throwing spears at him and piercing him. He rushed toward his confederates but never reached them, in- [240]

978. "Al-Fārūq" was an epithet of the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

979. Aḥjār al-Zayt was a site near al-Zawrāʾ, the *sūq* in Medina, where the prayer for rain is performed. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 109, III, 156; Lecker, "Markets of Medina," 143.

980. See Dozy, *Vêtements*, 352–62; Ahsan, *Social Life*, 41–42.

stead falling flat on the ground so that ʿĪsā's men killed him short of his goal.

According to ʿĪsā—Muḥammad b. Zayd: When we told ʿĪsā that Muḥammad's supporters were shooting at us, he orderd Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah to move forward. Ḥumayd advanced with 100 men carrying arrows and shields, all of them on foot except him. Before long they had marched up to a rampart this side of the trench where certain of Muḥammad's partisans were ensconced. Ḥumayd's men forced them in the open and then came to a halt at the wall. Ḥumayd sent word to ʿĪsā that the wall should be razed. ʿĪsā, therefore, sent for laborers, and they razed it, and Ḥumayd's men got all the way to the trench. Ḥumayd then let ʿĪsā know that they had reached the trench. ʿĪsā sent gates the size of the trench to Ḥumayd so that his troops crossed over on them to the other side. Then they fought a very fierce battle from early morning until late afternoon.

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: In the company of his cohort ʿĪsā b. Mūsā moved forward to lay siege to Medina. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and his supporters came out to meet him, and for several days they battled each other fiercely. A troop from the Juhaynah tribe called the Banū Shujāʿ stood steadfastly with Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh until they were killed. They were, indeed, doughty fighters.

The account returns to that of ʿUmar.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar: ʿĪsā ordered them to throw the camels' saddlebags into the trench. He also ordered the two gates from Saʿd b. Masʿūd's house at al-Thaniyyah thrown over the trench. The cavalry then crossed, and the opposing forces met near the sluice gates of Khashram,[981] where they fought until late afternoon.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b.
[241] Abī Thābit: Muḥammad went out that day, before noon, to the Dār Marwān. There he performed the ritual ablution and anointed himself as if for burial. Only then did he go forth [to battle].

According to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Thābit—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar: I drew near to Muḥammad and said to him, "By the life of my fa-

981. *ʿInda mafātiḥi Khashram.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *fataḥa.*

ther, as I judge the situation, you don't hold a chance. None of those with you believes in fighting. Leave immediately to meet up with al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah in Mecca, for he has the greatest part of your partisans with him." "O Abū Jaʿfar," said Muḥammad, "by God, were I to leave, the people of Medina would be killed. I swear that I shall not turn back until I have killed or been killed. But as far as I'm concerned, you may do as you like; go wherever you wish." I went with him as far as Dār Ibn Masʿūd[982] in the camel market. Then I hurried off, making my way toward the oil sellers [section]. Muḥammad went on to al-Thaniyyah, and those who were with him were killed by arrows. When it was time for the afternoon prayer, Muḥammad prayed.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah—Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad: I saw Muḥammad between the two houses of the Banū Saʿd. He was wearing a clay-dyed robe[983] and mounted on an old packhorse. At his side stood Ibn Khuḍayr, who was begging him to go on to al-Baṣrah or elsewhere. To this Muḥammad kept answering, "By God, you people will not be afflicted with me twice. Go where you wish; you are quite free to do so." "Where is there escape from you?" said Ibn Khuḍayr, but then he left, set fire to the stipends register [i.e. that recording the names of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's partisans], and killed Riyāḥ. Next he met up with Muḥammad in al-Thaniyyah and fought until he was slain.

According to ʿUmar—al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: Ibn Khuḍayr, a descendant of Muʿṣab b. al-Zubayr, rebelled with Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. On the day Muḥammad was killed, Ibn Khuḍayr, seeing the disorder among Muḥammad's partisans and how the sword had exhausted them, asked [242] Muḥammad's permission to enter Medina. Muḥammad gave his consent but without knowing what Ibn Khuḍayr intended. The latter entered the presence of Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī and his brother and slaughtered the two of them. He went back to tell Muḥammad what he had done and then moved forward and fought until, without delay, he was killed.

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982. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd was a Companion of the Prophet and is cited as the source of many exegetical *ḥadīths*. His house stood to the north of the main mosque. *EI²*, s.v. (J.-C. Vadet); Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 104.

983. *ʿAlayhi jubbatun mumashshaqatun*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *mashaqa*.

The account returns to that of ʿUmar.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar—his brother: When Ibn Khuḍayr went back, he killed Riyāḥ and Ibn Muslim b. ʿUqbah.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Ibn Khuḍayr slit Riyāḥ's throat but without finishing him off. Therefore he began beating Riyāḥ's head against the wall until he died. Riyāḥ's brother, ʿAbbās, a righteous man, was killed with him, and the people held that against Ibn Khuḍayr. The latter then went on to Ibn al-Qasrī, who was imprisoned in the Dār Ibn Hishām. Having been alerted, Ibn al-Qasrī barricaded the two gates of the Dār against him. Ibn Khuḍayr worked hard against the gates, but those in the prison joined forces to block them. Ibn Khuḍayr could not prevail against them, so he returned to Muḥammad and fought in front of him until he was killed.

According to ʿUmar—Miskīn b. Ḥabīb b. Muḥammad: At the prescribed time Muḥammad prayed the afternoon prayer in the mosque of the Banū al-Dīl[984] in al-Thaniyyah. When he had uttered the concluding formula, he asked for something to drink, and Rabīḥah bt. Abī Shākir of the Quraysh tribe gave him a drink. Then she said to him, "If only I could be a ransom for you! Save yourself!" Muḥammad replied, "Then in Medina not a cock would be left to crow." He went on, and when he was in the bed of the watercourse of Salʿ, he dismounted. He hamstrung his mount,[985] and the Banū Shujāʿ hamstrung theirs. Each and every one broke his sword scabbard.

[243] Miskīn: I saw myself, as a lad, gathering something like 300 dirhams' worth of ornaments from them. Muḥammad said to them, "You have given me the oath of allegiance, and I am not moving until I am killed. But whoever wishes to go has my permission to do so." Then Muḥammad turned to Ibn Khuḍayr and asked him whether he had set fire to the stipends register." "Yes,"

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984. Al-Dīl, also al-Du'il, was a clan of the Banū Bakr b. ʿAbdmanāt. Ṭabarī, I, 1440; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 43, II, 234; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 184–85.

985. This was an act of bravery by which the warrior indicated that he was cutting off his only possible means of flight. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib is credited with being the first in Islam to do so and died fighting at the battle of Mu'tah in 8/629. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 534 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 794.

replied Ibn Khuḍayr, "I feared that on the basis of it people would be seized." Muḥammad said, "You did right."

According to ʿUmar—Azhar—my two brothers: On that day we put ʿĪsā's cohort to flight two or three times, without ourselves suffering a reverse. We even heard Yazīd[986] b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar say, "We've routed them, but what a victory it would have been if only he had had [enough] men!"

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb[987] was one of those who were routed and ran away from Muḥammad that day. Muḥammad sent after him, and he was brought back. Then the young boys started to shout out after him, "Behold the babbling old fart!"[988] Afterwards ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz used to say that the worst thing that ever happened to him was the young boys' taunting.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—a *mawlā* of Hishām b. ʿUmārah b. al-Walīd b. ʿAdī al-Khiyār: We were with Muḥammad, and Hishām b. ʿUmārah came up to him along with me. He said, "I'm not sure those you see won't desert you. If ever I run away or you are killed or I am killed or we are vanquished, I testify that this servant of mine is to be freed in God's sight." Then, by God, I was with Muḥammad when an arrow fell on his shield and split it in two, before sinking into his armor." He turned toward me and said, "Hey there." "Here I am," I replied. "Blast your eyes!" he said; "have you ever seen anything like this, what's your name? Do you care more for yourself or for me?" "For you, of course," I [244] responded. At this he said, "You are free in God's sight, so get out of here as fast as you can."

According to ʿUmar—Mutawakkil b. Abī al-Faḥwah—Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Farwah: We were overlooking the ridge of Salʿ—there were bedouins of the Juhaynah tribe there as well—when a man climbed up to us holding a spear on which he had stuck a man's head with the throat, liver, and entrails still attached. I found it a terrifying sight. See-

986. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXL.

987. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh was a great-grandson of the second caliph.

988. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *baqqa*, where this translation in offered tentatively as *ecce garrula cum crepitu ventris*. For two proverbial uses of the term *baqqah*, see Ṭabarī, I, 759–60.

ing an evil omen in it, the bedouins shied away, fleeing until they reached level ground. The man climbed to the summit and shouted down the mountain to his associates some gibberish in Persian like *kūhbān*.[989] His confederates climbed up to him, right to the top of Salʿ, where they erected a black flag. Then they swooped down the mountain toward Medina and entered it. Asmāʾ bt. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the wife of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbbās, ordered a black veil erected on the minaret of the Messenger of God's mosque. When Muḥammad's confederates saw that, they called out to each other, "Medina has been entered," and they fled. Hearing of the people who had entered Medina from the Salʿ mountain, Muḥammad said, "Every people has a mountain that protects them, while our mountain is only a way for people to come at us!"

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—someone he trusted: The sons of Abū ʿAmr al-Ghifārī opened a way for the wearers of black via the Banū Ghifār. The ʿAbbāsid forces entered that way, coming up on Muḥammad's partisans from behind.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān: On that day Muḥammad shouted at Ḥumayd b.
[245] Qaḥṭabah, "If you are a cavalryman and are proud of so being above all the people of Khurāsān, then fight a duel with me. I am Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh." "I know very well who you are," responded Ḥumayd; "you are a nobleman and the son of a nobleman; you are a *sharīf* and the son of a *sharīf*.[990] No, by God, Abū ʿAbdallāh, I shall not duel with you while from these throngs but one man still stands before me. When I have dealt with that lot, then I swear that I shall duel with you."

According to ʿUmar—ʿUthmān b. al-Mundhir b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr—a man from the Banū Thaʿlabah b. Saʿd:[991] I was in al-Thaniyyah on the day Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan was killed. With him was Ibn Khuḍayr, to whom Ibn

989. The Persian means "mountain guards." As an alternative, the *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXL, give *kūhiyyān*, which would mean "mountain dwellers."

990. The term *sharīf* is applied to those who claim descent from the Prophet Muḥammad.

991. Thaʿlabah b. Saʿd b. Ḍabbah was a clan of Ḍabbah b. Udd. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 89, II, 551; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 203.

Qaḥṭabah began offering the guarantee of safe-conduct, reluctant to see him die. But, dismounting, Ibn Khuḍayr continued to attack people with his sword, while quoting the following lines:

Give him to drink neither sour milk nor sweet,
if you find him not swift and big-strided.
Full of liveliness,[992] he swallows the hard ground
like the wolf chases prey that comes near.
Overtaking the tracks as though they turn back,
and the veil on the sun's disc as it sinks.

He mingled with the people, and someone struck Ibn Khuḍayr a piercing[993] blow on his buttock. He withdrew to his associates, ripped off a piece of cloth to wind around his back, and then returned to the fight. This time someone hit him on the eyesocket brow, pushing the sword into the eye itself. Ibn Khuḍayr sank to the ground, and people rushed at him, slashing his head. When he was killed, Muḥammad got down off his horse and fought standing over his corpse until he himself was killed.

According to ʿUmar—Makhlad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥāḍir b. al-Muhājir al-Bāhilī—al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān, the *mawlā* of the Banū Numayr[994]—his brother (a brother of his had been killed with Muḥammad): When the Khurāsānīs caught sight of Ibn Khuḍayr, they shouted to each other, "Khuḍayr has come! Khuḍayr has come!" Because of that they took off in all directions. [246]

According to ʿUmar—Hishām b. Muḥammad b. ʿUrwah b. Hishām b. ʿUrwah—Māhān b. Bakht, Qaḥṭabah's *mawlā*: Ibn Khuḍayr's head was brought to us, but it contained so many wounds we could not even begin to carry it. It looked like an eggplant that had been ripped apart, but we stuck most of it back together.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd: Beholding the black standard on the minaret of the mosque undermined the morale of Muḥammad's partisans. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah came against

992. *Dhā mayʿatin*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *mâʿa*.
993. *Fa-ḍarabahu ḍāribun ʿalā ilyatihi fa-khallahā*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXL.
994. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 269, gives this name as al-Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān.

Muḥammad from the alley of Ashjaʿ[995] and killed him unawares. He then took his head and brought it to ʿĪsā. Along with Muḥammad, Ḥumayd killed many other men.

According to ʿUmar—Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥadhdhāʾ—Masʿūd al-Raḥḥāl: On that day I saw Muḥammad plunging into the fight by himself. Indeed, I was watching him when a man struck him a sword blow just beside his right earlobe. Muḥammad fell to his knees, and they joined forces against him.[996] Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah shouted, "Don't kill him," so they held off, and Ḥumayd himself came and cut off Muḥammad's head.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: On that day Muḥammad fell to his knees, trying to defend himself and saying, "Woe to you! I am descended from your Prophet, yet beset by difficulties and deeply wronged."[997]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—Ibn Abī Thābit—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar: Ibn Qaḥṭabah pierced his chest and knocked him down. Then he dismounted, cut off his head, and brought it to ʿĪsā.

[247] According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Minqarī: I saw Muḥammad on that day—of all God's creatures he most closely resembled the tales told of Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[998]—cutting people sharply with his sword and killing all who drew near him so long as he carried it. By God, indeed, his thrusts continued unabated until a man shot an arrow at him. I believe I actually saw him turn first red then grey. Suddenly the cavalry descended upon us, and Muḥammad came to a standstill at the side of a wall. People held back from him, and as he felt death overcome him, he leaned against his sword and broke it.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—his grandfather: Muḥammad carried the sword of God's Messenger, Dhū al-Faqār.[999]

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995. Ashjaʿ b. Rayth were a clan of the Ghaṭafān tribe. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, 135, II, 201; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 249–50.

996. *Wa-taʿāwaw/taghāwaw ʿalayhi*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXL.

997. *Muḥrijun wa-maẓlūmun*. Ibid.

998. Ibid. Ḥamzah was the Prophet's uncle whose legendary battle exploits were memorialized in various epic recensions. See note 859.

999. This sword, which Muḥammad obtained as booty in the battle of Badr, became the property of ʿAlī but eventually passed into ʿAbbāsid possession. *EI*², *

According to ʿUmar—Hurmuz Abū ʿAlī, the *mawlā* of the Bāhilah [tribe][1000]—ʿAmr b. al-Mutawakkil, whose mother served Fāṭimah bt. Ḥusayn: On the day he was killed, Muḥammad carried the Prophet's sword, Dhū al-Faqār. When he sensed death approaching, he gave his sword to a merchant who was with him and to whom he owed a debt in the amount of 400 dīnārs. Muḥammad said to the man, "Take this sword. You will never meet any member of the family of Abū Ṭālib who will not take it and give you your just due." The sword stayed in the merchant's possession until Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān[1001] was appointed governor of Medina. Jaʿfar was told about the sword, and, summoning the man, he took the sword from him and give him 400 dīnārs. It stayed with him until al-Mahdī became Caliph where Jaʿfar continued as governor of Medina. News of the sword's whereabouts reached al-Mahdī, and he took it. It then passed to Mūsā,[1002] who tried it out on a dog,[1003] and the sword broke in pieces.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aṣmaʿī:[1004] I saw [Hārūn] al-Rashīd, the Commander of the Faithful, in Ṭūs,[1005] girded with a sword. He said to me, "O Aṣmaʿī, would you not like me to show you Dhū al-Faqār?" "Yes," I said, "may God make me your ransom." He said, "Unsheathe this sword of

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s.v. (E. Mittwoch). For traditions about Dhū al-Faqār, see Wensinck, *Concordance*, III, 51.

1000. A component tribe of Qays whose traditional lands lay along the route between Mecca and Riyāḍ. *EI*², s.v. (W. Caskel); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, 137, II, 220.

1001. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī al-Hāshimī (d. 174/790). His cousin al-Manṣūr appointed him governor of Medina in 146/763–64 and removed him in 150/767–68; later he was appointed governor of al-Baḥrayn, of Mecca and then of al-Baṣrah. At one point he complained of Abū Jaʿfar's preferential treatment of his brother Muḥammad. Ṭabarī, III, 327, 358, 379, 410, 492, 740; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20, 24, 40; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 106: Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 239–40.

1002. Mūsā, i.e., Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq, son of al-Mahdī, was the fourth ʿAbbāsid caliph and reigned briefly from 169/785 to 170/786. *EI*², s.v. al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥakk (D. Sourdel).

1003. Dogs are considered unclean under Muslim law, and in popular belief have a long-standing association with evil spirits.

1004. Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Malik b. Qurayb (d. 213/828) was a renowned Baṣran grammarian and philologist at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd. *EI*², s.v. al-Aṣmaʿī (B. Lewin); Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 965.

1005. Ṭūs was a town and a district in the Naysābūr quarter of Khurāsān. *EI*¹ s.v. (V. Minorsky); Le Strange, *Lands*, 388–90; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 155.

mine." I did so, and I saw on it eighteen notches like vertebrae (*faqārah*).[1006]

According to ʿUmar—Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl—the brother of al-
[248] Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Numayrī: We were with Muḥammad when 40,000 troops encircled us, surrounding us like a tract of black stones. I said to him, "If you were to charge at them, they would scatter before you." "Surely," he said, "the Commander of the Faithful does not charge in such a way. Were he to do so, he would have nothing left." However, we kept repeating that to him, so that finally he launched an attack, but they pressed in upon him and killed him.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Salm, known as Ibn al-Bawwāb, successor to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ as chamberlain for Hārūn [al-Rashīd], a cultured and learned person—his father—al-Aslamī, i.e., ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir: Muḥammad said to me when we were fighting ʿĪsā with him, "A rain cloud is enveloping us; if it showers us, we will be victorious. If it passes over us to ʿĪsā's forces, then look for my blood on the oil stones." Before long, by God, a cloud was right on top of us. As it began to shift, I exclaimed, "It's doing so!" Then it passed right over us and hit ʿĪsā and his confederates. From that point on things were as bad as could be until I saw him lying dead among the oil stones.[1007]

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī al-Karrām b. ʿAbdallāh:[1008] About the time of the afternoon prayer ʿĪsā said to Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, "I see that you've been taking your time with this fellow; now put Ḥamzah b. Mālik[1009] in charge of warring against him." "By God! Though you may wish that," said Ḥumayd, "I won't leave you while I'm still fighting men and have scented victory in the offing." He then redoubled his efforts until Muḥammad was slain.

1006. According to some early Muslim traditions, the sword was made of material from Paradise and was passed down among the prophets who preceded Muḥammad. Rubin, "Prophets and Progenitors," 47.

1007. Wüstenfeld, "Medina," 146.

1008. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXL.

1009. Ḥamzah b. Mālik (d. 181/797), the son of Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzāʿī, was head of the *shurṭah*, or police guard, for the caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. He was appointed governor of Sijistān in 159/775–76 and of Khurāsān in 176/792–93. Ṭabarī, III, 459, 626; Crone, *Slaves*, 181.

According to ʿUmar—Jawwād b. Ghālib. b. Mūsā, the *mawlā* of the Banū ʿIjl—Ḥumayd, the *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās:[1010] On that day ʿĪsā had doubts about Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, who was in charge of the cavalry. He said to him, "O Ḥumayd, I don't see you doing your utmost." "Do you have doubts about me?" retorted Ḥumayd. "By God, when I see [249] Muḥammad I shall give him a death strike with my sword or be killed before I reach him." Ḥumayd then passed Muḥammad when he had already been killed and struck a blow with his sword in order to fulfill his oath.

According to ʿUmar—Yaʿqūb b. al-Qāsim—ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib: Muḥammad was killed after the late afternoon prayer on Monday, 14 Ramaḍān.

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar—his father: ʿĪsā sent someone to break into the prison, and we were brought before him while the battle between Muḥammad and ʿĪsā was still going on. We stayed where we had been thrown down before him until Muḥammad's head was brought to ʿĪsā. I said to my brother Yūsuf, "He will call upon us to identify him, but we will not do so for him, for we can [pretend to] be afraid that we could be wrong." When the head was brought ʿĪsā said, "Would you recognize Muḥammad?" "Yes," we said. "Take a look," said ʿĪsā; "is this he?" I cut in before Yūsuf, saying, "I see a great deal of blood and wounds but, by God, I cannot be sure that it is he." He released us from the irons, and we stayed with him through the entire night until morning. Eventually, ʿĪsā gave me jurisdiction over the area that lies between Mecca and Medina, a post that I held until Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān arrived. At this point Jaʿfar had me brought down to him and placed me under his own jurisdiction.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mītham—Abū Kaʿb: I was in ʿĪsā's presence at the time when he had Muḥammad killed and his head was placed before him. ʿĪsā turned to his associates and said, "What do you say about this fellow?" Those present slandered Muḥammad, but one of ʿĪsā's army commanders turned to them and said, "You have lied, by God, and spoken falsehoods. It was not for these reasons that we fought him. He set himself in opposition to the Commander of the Faithful and

1010. The son of the first ʿAbbāsid caliph. See note 394.

sowed dissension among the Muslims, even if he did rigorously keep the fast and pass the night in prayer." At these words those people fell silent.

According to ʿUmar—Ibn al-Bawwāb ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad[1011]—his father—al-Aslamī: Someone reached Abū Jaʿfar
[250] with a report that Muḥammad had fled. But the caliph called him a liar and declared, "We do not put the People of the House (*ahl al-bayt*)[1012] to flight."

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid b. Yazīd—Abū al-Ḥajjāj the camel driver: I was standing next to Abū Jaʿfar, as he questioned me about Muḥammad's revolt, when news reached him that ʿĪsā had been defeated. He sat up from a reclining position and struck his prayer rug with a stick he was carrying. "That cannot be," he exclaimed. "What would become of the games of our young lads there on the *minbar*s or of the gossiping chatter of the women? I cannot survive this."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—one of his associates: An arrow hit Abū al-Qalammas on the knee, the head becoming embedded. He worked at it but to no avail. Then someone told him to leave it alone until it began to fester, when it would come out. Therefore he let it be. When the enemy forces went looking for him after the rout, he had only gotten as far as the stony tract (al-Ḥarrah), because what hit him in the knee had slowed him down. But he kept working at the arrowhead until he extracted it. He then fell to his knees and emptied his quiver, shooting at them until they sheered off from him. Thus he caught up with his associates and was saved.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Qāsim: After our defeat that day, we were [standing around] in a group that included Abū al-Qalammas. I turned to him because suddenly he was overwhelmed with laughter. "By God," I said, "this is no place for laughter!" But lowering my glance, I saw one of the defeated soldiers whose shirt had been cut

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1011. See note 899.

1012. A Qur'ānic phrase that has come to designate the family of the Prophet Muḥammad, whether narrowly conceived as applying only to the ʿAlids or, more broadly, as embracing the Ṭālibids, ʿAbbāsids, and others. *EI*², s.v. (I. Goldziher, C. Van Arendonk, and A. S. Tritton); Bosworth, "Al-Maqrīzī's Epistle," 42–43; Daniel, "Anonymous 'History,'" 427–29.

to shreds, only its collar[1013] remaining. His breast was completely bare and, though he was quite unaware of it, even his genitals were in plain sight. Abū al-Qalammas' guffaws made me start to laugh.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Abū al-Qalammas stayed hidden in al-Furʿ,[1014] remaining there for some time. Then one of his slaves assaulted him and shattered his skull with a rock. The slave subsequently went to one of Abū Qalammas' concubines and said, "I have killed your master. Come to me now [251] and I'll marry you." "Wait a moment," she said, "and I shall prepare myself for you." So he gave her some time, but she went straight to the authorities and informed on him. The slave was therefore seized and his own skull shattered.

According to ʿUmar—Maḥmūd b. Maʿmar b. Abī al-Shadāʾid [al-Fazārī]—his father: When ʿĪsā's cavalry contingent entered [Medina] via the gorge of the Banū Fazārah[1015] and Muḥammad was killed, one group rushed recklessly against Abū al-Shadāʾid. They killed him and took his head.[1016] His daughter, al-Nāʿimah bt. Abī al-Shadāʾid, cried out, "Alas for the [fine] men!" One of the men in the army asked her, "Who are your menfolk?" "The Banū Fazārah," she said. "By God," he replied, "had I known that, I would not have entered your house. But don't be afraid; I am kin of yours from the Bāhilah tribe." He then gave her a snip from his turban, and she fastened it to her door.

Abū al-Shadāʾid's head was brought to ʿĪsā while Ibn Abī al-Karrām and Muḥammad b. Lūṭ b. al-Mughīrah b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[1017] were with him. They both intoned the formula "We are God's and to Him is our return" and said, "Of the people of Medina there is no one left. This is the head of Abū al-Shadāʾid Fāliḥ b. Maʿmar, a blind man of the Banū Fazārah."

1013. *Jurubbān*, from Persian *girībān* or *girbān*, is defined by Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 403, as the neck opening of a shirt, the part upon which the buttons are sewed. According to Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 181, it was the part of the shirt that covered the buttocks.

1014. Al-Furʿ was a city between Mecca and Medina, at a distance of eight posting stations from the latter. Cornu, *Répertoires*, 73; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 252.

1015. Fazārah was a component tribe of Dhubyān b. Baghīḍ. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, II, 246; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 255–59.

1016. See note 775.

1017. His great-grandfather Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith was the Prophet's cousin.

ʿĪsā commanded a herald to proclaim: "Whoever comes with a head will have his own head struck off."

According to ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Zādān—ʿAbdallāh b. Barqā: I saw one of ʿĪsā's army commanders come at the head of a group to ask where Ibn Hurmuz'[1018] abode was. We directed him there, and Ibn Hurmuz came out wearing a thin white shirt.[1019] They had their army commander get down, and they transported Ibn Hurmuz on the commander's nag. Thus they went forth conducting him in procession until they had brought him into ʿĪsā's presence. But ʿĪsā did nothing to alarm him.

According to ʿUmar—Qudāmah b. Muḥammad:[1020] ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Hurmuz and Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān rebelled with Muḥammad. When the fighting came, each of the two girded on
[252] a longbow. We assumed[1021] they wanted to show people that they were quite fit to do so.[1022]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Ḥusayn b. Yazīd: Ibn Hurmuz was brought to ʿĪsā after Muḥammad was killed, and ʿĪsā said, "O *shaykh*, shouldn't your good sense have kept you from rebelling with those who rebelled?" Ibn Hurmuz replied, "It was disaster that engulfed the people and engulfed us with them." "Follow a straight course [i.e., watch your step in the future]," said ʿĪsā.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah—Mālik b. Anas: I would go to see Ibn Hurmuz, and he would command a slave girl to bolt the door and to lower the curtain. Then he would reminisce about the early days of this *ummah*[1023] and weep until his beard was wet. When later he rebelled with Muḥammad, someone said to him, "By God, there's no fight left

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1018. Abū Bakr ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Hurmuz al-Aṣamm (d. 148/765) was a *muḥaddith* and *faqīh* of Medina known to be cautious in his legal pronouncements but a vigorous opponent of heterodoxy. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 380, recounts how on one occasion Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān kissed Ibn Hurmuz's head in gratitude for the latter's instruction. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 679; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, V, 284.

1019. *ʿAlayhi qamiṣun riyāṭun*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *rayṭ*.

1020. Qudāmah b. Muḥammad b. Qudāmah b. Khashram b. Yasār al-Ashjaʿī was a *muḥaddīth* of Medina. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 326–27.

1021. Following Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 599, with *fa-ẓanannā*.

1022. Note *a* in the Leiden text offers the explanation that "they were, of course, educated men who were unaccustomed to carrying bows."

1023. A term that signifies the Muslim community as a religio-political unit.

in you!" "I'm well aware of that," he replied, "yet some ignorant fellow may see me and follow my example."

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Muḥammad b. Zayd: When Muḥammad was killed, the sky was rent with a rainstorm unlike anything I've ever seen. ʿĪsā's herald cried out, "No one in the army should spend the night in Medina except Kathīr b. Ḥuṣayn and his men. ʿĪsā reached his encampment in al-Jurf and stayed there until morning. Then he sent news of the victory [to Abū Jaʿfar] with al-Qāsim b. Ḥasan b. Zayd and sent Muḥammad's head with Ibn Abī al-Karrām.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Morning found Muḥammad still lying where he had been killed. His sister Zaynab bt. ʿAbdallāh and his daughter Fāṭimah sent word to ʿĪsā, "You killed this man and have no further need of him. With your permission, we shall inter him." ʿĪsā sent word back to them, "As for what you mentioned, cousins, which bears upon what happened to Muḥammad: I did not order it, nor did I know of it, so inter him as two upright women would." They sent[1024] for Muḥammad, and he was brought to them. It is said that the slash in his neck was stuffed with a corresponding amount of cotton. He was buried in al-Baqīʿ [cemetery], his tomb facing the alley of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's house, at the entrance to the main road or thereabouts. ʿĪsā sent some flags, and one was placed on the door of Asmāʾ bt. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh, another on al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith's, another on Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Zuhrī's door, another on ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṣafwān's, and yet another on the door of Abū ʿAmr al-Ghifārī's house. His herald proclaimed, "Whoever enters under one of these flags or enters one of these houses is under our protection." The heavens poured down copious rain, but in the morning the people went peacefully about their marketplaces. ʿĪsā began to go back and forth to the mosque from al-Jurf, remaining in Medina for several days. Then he left for Mecca on the morning of 19 Ramaḍān.[1025]

1024. Following Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 600, *fa-baʿathatā*.
1025. Saturday, December 22, 762.

According to ʿUmar—Azhar b. Saʿīd: The day after Muḥammad was killed, ʿĪsā gave permission for his burial but commanded that his associates be gibbeted between Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ and Dār ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Azhar said, "I saw them in two rows. ʿĪsā entrusted Ibn Khuḍayr's stake to the one guarding it, but some people carried it away during the night and buried him before anyone could stop them. The other bodies remained gibbeted for three days. Then the people began to find them noisome, so ʿĪsā ordered them to be thrown on the open area (*mafraj*)[1026] in Salʿ, which was the graveyard of the Jews. They were not left there, however, but were subsequently thrown into a trench at the base of Dhubāb."

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh—his mother, Umm
[254] Ḥusayn bt. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn: I said to my uncle Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad,[1027] "May I be your ransom, what happened to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh?" He said, "Muḥammad was killed near the Bayt Rūmī[1028] in the civil disorder that he instigated. His brother was killed in Iraq by the same father when the hooves of his horse were in water."[1029]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: Ḥamzah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī[1030] took part in the uprising with Muḥammad. Although his uncle Jaʿfar forbade him to do so, Ḥamzah remained one of Muḥammad's staunchest supporters. Jaʿfar kept saying to Ḥamzah, "By God, he will be killed," and himself played no active part.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Ibn Abī al-Karrām: ʿĪsā sent me to Abū Jaʿfar, accompanied by 100 soldiers, with the head of Muḥammad. When we reached a point overlooking al-Najaf, we shouted *Allāhu akbar*. ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl[1031] was in Wāsiṭ besieging

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1026. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLI; *Glossarium*, s.v. *faraja*; Groom, *Arabic Topography*, 88, 161.

1027. I.e., Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

1028. See Nagel, "Bericht," 261, where the site is thus rendered but with no identification.

1029. See Ṭabarī, III, 314, for the offensive (or defensive) use of water in Ibrāhīm's final battle.

1030. A nephew of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

1031. ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥārithī al-Muslī (d. 157/773–74), of the Banū Musliyah b. ʿĀmir, was an officer in the ʿAbbāsid revolution who pursued Marwān to Egypt

Hārūn b. Saʿd al-ʿIjlī[1032] at that time, so Abū Jaʿfar asked al-Rabīʿ, "Woe to you, why this shout of *Allāhu akbar*?" "That is Ibn Abī al-Karrām," said al-Rabīʿ, "who has come with the head of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh." Abū Jaʿfar said, "Allow him to enter along with ten of those who are with him." Al-Rabīʿ therefore gave me permission, and I set the head before the caliph on a shield. Abū Jaʿfar asked, "What members of his family were killed with him?" "No one," I said, "by God, not a man." "God be praised, so this is he?" exclaimed Abū Jaʿfar. He then lifted Muḥammad's head up to al-Rabīʿ and asked, "What did his associate who was here earlier tell us?" Al-Rabīʿ replied, "He suggested that a large number of them were killed." "No," I insisted, "by God, not a one."

According to ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mītham: When Abū Jaʿfar was brought Muḥammad's head while in al-Kūfah, he ordered it to be carried about on a white plate. I saw it when it had become brown and spotted. That evening the caliph had it sent to the outlying provinces.

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥabīb of the people of Yanbuʿ: When Abū Jaʿfar was brought the heads of the Banū [255]
Shujāʿ he said, "So this is what people come to! I searched for Muḥammad, but these men provided cover for him. They moved him from place to place and accompanied him in these moves. Then they fought with him, remaining steadfast until they were killed."

According to ʿUmar: ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm,[1033] Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah b. Muṣʿab, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah and others quoted to me the poem of

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and, along with Shuʿbah b. Kathīr al-Māzinī, killed him at Būṣīr. He died in Baghdad, and Abū Jaʿfar offered prayers over his corpse. Ṭabarī, III, 46, 49, 380; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 110; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 590; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 262, II, 160.

1032. Hārūn b. Saʿd al-ʿIjlī was a Kūfan *muḥaddith*, *faqīh*, and poet who had earlier supported Zayd b. ʿAlī's revolt. He died in hiding about 150/768. Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VIII, 60; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 309, 314 = *Opkomst*, 282, 287; *GAS*, I, 560; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 6, 7.

1033. Abū Nūḥ ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūḥ (d. 255/869) was the secretary of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān, an adopted son of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, who served in several important capacities under his successor, al-Mutawakkil, and was murdered with him. Ṭabarī, III, 1462.

ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr[1034] who, elegizing Muḥammad, recited:

You weep for Mudillah,[1035] as they were hunted, lassoed by
ʿĪsā,[1036] who aimed a shrewd hit at ʿUthmān.[1037]
Why not for the Mahdī, and the two sons of Muṣʿab,
did you shed your tears, pouring them out, flowing like rain?
And for Ibrāhīm's loss when there parted from him
the throngs and [alone] he faced his opponents?
But your tears have flowed astray, and you arouse in me
the torments of an emotion evoking sorrows.
By God, midwives have never delivered the like of them,
keenest and loftiest in lineage and status.
First to rise up and first to speak,
rejecting slander from the well-springs of justice.
There, were you to gouge out, without disfigurement,
your eyes from anguish, you'd be publicly excused.
A calamity, by your life, if the like struck
Mayṭān,[1038] Mayṭān would be split open by it.

Ibn Muṣʿab said:

O my two friends, stop scolding and know
that I am not in this more blameworthy than you.
Stop at the son [descendant] of the Prophet's tomb and offer greeting.
There's no harm in stopping and offering greeting
[256] To a tomb that contains the best man of his time
in rank and good temper and generous spirit.

1034. ʿĀʾid al-Kalb ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab (d. 184/800) served various posts under the caliphs al-Mahdī and al-Hādī and was governor of Medina and the Yemen for Hārūn al-Rashīd. His son, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, was a noted geneaologist of the Quraysh. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 618–19; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 25; *GAS*, I, 271–72, II, 647–48; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 138.

1035. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLI, gives this vocalization although the name has been previously vocalized at III, 185, as Mudallah in a reference to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan.

1036. I.e., ʿĪsā b. Khuḍayr.

1037. I.e., ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. al-Zubayr, the son of Abū Jaʿfar's former governor of Medina.

1038. Taking the reading in note *l* of the Leiden text, which is the name of a mountain in the vicinity of Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān* V, 243–44.

A man who refuted with justice the injustice of our land
and wiped out monstrous deeds and gave graciously.
He neither avoided the path's goal nor swerved
from it; he did not open his mouth with vile speech.
Had fortune [good and bad] magnified anything between the
Prophet's time and his, then you would be the one glorified
in him.
Or allowed anyone to enjoy well-being before him,
the goal of it would be that he should be made safe.
They sacrificed in Ibrāhīm the finest victim,
his days were severed as was he.
A hero who by himself plunged into their adversities,
neither wavering, nor trembling,[1039] nor yielding
Until the swords passed into him. Perhaps
the swords were their deaths;[1040] perhaps.
A sacrifice were the Banū Ḥasan. Their sacred things have been
laid bare
among us, their plunder has been scattered.
In their homes their women weep,
cooing like doves when doves trill.
They used killing them to seek favor and see it
as an honor for themselves in the Imām's eyes and as an
advantage.
By God, had the Prophet Muḥammad witnessed,
(God's blessing on the Prophet and peace)
His *ummah* pointing spears at his son [descendant]
until blood drips from their spearheads,
In truth, he would know for sure that they had squandered
this kinship and made lawful what is forbidden.

According to ʿUmar—Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Ibrāhīm—Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan: One night I left our dwellings in Suwayqah[1041]—that was before Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's revolt—when suddenly I saw some women who looked as if they had come from our houses. I was concerned about them, so to see

1039. *[Lā] riʿahan.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLI.
1040. *Kānat ḥutūfahum al-suyūfu.* Ibid.
1041. Suwayqah was an area in Medina where the family of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib lived. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 286–87.

where they were heading, I followed them as far as the outskirts of al-Ḥumayrāʾ[1042] toward al-Ghars.[1043] One of them then turned
[257] to me and said:

Suwayqah, once occupied, is now ruined.
Now in the evening has desolation afflicted it.[1044]

I then realized that they were jinn[1045] so I went back.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: When ʿĪsā b. Mūsā killed Muḥammad he seized all the assets of the Ḥasanids, and Abū Jaʿfar subsequently declared this lawful.

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar:[1046] Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad[1047] met Abū Jaʿfar and said, "O Commander of the Faithful give me back my land grant, the spring of Abū Ziyād, so that I may eat from its palm boughs." "How dare you speak in such a manner!" retorted the caliph. "By God, I shall really give you a bad time." Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad replied, "Don't be too hasty with me. I have already reached sixty-three years of age, the age when my father and my grandfather and[1048] ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib died. May I thus be held accountable if I have ever caused you a moment's unease or, if I should outlive you, if I do so to the one who comes after you." So Abū Jaʿfar had sympathy for him and forgave him.

According to ʿUmar—Hishām b. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Rāshid: Abū Jaʿfar did not return the spring of Abū Ziyād before his death, but eventually al-Mahdī gave it back to Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad's descendants.

According to ʿUmar—Hishām b. Ibrāhīm: When Muḥammad was killed, Abū Jaʿfar ordered a sea embargo against the people of Medina. Nothing was transported to them from the area of al-

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1042. Al-Ḥumayrāʾ was a date-palm grove near Medina. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 306.

1043. Wādī al-Ghars lay between Maʿdin al-Naqrah and Fadak. "Ghars" was also the name of a spring in Medina whose water was blessed by the Prophet. He asked ʿAlī that his corpse be washed with it before burial. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 193.

1044. *Laqad amsat ajadda bihā al-kharābu*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *jadda*.

1045. *Sākinī al-arḍ*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *sakana*.

1046. On this passage see Nagel, "Bericht," 257–58.

1047. I.e., Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

1048. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 603, offers the alternate reading "and my forefather, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib," which would satisfy those traditions that place the death date of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's grandfather ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn well short of the age of sixty-three.

Jār[1049] until al-Mahdī became caliph and lifted the embargo, permitting transport.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Ibrāhīm—his mother, Umm Salamah bt. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, the wife of Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh: The sons of the Makhzūmī woman,[1050] i.e., ʿĪsā,[1051] Sulaymān[1052] and Idrīs,[1053] sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan quarreled with the sons of [258] Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan about ʿAbdallāh's legacy, saying, "Your father Muḥammad was killed and ʿAbdallāh had made him his heir."[1054] They took the dispute to al-Ḥasan b. Zayd[1055] who, in turn, wrote to the Commander of the Faithful, Abū Jaʿfar, about the matter. The caliph replied as follows: "When this letter of mine reaches you, make them the heirs of their grandfather. I return their assets to them in recognition of their relationship and to protect their kinship connection."

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: Among those of the Hāshimites who rebelled with Muḥammad were al-Ḥasan, Yazīd, and Ṣāliḥ, the sons of Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, and Ḥusayn and ʿĪsā, the sons of Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[1056]

1049. Al-Jār was a town on the Red Sea, some fifty kilometers south of Yanbuʿ, that served as the supply port for Medina. *EI*², s.v. (A. Dietrich); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 74; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 92–94.

1050. ʿĀtikah bt. ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith b. Khālid b. al-ʿĀṣī. The Banū Makhzūm were a prominent clan of Quraysh, some of whose female members became wives of Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid caliphs. *EI*², s.v. Makhzūm (M. Hinds); Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 433.

1051. One of the several half-brothers of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm; this is his only mention in Ṭabarī. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 396.

1052. Eponymous founder of the Maghribī Sulaymānid dynasty, he died during the revolt of Ṣāḥib Fakhkh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī in 169/785–86. Ṭabarī, III, 559; Öhrnberg, *Offspring of Fāṭima*, 26; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 433.

1053. Known as al-Aṣghar (d. 175/791), Idrīs escaped the massacre following the defeat of his nephew Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, eventually settled in the area of Tlemcen, and founded the Idrīsid dynasty. Ṭabarī, III, 560–61; *EI*², s.v. Idrīs I (D. Eustache); Öhrnberg, *Offspring of Fāṭima*, 30; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 487–91; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VIII, 318–19.

1054. Because there is no right of representation in Sunnī law, Muḥammad's sons would have had no de jure entitlement to their deceased father's inheritance from his father. Schacht, *Islamic Law*, 170.

1055. See note 410.

1056. Zayd b. ʿAlī, son the the fourth *imām*, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, and eponymous founder of the Zaydiyyah (d. 121/739 or 122/740), staged an armed rebellion in al-Kūfah during the caliphate of Hishām b. Yazīd. While acknowledging the opin-

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: I heard that Abū Jaʿfar used to say, "Whoever would have believed that the sons of Zayd b. ʿAlī would join the uprising when we had killed their father's killer just as he killed Zayd b. ʿAlī, gibbeted him just as he did and consigned him to fire just as he consigned Zayd b. ʿAlī." Other rebels were Ḥamzah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and ʿAlī and Zayd, the sons of Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

According to ʿĪsā: Abū Jaʿfar said to al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, "It's as if I could see your two sons standing beside Muḥammad with two swords, each wearing a long-sleeved tunic." "O Commander of the Faithful," replied al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, "I have bemoaned their unruliness to you before today." Abū Jaʿfar said, "Certainly, and this is what comes from that." Other rebels were al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib and al-Murajjā ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar b. Isḥāq b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.[1057]

According to ʿĪsā: Abū Jaʿfar said to Jaʿfar b. Isḥāq, "Who is this al-Murajjā? God do such and such to him!" Jaʿfar b. Isḥāq said, "O
[259] Commander of the Faithful, that one is my son. By God, if you want me to sever relations with him, I shall certainly do so." Among those of the Banū ʿAbd Shams[1058] who rebelled was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams.

According to ʿUmar—Abū ʿĀṣim al-Nabīl—ʿAbbād b. Kathīr:[1059] Ibn ʿAjlān[1060] joined Muḥammad's rebellion on a mule. When Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān was appointed governor of Medina, he put Ibn ʿAjlān in chains. I went to see Jaʿfar and asked, "How do you suppose the people of al-Baṣrah feel about the man who put al-Ḥasan[1061] in chains?" "By God, badly," he said.

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ions of other historians, Ṭabarī, II, 1667–89, 1698–1716, places the events of his death in the year 121/738–39. *EI*[1], s.v. Zaid b. ʿAlī (R. Strothmann); Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 127–51.

1057. A descendant of the Prophet's cousin Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.

1058. ʿAbd Shams was a clan of Quraysh. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 4, 8, II, 131; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, 45, 58 = Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 68, 87.

1059. ʿAbbād b. Kathīr al-Thaqafī was a Meccan *muḥaddith* (although born in al-Baṣrah) who died about 170/786–87. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 613; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 106; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 87–89.

1060. ʿAbū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān. See note 926.

1061. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), who has been dubbed "the patriarch of Muslim mysticism" (Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, 30), was greatly admired

"Well," I replied, "Ibn ʿAjlān's situation here is like al-Ḥasan's there." Therefore Jaʿfar let Ibn ʿAjlān go. Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān was the *mawlā* of Fāṭimah bt. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd Shams.

According to ʿUmar—Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh: ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. ʿĀṣim[1062] took part in Muḥammad's uprising. After Muḥammad was killed, ʿUbaydallāh was brought before Abū Jaʿfar, and the caliph said to him, "You are one of those who joined Muḥammad's rebellion against me." "I had no choice," replied ʿUbaydallāh, "but that or disbelief (*kufr*) in what God sent down upon [our Prophet] Muḥammad." (ʿUmar regarded this tradition as conjectural.)

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Salamah b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar: ʿUbaydallāh had responded to Muḥammad's call to join his uprising but then died before he could do so. Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sabrah b. Abī Ruhm b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Abī Qays b. ʿAbd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy rebelled with Muḥammad. Other partisans were ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī ʿAwn,[1063] the *mawlā* [260]
of al-Azd, ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar b. Makhrimah, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad al-Darāwardī, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAṭāʾ b. Yaʿqūb,[1064] the *mawlā* of the Banū Sibāʿ[1065] (Ibn Sibāʿ of Khuzāʿah was ally to the Banū Zuhrah), his sons Ibrāhīm and Isḥāq as well as Rabīʿah, Jaʿfar, ʿAbdallāh, ʿAṭāʾ, Yaʿqūb, ʿUthmān, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, [also] the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAṭāʾ.

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah b. Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr—al-Zubayr b. Khubayb b. Thābit b.

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for his ascetic piety and his rhetorical skill. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 587, reports that all of al-Baṣrah prayed at his funeral. *EI*², s.v. (H. Ritter).

1062. Abū ʿUthmān ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar (d. 147/764), a descendant of the third caliph, was a noted *muḥaddith* and *faqīh* of Medina. *GAS*, I, 89; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 35; Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 313 = *Opkomst*, 286; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, IV, 195.

1063. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was a trustworthy *muḥaddith* of Medina. According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 388, his devotion to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan aroused Abū Jaʿfar's suspicions. This prompted ʿAbd al-Wāḥid to go into hiding with Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtbah (who is mentioned as transmitting on his authority), where he died unexpectedly. Ṭabarī, III, 2456.

1064. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAṭāʾ, a *muḥaddith* and *faqīh*, went into hiding after Muḥammad's uprising but was eventually put to death during Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān's tenure as governor of Medina. Van Arendonk, *Débuts*, 313 = *Opkomst*, 286.

1065. Sibāʿ b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā was a clan of the Banū al-Ḥārithah. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 200, II, 512.

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr: I was in al-Murr in Baṭn Iḍam[1066] accompanied by my wife, Amīnah bt. Khuḍayr, when a man passed us ascending from Medina. She asked him, "How's Muḥammad doing?" "He's been killed," the man replied. She then asked, "How's Ibn Khuḍayr doing?" "He, too, has been killed," he answered. At this news she fell to the ground in prostration. When I asked whether she was prostrating herself because her brother was killed, she said, "Yes; why was he not put to flight or captured?"

According to ʿĪsā—his father: Abū Jaʿfar asked ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, "Who came to Muḥammad's assistance?" "The family of al-Zubayr," said ʿĪsā. When the caliph asked, "Who else?" ʿĪsā named ʿUmar's family. At this the caliph exclaimed, "By God, it certainly is for something other than his friendship for them or [their] love for him or his family!" Abū Jaʿfar used to say, "Were I to find 1,000 from al-Zubayr's family, all of them good except for one evildoer, I would kill the whole lot. But if I were to find 1,000 of ʿUmar's family, all of them evil except for one good man, I would forgive the whole lot."

According to ʿUmar—Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah b. Muṣʿab—Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. al-Zubayr: When Muḥammad was killed, my father fled, as did
[261] Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan.[1067] Abū Habbār al-Muzanī and I were with them. We first came to Mecca and then descended to al-Baṣrah, where we hired [mounts] from a man named Ḥakīm. Arriving at al-Baṣrah after the night was well advanced, we found the entrances closed off and sat nearby until daybreak. Then we entered and dismounted at the Mirbad.[1068] In the early morning hours we sent Ḥakīm to buy food for us. He had it brought by a black man wearing a leg iron.[1069] When the man carried the food in to us, Ḥakīm paid him his wage, but the black became angry

1066. Al-Murr is identified as a *wādī* in Baṭn Iḍam or as Baṭn Iḍam itself. "Iḍam" was the name of a *wādī* belonging to the Ashjaʿ and Juhaynah tribes and the name of a mountain between al-Yamāmah and Ḍariyyah. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 214, V, 106.

1067. See note 411.

1068. The Mirbad was a vast open area where caravans stopped and camels and other animals were traded. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 97–99; *EI*², s.v. (C. Pellat); Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 11–12.

1069. The account in Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 392, offers some variation: The black bearer is described as an insignificant porter, but there is no specific mention of leg irons. When asked his wage, he first set it at four *dawāniq*, which would have

with us. We told Ḥakīm to increase the amount, but the fellow was still angry. At this point, we said to Ḥakīm, "Woe to you, double the amount for him." Ḥakīm refused, beginning to have some misgivings about us. He started to take a close look at our faces and then left. Before long cavalry surrounded our house. We asked the landlady why they had come, but she said, "Don't be concerned about them. They are looking for one of the Banū Saʿd[1070] named Numaylah b. Murrah[1071] who joined Ibrāhīm's rebellion." And, indeed, we only became concerned when the black man was brought into our presence with his head and face covered. When he was brought in the covering was removed, and he was asked, "Are these the ones?" "Yes," he said, "these are the ones. This one is Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh, this other is ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad, and this third is ʿUthmān's son. The fourth I recognize only as one of their associates." Together we were seized and brought before Muḥammad b. Sulaymān.[1072] Looking at us, he approached Mūsā and said, "May God not keep your line intact! Why have all of you left your land and come to me? If I release you, I will be opposing the Commander of the Faithful. Yet if I seize you, I am severing your lineage." Muḥammad b. Sulaymān then wrote to the Commander of the Faithful, while we were placed in irons.[1073] The caliph responded that we be transported to him. Accordingly, we were dispatched to him in the company of an army contingent. Upon arrival in al- Baṭīḥah,[1074] we found

been about two-thirds of a dirham. Although this amount was then paid to him, he remained unsatisfied, so that his recompense was subsequently increased more than fourfold. Contented with this amount, he then left.

1070. The Banū Saʿd al-Fizr was a large component group of Tamīm. *EI*[1], s.v. Saʿd al-Fizr (F. Krenkow); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 59, 75, II, 497.

1071. When Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh took control of al-Baṣrah, he made Numaylah b. Murrah al-ʿAbshamī his administrator there. Ṭabarī, III, 301; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 281; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 215–16.

1072. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās was a cousin of Abū al-ʿAbbās and Abū Jaʿfar. He followed his father as governor of al-Baṣrah and held that position at the time of his death in 173/789–90, during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He also governed al-Kūfah for a time. Ṭabarī, III, 607–8; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, III, 121–23; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 40, 43.

1073. *Wa-ḥaddadnā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥadda*; Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 606, offers the alternative reading *bi-khabarinā*, "with news of us."

1074. Al-Baṭīḥah is the marsh area created by the lower Tigris and Euphrates between al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah. *EI*[2], s.v. (M. Streck and Saleh El-Ali); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 27; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 450–51.

another contingent awaiting us. We came by one army post to another all the way to Baghdad. Once there, we were brought before
[262] Abū Jaʿfar. Looking at my father, he said, "Now then, did you join Muḥammad's rebellion against me?" "That is so," my father replied. Abū Jaʿfar shouted coarse remarks at him and kept at him for a long time. Finally, he ordered him to be beheaded. He next commanded Mūsā to be beaten with scourges and ordered that I be brought to him, saying, "Have them bring him in and make him stand right next to his father. While he is looking at him, behead him over his father's cadaver." ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī spoke to the caliph, saying, "By God, I would not judge he has yet reached manhood." I added, "O Commander of the Faithful, I am but a lad, a gullible youth, simply obeying my father's command." Abū Jaʿfar therefore ordered me to be given fifty lashes and had me confined in the Muṭbaq.[1075] One of the inmates at that time was Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd,[1076] who was extremely kind to me and of whom I grew very fond. He even fed me from his food and let me drink from what he had. Such was our situation until Abū Jaʿfar died and al-Mahdī assumed the caliphate. At that point he released Yaʿqūb, who spoke with al-Mahdī on my behalf, so that the caliph let me go [too].

According to ʿUmar—Ayyūb b. ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Khālid—Muḥammad b. ʿUrwah b. Hishām b. ʿUrwah: I was with Abū Jaʿfar when someone came and told him that ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid had just been brought in.[1077] When the caliph had him brought in and Abū Jaʿfar saw him, he said, "Where's the money you had?" "I handed it over to the Commander of the Faithful, may God have mercy upon him," ʿUthmān replied. "And who," asked the caliph, "is the Commander of the Faithful?" "Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh," he said. The caliph asked, "Did you give him the oath of allegiance?" "Yes," answered ʿUthmān, "just as you did." Abū Jaʿfar retorted, "O son

1075. The Muṭbaq was a fortress-like prison that al-Manṣūr built in the southwest quadrant of Baghdad. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 27, and Lassner, *Topography*, 243, both of whom vocalize it as *maṭbaq*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ṭabaqa*, gives the vocalization *muṭbaq*, as does Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 26.

1076. Abū ʿAbdallāh Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd (d. 186/802) became vizier to Abū Jaʿfar's son, the caliph al-Mahdī. He eventually fell from favor for suspected treason and was imprisoned once again. *EI*², s.v. [S. Moscati]; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 155–63.

1077. See note 741.

of an uncircumcised woman!" To this ʿUthmān replied, "That is said of those whom slave women have born."[1078] The caliph then ordered him to be executed so ʿUthmān was dragged away and beheaded.

According to ʿUmar—Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar—Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān [b. Muḥammad] b. Khālid al-Zubayrī: At the time Muḥammad made his uprising one of those who joined him was a man from the family of Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt.[1079] When Muḥammad was killed and his partisans were routed and went into hiding, my father and the Kathīrī disappeared with them. They remained hidden until Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān was made governor of Medina and intensified the search for Muḥammad's asso- [263]
ciates. At this point my father hired camels belonging to the Kathīrī, and we [all] left Medina for al-Baṣrah. Jaʿfar heard about this and wrote to his brother Muḥammad to let him know that we were on our way to al-Baṣrah. He ordered him to keep an eye out for us and to be alert to our situation and our progress. When we arrived, therefore, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān knew of it and knew where we were. He sent men for us, and we were seized and brought before him. My father turned to him and said, "Listen here, go in fear of God in your treatment of this fellow who rented mounts to us. He's a bedouin who knows nothing about us. Wanting to keep body and soul together, he simply rented [mounts] to us. Had he known of our offense, he never would have done so. If you make him vulnerable to Abū Jaʿfar, whose nature you know well, you will be his killer and bear the guilt of his death." Muḥammad b. Sulaymān was silent for a long time and then he said, "He, by God, is Abū Jaʿfar; I will not oppose him." We were then transported all together and taken before Abū Jaʿfar. No one in the caliph's entourage recognized the Kathīrī except al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. He went up to him and said, "O enemy of God, are you in the habit of renting [mounts] to the Commander of the Faithful's enemy and conveying him from one country to another? Do you sometimes hide him away and at other times let him show

1078. *Dhāka man qāmat ʿanhu al-imāʾu.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qāma.* Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 553, glosses this as a reference to al-Manṣūr himself; see also note 817.

1079. Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt was a clan of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 239, II, 370.

himself?" "O Commander of the Faithful," the Kathīrī replied, "I know nothing about him, his crime, or his enmity toward you. I simply hired [mounts] out to him, knowing nothing about him and thinking him merely a Muslim of innocent intention and sound purpose.[1080] Had I been aware of his case, I would not have done so." Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd bent down to look at the ground and did not raise his head, while Abū Jaʿfar threatened the Kathīrī and tried to intimidate him. Finally, he ordered him to be released, and the man went off into hiding. The caliph then turned to my father and said, "Now then, ʿUthmān, so you rebel against the
[264] Commander of the Faithful and help to oppose him?" ʿUthmān replied, "I gave the oath of allegiance to a man in Mecca just as you did. I lived up to my oath while you betrayed yours." The caliph ordered him to be beheaded.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—his father: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was brought before Abū Jaʿfar. The caliph looked at him, and said, "If I kill a Qurashī like this, whom shall I spare?" Then he released him. Subsequently, ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad b. Khālid was brought before him. He had him killed, while yet releasing a number of Qurashīs. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, how unlucky this one was with you among all the rest!" "Indeed," replied the caliph, "this one comes from a noble family."[1081]

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā—Ḥasan b. Zayd: I went to see Abū Jaʿfar one morning and discovered that he had ordered a bench to be made on which he then took up his position, without moving. ʿAlī b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanṭab was brought before him, and he commanded that ʿAlī be given 500 lashes. Next, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muṭīʿ[1082] was brought forward,

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1080. This follows Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 608, with the transcription of *barīʾ*.

1081. *Inna hādhā baytiyyun*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLII, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *bāta* as *nobili familia ortus est*, and Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 132. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 608, offers the alternative *hādhā yadī*, "this is my power," i.e., "this is what lies within my discretion."

1082. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm was a grandson of Abdallāh b. Muṭīʿ b. al-Aswad al-ʿAdawī, who led the Qurashī opposition against the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah and fought in the battle of the Ḥarrah. He later became ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr's governor of al-Kūfah and perished with the anticaliph in 73/692. Ṭabarī, II, 413, 601–37 *passim*; *EI²*, s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen and C. Pellat); Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 620–21.

and the caliph ordered him to be flogged 500 lashes. Neither of them made the slightest move, prompting Abū Jaʿfar to say to me, "Have you ever seen anyone with more endurance than these two? By God, those who've lived rough and toilsome lives have been brought before us, but they have not shown this sort of endurance. These men, on the other hand, are used to a life of ease, shelter, and comfort." "O Commander of the Faithful," I replied, "these are your people, people of nobility and rank." He turned away from me, saying, "All you care about is [tribal] solidarity." After that he had ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ibrāhīm brought back for a beating. "O Commander of the Faithful," implored ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, "God, God be with us. Lord knows I've been flat on my face for forty nights, not once able to pray to God." The caliph replied, "This is something which you've brought upon yourselves." "But [265]
where is forgiveness, O Commander of the Faithful?" begged ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. To this Abū Jaʿfar responded, "All right, you're forgiven." Then he released him.

According to ʿUmar—al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: ʿĪsā's forces outnumbered Muḥammad's and fought relentlessly until Muḥammad was finally killed in the middle of the month of Ramaḍān in 145. His head was carried to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who called for Ibn Abī al-Karrām and had him look at it. He recognized it as Muḥammad, so ʿĪsā b. Mūsā made a prostration, entered Medina, and gave all the people amnesty. From the time of his uprising until the time he was killed, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh held out for two months and seventeen days.

In this year ʿĪsā b. Mūsā appointed Kathīr b. Ḥuṣayn as his deputy when he left Medina after Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan was killed. Kathīr b. Ḥuṣayn's term as governor of Medina lasted one month. Then ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ al-Ḥārithī arrived as governor of Medina on behalf of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr.

In this year the blacks in Medina rebelled against ʿAbdallāh b. Rabīʿ and he fled from them.

The Uprising of the Blacks in Medina in This Year and What Incited It

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān had installed Abū Bakr b.

ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah as tax collector over Asad and Ṭayyiʾ.[1083] When Muḥammad rebelled, Abū Bakr took what he had collected to Muḥammad and threw in his lot with him. When ʿĪsā made
[266] Kathīr b. Ḥuṣayn his deputy in Medina, the latter seized Abū Bakr, beat him with seventy lashes, bound him in irons, and imprisoned him. Then ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ arrived as governor on Saturday, 25 Shawwāl 145, on behalf of Abū Jaʿfar. His troops got into a dispute with the merchants about some of the purchases that they made from them. Eventually a group of merchants went off to the Dār Marwān, where Ibn al-Rabīʿ was staying, and complained to him about the situation. But Ibn al-Rabīʿ yelled at them and called them names. At this, the army began to act against the merchants with even greater avidity, and both sides grew increasingly hostile to each other.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUmar b. Rāshid: The troops made off with various goods from the market. One morning they came upon a money changer named ʿUthmān b. Zayd and tried to wrest his purse away from him. ʿUthmān yelled for help, thus saving his money from them. At this juncture the leading citizens of Medina met and complained to Ibn al-Rabīʿ about the matter. Ibn al-Rabīʿ, however, did nothing to either condemn or bring about a change in the troops' behavior. On Friday a soldier came to buy meat from a butcher but refused to pay his price, drawing his sword against him instead. From under the butcher's block the butcher came at him with a big knife and stabbed the soldier in the hip. The man tumbled from his mount, and all the butchers fell upon him and killed him. The blacks issued a call against the army as they went to the Friday prayer (*jumʿah*), killing the soldiers with clubs on all sides. They kept at this until well into evening, and the next morning Ibn al-Rabīʿ fled.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: The blacks sounded a trumpet they had. People from high and low in Medina told me that they saw black men living there stop whatever work they were doing and listen to the trumpet

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1083. Asad b. Khuzaymah and Ṭayyiʾ b. Udad were North Arabian tribes whose histories include both mutual alliances and warfare. *EI*², s.v. Asad (W. Caskel); *EI*¹, s.v. Ṭaiy (H. H. Bräu); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab* I, 3, 50, 176, 249, II, 194, 555; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 190–2, 398–99.

blast, cocking their ears to it until they were quite certain of the sound. Then the black would drop whatever he held and follow the sound until he reached it. ʿUmar continued: That was Friday, [267]
22 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 145. There were three individuals who led the blacks, Wathīq,[1084] Yaʿqul, and Ramaqah. During the morning they broke in upon Ibn al-Rabīʿ and the people during the Friday prayer. The blacks hurried the people out from the prescribed prayer, and Ibn al-Rabīʿ went out against them. They chased after him as far as the market, where he passed five people who were begging on the road to the mosque. In company with those who were with him, Ibn al-Rabīʿ attacked and killed them. Then he passed some small boys on a house ledge and, supposing that the people [he sought] were among them, he told them to come down, tricking them with guarantees of safety. But when they actually descended, he had them beheaded. He continued on and stopped near the wheat dealers. There the blacks attacked him [again], so he took off in flight. They followed him as far as the Baqīʿ cemetery, where they overtook him. At this point he scattered dirhams before the blacks, thereby distracting them, and kept going straight ahead until he encamped in Baṭn Nakhl some two nights out of Medina.

According to ʿUmar—ʿĪsā: The blacks rebelled against Ibn al-Rabīʿ. Their leaders were Wathīq, Ḥadyā, ʿUnqūd, and Abū Qays. Ibn al-Rabīʿ fought them, but they routed him, so he left [Medina] and went to stay in Baṭn Nakhl.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUmar b. Rāshid: When Ibn al-Rabīʿ fled, the blacks pounced upon various food supplies belonging to Abū Jaʿfar, such as barley mush, flour, oil, and hard dates, and confiscated them. The load of flour was worth two dirhams, whereas the skin of oil was worth four dirhams.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: The blacks raided both the Dār Marwān and the Dār Yazīd, two places contining food supplies that had been brought to the army by sea, and left nothing in either location. On that day, Sulaymān b. Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān left to go to Abū Jaʿfar. As soon as he reached him, he informed Abū Jaʿfar of the situation.

1084. Wathīq is earlier identified, III, 219, as the trumpet blower in al-Ḥasan b. Muʿāwiyah's attack on Abū Jaʿfar's governor of Mecca, al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh.

[268] According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Since the blacks killed a number of the troops, the army was so intimidated by them that if a cavalry man encountered a black man wearing nothing but a light shirt and two rags over his private parts, the black would scornfully turn his back on him but would then waste no time in bashing him with one of the market poles and killing him. They said that these blacks were nothing but sorcerers or satans.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUthāmah b. ʿAmr al-Sahmī—al-Musawwar b. ʿAbd al-Malik:[1085] When Ibn al-Rabīʿ imprisoned Abū Bakr b. Abī Sabrah for bringing the taxes (*jibāyah*) from Ṭayyiʾ and Asad and handing them over to Muḥammad, the Qurashīs felt sympathy for Ibn Abī Sabrah. When the blacks rebelled against Ibn al-Rabīʿ, Ibn Abī Sabrah left the prison, addressed the people, and called upon them to remain loyal. He acted as prayer leader for the people until Ibn al-Rabīʿ returned.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Ibn Abī Sabrah left the prison and went on to the mosque still wearing irons. He sent for Muḥammad b. ʿImrān,[1086] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz,[1087] and others. These men came and met with him, and he said, "I swear this is a catastrophe that has befallen. If it runs its full course against us, in the Commander of the Faithful's eyes, especially after the first action [i.e., Muḥammad's rebellion], it will lead to the destruction of the land and its people. The slaves are all in the market. So, for God's sake, won't you go and talk them into returning and coming around to your point of view? They have no proper discipline and have pressed no claim to authority. They're simply a group motivated by passion." They did go to the slaves and spoke with them. At which the latter said, "Welcome, masters of ours. We attacked only out of resentment at what's been done to you. Our hands join yours, and our affair is at your disposal." They then went forward to the mosque with them.

1085. Al-Musawwar b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Yarbūʿī; he also transmits from ʿUthāmah (ʿImāmah) b. al-Sahmī in I, 1313.

1086. Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah. See note 584.

1087. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī. See note 512.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zabālah—al- [269]
Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab:[1088] When the blacks made their uprising and Ibn al-Rabīʿ fled, I went to see them, accompanied by certain others, at their encampment in the market. We asked them to disperse, informing them that neither we nor they had any power over what they had set themselves against. Wathīq said to us, "The situation has developed as you see, and he will spare neither us nor you. Let us take revenge for you, and we ourselves shall be avenged, too." We refused, however, and stayed with them until they dispersed.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUmar b. Rāshid: Their leader was Wathīq, and his deputy was Yaʿqul the butcher. Ibn ʿImrān went to see him and asked, "With whom will you negotiate terms, Wathīq?" "With four of the Banū Hāshim," replied Wathīq, "with four Qurashīs, with four of the Anṣār, and with four of the *mawlās*. The matter shall be arranged by consultation among them." "I ask God to sustain us with your justice, if He entrusts you with anything to do with us." To this he replied, "Already, by God, has God charged me with it."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: The blacks were there at the mosque along with Ibn Abī Sabrah. Still in an iron fetter he climbed up the *minbar* to settle himself on the seat of God's Messenger. Muḥammad b. ʿImrān followed, taking a position below him. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz followed them, taking a yet lower seat, while Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah followed all of the above and sat at the lowest level of all. The people began to raise a great clamor while Ibn Abī Sabrah remained sitting in silence. Ibn ʿImrān announced that he was going off to the market and climbed down the *minbar*, as did those sitting beneath him. Ibn Abī Sabrah remained unmoving, however, and began to speak, urging the people to obey the Commander of the Faithful and recounting the affair of

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1088. Al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab b. Ruzayq (d. 199/814–15). Ṭabarī later identifies him as one of the Khurāsānī leaders. His father fought against the Umayyads under Abū Muslim's general, Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī, while his son Ṭāhir became the eponymous founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty in Khurāsān. In 191/806–7 he aroused the ire of Hārūn al-Rashīd's governor in Khurāsān, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, for drunken remarks that he made against him. Ṭabarī, III, 714–25, 771; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVI, 394–99; *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain (W. Barthold); Crone, *Slaves*, 75, 78, 258 n. 10; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 174, 179, 181–82.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh at length. In the meantime, Ibn ʿImrān went on as far as the market. There he stood on a sack of wheat and started to talk from that position. Little by little the people came back, and no one led the people in prayer that day except
[270] the muezzin. When it was time for the final night prayer, the people had at last returned, and the Qurashīs had gathered in the reserved section of the mosque. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār, the muezzin whose nickname was Kasākas,[1089] recited the prelude to the prayer (*iqāmah*). He asked the Qurashīs, "Who will lead the prayer for you?" but no one answered him. "Didn't you hear me?" he repeated, but again they did not answer. Next he called out, "O Ibn ʿImrān and O Ibn So-and-So [what about you?]," but no one responded. At this point al-Aṣbagh b. Sufyān b. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān[1090] stood up[1091] and said, "I will lead the prayer." He then stood in the proper place and told the people to take their positions. When the prayer rows were properly arranged, he turned to face them and shouted at the top of his voice, "Will you not listen? I am al-Aṣbagh b. Sufyān b. ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān and I shall lead the people in prayer in full loyalty to Abū Jaʿfar." He repeated that declaration two or three times and called out *Allāhu akbar* and performed the prayer. When the people awoke next morning, Ibn Abī Sabrah said, "Yesterday, as on your part you well know, you plundered what was in your governor's house as well as provisions intended for the Commander of the Faithful's troops. Nothing should be retained and not returned by any of you. I have therefore set al-Ḥakam b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mughīrah b. Mawhab to deal with you." To him the people returned what they had plundered, and it is said to have reached a value of 1,000 dīnārs.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUthāmah b. ʿAmr—al-Musawwar b. ʿAbd al-Malik: The Qurashīs plotted to prevail upon Ibn al-Rabīʿ to leave. After that they would talk to him about making Ibn Abī Sabrah his deputy over Medina so that what the Commander of

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1089. More probably Persian "Kashākash." See the Leiden text, note *a*, and Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 613.

1090. Al-Aṣbagh b. Sufyān was the great-great-grandson of the fourth Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, and grand-nephew of the eighth, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. His grandmother was Umm ʿĀṣim bt. ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XXII, 506–10 s.v. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

1091. The second *fa-qāma* is a typographical error.

the Faithful had against him would eventually dissolve. When the blacks drove Ibn al-Rabīʿ out, Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said to him, "Are you leaving without the installation of a deputy governor? Put somebody or other in charge of Medina." "Who?" asked Ibn al-Rabīʿ. "Qudāmah b. Mūsā," Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz replied. At this point they shouted for Qudāmah, and he came in and sat down between Ibn al-Rabīʿ and Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. "Go back, Qudāmah," said Ibn al-Rabīʿ, "I have appointed you governor of Medina and its administrative districts." To this Qudāmah responded, "By God, whoever suggested this to you did not have your best interests at heart. He has not looked at the one who is behind it and [271] has in mind nothing but evil. The one who has a greater claim to this office than I or my nominator is the one who can manage the affairs of the people. He, i.e., Ibn Abī Sabrah, is sitting in his house. Go back, man! By God, you have no excuse to leave!" Ibn al-Rabīʿ therefore went back.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā—al-Ḥārith b. Isḥāq: Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz rode out to Ibn al-Rabīʿ with a group of Quraysh and implored him while he was at Baṭn Nakhl to return to his post as governor. Ibn al-Rabīʿ, however, turned them down. Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz then spoke to him in private and kept at him until finally he came back, and the people became peaceful and calm.

According to ʿUmar—ʿUmar b. Rāshid: Ibn ʿImrān and others rode out to Ibn al-Rabīʿ, who had stopped at al-Aʿwaṣ. They spoke with him, and Ibn al-Rabīʿ came back and suppressed Wathīq, Abū al-Nār, Yaʿqul, and Masʿur.[1092]

In this year the city of Baghdad, which is called "The City of al-Manṣūr," was founded.[1093]

The Reason Abū Jaʿfar Built Baghdad

The reason for that is as follows: Tradition has it that at the time when the caliphate devolved upon Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, he built al-Hāshimiyyah opposite Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah.[1094] Between the

1092. Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 614, vocalizes this as Misʿar.

1093. Additional sources: Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, II, 449; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 100; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 194; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 557–60; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 161–64; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 96–103; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 417–20.

1094. Although the Leiden index equates this with Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, Lassner (*EI*², s.v. Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra) argues that the former was founded somewhat earlier, on a site closer to al-Kūfah. See note 638.

two was the whole extent of the road. Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah, opposite which stood Abū Jaʿfar's al-Hāshimiyyah, lay toward al-Kūfah. Al-Manṣūr also built a city behind al-Kūfah by the name of al-Ruṣāfah.[1095] When the Rāwandiyyah[1096] were stirred up by [their beliefs about] Abū Jaʿfar in his city called al-Hāshimiyyah—the one that lies opposite Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah—the caliph began to dislike living there. His dislike was due to the disturbance that various of the Rāwandiyyah set in motion against him as well as to the city's close proximity to al-Kūfah.
[272] Abū Jaʿfar had no confidence in the loyalty of its inhabitants and wanted to distance himself from them. He is said to have gone out personally, exploring for a site that he could use as a settlement for himself and for his army, and where he could build a city. He began by going down to Jarjarāyā.[1097] From there he went to Baghdad and then on to al-Mawṣil. Finally, he went back to Baghdad and said, "This is a good place for an army camp. Here's the Tigris, with nothing between us and China, and on it arrives all that the sea can bring, as well as provisions from the Jazīrah, Armenia and surrounding areas. Further, there is the Euphrates on which can arrive everything from Syria, al-Raqqah, and surrounding areas. The caliph therefore dismounted and pitched his camp on the Ṣarāt Canal.[1098] He sketched a plan of the city and put an army commander in charge of each quarter.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf b. Suwayd—his father[1099]—Sulaymān b. Mujālid:[1100] The people of al-Kūfah fomented rebellion against him in the the Commander of

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1095. The name was used for a number of sites from Andalusia to Khurāsān, of which Ṭabarī mentions, in addition to this one in al-Kūfah, those in Baghdad, in al-Baṭāʾiḥ, and in al-Ruṣafah of Hishām in Syria. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 46–50.

1096. The account of this uprising may be found under the year 141.

1097. Jarjarāyā was a town on the east bank of the Tigris about seventy-five kilometers southeast of al-Madāʾin. Cornu, *Répertoires*, 28; Le Strange, *Lands*, 37, and *Baghdad*, 9; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 123.

1098. The Ṣarāt Canal was a branch of the great ʿĪsā Canal that flowed eastward through the upper Karkh section of Baghdad, while the ʿĪsā itself flowed through the lower part of this section. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 50–54; Lassner, *Topography*, 122; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 399–400.

1099. Abū Salamah Maʿrūf b. Suwayd al-Judhāmī was an Egyptian traditionist who died about 150/767. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 208.

1100. Sulaymān b. Mujālid is later, III, 273, 429, mentioned among various of al-Manṣūr's commanders and personal retinue.

the Faithful's, i.e., al-Manṣūr's, army. Therefore he headed for al-Jabal[1101] in search of a place to settle. At that time the road went by way of al-Madāʾin. We left via Sābāṭ,[1102] but one of our companions fell behind, afflicted with an eye inflammation. As he stayed there to have his eyes treated, the physician asked him where the Commander of the Faithful was heading. "He is looking for a place to settle," the man replied. To this the physician responded: "In one of our books we find it written that a man named Miqlāṣ[1103] will build a city called al-Zawrāʾ[1104] between the Tigris and the Ṣarāt. After he has laid its foundation and built one course of its walls, a problem will erupt for him in the Ḥijāz, and he will interrupt construction of the city and turn his attention to repairing that breach of the peace. When this is almost done, trouble will arise for him in al-Baṣrah, this one more difficult for him than the first. Before long, however, the two breaches will be mended, and he will return to building the city and will complete it. Then will he be given a long life and sovereignty shall remain in his progeny."[1105] Sulaymān continued: The Commander of the Faithful was on the outskirts of al-Jibāl searching for a place to settle when my companion reached me and gave me [273] this account. I reported this to the Commander of the Faithful, and he summoned the man, who repeated the story to Abū Jaʿfar. At this the caliph turned right around and went back to his start-

1101. Or al-Jibāl. As well as naming a province of Persia (see note 193),"al-Jibāl" was also the name of a town known additionally as "ʿAyn al-Gibāl" or "Ḥiyal," in the Jazīrah about 140 kilometers west of al-Mawṣil. *EI*², s.v. al-Ḏjibāl (L. Lockhart); Le Strange, *Lands*, 185–231; Cornu, *Repertoires*, 17; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 99, 103.

1102. Sābāṭ was one of the cities comprising the Sāsānid metropolis that is known in Arabic as "al-Madāʾin." It was situated at the point where the Nahr al-Malik met the Tigris. *EI*², s.v. al-Madāʾin (M. Streck and M. Morony); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 166–67.

1103. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, 1295, identifies this word as the term for a camel that is growing fat in the summer, noting also that it was the nickname of a famous thief. It was apparently on the latter account that a childhood prank that involved filching left Abū Jaʿfar with this nickname. Lassner, *Shaping*, 165.

1104. The word itself means "the crooked," and the name has been the subject of much historical speculation.

1105. Among other prophecies associated with Baghdad is one predicting that no caliph would die a natural death there. Yāqūt, I, *Buldān*, 460, records it as *najidu fī adillati al-nujūmi annahu lā yamūtu bihā khalīfatun abadan ḥatfa anfihi*. See also Eisenstein, "Vom Tode der Kalifen."

ing point, saying, "By God, I'm that very man! I was called Miqlāṣ as a lad but then the name for me fell into disuse."

According to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī—Ibn ʿAyyāsh: Intending to move from al-Hāshimiyyah, Abū Jaʿfar sent scouts to search out a site for him, a place where he could settle that would be centrally located and comfortable for both the common people and the army. A site near Bārimmā[1106] was described to him, and it was commended to him as having excellent victuals. He went to take a look at it himself and even spent the night there. Searchingly he scanned the site, seeing it to be a good place, and then questioned a group of his associates, including Sulaymān b. Mujālid, Abū Ayyūb al-Khūzī,[1107] ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd,[1108] the secretary, and others, about their opinion of it. "We've not seen anything to equal it," they replied; "it is pleasant, fitting, and congenial." To this the caliph responded, "You are right; it is just as you say, yet it could not support the army, the people, and the various groups. What I want is a place that is comfortable for the people and congenial for them as well as for me, a place where the prices will not become too high for them and the food supplies will not prove too hard to obtain. If I live in a place where it is impossible to import anything by land or sea, the prices will be high, goods will be scarce, and shortages in the food supply will cause hardship for the people. On the way here, I actually passed a place that combines these various natural qualities, so I shall stop and stay overnight there. If I find it to be the precise combination that I want, i.e., a healthful nocturnal environment, convenience, and the capacity to support both the army and the people, I shall build there.

According to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī: I was told that Abū Jaʿfar came toward the bridge, crossed over at [what is now] Qaṣr al-Salām,[1109] and then performed the late-afternoon prayer. It

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1106. Bārimmā was a town in the province of al-Jazīrah on the east bank of the Tigris somewhat south of al-Sinn. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 320; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 26; Le Strange, *Lands*, 91.

1107. See note 106.

1108. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd is earlier identified as a *mawlā* of Ḥātim b. al-Nuʿmān al-Bāhilī, who is listed among the administrative officers in Khurāsān when al-Ḥakam b. ʿAmr al-Ghifārī was governor. Ṭabarī, II, 81, 840.

1109. As Qaṣr al-Salāmah, Ṭabarī, III, 502, mentions the construction of this palace by al-Mahdī in the events of 164/780–81. Its site was ʿĪsābādh, a village

was summertime, and at the site of al-Qaṣr was a priest's church.[1110] The caliph stayed there all night and into the next [274] morning, enjoying the most pleasant and refreshing night's rest on earth. The caliph then remained for the rest of the day without seeing anything he did not like. Consequently he declared, "This is the site on which I shall build. Goods can come here via the Tigris, the Euphrates, and various canals. Only a place like this can support both the army and the populace." He marked the boundaries of the city and calculated the extent of its construction. With his own hand he set the first brick in place while saying the words "In the name of God" and "Praise God" and "The earth belongs to God who makes heirs of it those of His servants whom He wishes, and the outcome is to the upright."[1111] He concluded with the statement "Build, then, with God's blessing."

According to Bishr b. Maymūn al-Sharawī—Sulaymān b. Mujālid: Upon al-Manṣūr's return from the region of al-Jibāl, he asked about the account that the army commander had heard from the physician. This was the physician who had told him about the report of a certain Miqlāṣ that they had found in their books. He stopped at the monastery that lay opposite his [future] palace known as al-Khuld.[1112] Al-Manṣūr summoned the head of the monastery and had the Patricius, the master of Raḥā al-Biṭrīq ("Mills of the Patricius"),[1113] brought to him as well. Others whom he summoned were the overlord of [the village of] Bagh-

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owned by ʿĪsā b. al-Mahdī, to the east of Baghdad. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 194; Lassner, *Topography*, 231, n. 3; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 357.

1110. *Bīʿatu qassin*. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 132, for association of this with the subsequent mention of Bustān al-Qass.

1111. Qurʾān, 7:128.

1112. The name means "Eternity," and the palace complex that al-Manṣūr began to build there in 157/773–74 included gardens thought to rival those of paradise (cf. Qurʾān 25:15, for *jannat al-khuld*). The monastery itself is identified as Dayr Mārfathion or al-Dayr al-ʿAtīq. Ṭabarī, III, 379; *EI*², s.v. Baghdād (A. A. Duri); Lassner, *Topography*, 149; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 101–5.

1113. Or Arḥāʾ al-Biṭrīq; according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, these mills, which were situated at the junction of the Greater and Lesser Ṣarāt Canals, were a commercial venture between the caliph al-Mahdī (Abū Jaʿfar's son) and the Byzantine ambassador to his court. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 31–32; Lassner, *Topography*, 184, 259–60; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 142–44; *EI*², s.v. Biṭrīḳ (I. Kawar).

dad, the overlord of al-Mukharrim,[1114] and head of the monastery known as Bustān al-Qass ("Garden of the Priest")[1115] and the overlord of al-ʿAtīqah.[1116] The caliph questioned them about the places where they lived, asking what they were like in heat and cold, in rainy and muddy weather, and in terms of bugs and vermin. Each one told him what he knew from personal experience. Next, the caliph dispatched men on his own behest and ordered each of them to spend the night in one of these villages. Accordingly, each of these men passed the night in one of these villages and brought the caliph information about it. Al-Manṣūr next sought the advice of those whom he had summoned and examined carefully[1117] what they said. Their unanimous choice fell upon the overlord of Baghdad, so the caliph had him brought for consultation and careful questioning. (Now he was the *dihqān*[1118] whose village still stands in the quarter known as that of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī.[1119] To this very day the domes of the village are still maintained in good
[275] repair, and his house survives intact.) The overlord of Baghdad said, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have asked me about these places, about their [relative] suitability, and about which of them should be chosen. What I think, O Commander of the Faithful, is that you should settle in four sectors, the two on the west side being Quṭrabbul and Bādūrayā,[1120] and the two on

1114. Mukharrim was a district of Baghdad that lay to the south of the Shammāsiyyah and Ruṣāfah quarters on the east side of the Tigris. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 295, states that it is named after Mukharrim b. Shurayḥ b. Ḥazn al-Ḥārithī. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 169–76, 217–30; Lassner, *Topography*, 81, 264.

1115. Bustān al-Qass was located on the west side of Baghdad between the Damascus and al-Kūfah gates. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 132, notes the identification of al-Qass as a freedman of al-Manṣūr but is puzzled about the significance of this earlier, and more generic, place name. Lassner, *Topography*, 68, 254.

1116. Al-ʿAtīqah, also known as al-Sūq al-ʿAtīqah, was one the "suburbs" of Baghdad that lay somewhat to the southeast of the Round City. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 90; Lassner, *Topography*, 73–74, 258.

1117. *Wa-tanaḥḥara akhbārahum*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *naḥara*; Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 653.

1118. The *dihqāns* were the landed nobility of Sāsānid Persia. *EI*², s.v. Dihḳān (Ann K. S. Lambton).

1119. See Lassner, *Topography*, 67. For Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī, see note 304.

1120. Quṭrabbul and Bādūrayā were the administrative districts west of Baghdad that were separated by the Ṣarāt Canal. *EI*², s.v. Bādūrayā (M. Streck) and s.v. Ḳuṭrabbul (J. Lassner); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 26, 32; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 317–18, IV, 371–72.

the east side being Nahr Būq and Kalwādhā.[1121] There you would be among date palms and near water. If one sector suffers from drought and its productivity is delayed, the other could be cultivated. Further, O Commander of the Faithful, you would be on the Ṣarāt Canal, permitting provisions to come to you along the Euphrates in ships from the west, as well as the choice products of Egypt and Syria. Supplies would also come to you along the Tigris in ships from China, India, al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ. Finally, stores would reach you from Armenia and those adjacent areas via the Tāmarrā Canal[1122] connecting to the Zāb, as well as from Byzantium, Āmid,[1123] the Jazīrah, and al-Mawṣil down the Tigris. You would be among waterways where no enemy of yours could reach you except by a floating or fixed bridge. When you cut the floating bridge and destroy the fixed bridges, your enemy will not be able to reach you at all. You would be between the Tigris and Euphrates, where no one could come to you from either the east or west without having to make a crossing. You would be midway among al-Baṣrah, Wāsiṭ, al-Kūfah, al-Mawṣil, and the whole Sawād. You would be near land, sea, and mountain." Al-Manṣūr became ever more determined to settle on the site that he had selected. The overlord of Baghdad added, "Furthermore, O Commander of the Faithful, God has blessed the Commander of the Faithful with such a great quantity of forces, commanders, and troops that not one of his enemies would aspire to come anywhere near him. The proper organization of cities requires you to make walls, moats and forts, but the Tigris and Euphrates shall be the moats for the Commander of the Faithful's city."

1121. Nahr Būq and Kalwādhā were localities on the east side of the Tigris. The Nahr Būq branched off from the Nahrawān Canal, and from it issued tributaries in east Baghdad. The name of the town of Kalwādhā is associated with *kilwādh*, the Ark of the Covenant, said to be buried there. *EI*², s.v. Kalwāḏhā (Ed.); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 318; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 50.

1122. The great Qāṭūl-Tāmarrā-Nahrawān canal system, which was well over 200 kilometers long, watered the lands east of the Tigris from above Sāmarrā' to around al-Nu'māniyyah. *EI*², s.v. Diḏjla (R. Hartmann and S. H. Longrigg) and Diyālā (S. H. Longrigg); Cornu, *Répertoires*, 30; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 59–60.

1123. Āmid was the principal city of Diyār Bakr, the northern province of the Jazīrah, from which the Tigris flows. *EI*², s.v. Diyār Bakr (M. Canard and C. Cahen); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 56–58; Le Strange, *Lands*, 108–11.

[276] According to Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā[1124]—Ḥammād the Turk:[1125] In the year 145 al-Manṣūr sent men to search out for him a place where he could build his city. They investigated and explored, but the caliph remained dissatisfied with every site until he came to stop at the monastery on the Ṣarāt Canal and declared, "This is a site with which I am satisfied. Provisions come to it from the Euphrates, from the Tigris, and from this Ṣarāt Canal."

According to Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Naṭṭāḥ[1126]—Muḥammad b. Jābir[1127]—his father: At the time when Abū Jaʿfar was of a mind to build his city at Baghdad, he saw a monk and called out to him. When the monk responded to him, Abū Jaʿfar asked, "In your books do you find it predicted that a city will be built here?" "Yes," the monk replied, "a certain Miqlāṣ is to build it." At this Abū Jaʿfar exclaimed, "Miqlāṣ was my name as a lad!" The monk answered, "Then you're the man for it!" Similarly, when the caliph wanted to build al-Rāfiqah[1128] in [former] Byzantium territory, the people of al-Raqqah[1129] opposed this and were intent on fighting him. They argued, "You will ruin our markets, take away our livelihood, and reduce our way stations to hardship." Abū Jaʿfar was minded to make war on them when he sent for a monk in the local hermitage and asked, "Do you know any prediction that a city is to be built here?" "I have heard that

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1124. Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā b. al-Manṣūr Ibn Burayh (III, 331) or Ibn Burayhah b. al-Manṣūr (III, 1141) was the grandson of Abū Jaʿfar, his father being one of the sons born to the caliph by Fāṭimah bt. Muḥammad, a descendant of the prophet Muḥammad's companion, Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh. Ṭabarī, III, 442.

1125. Ḥammād the Turk was a personal retainer to al-Manṣūr who on occasion handled his horses and was responsible for the caliph's locked personal records. Ṭabarī, III, 392, 429, 443; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 143.

1126. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mihrān (d. 252/866), a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim, was a Baṣran traditionist and geneaologist who settled in Baghdad. Al-Nadīm (Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, I, 236) cites his as the first history of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty (but see Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 89). He was known as "Abū Tayyāḥ," probably in reference to a twisted gait. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 201–2; *GAS*, I, 317; *GAL*, I, 216.

1127. Transmitting on the authority of his father, Muḥammad b. Jābir, is cited again in the reference to the building of al-Rāfiqah in 158/770–71. Ṭabarī, III, 372.

1128. Al-Rāfiqah was a garrison city, built on the plan of Baghdad, that eventually became part of al-Raqqah. A variant of this account from Muḥammad b. Jābir's father is included with the events for 154/770–71. Ṭabarī, III, 372; Le Strange, *Lands*, 101–2; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 21; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 15–16.

1129. Creswell, *Short Account*, 243–48, describes the building done during al-Manṣūr's reign in al-Raqqah itself.

a man called Miqlāṣ will build it," the monk replied. At this Abū Jaʿfar exclaimed, "I am Miqlāṣ!" and built al-Rāfiqah on the model of Baghdad except for the walls, iron gates, and a moat at some distance.

According to al-Sarī[1130]—Sulaymān b. Mujālid: Al-Manṣūr sent for a host of craftsmen and laborers from Syria, al-Mawṣil, al-Jabal, al-Kūfah, Wāsiṭ, and al-Baṣrah to be brought to him, commanding [also] the selection of a group of people endowed with virtue, integrity, intelligence, fidelity, and surveying competence.[1131] Consequently, among those brought to him were al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāh[1132] and Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān b. Thābit.[1133] The [277]
caliph ordered the city to be marked out, its foundations excavated, its mud bricks shaped, and its baked bricks fired.[1134] Thus was it begun, the first stage of the project being initiated in 145.

It is said: When al-Manṣūr decided to build Baghdad, he wanted to see for himself what it would look like, so he commanded that its outline be drawn with ashes. He then proceeded to enter through each gate and to walk among its outside walls, its arched areas, and its courtyards, all of which were outlined in ashes. He made the rounds, looking at the workmen and at the trenches that had been sketched. Having done that, he ordered cotton seeds placed on this outline and oil poured on it. Then he watched as the fire flared up, seeing the city as a whole and

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1130. Abū al-Haytham al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā b. Iyās (d. 167/783–84) was a Baṣran traditionist and a principal source for Ṭabarī's accounts of the conquests undertaken during the earliest caliphates. *GAS*, I, 312; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 400–1.

1131. Hitti, *Capital Cities*, 88, reckons the laborers as 100,000 and the cost of the city's construction as 4,883,000 dirhams. See also Alsayyad, *Cities and Caliphs*, 117, on Ṭabarī's use of the term *handasah*.

1132. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāh b. Thawr b. Hubayrah, Abū Arṭāh al-Nakhaʿī (d. 154/771), was a traditionist and *faqīh* who lived in al-Kūfah along with Abū Ḥanīfah and later served as judge of al-Baṣrah and secretary to al-Manṣūr. Ṭabarī, II, 1850, III, 66; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 68–75; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 306–7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 172–74; Crone, *Slaves*, 157.

1133. Abū Ḥanīfah was the famous *faqīh* of al-Kūfah from whose teachings the Ḥanafī *madhhab* claims descent. He died in a Baghdad prison in 150/767. *EI*², s.v. (J. Schacht). For more about the relations between al-Manṣūr and Abū Ḥanīfah see Rustum, *Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr*, 102–5.

1134. Creswell, *Short Account*, 232–33, describes the use of both kinds of brick, while Levy, *Baghdad Chronicle*, 19–20, notes that the bricks were huge, with some weighing about 200 pounds.

recognizing its full plan. Subsequently, he ordered the foundations to be excavated along those lines and commenced its construction.

According to Ḥammād the Turk: Al-Manṣūr sent men to search out a site on which to build his city. They made such exploration in 144, a year or so before Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's uprising. The scouts' selection fell upon a place called Baghdad, a village on the bank of the Ṣarāt, in the area adjacent to [the future] al-Khuld. On the site of al-Khuld stood a monastery, and in the curve of the Ṣarāt, adjacent to al-Khuld on the east side, was also a village called Sūq al-Baqar ("Cattle Market")[1135] and a large monastery. The village itself, [also] known as al-ʿAtīqah, was the one conquered by al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī.[1136] Ḥammād continued: Al-Manṣūr came to stay in the monastery located at al-Khuld on the Ṣarāt Canal. Finding there few noisome insects, he stated, "This is a place with which I am satisfied. Supplies can reach it via the Euphrates and Tigris. It's a good place to build a city." The caliph therefore said to the monk in the monastery, "O monk, I intend to build a city here." To this the monk responded, "It cannot be. The only one who is to build a
[278] city here is a king called Abū al-Dawānīq." Al-Manṣūr chuckled to himself, saying, "I, in fact, am Abū Dawānīq."[1137] He then commanded the outline of the city drawn and assigned to it four army commanders, one for each quarter.

According to Sulaymān b. Mujālid: Al-Manṣūr wanted Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān b. Thābit to head the judiciary, but he refused that appointment. Al-Manṣūr swore that he should assume office, but Abū Ḥanīfah, in turn, swore that he would not do so. The caliph, therefore, put him in charge of the city's construction, i.e., making the mud bricks, calculating the amount, and overseeing the men at work. Al-Manṣūr made that appointment simply to relieve himself of the oath he had sworn. Abū Ḥanīfah

1135. Sūq al-Baqar was a site in east Baghdad. Lassner, *Topography*, 103.

1136. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī was an officer who fought with Khālid b. al-Walīd in the early conquest of Iraq. He was wounded in the Persian victory at al-Qarqas, the Battle of the Bridge, which occurred in 13/634 or 14/635, and died about about a year later. Ṭabarī, I, 2156; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 241–56; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 276; Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 377–78, 380–81.

1137. See note 800.

remained in charge of the project until he completed final construction, in 149, of the city wall next to the moat.

According to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī: Al-Manṣūr asked Abū Ḥanīfah to head the judiciary and the court for complaints and petitions (*maẓālim*),[1138] but the latter turned him down. The caliph then swore that he would give him no rest until he took the job, and this was reported to Abū Ḥanīfah. The latter called for a reed linear measure (*qaṣabah*)[1139] and counted the bricks that a [given] man made—Abū Ḥanīfah was the first to count bricks with reeds—and this served to discharge Abū Jaʿfar's oath. Eventually, Abū Ḥanīfah fell ill and died in Baghdad.

According to some sources: When Abū Jaʿfar ordered trenches[1140] to be dug, construction begun, and the foundations firmed up, he commanded that at its lowest point the wall should be fifty cubits (*dhirāʾ*)[1141] thick, and at its highest, twenty cubits.[1142] In the construction he used cane beams rather than wood for every corridor. In 145, when the wall had reached the height of one fathom (*qāmah*),[1143] the caliph received word of Muḥammad's uprising, so he interrupted construction.

According to Aḥmad b. Ḥumayd b. Jabalah[1144]—his father—his father Jabalah: Before it was built, [the site of] Abū Jaʿfar's city was a common field known as al-Mubārakah ("the Blessed") that was shared by sixty citizens of Baghdad. The caliph compensated these people in a manner that satisfied them. My grandfather received a share of this reimbursement.

1138. The *maẓālim* court sessions were a judicial structure of broad responsibility that functioned as both a complement and a constraint to the power of judges. *EI*², s.v. (J. S. Nielsen); Schacht, *Islamic Law*, 51.

1139. A *qaṣabah* was the equivalent of about four meters. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 63.

1140. *Bi-ḥafri al-khandādiq*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLIII.

1141. The various equivalences for the *dhirāʾ*, which average about fifty centimeters, may be found in Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 55–62.

1142. According to Levy, *Baghdad Chronicle*, 21, the top of the wall was about twenty-five cubits. It could function as a roadway to which horsemen mounted via inclined pathways.

1143. The *qāmah* equaled about two meters. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 54.

1144. Perhaps Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭuraythīthī, known as Dār Umm Salamah, who was a traditionist and *ḥāfiẓ* of al-Kūfah. His death date is reported as 220/835 and 229/843–44. This is his only mention in Ṭabarī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 23; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 509–10.

[279] According to Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā b. al-Manṣūr—Ḥammād the Turk: Surrounding Abū Jaʿfar's future city stood various villages. Near the site of what is now the Syrian gate stood a village called al-Khaṭṭābiyyah, which ran from Darb al-Nūrah gate to Darb al-Aqfāṣ.[1145] Some of its date palms actually stood on the main street leading to the Syrian gate until the days of the deposed caliph [al-Amīn],[1146] when they were cut down during the period of civil disorder. This al-Khaṭṭābiyyah belonged to a group of *dihqān* families known as the Banū Farwah and the Banū Qunūrā, whose members included Ismāʿīl b. Dīnār, Yaʿqūb b. Sulaymān, and their associates.

According to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt:[1147] The village that stood in what is now the Abū al-ʿAbbās quarter[1148] was the village of Muḥammad b. Mūsā's maternal grandfather, whose people were a *dihqān* family known as the Banū Zurārī.[1149] The village itself was called al-Wardāniyyah.[1150] Another village still existing today lies adjacent to the Abū Farwah[1151] quarter.

According to Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā: The area today known as Dār Saʿīd al-Khaṭīb was once a village called Sharafāniyyah.[1152] A palm grove belonging to it is still standing near Abū al-Jawn Bridge,[1153] Abū al-Jawn being one of the *dihqāns* of Baghdad who came from this village.

1145. The village and the two roads, i.e., the road of the Cages and the Chalk Road, were located in the Ḥarbiyyah quarter, a northwestern suburb of the Round City.

1146. Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 198/813) was deposed by his brother al-Maʾmūn (for attempting to displace him in the accepted order of succession) after prolonged warfare between the Iraqī and Khurāsānī supporters of these two claimants. *EI*², s.v. al-Amīn (F. Gabrieli).

1147. According to Lassner, *Topography*, 252, Muḥammad b. Mūsā was one of a famous family of public officials.

1148. For its site on the west side of Baghdad, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 126, and Lassner, *Topography*, 67.

1149. See Lassner, *Topography*, 67, for Banū Zarārī.

1150. According to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 371, the village was named after a certain Wardān.

1151. See the mention of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's protector on p. 258.

1152. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 336; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 129; Lassner, *Topography*, 67, 252.

1153. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 336; Lassner, *Topography*, 67, and Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 129.

According to a source: The land grant (*qaṭīʿah*) of al-Rabīʿ[1154] was a common field for the people from a village called Banāwarī in the market town (*rustāq*) of al-Farawsyaj of Bādūrayā.[1155]

According to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Furāt—his father or grandfather (he was unsure of the transmitter): One of the Bādūrayā *dihqāns* came to see me dressed in a torn shawl (*ṭaylasān*).[1156] I asked him who tore his shawl, and he replied, "It was torn, by God, in the crush of people today at a place where for ages hares and gazelles have been hunted." He was referring to what is now the Bāb al-Karkh[1157] area. They say that the outer land grant of al-Rabīʿ was only bestowed upon al-Rabīʿ by al-Mahdī. Al-Manṣūr had given him no more than the inner land grant of al-Rabīʿ on the same basis. [280]

It is said that the Ṭābaq Canal[1158] dates from the time of Kisrā[1159] and that it is [identical with] the Bābak b. Bahrām b. Bābak Canal, named for the Bābak who built the palace[1160] that lies under the castle of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī[1161] and who excavated this canal.

1154. Al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, al-Manṣūr's chamberlain and vizier (see note 162), whose land grant was divided into an inner and an outer portion. The area that these occupied eventually became a commercial center of one of the most densely populated sections of the suburb al-Karkh. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 377; Lassner, *Topography*, 71, 187, 256–57; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 58.

1155. For the *rustāq* of al-Farawsyaj and Bādūrayā, see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 257, and I, 317, respectively.

1156. See Ahsan, *Social Life*, 42–43, and Agius, *Arabic Literary Works*, 217–20.

1157. Bāb al-Karkh was the gate that opened onto the suburb of al-Karkh from the west. In 146/763–64, for reasons of security, Abū Jaʿfar had the markets relocated from within the walls of the Round City to this area. Ṭabarī, III, 323–25; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 63; Lassner, *Topography*, 60, 102, 247–48, and *Shaping*, 195, 197–202.

1158. "Ṭābaq" was the designation given to the section of the Karkhāyā that connected to the ʿĪsā Canal. The name of the canal is variously attributed to a certain Ṭābaq b. Ṣamyah, to a corruption of the name Bābak, and to a term for the construction tiles that were manufactured near where it flowed. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 321; Lassner, *Topography*, 74–75, 258–59; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 69, 81–84.

1159. Kisrā Anūshirwān (531–79 C.E.) and Kisrā Aparwīz (591–628 C.E.) were emperors of the late Sāsānid period renowned in Arab sources. *EI*², s.v. Kisrā (M. Morony).

1160. The Leiden edition reads *al-ʿaqr*, while Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 321, gives *al-ʿaqd*, which can mean "vault" or "arch."

1161. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās. See note 137.

It is mentioned that the Jaʿfar Harbor was a land grant (*iqṭāʿ*) from Abū Jaʿfar to his son Jaʿfar and that the Old Bridge[1162] dates from Persian times.

According to Ḥammād the Turk: Al-Manṣūr stayed in the monastery on the bank of the Tigris in the place [later] known as al-Khuld. We were there on a very hot summer day in 145. I had gone outside to sit with al-Rabīʿ and his retainers when a man approached and passed the guard on the way to the ruler's section of the mosque. He sought permission to enter, so we announced him to al-Manṣūr. As he was accompanied by Salm b. Abī Salm, the caliph gave permission for him to enter. The man then informed the caliph of Muḥammad's uprising. Al-Manṣūr responded, "We shall immediately write to Egypt that supplies to the Ḥaramayn[1163] be suspended." "They are going to be in a kind of tight squeeze,"[1164] he added, "when Egyptian supplies and provisions are withheld from them." The caliph then ordered a letter sent to al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad,[1165] governor of the Jazīrah, informing him about Muḥammad and saying, "I am leaving as soon as I have written to al-Kūfah. Send me daily as many reinforcement troops from the Jazīrah as you can." He wrote in a similar
[281] fashion to the Syrian commanders, "If even one man were to show up here every day, I could augment my present Khurāsānī contingent. Furthermore, if that impostor [Muḥammad] hears that I am being reinforced, he will lose heart." The caliph then proclaimed his immediate departure, and we left in a fierce heat for al-Kūfah, where he stayed until the war between Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm and him was concluded. When he was free of them, he returned to Baghdad.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit[1166]—a *shaykh* of the Quraysh: When Abū Jaʿfar pulled out of Baghdad heading for al-Kūfah

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1162. Al-Qanṭarah al-ʿAtīqah, which was located at the conjuction of the Greater Ṣarāt Canal with the Lesser Ṣarāt. Lassner, *Topography*, 277.

1163. The two sacred places, i.e., Mecca and Medina.

1164. *Hum fī mithli ḥarajatin. Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥaraja*, which explains the expression with allusion to an overgrown thicket.

1165. Abū Jaʿfar's brother. See note 218.

1166. Aḥmad b. Thābit b. ʿAttāb al-Rāzī, frequently a transmitter for Abū Maʿshar Najīḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sindī (d. 170/787), was a source for *maghāzī* material who was born in Medina but died in Baghdad. *GAS*, I, 292; *EI*², s.v. Abū Maʿshar (F. Rosenthal).

(having received news via post dispatch about Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's uprising in Medina), several of his close companions, i.e., ʿUthmān b. ʿUmārah b. Ḥuraym,[1167] Isḥāq b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī,[1168] ʿAbdallāh b. Rabīʿ al-Madānī, watched him go off on his mount surrounded by his brothers. ʿUthmān said, "I think Muḥammad is going to lose, as will those of his family who have sided with him. Wiliness, cunning, and sagacity form the very stuffing of the robes of this ʿAbbāsī. As for Muḥammad's waging war against him, the words of Ibn Jidhl al-Ṭiʿān[1169] are apposite:

How many raids and cavalry charges
    has he faced when the meeting grew hot,
Forcing their arrogance back until he made them bend,
    with a lance in which no warp could be seen."

At this Isḥāq b. Muslim added, "By God, I have examined him closely! I touched his shaft and found it rough. I clasped it and found it hard. I tasted it and found it bitter. Al-Manṣūr and his accompanying brothers remind one of what Rabīʿah b. Mukaddam[1170] said:

Horsemen rise up before me, their faces like
    lamps appearing in the darkness, shining brightly.
Guided by a leader who is calamity's brother,
    frowning on the night march, for noon suns have scorched him."

1167. While this is the only mention of ʿUthmān in Ṭabarī, his father, ʿUmārah b. Ḥuraym (or Khuraym) al-Murrī, appears in the year 111/729–30 as head of the vanguard for al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik's newly appointed governor of Khurāsān. He was subsequently imprisoned by al-Junayd's successor, ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hilālī. Ṭabarī, II, 1529, 1565; Crone, *Slaves*, 98.

1168. Isḥāq b. Muslim served in Armenia under Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik's governor Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik and was later appointed governor there. Ṭabarī, II, 1635, 1871, III, 57–58; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 206; Crone, *Slaves*, 106.

1169. ʿAbdallāh b. Jidhl al-Tiʿān. Fischer and Braünlich, *Schawāhid-Indices*, 170; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 47, II, 262.

1170. Rabīʿah b. Mukaddam was a poet-hero of the Banū Kinānah. Ibid., I, 47, II, 480.

[282] Finally ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ said, "He is the lion in a lair, a restless wild cat, a predator to his peers who robs them of their spirit. When war is stirred up he is as Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith[1171] said:

Ours is a *shaykh*, who when war rolls up its sleeves,
instantly takes the initiative before his brethren."

Abū Jaʿfar continued on to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah and then settled in al-Kūfah, from where he dispatched troops. When the war was over, he went back to Baghdad and finished building it.

In this year Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, the brother of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, came out in open revolt in al-Baṣrah and waged war against Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr. In this year he also was killed.

The Reason for Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's Revolt and Murder and How It Came About

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ—his father: Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm grew apprehensive when Abū Jaʿfar seized ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. They left for ʿAdan, but feeling afraid there, they continued on by sea as far as Sind. There, however, they were denounced to ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ,[1172] so they left for al-Kūfah where Abū Jaʿfar was currently in residence.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Saʿīd b. Nūḥ al-Ḍubaʿī,[1173] son of Abū al-Sāj al-Ḍubaʿī's daughter—Minnah bt. Abī al-Minhāl: Ibrāhīm stayed at al-Ḥārith b. ʿĪsā's house in the Banū Ḍubayʿah[1174] quarter but was not seen during the daytime. He

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1171. Al-Mughīrah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was a cousin of the Prophet. He first appears in Ṭabarī giving Abū Lahab an account of the Qurashī defeat at Badr, but is especially remembered for his loyalty to Muḥammad at the battle of Ḥunayn. Ṭabarī, I, 1339; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 7, II, 419; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 4, 266; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, I, 202–5.

1172. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. Abī Ṣufrah al-ʿAtakī who, like the army commander of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā mentioned earlier, was also known as Hazārmard. See note 374.

1173. Saʿīd b. Nūḥ b. Mujālid b. Yazīd b. ʿImrān al-Ḍubaʿī was the grandson of one of Abū Jaʿfar's army commanders. Ṭabarī, III, 293.

1174. The Banū Ḍubayʿah were a tribe of Rabīʿah b. Nizār. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 243, II, 141, 173; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 292–93.

had a concubine of his with him, and I used to chat with her, but we didn't realize who they were until Ibrāhīm made his uprising. At that time I went to her and asked, "Are you my friend?" "I am so," was her reply. "No, by God, the earth has not given us a safe place to settle for five years, being at various times in Fārs, Kirmān,[1175] al-Jabal, the Ḥijāz, and the Yemen." [283]

According to ʿUmar—Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—Muṭahhar b. al-Ḥārith: Together with Ibrāhīm we were on our way from Mecca to al-Baṣrah, our group numbering ten in all. A bedouin accompanied us part of the way, so we asked him his name. "So and so, son of Abū Maṣād al-Kalbī,"[1176] he replied, staying with us until we drew near al-Baṣrah. One day the bedouin turned to me and asked, "Isn't that Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan?" "No," said I, "that's a Syrian fellow." When we were a night's journey out from al-Baṣrah, Ibrāhīm went on ahead while we stayed behind him and entered the next morning.

According to ʿUmar—Abū Ṣafwān Naṣr b. Qudayd b. Naṣr b. Sayyār: Ibrāhīm's arrival in al-Baṣrah occurred at the beginning of the year 143 as people were returning from the Pilgrimage. The person who made advance preparations for him, took care of his expenses, and rode as counterbalance in his litter was Yaḥyā b. Ziyād b. Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī. He lodged Ibrāhīm in his house in the Banū Layth[1177] [quarter], and purchased a foreign slave girl from Sind for him. Ibrāhīm got her with child in Yaḥyā b. Ziyād's house.

According to Ibn Qudayd b. Naṣr: He was present at the funeral procession for that child, and Yaḥyā b. Ziyād said the prayer for him.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf—his father: Ibrāhīm stayed in al-Ḥiyār,[1178] which is in Syria, with al-Qaʿqāʿ b.

1175. Fārs and Kirmān were adjoining provinces that lay between the Persian Gulf and the Great Desert.

1176. Maṣād b. Kaʿb was a branch of ʿAbdallāh b. Kinānah, an important subdivision of the Banū Kalb. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 283, II, 403.

1177. Layth b. Bakr was a clan of the Banū Kinānah. Ibid., I, 36, II, 376; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 81, 389.

1178. Ḥiyār Banī Qaʿqāʿ was a locality near Qinnasrīn that Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik had given to his secretary al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Khulayd (or Khālid) al-ʿAbsī. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 327; Ṭabarī, II, 837.

Khulayd al-ʿAbsī's family.[1179] Al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, who was then in authority at Qinnasrīn, wrote to Abū Jaʿfar on a slip of paper that he appended to the foot of his letter. He told him about Ibrāhīm, about how he had searched for him but had found that now Ibrāhīm had been one step ahead of him, moving down to al-Baṣrah. The letter reached Abū Jaʿfar, and he read the first part of it, but finding nothing but the [final] salutation, he tossed the
[284] letter to Abū Ayyūb al-Mūriyānī who, in turn, pitched it into his register. When they were about to answer the governors' correspondence, Abān b. Ṣadaqah,[1180] who was then Abū Ayyūb's secretary, opened al-Faḍl's letter to look at its date, and he came upon the slip of paper. As soon as he saw the beginning of it, i.e., the words "I am informing[1181] the Commander of the Faithful," he put it back in the letter. Abān then went to see Abū Jaʿfar and read the letter aloud. Consequently, the caliph ordered spies sent as well as checkpoints and watch posts set up.

According to ʿUmar—al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Faḍl—his father: I heard Ibrāhīm say, "The search in al-Mawṣil pressed upon me until I actually sat at the tables of Abū Jaʿfar. It happened this way: He arrived there in search of me and, confused and exposed [lit. the earth spat me forth],[1182] I was at my wits' end. But the caliph had established a search and checkpoints, and had summoned the people to eat with him in the morning. I, therefore, entered with those who entered and ate with those who ate. Then I left when the search had been called off."

According to ʿUmar—Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn: A man said to Muṭahhar b. al-Ḥārith, "Ibrāhīm passed through al-Kūfah and I met him." Muṭahhar denied that Ibrāhīm entered al-Kūfah and added, "Having been in al-Mawṣil, he passed through al-Anbār, then Baghdad, al-Madāʾin, al-Nīl[1183] and Wāsiṭ."

1179. Al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Khulayd was secretary to the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (86–96/705–15). Ṭabarī, II, 837; Caskel, *Gamharat an-nasab*, I, 132, II, 465; Crone, *Slaves*, 105–6.

1180. During the caliphate of al-Mahdī, Abān b. Ṣadaqah (d. 167/783–84) was appointed secretary to the caliph's son Hārūn al-Rashīd in 160 and then to his son Mūsā al-Hādī in 161. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, V, 301; Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 97–98.

1181. *Ukhbiru*. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLIV.

1182. *Qadimahā yaṭlubunī fa-taḥabbartu fa-lafaẓatnī al-arḍ*. Ibid.

1183. Al-Nīl was a city southwest of Baghdad that lay just below a canal linking the Euphrates and Tigris, i.e., the Great Ṣarāt. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 334; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 31; Le Strange, *Lands*, 72–73.

According to ʿUmar—Naṣr b. Qudayd b. Naṣr: Ibrāhīm had corresponded with a group of people in [Abū Jaʿfar's] camp who were sympathetic to his cause. They wrote asking him to come to them and promising him to make a violent attack on Abū Jaʿfar. Ibrāhīm, therefore, went as far as Abū Jaʿfar's encampment. At that time, the caliph was staying in Baghdad at the monastery. He had already drawn the city plan of Baghdad and made up his mind to build. Now Abū Jaʿfar owned a mirror into which he could look and tell his enemy from his friend. It has been asserted that he looked into it and said, "O Musayyab,[1184] by God, I have seen Ibrāhīm in my camp. Nowhere on on earth is there an enemy more hostile to me than he. Consider carefully what you are doing."

According to ʿUmar—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad, the son of the gatekeeper: Abū Jaʿfar ordered the Old Bridge built over the Ṣarāt Canal. Going out to view it, he spotted Ibrāhīm, but the latter slipped off. He left with the crowd and went to a corn chandler, seeking asylum with him. The corn seller had Ibrāhīm ascend to one of his upper rooms. As Abū Jaʿfar intensified the search for him and posted lookouts everywhere, Ibrāhīm was confined to his hiding place. Abū Jaʿfar made the most exhaustive search possible, but Ibrāhīm kept his whereabouts well concealed. [285]

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf—his father and Naṣr b. Qudayd—Ibn Qudayd's father—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Bawwāb, Kathīr b. al-Naḍr b. Kathīr, ʿUmar b. Idrīs, Ibn Abī Sufyān al-ʿAmmī, who agree on the main part of the account but disagree about some of it: While Ibrāhīm kept close, living in fear of the watch, he had the company of a man from the Banū al-ʿAmm.[1185] (ʿUmar said: Abū Ṣafwān [Naṣr b. Qudayd] told me that the man's name was Rawḥ b. Thaqaf, and Ibn al-Bawwāb said that his patronymic was Abū ʿAbdallāh; others have told me that his name was Sufyān b. Ḥayyān b. Mūsā.) This man, whom ʿUmar identified as the grandfather of the ʿAmmī who recounted this to him, said: "I said to Ibrāhīm, 'Events have fallen out as you see. There is no way out of risk and hazard.' Ibrāhīm replied, "*You*

1184. Musayyab b. Zuhayr b. ʿAmr al-Ḍabbī. See note 333.

1185. Ṭabarī, I, 2535, gives the genealogy of "b. Mālik b. Ḥanzalah b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm," but the affiliation with Tamīm has been questioned. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 212, II, 166.

do it, then!" The man then approached al-Rabīʿ[1186] and asked his permission to enter. "Who are you?" asked al-Rabīʿ. "I am Sufyān al-ʿAmmī," the man replied. Al-Rabīʿ then ushered him into Abū Jaʿfar's presence, but when the caliph saw him, he spoke abusively to the man. Sufyān said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I deserve what you say, yet I come to you now in abstention and repentance. From me you shall have anything you want, if you will give me what I ask." "What do you have for me?" asked the caliph. Sufyān answered, "I can bring you Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b.
[286] Ḥasan. I've had long experience of him and his family but I have not found anything good in them. What will you give me if I do this?" "Anything you request," replied the caliph; "now tell me where is Ibrāhīm?" "He has already entered Baghdād," Sufyān said, "or he will enter it in the near future."

According to ʿUmar: Abū Ṣafwān [Naṣr b. Qudayd] told me that he said to the caliph, "Ibrāhīm is in ʿAbdasī;[1187] I left him in the house of Khālid b. Nahīk.[1188] [In return for this information] please write a travel authorization for me, for a servant of mine, and for an official guide, and transport me by postal courier."

According to ʿUmar: A certain person said to the caliph: "Send an army with me and write a travel authorization for me and for a servant of mine, and I will bring Ibrāhīm to you." The caliph, therefore, wrote a travel authorization and gave him an armed force, saying, "Here are 1,000 dīnārs; make good use of them." "I don't need that much," the man replied, taking 300 dīnārs. Approaching his goal, he came to Ibrāhīm while the latter was staying in a house. He was wearing a coarse shirt of wool and a turban. (Others say that he was wearing a full-sleeved gown (*qabāʾ*)[1189] of the type worn by servants.) The man yelled at him to stand, and Ibrāhīm jumped up with [apparent] fright. The man

1186. Abū Faḍl al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus. See note 162.

1187. Or ʿAbdāsī/ʿAbdās. Although precise identification has not been made, this place (Persian Afdāsahī) is thought to have been in the vicinity of the Nahr al-Madhār, a name given to the most eastern stretch of the Tigris. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 77; Le Strange, *Lands*, 42–43; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 25; Morony, *Iraq*, 155, 161.

1188. Khālid b. Nahīk b. Qays al-Kindī, whose tribal affiliation is identified more precisely as the Banū Dhuhl b. Muʿāwiyah, was killed in battle against the Khārijite rebel Shabīb b. Yazīd while commanding ʿUthmān b. Qaṭan's right wing. Ṭabarī, II, 910, 935–36; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 233, II, 342.

1189. See note 980.

then proceeded to issue commands and prohibitions all the way to al-Madāʾin. There the bridge master would not allow him to cross, so he handed over to him the travel authorization. "Where is your servant?" asked the bridge master. "Here he is," the man replied. When the bridge master looked into the servant's face, he exclaimed, "By God, this is no servant of yours; this is Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan. Still, go right ahead." Thus he let the two of them go and then ran away himself.

According to ʿUmar: Another source said, "The two of them rode the post road as far as ʿAbdasī. From there they took a boat to al-Baṣrah, where they went into hiding." Yet another source reports: "The ʿAmmī left Abū Jaʿfar's presence and went straight to al-Baṣrah. He contrived to bring them to a house having two doors and, posting ten of the escort at one of the doors, said, "Do not move until I come to you." He then went out the other door and left them, getting rid of the armed escort, so as to be on his own. Having done that, he went into hiding. Eventually news of [287] these activities reached Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah,[1190] who sent for and assembled them [those whom he had left]. He also made a search for the ʿAmmī, which proved fruitless.

According to ʿUmar—Ibn ʿĀʾishah—his father: The one who schemed to rescue Ibrāhīm and the ʿAmmī[1191] from Ibn Muʿāwiyah was [named] ʿAmr b. Shaddād.[1192]

According to ʿUmar—someone from al-Madāʾin—al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmr b. Shaddād—his father: Ibrāhīm came my way in al-Madāʾin looking for a place to hide. I let him stay in a house of mine that lay on the bank of the Tigris. Subsequently, I was denounced to the governor of al-Madāʾin, who beat me with one hundred lashes. I did not disclose Ibrāhīm's whereabouts, however, and when he stopped beating me, I went to tell Ibrāhīm, who then went off.

According to ʿUmar—al-ʿAbbās b. Sufyān b. Yaḥyā b. Ziyād, the *mawlā* of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf [Yaḥyā b. Ziyād[1193] was one of those

1190. The governor of al-Baṣrah. See note 262.

1191. As suggested by the Leiden text's editor.

1192. ʿAmr b. Shaddād subsequently claimed Fārs for Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh and in 156/772–73 was arrested and crucified by Abū Jaʿfar's governor of al-Baṣrah, al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah. Ṭabarī, III, 377–78.

1193. Yaḥyā b. Ziyād b. Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī. See p. 253.

captured from the camp of Qaṭarī b. al-Fujāʾah[1194]): When Ibrāhīm made his uprising, I was a lad of five. I heard our elders say that he came through here on his way down to al-Baṣrah from Syria. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Ṣafwān (one of the *mawlās* attached to al-Ḥajjāj who were captured from the camp of Qaṭarī) went out to him and walked along with him, getting him across the tight spots. Later someone who had seen him came forward and said, "I saw ʿAbd al-Raḥīm with a sly-looking fellow who was wearing a rose-colored waist wrap and carrying a hazelwood bow[1195] to shoot." When ʿAbd al-Raḥīm returned, he was asked about such a man but feigned ignorance. In fact, Ibrāhīm used to disguise himself in that way.

According to ʿUmar—Naṣr b. Qudayd: Upon his return from Baghdad, Ibrāhīm stayed with Abū Farwah among the Kindah.[1196] He went into hiding and sent for his followers to give them assignments for the revolt.

[288] According to ʿUmar—ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mītham al-Ahwāzī—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥabīb—his father: While Muḥammad b. Ḥuṣayn[1197] was searching for him, Ibrāhīm was in hiding at my place on the bank of the Dujayl[1198] near the city of al-Ahwāz.[1199] One day Muḥammad said, "The Commander of the Faithful wrote to tell me that astrologers had informed him that Ibrāhīm was in al-Ahwāz living on an island between two

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1194. Qaṭarī b. al-Fujāʾah was the last important leader of the Azraqī branch of Khārijites. He died in 78–79/698–99 during the attack against the Azāriqah made under the command of Sufyān b. al-Abrad. *EI*², s.v. (G. Levi della Vida); Madelung, *Religious Trends*, 57–58; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 209–11.

1195. *Qawsu julāhiqin*. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, X, 37, offers *bunduq* as a synonym for *julāhiq* and notes a Persian etymology for the latter.

1196. Kindah were a prominent tribal group of South Arabian origin. *EI*², s.v. (I. Shahid); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 176, 233, II, 371–72.

1197. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-ʿAbdī was governor of al-Ahwāz. See note 10.

1198. "Dujayl" was the Arabic designation for the Kārūn river, the largest river in southern Iran. It was known as the Dujayl of al-Ahwāz to distinguish it from the Dujayl Canal, which, during the time of al-Manṣūr, connected the Tigris and Euphrates on a northern course parallel to the Nahr ʿĪsā. *EI*², s.v. Kārūn (M. Streck and J. Lassner); Le Strange, *Lands*, 232–36, and *Baghdad*, 48–49; Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 188–92.

1199. Al-Ahwāz was the capital of the province of Khūzistān. In the ʿAbbāsid period it was a point of transshipment for the commercial use of the Kārūn River. *EI*², s.v. (L. Lockhart); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 284–86; Le Strange, *Lands*, 232–34.

rivers. I have searched so thoroughly for him on the island, i.e., the one between the al-Shāh Jurd and the Dujayl rivers, that I am sure he is not there. I have now decided to search the city for him in the morning, because the Commander of the Faithful may have meant the area between the Dujayl River and the Masruqān Canal."[1200] So I went to Ibrāhīm and said to him, "Tomorrow you will be the object of a search in this area." I then stayed with him for the rest of the day and at nightfall I took him to stay in the closer area of Dasht Arbuk,[1201] which lies outside of al-Kaththh.[1202] I returned that night and stood waiting to see if Muḥammad would make a search for him in the morning. He did so, however, only as the day was waning and the sun about to set. At this point I went out to Ibrāhīm and brought him back in. Riding on two donkeys, we appeared in the city at the time of the last prayer of evening. As we entered the city and passed near the fissured mountain (*al-jabal al-maqṭūʿ*), we ran into the vanguard of Ibn Ḥuṣayn's cavalry. While the cavalry closed in on me, Ibrāhīm threw himself from his donkey, withdrew aside and squatted down to urinate. Not one of the horsemen turned toward me until I reached Ibn Ḥuṣayn. The latter asked me, "Abū Muḥammad, where are you coming from at such an hour?" I replied, "I spent the evening with a member of my family." [289]
"Shouldn't I send with you someone who can help you to get where you're going?" he inquired. "No," I answered, "I'm quite close to home." Ibn Ḥuṣayn went on searching while I kept going my way until the last of his associates was out of sight. I then turned around to go back to Ibrāhīm and hunted around for his donkey until I found it. We mounted[1203] and went on our way to spend the night with our people. Ibrāhīm said, "You know, by

1200. Above the city of Shustar (Arabic Tustar), the Kārūn River divided into two branches (thus creating an island) that reunited after about thirty miles at ʿAskar Makram. The eastern branch of this divide was known as the Masruqān Canal. The river designation "al-Shāh Jurd" here, which is mentioned only here in Ṭabarī, might be the name given to a stretch of one of these branches. Le Strange, *Lands*, 235–38; *EI*², s.v. Kārūn (M. Streck and J. Lassner).

1201. Ṭabarī later, III, 301, 1845, identifies this as a desert area that lay about one *mīl* from the citadel of al-Ahwāz. See also Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 137.

1202. The only identification for this vocalization that Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 638, is able to offer is a village near Bukhārā.

1203. *Fa-rakibnā*, following the Leiden edition, note *b*.

God, yesterday I urinated blood. Send someone to look." Coming to the place where he had urinated, I found that he had indeed passed blood.

According to ʿUmar—al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī: Abū Jaʿfar said, "Since the crowds of al-Baṣrah encompassed him, the matter of Ibrāhīm has become hard for me to follow up."

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Misʿar b. al-ʿAlāʾ: When Ibrāhīm reached al-Baṣrah, he called upon the people to support his cause, and Mūsā b. ʿUmar b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim[1204] responded. Mūsā then took Ibrāhīm, incognito, to see al-Naḍr b. Isḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim. Mūsā said to al-Naḍr b. Isḥāq, "This fellow is Ibrāhīm's messenger." Ibrāhīm then talked with him, asking him to join his uprising. "O fellow," replied al-Naḍr, "how could I give the oath of allegiance to your master when my grandfather ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim was at odds with his grandfather[1205] ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, joining forces with those who opposed him?" Ibrāhīm responded, "Quit talking about the deeds and ways of our forefathers. All of that is an ancient debt, while I am summoning you to a [clear] duty." "By God," retorted al-Naḍr, "I only mentioned that to you as a joke. That's not what keeps me from supporting your master. Rather, I see no point in fighting, and I'm not indebted to him." Ibrāhīm then left, but Mūsā stayed behind and said to al-Naḍr, "By God, that was Ibrāhīm himself." Al-Naḍr exclaimed, "By God's life, you shouldn't have done that!
[290] If you had let me know, I would have spoken to him in quite another way."

According to ʿUmar—Naṣr b. Qudayd: Ibrāhīm summoned people to his cause while living in Abū Farwah's house. The first to give him the oath of allegiance were Numaylah b. Murrah,[1206] ʿAfwallāh b. Sufyān, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād,[1207] ʿUmar b. Salamah al-Hujaymī, and ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn[1208] al-

1204. His great-grandfather ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī (d. 73/692–93) was an Umayyad governor of Khurāsān. *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāzim (H. A. R. Gibb).

1205. Ibrāhīm was actually the great-great-grandson of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

1206. See note 1071.

1207. When Muḥammad b. Sulaymān became governor of al-Baṣrah, Ibn Ziyād's house and that of Ibn Sufyān were among those he destroyed upon orders from Abū Jaʿfar. Ṭabarī, III, 327.

1208. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLIV.

Raqāshī. They, in turn, urged the people to join him. After them, enough young men among the Arabs answered the call, including al-Mughīrah b. al-Fazʿ[1209] and others like him, that people assumed Ibrāhīm could count 4,000 men in his enlistment rolls. As his affair became well known, they said to him, "If only you were to move to the heart of al-Baṣrah, just see how many would join you!" Feeling revived, Ibrāhīm moved and stayed at the house of Abū Marwān,[1210] a Naysābūrī *mawlā* of the Banū Sulaym.

According to ʿUmar—Yūnus b. Najdah: Ibrāhīm was staying among the Banū Rāsib at ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarb's house. He then left his house, leading a group of his partisans that included ʿAfwallāh b. Sufyān, Burd b. Labīd (one of the Banū Yashkur)[1211], al-Maḍāʾ al-Taghlibī,[1212] al-Ṭuhawī,[1213] al-Mughīrah b. al-Fazʿ, Numaylah b. Murrah, and Yaḥyā b. ʿAmr al-Humānī. They passed the extensive tract of the Banū ʿAqīl[1214] on their way out to al-Ṭufāwah.[1215] They then passed Karzam's house[1216] and Nāfiʿ Iblīs[1217] on their way to Abū Marwān's house in the Banū Yashkur graveyard.

According to ʿUmar—Ibn ʿAfwallāh b. Sufyān—his father: One day I came to Ibrāhīm, finding him upset. He told me that he had received a letter from his brother informing him that he [Muḥammad] had made his uprising and commanding Ibrāhīm to stage his own revolt. He was dumbfounded with that news and [291] greatly worried about it. I tried to smooth over the matter for him, saying, "Affairs have already worked together for you. You have al-Maḍā, al-Ṭuhawī, al-Mughīrah, and me, as well as various

1209. Al-Mughīrah b. al-Fazʿ is first identified in Ṭabarī, III, 76, as a supporter of Bassām b. Ibrāhīm, a Khurāsānī officer who rebelled against the caliph Abū al-ʿAbbās in 134/751–52.

1210. His house, too, is listed by Ṭabarī, III, 327, as among those destroyed upon Abū Jaʿfar's orders. See note 1207.

1211. Yashkur b. Bakr was a tribe of Rabīʿah. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 141, 162, II, 592.

1212. Al-Maḍāʾ b. al-Qāsim al-Taghlibī al-Jazarī.

1213. His full name is never given in Ṭabarī.

1214. Presumably ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib. See note 866, and Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 5, II, 191.

1215. Although not included in Yāqūt, this place is later mentioned in Ṭabarī's account of the Zanj rebellion at III, 1855.

1216. Karzam al-Sadūsī. See note 1251.

1217. The site is not mentioned in the standard geographical sources.

others, on your side. Tonight we will go and break open the prison, and when you awake tomorrow you will have a host of people with you." At this he regained his spirits.

According to ʿUmar—Sahl b. ʿAqīl b. Ismāʿīl—his father: When Muḥammad came out in open revolt, Abū Jaʿfar sent for Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī, a man of good judgment, and said, "Tell me what you think. Muḥammad has now made an uprising in Medina." "Send the armies to al-Baṣrah," said Jaʿfar. The caliph then told him to leave until he was sent for. When Ibrāhīm reached al-Baṣrah, the caliph again sent for Jaʿfar and said, "Ibrāhīm has now reached al-Baṣrah." Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah responded, "That's why I was afraid for it; dispatch armies against him posthaste." "Why are you afraid for al-Baṣrah?" asked Abū Jaʿfar. "Because Muḥammad has made his uprising in Medina," said Jaʿfar, "and they are not sufficiently warlike to sustain the situation by themselves. The people of al-Kūfah are under your foot, while the Syrians are enemies of the family of Abū Ṭālib. That leaves only al-Baṣrah."[1218] Abū Jaʿfar thus sent the two sons of ʿAqīl, both Khurāsānī officers from the tribe of Ṭayyiʾ. They arrived in al-Baṣrah, which was then governed by Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah, and he gave them a place to stay.

According to ʿUmar—Jawwād b. Ghālib b. Mūsā, the *mawlā* of the Banū ʿIjl—Yaḥyā b. Budayl b. Yaḥyā b. Budayl: When Muḥammad came out in open revolt, Abū Jaʿfar asked Abū Ayyūb and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd,[1219] "Do you know someone of sound opinions with whom we could put our heads together?" "There's Budayl b. Yaḥyā in al-Kūfah." they replied. "Abū al-ʿAbbās used to seek counsel with him, so send for him." The caliph did so and said to Budayl, "Muḥammad has now made an uprising in Medina." "Invest al-Ahwāz with an army," was his
[292] reply. The caliph retorted, "But he made his uprising in Medina." "I understand that," said Budayl, "But al-Ahwāz is their gate through which they can be brought." Abū Jaʿfar accepted Budyal's assessment.

According to ʿUmar: When Ibrāhīm arrived in al-Baṣrah, the caliph sent for Budayl and said, "Ibrāhīm has now reached al-

1218. On this conversation, see Lassner, "Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr," 45–47.
1219. See note 1108.

Baṣrah. Overtake him with the army and set al-Ahwāz ablaze[1220] against him."

According to Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Dimashqī, a Qurashī *mawlā*: When Muḥammad made his uprising, Abū Jaʿfar sought the advice of a Syrian *shaykh* who had sound opinions. The *shaykh* said, "Dispatch 4,000 Syrian troops to al-Baṣrah." The caliph paid no attention to him, saying, "The *shaykh* is feeble-minded." Later, however, he sent for him again and said, "Ibrāhīm has now made an uprising in al-Baṣrah." To this the *shaykh* responded, "Send against him a force of Syrians." "Woe to you," said the caliph, "whom can I trust to deal with them?" The *shaykh* replied, "Write to your governor there, telling him to send you ten men every day by the post road." Accordingly, Abū Jaʿfar sent that order to Syria.

According to ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ: I remember my father paying the army during that time. Although but a mere lad then, I held the lantern for him while he paid them at night.

According to ʿUmar—Sahl b. ʿAqīl—Salm b. Farqad:[1221] When Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah counseled Abū Jaʿfar to have the Syrian army sent down to him,[1222] they began arriving in contingents, some right on the tracks of others. Intending to alarm the people of al-Kūfah with them, Abū Jaʿfar ordered the soldiers, when dark of night concealed them in his camp, to go back but to keep well away from the road. The next morning they entered, leaving the people of al-Kūfah in no doubt that they were another army in addition to the first.

According to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd,[1223] a servant to Abū al-ʿAbbās: Muḥammad b. Yazīd[1224] was one of Abū Jaʿfar's army commanders. He had a chestnut-colored mount of Persian breed, and frequently while we were in al-Kūfah he rode by us on it. [When he stood] his [293]
head was on level with that of the horse.[1225] Abū Jaʿfar dispatched

1220. *Wa-ashʿil al-Ahwāza ʿalayhi.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCLXV.

1221. Ṭabarī, III, 294, later identifies him as chamberlain to Sulaymān b. Mujālid.

1222. *Bi-ḥadri jundi al-shaʾmi ilayhi.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ḥadara.*

1223. Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbdallāh b. (Abī) al-Ḥakam b. Rāfiʿ. See note 674.

1224. Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. ʿImrān.

1225. *Qad sāwā raʾsuhu raʾsahu.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *sawiya.*

him to al-Baṣrah, where he stayed until Ibrāhīm came out in open revolt. Eventually, Ibrāhīm seized and imprisoned him.

According to Saʿīd b. Nūḥ b. Mujālid al-Ḍubaʿī: Abū Jaʿfar sent Mujālid and Muḥammad, the sons of Yazīd b. ʿImrān and natives of Abīward,[1226] as army commanders. Mujālid arrived before Muḥammad; then Muḥammad arrived on the night that Ibrāhīm began his rebellion. Sufyān obstructed them, imprisoning them near him in the governor's quarters until Ibrāhīm made his uprising. Then Ibrāhīm seized and shackled them. Along with those two, Abū Jaʿfar had also dispatched an army commander from ʿAbd al-Qays[1227] whose name was Muʿammar.

According to Yūnus b. Najdah: Mujālid b. Yazīd al-Ḍubaʿī reached Sufyān at Abū Jaʿfar's behest with 1,500 cavalry and 500 foot soldiers.

According to Saʿīd b. al-Ḥasan b. Tasnīm b. al-Ḥawārī b. Ziyād b. ʿAmr b. al-Ashraf:[1228] I heard various people I do not count among our associates mention that Abū Jaʿfar sought advice about the situation with Ibrāhīm and was told, "The people of al-Kūfah are Ibrāhīm's partisans (*shīʿah*). In fact, al-Kūfah is a furiously boiling pot and you are its lid, so go and remain there." The caliph did so.

According to Muslim al-Khaṣī ("the Eunuch"), Muḥammad b. Sulaymān's *mawlā*: The affair of Ibrāhīm occurred when I was some ten years old. In those days I belonged to Abū Jaʿfar, and we were lodged in al-Hāshimiyyah (of al-Kūfah) while the caliph himself was living in al-Ruṣāfah, behind al-Kūfah. The totality of his army stationed in his encampment numbered about 1,500, and al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr commanded his personal guard. The army was divided into three parts of 500 men each. As soldiers patrolled around the whole of al-Kūfah every night, the caliph commanded a herald to call out: "Whomever we seize after dark
[294] has declared himself open game." When the guard seized a man after dark, they would wrap him in a woolen cloak, carry

1226. "Abīward," or "Bāward," was the name of a town and district in northwestern Khurāsān. *EI*², s.v. (V. Minorsky); Le Strange, *Lands*, 394–95; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 86–87.

1227. Banū ʿAbd al-Qays b. Afṣā were a component tribe of Rabīʿah. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 141, 168, II, 127; *EI*², s.v. ʿAbd al-Ḳays (W. Caskel).

1228. Al-Ashraf was the son of al-Manṣūr's governor in Oman. See note 796.

him off, and make him spend the night near them. In the morning they would make inquiries about him, and if they could ascertain his innocence, they would release him. If not, they imprisoned him.

According to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥadhdhā' ("the Cobbler"): Abū Jaʿfar made the people wear black, so I used to see people dyeing their clothes with ink.

According to ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd: In those days I saw the people of al-Kūfah take to wearing black clothes to such an extent that, even among the grocers, one of them would dye his garment [from his stock of] paints and then wear it.

According to Jawwād b. Ghālib—al-ʿAbbās b. Salm, Qaḥṭabah's *mawlā*: Whenever the Commander of the Faithful Abū Jaʿfar suspected anyone in al-Kūfah of favoring Ibrāhīm, he would order my father Salm to search for him. The latter would then wait until nightfall, when people were quiet, to set a ladder against the man's dwelling. He would thereby burst in upon him in his house in order to drive him out, kill him, and take his signet ring.

According to Abū Sahl Jawwād:[1229] I heard Jamīl, Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās's *mawlā*, say to al-ʿAbbās b. Salm, "By God, had your father bequeathed nothing but the signet rings of those citizens of al-Kūfah whom he killed, you would be the best provided for of sons."

According to Sahl b. ʿAqīl—Salm b. Farqad, the chamberlain of Sulaymān b. Mujālid: I had a friend in al-Kūfah who came to me and said, "My dear fellow, you should know that the people of al-Kūfah are preparing to pounce on your master. If you can settle your family in a safe place, then do so. I went to Sulaymān b. Mujālid and gave him this information. He, in turn, informed Abū Jaʿfar. Now Abū Jaʿfar had a spy named Ibn Muqrin[1230] [295] among the citizens of al-Kūfah, who was by profession a money changer. He sent for him and said, "Woe to you, the people of al-Kūfah have become stirred up." "No, by God, Commander of the Faithful," replied Ibn Muqrin, "I am your advocate with them." The caliph relied on his statement and left them alone.

1229. Probably Jawwād b. Ghālib b. Mūsā, the *mawlā* of the Banū ʿIjl. See the preceding paragraph and p. 262.

1230. Thus vocalized in the Leiden text, but see I, 2025, for Maʿqil b. Muqarrin.

According to Yaḥyā b. Maymūn of the people of al-Qādisiyyah: I heard a number of the people of al-Qādisiyyah mention that a Khurāsānī named something-or-other b. Maʿqil, and whose patronymic was Abū al-Faḍl, was put in charge of al-Qādisiyyah to prevent the people of al-Kūfah from coming to [the aid of] Ibrāhīm. People were posted as watchmen on the road to al-Baṣrah because Kūfans would come first to al-Qādisiyyah, then to al-ʿUdhayb,[1231] and finally to Wādī al-Sibāʿ.[1232] At this point they would detour to the left through open country until they reached al-Baṣrah. A band of twelve men left al-Kūfah and got as far as Wādī al-Sibāʿ. There one of the Banū Asad[1233] *mawlās*, named Bakr, who was from the town of Sharāf,[1234] encountered them outside Wāqiṣah,[1235] two *mīls* from the people living near the mosque called the Mosque of the Mawlās. Then Ibn Maʿqil came, and Bakr told him what was happening. Ibn Maʿqil, therefore, followed the group of twelve, overtaking them in Khaffān,[1236] which is four *farsakhs*[1237] from al-Qādisiyyah, and killed them all.

According to Ibrāhīm b. Salm:[1238] Al-Furāfiṣah al-ʿIjlī had planned to make a surprise assault on al-Kūfah but refrained from

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1231. Al-ʿUdhayb was an oasis belonging to the Banū Tamīm that lay about ten miles south of al-Qādisiyyah on the pilgrimage route from al-Kūfah to Mecca. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 92; Morony, *Iraq*, 153; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳādisiyya (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

1232. *Sibāʿ* are predatory animals whose flesh is forbidden under Muslim dietary law. See Cook, "Early Islamic Dietary Law," 248–51. Among the places thus identified by Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 343–44, are a locality in the environs of al-Kūfah and another some five *mīls* south of al-Baṣrah on the way to Mecca. The latter is remembered as the site of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām's death in the Battle of the Camel.

1233. Asad b. Khuzaymah was a component of Khindif. For their presence in the vicinity of al-Qādisiyyah, see *EI*², s.v. (W. Caskel); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 3, 50, II, 194; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 190–92.

1234. Sharāf was a watering place between Wāqiṣah and Qarʿāʾ on the road from al-Kūfah to Mecca. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 331.

1235. Wāqiṣah was a fortified watering place about 125 kilometers south of al-Qādisiyyah. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 353–54; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 94.

1236. Khaffān was a stage on the pilgrimage route from al-Kūfah about two or three *mīls* below al-Nusūkh. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 379.

1237. The *farsakh* is the equivalent of about six kilometers. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 62.

1238. Perhaps this is Ibrāhīm b. Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī, grandson of the Umayyad governor Qutaybah b. Muslim, and governor of the Yemen for al-Hādī, Ṭabarī, III, 568; Crone, *Slaves*, 138.

doing so because of Abū Jaʿfar's presence and his continued stay there. Ibn Māʿiz al-Asadī secretly took the oath of allegiance to Ibrāhīm there.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid b. Yazīd: I heard Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā al-Bajalī and ʿĪsā b. al-Naḍr, the two Sammānīs, and others report that Ghazwān belonged to the family of al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Ḍirār.[1239] Then Abū Jaʿfar purchased him, and one day Ghazwān said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, behold, there are ships coming down from al-Mawṣil that contain wearers of white,[1240] heading for Ibrāhīm in al-Baṣrah." The caliph therefore [296] assigned Ghazwān an army, and he encountered the wearers of white in Bāḥamshā,[1241] which lies between Baghdad and al-Mawṣil, and killed them all. Those traveling were merchants, and with them was a group of devotees, people of pious bent, as well as others. Leading them was a man named Abū al-ʿIrfān,[1242] from the people of Shuʿayb al-Sammān, who began to say, "Woe unto you, O Ghazwān, don't you recognize me? I'm your neighbor Abū al-ʿIrfān. All I did was set out with some slaves of mine, and now I have sold them." But Ghazwān did not accept his story and killed them all. He then sent their heads to al-Kūfah, and they were set up for display all the way from the house of Isḥāq al-Azraq,[1243] which stands next to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's house, to Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah. Abū Aḥmad ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid said, "I actually saw them raised up on a pile of earth."

According to ʿUmar—Abū ʿAlī al-Qaddāḥ ("the Cup maker")—Dāwūd b. Sulaymān,[1244] Naybakht,[1245] and a group of [his] fellow-

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1239. See note 305.

1240. I.e., ʿAlid supporters, as distinguished from the ʿAbbāsid wearers of black.

1241. Bāḥamshā was a village that lay between Awānā and al-Ḥazīrah in the region north of Baghdad before Sāmarrāʾ. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 316.

1242. With some strands of classical Sufism, *ʿirfān* came to denote a kind of experiential mystical knowledge or gnosis.

1243. Abū Muḥammad Isḥāq b. Yūsuf b. Mirdās al-Azraq (d. 195/810) was a traditionist and Qurʾān reciter from al-Wāsiṭ. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VIII, 431; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 225; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IX, 171–72; *GAS*, I, 75.

1244. Perhaps Abū Sahl al-Daqqāq Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Ḥafṣ al-ʿAskarī, *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim and a source for such *muḥaddithūn* as al-Nasāʾī, Ibn Mājah, and Ibn Abī Dāwūd. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 161.

1245. Or Nawbakht. He is later, III, 317, identified as an astrologer at the court of al-Manṣūr and was listed (Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 238–41) among the group of astronomers, astrologers, and mathematicians who were consulted about the founding

tradesmen: We were in al-Mawṣil at the time that Ḥarb al-Rāwandī[1246] was there as a frontier soldier in charge of 2,000 because of the Khārijī presence in the Jazīrah. He received a letter from Abū Jaʿfar ordering him to return. Ḥarb left, but when he was in Bāḥamshā, its people obstructed him, saying, "We will not let you through our lines to help Abū Jaʿfar against Ibrāhīm." Ḥarb replied, "Woe to you, I mean you no harm! I'm simply passing through, so give me leave." "No, by God," they cried, "you shall never pass us!" Ḥarb therefore fought them and wiped them out, carrying off 500 of their heads. These he brought to Abū Jaʿfar and told him how things had gone with them. Abū Jafar said, "This is the beginning of victory."

According to ʿUmar—Khālid b. Khidāsh b. ʿAjlān,[1247] ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ's *mawlā*: A group of our shaykhs told me that they were
[297] present when Dafīf b. Rāshid, the *mawlā* of the Banū Yazīd b. Ḥātim,[1248] came to Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah the night before Ibrāhīm's revolt and said, "Assign me some cavalry troops and I shall bring you Ibrāhīm or his head." Sufyān replied, "Have you no work to do? Go do your job!" Dafīf left that very night and caught up with Yazīd b. Ḥātim when he was in Egypt.

According to ʿUmar—Khālid b. Khidāsh: I heard a number of the Azdīs speaking about Jābir b. Ḥammād, the head of Sufyān's police force,[1249] who the day before Ibrāhīm's revolt said to Sufyān, "I was passing the graveyard of the Banū Yashkur, and

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of Baghdad. Nawbakht is a Persian patronymic meaning "new fortune" that was carried by a number of Baghdādī scholars, including several important Shīʿī theologians. *EI*[1], s.v. (L. Massignon); Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, II, 1071.

1246. Ḥarb b. ʿAbdallāh al-Rāwandī, who headed al-Manṣūr's *shurṭah*, first in Baghdad and then here in al-Mawṣil. The Ḥarbiyyah quarter of Baghdad was named after him, and the ruins of a fortress that he built in al-Mawṣil were visible in the seventh/thirteenth century. The information that follows mention of his name is repeated, and Ḥarb's death at the hands of a Turkish force is related, among the first events of the year 147/764–65. Ṭabarī, III, 328–29; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, II, 172–73; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 122–35; Lassner, *Topography*, 158–59, 176–77.

1247. Abū al-Haytham Khālid b. Khidāsh (thus vocalized in the Leiden text) b. ʿAjlān al-Muhallabī was a Baghdādī *muḥaddith* who died in 223/838. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, VIII, 304–7; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIII, 276 (where the *nasab* is given as Ibn Khaddāsh); Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 488–89.

1248. Yazīd b. Ḥātim b. Qabīṣah b. al-Muhallab. See note 205. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 204, II, 594.

1249. *ʿĀqibu ṣāḥibi shuraṭi Sufyān*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *ʿaqaba*.

they yelled at me and threw stones at me." Sufyān said to him, "Couldn't you have gone some other way?"

According to ʿUmar—Abū ʿUmar al-Ḥawḍī Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar:[1250] On Sunday, the day before Ibrāhīm's uprising, the deputy head of Sufyān's police force was passing the graveyard of the Banū Yashkur. He was told, "Watch out for Ibrāhīm, who is planning to revolt." "You have lied," said the deputy, and did not let himself be diverted.

According to Abū ʿUmar al-Ḥawḍī: When he was surrounded, Ibrāhīm's partisans started to shout at Sufyān. "Remember the oath of allegiance you took in the house of the Makhzūmīs."

According to Abū ʿUmar—Muḥārib b. Naṣr: After Ibrāhīm was killed, Sufyān passed by in a boat. Looking down from his stronghold, Abū Jaʿfar asked, "Is this fellow really Sufyān?" When they told him it was, the caliph said, "By God, that's astonishing! How did the son of a whore escape me?"

According to al-Ḥawḍī: Sufyān said to one of Ibrāhīm's army commanders, "Stand with me; not all your associates know what lay between Ibrāhīm and me."

According to ʿUmar—Naṣr b. Farqad: Karzam al-Sadūsī[1251] would come to Sufyān in the morning with news of Ibrāhīm. In the evening he would return and tell Sufyān who had come to Ibrāhīm. Sufyān, however, paid no attention to him and made no attempt to follow a single one of these leads.

Another source: In those days Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah was al-Manṣūr's governor of al-Baṣrah. He was conspiring with Ibrāhīm [298]
b. ʿAbdallāh in his affair and, therefore, did not give sincere advice to his master (Abū Jaʿfar).

There is disagreement about the time of Ibrāhīm's arrival in al-Baṣrah. Some say that he reached there on the first day of the month Ramaḍān in 145. The account of those who hold that view is as follows:

According to ʿUmar—al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: When Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan came out in

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1250. Abū ʿUmar al-Ḥawḍī Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥārith b. Sakhbarah al-Azdī al-Namirī was a *muḥaddith* and *ḥāfiẓ* of al-Baṣrah who died in 225/840. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 354–55; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 349–50; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIII, 101–2.

1251. Sadūs b. Shaybān was a branch of Dhuhl b. Thaʿlabah, part of the Bakr b. Wāʾil confederation. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 152, 153, II, 498.

open revolt, took control of Medina and Mecca, and was greeted as caliph, he dispatched his brother Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh to al-Baṣrah. Ibrāhīm entered al-Baṣrah on the first day of the month of Ramaḍān in 145. He was victorious over it and put on white there, as did the people of al-Baṣrah in union with him. Those who joined his revolt were ʿĪsā b. Yūnus,[1252] Muʿādh b. Muʿādh,[1253] ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAwwām,[1254] Isḥāq b. Yūsuf al-Azraq, Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām,[1255] and a considerable number of jurisprudents and scholars. He remained in al-Baṣrah for the months of Ramaḍān and Shawwāl. When Ibrāhīm learned of his brother Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's slaying, he made preparations and provisions and headed out to an encounter with Abū Jaʿfar in al-Kūfah.

We have already mentioned the view of those who say that Ibrāhīm arrived in al-Baṣrah in the beginning of 143. According to this account, however, he lived in hiding there, secretly calling upon the people of al-Baṣrah to give the oath of allegiance to his brother Muḥammad.

According to Sahl b. ʿAqīl—his father: Before Ibrāhīm's uprising, Sufyān sent for two army commanders who had come to him
[299] on Abū Jaʿfar's authority as reinforcements. They were still with him, and when Ibrāhīm gave him a firm date for the rebellion, Sufyān sent for the two commanders and kept them with him that night until Ibrāhīm had staged his revolt. Ibrāhīm then surrounded Sufyān, and the two commanders and took the latter into custody.

1252. Abū ʿAmr ʿĪsā b. Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq b. al-Sabīʿī al-Hamdānī (d. 187/803) was a Syrian *muḥaddith* and *ḥāfiẓ* who is said to have taken part in raids against the Byzantine border and to have made the Pilgrimage every year. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 212–15; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 489–94; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, V, 111.

1253. Abū Muthannā Muʿādh b. Muʿādh b. Naṣr b. Ḥassān b. al-Ḥārith al-ʿAnbarī (d. 196/812) was a *muḥaddith* who served as judge of al-Baṣrah for Hārūn al-Rashīd. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XIII, 131–34; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 175–76; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IX, 54–57; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VII, 258.

1254. Abū Sahl ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAwwām b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mundhir al-Kilābī was a traditionist who died in Baghdad about 186/802. He was imprisoned for a time by Hārūn al-Rashīd and then released. Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 511–12; Ṣafadī, *Wafī*, XVI, 614; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 86–87.

1255. Abū al-Ḥasan Muʿāwiyah b. Hishām al-Qaṣṣār al-Azdī was a traditionist of al-Kūfah who died about 205/820–21. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 196–97.

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf b. Suwayd—his father: Before Ibrāhīm's uprising, Abū Jaʿfar sent [to al-Baṣrah] three army commanders, Mujālid, Muḥammad, and Yazīd, who were brothers. They advanced with their armies and started to enter al-Baṣrah successively, one right after the other. Concerned that the forces would continue to increase there, Ibrāhīm made his uprising.

According to Naṣr b. Qudayd: Ibrāhīm staged his revolt on the eve of Monday, the first day of the month of Ramaḍān in 145. He reached the graveyard of the Banū Yashkur with some ten mounted men, including ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn[1256] al-Raqāshī. That same night, Abū Ḥammād al-Abraṣ[1257] arrived with 2,000 men as reinforcement for Sufyān. He stayed in the courtyard until the soldiers were settled. Ibrāhīm set off, first going straight for the mounts and weapons of these soldiers. The next morning he led the people in prayer in the main mosque. Meanwhile, Sufyān blockaded himself in his quarters, having a group of his [paternal] brothers there with him. So many people approached Ibrāhīm, either to gaze or to offer support, that their number grew large. When Sufyān saw that, he sought the guarantee of safety, and his request was granted. (Muṭahhar b. Juwayriyyah al-Sadūsī went in secret to Ibrāhīm and obtained the guarantee of safety for Sufyān.) Sufyān then opened the door so that Ibrāhīm could enter the house. As he entered, a reed mat was thrown down for him at the entrance to the portico and a gusting wind turned it upside down. The people took it as an evil omen, but Ibrāhīm said, "We do not take auguries" and proceeded to sit on it wrong-side-up (although repugnance could be seen on his [300]
face.) When Ibrāhīm entered the house, he let them go their ways—as the source recounts—except Sufyān b. Muʿāwiyah. The latter he confined in the fort and bound with a light chain. According to the sources that describe his action, Ibrāhīm wanted Abū Jaʿfar to think that Sufyān was imprisoned near him. Jaʿfar and Muḥammad, the sons of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, who were then in

1256. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLIV.

1257. A *mawlā* of the Banū Sulaym who is earlier mentioned, III, 122, as fighting under the command of Khāzim b. Khuzaymah in the battle against the Khārijī al-Mulabbid.

al-Baṣrah, heard about Ibrāhīm's reaching the governor's quarters and imprisoning Sufyān. It is said that they advanced toward Ibrāhīm with 600 foot soldiers, cavalry, and archers. Against them Ibrāhīm sent al-Maḍāʾ b. al-Qāsim al-Jazarī with eighteen horsemen and thirty foot soldiers, and al-Maḍāʾ routed them. One of al-Maḍāʾ's associates caught up with Muḥammad and stabbed him in the thigh. A herald of Ibrāhīm's cried out, "Anyone retreating will not be pursued." Muḥammad then went himself to stand at Zaynab bt. Sulaymān's gate. There he called out that the family of Sulaymān had a guarantee of safety and that no one should trouble them.

According to Bakr b. Kathīr: When Ibrāhīm was victorious against Jaʿfar and Muḥammad and took control of al-Baṣrah, he found 600,000 [dirhams] in the treasury, which he ordered taken into safekeeping. (Another source states that he found 2 million dirhams in the treasury.) His position was strengthened by that, and he assigned fifty dirhams to every man. It is said that when Ibrāhīm had conquered al-Baṣrah, he sent a man named al-Ḥusayn b. Thawlāʾ to al-Ahwāz so that he could call upon its people to give the oath of allegiance. Al-Ḥusayn, therefore, went and received their oaths of allegiance and then returned to Ibrāhīm. At this point, Ibrāhīm sent al-Mughīrah off with fifty men, while another fully 200 joined him when he reached al-Ahwāz. In those days Abū Jaʿfar's appointed governor in al-Ahwāz was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn. When Ibn al-Ḥuṣayn learned that al-Mughīrah was drawing near him, he went forth against him with those who were with him, a force said to number 4,000. The opposing sides met each other about a *mīl* from the citadel of al-
[301] Ahwāz in a place called Dasht Arbuk. Ibn Ḥuṣayn and his associates were put to flight, and al-Mughīrah entered al-Ahwāz.

It has been said that al-Mughīrah went to al-Ahwāz after Ibrāhīm left al-Baṣrah for Bākhamrā.[1258]

According to Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Murabbaʿī: After Ibrāhīm had gained control of al-Baṣrah, he intended to head for the district of al-Kūfah. He therefore appointed Numaylah b. Murrah al-ʿAbshamī as his deputy in al-Baṣrah and ordered him to send al-

1258. Bākhamrā was a village about seventeen *farsakhs* (about 100 kilometers) from al-Kūfah on the road to Wāsiṭ. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 316.

Mughīrah b. al-Fazʿ, one of the Banū Bahdalah b. ʿAwf,[1259] to al-Ahwāz, which at that time was governed by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-ʿAbdī. To Fārs, Ibrāhīm sent ʿAmr b. Shaddād as governor. Ibn Shaddād went by Rām Hurmuz,[1260] where Yaʿqūb b. al-Faḍl[1261] was, and asked him to follow him. Yaʿqūb b. al-Faḍl went with him as far as Fārs, where Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh was Abū Jaʿfar's appointed governor. With Ismāʿīl was his brother, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī. When they heard that ʿAmr b. Shaddād and Yaʿqūb b. al-Faḍl were approaching, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad were in Iṣṭakhr.[1262] Immediately they hurried off to Dārābjird[1263] and fortified themselves there. Fārs thus fell to the control of ʿAmr b. Shaddād and Yaʿqūb b. al-Faḍl, thereby placing al-Baṣrah, al-Ahwāz, and Fārs [all three] under Ibrāhīm's jurisdiction.

According to ʿUmar—Sulaymān b. Abī Shaykh (or Shaḥḥ):[1264] When Ibrāhīm made his uprising in al-Baṣrah, al-Ḥakam b. Abī Ghaylān al-Yashkurī approached with 17,000 men to enter Wāsiṭ, where Hārūn b. Ḥumayd al-Iyādī was Abū Jaʿfar's appointed [governor]. Hārūn, therefore, took refuge in an oven in the fortress until he was brought out from it. The people of Wāsiṭ went to Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah[1265] and said to him: "You are more [302]

1259. Bahdalah b. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd was a clan of the Banū Tamīm. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 77, II, 220; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 218–19, 466.

1260. Rām Hurmuz, or Rāmahurmuz, was a town in Khūzistān that lay about eighty-five kilometers east of al-Ahwāz. *EI*[1], s.v. Rām Hormuz (V. Minorsky); Le Strange, *Lands*, 243, 247; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 17.

1261. Yaʿqūb b. al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbbās b. Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. His ancestor, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, was the Prophet's uncle. Yaʿqūb's execution for heresy in 169/785 was among the first acts of Mūsā al-Hādī's caliphate. Ṭabarī, III, 549–50; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 71.

1262. Iṣṭakhr, which was situated near the ruins of Persepolis, was the principal city of the province of Fārs. Persepolis, in fact, provided building material for the construction of Iṣṭakhr. *EI*[2], s.v. (M. Streck and G. C. Miles); Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 148, 151–52; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 51; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 211–12.

1263. Dārābjird was a town in the province of Fārs that lay about 280 kilometers east of Shīrāz. *EI*[2], s.v. (D. N. Wilber); Barthold, *Geography of Iran*, 152–53, 161–62; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 48; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 419.

1264. Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Abī Shaykh was a traditionist and poet of Wāsiṭ. Dodge, *Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, 1099.

1265. His great-great-grandfather Abū Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām (d. 43/663) was among the *tābiʿūn*, the Successors

entitled than this Hujaymī [i.e., Hārūn].[1266] Ḥafṣ, therefore, took control of the city and al-Yashkurī left. Ḥafṣ, however, put Abū Muqrin al-Hujaymī in charge of his police forces.

According to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. ʿAmr al-Fuqaymī, al-Faḍl b. ʿAmr al-Fuqaymī's nephew: Ibrāhīm was at odds with Hārūn b. Saʿd[1267] and would not speak to him. When Ibrāhīm made his uprising, Hārūn b. Saʿd turned up and went to see Salm b. Abī Wāṣil, saying to him: "Tell me about your master. Has he no need of us in this affair of his?" "Yes, God's life!" Salm replied. Then he stood up, went into Ibrāhīm, and said, "Here is Hārūn b. Saʿd who has come to you." Ibrāhīm replied, "I have no need of him." "Don't shun Hārūn; restrain yourself," responded Salm, and he kept at Ibrāhīm until he agreed to receive Hārūn, giving him permission to enter. Hārūn went into Ibrāhīm and said to him, "Ask me to do what is of greatest importance to you." Ibrāhīm therefore asked him to take charge of Wāsiṭ and installed him as governor there.

According to Sulaymān b. Abī Shaykh—Abū al-Ṣaʿdī: The Kūfan Hārūn b. Saʿd al-ʿIjlī came to us, having been sent by Ibrāhīm from al-Baṣrah. He was an important *shaykh*, but the most famous Baṣran who was in his entourage was al-Ṭuhawī. The man from Wāsiṭ among those accompanying him whose bravery most resembled that of al-Ṭuhawī was the valiant ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Kalbī. Among those who marched with Ibrāhīm [from the start] or came out to join him [later] was ʿAbdawayh[1268] Kardām of Khurāsān, while Ṣadaqah b. Bakkār was a member of their cavalry. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr[1269] was wont to say, "With

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to Muḥammad's Companions, and among those commissioned by the caliph ʿUthmān to collect and transcribe the official text (*muṣḥaf*) of the Qurʾān. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 130; *Ziriklī*, *Aʿlām*, III, 303.

1266. Al-Hujaym b. ʿAlī b. Sūd and Iyād b. Sūd are clans of the Banū al-Azd. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 206, II, 360. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, X, 603.

1267. Hārūn b. Saʿd al-ʿIjlī. See note 1032.

1268. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLV, with this vocalization or ʿAbdūyah.

1269. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr b. Ḥaṣan b. ʿAmr al-Kalbī was an Umayyad general who plotted the assassination of the caliph Walīd b. Yazīd in 126/744. Subsequently, he governed Iraq for a very brief period and eventually moved on to Sind as governor there. After Abū al-ʿAbbās became caliph, Mūsā b. Kaʿb was sent

Ṣadaqah b. Bakkār on my side, I don't care whom I encounter!" According to some sources, Abū Jaʿfar dispatched ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl al-Muslī[1270] with 5,000 troops to Wāsiṭ to wage war against Hārūn b. Saʿd—other sources say 20,000—and there were various battles between them.

According to [i.e., on the authority of] Ibn Abī al-Karrām:[1271] I reached Abū Jaʿfar with the head of Muḥammad while ʿĀmir b. [303] Ismāʿīl was in Wāsiṭ besieging Hārūn b. Saʿd. The war between the people of Wāsiṭ and the associates of Abū Jaʿfar occurred before Ibrāhīm left al-Baṣrah.

According to Sulaymān b. Abī Shaykh: ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl's camp lay behind al-Nīl. The first battle occurred between Hārūn and ʿĀmir, and [in it] a slave water-bearer struck the latter, wounded him, and brought him to the ground without recognizing him. Abū Jaʿfar sent him a small bag contining gum arabic and said, "Treat your wound with it." The opposing forces then met each other in battle more than once, and many from al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ were killed. Hārūn kept forbidding their fighting, saying, "If our master were to meet their master, the situation would become clear to us, so hold yourselves back." But they would not do so. After Ibrāhīm left for Bākhamrā, however, the two sides, i.e., the troops of Wāsiṭ and those of ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl, quit battling each other and agreed to cease warring until both armies could meet. Then they would follow the victor. When Ibrāhīm was killed, ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl wanted to enter Wāsiṭ but its people kept him from doing so.

According to Sulaymān: When the news that Ibrāhīm had been killed reached Wāsiṭ, Hārūn b. Saʿd fled, and the people of Wāsiṭ made peace with ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl on condition that he extend a guarantee of safety. Many of them, however, had no faith in any guarantee of his, so they left the city. ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl entered Wāsiṭ and stayed there without disturbing anyone.

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against him, and Manṣūr died about 134/751–52. (According to Balādhurī, *Futuḥ*, 444, Mūsā b. Kaʿb was sent by Abū Muslim.) Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VII, 298; Crone, *Slaves*, 158–59; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, 161–63.

1270. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLV, gives a manuscript reference from Balādhurī for this as "al-Shalīmī," but the printed text, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 100, does not reflect this.

1271. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karrām al-Jaʿfarī.

According to Sulaymān: It has been said that ʿĀmir made a peace agreement with the people of Wāsiṭ that he would not kill anyone in Wāsiṭ, but they did [in fact] kill anyone found leaving the city. After Ibrāhīm's slaying, when peace was declared between ʿĀmir and the people of Wāsiṭ, Hārūn b. Saʿd fled to al-
[304] Baṣrah but died before he got there, or so it is said.

It is said that Hārūn b. Saʿd went into hiding and stayed there until Muḥammad b. Sulaymān became governor of al-Kūfah. Offering Hārūn the guarantee of safety, Muḥammad enticed him into the open. He even ordered Hārūn to assign positions to 200 of the members of his household. Hārūn was about to do so and rode off to present himself to Muḥammad when one of his cousins met him and said to him, "You've been deceived." Hārūn, therefore, turned back and disappeared from sight until he died. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān tore down his house.

According to ʿUmar: After making his uprising there, Ibrāhīm remained in al-Baṣrah, assigning governors to the various administrative districts and dispatching troops to the regions, until news of his brother Muḥammad's death reached him.

According to Naṣr b. Qudayd: Ibrāhīm assigned various administrative positions in al-Baṣrah. Three days before the feast of the Fiṭr, news of his brother Muḥammad's death reached him. Although he led the people in observance of the feast, they recognized the deep sadness in him. He told the people about Muḥammad's slaying, and with burning hearts[1272] they redoubled their efforts against Abū Jaʿfar. Upon awaking the next morning, Ibrāhīm gathered his army and appointed Numaylah as his deputy over al-Baṣrah, leaving his son Ḥasan[1273] behind with him.

According to Saʿīd b. Huraym—his father—ʿAlī b. Dāwūd:[1274] When he preached to us on the day of the Fiṭr, I saw death on

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1272. *Fa-izdādū fī qitāli Abī Jaʿfarin baṣiratan*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *baṣura*.

1273. Al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥasan. He escaped from the caliph al-Mahdī's confinement but was eventually recaptured through the intervention of Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd. During al-Mahdī's Pilgrimage in 160/777, al-Ḥasan was restored to caliphal favor. Ṭabarī, III, 461–64, 482.

1274. ʿAlī b. Dāwūd b. Ṭahmān was the brother of Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd, a vizier to al-Mahdī. Although both brothers were imprisoned by al-Manṣūr for the duration of his life because of their support for the rebellions of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, they were released when al-Mahdī became caliph. Ṭabarī, III, 507; Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 103–11; *EI²*, s.v. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿḳūb (S. Moscati).

Ibrāhīm's face. Returning to my family I said, "That man, by God, is going to be killed."

According to Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf—his father: When Jaʿfar and Muḥammad, the sons of Sulaymān, left al-Baṣrah, they sent Maʿrūf to Abū Jaʿfar to give him the news about Ibrāhīm. He said, "I gave the caliph information from Jaʿfar and Muḥammad, and he said, 'By God, I don't know what I should do. By God, there are only 2,000 men in my force [here]. I have scattered my army: With al-Mahdī in al-Rayy are 30,000 and with Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath in Ifrīqiyah[1275] are 40,000, while the rest are with ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. But, by God, if I am to come safely out of this, my force [305] [here] should not be 30,000 short.' "

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Rāshid: There were not many in Abū Jaʿfar's army camp, almost no one[1276] but some blacks and a few other people. The caliph regularly ordered firewood to be stacked and kindled at night. Anyone seeing the blaze would figure that there were a lot of people there. But, in fact, it was only a burning fire with no one near it.

According to Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf b. Suwayd—his father: When the news reached Abū Jaʿfar, he wrote to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who was then in Medina: "When you read this letter from me, stop whatever you are doing and come right here." ʿĪsā wasted no time getting there, and the caliph dispatched him against the people. He also wrote to Salm b. Qutaybah,[1277] who came to him from al-Rayy. The caliph then attached him to Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān.

According to [i.e., on the authority of] Yūsuf b. Qutaybah b. Muslim[1278]—his brother, Salm b. Qutaybah b. Muslim: When I entered the presence of Abū Jaʿfar, he said to me, "Be on your way; the sons of ʿAbdallāh have now come out in open revolt. Go after Ibrāhīm; his band should certainly not scare you! By God, those two camels of the Banū Hāshim will be slaughtered together. Stretch forth your hand and have faith in what I have told you.

1275. That part of the North African littoral that comprises essentially modern Tunisia. *EI*², s.v. (M. Talbi).

1276. *Kathīru aḥadin mā hum illā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *aḥad*.

1277. Salm b. Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī. See note 797.

1278. Yūsuf was another son of Qutaybah b. Muslim, a noted governor of Khurāsān under al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. *EI*², s.v. Ḳutayba b. Muslim (C. E. Bosworth).

You will remember what I have said to you." By God, what should happen but that Ibrāhīm was killed, and I began to remember what he had said, and I was astonished!

According to Saʿīd b. Salm:[1279] The caliph put Salm b. Qutaybah in charge of the left wing of the people and detailed to him Bashshār b. Salm al-ʿUqaylī, Abū Yaḥyā b. Khuraym, and Abū Hurāsah Sinān b. Mukhayyas al-Qushayrī. Salm wrote to al-Baṣrah and the Bāhilah[1280] joined him, both Arabs and *mawlās*. Al-Manṣūr wrote to al-Mahdī, who was then in al-Rayy, commanding him to dispatch Khāzim b. Khuzaymah to al-Ahwāz. It is said that al-Mahdī sent Khāzim at the head of 4,000 troops.
[306] Khāzim marched to al-Ahwāz and waged war there against al-Mughīrah. The latter then left for al-Baṣrah, while Khāzim entered al-Ahwāz and allowed the troops to plunder for three days.

According to [i.e., on the authority of] al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās b. Mūsā[1281] and ʿUmar b. Māhān[1282]—al-Sindī: In the days of war against Muḥammad I was an attendant who would stand beside al-Manṣūr's head with the flyswatter. As the situation with Ibrāhīm grew ever more dense and intractable, I saw him stay on the prayer mat some fifty nights, sleeping there and sitting there. He was wearing a colored *jubbah*, of which the collar and the part under his beard had become soiled. Yet he did not change the *jubbah* and did not leave the prayer mat until God achieved victory over Ibrāhīm. When he appeared before people, however, he covered the *jubbah* with a black garment and sat on his cushion. But when he was in private,[1283] he returned to his former aspect.

During these days Raysānah came to him. This was after two Medinan women had been given to the caliph as brides. One of them was Fāṭimah bt. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbay-

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1279. Saʿīd b. Salm b. Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī (d. 217/832) served Hārūn al-Rashīd as governor of Armenia, al-Mawṣil, al-Sind, Ṭabaristān, Sijistān, and al-Jazīrah. Crone, *Slaves*, 137–38; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XV, 225.

1280. See W. Caskel, *EI*², s.v. Bāhila.

1281. Al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās b. Mūsā is later mentioned as governor of al-Kūfah during the reign of al-Amīn. Ṭabarī, III, 857; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 43.

1282. The Leiden edition index suggests that this may be ʿUmar b. Abī ʿAmr b. Nuʿaym b. Māhān, who is mentioned on III, 227.

1283. *Fa-idhā baṭana ʿāda hayʾatihi*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *baṭana*

dallāh,[1284] while the other was Amah al-Karīm bt. ʿAbdallāh,[1285] a descendant of Khālid b. Asīd b. Abī al-ʿĪṣ.[1286] Since the caliph had not even taken a look at them, Raysānah said, "O Commander of the Faithful, the souls of these two women are sadly disturbed[1287] and prey to bad thoughts because of the cruelty you show toward them." He chased her away, saying, "These days are no days for women. I will have nothing to do with them until I know whether Ibrāhīm's head is mine or my head belongs to Ibrāhīm."

It is said that after leaving al-Baṣrah, Muḥammad and Jaʿfar, the sons of Sulaymān, wrote to inform Abū Jaʿfar [of the state of affairs], using a scrap of sacking because they could get nothing other than that to write on. When the letter reached the caliph's headquarters and he spied the scrap of sacking in the messenger's hand, he exclaimed, "By God, the people of al-Baṣrah have renounced their allegiance together with Ibrāhīm!" Then he read the letter and summoned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khatlī[1288] and Abū [307]
Yaʿqūb, a relative by marriage of Mālik b. al-Haytham. He sent them off to Muḥammad and Jaʿfar at the head of a numerous cavalry unit. The caliph ordered ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Yaʿqūb to detain Muḥammad and Jaʿfar as soon as they met up with them, and to camp with them, to make them listen, and to bring them into line. He also wrote to Muḥammad and Jaʿfar, calling them weak and impotent and rebuking them for [allowing] Ibrāhīm's unbridled urge to revolt against a stronghold where they were and his successfully concealing his plans from them until he made his uprising. He wrote at the end of the letter:

1284. A descendant of one of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad, Fāṭimah bt. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā is later mentioned as the mother of Abū Jaʿfar's sons Sulaymān, ʿĪsā, and Yaʿqūb. Ṭabarī, III, 442.

1285. Ṭabarī *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLVI, based on al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā*, where her father's name is given as "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh."

1286. Khālid b. Asīd b. Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams was a Meccan butcher who became a Muslim in the year that city was conquered. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XIII, 246; Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 8, II, 341; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 53; *EI*², Suppl., s.v. Djazzār (M. A. J. Beg).

1287. *Qad khabuthat anfusuhumā*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *khabutha*.

1288. The Leiden text's vocalization. Khuttal, or Khuttalān, is a region of central Asia that lies just north of the Oxus river. *EI*², s.v. Khuttalān (C. E. Bosworth); Le Strange, *Lands*, 235–39; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 165; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 346–47.

Give to the Banū Hāshim this message conveyed from me,
Be watchful; this is the action of sleepers
Wolves attack the one who has no dogs
but are wary of the fold of the one striking terror,[1289] the protector.

According to [i.e., on the authority of] Jaʿfar b. Rabīʿah al-ʿĀmirī—al-Ḥajjāj b. Qutaybah b. Muslim:[1290] I entered the presence of al-Manṣūr during the days of the war with Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. He had already heard about the defection of al-Baṣrah, al-Ahwāz, Fārs, Wāsiṭ, al-Madāʾin, and the Sawād, and he was scratching at the ground with his staff and quoting the following:

I've set myself up as a target for spears.
Truly the leader always behaves [thus] in such matters.

I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, may God uphold your might and aid you against your enemy! You are as al-Aʿshā[1291] said:

If between them conflict is ignited
and grows hot for them after it had been cooled.
I shall be found enduring its heat,
yea, though wars come round ever and again.

He said, "O Ḥajjāj, truly Ibrāhīm has now recognized how ragged my flank is, how hard my side and how rough my horn.[1292] He's
[308] been emboldened to head for me by way of al-Baṣrah by the adhesion of these districts that dominate the Commander of the Faithful's forces. Moreover, the people of the Sawād side with him

1289. *Mustanfir*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *nafara* (which explains that it is an epithet of lions); Lane, *Lexicon*, VIII, 2824.

1290. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Qutaybah, son of Qutaybah b. Muslim, a noted governor of Khurāsān under al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. His only appearance in Ṭabarī, other than as a *rāwī*, is at an audience with the mother of the defeated ruler of Farghānah. Ṭabarī, II, 1697.

1291. Abū Baṣīr Maymūn b. Qays b. Jandal, a prominent *jāhilī* poet of Qays b. Thaʿlabah of the Bakr b. Wāʾil who died about 7/629. *GAS*, II, 130–32; *EI*², s.v. (W. Caskel); Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VII, 341.

1292. For an assessment of the caliph's strategic vulnerability, see Lassner, "Provincial Administration: *Amṣār* of Iraq," 25–29.

in conflict and disobedience. I, however, have aimed against each district its stone and against each region its arrow by sending against them the gallant, the bold, the fortunate, the victorious ʿĪsā b. Mūsā at the head of a great mass of men and equipment. I call upon God to help him, and I rely on Him to make him capable of that affair, for there is no might and no power to the Commander of the Faithful except through God."

According to Jaʿfar b. Rabīʿah—al-Ḥajjāj b. Quṭaybah: On that day I entered the presence of the Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr with a word of greeting. I judged him incapable of returning the salutation, however, because of the uninterrupted succession of rips and rents in the fabric of his regime, the armies surrounding him, as well as the 100,000 swords lying in wait for him in al-Kūfah and facing his own army, all waiting for him in one ferocious horde, ready to pounce. I found him to be like a solitary hawk, intensely concentrated, a man who has risen to meet the vicissitudes that have befallen him, facing up to them and contending with them. He tackled them, his spirit never letting him buckle under. Truly he was like what the early poet said:[1293]

The soul of ʿIṣām [is what] made ʿIṣām a sovereign.
    It taught him to wheel and attack,
And made him a gallant ruler,
    so that he surpassed and excelled all peoples.[1294]

According to Abū ʿUbaydah:[1295] He was with Yūnus al-Jarmī at the time when Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh had sent his brother to war against Abū Jaʿfar. Yūnus said, "This fellow arrived intending to eliminate a ruler, but the daughter of ʿUmar b. Salamah[1296] distracted him from what he was trying to do." In those days the

1293. The editor of the Leiden text identifies the poet as Nābighah [al-Dhubyānī], a renowned *jāhilī* poet who is thought to have died in the early years of the seventh century. *GAS*, II, 110–13; *EI*², s.v. (A. Arazi).

1294. *Hattā ʿalā wa-jāwaza al-aqwānā*. This final line is supplied in Ibrāhīm's edition, VII, 641.

1295. Abū ʿUbaydah Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā (d. 209/824–25) was a noted historian and philologist from al-Baṣrah who wrote, among many other works, one of the first treatises of Qurʾānic *tafsīr*. *EI*², s.v. (H. A. R. Gibb); *GAS*, I, 48.

1296. ʿUmar b. Salamah al-Hujaymī. See p. 260.

woman from the [Banū] Taym[1297] was presented to Abū Jaʿfar, but he kept her at a distance,[1298] not even looking at her until the
[309] matter of Ibrāhīm was settled. Ibrāhīm, however, after his arrival in al-Baṣrah, married Bamakah bt. ʿUmar b. Salamah.[1299] She would come to him with her cosmetics and many-hued garments.

According to Bishr b. Salm: When Ibrāhīm intended to head toward Abū Jaʿfar, Numaylah, al-Ṭuhawī, and a group of his Baṣran army commanders came to see him and said, "May God prosper you! You have gained control of al-Baṣrah, al-Ahwāz, Fārs, and Wāsiṭ, so stay where you are and send the armies. If one of your armies is put to flight, you can send another army as reinforcment. Similarly, if one of your army commanders is routed, you can reinforce him with another army commander. Your position is feared and your enemy is on guard against you. The monies have been raised and your footing is firm. All we need now is your [good] judgment." But the Kūfans said, "May God prosper you! In al-Kūfah there are men who would die in your place, were they to see you. But if they do not see you, various reasons will lead them to stay where they are so that they don't come to you." These men kept on at Ibrāhīm until he left.

According to [i.e. on the authority of] ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar al-Madīnī:[1300] We went forth with Ibrāhīm to Bākhamrā. When we had made camp, he came to us one night and said, "Come out with us for a stroll around our camp." On his stroll, Ibrāhīm listened to the sounds of mandolins (*ṭanābīr*) and singing and then went back inside. He came to me on yet another night and said, "Come out with us." I joined him as he listened to similar sounds and then went back in, saying, "I don't much crave the support of an army with goings-on like these in it!"

1297. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLVI; the Leiden text's original vocalization was *al-Yatīmah*, a word meaning "orphan." She is not mentioned in the list of women who bore children to Abū Jaʿfar. Ṭabarī, III, 442–43.

1298. *Tarakahu bi-mazjari al-kalb*. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *zajara* (which explains this as the distance from which one would rebuke a dog).

1299. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLVI; the Leiden text's original vocalization was Bahkanah.

1300. Abū ʿAlī b. al-Madīnī ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Najīḥ al-Saʿdī was a traditionist of al-Baṣrah who died in 178/794. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 104–5; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 152–53.

According to [i.e. on the authority of] ʿAffān b. Muslim al-Ṣaffār:[1301] When Ibrāhīm was encamped, there were [some prominent] men from our neighborhood who were in his pay. Having gone to his camp, I estimated that there were fewer than 10,000 men with him.

According to Dāwūd b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān: On Ibrāhīm's stipends register were counted 100,000 men from al-Baṣrah.

According to Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā: Abū Jaʿfar dispatched ʿĪsā b. Mūsā with 15,000, and he put Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah in charge [310] of a 3,000-man vanguard. It is said that when ʿĪsā b. Mūsā started out toward Ibrāhīm, Abū Jaʿfar traveled as far as Nahr al-Baṣriyyīn[1302] with him. Then Abū Jaʿfar returned, and Ibrāhīm headed from his encampment by the wine house in Khuraybat al-Baṣrah[1303] toward al-Kūfah.

According to one of the Banū Taymallāh[1304]—Aws b. Muhalhil al-Quṭaʿī:[1305] Ibrāhīm passed by us on the route he was taking, while we were living in the domed houses called the Domes of Aws (Qibāb Aws).[1306] I went out to meet him in the company of my father and uncle, and eventually we reached him. He was on

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1301. Abū ʿUthmān ʿAffān b. Muslim b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ṣaffār (d. 220/835) was a traditionist born in al-Baṣrah but who lived his adult life in Baghdad. He was among those summoned by the governor of Baghdad, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, to acknowledge the caliph al-Maʾmūn's doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān. When threatened with the loss of sustenance (*rizq*) in the amount of 500 dirhams per month, which he received from the caliph, ʿAffān recited, "In the heaven is your sustenance and what you are promised" (Qurʾān, 51: 22). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XII, 269–77; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 205–9; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 242–55; *GAS*, I, 102.

1302. According to Ṭabarī, II, 748, this was a site on the banks of the Euphrates that was so named ("Canal of the Baṣrans") because Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr, an early governor of al-Baṣrah, had a canal dug there.

1303. Al-Khuraybah ("the little ruin") was the Arab name for the first encampment at the site of the former Persian settlement, which was to become al-Baṣrah. *EI*², s.v. al-Baṣrah (Ch. Pellat); Yāqūt *Buldān*, II, 363; Morony, *Iraq*, 246–47; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 3.

1304. Taymallāh b. Thaʿlabah was a clan of the Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil. *EI*¹, s.v. (G. Levi Della Vida); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 141, 150, II, 543.

1305. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 92, 132, II, 220, 473, citing Quṭayʿah b. ʿAbs as a descendant of Baghīḍ b. Rayth.

1306. Aws b. Ḥārithah was one of the two principal tribes in Medina who formed Muḥammad's Anṣār after the *hijrah*. *EI*², s.v. al-Aws (W. Montgomery Watt); Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, I, 177, II, 214; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, 331–32.

a packhorse of his, looking around for somewhere to encamp in that region. I heard him quote verses of al-Quṭāmī:[1307]

These are matters that, if the even-tempered man deals with
    them,
    then he forbids and incites fear as he can.
Disobeying one concerned about you could
    enhance your giving ear to him another time.
The best thing is what you go to meet,
    not what you [merely] follow, coming after.
But when the skin is rent,
    rotten and despoiled, it defeats the most skillful.

I said to the one with me that I was hearing the words of a man who was regretting his journey.

Then Ibrāhīm continued on and when he reached Karkhthā,[1308] ʿAbd al-Wāḥid said to him (according to what is reported on the authority of Sulaymān b. Abī Shaykh from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād b. Labīd),[1309] "This is the territory of my people, and I know it well. Do not pursue ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and these armies that have been dispatched against you. I will go with you, however, if you will leave me [to choose] a road where Abū Jaʿfar will not know where you are until you are suddenly upon him in al-Kūfah." But Ibrāhīm refused him. Then ʿAbd al-Wāḥid said, "We are the men
[311] of Rabīʿah, masters of the night raid. So let me make a night raid against the associates of ʿĪsā." "Truly I detest raiding at night," Ibrāhīm responded.

According to [i.e., on the authority of] Saʿīd b. Huraym—his father: I said to Ibrāhīm, "You will never be victorious against this man [Abū Jaʿfar] until you take al-Kūfah. If, despite his being well-fortified there, al-Kūfah falls to you, he can offer no

1307. Abū Saʿīd ʿUmayr b. Shuyaym b. ʿAmr was a (probably) Christian bedouin poet who died in 101/719–20. *EI*², s.v. (H. H. Bräu and Ch. Pellat); *GAS*, II, 338–39.

1308. Neither this place name nor the variants suggested by the Leiden text's note, i.e., "Kūkhthā" and "Karkhyā," are mentioned in the standard geographical sources. Karkh Maysān, a place in the Sawād north of al-Baṣrah, is a possible identification. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 449; Morony, *Iraq*, 159.

1309. See note 1207.

resistance[1310] once it is gone. I still have a few close relatives there; let me travel to al-Kūfah in disguise so that I can secretly summon people to your cause. Then I will come out into the open, because if they hear someone proclaim your cause [publicly], they will respond to him. If the faint-hearted Abū Jaʿfar hears [about it] throughout al-Kūfah, nothing will turn back his face this side of Ḥulwān."

Ibrāhīm turned to Bashīr al-Raḥḥāl[1311] and asked, "What do you think, Abū Muḥammad?" "Were we to put our trust in the scenario you've described," said Bashīr, "that would be a sound idea. But we don't believe that a [significant] group of Kūfans will respond to your call. Abū Jaʿfar will send cavalry against them that will trample underfoot the innocent and the corrupt, the young and the old. You will have exposed yourself to the sin of that without even achieving what you hoped." I said to Bashīr, "Whenever you've gone out to fight Abū Jaʿfar and his associates, were you afraid of killing the weak and the small, and women as well as men? Didn't the Messenger of God send out raiding parties at night and himself engage in fighting, thereby doing what you find repugnant?" "But those were all idolaters," retorted Bashīr, "whereas these are people of our religious community (*millah*), our [prophetic] call (*daʿwah*), and our prayer orientation (*qiblah*). Their case is not the same as those others." Ibrāhīm therefore followed his opinion, refusing permission to Huraym, and went on to encamp in Bākhamrā.

According to Khālid b. Asīd al-Bāhilī: After Ibrāhīm camped in Bākhamrā, Salm b. Qutaybah sent Ḥakīm b. ʿAbd al-Karīm to him to say, "You have now gone into the desert, and someone like you is further from death there. Dig a trench for yourself so that there is only one access to you. If you won't do that, [then know that] Abū Jaʿfar has depleted his army, so hurry off to him at the [312]
head of a contingent[1312] and seize him from the rear."

Ibrāhīm summoned his associates and suggested that to them. They said, "Why should we dig a trench for ourselves when we

1310. *Lam taqum lahu baʿdahā qāʾimatun.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *qāma*; Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 431.

1311. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLVI. See note 649.

1312. *Fa-takhaffaf fī ṭāʾifatin.* Ṭabarī, *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCXLVI, and *Glossarium*, s.v. *khaffa*.

are victorious against them? No, by God, we shall not do that!" "Then we should go after him," said Ibrāhīm. "Why," they answered, "when he is in our hands whenever we want him?" Ibrāhīm said to Ḥakīm, "Now you have heard, so go back [conscious of] having done your duty."

According to Ibrāhīm b. Salm—his brother—his father: When we met for battle, our forces were lined up in one rank facing them. Leaving the battle line, I said to Ibrāhīm: "If one section of the line is routed, the rest will collapse, for they are not [properly] deployed. Organize the men in squadrons; then if one squadron is put to flight, another will stand firm." But they cried out, "Only the Islamic way of fighting,"[1313] thereby alluding to God's saying, "[they] fight in His way in a line."[1314]

According to Yaḥyā b. Shukr, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān's *mawlā*: Al-Maḍāʾ said, "When we settled in Bākhamrā, I went to Ibrāhīm and said to him, "In the morning these people will greet you with enough weapons and mounts to block your view of the setting sun. Meanwhile, you have only naked [i.e., poorly equipped] Baṣran forces with you. Let me make a night raid against him so that I can really cut his forces to pieces." "How I detest killing," said Ibrāhīm. I exclaimed, "You want the sovereignty but you detest the killing!"

According to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: When Ibrāhīm heard about his brother Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's slaying, he set out against Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr in al-Kūfah. Abū Jaʿfar wrote to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, informing him of that and ordering him to report in person to him. Abū Jaʿfar's messenger and letter reached ʿĪsā after he had entered the state of consecration for the Lesser Pilgrimage (*ʿumrah*).[1315] He abandoned the state of purification, however, and presented himself to Abū Jaʿfar. The caliph then dispatched ʿĪsā with commanders, troops, and weapons
[313] against Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh. Meanwhile, Ibrāhīm advanced with

1313. In Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 568, this is given as "We should form a line only as the people of Islam did."

1314. Qurʾān 61:4. The verse actually begins "God loves those who. . . ."

1315. The *ʿumrah* is a series of prescribed ritual actions that can be performed within the confines of Mecca at any time during the Muslim liturgical year. According to R. Paret (*EI*[1], s.v. ʿUmrah), entering the necessary state of ritual purity is usually accomplished at Jiʿrānah, Ḥudaybiyah, or Tanʿīm.

a large force of troops of unknown origin, larger than ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's force. They met in Bākhamrā, which is situated about sixteen *farsakhs* from al-Kūfah, and there fought a hard-pitched battle. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, head of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's vanguard, was put to flight, as were the people with him. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā stood in their way, beseeching them in the name of God to maintain obedience, but they paid no attention to him and ran off in flight. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah came running by, and ʿĪsā b. Mūsā said to him, "O Ḥumayd, return to God, to God and obedience!" Ḥumayd retorted, "There is no obedience in defeat" and took off.[1316] All the troops ran away, leaving ʿĪsā b. Mūsā quite alone before Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's army. But ʿĪsā b. Mūsā held his position without moving, although he commanded only 100 men drawn from his personal guard and retinue. Someone said to him, "May God prosper the Amīr! Would that you abandoned this position until the troops come back to you. Then you could return to the charge with them." ʿĪsā replied, "Never shall I leave this position of mine until I am killed or God is victorious by my hand. It will not be said, 'He was routed.' "

According to ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī[1317]—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī[1318]—his father—ʿĪsā b. Mūsā: As he was about to dispatch me against Ibrāhīm, the Commander of the Faithful said, "These wicked men, i.e., the astrologers, assert that you will meet the man and that you will have an inconclusive round when you encounter him. Then your associates will return to you, and outcome will be in your favor." By God, it happened exactly as he said. What should occur but that we met in battle and we were routed. I found myself with not more than three or four [314] supporters. One of my *mawlās* came up to me, grabbing the bridle of my mount, and said, "May I be made your ransom, why

1316. Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCCXLVI, for this addition.

1317. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 229/843–44) was a son of the cousin to al-Manṣūr who served as governor of Medina 146–50/763–67. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm himself was appointed governor of the Yemen by the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim, but was later dismissed and eventually imprisoned by the caliph al-Wāthiq. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVIII, 325.

1318. Abū al-Ḥasan Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbadallāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 203/818–19) was a cousin of Abū Jaʿfar who served as his governor of Medina 167–69/783–86. He was subsequently governor of al-Baṣrah and of Damascus for Hārūn al-Rashīd. Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, VIII, 420; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 24, 40.

stay when your associates have already left?" "No, by God," I responded, "may my family never look upon my face if I flee from their enemy!" By God, I could do no more than begin to say to those whom I recognized of the people passing me in flight. "Give my family my greetings and tell them, 'I can find no ransom to redeem you more precious to me than my own life. Freely have I spent it for your sakes.' "

By God, that was the state we were in, what with the troops fleeing and paying no heed to anyone else. But the sons of Sulaymān, Jaʿfar and Muḥammad, held their ground against Ibrāhīm and attacked him from behind. Those of Ibrāhīm's partisans who were on our heels did not realize what was going on until some of them looked back at the others and saw that fighting had erupted behind them. They wheeled around to face the battle, and we followed round right in their tracks. So it went.[1319]

That day I heard ʿĪsā b. Mūsā say to my father, "By God, Abū al-ʿAbbās, were it not for Sulaymān's sons, we would have been publicly disgraced on that day. It was part of God's design that when our associates were put to flight on that day, a canal with steep embankments stood in their way, obstructing their rush. Finding no place to ford, they all had to turn back.

According to [i.e., on the authority of] Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Mihrān: People from the Ṭalḥah family living in Bākhamrā opened the irrigation dikes against Ibrāhīm and his followers, letting the water overflow so that the troops of his army became mired in the water.

Some maintain that Ibrāhīm was the one who released the water so that he would be fighting in only one direction. When they were routed, the water prevented his forces from running away.
[315] After his supporters were put to flight, Ibrāhīm stood firm, as did a group of his partisans who stood fighting in defense of him. The sources disagree about their actual numbers, some saying 500, some 400, while others say seventy.

According to ʿUmar—al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: As ʿĪsā held his position, even though his followers had been put to flight, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh approached at the head of his army, coming ever closer. The dust cloud of his army finally

1319. *Fa-kānat iyyāhā.* Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. *iyyā*

drew close enough for ʿĪsā and those with him to see it. While they were so disposed, a horseman suddenly approached and wheeled about, heading straight for Ibrāhīm and not turning aside for anything. Lo and behold, it was Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, who had altered his breastplate and wrapped his head with a yellow headcloth! So many warriors turned back to follow him that not a single person who had been routed failed to do so. Running back into battle, the troops mingled with each other and fought fiercely until several on each of the two sides were killed. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah then started to send severed heads to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. At one point, in the midst of crowd, clamor, and outcry, ʿĪsā was brought a head, and the shout went up, "It's the head of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh!" ʿĪsā b. Mūsā called for Ibn Abī al-Karrām al-Jaʿfarī and showed it to him, but he said that it was not Ibrāhīm's. The opposing forces began a battle that very day, and a stray arrow, shot by no one knows who, pierced Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's throat and felled him. Falling back from its impact, he cried, "Help me down." As they took him down from his mount he was saying, " 'God's command is a fate fore-ordained';[1320] we had proposed one thing, but God willed otherwise." He was set down on the ground, he being a [heavily built] man, and his associates and close companions gathered about him to guard him and fight in his defense. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah saw their gathering round, but did not know who they were. He said to his followers, "Direct your best efforts at that group until [316] you've displaced them and can tell what they've gathered around." His forces pressed hard against them, fighting the most intense battle, until they had prised them apart from Ibrāhīm, gained free access to him, and cut off his head. They brought it to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and he showed it to Ibn Abī al-Karrām al-Jaʿfarī. This time he said, "Yes, this is his head." ʿĪsā set it on the ground and made a prostration [thanking God]. He then sent Ibrāhīm's head to Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr. Ibrāhīm was killed on Monday, 25 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 145, being forty-eight years old at the time. The interval from the time he came out in revolt until he was killed was three months less five days.

1320. Qurʾān, 33:38.

According to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd: He asked Abū Ṣalābah how Ibrāhīm was killed. Abū Ṣalābah responded, "I saw him come to a halt on his mount to watch ʿĪsā's partisans, who had turned around and had put his enemies to flight.[1321] ʿĪsā had retreated on his mount while his soldiers were killing them. Ibrāhīm was wearing a shirt of mail, but because the heat troubled him, he undid the fastenings of his shirt and took off the mail to leave his chest free and to uncover his throat. A stray arrow came and struck him in the throat. I saw him grab on to his horse and wheel about until the Zaydīs [i.e., the former supporters of the ʿAlid claimant in al-Kūfah, Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn] encircled him.

According to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Karrām—his father: When ʿĪsā's associates were put to flight, Ibrāhīm's standard [-bearers] followed in their tracks. Ibrāhīm's herald shouted out, "Do not follow anyone in flight," so the standard [-bearers] turned about to go back. Seeing this, ʿĪsā's associates thought that they were fleeing, so they turned in their tracks and the rout actually occurred.

[317] A source: When news of the mêlée involving ʿĪsā's forces reached Abū Jaʿfar, he decided to make a trip to al-Rayy.

According to Salm b. Farqad, Sulaymān b. Mujālid's chamberlain: When the opposing forces met, ʿĪsā's associates suffered such a disgraceful rout that the leading contingents actually entered al-Kūfah [i.e., they were driven back that far]. One of my Kūfan friends came to me and said, "Hey, fellow, by God, do you know that your associates have already entered al-Kūfah? Here we have Abū Hurayrah's brother at so-and-so's house, and there's another one in the house of so-and-so. Look out for yourself, your family, and your possessions." I informed Sulaymān b. Mujālid of that, and he, in turn, informed Abū Jaʿfar. The caliph said, "Be sure not to disclose any of this or pay it any attention. I am not sure that what I dread won't take me by surprise, so prepare camels and mounts at every gate of the city. If we are assailed from one direction, we shall go by another." Salm was then asked, "Where does Abū Jaʿfar intend to go, should something take him unaware?" "He has decided to go to al-Rayy," replied Salm.

1321. Literally, "given him their shoulders;" see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 625–26.

According to Salm b. Farqad: I heard that the astrologer Naybakht went to see Abū Jaʿfar and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, victory is yours. Ibrāhīm will be killed." The caliph, however, would not believe him, so Naybakht said to him, "Imprison me near you, and if the affair does not go as I've told you, then kill me." Being still in prison when news of Ibrāhīm's defeat reached him, he quoted a verse of Muʿaqqir b. Aws b. Ḥimār al-Bāriqī.[1322]

She threw down her staff, feeling herself settled there at
journey's end,
as the traveler feels cheered on [his] return.

Abū Jaʿfar allotted Naybakht 2,000 *jarīb*[1323] by the Jawbar Canal.[1324] [318]

According to Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn: The morning after the night he had been brought Ibrāhīm's head, i.e., Monday night, 25 Dhū al-Qaʿdah, Abū Jaʿfar ordered his head to be put on display in the market.

According to a source: When Abū Jaʿfar was brought Ibrāhīm's head and it was placed before him, he wept until his tears dripped down on Ibrāhīm's cheek. Then he said, "By God, how I hate to see this! Yet you put me to the test, as I did you."

According to Ṣāliḥ, al-Manṣūr's *mawlā*: When al-Manṣūr was brought the head of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh, he set it before him and held a general audience, allowing the people to enter. Upon entering, each person would offer his salutations, reach out a hand to Ibrāhīm, and make some derogatory statement about him, saying bad things about him in hopes of Abū Jaʿfar's approval. Abū Jaʿfar kept silent, his color [constantly] changing until Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī entered. The latter stopped before the caliph, made his salutations, and said, "May God enhance your reward, O Commander of the Faithful, in the matter of your

1322. Muʿaqqir b. Aws was a *jāhilī* poet and horseman who was allied to the Yamāmī tribe Numayr b. ʿĀmir. *GAS*, II, 218; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, VII, 270.

1323. The *jarīb* was equivalent to about 1,600 square meters. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 65.

1324. The Jawbar Canal was a branch canal of the Nahr Kūthā, one of the major waterways connecting the Tigris and Euphrates below al-Madāʾin. Le Strange, *Lands*, 68. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 177, V, 319, also mentions a Nahr Jūbarah in al-Baṣrah as a canal that flows into the Nahr al-Ijjānah.

cousin, and may He forgive him for ignoring your rightful claim." His complexion lightening, Abū Jaʿfar turned to him and said, "Abū Khālid, welcome, and make yourself at home here!" The people, realizing that this had made an impression on him, then entered and spoke as Jaʿfar b. Ḥanẓalah had.

In this year the Turks and the Khazars revolted at Bāb al-Abwāb[1325] and killed a great many Muslims in Armenia.

In this year al-Sarī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib led the people in the Pilgrimage. He was Abū Jaʿfar's [319] appointed governor of Mecca. The governor of Medina in this year was ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ al-Ḥārithī, while the governor of al-Kūfah and of its administrative territory was ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. The governor of al-Baṣrah was Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī, while ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr was charged with its judiciary. Yazīd b. Ḥātim was the governor of Egypt.

1325. Bāb al-Abwāb ("the Gate of Gates") was the Arab name for the Caspian port of Darband/Derbent. The "gates" are the openings from the Caucasus range into the eastern valleys. *EI*², s.v. [D. M. Dunlop]; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, I, 303–6; Le Strange, *Lands*, 180, 184; Cornu, *Répertoires*, 134.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXIX

Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī

TRANSLATED BY HUGH KENNEDY

Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī
Volume XXIX
Translated by Hugh Kennedy

This volume opens when the caliph al-Manṣūr has just defeated the rebellion of Muḥammad the Pure Soul in 145/762-3 and is now securely established in power. The main concerns of the remaining thirteen years of his reign are the building of his new capital at Baghdad, on which al-Ṭabarī's text contains details not previously published in English, and his efforts to have his nephew 'Īsā b. Mūsā replaced as heir apparent by his own son Muḥammad al-Mahdī, a maneuver that required all his political skills.

The circumstances of al-Manṣūr's death in 158/775 are described in vivid detail, and this section is followed by a series of anecdotes, some serious, some humorous, most vivid and lively, that illustrate his character and habits.

The last section of the volume describes the reign of al-Mahdī, more pious than his father but also more liberal and open-handed. Along with routine administration, space is devoted to the bizarre intrigues that accompanied the rise and fall of the vizier Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd and the mysterious circumstances of the caliph's own death in 169/785, followed by a short collection of character stories. In addition, the volume also contains important information about warfare on the Byzantine frontier and in Khurāsān.

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXIX

Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī

A.D. 763–786/A.H. 146–169

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l mulūk)

VOLUME XXIX

Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī

translated and annotated
by

Hugh Kennedy

University of St Andrews

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and phiological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Tabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Beghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to included in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

EI[1]: *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, first edition
EI[2]: *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, second edition

Translator's Foreword

This volume is a translation of the part of Ṭabarī's *History* that deals with the period from 145/762 to 169/786. It begins immediately after al-Manṣūr's defeat of the ʿAlid rebellion of Muḥammad the Pure Soul and his brother Ibrāhīm and deals with the rest of al-Manṣūr's reign until his death in 158/775. Much of the material is simply administrative detail, government appointments, and the travels of the caliph, but two important subjects are dealt with: the foundation of Baghdad, on which Ṭabarī provides some valuable information to supplement the well-known accounts of the geographers, and the caliph's efforts to force ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to renounce his right to the caliphate in favor of his own son al-Mahdī. Much of the anecdotal material here reveals the caliph in a distinctly unfavorable light. The climax of this section is the extraordinarily detailed and vivid account of al-Manṣūr's death, plainly showing the awe and fear with which he was regarded.

The next section is a series of anecdotes about his behavior and appearance. These are not arranged in chronological order but read rather as isolated narratives that Ṭabarī could not fit into the main run of the text but felt were too good to miss out. There are some general themes here: the caliph's determination to uphold his authority, the contrast between his frugality and al-Mahdī's easy going generosity, his eloquence and the effectiveness with which he dealt with hecklers in the mosque, and his relations with the wild and unruly Maʿn b. Zaʾidah. Despite the random nature of much of this material, we get a very clear idea of al-

Manṣūr's personality, and even after twelve hundred years he seems a powerful, individual, rounded character. It says much for the immediacy of the narrative that such a lively impression survives.

The third section deals with the reign of his son, al-Mahdī. Compared with the upheavals and struggles of his father's life, al-Mahdī's caliphate was altogther quieter. Much emphasis is laid on his pious works, his building of mosques, his encouragement of the holy war against the Byzantines, and his persecution of the Manichaean Zindiqs. We are also given detailed accounts of government appointments. The major political events were, once again, the removal of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā from his position in the succession in favor of al-Mahdī's own son al-Hādī and the meteoric rise and sudden fall of the vizier Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd, who was originally appointed as the caliph's intermediary with the ʿAlid family but who went on to become his all-powerful minister. This section also ends with an account of the caliph's death and sundry anecdotes about his behavior. Unlike the accounts of al-Manṣūr's death, which are generally consistent, these accounts are directly contradictory, and it is impossible to decide which if any is true. From the point of view of assessing the accuracy of Ṭabarī's work as a whole, it is interesting to note that it is not only in the earlier parts on the life of the Prophet and the early caliphs that such contradictory accounts survive side by side but even of events that took place well after the establishment of the ʿAbbāsids and within the lifetimes of such authorities as al-Wāqidī and al-Madāʾinī.

In terms of literary approach, the early ʿAbbāsid parts of the history are transitional between the *akhbār* narratives of the early parts and the more linear official narratives of the third century. The use of classical Muslim historiographical technique, the individual *akhbar*, each supported by its own *isnād*. becomes much less common after the death of al-Saffāḥ in 136/754, and much more of the material is unattributed or consists of no more than laconic notes about appointments and dismissals. The latest major work that seems to have used the classical canons was ʿUmar b. Shabbah's account of the rebellion of Muḥammad the Pure Soul, which finishes immediately before the beginning of the section translated here. Those narratives, still large in number, that are

attributed are often attached to isolated individuals, many of whom contribute no more than one or two accounts and few of whom are known to have composed books. Many of them are eyewitnesses or sons of eyewitnesses, and it is quite unclear in what form these accounts reached Ṭabarī more than a century later. The established compilers like al-Madā'inī and al-Wāqidī are relied on for points of detail, rather than substantial narratives.

Of the sources that can be identified, many are closely linked to Baghdad and the caliphal court and bureaucarcy, like the Qurashī 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī, whose father was an important courtier and Yaḥya b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Khāliq, a relative of the ubiquitous chamberlain al-Rabī' b. Yūnus. This means that we have very little information from provincial sources. There are virtually no extended narratives dealing with Syria or Egypt. Even Khurāsān, which looms so large in earlier parts of the *History*, is largely neglected. Historical writing, like politics and administration, was becoming more centralized in the 'Abbāsid period.

At their best, the accounts collected by Ṭabarī and translated here are interesting and lively; at their worst they are obscure and monotonous. But whatever their literary merit, there can be no doubt that they form by far the most important historical source for the early 'Abbāsid caliphate.

It remains a pleasure to thank those who have helped me in the preparation of his translation and generously given of their time, patience, and erudition: Dr. David Jackson and Richard Kimber of the Department of Arabic Studies in the University of St Andrews and especially Judy Ahola, whose aid and encouragement were invaluable. I must also express by thanks to Dr. E. Whelan of the Ṭabarī project for her help. Most of all, I would like to thank Professor Ihsan Abbas, whose patient editing of my typescript and immense knowledge of classical Arabic literature notably improved the readability of the text and saved me from numerous errors. Such mistakes as may remain are, of course, entirely my responsibility.

Hugh Kennedy

The Caliphate of al-Manṣūr

The Events of the Year [319]

146

(March 21, 763–March 9, 764)

The events of this year:

Among these was Abū Ja'far's[1] completion of his city, Baghdad.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar:[2] Abū Ja'far moved from Madīnat Ibn Hubayrah[3] to Baghdad in Ṣafar 146 (April 20–May 18, 763) and settled in it and built his city.

Information about the description of the building.

We have mentioned before the reason that impelled Abū Ja'far to build it and the reason why he chose the site on which he built his city, and we will now describe the building of it.

According to Rashīd Abū Dāwūd b. Rashīd: Abū Ja'far set out for al-Kūfah when he received news of the rebellion of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh. He had prepared the necessary wood and teak

---

1. The caliph al-Manṣūr. In contrast to other 'Abbāsid caliphs, he was frequently known by his *kunyah*, Abū Ja'far, perhaps because his *ism* (first name), 'Abdallāh, and his father's name, Muḥammad, were so common.

2. The well-known historian al-Wāqidī, d. 207/823, author of the surviving *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* and other, lost works; see *EI*[1], s v. "al-Wāḳidī." Al-Ṭabarī frequently quotes him for exact dates but rarely for extended narrative.

3. Between Baghdad and al-Kūfah, near modern Hillah: Le Strange, *Lands*, 71.

and other things, for the building of the city of Baghdad and when he set out he left his freedman Aslam in charge of completing what he had prepared. Aslam heard that Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh had defeated the army of Abū Jaʿfar, and he burned the teak and wood
[320] that Abū Jaʿfar had left him in charge of, for fear that that might be taken from him if his master was defeated. When Abū Jaʿfar heard what his freedman Aslam had done, he wrote to him, censuring him for that, and Aslam wrote to him, informing him that he had feared that Ibrāhīm would be victorious over them and take it, and he did not say anything to him.

According to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī—his father[4]: When al-Manṣūr wished to build his city of Baghdad, he asked the advice of his companions, and and one of those whose advice he sought was Khālid b. Barmak,[5] and he gave him advice.

According to ʿAlī b. ʿIṣmah: Khālid b. Barmak laid out the city of Abū Jaʿfar for him and gave him advice about it. When he needed rubble he said to him, "What do you think about demolishing the city of the *īwān* of Chosroes at al-Madāʾin[6] and taking the rubble from it to this city of mine?" He replied, "I do not think that [is a good idea] O Commander of the Faithful," and he asked him why, and he answered, "It is one of the proofs of Islam by which the observer is convinced that people like its (the palace's) lords were not swept away by the power of this world but only by the power of religion. Furthermore, O Commander of the Faithful, there is in it a place where ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib prayed." The caliph said, "How wrong you are Khālid; you did not agree because of your partiality for your friends the Persians."

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4. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, d. 188/804, was a famous poet and singer at the ʿAbbāsid court, and his son Isḥāq succeeded him. Al-Ṭabarī uses them as a source for much incidental detail and anecdotal information. See *EI*², s.v. "Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī."

5. The founder of the fortunes of the Barmakid family. Khālid's ancestors were hereditary guardians of a Buddhist shrine at Balkh in northern Afghanistan, but the family converted to Islam in the Umayyad period. Khālid joined the ʿAbbāsid movement early and distinguished himself in an administrative role. He was employed by al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr in the financial administration and as governor of Fārs. He died in 163/780: Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 129–34. See Crone, *Slaves*, 176–77; Kennedy, *Abbasid Caliphate*, 101–2.

6. Al-Madāʾin was the ancient Ctesiphon, the Sasanian capital, southeast of Baghdad; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 74–75; Le Strange, *Lands*, 33–35. The *īwān* of Chosroes is the giant arch of the royal palace, part of which still survives to this day.

He ordered that the white palace be demolished, and a section of it was and the materials were brought. He investigated the amount it cost them to demolish and transport it, and they found that that would be more expensive than it would be if it were newly made. This was reported to al-Manṣūr, and he summoned Khālid b. Barmak and told him what it cost them to demolish and transport and asked him for his opinion. He said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I thought before that you should not do it, but since you have done it I think that you should demolish it now down to the foundations because, if you do not, it will be said that you failed to demolish it." Al-Manṣūr rejected that advice and [321] ordered that it should not be demolished.

According to Mūsā b. Dāwūd al-Muhandis (engineer): Al-Ma'mūn told me this story, "If you build me a building, make it impossible to demolish so that its remains and traces may last."

It is said: Abū Ja'far needed gates for the city and Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Humānī alleged that Sulaymān b. Dāwūd had built a city called Zandaward near the site on which al-Ḥajjāj[7] had built Wāsiṭ. The devils had made five doors of iron for it the likes of which people today could not make, and he set them up in it. They remained there until al-Ḥajjāj built Wāsiṭ and this city was in ruins. Al-Ḥajjāj transported its doors and used them in his city of Wāsiṭ. When Abū Ja'far built the city, he took those doors and used them for his city, and they are there until today. The city has eight doors, four inside and four outside, and four out of these five doors were used on the inside ones and the fifth on the outside gate of the palace.

On the outside Khurāsān gate he used a door that was brought from Syria, of pharaonic workmanship. On the outside Kūfah gate, he used a door brought from al-Kūfah, which had been made by Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī.[8] He ordered that a door be produced for the Syrian gate, so one was made in Baghdad, and it was the weakest of all the gates.

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7. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, d. 95/714, the celebrated governor of Iraq and the east for the Umayyads who founded the city of Wāsiṭ. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd is the biblical King Solomon, who is credited with numerous building achievements in the Muslim tradition. For Zandaward, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 154, where he explains that the city fell into ruins with the foundation of Baghdad.

8. Governor of Iraq for the Umayyads, 105–20/723–38.

The city was built round so that, if the king settled in the middle of it, he was not nearer one place of it than another. He set up four gates on the model of military camps in war, and he built two walls, the inside wall being higher than the outside one. He built his palace in the middle of it and the congregational mosque next to (*ḥawla*) the palace.[9]

It is said that al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāh[10] was the man who laid out the
[322] plan of the congregational mosque on the orders of Abū Ja'far and laid its foundations. It is said that its *qiblah* was not in the right direction and that anyone praying in it had to turn a little toward the Baṣrah Gate and that the *qiblah* of the mosque of al-Ruṣāfah[11] was more correct than the *qiblah* of the mosque of the city because the mosque of the city was built onto the palace, while the mosque of al-Ruṣāfah was built before the palace and the palace was built onto it and it happened because of that.

According to Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Khāliq[12]—his father: Abū Ja'far appointed a commander to every quarter of the city to hurry the completion of the building of that quarter.

According to Hārūn b. Ziyād b. Khālid b. al-Ṣalt—his father: Al-Manṣūr appointed Khālid b. al-Ṣalt in charge of the expenses of one of the quarters of the city when it was being built. Khālid said: When I had finished the building of that quarter, I brought him all the expenses on it, and he added them up with his own hand, and I still owed fifteen dirhams, and he imprisoned me in the Sharqiyyah prison for some days until I paid it. The mud bricks that were made for the building of the city were each a cubit by a cubit.

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9. For the design of the Round City and the problems it raises, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, 1–38; and Lassner, *Baghdad*.

10. Al-Nakha'ī: Having served the Umayyads, he went over to the 'Abbāsid cause and became *qāḍī* of al-Baṣrah and later a secretary to Abū Ja'far. He died in al-Rayy, where he had gone with al-Mahdī, probably in 150/767 (Crone, *Slaves*, 157). For his role in planning the northern suburbs of Baghdad, see Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 241, where he is described as a *muhandis* or engineer. His obituary is given by al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, VI, 51–53.

11. The settlement founded by al-Mahdī on the east bank of the Tigris at Baghdad. The *qiblah* is the direction of prayer and should be oriented toward Mecca.

12. Yaḥyā was a maternal uncle of al-Faḍl, son of al-Manṣūr's chamberlain al-Rabī' b. Yūnus. Al-Ṭabarī draws on him extensively for inside information on court and bureaucratic intrigues.

According to one source: He demolished a section of the wall on the Muḥawwal Gate side and found in it a mud brick on which was written in red its weight, 117 *raṭls*,[13] and he said, "We weighed it, and we found it was the weight that was written on it." The doors of the chambers of the mass of the military commanders and secretaries of Abū Jaʿfar opened onto the courtyard of the mosque.

According to Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq, the maternal uncle of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ: ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī[14] complained to Abū Jaʿfar, "O Commander of the Faithful, it is tiring for me to walk from the gate of the courtyard to the palace, for I have become [323] weak," and he replied, "Have yourself carried in a litter," but he responded, "I am embarrassed because of the people." Al-Manṣūr said, "Is there anyone who continues to be embarrassed because of them?" but ʿĪsā continued, "Allow me, O Commander of the Faithful, what is allowed, one of the water-carrying camels." He said, "Does any water-carrying or riding animal enter the city?" Thus he ordered that everyone move their doors to the intervalla (*fuṣlān*) of the arcades and that no one should enter the courtyard except on foot. When al-Manṣūr ordered that the doors that led into the courtyard should be blocked and opened to the intervals of the arcades, the markets were established in the four arcades of the city, each one having a market. This continued until one of the *patrikioi*[15] of Byzantium came as an ambassador, and he ordered al-Rabīʿ[16] to take him on a tour of the city and its sur-

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13. A *raṭl* was a dry measure that varied from place to place but was usually between 2 and 4 kg.

14. One of al-Manṣūr's paternal uncles. In 132/750, immediately after the ʿAbbāsid revolution, he had been sent by al-Saffāḥ to Fārs as governor. It seems that he was worsted in an unsuccessful struggle for power there with Abū Muslim's nominee, Muḥammad b al-Ashʿath al-Khuzāʿī, after which, unlike his brothers, he never held a governorate. He remained at court, an influential adviser and promoter of the interests of his brothers and their children. He acquired extensive properties in Baghdad on the west bank and was the first member of the ʿAbbāsid family to build a palace there. He died in Baghdad in 163/780.

15. For the most recent discussion of the interior of the Round City and the problems raised by this text, see Lassner, *ʿAbbasid Rule*, 184–97, where the role of the intervalla between different rings of the Round City is explained. A Patrikios, or patrician: a Byzantine official title. The Arab transliteration *biṭrīq* is used to designate Byzantine officials in general, see *EI*², s.v. Biṭrīḳ."

16. A man of obscure origin, apparently a freed slave, who rose to great impor-

roundings to see the development and the building. Al-Rabī' took him on a tour, and when it was finished he asked, "What do you think of my city?" He had gone up on the walls of the city and in the domes of the gates, and he said, "I saw a beautiful building, but I saw your enemies with you in the city." The caliph asked him who they were, and he replied, "The market people." Abū Ja'far was silent about it and, when the *patrikios* had gone, he ordered that the market be sent out of the city. He appointed Ibrāhīm b. Ḥubaysh al-Kūfī and attached Jawwās b. al-Musayyab al-Yamānī, his freedman, and ordered the two of them to build the markets in the Karkh area and ordered them to make booths (*ṣufūf*, lit: rows or ranks) and houses for every trade and to hand them over to the people. When they had done this, he moved the market there from the city and imposed rents on them according to size.

When the number of people grew, they built markets on sites Ibrāhīm b. Ḥubaysh and Jawwās had not sought to build on because they were unable (to construct) the booths from their resources.
[324] They were charged less in rents than was collected from those who settled in the buildings of the authorities.

One of them said: The reason Abū Ja'far moved the merchants from the city to al-Karkh and the nearby areas outside the city was that it was said to Abū Ja'far that foreigners and others stayed the night in it and that it was not safe because there might be spies and intelligence agents among them or they might open the gates of the city by night because of the position of the markets. So he ordered that the market be removed from the city and he established the *shurṭah* and *ḥaras*[17] in it and for the merchants,

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tance in the service of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. He was officially *ḥājib*, or chamberlain, but he used this position to become one of the most powerful men at court, masterminding the succession of al-Mahdī. He became leader of the *mawālī* (freedmen) at court and a bitter opponent of the *kuttāb* (secretaries) and their leaders, like Abū 'Ubaydallāh Mu'āwiyah and the Barmakid family. He had very extensive properties in Baghdad, notably in the market area of al-Karkh to the south of the Round City. He died c. 169/786 after the death of al-Mahdī, but his position was inherited by his son al-Faḍl, who became the chief rival of the Barmakids during Hārūn's reign. On al-Rabī', see Crone, *Slaves*, 193–94; Kennedy, *'Abbasid Caliphate*, 103–4.

17. "Police" is the conventional translation of the Arabic *shurṭah*. In fact, the *shurṭah* seems to have been a small, elite military force attached to a ruler or governor to maintain order in peacetime and to act as a stiffening to other military

built at the Gate of the Ḥarrāni Arch, the Syrian Gate, and in al-Karkh.

According to al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī—his father: The reason for the removal of the markets from the City of Peace and the City of al-Sharqiyyah to the Karkh Gate, the Barley Gate, and the Muḥawwal Gate,[18] was that al-Manṣūr had appointed a man called Abū Zakkariyyā' Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh in charge of the *ḥisbah* (accounts) of Baghdad and the markets in the year 157 (November 21, 773–November 10, 774), when the market was in the city. Al-Manṣūr was pursuing those who had rebelled with Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm sons of 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan.[19] This *muḥtasib*[20] had some connection with them, and he gathered a group against al-Manṣūr and led the lower classes of them astray, and they caused a commotion and gathered together. Al-Manṣūr sent Abū al-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī[21] to them, and he calmed them down and took Abū Zakariyyā' and put him in in his custody. Abū Ja'far ordered him to kill him, so a chamberlain of Abū al-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī, called Mūsā, killed him with his own hands at the Golden Gate in the courtyard on the order of al-Manṣūr. Abū Ja'far ordered that those houses that extended into the street of the city be destroyed and that the street be forty cubits wide. He demolished whatever had been extended into that width and ordered that the markets be removed to al-Karkh.

According to Abū Ja'far: When he ordered the removal of the [325]
merchants from the city to Karkh, Abān b. Ṣadaqah spoke[22] to

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forces in war. The *shurṭah* referred to here is the caliph's *shurṭah* in Baghdad, but it seems that most provincial governors also had such forces at their disposal. The guard (*ḥaras*) seems to have been a personal bodyguard attached to the caliph.

18. For the geography of these areas, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, pp. 57–80.

19. The 'Alid rebels of 145/762.

20. An official responsible for maintaining law, order, and fair trading in the market.

21. Al-Ṭā'ī. a Khurāsānī officer, who participated in the wars of the 'Abbāsid Revolution, notably the siege of Wāsiṭ. He seems to have remained in Iraq until 166/782–83, when he was appointed governor of Khurāsān. In 171/787–88 he returned to the west to take control of the *khātam*, the caliph's official seal, but he died shortly afterward. He was responsible for dividing up land on the west bank in Baghdad and kept extensive properties for himself (Crone, *Slaves*, 174)

22. Originally a secretary (*kātib*) to al-Manṣūr's *wazīr* Abū Ayyūb al-Mūryānī, he later became secretary and *wazīr* to Hārūn and then Mūsā, sons of al-Mahdī, during their father's reign. He died in 167/783–84, while in service with Mūsā b. al-Mahdī in Jurjān (Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 97–98).

him on behalf of a vegetable seller and he consented on the condition that he should sell vinegar and greens alone. Then he ordered that in each quarter one vegetable seller should be established following that example.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad[23]—al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī': When al-Manṣūr had finished building his palace in the city, he entered it and toured it and approved of it and examined it and admired what he saw in it, except that he thought he had spent too much money on it.

He looked at one part of it and thought it excellent, and he said to me, "Go out to al-Rabī' and tell him to go out to al-Musayyab[24] and tell him to bring me a competent builder immediately." I went out to al-Musayyab and told him, and he sent for the chief of the builders and summoned him and sent him in to Abū Ja'far, and when he stood before him he said to him, "How did you work for our overseers on this palace, and how much did you take in wages for each thousand baked bricks and sun-dried bricks?" The builder stood and was not able to make any reply, and al-Musayyab was afraid of him. Al-Manṣūr said to him, "What is the matter with you that you do not speak?" and he said, "I do not know, O Commander of the Faithful," and he said, "Damn you! tell me! You are safe from everything you are afraid of." He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, I do not concern myself with it, and I do not know it." He took his hand and said, "Come, may God not teach you the right thing!" He took him into the room he admired and showed him a *majlis*[25] that was in it and said, "Look at this

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23. Probably the historian al-Madā'inī. Al-Ṭabarī uses three sources he refers to as 'Alī b. Muḥammad in this period, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī, and 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī. It is often difficult to know which source is being referred to. The problem is mitigated by the fact that al-Nawfalī's information is obtained from his father, whereas al-Madā'inī does not quote his father at all. Al-Hāshimī also received information from his father, the important 'Abbāsid Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. Al-Madā'inī's information tends to be matters of fact and date, whereas both al-Nawfalī and al-Hāshimī retell court gossip and circumstantial eyewitness accounts.

24. B. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī: a long serving Khurāsānī officer. He had participated in the early stages of the 'Abbasid Revolution in Khurāsān and come to Iraq with the 'Abbāsid army. He was at various times chief of police for al-Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr and al-Rashīd, as well as being governor of Khurāsān from 163/780 to 166/782–83 (Crone, *Slaves*, 186–88).

25. *Majlis* is used in two senses by al-Ṭabarī and his sources, as an assembly of

majlis, and build an arch next to it so that it will be similar to the house, and do not use any wood in it." The builder said, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful," and the builder and all those who were with him began to marvel at his understanding of building and engineering. The builder said to him, "I am not expert enough to construct it in this way and cannot do it as you want," and he said, "I will help you." [326]

He ordered baked bricks and plaster, and these were brought, and then he began to calculate the amount of baked bricks and plaster involved in the construction of the arch, and he continued doing it for the rest of that day and part of the next. He called al-Musayyab and said to him, "Give him his pay for the amount of his work with you." Al-Musayyab calculated it and reached five *dirhams*, and al-Manṣūr thought that was too much and said, "I am not satisfied with that," and he went on until he had reduced it by a *dirham*. Then he took the measurements and looked into the measurement of the arch of the room so that he understood it. He obliged the agents and al-Musayyab to take the expenses and with him took reliable builders and engineers, who told him the value of the work. He went on adding one thing after another and charged them what he had calculated the cost of the building of the arch to be. He demanded from al-Musayyab more than six thousand *dirhams* of the money he had, and he arrested him for it and interned him, and he did not leave the palace until he had paid it to him.

According to ʿĪsā b. al-Manṣūr: I found in the treasuries of my father, al-Manṣūr, among the papers that he spent on the City of Peace and its mosque and the Palace of Gold in it and the markets and the intervals and the trenches and its domes and its gates, four million eight hundred and thirty three *dirhams*. The equivalent in *fulūs* was 100,023,000. that was when a master mason was paid a *qīrāṭ* of silver a day and a laborer (*rūzgārī*) two or three *ḥabbah*.[26]

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people or audience and also as the setting in which such an assembly takes place, either a building or a tent. See *EI*², s.v. "*Madjlis*."

26. Baghdad was officially known as Madīnat al-Salām, the City of Peace, and I have translated it as such when it is used. The old name, Baghdad, remained more common. *Fulūs* were small copper coins of differing values; see *EI*² s.v. "Fals." *Ḥabbah* and *qīrāṭ* were fractions of a *dirham* and units of account, not minted coins, a *ḥabbah* being 1/160 *dirham* and a *qīrāṭ* 4 *habbahs*.

In this year al-Manṣūr deposed Salm b. Qutaybah[27] from al-Baṣrah and appointed as governor[28] Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. [327] ʿAlī.[29] The reason for his deposition:

According to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shaybān—Yaʿqūb b. al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Hāshimī: Abū Jaʿfar wrote to Salm b. Qutaybah when he appointed him governor of al-Baṣrah, "To continue: demolish the houses and destroy the palm trees of those who rebelled with Ibrāhīm,"[30] and Salm wrote back, "With which of those shall I begin, the houses or the palm trees?" and Abū Jaʿfar wrote, "To continue: if I had written ordering you to destroy their dates, you would have written asking me whether you should begin with the *barnī* dates or the *shahrīz* dates," and he deposed him and appointed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān as governor. He arrived and caused havoc.

According to Yūnus b. Najdah: Salm b. Qutaybah came to us as governor after the rout with Abū Barqah Yazīd b. Salm[31] in charge of his police. Salm remained there five months; then he was deposed, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān was appointed governor over us.

According to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shaybān: When Muḥammad b. Sulaymān arrived, he destroyed the houses of Yaʿqūb b. al-Faḍl and Abū Marwān in the quarter of the Banū Yashkūr and those of

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27. Son of the celebrated Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, conqueror of much of Transoxiana for the Muslims. He himself was governor of al-Baṣrah for the Umayyads at the time of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution and thereafter lived in retirement in al-Rayy until he was summoned by al-Manṣūr, who needed his support in al-Baṣrah when the city was taken by the ʿAlid rebel Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh in 145/762. He died in 149/766–67 (Crone, *Slaves*, 136–38).

28. Al-Ṭabarī uses the word *wallāhu* for the appointment. The two words commonly used for provincial governors are *wālī* and *ʿāmil*. Although the former is slightly more common and occurs also in the verbal forms *wallā* or the passive *wullīya*, there is no discernible distinction between the two terms. The office of governor is also frequently indicated by the preposition *ʿalā*, which I have translated as "in charge of."

29. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī was the able and most important of the younger generation of the ʿAbbāsid family at this time. His father, Sulaymān, uncle of al-Manṣūr, had been governor of al-Baṣrah. He died in 142/759–60, and Muḥammad inherited his status. He was at times governor of al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah and a firm opponent of the claims of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā to the succession. He died as governor of al-Baṣrah in 173/789–90, and al-Rashīd's agents confiscated much of his vast wealth.

30. See note 19 above.

31. Salm's son.

'Awn b. Mālik, 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād and al-Khalīl b. al-Ḥuṣayn in the quarter of the Banū 'Adī and the house of 'Afw Allah b. Sufyān and destroyed their palm trees.[32]

In this year Ja'far b. Ḥanẓalah al-Bahrānī[33] led the summer expedition against the Byzantines.

In this year 'Abdallāh b. al-Rabī'[34] was deposed from Medina, and Ja'far b. Sulaymān[35] was appointed in his place, and he arrived there in the month of Rabī' I (May 19–June 17, 763).

In this year also al-Sariyy b. 'Abdallāh[36] was deposed from Mecca, and 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī[37] was appointed governor. [328]

The leader of the pilgrims in this year was 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās,[38] as is said by Muḥammad b. 'Umar and others.

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32. 'Alid supporters in al-Baṣrah.

33. A long-time supporter of the Umayyads, who served on the Byzantine frontier in the early 'Abbāsid period. Al-Manṣūr sought his advice at the time of the 'Alid rebellion in 145/762. This is his last appearance in the historical record, and we must assume that he died soon after.

34. Al-Ḥārithī. The Ḥarithīs had no record of service in the 'Abbāsid cause but became important because of their kinship with the mother of al-Saffāḥ. 'Abdallāh b. al-Rabī', who was an intimate of al-Manṣūr, had been appointed governor of Medina the previous year. This is his last datable appearance in the historical record. In the treasury of St. Germer in Cologne, West Germany, there is an ivory box with an inscription saying that it was made for him in Aden (Crone, *Slaves*, 149).

35. Less successful brother of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (see note 29). He was later absentee governor of al-Baḥrayn in 157/773–74 and of Mecca and Medina in the reign of al-Mahdī, c. 166/782. Apart from these, he held no high office and died in 177/793–94.

36. B. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, hence a distant relative of al-Manṣūr. He was with al-Mahdī in Khurāsān in 141/758–59 and had been governor of Mecca since 143/760–61. According to al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 470, he led the summer expedition against the Byzantines in 147/764.

37. The youngest of the Banū 'Alī, al-Manṣūr's uncles. He was in some ways the black sheep of the family, joining the unsuccessful rebellion of his brother 'Abdallāh against al-Manṣūr in 137/754 and being deposed from the governorate of al-Jazīrah and imprisoned for insulting al-Mahdī (see below p. 214). He also emerged as spokesman for the family interests against the power of the freedmen (*mawālī*) at this time. He was briefly governor of Damascus, where he caused trouble by favoring the Yamāniyyah, and al-Baṣrah, at the beginning of al-Rashīd's reign. He survived until 185/801.

38. Despite the fact that he was the son of the martyred Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, the 'Abbāsid pretender killed by the Umayyads shortly before the 'Abbāsid Revolution, he never became a political figure of consequence. He spent most of his time in Syria and the Byzantine frontier areas, where he led the summer raid at least twice, and he died as governor of Syria or Palestine, c. 157/774.

The Events of the Year

147

(March 10, 764–January 28, 765)

The events of this year:

Among these was the attack by Istarkhān al-Khwārazmī[39] with a body of Turks on the Muslims in the area of Armenia and his taking of many of the Muslims and the *ahl al-dhimmah*[40] prisoner, their entry into Tiflīs,[41] and their killing of Ḥarb b. ʿAbdallāh al-Rāwandī after whom the Ḥarbiyyah in Baghdad is named.[42] It is said that this Ḥarb was stationed in Mosul with 2,000 soldiers because of the Khārijites in al-Jazīrah.[43] When Abū Jaʿfar heard

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39. The invaders were Khazars from north of the Caucasus. Barthold reads the name as Tarkhān and suggests that he came from the Muslim bodyguard of the Khazar Khaghans, who were recruited in Khwārazm: *EI*², s.v. "Khazar."

40. Protected people; the name given to Jews or Christians who lived under Muslim rule but were free to practice their own religion: See *EI*², s.v. "Dhimma."

41. Tbilisi, capital of Georgia, strategically located where the Kura river emerges from the northern Caucasus mountains into the broad plains of Azerbaijān; it was the farthest outpost of Muslim rule in this direction.

42. A Khurāsānī officer who served in Baghdad before being posted to Mosul. The Ḥarbiyyah quarter was situated immediately northwest of the Round City (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 122–33) and was the area of western Baghdad where most of the Khurāsānī soldiers settled.

43. See Azdī, *Tārīkh al-Mawṣil*, 194–95, Kennedy, *Provincial Elites*, 30–31.

about the gathering of the Turks in those areas, he sent Jibra'īl b. Yaḥyā[44] to fight them, and he wrote to Ḥarb ordering him to go with him. He went with him, and Ḥarb was killed and Jibra'īl was put to flight, and those Muslims whom I have mentioned were killed.

In this year the death of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās occurred.[45] Opinions differ as to the cause of his death, and some follow 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī from his father: Abū Ja'far [329] went on the pilgrimage in the year 147 some months after he had given al-Mahdī precedence over 'Īsā b. Mūsā.[46] He had deposed 'Īsā b. Mūsā from al-Kūfah and its territory and appointed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī as governor in his place. He sent 'Īsā to the City of Peace and al-Manṣūr summoned him and handed 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī over to him secretly in the depths of the night. Then he said, "O 'Īsā, this man wishes to remove God's favor from you and from me. You are my heir apparent after al-Mahdī, and the caliphate will pass to you, so take this man and behead him without being weak or half-hearted. You must do this, or the power that I have built up will be weakened and destroyed." He then set off on his way and wrote to him three times on the road asking him what he had done in the matter that he had been

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44. Al-Bajalī: a Khurāsānī officer who had previously been stationed on the Byzantine frontier. He survived this defeat and later served in his native Khurāsān, being governor of Samarqand in 159/775–76 (see below, pp. 45, 171; Crone, *Slaves*, 179–80)

45. One of al-Manṣūr's paternal uncles, the Banū 'Alī, he had led the 'Abbāsid armies in pursuit of Marwān, the last Umayyad caliph. He then became governor of Syria and attracted the support of many cadres of the Umayyad regime. With their encouragement, he launched a rebellion against al-Manṣūr immediately after his accession but was defeated and forced to take refuge with his brother Sulaymān in al-Baṣrah After Sulaymān's death in 142/759–60 his position became increasingly exposed, but he continued to enjoy the support of his surviving brothers. See Kennedy, *'Abbasid Caliphate*, 59–61; Lassner, *'Abbasid Rule*, 39–57.

46. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās. He had participated in the defeat of the Umayyad forces in Iraq at the time of the 'Abbāsid Revolution and was rewarded with the governorate of al-Kūfah, which he held for the next fifteen years. He also played a major part in the defeat of the 'Alid rebellion of 145/762. On his deathbed al-Saffāḥ had been concerned that his heir, al-Manṣūr, then on the pilgrimage, might not return alive, so as a precaution he had stipulated that al-Manṣūr should be succeeded in turn by 'Īsā b. Mūsā The oath of allegiance was then taken to both of them. By this time al-Manṣūr was trying to revise the succession so that it would pass directly to his own son Muḥammad, but 'Īsā was resisting stubbornly.

instructed in, and he wrote to him, "I have executed what you ordered," and Abū Ja'far had no doubt that he had done what he had ordered him to do and that he had killed 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī. When he had been handed over to him, 'Īsā had hidden him, and he called his secretary Yūnus b. Farwah and said to him, "This man has handed over his paternal uncle to me and ordered me to do such and such to him," and he replied, "He wants to kill you and kill him. He ordered you to kill him secretly, and he will claim him from you openly and then he will retaliate on you for his death." 'Īsā asked for his advice, and he said, "I think that you should hide him in your house and do not let anyone know about his affair. If he seeks him openly from you, then hand him over openly but do not ever hand him over secretly, for, although he had entrusted him secretly to you, his affair will be produced in public." 'Īsā did this.

Al-Manṣūr came and conspired with his paternal uncles, urging them to ask him to give 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī to them, and he gave them hope that he would do that.[47] They came to him and spoke to him and aroused his compassion and reminded him of their [330] kinship and showed their good will to him, and he said, "Yes, bring me 'Īsā b. Mūsā." So he came to him, and he said, "O 'Īsā, you know that I handed over to you my paternal uncle and your paternal uncle, 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, before I set out on the pilgrimage and I ordered you to keep him in your house," and he replied, "You did that, O Commander of the Faithful," and he went on, "Your paternal uncles have spoken to me on his behalf, and I have decided to pardon him and release him. Bring him to me!" He said, "O Commander of the Faithful, did you not order me to kill him so I killed him?" but al-Manṣūr replied, "I only ordered you to imprison him in your house," but he insisted, "You ordered me to kill him." Then al-Manṣūr said, "You have lied; I did not order you to kill him." He said to his paternal uncles, "This man has confessed to you that he has killed your brother and claims that I ordered him to do that, but he has told a lie."

They said, "Hand him over to us so that we can kill him in

47. 'Abdallāh was, of course, brother to these paternal uncles, who seem to have been led at this time by 'Īsā b. 'Alī and Muḥammad, son of the dead Sulaymān b. 'Alī, and they are seen acting together to protect 'Abdallāh.

retaliation," and he said, "Do as you like with him!" and they sent him out to the courtyard. People gathered, and the matter became widely known. One of them stood up and drew his sword and advanced on ʿĪsā to strike him, and ʿĪsā said to him, "Are you going to do it?" and he said, "Yes by God!" and ʿĪsā said, "Do not be hasty but send me back to the Commander of the Faithful," and so they returned him to him, and he said, "You only wanted me to kill him so that you could kill me. Your paternal uncle is alive and well, and, if you order me to hand him over to you, I will do so." Al-Manṣūr said, "Bring him to us," so he brought him to him, and ʿĪsā said to him, "You schemed against me something toward which I was suspicious and my suspicion was right. Deal with your paternal uncle as you like." He said, "Let him enter so that I can consider my opinion." Then they left, and he ordered him to be put in a house with salt in the foundations and that water be poured into the foundations, and it collapsed on him and he died, and it happened to him as it happened.

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī died in this year, and he was buried in the cemetery at the Syrian Gate, and he was the first person to be buried there.[48]

According to Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā b. al-Manṣūr Ibn Burayh: ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī died in prison in 147 at the age of 52. [331]

According to Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā: When ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī died, al-Manṣūr was riding one day, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAyyāsh was with him, and he said to him as he was alongside him, "Do you know that three caliphs whose name began with *ʿayn* killed three rebels whose names began with *ʿayn*?" He replied, "I only know that the common people say that ʿAlī killed ʿUthmān, and they lie, and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān killed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr and ʿAmr b. Saʿīd[49] and a house collapsed on ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī." Al-Manṣūr said, "Am I to blame if the house collapsed on ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī?" and he replied, "I never said you were to blame."

In this year al-Manṣūr deposed ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and had the oath of allegiance taken to his son al-Mahdī and appointed him heir apparent after him and, some say, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā after him.

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48. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 130–49.
49. All these names begin with the Arabic letter *ʿayn*. The caliph ʿUthmān

The reasons for his deposition and how the matter happened:

Opinions differ as to what brought al-Manṣūr to the point of deposing him. Some say the reason that brought al-Manṣūr to do that was that Abū Jaʿfar confirmed ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, after the death
[332] of Abū al-ʿAbbās, in what Abū al-ʿAbbās had appointed him to, the governorship of al-Kūfah and its Sawād. He honored him and treated him with respect, and when he came in to him he sat him on his right hand and sat al-Mahdī on his left. This was his attitude to him until al-Manṣūr decided to give al-Mahdī precedence over him in the caliphate. Abū al-ʿAbbās had decided that the succession after him should pass to Abū Jaʿfar and then after Abū Jaʿfar to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā.

When al-Manṣūr decided on that he spoke to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā about giving his son precedence over him with kind words, and ʿĪsā replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, what about the oaths and agreements that bind me and bind the Muslims in my favor and the freeing and divorcing and other guarantees of the oaths?[50] There is no way to that, O Commander of the Faithful."

When Abū Jaʿfar saw his refusal, his mood (color) changed, and he became rather estranged from him. He ordered that al-Mahdī be given permission[51] (to enter) before him, and he used to come in and sit on al-Manṣūr's right hand in ʿĪsā's seat. Then he gave ʿĪsā permission, and he entered and sat beyond al-Mahdī on al-Manṣūr's right as well, and nobody sat on his left on the seat that al-Mahdī used to sit on. Al-Manṣūr was furious about that, and matters were coming to a head. He used to order that al-Mahdī be given permission, then that ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī be given permission after him. Then he waited a little while and ordered that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī be given permission, and then he waited a little while

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was murdered in 35/656 by insurgents from Iraq and Egypt. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who succeeded him, was not directly involved. The Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān was responsible for the deaths of the rebels Ibn al-Ashʿath (85/704) and Ibn al-Zubayr (72/792). ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaq was an Umayyad rival to ʿAbd al-Malik, executed by him in 70/689–90.

50. He had sworn oaths with the condition that his slaves would be freed and his wives divorced if he broke them.

51. Allowing people to enter the caliph's audience was the function of the *ḥājib* (chamberlain), and the order in which people were admitted was an important indication of status.

before ordering that ʿĪsā b. Mūsā be given permission. After that he always gave al-Mahdī permission first on every occasion, but he mixed up the rest, giving precedence to some who had been kept waiting and keeping waiting some who had been given precedence, letting ʿĪsā b. Mūsā think that he gave them precedence only because of some business that had cropped up and to discuss his affair with them. Then he used to give ʿĪsā b. Mūsā permission after them, and he was silent about all that and did not complain at all and did not criticize.

Then he moved on to harsher measures. There were with ʿĪsā [333] in the audience some of his children, and he heard digging at the foot of the wall and feared that the wall would fall down on top of him. Dust was scattered on him, and he looked up to the wood of the ceiling of the audience room and saw that one of its sides had been dug out to be removed from its place, and dust fell on his *qalansūwah*[52] and his clothes. He ordered those of his children who were with him to move, and he stood up to pray. Then permission came to him, so he stood up to go in in that state with the dust on him and he did not shake it off. When al-Manṣūr saw him, he said, "O ʿĪsā, no one ever comes in to me in a state like yours with so much dirt and dust on you. Does all this come from the street?" He replied, "I suppose so, O Commander of the Faithful." Al-Manṣūr had only spoken to him like that because he wanted him to complain to him about something. Al-Manṣūr had sent ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī to him about the matter that he wanted from him, and ʿĪsā b. Mūsā did not appreciate his visit to him, for it was as if he were provoking him.

It is said that he administered to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā something that would make him perish, and he rose up from the audience and al-Manṣūr said, "Where are you going, O Abū Mūsā?" and he replied, "I have a stomach ache, O Commander of the Faithful." "Then retire to the house." He replied, "The ache that I have is more severe than I can bear in the house." "Where are you going to?" "To the (my) lodging." So he got up from the audience and went to his river boat and al-Manṣūr got up after him and followed in his tracks to the river boat, pretending alarm for him. ʿĪsā asked

52. The *qalansūwah* was a tall hat in the shape of a cone or truncated cone. See Ahsan, *Social Life*, 30–31.

him for permission to go to al-Kūfah, but he said, "Stay rather, and be treated here." He refused and pressed him, and he gave him permission. The person who encouraged him to do that was his doctor Bukhtīshū' Abū Jibra'īl,[53] who said, "I, by God, would not venture to treat you at court, and my soul would not be safe." Al-Manṣūr gave him permission and said, "I am going on the
[334] pilgrimage in this year of mine, and I will stay with you in al-Kūfah until you recover, if God wills."

When the time of the pilgrimage approached, al-Manṣūr set out and reached a place outside al-Kūfah called al-Ruṣāfah,[54] and he stayed there for several days. He held horse races there and visited 'Īsā more than once. Then he returned to the City of Peace and did not go on the pilgrimage, giving the shortage of water on the road as an excuse. 'Īsā b. Mūsā's illness reached such a point that his hair fell out, and then he recovered from that illness. Yaḥyā b. Ziyād b. Abī Ḥuzābah al-Burjumī Abū Ziyād[55] said about this:

You escaped from the medicine of the doctor as
the gazelle escapes well-aimed arrows.
From a hunter whose arrow penetrates *al farīṣ* (the flesh
behind the shoulder blades) when
he prepares the arrow of death in his bowstring.
God defended you from the assault of a lion
who wants (to hunt) lions inside his thicket.
That is why he came to us carrying within him a hidden
(illness)[56]
made known through hearing and seeing him,
A man with little hair, for from his head
the thick black hair has gone away.

It is said that 'Īsā b. 'Alī used to say to al-Manṣūr that 'Īsā b. Mūsā refused to take the oath of allegiance to al-Mahdī only

53. Well-known physician, d. 185/801.
54. Near al-Kūfah, not to be confused with al-Ruṣāfah of Baghdad or Ruṣāfat Hishām. For the numerous al-Ruṣāfahs scattered through the Muslim world from Cordova to Nīshāpūr, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 46–50. The word means a causeway or bank of masonry.
55. Grandson of the poet Abū Ḥuzābah al-Walīd b. Ḥanafiyyah; *Aghānī*, Būlāq XIX, 152, Beirut, XXII, 273.
56. Referring to 'Īsā.

because he was looking after this matter for his son Mūsā,[57] and it was Mūsā who was preventing him. Al-Manṣūr said to ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, "Speak to Mūsā b. ʿĪsā and make him afraid for his father and for his son." ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī spoke to Mūsā about that, made him give up hope, threatened him, and warned him of the wrath of al-Manṣūr. When Mūsā was filled with fear and became apprehensive [335] and feared that something dreadful would happen to him, he came to al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad[58] and said to him, "O my paternal uncle, I am speaking to you with speech that no one, by God, has ever heard from me before, nor will anyone ever hear again and only my position of trust and confidence in you has extracted it from me. It is entrusted with you and I am putting my life in your hands." He replied, "Speak, O son of my brother, you appreciate my feelings toward you." He said, "I can see what my father is facing in order to resign this matter and have it transferred to al-Mahdī. He is treated with different sorts of harm and evil. Once he is threatened and once his permission to enter is delayed, once the walls are demolished on him, once death is plotted for him. My father will not give in because of this. That will never be. But here is an idea according to which he may give up if ever he will." He said, "What is it, O my brother's son? You are certainly correct and have earned my sympathy." Mūsā continued, "Let the Commander of the Faithful speak to him in my presence and say to him, 'O ʿĪsā, I know that you are not withholding this matter from al-Manṣūr for yourself because of your advanced age and your nearness to death, and indeed you know that you do not have a long span, but you are withholding it because of the position of your son Mūsā. Do you think that I should allow your son to survive you and my son to survive with him, so that he can have

57. He survived to be restored to his father's old office of governor of al-Kūfah in 167/783–84 by al-Mahdī. In Hārūn's reign he was serveral times governor of al-Kūfah, as well as of Syria and Egypt. He never made any attempt to claim the caliphate and died in 183/799–800.

58. Brother of the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. He spent much of his time leading expeditions on the Byzantine frontier and does not seem to have played an important role in politics. He was, however, immensely wealthy, being the owner and developer of the ʿAbbāsiyah Island in Baghdad, among other properties: see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 243, 252; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 142, 148. He is last recorded at the court of al-Hādī in 170/786–87.

power over him? Absolutely not, by God, that would never be! I would fall upon your son with you watching until you despaired for him and I was safe from him dominating my son. Do you think that your son is preferable to me than my son?' Then he would order either that I was suffocated or that the sword was drawn on me. If he ('Īsā) will agree to anything, then perhaps he will do it for this reason and not for any other."

[336] Al-'Abbās said, "May God reward you well, O son of my brother! You have sacrificed your life for your father, and you have preferred his survival to your own fortune. You have had the best opinion and followed the best of paths." Then he came to Abū Ja'far and told the news, and al-Manṣūr rewarded Mūsā well and said, "He has acted well and decently, and I will do as he has advised me, if God wills." When they gathered and 'Īsā b. 'Alī was there, al-Manṣūr turned to 'Īsā b. Mūsā and said, "O 'Īsā, I am not ignorant of the motive that you harbor nor of the aim you have pursued in this matter that I asked of you; you wanted this affair only for your son, who has been an evil omen both for you and for himself."

'Īsā b. 'Alī said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I need to relieve myself," and he said, "We will call for a receptacle so that you can urinate in it." He said, "In your audience, O Commander of the Faithful? That cannot be, but let me be guided to the nearest latrine to get to it." He ordered a man to guide him, and there he went.[59] 'Īsā b. Mūsā said to his son Mūsā, "Get up with your paternal uncle and gather his garments up behind him and give him a cloth if you have one so that he can wipe himself with it." When 'Īsā squatted down to urinate, Mūsā gathered his clothes up behind him, and he did not see him and he said, "Who is that?" and he replied "Mūsā b. 'Īsā." 'Īsā said, "May you be saved with my father and may the father who begot you be saved with my father! By God, I know that there will be no good in this matter after you two have departed, and I know that you two have the best right to it, but man is fond of what he can get soon!" Mūsā said to himself, "By God, this man has exposed his vulnerable

59. The story suggests that 'Īsā b. 'Alī, an old man at this date, was blind, but there is no other evidence for this in the sources.

spot to me, and it is he who urged (al-Manṣūr) on against my father. By God I will kill him because of what he said to me. I don't care if the Commander of the Faithful kills me after him, but there would be consolation for my father in his killing, and he would forget that I had been killed."[60]

When they returned to their positions, Mūsā asked, "O Commander of the Faithful, may I say something to my father?" and that pleased him, and he thought that he wanted to discuss some [337] of their affair with him. So he said, "Go on," so he went to him and said, "O my father, ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī has killed you and me many times because of what he has said about us. He has exposed his vulnerable spot to me." His father asked, "How?" and he replied, "He said to me this and that, and if I tell the Commander of the Faithful he will kill him, and you will satisfy your thirst for revenge and kill him before he kills you and me. We don't care what happens afterwards." His father said, "Damn this thought and opinion! Your paternal uncle said words to you in confidence that he hoped would please you, and you have made them into a reason for doing him evil and annihilating him! Keep silent and do not let anyone hear this from you and go back to your place." He stood up and returned to his place, and Abū Jaʿfar waited to see if he could see any result from his going to his father and speaking with him, and when he saw nothing he went back to his original threats and tried to intimidate him. "By God, I will swiftly do to you what harms you and what will make you despair of his surviving after you! O Rabīʿ, go up to Mūsā and strangle him with his sword belt!"[61] Al-Rabīʿ came up to him and gathered his sword belt and began to strangle him slowly.

Mūsā shouted out, "O Commander of the Faithful, (fear) God in killing me and shedding my blood! I am not in the position you imagine, and ʿĪsā will not care if you kill me, for he has more than ten male children, all of whom are like me or have precedence over me." The caliph said, "Tighten more, O Rabīʿ; finish him off!" Al-Rabīʿ made as if he were going to annihilate him and

60. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī admits that ʿĪsā b. Mūsā is in the right, and so Mūsā b. ʿĪsā could have accused him of disloyalty to al-Manṣūr.

61. The strap by which the wearer hangs a sword around his neck; see Lane, s.v. *miḥmal*.

undid the belt and Mūsā cried out, and when ʿĪsā saw that he said, "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, I did not think that the affair would go as far as all this. Order him to leave him alone, for I could not go back to my family if one of my slaves had been killed because of this affair, never mind my son. I give you witness that my wives will be divorced, my slaves free, and what I own spent in the path of God among whomever you wish, O Commander of the Faithful. Here is my hand for the oath of allegiance to al-Mahdī."

He took the oath of allegiance to him as he wanted, and then he [338] said, "O Abū Mūsā, you have answered this request of mine in hate, and I have a request I would like you to answer in obedience so that you expunge with it your feelings toward me concerning the first request." ʿĪsā asked, "What is that, O Commander of the Faithful?" and he replied, "That this affair will pass to you after al-Mahdī." ʿĪsā said, "I cannot enter into it after I have gone out from it." The caliph and those of his family who were present did not stop pressing him until finally he said, "O Commander of the Faithful, you know best."

One of the people of al-Kūfah said, when ʿĪsā passed by him with retinue: "This is the man who was tomorrow and became the day after tomorrow." This story, it is said, is attributed to the family of ʿĪsā, who told it.

According to those who relate this matter from other sources: Al-Manṣūr wanted the oath of allegiance for al-Mahdī and he spoke to the army about that and when they saw ʿĪsā riding they made him hear what he did not like and he complained to al-Manṣūr and he said to the soldiers, "Do not annoy my brother's son for he is the skin that lies between my eyes, and, if I come closer to you, I would cut off your heads" and they used to stop and then begin again and continued with it for some time. Then he wrote to ʿĪsā:

> In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
>
> From the slave of God ʿAbdallāh al-Manṣūr, Commander of the Faithful, to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā: peace be upon you. I praise to you God, beside Whom there is no other god.
>
> To continue: praise be to God of ancient grace, great

kindness and magnificent blessing who began creation with His knowledge and puts the decree into effect by His order. No creature reaches the end of His justice or attains the end of describing His glory. He arranges affairs as He wishes with His power and dispatches according to His will and there is no judge in them except Him and no executing of them except through Him. He carries them through with ease and He consults no *wazīr* about them [339] nor asks the advice of any helper. He is not confounded about anything He wishes and its completion comes to pass whether the worshippers like it or hate it. They are unable to protect themselves from Him nor do they have any defense for themselves against Him. He is the Lord of the earth and what is on it. To Him belong creation and affairs, may God be blessed, the Lord of the universe.

You know the position we were in during the rule of oppressors and the state of our power and our expedients against what the cursed house[62] inflicted on us whether we liked it or not. So we patiently accepted having to give up things to those [rulers] to whom they committed our affairs and whose opinions were unanimously agreed upon. We were unjustly treated and downtrodden by oppression, not resisting tyranny, not preventing injustice, not giving right nor forbidding wrong. We were unable to accomplish it or to benefit ourselves until what was ordained came to pass and the affair reached its allotted span. God allowed the destruction of His enemy and blessed with compassion the people of the family of His Prophet. God sent helpers (*anṣār*)[63] for them to seek to avenge them and to strive against their enemies, to summon to support them and to give victory to their state from scattered lands and different reasons but united wishes. God gathered them in obedience to us and formed in their hearts affection for us to give us victory and made them glorious through our

62. The Umayyads.

63. The term *anṣār* (helpers) was used for the people of Medina who supported the Prophet Muḥammad. 'Abbāsid propaganda often drew parallels between them and the Prophet and referred to the Khurāsānīs as their *anṣār*.

victory. We would not have met many of them, nor drawn a sword with them if God had not affected their hearts and sent them to us from their countries with committed enthusiasm and pure obedience to meet victory and to return victorious and to win victory by fear. They did not meet anyone without putting him to flight nor any offender without killing him so that God brought to us by
[340] that the end of our waiting, the limit of our affliction, the fulfillment of our hopes, the manifestation of our right, the slaughter of our enemies through the blessing of God, great and glorious, as a favor from Him to us without any effort or power from us.

After that we remained in the blessing of God and His favor until this young man[64] grew up and for him God worked on the hearts of the helpers of the Faith whom he had sent to us as He had done to us at the beginning of our power. He filled their hearts with affection for him and spread love of him in their breasts. They got to the point where they could only talk of his virtue, only gave praise to his name and only recognized his right.

Then when the Commander of the Faithful saw how God had filled their hearts with affection for him (al-Mahdī) and put his name on their tongues and (saw) their recognition of him by his characteristics and his name and the demand of the common people that he should be obeyed, the Commander of the Faithful became certain that this was a matter that God had decreed and wrought. His servants had no authority or power or counsel or discussion about it because of what the Commander of the Faithful saw of the consensus of opinion and attachment of the people. The Commander of the Faithful thought that even if al-Mahdī was not recognized by right of descent, power would pass to him. The Commander of the Faithful was not preventing what the people had agreed on and was not seeking to avoid granting what they claimed for him.

64. Al-Manṣūr's son al-Mahdī.

The most pressing of the people on the Commander of the Faithful in that were the very closest of his courtiers and the trustworthy men of his Guard and Police. The Commander of the Faithful saw no alternative to approving of and following them. The Commander of the Faithful and the people of his family were the most justified of those who hastened to that and strove for him and desired him and recognized his virtue and hoped for his blessing and told true reports about him and thanked God if He [341] put in his offspring what the Prophets asked for before him when the true servant said, "Lord give me an heir as from Thyself, one that will truly represent me, and represent the posterity of Jacob; and make him, O my Lord! One with whom Thou art well pleased!"[65] God gave to the Commander of the Faithful an heir and made him God fearing, blessed and rightly guided (*mahdī*) and a namesake of the Prophet.[66] He seized those who assumed this name and claimed that resemblance, which confused the people of that intention about it and stirred up strife among the people of that misery. He removed that from them and put upon them the calamity that befalls.[67] He established the right firmly and raised up to al-Mahdī his splendor and to the Faith its supporters.

The Commander of the Faithful wanted to inform you what the subjects had agreed. You were like a child of his to him and he wants to protect you and guide you and make you glorious, as he would himself and his children. He thinks about you that if you hear about what you see the people have agreed on concerning the position of your cousin (al-Mahdī) you will take the start unurged, so that our helpers, the people of Khurāsān and others come to know that you will be more speedy than themselves in doing what they would like according to their opinion about their own well-being; that for any merit they rec-

65. Zacharias, father of John the Baptist. *Qur'ān*, XIX: 5–6.
66. A play on the name of al-Mahdī, whose name was Muḥammad and whose title, al-Mahdī, means "rightly guided."
67. Cf. *Qur'ān*, IX: 99 and XLVIII: 66.

ognize in al-Mahdī or hope from him, you would still be the most happy of men over that and delighted about it because of his position and kinship. Accept the advice of the Commander of the Faithful to you, for through it you get better and are guided. Peace be upon you and the mercy of God.

So ʿĪsā b. Mūsā wrote to him in reply:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

To the servant of God ʿAbdallāh Commander of the Faithful from ʿĪsā b. Mūsā: Peace be upon you, O Com-
[342] mander of the Faithful, and the Mercy of God. I praise to you God, other than Whom there is no god. To continue: Your letter has reached me in which you mention what you have decided on in contradicting the law and committing sin in the cutting off of your kin and violating the pact that God has accepted from the people about faithfulness to the caliphate and to my inheriting it after you in order to cut off what God made close by bonds of affection and to split up what God joined together and join together business that God separated in defiance of God in His heaven and turning from God in His decree and following Satan in his desire.

Whoever defies God He throws him down and whoever goes against Him He subdues and whoever tries to deceive Him about anything He requites, but whoever puts his trust in God He protects and whoever humbles himself before God He raises up. The rule on which the building was founded and that should be followed is that there is an inheritance to me from the last Caliph from God and a command before which we are the same and no one Muslim has more right to change than another. The fulfillment of it is obligatory and the first has no more right to change it than the last and if something is legal for the second then it cannot be forbidden for the first. The first who followed information about it and recognized its sign and revealed what he thought about it and hoped from it has precedence. He who wished to work first was more

entitled to the right.[68] Neither being made negligent by God nor giving license to the people to abandon fulfillment (of the oath) will get you safety from affliction. Anyone who answered you in abandoning anything that was due to me and considered that legal against me would not feel embarrassed when opportunity enabled him and license tempted him to be more hasty in finding it licit against you also and to be more destructive to what you have established.

So accept the consequence and be pleased with God for what He has done, take what you were given strongly and be among those who are grateful (to God) for God, Great and Glorious, increases him who gives Him thanks as a just promise from Him with no breaking in it. Whoever fears God He protects and whoever decides to oppose Him He turns away from, for God "knows of (the tricks) that deceive with the eyes and all that the hearts (of men) conceal."[69] [343]

In addition to that, we are not safe from disasters or sudden death before (the completion of) what you have begun in cutting me out. If death comes quickly to me, you will have been saved the trouble and you would have hidden the ugliness of what you wished to make open. And if I survive after you, you would not have put my back up (lit: aroused my bitter feelings) and severed relationships with me and helped my enemies to follow in your traces, accept your tutelage and act according to your examples.

You mentioned that all affairs are in the hands of God and He is their organizer and measurer and executor according to His wish. You are right. Affairs are in the hands of God, and he who knows this fact and can define it should accomplish it and try to reach it (as a goal). Know that we ourselves did not acquire any benefit to ourselves or push away any mischief and we did not obtain what you know by our own power or by our own strength. If we

68. Īsā being the first, al-Mahdī the second.
69. *Qur'ān*, XX:19.

had been left to depend on our own efforts and desires, our power would be weakened and our ability diminished to seek what God brought us. But God, if He wishes firmly to execute His order and carry out His promise and complete His covenant and make certain His pact, decides His conclusion and concludes His decision and gives light to his announcement and establishes His pillars when He founds His building, and (His) servants are not able to delay what He is hastening or to hasten what He is delaying. But Satan, the beguiling and obvious enemy, whom God has warned against obeying and made clear his enmity, causes disputes among the agents of the right and the people of His obedience so that they divide their com-
[344] munity and scatter their gathering. He sows discord and hatred among them and washes his hands of them when the realities of affairs and the straits of tribulation become conspicuous.

God, Great and Glorious, has said in His Book, "Never did We send an apostle or a prophet before thee, but, when he framed a desire, Satan threw some (vanity) into his desire: but God will cancel anything (vain) that Satan throws in and God will confirm (and establish) His signs: for God is full of knowledge and wisdom."[70] and He described those who fear (Him) and said, "When a thought of evil from Satan assaults them, bring God to remembrance, when lo! they see (aright)!"[71]

So I ask God's protection for the Commander of the Faithful, lest his intentions and the innermost part of his soul are in opposition to what God, Great and Glorious, granted to those who were before him. Indeed their sons asked them and their desires had led them to a similar position to what the Commander of the Faithful was considering, but they preferred the right over its opposite and they knew that nobody overcomes the decree of God, nor turns away His gifts. And beside that, they did not feel

70. *Qur'ān*, XXII: 52.
71. *Qur'ān*, VII: 200.

secure from the change of fortune and the hastening of afflictions. So they chose the life to come and accepted the consequences and hated change and feared alteration. They showed fine conduct and God brought their affairs to completion and sufficed for what concerned them and protected their authority and glorified their helpers and honored their supporters and made their buildings noble so the prosperity was completed and the blessings became apparent and they felt obliged to give thanks. So the order of God was completed, even if they did not like it.

Peace be upon the Commander of the Faithful and the mercy of God.

When his letter reached Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, he kept aloof from him and was exceedingly angry. The army renewed what they had been doing more violently. Among them were Asad b. al-Marzbān, 'Uqbah b. Salm, Naṣr b. Ḥarb b. 'Abdallāh[72] with a group, and they came to 'Īsā's door and prevented anyone from going in to him and when he rode out they walked behind him [345] and said, "You are the cow of which God said, "They offered her in sacrifice, but not with good will."[73] He returned and complained about them, and al-Manṣūr said to him, "O son of my brother, I am afraid what they might do to you and me. Their hearts are full of the love of this young man,[74] but if you give him precedence before you so that he is between you and me, they will refrain." 'Īsā agreed to do it.

According to Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī—al-Rabī': When 'Īsā's answering letter reached al-Manṣūr, as we have described, he wrote on

72. Asad, a soldier presumably of Persian origin, Marzbān being a Persian title given to military officials in frontier districts of the Sasanian Empire. For his subsequent relations with 'Uqbah and his death, see below p 60. 'Uqbah was from Hunā'ah of Azd (Caskel, table 211). He is first recorded in Sind with 'Uyaynah b. Mūsā in 142/759–60 (Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 448). For his subsequent role in al-Baḥrayn, see below p. 60. He was assassinated in 167/783–84, apparently in revenge for a man he had killed in al-Yamāmah (below p. 238; Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 478). Naṣr, a Tamīmī and a member of Abū Ja'far's guard, was subsequently appointed to the frontiers of Fārs (below p. 85). He was probably the son of Ḥarb b. 'Abdallāh al-Rāwandī (see note 42 above).

73. *Qur'ān*, II 71.

74. Al-Mahdī.

it "If you accept its loss, you may obtain compensation for it in this world, and you may be secure from it responsibilities in the next."

There has been given on the subject of al-Manṣūr's deposition of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā a version other than these two, which is the one which Abū Muḥammad known as al-Aswārī recounted on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. ʿĪsā the secretary;[75] Abū Jaʿfar wanted to depose ʿĪsā b. Mūsā from his position as heir apparent and to give al-Mahdī precedence over him, but he refused to agree to that. The affair defied all Abū Jaʿfar's efforts so he sent for Khālid b. Barmak and said to him, "Speak to him, O Khālid. You have seen his refusal to give the oath of allegiance to al-Mahdī and what we have done before about his affair. Do you have any stratagem for it? All sorts of tricks have exhausted us, and our ideas have come to nothing." He replied, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful. Choose thirty senior men of the party[76] and attach them to me." Khālid b. Barmak rode out, and they rode with him and reached ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and brought him Abū Jaʿfar's message. He replied, "I will not depose myself for God, Great and Glorious, has entrusted this matter to me." Khālid worked on him with every sort of warning and desire, but he refused (to change his mind).

Khālid left him and the members of the party left after him, and
[346] Khālid said to them, "What is your advice in this matter?" and they said, "Let us bring the Commander of the Faithful his message and tell him what we did and what he did," but Khālid said, "No, we will tell the Commander of the Faithful that he has agreed and we will bear witness against him if he denies it." They replied, "Do it and we will do our part," and he said, "It is the right course," and he informed the Commander of the Faithful about what he attempted and wished.

They went to Abū Jaʿfar, and Khālid was with them, and told him that he had agreed so he issued the document for the oath of allegiance to al-Mahdī and wrote all areas.

When the news reached ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, he came to Abū Jaʿfar

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75. Nothing seems to be known of these.

76. The word *shīʿah* here, and elsewhere in al-Ṭabarī's work, applies to the ʿAbbāsid party; only later does it come to be applied exclusively to the pro-ʿAlid party in the modern sense.

denying the claim that he had agreed to giving al-Mahdī precedence over himself and he reminded him of God in what he had intended. Abū Jaʿfar summoned them and asked them, and they said, "We bear witness against him that he did agree and he should not go back on it." Abū Jaʿfar carried the matter through and thanked Khālid for what he had done and al-Mahdī was aware of what had happened and praised the excellence of his opinion in this affair..

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān—his father—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sulaym, freedman of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal:[77] I was traveling with Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal when Abū Jaʿfar had decided to give al-Mahdī precedence over ʿĪsā b. Mūsā in the oath of allegiance. We met Abū Nakhīlah the poet[78] with his two sons and two slaves, both of them carrying some of the luggage of their people. Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh stopped by them and said, "Abū Nakhīlah, what is this I see and what position are you in?" He replied, "I was staying [347] with al-Qaʿqāʿ, who was a man of the family of Zurārah who was in command of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā's *shurṭah*, and he said, "Leave me, for this man has done good to me, and it has reached my notice that you composed a poem about this oath of allegiance to al-Mahdī. I am afraid that he will hear of it and I will be exposed to reproach because you stayed with me," and he pestered me until I left.

He said to me, "O ʿAbdallāh, go with Abū Nakhīlah and give him a safe place to spend the night in my house and treat him and those with him well. Then Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh told Abū Jaʿfar about the poem of Abū Nakhīlah in which he says,

ʿĪsā let it slide to Muḥammad (al-Mahdī)
so that it may be passed from hand to hand
Among you, and it rests there while it is increasing.
We are delighted with the beardless youth (al-Mahdī).

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77. See note 23 above.

78. Abū Nakhīlah (his *ism*, not his *kunyah*) b. Ḥazn al-Tamīmī was court poet to the Umayyads from the time of Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik, his first patron. He transferred his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsids and became their panegyrist, styling himself the "poet of the Banū Hāshim" (*Aghānī*, Būlāq, XVIII, 139; Beirut, XX, 361.) For the family of Zurārah, see Crone, *Slaves*, 121–23.

When it was the day on which Abū Ja'far had the oath of allegiance taken to his son al-Mahdī and gave him precedence over 'Īsā, he summoned Abū Nakhīlah and ordered him to recite the poem. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh spoke to Abū Ja'far and advised him in what he said to give him the most magnificent reward. He said, "It is something that will remain about you in books and people will talk about it at the time and for eternity," and he continued until Abū Ja'far ordered that he be given ten thousand *dirhams*.

According to Ḥayyān b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥibrān al-Ḥimmānī—Abū Nakhīlah: I came to Abū Ja'far and waited for a month at his gate and did not reach him until the day when 'Abdallāh b. al-Rabī' al-Ḥārithī said to me, "O Abū Nakhīlah, the Commander of the Faithful has nominated his son for the caliphate and the oath of
[348] allegiance (*'ahd*), and he is giving him precedence before 'Īsā b. Mūsā. If you said something encouraging him in that and mentioning the virtue of al-Mahdī, you would be likely to receive some favor from him and from his son," so I said:[79]

Take care, 'Abdallāh, who is worthy of it,
(I mean) the caliphate of God, which He has given you.
He has chosen you, he has chosen you for it, He has chosen you.
We had looked for a time to your father,
Then we looked to you for it.
We were among them,[80] but our longing was for you.
Yes, we shelter in your protection.
Rest your staff on Muḥammad,
Your son, who, whatever you entrust to him, can bear the responsibility.
The best man to protect it (the caliphate) is the nearest kin to you.
I fatigued my legs and thighs,
I roamed until I found no place to go,
I turned here and there and everywhere,

79. For a variant version of this poem, *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XVIII, 152; Beirut, XX, 391.

80. Supporters of the Umayyads. Much of the poem is concerned with the author's attempt to excuse his support of the previous dynasty.

and every word I spoke except about you
Was a lie, and this has done penance for that.

I also recited my poem in which I said:[81]

To the Commander of the Faithful betake yourself, O my she-camel,
traveling to the foamy sea of seas (or to the most generous of men).
You are he, O son of the namesake of Aḥmad,[82]
O son of the noble Arab house,
Yes, the trustworthy of the Eternal One,
it is you who was appointed by the Lord of the mosque.
The heir apparent to it (the caliphate) most fortunately
was ʿĪsā, and he let it slide to Muḥammad
And before ʿĪsā it was gradually surrendered from one to one,
so that it may be passed from hand to hand
Among you, and it rests there while it is increasing [349]
and we are delighted with the beardless youth.[83]
We have arrived to witness, but we did not,
the pact has not been confirmed.
So, if we hear the clamor "Stretch out! Stretch out!" (your hand),
it will be for us like the torrent of rain for a thirsty horse.
So call to the oath of allegiance the surging crowds.
It will become clear to you today or tomorrow.
It is he (al-Mahdī) who has become perfect, and no obstacle
[stands in his way].
He has increased as you wish, so give him more, that he may increase further.
Clothe him yourself in the mantle you choose and he is ready to wear,
for it is the mantle of the garlanded horse that goes before.
It had been related that it was as if it (the caliphate)
had returned, and when it did it was not rejected.
For it used to wander from one wilderness to another

81. For a variant, see *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XVIII, 151; Beirut, XX, 288–89.
82. Muḥammad al-Mahdī was the namesake of the Prophet.
83. Al-Mahdī.

for some time. So, when the time for the drinkers to gather around the spring has arrived,
And the time of turning the vile seducer (into a man of virtue) has also arrived
God would say to it, "Come along quickly and be rightly guided!"
Then it is settled in the right place,
in the best lineage, in the best lineage,[84] in the most glorious lineage.
The loud complaint of jealous souls has not been silenced by better than a firm and reliable lord.
When they started striking fire by unsparkling firesteel,
they were tested with the extremely firm and powerful
Who increases in watchfulness against threats.
So they changed to compliance and supplication
Toward a determined sword, which eats up every file.

This was recited and spread through the mouths of the servants
[350] and reached Abū Ja'far, who asked who the author was. He was informed that it was a member of the Banū Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt and he was pleased. He called me and I was brought into his presence. 'Īsā b. Mūsā was on his right-hand side, and the people were with him with the chiefs of the commanders and the army. When I was in a place he could see me, I cried out, "O Commander of the Faithful, bring me near you so that I can make you understand and you can listen to what I have to say." He beckoned with his hand, and I came near until I was closed to him. When I was in front of him I spoke and raised my voice and recited to him from this position. Then I returned to the beginning of the *urjūzah*,[85] and I recited it from the beginning to this place also. I repeated it a second time until I came to its end. The people were listening, and he was delighted with what I recited to him when he was listening to it. When we left him, there was a man putting his hand on my shoulder, and I turned and there was 'Iqāl b. Shabbah saying, "As for you, you have delighted the Commander of the Faithful and, if the affair is resolved as you wish and you said, by

84. That is, the caliphate was settled on al-Mahdī.
85. A poem in the *rajaz* meter.

my life you will be well rewarded by him, but, if it is otherwise, then look for a tunnel in the earth or a ladder to the sky."[86]

Al-Manṣūr wrote to him at al-Rayy that he be given a reward, and ʿĪsā sent men after him and he was intercepted on his way and he had his throat cut and the skin stripped off his face. It is said that he was killed after he left al-Rayy and he had taken his reward.

According to al-Walīd b. Muḥammad al-ʿAnbarī: The reason why ʿĪsā gave Abū Jaʿfar his consent for giving al-Mahdī precedence over him was that Salm b. Qutaybah said to him, "O man, take the oath of allegiance and give him precedence over yourself. If you resign from the affair, he will assign it to you (ʿĪsā) after him (al-Mahdī), and you will please the Commander of the Faithful." He said, "I will succeed him?" and he replied, "Yes," and ʿĪsā said, "I will do it." Salm came to al-Manṣūr and told him of ʿĪsā's reply, and he was pleased about that and Salm's status with him increased, and the people took the oath of allegiance to [351] al-Mahdī and to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā after him. Al-Manṣūr preached the sermon in which was the announcement of the precedence of al-Mahdī over ʿĪsā, and ʿĪsā preached after that and gave precedence to al-Mahdī over himself, and al-Manṣūr fulfilled what he had promised him.

According to some of the companions of Abū Jaʿfar: We were reminiscing about the affair of Abū Jaʿfar and ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and the oath of allegiance and his resigning of it and giving precedence to al-Mahdī, and one of the commanders, whose name he gave, said, "By God, other than Whom there is no god, the deposition of ʿĪsā from it happened only with ʿĪsā's consent, his dependence on *dirhams*, and his failure to appreciate the importance of the caliphate and his desire to escape it. When the day came when he went out to the deposition and resigned, I was in the *maqṣūrah*[87] (of the mosque) in the City of Peace when Abū ʿUbaydallāh,[88]

86. That is, if al-Mahdī is made heir apparent.

87. An enclosure in the mosque, usually to separate the ruler and his entourage from the people.

88. Abū ʿUbaydallāh Muʿāwiyah b. ʿUbaydallāh was vizier and secretary to al-Mahdī. Originally from Palestine, his father had served the Umayyads (Jāḥiẓ, 126; *ʿUyūn*, 281). He was attached to al-Mahdī when he was sent to al-Rayy and continued as his vizier after he became caliph. He aroused the jealousy of Yaʿqūb

secretary to al-Mahdī, with a group of people of Khurāsān came out and ʿĪsā spoke and said, "I have handed over the position of heir apparent to Muḥammad, son of the Commander of the Faithful, and have given him precedence over me." Abū ʿUbaydallāh said, "It was not like that, may God glorify the Amīr, but tell it in truth and honesty and say what you wanted for it and what you were given." ʿĪsā replied, "Yes, I sold my rights of precedence in the position of heir apparent to ʿAbdallāh, Commander of the Faithful, to his son Muḥammad al-Mahdī for ten million *dirhams* and three hundred thousand to be divided among my children such and such and such (and he named them) and seven hundred thousand to so-and-so (one of his wives, and he named her), with a good heart on my part and desire that it might pass to him because he is most worthy of it and has the most right and strongest claim to [352] it and to undertake it. I do not have any right to precedence over him in big or in little. If ever I claim anything after this day of mine, then I am in the wrong and have no rights in it, no claim and no demand."

He said: Sometimes he forgot one thing or another about that and Abū ʿUbaydallāh reminded him until he finished up. Abū ʿUbaydallāh only sought confirmation and sealed the document and the witnesses witnessed it. I was present until ʿĪsā put his own handwriting and seal on it with the people gathered there. Then they went in from the *maqṣūrah* to the palace.

He said: The Commander of the Faithful robed ʿĪsā and his son Mūsā and other children of his with robes to the value of over one million, two hundred thousand *dirhams*.

The governorship of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā over al-Kūfah and its Sawād and the area around it lasted thirteen years[89] until al-Manṣūr deposed him and appointed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī as governor when he refused to give al-Mahdī precedence over himself.

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b. Dāwūd and of al-Rabīʿ and the *mawālī*, which eventually led to his fall; he lost his post as vizier in 163/779–80 and as *ṣāḥib al-rasāʾil* (in charge of correspondence) in 166/782–83. He survived into the reign of Hārūn, when Yaḥyā b. Khālid invited him to return to government, but he declined because of his great age. See below, pp. 199–202, al-Jahshiyārī, 141–57, 179; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 94–103.

89. According to al-Ṭabarī, III, 72, ʿĪsā had been appointed governor of al-Kūfah in 132/750. This would have given him fifteen years as governor.

It is said: Al-Manṣūr only appointed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān as governor when he did because he wanted to humiliate ʿĪsā, but Muḥammad did not do that and continued to treat him highly and to show him respect.

In this year Abū Jaʿfar appointed Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās, his brother's son, as governor of al-Baṣrah, but he asked to be excused, so he was, and he left there for the City of Peace and died there. His wife al-Baghūm b. ʿAlī b. al-Rabīʿ shrieked and lamented him. One of the guards struck her with a bridle rein on the posterior, and the servants of Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās took turns in beating him until he was killed, and his blood was unavenged. When Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās set out from al-Baṣrah he left ʿUqbah b. Salm as his deputy over it, and Abū Jaʿfar confirmed him in charge of it until 151 (January 26, 768–January 13, 769).

Al-Manṣūr led the pilgrimage in this year. In this year his [353]
governor of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif was his paternal uncle ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī, over Medina Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān, over al-Kūfah and its territory Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, over al-Baṣrah ʿUqbah b. Salm with Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh in charge of the judiciary there, and Yazīd b. Ḥātim was in charge of Egypt.[90]

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90. B. Qabīṣah b. al-Muhallab: He had been governor of Egypt since 143/760–61. A descendant of the famous al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah, he is said to have been instrumental in saving Abū Jaʿfar's life before the ʿAbbāsid revolution. He was governor of Azerbaijān, Egypt, and, in 154–70 (771–786/7), of Ifrīqiyah, where he died. See also his brother Rawḥ and cousin ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ (al-Ṭabarī, III, 68, 142, 370, 372, 373, 569; al-Kindī, *Governors*, 111–15; Ibn Idhārī, *Bayān*, 78–82). Ibn Idhārī gives his date of death as Ramaḍān 171/February–March 788. For the Muhallabids in the early ʿAbbāsid period, see Kennedy, *ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, 82–83; Crone, *Slaves*, 133–35.

The Events of the Year 148

(February 27, 765–February 15, 766)

The events of this year:

In this year Al-Manṣūr sent Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah[91] to Armenia to make war on the Turks who had killed Ḥarb b. 'Abdallāh and ravaged Tiflīs. Ḥumayd went to Armenia and found that they had gone, so he left without meeting a single one of them.

In this year Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī[92] made camp at Dābiq,[93] it is said, and did not go on a raid.

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91. Son of Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb, who had led the 'Abbāsid armies from Khurāsān at the time of the revolution. He had initially supported the rebellion of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī against al-Manṣūr in 137/754 but was restored to favor, serving briefly as governor of Egypt in 143–45/761–63 and, from 151 until his death in 159 (768–76), as governor of Khurāsān. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 15, 21, 48, 55, 92–93, 369, 459; al-Kindī, *Governors*, 110; Ḥamzah, 141. For the role of his family in the early 'Abbāsid state, see Kennedy, *'Abbasid Caliphate*, 79–80; Crone, *Slaves*, 188–89.

92. Paternal uncle of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. He had been active in the 'Abbāsid conquest of Syria and was the leader of the 'Abbāsid force that killed Marwān, the last Umayyad caliph in Egypt. He was briefly in charge of Egypt on two occasions, but most of his career was spent in Syria, where he took over many former Umayyad properties, and on the Byzantine frontier, where he was an active builder of fortifications. He and his family had a celebrated residence at Salamiyyah in central Syria. He was the same age as his nephew al-Manṣūr but died before him, in 152/769. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 48; al-Balādhurī, *Buldān*, 170, 197; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat*, 59–60; al-Kindī, *Governors*, 102–6. See also Kennedy, *'Abbasid Caliphate*, 74–75.

93. An important Muslim base on the Byzantine frontier, north of Aleppo. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 416–17; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 426.

In this year Ja'far b. Abī Ja'far al-Manṣūr[94] led the pilgrimage, and the governors of the *amṣār*[95] in this year were the same as in the year before.

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94. Known as Ja'far the Elder, to distinguish him from his younger brother of the same name. He was at one time considered as a possible rival to al-Mahdī for the succession but died in 150/758 (see below pp. 49, 145–46).

95. Plural of *miṣr*. The *amṣār* were originally the towns established by the Muslims in the years immediately after the conquests at al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah and al-Fusṭāṭ. In the early 'Abbāsid period, the term is applied generally to the major provincial capitals.

The Events of the Year

149

(February 16, 766–February 5, 767)

The events of this year:

In this year al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad led the summer raid on the Byzantine lands. With him were al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah[96] and Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, and Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath died on the road.[97]

In this year al-Manṣūr completed the building of the walls of the city of Baghdad and finished with the ditch and all the work.

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96. Brother of Ḥumayd (see note 91 above). On his father's death, he took over command of the 'Abbāsid army. The rest of his career was spent in Armenia and on the Byzantine frontier, where he built numerous fortresses and frequently led expeditions against the Greeks. He died in 181/797, full of honor and years, at the age of eighty-four (al-Ṭabarī, III, 17, 95, 353, 493, 495, 646; al-Balādhurī, *Buldān*, 223). For the family properties in Baghdad, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 140–41.

97. Al-Khuzā'ī. A close colleague of Abū Muslim, he was sent to Ifrīqiyah by Abū Ja'far in 144/761, but he was subsequently driven out by a mutiny of his Khurāsānī troops. (al-Ṭabarī, II, 2001, III, 71, 122; Ibn Idhārī, *Bayān*, 72). In the Leiden edition of al-Ṭabarī, III, 74, his appointment to Ifrīqiyah is wrongly dated to 133. See Crone, *Slaves*, 184–85

In this year he went to Ḥadīthah[98] of Mosul and then back to the City of Peace. [354]

In this year Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās[99] led the pilgrimage.

In this year ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī was deposed from Mecca, and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was appointed as governor.

The governors of the *amṣār* in this year were the same as those in the years 147 and 148, except for Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, where the governor in this year was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās.

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98. On the east bank of the Tigris, about thirty miles southeast of Mosul. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 230; Le Strange, *Lands*, 90–91.

99. Son of Ibrāhīm al-Imām, the leader of the ʿAbbāsid family put to death by the Umayyads immediately before the ʿAbbāsid Revolution. He had an unspectacular career, mostly in the Holy Cities. He led the pilgrimage on three occasions in al-Manṣūr's reign (149/757, 151/759, 154/762) and was governor of Medina at the time of the caliph's death (see below, pp 86–87). He died in 185/801.

The Events of the Year 150

(February 6, 767–January 25, 768)

One of the events of this year was the rebellion of Ustādhsīs[100] with people from Harāt,[101] Bādhghīs,[102] Sijistān[103] and other areas of Khurāsān. They were said to have numbered about 300,000 fighting men and conquered most of Khurāsān and proceeded until they came up against the people of Marw al-Rūdh.[104] Al-

100. Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 457, and Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 74b, both make it clear that there was a religious aspect to the rebellion and that Ustādhsīs claimed to be a prophet. The independent account in Agapius of Manbij, *'Unwān*, 544–45, suggests that there were economic causes, notably a dispute over control of silver mines in Bādhghīs. See Sadighi, *Mouvements*, 155–62; Kennedy, *'Abbasid Caliphate*, 183–84; Daniel, *Khurasan*, 133–37.

101. Herat, in western Afghanistan.

102. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 318; Le Strange, *Lands*, 412–15.

103. Or Sīstān, the province of eastern Iran around the delta of the Helmand river, near the modern Iran-Afghanistan frontier. On the history of the area, see Bosworth, *Sistan under the Arabs*.

104. Marw al-Rūdh lay on the Murghāb river south of Marw, near the modern Soviet-Afghan border. It was an important center of Muslim settlement in the area, and its people has played an important part in the 'Abbāsid Revolution. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 112; Le Strange, *Lands*, 404–5.

Ajtham al-Marwarrūdhī[105] went out to meet them with the people of Marw al-Rūdh, and they fought him fiercely until al-Ajtham was killed and many of the people of Marw al-Rūdh with him. Ustādhsīs defeated many commanders, including Muʿādh b. Muslim b. Muʿādh,[106] Jibraʾīl b. Yaḥyā, Ḥammād b. ʿAmr,[107] Abū al-Najm al-Sijistānī,[108] and Dāwūd b. Kirāz[109] until al-Manṣūr, who was then at al-Baradān,[110] sent Khāzim b. Khuzaymah[111] to al-Mahdī, who then put him in charge of the campaign against Ustādhsīs and assigned commanders to him. [355]

It is said that Muʿāwiyah b. ʿUbaydallāh, al-Mahdī's vizier, was undermining Khāzim's position. At that time al-Mahdī was in Nishapur.[112] Muʿāwiyah despatched letters to Khāzim b. Khuzaymah and to other commanders giving himself unlimited powers. Khāzim, who was with his army, was ill, but he drank some medicine and rode with the postal service until he reached al-Mahdī in Nishapur. He greeted him and asked to speak with him alone because Abū ʿUbaydallāh was present, but al-Mahdī

105. Otherwise unknown.

106. He later became governor of Khurāsān, 161–63/780–83, but disappears from the record after that. His son Yaḥyā was prominent in the early years of al-Maʾmūn's reign, while another son, al-Ḥusayn, was foster brother to the future caliph al-Hādī, suggesting that Muʿādh was more important than his brief appearance in the historical record would suggest. (See below, pp 196, 215; Gardīzī, 76b; Ḥamzah, 141; Crone, *Slaves*, 183–84).

107. Otherwise unknown.

108. Otherwise unknown.

109. Otherwise unknown.

110. On the east bank of the Tigris, about ten miles north of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 375; Le Strange, *Lands*, 50.

111. Al-Tamīmī al-Marwarrūdhī, one of the most important figures in the ʿAbbāsid Revolution in Khurāsān and subsequently in the army of the early ʿAbbāsid caliphate. He led the people of Marw al-Rūdh in support of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution and was one of the leaders of the ʿAbbāsid armies in Iran and Iraq In 134/751–52 he took ʿUmān for the ʿAbbāsids, and in 141/758–59 he was sent with the young al-Mahdī to al-Rayy and played a prominent part in the defeat of the rebel governor ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Azdī; he was governor of Khurāsān on two occasions. He disappears from the record after 151/768. His son Khuzaymah was an important military figure in Hārūn's reign and in the civil war that followed his death (al-Ṭabarī, II, 1959, III, 13, 20, 69, 76–78, 134–35; Ḥamzah 140–41; Crone, *Slaves*, 180–81; Kennedy, *ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, 81–82).

112. In northeastern Iran, some thirty miles west of Mashhad, and one of the most important cities of Khurāsān in the early Islamic period. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 331–33; Le Strange, *Lands*, 382–88.

said, "Abū 'Ubaydallāh will not spy on you, so say what is on your mind," but Khāzim refused to tell him or talk to him until Abū 'Ubaydallāh rose and left. When he was alone with him, he complained to him about Mu'āwiyah b. 'Ubaydallāh and his hostility and his prejudice against him and what he was saying in his letters to him and the commanders under him. He explained how they were corrupted, how they acquired a domineering manner, how they tried to be independent in their opinions and became heedless and rather disobedient. Khāzim argued that the war could not be conducted properly without a sole head and that no banner[113] should fly over the head of anyone in the army except his banner or a banner he had given. He also told al-Mahdī that he would not return to fight Ustādhsīs and his men unless he was given complete control and exempted from the authority of Mu'āwiyah b. 'Ubaydallāh. He asked for permission to unfurl the banners of the commanders who were with him, and that al-Mahdī write to them ordering them to obey him.

Al-Mahdī granted him everything he requested and Khāzim departed for his army. He did what he had said and unfurled the banners of the commanders that he deemed wise to unfurl, and he
[356] entrusted banners to those he wished. He was joined by those soldiers who had fled, using them as a surplus reinforcement in the rear, just to increase the numbers of the soldiers. He did not put them in the vanguard because of the feelings of fear of defeat that were in the hearts of those who had been defeated; those in this category who joined him numbered 22,000. He then chose 6,000 of the army and joined them to 12,000 specially chosen men who were with him. Bakkār b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī[114] was among those chosen.

Then he prepared for battle; he dug a trench and appointed al-

113. The banner (*liwā'*) was important as a symbol of command of an army or of the governorate of a province. Here it means that Khāzim should have an independent command and be able to choose his own subordinates.

114. He came from a family that had been prominent supporters of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān, and he himself had been one of the leaders of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī's rebellion against al-Manṣūr. Despite this, the caliph valued his military expertise and support; he later, in 153/770, became governor of Armenia. See also his brother Isḥāq (al-Ṭabarī, III, 96, 371; Crone, *Slaves*, 106–7).

Haytham b. Shu'bah b. Ẓuhayr[115] in charge of the right wing and Nahār b. Ḥuṣayn al-Sa'di[116] over the left wing. Bakkār b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī led the vanguard and Turārkhudā[117] was over the rear guard; he was one of the descendants (*abnā'*) of the Persian kings of Khurāsān. His banner was held by al-Zibriqān and his standard by his freedman Bassām.[118] He tricked and deceived the enemy by moving from place to place and trench to trench, so that they were totally exhausted, as most of them were on foot.

Then Khāzim went to a place and stopped there and dug a trench around it. He brought inside it all that he wanted to, including all his companions. He made four gates in it and appointed man from his chosen companions, who were 4,000 strong, in charge of every gate. He assigned to Bakkār b. Muslim, the commander of his vanguard, 2,000 men to supplement the 18,000 he had already.

The other side came, bringing with them spades, axes, and large baskets, intending to fill in the trench and enter it. They reached the trench at the gate that Bakkār b. Muslim was in charge of and attacked it so fiercely that Bakkār's companions had no choice but to flee and they were pursued into the trench by the enemy. When Bakkār saw that, he dismounted and rushed and stood at the gate of the trench and shouted to his companions, "You sons [357] of harlots, the Muslims are attacked from the side I guard!"[119] and there dismounted about fifty of his tribe and family who were with him and they blocked the gate so that they held the enemy back from it.

Then a man from Sijistān called al-Ḥarīsh,[120] who was with

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115. Al-Tamīmī, like Khāzim. He had fought under Khāzim's command before and was later to serve his son Khuzaymah (al-Ṭabarī, III, 69, 130, 856).

116. Otherwise unknown.

117. The second element of his name, *khudā*, means "lord" in Persian. The word "kings" (*mulūk*) is used loosely here to refer to the semi-independent princes and lords of Khurāsān. See Shaban, *Political Geography of Khurasan*. Turārkhudā himself had been, like Bakkār b. Muslim, a supporter of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī but is otherwise unknown.

118. Zibriqān is a Persian word meaning either the moon or the man with the little beard. Neither he nor Bassām is recorded elsewhere.

119. Suggesting, of course, that Ustādhsīs' supporters were non-Muslims, a useful clue to the nature of the rebellion.

120. The name means "rough" or "harsh" in Arabic, but it may be either a nickname or a corruption of a Persian word; it is not recorded elsewhere.

Ustādhsīs and was the man who was managing his affairs, came to the gate where Khāzim was. When Khāzim saw him coming, he sent to al-Haytham b. Shu'bah who was on the right wing, saying, "Go out of the gate you are in charge of and take a different route from the one that leads to Bakkār's gate while the enemy is occupied with fighting and attacking us and, when you are behind them and beyond the range of their vision, come upon them from the rear." At that time they were expecting the arrival of Abū 'Awn[121] and 'Amr b. Salm b. Qutaybah[122] from Ṭukhāristān[123] so Khāzim ordered Bakkār, "When you see the banners of al-Haytham b. Shu'bah approaching you from behind, say, 'God is great!' and, 'The people of Ṭukhāristān have arrived!'" So al-Haytham's men did that while Khāzim, with the main body of the army, attacked al-Ḥarīsh al-Sijistānī and engaged in fierce and prolonged sword fighting. While they were locked in combat they saw al-Haytham's banners and shouted to each other, "The people of Ṭukhāristān have come!" and when the people of al-Ḥarīsh and those who were fighting Bakkār saw those standards, Khāzim's men attacked them fiercely and exposed them so that al-Haytham's men attacked them with spears and arrows. Nahār b. Ḥuṣayn and
[358] his men from the left and Bakkār b. Muslim and his men from their direction also attacked and they routed them and put them to the sword. The Muslims made a great slaughter and those who were killed in that battle numbered about 70,000 and 14,000 were taken prisoners.

Ustādhsīs took refuge in the mountains with a small number of his companions. Khāzim took the fourteen thousand prisoners and cut off their heads. Then he went and besieged Ustādhsīs in

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121. 'Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd al-Azdī, a Khurāsānī from Jurjān who played an important role in the 'Abbāsid Revolution and came west with the 'Abbāsid armies. He was later governor of Egypt, 133–36/751–35 and 137–41/755–58, and of Khurāsān, in c. 159–60/775–77, but was deposed by al-Mahdī for his failure to defeat the rebel al-Muqanna'. He died in 168/784–85. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 38, 48, 72, 459, 477, 536–37, for his relations with al-Mahdī and his son; Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 74b, 76b, gives him two periods as governor of Khurāsān; Kindī, *Governors*, 102–5, says he was a mawlā of Hunā'ah of Azd; see Crone, *Slaves*, 174.

122. Son of Salm b. Qutaybah; see note 27 above; not recorded elsewhere.

123. A district of Khurāsān in the Oxus valley east of Balkh; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 426–27.

his mountain refuge, and there joined him Abū 'Awn and 'Amr b. Salm b. Qutaybah with their companions at that place. Khāzim settled them in an area and told them to stay where they were until they were needed. Khāzim besieged Ustādhsīs and his companions until they agreed to accept the judgment of Abū 'Awn:[124] they would not accept any other terms and Khāzim agreed to that and ordered Abū 'Awn to allow them to accept his judgment so he did. When they came down to the judgment of Abū 'Awn, he decided that Ustādhsīs and his sons and his household[125] should be secured with irons and that the rest, 30,000 in number, should be released. Khāzim put Abū 'Awn's judgment into effect and gave each of them two garments. Khāzim wrote about the conquests God had given him and the destruction of his enemies to al-Mahdī who in turn wrote to the Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr about it.

Muḥammad b. 'Umar[126] mentioned that the rebellion of Ustādhsīs and al-Ḥarīsh took place in the year 150/767 and that Ustādhsīs was defeated in the year 151/768.

In this year al-Manṣūr deposed Ja'far b. Sulaymān from Medina and appointed al-Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[127]

In it Ja'far b. Abī Ja'far al-Manṣūr the Elder died in Baghdad and his father al-Manṣūr prayed over him. He was buried by night in the cemetery of Quraysh.[128]

There was no summer expedition for the people against the Byzantines in this year: it is said that Abū Ja'far had put Usayd[129] [359]

124. Abū 'Awn was clearly known and trusted by the rebels as no other Muslim leader was, but the sources give no indication as to why this was so.

125. According to other sources (Gardīzī, *Zayn*, 74b; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IV, 299), Ustādhsīs' daughter Marājil, mother of the future caliph al-Ma'mūn, was among the captives taken to Baghdad on this occasion.

126. Al-Wāqidī.

127. An important and significant move: Al-Ḥasan was an 'Alīd who had proved loyal to al-Manṣūr, and there is no doubt that his appointment to Medina, a center of 'Alīd support, was a conciliatory gesture He remained governor until 155/772 and died in 168/784–85.

128. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 158, says that this was situated at Kāẓimayn, north of Baghdad, on the west bank.

129. Possibly Usayd (or Asīd) b. 'Abdallāh al-Khuzā'ī (Crone, *Slaves*, 175–76), but he is said to have been governor of Khurāsān at this time (Ḥamzah, 141). More

in charge of the expedition in this year but he did not lead the people to the land of the enemy but stayed in Marj Dābiq.[130]

'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās led the pilgrimage in this year.

The governor of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if was 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās but it is also said that the governor of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. The governor of Medina was al-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-'Alawī. The governor of al-Kūfah was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī and of al-Baṣrah 'Uqbah b. Salm, with Sawwār[131] in charge of the judiciary, and the governor of Egypt was Yazīd b. Ḥātim.

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likely this is a mistake for Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī (see note 190 below), as Brooks suggests ("Byzantines and Arabs", 734).

130. The fertile meadows and pastures around Dābiq (see note 93, above), which were frequently used as a base for Muslim raids.

131. Sawwār b. 'Abdallāh, d. 157/773–74, was *qāḍī* of al-Baṣrah for many years.

The Events of the Year 151

(JANUARY 26, 768–JANUARY 13, 769)

Among the events of this year was the seaborne attack on Jeddah by the Kurk[132] mentioned by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar.

In this year ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. ʿUthmān b. Abī Ṣufrah[133] was appointed governor of Ifrīqiyah. He was deposed from Sind and replaced by Hishām b. ʿAmr al-Taghlibī.[134]

The circumstances of the deposition of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ from Sind and his appointment as governor of Ifrīqiyah, and of the appointment of Hishām b. ʿAmr as governor of Sind.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī [360]
—his father: The reason for that was that al-Manṣūr had appointed

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132. Pirates of unknown origin. See Omar, *ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, 319.

133. A member of the Muhallabī family (see note 90 above). He had been governor of Sind since 142/759–60. He remained governor of Ifrīqiyah until he was killed by the Berbers and the Khārijites in an uprising in 153/770 (al-Ṭabarī, III, 139, 370; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 232; Ibn Idhārī, *Bayān*, 75–76).

134. A chief of the Jazīrah tribe of Taghlib, he is said to have secured the allegiance of Mosul to the ʿAbbāsids at the time of the revolution. According to Yaʿqūbī (*Tārīkh*, II, 448), he conquered Multan and died soon after his return from Sind in 157/773–74 (al-Ṭabarī, III, 47, 380).

'Umar b. Ḥafṣ al-Ṣufrī, called Hazārmard[135] to Sind. He remained there until the rebellions of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh in Medina and Ibrāhīm in al-Baṣrah. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh sent his son 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad who was known as al-Ashtar,[136] with some members of the Zaydiyyah[137] to Baṣrah and ordered them to buy the foals of excellent horses and take them with them to Sind so that Muḥammad could use them as a means to reach 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ. He did this because 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ was one of Abū Ja'far commanders who had taken the oath of allegiance to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, as he was a sympathizer of the family of Abū Ṭālib.

They went to Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh in al-Baṣrah and bought foals from there. There is nothing in the land of Sind and Hind[138] more valuable than good horses. They traveled by sea until they reached Sind and then they went to 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ and said to him, "We are horse dealers and have some excellent horses with us," and he ordered them to show their horses so they showed them to him. When they came to him one of them said to him, "Come near me and I will tell you something," so he came near and he went on, "We have brought you something that is better for you than the horses and that has in it for you all the best of his world and the next. Give us a guarantee on two points: that you accept what we bring you or that you will conceal it and refrain from making it public until we leave your country on our return journey." He gave them the guarantee and they said, "We did not come to you because of the horses but we have here the son of the Prophet of God, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan who has been sent to you by his father who has come out in rebellion in Medina and proclaimed himself Caliph. His brother Ibrāhīm has

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135. The name means "thousand men" in Persian, but it is not clear why he was so called.

136. The word is applied to someone who has either an inversion of the eyelid or a split bottom lip (see Lane, s.v. *shtr*).

137. The Zaydiyyah were originally followers of Zayd b. 'Alī, who rebelled unsuccessfully in al-Kūfah against the Umayyads in 122/740. They continued in existence as a small group of 'Alid activists, based mostly in al-Kūfah, and they supported all the main 'Alid rebellions of the early 'Abbāsid period (see Kennedy, *'Abbasid Caliphate*, 203–9).

138. Sind was the Muslim province on the lower Indus, roughly equivalent to the modern province of Sind in Pakistan. Hind was used in a more general sense for the neighboring parts of the Indian subcontinent not under Muslim rule.

risen in al-Baṣrah and taken it over." He said, "You are most welcome," and he took the oath of allegiance to him from them and ordered him to be concealed with him. [361]

Then he called the people of his household, his commanders and the great men of the town to take the oath of allegiance and they accepted. He cut up white standards, white turbans and white *qalansūwah*s and on Thursday he prepared white garments in which to go up to the pulpit. On Wednesday there came a boat from Baṣrah with a messenger of Khulaydah bint al-Muʿārik, wife of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ with a letter telling him of the killing of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. He went to ʿAbdallāh, told him the news and consoled him and said to him, "I have sworn the oath of allegiance to your father and now this had happened." ʿAbdallāh said, "My activities are now notorious and my position well-known and my safety is your responsibility so look after yourself or leave." ʿUmar replied, "I have a suggestion to make: there is here one of the Kings of Sind with a great kingdom and following. He is, despite his polytheism, a great admirer of the Prophet of God and he is a trustworthy man. I will write to him and make an agreement between you and him and send you to him to stay with him, and you will be beyond reach with him." ʿAbdallāh replied, "Do as you wish." So he did that and he went to the king who was very generous to him and showed him great kindness. The Zaydiyyah escaped to join him until there were about 400 "people of perspicacity"[139] with him and he used to go out riding and hunting among them and he amused himself in the manner of kings and their families.

When Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm were killed, news of ʿAbdallāh al-Ashtar reached al-Manṣūr and he was worried about it so he wrote to ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ, informing him what he had heard. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ gathered his kin and read al-Manṣūr's letter to them and told them that if he admitted the story, al-Manṣūr would not hesitate to depose him and if he went to him, he would kill him and if he refused he would make war on him. Then one of his kin said, "Put the blame on me and write to him telling him about me. Arrest me immediately, put me in chains and throw me into [362]

139. *Ahl al-baṣā'ir*, presumably the description they adopted for themselves.

prison. If he writes that I should be sent to him, send me to him. He will not dare to take action against me because of your position in Sind and the status of your family in Baṣrah." 'Umar replied, "I fear things may not turn out as you think." "If I am killed," the man said, "I will be a sacrifice for you, and I am pleased to be a sacrifice for you, and if I am spared that is God's will." So 'Umar ordered him to be chained and imprisoned and he wrote to al-Manṣūr about that. Al-Manṣūr wrote back ordering 'Umar to send the man to him and he arrived; he was brought before him and he was executed.

Al-Manṣūr continued to think whom he might appoint as governor of Sind. He would begin to talk of someone and then change his mind. One day he was going along with Hishām b. 'Amr al-Taghlibī and al-Manṣūr observed him in his retinue when he went off to his house. When he had thrown off his robe, al-Rabī' came in and announced Hishām. Al-Manṣūr said, "Has he not just been with me?" and al-Rabī' replied, "He said that he has a request that has become important." So he called for a chair and installed himself on it and then he gave Hishām permission to enter. When he appeared before him he said, "Commander of the Faithful, when I left the retinue and went to my house, my sister, so-and-so, daughter of 'Amr, met me. I saw her beauty, her intelligence and her piety which would please the Commander of the Faithful, so I came to offer her as a gift to him." Al-Manṣūr bowed his head and began to scratch the ground with a cane he had in his hand. "You may go," he said, "and my decision will reach you later." When he left he said, "Al-Rabī', if it were not for a verse of Jarīr's[140] about the Banū Taghlib, I would marry his sister. This was Jarīr's verse:

Do not seek maternal unclehood among the Taghlib;
    even the Zanj are more high-bred than they as maternal uncles.

I am afraid she will bear me a son who will be taunted with this verse. But go out and say to him, 'The Commander of the Faithful

140. Jarīr b. 'Aṭiyyah al-Tamīmī, d.c. 110/728–29, the celebrated poet of Umayyad times, active at the courts of al-Ḥajjāj and 'Abd al-Malik and famous for his invective against his great rival al-Farazdaq; see *EI*², s.v. "Djarīr."

says, "I would not refuse you any request except marriage, and, if I had need to marry, I would accept what you offered me, so may [363] God reward you for the good you intended to do for him. Instead of that I have given you the governorate of Sind." ' He ordered him to write to the king commanding him to hand over 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad and, if he did not obey, to make war on him. He also wrote to 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ appointing him governor of Ifrīqiyah.

Hishām b. 'Amr al-Taghlibī left for Sind as governor, and 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ began to make his way through the provinces to Ifrīqiyah. When Hishām b. 'Amr reached Sind, he was extremely reluctant to capture 'Abdallāh and pretended to people that he was writing to the king and treating him gently. Abū Ja'far heard about this and he began to write to urge him into action. While this was going on, a group of rebels rose up in a certain part of Sind, so Hishām sent his brother Safannajā against the rebels. He led his army out and his route lay along the borders of that kingdom, and while he was going there appreared a cloud of dust that arose from a troop of horsemen. Safannajā thought that it was the advance guard of the enemy he was attacking, so he sent out scouts.

When they returned, they said, "This is not the enemy you are looking for but 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ashtar al-'Alawī riding for pleasure along the banks of the Indus." Safannajā went to meet him, and his advisers said to him, "This is the son of the Prophet of God. You know that your brother is leaving him alone intentionally for fear of shedding his blood. He has not come to attack you but only for pleasure and you have come out seeking someone else; so turn away from him." Safannajā replied, "I will not leave him for any other to capture him, and I will not give up the prospect of gaining favor with al-Manṣūr by taking him and killing him."

He was with ten men, so he rushed toward him and urged on his companions and he attacked him. 'Abdallāh fought and his companions fought in front of him until 'Abdallāh and all his companions were killed and not a single one of them escaped to take the news and he was among the slain. His fate was not known, but it is said that his companions hurled him into the [364] Indus when he was killed so that his head would not be taken.[141]

141. As a trophy and sent to al-Manṣūr.

Hishām b. 'Amr wrote a victory letter about this to al-Manṣūr, telling him that he had attacked 'Abdallāh vigorously, so al-Manṣūr wrote back, praising his conduct and ordering him to make war on the king who had given 'Abdallāh refuge. This was because 'Abdallāh had taken slave girls when he was staying with that king, and one of them had given birth to a son, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-'Alawī, who was known as Ibn al-Ashtar. So Hishām made war on the king until he had conquered his kingdom and killed him. The slave girl of al-Ashtar and her son were sent to al-Manṣūr. Al-Manṣūr wrote to his governor of Medina,[142] telling him that the boy was of true descent. He sent the boy to him and ordered that he should gather all the family of Abū Ṭālib and read them his letter about the true descent of the boy and hand him over to his relations.

In this year al-Manṣūr's son al-Mahdī came to him from Khurāsān in the month of Shawwāl (October 18–November 15, 768). There came to meet him and welcome him many members of his family from Syria, al-Kūfah, al-Baṣrah, and other places. Al-Mahdī rewarded them, gave them robes, and was generous to them, and al-Manṣūr did the same for them. He appointed some of them as courtiers (*ṣaḥābah*)[143] for al-Mahdī and assigned each of them an allowance of five hundred *dirhams*.

In this year al-Manṣūr began the building of al-Ruṣāfah[144] on the east side of the City of Peace for his son Muḥammad al-Mahdī.

The reasons for building it.

According to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sharawī—his father:
[365] When al-Mahdī came from Khurāsān, al-Manṣūr ordered him to stay on the east bank (of the Tigris) and built al-Ruṣāfah for him, making a wall, a moat, a square,[145] and a garden and he brought water to it. The water used to run from the River of al-Mahdī to al-Ruṣāfah.[146]

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142. At this time the 'Alid, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd.

143. *Ṣaḥābah* were advisers and friends permanently attached to an important figure and given salaries. They were often poets and scholars, as opposed to important political or military figures.

144. Al-Ruṣāfah was to form the nucleus of the developments on the east bank of the river. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 187–98. See also note 54, above.

145. *Maydān* implies a large open space for horse racing and polo, a smaller piazza would have been called a *raḥbah*.

146. A branch of the Khāliṣ Canal; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 175.

According to Khālid b. Yazīd b. Wahb b. Jarīr b. Khāzim—Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās[147]—his father: When the Rāwandiyyah rioted against Abū Jaʿfar and did battle with him at the Golden Gate,[148] Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās,[149] who was at that time a very old man, respected by the people, came in to him. Abū Jaʿfar said to him, "What is your opinion about the situation we are in concerning the slowness of the army to help us? I am afraid that they will agree together and this power will slip from our hands. What do you think?"

He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, I have an idea but if I explain it to you it will not work, but if you let me I will go ahead with it, and your caliphate will be made secure for you and your soldiers will be in awe of you." The caliph asked, "Are you going ahead with a plan for my caliphate that you will not tell me about?"

He said, "If you think I am suspect in regard to your state, do not ask my opinion, but if you think I am faithful to it let me go ahead with my idea."

Al-Manṣūr said, "Go ahead."

Qutham went to his lodging and called a page of his and said to him, "When tomorrow comes, go ahead of me and sit in the palace of the Commander of the Faithful. When you see that I have entered and am in the middle of the people of rank (*aṣḥāb al-marātib*),[150] take hold of the bridle of my mule and stop me and entreat me, by the Prophet of God, by al-ʿAbbās, and by the Commander of the Faithful, to halt, to hear your request, and to fulfill it for you. I will chide you and speak harshly to you, but do not let that make you frightened of me but repeat your request, [366]
and I will curse you, but do not let that intimidate you but repeat

147. For Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, see note 99, above.

148. The Rāwandiyyah rioted in 141/758–59, three or four years before the beginning of work on Baghdad (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 129–30). The Golden Gate, or Bāb al-Dhahab, was one of the names given to al-Manṣūr's palace in the Round City in Baghdad; see also note 391 below.

149. A distant cousin of the caliph's who was governor of al-Yamāmah in eastern Arabia for many years, until his death in 159/775–76.

150. In formal audiences courtiers lined up in order of precedence or rank before the caliph

your speech and request to me, and I will hit you with my whip, but let that not be unbearable and say to me, 'Which tribe is more noble, al-Yaman or Muḍar?'[151] and when I answer you, let go of the bridle of my mule and you will be a free man."

The page left early in the morning and sat where he had ordered him in the palace of the caliph and, when the old man came, the page did as his master had ordered, and his master did as he had said he would and then he said to him, "Speak!" and he asked, "Which of the two tribes is more noble, al-Yaman or Muḍar?"

Qutham said, "Muḍar among which was the Prophet of God and in which is the Book of God and the House of God (the Ka'bah) and among which is the caliph of God."

Al-Yaman were resentful that he had mentioned nothing of their honor and one of the commanders of al-Yaman said to him, "The matter is not absolutely like that, with no honor or merit in al-Yaman." Then the Yamanī commander said to his page, "Get up and take the bridle of the old man's mule and restrain it forcibly until he is lowered down."

The page did as his master ordered him, so that he almost brought it down on its hamstrings. Muḍar were annoyed about this and said, "Is he doing this to our old man (*shaykh*)?" and one of them ordered his page "Cut off the hand of the slave," so he came up to the Yamanī's page and cut off his hand. The two tribes began to quarrel and Qutham sent away his mule and went in to Abū Ja'far. The army split into groups, Muḍar being a group, al-Yaman another, the Khurāsāniyyah[152] another, and Rabī'ah another, and Qutham said to Abū Ja'far, "I have split your army into groups and divided them into parties, each one fearing that, if it does any evil to you, you will strike it with the other. It remains to you to organize the rest."

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151. Muḍar, al-Yaman, and Rabī'ah were the large groupings to which Arab tribes were traditionally assigned. Under the Umayyad caliphate these divisions had become a major source of conflict, and this continued, though to a lesser extent, under the 'Abbāsids. The word used for tribe here is *ḥayy*, while the smaller tribes that made up the group might be called *qabīlah* (pl. *qabā'il*), but the usages are not always consistent (cf. *EI*², s.v. "Ḥayy," where it is defined as the smallest unit).

152. Interestingly, the Khurāsāniyyah are considered here as a group with a separate indentity, though many of them in fact came from Arab tribes attached in theory to one of the other groups.

Al-Manṣūr asked, "What is that?" and he replied, "Cross your [367]
son over and settle him on the other side (of the Tigris) in a palace and move him over and move over some of your army with him, and make that a town and this a town. If the people of this side turn against you, you can strike them with the people of the other side, and, if the people of the other side turn against you, you can strike them with the people of this side. If Muḍar turn against you, you can strike them with al-Yaman and Rabīʿah and the Khurāsāniyyah, and, if al-Yaman turn against you you can strike them with Muḍar and others who obey you."

He accepted his idea and opinion, and his power was firmly established. This was the reason for building on the east side and in al-Ruṣāfah and the granting of property to commanders there.

Ṣāliḥ Ṣāḥib al-Muṣallā[153] was put in charge of the plots on the east side, and he did as Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ṭūsī had done about distributing the remaining[154] plots on the west bank. He had for himself building plots at the Gate of the Bridge, the market of Yaḥyā, the mosque of Khuḍayr and in al-Ruṣāfah and the Road of the Skiffs on the Tigris,[155] which he asked for as a gift from the plots that were undistributed among owners. Ṣāliḥ came from the people of Khurāsān.

In this year al-Manṣūr caused the oath of allegiance to himself, to his son Muḥammad al-Mahdī after him, and to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā after al-Mahdī to be renewed by all the people of his family in his audience on Friday. He gave them a general permission to enter, and every one who took the oath to him kissed his hand and the hand of al-Mahdī and then pressed the hand of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā but did not kiss it.

In this year ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad led the summer raid (against the Byzantines).

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153. A high-ranking palace servant; from his title he would seem to have been in charge of the caliph's oratory, but he seems actually to have been employed extensively as a financial administrator, and (p. 82, below) he was a friend of Khālid b. Barmak. He served al-Mahdī, Hārūn, and al-Amīn and is last recorded in 202/817–18, among the opponents of al-Ma'mūn in Baghdad (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 1016).

154. See note 21, above.

155. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 197–99. The word for skiffs is *zawāriq* (sing., *zawraq*).

In this year 'Uqbah b. Salm left al-Baṣrah, where he left his son Nāfi' b. 'Uqbah in charge, for al-Baḥrayn[156] and killed Sulaymān
[368] b. Ḥakīm al-'Abdī[157] and took prisoner the people of al-Baḥrayn. He sent some of those he captured and made prisoner to Abū Ja'far, who killed some of them and gave the rest to al-Mahdī, who was generous to them, released them, and attired each of them with two Marw cloaks. Then 'Uqbah b. Salm was deposed from al-Baṣrah.

According to Afrīk, the slave girl of Asad b. al-Marzbān: Al-Manṣūr sent Asad b. al-Marzbān to 'Uqbah b. Salm to al-Baḥrayn when he executed those he executed to investigate his affairs. Asad got on well with 'Uqbah and did not examine him in depth and did not expose him fully. Abū Ja'far heard about this and that Asad had taken money from him so he sent Abū Suwayd al-Khurāsānī,[158] a friend and brother of his, to him. When Asad saw him coming on the post, he was happy. He was in the neighborhood of 'Uqbah's camp and greeted him and said, "My friend." Abū Suwayd stopped by him, and he jumped up to stand by him. Abū Suwayd said (in Persian) "Sit down, sit down," so he sat down and he asked, "Are you heeding and obeying?" "Yes," replied Asad. "Stretch out your hand." So he stretched it out and Abū Suwayd struck it and cut if off. Then he stretched out his leg. then his hand, and then his leg until all four were cut off. Then he said, "Stretch out your neck," so he stretched it out, and his head was cut off. Afrīk said: I took his head and kept it, but he took it from me and brought it to Abū Ja'far. Afrīk never again ate meat until her death.

Al-Wāqidī claimed that Abū Ja'far appointed Ma'n b. Zā'idah[159] to Sijistān in this year.

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156. Al-Baḥrayn at this time referred not just to the island now known by that name but also to the mainland areas opposite (around modern Dhahran). The island itself was called Uwāl at this time; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 274, 346–49.

157. Nothing else is known of him. He came from 'Abd al-Qays, an Arab tribe powerful in al-Baḥrayn since pre-Islamic times.

158. According to Balādhurī, he was sent by 'Uqbah b. Salm on the orders of Abū Ja'far. Ibn al-Athīr says that his son Suwayd was governor of al-Baḥrayn in 169/785–86.

159. Al-Shaybānī, an almost legendary figure at the court of al-Manṣūr, many picturesque anecdotes were recorded about him. He had supported the Umayyads at the time of the 'Abbāsid Revolution and claimed to have killed Qaḥṭabah,

The leader of the pilgrims in this year was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās. The governor of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd was in charge of Medina, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī of al- [369]
Kūfah, Jābir b. Tūbah al-Kilābī[160] of al-Baṣrah, with Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh over the judiciary, and Yazīd b. Ḥātim was over Egypt.

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leader of the ʿAbbāsid armies. Al-Manṣūr restored him to favor as a reward for his help against the Rāwandiyyah rebels. He was later appointed as governor of Yemen in 142/759–60 and Sīstān in 151/768 and was assassinated in the latter in the next year. He was important as a patron of poets, notably Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah, and as a symbol of old Arab bedouin qualities (al-Ṭabarī, II, 16, 63, 129–30, 368, 369, 394–97; *ʿUyūn*, 229, 264; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 448, 462, Crone, *Slaves*, 169–70; *EI*², s.v. "Maʿn b. Zāʾidah."

160. According to Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 322, he had sent Abū Jaʿfar to al-Baṣrah to oppose the ʿAlid revolt of 145/762–63, he is otherwise unknown.

The Events of the Year 152

(JANUARY 14, 769–JANUARY 3, 770)

Among these was the assassination of Ma'n b. Zā'idah al-Shaybānī by the Khawārij in Bust[161] in Sijistān.

In this year Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah raided Kābul.[162] Al-Manṣūr had appointed him governor of Khurāsān in 152.

It is said that 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm led the summer expedition but that he did not go through the passes. It is also said that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm led the summer expedition in this year.

In this year al-Manṣūr dismissed Jābir b. Tūbah from al-Baṣrah and appointed Yazīd b. Manṣūr[163] as governor.

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161. One of the most important towns in Sīstān, on the Helmand river, some sixty miles west of Kandahar in the south of modern Afghanistan; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 414–19; Le Strange, *Lands*, 344–45.

162. Capital of modern Afghanistan. Although repeatedly raided by the Muslims, Kābul was never incorporated permanently into the caliphate.

163. He was al-Mahdī's maternal uncle, brother to Arwā, wife of al-Manṣūr and mother of al-Mahdī and Ja'far the elder. He came from Yemen, of which he was later governor. He was a close adviser to al-Mahdī as caliph but died in 163/779–80.

In this year Abū Ja'far killed Hāshim b. al-Ishtākhanj,[164] who had mutinied and raised a rebellion in Ifrīqiyah. He and Abū Khālid al-Marwarrūdhī[165] were brought to Abū Ja'far, and he killed Ibn al-Ishtākhanj at Qādisiyyah[166] while he was on the way to Mecca.

The leader of the pilgrims in this year was al-Manṣūr. It is said that he set out from the City of Peace in the month of Ramaḍān and that neither Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, his governor of al-Kūfah at that time, nor 'Īsā b. Mūsā nor anyone else in al-Kūfah knew that he had set out until he was nearly there.

In this year Yazīd b. Ḥātim was dismissed from Egypt, and [370]
Muḥammad b. Sa'īd was appointed as governor.[167]

The governors of the main cities (*amṣār*) in this year were the same as in the previous year except al-Baṣrah, where the governor was Yazīd b. Manṣūr, and Egypt, where the governor in this year was Muḥammad b. Sa'īd.

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164. Otherwise unknown except for a reference in Jāḥiẓ, *Manāqib al-Turk*, where the Khurāsāniyyah boast of his prowess.

165 From Marw al-Rūdh in Khurāsān, an early supporter of the 'Abbāsid Revolution, he and the Marwarrūdhiyyah had a quarter in Baghdad. He and Hāshim seem to have represented "rank and file" opinion among the Khurāsāniyyah, and neither held government office. Abū Khālid survived this incident and was one of the leaders of the Khurāsāniyyah who demanded the removal of 'Īsā b. Mūsā from the succession. He is last recorded in 171/787–88, but his son Muḥammad was to be one of the leaders of the Khurāsāniyyah in the civil wars that followed the death of Hārūn (al-Ṭabarī, II, 2004, III, 21, 455, 606; Yāq'ūbī, *Buldān*, 247)

166. About ten miles southeast of al-Kūfah on the road to Mecca (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 391–93; Le Strange, *Lands*, 76).

167. The governors of Egypt given by al-Ṭabarī at this period differ from those recorded by the local historian al-Kindī. It seems that al-Ṭabarī recorded the names given in the records of the financial administration in Baghdad, whereas al-Kindī gives those of the prayer leaders and military commanders; see Kennedy, "Provincial Elites," 33–34, n. 46.

The Events of the Year 153

(JANUARY 4, 770–DECEMBER 23, 770)

In this year al-Manṣūr prepared a naval expedition to fight the Kurk when he reached al-Baṣrah, returning from Mecca after completing the pilgrimage. The Kurk had sacked Jeddah and when he reached al-Baṣrah in this year he prepared an army to fight them. It is said that he stayed at the Great Bridge when he was there.[168] This was his last visit to al-Baṣrah, although it is said that his last visit was in 155 (771–72); his first visit was in 145 (752–53). He stayed there for forty days and built a palace before he left for the City of Peace.

In this year al-Manṣūr was angry with Abū Ayyūb al-Mūryānī[169] and imprisoned him and his brother and his brother's sons, Sa'īd, Mas'ūd, Mukhallad, and Muḥammad, and demanded restitution

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168. Great Bridge at al-Baṣrah.

169. Sulaymān b. Ayyūb, from the village of Mūryān in Khūzistān. A confidant and adviser to al-Manṣūr, he had helped plan the assassination of Abū Muslim. He became vizier, and he and his family amassed vast estates and had a bad reputation for taking bribes and financial oppression (al-Ṭabarī, III, 108; al-Jahshiyārī, 97–121; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 78–87).

from them. Their dwellings were at al-Manāthir. It is said that the reason for his anger against him was the intrigue of Abān b. Ṣadaqah, Abū Ayyūb's secretary, against him.

In this year 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Ṣufrah was killed in Ifrīqiyah by Abū Ḥātim al-'Ibāḍi and Abū 'Ād and those Berbers who were with them. It was said that they were 350,000 in number, of whom 35,000 were horsemen. Abū Qurrah al-Ṣufrī was with them with 40,000 men; forty days previously he had been acknowledged as caliph.[170] [371]

In this year 'Abbād, freedman of al-Manṣūr, Harthamah b. A'yan, and Yūsuf b. 'Ulwān[171] were brought from Khurāsān in chains because of their support for 'Īsā b. Mūsā.

In this year al-Manṣūr urged the people to wear extremely tall *qalansūwahs*,[172] which they used to keep up, it was said, by putting canes inside. Abū Dulāmah[173] said,

We used to look to the *imām* for increase (in donations)
but so the chosen *imām* increased *qalansūwahs*.
You will see them on the heads of men looking like
a Jew's wine jugs covered with cloaks.

In this year 'Ubayd b. bt. Abī Laylā,[174] judge of al-Kūfah, died and was replaced by Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī.[175]

The leader of the summer expedition this year was Ma'yūf b.

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170. Abū Ḥātim, Abū 'Ād, and Abū Qurrah were the Khārijite leaders of this largely Berber rebellion (Ibn Idhārī, *Bayān*, 74–75; Kennedy, *'Abbasid Caliphate*, 187–91).

171. Neither 'Abbād nor Yūsuf is recorded elsewhere. Harthamah b. A'yan was to achieve great power as a trusted servant of Hārūn and played a central role in the civil war that followed Hārūn's death (Crone, *Slaves*, 177–78).

172. See above, note 52.

173. Zand b. al-Jawn, d. ca. 160/776–77; he was a sort of court jester for the first three 'Abbāsid caliphs, famous for his outrageous humor and doubtful religious views. He is also quoted in al-Ṭabarī, III, 541. See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, IX, 120; Beirut, X, 247; *EI*², s.v. "Abū Dulāma."

174. That is 'Ubayd, son of the daughter of Abū Laylā. Ibn Abī Laylā was *qāḍī* of al-Kūfah under the last Umayyads and was reappointed by 'Īsā b. Mūsā after the 'Abbāsid Revolution. For the family, see *EI*², s.v. "Ibn Abī Laylā," but nothing more seems to be known of 'Ubayd.

175. Born in Bukhārā in 75/694–95, died in Ahwāz, where he was *qāḍī*, in 177/793–94 (Ibn Khallikan, I, 622). Later, it seems, he combined the offices of *qāḍī* and governor in al-Kūfah, most unusual for this period (see below, pp. 168–69).

Yaḥyā al-Ḥajūrī.[176] He attacked a Byzantine fortress by night when its inhabitants were asleep. He captured the garrison and took them prisoner before going on to Burnt Laodiceia,[177] which he took, taking 6,000 prisoners beside mature men.

In this year al-Manṣūr appointed Bakkār b. Muslīm al-ʿUqaylī governor of Armenia.

Muḥammad al-Mahdī, son of Abū Jaʿfar, led the pilgrimage this year.

At that time Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was in charge of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan of Medina, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān of al-Kūfah, Yazīd b. Manṣūr of al-Baṣrah, with Sawwār
[372] in charge of the judiciary there, and Muḥammad b. Saʿīd was in charge of Egypt. Al-Wāqidī mentioned that Yazīd b. Manṣūr was governor of Yemen for Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr in this year.

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176. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," 734; Maʿyūf led the summer expedition again in 158/775 and 169/785–86 and a naval raid on Cyprus in 191/807. Ḥajūr was a branch of Ḥamdān, well established in Syria (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 385, 568, 711).

177. Laodikeia Katakekaumene, northwest of Iconium, on the road to Amorion.

The Events of the Year

154

(December 24, 770–December 12, 771)

Among these was the expedition of al-Manṣūr to Syria and his visit to Jerusalem. He sent Yazīd b. Ḥātim to Ifrīqiyah with 50,000 men, it was said, to fight the Khawārij who were there and who killed his governor 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ. It was said that he spent 63,000,000 *dirhams* on that army.

In this year, it is said, al-Manṣūr decided on the building of the city of al-Rāfiqah.[178]

According to Muḥammad b. Jābir—his father: When Abū Ja'far wished to build it, the people of al-Raqqah opposed him and wanted to make war on him, saying that it would ruin their markets, take away their livelihood, and reduce the size of their dwellings. He was anxious about fighting them and sent to a monk in a monastery there and asked him if he had any knowledge that a man would build a city there. He replied that he had been informed

178. On the Euphrates by al-Raqqah, it soon merged with the older city, and the whole became known as al-Raqqah; for the design of the city and outlines of the walls, which are still visible, see Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II.

that a man called Miqlāṣ would build it, so al-Manṣūr said, "I, by God, am Miqlāṣ."[179]

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (al-Wāqidī) mentioned that a thunderbolt fell this year in the Mosque of the Ḥarām,[180] killing five people.

In this year Abū Ayyūb al-Mūryānī and his brother Khālid perished. Al-Manṣūr ordered Mūsā b. Dīnār,[181] the chamberlain of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ṭūsī, to cut off the hands of the nephews of Abū Ayyūb and their legs and their heads, and he wrote to that effect to al-Mahdī. Mūsā did that and carried out what he had been ordered to do to them.

[373] In this year ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ẓabyān al-Numayrī[182] was appointed governor of al-Baṣrah.

Zufar b. ʿĀsim al-Hilālī[183] led the summer expedition in this year and reached the Euphrates.

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm led the pilgrims this year; he was Abū Jaʿfar's governor of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd was governor of Medina, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān of al-Kūfah, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ayyūb b. Ẓabyān was in charge of al-Baṣrah, with Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh (in charge) of its judiciary, Hishām b. ʿAmr was in charge of Sind, Yazīd b. Ḥātim of Ifrīqiyah and Muḥammad b. Saʿīd of Eygpt.

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179. This prophecy also appears in connection with the foundation of Baghdad and is discussed in Lassner, *ʿAbbasid Rule*, 164–65. The word *miqlāṣ* is said to mean a "fat she-camel." See Lane, s.v. *qlṣ*.

180. In Mecca.

181. Unknown elsewhere.

182. Properly ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ayyūb b. Ẓabyān. He was briefly governor of al-Baṣrah a second time in 159/775–76 but is not recorded elsewhere.

183. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," 734; Zufar's father had been governor of Armenia for the Umayyad caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad. He himself joined the rebellion of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī against al-Manṣūr. He led the *ṣāʾifah* several times and was governor of Medina in 160–63/776–80 and, according to Azdī, *Tārīkh*, 243–44, briefly of al-Jazīrah thereafter (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 94, 378, 482, 500; Crone, *Slaves*, 166).

The Events of the Year 155

(DECEMBER 13, 771–DECEMBER 1, 772)

Among these was Yazīd b. Ḥātim's conquest of Ifrīqiyah and his killing of Abū ʿĀd and Abū Ḥātim and their supporters. The lands of the Maghrib became peaceful, and Yazīd b. Ḥātim entered Qayrawān.[184]

In this year al-Manṣūr sent his son al-Mahdī to build the city of al-Rāfiqah. He went there and built it with the same gates, arcades (*fuṣūl*), squares, and streets as Baghdad. He built the walls and dug the moat and then departed for his city.[185]

In this year, according to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, Abū Jaʿfar dug moats around al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah and constructed walls for them.[186] He paid for the expenses of the walls and moats out of the wealth of their inhabitants.

In this year al-Manṣūr dismissed ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ayyūb b.

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184. See Ibn Idhārī, *Bayān*, 78–82, for a fuller account.

185. I.e., al-Rusāfah. In what sense the plan of al-Rāfiqah resembled that of Baghdad is not clear; certainly the surviving walls show an irregular plan very different from the round plan of Baghdad.

186. These towns seem to have been unfortified before this date.

Ẕabyān from al-Baṣrah and appointed as governor al-Haytham b Muʿāwiyah al-ʿAtakī[187] and attached Saʿīd b. Daʿlaj to him.[188]
[374] He ordered him to build walls to surround the city and a moat outside the walls using the wealth of its people, so he did this.

It is said that, when al-Manṣūr wanted to order the building of the walls of al-Kūfah and the digging of the moat, he ordered that each of the people of al-Kūfah should be given five *dirhams* to find out how many there were of them. When he knew the number, he ordered forty *dirhams* to be collected from each person, and when this was done he directed that the money should be spent on the walls of al-Kūfah and the digging of the moat. Their poet said:

O my people, look what came to us
    from the Commander of the Faithful.
He distributed five to us
    and collected forty.

In this year the Byzantine emperor sought peace from al-Manṣūr on condition that he paid the poll tax.[189]

The leader of the summer expedition in this year was Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī.[190]

In this year al-Manṣūr dismissed his brother al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad from al-Jazīrah, fined him heavily, was angry with him, and imprisoned him.

According to one of the Banū Hāshim: Al-Manṣūr appointed al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad as governor of al-Jazīrah after Yazīd b.

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187. Al-Khurāsānī; he had been governor of Mecca in 140–43/758–61 and possessed properties in Baghdad, both inside and outside the Round City. Al-Ṭabarī (III, 129) reports that the Rāwandiyyah considered that he was the incarnation of the Angel Gabriel, but it is difficult to know quite what to make of this information.

188. Al-Tamīmī; he was later governor of al-Baḥrayn, Ṭabaristān and Rūyyān, and Sīstān for short periods and disappears from the record after 164/780–81.

189. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," 734. Al-Ṭabarī uses the word *jizyah*, the name given to the poll tax paid by non-Muslim subjects of the caliph.

190. His father was a comrade in arms of Marwān, the last Umayyad caliph, his mother the daughter of the Christian patrician of Sīsajān in the Caucasus. His career was spent largely on the Byzantine and Caucasus frontiers. He was governor of Armenia in the reign of al-Saffāḥ and became a trusted adviser of Abū Jaʿfar; he disappears from the historical record after 162/779 (al-Ṭabarī, III, 81, 493; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, trans., 322, 328).

Usayd. Then he was angry with him and continued to be angry with him so that his anger extended to one of his paternal uncles of the children of ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, either Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī or someone else. His family, his uncles, and their women took it in turns to speak to him on his behalf and put pressure on him so that he was restored to favor.

ʿĪsā b. Mūsā said, "O Commander of the Faithful, look at the family of ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh! Your generosity to them was abundant and they returned it with envy toward us, and for that reason you were angry with Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī for some days and they put pressure on you. You have been angry with al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad for such-and-such a time, but I have not seen any of them [375] intercede with you on his behalf," so he called al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and restored him to favor.[191]

When Yazīd b. Usayd was dismissed by al-ʿAbbās from al-Jazīrah, he complained to Abū Jaʿfar about al-ʿAbbās, saying that his brother had done evil by dismissing him and had insulted his honor. Al-Manṣūr replied, "Consider whether my goodness to you and my brother's evil to you balance each other out."

Yazīd b. Usayd said, "O Commander of the Faithful, if your goodness were only to balance with your evil, then our obedience would be given to you as a mere courtesy."

In this year al-Manṣūr put Mūsā b. Kaʿb[192] in charge of the military and fiscal administration of al-Jazīrah.[193]

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191. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā is expressing the rivalry in the ʿAbbāsid family between the descendants of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, who included al-Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr, and their brothers, and the families of the other sons of ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh. For the political background, see Lassner, *ʿAbbasid Rule*, 19–38.

192. This presents problems. Al-Ṭabarī, III, 138, states clearly that Mūsā b Kaʿb died in 141/758–59, and he is not recorded after this date, except III, 383, where his deposition from al-Jazīrah is noted. Al-Azdī, *Tārīkh*, has Mūsā b. Kaʿb appointed to al-Jazīrah in 154 and deposed in 155 (771–72) but Muṣʿab as governor at the death of Abū Jaʿfar (Azdī, 222–26). Michael the Syrian records the appointment of Mūsā b. Muṣʿab sub anno 1083 (trans. Chabot, III, 526), which is the equivalent of 155/772. His exactions in al-Jazīrah provoked the long diatribe in the history of Pseudo Dionysius of Tell Mahré (*Chronique*, trans. Chabot, see the discussion in Cahen, "Fiscalité"). Mūsā b. Muṣʿab later became governor of Egypt, where his oppressions were equally severe and led to his death in 168/785 (al-Kindī, 124). It seems most likely that Mūsā b. Muṣʿab should be read for Mūsā b. Kaʿb in both al-Ṭabarī and al-Azdī. See Crone, *Slaves*, 186.

193. He was in charge of *ḥarb* and *kharāj*. This unusual formula may mean that

In this year, according to some sources, al-Manṣūr dismissed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī from al-Kūfah and appointed ʿAmr b. Zuhayr, brother of al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr, in his place. ʿUmar b. Shabbah,[194] on the other hand, holds that he dismissed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān from al-Kūfah in 153 (770) and appointed ʿAmr b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, brother of al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr, as governor in that year and that it was he who dug the moat round al-Kūfah.

The reasons for the dismissal of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī:

It is said that ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Abī al-ʿAwjāʾ,[195] the maternal uncle of Maʿn b. Zāʾidah, was brought before Muḥammad b. Sulaymān when he was governor of al-Kūfah and he ordered his imprisonment.

According to Abū Zayd[196]—Qutham b. Jaʿfar and al-Ḥusayn b. Ayyūb and others: Many people interceded for him in the City of Peace and importuned Abū Jaʿfar, and, since everyone who interceded on his behalf was suspect, he wrote to Muḥammad ordering him to leave him alone so that he might come to an opinion about him.

[376] Ibn Abī al-ʿAwjāʾ spoke to Abū al-Jabbār,[197] who was an intimate of Abū Jaʿfar and Muḥammad and then of their sons after them, and said, "If the Amīr delays (punishing me) for three days there will be 100,000 *dirhams* for him and you yourself will get such and such." Abū al-Jabbār told Muḥammad about this and he said, "You have reminded me about him, by God, for I had forgotten him. When I leave Friday prayers, remind me about him." When he left he reminded him and he summoned Ibn Abī al-ʿAwjāʾ and ordered him to be beheaded. When he was certain that he would be killed, he said, "But if you kill me, by God I have invented four thousand traditions of the Prophet in which I forbid which is

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he was not in charge of the prayers (*ṣalāt*) as well and that he was a military fiscal agent, rather than full governor.

194. The important historian and compiler ʿUmar b. Shabbah, d. 262/876, who wrote on the ʿAlid rebellions of 145/762 and the early ʿAbbāsid caliphs; see *Fihrist*, 246–47.

195. Crone, *Slaves*, 169; Vajda, *Les Zindiqs*, 169.

196. I.e., ʿUmar b. Shabbah.

197. Not known elsewhere.

lawful and make lawful what is forbidden. By God I have made you break fast when you should be fasting and fast when you should be breaking your fast!" So he was beheaded.

Then Abū Jaʿfar's messenger arrived with his letter to Muḥammad, "Be careful what you do in the case of Ibn Abī al-ʿAwjāʾ! If you have taken action (against him) I will do this and that," threatening him. Muḥammad said to the messenger, "This is the head of Ibn Abī al-ʿAwjāʾ and his body is crucified in al-Kunāsah,[198] so inform the Commander of the Faithful what I have told you."

When the messenger reached Abū Jaʿfar he was furious and ordered that a letter be written dismissing him and he said, "By God, I considered killing him for Ibn Abī al-ʿAwjāʾ." Then he sent for ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī and when he came to him he said, "This is your doing. You advised me to appoint this youth as governor so I appointed him, an ignorant young man with no knowledge of what he perpetrates in daring to kill a man without asking my opinion about him and waiting for my orders. I have written ordering his dismissal and, by God, I will do this and that," threatening him.

ʿĪsā remained silent until his anger had subsided and then he said, "O Commander of the Faithful, Muḥammad only killed this man on account of his *Zandaqah*.[199] If his killing was right then the credit goes to you and if it was wrong the responsibility is Muḥammad's. By God, O Commander of the Faithful, if you depose him for acting as he did, he will go with praise and reputation [377] and the common people will criticize you." So he ordered that the letters be torn up and that he be confirmed in his post.

One source said that al-Manṣūr only deposed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān from al-Kūfah because of some evil matters that he heard he was accused of. The man who informed him of that was al-Musāwir b. Sawwār al-Jarmī,[200] his chief of police, about whom Ḥammād said:

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198. An open place, a traditional site for executions in al-Kūfah.

199. That is to say, his alleged Manichaean tendencies. It seems that the term *zandaqah* was used fairly generally at this time for different sorts of atheism or attacks on Islam, and it often carried the death penalty.

200. Not known elsewhere.

Do you not consider it one of the wonders of the age
that I am afraid and on my guard against the authority of Jarm?[201]

In this year also al-Manṣūr dismissed al-Ḥasan b. Zayd from Medina and appointed ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī as its governor, and he appointed Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān with him to supervise him.[202] Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad was in charge of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, ʿAmr b. Zuhayr of al-Kūfah, al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah of al-Baṣrah, Yazīd b. Ḥātim of Ifrīqiyah and Muḥammad b. Saʿīd of Egypt.

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201. A branch of Quḍāʿah. Ḥammād was Ḥammād b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAmr, known as Ḥammād ʿAjrad (or "naked Ḥammād"). He was known for his poems of invective against his greater rival Bashshār b. Burd and was patronized by al-Manṣūr but particularly attached to Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās. See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XIII, 73; Beirut, XIV, 304; *EI*², s.v. "Ḥammād."

202. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's relations with al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī were often stormy (cf. p. 214, below), which is why the caliph took the unusual step of appointing Fulayḥ (otherwise unknown) as a *mushrif*, or supervisor, for him.

The Events of the Year 156

(December 1, 772–November 20, 773)

Among these was the capture by al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah, Abū Jaʿfar's governor of al-Baṣrah, of ʿAmr b. Shaddād,[203] Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh's governor of Fārs, and he was executed in al-Baṣrah and crucified.

The reason for this:

According to ʿUmar—Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf—his father: ʿAmr b. Shaddād struck one of his servants who came to the governor, either Ibn Daʿlaj or al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah and led him to [378] him. The governor arrested him and executed him and crucified him in the Mirbad,[204] on the site of the house of Isḥāq b. Sulaymān. ʿAmr was a mawlā of the Banū Jumaḥ.

One source says that al-Haytham b. Muʿāwiyah arrested him and left for the City of Peace and stayed in a palace of his on the

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203. In the rebellion of 145/762–63, he had taken over Fārs with thirty men in the name of the ʿAlid rebel Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh. On the death of Ibrāhīm he fled to Kirmān and then went into hiding in al-Baṣrah (al-Ṭabarī, III, 287, al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 330–31).

204. The principal open space and meeting place in al-Baṣrah.

banks of the river known as the Nahr Ma'qil.[205] The post(man) came from Abū Ja'far with a letter to al-Haytham b. Mu'āwiyah ordering him to hand over 'Amr b. Shaddād to him, which al-Haytham did. He took him to al-Baṣrah and then to the district of al-Raḥbah, where he was kept in solitary confinement for interrogation, but no useful information was obtained from him, so he cut off his hands and his legs and he was beheaded and crucified in the Mirbad of al-Baṣrah.

In this year al-Manṣūr dismissed al-Haytham b. Mu'āwiyah from al-Baṣrah and its offices and appointed Sawwār b. 'Abdallāh al-Qāḍī in charge of the prayers, so that he was responsible for the prayers and the judiciary, and al-Manṣūr appointed Sa'īd b. Da'laj in charge of the police and the *aḥdāth* there.[206]

In this year, after being dismissed from al-Baṣrah, al-Haytham b. Mu'āwiyah died suddenly in the City of Peace, while he was having sexual intercourse with a slave girl of his. Al-Manṣūr prayed over his body, and he was buried in the cemetery of the Banū Hāshim.[207]

In this year the summer expedition was led by Zufar b. 'Āṣim al-Hilālī.

The leader of the pilgrims in this year was al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī. The governor of Mecca was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm,[208] but he stayed in the City of Peace and his son Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad was his deputy in Mecca with al-Ṭā'if. 'Amr b. Zuhayr was

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205. One of the main canals of al-Baṣrah, connecting the city with the Tigris; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 44, 46.

206. It is not clear what the reason was for the division of the functions of the governorship of al-Baṣrah at this time. There seem to have been four or more elements, the leading of the prayers with the giving of the *khuṭbah*, or Friday sermon; the *qaḍā'*, or judiciary; the *shuraṭ* (pl. of *shurṭah*), meaning police but cf. note 17 above; and the *aḥdāth*. *Aḥdāth* at this stage means "incidents," presumably any matter that required the governor to take action. In later centuries the word came to mean "young men." I am indebted to Professor I. Abbas for putting me right on this matter.

207. The cemetery of the Banū Hāshim is probably to be identified with the Cemetery of the Quraysh (at Kāẓimayn, on the west bank, north of the Round City). It is not clear why he was so honored; he was an 'Atakī, that is, he came from a branch of Azd; see note 187, above.

208. According to Ya'qūbī, (*Tārīkh*, II, 498), he was an early governor of Yemen in Hārūn's name, but he is otherwise unknown.

in charge of al-Kūfah, Sa'īd b. Da'laj of the incidents (*aḥdāth*), poll tax[209] (*jawālī*), police, and the tithes[210] of the land of the Arabs in al-Baṣrah, while Sawwār b. 'Abdallāh was in charge of the prayers and the judiciary there. 'Umārah b. Ḥamzah[211] was in charge of the districts of the Tigris, Ahwāz, and Fārs; Hishām b. 'Amr of Kirmān and Sind; Yazīd b. Ḥātim of Ifrīqiyah, and Muḥammad b. Sa'īd of Egypt. [379]

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209. The word for poll tax here is *jawālī*. See Lane, s.v. *jlw*.

210. *Ṣadaqāt*, another sign of the way in which al-Baṣrah retained its early Islamic administrative institutions; elsewhere in the Muslim world land was usually subject to the *kharāj*, or basic land tax.

211. A mawlā, or freedman, appointed to office by al-Manṣūr. He became governor of al-Baṣrah briefly at the beginning of al-Mahdī's reign but seems to have been most important as a financial administrator. He was a friend of Khālid b. Barmak (see below, p. 82), but others, like the people al-Baṣrah, found him overbearing and corrupt. His period in high office seems to have been short, and he disappears after 160/777 (see Crone, *Slaves*, 195).

The Events of the Year 157

(NOVEMBER 21, 773–NOVEMBER 10, 774)

Among these was that al-Manṣūr began building his palace on the banks of the Tigris, which is called al-Khuld.[212] He divided reponsibility for construction between his freedman al-Rabīʿ and Abān b. Ṣadaqah.

In this year Yaḥyā Abū Zakariyyā' the *muḥtasib* was executed. We have already mentioned the reasons for his execution.[213]

In this year al-Manṣūr moved the markets from the City of Peace to the Karkh Gate and other areas. We have also mentioned the reasons for this previously.[214]

In this year al-Manṣūr appointed Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān as governor of al-Baḥrayn but he never took up office, and Saʿīd b. Daʿlaj was appointed governor in his place and sent his son Tamīm[215] there.

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212. The name means eternity. It lay to the east of the Round City, between it and the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 101–5.

213. See above, p. 9.

214. See above, pp. 7–10.

215. In 166/782–83 he appears as governor of Sijistān but is not recorded elsewhere.

In this year al-Manṣūr inspected his army with their weapons and horses at a meeting he held on the banks of the Tigris below Qaṭrabbul.[216] He ordered his family, his relatives, and his courtiers to don their arms that day, and he appeared dressed in a coat of mail and a low Egyptian *qalansūwah* under the helmet.

In this year ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl al-Muslī[217] died in the City of Peace. Al-Manṣūr prayed over his body, and he was buried in the cemetery of the Banū Hāshim. [380]

In this year Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh died and Ibn Daʿlaj prayed over his body. Al-Manṣūr appointed ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-ʿAnbarī in his place.[218]

In this year al-Manṣūr constructed the bridge at the Barley Gate.[219] This was achieved by Ḥumayd b. al-Qāsim al-Ṣayrafī[220] on the orders of al-Rabīʿ the chamberlain.

In this year Muḥammad b. Saʿīd the Secretary was dismissed from Egypt and Maṭar, the freedman of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr,[221] was appointed as governor.

In this year Maʿbad b. al-Khalīl[222] was appointed to Sind, and Hishām b. ʿAmr was dismissed. At this time Maʿbad was in Khurāsān, and his appointment was made by letter.

The summer expedition this year was led by Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī. He sent Sinān, freedman of al-Baṭṭāl to one of the

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216. The district that included the northwestern quarters of Baghdad, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 50–51. "Below" (*dūna*) Qaṭrabbul must mean on the west bank of the Tigris, just north of the Round City.

217. A soldier of no great distinction He served in Egypt and Ifrīqiyah at the beginning of al-Manṣūr's reign and was sent to police al-Kūfah at the time of the ʿAlid revolt of 145/762–63 He had a property near the Kūfah Gate of Baghdad (al-Ṭabarī, III, 302; al-Kindī, *Governors*, 103, 110).

218. That is, over the prayers and the judiciary there. He remained *qāḍī* until 166/782–83 but seems to have been removed from the prayers in 159/775–76, at the beginning of al-Mahdī's reign.

219. This was the lower of the bridges of boats across the Tigris (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 95).

220. Unknown elsewhere.

221. Al-Kindī does not report his appointment at all He had been a slave bought by Abū Ayyūb al-Mūryānī, who gave him to al-Manṣūr, who employed him in the post before appointing him to Egypt (Crone, *Slaves*, 193)

222. Al-Muzanī. He remained governor for two years until his death in 159/775–76. He did not take the banner of appointment from the caliph in person, as was usual

fortresses, and he took prisoners and booty.[223] Muḥammad b. ʿUmar[224] said that the summer expedition in this year was led by Zufar b. ʿĀṣim.

The leader of the pilgrims this year was Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar said that he, meaning this Ibrāhīm, was in charge of Medina, but other sources say that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī was in charge there this year. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was in charge of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif, ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah of Ahwāz and Fārs, Maʿbad b. al-Khalīl of Kirmān and Sind, and Maṭar, freedman of al-Manṣūr, of Egypt.

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223. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," 734. Al-Baṭṭāl was a semilegendary Muslim hero of the early wars against the Byzantines.

224. Al-Wāqidī.

The Events of the Year 158

[381]

(NOVEMBER 11, 774–OCTOBER 30, 775)

Among these was al-Manṣūr's sending his son al-Mahdī to al-Raqqah and ordering him to dismiss Mūsā b. Ka'b[225] from Mosul and appoint Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak as governor.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Wahb b. Sa'īd[226]—Ṣāliḥ b. 'Aṭiyyah: The circumstances of that were that al-Manṣūr imposed a fine of 3,000,000 (*dirhams*) on Khālid b. Barmak on pain of his life and gave him three days to pay. Khālid said to his son Yaḥyā, "O my little son, I have been mulcted and required to pay what I do not have and he had only done this to take my life. Go to your women and your family and do to them what you would do to them after my death." Then he continued, "Do not let that pre-

225. See note 193, above.

226. Brother of the third-century vizier Sulaymān b. Wahb. This is the only time al-Ṭabarī uses him or the otherwise unknown Ṣāliḥ b. 'Atiyyah as a source. An abbreviated version of this story appears in Jāḥiẓ, 99–100, where al-Manṣūr's anger is instigated by the vizier Abū Ayyūb al-Mūryānī. In keeping with the author's more romantic presentation, al-Khayzurān, wife of al-Mahdī and mother of al-Hādī and Hārūn, lends Khālid an extremely valuable jewel because of the milk brotherhood between his son al-Faḍl and the young Hārūn.

vent you from going to our brothers and visiting ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah, Ṣāliḥ, Ṣāḥib al-Muṣallā, and Mubārak al-Turkī[227] to tell them of my position."

According to Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAṭiyyah—Yaḥyā: I came to them and some of them frowned at me but sent money secretly and others would not receive me but sent money after I had gone. I asked permission to see ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah and I went in and found him in the courtyard of his house facing the wall, and he did not turn his head to me. I greeted him and he replied without warmth. Then he said, "O my son, how is your father?" "Well," I replied; "he sends you greetings and informs you of the fine that has been demanded and asks to borrow 100,000 *dirhams* from you." He made no reply of any sort to me, and my position became awkward and the earth swayed under me.

Then I spoke to him on the matter I had come about, and he
[382] said, "If I can manage anything, I will send it to you." So I went on my way saying to myself, "God curse everything that comes from your haughtiness, your pride, and your arrogance," and I came to my father and told him the news and then said, "I think you relied on ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah for what he could not be relied on for." By God, I was just saying that when ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah's messenger arrived with 100,000 *dirhams*. So we collected 2,700,000 *dirhams* in two days, leaving only 300,000 to find to reach our target, and if not we would fail.

By God I was on the bridge of Baghdad, preoccupied and gloomy, when a fortune-teller (relying on the flight of birds) accosted me and said, "The young bird has told you," but I left him behind with heavy heart, so he followed me and seized my bridle and said to me, "You are, by God, much concerned and, by God, God will free you from your anxieties and you will pass this way tomorrow with a banner[228] in your hands." I began to wonder at his words

227. All important figures in the palace and fiscal administration at the end of al-Manṣūr's reign. Mubārak al-Turkī appears again as a leader of the ʿAbbāsid forces against the uprising of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī the ʿAlid in Medina in 169/785–86. He had property on the east bank in Baghdad. The geographer al-Hamadhānī says that he built a stronghold in Qazvīn in central Iran; al-Hamadhānī, 282].

228. That is the *liwāʾ*, which is the symbol of the governorate of a province. See note 113, above.

and he went on, "If that happens, will you give me five thousand *dirhams*?" and I replied "Yes" and if he had said fifty thousand, I would still have agreed because it was so unlikely.

I went on my way and news came to al-Manṣūr of the rebellion in Mosul and the spread of the Kurds in the area, and he asked who should be appointed to deal with it. Al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr, who was a friend of Khālid b. Barmak, said, "I have a suggestion, O Commander of the Faithful, which I do not think you will consider good advice and which I think you will refuse but I will still offer and counsel it." He said, "Speak! I do not think you are being dishonest." I[229] said, "Why do you not despatch someone like Khālid?"

The caliph replied, "Woe to you! Will he be loyal to us after what we have done to him?"

"Yes, O Commander of the Faithful. If you appoint him to that, I will be his guarantor."

"He has it! Let him be brought to me tomorrow." So he was brought and excused the 300,000 still outstanding and appointed. [383]

Yaḥyā said: Then I passed by the fortune-teller who had accosted me and, when he saw me, he said, "I have been waiting for you since this morning." I told him to come with me and he came and I gave him 5,000 *dirhams*.

My father said to me, "O my little son, 'Umārah is a man of great responsibilities, and he is exposed to many difficulties. Go to him and give him greeting and say to him, 'God has given us the good will of the Commander of the Faithful and he has excused us what remained due from us and has appointed me governor of Mosul and ordered the return of the money I borrowed from you.'"

I came to him and found him in the same position as I had met him in before and I greeted him, but he did not return my greeting and said nothing except "How is your father?" and I replied that he was well and that he said such-and-such and he sat up and said, "Was I only a treasurer for your father from whom he takes when he wants to and returns when he wants to? Go away, won't you?"

229. Meaning al-Musayyab; the narrative slips into the first person.

I returned to my father and told him and he said to me, "O my little son, he is 'Umārah and one does not argue with him."

Khālid remained in charge of Mosul until al-Manṣūr died and Yaḥyā was in charge of Azerbaijān.

According to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sawwār al-Mawṣilī:[230] We were never in awe of a governor as we were of Khālid b. Barmak, not because of the severity of his judgments or because we experienced tyranny at his hands, but awe was in our breasts.

According to Aḥmad b. Mu'āwiyah b. Bakr al-Bāhilī[231]—his father: Abū Ja'far was angry with Mūsā b. Ka'b, who was his governor of al-Jazīrah and Mosul, so he sent al-Mahdī to al-Raqqah to build al-Rāfiqah and said publicly that he was going to Jerusalem, but he ordered him to pass on and proceed to Mosul. When he reached the town (or al-Balad)[232] he arrested Mūsā b. Ka'b and put him in chains and appointed Khālid b. Barmak to Mosul in his
[384] place. Al-Mahdī did that and left Khālid in charge of Mosul. Two of Khālid's brothers, al-Ḥasan and Sulaymān, sons of Barmak,[233] set out with him.

Before this, al-Manṣūr had summoned Yaḥyā b. Khālid and said to him, "I have an important command in mind for you and I have chosen you for one of the frontier provinces, so be prepared and do not tell anyone about this until I summon you." He kept the news secret from his father and, when he was waiting at the door with those who were waiting, al-Rabī' came out and said, "Yaḥyā b. Khālid!" So he stood up and al-Rabī' took him by the hand and brought him in to al-Manṣūr. When he came out before the people, his father being present, he had the banner of Azerbaijān in front of him, and he ordered the people to go with him and they went with him in his retinue and they congratulated him and con-

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230. Presumably a local Mosul source, not otherwise used by al-Ṭabarī.

231. Also quoted in al-Ṭabarī, III, 567. His father, Mu'āwiyah, appears as a source (below, p. 146) for an anecdote that can be dated to 145–48/762–66, when Ja'far the elder was governor of Mosul. There he quotes from an eyewitness directly; we can probably extrapolate from that that Mu'āwiyah lived before the end of the second century and his son Aḥmad early in the third.

232. Al-Balad can either mean "the town," i.e. Moṣul, or be the name of a small town on the Tigris north of Mosul; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 481; Le Strange, *Lands*, 99.

233. Al-Ḥasan and Sulaymān also accompanied Yaḥyā on the summer expedition of 163/780, when he went with Hārūn (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 497).

gratulated his father Khālid on his appointment and their two offices were joined together. Aḥmad b. Muʿāwiyah said that al-Manṣūr admired Khālid and he used to say, "Khālid gave birth to a son and Yaḥyā gave birth to a father."

In this year al-Manṣūr settled in his palace known as al-Khuld.

In this year al-Manṣūr was angry with al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr and dismissed him from command of the police and ordered that he be imprisoned and chained up. The reason for this was that he had flogged Abān b. Bashīr[234] the Secretary to death because of a grudge he bore him concerning his partnership with his brother ʿAmr b. Zuhayr in the governorate of al-Kūfah and the collection of its taxes. In place of al-Musayyab, he appinted al-Ḥakam b. Yūsuf, Commander of the Lances,[235] but then al-Mahdī spoke to his father on behalf of al-Musayyab, and he was restored to favor after he had been in prison for some days and he was given back his command of the police.

In this year al-Manṣūr sent Naṣr b. Ḥarb al-Tamīmī as governor of the frontier regions of Fārs.[236]

In this year al-Manṣūr fell off his mount at Jarjarāyā[237] and fractured his skull between his eyebrows. This was when he had gone out, when he sent his son al-Mahdī to al-Raqqah, to say farewell to him. When he reached a place called Jubb Summāqā[238] he turned aside to Ḥawlāyā[239] and then went on to the Nahrawāns. [385]
He reached, it is said, the sluice gates and the point[240] where the Nahrawān flows into the Diyālā river, and he stayed by the dam there for eighteen days and it wearied him so he went on to

234. Not known elsewhere.

235. Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 248, records that he had a property in the Ḥarbiyyah quarter in Baghdad. *Ḥirāb* were small, throwing spears (see Lane, s.v. *ḥrb*), but the title *ṣāḥib al-ḥirāb* is not, to my knowledge, recorded elsewhere. From the context, it must be presumed that he was second-in-command of the *shurṭah*.

236. *Thughūr Fārs*, a curious usage, *thughūr* usually being applied to the Byzantine frontier area. Perhaps it refers to the wild, eastern part of the province, on the Kirmān border.

237. Small town on the Tigris, southeast of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 123; Le Strange, *Lands*, 37.

238. Not noted by Yāqūt or Le Strange. *Jubb* means a well.

239. A village near Nahrawān. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 322.

240. The hydrology of the Nahrawān area is explained in Adams, *Land behind Baghdad*.

Jarjarāyā and went out from it to inspect an estate belonging to 'Īsā b. 'Alī there. That day he was thrown from his gray horse and fractured his skull. When he was in Jarjarāyā, Indian prisoners came to him from 'Umān. They had been sent by Tasnīm b. al-Ḥawārī[241] with his son Muḥammad. He contemplated having them executed, so he interrogated them and what they told him about their affairs confused him and he refrained from killing them and divided them among his commanders and agents (*nuwwāb*).[242]

In this year al-Mahdī came to the City of Peace from al-Raqqah and entered in the month of Ramaḍān (July 5–August 3, 775).

In this year al-Manṣūr ordered the repair of the White Palace, which Chosroes had built, and the fining of all those in whose houses Sasanian brickwork, taken from the buildings of the Chosroes, was found. He said, "This is the booty of the Muslims,"[243] but this was never completed, nor were the repairs to the Palace.

In this year the summer raid was led by Ma'yūf b. Yaḥyā along the Darb al-Ḥadath,[244] and they met the enemy and fought and then broke off the engagement.

In this year Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, the governor of Mecca, was imprisoned because, it is said, al-Manṣūr ordered him to imprison Ibn Jurayj,[245] 'Abbād b. Kathīr,[246] and al-

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241. He appears once as a source for the 'Alid rebellion of 145/762–63 (al-Ṭabarī, III, 206, 293), and his son al-Ḥasan was governor of 'Umān in 169/785–86. For his family, see Crone, *Slaves*, 121.

242. *Nuwwāb*, not a usual administrative term at this period; its significance is unclear.

243. In Ctesiphon/al-Madā'in. The building was still used by the Muslims for official purposes in early Umayyad times (Morony, *Iraq*, 76). Al-Manṣūr was claiming that it formed part of the *fay'* (booty) of the Muslims and hence should not be divided up but used for the common good.

244. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," 734. The Darb al-Ḥadath was the pass that led from the Muslim base at al-Ḥadath across the mountains into Byzantine territory.

245. Probably to be identified with the Ibn Jurayj whom al-Ṭabarī cites extensively as a source in the early part of the *History*, notably on Old Testament material. He had been in Mecca at the time of the 'Alid rebellion of 145/762 but does not seem to have played a very active part.

246. He had been in Medina in the immediate aftermath of the 'Alid rebellion and interceded for one of the participants, but, like Ibn Jurayj, he does not seem to have played a major part.

Thawrī,[247] and then he released them without Abū Ja'far's permission and Abū Ja'far was angry with him. [386]

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Muḥammad b. 'Imrān, freedman of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās—his father: Al-Manṣūr wrote to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, governor of Mecca, ordering him to imprison a man of the family of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who was in Mecca along with Ibn Jurayj, 'Abbād b. Kathīr, and al-Thawrī, so he imprisoned them. He had companions with whom he used to talk at night[248] and, when it was time for his nighttime conversation, he sat down looking intently at the ground and not uttering a syllable until they dispersed. I approached him and said, "I saw what you did; what is the matter?" He replied, "I came upon the possessor of kinship[249] and imprisoned him and some of the most worthy people[250] and imprisoned them. The Commander of the Faithful might come, and I do not know what will happen. Maybe he will order that they be killed and his authority will be strengthened, but my religion will be destroyed."

I asked him what he would do and he replied, "I will placate God and release the people. Go to my camels and take a female riding camel and take fifty *dīnār*s and give them to the Ṭālibī,[251] give him greeting and say to him, 'Your cousin[252] asks you to release him from his guilt about you. Ride this camel and take this money.'"

When he saw me he had begun to ask God's protection from my evil, but when I told him he said, "He is released.[253] I have no

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247. This is the celebrated traditionist Sufyān b. Sa'īd al-Thawrī, d. 161/778, like Ibn Jurayj an important source for the early sections of al-Ṭabarī's history. He spent much of his life in hiding in the Ḥijāz and Yemen to escape appointment as a *qāḍī*. See *EI*[1], s.v. "Sufyān."

248. The *sāmir* or *samīr* was a friend or courtier with whom one had relaxed conversations at night. These nighttime gatherings were an important social and cultural institution of the period.

249. With the Prophet, by which he means the (anonymous) 'Alid referred to above.

250. The three learned men mentioned above.

251. That is, the 'Alid. The term Ṭālibī was used for desecendants of 'Alī's father, Abū Ṭālib, either through 'Alī himself or through his brother Ja'far.

252. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, being an 'Abbāsid, speaks as a cousin, albeit a very distant one, of the 'Alid.

253. The 'Alid releases Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm from his guilt for imprisoning him.

need of the camel and no need of the money," but I said, "It would be better for his soul if you took them," so he did.

Then I came to Ibn Jurayj, Sufyān b. Sa'īd, and 'Abbād b. Kathīr and told them what he had said and they said, "He is released." I said to them that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm had said that none of
[387] them should appear as long as al-Manṣūr was staying.

When al-Manṣūr approached, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm sent me with gifts but, when al-Manṣūr was told that the messenger of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm had arrived, he ordered that the faces of his camels be struck. When he reached Bi'r Maymūn,[254] Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm came to meet him but, when he was told of that, he ordered that the faces of his mounts should be struck. So Muḥammad was traveling on one side of the road while Abū Ja'far was diverted from the road to the left-hand side and the camel was made to kneel for him (to relieve nature). Muḥammad was waiting facing him, and his doctor was with him. When Abū Ja'far mounted and he and his companion al-Rabī' went on, Muḥammad ordered his doctor to go over to Abū Ja'far's camel-kneeling place, and he saw his excrement and he said to Muḥammad, "I saw the excrement of a man who does not have long to live." When he entered Mecca he remained there only a short time before he died and Muḥammad was saved.

In Shawwāl of this year (August 4–September 1, 775) Abū Ja'far set out from the City of Peace heading for Mecca. It is said that he stayed at Qaṣr 'Abdawayh[255] and while he was there a meteorite fell on 26 Shawwāl (August 29) after the beginning of dawn and remained visible until sunrise; then he went on to al-Kūfah and stayed at al-Ruṣāfah[256] and then set out from there on the pilgrimage and the lesser pilgrimage.[257] With him he drove the camels to be slaughtered in Mecca, branded them, and put signs on their necks for some days into Dhū al-Qa'dah (September 2–

254. On the borders of the sacred area of Mecca, where al-Manṣūr died. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 302.

255. Not noted by Yāqūt or Le Strange.

256. That is al-Ruṣāfah of al-Kūfah; see note 54, above.

257. For the differing rituals of the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) and lesser pilgrimage (*'umrah*), see *EI*², s.v., "Ḥadjdj;" *EI*¹ s.v. "'Umra."

October 1, 775}. When he had gone some stages from al-Kūfah the disease of which he died became apparent.

Opinions differ as to the nature of the disease that he died from.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Nawfalī,[258] his father used to say: Al-Manṣūr was unable to digest his food and he complained of that to the doctors and asked them to bring [388] him digestives, but they did not want to do that so they told him to eat less food and that the digestives would be digested immediately but that the illness would recur and intensify, until an Indian doctor came to him and said the same thing to him as the others had but prepared a drug for him, a digestive powder with hot spices and medicaments, and he took it and his food was digested and he praised the doctor highly.

He continued: My father said that many doctors from Iraq said that Abū Jaʿfar would die only of a stomach complaint. I asked him what the symptoms were of this and he said, "He takes a digestive and it digests his food, but every day some of the lining of his stomach and the fat of his bowels is eroded, and he will die because of his stomach. I will give you an analogy: What would you think if you put a jar on a high place and put a new brick under it and it drips? Is it not the case that its dripping will pierce the brick in the course of time and do you not then know that every drip makes an impression?" Abū Jaʿfar died, as he said, because of his stomach.

One source said: The illness of which he died began when he suffered heatstroke from riding in the midday sun. He was a hot-blooded person in his eating and the red bile afflicted him and he got dysentery in his stomach. He continued in that condition until he reached the Garden of Ibn ʿĀmir, where it became more severe. He moved on from there but could not reach Mecca and stopped at Biʾr Ibn al-Murtafiʿ,[259] where he stayed for a day and a night before going on to Biʾr Maymūn. He asked whether he had entered the Ḥaram and bequeathed what he wished to al-Rabīʿ, and then he died at dawn or sunrise of Saturday 6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah [389]

258. See note 23, above.

259. Bustān Abū ʿĀmir and Biʾr Ibn al-Murtafiʿ were, like Biʾr Maymūn, stages on the route from Iraq to Mecca and Medina.

(October 7, 775). Only his servants and al-Rabīʿ, his freedman, were with him at his death.

Al-Rabīʿ kept his death hidden and prevented the women and others from weeping and wailing. In the morning the members of his household came as they were accustomed to and sat in their places. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī was the first to be summoned and he remained a little while and then permission was given to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, although in time past he used to be given permission before ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī and that was the rank in which he was established. Then the senior and older members of the family[260] were given permission and then the main body of them. Al-Rabīʿ took their oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful al-Mahdī and to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā after him at the hand of Mūsā,[261] son of al-Mahdī.

When the Banū Hāshim[262] had all taken the oath, he summoned the commanders and they took the oath and none of them showed any reluctance except ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān[263] and he refused, at the mention of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, to take the oath to him. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān slapped him and said, "Who is this lout?"[264] and taunted him with being a sucker[265] and considered beheading him, so he took the oath. The people took the oath in

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260. Probably meaning the ʿAbbāsid family but possibly the family of the Prophet, including the ʿAlids, at least one of whom, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, is known to have been present.

261. The future caliph al-Hādī, at this time a young boy.

262. Hāshim was the ancestor of both ʿAbbāsids and ʿAlids (and, of course, the Prophet himself) but not of the Umayyads.

263. A soldier of Khurasānī origin, probably the son of ʿĪsā b. Māhān, who had been one of the original supporters of the ʿAbbāsid movement in Khurāsān. In al-Mahdī's reign ʿAlī became a partisan of Mūsā al-Hādī, the heir apparent, and an opponent of the Barmakids. Between 180/796 and 192/807 he was governor of Khurāsān, making himself very unpopular with the local notables. After Hārūn's death, he became the leading champion of al-Amīn and the Khurāsāniyyah of Baghdad but was killed in battle by the forces of al-Ma'mūn led by Ṭāhir at al-Rayy in 195/811 (see below, pp. 455, 494; al-Ṭabarī, III, 666, 675, 714, 799–801, 822–85; al-Jahshiyārī, 167, 228; Ḥamzah, 143; Crone, *Slaves*, 178–79).

264. *ʿIlj*; originally referring to a strong or sturdy man, the word acquired a perjorative sense. Here it can mean either "Persian" (which is probably appropriate for ʿAlī) or other unbeliever or, more simply, "lout."

265. *Amaṣṣahu*. The root *maṣṣa* means "to suck." In this context "sucker" is used as an obscene term of abuse, being short for "sucker of your mother's clitoris." The full form is used below p. 146. The American "mother fucker" is probably the most effective colloquial translation. See Lane s.v., *maṣṣa*.

turn and the first one who said "If God wills" was al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr, and 'Īsā b. Mūsā said, "It will be thus," and they called him a sucker. Mūsā b. al-Mahdī went out to the public audience and took the oath from the rest of the commanders and leading men. Al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān proceeded to Mecca to take the oath from the people there, and al-'Abbās acted as spokesman at that time. The people took the oath to al-Mahdī between the *rukn* and the *maqām*.[266] A number of members of the household of al-Mahdī were sent out in the neighborhood of Mecca and the camp, and they had the people take the oath to him.

Al-Manṣūr was prepared for burial and he was washed and covered in a shroud. Those of his household who were in charge [390] of this were al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad, al-Rabī', al-Rayyān,[267] and a number of his servants and freedmen. The preparations for burial were completed by the afternoon prayer and his face and all his body were covered with his shroud up to the beginning of the hair, and his head remained uncovered because he was in a state of *iḥrām*.[268] The people of his household and the most intimate of his freedmen went out with him and, as al-Wāqidi claimed, 'Isa b. Mūsā prayed over him in Shi'b al-Khūz.

It is said that Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī[269] prayed over him, and it is said that al-Manṣūr had stipulated that in his will because he was his deputy in charge of the prayers in the City of Peace.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī—his father: Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā prayed over him in the tents before he was carried out because al-Rabī' said, "No one should pray over him who is aspiring to the caliphate," so they fetched Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā,

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266. The *rukn* is the corner of the Ka'bah in which is the Black Stone, the *maqām*, short for "*maqām* Ibrāhīm," is a small building, containing the mark of Abraham's footprint, near the Ka'bah; both of these are in the mosque in Mecca.

267. Mawlā al-Manṣūr; in an anecdote dated 145–48/762–66 he was sent to Mosul to execute a political suspect (see below, p. 145) but is otherwise unknown.

268. That is, he was in the ritual dress for pilgrimage, having entered the *ḥarām* (sacred area) at Bi'r Maymūn. The *iḥrām* involves being bareheaded.

269. B. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and therefore a member of the 'Abbāsid family. He was later governor of Medina from 166 until 167 (782–84), when he died. For Shi'b al-Khūz, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 347.

who was at that time a young man. He was buried in a grave at Thaniyyat al-Madaniyyīn, which is called that and Thaniyyat al-Ma'lāt,[270] because it is above Mecca. 'Īsā b. 'Alī, al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad, 'Īsā b. Mūsā, al-Rabī' and al-Rayyān, his freedmen, and Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā[271] lowered him into his grave.

Opinions differ about his age when he died; some say he was sixty-four years old, some that he was sixty-five, and some that he was sixty-three on the day he died. Hishām b. al-Kalbī[272] said that al-Manṣūr died when he was sixty-eight and that he held power for twenty-two years less twenty-four days. Different *riwāyas* are
[391] related to Abu Ma'shar[273]: Aḥmad b. Thābit al-Rāzī told me on the authority of those who were told by Isḥāq b. 'Īsā on his (Abū Ma'shar's) authority that he said:[274] Abū Ja'far died one day before the day for providing oneself with water (Yawm al-Tarwiyyah: 8 Dhū'l-Ḥijjah/October 9, 775), which was a Saturday. His caliphate lasted twenty-two years less three days. It is related on the authority of Ibn Bakkār that he (Abū Ma'shar)[275] said: Less seven nights. Al-Wāqidī said that the reign of Abū Ja'far was twenty-two years less six days. 'Umar b. Shabbah said that his caliphate was two days short of twenty-two years.

The leader of the pilgrims in this year was Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī.

In this year the Byzantine emperor died.[276]

Information about the appearance of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr:

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270. Pass of the Medinans, or High Pass.

271. He had a background in the 'Abbāsid movement in Khurāsān and was chiefly employed as a civil servant, dividing up booty and supervising construction work on the road to Mecca and in the *ḥarām* itself. He died in 185/801 (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 486, 520; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 439).

272. Celebrated early Islamic historian, ca. 120–204/737–819, and author of surviving *Jamharat al-Nasab*, the definitive work on early Arab genealogy; see *EI*², s.v. "Ibn al-Kalbī."

273. Najīh al-Sindī. An important source for the earlier sections of al-Ṭabarī's history, he contributes only occasional details of appointments and dates, the last being the date of the death of al-Hādī (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 579).

274. He being Abū Ma'shar; Aḥmad b. Thābit and Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, both otherwise unknown, are al-Ṭabarī's usual *isnād* for Abū Ma'shar's information.

275. Presumably Abū Ma'shar again, by a different *isnād*. Ibn Bakkār is al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, who is occasionally used elsewhere by al-Ṭabarī.

276. Constantine V, A.D 741–75.

It is said that he was brown-skinned, tall, thin, with a sparse beard. He was born in al-Ḥumaymah.[277]

Some Stories about al-Manṣūr and His Conduct[278]

According to Ṣāliḥ b. al-Wajīh[279]—his father: Al-Manṣūr heard that ʿĪsā b. Mūsā had killed one of the descendants of Naṣr b. Sayyār[280] who was hiding in al-Kūfah. ʿĪsā was directed to him and cut off his head. Al-Manṣūr disapproved of that and was appalled. He was planning something that would be the destruction of ʿĪsā, but ʿĪsā's ignorance of the significance of what he had done stopped him. So he wrote to him:

> Were it not for the discernment and restraint of the Commander of the Faithful, your punishment for the killing of the son of Naṣr b. Sayyar and your high-handedness in going beyond the aspirations of governors would not be delayed. Stop such actions against those whom the Commander of the Faithful appointed you to, whether [392]
> Arab or non-Arab, white[281] or black. Do not act arbitrarily contrary to the Commander of the Faithful in inflicting punishment on anyone who has a case to answer. He does not think that anyone should be arrested for an evil thought for which God will accept penance as reparation, or for any act of his in war that God has brought him safely

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277. The estate in southern Jordan that was the main base of the ʿAbbāsid family in late Umayyad times (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 307, Le Strange, *Palestine*, 455–56).

278. Al-Ṭabarī usually follows the account of the death of a caliph with some undated anecdotes. In general these are arranged at random, but some are loosely arranged according to themes; Abū Jaʿfar's meanness, the contrast between him and his son al-Mahdī, the activities of Maʿn b. Zāʾidah are some of these. The sources of this material are usually named, in contrast with the main body of the text, but are often individuals who contribute only single narratives and about whom nothing else is known.

279. This is the only time al-Ṭabarī uses this source, and nothing more is known of him or his father. The story should probably be dated 145–47/762–65 when ʿĪsā was still governor of al-Kūfah, but al-Manṣūr was attempting to remove him from the succession.

280. Naṣr b. Sayyār was the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān and an ancient enemy of the ʿAbbāsids.

281. The Arabic uses *aḥmar* (red) to mean "white."

through, thereby concealing him from the rancorous and preventing investigation of what is in men's hearts. The Commander of the Faithful will not despair of anyone, nor of himself, of God's causing the retreater to advance just as the retreating of one who advances is not sure, if God wills, and peace.

According to ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl[282]—Yaḥyā b. Sulaym,[283] secretary to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ: Entertainment was never seen in the house of al-Manṣūr, nor anything like entertainment games or amusements, except one day, when we saw a son of his called ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the brother of Sulaymān and ʿĪsā,[284] sons of Abū Jaʿfar by the Ṭalḥī woman, who died when he was a youth. He came out to the people with a bow on his shoulder, wearing a turban and a striped outer garment and looking like a bedouin boy. He was riding on a young camel between two saddlebags in which there were *muql*,[285] sandals, and sticks for cleaning the teeth[286] and the things that the bedouin gave as gifts. The people were amazed at this and disapproved of it. The young man went on until he crossed the bridge and came to al-Mahdī in al-Ruṣāfah and gave them to him. Al-Mahdī took what was in the saddlebags and filled them with *dirhams*, and he set off with the saddlebags. It was made known that this was a sort of royal joke.

According to Ḥammād al-Turkī: I was standing by al-Manṣūr's head when he heard a clamor in the house and he said, "What is that, Ḥammād? Have a look." I went and found one of his servants sitting among the slave girls and playing a *ṭunbūr*[287] for them,
[393] and they were laughing. I came to him and told him and he said, "What sort of thing is a *ṭunbūr*?" and I replied that it was made of wood and I described it to him. He said, "You have given me a

282. That is, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, later *ḥājib* to al-Amīn as his grandfather had been to al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī (*ʿUyūn*, 342; Jahshiyārī, 289).

283. Yaḥyā took over some of al-Rabīʿ's administrative functions on his death and later worked for al-Amīn (see below 598, Jāḥiẓ, 266, 289, 292.)

284. Both Sulaymān and ʿĪsā reached maturity and played a part in political life in Hārūn's reign and after.

285. *Bdellium*. See Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*, 124–26.

286. Sticks for cleaning teeth, used by the bedouin; see *EI*[1], s.v. *miswāk*.

287. A kind of lute or guitar with a long neck.

good description of it. How do you know what a *ṭunbūr* is?" and I replied that I had seen one in Khurāsān. He said, "Yes, there," and then asked me to bring him his sandals, so I brought them and he got up and walked slowly until he looked down on them and saw them. When they caught sight of him, they scattered. He said, "Seize him!" so he was taken and he went on, "Beat him over the head with it!" and I went on striking him on the head with it until I broke it. Then he said, "Take him out of my palace and go to Ḥamrān in al-Karkh[288] and tell him to sell him."

According to al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl—Sallām al-Abrash:[289] When I was a young servant, I and another page used to wait on al-Manṣūr inside in his residence. There he had an enclosure with a tent and pavilion with bedding and covers for him to be alone in. He was the best-natured of people whenever he did not appear in public, and the most tolerant of boys' games, but when he put on his official robes his complexion changed and his face became gloomy, his eyes reddened, and he went out and did as he was used to doing. When he got up from his audience, he returned in that state. When we received him in the hallway, he sometimes used to face us with blame. He said to me one day, "O my son, when you see me dressed in my official robes or returning from my audience, do not any of you approach me for fear that I should abuse him for something."

According to Abū al-Haytham Khālid b. Yazīd b. Wahb b. Jarīr b. Ḥāzim[290]—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad, called Minqār, of the people of Khurāsān, who was one of al-Rashīd's agents[291]—Maʿn b. Zāʾidah: We were seven hundred men in the *ṣaḥābah* who used to [394] go in to al-Manṣūr every day. I asked al-Rabīʿ to put me among the last of those who were going in but he said to me, "You are not one of the most noble of them to be put first of them nor the

288. A slave dealer. Al-Karkh was the commercial quarter of Baghdad, south of the Round City.

289. A palace servant, who was later in charge of the *maẓālim* (complaints) for al-Mahdī. *Abrash* means speckled or marked with various colors.

290. Great-grandson of Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, an important source for the earlier sections of al-Ṭabarī's work; he himself contributes only two short narratives.

291. He may be identified with ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Munaqqirī, who appears as a source in al-Ṭabarī, III, 565, neither name is recorded elsewhere. *Minqār* means "the beak of a bird."

most humble in descent to be put among the last of them. Your rank corresponds to your genealogy."[292] I went into al-Manṣūr that day wearing a loose, flowing outer garment, a Ḥanafī sword[293] the point of whose scabbard touched the ground, and a turban that I let hang down behind and in front of me. I greeted him and went out and, when I reached the curtain, he shouted to me, "O Ma'n" with a shout I did not like. I said, "Your servant, O Commander of the Faithful," and he ordered me to come to him. When I came near him, he had gotten down from his throne to the ground and he was kneeling and pulling out a rod from between the two cushions. His color changed, and his neck veins swelled out. He said to me, "You were my parallel combatant on the day of Wāsiṭ?[294] May I not escape death if you escape from me," and I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, that was my support for their false one; what about my support for your truth?" He said, "What are you saying?" I repeated my words to him and he went on asking me to repeat until he returned the rod to its resting place and sat down on his throne. His complexion turned pale and he said to me, "O Ma'n, I have some trifles in Yemen," and I replied, "A man who is denied secrets cannot have an opinion about them," and he said, "You are the man I need, so sit down," so I sat down and he ordered al-Rabī' to send out all those who were in the palace, and they were sent out. Then al-Manṣūr said, "The lord of Yemen[295] is considering rebelling against me and I want to take him prisoner and not to let any of his wealth escape me. What is your opinion?" and I replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, appoint me governor of Yemen but say in public that you have attached me to him. Order al-Rabī' to prepare whatever equipment I need and to send me off this very day so that the news does not get out." He took out a diploma of appointment
[395] from between the two cushions, inscribed my name on it, and

292. That is, the order of precedence was established by descent, but Ma'n, wanting to attract attention to himself, asked for a more conspicuous position.

293. It is not clear what a Ḥanafī sword was. The point was to wear unconventional garb to attract the caliph's attention.

294. Ma'n b. Zā'idah had been one of the leading defenders of the Umayyad base at Wāsiṭ when it was besieged by Abū Ja'far at the beginning of al-Saffāḥ's caliphate.

295. *Ṣāḥib al-Yaman* means the governor.

handed it over to me. Then he called al-Rabīʿ and said, "We have attached Maʿn to the lord of Yemen so prepare the equipment he needs, horses and arms, and do not delay for he is going now." Then he said, "Take your leave of me," so I took my leave of him and went out into the vestibule, where the father of the governor met me and said, "O Maʿn, I am not very pleased that you have been attached to your brother's son," and I replied to him, "It is no disgrace for a man that his Sulṭān attaches him to his brother's son."[296] I left for the Yemen and I came to the man and took him prisoner, read the diploma of appointment to him, and sat in his place.

According to Ḥammād b. Aḥmad al-Yamānī—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Yamānī—Abū al-Rudaynī:[297] Maʿn b. Zāʾidah wanted to send a delegation to al-Manṣūr to assuage his ill will and soften his heart toward him, and he said, "I have consumed my life in his service, worn myself out and exhausted my men in war in Yemen, and then he is angry with me because I have spent money in his service." He chose a group of his tribe of the small lineages of Rabīʿah,[298] and among those he selected was Mujjāʿah b. al-Azhar,[299] and he began to call the men one after the other and asked them what they would say to the Commander of the Faithful if he sent them to him, and they replied that they would say this and that until Mujjāʿah b. al-Azhar came to him and said, "May God glorify the Amīr. You are asking me what I would say in Iraq when I am in Yemen. I shall pursue your business until I complete it as is possible and appropriate." Maʿn said, "You are the man for me." Then he turned to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAtīq al-Muzanī[300] and said to him, "Be strong in support of your paternal

296. It is unusual for *sulṭān* to be used of a person at this date, it is more commonly an abstract word meaning "authority." As the governor is not named, it is not clear what the relationship between him and Maʿn was. The story relates to Maʿn's appointment as governor of Yemen in 142/759–60.

297. This is the only time al-Ṭabarī uses this *isnād*, and the transmitters cannot be identified. The anecdote dates from Maʿn's governorate of Yemen, 142–51/759–69.

298. Maʿn's tribe, Shaybān, was part of Bakr b. Wāʾil, which was a section of the larger Rabīʿah tribal group.

299. Not known elsewhere.

300. Not known elsewhere.

uncle's son,[301] give him precedence over you, and, if he overlooks anything, put him right." He chose eight people from his companions with them so that the total number was ten, and then he said farewell to them.

[396] They traveled until they reached Abū Jaʿfar and, when they were in his presence, they came forward and Mujjāʿah b. al-Azhar began by praising God and extolling him and thanking him so that the people thought that he intended to do no more than that. Then he turned to mention the Prophet and how God had chosen him from the midst of the Arabs and expanded on his virtue, so that people were surprised. Next he turned to the description of the Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr and how God had exalted him and to what he had appointed him. Finally, he turned to the business of mentioning his lord. When he had finished his speech, al-Manṣūr said, "As for the praise you gave God, God is more glorious and greater than description can say, and, as for your mention of the Prophet, God has given him more virtue than you said, and, as for your description of the Commander of the Faithful, God has favored him with that and He will support him in obeying Him, if God wills. As for your description of your lord, you lied and behaved disgracefully. Get out! What you said is not acceptable."

Mujjāʿah replied, "The Commander of the Faithful has spoken the truth but, by God, I did not lie about my master." They were sent out and, when they reached the end of the *īwān*,[302] al-Manṣūr ordered that he return with his companions and he asked, "What did you say?" and he repeated his speech as if it were on a page and he were reading it, and al-Manṣūr replied as he had done the first time, and they were sent out until they had all emerged and he ordered them to stop. Then he turned to those of Muḍar[303] who were present and asked, "Do you know among you anyone like this man? By God he spoke until I was envious (of his eloquence) and nothing prevented me from completely agreeing to his request except that it might be said that I was prejudiced for him because he was a Rabaʿī. I have never seen a man more self-

301. That is, Mujjāʿah.
302. The arched structure in which the audience was held.
303. Rivals of Rabīʿah.

possessed or clearer in eloquence than he was today. Bring him back, page." When he came before him, he returned his greeting and that of his companions and al-Manṣūr said to him, "Mention your request and the request of your lord."

He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, Maʿn b. Zāʾidah is your slave, your sword and your arrow that you shot at your [397] enemy, and he struck and thrusted and shot so that what was rough became smooth and what was difficult became easy and what was stirred up in Yemen was settled and they became the chattels of the Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his life. If the Commander of the Faithful did have in his mind a criticism from a slanderer, or a calumniator, or an envious person, the Commander of the Faithful has now shown his favor to his slave, the man who has spent his life in his service."

He accepted their representations and accepted the excuses of Maʿn and ordered them to return to him. when they reached Maʿn and he read the letter restoring him to favor, he kissed him (Mujjāʿah) between the eyes and thanked his companions, gave them robes of honor, and rewarded them according to their rank and the part they had played in the journey to al-Manṣūr. Mujjāʿah said,

I swore in the assembly of Wāʾil[304] an oath
that I would not sell you, O Maʿn, for greed.
O Maʿn, you have brought me prosperity.
It has become general for Lujaym and special for the family of Mujjāʿah.[305]
I shall remain attached to you
until the time when the voice of the herald of death
announces my passing.

The prosperity that Maʿn gave to Mujjāʿah was that he asked him for three wishes. One of these was that he was courting a noble woman from his household called Zahrāʾ, whom nobody had yet married. This was told to her and she said, "With what

304. See note 298, above.

305. That is, Mujjāʿah's tribe. For the relationships of Bakr b. Wāʾil, Shaybān, and Lujaym, see Caskel, table 141.

will he marry me? With his woollen *jubbah* and garments?" When he returned to Ma'n, the first thing he asked him was that he should marry him to her. Her father was in Ma'n's army. He said, "I want Zahrā' and her father is in your army, O Amīr." He married him to her for ten thousand *dirhams*, which he gave her as a dowry. Then Ma'n said, "What is your second wish?" and he replied, "The palm grove in which my house is in Ḥajar.[306] Its owner is in the army of the Amīr." Ma'n bought it from him and
[398] handed it over to Mujjā'ah and said, "What is your third wish?" "Give me money," he replied. Ma'n ordered that he be given thirty thousand, one hundred thousand *dirhams* in total, and he sent him away to his house.

According to Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Khwārazmī, whose father was one of the commanders of Khurāsān,—Abū al-Faraj, the maternal uncle of 'Abdallāh b. Jabalah al-Ṭāliqānī:[307] I heard Abū Ja'far saying, "How much I need four people at my door and they should be the most decent people there." He was asked, "O Commander of the Faithful, who are they?" and he replied, "They are the pillars of the state and the state would not be safe without them as a couch would not be safe without four legs and, if one of them is missing, it is weakened. The first of these is a judge whom no reproach can deviate from what pleases God. The second is a chief of police who defends the rights of the weak from the strong. The third is a chief of taxation who investigates and does not oppress the peasants because I can dispense with their oppression. The fourth. . . ." Then he bit on his index finger three times, saying each time "Ah, ah," and he was asked, "Who is that, O Commander of the Faithful?" and he replied, "A head of the post who writes reliable information about these men."

It is said: Al-Manṣūr summoned one of his agents who had defaulted on his taxes and said to him, "Pay what you owe," and he replied, "By God, I do not owe a single thing." The muezzin called, "I bear witness that there is no god but God," and he said, "O Commander of the Faithful, give what I owe to God and to the call that there is no god but God," and he let him go.

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306. The capital of al-Yamāmah province of east central Arabia; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 221.

307. None of these individuals is known elsewhere.

He said: Al-Manṣūr appointed a Syrian to an office in the tax administration, and he approached him with his advice and said, "How well do I know what is in your mind at the moment, O brother of the people of Syria. You will go out from my presence now and you will say, 'Keep upright in your work and your work sticks to you.'" He also appointed an Iraqi to something in the taxation of the Sawād and approached him with his advice and [399] said, "How well do I know what is in your mind. You will go out now and say, 'If you become poor after that may you not thrive again.' Leave me and go to your work and, by God, If you become open to that, I will surely inflict on you the punishment you deserve!" They were both appointed to it and put things right and were sincere in their intentions.[308]

According to al-Ṣabbāḥ b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Shaybānī—Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā:[309] Al-Manṣūr appointed a man of the Arabs as governor of Ḥaḍramawt and the chief of the post wrote to al-Manṣūr that the governor often went out in pursuit of game with falcons and dogs that he had prepared. He dismissed him and wrote to him, "May your mother lose you, and may your tribe miss you. What is this equipment you prepared to slaughter wild animals? We put you in charge only of the affairs of the Muslims, not the affairs of the wild animals. Hand over the office you have been entrusted with by us to so-and-so, son of so-and-so, and go to your family, censured and banished."

According to al-Rabī':[310] Suhayl b. Sālim al-Baṣrī[311] was brought in to al-Manṣūr after he had been appointed to an office and dismissed. He ordered that he be put in prison and that money be demanded of him. Suhayl said, "Your slave, O Commander of the Faithful." "What an evil slave you are," he said, "But you are a kind master, O Commander of the Faithful," he replied. "Not to you, I'm not," said the caliph.

According to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī'—his father: When I was standing

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308. Freytag, *Proverbia*, II, 576, 584, and II, 687, 329.

309. Neither of these can be securely identified. Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā may have been the grandson of 'Īsā b. Mūsā, who was briefly governor of Yemen in al-Ma'mūn's reign (*'Uyūn*, 348).

310. B. Yūnus, *ḥājib* to al-Manṣūr; see note 16, above.

311. He is not mentioned elsewhere, nor is it known what office he held.

before al-Manṣūr, or by his head, a Khārijī who had defeated his armies was brought to him. He was preparing him for execution when his eye lighted on him in disdain, and he said, "You son of a whore! Does someone like you put armies to flight?" and the Khārijī replied to him, "Woe to you and evil to you! Between me and you yesterday there was the sword and killing and today there
[400] is abuse and insult. What makes you so sure that I will respond, for I have despaired of life and you will never rescind my punishment even if asked?" Al-Manṣūr spared his life and released him and he never saw his face again.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr al-Mulaḥī—Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā al-Hādī[312]—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Ayyūb al-Makkī—his father[313]—ʿUmārah b. Ḥamzah: I was with al-Manṣūr and I left him at midday after the people had taken the oath of allegiance to al-Mahdī. Al-Mahdī came to me at the time when I left and said to me, "I have heard that my father intends that the oath of allegiance should be given to my brother Jaʿfar,[314] and I swear by God that, if he does, I will kill him." I went immediately to the Commander of the Faithful and I said, "This matter will not wait," and the chamberlain said, "You have only just left," but I replied, "The matter is new." He gave me permission and I went in to al-Manṣūr and he said, "Hey, ʿUmārah, what has brought you?" and I replied, "A new matter, O Commander of the Faithful, that I wish to tell you about." He said, "I will tell you about it before you tell me: Al-Mahdī came to you and said such-and-such," and I said, "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, it is as if you were present as the third of us." He continued, "Tell him that we are too solicitous of him (Jaʿfar) to expose him to you."

According to Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim—Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ:[315] We were in the audience waiting for permission to go in to al-Manṣūr and we were reminiscing about al-Ḥajjāj.[316] There were

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312. A great-grandson of the caliph.

313. Muḥammad b. Abī Ayyūb, along with other notables, was arrested on a charge of *zandaqah* (see note 199 above) in 166/782–83 (see p. 234, below).

314. That is, Jaʿfar the Elder (see above, note 94).

315. B. ʿAlī al-ʿAbbāsī, son of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī (see note 92, above) and himself governor of Palestine and Egypt in al-Mahdī's reign.

316. B. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, the famous governor of Iraq and the east for the Umayyad caliphs.

those among us who praised him and those who condemned him; among those who praised him was Ma'n b. Zā'idah and among those who condemned him was al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. Then we were given permission to go in to al-Manṣūr, and al-Ḥasan b. Zayd let fly and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I did not think that I would live to see the day when al-Ḥajjāj would be discussed in your house and on your carpet and given praise." Abū Ja'far replied [401] to him, "Why do you disapprove of that? He was a man whom a people (i.e., the Umayyads) entrusted with power, and he served them well. I would be happy, by God, if I could find a man like al-Ḥajjāj so that I could hand over my reponsibilities to him and settle him in one of the two Ḥarams (Mecca or Medina)." Then Ma'n said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have a number of men who would serve you well if you entrusted them with power," and he asked, "Who are they? It is as if you were referring to yourself." He said, "If I wanted to, I would be close to that." "You are not at all like that," the caliph replied, "A people (the Umayyads) had trust in al-Ḥajjāj, and he repaid them with trustworthiness. We had trust in you, and you betrayed us."

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī[317]—Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī:[318] I went with the Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr to Mecca. I was traveling with him one day when there appeared a man on a red-colored camel riding in the open country, wearing a silk *jubbah*[319] and an Adenī turban. He had a whip in his hand that almost touched the ground and a notable appearance. When al-Manṣūr saw him, he ordered me to call him. He came, and the caliph asked him about his genealogy, his country, the desert his people lived in, and about the officials in charge of the *ṣadaqah*.[320]

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317. Al-Ṭā'ī, ca. 120–206/738–821, a historian who attended the court of Hārūn and a source intermittently used by al-Ṭabarī throughout his history. In the 'Abbāsid period, he mostly contributes anecdotal material in the sections following the deaths of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī, from court sources including al-Rabī'. The traditionists accused him of falsehood, but al-Mas'ūdī had a good opinion of his material on the history of the Arabs; see *EI*², s.v., "al-Haytham b. 'Adī."

318. Salama b. 'Abdallāh, another occasional source of anecdote.

319. Long outer garment with open front and wide sleeves (Ahsan, *Social Life*, p 40).

320. The alms Muslims are enjoined to pay. At this time it was a compulsory tax, rather than a voluntary contribution, and probably the only tax a bedouin would pay.

He gave the best of answers and al-Manṣūr was amazed at what he saw in him. Then he said, " Recite to me." He recited to him a poem of Aws b. Ḥajar[321] and of other poets of the Banū ʿAmr b. Tamīm. He continued to recite until he came to the poem of Ṭarīf b. Tamīm al-ʿAnbarī[322] which goes:

My lance is a strong wood (*nabʿ*), which neither the pinching and pressing
of the straightening instrument nor grease nor fire can soften.
When I take a fearful man under my protection, his grazing places are safe,
and, when I make a safe man fearful for his safety, the house looks not spacious enough for him.
When I initiate matters, they are brought to fruition;
matters have a beginning and a completion.

Al-Manṣūr said, "Woe to you! What was Ṭarīf's reputation among you when he spoke this poem?" He replied, "He was the most severe of the Arabs in trampling on his enemies and the most [402] determined in retaliation, the most fortunate in character, the hardest of them with spears on those who tried his patience, the most hospitable to his guests, and the most protective to those who were in his charge. When the Arabs gathered at ʿUkāẓ,[323] all of them acknowledged that he had these qualities except one man who wanted to belittle him and he said, 'By God, you do not search far for food and do not pursue game.' He called upon him to take it upon himself not to eat anything except the meat of game he had hunted and not to avoid going every year on a raid to distant parts." Al-Manṣūr said, "O brother of the Banū Tamīm, you have done very well in describing your friend, but I myself am more truthfully described in his two verses, not he."

According to Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Fuqaymī:[324] A number of the

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321. A well-known Tamīmī poet of the pre-Islamic period; *Aghānī*, Būlāq, X, 6; Beirut, XI, 64.

322. This poet is not quoted elsewhere by al-Ṭabarī, nor does he appear in the *Aghānī*.

323. The site of the famous fairs outside Mecca, where poets are said to have gathered in pre-Islamic times.

324. A source used several times in this section of the *History* but otherwise unknown.

Banū Hāshim related that al-Manṣūr worked at daybreak, ordering and forbidding, appointing and dismissing, policing the frontiers and borders, safeguarding the roads and supervising the taxes and the expenses and protecting the livelihood of the subjects, to drive away their poverty and to find the best means to keep them quiet and comfortable. When he had prayed the afternoon prayer, he sat down with the people of his household except those he wished to be his nighttime companions. When he had prayed the last evening prayer, he looked at the letters that had arrived from the frontiers, the borders, and outlying districts and sought the advice of his nighttime companions about whatever he needed. When a third of the night had passed, he went to his bed and his companions left. When the second third of the night had passed, he got up from his bed, performed his ablutions, and prayed before his mihrab until dawn broke, when he went out and prayed with the people. Then he went in and sat down in his audience hall (*īwān*).

According to Isḥāq[325]—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ:[326] Abū Jaʿfar said to Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh,[327] "Describe the people to me," and he replied, "The people of the Ḥijāz are the beginning of Islam and the most excellent of the Arabs; the people of Iraq are the pillar of [403] Islam and the militia of the Faith; the people of Syria are the fortress of the Muslim community and the spearheads of the Imāms; the people of Khurāsān are the the horsemen of battle and the bridles of the men; the Turks are the people of the rocks and the sons of raids. The people of India are wise men who are satisfied with their country and content with it and do not aspire to what lies beyond it. The Byzantines are people of the book and of piety and whom God had removed from near to far, and the Nabaṭ[328] had an ancient kingdom but now are slaves to every nation."

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325. Presumably Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā, mentioned above (see note 309).

326. Probably ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ al-Ḥārithī (see note 34), who is described as one of the night companions (*summār*) of al-Manṣūr (Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 468).

327. Al-Qasrī, a firm supporter of Marwān, the last Umayyad caliph, who was reconciled to Abū Jaʿfar and was briefly appointed governor of Mosul. Thus this story belongs to a genre in which Abū Jaʿfar looks for advice and example to the Umayyads and their supporters.

328. A term cognate with Nabataeans but generally used of the indigenous

The caliph asked, "Which governors are the best?" and he replied, "The one who gives freely and avoids evil." He asked, "Which of them is the most evil?" and he replied, "The one who is hardest on the subjects and who inflicts most violations and punishments on them." He asked, "Is obedience through fear more useful to the interests of the state or obedience through love?" and he replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, obedience through fear engulfs treachery, and it is exaggerated when it is exposed, while obedience through love engulfs diligence and goes to exaggeration when it is not examined." He asked, "Which man is most worthy of obedience?" and he replied, "The most capable in need and useful service." He asked, "What is the sign of that?" and he replied, "Quickness to answer and self-sacrifice." He asked, "Who must be appointed as *wazīr* to the king?" and he replied, "The soundest of heart and the farthest from passion."

According to Abū 'Ubaydallāh the secretary, I heard al-Manṣūr saying to al-Mahdī when he made him heir apparent, "O Abū 'Abdallāh, make prosperity last by giving thanks, power by forgiveness, obedience by affection, and victory by humility. Do not forget, because of your fortune in this world, your fortune from the mercy of God."

According to al-Zubayr b. Bakkār—Mubārak al-Ṭabarī[329]—Abū 'Ubaydallāh: I heard al-Manṣūr say to al-Mahdī, "Do not settle a matter without thinking about it, for the thought of the intelligent man is his mirror in which he sees his good and his evil."

According to al-Zubayr again—Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallāh[330]—his father: I heard Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr say to al-Mahdī, "O Abū
[404] 'Abdallāh, the Sulṭān is not safe except with piety, and its subjects are not safe except with obedience. The country will not thrive without justice, the prosperity of the Sulṭān and obedience to him will not last without money. You will not achieve security with-

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inhabitants of Iraq.

329. Probably to be identified with Mubārak al-Turkī (see note 227, above). Al-Ṭabarī means that he came from Ṭabaristān in northern Iran on the Caspian coast, as, of course, did the great historian himself.

330. B. Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, d. 233/847–84, a descendant of the Prophet's companion al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and a source used occasionally throughout the *History*.

out the movement of information. The most powerful of men in forgiveness is the most powerful in punishment, and the weakest of men is he who oppresses those beneath him. Consider the work of your friend and his knowledge by putting him to the test."

According to Mubārak al-Ṭabarī—Abū 'Ubaydallāh: I heard al-Manṣūr say to al-Mahdī, "O Abū 'Abdallāh, do not hold an audience without people of knowledge to talk to you, for Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī[331] said, 'Conversation is male; only masculine men like it, and only effeminate men hate it.' The brother of Zuhra spoke the truth."

According to 'Alī b. Mujāhid b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī:[332] Al-Manṣūr said to al-Mahdī, "O Abū 'Abdallāh, he who loves praise has the best conduct, and he who hates praise has the worst. No one hates praise except he who seeks to be derogated, and nobody is derogated without being hated."

According to Mubārak al-Ṭabarī—Abū 'Ubaydallāh: Al-Manṣūr said to al-Mahdī, "O Abū 'Abdallāh, the intelligent man is not the one who makes efforts when disaster befalls him until he escapes from it but he who makes efforts when disaster threatens so that it does not befall him."

According to al-Fuqaymī—'Utbah b. Hārūn:[333] Abū Ja'far said to al-Mahdī one day, "How many banners do you have?"[334] and he replied, "I do not know," and Abū Ja'far said, "This, by God, is utter heedlessness, which denotes that in the caliphate you will be more heedless. But I have gathered for you what will not be affected by loss, no matter how negligent you are. Fear God in what He has bestowed on you."

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad[335]—Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar b. Ḥammād[336]—Khālīṣah:[337] I went in to al-Manṣūr and he was com- [405]

331. Al-Zuhrī, d. 119/737, was one of the great early authorities on the Traditions of the Prophet; see *EI*[1], s.v. "al-Zuhrī."

332. A source used fairly commonly in sections I and II of his history but only twice for the 'Abbāsid period (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 51 above).

333. Unknown elsewhere.

334. Meaning "How many offices are at your disposal?"

335. Probably al-Nawfalī; see note 23, above.

336. Not known elsewhere.

337. One of only three examples of a female narrator in this volume. For the others, see Afrīk, above, p. 60, and Jamrah al-'Aṭṭārah, below, p. 152.

plaining of a toothache and, when he heard my noise, he said, "Come in," so I went in and there he was resting his hand on his temples. He was silent for a while and then he said to me, "O Khāliṣah, how much money do you have?" and I replied that I had a thousand *dirham*s. He said, "Put your hand on my head and swear," so I said that I had ten thousand *dīnār*s. He then said, "Bring them to me," so I returned and went in to al-Mahdī and al-Khayzurān[338] and told them. Al-Mahdī kicked me with his foot and said to me, "Why did you go to him? He has no illness, but I asked him yesterday for money and he pretended to be ill. Take him the sum you mentioned." I did that and when al-Mahdī came to him he said, "O Abū 'Abdallāh, you were complaining of need, while Khāliṣah had all this!!"

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Wāḍiḥ, freedman of Abū Ja'far: Abū Ja'far said one day, "See what worn-out clothes you have and collect them together and, when you know of the approach of Abū 'Abdallāh, bring them to me before he enters and bring rags with them." I did this and, when al-Mahdī came to him, he was assessing the value of the rags and al-Mahdī laughed and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, people say about this, 'They look after the *dīnār* and the *dirham* and what is less than that,'" but he did not say the *dāniq*.[339] Al-Manṣūr replied, "There are not new clothes for him who does not mend his worn garment. This winter has arrived, and we need clothes for the family and children." Al-Mahdī said, "I will pay for the clothing of the Commander of the Faithful and his family and children." He said, "Fine, get on with it."

According to 'Alī b. Marthad[340] Abū Di'āmah the poet—
[406] Ashja' b. 'Amr al-Sulamī[341]—al-Mu'ammil b. Umayl:[342] This

338. Mother of al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd. Al-Mahdī married her in 159/775–76, and she died in 173/789–90.

339. Small copper coin of very little value. This refers to the nickname al-Manṣūr was given by the people because of stinginess, i.e., Abū al-Dawānīq.

340. The addendum suggests this name should read Yazīd. He is also recorded as a transmitter of poetry. See Ṭabarī, III, 593.

341. See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XVII, 30; Beirut, XVIII, 143.

342. B. Usayd al-Muḥāribī. For this poet, see *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XIX, 147; Beirut, XXII, 255, where the narrative and the poem are given with minor variations. He had been a poet in Umayyad times but was attached to al-Mahdī, and it was for him that his best-known work was done.

is also according to 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Khwārazmī[343]—Abū Qudāmah[344]—al-Mu'ammil b. Umayl: I came to al-Mahdī, says Ibn Marthad in his narrative, when he was heir apparent (al-Khwārazmī says: I came to him in al-Rayy when he was heir apparent), and he ordered that I be given twenty thousand *dirhams* for some verses in which I praised him. The head of the post wrote about this to al-Manṣūr, who was in the City of Peace, telling him that al-Mahdī had ordered that twenty thousand *dirhams* be paid to a poet. Al-Manṣūr wrote to him reproving and criticizing him, saying that he needed to give the poet, after he had remained at his gate for a year, only four thousand *dirhams*.

According to Abū Qudāmah: Al-Mahdī's secretary wrote to me asking me to send him the poet; he was sought but could not be found, so he wrote saying that he had set out for the City of Peace. Al-Manṣūr sent one of his commanders to wait at the bridge of Nahrawān and ordered him to scrutinize the people who were crossing one by one until he came across al-Mu'ammil. When he saw him he said, "Who are you?" and he replied, "I am al-Mu'ammil b. Umayl, one of the guests of the Prince al-Mahdī." He said, "You are the one I am looking for," and al-Mu'ammil said that his heart almost burst for fear of Abū Ja'far. "He seized me and brought me to the gate of al-Maqṣūrah and handed me over to al-Rabī'. Al-Rabī' went in to al-Manṣūr and said, 'This is the poet whom we have arrested,' and he said, 'Bring him in to me,' so I was brought in to him. I greeted him and he returned the greeting, and I said to myself, 'There is nothing but good in this.' He said, 'You are al-Mu'ammil b. Umayl?' and I said, 'Yes, may God preserve the Commander of the Faithful.' He said, 'You came to an inexperienced youth and cheated him,' and I replied, 'Yes, may God preserve the Commander of the Faithful, I came to an [407] inexperienced and generous young man and cheated him and he allowed himself to be cheated.' That seemed to please him, and he asked me to recite to him what I said about al-Mahdī. I recited:

He is al-Mahdī, except that in him
is the similarity to the appearance of the shining moon.

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343. Called al-Ḥarrānī in the *Aghānī* narrative.

344. Possibly 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad, who is recorded twice before in al-Ṭabarī's *History*.

The one and the other are similar when they both shine;
they are confusing to the discerning.
One in the dark is the lamp of night;
the other in the day is the lamp of light.
But the Merciful One has preferred one to the other
by giving him pulpits and the throne
And a glorious kingdom. For that one is the Prince;
but the other is neither a prince nor a *wazīr*.
The decline of the month darkens one,
but the other shines at the decline of months.
O pure son of the caliph of God!
In him the boasting of the boastful overtops.
If you have outstripped the kings, and they come to you
from flat lands and rugged places,
Your father (before you) preceded the kings also, so that
they are left one stumbling and one lagging behind.
You come after him, running swiftly.
There is no weariness in you when you run.
The people say, 'What are these two if not
perfectly suited and competent for the rank?
If the elder comes first he is worthy of his precedence;
he has the virtue of the elder over the younger.
If the younger covers the same distance as the elder had,
the younger was created from the elder.'

Al-Manṣūr said, 'You have done well, but this is not worth twenty thousand *dirhams*,' and he continued, 'Where is the money?' and I said, 'Here it is.' He said, 'Rabīʿ, go down with him and and give him four thousand *dirhams* and take the rest.' Al-Rabīʿ went out and he put down my load, weighed out four thousand *dirhams* for me and took the rest. When the caliphate passed
[408] to al-Mahdī he appointed Ibn Thawbān[345] to the *maẓālim*. He used to hold audience for the people in al-Ruṣāfah and, when his robe was full of notes, he would take them up to al-Mahdī. One day I took him in a note in which I told my story. When Ibn Thawbān brought them in, al-Mahdī began to look through the

345. Not known elsewhere.

notes until, when he saw mine, he laughed and Ibn Thawbān said to him, 'God preserve the Commander of the Faithful, I did not see you laugh at any of these notes except this one.' He replied, 'I know the reason behind it; give him back the twenty thousand *dirhams*,' so they were returned to me and I left."

According to Wāḍiḥ, freedman of al-Manṣūr: One day I was standing at the head of Abū Ja'far when al-Mahdī came in to him, wearing a new, black cloak. He gave a greeting, sat down and then got up to go. Abū Ja'far followed him with his eyes because of his love for and delight in him. When he was in the middle of the portico, he stumbled on his sword and tore his black cloak. He got up and continued on his way unperturbed and unconcerned with what had happened. Abū Ja'far said, "Bring back Abū 'Abdallāh," so we brought him back to him and he said, "O Abū 'Abdallāh, is it disparaging of gifts or arrogance in prosperity or lack of knowledge of the occasion of misfortune, as if you were ignorant of what you have and of your responsibilities?! The position you are in is a gift from God; if you give thanks to Him for it, He will increase it for you, and, if you acknowledge that the time of misfortune in it is from Him, He will forgive you." Al-Mahdī replied, "May God not shorten your life, O Commander of the Faithful, or your guidance. Praise be to God for His beneficence and I give God thanks for His gifts and the glorious compensation by His mercy." Then he left.

According to al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd b. Mazyad[346]—Nā'im b. Mazyad—al-Waḍīn b. 'Aṭā': Abū Ja'far wanted me to visit him, as there had been friendship between him and me before the ('Abbāsid) caliphate. I went to the City of Peace, and one day when we were alone together he said to me, "O Abū 'Abdallāh, [409] what is your wealth?" and I replied, "The wealth the Commander of the Faithful knows of," and then he asked, "What is your household?" and I replied, "Three daughters, my wife, and a maidservant for them." He said, "That is four in your house?" and I said, "Yes," and, by God, he repeated that to me, so that I thought that he was going to make me rich. Then he raised his head and

346. Al-Āmulī al-Bayrūtī contributes a number of narratives to the first section of the *History* but nothing else in the Umayyad or 'Abbāsid period. The other two names in the *isnād* are unknown.

said, "You are the most prosperous of the Arabs with the four spindles they are turning in your house."

According to Bishr al-Munajjim:[347] Abū Ja'far called me one day at sunset and sent me off on some errand, and when I returned he lifted the corner of his prayer mat and there was a *dīnār*, and he said to me, "Take this and keep it," and I have it to this hour.

According to Abū al-Jahm b. 'Aṭiyyah[348]—Abū Muqātil al-Khurāsānī: One of his pages let Abū Ja'far know that he had ten thousand *dirhams*, and Abū Ja'far took it from him, saying, "This is my money." The man asked, "How can it be your money? By God, I was never appointed in any office by you, and there is no kinship or relationship between you and me." Abū Ja'far said, "Yes, you were married to a freedwoman of 'Uyaynah b. Mūsā b. Ka'b,[349] and she bequeathed you some wealth. That man was disobedient, and he took my money when he was governor of Sind, and this is part of that money."

According to Muṣ'ab—Sallām—Abū Ḥārithah al-Nahdī, the master of the treasury:[350] Abū Ja'far appointed a man to Bārūsamā,[351] and when his governorship was over the caliph wanted an excuse for not giving him anything, so he said, "I took you into my confidence and appointed you to part of the *fay'*[352] of the Muslims and you have betrayed it," and he replied, "I ask God's protection against you, O Commander of the Faithful; I kept nothing from that office except a little bit of a *dirham* which I slipped into my sleeve so as to use it when I go out from you, to hire a mule to go to my family, and I shall enter my house without any of the wealth of God or of your wealth," and al-Manṣūr said,

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347. Al-Munajjim means "the astrologer." Not known elsewhere.

348. This *isnād* poses problems. Abū al-Jahm b. 'Aṭiyyah played an important role in the proclamation of al-Saffāḥ as caliph and is described as his *wazīr*. He disappears from the record after 137/755, but the narrative must date from after 'Uyaynah's rebellion in 142/759–60.

349. He was governor of Sind and rebelled in 142/759–60 but was captured and executed (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 138–39; Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 448).

350. *Ṣāḥib Bayt al-Māl*. Nothing seems to be known of this individual or of the office he held. Nahd were a Yemeni clan, many of whom settled in al-Kūfah.

351. In the *sawād* of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 320; Le Strange, *Lands*, 70, 81.

352. The booty taken in the Islamic conquests, which, it was argued, should be treated as the common propoerty of the Muslim community as a whole.

"I do not doubt that you are telling the truth. Give us our *dirham*!" [410]
and he took it from him and put it under his skullcap and said, "You and I are like the protector of Umm 'Āmir," to which the man said, "What is the protector of Umm 'Āmir?" and he told him the story of the hyena and its protector.[353] Al-Manṣūr only treated him harshly in order not to give him anything.

According to Muṣ'ab—Hishām b. Muḥammad:[354] Qutham b. al-'Abbās went in to Abū Ja'far and made a request and Abū Ja'far said to him, "Do not bother me with this request of yours. Tell me why you are called Qutham," and he replied, "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, I do not know," and he said, "Qutham is someone who eats and carries away food. Have you not heard the words of the poet?

The great ones eat how they wish.
The eating of the little ones is gulping down and carrying away."

According to Muṣ'ab—Ibrāhīm b. 'Īsā: Al-Manṣūr gave twenty thousand *dirhams* to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and ten thousand to his brother Ja'far. Ja'far said, "O Commander of the Faithful, you preferred him to me, and I am older than he." He replied, "Do you think you are similar to him? Wherever we turn we find some trace of Muḥammad in it and some part of his gifts in our house, whereas you do not do any of this."

According to Muṣ'ab—Sawādah b. 'Amr al-Sulamī—'Abd al-Malik b. 'Aṭā', one of the courtiers[355] of al-Manṣūr: I heard Ibn Hubayrah[356] saying, when he was giving audience, "I never saw in battle or heard of in peace a man more crafty, more amazing, or more alert than al-Manṣūr. He besieged me in my city for nine months. I had with me the horsemen of the Arabs,[357] and we

353. Freytag, *Proverbia*, II, 333, explains the reference. The hunted hyena (Umm 'Āmir) had been protected and fed by an Arab, whom he had subsequently killed.

354. See above, note 272.

355. *Ṣaḥābah*; see above, note 143. Neither Sawādah nor 'Abd al-Malik is recorded elsewhere.

356. Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah, the last Umayyad governor of Iraq, was besieged in Wāsiṭ by Abū Ja'far and executed after his surrender.

357. *Fursān al-'Arab*, in contrast to the 'Abbāsid troops, many of whom were Persians.

strove with all our might to take advantage of his army and defeat
[411] it, but there was no opportunity. When he began the siege there was not a white hair on my head; when I surrendered to him there was not a black one. As the poet al-A'shā says:[358]

He stands out in spite of his people.
He forgives, if he wishes, or takes revenge,
The brother of war, with no enfeebling weakness,
who does not wear worn-out sandals."

According to Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān:[359] Abū Ja'far was staying with a man called Azhar al-Sammān, not the traditionist.[360] This was before his caliphate, and, when he succeeded to the caliphate, Azhar went to him in the City of Peace, and, when he was admitted, the caliph asked him what he wanted. He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, I have a debt of 4,000 *dirhams* and my house is falling down, and my son Muḥammad wants to marry." He ordered that he be given 12,000 *dirhams* and said, "O Azhar, do not come to us making requests," and he agreed. After a little he returned, and the caliph asked him what had brought him. He replied, "I came to greet you, O Commander of the Faithful" and he said, "It occurs to me that you have come to us for the things for which you came to us the first time," and he ordered him to be given twelve thousand *dirhams* and said, "O Azhar, do not come to us making requests or greeting us," and he agreed. He did not wait long before he returned, and the caliph asked him what had brought him and he said, "A prayer I heard from you that I wanted to learn." The caliph replied, "You should not want it, for it has not been granted because I called on God in it to spare me from your foolishness, and he has not done so." He sent him away and did not give him anything.

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī—Ibn 'Ayyāsh: Ibn Hubayrah sent to al-Manṣūr when he was besieged in Wāsiṭ, and al-Manṣūr

358. Maymūn b. Qays, ca. 570–625, a well-known blind poet of the pre-Islamic period from central Arabia; see *Aghānī*, Būlāq, VIII, 77; Beirut, IX, 104; *EI*², s.v. "al-A'shā."

359. Not recorded elsewhere.

360. Probably to distinguish him from Azhar b. Sa'īd b. Nāfi', used by al-Ṭabarī as a source earlier in section III. Sammān means "butter merchant."

was confronting him saying, "I will be coming out on such-and-such a day and meet you in single combat, for I have heard that you call me coward." Al-Manṣūr wrote to him:

> O Ibn Hubayrah, you are a man without self-control and running in the reins of your sin. God threatens you with what He tells the truth about, and Satan raises your hopes with what he lies about and allows the approach of what God keeps away and gradually things will run their course. I have found a fable for you and me. I have heard that a lion met a pig, and the pig said to him, "Fight me," and the lion replied, "But you are only a pig and you are not a match or equal for me. When I do what you are asking me to and I kill you, it will be said to me, 'You killed a pig,' and I will not gain any reputation or mention from that, and if I obtain something from you it will be a disgrace to me," and the pig replied, "If you do not do this, I shall go back to the other lions and tell them that you have flinched from me and were too cowardly to fight me," and the lion said, "Bearing the dishonor of your lies is easier for me than the shame of staining my mustache with your blood." [412]

According to Muḥammad b. Riyāḥ al-Jawharī:[361] Abū Jaʿfar was told about the planning of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik[362] in one of his wars, so he sent for a man who was with him and settled in Ruṣāfah Hishām[363] to ask him about that war. When he arrived he said to him, "You were a companion of Hishām?" and he replied, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful." Al-Manṣūr went on, "Tell me about his war, which he handled in the year so-and-so." The man said, "He, may God have mercy on him, did such-and-such," and then he went on "he did such-and-such, may God be pleased with him." Abū Jaʿfar became annoyed at this and said, "May God's wrath come upon you. You tread on my carpet

361. Not recorded elsewhere. Jawharī means "a jeweler."
362. Umayyad caliph, 105–25/724–43.
363. Ancient Sergiopolis, the ruins now called al-Ruṣāfah, south of al-Raqqah in the Syrian desert, a favorite residence of Hishām. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 47; Le Strange, *Lands*, 106.

and ask blessings for my enemy," and the old man stood up and said, "Your enemy put a necklace on my neck and favor on my head that no one will remove except the man who washes my body when I am dead." Al-Manṣūr ordered him to return and said, "Stay. Look, what did you say?" "I said that he saved me from begging people and protected my face from asking favors. Since I saw him, I have not stopped at the gate of an Arab or a non-Arab. Should I not feel obliged to mention him favorably and bestow
[413] my praise on him?" He said, "Yes, what a mother that gave birth to you and what a night that was disclosed on you! I bear witness that you are the son of a freeborn mother and of a noble father." Then he listened to him and ordered that he be given gifts. He said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I do not take it out of need but only so that I may be honored by your generosity and boast of your gift." Then he took his gift and went out, and al-Manṣūr said, "Where in our army is there a man like that? To such a man favor is recommended, kindness finds its proper place, and the protected valuables can be given."

According to Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth[364]—Ibn ʿAyyāsh: A number of the people of al-Kūfah continued to speak evil of their administrator (*ʿāmil*) and complain about their governor (*amīr*)[365] and verbally attack their Sulṭān. This was told to al-Manṣūr in a report, and he said to al-Rabīʿ, "Go out to those of the people of al-Kūfah who are at the gate and tell them that the Commander of the Faithful says to them, 'If two of you gather together in a place, I will shave their heads and their beards and strike their backs so go to your houses and take care of yourselves.'" Al-Rabīʿ went out to them with this message, and Ibn ʿAyyāsh[366] said to him, "O you who look like ʿĪsā b. Maryam,[367] tell the Commander of

364. Al-Nakhaʿī: *qāḍī* of the Sharqiyyah of Baghdad and later of al-Kūfah and an important traditionist of Hārūn's reign. He is also an occasional source for section I of the *History*; see al-Khaṭīb, VIII, 188.

365. It is not clear whether the *ʿāmil* and the *amīr* are two different officials or whether this duplication is simply for rhetorical effect. For the language of appointments, see above, note 28.

366. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAyyāsh al-Ḥamdānī, d. 158/774–75. He was a member of the *saḥābah* of al-Manṣūr and famous for his wit: see al-Khaṭīb, X, 14–16. He also appears as a source for both Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid material and was used by al-Haytham b. ʿAdī.

367. Possibly a reference to *Qurʾān*, XLIII: 61: "And (ʿĪsā) shall be a Sign for the

the Faithful from us what you told us from him and say to him, 'By God, O Commander of the Faithful, we cannot tolerate beating, but if you want beards shaved....'" Ibn 'Ayyāsh was clean-shaven. When al-Manṣūr was informed, he laughed and said, "What a really crafty and wicked man!"

According to Mūsā b. Ṣāliḥ[368]—Muḥammad b. 'Uqbah al-Ṣaydāwī[369]—Naṣr b. Ḥarb, who was in the guard of al-Manṣūr: There was brought to me a man from a distant part who had plotted to undermine the state, so I brought him in to Abū Ja'far and when he saw him he said, "Are you Aṣbagh?"[370] and he said, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful," so the caliph continued, "Woe to you. Did I not free you and do good to you?" and he said, "Yes." "And you have striven to destroy my state and undermine [414] my rule," and he said, "I have done wrong, and forgiveness is more becoming for the Commander of the Faithful." Abū Ja'far called 'Umārah,[371] who was present, and said to him, "O 'Umārah, this is Aṣbagh." 'Umarah started to gaze intently into my face because he had evil in his eyes and said, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful," and al-Manṣūr said, "Bring me the purse that contains my ('*aṭā*')," and so the purse was brought and there were five hundred *dirhams* in it, and he said, "Take it. It is pure silver, woe to you! Go to your work," and he pointed with his hand and moved it. 'Umārah said, "I asked Aṣbagh what the Commander of the Faithful meant and he replied, 'When I was a young man, I made ropes and he used to eat from my earnings.'"[372]

Naṣr said: Then he was brought again, and I took him in as I had before and, when he stood before him, he stared at him and said, "Aṣbagh!" and he replied, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful," and he told him what he did to him and reminded him of it,

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coming of the Hour of Judgment; therefore have no doubt about the Hour but follow ye Me; this is a Straight Way," but it may be that Ibn 'Ayyāsh is insinuating that al-Rabī'—like 'Īsā—had no father.

368. Probably the traditionist Mūsā b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shaykh, d. 257/871 (al-Khaṭīb, XIII, 42–43). He appears again as a narrator; see al-Ṭabarī, III, 589

369. Ṣaydāwī means from Sidon (Saydā) in Lebanon Not known elsewhere.

370. No further information seems to be known about him.

371. B. Ḥamzah; see note 214, above.

372. That is, during Abū Ja'far's wanderings before the 'Abbāsids came to power.

and he admitted it and said, "Stupidity, O Commander of the Faithful," so he brought him forward and cut off his head.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Nawfalī—his father: The dye used by al-Manṣūr was saffron, and that was because his hair was soft and would not take dye. His beard was thin and I saw him in the pulpit, preaching and weeping, and the tears hastened down his beard and dripped because of its softness and thinness.

Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Salām, son of the brother of al-Sindī b. Shāhik —al-Sindī:[373] Al-Manṣūr captured one of the great men of the Banū Umayyah and said, "I will ask you something and, if you tell me the truth, you will be safe." The man agreed and al-Manṣūr asked, "What happened to the Banū Umayyah that their affairs fell into disorder?" He said, "Neglecting information." Then he asked, "What sort of wealth did they find most useful?" and he said, "Jewels." He asked, "Among what people did they find most loyalty?" and he replied, "Their freedmen." Al-Manṣūr wanted to ask for help from members of his family in gathering information, but then he said, "I would diminish their status," and he sought help from his freedmen.

[415] According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī—his father, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān: I was told that al-Manṣūr took medicine on a very cold winter day and I went to him to ask him about the effect of the medicine on him. I was admitted by an entrance to the palace I had never been in before. Then I went into a little enclosure with one room in it and a portico in front of it, at the edge of the house and the courtyard, supported on teak columns. Over the front of the portico, curtains (*bawāri*) were hanging, as they do in mosques.[374] I went in and in the room was a coarse carpet and nothing else except his mattress, his pillows, and his blankets, and I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, this room is not worthy of you," and he replied, "O my uncle, this is the room

373. A mawlā (freedman) of al-Manṣūr, who became a powerful figure in the reigns of Hārūn and al-Amīn. He died in 204/819 (Crone, *Slaves*, 194–95). Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Salām is recorded (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 580) as transmitter of another story from al-Sindī, this time about the caliph al-Hādī.

374. The architectural vocabulary is interesting here. *Hujayrah* is the word I have translated as "little enclosure," *bayt* as "room," *rīwāq* as "portico."

I sleep in," and I asked if there was anything more than what I saw, and he said, "There is only what you see."

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī: I heard him say on the authority of someone who spoke on the authority of Ja'far b. Muḥammad who said that it was said that Abū Ja'far was accustomed to wear a ragged Harawī *jubbah*[375] and that he patched his shirt, and Ja'far said, "Thanks be to God, Who favored him by afflicting him with poverty on his person," or he said, "With poverty in his power."

He said that his father told him: Al-Manṣūr never appointed someone to an official post and then dismissed him without throwing him in the house of Khālid al-Baṭīn (the fat), which was on the bank of the Tigris adjoining the house of Ṣāliḥ al-Miskīn,[376] to extract money from the dismissed man. He ordered that everything that was taken should be inscribed with the name of the man from whom it had been taken and deposited in a treasury that he called the treasury of the *maẓālim*.[377] The quantity of money and goods in that treasury became enormous. Then he said to al-Mahdī, "I have given you something with which you can please the people and not spend any of your own money. When I am dead, summon those from whom I have taken this [416] wealth that I have called the *maẓālim* and return it to them just as it was taken from them, and you will earn their praise and that of the people," and al-Mahdī did that when he succeeded.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad: Al-Manṣūr appointed 'Abdallāh b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith as governor of Balqā'[378] and then dismissed him and

375. For *jubbah*, see note 319, above. Harawī means that it was made in Herat, Afghanistan.

376. Khālid is otherwise unknown. Ṣāliḥ al-Miskīn ("the poor," apparently because of his ascetic life style) was a son of al-Manṣūr. For this palace, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 108.

377. *Maẓālim* means "complaints" and was the name given to the court where people could complain about government injustice.

378. I have accepted the reading of this name proposed by Houtsma, editor of the Leiden edition. The two manuscripts on which this portion of the text is based—Koprulù 1040 and Berlin—give different versions, but the editor has retrieved the correct form from Ya'qūbī and Ibn al-Athīr; see p. 416 n. a. This may be another version of the incidents related below, pp 207 and 218, where 'Abdallāh is appointed to Yemen and dismissed and arrested by al-Mahdī. Balqā' is in modern Jordan near 'Ammān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, 489; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 34–35.

ordered that he should be brought to him with the wealth that was found on him. He was taken by the postal service along with two thousand *dīnārs*, which were carried by the post with his luggage, which consisted of a Sūsanjird prayer rug,[379] a quilt, bedding, two cushions, a bowl and an ewer, and an alkali holder[380] made of copper. He found it all together with his equipment, but the baggage was worn out, so he took the two thousand *dīnārs* but was ashamed to take the baggage and said, "I do not recognize it," and left it. Later al-Mahdī appointed him governor of the Yemen and al-Rashīd appointed his son, called Rabrā,[381] to Medina.

According to Aḥmad b. al-Haytham b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī[382]—Ṣabbāḥ b. Khāqān: I was with Abū Ja'far when the head of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan was brought.[383] It was put in front of him on a shield. One of the executioners leaned over it and spat in its face, and Abū Ja'far stared at him hard and said to
[417] me, "Strike his nose." I struck his nose with a staff such a blow that you could not find his nose for a thousand *dīnārs*. Then the staffs of the guard began on him, and he was pounded by them until he became unconscious and he was dragged out by the feet.

According to al-Aṣma'ī[384]—Ja'far b. Sulaymān: Ash'ab[385] came to Baghdad in the days of Abū Ja'far and he was surrounded by the young men of Banū Hāshim and he sang to them and, when his songs were moving and his voice was (as good) as ever, Ja'far said to him, "Who composed this poem?

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379. Sūsanjird textiles were produced at Qurqub in Khūzistān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 241.

380. *Ushnāndānah*, for holding the ashes of glasswort used for cleaning the hands.

381. Houtsma, citing Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 147, establishes that his true name was Muḥammad. The reading of Rabrā is uncertain, and the editor (*Addendum*, DCLIV) suggests Zirā as a possible alternative. The significance of the name, which is described as a *laqab*, or title, is quite unclear to me.

382. A grandson of al-Manṣūr's cousin Ja'far b. Sulaymān (see note 35, above). He contributes one other anecdote, below, p. 000.

383. The 'Alid rebel killed in 145/763.

384. 'Abd al-Malik b. Qarīb al-Nahwī, d. 210/825–86, a well-known grammarian and historian who was originally from al-Baṣrah but came to Baghdad in Hārūn's reign. He contributes occasional information on the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids to al-Ṭabarī's *History*; see *EI*², s.v. "al-Aṣma'ī."

385. Ash'ab b. Jubayr, d. after 154/771, a famous singer of the early 'Abbāsid court. See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XVII, 83; Beirut, XIX, 69.

Whose are the traces of the camp at Dhāt al-Jaysh, which became obliterated and worn out?
They (the women on the riding camels) were out in the open desert, and the grief-stricken passed a sleepless night."

He replied, "I took the song from Ma'bad.[386] I used to take melodies from him and if he was asked for it he would say, 'Go to Ash'ab, for he has a better rendering of it than I.'"

According to al-Aṣma'ī—Ja'far b. Sulaymān: Ash'ab said to his son 'Ubaydah "I think that I will expel you from my house and banish you," and he asked, "Why, O Father?" and his father replied, "I am the best of God's creatures in earning a loaf of bread, and you are my son and you have reached this age of maturity and you are still in my household and have not earned anything." His son said, "I do earn, but I am like the banana tree that does not bear fruit until its mother dies."

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī—his father Muḥammad: The Sasanians used to cover the roofs of their houses with clay in the summer every day and the king had his [418] siesta there. Stems of canes and willows, long and thick, were brought and put together closely around the house. Large pieces of ice were brought and put in the spaces between them. The Umayyads did the same, and al-Manṣūr was the first to use sackcloth.

Some people say that at the beginning of his caliphate al-Manṣūr made a clay house for himself in which to take his siesta in the summer. Abū Ayyūb al-Khūzī brought heavy cloths for him, which were dampened and placed on a wooden framework, and he enjoyed its cold and said, "I reckon that if you took thicker cloths than these, they would hold more water and would be colder." So he took sackcloth, and it was made into a dome for him. Then the caliphs after him took woven palm leaves, and the people did likewise.[387]

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386. Two famous singers of this name are known: Ma'bad b. Wahb, who was well known in the Umayyad court of Damascus in the reign of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, d. 126/744, and Ma'bad al-Yaqṭīnī, who appeared at court in Hārūn's reign and was attached to the Barmakids; it is difficult to link either of these chronologically to Ash'ab. See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, I, 19 XII, 168; Beirut, I, 47, XIV, 110.

387. For a discussion of these methods of cooling, see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 182–83.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his father: There was a man of the Rāwandiyyah called al-Ablaq (piebald), who was a leper, and he preached extremism[388] and called men to the Rāwandiyyah, alleging that the spirit that was in Jesus, son of Mary, passed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and then to the Imāms, one after the other, to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad,[389] and that they were gods. These Rāwandiyyah made the forbidden lawful to the extent that a man of them summoned a group of them to his house, fed them, gave them drink, and offered them his wife. News of this reached Asad b. ʿAbdallāh,[390] and he killed them and crucified them, but this still continues among them to the present day. They worshiped Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, and they climbed up to the Khaḍrā'[391] and threw themselves off as if they could fly. A group of them attacked
[419] the people with arms and began shouting for Abū Jaʿfar, "You, you!" He went out against them in person to fight them, and they continued to say, "You, you!" while they were fighting.

He said: It was told to us on the authority of one of our shaykhs that he watched the group of the Rāwandiyyah throwing themselves off the Khaḍrā' as if they were flying, and none of them reached the ground without being broken in pieces and his soul going out.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit,[392] the freedman of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī—his father: When ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī was hiding from al-Manṣūr in al-Baṣrah with Sulaymān b. ʿAlī,[393] he looked out one day, and there were with him a number of his freedmen and a freedman of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, and he saw a man of beauty and perfection walking haughtily[394] and dragging his

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388. *Ghuluww*, meaning extremely heterodox ideas that often included, as here, ideas of the transmigration of souls.

389. Brother of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, killed by the Umayyads immediately before the ʿAbbāsid Revolution and often referred to as Ibrāhīm al-Imām.

390. Al-Qasrī, Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, 116–19/734–37. See Crone, *Slaves*, 102; and *EI*², s.v. "Asad b. ʿAbdallāh."

391. The name given to al-Manṣūr's palace in the Round City in Baghdad because of its green dome. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 31–33.

392. Not known elsewhere.

393. After his abortive rebellion against al-Manṣūr, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī took refuge with his brother Sulaymān, who was at that time governor of al-Baṣrah.

394. *Khaja'a* is a kind of walk in which a man pushes his buttocks backward and goes on slowly and haughtily.

long clothes as a sign of pride. He turned to the freedman of Sulaymān b. 'Alī and asked him who it was, and he replied that it was so-and-so, son of so-and-so the Umayyad. 'Abdallāh flew into a rage and clapped his hands in amazement and said, "There is still a hillock in our road," and he ordered one of his freedmen to go down and bring him his head. He found a simile in the words of Sudayf:[395]

Why and wherefore do we neglect 'Abd Shams,[396]
having a bleat in every flock?
It would not redeem the tomb in Ḥarrān,[397]
even if it were killed in its entirety.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī: After the defeat of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī and his capture by al-Manṣūr and his imprisonment in Baghdad, a delegation of the people of Syria[398] came to Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, among them al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. A number of them stood up and made their speeches, and then al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān[399] stood up and said, "May God protect the Commander of the Faithful. We are not a delegation of boasting but a delegation of repentance. We were put to the test in the revolt that stirred up our noble and carried away our prudent. We confess what we have done and seek pardon for our previous deeds. If you punish us, it is for the crimes we have committed, and, if you forgive us, it is because of your generosity to us. [420] Forgive us since you have the power; give us an amnesty since you are able. Do good when you have been victorious and you have always been doing good." Abū Ja'far said, "It is done."

395. Sudayf b. Maymūn; see *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XIV, 162; Beirut, XVI, 86. A Ḥijāzī poet of Umayyad times who was a partisan of the Banū Hāshim and forced into hiding. He survived into the 'Abbāsid period. This is the only citation of this poet in al-Ṭabarī's *History*.

396. The ancestor of the Umayyads and brother to Hāshim, ancestor of the 'Abbāsids and 'Alids.

397. Near Edessa (modern Urfa) just north of the Turkish-Syrian frontier. Marwān, the last Umayyad caliph, had made it his capital. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 235, quotes a parallel verse that makes it clear that the tomb referred to is that of the 'Abbāsid Ibrāhīm al-Imām.

398. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī had received most of his support from the people of Syria; see Kennedy, *'Abbasid Caliphate*, 58–61.

399. Al-Ḥarashī, nothing more is known of him.

According to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī—Zayd, freedman of ʿĪsā b. Nahīk:[400] Al-Manṣūr called me after the death of my master and said, "O Zayd," and I said, "Your servant, O Commander of the Faithful," and he continued, "How much money did Abū Zayd leave?" and I replied that it was about a thousand *dīnār*s, and then he asked, "Where is it?" and I said that his widow had spent it on his funeral, and he was surprised at that and said, "The widow spent a thousand *dīnār*s on his funeral. I am amazed at this." Then he asked, "How many daughters did he leave?" and I said that there were six, and he bowed his head in silence for a long time. Then he looked up and said, "Go in the morning to al-Mahdī's gate." I went and I was asked if I had a mule with me and I replied that I had not been provided with that or with anything else and that I did not know why I had been summoned. I was given one hundred and eighty thousand *dīnār*s and ordered to give each of ʿĪsa's daughters thirty thousand *dīnār*s. Al-Manṣūr summoned me and asked me, "Have you collected what we ordered for the daughters of Abū Zayd?" and I replied, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful," and he said, "In the morning bring to me those who are of suitable rank so that I can marry them to those men." I brought him three of the children of al-ʿAkkī and three of the family of Nahīk, their paternal cousins, and he married each of them off with a dowry of thirty thousand *dirham*s and ordered that their dowries should be brought to them from his own money. He told me to use the money he had ordered to buy estates for them to provide an income for them, so I did that.

According to al-Haytham: In one day Abū Jaʿfar distributed to a group of his family ten million *dirham*s, and he ordered that a single one of his paternal uncles be given one million. We do not know of any caliph before him or any caliph after him who con-
[421] ferred that on a single person.

According to al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl: Al-Manṣūr ordered that his

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400. Al-ʿAkkī. His brother ʿUthmān had been an early supporter of the ʿAbbāsids in Khurāsān and was one of Abū Muslim's assassins. He had become head of al-Manṣūr's guard, but the Rāwandiyyah, who held him to be the spirit of Adam incarnate, had killed him in their revolt. ʿĪsā succeeded him in command of the guard until his death, probably in the 140s. The point of the story is to show Abū Jaʿfar's concern for a family that had served him well (see Crone, *Slaves*, 189).

paternal uncles Sulaymān, ʿĪsā, Ṣāliḥ, and Ismāʿīl, sons of ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, should each be given a million as their salary from the treasury. He was the first caliph to give a million from the treasury and it was put into effect in the *dīwāns*.[401]

According to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī[402]—al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ—his father: Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr held a public audience for the people of Medina in Baghdad, a number of whom had come on a delegation to him. He said, "Let every one of you who come into me give his genealogy." One of those who came in was a young man of the descendants of ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, who gave his genealogy[403] and then said, "O Commander of the Faithful, al-Aḥwaṣ recited a poem about us and we were deprived of our wealth sixty years ago because of it." Abū Jaʿfar told him to recite it so he recited:

Do not be moved with pity for a Ḥazmī if you see
poverty in him or even if the Ḥazmī has been thrown into the fire,
Those who pricked the mule of Marwān, at Dhū Khushub[404]
the invaders of ʿUthmān's house.[405]

He continued, "The poem is in praise of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik,[406] and he had him recite the *qaṣīdah* and, when he reached this point, al-Walīd said, 'You have reminded me of the sin of the family of Ḥazm,' and he ordered the confiscation of their wealth." Abū Jaʿfar asked him to recite the poem to him again, and he repeated it three times, and Abū Jaʿfar said, "Certainly you will

401. That is to say that it was registered in the *dīwāns*, where official salaries were listed; the implication is that these were regular payments, not one-time gifts.

402. Perhaps the most famous of the singers of the early ʿAbbāsid court. He succeeded his father, who died in 188/804, at the cultural center of the ʿAbbāsid court. See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, V, 52; Beirut, V, 242; *EI*², s.v. "Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī."

403. He was a descendant of ʿAmr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, a companion of the Prophet. The family supported ʿAlī's claim to the caliphate, hence its members' attacks on the Umayyads Marwān and ʿUthmān, their punishment by the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd, and the restoration of their properties by Abū Jaʿfar.

404. A valley one night's journey from Medina (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 372).

405. The assailants who attacked the caliph ʿUthmān in his house in Medina and killed him in 35/656.

406. Umayyad caliph, 86–96/705–15.

be made fortunate by this poem as you were deprived by it." Then he said to Abū Ayyūb,[407] "Bring ten thousand *dirhams* and give them to him because of his singing it to us." Then he ordered him to write to his officials instructing them to return the estates of the family of Ḥazm to them and to give them their rents every year from the estates of the Umayyad family and that their wealth be divided up between them according to the Book of God in succession and, whenever any of them died, his heirs would be [422] safeguarded. The young man left with what no one had left with before.

According to Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā—Aḥmad b. Asad:[408] Al-Manṣūr delayed going out to the people and riding, and people said that he was ill and they made much of that. Al-Rabīʿ went in to him and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, may the Commander of the Faithful live long, the people are talking," and he asked what they were saying and al-Rabīʿ replied that they were saying that he was ill. He bowed his head in silence for a bit and then he said, "O al-Rabīʿ, what do the common people want with me? The common people only need three things. If they are done for them, what more do they need? If I appoint someone for them to supervise their administration, do justice among them, make their roads safe so that they have no fear by night or day, and defend their frontiers and borders so that their enemies do not attack them, I have done that for them." He stayed for some days and then he said, "O Rabīʿ, beat the drum," and he rode out so that the people saw him.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his father: Abū Jaʿfar sent Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās with the Manichaeans and the dissolutes,[409] among them Ḥammād ʿAjrad.[410] They stayed with him in al-Baṣrah, and the dissolutes' profligacy became obvious. He wished to do that only to make him hateful to the people. Muḥammad revealed that he loved Zaynab, the daughter of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, and he used to ride each day to the Mirbad, preoccupied

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407. Al-Mūryānī, his *wazīr*; see above, note 169. This story can be dated before Abū Ayyūb's fall in 153/770.

408. Neither of these is recorded elsewhere.

409. *Al-zanādiqah wa-al-mujjān* (plural of *mājin*). Ḥammād ʿAjrad was of the second group.

410. *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XIII, 73; Beirut, XIV, 304.

with her and hoping that she would be in some vantage point looking at him. He asked Ḥammād to compose a poem about her, and he made some verses in which he said about her:

O dweller in the Mirbad, you have stirred up in me
a longing so that I am not separated from the Mirbad.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his father: Al-Manṣūr was staying with my father for two years, and I knew al-Khaṣīb the doctor because of the number of times he came to him. Al-Khaṣīb pretended to be a Christian, but he was an atheist Manichaean[411] who had no scruples about killing. Al-Manṣūr sent a messenger to him ordering him to put his mind to the killing of Muḥammad b. [423] Abī al-ʿAbbās.[412] He prepared a deadly poison and waited for an illness to afflict Muḥammad. He discovered a fever, and al-Khaṣīb said to him, "Take this drink of medicine," and he replied, "Prepare it for me," so he prepared it for him and put the poison in it and gave it to him to drink and he died from it. Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAbbās' mother wrote to al-Manṣūr about it and informed him that al-Khaṣīb had killed her son. Al-Manṣūr wrote ordering that he should be brought to him and, when he arrived, he gave him thirty light strokes of the whip and imprisoned him for some days. Then he gave him three hundred *dirhams* and released him.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his father: Al-Manṣūr promised to Umm Mūsā al-Ḥimyariyyah[413] that he would not marry anyone in addition to her or take a concubine, and she obtained that in writing from him and had him confirm it and had it witnessed. He remained faithful to her alone for ten years of his rule, and he wrote to *faqīh*[414] after *faqīh* of the people of al-Ḥijāz seeking a legal opinion on it. A *faqīh* from the people of al-Ḥijāz and from the people of Iraq was brought to him, and he showed him the document so that he could give a legal opinion on annulling it. When Umm Mūsā knew about his position. she hastened

411. *Zindīq muʿaṭṭil.* Al-Khaṣīb is not mentioned elsewhere.

412. He died in 147/764–5 (see above, p. 39). It is not clear why al-Manṣūr should have sought his death, but he may have feared him because Muḥammad was the son of al-Saffāḥ, the previous caliph and al-Manṣūr's brother.

413. Arwā bt. Manṣūr. He married her before becoming caliph. It is not known when she died.

414. Authority on religious law.

to him and sent him a large sum of money. When Abū Jaʿfar showed the document to him, he gave the opinion that it could not be annulled until she died after ten years of his rule in Baghdad. He heard of her death in Ḥulwān,[415] and that night he was given a hundred virgins. Umm Mūsā bore him Jaʿfar and al-Mahdī.

It was said on the authority of ʿAlī b. Jaʿd:[416] When Bukhtīshūʿ the Elder[417] came to al-Manṣūr from Sūs,[418] he came in to his palace by the Golden Gate in Baghdad. He ordered food for him to have lunch and, when the table was put in front of him, he asked for wine and he was told that wine was not drunk at the table of
[424] the Commander of the Faithful, and he replied that he would not eat food without wine. Al-Manṣūr was told about this and ordered that it be called for. When it was dinner time he did the same thing and asked for wine, and he was told that wine was not drunk at the table of the Commander of the Faithful. He ate dinner and drank the water of Tigris. The next morning he looked at his water and said, "I did not think that anything would compensate for wine, but this Tigris water does compensate for wine."

He mentioned on the authority of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan[419]—his father: Al-Manṣūr wrote to his governor in Medina, "Sell the fruits of the estates and do not sell them to anyone except those whom we can get the better of and not to those who get the better of us. Only the bankrupt with no money, who does not fear our punishment, gets the better of us and takes what we have for himself. Even if he offers you a good price, perhaps you should sell it below that to he who is able to deal justly with you and pay you in full."

According to Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī: Abū Jaʿfar used to say, "It is not man who is done a favor and who forgets it before death."

According to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ: I heard al-Manṣūr say that the

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415. On the road from Baghdad to the Iranian plateau, at the foot of the Zagros mountains. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 290–91; Le Strange, *Lands*, 191.

416. Al-Jawharī, d. 230/845, a traditionist who contributed just three reports to the ʿAbbāsid section of al-Ṭabarī's *History*. See al-Khaṭīb, XI, 360–66.

417. Famous physician, father of Jibraʾīl b. Bukhtīshūʿ and grandfather of Bukhtīshūʿ the Younger.

418. Ancient Susa, in Khūzistān, southwestern Iran. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 280–81; Le Strange, *Lands*, 240.

419. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq, maternal uncle of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ.

Arabs say, "Oppressive thirst is better than shameful quenching of thirst."

He mentioned on the authority of Abān b. Yazīd al-'Anbarī—al-Haytham al-Qārī' al-Baṣrī:[420] He read in the presence of al-Manṣūr, "Squander not in the manner of a spendthrift,"[421] to the end of the verse, and al-Manṣūr said to him and started praying, "God preserve me and my son from squandering the gifts that You have bestowed on us!" Al-Haytham read to him, "Those who are niggardly or enjoin niggardliness on others."[422] He said to the people, "If it were not that wealth is the fortress of authority and the pillar of the Faith and of this world and the glory and ornament [425] of them, I would not pass a night retaining a *dīnār* of it nor a *dirham* because of the pleasure I find in expending wealth and because of the reward I know lies in giving it away."

A learned man entered to al-Manṣūr, and he thought little of him and he fixed him with his eyes disdainfully, but he did not ask him any questions he did not know the answer to. He said to him, "Where did you get all this knowledge?" and he replied, "I am not stingy with the knowledge I have learned, and I am not ashamed to learn," and he said, "From there." He said: Al-Manṣūr often used to say, "Whoever acts without organization," or he said, "Whoever acts from lack of organization will not lack mockery or scorn from the people."

According to Qaḥṭabah:[423] I heard al-Manṣūr say that kings will put up with anything from their intimates except three things, giving away of secrets, interfering in what is inviolate, and slandering the king.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad: Al-Manṣūr used to say, "Your secret is of your life blood, so take care whom you entrust it to."[424]

According to al-Zubayr b. Bakkār—'Umar: When 'Abd al-

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420. Neither of these sources is known elsewhere. Al-Qārī means "the (*Qur'ān*) reader."

421. *Qur'ān*, XVII: 26.

422. *Qur'ān*, IV: 37.

423. B. Ghadānah al-Jushamī. These are the only two occasions al-Ṭabarī uses him as a source.

424. Or "Do not pour it out"; Freytag, *Proverbia*, III, 222.

Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī[425] was brought before al-Manṣūr after his rebellion against him he said, "O Commander of the Faithful, a generous execution," and he replied, "You are too late for that, O son of fornication."

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Qaḥṭabah b. Ghudānah al-Jushamī, who was one of the caliph's courtiers (*ṣaḥābah*): I heard Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr give the sermon in the City of Peace in the year 152/769, and he said, "O servants of God, do not do each other wrong, for that will be counted as a sin on the day of Resurrection. By God, were it not for the sinning hand and the wrongdoing injustice of the criminal, I would walk among you in your markets and, if I knew where there was a man more worthy of this authority than I, I would bring him so that I could hand it over to him."

According to Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī—al-Naḍr b. Ḥadīd:[426] One of the
[426] courtiers told me that al-Manṣūr used to say, "The punishment of the intelligent man is a hint, and the punishment of the fool is a declaration."

According to Aḥmad b. Khālid—Yaḥyā b. Abī Naṣr al-Qurashī:[427] Abān al-Qārī' (the Qur'ān reader) read in the presence of al-Manṣūr the verse, "Make not thy hand tied (like a niggard's) to thy neck, nor stretch it forth to its utmost reach (so that thou become blameworthy and destitute),"[428] and al-Manṣūr said, "What is better than the teachings of our Lord?"

He said: Al-Manṣūr said, "He who does a favor the like of which has been done to him has paid his due, and he who does double has thanked and he who thanks is noble. He who knew that he did something only for himself does not consider the people slow in gratitude and does not ask for an increase in their friendship toward him. So do not ask from others thanks for that which you have done for yourself and by which you protected your honor. Know that the man who asks you to fulfill a need for him does not

425. Governor of Khurāsān, who rebelled in 140/757–85. Kennedy, *ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, 180; Daniel, *Khurāsān*, 159–62; Crone, *Slaves*, 173–74.

426. Not recorded elsewhere.

427. Not recorded elsewhere.

428. *Qur'ān*, XVII: 29.

honor his own face to the exclusion of your face, so honor your own face rather than rejecting him."

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muhallabī:[429] I heard Isḥāq b. 'Īsā saying, "There was none of the Banū al-'Abbās who could speak and be spontaneously eloquent except Abū Ja'far, Dāwūd b. 'Alī,[430] and al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad."

According to Aḥmad b. Khālid—Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm al-Fihrī:[431] Al-Manṣūr preached in Baghdad on the Day of 'Arafat, though some said he preached on the Day of Minā,[432] and said in his sermon, "I am only the authority of God in His earth, and I govern you through His guidance and His direction to what is right. I am His treasurer in charge of the *fay'*,[433] and I work according to His will and divide it according to His wish and give it with His permission. God has appointed me over it as a lock; if He wants to open me for your salaries and divide your *fay'* and allowances, He will do so and if He wants to close me up, He will close me up. So make your requests to God, O people, and ask Him on this noble day on which He has given you His favor as He has made known to you in His book when He, Blessed and Exalted, says, 'This day [427] have I perfected your religion for you, completed My favor upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion,'[434] so that He can make me successful in good conduct and direct me to the right way and inspire me with mercy and goodness toward you and open me up to giving your salaries and distributing your allowances with justice to you, for He is all-hearing and near."

According to Dāwūd b. Rashīd[435]—his father: Al-Manṣūr preached and he said, "Praise be to God. I praise Him and ask His

429. Not known elsewhere.

430. Eldest of the surviving Banū 'Alī, paternal uncles of al-Manṣūr, at the time of the 'Abbāsid revolution. He delivered the main speech at the inauguration of al-Saffāḥ as caliph and was the first 'Abbāsid governor of al-Kūfah. He died in 133/751 as governor of Mecca (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 30–33, 37, 72).

431. Not recorded elsewhere.

432. During the *Ḥajj*, or pilgrimage month.

433. For *fay'*, see above, note 352.

434. *Qur'ān*, V: 3.

435. Not recorded elsewhere, this is the first of a small group of stories in which Abū Ja'far confronts hecklers in the mosque.

help; I have faith in Him and put my trust in Him. I bear witness that there is no God but Him alone without any partner." Then a man on his right hand interrupted and said, "O man, let me remind you Whom you are reminding us about." Al-Manṣūr stopped the sermon and said, "All listening, all listening to the one who keeps God's instructions and reminds of Him. God save me from being a stubborn tyrant or getting proud by sins. In that case I have gone astray, and I am not one of the rightly guided. And you, O speaker, by God, you do not seek the way of God but rather you want it to be said, 'He stood up and spoke and was punished and he bore it bravely.' How easy it would have been, woe to you! if I wanted to. Take his opportunity for forgiveness. Beware both you and you all, O gathering of the people, of a similar attempt. Indeed wisdom has descended on us and goes out from us, so return authority to its people, sent it back to its place of origin, and despatch it to its sources." Then he returned to his sermon as if he were reading it from the palm of his hand and said, "I bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant and His Prophet."

It was reported on the authority of Abū Tawbah al-Rabīʿ b. Nāfiʿ—Ibn Abī al-Jawzāʾ:[436] I stood up before Abū Jaʿfar when he was preaching in Baghdad in the city mosque on the pulpit, and I recited, "O ye who believe! Why say ye that which ye do not?"[437] I was brought in to him, and he said, "Who are you, woe to you? You wanted only that I should kill you. Go away from me so that
[428] I do not see you." So I went out from his presence safely.

According to ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥumayd—Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā:[438] Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr was preaching in this mosque, referring to the city mosque in Baghdad, and, when he reached "Fear God as he should be feared,"[439] a man stood up before him and said, "And you, ʿAbdallāh, fear God as he should be feared." Abū Jaʿfar broke off his sermon and said, "All listening, all listening to one who calls attention to God. Come on, O ʿAbdallāh (Slave of God), what is the fear of God?" The man was silenced and did not say a

436. Neither of these two is recorded elsewhere.
437. *Qurʾān*, LXI: 2.
438. Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā b. al-Manṣūr, who is used by al-Ṭabarī on several occasions. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh is not known elsewhere.
439. *Qurʾān*, III: 102.

thing, and Abū Jaʿfar went on, "God, God! Oh people, do not impose on us those of your affairs that you are unable to undertake. A man does not stand up in this way without my injuring his back and giving him a long term of imprisonment." Then he ordered Rabīʿ to arrest him. We were confident that he would escape, for it was a sign that he intended to harm a man if he said, "Arrest him, Musayyab."[440]

Then he resumed his sermon at the place he had stopped it, and the people approved of what he had done. When he had finished the prayers, he entered the palace, and ʿĪsā b. Mūsā began to walk behind him as was his custom. Abū Jaʿfar heard him and said, "Abū Mūsā," and he said, "Yes O Commander of the Faithful?" and the caliph continued, "I think you are afraid what I will do to this man," and he replied, "Something like that was in my mind, but the the Commander of the Faithful is too learned and has too lofty an opinion to do anything unjust about his case," and he said, "Do not be afraid for him." When the caliph had sat down, he ordered that the man should be brought to him and when he arrived he said, "O you, when you saw me on the pulpit you said, 'This is the tyrant. I cannot refrain from arguing with him.' It would be better for you if you occupied yourself with something else, so occupy yourself with the thirst of the heat of the day, with staying up all night, and with getting your feet dusty in the path of God. Give him, O Rabīʿ, four hundred *dirhams*. Go away and do not come back."

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣāʿid,[441] freedman of the Commander of the Faithful: Al-Manṣūr went on the pilgrimage after [429]
he had built Baghdad,[442] and he stood up to preach in Mecca and among his words that were preserved were, "'Before this We wrote in the Psalms after the message (given to Moses): "My servants, the righteous shall inherit the earth."'[443] This is a firmly established matter, a just word, and a decisive judgment. Praise be to God who makes His authority effective and away with the op-

440. Referring to al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr, chief of police; see above, note 24.
441. Freedman of al-Manṣūr, see al-Khatīb, IX, 482
442. In the year 147/764–65.
443. *Qur'ān*, XXI: 105.

pressors[444] who treated the Ka'bah with contempt and took the *fay'* as an inheritance[445] and who have made the Qur'ān into shreds.[446] He has afflicted them with what they scorned. How many blocked-up wells and lofty castles do you see? God has cast them into oblivion because they changed the Sunna and oppressed the Family (of the Prophet). They turned aside and acted outrageously and became overbearing. He has frustated the hopes of every obdurate tyrant. Then He took them and said, 'Canst thou find a single one of them or hear a whisper of them?'"[447]

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī—Ibn 'Ayyāsh: When the incidents[448] followed one another before Abū Ja'far, he quoted the verse,[449]

The gazelles were too many for Khidāsh,
and Khidāsh did not know what he was hunting.

Then he ordered that the commanders, the freedmen, his companions, and the people of his house be summoned to his presence, and he ordered Ḥammād al-Turkī to saddle up the horses, Sulaymān b. Mujālid to take the lead, and al-Musayyab b. Zubayr to guard the gates. Then he went out one day and climbed the pulpit.
[430] He was silent for a long time, saying nothing, and a man said to Shabīb b. Shabbah,[450] "What is the matter with the Commander of the Faithful that he does not speak? For he is one of those for whom the most difficult speech is easy. What is the matter with him?" Then he began the sermon:

"Why am I repelling others from Sa'd[451] when he abuses me?
If I were to abuse the Banū Sa'd, they would be silent
Out of rashness against us and cowardice toward their enemy.
How evil are the two characteristics: rashness and cowardice."

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444. That is, the Umayyads.
445. The Umayyads are accused here of taking the *fay'*, which should belong to all the Muslims communally, as their personal property.
446. *Qur'ān*, XV: 91.
447. *Qur'ān*, XIX: 98.
448. See above, note 206.
449. *Aghānī*, XI, 74.
450. Possibly a brother of 'Umar b. Shabbah, the historian; nothing else is known of him.
451. He is using this poem for an oblique attack on the 'Alids.

Then he sat down and said,

"I threw the covering from my head, and I am not the sort of man
to
uncover it except because of a great calamity.

By God, they[452] were incapable of the matter we have undertaken, and they were not grateful to the one who did it. It was made smooth for them and they sought to make it rough and they refused to recognize the truth and held it in contempt. What have they sought? That I would drink muddy water that chokes or accept injustice and agony? By God, I do not honor anyone by insulting myself. By God, if they do not accept the truth, they will seek it, but they will not find it with me. The happy man is he who is warned by others. Lead on, page!" Then he rode off.

According to al-Fuqaymī—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān,[453] freedman of Muḥammad b. 'Alī:[454] When al-Manṣūr had arrested 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan[455] and his brothers and those of his family who were with him, he went up on the pulpit and gave thanks to God and praised Him and prayed for the Prophet. Then he said, "O people of Khurāsān, you are our party (*shī'ah*) and our helpers (*anṣār*) and the people of our state and, if you give the oath of allegiance to someone else, you will not take a better oath to him than to us. As for these members of my family from the children of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, we have left them, by the one and only God, with the caliphate. We did not oppose them in the caliphate in any way.[456] 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib undertook it and he was [431] stained, and the two judges passed judgment on him and the Community split from him and opinions were divided about him. Then his own party, helpers, companions, retinue, and trusted

452. The 'Alids.
453. Not recorded elsewhere.
454. The father of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr.
455. The father of Muḥammad the Pure Soul and Ibrāhīm, the 'Alid rebels of 145/762. Al-Manṣūr had taken him into custody before the rebellion, as a way of putting pressure on his sons.
456. To rally the support of the Khurāsānīs, al-Manṣūr gives an account of 'Alid attempts to secure the caliphate and explains how they failed because they were unworthy.

men rose against him and killed him.[457] Then al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī rose up after him and, by God, he was a man who, when he was offered money for it (the caliphate), took it, and Muʿāwiyah intrigued with him, saying that he would make him his heir apparent after him and then misled him so that he abandoned and surrendered it to him. He took to women, marrying one every day and divorcing her the next, and he continued that way until he died in his bed.[458] After him al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī rose up. He was betrayed by the people of Iraq and the people of al-Kūfah, the people of divisions and hypocrisy and plunging into continuous civil wars, the people of this black town," indicating al-Kūfah, "By God, I would not make war with them or make peace with them but may God keep me away from it. They forsook him and handed him over so that he was killed.[459] Then Zayd b. ʿAlī rose up and the people of al-Kūfah betrayed him and deceived him and when they made him rebel they exposed him and handed him over.[460] Muḥammad b. ʿAlī[461] had come to him and implored him not to rebel and asked him not to believe the words of the people of al-Kūfah and said to him, "We have found out that one of our family will be crucified in al-Kūfah, and I am afraid that the crucified one will be you." My paternal uncle Dāwūd b. ʿAlī implored him and warned him of the treachery of the people of al-Kūfah, but he did not believe this and went on with his rebellion and was killed and crucified in al-Kunāsah. Then the Umayyads pounced on us and destroyed our honor and banished our glory, and they had no grudge to pursue against us at all, except on account of them (the ʿAlids) and their rebellion. We were driven out of the country and went sometimes to al-Ṭāʾif, sometimes to

457. ʿAlī was caliph in 35–40/656–61. After the Battle of Ṣiffīn he agreed to accept the verdict of the two judges ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī as to whether he was worthy of the caliphate. This in turn led to the defection of many of his supporters, notably the first Khārijites.

458. ʿAlī's son al-Ḥasan surrendered his rights to the caliphate to Muʿāwiyah in exchange for a large sum of money and went to live a life of luxury in Medina.

459. At Karbalāʾ, near al-Kūfah, in 61/680.

460. He rebelled in al-Kūfah in 122/740 but was captured and executed.

461. Al-Manṣūr's father.

Syria, and sometimes to al-Sharāt[462] until God sent you[463] to us [432]
as a party and as helpers. The revival of our honor and glory is because of you people of Khurāsān. Your truth refutes the people of falsehood. It makes our right clear and gives us the inheritance of our Prophet. It establishes the right in its place and makes its light clear. It gives glory to its helpers and cuts off the roots of the people of oppression. Praise be to God, Lord of the two worlds. When authority was established with us by the grace of God and His just judgment for us, they rose up against us in evil and envy toward us, coveting what God has bestowed on us in preference to them and given us generously of His caliphate and the inheritance of His Prophet.

(They act) out of rashness against us and cowardice toward their enemy.
How evil are the two characteristics, rashness and cowardice.

I did not act the way I did in this affair, by God, O people of Khurāsān, due to rashness. I was informed of some disaffection and disturbance among them, and I had secretly sent men to them and I said, 'Off you go, so-and-so, off you go, so-and-so, and take so much money with you.' I proposed an example for them to follow. They set out until they came to them in Medina and secretly passed on this money to them. By God there was not a single old man or young, big or small, who did not take the oath of allegiance to them; because of that, I regard their blood and their wealth as lawful. It became lawful to me because of their breach of the oath of allegiance to me and their seeking of civil war and their intention to rebel against me. Do not think that I reached this point without being certain.''[464]

Then he went down and he recited this verse of the Qur'ān on

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462. Ancient Edom, the southern part of modern Jordan. Al-Ḥumaymah, where the 'Abbāsids lived before they came to power, is situated there. Al-Manṣūr claims that the 'Abbāsids suffered greatly because of their association with the 'Alids, but he is certainly being economical with the truth here.

463. I.e., the Khurāsānīs, who are repeatedly described as the *anṣār* (helpers) of the 'Abbāsids, just as the people of Media were the *anṣār* of the Prophet.

464. He justifies making war on the 'Alids and their supporters in Medina by claiming that his agents provocateurs had persuaded them to break their oaths of allegiance.

the steps of the pulpit, "And between them and their desires is placed a barrier as was done in the past with their partisans, for they were indeed in suspicious doubt."[465]

[433] He said: Al-Manṣūr preached in Madā'in when Abū Muslim[466] was killed and he said, "O people, do not leave the intimacy of obedience for the loneliness of rebellion. Do not conceal deceit for the Imāms. No one ever concealed a forbidden thing without its becoming visible in the works of his hand or the slips of his tongue. God will manifest it to His Imām[467] by the glory of His faith and the exaltation of His justice. We will not diminish your rights and we will not diminish the faith He has imposed on you. He who disputes with us so much as the unbuttoning of this shirt, we will consider him a sacrifice for the contents of this scabbard. Abū Muslim took the oath of allegiance to us and the people took the oath to us with the condition that, whoever betrayed us, (the shedding of) his blood was lawful. Then he betrayed us and we passed judgment on him as he had on others for us. Our gratitude in acknowledging his role for us did not prevent us from doing justice to him."

According to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī—al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī'—his father; I heard al-Manṣūr say that he had heard his father say that his father, 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, had said, "The lords of this world are the most generous, and the lords of the next world are the Prophets."

According to Ibrāhīm b. 'Īsā: Al-Manṣūr was angry with Muḥammad b. Jumayl al-Kātib,[468] who came from al-Rabadhah,[469] and he ordered him to be thrown to the ground. He proved his innocence, and he ordered him to be raised up. He looked at his drawers and saw that they were made of linen. He ordered him to

465. *Qur'ān*, XXXIV: 54.

466. Al-Manṣūr had Abū Muslim, architect of the 'Abbāsid revolution in Khurāsān, executed in 137/755 in al-Madā'in. Here he is concerned to justify his action.

467. I.e., al-Manṣūr.

468. He was in charge of the *kharāj* (land tax) of al-Kūfah in 155/772 and later served al-Hādī before and during his caliphate (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 519; al-Jāhshiyārī, 124–25, 167).

469. A small town in the Ḥijāz; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 24. The site has recently been excavated with interesting results by the Saudi Department of Antiquities.

be thrown down and given fifteen blows with a stick, saying, "Do not dress in linen drawers, for that is extravagant."

According to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Hāshimī—al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm[470]—his *shaykhs*: When Abū Jaʿfar had killed Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh in Medina and his brother Ibrāhīm at Bākhamrā[471] and Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan[472] rebelled in Egypt and was brought to him, he wrote a letter to the descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in [434] Medina telling them about Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan and his rebellion in Egypt and saying that Ibrāhīm would not have acted without their consent and that they were conspiring to seek power and seeking the breaking of relations and disobedience; they had failed in their opposition to the Banū Umayyah when they challenged them for power and they were feeble in seeking revenge so that the sons of his father had risen up in anger on their behalf against the Banū Umayyah, sought revenge for them, and shed their blood and wrested power from their hands, and he quoted in the letter the poem of Subayʿ b. Rabīʿah b. Muʿāwiyah al-Yarbūʿī:[473]

Were it not for my protection of you when you were incapable,
for I protected and defended you through God's help,
Your affairs were lost, and I knew no reliable people for them,
and everything that God does not protect is wasted.
Name those who scattered the people from around you
and those at the mention of whom fingers are bent (i.e., the best).
We never ceased to confer on you all the time
the favors whose usefulness is apparent.
There never ceased to exist among you people of treachery and dissension,

470. Probably the son of the ʿAlid leader Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh. He was arrested after the defeat of the rebellion. He later played an important part in the rise to power of al-Mahdī's *wazīr*, Yaqūb b. Dāwūd. See below pp. 461–64.

471. The village between al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah where Ibrāhīm's army was defeated by the ʿAbbāsids; see al-Ṭabarī, III, pp. 301–14.

472. As Houtsma notes, his leadership of a revolt in Egypt is not found in al-Ṭabarī or other sources, it is probable that he was a supporter of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, who led an unsuccessful uprising in Egypt at the same time as the rebellions of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm in 145/762.

473. I can find nothing more about this poet.

a traitor to God and a cutter-off of kinship.
When we have been absent from you and you witnessed
great deeds, there were good satisfactory witnesses.[474]
We looked after you and you looked after your own affairs,
and things are abasing and exalting.[475]
Do the feet of men come high to their chests?
Do the hoofs go high above the hump (of the camel)?
Men among you are conspiring for headship,
as frogs move under the pond.

According to Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq: The salaries of the secretaries and tax collectors in the days of Abū Jaʿfar were three hundred *dirhams*, and this continued to be the case until the days of al-Maʾmūn. The first man who allowed an increase in [435] salaries was al-Faḍl b. Sahl.[476] As for the time of the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids, the salaries remained at three hundred or below. Al-Ḥajjāj used to pay Yazīd b. Abī Muslim three hundred *dirhams* each month.

According to Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā: The postmasters in all outlying districts used to write to al-Manṣūr during his caliphate every day about the price of wheat and corn and seasoning and the price of all foods and all the decisions the *qāḍī* had made in their district, and what the governor had done and what wealth was returned to the treasury and items of news. After they had said the sunset prayer, they used to write to him about what happened each day and they used to write to him about what happened each night when they said the morning prayer. When their letters arrived, he looked at them and, if he saw that the prices were as usual, he did nothing but, if he saw that something had changed, he wrote to the governor and the tax collector there and asked about the reasons for the price change, and when the reply came about the reason he was gently concerned about it until prices returned to normal. If he had doubts about a judgment

474. This verse appears to be corrupt and against the spirit of the poem.

475. Possibly a reference to *Qurʾān*, LVI: 3. "Many will it bring low, many will it exalt."

476. Al-Faḍl b. Sahl was *wazīr* and chief adviser to al-Maʾmūn in the early years of his caliphate. Yazīd b. Abī Muslim was a freedman and the foster brother of al-Ḥajjāj, who became governor of Ifrīqiyah.

the *qāḍī* had made, he wrote to him about that and asked those who were in his presence about his conduct and, if he disapproved of anything that was done, he wrote to him, rebuking him and criticizing him.

According to Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī—al-Sabbāḥ b. Khāqān al-Tamīmī—a man of his family—his father: Al-Walīd was mentioned to al-Manṣūr when he was settling in Baghdad and leaving Medina and finishing with Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the sons of ʿAbdallāh, and they said, "God curse the apostate unbeliever." In the assembly were Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, Ibn ʿAyyāsh al-Mantūf, and al-Sharqī b. al-Quṭāmī,[477] all of them members of his *ṣaḥābah*, and Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī said that he was told by a paternal cousin of [436] al-Farazdaq[478] that al-Farazdaq said, "I came into the presence of al-Walīd b. Yazīd,[479] and his boon companions were with him and he had had a morning drink and he said to Ibn ʿĀʾishah,[480] 'Sing the song of Ibn al-Ziba'rā:[481]

Would that my *shaykhs* at Badr had witnessed
the fear of al-Khazraj[482] of falling spears.
We killed a double number of their lords.
We put right on the bend of Badr (i.e., the defeat), and it became straight.'

Ibn ʿĀʾishah said, 'I will not sing this, O Commander of the Faithful,' but he replied, 'Sing it, or I will cut out your tonsils,' so he sang it and al-Walīd said, 'Well done,' and by God he was of

477. Occasionally used as a source by al-Ṭabarī (once in section I, twice in section II). He is recorded in the *Fihrist*, 195, among the traditionists.

478. Tammām b. Ghālib al-Tamīmī, d. ca. 110/728, one of the most famous poets of the Umayyad period and a rival of Jarīr. See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, II, 19; Beirut, XXI, 299; and *EI*², s.v. "al-Farazdaḳ."

479. Umayyad caliph, 125–26/743–44.

480. Muḥammad b. ʿAʾishah, d. ca. 125/744, famous singer at the court of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd. See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, II, 62; Beirut, II, 170.

481. ʿAbdallāh b. Zibaʿrā al-Sahmī, Qurashī poet who abused the Muslims. He was converted to Islam at the conquest of Mecca and was received by the Prophet; see *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XIV, 11; Beirut, XV, 138. The poem is also quoted by Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, 616.

482. One of the tribes of Medina that supported the Prophet Muḥammad. This is an anti-Islamic poem, attacking the military prowess of the Prophet's supporters at the battle of Badr, hence Ibn ʿAʾishah's reluctance to sing it and al-Manṣūr's comment.

the faith of Ibn al-Ziba'rā the day he recited this poem. Al-Manṣūr cursed him and his companions cursed him, and he said, 'Praise be to God for his generosity and his unity.'"

According to Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī: The governor of Armenia[483] wrote to al-Manṣūr that the army had mutinied against him and broken the locks of the treasury and taken what was in it, and al-Manṣūr said in his letter, "Leave our office in disgrace, for if you were intelligent they would not have mutinied and if you were strong they would not have plundered."

According to Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī—his father: A joker rebelled against Abū Ja'far in Palestine and he wrote to his governor there, "His blood will be on your blood if you do not send him to me," so he made great efforts to find him, captured him, and sent him off. He was ordered to be brought into the caliph's presence and when he stood before him Abū Ja'far said to him, "You have preyed on our governors. I will scatter about more of your flesh than remains on your bone," and he replied, and he was an old man with a weak, thin, unimpressive voice:

Do you train your wife after she has become decrepit?
The training of the decrepit man is wearisome.[484]

[437] His words were not clear to al-Manṣūr so he asked Rabī' what he was saying, and he replied that he had said:

The slave is your slave and the wealth is your wealth,
and is your punishment deflected from me?

He said, "O Rabī', I have forgiven him so let him go, take care of him, and give him good care."

He said: A man complained to al-Manṣūr about his tax gatherer (*'āmil*), saying that he had taken a part of his estate and added it to his property, so he wrote to his official in the note of the complainer, "If you prefer justice, peace will be your companion. Do justice to this complainer for his wrong."

He said: A man of the common people wrote a note to him requesting the building of a mosque in his area, and he wrote on

483. *Ṣāḥib Armaniyyah*, used here of the governor.
484. Freytag, *Proverbia*, II, 666, n. 277.

his note, "One of the portents of the Day of Judgment is the proliferation of mosques, so increase your paces (toward a distant *masjid*), and your reward will be increased."

He said: A man of the Sawād complained about one of the tax collectors in a note that was sent up to al-Manṣūr, who replied, "If you are telling the truth, bring him held up by the upper front of his shirt. We give you permission to do that."

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah—Abū al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf:[485] Abū Jaʿfar said, I was told that al-Sayyid Ibn Muḥammad (al-Ḥimyarī)[486] died in al-Karkh or in Wāsiṭ and they did not bury him and, if that story is true, indeed I would burn it down. It is said that the true story was that he died in the time of al-Mahdī in al-Karkh of Baghdad and that they avoided burying him and that al-Rabīʿ was sent to take charge of his affair, and he ordered that, if they were obstructive, their houses should be burned, but Rabīʿ was diverted from them.

According to al-Madāʾinī: When al-Manṣūr had finished with Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī and ʿAbd al-Jabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and went to Baghdad and things became calm for him, he quoted this verse:

You often spend the night on a sword edge of tribulation, [438]
but God will suffice against that which you feared.

He said: ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ recited to me that al-Manṣūr had recited after the killing of these:

There is many an affair that will not harm you,
but the heart still palpitates for fear of them.

According to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī: When al-Manṣūr heard of the scattering of the sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan[487] through the lands, fleeing from his punishment, he quoted:

My lance is a strong wood (*nabʿ*), which neither the pinching and pressing

485. D. 226/840–41, a Muʿtazilī scholar from al-Baṣrah; see *Fihrist*, 386–87.
486. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad, a poet well known for his pro-ʿAlid sympathies. The date of his death is not known; see *Aghānī*, Būlāq, VII, 2; Beirut, VII, 224.
487. The ʿAlid rebels of 145/762 Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm.

of the straightening instrument, nor grease, nor fire can soften.
When I take a fearful man under my protection, his grazing places are safe.
And when I make a safe man fearful for his safety, the house looks not spacious enough for him.
Come to me and lower some of your eyes,
for I am to every man the protector from his neighbor.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—Wāḍiḥ, freedman of Abū Jaʿfar: Abū Jaʿfar ordered me to buy him two soft pieces of cloth, so I bought them for a hundred and twenty *dirhams* and brought them to him. He asked me how much they were and I said, "Eighty *dirhams*." He replied, "Good! Ask for a reduction, for, if the goods arrive to us and then are returned to their owner, that breaks him down!" So I took the two pieces from their owner, and on the next day I brought the two of them with me to him, and he asked me what I had done and I said that I had returned them to him and that he had given me a reduction of twenty *dirhams*. He said, "You have done well; cut up one of them as a shirt, and make the other into a gown for me." I did that and he wore the shirt for fifteen days and did not wear anything else.

According to a freedman of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī—ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī: Al-Manṣūr used to order his family to dress well to show their prosperity by wearing brocade and perfume. If he saw that any of them had failed to do that or had not done enough, he [439] would say, "O so-and-so, I do not see the gleam of musk in your beard,[488] and I see it shining in the beard of so-and-so," and in this way he used to urge them to use more perfume so that he might be enhanced with the common people by their appearance and the sweetness of their breath and that he might enhance them (his family) among them (the people). If he saw any of them in plain cloth, he abused him.[489]

According to Aḥmad b. Khālid: Al-Manṣūr used to ask Mālik b. Adham[490] much about the story of ʿAjlān b. Suhayl, brother of

488. The perfuming of beards was a luxury of the ʿAbbāsid court.
489. The text seems to be corrupt here.
490. Al-Bāhilī; he was one of the Umayyad generals in Iran defeated by the

Ḥawtharah b. Suhayl.[491] We were sitting with 'Ajlān when Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik passed and someone said, "The cross-eyed man has passed," and he asked, "Whom do you mean?" "Hishām," he answered. "You are calling the Commander of the Faithful with a derisive nickname, and, by God, were it not for your kinship, I would cut off your head," and al-Manṣūr said, "That is a man with the likes of whom life and death have a use [a meaning]."

According to Aḥmad b. Khālid—Ibrāhīm b. 'Īsā: Al-Manṣūr had a servant with pale, brownish skin, acceptably skillful, and al-Manṣūr said to him one day, "What race are you?" and he replied, "Arab, O Commander of the Faithful," and he asked, "Which Arabs?" and he replied, "From Khawlān. I was captured from Yemen by one of our enemies, who castrated me, and I became a slave and passed to a member of the Umayyad family and then to you." The caliph replied, "You are certainly an excellent page, but no Arab ever enters my palace to serve my harem. Go out, may God forgive you, and go wherever you wish."

According to Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. Dāwūd b. Mu'āwiyah b. Bakr,[492] who was one of the courtiers (*ṣaḥābah*): Al-Manṣūr attached a man from al-Kūfah called al-Fuḍayl b. 'Imrān[493] to his son Ja'far and appointed him as his secretary and put him in charge of his affairs. He had the same position with regard to him as Abū 'Ubaydallāh had to al-Mahdī. Abū Ja'far had wished [440] that the oath of allegiance should be taken to Ja'far after al-Mahdī. Umm 'Ubaydallāh, Ja'far's nurse, plotted against al-Fuḍayl b. 'Imrān and told stories against him to al-Manṣūr and hinted that al-Fuḍayl had homosexual inclinations forward Ja'far. Al-Manṣūr sent his freedman al-Rayyān and Hārūn b. Ghazwān, the freedman of 'Uthmān b. Nahīk,[494] to al-Fuḍayl, who was with Ja'far

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'Abbāsid armies under Qaḥṭabah. In 'Abbāsid times he fought on the Byzantine frontier. See Crone, *Slaves*, 168–69.

491. Al-Bāhilī as well. He was sent by Marwān to reinforce Ibn Hubayrah in Iraq against the 'Abbāsid armies and repeatedly urged Ibn Hubayrah to adopt a more active strategy; he was executed after the fall of Wāsiṭ (Crone, *Slaves*, 143). The story again shows Abū Ja'far's admiration for the Umayyads and their supporters.

492. A secretary and poet of the reigns of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī; see *Fihrist*, 176.

493. Otherwise unknown.

494. For 'Uthmān, see note 400, above, on his brother 'Īsā.

in Ḥadīthah of Mosul[495] and said, "When you see al-Fuḍayl, kill him wherever you meet him." He wrote an edict for them and he wrote to Ja'far, telling him what he had ordered them to do and he told them not to hand the letter over to Ja'far until they had carried out the execution. They left and, when they reached Ja'far, they sat at his gate waiting for permission to go in, and al-Fuḍayl came out to them. They seized him and took out al-Manṣūr's letter. Nobody opposed them and they cut off his head on the spot, and Ja'far did not know until they had finished. Al-Fuḍayl was an upright and God-fearing man and, when al-Manṣūr was told that he was completely innocent of what he was accused of and that he had been hasty with him, he sent a messenger and promised him ten thousand *dirhams* if he reached him before he was killed, and the messenger arrived before his blood was dry.

According to Mu'āwiyah b. Bakr—Suwayd, freedman of Ja'far: Ja'far sent for him and said, "Woe to you. What does the Commander of the Faithful say about the killing of a pious and God-fearing Muslim who has committed no crime or offense?" to which Suwayd replied, "He is the Commander of the Faithful and he does what he wishes and he knows best what he is doing." Ja'far said, "O sucker of your mother's clitoris! I am speaking to you in the language of the elite, and you reply in the language of the common people. Take him by the legs and throw him into the Tigris." He said, "I was seized and said, 'I want to talk to you,' so he said, 'Leave him!' and I said, 'Do you think your father will be answerable for Fuḍayl only? When does he answer for him when he had already killed his paternal uncle 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī and 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan and other descendants of the Prophet
[441] wrongly, and he had killed countless men of this world, before he was responsible for the death of Fuḍayl, (who was only) a rat who nipped Pharaoh's balls.'[496] He laughed and said, 'Leave him to the curse of God!'"

According to Qa'nab b. Muḥriz[497] Abū Muḥammad b. 'Ā'idh,

495. About thirty miles southeast of Mosul, on the east bank of the Tigris just above its junction with the Upper Zāb; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 230; Le Strange, *Lands*, 90–91.

496. See *Glossary*, CCXXIV.

497. Al-Bāhilī. Al-Ṭabarī cites him on one other occasion.

freedman of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān: Ḥafṣ al-Umawī the poet was known as Ḥafṣ b. Abī Jum'ah,[498] freedman of 'Abbād b. Ziyād, whom al-Manṣūr had appointed literary instructor (*mu'adib*) to al-Mahdī in his audiences. He was a panegyrist of the Umayyads in Umayyad times and in the time of al-Manṣūr, and he did not hold it against him and he remained with al-Mahdī all the time that al-Mahdī was heir apparent but died before al-Mahdī succeeded to the caliphate. Among his poems in praise of the Umayyads was the following:

Where are the two chiefs of 'Abd Shams,[499] where are they?
    Where are their men of ability and nobility?
You did not compensate them for their kindness to you
    with what you have done, you the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.[500]
O inquirer about them,
    they were shoots of palm trees, shining above the wood.
If you foolishly cut off their roots,
    what a time that is turned upside down.
Pour what milk you like into your basin.
    You will drink that milk as sour residue.

It is said that Ḥafṣ al-Umawī came in to al-Manṣūr and he spoke to him and asked information about him. He asked him who he was and he replied, "Your freedman, O Commander of the Faithful," and he said, "A freedman of mine like you I do not know." He answered, "The freedman of a servant of yours, 'Abd Manāf, O Commander of the Faithful." The caliph approved of his reply and knew that he was a freedman of the Umayyads and attached him to al-Mahdī and said to him, "Take him for yourself."

Among the elegies for al-Manṣūr was the poem of Salm al-Khāsir:[501]

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498. There is no section on him in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*

499. Progenitor of the Umayyads.

500. Father of al-'Abbās and grandfather of the Prophet Muḥammad and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

501. Salm b. 'Amr, a poet of the 'Abbāsid court, prominent in the reign of Hārūn; see *Aghānī*, Beirut, XIX, 214.

I wonder how the two announcers could announce his death.
How could the two lips speak of his departure?
A king who, if one day he faced time,
time would fall down dead.
[442] Would that a hand that had scattered dust on him
came back without any one finger on it.
When the countries acknowledged his absolute rule
and both man and jinn[502] cast down their eyes from fear of it,
Where is the lord of al-Zawrā'[503] to whom it (the country)
has entrusted sovereignty for twenty-two years?[504]
The man is like a kindling stick
when it is surrounded by sparks of fire.
Prohibition does not divert his will,
and intelligent people cannot weaken his rope.
The reins of power have been handed over to him,
so that he can lead his enemies without reins.
Eyes are lowered before him, and you see
hands on chins for fear of him.
He gathered together the borders of his kingdom and then became
beyond their farthest edge and this side of the nearest part.
A Hāshimī in readiness who does not carry the burden
on the back of a runaway foolish camel,
A man of moderation who makes the fearful forget his fear
and determination that causes every heart to fly.
Souls have left scared from him.
What remained in the bodies were only the spirits.

The names of his children and wives: Among his children were al-Mahdī, whose name was Muḥammad, and Ja'far the Elder, and their mother was Arwā, daughter of Manṣūr and sister of Yazīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī. Her *kunyah* was Umm Mūsā. This Ja'far died before al-Manṣūr. There were also Sulaymān, 'Īsā and Ya'qūb, whose mother was Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad,

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502. Lit. "the two heavy ones", see Lane, s.v., *thql*.
503. A name of Baghdad, allegedly because the *qiblah* was bent or crooked and did not face Mecca. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 11.
504. The number of years of Abū Ja'far's caliphate.

one of the descendants of Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh,[505] and Ja'far the Younger,[506] whose mother was a Kurdish slave whom al-Manṣūr had purchased and taken as a concubine, and her son was known as Ibn al-Kurdiyyah (son of the Kurdish woman). There was Ṣāliḥ al-Miskīn, whose mother was a Greek slave girl called Qālī al-Farrāshah. Al-Qāsim died before al-Manṣūr, aged ten, and his mother was a slave girl known as Umm al-Qāsim, who had a garden by the Syrian Gate that is known as the Garden of Umm al-Qāsim to the present day.[507] There was 'Āliyah,[508] whose mother was an Umayyad woman; al-Manṣūr gave her in marriage to Isḥāq b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.[509] [443]

According to Isḥāq b. Sulaymān—his father: My father said to me, "I am marrying you, O my son, to the most noble of people, 'Āliyah, daughter of the Commander of the Faithful," and I asked who were our equals, and he answered, "Our enemies, the Umayyads."

Information about His Wills[510]

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī: Al-Manṣūr made a will for al-Mahdī when he set out for Mecca in Shawwāl of this year (4 August–1 September, 775). He had stopped at Qaṣr 'Abdawayh and stayed some days in the castle there. Al-Mahdī was with him, and he gave him his testament. While he was staying in Qaṣr

505. One of the companions of the Prophet, killed at the Battle of the Camel in 36/656.

506. Little is known of Ja'far the Younger, and he seems to have played no part in politics He died in 186/802.

507. Not noticed in Le Strange.

508. Not known elsewhere.

509. Brother of Muḥammad (note 29) and Ja'far (note 35). He was probably younger than his brothers and only became prominent in the reign of Hārūn, when he held a number of governorates, including Sind, Egypt, al-Baṣrah, and Armenia. He disappears from the record after 194/810. As a governor he seems to have been rather ineffectual but is recorded in the *Fihrist* as an early patron of translators. Daughters of the 'Abbāsid caliphs in this period were usually married within the family.

510. The various versions of al-Manṣūr's wills and their interpretation are discussed in detail in Dietrich, "Das politische Testament." He also provides a German translation on which I have drawn.

'Abdawayh, a shooting star fell on 28 Shawwāl (31 August, 775) after it began to get light, and its track remained clear until sunrise. He bequeathed him his wealth and authority (*sulṭān*), and he did that every day of his stay there, morning and evening, and he did not let up from that, and the two of them parted with emotion. When the day came when he wanted to leave, he called al-Mahdī and said to him, "There is nothing that I have not handed over to you. I will pass on to you some good rules of conduct but, by God, I do not think you will continue with a single one of them." He had a container in which he kept the notebooks (*dafātīr*) of his knowledge, and it was locked and he trusted no one to open it and he kept its keys in the sleeve of his shirt. Ḥammād al-Turkī used to bring him that container when he called for it, and if Ḥammād was away or had gone out it was entrusted to Salamah al-Khādim. He said to al-Mahdī, "Look after this bag and keep it, for in it is the knowledge of your forebears of the past and future until the Day of Resurrection. If things start going badly, look in the larger notebook and, if you find what you want there, (well and good) [444] but, if not, look in the second and the third until you reach the seventh. If it weighs heavily on you, look in the small notebook, and you will find in it what you need; but I do not think you will do it.

"Look after this city[511] and be careful not to exchange it for another, for it is your house and your glory. For you I have gathered in it such wealth that, if the *kharāj*[512] were to be interrupted for ten years, you would have enough for the salaries of the army and the expenses and allowances of the children and the needs of the frontiers. So keep it and you will not cease to be powerful as long as your treasury remains full, but I do not think you will do this.

"I am commending to you the members of your family (*ahl al-bayt*). Show them honor, give them precedence, give them great benefits, increase their status, submit the people to their authority, and put them in charge of pulpits. Their glory and renown will glorify you, but I do not think you will do this.

"Look after your freedmen and do good to them, bring them

511. Baghdad.
512. Meaning tax receipts in general.

near you, and cherish them for they are your support in adversity if it befalls you, but I do not think you will do this.

"I commend to you generous treatment to the people of Khurāsān, for they are your helpers (*anṣār*) and your party (*shīʿah*) and have spent their wealth in the service of your state and shed their blood for you. You will not drive out love for you from their hearts if you are good to them and forgive whoever among them commits a blunder, rewarding them for what they do and providing for the families and children of those of them who die, but I do not think you will do this.

"Take care over the building of the eastern city (of Baghdad) in case you do not complete it, but I do not think you will do this.

"Be careful not to ask for help from a man of the Banū Sulaym,[513] and I think you will do this.

"Be careful not to bring women to advise you in your affairs,[514] and I think you will do this."

According to sources other than al-Haytham: Al-Manṣūr summoned al-Mahdi when he left for Mecca and said to him, "O Abū ʿAbdallāh,[515] I am setting out and I will not return, for we are [445] God's and return to him. I am asking for a blessing on what I am going to do. This sealed book contains my testament. If you hear that I have died and power has passed to you, look into it. I have a debt and I would like you to pay it and be responsible for it." He replied, "I will do it, O Commander of the Faithful." He said, "It is three hundred thousand *dirham*s and some more, and I do not consider it lawful to pay it from the treasury of the Muslims, so take responsibility for it and for any more like it," and he replied, "I will do it."

He said, "This palace is not yours; it is mine and I built my palace with my money and I would like you to give your share in it to your younger brothers," and he replied, "Yes."

He said, "My personal slaves are yours, so assign them to them

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513. A reference to Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd, future vizier of al-Mahdī, who was a mawlā of Sulaym. According to the account, p. 225, below, he was at this time an unknown prisoner, an indication that this part of the testament is a later addition.

514. Probably a reference to the influence later wielded by al-Khayzurān, wife of al-Mahdī and mother to al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd.

515. Al-Mahdī.

(your brothers), for you will be in a position where you can spare them and your brothers' needs are greater."

He said, "As for the estates (*ḍiyā'*), I am not enjoining this (i.e., division with his brothers) on you, but, if you were to do that, I would like it," and he said, "I will do it."

He said, "Hand over to them what I have asked you of this, and you will have a share with them in the estates."

He said, "Hand over the baggage and clothes to them," and he replied, "I will do it."

He said, "May God make the caliphate good for you and the benefit will be yours. Fear God in what he has conferred on you and in what I have given you charge over."

He went to al-Kūfah and stayed in al-Ruṣāfah and then left joyfully for the greater and lesser pilgrimages. He drove camels for sacrifice and marked them and distinguished them on their necks. This was in the last days of Dhū al-Qa'dah (September 2–October 1, 775).

According to Abū Ya'qūb b. Sulaymān—Jamrah al-'Aṭṭārah, perfumer to Abū Ja'far:[516] When al-Manṣūr decided to go on the pilgrimage, he summoned Rayṭah,[517] daughter of Abū al-'Abbās and wife of al-Mahdī, who was at that time in al-Rayy, before he set out and bequeathed her what he wished and gave her his instructions and handed over the keys of the treasuries to her. He instructed her and made her swear and confirm the oath that she
[446] would not open one of those treasuries or show it to anyone except al-Mahdī and that not until she was sure of his death, and when that was certain she and al-Mahdī should go together without a third party being present and open the treasury.

When al-Mahdī came from al-Rayy to the City of Peace, she handed over the keys to him and informed him how al-Manṣūr had enjoined her not to open it or show it to anyone until she was certain of his death. When al-Mahdī heard of the death of al-Manṣūr and that the caliphate had passed to him he opened the

516. Abū Ya'qūb is otherwise unknown. 'Aṭṭārah means "a female perfumer," the third example of a female narrator; see above, note 337.

517. Rayṭah was the daughter of al-Saffāḥ who married her cousin, the future caliph al-Mahdī, in 144/761–62. She is described as Umm 'Alī and was still alive in 170/786 at the accession of Hārūn, but otherwise little is known of her.

door, and Rayṭah was with him, and there was a big, long chamber in which there was a collection of corpses of the Ṭālibids, and in their ears were pieces of paper on which were written their genealogies. Among them were children and young men and old men in large numbers. When al-Mahdī saw that, he ordered that a grave be dug for them, and they were buried in it and a tombstone was put over them.

According to ʿĪsā b. Isḥāq b. ʿAlī—his father: I heard al-Manṣūr as he was setting off to Mecca in the year 158, saying to al-Mahdī that he was saying adieu to him, "O Abū ʿAbdallāh, I was born in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah and succeeded in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and it occurs to me that I may die in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of this year and that has persuaded me to make the pilgrimage. Fear God in the affairs of the Muslims that I have entrusted you with, for He will give you relief from the things that will distress you and sadden you (or he said, a relief and refuge) and will provide you with peace and a good outcome when you do not anticipate it. Remember, O my son, the Prophet Muḥammad in His community (*ummah*), that God may look after your affairs. Beware of shedding [447] blood unlawfully, for it is a grave offense to God and an unavoidable and lasting disgrace in this world. Keep to the permitted things, for in that is your reward in the future and your safety in the present.

"Apply the established penalties (*ḥudūd*) and do not go beyond them or you will perish. God knows if something benefits His religion and restrains us from disobeying Him better than the penalties He would have stipulated in His book. Know that for the powerful defense of His Sulṭān, God, in His book, has ordered double the punishment and retribution on those who stir up corruption (*fasād*) on the earth with the severe punishment He reserves for him when He says, 'The punishment of those who wage war against God and His Prophet and strive with might and main for mischief through the land (is execution or crucifixion).'[518]

"Authority, my son, is the strong rope of God and a firm bond and the unshakable religion of God. Preserve it and protect it and strengthen it and defend it. Strike down the heretics in it and

518. *Qur'ān*, V. 33.

those who would apostasize from it. Kill those who leave it, by applying penalties and punishments. Do not exceed what God laid down about it in the perfect and accurate Qur'ān. Give judgment justly and do not be unfair, for that is the best means to prevent discord, to settle enmity, and to get the best remedy.

"Refrain from taking the *fay'*, for you have no need of it on top of what I have left you. Inaugurate your work with a grant to the family and generosity to the kinsmen. Beware of self-indulgence and wasting your subjects' wealth, fortify the frontiers and establish the borders; make the roads safe. Extend your favor to the best people, improve the livelihood of the common people, and keep them calm by bringing them benefits and defending them from disaster. Keep account of your wealth and put it in the treasury and beware of waste. Nobody is secure from misfortunes, [448] and (future) events cannot be relied on, for that is the nature of time.

"Prepare men and horses and soldiers as far as you are able. Take care not to put off today's work until tomorrow, lest matters pile up on you and they are lost. Be diligent in settling matters that come up at the proper time, first come, first served. Make an effort to get ready for them and prepare men at night to know what will happen in the day and prepare men in the day to know what will happen at night. Take matters in hand yourself; do not get impatient, do not be idle, and do not be faint-hearted. Think the best of your Lord but the worst of your tax collectors and secretaries. Hold yourself in wakefulness. Investigate those who spend the night at your gate and grant permission to the people (to see you) readily. Investigate those strangers who come to you and entrust them to a sleepless eye and undallying soul. Do not sleep, as your father has not slept since he succeeded to the caliphate, and sleep has not entered his eyes without his heart being awake. This is my testament to you and God is my Successor in charge of you."

Then he said farewell to him, and each of them wept in front of the other.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah—Sa'īd b. Huraym: When al-Manṣūr went on the pilgrimage in the year in which he died, al-Mahdī bade him farewell and he said, "O my son, I have gathered for you more wealth than any caliph before me and I have gathered

for you more freedmen than any caliph before me and I have built for you a city the likes of which there has not been in Islam. I am only afraid for you of two men, 'Īsā b. Mūsā and 'Īsā b. Zayd.[519] As for 'Īsā b. Mūsā, he has given me assurances and guarantees that I have accepted from him and, by God, even if he only spoke empty words, I am not afraid for you of him, so put him out of your mind. As for 'Īsā b. Zayd, if you spend this money, kill these freedmen, and destroy this city so that you can gain control of him, I would not criticize you." [449]

According to 'Īsā b. Muḥammad—Mūsā b. Hārūn: When al-Manṣūr reached the last halt on the road to Mecca, he looked inside the house he was staying in and there was written in it:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
Abū Ja'far, your death is drawing near, and your years
Are coming to a close. There is no escape from the decree of God.
Abū Ja'far, is there a wizard[520] or astrologer
With you today who can hold back the pain of death?

He summoned the man in charge of maintaining the halting places and said to him, "Did I not give you orders that no vandal should enter the building?" and he replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, no one has entered it since it was finished." He said, "Read what is written inside the house!" and the man replied, "I do not see anything, O Commander of the Faithful." He summoned the chief chamberlain and said, "Read what is written inside the house!" and he replied, "I do not see anything inside the house." Al-Manṣūr then dictated the two verses and they were written down. Then he turned to his chamberlain and said, "Recite me a verse from the Book of God that will make me long for God," and he recited, "In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. And soon will the unjust assailants know to what vicissitudes

519. Son of Zayd b. 'Alī who rebelled against the Umayyads in al-Kūfah in 122/740. He played an active role in the 'Alid rebellions of 145/762 and subequently went into hiding, becoming leader of the small clandestine group of the Zaydiyyah (see above, note 137) and refusing the blandishments of al-Mahdī and Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd. He died of natural causes toward the end of al-Mahdī's reign (see Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, especially pp. 405, 411, 416–19).

520. A soothsayer or pre-Islamic holy man among the Arabs; see *EI*², s.v. "Kāhin."

their affairs will take them."[521] He ordered that his jaws be pinched and said to him, "Could you not think of anything other than this verse to recite?" and he replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, the Qur'ān has been erased from my mind except for this verse." He gave orders to move from that lodging, seeing what had occurred as an evil omen, and he rode off on horseback. When he was in the *wādī* called Saqar, which was the last lodging on the road to Mecca, his horse stumbled and crushed his back. He died and was buried at Bi'r Maymūn.

[450] According to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, freedman of the Banū Hāshim[522]—one of the *'ulamā'* and people of *adab*: A voice called to Abū Ja'far from his palace in the city and he heard it say:

By the Lord of Stillness and Movement,
death has different nets.
Remember, O myself, that if you do evil
and if you have good intentions, everything will be yours.
The night and day do not take turns,
nor do the stars of the sky revolve in the heavens
Except to transfer authority from one king,
when his power ceases, to another
Until they bring it to a King
Who shares the glory of His authority with no one,
Who is the Creator of the sky and earth,
the establisher of the mountains, the Controller of the heavens.

Abū Ja'far said, "By God, it is close to the time of my death."

According to 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh[523]—'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muslim:[524] I came in to al-Manṣūr one day and greeted him, and he was lost for words and confused in his answer. I got up when I

521. *Qur'ān*, XXVI: 227.
522. Not known elsewhere.
523. B. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī. An 'Abbāsid, grandson of al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad, al-Manṣūr's brother; see note 58, above. He led the pilgrimage four times in al-Ma'mūn's reign and is last recorded as governor of Yemen in 217/833.
524. Al-'Uqaylī, brother of Isḥāq and Bakkār (see note 114, above). His family had been staunch supporters of Marwān, the last Umayyad caliph, and he himself appears below, p. 197, showing his loyalty to Marwān's son. He died in 167/783–84.

saw him like that, intending to leave him, but he said to me after a while, "I saw as a dreamer sees a man reciting these verses to me:

O little brother, be modest in your wishes.
    It is as if your day has come to you
And time has visited you with
    the vicissitudes it has visited you with.
And, if you wish to be a base and humble slave, you are that;
    you were made sovereign of what you were made sovereign of,
But command has passed to others.

The cause of my worry and grief, which you see, is what I heard and saw," and I said, "It was a good thing you saw, O Commander of the Faithful," but it was not long after that he set out on the pilgrimage and died on the way there. [451]

In this year the oath of allegiance was taken to al-Mahdī as caliph, and he was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, in the early dawn of the night when Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr died, which was Saturday, 6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 159 (October 7, 775, a Sunday), as it is reported by Hishām b. Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. ʿUmar. According to al-Wāqidī, the oath was taken to him in Baghdad on Thursday, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (October 19), of this year. Al-Mahdī's mother was Umm Mūsā, daughter of Manṣūr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Shammar al-Ḥimyarī.

The Caliphate of al-Mahdī

The Events of the Year 158 (cont'd)

(November 11, 774–October 30, 775)

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās: A description of the oath of allegiance that was taken to al-Mahdī as caliph when his father al-Manṣūr died at Mecca.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī—his father: In the year that Abū Jaʿfar died I left (on the Pilgrimage) by the Baṣrah road and Abū Jaʿfar had left by the Kūfah road, and I met him at Dhāt ʿIrq[525] and accompanied him. Whenever he rode, I put myself in his way and greeted him. He was seriously ill and on the brink of death. When he reached Biʾr Maymūn, he stayed there and we entered Mecca and I completed the lesser pilgrimage. I used to visit Abū Jaʿfar frequently in his camp and stay there until shortly after midday, and then I left and the Hāshimites did [452] likewise. His illness began to worsen and become acute. On the night that he died, none of us knew and I performed the morning prayer in the Masjid al-Ḥarām (in Mecca) at daybreak and then

525. Modern Ḍarība, the point where pilgrims coming overland from Iraq don the *iḥrām*. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 107.

rode out in my two robes,[526] with my sword belted on top of them. I went with Muḥammad b. ʿAwn b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith[527] who was one of the lords and *shaykh*s of the Banū Hāshim. At the time, he was wearing two rose-colored garments that he had donned for *iḥrām* with his sword belted on them.

He said: The *shaykh*s of the Banū Hāshim used to like rose-colored garments for the *iḥrām* because of a tradition of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar and the words of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib about it.[528] When we reached the bottom of the *wādī*, we met al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān with horses and men on their way into Mecca. We went over to them and greeted them and went on, and Muḥammad b. ʿAwn said to me, "What do you think about the role of those two men and of their entering Mecca?" "I reckon that the man has died," I replied, "and that they want to secure Mecca." And so it proved to be.

While we were going along we came across a man of unclear form in two ragged garments (for *iḥrām*), and we were still in the half-light of early dawn. He came between our two beasts and addressed us saying, "The man, by God, has died," and then he disappeared.[529] For our part, we went on until we came to the camp. When we entered the large tent we used to sit in every day, there was Mūsā b. al-Mahdī sitting in the place of honor by the tent pole, whereas al-Qāsim b. al-Manṣūr was at the side of the tent. Previously, when we met al-Manṣūr at Dhāt ʿIrq, whenever he mounted his camel, al-Qāsim would come and ride in front of him, between him and the Chief of Police, and the people would
[453] be ordered to bring their petitions to him. When I saw him at the side of the tent and Mūsā in the place of honor, I knew that al-Manṣūr had died. While I was sitting there, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd came up and sat down beside me so that his thigh rested against mine, and people came until they filled the tent, among them Ibn ʿAyyāsh al-Mantūf. While we were like that I heard a faint sound of weeping and al-Ḥasan said to me, "Do you think that the man

526. The *iḥrām*, the ritual dress for the pilgrimage; see *EI*², s.v. "Ihrām."

527. Despite al-Nawfalī's comment on his seniority, he is not recorded elsewhere. He was a descendant of al-Ḥārith b. al-ʿAbbās, hence a distant cousin of the ruling branch of the ʿAbbāsid family.

528. See Hinds and Crone, *God's Caliph*, 84.

529. Presumably an apparition or ghost.

had died?" and I replied, "I do not think that, but perhaps he is very weak or has lost consciousness." The next thing we knew was that suddenly, Abū al-ʿAnbar, the black servant of al-Manṣūr, came to us with his outer garments torn in front and behind and dust on his head, crying, "Alas for the Commander of the Faithful!" Every single person who was in the tent stood up and rushed for the tents of Abū Jaʿfar, wanting to go in, but the servants prevented them, pushing them in the chest, and Ibn ʿAyyāsh al-Mantūf said, "Glory be to God! Have you never witnessed the death of a caliph? Sit down, may God have mercy on you!" The people sat down and al-Qāsim stood up and rent his clothes and put dust on his head, but Mūsā, who was a young lad, remained seated in his place, not budging.

Then al-Rabīʿ came out with a scroll in his hand. He let the end of it fall to the ground and took the top of it and read:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
> From ʿAbdallāh al-Manṣūr, Commander of the Faithful, to the Banū Hāshim, his supporters, the people of Khurāsān, and the generality of the Muslims who survive him.

Then he dropped the scroll from his hand and wept and the people wept, and then he picked up the scroll and said, "It is easy for you to weep but this is a covenant that the Commander of the Faithful has made and we must read it to you, may God have mercy on you, so listen!"

The people fell silent and he carried on with the reading: [454]

> I hereby write this document of mine while I am alive in the last day of this world and the first of the next. I give you greeting and ask God not to make strife among you after me or "cover you in confusion in party strife, giving you a taste of mutual vengeance—each from the other."[530] Oh Banū Hāshim! Oh people of Khurāsān!

and then he began commending al-Mahdī to them and reminding them of the oath of allegiance to him and exhorting them to uphold his state and remain faithful to his covenant to the end of the document.

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530. *Qur'ān*, VI: 65.

According to al-Nawfalī—his father: This was something that al-Rabīʿ had concocted. Then he looked at the faces of those present and approached the Hāshimites and took the hand of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd,[531] saying, "Stand up, Abū Muḥammad, and take the oath of allegiance!" Al-Ḥasan stood up with him, and al-Rabīʿ took him to Mūsā and sat him down before him. Al-Ḥasan took Mūsā's hand and turned to the people and said, "O people, the Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr had beaten me and confiscated my wealth and al-Mahdī interceded on my behalf, and he (al-Manṣūr) restored me to favor and he asked that my wealth be returned but he refused that, so al-Mahdī gave it back out of his own money and doubled it, giving two items for every one. Who could be more likely than I to take the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful, without reservation, with good spirit and a sincere heart?" Then he gave Mūsā the oath of allegiance to al-Mahdī and shook his hand. Next al-Rabīʿ came to Muḥammad b. ʿAwn, giving him precedence on account of his age, and he took the oath. Then he came to me and raised me up, and I was the third (to take the oath).[532] Then the rest of the people took the oath, and, when he had completed that, he entered the tent and remained there a little while. Then he came out to us, the body of the Hāshimites, and ordered us to stand, so we all stood up with him, and we were a great gathering of people from Iraq, Mecca, and Medina, who had come on the pilgrimage. We went in and there was al-Manṣūr on his bier in his shroud with his face uncovered, and we carried him three miles to Mecca. It is as if I could see him now, looking at him from near the leg of the bier as
[455] we carried him, and the wind was blowing and ruffling the hair on his temples because he had let his hair grow long in order to shave it off,[533] and the dye had faded from his beard. So we brought him to his grave and lowered him into it.

He said: I heard my father say that the first thing that earned

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531. Al-Ḥasan was a leading member of the ʿAlid family; hence his pledge of loyalty was very important.

532. The narrator, Muḥammad al-Nawfalī, came from a branch of Quraysh, Nawfal, having been a brother of Hāshim and ʿAbd Shams, and this accounts for his position of honor.

533. Shaving the hair is part of *iḥrām*; he would have grown his hair to make the subsequent shaving more noticeable.

'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān a high position was that, on the night when Abū Ja'far died, they tried to make 'Īsā b. Mūsā take a renewed oath of allegiance to al-Mahdī; it was al-Rabī' who undertook that, but 'Īsā b. Mūsā refused. The military commanders who were present began to push forward and backward, and 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān rose up, drew his sword, and came to him and said, "By God, you will take the oath or I will cut your head off!" When 'Isa saw that, he took the oath and the people took it after him.

According to 'Īsā b. Muḥammad—Mūsā b. Hārūn: Mūsā b. al-Mahdī and al-Rabī', the freedman of al-Manṣūr, despatched Manārah,[534] the freedman of al-Manṣūr, with news of the death of al-Manṣūr and with the oath of allegiance to al-Mahdī, and afterward they sent al-Ḥasan al-Sharawī[535] with the staff of the Prophet and his mantle,[536] which the caliphs had inherited. Abū al-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī[537] sent the seal of the caliphate with Manārah. Then they left Mecca. 'Abdallāh b. al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr[538] carried the *ḥarbah* (ceremonial spear) in front of Ṣāliḥ b. al-Manṣūr, as he used to do in the lifetime of al-Manṣūr, and al-Qāsim b. Naṣr b. Mālik,[539] who was in charge of the *shurṭah* of Mūsā al-Mahdī at that time, broke it. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān interfered because of the grievance he had against 'Īsā b. Mūsā and what had been done by him to the Rāwandiyyah[540] and openly accused them and

534. He is also described as being one of al-Manṣūr's agents (*'ummāl*), but little else is known of him; see Crone, *Slaves*, 192.

535. He was a freedman of Muḥammad b. 'Alī, al-Manṣūr's father, and later became governor of Mosul.

536. The staff (*qaḍīb*) and the mantle (*burdah*) were among the insignia of the caliphate. The *qaḍīb* was lost in the later Middle Ages, but it is believed that the *burdah* passed eventually to the Ottomans and is now kept in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul.

537. He was keeper of the seal at this time; see above, note 21.

538. Son of al-Manṣūr's long-serving *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* (above, note 24). He was later governor of Egypt for a year in Hārūn's reign and *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* for al-Ma'mūn (Crone, *Slaves*, 187).

539. There seems to have been a continuing rivalry between the family of al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī and Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzā'ī for command of the *shurṭah*. Al-Qāsim himself was later *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* to Hārūn for a short time but was overshadowed by his powerful uncle 'Abdallāh b. Mālik. For the family, see Kennedy, *'Abbasid Caliphate*, 80–81.

540. It is not clear why 'Īsā was so unpopular with sections of the Khurāsāniyyah, but the ruthless repression of the Rāwandiyyah, who were Khurāsānīs, in 141/758–59 seems to have been a contributory factor.

talked about their journey, one of the leaders being Abū Khālid al-Marwarrūdhī. The matter was on the point of becoming serious
[456] and reaching alarming proportions so that they put on arms. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān took action about that and dealt with the matter with other members of his family, but Muḥammad was the best of them at it; the disturbance died down and became calm. He wrote to al-Mahdī about it, and he wrote back removing ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā from command of Mūsā b. al-Mahdī's guard and putting Abū Ḥanīfah Ḥarb b. Qays[541] in his place, and the state of the army quieted down. Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān came to al-Mahdī, al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad arriving first. Manārah reached al-Mahdī on Tuesday, 15 Dhu al-Ḥijjah (16 October, 775, a Monday), greeted him as caliph, offered his condolences, and handed the letters over to him. The people of the City of Peace took the oath of allegiance to him.

According to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī—al-Rabīʿ: When al-Manṣūr was on the pilgrimage during which he died, at al-ʿUdhayb[542] or one of the other halts on the road to Mecca, he had a dream. Al-Rabīʿ was in the other side of his litter. He was frightened by it and he said, "O al-Rabīʿ, I think I will die on this trip of mine and that you must secure the oath of allegiance to Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī."

Al-Rabīʿ continued: I said to him, "God will preserve you, O Commander of the Faithful, and Abū ʿAbdallāh will reach what you love in your lifetime, if God wills." His illness increased at that, and he said, "Hasten me to the Ḥaram and safety of my Lord, and I will escape from my sins and self-indulgences." He continued to feel like this until he reached Bi'r Maymūn, and I said to him, "This is Bi'r Maymūn, so you have entered the Ḥaram," and he said, "Thanks be to God," and he died the very same day.

Al-Rabīʿ continued: I ordered the tents to be pitched and the pavilions[543] to be prepared, and I attended to the Commander of

541. He had been one of the assassins of Abū Muslim (al-Ṭabarī, III, 110, 114). He never became a prominent figure and is last recorded escorting a prisoner at the beginning of Hārūn's reign in 171/787–88.

542. An oasis that was the stage after Qādisiyyah on the pilgrimage road from al-Kūfah to Mecca; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 92; Morony, *Iraq*, 153.

543. I have translated *khiyam* as tents and *fasāṭīṭ* as pavilions, but there is no clear distinction, except that *fasāṭīṭ* were probably the larger tents for general gatherings.

the Faithful and dressed him in the *ṭawīlah* and the *durrā'ah*,[544] and I propped him up. Over his face I put a thin veil so that you could see his form but not perceive his condition. I brought his family close to the veil so that it was not obvious what had happened to him, but his form could be seen. Then I went in and stood in a place from which I could pretend to them that he was talking to me. After that I came out and said, "The Commander of the Faithful is recovering, by the Grace of God, and sends you his greeting and says, 'I desire that God may safeguard your affairs, crush your enemies, and delight your friends, and I desire that you should renew the oath of allegiance to Abū 'Abdallāh al-Mahdī so that no enemy or oppressor can make trouble among you,'" and all the people said, "May God give success to the Commander of the Faithful; we will hasten to do that." He[545] went in and stayed for a bit and then came out and said, "Come on with the oath!" so all of them swore, and there was not a single one among the courtiers (*khāṣṣah*), principal men (*awliyā'*),[546] and chiefs present who did not swear to al-Mahdī. He went in again and came out weeping with his chest rent and slapping his face, and one of those present said, "Our curses on you, O son of a sheep!" meaning al-Rabī', for when his mother who used to suckle him died, he was suckled by a sheep. A hundred graves were dug for al-Manṣūr, and they were all filled in so that the position of his tomb, which was obvious to the people, was not known, and he was buried in a different one because of fear for him.[547] This was done with the tombs of the caliphs of the 'Abbāsid family, and no one knew the whereabouts of their tombs. When al-Rabī' reached him, al-Mahdī exclaimed, "O slave, did not the majesty of the Commander of the Faithful restrain you from doing what you did to him?" People said that he had beaten him, but this was not true. [457]

One of those who was present on al-Manṣūr's pilgrimage said: I

544. Al-Rabī' tried to show that Abū Ja'far was in a normal condition. Thus he dressed him in *ṭawīlah* (*qalansūwah*) and *durrā'ah* (a coat of mail).

545. The narrative changes to the third person here.

546. *Khāṣṣah* means the elite, or inner circle, and was a more loosely used term than *ṣaḥābah*, which can also be translated as "courtiers," who were a defined and salaried group. *Awliyā'* is also a general term for prominent people.

547. The 'Abbāsids had exhumed the bodies of the Umayyad caliphs and desecrated their graves; Abū Ja'far must have been anxious that the same would not happen to him.

saw Ṣāliḥ b. al-Manṣūr with his father. The people were with him and Mūsā b. al-Mahdī was among his followers, but when the
[458] people returned they were following Mūsā, and Ṣāliḥ was with them.[548]

It was mentioned on the authority of al-Aṣma'ī: The first person to announce the death of Abū Ja'far in al-Baṣrah was Khalaf al-Aḥmar,[549] and that was when we were sitting in the circle[550] of Yūnus,[551] and he passed us and greeted us and said:

"Calamity has prepared to bring forth her first born."

Yūnus said, "What did he say?[552]

You have certainly caused her to bring forth, a huge-necked she-camel.
The death of the Imām is one of the great disasters."

Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī led the pilgrimage in this year. It is said that al-Manṣūr had arranged that.

The governor of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if in this year was Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās and of Medina 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī; 'Amr b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, brother of al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr, was in charge of al-Kūfah, and it is said that the governor (*'āmil*) of it was Ismā'īl b. Abī Ismā'īl al-Thaqafī,[553] who was said to be a freedman of the Banū Naṣr of Qays; Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh al-Nakha'ī was in charge of the judiciary there, and Thābit b. Mūsā[554] was in charge of the taxation (*kharāj*). Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabāh was in charge of Khurāsān and

548. This reflects Mūsā's changed status and position in the order of precedence when his father became caliph and he became heir apparent. Such matters of protocol were taken very seriously in the 'Abbāsid court.

549. Abū Muḥriz Khalaf b. Ḥayyān, 115–80/733–96. His parents were brought from Farghānah as slaves. He was freed and lived in al-Baṣrah, becoming a great expert on ancient Arab poetry; see *EI*², s.v. "Khalaf."

550. *Ḥalqah*, the circle of students and friends gathered round a teacher.

551. Abū Isḥāq Yūnus b. 'Amr al-Sabī'ī, a Baṣran traditionist who was an important source for sections I and II of the *History* but who contributed no material on the 'Abbāsid period.

552. Meaning "How does the poem continue?"

553. Al-Ṭabarī quotes him twice as a source for the last days of Umayyad rule in Iraq, but nothing else is known of his career.

554. A tax specialist who was later in charge of the taxation of Iraq, Syria, and the Maghrib in Hārūn's reign; see Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 252; al-Jahshiyārī, 124, 177.

Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh of the judiciary of Baghdad, along with the judiciary of al-Kūfah. It is said that the *qāḍī* of Baghdad on the day al-Manṣūr died was 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥī[555] and that Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah specifically. It is also said that Sharīk was in charge of the judiciary of al-Kūfah and of leading its people in prayer. In charge of police in Baghdad on the day al-Manṣūr died is said to have been 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān,[556] the brother of [459]
'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, but some said it was Mūsā b. Ka'b.[557] 'Umārah b. Ḥamzah was in charge of the taxation office of al-Baṣrah and its district, and 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-'Anbarī was in charge of the judiciary and prayers there with Sa'īd b. Da'laj over the incidents (*aḥdāth*). In this year, according to Muḥammad b. 'Umar, the people were afflicted by a severe plague (*wabā'*).

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555. 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Safwān. He had been in Medina at the time of the rebellion of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh in 145/762 but remained in contact with the 'Abbāsids (see al-Tabarī, III, 226). He was later governor of Medina, where he remained until his death in 160/776–77.

556. Al-Azdī. His brother had been executed by al-Manṣūr for rebellion, so it is a bit surprising to find him in this position. See Crone, *Slaves*, 173–74.

557. For the problems this raises, see note 193, above.

The Events of the Year

159

(October 31, 775–October 18, 776)

Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad led the summer raid on Byzantium, reaching Ankara.[558] Al-Ḥasan b. al-Waṣīf[559] was in charge of the vanguard of al-ʿAbbās's army with the freedmen. Al-Mahdī had assigned a number of commanders from Khurāsān and others to him. Al-Mahdī himself went out and camped at Baradān and remained there until he had despatched al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and those he sent with him. Al-ʿAbbās did not give al-Ḥasan b. al-Waṣīf, or anyone else, a separate command. In his raids he conquered a city of the Byzantines and a *maṭmūrah*[560] with it and returned safely, not a single one of the Muslims being injured.

Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, al-Mahdī's governor of Khurāsān, died in

558. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," 735. It will be seen that my understanding of the passage is somewhat different.

559. This seems to have been his only public role. He appears in al-Ṭabarī, III, as al-Mahdī's personal servant. *Waṣīf* means a slave, a servant, or a page.

560. Brooks takes this to be a subterranean granary, but it could refer more generally to any underground structure, like the rock-cut churches and dwellings still found in Cappadocia.

this year, and al-Mahdī appointed Abū 'Awn 'Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd in his place.

In this year Ḥamzah b. Mālik[561] was appointed governor of Sijistān and Jibra'īl b. Yaḥyā of Samarqand.

In this year al-Mahdī built the mosque of al-Ruṣāfah and built its wall and dug its moat. [460]

In this year al-Mahdī deposed 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī from Medina, the city of the Prophet, because he was angry with him, and appointed Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Kathīrī[562] in his place. Then he deposed him and appointed 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥī.

In this year al-Mahdī sent 'Abd al-Malik b. Shihāb al-Misma'ī[563] by sea to the land of Hind and assigned to him 2,000 people of al-Baṣrah from all the troops (*ajnād*) and sent them with him. He sent 1,500 of the volunteers[564] who were settled in frontier garrisons[565] with a commander from the people of Syria called Ibn al-Ḥubāb al-Madḥijī with 700 Syrians. He was accompanied by 1,000 volunteers from the people of al-Baṣrah with their wealth, among them, it is said, al-Rabī' b. Ṣubayḥ,[566] and 4,000 of the Uswāriyyīn[567] and the Sabābijah.[568] 'Abd al-Malik b. Shihāb ap- [461]

561. Son of Mālik b. al-Haytham, brother of 'Abdallāh b. Mālik and uncle of al-Qāsim b. Naṣr; see note 539, above. Ḥamzah was later governor of Khurāsān in 177/793–94 and died in 181/797–98; see Crone, *Slaves*, 181–83.

562. He was again interim governor in the next year but is otherwise unknown.

563. He was briefly governor of Sind two years later. None of the other commanders is known elsewhere.

564. The distinction seems to be between the salaried *ajnād* and the voluntary *muṭawwi'ah*, who fought because they wished to make a contribution to the *jihād*, or Holy War.

565. *Murābiṭāt* means the men who form such a garrison (see Lane, s.v. *rabaṭa*). From the same root comes the better-known *ribāṭ*, meaning a frontier fortress or simply a religious house.

566. According to Ibn al-Athīr, this name should read Ṣubīḥ (see editor's note).

567. So voweled by the editor in the text; the manuscript versions are obviously corrupt. They were Persian cavalrymen who deserted to the Muslims after the conquest of Iraq and settled in al-Baṣrah, where they became like a small tribe and retained their own identity. See Morony, *Iraq*, 198, 207, 213.

568. Again this is reconstructed by the editor from corrupt readings. He relates it to Persian *shabānah*, meaning "night watchmen." The *Addenda*, s.v. *sbj*, suggests the reading *siyābijah* and that it derives from a name given to soldiers originally from Sumatra who emigrated to Iraq in pre-Islamic times; see *EI*[1], s.v. "Sayābidjah."

pointed al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad al-Jārūdī as leader of the 1,000 volunteers from al-Baṣrah and his own son Ghassān b. 'Abd al-Malik as leader of the 2,000 men assigned to him from al-Baṣrah. He appointed his son 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abd al-Malik as leader of the 1,500 volunteers from the frontier garrisons. He kept Yazīd b. al-Ḥubāb and his men as a separate unit, and they set out. Al-Mahdī sent Abū al-Qāsim Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm to supervise their equipment before they left. They set out on their expedition and reached the city of Bārbad[569] in the land of al-Hind in the year 160 (776–77).

In this year Ma'bad b. al-Khalīl died in Sind. He was al-Mahdī's governor there, and he appointed Rawḥ b. Ḥātim in his place[570] on the advice of his *wazīr*, Abū 'Ubaydallāh.

In this year al-Mahdī ordered the release of all those who were in al-Manṣūr's prison, except those who were accused of shedding blood or killing or those who were known for spreading corruption or against whom anyone had a complaint or just claim. They were released, and among those who were released from the dungeon was Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd,[571] freedman of the Banū Sulaym. Imprisoned with him in that prison was al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[572]

In this year al-Mahdī transferred al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm from the dungeon he was in to the custody of Nuṣayr al-Waṣīf.[573]

[462] The reasons why al-Mahdī transferred al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm from the dungeon to Nuṣayr:

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569. The editor suggests that this should read Nārbudda. I have not been able to locate this place.

570. Al-Muhallabī, elder brother of Yazīd; see note 90, above. At the time of the 'Abbāsid Revolution, he had joined Abū Ja'far at the siege of Wāsiṭ, and he served the 'Abbāsids continuously until his death in Ifrīqiyah in 174/791, becoming, as Ibn Khallikān says, the only man, apart from Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, to hold office under five caliphs. He returned in 165/781–82 to become governor of his family's home town, al-Baṣrah. He had another spell in al-Kūfah (see pp. 237, 239, below) before his final appointmant to Ifrīqiyah in 171/787–88, see also Ibn Idhārī, *Bayān*, 84.

571. His origins and rise and fall are fully dealt with in the following pages. Al-Ṭabarī's version is corroborated with some more detail in al-Jahshiyārī, 155–63.

572. An 'Alid, son of Ibrāhīm, who led the 145/762 rebellion in al-Baṣrah.

573. For the term Waṣīf, see note 559, above. He later took the news of al-Mahdī's death to al-Hādī in Jurjān (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 545) and is last recorded in 202/817–18, when he took the oath of allegiance to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī.

It is said that the reason for this was that, when al-Mahdī ordered the release of the prisoners as I have mentioned, Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd was imprisoned with al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm in one place and Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd was released but al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm was not. He was disturbed by this and feared for his life, so he searched for a way of escape for himself and release. He secretly communicated with one of his reliable helpers, who dug a tunnel from a place opposite to the place where he was in prison. After Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd had been released, he used to visit Ibn 'Ulāthah,[574] who was al-Mahdī's *qāḍī* in the City of Peace, and stay with him until he became friendly with him. Ya'qūb heard how al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm intended to escape, so he approached Ibn 'Ulāthah and told him that he had some advice for al-Mahdī and asked to be sent to Abū 'Ubaydallāh. Ibn 'Ulāthah asked him what the advice was, but he refused to tell him and kept it to himself. Ibn 'Ulāthah went to Abū 'Ubaydallāh and told him about Ya'qūb and what he said to him. He ordered him to be fetched and, when he entered, he asked to be taken to al-Mahdī to tell him the advice he had, so he was taken to him. When he came in to al-Mahdī, he thanked him for his favor in releasing him and his generosity to him and said that he had some advice for him. Al-Mahdī asked him for it in the presence of Abū 'Ubaydallāh and Ibn 'Ulāthah, but he asked that they leave. Al-Mahdī told him that he had trust in them, but he refused to reveal anything to him until they got up and he was alone with him. Then he told him the information about al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm and his plan and that it would take place that very [463] night. Al-Mahdī sent a trustworthy man to bring him information, and he told him that Ya'qūb's information was correct. Al-Mahdī ordered that al-Ḥasan be transferred to Nuṣayr. He remained in his custody until he schemed and schemes were made for him and he escaped and could not be found. News about him became public, and he was sought but could not be captured. Al-Mahdī remembered Ya'qūb's guidance to him, and he hoped for guidance from him like that he had been given (before) in his affair.

574. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ulāthah; he is said (see below, p. 203) to have been one of the two *qāḍīs* of al-Ruṣāfah. His brother Sulaymān was governor of al-Jazīrah for Marwān b. Muḥammad, the last Umayyad caliph; see Crone, *Slaves*, 171.

He asked Abū ʿUbaydallāh about him, and he replied that he was present, as he had stayed with Abū ʿUbaydallāh. Al-Mahdī summoned him privately and spoke of what he had done with regard to al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm the first time and of his advice to him, and he informed him of what had occurred in his affair. Yaʿqūb replied that he did not know where he was but that, if he gave him a safe-conduct he could trust, he would guarantee to bring him so that he could fulfill his safe-conduct and be generous to him and favor him. Al-Mahdī gave him this in his council (*majlis*) and guaranteed it. Yaʿqūb said to him, "Refrain, O Commander of the Faithful, from mentioning him and give up searching for him because that frightens him. Leave me and him so that I can entice him and bring him to you." Al-Mahdī agreed to this.

Yaʿqūb said, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have extended your justice to your people, treated them fairly, and spread your goodness and favor among them. Their hopes have grown and their expectations have increased. However, there remain some things that, if I drew them to your attention, you would not fail to look into as you do in other affairs. Furthermore, there are things done behind your door without your knowing. If you give me a [464] way of coming in to you and give me permission to bring them to your notice, I shall do that." Al-Mahdī granted him that and entrusted him with it. He appointed Sulaym, the black eunuch of al-Manṣūr,[575] as his channel of communication with al-Mahdī whenever he wished to enter. Yaʿqūb used to go in to al-Mahdī by night and offer him advice on good and fine matters concerning the frontiers, the building of fortresses, the strengthening of raids, and the marrying of single people, the liberating of prisoners and captives, the redemption of debtors, and the distribution of alms to the virtuous. He enjoyed his favor because of that and because he hoped he would secure for him the capture of al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm. He took him as a brother in God and issued a decree (*tawqīʿ*) to that effect and established him in the *dīwān*,[576] and he was assigned 100,000 *dirhams*, which was the first grant he

575. I have translated *khādim* as eunuch, possibly wrongly. At this date it may well just mean "servant"; cf. *waṣīf*.

576. That is, he was given a regular salary, recorded in the official list, or *dīwān*.

had ever received from it. His status continued to increase and climb upward until he placed al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm in the hands of al-Mahdī, after which his status fell and al-Mahdī ordered that he be imprisoned. ʿAlī b. al-Khalīl[577] said about that:

What a wonder is the changing of affairs
pleasing and unpleasing.
Time plays with men
and has running occurrences.
Because of Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd,
the ropes of Muʿāwiyah[578] are fraying.
The disasters from ʿĀfiyah[579] have infringed upon Ibn ʿUlāthah
the *qāḍī*.
Say to the *wazīr* Abū ʿUbaydallāh, [465]
"Do you have a future?"
Yaʿqūb is looking into affairs, and you are looking sideways.
You introduced him, and he rose above you.
That is the real inauspiciousnes.

In this year al-Mahdī dismissed Ismāʿīl b. Abī Ismāʿīl from al-Kūfah and its *aḥdāth* (supervision of daily affairs). Opinions differ as to who succeeded him; some say it was Isḥāq b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī, then al-Ashʿathī,[580] on the advice of Sharīk b. ʿAbdallāh, the *qāḍī* of al-Kūfah. ʿUmar b. Shabbah says that al-Mahdī appointed ʿĪsā b. Luqmān b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāṭib b. al-Ḥārith b. Muʿammar b. Ḥabīb b. Wahb b. Hudhāfah b. Jumaḥ[581] and ap-

577. Mawlā of Shaybān from al-Kūfah and a poet at the court of Hārūn; Ibn al-Nadīm numbers him among the *Zindīq* poets (*Fihrist*, 804). See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XIII, 14; Beirut, XIV, 166. He is not quoted elsewhere by al-Ṭabarī.

578. Abū ʿUbaydallāh, al-Mahdī's vizier, whose position was being threatened by Yaʿqūb.

579. Ibn Yazīd al-Azdī. He is described as joint *qāḍī* of ʿAskar al-Mahdī with Ibn ʿUlāthah. The sense of the poem is that he was supplanting Ibn ʿUlāthah, just as Yaʿqūb was supplanting Abū ʿUbaydallāh.

580. I.e., a member of the tribe of Kindah, descended from the great Ashʿath b. Qays al-Kindī, companion of the Prophet and a leading figure in the politics of early Muslim Iraq. The family was still very influential in al-Kūfah in early ʿAbbāsid times. Isḥāq was the father of Yaʿqūb al-Kindī, known as the "philosopher of the Arabs"; see Crone, *Slaves*, 110–12.

581. A Qurashī, Jumaḥ being a branch of Quraysh. He was later governor of Egypt, 161–62/778–79. It is not clear why al-Ṭabarī gives so complete a genealogy

pointed his brother's son 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd b. Luqmān over the police. It is also said that Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh was in charge of the prayers and the judiciary and 'Īsā of the *aḥdāth*, and then Sharīk was appointed alone as governor and put Isḥāq b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī in charge of the police. A poet said:

You would not be more than a puppet raised up by Sharīk
even if your hand were to stretch so high as to catch
Canopus.[582]

They say that Isḥāq did not thank Sharīk and that Sharīk said to him:

He prays and fasts for the things of this world he hopes for;
he attains them and prays and fasts no more.

According to 'Umar[583]—Ja'far b. Muḥammad, the *qāḍī* of al-Kūfah:[584] Al-Mahdī put Sharīk in charge of the prayers as well as the judiciary and Isḥāq b. al-Ṣabbāḥ in charge of the police. Then he later appointed Isḥāq b. al-Ṣabbāḥ over the prayers and the *aḥdāth*; then he appointed Isḥāq b. al-Ṣabbāḥ b. 'Imrān b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath as governor of al-Kūfah. He appointed
[466] al-Nu'mān b. Ja'far al-Kindī[585] over the police, but al-Nu'mān died and he appointed his brother Yazīd b. Ja'far over the police.

In this year al-Mahdī deposed Sa'īd b. Da'laj from the *aḥdāth* of al-Baṣrah and 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan from the prayers and the judiciary of its people, and he appointed 'Abd al-Malik b. Ayyūb b. Ẕubyān al-Numayrī in place of both of them. He wrote to 'Abd al-Malik, ordering him to do justice to those people of al-Baṣrah who had been oppressed by Sa'īd b. Da'laj. Then in this year the *aḥdāth* were removed from the control of 'Abd al-Malik b. Ayyūb and given to 'Umārah b. Ḥamzah. 'Umārah put a man from al-Baṣrah called al-Miswar b. 'Abdallāh b. Muslim al-Bāhilī[586] in

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and none of his forebears seems to have distinguished himself; the identical genealogy is recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī (Caskel, table 24).

582. The poem may be a comment on the different social status of Sharīk and Isḥāq, humble Sharīk appointing the aristocratic Isḥāq as his deputy.

583. B. Shabbah.

584. Not recorded elsewhere.

585. Presumably a relative of his.

586. Probably a cousin of Salm b. Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, whose family was prominent in al-Baṣrah; see above, note 27.

charge of it, and 'Abd al-Malik was confirmed in charge of the prayers.

In this year Qutham b. al-'Abbās was deposed from al-Yamāmah because of (the caliph's) anger, but, when the letter of his deposition arrived in al-Yamāmah, he had died. Bishr b. al-Mundhir al-Bajalī[587] was appointed governor in his place.

In this year Yazīd b. Manṣūr was deposed from Yemen and Rajā' b. Rawḥ was appointed in his place.

In this year al-Haytham b. Sa'īd[588] was deposed from al-Jazīrah and al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ was appointed as governor.

In this year al-Mahdī manumitted his slave girl (*umm walad*) al-Khayzurān and married her.[589]

In this year al-Mahdī also married Umm 'Abdallāh, daughter of Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī and sister of al-Faḍl and 'Abdallāh b. Ṣālih by the same mother. In this year in Dhu al-Ḥijjah (20 September–18 October, 776) fire broke out among the boats in Baghdad by the palace of 'Īsā b. 'Alī.[590] Many people were burned, and the boats there with their contents were destroyed by fire.

In this year Maṭar, freedman of al-Manṣūr, was deposed from [467]
Egypt and Abū Ḍamrah Muḥammad b. Sulaymān[591] was made governor in his place.

In this year there was agitation among the Banū Hāshim and their party of the people of Khurāsān, demanding the removal of 'Īsā b. Mūsā from his position as heir apparent and its transfer to Mūsā b. al-Mahdī. When that became apparent to al-Mahdī, he wrote, it is said, to 'Īsā b. Mūsā, who was in al-Kūfah, ordering

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587. Nothing more is known about him.

588. He is probably to be identified with al-Haytham b. Sa'īd b. Zuhayr, mawlā of al-Manṣūr, who had a *suwayqah* (small market) in west Baghdad by the Round City (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 288). It is not clear when he was appointed to al-Jazīrah, and no further information is known about him.

589. Mother of the future caliphs al-Hādī and Hārūn and the princess al-Banūqah. A former slave of Yemeni origin, she became very powerful because of her influence with al-Mahdī. Her position declined in al-Hādī's reign, but she regained much of her influence upon the accession of Hārūn. She died in 173/789.

590. This lay on the west bank of the Tigris, where the 'Īsā Canal flowed into it, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 146. There was a harbor there mostly used by boats coming from al-Baṣrah.

591. Not to be confused with Muḥammad b. Sulaymān the 'Abbāsid (see note 29, above). He remained governor until 161/778, according to al-Ṭabarī, but is not recorded by al-Kindi (see note 167, above).

him to come to him, but ʿĪsā was suspicious of his intentions and refused to come to him.

According to ʿUmar:[592] When power passed to al-Mahdī, he asked ʿĪsā to resign his position but he refused, so he wanted to coerce him. He appointed Rawḥ b. Ḥātim b. Qabīṣah b. al-Muhallab as governor of al-Kūfah and Khālid b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim in charge of the police. Al-Mahdī was wanting Rawḥ to attack ʿĪsā in a way that nothing could be held against Rawḥ, but he could not find any means of achieving this.

ʿĪsā had left for an estate of his at al-Raḥbah[593] and only used to come into al-Kūfah during two months in the year, in Ramaḍān, when he joined the Friday prayers, and the ʿĪd,[594] after which he returned to his estate, and at the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah to attend the ʿĪd[595] and return immediately to his estate. When he attended the Friday prayers, he used to ride from his house to the doors of the mosque, dismount on the threshold of the door, and pray on the spot, Rawḥ wrote to al-Mahdī saying that ʿĪsā b. Mūsā did not attend Friday prayers or enter al-Kūfah except for two months of the year and, when he did come, he rode until he reached the square by the mosque, which was the praying place of
[468] the people, and then he crossed it to the gates of the mosque and his animals dropped dung in the praying place of the people. No one else did this. Al-Mahdī wrote to Rawḥ, ordering him to block the ends of the lanes that led to the mosque with planks of wood so that the people would dismount there. Rawḥ put the planks at the ends of the lanes, so that the place became known as "the Planks." ʿĪsā b. Mūsā heard about this before Friday, and he wrote to the heirs of Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd,[596] the house of Mukhtār being on the edge of the mosque, and bought it for a high price, refurbished it, and had a bath installed. On Thursday he went there and stayed in it and, when he wanted to go to Friday prayers, he mounted a donkey and rode slowly to the gate of the mosque,

592. B. Shabbah.

593. It is probable that ʿĪsā's secluded residence was the great palace now known as Ukhaydir, in the desert west of al-Kūfah.

594. The *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr*, or Feast of the Breaking of the Ramaḍān Fast on 1 Shawwāl.

595. *The ʿĪd al-Adha*, or Feast of Sacrifice, on 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

596. Mukhtār had led a famous rebellion against the Umayyads in al-Kūfah in 65–67/685–87.

prayed in a corner, and returned to his house. He made al-Kūfah his home and stayed there. Al-Mahdī became insistent with ʿĪsā and said, "If you do not agree to renounce your rights so that I can have the oath of allegiance taken to Mūsā and Hārūn, I will feel justified in treating you as a rebel, but, if you accept, I will compensate you with what will be more advantageous to you and more immediately useful." He agreed and took the oath of allegiance to the two of them, and al-Mahdī ordered ten million *dirhams* for him, or, it is said, twenty million *dirhams*, and numerous estates (*qaṭāʾiʿ*).

According to someone other than ʿUmar: Al-Mahdī wrote to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā when he was intending to depose him, ordering him to come to him, but he was suspicious of his intentions and refused to come so that it was feared that he would rebel. Al-Mahdī sent his uncle al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad to him and wrote a letter and informed him what he wanted him to say to ʿĪsā. Al-ʿAbbās reached ʿĪsā with al-Mahdī's letter and his message to him, and he returned to al-Mahdī with his reply to that. After al-ʿAbbās had [469] come to him, he sent Muḥammad b. Farrūkh Abū Hurayrah,[597] the commander, with a thousand of his companions who were enthusiastic in their support (for al-Mahdī). He gave each man a drum and ordered them to beat them in unison as they reached al-Kūfah. He entered the city one night in the early dawn, and his companions beat their drums. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā was extremely frightened by that. Abū Hurayrah came to him and ordered him to set out. ʿĪsā complained that he was ill, but Abū Hurayrah did not accept this and brought him immediately to the City of Peace.

The leader of the pilgrims in this year was Yazīd b. Manṣūr, the maternal uncle of al-Mahdī, on his arrival from Yemen.

According to Aḥmad b. Thābit—anon.—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā—Abū Maʿshar: Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī and others also say this: Yazīd b. Manṣūr came from Yemen because of a letter from al-Mahdī ordering him to come to him and appointing him in

597. Al-Azdī. He had been one of the small group of Khurāsānī soldiers who had discovered al-Saffāḥ in al-Kūfah and first proclaimed him caliph (al-Ṭabarī, *History*, III, 36). Immediately before his death, al-Hādī sent him to arrest his brother Hārūn, and, when Hārūn became caliph, he had Muḥammad executed in 171/787–88.

charge of the Pilgrimage and telling him of his longing to see him and have him near.

The governor of Medina in this year was 'Ubaydallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥī, Isḥāq b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī was in charge of the prayers and the *aḥdāth* at al-Kūfah, Thābit b. Mūsā was in charge of the taxation there, and Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh of the judiciary. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ayyūb b. Ẕubyān al-Numayrī was in charge of
[470] the prayers at al-Baṣrah. 'Umārah b. Ḥamzah was over the *aḥdāth* there, with al-Miswar b. 'Abdallāh b. Muslim al-Bāhili as his deputy and 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan over the judiciary. 'Umārah b. Ḥamzah was over the districts (*kuwar*) of the Tigris, al-Ahwāz, and Fārs. Bisṭām b. 'Amr was in charge of Sind,[598] Rajā' b. Rawḥ of Yemen, and Bishr b. al-Mundhir of al-Yamāmah. Abū 'Awn 'Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd was in charge of Khurāsān, al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ of al-Jazīrah, Yazīd b. Ḥātim of Ifrīqiyah, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Abū Ḍamrah of Egypt.

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598. His brother Hishām had been governor of Sind in 156–57/772–74, and he himself was appointed to Azerbaijān in 161/777–78. See Crone, *Slaves*, 167–68.

The Events of the Year 160

(October 19, 776–October 8, 777)

The events of this year:

Among the events of this year was the rebellion of Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm, he was the one who was called Yūsuf al-Barm,[599] in Khurāsān. He and those who followed him and shared his opinions repudiated al-Mahdī because of the position he was alleged to be in and his conduct in that position. It is said that many people joined him and Yazīd b. Mazyad was sent against him and met him in battle until they fought hand to hand and Yazīd took him prisoner and sent him to al-Mahdī with a number of his principal supporters. When they were brought to al-Nahrawān, Yūsuf al-Barm was carried on a camel with his face toward the tail of his camel, and his supporters were also on camels. They were taken into al-Ruṣāfah in this position and brought to al-Mahdī. He ordered Harthamah b. A'yan to cut off Yūsuf's hands and legs and then to behead him and his supporters, and they were crucified on the Upper Bridge over the Tigris at the 'Askar al-Mahdī end. [471]

599. For this rebellion, see Daniel, *Khurāsān*, 166–67.

He only ordered Harthamah to kill him because he had killed a brother of Harthamah's in Khurāsān.[600]

In this year ʿĪsā b. Mūsā arrived with Abū Hurayrah on Thursday, 6 Muḥarram (Thursday, October 24, 776), according to al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān. He stayed in a house belonging to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān on the banks of the Tigris in ʿAskar al-Mahdī. For some days he stayed visiting al-Mahdī, frequently going in by the entrance he was used to using and not meeting with any opposition, hostility, or indifference, and some of the courtiers became friendly with him. Then one day he came to the palace before al-Mahdī's audience and came into an audience being held by al-Rabīʿ in a small room (*maqṣūrah*) with a door. The chiefs of the (ʿAbbāsid) party had gathered that day to depose him and attack him, and they did that when he was in the room where al-Rabīʿ held his audience. The door of the room was locked in front of them, so they beat on the door with their maces and their staffs until they smashed it and almost broke it down. They cursed him with the worst of curses and besieged him there. Al-Mahdī appeared to disapprove of what they were doing, but this did not deter them from what they were doing but rather they intensified their attack on him. He and they remained in this position for some days until senior men from his family made it public in the presence of al-Mahdī and they insisted on deposing him and cursed him to his face, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān being the most hostile of them toward him. When al-Mahdī saw their opinion of ʿĪsā and their hatred of him and his position as heir apparent, he called on them to accept Mūsā as heir. He went along with their opinion and agreement and urged ʿĪsā to respond to him and them by giving up the oath to himself that was on the necks of the people and releasing them from it. He refused, saying that he was restrained
[472] by an oath on his money and his family.[601] Al-Mahdī sent him a number of legal scholars (*fuqahā*) and judges, among them Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUlāthah, al-Zanjī b. Khālid al-Makkī,[602]

600. Daniel regards this as the "ostensible reason," but there seems to me no cause to doubt al-Ṭabarī's account.

601. I.e., an oath with provision that he would give away his money and divorce his wives if he broke it; see p. 186, below, where ʿĪsā's letter of resignation contains such penalty clauses.

602. Nothing more seems to be known of him.

and others, and they gave him a legal opinion as they saw it. (He agreed to his deposition).[603] Eventually al-Mahdī decided to buy the oath that he had on the necks of the people for what would be a satisfaction and compensation to him for what he was paying out for the breaking of his oath. This was ten million *dirhams* and the estates of the Upper Zāb and Kaskar, and ʿĪsā accepted this. Since al-Mahdī had begun negotiations about deposing him until he had agreed to it, ʿĪsā had remained confined with him in the House of the *Dīwān*[604] in al-Ruṣāfah until he accepted the deposition and the surrender on Wednesday, 26 Muḥarram (Wednesday, 13 November, 776), after the afternoon prayer. He took the oath of allegiance to al-Mahdī and to Mūsā after him on the morning of Thursday, 27 Muḥarram (Thursday, 14 November, 776), toward midday. Then al-Mahdī received the members of his family in a pavilion that Muḥammad b. Sulaymān had given him that was pitched in the Courtyard of the Gates.[605] He received their oaths of allegiance to himself and to Mūsā b. al-Mahdī after him one by one until the last of them, and then he went out to the Friday Mosque in al-Ruṣāfah and sat on the pulpit. Mūsā climbed up so that he was below him and ʿĪsā stood on the first step of the pulpit. Al-Mahdī thanked God and praised him and prayed for the Prophet. Then he explained why he had called together the people of his House and his Party, his commanders, his helpers (*anṣār*) and others of the people of Khurāsān. He told them about the deposition of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and the transfer of the rights he had over the people to Mūsā, son of the Commander of the Faithful, about their choice of him and their pleasure in him and how he saw their response to that, what he hoped from their interest and [473] friendship and what he feared from their differences in intention and disagreements in their words. ʿĪsā had resigned his precedence and released them from the oath to him that was on their necks. His rights in this had passed to Mūsā, son of the Commander of the Faithful, with the agreement of the Commander of the Faith-

603. The editor suggests that these words from Ibn al-Athīr's version should be inserted; al-Ṭabarī, III, 472, n. *b*.

604. *Dār al-Dīwan*, presumably the building where the *dīwān* records (see note 401, above) were kept, but it is not recorded by the geographers.

605. *Saḥn al-Abwāb*, it seems that this was in the caliph's palace in al-Ruṣāfah.

ful and the members of his family and his party. Mūsā was the agent of the Book of Allāh and the *sunna* of His Prophet among them with the best and most just conduct.

(He continued,) "So take the oath of allegiance, you who are present and make haste to do what others have made haste to do before. All goodness lies in consensus and all evil in division. I ask Allāh for us, and for you, good fortune through His mercy and action in obedience to Him and what is pleasing to Him, and I ask the forgiveness of Allāh for me and for you."

Mūsā sat down below him separately on the pulpit so as not to leave a gap between him and those who came up to take the oath of allegiance to him and shake his hand and so that his face should not be hidden. ʿĪsā remained standing in his place and a letter was read to him detailing his resignation, his withdrawal from his position as heir apparent, and his releasing of the people from the oath of allegiance to him that was on their necks. That was his own doing, and he was doing it obediently without force, willingly without anger, lovingly without duress. ʿĪsā agreed to that and went up to swear allegiance to al-Mahdī and shook his hand and then retired. The family of al-Mahdī took the oath in order of age, swearing allegiance to al-Mahdī and then to Mūsā, shaking both their hands until the last of them had finished. Those of the courtiers (*aṣḥāb*) and the leading military commanders and men of the (ʿAbbāsid) party who were present did likewise. Then al-Mahdī came down and went to his house, leaving his maternal uncle Yazīd b. Manṣūr in charge of taking the oath from those who were left of the upper and lower classes (*khāṣṣah wa-ʿāmmah*). He administered it until all the people had finished. Al-Mahdī handed over to ʿĪsā what he had given him and satisfied him with for the resignation of the position of heir apparent. For him he
[474] wrote a letter of resignation witnessed by all the people of his house, his courtiers and his party, his secretaries and the soldiers in his *dīwāns*, as a proof against ʿĪsā and a block to any claims or pretensions he might have to what he had given up.

This is a copy of the conditions that ʿĪsā wrote for himself:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is a letter to the servant of Allāh al-Mahdī Muḥammad, Commander of the Faithful, and to the heir apparent

of the Muslims, Mūsā, son of al-Mahdī, to the members of his family, to all his commanders and troops of the people of Khurāsān, and to all the Muslims in eastern and western parts of the earth wherever they may be. I wrote it for al-Mahdī Muḥammad, Commander of the Faithful, and for the heir apparent of the Muslims, Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī concerning the assigning to him of the covenant that belonged to me until the words of the Muslims came together, their affair was harmonized, and their desires were united to accept appointing Mūsā, son of al-Mahdī Muḥammad, Commander of the Faithful, as heir apparent. I have acknowledged that the writing of that is binding on me and that the writing in it is mine. I have entered into what the Muslims have entered into concerning the choice of Mūsā, son of the Commander of the Faithful, and the oath of allegiance to him and have abandoned the oath of allegiance to me that was on their necks, and given you freedom from that, in fullness without embarrassment on your behalf, or any of your number or the generality of the Muslims. There is nothing either old or new of that which gives me any claims, demands, proofs, arguments, or obedience from anyone of you or from the generality of the Muslims. There is no oath of allegiance (due to me) in the lifetime of Muḥammad, Commander of the Faithful, or after him, or after the heir apparent of the Muslims, Mūsā, as long as I live until my death. I have sworn allegiance to Muḥammad al-Mahdī, Commander of the Faithful, and to Mūsā son of the Commander of the Faithful after him, and I [475] have granted to them and to the mass of the Muslims of the people of Khurāsān and others absolution from the conditions that applied to me in this matter that I have abandoned. I have made a pact with Allāh to persist in this. I will not release any of His creatures from any pact or agreement or oath or assurance (they have made) to hear and obey and support al-Mahdī Muḥammad, Commander of the Faithful, and his heir apparent, Mūsā, son of the Commander of the Faithful, either secretly or openly, by word or by deed, by intention, by force, by urgent re-

quest, for better or for worse. (I shall act) in friendship to the two of them and those they appoint to office and hostility to those who are hostile to them, whoever it might be, as if we were still in this position that I have abandoned.

If I deviate from or change or alter or interfere with or act contrary to anything I have promised in this agreement or if I call on others to disobey anything I have made incumbent on myself in this letter to al-Mahdī Muḥammad, Commander of the Faithful, and his heir apparent, Mūsā, son of the Commander of the Faithful, and to the mass of the Muslims, or do not fulfill it, every wife I have married at the time I wrote this letter or will marry in the next thirty years is divorced three times, finally and completely, every slave I have now or will own in the next thirty years is free before Allāh, and all my wealth, coin or goods or loans or land, whether great or small, long held or newly acquired, or that I shall acquire in the next thirty years from today, will be alms (*ṣadaqah*) for the wretched and the governor will distribute it as he sees fit. I will walk barefoot from the City of Peace to the old house of Allāh[606] that is in Mecca, dedicated and obliged, for thirty years. There will be no expiation for me and no escape for me except fulfillment of it, and God will ensure the fulfillment of it as the responsible witness, and God is a
[476] sufficient witness. The witness to ʿĪsā b. Mūsā of his acceptance of what is in these conditions is four hundred and thirty members of the Banū Hāshim, of the freedmen, of the courtiers (*ṣaḥābah*) of Quraysh, the ministers, secretaries, and judges. This was written in Ṣafar, 160 (18 November—16 December, 776), and sealed by ʿĪsā b. Mūsā.

A poet said:

Abū Mūsā hated death,
but in death was escape and honor.

606. The Kaʿbah.

He cast off power and appeared dressed in
a very long garment of blame that goes down till his feet are not seen.

In the year 160 'Abd al-Malik b. Shihāb al-Misma'ī reached the city of Bārbad with those volunteers and others who had set out with him. They attacked the city the day after their arrival and besieged it for two days. They then prepared a mangonel and attacked it with all their equipment. Then the people gathered together and spurred each other on with the Qur'ān and praising Allāh, and Allāh allowed them to take it by force. Their horsemen entered it from all sides and forced them to take refuge in their stronghold. They lit fires with oil, and some of them were burned while others attacked the Muslims but Allāh killed them all. More than twenty Muslims were martyred and Allāh gave (the city) as booty (*fay'*) to them.

The sea became rough so that they could not sail away on it, so they stayed until it improved and they were afflicted with a disease in their mouths called scurvy (*ḥumām qurr*), and about a thousand of them died, including al-Rabī' b. Ṣubayḥ. Then they left when it was possible and reached the shore of Fārs at a place called Baḥr Ḥamrān.[607] The wind rose up on them there during the night, and most of their ships were wrecked. Some of them [477] were drowned and some escaped. They brought with them some of their prisoners, among them the daughter of the king of Bārbad, to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, who was at that time governor of al-Baṣrah.

In this year Abān b. Ṣadaqah was appointed secretary and minister (*wazīr*) to Hārūn b. al-Mahdī.

In this year Abū 'Awn was deposed from Khurāsān on account of (the caliph's)[608] anger and Mu'ādh b. Muslim was put in his place.

In this year the summer expedition (against the Byzantines)

607. Not known to the geographers.

608. According to Ibn al-Athīr, this was because he failed to defeat the rebel al-Muqanna'. That the caliph still retained a high opinion of him is shown by the anecdote, pp. 256–57, below.

was led by Thumāmah b. al-Walīd al-ʿAbsī.[609]

In this year al-Ghamr b. al-ʿAbbās al-Khathʿamī[610] led a raid on the Syrian (Mediterranean) sea.

In this year al-Mahdī returned the family of Abū Bakrah from their genealogy in Thaqīf to their position as clients of the Prophet of God.[611] The reason for this was that a man of Abū Bakrah complained of injustice to al-Mahdī and claimed to be related to him because of his position as a freedmen of the Prophet of God. Al-Mahdī replied, "You have established this genealogy and traced back this descent only when you felt you needed to and you required to become close to us." Al-Ḥakam said, "O Commander of the Faithful, if anybody has denied that, we will acknowledge it. I am asking you to return me and the clan of Abū Bakrah to our descent from the freedman of the Prophet of God and to order that the family of Ziyād b. ʿUbayd be expelled from the genealogy to which Muʿāwiyah had attached them, contrary to the judgment of the Prophet: 'The child belongs to the bed and to the adulterer the stone.' They should be returned to their descent from ʿUbayd among the freedmen of Thaqīf."[612]

Al-Mahdī ordered that all the branches of the family of Abū
[478] Bakrah and the family of Ziyād should be returned to their genealogy. He wrote to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān a letter that he ordered should be read out in the Great Mosque (in al-Baṣrah) to

609. He was to lead the expedition for the next two years. For his background, see Crone, *Slaves*, 105–6.

610. Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 253, says that he had a property in Baghdad and calls him *ṣāḥib al-baḥr*, "the lord of the sea."

611. Abū Bakrah Nufayʿ (or Nafīʿ) b. Masrūḥ was a slave man of Thaqīf by origin, but he became a mawlā (client here, rather than freedman) of the Prophet. His mother, Sumayyah, later married ʿUbayd, so he and Ziyād were half-brothers (see note 612). His descendant is claiming that this bond entitles him to be considered as a member of the Prophet's kin. The issue was important because genealogy decided the level of pension paid by the *dīwān*.

612. Ziyād was Muʿāwiyah's right-hand man in Iraq. At first he was accepted as the son of ʿUbayd, a mawlā of Thaqīf and his wife Sumayyah, but it was widely believed that Sumayyah had been unfaithful and that Ziyād's true father was Abū Sufyān, Muʿāwiyah's father. As a sign of his gratitude, Muʿāwiyah acknowledged the link and had Ziyād accepted as an Umayyad. Al-Mahdī removed his descendants to the humbler position of mawālī of Thaqīf. The descendant of Abū Bakrah is arguing that this is a precedent and that the caliph can alter people's genealogical status if he believes that to be right.

the effect that the family of Abū Bakrah should be returned to their status as freedmen of the Prophet and their descent from Nufayʿ b. Masrūḥ.[613] There should be returned to those who acknowledged that genealogy their wealth in al-Baṣrah, which he ordered should be restored to them the same as those in a similar position whose wealth had been restored to them. It should not be returned to those who denied that. He appointed as investigator and examiner of them al-Ḥakam b. Samarqand.[614]

Muḥammad put into effect the orders that had come about the family of Abū Bakrah, except those of them who were not present. As for the family of Ziyād, what strengthened the opinion of al-Mahdī about them was what ʿAlī b. Sulaymān reported that his father told him: "I was in the presence of al-Mahdī when he was investigating complaints (*maẓālim*), when a man from the family of Ziyād called al-Ṣughdī b. Salm b. Ḥarb came to him and he asked, 'Who are you?' and he replied, 'Your cousin (*ibn ʿamm*),' so he asked, 'Which cousin?' and he traced his genealogy back to Ziyād.[615] Al-Mahdī said, 'O son of Sumayyah the adulteress, since when are you my cousin?' and he was very angry with him, and he was squeezed in the neck and thrown out and the people rose."

He said: When I went out, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā or Mūsā b. ʿĪsā followed me and said, "By God, I wanted to send after you because the Commander of the Faithful turned to us after you had gone out and said, 'Who knows anything about the family of Ziyād?' and, by God, none of us knew a thing about it. Do you have any information, O Abū ʿAbdallāh?" I continued to tell him about Ziyād and the family of Ziyād until we reached his house by the Muḥawwal Gate, where he asked me by God and kinship to write all of it down so that he could go to the Commander of the Faithful and tell him about it on my authority. So I wrote it down and sent it to him, and he went to al-Mahdī and informed him about it. Al-Mahdī ordered that a letter be written to Hārūn al-Rashīd, [479] who was his governor of al-Baṣrah,[616] ordering him to write to

613. See note 611, above.

614. He is not recorded elsewhere.

615. If Ziyād had been accepted as an Umayyad, his descendant would have been a (very distant) cousin of the caliph.

616. The situation seems to have been that the young Hārūn had some theoret-

the governor to remove the family of Ziyād from the *dīwān* of Quraysh and the Arabs[617] and to examine the descendants of Abū Bakrah about their position as clients of the Prophet. Those who accepted it were to retain their wealth, but, if they traced their descent to Thaqīf, it should be confiscated. They were examined and all of them accepted their status as freedmen except three, and their wealth was confiscated. After that the family of Ziyād bribed the chief of the *dīwān* to restore them to their previous position. Khālid al-Najjār[618] said about this:

To me :(the brothers) Ziyād, Nāfi', and Abū
Bakrah are one of the most amazing wonders.
One is a Qurashī, he says, the next
a client and the third, as he alleges, an Arab.

A copy of the letter sent by al-Mahdī to his governor of al-Baṣrah ordering that the family of Ziyād be returned to their genealogy:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The most just thing that the governors of the Muslims themselves, their courtiers, and their general public undertake in their affairs and their judgments is acting among them (the Muslims) in accordance with the Book of God and in surrendering to the desires other than it leads to with it. They should persevere with it and take pleasure in it in their likes and dislikes because of what is in it about the establishment of the legal punishments of God, the knowledge of His law, the following of His wishes, and the obtaining of His rewards, and His good recompense. Whatever goes in conflict with it, in rejecting it
> [480] and in surrendering to the desires other than it, leads to all sorts of going astray and depravity in this world and the next.
>
> It was the decision of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān to adopt Ziyād b. 'Ubayd, the slave of the family of 'Allāj of Thaqīf

ical authority over al-Basrah but appointed an executive governor to administer the city.

617. Following Ibn al-Athīr here, see al-Ṭabarī, III, 479, n. *b*.

618. Nothing more is known of him.

and to accord him what the mass of the Muslims after him and many in his own time refused him[619] because of their knowledge of Ziyād and his father and his mother. (Those who refused him were) persons of good will, virtue, law (*fiqh*), piety, and knowledge. Muʿāwiyah did not follow that because of piety, or good guidance, or observing the guiding *Sunnah*, or the example of the past *imāms* of truth, but because of his desire for the destruction of his faith and his afterlife and his determination to contradict the Book and the *Sunnah*. He admired Ziyād for his determination and effectiveness and what he hoped from his assistance and his support to strengthen him in his resorting to the falsehood in his conduct, ways, and wicked works. The Prophet of God said, "The child belongs to the bed and to the adulterer the stone,"[620] and he said, "He who claims descent from someone other than his father, or to be related to someone other than his master, upon him is the curse of God and His angels and of all the people. God will not accept either repentance or ransom from him." By my life, Ziyād was not born in the lap of Abū Sufyān, nor in his bed, nor was ʿUbayd a slave of Abū Sufyān, nor was Sumayyah his slave girl. They were not his property, and he did not own them by any means.

All those who know traditions and anecdotes remember what Muʿāwiyah said to Naṣr b. Hajjāj b. ʿĪlāṭ al-Sulamī[621] and those freedmen of the Banū'l-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī who were with him,[622] and how they wanted to adopt him and accept his claim. Muʿāwiyah prepared a stone under one of his cushions and threw it at them, and they said to him, "Should we regard as permissible what you have done for Ziyād while you do not make permissible to us what we have done to our relative (Naṣr)?"

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619. I.e., the status of a member of Quraysh.

620. Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 88, claim that this is the first time a caliph ever quoted a prophetic tradition in a public statement.

621. Naṣr was the beautiful lad of Medina with whom a certain woman was infatuated. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb drove him out of Medina.

622. No further information is available about them.

Upon that Muʿāwiyah said to them "The judgment of the Prophet of God is better for you than the judgment of
[481] Muʿāwiyah." Thus in his judgment about Ziyād and his adopting him, and what he did for him and how he promoted him, Muʿāwiyah contradicted the order of God, Great and Glorious, and pursued in this matter his own desire, forsaking truth and avoiding it. God, Great and Glorious, says, "Who is more led astray than he who follows his own desires without the guidance of God, for God does not give guidance to a wrong-doing people."[623]

And He said to David, to whom he had given judgment and Prophecy and wealth and the caliphate, "O David, we did indeed make you a vicegerent (*khalīfah*) on the earth," to the end of the verse.[624]

The Commander of the Faithful asks God to safeguard his soul and his faith and protect him from pursuing his own desires and to grant him success in all his affairs as He wishes and accepts, for He is listening and close.

The Commander of the Faithful has decided that he will return Ziyād and those who are descended from him to their mother and their well-known genealogy; he assigns them to their father, ʿUbayd, and their mother, Sumayyah. He is following the words of the Prophet of God and what truthful people and rightly guided *Imām*s have agreed upon. He does not hold permissible what Muʿāwiyah has ventured that contradicts the Book of God and the *Sunnah* of his Prophet. The Commander of the Faithful is the person most entitled to do that and to apply it because of his kinship with the Prophet of God and his following in his tracks, his keeping alive of his *Sunnah* and his rejection of the customs (*sunan*) of others that deviate and outrage truth and good guidance.

God, Great and Glorious, has said, "Apart from Truth, what remains but error? How then are ye turned away?"[625]

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623. *Qur'ān*, XXV: 50.
624. *Qur'ān*, XXXVIII: 26.
625. *Qur'ān*, X: 32.

Know that this is the decision of the Commander of the Faithful about Ziyād and the matter of the children of Ziyād, so attach them to their father, Ziyād b. 'Ubayd, and their mother, Sumayyah. Force them about that and make it known to those of the Muslims in your area, so that they may know it and it may be accepted among them. The Commander of the Faithful has written to the *qāḍī* of al-Baṣrah and the master of their *dīwān* about that. Peace be upon you and the mercy of God and His blessings.

Mu'āwiyah b. 'Ubaydallāh wrote this in the year 159 (31 October, 775–18 October, 776). When the letter reached Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, he set about putting it into effect, but then representations were made on their behalf and he did not proceed. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ayyūb b. Ẕubyān al-Numayrī had been sent a letter like the one to Muḥammad, but he did not put it into effect because of his relationship to Qays and his dislike of any of his people, leaving it for another group.[626] [482]

In this year the death of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Jumaḥī occurred. He was governor of Medina, and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Kathīrī was appointed in his place, but he remained there only a short time before he was removed and Zufar b. 'Āṣim al-Hilālī was appointed in his place. Al-Mahdī appointed 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Imrān al-Ṭalḥī[627] in charge of the judiciary in Medina in this year.

In this year 'Abd al-Salām al-Khārijī[628] rebelled and was killed.

In this year Bisṭām b. 'Amr was deposed from Sind and Rawḥ b. Ḥātim was made governor.

Al-Mahdī led the pilgrims in this year. When he left his city, he

626. Numayr and Quraysh were of the Qays group, thinly represented in al-Baṣrah, and 'Abd al-Malik did not want to lose the family of Ziyād.

627. B. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, a descendant of Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh, the Prophet's companion and one of the first Muslims. This may be why al-Ṭabarī singles him out for notice, for he does not seem to have been famous for any other reason (see Caskel, Table 21, for the full genealogy).

628. B. Hāshim al-Yashkūrī. Ibn al-Athīr adds that he was killed near Mosul, and al-Khalīfah, *Tārīkh*, 702, quotes al-Mahdī's letter refuting his claims. For further details, see text, p. 492.

appointed his son Mūsā as his deputy and with him left Yazīd b. Manṣūr, the maternal uncle of al-Mahdī, as his vizier and administrator of his affairs. In this year his son Hārūn and a group of people of his household set out with al-Mahdī. Among those who accompanied him was Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd because of the position he had with him. When he reached Mecca, al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, for whom Ya'qūb had asked al-Mahdī for a safe-conduct, came to him with his safe-conduct. Al-Mahdī gave him the best of gifts and rewards and assigned him wealth from the state lands (*ṣawāfī*) in the Ḥijāz.

[483] In this year, al-Mahdī took off the cover (*kiswah*) of the Ka'bah and replaced it with a new one. This was because the keepers of the Ka'bah, it is said, told him that they were afraid that it would be destroyed by the weight of the covers that were on it. He ordered that the covers that were on it should be stripped off so that it was completely bare. Then he ordered that the whole house be covered with perfume (*khālūq*). It is said that, when they reached Hishām's cover, they found it was made of very thick brocade and they found that the covers of those before him were mostly of textiles from Yemen.

This year it is said that al-Mahdī distributed a great deal of money to the inhabitants of Mecca and that he did the same to the people of Medina. It is said that the amount he distributed on this journey was investigated and it was found to be thirty million *dirhams*, which he brought with him. Three hundred thousand *dīnārs* came to him from Egypt and 200,000 from Yemen, and it was all distributed. One hundred and fifty thousand garments were also distributed. He extended the mosque of the Prophet of God and ordered the removal of the enclosure (*maqṣūrah*) that was in the mosque of the Prophet, so it was removed.[629] He wanted to reduce the height of the pulpit of the Prophet of God and return it to its original state, removing from it what Mu'āwiyah had added. It is said on the authority of Mālik b. Anas[630] that he took advice about this and he was told that there

629. The enclosure for prominent people (*maqṣūrah*) was disapproved of by the pious because all Muslims should be considered equal before God.

630. D. 179/796. The great traditionist and legal scholar, author of the *Muwaṭṭā* and founder of the Mālikī legal school; see *EI*², s.v. "Mālik b. Anas."

were nails that joined the wood that Mu'āwiyah had added to the original ancient wood and that it was not safe to take out these nails because the vibration would break it, so he abandoned the idea.

During the days he was staying in Medina he ordered that five hundred of the men of the Anṣār[631] should be recruited and that they should be a guard and helpers (*anṣār*) to him in Iraq. They were to be given their food in addition to their salaries and, on their arrival with him at Baghdad, they were given a property (*qaṭī'ah*),[632] which was known after them.

During his stay there, he married Ruqayyah the 'Uthmānī, daughter of 'Amr.[633]

In this year Muḥammad b. Sulaymān brought ice to al-Mahdī, which reached him in Mecca. Al-Mahdī was the first of the caliphs to have ice brought to him in Mecca. [484]

In this year, al-Mahdī returned to his family and others the plots (*qatā'i'*) that had been confiscated from them.

Isḥāq b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī was in charge of the prayers and the *aḥdāth* in al-Kūfah in this year, and Sharīk was in charge of the judiciary there. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān was in sole charge of al-Baṣrah and its *aḥdāth* and its separate offices, the districts (*kuwar*) of the Tigris, Baḥrayn, and 'Umān and the districts of Ahwāz and Fārs. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan was in charge of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah in this year. Mu'ādh b. Muslim was in charge of Khurāsān, al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ of al-Jazīrah, Rawḥ b. Ḥātim of Sind, Yazīd b. Ḥātim of Ifrīqiyah, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Abū Ḍamrah of Egypt.

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631. In this case, descendants of the original *anṣār* of Medina, the helpers of the Prophet are meant, not the Khurāsāniyyah, who are often referred to as the *anṣār* of the 'Abbāsids; see note 63, above.

632. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 222, notes a Bridge of the Anṣār on the East Bank of the Tigris in Baghdad.

633. Probably daughter of 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, a grandson of the caliph 'Uthmān. After al-Mahdī's death, Ruqayyah became the wife of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, the unsuccessful 'Alid rebel of 169/785–86.

The Events of the Year 161

(OCTOBER 9, 777–SEPTEMBER 27, 778)

The events of this year:

Among the events of this year was the rebellion of Ḥakīm al-Muqanna'[634] in Khurāsān, from one of the villages of Marw. It is said that he used to teach the transmigration of souls and applied it to himself. He led many people astray and became powerful and moved to Transoxania. Al-Mahdī sent a number of commanders to fight him, among them Mu'ādh b. Muslim, who was at that time in charge of Khurāsān. With him were 'Uqbah b. Muslim,[635] Jibra'īl b. Yaḥyā, and Layth, freedman of al-Mahdī.[636] Then al-Mahdī put Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī[637] in sole command of the war against

634. For the most recent discussion of al-Muqanna', with full references, see Daniel, *Khurāsān*, 137–47.

635. This name should probably read 'Uqbah b. Salm, on whom see note 72, above.

636. He was later appointed governor of Sind (see below, p. 505; Ya'qūbī, *Tā'rīkh*, II, 465; Crone, *Slaves*, 192.

637. Not to be confused with Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. Aswad al-Ḥarashī, who was governor of Khurāsān for the Umayyads 103–4/721–22 (cf. Crone, *Slaves*, 144–45, who attempts to link the two). Al-Kindī, *Governors*, 122, reveals that the family at

him and attached the commanders to him. Al-Muqanna' began to gather food in preparation for a siege in a castle in Kishsh.[638]

In this year Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Khuzā'ī[639] [485] apprehended 'Abdallāh b. Marwān[640] in Syria and brought him to al-Mahdī, before he was appointed governor of Sind, and al-Mahdī imprisoned him in the Muṭbaq.[641]

Abū al-Khaṭṭāb mentioned: 'Abdallāh b. Marwān b. Muḥammad, whose *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥakam, was brought to al-Mahdī when he was holding a public audience in al-Ruṣāfah, and he said, "Who knows this man?" and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī stood by him and said to him, "Abū al-Ḥakam?" and he replied, "Yes, the son of the Commander of the Faithful," and he said, "How have you been since I saw you?" Then 'Abd al-'Azīz turned to al-Mahdī and said, "Yes, Commander of the Faithful, this is 'Abdallāh b. Marwān." The people were amazed at his boldness, but al-Mahdī did not take any action against him.

When al-Mahdī imprisoned 'Abdallāh b. Marwān he laid a trap for him. 'Amr b. Sahlah al-Ash'arī[642] came and claimed that 'Abdallāh b. Marwān had killed his father and he was brought before 'Āfiyah the *Qāḍī*, who gave judgment that he should be killed for 'Amr's father, and proof was established against him. When the judgment was about to be carried out, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī came to 'Āfiyah the *Qāḍī*, passing through the people until he reached him, and said, "'Amr b. Sahlah alleges that 'Abdallāh b. Marwān killed his father. By God he is lying, for I alone killed him, on the orders of Marwān, and 'Abdallāh is

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one time consisted of slaves of Ziyād b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī (Naṣr b. Sayyār's governor of Nīshāpūr). His father, Dāwūd, was a Turk, while his mother was maternal aunt of the king of Ṭabaristān. He later campaigned in Ṭabaristān and is last recorded in 189/805, when he came to meet Hārūn al-Rashīd on his visit to al-Rayy. He was given extensive properties in eastern Baghdad by al- Mahdī, including a market and a square, perhaps as a reward for defeating al-Muqanna'.

638. In Transoxania between Samarqand and the Oxus, known since AD the fifteenth century as Shahr-i Sabz. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 469–70.

639. Son of the Khurāsānī commander Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Khuzā'ī. He was later governor of Sind and died there in 164/780–81 (Crone, *Slaves*, 185).

640. Son and heir apparent of Marwān b. Muḥammad, the last Umayyad caliph. He died in prison in 170/786–87.

641. The state prison within the walls of the Round City in Baghdad; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 27.

642. Nothing is known of this man or his father.

innocent of his blood." The case against 'Abdallāh b. Marwān was dropped, and al-Mahdī did not take any action against 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muslim because he killed him on the orders of Marwān.

In this year Thumāmah b. al-Walīd led the summer expedition[643] and camped in Dābiq, and the Byzantines assembled an army while he was heedless. When his scouts and spies came and told him, he did not pay any attention to what they said. He went out against the Byzantines, who were commanded by Michael, with
[486] the advance guard, and a number of the Muslims were killed. 'Īsā b. 'Alī was posted (*murābiṭ*) at the fortress of Mar'ash[644] at that time. The Muslims did not make a summer raid this year because of that.

In this year al-Mahdī ordered the building of castles (*quṣūr*) on the road to Mecca[645] more extensive than the castles that Abū al-'Abbās had built from Qādisiyyah to Zubālah, and he ordered that Abū al-'Abbās's castles should be enlarged, and he left the staging posts that Abū Ja'far had built as they were. He ordered the building of reservoirs (*maṣāni'*) at each watering place and the renewal of the milestones and cisterns (*birak*) and the building of watering troughs with the reservoirs. He put Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā in charge of this, and he continued with it until the year 171 (June 22, 787–June 10, 788). Yaqṭīn's successor in this was his brother Abū Mūsā.

In this year al-Mahdī ordered the enlargement of the great mosque in al-Baṣrah, and it was extended in front in the direction of the *qiblah* and on the right in the direction of the square of the Banū Sulaym. He put Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, who was at that time governor of al-Baṣrah, in charge of the work.

In this year al-Mahdī ordered the demolition of the enclosures (*maqṣūrah*) in all the mosques and the shortening of the pulpits

643. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," 735.

644. Modern Maraş, in southeastern Turkey. It was one of the main Muslim bases on the south side of the Taurus mountains; see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 502–3.

645. With the establishment of 'Abbāsid power in Iraq, the pilgrimage road from al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah to Mecca became increasingly important, and water supply was a constant problem; see below, p. 501. This was aggravated by the fact that the pilgrimage fell in high summer during the reigns of al-Mahdī and Hārūn. This was one of a series of measures to improve the position that culminated in the work of Zubaydah in the reign of Hārūn.

and their reduction to the size of the pulpit of the Prophet of God. He wrote about that to the provinces and it was done.

In this year al-Mahdī ordered Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd to send trusted agents to all the regions, and this was done. No letter was allowed to be sent on behalf of al-Mahdī to a governor until Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd had written to his trusted agent to send it.

In this year the status of Abū 'Ubaydallāh, the vizier of al-Mahdī, was humbled. Ya'qūb attached to himself a large number of the legal experts of al-Baṣrah and of the people of al-Kūfah and Syria. He appointed as chief of the Baṣrans and organizer of their business Ismā'īl b. 'Ulayyah al-Asadī[646] and Muḥammad b. Maymūn [487] al-'Anbarī.[647] He appointed 'Abd al-A'lā b. Mūsā al-Ḥalabī[648] as chief of the people of al-Kūfah and the people of Syria.

The reason why the position of Abū 'Ubaydallāh with al-Mahdī changed:

We have already mentioned the reasons for his appointment in the days of al-Manṣūr and how al-Mansūr attached him to al-Mahdī when he sent him to al-Rayy at the time when 'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān rebelled against al-Manṣūr.[649]

According to Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah—Sa'īd b. Ibrāhīm—Ja'far b. Yaḥyā—al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī': The freedmen used to denounce Abū 'Ubaydallāh to al-Mahdī and attack him in his presence. The letters of Abū 'Ubaydallāh used to convey to al-Manṣūr whatever business he wished, and the freedmen were closeted with al-Mahdī and used to inform him about Abū 'Ubaydallāh and incite him against him.

Al-Faḍl said: The letters of Abū 'Ubaydallāh used to come to my father one after the other complaining about the freedmen and what he suffered from them. He continued to mention it to al-Manṣūr and tell him about his position, and he extracted letters from him to al-Mahdī ordering him to stop listening to slander about him.

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646. 116–93/734–809. An important authority for Section I of al-Ṭabarī's history. Ibn al-Nadīm numbers him among the traditionists (*Fihrist*, 549).

647. Not known elsewhere.

648. Not known elsewhere; his name al-Ḥalabī suggests that he came from Aleppo.

649. In 141/758–59. For the fall of Abū 'Ubaydallāh, see also al-Jāḥiẓ, 150–57, and Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 99–103.

He said: When Abū 'Ubaydallāh saw the influence of the freedmen over al-Mahdī and how they were alone with him, he approached four educated and knowledgeable men from different tribes and attached them to al-Mahdī so that they were among his courtiers, so as not to let the freedmen be alone with him. Then when Abū 'Ubaydallāh spoke to al-Mahdī on some business of his, one of these four men raised objections concerning the busi-
[488] ness that he was speaking about. Abū 'Ubaydallāh passed over it in silence and did not argue with him and left. He ordered that the man be kept from seeing al-Mahdī, so he was kept from him. News of this reached my father.

He said: My father went on the pilgrimage with al-Manṣūr in the year in which he died, and my father undertook what he undertook on behalf of al-Mahdī with regard to the oath of allegiance and its renewal from the household of al-Manṣūr and his commanders and freedmen. When he arrived, I met him after sunset and accompanied him while he went past his dwelling place and left the house of al-Mahdī and went to Abū 'Ubaydallāh and he said, "O my little son, he is friend (*ṣāḥib*) of the man,[650] and it is necessary that we should not deal with him as we used to deal with him about it, nor should we call him to account for the help we gave him in his business."

We went on until we reached Abū 'Ubaydallāh's gate, and he remained standing while I prayed the evening prayer. The chamberlain came out and said, "Enter," so he stretched his legs and I stretched mine. (The chamberlain) said, "I only gave you permission to enter, O Abū al-Faḍl," and my father replied, "Go and tell him that al-Faḍl is with me," and turning to me he said, "This is also related to that."

He said: The chamberlain came out and gave permission for us to enter together so we went in, my father and I. Abū 'Ubaydallāh was in the front of the reception room, on a prayer mat leaning with his elbow on a cushion and I said (to myself), "He (usually) stands up for my father when he comes in," but he did not stand up for him. And I said, "He will sit erect when he approaches him," but he did not do it. And I said, "He will summon a prayer

650. I.e., al-Mahdī; now that Abū 'Ubaydallāh's master is caliph, he must be treated with respect.

rug for him," but he did not do it. My father sat down before him on the carpet while he was leaning. He began to ask him about his journey, his travel, and his conditions, and my father waited for him to ask about what he had done in the business of al-Mahdī and the renewal of the oath of allegiance, but he avoided it and, when my father began to mention it, he said, "News of you has reached me." Then my father began to get up and he said, "I see that the gates are closed so you may stay," and my father replied, "The gates cannot be closed to me." But he answered, "Yes, they have been closed."

My father thought that he was wanting to detain him so that he [489] could rest after his journey and to ask him so he said, "I will stay." Abū 'Ubaydallāh said, "O so-and-so, go and prepare a place for Abū al-Faḍl to spend the night in the house of Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh." When my father saw that he was wanting him to leave the house he said, "The gates cannot be closed in front of me." Then he made up his mind and rose.

When we left the house, my father turned to me and said, "O my little son, you are most stupid," and I said, "What is my stupidity?" and he replied, "You should have said to me, 'You should not have come and, when you did come and we were not admitted, you should not have gotten up until you had prayed the evening prayer and you should have gone away and not entered. When you entered and he did not stand up for you, you should have returned and not stayed with him.' The right course of action was entirely what I did. But, by the one and only God, Whose oaths are binding, I will use my rank and spend my wealth to satisfy myself from Abū 'Ubaydallāh."

He said: He began to make strenuous efforts but he could not find any way of getting at the object of his hate, despite using great stratagems. Then he remembered al-Qushayrī,[651] whom Abū 'Ubaydallāh debarred (from entering the caliph's presence). He sent to him and when he came he said, "You already know what Abū 'Ubaydallāh has done to you, and he has done the most evil sorts of things to me. I have conspired against him with all my power, but I have not found any way to get at him. Do you

651. I cannot identify him further.

have any ideas about his business?" He replied, "Abū 'Ubaydallāh can only be got at in one way, which I will tell you. It is said that Abū 'Ubaydallāh is the most ignorant of men in his trade, but Abū 'Ubaydallāh is the most skillful of people, or it is said that
[490] he is suspect in his adoption of the Faith, but Abū 'Ubaydallāh is the most upright of men; if the daughters of al-Mahdī were in his lap, that would be their safe place. Or it is said that he is inclined to contradict the Sulṭān, but Abū 'Ubaydallāh cannot be attacked through that; yet he is only showing some inclinations toward Qadar. He cannot be attacked through that to the extent of drawing an accusation against him, but he can be attacked for all this through his son."

Al-Rabī' took him in his arms and kissed him between the eyes. Then he began to conspire against the son of Abū 'Ubaydallāh and, by God, he continued to scheme and make insinuations to al-Mahdī and accused him with regard to one of al-Mahdī's harem until suspicion of Muḥammad b. Abū 'Ubaydallāh was established in al-Mahdī's mind. He ordered that he should be summoned and Abū 'Ubaydallāh was brought out, and he said, "Muḥammad, recite!" and he began to recite, but he was unable to speak the Qur'ān. The caliph said, "Mu'āwiyah, did you not tell me that your son has learned all the Qur'ān?" He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, I did tell you, but he left me years ago and in that period when he kept his distance from me, he has forgotten the Qur'ān." He said, "Get up and come near to God by killing him!" and he began to stand up and collapsed. Al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad said, "I think, Commander of the Faithful, that you should excuse the old man."

He said: He did so and he ordered that he (the son) be taken out and beheaded.

He said: Al-Mahdī was suspicious of him in his heart and al-Rabī' said to him, "You have killed his son, so it is not desirable that he should be with you or that you should trust him," and he filled al-Mahdī with anxiety and his affair turned out as it turned out and al-Rabī' achieved what he wanted; he was avenged and his power increased.

According to Muḥammad, son of Abū 'Abdallāh Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd—his father: Al-Mahdī beat a man of the al-Ash'arīs and caused him pain. Abū 'Ubaydallāh felt solidarity with the man

because he was a freedman of theirs and he said, "Death would be better than that, O Commander of the Faithful," and al-Mahdī said to him, "O Jew, get out of my camp (*'askar*),[652] God curse you!" and he said, "I do not know where I shall go if not to the fire (of hell)," and my father said, "O Commander of the Faithful, how fitting that such a thing should be prepared," and he said to me, [491] "Glory be to God, O Abū 'Abdallāh."

In this year, al-Ghamr b. al-'Abbās made a naval raid (on the Byzantine Empire).

In this year Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath was appointed to Sind in place of Rawḥ b. Ḥātim and he set out there until he reached it, when he was deposed and replaced by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, who sent 'Abd al-Malik b. Shihāb al-Misma'ī. He arrived there and came upon Naṣr unawares. He gave him permission to set out, so he set out until he stopped on the shore about six *farsakh*s from al-Manṣūrah. Naṣr b. Muḥammad then received his diploma of appointment to Sind and returned to his post. 'Abd al-Malik had been there for eighteen days and he did not block his way, and so he returned to al-Baṣrah.

In this year al-Mahdī appointed 'Āfiyyah b. Yazīd al-Azdī as *qāḍī*. He and Ibn 'Ulāthah were both *qāḍī*s in 'Askar al-Mahdī in al-Ruṣafah. The *qāḍī* in the eastern city (*madīnat al-sharqiyyah*) was 'Umar b. Ḥabīb al-'Adawī.[653]

In this year al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ was deposed from al-Jazīrah and 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī was appointed in his place.

In this year 'Īsā b. Luqmān was made governor (*'āmil*) of Egypt.[654]

In this year Yazīd b. Manṣūr was appointed governor (*wālī*) of the Sawād of al-Kūfah, Ḥassān al-Sharawī of Mosul, and Bisṭām b. 'Amr al-Taghlibī of Azerbaijān.

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652. Al-Ruṣāfah in Baghdad was sometimes called 'Askar al-Mahdī, the Camp of al-Mahdī, and it may be what is meant here.

653. It is not clear what is meant here. The Sharqiyyah quarter lay on the west bank of the Tigris to the east of the Round City. According to Le Strange (*Baghdad*, 90–91), it originally had its own Friday mosque and *qāḍī*, so it could have been referred to as a *madīnah*. The other possibility is that this should read, *madīnat al-gharbiyyah* ("the western city"), meaning the Round City and its suburbs on the west bank, as opposed to al-Ruṣāfah on the east.

654. Al-Kindī, *Governors*, 128.

In this year he deposed Abū Ayyūb, who was called Sulaymān al-Makkī, from the *dīwān* of taxes (*kharāj*), and Abū al-Wazīr 'Umar b. al-Muṭarrif was appointed in his place.[655]

In this year Naṣr b. Mālik died of hemiplegia, which afflicted him. He was buried in the cemetery of the Banū Hāshim and al-
[492] Mahdī prayed over him. In this year Abān b. Ṣadaqah was transferred from Hārūn b. al-Mahdī to Mūsā b. al-Mahdī and appointed as his *wazīr* and secretary. Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak was appointed to his position with Hārūn b. al-Mahdī. In this year al-Mahdī deposed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Abū Ḍamrah from Egypt in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (August 30–September 27, 778) and appointed as governor (*wālī*) Salamah b. Rajā'.[656]

Mūsa b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Hādī led the pilgrimage this year, and he was heir apparent to his father.

The governor of al-Ṭā'if, Mecca, and al-Yamāmah in this year was Ja'far b. Sulaymān. Isḥāq b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī was in charge of the prayers and the *aḥdāth* at al-Kūfah and Yazīd b. Manṣūr of the Sawād there.

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655. Nothing is known of either of these: 'Umar's appointment is confirmed by al-Jahshiyārī (166). He married Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd's brother's daughter and is last recorded on the pilgrimage of 169/786.

656. His appointment is not noted by al-Kindī, and nothing more is known of him.

The Events of the Year 162

(SEPTEMBER 28, 778–SEPTEMBER 16, 779)

The events of this year:

Among these was the killing of 'Abd al-Salām al-Khārijī at Qinnasrīn. It was said: This 'Abd al-Salām b. Hāshim al-Yashkūrī rebelled in al-Jazīrah, and his following there became numerous and his power became intense. He was met by a number of al-Mahdī's commanders, among them 'Īsā b. Mūsā al-Qā'id (the Commander).[657] He killed him with a number of those who were with him, and he routed a number of the commanders. Al-Mahdī sent troops against him, and he afflicted disaster on more than one commander, among them Shabīb b. Wāj al-Marwarrūdhī.[658] Then he assigned to Shabīb a thousand horsemen and gave each one of them a thousand *dirhams* for supplies. Then he sent them to meet Shabīb, and they came to him and Shabīb set out on the

657. B. 'Ajlān al-Khurāsānī, not to be confused with 'Īsā b. Mūsā the 'Abbāsid. He had taken part in the mutiny of Khurāsānī troops in Ifrīqiyah in 148/765 (Ibn Idhārī, *Bayān*, 73), but little more is known of him.

658. He had been present at the proclamation of al-Saffāḥ as caliph in 132/750 and was one of the four assassins of Abū Muslim. His name implies that he originally came from Marw al-Rūdh in Khurāsān.

tracks of 'Abd al-Salām. He fled from them until he reached Qinnasrīn,[659] where Shabīb met him and killed him.

[493] In this year al-Mahdī established the registry departments[660] and appointed his freedman 'Umar b. Bazī'[661] in charge of them. 'Umar b. Bazī' appointed al-Nu'mān b. 'Uthmān Abū Ḥāzim[662] in charge of the registry of the taxation of Iraq.

In this year al-Mahdī ordered that payments be made to the lepers and people of the prisons in all districts.[663]

In this year Thumāmah b. al-Walīd al-'Absī was appointed to command the summer expedition, but he did not carry it out.

In this year the Byzantines attacked Ḥadath and destroyed its walls.[664] Al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah led the summer expedition with thirty thousand regular troops, beside volunteers. He reached Ḥammah al-Adhrūliyyah[665] and wrought great destruction and damage in Byzantine lands, without capturing a fortress or meeting an army. The Byzantines called him "the sea monster." It is said that al-Ḥasan only came to this al-Ḥammah (hot spring) to soak in it because of the skin complaint (*waḍaḥ*) he had. Then he withdrew with the people safely. Ḥafṣ b. 'Āmir al-Sulamī[666] was *qāḍī* in his army and in charge of the booty (*fay'*) that was collected.

He said: In this year Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī raided through

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659. Ancient Chalcis, south of Aleppo in northern Syria, an important center at the time of the Muslim conquests; it was at this time in full decline, Aleppo becoming the regional center; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, VI, 403–4; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 486–87.

660. *Dawāwin al-azimmah*. Morony, *Iraq*, 66–68, 512, explains that these dīwāns were registries where records of all decisions were stored. According to him, Ziyād b. Abīhi was said to have been the first Muslim official to use them, in the reign of Mu'āwiyah, which seems to conflict with the statement here that they were established by al-Mahdī.

661. Nothing is known of his origins, but he seems to have been a freedman. In 168/784–85 he was replaced by 'Alī b. Yaqṭīn, but a year later he succeeded al-Rabī' as vizier to the caliph Mūsā al-Hādī, which is probably why he does not seem to have held office under Hārūn; see al-Ṭabarī, III, 582–83, 598; al-Jahshiyārī, 144, 146, 160, 166, 173.

662. Nothing more is known of him.

663. Presumably this relates to the payment of alms, though why the people of the prisons (*ahl al-sujūn*) were so favored is not clear.

664. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," 735–36. My interpretation differs somewhat from his.

665. Dorylaion, modern Eskişehir, on the main road across Asia Minor, between the frontier and Constantinople.

666. Nothing more is known about him.

the pass of Qālīqalā,[667] took booty, and conquered three fortresses and took many prisoners and captives.

In this year 'Alī b. Sulaymān[668] was deposed from Yemen and 'Abdallāh b. Sulaymān[669] was appointed in his place.

In this year Salamah b. Rajā' was deposed from Egypt and 'Īsā b. Luqmān was appointed governor (*wālī*) in Muḥarram (September 28–October 27, 778),[670] and was then deposed in Jumādā II (February 23–March 23, 779). Wāḍiḥ, freedman of al-Mahdī, was appointed governor but was deposed in Dhū al-Qa'dah (July 20–August 18, 779) when Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashī[671] was appointed.

In this year the Muḥammirah[672] appeared in Jurjān, led by a man called 'Abd al-Qahhār. He conquered Jurjān and killed many people. 'Umar b. al-'Alā'[673] launched a raid against him from Ṭabaristān and killed 'Abd al-Qahhār and his companions.

Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far b. al-Manṣūr[674] led the people on the pilgrim- [494]

667. Byzantine Theodosopolis, modern Erzurum, in the extreme eastern part of Anatolia.

668. Al-'Abbāsī, son of Sulaymān b. 'Alī and brother of Muḥammad (note 29, above) and Ja'far (note 35) He became governor of northern Syria and al-Jazīrah soon after this and seems to have remained in that area until removed from office by al-Hādī in 169/786. He was also briefly governor of Egypt 169–70/786, after which he disappears from the record; see al-Kindī, *Governors*, 131.

669. Al-Raba'ī, no relation of his predecessor, 'Alī; he is known only for his appointment to Yemen.

670. Al-Ṭabarī's account differs here from that of al-Kindī, *Governors*, 121–22, who has 'Īsā arriving in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 161, that is, a month before al-Ṭabarī says he was appointed. They agree on the year of his dismissal and on the appointment of Wāḍiḥ, but al-Kindī has him deposed in Ramaḍān, a month later than al-Ṭabarī. They both agree that Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashī was the next governor.

671. Brother of Sa'īd (see note 637, above). He had a reputation for determined administration of justice and ruthless establishment of law and order. He subsequently had a varied career as governor of Rūyān and Ṭabaristān, Armenia (twice), and Mosul; he is last heard of as governor of al-Jibāl in 184/800 (al-Ṭabarī, III, 500, 503, 517, 520, 649; Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 517; al-Kindī, *Governors*, 122).

672. So called because they wore red; they were part of a popular revolutionary movement in Jurjān, devoted to the memory of Abū Muslim. Despite this defeat, they were to reappear in Hārūn's reign; see Daniel, *Khurāsān*, 147.

673. He was by origin a butcher in Qazvīn, in northern Iran, who distinguished himself by raising a troop to oppose the rebellion of Sunbādh (al-Ṭabarī, *History*, III, 119–20). He subsequently became an expert on the affairs of Ṭabaristān and led numerous campaigns there. He is said to have forced the local ruler to surrender, but he was killed in the province at the end of al-Mahdī's reign (al-Ṭabarī, 136, 137, 500, 520, 521, *'Uyūn*, 229; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, II, 46).

674. Son of Ja'far the Elder (see note 49).

age in this year. Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad had asked al-Mahdī for permission to go on the pilgrimage after that, and al-Mahdī reproved him for not asking permission before he had appointed anyone for the pilgrimage, so that he could appoint him to it, and he said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I delayed that on purpose because I did not want the appointment."

The governors of the *amṣār* were the same as in the previous year, with ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī in al-Jazīrah, Saʿīd b. Daʿlaj in Ṭabaristan and al-Rūyān and Muhalhil b. Ṣafwān[675] in Jurjān.

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675. Freedman of al-Manṣūr. He is recorded in 137/754–55 fighting Khārijites in al-Jazīrah and disappears from the record after he was dismissed from Ṭabaristān (p. 216, below).

The Events of the Year 163

(SEPTEMBER 17, 779–SEPTEMBER 5, 780)

The events of this year:

Among the events of this year was the destruction of al-Muqanna'. This was because Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī besieged him in Kishsh and the siege tightened and, when he felt near death, he drank poison, and his women and family drank it too and, it is said, they all died. The Muslims entered his castle and cut off his head and sent it to al-Mahdī while he was in Aleppo.

In this year al-Mahdī ordered all the armies of the people of Khurāsān and others to furnish troops for the summer expedition. He set out and camped at al-Baradān for about two months, drawing up his army and making preparations and paying the troops. He gave gifts there to the members of his family who had set out with him.

'Īsā b. 'Alī died on the last day of Jumādā II (March 11, 780) in Baghdad. The next day al-Mahdī left for al-Baradān, setting out on the summer expedition. He left Mūsā b. al-Mahdī as his deputy in Baghdad, and his secretary at that time was Abān b. Ṣadaqah; 'Abdallāh b. 'Ulāthah was the keeper of his seal; 'Alī b. 'Īsā was

[495] the commander of his guard; and ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim[676] was his chief of police.

According to al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad: When al-Mahdī sent al-Rashīd on the summer expedition in the year 163, he set out to escort him, and I was with him. When he was opposite Qaṣr Maslamah,[677] I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, we owe Maslamah a debt of gratitude, for when Muḥammad b. ʿAlī[678] went to him, he gave him four thousand *dīnārs*, saying, 'O my cousin, here are two thousand for your debt and two thousand for your subsistence and, when you have exhausted it, do not be inhibited with us (in asking for more).'" When I told him the story, he ordered that those of the children of Maslamah who were there and his freedmen be brought into his presence and he ordered that they be given twenty thousand *dīnārs* and that salaries (*rizq*) be paid to them. Then he said, "O Abu al-Faḍl, we have recompensed Maslamah and done justice to him." I replied, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful, you have done more."

According to Ibrāhīm b. Ziyād—al-Haytham b. ʿAdī: Al-Mahdī sent Hārūn al-Rashīd on the raid against the Byzantines, and attached al-Rabīʿ the Chamberlain and al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah to him.

According to Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās:[679] I was sitting in my father's audience in the house of the Commander of the Faithful when he was in command of the guard when al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah greeted me and sat on the cushion (*firāsh*) that my father used to sit on and asked me about him. I told him that he was riding and then he said to me, "O my dear one, tell him that I have come and

676. B. Khuzaymah al-Tamīmī. The text reads Ḥāzim, but this is corrected in the *Addenda*. Son of Khāzim (note 111, above), he was *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* to al-Hādī for many years and was consequently out of office under Hārūn but emerged after his death as one of al-Amīn's chief supporters; see Crone, *Slaves*, 181.

677. Castle of Maslamah, more commonly called Ḥiṣn ("fortress") Maslamah. It lay to the north of the Euphrates in al-Jazīrah, between Ḥarrān and al-Raqqah. Maslamah was a son of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik who never became caliph himself but established a great reputation as a soldier on the Byzantine frontier. He built a formidable fortress there and developed irrigation systems, much admired by the geographers (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 265, Le Strange, *Lands*, 105).

678. The ʿAbbāsid, father of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr.

679. Probably a mistake for al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad (see above and note 58).

give him greetings from me and tell him that I would like him to say to the Commander of the Faithful, 'Al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah says, O Commander of the Faithful, may God make me a sacrifice for you. You have sent Hārūn on a raid and attached me and al-Rabīʿ to him. I am the foremost of your military commanders and al-Rabīʿ is the foremost of your freedmen, and it does not seem good to me that we should both leave your gate together; either you send me on on the raid with Hārūn and al-Rabīʿ stays behind or you send al-Rabīʿ and I remain at your gate.'"

He said: My father came and I gave him the message and he went into al-Mahdī and told him. He replied, "By God, he has made [496] a good excuse, not like the cupper, son of the cupper" (meaning ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl,[680] who had excused himself from setting out with Ibrāhīm and he was angry with him and confiscated his wealth).

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Waḍḍāḥ—his grandfather Abū Budayl:[681] Al-Mahdī sent al-Rashīd on a raid and he sent with him Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, and two of his father's freedmen, al-Rabīʿ the Chamberlain and al-Ḥasan the Chamberlain.[682] Two or three days after he set out, I came in to him (al-Mahdī), and he said, "Why were you kept back from going with the heir apparent and especially with your two brothers (meaning al-Rabīʿ the Chamberlain and al-Ḥasan the Chamberlain)?" and I replied, "The Commander of the Faithful gave me orders and my place is in the City of Peace until he gives me permission," and he said, "Go and catch up with him and the two of them and say what you require." I said, "I do not need any equipment, if the Commander of the Faithful decides to give me permission to leave." He asked, "When do you intend to

680. Probably ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl al-Muslī. There seems to be no information about the incident in question, but the Ibrāhīm referred to may have been Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbbāsī, who was governor of Syria for some years (see note 351, above). A cupper is one who draws blood by application of a hot cup to the surface of the skin, an ancient medical technique, the term is used here as an insult, a cupper being of dubious social status.

681. Al-Waḍḍāḥ b. Ḥabīb, quoted by al-Ṭabarī four times in all. His father had governed al-Rayy for the Umayyads (Crone, *Slaves*, 167).

682. Possibly to be identified with al-Ḥasan al-Waṣīf, who had been on a previous raid on Byzantium in 159/779; see note 559, above.

leave?" I replied, "Tomorrow morning." So I took leave of him and set out and caught up with the people.

He said, I began to observe al-Rashīd when he was going out to play polo, and I observed Mūsā b. ʿĪsā and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ and they were laughing at him, so I went to al-Rabīʿ and al-Ḥasan—we were never apart—and I said, "May God not reward you two well on behalf of him who sent you or him whom you were sent with!" They said, "Now then, what is the news?" I replied, "Mūsā b. ʿĪsā and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ were laughing at the son of the Commander of the Faithful. Could you not prepare an audience for those two so that they can visit him in it, and for the military commanders who were with him, on Friday, and not on other days as he wishes?"

While we were on this journey, the two of them sent for me in the night, and when I came to them there was a man with them, [497] and they said to me, "This is the page of al-Ghamr b. Yazīd,[683] and we have found him with the Book of the State (*Kitāb al-Dawlah*).[684] I opened the book and I looked in it for the years of al-Mahdī, and it said ten years. I said, "There is nothing on earth more amazing than you two! Do you think that this page's information will remain hidden and that this book will be concealed?" and they replied, "Certainly not!" and I continued, "If the Commander of the Faithful's years are cut short, as it says, are you not the first to announce his own death to him?"

He said: They looked stupid, by God, and were covered with confusion and said, "What ought to be done?" and I said, "O young man, fetch ʿAnbasah," meaning the bedouin (*ʿaʿrābī*) copyist, freedman of the family of Abū Budayl. When he was brought, I said, "With writing like this writing and a page like this page, instead of ten years, insert forty years and insert it on the page."

He said: By God, if I had not seen ten in this and forty in that, I would have had no doubt that the writing was that writing and the page was that page.

He said: Al-Mahdī sent Khālid b. Barmak with Hārūn al-Rashīd, who was at that time heir apparent, when he sent him to raid

683. B. ʿAbd al-Malik, an Umayyad prince.

684. There seems to be no more information about what was clearly a work of prophecy.

Byzantium. He sent with him al-Ḥasan and Sulaymān, sons of Barmak, and he sent Yaḥyā b. Khālid with him in charge of the administration of the army, his expenses, his secretariat, and the managing of his affairs, and all Hārūn's business was in his hands. Al-Rabīʿ the Chamberlain was appointed with Hārūn to go on the raid on behalf of al-Mahdī, and (the differences) between al-Rabīʿ and Yaḥyā were on account of that. He used to ask their advice and act accordingly. God enabled them to make many conquests and bestowed great favor on them in that expedition; Khālid achieved in Samālū what no one had achieved before.

Their astrologer was called the Barmakid, giving a blessing for and out of respect for him. [498]

When al-Mahdī sent Hārūn on the summer expedition he sent him on, he ordered that the secretaries of the *abnāʾ al-daʿwah* should be sent in to him so that he could inspect them and choose one of them for him.

Yaḥyā said: They sent me in to him with them, and they stood in front of him and I stood the last of them. He said to me, "Yaḥyā, come near!" so I came near. Then he told me to sit down, so I sat down and knelt before him. He said to me, "I have scrutinized the sons of my party (*abnā shīʿatī*) and the people of my state (*dawlatī*), and I have chosen from them a man for Hārūn my son whom I can attach to him to supervise the organization of his army and take charge of his secretariat, and my choice has fallen on you and I think you are the best person for that because you have been his tutor and his special adviser, and I have appointed you in charge of his secretariat and the organization of his army."

He said: I thanked him for that and kissed his hand and he ordered that I be given a hundred thousand *dirham*s as subsistence for my journey, and I was sent to that army when I was sent to him.

He said: Al-Rabīʿ sent Sulaymān b. Barmak on a mission to al-Mahdī and sent a delegation with him. Al-Mahdī was generous to his mission and favored him and was good to the delegation who were with him. Then they went on their way.

In this year was the journey of al-Mahdī with his son Hārūn. Al-Mahdī deposed ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī from al-Jazīrah and appointed Zufar b. ʿĀṣim al-Hilālī in his place.

The reasons for his deposition:

It was said: On this journey of his, al-Mahdī traveled along the Mosul road. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī was in charge of al-Jazīrah and, when al-Mahdī left Mosul and went in to the land of al-Jazīrah, 'Abd al-Ṣamad did not meet him or prepare victuals for him, or [499] repair the bridges. Al-Mahdī resented him for that and, when he met him, he scowled at him and made his displeasure plain. 'Abd al-Ṣamad sent delicacies to him, but he was not pleased with them and returned them and became more angry with him. He ordered him to be punished because of the organization of the victuals for him, but 'Abd al-Ṣamad made light of it and did not worry. He continued to do more things al-Mahdī hated until they stopped at Ḥiṣn Maslamah. He summoned him and there was an argument between them; al-Mahdī spoke angrily to him about it and 'Abd al-Ṣamad answered back. He could not bear it and ordered that he be imprisoned and deposed him from al-Jazīrah, and he remained in prison during that journey and after he returned until he was restored to favor. Al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad organized the victualing until he reached Aleppo and the good news came to him of the killing of al-Muqanna'.

When he was there, he sent 'Abd al-Jabbār the Muḥtasib[685] to collect those *Zindīqs*[686] who were in that district, so he did that and brought them to him when he was in Dābiq. He killed a number of them and crucified them. Some of their books were brought to him and they were cut up with knives.

He reviewed his army there and gave orders for the journey. He despatched all those of his family who had joined him with his son Hārūn to Byzantium. Al-Mahdī escorted his son Hārūn until he had gone through the Pass and reached the Jayḥān,[687] and there he chose the site of the city that was called al-Mahdiyyah.[688] He bade farewell to Hārūn by the Jayḥān.

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685. Not known elsewhere.

686. See note 199, above, whether the *Zindīqs* of Aleppo were the same as the *Zindīqs* of Iraq is not clear, and it is possible that they were pagan Sabians from nearby Ḥarrān.

687. Ancient Pyramus, modern Ceyhan. It flows into the Mediterranean in Cilicia, southern Turkey; see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 62.

688. The first foundation of the city later known as Hārūniyyah (modern Harunıye) in southern Turkey on the eastern edge of the Cilician plain; see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 449–50.

Hārūn traveled until he stopped in one of the Byzantine districts[689] in which there was a castle called Samālū.[690] He besieged it for thirty-eight days. He set up mangonels against it, so that God conquered it after ruining it and after thirst and hunger had afflicted its inhabitants and after killing and wounds among the Muslims. Its conquest was according to the conditions that they [500] laid down for themselves that they would not be killed or deported or split up. They were granted that and they came out, and he fulfilled [the conditions] for them. Hārūn returned safely with the Muslims, except those who had been killed or wounded there.[691]

In this year and on this journey, al-Mahdī went to Jerusalem and prayed there. With him were al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ, ʿAlī b. Sulaymān, and his maternal uncle Yazīd b. Manṣūr.

In this year al-Mahdī deposed Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ from Palestine, and Yazīd b. Manṣūr interceded for him until he was reinstated over it.

In this year al-Mahdī gave his son Hārūn charge of all the west and Azerbaijān and Armenia.[692] He appointed as his secretary in charge of taxation Thābit b. Mūsā and in charge of his correspondence Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak.

In this year Zufar b. ʿĀṣim was deposed from al-Jazīrah and ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī was appointed in his place. Al-Mahdī had stayed with him on his journey to Jerusalem and admired his house, which he saw in Salamiyah.[693]

In this year he deposed Muʿādh b. Muslim from Khurāsān and appointed al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr to it.

In this year he deposed Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashī from al-Iṣfahān and appointed al-Ḥakam b. Saʿīd[694] in his place.

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689. *Rusṭāq*, from Middle Persian *rostak*, an administrative district of the Sasanian Empire. The term continued in use in Muslim Iraq, but it is somewhat strange to find it in a Byzantine context.

690. A Byzantine fortress above Ṭarsūs near the Cilician Gates; see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 530.

691. For this expedition, see Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," 436–37.

692. This is the first example of the division of the caliphate between two ʿAbbāsid princes, which was to be a recurrent feature of the politics of the dynasty.

693. In central Syria, to the east of Ḥamāh. His house is commented on by the geographers, and his descendants continued to live there for many years. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, 528.

694. He is not recorded elsewhere.

In this year he deposed Sa'īd b. Da'laj from Ṭabaristān and Rūyān and appointed 'Umar b. al-'Alā' as governor.

[501] In this year he deposed Muhalhil b. Ṣafwān from Jurjān and appointed Hishām b. Sa'īd[695] as governor.

In this year 'Alī b. al-Mahdī led the people on the pilgrimage. Ja'far b. Sulaymān was in charge of al-Yamāmah, Medina, Mecca, and al-Ṭā'if in this year. Isḥāq b. al-Ṣabbāḥ was in charge of the prayers and the *aḥdāth* in al-Kūfah, and Sharīk was in charge of the judiciary. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān was in charge of al-Baṣrah and its dependencies, the provinces of the Tigris, al-Baḥrayn, 'Umān, al-Furaḍ (the seaports),[696] and the districts of Ahwāz and the districts of Fārs. Al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr was in charge of Khurāsān and Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath of Sind.

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695. B. Manṣūr. Not recorded elsewhere, but possibly a brother of the al-Ḥakam above and nephew of Yazīd b. Manṣūr, maternal uncle of al-Mahdī.

696. Presumably on the Gulf somewhere; only mentioned twice in al-Ṭabarī (p. 503, below) and not recorded by the geographers.

The Events of the Year 164

(SEPTEMBER 6, 780–AUGUST 25, 781)

Among the events of this year was the raid[697] by 'Abd al-Kabīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb[698] by the pass of al-Ḥadath. Michael the Patrician met him, it is said, with about ninety thousand men, among them Ṭāzādh the Armenian the Patrician.[699] 'Abd al-Kabīr lost heart before him and prevented the Muslims from fighting and returned. Al-Mahdī wanted to execute him, but intercession was made for him and he was imprisoned in the Muṭbaq.

In this year, al-Mahdī deposed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān from his offices.[700] He sent Ṣāliḥ b. Dāwūd[701] over what Muḥammad b. Sulaymān had had and sent with him 'Āṣim b. Mūsā al-Khurāsānī

697. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," 737.

698. A descendant of Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, brother of the caliph 'Umar, which may have been why he was given the honor of leading the expedition.

699. Theophanes gives the names Tazates. Armenians formed a large and increasing proportion of the Byzantine armies of the period.

700. The governorates of al-Baṣrah, Fārs, and the Gulf shores.

701. B. 'Alī the 'Abbāsid, son of Dāwūd b. 'Alī, not to be confused with Ṣāliḥ, brother of Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd the vizier.

the secretary, in charge of the taxation. He ordered him to arrest
[502] Ḥammād b. Mūsā, the secretary of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar,[702] his deputy, and his agents, and that they should be investigated.

In this year al-Mahdī built at Greater 'Īsābādh[703] a palace of mud brick before he laid the foundations of his palace of baked brick, which he called Qaṣr al-Salāmah.[704] It was founded on Wednesday at the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah (the month ended on Friday, July 27, 781).

In this year, when he founded this palace, he set out for al-Kūfah on the pilgrimage. He stayed at al-Ruṣāfah of al-Kūfah for some days, and then he set out in the direction of the pilgrimage until he reached 'Aqabah.[705] Water became scarce for him and those with him, and he was afraid that what they carried would not sustain him and those with him. On top of that, he developed a fever so he returned from 'Aqabah. He was angry with Yaqṭīn[706] about the water because he was in charge of the cisterns. During their journey, and on their return, the people were severely afflicted by thirst until they were on the verge of perishing.

In this year Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath died in Sind.

In this year he deposed 'Abdallāh b. Sulaymān from Yemen because of his anger. He sent people to meet him and examine his baggage and account for what he had with him. Then he ordered that he should be imprisoned with al-Rabī' when he returned until he gave up the money and jewels and ambergris that he confessed to. He returned it to him and released him and appointed as governor (*'āmil*) in his place Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Manṣūr.[707]

In this year al-Mahdī sent Ṣāliḥ, son of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr,
[503] from 'Aqabah when he left it to Mecca to lead the pilgrimage

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702. Nothing more is known about these three.

703. To the east of Baghdad (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 142–43). It is said to have been named after al-Mahdī's son 'Īsā. Its exact location is unknown.

704. Palace of Well-Being: Yāqūt calls it *Qaṣr al-Salām*, Palace of Peace.

705. One of the stages on the desert road from al-Kūfah to Mecca, on the modern Iraq-Saudi Arabian border (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 134).

706. B. Mūsā.

707. Son of Yazīd b. Manṣūr, maternal uncle of al-Mahdī (note 163, above). He was later briefly governor of Khurāsān, 179–80/796.

with the people, and Ṣāliḥ performed the pilgrimage for the people in this year.

The governor (*'āmil*) of Medina, Mecca, al-Ṭā'if and al-Yamāmah in this year was Ja'far b. Sulaymān, of Yemen Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Manṣūr. Hāshim b. Sa'īd b. Manṣūr was in charge of the prayers and *aḥdāth* of al-Kūfah and Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh of the judiciary. Ṣāliḥ b. Dāwūd b. 'Alī was in charge of al-Baṣrah and its *aḥdāth*, of the districts of the Tigris, al-Baḥrayn, 'Umān, al-Furaḍ and the districts of Ahwāz and Fārs. Saṭīḥ b. 'Umar[708] was in charge of Sind, al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr of Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl of Mosul, 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan of the judiciary of al-Baṣrah, Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ of Egypt, Yazīd b. Ḥātim of Ifrīqiyah, Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashī of Ṭabaristān, Rūyān and Jurjān, Farāshah, freedman of the Commander of the Faithful, of Dunbāwand and Qūmis,[709] Khalaf b. 'Abdallāh of al-Rayy[710] and Sa'īd b. Da'laj of Sijistān.

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708. Not known elsewhere

709. Farāshah subsequently became governor of Jurjān and was captured and executed by the Ispahbādh of Ṭabaristān at the end of al-Mahdī's reign; see Crone, *Slaves*, 191. Dunbāwand is the earlier form of Damavand, the great peak of the Elburz chain north of Tehran, but it was also the name of a small town at its foot and the surrounding province. Qūmis was the small province to the east, with its capital at Damghān See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 275–77, IV, 414–15; Le Strange, *Lands*, 364–68, 371, and map V.

710. Not known elsewhere

The Events of the Year 165

(August 26, 781–August 14, 782)

Among the events of this year was the summer raid of Hārūn, son of Muḥammad al-Mahdī.[711] It is said that his father sent him on Saturday, 18 Jumādā II (February 7, 782, a Thursday), to raid the lands of Byzantium. He attached al-Rabīʿ his freedman to him. Hārūn penetrated deeply into Byzantine territory and conquered Mājidah.[712] The horsemen of Nicetas, Count of Counts,[713] met him. Yazīd b. Mazyad went out to meet him in single combat. Yazīd was forced to dismount,[714] and then Nicetas fell off and
[504] Yazīd struck him so that he was defeated. The Byzantines were put to flight, and Yazīd took posession of their camp and went to the Domesticos, head of the armed forces (*masāliḥ*) in Nicomedia.[715] Hārūn set out with 95,793 men and took 194,450

711. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," 737–38; my interpretation differs somewhat from that of Brooks.
712. In Cappadocia (Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 46, 47).
713. Count of the Opsikion Theme.
714. It is not clear whether Nicetas fell off or dismounted intentionally.
715. For conflicting Byzantine versions of these events, see Brooks, *op. cit.*, 738.

dīnārs in gold and 21,414,800 *dirhams* in silver for them. He traveled until he reached the Sea of Marmara. The ruler of Byzantium at that time was Augusta, the wife of Leo.[716] This was because her son was a minor, whose father had died when he was in her charge. Messages and ambassadors passed between her and Hārūn, son of al-Mahdī, seeking peace and reconciliation and the paying of ransoms. Hārūn accepted that from her on condition that she fulfill what she promised and that she provide guides and markets on his route. This was because he had come by a way that was difficult and dangerous for the Muslims. She responded to his requests.

The terms of the peace were ninety or seventy thousand *dīnārs*, which she was to pay at the beginning of April[717] and in June every year, and he accepted that from her and she established markets on his route and sent an ambassador with him to al-Mahdī with what she had agreed should be paid as she could in gold and silver and goods.

They wrote an agreement of truce for three years, and the prisoners were handed over. Those whom God gave as booty to Hārūn before the Byzantines would pay the *jizyah* were 5,643 people. Fifty-four thousand Byzantines were killed in battle and 2,090 prisoners were killed in captivity. Among the beasts and trained animals that God gave him as booty with their equipment were twenty thousand riding animals, and he slaughtered a hundred thousand head of cattle and sheep. The salaried troops, beside the volunteers and the traders, numbered one hundred thousand. A work horse was sold for a *dirham* and a mule for less than ten *dirhams*, a coat of mail for less than a *dirham*, and twenty swords for a *dirham*. Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah[718] said about that: [505]

You have gone around Constantinople of the Byzantines, resting
the spear on it so that its walls were covered with ignominy.

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716. The Empress Irene.

717. Unusually al-Ṭabarī uses the Christian months Nīsān and Ḥazīrān here. As Brooks and the *Addenda* point out, Nīsān should probably read Kānūn I, being December and making the payments due every half year.

718. Sometimes called al-Akbar, to distinguish him from Abū al-Samṭ Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb, who is also called Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah. See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, IX, 36; Beirut, X, 74.

You just went toward it and lo, its kings came to you
with its *jizyah*, while the pots of war were boiling.

In this year he deposed Khalaf b. ʿAbdallāh from al-Rayy and appointed ʿĪsā, freedman of Jaʿfar,[719] to it.

In this year Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr led the pilgrims.

The governors of the *amṣār* were the same this year as in the previous year, except that Rawḥ b. Ḥātim was the governor of the *aḥdāth* and the public prayers at al-Baṣrah. Al-Muʿallā,[720] freedman of the Commander of the Faithful al-Mahdī, was in charge of the districts of the Tigris, al-Baḥrayn, ʿUmān, Kaskar, and the districts of Ahwāz, Fārs, and Kirmān. Al-Layth, freedman of al-Mahdī, was in charge of Sind.

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719. Nothing more is known of him; see Crone, *Slaves*, 192.

720. Brother of Layth; see text, p. 484. According to *Aghānī*, Beirut, VI, 239–40, he and his brother were bought in al-Kūfah by ʿAlī b. Sulaymān, who gave them to al-Manṣūr, who in turn gave them to al-Mahdī, who freed them. Al-Muʿallā was first given charge of the *ṭirāz* (state textile industry) and post in Khurāsān before being appointed to this vast governorate; see Crone, *Slaves*, 193. The reign of al-Mahdī was the high point of the influence of the freedmen, and this is exemplified in the careers of al-Muʿallā and Layth.

The Events of the Year 166

(AUGUST 15, 782–AUGUST 4, 783)

The events of this year:

Among these was the return of Hārūn, son of al-Mahdī, and those who were with him from the Sea of Marmara on 17 Muḥarram (August 31, 782). The Byzantines came bringing the *jizyah* with them, and it was said that this was 64,000 *dīnārs* by Byzantine accounting, 2,500 Arab *dīnārs*, and 30,000 *raṭls*[721] of goat's wool. [506]

In this year al-Mahdī took the oath of allegiance from his military commanders to Hārūn after Mūsā, son of al-Mahdī, and named him al-Rashīd.

In this year he deposed 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan from the judiciary of al-Baṣrah and appointed Khālid b. Ṭalīq b. 'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn al-Khuzā'ī[722] in his place, but his appointment was not approved of, and the people of al-Baṣrah asked to be free from him.

In this year he deposed Ja'far b. Sulaymān from Mecca and Medina and the offices he held.

721. A dry weight that varied from place to place, probably between 2 and 4 kg.
722. Nothing more is known of him.

In this year al-Mahdī was angry with Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd. The account of al-Mahdī's anger with Ya'qūb:

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī—his father: Dāwūd b. Ṭahmān, that is, Abū Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd, and his brothers were secretaries to Naṣr b. Sayyār,[723] and before him he was secretary to one of the governors of Khurāsān. At the time of Yaḥyā b. Zayd,[724] he was passing information to him and his companions and warning them about what he heard from Naṣr. When Abū Muslim rose in rebellion to avenge the blood of Yaḥyā b. Zayd and to kill his killers and those who spied on him among the companions of Naṣr, Dāwūd b. Ṭahmān came to him confident in what he knew about what occurred between him and Yaḥyā. So
[507] Abū Muslim gave him a safe-conduct and did not molest him in person, but took the money he had acquired in the time of Naṣr and left the houses and estates in Marw that were his inheritance.

When Dāwūd died, his sons emerged as people of culture and knowledge of the Days[725] of people and their histories and their poetry. They looked and found that they had no status with the Banū al-'Abbās, and they did not aspire to their service because of the position of their father in the secretariat of Naṣr. When they saw that, they adopted the faith of the Zaydiyyah[726] and approached the family of al-Ḥusayn[727] and wanted there to be a state (*dawlah*) for them so that they might live in it. Dāwūd used to roam through the land on his own and sometimes with Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh, seeking oaths of allegiance to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh. When Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh came out in rebellion,[728] 'Alī b. Dāwūd, who was older than Ya'qūb, wrote to Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh, and Ya'qūb with a number of his brothers rebelled with Ibrāhīm.

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723. The last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān.

724. 'Alid, whose father, Zayd b. 'Alī, rebelled unsuccessfully in al-Kūfah in 122/740. Yaḥyā subsequently fled to Khurāsān, where he was arrested and executed.

725. *Ayyām al-nās*, the "Days," were the battles of the pre-Islamic Arabs and the poetry connected with them, essential knowledge for anyone hoping to be considered educated.

726. See above, note 137.

727. That is, the family of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, in this case Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh and his brother Ibrāhīm, the rebels of 145/762.

728. In 145/762.

When Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm were killed, they hid from al-Manṣūr, and he searched for them and captured Ya'qūb and 'Alī and imprisoned them in the Muṭbaq for as long as he lived. When al-Manṣūr died, al-Mahdī favored them, along with others, by releasing them, and he let both of them go. Isḥāq b. al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān[729] was with them in the dungeon, and they were not separated from him and his brothers who were in prison with him, and because of that there developed a friendship between them. Isḥāq b. al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was of the opinion that the caliphate had passed to the righteous ones of the Banū Hāshim[730] together, and he used to say that after the Prophet the imāmate had not been secure except with the Banū Hāshim and it was not secure at this time except with them. He used to talk continually of the eldest of the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib,[731] and he and Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd used to have discussions about that.

When al-Mahdī released Ya'qūb, al-Mahdī continued for some time searching for 'Īsā b. Zayd[732] and al-Ḥasan b. 'Ibrāhim b. [508]
'Abdallāh[733] after al-Ḥasan had escaped from prison. One day al-Mahdī said, "If I found a man of the Zaydiyyah with knowledge of the family of Ḥasan and of 'Īsā b. Zayd and understanding, I would bring him to me on the way of knowledge, so that he could serve as an intermediary between me and the family of Ḥasan and 'Īsā b. Zayd." Ya'qūb was suggested to him, and he was brought and taken into his presence. That day he was wearing furs and sheepskin top boots,[734] a turban of *karābīs*,[735] and a coarse white *kisā'*.[736] He spoke and conversed with him and found him to be a

729. B. al-'Abbās b. Rabī' b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim. He was thus related to both 'Alids and 'Abbāsids, since his ancestor al-Ḥārith was a brother of al-'Abbās and Abū Ṭālib.

730. That is, both 'Alids and 'Abbāsids.

731. Abū Ṭālib, father of 'Alī, who was older than his brother al-'Abbās, ancestor of the 'Abbāsids. He is arguing that the 'Alids had precedence over the 'Abbāsids because of the relative positions of their ancestors among the Banū Hāshim.

732. See note 159, above.

733. See note 470, above.

734. For a fuller description, see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 47.

735. A fine white cotton or linen fabric.

736. An outer cloak, see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 44. The point of this description is that he was wearing white, traditionally associated with the 'Alids, not the 'Abbāsid black.

sterling man. He asked him about ʿĪsā b. Zayd, and people said that he promised him that he would be his intermediary with him. Yaʿqūb used to deny that, but people accused him of owing his position with al-Mahdī to the fact that he led him to the family of ʿAlī. His status with al-Mahdī continued to increase and rise until he made him his *wazīr* and entrusted him with the affairs of the caliphate. He sent for the Zaydiyyah, and they were brought to him from all sides and he gave them charge of the affairs of the caliphate in east and west and every great matter and precious work, and the whole world was in his hands. Bashshār b. Burd[737] said about that:

Sons of Umayyah wake up! Your sleep has gone on too long.
Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd is caliph.
Your caliphate has been ruined, O people! Search
for the caliph of Allāh among the tambourines and lutes.

He said: The freedmen of al-Mahdī were jealous of him and intrigued against him. One thing by which Yaʿqūb gained al-Mahdī's favor was that he asked for a safe-conduct for al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh, and he negotiated between al-Mahdī and al-Ḥasan so that he brought them together in Mecca.

When the family of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī[738] knew what he had done, they stayed away from him, and Yaʿqūb knew that if they es-
[509] tablished a state he would not survive in it and that al-Mahdī did not put him on an equal footing because of the greatness of the slander brought to him about Yaʿqūb. Yaʿqūb became close to Isḥāq b. al-Faḍl,[739] and he took to discussing affairs with him. Scandal was reported to al-Mahdī about Isḥāq, and it was said to him that the east and west were in the hands of Yaʿqūb and his friends and he had written to them. It was only enough for him to write to them and they would rise in rebellion on one day at the appointed time and hand over the world to Isḥāq b. al-Faḍl. This hardened the heart of al-Mahdī against him.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī: One of the servants

737. Celebrated poet. *Aghānī*, Būlāq, III, 19; Beirut, III, 129.
738. This should probably be the family of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.
739. The sense would seem to be that he turned to Isḥāq because he was not completely accepted by either the Ḥusaynid ʿAlids or al-Mahdī.

of al-Mahdī mentioned to me that, when he was standing at his head one day to whisk away the flies, Ya'qūb came in and knelt before him and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, you know about the disturbed state of Egypt and that you ordered me to search for a man for it to settle its affairs. I continued to investigate until I decided on a man who will put it right." Al-Mahdī asked him who it was and he replied, "Your paternal cousin, Isḥāq b. al-Faḍl." Ya'qūb saw the change in his face, and he rose and left and al-Mahdī followed him with his eyes and then said, "May God strike me dead if I do not kill you!" Then he raised his head to me and said, "Keep quiet about this, damn you!" The freedmen continued to stir him up against Ya'qūb and turn him against him until he decided to withdraw his favor from him.

According to Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Mas'ūdī[740]—al-Mahdī: Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd appeared to me in a dream and it was said to me that I should take him as *wazīr* and when he saw him he said, "This, by God, is the person I saw in my dream," so he appointed him as *wazīr* and he enjoyed the greatest favor with him. He stayed for some time until he built 'Īsābādh and one of his servants, who was a favorite of his, came to him and said to him, "Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl b. 'Alī[741] said to me, 'He has built a park on which he has spent 50 million *dirhams* of the Muslims' money.'" He remembered what the servant had said but forgot that it was [510] Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl and imagined that it was Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd. When Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd was before him, he took him by the throat and struck him to the ground and he said, "What is your quarrel with me, O Commander of the Faithful?" and he replied, "Were you not the one who said that I spent fifty million *dirhams* on a pleasure park for myself?" and Ya'qūb said, "By God, my ears did not hear it, and the two angels did not write it." This was the first reason for his affair (i.e., his fall from power).

According to my father: Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd had known from al-Mahdī dissoluteness and licentiousness in the mention of women and sexual intercourse. Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd used to describe many things from his own experience in that, and al-Mahdī did like-

740. Not known elsewhere.

741. An 'Abbāsid, son of al-Manṣūr's uncle, Ismā'īl b. 'Alī. He was governor of Mosul, 165–68/781–85 (al-Azdī, 246, 252).

wise. They[742] used to leave al-Mahdī alone at night and say that he would be furious with Ya'qūb in the morning. When it was morning, Ya'qūb went to visit him, and he had heard about this, and, when al-Mahdī saw him, he smiled and said to him, "Have you had a good time?" and he replied, "Yes," and al-Mahdī used to say, "Sit down, by my life, and tell me," and he used to say, "I was alone with my slave girl yesterday and she said and I said...," and he made a story about that and al-Mahdī did the same and they shared the pleasure. News of this reached those who were plotting against Ya'qūb and they were amazed at it.

According to al-Mawṣilī: Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd said to al-Mahdī about some matter he wished, "This, by God, is extravagance," and al-Mahdī answered, "Damn you! Do only people of nobility think extravagance is good? Damn you Ya'qūb, were it not for extravagance you could not tell the generous from the miserly."

According to 'Alī b. Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd—his father: Al-Mahdī sent for me one day and I came in to him, and there he was in a [511] *majlis* furnished with exquisite rose-colored fabrics, most lofty in fashion, overlooking a garden in which there were trees, and the tops of the trees were level with the floor of the *majlis*. These trees had burst into leaf with roses and peach and apple blossoms, and all these were pink like the furnishing of the *majlis* that he was in. I have not seen anything more beautiful than it. He had with him a slave girl, than whom I have never seen one more beautiful nor more erect in bearing nor more elegant in proportion, wearing clothes of the same color. I have never seen anything better than this ensemble. He said to me, "O Ya'qūb, what do you think of this *majlis* of ours?" and I replied, "Extremely beautiful; may God grant the Commander of the Faithful enjoyment of it and delight in it." He said, "It is yours. Take it with what is in it and this slave girl so that your pleasure in it may be complete," so I prayed God for him, as it should be.

Then he said, "O Ya'qūb, I have a request from you," and so I jumped up and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, is this some

742. Ibn al-Athīr explains: Intriguers used to make attacks on Ya'qūb at night (when they were talking with the caliph) and when they dispersed they were of the belief that he (al-Mahdī) would arrest him the next morning.

grievance you have? I take refuge in God from the anger of the Commander of the Faithful." He said, "No, but I would like you to guarantee to me the fulfilling of this request. I did not ask it for the reason you suspect, and I meant only what I said. I would like you to guarantee to me that you will fulfill this request for me." I replied, "It is the order of the Commander of the Faithful, and it is my duty to hear and obey." He said, "[Do you swear] by God?" and I said "by God" three times, and then he said, "by the life of my head?" and I said, "by the life of your head," and he said, "Put out your hand and swear to it," so I put my hand on him and swore to him by it that I would do what he said and fulfill his request.

When he had made certain of me in his mind, he said, "This so-and-so, son of so-and-so of the descendants of 'Alī: I would like you to save me from trouble with him and make me free of him and do that quickly." I said that I would do it and he said, "Take him to you," and I transferred him to me and I transferred the slave girl and all the furnishings and everything that was in the house, and he ordered 100,000 *dirham*s for me with it. [512]

I took all of it and went with it and, because of my great pleasure in the slave girl, I put her in the *majlis* with a veil between me and her. I sent for the 'Alawī and brought him in to me and asked him about his position, and he told me about it and, in short, I found him the most intelligent of men and the clearest of them in speech. Among the things he said to me was, "Damn you, Ya'qūb! You are accountable to God for my blood, and I am one of the descendants of Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad." I said, "No by God; are you the grateful type if you receive a favor?" And he said, "If you do a favor, I will thank you and invoke God's blessing on you and ask forgiveness for you." I said to him, "Which road would you like best?" and he replied "Such-and-such a road." I asked, "Who is there there with whom you are friendly and whose position you trust?" and he said, "So-and-so and so-and-so." I said, "Go to them and take this money and travel with them in safety under the veil of God. Your meeting with them to go out of my house to such-and-such a place that they have agreed on is at such-and-such a time of night."

Now the slave girl had remembered my words against me and sent them with a servant of hers to al-Mahdī and said, "This is your reward from the one whom you preferred over yourself, and

he has acted and done this and this...," until she had passed on the whole story.

Al-Mahdī immediately sent men to police those roads and places that Ya'qūb and the 'Alawī had described, and it was not long before they brought this very 'Alawī to him with his two friends and his money, exactly as the slave girl had told. He said, I got up the next day and there was a messenger from al-Mahdī summoning me to his presence. I was free of anxiety and the affair [513] of the 'Alawī was not weighing on me until I entered to al-Mahdī and I found him on a chair with a mace in his hand, and he said to me, "O Ya'qūb, what is the position of the man?" and I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, God has relieved you of him." He asked if he had died and I replied, "Yes," and he said, "[Do you swear] by God?" and I said, "by God." Then he said, "Stand up and put your hand on my head," so I put my hand on his head and took the oath with it.

He then said, "Page! Bring out to us what is in this chamber," and he opened the door on the very same 'Alawī and his two friends and the money. I remained at a loss and was filled with regret. I was unable to speak and did not know what to say. Al-Mahdī said, "You have made your blood legal for me if I choose to shed it, but imprison him in the Muṭbaq and let him be forgotten." So I was imprisoned in the Muṭbaq, and I was taken to a well in it and lowered into it. I remained there for a very long time and I do not know the number of days. My sight was afflicted and my hair grew long, so that it was flowing like the hair of beasts.

I was in that condition when I was called and I was taken and brought I knew not where and I was told no more than "Greet the Commander of the Faithful!" so I made my greeting and he said, "Which Commander of the Faithful am I?" and I said "al-Mahdī," and he said, "May God have mercy on al-Mahdī," and so I said, "al-Hādī," but he said, "May God have mercy on al-Hādī," and then I said, "al-Rashīd," and he said, "Yes." I said, "I do not doubt that the Commander of the Faithful understands my story and what has befallen me and that my position has been explained to him." He said, "Certainly, I am aware of that and the Commander of the Faithful knew. Ask for what you need." I said, "To settle in Mecca," and he said, "We will grant that; do you have any other requests?" and I replied, "I have no longer enjoyment in

anything and no power of communication," and he said, "Go rightly guided." I left and set my face for Mecca.

His son said, "He stayed in Mecca and he was not long there before he died."

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—his father—Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd: Al-Mahdī did not drink wine, not because he was avoiding sin, but because he did not like it. His companions ʿUmar b. Bazīʿ; al-Muʿalla, his freedman; and al-Mufaḍḍal[743] and his freedmen used to drink in his presence under his eyes. I used to warn him of their drinking and listening to singing,[744] and I used to say, "It was not for this that you made me *wazīr* and not because of this that I became your companion. After the five prayers in the cathedral mosque, should wine be drunk in your presence and should you listen to singing?" He used to say, "ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar listened,"[745] and I said, "This was not part of his virtues. If a man listened to singing every day, would he increase in nearness or in distance to God?" [514]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—his father: My father, Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd, besought al-Mahdī to stop listening to singing and pouring wine until it got on his nerves. Yaʿqūb had grown uneasy about his position and repented to God for what he was doing and looked to the future and advanced the intention of leaving his position. He said, "I used to say to al-Mahdī, 'O Commander of the Faithful, by God, drinking wine myself and repenting to God for it would be more pleasing to me than what I am doing. I am riding to you and wish that a sinful hand would strike me down on the way, so excuse me and appoint another, whomever you wish. I wish to get safe with you, I and my children, and, by God, I am afraid in my sleep. You have put me in charge of the affairs of the Muslims and the payment of the army, but this world of yours is not a fair exchange for my hereafter.'" He used to say, "O God, forgiveness, O God purify his heart," and the poet said to him:

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743. Called al-Waṣīf. He is later recorded among the ʿAbbāsid party on the pilgrimage of 169/786 when the ʿAlid al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī rebelled.

744. The Arabic simply has *al-asmāʿ* "listening," specifically to singing.

745. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib: al-Mahdī is citing the example of ʿAlī's nephew to prove that righteous men could listen to singing.

Leave Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd on one side,
and take to the good wine that has a good smell.

[515] According to 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar[746]—Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. Zayd al-'Alawī[747]—Ibn Sallām[748]: Al-Mahdī gave a slave girl to one of the sons of Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd, who was feebleminded. After some days he asked him about her and he said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I never saw the likes of her. I have never had such an easy riding steed between me and the ground...present company excepted!"[749] Al-Mahdī turned to Ya'qūb and said to him, "Whom do you think he means? Does he mean me or does he mean you?" and Ya'qūb said to him, "You can protect a foolish man against anything except himself."

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī—his father: Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd used to go into al-Mahdī and spend the night alone with him chatting and conversing. One night when he was with him when most of the night had passed he came out wearing a dyed Hāshimī *ṭaylasān*[750] that was blue and light, and the *ṭaylasān* had been strongly starched and ironed and it rattled. A page took the reins of his riding beast, a gray beast of his. The page had slept and Ya'qūb went smoothing his *ṭaylasān*, and it rattled. The palfrey shied and Ya'qūb approached it, and it turned its back on him and kicked him on his leg and broke it. Al-Mahdī heard the noise and came out barefooted and, when he saw what had happened, he made clear his anxiety and solicitude. Then he ordered that he be carried in a chair to his house. The next day al-Mahdī visited him at dawn, and the people heard about that and they came to him in the morning. He returned to him on the next three days and then he ceased his visits and began to send to him asking him how he was. When he was not present, intriguers were able to influence al-Mahdī, and within ten days (nights) his

746. B. Abū al-Ḥayy al-'Absī. He contributes one other report (see 539, below).
747. Probably a grandson of Zayd b. 'Alī, the unsuccessful rebel of 122/740.
748. Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Jumaḥī 139–231/756–845, author of the surviving *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā'*, contributes six reports on the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids to the *History*; see *EI*², s.v. "Ibn Sallām."
749. He clearly did not know how to express himself properly.
750. A piece of material worn over the shoulders and hanging down the back, a bit like an academic hood; see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 42–43.

anger against him became apparent, and he left him in his house [516]
to be treated and he announced to his companions that no one should have a Ya'qūbī *ṭaylasān* on him or a Ya'qūbī *qalansūwah* or his clothes would be taken from him. Then he ordered that Ya'qūb should be confined in the prison of Naṣr.

According to al-Nawfalī: Al-Mahdī ordered that Ya'qūb's men be deposed from offices in east and west and ordered that his family be arrested and imprisoned and that was done to them.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad: When Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd and his family were imprisoned, his agents dispersed and went into hiding and lived as vagabonds; his story and the story of Isḥāq b. al-Faḍl were told to al-Mahdī, and he sent for Isḥāq by night and for Ya'qūb. He was brought from prison, and he said to him, "Didn't you tell me that this man and the people of his family claimed that they had a better right to the caliphate than we, people of the family,[751] and that they had contempt for us?" and Ya'qūb said to him, "I never told you that," and he said, "You are accusing me of lying and contradicting my words!" Then he called for a whip and struck him twelve violent blows and ordered that he be returned to prison.

Isḥāq came and swore that he had never said that and that it was not his business. Among the things he said was, "How would I say that, O Commander of the Faithful, when my ancestor died in the Jāhiliyyah and your ancestor (lit: grandfather) survived after the Prophet of God and was his heir?"[752] He said, "Send him away." The next morning he summoned Ya'qūb and repeated to him the words that he had spoken, and he replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, do not punish me until I remind you and you remember when you were in a pavilion[753] overlooking the river. You were in the garden and I was with you when Abū al-Wazīr[754] came in."

'Alī said: Abū al-Wazīr was the son-in-law of Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd by the daughter of Ṣāliḥ b. Dāwūd. "Abū al-Wazīr told you this

751. I.e., the 'Abbāsid family.

752. Isḥāq's ancestor was al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, brother of al-'Abbās; see note 729, above.

753. *Ṭāramah*, a wooden building of circular form with an arched roof.

754. 'Umar b. al-Muṭarrif; see note 655, above.

story on the authority of Isḥāq. He (al-Mahdī) said, "You have told the truth, Ya'qūb, I remember that," and al-Mahdī was ashamed and apologized to him for the beating. Then he returned him to the prison, and he remained a prisoner in the reign of al-
[517] Mahdī and the whole of the reign of Mūsā until Hārūn released him because of the regard he had for him in the life of his father.

In this year Mūsā al-Hādī left for Jurjān. He appointed Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm[755] over his judiciary.

In this year al-Mahdī moved to 'Īsābādh and settled there. It was known as Qaṣr al-Salāmah, and the people settled there with him and *dīnār*s and *dirham*s were struck there.[756]

In this year al-Mahdī ordered the establishment of the post between the City of the Prophet[757] and Mecca and Yemen by mule and camel, and the post had not been established there before.

In this year Khurāsān was agitated against al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr, and al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī Abū al-'Abbās was appointed as governor there.[758] Sijistān was attached to him as well, and he appointed Tamīm b. Sa'īd b. Da'laj as his deputy in Sijistān on the orders of al-Mahdī.

In this year Dāwūd b. Rawḥ b. Ḥātim, Ismā'īl b. Sulaymān b. Mujālid, Muḥammad b. Abī Ayyūb al-Makkī and Muḥammad b. Ṭayfūr were arrested for *Zandaqah*.[759] They confessed and al-Mahdī called on them to repent and released them. He sent Dāwūd

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755. The famous *qāḍī* and author of the surviving *Kitāb al-Kharāj*. He remained *qāḍī* in Baghdad until his death in 182/799.

756. Most early Islamic coins had the names of the places they were minted on them. 'Īsābādh briefly became a center of habitation and government, but it seems to have been abandoned after al-Mahdī's death.

757. Medina.

758. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 205, mentions that Musayyab introduced a new coinage that may have provoked discontent. For further sources and discussion, see Daniel, *Khurasan*, 168, 184 n. 46.

759. All these were sons of prominent members of the regime, which is probably why they were treated so leniently. Rawḥ b. Ḥātim was the celebrated Muhallabī (see note 570, above); Sulaymān b. Mujālid was a member of al-Manṣūr's *saḥābah* who played an important part in the development of Baghdad; Abū Ayyūb al-Makkī was in charge of the *dīwān al-kharāj* at the beginning of al-Mahdī's reign; and Ṭayfūr was probably the Ṭayfūr, freedman of al-Hādī, who was al-Mahdī's half-brother and is recorded as governor of Iṣfahān in 169/785–86; see Crone, *Slaves*, 195.

b. Rawḥ to his father, Rawḥ, who was at that time governor of al-Baṣrah. He was gracious to him and ordered him to educate him.

In this year al-Waḍḍāḥ al-Sharawī brought 'Abdallāh b. Abū 'Ubaydallāh the *wazīr*, that is Mu'āwiyah b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Ash'arī of the people of Syria. He was the one whom Ibn Shabābah conspired against and who was accused of *Zandaqah*. We have already described his affair and his execution.[760]

In this year Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad was appointed governor of Medina, the City of the Prophet of God; 'Ubaydallāh b. Qutham[761] was in charge of al-Ṭā'if and Mecca. [518]

In this year Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Manṣūr was deposed from Yemen and 'Abdallāh b. Sulaymān al-Raba'ī was appointed in his place.

In this year al-Mahdī released 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī from the prison he was in.

Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad led the pilgrimage in this year.

In this year the governor (*'āmil*) of al-Kūfah, in charge of the prayers and the *aḥdāth*, was Hāshim b. Sa'īd. Rawḥ b. Ḥātim was in charge of the prayers and *aḥdāth* in al-Baṣrah, and Khālid b. Ṭalīq was in charge of the judiciary there. Al-Mu'allā, freedman of the Commander of the Faithful, was in charge of the districts of the Tigris; Kaskar; the governorates of al-Baṣrah and al-Baḥrayn; and the districts of Ahwāz, Fārs and Kirmān. Al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī was in charge of Khurāsān and Sijistān; Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ of Egypt; Yazīd b. Ḥātim of Ifrīqiyah; Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashī of Ṭabaristān, Rūyān, and Jurjān; Farāshah, freedman of al-Mahdi, of Dunbāwand and Qūmis; and Sa'd, freedman of the Commander of the Faithful, of al-Rayy.

In this year there was no summer expedition against the Byzantines because of the truce in it.

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760. The passage raises a problem. On p. 490 of the text al-Ṭabarī relates how Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh was executed, and there is mention of 'Abdallāh. It is not clear whether this is the same incident with a mistake in the name or a separate event that has been lost from the text. Neither al-Waḍḍāḥ nor Ibn Shabābah can be identified further.

761. B. al-'Abbās b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, an 'Abbāsid; for his father, see note 149, above. He remained governor until Hārūn's reign.

The Events of the Year 167

(August 5, 783–July 23, 784)

The events of this year:

Among these was the sending by al-Mahdī of his son Mūsā with a huge number of soldiers and equipment the likes of which, it was said, no one had ever been equipped with before to Jurjān for
[519] the war against Wandāhurmuz[762] and Sharvīn,[763] the two lords of Ṭabaristān. When al-Mahdī organized it for Mūsā, he placed Abān b. Ṣadaqah in charge of his correspondence, Muḥammad b. Jumayl of his army, and Nufay', freedman of al-Manṣūr, as his chamberlain. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān was in command of his guard and 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim of his police. Mūsā despatched the troops against Wandāhurmuz and Sharvīn under the command of Yazīd b. Mazyad and he laid siege to them.

In this year 'Īsā b. Mūsā died in al-Kūfah. The governor of al-

762. One of the native princes of Ṭabaristān. He resisted this Muslim assault in his mountain stronghold and is last recorded visiting Hārūn on his trip to al-Rayy in 189/805. He was the grandfather of Māzyār, the famous opponent of the Muslims during the reign of al-Mu'taṣim.

763. Neighbor and ally of Wandāhurmuz.

Kūfah at that time was Rawḥ b. Ḥātim, and Rawḥ b. Ḥātim called on the *qāḍī* and a body of the principal people to witness that he had died of natural causes, and then he was buried. It is said that ʿĪsā b. Mūsā died when Rawḥ b. Ḥātim was in charge of al-Kūfah on Tuesday, 26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (Tuesday, July 20), and Rawḥ was present at his bier. It was said to him, "Go first, you are the governor (*amīr*)." He said, "God will certainly not see Rawḥ praying over ʿĪsā b. Mūsā. Let his eldest child have precedence." They refused to do that and he insisted, and al-ʿAbbās b. ʿĪsā took precedence and prayed over his father. News of this reached al-Mahdī and he was angry with Rawḥ and wrote to him, "News has reached me of your refusal to pray over ʿĪsā. Did you pray for him for yourself or your father or your grandfather?[764] If I had been present that would have been my position, but since I was absent you should have been the first because of your position of authority," and he ordered that he be called to account. He had been in charge of the taxation along with the prayers and the *aḥdāth*. When ʿĪsā died al-Mahdī still held a grudge against him and his children, yet he used to hate having precedence over him because of his seniority.

In this year al-Mahdī stepped up the hunt and search for *Zindīqs* in all areas and executed them. He put ʿUmar al-Kalwādhī[765] in [520] charge of dealing with them. Yazīd b. al-Fayḍ,[766] secretary to al-Manṣūr, was arrested and, it is said, he confessed and was put in prison but escaped and could not be recaptured.

In this year al-Mahdī deposed Abū ʿUbaydallāh Muʿāwiyah b. ʿUbaydallāh from the *Dīwān al-Rasāʾil* and appointed his chamberlain al-Rabīʿ to it. He made Saʿīd b. Wāqid his deputy.[767] Abū

764. This is probably a reference to the fact that the Muhallabīs had opposed the later Umayyads and worked for their overthrow and that Rawḥ should have paid his respects to ʿĪsā for his part in the cause to which his father and grandfather had contributed, whatever his personal feelings.

765. From Kalwādhā, a small town on the eastern bank of the Tigris just south of Baghdad. Nothing more is known of him.

766. He seems to have remained in hiding and was one of the *Zindīqs* specifically excluded from an amnesty granted at the beginning of Hārūn's reign (see al-Ṭabarī, III, 604).

767. Al-Rabīʿ as *ḥājib* would not have the necessary expertise to run the *dīwān al-rasāʾil* (chancery, responsible for sending out letters) himself. Nothing more is known of Saʿīd b. Wāqid.

'Ubaydallāh continued to enter (into the presence of the caliph) according to his usual grade.

In this year there spread death and coughing and severe plague in Baghdad and al-Baṣrah.

In this year Abān b. Ṣadaqah died in Jurjān. He was secretary to Mūsā in charge of his correspondence (*rasā'il*). Al-Mahdī sent in his place Abū Khālid al-Aḥwal Yazīd,[768] the deputy of Abū 'Ubaydallāh.

In this year al-Mahdī ordered the expansion of the Ḥarām mosque,[769] and many houses were incorporated into it. He appointed Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā to oversee the building of the extension and he was occupied with the building of it until the death of al-Mahdī.

In this year Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashī was deposed from Ṭabaristān and Rūyān and what he had in that area, and 'Umar b. al-'Alā' was appointed to it. Farāshah, freedman of al-Mahdī, was appointed to Jurjān and Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashī was deposed.

In this year the earth darkened in the last nights of Dhū al-Ḥijjah until the day was well advanced.

In this year there was no summer expedition because of the truce there was between the Muslims and the Byzantines.

Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad led the pilgrimage in this year. He was governor of Medina and, after he had finished the pilgrimage and returned to Medina for a few days, he died, and Isḥāq b. 'Īsā b. 'Alī was appointed in his place.

In this year 'Uqbah b. Salm al-Hunā'ī was stabbed in 'Īsābādh.
[521] He was in the house of 'Umar b. Bazī' and a man took him by surprise and stabbed him with a dagger and he died there.[770]

The governor of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if in this year was 'Ubaydallāh b. Qutham. Sulaymān b. Yazīd al-Ḥārithī was in charge of

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768. A friend of Yaḥyā the Barmakid. When he died the next year, Yaḥyā looked after his son. His son Aḥmad played a central part in the appointment of Ṭāhir as governor of Khurāsān in 205/820.

769. In Mecca.

770. According to al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, II, 478, he was killed in revenge by a youth whose father he had killed when governor of al-Yamāmah (see note 72, above). Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb has him killed in al-Baḥrayn in al-Mahdī's reign (p. 196).

Yemen;[771] 'Abdallāh b. Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī[772] of al-Yamāmah; Rawḥ b. Ḥātim was in charge of the prayers of al-Kūfah and the *aḥdāth* there; Muḥammad b. Sulaymān was in charge of the prayers and *aḥdāth* of al-Baṣrah, with 'Umar b. 'Uthmān al-Taymī[773] in charge of the judiciary there. Al-Mu'allā, freedman of al-Mahdī, was in charge of the districts of the Tigris; Kaskar; the governorates (*a'māl*) of al-Baṣrah, al-Baḥrayn, and 'Umān; and the districts (*kuwar*) of Ahwāz, Fārs, and Kirmān. Al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī was in charge of Khurāsān and Sijistān; Mūsā b. Muṣ'ab[774] of Egypt; Yazīd b. Ḥātim of Ifrīqiyah; 'Umar b. al-'Alā' of Ṭabaristān and Rūyān; Farāshah, freedman of al-Mahdī, of Jurjān, Dunbāwand, and Qūmis; and Sa'd, freedman of the Commander of the Faithful, of al-Rayy.

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771. He may have been the brother of Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Ḥārithī who was governor of Yemen 133–34/750–52. Al-Saffāḥ's mother was a Ḥārithī, and several of them were influential in the early 'Abbāsid state, especially in Yemen, where the family originated (Crone, *Slaves*, 149; Kennedy, *'Abbasid Caliphate*, 52–53).

772. A descendant of the Prophet's companion al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. Beside his political role, he was a significant source for al-Ṭabarī's *History*.

773. Not known elsewhere.

774. See note 193, above.

The Events of the Year 168

(JULY 24, 784–JULY 13, 785)

The events of this year:

Among these was the breaking by the Byzantines of the peace that had been made between them and Hārūn b. al-Mahdī as we described above and their treachery.[775] This was in the month of Ramaḍān (March 17–April 15, 785). Between the beginning of the peace and the Byzantines' treachery and their breaking of it were thirty-two months. ʿAlī b. Sulaymān, who was at that time governor of al-Jazīrah and Qinnasrīn, sent Yazīd b. Badr b. al-Baṭṭāl[776] with a cavalry force against the Byzantines, and they took booty and were victorious.

In this year al-Mahdī sent Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī to Ṭabaristān with forty thousand men.

[522] In this year ʿUmar al-Kalwādhī, master of the *Zindīqs*, died, and in his place was appointed Ḥamdawayh, who was Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā of the people of Maysān.[777]

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775. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," 739–40.
776. Grandson of the Muslim hero, al-Baṭṭāl, n. 223. He is not known elsewhere.
777. Maysān was in southern Iraq north of al-Baṣrah and to the east of the Great

In this year al-Mahdī executed the *Zindīqs* in Baghdad.

In this year al-Mahdī returned his *dīwān* and the *dīwān* of his family to Medina, and he transferred it from Damascus there.[778]

In this year al-Mahdī went out to Nahr al-Ṣilah, below Wāsiṭ. It was only known as Nahr al-Ṣilah (the canal of the grant), it is said, because he wished to assign to his family and others the rents of it and grant them that.[779]

In this year al-Mahdī appointed ʿAlī b. Yaqṭīn[780] to the *Dīwān Zimam al-Azimmah*[781] over ʿUmar b. Bazīʿ.

According to Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Ḥamzah—his father:[782] The first person to work the Registry Department was ʿUmar b. Bazīʿ in the caliphate of al-Mahdī. This was because, when the *dīwāns* were gathered to him, he thought that he could organize them only by setting up a *zimam* (registry) on every *dīwān*, so he set up the registry departments and appointed a man to every department. To the registry department of the *kharāj*, he appointed Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ.[783] The Banū Umayyah did not have registry departments.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who was called Ibn Rayṭah, led the pilgrimage in this year.

Swamp (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 242–43; Le Strange, 43). For his efforts against the *Zindiqs*, see al-Nahrawānī, *al-Jalīs al-Ṣāliḥ* (Beirut, 1987), III, 203–7.

778. The *dīwān* of the family was the list of its members and the salaries they were entitled to. It is surprising that it had remained in the old Umayyad capital: its return to Medina (not Baghdad) was intended to emphasize the connection between the ʿAbbāsids and the Family of the Prophet.

779. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, V, 321) says that the canal was dug by al-Mahdī and the land brought into cultivation by him but that the revenue was assigned to the people of the Ḥaramayn (Mecca and Medina).

780. Son of Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā (note 271, above). According to al-Ṭabarī, 549, he was executed for *Zandaqah* in 169/786, but Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 224, says he died in 182/798.

781. For *dīwān al-azimmah* (registry departments), see note 660, above. This new *dīwān* seems to have been an attempt to centralize the registries of different departments.

782. Not known elsewhere.

783. Al-Ḥarrānī. He was subsequently to have a long career as secretary for Hārūn and later for al-Amīn and is last heard of in 195/810–11.

The Events of the Year 169

(July 14, 785–July 2, 786)

The events of this year:

Among these was al-Mahdī's departure in al-Muḥarram (July 14–August 12, 785) to Māsabadhān.[784]

[523] The story of his departure:

It is said that at the end of his reign al-Mahdī had intended to give his son Hārūn precedence over his son Mūsā al-Hādī. He sent a member of his family to him when he was in Jurjān in order to decide finally on the oath of allegiance and give al-Rashīd precedence. Mūsā did not comply. Al-Mahdī then sent one of his freedmen to him, but Mūsā refused to come back and beat the messenger. Al-Mahdī departed because of Mūsā, intending to go to Jurjān, but there befell him what befell him.

According to al-Bāhilī[785]—Abū Shākir,[786] one of the secretaries of al-Mahdī in charge of one of the *dīwāns*: 'Alī b. Yaqṭīn asked

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784. A district to the east of Baghdad, on the modern Iraq-Iran border (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 41; Le Strange, *Lands*, 202).

785. Abū Bakr: nothing more is known of him.

786. Nothing more is known of this man.

al-Mahdī to have breakfast with him, and he promised that he would and then he decided to come to Māsabadhān and, by God, he gave orders for the journey as if he were driven to it, and 'Alī said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, you promised to me that you would have breakfast with me," and he replied, "Bring your breakfast to Nahrawān!" so he brought it and had breakfast in Nahrawān, and then he departed.

In this year al-Mahdī died. The account of the circumstances of his death:

There are different accounts of his death: According to Wāḍiḥ, *qahramān*[787] to al-Mahdī: Al-Mahdī went out to hunt in a village called al-Radhdh in Māsabadhān, and I remained with him until after the afternoon prayer and then I went to my tent, which was far from his. Just before daybreak I rode to do my duties, and I was traveling through the desert and I had separated from the pages who were with me and from my companions when I met a naked black man traveling on a camel. He came near to me and then said to me, "Abū Sahl, may God give you great recompense for [524] your master, the Commander of the Faithful."[788] I contemplated whipping him, but he vanished from in front of me and, when I came to the portico (of the tent), Masrūr[789] met me and said to me, "Abū Sahl, may God grant you great recompense for your master, the Commander of the Faithful." I went in and there I saw him covered with a shroud in a tent (*qubbah*). I said, "I left you after the afternoon prayer and no one was more cheerful in mood or more healthy in body, so what happened?" He replied, "The hounds chased a gazelle and he continued to follow them and the gazelle rushed through the door of a ruined building and the hounds rushed after it and the horse rushed after the hounds, and his back was smashed against the door of the ruin and he died instantly."

According to 'Alī b. Abī Nu'aym al-Marwazī:[790] One of al-

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787. A *qahramān* was a member of the domestic staff of the court, rather than a political figure; Wāḍiḥ is not otherwise known.

788. A formula meaning that the caliph has died. Compare the specter who announces the death of al-Manṣūr; see above, p. 162.

789. Abū Hāshim Masrūr al-Khādim, a palace servant who became an important figure at the court of Hārūn; see Crone, *Slaves*, 192–93.

790. Marwazī means coming from Marw; this is the only report he contributes.

Mahdī's slave girls sent beastings with poison in it to a rival of hers. He was sitting in the garden after he had left ʿĪsābādh. He called for it (the beastings) and ate from it, and the slave girl was afraid to say that it was poisoned.

According to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī:[791] Al-Mahdī was sitting in an upstairs room in the palace at Māsabadhān looking down from his vantage point on those below him. A slave girl of his, called Ḥasanah,[792] had picked up two large pears and put them in a *ṣīnīyah*[793] dish and poisoned one that was the best and ripest in its lowest part, and replaced the stem in it and put it in the upper part of the dish. Al-Mahdī used to like pears very much, and she sent it with a servant of hers to a slave girl of al-Mahdī's whom he favored, intending to kill her with that. The servant was taking the dish with that pear in it, intending to give it to the slave girl whom Ḥasanah had sent it to, when al-Mahdī saw her from the vantage point. When he saw her and saw the pear with her, he called her and stretched out his hand to the pear, which [525] was uppermost in the dish, the poisoned one, and ate it. When it reached his stomach, he screamed, "My stomach!" and Ḥasanah heard the voice and was told the news, and she began to strike her face in lamentation and weep and said, "I wanted to be alone with you and I have killed you, O my lord!" and he died that day.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Ismāʿīl, master of the riding animals:[794] When we reached Māsabadhān, I came near to his bridle and took hold of it and he showed no sign of illness, by God, but in the morning he was dead, and I saw that Ḥasanah had returned with sackcloth on her collar and Abū al-ʿAtāhiyah[795] said about that:

In the afternoon, the women went in fine fabrics, but in the
morning they had sackcloth on.
Every butter has a butting day against him by time.
You were not to remain, even if you were given life as long as

791. Rāzī means coming from al-Rayy; he contributes two other reports.
792. Not known elsewhere.
793. A metal tray used for serving food.
794. *Ṣāḥib al-marākib*, a palace servant not recorded elsewhere.
795. D. 210/825. The celebrated poet. See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XIV, 56; Beirut, XV, 218; *EI*², s.v. "Abū'l-ʿAtāhiyah."

Noah was.
Lament for yourself for you have no alternative but to lament.

According to Ṣāliḥ al-Qārī'—'Alī b. Yaqṭīn: We were with al-Mahdī in Māsabadhān and he woke up one day and said, "I have woken up hungry," and he was brought loaves and cold, cooked meat in vinegar. He ate some of it and then said, "I am going into the hall to sleep in it. Do not wake me up until I wake up myself." He went into the hall and slept, and we slept in the house under the portico. We were awakened by his weeping and hurried to him and he said, "Did you not see what I saw?" and we replied that we had not seen anything and he said, "There stood at the door a man who would be easily recognized by me had he been among a thousand or a hundred thousand men and he recited, saying:

It is as if I were in this palace and its people have perished [526]
and its residences and dwelling places are deserted.
The chief of the people has come after glory and
power to a tomb covered with stones.
Nothing remains but his memory and story
and the wailing of his wives cries out for him."

Ten days did not pass before he died. According to Abū Ma'shar and al-Wāqidī he died in the year 169 on the night of Thursday (i.e., Wednesday night by our reckoning) 22 Muḥarram (Thursday, August 4, 785). His caliphate lasted ten years and one and a half months. Someone said that his caliphate was ten years, forty-nine days and that he died at the age of forty-three.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad: Abū 'Abdallāh al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh began to rule on 6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 158 (October 7, 775), and reigned for ten years, one month, and twenty-two days and then died in 169, when he was forty-three years old.

A description of his burial place and those who prayed over him:

It is said that al-Mahdī died in one of the villages of Māsabadhān called al-Radhdh, and about that Bakkār b. Ribāḥ[796] said:

796. He is not noticed in *Aghānī* and not quoted elsewhere in al-Ṭabarī.

May the mercy of the Merciful One at all hours (come down)
over a corpse that decayed at Māsabadhān.
The tomb covered a fault-free man
and two palms that hasten to do kindness.

His son Hārūn prayed over him, and there was not a bier to be found to carry him on, so he was carried on a door and buried under a nut tree he used to sit under.

He was tall, of thin build, with curly hair. Opinions differ as to
[527] his coloring; some said that he was brown, and others said that he was white. Some said that he had a white spot in his right eye, and others said that it was in his left eye, and he was born in Īdhaj.[797]

Some of the Doings of al-Mahdī and Stories about Him

According to Hārūn b. Abī 'Ubaydallāh: When al-Mahdī used to sit for the *maẓālim*, he said, "Bring in the judges to me! If I only settle the *maẓālim* with their approval, it is enough."

According to al-Ḥasan b. Abī Sa'īd—'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ:[798] Al-Mahdī sat down one day to give rewards, which were distributed in his presence to his intimates (*khāṣṣah*) among his family and his army commanders. The names were read to him and he ordered bonuses of ten thousand and twenty thousand and similar. There came before him one of the commanders, and he said, "This man is reduced by 500," and he asked, "Why have you brought me down, O Commander of the Faithful?" and he replied, "Because I sent you against an enemy of ours and you fled," and he said, "Would it have pleased you more if I had been killed?" Al-Mahdī said, "No," and the commander went on, "By Him Who has generously bestowed the caliphate on you, if I had stood firm, I would

797. On the border between the provinces of Iṣfahān and Khūzistān, in the Zagros mountains. He was born there because his father was involved in the unsuccessful rebellion of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah against the Umayyads in 126–27/743–45 (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 266–69).

798. Nothing more is known of al-Ḥasan, who contributes a number of reports to the *History*, of which this is the first. 'Alī was the son of Ṣāliḥ, Ṣāḥib al-Muṣallā (note 153, above) and so a good source of court gossip.

have been killed." Al-Mahdī was shamed by him and said, "Give him five thousand more."

According to al-Ḥasan—'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ: Al-Mahdī was angry with one of his army commanders and had reproved him several times and said to him, "For how long will you sin against me and I forgive you?" and he replied, "May it continue forever and may God spare you to forgive us," and he repeated it a number of [528] times, and al-Mahdī was ashamed about him and took him into favor.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar[799]—Ḥafṣ, mawlā of Muzaynah—his father: Hishām al-Kalbī[800] was a friend of mine, and we used to meet and tell stories and recite verses to each other. I had seen him in worn-out clothes and rags on a skinny mule, and he and his mule were obviously in need, so I was surprised when one day he met me on a light-colored mule that was one of the caliphal mules, with a saddle and bridle that belonged to the caliphate, and he was riding in fine clothes and good perfume. I showed my pleasure and then said to him, "I see obvious prosperity," and he replied, "Yes, I will tell you about it and keep it a secret. While I was in my house some days ago between the midday and afternoon prayers, al-Mahdī's messenger came to me, so I went to him and entered to him. He was sitting alone without anyone with him, and in his hands he held a letter. He said 'Come near, O Hishām,' so I came near and sat down in front of him, and he continued, 'Take this letter and read it and do not let the odious things in it prevent you from reading it.'

"I looked at the letter and, when I had read some of it, I found it odious and I threw it from my hand and cursed the author. He said, 'I told you that, if you found it odious, you should not throw it away. Read it on my orders until you reach the end.'

"I read it and it was a letter whose author had abused him savagely without sparing anything, and I said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, who is this cursed liar?' and he replied, 'The Lord of al-Andalus.'[801] I said, 'By God, O Commander of the Faithful,

799. Al-Wāqidī.

800. The famous historian. Nothing else is known of Ḥafṣ or his father.

801. The Umayyad ruler of Muslim Spain, at this time 'Abd al-Raḥmān b Mu'āwiyah b. Hishām [138–72/756–88].

the shame is on him and his fathers and mothers.' Then I began abusing them. He was pleased with that and said, 'I am asking you to dictate all abuse of them to a secretary.'

"He called one of the confidential secretaries and ordered him [529] to sit down nearby, and he ordered me to go to him, and the secretary began a reply from al-Mahdī, and I dictated abuse against them in great quantity and did not spare anything until I had finished the letter. I showed it to him, and his pleasure was obvious and he went on to order that the letter be sealed and put in a bag and given to the Master of the Post and he ordered that it be hastened to al-Andalus.

"Then he ordered a cloth in which there were ten of the best robes and ten thousand *dirhams* and this mule with its saddle and bridle, and he gave me that and said to me, 'Keep silent about what you have heard.'"

According to al-Ḥasan—Miswar b. Musāwir: Al-Mahdī's agent (*wakīl*) oppressed me and was angry with me on account of an estate I had, so I went to Sallām, *ṣāḥib al-maẓālim*,[802] and complained about the oppression to him and gave him a written note. He took the note to al-Mahdī, and there were with him his paternal uncle, al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad; Ibn 'Ulāthah; and 'Āfiyah the *Qāḍī*. Al-Mahdī said to me, "Come near," so I came near, and he asked, "What are you saying?" and I replied, "You have oppressed me." He said, "Are you satisfied with one of these two (*qāḍīs*)?"

"Yes," I said and he told me to approach, and I did so until I was touching the cushion, and he said, "Speak!" I said, "May God give the judge peace, he oppressed me on account of this estate of mine." The *qāḍī* then asked, "What do you say, O Commander of the Faithful?" and he replied, "It is my estate and it is in my hands," and I said, "May God give the judge peace. Ask him whether the estate passed to him before he became caliph or after."

He asked, "What do you say, O Commander of the Faithful?" He answered that it came to him after he had become caliph. The

802. Sallām al-Abrash; see note 289, above.

judge said, "Hand it over to him," and he replied, "I have done it," and al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad said, "O Commander of the Faithful. Indeed this *majlis* is dearer to me than twenty million *dirhams*."

According to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Rabīʿ[803]—Mujāhid, the poet:[804] Al-Mahdī went out for sport, and with him was ʿUmar b. Bazīʿ, [530] his freedman. We were cut off from the army and the people (courtiers) in the hunt, and al-Mahdī was struck by hunger and said, "Damn you! Do you have anything?" and he said, "No, nothing. I see a hut, and I think it has a vegetable patch." We went in its direction, and there was a Nabaṭī[805] in a cottage and a vegetable patch. We greeted him and he returned the greeting, and we asked if he had anything to eat. He replied, "Yes, I have *rubaythāʾ* (a kind of small fish) and barley bread," and al-Mahdī asked, "If you have oil you will have done everything," and he said "Yes." "And leeks?" "As you like, and dates." He hurried to the vegetable patch and brought them greens and leeks and onions, and they ate a large and satisfying meal. Al-Mahdī said to ʿUmar b. Bazīʿ, "Say a poem about this," and he said:

He who prepares a meal of *rubaythāʾ* in oil, barley bread, and leeks
deserves a blow or two for the evil of his action, or three.

Al-Mahdī said, "It is a shame your poem did not go like this:

deserves a *bidrah*[806] or two for the excellence of his action, or three."

The escort and treasury and servants came by, and al-Mahdī ordered that the Nabaṭī be given three *bidrahs* (30,000 *dirhams*), and he went on his way.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—Abū Ghānim: Zayd al-Hilālī[807] was a noble, generous, and famous man of the Banū Hilāl, and the inscription on his seal read, "He is successful, O

803. B. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī, see note 34, above.
804. He is not noticed in *Aghānī* and does not appear again in the *History*.
805. One of the indigenous, non-Arab inhabitants of Iraq.
806. A large sum of money, 10,000 *dirhams*.
807. Despite the caliph's encomium, Zayd has left no other trace in the historical record.

Zayd, who causeth his work to grow,"[808] and news of this reached al-Mahdī, who said, "The inscription on Zayd al-Hilālī's seal reads, 'He is successful, O Zayd, whose work has a good reputation.'"

According to al-Ḥasan al-Waṣīf: In the reign of al-Mahdī we were struck by a wind so strong that we thought that we would be [531] swept away to the Last Judgment, so I went out to look for the Commander of the Faithful and I found him lying, his cheek on the ground, saying, "O God, preserve Muḥammad in his people! O God, do not let our enemies among the peoples rejoice! O God, if you have taken the world because of my sin, my forelock is in your hands!" We remained only a little time before the wind disappeared and what we were in vanished.

According to al-Mawṣilī—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī: I said to al-Mahdī, "O Commander of the Faithful, we people of the family have been made to imbibe into our hearts the love of our freedmen and the giving of precedence to them. What you have in this respect has gone too far. You have given them charge of all your affairs and you have favored them by night and day, and I fear a change of heart among your soldiers and your commanders from the people of Khurāsān."

He replied, "O Abū Muḥammad, the freedmen deserve that. There is no one who combines these qualities except these freedmen. I can hold audience for the common people and summon a freedman of mine and raise him up so that his knee rubs against mine, and then he gets up from that audience and I can ask him to look after my mount and he does so and does not think himself to be above that. They are not proud with me about that, and if I wanted that from anyone else he would say, 'Where is the person whose job it is and the first to answer your call, and where is he who is first to respond to your summons?[809] I would not shove him out of the way.'"

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī': Al-Mahdī said to 'Abdallāh b. Mālik, "Wrestle with this freedman of mine," so he wrestled with him and he took him by the neck, and al-

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808. The inscription was taken from *Qur'ān*, XCI: 9. The sense of the anecdote is not clear.

809. The text here presents some problems: I have incorporated some of the suggestions made in *Gloss.*, s.v. *'ain*, CXXIV–CXXV, where the matter is discussed.

Mahdī said, "Press hard," and, when 'Abdallāh saw that, he took him by his leg and he fell on his head and he threw him on the ground. 'Abdallāh said to al-Mahdī, "O Commander of the Faithful, I left you while I was one of the most beloved of men to you, and yet you still side with your freedman against me." He said, "Have you not heard the words of the poet?

Your freedmen should not be oppressed while you behold, [532]
for the oppression of a certain people's freedman is like the cutting off of the nose."

According to Abū al-Khaṭṭāb:[810] When death was approaching al-Qāsim b. Mujāshi' al-Tamīmī,[811] of the people of Marw of the village known as Bārān, he wrote a testament for al-Mahdī: "There is no god but He; that is the witness of God, His angels, and those endued with knowledge, standing firm on justice. There is no god but He, the Exalted in Power, the Wise. The religion before God is Islam..."[812] to the end of the verse. Then he wrote that al-Qāsim b. Mujāshi' bore witness to that and that Muḥammad was his slave and his messenger, that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was the heir of the Prophet of God and the inheritor of the imāmate after him.[813] The testament was presented to al-Mahdī and, when he reached this point, he threw it away and did not look at it.

Abū al-Khaṭṭāb said: This remained in the heart of Abū 'Ubaydallāh, the *wazīr*, and, when his death approached, he wrote this Qur'ānic verse in his testament.

According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī: A man came in to al-Mahdī and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, al-Mahdī cursed me and called my mother a whore; either you should order me to exonerate him from his sin, or you should give me compensation and I shall ask God to forgive him." He asked why he had cursed him and the man replied, "I cursed an enemy of his in his presence and he was angry with me."

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810. Ḥamzah b. 'Alī contributes a few scattered narratives to the *History*.

811. Al-Tamīmī. He had been one of the original agents (*nuqabā'*) of the 'Abbāsids in Khurāsān and had fought in the 'Abbāsid armies beside Qaḥṭabah, so his disaffection was all the more striking.

812. *Qur'ān*, III: 18–19.

813. That is to say that the 'Alids, not the 'Abbāsids, were the rightful leaders of the Muslim community.

"Who was this enemy that he was angry with you for cursing him?" he asked. "Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan," the man replied. "Ibrāhīm is a very close relation and most worthy of al-Manṣūr's kinship rights. If your cursing was as you allege, he was protecting his kin and defending his honor. What is wrong with someone who comes to the aid of his own cousin (*ibn ʿamm*)?"[814] He said, "He was his enemy," but al-Mahdī replied, "He did not come to his aid out of hostility (to you) but because of his kinship." He silenced the man and, when he turned to go, al-Mahdī said, "Perhaps you wanted something and you were not able to find a better pretext for coming to me than this claim?" and he
[533] replied, "Yes." Then he smiled and ordered that he be given five thousand *dirhams*.

A man was brought to al-Mahdī who claimed to be a prophet and when he saw him he said, "Are you a prophet?" and the man replied, "Yes," so he asked to whom he had been sent, and he replied, "Have you left me to go to those to whom I was sent? I was despatched in the morning, and you arrested me in the evening and put me in prison." Al-Mahdī laughed at him and let him go.

According to Abū al-Ashʿath al-Kindī[815]—Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh—al-Rabīʿ: I saw al-Mahdī praying in a hall on a moonlit night, and I do not know whether he was more beautiful or the hall or the moon or his clothes. He read this verse: "Then it is to be expected of you, if ye were put into authority, that ye will do mischief in the land, and break your ties of kith and kin?"[816] He completed his prayers and turned to me and said, "O Rabīʿ," and I said, "Your servant, O Commander of the Faithful," and he said, "Bring me Mūsā," and stood up to pray. I asked (myself), "Which Mūsā, his son Mūsā[817] or Mūsā b. Jaʿfar?"[818] (who was imprisoned at my house) and I began to think and came to the conclusion that it was Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, and I brought him. Then he broke off his

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814. Stressing the unity of the Family of the Prophet, despite Ibrāhīm's rebellion in 145/768.

815. Presumably a member of the family of al-Ashʿath b. Qays; see above, note 580.

816. *Qurʾān*, XLVII: 22.

817. The future caliph al-Hādī.

818. Mūsā al-Kāẓim, son of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. Mūsā is held to have been killed by Hārūn in 186/802 and is venerated by twelver Shīʿīs as the seventh *imām*.

prayer and said, "O Mūsā I was reading this verse 'Then it is to be expected of you, if ye were put into authority, that ye will do mischief in the land and break your ties of kith and kin,' and I was afraid that I had broken the tie of kinship with you, so confirm that you will not rise in rebellion against me," and he said, "Yes," and confirmed it and he released him.

According to Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'Alī—Sulaymān b. Dāwūd: I heard al-Mahdī reciting quickly in the *miḥrāb* of the mosque in a unique chant "Hast thou not turned thy vision to those who were given a portion of the Book? They believe in sorcery and evil," in the chapter of the women.[819]

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān—my father: I [534] came into the presence of al-Mahdī and he was sitting for the *maẓālim*. A man from the family of al-Zubayr[820] approached him and mentioned an estate that one of the kings of the Banū Umayyah—I do not know whether it was al-Walīd[821] or Sulaymān[822]—had confiscated from his father. He ordered Abū 'Ubaydallāh to extract its record from the old *dīwān*. He did that and read the record to al-Mahdī that said that it was included among a number of them that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz[823] had not seen fit to return. Al-Mahdī said, "O Zubayrī, this 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was one of your tribe of Quraysh, do you know why he did not see fit to return it?" and he asked, "Do you approve of all the acts of 'Umar?" and al-Mahdī asked, "What acts of his do you not approve of?" "One of those was that he apportioned to the prematurely born baby of the Banū Umayyah, while in his infant clothes, a share of the most honorable *'aṭā'*[824] and apportioned an old man of the Banū Hāshim sixty." Al-Mahdī said, "O Mu'āwiyah, did 'Umar do that?" and he replied, "Yes," so he said, "Restore his estate to the Zubayrī."

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819. *Qur'ān*, IV: 51.

820. Ibn al-'Awwām, the Prophet's companion. The family's estates were confiscated after the unsuccessful rebellion of his son 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr against the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik.

821. B. 'Abd al-Malik, Umayyad caliph 86–96/705–15.

822. B. 'Abd al-Malik, Umayyad caliph 96–99/715–17.

823. Umayyad caliph, 99–101/717–20, respected by the 'Abbāsids as the only righteous Umayyad.

824. The highest level of salary.

'Umar b. Shabbah—Abū Salamah al-Ghifārī: Al-Mahdī wrote to Ja'far b. Sulaymān, who was governor of Medina, ordering him to bring a group of people who were suspected of Qadar.[825] Among them were 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Ubaydah b. Muḥammad b. 'Ammār b. Yāsir,[826] 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Qays al-Hudhalī,[827] 'Īsā b. Yazīd b. Da'b al-Laythī,[828] and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Usāmī.[829] They were brought in to al-Mahdī and 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Ubaydah among them exculpated himself to him and said, "This was the faith of your father and his belief," and he replied, "No, that of my paternal uncle Dāwūd,"[830] but 'Abdallāh said, "No, your father was of this belief of ours, and it was his faith," and he let them go.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Nawfalī—his father—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. [535] 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib:[831] I saw as a sleeper sees at the end of the reign of the Banū Umayyah; it was as if I had entered the mosque of the Prophet of God and I raised my head and looked at the writing in mosaic that was in the mosque and there was what the Commander of the Faithful al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik had ordered.[832] There was a voice saying, "Wipe out this writing and write in its place the name of a man from the Banū Hāshim called Muḥammad."

I said, "I am Muḥammad and I am of the Banū Hāshim. Whose son is it?" and the voice replied, "Son of 'Abdallāh," and I said, "I am son of 'Abdallāh; son of whom?" and the voice said, "Son of Muḥammad," and I said, "I am the son of Muḥammad; son of whom?" and the voice said, "Son of 'Alī," and I said, "I am son

825. A belief in human free will, which came to be considered heretical; see *EI*², s.v. "Ḳadarıya."

826. A traditionist occasionally quoted in the *History*.

827. No more is known about him. It is suggested in the Addenda that the name should be Qanṭash.

828. A traditionist quoted by al-Ṭabarī who later became a valued companion of the caliph al-Hādī.

829. Not recorded elsewhere.

830. B. 'Alī al-'Abbāsī; see note 430, above.

831. A descendant of 'Alī's brother Ja'far; the Ja'farids were sometimes thought of as possible candidates for the caliphate. He and his forebears had identical names to those of the caliph al-Mahdī for five generations.

832. Umayyad caliph 86–96/705–15.

of 'Alī; son of whom?" and the voice said, "Son of 'Abdallāh," and I said, "I am son of 'Abdallāh; son of whom?" and the voice said, "Son of 'Abbās." If I had not reached 'Abbās, I would have had no doubts that I was the lord of the affair.

I told the story of this dream at the time, and we did not know al-Mahdī and people told it, so he entered the mosque of the Prophet and raised his eyes and looked and saw the name of al-Walīd and he said, "Indeed I still see the name of al-Walīd in the mosque of the Prophet of God." He called for a chair, and it was put before him in the court of the mosque and he said, "I will not leave until it is wiped out and my name is put in its place." He ordered that workmen and ladders and the necessary equipment be brought, and he did not leave until it was changed and his name was written.[833]

According to Aḥmad b. al-Haytham al-Qurashī—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aṭā': Al-Mahdī went out after the stillness of the night to walk around the house (the Ka'bah) and he heard a bedouin woman by the side of the mosque, and she was saying, "My people are poverty-stricken, eyes glance at them with repugnance, debts weigh on them, famines bite them hard, their men have passed away and their wealth has gone, and their dependents have grown numerous. They have become wanderers far [536] from home and emaciated phantoms of the road. They are God's and the Prophet's trust that he ordered to help. Is there one to order good for me? May God protect him in his journey and assist his people in his absence." He ordered Nuṣayr al-Khādim to pay her five hundred *dirhams*.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān—his father: The first person to use Ṭabarī furnishings[834] was al-Mahdī. This was when his father had ordered him to settle at al-Rayy and he was given the Ṭabarī from Ṭabaristān and put ice and reeds[835] around it until canvas was introduced to them (for cooling), and the Ṭabarī was pleasant for them in it.

According to Muḥammad b. Ziyād—al-Mufaḍḍal: Al-Mahdī

833. Cf. the surviving inscription in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, where 'Abd al-Malik's name has been replaced by that of al-Ma'mūn.

834. That is, textiles from Ṭabaristān in northern Iran.

835. See the description of al-Manṣūr's coolhouse, p. 121.

said to me, "Collect for me proverbs that you hear from the *badw* and that you consider authentic." I wrote proverbs for him and accounts of the wars of the Arabs that were mentioned in them, and he gave me grants and treated me very well.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad: One of the descendants of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah[836] sought to rebel in Syria and he was brought to al-Mahdī. He released him and was generous to him and brought him close in his audience, and he said to him one day, "Recite the *qaṣīdah* of Zuhayr with the rhyme in *rā'*,[837] which goes:

Whose tents are those on the mountain top of al-Ḥajr?"

and he recited it. The Samurī said, "Gone are the people who deserve to be eulogized by such poetry." Al-Mahdī was angry with him and considered him ignorant and thrust him aside but did not punish him, and the people considered him stupid.

It was said that Abū ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd was ill and al-Mahdī visited him and there was a shabby house, badly built, [537] and the arch of the *ṣuffah* was made of mud brick. There was a luxurious tent in his audience. Al-Mahdī sat down on a pillow and Abū ʿAwn sat in front of him, and al-Mahdī treated him with respect and commiserated with him about his illness. Abū ʿAwn said, "I hope for good health from God, O Commander of the Faithful, and that He will not cause me to die in my bed before I am killed in your service. I trust that I will not die before I show God in your service what He is entitled to, for indeed we have been succored and given succor."

Al-Mahdī expressed a very good opinion of him and said, "Request from me what you need and ask me for what you want, and I will provide for you in life and death. By God, if your wealth fails in any way, make a request and I will indeed fulfill it, whatever it is. Say and request."

Abū ʿAwn thanked him and blessed him and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, my request is that you show favor to

836. B. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams. Ḥabīb was a brother of that Umayyad after whom the dynasty was named.

837. In the classical Arabic ode (*qaṣīdah*) all the lines end with the same rhyme.

'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Awn and summon him, for your anger against him has lasted a long time."

Al-Mahdī replied, "O Abū 'Awn, he is on the wrong road and is against our belief and your belief. He defames the two *shaykhs*, Abū Bakr and 'Umar,[838] and uses evil language about them."

Abū 'Awn said, "He is, by God, O Commander of the Faithful, of the belief for which we rebelled and that we summoned people to.[839] If you have engendered any change, order us to do what you wish, so that we can obey you."

Al-Mahdī went away and, when he was on the road, he said to one of his children and family who were with him, "Would that you were like Abū 'Awn. By God, I did not expect that his house would be built of materials other than gold and silver. You, if you found a *dirham*, would build in teak and gold."

According to Abū 'Abdallāh—his father: Al-Mahdī preached the sermon one day and said, "Servants of God, fear God," and a man stood up and said "And you too fear God, for you are acting unjustly!" He was arrested and brought, and they set about goading him with the points of their scabbards. When he was brought into al-Mahdī, he said, "O son of a whore, you said to me when I was on the pulpit, 'Fear God!'" and he said, "How bad! If this insult [538] came from someone other than you, I would have been appealing for your assistance against him." He said, "I think you are only a Nabaṭī," and he replied, "It is the most positive form of proof against you if a Nabaṭī orders you to fear God." He saw the man after that, and he was talking about what happened between him and al-Mahdī. My father said, "I was present with him at the time, only I did not hear the words."

According to Hārūn b. Maymūn al-Khuzā'ī—Abū Khuzaymah al-Bādhghīsī:[840] Al-Mahdī said, "Nobody seeks my help with a petition or offers an excuse that is more pressing than he, reminding me of a favor I did him so that it would be followed by its

838. An indication of 'Alid sympathies since Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first two caliphs, were held by some to have deprived 'Alī of his rightful inheritance, the caliphate.

839. This seems to mean that the original beliefs of the 'Abbāsid movement agreed with this but that the view had subsequently been modified.

840. Neither of these is recorded elsewhere.

sister (i.e., one like it) and so good would be done to its asker because withholding of later things removes gratitude for earlier ones."

According to Khālid b. Yazīd b. Wahb b. Jarīr—his father: Bashshār b. Burd b. Yarjūkh[841] had attacked Ṣāliḥ b. Dāwūd b. Ṭahmān, the brother of Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd, in a poem when he was appointed governor of al-Baṣrah saying:

They carried Ṣāliḥ your brother onto the pulpits,
and the pulpits groaned because of your brother.[842]

Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd heard of this attack and came into al-Mahdī and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, this blind infidel has attacked the Commander of the Faithful," and he said, "Damn you, what did he say?" and he replied, "Let the Commander of the Faithful excuse me from reciting it," but he insisted on his reciting it so he said:

A caliph who fornicates with his paternal aunts
and who plays with a child's toys and polo mallets,
May God give us another in his place.
And Mūsā thrusts into al-Khayzurān's cunt.

He sent for him to be brought, and Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd was afraid
[539] that he would come to al-Mahdī and eulogize him and he would forgive him, so he sent someone to meet him in al-Baṭīḥa[843] at Kharrārah.

According to 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr—his grandfather, Abū al-Ḥayy al-'Absī: When Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah came in to al-Mahdī, he recited his poem in which he says: How can it be that the inheritance of the paternal uncles should pass to the sons of the daughter? This is something that does not happen.[844]

He rewarded him with seventy thousand *dirhams*, and Marwān said:

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841. The celebrated poet; see *Aghānī*, Būlāq, III, 19; Beirut; III, 129.

842. The pulpit (*minbar*) is used here to symbolize the authority of the governor.

843. The great swamp of southern Iraq, between Baghdad and al-Baṣrah. *Aghānī* expands the text to add, "He met him and whipped him so that he killed him and threw him into the swamp at the place called Kharārah."

844. Al-'Abbās was the paternal uncle of the Prophet and, the 'Abbāsids argued, his true heir, rather than his daughter Fāṭimah, who married 'Alī.

With seventy thousand he has made me wealthy with his gifts,
and no poet before me has ever acquired as much.

According to Aḥmad b. Sulaymān—Abū 'Adnān al-Sulamī: Al-Mahdī asked 'Umārah b. Ḥamzah, who was most sensitive of the people in poetry, and he replied that it was Wālibah b. al-Ḥubāb al-Asadī[845] and he was the one who said:

She is sinless, but she has
love, which, like the points of spears,
Strikes fire in the heart and the bowels,
for the heart is the wounded part.

He said, "You told the truth, by God," so 'Umārah asked, "What is stopping you from taking him as a boon companion, for he is a noble Arab and elegant poet?" and al-Mahdī replied, "What prevents me, by God, from making him a boon companion are his words:

I said to our cupbearer when we were alone
'Bring your head near mine like that.
And lie on your front for me for a while,
for I am a man who has sex with my companion.'

Do you want to be his companion on this condition?"

According to Muḥammad b. Sallām: There was in the time of al-Mahdī a foolish person who used to recite poetry in order to praise al-Mahdī. He was brought in to him and asked to recite a poem in which he said "*Wa jawārin zafarātin*," and al-Mahdī said to him, "What is the meaning of *zafarāt*?" and he answered, "Do you not know that, O Commander of the Faithful?" and he said, "No, by God," and the poet said, "And you are the Commander of the Faithful and the lord of the Muslims and the son of the paternal uncle of the Prophet of God and you do not know it? Am I expected to know it? Not at all, by God." [540]

According to Ibn Sallām—more than one person: Ṭurayḥ b. Ismā'īl al-Thaqafī[846] came in to al-Mahdī, gave his genealogy to

845. 'Abbāsid poet, noted for his wine drinking and pederasty, eventually forced to retire to his home town of al-Kūfah by the hostility of Abū al-'Atāhiyyah and Bashshār b. Burd; *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XVI, 148; Beirut, XVIII, 43.

846. A well-known poet at the court of al-Walīd b. Yazīd who died in the reign of al-Mahdī; see *Aghānī*, Būlāq, IV, 74, Beirut, IV, 304.

him, and asked if he would hear some of his poetry, and he said, "Are you not the one who said to al-Walīd b. Yazīd:

You are the son of the wide-open spaces,
and the winding track and the path through the sands are not tramped upon to reach you?

And, by God, you will never say anything like that to me. I will not hear a poem from you, but if you wish I will make you a grant."

It is said that al-Mahdī ordered a fast in the year (1)66 to ask for rain for the people on Wednesday, and on Monday night (Tuesday night in the Arabic terminology) there was a snowfall, and Laqīṭ b. Bukayr al-Muḥāribī said about that:

O Imām of right guidance, you watered us with rain,
and, because of you, hardship was removed from us.
You spent the night concerned with protecting them while the people
were sleeping, covered by the darkness.
They slept when your night grew long among them;
yours are the fear, the humble prayers, and the weeping.
Their affairs gave you concern because of the foolishness
of the crowd, who disobeyed and acted evilly.
We were watered and we had been smitten by drought, and we said,
"A severe (red) year that has become worse"
By a prayer that you sincerely offered in the blackness of the night
to God, and the call was answered
By snows that give life to the ground, so that
in the morning it was a green flower.

[541] It is said that the people in the days of al-Mahdī fasted for the month of Ramaḍān in the height of summer. Abū Dulāmah was seeking a reward for that, and al-Mahdī promised him one, so he wrote a note to al-Mahdī in which he complained of his sufferings from the heat and the fast, and in that he said:

I call on you in the name of the kinship that links us
in closeness both near and far.

I implore you to hear, you the most generous man who walked,
from a singer who hopes for the reward of a singer.
The fast has come, and I fasted it devotedly,
hoping for the recompense of the devoted faster.
I bowed in prayer until my forehead cracked
from what I imposed on myself of butting the mosque.

When al-Mahdī read the note, he summoned him and said, "What kinship is there between me and you, O son of fornication?" and he replied, "The kinship with Adam and Eve," and al-Mahdī laughed at him and ordered that he be given his reward.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his father—Ibrāhīm b. Khālid al-Muʿayṭī:[847] I came in to al-Mahdī, and my singing had been described to him and he asked me about singing and about my knowledge of it and asked me if I sang the *nawāqīs*,[848] and I said, "Yes, and the *ṣalīb*[849] too, O Commander of the Faithful." Then he disregarded me, and I was told that he said, "Muʿayṭī, I have no need of him among those who are brought to me in my solitude and I do not like his company, and Maʿbad the singer has the [542]
nawāqīs in this poem:

Ask the abode of Laylā. Does it answer and speak?
How can the desert plain reply?
Does an abode reply that looks like a blank paper
because of its long decay and the length of its survival?"

According to Qaʿnab b. Muḥriz Abū ʿAmr al-Bāhilī—al-Aṣmaʿī: I saw Ḥakam al-Wādī[850] when al-Mahdī was traveling to Jerusalem, and he accosted him on the road. He had some little poems, and he took out his tambourine to play it and said, "I am the poet who said:

847. Not noticed in *Aghānī*.
848. A type of poetry but also the board on which the Christians strike to summon people to church.
849. The cross.
850. Al-Ḥakam b. Maymūn, mawlā of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. His father was al-Walīd's barber, and he began his career as a camel driver taking oil from Wādī al-Qurra to Medina. He sang for every caliph from al-Walīd b. Yazīd to Hārūn, in whose reign he died. See *Aghānī*, Būlāq, VI, 64, Beirut, VI, 264.

When will the bride come out?
    Her confinement has lasted long.
Dawn has come near or has actually appeared,
    and she has not completed her dressing."

The guard rushed to him, and he cried out and they desisted. He made inquiries about him, and it was said that he was Ḥakam al-Wādī, and he was brought in to him and he gave him a grant.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—his father: Al-Mahdī went into one of his houses one day, and there was a Christian slave girl of his and her bosom was wide and the part between her breasts was uncovered and there was a cross of gold hanging there. He thought it was very beautiful and stretched out his hand toward it and pulled it out and took it. She wept for the cross, and al-Mahdī said about that:

One day I contended with her at pulling the cross from her, and
    she said,
    "Woe to me, Do not you think the cross licit?"

He sent for one of the poets and gave him a gift and ordered him to sing it, and he was proud about this song.

He said: I heard my father say that al-Mahdī observed a slave girl who was wearing a crown in which there was a narcissus of gold and silver, and he thought it very beautiful and said:

[543] How beautiful is the narcissus in the crown!

He was unable to continue, and he asked who at court (could complete the line), and they said, ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik,[851] so he summoned him and said, "I saw a slave girl of mine with a beautiful crown on her and I said:

How beautiful is the narcissus in the crown!

Are you able to add to it?" and he replied, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful, but let me go out to think about it," and al-Mahdī said, "Please yourself!" He went out and sent for the tutor of one

851. A military man, for many years chief of police; poetry does not seem to have been his forte. For his ability as a wrestler, see above, pp. 250–51.

of his children and asked him to complete it and gave him a gift, and he said:

on (her) brow that shines like ivory.

And he completed it up to four verses, and 'Abdallāh sent it to al-Mahdī, and al-Mahdī sent him forty thousand and he gave the tutor four thousand and kept the rest for himself, and there is a well-known tune about it.

According to Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Muḍar Abū 'Alī: Al-Tawwazī recited poetry to me by al-Mahdī about Ḥasanah, his slave girl:

I see water, and I am afflicted by severe thirst,
but there is no path to reach it.
Is it enough for you that you enslave me
while all people are my slaves?
If you were to cut off my hands and feet,
I would say from excess of pleasure "O, more!"

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—his father: I saw al-Mahdī when he had entered al-Baṣrah by Sikkat Quraysh, and I saw him going along and in front of him was al-Banūqah between him and the chief of police. She was wearing a black cloak (*qibā*) and a sword, as pages do, and I could see some signs of her breasts on her chest.

According to 'Alī—his father: Al-Mahdī came to al-Baṣrah and passed along the Sikkat Quraysh, where our house was,[852] and the governors never used to go along there when they arrived. They used to think it an evil omen; scarcely a governor who passed along it remained in office except for a short time before he was deposed, and no caliph ever passed along it except al- [544]
Mahdī. They used to go along the Sikkat of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah, which ran parallel with the Sikkat Quraysh. I saw al-Mahdī going along and 'Abdallāh b. Mālik, who was in command of the police, was going in front of him with the *ḥarbah* in his hand, and his daughter al-Banūqah went before him, between him and the chief of police, dressed as a young man with a black cloak

852. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī was a Qurashī, which is why he lived in that street.

and belt and Shāshiyyah, wearing a sword, and I saw that her breasts had raised the cloak by their swelling.

Al-Banūqah was brown, of beautiful stature, and charming and, when she died, in Baghdad, al-Mahdī showed grief the like of which has never been heard of. He sat for the people to offer their condolences, and he gave orders that no one should be kept away from him and large numbers of people came to offer their condolences and they made great efforts with their eloquence. Some of the people there were criticized by those with knowledge and literary education (*adab*), but they agreed that they had never heard of condolences more succinct or more eloquent than those of Shabīb b. Shaybah, who said, "O Commander of the Faithful, God is better for her than you, and the rewards of God are better for you than her, and I ask God not to make you sad and not to torment you."

According to Ṣabbāḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—his father: When al-Banūqah, daughter of al-Mahdī, died, Shabīb b. Shaybah came in to him and said, "May God give you recompense, O Commander of the Faithful, for what you have been deprived of and follow you with fortitude. May He not wear out your courage by adversity or deprive you of the benefits of the reward of God, which is better for you than her, and the mercy of God, which is better for her than you. It is more worthy to be given patience for what cannot be returned."

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXX

The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate in Equilibrium

TRANSLATED BY C. E. BOSWORTH

The ᶜAbbāsid Caliphate in Equilibrium
Volume XXX
Translated and annotated by C. E. Bosworth

This volume of al-Ṭabarī's *History* covers nearly a quarter of a century, and after covering the very brief caliphate of al-Hādī, concentrates on that of Hārūn al-Rashīd. During these years, the caliphate was in a state of balance with its external foes; the great enemy, Christian Byzantium, was regarded with respect by the Muslims, and the two great powers of the Near East treated each other essentially as equals, while the Caucasian and Central Asian frontiers were held against pressure from the Turkish peoples of Inner Eurasia. The main stresses were internal, including Shīᶜite risings on behalf of the excluded house of ᶜAlī, and revolts by the radical equalitarian Khārijites; but none of these was serious enough to affect the basic stability of the caliphate.

Hārūn al-Rashīd's caliphate has acquired in the West, under the influence of a misleading picture from the *Arabian Nights*, a glowing image as a golden age of Islamic culture and letters stemming from the Caliph's patronage of the exponents of these arts and sciences. In light of the picture of the Caliph which emerges from al-Ṭabarī's pages, however, this image seems to be distinctly exaggerated. Al-Rashīd himself does not exhibit any notable signs of administrative competence, military leadership or intellectual interests beyond those which convention demanded of a ruler. For much of his reign, he left the business of government to the capable viziers of the Barmakīd family—the account of whose spectacular fall from power forms one of the most dramatic features of al-Ṭabarī's narrative here—and his decision to divide the Islamic empire after his death between his sons was to lead subsequently to a disastrous civil war. Nevertheless, al-Ṭabarī's story is full of interesting sidelights on the lives of those involved in the court circle of the time and on the motivations which impelled medieval Muslims to seek precarious careers there.

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXX

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A.D. 785–809/A.H. 169–193

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by

C. E. Bosworth

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS [*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*] by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Each volume has an index of proper names. A general index volume will follow the publication of the translation volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the

chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translators.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

AKAk. Berlin: Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussische Akademie zu Berlin
BGA: Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum
EHR: *English Historical Review*
EI[1]: *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, first edition
EI[2]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition
EIr: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*
GAL: C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*
GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*
GMS: Gibb Memorial Series
IC: *Islamic Culture*
IJMES: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*
Isl.: *Der Islam*
JA: *Journal Asiatique*
JESHO: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRASB: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal*
JSAI: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
R.Afr.: *Revue Africaine*
RCAL: *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*
REI: *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*
RSO: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
SI: *Studia Islamica*
WbKAS: *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*
WZKM: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

In citations from the Qur'ān, where two different numbers are given from a verse, the first is that of Flügel's text and the second that of the official Egyptian edition.

Translator's Foreword

The section of Ṭabarī's history devoted to the reigns of Mūsā al-Hādī and his brother Hārūn al-Rashīd spans twenty-four years, al-Hādī's caliphate lasting for only fifteen months of these, at the most. The historical events dealt with by the chronicler are located in a wide expanse of territory embracing most of the still largely united caliphate (although Muslim Spain had of course never acknowledged the ʿAbbāsids from the outset, and Ṭabarī takes no cognizance of happenings there), from Morocco in the west to Transoxania in the east.

The ʿAlids and their Shīʿī supporters, despite having been the beneficiaries of a comparatively conciliatory policy toward them by the previous Caliph al-Mahdī, remained basically unreconciled to ʿAbbāsid rule and the deflection of the caliphate-imamate, as they saw it, from the Prophet's direct descendants, the offspring of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah, to those of the mere paternal uncle of Muḥammad, al-ʿAbbās. Something of the polemical battles of the early ʿAbbāsid period, fought on the literary plane by the poets who lent their support to the ʿAbbāsids and ʿAlids, respectively, emerges in our section of Ṭabarī's history from the verse of the ʿAbbāsid court poet Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah cited at III, 743 (below, 308).

The struggles of these opposing parties were, however, by no means literary only. The episode which dominates Ṭabarī's account of al-Hādī's reign is that of the ʿAlid rising in Medina and then Mecca of the Ḥasanid al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan, which ended with the latter's death in battle at Fakhkh in 169 (786); one result of the scattering of the ʿAlids after this débâcle was the

eventual foundation of the Idrīsid state in Morocco by the fugitive Idrīs b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, involving the first subtraction of a province, albeit a very distant one, from the ʿAbbāsids' orbit. In al-Rashīd's reign, the rising of the Ḥasanid Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan in Daylam and northwestern Persia in 176 (792), brought to an end through the military and diplomatic skills of the Barmakī al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā, is treated only briefly by Ṭabarī; but the chronicler adds much anecdotal material on Yaḥyā's subsequent tribulations and death at the Caliph's hands.

Thereafter, al-Rashīd's uncompromising maintenance of Sunnī orthodoxy seems to have dampened further Shīʿī efforts. Yet Iraq and al-Jazīrah continued all through his reign to be troubled by the sectarian activities of the Khārijites among the Arabs there, apparently affecting the countryside rather than the towns but requiring punitive expeditions to be sent out from the capital. Syria, with its endemic tribal factionalism going back to Umayyad times, remained a potential focus for disaffection against the Iraq-centered ʿAbbāsids. Fears of the possible use of Syria as a power base by the ʿAbbāsid prince ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ, himself with maternal connections with the Umayyads and governor in Syria for several years like his brother and father before him, may have lain behind al-Rashīd's arrest and imprisonment of his great-uncle in 187 (803); and the Caliph's virtual abandonment of Baghdad as the effective capital and his move in 180 (796) to al-Raqqah may have been motivated not only by a desire to be near the military front with Byzantium, as Kennedy has suggested,[1] but also by a need to keep an eye on Syria. Egypt was in these years not so much chafing under ʿAbbāsid domination specifically as it was disaffected through the fiscal policies of the ʿAbbāsid governors, which provoked unrest among both the Copts and the Bedouins of the Nile delta, whilst similar oppression by a caliphal governor in the Yemen resulted in a prolonged revolt of the Yemenis.

On the northern frontier of the caliphate, a state of rough equilibrium with the Byzantines seems to have been reached by al-Rashīd's time. The period of transition from rule by the Isaurian dynasty in the Empire to that of the Amorian dynasty was a

1. H. Kennedy, *The early Abbasid caliphate*, 120.

troubled one, with upheavals in the state caused by the Empress Irene's seizure of sole power in 797 and her deposition five years later by Nicephorus I; and this should have enabled al-Rashīd—highly conscious of his image as the great Ghāzī-Caliph—to intensify military pressure in the region of the *thughūr*; in fact, the annual Arab raids and the Greek counterattacks resulted in no extensive or permanent transfers of territory at this time. Potentially very serious, but stemmed by the energetic measures of the general Yazīd b. Mazyad (whose family was later to establish a power base in the region as the Yazīdī line of Sharwān-Shāhs), was the invasion of Armenia and Arrān through the Caucasus in 183 (799–800) by the Khazar Turks.

Affairs in the eastern parts of the caliphate were in the early years of al-Rashīd's caliphate the responsibility of al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, who from 178 (794) onward continued the earlier Arab policy of expansion into the pagan steppes of Central Asia, himself raiding as far as the Syr Darya valley and despatching one of his commanders into what is now eastern Afghanistan; he also recruited fresh contingents of local Iranian troops from Khurāsān and Transoxania in order to stiffen and to supplement the 'Abbāsids' original backing of Khurāsānian guards, the *Abnā' al-Dawlah*. But with the recall of al-Faḍl to Baghdad and then the fall of the Barmakīs, Khurāsān came under the governorship of 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān, whose financial exactions there rendered the province discontented and ready to support the revolt raised at Samarqand in 190 (806), with Turkish support from the steppes, by Rāfi' b. Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār. Only the belated decision of the Caliph to dismiss his very profitable servant (from the viewpoint of revenue-raising) 'Alī b. 'Īsā led Rāfi' to submit to al-Ma'mūn "because of his just conduct" in 193 (809), when al-Rashīd himself was actually dead.

Al-Rashīd's dealings with 'Alī b. 'Īsā and his despatch of his mawlā Harthamah b. A'yan as replacement governor in Khurāsān and as restorer of order there are narrated in considerable detail by Ṭabarī; but the most extensive treatment accorded by him to a single episode is of course with regard to the fall of the Barmakī family of secretaries and viziers in 187 (803). These dramatic events excited the shocked wonder and the pity of contemporaries, and continued thereafter to intrigue mediaeval Muslims, who

came to weave around them imaginative, even semilegendary embroideries. Living as they did in a society where abrupt changes of fortune were far from uncommon, these Muslims came to view the Barmakīs' fate as the supreme *ʿibrah* or warning example of pride and riches brought low at one stroke. Yet such embroideries, designed to amplify and to explain for contemporaries what was not easily explicable, should not surprise; for it is not completely clear today precisely what tangled motives lay behind al-Rashīd's actions, beyond the obvious one of humbling subjects who had grown overmighty.[2]

The reign of al-Hādī is really too short for us to arrive at a completely balanced estimate of his character as ruler, and we do not have enough material for us to follow Von Kremer in stigmatizing al-Hādī as "the Arabic Nero."[3] But he does emerge as a capricious, unreliable person whom it was dangerous to oppose or thwart, with a distinct streak of violence and cruelty, as his indiscriminate striking of passersby when once at ʿĪsābādh and his killing of the two lesbian slave girls indicate.[4]

For al-Rashīd, we have a much ampler documentation in both the historical and the *adab* sources. The popular image of the despotic but bluff and genial monarch, patron of poetry and the arts, under whom Baghdad became a city of luxury and *douceur de vie* unparalleled in the previous history of the Islamic world, was fostered in the West from the eighteenth century onward under the seductive but delusory depiction of life there in the *Thousand and One Nights*. The materials for the art of biography as we know it in the West today are generally meager in the premodern Islamic sources, and the real mainsprings of al-Rashīd's character will probably remain as obscure to us as those of most leading figures in early Islam. Yet this image of "good old Hārūn al-Rashīd" has been potent enough to have spawned several popular books on the

2. See the discussions of the causes of the fall of the Barmakīs, so far as they are discernible, in D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 156–8, and Kennedy, 127–9; and for further secondary sources, below, 201, n. 697.

3. See F.-C. Muth, *Die Annalen von aṭ-Ṭabarī im Spiegel der europäischen Bearbeitungen*, 99, and also S. Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 24–8, for an estimate of the Caliph's personality.

4. Ṭabarī, III, 586, 590 (below, 67, 72–73).

Caliph and his age, such as E. H. Palmer's *Haroun Alraschid, Caliph of Baghdad* (London and Belfast, 1881), H. St. J. B. Philby's *Harun al Rashid* (London, 1933), and Sir John Glubb's *Haroun al Rasheed and the great Abbasids* (London, 1976). At least the first two of these writers were too familiar with the realities of mediaeval Islamic life and with some of the mediaeval Islamic sources to accept unquestioningly the picture of al-Rashīd's age as a golden one.[5] Palmer noted that "hitherto we have found him very unlike the Merry Monarch of the Arabian Nights," and his final verdict was that "as a man, he showed many indications of a loyal and affectionate disposition, but the preposterous position (i.e., as God's vicegerent on earth, with the servility thereby engendered) in which he was placed almost necessarily crushed all really human feelings in him. . . . That such a man should not be spoilt, that such absolute despotism should not lead to acts of arbitrary injustice, that such unlimited power and absence of all feelings of responsibility could be possessed without unlimited indulgence, was not in the nature of human events."[6] Philby asserted that "the reigns of Harun and his son Mamun stand out conspicuously against the dark background of the world's ignorance as beacons welcoming the rebirth of the arts and sciences after their long eclipse," but he readily conceded that "in surveying the circumstances of Harun's Califate we seem to be assisting at the spectacle of a heart beating fast and furiously in a paroxysm of fever which was reducing the body of an empire to the extremes of sickness and misery. The shadows of future decay were thrown forward on to the screen of history by the brilliant kaleidoscope of a puppet-show, which dazzled its beholders at the time and has blinded posterity—thanks to the unholy alliance of the historian and the

5. The only primary sources which Palmer mentions specifically in his book are Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and "El Amraniy" (99, 154) (this last author being presumably Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, Ibn al-ʿImrānī, whose history *al-Inbāʾ fī taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ* has recently been edited and published by Qasim al-Samarrai, Leiden, 1973, an author whom Palmer could have cited from Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā's *Kitāb al-Fakhrī*); but, of course, the printed texts of Ibn al-Athīr and of the Persian abridgment of Ṭabarī by Balʿamī would have been available to him at that time. I have not seen Glubb's book, but the semipopular book of ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Jūmard, *Hārūn al-Rashīd, dirāsah taʾrīkhiyyah ijtimāʿiyyah siyāsiyyah*, 2 parts (Beirut, 1956), adds nothing to what is already known.

6. *Haroun Alraschid*, 138, 222–3.

storyteller—to the emptiness of a limelit scene of splendour surrounded by the murky night of wailing and gnashing of teeth."[7]

Certainly, al-Rashīd does not stand out in either personal character or executive competence above others of the early ʿAbbāsid Caliphs. His extravagant gifts to poets, singers, popular preachers, ascetics, and so forth, were merely what was expected of a ruler, and one should always recall that somewhere in the caliphal lands someone—whether a fellah in the Nile valley, a merchant in Baghdad, or an artisan in Nishapur—was paying for all such manifestations of royal conspicuous consumption. Ṭabarī notes that al-Rashīd's intellectual horizons were narrow and that he had no taste for disputation and argumentation such as his son al-Ma'mūn was to encourage at his court.[8] In the early years of his caliphate he was content to leave much of the burden of administration to the Barmakīs, and then subsequently to mawlās like al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ and Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ al-Ḥarrānī. The decision, embodied in the "Meccan documents" of 186–7 (802–3), to arrange in his own lifetime a division of the empire between his sons al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn (with belated provision for a third son, al-Qāsim al-Mu'taman) undeniably seems, with the hindsight of our knowledge of the Civil War which ensued after al-Rashīd's death, to have been an unwise one, as some contemporaries averred at the time.[9] But Kennedy may be right in seeing the Caliph's move as an attempt, unfortunately unsuccessful but worth trying, to resolve some of the tensions and ambitions rife within the ruling groups of the state by providing for these groups defined sectors of power in the caliphate.[10] Finally, one may note that al-Rashīd's mode of executing the captured brother of Rāfiʿ b. Layth, Bashīr,[11] shows a refinement of cruelty, even of sadism, which the fact of the Caliph's being racked with incessant pain from his incurable internal malady at that time cannot wholly excuse.

For his historical information and for his anecdotes on the Caliphs' lifestyles, Ṭabarī relied on reports going back to leading

7. *Harun al Rashid*, 60, 75–6.
8. III, 741 (below, 306).
9. Ṭabarī, III, 653–4 (below, 181–82).
10. Kennedy, 124–6.
11. Ṭabarī, III, 734–5 (below, 298).

historians such as Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī and Wāqidī, and on reports from noted *adībs* and philologists like Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī and al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, as well as on information from *rāwīs* who are quite obscure to us. The interval of only a century or less between the events in question and Ṭabarī's writing his history meant that he was able to draw on a great fund of family tradition preserved by the direct descendants of the protagonists in these events, such as al-Hādī's own great-grandson Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.[12] Ṭabarī also gives in this section the texts *in extenso* of numerous official documents, including among others the encomia on the accession of al-Rashīd by the secretary Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim (III, 600–1; below, 93–94) and by Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī in gratitude for his appointment as governor of Syria in 180 (796–7) (III, 642–4; below, 159–62); al-Rashīd's letter of dismissal in 191 (806–7) to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and the letter of appointment of ʿAlī's successor in Khurāsān, Harthamah b. Aʿyan (III, 716–18; below, 273–75); but above all, that of the "Meccan documents," the stipulations by which the two princes al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn bound themselves to their father's arrangements, and the letter to the provincial governors announcing these measures (III, 654–66; below, 183–99). These documents are not yet couched in so florid a style, made up of balanced, assonantal [*musajjaʿ*] phrases as was to become standard in Islamic chanceries after circa 900; but their at times tortuous syntax poses problems for the translator, especially where the reconstructed Arabic text is by no means certain; an Arabist of the caliber of F. Gabrieli has confessed, on the occasion of his essaying the task of translating the "Meccan documents" and other similar documents of the period, that the precious style of such texts makes absolute certainty in translation impossible.[13]

For a considerable part of Ṭabarī's account of al-Maʾmūn's caliphate, we have extant Ṭabarī's verbatim source, Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr's *Kitāb Baghdād*; but for the reigns of al-Hādī and al-Rashīd, we possess no such controlling parallel text. The editor of this section of the text of Ṭabarī's history, Stanislas Guyard, could only have recourse to later, epitomizing historians—like the anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn wa-al-ḥadāʾiq*, Ibn al-Jawzī

12. Ṭabarī, III, 581 (see below, 60), 1148.
13. See below, 191, n. 686.

in his *Muntaẓam* and Ibn al-Athīr in his *Kāmil*—for supplementing the two manuscripts of Ṭabarī on which he had to rely for this section; namely, the Istanbul one, Köprülü 1041 (ms. C) copied in 651 (1253), which covers the whole of this particular section; and the Algiers one, 594 (ms. A) copied in the Maghrib, which contains, however, four lacunae in our section, two of substantial length, and which ends abruptly at III, 755 of the printed text, after which point the text depends on the unicum C. A Berlin fragment, Petermann II, 635 (ms. Pet) served as a third manuscript for a mere four and a half pages of the printed text.[14] Thus, Guyard's task was far from easy, and he had perforce to leave certain cryptic passages unresolved; unless fresh manuscripts or hitherto unknown parallel sources turn up, it does not seem possible for the state of the text to be improved.

The pleasant task of thanking those who have given advice and help over the translation is the sole remaining one. I am particularly grateful to the late Dr. Martin Hinds (Cambridge), Dr. Patricia Crone (Oxford), and Professor Yūsuf 'Izz al-Dīn (al-'Ayn, U.A.E.) for help with the text; and to Professors Ch. Pellat (Sorbonne) and R. Sellheim (Frankfort) for their efforts at identifying some of the more obscure poets cited in this section. But since all human endeavors are susceptible to the onslaughts of the *'ayn al-kamāl*, for the imperfections of this translation I alone am responsible.

C. E. Bosworth

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14. See *Introductio*, p. LXV.

Genealogical Tables and Maps

Genealogical Table of the ʿAbbāsids
(Special reference to those members of the family mentioned in this section of al-Ṭabarī's *History*)

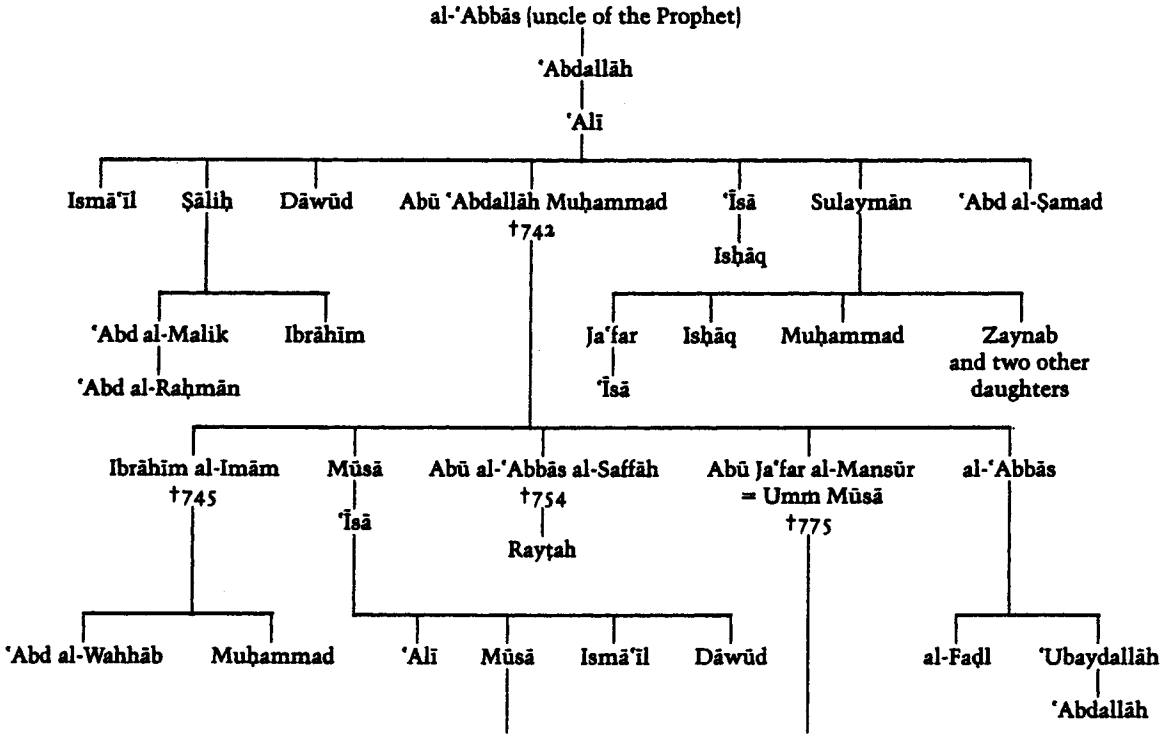

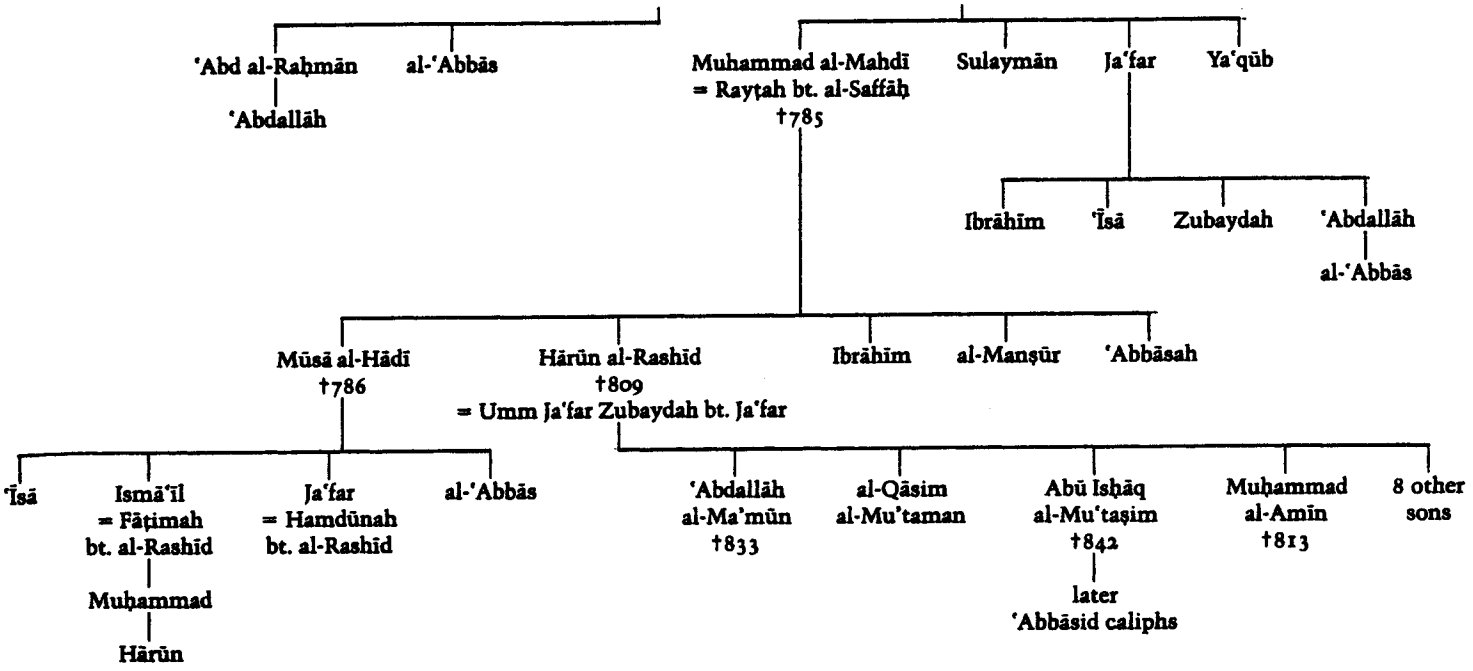
'Abd al-Raḥmān
'Abdallāh
al-'Abbās
Muhammad al-Mahdī
= Rayṭah bt. al-Saffāḥ
†785
Sulaymān
Ja'far
Ya'qūb
Ibrāhīm
'Īsā
Zubaydah
'Abdallāh
al-'Abbās
Mūsā al-Hādī
†786
Hārūn al-Rashīd
†809
= Umm Ja'far Zubaydah bt. Ja'far
Ibrāhīm
al-Manṣūr
'Abbāsah
'Īsā
Ismā'īl
= Fāṭimah
bt. al-Rashīd
Muḥammad
Hārūn
Ja'far
= Hamdūnah
bt. al-Rashīd
al-'Abbās
'Abdallāh
al-Ma'mūn
†833
al-Qāsim
al-Mu'taman
Abū Isḥāq
al-Mu'taṣim
†842
later
'Abbāsid caliphs
Muḥammad
al-Amīn
†813
8 other
sons

Genealogical Table of the Barmakī Family of Secretaries and Viziers
(Special reference to those members of the family
mentioned in this section of al-Ṭabarī's *History*)

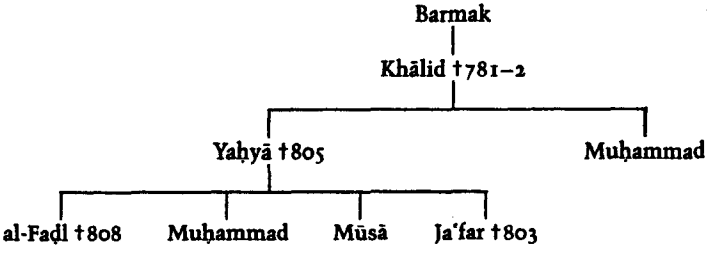

Map 1
Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and the Eastern Provinces during the Reigns of al-Hadī and al-Rashid.

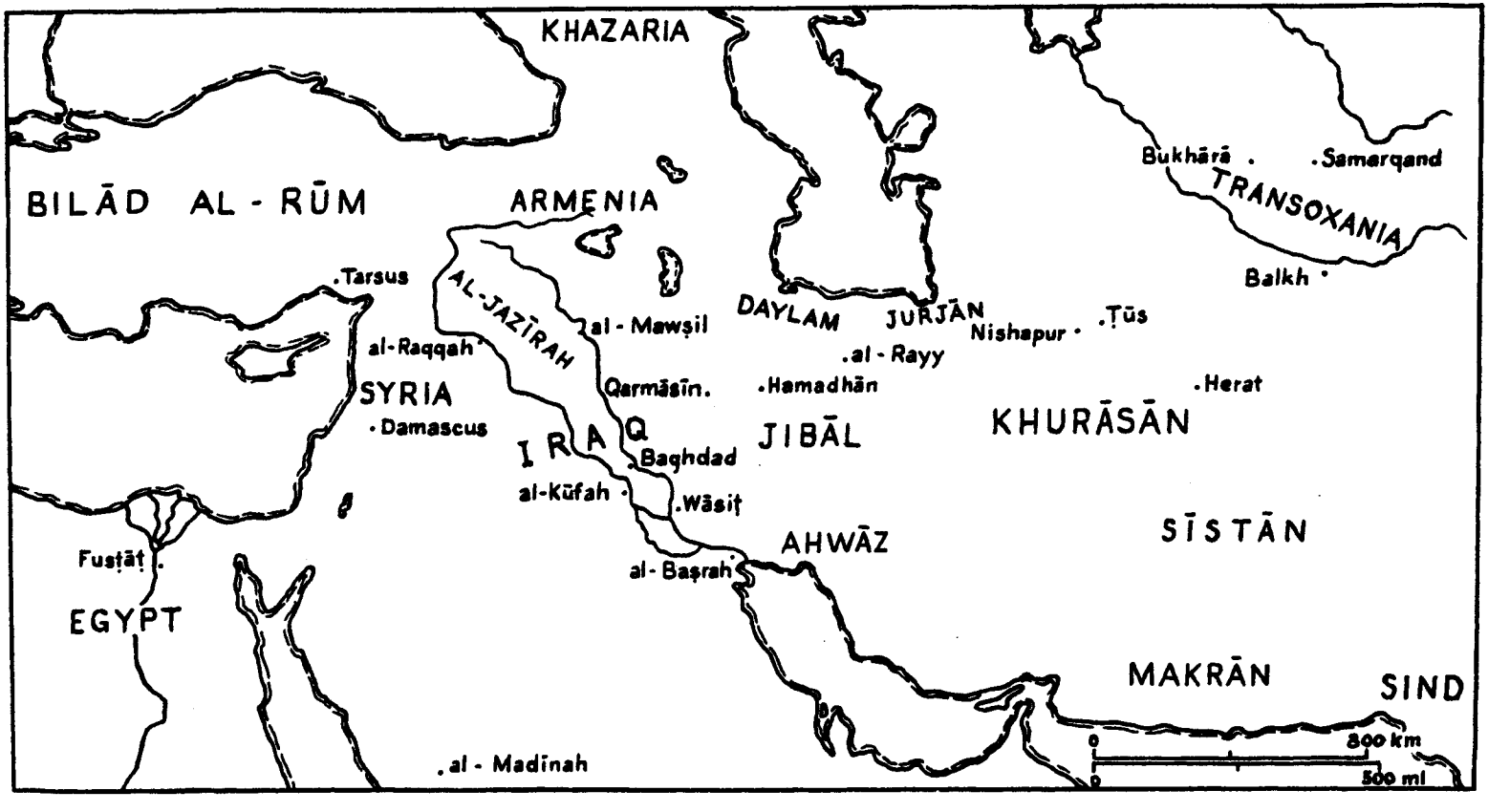

Map 2
The Arab–Byzantine Marches during This Period.

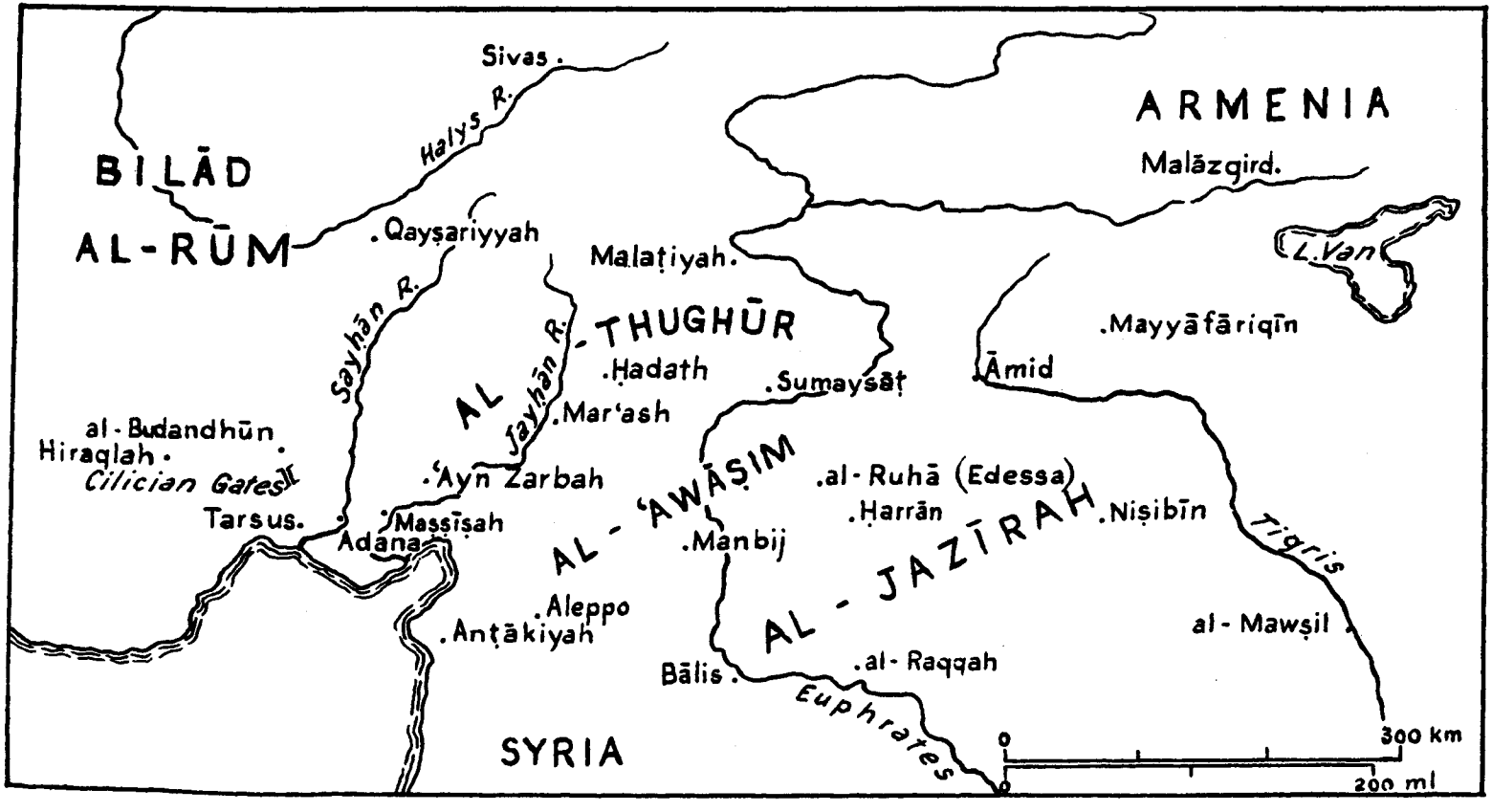

The Caliphate of Mūsā al-Hādī

The Events of the Year 169 (cont'd)

(July 14, 785–July 2, 786)

The Succession of Mūsā al-Hādī as Caliph on His Father al-Mahdī's Death and His New Administrative Appointments [544]

In this year (169 [July 14, 785–July 2, 786]), allegiance was given to Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās as Caliph on the day of al-Mahdī's death[1] and when he was actually established in Jurjān making war on the [545] people of Ṭabaristān. Al-Mahdī died at Māsabadhān,[2] having present with him his son Hārūn and having left his mawlā al-Rabīʿ[3] behind in Baghdad as his deputy there.

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1. I.e., on Thursday, the twenty-second of Muḥarram (August 4, 785). See S. Moscati, "Nuovi studi storici sul califatto di al-Mahdī," *Orientalia*, N.S. XV (1946), 171–2; *EI*² s.v. al-Mahdī (H. Kennedy). On al-Mahdī's arrangements for al-Hādī as his successor, see Moscati, op. cit., 158–61.

2. A district in the Zagros mountains on the borders of Luristān and Iraq. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, V, 41; G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 202; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 464–70; *EI*² s.v. Luristān (V. Minorsky).

3. Al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus b. Muḥammad, mawlā of al-Manṣūr and *ḥājib* or chamberlain under that Caliph and his two successors al-Mahdī and al-Hādī. See on him al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, VIII, 414, no. 4521; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, II, 294–9, tr. M. G. de Slane, I, 521–6; Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 17–18; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 85–90, 118–21; P. Crone, *Slaves on horses. The evolution of the Islamic polity*, 193–4; *EI*¹ s.v. (A. S. Atiya).

It has been mentioned that, when al-Mahdī died, the mawlās[4] and army commanders rallied round his son Hārūn and told him, "If the army (at large) gets to know about al-Mahdī's death, we cannot guarantee[5] that a tumult will not occur. The wisest thing to do would be for his corpse to be borne away and for the return homewards to be proclaimed among the army, so that you may eventually bury him secretly in Baghdad." Hārūn replied, "Summon my father[6] Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī to me." (Al-Mahdī had made Hārūn [nominal] governor of all the Western lands between al-Anbār and Ifrīqiyah and had ordered Yaḥyā b. Khālid to assume actual control over them. Hence all these administrative regions [*a'māl*] were under him, and he was in charge of all their government offices and was acting as Hārūn's deputy over the administrative duties in his charge until al-Mahdī's death.)[7]

He related: Yaḥyā b. Khālid went to Hārūn, and the latter said to Yaḥyā, "O my father, what is your opinion about what 'Umar b. Bazī',[8] Nuṣayr[9] and al-Mufaḍḍal[10] say?" He replied, "What in fact

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4. The rise of the *mawālī*, a social group which included men of many races, is a feature of the early 'Abbāsid period, above all, of al-Manṣūr's reign, when we find a numerous and cohesive body of *mawālī* grouped around the Caliph's person, at the side of other groups such as the slaves [*ghilmān, mamālīk, wuṣafā'*], the eunuchs [*khadam*, etc.] and the *Abnā' al-Dawla*, i.e., the Arabs and Iranians of Khurāsān now largely settled in the capital Baghdad. Al-Manṣūr boasted to his son al-Mahdī at the end of his reign that he had gathered together round his person such a body of *mawālī* as had never been known before (Ṭabarī, III, 448). On this social and military role of the mawlās, see D. Ayalon, *The military reforms of Caliph al-Mu'taṣim: their background and consequences*, 1–3, 39–42; P. Forand, "The relation of the slave and the client to the master or patron in medieval Islam," *IJMES*, II (1971), 59–66; Ayalon, "Preliminary remarks on the *Mamlūk* military institution in Islam," *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, 48–50; Farouk Omar, "The composition of 'Abbāsid support in the early 'Abbāsid period 132/749–169/785," in *'Abbāsiyyāt. Studies in the history of the early 'Abbasids*, 46–50; Crone, 66–8, 78; D. Pipes, *Slave soldiers and Islam. The genesis of a military system*, 107–9, 131 ff.

5. Following the preferred reading of n. *b*, *lā na'manu*.

6. The sources note that Hārūn was wont to call Yaḥyā his "father"; see, e.g., Jahshiyārī, *K. al-Wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb*, 134; Abū al-Faḍl Bayhaqī, *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, 414; anon., *K. al-'Uyūn wa-al-ḥadā'iq*, 282, 285; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 88. As Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 490, and Ibn Khallikān, VI, 221, tr. IV, 104–5, explain, al-Mahdī had entrusted his son Hārūn to the suckling of Yaḥyā's womenfolk, so that the young prince and al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā were foster-brothers.

7. *K. al-'Uyūn*, 282; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 96.

8. Secretary and boon-companion of al-Mahdī, in charge of the office of account-

have they said?" So Hārūn told him. Yaḥyā said, "I don't agree with that view." Hārūn replied, "Why?" Yaḥyā said, "Because this is an affair which cannot be concealed, and I do not feel confident that the army, when they get to know, will accompany his funeral bier and that they will not say, 'We won't let it go forward freely until we are given pay allotments for three years or more,' or that they will not make arbitrary claims [*yataḥakkamū*] and act wrongfully. My judgement is that his corpse—may God have mercy on him!—should be buried secretly here and that you should send Nuṣayr to the Commander of the Faithful al-Hādī[11] with the seal ring and the sceptre,[12] with congratulatory greetings (on his accession) and condolences (on his father's death). For Nuṣayr is in charge of the postal service [*barīd*]; hence no one will regard his departure with any suspicion, since he is head of the *barīd* for this district. I also consider that you should order the members of the army at present with you to be paid two hundred (dirhams) each and that you should proclaim among them the imminent return, because once they have got their hands on the money, their only thought will be of their families and their homeland, and nothing will deflect them from getting back to Baghdad."

He related: So Hārūn did this, and when the troops received their money, they all shouted, "To Baghdad, to Baghdad!" They [546] pressed forward in their haste to depart for Baghdad, urging the relinquishment of Māsabadhān. But when they reached Baghdad, and heard the news about the Caliph (i.e., of al-Mahdī's death and the succession of a new ruler), they went along to al-Rabīʿ's gate and set it on fire, demanding more pay allotments and raising a

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ing control [*dīwān al-azimmah*] for that Caliph and subsequently head of the chancery for al-Hādī. See Ṭabarī, III, 598; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 112–3, 121–3.

9. Eunuch slave [*khādim, waṣīf*] of al-Mahdī's. See Ṭabarī, III, 461, 536, 547.

10. Mawlā of al-Mahdī (Ṭabarī, III, 514, 558) and a eunuch (ibid., 562).

11. Bernard Lewis has noted that the honorific *al-Hādī* seems to mark the transition from titles with distinctly messianic connotations (*al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī*) to purely regnal ones. See "The regnal titles of the first Abbasid caliphs," *Dr. Zakir Husain presentation volume*, 22 n. 30.

12. On the insignia of royalty, which included the Prophet's cloak [*burdah*], the sword [*sayf*], and the parasol [*miẓallah*], as well as the seal ring [*khātam*] and sceptre [*qaḍīb*], see Sourdel, "Questions de cérémoniale ʿabbaside," *REI*, XXVIII (1960), 135; M. M. Ahsan, *Social life under the Abbasids 170–289 AH, 786–902 AD*, 52; *EI*² s.v. Marāsīm. 1. Under the Caliphate and the Fāṭimids (P. Sanders).

great clamor. Hārūn reached Baghdad. Al-Khayzurān then sent to al-Rabīʿ and Yaḥyā b. Khālid seeking their advice over this matter. Al-Rabīʿ did in fact go to her, but Yaḥyā would not go, knowing the intensity of Mūsā's resentment. He related: Money was gathered together until the army was paid two years' pay allotments, so that they then quietened down.[13] The news reached al-Hādī, and he then wrote a letter to al-Rabīʿ in which he threatened him with execution, but another one to Yaḥyā b. Khālid rewarding him with acts of beneficence and ordaining that he should retain his position as tutor and adviser of Hārūn just as he had always been and should retain charge of his affairs and administrative responsibilities exactly as previously.[14]

He related: Al-Rabīʿ, who used to have a great affection for Yaḥyā, used to trust him and used to rely on his judgement, then sent word to Yaḥyā b. Khālid, "O Abū ʿAlī, What do you think I should do, for I can't endure dragging iron fetters around (i.e., the prospect of prison)?" He replied, "I think that you should not move from where you are, but that you should send your son al-Faḍl[15] forward formally to meet his approaching party, bearing with him the most impressive amount of presents and precious objects that you can get together. I am very hopeful that he will not then come back without your being reassured against what you fear, if God so wills." He related: The mother of al-Faḍl, al-Rabīʿ's son, happened to be in a position to overhear their intimate conversation (i.e., of al-Rabīʿ and Yaḥyā), and she said to al-Rabīʿ, "By God, he has given you sound advice!" He said, "I would like to make my last testament to you (i.e., to Yaḥyā), for I don't know what might happen."

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13. It is not explicit whether this payment (or eighteen months' pay, according to the next account, that from al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān) was in settlement of pay arrears or whether it was an extraordinary payment intended to secure a smooth succession for al-Hādī. If the latter, it became a dangerous precedent, for similar payments became common in the later third (ninth) and fourth (tenth) centuries. See *EI*² s.v. Māl al-bayʿa (Kennedy).

14. Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 386; Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, VI, 261–2 = ed. Pellat, § 2469; Ṭabarī, Persian tr. Balʿamī, tr. H. Zotenberg, IV, 446–7; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 282–3; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 87–8; L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides d'après les historiens arabes et persans*, 44–5; Nabia Abbott, *Two queens of Baghdad*, 72–9; Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 5–6.

15. Subsequently chief minister, if not actually with the title of vizier, to Hārūn and then al-Amīn, of whom he was a leading supporter. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 183–94; A. J. Chejne, "Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ—a politician of the early ʿAbbāsid period," *IC*, XXXVI (1962), 167–81; Crone, 194; *EI*² s.v. (Sourdel).

He[16] said, "I don't want to stand aside from you in anything, and I don't want to neglect anything which seems necessary, as long as you desire me to play some role in this or in any other matter; but associate with me in this design your son al-Faḍl and this woman, for she is indeed of sound judgment and worthy of being brought [547] into this affair by you." Al-Rabīʿ accordingly did that and made his testament to (all three of) them.[17]

Al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān[18] has related: When the army rose up against al-Rabīʿ in Baghdad, released the prisoners in his custody, and set on fire the gates of the houses belonging to him in the main square, al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad,[19] ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ[20] and Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm[21] witnessed all these events. Al-ʿAbbās realized that the troops would (only) be satisfied, their minds set at rest, and the dispersal of their tumultuous gathering brought about, if they were given their pay allotments. So he offered these to them, but they were still not satisfied and did not feel assured about the pay allotments which had been guaranteed to them, until Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm (personally) guaranteed them, and they were then content with his bond and dispersed. Muḥriz then fulfilled his promise to them over that, and they were given pay allotments for eighteen months, this being before Hārūn's arrival.[22]

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16. I.e., Yaḥyā, following the reading *fa-qāla* envisaged in n. *h* and adopted in the Cairo text, VIII, 188, for the text's *fa-qultu*.

17. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 89.

18. Presumably the al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān b. Isḥāq al-Hāshimī also cited as a *rāwī* in Ṭabarī, III, 598 (below, 86).

19. I.e., the senior ʿAbbāsid prince al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (d. 186 [802]), younger brother of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, and owner of an extensive property to the west of the Round City in the island between the Greater and Lesser Ṣarāt Canals, named after him al-ʿAbbāsiyyah. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 377, 381; Le Strange, *Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphate*, 142, 148; J. Lassner, *The topography of Baghdad in the early Middle Ages*, 75, 80, 188; idem, *The shaping of ʿAbbāsid rule*, 240–1.

20. Also a grandson of ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, brother of Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ and first cousin of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, and holder of many governorships until his death in 196 (811–12). See Ibn Qutaybah, 375, 384.

21. Abū al-Qāsim Muḥriz b. Ibrāhīm al-Jūbānī, participant in the ʿAbbāsid Revolution as a lieutenant of Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb, a *rāwī* for Ṭabarī of events concerning Abū Muslim and an official with the functions of a quartermaster under al-Mahdī. See Ṭabarī, III, 1, 9, 46, 99, 461.

22. Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 6 n. 2, regards this variant account from al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān as less plausible than the first one emphasizing the roles of Yaḥyā and al-Rabīʿ in quelling the mutinous troops' outbreak in Baghdad.

When Hārūn in fact arrived, acting as the deputy for Mūsā al-Hādī and accompanied by al-Rabīʿ as a helper [*wazīr*] of his, he despatched delegations to the provincial main cities [*amṣār*], he announced to them the death of al-Mahdī, he required their oath of allegiance to Mūsā al-Hādī (in the first place) and then to himself as the next designated heir [*walī al-ʿahd*] after him, and he got a firm grip of affairs in Baghdad (i.e., he took in hand its pacification).

(Previously to this), Nuṣayr the slave [*al-waṣīf*][23] had immediately set off from Māsabadhān to Jurjān with the news of the death of al-Mahdī and the giving of allegiance to al-Hādī. When Nuṣayr had reached al-Hādī, the latter had given the signal for departure and had forthwith set off by means of the *barīd* service,[24] as if he were a noble, swift horse, accompanied by Ibrāhīm (i.e., his brother) and Jaʿfar (i.e., his son) from his own family and by ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād al-Kātib, the head of his chancery, and Muḥammad b. Jamīl,[25] his secretary for military affairs, from among his administrative staff [*al-wuzarāʾ*].[26] Now, when he drew within sight of the City of Peace, a group of people from his own family and others came out to meet him. Al-Hādī had meanwhile been showing resentment towards al-Rabīʿ for what he had been doing, including his sending out delegations and his giving pay allotments to the army before al-Hādī's arrival. For his part, al-Rabīʿ had despatched his son al-Faḍl. He went to meet al-Hādī with all the presents prepared for him and came face-to-face with him at Hamadhān. Al-Hādī summoned him into his presence and
[548] brought him close, and said to him, "How was my master (i.e., al-Rabīʿ) when you left him?" Al-Faḍl then wrote back these words to his father. Al-Rabīʿ thereupon went forth to meet al-Hādī. The

23. This seems to be the correct rendering here of this—i.e., as a common noun; but it can also be a personal name of slaves, as with the Turkish military slave, the *ḥājib* Waṣīf, prominent in the events of the reigns of al-Mutawakkil and his successors.

24. In Jahshiyārī, 125, and Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, 131, tr. C. E. Bosworth, 104–5, it is recorded as noteworthy that al-Hādī was the first and only Caliph personally to use the *barīd* system.

25. Caliphal mawlā, subsequently governor of al-Baṣrah and Egypt for al-Rashīd. See Crone, 191.

26. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 117; and for ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Abī Laylā, who died shortly after this (Jahshiyārī, 127), ibid., I, 119–20.

latter reproached him gently, but al-Rabī' made his excuses and informed him of the reasons which had impelled him to behave thus. Al-Hādī accepted this apology, and appointed him vizier in place of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Abī Laylā, and added to his responsibilities the office of control of expenditure [*al-zimām*], which 'Umar b. Bazī' had until then exercised.[27] He appointed Muḥammad b. Jamīl over the financial department [*dīwān al-kharāj*] concerned with the two Iraqs (i.e., Mesopotamia and western Persia, 'Irāq 'Ajamī). He appointed 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād over the financial administration of Syria and adjoining lands. He confirmed 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān[28] as commander of his personal guard [*ḥaras*], adding to his responsibilities the department of the army [*dīwān al-jund*]. He appointed 'Abdallāh b. Mālik (al-Khuzā'ī)[29] as commander of the security police [*shuraṭ*] (in Baghdad) in place of 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim.[30] Finally, he entrusted the seal ring to the hands of 'Alī b. Yaqṭīn.[31]

Mūsā al-Hādī's arrival at Baghdad, at the time of his journey from Jurjān, was on the nineteenth of Ṣafar (August 31, 785) in this year.[32] It has been mentioned in this connection that he travelled from Jurjān to Baghdad in twenty days.[33] When he actually arrived in Baghdad, he established himself in the palace known as al-

27. On these administrative arrangements, see Jahshiyārī, 125; al-Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 709; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 283; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 89; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 119.

28. Son of a deputy *naqīb* and *dā'ī* in Marw during the 'Abbāsid Revolution, who founded a leading Abnā' family in Baghdad; during al-Amīn's caliphate, he was one of the Caliph's most strenuous supporters, and died in battle against al-Ma'mūn's general Ṭāhir. See Crone, 178–9.

29. Son of one of the twelve *naqībs*, Mālik b. Haytham al-Khuzā'ī, from Khurāsān who participated in Abū Muslim's rising; 'Abdallāh eventually recovered favor under Hārūn, despite his support at this juncture for al-Hādī. See Crone, 181–2; Kennedy, *The early Abbasid Caliphate. A political history*, 80–1.

30. Read thus for the text's Ḥāzim. 'Abdallāh's father Khāzim b. Khuzaymah al-Tamīmī had been one of the deputy *naqīb*s from Marw al-Rūdh in the 'Abbāsid Revolution, hence he stemmed from a prominent family of the Abnā'. See Crone, 180–1; Kennedy, 81–2.

31. On him, already earlier in life suspected of Shī'ī sympathies, see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 112, 120; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ed. Pellat, *Index*, VII, 520. For all these administrative arrangements, see Abbott, 78–80; Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 17–18; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, II, 119–20.

32. Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 447, has the date of the tenth of Ṣafar.

33. Cf. Tha'ālibī, loc. cit.

Khuld and stayed there for a month; then he moved to the Garden of Abū Jaʿfar and thence to ʿĪsābādh.[34]

In this year, al-Rabīʿ (b. Yūnus), the mawlā of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, perished.[35]

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī[36] has mentioned that his father transmitted the information to him that Mūsā al-Hādī had a slave girl whom he prized greatly and who used to love him, this being at the time when he was in Jurjān on the occasion when al-Mahdī sent him thither. She composed some verses and wrote to him (with them) whilst he was staying in Jurjān, including the verse

O far-away one in a distant place,
    who has encamped in Jurjān!

He related: When Mūsā al-Hādī received the homage and he returned to Baghdad, his only thought was of her. He went into her presence, at a moment when she was singing her verses, and stayed with her all that day and night, before he showed himself to any of the people.[37]

Mūsā al-Hādī's Repression of the Dualist Infidels

In this year, Mūsā sought out with severity the dualist infidels
[549] [*zanādiqah*], and during it killed a considerable number of them.[38]

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34. The palace built by al-Mahdī for his son ʿĪsā as a pleasure resort, in the eastern part of Baghdad (cf. Ṭabarī, III, 517). See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 172–3; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 194; Abbott, 85–6; Lassner, *Topography*, 194.

35. Al-Rabīʿ had not remained long in al-Hādī's favor, having lost all his offices except control of the *zimām* (Tabari, III, 598); certain sources, e.g., Ṭabarī, III, 597–8 (below, 85–86), and Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 265–6 = ed. Pellat, § 2473, state that the Caliph plotted to kill his minister. See Abbott, 86–7; Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 17–18.

36. *Rāwī* much cited by Ṭabarī for the period from al-Manṣūr to Hārūn, by Masʿūdī (*Murūj*, ed. Pellat, Index, VII, 517) and also by Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, Būlāq, XVII, 29 = Cairo, XVIII, 209. For his full *nasab*, see Ṭabarī, III, 563 (below, 32).

37. Cf. Abbott, 85.

38. For a general study of this persecution of the *zindīqs*, comprising mainly Manichaean dualists but probably also Mazdakites and other remnants of the many once-flourishing faiths and sects of Mesopotamia, see G. Vajda, "Les zindīqs en pays d'Islam au début de la période abbaside," *RSO*, XVII (1938), 173–229; F. Gabrieli, "La «zandaqa» au Ier siècle abbasside," *L'élaboration de l'Islam*, Paris 1961, 23–38; F. Omar, "Some observations on the reign of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī 775–785 A.D.," in *ʿAbbāsiyyāt*, 89–93; S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the*

Among those who were executed was Yazdān b. Bādhān, the secretary of Yaqṭīn (b. Mūsā)[39] and of the latter's son ʿAlī b. Yaqṭīn, who was a native of al-Nahrawān.[40] It has been mentioned concerning him that he made the Pilgrimage. He looked at the people tripping round performing the circumambulation of the Kaʿbah, and said, "I can only compare them with oxen trampling round a threshing-floor!" Al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaddād al-Aʿmā addressed to him (i.e., to al-Hādī) the verse,

O one whom God has made His trustee over His creation,
and heir of the Kaʿbah and the (Prophet's) pulpit!
What do you think about an unbeliever
who compares the Kaʿbah with a threshing-floor,
And who makes the people, when they perform the running [*saʿy*],
into asses trampling wheat and corn?[41]

Thereupon, Mūsā killed and then gibbeted him. Subsequently, the wooden scaffolding on which he was gibbeted fell down on top of a pilgrim and killed both him and his ass.[42] Also executed was Yaʿqūb b. al-Faḍl from among the Hāshimites.

It has been mentioned from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh) al-Hāshimī,[43] who said: There were brought before al-Mahdī, as dualist infidels and in two separate court sessions, a son of Dāwūd b. ʿAlī[44] and Yaʿqūb b. al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b.

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later Roman empire and medieval China. A historical survey, Manchester 1985, 83–4; *EI*[1] s.v. Zindīḳ (L. Massignon). For al-Hādī's measures in particular, see Vajda, 186–7; Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 7–8.

39. Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā is mentioned at several points in the narratives of Yaʿqūbī and Ṭabarī, from the beginning of al-Manṣūr's reign onwards, as a trusted servant and commander for the Caliphs, and was presumably one of the Abnāʾ. He held a land grant [*qaṭīʿah*] along the Ṣarāt Canal to the south of the Round City; see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 243, tr. G. Wiet, 21. His son ʿUbayd is also mentioned as fighting in the government forces at Fakhkh; Ṭabarī, III, 562 (below, 30–31).

40. The name of the canal, town and district to the east of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 324–7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 59–61.

41. *Dawsar*, according to R. P. A. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 442a, *Aegylops ovata*, or in the form *dawshar*, ibid., I, 475b, corn, Canary grain.

42. Cf. al-Muṭahhar al-Maqdisī, *K. al-Badʾ wa-al-taʾrīkh*, VI, 100; Vajda, 186.

43. Described more specifically in Ṭabarī, III, 360, as "al-ʿAbbāsī," possibly the grandson of the Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh who was governor of Mecca in 214/829.

44. Paternal uncle of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, most respected of the *ʿumūmah* in the early decades of ʿAbbāsid rule and governor of al-Kūfah for al-Saffāḥ. See Ibn Qutaybah, 216, 372, 374; Lassner, *The shaping of ʿAbbāsid rule*, 146 and Appendix E.

ʿAbbās b. Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[45] Al-Mahdī said the same words to each of them after both of them had affirmed to him their infidel beliefs. As for Yaʿqūb b. al-Faḍl, he said to the Caliph, "I affirm my beliefs privately between the two of us, but I refuse to proclaim them publicly, even though you were to cut me into little pieces with shears." Al-Mahdī said to him, "Woe upon you! Even though the heavens were to be laid open for you and the affair were as you say, you would still have had ineluctably to show family solidarity [*taʿaṣṣaba*] with Muḥammad![46] If it were not for Muḥammad, who would you be? Would you be anyone but an ordinary person? By God, if it were not for the fact that I have laid upon myself, before God, a charge when He invested me with this office (i.e., with the caliphate) that I would never kill a Hāshimite,
[550] I would not have argued with you like this but would have killed you outright!" Then he turned to Mūsā al-Hādī and said, "O Mūsā, I solemnly adjure you, by my own right (to this office), that if you succeed to this position of authority after me, you do not engage in disputation with these two for a single moment!"

The son of Dāwūd b. ʿAlī died in prison before al-Mahdī's own death. As for Yaʿqūb, he remained (in prison) until al-Mahdī died and Mūsā arrived from Jurjān. Immediately he entered (Baghdad), he remembered al-Mahdī's injunction, and he despatched to Yaʿqūb someone who threw a mattress over him; several persons were then set down on top of him till he suffocated to death.[47] Al-Hādī's attention was then diverted from Yaʿqūb by the ceremony of homage to himself as ruler and by the need to make firm his caliphal power. All this happened on an extremely hot day. Yaʿqūb's corpse stayed there until the early part of the night had elapsed, but then people reported to Mūsā, "O Commander of the Faithful, Yaʿqūb's body has begun to swell up and stink." The Caliph said, "Send it along to his brother Isḥāq b. al-Faḍl and tell him that Yaʿqūb has

45. Hence, a direct descendant of a paternal uncle of the Prophet.

46. I.e., as a Hāshimite you cannot gainsay your genealogical connection with the Prophet. The Cairo edition, VIII, 190, has for *taʿaṣṣaba* [= *tataʿaṣṣaba*], *taghḍaba* (*li-Muḥammad*) "you would still have to show anger towards Muḥammad."

47. Obviously to avoid the impiety and scandal of openly shedding Hāshimite blood.

died in prison." Ya'qūb's corpse was put in a skiff [*zawraq*][48] and brought to Isḥāq. The latter took a look, and it was clear that there was no way of washing the corpse, so he buried Ya'qūb immediately in a garden of his. He then went off in the morning and sent a message to the Hāshimites informing them about Ya'qūb's death and summoning them to his obsequies. He gave orders for a wooden beam to be procured, and this was then carved into the rough shape of a man. It was then swathed in cotton bands and Isḥāq had it enshrouded. Then he had it mounted on a funeral bier, and none of those present at the ceremony had any idea that the corpse was in fact an artificial substitute. Ya'qūb left behind various issue of his loins, comprising 'Abd al-Raḥmān, al-Faḍl, Arwā and Fāṭimah. In regard to Fāṭimah, she was found to be pregnant by her father, and she herself confessed this.[49]

'Alī b. Muḥammad continued to relate: My father related: Fāṭimah and Ya'qūb b. al-Faḍl's wife, who was not herself a Hāshimite and who was called Khadījah, were brought into al-Hādī's presence, or into al-Mahdī's presence at an early date. They both affirmed their adherence to dualist beliefs, and Fāṭimah acknowledged that she was pregnant by her father. He sent the two of them to Rayṭah bt. Abī al-'Abbās.[50] She saw that they both had their eyelids darkened with kohl and their hands and hair dyed with henna, and she reproached them strongly, being particularly voluble against the daughter (i.e., Fāṭimah). The latter protested, "He compelled me (to submit to him)." Rayṭah, however, replied, "What is the meaning, then, of this dyestuff, this kohl and this air of gaiety, if you were compelled?" and she cursed them both. [551]

He related: I was informed that they were both reduced to an extremity of fear, and so died of this fear; they were beaten on the head with a thing called the *ru'būb*,[51] were stricken with terror by

48. See A. Mez, *The renaissance of Islam*, tr. Khuda Bakhsh and D. S. Margoliouth, 487; H. Kindermann, "*Schiff*" *im Arabischen*, 37–8; Darwīsh al-Nukhaylī, *al-Sufun al-islāmiyya*, 59–62: a small river craft used in Iraq.

49. Cf. Abbott, 40. Accusations of incest, like those of unnatural vice, are clichés of heresy trials as much in the Islamic world as in other cultures.

50. Daughter of al-Saffāḥ and the wife of her own first cousin al-Mahdī. See Abbott, 25, 39–40; Kaḥḥālah, *A'lam al-nisā'*, I, 479.

51. Literally, "that which instills terror, *ra'b*," clearly some kind of club; cf. *Glossarium*, p. CCLXV.

it and thus died. As for Arwā, she survived; her paternal cousin al-Faḍl b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Faḍl, a man of unimpeachably orthodox religion, married her.[52]

In this year, Windā(d)hurmuz, the ruler of Ṭabaristān, came to Mūsā under a guarantee of safety; the Caliph rewarded him munificently and sent him back to Ṭabaristān.[53]

The Remainder of the Events of This Year

These included the revolt of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan[54] b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the one killed at Fakhkh.[55]

The Revolt and Killing of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī

It has been mentioned from Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī[56] that he related: Between al-Mahdī's death and al-Hādī's assump-

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52. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 89; Vajda, 186–7; Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 7–8; Omar, in *ʿAbbāsiyyāt*, 91. Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. IV, 447–53, devotes a lengthy, special section to *zandaqah* under al-Hādī, with many novel details.

53. See on Windādhurmuz and his reign in Ṭabaristān, Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, tr. E. G. Browne, 125–32; Moscati, "Studi storici sul califatto di al-Mahdī," 347–50; idem, "Le califat d'al-Hādī," 8–9; W. Madelung, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 202. For the name Wi/andād Hurmuz, see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 369–70.

54. Hence, grandson of the Ḥasanid known as al-Ḥasan al-Muthallath and great-grandson of al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā. See K. Öhrnberg, *The offspring of Fāṭima. Dispersal and ramification*, Table 16.

55. The primary sources for this episode of yet another futile ʿAlid rebellion are: Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 704; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 488; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 266–8 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2474–5; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, 285–6, 289–307; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 258–9; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 284–5; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 90–4; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *K. al-Fakhrī*, 172–3, tr. C. E J. Whitting, 187; Fāsī, in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. and tr. F. Wustenfeld, II, 184–5; Nahrawālī, in ibid., III, 212–13. The main secondary sources are: F. Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken ... IV. Geschichte der Stadt Mekka nach den arabischen Chroniken bearbeitet*, 178–9; Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 9–14; C. Van Arendonck, *Les débuts de l'Imāmat Zaidite au Yemen*, 62–5; L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Divagazioni su due rivolte alidi," *A Francesco Gabrieli. Studi orientalistici offerti nel sessantesimo compleanno ...*, 315–6, 320–2, 335–9, 341–50; Y. Marquet, "Le Sīʿisme au IXᵉ siècle à travers l'histoire de Yaʿqūbī," *Arabica*, XIX (1972), 109; Kennedy, 109–10; *EI*² s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, Ṣāḥib Fakhkh (Veccia Vaglieri).

On the place Fakhkh, one of the wadis running down into Mecca from the direction of the Juddah and Tanʿīm roads, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 237–8; Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā staʿjam*, III, 1014–15; Azraqī, *Akhbar Makkah*, 282, 298.

56. Celebrated mathematician and astronomer, who worked in al-Maʾmūn's

tion of the caliphate, there were eight days. He related: The news (i.e., of al-Mahdī's death) reached him when he was in Jurjān, and up to the point when he entered the City of Peace, up to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan's revolt, and (finally) up to the killing of al-Ḥusayn, was a period of nine months and eighteen days.

Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ[57] has mentioned that Abū Ḥafṣ al-Sulamī transmitted the information to him as follows. He related: Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī[58] was governor of Medina. When al-Mahdī died and Mūsā was appointed Caliph, Isḥāq set off on a mission to Mūsā in Iraq, leaving behind as his deputy in Medina ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.[59] Al-Faḍl [552]
b. Isḥāq (b. Sulaymān) al-Hāshimī[60] has mentioned that Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, when he was in charge of Medina, asked al-Hādī to release him from his duties and to permit him to come to Baghdad. Al-Hādī duly relieved him of his duties and appointed as governor in his stead ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He has likewise mentioned that the reason behind al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan's revolt was that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, when he took over the governorship of Medina—as al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad has mentioned on the authority of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Sulamī—arrested Abū al-Zift al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan,[61] Muslim b. Jundub the poet of Hudhayl,[62] and ʿUmar b. Sallām, a mawlā of the house of ʿUmar,

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reign and died ca. 232 (846–7). See Brockelmann, *GAL*, I², 239–40, S I, 381–2; Sezgin, *GAS*, V, 228–41, VI, 140–3; *EI*² s.v. (J. Vernet).

57. Unidentified, but not the Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Dīnār al-Madanī, narrator of historical traditions, who had died in 168/784; see *GAS*, I, 284.

58. First cousin of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr; hence, a scion of the *ʿumūmah*, and governor of Medina 167–9 (784–6); see Ibn Qutaybah, 374.

59. Descendant of the Caliph ʿUmar I and brother of the noted ascetic ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz feared and respected by Hārūn al-Rashīd; see Ṭabarī, III, 750–1 (below, 316–18).

60. Probably the son of the ʿAbbāsid prince Isḥāq b. Sulaymān who held various governorships under Hārūn.

61. I.e., the son of the Ḥasanid rebel against al-Manṣūr killed at Medina in 145 (762), al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah. See Öhrnberg, Table 7; *EI*¹ s.v. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (F. Buhl).

62. The reference to this person is rather enigmatic. Abū ʿAbdallāh Muslim b. Jundub (or Jundab) al-Hudhalī is mentioned by Jāḥiẓ as a judge [*qāḍī*] and popular preacher [*qāṣṣ*] of the Prophet's Mosque at Medina (*al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn*, I, 367–8), who had been tutor to the Caliph ʿUmar II b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and who had himself died in 106 (724–5). This death date rules out our poet of the same unusual name; one wonders whether Ṭabarī's *rāwī* confused a possibly similar name with that of the earlier figure.

when they were engaged in a wine-drinking session which they had organized. He gave orders, and they were beaten en masse; and he gave further commands regarding them, and ropes were placed round their necks and they were paraded around Medina. Protests were raised regarding them, and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī went along to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He spoke with him, and said, "They should not be subjected to this; you have had them beaten when you had no right to have them beaten, since the scholars of Iraq don't see any harm in wine-drinking;[63] so why are you having them paraded publicly?"[64] ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz accordingly sent a messenger after them—they having at this point reached the paved open place round the Prophet's Mosque [*al-balāṭ*][65]—and brought them back, ordering that they should be imprisoned instead. They were in jail for a day and a night, and then some people spoke up on their behalf and he released them all. They were required to report for inspection, but al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad was found to be missing, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī being surety for his appearance.

Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related: Also, ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī transmitted the information to me that al-ʿUmarī (sc. the governor ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz) had required various people to act as sureties for other people in the community, and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan and Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan[66] both stood as guarantors for al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan; the latter had married a freedwoman [*mawlāt*] of theirs called

63. Alluding to the Ḥanafīs' allowing the drinking of *nabīdh* or date wine in moderation and for medicinal purposes. See *EI*² s.v. Khamr. 1. Juridical aspects (A. J. Wensinck).

64. According to Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 295, the Hāshimites objected to the ignominious treatment of members of their clan.

65. See Bakrī, I, 271, and Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, II, 734–40, where it emerges that this *balāṭ* (here, from Greek *plateia* "street" rather than in the sense of "court [in a palace]" from *palation*, see S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 28–9, 281), was originally the walkway to the mosque, paved with stones by the governor Marwān b. al-Ḥakam on the Caliph Muʿāwiya's orders, but then extended by him to the whole area stretching to the market. See also Ṭabarī, III, 555 (below, 20) for another *balāṭ* in Medina.

66. Yaḥyā was a half-brother on his father's side to al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah. Like his brother Idrīs, he escaped from the field of Fakhkh and, allegedly with the connivance of the Barmakī al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā, escaped and eventually reached Daylam, where he subsequently rebelled in 176 (792) against Hārūn al-Rashīd. See Ṭabarī, III, 612–24, 669–72, and the sources detailed below, 115–16, n. 440.

Sawdā', daughter of Abū Layth, the mawlā of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, and he used to visit her and stay with her. He failed to turn up for inspection on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. Al- [553]
'Umarī's deputy[67] carried out the inspection on the Friday evening, and then he got hold of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh and interrogated them about al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad; he upbraided them somewhat harshly for a while, and then went back to al-'Umarī and informed him of what had happened concerning them, saying, "May God guide you uprightly! Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad has been missing for three (nights)!" Al-'Umarī replied, "Bring me al-Ḥusayn and Yaḥyā." He went away and summoned them. When they came into al-'Umarī's presence, he said to them, "Where's al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad?" They replied, "By God, we don't know; he was absent from us on Wednesday, then Thursday came along and we received news that he was ill; and then we were under the impression that there was no inspection required today."[68] But 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz spoke to them very harshly; hence, Yaḥyā b. 'Abdallāh gave his oath that he would not sleep until either he came back to him with the missing man or he would knock on the door of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's house with the news that he had indeed brought al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad back to him.

When they went out together, al-Ḥusayn said to Yaḥyā, "God is above all imperfection! Whatever impelled you to promise this? Where are you going to find Ḥasan?[69] You have given your oath to him for something which is impossible for you to perform!" Yaḥyā replied, "I have only sworn an oath in regard to Ḥasan." Al-Ḥusayn said, "God is above all imperfection! What thing, then, have you sworn an oath about?" Yaḥyā replied, "By God, may I not sleep until I beat on the door of his house (i.e., al-'Umarī's) with the sword!" He related: Ḥusayn said, "(If we do that,) we shall ruin the arrangements which we made with our supporters (i.e., by antici-

67. According to Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 295, the man thus deputed was both a mawlā and a weaver, both socially despised statuses.

68. I.e., because it was Friday, the day of congregational worship and holiday.

69. There does not seem to be any rationale behind the fact that, whilst the names al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn normally appear with the definite article, on occasion this is absent.

pating the planned revolt]." Yaḥyā replied, "What has happened has happened, and there is no going back on it."

According to what they have mentioned, they had indeed made a mutual agreement to raise the standard of revolt at Minā or in Mecca itself during the season of the Pilgrimage. A group of the people of al-Kūfah, who were among their partisans and who had given their oath of allegiance to Ḥusayn, had been lying in wait inside a certain house.[70] They now went off, and made their plans for action during the evening and night, until, when it was the latter part of the night, they sallied forth in revolt. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh went along until he beat on the gate of the residential complex [*dār*] of Marwān (b. al-Ḥakam)[71] in order to get at al-ʿUmarī, but did not find him there. Then he went along to al-ʿUmarī's house in
[554] the residential complex of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar,[72] but did not find him there either; he had hidden from them.

The rebels went along, and then they surged into the mosque, until when the call for the morning worship was given to the people,[73] al-Ḥusayn took his seat in the pulpit, wearing a white turban.[74] The people began to come into the mosque, but when

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70. As now emerges, the revolt had been previously planned in concert with Shīʿī sympathizers in al-Kūfah, if not in a very detailed fashion, and cannot have been caused by the governor ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's rigor against the wine drinkers (a detail which, understandably, the Shīʿī sources do not dwell upon). Moscati states, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 9–10, that discontent had been exacerbated among the Shīʿah by al-Hādī's abandonment of al-Mahdī's policy of conciliating the ʿAlids and of allotting to them subsidies, mentioned by Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 488, and Ṭabarī, III, 563, so that various of the Shīʿah rallied round al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī as their natural leader and planned the revolt. In fact, there cannot have been sufficient interval of time for the implications of al-Hādī's change of policy to have sunk into the minds of Shīʿī sympathizers, and Veccia Vaglieri notes (*EI*² s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī) that there were signs that al-Mahdī himself was latterly abandoning his earlier pro-Shīʿī attitudes, and al-Hādī was simply continuing these recent trends. It is very probable that both Caliphs had become exasperated by al-Ḥusayn's irresponsibility in financial matters and his fecklessness; see Van Arendonck, *Les débuts de l'Imāmat Zaidite*, 62–3, and Ṭabarī, III, 563 (below, 33, and n. 137).

71. See for this, Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Marāghī, *Taḥqīq al-nuṣraḥ*, 80; Samhūdī, II, 720–1. It adjoined the Prophet's Mosque, and on the authority of ʿUmar b. Shabbah, was purchased by the state and used as a gubernatorial residence.

72. Marāghi, 73. According to Samhūdī, II, 718–19, this was the first house built adjoining the Prophet's Mosque when Muḥammad allotted plots of land there for houses, and was connected to the Mosque by a private passage [*khūkhah*].

73. According to Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 297, the rebels compelled the muezzin at swordpoint to make the *adhān* in the Shīʿī wording.

74. In the early ʿAbbāsid period, as a contrast to ʿAbbāsid black, white seems to

they saw the rebels, they turned back without performing the worship. But when al-Ḥusayn had performed the morning worship, people began to come to him and to give him their allegiance on the basis of the Book of God and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet, for "the one pleasing (to God) [*al-murtaḍā*] from the house of Muḥammad."[75]

(At this point,) there appeared Khālid al-Barbarī,[76] who was at this time in charge of the state domains [*al-ṣawāfī*] at Medina and was the commander of a force of two hundred soldiers from the regular forces stationed at Medina. He advanced with his troops, and al-ʿUmarī came along, together with Wazīr b. Isḥāq al-Azraq and Muḥammad b. Wāqid al-Sharawī, and with a considerable number of persons, including al-Ḥusayn b. Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn[77] who was mounted upon an ass. Khālid al-Barbarī rushed into the courtyard of the mosque [*al-raḥbah*], having put on two coats of mail, with the sword in his hand and a club slung round his waist, his sword being unsheathed, and he was shouting at Ḥusayn, "I am a stout warrior [*kaskās*]![78] May God strike me dead if I do not succeed in killing you!" He charged them until he drew near to their ranks. The two sons of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, Yaḥyā and Idrīs,[79] blocked his path. Yaḥyā struck him on the nasal of his helmet, and then cut through the helmet and cut off his nose. His eyes were filled with blood and he was unable to see. He was driven down to his knees and began to beat about with his sword to protect himself, being all this time unable to see. Idrīs

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have become the favored color of a wide spectrum of opposition movements, from pro-Umayyad Syrian ones to ʿAlid ones, as here, and to heterodox Persian groups like the *Mubayyiḍah* or *Ispīdh-jamāgān* of Muqanna' in Transoxania. See Farouk Omar, "The significance of the colours of banners in the early ʿAbbāsid period," in *ʿAbbāsiyyāt*, 149–50.

75. It thus seems that al-Ḥusayn was formally claiming the caliphate and imāmate, an impression strengthened by the apparent adoption of *al-Murtaḍā* as a *laqab* or honorific.

76. As Moscati notes, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 11 n. 1, the sources give numerous variant forms of this name.

77. Presumably a descendant of the Third Imām al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

78. According to *WbKAS*, I, 168b, this means "a stocky but tough person," as in Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*[1], VIII, 80: *al-qaṣīr al-ghalīẓ*.

79. Brother of al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah, hence, uncle to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, and after his escape from the débâcle of Fakhkh—presumably having mingled with the pilgrims in Mecca to escape detection—founder of the Idrīsid dynasty of Sharīfs in Morocco (172–314 [789–926]). See Ibn Qutaybah, 213; Ṭabarī, III, 561, 562 (below, 28–30, 31); Öhrnberg, Table 30; *EI*[2] s.v. Idrīs I (al-Akbar) (D. Eustache).

came up round him from the rear and struck him, knocking him to the ground, and Yaḥyā and Idrīs hacked at him with their swords from above until they finally killed him. Their companions fell upon Khālid's two mailed coats; they pulled them off his corpse and seized his sword and club. They brought along his body, and then orders were given that it should be dragged into the paved
[555] open space [*al-balāṭ*]. They launched an attack on Khālid's forces, and the latter took to flight. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad related: All this I report as an eyewitness.

ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad has mentioned that Khālid struck Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh and cut through his headdress. The blow reached[80] as far as Yaḥyā's hand and left its mark there. Yaḥyā struck Khālid in the face, and a one-eyed man from the people of al-Jazīrah came round and fell upon him from behind; he struck him on his legs, and they hit Khālid by turns with their swords and thus killed him. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad has related: The wearers of black [*al-musawwidah*, sc. the partisans of the ʿAbbāsids] went into the mosque to hold it against the ʿAlid forces, when al-Ḥusayn b. Jaʿfar appeared mounted on his ass, but the wearers of white [*al-mubayyiḍah*, sc. the partisans of the ʿAlids] launched an attack and drove them out. Al-Ḥusayn (b. ʿAlī) shouted to them, "Treat the shaykh gently!" meaning al-Ḥusayn b. Jaʿfar. The public treasury was plundered, and around ten thousand dīnārs, which remained from the soldiers' salaries [*ʿaṭā'*],[81] seized from it. It has been said that the latter amounted (originally) to seventy thousand dīnārs which ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik had sent along to be distributed as subsidies for the Khuzāʿah.[82]

He related: The combatants [*al-nās*] dispersed, and the people of Medina locked their doors against them. The next morning, the ʿAlid partisans gathered together, and the supporters of the ʿAbbāsids came together and fought with them in the paved open space [*balāṭ*] which lies between the courtyard before al-Faḍl's house and al-Zawrā'.[83] The wearers of black began to attack the

80. Following n. *a*, *balaghat*, and the Cairo text, VIII, 194, *waṣalat*, for the text's *khalaʿat*.

81. Fāsī, *Shifā' al-gharām*, in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, II, 184.

82. The powerful Ḥijāzī tribe of the region around Mecca, once themselves masters of the city and, subsequently, close allies of Quraysh; see *EI*² s.v. (M. J. Kister).

83. A section of the market quarter of the city; see Samhūdī, IV, 1228–9.

wearers of white until they drove them into the courtyard before al-Faḍl's house, and then the wearers of white counterattacked until they drove them back[84] to al-Zawrā'. Both sides suffered many casualties through wounds. They fought until midday and then dispersed. When it was towards the end of daylight on the second day, that being Sunday, the news arrived that Mubārak al-Turkī was encamping at the Well of al-Muṭṭalib.[85] The supporters of the 'Abbāsids were roused into activity again. They went out to him and persuaded him to come (into the town). So he came the next morning until he reached al-Thaniyyah.[86] The 'Abbāsid partisans and those who were eager to fight rallied round him. The two sides fought together extremely fiercely in the paved open space until midday, and then dispersed. The partisans of the 'Alids withdrew to the mosque, and those of the 'Abbāsids to Mubārak al-Turkī, to the house of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz at al-Thaniyyah in [556] order to shelter there from the noonday heat. He made an undertaking with his supporters to return later, towards evening (i.e., to fight). But when they showed no interest in him, he mounted his riding beasts and rode away. The 'Abbāsid partisans did in fact come back later, towards evening, but did not find him. So (they returned to the fray and) fought their opponents in a somewhat desultory fashion till sunset, and then they dispersed.

Ḥusayn and his partisans remained for several days, equipping themselves with travelling supplies. Their stay in Medina amounted to eleven days. He then departed on the twenty-fourth of Dhū al-Qa'dah, six days from its end (May 28, 786).[87] When

84. Following the preferred reading of n. *c*, *yablaghū*; the Cairo text, VIII, 195, has *yublagha bihim* "they were driven back."

85. See Samhūdī, IV, 1141–2. It is said to have lain seven or five miles from Medina and to have been named after al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdallāh al-Makhzūmī.

86. A frequent toponym in the area of Medina (*thaniyyah* "mountain road, track, which climbs over a height," see Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, I, 384), one of the best-known being the Thaniyyat al-Wadā' on the left of the road from Syria coming into the city. See Marāghī, 144, and Samhūdī, IV, 1166–72, who mentions, however, other *thanāyā*, such as that of al-Sharīd, IV, 1066–7.

87. The rebels had obviously failed to secure any appreciable part of the city and had been compelled to "hole up" in the mosque. As Iṣfahānī concedes, *Maqātil*, 297–8, two of the Ṭālibids of Medina refused to join the rising, al-Ḥasan b. Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan and Mūsā al-Kāẓim b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, the Seventh Imām of the Shī'ah (cf. *EI*[1] s.v. [R. Strothmann]), who told al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī that his revolt was doomed to failure. Iṣfahānī also adds, ibid., 299, that al-Ḥusayn's force numbered about 300 men, apparently including some local Bedouin; see Van Arendonck, 64.

they left Medina, the muezzins came back; they made the call to worship, and the people went back into the mosque. They found there discarded bones which the ʿAlids had been eating and other traces of their stay, and they began to bring down God's curses upon them, "May God deal with them as He thinks fit!"

Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related: Nuṣayr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Jumaḥī transmitted the information to me that when Ḥusayn reached the marketplace, on his way to Mecca, he turned towards the people of Medina and said, "May God not replace your losses with anything good!" But the people and the market traders retorted, "On the contrary, may God not replace your losses with anything good, and may He never bring you back (here)!" For Ḥusayn's followers had been defecating in the mosque and had filled it with filth and urine; hence, when they left, the people washed down the mosque.[88]

He related: The son of ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm transmitted the information to me, saying: Al-Ḥusayn's partisans took the coverings of the mosque and used them as robes for themselves. He related: Al-Ḥusayn's partisans proclaimed in Mecca, "Every slave who comes to us is free!" The slaves came to him, and one slave belonging to my father came to him and then joined his side. When al-Ḥusayn resolved on departure, my father went to him and spoke with him. He said to al-Ḥusayn, "You have made approaches to slaves whom you did not yourself own, and then you have freed them; on what grounds do you consider this lawful?" Ḥusayn therefore said to his companions, "Take him along with you, and whichever slave he recognizes, hand that slave back to him (i.e., to the narrator's father)." So they went off in company with him, and he recovered his slave boy [*ghulām*] and two (other) slave boys belonging to neighbors of ours.[89]

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88. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 92. Here as elsewhere, Ṭabarī is careful to note the swinish habits of the Shīʿī followers, doubtless to emphasize their plebeian nature.

89. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Fāsī, 184–5; Pipes, 134. Veccia Vaglieri, *EI*[2] s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, regards this attempted emancipation of the slaves at Mecca, plus the sharing-out of the money found in the state treasury at Medina, as manifestations of the Zaydī policy of greater social justice as being incumbent upon the Imām in return for the people's *bayʿah*. Cf. also the appeal during the ʿAlid revolt in Mecca in 200 (816) in the name of the Ḥusaynid Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq to the black slaves and similar elements there, mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 992. See further, below, 34, n. 140.

The news of al-Ḥusayn's revolt reached al-Hādī. Several male members of his family had gone on the Pilgrimage that year, [557] including Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī,[90] al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and Mūsā b. ʿĪsā,[91] as well as the younger members. Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar[92] acted as leader of the Pilgrimage. Al-Hādī now ordered the investiture patent appointing Muḥammad b. Sulaymān as military commander to be written out. People said to him, however, "What about your paternal uncle al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad?" He replied, "Don't interfere with me! No, by God, I won't be deprived of my royal authority!" The patent investing Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī with the military command was therefore put into effect, but the document only reached them when they were on the way back from the Pilgrimage.

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān had gone forth with a full panoply of weapons and men, because the road was fearful and dangerous on account of the Bedouins. Ḥusayn did not get his forces ready to confront them. The news about them (i.e., about Muḥammad b. Sulaymān's approaching forces) came to him when they were already in his direction, so he set out with his slaves and his brothers. Mūsā b. ʿAlī b. Mūsā had meanwhile proceeded to Baṭn Nakhl[93] thirty (farsakhs) from Medina. The news reached him, he having his brothers and his slave girls with him. The news further reached al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, and he entered into correspondence with them (i.e., with Muḥammad b. Sulaymān's approaching forces). They came to Mecca and entered it. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān came forward, his followers having donned the ritually pure garments (i.e., the *iḥrām*) for performing the ʿUmrah. They then proceeded to Dhū Ṭuwā[94] and encamped there.

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90. First cousin of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, hence a noted scion of the *ʿumūmah*, and first husband of al-Rashīd's sister al-ʿAbbāsah; see Ibn Qutaybah, 375–6, 380–1.

91. Grandson of Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, brother of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, and third cousin of al-Hādī.

92. I.e., the son of al-Manṣūr; see Ibn Qutaybah, 379.

93. See Abdullah Al-Wohaibi, *The Northern Hijaz in the writings of the Arab geographers 800–1150*, 377. According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 449–50, it lay on the Baṣrah road.

94. This wadi marked the edge of the central hollow of Mecca and the boundary of the *ḥaram* or sacred area. See Azraqī, II, 297–301; Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, 436; Bakrī, III, 896–7. The name is still known in contemporary Mecca for part of the Jarwal quarter there.

Amongst their number was Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far. All those supporters of the 'Abbāsids, their mawlās and their military commanders who had arrived in Mecca that year, joined up with them.[95] The people had come in successive groups that year for the Pilgrimage, and had grown to a great number.

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān then sent ahead of himself ninety mounted men, some mounted on horses and some on mules, whilst he himself was riding a powerful thoroughbred horse. Behind him were forty men also mounted on noble horses, bearing the travelling baggage, and behind them men riding on donkeys,[96] all in addition to the infantrymen and others who were with them.
[558] These appeared to the people as a very numerous force, and they filled (the streets/the mosque[97]); they imagined that they were several times their (real) numbers. They circumambulated the (Holy) House, made the running [*sa'y*] between al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwah, and completed their performance of the 'Umrah. They then moved on, and came to Dhū Ṭuwā and encamped there, this being Thursday. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān sent forward Abū Kāmil, a mawlā of Ismā'īl b. 'Alī,[98] with a force of twenty-odd cavalrymen, this being on the Friday, and he met up with them. There was at this time in the ranks of his troops a man called Zayd who had attached himself to al-'Abbās, hence, al-'Abbās had brought him with him as a fellow-pilgrim. Now when he saw the enemy, he threw down on the ground his shield and sword, and went over to join their side; this was at Baṭn Marr.[99] Subsequently, they got hold of his body, which had been battered with clubs.

During the night of Friday-Saturday, they sent forward fifty cavalrymen. The first person whom they invited (i.e., to act as their leader) was Abū al-Dhayyāl Ṣabbāḥ, then another and another and another. Abū Khalwah the eunuch [*al-khādim*],[100] Muḥammad's

95. The high proportion of mawlās, slaves, and eunuchs in the 'Abbāsid forces confronting al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī is notable; cf. Pipes, 137.

96. The Cairo text, VIII, 196, specifies "200 men mounted on donkeys."

97. To be thus added to complete the sense, according to n. *a*; the Cairo text has "and they filled their breasts (i.e., with reassurance)."

98. I.e., of Ismā'īl, brother of Muḥammad b. 'Alī, father of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, and holder of various provincial governorships; see Ibn Qutaybah, 374.

99. District of Mecca where the two streams forming the Wādī al-Nakhlatayn joined together; see *Yāqūt*, Mu'jam, I, 449.

100. That this general term "servant" was by this time very frequently used as

mawlā, was the fifth. Then they went to al-Mufaḍḍal, the mawlā of al-Mahdī, and sought to make him commander over them. He refused, however, and exclaimed, "No, appoint someone else over them, and I will be one of the rank and file." So they appointed as commander over them ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamīd b. Razīn al-Samarqandī, who was at that time a comparatively young man of thirty years. They went off, being a force of fifty cavalrymen, on the night of Friday-Saturday.

The enemy drew near, and the cavalry drew back[101] and the troops prepared for battle. Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and Mūsā b. ʿĪsā were on the left wing; Muḥammad b. Sulaymān on the right wing; and Muʿādh b. Muslim[102] was (in the centre) between Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad.[103] Just before sunrise began to gleam, Ḥusayn and his followers advanced. Three of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī's mawlās[104] launched an attack, one of these being Zanjawayh, Ḥassān's slave, and then came back with a (severed) head and threw it down in front of Muḥammad b. Sulay- [559]
mān; they had previously promised five hundred (dirhams) to the (first) person who came back with a head. Muḥammad's troops came along and hamstrung the (enemy's) camels so that their litters and saddles fell down. Then they slaughtered them (i.e., the ʿAlid forces) and put them to flight.

Before this, they (i.e., the ʿAlid forces) had gone forth from those mountain tracks [*thanāyā*] with only the smaller part of them marching against Muḥammad b. Sulaymān's wing; their main force marched towards the wing of Mūsā b. ʿĪsā and his troops (i.e., against the ʿAbbāsids troops' left wing). Hence, the ʿAlid forces' main assault was against the latter. When Muḥammad b. Sulay-

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one of several euphemisms for "eunuch," rather than the stark terms *khaṣī* and *majbūb*, has been emphasized by Ayalon. See his *The military reforms of Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim*, 3–4, 42–3; idem, "Preliminary remarks on the *Mamlūk* military institution in Islam," 50–1; idem, "On the eunuchs in Islam," *JSAI*, I (1979), 74–89.

101. *Rajaʿat*; the Cairo text, VIII, 197, has *zaḥafat* "moved forward slowly."

102. Muʿādh b. Muslim b. Muʿādh al-Dhuhlī was a Khurasanian mawlā and one of the Abnāʾ al-Dawlah settled in Baghdad in the Caliphs' service; see Crone, 183–4.

103. A slight variation in the pattern of command is given by Iṣfahānī in *Maqātil*, 300; cf. Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 12 n. 2; but all the sources agree essentially on the actual course of the battle.

104. I.e., the freedmen of the ʿAbbāsid prince Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh, uncle of al-Saffāḥ; see Ibn Qutaybah, 374–6.

mān had dealt with the troops assailing his wing, and his troops were conscious of the first gleams of dawn, they turned their attention to the ʿAlid troops attacking Mūsā b. ʿĪsā's wing—and behold, they were massed together as if they were a compact ball of spun thread. The center and right wing of the ʿAbbāsid forces penetrated into their ranks and became locked with them in fighting, (and they put to flight al-Ḥusayn's forces).[105] They (i.e., the ʿAbbāsid forces) returned toward Mecca, not knowing what had become of al-Ḥusayn himself. They were still without information, having by then reached Dhū Ṭuwā or somewhere near it, until a soldier from the Khurāsānian troops shouted out, "Great news, great news! This is Ḥusayn's head!" He produced it, and there were marks of a blow right along the forehead and another blow on the back of the head. The ʿAbbāsid troops were shouting promises of quarter [*amān*] when they had finished the assault;[106] hence, Abū al-Zift al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad stumbled forward, with one of his eyes closed by a wound received in the fighting, and stood behind Muḥammad (b. Sulaymān) and al-ʿAbbās (b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān). Mūsā b. ʿĪsā and ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās came up round him and gave orders for him to be killed. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān became extremely angry at that.

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān entered Mecca by one road and al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad by another. The heads (of those slain in battle) were cut off, and there turned out to be over a hundred of them, including the head of Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan.[107] This battle took place on the *Yawm al-Tarwiyah* (i.e., the "Day of Refreshment," the eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [June 11, 786]). Al-Ḥusayn's sister, who had been with him, was taken prisoner; she was sent to the custody of Zaynab bt. Sulaymān.[108] The fugitives from the ʿAlid forces mingled with the pilgrims and then slipped away. Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar was ill at this time; hence, he was not
[560] present at the battle. ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar[109] led the ceremonies of the

105. This phrase supplied from other, parallel sources, according to n. *b*.

106. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī himself expressly refused this offer of *amān*, preferring the martyr's crown, according to Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, loc. cit.

107. I.e., the brother of Idrīs, who managed to escape to the Maghrib, see below.

108. The daughter of the ʿAbbāsid prince Sulaymān b. ʿAlī (for whom see above, 25, n. 104); see Ibn Qutaybah, 385.

109. Grandson of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, and later governor of al-Baṣrah under al-

Pilgrimage in that year. There was among Ḥusayn's followers a blind man who used to exhort them by his edifying stories and narratives [*yaquṣṣu ʿalayhim*], and he was killed (i.e., in the battle). None of them, however, was executed afterwards in cold blood.

Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh related: Mūsā b. ʿĪsā took captive four Kūfans, a mawlā of the Banū ʿIjl[110] and another person.

Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related: Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. ʿAlī transmitted the information to me, from Mūsā b. ʿĪsā, who related: I arrived, bringing with me six captives. Al-Hādī said, "Begone with you! Would you kill my prisoner?" I replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, I reflected at length about him, and said to myself, 'ʿĀʾishah and Zaynab[111] will go to the Commander of the Faithful's mother and weep profusely in her presence, and will speak with her. Then she will speak to the Commander of the Faithful on his behalf, and he will let him go free.'" Then al-Hādī said, "Bring in the captives." I said, "I have made solemn promises and covenants to them that they should be set free and given their liberty." He nevertheless said, "Bring them before me!" He ordered two of them to be killed. The third one was an obscure person, and I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, this man is extremely knowledgeable about (the genealogies of) the house of Abū Ṭālib, and if you spare his life, he will provide you with everything you require." The man himself added, "By God, yes indeed, O Commander of the Faithful, I very much hope that your action in sparing my life will render me of service to you." Al-Hādī bowed his head in thought for a while, and then said, "By God, your emerging safe from my hands, after

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Rashīd on four separate occasions from 173 (789) onwards, died in 192 (808); see Ibn Qutaybah, 385.

110. An Arab tribe, considered as part of Bakr b. Wāʾil, which had been long established on the desert fringes of Iraq and considerably Christianized. In early Islamic times, ʿIjlīs seem to have been especially inclined to Shīʿī and various heretical tendencies. See the verse quoted in Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, 199; M. G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, 443, 499; *EI*² s.v. ʿIdjl (W. Montgomery Watt).

111. Abbott, 88, takes this as specifically referring to the senior ʿAbbāsid princess Zaynab bt. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh (hence, the first cousin of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr; see on her ibid., 43–5), but it may be a reference to female busybodies in general, ʿĀʾishah and Zaynab being in grammatical parlance the female equivalents of ʿAmr and Zayd, N. and M.

falling into them, is certainly a serious matter," but he kept on talking with him until in the end al-Hādī ordered that he should be kept back (i.e., from those sent forward for execution) and that the required guarantee of his safety should be written out for him. As for the other, he forgave him (also). He ordered the execution and gibbeting of ʿUdhāfir al-Ṣayrafī and ʿAlī b. al-Sābiq al-Fallās[112] al-Kūfī, and they accordingly gibbeted them at the Bāb al-Jisr;[113] they had both been captured at Fakhkh. The Caliph vented his rage also on Mubārak al-Turkī, and ordered the confiscation of his goods and property and his demotion to service in the ranks of the grooms of the riding beasts.[114] He further vented his ire on Mūsā b. ʿĪsā because the latter had executed al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, and ordered the confiscation of his goods and property.

Idrīs b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan's Escape to the Maghrib and His Foundation of the Idrīsid Dynasty in Morocco

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr al-Thaljī related, transmitting the information from Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb al-Hāshimī, who had it from
[561] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿĪsā (b. Mūsā),[115] who said: Idrīs b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib escaped from the battle of Fakhkh during al-Hādī's caliphate. He reached Egypt, the official in charge of the *barīd* systems of Egypt at that time being Wāḍiḥ, a mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr's son Ṣāliḥ, and Wāḍiḥ was a vile partisan of the Shīʿah [*rāfiḍī khabīth*].[116] Wāḍiḥ therefore gave Idrīs the facilities of the *barīd* service mounts to convey him to the Western lands.[117] He ended up

112. The Cairo text, VIII, 198, has al-Qallās.

113. The gate at the western end of the Upper Bridge (*jisr*) over the Tigris connecting the Western Bank with the Shammāsiyyah quarter. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 178, 198; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides de Jazîra et de Syrie*, I, 168; Lassner, *Topography*, 79.

114. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 93.

115. Grandson of the ʿAbbāsid prince ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī.

116. The mawlā Wāḍiḥ was an ancestor of the historian Yaʿqūbī, called Ibn Wāḍiḥ and certainly a Shīʿī sympathiser; see Crone, 196.

117. Kindī, *K. Wulāt Miṣr*, 131–2, states that al-Hādī's governor in Egypt, the ʿAbbāsid prince ʿAlī b. Sulaymān, sheltered and encouraged the fugitive Idrīs.

in the region of Tangier, at a town called Walīlah,[118] and the Berbers of that place and of the neighboring tracts[119] rallied to his call. Al-Hādī had Wāḍiḥ beheaded and gibbeted. (Alternatively,) it is said that it was al-Rashīd who executed him and who sent, secretly, to plot against Idrīs, al-Shammākh al-Yamāmī, the mawlā of al-Mahdī, at the same time writing for him a letter of recommendation to Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, his governor over Ifrīqiyah.[120] Al-Shammākh proceeded till he reached Walīlah, where he gave out that he was a physician and that he was one of their partisans. He went into Idrīs's presence, so that the latter came to regard him familiarly and to feel at ease with him. Al-Shammākh began ostensibly to show him great respect, support for his cause, and honor to him. Hence he was able to stay by his side at every stage where he halted (sc. on his journeyings). Then at one point, Idrīs complained to al-Shammākh of a toothache, so al-Shammākh gave him a deadly poisonous (supposed) medicament for rubbing on the teeth, and instructed him to rub it on them at daybreak, after he had passed the night. So when it was dawn, Idrīs took the dentifrice and began to rub it back and forth in his mouth repeatedly and energetically, so that it killed him.[121] A search was instituted for al-Shammākh, but he could not be caught. Al-Shammākh reached Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab and told him about what he had done. The news of Idrīs's death arrived after al-Shammākh's actual arrival. Ibn al-Aghlab now wrote to al-Rashīd about all this, and the latter appointed al-Shammākh over the *barīd* and intelligence services of Egypt.[122]

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118. Probably (though the identification is not 100% certain) on the site of the Roman Volubilis, in what was the province of Mauritania Tingitana; see H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc des origines à l'établissement du Protectorat français*, I, 58–9, 65–8, 112–15.

119. Actually, the Berbers of the Awrabah tribe of the Lawātah group.

120. Ibrāhīm was the founder of the Aghlabid line of autonomous governors of Ifrīqiyah (184–296 [800–909]), but was not yet at this time governor of the whole province, which was not formally conferred on him till 184/800. See *EI*² s.v. Aghlabids (G. Marçais, etc.).

121. Idrīs actually died in al-Muḥarram 175 (May–June, 791).

122. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 488–9; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 193–4 = ed. Pellat, § 2405; Azdī, 259; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 285; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 93–4; E. H. Palmer, *Haroun Al-raschid, Caliph of Baghdad*, 73–4; G. Marçais, "La Berbérie au IXᵉ siècle d'après El-Ya'qoûbî," *R.Afr.*, LXXXV (1941), 60–1; idem, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au moyen âge*, 116–22; Terrasse, I, 115. An alternative historical tradition makes

A certain poet—I think it was al-H.nāzī[123]—recited concerning these events,

Do you imagine, O Idrīs, that you can escape
the Caliph's wiles or that flight is of any avail?
For they (i.e., the Caliph's wiles) will certainly catch up with you,
unless you alight in a land
where (even) a young bustard cannot guide people towards you!
Indeed, when his anger unsheathes the swords,
they are long ones, and lives prove to be short in face of them.
(He is) a monarch, and it is as if death inexorably follows his command,
to the point that people say, "Even destiny obeys him!"

More Accounts of the Battle of Fakhkh and Its Aftermath

[562] Al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq al-Hāshimī has mentioned that when al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī raised his revolt at Medina, al-ʿUmarī being governor there, the latter remained in concealment during al-Ḥusayn's stay at Medina until al-Ḥusayn left for Mecca. Al-Hādī had meanwhile despatched Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar to lead the Pilgrimage, and there went forth with Sulaymān, from among those members of the ʿAbbāsid family who intended to make the Pilgrimage, al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, Mūsā b. ʿĪsā and Ismāʿīl b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā,[124] traveling via the Kūfah Road; Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and a number of the progeny of Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān, traveling, via the Baṣrah Road; and from among the mawlās, Mubārak al-Turkī, the slave[125] al-Mufaḍḍal, and Ṣāʿid the mawlā of al-Hādī. Sulaymān was in charge of all the arrangements, and among the well-known, prominent figures involved were Yaqṭīn b. Musa, ʿUbayd b. Yaqṭīn, and Abū al-

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Idrīs's assassin Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī's agent Sulaymān b. Jarīr (see Van Arendonck, 65 n. 5).

123. Unidentified; the name is apparently corruptly written in the manuscript.

124. Holder of various provincial governorships; see Ibn Qutaybah, 376.

125. Again, as above, Ṭabarī, III, 547, this seems to be the correct rendering here for *waṣīf*, for it emerges just below that al-Mufaḍḍal was a eunuch.

Wazīr[126] 'Umar b. Muṭarrif. They gathered together at the point when they received the news that al-Ḥusayn and his companions were making for Mecca, and they appointed as their (military) chief Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far because of his existing office as leader of the Pilgrimage. Abū Kāmil, the mawlā of Ismā'īl, had previously been placed in command of the vanguard troops, and they met up with him at Fakhkh. They left 'Ubaydallāh b. Qutham[127] behind at Mecca to look after the town and its people. Al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad had furthermore promised them (sc. al-Husayn's partisans) a guarantee of safe-conduct for what they had perpetrated, and had undertaken to treat them kindly and to bring about conciliation on the basis of kinship bonds, his envoy to them in this matter being the eunuch [*al-khādim*] al-Mufaḍḍal; but they had refused to accept these terms.

The battle then took place; considerable slaughter occurred; the survivors took to flight; a promise of quarter was proclaimed among them; and no fugitive was hunted down. Among those who fled were Yaḥyā and Idrīs, the two sons of 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan. In regard to Idrīs, he managed to reach Tāhart in the Western lands and sought refuge with its people;[128] they treated him with honor, and he remained with them until the secret mission and stratagem against him, with his resultant death. His son Idrīs b. Idrīs followed him as his successor,[129] and he (and his descendants) have remained to this day rulers over that region; all diplomatic connections with them have been severed.

Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Sulaymān[130] has related: When the news of

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126. Thus, the reading preferred in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCCLIX, and in the Cairo text, VIII, 199, in the light of mentions of this man in Ṭabarī, III, 491, 516, instead of the text's Abū al-Ward.

127. Hāshimite and great-grandson of 'Ubaydallāh, one of the sons of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

128. A town of what is now eastern Algeria, which was from 144 (761–2) the center of an Ibāḍī Khārijite principality under the Rustamids; see *EI*[1] s.v. Tāhert (Marçais). These anti-'Abbāsid Khārijites would naturally have provided a sympathetic haven for the fugitive Idrīs.

129. On Idrīs II al-Aṣghar, the real creator of the city of Fez, see Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane*, 122–4; *EI*[2] s.v. (Eustache).

130. Presumably the al-Mufaḍḍal b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 43, as a *rāwī* for the accounts of the death of the 'Abbāsid Ibrāhīm al-Imām b. Muḥammad in 132 (749–50).

[563] al-Ḥusayn's being killed at Fakhkh reached al-ʿUmarī, he being in Medina, he pounced upon al-Ḥusayn's house, and the houses of a group of the members of his family and of others who had joined al-Ḥusayn's rebellion, and had them pulled down. He burnt down their palm groves and appropriated what he did not burn, adding it to the state domains and the confiscated property.[131]

He related: Al-Hādī showed his anger against Mubārak al-Turkī because of what he had heard about Mubārak's shrinking from encountering al-Ḥusayn in battle after he had come within sight of Medina. He ordered Mubārak's goods and property to be confiscated and his demotion to service in the ranks of the grooms of his riding beasts; Mubārak remained in this position till al-Hādī's death. He further showed his ire against Mūsā b. ʿĪsā because he had killed Abū al-Zift al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and because he had not followed the plan of sending him on as a captive so that he himself (i.e., al-Hādī) might be the arbiter of his fate. He likewise ordered Mūsā's goods and property to be confiscated, and they remained thus sequestrated until Mūsā (al-Hādī) died. The group from among those taken prisoner at Fakhkh was sent forward to Mūsā (al-Hādī), among them being ʿUdhāfir al-Ṣayrafī and ʿAlī b. Sābiq al-Fallās[132] al-Kūfī. He ordered them both to be decapitated and their bodies gibbeted at the Bāb al-Jisr in Baghdad, and this was done.

He related: He (i.e., al-Hādī) sent his mawlā Mahrūyah (or Mahrawayh)[133] (al-Rāzī) to al-Kūfah with orders to treat the people there harshly because some of them had joined the rebellion of al-Ḥusayn.[134]

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib has mentioned that Yūsuf al-Barm,[135] a

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131. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 303.

132. Again, in the Cairo text, VIII, 198, we have al-Qallās.

133. Later governor of Ṭabaristān for al-Rashīd, see Ṭabarī, III, 649 (below, 174).

134. The revolt of Medina had in fact been planned in concert with Shīʿī sympathizers in al-Kūfah; see above, 18, n. 70.

135. Presumably, the Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Barm, also described as a mawlā of Thaqīf, who rebelled in Khurāsān or at Bukhārā in 160 (777) and was subsequently executed. See Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 478–9; Ṭabarī, III, 470–1; W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 198; Moscati, "Studi storici sul califatto di al-Mahdī," 331–2; E. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule 747–820*, 166–7. His contact with al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī must obviously have fallen within the first two years of al-Mahdī's caliphate.

mawlā of the family of al-Ḥasan, whose mother was a freedwoman of Fāṭimah bt. Ḥasan, transmitted the information to him, saying: I was with Ḥusayn at the time when he came to al-Mahdī's court, and the Caliph gave him forty thousand dīnārs. He straightaway divided it up among the people in Baghdad and al-Kūfah, and by God, he left al-Kūfah not possessing a thing to wear except a fur garment without even a shirt beneath it and a loincloth for sleeping in.[136] When he was traveling along the road to Medina and he halted for the night, he had to borrow from his own mawlās sufficient for their subsistence expenses during the coming day.[137]

ʿAlī continued to relate: Abū Bishr al-Sarī,[138] a confederate [*ḥalīf*] of the Banū Zuhrah,[139] transmitted the information to me, saying: I performed the morning worship (or: the morning worship was performed) on the day when al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, the [564] protagonist at Fakhkh, began his revolt. Ḥusayn led us in the worship and ascended the pulpit, the Messenger of God's pulpit. He sat down there, wearing a shirt and a white turban which he had unwound and let trail in front and behind himself. His sword was unsheathed, and he had placed it between his legs, when behold, Khālid al-Barbarī and his band of followers approached. When he attempted to enter the mosque, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh hastened forward to block his way. Al-Barbarī attacked him, whilst I myself was at this very moment watching him, but then Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh rushed forward against him and struck him a blow on the face. He hit his eyes and nose, and cut through his helmet and

136. *Izār al-firāsh.* The phrase "without a loincloth/waist-wrapper" in Ṭabarī, III, 601 (below, 94) would seem to imply that it was the norm to sleep in an *izār*; see also Ṭabarī, III, 668 (below, 202).

137. The Shīʿī sources regard this lavishness and then contentment with penury as signs of al-Ḥusayn's nobility of character and his asceticism, acts of a person for whom "gold, silver and a handful of earth are exactly the same" (Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 294; cf. also Fāsī, 185, and Nahrawālī, 212). In fact, al-Mahdī had given his cousin al-Ḥusayn the money for settling his pressing debts, but because of his lavishness in scattering his new-found wealth, his creditors only received a certain proportion of their due; see Van Arendonck, 62–3. Such actions on al-Ḥusayn's part could well have strained the patience of al-Mahdī and al-Hādī with him to breaking point.

138. This vocalization seems more probable than the text's al-Surrī.

139. Zuhrah b. Kilāb, a clan of the Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ; see Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, 167. Zuhrah was the brother of Quṣayy and father of ʿAbd Manāf. From this clan stemmed the Prophet's mother Āminah bt. Wahb. See al-Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *K. Nasab Quraysh*, 257–74; Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 5–8; idem, *EI*² s.v. Ḳuraysh.

cap, until I saw the bone of his skull flying in splinters from its place. Yaḥyā likewise attacked Khālid's companions, and they fled in disarray. Then he returned to Ḥusayn, and stood before him with his sword drawn and dripping with blood. Ḥusayn spoke, praising God and eulogizing Him, and he preached to the congregation, saying at the end of his speech, "O people! I am the Messenger of God's offspring, in the Messenger of God's sacred enclosure [*ḥaram*], in the Messenger of God's mosque and seated in the Prophet of God's pulpit! I summon you to the Book of God and the *Sunnah* of His prophet, and if I do not fulfill that for you, then I have no claim upon you for obedience."[140]

He continued to relate: The pilgrims that year were very numerous, and hence had filled the mosque. Suddenly, a man with a handsome face, tall of stature and with a red-dyed cloak,[141] rose up. He took the hand of one of his sons, a handsome, robustly built boy, and then strode through the ranks of assembled people until he reached the pulpit. He went right up to Ḥusayn and said, "O descendant of the Messenger of God, I set out on my journey from a distant land, accompanied by this son of mine, seeking to make the Pilgrimage of God's House and to visit the tomb of His prophet, without it ever occurring to my mind that these events involving you would happen. I have heard what you have said; do you really mean to fulfill what you have taken upon yourself to do?" Al-Ḥusayn replied, "Yes." The man said, "Stretch forth your hand, that I may clasp it in homage to you." He related: He accordingly did homage to al-Ḥusayn, and then he instructed his son, "Draw near and do homage." He related: By God, (later) I saw the
[565] heads of the two of them among all the heads of people at Minā, because it happened that I myself made the Pilgrimage in that year.

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140. There is a fuller version of al-Ḥusayn's oration in Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 298–9. The mention to the people of the Imām's obligation to fulfill to the people his side of the *bay'ah* by spreading justice is again characteristic of Zaydī Shī'ī attitudes. See Van Arendonck, 50–1; 135–6, 141, who notes the correspondences here with Mu'tazilī views regarding justice and the state, and Veccia Vaglieri, "Divagazioni su due rivolte Alidi," 332–6, who cites the similarity in themes of al-Ḥusayn's speech to that of Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, Zayn al-'Ābidīn, when giving his invitation to the *bay'ah* to himself during his revolt of ca. 122 (740) (cf. Van Arendonck, 30).

141. *Mumashshaq*, "dyed with red ochre or clay," cf. *Glossarium*, p. CDLXXXVI. In earliest Islam, this was used for *iḥrām* garments; see Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāyah fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-al-athar*, IV, 334.

He related: A group of the people of al-Madīnah related to me that Mubārak al-Turkī sent a message to Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, "By God, it would be easier for me to fall from the heavens and then for the birds to snatch me up, or for the wind to carry me along to a remote place, than that I should assault you with military forces or cut off a single hair of your head, but I have to exert myself to the utmost in deeds which must be excused (or: I have to be excused). Hence, fall upon me by night, and I will flee before you." He thereupon gave al-Ḥusayn a covenant and agreement sworn upon God that he would do this. He related: So al-Ḥusayn sent to him, or else al-Ḥusayn went out to him personally with a small force. When they drew near to Mubārak's army, they cried out and uttered *takbīrs*, and Mubārak and his partisans took to flight, until Mubārak himself joined up with Mūsā b. ʿĪsā.

Abū al-Miḍraḥī al-Kilābī has mentioned the following: Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. Ḥusayn b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib[142] has related that al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan recited on that day, with reference to a group of people who did not go out with him to battle, although they had promised him previously that they would join him, but who then remained behind, expressing himself in gnomic form,

He who has recourse to the sword will encounter a remarkable opportunity,
(that is), a speedy death, or else he will live to a reasonably mature age.
Do not embark upon an easy affair, for such an affair will only bring about your degradation;
you will never attain glory until you plunge violently into a tough and difficult affair.

Al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās al-Hāshimī has mentioned that ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Minqarī[143] transmitted to him the information from his father, who said: ʿĪsā b. Da'b[144] went into Mūsā b. ʿĪsā's

142. I.e., a descendant of the ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās who had governed Yemen and Azerbaijan for his cousin the Caliph ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

143. Following *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLX, for this vocalization.

144. I.e., ʿĪsā b. Yazīd b. Da'b al-Kinānī al-Laythī, resident of Medina and cherished boon-companion of al-Hādī, as appears from the anecdotes concerning him

presence at the time of the latter's return from Fakhkh, and found him in a fearful state, casting around for excuses for the killing of those whom he had slaughtered. ʿĪsā greeted him, "May God guide the Amīr uprightly! May I recite to you some verses which Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah wrote to the people of Medina, in which he ex-
[566] cused himself for the killing of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him?"[145] He replied, "Go ahead," so he recited to him thus,

O you who ride off early in the morning on your intended journey,
upon a stout she-camel which faces perils in its travelling,
Announce to Quraysh, despite the great distance involved in visiting them,
that between me and al-Ḥusayn lie God and the ties of relationship.
At how many halting-places in the courtyard of the (Holy) House did I adjure him[146]
by the covenant of God, but the conditions of the agreements were not being observed by him!
You have treated harshly your own people, out of excessive pride in your mother (i.e., Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet),
by my life, a virtuous woman,[147] one characterized by family piety, a noble one.
She is a person whose merit no one approaches,
the daughter of the Prophet and of the best of mankind, as they have recognized.
Her merit is accounted a merit for you, and others from yourselves of your people have shares in her merit also.
Indeed, I know, and I hold an opinion like one who knows it firmly —for an opinion may sometimes express the truth and then become precise and orderly—

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and the Caliph given by Ṭabarī, III, 589–90, 592–3 (below, 71–72, 76–77); see also Ibn Qutaybah, 537–8.

145. Referring to the killing of the rebel Third Imām of the Shīʿah at Karbalāʾ in 61 (680) by Yazīd's commander ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād; see *EI*² s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Veccia Vaglieri).

146. Following the Cairo text, VIII, 202, *unshuduhu*.

147. Following the Cairo text, loc. cit., *ummun ḥaṣānun*.

That the policies which you are at present pursuing will leave you
as corpses, with the eagles and vultures swaggering over you.
O people of ours, do not rekindle the flames of war when they have
died down,
but hold fast to the cords of peace and find security for yourselves!
Do not commit iniquity, for indeed iniquity means a striking-down,
and indeed, the one who drinks from the cup of iniquity
becomes sickly and ill.
Those generations who have gone before you have experienced [567]
war,
and whole peoples have perished because of it.
So act fairly with your people, and do not go to your destruction
out of haughty pride,
for often a proud person's foot causes him to stumble.[148]

He related: Some of the disquietude which Mūsā b. ʿĪsā felt was thereby dispelled.

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā[149] has mentioned that al-ʿAlāʾ transmitted the information to him that when (the news of) the renunciation of allegiance by the rebels of Fakhkh reached the Commander of the Faithful al-Hādī, he spent that night alone and occupied in writing a letter in his own hand. His mawlās and close companions became perturbed at his shutting himself away, so they got hold of one of his slaves secretly and said, "Go and see what point this matter has reached." He related: The slave went up to Mūsā, and the latter saw him, he asked, "What do you want?" The slave adduced an excuse for his intrusion. He related: Mūsā lowered his glance to the ground and was silent, and then he raised his head towards him and recited,

Those who are not accustomed to travelling by night have gone to
sleep,

148. On Yazīd as a poet—the authenticity of his verses being not, however, altogether certain—see *GAL*, S I, 96, and *GAS*, II, 316–17.

149. As already noted (above, 28, n. 115), a descendant of the ʿAbbāsid prince Mūsā b. ʿĪsā present at Fakhkh.

and the one who has not been able to sleep has relieved them of the necessity of setting out at nightfall.

Aḥmad b. Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr al-Bāhilī[150] has mentioned that al-Aṣmaʿī[151] transmitted the information to us and narrated: Muḥammad b. Sulaymān said to ʿAmr b. Abī ʿAmr al-Madanī, on the night preceding the battle of Fakhkh, after he had been shooting arrows in the other's presence at two targets, "Shoot away!" (i.e., at the enemy). He replied, "By God, I won't shoot at the Messenger of God's own offspring; I only came with you to shoot in your presence at the two targets, and not to shoot at the Muslims." He related: Al-Makhzūmī said, "Shoot!" so he let fly. He was eventually to die of leprosy.

He related: When al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was killed and Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā brought in his head, and it was laid before al-Hādī, the latter exclaimed, "By God, it is just as if you had brought me the head of some or other contumacious rebel! (i.e., the head was being hurled down unceremoniously and without any respect for its previous owner). The least way in which I can requite you for this is to deprive you of your (normally due) rewards!" He related: So he deprived Yaqṭīn and his followers in this fashion, and did not give them anything.[152] Mūsā al-Hādī also recited the proverbial verses, when al-Ḥusayn was killed, as follows,

[568] The person who shoots at the (Banū) al-Qārah has only given them their just deserts.
Whenever we encounter a (hostile) group,
We drive back their leading warriors upon the rear ranks.[153]

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150. Also mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 383–4, as a *rāwī* for events in al-Manṣūr's reign.

151. The celebrated philologist and authority on lexicography and ancient poetry. See *GAL*, I², 104, S I, 163–5; *GAS*, VIII, 71–6, IX, 66–7; *EI*² s.v. (B. Lewin).

152. See also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 267–8 = ed. Pellat, § 2475; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 172–3, tr. 187; Fāsī, 185. Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 13, doubts the authenticity of such stories as this concerning al-Hādī's hesitation and regret over the killing of the ʿAlid rebels, for the accounts elsewhere in Ṭabarī, III, 560, and in other sources about the Caliph's killing in cold blood, among others, captives who had been promised *amān* at Fakhkh, indicate rather a calculated vindictiveness and desire for vengeance.

153. See *Lisān al-ʿArab*¹, VI, 436, and Maydānī, *Majmaʿ amthāl al-ʿArab*, tr.

Various Items of Information

In this year, Ma'yūf b. Yaḥyā (al-Ḥajūrī)[154] led the summer raid (against the Byzantines) by way of the "Monk's Road" [*darb al-rāhib*]. The Byzantines had approached, led by the Patricius,[155] as far as al-Ḥadath.[156] The governor, the garrison troops, and the market traders all fled, and the enemy entered the town. Ma'yūf b. Yaḥyā penetrated into the enemy's territory and reached the town of Ushnah.[157] They then seized captives and prisoners and took plunder.[158]

In this year, Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far al-Manṣūr led the Pilgrimage.[159] 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Umarī was governor of Medina; 'Ubaydallāh b. Qutham was over Mecca and Ṭā'if; Ibrāhīm b. Salm b. Qutaybah[160] was over Yemen; Suwayd b. Abī Suwayd, the Khurāsānian commander, was over al-Yamāmah and al-Baḥrayn; and al-Ḥasan b. Nasīm (?)[161] al-Ḥawārī was over 'Umān. Mūsā b.

G. W. Freytag, II, 257, for these proverbial verses and the occasion when they were allegedly uttered. The Qārah are said here to have been a group of archers or a component clan of the Banū Kinānah in the Jāhiliyyah, but established in Yemen under Islam and attached to the Banū Asad.

154. This commander had led summer raids into Anatolia in 153 (770) and 158 (775), and was to lead a punitive expedition against the rebellious people of Cyprus in 191 (806); see Ṭabarī, III, 371, 385, 711 (below, 265).

155. *Baṭrīq, biṭrīq*, the Arabized form of the Byzantine title Patricius. See Fraenkel, 279; Ahmed Hebbo, *Die Fremdwörter in der arabischen Prophetenbiographie des Ibn Hischam (gest. 218/834)*, 47–8.

156. The town and fortress, now disappeared, of the Greek Adata, on the Taurus frontier between Mar'ash and Malaṭya, where an important pass, the Darb al-Ḥadath, led into the Byzantine lands. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 227–9; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 443–4; idem, *Lands*, E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, index s.v.; Canard, 269–70; *EI*² s.v. (S. Ory).

157. Honigmann, 141: ? Ūshīn, Ōshēn.

158. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 704; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 190–1; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 94; E. W. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the early Abbasids," *EHR*, XV (1900), 740; Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 14–15.

159. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 704; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 37; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 491; Azdī, 259.

160. Grandson of the great Umayyad governor of the East Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, both he and his brother Sa'īd being in high favor with al-Hādī (see Ṭabarī, III, 580–1, 587, and below, 59, 68); the family thus successfully made the transition from being servants of the Umayyads to intimates of the 'Abbāsids. See Crone, 136–8; Kennedy, 83.

161. Thus, in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 94; the text has ". . . b. Tasnīm."

'Īsā was in charge of the leading of the worship at al-Kūfah and over the local security forces [*aḥdāth*][162] and the poor-tax, as well as of Bihqubādh al-Asfal.[163] At al-Baṣrah, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān was in charge of the leading of the worship and the *aḥdāth* there, whilst 'Umar b. 'Uthmān functioned as judge. Al-Hādī's mawlā al-Ḥajjāj[164] was governor of Jurjān; Ziyād b. Ḥassān was over Qūmis; Ṣāliḥ b. Shaykh b. 'Umayrah al-Asadī was over Ṭabaristān and al-Rūyān; and al-Hādī's mawlā Ṭayfūr[165] was over Iṣfahān.[166]

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162. The context would seem to require a sense like that of "local militia, police corps" for this much-discussed, but still mysterious, term. See F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, 187–8 (the *EI*² art. s.v. by Cl. Cahen deals only with the *aḥdāth* of a later period).

163. "Lower" Bihqubādh comprised the district around al-Kūfah, where the Euphrates enters the Baṭā'iḥ or Great Swamp. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 516; Le Strange, Lands, 81; A. Musil, *The middle Euphrates*, 274–5; Morony, 147–51.

164. See Crone, 191.

165. See ibid., 195.

166. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 706–7; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 94–5.

The Events of the Year 170

(July 3, 786–June 21, 787)

The events taking place during this year included the death of Yazīd b. Ḥātim (al-Muhallabī) in Ifrīqiyah; after him, Rawḥ b. Ḥātim became governor over it.[167] [569]

In this year, ʿAbdallāh b. Marwān b. Muḥammad[168] died in the Maṭbaq (or Muṭbaq) prison.[169]

In this year, Mūsā al-Hādī died at ʿĪsābādh. There are varying reports concerning the reason for his death. Some say that he died of an abdominal ulcer.[170] Others say that his death was at the hands of some slave girls belonging to his mother al-Khayzurān,

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167. The governorship of North Africa was a Muhallabid fief at this time; see Crone, 134–5, and Kennedy, 83. But according to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 496, and Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 108, 113–14, Yazīd was briefly succeeded by his son Dāwūd, whose misrule, however, provoked a rebellion of the local Ibāḍiyyah, so that Hārūn al-Rashīd replaced him after nine months by his uncle Rawḥ.

168. One of the few surviving Umayyad princes, son of the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān II b. Muḥammad, imprisoned by al-Mahdī (Ṭabarī, III, 485).

169. The prison in the Round City of al-Manṣūr. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 240, tr. 15–16; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 27; Lassner, *Topography*, 55, 243.

170. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 99.

whom she had ordered to kill al-Hādī for various reasons, some of which we shall now mention.[171]

The Reason Why al-Khayzurān Had Ordered the Slave Girls to Kill al-Hādī

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan[172] has mentioned that when al-Hādī became Caliph, he became openly hostile towards and quarreled with his mother. Khāliṣah (i.e., al-Khayzurān's slave girl) came to him one day and told him, "Your mother seeks a gift of clothing from you," so he ordered a storehouse full of clothing to be given to her. He related: There were found in al-Khayzurān's house (after her death) among her possessions eighteen thousand sleeveless robes [*qarāqir*[173]] of figured silk. He related: At the opening of Mūsā's caliphate, al-Khayzurān used to exercise her authority over him in all his affairs without consulting him at all, and she used to behave in regard to him, by assuming sole control over matters of ordaining and forbidding, just as she had done previously with his father (i.e., al-Mahdī). Hence, al-Hādī sent a message to her, "Do not step beyond the boundaries of a woman's traditional modest position into demeaning yourself by being careless with your honor. It is not dignified for women that they should involve themselves in affairs of state. Instead, stick to your performance of the worship, to recounting God's praises, and to devoting yourself to pious works for God. Then after that, be conformable to the female role which is incumbent upon you." He related: During Mūsā's caliphate, al-Khayzurān used frequently to bombard him with requests for favors, and he used to grant whatever she asked. This went on for

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171. See Abbott, 111–12; Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 23. It is possible that both the illness and the murder were involved here. Thus, the *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 288–9, states that al-Khayzurān's slave girls suffocated al-Hādī in the harem because al-Khayzurān feared that he was going to recover from his sickness. Certainly, his death appears as too opportune for so many people concerned that it should have been a natural one. Also, the touching story in Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 282–3 = ed. Pellat, § 2486, of al-Hādī's sickbed death holding his mother's hand to his heart and commending Hārūn as his successor seems highly improbable, perhaps the invention of a later tradition favorable to al-Hādī.

172. I.e., Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq, frequently cited as a *rāwī* and described in Ṭabarī, III, 322, as the maternal uncle of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ.

173. Sing. *qarqar*. See *Glossarium*, p. CDXXII (< Latin *caracalla*); R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles. Material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, 93–4.

four months of his caliphate, and people thronged round her, seeking her aid, and processions of people used to resort to her door. [570]

He related: One day, al-Khayzurān spoke to him about a matter concerning which he saw no way to satisfy her. He made an appropriate excuse, but she exclaimed, "You must satisfy my request without fail!" He replied, "I won't do it!" She expostulated, "But I've already promised this unreservedly to ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik." He related: Mūsā became enraged and said, "Woe upon the son of a whore! I have already realized that he is the person behind this request, but by God, I won't grant you it!" She retorted, "In that case, by God, I'll never ask anything of you again!" He said, "By God, in that case, I don't care a bit!" and he grew hot and enraged. Al-Khayzurān got up to go, equally angry, but he ordered her, "Stay where you are, and take good note of my words! (I swear) by God, on pain of forfeiting my status as a kinsman of the Messenger of God if I do not fulfill this oath, that if ever I hear about any of my commanders or any of my close courtiers or servants standing at your door, I shall certainly have their heads chopped off and their possessions confiscated. Let whoever will, follow that course! What are all these processions of suppliants which come each day, by morning and evening, to your door? Have you no spindle to keep you busy, or copy of the Qur'ān to remind you (of God) or house to keep you safe (from the public gaze)? Beware, and again beware, lest you open your door, whether to any Muslim or to any Dhimmī!" So she went off, hardly conscious where she was stepping; and after this, she never again uttered in his presence a single word (literally, either a sweet or a bitter word).[174]

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan related that his father transmitted the information to him, saying: I heard Khāliṣah telling al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ[175] that Mūsā sent to his mother al-Khayzurān a dish of rice, saying, "I found this tasty and accordingly ate some of it; so you have some too!" Khāliṣah related: But I said to her, "Don't

174. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī, *K. al-Maḥāsin wa-al-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, 591 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 365–6; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 269–70 = ed. Pellat, § 2477; Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. IV, 453–4; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 283–4; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 99–100; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 173, tr. 187–8; Abbott, 89–92.

175. Son of the subsequent vizier, who seems to have acted as an assistant to his father when the latter was chamberlain (Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 154, 190–1) and who is cited as a *rāwī* by Ṭabarī on three or four occasions, e.g., III, 682 (below, 222).

touch it until you investigate further, for I am afraid that it might contain something to your detriment." So they brought in a dog; it ate some and fell down dead. Mūsā sent to al-Khayzurān afterwards and said, "How did you like the dish of rice?" She replied, "I enjoyed it very much." He said, "You can't have eaten it, because if you had, I would have been rid of you. When was any Caliph ever
[571] happy who had a mother (still alive)?"

He related: A certain man of the Hāshimites transmitted the information to me that the cause of al-Hādī's death was that when the latter directed his efforts at depriving Hārūn (of his succession rights as next heir) and at having allegiance done to his own son Ja'far[177] (as heir instead of Hārūn), and when al-Khayzurān became fearful for Hārūn's safety at al-Hādī's hands, she secretly despatched at the time of al-Hādī's illness some of her slave girls to kill him by covering over (his mouth and nose) and sitting on his face (i.e., thus suffocating him). She sent to Yaḥyā b. Khālid the message that "The man has died, so act decisively in what you have to do and don't fall short in the appropriate measures!"[178]

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Bashshār has mentioned that al-Faḍl b. Sa'īd[179] transmitted the information to him from his father, saying: Mūsā kept receiving information about his commanders' resorting to his mother al-Khayzurān, these persons hoping by speaking with her thereby to have their various requests fulfilled by the Caliph. He related: She, for her part, was aiming at securing an ascendancy over his affairs just as she had enjoyed over al-Mahdī's affairs. Al-Hādī kept barring her from achieving this and would say, "What have women to do with the discussing of men's affairs?" When he began to find excessive the number of his commanders who were resorting to his mother, he gathered the commanders together one day and said to them, "Who is better, I

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176. Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 591–2 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 366; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 454–5; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 289; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 100; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 173, tr. 188; Abbott, 104.

177. Apparently al-Hādī's son by a slave concubine called Raḥīm. As noted by Ṭabarī, III, 577–8 (below, 55), Hārūn subsequently married his daughter Ḥamdūnah to Ja'far; see Abbott, 66, 157.

178. Jahshiyārī, 132–3; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 455; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Abbott, 109.

179. Possibly a son of Sa'īd b. Salm b. Qutaybah, on whom see Ṭabarī, III, 580–1 (below, 59).

or you?" They replied, "Certainly, you are, O Commander of the Faithful!" He said, "Who then is better, my mother or your mothers?" They replied, "Assuredly, your mother, O Commander of the Faithful!" He continued, "Which then of you would like to have men talking about his mother's affairs, saying 'So-and so's mother did this, and so-and-so's mother acted in this way, and so-and-so's mother said this'?" They replied, "None of us would like that." He said, "So what do you think about the men who keep coming to my mother and who subsequently make her affairs the subject of their conversations?" When they heard this, they ceased their visits to her completely. Al-Khayzurān was deeply mortified by that; she kept away from him and swore that she would never speak to him again. Thereafter, she never entered his presence until death came upon him.[180]

The reason why Mūsā al-Hādī wished to deprive his brother Hārūn of the succession, to the point that he brought force to bear on the latter and exerted himself strongly (in applying this pressure), according to what Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān has mentioned, was that al-Hādī, when the caliphate passed to him, confirmed Yaḥyā b. Khālid (b. Barmak) in the administration of the Western lands which Hārūn was governing (nominally). Al-Hādī then had the idea of depriving Hārūn al-Rashīd of the succession and of securing homage as successor for his own son Ja'far b. Mūsā al-Hādī, and [572]
the commanders, including Yazīd b. Mazyad (al-Shaybānī),[181] 'Abdallāh b. Mālik, 'Alī b. 'Īsā (b. Māhān) and their likes, followed his lead (or: assisted him) in that.[182] Hence they removed Hārūn from

180. Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 454; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Abbott, 91–2.

181. Nephew of the famous late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid general Ma'n b. Zā'idah, al-Hādī and al-Rashīd employed him as governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan till his death in 183 (799). With this power base in the eastern Caucasus region, Yazīd's sons established the local dynasty in Shirwān of the Shirwān-Shāhs, who endured until the early Seljuq period. See Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th–11th centuries*, passim; Madelung, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 243–9; Crone, 169–70; Kennedy, 84–5.

182. See Abbott, 96; Kennedy, 110–11. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 489–90, states that the commander of the Azd, Abū Hurayrah Muḥammad b. Farrūkh al-Azdī (who was governor of al-Jazīrah but was executed by Hārūn in 171 [787–8], see Ṭabarī, III, 606, below, 102), was active in denigrating Hārūn (hence, doubtless, his speedy fate when Hārūn secured the throne) and was sent by al-Hādī to al-Jazīrah, Syria, Egypt, and the West with an army to terrorize people into assenting to Hārūn's removal

the succession and did homage to Ja'far b. Mūsā. They spoke surreptitiously to the "party" [*al-shī'ah*] (sc. of the 'Abbāsid dynasty's supporters),[183] so that these last talked about Hārūn's position and spoke slightingly of him in the public sessions at court, saying, "We won't accept him!" Their whole plan became complicated and difficult, until it became clear, and al-Hādī ordered that no escort should go before Hārūn with a spear.[184] As a result, the people (at court) avoided him and left him by himself, to the point that no one would dare even to greet him or to approach his presence. Yaḥyā b. Khālid used to take charge of arrangements for al-Rāshid's lodging and subsistence expenses, and he and his sons used never to leave him, according to what has been mentioned.[185]

Ṣāliḥ (b. Sulaymān) related: Ismā'īl b. Ṣubayḥ (al-Ḥarrānī)[186] was Yaḥyā b. Khālid's secretary, and Yaḥyā wanted very much to get him installed in a position from which he could pass back to Yaḥyā information about what was going on. Ibrāhīm (b. Dhakwān) al-Ḥarrānī[187] held the position of vizier to Mūsā, and he now took Ismā'īl into his service as secretary. This appointment was reported to al-Hādī, but news of this fact reached Yaḥyā b. Khālid, so he ordered Ismā'īl to set off for Ḥarrān;[188] Ismā'īl accordingly

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from the succession; cf. Jahshiyārī, 132, and Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 19. However, according to an account from al-Hādī's personal physician, 'Abdallāh al-Ṭayfūrī, Harthamah b. A'yan, alone among the great commanders, condemned al-Hādī's plan to deprive Hārūn of the succession and dissuaded him. See Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, *'Uyūn al-anbā'*, I, 154–5; Abbott, 105–6.

183. *Al-Shī'ah*, or phrases like *Abnā' al-Shī'ah*, occurs frequently in Ṭabarī and other sources as a designation for the Abnā' al-Dawlah, originally the Arabs of Khurāsān plus some Iranians who had spearheaded the 'Abbāsid Revolution and were now largely resident in Baghdad. See Ayalon, *The military reforms of Caliph al-Mu'taṣim*, 4 ff.; Crone, 66.

184. On ceremonial occasions, it was the custom for the ruler (or here, his designated heir) to be preceded by the commander of the police guard [*ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*] with his lance or spear held erect as a symbol of authority. See Sourdel, "Questions de cérémoniale 'abbaside," 144–5.

185. *K. al-'Uyūn*, 285.

186. Secretary, originally from the community of Sabians at Ḥarrān, who later served Hārūn and al-Amīn as a leading chancery official; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 122, 190.

187. Also from Ḥarrān, originally a mawlā of al-Manṣūr, and treasurer for al-Hādī, but not apparently acting as vizier in the full sense of the word. See Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 709; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 344, tr. Carra de Vaux, 442–3; Moscati, *Le califat d'al Hādī*, 17–18; Abbott, 86, 92–4; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 121–4.

188. A town of northern Syria, classical Carrhae. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 235–6; Le Strange, *Lands*, 103; Canard, 93–4; *EI*² s.v. (G. Fehérvári).

departed thither. Some months later, al-Hādī asked Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarrānī, "Who is acting as your secretary?" He replied, "So-and-so is acting as secretary," giving his name. Al-Hādī commented, "Didn't I receive a report that Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ was acting as your secretary?" Ibrāhīm replied, "[That must have been] a false report, O Commander of the Faithful; Ismāʿīl is in Ḥarrān!"[189]

He related: Slanderous reports were passed on to al-Hādī about Yaḥyā b. Khālid, and al-Hādī was told, "There are no real grounds of difference between you and Hārūn, it is merely that Yaḥyā b. Khālid is exercising a bad influence on him; so send for Yaḥyā, threaten him with death and accuse him of ingratitude." All that accordingly stirred up Mūsā al-Hādī's anger against Yaḥyā b. Khālid.

Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kirmānī[190] has mentioned that Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid [al-Barmakī] transmitted the information to him, saying: Al-Hādī sent to Yaḥyā by night. Yaḥyā despaired therefore of his life; he said farewell to his family, he anointed himself with the aromatic substances used in preparing corpses for burial, he put on new clothes, and he did not doubt that al-Hādī was going to put him to death. When Yaḥyā was brought into the Caliph's presence, the latter said, "O Yaḥyā, what is the relationship between us?" Yaḥyā replied, "I am your slave, O Commander of the Faithful, and the only possible relationship which there can be between the slave and his master is one of obedience towards him." The Caliph said, "Why, then, are you coming between me and my brother, and [573] are influencing him unfavorably against me?" He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, who am I that I should presume to come between the two of you? It is merely that al-Mahdī appointed me to accompany him, and ordered me to look after him and his needs, so I undertook this in accordance with his command. Then you yourself ordered me to do that, and I fulfilled your command." The Caliph said, "What exactly has Hārūn been up to?" Yaḥyā replied, "He hasn't been up to anything, and it is not in his character or capability to do anything untoward." He related: al-Hādī's wrath thereupon subsided.[191]

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189. Jahshiyārī, 126–7; Abbott, 96; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 122.

190. Presumably, the al-Kirmānī mentioned by Jahshiyārī, 208, as one of his *rāwīs*.

191. *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 285–6; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 96.

Hārūn personally had reconciled himself to being deprived of his succession rights, but Yaḥyā said to him, "Don't behave thus!" Hārūn replied, "Won't it leave me in a contented state of mind and a healthy physical state? These two things will be sufficient for me, and I shall live (peacefully) with my paternal uncle's daughter (i.e., with Zubaydah)—Hārūn was passionately enamored of Umm Jaʿfar—but Yaḥyā said to him, "What is that in comparison with the dignity of the caliphate? It may well be that this (happiness of life) will not be left open for you, to the point that it will elude you altogether!" and he stopped him from responding (to al-Hādī's pressures).[192]

Al-Kirmānī related that Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān transmitted the information to him, saying: "Al-Hādī sent to Yaḥyā b. Khālid by night when he was at ʿĪsābādh. This summons filled Yaḥyā with fear. He went into the private presence of the Caliph, and was then instructed to search out a man whom the Caliph had rendered fearful (or: whom the Caliph had become suspicious about), so that he had disappeared from the Caliph's sight; al-Hādī was now wanting to take him as a boon-companion and prevent him from continuing in his friendly relationship with Hārūn. The Caliph now treated Yaḥyā as a favored companion, and Yaḥyā spoke with the Caliph about the man. Al-Hādī then gave the man a guarantee of personal security and gave Yaḥyā a red, ruby ring which was on his own hand, saying, "This is (a token of) the guarantee of security for the man."[193] Yaḥyā went away; he sought out the man, and brought him to al-Hādī. At this, the Caliph rejoiced greatly. He related: Several people have transmitted to me the information that the person whom the Caliph was seeking was Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī.[194]

Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān related: Al-Hādī said to al-Rabīʿ one day, "Don't let Yaḥyā b. Khālid enter except at the end of everybody else." He related: So al-Rabīʿ sent to Yaḥyā, and he devoted his

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192. Jahshiyārī, 128; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 286; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 96–7.

193. Following *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLX, *hādhā amānuhu*.

194. I.e., Ibrāhīm b. Māhān or Maymūn, father of Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī and famous musician and composer, in great demand at the courts of al-Mahdī, al-Hādī and al-Rashīd, died in 188 (804). See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, V, 2–48 = ed. Cairo, V, 154–258; H. G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music to the XIIIth century*, 116–17; *GAS*, I, 370; *EI*² s.v. (J. W. Fück).

undivided attention to him.[195] He related: When al-Hādī held court the next morning, he gave permission (for suppliants and others to come forward), until the point arrived when there were none of these remaining. Yaḥyā came into his presence, the Caliph having around him (from among his permanent entourage of courtiers) ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī,[196] al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, and the senior members of his own family, together with his commanders. Al-Hādī kept summoning Yaḥyā to draw near to him until he made him sit directly before him, and he said to Yaḥyā, "I have been wronging you and branding you as one who has denied God's favors, but please absolve me now from this." Those present were astonished at the Caliph's show of honor towards him and his [574] words. Yaḥyā kissed his hand and gave thanks to him,[197] and al-Hādī then said to him, "Who is it who says concerning you, O Yaḥyā,

If a miser were to touch Yaḥyā's palm,
his mind would glow with a feeling of generosity for the lavishing of gifts?"

Yaḥyā replied, "That is your generous palm, O Commander of the Faithful, not that of your slave."

He related: When al-Hādī spoke to Yaḥyā about depriving Hārūn of the succession, Yaḥyā said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, if you urge the people to break their oaths, they will come to regard their oaths lightly; but if you leave them to retain their oath of allegiance to your brother, and then make Jaʿfar the designated heir after Hārūn, that will make Jaʿfar's position as designated heir all the firmer." The Caliph replied, "You have spoken truly and

195. Following the text here and that of Cairo, VIII, 209, *tafarragha lahu*; but the Leiden editor also suggests, n. *d*, the possible reading *tafazzaʿa lahu* "he pretended to seek his aid"; cf. for this meaning, Ṭabarī, III, 333, and *Glossarium*, p. CDII.

196. The youngest paternal uncle of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, died in 185 (801–2); hence, one of the *ʿumūmah*. Having been involved in the revolt against al-Manṣūr of the latter's discontented uncle ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī (ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's elder brother) in 137 (754), he was not allowed thereafter to play any outstanding role in affairs. See Ibn Qutaybah, 374; Kennedy, 53, 59–60.

197. A person summoned to the Caliph's presence normally halted at the edge of the ruler's personal carpet [*bisāṭ, muṣallā*] and then kissed his hands (and possibly feet; see Ṭabarī, III, 509, *jathā bayna yadayhi*); see Sourdel, "Questions de cérémoniale ʿabbaside," 137–8.

have given good advice, and this will be a sound plan of action for me."[198]

Al-Kirmānī related, that Khuzaymah b. ʿAbdallāh also transmitted the information to him, saying: Al-Hādī ordered Yaḥyā b. Khālid to be imprisoned because of the course of action which Yaḥyā had endeavored to make him adopt over al-Rashīd's being deprived of the succession to the caliphate. Yaḥyā, however, sent a message to the Caliph containing these words, "I have some good advice," so the Caliph sent for him. Yaḥyā said, "O Commander of the Faithful, permit me to speak to you alone," so the Caliph took him in privately with himself. Yaḥyā continued, "O Commander of the Faithful, do you think that, if that momentous event (i.e., al-Hādī's own death)—and I pray God that we may never live to see it and that He may bring forward our own demise before that occurs!—takes place, do you really imagine that the leading figures in the state [*al-nās*] will hand over the caliphate to Jaʿfar, when he has not yet reached the age of puberty, and be satisfied with him as leader in their worship, in the Pilgrimage, and in military expeditions?" He replied, "By God, I don't imagine that they would." Yaḥyā continued, "O Commander of the Faithful, are you, moreover, sure that your own family and prominent members of it, like so-and-so and so-and-so, will not aspire to the caliphate, and that others may not have designs on it, with the result that the office might become diverted from the offspring of your father?" Al-Hādī replied to him, "You have made me alert to all that, O Yaḥyā!" He related: Yaḥyā used to say, "I never spoke with any Caliph who was more intelligent than Mūsā." He related: Yaḥyā further told him, "If it had not been for the fact that this affair (i.e., the succession to the caliphate) had already been settled on your brother, would it not have been necessary for you yourself to designate him (sc. Hārūn) as successor in the rule? How then can you contemplate removing him from the succession, when al-Mahdī appointed
[575] him to it? It is my opinion, O Commander of the Faithful, that the best course is to confirm this arrangement as it now stands. Then when Jaʿfar reaches puberty—and may God bring him to this

198. Jahshiyārī, 128; Azdī, 260; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 96–7; Palmer, 33–4; Abbott, 94; Moscati, *Le califat d'al Hādī*, 19.

stage!—you can bring al-Rashīd into his presence, and al-Rashīd will renounce his succession rights in his favor and be the first to swear allegiance and to clasp his hand." He then related: Al-Hādī accepted his arguments and his judgement, and ordered his release.[199]

Al-Mawṣilī[200] has mentioned, from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (b. Khālid al-Barmakī), who said: Al-Hādī (nevertheless) resolved on depriving Hārūn of the succession after my father's words with him. A group of his mawlās and commanders urged him on to this course of action, whether Hārūn agreed to his own deprivation or not. Al-Hādī's anger against Hārūn grew more intense, and he put more and more pressure on him. Yaḥyā said to Hārūn, "Ask the Caliph for permission to go off hunting, and when you go forth, keep yourself far away and put off the days (of your return)." So Hārūn sent in a request, seeking permission to depart, and the Caliph gave his permission. Hārūn journeyed to Qaṣr Muqātil[201] and stayed there for forty days, until al-Hādī began to show disapproval of Hārūn's actions, and his keeping away caused al-Hādī disquiet. He began writing to him and telling him to come back,[202] but Hārūn made excuses (for not returning), until the affair assumed serious proportions. Al-Hādī began to abuse Hārūn, and his

199. Jahshiyārī, 128–9; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 280–1 = ed. Pellat, § 2485; Palmer, loc. cit.; Abbott, 94–5; Moscati, *Le califat d'al Hādī*, 19–20. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 590, and a later author on the history of the Barmakīs, 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Yazdī, in his *Ta'rīkh-i āl-i Barmak*, state that both Yaḥyā and Hārūn were nevertheless imprisoned (Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, loc. cit.: Yaḥyā only) and only saved from execution by al-Hādī's own death. A later account in Ṭabarī, III, 599–600 (below, 92), places both Yaḥyā and Hārūn in jail and on the point of execution when al-Hādī conveniently died. Finally, an account in the *K. al-'Uyūn*, 286–8, states that al-Hādī ordered Harthamah b. A'yan to kill Yaḥyā secretly during the night, but Harthamah feared that al-Hādī would then kill him in order to conceal all knowledge of the murder; he was saved from his dilemma by al-Hādī's death during the night.

200. I.e., Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, the celebrated poet, musician and singer, died in 235 (850). See Farmer, 124–6; *GAS*, I, 371, II, 578; *EI*[2] s.v. (Fück).

201. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 364, a place out in the Samāwah or desert between the Euphrates and Syria, beyond 'Ayn al-Tamr to the south of Hīt, originally built by one Muqātil b. Ḥassān of the Banū Imru' al-Qays b. Zayd Manāt (thus in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 282) and restored by the 'Abbāsid prince 'Īsā b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, Hārūn's great-great-uncle. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 97 and elsewhere, inserts *Banī* before the name *Muqātil*.

202. *Yaṣrifuhu*, perhaps with the additional nuance, from the idea of "embellishing speech" [*ṣarf al-kalām*], of "cajoling, trying to persuade by fair words."

mawlās and commanders made slanderous talk about him. At this particular moment, al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā was acting as the representative of his father and al-Rashīd at the caliphal court; he kept sending reports of all this to Hārūn, so that the latter then returned, the whole affair having become prolonged.[203]

Al-Kirmānī related that Yazīd, the mawlā of Yaḥyā b. Khālid, transmitted the information to him, saying: Al-Khayzurān sent ʿĀtikah, who had been a wet nurse for Hārūn, to Yaḥyā. She tore at the neck opening of her gown in his presence, all the while weeping to him and saying, "The lady (i.e., al-Khayzurān) says to you, 'I beseech you by God to have regard for my son's interests! Don't bring about his death, just let him agree to what his brother demands and seeks from him, for his preservation is more dear to me than this present world and everything in it!'" He related: Yaḥyā cried out to her and told her, "What do you know about this? If it is as you say (i.e., that my advice is likely to bring about Hārūn's death), then I, my children and my family will all be killed before Hārūn, and even if I am held in suspicion (by al-Khayzurān) on account of him, I cannot be held in suspicion on account of my own self and my family."[204]

[576] He related: When al-Hādī saw that Yaḥyā b. Khālid was not going to go back on what he had undertaken to do for Hārūn, despite his lavishing on him marks of honor, grants of land, and presents, he sent a messenger to Yaḥyā threatening him with death unless he renounced this course of action. He related: This state of fearfulness and sense of danger continued unremittingly. Yaḥyā's mother died whilst he was in the Khuld Palace[205] at Baghdad, because Hārūn used to live there, accompanied by Yaḥyā, whilst he was heir to the succession, staying in his residence and constantly in contact with him night and day.

Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Rabīʿ[206] has mentioned that Mu-

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203. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 281–2 = ed. Pellat, § 2486; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 97–8; Bouvat, 46 n. 1; Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 20.

204. Abbott, 104–5.

205. The palace on the west bank of the Tigris and to the northeast of the Round City, built by al-Manṣūr, who took up residence there in 158 (775). See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 101–5; Lassner, *Topography*, 55, 149.

206. Presumably a grandson of the minister al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, on whom see Ṭabarī, III, 545 (above, 3, and n. 3).

ḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Rūmī transmitted the information to him from his father,[207] saying: After he had achieved royal power and in the opening days of his caliphate, Mūsā al-Hādī held a court session of his intimates [*julūs khāṣṣ*].[208] He summoned Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar,[209] Ibrāhīm b. Salm b. Qutaybah and [Ibrāhīm b. Dhakwān] al-Ḥarrānī. These last took their places on his left hand, together with one of al-Hādī's black eunuchs who had the name of Aslam and the patronymic of Abū Sulaymān; al-Hādī used to repose great confidence in him and put him forward into a prominent place. Whilst the Caliph was in this situation, behold, the *ṣāḥib al-muṣallā* Ṣāliḥ[210] came in and announced the arrival of Hārūn b. al-Mahdī. Al-Hādī said, "Allow him to come in." So Hārūn entered, greeted the Caliph, kissed his hand, and took his seat on al-Hādī's right, but at some distance and at one side. Mūsā lowered his gaze and was silent, whilst regarding him, and he remained thus for a while. Then he turned to him and said, "O Hārūn, it appears to me that you are dwelling too lengthily on the fulfillment of the dream[211] and are hoping for something which is beyond your reach; but before that can come to pass, you will have to strip the spiny leaves from the tragacanth bush's branches.[212] Do you really hope for the caliphate?"

He related: Hārūn knelt on both knees and answered, "O Mūsā, if you act haughtily, you will be abased; if you show humility, you will be exalted in rank; and if you act oppressively, you will be

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207. ʿAmr al-Rūmī was a freedman of al-Hādī, who was in charge of the laying out of a new settlement, called Madīnat Mūsā, which the Caliph laid out opposite Qazwīn when he journeyed to Rayy; see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 323.

208. On the distinction between, and different conventions for, public and intimate court sessions, see Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial ʿabbaside," 136.

209. I.e., Zubaydah's brother and first cousin of al-Hādī; see Ibn Qutaybah, 379.

210. The *muṣallā* here seems to have been the prayer carpet covering the divan or seat [*sarīr*] on which the Caliph sat, regarded as one of the insignia of royalty; it was an honor to be invited to sit on it. Ṣāliḥ is mentioned by Jahshiyārī, Yaʿqūbī, and Ṭabarī on various occasions as being the official responsible for the placing of the *muṣallā* and admitting of those privileged to sit on it, from the reign of al-Manṣūr to that of al-Amīn, and his son ʿAlī had the office, and then that of chamberlain, under al-Maʾmūn, according to Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Shābushtī. See Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial ʿabbaside," 131–2, 146 n. 181.

211. Explained below.

212. This was a proverbial expression for anything extremely difficult, the tragacanth bush being very spiny. See Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, I, 329; Maydānī, tr. Freytag, I, 476.

deceived (by God). I certainly hope that the ruling power will come to me in due course, so that I may then mete out justice to those whom you have oppressed and give bounty to those whom you have cut off (from your generosity). I shall place your sons above my own ones and give them my daughters in marriage, and I shall bring to pass the due rights of the Imām al-Mahdī (i.e., in regard to his wishes for his descendants)." He related: Mūsā then said to
[577] him, "That is what I would have expected of you, O Abū Jaʿfar! Draw near to me!" So Hārūn drew near and kissed his hands, and then he withdrew back to his place. Al-Hādī exclaimed to him, "Nay, by the illustrious shaykh and noble monarch—I mean your grandfather al-Manṣūr—you shan't sit anywhere else but here with me!" and he made Hārūn sit with him in the center of the court assembly. Next he said, "O Ḥarrānī, convey a million dīnārs to my brother (immediately), and when the collection of the land tax is in hand [*idhā iftataḥa al-kharāj*],[213] convey to him half of it; throw open for him all our wealth in the treasuries and what was confiscated from the members of the accursed house (i.e., the Umayyads), and let him take everything he desires." He related: He put all that into execution, and when Hārūn rose (to leave), he said to Ṣāliḥ, "Bring his mount near to the (Caliph's) carpet."[214]

ʿAmr al-Rūmī related: Hārūn used to regard me as a close companion, so I stood up before him and said, "O my master, what was the dream which the Commander of the Faithful spoke to you about?" He replied, "Al-Mahdī stated, 'I saw myself in my dream giving a rod each to Mūsā and Hārūn, and Mūsā's rod put forth leaves for a little way at the top only, whereas Hārūn's one sprouted leaves from one end to the other.' Al-Mahdī summoned al-Ḥakam b. Mūsā al-Ḍamrī,[215] who had the patronymic of Abū Sufyān, and said to him, 'Give an interpretation of this dream.' Al-Ḥakam

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213. *Iftitāḥ al-kharāj* was a technical term of the financial secretaries denoting the beginning of the collection process, and is defined as such by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwārazmī; see Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art," *JESHO*, XII (1969), 134–5 = *Medieval Arabic culture and administration*, no. XV.

214. I.e., as a sign of honor. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 98; cf. Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 208–9 = ed. Ibrāhīm, I, 314–5.

215. The "al-Ḥakam b. Isḥāq al-Ṣaymarī" of Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 285, should, as Pellat notes in his edition, IV, 194 = § 2489 n. 5, and see *Index*, VI, 283, be corrected in the light of Ṭabarī's text here.

replied, 'Both of them will exercise the royal power; but as for Mūsā, his reign will be short, whereas in regard to Hārūn, his reign will extend further than that of any other Caliph who has ever lived; his days will be the finest of days and his age the finest of ages.'" He related: only a few days passed before Mūsā fell ill and died, his illness lasting for three days only. 'Amr al-Rūmī related: The caliphate passed to Hārūn. He gave (his daughter) Ḥamdūnah in marriage to Ja'far b. Mūsā and Fāṭimah to Ismā'īl b. Mūsā; he [578] fulfilled everything which he had promised, and his age was the finest of ages.[216]

It has been mentioned that al-Hādī had set out for al-Ḥādithah, that is, Ḥādithat al-Mawṣil;[217] he took ill there and his sickness grew worse, so he turned back homewards.[218] 'Amr al-Yashkurī, who was one of the body of eunuchs, has mentioned that al-Hādī came back from al-Ḥādithah after he had written to all his governors, those in the East as well as those in the West, ordering them to report to him. When his illness became serious, the gang of persons who had done homage to al-Hādī's son Ja'far as successor to the throne came together and said to each other, "If the power in the state passes to Yaḥyā, he will kill us and will not spare us." Hence, they plotted together that one of them should go to Yaḥyā with a (forged) order from al-Hādī and cut off his head. But then they said, "Perhaps the Commander of the Faithful will recover from his illness, and what excuse will we be able to give him?" So they gave up the plan. Then al-Khayzurān sent a message to Yaḥyā[219] informing him that the man (i.e., al-Hādī) was near to his

216. Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 208–9 = ed. Ibrāhīm, I, 315–16; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 285 = ed. Pellat, § 2489; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 98; Abbott, 97–8, who notes that al-Hādī seems to have had a superstitious and irrational streak in his makeup, perhaps inflamed by tales like this and similar prognostications, if these are genuine and not *ex post facto* explanations for his short reign (for al-Hādī's horoscope, see Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 487; according to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 281–2 = ed. Pellat, § 2486, it forecast a short reign only).

217. I.e., the Ḥadīthah to the south of al-Mawṣil, at the confluence of the Tigris and the Great Zāb, as opposed to that on the middle Euphrates. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 230; Le Strange, *Lands*, 90–1; Canard, 122–3; *EI*² s.v. Ḥadītha (E. Herzfeld).

218. *K. al-'Uyūn*, 284, attributing al-Hādī's return to Baghdad to the onset of his illness plus receipt of the news of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī's rebellion in al-Madīnah; Abbott, 106.

219. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 490, al-Khayzurān went personally to deliver Yaḥyā from jail.

return (to God, i.e., near death) and ordering him to be prepared to do what was necessary. Al-Khayzurān was the real directing influence behind al-Rashīd's candidature and the direction of caliphal affairs up to al-Hādī's actual death. Yaḥyā b. Khālid gave orders, and the secretaries were summoned and gathered together in al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā's house. They spent the whole night writing letters from al-Rashīd to the provincial governors announcing al-Hādī's death and instructing them that al-Rashīd confirmed them in their existing governorships. When al-Hādī was actually dead, they despatched the letters by the mounts of the *barīd* service.[220]

Al-Faḍl b. Sa'īd has mentioned that his father transmitted the information to him that al-Khayzurān had sworn that she would never speak to Mūsā al-Hādī again, and she had removed herself away from his presence. When death came to al-Hādī, and the messenger announcing that news came to her, she exclaimed, "What shall I do concerning him?" Khāliṣah said, "Arise and go to your son, O noble lady, since this is no time for recrimination and displays of anger."[221] She said, "Give me some water, that I may perform the lesser ablutions in preparation for the worship." Then al-Khayzurān added, "Did we not use to say among ourselves that in this one night, one caliph would die, another caliph would succeed to power, and a third caliph would be born?" He related: At that point, Mūsā died, Hārūn came to power and al-Ma'mūn was born.[222] Al-Faḍl related: I handed on this account to 'Abdallāh
[579] b. 'Ubaydallāh,[223] and he transmitted it on my authority in the same words that my father had told me. I asked him, "How did al-Khayzurān acquire this piece of knowledge ['*ilm*]?" He replied, "She had heard it from al-Awzā'ī."[224]

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220. Azdī, 261; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 99; Abbott, 107, 109–10; Kennedy, 112. According to Jahshiyārī, 133, Yaḥyā's secretary Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim b. Ṣubayḥ did the actual writing of the letters.

221. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 101; Abbott, 107.

222. I.e., to his Persian concubine Marājil; see Jahshiyārī, 133, and Ṭabarī, III, 758 (below, 327). This became celebrated as the "night of the caliphate," *laylat al-khilāfah*. *See Tha'ālibī, Thimār al-qulūb*, 510; idem, *Laṭā'if*, 141, tr. 109–10; Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 160–1 = ed. Ibrāhīm, I, 244; Shābushtī, *K. al-Diyārāt*, 227.

223. Apparently the 'Abbāsid prince 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad, second cousin of al-Hādī and subsequently governor of Yemen under al-Mu'taṣim, also cited by Ṭabarī, III, 450, as a *rāwī* for events in al-Manṣūr's reign.

224. Cf. Abbott, 41. Al-Khayzurān must accordingly have heard this prophecy

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan (b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq) has mentioned that Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī transmitted the information to him, saying that he got it from his paternal aunt Zaynab the daughter of Sulaymān,[225] who said: When Mūsā died at ʿĪsābādh, al-Khayzurān gave us the news, we being four ladies, myself, my (full) sister, Umm al-Ḥasan and ʿĀʾishah, (we four being) the youthful daughters of Sulaymān, together with Umm ʿAlī Rayṭah.[226] Khāliṣah came along at that point, and al-Khayzurān asked her, "What are the people doing?" She replied, "O my lady, Mūsā is dead and they have buried him." Al-Khayzurān exclaimed, "If Mūsā is dead, then Hārūn has been spared. Bring me some *sawīq*!"[227] Khāliṣah brought in some *sawīq*. She drank some herself, and then gave us some to drink. She said, "Fetch four hundred thousand dīnārs for my masters," and then, "What has my son Hārūn been doing?" Khāliṣah answered, "He has sworn that he will not perform the noon worship anywhere else except in Baghdad." She said, "Fetch the riding saddles and equipment, for there's no point in my sitting here when he has departed!" She subsequently caught up with him at Baghdad.[228]

The Time of al-Hādī's Death, the Term of His Life, the Extent of His Rule and (the Names of) Those Who Led the Worship over Him

Abū Maʿshar related:[229] Mūsā al-Hādī died during the night of Friday (i.e., of Thursday-Friday), in the middle (i.e., the fifteenth or sixteenth) of Rabīʿ I (September 14 or 15, 786). Aḥmad b. Thābit (al-Rāzī)[230] transmitted the information to us about that from

(see on it, Thaʿālibī, Laṭāʾif, 141, tr. 109–10) from the famous Syrian jurist before 157 (774), the date of his death, see *EI*² s.v. al-Awzāʿī (J. Schacht).

225. See on her, Ṭabarī, III, 559 (above, 26, and n. 108).

226. I.e., al-Saffāḥ's daughter, the widow of al-Mahdī. See for the daughters of Sulaymān, Ibn Qutaybah, 375.

227. In the first place, a dish made from flour, and then a soup made from flour and added ingredients. See Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 10, tr. 41 and n. 20; *EI*¹ s.v. (J. Ruska).

228. Abbott, 109–11.

229. Presumably the historian Abū Maʿshar Najīh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sindī, who himself died in the year 170 (786) and was the author of a history of the Caliphs. See *GAL*, S I, 207; *GAS*, I, 291–2.

230. Often cited by Ṭabarī as a *rāwī* of Abū Maʿshar's historical information; see *GAS*, I, 292.

someone who had mentioned it to him from Isḥāq. Al-Wāqidī[231] related: Mūsā died at ʿĪsābādh in the middle of Rabīʿ I. Hishām b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Kalbī)[232] related: Mūsā al-Hādī perished on the fourteenth of Rabīʿ I (September 13, 786), this being the night of Friday, in the year 170.[233] A certain authority related: He died during the night of Friday, the sixteenth of that month, and the length of his caliphate was one year and three months. Hishām
[580] related: He reigned for fourteen months and died at the age of twenty-six.[234] Al-Wāqidī related: His period of power was one year, one month, and twenty-two days. Others, however, have related that he died on Saturday, the tenth of Rabīʿ I (September 9, 786) or else on the night of Friday, when he was twenty-three years old, and his caliphate was one year, one month, and twenty-three days. His brother Hārūn al-Rashīd b. Muḥammad led the worship over him. His patronymic was Abū Muḥammad and his mother al-Khayzurān, the former slave concubine [*umm walad*]. He was buried in his garden at ʿĪsābādh the Greater. Al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq (al-Hāshimī) has mentioned that he was tall, full-bodied handsome, whitish in complexion but tinged with red, and with a contracted upper lip.[235] He used to have the nickname of "Mūsā, shut your mouth!" He was born at al-Sīrawān[236] in the region of al-Rayy.[237]

Mention of His Children

He had nine children, seven sons and two daughters. Regarding the sons, one of them was Jaʿfar, whom he was grooming for the role of his successor in the caliphate, and (the others were) al-ʿAbbās, ʿAbdallāh, Isḥāq, Ismāʿīl, Sulaymān, and Mūsā b. Mūsā the blind

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231. The celebrated historian of the Prophet's *maghāzī* or raids, Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, died in 207 (823). See *GAL*, I², 141–2, S I, 207–8; *GAS*, I, 294–9; *EI*¹ s.v. (J. Horovitz).

232. Noted Kūfan historian and genealogist, died in 204 (819–20) or 206 (821–2). See *GAL*, I², 144–5, S I, 211–12; *GAS*, I, 268–71; *EI*² s.v. al-Kalbī (W. Atallah).

233. This gives the exact correspondence of the day and date, and seems the most likely one.

234. Thus also in Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 491; the *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 289, places his death at the age of 24 or 25; Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 705, and Dīnawarī, 386, state that he died in mid-Rabīʿ I at age 24.

235. Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. IV, 455; Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 44, tr. 62; Abbott, 61.

236. See on this place Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 297; Schwarz, 799–800.

237. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 101; Abbott, 106 ff.; Moscati, *Le califat d'al Hādī*, 23.

one, all of them born from originally slave mothers. The blind son, Mūsā, was actually born after his father's death. Of the two daughters, one of them was Umm ʿĪsā, who became the wife of al-Maʾmūn,[238] and the other was Umm al-ʿAbbās bt. Mūsā, who had the nickname of Nūnah.[239]

Some of the Historical Events Involving Him and Some Aspects of His Behavior

Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Salām,[240] the son of al-Sindī's brother, and called Abū Ṭūṭah,[241] has mentioned that al-Sindī b. Shāhik[242] transmitted the information to him, saying: I was with Mūsā in Jurjān. At that point, there came to him the messenger announcing the death of al-Mahdī and his own succession to the caliphate. So he set off for Baghdad, in company with Saʿīd b. Salm (b. [581]
Qutaybah),[243] using the relays of the *barīd* system, and sent me on to Khurāsān.[244]

Saʿīd b. Salm transmitted the information to me, saying: We travelled along, with the pastoralists' tents of Jurjān on one side, and the gardens and orchards on the other. He related: He then heard a noise from one of those gardens, made by a man who was singing. So al-Hādī said to the commander of his guard, "Fetch me that man immediately!" He related: I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, how similar is the episode of this wretch (literally, "treacherous one") to the episode involving Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik!" Al-Hādī said, "How is that?" He related: I said to him: Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik was once in one of his pleasure gardens, with the womenfolk of his household accompanying him, when

238. She was the mother of his two eldest sons, see Ṭabarī, III, 836.

239. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit. Ibn Qutaybah, 381, simply says "his progeny was numerous."

240. A *rāwī* of this name is mentioned in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, IV, 82 = ed. Cairo, IV, 219.

241. Literally, "the man affected by satyriasis."

242. Mawlā of al-Manṣūr, who contrived to survive and to serve every Caliph up to al-Amīn and then Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī; see Crone, 194–5.

243. Brother of Ibrāhīm (see Ṭabarī, III, 568, above, 39, n. 160) and like him a boon-companion of al-Hādī (Ṭabarī, III, 587, below, 68); later, he became governor for Hārūn of among other places al-Jazīrah and Armenia (Ṭabarī, III, 645, 647). See Crone, 137–8; Kennedy, 83.

244. See Ṭabarī, III, 545, 547 (above, 5, 8).

he heard from another nearby garden the sound of a man singing. He thereupon summoned the commander of his guard and instructed him, "Fetch me the man who is singing!" The man was brought into his presence, and when he appeared before him, the Caliph said to the man, "What impelled you to start singing, when you are in close proximity to me and I have my ladies with me? Have you not realized that when stud-mares hear the sound of a stallion, they feel drawn towards him? O slave, emasculate this man!"[245] So the man was emasculated. The next year, Sulaymān returned to the pleasure garden, and sat down in exactly the same place as on the previous occasion. He thereupon remembered the same man, and what he had done to him, and he said to the commander of his guard, "Fetch me the man whom we caused to be emasculated!" So he brought him into the Caliph's presence. When he appeared before him, Sulaymān said to him, "Either you sold them (i.e., his testes), and we will give you the full price; or else you gave them freely, and we will reward you." He related: By God, the man did not address him as Caliph, but spoke to him thus: "O Sulaymān, I adjure God against you! You have cut off my hopes of progeny, you have taken away all my honor and you have deprived me of all pleasure, and yet now you say, 'Either you gave them freely, and we will reward you, or else you sold them, and we will give you the full price!' Nay, by God, (never,) until I stand before God (i.e., for judgment)!" He related: Mūsā then said, "O slave, bring back the commander of the guard," so he brought him back, and the Caliph instructed him, "Don't place any obstacles in the man's way (i.e., let him go free)."

Abū Mūsā Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā al-Hādī[246] has mentioned that ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ transmitted the information to him that one day, when he was still a boy, he was standing close to
[582] al-Hādī at a time when the latter had avoided[247] the duty of hear-

245. Sulaymān had the reputation later in Islamic lore of being a devotee of sex and of being extremely jealous about his harem. See Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 117, tr. 96; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 114, tr. 123.

246. I.e., the grandson of al-Hādī's son Ismāʿīl, who married Hārūn's daughter Fāṭimah (Ṭabarī, III, 577–8, above, 55).

247. Following the reading here of *jafā*, preferred by the editor, who notes, however (*Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLX) that there seems to be a lacuna here, judging by the parallel passages in Bayhaqī's *Maḥāsin* and Ibn al-Athīr (see below, 62, n. 251).

ing petitions and complaints [*maẓālim*][248] for three entire days. (Ibrāhīm b. Dhakwān) al-Ḥarrānī came into his presence and said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, the mass of subjects will not remain obedient to your rule if you persist in these habits; it is three days since you last heard petitions and complaints." He thereupon turned to me and said, "O ʿAlī, let the people into my presence *bi-al-jafalā* and not *bi-al-naqarā*." I rushed forth from his presence in a headlong manner, but then I stopped short, and (I realized that) I did not know what he had told me to do. I said to myself, "If I refer back to the Commander of the Faithful for an explanation, he will say to me, 'Do you claim to act as my doorkeeper when you don't understand what I have said?'" Then my native wit returned, and I accordingly sent a message to a Bedouin who had arrived in a visiting delegation and questioned him about the words *jafalā* and *naqarā*. He replied, "*Al-jafalā* means *jufālah* (i.e., "group, body of people") and *al-naqarā* is when he summons only the élite among them."[249] So I then gave orders for the curtains (i.e., those veiling the Caliph from the masses of petitioners) to be drawn aside and for the doors to be opened, and this was done.[250] The people entered en masse, and the Caliph remained busy receiving their petitions and complaints till nightfall. Then when the sessions broke up, I appeared before him and he said, "It looks as if you wish to mention some matter, O ʿAlī!" I replied, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful, you spoke to me using expressions which I had never heard before this very day, and I was afraid

248. Concerning this duty of meting out justice personally to the subjects, see H. F. Amedroz, "The Mazālim jurisdiction in the Ahkam Sultaniyya of Mawardi," *JRAS* (1911), 635–74; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, 348–51; *EI*² s.v. Maẓālim (J. S. Neilsen).

249. The lexica give *jafalā*, *jufālah*, *ajfalā*, etc., with the sense of "group, body of people, invited en masse and without distinction of person," the root *j.-f.-l* having the general meaning, however, of "to disperse quickly, flee in disorder" (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.); perhaps the connection lies in the idea of a mass stampede. The root *n.-q.-r* conveys such ideas as "pecking out, carving out, hollowing out, boring, excavating" (Lane, s.v.). The word *naqarā* used here obviously stems from the eschatological concept of the Angel Isrāfīl blowing [*naqara*] a horn [*nāqūr*] to summon the resurrected bodies for judgement (Qur'ān, LXXIV, 8), summoning them one by one.

250. On the curtains [*astār*, sing. *sitr*] veiling the monarch from the public, see E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman. I. Le califat*, 498–501; Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial ʿabbaside," 132.

to refer back to you lest you say, 'Do you claim to act as my doorkeeper when you don't understand what I have said?' Hence, I sent a message to a Bedouin who was here with us, and he elucidated the expressions for me. So reward him suitably on my behalf, O Commander of the Faithful!" He said, "Certainly; one hundred thousand dirhams will be conveyed to him." I protested to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, he is only a rough Bedouin, and ten thousand dirhams would satisfy him and be adequate recompense for him." He replied, "Shame upon you, O ʿAlī, I am being generous and you are behaving like a miser!"[251]

He related: ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ also transmitted the information to me, saying: Al-Hādī rode off one day with the intention of visiting his mother al-Khayzurān because of some illness from which she had suffered. But ʿUmar b. Bazīʿ planted himself in his path and said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, let me point out to you a course of action which will be more advantageous to you (i.e., in the sight of God) than this present one." He enquired, "What is that, O ʿUmar?" ʿUmar replied, "Looking into petitions and complaints—you haven't attended to them since three (nights) ago now." He related: The Caliph thereupon made a sign to his well-trained she-camel that he wished to turn aside to the building where petitions and complaints were heard. Then he sent a mes-
[583] sage to al-Khayzurān by the hand of one of his eunuchs conveying his excuses to her for his neglect in not visiting her, saying (to him), "Tell her that ʿUmar b. Bazīʿ has informed us about duties owed towards God which are more pressing upon us than duty towards you, so we have inclined to his words. We shall, however, visit you tomorrow morning, if God wills."[252]

It has been mentioned from ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik (al-Khuzāʿī) that he related: I used to hold the office of commander of the police guard [*shurṭah*] under al-Mahdī. Al-Mahdī would send for al-Hādī's boon-companions and singers and order me to have them beaten. Al-Hādī, in turn, would beg me to treat them with gentleness and consideration, but I would pay no heed to that and would just go on carrying out al-Mahdī's orders to me. He related: When

251. Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 206–7 = ed. Ibrāhīm, I, 311–13; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 101–2.
252. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 102; Abbott, 84.

al-Hādī succeeded to the caliphate, I felt certain that I was going to perish. He sent for me one day. I entered into his presence, with my shroud wrapped around me and having anointed myself with the spices and aromatic substances used to prepare corpses for burial, and behold, he was seated there on a stool [*kursī*][253] with the executioner's sword and leather mat before him. I greeted him with the *taslīm* salutation, but he replied, "May God not grant peace to the one regarded as an outcast! Do you recall the day when I sent to you concerning the matter of al-Ḥarrānī, and the beating and imprisonment which the Commander of the Faithful had ordered for him, yet you would not respond to me; and likewise, the matters of so-and-so and so-and-so"—and he began to enumerate the names of his boon-companions—"yet you paid no attention to my words nor to my orders!"

I responded, "True, O Commander of the Faithful, but will you now allow me to provide a complete justification?" He said, "Yes." I began, "I adjure you by God, O Commander of the Faithful, would you yourself be pleased if you had appointed me to the office to which your father appointed me, and you commanded me to do a certain thing, and then one of your sons sent a message to me ordering me to do something which was completely counter to your original command, and I then carried out his orders but disobeyed yours?" He admitted, "No." I then replied, "That is how I stand in relationship to you at present, and how I stood in relationship to your father in the past." He thereupon made me draw near, and I kissed his hands. He ordered robes of honor (to be brought), and largesse was bestowed on me. Then he said, "I have reappointed you to your old office, so go forth as one established in the right course." I departed from his presence and proceeded to my residence, reflecting about my position and his attitude, and I said to myself, "(He is) a young man who drinks wine, and the group of persons regarding whom I disobeyed him (during the previous reign) are now his boon-companions, viziers, and secre- [584]
taries. I can visualize myself in regard to them, when the effects of

253. For the *kursī*, originally an Iranian article of furniture, see Sourdel, "Questions de cérémoniale 'abbaside," 131; J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche Orient médiéval*, 92–4, 123 ff; *EI*² s.v. (Huart and Sadan). Here the implication is that it was exceptional for al-Hādī to sit himself thus.

wine take control of them and they will have countermanded his decision about me and will have impelled him to act concerning me in a way which I would hate and fear (i.e., they would bring about his destruction)."

He related: I was sitting there, round about that time, with one of my small daughters before me and with a brazier in front of me and some thin cakes of bread which I was dividing up with some spicy vinegar relish [*kāmakh*][254] and then toasting on the fire and feeding to the child, when suddenly there was a great noise, till I imagined that the whole world had been torn up by its roots and shaken with the beating of hoofs and the immense clamor. I said to myself, "By God, this is what I thought would happen, and what I feared of the Caliph's vengeance (or: of God's decree, *min amrihi*) has now caught up with me." Then the door was thrown open, the eunuch attendants burst in, and there was the Commander of the Faithful, al-Hādī, mounted on an ass in their midst. When I saw him, I jumped up from my seat, hastening (towards him), and kissed his hand, his foot, and the hoof of his ass. Then he said to me, "O ʿAbdallāh, I have been thinking about your affair, and I said to myself, 'It may readily come into your mind that, when I have been drinking wine, surrounded by your enemies, they might controvert the favorable attitude which I now have towards you.' This could have perturbed you and given you cause for alarm. Hence, I have come to your house in order to put you at ease and to let you realize that all rancor towards you has been dispelled from my mind. So come and bring me to eat something of what you yourself were eating, and carry on preparing the food which you were preparing, so that you may know that, through eating your food, I have entered into a relationship which prevents me from harming you and have become completely at home in your house; thus your fear and apprehension will vanish away." I brought before him the thin cakes of bread and the bowl[255] containing the spicy

254. From Persian *kāmah*, older form *kāmak*, "sour and piquant hors d'oeuvres," various types of *kawāmikh* being described by Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 392–4 = ed. Pellat, § 3554. Also, the Ayyūbid period cookery book, the *K. al-Wuṣlah ilā al-ḥabīb*, defines *kāmakh baghdādī* as a kind of concoction for seasoning with gourds and yoghourt. See M. Rodinson, "Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine," *REI* (1949), 142; Ahsan, 106–7.

255. *Sukurrajah*, presumably the *sukrūjah* of Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 668b.

vinegar relish, and he ate some of it. Then he said, "Bring in the gifts which I have bestowed on ʿAbdallāh from my own court session," and four hundred mules loaded with dirhams were brought in to me. He said, "This is a gift for you, so use it for your own personal affairs, and keep these mules for me in your care, for I may need them one day for some journey or other of mine." Then he said, "May God protect you with goodness!" and he went away homewards.[256]

Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh has mentioned that his father gave him the garden which he had in the midst of his residence, and he then built around it stables for those mules. He used to supervise them personally and look after their welfare as long as al-Hādī remained alive. [585]

Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd b. Ṭahmān al-Sulamī[257] has mentioned that his father related to him, saying: ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān used to get angry when the Caliph got angry and show himself pleased when the Caliph was pleased. My father (sc. Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd) used to say: I don't feel towards any Arab or non-Arab the way I feel towards ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, for he came in one day to me in prison with a whip in his hand and said, "The Commander of the Faithful Mūsā al-Hādī has ordered me to beat you with a hundred lashes." He related: He stepped forward, and laid it on my arms and shoulders, striking me with it until he had counted out a hundred strokes, and then he left. He (i.e., the Caliph) said to him (i.e., ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān), "What did you do with the fellow?" He replied, "I dealt with him according to your command." He said, "And how is he now?" He replied, "He is dead." The Caliph exclaimed, "Indeed we belong to God and to Him we shall return! Woe upon you! By God, you have brought me into disgrace in the eyes of the people! This was a righteous man! The people will say, 'He has killed Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd!'" He related: When ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā saw how violently the Caliph was grieved, he informed him, "He

256. Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 189–90 = ed. Ibrāhīm, I, 286–8; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 102–3; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 171–2, tr. 185–6.

257. *Rāwī* mentioned several times by Ṭabarī for events in al-Mahdī's reign, and despite the similarity in names and *nisbah*, his grandfather is not apparently to be confused with al-Mahdī's chief minister Yaʿqūb b. Dāwūd b. ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān al-Sulamī, on whom see Ṭabarī, III, 688 (below, 230, n. 800), and Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, ed. Pellat, *Index*, VII, 775–6.

is in fact alive, O Commander of the Faithful, he didn't die!" The Caliph exclaimed, "God be praised for that!"[258]

He related: Al-Hādī had appointed as his doorkeeper [*ḥājib*] after al-Rabī'[259] the latter's son al-Faḍl. He said to al-Faḍl, "Don't keep back the people from access to me, for that will deprive me of the aura of divine blessing, and don't bring before my attention any matter which, when I have investigated it, turns out to be of no consequence, for that depreciates royal power and is harmful to the subjects."[260]

Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh (b. Mālik) related: A man was brought before Mūsā (al-Hādī), and the latter began to reproach him for his crimes and to threaten him. The man replied to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, my excusing myself from what you are reproaching me with would be contradicting you, whilst my acknowledging its truth would be imputing to myself a crime. I would rather say to you,

'If you have been hoping to merit divine mercy by inflicting punishment,
then do not hold yourself back from the recompense earned by an act of pardoning.' "

He related: The Caliph ordered the man to be set at liberty.[261]

[586] 'Umar b. Shabbah[262] has mentioned that Sa'īd b. Salm was once with Mūsā al-Hādī. A delegation from the Byzantines came into his presence, and Sa'īd b. Salm was at that moment wearing a cap [*qalansuwah*]; he had become bald even though he was still only young. Mūsā said to him, "Take off your cap, so that you give an appearance of wisdom and seniority [*tatashāyakhu*] through your bald head!"[263]

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258. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 103–4.

259. Who had died around this time, conceivably poisoned by al-Hādī, see Ṭabarī, III, 597–8 (below, 85–86).

260. Cf. Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 173 = ed. Ibrāhīm, I, 262–3.

261. Jahshiyārī, 127–8 (according to whom the man was one of his secretaries); Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 283 = ed. Pellat, § 2487; Azdī, 260–1; Ibn al-Abbār, *I'tāb al-kuttāb*, 75.

262. Baṣran reciter of historical traditions, died in 264 (877), author of several works known only fragmentarily and of a history of al-Madīnah recently edited by Ḥabīb Muḥammad Aḥmad, *Ta'rīkh al-Madīnah al-munawwarah*, Jeddah 1393/1973, 4 vols.; see *GAS*, I, 345–6.

263. Azdī, 269.

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq has mentioned that his father transmitted to him the information, saying: I set off for ʿĪsābādh, intending to visit al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, and I encountered the Commander of the Faithful, Mūsā, but I did not recognize him. For lo, he was wearing a thin shift,[264] mounted on a horse and with a bamboo spear shaft in his hand. Every person he met, he thrust at with this shaft.[265] He said to me, "O son of a whore!" He related: I perceived a man, with the stature of an idol—I had actually seen him previously in Syria—whose thighs were like the thighs of a camel. I clapped my hand to the hilt of my sword, but a man then said to me, "Woe upon you, (this is) the Commander of the Faithful!" At that, I spurred on my riding beast—which happened to be a horse of Persian breed,[266] which al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ had presented to me, he having purchased it earlier for four thousand dirhams—and went into the residence of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, the commander of the Caliph's personal bodyguard. The Caliph halted at the gate, with the bamboo shaft in his hand, and exclaimed, "Get away, you son of a whore!" I nevertheless refused to budge, and he passed by and proceeded on his way. I told al-Faḍl, "I saw the Commander of the Faithful and so-and-so took place." He replied, "In my judgement, your only hope of salvation lies in your making for Baghdad. When I myself go there to perform the Friday worship, meet me then." He related: I never set foot in ʿĪsābādh again until al-Hādī perished.

Al-Haytham b. ʿUrwah al-Anṣārī has mentioned that al-Ḥusayn b. Muʿādh b. Muslim,[267] who was the foster-brother of Mūsā al-Hādī, related: I used to spend a lot of time with Mūsā, with just the two of us present, and I never felt in my mind any feeling of apprehension from his high status when we were alone together because he always used to put me at my ease. On occasion (or: often[268]), he wrestled with me and I would throw him on the

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264. *Ghilālah*; see for this garment, Ṭabarī, III, 753 (below, 320, and n. 1070).

265. Cf. Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 26.

266. For *shihrī* (? *shahrī*) "Persian or Kurdish horse," pl. *shahārī*, see BGA, IV, *Indices, glossarium et addenda et emendanda ad Part. I–III*, 277–8: < O Ir. *khshathrīya-* "royal"; cf. Jāḥiẓ, *Risālah fī manāqib al-Atrāk wa-ʿāmmat jund al-khilāfah*, in *Majmūʿat rasāʾil*, Cairo 1323 (1905–6), 11: *al-khuyūl al-shihriyyah*.

267. Son of a Khurasanian mawlā and brother of Muʿādh, who later served as deputy governor of Khurasan and governor of Syria. See Ṭabarī, III, 711; Crone, 184.

268. Inserting the word *rubbamā*, as in the Cairo text, VIII, 218.

ground, without any fear of him, and would pound the ground with him. But when he assumed the mantle of the caliphate, and then took his place on the seat from which commands and prohibitions are given out, I stood by his head; and by God, I could hardly contain myself from terror and fear of him!

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq has mentioned that Muḥam-
[587] mad b. Saʿīd b. ʿUmar b. Mihrān[269] transmitted the information to him from his father, who had it from his grandfather, who said: The highest rank at al-Hādī's court was held by Ibrāhīm b. Salm b. Qutaybah. One of Ibrāhīm's sons called Salm died, and Mūsā al-Hādī came to him on a visit of condolence for the son's death mounted on a greyish-white ass—no one coming to visit him (i.e., al-Hādī) was ever prevented and no one giving a greeting was sent back—until he dismounted in his (i.e., Ibrāhīm's portico. Then he said, "O Ibrāhīm, (one's child) brings you joy, even when he is hostile and a source of dissension, and brings you grief, even when he is a source of blessing and mercy!" Ibrāhīm replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, every part of me that formerly contained grief has now become filled with consolation." He related: When Ibrāhīm died, the highest rank (at court) passed to (his brother) Saʿīd b. Salm after him.[270]

ʿUmar b. Shabbah has mentioned that ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib[271] used to be called al-Jazarī.[272] He married Ruqayyah bt. ʿAmr al-ʿUthmāniyyah, who had previously been the wife of al-Mahdī.[273] The news of this reached Mūsā al-Hādī in the opening days of his caliphate, and he sent a messenger to him, accusing him of acting imprudently. He said (in the message), "Was it impossible for you to find, among all other women, any wife except one who had been the Commander of the Faithful's wife?" He replied, "The only women whom God has declared

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269. Presumably the grandson of the ʿUmar b. Mihrān, secretary to al-Khayzurān, who restored order in Egypt in 176 (792–3); see Ṭabarī, III, 626–8 (below, 134–37).

270. Azdī, 270; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 104; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 172, tr. 186–7.

271. I.e., the grandson of the Fourth Imām ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and first cousin of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.

272. This is normally the *nisbah* from al-Jazīrah, i.e., northern Iraq and northeastern Syria; see Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, III, 269–71.

273. Al-Mahdī had married her during his Pilgrimage visit to al-Madīnah in 160 (777). See Ṭabarī, III, 483; Abbott, 39.

forbidden for His creatures are the wives of my own forefather (i.e., of the Prophet); as for the rest, there is no prohibition whatsoever." The Caliph thereupon lashed him round the head with a staff which he happened to have in his hand, and ordered him to be given five hundred lashes of the whip; he was accordingly beaten thus. The Caliph wanted him to divorce her, but he refused.[274] He was then borne away from the Caliph's presence in an executioner's leather mat and hurled down away at one side. He had a very choice seal ring on his hand; one of the eunuchs saw it, at the time when 'Alī had lost consciousness from the flogging, and the eunuch bent over ('Alī) to the ring (i.e., in order to steal it from him). But 'Alī clutched at the eunuch's hand and struck it, so that the eunuch cried out. Mūsā flared up in anger and exclaimed, "He does this to my eunuch, in addition to his slighting my father and his (insolent) words to me!" He sent a message to him, "What [588] impelled you to do that?" He replied, "Speak with the eunuch, and inquire of him, and order him to place his hand on your head, and he will of certainty tell you the truth." Mūsā did that, and the eunuch told him the true story. He exclaimed, "By God, he acted correctly! I myself testify that he is truly a paternal cousin of mine! If he had not acted thus, I would have disowned him!" Then he ordered him to be set free.[275]

Abū Ibrāhīm al-Mu'adhdhin has mentioned that al-Hādī used to leap up on to his mount wearing two coats of mail, and al-Mahdī used to call him "My dear son!" (literally, "my sweet-smelling herb," *rayḥānatī*[276]).

Muḥammad b. 'Aṭā' b. Muqaddam al-Wāsiṭī has mentioned that his father transmitted the information to him that al-Mahdī said to Mūsā one day—at a time when a dualist infidel [*zindīq*] had just been brought before him, and he had asked the dualist to repent of his error, but the latter had refused, so the Caliph had had him decapitated and had ordered his corpse to be gibbeted—"O my

274. Abbott, 98.

275. Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 515–16 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 256–7; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 104.

276. From the tradition of the Prophet that he called al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn *rayḥānatayya* "my two sweet-smelling herbs"; see Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāyah*, II, 288.

dear son, if this royal authority passes to you, turn your whole attention vigorously to this gang [*'iṣābah*]"—he meant the adherents of Mani—"for they are a sect who summon men to what are superficially fine doctrines, such as the avoidance of immoral deeds, abstinence from the affairs of the material world, and conduct aimed at achieving a place in the hereafter. Then they lead men on to the prohibiting of all meat, the use of purified water only (i.e., for ritual ablutions), and the avoidance of killing any crawling insects or reptiles, as measures for avoiding all sinfulness and criminal behavior. Then from this stage, they lead men on to the worship of two principles, one of them light and the other darkness. After this, they declare lawful sexual relations with sisters and daughters, washing oneself in urine and stealing infants from the streets in order to save them from the erroneous path of darkness for the rightly guided way of light. So erect gibbets for this sect, unsheathe the sword among them, and by dealing with them thus draw yourself near to God, He has no partner! For indeed, I saw in a dream your ancestor al-'Abbās investing me with two swords[277] and commanding me to kill the dualists." He related: Mūsā said, ten months of his reign having elapsed, "Ho, by God, if I live, I shall certainly exterminate this sect in its entirety, to the point that I won't leave a single eye whose gaze can range forth!" It is said that he ordered one thousand palm-tree trunks to be erected for him to use (i.e., by gibbeting the dualists). He pronounced these words in such-and-such a month, and died two months later.[278]

Ayyūb b. 'Inābah[279] has mentioned that Mūsā b. Ṣāliḥ b.

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277. The two swords in this dream are symbolic, but it was an ancient Arabian practice for warriors to bear two swords, and girding them on was adopted as part of the investiture ceremony for high officials under the 'Abbāsids, whence the honorific Dhū al-Sayfayn. See I. Goldziher, "Zwei Schwerter," *Isl.* XII (1922), 198–9 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, V, 469–70.

278. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 104–5; Vajda, "Les zindīqs en pays d'Islam," 190–1, citing valuable parallels to this description of allegedly Manichaean doctrines and practices, but noting that certain accusations, such as those of incest and immorality (cf. Ṭabarī, III, 551–2, above), are commonly launched at religious dissidents who have to pursue a clandestine existence, and that other accusations, such as that of washing in urine, reflect rather Zoroastrian practice; Farouk Omar, in *'Abbāsiyyāt*, 92–3.

279. Mentioned as a *rāwī* in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, VII, 109 = ed. Cairo, VIII, 152.

Shaykh[280] transmitted the information to him that ʿĪsā b. Da'b [589]
was the most knowledgeable person of the Ḥijāzīs about polite learning [*adab*] and the one with the sweetest speech. He had secured a place in al-Hādī's favor which no one else enjoyed in the Caliph's eyes. The Caliph used to summon for him a cushion or backrest on which he could prop himself,[281] a privilege which he never extended to anyone else in his court circle, and he used to say, "I have never deemed a single day or night with you to be too long, nor have you ever been absent from my sight without my wishing that I might see no one but you." ʿĪsā was amusing company to joke with, a pleasant companion for nocturnal storytelling sessions, full of remarkable stories, excellent at poetry and adept at citing verses appositely.[282]

He related: Hence, on a certain night, the Caliph ordered him to be given thirty thousand dīnārs. When Ibn Da'b arose next morning, he sent his steward to Mūsā's gate, and he said to the steward, "Make contact with the chamberlain, and tell him to forward this sum of money to us." The steward accordingly made contact with the chamberlain and conveyed to him Ibn Da'b's message. But the chamberlain smiled and said, "This is not within my sphere of responsibility; go off and find the man who will countersign (the order) [*ṣāḥib al-tawqīʿ*], so that he may issue for Ibn Da'b a letter of authorization to the *Dīwān* (i.e., the exchequer). You can then make the necessary arrangements for it here, and subsequently proceed concerning it in such-and-such a manner." So he went back to Ibn Da'b and told him the story. Ibn Da'b said, "Drop the whole affair; don't devote any more effort to it and don't make any more inquiries about it."

He related: Now whilst Mūsā was up on a belvedere [*mustashraf*] of his in Baghdad, he suddenly noticed that Ibn Da'b had drawn near, unaccompanied except by a solitary slave boy. So he said to Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarrānī, "Just look at Ibn Da'b! He hasn't changed a single feature of his usual mode of life, nor has he spruced himself up for us, even though we showed our bountiful-

280. *Rāwī* who is later mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 1641, as taking part in the events around the abdication of the Caliph al-Musta'īn in 251 (866).

281. *Muttaka'*, for which see Sadan, 113–14.

282. Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 207 = ed. Ibrāhīm, I, 313; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 263–4 = ed. Pellat, § 2471.

ness to him yesterday in order that our marks of favor might be visible upon him." Ibrāhīm said to him, "If the Commander of the Faithful commanded (a similar favor) for me, I would display something of that to him." The Caliph commented, "No, he knows his own business best." Ibn Da'b entered and started to engage in conversation with the Caliph until Mūsā raised with him the topic of some aspects of his present condition, saying to him, "I see that your robe is much washed, and this is winter weather; a new and soft robe is required for it." Ibn Da'b replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, my means are too exiguous for me to satisfy my needs." The Caliph said, "How can this be, when we have just allocated to you as much of our largesse as we thought
[590] would provide fittingly for your status?" He responded, "It hasn't reached me (yet) and I haven't got my hands on it!" So the Caliph sent for the official in charge of the Privy Exchequer [*ṣāḥib bayt māl al-khāṣṣah*] and told him, "Rush thirty thousand dīnārs to him this very instant!" The sum was brought in, and was transported (to his house) in front of his gaze.[283]

'Alī b. Muḥammad[284] has mentioned that his father transmitted the information to him from 'Alī b. Yaqṭīn, saying: One night, I was with Mūsā, in the company of a group of his companions, when suddenly there came to him a eunuch who whispered something in his ear secretly. Thereupon, the Caliph sprang up with alacrity, saying, "Don't disperse," and went off. He was away for a considerable time, but then came back, breathing heavily. He hurled himself down on his couch, still breathing heavily for a while until he became calm again. He had with him a eunuch carrying a dish covered over with a napkin. The eunuch stood before him and then came forward trembling. We were amazed at all this. Then the Caliph sat up and said to the eunuch, "Set down what you are carrying," so he put down the dish. He said to the eunuch, "Take off the napkin," so he did this, and behold, the dish

283. Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 207–8 = ed. Ibrāhīm, 313–14; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 105–6. For further anecdotes of Ibn Da'b and al-Hādī, see Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 264–5, 270–7 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2472, 2478.

284. I.e., 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sayf al-Madā'inī, historian who was among Ṭabarī's most important sources; he probably died in 228 (843). See *GAL*, S I, 214–15; *GAS*, I, 314–15; *EI*² s.v. (U. Sezgin).

held the heads of two slave girls, with more beautiful faces and hair, by God, than I had ever seen before; there were jewels on their heads, arranged in the hair, and a sweet perfume was diffused (from them). We found this a horrific sight. The Caliph said, "Do you know what these two were up to?" We replied in the negative. He said, "We received information that they were in love with each other, and had got together for an immoral purpose. So I set this eunuch to watch over them and to report to me what they were doing. In due course, he came to me and informed me that they had got together, so I went along and found them under a single coverlet committing an immoral act. I thereupon killed them." After saying this, he told the slave to take the two heads away. He related: The Caliph then resumed his former conversation as if he had done nothing unusual in the meantime.[285]

Abū al-ʿAbbās b. Abī Mālik al-Yamāmī has mentioned that ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Bawwāb related: I used to act as al-Hādī's doorkeeper and chamberlain, deputizing for al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ. He related: One day, the Caliph was holding a court session when I was in his palace. He had just eaten his midday meal, and had called for some date wine [*nabīdh*]. Previous to that, he had gone into his mother al-Khayzurān's presence and she had asked him to appoint his maternal uncle al-Ghiṭrīf[286] as governor of the Yemen; he had replied, "Remind me about it before I get involved in the wine-drinking session." He related: When the Caliph had determined on his drinking session, al-Khayzurān sent to him either Munīrah or Zahrah (i.e., one of her slave attendants) in order [591] to remind him. The Caliph said, "Go back and tell her, 'Choose for him (i.e., for Ghiṭrīf) either the divorcing (i.e., by myself) of his daughter ʿUbaydah or else the governorship of the Yemen!'" However, the slave girl only understood his words "Choose for him!"

285. See on this episode of lesbianism—which must have been rife in the enclosed life of the harem—Abbott, 98–9. On lesbian sexual activity (*saḥq, siḥāq*) in early ʿAbbāsid society, see Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *al-Ḥayāt al-jinsiyyah ʿind al-ʿArab*², 89–92, and E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās, eine Studie zur arabischen Literatur der frühen ʿAbbāsidenzeit*, 179–80.

286. See Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 481. Al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ was the brother of al-Hādī's mother al-Khayzurān, and also his father-in-law; he rose from slave origins to this governorship and then to that of Khurāsān. See *EI*² Suppl. s.v. (Bosworth), and for this particular episode, Abbott, 88–9, and Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 26.

and she went on her way. Al-Khayzurān said, "I have already chosen for him the governorship of the Yemen." Al-Hādī thereupon divorced al-Ghiṭrīf's daughter ʿUbaydah. The Caliph heard the clamor (i.e., arising from the women's quarters), and said (to al-Khayzurān), "What's the matter with you all?" Al-Khayzurān then told him what had happened. He retorted, "You yourself made the choice for him," but she protested, "The message from you wasn't conveyed to me in those terms." He related: The Caliph ordered Ṣāliḥ, the *ṣāḥib al-muṣallā*, to stand with his sword over his boon-companions, with the instructions that they were to divorce their wives. The eunuchs came out to me with these instructions, and also to inform me that I was not to allow anyone in.[287]

He related: There was standing at the door a man muffled up in his *ṭaylasān*,[288] shifting his weight from one foot to the other. At that point, there occurred to me two verses of poetry, and I recited them, those verses being:

O my two friends of the tribe of Saʿd, halt and greet
Maryam—may God not make Maryam distant!
And say to her, "Have you really resolved on this separation,
and is there any act of favor after this which might be known
[*fa-yuʿlamā*]?

He related: The man muffled up in his *ṭaylasān* then said to me, "(The correct word is) *fa-naʿlamā* ("Which we might know")!" I replied, "What is the difference between *yuʿlamā* and *naʿlamā*?" He said, "Poetry is rendered excellent by its meaning, and it may be spoilt by its meaning; (in this instance), we don't want people in general to know our secret thoughts."[289] I said to him, "I have a better knowledge of this poetry than you." He said, "Who is the author of the poetry?" I replied, "Al-Aswad b. ʿUmārah al-

287. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XIII, 13 = ed. Cairo, XIV, 171–2.

288. I.e., the hood or scarf-like garment which went over the head and shoulders, often considered to be in origin a Persian garment. See Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms de vêtements chez les arabes*, 278–90; D. A. Agius, *Arabic literary works as a source of documentation for technical terms of the material culture*, 218–20.

289. I.e., the specific, more restrictive first person plural active verb gives a better meaning in the context of the two verses than the vague, general third person singular passive verb.

Nawfalī."[290] He then informed me, "I am he." I went up to him closely and related to him the story of Mūsā, and gave my apologies to him for my repeated questioning and arguing with him. He related: He turned away his mount and observed, "The best plan is to quit this residence!"[291]

Muṣʿab (b. ʿAbdallāh) al-Zubayrī[292] related that Abū al-Muʿāfā[293] said: I recited to al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad[294] a eulogy on Mūsā and Hārūn,

O Khayzurán, may greeting on greeting be upon you! [592]
Your two sons will surely rule over the people![295]

He related: He told me, "I am giving you sound advice; al-Yamānī has said, 'Don't mention my mother either with good or ill!'"[296]

Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Fanan (?)[297] has mentioned that Yūsuf al-Ṣayqal, the poet of Wāsiṭ,[298] transmitted the information to him, saying: We were with al-Hādī in Jurjān before he succeeded to the caliphate and entered Baghdad. He went up on to a fine belvedere which he had, and someone[299] sang this verse of poetry,

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290. Poet who was at one point of his career head of the state treasury in al-Madīnah. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XIII, 12–14 = ed. Cairo, XIV, 169–73.

291. Ibid., ed. Būlāq, XIII, 13–14 = ed. Cairo, XIV, 172.

292. Descendant of the Successor Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and author of the genealogical work *al-Jamharah fī nasab Quraysh*, died in 233 (848) or 236 (851). See *GAL*, S I, 212; *GAS*, I, 271–2.

293. I.e., Abū al-Muʿāfā Yaʿqūb b. Ismāʿīl al-Muzanī, poet of Syria and Iraq. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, IV, 122 = ed. Cairo, IV, 415–16; Marzubānī, *Muʿjam al-shuʿarā'*, 496; *GAS*, II, 479.

294. Presumably, the senior ʿAbbāsid prince, see Ṭabarī, III, 547 (above, 7).

295. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 269 = ed. Pellat, § 2476; Azdī, 257; Munierah al-Rasheed, *The Abū Ḥafṣah family of poets*, 149, no. 130; Abbott, 53. In Thaʿālibī, *Laṭā'if*, 81, tr. 81, the verse is attributed to Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah, presumably Abū Simṭ Marwān b. Sulaymān (105–82 [723–97]) of the famous poetic family; see *GAL*, I², 73, S I, 112–13, and *GAS*, II, 447–8.

296. I.e., such a reference would be impolite and a personal intrusion. The reference to "al-Yamānī" is obscure; Marzubānī, 515, mentions a poet named Abū al-Humaysī al-Yamānī.

297. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XX, 93 = ed. Cairo, XXIII, 217, has Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Hishāmī for this name.

298. I.e., Yūsuf b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Ṣayqal al-Thaqafī, nicknamed al-Laqwah "having a contorted face," poet and secretary from al-Kūfah of the period of al-Hādī and al-Rashīd, and companion of Abū Nuwās. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XX, 93–6 = ed. Cairo, XXIII, 217–23; Ibn al-Abbār, 96–7, with the *nisbah* of "al-Kūfī"; *GAS*, II, 615.

299. In Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, loc. cit., the singer is Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī.

And their men have hoisted over their shoulders[300]
their Rudaynī spears,[301] getting ready for action.

He said, "How does this poem go?" So they recited (the whole of it) to him. He went on, "I would have preferred this singing to be of a more tender and delicate poem than this; go along to Yūsuf al-Ṣayqal and get him to recite (some much more suitable poetry)." He related: So they came to me and told me the story. I accordingly recited,

Do not blame me for showing grief,
(for) my lord has become distant and inaccessible (to me).
Alas for my sorrow, if the former relations
between us have been severed!
Indeed, Mūsā, through his generosity,
has gathered together within himself all generosity.

He related: He looked up, and behold, there was a camel before him. Al-Hādī said, "Load up this beast with dirhams and dīnārs and convey that load of money to him." He related: They then brought to me the loaded camel.[302]

Muḥammad b. Sa'd[303] has mentioned that Abū Zuhayr transmitted the information to him, saying: Ibn Da'b was the most highly favored of men in al-Hādī's eyes. One day, al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' sallied forth and announced, "The Commander of the Faithful orders everyone waiting at his gate to go away, but as for you, O Ibn Da'b, please enter!" Ibn Da'b related: I went into the Caliph's presence and found him sprawled out on his couch, and his eyes
[593] were bloodshot and red from sleeplessness and from the wine which he had drunk the previous night. He said to me, "Recount to me a story about wine drinking." I replied, "Certainly, O Commander of the Faithful. A group of men from the tribe of Kinā-

300. There are significant variants for this hemistich in Ms. C and in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XX, 93 = ed. Cairo, XXIII, 217.

301. I.e., with well-straightened shafts, allegedly from a woman called Rudaynah who was expert at straightening these; see *Lisān al-'Arab*[1], XVII, 37.

302. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XX, 93–4 = ed. Cairo, XXIII, 217.

303. The great traditionist, historian, and biographer of the generations of early Muslims, died in 230 (845). See *GAL*, I[2], 142–3, S I, 208; *GAS*, I, 300–11, *EI*[2] s.v. Ibn Sa'd (Fück).

nah[304] went forth in search of wine from Syria.[305] The brother of one of them died, so they all sat round his grave, drinking wine, and one of them recited,

Do not be niggardly in giving to the screech-owl[306] its required drink;
give the dead man wine to drink, even though he has been laid in his tomb.
Give to drink limbs, skulls and contents of the skull
in the manner of a wind which dispels the morning clouds and as one setting out in the morning.
He was a noble one, and he came to his death among those who died;
every spring and branch is shattered.[307]

He related: The Caliph sent for an inkstand and wrote the verses down, and then he instructed al-Ḥarrānī (to issue to Ibn Da'b) forty thousand dirhams, saying that ten thousand were for himself and thirty thousand were for the three verses of poetry. He related: I went to al-Ḥarrānī, and he said, "Come to an arrangement with us over ten thousand dirhams, with the stipulation that you swear to us never to mention it to the Commander of the Faithful." I duly swore that I would never mention it to the Commander of the Faithful until he should predecease me. Then he (i.e., Mūsā al-Hādī) died, and he never mentioned it until the caliphate passed to al-Rashīd.[308]

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304. Tribe of the Ḥijāz, to whom Quraysh of Mecca were reckoned; see *EI*[2] s.v. (Watt).

305. Wine had, of course, to be imported into the Arabian peninsula from the wine-growing lands to the north.

306. The owl [*hāmah*], generally regarded as a bird of ill-omen, was believed to hover over the grave of an unavenged person until blood had been exacted in reparation. See Goldziher, "Der Seelenvogel im islamischen Volksglauben," *Globus*, LXXXIII (1902), 302–3 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV, 404–5; Sir Charles Lyall, *Translations of ancient Arabian poetry chiefly pre-Islamic*, pp. xxx, 67; T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 513; and now the penetrating study by T. E. Homerin, "Echoes of a thirsty owl: death and afterlife in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry," *JNES*, XLIV (1985), 165–84, with an examination at pp. 175–7 of the semantic connections of the terms *hāmah* "owl/skull" and *ṣadā* "owl/brain/contents of the skull" used in the verses cited here.

307. Emending the vowelling of the last words of each line, in accordance with the Cairo text, VIII, 224: *qubir, al-mubtakir, munkasir.*

308. In Jahshiyārī, 130–1, the indignant Ibn Da'b tears up the promissory note

Abū Du'āmah[309] has mentioned that Salm b. 'Amr al-Khāsir[310] eulogized Mūsā al-Hādī and recited,

At 'Īsābādh is a noble one of Quraysh,
at whose sides is always to be found abundantly flowing wine.
The Muslims resort to his flanks for protection
whenever there is anything to be feared or to be hoped for.
In the main square (i.e., of Baghdad) are lofty residences
which people who claim a relationship have erected.
But how many persons make the claim, "I am of sound lineage,"
when all created beings and the person of handsome appearance reject it!
Such a person has a pride in lineage, which he is niggardly over, in order that he may achieve a permanent reputation;
yet no one who is niggardly over this secures immortality!
[594] There is blame[311] upon al-Ḍabbī, which cannot be concealed;
he conceals it, but the cover is ripped away.
By my life, if Abū Khadīj were to construct
a house, the structure would never be demolished![312]

He related: Salm al-Khāsir recited, when Mūsā took over the caliphate after al-Mahdī,

Mūsā has obtained the caliphate and the divine guidance,
and the Commander of the Faithful Muḥammad (i.e., al-Mahdī) has died.
Thus the one whose loss has affected the whole of mankind has died,

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but is cheated of obtaining justice by the Caliph's death shortly afterwards; cf. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 123 n. 2.

309. I.e., 'Alī b. Yazīd, a *rāwī* mentioned in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, III, 129 = ed. Cairo, IV, 8, as quoting Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī.

310. Eulogist of the early 'Abbāsids, died in 186 (802). See Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 165; *GAL*, *S I*, 113; *GAS*, II, 511–12.

311. The Cairo text, VIII, 224, has *lu'm* "ignobleness" for the Leiden text's *lawm* "blame."

312. G. E. von Grunebaum, "Three Arabic poets of the early Abbasid age. V. Salm al-Ḫāsir," *Orientalia*, XIX (1950), 62, no. II = *Shu'arā' 'Abbāsiyyūn*, 92, no. 2. The reference to "Abū Khadīj," literally "father of a prematurely born camel foal, or of a sickly calf," is presumably to Mūsā as the father of a newly born son at that particular moment.

and the one who will satisfactorily take the place for you of the one whose loss is felt, has arisen (in his place).[313]

He also recited,

(Other) monarchs become hidden on account of Mūsā, on the occasion of his rise to eminence,
just as the stars (are concealed) because of the shining rays of the sun, when these last appear.
There is not a single person, out of all creation, who sees a full moon and its rising into view,
and is not abased or becomes submissive (before it).[314]

He also recited,

Were it not for the Caliph Mūsā (coming) after his father,
there would be no successor for the people after their divinely appointed leader [*mahdiyyihim*].[315]
Do you not see the community of the gentile prophet [*ummat al-ummī*] going down to get water (i.e., life enhancement, succor),
as if they were scooping up water from the regions adjoining the sea,
From the two hands of a monarch whose munificent gifts have become universal,
as if his gifts, because of his generosity, were spendthriftiness?[316]

Idrīs b. Abī Ḥafṣah[317] has mentioned that (Abū Simṭ) Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah[318] transmitted the information to him, saying: When

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313. Von Grunebaum, op. cit., 64, no. IX = *Shu'arā' 'Abbāsiyyūn*, 96, no. 9. There is a play on words from the same root [*jinās*] in this verse, between *faqd* "loss" and *man yutafaqqadu* "the one who loss is felt."

314. Von Grunebaum, op. cit., 71, no. XXXI = *Shu'arā' 'Abbāsiyyūn*, 107, no. 31.

315. With a play upon words between the Caliph al-Mahdī's *laqab* or honorific and the concept of the eschatological figure of the awaited charismatic leader, whose appearance on earth will herald the coming end of the world; see *EI*² s.v. al-Mahdī (Madelung).

316. Von Grunebaum, op. cit., 71, no. XXXIII.

317. I.e., Abū Sulaymān Idrīs b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥafṣah, brother of Abū Simṭ Marwān, and himself a poet of secondary importance. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 182, tr. B. Dodge, I, 354; *GAS*, II, 582.

318. The first poet of major importance from this famed poetic family, and a

Mūsā al-Hādī came to power, I went into his presence and recited to him,

If my soul were granted immortality after the Imām Muḥammad (i.e., al-Mahdī),
it would not rejoice at its prospect of perpetual existence.[319]

He (i.e., Marwān) related: I uttered panegyric poetry, and recited concerning him,

Your father strengthened my personal position with (a gift of) 70,000 (dirhams) and provided me with nourishment and clothing,
and indeed, I saw face-to-face in that a remarkable sight.[320]
Indeed, I am certain, O Commander of the Faithful,
that my share of liberality (literally, "my drink") from your hands will not be seen as one doled out in a niggardly fashion.[321]

When I recited this poetry to him, he said, "Who can reach the extent of al-Mahdī (in generosity)? Nevertheless, we shall render you contented." He related: But death came upon him before anything else, and he never gave me anything; I did not receive a single dirham from anyone until al-Rashīd's accession.

[595] Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Farawī[322] has mentioned that Abū Ghuzayyah (al-Anṣārī)[323] transmitted the information to him from al-Ḍaḥḥāk

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fierce defender of the legal claims to rule of the ʿAbbāsids against the ʿAlids, died ca. 181 (797). See A. H. Harley, "Abu's-Simṭ Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah—a postclassical Arab poet," *JRASB*, Letters, III (1937), 71–90; *GAS*, II, 447–8; *EI*² s.v. Marwān al-Akbar b. Abī Ḥafṣa (J. E. Bencheikh).

319. Six other verses of this poem are to be found in the anthology of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUbaydī, *al-Tadhkirah al-saʿdiyyah*, see Munierah al-Rasheed, 184; *Shiʿr Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah*, ed. Ḥusayn ʿAṭawān, 15 no. 1; Harley, 83.

320. Reading with the Cairo text, VIII, 225, *mashhadā*.

321. Munierah al-Rasheed, 119 no. 58; *Shiʿr Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah*, 30 no. 14,

322. Following *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLX, and the Cairo text, VIII, 225, *pace* the text's "al-Qarawī." He is mentioned as a *rāwī* in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, I, 187 = ed. Cairo, II, 55.

323. Judge of Medina and a *rāwī* in *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, III, 135, 155, VIII, 104–5 = ed. Cairo, IV, 20, 58, IX, 165–6, for events in connection with the poet Abū al-ʿAtāhiyah at al-Mahdī's court.

b. Ma'n al-Sulamī, who said: I went into Mūsā's presence, and I recited to him the verses,

O you two places of the heart's yearning, speak,
for at you I often used to see (in the past) al-Rabāb and Kulthum (i.e., two beloved ones)!
There are not two places of former encampment, in a condition of ancientness and decay,
which move to tears more strongly what lies beneath the ribs (i.e., the heart) than you two places!
Return a salutation on an old man, whose emotions
the ruined traces of the two encampments have stirred up and who has become deeply moved, and then give a (further) salutation!

He related: I eulogized him in these verses, and then when I reached the verse,

With the agility of his fingertips in activity (i.e., in bestowing largesse) I thought
that he would not leave a single dirham in the treasuries

he turned to the treasurer Aḥmad and said, "Woe upon you, O Aḥmad! It is as if he were looking at us only yesterday!" He related: He had in fact brought out that night a great sum of money and then distributed it.

It has been mentioned from Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī, or from someone else, relating from (Isḥāq's father) Ibrāhīm, who said: One day, we were in Mūsā's presence, and he had with him Ibn Jāmi'[324] and Mu'ādh b. al-Ṭabīb.[325] It was the first day that Mu'ādh had ever come into our circle; he was very expert in singing melodies and very knowledgeable about the more ancient songs. The Caliph said, "Whichever of you moves me the most to emotion, he can choose what he likes." So Ibn Jāmi' sang a song for him, but it failed to move the Caliph. I knew what kind of songs made up his

324. I.e., Abū al-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. Jāmi', musician and singer of Mecca and rival of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, died in 192 (808). See Farmer, 115–16; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, I, 306; *EI*² s.v. Ibn Djāmi' (A. Shiloah).

325. Cited as a *rāwī* and composer of melodies in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XIII, 133–4, XIV, 45 = ed. Cairo, XV, 68–71, 253.

object of desire. The Caliph said, "Step forward, O Ibrāhīm," so I sang to him,

Sulaymā has brought us together;
but where, O where, can we say[326] that she is?

At this, he became transported with emotion, to the point that he rose up from his seat, raised his voice and exclaimed, "Sing it again!" So I sang it again. He said, "This is the kind of song which is to my taste, so decide now what you want!" I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, the walled garden of ʿAbd al-Malik and its murmuring spring." At that, his eyes rolled round in his head until they became like two gleaming red-hot coals. Then he burst out, "O son of a stinking, uncircumcised whore! You wanted to let the people at large know that you were able to stir up my emotions and that I gave you your free choice and accordingly granted to you an estate! By God, were it not for the hasty error caused by your stupidity, [596] which has clouded your sound judgment, I would strike off that which contains your eyes (i.e., your head)!" Then he bowed his head in silence for a brief while, and I had a vision of the angel of death standing between me and him awaiting his word of command. Then he summoned Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarrānī and told him, "Take the hand of this stupid fellow, and lead him into the treasury; and then let him take from there whatever he likes." So al-Ḥarrānī brought me into the treasury and said, "How much are you going to take?" I replied, "A hundred purses."[327] He said, "Let me consult him (i.e., the Caliph)." He related: I said, "Eighty, then." He replied, "(Wait) until I consult him." I thereupon realized what he wanted, so I said, "Seventy purses for me and thirty for you!" He said, "Now you have put forward the correct solution! Please go ahead!" So I went away with seven hundred thousand dirhams, and the angel of death vanished from before my face.[328]

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326. Reading, in accordance with *Glossarium*, P. DXXVIII, *naqūluhā*, for the text's *nuqūluhā*.

327. A *badrah* contained 10,000 dirhams, so this meant a total of one million dirhams.

328. In Jahshiyārī, 133–4, the singer is Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, who arouses the Caliph's ire by asking for the property of Marwān (b. al-Ḥakam) in al-Madīnah, but is able to take his full reward without Ibrāhīm b. Dhakwān exacting his usual commission (cf. Ṭabarī, III, 593, above, 77). In Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, V, 16 =

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (al-Nawfalī) has mentioned that Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAṭiyyah al-Aḏjam[329] transmitted the information to him from Ḥakam al-Wādī,[330] who said: Al-Hādī used to be fond of a moderate, measured emotional pitch of singing [*al-ghinā' al-wasaṭ*], the kind which has few often-repeated refrains [*tarjīʿ*],[331] but it did not have much appreciable effect of lightening his spirits. He related: One night, we were at one of his sessions, at which Ibn Jāmiʿ, al-Mawṣilī, al-Zubayr b. Daḥmān[332] and al-Ghanawī were also present, when the Caliph suddenly called for three purses of money. He ordered them to be brought in, and they were set down in the midst of the circle of the Caliph and his companions. Then he put them altogether in one heap and said, "Whoever can sing to me a melody which is consonant with the emotional state which I am at present feeling, shall have the whole lot." He related: Al-Hādī had a laudable trait of character in that, if he disliked a thing, he would never linger over it but would turn away from it. Ibn Jāmiʿ now sang to him, but he showed his aversion from it. All the other members of the assembled company then sang, but he started displaying a similar aversion until I myself sang. I adapted my singing to his emotional state, so that he cried out "Bravo! Bravo! Give me some wine to drink!" He then drank and became stirred with feeling. I got up and then sat down by the purses of money, and I knew that I had won possession of them. Ibn Jāmiʿ came forward in an approving, congratulatory manner and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, he (has sung), by God, just as you said, whereas all the rest of us, apart from him, have not sung in harmony with your present feelings." He related: The Caliph said,

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ed. Cairo, VI, 184–5, the singer is Ibrāhīm, with the essential points in the story being those of Jahshiyārī.

329. Literary figure of Abnā' origin and resident in Wāsiṭ. It was allegedly (but improbably) he who strangled the poet Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah when the latter was ill in 181 (797) or 182 (798); see *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, IX, 48, XVIII, 37, 46 = ed. Cairo, X, 95, XX, 138, 147.

330. I.e., al-Ḥakam (b. Yaḥyā) b. Maymūn, a mawlā of Persian origin but a cameleer engaged in trade along the Wādī al-Qurā (hence his *nisbah*) in early life, and a famous singer under the last Umayyads and the early ʿAbbāsids up to Hārūn's time; see *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, VI, 64–8 = ed. Cairo, VI, 2808 *et passim*.

331. I.e., music which neither excited the emotions nor unduly depressed them.

332. Musician of Mecca of mawlā origin, and partisan of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī at Hārūn's court; see Farmer, 123–4.

"The purses are yours," and he went on drinking until his desire
[597] for melodies was satisfied, and he got up. Then he said, "Instruct three of the attendants to bear the purses with him," and then he entered (his private apartments). We departed, walking across the courtyard, heading homewards. Ibn Jāmiʿ caught me up, and I said, "May I be made your ransom, O Abū al-Qāsim! You behaved as a person of your pedigree could be expected to do; so look in the money bags for what takes your fancy." Ibn Jāmiʿ replied, "May God vouchsafe to you His approval! We desired to increase your share of favour!" Al-Mawṣilī also caught up with us and said, "Present us with a gift (i.e., from the money bags)!" But I retorted, "Why should I? You didn't behave in a suitable manner at the court session! No, by God, you shan't have a single dirham!"[333]

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh has mentioned that Saʿīd al-Qāriʾ al-ʿAllāf, the companion[334] of Abān al-Qāriʾ,[335] told him that Mūsā's boon-companions were with him in his court session, including al-Ḥarrānī, Saʿīd b. Salm and others. Mūsā had a slave girl who used to pour out wine for them. She had a bantering, provocative manner, and she used to address one of the company as "O boorish one [*jilfī*]!"[336] and joke with others of them. Yazīd b. Mazyad came in, and he heard what she was saying to them. He therefore told her, "By the Great God! If you speak to me like you speak to them, I will certainly strike you a blow with my sword!" Mūsā said to her, "Woe upon you! He will indeed, by God, do what he says, so take care!" He related: She accordingly held back from him, and never exchanged any pleasantries with him. He related: Saʿīd al-ʿAllāf and Abān al-Qāriʾ were Ibāḍīs.[337]

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333. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, VI, 67 = ed. Cairo, VI, 286–7, giving the actual words of Ḥakam al-Wādī's winning song.

334. *Ṣāḥib*. perhaps also "famulus, colleague, master," given the vagueness of this term.

335. Both these Qurʾān readers are mentioned by Ibn Qutaybah, 533. Saʿīd is described as being especially high in al-Rashīd's favor, being known as "the Qurʾān reader of the Commander of the Faithful." He is further cited by Ṭabarī, III, 1134, as an authority for an account of al-Maʾmūn's last illness and death.

336. *Jilf* has many meanings, according to the *Lisān al-ʿArab*[1], X, 375; the one followed here is that of "gross, coarse [*al-jilf: al-aʿrābī al-jāfī*], but another possibility might be "corpulent, with a sack-like figure" [*al-ẓarf mithl al-khurj wa-al-juwāliq*].

337. I.e., of the Ibāḍiyyah subsect of the Khārijites. See *EI*[2] s.v. (T. Lewicki). These

Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Dāwūd al-Kātib[338] has mentioned that Ibn al-Qaddāḥ transmitted the information to him, saying: Al-Rabīʿ (b. Yūnus) had a slave girl called Amat al-ʿAzīz, of superlative beauty, a splendidly rounded bosom and shapely body. He presented her to al-Mahdī. When the latter perceived her beauty and fine appearance, he said, "This girl will be more suitable for Mūsā!"; hence he gave her to him. She became the most beloved of all creation to Mūsā, and gave birth to his elder sons.[339] Then a certain enemy of al-Rabīʿ's told Mūsā that he had heard al-Rabīʿ say, "I have never placed between myself and the earth anyone like Amat al-ʿAzīz." Mūsā became violently enraged with [598] jealousy at these words, and swore that he would kill al-Rabīʿ. So when he was appointed Caliph, he summoned al-Rabīʿ one day, and had his midday meal with him, showed him honor and handed to him a cup of wine mingled with honey. He related: Al-Rabīʿ said, "I realized that my life was contained in that cup (i.e., that it was poisoned), and that if I were to hand it back he would cut off my head, since I had for some time back been aware of his animus against me because of my going to his mother (i.e., to al-Khayzurān)[340] and because of (slanderous) reports he had received concerning me, without his having listened to any excuses from me. So I drank the cup." Al-Rabīʿ returned homewards. He gathered together his children and told them, "I am going to die, either on this very day or by next morning." His son al-Faḍl said to him, "Why do you say this, may I be made your ransom?" He said, "Mūsā gave me to drink, with his own hand, a poisoned drink, and I can feel it working in my body now." Then he made his last testament, setting forth his wishes, and died on that day or the fol-

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two Ibāḍī scholars may well have stemmed from the well-known group of Ibāḍīs in al-Baṣrah; see Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 212–14.

338. In Ṭabarī, III, 439, given the full *nasab* of . . . b. Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr, this last person described as one of the Prophet's companions. It is therefore possible that this Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl is identical with the *rāwī* Aḥmad b. Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr al-Bāhilī mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 567 (above, 38, and n. 150).

339. According to Abbott, 66, his two eldest sons; see further on her, ibid., 86, 97, 99.

340. I.e., when he had gone to her in Baghdad, at the time of al-Hādī's accession to the throne, see Ṭabarī, III, 546 (above, 6).

lowing morning.[341] After Mūsā al-Hādī's death, al-Rashīd married Amat al-ʿAzīz,[342] and he gave her the child ʿAlī b. al-Rashīd.[343]

Al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān b. Isḥāq al-Hāshimī has asserted that when al-Hādī transferred to ʿĪsābādh in the opening months of the year in which he took over the caliphate, he dismissed al-Rabīʿ from the offices of vizier and head of the correspondence department which he had held up till then, and appointed in his stead ʿUmar b. Bazīʿ. He appointed al-Rabīʿ to be head of the department of accounting control [*al-zimām*], and al-Rabīʿ retained this latter office until he died.[344] His decease came a few months after al-Hādī's accession to power, and his death was publicly proclaimed. Al-Hādī did not attend the funeral; Hārūn al-Rashīd read the prayers over him, being at that time heir to the throne. Mūsā appointed in al-Rabīʿ's place Ibrāhīm b. Dhakwān al-Ḥarrānī, and he appointed as his deputy in the offices which he held Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ. Then he dismissed Ismāʿīl and appointed as deputy Yaḥyā b. Sulaym, appointing Ismāʿīl to the post of accounting control of the *Dīwān* of Syria and its dependencies.[345]

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq, the maternal uncle of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, has mentioned that his father transmitted to him
[599] the information that Mūsā al-Hādī said, "I want to bring about al-Rabīʿ's death but I don't know how to encompass it." So Saʿīd b. Salm told him, "Designate a man to take a poisoned dagger and order him to slay al-Rabīʿ, and then order that assassin himself to be killed." He replied, "That is a good solution." He therefore gave orders to a man, who then crouched down in wait for him by the roadside, and commanded him to do that (i.e., to assassinate al-Rabīʿ). However, a certain subordinate official of al-Rabīʿ's went along to him and told him, "He (i.e., the Caliph) has given orders

341. Abbott, 86–7; Moscati, *Le califat d'al-Hādī*, 17–8, 26.

342. She having attained, after giving sons to al-Hādī, the free status of an *umm walad*.

343. See Ṭabarī, III, 758 (below, 327); Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, 25–6; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 216.

344. Jahshiyārī, 125–6; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 121.

345. Jahshiyārī, 125–7; cf. Abbott, 96, and Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 122 and n. 4. There may be a confusion here between Yaḥyā b. Sulaym and Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān, whom Jahshiyārī names here as Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarrānī's deputy.

regarding you for such-and-such action to be taken." Hence, al-Rabīʿ took a different route from that. He went into his house and feigned illness. Then he became (really) ill after that for eight days, and died a natural death. His death was in the year 169 (785–6). He was al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus.

The Caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd

The Events of the Year 170 (cont'd)

(July 3, 786–June 21, 787)

Hārūn's Assumption of the Caliphate on Mūsā al-Hādī's Death

Allegiance was given to al-Rashīd Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās as Caliph on the night of the Friday during which his brother Mūsā al-Hādī died. On that day when he assumed power he was twenty-two years old.[346] It is also said that on the day when allegiance was given to him as Caliph he was twenty-one years old. His mother was a slave wife from Jurash in the Yemen called Khayzurān,[347] and he himself was born at al-Rayy on the twenty-sixth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 145 (March 17, 763) during al-Manṣūr's caliphate.[348] In regard to the Barmakīs, according to what has been mentioned, they assert that al-Rashīd was born on

346. Thus in *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 290, and Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 106.

347. According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 261 = ed. Pellat, § 2469, and *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 282, she was the daughter of ʿAṭāʾ, a mawlā of al-Mahdī's; see also Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit., and Abbott, 22–6, 29.

348. Abbott, 24, notes that the dates given for Hārūn's birth vary between 145 (762–3) and 150 (767).

the first of al-Muḥarram 149 (February 16, 766) and that al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā was born seven days before him, al-Faḍl's day of birth being the twenty-second of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 148 (February 8, 766).[349] Al-Faḍl's mother, Zaynab bt. Munīr, was appointed a wet nurse to al-Rashīd. Thus, she gave milk to al-Rashīd from the suckling of al-Faḍl, and al-Khayzurān gave milk to al-Faḍl from the suckling of al-Rashīd.[350]

Sulaymān b. Abī Shaykh[351] has mentioned that when it was the night in which Mūsā al-Hādī died, Harthamah b. A'yan (al-Ḍabbī)[352] brought forth Hārūn al-Rashīd during the hours of dark-
[600] ness and then set him down on the Caliph's official seat.[353] Hārūn thereupon summoned Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak, who was at that moment in jail; Mūsā had in fact resolved upon killing both Yaḥyā and Hārūn al-Rashīd that very night. He related: Yaḥyā now became present and assumed the office of the vizierate.[354] He sent (a messenger) to Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim b. Ṣubayḥ al-Kātib.[355] He had him appear, and commanded him to compose letters (announcing Hārūn's succession to the throne). When the morning after that night dawned, and the military leaders were all present, Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim stood up. He offered praises to God, eulogizing Him, and gave blessings upon Muḥammad. Then he began to speak in an eloquent fashion, and recounted the death of Mūsā and Hārūn's assumption of control in succession to him, and what Hārūn had commanded by way of pay allotments for the troops.

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349. Hence, eight days before!

350. Shābushtī, 227, 229; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 183, tr. 198–9; cf. Bouvat, 41, and Kennedy, 117. According to Ṭabarī, II, 840, Khālid b. Barmak's wife Umm Khālid bt. Yazīd suckled al-Saffāḥ's daughter Rayṭah, whilst al-Saffāḥ's wife Umm Salamah suckled Khālid's daughter Umm Yaḥyā. As Abbott, 24, implies, Ṭabarī seems to show a certain scepticism about the Barmakī claims to foster-relationship between Hārūn and al-Faḍl.

351. Cited elsewhere by Ṭabarī as a *rāwī* for events in al-Mahdī's reign.

352. Member of the Abnā' who was one of the chief commanders of al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn, filling many governorships until his execution through the intrigues of al-Faḍl b. Sahl in 200/816. See Crone, 177, and *EI*² s.v. (Pellat).

353. Azdī, 261; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 290; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

354. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 106–7.

355. Secretary, of mawlā origin, like most of those employed by the Barmakīs; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 134, 141, 179, 226. He was the founder of a line of secretaries who served subsequent Caliphs and who included in their ranks several poets; see J. Bencheikh, "Les sécretaires poètes et animateurs de cénacles aux IIe et IIIe siècles de l'Hégire," *JA*, CCLXIII (1975), 269 ff.

Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim has mentioned, transmitting information from his paternal uncle ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim (b. Ṣubayḥ), as follows: He related: Our mawlā Yazīd al-Ṭabarī transmitted the information to me that he was present at that time, carrying the inkstand for my father Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim, and he remembered the complete text of his words. He related: Yūsuf b. al-Qāsim said, after praising God, He is exalted and magnified, and after offering blessings on the Prophet, as follows:

God, with His favor and His grace, has vouchsafed to you of His goodness, O people of the house of the Prophet, the house of the caliphate and the original stock of the apostleship. He has, moreover, brought to you,[356] O obedient ones from among the supporters of the dynasty and helpers of the mission [*al-daʿwah*, i.e., of the ʿAbbāsids], manifestations of His favor which are innumerable and which will not pass away through the whole extent of eternity, and His all-embracing acts of beneficence, in that He has brought firmly together the bond of your fellowship, has exalted your position, has strengthened your arm, has humbled your enemy, and has shown forth the word of divine truth, for you have become worthy of it and fitting people for it. Hence, God has made you mighty—for God is a powerful and mighty one—and thus you have become supporters of the religion of God, the One who is well-pleased (with you), and have become defenders, by means of His drawn sword, of the members of the house of His Prophet. Through you, He rescued them from the hands of the oppressors, the imāms of tyranny, of those who broke God's covenant, of those who shed innocent blood and of those who consumed and appropriated for themselves the income from the captured lands [*fayʾ*]. So bear in mind all this favor which God has accorded you, and take care not to change your attitude, or He will change His attitude towards you.

God, He is exalted and magnified, has taken to Himself His Caliph, Mūsā al-Hādī the Imām, and has drawn him to Himself. He has appointed as Mūsā's successor a rightly guided, well-pleasing one as Commander of the Faithful for you, one who is [601]

356. Following the Cairo text, VIII, 231, *wa-atākum* instead of the Leiden text's *wa-iyyākum*.

compassionate and merciful towards you, one who will receive cordially those of you who act righteously and who will show himself tender-hearted by pardoning those of you who act evilly. The Caliph—may God grant him the permanent enjoyment of divine favor, preserve for him what He has entrusted to his care of the affairs of the Muslim community, and bestow upon him what He has bestowed on those who are His supporters and the people showing Him obedience—promises for you, from his heart, compassion and mercy towards you and the sharing-out among you of your stipends when you justly deserve them. He will bestow upon you presents from what God has bestowed on His Caliphs, stored up in the state treasury, which will be of such a magnitude that you will not require your regular pay allotments for so-and-so number of months, not however subtracting a corresponding sum to this from any advance pay allotments which you may receive in the future, but making over the remainder of that for the protection of your families and also what monies may accrue to the state treasuries in the provinces and distant areas from rebellious heretics, to the point that the accumulated treasure becomes ample and great in size and is restored to the level which it originally was.

So give praise to God and renew your thanks, and this will inevitably bring you an increase in His beneficence towards you through what He has renewed for you by means of the Commander of the Faithful's lofty judgement and through what He has bestowed upon you by means of it—may God strengthen him through his obedience (to Him)! Make petition to God for the Caliph's long life and for yourselves, that through him you may enjoy long-lasting favor; perhaps you will receive God's mercy! Give (the Caliph) your right hands in the clasp of homage and adhere to your professions of allegiance—may God protect you and defend you, bring about righteousness through you and at your hands, and take you as His helpers just as He takes His righteous devotees!

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq has mentioned, saying that Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī transmitted the information to me, saying: When Mūsā died, Yaḥyā b. Khālid came to al-Rashīd whilst the latter was asleep, wrapped up in a coverlet and without any waist-wrapper. Yaḥyā said, "Arise, O Commander of the Faithful!" At that, al-Rashīd said to him, "How much you

frighten me by your enthusiasm in describing me as Caliph, when you know my position vis-à-vis this man (i.e., al-Hādī)! If news of this reaches him, what will my position be then?" Yaḥyā thereupon told him, "This is (Ibrāhīm) al-Ḥarrānī, Mūsā's vizier, and this is his seal ring." He related: Hārūn sat down on his mattress and said, "Give me guidance on what to do!" He related: Whilst he [602] was speaking with him, another messenger suddenly appeared and announced, "You have just become the father of a boy!" He replied, "I hereby name him ʿAbdallāh."[357] Then he said to Yaḥyā, "Give me advice on what to do!" Yaḥyā said, "I advise you to take your seat immediately on Mūsā's Armenian carpet." He replied, "I have as good as done that; and by God, I shan't perform the worship at ʿĪsābādh except on that carpet, and I shan't perform the noon worship except in Baghdad and with the head of Abū ʿIṣmah before me!" He related: He then put on his robes and went forth. He performed the worship on it (i.e., the Armenian carpet) and had Abū ʿIṣmah brought forward, and then he had him decapitated and his scalp fastened to the tip of a spear shaft, and with this entered Baghdad.

All this was because he and Jaʿfar b. Mūsā al-Hādī had once been out riding together. They had come to one of the bridges of ʿĪsābādh. At that point, Abū ʿIṣmah had turned to Hārūn and said, "Stay where you are until the heir to the throne crosses over!" Hārūn had replied, "I hear and obey the Amīr!" So he had halted until Jaʿfar had crossed over. This was accordingly the reason for Abū ʿIṣmah's being killed.[358] He related: When al-Rashīd came to the crown of the bridge,[359] he summoned divers and then said, "Al-Mahdī gave me a seal ring which had cost one hundred thousand dīnārs and which was called 'the mountain' [*al-jabal*]. Subsequently, I went into the presence of my brother (i.e., of al-Hādī) with this seal ring on my finger. When I returned homewards, Sulaym al-Aswad caught up with me at the crown of the bridge,

357. Azdī, 261–2; Palmer, 35.
358. *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 290; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 107.
359. *Kursī al-jisr*, i.e., of one of the main bridges across the Tigris. For *kursī* in this sense, *Glossarium*, p. CDL, has *caput pontis* "crown of the bridge," and *WbKAS*, I, 127a–b, "pillar (of a bridge)." One would expect *kursī* to mean something like "supporting structure," clearly the actual span over the water in this context.

and then said, 'The Commander of the Faithful commands you to give me the seal ring!' At that, I hurled it away in this very spot." They then dived down and fished out the ring. Hārūn rejoiced exceedingly at its recovery.[360]

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Hāshimī has related that several of his companions transmitted the information to him, including Ṣabbāḥ b. Khāqān al-Tamīmī,[361] saying: Mūsā al-Hādī had deprived al-Rashīd of the succession and had secured allegiance to his own son Ja'far, this being at the time when 'Abdallāh b. Mālik was commander of the police. But when al-Hādī died, Khuzaymah b. Khāzim [al-Tamīmī][362] burst in during that same night, being accompanied by five thousand of his mawlās, bearing arms,[363] pulled Ja'far out of his bed and told him, "Unless you renounce your succession rights to the caliphate, I'll chop off your head!" Hence, the next morning the people rode forth to Ja'far's gate. Khuzaymah brought him forward and set him up on an elevated place by the
[603] gate of the palace, all the gates being locked. Ja'far stepped forward and announced, "O Muslims, I have released from their undertakings all those who gave their allegiance to me as heir; the caliphate belongs to my paternal uncle Hārūn, and I have no claim to it."[364] This was the reason for 'Abdallāh b. Mālik al-Khuzā'ī's going all the way to Mecca on foot in felt slippers [*lubūd*], because he had sought the opinion of the religious lawyers regarding the oaths he had sworn in recognition of Ja'far's succession, and they had told him, "The breaking of any oath you have sworn can only be expiated by your going on foot to the House of God; there is no other way out." So he made the Pilgrimage on foot. Khuzaymah secured favor in al-Rashīd's sight by that action of his.[365]

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360. Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 502–4 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 236–8; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 456; Qāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, *K. al-Tuḥaf wa-al-dhakhā'ir*, 180–3, §§ 232–5; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Palmer, 35–6. In Jahshiyārī, 131–2, Yaḥyā b. Khālid is charged by al-Hādī, on pain of death for failure, to get the seal ring from Hārūn, but forgiven when Hārūn himself flings it into the river.

361. Cited previously by Ṭabarī for events in al-Manṣūr's caliphate.

362. Brother of 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim, see Ṭabarī, III, 548 (above, 9, n. 30).

363. The size of the force seems excessively large for the purpose intended, unless Khuzaymah expected strenuous opposition from the supporters of the child Ja'far's succession claim.

364. Nothing further seems to be recorded of Ja'far's life after this.

365. Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 457; Azdī, 262; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 291; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 107;

Hārūn's Official Appointments and Dismissals

It has been mentioned that al-Rashīd was angry with Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarrānī and Sallām al-Abrash[366] on the day of Mūsā's death, so he ordered them to be sent to prison and their wealth confiscated. Ibrāhīm was imprisoned under Yaḥyā b. Khālid's charge in the latter's house. Then Muḥammad b. Sulaymān interceded with Hārūn for him, and asked the Caliph to show his favor to Ibrāhīm, to release him and to allow him to accompany Muḥammad on the journey down to al-Baṣrah; the Caliph then gave Muḥammad his consent to this.[367]

In this year, al-Rashīd dismissed 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Umarī from the governorship of the City of the Messenger of God (i.e., of Medina) and its administrative dependencies, and he appointed Isḥāq b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī[368] as governor of all that.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rashīd (i.e., the future al-Amīn) was born. According to what Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kirmānī has mentioned, from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid, he was born on

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Palmer, 34; Kennedy, 112–13. Khuzaymah's role here secured him a position of influence for the whole of al-Rashīd's reign, whereas 'Abdallāh b. Mālik was for long under a cloud, according to an anecdote in Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 542–3 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 297–8, being for a while boycotted and cut off from contact with the court; no doubt the hatred between Yaḥyā b. Khālid and 'Abdallāh (ibid., ed. Schwally, 415 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 102) was a factor here. Kennedy, 116, notes that the other prominent supporters of Ja'far b. al-Hādī's succession, Yazīd b. Mazyad and 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān, were given no important appointments for the next decade. According to Jahshiyārī, 135, al-Khayzurān at first wanted to execute all those who had opposed al-Rashīd's succession, but Yaḥyā al-Barmakī dissuaded her, suggesting instead that they should be given dangerous military commands and, as with David's appointment of Uriah the Hittite, placed in the battle line with a good chance of finding death anyway (on Jahshiyārī as a source for the events of al-Rashīd's reign, see Sourdel, "La valeur littéraire et documentaire du 'Livre des Vizirs' d'al-Ǧahšiyārī d'après le chapitre consacré au califat de Hārūn al-Rašīd," *Arabica*, II [1955], 193–210).

366. As emerges from Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, 133, and Ṭabarī, III, 1065, see II, 684 (below, 224, n. 771), Abū Salamah Sallām (the full name in Jahshiyārī, 187) was a eunuch (*abrash*, more usually applied to animals = "mottled, speckled," doubtless in allusion to his skin). He later recovered favor and was employed by al-Rashīd for various confidential missions, including duties during the arrest of the Barmakīs and the confiscation of their property; see Ṭabarī, III, 684.

367. Jahshiyārī, 135, who says that Yaḥyā's intercession with al-Rashīd secured for Ibrāhīm the post of secretary to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān.

368. Grandson of al-Rashīd's great-great-grandfather 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.

Friday, the thirteenth of Shawwāl of this year (April 7, 787),[369] whilst al-Ma'mūn was born before him, on the night of Friday (i.e., of Thursday-Friday), the sixteenth of Rabī' I (September 15, 786).[370]

In this year, al-Rashīd appointed Yaḥyā b. Khālid as his vizier and told him, "I have invested you with responsibility for the subjects' affairs and have transferred the burden from myself to you. So exercise authority in this with what you consider to be sound judgement; appoint as your subordinate governors whom [604] you think fit; and conduct affairs as you consider best." At the same time, he handed his seal ring over to him. Concerning this event, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī recited,

Have you not seen that the sun was sickly,
but when Hārūn assumed power, its light gleamed forth.
Through the auspicious effects of the trusted one of God, Hārūn,
the munificent one?
For Hārūn is its ruler, and Yaḥyā its vizier.[371]

Al-Khayzurān was the one who had the oversight of affairs; Yaḥyā used to lay matters before her and do things on her advice.[372]

In this year, Hārūn gave orders concerning the share of the Prophet's kindred (i.e., the share from the poor-tax to the *dhawū al-qurbā*), and it was divided out among the Hāshimites in equal portions.

In this year, he gave a guarantee of safe-conduct to those who had fled or who had gone into concealment, with the exception of a group of the dualist infidels [*al-zanādiqah*], including Yūnus b. Farwah and Yazīd b. al-Fayḍ.[373] Among the Ṭālibids who came

369. Actually, a Saturday.

370. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 491–2; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr., IV, 456–7; Azdī, 262; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 107; Palmer, 35; Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd e la guerra fra al-Amīn e al-Ma'mūn," *RSO*, XI (1926–8), 344.

371. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 288–9 = ed. Pellat, § 2494; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, V, 41 = ed. Cairo, VI, 242; Ibn Khallikān, VI, 221, tr. IV, 105. Cf. Palmer, loc. cit.; Abbott, 113; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 134–5, who notes that similar laudatory verses are attributed to Abān al-Lāḥiqī.

372. Jahshiyārī, 134; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 291; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 107–8.

373. Yazīd b. al-Fayḍ was a former secretary of al-Manṣūr, who had been arrested by al-Mahdī in 167/783–4, but had contrived to escape (Jahshiyārī, 115–16; Ṭabarī, III, 519–20), only, it seems, to have been recaptured; see Vajda, "Les zindīqs au pays d'Islam," 186.

into the open were Ṭabāṭabā, that is, Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl,[374] and 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan.[375]

In this year, al-Rashīd detached the whole of the Byzantine marches [*al-thughūr*] from al-Jazīrah and Qinnasrīn, and made them into a single (administrative) region called "the frontier strongholds" [*al-'awāṣim*].[376]

In this year, Tarsus[377] was rendered prosperous and populous through the efforts of Abū Sulaym Faraj al-Turkī the eunuch [*al-khādim*],[378] and people settled there.[379]

In this year, Hārūn al-Rashīd led the Pilgrimage from the City of Peace. He gave the people of the two sanctuaries (i.e., Mecca and Medina) numerous gifts and divided out among them a huge sum of money.[380] It has been said that he both performed the Pil- [605]

374. I.e., the Ḥasanid Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl Ṭabāṭabā al-Rassī, father of the subsequent Zaydī Imām in Yemen al-Qāsim, died in 246 (860); Ibrāhīm fought with al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī in the rising which ended at Fakhkh. See Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 297, 304; Öhrnberg, Tables 20, 22–3.

375. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 108.

376. Ibid.; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history. A new interpretation. 2. A.D. 750–1055 (A.H. 132–448)*, 28–9. See on this region of the "frontier strongholds," Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 165–6; Le Strange, *Lands*, 128 ff.; Canard, 226–35; *EI*[2] s.v. al-'Awāṣim (Canard).

377. Town and fortress of Cilicia. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 28–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 132–4; Canard, 282; *EI*[1] s.v. Ṭarsūs (F. Buhl).

378. Mawlā of al-Rashīd; see Crone, 190. As Ayalon has pointed out (*The military reforms of Caliph al-Mu'taṣim*, 3–4), the role of the eunuchs in affairs increases perceptibly during al-Rashīd's caliphate; Masrūr was one of his closest confidants, and he and others of the court eunuchs were present at the Caliph's deathbed (Ṭabarī, III, 738, below, 303). As with Faraj here, eunuchs were prominent as military commanders, especially on the Byzantine frontiers. The eunuch al-Mufaḍḍal was invited to lead an 'Abbāsid force at Mecca in 169 (786) against the 'Alid al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (Ṭabarī, III, 558, above, 25). Such instances make nonsense of the assertion by Shaban, 139, that the eunuch "certainly cannot lead armies or rule governments" (on the latter point, cf. the skillful rule in Egypt of Kāfūr as Regent for the Ikhshīdids).

379. Balādhurī, 168; Azdī, 262; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 108–9; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 740; Canard, in *Cambridge medieval history, IV. The Byzantine empire. Part 1, Byzantium and its neighbours*, 706; Shaban, 29. In Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 711, and Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 495, this work of restoration by Faraj al-Khādim, with the building of five gates and eighty-seven towers for the town, is placed in the year 171 (787–8).

380. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 592, who states that Hārūn actually deputed Mūsā b. 'Īsā to lead the Pilgrimage when he first acceded to the throne, but then decided to lead it himself; Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 709; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Dīnawarī, 387; Azdī, 266, Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 109; Shaban, 27.

grimage and led an expedition against the infidels in this same year. Dāwūd b. Razīn[381] has recited concerning this,

Through Hārūn, the light has shone forth in every region,
and the straight path has become established by the justness of his conduct.
(He is) a leader who has ordered his affairs[382] through attention to God's requirements,
and whose greatest concern is with raiding the infidels and the Pilgrimage.
People's eyes are unable to endure the brilliance of his face,
when his resplendent aspect appears to them.
Indeed, the trusted one of God, Hārūn, the munificent one,
gives the one who has hope of his bounty several times more than what he hopes.

In this year, Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bakkā'ī led the summer raid.[383]

In this year, the governor of Medina was Isḥāq b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī; of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if, ʿUbaydallāh b. Qutham; of al-Kūfah, Mūsā b. ʿĪsā, with his deputy there being his son al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā; and of al-Baṣrah, Baḥrayn, the Gulf littoral ports, al-Yamāmah and the administrative districts of Ahwāz and Fārs, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī.[384]

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381. Poet of Wāsiṭ, whose poems are largely lost; he died at some point after this date. See *GAS*, II, 455.

382. The text here is better (cf. de Goeje's comment in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLX) than the *aṣbaḥa shughaluhu* of the Cairo text, VIII, 234.

383. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

384. Ibid.

The Events of the Year 171

(June 22, 787–June 10, 788)

Among the events taking place during this year was the arrival of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī in the City of Peace, returning from Khurāsān.[385] At the time of his arrival, the seal ring of the caliphate was in the hands of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. al- [606]
Ashʿath (al-Khuzāʿī),[386] but then when Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ṭūsī arrived, al-Rashīd took it from Jaʿfar and transferred it to Abū al-ʿAbbās.[387] Shortly afterwards, however, Abū al-ʿAbbās died, so he handed over the seal ring to Yaḥyā b. Khālid. Thus, Yaḥyā now combined the two vizierial functions [*al-wizāratayn*].[388]

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385. Dīnawarī, loc. cit. According to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *T. Sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa-al-anbiyāʾ*, 164, al-Faḍl had arrived in Khurāsān in Rabīʿ I 166 (October 782).

386. Soon afterwards to be nominated governor of Khurāsān, which he governed 170–3 (787–9). See Ḥamzah, loc. cit.; Ṭabarī, III, 609 (below, 108); Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 114, 120.

387. According to Jahshiyārī, 134, the *dīwān al-khātam*, thus given to Abū al-ʿAbbās, was the only government department not entrusted immediately to Yaḥyā al-Barmakī on al-Rashīd's accession; cf. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 136–7. Jahshiyārī, 135, further relates that Yaḥyā became exasperated at Abū al-ʿAbbās's dilatoriness and his making heavy weather over the sealing of letters, hence he started to take measure with his own hands over correspondence with provincial governors.

388. I.e., of the financial *dīwān al-kharāj* and the *dīwān al-khātam* for official

In this year, Hārūn had Abū Hurayrah Muḥammad b. Farrūkh, who was governor of al-Jazīrah, executed. Hārūn sent Abū Ḥanīfah Ḥarb b. Qays to him, who brought Abū Ḥurayrah back to the Caliph at the City of Peace; he was then decapitated in the Khuld Palace.[389]

In this year, Hārūn ordered the expulsion of all the Ṭālibids in the City of Peace to the City of the Messenger (of God) (i.e., al-Madīnah), with the exception of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; the latter's father al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh was nevertheless among those whom the Caliph sent off.[390]

Al-Faḍl b. Saʿīd al-Ḥārūrī rebelled, but Abū Khālid al-Marwarrūdhī killed him.[391]

In this year, Rawḥ b. Ḥātim (al-Muhallabī) arrived in Ifrīqiyah.[392]

In this year, al-Khayzurān set out in the month of Ramaḍān for Mecca, and she stayed there until the time for the Pilgrimage, and then she performed it.[393]

In this year, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās[394] led the Pilgrimage.[395]

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correspondence. On this title, see Goldziher, "Ueber Dualtitel," *WZKM*, XIII (1899), 323–4 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV, 197–8; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 137–8.

389. Azdī, 267, with detail on Abū Hurayrah's governorship in al-Jazīrah; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 114.

390. Op. cit., VI, 114–15.

391. Op. cit., VI, 115, records a further Khārijite revolt during this year, that of al-Ṣaḥṣaḥ in al-Jazīrah against the local governor Abū Hurayrah; possibly his difficulties over this were a cause of al-Rashīd's having him executed during this year, as mentioned above.

392. The detailed background to this appointment (the governorship of his nephew Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim, his unsatisfactory conduct, a revolt of the Ibāḍiyyah Khārijites and his replacement by Rawḥ) is given by Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 496, and Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 108, 113–14, 115.

393. Her Pilgrimage and her extensive benefactions in the Ḥaramayn are placed by the *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 291, in 172 (788–9). For details of these charitable works, see Abbott, 117–20.

394. See on him, Ṭabarī, III, 573 (above, 49, and n. 196).

395. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 711, also recording that it was Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Aṣamm who led the annual expedition against the Byzantines; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Azdī, 267.

The Events of the Year 172

(June 11, 788–May 30, 789)

Among the events taking place during this year was al-Rashīd's setting out for Marj al-Qal'ah,[396] seeking there a residence (or, an encampment, *manzil*) where he might stay.

Mention of the reason for that. It has been mentioned that the [607] motive behind his journey thither was that he found the City of Peace intolerable—he used to call it "the steamy place" [*al-bukhār*]—so he set off for Marj al-Qal'ah; but he fell ill there, hence he turned back homewards.[397]. That particular journey was called "the journey of the seeker."

In this year, al-Rashīd dismissed Yazīd b. Mazyad from the governorship of Armenia, and gave it to 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Mahdī.[398]

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396. "The pasture-ground of the fortress," the district around the town of Karind in Jibāl, on the Khurāsānian highway between Ḥulwān and Kirmān-shāh where, it is mentioned, the 'Abbāsid Caliphs kept their studs of horses. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 101; Le Strange, *Lands*, 192; Schwarz, 491–2.

397. Hence, he never seems to have used this new palace.

398. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 515–16, with the background details of this appointment; Azdī, 269; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 118.

In this year, Isḥāq b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī led the summer raid [*al-ṣāʾifah*].[399]

In this year, Yaʿqūb b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr led the Pilgrimage.[400]

In this year, Hārūn lifted from the shoulders of the inhabitants of the Sawād the tithe which used to be taken from them after the tax of a half (of their produce).[401]

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399. Azdī, 270; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; but according to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522, the leader was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, and according to Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 712, it was Ẓufar b. ʿAṣim al-Hilālī together with his son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

400. Khalīfah, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

401. Ibid.; cf. Shaban, 32–3.

The Events of the Year 173

(May 31, 789–May 19, 790)

The Death of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and the Confiscation of His Fortune

Among the events taking place during this year was the death of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān[402] at al-Baṣrah a few nights before the end of Jumādā II (mid-November 789). It has been mentioned that when Muḥammad b. Sulaymān died, al-Rashīd despatched an agent for every category of what Muḥammad b. Sulaymān had left behind, ordering him to select the best items from it. Thus, he sent for the precious metals which he had left behind a man from the staff of his head treasurer; for the clothing, likewise; and for the carpets and coverings, for the slaves, for the riding beasts, including horses and camels, for the perfumes and aromatic substances, for the jewels and for every utensil, a man from the staff of each of these categories of possessions. So they came to al-Baṣrah and then sequestrated the whole of Muḥammad's property which might be

402. The senior 'Abbāsid prince and victor at Fakhkh, see Ṭabarī, III, 557 ff. (above, 23 ff. and n. 90).

valuable to the caliphate, leaving behind nothing except the worthless remnants which were of no possible use to the Caliphs. They acquired on the Caliph's behalf sixty million (dirhams' worth), and transported it back together with all the rest which was brought
[608] back. When it arrived in the boats, al-Rashīd was informed about the position of the boats which had conveyed that consignment, and he ordered the whole of it to be placed in his treasuries, with the exception of the actual money. He ordered authorizations for payment [*ṣikak*][403] (regarding this last) to be prepared, and they were written out for the boon-companions (at court), whilst the singers received authorizations for smaller sums, which were not put through the *dīwān* (i.e., through the normal accounting procedure). Then he handed over to each person a draft for the amount which he thought fit to give that person; these persons then sent their agents to the boats, and took the whole of the money, according to what the Caliph had awarded them in the drafts, not a single dīnār or dirham entering the Caliph's treasury. The Caliph also selected what he wanted from Muḥammad b. Sulaymān's estates, including one called Barashīd (?) in Ahwāz, which brought in a considerable amount of revenue.[404]

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad has mentioned from his father, saying: When Muḥammad b. Sulaymān died, there was recovered from his treasury all his clothing from the time when he was a boy in the Qur'ān school till the time when he died, covering a period of many years; some of this clothing even had ink stains on it. He related: They brought out of his treasury what had been given to him as presents from the land of Sind, Makrān, Kirmān, Fārs, Ahwāz, al-Yamāmah, al-Rayy and ʿUmān, including fine gifts, unguents and balms, musk,[405] grain, cheese and such-like, but the

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403. For this technical term of the financial departments of the administration, sing. *ṣakk*, see Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art," 125–6.

404. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 713; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 289–92 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2496–7; Azdī, 270; Qāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, 221–2, §§ 308–9; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 292; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 119; cf. Kennedy, 118. Among Muḥammad b. Sulaymān's estates resumed by the Caliph was that of the town of Bālis on the Euphrates above al-Raqqah, on the borders of Syria and al-Jazīrah; formerly the possession of Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Saffāḥ had given it to Sulaymān b. ʿAlī; see Balādhurī, 151, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 328.

405. Following the reading of Ibn ʿAsākir for the text's *al-samak* "fish."

greater part of all this was found to have become spoilt. Also included in that were five hundred *kanʿadah* fish[406] which were thrown out of the house of Jaʿfar and Muḥammad into the street and which then became a nuisance.[407] He related: For some time, we were unable to pass by al-Mirbad[408] because of its stench.

In this year, al-Khayzurān, mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd and Mūsā al-Hādī, died.

The Time of al-Khayzurān's Death and Her Burial

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan has mentioned that his father transmitted the information to him, saying: I saw al-Rashīd on the day when al-Khayzurān died—this being in the year 173—wearing a Saʿīdī robe [*jubbah*][409] and a patched and ragged *ṭaylasān* which was tied [609] around his waist, gripping the framework of the funeral bier and walking barefoot through the mud until he reached the Cemetery of Quraysh.[410] He washed his feet and then called for a pair of boots, prayed over her corpse and went down into her grave. When he came away from the cemetery, a stool was set down for him, and he sat down on it. He summoned al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ and said to him, "By the right of al-Mahdī!"—and he never used to swear such an oath except when he was expressing himself forcefully—"For some time now [*min al-layl*], I have been intending to confer on you some administrative charge or similar responsibility, but my mother has (hitherto) been restraining me and I have accordingly been obedient to her command; but now, take over the seal ring from Jaʿfar (b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī)." Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ said to Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ, "I have too much respect for Abū al-Faḍl (i.e., Yaḥyā, father of Jaʿfar and al-Faḍl) that I should write to him and

406. See for this term, *WbKAS*, I, 390b.

407. Despite the recommendation in the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLX, of the reading *malā*, the original reading of the text here (and that of the Cairo one, VIII, 238), *balāʾ*, seems preferable.

408. The celebrated commercial quarter on the western side of al-Baṣrah (literally, "place where dates are spread to dry, where camels and sheep are herded together"). See Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 11–12, and *EI*² s.v.

409. For the term *Saʿīdī*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., and BGA, IV, *Glossarium*, 260; for the *jubbah* as a garment, see Ahsan, 40.

410. This was situated on the western bank of the Tigris opposite al-Ruṣāfah. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 157–8, 193; Lassner, *Topography*, 111, 253–4, 285–6.

take it away from him; but perhaps he might, if he thinks fit, convey it to me?" He related: He (i.e., the Caliph) gave al-Faḍl charge of the public and privy expenditure and of Bādurayā[411] and al-Kūfah, comprising five *ṭassūj*s. His power and prestige thus began to increase, up to the year 187 (803). It has been said that the deaths of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and al-Khayzurān took place on the same day.[412]

In this year, al-Rashīd recalled Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath from Khurāsān, and he entrusted it to his son al-'Abbās b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath.[413]

In this year, Hārūn himself led the Pilgrimage. It has been mentioned that he set out from the City of Peace observing the taboos and wearing the ritually clean garments of the Pilgrimage [*muḥrim*^{an}].[414]

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411. The district to the west of Baghdad on the Nahr 'Īsā. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 317–18; Le Strange, *Lands*, 66–7; idem, *Baghdad*, 50–1.

412. Jahshiyārī, 145; Qāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, 235, § 343; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 292; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 119; Abbott, 125–8; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 138; idem, *EI*[2] s.v. al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī'. If she died at the same time as Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, her death must also be placed in late Jumādā II (November 789). As Sourdel remarks, the information given here by Ṭabarī and by Jahshiyārī does not imply, as some modern historians (e.g., Abbott, 126–7) have asserted, that al-Faḍl took charge of the office of the seal at this point; this seems to have been retained by Ja'far till 180 (796), when al-Rashīd transferred it to his father Yaḥyā (Ṭabarī, III, 644, below, 162).

413. Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr., IV, 457; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 120. Ja'far b. Muḥammad had replaced in this governorship Abū al-'Abbās Faḍl b. Sulaymān al-Ṭūsī; see Ṭabarī, III, 605, 740, and Barthold, *Turkestan*, 203. According to Ḥamzah, 164, the governorship had been briefly given to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah before Ja'far.

414. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 713; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Azdī, 270, 274; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit. Khalīfah and Azdī also record that 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī led the summer raid.

The Events of the Year 174

(May 20, 790–May 9, 791)

Among the events taking place during this year was the factional strife [*'aṣabiyyah*] which took place in Syria.[415]

In this year, al-Rashīd appointed Isḥāq b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī governor of Sind and Makrān.[416]

In this year, al-Rashīd appointed Yūsuf b. Abī Yūsuf as judge whilst his father was still alive.[417]

In this year, Rawḥ b. Ḥātim perished.[418]

In this year, al-Rashīd set out for Bāqirdā and Bāzabdā,[419] and built a palace at Bāqirdā.[420] A poet has said concerning that, [610]

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415. It is possible that this is the rebellion raised by the people of Damascus against their governor Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far al-Manṣūr over a crystal vessel [*qullah billawr*] kept in the *miḥrāb* (presumably of the Umayyad Mosque) mentioned, without a clear date, in Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 494–5. Dīnawarī, 387, attributes the strife to the usual rivalry of Muḍar and Yaman.

416. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 493.

417. I.e., the son of one of the founders of the Ḥanafī law school, Abū Yūsuf. The son Yūsuf became deputy judge for his father over the western side of Baghdad and died in 192 (808); see *EI*[2] s.v. Abū Yūsuf (J. Schacht).

418. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 496; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 121; Kennedy, 192.

419. These were districts on the eastern and western banks, respectively, of the

At Qirdā[421] and Bāzabdā are places where one finds hospitality and a site for residence,
a source of sweet, cool water, which resembles al-Salsabīl (i.e., the fountain in Paradise).
Whereas Baghdad, how can one describe Baghdad? On the one hand, its soil
is pure excrement, and on the other, its heat is intense.[422]

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ led the summer raid.[423]

In this year, Hārūn al-Rashīd led the Pilgrimage. He began by visiting al-Madīnah and distributed a great deal of money among its people. During this year, an outbreak of plague hit Mecca, hence Hārūn held back from entering it. Then he did actually enter on the "Day of Refreshment" and made the circumambulation of the Kaʿbah and the running (between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah) without however staying in Mecca.[424]

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upper Tigris near Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, in the eastern part of Diyār Bakr. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 321, 327; Le Strange, *Lands*, 93–4.

420. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit. Al-Rashīd seems nevertheless not to have used this new palace to any known extent; cf. Kennedy, 120.

421. According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 327, quoting this hemistich, Qirdā or Qardā was the popular pronunciation of Bāqirdā.

422. Both verses cited (with minor variants) in op. cit. I, 321, s.v. Bāzabdā.

423. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 714; Azdī, 274; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 740. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522, Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr was the leader.

424. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit.; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 521; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year 175

(May 10, 791–April 27, 792)

Among the events taking place during this year was al-Rashīd's formal designation, in the City of Peace, of his son Muḥammad as heir to the rule over the Muslims, his receiving the oath of allegiance to that arrangement on Muḥammad's behalf from the commanders and the troops, and his giving him the honorific title of al-Amīn, the latter being at that time five years old.[425] Salm al-Khāsir has said,

God has bestowed His favor on the Caliph when he made firm
the structure of the caliphate for the nobly-born, fair-of-face
one.

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425. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 493; Dīnawarī, 390; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 457–8, 459; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 292; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 122; Gabrieli, "Successione," 344–5. Gabrieli points out that this designation of Muḥammad al-Amīn cannot have been viewed by al-Rashīd as definitive, in the light of the unfolding, over the course of time, of the respective characters and abilities of Muḥammad and his brother 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn, leading him to make the fresh succession arrangements at Baghdad and al-Raqqah in 182 (802), see Ṭabarī, III, 647 (below, 167). The reports in Dīnawarī, 387–9, and Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 317 ff. = ed. Pellat, §§ 2520 ff., of the subsequent doubts in al-Rashīd's mind over his two sons' capabilities tend to confirm this.

For he is the Caliph in descent from his father and his grandfather;
both of them have testified to this, on the basis of external appearance and inner qualities.
The two weighty creations (i.e., men and jinn) have given their allegiance, in the seat of divine guidance (i.e., in Baghdad) to Muḥammad son of Zubaydah, the daughter of Jaʿfar (b. al-Manṣūr).[426]

The Reasons for al-Rashīd's Exacting Allegiance to Muḥammad al-Amīn as Heir

[611] According to what Rawḥ, the mawlā of al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid has mentioned, the reason behind this was that he had noted that ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar had gone along to al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā and had said to him, "I adjure you by God to work[427] for allegiance to be given to my sister's son"—he meant Muḥammad b. Zubaydah bt. Jaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr—"for he is in effect a child of yours and his caliphate will be in effect your rule." Al-Faḍl promised him that he would do that. Al-Faḍl directed his efforts at securing it, at a time when a group of the ʿAbbāsids had openly shown their ambitions (literally, "had stretched forth their necks") for the caliphate after al-Rashīd, since he had not yet designated his heir. When he did in fact settle the succession on Muḥammad, they rejected (or: disapproved of, *ankarū*) giving him allegiance on account of his youthfulness.[428]

He related: When al-Faḍl had become governor of Khurāsān, he had resolved to secure recognition of Muḥammad as heir. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab has mentioned that when al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā went to Khurāsān he divided out among the people there sums of money and gave the troops successive allotments of pay.

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426. Von Grunebaum, "Three Arabic poets of the early Abbasid age. V. Salm al-Ḥâsir," 66–7, no. XVII = *Shuʿarāʾ ʿAbbāsiyyūn*, 100, no. 17; Azdī, 274–5, adding also verses by Abān al-Lāḥiqī.

427. *Lammā ʿamilta*; for *lammā* = *illā* after verbs of beseeching and adjuring, see W. Wright, *Arabic grammar*, Cambridge, 1896–8, I, 294, II, 340; H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921, 512 § 262.12.

428. Cf. the doubts of several members of the Hāshimite family because of Muḥammad al-Amīn's youthfulness, expressed in Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit., and *K. al-ʿUyūn*, loc. cit.; Yaʿqūbī reports that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī, Hārūn's great-great-uncle, tried to assuage their fears by saying, "O people, don't let his tender age delude you, for this is indeed the blessed tree whose roots are vigorously growing and whose branches stretch up to the heavens"; cf. Gabrieli, "Successione," 345.

Then he proclaimed openly the matter of allegiance to Muḥammad b. al-Rashīd as heir, and as a result, the people gave their allegiance and addressed Muḥammad as al-Amīn.[429] (Manṣūr) al-Namarī said concerning this,

At Marw, with God's favor and through the agency of al-Faḍl,
the hands of both Persians and Arabs have become clasped together.
In an act of allegiance to the designated heir to the throne, which he (i.e., al-Faḍl) has made firm
with his sincere advice, his solicitude and his benevolence.
Al-Faḍl has made secure an affirmation of allegiance which cannot be broken,
to a chosen and selected one of the ʿAbbāsid house.[430]

He related: When the news about that finally reached al-Rashīd, and the people of the East had given their allegiance to Muḥammad, he (formally) hailed Muḥammad as heir to the throne and [612]
wrote to all the provinces and the great cities. Abān (b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd) al-Lāḥiqī[431] said concerning this,

O Commander of the Faithful, you have determined upon the right path
by means of a judgment based on divine guidance, so praise be to God, the One worthy of praise!

In this year, al-Rashīd dismissed al-ʿAbbās b. Jaʿfar from the governorship of Khurāsān and gave it to his maternal uncle al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ.[432]

In this year, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan proceeded to Daylam and became active there (i.e., in rebellion).[433]

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429. *K. al-ʿUyūn*, loc. cit.

430. *Shiʿr Manṣūr al-Namarī*, ed. al-Ṭayyib al-ʿAshshāsh, 71. On this eulogist of al-Rashīd (who died at some uncertain date in that Caliph's reign), see Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XII, 16–26 = ed. Cairo, XIII, 140–57; *GAS*, II, 541–2; *EI*² s.v. (T. Achèche).

431. Eulogist of al-Rashīd and the Barmakīs, who died ca. 200 (815–16). See Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 179–80; *GAS*, II, 541–2; *EI*² s.v. (S. M. Stern).

432. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 745; Dīnawarī, 387; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 488; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 164; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 122; Daniel, 169; *EI*² Suppl. s.v. al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ. Cf. also Ṭabarī, III, 590–1, above, 73.

433. Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. IV, 458; Abū al-Faḍl Bayhaqī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, 414; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; and see below, 115–20, for a full account of this episode.

In this year, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ led the summer raid and reached as far as Iqrīṭiyah (i.e., Crete).[434] Al-Wāqidī has related, that it was ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ who led the summer raid in this year.[435] He related: During the course of this raid, they encountered severely cold weather, which made their hands and feet drop off (i.e., from frostbite).[436]

In this year, Hārūn al-Rashīd led the Pilgrimage.[437]

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434. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 715; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 740; cf. *EI*² s.v. Iḳrīṭish (Canard).

435. Thus in Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522.

436. Brooks, loc. cit.

437. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit.; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 521; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year 176

(April 28, 792–April 17, 793)

Among the events taking place during this year was al-Rashīd's appointment of al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā as governor of the districts of Jibāl, Ṭabaristān, Dunbāwand, Qūmis, Armenia and Azerbaijan.[438]

In this year, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib appeared in Daylam.[439]

Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan's Uprising and His Role in These Events [613]

Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kirmānī has mentioned, saying: The first reports about Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib were that he had appeared in Daylam, that his military strength had grown, that his power had increased and that people from the great cities and the provincial districts had gone over to his side.[440] Al-

438. Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. loc. cit.; Azdī, 277; Bayhaqī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, 414–15.

439. I.e., the inland mountain region of the western part of the Elburz mountains, the hinterland of Gīlān, a region at this time hardly Islamized. See *EI*² s.v. (Minorsky).

440. For this episode of the adventures of Yaḥyā, half-brother of the "Pure Soul"

Rashīd became much distressed over this, and during these days refrained from drinking any date wine. He then invited al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā to march against him with fifty thousand men, accompanied by the stoutest commanders, and he appointed al-Faḍl over the regions of Jibāl, al-Rayy, Jurjān, Ṭabaristān, Qūmis, Dunbāwand and al-Rūyān, and quantities of money were taken along with him. He then allotted the various regions among his commanders. He made al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥajjāj b. Qutaybah b. Muslim[441] governor over Ṭabaristān and ʿAlī b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Khuzāʿī[442] over Jurjān, and he ordered that he should be given five hundred thousand dirhams. He encamped at al-Nahrabīn.[443] The poets sang his praises, for which he rewarded them profusely. People sought to ingratiate themselves with him through their poetry, and he distributed great sums of money among them.

Al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā set off, and left behind as his representative at the Commander of the Faithful's court Manṣūr b. Ziyād,[444] with the responsibility of personally conveying al-Faḍl's letters and of transmitting the answers to the letters to al-Faḍl. They (i.e., the Barmakīs) used to have complete trust in Manṣūr and his son

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Muḥammad and of Idrīs, founder of the Idrīsid line in Morocco (see Ṭabarī, III, 561–2; above, 28–30), see also of the primary sources, Jahshiyārī, 145–6; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 492–3; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 193, 300–1 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2405, 2505; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 308–23; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 292–4, 306–7; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 122, 125–6; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 176, tr. 190–1. Of the secondary sources, see Palmer, 57–61; Bouvat, 58–9; Van Arendonck, 65–70; Marquet, "Le Šīʿisme au IXᵉ siècle," 109–10; Kennedy, 119–20, 206–7. After the failure of the revolt of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (at the time of which Yaḥyā had been a guarantor for the good conduct of the Ḥasanid al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, see Ṭabarī, III, 552, above, 16) at Fakhkh in 169 (786), Yaḥyā had fled like his brother Idrīs and had travelled clandestinely throughout the Islamic world from the Maghrib to Transoxania, but had finally sought refuge in the Caspian region of Persia. His stay in Daylam, though brief, seems to have paved the way for Zaydī Shīʿī activity in the Caspian provinces a century or so later (see Madelung, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 206 ff).

441. Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. 132. Al-Muthannā was another of the descendants of the Umayyad governor Qutaybah b. Muslim al-Bāhilī who prospered greatly under the early ʿAbbāsids; see Crone, 137.

442. According to Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 375, ʿAlī was at one time commander of the police [*shurṭah*] for al-Rashīd.

443. Restored by the editor from the text's *al-nahrayn* and presumably a form of the Nahr Bīn/Bīl of Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 318, a *ṭassūj* or rural administrative district of the Sawād of Baghdad.

444. According to Jahshiyārī, 135 (cf. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 142), Manṣūr was very close to Yaḥyā's confidence, to the extent that people desiring his help would seek it through Manṣūr's intercession.

regarding all their affairs, because of Manṣūr's long-established association with them and his attitude of respectfulness and solicitude for them. Then al-Faḍl set out from his military encampment. Al-Rashīd's letters came to him in a continuous stream, expressing kindness and benevolence, and with presents and robes of honor. He (i.e., al-Faḍl) then wrote to Yaḥyā, treating him with consideration, conciliating him, exhorting him, giving him warnings, offering him advice, and enlarging his hopes. Al-Faḍl encamped at al-Ṭālaqān in the vicinity of al-Rayy[445] and at Dastabā in a place called Ashabb.[446] The weather was extremely cold and very [614] snowy; concerning this, Abān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥiqī says,

Indeed, the habitations of former days at al-Dawlāb,[447]
where the irrigation canal winds along
Are dearer to me than the habitations
of Ashabb, when they are covered in snow.

He related: Al-Faḍl remained in this spot. He sent a series of letters to Yaḥyā, and wrote to the ruler of Daylam offering him a million dirhams on condition that he should facilitate Yaḥyā's reversion to his previous state of obedience. This sum was transported to him, and Yaḥyā responded to the offer of peace and agreed to come forth under his (i.e., al-Faḍl's) auspices provided that al-Rashīd would personally and in his own hand write out for him a guarantee of safe-conduct which he (i.e., al-Faḍl) would forward to him. So al-Faḍl wrote to al-Rashīd about that; this made him rejoice, and al-Faḍl's status rose in his sight. The Caliph wrote out a guarantee of safe-conduct for Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh and had it witnessed by the religious lawyers and judges and by the leading figures and shaykhs of the Hāshimites, including ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī, al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm,[448] Mūsā b.

445. For this al-Ṭālaqān on the borders of Jibāl and Daylam (to be distinguished from the one in northern Afghanistan), see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 7–8; Le Strange, *Lands*, 225; Schwarz, 733–5; *EI*[1] s.v. (Huart).

446. *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 293; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 125; Bouvat, 58. On Ashabb, see Schwarz, 734–5. Dastabā probably lay to the south of Qazwīn, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 220.

447. Literally, "water-wheel, contrivance for raising water," but also the name of at least one place in the Baghdad area, as is intended by the contrast here. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 485; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 190, 321.

448. I.e., Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, first cousin of al-Mahdī, governor on various occasions of Mecca and Medina, died in 185 (801).

ʿĪsā, and others like them. He forwarded it, together with presents, marks of respect and benevolence, and gifts. Al-Faḍl in turn sent these on to Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh, who then came to him; al-Faḍl then brought him to Baghdad. Al-Rashīd presented him with everything which he desired, ordered him to be given a large sum of money, allotted to him on a regular basis munificent living allowances, and installed him in a fine house after he had stayed for some days in Yaḥyā b. Khālid's house. He was supervising all these arrangements for Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh personally, and would not delegate these to anyone else. He further ordered people (i.e., the leading men in the state and at court) to go to him after his move from Yaḥyā (b. Khālid)'s house and to present their greetings to him. Al-Rashīd also exerted himself to the utmost in showing honor to al-Faḍl.[449] Concerning this, Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah says,

You gained the victory, and may a Barmakī arm never lose its power!
with it you closed up the breach which was between (the members of) Hāshim (i.e., between the ʿAbbāsid al-Rashīd and the ʿAlid Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh).
[615] At a time when repairing it proved impossible for those who (normally) close up breaches,
so that they gave up the attempt, protesting that the breach was irreparable.
But then you came along, and your hands accomplished a glorious deed, whose renown will endure through all the seasons of the Pilgrimage.
The contest-arrow of royal authority (i.e., of the Caliph) will continue to come out the winner
for you whilst ever the contestant's[450] arrows are gathered together.[451]

He related: Abū Thumāmah al-Khaṭīb[452] recited to me a poem of his own authorship, including the lines,

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449. Jahshiyārī, 145–6; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 492; Azdī, 277; Abū al-Faḍl Bayhaqī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, 415; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Bouvat, 58–9; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 144–5, 164; Kennedy, 119–20.

450. Following the reading of the Cairo text, VIII, 243, *al-musāhim*.

451. Munierah al-Rasheed, 168; *Shiʿr Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah*, ed. ʿAṭawān, 103 no. 65; Harley, "Abu's-Simṭ Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah," 84–5.

452. There is a bare mention of him in Marzubānī, 508.

Al-Faḍl secured the victory on the day of al-Ṭālaqān, and before that,
on a day when he deployed his forces against Khāqān.[453]
There have never been two days like al-Faḍl's ones, in which there followed successively
two battles in the course of two campaigns.
He stopped up the breaches, and restored harmony among Hāshim after it was split apart, so that its divisions are now brought closely together again.
His judgment has made the whole body of Hāshim secure
from the unsheathing of two (opposing) swords among its ranks.[454]
That judgment [*ḥukūmah*] is not of the kind whose confused nature
gave rise to momentous reports, and the two arbiters [*al-ḥakamān*] dispersed.[455]

As a result, al-Faḍl gave him one hundred thousand dirhams and presented him with a robe of honor, and Ibrāhīm (al-Mawṣilī) made a song out of the verses.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar has mentioned from ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan, saying: When Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh arrived from Daylam, I went to him, at a time when he was staying in the house of (the descendants of) ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and said to him, "O my paternal uncle, there is no one after you who can bring news, and no one after me who is so well-informed about the news (i.e., no one knows all the news better than we two; between us we know all the news!), so tell me all the news about yourself." He replied, "O my nephew, I am, by God, merely just as Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab said,

By your life, Ibn Akhṭab did not reproach himself,
but he whom God forsakes is completely forsaken.
He exerted[456] himself until he justified his high opinion of himself

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453. Cf. Ṭabarī, III, 631 ff. (below, 143 ff.).

454. These two verses in Azdī, loc. cit.

455. Alluding to the arbitration [*ḥukūmah*] at Ṣiffīn in 37 (657) between Muʿāwiyah's supporter ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAlī's one Abu Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, the "two arbiters."

456. Following the text of the Cairo edition, VIII, 244, *la-jāhada*, also the reading in Ibn Hishām (see next note).

(literally, "until he made his self reach the point of praise of itself")
and he stormed onwards to the utmost in pursuit of glory.[457]

Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAlawī's Altercation with Bakkār b. ʿAbdallāh al-Zubayrī

[616] Al-Ḍabbī[458] has mentioned that a shaykh of the Nawfalīs[459] said: We went into ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar's presence, at a moment when long cushions had been laid out for him, one on top of the other, and he himself was in a propped-up position, reclining on his side with them at his back. Moreover, at this particular point he was laughing to himself at something and displaying wonder at it. We said, "What is causing the Amīr to laugh, may God make his joy perpetual?" He replied, "Today, a feeling of joy has come over me such as I have never experienced before." We said, "May God complete the Amīr's joy and increase him in it!" He replied, "By God, I can only recount the story to you in a propped-up position (i.e., because of his fit of laughing)," and he reclined on his side on the mattress, remaining in a propped-up position.

He then began, "Today I was with the Commander of the Faithful al-Rashīd. He sent for Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh, and he was brought forth from the prison loaded with iron fetters.[460] The Caliph had

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457. Ḥuyayy was a leading figure of the Jewish tribe of Qurayẓah in al-Madīnah and strenuous opponent of the Prophet; see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrat al-Nabī*, passim; in the *Sīra*, III, 252, tr. A. Guillaume, 464, the poem quoted here (uttered on the occasion of Ḥuyayy's execution) is attributed to the contemporary Jewish Medinan poet Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Thaʿlabī.

458. On chronological grounds, it seems impossible that this should be the famous Kūfan philologist and *rāwī* al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī, who died ca. 170 (786–7).

459. Since Nawfal was, with Hāshim, al-Muṭṭalib and ʿAbd Shams, one of the sons of ʿAbd Manāf of Quraysh in pre-Islamic Mecca, the clan of Nawfal claimed a kinship with the house of the Prophet as fellow-Manāfīs.

460. Al-Rashīd's initial favor to Yaḥyā on his arrival from Daylam in the capital under the guarantee of *amān* had speedily turned into suspicion and hostility, leading to his imprisonment (on four separate occasions, according to Ṭabarī, III, 624; below, 131). See Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 313–4; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 125–6; Van Arendonck, 69–70; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 164–5. According to *Maqātil*, 313, al-Rashīd welcomed Yaḥyā hypocritically and intended all the time to procure his downfall, and issued a mendacious and false letter allegedly from a partisan of Yaḥyā's to secure this.

with him Bakkār b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.[461] Bakkār had a violent hatred for the house of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and used to send reports to Hārūn about them and put the worst construction on information about their doings. Also, al-Rashīd had appointed him as governor of Medina and ordered him to press hard on the ʿAlids. He related: When Yaḥyā was summoned, al-Rashīd said to him with an appearance of laughter, "Go away! Go away! Does this man allege too that we have poisoned him?"[462] Yaḥyā replied, "What do you mean by 'allege?' Just look at what is wrong with my tongue!" He related: And he put out his tongue, which was as dark as beetroot. He related: Hārūn scowled and became extremely angry. Yaḥyā said, "O Commander of the Faithful, we have a bond of relationship and kinship between us, and we (i.e., the ʿAlids) are not Turks or Daylamīs. O Commander of the Faithful, we and you are members of a single house, and I remind you of God and our common relationship to the Messenger of God, that you should not imprison and ill-treat me."[463]

He related: Hārūn then felt compassion towards him. But al-Zubayrī came up to al-Rashīd and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, don't let this man's words delude you, for he is a dissident and rebel and this is mere trickery and deceit; indeed, this fellow has introduced an element of evil into our own city (i.e., Medina, the home of the Prophet after the *hijrah*) and has manifested rebellion there." He related: Yaḥyā then went up to him, but by God, he did not ask the Commander of the Faithful for permission to speak before he said, "*I* am introducing evil into *your* city! And who are you, anyway, may God grant you good health?" Al- [617]
Zubayrī retorted, "This is what he says to your face, so what do

461. Father of the genealogist of Quraysh, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (on whom see *EI*[2] s.v. Ibn al-Zubayr [J. F. P. Hopkins]). Bakkār was governor of Medina for al-Rashīd at a date subsequent to 183 (799), see Ṭabarī, III, 739 (below, 304). His hatred for the ʿAlids would be explicable in the light of the ancient hostility between the two Meccan leading Companions ʿAlī and al-Zubayr, dating back at least to the time of the Battle of the Camel in which ʿAlī's forces killed al-Zubayr, and their descendants.

462. From the time of the Second Imām al-Ḥasan onwards, it was frequently alleged by the Shīʿah when their leaders died that they had in fact been poisoned.

463. *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 294. In Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 315 ff., Yaḥyā attacks the Zubayrids for various aspects of their lukewarmness as Muslims in the early days of Islam.

you think he says when he is away from you? He says, 'And who are you, anyway?' thereby refering to us contemptuously." He related: Yaḥyā then came up to him and said, "Yes, and just who are you, may God grant you good health? Was Medina the place of refuge [*muhājar*] sought by ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr[464] or by the Messenger of God? And who are you to say, 'He has introduced evil into our city,' when it was only through my forefathers and the forefathers of this person (i.e., the Caliph) that your forefather (i.e., al-Zubayr) migrated for refuge to Medina?"

Then he went on to say, "O Commander of the Faithful, the true founders of Islam [*al-nās*] are ourselves and your family; if we come out in revolt against you, we can say (in extenuation), 'You have eaten, but have left us hungry; you have clothed yourselves, but have left us naked; you have gone off on your mounts, but have left us to go on foot.' We have derived grounds of complaint against you from that, and you have derived grounds of complaint against us from our rebelling against you. Thus, the two complaints balance each other out, and the Commander of the Faithful will renew his favor upon his own house. O Commander of the Faithful, why do this man and his likes dare to impugn the people of your own house [*ahl baytika*]? He bears slanderous reports to you about them. Indeed, by God, he doesn't bear slanderous reports to you about us as an act of good counsel to you on his part, and indeed, he comes to us and brings slanderous reports to us about you without any intention thereby of providing us with good counsel; he only wishes to introduce an element of separation between us and inflict injury on both parties to his own satisfaction. By God, this man came to me, O Commander of the Faithful, when my brother Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh was killed,[465] and said, 'May God curse the one who killed him!' and he recited to me an elegy on him, uttering about twenty verses of it.[466] He also said, 'If you make a move in this affair (i.e., join in the rebellion), I will be the first to give allegiance to you. What is there to prevent you

464. I.e., Bakkār's great-great-grandfather, anti-Caliph in Mecca and Medina during ʿAbd al-Malik's caliphate, died in 73 (692); see *EI*² s.v. (Gibb).

465. I.e., the "Pure Soul"'s death in battle, see above, 15, n. 61.

466. Isfahani, *Maqātil*, 316–17, gives nine verses of the poem in his account of these exchanges between Yaḥyā and Bakkār, and Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 297 = ed. Pellat, § 2503, a single verse.

going to al-Baṣrah, and then our forces will be joined together with yours?'"

He related: Al-Zubayrī's face became transformed and grew dark. Hārūn went up to him and said, "What is this man saying?" He replied, "(He is) lying, O Commander of the Faithful, not a word of what he is saying really happened." He related: The Caliph went up to Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh and asked, "Can you recite the ode in which he eulogized him (i.e., Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh)?" He replied, "Certainly, O Commander of the Faithful, may God guide you uprightly!" The Caliph said, "Then recite that ode of his!" Al-Zubayrī protested, "O Commander of the Faithful, by God, than whom there is no God but He"—and he went on until he came to the end of the mendacious oath [*al-yamīn al-ghamūs*][467]—"there [618] is nothing at all in what he says, and he has falsely accused me[468] of what I didn't in fact say." He related: Al-Rashīd came up to Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh and said, "He has sworn an oath; now is there any testimony (from people) who heard him recite this elegy?" He replied, "No, O Commander of the Faithful, but I will make him swear to what I desire." He said, "Go ahead and make him swear."

He related: So he went up to al-Zubayrī and said, "Say, 'May I be deprived of God's strength and power, and abandoned to my own strength and power only, if I really did say that!'" Al-Zubayrī said, "O Commander of the Faithful, what sort of an oath is this? I swear to him by God, the Unique God, yet he makes me swear by a formula which is meaningless to me." Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh retorted, "O Commander of the Faithful, if he is speaking the truth, what is preventing him from swearing by what I am asking him to swear?" So Hārūn said, "Swear to him, woe upon you!" He related: Al-Zubayrī then said, "May I be deprived of God's strength and power, and abandoned to my own strength and power only!" He related: He became agitated by these words and reduced to a state of trembling, and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I don't know

467. Etymologically, an oath made firm by dipping the hands (*ghamasa*) into blood, perfume, date or fruit syrup, etc., according to J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 128–9; hence, originally "a firm, binding oath," still with this sense in Ṭabarī, III, 1903, in connection with the Zanj rebellion. The sense of a false or perjured oath, as here, developed later; see J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 26, 192 n. 1, 217 n. 2.

468. Following the Cairo text, VIII, 246, *taqawwala ʿalayya*.

what this oath which he is making me swear is all about, and I have already sworn to him by God the Mighty One, the Mightiest of all things." He related: Hārūn nevertheless said to him, "You must certainly swear to him, or if not, I shall indeed attach credence (to his words) against you and shall punish you." He related: So he pronounced the formula "May I be deprived of God's strength and power, and abandoned to my own strength and power only, if I really did say that!" He related: He then went forth from Hārūn's presence, God thereupon afflicted him with a paralytic stroke, and he died instantly.[469]

He related: ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar said, "By God, what gives me joy is that Yaḥyā did not omit a single word of what passed between the two of them, nor did he cut short any part at all of what he addressed to him."

He related: As for the members of the Zubayrid family, however, they assert that his wife killed him, she being a descendant of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Nakhaʿī has mentioned that al-Zubayr b. Hishām transmitted the information to him from his father that Bakkār b. ʿAbdallāh married a woman who was a descendant of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf,[470] and he had a place dear to her heart. But then he took to himself a slave con-
[619] cubine, to her detriment, and aroused her jealousy. Hence, she said to two black slaves of his, "This evildoer (i.e., her husband) is planning to kill you both," and she cajoled and led them on,[471] "so will you help me to kill him?" They replied, "Certainly!" So she went into his presence whilst he was asleep, accompanied by the two slaves, and the two of them sat down on top of his face until he died. He related: She then gave them date wine to drink until they vomited all over and around the bed furnishings. Then she dismissed them and placed by his head a wine flask. When next morning came, his household assembled together and she said,

469. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 298–300 = ed. Pellat, § 2505; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 317–18; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 294; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 176–7, tr. 191–2. The Shīʿī sources give lurid details of his death from leprosy [*judhām*], swelling and blackening of the body, etc., and the impossibility of filling in his grave with earth so that it had to be roofed over with planks of teak.

470. Companion of the Prophet and member, after ʿUmar's death, of the *Shūrā* or council which elected ʿUthmān as Caliph; see *EI*² s.v. (M. Th. Houtsma, W. M. Watt).

471. Following *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLX, *lāṭafat-humā*.

"He got drunk and then vomited and choked, and thus died." But the two slaves were seized and savagely beaten, to the point that they confessed to his murder and that she had ordered them to do it. She was accordingly ejected from the house and excluded from inheriting anything.

Al-Rashīd's Repudiation of Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh's Guarantee of Safe-Conduct

Abū al-Khaṭṭāb[472] has mentioned that Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid transmitted the information to him one night whilst he was engaged in his nocturnal storytelling session, saying: Today, al-Rashīd summoned Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, there being already present with him the judge Abū al-Bakhtarī[473] and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan the religious lawyer,[474] the disciple [*ṣāḥib*] of Abū Yūsuf.[475] He produced the guarantee of safe-conduct which he had given to Yaḥyā, and then said to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, "What do you say concerning this guarantee, is it legally valid?" He replied, "It is valid." Al-Rashīd then argued and disputed with him over that. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan said to him, "What are you going to do about the guarantee? If he were to make war, and then renounce the struggle, he would still have a guarantee of security." Al-Rashīd showed his anger towards Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan because of his words. Then he asked Abū al-Bakhtarī to examine the guarantee. Abū al-Bakhtarī reported, "This is invalid, on such-and-such counts." Al-Rashīd said, "You are the supreme judge [*qāḍī al-quḍāt*], and you are the person most knowledgeable about that." He thereupon tore up the guarantee and Abū al-Bakhtarī spat on it.[476]

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472. I.e., Ḥamzah b. ʿAlī, a *rāwī* frequently cited by Ṭabarī.

473. I.e., Wahb b. Wahb, traditionist, genealogist and judge of ʿAskar and then of Medina, died in 200 (815–16). See *GAS*, I, 267.

474. I.e., the great lawyer and pupil of, among others, Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Shaybānī, died in 189/805. See *GAS*, I, 421–33; *EI*[1] s.v. (W. Heffening).

475. The famed lawyer, died in 182 (798). See *GAS*, I, 419–21; *EI*[2] s.v. (Schacht). In Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 314, these persons are included in "a group of Ḥijāzīs" who instituted the calumnies against Yaḥyā and who persuaded al-Rashīd that the guarantee of *amān* was invalid. See Van Arendonck, 69–70, and Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 165 n. 1, outlining the various forms of this story in the different sources.

476. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 318–19; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 125–6.

More Accusations from the Zubayrī Family against Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAlawī

Bakkār b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab happened to be present at the court session, and he went up to Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh, confronting him face-to-face, and said, "You have separated yourself from the community of Muslims (literally, "you have split the staff") and have abandoned the majority body [*al-jamāʿah*] (i.e., the majority Sunnī
[620] community); you have opposed our doctrine and have planned designs on our Caliph, and you have acted in regard to us as is well-known." Yaḥyā replied, "Who are you, may God have mercy on you?" Jaʿfar related: By God, al-Rashīd could not prevent himself from laughing heartily.[477] He related: Yaḥyā rose up in order to go back to the prison, when al-Rashīd said to him, "Go free! Don't you (i.e., the courtiers around him) perceive signs of sickness in him? If he dies at this moment, people will say, 'They poisoned him.'" Yaḥyā replied, "Not at all! I have been continuously ill since I have been in prison, and before then I was ill also." Abū al-Khaṭṭāb related: Yaḥyā only remained one month after this before he died.

Abū Yūnus Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl has mentioned, saying: I heard ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī,[478] who was known as al-Khaṭīb, saying: One day, my father and I were at al-Rashīd's gate, and on that particular day there was present such a number of troops and commanders as I have never seen the like at any Caliph's gate either before then or since. He related: Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ came out to my father and said to him, "Come in!" and he remained for a while and then came out to me and said, "Come in too!" so I went in. Behold, there I was with al-Rashīd, who had with him a woman with whom he was talking. My father made signs to me by moving his head, (conveying the sense) that "He does not want anyone to come in today, but I asked permission for you to enter because of the great press of people that I saw crowding round the gate; and if you come in by this entrance, that will increase your prestige in the eyes of the people."

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477. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 296 = ed. Pellat, § 2503.

478. Descendant of ʿAlī's son al-ʿAbbās (killed with al-Ḥusayn at al-Ṭaff or Karbalāʾ) by his wife Umm al-Banīn bt. Ḥizām al-Kilābiyyah. See Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 253; Ṭabarī, I, 3471; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 298, tr. 388.

We did not wait very long before al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ came along and said, "ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī seeks permission to enter." The Caliph replied, "I don't want anyone to be allowed to come into my presence today." Al-Faḍl stated, "He has said, 'I have something (important) to mention.'" The Caliph retorted, "Tell him to say it to you!" Al-Faḍl said, "I told him that, but he asserts [621] that he can only tell it to you personally." The Caliph said, "Bring him in, then," and al-Faḍl went out to bring him in. The woman returned, and the Caliph became immersed in talking to her. My father came up to me and said, "He hasn't really got anything to mention. Al-Faḍl only means by this to convey the idea to all those at the gate that the Commander of the Faithful hasn't allowed us to enter because of some special matter for which we have been specifically singled out; he has merely allowed us to enter because of some request we have to make of him (i.e., of the Caliph), just as this al-Zubayrī has entered."

Al-Zubayrī appeared and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, here is something which I must mention." The Caliph said to him, "Speak on!" Al-Zubayrī said to him, "It's a secret!" The Caliph said, "We have no secrets from al-ʿAbbās." I got up (as if to go), but he said, "Nor from you, my dear fellow," so I sat down again. The Caliph then said, "Now speak!" Al-Zubayrī said, "By God, I have become fearful for the Commander of the Faithful on account of his wife and daughter, the slave girl who sleeps by his side, his slave attendant who hands him his clothes, and both the most intimate of mankind with him from among his commanders and those more distant from him" (i.e., there is virtually no one who should not be regarded with suspicion). He related: I saw that his (i.e., the Caliph's) color changed, and he said, "What's this about?" Al-Zubayrī replied, "The summons to the cause of Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan came to me, and I realized that it must not have reached me—in view of the enmity between us (i.e., the Zubayrids) and them (i.e., the ʿAlids)—until he had not left anyone at your gate (i.e., at court) without bringing him into opposition against you."[479]

479. I.e., as the least likely person to adhere to the ʿAlid cause, a Zubayrid would be the very last person to be invited to join it; hence, all the less intransigent foes of the ʿAlids must already have been invited!

The Caliph said, "Will you say this to him to his face?" He replied, "Yes." Al-Rashīd said, "Bring him in." He came in, and he repeated the words which he had said to the Caliph. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh then replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, he has by God brought forward something which, if it were said to a person of lower status than you in regard to a person of higher status than me, and he had the controlling power over him, he would never escape (from the accusation) at all. I have a bond of kinship and relationship; so why do you not either lay aside this matter or else dispose of it quickly? It may be that you will be relieved of the burden of me by some hand or tongue other than your own; or you may well find that you will sever the bond of kinship without your being aware of it! I will contend with him in argument in your presence, bringing down the curse of God on whomever is proved wrong, if you will be patient for a little while."

The Caliph said, "O ʿAbdallāh, arise and perform the worship, if
[622] you judge that appropriate." Yaḥyā arose and faced towards the *qiblah*, and performed two shortened (literally, "light") *rakʿahs*,[480] and ʿAbdallāh likewise performed two *rakʿahs*. Then Yaḥyā knelt down and said (to ʿAbdallāh), "Kneel," and then he intertwined his own right hand with ʿAbdallāh's one and said, "O God, if you have known that I summoned ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab to rebelliousness on the basis of this"—and he place his (other) hand on the intertwined right hands and pointed to them—"then destroy me with an act of Your divine punishment, and abandon me to my own strength and power alone. But if the contrary is true, then abandon him to his own strength and power alone, and destroy him with an act of Your divine punishment. Amen, O Lord of the Worlds!" ʿAbdallāh also repeated, "Amen, O Lord of the Worlds!" Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh then said to ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab, "Say the words which I have just said." ʿAbdallāh accordingly said, "O God, if you have known that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh did not summon me to rebelliousness on the basis of this, then abandon me to my own strength and power alone, and destroy me with an act of Your divine punishment. But if the contrary is true, then abandon him to his own strength and power alone, and destroy him with an act of Your divine punishment. Amen, O Lord of the Worlds!" On that, the two of them parted.

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480. *Rakʿatayn khafīfatayn*, i.e., consisting only of the *Fāṭiḥah* plus a short sūrah or portion of the Qur'ān, a permissible abridgment of the *ṣalāt*; cf. Jahshiyārī, 218, *fa-khaffafa al-rajul ṣalātahu*.

Orders were then given for Yaḥyā to be imprisoned in an out of the way part of the palace. When he went back there and ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab went away, al-Rashīd came up to my father and said, "I have done so-and-so for him and I have done so-and-so for him," and then he enumerated his favors to him. My father addressed him with a couple of words which were so innocuous as not to have scared away a sparrow, out of fear for his own safety. The Caliph commanded us to depart, so we departed homewards.

I entered (the house) with my father, taking off from him his black robes, as was my wont. Whilst I was unloosing his girdle, the slave boy suddenly burst into his presence and said, "ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab's messenger (is here)!" He replied, "Bring him in!" When the messenger entered, he said to him, "What's the reason behind your coming?" The messenger said, "My master says to you, 'I adjure you by God, please come to me!'" My father said to the slave, "Tell him that I have been with the Commander of the Faithful right up till this very moment, but I am just sending ʿAbdallāh to you; whatever you wish to communicate to me, deliver the message to him," and he further told the slave, "Set off, and he (i.e., ʿAbdallāh) will follow on your tracks."

My father remarked to me, however, "He has only summoned me in order to seek assistance from me in the furtherance of the [623] lies which he has put forward. If I help him, I shall sever my bond of relationship with the Messenger of God; and if I oppose him, he will spread slanderous reports about me. Yet people can use their children as shields and protect themselves against unpleasant occurences by means of them; so go along to him, and to everything which he says to you make your reply, 'I will inform my father.' I am sending you, without however feeling confident about your safety." My father had told me when he returned homewards (from the palace)—that (delay) having arisen because we were kept back with al-Rashīd—"Did you not observe the slave strategically placed to block the way out of the palace? He did not, by God, dismiss us until he had finished with him"—he meant Yaḥyā—"Indeed we belong to God and to Him we shall be returning, and we expect our reward from God (i.e., ultimately, and not immediately)!"[481]

481. Following the *ʿinda Allāh* of the Cairo text, VIII, 251, for the Leiden text's *ʿAbdallāh*.

I accordingly set off with the messenger. When I had gone some distance along the way, disturbed in my mind at what I was about to embark on, I said to the messenger, "Woe upon you! What is he up to, and what has disquieted him into sending to my father at this time?" He replied, "When he came back from the palace, the very moment he alighted from his mount he cried out, 'My belly, my belly!'" ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās related: I did not attach much significance to these words of the slave's nor pay much attention to him. But when we came to the gate of the house, which was in a cul-de-sac, the two doors were thrown open[482] and behold, the womenfolk had come forth with their hair flowing loose, girt with cords around their waists, beating their faces and crying out in lamentation. The man had just died!

I said (to myself), "I have never seen anything more remarkable than this," and I pulled at my mount's reins to turn it round homewards, galloping at a pace I had never galloped at previously nor ever did subsequently. The slaves and retainers were meanwhile awaiting me (anxiously), because of the strength of the shaykh's (i.e., his father al-ʿAbbās's) attachment to me. Hence, when they saw me, they ran into the house. He came out to meet me in a state of agitation, wearing only his shirt and a towel (round his waist) and crying, "What sort of situation have you left behind, my dear son?" I replied, "He is dead!" He exclaimed, "Praise be to God, who has brought about his death and has freed you and ourself of him!"

He had not finished his words when one of al-Rashīd's eunuchs
[624] arrived, ordering my father to ride forth and me with him. My father observed, while we were travelling along the road, "If it were permissible for a gift of prophecy to be attributed to Yaḥyā, then his family (i.e., ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab's)—may God have mercy on him!—might well claim that to be so! We reckon him to have earned a recompense from God! By God, we cannot doubt but that he has been struck dead!" We proceeded onwards until we entered al-Rashīd's presence. When he looked up at us he said, "O ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan, have you not heard the news?" My father replied, "Yes indeed, O Commander of the Faithful, and praise be to God who has struck him down through the words of his own tongue, and

482. Following the emendations recommended in n. *c*.

may God protect you, O Commander of the Faithful, from the severance of your bonds of relationship!" Al-Rashīd said, "By God, the man (i.e., Yaḥyā) is perfectly free to do what he likes!" and he drew aside the curtain. Yaḥyā came in and, by God, I discerned clearly the shaykh's joy.

When al-Rashīd looked at him he cried out, "O Abū Muḥammad, have you not yet realized that God has destroyed your enemy, the tyrant!" He (i.e., Yaḥyā) exclaimed, "Praise be to God who has made clear to the Commander of the Faithful his enemy's mendacity against me and who has spared him from severing the bonds of his relationship! By God, O Commander of the Faithful, even if this matter (i.e., Yaḥyā's alleged bid for power and assumption of the rule) were something which I seek, and am suitable for and earnestly desire, how (could I achieve it?). In fact, I don't seek or earnestly desire it! And (even if) attaining it could only be achieved by enlisting his (i.e., ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab's) help and then there was no one left in the world except myself, yourself and him, I would never overpower you by means of his help. Also, this man, by God"—and he pointed to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ—"is one of the misfortunes which you are afflicted with. By God, even if you were to give him ten thousand dirhams, and then he had an avid desire for one single date from me, he would sell you to me for that date" (i.e., he is totally mercenary). The Caliph replied, however, "As for al-ʿAbbāsī,[483] don't say anything but good about him." He ordered Yaḥyā to be given that very day one hundred thousand dīnārs, having imprisoned him for just part of a day. Abū Yūnus related: Hārūn had imprisoned him on three occasions in addition to this spell of imprisonment and had presented him with four hundred thousand dīnārs.

In this year, factional strife [*ʿaṣabiyyah*] was stirred up in Syria between the Nizārīs and Yamānīs (i.e., the North and South Arabs), the head of the Nizārīs being at that time Abū al-Haydhām.[484]

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483. The name which al-Rashīd was wont to give al-Faḍl, presumably referring to his clientage [*walāʾ*] to the ʿAbbāsid family.

484. This person must be the Abū al-Haydhām ʿĀmir b. ʿUmārah who, according to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 495, and Azdī, 279, was head of the Nizārīs and who rebelled in the Ḥawrān in this year, slaughtering the Yamānīs; the Caliph sent against him, these sources continue, al-Sindī (b. al-Shāhik? See Ṭabarī, III, 580, above, 59), who

[625]

*The Internecine Strife [*fitnah*] among the North and South Arabs in Syria*

It has been mentioned that this internecine strife was stirred up in Syria at the time when Mūsā b. ʿĪsā[485] was governor there on behalf of the ruling power. A large number of people were killed among the Nizārīs and Yamānīs on account of the factional strife between them. So al-Rashīd appointed Mūsā b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid as governor over Syria,[486] and strengthened his power by attaching to him a body of commanders, troops and senior secretaries. When he reached Syria, this body of retainers was halted and accommodated [*uḥillat*] for his entry into (the house of) Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī al-Hāshimī.[487] Mūsā then remained there until he had restored peace among its people, the strife had died down and affairs in Syria became settled and on an even keel. The news about this reached al-Rashīd in the City of Peace, and he awarded jurisdiction over the people of Syria to Yaḥyā; the latter forgave them and overlooked the violence that had raged between them and brought them (i.e, the leaders of the Syrian factions) to Baghdad. Concerning this, (Abū Yaʿqūb) Isḥāq b. Ḥassān al-Khuraymī[488] says,

killed Abū al-Haydhām and scattered his forces. In Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 127 ff., we have a highly detailed and original account of this factional strife and of the activities of the *Zawāqīl* or banditry, including the fighting of Abū al-Haydhām al-Murrī with the Yamānī faction, placed under the year 176 (792–3) but giving a connected narrative of events up to Abū al-Haydhām's death, placed in 182 (798), hence, encompassing also the account of the unrest in Syria given by Ṭabarī, III, 639–41. Cf. further Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 494–5; Palmer, 63–4; P. von Sievers, "Military, merchants and nomads: the social evolution of the Syrian cities and countryside during the classical period, 780–969/164–358," *Isl.*, LVI (1979), 220–1.

485. It is stated in Ṭabarī, III, 626, below, 134, that Mūsā was governor of Egypt around this time. His governorship in Syria may have followed after his second spell of power in Egypt, ending in Ṣafar 176 (June 792); see below, loc. cit., n. 494.

486. Cf. Bouvat, 49.

487. The text here, as the editor notes, is evidently corrupt. The present tentative translation is an attempt to make sense of it on the lines suggested by the editor (and, in regard to the vocalization *uḥillat*, by the Cairo text, VIII, 251), including the insertion of a word like *dār* before the name of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh, the former ʿAbbāsid governor of Syria and father of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ, who had himself been dead since 152 (769).

488. Eulogist of al-Rashīd and the Barmakīs, and supporter of al-Amīn in the Civil War, died ca. 206/821–2 (the *nisbah* to be read thus according to Pellat, and not "al-Khuzaymī" as here in the text). See *GAL*, S I, 111–12; *GAS*, II, 550–1; *EI*² s.v. Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Khuraymī (Pellat).

Who will go as a messenger to Yaḥyā, when before meeting up with him
lie the thickets of every valiant lion?
O shepherd of Islam, who is not neglectful of his duties,
(at this moment residing) in the pleasant circumstances of a contented way of life and the fragrance of sweet-smelling perfumes.
Its watering places are sweet and wholesome, and you are given water to drink,
whilst it (i.e., the camel bearing the messenger to him) spends the nights in the hills and mountain ridges,
Until it lays down its forequarters, striking (the ground) with the upper
part of its neck, and its tethering ropes become firmly fixed in an abode of peace.
Every gap in the frontiers has a guard, through his forethought,
and in regard to the bright gleams of a glance, no one who raises his eyes is rendered weak.[489]

Another poet, in addition to Abū Ya'qūb (i.e., al-Khuraymī), has said,

Syria raged with unrest
such as to make the hair of a child turn white!
Then Mūsā was unleashed upon it, [626]
with his cavalry and his detachment of troops.
So that Syria submitted (to him), when
he came with the auspiciousness of his unique presence.[490]
He is the generous one, and every other
generous person is surpassed by his generosity.
The generosity of his father Yaḥyā
and that of his forefathers has passed to him,
So that Mūsā b. Yaḥyā has become generous
with both recently acquired liberality and his hereditary qualities,

489. *Dīwān*, ed. 'Ali Jawād al-Ṭāhir and Muḥammad Jabbār al-Mu'aybid, 58 no. 47.
490. The Cairo text, VIII, 252, has "when he brought his unique presence."

And indeed, Mūsā reached the zenith of glory
when he was still a young child in his cradle.
I have singled him out for my eulogies,
both eulogies in prose and those in the form of poetic odes.
He has a branch from (i.e., is a scion of) the Barmakīs,
and how noble is his branch!
They have acquired possession of the whole of poetry,
that in the *khafīf* metre and that in the *madīd* one!

In this year, al-Rashīd dismissed al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ from the governorship of Khurāsān and appointed Ḥamzah b. al-Haytham al-Khuzāʿī, who had the nickname of "the Bride,"[491] over it.[492]

In this year, al-Rashīd appointed Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak over Egypt, and the latter appointed (as his deputy) there ʿUmar b. Mihrān.[493]

The Reason behind al-Rashīd's Appointment of Jaʿfar al-Barmakī over Egypt and the Latter's Appointment of ʿUmar b. Mihrān (as His Deputy) over It

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar has mentioned that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mihrān transmitted the information to him that the news reached al-Rashīd that Mūsā b. ʿĪsā, the governor in Egypt at that time,[494] had resolved to throw off allegiance.[495] Al-Rashīd ex-

491. Son of the *naqīb* prominent in the ʿAbbāsid Revolution and commander of guard for al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī, died in 181 (797–8). See Crone, 181; Kennedy, 81.

492. Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. IV, 459; Ḥamzah, 165; Azdī, 277.

493. Bouvat, 68; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 148–9. Jahshiyārī, 146, states that in this year there was something like a division of the empire into two governorships for Yaḥyā's sons, and with Jaʿfar taking over all the lands west of Anbār and al-Faḍl all the lands east of al-Nahrawān. In fact, al-Faḍl's stay in Khurāsān was only brief, 178–9 (794–5), see Ṭabarī, III, 631–7 (below, 143–51), and Jaʿfar's must have been nominal, for he stayed in Baghdad over the next years, apart from his expedition to quell a revolt in Syria, see Ṭabarī, III, 639 ff. (below, 155 ff.).

494. According to Kindī, 132, 134, 137, the member of the ʿAbbāsid family Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad (a second cousin of al-Rashīd's) was governor of Egyt on three separate occasions, the one mentioned here being the second governorship al-Muḥarram 175–Ṣafar 176 (May 791–June 792). Kindī does not, however, give this episode of ʿUmar b. Mihrān's surprise arrival in Egypt and deposition of Mūsā.

495. More feasible as a reason for al-Rashīd's displeasure are the reports of Mūsā b. ʿĪsā's oppressions in Egypt, as adduced, e.g., by Jahshiyārī, 171.

claimed, "By God, I'll replace him with the most insignificant person at my court! Search out for me such a man!" Hence, the name of 'Umar b. Mihrān, who was at that time functioning as secretary for al-Khayzurān,[496] and had no experience of acting thus for anyone else, was mentioned (to him). 'Umar had a squint [627] and an unprepossessing face; he wore inferior-quality clothes, the most valuable part of his clothing being his *ṭaylasān* which was worth thirty dirhams. He used to tuck up his robes and roll up his sleeves; he used to ride a mule, with a halter and an iron bridle, and with his slave boy mounted behind him.[497] Al-Rashīd now summoned him and then appointed him governor over Egypt, with responsibility for its finances, the caliphal estates there, and the conduct of warfare there. 'Umar said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I will act as governor there on one condition." He replied, "And what is that?" 'Umar said, "That I may make the decision myself about laying down office; when I have restored peace to the land, I shall depart." So al-Rashīd granted him that condition.

'Umar b. Mihrān made his way to Egypt, and his tenure of the governorship followed immediately upon that of Mūsā b. 'Īsā. The latter was expecting 'Umar's arrival. 'Umar b. Mihrān then entered Egypt, mounted on a mule, with his slave boy Abū Durrah[498] riding on a baggage mule. He sought out Mūsā b. 'Īsā's house, at a moment when Mūsā had a throng of people around him, went in and sat down among the people at the back. When the people attending the session dispersed, Mūsā b. 'Īsā enquired of 'Umar, "Is there anything you want, O shaykh?" 'Umar replied, "Yes, may God guide the Amīr uprightly!" Then he stood up with the documents (i.e., those he had brought with him, containing his own letter of appointment) and handed them over to him. Mūsā said, "Abū Ḥafṣ—may God preserve him!—is coming?" 'Umar replied, "I am Abū Ḥafṣ." Mūsā exclaimed, "Are you really 'Umar b. Mihrān?" He replied, "Yes." Mūsā commented, "May God curse Phar-

496. Cf. Abbott, 121–4.

497. 'Umar's unprepossessingness and his shabby clothes are emphasized in Jahshiyārī, loc. cit.

498. Specified in ibid. as black; hence, with the name "Father of the pearl" by antiphrasis, as often in the names of slaves.

aoh when he says, 'Is not the kingdom of Egypt mine?' "[499] Then he handed over to him the administrative charge of the province and departed.[500]

'Umar b. Mihrān went up to his slave boy Abū Durrah and instructed him, "Don't accept any presents except those which can be put into a bag (i.e., small ones, or those in cash form); don't accept any riding beast, slave girl, or slave boy." The people now began to send their presents. He (i.e., Abū Durrah) for his part began to send back the larger presents in kind but would accept presents of money and clothing and would take them along to 'Umar, who would then record on them the names of the donors. At this point, 'Umar began the process of collecting the taxes. Now there was in Egypt a group of people who were accustomed to put off payment of the taxes due and evade them.. 'Umar made a start with one of these persons, but he pleaded inability to pay him. 'Umar thereupon exclaimed, "By God, you're going to have to
[628] pay the taxation due from you at the public treasury in the City of Peace itself, if you live to tell the tale!" The man said, "I'll pay it," and then begged for his indulgence and intercession. But 'Umar said, "I have sworn an oath and I cannot break it," so he despatched the man under an escort of two soldiers. Provincial governors were at this time able to correspond directly with the Caliph,[501] hence 'Umar sent with them a letter to al-Rashīd in the following terms:

"I summoned so-and-so, son of so-and-so, and demanded payment of the taxation due from him, but he refused to pay me and asked for a delay; so I gave him a respite. Then I summoned him again, but he put off paying once more, and looked like refusing payment altogether. Whereupon I swore that he should only pay it at the public treasury in the City of Peace. The total sum due from him is such-and-such, and I have sent him forward under the escort of so-and-so, son of so-and-so, and so-and-so, son of so-and-

499. Qur'ān, XLIII, 50/51.

500. Jahshiyārī, 171–3; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 294–5; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 126; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*, II, 78–81, discussing at length why mention of 'Umar b. Mihrān apparently dropped out of mention among the governors of Egypt; Palmer, 61–2.

501. I.e., without having to go through the central *Dīwān* of the Seal, a concession obtained from the Caliph by al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā because of the administrative tardiness of the then head of that department, Abū al-'Abbās al-Faḍl al-Ṭūsī. See Jahshiyārī, 135; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 137.

so, from the section of the Commander of the Faithful's army under the command of so-and-so, son of so-and-so. If the Commander of the Faithful thinks fit to write back to me confirming his arrival, then, if God Most High so wills, perhaps he would kindly do so?"

He related: No one now pleaded inability to pay him any part of the taxation due, so he sought payment of the taxation for the first stipulated period, and then the second one. But when it was time for the third instalment, demands for payment had to be made and people put off payment. 'Umar accordingly summoned the taxpayers and the traders, and pressed them for payment; they put off payment and complained of indigence. 'Umar thereupon ordered those presents which had been sent to him to be brought in, looked into the bags and summoned the assayer and valuer [*jahbadh*].[502] He weighed out their contents and used them as payments toward the sums required from their original donors. He sent for baskets, and had the sale of their contents publicly proclaimed; he sold them and used the price gained towards settling the original donors' tax liabilities. Then he said, "O group of men, I kept back from you your presents for the time when you would need them. So hand over to us now the remainder of the taxation due to us." They duly handed it over to him until the whole of the taxation of Egypt was gathered in. Then he departed; it is not known that anyone else except 'Umar ever succeeded in collecting by the end of the fiscal year the whole of the taxation of Egypt due [*aghlaqa māla Miṣr*][503] and then departed. So he set out on a mule, with Abū Durrah on another mule, he himself having made the decision to lay down office.[504]

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502. On the functions of this official in the financial administration of the mediaeval caliphate, see *EI*[2] s.v. [W. J. Fischel].

503. For the technical term of the financial departments *ighlāq*, see Bosworth, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art," 135. The difficulties of collecting taxation in Egypt are well-known to us, through, *inter alia*, the papyri from there; see E. Ashtor, *A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, 67–9.

504. Jahshiyārī, 173–4; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 295–6; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 127; Ibn Taghrībirdī, II, 80–1; Palmer, 61–3; Abbott, 122–4. According to Kindī, 134–5, followed by Ibn Taghrībirdī, II, 83, Mūsā's successor after this second governorship of his was another 'Abbāsid prince, Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh (a first cousin twice removed of al-Rashīd's), himself serving as governor for the second time.

In this year, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Malik led the summer raid and captured a fortress.[505]

[629] In this year, Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr led the Pilgrimage, and according to what al-Wāqidī has mentioned, Hārūn's wife Zubaydah and with her her brother[506] also made the Pilgrimage.[507]

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505. Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 740. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522, Hāshim b. al-Ṣalt, but according to Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 716, there was no summer raid this year.

506. Presumably, her full brother Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr.

507. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit.; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 521; Abbott, 242.

The Events of the Year 177

(April 18, 793–April 6, 794)

Among the events taking place during this year was al-Rashīd's dismissal, according to what has been mentioned, of Ja'far b. Yaḥyā from the governorship of Egypt and his appointment to Egypt of Isḥāq b. Sulaymān;[508] also, al-Rashīd's dismissal of Ḥamzah b. Mālik from Khurāsān and his appointment of al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā to there, together with al-Rayy and Sijistān, in addition to the provinces which he was already governing.[509]

In this year, 'Abd al-Razzāq b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Taghlibī led the summer raid.[510]

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508. According to Kindī, 136, governor after the second governorship of Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ, from Rajab 177 to Rajab 178 (October 793–October 794). Isḥāq b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh was in fact a first cousin of his predecessor.

509. Jahshiyārī, 146, placing the appointment in 176; Ḥamzah, 165; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 296; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 140; Ibn Tiqtaqā, 183, tr. 199; Bouvat, 59–60; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 145–6; Daniel, 169. Al-Faḍl did not actually set out for Khurāsān till the following year, see Ṭabarī, III, 631 (below, 143).

510. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 741. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 522, however, the leader was Dāwūd b. al-Nu'mān on behalf of 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ (who, according to Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 717, was the actual leader, with Sulaymān b. Rāshid al-Thaqafī the leader of an apparently successful winter raid (the event recorded by Ṭabarī, III, 637, under the year 178?).

In this year, according to what al-Wāqidī has mentioned, there occurred a (violent) wind, and overshadowing (of the heavens) and a redness (in the sky), on the night of Sunday (i.e., the night of Saturday-Sunday), the twenty-sixth of al-Muḥarram[511] (May 13, 793).[512] Then there was a further overshadowing (of the heavens) of the heavens on the night of Wednesday (i.e., the night of Tuesday-Wednesday), the twenty-eighth of al-Muḥarram (May 15, 793), and then a violent wind and intense overshadowing of the heavens on Friday, the second of Ṣafar[513] (May 19, 793).[514]

In this year, Hārūn al-Rashīd led the Pilgrimage.[515]

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511. Actually, a Monday, which would fit correctly with the next-mentioned day of Wednesday, the twenty-eighth of al-Muḥarram.

512. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

513. Actually, a Sunday.

514. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

515. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 521; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year 178

(April 7, 794–March 26, 795)

Among the events of this year was the uprising of the Arab tribesmen of the Ḥawf[516] in Egypt, comprising the Qays,[517] Quḍāʿah and others, against al-Rashīd's governor there, Isḥāq b. Sulaymān, their fighting with him, and al-Rashīd's despatching to him of Harthamah b. Aʿyan, in company with a group of commanders attached to him as reinforcements for Isḥāq b. Sulaymān, until the tribes- [630]
men of the Ḥawf submitted, returned to their obedience and handed over the taxes due to the central government which were incumbent upon them. Harthamah was at that moment al-Rashīd's governor over Palestine. When the episode of the Ḥawf tribesmen was settled, Hārūn removed Isḥāq b. Sulaymān from the governorship of Egypt and appointed in his stead Harthamah for about a month; then he removed him and appointed ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ over Egypt.[518]

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516. Literally, "the flank," the region stretching from the eastern Nile delta to the fringes of Sinai; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 322.

517. On the influx of North Arab tribesmen into Egypt from 109 (727) onwards, see C. H. Becker, *Beitrage zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, II, 121 ff.

518. Kindī, 136; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 141; Ibn Taghrībirdī, II, 87–8; Palmer, 64–5; Becker, II, 132–3.

Harthamah b. Aʿyan Restores Order in Ifrīqiyah

In this year occurred the uprising of the people of Ifrīqiyah against ʿAbdawayh al-Anbārī and the troops of the army who were with him there. As a result, al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ b. Ḥātim was killed and the members of the house of al-Muhallab there were expelled.[519] So al-Rashīd sent Harthamah b. Aʿyan against them, and they returned to their obedience. It has been mentioned that, when this ʿAbdawayh seized control of Ifrīqiyah and threw off allegiance to the central government, his power grew and the number of his supporters swelled and the people of the outlying areas rushed to join him. Al-Rashīd's vizier at that particular moment was Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak, and the latter sent Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā and his secretary Manṣūr b. Ziyād against ʿAbdawayh.[520] Yaḥyā b. Khālid kept continuously despatching letters to ʿAbdawayh, encouraging him to return to his obedience, putting him in fear of the consequences of rebellion, going to great lengths in exhorting him, giving him hopes of future bounty and promises, until he accepted a guarantee of safe-conduct and returned to his obedience and came to Baghdad. Yaḥyā implemented his guarantee of ʿAbdawayh and treated him handsomely;[521] he secured a guarantee of safety on his behalf from al-Rashīd, gave him presents and appointed him to high office.[522]

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519. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 496, and Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 135–6, al-Faḍl had succeeded Naṣr b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī (Ibn al-Athīr, Ḥabīb b. Naṣr), arriving in Ifrīqiyah in al-Muḥarram 177 (April –May 793). In Ibn al-Athīr's detailed account, VI, 135–9, it is described how the Ifrīqiyan troops rebelled under ʿAbdawayh against the bad conduct of the Muhallabī governors there, with ʿAbdawayh extending his power from Tunis to Qayrawān and killing al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ; but at VI, 137, the further revolt of a section of ʿAbdawayh's army against its leader is placed immediately after the killing of al-Faḍl and, by implication, made into a result of this killing.

520. According to Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 138, Yaḥyā was sent on ahead by Harthamah to negotiate because of his influence and standing with the Khurasanian troops who formed a good proportion of the garrison of Ifrīqiyah.

521. Bouvat, 49. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 139, says however that he was imprisoned [*uʿtuqila*] at Baghdad.

522. In Yaʿqūbī's detailed account of events in Ifrīqiyah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 496, the leader of the revolt is given as ʿAbdallāh b. al-Jārūd, but with Harthamah as the pacifier of the country before his return to Egypt in 179 (795–6); the equally detailed account of Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 135–9, combines the two names as "ʿAbdallāh b. al-Jārūd, known as ʿAbdawayh al-Anbārī." This same account makes clear that

In this year, al-Rashīd entrusted all his affairs to Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak.[523] [631]

In this year, al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf the Khārijite[524] rebelled in al-Jazīrah and proclaimed there the doctrine of *taḥkīm*;[525] he fell upon Ibrāhīm b. Khāzim b. Khuzaymah at Nisībīn,[526] and then moved from there into Armenia.[527]

Al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā's Governorship in Khurāsān and the Poetic Eulogies of Him

In this year, al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā set out for Khurāsān as governor over it. He behaved in a praiseworthy way there, building mosques and *ribāṭs* and making raids into Transoxania. Khārākharah (?), the ruler of Ushrūsanah,[528] submitted to him, having previously refused allegiance. It has been mentioned that al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā formed in Khurāsān an army of the local population [*al-ʿAjam*] which he called "partisans of the ʿAbbāsids" [*al-ʿAbbāsiyyah*], attaching them as clients [*jaʿala walāʾahum*] to the ʿAbbāsids. (It

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the complex military operations in Ifrīqiyah extended at least up to the year 180 (796–7), for Harthamah did not return from Ifrīqiyah till Ramaḍān 181 (November 797), after a governorship there of two and a half years. See also Palmer, 67–72; Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, 52–3; Kennedy, 192–3.

523. Azdī, 280; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 145; cf. Bouvat, 49.

524. In Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, Azdī, 283, the *K. al-ʿUyūn* and Ibn al-Athīr (see below, n. 527), he is given the *nisbah* of "al-Taghlibī," but in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XI, 9 = ed. Cairo, XII, 94, and the biography given by Ibn Khallikān, VI, 31–4, tr. III, 668–71, that of "al-Shaybānī." This must be correct, in the light of the verses given by Ṭabarī, III, 638 (below, 153, see n. 564), unless we amend "al-Taghlibī" to "al-Thaʿlabī," for Thaʿlabah was the forebear of Shaybān of the great group of Bakr b. Wāʾil; see *EI*² s.v. (W. Caskel).

525. Echoing the slogan of the early Khārijites at the time of their secession from ʿAlī's army at Ḥarūrā in protest at the Caliph's acceptance of the idea of arbitration between himself and Muʿāwiyah; from this slogan "no judgment [*ḥukm*] except by God" arose the alternative name for the sect of *al-Muḥakkimah*.

526. A town of upper al-Jazīrah on the Hirmās river. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 288–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 94–5; Canard, *H'amdânides*, 103; *EI*¹ s.v. (Honigmann).

527. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 718; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 495, placing the beginning of al-Walīd's revolt in 179 (795–6); Azdī, 280; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 296; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 141. Ṭabarī considers the later stages of this revolt under the year 179; see III, 638 (below, 153–54).

528. I.e., the Afshīn; for this ancient Iranian title, see *EI*² s.v. (Barthold-Gibb). The name of the ruler given here is perhaps identical with the name Kh.rākh.rāf (?) in Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 274.

has also been mentioned) that these troops numbered as many as five hundred thousand, that twenty thousand of them went on to Baghdad, being known there as *K.r.n.biyyah*,[529] and that al-Faḍl left the remainder of them in Khurāsān, registered according to their names and entries in the pay-registers.[530] Concerning this event, Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah says,

Al-Faḍl is none other than a brilliant shooting star that sets not in battles when other stars set.
A protector over the realm of a house whose share of power is resplendent,[531]
through inheritance, having a connection (i.e., with the Prophet, as descendants of the Prophet's paternal uncle al-ʿAbbās) in their possession.
An access of strength has been formed for the sons of the one who provided the pilgrims with water to drink (i.e., for the descendants of Hāshim, grandfather of al-ʿAbbās[532]), made up of squadrons of cavalry who have no other allegiance except to them.
Squadrons of cavalry for the descendants of al-ʿAbbās; the latter have recognized
what al-Faḍl has brought together of these troops, both non-Arabs and Arabs.

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529. In Jāḥiẓ, *K. al-Bukhalāʾ*, 69, *kurunbiyyah* = "a dish made with cabbage"; cf. *WbKAS*, I, 150b. But could this usage here be an opprobrious designation, "cabbage [*kurunb*] eaters"? The penchant of the Khurāsānians for their own regional dishes, even when they were resident in Baghdad, appears from Ṭabarī, III, 1046.

530. Jahshiyārī, 146–7; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 292 (mentioning a rebellion of the people of Ṭālaqān [i.e., of Ṭālaqān in Ṭukhāristān]; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 6–7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 423–4; *EI*[1] s.v. [Huart]); Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 165; Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. IV, 459; Azdī, 280; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 296; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 145; Ibn Khallikān, IV, 29, tr. II, 460–1; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 202–3; Bouvat, 60–2; Daniel, 169; Pipes, 137; Kennedy, 120, 181. Shaban, 31, 36, explains al-Faḍl's concessions on tax arrears and other financial matters in Khurāsān—unusual in a family so keen on exacting all the state's dues—as measures to ensure a continued flow of recruits for the troops at that time being raised in Khurāsān.

531. Vocalizing here *gharra sahmuhum*; the Cairo text, VIII, 257, has *ʿazza sahmuhum* "whose share of power is exalted," with a similar meaning.

532. Hāshim had the right of *siqāyah*, supplying water to the pilgrims in Mecca during pre-Islamic times, a right confirmed by the Prophet at the conquest of Mecca in 8 (630). See M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 64, 173; idem, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 89 ff.

He set down of their numbers, five hundred [632]
thousands, which the registers have enumerated for you,
Who go forth in defence of a group of persons who are the closest to Aḥmad (i.e., to the Prophet Muḥammad)
(who figures) in the Holy Book [*al-Furqān*],[533] if their genealogy is traced back.
Indeed, in regard to the munificent one, the son of Yaḥyā, al-Faḍl, neither silver coins
nor gold ones remain for very long, through the lavish generosity of his two hands.
Not a single day of his life has elapsed since he girded up his loincloth (i.e., prepared for action in the Caliph's service)
without people becoming rich from what he bestows in gifts.
How many utmost efforts in munificence and valor has he guarded closely
for those who seek their furthest extent, to such a degree that one experiences fatigue before that extent is reached!
He lavishes handsome presents, when even the (ordinarily) generous person does not give them, and he does not
shrink back when the sharp, slender[534] Indian swords are unsheathed.
Neither the desire for approbation—and the desire for God's approbation is his supreme aim—
nor anger impels him to anything unjust.
Your liberality has flowed forth in floods, to the point that no life-giving rain nor sea with swelling waves equals it.[535]

He related: Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah had recited the following to al-Faḍl in his military encampment before the latter set out for Khurāsān:

Have you not seen that generosity passed down from Adam
till it reached al-Faḍl's palm?

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533. A Qur'ānic term with connotations of "deliverance, redemption; separation (of the believers from the unbelievers)," often applied to the Qur'ān as a whole; see *EI*² s.v. Furḳān (R. Paret).

534. Following the *al-quḍub* of *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLX, and the Cairo text, VIII, 257.

535. Munierah al-Rasheed, 101, no. 8; *Shi'r Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah*, ed. 'Aṭawān, 18–19, no. 3; Harley, "Abu's-Simṭ Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah," 85.

When Abū al-ʿAbbās's heavens become favorable and open (i.e., when al-Faḍl bestows his largesse),
what fine continuous rain and heavy downpours (i.e., of bounty) you experience![536]

[633] He also said:

When her child's hunger makes a child's mother fearful,
she calls him by the name of al-Faḍl and the child finds security.
Islam is given new life through you, for you are indeed its strength and glory,
and you stem from a family whose youngest one is fully mature (i.e., in wisdom and power).[537]

Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās has mentioned that al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā ordered one hundred thousand dirhams to be given to him (i.e., to Marwān), and presented him with fine clothes and a she-mule as a mount. He related: I heard him say, "From this visit of mine to the court I netted seven hundred thousand dirhams." He further says concerning al-Faḍl,

I have selected for praise the son of Yaḥyā b. Khālid,
and this is sufficient for me; and I have not acted wrongfully in thus choosing.
He habitually spreads forth justice and munificence
to the leading men of Qaḥṭān and of those attaching themselves to Nizār (i.e., of the South and North Arabs).
He has travelled to the pulpit (i.e., the commanding position of an Islamic leader) of the eastern lands, and he has always had
a father who takes up the lofty position on a dais and a pulpit.
He is accounted with Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, and is never seen
as anything but a military leader or as one appointed to a position of power.[538]

Salm al-Khāsir also eulogized him, saying,

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536. Munierah al-Rasheed, 163, no. 152; *Shiʿr*, 92, no. 58; Harley, 84–5.
537. Jahshiyārī, 142; Munierah al-Rasheed, 162, no. 151; *Shiʿr*, 86, no. 53; Harley, 85.
538. Munierah al-Rasheed, 126, no. 76; *Shiʿr*, 45, no. 26.

How can you fear any misfortune in a place
which the Barmakīs, the munificent ones, have encompassed with their protection?
And a people who include al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā,
a group of warriors who hurl themselves into the fray and whom no other group of warriors can withstand (or: can equal, *yuwāzinuhu*)?
He has two days, one for munificence and one for valor in battle, [634]
as if Time were a captive between them.
When one of the Barmakīs reaches the age of ten years,
his ambition is to become a vizier or an amīr.[539]

Al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq al-Hāshimī has mentioned that Ibrāhīm b. Jibrīl[540] set out with al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā for Khurāsān, with Ibrāhīm reluctant to depart; this consequently made al-Faḍl angry with him. Ibrāhīm related: One day, he sent for me, having paid no attention to me for a while. I went into his presence, and when I stood before him, I greeted him, but he failed to return the salutation. So I said to myself, "By God, this portends something unpleasant." He was all this time reclining, but now sat upright and then said, "Let not your mind be troubled (or: let your fear be dispelled), O Ibrahim, for the fact of my power over you restrains me from doing anything to you." He related: Then he conferred the governorship of Sijistān upon me, and when I brought in the province's taxation, he thereupon gave it back to me and gave me five hundred thousand dirhams additionally. (Al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq) related: Ibrāhīm was the commander of al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā's police force and personal guard. Al-Faḍl sent him against Kābul; he conquered it and took immense booty.[541]

539. Von Grunebaum, "Three Arabic poets of the early Abbasid age. V. Salm al-Ḫāsir," 67, no. XIX = *Shu'arā' 'Abbāsiyyūn*, 101, no. 19.

540. Son of a Khurasanian Jibrīl b. Yaḥyā al-Bajalī, who had probably taken part in the 'Abbāsid *da'wah* in Khurāsān; as noted below, Ibrāhīm was in charge of the *shurṭah* and *ḥaras* for al-Faḍl. See Crone, 179–80.

541. This operation of al-Faḍl in eastern Afghanistan and Sīstān, penetrating as far as Zābulistān, Kābul and Bāmiyān, was important for the extension of Muslim arms in these regions. See Jahshiyārī, 148; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 289–91, tr. 102–3, 106–7; anon., *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, 154–5, tr. M. Gold, 122; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 146; Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids* (30–250/651–864), 85–6; Kennedy, 181.

He related: Al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās b. Jibrīl, who was with his paternal uncle Ibrāhīm, transmitted the information to me, saying: As a result of that episode, Ibrāhīm acquired seven million (dirhams), at a time when he already had in his possession four million dirhams from the money collected in taxation. When he came back to Baghdad and built the house for himself at al-Baghayīn,[542] he invited al-Faḍl to pay him a visit so that he might show al-Faḍl the results of the latter's benevolence towards him. He prepared for al-Faḍl presents, rare and costly gifts, and vessels of gold and silver, and he ordered four million (dirhams) to be placed in a certain part of the house. He related: When al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā seated himself, Ibrāhīm offered him the presents and the rare and costly gifts, but al-Faḍl refused to accept a single one of
[635] them and told him, "I haven't come to you in order to despoil you!"[543] Ibrahim replied, "O Amīr, it is really your own munificence." Al-Faḍl said, "You can count on further munificence from us (in the future)." He related: Out of all that, al-Faḍl only accepted a Sijzī whip, saying, "This is part of the equipment of real cavalrymen (i.e., of outstanding warriors)." Ibrāhīm then told him, "This money is the money collected in taxation." Al-Faḍl replied, "It is all meant for you." Ibrāhīm repeated his protest to him a second time. Then al-Faḍl said, "Haven't you a house big enough for it?" Then he made all that over to Ibrāhīm and departed homewards.[544]

He related: When al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā arrived back from Khurāsān, al-Rashīd proceeded to the Garden of Abū Jaʿfar, going forth to meet him ceremonially, and the Hāshimites and a great crowd of the military commanders, secretaries, and nobles [*ashrāf*] met him. He began to offer presents to people of a million (dirhams) and of five hundred thousand (dirhams),[545] and Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah eulogized him, saying:

We give praise to the One who has safely brought back Ibn Yaḥyā,

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542. The quarter on the west bank of the Tigris just below the Upper Bridge. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 108; Lassner, *Topography*, 68.

543. Following *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXI, the Cairo text, VIII, 259, and Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 197 = ed. Ibrāhīm, I, 297: *li-uslubaka*.

544. Jahshiyārī, 148; Bayhaqī *Maḥāsin*, loc. cit.

545. Jahshiyārī, 147; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 165; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 296; Ibn Khallikān, IV, 29, tr. II, 461.

and with his advent
the birds are flying back to us with portents of great fortune.
Our eyes did not sink into a state of calm until they beheld him,
nor did they cease to be suffused with tears until he returned.
His cavalrymen and his foot soldiers came to us in the morning,
led by a man exciting intense admiration, who outstrips all other people in valor and commanding authority.[546]
He drove the foe away from Khurāsān, just as the morning sunshine
dispells the enveloping garment of night, so that it has vanished away.
The one whose route was in the evening at Marw has returned
to us, and people have said, "Our throng of people (or: host of warriors, *sha'bunā*) has now dispersed!"
On the occasion when he dashed down the padlock of every act of wrong,
and with his forgiveness set free the captive loaded with fetters,
And he distributed among them, without arousing a sense of obligation and with fairness,
beneficent gifts, perpetually enduring and repeated ones.
In this way, he dispelled from them the causes of fear which [636]
alarmed,
and instituted and completed among them highly desired security and peace.
Moreover, he lavished his bounty upon the orphans among them,
to such an extent that he was more caring and more beneficial (to them) than real fathers.
If people wish to attain the extremity of al-Faḍl's generosity
and valor, they will find it farther away than the stars.
Yaḥyā and Khālid have become elevated through al-Faḍl
to every high and noble aim.
He acts with clemency towards the one who gives the Caliph his obedience,
but gives the sharp-bladed Indian sword to drink the rebel's blood.

546. The Cairo text, VIII, 259, has "... a man who has subdued people with his valor and eminence."

His swords have brought low hypocrisy in religion, together with polytheism,
yet they have been a source of everlasting might and glory to the followers of the faith.
The one who, in addition to (or: because of, *ʿalā*) his own excellence, has been invested with the companionship of the Caliph,
has acquired strength through his allegiance to the Chosen One (i.e., the Prophet Muḥammad, al-Muṣṭafā),
The contender with the Prophet in excellence, the one who inaugurates affairs and finishes them, through whom
God bestows all beneficence and cuts it off.
You made the mountains of the ruler of Kābul lawful spoil and you did not leave
there any hearth (or: any fuel, *mūqad*) for the fires of error;[547]
And then you let them experience (the impact of) cavalrymen who trampled down their massed forces,
(leaving them) as slain ones, captives and routed troops in disarray.
[637] Your benevolence was shown again to Ibn al-Barm[548] after
he had humbled himself, as one rendered forsaken by God,
who sees death face-to-face, standing alone.[549]

Al-ʿAbbās b. Jarīr has mentioned that Ḥafṣ b. Muslim,[550] the brother of Rizām b. Muslim the mawlā of Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī,[551] transmitted the information to me, saying: I went into al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā's presence at the time of his return from Khurāsān, and he had scattered about bags of money, with their seals still intact; not a single one of these bags had its seal broken. Whereupon I recited,

547. Referring to the expedition sent against Kābul under Ibrāhīm b. Jibrīl by al-Faḍl in this year, see Ṭabarī, III, 634 (above, 147).

548. I.e., the son of the Khurasanian rebel Yūsuf b. al-Barm, executed by al-Mahdī in 170 (786–7), see Ṭabarī, III, 563 (above, 32, and n. 135).

549. Munierah al-Rasheed, 114, no. 43; *Shiʿr Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah*, 31–2, no. 15; Harley, 85–6.

550. Abū Muqātil Ḥafṣ b. Muslim al-Fazārī is mentioned as a *rāwī* by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 249, s.v. Samarqand, in a tradition stemming from Anas b. Malik and in material taken from Samʿānī.

551. I.e., the Umayyad governor of Iraq during Hishām's caliphate, died in 126 (743–4); see *EI*² s.v. (G. R. Hawting).

Through al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid
and the liberality of his hands, God has compensated for the avarice of every miser.

He related: Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah said to me, "I wish I had forestalled you in reciting this verse, and I am ready to pay ten thousand dirhams!" (i.e., for the use of this verse).

In this year, Mu'āwiyah b. Zufar b. 'Āṣim[552] led the summer raid, and Sulaymān b. Rāshid led the winter one, accompanied by Elpidius [*Albīd*], the Patricius of Sicily.[553]

In this year, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who was governor of Mecca, led the Pilgrimage.[554]

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552. Member of a North Arab family of al-Jazīrah, whose grandfather 'Āṣim al-Hilālī had been killed in the 'Abbāsid Revolution fighting for the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān II; see Crone, 166.

553. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 145; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 741. According to Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 718, al-Bakhtarī b. Sharīk b. 'Alā' al-'Absī led the raid under 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ, but according to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 522, Yazīd b. Ghazwān led it. Elpidius had been *strategos* of Sicily, but had rebelled there and then in 782 fled to the Arabs in North Africa. This particular expedition penetrated as far north as Amisus (i.e. Samsun) on the Black Sea coast. See M. V. Anastos and Canard, in *Cambridge medieval history. IV. The Byzantine empire. Part 1*, 83, 707.

554. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit.; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 521; Azdī, 281; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year 179

(March 27, 795–March 15, 796)

Among the events of this year was the return home from Khurāsān of al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā and his appointment as his deputy there of ʿAmr b. Shuraḥbīl.[555]

[638] In this year, al-Rashīd appointed as governor of Khurāsān Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī.[556]

In this year, Ḥamzah b. Atrak al-Sijistānī led a Khārijite rebellion [*sharā*] in Khurāsān.[557]

In this year, al-Rashīd dismissed Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Bar-

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555. Jahshiyārī, 147, calls ʿAmr "ʿUmar b. Jamīl," resembling the "ʿAmr b. Ḥ.m.l" of Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 165.

556. Manṣūr had been governor of Yemen for al-Mahdī, his father being a maternal uncle of that Caliph. See Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 481, 515; Ṭabarī, III, 502–3, 518; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 146; Crone, 255, n. 580.

557. Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 304, tr. 133; Gardīzī, *K. Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, 131–3; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 147. On the very serious revolt of Ḥamzah b. Adharak (thus correctly for Ṭabarī's Atrak) or ʿAbdallāh, which disturbed Khurāsān and Sīstān for some thirty years, till his death in 213 (828), see Palmer, 108–9; Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 87–104; idem and B. Scarcia Amoretti, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 96–7, 108–9, 510–12; R. N. Frye, *The golden age of Persia, The Arabs in the East*, 119.

mak from the office of court chamberlain and gave the job to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ.[558]

In this year, al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf the Khārijite returned to al-Jazīrah, and his military might grew strong and his partisans numerous.[559] Hence, al-Rashīd sent against him Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī.[560] Yazīd enticed al-Walīd onwards and then met him in battle above Hīt,[561] when the latter was unprepared, and killed him and a numerous group of his followers, the remainder of them dispersing.[562] The poet has said in this connection,[563]

One group of Wāʾil[564] is slaughtering another group of themselves;
only the steel (of a sword blade) can make notches in another sword blade.

Al-Fāriʿah, the sister of al-Walīd, said,

O trees of the Khābūr, what are you doing, putting forth leaves,
as if you felt no grief for Ibn Ṭarīf?

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558. Jahshiyārī, 184; cf. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 144. Muḥammad b. Khālid had been given the post in 172 (788–9), according to Jahshiyārī, 143.

559. The early stages of this revolt are recorded by Ṭabarī, in the events of the previous year, at III, 631 (above, 143).

560. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 496, the Caliph had previous to this sent two other commanders against the rebel. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XI, 9 = ed. Cairo, XII, 95, and Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 142, emphasize the Barmakīs' hostility to Yazīd regarding this appointment; this stemmed of course from Yazīd's support for the succession of Jaʿfar b. al-Hādī in the last days of al-Hādī's caliphate, see Ṭabarī, III, 572 (above, 45).

561. Town on the Euphrates to the west of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 420–1; Le Strange, *Lands*, 64–5; *EI*² s.v. (M. Streck).

562. Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn*, I, 342; Ibn Qutaybah, 382; Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 720–3; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XI, 9–10 = ed. Cairo, XII, 94–6; Azdī, 281–2; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 296–7; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 141–3; Ibn Khallikān VI, 31–4, 327–9, tr. III, 668–71, IV, 218–20; Palmer, 65–7. Khalīfah, Azdī, Ibn al-Athīr, and Ibn Khallikān give considerable detail about what was clearly a serious and prolonged outbreak of some two years affecting not only al-Jazīrah and Armenia but also parts of Diyārbakr and western Persia; cf. Kennedy, 121.

563. Identified in Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 723, as Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ, i.e., Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mihrān, called Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ, historian and traditionist of Baṣrah, died in 252 (866). See *GAL*, S I, 216; *GAS*, I, 317.

564. Shaybān, to which both al-Walīd and Yazīd belonged, were a component of Bakr b. Wāʾil, see *EI*² s.v. (Caskel). In Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 142, and Ibn Khallikān, VI, 31, tr. III, 668, the Barmakīs, hostile to Yazīd, allege that the latter was not prosecuting the war against al-Walīd energetically enough because of the tribal kinship bond between them.

A noble youth, who prefers provision for a journey only in the form of piety,[565]
and wealth only in the form of spears and swords.[566]

In this year, in the month of Ramaḍān, al-Rashīd performed the 'Umrah as an act of thanksgiving to God for the benevolence which He had vouchsafed to him regarding al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf. Then when he had completed the 'Umrah, he returned to Medina and he remained there till the time for the Pilgrimage. Then he led the people in the Pilgrimage and traveled on foot from Mecca to Minā and thence to 'Arafāt. He visited on foot the various places involved in the rites of the Pilgrimage and then came back home-
[639] wards along the Baṣrah road. Al-Wāqidī, however, states that when al-Rashīd had completed the 'Umrah, he remained at Mecca until he led the people in the Pilgrimage.[567]

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565. Echoing Qur'ān, II, 193/197.

566. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 723; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XI, 8–11 = ed. Cairo, XII, 92–9, giving eleven verses of this elegy plus verses by the poet Muslim b. al-Walīd Sarī' al-Ghawānī, who accompanied Yazīd b. Mazyad on the final campaign against al-Walīd and eulogized him for his victory; Azdī, 282–3; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 297; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 142–3; Ibn Khallikān, VI, 32–3, tr. III, 669, giving eighteen verses of the elegy of al-Fāri'ah plus five more from another *marthiyah*; Kaḥḥālah, *A'lām al-nisā'*, IV, 20.

567. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 719; Azdī, 284; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 297.

The Events of the Year 180

(March 16, 796–March 4, 797)

Among the events of this year was the factional strife which raged in Syria between its people.

The Outcome of the Factional Strife in Syria and the Poetic Eulogies of Ja'far b. Yaḥyā, Restorer of Order There

It has been mentioned that, when this factional strife took place in Syria between its people and the state of affairs became grave, al-Rashīd grew disturbed about what was happening among them; so he invested Ja'far b. Yaḥyā with control of Syria and told him, "Either you go forth (to settle affairs there) or I'll go myself." Ja'far exclaimed to him, "Nay, I will protect you personally," so he set out with a numerous host of military commanders, horses and armaments, and appointed al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr[568] as commander of his police force and

568. Grandson of a Khurasanian, al-Musayyab al-Ḍabbī, prominent as a deputy *naqīb* in the 'Abbāsid *da'wah*; he remained in charge of the *shurṭah* until al-Ma'mūn's arrival in Baghdad in 204 (819). See Crone, 187–8.

Shabīb b. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah[569] as commander of his personal guard. He went to them (i.e., to the warring factions), arranged peace between them, killed the *Zawāqīl*[570] and brigands in their ranks and did not leave there a single lance or horse (i.e., any matériel for future warfare). Thus, they returned to a state of security and tranquillity, and he extinguished that rancor.[571] Manṣūr al-Namarī recited when Ja'far set out,

The fires of civil strife have been kindled in Syria,
but this is now the time in Syria when its fire will be allayed.
When the waves of the sea of the house of Barmak rose high
over it, its blazing flames and sparks became extinguished.
The Commander of the Faithful has launched an assault upon this civil strife by means of Ja'far,
and through the latter there have come together both the suppression of the trouble and then restoration of the damage (or: both its damaged part and the restored part).
He (i.e., the Caliph) has launched an attack on this civil strife by means of one auspicious in his nature, a noble one,

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569. Grandson of the *naqīb* and outstanding figure in the *da'wah*, Qaḥṭabah al-Ṭā'ī, and subsequently head of al-Ma'mūn's *ḥaras* for a time. See Crone, 188–9; Kennedy, 79–80.

570. This group (the etymology of whose name remains obscure; in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 523, s.v. Dayr al-'Adhārā, we have the collective form *Zāqūlah*) is an intriguing one. The definition in *Glossarium*, p. CCLXXVIII, "non-Arab soldiers of Syria (and Mesopotamia)," is not appropriate. From mentions like the present one and that in the passage dealing with fighting at al-Raqqah in al-Amīn's reign, in 196 (811–12) (see Ṭabarī, III, 843, 845), it is clear that the *Zawāqīl* were Arabs, predominantly of the North Arab Qays or Muḍar group, for their chiefs were the heads of such prominent tribes as 'Uqayl, Hilāl and Sulaym. Their being linked with brigands (here, *mutalaṣṣiṣah*) and other lawless elements (as emerges, e.g., from Jāḥiẓ's mention of the *Zawāqīl al-Shām* in his *K. al-Bukhalā'*, 49, among such notorious predators as the Kurds, the Zuṭṭ and the Qufṣ) presumably arose from their anti-'Abbāsid stance in this period; their head Naṣr b. Shabath al-'Uqaylī led a prolonged rebellion against the caliphate in al-Ma'mūn's reign, see Ṭabarī, III, 1045–6, 1069–72. From all this, we discern that the *Zawāqīl* were a social group rather than an ethnic or sectarian or confessional one. For a detailed consideration of the *Zawāqīl*, see Ayalon, *The military reforms of Caliph al-Mu'taṣim*, 18–20.

571. Jahshiyārī, 162–3, and Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 495, giving the (differing) texts of a *khuṭbah* or oration which Ja'far pronounced to the people of Syria, presumably at Damascus, after completing his operation there; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 459–60; Azdī, 289; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 151; Bouvat, 68–9; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 149; K. S. Salibi, *Syria under Islam: empire on trial, 634–1097*, 37; Kennedy, 122.

a man with whom both the Qaḥṭān and Nizār factions of Syria have become content.[572]

A hard, Barmakī rock has come down upon them, [640]
whose onslaught penetrates as far as the brains in the skulls of those who have broken their trust.

You have set out in the morning, driving forward a dense mass of troops, on whose heads are
the gleaming stars of the Pleiades and whose fruit is death.

When their banners flutter and the wind murmurs gently
through them, their sudden, dazzling appearance strikes fear into those who hear them.

So say to the people of Syria, "Do not let
either long-term or immediate hopes deprive you of your native intelligence.

For indeed, the Commander of the Faithful is coming to you in person, and
if not in person, then his personal choice."

He (i.e., Ja'far) is the wielder of authority, whose beneficence and piety are hoped for,
and against whose battle assaults no one can stand firm.

The Caliph's helper, sword
and spearshaft; and in warfare, their blades become stained with blood!

Some persons have the Caliph's secrets kept from them,
but you are their repository and the place where they are held safe.

You have fulfilled your trust, and have never acted treacherously towards any group of people with a covenant of protection,
and you have never come near to any matter whose dishonorable aspects have reached you.

A physician, in bringing fresh life to affairs; when necks become contorted
through the onslaughts of time, you are their healing splint.

When momentous strokes of ill fate come upon the son of Yaḥyā, [641]
Ja'far,
the most serious of them do not affright him.

572. This eulogy of Ja'far's pacifying role among both South and North Arabs confirms that the *Zawāqīl* were a component element of the local Syrian Arabs.

There has arisen in Syria, from your approach, a cloud,
whose gifts are eagerly hoped for but whose destructiveness is feared.
So well for the people of Syria, but woe for their mother!
Either life-giving rain has come to it, or else destruction for it!
If they agree to peace, it will be the cloud of a lavish giver
and abundant rain; but if not, then its rain will be composed of blood!
Your father is the father of those wielding authority, Yaḥyā b. Khālid,
the one who is characterized by liberality and beneficence;
even the small acts of beneficence which he does are great ones (i.e., by other people's standards) (or: even the great acts of liberality are [for him] small ones).
How many acts of generosity do you see among the Barmakīs,
and how many of their rushing-forward battle horses, whose dust cannot be penetrated!
The person who alights with his baggage by you comes with auspicious stars,
and a band of people having you as their protector is rendered strong.
My defender (or: excuser, *'adhīrī*) from the attacks of fate; can its determined actions
and its acts of constraint keep me back from Ja'far?
Hence, the eye of sorrowfulness is continually fixed from fear of separation from him;
my soul is attached to him, and its recollection does not allow any sleep.[573]

Ja'far b. Yaḥyā's Return from Syria and His Address of Thanks to the Caliph

Ja'far b. Yaḥyā appointed Ṣāliḥ b. Sulaymān governor of the Balqā'[574] and adjoining regions, and appointed as his deputy in

573. *Shi'r Manṣūr al-Namarī*, 92–3, no. 23.
574. The hilly district, still thus known today, east of the Jordan. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 489; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 34–5; *EI*² s.v. (J. Sourdel-Thomine).

Syria ʿĪsā b. al-ʿAkkī,[575] and then returned homewards. Al-Rashīd heaped further honors on him. When he came to al-Rashīd, he went into his presence, according to what has been mentioned, and kissed his hands and feet. Then he stood respectfully before [642] him[576] and said,

"O Commander of the Faithful, praise be to God who has put my fearfulness at ease, answered my prayers, shown mercifulness in regard to my supplications and prolonged my predetermined span of life so that He has let me see the face of my master! He has honored me with proximity to him, He has bestowed favor on me by allowing me to kiss his hand, and He has brought me back to his service. By God, if I were indeed to mention my absence from him, the occasion of my going away and the strokes of destiny which have disquieted me, then know that they were the result of sins against God which overtook me and errors which encompassed me. If my absence from you were to prove long, O Commander of the Faithful—may God make me your ransom!—I would be afraid of my reason giving way out of anxious solicitude for your presence and sorrowfulness at being separated from you, and afraid that violent yearning to see you would speedily turn me away from giving ear to you! So praise be to God, who has preserved me safe during the period of my absence, has let me enjoy sound health, has taught me to respond readily, has held me fast to obedience and has stepped in to keep me back from embarking on courses of disobedience. For I only set out in accordance with your judgment, and I have only come back with your express permission and command; and death has not intervened to cut me off before I could reach you. By God, O Commander of the Faithful—and there is no mightier oath than one sworn by God—I have experienced directly things regarding which, if the whole of the present world were set out before me, I would nevertheless prefer over it being close to you, and would not indeed consider it a fair exchange for staying close to you."

575. Cf. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 149 n. 2.

576. On these customs of respectful greeting, see Sourdel, "Questions de cérémoniale ʿabbaside," 136–8. It was humiliating to have to stand thus for an inordinately long time.

Then Ja'far said to al-Rashīd immediately after the previous speech and on the same spot,

"O Commander of the Faithful, God has not ceased to confer favors upon you in your caliphate, inasmuch as He knows your intentions and lets you see in your subjects the full extent of your hopes. He sets their community aright for you, He brings together their social cohesion and He repairs the disorder of their affairs, as an act of preserving your power among them and as an act of mercifulness for them. All this is only in order (for them) to hold firmly to obeying you and to preserve the bond of your favor; God is the One deserving of praise and merit for this. O Commander of the Faithful, I have left the people of various districts of Syria in a state of obedience to your command, remorseful over their previous rebelliousness against you, holding fast to their allegiance to you, placing themselves within your sphere of authority, seeking your forgiveness, feeling assured of your magnanimity, hopeful of [643] your graciousness and secure against the manifestations of your anger. Their condition in their present state of unity and agreement is exactly as it was in their (former) state of mutual dissension, and their condition in their present state of harmony is exactly as it was in their (former) state of refractoriness and rebellion. The Commander of the Faithful's pardon and forgiveness towards them is bestowed before they actually plead their extenuating circumstances, and his conciliatory approach to them and favorable attitude towards them is vouchsafed in advance by him before their actually seeking (forgiveness).

"God's oath, O Commander of the Faithful, if it is true that I have set out homewards from them, and that God has allayed the sparks of their violence, extinguished their blazing, expelled their rebellious ones, set on the upright way the mass of them, bestowed on me a fortunate outcome in my dealings with them and given me the upper hand over them, all that stems only from your charismatic power, your auspiciousness, your victorious strength, the perpetuation of your happy, fortunate and enduring ruling authority, and their fearfulness of you, combined at the same time with hopefulness of favor from you. By God, O Commander of the Faithful, I only marched against them in accordance with your instructions, I only dealt with them strictly according to your command, and I only went among them in exact conformity with

what you indicated and delineated to me and gave me the resources to achieve; and by God, it was only because of your summons, because of God's singling you out to use as His instrument and because of their fear of your severity, that they submitted.

"That which I myself have accomplished—even though I have exerted myself to the utmost and reached the farthest extent of my powers—has not fulfilled a part of the duty which I owe to you. Nay, your beneficence towards me has only increased in intensity as I myself have increased in inability and sense of weakness to render you thanks. God has not created a single person out of your subjects who has striven further than myself in stimulating within himself the desire to fulfill the obligations due to you. My sole desire is to expend my life blood in obedience to you and in everything which brings (me) nearer to conformity with your will. But I experience your acts of benevolence towards me on a scale which I experience from no one else. Moreover, how can I thank you enough, when I have become unique among my contemporaries in regard to what you have done for me and through me? Or how can I thank you enough, when I am only able to give thanks to you through your own acts of beneficence to me? Or how can I thank you enough, when, even if God were to set my act of thanks among the enumeration of the acts of generosity which you have vouchsafed to me, the abundance of these from me would not reach to that? Or how can I thank you enough, when you are my [644] refuge to the exclusion of any other refuge which I might have? Or how can I thank you enough, when you do not accept what I want for myself (i.e., the Caliph knows what is good for him better than he does himself)? Or how can I thank you enough, when you renew your acts of beneficence to me to an extent which exceeds everything bestowed on me previously by you? Or how can I thank you enough, when you make me forget all your earlier favors to me by the renewed favors which you heap upon me (at present)? Or how can I thank you enough, when, through your bounty, you set me in the foremost place above my peers? Or how can I thank you enough, when you are my patron and master [*waliyyī*]? Or how can I thank you enough, when you are the bestower of honors upon me? I beseech God, who has bestowed that upon me through you, without any just claims (of mine) to it—for thankfulness is impotent to attain the conveying of a part of that, nay, a part of the tenth

of a tenth of it—that He will take charge of recompensing you on my behalf with what He is more able to accomplish and more powerful to attain, and that He will fulfill, on my behalf, the obligations justly due to you and (the requiting of) the great extent of your favor. For all that lies within the power of His hand, and He is the One able to bring it about!"

Various Items of Information

In this year, al-Rashīd took away the seal ring from Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā and handed it over to his father Yaḥyā b. Khālid.[577]

In this year, Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā was appointed governor of Khurāsān and Sijistān. He appointed as his deputy over them Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah.[578]

In this year, al-Rashīd set out from the City of Peace, intending to travel to al-Raqqah via the Mawṣil road. When he encamped at al-Baradān, he appointed ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar governor of Khurāsān and dismissed Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā from it. Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā's tenure of power over it was twenty days (literally, "nights") only.[579]

In this year, Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā was appointed commander of the guard.[580]

[645] In this year, al-Rashīd had the walls of al-Mawṣil demolished because of the Khārijites who had raised rebellions from there.[581] Then he proceeded to al-Raqqah; he encamped there, and made it one of his homes.[582]

In this year, he dismissed Harthamah b. Aʿyan from Ifrīqiyah and

577. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 152; Bouvat, 69; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 138.

578. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 686; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 165; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Bouvat, loc. cit. Muḥammad was a grandson of the *naqīb* Qaḥṭabah al-Ṭāʾī, see Ṭabarī, III, 639 (above, 156, n. 569), and Crone, 188.

579. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Bouvat, loc. cit.; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 149.

580. Ibid.

581. Dīnawarī, 390; Azdī, 279–80, 284–7; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 152–3. The Khārijite rebel is named here as al-ʿAṭṭāf b. Sufyān al-Azdī, who according to Azdī began his rebellion in the Mawṣil region as far back as 177 (793–4) and who eventually escaped to Armenia.

582. Azdī, 289; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 153. Al-Raqqah became in fact al-Rashīd's favored residence rather than Baghdad, possibly because, Shaban has suggested, the Barmakīs' effective methods of collecting taxation were detested by the Abnāʾ of Baghdad. See Shaban, 30, 37; Kennedy, 120.

brought him back to the City of Peace. Ja'far b. Yaḥyā then appointed him as his deputy over the guard.[583]

In this year, there was a severe earthquake in Egypt, and as a result, the top of the Pharos at Alexandria fell down.[584]

In this year, Khurāshah (b. Sinān) al-Shaybānī proclaimed a Khārijite revolt [*ḥakkama . . . wa-sharā*] in al-Jazīrah, but Muslim b. Bakkār b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī killed him.[585]

In this year, the "wearers of red" [*al-muḥammirah*][586] rebelled in Jurjān. At this, 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān[587] wrote that the person who had stirred up that outbreak against him was 'Amr b. Muḥammad al-'Amrakī and that he was a dualist infidel [*zindīq*];[588] so al-Rashīd ordered him to be killed, and he was executed at Marw.[589]

In this year, he dismissed al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā from Ṭabaristān and al-Rūyān and appointed as governor there 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim (b. Khuzaymah). He also dismissed al-Faḍl from al-Rayy; Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārith b. Shikhkhīr[590] became governor there, and Sa'īd b. Salm (b. Qutaybah) became governor over al-Jazīrah.[591]

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583. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 152.

584. *K. al-'Uyūn*, 301; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit. The Pharos was frequently affected by earthquakes, but remained in use till the 5th (11th) century; see *EI*² Manār, Manāra (J. Sadan and J. Fraenkel).

585. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 724–7, gives a detailed account of this revolt, which began in 179 (795–6) and affected western Persia and central Iraq rather than al-Jazīrah; al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā sent Ibrāhīm b. Jibrīl to suppress it in this year. Azdī, 279, places this revolt under the year 176, and at p. 291, as continuing into the year 181. For Muslim b. Bakkār, member of an al-Jazīrah family whose members served both the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids, see Crone, 106–7.

586. This is the name later given to the partisans of Bābak al-Khurramī. These must have been the neo-Mazdakites who had already risen in Gurgān in 162 (779) in conjunction with the Khurramiyyah or Abū-Muslimiyyah (Ṭabarī, III, 493). See on both these revolts, Scarcia Amoretti, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 505; Daniel, 147; *EI*² s.v. Khurramiyya (Madelung).

587. 'Alī b. 'Īsā had been appointed governor of Khurāsān in 180 (796–7) in place of al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī's deputy Manṣūr b. Yazīd, an appointment not actually noted by Ṭabarī,. See Jahshiyārī, 180; Dīnawarī, 390; Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 165; Gardīzī, 131; Daniel, 170; Crone, 178; Kennedy, 121.

588. Presumably a Manichaean.

589. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 152; Daniel, loc. cit.

590. The *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXI, suggest for this last component B.sh.khīr in the light of Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVII, 74 = ed. Cairo XVIII, 301 (here read as Buskhunnar).

591. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

In this year, Muʿāwiyah b. Zufar b. ʿĀṣim led the summer raid.[592]

In this year, al-Rashīd went to al-Baṣrah on his return from Mecca. He reached it in al-Muḥarram of this year and then encamped at al-Muḥdathah[593] for some days before transferring thence to the palace of ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar[594] at al-Khuraybah.[595] Then he sailed on the Sayḥān Canal, which Yaḥyā b. Khālid had dug out,[596] with the aim of inspecting it and the weir [*sikr*] across the Ubullah Canal and the Maʿqil Canal,[597] until (as a result of that) the condition of the Sayḥān (Canal) was put in good order. Then he set out
[646] from al-Baṣrah on the eighteenth of al-Muḥarram and arrived at the City of Peace. Then he set out for al-Ḥīrah;[598] he established himself there, had residences built there and allotted parcels of building land [*khiṭaṭ*] for his retinue, remaining there about forty days. The people of al-Kūfah rose up against him and made his position in the neighborhood uncomfortable, so he traveled to the City of Peace.[599] From there, he set out for al-Raqqah, appointing as his deputy in the City of Peace at this time Muḥammad al-Amīn, to whom he entrusted the governorship of the two Iraqs (i.e., Mesopotamia and ʿIrāq ʿAjamī, western Persia).

In this year, Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī led the Pilgrimage.[600]

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592. Ibid.; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 741. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522, Ismāʿīl b. al-Qāsim led the raid.

593. "The newly founded," presumably a new suburb of the expanding city of al-Baṣrah.

594. I.e., the ʿAbbāsid prince, grandson of al-Manṣūr, at this time governor of al-Baṣrah; see Ṭabarī, III, 559 (above, 26–27, n. 109).

595. A place in al-Baṣrah, according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 363–4.

596. Balādhurī, 363; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 293–4; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 64. The surroundings of this canal seem to have been noisome, judging by the poetry on it.

597. For these canals, see Balādhurī, 358–63; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 363–4; Le Strange, *Lands*, 46–8; Pellat, 16–19.

598. Town of central Iraq, the ancient capital of the pre-Islamic Lakhmid kings, but in Islamic times gradually eclipsed by the nearby military camp of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 328–31; Le Strange, *Lands*, 75–6; *EI*² s.v. [I. Shahîd].

599. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 152–3.

600. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 720; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522; Azdī, 290; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 153.

The Events of the Year 181

(March 5, 797–February 21, 798)

Among the events taking place in this year was al-Rashīd's leading a raid into the Byzantine lands. He captured by force of arms the fortress of al-Ṣafṣāf.[601] Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah accordingly recited,

Indeed, the Commander of the Faithful, the Chosen One,
has left al-Ṣafṣāf a desert plain [*qāʿan ṣafṣafā*]![602]

In this year, ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Ṣāliḥ led a raid against the Byzantines; he reached as far as Anqirah and captured Maṭmūrah.[603]

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601. Dīnawarī, 390 (with "Maʿṣūf" for "Ṣafṣāf"); Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit.; Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. IV, 460; Azdī, 290; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 158; Palmer, 75. This fortress ("The Willows") lay beyond the northern end of the Cilician Gates, on the Constantinople road, near Loulon or Luʿluʿah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 413; Le Strange, *Lands*, 134–5, 139; Honigmann, 42; Canard, *Hʿamdânides*, 284; idem, in *Cambridge medieval history*, IV/1, 707; Shaban, 31–2.

602. Munierah al-Rasheed, 143, no. 119. This *rajaz* verse utilizes the same play on words as v. 4 of the complete ode in the *ṭawīl* metre given by Ṭabarī, III, 741–3 (below, 306–8).

603. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 741. Anqirah is the modern Ankara; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 271–2; Le Strange, *Lands*, 149; and *EI*² s.v. Ankara (F. Taeschner). Maṭmūrah, or its plural form Maṭāmīr, lay in Cappadocia north of

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah and Ḥamzah b. Mālik both died.[604]

In this year, the "wearers of red" gained control of Jurjān.

In this year, at the time of his establishment at al-Raqqah, al-Rashīd introduced as the opening formula of his official documents the words "Blessings [*al-ṣalāt*] be upon Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace!"[605]

In this year, Hārūn al-Rashīd led the Pilgrimage.[606] He led the people in the Pilgrimage rites, and then he turned back in haste. Yaḥyā b. Khālid remained behind, but then caught up with al-Rashīd at al-Ghamrah.[607] He begged to be excused from his official post, hence, al-Rashīd released him from the charge. Yaḥyā therefore gave back the seal ring to al-Rashīd and asked the Caliph for permission to remain in Mecca. Al-Rashīd gave him this, so Yaḥyā returned to Mecca.[608]

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the Taurus range. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 138; Honigmann, 46; *EI*² s.v. [Ed.]. According to the *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 301, it was ʿAbd al-Razzāq [b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Taghlibī, see Ṭabarī, III, 629, above, 139] who led the summer raid; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522, makes al-Rashīd its leader.

604. Azdī, 290; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 159.

605. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ mentions innovations in the *invocatio* of official letters from the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, with wording similar to this [*wa-asʾaluhu an yuṣalliya ʿalā Muḥammad*[in] *ʿabdihi wa-rasūlihi*]; see his *Rusūm dār al-khilāfah*, 106, tr. Elie A. Salem, 83.

606. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, loc. cit.; Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 728; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit.; Azdī, 292; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

607. The stage on the Pilgrimage route from Mecca to Iraq which conventionally marked the transition from the lowland Tihāmah to the upland Najd. See Bakrī, III, 1003–4; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 212–13; Al-Wohaibi, 135, 381; Saad A. Al-Rashid, *Darb Zubaydah. The Pilgrim Road from Kufa to Mecca*, 136, 138.

608. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 138–40.

The Events of the Year 182

(February 22, 798–February 11, 799)

Among the events taking place during this year was al-Rashīd's return from Mecca and his journeying to al-Raqqah. He exacted there homage to his son ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn in succession after his other son al-Amīn, and secured allegiance to him from the army at al-Raqqah. He confided al-Maʾmūn to the care of Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā, and then despatched him to the City of Peace, accompanied by the members of the ʿAbbāsid family Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr[609] and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ, and by the military commander ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā. Homage was given to al-Maʾmūn at the City of Peace when he arrived there, and his father appointed him governor of Khurāsān and its dependencies as far (west) as Hamadhān, and gave him the honorific of "al-Maʾmūn."[610] [647]

609. Governor of al-Baṣrah for al-Rashīd, died in 186 (802); see Ṭabarī, III, 651 (below, 179).

610. Jahshiyārī, 165 (without specifying the date); Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. IV, 460; Azdī, 293; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 301; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 161. These events are, however, placed by Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 500–1, in the following year 183 (799–800), which accords with Ṭabarī's also placing them, III, 652 (below, 180) in 183. This later year for al-Maʾmūn's nomination seems to be the one favored by Gabrieli, "Successione,"

In this year, the daughter of the Khāqān, ruler of the Khazars, was brought to al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā, but she died at Bardha'ah,[611] Sa'īd b. Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī being governor of Armenia at that time. The Khazar nobles [*al-ṭarākhinah*[612]] who had been accompanying her went back to her father and told him that his daughter had been slain by treachery. He accordingly grew enraged on account of this, and began making preparations for war against the Muslims.[613]

In this year, Yaḥyā b. Khālid returned to the City of Peace.

In this year, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ led the summer raid[614] and reached as far as Ephesus [*D.fsūs*, read *Afsūs*], the town of the Companions of the Cave.[615]

In this year, the Byzantines blinded their ruler Constantine, son of Leo, and set up as ruler his mother, Irene [*Rīnī*], who was called by the honorific of "Augusta."[616]

344–5; but Bouvat, 69, and Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 151, favor 182. See also Abbott, 181–2, and Kennedy, 124. Ja'far was regarded at the time as the main proponent of al-Ma'mūn's claims as second heir, as is expressed in the poetry cited in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 367 = ed. Pellat, § 2564.

611. The main town of Arrān in eastern Transcaucasia. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 379–81; Le Strange, *Lands*, 177–8; *EI*² s.v. (D. M. Dunlop); *EIr* s.v. Barda'a (Bosworth).

612. Sing. *ṭarkhān* (Tkish. *tarqan, tarkhan, terken*), a title used among the ancient Turks to denote a princely status just below that of the Qaghan. See Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 544; and for its use among the Khazars, Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 72, 180 n. 43, and among their neighbors the Oghuz, A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht*, text 16–17, tr. 30–1, and Excursus § 36a, 143–4.

613. Azdī, 294; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 161. Dunlop, 180–1, 183–5, believes that the episode of the Khazar Khaqan's daughter placed in 182–3 (798–9) is a confusion with the events of 145 (762–3), when the Khazars did invade the Muslim lands after the death of a Khazar princess who had married the governor of Armenia Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī; the confusion may have arisen from the similarity of this latter name with that of the governor of Armenia in 183, Yazīd b. Mazyad.

614. Azdī, 293; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Brooks, loc. cit.; Canard, in *Cambridge medieval history*, IV/1, loc. cit.

615. I.e., of the Qur'ānic Aṣḥāb al-Kahf or Sleepers of Ephesus (Qur'ān, XVIII, 9–25/10–26; see *EI*² s.v. (Paret).

616. *K. al-'Uyūn*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Brooks, loc. cit. Constantine VI, son of Leo IV, was blinded in 797 by his mother, Irene, when he achieved his majority so that she might retain control of the real power, and she held this till she was deposed in the revolution of 802, as the last of the Isaurian dynasty, by Nicephorus I. See A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine empire 324–1453*, I, 234–5; Anastos and Canard, in *Cambridge medieval history*, IV/1, 88–91, 706.

In this year, Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī led the Pilgrimage.[617]

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617. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 729; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522; Azdī, 294.

The Events of the Year 183

(February 12, 799–January 31, 800)

[648] *The Khazar Invasion of Armenia*

Among the events taking place during this year was the invasion of the Khazars through Bāb al-Abwāb,[618] on account of the Khāqān's daughter, their sweeping down on the Muslims and the Protected Peoples [*ahl al-dhimmah*] there, and their capture and enslavement—according to what has been mentioned—of more than 100,000 persons. They perpetrated a monstrous deed, whose like had never been heard of previously in Islam. Hence, al-Rashīd appointed Yazīd b. Mazyad as governor of Armenia, together with Azerbaijan, reinforced him with the army and sent him forward, and he stationed Khuzaymah b. Khāzim at Nisībīn as a supporting force for the troops of Armenia.[619]

618. The later town of Darband on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, guarding a celebrated pass between the Sea and the Caucasus mountains; see *EI*[2] s.v. Bāb al-Abwāb (Dunlop).

619. Dīnawarī, 390; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 301–2; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 163. The appointment of Yazīd over Armenia and Arrān, and subsequently of his sons Asad and Khālid (see Crone, 170), established a connection of the family with the Transcaucasian region

A differing account of the reason behind the Khazar's invasion of Armenia has, however, been related. This is what Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh has mentioned, to the effect that his father transmitted the information to him that the reason for the Khazars' invasion of Armenia in Hārūn's reign was that Saʿīd b. Salm had executed, by the axe, al-Munajjim al-Sulamī.[620] His son thereupon went to the land of the Khazars and asked them for military assistance against Saʿīd. Hence, they invaded Armenia through the breach.[621] Saʿīd was defeated and fled, and the Khazars raped the Muslims' womenfolk and remained there—according to what I believe is the truth—for seventy days. Hārūn then sent Khuzaymah b. Khāzim and Yazīd b. Mazyad to Armenia, until the two of them restored the position which Saʿīd had brought to such a parlous state and expelled the Khazars. The breach was thus closed up.[622]

Various Items of Information

In this year, al-Rashīd wrote to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, who was at that time (governor) in Khurāsān, to come to him. The reason for his despatch to ʿAlī with these instructions was that a rumor had been brought to his notice and he had been informed that ʿAlī had determined upon an act of rebelliousness. So ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā appointed

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which later led to the rule in Sharvān of a line of Yazīdī Sharvān-Shāhs, in the course of time largely Iranized; see Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th–11th centuries*, 116 ff.

620. Probably to be identified with the local ruler of Bāb al-Abwāb or Darband, al-Najm b. Hāshim, mentioned in Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 518, as being executed by Saʿīd, whereupon his son Ḥayyūn rebelled and appealed to the Khazars for aid; cf. Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 183–4.

621. I.e., the Caspian Gate.

622. Azdī, 294–5; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Kennedy, 122–3. This is the version of events concerning the Khazar invasion accepted by Dunlop, loc. cit., as the correct one, i.e., as having no connection with the death of a daughter of the Khazar ruler but rather with internal events in Armenia and Transcaucasia. As Yaʿqūbī's detailed account of events there in al-Rashīd's caliphate (*Taʾrīkh*, II, 515–19) shows, these regions had been continuously in turmoil during the earlier part of his reign, partly, it seems, because of an influx of North Arab tribesmen brought in by North Arab governors into regions prevously largely settled by Yamanī tribesmen. Salm's governorship had begun peacefully, but then relations with the local aristocracy [*al-baṭāriqah*] had deteriorated. The situation was restored, after the retreat of the Khazars, by punitive measures of al-Rashīd's new governors and the achievement of a balance between Nizār and Yaman there.

[649] his son Yaḥyā as his deputy in Khurāsān, a procedure confirmed by al-Rashīd, and then came to the Caliph, bringing to him an immense sum of money. Al-Rashīd thereupon sent him back to Khurāsān as governor responsible to his own son al-Ma'mūn, with the task of combatting Abū al-Khaṣīb; so at this, he returned.[623]

In this year, Abū al-Khaṣīb Wuhayb b. 'Abdallāh al-Nasā'ī, mawlā of (the tribe of) al-Ḥarīsh,[624] rebelled at Nasā' in Khurāsān.[625]

In this year, there died at Baghdad Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad[626] and the judge Muḥammad b. al-Sammāk.[627]

In this year, al-'Abbās b. Mūsā al-Hādī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī led the Pilgrimage.[628]

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623. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit. Ḥamzah, 165, places 'Alī b. 'Īsā's journey to al-Rashīd at al-Rayy in Jumādā I, 184 (June, 800).

624. I.e., the Banū al-Ḥarīsh b. Ka'b b. Rabī'ah b. 'Āmir, see Ibn Durayd, *K. al-Ishtiqāq*, 297–8, 300–1.

625. Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 460; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 164; Daniel, 171, noting that Abū al-Khaṣīb was possibly the governor of Abīward in northern Khurāsān, since Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 305, tr. 133, says that he rebelled there. Nasā was a town of northern Khurāsān. See *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. 103, comm. 326; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 281–2; Le Strange, *Lands*, 394; *EI*[1] s.v. (Minorsky).

626. I.e., the Seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim who, in spite of his apolitical stance, had been imprisoned by al-Rashīd in Baghdad. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 499–500; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 309–11, 329–30 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2512–13, 2532; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 332–6; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 302; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Ibn Khallikān, V, 307–10, tr. III, 463–6; *EI*[1] s.v. Mūsā al-Kāẓim (Strothmann).

627. I.e., Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Sabīḥ, described also as a *mudhakkir* or homilist. See Azdī, 295; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, V, 368–73, no. 2895; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 165.

628. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 730; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 522; Azdī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 164.

The Events of the Year 184

(FEBRUARY 1, 800–JANUARY 19, 801)

Among the events taking place during this year was Hārūn's entering the City of Peace in Jumādā II, returning thither from al-Raqqah by boat down the Euphrates.[629] When he reached the City of Peace, he instituted punitive measures against the people regarding arrears of taxation from previous years [*al-baqāyā*[630]], and, according to what has been mentioned, 'Abdallāh b. al-Haytham b. Sām assumed the task of extracting these arrears, by imprisonment and flogging.[631] Ḥammād al-Barbarī was governor of Mecca and the Yemen;[632] Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī was governor over Sind; Yaḥyā (b. Sa'īd) al-Ḥarashī was

629. Dīnawarī, 390.

630. This technical term of the financial departments, "arrears of taxation from previous years," seems to have been distinguished from *al-bāqī* "taxation of the current year still uncollected"; see Bosworth, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art," 135.

631. Dīnawarī, loc. cit.; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 501.

632. Ḥammād was a slave and mawlā of the Caliph whom al-Rashīd had freed at the opening of his reign (Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 498–9). See Crone, 191; Ṭabarī, III, 712 (below, 267, and n. 923).

governor over al-Jabal;[633] and Mahrūyah (or Mahrawayh) al-Rāzī was governor over Ṭabaristān. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab took charge of affairs in Ifriqīyah, and then al-Rashīd (formally) appointed him governor there.[634]

In this year, the Khārijite [*al-Shārī*] Abū ʿAmr rebelled, so the Caliph sent against him Zuhayr al-Qaṣṣāb, and the latter killed Abū ʿAmr at Shahrazūr.[635]

In this year, Abū al-Khaṣīb sought a grant of safe-conduct, so ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā gave it to him. Abū al-Khaṣīb came to meet ʿAlī at Marw, and the latter received him honorably.[636]

[650] In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (al-Mahdī) b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī led the Pilgrimage.[637]

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633. Member of a family from northern Syria prominent in the early ʿAbbāsid period who, like his (?) brother Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī, filled various governorships; see Crone, 145.

634. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 494, 497–8; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 302–3; Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. 140; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 166.

635. Azdī, 299; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

636. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Daniel, 171.

637. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, loc. cit.; Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 731; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522; Azdī, 300; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year 185

(January 20, 801–January 5, 802)

Among the events taking place during this year was the people of Ṭabaristān's killing the governor of that province, Mahrūyah al-Rāzī. Al-Rashīd now appointed in his place ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī.[638]

In this year, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Abnāwī[639] killed the rebel (or: the Khārijite, *al-khārijī*) Abān b. Qaḥṭabah at Marj al-Qalʿah.[640]

In this year, the Khārijite [*al-Shārī*] Ḥamzah wrought mischief in the Bādhghīs region of Khurāsān. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b ʿĪsā[641] then swept down on ten thousand of Ḥamzah's partisans and killed them, and penetrated as far as Kābul, Zābulistān and al-Qandahār.[642] Abū al-ʿUdhāfir[643] has recited concerning these events,

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638. Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. 140–1; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 168. ʿAbdallāh, son of the prominent commander and (?) brother of the Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd mentioned in Ṭabarī, III, 649 (above, 173–74), later fought for al-Amīn; see Crone, 144–5.

639. Following the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXI, and the Cairo text, VIII, 273, instead of the text's al-Anbārī, this last followed by Ibn al-Athīr.

640. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

641. I.e., the son of the governor of Khurāsān; see Crone, 178–9.

642. This seems to be a conflation of a complex and protracted series of events

'Īsā has almost become Alexander the Great;
he has reached the two Easts and the two Wests.[644]
He has not left untouched Kābul or Zābulistān,[645]
and then the surrounding regions as far as the two al-Rukhkhajs.[646]

In this year, Abū al-Khaṣīb revolted at Nasā' a second time. He seized control of it and of Abīward,[647] Ṭūs and Naysābūr. He marched at a measured pace on Marw and surrounded it, but was repulsed, and then proceeded towards Sarakhs,[648] with his power becoming mighty.[649]

In this year, Yazīd b. Mazyad died at Bardha'ah, and Asad b. Yazīd was appointed governor in his place.[650]

In this year, Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā died at Baghdad.[651]

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which involved western Afghanistan (including Herat and Bādhghīs, where the local governor 'Amr b. Yazīd al-Azdī was involved in fighting Ḥamzah before his death) and Sīstān but not, so far as is known, eastern Afghanistan. See Gardīzī, 131; *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, 156–60, tr. 123–6; Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 94–5. Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 305, tr. 133, states that 'Alī b. 'Īsā killed Ḥamzah at Kābul; in fact, Ḥamzah continued his rebellion for a further quarter-century.

643. Following for the name Abū al-'Udhāfir *Addenda et emendanda*, loc. cit. This poet is in fact Ward b. Sa'd al-'Ammī, poet of al-Baṣrah and Baghdad in al-Rashīd's time; see *GAS*, II, 524. Azdī, 303, makes the poet Abū al-'Idām al-Qummī and the occasion 'Alī b. 'Īsā's killing of Abū al-Khaṣīb (see Ṭabarī, III, 651, below, 178).

644. Cf. Qur'ān, LV, 16–17.

645. The region of eastern Afghanistan around Ghaznah; see *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. 112, comm. 346.

646. The region of eastern Afghanistan around Qandahār, classical Arachosia; see ibid., tr. 111, comm. 346. It was from this region that the mawlā Faraj al-Rukhkhajī, prominent in the service of al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn, was captured; see Crone, 190.

647. Town of northern Khurāsān, on the edge of the Qara Qum desert, also known as Bāward. See *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. 103, comm. 326; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 86–7, 333; Le Strange, *Lands*, 394–5; *EI*[2] s.v. (Minorsky); *EIr* s.v. (Bosworth).

648. Town adjacent to Nasā and Abīward and also on the northern edge of Khurāsān. See *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. 104, comm. 327; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 208–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 395–6; *EI*[1] s.v. (J. Ruska).

649. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 733 (placing this under the year 186); Daniel, 171.

650. Azdī, 300–1; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 169–71; Ibn Khallikān, VI, 338, tr. IV, quoting a lengthy elegy on Yazīd by Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Ayyūb al-Taymī (correct Ibn al-Athīr's "al-Tamīmī" thus). Ibn Khallikān cites also a further elegy on him by Muslim b. al-Walīd (cf. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVIII, 237–8 = ed. Cairo, XIX, 42–3).

651. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 169.

In this year, in Jumādā II, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī died at Baghdad, never having lost his front milk teeth; he was placed in his grave with the teeth of a child, not lacking a single one of them.[652]

In this year, al-Rashīd set out for al-Raqqah via the al-Mawṣil road.[653] [651]

In this year, Yaḥyā b. Khālid sought al-Rashīd's permission to perform the ʿUmrah and to spend some time in the Holy City, and the Caliph gave him his consent. So Yaḥyā went forth in Shaʿbān and performed the ʿUmrah in the month of Ramaḍān. Then he passed his time in pious exercises [*rābaṭa*] at Juddah till it was time for the Pilgrimage, and then he performed that.[654] A thunderbolt struck the Sacred Mosque and killed two men.

In this year, Manṣūr b. Muḥammad (al-Mahdī) b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī led the Pilgrimage.[655]

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652. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 732; Azdī, 300; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit., stigmatizing ʿAbd al-Ṣamad as "the base one [*quʿdud*] of the Banū ʿAbd Manāf" and approximating him to the hated Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah in this.

653. Dīnawarī, 390; Azdī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit., but making al-Rashīd set out from al-Raqqah for Baghdad.

654. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 168.

655. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit.; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 169. Khalīfah records that there was no summer raid against the Byzantines this year.

The Events of the Year 186

(January 6, 802–December 29, 802)

Among the events taking place during this year was 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān's setting out from Marw for Nasā' in order to combat Abū al-Khaṣīb. He killed the latter there, and captured and took over his wives and progeny, and Khurāsān became peaceful once more.[656]

In this year, al-Rashīd imprisoned Thumāmah b. Ashras because of his coming to know about al-Rashīd's lying in the matter of Aḥmad b. 'Īsā b. Zayd.[657]

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656. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 733; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 305, tr. 133; Azdī, 303; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 174; Daniel, 171.

657. Abū Ma'n Thumāmah b. Ashras al-Numayrī, who died ca. 213 (828), was a Mu'tazilī of al-Baṣrah and a leading participant in the theological and intellectual symposia of the Barmakīs, al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn; see Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, 178, 197, 222. Aḥmad b. 'Īsā, great-grandson of the Fourth Imām 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn and member of the Zaydī branch of the Ḥusaynid Shī'ah (see Öhrnberg, Table 91), was subsequently, in 188 (804), arrested by al-Rashīd and imprisoned at al-Rāfiqah but succeeded in escaping and then disappeared underground at al-Baṣrah, according to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 512, see Van Arendonck, 62 n. 1, and Marquet, 110 (this episode not however mentioned by Ṭabarī or Mas'ūdī). Given Thumāmah's close connections with the Barmakīs, and the accusations later brought against Yaḥyā b. Khālid and Ja'far b. Yaḥyā of tenderness towards and clandestine support for the 'Alids (see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 158, 168–9), the Caliph's animus against him is not surprising.

In this year, Ja'far b. Abī Ja'far al-Manṣūr died whilst with Harthamah, and al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad died at Baghdad.[658]

Al-Rashīd's Succession Arrangements for His Three Sons

In this year, Hārūn al-Rashīd led the Pilgrimage. He set out from al-Raqqah on the Pilgrimage in Ramaḍān of this year (September, 802). He passed through (or: by, *bi-*) al-Anbār and did not enter the City of Peace, but encamped at a halting-place on the banks of the Euphrates called al-Dārāt,[659] seven farsakhs from the City of Peace. He left behind Ibrāhīm b. 'Uthmān b. Nahīk (al-'Akkī)[660] in charge of al-Raqqah, and took with him his two sons Muḥammad al-Amīn and 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn, his two designated heirs. He began at Medina, and its people were given three sums of money as gifts. They would come forward to him, and he would give them a gift of money. Then they would come forward to Muḥammad, and he would give them a second gift of money. Then they would come to al-Ma'mūn, and he would give them a third gift of money. [652] Then he proceeded onward to Mecca, and gave its people a gift of money. All this amounted to one million and fifty thousand dīnārs.[661]

According to what Muḥammad b. Yazīd (al-Tamīmī) has mentioned from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥajabī,[662] al-Rashīd had conferred the succession on his son Muḥammad on a Thursday in

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658. See for these two 'Abbāsid princes, above, p. 167, n. 609, and p. 7, n. 19. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit., has for the second deceased prince his son 'Alī b. 'Abbās b. Muḥammad, apparently incorrectly.

659. Literally, "the encampments, settlements," not mentioned, it seems, by the geographers, but clearly lying to the south of the capital.

660. 'Uthmān b. Nahīk had been a deputy *naqīb* at the time of the 'Abbāsid Revolution. Ibrāhīm acted as al-Rashīd's commander of police (*shurṭah*) (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 375), but because of his closeness to the Barmakīs was executed by the Caliph in 187 (803). See Ṭabarī, III, 699–701 (below, 245–47); Crone, 189; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 151 n. 3.

661. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 733; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 501; Dīnawarī, 390; Azdī, 302; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 326 = ed. Pellat, § 2527; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 303; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 173; Azraqī, in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, I, 159–60; Abbott, 189.

662. Sam'ānī, IV, 70, refers this *nisbah* to the right of *ḥijābat al-bayt al-mu'aẓẓam*, which was traditionally held by the clan of 'Abd al-Dār of Quraysh, a right confirmed by Muḥammad at the conquest of Mecca. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 69; *EI*[1] s.v. Shayba, Banū (Gaudefroy-Demombynes).

Sha'bān 173 (December 789–January, 790) and had given him the honorific title of al-Amīn,[663] and he had made over to him the governorships of Syria and Iraq in 175 (791–2). Then he designated 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn as his (second) heir at al-Raqqah in 183 (799–800) and appointed him governor of the regions from the limits of Hamadhān to the farthest ends of the East.[664] Salm b. 'Amr al-Khāsir recited concerning this,

Hārūn, the Imam of guidance, has had allegiance done
to the sagacious one, the one with an excellent moral character,
(To) the one who replaces his wealth and expends it prodigally,
and the one who assumes responsibility for the heavy burdens of the person bearing a load,
(To) the one who is learned and penetrating[665] in his knowledge,
and the one who is the excellent and equitable dispenser of justice,
(To) the one with supreme power to bring together and to disjoin the bond of guidance,
and the one who speaks the word of truth and acts efficaciously,
To the best (of the sons) of 'Abbās, when they are enumerated in the registers (or: when they are gathered together, *ḥuṣṣilū*),
and the one who bestows favors and brings sufficiency for the person burdened with a family,
(To) the most assiduous of them in piety and the speediest of them in conferring beneficence when calamities befall,
To the one who resembles al-Manṣūr in his kingly power,
when the darkness of falsehood spreads its covering.
The light of divine guidance has become complete through al-Ma'mūn,
and ignorance has been dispelled from the ignorant one.[666]

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663. This is actually recorded by Ṭabarī, III, 610 (above, 111–12), under the events of 175 (791–2), which must be correct; cf. Gabrieli, "Successione," 344.

664. Actually recorded by Ṭabarī, III, 647 (above, 167), under the events of 182 (798–9), cf. Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 461; but Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 550–1, confirms the date of 183. Cf. Gabrieli, loc. cit.

665. Following the reading *al-nāfidh* of *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXI.

666. Von Grunebaum, "Three Arabic poets of the early Abbasid age. V. Salm al-Ḫāsir," 73, no. XLI = *Shu'arā' 'Abbāsiyyūn*, 110–11, no. 41.

Al-Ḥasan b. Quraysh has mentioned that al-Qāsim b. al-Rashīd[667] was under the tutelage of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ. When al-Rashīd had allegiance done to Muḥammad and al-Maʾmūn as heirs to the succession, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ wrote to him (as follows),

O monarch, who,
if he were a star would be an auspicious one,
Have an oath of allegiance sworn to Qāsim,
and strike sparks with a fire-stick for him in the kingdom!
God is a Unique, Sole One,
so make the heirs to the succession a unique group!

These verses were the factor which first impelled al-Rashīd to [653]
proclaim allegiance to al-Qāsim. He then had allegiance done to his son al-Qāsim, gave him the honorific of al-Muʾtaman and conferred on him the governorship of al-Jazīrah and the frontier regions and defensive fortresses [*al-thughūr wa-al-ʿawāṣim*].[668] He (i.e., ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ) recited in this connection,

Love for the Caliph is a love which the person who has rebelled against God,
causing dissension and strife, does not hold as an act of faith.
God invested Hārūn with the direction of our affairs
when He chose him (as ruler) and thereby gave fresh life to the faith and the Sunnah.
Hārūn has, out of his compassion for us, invested
a trusted one [*amīn*], a trustworthy one [*maʾmūn*] and a trusty one [*muʾtaman*] with the whole earth.[669]

He related: When he divided the earth between his three sons, some of the masses of the common people said, "He has made the fabric of the state firm," but others said, "On the contrary, he has

667. Al-Rashīd's son by a slave concubine Qaṣif; see Abbott, 141.

668. Dīnawarī, 391; Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr., loc. cit.; Azdī, 302–3; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 303–4; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Abbott, 188. Gabrieli, "Successione," 346 n. 2, points out that Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 328 = ed. Pellat, § 2530, places al-Qāsim's nomination as third heir in the next year, 187 (803), suggesting that this was an afterthought; certainly, Yaʿqūbī does not mention it in his account of the events leading up to and surrounding the Meccan Agreements. Cf. also Kennedy, 125.

669. Azdī, 303.

given full rein to their propensities for clashing among themselves, and the result of his arrangements concerning that will be a source of trepidation for the subjects."[670] The poets composed verses on this topic, and one of them recited,

I say to the feeling of grief within my spirit,
at a time when the tears in my eyes are flowing freely,
Take suitable provision against the forthcoming dread, with resoluteness;
you will encounter that which will keep you from all sleep!
For if you are spared alive, you will see a momentous affair
which will cause you prolonged distress and sleeplessness.
A really skillful and experienced monarch would have seen the ill judgment
in his action of dividing up the caliphate and the land.
He would have discerned a course of action which, if he were to examine critically its consequences,
would turn snow-white the black hair on the partings of his hair.
He intended, by doing this, that he might remove from among his sons
the causes of dissension, and that they might give free rein to amicableness.
But he has implanted unremitting enmity
and has bequeathed a legacy of divisiveness and separation to the unity of their family solidarity,
And he has sown among them recurring warfare,
and has made easy the way for their avoidance of each other (i.e., their separation).
So woe to the subjects, in the near future!
He has presented them with a fatal gift of violent distress,
And he has clothed them with a garment of permanent affliction,
and has made inevitable for them humiliation (or destruction, *taḍaʿḍuʿ*) and corruption!
[654] Swollen seas of their blood will flow,
for which they will see no end.

670. *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 304; Abbott, 189.

And as a result, the burden of their sufferings will be for ever upon him;
was that (decision) the result of error or right guidance [*rashād*]?[671]

The Taking of the Solemn Oaths in the Ka'bah by the Two Princes

He related: Hārūn made the Pilgrimage, accompanied by Muḥammad and 'Abdallāh and by his military commanders, ministers and judges, in the year 186 (802). He left behind at al-Raqqah Ibrāhīm b. 'Uthmān b. Nahīk al-'Akkī in charge of his womenfolk, the treasuries and material wealth, and the army, and he despatched his son al-Qāsim to Manbij[672] and then installed him there with the military commanders and soldiers whom he had attached to al-Qāsim's side.

When he had accomplished the rites of the Pilgrimage, he composed for his son 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn two letters, over the composition of which the religious lawyers and judges had expended intensively their intellectual efforts. One of them comprised stipulations laid upon Muḥammad setting forth the conditions which Hārūn had imposed on him regarding Muḥammad's faithful adherence to the arrangements in the document concerning the handing over of the administrative regions for which 'Abdallāh was to assume responsibility, and he conveyed to him estates, sources of revenue, jewels, and wealth. The other was the documentary text of the oath of allegiance which the Caliph had extracted from the nobles and commoners alike, and that of the obligations due to 'Abdallāh and incumbent upon both Muḥammad himself and those nobles and commoners.

He placed the two documents in the Holy House after he had

671. The latter nine verses are translated by Gabrieli, op. cit., 349. The last hemistich clearly contains a play on words with the Caliph's name al-Rashīd "the Rightly Guided One." A verse similarly prophesying dissension and bloodshed as a result of the Caliph's measures, uttered by a Bedouin of Hudhayl, is given in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 326–7 = ed. Pellat, § 2528.

672. A town of northern Syria, classical Hierapolis, and facing the Byzantine marches. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 205–7; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 500–2; idem, *Lands*, 107–8; Canard, *H'amdânides*, 87, 233–4; *EI*² s.v. (N. Elisséeff).

extracted the oath of allegiance to Muḥammad and after he had called to witness in his favor regarding the terms of the oath, God, His angels and all those who were with him in the Ka'bah, comprising the rest of his children, his family, his mawlās, his military commanders, his ministers, his secretaries, and so forth. The act of witness to the succession oath and the (other) document took place in the Holy House, and he ordered the doorkeepers to guard the two documents and to prevent anyone from taking them away and making off with them. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad, Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Tamīmī, and Ibn al-Ḥajabī have mentioned that al-Rashīd was present and that he summoned the leading members of the Hāshimite family, the military commanders and the religious lawyers. They were taken into the Holy House, and he ordered the document to be read out to 'Abdallāh and Muḥammad, and made the whole of those present bear witness to the attestation of the two of them to the document. Then he thought it fitting to hang up the document in the Ka'bah, but when it was lifted up in order to attach it for suspension, it fell down, and people commented that this arrangement would speedily be dissolved before it could be carried through completely.[673]

The text of the document was as follows:[674]

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673. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Jahshiyārī, 175; Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 733; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 501–10; Azdī, 302; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 326–8 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2527–2530; idem, *Tanbīh*, 345, tr. 444; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 304–5; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 173; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 193, tr. 211; Azraqī, in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, I, 160–1 = ed. Milḥas, I, 231–4; Palmer, 114–16; Abbott, 189–91; Gabrieli, op. cit., 346–7; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 151–2; Shaban, 39–40; Kennedy, 123–7. Azdī adds the detail that the documents were placed in silver tubes and then hung up. On the placing or hanging of solemn undertakings and covenants, as here in the Ka'bah, see Pedersen, 144.

674. The texts of the documents attested by the two brothers, the first of which, written out by Muḥammad al-Amīn, now follows, exist in two forms, one somewhat shorter, in Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 502–9 (also given in Azraqī, in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, I, 161–8 = ed. Milḥas, I, 235–41), and the slightly fuller one given here by Ṭabarī. As Gabrieli states in his discussion about the authenticity of these and other documents pertaining to the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn ("Documenti relativi al califfato di al-Amīn in aṭ-Ṭabarī," *RCAL*, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Serie sesta, Vol. III [1927], 192–3), there seems no reason to doubt their essential authenticity, even if this cannot be irrefutably demonstrated.

A new attempt at analyzing the significance of the documents, concentrating on Ṭabarī's production of a version of these differing from that given by Ya'qūbī and Azraqī, has recently been made by R. A. Kimber in his "Hārūn al-Rashīd's Meccan

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate One. This [655]
is a document composed by the servant of God Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, which Muḥammad son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has written out in a state of soundness of mind and full exercise of his powers, willingly and unconstrainedly. The Commander of the Faithful has appointed me as his successor after him and has imposed acknowledgement of allegiance to me on the whole of the Muslims. He has appointed ʿAbdallāh the son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful as his successor and as caliph and as the one responsible for all the affairs of the Muslims after myself, with my full agreement and freely conceded by me, willingly and unconstrainedly. He has given responsibility for Khurāsān, its frontier regions and its districts, for the conduct of warfare there and its army, its land tax, its official textile workshops [*ṭuruz*],[675] its postal relay system, its public treasuries, its poor-tax, its religious tithe, the sums collected as tribute,[676] and all its administrative divisions, both during his own (i.e., Hārūn's) lifetime and afterwards.[677] I have accepted the

settlement of AH 186/AD 802," in *University of St. Andrews, School of Abbasid Studies, Occasional Papers* 1, 55–79. His article has the merit of distinguishing clearly between the first stage of the Meccan settlement, based on mutuality of obligations between the two princes al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn and dating from 186 (802), and the subsequent modifications of three years later, when al-Rashīd travelled eastwards to Khurāsān with his forces to investigate the unrest caused by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān's exactions (the new Qarmāsīn and Baghdad settlement of 189 [205]; see Ṭabarī, III, 666–7 [below, 200]). Kimber is right to emphasize the clear worsening by then of al-Amīn's legal position as successor to his father, with the introduction of provision for the third brother al-Qāsim as al-Maʾmūn's successor should the latter favor this, effectively excluding the possibility of al-Amīn's progeny ever controlling the caliphate. His final conclusion, *pace* most modern historians who have seen in al-Rashīd's policy one of a deliberate division of the overextended empire into a western and an eastern wing, is that the Caliph gradually moved in the last years of his life toward a policy of making al-Maʾmūn in effect his sole heir. See also below, n. 677.

675. See on these, *EI*[1] s.v. Ṭirāz (A. Grohmann).

676. *ʿUshrahā wa-ʿushūrahā*, the latter possibly, in de Goeje's conjecture, the tribute collected from the Dhimmīs, see *Glossarium*, p. CCCLXIII.

677. As Gabrieli points out, "Successione," 347–8, that al-Maʾmūn, as governor of the East, should have total control of all military, administrative and financial affairs there, with complete freedom to nominate his own officials and district governors (as set forth below, 187) and to have total control over the judicial system (below, 188), was unprecedented in the grants to members of the ruling family by either the Umayyads or the early ʿAbbāsids, and must reflect al-Rashīd's doubts and fears about the future and his resolve to secure an unshakable position for his

obligation laid on me by the servant of God Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful with my full agreement and a contented mind, that I will faithfully fulfill and hand over to my brother ʿAbdallāh b. Hārūn the right of succession, the executive power, the caliphate and the affairs of the whole of the Muslims, which Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has granted to him after me. (I further undertake to hand over to him) the governorship of Khurāsān and the whole of its administrative divisions which the Caliph has made over to him, together with the grants of land [*qaṭīʿah*] which the Commander of the Faithful has assigned to him, or any revenue-yielding property or estate of his which he may have given to him or which he may have purchased, and together with whatever the Caliph has given him during his own lifetime and in his state of sound health, comprising money, ornaments of precious metal, jewels, possessions, clothing, residences, and riding-beasts, whether it be small or large: all this shall be handed over in its entirety to ʿAbdallāh the son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful. I have duly acknowledged this, item by item.

[656] If the accident of death should befall the Commander of the Faithful and the caliphate should pass (subsequently) to Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful, then it will be incumbent upon Muḥammad to give effect to what Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has commanded him regarding the investiture of ʿAbdallāh son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful as governor of Khurāsān and its frontier regions and the appointment of those members of the Commander of the Faithful's family whom he (i.e., Hārūn) attached to his (i.e., ʿAbdallāh's) entourage at Qarmāsīn.[678] And if ʿAbdallāh son of the Commander of

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first-born son. Al-Ma'mūn's position was to be virtually that of an independent sovereign, only limited by a vague formula of obedience to al-Amīn (in Azraqī's version of al-Ma'mūn's document, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, I, 166–7 = ed. Milḥas, I, 240) and by a more specific promise to furnish troops when required by al-Amīn to fend off enemy attacks (Ṭabarī, III, 661, below, 193). Such an attenuation of caliphal control was to facilitate the status of virtual autonomy soon to be achieved by the Aghlabids in Ifrīqiyah and then the Ṭāhirids in Khurāsān.

678. Gabrieli, op. cit., 349 n. 3, suggests that the mention of the members of the ʿAbbāsid family and the mention in Ṭabarī, III, 657 (below, 189), of the commanders sent to join al-Ma'mūn at Qarmāsīn or Kirmānshāh (on which town of western Persia see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 330–1; Le Strange, *Lands*, 186–8; Schwarz, 480–2;

the Faithful should proceed to Khurāsān and al-Rayy and the districts which the Commander of the Faithful enumerated, in whatever part of the Commander of the Faithful's military encampment ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful himself may be, or any others of those dependent on the Commander of the Faithful's authority or all those whom the Commander of the Faithful has attached to ʿAbdallāh's side, [proceeding] wherever he wishes, from al-Rayy to the farthest administrative division of Khurāsān, then Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful must not transfer from ʿAbdallāh's control any military commander or subordinate nor a single person from among those companions of his which the Commander of the Faithful attached to his side. Nor must he transfer ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful from the administrative charges which Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has entrusted to him, namely, the frontier regions of Khurāsān and the whole of its component administrative divisions, from the region of al-Rayy bordering on Hamadhān to the farthest fringes of Khurāsān, its frontier regions, its districts and its dependencies. Nor must Muḥammad compel ʿAbdallāh to come to him[679] [i.e., by forcible means, thus controlling and interfering with him], nor remove any single member of his entourage and military commanders from him, nor appoint anyone over him, nor despatch over his head, or over the heads of any of his own financial officials and executives, any agent purchasing taxes collected in kind [*bundār*],[680] accounting officer or financial official. Nor must he introduce any damaging element into any of ʿAbdallāh's affairs, whether small or great. Nor must he interfere, with his own views

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Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, 195–8; *EI*² s.v. Kirmānshāh [A. K. S. Lambton]] are two interpolations in the text referring to the events of 189 (805) at Qarmāsīn, in which al-Rashīd renewed the succession pledge to al-Ma'mūn and arranged that the whole of his weapons, war matériel, and wealth was to go to al-Ma'mūn on his own death (thus according to Ṭabarī, III, 666–7; in III, 765, cf. 772, the army commanders and troops were obviously included in the adjuration to travel from Iraq and join al-Ma'mūn in Khurāsān).

679. Reading instead of the text's *wa-lā-shakhṣuhu ilayhi* either the Cairo text's (VIII, 278) *wa-lā yushkhiṣ-hu ilayhi* or Gabrieli's ("Documenti relativi al califfato di al-Amīn in aṭ-Ṭabarī," 195 n. 1) *wa-lā ishkhāṣuhu ilayhi*.

680. For this (originally) Persian term, see *Glossarium*, pp. CXLI–CXLII, and Lokkegaard, 124, 244 n. 110.

and his own ways of proceeding, in any aspect of ʿAbdallāh's affairs here. Nor must Muḥammad molest or impede any person of those whom the Commander of the Faithful has attached to ʿAbdallāh's side, including his family, his companions, his judges, his financial [657] officials, his secretaries, his military commanders, his slaves, his mawlās, and his troops, by means of anything which aims at introducing an element of violence or unpleasantness for them, whether for themselves or for their kinsfolk, mawlās or progeny, which touches any part of their physical safety, sources of wealth, estates, houses, abodes, possessions, slaves, and mounts, whether it be a small or a grave matter; nor must any (other) person act thus on his (i.e., Muḥammad's) orders, or according to his judgment or arbitrary act of will, or according to any permission granted by him regarding that or any stratagem on his part in the affair, with any human being whatsoever. Neither Muḥammad nor any of his judges, financial officials or anyone connected with him, is to exercise any legal jurisdiction in any of their affairs (i.e., those of ʿAbdallāh's dependents) without the express authority and judgment of ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful or the judgment of his own judges.

Moreover, if any person out of those whom the Commander of the Faithful attached to ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful's side, from among the Commander of the Faithful's family, his companions, his military commanders, his financial officials, his secretaries, his slaves, his mawlās, and his troops, goes over to his (i.e., Muḥammad's) side and repudiates his due dependent status (literally, "his name"), his military obligations[681] and his position with ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful, displaying rebelliousness towards him or acting against his interests, then Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful must send him back to ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful in humiliation and ignominy, so that ʿAbdallāh may put into execution his decision and decree concerning him.

If Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful should attempt to remove ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the

681. *maktabahu*, cf. *Glossarium*, p. CDXVI "military status," apparently to be connected with the command of, or the place where is stationed, a *katībah* or military unit.

Faithful from his right of succession after himself (i.e., after Muḥammad), or if he should attempt to remove ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful from the governorship of Khurāsān, its frontier regions, its administrative divisions, its province which runs up to the boundaries adjacent to Hamadhān and the districts specifically named by the Commander of the Faithful in this document of his, or if he should attempt to dismiss any of his military commanders who came to Qarmāsīn and whom the Commander of the Faithful attached to ʿAbdallāh's side, or if he should attempt to deprive him of either a small or a great part of what the Commander of the Faithful has granted to him, in any [658] manner whatsoever or by any stratagem whatsoever, be it insignificant or momentous, then the caliphate after the Commander of the Faithful shall pass (directly) to ʿAbdallāh the son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, and he shall come before Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful and be the one invested with power (immediately) after the Commander of the Faithful.

(In this case,) all the military commanders of the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn, comprising the men of Khurāsān and those in receipt of official stipends [*ahl al-ʿaṭā'*], and all the Muslims in all the army units and garrison cities, are to give their obedience to ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful. They are to stand by his side, combat those in rebellion against him, give aid to him and defend him whilst ever they have life. None of them, whoever he may be or wherever he may find himself, is to rebel against him, defy him or throw off obedience to him, nor is he to give any obedience to Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful in removing ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful (from the succession) and in diverting the succession after himself from ʿAbdallāh to anyone else, nor is he to deprive ʿAbdallāh of any single part of what the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn has granted to him during his lifetime and in full possession of his bodily health and has stipulated in the document written in his own hand which he required him to draw up in the Holy House[682] and in this present document; and ʿAbdallāh the

682. I.e., the document written out by al-Ma'mūn, whose text now follows this present one written out by al-Amīn; cf. Gabrieli, op. cit., 196 n. 1.

son of the Commander of the Faithful is the one whose word is accounted veracious.

You (i.e., the Muslims in general) are to be released from the oath of allegiance to Muḥammad the son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful which is at present incumbent on you if the latter diminishes any part of what the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn has made over to ʿAbdallāh; Muḥammad the son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful is to show himself submissive to ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn and hand over to him the caliphate.

Muḥammad and ʿAbdallāh, the sons of the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn, are not to deprive al-Qāsim son of the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn of his rights (as third heir to the throne), nor are they to usurp his precedence in favor of anyone of their own children, kindred or indeed any member of the human race at all. However, when the caliphate passes to ʿAbdallāh the son of the [659] Commander of the Faithful, then the choice will be open to him of putting into execution the succession arrangements which the Commander of the Faithful established in al-Qāsim's favor, or else of deflecting these from him in favor of one of his own (i.e., ʿAbdallāh's) children or brothers, as he may deem fit.[683] He may give preference over al-Qāsim to whomever he desires, and place al-Qāsim the son of the Commander of the Faithful after any other person to whom he has given preference over al-Qāsim; he may come to a decision regarding this according to his own preference and judgment.

O Muslims, you are to put into execution that which the Commander of the Faithful has laid down in this document of his, has stipulated for them (i.e., his three sons) and has commanded to be done. You are to give hearing and obedience to the Commander of the Faithful in the duties which he has prescribed and made incumbent upon you in regard to ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful, and upon you is laid the covenant of God and His agreement of protection, His messenger's agreement of protection and the agreements of protection of the Muslims, and

683. This possibility of choice for al-Ma'mūn regarding al-Qāsim's succession is confirmed in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 328 = ed. Pellat, § 2530, and idem, *Tanbīh*, 345, tr. 444.

the covenants and solemn undertakings which God has made with the angels of His brought near to the throne [*al-malā'ikah al-muqarrabīn*],[684] the prophets and those sent with a message, and which He has imposed upon the believers and the Muslims. You are to fulfill faithfully towards the servant of God the Commander of the Faithful what he has laid down specifically, and towards Muḥammad, ʿAbdallāh and al-Qāsim the sons of the Commander of the Faithful what he has laid down specifically and prescribed in this document of his and made incumbent upon you, and which you have for your part agreed personally to accept. If you alter or change any part of it, or if you fail to fulfill your undertaking or go against what the Commander of the Faithful has commanded you and made incumbent upon you in this present document of his, then God's agreement of protection, the agreement of protection of His messenger Muḥammad and the agreements of protection of the believers and the Muslims, shall be null and void in respect of you. Moreover, all the wealth which each one of you possesses at this present moment, or will acquire up to a period of fifty years from now, shall be given in alms to the poor. Each one of you shall make the Pilgrimage on foot to God's Holy House at Mecca fifty times as a compulsory vow of expiation, whose fulfillment God will require absolutely from such a person. Every slave which each of you possesses, or will possess over the next fifty years, shall be set free. Every wife whom such a person has, shall be divorced with the threefold repudiation, definitively, the divorce of sinfulness [660]
[*ṭalāq al-ḥaraj*][685] and the one which admits of no possibility of exception. God is the guarantor over you and curator regarding that, and He is sufficient as a reckoner (of men's virtues and sins)![686]

684. I.e., the cherubim; see *EI*² s.v. Malā'ika. 1. In the Ḳur'ān and Sunnī Islam (D. B. Macdonald).

685. Literally, "a divorce implying a sinful act, *ḥaraj*," in which the woman may resume the liaison; Gabrieli, op. cit., 197, translates *con divorzio implicante peccato* [*ove la donna venga ripresa*].

686. Tr. Gabrieli, op. cit., 193–7, who notes, however (p. 193) that the preciosity and floridity of the Arabic style of this and the following documents make absolute certainty in translation impossible. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 506–7, and Azraqī, in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, I, 167–8 = ed. Milḥas, I, 238–9, add a list of those witnesses attesting the document.

Text of the Document Laying Down Conditions Which ʿAbdallāh Son of the Commander of the Faithful Wrote Out in His Own Hand in the Kaʿbah

This is a document composed by the servant of God Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful which ʿAbdallāh son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has written out for him in a state of soundness of mind, full exercise of his powers, sincerity of intention in what he has set down in this document, and recognition of the excellence and soundness of its contents for himself, the members of his family and the whole community of Muslims:

The Commander of the Faithful Hārūn has designated me as successor in the caliphate and in all the affairs of the Muslims under his authority after my brother Muḥammad son of Hārūn. He has during his own lifetime appointed me governor of the frontier regions of Khurāsān, its districts and all its administrative and financial divisions, and he has stipulated to Muḥammad son of Hārūn that he should faithfully observe what he (i.e., Hārūn) has made over to me, comprising the caliphate and direction of the affairs of the people and the lands after him (i.e., after Muḥammad), and the governorship of Khurāsān and all its administrative and financial divisions. He is not to interfere with me nor contest with me over any part of the estates, revenue-yielding properties, and dwellings which the Commander of the Faithful has assigned to me or purchased for me, or which I have purchased from him, nor in regard to any of the material wealth, jewels, clothing, possessions, riding-beasts, slaves, and so forth, which the Commander of the Faithful has given to me. Nor is he ever to interfere with or molest me or any of my financial officials and secretaries on the pretext of making an audit or accounting, nor is he ever to pursue me or any of my officials over that, nor is he to perpetrate against me, against those officials, or against any of my retainers and persons in general whom I have called upon to assist me, any [661] unpleasant act involving person, blood, hair, or flesh (i.e., act of physical violence and bloodshed inflicted on the person), or involving questions of property or indeed any matter, great or small.

He (i.e., Muḥammad) has agreed to this and has acknowledged it, and has written out for him (i.e., Hārūn) a document in which he has bound himself to observe these conditions. The Com-

mander of the Faithful Hārūn was pleased at this, accepted it, and recognized the sincerity of his intentions in this matter.

I, for my part, have undertaken to the Commander of the Faithful and have laid upon myself the obligation that I will hear and obey Muḥammad and not act rebelliously against him; that I will give him sincere advice and not deceive him; that I will fulfill the oath of allegiance to him and acknowledge his authority, and not betray him or break my oath; and that I will put into effect his official instructions and commands, will cheerfully give him help and combat his enemies within my own territories. (All this) in such a manner as will fulfill towards me the obligations which he undertook to the Commander of the Faithful to observe regarding me and which he listed specifically in the document which he wrote out (personally) for the Commander of the Faithful and with which the Commander of the Faithful was satisfied; and (in such a manner as) will not hound and discommode me in any of those matters and will not break any of the undertakings to which the Commander of the Faithful made him agree regarding me.

If ever Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful requires a military force and writes to me, ordering me to despatch it to him or to any region or against any of his enemies who may have rebelled against him or sought to impair any part of his authority or part of my own authority which the Commander of the Faithful has assigned to us and has given us official responsibility for it, then I undertake to carry out his commands and not oppose him or fall short in the performance of any matter about which he has written to me. If Muḥammad wishes to appoint as successor to the caliphate after me one of his own children, then he has the right to do so, provided that he has at the same time fulfilled to me the obligations towards me which the Commander of the Faithful laid upon him and stipulated as due to me from him and which he himself undertook to fulfill regarding me. I undertake to carry out all that and to fulfill that faithfully to him; I will not diminish or change or alter any part of it, and I will not give premier place over him to any of my own children nor to any close or distant person whatsoever, unless the Commander of the Faith- [662]
ful Hārūn should appoint any (other) one of his children as successor to the caliphate after me and then compel me and Muḥammad to give fidelity to him.

I have taken upon myself the obligation of fidelity to the Commander of the Faithful and to Muḥammad according to what I have contracted to perform and have listed specifically in this document written out by me, as long as Muḥammad fulfills all the obligations towards me which the Commander of the Faithful has stipulated to me as incumbent upon him in my regard and all the items which the Commander of the Faithful has granted to me and which are specifically listed in this document which he wrote down for me.

I take upon myself (observance of) God's charge and covenant, together with the contractual agreements of my forefathers and those of all the believers, the most binding of the solemnly pledged charges and covenants which God has laid upon the prophets and messengers from all his creatures, and with the solemn oaths concerning which God has commanded fidelity and has forbidden their being broken or altered.

If I break a single item of what I have undertaken to observe and have specifically listed in this document of mine, or if I alter or change or fail to observe or act deceitfully (regarding it), then may I be cut off from God, He is exalted and magnified, from His protection and religion and from Muḥammad the Messenger of God, and may I meet God face-to-face on the Day of Resurrection as an unbeliever and polytheist. Every wife whom I have at this moment or may marry within the next thirty years, shall be divorced with the threefold repudiation, definitively, the divorce of sinfulness.[687] Every slave which I possess at this moment or may possess within the next thirty years shall be set free out of the love of God. I promise to make the Pilgrimage on foot to God's Holy House at Mecca thirty times, as a compulsory vow of expiation laid upon me, barefoot and walking, whose fulfillment God will require from me absolutely. All the wealth which I possess at this moment or may possess within the next thirty years shall be pledged as a gift intended for the Ka'bah. Everything which I have undertaken towards the Commander of the Faithful and have obligated myself in this document of mine to fulfill, is binding upon me, and I will not conceive in my mind or determine upon anything else. Sulaymān the son of the Commander of the Faithful, so-and-so and so-

687. Gabrieli, op. cit., 199: *col ripudio del peccato.*

and-so have borne witness to this, and it has been written out in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 186 (December, 802).[688]

The Text of the Letter of Hārūn b. Muḥammad, al-Rashīd, to the Provincial Governors[689] [663]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. As follows: God is the patron [*walī*] of the Commander of the Faithful, the patron of what he has endowed him with as ruler, the guardian of the caliphate and the authority which He has entrusted to his care and has honored him with, and the One who favors him in all the affairs of his which he initiates or relinquishes. He is the One who bestows upon him aid and succor in both the eastern and the western parts of the earth, the One who guards and protects and the One who is sufficient against the whole of His creation. He is the One who is to be praised for all His favors, the One responsible for the bringing to completion of the good things of His decrees which He has put into execution for the Commander of the Faithful and of His laudable customary actions for him; (He is likewise responsible for) the inspiring of what is agreeable to Him; and He makes incumbent upon him for the achievement of this the finest augmentation of His grace.

Among the favors of God, He is exalted and magnified, which He has vouchsafed to the Commander of the Faithful, to you and to the generality of Muslims, is what God has arranged with regard to Muḥammad and ʿAbdallāh the two sons of the Commander of the Faithful by His conveying to them the best of what the Muslim community has hoped for and has hastened eagerly towards. God has cast into the hearts of the mass of the populace love and affection for these two princes, peace of mind stemming from confidence in them and reliance upon them because of the firmness of their faith, the uprightness of their affairs, their mutual harmony and the rectitude of their mien. God has kept away from them fearful and unpleasant things making for disunity and di-

688. Tr. Gabrieli, op. cit., 197–200. Again, Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 509, and Azraqī, in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, I, 168 = ed. Milḥas, I, 241, note that the same witnesses who attested al-Amīn's document attested this one also.

689. Cf. Gabrieli, "Successione," 346–7; the text of this letter is not given in any other early source, i.e., one not repeating Ṭabarī's text.

visiveness, to the point that people have entrusted to the two of them the reins of power over themselves and have given to them their pledges of allegiance and solemnly sworn oaths by means of covenants, contractual agreements, and firm oaths strenuously impressed on them. God has expressed His will thus, and there is no one who can gainsay Him; he has put it into effect, and none of His creatures can controvert it or render it invalid, or can deflect Him from what He desires and wills or from what He has previously formed the intention in His mind of doing.

The Commander of the Faithful hopes for the completion of [664] beneficence upon himself and his two sons regarding that and upon the whole Muslim community; there is no one who can put back God's command, no one who can reverse His decree and no one who can set up a substitute for His ordinance.

Since the Muslim community agreed with one mind upon settling the succession on Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful after the Commander of the Faithful himself and then on ʿAbdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful after Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful, the Commander of the Faithful has continuously exercised his thought, judgment, mind, and powers of reflection[690] on what will give benefit to them both and to the whole of the subjects; will bring harmony to their discussions; will repair the disorder of affairs; will dispel those things making for disunity and divisiveness; will cut off short the wiles of the enemies of divine favor, comprising the infidels, the hypocrites, those harboring rancor and those sowing dissension; and will cut short the hopes of these last on every occasion when they hope to achieve these aims and seize appropriate opportunities against the two princes by impairing their just rights. The Commander of the Faithful asks God's blessing for all that and begs Him to grant him resolution of purpose for following the best course for the two princes and the whole Muslim community. (He asks Him for) strength in fulfilling God's command and His due rights; in reconciling their divergent notions and working out the best course for them mutually; and in preserving them

690. Reading with the Cairo text, VIII, 284, *rawiyyatihi* for the Leiden text's *ruʾyatihi*.

both from the wiles of the enemies of divine favor, repelling their enviousness, deceitful stratagems, injuriousness, and endeavors to sow evil between the two of them.

Accordingly, God implanted in the Commander of the Faithful the determination to despatch them both to God's House; to take from them the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful by hearing and obeying and by putting into effect his command; and to have written down the set of obligations upon each of them towards the Commander of the Faithful and towards each other by the strongest of covenants and agreements and the firmest of oaths and undertakings. (He also determined upon) requiring an undertaking from each one of them to the other regarding what the Commander of the Faithful sought to secure in the way of their mutual harmony, their mutual affection, their mutual accord, assistance to each other and protection for each other in conformity with a favorable regard for their own mutual interests and those of the Commander of the Faithful's subjects, whom he has entrusted to their care as rulers. (The Commander of the Faithful also sought to secure) unity for the furtherance of the religion of God, He is exalted and magnified, His book and the exemplary practices [*sunan*] of His Prophet; (to bring about) holy warfare [*jihād*] against the enemies of the Muslims, whoever and wherever they may be; and (to secure) the suppression of the ambitious schemes of every enemy who openly manifests hostility or secretly harbors it, of every hypocrite and deviant from the faith, of those persons holding heretical opinions who are themselves deluded and who delude others, who stem from a group which plots to bring about an evil stratagem between them and to bring about [665] discord between them. (He has also sought to secure the suppression of) that which God's enemies, the enemies of the divine favors and the enemies of His religion, seek to bring about—violence among the Muslim community, endeavors to wreak corruption in the earth and an invitation to unlawful innovations [*bidaʿ*] and error. (All these endeavors come) from a solicitude on the part of the Commander of the Faithful for God's religion, His subjects and the community of His Prophet Muḥammad, from a policy of giving good counsel for the furtherance of God's interests and for all the Muslims, and from defending God's authority which he has pre-

pared[691] and for which he has devoted himself solely in regard to the burden with which He has charged him (i.e., the caliphate). (God has also implanted in the Caliph a determination to make) strenuous endeavors in everything which brings nearness to God and by means of which His favor is achieved and access gained to His presence.

When he arrived in Mecca, he made manifest to Muḥammad and ʿAbdallāh his intention regarding this and what he envisaged for them in it. They both assented to everything which he called upon them to undertake in firmly binding themselves to its acceptance, and they wrote out for the Commander of the Faithful, in the heart of God's Holy House, in their own handwriting and in the assembly of those members of the Commander of the Faithful's family, his military commanders, his retainers, and his judges who were present for the Pilgrimage, and the doorkeepers of the Kaʿbah, and with their attestation to the two persons swearing (these obligations), two documents, which the Commander of the Faithful entrusted to the safekeeping of the doorkeepers and commanded that they should be hung up inside the Kaʿbah.

When the Commander of the Faithful had completed all this inside God's Holy House and the interior of the Kaʿbah, he commanded his judges, who had borne witness to them both and had been present at their writing out (i.e., the documents), that they should inform all those present for the Pilgrimage season, comprising those who had come to perform the Pilgrimage and the ʿUmrah and the delegations from the great cities, about the conditions which the two princes had taken upon themselves and which they had written out, and to which they (i.e., the judges) had borne witness. (He further ordered) the reading out of that to them (i.e., to the assembled people in Mecca) in order that they might comprehend it, keep it in their minds, come to know it, learn the texts by heart, and communicate it to their comrades and the people of their lands and cities. They accordingly did that, and the two contractual agreements were read out to them *in extenso* in the Holy Mosque. Then they went back. The reports about all this

691. Translation here conjectural; the text's reading here *qaddarahu* is very dubious.

having been already widely disseminated among them, they confirmed its attestation and they realized the Commander of the Faithful's intention and his solicitude for their welfare, the prevention of bloodshed among them, the repairing of their disorder, and the extinguishing of the blazing brand of God's enemies and the enemies of His religion, His book and the whole community of Muslims, from among them. They offered up prayers for the Commander of the Faithful and thanks for what he had arranged in [666] respect of all this.

The Commander of the Faithful has transcribed for you those two contractual agreements which the Commander of the Faithful's two sons Muḥammad and ʿAbdallāh wrote down for him in the interior of the Kaʿbah, at the foot of this writing of his being the words:

So praise God, He is exalted and magnified, profusely for what He has wrought for Muḥammad and ʿAbdallāh, the two designated successors to rule over the Muslims, and give copious thanks to Him for His favor in regard to the Commander of the Faithful, to the two bearers of the succession for the Muslims, to you (i.e., the governor receiving the copy of this letter) and to the whole of the community of Muḥammad. Have the Commander of the Faithful's letter read out to the Muslims under your authority, make them understand it, take responsibility for it among them, have it set down firmly in the *dīwān* which is under your control and that of the military commanders of the Commander of the Faithful and his subjects under your charge, and write back to the Commander of the Faithful concerning anything which may take place regarding this, if God wills. God is our sufficiency, and how good a guardian of our interests! In Him is power and strength and might!

Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ wrote this on Saturday, the twenty-third of al-Muḥarram, 187[692] (January 21, 803).

He related: Hārūn al-Rashīd ordered 100,000 dīnārs to be given to ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn, and this sum was brought for him to Baghdad from Raqqah.

692. Read thus (as Gabrieli points out in op. cit., 347 n. 1) for the text's date of 186, which does not give the correct correspondence of day and date.

Al-Rashīd's Subsequent Renewal of the Succession Pledges to al-Ma'mūn and al-Qāsim at Qarmāsīn

He related: At a period of time after the killing of Ja'far b. Yaḥyā,[693] al-Rashīd went to al-Raqqah and then came to Baghdad, complaints about 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān having reached him continuously from Khurāsān and much adverse talk about 'Alī having come to his ears. Hence, he decided upon dismissing him from Khurāsān, and preferred to have 'Alī near him.[694] So when he went to Baghdad, he set out from there after a while towards Qarmāsīn; this was in the year 189 (805). He further despatched to Qarmāsīn a number of persons, comprising judges and others, and made them bear witness that the whole of what he had with him in his army—wealth, treasuries, weapons, horses and mules, and so forth, in its entirety—was to go to 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn, and that he would retain nothing of it for himself, small or great, for any motive or pretext. He renewed the succession pledge to al-Ma'mūn from
[667] those who were with him, and he sent Harthamah b. A'yan, the commander of his guard, to Baghdad. Then he once again exacted the succession pledge to 'Abdallāh and al-Qāsim from Muḥammad the son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful and those in his circle, according to the terms of the document to which al-Rashīd had required his assent at Mecca. He relegated the question of al-Qāsim, whether he was to be removed from his designated role as third heir or confirmed in it, to 'Abdallāh's decision when the caliphate should pass to him.[695]

Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī recited concerning Hārūn's securing adhesion to the succession of his two sons in the Ka'bah,

The best of affairs for having a good conclusion
    and the most likely affair to achieve completion
Is an affair whose firm constituting the Merciful One
    has decreed in the Holy House.[696]

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693. Actually, some two years later, the fall of the Barmakīs being in Ṣafar, 187 (January, 803).

694. This was the occasion of al-Rashīd's journeying to al-Rayy, where 'Alī b. 'Īsā's amassment of wealth for his master sufficiently impressed the Caliph to confirm 'Alī in his governorship; see Ṭabarī, III, 702–4 (below, 250–54).

695. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 173, 191; Gabrieli, op. cit., 349.

696. *K. al-'Uyūn*, 305.

The Events of the Year 187

(December 30, 802–December 19, 803)

Among the events taking place during this year was al-Rashīd's killing of Ja'far b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid and his swooping down on the Barmakīs.[697]

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697. The other main sources for this celebrated episode of mediaeval Islamic history are as follows:

Jahshiyārī, 185–211; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 510–12; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 461–9; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 386–414 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2588–2618; Azdī, 304–6; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 305–9; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 175–80; Ibn Khallikān, I, 328–46, tr. I, 301–19 (Ja'far b. Yaḥyā), IV, 27–36, tr. II, 459–68 (al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā), VI, 219–29, tr. IV, 103–14 (Yaḥyā b. Khālid); Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 190–2, tr. 207–10.

However, virtually every chronicler of the caliphate touched on this topic, which clearly fascinated mediaeval Muslims as an example of overweening pride and immense riches brought low at a single stroke and as an object lesson in the dangers of servants endeavoring to rise above their masters in splendor of life and munificence. Special works were even composed on the episode, especially in the Persian cultural world, which was perhaps attracted to the subject through the Barmakīs' Persian origins and which may have been tempted to view the Barmakīs (as have some modern authors) as upholders of the Persian traditions of government and culture in the caliphate. Bouvat notes, e.g., two works of the eighth (fourteenth) century, the Indo-Muslim historian Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī's *Akhbār-i Barmakiyān* and 'Abd al-Jalīl Yazdī's *Ta'rīkh-i āl-i Barmak* (Bouvat, 9–10; cf. C. A. Storey, *Persian literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, I, 1082–3).

Modern writers have likewise been attracted by the enigmatic aspects of the

The Reason for al-Rashīd's Killing of Ja'far al-Barmakī, the Manner of His Killing, and What al-Rashīd Did to Him and the Members of His Family

Concerning the reason for al-Rashīd's anger against him, occasioning the Caliph's killing of him, there are varying accounts.[698] One of them is what is mentioned from Bukhtīshū' b. Jibrīl,[699] who had it from his father, that the latter related: I was sitting in al-Rashīd's court circle when Yaḥyā b. Khālid appeared. It had always been the practice previously that he should enter without seeking formal permission. Now, when he entered, drew near to al-Rashīd and greeted him, the latter returned only a perfunctory salutation. Yaḥyā then realized that their relationship (or: the position of the Barmakī family, *amrahum*) had changed.

He related: Then al-Rashīd came up to me and said, "O Jibrīl, does anyone enter upon your presence, without your permission, when you are in your house?" I replied, "No, and no one would presume to do that." He commented, "Why, then, should we have [668] to put up with intrusions upon us without permission?" Yaḥyā rose and explained, "O Commander of the Faithful, may God bring my term of life to an end before yours! By God, I haven't inaugurated this practice at this very moment, and it is no more than an honor with which the Commander of the Faithful has favored me and has thereby increased my prestige, to the extent that I used to come into his presence when he was in his bed, at times garmentless, or at other times just dressed in one of his loincloths. I did not realize that the Commander of the Faithful (now) disliked what he

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Barmakīs' fall and the motives impelling al-Rashīd to such savagery against the family when he burst out of their tutelage. A bibliography of earlier studies can be found in Bouvat, 127–31, Appendix II. For subsequent works, see Bouvat's own monograph, 74–101, and now the profounder analysis of motives at work in the Caliph's mind, material and psychological considerations, by Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 151–81. See also Palmer, 81–106; Shaban, 35–9; Sourdel, in *Cambridge history of Islam*, I, 115–16; Kennedy, 127–9; *EI*² s.v. Barāmika (Sourdel).

698. As acknowledged by most of the sources, e.g., Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 510: "Most authorities hold divergent views about the causes of his anger against them."

699. Member of a celebrated Christian family of physicians from Jundīshāpūr, several members of which personally served the 'Abbāsid Caliphs and who died in 256 (870). His father, Jibrīl b. Bukhtīshū' b. Jurjīs, died in 212 (827), was physician to Ja'far b. Yaḥyā and, in the words of Jahshiyārī, 178, their protégé, *ṣanī'at al-Barāmikah*. See *GAS*, III, 226–7; *EI*² s.v. Bukhtīshū' (Sourdel).

used to approve. But now that I have realized it, in future I will take my place in the second or third rank of those seeking permission to enter, if my master so commands." He related: Al-Rashīd was thereupon ashamed—among all the Caliphs, he related, al-Rashīd had one of the mildest countenances—and he remained with his eyes to the ground, not looking upwards at Yaḥyā. Then he said, "I didn't intend anything to discomfit you, but people are talking." He related, I had the impression that al-Rashīd had not been able to think of a satisfactory reply on the spur of the moment, and hence had answered him thus. Al-Rashīd refrained from saying any more to Yaḥyā, and Yaḥyā departed.[700]

It has been mentioned from Aḥmad b. Yūsuf that Thumāmah b. Ashras said: The first occasion when Yaḥyā b. Khālid felt uneasy about his position was when Muḥammad b. al-Layth[701] presented an epistle to al-Rashīd in which he gave the Caliph a warning and mentioned that "Yaḥyā b. Khālid will not in any way absolve you of your responsibilities towards God. You have made him preeminent in matters which are between yourself and God alone. What will be your position when you stand before God (i.e., at the Last Judgement) and He asks you about what you have achieved among His servants and His lands, and you reply, 'O Lord, I committed the responsibilities of the affairs of Your servants entirely to Yaḥyā'? Do you imagine that you will be able to adduce a plea of extenuation acceptable to God?" (He said all this) in a speech full of blame and upbraiding.[702] Al-Rashīd accordingly sent for Yaḥyā, to whom news of the epistle had already arrived, and he said, "Do you know Muḥammad b. al-Layth?" Yaḥyā replied, "Yes." Al-Rashīd said, "What sort of a man is he?" He replied, "A man whose Islamic faith is suspect." Al-Rashīd thereupon commanded that Muḥammad b.

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700. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 177; Palmer, 89–90.

701. Presumably, the official whom Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 483, lists as a minister of al-Mahdī's, known for his eloquence; cf. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 111–12, 143 n. 6, 176 n. 2. In Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 463, he is given the patronymic of Abū Rabī'ah and described as a popular ascetic and religious figure of al-Raqqah, and in his denunciation of the Barmakīs to the Caliph he accuses them of infidelity and atheism.

702. This is the moment when Ṭabarī gets to the explanation favored by so many of the sources, that the Barmakīs had arrogated to themselves executive and judicial powers proper to the Caliph only. See, e.g., Jahshiyārī, 164; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 510–11; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 190, tr. 207; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal, I, 30–2; Abbott, 193–5.

al-Layth should be incarcerated in the Maṭbaq prison indefinitely.[703] But when al-Rashīd's attitude towards the Barmakīs had changed for the worse, he remembered Muḥammad. He ordered him to be brought forth, and Muḥammad was set before him. Al-Rashīd said to him after a long speech, "O Muḥammad, do you love me?" He replied, "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, no!" He said, "You really mean this?" He replied, "Yes, certainly! You
[669] have put fetters on my legs, and have come between me and my family (i.e., deprived me of contact with them), when I have committed no sin or grave crime, all on the word of an envious one who is plotting against Islam and the Muslims and who loves heresy and its practitioners. How can I possibly love you?" Al-Rashīd said, "You have spoken truly," and he ordered him to be set free. Then he asked, "O Muḥammad, do you love me now?" He replied, "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, no, although the hard feelings in my breast have gone away." So al-Rashīd ordered him to be given one hundred thousand dirhams. He was brought before him again, and al-Rashīd asked, "O Muḥammad, do you love me now?" He replied, "Now, at last, yes; you have been munificent and generous towards me!" Al-Rashīd said, "May God take vengeance upon the one who has wronged you, and may He take upon Himself the fulfillment of your just rights from the one who incited me against you!" He related: People started talking at length to the discredit of the Barmakīs, and this occasion was the first manifestation of the change in their fortunes.[704]

Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Sufyān, the mawlā of Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far, transmitted the information to me, saying: Yaḥyā b. Khālid went into al-Rashīd's presence after this, and the slaves [*al-ghilmān*] stood up when he entered. But al-Rashīd told the eunuch Masrūr, "Give the slaves the order not to stand up in Yaḥyā's presence when he enters the palace." He related: Yaḥyā came in, and no one stood up in his presence; Yaḥyā became ashen faced at this. He related: Subsequently, when the slaves and doorkeepers

703. Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 463.

704. The sources retail various stories concerning the Barmakīs' premonitions of al-Rashīd's changed attitude and his intention to overthrow them. See, e.g., the verses which al-Rashīd made a Kūfan storyteller repeat continually to him one night, the news of which alarmed Ja'far b. Yaḥyā, in Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 401–2 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 80–1.

saw him, they turned away from him. He related: Yaḥyā used on occasion to ask for a drink of water or something, and they would not give it to him; or rather, if it happened that they did in the end provide him with a drink, it was only after he had called for it several times.

Jaʿfar's Alleged Connivance with the Release of the ʿAlid Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan

Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī[705]—and according to what is said, he was one of the persons most knowledgeable about the story of the Barmakīs—has mentioned, saying: "If anyone says that al-Rashīd killed Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā for any other reason but over Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, don't believe him!"[706] The story here is that al-Rashīd handed over Yaḥyā to Jaʿfar, who thereupon imprisoned him. Then, one night, Jaʿfar summoned Yaḥyā and interrogated him about some aspects of his affairs and position, and Yaḥyā gave him suitable answers, until he said, "Show piety towards God in my regard, and don't lay yourself open to the possibility that [670] Muḥammad may speak unfavorably against you in the future (i.e., on the Last Day), for by God, I have not introduced any heretical

705. Yaḥyā b. Mubārak, died in 202 (817), was a poet and later aspirant to al-Maʾmūn's court circle (see Ṭabarī, III, 1156–8), and a member of a well-known poetic family; see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 610.

706. The adducing of such a reason as the prime one for the downfall of the Barmakīs is nevertheless farfetched; cf. Bouvat, 75, and Kennedy, 128. But it does seem that at various points in his career as commander and minister for al-Rashīd, al-Faḍl did not regard the ʿAlids as mortal enemies and, following in the footsteps of al-Mahdī, favored a policy of conciliation toward them, ill according with al-Rashīd's violently anti-ʿAlid views; cf. his generosity toward the Imām Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (Jahshiyārī, 151–2; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 185–6, tr. 201–2; Bouvat, 64; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 166) and his general attitude of leaving ʿAlids in the remoter parts of the empire alone, as being less harmful there to the state, as is emphasized by Sourdel, op. cit., I, 164–6, idem, "La politique religieuse du calife ʿabbaside al-Maʾmūn," *REI*, XXX (1962), 28–9, and Kennedy, 119–20. In Jahshiyārī, 194, Yaḥyā b. Khālid is accused by al-Rashīd of giving a financial subsidy to Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh in Daylam so that his strength might increase, and then al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā would have all the greater honor for suppressing the revolt—a puerile argument that Yaḥyā b. Khālid easily disposes of. In Abū al-Faḍl Bayhaqī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, 415, Yaḥyā acknowledges that he is suspect in al-Rashīd's eyes for his ʿAlid sympathies, which may be a characteristic touch of the Persian sources on the Barmakīs and their fall.

innovations nor have I given shelter to any perpetrator of such misdeeds!" So Jaʿfar relented towards him and told him, "Go forth into wherever you like of God's lands!" But Yaḥyā replied, "How can I go forth, when I have no assurance that I shall not be arrested after a short while and sent back to you or someone else?" Hence, Jaʿfar sent along with Yaḥyā someone who could conduct him to a secure place for him. The news of this reached al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ through a spy of his within the inner circle of Jaʿfar's servants (or: eunuchs, *khadamihi*) whom he had over Jaʿfar.

Al-Faḍl made a full investigation into the matter; he found it to be perfectly true, and it was fully revealed to him. So he went into al-Rashīd's presence and informed him. The latter indicated to al-Faḍl ostensibly that he was uninterested in his information, and said, "What's the matter got to do with you, may you be deprived of your mother? For all you know, this may be at my express command!" At this, al-Faḍl was crushed. Jaʿfar now came to al-Rashīd. The latter called for food; the two of them ate together, and the Caliph began to put tasty morsels of food into Jaʿfar's mouth and to converse with him, until finally, at the end of their session together, al-Rashīd asked, "What has Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh been up to?" Jaʿfar replied, "He is just as he was before, O Commander of the Faithful, in a cramped prison cell, loaded with fetters." Al-Rashīd commented, "By my life!" At this, Jaʿfar—who had one of the acutest intelligences and soundest perceptions among all mankind—drew back, and realized within himself that the Caliph in fact knew something about the affair. So he then said, "Nay, by your life, my lord, in reality I set him free, having learnt that there was nothing to be gained by holding him and that he was completely harmless." The Caliph replied, "You did well! You have done exactly what was in my own mind!" (literally, "you have not gone beyond what was in my own mind"). But when Jaʿfar went out, al-Rashīd followed him with his gaze until Jaʿfar became almost hidden from his sight, and then he burst out, "May God
[671] slay me with the sword of right guidance for having committed an erroneous act if I don't kill you!" What subsequently happened regarding him is well-known.[707]

707. Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. IV, 464; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 306–7; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 176; Ibn Khallikān, I, 334–5, tr. I, 308–9; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 191, tr. 208; Ibn Khaldūn, tr. I, 31–2; Palmer, 85; Bouvat, 83; Abbott, 196–7.

Idrīs b. Badr has transmitted the information,[708] saying: A man presented himself before al-Rashīd (or: presented a petition to al-Rashīd, *ʿaraḍa li-al-Rashīd*) whilst the latter was engaged in a discussion with Yaḥyā (al-Barmakī), with the words, "O Commander of the Faithful, a word of advice (for you), so summon me before you!" Al-Rashīd said to Harthamah, "Take this man aside with you, and ask him about this piece of advice of his." Harthamah questioned him (about it), but he refused to tell him, saying, "It is a secret meant for the Caliph's ear alone." Harthamah informed al-Rashīd of what the man had said, and the Caliph replied, "Don't let him leave the palace gate until I have a chance to speak with him privately." He related: When it was midday, all those who had been with the Caliph departed, and the Caliph summoned the man. The man said, "Accord me complete privacy." So Hārūn turned to his sons and said, "Please go away, lads!" and they sprang up (and left). Khāqān and Ḥusayn remained standing by his head. The man looked at them. Al-Rashīd told them, "Retire from my presence," and they did so. Then al-Rashīd went up to the man and said, "Now tell me what is in your mind." The man replied, "Provided that you grant me a promise of personal security and safe conduct." The Caliph said, "I undertake to grant you such a promise of personal safety and to treat you well."

The man said, "I was at Ḥulwān, in one of the caravanserais there, when I realized that I was in the presence of Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh, who was wearing a coarse, open-fronted tunic [*durrāʿah*][709] of wool and a coarse, green-colored woolen cloak. He was accompanied by a group of persons who encamped whenever he encamped and who travelled on whenever he travelled on and who took up a position near him, (nevertheless) giving the impression to anyone who saw them that they did not know Yaḥyā although they were in reality his aides. Each one of them had a chit [*manshūr*][710] guaranteeing him safe-conduct, should he be stopped." Al-

708. There is a complete *isnād* for this story back to Idrīs b. Zayd in Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 309–10.

709. For this long gown, see Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillée des noms de vêtements chez les arabes*, 177–81; Agius, 217–20.

710. See for this early use of the term (in later times a more grandiose document of appointment for officials), *EI*² s.v. Diplomatic. i. Classical Arabic. Section 3.c (h) (W. Björkman): a pass for peasants in Egypt, designed to impede movement away from the land.

Rashīd said, "Do you know Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh, then?" He replied, "I have known him for a long time, and it was this which made certain my recognition of him the other day." Al-Rashīd said, "Describe him to me." The man replied, "(He is) a man with an appearance of well-being, slightly swarthy in complexion, with receding hair at the temples, pleasant eyes, and a substantial paunch." Al-Rashīd retorted, "You have spoken truly, he is just like that," and went on to say, "What did you hear him say?" The man replied, "I
[672] didn't hear him say anything, except that I saw him performing the worship. I also saw one of his slaves, whom I used previously to know, sitting at the gate of the caravanserai. When Yaḥyā had finished his act of worship, the slave brought him a freshly laundered robe. He threw it over Yaḥyā's shoulders and took away the woolen gown. After the sun began to decline from its zenith, he performed another act of worship which was, I think, the afternoon one [*al-ʿaṣr*]. I was meanwhile watching him closely, and he performed the opening sections of the two acts of worship in a protracted, measured fashion, but the closing sections of the two acts of worship in a light and speedy fashion."[711]

Al-Rashīd exclaimed, "May God bless your father! How excellently have you remembered all this! Yes indeed, that would be the afternoon worship, and that would be the appropriate time for it in the view of people in general. May God grant you a handsome reward and thank you appropriately for your efforts! But who exactly are you?" The man replied, "I stem from the progeny of the 'sons of the dynasty';[712] my family origin is from Marw and my birthplace is the City of Peace." The Caliph said, "Is your house, then, there?" He replied, "Yes." The Caliph remained silent, with his eyes to the ground, for a considerable period and then said, "How would you be able to endure an unpleasant experience, which you would have to suffer, as an act of obedience to me?" The man said, "I would undergo the unpleasantness of that inasmuch as the Commander of the Faithful wishes it." The Caliph said, "Stay where you are until I come back," and he darted quickly into

711. Following here the Cairo text, VIII, 290, *al-ūlayayni* and *al-ukhrayayni*, for the Leiden text's *al-awwalatayni* (sic) and *al-ākhiratayni* (presumably referring to the four *rakʿahs* which make up the *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* and the *ṣalat al-ʿaṣr*).

712. I.e., from the *Abnāʾ al-Dawlaḥ*, the original backing of the ʿAbbāsids from the Arabs of the Khurāsānian garrison cities.

a chamber[713] which was just at his back and pulled out a purse containing two thousand dīnārs. He said, "Take this, and let me put into operation a plan which I have thought up concerning you." The man accordingly took the money and wrapped his robes over it. Then the Caliph called out, "O slave!" and Khāqān and Ḥusayn answered the call. He said, "Strike this son of a stinking, uncircumcised whore [*ibn al-lakhnā'*]!" so the two of them punched him about a hundred times. Then the Caliph said, "Take him out to those who are still in the palace precincts, with his turban round his neck, and proclaim, 'This is the reward of the person who brings slanderous accusations against the Commander of the Faithful's courtiers and retainers!'" They did all that, and the people talked about the man and what had happened to him, but no one knew about the man's real role nor about what he had communicated to al-Rashīd until the fall of the Barmakīs eventually took place.[714]

The Barmakīs' Wealth and Ostentation as a Reason for Their Fall

Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq (al-Iṣfahānī)[715] has mentioned that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī transmitted the information to him, saying: I visited Ja'far b. Yaḥyā in that palace of his which he had built. He said to me, [673]
"Aren't you astonished at Manṣūr b. Ziyād?"[716] He said: I replied, "In what connection?" He said, "I asked him whether he discerned any defect at all in my palace, and he replied, 'Yes, it doesn't contain any sun-dried brick or pine trunk (in its construction).'" Ibrāhīm related: I said, however, "What renders it faulty, in my view, is that you have expended on it around twenty million dirhams, and this is a thing concerning which I would not guarantee your personal security, at some future date, in the Caliph's eyes." He retorted, "He knows well that he has given me in presents more

713. Following the reading of the *Addenda et emendanda*, P. DCCCLXII, *fa-ṭafara fī ḥujrat*[in].

714. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 309–11; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 164 n. 3.

715. Also mentioned as a *rāwī* by Ṭabarī, III, 759 (below, 328), 965.

716. Manṣūr's closeness to the Barmakīs (Ṭabarī, III, 613, above, 116, and n. 444) was such that just before their fall, the Caliph attacked them indirectly by mulcting Manṣūr of an enormous sum, with the penalty of death for nonpayment, which Manṣūr had to obtain from the Barmakīs. See Jahshiyārī, 175–7; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 172–3.

than that, and as much as that again, in addition to what he has left open for me to acquire [*mā ʿarraḍanī lahu*]." He related: I remarked, "An enemy has only to go to the Caliph over this with the intention of saying to him, 'O Commander of the Faithful, since he has been able to expend twenty million dirhams on a single palace, what about his ordinary expenditure? And all the gifts he bestows? And (provision against) all the eventualities and misfortunes which may assail him? Moreover, O Commander of the Faithful, what do you think about expenditure beyond all that? This is a sum which can speedily be disbursed, but getting oneself into a position to acquire it is difficult.'"[717] Jaʿfar replied, "If he hears anything (critical) about me, I shall respond, 'The Commander of the Faithful has bestowed many favors on people who have displayed ingratitude for these favors by concealing them or by outwardly displaying only a small part from a great number of these favors. I, on the other hand, am a man who has considered the Caliph's bounty to me; as a result, I have placed it on a mountain top and then instructed the people, "Come forth and gaze on it!"'"

The Barmakīs' Growing Fears of the Caliph's Threatening Intentions

Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. Zayd (al-ʿAlawī)[718] has mentioned that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī transmitted the information to him that Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā said to him one day—Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā being Ibrāhīm's patron and sponsor [*ṣāḥibahu*] at al-Rashīd's court and the one who had brought him into the Caliph's circle of intimates—"I have begun to feel suspicious regarding this man's—he meant al-Rashīd's—attitude, and I have got the idea that this stems from some previous action of his which has affected me. Hence, I wished to examine that in the light of another person's opinion; now you are that person. So keep an eye on that point as you go

717. In Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 176, Jaʿfar's expenditure of twenty million dirhams on his palace is specifically adduced as one of the causes of al-Rashīd's vengeance on him.

718. Ḥusaynid *rāwī* and great-grandson of the Zayd b. ʿAlī killed at al-Kūfah in 121 (739), cited three times by Ṭabarī for events in al-Rashīd's reign, see also III, 692, 746 (below 235, 311).

about today's business, and let me know what you observe regarding him." He related: In the course of my day's activities, I did that. [674]
When al-Rashīd rose up from his court session, I was the first of his companions to rise up and leave him. I then went along to a clump of trees along the road which I was wont to take and went inside it, together with my attendants, and ordered them to extinguish the candles. The Caliph's boon-companions began to pass by where I was, one by one. I could see them, but they could not see me. Finally, all of them had gone, when suddenly Jaʿfar appeared in view. When he came through the clump of trees he called out, "Come forth, my dear friend!" He related: So I came forth. He said, "Well, what information have you got?" I replied, "Not till you tell me how you knew I was here!" He said, "I was aware of your solicitude over what I am worried about and aware that you are not the sort of person who would go home without informing me of what you observed in him. I also know that you would not like to be seen standing about at this sort of hour. There is no better place for concealment along the road than this one, so I decided that you must be here in it." I said, "Yes, true." He said, "Now let's hear what you have learnt!" I replied, "I observed a man who jests when you speak seriously, and who becomes serious when you jest." He said, "That is exactly how he appears to me, so go homewards, my dear friend." He related: I then went home.[719]

He related: ʿAlī b. Sulaymān transmitted the information to me, that he heard Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā saying one day, "This present mansion of ours (i.e., our present life) is without defect, except that the owner has only a short spell of existence in it," alluding to himself.

It is mentioned from Mūsā b. Yaḥyā that he said: My father set out to make the circumambulation (of the Kaʿbah) [*al-ṭawāf*] during the year in which disaster struck him, with myself, from among his children, accompanying him. He began to grip the coverings of the Kaʿbah and repeatedly to utter supplications, saying, "O God, my sins are numerous and momentous; only You can number them and only You can know them. O God, if You punish me, then make my punishment in this present world, even if that punishment involves my senses of hearing and sight, my

719. Cf. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 157. Various of the sources stress al-Rashīd's suspiciousness and vacillations.

wealth and children, until You are fully satisfied, and do not make my punishment one in the next world!"

He related: Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥarb transmitted the information to me, saying: I saw Yaḥyā at a time when he had stood facing the (Holy) House and had gripped the coverings of the Ka'bah and
[675] was saying, "O God, if it is Your good pleasure to deprive me of Your goodness vouchsafed to me, then deprive me! O God, if it is Your good pleasure to deprive me of my family and children, then deprive me, O God, but leave me al-Faḍl!" He related: Then he turned round in order to go on his way. When he drew near to the door of the mosque, he wheeled round rapidly and repeated his previous actions and began to say, "O God, it is unseemly for the like of myself to make supplication to You and then ask You to make an exception. O God, (take) al-Faḍl (also)!"[720]

He related: When they returned from the Pilgrimage, they encamped at al-Anbār, whilst al-Rashīd halted at al-'Umr,[721] accompanied by the two heirs to the throne, al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. Al-Faḍl lodged with al-Amīn, whilst Ja'far lodged with al-Ma'mūn; Yaḥyā was in the same dwelling as his secretary Khālid b. 'Īsā;[722] Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā was in the same dwelling as Ibn Nūḥ, the head of the state embroidery workshops [*al-ṭirāz*]; whilst Muḥammad b. Khālid was with al-Ma'mūn at al-'Umr with al-Rashīd.[723]

He related: Al-Rashīd spent the nights in the sole company of al-Faḍl, then he bestowed robes of honor on him, gave him a jewelled collar and commanded him to set off homeward with Muḥammad al-Amīn. He sent for Mūsā b. Yaḥyā, and then displayed his favor to him. Previously, on the outward journey, at al-Ḥīrah, he had displayed anger at Mūsā because 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān had made him an object of suspicion in al-Rashīd's eyes in connection with the affairs of Khurāsān and had told the Caliph about the people of

720. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Palmer, 101–2.

721. The site of a monastery, the Dayr 'Umr Mar Yūnān, on the banks of the Euphrates, described by Shābushtī, 258–64, as extensive, with many monks, well-fortified like a castle and much-celebrated in verse as a pleasure haunt.

722. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 511, Yaḥyā lodged in the monastery of al-'Umr and was there shown, by one of the priests, a poetic inscription set up by the founder; when he read this, Yaḥyā derived from it an omen of impending doom, and found that the priest had disappeared into thin air.

723. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 394 = ed. Pellat, § 2596; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 305.

Khurāsān's sincere obedience to Mūsā and their love for him, and that he was in correspondence with him and making plans for slipping away to them and for mounting an attack on him (i.e., the Caliph) in collusion with them. All that made a profound impression on al-Rashīd's mind to Mūsā's detriment, and made the Caliph apprehensive of him. Mūsā was one of the great and courageous heroic leaders, so when ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā spread these calumnies about him, they found an immediate response in al-Rashīd and just a small part of them had an effect on him.[724]

At that point, Mūsā became liable for a debt and he concealed himself from his creditors. As a result of this, al-Rashīd imagined that he had gone to Khurāsān, as had been related to him. Hence, when al-Rashīd came to al-Ḥīrah on this Pilgrimage, Mūsā met him from Baghdad. Al-Rashīd then imprisoned him in the custody of al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā at al-Kūfah. This was the first impairment of [676] their position which the Barmakīs suffered. Al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā's mother rode forth to intervene in Mūsā's plight; al-Rashīd used never to refuse her anything. Al-Rashīd therefore said, "His father must stand guarantor for him, since accusatory reports about him have reached me." Yaḥyā accordingly stood as guarantor for him, and al-Rashīd handed Mūsā over to him. Then al-Rashīd showed his favor towards Mūsā and bestowed on him robes of honor. Before this, al-Rashīd had become angry and reproachful at al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā, and had found al-Faḍl's company uncongenial because al-Faḍl had given up drinking wine with him. Al-Faḍl used to say, "Even if I knew that water was detrimental to my manly honor [*muruwwatī*], I wouldn't drink it (i.e., wine)."[725] He was, however, passionately devoted to listening to music and singing [*al-samāʿ*]. He related: Jaʿfar used to take part in al-Rashīd's convivial sessions as a boon-companion, to the point that his father forbade him to participate further and ordered him to cease from familiar contacts with the Caliph; but Jaʿfar would brush aside his father's com-

724. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 177.

725. Jahshiyārī, 150. This last author also notes, 167, that the ʿAbbāsid prince ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ, whom al-Rashīd was later to imprison (Ṭabarī, III, 688–94, below, 230–38), was likewise generally refused admission to the circle of the Caliph's boon-companions because of his refusal to drink *nabīdh*, as did the Caliph; cf. A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, 193–4.

mand and would enthusiastically join the Caliph in whatever the latter invited him to.

It has been mentioned from Saʿīd b. Huraym that, when he was unable to exert any further efforts to dissuade Jaʿfar, Yaḥyā wrote to him, "I have only let you go on in your own way so that the passage of time might bring you into a difficult position which might make you realize what you are involved in, even though I strongly fear that this difficult position might be a far from trifling one." He related: Yaḥyā had already addressed these words to al-Rashīd, "O Commander of the Faithful, I disapprove, by God, of Jaʿfar's mingling intimately with you and your affairs, and I am not sure that the outcome of all this may not rebound on me through your agency. If only you would let someone else have a turn instead of him[726] and would restrict him to devoting himself to the important administrative tasks for you which he is undertaking, that would be much more in accordance with my own desires and make you feel more confident regarding me."[727] Al-Rashīd replied, "O my father, this is not your real reason; in reality, you merely wish to manoeuvre al-Faḍl into a superior position over Jaʿfar."[728]

The Alleged Misconduct between Jaʿfar and the Caliph's Sister ʿAbbāsah

Aḥmad b. Zuhayr—I think from his paternal uncle Ẓāhir b. Ḥarb[729]—transmitted the information to me that the reason behind the destruction of Jaʿfar and the Barmakīs was that al-Rashīd could not bear to be away from the company of Jaʿfar and of his own sister ʿAbbāsah bt. al-Mahdī.[730] He used to invite them both to be present when he had one of his drinking sessions, this being

726. Following the Leiden text's *fa-law aʿqabtahu*; the Cairo text, VIII, 293, has *fa-law aʿfaytahu* "if only you would dismiss him."

727. Jahshiyārī, 178: "would make me feel more confident over his safety."

728. Ibid.

729. These two were possibly kinsmen of the *rāwī* Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥarb mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 674 (above, 212).

730. Half-sister of al-Rashīd, being the daughter of al-Mahdī by a slave girl Raḥīm, and already three times married and widowed; she must accordingly have been middle-aged, rather than "in the vigor of youth," as Ṭabarī says, at the time of this alleged liaison with Jaʿfar. According to the Qāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, 235, § 342, she died in 182 (798) and left behind a large fortune. See Abbott, 21, 156; *EI*² s.v. (J. Horovitz).

after he had told Ja'far how little able he was to endure Ja'far's and 'Abbāsah's absence from him. He said to Ja'far, "I will give her to you in marriage so that it will be licit for you to look on her when I [677] invite her to my court sessions," and he ordered him not to touch her (i.e., sexually) or do anything at all of what a man usually does with his wife. So al-Rashīd gave her to him in marriage on these conditions. He used to invite them both to his circle when he held a drinking session, then he would get up from the circle and leave the two of them together. They would then become intoxicated with the wine, and both of them being in the vigor of youth, Ja'far would make for her and copulate with her. Subsequently, she became pregnant by him and gave birth to a boy. She was afraid of her own safety from al-Rashīd, if he should get to know about that, so she sent the newly born child, accompanied by nurses for him from among her own slaves, to Mecca. The matter remained concealed from Hārūn until some bad blood arose between 'Abbāsah and a certain slave girl of hers, and this latter thereupon communicated the story of her affair and the matter of the child to al-Rashīd, informing him at the same time of the child's whereabouts, of the slave girls of 'Abbāsah who were looking after him, and of the ornaments with which his mother had adorned him. So when Hārūn performed this particular Pilgrimage, he sent to the place where the slave girl had told him the child was someone who would bring back to him the child and the nurses looking after him. When they were brought before him, he questioned the women who were caring for the child, and they told him substantially the same story which 'Abbāsah's delator had told him. It is alleged that he wanted to kill the child but then restrained himself from that.[731]

Now whenever al-Rashīd made the Pilgrimage, Ja'far used to

731. Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 464–6; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 387–94 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2588–90; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 307–8; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 175; Ibn Khallikān, I, 332–8, tr. I, 306–8; Palmer, 83–5, 91–2, 98–9; Bouvat, 113–19; Abbott, 156–7, 196–7. This alleged reason for al-Rashīd's anger against Ja'far, which so caught the imagination of later chroniclers, does not appear in such early sources as Jahshiyārī and Ya'qūbī. Ibn Khaldūn, tr. I, 28–30, rejected its authenticity, and the words of the executioner Masrūr to an enquirer at a later time, in al-Mutawakkil's reign, indicate that "women's tales," *amr al-mar'ah*, were already circulating by then around the causes of the Barmakīs' fall (Jahshiyārī, 204; cf. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 158). Of modern writers, Bouvat, 70, 74, and Horovitz, *EI*² s.v. 'Abbāsa, regard it as legend, as does Sourdel, op. cit., I, 167; only Abbott, loc. cit., gives it credence.

organize a feast for him at 'Usfān,[732] in order to show him hospitality when he returned from Mecca and set off in the direction of Iraq. When the time came round in this year, Ja'far prepared the feast there, as was his wont, and then requested al-Rashīd to visit him (for the feast). But the latter adduced an excuse to him, and did not attend the feast. Ja'far (nevertheless) remained with him until he halted at his encampment at al-Anbār, and then there took place the events involving him and his father which I am about to relate, if God Most High wills.

The Killing of Ja'far

[678] Al-Faḍl b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī has mentioned that al-Rashīd performed the Pilgrimage in the year 186 (802), and that he returned homewards from Mecca and reached al-Ḥīrah in al-Muḥarram, 187 (December, 802–January, 803) on his return journey from the Pilgrimage. He stayed for a few days at the palace of 'Awn al-'Ibādī[733] and then set out by boat until he stopped at al-'Umr in the vicinity of al-Anbār. When it was the night of Saturday, the thirtieth of al-Muḥarram (the night of Friday-Saturday, January 27–8, 803), he sent the eunuch Masrūr,[734] together with Abū 'Iṣmah Ḥammād b. Sālim[735] and a detachment of troops. They encircled Ja'far b. Yaḥyā's (lodging) by night, and Masrūr burst in on him. Ja'far had with him (Jibrīl) Ibn Bukhtīshū' the physician and Abū Zakkār al-Kalwādhānī the blind singer,[736] and was engaged in a convivial session. Masrūr dragged him out roughly and hustled him along until he brought him to the lodging where al-Rashīd

732. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 121–2, this lay two stages away from Mecca; the modern village of this name is some thirty miles to the north-east of Mecca. See Bakrī, III, 942–3; Al-Wohaibi, 284–9.

733. 'Awn is mentioned in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 305–6 = ed. Pellat, § 2511, as the governor or chief [*ṣāḥib*] of al-Ḥīrah who at one point entertained al-Rashīd in his residence there.

734. Abū Hāshim Masrūr, the eunuch employed by al-Rashīd as confidential agent and executioner, who died in al-Mutawakkil's reign; see Crone, 192–3.

735. Clearly not the Abū 'Iṣmah executed by al-Rashīd on his accession; see Ṭabarī, III, 602 (above, 95).

736. Described also in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 395 = ed. Pellat, § 2596, as *ṭunbūrī*, player of the pandore, as well as a singer; his *nisbah* refers to the town of Kalwādhā situated on the Tigris to the southeast of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 477–8; Le Strange, *Lands*, 32; *EI*² s.v. (Ed.).

was. He imprisoned him, bound him up with a rope used for hobbling asses, and informed al-Rashīd that he had arrested Ja'far and had brought him back. Al-Rashīd then ordered Ja'far to be beheaded, and Masrūr did that.[737]

It is mentioned from 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd that Masrūr the eunuch communicated the information to him, saying: Al-Rashīd sent me to bring back to him Ja'far b. Yaḥyā when he had decided to kill him. I came to Ja'far, and he had with him Abū Zakkār the blind singer, who was at that moment singing the verse

Go not far away, for death will come upon
every brave youth, whether by night or in the morning!

He related: I said to him, "O Abū al-Faḍl, what I have come for is indeed something of that kind (i.e., death); by God, it has come to you by night! Give an account of yourself to the Commander of the Faithful!"[738] He related: He raised his arms and fell at my feet, kissing them, and said, "(Give me some time) until I can go back into my lodging and make my last testament." I replied, "There's no possibility of your going back inside, but make your last dispositions (here and now) with whatever arrangements you wish." So he gave the appropriate orders in his testament for the effecting of his wishes, and freed his slaves. At that point, messengers came to me from the Commander of the Faithful urging me to deal with him speedily. He related: So I took Ja'far along with me to his lodging and informed him (about this). The Caliph said to me—being [679] himself at that moment in his bed—"Bring me his head!" I went back to Ja'far and told him that. He exclaimed, "O Abū Hāshim, O God, O God! By God, he wouldn't order you to do that if he were not drunk! Put off killing me till the morning, or else go and consult with him about me a second time!" So I went back to consult al-Rashīd. But when he heard my whispered words of intercession [*ḥissī*], he burst out, "O you who suck your mother's clitoris! Bring me Ja'far's head!" So I returned to Ja'far and told him. He thereupon said, "Go back to him on my behalf a third time!" I went back to al-

737. Ibn Khallikān, I, 336–7, tr. I, 310.

738. The incident of the verses foreshadowing Ja'far's violent death is given in Jahshiyārī, 187; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 466–7; Azdī, 304; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XI, 54–5 = ed. Cairo, XII, 191–2; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 305; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 177–8; Ibn Khallikān, I, 345, tr. I, 312; cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, loc. cit.

Rashīd, but he struck me with a staff and exclaimed, "May I be excluded from (the offspring of) al-Mahdī! If you come back to me and don't bring Ja'far's head, I shall certainly send to you someone who will first of all bring back to me your head and, secondly, Ja'far's!" He related: So I went forth and brought back to him Ja'far's head.[739]

He related: That same night, al-Rashīd ordered men to be sent who would seize Yaḥyā b. Khālid and all his children, mawlās, and everyone in any way connected with them; not one of those who were present there escaped. Al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā was removed by night and then imprisoned in a wing of one of al-Rashīd's residences. Yaḥyā b. Khālid was imprisoned in his own house.[740] He confiscated all the wealth, estates, possessions, and so forth, which they were found to have, [741] and the soldiers did not allow a single person (i.e., of the Barmakīs' households) to go forth to the City of Peace or anywhere else.[742] That same night, he despatched the eunuch Rajā' to al-Raqqah with orders to seize their wealth and possessions (there) and to arrest all their slaves, mawlās and retainers. He gave Rajā' complete charge in dealing with them. That same night, he sent out letters to all the governors and chief officials in the various regions and administrative divisions of the provinces (ordering them) to seize the Barmakīs' wealth and arrest their agents.[743]

When morning came, he sent Ja'far b. Yaḥyā's corpse with Shu'-

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739. Jahshiyārī, 186–7; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 467–8; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 305–6; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Palmer, 94–8. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 395–8 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2596–9 (also in Ibn Khallikān, I, 338–9, tr. I, 312—13) has a somewhat fanciful version of this story in which the executioner of Ja'far is a eunuch called Yāsir al-Rikhlah, who is then himself killed by al-Rashīd. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, loc. cit., gives this account from Masrūr via another *rāwī* and adds that Abū Zakkār expressed a wish to die with his patron and benefactor Ja'far but was spared and rewarded by al-Rashīd; cf. Bouvat, 87, 90.

740. Presumably, the residence in the district of the Shammāsiyyah Gate quarter called Suwayqah, granted to Khālid b. Barmak by al-Mahdī, which Yaḥyā had built and which was known as the Qaṣr al-Ṭīn; see Jahshiyārī, 145.

741. The wealth which the various members of the Barmakī family were found to have is enumerated in Qāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, 224–5, §§ 314–15.

742. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 510. Jahshiyārī, 188, cf. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 175 n. 2, relates that al-Rashīd had given al-Sindī b. Shāhik (see below) instructions a whole year previously secretly to appoint sequestrators [*wukalā'*] of the Barmakīs' palaces and possessions.

743. Jahshiyārī, 186–7.

bah al-Khaftānī, Harthamah b. A'yan and Ibrāhīm b. Ḥumayd al-Marwarrūdhī,[744] and he sent after them a number of his slaves and trusty retainers, including the eunuch Masrūr, to Ja'far b. Yaḥyā's house; Ibrāhīm b. Ḥumayd and the eunuch Ḥusayn to al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā's house; Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān[745] and Rashīd the eunuch[746] to the house of Yaḥyā and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā. He sent Harthamah b. A'yan with him (i.e., with Rashīd the eunuch) and ordered him to seize all their wealth, and he wrote to al-Sindī b. Shāhik[747] to send Ja'far's corpse to the City of Peace, to set up his head on the Middle Bridge and to cut up his body and gibbet each piece of it on the Upper and Lower Bridges.[748] Al-Sindī did that. The eunuchs performed the duties they had been sent to do. A number of the young children of al-Faḍl, Ja'far, and Muḥammad were brought to al-Rashīd, and he ordered them to be released. He ordered proclamation to be made regarding all the Barmakīs, that there would be no quarter for anyone sheltering them, apart from Muḥammad b. Khālid, his children, his family, and his retainers, whom he exempted from this order because of the manifestly good advice which Muḥammad had given him and because he recognized that Muḥammad had had no part in what the rest of the Barmakīs had been involved.[749] [680]

Before al-Rashīd set out from al-'Umr, he set Yaḥyā free,[750] but over al-Faḍl, Muḥammad and Mūsā the sons of Yaḥyā and over Abū al-Mahdī their relative by marriage he appointed custodians [*ḥafaẓah*], who were responsible to Harthamah b. A'yan until he should

744. Son of a commander who had fought under Qaḥṭabah in the 'Abbasid *da'wah*, and governor of Sīstān for al-Manṣūr; see Crone, 175.

745. On Abū Ṣāliḥ Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, described by Jahshiyārī, 135, as one of Yaḥyā b. Khālid's protégés, shortly after this to be appointed by al-Rashīd to take charge of the property confiscated from the Barmakīs, see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 142–3.

746. The role in all this of eunuchs, often employed for confidential missions, is notable here. It is not, however, known that there was any special enmity existing between the Caliph's body of eunuchs and the Barmakī family.

747. Following the suggested reading of the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXII.

748. Jahshiyārī, 186, 188, 190; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 306; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 178. For the Tigris bridges, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, index, s.v. "Bridge," and Lassner, *Topography*, index, s.v. "Jisr."

749. The fanciful account in Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 468, records a general massacre of all the Barmakīs with the exception of Muḥammad b. Khālid.

750. This release must have been only temporary.

bring them to al-Raqqah. Al-Rashīd ordered the execution of Anas b. Abī Shaykh[751] on the day he reached al-Raqqah, Ibrāhīm b. 'Uthmān b. Nahīk[752] being in charge of his killing; his corpse was then gibbeted. Yaḥyā b. Khālid, together with al-Faḍl and Muḥammad, was then kept in confinement in the Dayr al-Qā'im,[753] with custodians responsible to Masrūr the eunuch and to Harthamah b. A'yan set over them; he made no distinction in treatment between them and a number of their slaves, nor over necessities for them.[754]
[681] He despatched together with them Zubaydah bt. Munīr, al-Faḍl's mother, Yaḥyā's slave girl Danānīr,[755] and a number of their servants (or eunuchs, *khadam*) and slave girls. They were well treated until al-Rashīd grew angry with 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ; then, on account of his anger, they were all subjected to rough treatment. Al-Rashīd's suspicions against both him and them were reawakened, and as a result, he made their confinement more unpleasant.[756]

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751. Secretary and favorite of Ja'far b. Yaḥyā's, whose corpse was also gibbeted. See Jahshiyārī, 189–91; Ibn Qutaybah, 382; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 154.

752. Ibrāhīm had been left in charge of al-Raqqah during al-Rashīd's Pilgrimage of 186 (802), see Ṭabarī, III, 651 (above, 179).

753. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 526, the Dayr al-Qā'im al-Aqṣā lay on the road from al-Raqqah towards Baghdad, on the banks of the Euphrates, and was so-called because there was there a lofty watchtower which had marked the Byzantine-Persian frontier; it is not mentioned by Shābushtī.

754. But cf. the words of Jahshiyārī, 191, cited below, n. 756.

755. The celebrated singer Danānīr al-Barmakiyyah, mentioned in several places in Iṣfahānī's *Aghānī*, who had been freed by Yaḥyā, whose arrest she now shared. See Bouvat, 52–4; Farmer, 135; Abbott, 138–40, 198 n. 75.

756. Jahshiyārī, 195 (followed by Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 562–4 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 326–8; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 405–13 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2609–15; Ibn Khallikān, IV, 33–4, tr. II, 464–5), states that al-Rashīd ill-treated the Barmakīs in an attempt to ferret out all their wealth and ordered Masrūr to flog al-Faḍl with two hundred lashes; cf. Bouvat, 92, and Sourdel, *Vizirat*, loc. cit. When first arrested, the children of Yaḥyā had been well-treated and well-supplied with food and clothing and had not been fettered like the Barmakīs' servants and retainers, according to Jahshiyārī, 191. This same author likewise states, 195–6, that al-Rashīd offered to release Yaḥyā and to allow him to live wherever he wished, but Yaḥyā chose to remain with his family—hence, in jail at al-Rāfiqah—until his death from natural causes in al-Muḥarram, 190 (November–December, 805), aged 64 (Jahshiyārī, 210; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 308; Ibn Khallikān, IV, 33, VI, 228; tr. II, 464, IV, 112; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 155). Al-Faḍl died from a paralytic stroke in jail at al-Raqqah in al-Muḥarram, 193 (October–November, 808), aged 45 (Jahshiyārī, loc. cit.; *K. al-'Uyūn*, loc. cit.; Ibn Khallikān, IV, 36, tr. II, 466; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 155–6). Jahshiyārī, 196 ff., gives several anecdotes about the Barmakīs in prison.

Al-Zuhayr b. Bakkār[757] has mentioned that Ja'far b. al-Ḥusayn al-Lahbī communicated the information to him that Anas b. Abī Shaykh was brought before al-Rashīd on the morning after the night in which Ja'far b. Yaḥyā was killed. Talk was bandied between them, and then al-Rashīd pulled out a sword from beneath the coverings he had been lying on and ordered Anas to be beheaded, at the same time reciting an appropriate verse which had previously been composed concerning Anas's killing,

The sword is eager with desire to taste (the blood of) Anas;
the sword looks on, whilst Fate is waiting (i.e., for his death).

He related: He was executed, and the blood spurted out before the sword had cut through. Al-Rashīd exclaimed, "May God have mercy on 'Abdallāh b. Muṣ'ab!"[758] People commented that the sword had belonged to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. Others have mentioned that 'Abdallāh b. Muṣ'ab had acted as an intelligence agent and spy over the people for al-Rashīd, and had denounced Anas to the Caliph as a heretic, for which Anas had killed him. He (i.e., Anas) was one of the Barmakīs' retainers.[759]

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (al-Hāshimī) has mentioned that Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm al-Kūfī communicated the information to him, saying that al-Sindī b. Shāhik had given him the information, saying: One day, I was sitting, when suddenly at my side there appeared a servant, who had arrived by the *barīd* service, and he handed me a slim letter. I broke open the seal, and lo, it was a letter from al-Rashīd, in his own handwriting, running as follows: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. O Sindī, when you examine this letter of mine, if you happen to be sitting, then arise, and if are already standing, then don't sit down again until you come to me."

Al-Sindī related: I accordingly called for my riding-beasts and got [682]

757. Descendant of the Companion of the Prophet al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām mentioned below (see on him, *EI*[1] s.v. [A. J. Wensinck]); al-Zubayr b. Bakkār was a historian and genealogist, nephew of al-Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī (see above, 75, n. 292) and like him author of a *K. Nasab Quraysh*, who died in 256 (870). See *GAL*, I[2], 146–7, SI, 215–6; *GAS*, I, 317–8.

758. The grandfather of the narrator al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, see his *nasab* in Sezgin, loc. cit.

759. See Ṭabarī, III, 680 (above, 220, and n. 751); Bouvat, 86.

on my way. Al-Rashīd was at that moment at al-ʿUmr. Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ (later) told me, "Al-Rashīd sat in his gondola [*zaww*][760] on the Euphrates awaiting you. A cloud of dust became visible, and he said to me, 'O ʿAbbās, that must be al-Sindī and his attendants!' I replied, 'O Commander of the Faithful, it is very likely he!'" He related, "Then you came in sight." Al-Sindī continued the story: I dismounted from my steed and stood there. Al-Rashīd sent a messenger for me, and I therefore went to him. I remained standing before him for a while. He told his servants who were with him to arise and go, which they did, so there only remained al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl and myself. After an interval he said to al-ʿAbbās, "Go forth, and order the seatboards arranged in the boat to be lifted out," and he did that. Then he said to me, "Come near to me," so I drew near to him. He said to me, "You know why I sent the message to you?" I replied, "No, by God, O Commander of the Faithful." He said, "I have sent for you concerning an affair which, if the buttons of my own shirt knew about it, I would throw the shirt into the Euphrates! O Sindī, who is the most trustworthy of my commanders here within my entourage?" I replied, "Harthamah." He said, "You have spoken truly. Who, then, is the most trustworthy of my servants here within my entourage?" I replied, "Masrūr the Elder."[761] He said, "You have spoken truly! Get on your way immediately and ride flat out until you reach the City of Peace. Gather together your trusty retainers and watchmen and order them and their aides to get themselves ready. Then when the groups are ready, go off to the houses of the Barmakīs, station at every one of their gates one of the watchmen appointed to keep public order [*ṣāḥib al-rabʿ*].[762] Order him not to let anyone enter or leave—with the exception of the gate of Muḥammad b. Khālid—until my further orders reach you." He (i.e., Muḥammad b. Isḥāq) related: At this point of time, he had not yet moved against the Barmakīs (literally, "stirred them up," *ḥarraka*). Al-Sindī continued the story: I began to ride off furiously until I reached the City of

760. See *Glossarium*, p. CCLXXX; Kindermann, 36–7; al-Nukhaylī, 58–9. A possible etymology for the term is from Persian *zūd* "swift."

761. As factors in their trustworthiness, Harthamah was the Caliph's mawlā, whilst Masrūr was a black eunuch, totally isolated socially and hence very dependent on his master; see Ayalon, "On the eunuchs in Islam," 69–72.

762. See on this term, *Glossarium*, p. CCLVII.

Peace, and there I gathered my retainers together and did what he had commanded me. He related: Very soon Harthamah b. A'yan came up to me, accompanied by (the body of) Ja'far b. Yaḥyā on the back of a mule, without a pack-saddle, and with its head severed, and lo, there was the Commander of the Faithful's letter ordering me to chop Ja'far's body into halves and gibbet him on three bridges (i.e., with the head for the third bridge).[763] He related: I did what he commanded me.[764] [683]

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related: Ja'far's corpse remained gibbeted until al-Rashīd decided to set out for Khurāsān. I went along and looked at it. When al-Rashīd went to the eastern side (of Baghdad), by the Gate of Khuzaymah b. Khāzim,[765] he sent for al-Walīd b. Jusham[766] al-Shārī (i.e., the Khārijite) from prison, and gave orders to his executioner Aḥmad b. al-Junayd al-Khuttalī, and the latter beheaded al-Walīd. Then al-Rashīd turned to al-Sindī and said, "This"—meaning Ja'far's corpse—"must be burnt." When he had gone on his way, al-Sindī gathered together thorny brushwood and firewood for this purpose and burnt the corpse.[767]

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq related: When al-Rashīd executed Ja'far b. Yaḥyā, someone said to Yaḥyā b. Khālid, "The Commander of the Faithful has killed your son Ja'far." He replied, "His own son will be killed likewise." He related: Someone also said to him, "Your dwellings have become desolate." He replied, "Their houses (i.e., those of the 'Abbāsids) will become desolate."[768]

(Abū Ḥafṣ) al-Kirmānī has mentioned that Bashshār al-Turkī transmitted the information to him that al-Rashīd set out hunting, whilst he was at al-'Umr, on the day at whose close he had Ja'far executed. That day happened to be Friday, and Ja'far b. Yaḥyā accompanied him, al-Rashīd having insisted on being alone with

763. I.e., the pieces of the corpse were to be exhibited on the Upper, Main, and Lower Bridges across the Tigris.

764. Jahshiyārī, 186, 188, 190; Azdī, 305.

765. The *qaṭī'ah* and palace of Khuzaymah (on whom see Crone, 180) were in the Mukharrim quarter of the East Bank; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 218, and Lassner, *Topography*, 171. Possibly the adjacent Bāb al-Ṭāq, at the Mukharrim end of the Main Bridge, is intended.

766. The "al-Walīd b. Ḥ.sh.m" of Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 515, should be read thus.

767. Jahshiyārī, 188; Dīnawarī, 391; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 514–15; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 468; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 306.

768. Jahshiyārī, 204; Azdī, 306; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 179.

him, without the presence of the heirs to the throne. He went along with Jaʿfar, having placed his hand on Jaʿfar's shoulder and having, a little while before that, anointed him with precious unguents with his own hand. He remained with Jaʿfar all the time, never leaving his side, until he went back at sunset (or: at the time of the sunset prayer). When he was about to enter his lodging, the Caliph clasped Jaʿfar to himself and told him, "If it were not for the fact that I shall be spending tonight with my womenfolk, I would not part from you. But you yourself, remain in your own house, drink wine too and enjoy entertainment so that you may have as pleasurable a
[684] time as I shall be having." Jaʿfar replied, "No, by God, I only desire to do that in your company." Al-Rashīd told him, "By my life, (I beseech you) to drink."[769] Then he left him for his own residence. For hour after hour, al-Rashīd's envoys kept continuously coming to Jaʿfar with comestibles to accompany the wine [*al-anqāl*],[770] fragrant incense, and aromatic herbs, until the night was spent. Then he sent Masrūr to him. Jaʿfar was held prisoner in the Caliph's residence, and he ordered Jaʿfar's execution. He imprisoned al-Faḍl, Muḥammad and Mūsā, and sent Sallām al-Abrash as guard over Yaḥyā b. Khālid's gateway.[771] He did not, however, harm Muḥammad b. Khālid nor any of his children and retainers.[772]

He related: Al-ʿAbbās b. Bazīʿ communicated the information to me from Sallām, who said: When I went into Yaḥyā's presence at that time, his hangings and furnishings having all been torn open to the public gaze and his belongings piled up together, he said to me, "O Abū Salamah, it will be just like this on the Last Day!" Sallām related: I passed on these words to al-Rashīd after I had returned to him, and he thereupon became silent and downcast, wrapped in thought.[773]

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769. *lammā sharibta*; on this use of *lammā* = *illā* in oaths and supplications, see above, 112, n. 427.

770. The Cairo text, VIII, 299, has *al-anfāl* "presents," whilst Jahshiyārī, 186, has *al-alṭāf* "presents." For *nuql*, pl. *anqāl*, "hors d'oeuvres," see Rodinson, "Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine," 133, and Ahsan, 112–13.

771. Cf. Jahshiyārī, 186, 187. Eunuchs were not infrequently employed as guards and jailers; see Ṭabarī, III, 461, where Nuṣayr al-Waṣīf becomes jailer of the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh.

772. Jahshiyārī, 185–6; Azdī, 305.

773. Jahshiyārī, 187; Azdī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

He related: Ayyūb b. Hārūn b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī communicated the information to me, saying: I used to have a relationship of ease and trustfulness with Yaḥyā.[774] When they all halted at al-Anbār, I went out to him and spent that evening with him which marked the end of their period of power. He had earlier gone to the Commander of the Faithful in his river craft [*ḥarrāqah*].[775] He entered his presence by the door for the intimates and nobility [*ṣāḥib al-khāṣṣah*] and he spoke with the Caliph about various requests and petitions from the people and other things, including the topics of putting the frontier regions with the Byzantines into a state of order and the mounting of raids by sea, and then he came out. He told the people waiting there, "The Commander of the Faithful has commanded that your requests be granted," and he sent to Abū Ṣāliḥ Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān giving him instructions to put those measures into effect. Then he engaged continuously in conversation with us about Abū Muslim and his sending of Muʿādh b. Muslim,[776] until he went into his own lodging after the sunset prayer. At dawn, the news of the killing of Jaʿfar and the fall of the Barmakīs' power reached us. He related: I wrote a letter of consola- [685]
tion to Yaḥyā (on Jaʿfar's death) and he wrote back to me, "I am content with God's decree and recognizant of His choice; God only punishes his servants for their own sins, 'Your Lord does not act unjustly towards (His) servants,'[777] and what God pardons is greater (than what He punishes), so praise be to God!"[778]

He related: Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā was killed on the night of Saturday (i.e., the night of Friday-Saturday),[779] the first of Ṣafar, 187 (January

774. Doubtful reading, but apparently interpretable as *sakanī*, rather than the *suknayya* of the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXII, which would mean "my habitation, dwelling."

775. See Kinderman, 22–3, and al-Nukhaylī, 32–7, who point out that the meaning "fire-ship" (which the term certainly bears in the Crusading, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods) is clearly not appropriate here, where a light craft, not one used for war, is intended.

776. Possibly referring to the part of Muʿādh b. Muslim (on whom see Ṭabarī, III, 558, above, 25, n. 102) in the attack of the rebel Ustadhsīs on the Arab garrison of Marw al-Rūdh in 149 (766) (Ṭabarī, III, 354); this was long after Abū Muslim's death; otherwise, the reference seems obscure.

777. Qur'ān, XLI, 46.

778. Jahshiyārī, loc. cit.

779. The exact correspondence of the night the first of Ṣafar would have to be Saturday-Sunday night.

29, 187), when he was thirty-seven years old, their vizierate having lasted seventeen years.[780] Concerning this, al-Raqāshi[781] has said,

O Saturday, O worst of Saturdays in regard to its morning,
and ill-omened Ṣafar, you have never brought a more inauspicious one (or: what you have brought is the most inauspicious possible)![782]
Saturday has come with the momentous occurrence which has shattered our cornerstone,
and in Ṣafar has come the catastrophe in a decisive fashion (literally, "like a blow which has penetrated as a sword does to the bone").

He related: It has been mentioned from Masrūr that he informed al-Rashīd that Jaʿfar had begged him just to see him, but al-Rashīd had said, "No, for he knows that if my eye falls on him, I will not be able to kill him."

Poetry Written on the Fall of the Barmakīs

Al-Raqāshi says concerning the Barmakīs (but it has also been mentioned that this poem is by Abū Nuwās[783]),

We have now come to rest, and our mounts have taken rest,
and the camel which is urged along and the one who used to urge the camels along by his singing have now ceased doing this.[784]
So say to the camels, "You no longer have to travel through the

780. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 734; Jahshiyārī, 186; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

781. Al-Faḍl. b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, *mājin* poet of Baghdad, who died before 207 (822) and whose verses were gathered into a *dīwān* by the Barmakīs; see *GAS*, II, 516.

782. Ṣafar was notoriously regarded in Arabic lore as the most inauspicious month of the year. *Inter alia*, it was held to be the month in which God expelled Adam from the Garden of Eden, whilst for the Shīʿah, various unpleasant events affecting the Imāms al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn took place in it; see Bess A. Donaldson, *The wild rue, a study of Muhammadan magic and folklore in Iran*, 123–5.

783. Abū Nuwās certainly endeavored to secure the patronage of the Barmakīs, but does not seem to have been particularly successful; see Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, 52–9.

784. Jahshiyārī, 187, and the Cairo text, VIII, 300, have for this second hemistich "and he who lavishes gifts and he who used to seek gifts have been silenced" (i.e., *yujdī* and *yajtadī* here for the Leiden text's *yuḥdā* and *yaḥtadī*).

night
and traverse the deserts, desolate waste after desolate waste."
Say too to Death, "You have laid hold of Ja'far,
and you will never after him lay hold of such a great leader!"
Say too to munificence, "After Faḍl, cease completely!" [686]
and say to calamities, "Manifest yourselves anew every day!"
(You see) before you a Barmakī Indian sword,
which has been shattered by a Hāshimite Indian sword![785]

He also speaks about them in a lengthy poem of his,

If perfidious Time betrays us, well, it has
betrayed Ja'far and Muḥammad,
To the point that, when daylight gleamed bright, it revealed
the killing of the noblest one who has ever perished and who had not yet been laid in his grave.
Were it not that the gleaming white blades were expressly commanded (to be brought into action),
the cutting edge of one Indian sword would not have been notched by another Indian sword.
O house of Barmak, how many a gift and act of munificence of yours
have there been, as abundant as grains of sand, given ungrudgingly!
It is very true that the Caliph was your brother (through foster-relationship),
but he was not born of Barmakī stock.
You have disputed with him over being suckled together by the noblest of free women
ever created from gems and chrysolite.
(You were) a wielder of power who had a hand ever-flowing with bounty,
which was perpetually wont to be generous with newly acquired things and anciently inherited possessions alike.
It was a hand ever-disposed to bountifulness, until a decree of Fate fettered it,
so that bountifulness was prevented from dispensing largesse.

785. Jahshiyārī, loc. cit.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 402 = ed. Pellat, § 2603; Azdī, 305; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 308–9; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 179; Ibn Khallikān, I, 346, tr. I, 314.

[687] Sayf b. Ibrāhīm[786] says concerning them,

The stars of munificent gifts have set, the hand of bountifulness has dried up,
and the seas of liberality have become scanty after the Barmakīs.
Stars of the sons of Barmak have set,
by which the camel driver used to know the direction of the way (i.e., to the Barmakīs' liberality).[787]

Ibn Abī Karīmah[788] has said,

Every borrower who has had high rank lent to him
is, after the noble youth of Barmak, in peril.
A blow from Fate has come down heavily upon him,
the same hand by means of which he himself came down on people!

Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭawī[789] has said,

By God, were it not for the denunciation of a slanderer
and an eye of the Caliph's which never sleeps,
We would circumambulate the gibbet[790] on which you are nailed
and kiss it,
just as the pilgrims kiss the (Black) Stone!
Farewell to the whole world and its inhabitants,
and to the period of power of the Barmakī house![791]

Abū al-ʿAtāhiyah[792] has said concerning the killing of Jaʿfar,

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786. Unidentified.

787. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 403 = ed. Pellat, § 2605, attributes these two verses to Salm al-Khāsir; Azdī, loc. cit., to a "certain poet." Von Grunebaum notes the two lines in this "Three Arabic poets of the early Abbasid age. V. Salm al-Ḫāsir," 72, no. XXXVI = *Shuʿarāʾ ʿAbbāsiyyūn*, 108, no. 36, but states that Ṭabarī's attribution to (the otherwise unknown) Sayf b. Ibrāhīm must be correct, since Salm died before the fall of the Barmakīs (actually in 186 [802]).

788. In his *K. al-Ḥayawān*, II, 367–73, Jāḥiẓ quotes at length an ode by Aḥmad b. Ziyād b. Abī Karīmah on hunting with dogs and with cheetahs.

789. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭawī was a poet of al-Baṣrah and a Muʿtazilī theologian, who died in 240 (854); see *GAS*, II, 518.

790. I.e., as if making the *ṭawāf* round the Kaʿbah in the Pilgrimage.

791. These two verses are attributed in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XV, 36 = ed. Cairo, XVI, 249, followed by Ibn Khallikān, I, 346, tr. I, 314, to al-Raqāshī also.

Say, ye twain, to the one who hopes for (enduring) life, is there not
a warning example in Ja'far and Yaḥyā?
They were the two ministers of God's Caliph, Hārūn;
do you know who they were? They were his two close friends!
Now, here is Ja'far, (secured) by a worn piece of rope,
with his head and the two halves (of his body) up in a high
place,
While as for the shaykh Yaḥyā, the minister, he (i.e., the Caliph)
has
banished him from his presence and sent him far away.
Their compact position has been scattered into pieces after being [688]
solidly united,
and they have wandered off confusedly through the lands.
In this way, God recompenses the person who angers God
by doing what pleases the servant (i.e., pleases himself, to the
exclusion of God).
All praise to the One to whom rulers give submission;
I bear witness that there is no God but He!
A happy lot for the one who turns to God after being heedless,
and who repents before death, happy is he![793]

He related: In this year, factional strife raged in Damascus between the partisans of Muḍar and Yaman. Hence, al-Rashīd despatched Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Ziyād,[794] and the latter arranged peace between them.[795]

In this year, al-Maṣṣīṣah[796] was struck by an earthquake. Part of its wall collapsed, and the inhabitants' water supply disappeared into the earth for a period during the night.[797]

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792. Ismā'īl b. al-Qāsim, together with Bashshār b. Burd and Abū Nuwās the most celebrated poet of the early 'Abbasid period. See *GAS*, II, 534–5; *EI*² s.v. (A. Guillaume).

793. *Abū al-'Atāhiyah, ash'āruhu wa-akhbāruhu*, ed. Shukrī Fayṣal, 667; Azdī, 305–6.

794. Son of Manṣūr b. Ziyād, Yaḥyā b. Khālid's confidant; see Ṭabarī, III, 613 (above, 116, n. 444).

795. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 189.

796. Town in Cilicia, the classical Mopsuestia. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 144–5; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 505–7; idem, *Lands*, 130–1; *EI*² s.v. (Honigmann).

797. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

In this year, ʿAbd al-Salām rebelled at Āmid[798] and proclaimed Khārijite doctrines [*ḥakkama*]. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-ʿUqaylī (subsequently) killed him.[799]

In this year, Yaʿqub b. Dāwūd died at al-Raqqah.[800]

In this year, al-Rashīd sent his son al-Qāsim to lead the summer expedition (against the Byzantines). He devoted him to God's service, made him an offering and means of access to God's favor, and he gave him charge of the frontier fortresses [*al-ʿawāṣim*].[801]

In this year, al-Rashīd became angry with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ and imprisoned him.[802]

Al-Rashīd's Anger against ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ and His Consequent Imprisonment

Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl[803] has mentioned that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ had a son called ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was one of the leading figures among the people of the time and from whom ʿAbd

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798. The chief town of Diyār Bakr and the modern city of that name, classical Amida. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 56–7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 108–11; Canard, *H'amdânides*, 79–81; *EI*² s.v. Diyār Bakr. iii (Canard and Cahen).

799. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

800. Chief minister, hence, a proto-vizier, to al-Mahdī, but later imprisoned by him. See Ibn Khallikān, VII, 19–26, tr. IV, 352–9; E. Kōcher, "Yaʿqūb b. Dāʾūd," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, III (1955), 378–420; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 103–11; Omar, "Some observations on the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdī 775–785 A.D.," in *ʿAbbāsiyyāt*, 97–8; *EI*² s.v. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yaʿḳūb (Moscati).

801. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 734; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 742. These events are dealt with in more detail by Ṭabarī at III, 694–5 (below, 238–39).

742. These events are dealt with in more detail by Ṭabarī at III, 694–5 (below, 000).

802. On this episode in general, see Jahshiyārī, 211–12; Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 735; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 513–14; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 302–5 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2509–10; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 328; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 180–4; Kennedy, 74–5, 118. As Kennedy notes, ʿAbd al-Malik's father Ṣāliḥ had taken over most of the former Umayyad lands in Syria and had built up a powerful position there. ʿAbd al-Malik represented the "Syrian interest" at al-Rashīd's court, which he was later, on that Caliph's death, able to bring over to al-Amīn's side (see Ṭabarī, III, 841 ff.; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 257–8), and was the supporter of al-Qāsim's claims ultimately to share in his father's inheritance, just as Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī was al-Maʾmūn's supporter. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 513, makes the specific accusation against ʿAbd al-Malik that he was allegedly in treacherous correspondence with the tribal leaders in Syria and al-Jazīrah who were intending to mount an insurrection against the Caliph, but this does not seem to be supported in other sources.

803. See Ṭabarī, III, 597, and above, 85, n. 338.

al-Malik derived his patronymic. This son of his ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had a speech impediment and stuttered over the letter *fāʾ*. In [689] complicity with Qumāmah,[804] he set himself up in hostility to his father, and the two of them denounced him to al-Rashīd and told him that ʿAbd al-Malik was seeking after and avidly aspiring to the caliphate.[805] Hence, al-Rashīd arrested ʿAbd al-Malik and had him imprisoned in the custody of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ. It has been mentioned that ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ was brought before al-Rashīd when the latter became angry against him, and al-Rashīd said to him, "(Is this) out of ingratitude for beneficence and (interpretable as) a rejection of outstanding favors and honorable treatment?" He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, in that case, I would have acknowledged the need for contrition and would have exposed myself to the just necessity of punishment; but all this is nothing but the unjust accusation of an envious one who has contended with me before you over the bonds of affection stemming from kinship and over the appointments to positions of authority. O Commander of the Faithful, you are the successor of the Messenger of God over his community and his faithful trustee of the interests of his own family. The obligation of obedience and the provision of sincere advice to you are incumbent upon them (i.e., the community of subjects); in turn, you have the obligation of meting out justice among them fairly, of patiently investigating the accidents of fate which may come upon them and of forgiving their sinful acts." Al-Rashīd said to him, "Are you calming me

804. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 513, adds to this name ". . . b. Yazīd," but Jahshiyārī, 211–12, 214, has the correct form ". . . b. Abī Yazīd." According to Jahshiyārī, 211–12, Qumāmah was a mawlā of the ʿAbbāsid Sulaymān b. ʿAlī and a noted stylist, whose family had been in the service of the ʿAbbāsids since their residence at al-Ḥumaymah. He now took ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ's place as secretary and tutor to al-Qāsim b. al-Rashīd; see Jahshiyārī, 214, and Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 188 n. 5.

805. The later Persian writer on the Barmakīs, Yazdī (see above, 201, n. 697), states that Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā had supported pretensions to the caliphate not of ʿAbd al-Malik but of his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. There seems to be no evidence whatsoever for this, and as Sourdel suggests, *Vizirat*, I, 168–9, it seems to be an aspect of the evolution of the "Persian" version of the fall of the Barmakīs influenced by Jaʿfar's alleged tenderness to the ʿAlid Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh (see Ṭabarī, III, 669–70, and above, 205, n. 706). That there was deep hostility between ʿAbd al-Malik and his son is shown by the fact that in the Civil War shortly afterwards, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was in Marw with al-Maʾmūn and became one of his commanders (Ṭabarī, III, 772; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 223), whilst his father brought Syria behind al-Amīn.

down with your tongue, whilst rising up against me in your heart? This is your secretary Qumāmah, who is giving information about your secret hatred and the evilness of your intentions, so listen to his words!" ʿAbd al-Malik replied, "He has given you something which he has no competence to provide; it may well turn out that he is unable to slander me and revile me over something which he has not in fact known me to commit."

Qumāmah was then summoned. Al-Rashīd said to him, "Speak out fearlessly and without feeling overawed." Qumāmah said, "I assert that he is bent on acting treacherously towards you and on setting himself up in opposition to you." ʿAbd al-Malik said, "Is it really like that, O Qumāmah?" Qumāmah replied, "Yes, you have planned to deceive the Commander of the Faithful." ʿAbd al-Malik said, "How should he not tell lies about me behind my back, when [690] he slanders me directly to my face?" Al-Rashīd said to him, "This, moreover, is your own son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who is providing information to me about your disobedience and the evilness of your intentions; if I wanted to adduce against you any argument, I could not find a juster one than (the testimony of) these two persons against you. On what grounds, then, do you reject their accusations against you?" ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ said, "Either he is acting under someone else's orders or else he is an ingrate towards his parents, driven on by an idée fixe [*ʿāqq majbūr*[806]]. If the first, then he can be excused; but if he is rebellious against his parents, then he is an ungrateful evildoer, whose hostile attitude God, He is magnified and exalted, has mentioned and against whom He has given a warning when he says, 'Among your wives and children, there is an enemy to you, so beware of them.'"[807] He related: Al-Rashīd then arose, at the same time saying, "This affair of yours has now become clear, but I shall not act precipitately until I know what God's good pleasure will be regarding you, for He is the supreme arbiter between you and me." ʿAbd al-Malik replied, "I am satisfied with God as arbiter and with the Commander of the Faithful as judge, for I know that he will prefer the Book of God over his own inclinations and God's command over his own personal satisfaction."[808]

806. Alternatively, one might read with ms. C, *majnūn* "mentally deranged."
807. Qur'ān, LXIV, 14.
808. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit.; Palmer, 131–3.

He related: Sometime after that, the Caliph held another court session. ʿAbd al-Malik greeted the Caliph with the *taslīm* when he entered, but the Caliph did not return the salutation. So ʿAbd al-Malik said, "This is not a day for me to indulge in legal pleading or to contend with an adversary or opponent." The Caliph enquired, "Why is that?" He replied, "The opening has not gone according to the *Sunnah*, hence, I am fearful of its latter part." The Caliph said, "How was that?" ʿAbd al-Malik said, "You didn't return my salutation to you; act in the correct way here, just as the mass of people do." The Caliph said "Peace be upon you!" in conformity with the *Sunnah*, choosing the just way and using the accepted practice for a greeting, then he turned towards Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar and recited, addressing himself to ʿAbd al-Malik with his words,

I desire his (long) life, but he desires my being killed . . .
(and so on to the end of the verse).[809]

Then he continued, "Well then, by God, it is as if I were looking at a heavy rainstorm (i.e., extensive bloodshed) which has fallen, whose clouds have shown forth lightning flashes; and it is as if I were in the presence of a threat (of punishment) which has kindled [691] a rapidly spreading fire and has then let fall fingerjoints without wrists and heads without necks. So gently, gently (O Hāshimites[810])! For by God, it is through me that the rough ground has been made smooth for you and the turbid waters have become clear for you, and the power of conducting your own affairs has been given to you. So guard yourselves, guard yourselves, before an overwhelming disaster comes down (upon you), striking the ground with its forefeet, galloping with its hindfeet raised in the air!"

ʿAbd al-Malik retorted, "Fear God, O Commander of the Faithful, in regard to the power which He has entrusted to you and in regard to the subjects whom He has asked you to watch over! Do not set ingratitude in the place of thankfulness, or punishment in the place of reward! I have given you disinterested advice and have

809. The second hemistich of this verse, "(this is) your requiter for your friend from Murād," completes the verse allegedly uttered by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib when he saw his future assassin Ibn Muljam; it is given in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 182, and Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, 90, tr. 96.

810. This vocative phrase added in Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 303 = ed. Pellat, § 2509, and Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

vouchsafed to you sincere obedience. I have strengthened the sacred rights of your royal power with what is firmer than the two bastions [*ruknay*] of Yalamlam,[811] and I have left your enemy preoccupied with affairs (i.e., and thus unable to attack you). So I adjure you by God not to sever the bonds of kinship with your family, after you have made them close, through suspiciousness, whose calumny the (Holy) Book has made explicit for me,[812] or through the wrongful accusation of an evilwisher which gnaws the flesh and laps up the blood. By God, I have made smooth for you the rough places, and I have made affairs tractable for you, and I have brought together the hearts in people's breasts into obedience of you. Through how many complete nights have I endured hardships on your behalf, and in how many narrow places have I stood firm for you! (I have endured these trials) just as the member of the tribe of Ja'far b. Kilāb has said,[813]

Out of how many a narrow place of battle have I fought a way,
with my hand (literally, "fingertips") and my tongue and fierceness in battle!

[692] If the elephant or its driver were to take up their position,
they would run swiftly from a battle-place like mine and retreat.[814]

He related: Al-Rashīd said to him, "By God, if it were not for sparing the blood of the Hāshimites, I would cut off your head!"[815]

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811. Yalamlam was a place in the lowlands of Yemen, mentioned several times by Hamdānī, and described by him, 326, as "the meeting-place of the people of the Tihāmah" (i.e., the rendezvous for the Pilgrims). There is clearly here a reference to some popular proverb about hardness and firmness (the editor here, in n. g, compares it with Maydānī, *Majma' amthāl al-'Arab*, tr. Freytag, I, 271), strengthening the idea that Yalamlam was also the name of a hill or rock; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 441.

812. I.e., in the Qur'ānic quotation above.

813. I.e., the pre- and early Islamic poet Labīd b. Rabī'ah, as stated specifically in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 183.

814. *Dīwān*, ed. Brockelmann, text 16, German tr. 29.

815. Jahshiyārī, 211–12; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 513–14; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 303–4 = ed. Pellat, § 2509, giving this story on the authority of Aṣma'ī, who was present at the court session in question; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 181–3; Palmer, 133–4. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, and Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit., add that 'Abd al-Malik was then sent back to his prison cell. In the version of this episode in Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 546–7 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 302–4, al-Rashīd repents of his suspicions of 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ.

Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿAlawī has mentioned, saying: When al-Rashīd imprisoned ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ, ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik [al-Khuzāʿī], who was at that moment al-Rashīd's commander of the police guard, came into the Caliph's presence and said, "May I have leave to speak?" He replied, "Speak on!" ʿAbdallāh said, "Nay, by the Almighty God, O Commander of the Faithful, I only know ʿAbd al-Malik as a faithful counsellor; why then have you imprisoned him?" He replied, "Woe upon you! Something reached me about him which disquieted me, and I did not trust him not to stir up dissension between these two sons of mine"—he meant al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn—"but if you have come to the opinion that we should release him from prison, we will set him free." He said, "Since you have thus imprisoned him, O Commander of the Faithful, I don't think it wise to release him in the immediate future; but I do consider that you should keep him in custody in an honorable fashion, as befits someone of your position imprisoning someone of his status." The Caliph replied, "I will certainly do that." He related: Al-Rashīd then summoned al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ and said, "Go to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ in his prison cell and ask him, 'Think about what you have need of in your prison cell, and then give orders for it, so that it may be arranged for you.'" ʿAbd al-Malik accordingly mentioned his requests and what he sought.[816]

He related: Al-Rashīd said to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ one day, in the course of some conversation he had with him, "You're not descended from Ṣāliḥ!" He enquired, "Who am I descended from, then?" The Caliph said, "From Marwān al-Jaʿdī." He replied, "I don't care which of these two notable warriors is more prominent in my ancestry."[817] Al-Rashīd had him imprisoned in the custody of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, and he remained there until al-Rashīd died.

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816. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 183.

817. Ibid.; Palmer, 134–5. Jahshiyārī, 212, explains that ʿAbd al-Malik's father, Ṣāliḥ, took over a slave girl from Marwān b. Muḥammad, the last Umayyad Caliph, when the latter was killed in Egypt, and she became ʿAbd al-Malik's mother; but some people said that she was at that time pregnant by Marwān, so that ʿAbd al-Malik's real father was the Umayyad. As well as having the by-name of *al-Ḥimār* "the wild ass," Marwān had the further *laqab* of *al-Jaʿdī* from his mawlā Jaʿd b. Dirham, allegedly a pioneer exponent of the doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān; see Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, 242–3, and Madelung, "The origins of the controversy concerning the creation of the Koran," *Orientalia hispanica sive studia F. M. Pareja octogenario dicata*, I/1, 505–6.

Muḥammad (al-Amīn) then released him and appointed him governor of Syria; he used to have his residence at al-Raqqah. He gave Muḥammad a solemn undertaking and covenant, sworn upon God, that if Muḥammad were killed and he himself were still alive, he would never give his obedience to al-Ma'mūn. But in fact, he died
[693] before Muḥammad,[818] and was buried in one of the buildings of the complex of government headquarters [*dār min dūr al-imārah*]. When al-Ma'mūn set out with the intention of raiding the Byzantine lands, he sent an order to one of 'Abd al-Malik's sons, "Take your father away from my residence!" Hence, his bones were disinterred and transferred (elsewhere). 'Abd al-Malik had told Muḥammad, "If you are fearful about anything, seek refuge with me, for by God, I will certainly protect you!"[819]

It has been mentioned that one day, al-Rashīd sent to Yaḥyā b. Khālid the following message: "'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ has planned to rebel and to contest with me my royal authority, and you are fully aware of this. So tell me everything you know about him (or, about the affair), for if you are completely frank with me, I will restore you to your former elevated state." He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, I have not learned anything of that sort about 'Abd al-Malik, and if I had learned something (and had not informed you), then I would have become his confederate to the exclusion of my loyalty to you.[820] For your royal authority has been my royal authority and your power my power, and the good and bad elements in it have been my responsibility and attributable to me. How then, can it be possible for 'Abd al-Malik to have designs on the power with my assistance? Moreover, if I did do that on his behalf, could he do more for me than you yourself have done? I beg you to seek refuge in God from harboring this sort of suspicion about me! It is simply that he is a patient and forbearing man, and it gives me joy that there should be a person like him in your family. You appointed him to office because you admired his conduct (or: his way of thinking, *madhhabihi*), and you showed

818. According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 437 = ed. Pellat, § 2644, in 197 (812–13), but according to Ṭabarī, III, 846, and Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 259, in 196 (811–12).

819. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 183.

820. 'Abd al-Malik is mentioned as having close relations with Ja'far (Jahshiyārī, 167–8), but not with Yaḥyā.

him favor because of his learning and his patience and forbearingness."[821]

He related: When the messenger went back to al-Rashīd with this reply, al-Rashīd sent a further message to him with the threat, "Unless you affirm as being true these intentions of his, I shall kill your son al-Faḍl."[822] He told him, "You have complete authority over us, so do what you will—but with the proviso that if there is anything in this accusation, then the fault is mine, so how can al-Faḍl come into it?" The messenger said to al-Faḍl, "Arise, for I must execute the Commander of the Faithful's orders regarding you." Al-Faḍl was certain that al-Rashīd was about to have him killed. So he bade farewell to his father and said, "Are you displeased with me?" He replied, "On the contrary, I am indeed pleased, and God is pleased with you." Al-Rashīd then kept them apart from each other for three days, but when he was unable to find any substance for his accusations against Yaḥyā, he brought them together again as they had been before.[823]

Meanwhile, there kept coming to them from al-Rashīd messages couched in the harshest possible terms, because the Barmakīs' enemies were carrying slanderous accusations concerning them to al-Rashīd about the affair. When Masrūr took al-Faḍl's hand for the purpose which he had informed him about (i.e., to kill him), Yaḥyā was carried away by distress, and he blurted out what [694] was in his mind, telling Masrūr, "Say to the Caliph, 'Your own son will be killed just like al-Faḍl.'" Masrūr related: When al-Rashīd's anger abated, he said, "How did Yaḥyā express himself?" I then repeated the words to him. He commented, "By God, I have become fearful at his words, because Yaḥyā has rarely told me anything without my (ultimately) experiencing its full import."[824]

It has been related that al-Rashīd was once engaged on a journey,

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821. Jahshiyārī, 212, mentions 'Abd al-Malik's eloquence, gravity, and high seriousness; his asceticism in refraining from wine-drinking, contrasted with al-Rashīd's bibulousness and hedonism, emerges from the anecdote in ibid., 166–7, and from the fact of al-Rashīd's normal exclusion of 'Abd al-Malik from the circle of his boon-companions.

822. The Cairo text, VIII, 306, has for this last phrase, "you will bring about the death of your son."

823. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 183–4; Palmer, 135–6; Bouvat, 97.

824. Jahshiyārī, 204; Palmer, 101.

with ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ in his travelling retinue, when a hidden voice [*hātif*][825] suddenly cried out to him from the unseen, at a precise moment when he was rising in ʿAbd al-Malik's company, and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, bring low his pride in his noble qualities,[826] tighten the bridle on him and make the bits firm in his mouth, for unless you do these things, he will make his region disaffected against you." Al-Rashīd turned to ʿAbd al-Malik and asked, "What do you say this is, O ʿAbd al-Malik?" The latter replied, "(It is) the speech of a person seeking to injure me and the insinuation of an envious one." Hārūn said to him, "You have spoken truly. These people are of inferior worth, and you have risen above them in eminence; they have remained behind, and you have pressed ahead of them until your outstripping them all has become apparent. Hence, these others have had to renounce the attempt to come up to your level, so that in their breasts are the burning brands of second-rateness and the feelings of uneasiness in their hearts over their own inferiority." ʿAbd al-Malik said, "May God not extinguish them (i.e., their self-torturing feelings) and may He kindle their flames against themselves until they bring them continuous and perpetual grief!"

Al-Rashīd said to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ when they had passed by Manbij, where ʿAbd al-Malik's residence and seat of power [*mustaqarr*] was, "Is this your dwelling?" ʿAbd al-Malik replied, "It is yours, O Commander of the Faithful, and then mine through your favor!" Al-Rashīd said, "What is the dwelling like?" He replied, "Not as fine as the edifice of my kinsfolk (i.e., al-Rashīd's own one), but superior to the rest of the dwellings of Manbij." Al-Rashīd said, "What are the nights like at Manbij?" ʿAbd al-Malik replied, "Like permanent dawn!"[827]

Al-Qāsim's Raid into the Byzantine Lands

In this year, al-Qāsim b. al-Rashīd entered the Byzantine lands in the month of Shaʿbān (July–August, 803). He halted before Qur-

825. On the *hātif*, see Fahd, 170–1, and idem, *EI*² s.v.

826. The Cairo text, loc. cit., has *ishrāfihi* "his eagerness, keenness" for the Leiden text's *ashrāfihi*.

827. Balādhurī, 132; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 205–6; cf. Kennedy, 75, noting the very extensive Syrian properties acquired by Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī. According to Balādhurī, loc. cit., ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ erected extensive buildings at Manbij when he arrived there as governor in 173 (789–90).

rah[828] and then laid siege to it, and he sent forward al-ʿAbbās b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath, who then halted before the fortress of Sinān,[829] and they made strenuous attacks. The Byzantines sent messages to him offering to hand over 320 Muslim captives if he would depart from them. He agreed to these terms, and fell back from Qurrah and the fortress of Sinān according to the terms of the peace treaty.[830] ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā[831] died on this [695] raid into the Byzantine lands whilst accompanying al-Qāsim.[832]

In this year, the Byzantine Emperor broke the peace agreement concluded between his predecessor and the Muslims and withheld the tribute which the preceding monarch had undertaken to pay the Muslims.

The Correspondence between the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus and al-Rashīd on the Occasion of the Former's Breaking the Peace Agreement, and the Caliph's Punitive Measures against the Byzantines

The reason for the Byzantines' breaking that peace agreement was that there had been a peace agreement in operation between the Muslims and the ruler of Byzantium, their ruler being at that time Irene [*Rīnī*] (we have already mentioned previously the occasion of the peace agreement which existed between her [or, between the Byzantines, *al-Rūm*] and the Muslims). Then the Byzantines turned on Irene and deposed her, and raised to power in her place Nicephorus [*Niqfūr*].[833] The Byzantines mention that this Nice-

828. A fortress of Cappadocia, in the district of the Maṭāmīr (see Ṭabarī, III, 646, above, 165–66, and n. 603), classical Koron, possibly to be identified with the modern Turkish village Küre; see Honigmann, 45, 47.

829. Unidentified, cf. Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 742. n. 139.

830. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 734; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 512, 522.

831. Son of the excluded heir to the caliphate after al-Manṣūr, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, and at an earlier date governor of Medina.

832. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 184; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 742.

833. *Niqfūr b. Istabrāq* "son of Stauracius," as Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 337 = ed. Pellat, § 757, calls him; in fact, Stauracius was Nicephorus's son, whom Nicephorus made Co-Emperor in 803 and who was briefly his successor in 811. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 352 = ed. Pellat, § 770; Vasiliev, I, 271; Anastos, in *Cambridge medieval history*, IV/1, 91, 95–6.

phorus was a descendant of Jafnah of the house of Ghassān[834] and that, before achieving royal power, he had been in charge of the exchequer. Then, five months after the Byzantines had deposed her, Irene died. It has been mentioned that when Nicephorus had achieved royal power and had received the obedience of all the Byzantines, he wrote to al-Rashīd thus:

From Nicephorus, ruler of the Byzantines, to Hārūn, ruler of the Arabs. As follows: The queen who was my predecessor set you up in the position of a rook (i.e., in chess), and herself as merely a pawn, and she paid over to you from her treasuries the amount whose equivalent you should by right have handed over to her; but that (arose from) the weakness and deficient sense of women. Now, when you have perused my letter, send back what you received of the money which she sent, and ransom yourself by (disgorging) what you are receiving by means of exaction; if not, then the sword will inevitably be set between us!

He related: When al-Rashīd read the letter, violent anger took hold of him, so that there was no one who dared to look at him, much less speak to him. His boon-companions dispersed, fearful lest they let slip any further words or actions. The vizier's power of judgement was too paralyzed either for him to offer the Caliph any advice or to leave him to make up his own mind unilaterally. The Caliph then sent for an inkstand and wrote on the back of the letter,

[696] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful to Nicephorus the dog of the Byzantines: O son of an infidel woman, I have read your letter, and the reply is what you will see, without you having to hear it. Farewell![835]

Then he set off immediately and travelled on until he halted before the gates of Heraclia,[836] and then captured it; he took plunder, he selected the best items for himself, he slaughtered

834. Jafnah b. 'Amr b. Muzayqiyā' being regarded as the founder in pre-Islamic times of the royal house of the Ghassānid Arab chiefs in southern Syria. See Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 99; Nöldeke, "Die ghassânidischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's," *AKAk. Berlin* (1887), Abt. II, 5–6.

835. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVII, 44 = ed. Cairo, XVIII, 239; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 337 = ed. Pellat, § 757; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 309–10; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 184–5; Palmer, 75–6; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 742–3.

836. Arabic Hiraqlah, a fortress on the frontier between the Arabs and the Byzan-

people, he destroyed, he burnt and he extirpated. Hence, Nicephorus sought to make peace, on the basis of an annual tribute, and al-Rashīd agreed to this. When he returned from this expedition of his, and reached al-Raqqah, Nicephorus broke the agreement and went back on the covenant. The weather was extremely cold; hence Nicephorus was confident that al-Rashīd would be unable to march back against him. The news arrived of Nicephorus's reneging on his undertaking, but no one was disposed to inform al-Rashīd about this out of solicitude for his feelings and for themselves (at the thought of) returning at a time like that. So a subterfuge was employed to let him know, through the agency of a poet from the people of Juddah[837] called Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Yūsuf, or, it is said, called al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Taymī.[838] He recited,

Nicephorus has broken the agreement which he gave to you
and the strokes of destruction are already hovering round him.
Convey glad tidings to the Commander of the Faithful, for it is indeed
an occasion for great plunder which God has brought you!
The people have announced to each other with joy that
an envoy and messenger has arrived with (the news of) the breaking of the agreement,
And they have become hopeful that your right hand will speedily launch an expedition
which will reanimate souls and whose place of battle (or, whose lofty fame) will be long remembered.
He paid over to you his stipulated tribute and lowered his cheek (i.e., was humble and submissive)

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tines in southwestern Anatolia, the modern Eregli. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 398–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 149; *EI*[2] s.v. Ereğli (J. H. Mordtmann-F. Taeschner).

837. Text *J.n.dah*, but the reading of the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXII, is followed here in the light of Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVII, 45, 47 = ed. Cairo, XVIII, 240, 244, which has *Juddah* and the information that Abū Muḥammad was a poet of Mecca who used to live at Juddah on the Red Sea coast. Jandah indeed exists as a place in the Sawād of Iraq between al-Nīl and al-Nu'māniyyah; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 170. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 185, has *min ahl jundihi* "from among his troops."

838. Also thus in Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; but the editor of the Leiden text, n. *d*, conjectures, in the light of the section in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVIII, 115–25 = ed. Cairo, XX, 44–60, that the correct form should be Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Ayyūb al-Taymī, a poet subsequently known as the eulogist of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn; see Ziriklī, *A'lām*, IV, 199.

out of caution against the sharp-edged swords,[839] for death is a thing feared,
So you gave him protection against their onslaught, and it was as if they were in our hands firebrands of a conflagration flying upwards!
[697] And you sent back, with your power, the armies, returning homewards
from him, for the person to whom you grant protection is secure and happy.
O Nicephorus, when you act treacherously because the Imām has become absent, you are foolish and deluded!
At the time when you played the traitor, did you imagine that you would escape?
May your mother lose you, her son! What you imagined is pure delusion.
Your destruction has hurled you into the swollen waters of its sea, and swiftly running horses have hastened against you from the Imām.
Certainly, the Imām has the superior force to constrain you, whether your lands be near at hand or far away.
Even though we may be heedless, the Imām is not neglectful of what he rules over and directs with his firm management.
A ruler who has devoted himself whole-heartedly to the holy war, hence his enemies are always destined to be overcome by him.
O you who desire God's approbation through your efforts, the secrets of men's hearts are never hidden from God!
No counsel is ever of use from a person who gives false advice to his Imām,
but counsel from sincere advisers to him always merits thanks.
Good counsel to the Imām is an obligation on mankind, and for those fulfilling this obligation, a means of expiation and an act of cleansing.[840]

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839. Following the vocalization of the Cairo text, VIII, 308, *ḥadhara al-ṣawārimi*.

840. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVII, 45 = ed. Cairo, XVIII, 241–2, and Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 338–40 = ed. Pellat, § 759, give extended texts of the poem, whilst *K. al-'Uyūn*, 310, and Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 186, have odd verses of it.

Abū al-ʿAtāḥiyah Ismāʿīl b. al-Qāsim says concerning this expedition,

O Imām of right guidance, you have become completely concerned with religion,
and you have supplied every person asking for rain with plentiful moisture (i.e., have supplied every seeker after bounty with munificence).
You have two names, derived from right direction and divine guidance,
for you are the one who is called "rightly directed" [*rashīd*] and "divinely guided" [*mahdī*].[841]
Whenever you become angered at something, it becomes an object exciting the ire of all;
but if you are pleased with something, it becomes an object of general approbation.
For our benefit, you have extended the hand of noble acts over East and West,
and you have thereby enriched both the dweller in the East and the dweller in the West.
You have embellished the face of the earth with munificence and liberality,
so that the face of the earth has become adorned through copious rain (i.e., with gifts and presents).
God has decreed that Hārūn's royal power has become clear and bright, [698]
and God's decree is something which is always accomplished among His creation.
The whole earth has flowed with compliance to Hārūn,
and Nicephorus has accordingly become bound in a relationship of submission and inferiority [*dhimmiyyā*] to Hārūn.[842]

Al-Taymī also said,

The cords of death attached themselves to Nicephorus, mockingly,

841. I.e., from his name ". . . b. al-Mahdī."
842. *Abū al-ʿAtāhiyah, ashʿāruhu wa-akhbāruhu*, 674–5, no. 296; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 337–8 = ed. Pellat, § 758; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVII, 45 = ed. Cairo, XVIII, 240.

when they saw that he had trifled unconcernedly with the lion's covert.
For he who visits the lion's covert will inevitably experience fear, even if he escapes its fangs and its deep-piercing claw.
He behaved falsely over his covenants, and whoever breaks these has split up and dissolved his own self and not his enemies.
The Imām, whose acts of munificence are hoped for,
has made him taste the fruits of the strength of purpose which he (i.e., the Imām) inherited,
And he has gone back on his state of friendliness (i.e., with Nicephorus) after his wives became bent down
and enfeebled, weeping over him with dishevelled hair.

When he had finished declaiming this, al-Rashīd exclaimed, "Has Nicephorus done this, then?" and he realized that his ministers had used a stratagem with him over that. He turned round in a state of great heaviness of heart and strong feeling of troubledness, until he halted before his (i.e., Nicephorus's) territory (literally, "his courtyard," *finā'ihi*), and did not depart until he was satisfied and had achieved his aim.[843] Abū al-'Atāhiyah has said,

Has not Heraclia announced publicly its own destruction,
at the hands of a monarch who is divinely favored with the correct mode of action?
Hārūn thunders with threats of approaching death,
and hurls lightning with trenchant deeds of violence.
[699] How many banners, in which victory is always inherent,
pass along (through the air) like wisps of cloud!
O Commander of the Faithful, you have gained the victory, so feel secure,
and rejoice at the booty gained and the prospect of returning home![844]

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843. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 337–52 = ed. Pellat, §§ 757–69; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVII, 44–8 = ed. Cairo, XVIII, 239–46; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 309–10; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 185–6; Palmer, 76–8; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 743–4; Canard, in *Cambridge medieval history*, IV/1, 707.

844. *Abū al-'Atāhiyah, ash'āruhu wa-akhbāruhu*, 491–3; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 350–1 = ed. Pellat, § 768, and Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVII, 46 = ed. Cairo, XVIII, 242, both adding further poetry on this occasion of al-Rashīd's Heraclia campaign.

In this year, according to what al-Wāqidī says, Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān b. Nahīk was killed; but as for the other authorities, they place it in the year 188 (803–4).[845]

Al-Rashīd's Killing of Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān b. Nahīk

It has been mentioned from Ṣāliḥ al-Aʿmā, who lived in proximity to Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān, that he said: Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān used often to mention Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā and the Barmakīs, and would weep profusely out of grief over them and love for them, to an extent that he passed beyond the stage of weeping for them and arrived at the stage of those who seek vengeance and who nurse inveterate hatred. When he was alone with his slave girls and drank wine, and the *nabīdh* brought him into a state of intoxication, he would say, "O slave, (bring me) my sword Dhū al-Maniyyah"—he had named his sword *Dhū al-Maniyyah* (literally, "bearer of death")—and his slave would then bring him the sword, and he would unsheathe it and then say, "Alas for Jaʿfar! Alas for my master! By God, I will certainly kill your slayer and take vengeance for your blood in the near future!" When these actions of his had been repeated several times, Ibrāhīm's son ʿUthmān went to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ and informed him about Ibrāhīm's words. Al-Faḍl went in and told al-Rashīd. The latter said, "Bring him (i.e., ʿUthmān) in!" So ʿUthmān came in, and al-Rashīd said, "What's this al-Faḍl has related from you?" So ʿUthmān informed him about what his father had said and done. Al-Rashīd said to him, "Did anyone else who was with you hear these words?" He replied, "Yes, his eunuch Nawāl." So he secretly summoned Ibrāhīm's slave and interrogated him. The latter replied, "He has said that more than once, indeed, more than twice." Al-Rashīd said, "It would not be lawful for me to kill one of my own retainers on the word of a youth and a eunuch; the two of them may have conspired together to say this because of the son's eagerness to gain his father's privileged rank and status (i.e., in the Caliph's confidence) and because of the slave's hostility engendered by lengthy contact and service (i.e., from disillusion-

845. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 734, Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522–3, and Ibn al-Athīr, 186–7, all place this event in the year 187 (803).

ment or weariness with his master)";[846] hence, he dropped the matter for a few days.

Then he decided to put Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān to the trial by means of a test which would dispel the doubt from his heart and the suspicious thoughts from his mind. Hence, he summoned al-Faḍl
[700] b. al-Rabīʿ and said, "I intend to put Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān to the test regarding the accusation which his son has brought against him. So when the spread of food is removed, call for wine and tell him, 'Respond to the Commander of the Faithful's invitation, for he wants you as his companion because of the elevated position which you enjoy with him.' Then when he drinks wine, slip away, and leave me and him alone together." Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ did that; Ibrāhīm sat down to drink wine, and then sprang up when al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ got up to go, but al-Rashīd told him, "Stay in your place, O Ibrāhīm!" so he sat down again.

Now when Ibrāhīm's mind became set at rest, al-Rashīd made a sign to his slaves, and they withdrew from his presence. Al-Rashīd then said, "O Ibrāhīm, how are you, and what are your innermost thoughts?" He replied, "O my master, I am merely like the most devoted of your slaves and the most dutiful of your servants." Al-Rashīd said, "There is a matter within my mind which I would like to entrust to your keeping; my breast has become straitened because of it and I have been kept awake by it at night." Ibrāhīm replied, "O my master, in that case, it will never go back to you again from me (i.e., I will never refer to it again), and I will conceal it from my own person lest it let it out, and from my inner self lest it divulge it abroad." Al-Rashīd said, "Good for you! I have repented violently of my killing Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā to an extent that I cannot easily describe. I would like to abandon my royal power, and I wish he were still alive with me, for I have never experienced the savor of sleep since I parted from him nor the sweetness of life since I killed him." He related: When Ibrāhīm heard this, he shed profuse tears and wept copiously and said, "May God have mercy on Abū al-Faḍl (i.e., Jaʿfar) and forgive his offences! By God, you erred, O my master, in killing him, and you were led into a dubious affair regarding him! Where in the whole world is his like to be found? He was the nonpareil among the entire people in regard to

846. Cf. on such motives, Ayalon, "On the eunuchs in Islam," 80.

piety!" But al-Rashīd thereupon said, "Arise now, may God's curse be upon you, O son of a stinking, uncircumcised whore!" He arose, hardly conscious where he was treading.

Then he went off to his mother and said to her, "O mother, by God, I have as good as lost my life!" She replied, "Surely not, if God wills; how is that, my dear son?" He said, "The reason for that is that al-Rashīd put me to a test; by God, if I had a thousand lives, I would not escape with one of them!" And indeed, only a few nights passed between this event and his son's coming to him and hacking him with his sword until he died.[847] [701]

In this year, 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī led the Pilgrimage.[848]

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847. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 734; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 522–3; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 186–7; Palmer, 105–6; Bouvat, 96. There is a garbled reference to this episode in Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 592 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 367.

848. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit.; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 522; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 189; but according to Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38, al-Rashīd himself led the Pilgrimage this year.

The Events of the Year 188

(December 20, 803–December 7, 804)

Among the events taking place during this year was Ibrāhīm b. Jibrīl's leading the summer expedition and his invading the Byzantine lands by the pass [*darb*] of al-Ṣafṣāf. Nicephorus marched out to confront him, but some event took place at his rear which deflected him from encountering Ibrāhīm. Hence, he turned back, but came into contact with a Muslim force; he suffered three wounds personally and was put to flight. According to what has been mentioned, 40,700 of the Byzantine troops were killed and 4,000 riding beasts captured.[849]

In this year, al-Qāsim b. al-Rashīd stationed himself ready for frontier warfare [*rābaṭa*][850] at Dābiq.[851]

In this year, al-Rashīd led the Pilgrimage. He made his way there

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849. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 735.

850. See for this term, Balādhurī, *Glossarium*, 42.

851. Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 744. According to Dīnawarī, 391, al-Qāsim was made governor of Syria in this year. On Dābiq, situated to the north of Aleppo and famed as a concentration point for *ghāzīs* and troops marching against the Greeks, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 416–17; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 426, 503; Canard, *H'amdânides*, 225; *EI*² s.v. (Sourdel).

(i.e., to Mecca), via Medina, and gave its inhabitants half a full pay allotment [*niṣf al-ʿaṭāʾ*]. This Pilgrimage was the last one undertaken by al-Rashīd, according to what al-Wāqidī and other authorities assert.[852]

852. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38; Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit.; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit., adding that this was the last occasion when any Caliph made the Pilgrimage; Dīnawarī, loc. cit., with details of al-Rashīd's return via Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ to Baghdad and al-Raqqah; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 301–2 = ed. Pellat, § 2507. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ was in charge of the arrangements for this Pilgrimage, according to Jahshiyārī, 218.

The Events of the Year 189

(December 8, 804–November 26, 805)

Among the events taking place during this year was the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn al-Rashīd's setting off for al-Rayy.[853]

[702] *Al-Rashīd's Journeying to al-Rayy in Order to Investigate Complaints against the Governor of Khurāsān, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, and His Confirmation of ʿAlī in Office*

It has been mentioned that al-Rashīd had sought Yaḥyā b. Khālid's advice regarding the appointment to the governorship of Khurāsān of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, and Yaḥyā had advised him not to do it. But al-Rashīd rejected his advice over this plan of his, and appointed ʿAlī as governor over Khurāsān. When ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā went off to Khurāsān, he tyrannized over its people and treated them harshly. He gathered together an immense sum of money, and out of it sent

853. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 514; Dīnawarī, loc. cit.; Azdī, 307; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 191–2.

to Hārūn presents, including horses, slaves, clothing, musk, and wealth, whose like had never been seen before.[854]

Hārūn was seated on an elevated bench [*dukkān murtafi'*] at al-Shammāsiyyah[855] when what 'Alī had sent to him arrived. Those presents were brought in and were spread out before him; they appeared as a splendid sight in his eyes, and he was impressed by their great value. At that precise moment, Yaḥyā b. Khālid was at al-Rashīd's side, and the latter said to him, "O Abū 'Alī, this is the person whom you advised us not to appoint as governor over this frontier region, but we rejected your advice concerning him and a blessing has come out of opposing your advice! (He was speaking to him, as it were, jestingly at the moment.) You may now see what has been the result of our judgment regarding him, and how little would have resulted from your opinion!"

Yaḥyā replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, may God make me your ransom! Even if I might have liked to have been correct in my judgment, and guided towards what was right in my advice, I much prefer the Commander of the Faithful's judgment to be superior, his foresight more penetrating, his learning greater than my learning, and his intuitive knowledge on a higher level than mine. How excellent this (i.e., the array of 'Alī b. 'Īsā's presents) is and how extensive it is, if it were not that there lay behind it what the Commander of the Faithful would abhor and what I pray God to preserve him and keep him safe from its evil consequences and unpleasant results!" Al-Rashīd said, "And what is that?" So Yaḥyā told him, saying, "That is because I believe that these presents cannot have been gathered together for 'Alī b. 'Īsā without his having oppressed the leading members of the community [*al-ashrāf*] and without his having taken the greater part of them by tyranny and wrongdoing; and were the Commander of the Faithful [703] to command me, I could immediately bring to him double the

854. These presents are described in great detail in Abū al-Faḍl Bayhaqī, *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, 417. Shaban, 37–8, regards 'Alī b. 'Īsā's fiscal policies in Khurāsān as a deliberate attempt to reverse the Barmakīs' advantageous financial treatment of the eastern provinces.

855. The quarter of East Baghdad lying to the northeast of al-Ruṣāfah; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 199–216; presumably, the Caliph was at this time in one of the palaces there which had belonged to the Barmakīs; see ibid., 200–1.

amount from a certain merchant (or, from certain merchants) of al-Karkh."[856]

Al-Rashīd said, "How is that?" Yaḥyā replied, "We recently bargained with ʿAwn[857] over a casket which he brought to us full of jewels; we offered him seven million (dirhams) but he refused to sell it. I can now send to him immediately my chamberlain, who will order him to send the casket back to us so that we might examine it afresh; then when he brings it back, we can deny ever having received it, and we will thereby gain seven million (dirhams). Then we can follow the same procedure with two others of the leading merchants. For this will be safer in regard to its consequences and a more discreet procedure than ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's dealings over these presents with their original owners. Thus, I shall gather together for the Commander of the Faithful, in three hours, more than the value of these presents, with less effort, a simpler procedure and a more suitable way of levying taxation[858] than what ʿAlī has gathered together in three years."[859] This made a profound impression on al-Rashīd's mind; he kept it in his memory and refrained from mentioning ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā in Yaḥyā's presence.

Now when ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā had wrought damage in Khurāsān, persecuted the leading figures there, seized their wealth, and treated the menfolk there with contempt, a group of the prominent men and leaders of Khurāsān wrote to al-Rashīd, and a group from the various regions of Khurāsān wrote to their kinsfolk and friends[860] complaining about ʿAlī's evil conduct, his corrupt way of life, and the viciousness of his behavior, and asking the Commander of the Faithful to change him in the governorship of Khurāsān for any other of his competent officials, aides, supporters of the ʿAbbāsid régime, or military commanders whom he wished. So al-Rashīd summoned Yaḥyā b. Khālid and sought his advice regarding the case of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and the matter of his dismissal, saying, "Advise

856. The district of Baghdad to the south of the Round City, with an existence of its own (as its name, of Aramaic origin, "fortified town," indicates) in pre-ʿAbbāsid times. See *EI*[2] s.v. (Streck-Lassner).

857. Clearly a well-known merchant and jeweller of Baghdad.

858. Or possibly: "a way of levying taxation which gives a greater yield" (*ajmal jibāyat*[in]).

859. Cf. Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. IV, 470.

860. Presumably, to members of the *Abnāʾ al-Dawlah* now settled in Baghdad who retained their Khurāsānian connections.

me in the choice of a man whom you can approve as governor of that frontier region, who will set right the corruption which this evildoer has wrought and repair the breaches which he has made." Yaḥyā accordingly recommended the appointment of Yazīd b. Mazyad; but al-Rashīd did not accept his advice.[861]

Someone had reported to al-Rashīd that ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā was contemplating rebellion against him. Because of this, al-Rashīd set out for al-Rayy as soon as he had got back from Mecca. He encamped at al-Nahrawān on the seventeenth of Jumādā I (April 21, 805), having with him his two sons ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn and al-Qāsim. Then he journeyed towards al-Rayy. When he reached Qarmāsīn, he had sent to him a group of judges and others, and he made them bear witness that everything belonging to him in that army encampment of his, comprising money, treasuries, weapons, horses, and so forth, was to go to ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn, and he himself was to retain no share in it whatsoever, great or small. He also renewed the oath of allegiance to al-Maʾmūn by those accompanying him. He despatched the commander of his guard, Harthamah b. Aʿyan, to Baghdad, and he had Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rashīd and those in his court circle once again give their oath of allegiance to ʿAbdallāh and al-Qāsim; and he laid the responsibility for dealing with al-Qāsim, whether he was to be removed from the succession or confirmed in it, on ʿAbdallāh when the caliphate should pass to him.[862] [704]

Then, when Harthamah had got back to him, al-Rashīd proceeded to al-Rayy. He stayed there about four months, until ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā came to him from Khurāsān bringing wealth, presents, and precious and rare items, comprising furnishings, musk, jewels, gold and silver vessels, weapons, and riding-beasts;[863] and after all that, he gave presents to the whole of those who had accompanied al-Rashīd, including his children, the members of his family, his secretaries, his eunuchs and his military commanders, according to their status at court and their official positions. Al-Rashīd saw,

861. Abū al-Faḍl Bayhaqī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, 418–20; cf. Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr., loc. cit.

862. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 191; cf. Gabrieli, "Successione," 349, 353.

863. According to Qāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, 19, § 25, these amounted to thirty million dīnārs' worth.

from ʿAlī's actions here, the reverse of what he had suspected of him and the opposite of what had been said about him. He therefore showed his approval of ʿAlī and sent him back to Khurāsān. ʿAlī set out, with the Caliph at the same time accompanying him (i.e., on the initial stage of his journey, as a mark of respect and commendation).[864]

It has been mentioned that the oath of allegiance was taken to al-Ma'mūn and to al-Qāsim as successor to the throne after his two brothers Muḥammad and ʿAbdallāh, and al-Qāsim given the honorific of al-Mu'taman, when Hārūn despatched Harthamah to the City of Peace for that purpose, on Saturday, the eleventh of Rajab of this year (June 13, 805).[865] Concerning this event, al-Ḥasan b. Hāni'[866] has written,

May the One who directs affairs through His knowledge be extolled,
and may He make Hārūn superior to all other Caliphs!
[705] We remain in a fortunate state whilst ever we retain the fear of God in our hearts,
and whilst ever the father of trusted ones[867] directs our earthly affairs.[868]

Al-Rashīd Receives the Allegiance of the Local Rulers of the Caspian Provinces and Daylam, and Appoints Various Governors in Western Persia and Eastern Arabia

In this year, when al-Rashīd went to al-Rayy, he sent the eunuch Ḥusayn[869] to Ṭabaristān. He wrote out for him three letters, comprising a letter containing a guarantee of safe-conduct for Sharwīn,[870] the father of Qārin; a second one containing a guarantee of

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864. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Palmer, 109; Kennedy, 130.
865. Actually a Friday.
866. I.e., Abū Nuwās.
867. *Abū al-umanā'*, with paronomasia on the names al-Ma'mūn, al-Amīn and al-Mu'taman, all derived from the verb *amina* "to be secure, safe."
868. *Dīwān*, I, ed. Wagner, 120.
869. Again, the role of eunuchs as confidential envoys is notable; cf. also Ṭabarī, III, 716, 720–1 (below, 272, 278).
870. Ispahbadh or Prince of the Bāwandid family; see *EI*² s.v. Bāwand (R. N. Frye).

safe-conduct for Windā(d)hurmuz,[871] Māzyār's grandfather; and a third one containing a guarantee of safe-conduct for Marzubān b. Justān,[872] the ruler of Daylam. The latter came to al-Rashīd, and the Caliph gave him presents and robes of honor, and sent him back home.[873] Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī came to him with four hundred stout warriors from Ṭabaristān, who then became converts to Islam at al-Rashīd's hands. Windā(d)hurmuz came forward and accepted the Caliph's guarantee, and undertook in return to give full obedience and to pay tribute, and undertook on Sharwīn's behalf a similar obligation. Al-Rashīd accepted this from him and sent him back home. He sent Harthamah to accompany him, and Harthamah took Windā(d)hurmuz's son and Sharwīn's son as a pledge for good behavior.[874] Khuzaymah b. Khāzim, the governor of Armenia, also came to his court at al-Rayy and offered (to him) numerous presents.

In this year, Hārūn appointed 'Abdallāh b. Mālik governor of Ṭabaristān, al-Rayy, al-Rūyān, Dunbāwand, Qūmis and Hamadhān.[875] Abū al-'Atāhiyah has recited concerning this expedition of Hārūn's (Hārūn had been born at al-Rayy),

Piety has deflected the faithful trustee of God over His creation
towards his own birthplace,
So that he might bring order to al-Rayy and its dependent regions,
and that he might shower down on them beneficence from his
hand.[876]

Whilst en route, Hārūn gave Muḥammad b. al-Junayd charge of the road connecting Hamadhān and al-Rayy. He also appointed [706]

871. Corruptly written in Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 514, as Bundā (perhaps for Bundādh, the New Persian form of Windād) Hurmuz. For this ancient Iranian name, see above, n. 53, and for Windādhurmuz's family, *EI*² s.v. Ḳārinids (M. Rekaya).

872. On this Daylamī family of princes, the Justānids or Jastānids, see Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Shahriyārān-i gumnām*, 22–34; Madelung, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 208, 223.

873. Azdī, 307.

874. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān*, 304; Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. 141–3; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 191–2.

875. Azdī, 307.

876. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 193–4. I have not been able to find these verses in the printed edition of the *Dīwān*.

'Īsā b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān[877] as governor of 'Umān, and the latter crossed the sea in the vicinity of Jazīrat Ibn Kāwān,[878] capturing one fortress there and besieging another. Ibn Makhlad al-Azdī[879] suddenly attacked him, using deceit and trickery, but 'Īsā captured him and brought him back to 'Umān in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (November, 805).

Al-Rashīd's Return to Iraq

A few days after 'Alī b. 'Īsā's departure from Khurāsān, al-Rashīd set off from al-Rayy. The time of the Festival of Sacrifice [*al-aḍḥā*] came round when he reached Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ,[880] so he performed the rites of the Festival there, entering the City of Peace on Monday, the twenty-seventh of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (November 24, 805). When he passed by the bridge, he ordered the corpse of Ja'far b. Yaḥyā to be burnt.[881] He passed through Baghdad, but did not stay there and left immediately, heading for al-Raqqah, halting for the night at al-Saylaḥūn.[882]

It has been mentioned from one of al-Rashīd's military commanders that, when he came to Baghdad, al-Rashīd said, "By God, I am passing through a city, and no city more secure or with greater ease of life than it has ever been constructed in East or West. For it is indeed my home, the home of my forefathers and the 'Abbāsids' center of power whilst ever they endure and keep close control of it. None of my forefathers has ever experienced there any evil or ill-fortune from it, and none of them has ever been injured or wronged there. What an excellent seat of power it is! But I am

877. Great-grandson of 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, hence, a second cousin once removed of al-Rashīd.

878. I.e., the island of Qishm adjacent to the Straits of Hurmuz (see *EI*² s.v. [J. B. Kelly]), this form of its name apparently being a corruption of the Iranian name Abarkāvān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 261; Bosworth, in A. J. Cottrell et alii (eds.), *The Persian Gulf states, a general survey*, Baltimore and London 1980, p. xxiii.

879. Presumably, a descendant of the Makhlad b. al-Ḥasan al-Azdī mentioned as being in Khurāsān in 129 (746–7), see Ṭabarī, II, 1767.

880. I.e., the town of Kangawār in Jibāl. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 363–4; Le Strange, *Lands*, 188–9; *EI*² s.v. Kinkiwar (R. M. Savory).

881. See Ṭabarī, III, 683 (above, 223).

882. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit.; Dīnawarī, 391; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 192. Al-Saylaḥūn was a place near al-Ḥīrah and al-Qādisiyyah, mentioned in the accounts of the Arab conquests of Iran. See Balādhurī, 246, 250; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 298–9.

going off now to install myself in a region of people of dissension and hypocrisy, who hate the Imāms of divine guidance and who love the accursed tree, the Umayyads, in addition to the religious deviants, the brigands and those who terrorize the roads there.[883] If it were not for that, I would never leave Baghdad or set foot outside it as long as I lived."[884] Al-Abbās b. Aḥnaf[885] has said concerning al-Rashīd's rapid passage through Baghdad,

We only halted in order to depart, hence were making no
clear distinction between halting and departing.
They asked us how we were when we arrived,
and we then coupled together simultaneously our saying farewell to them with the questioning.[886]

In this year, there took place an exchange of captives between the Muslims and the Byzantines. As a result, according to what has been mentioned, not a single Muslim remained unransomed [707] in the Byzantine lands.[887] Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah has said concerning that,

Through you have been freed captives for whom were built
prisons wherein no kinsman or friend could visit them,
At a time when the Muslims had been unable to secure their release
and had said, "The polytheists' prisons will be their tombs!"[888]

In this year, al-Qāsim stationed himself ready for frontier warfare at Dābiq.[889]

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883. I.e., in al-Jazīrah and Syria.

884. Al-Rashīd had already, ten years previously, stigmatized the Syrian troops as a crowd of mischief-makers, *jund sū'*; see Ibn 'Asākir, quoted in Salibi, 37.

885. Amatory poet of Baghdad and favorite of al-Rashīd, who died towards the end of that Caliph's reign. See *GAL*, I², 73, S I, 114; *GAS*, II, 513–14; *EI*² s.v. (R. Blachère).

886. *Dīwān*, ed. 'Ātikah al-Khazrajī, 231, no. 462 (not in the ed. of Beirut 1385 [1965]); Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

887. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 193. Al-Qāsim b. al-Rashīd's agent here was the eunuch Abū Sulaymān Faraj, and 3,700 Muslims were freed, according to Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 189, tr. 255–6. On these exchanges of captives, see *EI*² s.v. Lamas-Ṣū (= the river on whose banks the exchanges were made) (Huart).

888. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 189, tr. 256; Munierah al-Rasheed, 131, no. 92; *Shi'r Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah*, 61, no. 40; Harley, "Abu's-Simṭ Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah," 86–7.

889. Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 744, XVI (1901), 87. According to Balādhurī, 171,

In this year, al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā led the Pilgrimage.[890]

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the Byzantines attacked al-Kanīsah al-Sawdā' whilst al-Qāsim was stationed here and took many captives.

890. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 38–9; Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 736; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 522; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year 190

(November 27, 805–November 16, 806)

Among the events taking place during this year was the appearance of Rāfiʿ b. Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār[891] at Samarqand, rebelling against Hārūn, throwing off his allegiance and abandoning obedience to him.

The Reason behind Rāfiʿ b. Layth's Revolt

According to what has been mentioned to us, the reason for that was that Yaḥyā b. al-Ashʿath b. Yaḥyā al-Ṭāʾī married one of the daughters, who was famed for her richness,[892] of his paternal uncle Abū al-Nuʿmān. Yaḥyā stayed in the City of Peace, and left her at

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891. Possibly the grandson of the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān. His father was presumably the Layth "mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful" sent in al-Manṣūr's reign as an envoy to the Turkish ruler of Farghānah. See Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 465–6; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 201. Balādhurī, quoted in Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. IV, 471, states that Rāfiʿ was a commander in the garrison of Samarqand.

892. Thus in the Cairo text, VIII, 319 and in parallel sources, *dhāt yasār*[in], which fits in well with the rest of the story. The Leiden text has here, less plausibly, *dhāt lisān*[in] "eloquent."

Samarqand. When his stay in Baghdad became protracted, and she received the news that he had taken several slave concubines and had had children by them, she sought some means of obtaining her release from him; but she did not manage to achieve this. News of her plight reached Rāfiʿ. He cast covetous eyes on her and on her money, so he sent someone secretly to her, who told her that there was no way of securing release from her husband except by renouncing belief in God's unity (i.e., renouncing Islam), for which she had to summon a body of professional witnesses [*ʿudūl*] and uncover her hair publicly before them, and then repent of her
[708] action, so that she would then be allowable to (fresh Muslim) husbands.[893] She did that, and Rāfiʿ then married her.

The news reached Yaḥyā b. al-Ashʿath, and he raised a complaint about the matter to al-Rashīd. The latter therefore wrote to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā ordering him to impose a separation between the two and to punish Rāfiʿ, have him flogged with the number of stripes prescribed by the *Sharīʿah* [*yajlidahu al-ḥadd*[a]], have him fettered, and have him paraded through the city of Samarqand, in irons and set on a donkey, as a warning to others. Sulaymān b. Ḥamīd al-Azdī, however, did not inflict on Rāfiʿ the *ḥadd* punishment, but merely mounted him on a donkey, in fetters, till he divorced her. Then he imprisoned him in the Samarqand jail. But Rāfiʿ escaped by night from imprisonment in the custody of Ḥamīd b. al-Masīḥ, who was at that time head of the police guard in Samarqand, and reached ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā at Balkh. He sought a guarantee of personal safety, but ʿAlī refused him this, and was about to execute him. However, ʿAlī's son ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī interceded with his father for him; Rāfiʿ repeated afresh his divorcing of the woman and was given permission to return home to Samarqand. So he went back to Samarqand, where he attacked ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's governor there, Sulaymān b. Ḥamīd, and killed him. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā sent his son against Rāfiʿ, but the local people gave their support to Sibāʿ b. Masʿadah and made him chief over themselves. Sibāʿ pounced on Rāfiʿ and put him in fetters, but then the local people suddenly turned on Sibāʿ,

893. I.e., her apostasy from Islam, albeit temporary and based on a technicality, thereby released her from marriage to a Muslim, since a Muslim male may marry a wife from the Protected Peoples but not an idolator or polytheist (Qur'ān, V, 7/5, II, 220; cf. *EI*[1] s.v. Nikāḥ [Schacht]).

putting him in irons, appointing Rāfiʿ as their chief, and giving him their allegiance. All the people of Transoxania combined with him. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī went forth to encounter him; Rāfiʿ met him in battle and put him to flight. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā then began to levy troop contingents and to prepare for war.[894]

Various Campaigns by al-Rashīd against the Byzantines and Diplomatic Exchanges with the Emperor Nicephorus

In this year, al-Rashīd led the summer expedition (against the Byzantines). He left behind his son ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn as his deputy at al-Raqqah and entrusted affairs to him. He wrote letters to the (governors in the) farthermost parts of the empire ordering them to give al-Maʾmūn full obedience, and he handed over to him [709]
al-Manṣūr's seal ring so that he might benefit from its auspiciousness; this was his personal seal ring, on which was engraved the motto "God is my trusted patron, in His hands I have placed my security."[895]

In this year, al-Faḍl b. Sahl became a convert to Islam at the hands of al-Maʾmūn.[896]

In this year, the Byzantines sallied forth against ʿAyn Zarbah and Kanīsat al-Sawdāʾ.[897] They raided and took captives, hence the

894. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 737; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 515 (bare mention of the fact of the revolt); Dīnawarī, 391; Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr., IV, 471–2; Gardīzī, 80, 132; Abū al-Faḍl Bayhaqī, *Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, 421; Narshakhī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, 90, tr. Frye, 76; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 311–12; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 195; Palmer, 110–11; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 201; Shaban, 37–8; Daniel, 172–3. Whether there is any foundation for the amusing story of the marriage with the woman of Samarqand as the reason for Rāfiʿ's original revolt is dubious; an early source like Yaʿqūbī does not mention it. Gardīzī attributes the expedition against Rāfiʿ to the latter's withholding, as governor in Samarqand, the taxes due to the central government. Dīnawarī attributes the revolt to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's general oppression of the people of Khurāsān, as does also, by inference, Abū al-Faḍl Bayhaqī. It seems clear that Rāfiʿ utilized a general resentment in Khurāsān and Transoxania against ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's rule.

895. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 346, tr. 444–5; Azdī, 308; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 312; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 197–8; Gabrieli, "Successione," 350.

896. Jahshiyārī, 182; Azdī, loc. cit.; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 197; Palmer, 114.

897. ʿAyn Zarbah is the Byzantine Anabarza. Both fortresses lay in Cilicia. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 128–9; Honigmann, index, s.vv.; Canard, *Hʿamdânides*, 280.

people of al-Maṣṣīṣah (subsequently) sought to recover what was in the Byzantines' hands.[898]

In this year, al-Rashīd conquered Heraclia and sent out contingents of troops and detachments of cavalry to spread through the land of Byzantium. According to what has been said, he entered it with a force of 135,000 regularly paid troops [*murtaziq*], in addition to camp-followers, volunteers, and those not registered on the stipends list [*dīwān*]. ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik (al-Khuzāʿī) halted at Dhū al-Kulāʿ,[899] and sent forward Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā[900] with 70,000 men to range about within the land of Byzantium. Shurāḥīl b. Maʿn b. Zāʾidah[901] captured Ḥiṣn al-Ṣaqālibah[902] and Dabasah,[903], and Yazīd b. Makhlad captured al-Ṣafṣāf and Malāqūbiyah.[904] Al-Rashīd's conquest of Heraclia took place in Shawwāl (August–September, 806). He reduced it to ruins and enslaved its people after a thirty days' siege of the town. He gave charge of the Levant coastlands of the eastern Mediterranean as far as Egypt to Ḥumayd b. Maʿyūf (al-Ḥajūrī). Ḥumayd raided as far as Cyprus, where he razed buildings, burnt property, and enslaved 16,000 of its people. He despatched them to al-Rāfiqah; the judge Abū al-Bakhtarī took charge of selling them, and the bishop of Cyprus fetched two thousand dīnārs. Al-Rashīd set out for the Byzantine lands on the twentieth of Rajab (June 11, 806).[905] He adopted a cap [*qalansuwah*] on which was written the words "Warrior for the

898. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 736 (under the year 189); Balādhurī, 171; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 198; Brooks, *EHR*, XVI (1901), 87.

899. Literally, "the stronghold, fortified place," possibly the Byzantine town of Sideropolis in Cappadocia. See Balādhurī, 150, 170; Le Strange, *Lands*, 138–9; Brooks, *EHR*, XVI (1901), 86; Honigmann, 46–7.

900. Second cousin of al-Rashīd, and subsequently, in 193 (809), governor in Mecca and Medina for al-Amīn.

901. Son of the famous general of the last Umayyads and early ʿAbbāsids; see Crone, 169.

902. "The fortress of the Slavs," which lay just north of the Cilician Gates and was possibly the modern Turkish Anasha Qalʿesi; see Canard, *Hʾamdânides*, 284.

903. Byzantine Thēbasa in Cappadocia. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 136; Honigmann, 47.

904. Byzantine Malakopea, modern Melegob. See Le Strange, *Lands*, and Honigmann, loc. cit.

905. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 519 (according to whom, al-Rashīd had previously been concerned at Manbij with negotiations for the settlement of a revolt by the people of Ḥimṣ), 523; Dīnawarī, 391; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 312; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 196.

faith, Pilgrim" [*ghāzī, ḥājj*], and used to wear this.[906] Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Kilābī[907] said,

Whoever seeks to encounter you or wishes a meeting [710]
must do this either in the Two Holy Places [*al-Ḥaramayn*] or on the farthest frontier regions.
Hence, in the enemy's territory, on a frisky horse,
and in the land of easy and pleasant life, on a camel saddle.
Out of all creation, you are the only one who has gained control of the frontier regions,
from among all those who have acquired successively power over affairs (i.e., previous Caliphs).

After this, al-Rashīd went on to al-Ṭuwānah[908] and encamped there. Then he travelled away from there, and left behind over it 'Uqbah b. Ja'far (al-Khuzā'ī),[909] ordering him to build a residence there. Nicephorus sent to al-Rashīd tribute and poll-tax [*al-kharāj wa-al-jizyah*], the latter for his own head, that of his designated successor and those of his nobles [*baṭāriqah*] and the rest of the people of his realm, a total of fifty thousand dīnārs, at a rate of four dīnārs on his own head and two dīnārs on that of his son Istabrāq (i.e., Stauracius). Nicephorus also sent a letter, via two of his most prominent nobles, concerning a slave girl from among the captives from Heraclia, and its text was as follows:

To the servant of God Hārūn, Commander of the Faithful, from Nicephorus, ruler of the Byzantines, greetings! As follows: O King,

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906. At Ṭūs, at the time of his last illness, al-Rashīd is described as wearing a tall *qalansuwah*. See Jahshiyārī, 221; Sourdel, "Questions de cérémoniale 'abbaside," 133–4, pointing out that the *qalansuwah ṭawīlah ruṣāfiyyah* (the latter adjective indicating a material originally made in al-Ruṣāfah) became the characteristic personal headgear of the 'Abbāsids, one possibly adopted in imitation of the Achaemenids of ancient Persia. According to Ṭabarī, III, 371, al-Manṣūr made people wear excessively high *qalansuwah*s which had to be supported by an internal framework of cane.

907. Unidentified.

908. Classical Tyana, a town lying to the north of the Taurus mountains and to the west of modern Niğde; it was subsequently captured and fortified by al-Ma'mūn. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 45–6; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 547; idem, *Lands*, 139; Canard, *H'amdânides*, 285.

909. Grandson of the 'Abbāsid deputy *naqīb* Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, his father being al-Rashīd's *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*; see Crone, 185.

I have a request to make of you which will not cause any damage either to your faith or to your temporal welfare and which is a trifling and insignificant matter: that you grant to my son a slave girl, one of the maidens of Heraclia whom I had sought in marriage for my son. If you deem it expedient to fulfill for me the object of my requirement, then I would be grateful if you would do it. Peace be upon you, and God's mercy and blessing!

Nicephorus also sought from him presents of perfume and one of his (royal) tents [*surādiqātihi*].[910]

Al-Rashīd ordered the slave girl to be sought out; she was brought back, adorned with finery and installed on a seat in the tent in which he himself was lodging. The slave girl and the tent, together with its contents—vessels and fittings—were handed over to Nicephorus's envoy. He also sent to Nicephorus the perfume which he had requested, and he further sent to him dates, dishes of *khabīṣ*,[911] raisins and healing drugs (or: opium, *tiryāq*). Al-Rashīd's envoy handed over all these to Nicephorus. The latter, in return, gave al-Rashīd a load of Islamic dirhams on the back of a
[711] chestnut-colored hack [*birdhawn*], amounting to fifty thousand dirhams, one hundred satin brocade garments, two hundred garments of fine brocade [*buzyūn*],[912] twelve falcons, four hunting dogs, and three hacks. Nicephorus further contracted not to destroy Dhū al-Kulāʿ, Ṣumālū[913] or Ḥiṣn Sinān, whilst al-Rashīd guaranteed not to resettle and fortify Heraclia—this on the basis that Nicephorus would hand over three hundred thousand dīnārs [annually].[914]

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910. For this loan word from Persian, probably a pre-Islamic borrowing, see Fraenkel, 29.

911. A kind of jellied dessert dish made with sesame oil or syrup; it was regarded as a typically Persian dish. See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 349a–b; Rodinson, "Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine," 103, 148, 150; Ahsan, 100.

912. The Arabic geographers (e.g., Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal) mention the fame of the Byzantine and Armenian *buzyūn* brocades, and state that Trebizond was a great mart for their export; see Serjeant, 63 ff.

913. Text *ṣ.m.l.h*, which the editor takes to stand for Ṣumāluh = Ṣamālū, a place mentioned by Balādhurī, 170, and Ṭabarī, III, 497, 499, as having been already attacked by al-Rashīd in the campaign of 163 (780). Cf. Shābushtī, 341–2, Annex 4.

914. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 737; Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr., IV, 471; Azdī, 308–9; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 312; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 196; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 745–6; Kennedy, 130–1;

In this year, a rebel [*khārijī*][915] from the tribe of ʿAbd al-Qays, called Sayf b. Bakr, raised a revolt. Al-Rashīd despatched against him Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Mazyad (al-Shaybānī),[916] who killed him at ʿAyn al-Nūrah.[917]

The people of Cyprus broke their agreement, hence Maʿyūf b. Yaḥyā raided them and carried off captives from its people.[918]

In this year, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Hādī led the Pilgrimage.[919]

Shaban, 38–9, who regards al-Rashīd's preoccupation with the reasonably stable Anatolian front as having been a waste of effort.

915. Here, apparently, used in a general sense, since when a rebel from the Khārijite sect is specifically intended, terms like *al-shārī* or *al-muḥakkim* or *al-ḥarūrī* are often used.

916. The son of Maʿn b. Zāʾidah's nephew Yazīd b. Mazyad; see Crone, 169.

917. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 197. ʿAyn al-Nūrah, literally, "place where pitch bubbles up through the ground," does not seem to be mentioned by the geographers, but was possibly in Lower Iraq or Kurdistan. Azdī, 309, has "ʿAyn al-Baqarah"; ʿAyn al-Baqar was, according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 176; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 330–2, at Acre in Palestine; hence, Azdī's reading seems wrong, unless a different place is meant.

918. Azdī, 310; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 746.

919. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 39; Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 737; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522; Azdī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year 191

(November 17, 806–November 5, 807)

Among the events taking place during this year was the outbreak of a rebel [*khārijī*] called Tharwān b. Sayf in the district of Ḥawlāyā,[920] who was then transferring his activities to the Sawād. Ṭawq b. Mālik was sent against him, and Ṭawq put him to flight and wounded him, killing also the greater part of his followers. Ṭawq was under the impression that he had killed Tharwān, and so wrote a letter announcing his victory; Tharwān (in fact) fled, wounded.[921]

In this year, Abū al-Nidā' rebelled in Syria, so al-Rashīd sent Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh (b. Muslim al-Dhuhlī) in pursuit of him and appointed Yaḥyā governor of Syria.[922]

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920. A village in the neighborhood of al-Nahrawān; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 322–3.

921. Azdī, 311 (with the same Marwān for Tharwān); Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 205.

922. Ibid. Yaḥyā was the son of a Khurasanian mawlā, who served al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn in various governorships, and brother of Ḥusayn, a foster-brother of al-Hādī (see Ṭabarī, III, 586, above, 67); he died in 206 (821–2), see Crone, 184. Previously, Mu'ādh had been al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā's deputy in the governorship of Khurāsān; see Ḥamzah Iṣfahānī, 165.

In this year, snow fell in the City of Peace.

In this year, Ḥammād al-Barbarī seized Hayṣam al-Yamānī.[923] [712]

In this year, the affair of Rāfiʿ b. Layth at Samarqand became serious.

In this year, the people of Nasaf[924] wrote to Rāfiʿ giving him their obedience and asking him to send to them forces who would aid them in killing ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī. So Rāfiʿ despatched the local ruler of Shāsh[925] with his force of Turks and one of his own commanders. They came upon ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, surrounded him and killed him in Dhū al-Qaʿdah (September–October, 807), but did not offer any violence to his retainers.[926]

In this year, al-Rashīd appointed Ḥammawayh al-Khādim over the postal system of Khurāsān.[927]

Various Raids into the Byzantine Lands, and Measures against the Protected Peoples

In this year, Yazīd b. Makhlad al-Hubayrī (al-Fazārī)[928] raided the Byzantine lands with a force of ten thousand men. The Byzantines

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923. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit. On Ḥammād, see Ṭabarī, III, 649 (above, 173 and n. 632). According to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 498–9, Ḥammād had been appointed governor of Yemen in 179 (795), but his tyranny drove the local people into rebellion, led by al-Hayṣam b. ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Hamdānī. Warfare between the two sides continued for nine years (thus placing the beginning of the revolt in 182 [798]) until al-Hayṣam was captured and executed by the Caliph. Ḥammād was subsequently removed by al-Rashīd after further complaints by the oppressed people of Yemen and after a thirteen years' governorship (thus placing his dismissal in 192 [808], if we follow Yaʿqūbī's chronology; according to Ṭabarī, III, 649, Ḥammād had been appointed governor of Mecca and the Yemen in 184 [800], but this may only mean that it was in this year that he added Mecca to his existing governorship of Yemen). Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 743, does not give the date of Ḥammād's appointment but says that he continued till al-Rashīd's death.

924. A town of Soghdia, situated on the Khūshk Rūd, and also called Nakhshab or (in post-Mongol times) Qarshī. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 276; Le Strange, *Lands*, 470–1; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 136–7; *EI*[1] s.v. Nakhshab (Minorsky).

925. The region of Transoxania to the east of the Syr Darya, in which is situated the modern Tashkent. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 480–3; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 169–75.

926. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 738; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 313; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 200; Daniel, 173.

927. Mawlā of al-Mahdī, obviously a eunuch, and according to Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 252, tr. 38, owner of a *qaṭīʿah* or land grant on the eastern bank of the Tigris at Baghdad; see Crone, 191.

928. Descendant of the family of ʿUmar b. Hubayrah and Yazīd Ibn Hubayrah who served the later Umayyads in Iraq and al-Jazīrah; see Crone, 107.

seized the defile against him, and then killed him when he was with a force of fifty men at two stages' distance from Tarsus, the remainder of the force escaping.[929]

In this year, al-Rashīd appointed Harthamah b. A'yan to take charge of the summer expedition (against the Byzantines) and provided him with a force of thirty thousand troops from the army of Khurāsān.[930] He was accompanied by Masrūr al-Khādim, who was responsible for the commisariat plus all other affairs except the actual military leadership. Al-Rashīd himself proceeded to Darb al-Ḥadath,[931] stationed there 'Abdallāh b. Mālik, and stationed Sa'īd b. Salm b. Qutaybah at Mar'ash. The Byzantines raided it, seized some of the Muslims as captives and then withdrew homewards, Sa'īd b. Salm meanwhile standing fast there. Al-Rashīd sent Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Mazyad to Tarsus. Al-Rashīd remained at Darb al-Ḥadath for three days of the month of Ramaḍān (July–August, 807), and then returned to al-Raqqah.[932]

In this year, al-Rashīd ordered the churches in the frontier re-
[713] gions to be demolished, and he wrote to al-Sindī b. Shāhik ordering him to compel the Protected Peoples [*ahl al-dhimmah*] in the City of Peace to distinguish their general appearance from the Muslims in matter of their dress and their mounts.[933]

In this year, al-Rashīd dismissed 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān from the governorship of Khurāsān and appointed (in his stead) Harthamah.[934]

The Reason for al-Rashīd's Dismissal of 'Alī b. 'Īsā and His Anger against Him

Abū Ja'far (i.e., al-Ṭabarī) has related: We have already mentioned previously the reason for 'Alī b. 'Īsā's son's demise and how he was

929. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit.; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 312; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 746–7.

930. This use of Khurāsānian troops, to supplement what were normally armies of Syrian troops in these frontier campaigns, is notable; see von Sievers, "Military, merchants and nomads," 219.

931. See for this, Ṭabarī, III, 568 (above, 39, n. 156).

932. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 523; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 312–13; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 206; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 747.

933. Azdī, 311; Tritton, 117–18; A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*, 100–1; *EI*[2] s.v. Ghiyār (M. Perlmann).

934. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit.; Dīnawarī, 391; Azdī, loc. cit.; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 313–15; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 203–4.

killed. When his son ʿĪsā was killed, ʿAlī set off from Balkh and arrived at Marw, fearing that Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth would march against it and take control of it. Now his son ʿĪsā had buried a huge hoard of money in the garden of his house at Balkh, reportedly amounting to thirty million (dirhams) in value. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā did not know about the money, and no one had any knowledge about that matter except one of his slave girls. When ʿAlī set out for Balkh, the slave girl revealed the matter to a certain slave (or: to certain slaves), and people talked about it. The Qur'ān readers[935] and prominent persons of Balkh gathered together and then entered the garden, plundering it and throwing it open to spoliation by the general masses of people. The news of this reached al-Rashīd and he said, "ʿAlī has left Balkh against my orders and has left behind a sum of money like this, and at the same time he alleges that he has been reduced to utilizing his womenfolk's ornaments for his expenditure on the warfare against Rāfiʿ!" He thereupon dismissed him, and appointed Harthamah as governor. He appropriated all ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's wealth, and this amounted to eighty million dirhams.[936]

It has been mentioned from a certain mawlā that he related: We were in Jurjān with al-Rashīd at the time when he was heading towards Khurāsān. The treasuries of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā which had been confiscated for him arrived at that point, on the backs of fifteen hundred camels. As well as all this (i.e., this wealth collected by oppressive means), ʿAlī had humiliated the most prominent of the Khurasanians and their nobles. [714]

It has been mentioned that Hishām b. Farr-Khusraw[937] and al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab[938] went into ʿAlī's presence one day. They gave him the salutation of peace, but he said to al-Ḥusayn, "May God

935. Following the Leiden editor's text, *qurrāʾ ahl Balkh* (also in the Cairo text, VIII, 325), but ms. A has *ahl qurā Balkh*, thus giving possible support to the idea put forward by Shaban, 23, 50–1, and G. H. A. Juynboll, in *JESHO*, XVI (1973), 113–27, that *ahl al-qurā* is the original expression of the early Islamic sources (= "villagers," i.e., participants in the early Arab campaigns in Iraq, new converts from the desert who were settled in "villages" in the environs of towns like Medina, al-Baṣrah, and al-Kūfah) and that these were later given a religious guise and turned into *qurrāʾ* "Qur'ān readers."

936. *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 313; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 203; Daniel, 173–4.

937. Unidentified, but from what follows, clearly a local poet and panegyrist.

938. The father of Ṭāhir Dhū al-Yamīnayn, subsequently governor of Khurāsān for al-Ma'mūn; al-Ḥusayn is described below by Ṭabarī, III, 771, as one of the leading men in Khurāsān.

not grant you peace, O heretic son of a heretic! By God, I know full well your position as an enemy of Islam and your impugning of religion! I am only awaiting the Caliph's permission for it before putting you to death, for God has made shedding your blood licit, and I only hope that God will let it be shed at my hands in the near future, and that He will speedily consign you to His punishment! Are you not the person who stirred up trouble against me in this very own house of mine after you had become intoxicated with wine, and asserted that letters had reached you from the City of Peace intimating my dismissal? Go forth, to God's wrath, may God curse you, for soon you will be one of those accursed ones!" Al-Ḥusayn replied to him, "I seek refuge in God for the Amīr, that he should accept the sayings of a slanderer or the insinuations of an evilwisher, for I am innocent of what I have been suspected!" ʿAlī said, "You have lied, may you have no mother! I have acquired ample evidence that you became intoxicated with wine and spoke words for which you have merited the most severe punishment, and it may well be that God will speedily inflict on you His violence and His retribution! Get out of my presence, unrespected and without anyone to escort you forth!" The doorkeeper then came up, gripped him by the arm, and ejected him.[939]

ʿAlī also said to Hishām b. Farr-Khusraw, "Your house has become a meeting place in which irresponsible elements [*al-sufahāʾ*] congregate around you and slander the ruling authorities [*al-wulāt*]. May God spill my own blood, if I do not shed yours!" Hishām replied, "May I be made the Amīr's ransom! By God, I am a person who has been wronged and is deserving of compassion! By God, I have exerted every possible effort and have not omitted a single eulogy of the Amīr, nor any praiseworthy description of

939. M. Kaabi, "Les origines ṭāhirides dans la *daʿwa* ʿabbāside," *Arabica*, XIX (1972), 159–62, sees ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's violent words here to al-Ḥusayn as only explicable in the light of a long-standing rivalry and hatred between the two Khurāsānian families of Māhān and Ruzayq—though both were affiliated to the same Arab tribe of Khuzāʿah—going back to the time of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution and the respective roles of ʿĪsā b. Māhān and the sons of Ruzayq, i.e., Ṭalḥah and Muṣʿab. In support of this view, he cites ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's alleged ill treatment, according to Shābushtī, 142–3, of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn at one point, Ṭāhir's alleged initial support for the revolt in Samarqand against ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā of Rāfiʿ b. Layth, and Ṭāhir's readiness in 194 (809–10) to combat in Khurāsān, on behalf of al-Maʾmūn, al-Amīn's representative ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā.

him, without specifically attributing it to him and reciting it about him. If, then, when I have recited words of approbation, evil slanders have been carried back to you, what recourse do I have?" He said, "You have lied, may you be deprived of your mother! I know full well from your own children and family what your heart is really concealing, so get out, for I shall be rid of you very [715] shortly!"[940]

Hishām went away. When it was the latter part of the night, he sent for his daughter ʿĀliyah, the eldest of his children, and said to her, "O my dear daughter, I wish to tell you about a matter which, if you blazon it abroad, will bring about my death, but if you keep it to yourself, will allow me to survive safe and sound, so choose your father's preservation rather than his death!" She replied, "What is this, may I be made your ransom?" He said, "I am fearful of my life from this evildoer ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, so I have decided to let it be known publicly that I have been struck down by a paralytic stroke. When day breaks, gather your slave girls together and go to my bed and shake me. Then when you see that my power of movement has been affected and my limbs made heavy, you and your slave girls must break out in cries of lamentation. Also, send to your brothers and give them the news about my illness. But beware strenuously of letting any single one of God's creatures, whether close to you or unconnected, learn that my body is, in reality, perfectly sound."

She accordingly did this, being an intelligent and sagacious woman. He remained laid out on his bed for a period of time, unable to move except when someone else moved his limbs. It is related that not a single person in Khurāsān knew about ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's dismissal, by any channel of information, except for Hishām, who surmised his dismissal as likely, a surmise that turned out to be correct. It is further related that he went forth on the day when Harthamah arrived in order to meet Harthamah, and one of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's commanders saw him on the road. The commander said, "Your body has recovered now?" Hishām replied, "Praise be to God, it's never lost its health!" Another authority states, however, that, on the contrary, it was ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā who saw Hishām and said, "Where are you off to?" He replied, "I'm going to meet our Amīr

940. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

Abū Ḥātim (i.e., Harthamah)." ʿAlī said, "Weren't you ill?" Hishām replied, "Yes, indeed; but God has given me health." God removed the tyrant in a single night.[941]

As for al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab, he set off for Mecca seeking al-Rashīd's protection against ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, which the Caliph accorded to him.[942]

Al-Rashīd's Letter Dismissing ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and His Charge to Harthamah

When al-Rashīd resolved on the dismissal of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, he sent for Harthamah b. Aʿyan—according to the reports which have reached me—and saw him privately. He said, "I have not consulted any-
[716] body about your appointment, nor have I informed anybody of my secret intentions regarding you. The frontier regions of the eastern lands have become restive against my power, and the people of Khurāsān have become discontented with ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's rule, since he has disobeyed the charge which I gave him and has cast it behind his back. He has now written to me asking for reinforcements and additional troops, and I am writing to him and shall tell him that I am sending you to him as reinforcement and despatching to him with you supplies of money, weapons, means of strength, and equipment which will set his heart at rest and satisfy his soul's desire. I will write out a letter to accompany you, in my own hand; do not break the seal or peruse its contents until you reach the town of Naysābūr. Then when you halt there, do what it says in the letter and obey its instructions, but don't exceed them, if God wills. I intend also to despatch as your companion Rajāʾ al-Khādim with a letter to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā which I will write out in my own hand, so that he may know what to expect at the hands of yourself and Rajāʾ. (In regard to Rajāʾ,) treat this affair concerning ʿAlī as of little importance, don't reveal it to him and don't let him know what I have decided upon. Now prepare for the journey, and give out to

941. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 204.

942. Ibid.; cf. Kaabi, "Les origines ṭāhirides," 162–3, who conjectures that, by the time al-Ḥusayn reached al-Rashīd in Iraq, the nature of Rāfiʿ b. Layth's revolt as anti-ʿAbbāsid as well as anti-Māhānid had become apparent, so that al-Ḥusayn might well have discouraged his son Ṭāhir from giving any further support to the rebel.

your close colleagues and to people in general the ostensible information that I am despatching you as a reinforcement and as aid to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā."[943]

He related: He then wrote out, in his own hand, a letter to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, whose text was as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. O son of an adulteress, I have exalted your status and have raised your fame, I have caused the leaders of the Arabs to follow at your heels and have made the descendants of the kings of the Persians your slaves and followers. Yet my recompense (for this) is that you have disobeyed my charge (to you) and have cast my command to you behind your back, to the point that you have wrought mischief in the land and have ill-treated the subjects; you have aroused God's ire and that of His Caliph with your evil conduct, your vicious behavior, and your blatant treachery. I have appointed my mawlā[944] Harthamah b. Aʿyan over the frontier region Khurāsān and have ordered him to treat you harshly, together with your sons, your secretaries, and your financial officials, and have ordered him not to leave in your possession (literally, "behind your backs") a single dirham or legal claim due to any Muslim or person in covenant relationship (i.e., Dhimmī, *muʿāhad*) without securing redress from you for it, until you give it back to its rightful owner. If you, or [717] your sons, or your financial officials refuse to do this, then he has full permission to inflict punishment on you, to rain down upon you a hail of floggings, and to visit upon you what is customarily visited upon those who break covenants, alter, change, act rebelliously, oppress, act tyrannically, and inflict wrong, as vengeance due to God, He is magnified and exalted, in the first place; to His Caliph, in the second place; and to the Muslims and the persons in covenant relationship, in the third place. Do not lay yourself open to what has no permanence, and relinquish your

943. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 515; Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr., IV, 472–3; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 3131; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 204.

944. *Mawlā* seems here to signify the close relationship of Harthamah to the Caliph, as a trusted free retainer rather than any legal or social dependence, clientage, or former slave status. Harthamah seems to have come from the Arab community of Khurāsān; see Crone, 75, 78.

duties (i.e., your office as governor) either willingly or else as one constrained![945]

He also wrote out the contract of appointment for Harthamah in his own hand:

This is what the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn al-Rashīd has written out as a contract of appointment to Harthamah b. A'yan when he appointed him governor over the frontier region Khurāsān, its administrative dependencies and its land tax. The Caliph commands Harthamah to keep in mind the fear of God, to obey Him and to show concern for and watch over God's interests. He should make the Book of God a guiding example in all he undertakes and, accordingly, make licit what is legally allowable according to it and prohibit what is not allowable. When he is faced with anything doubtful and uncertain, he should pause and consult those with a systematic training and acquaintanceship with God's religion and those knowledgeable about the Book of God; or alternatively, he should refer it to his Imām so that God, He is magnified and exalted, may make manifest to him His judgment in the matter and so that he may execute it according to His right guidance. The Caliph also commands Harthamah to secure a firm hold of the evildoer 'Alī b. 'Īsā, his sons, his financial officials, and his secretaries, and to treat them harshly, come down on them with severity and make them disgorge all the monies—the Commander of the Faithful's land tax and the income from the conquered lands meant for the Muslims' allowances [*fay'*]—for which they are accountable. When he has exacted everything of these revenues which they hold and for which they are responsible, he is to look into the question of the rights of the Muslims and the people in covenant relationship [*al-mu'āhadīn*], and he is to require them to fulfill the rights of every person entitled to a right until they have fulfilled it for them. If their responsibility for any rights due to the Commander of the Faithful and for any of them due to the Muslims is validly established, but they evade them and refuse to acknowledge them, then he is to release upon them the lashings of God's punishment and the painfulness of His retribu-

945. Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr., IV, 473; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 313–14.

tion, so that he brings them into the position where, if he goes beyond it with the lightest stroke of punishment, their souls will perish and their spirits cease to be without any blood-wit or retaliation being exacted. If they transgress beyond the bounds of the obedience due from every subject, he is to despatch them, if God wills, to the Commander of the Faithful's gate in exactly the same way as rebels are despatched—with harsh treatment, rough food and drink, and coarse clothing, in the custody of trusted members [718] of his retinue.

O Abū Ḥātim, act according to the charge which I have laid upon you, for I have preferred God and my faith over my personal inclinations and will; so let your own course of action be thus and let your own conduct be on the same basis. Handle the financial officials of the districts with whom you come into contact during the course of your journeying (to Khurāsān, or, as part of your gubernatorial duties) in such a way that they do not as a result feel a need for recourse to an affair which might (consequently) disquiet them or an evil opinion which might instill fear into them.[946] Enlarge the hopes of the people of that frontier region, and increase their freedom from fear and the attainment of their desires. Then act in accordance with what will make God, His Caliph, and those over whom God has appointed you governor, pleased with you, if God wills. This is my covenant and my letter, written in my own hand, and I call to bear witness God, His angels, those who bear His throne, and the denizens of His heavens; God is sufficient as a witness! The Commander of the Faithful has written this with his own hand, with no one present but God and His angels.[947]

Then he ordered that the letter of Harthamah to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā concerning Harthamah's giving aid to ʿAlī, reinforcing his power, and strengthening his position should be written out. This was accordingly done, and Harthamah's mission of reinforcement to ʿAlī made public. Letters from Ḥammawayh had reached Hārūn to the effect that Rāfiʿ had not abandoned his allegiance or thrown off the official ʿAbbāsid insignia of black, nor had his followers; their

946. Translation here uncertain; the florid style of this document makes absolute certainty over its translation impossible.

947. Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr., loc. cit.; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 314.

sole aim was to secure the dismissal of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, who had imposed on them unpleasant things.[948]

[719] In this year, there took place Harthamah b. Aʿyan's departure for Khurāsān as governor there.

What Befell Harthamah in the Course of His Journey to Khurāsān, and What Happened to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and His Sons

It has been mentioned that Harthamah went on his way on the sixth day after the one on which al-Rashīd wrote for him his contract of appointment. Al-Rashīd accompanied him on the first part of his journey and gave him a charge concerning what he required Harthamah to do. Harthamah did not pause for any reason en route, and publicly sent on to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā money, weapons, robes of honor, and aromatic substances, until the point when he halted at Naysābūr and then gathered together a group of his own trusty retainers and the senior and experienced persons from among these. He summoned each one of them privately and had a confidential talk with him, and then he made them accept covenants and undertakings that they would keep his plans hidden and conceal his secret. He appointed each man of them over an administrative region, roughly on the basis of the man's standing in Harthamah's estimation. Thus, he made appointments to Jurjān, Naysābūr, al-Ṭabasayn,[949] Nasā and Sarakhs, and he ordered each one of them, after he had given him his letter of appointment, to proceed to the administrative charge to which he had just nominated him, under the most covert and discreet conditions and adopting the guise of ordinary travellers in journeying to the administrative regions and then staying there until the moment which he had indicated to them. He appointed Ismāʿīl b. Ḥafṣ b. Muṣʿab[950] governor of Jurjān at al-Rashīd's express command.

He then proceeded onwards till, when he reached a point just

948. Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. IV, 472; Palmer, 111–12.

949. The two oasis towns in the Great Desert of eastern Persia, Ṭabas Gīlakī, and Ṭabas Masīnān. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 20; Le Strange, *Lands*, 359–63; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, 134–5.

950. Possibly a grandson of the ancestor of the Ṭāhirid governors in Khurāsān, Muṣʿab b. Ruzayq.

one stage away from Marw, he summoned a group of his trusty retainers, and wrote down for them the names of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's sons, the members of his family, his secretaries and others, on sheets of writing material [*riqāʿ*], and handed over to each man a sheet with the name on it of the person whom Harthamah was to consign to his retainer's custody when he himself, Harthamah, entered Marw in order to dispossess ʿAlī, for fear lest they should flee when Harthamah's purpose became known. Then he sent a message to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, "If the Amīr—may God make him noble—would like to send his trusty retainers to take charge of the wealth which I have with me here, then let him do so; for if the money goes on [720] ahead of me, that will give the Amīr greater power and will have a more weakening effect on his enemies' strength. Moreover, I should not be confident of its safety if I were to leave it behind me, lest someone who aspires to getting hold of it should cast greedy eyes on it, to the point that he might get his hands on part of it for himself and seize the opportunity of our being distracted when we enter the city."

ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā accordingly sent his bankers [*jahābidhah*] and stewards to take charge of the money. Harthamah told his own treasurers, "Keep them distracted tonight, and adduce an excuse to them about transporting away the money, one which will accord with their own desires and dispel any doubt from their minds." They did that; the treasurers said to them (i.e., to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's agents), "(Leave the money here) until we consult[951] with Abū Hātim regarding horses and mules to convey the money." Then Harthamah travelled on towards the town of Marw. When he was two miles away from it, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā came out to meet him with his sons, members of his family and his commanders, with a most splendid and friendly welcome. When Harthamah's eye fell on ʿAlī, he bent his leg in order to dismount from his horse, but ʿAlī cried out to him, "By God, if you dismount, then I shall dismount too." Hence, he remained in his saddle, and each one drew near to the other and then embraced each other. They travelled along together, with ʿAlī questioning Harthamah about al-Rashīd's affairs, his present state and appearance, and the state of his courtiers, his commanders and the supporters of his dynasty's power.

951. The Cairo text, VIII, 329, has "until you (pl.) consult."

Harthamah, meanwhile, was answering his questions, until they came to a bridge which only one horse could cross at a time. Harthamah held back his horse's reins and said to ʿAlī, "You go first, with God's blessing," but ʿAlī replied, "No, by God, I won't do that until you yourself go onwards first." Harthamah said, "By God, in that case I won't go onwards, for you are the Amīr and I am only the aide [*wazīr*]." So ʿAlī went forward and Harthamah followed him till they both entered Marw.[952]

They proceeded to ʿAlī's house. Rajāʾ al-Khādim used never to leave Harthamah's side by night or day, riding or sitting. ʿAlī called for food, and the two of them ate, with Rajāʾ al-Khādim also eating with them. ʿAlī was determined that Rajāʾ should not eat with them, but Harthamah made a sign to him (i.e., to Rajāʾ) and commented, "Eat, for you are hungry, and one cannot get sound judgment from a man who is hungry or who is suffering through having to hold his urine back!"[953] When the food was cleared away, ʿAlī told Harthamah, "I have given orders that a palace on the banks of the Māshān should be made available for you, so if
[721] you wish to go there, please do so!"[954] Harthamah said to him, "I have with me certain things, and it is no longer possible to put off a perusal of their contents," and then Rajāʾ al-Khādim handed al-Rashīd's letter to ʿAlī and delivered to him the Caliph's message.

When ʿAlī broke the letter's seal and looked at the very first word of it, he was stricken with remorse and confusion, and he realized that what he was fearing and expecting had indeed come home to him. Then Harthamah ordered him, his sons, his secretaries, and his financial agents all to be put in irons—he had made his journey (to Khurāsān) accompanied by a load of leg and neck irons. When Harthamah had made completely sure of him, he went along to the Friday mosque.[955] He made a speech and raised people's hopes (i.e.,

952. According to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 166, Harthamah entered Marw on Monday, the twentieth of Rabīʿ II, 192 (February 22, 808), remained there for forty-five days and went on to Balkh for four days.

953. This sounds like a proverbial saying.

954. The Māshān or Mājān was one of the many canals connected with the Murghāb river and flowing through the centre of Marw; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 42, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 398–9. The suburb of Mājān included the great square or *maydan* of Marw, the New Friday Mosque and the *Dār al-Imārah*, all laid out by Abū Muslim.

955. Presumably, the New Mosque, of Marw's three Friday mosques, as being in the administrative area of the town; see the preceding note.

for a better and juster régime) to a high level, announcing that the Commander of the Faithful had appointed him governor over their frontier regions because of what had reached him concerning the evildoer ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's vicious conduct, and (announcing) what al-Rashīd had commanded him to do with ʿAlī, his financial agents and his minions. (He further announced) that he was going to put this into effect, to mete out justice to the lower and upper classes alike and to set about restoring to them their rights to the utmost possible extent of those rights. He ordered the document investing him with office to be read out to them. As a result, they evinced great joy at that, their hopes became enlarged, their expectations for the future grew great, their voices were raised in *takbīrs* and *tahlīls*,[956] and numerous prayers were sent up wishing the Commander of the Faithful long life and a goodly recompense.[957]

Then Harthamah went back and sent for ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, his sons, his financial agents, and his secretaries. He then said, "Relieve me of the burden of you, and allow me to dispense with the necessity of taking unpleasant measures against you," and he made a proclamation among those who had had entrusted to their keeping any possessions of theirs (i.e., of ʿAlī's and of his agents'), that there would be no guarantee of protection (i.e., from punishment) for anyone who had in his keeping any possession deposited by ʿAlī or by any one of his sons, secretaries, and financial agents, and who concealed it and did not reveal it. So people brought to him what had been deposited with them, with the exception of one of the natives of Marw who was a Zoroastrian [*min abnāʾ al-Majūs*]. This man employed continuous stratagems in order to procure access to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā until he managed to get to him. He told ʿAlī secretly, "I have some wealth belonging to you in my possession, and if you have need of it, I will bring it to you in installments. I have endured on your behalf the threat of death, preferring to keep faith and seeking after handsome praise; or if you have no need of it at this moment, I will keep it stored away for you until you decide what to [722] do with it." ʿAlī was amazed at this and said, "If only I had in my entourage a thousand men like you, neither the Sultan[958] nor Satan

956. I.e., the cries "God is most great" and "There is no god but God."

957. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 515; Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr., IV, 473–5; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 315; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 204–5.

958. Although in early Arabic, *sulṭān* is normally an abstract noun meaning

would ever have been avid to lay hold on me." Then 'Alī asked the man what was the value of the wealth deposited with him, and he mentioned to him that 'Alī had entrusted to him money, clothing, and musk, and that he did not know the value of that except that what he had entrusted to him on his (i.e., 'Alī's) own written instructions was safely stored away with no part of it having been removed. 'Alī told him, "Leave it where it is, and if its whereabouts become publicly known, then hand it over and save your own skin; and if I escape safe and sound with it, I will decide then what to do." 'Alī wished him a handsome recompense, thanked him most profusely for that action of his, promised him a requital for it and showed kindness towards him. The man's fidelity became proverbial. It has been mentioned that nothing of 'Alī's wealth remained concealed from Harthamah except for what 'Alī had entrusted to the keeping of this man, whose name was al-'Alā' b. Māhān.[959]

Harthamah appropriated every single item which they (i.e., 'Alī and his followers) had concealed, even to their womenfolk's personal ornaments. His agent would enter a house and then seize everything in it, to the point that, when there was nothing left in the house except a scrap of woollen cloth or piece of wood or what was valueless, the man would say to a woman, "Hand over the ornaments you're wearing," and she would then say to the man when he came up to her to snatch off her ornaments, "O fellow, if you are of good character, avert your gaze from me, for by God, I promise not to leave anything on myself of what you are seeking without handing it over to you." Then if the man did not wish to commit a sinful act by approaching her, he would agree to her plea, so that very often she would cast off to him her seal ring, her ankle ornaments, and what might be worth ten dirhams. But if the man were of the opposite character to this, he would say, "I shan't be satisfied until I examine you closely in order to make sure that you haven't concealed any item of gold, or pearls, or rubies," and he would run his hands into the folds of her body, such as the armpits

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"governmental power," its use here in parallel with Satan seems to indicate the actual holder of such authority, the Sultan, here the Caliph.

959. Could this man have been a kinsman of 'Alī's? But if he was, it is strange that the narrator of the tradition does not mention any relationship or that Harthamah had not already arrested him with the rest of 'Alī's family.

and groins, in order to seek out in there what he suspected she had hidden from him.

Then, when Harthamah believed that he had done all this thoroughly, he sent ʿAlī forward on a camel, with no saddle-blanket beneath him, a chain round his neck, and heavy fetters on his legs, of such a weight that he could neither stand up nor prop himself [723] up.[960]

It has been mentioned from someone who witnessed Harthamah's mode of action that it was as follows. When Harthamah had completed the process of extracting the wealth which (rightfully) belonged to the Commander of the Faithful from ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, his sons, his secretaries, and his financial agents, he stood them in front of the people for the latter to raise complaints of injustice and ill treatment. Whenever a man had a legal claim established as due against ʿAlī or any other one of his entourage, Harthamah would say, "Release to the man his due right, and if you don't, then I shall stretch out (my hand) against you (i.e., punish you)." ʿAlī would thereupon say, "May God grant the Amīr righteousness! Grant me a delay of a day or two." At this, Harthamah would say, "That is up to the person claiming the right; if he wishes, he may do so." Then Harthamah would go up to the man and ask him, "Are you agreeable to cease pressing him (for the moment)?" If the man assented, Harthamah said to him, "Go home, in that case, and come back to him (later)." ʿAlī would send to al-ʿAlāʾ b. Māhān and instruct him, "Settle up, on my behalf, the obligation to so-and-so for such-and-such a matter at such-and-such a rate, or on whatever basis you think fit"; al-ʿAlāʾ would then come to an agreement with the man and finally settle his claim.[961]

It has been mentioned that a man stood before Harthamah and said, "May God grant the Amīr righteousness! This miscreant took from me forcibly a precious[962] shield of hide, whose like no one else ever possessed, and bought it from me, constrainedly and

960. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit.; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 314; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit. According to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, loc. cit., Harthamah despatched ʿAlī to Baghdad on Monday, the twenty-second of Jumādā I (March 22, 808).

961. Palmer, 112–13.

962. The variants give support for the Leiden editor's suggestion (*Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXIII) that one might possibly read *yatīmah* "unique" for the text's *thamīnah*.

against my will, for three thousand dirhams. Hence, I went to his steward seeking the purchase money but he refused to give me anything. I remained for a whole year awaiting this miscreant's riding forth, and when he did in fact ride forth, I presented myself in his way and cried out to him, "O Amīr, I am the owner of the shield and to this very day I haven't received its price," but he merely said opprobrious things about my mother [*qadhafa ummī*],[963] and would not give me my due. So take for me (from him) what is legally my due, both for the money owed and also for his insulting my mother's honor." Harthamah said, "Do you have proof of this?" The man replied, "Yes, a group of people were present when he spoke those words." Harthamah therefore summoned these witnesses and made them testify to the man's claim. (After this,) Harthamah said to ʿAlī, "You have incurred the *Sharīʿah* punishment [*ḥadd*] upon yourself." ʿAlī said, "How is that?" Harthamah replied, "Because of your insulting this man's mother's honor." ʿAlī retorted, "Who gave you instruction in the religious law and taught you this point of the juridical and theological sciences?" Harthamah replied, "This is the religious law of the Muslims." ʿAlī said, "I bear witness that the Commander of the Faithful has impugned your lineage more than just once or twice, and I bear witness that you yourself have impugned the lineage of
[724] your own sons innumerable times, on occasion Ḥātim and on other occasions Aʿyan. Now who will exact from you the *Sharīʿah* penalty required for them? And who will exact it for you from your master (i.e., the Caliph)?"[964] Harthamah turned to the owner of the shield and said, "I think that the best course for you is to pursue your claim with this devil for your shield or its price, but to give up pursuing him for the insult to your mother's honor."

Harthamah's Letter to al-Rashīd Announcing the Successful Completion of His Mission

When Harthamah sent ʿAlī, mounted, on his journey to al-Rashīd, he wrote a letter to the Caliph informing him of what he had done, its text being in the following terms:

963. *Qadhf* is a technical term of Islamic law meaning "an accusation of illicit sexual relations, *zinā*," incurring a *ḥadd* penalty when falsely brought, as is implied a few lines below here; see *EI*[2] s.v. Ḳadhf (Y. Linant de Bellefonds).

964. I.e., ʿAlī implies that accusations of sexual misconduct made as impreca-

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. As follows: God, He is exalted and magnified, has not ceased to shower down on the Commander of the Faithful the most extensive and most perfect of favors in regard to everything which He has entrusted to him as His Caliph, and everything involving the concerns of His servants and His lands which he has committed to his care. God has not ceased to instill into him, in everything near at hand or far of his affairs, personal and general, of minor significance or important, the most complete capability and the finest powers of governing. God has not ceased to grant him, in all that, the best of desires, nor has He ceased to bring him, in the course of this, to the farthest bounds of his aspirations, thereby according him of His favors and keeping safe what He has vouchsafed to him and what will guarantee his own exalted status and that of his retainers and the people with obligations to him and owing him obedience. We ask God to complete (for us) the highest degree of sufficiency and capability in what He has habitually given and has habitually bestowed on us in everything which He entrusts to us, and we ask Him to grant us success for our fulfilling what is incumbent upon us of His rightful due by studying His command and conforming ourselves to His way of thinking.

I myself—may God exalt the Commander of the Faithful—have not ceased, since I left the Commander of the Faithful's army camp, following closely the order which he gave me concerning the course of action which he had made me undertake; I do not go beyond that, I do not stray outside it for any other purpose, and I seek knowledge of neither prosperity nor good fortune except in fulfilling his command. (This I did) until I halted at the nearmost limits of Khurāsān, all this while guarding carefully to myself the orders which the Commander of the Faithful had enjoined me to keep safe and secret, not communicating them either to any single one of my intimates or to any single one of the people in general. I made it my policy to write to the people of Shāsh and Farghānah, to wean them from their connections with the treacherous one (i.e., Rāfiʿ b. Layth) and to put a stop to the covetous designs of Rāfiʿ and his partisans on those two groups of people. I also wrote

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tions or exclamations in the course of spirited conversation, rather than as legal accusations, should not be taken into account.

to those at Balkh in the same terms as I had written and explained clearly to the Commander of the Faithful.

Then when I halted at Naysābūr, I directed my efforts to the [725] matter of the administrative regions which I had just traversed. I issued letters of appointment as governors to those whom I had appointed over these regions before I passed through them, such as Jurjān, Naysābūr, Nasā, and Sarakhs. I was not remiss in taking careful precautions over that and in choosing capable people, reliable and sound persons from my own trusty retainers. I ordered them to keep the whole of the matter concealed and hidden, and I required them to take oaths of obedience in regard to that. I gave each man of them a letter of investiture for his governorship, and I commanded them to proceed to the regions of which they were to have charge, under the most secret and clandestine conditions and adopting the guise of ordinary travellers in their journeying to their administrative regions and their staying there, until the time which I laid down for them, this being the day when I calculated that I would arrive in Marw and would meet with ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā. I made it my policy to assign responsibility [*istikfāʾī*][965] for Jurjān to Ismāʿīl b. Ḥafṣ b. Muṣʿab in accordance with what I had previously written to the Commander of the Faithful. Those governors then put into execution my commands, and each man of them assumed responsibility for his administrative charge and extended his firm control over his particular district at the time which had been indicated to him. Thus, God relieved the Commander of the Faithful of the burden of that through His finely executed design.

When I reached just one stage before the town of Marw, I chose a number of trusty retainers, and I wrote out on sheets of writing material the names of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's sons, his secretaries, his family, and others, and I handed over to each man a sheet with the name of the person whom I would assign to his safe custody when I entered the town. If I had not taken these measures or delayed putting them into effect, I would not have been able to guarantee that those designated persons (i.e., those destined to be arrested) would not have disappeared into hiding or dispersed when the news became publicly known and widely disseminated. My agents put

965. For this sense, see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 479a.

that into execution, and I myself travelled from my halting-place towards the town of Marw.

When I reached a point two miles from it, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā came out to meet me with his sons, members of his family and his commanders, and I met him in a most splendid manner. I treated him in a friendly fashion and exerted myself in magnifying him and extolling him and seeking to dismount before him the first time I saw him to an extent which made him increase in feeling at ease [726] and in confidence in the impression which he had previously relied upon from my letters which had been reaching him; for indeed, these had been continuously full of my extolling and magnifying him and my seeking to dispel any evil opinion away from him, lest any idea should occur to his mind which might spoil what the Commander of the Faithful had planned to have done with him and what the Commander of the Faithful had ordered me to do regarding that. But God, He is blessed and exalted, was the One who alone took charge of relieving the Commander of the Faithful of the affairs of ʿAlī, to the point that ʿAlī brought myself and himself together in his court session and I went to eat with him. When we had finished that, he set about asking me to proceed to a lodging which he had sought out for me. At that point, I told him about the things which I had with me and which could not wait any longer for a close perusal. Rajāʾ al-Khādim then handed over the Commander of the Faithful's letter and delivered to him the Caliph's message. At that, ʿAlī realized that the matter by means of which he had injured his own self and which his own two hands had procured—in that the Commander of the Faithful's ire had been aroused, the Commander of the Faithful's view of him had been changed through his going against the Commander of the Faithful's command, and his exceeding the due bounds in his conduct—had now befallen him.

Then I set about putting him into custody and proceeded to the Friday mosque. I opened wide the hopes of the people who were present, and I began by explaining how the Commander of the Faithful had charged me to journey to them, and I informed them how gravely disquieted was the Commander of the Faithful by the reports, which had reached him and which had become clear to him, about ʿAlī's evil conduct. (I further informed them) about what the Commander of the Faithful had commanded me to do

with him, his financial agents, and his minions, and (told them) that I was going to put all this into effect, to mete out justice to the masses and the élite alike and to set about restoring to them their rights to the utmost possible extent. I ordered the document investing me with office to be read out to them, and I informed them that that document was my pattern and exemplar, and that I was imitating its counsels and molding my conduct on it; and if I were to abandon one single aspect of that policy, then I would have injured myself and brought down on myself that which befalls those who rebel against the Commander of the Faithful's judgment and command. The people evinced great joy and rejoicing at that, their voices were raised in *takbīrs* and *tahlīls*, and numerous prayers were sent up by them for the Commander of the Faithful's long life and his receiving a goodly recompense.

I next turned my attention to the place of court sessions and [727] assembly where ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā was, and set about loading him, his sons, members of his family, his secretaries, and his financial agents with irons, and securing firmly the whole lot of them. I commanded them to bring forth to me the wealth which they had appropriated for themselves, comprising the Commander of the Faithful's wealth and the revenue [*fayʾ*] for the Muslims, and (I told them that if they did that,) I would dispense with employing harsh measures against them and beatings. I made a proclamation among those people who had had entrusted to their keeping any possessions of ʿAlī and his partisans, summoning them to disgorge what they were holding. They brought these holdings along to me until I had listed for the Commander of the Faithful a respectable portion of silver and gold coinage. I hope that God will give aid in exacting the whole of what they have in their keeping and in extracting to the last farthing what they have secretly stored away. (I hope too that) God will render easily available from that the best of what He has never ceased to accord habitually to the Commander of the Faithful, that is, in undertaking to bring about matters like this with which he is concerned, if God Most High wills.

Nor did I omit, once I arrived at Marw, to give orders for the despatch of messengers and the issuing of trenchant letters, going as far as possible in providing possible excuses, giving warning, providing clear explanation, and offering right guidance, to Rāfiʿ (b. Layth) and the people of Samarqand owing him obedience and

to those at Balkh—all this because of my favorable opinion regarding the likelihood of their responding favorably and their adopting the course of obedience and uprightness. Whatever reports, about the people's either responding favorably or else adopting a hostile attitude, which my messengers bring back to me, O Commander of the Faithful, I shall follow a policy appropriate to their attitude and I shall write about that to the Commander of the Faithful, exactly according to what is right and truthful. I hope that God will communicate to the Commander of the Faithful in regard to that something of the excellence of His work and the grace of His sufficiency, which has never ceased to be His habitual procedure towards him through His munificence, power, and might. Farewell!

Al-Rashīd's Answer to Harthamah's Letter

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. As follows: There has reached the Commander of the Faithful your letter mentioning your arrival in Marw on the day which you have specified and in the circumstances which you have described and which you have set forth in explanation; what ruses and subterfuges you employed before you reached Marw, what measures you adopted in regard to the administrative regions which you named and in regard to the appointment of your nominees as governors over those regions before you yourself passed beyond their boundaries, and what subtle measures you used in the matter which brought about the favorable circumstances which you sought in the affair of the traitor ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, his sons, the members of his family, and those of his financial agents and district governors who fell into your hands. (There has also reached him news of) your following exactly, in all this, what the Commander of the Faithful delineated to you as the way to proceed and what he rendered possible for you. The Commander of the Faithful has understood everything which you have written, and he has given profuse praises to God for that, for His guiding you aright and for what He helped you to accomplish through His divine aid, until you brought to pass the Commander of the Faithful's will, attained to his desire, performed well the matters about which he had been very anxious and had been dogged with worry, which he was [728]

wanting firmly to accomplish through you and at your hands. May He reward you with beneficence for your wise counsel and your capability, and may God not deprive the Commander of the Faithful of the finest of conduct which he has experienced from you in everything which he has summoned you to undertake and for which he has relied upon you!

The Commander of the Faithful orders you to increase your efforts and determination in ferreting out the wealth of the traitor ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, his sons, secretaries, financial agents, stewards, and bankers, just as he has commanded you, and in investigating how they have swindled the Commander of the Faithful over his wealth and how they have oppressed the subjects in regard to their wealth. (He likewise commands you to redouble your efforts) in pursuing and in bringing to light this illicit wealth from the suspected hiding places and caches which ʿAlī took under his control and from the hands of those custodians of possessions to whom they had entrusted that (ill-gotten) wealth. You are to use a mixture of softness and harshness in all that, so that you are even-
[729] tually able to extract what they have hidden. Do not spare yourself any effort over that, nor in meting out justice to the people in regard to their rights and their complaints of tyranny against ʿAlī and his followers, until no cause of complaint against them remains for any person seeking redress without your having employed all your efforts[966] on his behalf concerning that, and have set both the wrongdoer and the injured parties on the way of right and justice in regard to this grievance. When you have employed the greatest possible amount of firm measures[967] and zeal over that, send on the traitor, his sons, the members of his family, his secretaries, and his financial agents to the Commander of the Faithful in bonds and in the conditions of affliction [*taghyīr*][968] and exemplary punishment which they have merited by what

966. Thus according to the Leiden and Cairo texts, *istaqḍayta*; but the *Glossarium*, p. CDXXVII, suggests the possible reading *istaqṣayta* "(without) your having fully investigated. . . ." Again, the great floridity of the Arabic style here makes precise translation uncertain.

967. Reading, with the Cairo text, VIII, 336, *al-iḥkām* for the Leiden text's *al-aḥkām*.

968. For this sense, see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 233b.

their hands have wrought for them. "God does not act wrongfully to his servants."[969]

Then embark upon what the Commander of the Faithful has commanded you to do, in proceeding to Samarqand and in using stratagems and blandishments with regard to the partisans of the obscure one [*khāmil*][970] and with those people of the districts of Transoxania and Ṭukhāristān[971] who have followed him in showing forth rebelliousness and defiance, by summoning them to return and revert to their allegiance and to the all-embracing offer of the Commander of the Faithful's guarantee of safe-conduct which he has charged you with offering to them. If they accept and consent to that and return to what is your own hope for them, and if they disband their forces, then this is what the Commander of the Faithful desires for them—to treat them by overlooking their misdeeds and pardoning them. For they are his subjects, and it is incumbent upon the Commander of the Faithful to treat them thus, since he answers their requests, reassures their fearful hearts, relieves them of rule by governors whose régimes they have hated, and commands that justice should be meted out to them in respect of their due rights and their complaints of oppression. But if they oppose the Commander of the Faithful's views, summon them to judgment before God, since they have rebelled and wrought evil, and have shown their aversion from the way of salvation and have rejected it. Indeed, the Commander of the Faithful has already decreed his course of action; hence, he has plunged people into affliction, inflicted exemplary punishment, dismissed people from office, substituted one person for another, overlooked the deeds of the person who has introduced an heretical innovation and pardoned the man guilty of a crime. He brings God to witness against them after that for any act of disobedience should they deliberately choose it and any act of rebelliousness should they manifest it. God is sufficient as a witness; there is no power and strength

969. Qur'ān, VIII, 53/51.

970. Contemptuous antiphrasis on the part of al-Rashīd for Rāfi' (literally, "the exalted one"), as is explicitly pointed out later by Ṭabarī, III, 734 (below, 298).

971. The region lying to the south of the upper Oxus, in what is now northern Afghanistan, Balkh being its mediaeval centre. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 23; Le Strange, *Lands*, 426–7; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 66–8; *EI*[1] s.v. Ṭokhāristān (Barthold).

except in God, the Exalted, the Mighty; he (i.e, the Caliph) reposes his trust in Him and returns to Him in repentance. Farewell!

Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ wrote (this) in the Commander of the Faithful's presence.

[730] In this year, al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī led the Pilgrimage, he being at that time governor of Mecca.[972]

After this year, the Muslims did not mount a summer expedition (against the Byzantines) until the year 215 (830–1).[973]

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972. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 39; Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 738; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 738; Azdī, 312; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 206.

973. Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 747.

The Events of the Year 192

(November 6, 807–October 24, 808)

Among the events taking place during this year was the exchange of captives between the Muslims and the Byzantines arranged by Thābit b. Naṣr b. Mālik (al-Khuzāʿī).[974]

Al-Rashīd's Preparations for His Journey to Khurāsān

In this year, al-Rashīd arrived from al-Raqqah by boat at the City of Peace, intending to set out for Khurāsān and attack Rāfiʿ. His arrival at Baghdad was on Friday, the twenty-fourth of Rabīʿ II (February 26, 808).[975] He appointed as his deputy in al-Raqqah his son al-Qāsim, giving him as support Khuzaymah b. Khāzim. Then he set out from the City of Peace on the evening of Monday (i.e., the Sunday evening), the fifth of Shaʿbān (June 4, 808), after the

974. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 190, tr. 256–7; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 208; Brooks, loc. cit.; *EI*² s.v. Lamas-Ṣū (Huart). This exchange, the *fidāʾ Thābit b. Naṣr*, the second one enumerated by the sources, took place at the Budandūn river, as specified by Ṭabarī, III, 732 (below, 295).

975. Actually, a Saturday.

afternoon worship and from al-Khayzurāniyyah.[976] He passed the night in the Garden of Abū Ja'far,[977] and then set off the next evening for Nahrawān. He encamped there, and sent back Ḥammād al-Barbarī to his administrative charges and appointed his son Muḥammad as his deputy in the City of Peace.[978]

It has been mentioned from Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn[979] (i.e., from al-Faḍl b. Sahl) that he said: When al-Rashīd decided to set out from Khurāsān in order to attack Rāfi', I said to al-Ma'mūn, "You don't know what's going to happen to al-Rashīd whilst he is en route for Khurāsān, which is your governorship; Muḥammad is your superior, and the most favorable way in which he is likely to treat you is to deprive you of the succession (after him), for he is the son of Zubaydah, his maternal uncles are the Hāshimites, and Zubaydah
[731] and all her wealth (will be an added reinforcement for him).[980] So request al-Rashīd to let you go forth with him." Al-Ma'mūn accordingly asked al-Rashīd for permission to accompany him, but the latter refused. So I said to al-Ma'mūn, "Tell him, 'You are ill, and I only wished to render you service, and I shan't be a burden upon you in any way.'" So al-Rashīd allowed him to accompany him, and he departed.[981]

Al-Rashīd's Serious Medical Condition and His Premonitions of Death

Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ṭabarī has mentioned that his father accompanied al-Rashīd on the opening stages when he set out for Khurāsān. He went with him as far as al-Nahrawān, and al-Rashīd

976. The quarter of Baghdad either owned by or named after al-Rashīd's mother. See Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, 2; Abbott, 120–1.

977. I.e., of the Caliph al-Manṣūr.

978. Jahshiyārī, 214–15; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 520; Dīnawarī, 391; Azdī, 312; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr., IV, 475; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 315; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 207; Abbott, 202; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 188; Kennedy, 132.

979. This title, "Possessor of the two commands," i.e., military and civil, was conferred on al-Faḍl subsequent to this period, in 196 (812), by al-Ma'mūn; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 201, 203 n. 2.

980. The text here, and in the corresponding passages in the *K. al-'Uyūn* and Ibn al-Athīr, is evidently defective; the editor of the Leiden text suggests, in n. *g*, the supplying of the phrase *rid'un lahu*, followed for the translation here.

981. Jahshiyārī, 215; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr., IV, 475–6; *K. al-'Uyūn*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Palmer, 113–14; Gabrieli, "Successione," 350; Abbott, loc. cit.

began to talk with him along the road until he said to him, "O Ṣabbāḥ, I don't think you will ever see me again." He related: I replied, "Nay, God will bring you back hale and hearty; He has rendered you victorious, and has displayed to you the realization of your hopes in regard to your enemies." The Caliph said, "O Ṣabbāḥ, I don't think you know what I am suffering." I replied, "No, by God!" He said, "Come here, and let me show you." He related: He went aside from the road to a distance of a hundred cubits. He sheltered in the shade of a tree, and made signs to his personal eunuchs [*khadamihi al-khāṣṣah*],[982] and they thereupon withdrew. Then he said, "O Ṣabbāḥ, [I promise you] the protection of God if you will conceal my secret." I replied, "O my master, I am your humble servant; you are addressing me as one addresses one's child!"

He related: He bared his abdomen, and lo, he had a silken bandage round it.[983] He said, "This is a morbid condition which I conceal from everyone. Each one of my sons has an observer over me—Masrūr being al-Ma'mūn's observer, Jibrīl b. Bukhtīshū' being al-Amīn's one," and he named a third one whose name I have forgotten, "and every single one of them is only counting my very breaths, numbering my days and considering my life as going on too long. If you want to know this for sure, then summon a horse this very instant, and they will bring me an emaciated hack which [732] goes with short steps, so that it makes my affliction worse." I replied, "O my master, I can't make any answer to these words, nor regarding the heirs to your succession, except that I say, May God make as a sacrifice instead of you those persons—jinn and men, close relatives and distant ones—who are showing hatred towards you, and may He consign them to that [i.e., death] before you! May God never let us see anything unpleasant happening to you! May He make Islam flourish through you, and may He, through your continued preservation, support its columns and strengthen its flanks! May God bring you back victorious and successful to the

982. It is not clear whether these were a formally constituted group within the general body of the eunuchs, but these *khadam al-khāṣṣah* are again mentioned as existing under al-Amīn, in Ṭabarī, III, 969.

983. In the editor's n. *f*, Ibn al-Jawzī's detailed description of ulcers is given; cf. Abbott, 203 n. 92. According to the Qāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, 97, § 114, al-Rashīd had for some time suffered from hemorrhoids.

fullest extent of your hopes regarding your enemies and (grant you) what you hope from your Lord!" Al-Rashīd said, "As for you, you have shown yourself as detached from either of the two parties (i.e., the supporters of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, respectively)." He related: Then al-Rashīd called for a horse, and they brought him one just as he had described. He looked at me, and then he rode off on it, saying, "Go back, without having been properly bid farewell, for you have many responsibilities and preoccupations." Accordingly, I merely said goodbye to him, and that was the last time I ever saw him.[984]

Various Items of Information

In this year, the Khurramiyyah became active in the region of Azerbaijan, so al-Rashīd sent 'Abdallāh b. Mālik against them with a force of ten thousand cavalry; 'Abdallāh took (male) prisoners and captured (the enemy's women and children), and met up with al-Rashīd at Qarmāsīn. Al-Rashīd then ordered the male prisoners to be killed and the captured women and children to be sold into slavery.[985]

In this year, the judge 'Alī b. Ẓabyān died at Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ.[986]

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984. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 207–8; Palmer, 120–1; Gabrieli, loc. cit.; Abbott, 203.

985. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 739; Dīnawarī, 391–2; Azdī, 313; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 208.

986. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit.

987. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; the outbreak of his revolt was noted in Ṭabarī, III, 711 (above, 266).

988. Commander who was to be prominent under al-Ma'mūn and his successors as a military leader and provincial governor.

989. *Min abnā' al-shī'ah*, one of the designations for the Abnā'; see Ṭabarī, III, 572 (above, 46, n. 183).

990. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Daniel, 174.

991. Apparently a local rebel in Egypt, not to be confused with the 'Abbāsid prince of the same name later active as a supporter of the rival Caliph Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and executed by al-Ma'mūn, see Ṭabarī, III, 1073, 1075–6.

992. On the Ḥawf or Aḥwāf, see Ṭabarī, III, 629 (above, 141, n. 516).

993. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Brooks, *EHR*, XV (1900), 747. On Maṭmūrah, see Ṭabarī, III, 646 (above, 165–66, n. 603).

994. See on this exchange, Ṭabarī, III, 730 (above, 291).

995. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 739, according to whom Tharwān killed Salm (?) b. Salm b. Qutaybah; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit. The Ṭaff ("edge, fringe, shore") was the edge of the cultivated land lying along the Euphrates in Iraq; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 35–6.

996. According to Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit., Maqdisī, 114, and other geograph-

In this year, Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh brought (the Syrian rebel) Abū al-Nidāʾ to al-Rashīd whilst the latter was at al-Raqqah, and al-Rashīd had him killed.[987]

In this year, ʿUjayf b. ʿAnbasah[988] and al-Aḥwaṣ b. Muhājir, together with a number of members of the earlier supporters in Khurāsān of the ʿAbbāsids,[989] deserted Rāfiʿ b. Layth's side and went over to Harthamah.[990]

In this year, Ibn ʿĀʾishah,[991] together with a number of persons from the Aḥwāf of Egypt,[992] was brought in.

In this year, he (i.e., the Caliph) appointed Thābit b. Naṣr b. Mālik governor of the frontier regions (i.e., of the Byzantine marches). He led raids and then captured Maṭmurāh.[993]

In this year, there took place the exchange of captives at al-Budandūn.[994]

In this year, Tharwān al-Ḥarūrī became active and killed the government's financial agent in the Ṭaff of al-Baṣrah.[995]

In this year, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā was brought to Baghdad and then imprisoned in his own house.

In this year, ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar (b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr) died in Ṭabaristān or, it is said alternatively, at Daskarah, whilst he was en route to join al-Rashīd.[996] [733]

In this year, al-Rashīd had al-Hayṣam al-Yamānī killed.[997]

In this year, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh[998] b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr led the Pilgrimage.[999]

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ical sources, ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar died in Ṭabaristān; according to Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit., at Daskarah (probably the Daskarat al-Malik one stage from the town of al-Nahrawān on the high road to Khurāsān; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 455; Le Strange, *Lands*, 62; and *EI*[2] s.v. [A. A. Duri]).

997. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 499; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 209.

998. Thus, correctly for the text's ʿUbaydallāh.

999. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 39; Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit.; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 522.

The Events of the Year 193

(October 25, 808–October 14, 809)

The Illness and Death of al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī

Among the events taking place during this year was the death of al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak in prison at al-Raqqah in al-Muḥarram (October–November, 808). According to what has been mentioned, the onset of his illness was marked by a paralytic stroke affecting his tongue and a side of the body. He had previously been wont to say, "I don't want al-Rashīd to die (before me)," and people used to say to him in reply, "Don't you want God to grant you deliverance (i.e., release from existence in prison)?" But he would answer, "My fate is linked with his fate." He remained under medical treatment for several months and then recovered. He began to talk once again, but then became severely ill once more. His tongue and his side became paralyzed in their functions, and he moved inexorably towards death. He remained in that state on Thursday and Friday, and died during the call for the dawn prayer (on Saturday), five months before al-Rashīd's own death and at the age of forty-five. The people displayed their grief over him, and his brothers prayed over him in the palace where they were lodged before al-Faḍl's body being brought forth (from

his prison). Then his corpse was brought forth, and the people performed the worship over his funeral bier.[1000]

In this year, Sa'īd al-Ṭabarī, known as al-Jawharī, died.[1001]

Al-Rashīd's Journey from Jurjān to Ṭūs

In this year, Hārūn reached Jurjān in Ṣafar (November–December, 808), and there met him in Jurjān the treasuries of 'Alī b. 'Īsā, conveyed on the backs of fifteen hundred camels.[1002] After this, he set out from Jurjān, according to what has been mentioned, in Ṣafar, in a sick state, to Ṭūs, where he remained till he died. He became suspicious of Harthamah, so he sent his son al-Ma'mūn twenty- [734]
three nights before he died to Marw, accompanied by 'Abdallāh b. Mālik, Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh, Asad b. Yazīd b. Mazyad, al-'Abbās b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, al-Sindī b. al-Ḥarashī,[1003] and Nu'aym b. Ḥāzim, with Ayyūb b. Abī Sumayr[1004] to act as his secretary and vizier. Then Hārūn's suffering grew worse until he became too weak to travel.[1005]

Al-Rashīd's Vengeance on Rāfi' b. Layth's Brother Bashīr

In this year, there took place a battle campaign between Harthamah and Rāfi'ʿ's partisans, in the course of which Harthamah conquered Bukhārā and took prisoner Rāfi'ʿ's brother Bashīr b. al-Layth.[1006] He then sent the latter to al-Rashīd at Ṭūs. It has been mentioned from Ibn Jāmi' al-Marwazī, from his father, who said: I

1000. Jahshiyārī, 210–11, with the exact date of death as Saturday, the twenty-fifth of al-Muḥarram (November 18, 808); Azdī, 316; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 210; Ibn Khallikān, IV, 436, tr. II, 467; Bouvat, 100; Abbott, 199–200.

1001. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

1002. According to Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr. IV, 476, these treasuries amounted to eighty million dirhams in specie plus the textiles.

1003. Maqrīzī, in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXIII, has "al-Sindī and Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī."

1004. Ayyūb shared with al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' the duty of presenting ['*arḍ*] petitions and requests to the Caliph, according to Jahshiyārī, 215, and later acted as chief secretary-vizier to al-Ma'mūn. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 184, 198.

1005. Jahshiyārī, 214–15; *K. al-'Uyūn*, 317; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 212; Gabrieli, "Successione," 350; Kennedy, 132.

1006. Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr., IV, 477; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 210; Daniel, 174.

was one of those who brought Rāfi'ʿ's brother to al-Rashīd. He related: Bashīr went into al-Rashīd's presence, when the Caliph was lying on a bed [*sarīr*],[1007] elevated above the ground by the length of the bone of the forearm, with a coverlet over him hanging down the same amount—or, he related, longer—and with a mirror in his hand with which he was regarding his face. He related: I heard him saying, "Indeed we belong to God and to Him we return!" and he looked at Rāfi'ʿ's brother and said, "By God, indeed, O son of a stinking uncircumcised whore, I certainly hope that the obscure one [*khāmil*]"—he meant Rāfi'ʿ—"will not escape me, just as you have not escaped me!" Rāfi'ʿ's brother said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, I have been an enemy of yours, and God has rendered you victorious over me. Hence, do what God approves (i.e., show clemency), and I will be a man at peace with you; it may also be that God will soften Rāfi'ʿ's heart for you when he learns that you have shown benevolence towards me!" But al-Rashīd grew enraged and said, "By God, if I had no more life left to me than the ability to form a single word with my lips, I would say, 'Kill him!'" Then he summoned a butcher and told him, "Don't sharpen your knives, leave them as they are, dismember this evildoer son of an evildoer and be quick about it! I don't want death to come upon me whilst two of his limbs remain on his body!" So the butcher dismembered him until he left him a pile of chopped-up limbs. The Caliph said, "Count up the pieces of his body." I
[735] counted the pieces, and lo, they came to fourteen pieces. He raised his hands toward heaven and cried, "O God, just as you have given me power to exact vengeance for you and power over your enemy, and I have now done it to your satisfaction, grant me likewise power over his brother." Then he lost consciousness, and those present dispersed.[1008]

In this year, Hārūn al-Rashīd died.

1007. See on this piece of furniture, Sourdel, "Questions de cérémoniale 'abbaside," 130–2; Sadan, 32–51.

1008. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 357–8 = ed. Pellat, § 2555; Ṭabarī-Bal'amī, tr., loc. cit.; *K. al-'Uyūn*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 212; Palmer, 124; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 225. In Jahshiyārī, 221–2, the brother of Rāfi'ʿ's executed in this horrible fashion, together with others of Rafi'ʿ's kindred, is named as Marwān.

The Occasion of al-Rashīd's Death and the Place Where He Died

It has been mentioned from Jibrīl b. Bukhtīshū' that he said: I was with al-Rashīd in al-Raqqah, and I used to be the first to come in to him each morning, and I would thereby learn (or: so that I might thereby learn) how he had passed the night. If he had experienced something unpleasant, he would describe it, and then he would become more relaxed and would talk to me about what his slave girls were doing, and what he had done in his court session, the amount he had drunk and the amount of time he had spent in session, and then he would ask me for news about the activities of the common people and their conditions of life. Hence, one morning I went into his presence and greeted him, but he hardly raised his glance, and I saw that he was frowning, was sunk in thought, and was preoccupied. I stood there before him for a considerable while of the daylight, whilst he remained thus. When that continued for a long time, I stepped forward towards him and said, "O my master—may God make me your ransom!—why are you like this? Is it some illness? (If so,) tell me about it, and I may have in my possession the appropriate medicine for it. Or has something calamitous struck someone whom you love? (If this latter,) then that is something which cannot be warded off and there is nothing to be done regarding it except resignation and grieving, and there is no redress possible for it. Or has some breach occurred in the fabric of your royal power? (If so,) well, all monarchs are liable to that sort of thing. (In any case,) I am the most suitable person to whom you can pass on the news and in whom you can seek consolation through asking for advice."

He replied, "Alas, O Jibrīl, my grief and sadness are not on account of any of the things you have mentioned, but because of a dream which I had during this last night and which has terrified me, filled my breast (with foreboding), and weighed heavily on my heart." I said, "You have dispelled my fears, O Commander of the Faithful!" and I drew near him and kissed his foot, and I said, "Is all this grief because of a mere dream? Dreams only come from [736] some fancy within the mind, or from unpleasant vapors, or some bogey arising from a fit of melancholy; they are only 'tangles of

dreams,'[1009] after all this." He replied, "Let me recount it to you. I saw, in my dream, as if I were seated on this bed of mine, when from below me, a forearm and a hand, both of which I recognized but did not know the name of the owner, appeared. In the hand was a fistful of red earth. Then someone, whose voice I could hear but not see his person, said, 'This (is) the earth in which you are going to be buried.' I said, 'Where is this earth?' The voice replied, 'At Ṭūs,' and the hand and arm disappeared from view, the voice was cut off, and I woke up." I said, "O my master, by God, this is a farfetched and confused dream! I think that you went to your bed and then started thinking about Khurāsān, the wars there and the problem of the political disintegration of part of it which has presented itself to you." He said, "It may have been that." He related: I said, "As a result of your pondering over that, these things have entered into your sleep and have given rise to this dream, so don't worry about it—may God make me your ransom!—and let this grief be followed by joy, which will dispel it from your head and not give rise to any sickness!" He related: I kept on soothing his mind with various kinds of devices until he found consolation and his spirits rose; he ordered the preparation of various things which he liked, and that day he carried his diversion and enjoyment to a high degree.[1010]

The days went by, and both he and we forgot that dream and it never came into the mind of any of us. Then al-Rashīd decided upon his journeying to Khurāsān when Rāfiʿ rebelled. When he was some way along the road, the onset of illness struck him and it got continuously worse until we reached Ṭūs. We halted at the residence of al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (al-Murrī)[1011] in an estate of his (i.e., of al-Rashīd's) called Sanābādh.[1012] Whilst he was lying ill in a garden of his in that palace, he suddenly remembered that dream. He rose up with difficulty, standing upright for a

1009. Qur'ān, XII, 44.

1010. *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 316–17; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 211–12; Palmer, 122–3.

1011. A commander prominent under the later Umayyads, *inter alia* as governor of Sind and then in 112 (730) of Khurāsān; see Crone, 98. On the varied accounts in the sources concerning the house where al-Rashīd spent his last hours, see *EI*[1] s.v. Meshhed (Streck).

1012. Subsequently, this village was to have the graves of both al-Rashīd and the Eighth Imām of the Shīʿah, ʿAlī al-Riḍā; on this site grew up the later town of Mashhad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 259; Le Strange, *Lands*, 388; Streck, op. cit.

moment and then collapsing. We gathered round him, all of us saying, "O my master, how are you feeling and what's happened to you?" He replied, "O Jibrīl, you recall my dream at al-Raqqah concerning Ṭūs?" Then he raised his head towards Masrūr and said, "Bring me some of the earth from this garden." So Masrūr went along and came back with a handful of earth, having pulled [737] back his sleeve from his forearm. Then when al-Rashīd looked at me, he said, "By God, this is the forearm which I saw in my dream; by God, this is the very same hand; and by God, this is the red earth, you haven't omitted anything!" and he began to weep and lament volubly. Then, by God, he died in that spot three days later and was buried in that garden.[1013]

A certain authority has mentioned that Jibrīl b. Bukhtīshūʿ had made a mistake regarding al-Rashīd's illness in some treatment he prescribed for him which was, in fact, the cause of his death. Al-Rashīd had therefore decided, the night in which he died, to put Jibrīl to death and to have his limbs dismembered just as he had had Rāfiʿ's brother dismembered. He sent for Jibrīl b. Bukhtīshūʿ in order to inflict that on him, but Jibrīl said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, grant me a respite till tomorrow morning, for you will then find yourself restored to health." Then he died that same day.[1014]

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Rabaʿī has mentioned that his father transmitted the information to him from his own father—who was a camel driver with a hundred camels—who related that he conveyed al-Rashīd to Ṭūs. He related: Al-Rashīd said, "Dig me a grave before I die," so they dug one for him. He related: I conveyed him in a covered litter [*qubbah*], leading him along, until he was able to see it (i.e., the grave). He related: Then he said (to himself), "O son of Adam, you are moving towards this destination!"

A certain authority has mentioned that, when his illness became

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1013. *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 316; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 212. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVII, 49–50 = ed. Cairo, XVIII, 249, has a variant of this story of al-Rashīd being shown in a dream a handful of earth from his own tomb.

1014. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, I, 128–30; Abbott, 203. In Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr., IV, 476–7, it is said that the Indian physician Mankah (see Ṭabarī, III, 747–8, below, 313–14) was summoned from India at this juncture to treat the Caliph and foretold that al-Rashīd would die before he could inflict vengeance on Jibrīl for his faulty treatment; but A. Müller, "Arabische Quellen zur Geschichte der indischen Medizin," 496–7, pointed out that this is most improbable.

severe, he gave orders for his grave, and it was dug in one spot of the residence where he was lodging, in a place called al-Muthaqqab in the residence of Ḥumayd b. Abī Ghānim al-Ṭā'ī.[1015] When he had completed having his grave dug, he got a group of people to descend into it, and they recited there the whole Qur'ān until they reached the end of it, al-Rashīd being meanwhile in a litter on the edge of the grave.[1016]

Muḥammad b. Ziyād b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakrah[1017] has mentioned that Sahl b. Ṣā'id[1018] transmitted the information to him, saying: I was with al-Rashīd in the house where he was overtaken by death and at the moment when he was near the point of death. He called for a thick coverlet, and drew up his legs to his body and wrapped it round them, and he began to
[738] suffer dreadfully. I rose up, but he said to me, "Sit down, O Sahl," so I sat down again and remained thus for a long time, without either him speaking to me or I to him, and with the coverlet meanwhile slipping down and his wrapping it round himself once more. When this had gone on for a considerable while, I got up, but he said to me, "Where are you off to, O Sahl?" I replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, my heart cannot endure watching the Commander of the Faithful suffer thus terribly from his illness; if only, O Commander of the Faithful, you would lie down, that would give you greater relief." He related: Al-Rashīd laughed as a healthy man might laugh and then said, "O Sahl, I recall, in this present state of mine, the words of the poet,

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1015. Streck, *EI*[1] s.v. Meshhed, notes that Ḥumayd b. Abī Ghānim must in fact be the deputy *naqīb* in the 'Abbāsid Revolution Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, governor of Khurāsān 152–9/769–76 (see Crone, 188), and the disparity between the mentions of the houses of al-Junayd and Ḥumayd as the scene of the Caliph's death is easily explicable by the latter having taken over the former's residence whilst governor, the whole estate perhaps passing into the hands of the 'Abbāsid family after Ḥumayd's death.

1016. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 213.

1017. Descendant of the Prophet's Companion Abū Bakrah, of mawlā origin, and of his son the Umayyad commander 'Ubaydallāh; see Crone, 140, and *EI*[2] s.v. Abū Bakra (M.Th. Houtsma and Pellat).

1018. Mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 772–3, as being steward of al-Ma'mūn's household [*'alā qahramatihi*] in Marw at this time and as being one of al-Ma'mūn's two trusted envoys sent immediately after his father's death to the army of Iraq at Ṭūs to dissuade them from breaking their *bay'ah* to al-Rashīd and returning to Iraq with al-Amīn; cf. Gabrieli, "Successione," 353–4.

Indeed, I come from a noble tribe, whom adverse circumstances
only increase in refractoriness and endurance of hardship.[1019]

It has been mentioned from Masrūr al-Kabīr that he said: When the end of al-Rashīd's allotted span was nigh and he felt the onset of death, he ordered me to lay out the pieces of silk brocade and then bring to him the finest and most expensive garment I could find there. I did not in fact find all these qualities in a single garment, but I did find two garments which were the most costly ones imaginable; I found that they[1020] were similar in value, except that one was slightly more expensive than the other and that one garment was red and the other green. I brought them both to him. He looked at them, and I explained to him about their respective value. He said, "Use the finest one as my shroud, and put the other back in its place."

According to what has been mentioned, he expired in a spot called al-Muthaqqab in the residence of Ḥumayd b. Abī Ghānim in the middle of the night, on the night of Saturday (i.e., the night of Friday-Saturday), the third of Jumādā II of this year (March 24, 809). His son Ṣāliḥ prayed over him, and al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ and Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ, and from among his eunuchs Masrūr, Ḥusayn, and Rashīd, were actually present at his death.[1021] His caliphate lasted for twenty-three years, two months, and eighteen days, beginning on the night of Friday (i.e., Thursday-Friday), the sixteenth of Rabīʿ I, 170 (September 15, 786) and ending on the night [739]
of Saturday (i.e., Friday-Saturday), the third of Jumādā II, 193.[1022]

Hishām b. Muḥammad (i.e., Ibn al-Kalbī) has said: Abū Jaʿfar

1019. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Palmer, 124–5.

1020. Reading with the Cairo text, VIII, 345, *wajadtuhumā*.

1021. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 521; Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr., IV, 477–8; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 318; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 213–14; Abbott, 203.

1022. The sources are very much at variance here regarding the date of al-Rashīd's death. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 39, has either the first or the third of Jumādā II. Jahshiyārī, 223, does not specify the actual day of Jumādā II. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 740, Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 521, Azdī, 316–17, and *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 318, have the night of Saturday-Sunday the first of Jumādā I (but this date was actually a Tuesday). Dīnawarī, 392, has Saturday, the fifth of Jumādā II (March 26, 809). Shābushtī, 227, and Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 345–6, tr. 444, have Saturday, the fourth of Jumādā II (March 25, 809).

Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Rashīd was hailed as Caliph on the night of Friday (i.e., the night of Thursday-Friday), the fourteenth of Rabīʿ I, 170 (September 13, 786),[1023] when he was twenty-two years old and he died on the night of Sunday (i.e., the night of Saturday-Sunday), the first of Jumādā I, 193 (February 20, 809),[1024] when he was forty-five years old, and he reigned for twenty-three years, one month, and sixteen days.[1025] It has also been said that, on the day he died, he was forty-seven years, five months, and five days old, his birthday being the twenty-sixth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 145 (March 17, 763) and the day of his death being the second of Jumādā II, 193 (March 23, 809).[1026] He was handsome, with a comely face, pale complexion and curly hair which had become white.[1027]

The Governors in the Provincial Capitals in Hārūn al-Rashīd's Reign

The governors of Medina: Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī; ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī; Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh; Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm; ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm; ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī; Bakkār b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab; Abū al-Bakhtarī Wahb b. Wahb.

The governors of Mecca: al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm; Sulaymān b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān; Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm; ʿAbdallāh b. Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm; ʿUbaydallāh b. Qutham; ʿAbdallāh b. Mu-
[740] ḥammad b. ʿImrān; ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm; al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā; ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā; Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿUthmānī; Ḥammād al-Barbarī; Sulaymān b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān; Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī; al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad.

The governors of al-Kūfah: Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; Yaʿqūb b. Abī Jaʿfar; Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; al-ʿAbbās b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; Isḥāq b.

1023. Actually, a Wednesday.

1024. Actually, a Tuesday.

1025. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, loc. cit.; Shābushtī, loc. cit.; Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, IV, 478; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, loc. cit.

1026. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 214. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, loc. cit., makes him forty-six at his death.

1027. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 346, tr. 444; Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr., IV, loc. cit.; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī; Jaʿfar b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar; Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; al-ʿAbbās b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā; Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā.

The governors of al-Baṣrah: Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī; Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar; ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar; Khuzaymah b. Khāzim; ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar; Jarīr b. Yazīd; Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān; Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar; ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī; Mālik b. ʿAlī al-Khuzāʿī; Isḥāq b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī; Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar; ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar; al-Ḥasan b. Jamīl, mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful; Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī.

The governors of Khurāsān: Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ṭūsī; Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath; al-ʿAbbās b. Jaʿfar; al-Ghiṭrīf b. ʿAṭāʾ; Sulaymān b. Rāshid, over the land tax (only); Ḥamzah b. Mālik; al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā; Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Manṣūr; Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā, his deputy there being ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah; ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān; Harthamah b. Aʿyan.[1028]

Some Aspects of al-Rashīd's Conduct and Mode of Life

Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad has mentioned from his father, who had it from al-ʿAbbās, who said: Al-Rashīd used to perform one hundred (supererogatory) bowings [*rakʿahs*] per day as part of his daily sessions of worship until he departed this life, unless he happened to be ill, (in which case) he used to give as voluntary alms [*kāna yataṣaddaqu*], out of his own money, one thousand dirhams for each day, on top of what he gave as the obligatory poor- [741]
tax [*zakāt*].[1029] When he performed the Pilgrimage, there performed it with him a hundred legal scholars and their sons; and when he could not perform it personally, he sent (in his stead) three hundred men on the Pilgrimage with generous expense allowances and a splendid covering for the Kaʿbah [*kiswah*].[1030]

He used consciously to follow in the footsteps of al-Manṣūr and used to endeavor to model his own conduct on that, except in regard to the expending of money,[1031] for no Caliph before him had

1028. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 741–8; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 214–15.
1029. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, tr. I, 33.
1030. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 217. For the *kiswah*, see *EI*² s.v. Kaʿba (Wensinck-J. Jomier).
1031. Al-Manṣūr had put the newly established ʿAbbāsid caliphate on a firm financial footing by his careful stewardship, earning for himself the nickname of

ever been known as more lavish in distributing money, and then al-Ma'mūn after him (was likewise lavish). He would never let anyone's good action go neglected by him, nor would he put off recognition of that action as soon as it merited reward.[1032]

He used to like poets and poetry, and have a penchant for literary persons and those learned in the religious law; but he used to dislike disputes over religious matters, saying that it was a profitless exercise and that, very probably, there was no (heavenly) reward for it. He used to love panegyric poetry, especially that of an eloquent poet, and he would purchase this at a high price. Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah has mentioned that Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah went into al-Rashīd's presence on Sunday, the third of Ramaḍān, (1)81 (October 29, 797), and recited to him the poem of his in which he says,

Through Hārūn, the frontier gaps were closed up, and the rope strands
of the Muslims' affairs made secure through him.
His banner has not ceased to be raised in victory;
he has an army, from which other armies are shattered into splinters.
Every monarch of Byzantium has paid tribute to him
unwillingly, out of hand constrainedly, in a state of humiliation.[1033]
Hārūn has left al-Ṣafṣāf ("the Willow Fortress") a plain razed level [*ṣafṣaf*],[1034]
as if no person had ever left there traces of his own presence and his animals.
[742] He halted before al-Ṣafṣāf until he sacked and threw it open for plundering,
and then a most tenacious one, one vying for superiority,

Abū al-Fulūs "Father of farthings." See Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if*, 22, tr. 50, and on these accusations and denials of his stinginess, Sadan, "The division of the day and programme of work of the Caliph al-Manṣūr," *Studia orientalia memoriae D. H. Baneth dedicata*, 256 n. 3.

1032. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

1033. Echoing Qur'ān, IX, 29, in which it is said that the People of the Book (which would here, by extension, include the Byzantines) are to be combatted till they pay the poll-tax, in a state of humiliation [*wa-hum ṣāghirūn*].

1034. Cf. Ṭabarī, III, 646 (above, 165) for a *rajaz*-verse using the paronomasia (here, technically, *jinās al-ishtiqāq*).

contended with him (i.e., the Byzantine Emperor) for possession of it among the frontier fortresses.
All eyes are raised to his face, whereas all other eyes
gazing on people have never been raised to the like of Hārūn.
You see all around him the rich masters of the house of Hāshim,
just as the shining stars surround the full moon.
The noble ones of Quraysh urge along his hands,
and both of these hands are a swollen sea (i.e., of bounty) to the people.
When the people lack clouds (i.e., of largesse), there come down successively
on them, through the agency of your two hands, thick clouds bearing rain.
Quraysh entrusted their affairs (i.e., in the matter of the caliphate) to you with full confidence,
just as the traveller throws down his staff (i.e., he arrives and halts at his final destination, and hence can dispense with his staff),
Affairs handed down as the inheritance of the Prophet, of which you have taken control,
and which you, with your firm resolution, keep concealed or divulge.
They have finally reached you, and have then come to rest (in you); and it is only
to those who are worthy of it (i.e., of the Prophet's inheritance) that the end of affairs finally reaches.
You have left us as your successor one who is divinely guided in justice and liberality,
and the virtue of kindness is not one to be belittled nor is the decision an unjust one.
The sons of ʿAbbās are light-giving stars;
when one star disappears from view, another shining one comes into sight.
O progeny of the one who provided water for the pilgrims (i.e., Hāshim),[1035] [743]
the first installments and the latter ones of your generosity have come upon me successively,

1035. See on Hāshim's right of *siqāyah*, Ṭabarī, III, 631 (above, 144, and n. 532).

So that I have become quite certain that I cannot give
adequate thanks for your beneficence, although I am truly thankful.
The people are just like a man who goes down to your cisterns to drink,
and who goes away from them with thirst quenched with water.
The arms of the children of ʿAbbās, in every straitened place of fighting,
(are) the foremost parts of spear shafts and sharp-edged swords.
Hence, on one occasion they brandish trenchant swords and spears[1036]
while on another, the sceptres and staffs of royal authority are waved in their hands.
In the hands of those who are powerful in conferring benefits and wreaking harm, which never become tired
for them in conferring gifts, even when death is pressing hard.
May the royal power, whose throne and pulpits
have become through you proudly exalted, bring joy to you!
Your forefather (i.e., al-ʿAbbās) was the helper of the Chosen One, and not Hāshim,[1037]
even though the haughty noses (i.e., the pride) of those who envy you may be brought low![1038]

Al-Rashīd then gave him five thousand dīnārs, and Marwān took possession of it on the spot; he gave him his own robe as a token of honor, ordering him to be given ten Greek slaves, and he provided him with a horse from his choicest mounts.[1039]

It has been mentioned that Ibn Abī Maryam al-Madanī was one of al-Rashīd's companions, and he was full of fun with the Caliph, full of stimulating conversation, and cheerful company. Al-Rashīd could not bear to be without him and never got tired of talking

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1036. Following the emendation suggested by Von Kremer, in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXIII, and the Cairo text, VIII, 348, *makhāṣir*, instead of the text's *maḥāḍir* "judicial decrees."

1037. Thus, implicitly excluding the family of ʿAlī, descendents of al-ʿAbbās's brother Abū Ṭālib.

1038. Munierah al-Rasheed, 122–3, no. 68; *Shiʿr Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah*, 53–4, no. 34; Harley, "Abu's-Simṭ Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah," 84.

1039. Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

with him. He was one of the persons who combined these last [744]
qualities with knowledge of stories about the Ḥijāzīs, the nicknames of the noble Arabs, and the ruses of the dissolute persons and scoffers [*mujjān*]. Ibn Abī Maryam's intimacy with al-Rashīd grew so close that the latter established him in a lodging in his own palace, and let him mingle with his womenfolk, his intimates, his mawlās and his slaves. Al-Rashīd went along one night, when Ibn Abī Maryam was asleep, although the dawn had started to gleam and he himself had got up to perform the worship, and found Ibn Abī Maryam asleep. So he pulled the coverlet off from his back and then said to him, "How are you this morning?" Ibn Abī Maryam replied, "O you there, I don't yet know how I feel this morning, go away, and get on with your work." Al-Rashīd said, "Shame on you! Get up for the worship!" He replied, "This is the time for the morning worship according to Abū al-Jārūd,[1040] whereas I am a follower of the judge Abū Yūsuf."[1041] So al-Rashīd went on his way and left him sleeping. Al-Rashīd got ready for the worship. Then Ibn Abī Maryam's slave came to him and said, "The Commander of the Faithful has gone along for the preliminary stages of the worship."[1042] So Ibn Abī Maryam got up, threw over himself his robes, and proceeded towards him, and lo, there was al-Rashīd reciting the Qur'ān in the dawn worship. He came up to him when he was reciting the words, "And why should I not worship the One who created me?"[1043] and Ibn Abī Maryam said, "By God, I don't know!" Al-Rashīd could not prevent himself from bursting into laughter in the midst of the worship. Then he turned to Ibn Abī Maryam, as if he were angry, and said, "O Ibn Abī Maryam, you even jest in the middle of the worship?" Ibn Abī Maryam replied, "O you there, and what have I done?" Al-Rashīd said, "You've interrupted the thread of my act of worship." He replied, "By God, I haven't done that. I merely heard some words

1040. Abū al-Jārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir was a legal scholar and commentator who supported the Fifth Imām of the Shī'ah Muḥammad al-Bāqir's son Zayd and consequently founded the Jārūdiyyah subsect of the Zaydīs. See Van Arendonck, 78–80; Madelung, *Der Imām al-Qāsim*, 44 ff.; *GAS*, I, 528, 552.

1041. See Ṭabarī, III, 609 (above, 109 and n. 417).

1042. I.e., for the *iqāmah*, the second call to worship which begins the *ṣalāt* proper; see *EI*² s.v. Iḳāma (T. W. Juynboll).

1043. Qur'ān, XXXVI, 21/22.

from you which disturbed me when you said, 'And why should I not worship the One who created me?' so I said, 'By God, I don't know!'" Then he went back. Al-Rashīd laughed, but he added, "Take care not to joke about the Qur'ān and religion; but apart from those two topics, you can say what you like."[1044]

A certain one of al-Rashīd's eunuchs has mentioned that al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad[1045] presented al-Rashīd with a valuable compound of perfumes [*ghāliyah*].[1046] He went into his presence, having brought it with him, and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, may God make me your ransom! I have brought you some *ghāliyah* whose like no one else possesses; its musk is from the navels of choice Tibetan musk-oxen [*al-kilāb al-tubbatiyyah*];[1047] its amber is from the amber of the Sea of Aden; its olibanum comes from so-and-so al-Madanī, famed for the excellent way he pre-
[745] pares it; and the man who compounds it is a man in al-Baṣrah who is knowledgeable about blending it together and expert at compounding it. If the Commander of the Faithful thinks fit to be gracious to me by accepting it, then I hope he will do so." Al-Rashīd said to Khāqān al-Khādim, who was standing by his head, "Khāqān, bring in the *ghāliyah*." So Khāqān brought it in, and lo, it was in a large silver jar [*burniyyah*] with a spoon in it. He uncovered the top. Ibn Abī Maryam happened to be present and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, give me this!" The Caliph said, "Take it for yourself." At this, al-'Abbās grew irate and flamed up with anger, saying, "Shame upon you! You have tried to get your hands on something which I denied myself and chose to present to my lord, and now you have taken it!" Ibn Abī Maryam replied, "May my mother be a whore, if I smear any part of my body with it except my anus!"

He related: Al-Rashīd laughed. Then Ibn Abī Maryam sprang up; he threw the fringe of his tunic over his head, put his hand in the jar

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1044. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 217–18; Ibn Khaldūn, tr. I, 33–4; Palmer, 171–2.

1045. Unidentified; clearly not, on chronological grounds alone, the senior 'Abbāsid prince al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, see Ṭabarī, III, 547 (above, 7, and n. 19).

1046. Although highly valued, not every ruler liked the use of *ghāliyah*; cf. the anecdote concerning al-Mu'taṣim's detestation of it, in Hilāl al-Ṣābi', 32–3, tr. Salem, 30–1.

1047. Tibet was famed as the producer of the finest musk; see Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if*, 224, 238, tr. 142, 146.

and began to extract from it as much as his hand could hold, and began to smear it on his anus in the first place, and in the second place on his groins and armpits. Then he smeared it on his face, head, and extremities, until he had covered all his limbs. He said to Khāqān, "Bring in my slave to me!" Al-Rashīd said, hardly able to think straight for laughing, "Summon the slave!" so he summoned him. Ibn Abī Maryam said to the slave, "Go and take the remainder of this to so-and-so," meaning his wife, "and tell her, 'Smear this on your vulva, until I come home and copulate with you.'" The slave took it and went off, while al-Rashīd was in uncontrollable transports of laughter. Then Ibn Abī Maryam went up to al-ʿAbbās and said, "By God, you are a stupid old man. You come to God's Caliph and you praise *ghāliyah* in his presence. Do you not realize that everything which the heavens shower down and everything which the earth brings forth is his? Likewise, everything which is in this present world is the possession of his hand, beneath his seal ring and in his grasp! Even more remarkable than this is the fact that the Angel of Death has been instructed, 'Look at everything which this person (i.e., the Caliph) asks you to do, and do it,' and then a fellow like this has popped up in his presence, praising the *ghāliyah* and orating at great length in describing it, as if he were a grocer, or druggist, or date-merchant!"[1048] He related: At this, al- [746]
Rashīd laughed till he almost choked to death, and he gave Ibn Abī Maryam on that day one hundred thousand dirhams.

It has been mentioned from Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib,[1049] who said: One day, al-Rashīd intended to drink some medicine, so Ibn Abī Maryam said to him, "What about making me your doorkeeper tomorrow, when you take the medicine, and everything which I get we'll share between us." He said, "I agree!" So he sent a message to the (permanent) doorkeeper, "Stay at home tomorrow, for I have appointed Ibn Abī Maryam to the office of doorkeeper (temporarily)." Ibn Abī Maryam went along the next morning, and the (doorkeeper's) seat was put in place for him. Al-Rashīd took the medi-

1048. The thinking seems here to be that al-Rashīd's power is so mighty that even the Angel of Death hastens, on God's express instructions, to carry out his desires; so why should he have to suffer being harangued about a mere pot of *ghāliyah*?

1049. See on him Ṭabarī, III, 673 (above, 210, and n. 718).

cine. The news reached the circle of his intimates. Hence, there came along Umm Jaʿfar's messenger, enquiring how the Commander of the Faithful was and about the medicine he had taken. Ibn Abī Maryam had him introduced into his own presence; he learned about the Caliph's condition and returned home with the answer. Ibn Abī Maryam said to the messenger, "Inform the noble lady how I managed to get you in before all the other people." So the messenger informed Umm Jaʿfar, and she sent him (i.e., Ibn Abī Maryam) a large sum of money. Then Yaḥyā b. Khālid's messenger came along, and he did the same with him. Then the messenger of Jaʿfar and al-Faḍl came along, and he did likewise. Each one of the Barmakīs sent him a handsome present. Then al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ's messenger came along, but he sent him away and would not allow him to enter. The messengers of the military commanders and the great men came along, but he would not facilitate the admission of any of them unless he sent him a handsome present. Before the time of the afternoon worship, sixty thousand dīnārs had already rolled in to him. When al-Rashīd recovered from his indisposition and his system was purged of the medicine, he sent for Ibn Abī Maryam and said to him, "What have you been doing today?" He replied, "O my master, I have earned sixty thousand dīnārs." Al-Rashīd was astonished at the size of the sum and said, "And now, where is my share?" He replied, "Set aside (for you)." Al-Rashīd said, "We have granted our own share to you, but present us with ten thousand apples (instead)!" Ibn Abī Maryam did that; he was the most financially successful person with whom al-Rashīd ever did business.

It has been mentioned from Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ, who said: I went
[747] into al-Rashīd's presence, and lo, there was a slave girl by his head with a bowl in one of her hands and a spoon in the other, and she was feeding him with it in successive spoonfuls. He related: I saw a thin, white substance and had no idea what it was. He related: He realized that I was eager to know what it was, so he said, "O Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ!" and I answered, "Here I am, O my lord!" He said, "Do you know what this is?" I replied in the negative. He said, "It's a kind of gruel [*jashīsh*] made from rice, wheat, and the water in which the bran in white flour has been steeped.[1050] It's beneficial

1050. *Jashīsh* or *dashīsh* was a porridge-like dish; see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 442b.

for contorted limbs and contraction of the tendons, it makes the skin clear, dispels red blotches on the face, puts fat on the body, and clears away impurities." He related: When I returned homewards, the sole thought in my mind was to summon the cook. I said to him, "Set before me each morning a dish of *jashīsh*." He replied, "What's that?" So I described to him the recipe I had heard. He said, "You'll be fed up with it on the third day." However, he made it on the first day, and I found it good; he made it on the second day, and it became less appetizing; he brought it on the third day and I told him, "Don't offer it (to me) any more!"

It has been mentioned that al-Rashīd once fell ill. The physicians gave him treatment, but he did not recover at all from his sickness. So Abū 'Umar al-A'jamī said to him, "There is a physician in India called Mankah, to whom they accord preeminence, as I have observed, over all others in India. He is one of their devout ascetics and philosophers. If therefore the Commander of the Faithful were to send for him, it might well be that God would vouchsafe for him a cure at his hands." He related: Hence, al-Rashīd sent someone who would provide him with a mount, and he sent him a sum of money for his travel expenses. He related: Mankah arrived; he prescribed for al-Rashīd and the latter was cured of his illness through Mankah's treatment. So al-Rashīd allotted to him a substantial allowance and a comfortable amount of wealth.

One day, Mankah was passing by al-Khuld when he found himself in the presence of a man from the Manichaean sect [*min al-Māniyyīn*[1051]], who had spread out his cloak and displayed on it numerous drugs and simples. He stood there describing a remedy which he had in the form of an electuary [*ma'jūn*], and in his [748] description stated that "This is a remedy effectual for continuous fever, fever occurring on alternate days, quartern and tertian fever; for curing aches in the back and knees, hemorrhoids and flatulence; for pain in the joints and in the eyes; for pain in the abdomen, headache and neuralgia; for incontinence of urine, hemiplegia and trembling in the limbs and body,"[1052] and he did not

1051. Thus in both the Leiden and Cairo texts (VIII, 352); but the editor of the Leiden text suggests, n. *e*, following A. Müller, the possibility of the reading *min al-mā'inīn* "one of the quacks, charlatans."

1052. *Irti'āsh*, perhaps something like Parkinson's disease.

omit a single illness of the human body without mentioning that remedy as a cure for it. Mankah said to his interpreter, "What is this man saying?" The interpreter conveyed to him what he had heard. At this, Mankah smiled and said, "On all counts, the ruler of the Arabs is a fool [*jāhil*]. For if the state of affairs is as this quack alleges, why did he transport me from my land, cut me off from my family, and incur heavy expenses on my behalf, when he could find this fellow in front of his eyes and right before his face? And if the state of affairs is not as this quack says, why doesn't the ruler have him killed? For the *Sharīʿah* has declared the shedding of his blood licit, and the blood of those like him, because if he is killed, it is a case of many people being preserved alive through the killing of a single soul. Whereas if the ruler leaves this ignoramus untouched, he will bring about someone's death every day, and indeed, it is very likely that he will be the death of two or three or four each day. This indicates poor control over affairs and is a weakness in the state."[1053]

It has been mentioned that Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak appointed a man to one of the posts involving collection of the land tax in the Sawād. He went into al-Rashīd's presence to say farewell to him, and the Caliph happened to have with him Yaḥyā and Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā. Al-Rashīd said to Yaḥyā and Jaʿfar, "Give him some suitable advice!" Yaḥyā told the man, "Make economies in expenditure,[1054] and render the land prosperous and populous"; Jaʿfar said to him, "Mete out justice for others and be just with yourself"; and al-Rashīd said to him, "Act with equity and kindness!"[1055]

It has been mentioned concerning al-Rashīd that he once became angry with Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, but then once more showed him his favor, and gave him permission to come to his court session. Yazīd accordingly came into his presence and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, praise be to God who has made

1053. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, II, 33–4; Müller, "Arabische Quellen zur Geschichte der indischen Medizin," 480–3, 496–7.

1054. This meaning of the imperative *waffir* seems to fit best here, as is likewise advocated in the *Glossarium*, pp. DLXI–DLXII, instead of the other, apparently opposing sense of "expand, stimulate growth." As with so many of the *aḍdād* or words with contrary meanings in Arabic (see on them *EI*² s.v. [G. Weil]), the contradiction in meaning is more apparent than real; the basic meaning is "to take care lest something diminish, to maintain something integrally."

1055. Echoing Qur'ān, XVI, 92/90; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 218.

easy for us the way of liberality, who has brought down to us [749]
beneficence through proximity to you and who has removed from us the tendency towards anxiety through your heaping munificence upon us! So may God recompense you, in your condition of anger, with the favor accorded to those who repent and turn to God, and in your condition of approval, with the reward of those who confer beneficence, accord their favor and distribute munificence! For God—and to Him be praise—has placed you in a position so that you relent, thus avoiding sin, when you are carried away by anger, so that you bestow lavishly benevolence, and so that you overlook wrongdoing, granting as a favor your forgiveness!"

Muṣʿab b. ʿAbdallāh al-Zubayrī[1056] has mentioned that his father ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab related to him that al-Rashīd once said to him, "What's your view about those who have impugned ʿUthmān?" I replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, one group of people have impugned him, whilst another group have defended him. Now as for those who have impugned him and who then have diverged from him, they comprise various sects of the Shīʿah, heretical innovators and various sects of the Khārijites; whereas in regard to those who have defended him, these are the mainstream Sunnī community [*ahl al-jamāʿah*] up to this present day." Al-Rashīd told me, "I shan't need ever to ask about this again after today."[1057] Muṣʿab related: My father said: He further asked me about the status [*manzilah*] which Abū Bakr and ʿUmar enjoyed in regard to the Messenger of God. I told him, "Their status in regard to him during his life was exactly the same as at the time of his death." Al-Rashīd replied, "You have provided me with a completely satisfactory answer for what I wanted to know."

He related: Sallām (al-Abrash) or else Rashīd al-Khādim—one of the eunuchs of the Caliph's close entourage—was appointed administrator of al-Rashīd's estates in the Byzantine frontier region and the districts of Syria. Letters arrived continuously bringing news of his excellent conduct, of his economical administra-

1056. See Ṭabarī, III, 591 (above, 75, and n. 292).

1057. See, for discussions on these attitudes to the first caliphs, Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, 9–12, 163, 166 ff., and on one aspect of the Shīʿī attacks on them, Goldziher, "Spottnamen der ersten Chalifen bei den Schîʿiten," *WZKM*, XV (1901), 321–34 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV, 295–308.

tion,[1058] and of the people's praise for him. Hence, al-Rashīd ordered him to be summoned to the court and to be handsomely rewarded, and he added, as seemed good to him, the estates in al-Jazīrah and Egypt to his responsibilities. He related: So the man in question arrived and came into the Caliph's presence whilst the latter was eating a quince which had been brought from Balkh, peeling it and eating sections of it. Al-Rashīd said to him, "O so-and-so, what excellent reports have been reaching your master about you! You can have from him whatever you wish! I have already ordered you to be given such-and-such an amount, and have given you charge of such-and-such, so now ask whatever personal request you have!" He related: So the man spoke, and
[750] mentioned his own excellent conduct, and said, "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, I have caused them to forget the conduct of the two 'Umars!" He related: Al-Rashīd grew angry and flared up, and took his quince and threw it at him, saying, "O son of a stinking uncircumcised whore! (You keep on saying) the two 'Umars, the two 'Umars, the two 'Umars! Granted that we have conceded it for 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, are we then to concede it for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb?"[1059]

'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb has mentioned that Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz transmitted the information to him from al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Abdallāh and spoke well of him, saying: One of the sons of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz related to me, saying: Al-Rashīd said, "By God, I don't know what I should do about this al-'Umarī (i.e., 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz)![1060] I don't want to approach him personally, since he has progeny whom I detest. I would very much like to hear something about his mode of life and his way of thinking, but I haven't got anyone trustworthy whom I might send

1058. Following the reading of the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXIII, and of the Cairo text, VIII, 353, *tawfīrihi*; see also n. 1054 above.

1059. Clearly expecting the answer, No! Al-Rashīd's exasperation at continually having to listen to the praises of his predecessors recalls the exasperation of the Athenians leading to the exiling of Aristides the Just.

1060. This al-'Umarī was a noted ascetic and descendant of the Caliph 'Umar I, who lived in the desert outside Medina and died there in 182 (798) or 184 (800). See Ibn Qutaybah, 186; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 138 = ed. Pellat, § 990, idem, *Index*, VII, 474.

to him." 'Umar b. Bazī' and al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' said, "Then send us, O Commander of the Faithful!" He replied, "All right, you two then." Hence, they set out from al-'Arj[1061] to a spot in the desert called Khalṣ,[1062] taking with them guides from the people of al-'Arj, until when they reached 'Abdallāh in his dwelling, they came upon him in the early morning and lo, 'Abdallāh was in his oratory. They, and those of their escort who were accompanying them, made their camels halt and kneel to allow them to descend. Then they came to 'Abdallāh in the guise of monarchs, having pleasant perfume, fine clothes, and fragrant substances, and the two of them sat down before him, he being in an oratory of his.

They said to him, "O Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, we are envoys from the people of the East whom we have left behind and who say to you, 'Fear God, your Lord, and if you are so disposed, rise up (in rebellion)!'" He came up close to them and said, "Woe upon you both! Regarding whom have you come, and for whom are you seeking?" They replied, "You!" He said, "By God, I wouldn't like to meet God even with just a cupping-glass full of the blood of a man from the Muslims, and as for myself, I have at my disposal whatever the sun rises upon." When they despaired of getting him implicated, they said, "We have with us something which you [751] would find useful for all your life." He replied, "I have no need of it, I am perfectly well off without it." They told him, "It's twenty thousand dīnārs." He retorted, "I have no need of it." They said, "Give it then to whomsoever you like." He replied, "You two, you give it to whomsoever you consider fit; I'm not your servant or minion." He related: When they had given up all hope of interesting him (in these worldly gains and ambitions), they rode off on their camels until they reached the Caliph in the morning at al-Suqyā[1063] at the second stage (i.e., from Mecca) and found him awaiting them. When they went into his presence, they related

1061. A settlement in the Ḥijāz, in the territory of Hudhayl, on the road from Mecca to Medina. See Bakrī, III, 930–1; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 98–9; Al-Wohaibi, 52–7.

1062. A wadi also lying between Mecca and Medina, known as Khalṣ of Ārah. See Bakrī, I, 91, II, 507; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 382–3; Al-Wohaibi, 122–3.

1063. A stage on the road northward from Mecca and al-Juḥfah to Medina. See Bakrī, III, 742–3; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 228; al-Wohaibi, index, s.v.

to him what had taken place between them and ʿAbdallāh. The Caliph thereupon said, "After this, I don't care what I do!"[1064]

Then ʿAbdallāh made the Pilgrimage in that same year. Whilst he was standing by one of those traders there, buying something for his children, behold, Hārūn appeared, making the *saʿy* between al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwah on a horse. At that point, ʿAbdallāh interposed himself before Hārūn, leaving off what he was about to do, and he went up to the Caliph till he gripped his horse's bridle. The troops and guards pounced on him immediately, but Hārūn brushed them away from ʿAbdallāh, and then the latter spoke with him. He related: I saw Hārūn's tears, and they were running down on to his horse at the place where the mane grows; then he turned away.

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, the mawlā of the Banū Sulaym, has mentioned, saying: Al-Layth b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jūzjānī, who was one who had come into Mecca from outside[1065] and had been settled there [*kāna mujāwir*^{an}] for forty years, transmitted the information to me that a certain doorkeeper (of the Kaʿbah) transmitted the information to him that, when al-Rashīd made the Pilgrimage, he entered the Kaʿbah and he stood on his tiptoes (i.e., in order to reach as high as possible) and said, "O You who are master of the requests of those making petition and who know the hearts of those who remain silent, You have a ready rejoinder and an answer at hand for every petition made to You, and for everyone who remains silent before You, You have an all-encompassing knowledge which gives expression to Your sincere promises, Your outstanding favors and Your all-extending mercy. Grant blessings to Muḥammad and his house, forgive us our sins and pardon our misdeeds! O You whom sins do not harm, from whom no faults are hidden and whose power the forgiveness of offences does not diminish! O You who have spread out the earth over the waters, have filled up the air with the heavens, and have chosen the (Most Beautiful) Names for Yourself, grant blessings to Muḥammad and

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1064. I.e., the Caliph now feels secure and relieved that no danger is to be expected from ʿAbdallāh.

1065. Presumably, from the region of Jūzjān or Gūzgān in what is now northern Afghanistan. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 423; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, 32–5; *EI*^{2} s.v. Djūzdjān (R. Hartmann).

choose for me the best course in all my affairs. O You before whom [752]
voices speak with submissiveness and with all kinds of utterances laying before You their petitions, one of my petitions to You is that You may grant me forgiveness when You bring my term of life to an end and when I am laid in my sepulchral niche and my family and children have all gone away from me. O God, praise be to You, a praise which is superior to all other praise just as You Yourself are superior to all creation! O God, grant blessings to Muḥammad in a way which will indicate approval for him, and grant blessings to Muḥammad in a way which will be a source of protection for him, and reward him with the finest and most complete reward of the afterlife for what he has done for us. O God, grant us life as fortunate ones, fulfill our term of life as martyrs, and make us fortunate ones provided with sustenance, and not wretched and deprived ones!"[1066]

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad (al-Madāʾinī) has mentioned from ʿAbdallāh, saying, al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā related to me, saying: Al-Rashīd sent a message to Ibn Abī Dāwūd and those who look after the tomb of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī at al-Ḥayr.[1067] He related: They were brought along. Al-Ḥasan b. Rashīd looked at Ibn Abī Dāwūd and said, "What's happened to you?" He replied, "This man"—he meant al-Rashīd—"has sent a message to me and summoned me to his presence, and I don't trust him with my personal safety." Al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid told him, "Now, when you enter his presence and he questions you, tell him, 'Al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid has appointed me to that position.'" So when he entered the Caliph's presence, he repeated these words. Al-Rashīd said, "That this confusion has been caused by al-Ḥasan's meddling is just what I would have expected! Summon him here!" He related: When al-Ḥasan was present, al-Rashīd said, "What impelled you to appoint his man in al-Ḥayr?" He replied, "May God have mercy on the one who appointed him in al-Ḥayr! Umm Mūsā ordered me to appoint him there and to assign to him thirty dirhams a month." He said, "Send him back to al-Ḥayr and assign to him the same as Umm Mūsā

1066. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 218–19.

1067. I.e., al-Ḥāʾir (literally, "the enclosure"). See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 208; Le Strange, *Lands*, 79; *EI*² s.v. Karbalāʾ (Honigmann).

did." (Umm Mūsā[1068] was the mother of al-Mahdī and the daughter of Yazīd b. Manṣūr.)

'Alī b. Muḥammad has mentioned that his father transmitted the information to him, saying: I went into al-Rashīd's presence in the house of 'Awn al-'Ibādī,[1069] and there he was with summer
[753] arrangements in an open pavilion, with no carpet or covering in the place at all, on a low seat by a door in the right-hand side of the pavilion. He was wearing a thin shift [*ghilālah*][1070] and a Rashīdī[1071] loincloth, with ornamented borders and dyed a deep red color.[1072] He did not use to have the pavilion where he sat cooled down by artificial means for bringing in fresh air [*lā yukhayyishu al-bayt*[a]] because it used to discommode him, but the cool air created by the *khaysh* arrangements[1073] used to reach him, even though he was not actually sitting in it. He was the first person to cause to be made a second, internal roof [*saqf dūna saqf*][1074] for the pavilion where he took his siesta in summer. This arose from the fact that, when he heard the information that the former Persian emperors used to have the outer surfaces of their pavilions plastered with mud each day, from the outside, in order to keep the

1068. I.e., Arwā, wife of al-Manṣūr, whose father Yazīd b. Manṣūr (also in the sources, simply Manṣūr) al-Ḥimyarī was governor for the Caliph of al-Baṣrah and the Yemen and who claimed descent from the ancient kings of South Arabia. See Ibn Qutaybah, 379; Abbott, 15–16.

1069. See on this, Ṭabarī, III, 678 (above, 216, and n. 733).

1070. Here, clearly a very thin, cool garment, like an undershirt, rather than the "cloak" rendered thus by Serjeant, 62 n. 11. *Ghilālah* was also used for a thin, often transparent women's undergarment; see Ahsan, 41, and *EI*[2] s.v. Libās. 1. In the central and eastern Arab lands (Yedida K. Stillman), at V, 737.

1071. Obviously some kind of thin linen material, conceivably from the town in the Nile delta al-Rashīd (Rosetta), since Egypt was famous for its linens, as suggested in the *Glossarium*, pp. CCLXIIII–CCLXIV. Serjeant, 62 n. 11 (cf. Ahsan, 35), suggests that the Caliph al-Rashīd may himself have popularized the material or that it may have had *tirāẓ* or embroidered borders with his name.

1072. *Shadīd al-tadrīj*, thus interpreted by the editor of the Cairo text, VIII, 356; but the phrase could also bear the meaning "laid wide open" in reference to the slit down the front of the shift.

1073. *Khaysh*, literally "coarse linen or canvas (sheet)," i.e., one which could be hung up and moistened in order to create a supply of cooled air in the intense heat of the Iraqi summer, and thence any kind of arrangement, such as a fan or punkah, to achieve this effect; see Agius, 229–33, and *EI*[2] s.v. (Pellat). The use of a moistened sheet is said to have been introduced under al-Manṣūr; see Ṭabarī, III, 418, and Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if*, 19–20, tr. 48–9.

1074. Presumably, some kind of false ceiling, the space between the roof and this ceiling acting as an insulation layer.

heat of the sun away from themselves,[1075] he himself adopted the use of a (second, internal) roof next to the main roof of the pavilion where he used to take his siesta.

ʿAlī (further) related from his father: I was informed that, on every day of scorching summer heat, al-Rashīd used to have a silver urn [*tighār*][1076] in which a perfume merchant used to make up a mixture of fragrant perfume, saffron, aromatic substances, and rose water. He would then go into the pavilion where he took his siesta and there would be brought in with him seven Rashīdī shifts of fine linen material [*qaṣab*],[1077] of feminine cut, and these last would then be dipped into that aromatic mixture. Each day, seven slave girls would be brought in; each girl would have her dress taken off and then a shift would be given to her, and she would sit down on a seat which was pierced with holes and the shift would be unloosed and draped over the seat so that the shift covered it over. Then it was fumigated with perfumed vapor from beneath the seat, with aloes wood conjoined with amber, for a certain period of time, until the garment should dry on her. He used to follow that practice with the slave girls, and this procedure would take place in the pavilion where he took his siesta; as a result, the pavilion would become permeated with the fragrant incense and the perfume.

ʿAlī b. Ḥamzah has mentioned that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib said: Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan told me: Al-Rashīd said to me, "I notice that you talk a great deal about Yanbuʿ[1078] and its characteristic features, so describe it to me in a concise fashion." I said, "In ordinary speech, or in verse?" He replied, "In both." He related: I said, "Its [754] special quality lies basically in its luscious date clusters, and its luscious date clusters make up its easeful nature."[1079] He related: Al-Rashīd thereupon smiled, and I then recited to him,

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1075. The wet mud acting by evaporation as a cooling agent.

1076. See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 147b, and Fraenkel, 69, for its previous Aramaic form (also found in Arabic as *ṭinjīr*).

1077. This plain linen (and possibly also silk) material was often woven or decorated with gold or silver thread. See Serjeant, 37; Agius, 264–5.

1078. The port on the Red Sea coast of the Ḥijāz. See Bakrī, IV, 1402; Al-Wohaibi, 53 ff.; *EI*[1] s.v. (A. Grohmann).

1079. I.e., its fine dates provide an easy life for those residing there and resorting to there.

O watercourse of the palace, what a fine palace and watercourse,
with the features of a residence in the settled lands, if you
prefer it, or those of the desert!
You see its long ships, with the whitish-fawn camels halted there,
and the lizard, the fish, the boatman, and the camel driver![1080]

Muḥammad b. Hārūn has mentioned from his father, who said: I was once in al-Rashīd's presence, and al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, I have summoned Ibn al-Sammāk[1081] just as you commanded me to do."[1082] He said, "Bring him in!" So Ibn al-Sammāk entered and al-Rashīd said to him, "Deliver to me a piece of spiritually edifying advice [*ʿiẓnī*]!" He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, fear God, the Unique One who has no partner, and know that on the morrow you will be standing before God your Lord, and then consigned to one of the two future states—there is no third one—either paradise or hell-fire." He related: Hārūn wept until his beard became damp with tears. Al-Faḍl went up to Ibn al-Sammāk and said, "God forbid, does anyone have any possible doubt that the Commander of the Faithful will be consigned to paradise, if God wills, through his efforts to uphold God's rights, his justice among his subjects and his benevolence?" He related: Ibn al-Sammāk took no notice of al-Faḍl's words and did not turn towards him; instead, he went up to the Commander of the Faithful and said, "O Commander of the Faithful, this fellow"—he meant al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ—"will not, by God, be with you or at your side, on that day, so fear God and look to yourself!" He related: At this, Hārūn wept until we were afraid for his well-being. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ was rendered speechless, and did not say a word until we all went out.

1080. These verses are stated in other sources to refer to a palace constructed by the ʿAbbāsid prince Muḥammad b. Sulaymān at al-Baṣrah (see Ṭabarī, III, 607–8, above, 105–7), e.g., by Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 291–2 = ed. Pellat, § 2497, attributing the verses to the poet Ibn Abī ʿUyaynah al-Muhallabī; by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 361–2, referring to a palace of ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān at al-Ḥarbiyyah of Baghdad, attributed to the same poet; and in Bakrī, II, 659, merely recited, as in Ṭabarī, in reference to Yanbuʿ.

1081. I.e., Muḥammad b. Ṣubayḥ or Ṣubḥ, Kūfan traditionist and frequent preacher [*wāʿiẓ*] at al-Rashīd's court, who died in 183 (799). See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, V, 368–73, no. 2895, and further references in Masʿūdī-Pellat, Index, VII, 648.

1082. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, tr. I, 33.

He related; Ibn al-Sammāk went into al-Rashīd's presence one day. Whilst he was there with him, the Caliph called for a drink of water. So an earthenware pitcher of water was brought in. But when he tipped it up to his mouth in order to drink from it, Ibn al-Sammāk said to him, "Gently now, O Commander of the Faithful, by your relationship to the Messenger of God! If this drink of water were to be withheld from you, how much would you purchase it for?" He replied, "For half my kingdom." He said, "Drink, may God render it wholesome for you!" When the Caliph had drunk it, Ibn al-Sammāk said to him, "I ask you, by your relationship to the Messenger of God, if you were prevented from passing that drink of water from out of your body, how much would you purchase that for?" He replied, "For the whole of my kingdom." Ibn al-Sammāk said, "A kingdom whose value is only a drink of water isn't, indeed, worth aspiring to (or: contending over, *allā yunāfasa fīhi*)!" At this, Hārūn wept. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ then made a sign to Ibn al-Sammāk to depart, so the latter left.[1083] [755]

He related: ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUmarī[1084] addressed a spiritually edifying discourse to al-Rashīd. The latter received his words with "Yes indeed, O my uncle!" and when ʿAbdallāh turned away to depart, al-Rashīd sent after him two thousand dīnārs, in a purse, with al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. The two of them confronted al-ʿUmarī with the money and said, "O uncle, the Commander of the Faithful says to you, 'Take this and use it for your own benefit, or else distribute it (among the deserving).'" He replied, "The Caliph knows best to whom he should distribute it," but then he took just one dīnār from the purse and said, "I don't want to add an unpleasant action to an unpleasant word." After that incident (i.e., on a subsequent occasion), al-ʿUmarī set off towards the Caliph at Baghdad, but al-Rashīd was apprehensive about his coming to the capital, and he gathered together the members of the ʿUmarī family. He then told them, "What's happened to the relationship between myself and the son of your uncle? I could endure him in the Ḥijāz, but he has now made his way to the seat of my power and is seeking to subvert my followers! Make him go back from my court!" But they replied, "He won't accept that from us!" Hence,

1083. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 219–20.
1084. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, tr. I, 33, n. 87, on this ascetic.

al-Rashīd wrote to Mūsā b. ʿĪsā,[1085] (asking him) to approach al-ʿUmarī in a circumspect and diplomatic manner in order to make him go back. So ʿĪsā summoned for approaching al-ʿUmarī a young lad of only ten years' age who knew by heart sermons and pious homilies. The boy spoke to al-ʿUmarī at great length and addressed to him pious exhortations, the like of which al-ʿUmarī had never before heard, and he warned off al-ʿUmarī from approaching and troubling the Commander of the Faithful. Al-ʿUmarī took off his sandal and stood there, repeating, "So they shall confess their sin; hence cursed be the companions of hell-fire!"[1086]

[756] A certain person has mentioned that he was with al-Rashīd at al-Raqqah after he had set out from Baghdad. He went out hunting with al-Rashīd one day, when an ascetic appeared before him and addressed him, "O Hārūn, fear God!" The Caliph said to Ibrāhīm b. ʿUthmān b. Nahīk, "Take this man with you, until I get back." When he returned, he called for his midday meal. Then he gave orders for the man to be fed with the choicest of his food. When he had eaten and drunk, he summoned him and said, "O fellow, treat me fairly when you deliver your sermons and make your intercessions!" The man replied, "That is the least which is due to you." The Caliph said, "Tell me now, am I an evil and most wicked person, or a Pharaoh (i.e., a tyrant)?" The ascetic replied, "Nay, a Pharaoh." The Caliph quoted, "I am your Lord, the Most High,"[1087] and the man responded, "I know no god for you except myself."[1088] The Caliph said, "You have spoken truly; now tell me, who is better, you yourself or Moses, son of ʿImrān?" He replied, "Moses is the one who spoke with God and was His chosen one, whom He took as his protégé and upon whom He relied for delivering His inspired revelations, and He singled him out to speak with Him out of all His creation." The Caliph said, "You have spoken truly; are you not aware that when He sent Moses and his brother to Pharaoh, He said to them, 'Speak to him gently, perhaps he will take heed or show fear.'[1089] The Qur'ānic commentators have

1085. At this time (ca. 192 [808]) governor of Mecca, see Ṭabarī, III, 739 (above, 304).

1086. Qur'ān, LXVII, 11.

1087. Ibid., LXXIX, 24.

1088. Ibid., XXVIII, 38.

1089. Ibid., XX, 46/44. This and the two preceding quotations all allude to the

mentioned that He ordered the two of them to call Pharaoh by his patronymic, this (daring move[1090]) being done when Pharaoh was in his status of arrogance and overweening pride, as you have well known. Yet you have come to me at a moment when I am in this position of which you are aware! I fulfill the greater part of the prescriptions which God has imposed upon me as obligatory, and I worship none but Him. I obey the most important of the limits against transgression laid down by God, His commands and His prohibitions. But you have harangued me with the most violent and unseemly words, and the roughest and foulest of speech; you have not been schooled in the practice of God's praiseworthy discipline nor have you adopted the good qualities of the righteous ones! So what has been making you feel confident that I shall not come down heavily upon you? If this last is in fact the case, you will have laid yourself open to what was a quite unnecessary risk!" The ascetic replied, "I have made a mistake, O Commander of the Faithful, and I ask your pardon." He replied, "God has already pardoned you," and ordered him to be given twenty thousand dirhams. However, the ascetic refused to accept it and said, "I don't need the money at all, I am an ascetic who wanders round [*rajul sā'iḥ*[1091]]." Harthamah spoke to him and looked at him askance, [757]
"You boorish fellow, are you hurling back the Commander of the Faithful's present in his face?" But al-Rashīd said, "Leave him alone," and then told the ascetic, "We didn't offer you the money because you are in need of it, but simply because it is our custom that no one who is neither one of the Caliph's entourage nor one of his enemies ever addresses him without the Caliph giving him a present and rewarding him. So accept what proportion you like of our gift, and spend it how you please!" The man took two thousand dirhams from the sum of money and divided it out among the doorkeepers and those present at the court.

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stories of Pharaoh (the archetypal tyrant in the Qur'ān, see *EI*² s.v. Fir'awn [Wensinck and G. Vajda]) and Moses.

1090. Because the use of the *kunyah*, a designation of respect, implies equality of status and familiarity; see *EI*² s.v. (Wensinck). Schwally, in Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, 190 n. 1, notes that the Caliph never addressed his ministers by their *kunyah* but only by their *ism* or given name.

1091. *Sā'iḥ* or *sayyāḥ* was a frequent designation for wandering dervishes.

*Al-Rashīd's (Free) Wives Who Were Endowed with Substantial Dowries [*al-mahā'ir*]*

It is said that he married Zubaydah, that is, Umm Ja'far bt. Ja'far b. al-Manṣūr, and consummated the marriage with her (*a'rasa bihā*, literally "he had her conducted to him in marriage") in the year 165 (781–2) during al-Mahdī's caliphate, at Baghdad and in the residence of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. She subsequently (i.e., after al-Rashīd's death) went to live with al-'Abbāsah and then with al-Mu'taṣim billāh. She gave birth for al-Rashīd to Muḥammad al-Amīn, and died at Baghdad in Jumādā I, 216 (June–July, 831).[1092]

He also married Umm Muḥammad, the daughter of Ṣāliḥ al-Miskīn, and consummated his marriage with her at al-Raqqah in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 187 (November–December, 803). Her mother was Umm 'Abdallāh the daughter of 'Īsā b. 'Alī and mistress of (or: owner of, *ṣāḥibah*) the residence of Umm 'Abdallāh in al-Karkh, at which were the date-juice makers [*aṣḥāb al-dibs*]. She had been married to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, but then she was repudiated by him and al-Rashīd married her.[1093]

He also married al-'Abbāsah, the daughter of Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far and consummated his marriage with her in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 187 (November–December, 803); both she and Umm Muḥammad, the daughter of Ṣāliḥ, were brought to him (in that same year).[1094]

He also married 'Azīzah, the daughter of al-Ghiṭrīf (b. 'Aṭā').[1095] She had previously been married to Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far, but he divorced her, and al-Rashīd then married her in the second instance. She was the daughter of al-Khayzurān's brother.

[758] He also married al-Jurashiyyah al-'Uthmāniyyah, the daughter of 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, called al-Jurashiyyah because she was born at Jurash in the Yemen.[1096] Her father's grandmother was Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and her father's paternal uncle was 'Abdallāh b.

1092. See *EI*[1] s.v. Zubaida (K. V. Zetterstéen) and Abbott, 137 ff., Part II. Zubaidah.

1093. Cf. Abbott, 137.

1094. Ibid.

1095. Hence, niece of al-Khayzurān; see Abbott, 29, 68, 137.

1096. Abbott, 137. For the town of Jurash, see Hamdānī, 255–8; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 126–7.

Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, may God be pleased with them.

Al-Rashīd died leaving behind four of these noble, highly dowried wives: Umm Jaʿfar; Umm Muḥammad, the daughter of Ṣāliḥ; ʿAbbāsah, the daughter of Sulaymān; and al-ʿUthmāniyyah.[1097]

Al-Rashīd's Children

Of male children, al-Rashīd had Muḥammad the Elder (i.e., al-Amīn), by Zubaydah; ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn, by a slave concubine mother [*umm walad*] called Marājil;[1098] al-Qāsim al-Muʿtaman, by a slave concubine mother called Qaṣif; Abū Isḥāq Muḥammad al-Muʿtaṣim, by a slave concubine mother called Māridah; ʿAlī, by Amat al-ʿAzīz; Ṣāliḥ, by a slave concubine mother called Riʾm;[1099] Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad, by a slave concubine mother called ʿIrābah;[1100] Abū Yaʿqūb Muḥammad, by a slave concubine mother called Shadhrah; Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad, by a slave concubine mother called Khubth;[1101] Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad, by a slave concubine mother called Rawāḥ; Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad, by a slave concubine mother called Duwāj; and Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad, by a slave concubine mother called Kitmān.[1102]

Of female children, al-Rashīd had Sukaynah, by Qaṣif, and hence the sister of al-Qāsim; Umm Ḥabīb, by Māridah, and hence the sister of Abū Isḥāq al-Muʿtaṣim; Arwā, by Ḥalūb; Umm al-Ḥasan,

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1097. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 216.

1098. A gloss from Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Muqaffā*, in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCCLXIII, adds the explanation, "a slavegirl who was called Marājil, thus nicknamed by her fellow-concubines because she had beautiful hair, and was always busy combing it (*tarjīlihi*) and looking after it."

1099. The Cairo text, VIII, 360, has *R.th.m*, possibly *Rathim*, literally, "having a white mark on the nose or upper lip (of a horse)"; but the Leiden text's *Riʾm* "white gazelle" is more appropriate and is, moreover, well-attested as a woman's name till the present day.

1100. Literally, "foul, obscene talk," and hence applied by antiphrasis.

1101. Literally, "foulness, wickedness," again by antiphrasis; in various places of Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, we have *Khinth*, literally "fold of cloth, interior of the cheek," more feasibly to be vocalized as *Khanith*, *Khunuth* "delicate, languid (of a woman)."

1102. Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr., IV, 478. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 521, and *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 319, list twelve sons, the extra one being Abū Ayyūb; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit., also lists twelve sons, the extra one being Abū Muḥammad. Ibn Qutaybah, 383, merely names a selection of eight children.

by ʿIrābah; Umm Muḥammad, that is, Ḥamdūnah; Fāṭimah, by Ghuṣaṣ,[1103] whose (other) name was Muṣaffā; Umm Abīhā, by Sukkar; Umm Salamah, by Rahīq; Khadījah, by Shajar, and hence
[759] the sister of Karīb;[1104] Umm al-Qāsim, by Kh.z.q; Umm Jaʿfar Ramlah, by Ḥaly; Umm ʿAlī, by Anīq; Umm al-Ghāliyah, by Samandal; and Rayṭah, by Zīnah.[1105]

More Aspects of al-Rashīd's Conduct and Mode of Life

Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Iṣfahānī has mentioned, saying: al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī[1106] said: Al-Rashīd sent for me, and I had no idea what it was about except that the messengers came to me at night and said, "Respond to the Commander of the Faithful's summons!" So I went out until I came to him, this being on a Thursday, and behold, the Caliph was reclining, propped on his elbow, with Muḥammad b. Zubaydah on his left and al-Maʾmūn on his right. I greeted him and he motioned to me, so I sat down. Then he said to me, "O Mufaḍḍal!" I replied, "Here I am at your service, O Commander of the Faithful." He said, "How many names of persons are indicated in the word *fa-sa-yakfīkahumu* ("and He [i.e., God] will suffice you regarding them")?[1107] I replied, "Three names of persons, O Commander of the Faithful." He said, "What are they, then?" I replied, "The letter *kāf* (i.e., the pronoun suffix *-ka*) refers to the Messenger of God, the *hāʾ* and *mīm* (i.e., the pronoun suffix *-humu*) refer to the unbelievers, and the *yāʾ* (i.e., the verbal prefix *ya-*) refers to God, He is magnified and exalted." The Caliph commented, "You have spoken correctly;

1103. Literally, "death rattles," and hence by antiphrasis; but according to Ibn al-Sāʿī, *Nisāʾ al-khulafāʾ*, 53, Ḥamdūnah's mother had the (orthographically very similar) name of Ghaḍīḍ. Now in the light of the mention in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, III, 392, no. 1513, of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ghaḍīḍī "who used to have charge of the affairs of Ḥamdūnah bt. Ghaḍīḍ, the *umm walad* of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and thus acquired this *nisbah*," it would seem that Ghaḍīḍ rather than Ghuṣaṣ is in fact correct.

1104. Thus in the Cairo text, loc. cit., for the apparently barely legible reading of the Leiden editor's manuscript.

1105. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 216–17. All these daughters were by slave mothers.

1106. Celebrated Kūfan philologist, author *inter alia* of a collection of proverbs and of a poetical anthology, the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*; he died ca. 170 (786–7). See *GAL*, I², 118–19, S I, 36–7, 179; *GAS*, II, 32, VIII, 115–16; *EI*¹ s.v. (Ilse Lichtenstaedter).

1107. Qurʾān, II, 131/137.

this shaykh"—he meant al-Kisā'ī[1108]—"has given us the same interpretation." Then he turned to Muḥammad and asked him, "Did you comprehend, O Muḥammad?" He replied, "Yes." The Caliph said, "Repeat the problem to me just as al-Mufaḍḍal interpreted it," and he repeated it. Then he turned to me and said, "O Mufaḍḍal, do you have any knotty problem which you would like to ask us about in the presence of this shaykh (i.e., al-Kisā'ī)?" I replied, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful." He asked, "What is it?" I said, "The words of al-Farazdaq,

We have seized the far horizons of the heavens against you,
their two moons and their rising stars are ours.[1109]

He said, "An unnecessary question; this shaykh provided us with the interpretation of this on a previous occasion before you came. By 'their two moons are ours' he means the sun and moon, just as one says 'the *Sunnah* of the two 'Umars,' (meaning) 'the *Sunnah* of Abū Bakr and 'Umar.'" He related: I said, "May I now proceed further with my query?" He said, "Carry on!" I said, "Why do people consider this a neat expression?" He said, "Because when two nouns of the same kind come together, and one of them is lighter on the tongues of those uttering it, they make that lighter one of the two names prevail over the other and refer to the other by it.[1110] Now when 'Umar's reign proved longer than Abū Bakr's [760]
one, and 'Umar's conquests became more numerous and his name was lighter on the tongue, they made his name the dominant one, and referred to Abū Bakr by his (i.e., 'Umar's) name. God, He is magnified and exalted, has said, 'the distance between the two Orients,'[1111] and this means the Orient and the Occident." I said, "There has remained a further point in the question." He (al-

1108. Philologist and authority on the "readings" of the Qur'ān. He had been tutor to the young al-Rashīd, and the Caliph in turn made him tutor to his sons al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn and took him as one of his own boon-companions; he died in 189 (805). See *GAL*, I², 117–18, S I, 177–8; *GAS*, VIII, 117, IX, 127–31; *EI*² s.v. al-Kisā'ī, Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī (R. Sellheim).

1109. *Naqā'iḍ Jarīr wa-al-Farazdaq*, ed. Bevan, II, 700; *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, II, 519.

1110. This is the phenomenon which the Arabic grammarians called *taghlīb*, giving one term in a pair "predominance"; see Wright, *Arabic grammar*, I, 189–90.

1111. Qur'ān, XLIII, 37/38.

Rashīd?) then said (to al-Kisā'ī?),[1112] "Is there anything more regarding this question than what we have already said?" He replied, "This is the fullest extent of what they say, and the whole of the explanation according to the Arabs." He related: Then he turned to me and he said, "What else remains?" I said, "There remains the topic of the aim towards which the vaunting poet was tending in the poem of his." He said, "What's that?" I replied, "By 'the sun' he meant Ibrāhīm (i.e., Abraham)[1113] and by 'the moon' he meant Muḥammad, and by 'the stars' the Rightly Guided Caliphs from your own pious forefathers."

He related: The Commander of the Faithful lifted up his head and said, "O Faḍl b. al-Rabī', convey one hundred thousand dirhams to him in order to satisfy his debts; see what poets there are at the gate, and then let them be allowed in." And behold, (there turned out to be at the gate) al-'Umānī[1114] and Manṣūr al-Namarī, so he allowed them both to enter. The Caliph said, "Bring the shaykh (i.e., al-'Umānī) to me," and he approached the Caliph, at the same time reciting,

Say to the Imām, whose rightful course is to be followed,[1115]
"Qāsim is not inferior to the son of his mother (i.e., al-Rashīd's mother, meaning al-Rashīd himself) in extent of qualities."
We have become content with him, so arise and nominate him (as successor to the caliphate)!

Al-Rashīd said, "You're not content to call for the oath of allegiance as successor to be made to him whilst I am still sitting down, but you want me to arise and proclaim it standing (i.e., to give it greater forcefulness)!" He said, "An act of standing indicat-

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1112. The Cairo text, VIII, 361, has here explicitly "Then he turned to al-Kisā'ī and said . . . ," whereas the Leiden text is ambiguous; cf. n. *b*.

1113. Echoing the leading role accorded in Islamic lore to Abraham as the first *ḥanīf* or worshipper of the One God and as the founder of the *millat Ibrāhīm* which Muḥammad claimed to have rediscovered and to have restored; see *EI*² s.v. Ibrāhīm (R. Paret).

1114. I.e., Muḥammad b. Dhu'ayb al-Ḥanẓalī, *rajaz* poet of al-Baṣrah and eulogist of the 'Abbāsids; he died in the reign of al-Rashīd. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVII, 78–82 = ed. Cairo, XVIII, 311–21; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 160; *GAL*, S I, 91–2; *GAS*, II, 464.

1115. Following in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXIII (as also in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Cairo, XVIII, 315, and *Lisān al-'Arab*¹, XV, 398), *al-muqtadā bi-ammihi*.

ing intention, O Commander of the Faithful, not one for promulgating a fully decided decree!" The Caliph said, "Let al-Qāsim be brought in," so he was brought in. Al-ʿUmānī recited his *rajaz* poem in a low murmur. Al-Rashīd then said to al-Qāsim, "This shaykh has called for allegiance to be given to you [as my successor], so bestow a generous gift on him." He replied, "As the Commander of the Faithful ordains!" Al-Rashīd said, "I've had enough of this![1116] Bring forward al-Namarī!" so al-Namarī came up to him and recited to him,

No grief of ours, nor agitation of soul, dies away . . .

until he reached the words, [761]

How excellent were the days of youth, and how
enduring is the sweetness of remembrance of it which remains!
I was not able to fulfill for my youth the highest point of its choicest part,
before it vanished away, and lo, the present world is a mere sequel [i.e., an anticlimax]![1117]

Al-Rashīd said, "There is nothing good in the present world; the garment of youth is not called to mind in it."[1118]

It has been mentioned that Saʿīd b. Salm al-Bāhilī came into al-Rashīd's presence. He greeted the Caliph; al-Rashīd motioned to him and he sat down. Then Saʿīd said, "O Commander of the Faithful, there is a Bedouin from the tribe of Bāhilah standing at the Commander of the Faithful's gate, and I've never seen anyone more poetically eloquent than he!" He said, "Indeed, have you not made these two poets"—he meant al-ʿUmānī and Manṣūr al-Namarī, who were both present in his court at that moment—"lawful plunder, aiming your stones at them?" [i.e., not taking them into consideration].[1119] Saʿīd replied, "O Commander of the Faithful,

1116. This anecdote continues from here briefly and with a divergent ending in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVII, 80 = ed. Cairo, XVIII, 315.

1117. *Shiʿr Manṣūr al-Namarī*, 95–6, no. 24; Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 376 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 43.

1118. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XII, 19 = ed. Cairo, XIII, 145.

1119. The text here, and especially the words *istabaḥta . . . nuhbā*, is conjectural and the translation accordingly uncertain.

they are making me a gift to you (i.e., committing him to the Caliph's protection, so that the two of them will not attack him); so may the Bedouin now be permitted to enter?" Permission was accordingly given to him, and lo, there appeared a Bedouin in a silken gown and a Yemeni cloak, who had tucked it up round his waist and then folded it over his shoulder, and a turban which he had tied round his two cheeks and had let one end hang loose.

He appeared in front of the Commander of the Faithful, and seats were laid out. Al-Kisā'ī, al-Mufaḍḍal, Ibn Salm and al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' all then sat down, and Ibn Salm said to the Bedouin, "Start eulogizing the Commander of the Faithful's ancestral nobility." So the Bedouin embarked on his poetry. The Commander of the Faithful said to him, "I hear you, as one who finds the poetry good, but I have a guarded view of you, being suspicious about you (i.e., suspicious that he was not the true author of the poetry which he had just declaimed). If this poetry really is your own and you have indeed recited it from your own poetic inventiveness, then recite to us a couple of verses on these two"—he meant Muḥammad and al-Ma'mūn, who were standing on each side of him. The Bedouin
[762] replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have imposed on me as an ineluctable decree (or: on the spur of the moment, *'alā al-qadar*) and without any warning, the awesomeness of the caliphate, the splendor of poetic inspiration, and the intractableness of the rhymes from adequate consideration. If the Commander of the Faithful will grant me a pause for thought, the refractory rhymes will all fall into place for me and my agitation of mind will be quietened down." The Caliph said, "I have granted you a period for reflection, O Bedouin, and have substituted your being allowed to put forward your excuses in place of putting you to the test." He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have removed the cord which was strangling me and have made easy the forum for hypocrisy! (i.e., for poetic exaggeration). Then he began to recite,

The two of them—may God grant them blessing!—are its two supporting ropes (i.e., of the caliphate, likened here to a tent), and you, O Commander of the Faithful, are its supporting pole.

You have constructed, with 'Abdallāh, after Muḥammad,
the protective shelter of the cupola of Islam, and its trunk has thereby grown upwards healthily!

The Caliph said, "As for you, O Bedouin, may God grant you blessing! Now ask us (for a gift), and don't let what you ask be below the value of your excellent achievement!" He replied, "A herd of one hundred camels, O Commander of the Faithful!" He related: The Commander of the Faithful smiled, and ordered him to be given one hundred thousand dirhams and seven robes of honor.

It has been mentioned that al-Rashīd said to his son al-Qāsim, on an occasion when al-Qāsim had come into his presence and at a time before al-Rashīd had proclaimed his succession rights, "You are connected with al-Ma'mūn through part of this flesh[1120] of yours." Al-Qāsim added, "(And also) through part of his good fortune!"[1121]

One day, before the succession oath was made to al-Qāsim, al-Rashīd said to him, "I have entrusted your interests to al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn." Al-Qāsim replied, "For your part, O Commander of the Faithful, you have assumed personal responsibility for the two of them, yet you have entrusted my interests to someone else!"

Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallāh al-Zubayrī related: Al-Rashīd came to the city of the Messenger of God (i.e., Medina), accompanied by his two sons Muḥammad al-Amīn and 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn. There, he gave out numerous gifts and in that year distributed among the men and women of the city three rounds of gifts, these three rounds of gifts which he distributed to them amounting to one million and fifty thousand dīnārs. During that year, he also made payments to five hundred of the leading mawlās of Medina, and to some of them he gave payments at the highest rate [*fī al-sharaf*[1122]], including Yaḥyā b. Miskīn, Ibn 'Uthmān and Mikhrāq the mawlā of the Banū Tamīm, who used to act as Qur'ān reciter in Medina. [763]

Isḥāq the mawlā has related: When al-Rashīd had homage made to his sons as successors in the caliphate, among those who gave

1120. Following the Cairo text, VIII, 363, here, *laḥmika*.

1121. Following ibid., here, *ḥaẓẓihi*.

1122. I.e., they received payment at the highest level, that of *sharaf al-'aṭā'*, the level of the stipends paid to the aristocracy of early Islam; see Balādhurī, *Glossarium*, 57.

homage was ʿAbdallāh b. Muṣʿab b. Thābit b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.[1123] When he came forward to offer homage, he recited,

May the two of them not fall short in it (i.e., in the task of upholding the caliphate), but may it not reach them both (yet),
so that your own period of power in it may be protracted!

Al-Rashīd found the quotation which ʿAbdallāh had adduced neat and apposite, and gave him an appropriately rich reward. He related: The actual verse is by Ṭurayḥ b. Ismāʿīl,[1124] who recited it in regard to (the Caliph) al-Walīd b. Yazīd and his two sons.

Abū al-Shīṣ recited,[1125] elegizing Hārūn al-Rashīd,

A sun has sunk in the East,
and because of this, two eyes flow with tears.
We have never seen a sun
which has set in the same place as it rises.[1126]

Abū Nuwās al-Ḥasan b. Hāniʾ has recited,

Maidens have hurried in bringing reports of both good fortune and ill luck,
and we are in states of mourning at a funeral and of a wedding celebration.
The heart is weeping whilst the teeth gleam in laughter,
and we are in states of both sadness and conviviality.
The one who has assumed control of the state, al-Amīn, moves us to joyous mirthfulness, whilst
the death of the Imām just recently makes us weep.
Two full moons: one moon has appeared clearly in Baghdad, at al-Khuld, whilst the other moon is at Ṭūs in a grave.[1127]

1123. Probably governor of al-Madīnah (see Ṭabarī, III, 739, above, 304) at this time of the promulgation of the "Meccan documents," i.e., in 186 (802).

1124. A poet of Thaqīf, eulogist of the last Umayyads and then of al-Manṣūr, who died in 165 (782). See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, IV, 74–86 = ed. Cairo, IV, 302–29; *GAS*, II, 452.

1125. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Razīn al-Khuzāʿī, eulogist of al-Rashīd and al-Amīn, who died in 196 (812) or shortly afterwards. See *GAL*, I², 83, S I, 133; *GAS*, II, 532–3; *EI*² s.v. Abu ʾl-Shīṣ (A. Schaade-Pellat).

1126. *Ashʿār Abī al-Shīṣ wa-akhbāruhu*, ed. ʿAbdallāh al-Jubūrī, 78, no. 36; Azdī, 317. In Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, XVII, 50 = ed. Cairo, XVIII, 249, these two verses are attributed in Ashjaʿ al-Sulamī. The allusion to the sun rising and setting in the same place is, of course, to the Caliph's birth and now death at Ṭūs.

1127. *K. al-ʿUyūn*, 318–19. These verses are translated by Wagner in his *Abū*

It has been said that when Hārūn al-Rashīd died, there were nine hundred million odd (dirhams) in the state treasury.[1128] [764]

Nuwās, 352–3, from a text, with variants, in Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's *al-'Iqd al-farīd* but attributed by him to Abū al-Shīṣ. The verses are not included in the part of the *Dīwān* of Abū Nuwās so far published by Wagner and G. Schoeler. Uncertainty about the correct authorship of these verses is shown by the fact that the literary critic Ibn Abī 'Awn attributes them—implausibly, from their light tone—to Abū al-'Atāhiyah.

1128. Azdī, 317; Qāḍī Ibn al-Zubayr, 213, 299.

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The index contains all proper names of persons, places, tribal, and other groups, as well as topographical data, occurring in the introduction and the text (but not normally in the footnotes), together with technical terms; where the latter are explained in the footnotes, they are also noted.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXXI

The War between Brothers

TRANSLATED BY MICHAEL FISHBEIN

The War between Brothers
Volume XXXI
Translated by Michael Fishbein

This section of the *History of al-Ṭabarī* covers the caliphate of Muhammad al-Amīn, who succeeded his father, Hārūn al-Rashīd on March 24, 809, and was killed on September 25, 813.

The focus of this section is a single event, the civil war between al-Amīn and his half-brother al-Ma'mūn. Before his death, al-Rashīd had arranged for the succession in a series of documents signed at Mecca and deposited for safekeeping in the Ka'bah. Al-Amīn was to become caliph; al-Ma'mūn was to govern Khurāsān with virtual autonomy from Baghdad. Al-Amīn could neither remove his brother from office nor interfere with his revenues or military support. Furthermore, al-Ma'mūn was named as al-Amīn's successor, and al-Amīn was forbidden to alter the succession. If either brother violated these conditions, he was to forfeit his rights.

It soon became apparent that the good will to carry out these arrangements did not exist. Disagreement broke out when al-Amīn insisted that many of the forces that had accompanied al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn to Khurāsān return to Baghdad. When the majority of army commanders obeyed the new caliph's orders, al-Ma'mūn was enraged and countered with measures to secure his position. Angry letters were exchanged, with al-Amīn pressing his brother to make concessions that al-Ma'mūn regarded as contrary to the succession agreement. By March 811, military conflict was imminent. Al-Amīn demanded that certain border districts be returned to the control of Baghdad. When al-Ma'mūn refused, al-Amīn despatched an expedition to seize the districts.

Al-Amīn's resort to force ended in disaster. Al-Ma'mūn's forces, led by Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn and Harthamah b. A'yan, quickly closed in on Baghdad. In a siege lasting over a year, Baghdad suffered extensive damage from the fighting and from bombardment by siege engines. Gangs of vagrants and paupers, organized by al-Amīn into irregular units, fought a kind of urban guerrilla war. But, with Ṭāhir and Harthamah enforcing the siege and with most of al-Amīn's associates having switched their loyalties to the winning side, the caliph was forced to sue for terms. These were worked out among representatives of al-Amīn, Ṭāhir, and Harthamah. However, when the caliph boarded the boat that was to take him into Harthamah's custody, troops loyal to Ṭāhir assaulted and capsized the boat. Al-Amīn fell into the Tigris, was apprehended, and was executed that night on orders from Ṭāhir. Thus ended this phase of the civil war. Al-Ma'mūn was now caliph.

Al-Ṭabarī's history of these years includes accounts by participants in the event, diplomatic letters between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, Ṭāhir's long letter to al-Ma'mūn on the circumstances of al-Amīn's death, and a dramatic eyewitness account of al-Amīn's last hours. Also noteworthy is a 135-verse poem describing the devastation of Baghdad. The section ends with a series of literary anecdotes on the character of al-Amīn.

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The War between Brothers

THE CALIPHATE OF MUḤAMMAD AL-AMĪN

A.D. 809–813/A.H. 193–198

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(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXXI

The War between Brothers

translated and annotated
by

Michael Fishbein

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 39 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Tabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The

chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

EI[1]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edition. Leiden, 1913–42
EI[2]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition. Leiden, 1960–
GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*
IJMES: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*
JRAS: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
RCAL: *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*
REA: E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*
RSO: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*

Translator's Foreword

This section of the *History* of al-Ṭabarī covers the four and one-half year reign of Muḥammad al-Amīn, who succeeded to the caliphate upon the death of his father, Hārūn al-Rashīd, on 3 Jumādā II 193 (March 24, 809), and who was killed on 28 Muḥarram 198 (September 25, 813).

A single event, the conflict and eventual civil war between al-Amīn and his half brother al-Ma'mūn, the governor of Khurāsān province, absorbs the attention of al-Ṭabarī for these years. Before his death al-Rashīd had formalized arrangements for the succession in a series of documents signed at Mecca and deposited for safekeeping in the Ka'bah in the last month of A.H. 186 (December 802) and reaffirmed, with certain additions, some two years later.[1] Under these arrangements, al-Amīn was to succeed to the caliphate; his brother, al-Ma'mūn, was to receive the governorship of the eastern province of Khurāsān, with virtual autonomy from Baghdad. Al-Amīn was not to interfere in any way with the administration of his brother's province. He could neither remove his brother from office nor interfere in any way with his revenues or military support. Furthermore, al-Ma'mūn was named as al-Amīn's successor; al-Amīn was explicitly forbidden to alter the succession. The succession after al-Ma'mūn was fixed in al-Qāsim, a third son of al-Rashīd, although al-Ma'mūn was given the right on his succession to

1. For details of the documents, see Ṭabarī, III, 651–67.

replace al-Qāsim with someone else, if he wished. If either brother violated these conditions, he was to forfeit his rights. These arrangements constituted an unprecedented restriction on a ruling caliph's authority, and although the brothers freely agreed to them, it was obvious that they could be made to work only with the good will of both sides.

It quickly became apparent that such good will did not exist. Trust between the two elder brothers broke down even before the death of al-Rashīd. According to a notice for A.H. 192 (807–8), one year before the death of al-Rashīd, al-Ma'mūn already suspected that his brother would try to eliminate him on accession to the caliphate.[2] He therefore asked to be allowed to accompany al-Rashīd on an expedition to Khurāsān so as not to be in Baghdad and under his brother's control if the already ailing al-Rashīd should die. Al-Rashīd vacillated but eventually granted the request; the chronicle does not make explicit the extent to which he was aware of the mistrust between the two heirs. While on the expedition, al-Rashīd took a step that exacerbated the tension by assigning to al-Ma'mūn the entire army that constituted the expeditionary force. By implying that al-Ma'mūn would have at his permanent disposal a large part of the regular army from Baghdad, in addition to the forces he could raise in his governorate of Khurāsān, al-Rashīd disturbed the military balance that would exist on the accession of al-Amīn. We can deduce that al-Amīn never accepted that this extraordinary arrangement was implied by the terms of succession to which he had agreed. In a letter drafted seven or eight months before al-Rashīd's death and sent to a younger brother, Ṣāliḥ, who had also accompanied the expedition to Khurāsān, with instructions that it be delivered only on the death of al-Rashīd, al-Amīn gave orders that the regular Iraqi troops should return to Baghdad immediately on al-Amīn's succession, under the command of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, al-Amīn's most trusted adviser. The secrecy about the letter may imply fear on al-Amīn's part that al-Rashīd might contravene its content if it became known to him before his death.

2. See Ṭabarī, III, 730–31.

Thus, on the death of al-Rashīd the situation already contained the germs of conflict. Al-Rashīd's instructions notwithstanding, the majority of army commanders on the Khurāsān expedition decided to obey the new caliph's orders to return to Baghdad. Al-Ma'mūn was enraged. His first impulse was to use force to prevent the desertion of troops he regarded as under his command, but his chief adviser, al-Faḍl b. Sahl, warned him that his remaining forces were inferior to the task. At the same time, al-Faḍl instructed al-Ma'mūn to work to strengthen his power base in Khurāsān, with a view toward eventually replacing al-Amīn as caliph.

After the account of the episode of the return of the army to Baghdad, al-Ṭabarī's chronicle presents an exchange of letters between the two brothers. Al-Amīn pressed his brother to make a number of concessions that al-Ma'mūn regarded as contrary to the terms of the succession agreement. As there are several accounts of these letters and embassies, the sequence of demands is not always clear. Apparently al-Amīn at first merely requested that al-Ma'mūn allow al-Amīn's infant son, Mūsā, to be added to the order of succession after al-Ma'mūn and al-Qāsim. Al-Ma'mūn, whose military situation in Khurāsān already had improved with the surrender of the rebels, rejected the request and at some point stopped sending al-Amīn official reports of events in his province (via the *barīd* or post service, really an official information service linking provincial governors to the central government in Baghdad). Al-Amīn considered this and a number of associated acts as rebellion and had al-Ma'mūn's name removed from the succession. Other moves by al-Amīn included appointing the infant Mūsā nominal governor of Khurāsān, refusing to allow al-Ma'mūn's private fortune and family to leave Iraq, and summoning al-Ma'mūn back to Baghdad.

These maneuvers continued through A.H. 194 (October 809–October 810). By Jumādā II 195 (March 811) military conflict was imminent. Al-Amīn demanded that certain districts over which al-Ma'mūn had been exercising control from Khurāsān but that lay outside the borders of the province, be returned to the control of Baghdad. When al-Ma'mūn refused to comply, al-Amīn gave a former governor of Khurāsān, 'Alī b. 'Īsā b.

Māhān, command of 40,000 men and dispatched him with orders to seize the contested district of al-Rayy and then proceed to Khurāsān. He was to arrest al-Ma'mūn and return him to Baghdad in chains.

Al-Amīn's attempts to settle the dispute by force ended in military disasters. 'Alī b. 'Īsā was killed in battle against al-Ma'mūn's commander at al-Rayy, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn. (Al-Ma'mūn formally accepted the title of caliph shortly after the victory.) A second expedition from Baghdad, led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jabalah al-Abnāwī, was defeated as well, leaving al-Ma'mūn in possession of all northern Iran. The year A.H. 196 (September 811–September 812) saw al-Amīn making desperate attempts to recruit support from the Arab tribes of Iraq and Syria, but these efforts, the product of necessity rather than of any personal rapport with the Bedouin Arabs, came to no avail. An expedition by a mixed army of 20,000 regular troops and 20,000 Bedouins sent to prevent Ṭāhir from taking Ḥulwān, the gateway to Iraq, ended in fiasco when the regulars and Bedouins turned against each other at the instigation of agents provocateurs infiltrated into the army by Ṭāhir. A subsequent effort to raise support for al-Amīn in Syria also failed. Even in Baghdad, al-Amīn's support seemed to be melting away. A section of the elite Baghdad garrison (the *Abnā'*) backed a pro-Ma'mūn coup by the son of 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān. Al-Amīn was deposed and imprisoned for two days in Rajab 196 (April 812), until loyal troops from the garrison quarter of al-Ḥarbiyyah put down the coup and freed the caliph.

By the end of A.H. 196, al-Amīn's power was evaporating. After Ṭāhir's victories in northern Iran, al-Ma'mūn, who now considered himself the legitimate caliph because his brother had violated the succession agreement, launched a two-pronged attack on Iraq. While Harthamah b. A'yan advanced over the main road from Ḥulwān into Iraq to approach Baghdad from the east, Ṭāhir turned south toward al-Ahwāz, whose governor died in battle rather than renounce his allegiance to al-Amīn. Ṭāhir then turned west, took Wāsiṭ and al-Madā'in, crossed the Tigris, and advanced to Ṣarṣar, only a few miles south of Baghdad.

The siege of Baghdad lasted from 12 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 196 (August 25, 812), when Ṭāhir moved his camp to an open space

outside the gate of al-Ḥarbiyyah suburb, the main seat of the Baghdad garrison, until the death of al-Amīn on 25 Muḥarram 198 (September 25, 813). The suburbs that had grown up around the walled city suffered extensive damage from the fighting and from bombardment by siege engines. Al-Amīn could still rely on the loyalty of most of the local troops, and he had large resources of money with which to buy the services of soldiers. Some of Ṭāhir's troops were tempted and changed sides. Gangs of vagrants and unemployed paupers were organized into irregular units to fight a kind of urban guerrilla war. But, with Ṭāhir and Harthamah controlling the approaches to the city and with most of al-Amīn's governors in Iraq having prudently switched their loyalties to the winning side, al-Amīn finally was forced to attempt an escape or negotiate for terms. It was decided that surrender was the best option. The question was whether to turn to Ṭāhir, the obvious choice, as he was in closest proximity to the palace, or to Harthamah, who was across the Tigris on the east bank. The bridges having been cut, the logistics of a surrender to Harthamah were more complicated and would be possible only with the consent of Ṭāhir; however, al-Amīn insisted on Harthamah, whom he knew and believed he could trust.

Terms for the surrender were worked out in three-way negotiations among representatives of al-Amīn, Ṭāhir, and Harthamah. Al-Amīn was to turn over the insignia of the caliphate to Ṭāhir, thereby renouncing his claim to the office. He would then be allowed to proceed to a wharf on the Tigris, where Harthamah would be waiting in a boat to ferry him to safety. The plan was never carried out. What actually happened is not easy to reconstruct. The insignia of the caliphate were never surrendered to Ṭāhir—that is virtually certain. One account presents this neglect as a deliberate attempt by al-Amīn to circumvent the agreement and escape to Harthamah without abdicating. According to this account, al-Ḥasan al-Hirsh, the leader of the irregular troops that had fought for al-Amīn, learned of al-Amīn's intention and denounced al-Amīn to Ṭāhir, who then set up an ambush and frustrated the planned escape. But, according to a second and more detailed account, the failure to hand over the insignia seems not to have been

planned. According to this account, Harthamah's messenger came to al-Amīn at the prearranged time and announced that the boat was at the wharf. Presumably, this was the moment when al-Amīn should have sent the insignia to Ṭāhir so that the guards at the gates of the city, under Ṭāhir's command, would be commanded to allow the caliph to depart. However, Harthamah's messenger added that suspicious activity had been noticed on the shore of the Tigris and that Harthamah recommended postponing the surrender for a day; he would return on the morrow with sufficient forces to defend al-Amīn in the event of an ambush. At this point al-Amīn panicked. Convinced that Ṭāhir intended to storm the palace that night, he insisted on riding to the wharf without delay and with only the smallest of escorts. The insignia, one can deduce from Ṭāhir's subsequent account (though full of half-truths, it seems accurate enough on this point), were taken along, carried not by the caliph but by the eunuch Kawthar, who rode in the rear of the cavalcade. Not having received word of a formal surrender by al-Amīn, Ṭāhir's forces attempted to board the boat. A scuffle ensued, and al-Amīn, who fell or jumped into the Tigris and swam to shore, was apprehended, taken to a house being used by one of Ṭāhir's commanders, and executed that night, almost certainly on orders from Ṭāhir. (Ṭāhir's account of how over-zealous soldiers mortally wounded al-Amīn at the moment of his capture must be seen as a self-serving lie.) The next morning, Ṭāhir exposed al-Amīn's head to public view, and the civil war—at least this phase of it—was over.

The vigor of al-Ṭabarī's history of this period will be apparent to the reader. There is extensive use of accounts by participants in the events—al-Faḍl b. Sahl for events at the court of al-Ma'mūn and a number of courtiers in the entourage of al-Amīn. The account of the last hours of al-Amīn's life by Aḥmad b. Sallām ranks as one of the most dramatic pieces of early Arabic historical writing. Many diplomatic letters exchanged between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn are included verbatim, as well as Ṭāhir's long letter to al-Ma'mūn explaining the circumstances of al-Amīn's death—a letter filled with cold self-justification that is all the more shocking following as it does the heartrending eyewitness narrative of the murder of the

caliph. There are long selections from the poetry of the period, both the panegyric and elegy that accompanied all politically significant events and the less formal poetry that commemorated the day-to-day events of the war. A noteworthy inclusion is the 135-verse poem by Abū Ya'qūb al-Khuraymī describing the devastation of Baghdad.

A Note on the Text

The translation follows the text of the Leiden edition, which appeared in installments between 1879 and 1898 under the general editorship of M. J. De Goeje. The French scholar Stanislas Guyard edited the chronicle for the years A.H. 159–218 (III, 459–1163). The text of the section on the caliphate of al-Amīn survived in only one manuscript known at the time, Istanbul Ms. Köprülü 1041 (siglum C in the apparatus of the Leiden edition but designated in this section simply as "codex," as it provided the only source of the text). The manuscript was described as *"imperfectum, passim parvas lacunas habens."* Restoration of the text was often very difficult, as can be seen from the *apparatus criticus* of the edition. For help in establishing the text Guyard was able to refer to parallel passages by later historians, who often quoted verbatim from al-Ṭabarī: Ibn al-Athīr's *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh*; the anonymous *Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa-al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq* and Miskawayh's *Kitāb Tajārib al-umam wa-ta'āqib al-himam* (both contained in De Goeje's 1869 edition of *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*); al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-dhahab*; and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's *Mir'āt al-zamān*.

A photographic copy of one additional manuscript containing part of the section translated here became available for the 1960 Cairo edition of Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm—Istanbul Ms. Ahmet III 2929 (siglum *alif*, or A, in the Cairo apparatus). This manuscript allowed Ibrāhīm to fill in some of the small lacunae in the Leiden edition and occasionally preserved a better reading. Unfortunately, the text of the manuscript stops just before the end of A.H. 197 (III, 902, of the Leiden text), so that the remainder of the Cairo text for this section is the same as the Leiden text, apart from minor differences in punctuation and

vocalization. Where my translation follows the Cairo text this is indicated in a footnote.

I have noted where parallel accounts of the events of these years may be found, particularly in the works of al-Ya'qūbī, al-Dīnawarī, al-Iṣbahānī, al-Mas'ūdī, and Ibn al-Athīr, as well as some of the secondary literature available on the period.

The accompanying maps have been reproduced from G. Le Strange's books *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905) and *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (1900). Unfortunately, they include many features that postdate the caliphate of al-Amīn. The reader should therefore use them as an aid to locating the sites of events narrated by al-Ṭabarī, not as a guide to the topography of Baghdad under al-Amīn.

I wish to express my thanks to Professors Seeger A. Bonebakker, Michael G. Morony, and Moshe Perlmann of the University of California, Los Angeles; to Professor Everett K. Rowson of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Michael L. Bates, Curator of Islamic Coins at the American Numismatic Society; and to Dr. Paul E. Chevedden of Salem State College, Salem, Massachusetts, for their help. For any errors and shortcomings, I alone take responsibility.

Michael Fishbein

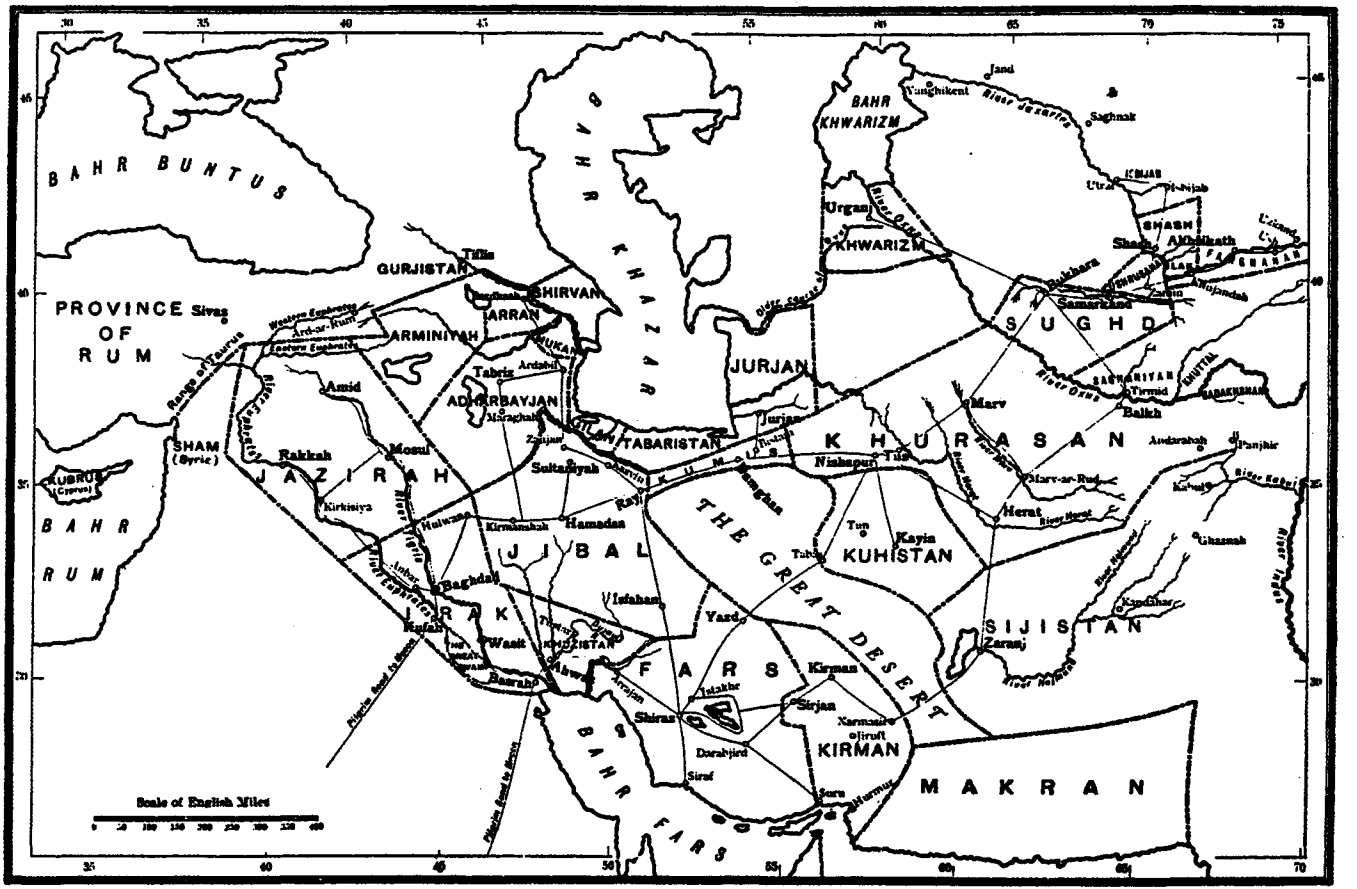

Map 1. The Eastern Lands of the Caliphate. After G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*

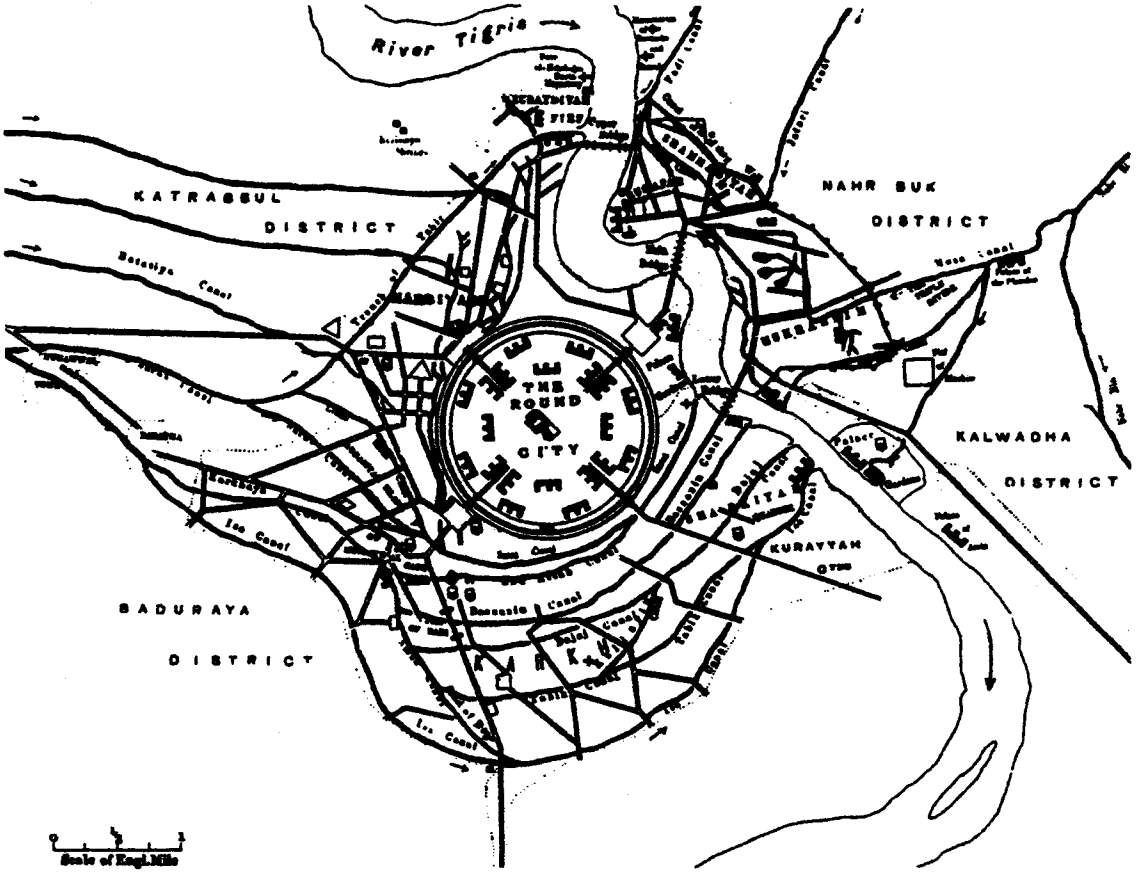

Map 2. Baghdad between A.H. 150 and 300. After G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*

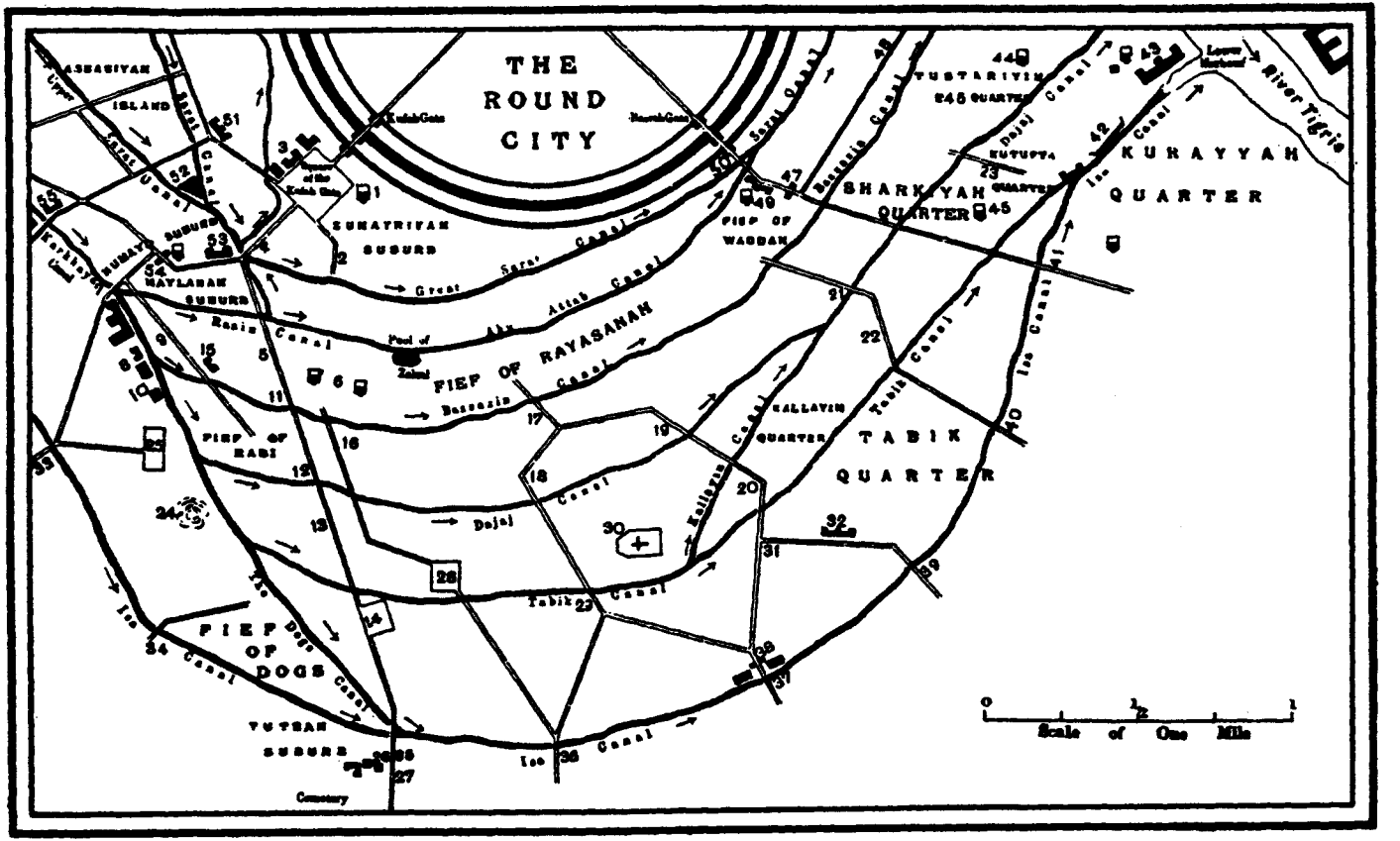

Map 3. Al-Karkh and Neighboring Suburbs. After G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*

1. Mosque of Musayyib with the tall minaret
2. Market of 'Abd al-Wāḥid
3. Fief of the Gatekeepers, Dīwān of the Ṣadaqah (Office of the Poor Tax), stables, and dromedary house
4. Old Bridge
5. Market of Abū al-Ward
6. Mosque of Ibn Raghbān and Mosque of the Anbārīs
7. Hospital Bridge and Old Hospital (*Bīmāristān*)
8. Darrabāt and Mill of Abū al-Qāsim
9. Quarter of the Wāṣitīs
10. Al-Khafqah (the Clappers)
11. Gate of Karkh
12. Gate of the Coppersmiths
13. Market of Ghālib
14. Square of Suwayd
15. Road of the Painter and House of Ka'b
16. Market of the Clothing Merchants (*Sūq al-Bazzāzīn*)
17. Butchers' quarter
18. Poultry market
19. Soap boilers' quarter
20. Canal diggers' quarter
21. Reed weavers' quarter
22. Road of the pitch workers
23. Cooks' quarter
24. Mound of the Ass
25. Quadrangle of the Oil Merchant
26. Shrine of Junayd and Sarī al-Saqaṭī, the Ṣūfī convent
27. Tuesday market
28. Quadrangle of Ṣāliḥ
29. Sawwāqīn
30. Fief of the Christians and Monastery of the Virgins
31. Road of Bricks
32. Cotton House
33. Bridge of the Oil Merchants
34. Alkali Bridge
35. Thorn Bridge
36. Pomegranate Bridge
37. Maghīd Bridge and mills
38. Gate of the Mills
39. Garden Bridge
40. Ma'badī Bridge
41. Banū Zurayq Bridge
42. Myrtle Wharf and Melon House (fruit market)
43. Palace of 'Īsā, Mosque of Ibn al-Muṭṭalib, and Tomb of Caliph al-Mustaḍī
44. Shrine of 'Alī (Mashhad al-Minṭaqah)
45. Great mosque of al-Sharqiyyah quarter
46. Shrine of Ma'rūf al-Karkhī and cemetery of the Convent Gate
47. Ḥarrānī archway
47–41. Baṣrah Gate road
47–48. Road to the Lower Bridge, called Barley Street
49. Palace and Mosque of al-Waḍḍāḥ
50. New Bridge and booksellers' market
51. Palace and Market of 'Abd al-Wahhāb
52. Patrician's Mill
53. Palace in the Fief of 'Īsā
54. Muḥawwal Gate and Mosque
55. Bridge of the Greeks and House of the *Farrāshes*

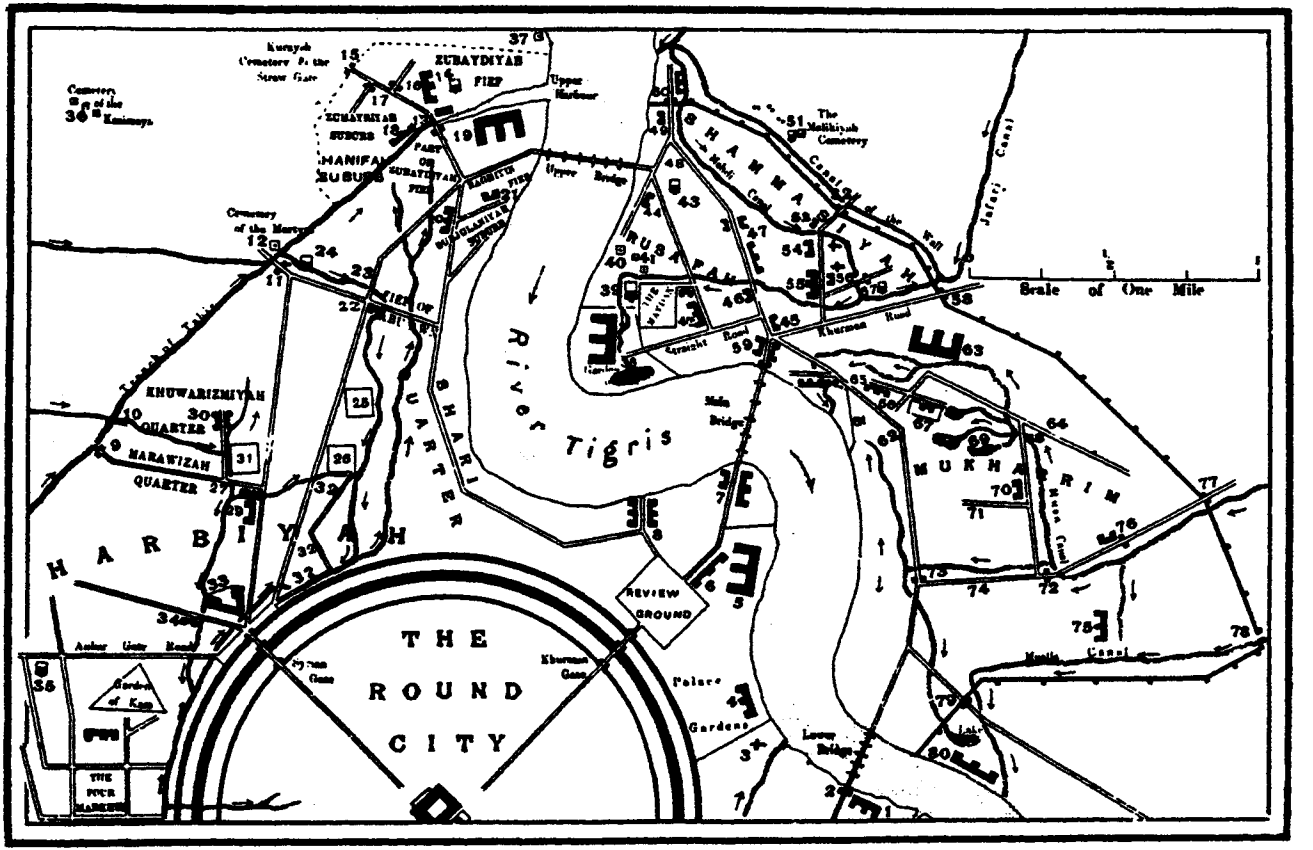

[illegible] Madhiyyah with the Three Quarters of al-Ruṣāfah, al-Shammāsiyyah, and al-Mukharrim.
[illegible] Abbasid Caliphate

1. Palace of Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid
2. Barley Gate (*Bāb al-Sha'īr*)
3. Old convent at Ṣarāt Point
4. Palace of Zubaydah, called al-Qarār
5. Al-Khuld Palace
6. Royal stables
7. Office of bridge works and hall of the police chief
8. Palaces of Princes Sulaymān and Ṣāliḥ, sons of al-Manṣūr, on Darb Sulaymān
9. Iron Gate and Bridge, leading to Dujayl Road
10. Water conduit (*'Abbārat al-Kūkh*)
11. Al-Ḥarb Gate and Bridge, leading to al-Ḥarb Gate Road
12. Tomb of Ibn Ḥanbal
13. Qaṭrabbul Gate and Bridge of Umm Ja'far's Mill
14. Palace and mosque of Umm Ja'far Zubaydah
15. Straw Gate (*Bāb al-Tibn*)
16. Gate of the Fief
17. Little Gate (*Bāb al-Ṣaghīr*)
18. Palace of 'Umārah
19. Palace of the Ṭāhirid Ḥarīm
20. Slaves' House (*Dār al-Raqīq*) and Fief of the Pages (*ghulāms*)
21. Palace of Ḥafṣ b. 'Uthmān in Darb Siwār
22. Palace of Ibn Abī 'Awn
23. Bridge of the Straw Merchants (*Qanṭarat al-Tabbānīn*)
24. Al-Ḥarbiyyah mosque
25. Quadrangle of Abū al-'Abbās
26. Quadrangle of Shabīb
27. Abū al-Jawn Bridge
28. Palace of Sa'īd al-Khaṭīb
29. Orphan school
30. Dukkān al-Abnā' (Persian shops)
31. Quadrangle of the Persians, with the suburbs of Rushayd, Zuhayr, and 'Uthmān b. Nuhayk
32. Arcades of 'Akkī, Ghiṭrīf, and Abū Suwayd
33. Prison of the Syrian Gate
34. Road and Palace of Hānī
35. Bukhārī mosque
36. Kāẓimayn shrines: tombs of Zubaydah, Caliph al-Amīn, and the Būyid princes
37. Tomb of 'Abdallāh son of Ibn Ḥanbal
38. Palace of al-Mahdī in al-Ruṣāfah
39. Al-Ruṣāfah mosque
40. Shrine of Abū Ḥanīfah in Khayzurān cemetery
41. Tombs of the caliphs
42. Palaces of Umm Ḥabīb and al-Faḍl on the road of the Maydān
43. Khuḍayriyyah quarter and mosque; Khuḍayr market
44. Palace of al-Waḍḍāḥ on the Road of the Skiffs
45. Market of Yaḥyā and Bridge Road
46. Palace of Faraj
47. Palaces of Dūr and Ja'far al-Barmakī
48. Market of Ja'far and Mahdī Canal Road
49. Market of Khālid and Qaṣr al-Ṭīn (Mud Castle)
50. Al-Shammāsiyyah Gate and Palace of Mūnis
51. Three Gates suburb, Place of Vows, and Chapel of the Festival
52. Baradān Gate
53. Baradān Bridge and Palace of Abū Naṣr
54. Palace of Ibn al-Ḥuṭam
55. Barmakid fief and palaces
56. Dār al-Rūm (House of the Greeks) and Nestorian and Jacobite churches of the Christian quarter, with the patriarch's house
57. Market of al-Naṣr, mosque, and Iron Gates
58. Khurāsān Gate of East Baghdad
59. Bāb al-Ṭāq (Archway Gate) and palaces of Khuzaymah, Prince 'Ubaydallāh, and Princess Asmā'
60. Street of 'Amr the Greek
61. Garden of Ẓāhir at the mouth of the Mūsā canal and Palace of Ibn Muqlah
62. Great Road
63. Palace of al-Mu'taṣim
64. Long Street
65. Palace of Ibn al-Furāt and Street of the Vine Tendril
66. Thirst Market (*Ṣūq al-'Aṭsh*)
67. Palace, quadrangle, and market of al-Ḥarashī
68. Al-Anṣār Bridge
69. Tanks of the Anṣār, Haylānah, and Dāwūd
70. Palace of Ibn al-Khaṣīb in the Road of Sa'd al-Waṣīf
71. Market of al-Ḥajjāj
72. Great Pitched Gate
73. Al-Mukharrim Gate and Bridge of al-'Abbās
74. Hay market and booths
75. Palace of Banūjah
76. 'Ammār Gate and Palace of 'Umārah
77. Gate of the Horse Market
78. Abraz Gate
79. Gate of the Tuesday Market
80. Firdaws Palace and lake

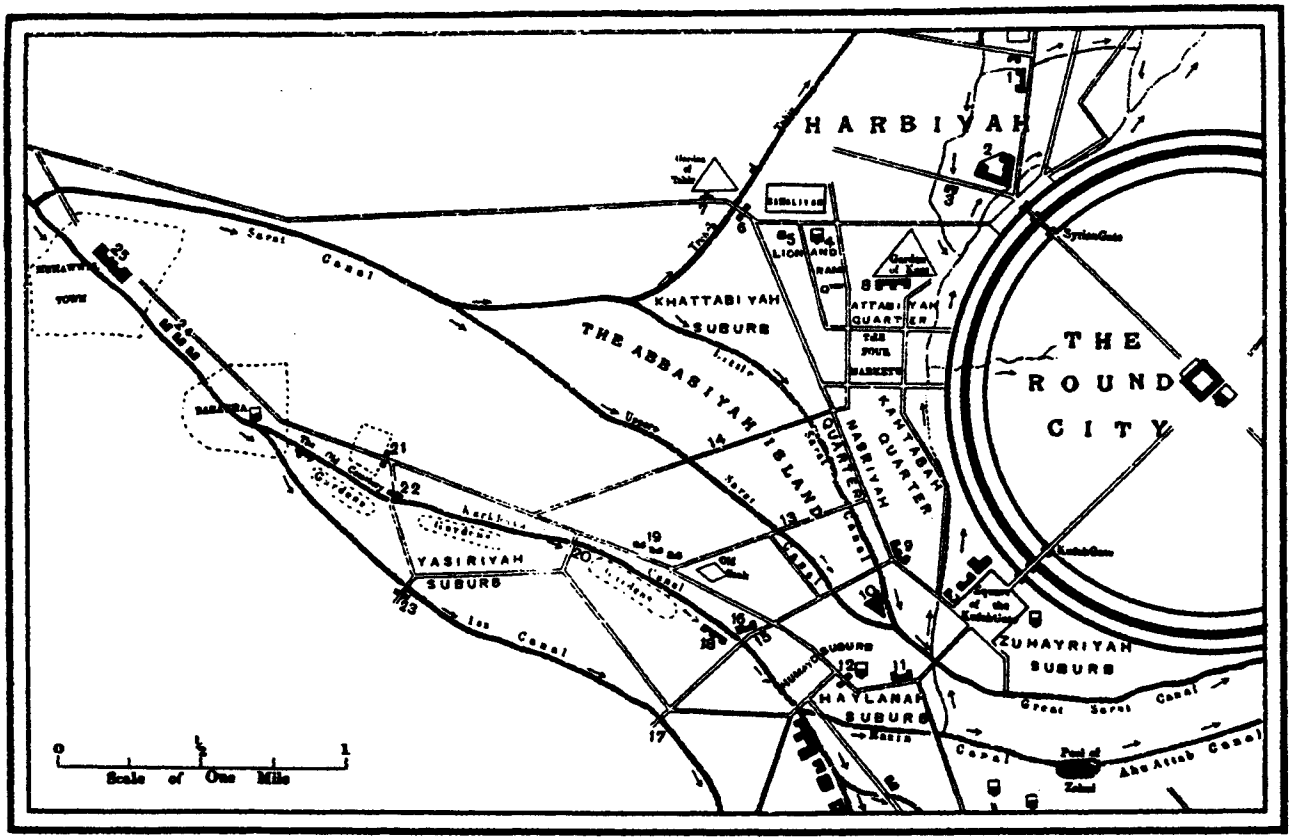

[illegible] C. Le Strange. *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*

1. Palace of Sa'īd al-Khaṭīb and orphan school
2. Prison of the Syrian Gate
3. Road and Palace of Hānī
4. Bukhārī mosque
5. Shrine of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī
6. Al-Anbār Gate and Bridge
7. Garden Gate
8. Dār al-Qazz (Silk House) and Street of Ghāmish
9. Palace and Market of 'Abd al-Wahhāb
10. Patrician's Mill and Bridge of the Mills
11. Palace in the Fief of 'Īsā
12. Al-Muḥawwal Gate and Mosque
13. China Bridge
14. Bridge of al-'Abbās
15. Bridge of the Greeks
16. House of the *Farrāshes*
17. Bridge of the Greek Woman
18. Palace of Ka'yūbah
19. Houses of the Persians
20. Bridge and Street of Rocks
21. Al-Kunāsah Gate and Place of the Sweepings, where beasts of burden were tied
22. Gate of Abū Qabīsah and Jews' Bridge (*Qanṭarat al-Yahūd*)
23. Al-Yāsiriyyah Gate, Bridge, and Quarter
24. Place of the tanners
25. Palace of al-Mu'taṣim at the town of al-Muḥawwal

The Events of the Year 193 (cont'd)

(October 25, 808–October 14, 809)

The Succession of Muḥammad al-Amīn as Caliph

In this year, allegiance was sworn to Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Hārūn as caliph at the camp of al-Rashīd.[1] 'Abdallāh b. Hārūn (al-Ma'mūn) was in Marw at the time.[2] According to what has been mentioned, Ḥammawayh[3] the *mawlā*[4] of al-Mahdī, the [764]

1. At the time of his death, the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd was leading an army raised in Iraq to fight the rebel Rāfi' b. Layth in Khurāsān province. He had left Baghdad on 5 Sha'bān 192 (June 4, 808) and died at Ṭūs (see note 6) on 3 Jumādā II 193 (March 24, 809). His sons 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn and Ṣāliḥ had accompanied him; Muḥammad al-Amīn had remained in Baghdad. Cf. Ṭabarī, III, 730, 738; *EI*[2] s.vv. al-Amīn (Gabrieli), Hārūn al-Rashīd (Omar), and al-Ma'mūn (Rekaya). Parallel accounts: Ya'qūbī, II, 524; Dīnawarī, 388; *Fragmenta*, 320; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 152; Mas'ūdī, VI, 415.

2. Marw (Marv, modern Mary in the Turkmen S.S.R.) was the chief city of the second quarter of Khurāsān province. It was often called Marw al-Shāhijān or Great Marw to distinguish it from Marw al-Rūdh or Little Marw. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 397–403; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v. Marw al-Shāhijān; *EI*[2] s.vv. Marv al-Shāhidjān (Yakubovskii) and Khurāsān (Bosworth). During al-Rashīd's final illness, al-Ma'mūn had been sent ahead to Marw with most of the leading commanders of the army to assist Harthamah b. A'yan, the governor and commander actually entrusted with the task of subduing Rāfi'. Cf. Ṭabarī, III, 733–34.

3. Ḥammawayh, according to Ṭabarī, III, 712, was a eunuch (*khādim*; see note 7 on the term) and had been appointed postmaster of Khurāsān in 191/806–7 by

postmaster[5] at Ṭūs,[6] wrote to Abū Muslim Sallām, his *mawlā* and deputy at Baghdad in charge of the post and information, informing him of the death of al-Rashīd. (Abū Muslim) came before Muḥammad, offered him condolences, and congratulated him about [his succession to] the caliphate. He was the first person to do so. Then Rajā' the eunuch (*khādim*)[7] came to him on Wednesday, the 14th of Jumādā II (April 4, 809),[8] having been sent to him with the news by Ṣāliḥ b. al-Rashīd—some say that this occurred during the night before Thursday, the middle of Jumādā II. The news was made public on Friday; it had been kept secret for the rest of the day and the night [after it was received], while the people spoke confusedly about the matter. When Ṣāliḥ's letter announcing the death of al-Rashīd reached Muḥammad al-Amīn by way of Rajā' the eunuch, (al-Amīn), who was staying in his palace at al-Khuld,[9] moved to the Palace

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al-Rashīd. See also Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, 144–45; and Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 191. For an account of how he obtained an appointment to a seven-year charge of "war and taxes" in Fārs, see *Aghānī*, XV, 79–80.

4. The closest English equivalent of *mawlā* (pl. *mawālī*) is "client." A *mawlā* (often, but not always, a person of non-Arab origin) was bound to his Arab patron by a formal social and legal relationship and obtained protection and something of the patron's social status. See *EI*[2] s.v. Mawlā (Crone); Bosworth, *'Abbāsid Caliphate in Equilibrium*, 4 n. 4.

5. *Ṣāḥib al-barīd*, "master of post and intelligence": "To make sure that he was well informed about affairs in all corners of the empire and... that the representatives of the central government were behaving properly, the caliph appointed his own independent agents who reported directly to him every day, even on such mundane matters as food prices in their respective areas. The official title of such an agent was *ṣāḥib barīd*, postmaster, but more important and to emphasize his direct relationship to the ruler he was also given the honorary status of *mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn*"; Shaban, *Islamic History*, II, 9. See also Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 32; *EI*[2] s.v. Barīd (Sourdel).

6. Ṭūs (ruins about 25 km north of Mashhad in northeastern Iran) was the second city of the Nishāpūr quarter of Khurāsān province. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 388–91; *EI*[1] s.v. Ṭūs (Minorsky).

7. *Khādim* literally means "servant." Arabic has an explicit term (*khaṣī*) for eunuch, but *khādim* was used as a euphemism. After a proper name as part of the person's title, it is generally not ambiguous. See *EI*[2] s.v. Khaṣī (Pellat); Bosworth, *'Abbāsid Caliphate in Equilibrium*, 24 n. 100.

8. This represents an average speed of 150 km (94 miles) a day for the 1,900 km (1,188 miles) between Ṭūs and Baghdad. See Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 33.

9. This palace (its name means "The Palace of Eternity"), overlooking the Tigris amid extensive gardens outside the walls of the Round City, had been

of Abū Ja'far[10] in the city. He commanded the people to be present on Friday. They came, and he led them in worship. Having finished his worship, he ascended the pulpit. He praised and extolled God, announced the death of al-Rashīd to the people, and consoled himself and the people. He promised them prosperity, enlarged their hopes, and promised protection[11] to all and sundry. The chief members of his family, his courtiers (*khāṣṣah*),[12] his clients (*mawālī*), and his military commanders (*quwwād*)[13] swore allegiance to him. Then he returned home. He deputed his father's paternal uncle, Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far, to receive the oath of allegiance from those remaining [among the chief people], and the latter did so. He commanded al-Sindī[14] to receive the oath of allegiance from all the [other] people—that is, the military commanders and the rest of the army (*jund*). [765] He ordered twenty-four months' pay (*rizq*) for the troops who were in the City of Peace,[15] as well as the same months [of pay] for his closest courtiers.

In this year the discord between al-Amīn Muḥammad and his brother al-Ma'mūn began. Each of them determined to oppose the other in what their father, Hārūn, had enjoined them to carry out in the document[16] that we have mentioned that he drew up as an obligation for them and between them.

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built by al-Manṣūr in 158/774. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 101–2; Lassner, *Topography of Baghdad*, 55, 60.

10. The Palace of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, also called the Palace of the Golden Gate or the Palace of the Green Dome, was located at the center of the Round City. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 31–33.

11. *Amān*: "safety, protection," in military contexts "safe-conduct, quarter." See *EI*² s.v. Amān (Schacht).

12. On the formal distinction between courtiers (*khāṣṣah*) and commoners (*'āmmah*) see *EI*² s.v. al-Khāṣṣah wa 'l-'Āmmah (Beg).

13. See the discussion of the role and political importance of these army commanders in Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 82.

14. Al-Sindī b. Shāhak was an important *mawlā* at court. Under al-Rashīd he had been instrumental in the fall of the Barmakids and had been in charge of security in Baghdad. See *EI*² s.v. Ibrahim b. al-Sindī (Pellat); Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 128; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 194–95.

15. *Madīnat al-Salām* was the name given to the original round city of Baghdad laid out by al-Manṣūr in 145/763.

16. This was the so-called Covenant of the Ka'bah, drawn up in 186/802 to settle the question of the succession. Under its terms al-Amīn, al-Rashīd's younger son by the 'Abbāsid princess Zubaydah, was given the succession,

Causes of the Discord between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: We have already mentioned that al-Rashīd, when he left for Khurāsān, renewed the oath of allegiance to al-Ma'mūn by the military commanders who were with him. He made the commanders, the remaining troops, and the others who were with him witness that all the soldiers who were with him were to be attached to al-Ma'mūn and that all money, weapons, equipment, and other things that were with him were to be al-Ma'mūn's.[17] When al-Rashīd's son Muḥammad learned that his father's illness had worsened and that he was going to die, he sent someone to bring him a report about him every day. He sent Bakr b. al-Mu'tamir and wrote letters [to be taken] with him, placing them in the hollowed legs of chests that he covered with cowhide and saying: "Do not let the Commander of the Faithful (al-Rashīd) or anyone in his camp find out anything about your business and intention or about what you have with you, even if you are killed, until the Commander of the Faithful dies. When he dies, give each of the men his letter." When Bakr b. al-Mu'tamir reached Ṭūs, Hārūn, having learned of his coming, summoned him and asked him, "What has brought you?" Bakr said, "Muḥammad sent me to find out news about you for him and to bring it to him." Hārūn said, "Do you have a letter with you?" "No," he replied. Hārūn gave orders that what Bakr had with him was to be searched, but they found nothing with him. Hārūn threatened him with blows, but he confessed nothing; so Hārūn ordered him to be
[766] imprisoned and bound. During the night in which he died, Hārūn

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and al-Ma'mūn, the slightly older son by the slave Marājil, was to have autonomy over the eastern half of the empire during his brother's lifetime, with the right of succession to the caliphate after al-Amīn. See Ṭabarī, III, 654–63; discussion in Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 343–51; Kimber, "Hārūn al-Rashīd's Meccan Settlement"; and Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 123–27. El-Hibri, in his recent article "Harun al-Rashid and the Mecca Protocol of 802," rejects the text of the protocols as a work of "Ma'munid propaganda."

17. As becomes clear later (p. 13), most of these men had families in Baghdad. Thus their attachment to al-Ma'mūn was an unusual action that al-Rashīd took pains to confirm before leaving for Khurāsān (Ṭabarī, III, 666, 704). Ibn al-Athīr, V, 152, adds that this arrangement "was distressing to al-Amīn."

ordered al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ[18] to go to the place where Bakr b. al-Muʿtamir was being confined and make him confess. He was either to confess or be beheaded. Al-Faḍl went to Bakr and tried to make him confess, but he confessed nothing. Then Hārūn lost consciousness, and the women cried out; so al-Faḍl held back from killing Bakr and went to attend on Hārūn. Hārūn regained consciousness, but he was weak and distracted from thinking about Bakr or anyone else by his sense of [approaching] death. Then he lost consciousness in an attack that they thought was the end. An outcry arose, whereupon Bakr b. al-Muʿtamir sent a note from himself to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ by way of ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Nuʿaym, asking him that they not be hasty in any affair and informing him that he had with him things that they needed to know about. Bakr was being confined in the house of Ḥusayn the eunuch (*khādim*). When Hārūn died—at the very time at which he died—al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ immediately summoned Bakr and asked him about what he had. Bakr denied having anything—he feared for himself that Hārūn might be alive. But, when Hārūn's death was confirmed to him, and (al-Faḍl) took him into his presence [to see the body], he told him that he had with him letters from the [new] Commander of the Faithful, Muḥammad, but that it was not possible for him to produce them while he was in a state of being bound and confined. Ḥusayn the eunuch refused to release him until al-Faḍl released him; Bakr then gave them the letters that he had. They were in the cowhide-covered legs of the kitchen [chests]. He gave each person his letter. Among the letters there was one from Muḥammad b. Hārūn to Ḥusayn the eunuch in Muḥammad's own hand, commanding Ḥusayn to release Bakr b. al-Muʿtamir and set him free. (Bakr) gave it to him. There was a letter to ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn, and (Bakr) retained al-Maʾmūn's letter with him, so that he might send it to al-Maʾmūn in Marw. They sent for al-Rashīd's son Ṣāliḥ, who had been with his father in Ṭūs, he having been the oldest of Hārūn's children [767]
in attendance on him. He came to them immediately and asked

18. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ was Hārūn's vizier. See *EI*² s.v. (Sourdel); Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 183–94; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 103; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 194.

them about his father, Hārūn. When they told him [of Hārūn's death], he showed intense grief. Then they gave him the letter from his brother Muḥammad that Bakr had brought. Those who had been present at the death of Hārūn were the ones who attended to him, washing him, and preparing him [for burial]. His son Ṣāliḥ prayed [the funeral prayer] over him.

The Letter of Muḥammad al-Amīn to His Brother 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn[19]

If your brother's letter—may God protect him from the loss of you—reaches you on the occurrence of that which can be neither averted nor repelled, it being a thing that departed nations and past ages have bequeathed and transmitted one to another,[20] [console yourself][21] with that whereby God has consoled you. Know that God, whose praise is exalted, has chosen for the Commander of the Faithful the better of two dwelling places and the more abundant of two lots.[22] God has taken possession of him clean and pure. He has rewarded his effort and forgiven his sin, God willing. Take up your affairs like a man of discretion and resolution, one who looks out for his brother, himself, his government, and the generality of Muslims. Take care that grief does not master you; for it annuls the reward [of a deed] and brings a heavy burden [of sin] as its consequence. May God's blessings be upon the Commander of the Faithful in life and in death. Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return![23]

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19. Cf. the Italian translation by Gabrieli, "Documenti relativi al califfato di al-Amīn in aṭ-Ṭabarī," 200–1.

20. The text is difficult. The translation follows the suggestion in ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, DXII. Ed. Cairo adds the word *fī* ("in") and can be translated: "according to what has been left behind and transmitted among departed nations and past ages." Gabrieli, ibid., translates, "all' avento di ciò che non si può respingere nè allontare, che ha fatto succedersi e passare dall' uno all' altro i popoli passati e i secoli trascorsi."

21. The bracketed text (Arabic: *fa-'azzi nafsaka*) from ed. Cairo, following Ms. Ahmet III, 2929 (A), renders the syntax comprehensible.

22. I.e., heaven.

23. Qur'ān 2:156, traditionally said in time of misfortune.

Have those who are with you—your military commanders, army, courtiers, and commons—swear allegiance to your brother [Muḥammad], then to yourself, and then to al-Qāsim, the son of the [late] Commander of the Faithful, according to the stipulation that the Commander of the Faithful set for you concerning its being annulled or confirmed for the latter.[24] For this you have the mandate of God and His caliph. Make known to those who are with you that my intention is to do them good, satisfy their needs, and be generous to them. As for anyone whom you reject when he swears allegiance or whose obedience you suspect, send me his head with a report of him! Take care that you do not release him, for hellfire is most fitting for him! Write to the financial agents (*'ummāl*) of your frontier regions and the commanders of your armies about the affliction that has befallen you concerning the Commander of the Faithful. Tell them that God, not satisfied with this [768] world as a reward for him, has taken him to His mercy, His rest, and His Paradise—in a state to be envied and praised, and as a leader into Paradise for all his successors, God willing. Command them to have their armies, courtiers, and commoners swear allegiance in the same way as I have commanded you to have those who are with you swear it. Instruct them to secure their frontiers and to be strong against their enemy. I will acquaint myself with their circumstances and set aright whatever is disordered with them, and will be generous to them. I will not be slow to strengthen my armies and helpers. Let your letters to them be public letters, to be read out to them, because that will set them at ease and enlarge their hopes. Act on the basis of what you[25]

24. That is, al-Qāsim. According to the succession arrangements, al-Ma'mūn could, on succeeding to the caliphate, either confirm al-Qāsim as his own heir or nominate someone else (one of his own children or another brother). See Ṭabarī, III, 658–59.

25. Following the reading of ed. Cairo (*ta'muru*). In the manuscript used by ed. Leiden, the initial letter of the word was left undotted, and the editor restored the word as *na'muru*, "we command." The Cairo reading makes better sense:

command regarding your troops near or far from you, according to what you deem best and perceive; for your brother knows the excellence of your decisions, the soundness of your judgment, and your foresight. He prays that God will keep you and asks God to strengthen his hand through you and gather his affairs into unity through you; and God is gracious to what He will.[26] Written by Bakr b. al-Mu'tamir in my presence and at my dictation in Shawwāl of the year 192 (July–August 808).[27]

The Letter of Muḥammad al-Amīn to His Brother Ṣāliḥ[28]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: If this letter of mine reaches you at the occurrence of what God has foreknown—His Decree that He has executed in regard to His viceroys[29] and His friends, and His established ordinance in regard to the prophets, the apostles, and the angels stationed near Him (so that He has said, "All things perish, except His Face; His is the Judgment, and unto Him you shall be returned"[30])—praise ye God for that to which the Commander of the Faithful has gone: (God's) great reward and the companionship of His prophets, may God's blessings be upon them! To Him we return.[31] We ask Him to render the

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Al-Amīn begins with praise of al-Ma'mūn's wisdom and concedes him the independence envisaged in the succession settlement.

26. Qur'ān 12:100.

27. Note that the letter is dated in the second month after al-Rashīd's departure from Baghdad, some seven or eight months before his death.

28. Cf. the Italian translation by Gabrieli, "Documenti relativi al califfato di al-Amīn in aṭ-Ṭabarī," 202–4.

29. *Khulafā'*, pl. of *khalīfah*: Cf. Qur'ān 2:30, where God announces to the angels, on the creation of Adam: "I am setting in the earth a viceroy." Cf. also Ṭabarī, I, 974, where the kings of Israel are called *khulafā'*.

30. Qur'ān 28:88. The syntax is loose. Instead of "so that He has said," ed. Cairo reads "so say." The Cairo text yields the following sense: "If this letter of mine reaches you . . . , say: 'All things perish . . . and unto Him you shall be returned; praise ye God. . . .'"

31. See note 23.

caliphate prosperous for the community of His Prophet Muḥammad—may God bless him and give him peace!—for He has been to them a defense and a shelter, and to them He has been gentle and compassionate. Be vigorous in your enterprise. Take care that you do not sit with [769] your hands folded; for your brother has chosen you for what he has sent you to perform and will have an eye out for any places in which you are found wanting.[32] Prove his opinion to be true! We ask God for success. Have the children of the Commander of the Faithful, his family, his *mawālī*, his courtiers, and his commoners who are with you swear allegiance to Muḥammad, Commander of the Faithful, then to 'Abdallāh, the son of the [late] Commander of the Faithful, and then to al-Qāsim, the son of the [late] Commander of the Faithful, according to the stipulation that the Commander of the Faithful—may God's blessings be upon him!—set concerning its being annulled for al-Qāsim or confirmed. Happiness and prosperity are to be found in upholding his pact and proceeding on his paths. Inform the courtiers and commoners who are with you that I intend to treat them well, to relieve their grievances, to inquire of their conditions, and to pay them their provision allowances (*arzāq*) and stipends (*a'ṭiyāt*). If any troublemaker stirs up mischief or if any unruly person causes a commotion, fall upon him so as to make him "a punishment exemplary for those present and for those to come, and an admonition to such as are God-fearing."[33] Attach to the fortunate man, son of the fortunate man—al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī'—the children, servants, and family of the Commander of the Faithful. Command him to travel with them, along with those who are with him, his soldiers, and his horse guards (*rawābiṭ*).[34] Commit the

32. The text may be corrupt; the reading is conjectural.

33. Qur'ān 2:66.

34. That is, to return to Baghdad. The command for a large part of the army assigned to al-Ma'mūn to return to Baghdad was bound to cause friction. See pp. 13–14, below. The exact meaning of *rawābiṭ* (pl. of *rābiṭah*) is unclear. Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1014, explains the term as synonymous with *murābiṭah*: "a

camp and its policing (*aḥdāth*)[35] to ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik,[36] who is trustworthy in what he undertakes and is favorably received by the regular troops. Attach to him all the police force (*jund al-shuraṭ*)—both horse guards and others—in addition to his soldiers who are with him. Command him to exert himself, be vigilant, and use good judgment in all his affairs night and day; for those who harbor hostility and hypocrisy toward this government (*sulṭān*) will take advantage of an affliction such as this. Confirm Ḥātim b. Harthamah[37] in his post. Command him to guard what the palaces of the Commander of the Faithful contain. He is a man of known and proven obedience, by God's mandate, in accordance with traits of character that were also known to be typical of his father, who was praised in the court of the caliphs. Command the servants to bring their squadrons of horse
[770] guards: by means of them and by means of their soldiers the weak spots of your camp will be closed up, for they are one of your strengths. Entrust your vanguard to Asad b. Yazīd b. Mazyad[38] and your rear to Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh[39] and his soldiers. Command the two of them to report to you each night. Stay on the Great Road. Do not exceed the stages; that will be easier on you. Command Asad b. Yazīd to select someone from his family or one of his commanders to join his vanguard and precede him to prepare the camp sites or part of the road. If some

company of horsemen having their horses tied at the frontier in preparation for the enemy." Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 502, notes that the term could be used in the general sense of "mounted guard" or "night watch."

35. For a discussion of the origins of this term, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 258.

36. ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzāʿī was a leading military figure in al-Maʾmūn's entourage. Cf. Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 80–81; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 181–82. Note that he had already gone ahead with al-Maʾmūn to Marw (p. 14, below).

37. He was the son of Harthamah b. Aʿyan al-Ḍabbī, who had replaced ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān as governor of Khurāsān under al-Rashīd. See Ṭabarī, III, 713–29; *EI*[2] s.v. Ḥātim b. Harthama (Lewis); Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 177–78.

38. Asad was the son of Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī (d. 185/801), who had been an important military leader with roots in al-Jazīrah (northern Mesopotamia), rather than Khurāsān. See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 169–70.

39. Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh b. Muslim was of Khurāsānian origins. See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 184.

of those I have named are not present with you in your camp, choose in their stead people whose obedience, loyalty, and respect in the eyes of the populace you trust; God willing, you will not lack such among your commanders and aides. Take care lest you carry out any plan or conclude any affair without the decision of your elder (*shaykh*) and the best minister of your fathers, al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ. Confirm all the servants in charge of the money, weapons, stores, and other things now in their hands. Do not remove any of them from what he is in charge of until you come to me. I have committed to Bakr b. al-Muʿtamir a matter of which he will inform you; act in it according to what you perceive and deem best. If you order pay (*ʿaṭāʾ*) or provision allowance (*rizq*) for the people of your camp, let al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ be the person in charge of paying it to them according to registers that he keeps for himself in the presence of the keepers of the registers. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ has always followed such procedures in important affairs. When this letter of mine reaches you, send Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ[40] and Bakr b. al-Muʿtamir to me on their post horses. There should be for you no staying or delay at the place where you are until you bring me your camp, with the money and stores that are in it, God willing! Your brother asks God to defend you. He prays to God on your behalf that you may be well strengthened [771] through His mercy. Written by Bakr b. al-Muʿtamir in my presence and at my dictation in Shawwāl of the year 192 (July–August 808).

When Hārūn was buried, Rajāʾ the eunuch left, carrying the seal, the scepter, the mantle,[41] and the announcement of Hārūn's

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40. A secretary who served al-Rashīd and al-Amīn; see Sourdel, *Vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 122, 190.

41. The seal (*khātam*), scepter (*qaḍīb*), and mantle of the Prophet (*burdah*) were insignia of the caliphate. For the story of how the mantle that the Prophet gave to the poet Kaʿb b. Zuhayr was bought by the caliph Muʿāwiyah, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 67. Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 184, s.v. *burdah*, gives a description of the garment. See also, Sourdel, "Questions de cérémoniale ʿabbaside," 135; *EI*[2] s.v. Marāsīm (Sanders).

death. He reached Baghdad the eve of Thursday—some say on Wednesday. The report I have mentioned previously then took place.

Some have said: When the announcement of al-Rashīd's death reached Baghdad, Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī [b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās] ascended the pulpit.[42] Having praised and extolled God, he said, "The man whose loss is greatest and whose survivor is best—we have been afflicted with [his] loss.[43] No one has been afflicted with loss like ours; yet we have been compensated—and who has compensation such as ours?" Then he announced his death to the people and urged the people to obedience.

According to al-Ḥasan the Chamberlain (*al-Ḥājib*)—al-Faḍl b. Sahl:[44] The dignitaries of Khurāsān went to meet al-Rashīd. Al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab[45] was among them. [Continuing, al-Faḍl]

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42. Al-Yaʿqūbī, II, 525, gives a version of this *khuṭbah* by a senior ʿAbbāsid prince with significant textual variants.

43. The text is difficult. The manuscript used by ed. Leiden (Köprülü 1041) reads, "The man whose loss is greatest and whose survivor is best—we have been afflicted by loss of the *Messenger of God*." The Leiden editor deleted the words "the Messenger of God." In *Addenda*, DCCLXII, he added this note: "Yaʿqūbī, II, 525, also has 'We have been afflicted with loss of the Messenger of God.' Afterwards, however, Yaʿqūbī has 'and we have been compensated by his successor, his son.'" He added that one perhaps should read, "the Caliph of the Messenger of God." Thus his conjectured reconstruction was, "The man whose loss is greatest and whose survivor is best—we have been afflicted with loss of *the Caliph of* the Messenger of God. No one has been afflicted with loss like ours; yet we have been compensated *by his successor, his son*—and who has compensation such as ours?" Ed. Cairo reads (but gives no textual note): "The man whose loss is greatest and whose survivor is best *is our loss* (*ruzʾunā*). No one has been afflicted. . . ." The original reading of Köprülü 1041 may be correct. As prologue to the announcement of al-Rashīd's death, the speaker may have begun with a reference to how the Muslim community's greatest calamity, the death of Muḥammad, did not mean disaster.

44. On the career of al-Faḍl b. Sahl b. Zadhānfarūkh, the vizier of al-Maʾmūn and perhaps the man most responsible for the war between the two brothers, see *EI*² s.v. (Sourdel). Note that al-Faḍl b. Sahl had been responsible for having al-Maʾmūn accompany al-Rashīd to Khurāsān. Foreseeing that al-Maʾmūn might be in danger of being deprived of his rights if al-Rashīd were to die while both heirs were in Baghdad, he had counseled al-Maʾmūn to accompany his father to the province that had been assigned to him. See Ṭabarī, III, 730–31.

45. Al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab al-Khuzāʿī was the father of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, who was to become al-Maʾmūn's main commander in the civil war. On the family and its rise to prominence, see M. Kaabi, "Les Origines ṭāhirides dans la *daʿwa* ʿabbāside."

said: He met me and said to me, "Al-Rashīd is going to die today or tomorrow. The position of Muḥammad b. al-Rashīd is weak. The affair belongs to your master [al-Ma'mūn]. Stretch out your hand." He then stretched out his hand and swore allegiance to al-Ma'mūn as caliph. A few days later, he came to me with al-Khalīl b. Hishām and said, "This is my brother's son. He is someone you can trust. Receive his oath of allegiance."

Al-Ma'mūn had already left Marw for the castle of Khālid b. Ḥammād, a *farsakh*[46] from Marw, intending to go to Samarqand.[47] He had commanded al-'Abbās b. al-Musayyab[48] to bring out the troops and go to the camp. Isḥāq the eunuch (*khādim*) passed by the latter, carrying the announcement of al-Rashīd's death. His coming grieved al-'Abbās, who then went to al-Ma'mūn and informed him. Al-Ma'mūn returned to Marw, entered the Government House,[49] the house of Abū Muslim, and announced the death of al-Rashīd from the pulpit.[50] He rent his garment and descended. He commanded that money be given to the men and had the oath of allegiance to Muḥammad and then to himself administered. He gave the soldiers twelve [772] months' provision allowance (*rizq*).

When the commanders, soldiers, and children of Hārūn who had received Muḥammad's letters in Ṭūs read them, they took counsel together about joining Muḥammad.[51] Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' said, "I will not foresake a present king for another whose future position is unknown." He ordered the men to depart, and they did so out of a desire to rejoin their families and homes in Baghdad. Thus they abandoned their obligations to al-Ma'mūn.

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46. A *farsakh*, from Persian *farsang*, originally was the distance that could be covered on foot in an hour's march. In Islamic times it was standardized at three Arab miles—5.985 km or 3.717 miles. See *EI*[2] s.v. (Hinz).

47. Samarqand (modern Samarkand in the Uzbek S.S.R.) was the chief city of the district of Sughd (ancient Sogdiana), which included the fertile lands between the Oxus (Jayḥūn, modern Amu Darya) and Jaxartes (Sayḥūn, modern Syr Darya) rivers. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 460–67; *EI*[1] s.v. Samarḳand (Schaeder).

48. Al-'Abbās b. al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī commanded a group of *shurṭah* troops. See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 187.

49. The *Dār al-Imārah*, or "House of the Government," on the central square of Marw had been built by Abū Muslim, the great partisan of the 'Abbāsids. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 399.

50. The text of al-Ma'mūn's words on the occasion is given in Dīnawarī, 388.

51. Parallel versions: Ibn al-Athīr, V, 153; *Fragmenta*, 320–21.

When word of their action reached al-Ma'mūn in Marw, he gathered his father's military commanders who were with him. They included 'Abdallāh b. Mālik, Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh, Shabīb b. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah,[52] al-'Alā' the *mawlā* of Hārūn,[53] al-'Abbās b. al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr (who was in charge of his police [*shurṭah*]), and Ayyūb b. Abī Sumayr[54] (who was in charge of his correspondence). Of the members of his household 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ[55] and Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn[56] were with him—the latter was one of the men most in his esteem and closest to him. He asked their advice and told them the news. They urged him to overtake the men with a detachment of 2,000 horsemen and turn them back. Men were named for this.[57] Then Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn came before him and said to him, "If you do what they have urged upon you, you will have made these men a gift to Muḥammad.[58] The wisest plan is for you to write them a letter and send them a messenger, reminding them of the oath of allegiance, asking them to fulfill it, and warning them about oath breaking and its consequences for them in the present world and the hereafter." [Continuing, al-Faḍl b. Sahl] said: I said to him, "Your letter and your messengers will stand in your stead, so that you will search out what the people think. You
[773] should send Sahl b. Ṣā'id"—he was his chief steward. "He puts his hope in you and expects to attain his hope, and so he will never flag in his loyalty to you. You should also send Nawfal the eunuch (*khādim*), the *mawlā* of Mūsā [al-Hādī], the

52. He was the grandson of Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb al-Ṭā'ī, next to Abū Muslim the most important general of the 'Abbāsid revolution. See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 189.

53. He held the post of chamberlain (*ḥājib*). See Ibn al-Athīr, V, 153.

54. See Sourdel, *Vizirat 'abbāside*, I, 184, 198.

55. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās was a member of the 'Abbāsid family.

56. That is, al-Faḍl b. Sahl. The title means "possessor of two primacies"—i.e., primacy in civil affairs and primacy in military affairs. It is an anachronism here, for it was not conferred on al-Faḍl b. Sahl by al-Ma'mūn until 196/812. See pp. 101–2, below.

57. That is, to stop al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' by force. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 321: "He acted in accordance with this opinion and named men to travel with him." In other words, the first plan was for al-Ma'mūn himself to accompany the detachment.

58. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 321, and Ibn al-Athīr, V, 154: "these men will make you a gift to Muḥammad." The word for "gift" (*hadiyyah*) can also mean "sacrificial animal."

Commander of the Faithful, who is judicious." So he wrote a letter and sent the two messengers, who overtook the men in Naysābūr.[59] They had already traveled three stages.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Abī Sa'īd—Sahl b. Ṣā'id, who said: When I delivered his letter to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī', he said to me, "I am one of them."[60] [Continuing, al-Ḥasan] said: Sahl said to me: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jabalah assaulted me with a spear and made it pass along my side. Then he said, "Tell your master [al-Ma'mūn], 'By God, if you were present, I would put the spear into your mouth!' This is my answer." Then he defamed al-Ma'mūn. I returned with the news.

According to al-Faḍl b. Sahl: I said to al-Ma'mūn, "Enemies—now you have been relieved of them! But mark what I am saying to you. This dynasty (*dawlah*)[61] was never more powerful than it was in the days of Abū Ja'far;[62] yet al-Muqanna' rebelled against him, claiming divinity.[63] Some said he was seeking vengeance for Abū Muslim.[64] The army was shaken by his revolt in Khurāsān, but God averted the trouble from (Abū Ja'far). After him Yūsuf al-Barm[65] rebelled—in the sight of some

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59. Naysābūr (Persian Nīshāpūr) was the chief city of the westernmost of the four quarters into which Khurāsān province was divided. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 382–88.

60. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr's gloss (V, 156): "I am only one of the soldiers (*jund*)."

61. *Dawlah* literally means "turning" or "revolution" (in its etymological sense). The 'Abbāsid caliphs used the term to make an ideological claim justifying their rule as "a turn of fortune which had eliminated the Umayyad usurpers, avenged the Prophet's family, restored the rightful dynasty, and filled the earth with justice"; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 65.

62. That is, al-Manṣūr, the second 'Abbāsid caliph, who ruled from 136/754 to 158/775. See *EI*[2] s.v. al-Manṣūr (Kennedy).

63. Hāshim b. Ḥakīm, known as al-Muqanna' ("the Veiled One") because he wore a green cloth over his face continuously and asserted that mere mortals could not bear the light of his countenance, led a revolt in Khurāsān that had extended into the reign of al-Mahdī. He is said to have declared himself an incarnation of the deity and to have preached the transmigration of souls. See Ṭabarī, III, 484, 494, and 499 (A.H. 161 and 163); Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 199–200.

64. Abū Muslim, the architect of the 'Abbāsid revolution, was executed by Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr in a move to consolidate his own power. See *EI*[2] s.v. Abū Muslim (Moscati).

65. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Barm led a rebellion in Khurāsān in 160/776–77 against al-Mahdī. He was defeated by troops led by Yazīd b. Mazyad and sent back to al-Ruṣāfah, where al-Mahdī had him executed. See Ṭabarī, III, 470–71; Ya'qūbī, II, 478–79.

Muslims, he was an infidel (*kāfir*)—but God averted the trouble. Then Ustādhsīs[66] rebelled, calling people to infidelity (*kufr*). Al-Mahdī[67] marched from al-Rayy[68] to Naysābūr and took care of the trouble. But what I do will be more for you! Tell me, how do you think the troops were, when they received the news of Rāfiʿ [b. Layth]?"[69] He said, "I think they were greatly disturbed." I said, "How will they be regarding you, when you are lodged among your maternal uncles,[70] with the oath of allegiance to you binding them? What will the disturbance of the Baghdad troops be? Be patient, and I will guarantee you the caliphate!" I placed my hand on my heart. He said, "I will. I put the matter into your hands. Carry it out!"

Then I said, "By God, I will speak the truth to you. ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik, Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh, and the leading commanders we have named—if *they*[71] undertake the matter for you, they will
[774] be more advantageous for you than I, with their renowned leadership and because of the strength they possess for fighting. Whoever undertakes the matter, I will be his servant until you attain your desire and decide as you think best about me." So I met them in their lodgings. I reminded them of the oath of allegiance binding them and their obligation to fulfill it. It was as if I had brought them carrion on a plate. One of them said, "This is not lawful; go away!" Another of them said, "Who would

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66. The revolt of Ustādhsīs during the reign of al-Manṣūr in 150/767 involved elements from Harāt, Bādghīs, Sijistān, and parts of Khurāsān. See Ṭabarī, III, 354–58; Yaʿqūbī, II, 457; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 183–84.

67. Al-Mahdī, the third ʿAbbāsid caliph, ruled from 158/775 to 169/785. See *EI*[2] s.v. (Kennedy).

68. Al-Rayy, or Ray (ancient Rhages), was a major city in northeastern Jibāl province. The modern city of Tehran began as a suburb of it. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 214–17; *EI*[1] s.v. Raiy (Minorsky).

69. The revolt of Rāfiʿ b. Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār (apparently the grandson of the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān) was the occasion for al-Rashīd's expedition to Khurāsān. The revolt had begun in 190/805–6 as an expression of discontent against the misrule of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān as governor of Khurāsān, developed considerable local support, and was still continuing when al-Rashīd died. See Ṭabarī, III, 707–8; Yaʿqūbī, II, 528; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 200–1.

70. This alludes to al-Maʾmūn's mother, Marājil, who was of Iranian extraction.

71. Correcting the reading of ed. Leiden ("it will be...") on the basis of ed. Cairo and Maqrīzī (see ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXIV).

interfere between the Commander of the Faithful and his brother?" So I came and informed (al-Ma'mūn). He said, "Undertake the matter!"

I said (to al-Ma'mūn), "You have read the Qur'ān, heard traditions,[72] and become learned in religion. The wisest plan is for you to send to the learned men in your entourage, summoning them to justice and its performance, and to reviving the Sunnah.[73] You should sit on felt mats[74] and relieve injustices." We did this. We sent to the men learned [in religious matters]. Also we treated the military commanders, kings, and descendants of kings generously. To the Tamīmī[75] we would say, "We set you in the place of Mūsā b. Ka'b"; to the Raba'ī[76] we would say, "[We set you] in the place of Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm"; and to the Yemenī, "We set you in the place of Qaḥṭabah and Mālik b. al-Haytham."[77] We summoned each tribe to the greatest of their heads. We gained the favor of the heads and said things like this to them.[78] We reduced the land tax (*kharāj*) from

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72. *Aḥādīth*, pl. of *ḥadīth*: reports of sayings or actions of the Prophet, transmitted by reliable intermediaries and serving as precedents for action. See *EI*[2] s.v. On al-Ma'mūn's religious education, see the biography of al-Ma'mūn in Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, XVII, 654–61 (repeated in Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, II, 235–39); and Ya'qūbī, II, 571–72.

73. *Sunnah* (from *sanna*, to institute) originally meant "a way of acting or conduct . . . instituted by former people, and . . . pursued by those after them"; Lane, *Lexicon*, IV, 1438. Before Islam *sunnah* referred to the practice of an ancestor handed down from one generation of a tribe to another as worthy of praise and emulation. The Islamic community applied the word to the normative actions and sayings of Muḥammad handed down within the community. See also Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam*, 123–98.

74. That is, as a sign of humility. Ibn al-Athīr, V, 155, reads "wool."

75. That is, a member of the powerful tribe of Tamīm.

76. That is, from the tribe of Rabī'ah.

77. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 155: "All these men had been *naqībs* ('supervisors, chiefs') of the 'Abbāsid revolution." Mūsā b. Ka'b had fought in the revolution and headed al-Manṣūr's *shurṭah* (Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 79; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 186). Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm had been Abū Muslim's second in command and became governor of Khurāsān after Abū Muslim's execution (Kennedy, ibid., 62–63). Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb al-Ṭā'ī had been the most important military commander of the revolution next to Abū Muslim (Crone, ibid., 188). Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzā'ī had been the head of Abū Muslim's *shurṭah* (Crone, ibid., 181).

78. The manuscript followed by ed. Leiden has a lacuna at this point, and the translation follows the text of ed. Cairo, which may itself be corrupt. Two groups of "heads" seem to be involved: the Arab tribal leaders who had been

Khurāsān by one-fourth. They were favorably impressed and gladdened by this. They said, "The son of our sister and the son (i.e., descendant) of the paternal uncle of the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace!"[79]

According to ʿAlī b. Isḥāq: When the caliphate devolved upon Muḥammad [al-Amīn] and the people of Baghdad became calm, he arose on Saturday morning, a day after allegiance had been sworn to him, and ordered the building of a parade ground (*maydān*) around the Palace of Abū Jaʿfar in the city for polo and games.[80] Concerning this, a poet from the people of Baghdad said:

God's *Amīn*[81] built a parade ground,
and he turned the tract into a garden.
[775] The gazelles in it were ben trees
that were brought to him in it as gazelles.

Various Items of Information

In the month of Shaʿbān[82] of this year, Umm Jaʿfar[83] left al-Raqqah,[84] taking all the treasures and other things she had there.

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active in the ʿAbbāsid revolution, and the Persian elite, which was favorably impressed by the reduction in the land tax and by references to al-Maʾmūn's Persian descent on his mother's side.

79. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 321: "The Persians said, 'The son . . . , the learned, just, and pious!' "Son of our sister" refers to the fact that al-Maʾmūn's mother, Marājil, was Persian and sometimes said to have been the captured daughter of Ustādhsīs, the Khurāsānian rebel. See Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 124; *EI*[2] s.v. al-Maʾmūn.

80. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 155; *Fragmenta*, 321.

81. There is a pun on the meaning of the name *al-Amīn*, "the trustworthy one." The second verse of the couplet is textually uncertain (see ed. Leiden note). I take it to mean that the gazelles in the garden were beautiful maidens (ben trees, because of their shapeliness, were a typical poetic comparison for women) that were brought to a place where wild gazelles once had roamed.

82. Shaʿbān 193 began on May 20, 809.

83. Umm Jaʿfar is the *kunyah* (agnomen) of Zubaydah, the niece of al-Manṣūr and mother of al-Amīn. See *EI*[2] s.v. al-Amīn; also Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad*.

84. Al-Raqqah, on the Euphrates river, was the main town of the Diyār Muḍar district of al-Jazīrah province (see note 96). The ʿAbbāsids established a major garrison adjoining the town, and al-Rashīd used al-Raqqah as a residence when the climate of Baghdad was too hot. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 101–3.

Her son, Muḥammad al-Amīn, met her at al-Anbār[85] with all the dignitaries who had been in Baghdad. Al-Ma'mūn established himself in charge of that to which he had been appointed —that is, the governorship of Khurāsān and its districts as far as al-Rayy. He wrote to al-Amīn and sent him many gifts. Al-Ma'mūn's letters to Muḥammad arrived one after the other, extolling the latter's greatness, and accompanied by gifts of Khurāsānian rarities—furniture, vessels, musk, beasts, and weapons.

In this year, Harthamah[86] entered the wall of Samarqand.[87] Rāfi' [b. Layth] took refuge in the inner city and sent a message to the Turks, who came to him. Harthamah was caught between Rāfi' and the Turks, but the Turks withdrew, and Rāfi' grew weaker.

In this year, Niqfūr,[88] the king of the Romans, died fighting the Bulgars.[89] His reign is said to have lasted seven[90] years. Istabrāq,[91] the son of Niqfūr, became king after him, but he had been wounded and survived only two months and then died. Istabrāq's brother-in-law, Mīkhā'īl[92] the son of Jūrjis, then became king.

In this year, Dāwūd b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī,[93] the governor of Mecca, led the pilgrimage.[94]

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85. Al-Anbār, an important city on the left bank of the Euphrates, was about 12 *farsakhs* (44.6 miles) west and slightly north of Baghdad. It was the terminus of an important canal, the Nahr 'Īsā, connecting the Euphrates and the Tigris at Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 65–67; *EI*[2] s.v.

86. On Harthamah b. A'yan, see *EI*[2] s.v. Harthama (Pellat); Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 177.

87. Parallel: Ya'qūbī, II, 528.

88. That is, Nicephorus I, Byzantine emperor from 802 to 811, who died in battle against the khan of the Bulgars on July 26, 811 (Ṭabarī's date for his death is incorrect). For an account of his origins, see Ṭabarī, III, 695. Cf. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 271; and Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, 151–60.

89. *Al-Burjān* (Bulgars) were a Turkish people who had moved into the Balkans.

90. The reading "nine years," noted in ed. Cairo, is probably correct. The words for "seven" and "nine" are easily confused in Arabic script.

91. That is, Stauracius.

92. That is, Michael I Rhangabe, who ruled from 811 to 813.

93. Dāwūd b. 'Īsā was an 'Abbāsid family member, a distant cousin of al-Rashīd.

94. Ya'qūbī, II, 526, reports that Zubaydah, the mother of al-Amīn, also made the pilgrimage this year.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Hārūn confirmed[95] his brother al-Qāsim b. Hārūn in the governorship of al-Jazīrah[96] to which his father had appointed him. He appointed Khuzaymah b. Khāzim[97] to be (al-Qāsim's) agent for al-Jazīrah, and he also confirmed al-Qāsim over Qinnasrīn[98] and the frontier strongholds.[99]

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95. I understand the text to mean that al-Amīn confirmed his younger brother in his titular governorships, but appointed an agent to administer the districts as deputy. Note, however, that the parallel in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 155, reads: "Al-Amīn *removed* his brother al-Qāsim al-Mu'taman from al-Jazīrah and appointed him over Qinnasrīn and al-'Awāṣim. As governor of al-Jazīrah he appointed Khuzaymah b. Khāzim." Cf. the report below, p. 22, about al-Qāsim's being removed in 194/809–10.

96. Al-Jazīrah ("the island" or "peninsula") was the Arabic name for Upper Mesopotamia. Al-Mawṣil, al-Raqqah, and Āmid were the main towns of its three districts. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 85–114; *EI*[2] s.v. al-Djazīra (Canard).

97. Khuzaymah b. Khāzim b. Khuzaymah al-Tamīmī was of Khurāsānian origin and the son of a *naqīb* of the 'Abbāsid revolution. He was prominent among the *Abnā'*, military leaders of Khurāsānian origin who had come to Baghdad with the revolution. See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 180.

98. Qinnasrīn was a city in Syria south of modern Aleppo (Ḥalab). It was considered one of the *'Awāṣim* (see note 99, below). See *EI*[2] s.v. Ḳinnasrīn (Elisseeff).

99. *'Awāṣim* (pl. of *'āṣimah*, a defending city): This was the new line of garrisons that al-Rashīd had established in Syria to defend the Byzantine border and provide a base for launching attacks. Manbij was the main town. See *EI*[2] s.v. al-'Awāṣim (Canard); Shaban, *Islamic History*, II, 29; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 130. For other actions by al-Amīn at the beginning of his reign, see Ya'qūbī, II, 526–28, as well as p. 103, below (the release of the 'Abbāsid 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ from prison).

The Events of the Year 194

(October 15, 809–October 3, 810)

Among these events was the disobedience of the people of Ḥimṣ[100] against their governor, Isḥāq b. Sulaymān,[101] whom Muḥammad had appointed as governor.[102] When they disobeyed him, he moved to Salamyah.[103] Muḥammad removed him from them and appointed ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī,[104] with whom was ʿĀfiyah b. Sulaymān. He imprisoned a number of their prominent people and set fire to their city from its outer parts. When they asked him for quarter (*amān*), he agreed, and they became quiet. Later, they rioted; so he cut off the heads of a number of them.[105] [776]

100. Ḥimṣ (modern Ḥomṣ) is about 135 km north of Damascus in Syria, approximately halfway between Damascus and Aleppo. See *EI*[2] s.v. (Elisséeff).

101. Isḥāq b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās was a member of the ʿAbbāsid family.

102. Parallel: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 156.

103. Salamyah (modern Salamiyyah) is about 50 km northeast of Ḥimṣ. A number of members of the Hāshimī family had settled in it, and therefore it would be a more congenial residence for the governor in the face of hostility in Ḥimṣ. See *EI*[1] s.v. Salamīya (Kramers).

104. He is probably to be identified as the grandson (not son) of Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī, a Qaysī military commander from Qinnasrīn who had served the Umayyads. See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 144–45.

105. This notice about a rebellion in Ḥimṣ is repeated almost verbatim at the end of the year's events (p. 45, below).

In this year, Muḥammad removed his brother al-Qāsim from everything over which his father, Hārūn, had given him charge—the districts of Damascus (*al-Sha'm*), Qinnasrīn, the frontier strongholds (*'awāṣim*), and the border regions (*thughūr*).[106] He replaced him with Khuzaymah b. Khāzim and commanded (al-Qāsim) to live in Madīnat al-Salām.[107]

In this year, Muḥammad ordered prayers to be offered from the pulpits on behalf of his son Mūsā for the office of commander.[108]

In this year, Muḥammad al-Amīn and 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn practiced deceit against each other, and a falling out became apparent between the two.

Reasons for the Falling out between Muḥammad al-Amīn and 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn

It has been mentioned: After he had come to Muḥammad in Iraq, leaving Ṭūs and breaking the promises that al-Rashīd had made him give to his son 'Abdallāh [al-Ma'mūn], al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' took thought.[109] He realized that, if the caliphate ever devolved upon al-Ma'mūn in his own lifetime, the latter would not allow him to survive; if he gained power over him, it would be his downfall. So he strove to incite Muḥammad against 'Abdallāh. He urged him to depose him and to divert the succession to his own son Mūsā. This had not been Muḥammad's plan or intention. His intention, according to what has been mentioned about him, was to carry out for his brothers 'Abdallāh and al-Qāsim the promises and stipulations that his father had caused him to make to them. Al-Faḍl kept on disparaging
[777] al-Ma'mūn in his eyes and recommending that he be deposed. Finally, al-Faḍl said, "What are you waiting for in the matter of

106. On the *thughūr*, see Shaban, *Islamic History*, II, 28–29.

107. I.e., Baghdad, which had been named "City of Peace" by its founder, al-Manṣūr. For discussion of the name, see Lassner, *Topography of Baghdad*, p. 45 and note.

108. The action indicated official recognition of Mūsā as successor to the office of Commander of the Faithful. See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 445, for a discussion of the idiom.

109. Parallels: Ya'qūbī, II, 529; Dīnawarī, 389; *Fragmenta*, 321–23; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 156; Mas'ūdī, VI, 419.

'Abdallāh and al-Qāsim, your brothers? The oath of allegiance was to you first, before the two of them; they were only brought into it after you, one after the other." Al-Faḍl brought into the affair those whose opinion was on his side—'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān,[110] al-Sindī, and others in his entourage—and he caused Muḥammad to change his mind. The first thing that Muḥammad did in conformity with the counsel of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' in the affair was to write ordering all the governors in all the garrison cities to offer prayers on behalf of his son Mūsā for the office of commander after the prayers for himself, al-Ma'mūn, and al-Qāsim b. al-Rashīd.[111]

According to al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq b. Sulaymān:[112] When al-Ma'mūn learned what Muḥammad had commanded, that his own son Mūsā should be prayed for [as an heir], and that he had removed al-Qāsim from the districts that al-Rashīd had assigned him and had made him come to Madīnat al-Salām (i.e., Baghdad), he realized that Muḥammad was plotting against him to depose him. He cut off the post[113] from Muḥammad and dropped his name from the embroidered decorations on official garments.[114]

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110. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān, the son of a *naqīb* (deputy) and *dā'ī* in Marw during the 'Abbāsid revolution, was from a prominent family of *Abnā'* in Baghdad. He had been active in service to the dynasty since the reign of al-Mahdī. Under al-Rashīd he had served as governor of Khurāsān, where he had become highly unpopular because of his methods. His disastrous expedition against al-Ma'mūn's commander Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn will be narrated in detail on pp. 49ff., below. See also *EI*[2] s.v. Ibn Māhān (Sourdel); Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 181–82; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 80–81.

111. Note that this account says that Mūsā's name was added after the names of al-Ma'mūn and al-Qāsim, but did not replace them. The next account (from another source apparently; there is a textual problem) has al-Amīn demanding that al-Ma'mūn give Mūsā precedence (p. 25, below). Finally, Ṭabarī, p. 27, below (apparently the same source, but this is not certain) has al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' forbidding any mention of 'Abdallāh and al-Qāsim as heirs. The exact sequence of events is anything but clear.

112. Probably to be identified as the son of the 'Abbāsid prince Isḥāq b. Sulaymān, who held various governorships under al-Rashīd. See Bosworth, *'Abbāsid Caliphate in Equilibrium*, 15n.

113. That is, he stopped sending reports to the central government in Baghdad. On the post (*barīd*), see note 5.

114. Ms. A (cited in ed. Cairo) adds: "and from the coinage." The calligraphic motifs embroidered on robes worn by rulers and persons of high rank were called *ṭirāz*. Such garments were produced in state workshops, and the wording of the embroidered band was carefully controlled. It normally mentioned the reigning caliph and sometimes his minister or the official in charge of the workshops.

When Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār received news about al-Ma'mūn and his good behavior toward the people of his province and good treatment of them, he sent asking quarter (*amān*) for himself. Harthamah promptly granted it.[115] Rāfiʿ came out and joined al-Ma'mūn; Harthamah remained established at Samarqand. Al-Ma'mūn treated Rāfiʿ generously. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn[116] had been with Harthamah at the siege of Rāfiʿ. After quarter had been granted to Rāfiʿ, Harthamah asked al-Maʿmūn for permission to come to him. He took his army across the Balkh River[117] while it was frozen, the people met him, and al-Ma'mūn put him in charge of the guard (*ḥaras*). Muḥammad took a dim view of all this and began plotting against al-Ma'mūn. As part of the plotting, he wrote to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik,[118] who was al-Ma'mūn's financial agent for al-Rayy, commanding him to send him some
[778] exotic plants from al-Rayy, wishing to test him by this. Al-ʿAbbās sent him what he had commanded him to send and concealed the matter from al-Ma'mūn and Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn. Word of what he had done reached al-Ma'mūn. He sent out al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ma'mūnī,[119] as whose subordinate he ap-

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Thus, omitting al-Amīn's name could be considered a very serious act. The Meccan documents fixing the succession to al-Rashīd granted control of the *ṭirāz* workshops of Khurāsān to al-Ma'mūn (cf. Ṭabarī, III, 655). An example of *ṭirāz* from the reign of al-Amīn, dated A.H. 197, mentioning both al-Amīn and al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, is in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo, along with one from the reign of al-Ma'mūn (A.H. 216). See Day, "Dated Ṭirāz," 422; texts in *REA*, I, No. 93, 208A. On *ṭirāz* more generally, see *EI*[1] and *EI*[1] Supplement, s.v. (Grohmann); Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah* (trans. Rosenthal), II, 65–67; and Sergeant, *Islamic Textiles*.

115. Cf. Yaʿqūbī, II, 529, where the capitulation of Rāfiʿ is dated in Muḥarram 194.

116. This is the first mention of the commander who would lead al-Ma'mūn's forces to victory in the coming civil war. His family, apparently of Arab origin, had been settled at Būshang, near Harāt, since late Umayyad times. See *EI*[1] s.v. (Barthold); Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 138–39; and Kaabi, "Les Origines ṭāhirides dans la *daʿwa* ʿabbāside," 145–64.

117. I.e., the Oxus (Jayḥūn), which lies on the route between Samarqand and Marw.

118. He was a grandson of the early ʿAbbāsid military leader who has already been mentioned (note 77). See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 182.

119. As his name indicates, he was a *mawlā* of al-Ma'mūn. A native of Bādghīs, he later became governor of Armenia for al-Ma'mūn. See Ṭabarī, III, 985; Yaʿqūbī, II, 566; and Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 257 n. 599.

pointed al-Rustumī to be in charge of the post, and he removed al-'Abbās b. 'Abdallāh b. Mālik. It is reported on al-Rustumī's authority that, as soon as he dismounted, a thousand men of the inhabitants of al-Rayy rallied to him.

Muḥammad sent three people to al-Ma'mūn as messengers.[120] One was al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā;[121] the second was Ṣāliḥ, the keeper of the prayer rug;[122] and the third was Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Nahīk.[123] To be taken with them, he wrote a letter [to al-Ma'mūn, asking him to give his son Mūsā precedence over himself and to come to him, as he felt loneliness because of his being far away. When the message reached al-Ma'mūn, the latter wrote][124] to the master of al-Rayy, saying, "Receive them in full panoply and with weapons visible." He wrote similarly to the governor[s] of Qūmis,[125] Naysābūr, and Sarakhs,[126] and they did it. When the messengers arrived in Marw, weapons and various equipment and supplies had been prepared because of them. They went to al-Ma'mūn and de-

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120. Note that there is a second, somewhat different account of what is apparently the same embassy to al-Ma'mūn, see pp. 65–74, below, under the events of the year 195, but with the notice that "this took place in the year 194." For a discussion of the two accounts, see Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn al-Rašīd," 356ff.

121. He was a member of the 'Abbāsid family; full name: al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.

122. On the caliph's prayer rug (*muṣallā*) and its significance in 'Abbāsid court etiquette, see D. Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial 'abbaside," 131–32; Bosworth, *'Abbāsid Caliphate in Equilibrium*, 53 n. 210.

123. Three members of this family are known to have fought for al-Amīn: 'Uthmān b. 'Īsā b. Nahīk, Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Nahīk, and 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Nahīk. See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 189.

124. There is a lacuna in the manuscript, which ed. Leiden (but not ed. Cairo) restores on the basis of the parallel text in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 157–58. The restoration should be treated with caution, because Ibn al-Athīr does not always follow the exact wording of his sources and sometimes conflates accounts to form a smoother narrative. Note that the demand that al-Ma'mūn give Mūsā precedence as heir can be deduced from the next few sentences in Ṭabarī. However, the demand that al-Ma'mūn return to Baghdad plays no further role in this account, although it is important in the second account of the embassy (pp. 65–74, below). See Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 357 n.

125. Qūmis was a small province lying along the Khurāsān road between al-Rayy (in al-Jibāl province) and Naysābūr (in Khurāsān). See Le Strange, *Lands*, 364–68; *EI*[2] s.v. Ḳūmis (Bosworth).

126. Sarakhs, in Khurāsān province, was located about midway between Ṭūs and Marw. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 395–96.

livered Muḥammad's letter to him. It asked him to give Mūsā precedence over himself, and said that Muḥammad had given Mūsā the title *al-Nāṭiq bi-al-Ḥaqq* ("Speaker of the Truth"). The person who had counseled Muḥammad to do this was ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, who used to tell him that the people of Khurāsān would obey him. Al-Ma'mūn rejected [the request] and refused [to give Mūsā precedence].

[Continuing, al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq] said: Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn said to me: Al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā said (to al-Ma'mūn), "What do you have to fear, commander, from this? Behold, my grandfather, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, was deprived (of the succession), and it did not harm him."[127] "Be silent," I cried to him. "Your grandfather was a prisoner in their hands, whereas this man is among his maternal uncles and his partisans." So the messengers went away, and each of them was lodged in a lodging.

Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn [continued his report to me,] saying: What I saw of the acuteness of al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā pleased me; so I
[779] met with him in private and said, "Will you, with your understanding and your age, neglect an opportunity to obtain your good fortune from the imām?" (At that time, al-Ma'mūn was called "the imām"; he was not called by the title of caliph. His being called "the imām" caused what came to pass—namely Muḥammad's removing him [from the succession]. Muḥammad had said to those whom he had sent, "Al-Ma'mūn has named himself 'the imām.'") Al-ʿAbbās said to me, "*You* have called him 'the imām.'" I said to him, "He may well become the imām of the mosque and the nation.[128] If you keep faith, he will not hurt you; but, if you betray, that's it!" Then I said to al-ʿAbbās, "You can ask me for the governorship of the pilgrimage feast, for there is no governorship more prestigious than that; or you can have one of the places of office in Egypt, if you wish." Before al-

127. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, the nephew of the caliphs al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, had been appointed by al-Saffāḥ to be next in the line of succession after al-Manṣūr. After al-Manṣūr succeeded to the caliphate, he replaced ʿĪsā with his own son, who later reigned as al-Mahdī. ʿĪsā finally renounced his rights in 146/746. See Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 91–93.

128. *Qabīlah*: In modern usage the word means "tribe," but here it has the less specific sense of an ethnic group, descendants of one father. Cf. *Lisān*, s.v. The phrase *imām al-qabīlah* recalls the phrases *imām al-ummah* and *imām al-qawm*. Amending it to *imām al-qiblah* is unnecessary.

'Abbās b. Mūsā departed, I received from him the oath of allegiance to al-Ma'mūn for the caliphate. Afterward, he used to write us reports [from Baghdad][129] and provide us with advice.

[Continuing, al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq] said: 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Sarakhsī said (to me): Al-'Abbās b. Mūsā visited me on his way to Marw. I described to him al-Ma'mūn's policy, the excellent management of Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn, and his suitability for the position; but he did not accept this from me. When he came back, he visited me (again), and I said to him, "What do you think now?" He said, "Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn is more than you have described!" I asked him, "Did you shake hands with the imām?" "Yes," he said. I said, "Stroke your hand over my head!"

[Continuing, al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq] said: The men went to Muḥammad and informed him of al-Ma'mūn's refusal. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' and 'Alī b. 'Īsā urged Muḥammad about the oath of allegiance to his son and the deposition of al-Ma'mūn—he gave al-Faḍl money [as a reward for this]—until [Muḥammad] had the oath of allegiance rendered to his son Mūsā and named him *al-Nāṭiq bi-al-Ḥaqq* ("Speaker of the Truth"). He made 'Alī b. 'Īsā his tutor and made him governor of Iraq. The first person to administer an oath of allegiance to Mūsā was Bishr b. al-Samayda' al-Azdī, the governor of Balad.[130] Then the governor of Mecca and the governor of Medina administered the oath to a few dignitaries, but not to the populace. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' forbade the mention of 'Abdallāh and al-Qāsim and prayer for [780]
them [as heirs] on any pulpit. He intrigued to have 'Abdallāh mentioned disparagingly. He sent a letter to Mecca—the messenger was one of the doorkeepers of the Ka'bah,[131] a man named Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥah—saying that the two documents that Hārūn had written and placed in the Ka'bah on behalf of 'Abdallāh and as binding upon Muḥammad should be taken. The messenger brought the two documents to al-Faḍl. The other doorkeepers spoke about this, but they were not heeded, and they feared for their lives. When

129. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 158.

130. Balad was a town on the Tigris, 7 *farsakhs* (41.9 km/26 miles) north of al-Mawṣil. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 99, 125; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.

131. That is, a holder of the office of *ḥājib* (doorkeeper or guardian) of the Ka'bah.

he brought the two documents to Muḥammad, the latter took possession of them and rewarded him with a large reward. Muḥammad tore up the two documents and nullified them.

According to what has been mentioned: Muḥammad wrote to al-Ma'mūn before al-Ma'mūn openly disobeyed him, asking al-Ma'mūn to relinquish to him some districts (*kuwar*) of Khurāsān that he named. Financial agents were to be sent to these districts to act on behalf of Muḥammad, and al-Ma'mūn was to allow al-Amīn to send a man to be in charge of the post (*barīd*) over his head and to write letters to al-Amīn with reports about him. When the letter to this effect reached al-Ma'mūn, it was grievous and distressing to him. He summoned al-Faḍl b. Sahl and the latter's brother al-Ḥasan and asked their advice. Al-Faḍl said, "The matter is dangerous. You have a retinue of your supporters and members of your household. They are put at ease by consultation; but, if matters are settled without them, it will cause uneasiness among them and the appearance of mistrust. So it would be best for the commander to do this (i.e., consult them)." Al-Ḥasan said, "It used to be said, 'In seeking the right view, consult those whose advice you trust; but, when an affair cannot be concealed, conciliate your foe by consulting him.'" So al-Ma'mūn summoned his intimates—the chiefs and notables—and read the letter to them. They all said to him, "Commander, you are asking counsel in a dangerous matter. Give our first intuition a chance for deliberate reflection." "That is the prudent thing to do," said al-Ma'mūn, and he gave them three days. When they assembled afterward, one of them said, "Commander, you have been urged to do two things displeasing
[781] to you. I do not think it a mistake to repel by the inconvenience of the first of them the fear of the inconvenience of the second of them." Another said, "Commander—may God grant you happiness—people say that, if a matter is dangerous, it is better for you to give your rival part of what he wants than to come to an open falling out with him by refusing." Another said, "It is said, 'If knowledge of [future] matters is hidden from you, hold to the proper course[132] for today as much as you can; for you run the

132. For *hidyah*, "[proper] course," ed. Cairo, following Ms. A, reads *hudnah*, "tranquillity, peace."

risk that today's disorder may bring on tomorrow's disorder for you.'" Another said, "If you fear that yielding voluntarily will have consequences, the breach that will be caused if we do not avoid a split will surely be even more serious."[133] Another said, "I do not think one should abandon a state of peace, for with it I may perchance be given health and safety." Al-Ḥasan [b. Sahl] said, "You all deserve [thanks] for your effort, although I differ from you in opinion." Al-Ma'mūn said, "Argue with them." He said, "The assembly was for that purpose." So al-Ḥasan approached them and said, "Do you know that Muḥammad has overstepped the bounds to ask for something that is not his by right?" "Yes," they said, "and it should be tolerated because of the harm we fear that refusing it [would cause]."[134] He said, "Are you confident that he will stop after [al-Ma'mūn] gives him these [districts], and will not go on to ask for others?" "No," they said, "but perhaps peace will transpire before what you fear and expect." He said, "But if, after asking for these districts, he asks for more, do you not think that al-Ma'mūn will have become weak because of what he has given up willingly?" They said, "We shall ward off what may befall him later by putting off the danger[135] that lies immediately at hand." "This," he said, "is contrary to the maxim we have heard of the sages who lived before us. They said, 'Seek to make your future affairs thrive by bearing whatever hardship befalls you today, but do not seek peace[136] today at the cost of exposing yourself to danger tomorrow.'" Al-Ma'mūn said to al-Faḍl, "What do you say about the issue on which they differ?" He said, "Commander, may God grant you happiness! Can one avoid fearing [782] that Muḥammad may be asking you for your excess strength in order to gain backing to oppose you in the future? Does a prudent man pursue an excess of present ease at the cost of

133. Ed. Cairo, following Ms. A, reads: "the breach that a *refusal* will cause will surely be even more serious."

134. The translation follows ed. Cairo. The Leiden text reads, "it should be tolerated for him the harm of whose refusing we fear."

135. The translation follows the reading of ed. Cairo (*maḥdhūr*), instead of the Leiden editor's conjectural emendation (*mā tunjizūn*, "what you will achieve").

136. Following the reading of ed. Cairo (*hudnah*), rather than that of ed. Leiden (*hidyah*), "(proper) course of action."

danger that will befall him later? The sages advised that inconvenience should be borne for the sake of future benefit they hoped would come thereby." So al-Ma'mūn said, "Indeed, by preferring the immediate present, many a man has spoiled the consequences in this world and the next." The men said, "We have spoken all the opinion that is necessary. May God assist the commander with success!" So al-Ma'mūn said, "Write to him, Faḍl!" Al-Faḍl wrote [in the name of al-Ma'mūn]:[137]

> I have received the letter of the Commander of the Faithful in which he requests the relinquishment of certain specified places—part of what al-Rashīd established in the agreement and whose command he granted to me. No one will transgress the greater part of what the Commander of the Faithful has thought best. However, he who gave me the region where I am[138] was neither to be suspected of carelessness toward his populace nor ignorant in entrusting to me those of his affairs that he entrusted. Even if that had not been confirmed by oaths and sworn covenants, not to mention my being in my present situation of looking down on an enemy of fearful strength, with a populace not to be conciliated from its unruliness and soldiers whose obedience can be obtained only by money and a good deal of largesse, the Commander of the Faithful's interest in his populace and his desire to unite his domains would be enough to cause him to devote much of his attention to the matter and promote it by spending much of his wealth. How much more so in a matter that right has made an obligation and that a sworn promise has confirmed? I am certain that, if the Commander of the Faithful had known what I know about the situation, he would not have communicated the request that he wrote to me. I am confident of approval after this explanation, God willing.

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137. Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 206.

138. For "where I am" (*ana bihi*), ed. Cairo reads the same consonants as a single word (*unābuhu*), "of which I am made to be agent."

Al-Ma'mūn had sent a garrison to the border.[139] As soon as [783] any messenger from Iraq crossed, they would send him with trusted agents; the messenger would not be allowed to ask about any news or exert any influence, induce anyone to follow by enticement or fear, or deliver a verbal or written message to anyone. Thus al-Ma'mūn prevented the people of Khurāsān from being swayed by enticement, having fear lodged in their breasts, or being led to a state of disobeying or abandoning [him]. He placed trusty guards over the lookouts of the roads. No one might pass them except those whose business caused no suspicion—one who came bearing a passport allowing him to return to his home or a well-known merchant trusted in his person and in his religion. Lone travelers without baggage[140] were prevented from traveling the roads, passing through markets, or infiltrating towns in the guise of unexpected wayfarers. Letters were searched. The first people—[it is reported][141]—to come from Muḥammad to contest al-Ma'mūn's refusal of the demands were a group who were sent only so that [Muḥammad] might know that they had seen and taken note, and that he might then ask them to give freely or[142] withhold; thus from what they said there would be an argument he might allege or an excuse for what he sought. When they came to the border of al-Rayy, they found strong management and a military command well established and confirmed. The guards held them on all sides, so that even when they unsaddled and took up lodging, they were kept from imparting or asking for news. Letters were sent ahead with a report about them. Permission came for them to be given mounts. They were conveyed under guard; no news reached them, and no news slipped out from them to others. They had been prepared to spread the news among the populace, make known the argument for abandoning [al-Ma'mūn], and call on the powerful to disobey, bestowing

139. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 159; *Fragmenta*, 323.

140. *Ashtātāt* is thus interpreted by ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CCCV, but the root from which the word is derived frequently implies disorderliness. The exact meaning is uncertain.

141. The parenthetical remark is from ed. Cairo.

142. Following ed. Cairo; ed. Leiden reads "and." The text may be corrupt.

money and guaranteeing them most of the governorships
[784] (*wilāyāt*), land grants (*qaṭā'i'*), and positions. However, they found that all this had been prevented and stopped. Finally, they came to al-Ma'mūn's gate. The following was the letter delivered to al-Ma'mūn [from al-Amīn]:[143]

> To proceed: Although the Commander of the Faithful, al-Rashīd, assigned the province [of Khurāsān] to you alone and attached to you certain districts of al-Jabal[144] to strengthen you and protect your province, that does not give you a claim to the excess money above your need. This province and its land tax (*kharāj*) have been sufficient for its circumstances. You, however, go beyond what is sufficient to the excess of its revenue. In addition to the province, he joined to you certain major revenue-producing districts that you do not need. [The revenues from] them ought to be returned to their people and the places to which they belong. I wrote asking you to return the districts in question to their former status, so that their excess revenue would be sent back where it belongs, and that you should allow an information officer to be in your court to send us information of interest to us about the news of your province. However, you wrote refusing to grant this, saying things which, if you were to act upon them, justice would lead us to make a demand upon you. Turn from your intention, and I will turn from making a demand upon you, God willing!

When al-Ma'mūn read the letter, he wrote in reply to him:[145]

> To proceed: The letter of the Commander of the Faithful has reached me. As he writes about what he does not

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143. Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 207.

144. Al-Jabal ("the Mountain," often in the plural form *al-jibāl*) was the region known earlier as Māh or Media, roughly the northwestern quarter of the Iranian plateau. Its main cities were Qirmasīn (Kirmānshāh), Hamadhān, Rayy, and Iṣbahān (Isfahān). Khurāsān lay to the east, separated from al-Jibāl by the province of Qūmis. See *EI*² s.v. Djibāl (Lockhart); Le Strange, *Lands*, 185 ff.

145. Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 207–8.

know, I will reveal to him the true state of affairs; as he asks for something to which he has no claim, he obliges me to justify my forbearing to comply.[146] Two rivals go beyond a state of equal sharing only when equal sharing [785] is insufficient for those who hold to it. When did someone ever depart from it while it was enough for everyone and the departure from it resulted only in breaking with it and suffering what lay in its abandonment? Son of my father, do not cause me to oppose you, when I willingly grant you obedience; nor to become estranged from you, when I want to be on friendly terms with you. Be satisfied with what justice has assigned to you, and I will be in the place where justice has set me as regards relations between us. Peace!

Then he summoned the messengers and said, "I have written a reply to the Commander of the Faithful in a matter about which he wrote to me. Deliver the letter to him, and tell him that I shall remain obedient to him until he forces me, by departing from binding right, to disobey him." So they went to deliver the message. He said, "Take exactly the same attitude as we took in speaking with you, and convey carefully what you have heard; for, as regards the letter to us, you have imparted to us what I hope you did not want to say to us." So the messengers departed; they had not carried any of their argument, nor did they bear a [favorable] report to convey to their master. They had seen a serious intention, not mixed with jest, to refuse them what they alleged to be their due.

When al-Ma'mūn's letter reached Muḥammad, he found its contents distressing. He burst into rage at whatever of it was repeated [in his hearing].[147] It was then that he commanded what we have mentioned—that prayers should cease being made for (al-Ma'mūn) on the pulpits—and he wrote to him:[148]

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146. Ed. Cairo differs somewhat: "He has not written about what he does not know, that I should reveal to him the true state of affairs; nor has he asked me for something to which he has a right, that I should be obliged to justify my forbearing to comply."

147. The bracketed words are from ed. Cairo.

148. Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 208.

To proceed: I have received your letter, in which you show ingratitude for God's favor toward you in enabling you to enjoy the protection of His favor, and where you expose yourself to the burning of a fire you cannot control. Indeed, your disinclination to obey [me] was more tolerable [than your ingratitude toward God]. If some previous request proceeded from me, its grounds were
[786] none other than your benefit, as it was to the advantage of the majority of your subjects; moreover, it would establish you in a position of safety and assure for you a condition of peace. Let me know your view, and I will act in accordance with it, God willing.

According to Sahl b. Hārūn—al-Ḥasan b. Sahl: Al-Ma'mūn said to Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn, "My children, my family, and my wealth that al-Rashīd set aside for me—a hundred million [dirhams][149]—are at Muḥammad's court. I need them, but they are with him. What do you advise?" He consulted him several times. Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn said to him, "Commander, you need to have the remainder of your wealth and your family in your residence and beside you; but, if you write a commanding letter and he refuses you, it will lead to his breaking his oath; and, if he does so, he will force you, even against your will, to go to war with him. I would not want you to be the first to open the door of estrangement, as long as God has closed it before you. Instead, you should write a letter appealing for your due and the coming of your family, in such a way that his refusal will not oblige him to break his oath to you. If he obeys, well and good; if he refuses, you will not have gotten yourself into a war. Write to him." So (Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn) wrote on his behalf:[150]

To proceed: The regard of the Commander of the Faithful for the populace is the regard of one who does not limit himself to giving an equal share with himself; rather, he goes beyond that for them with his kindness and benevolence. This being his view concerning his

149. Cf. p. 57, below, where a sum of a million dirhams is said to have been confiscated.

150. Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 208–9.

populace, how fitting it is for him to go beyond that with his brother and kinsman! Surely you know, Commander of the Faithful, in what state I am, encamped in the uttermost parts of frontier regions, with armies who are always certain to show their indiscipline and disloyalty, and with little revenue at my disposal—my family, children, and wealth being with the Commander of the Faithful. As for my family, although they are adequately provided for out of the kindness of the Commander of the Faithful, who has become a father to them, they cannot help desiring and yearning for my protection. [You know, too,] the strength and help the money would give me to set things in order in my court. I have sent [someone] to convey my family and the money. May it please the Commander of the Faithful to allow him to proceed to al-Raqqah to convey this money and to command that he be given assistance in the matter, not causing him therein to fall into such difficulty as would happen by his disobedience or moving him to a decision that would be disapproved.[151] Peace. [787]

Muḥammad then wrote to him:[152]

To proceed: I have received your letter, in which you spoke of how the Commander of the Faithful views his populace, not to mention the obligation due to one of his own family and his copartner; how you are encamped in the uttermost parts of the frontier regions; how, being encamped there, you need extra money to strengthen your position and the money from the public treasury that was assigned to be yours; finally, how you have sent someone to convey it and your family from the presence of the Commander of the Faithful. Assuredly, the Commander of the Faithful does not deny his view of his populace as you mentioned and the attachment that it

151. The translation of the last clause is uncertain. Gabrieli makes it a separate sentence: "Con ciò peraltro non si vuole spingerlo in un imbarazzo contro sua voglia, nè indurlo a una decisione contro il suo beneplacito."

152. Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 209–10.

obliges him to have to his closest relations and his populace. He needs the money you mentioned to strengthen the affairs of the Muslims. Thus, it is more appropriate for him to spend it on his obligations and return it to those who are entitled to it. Neither will what brings benefit to your subjects as a whole fail to benefit you. As for what you mentioned about conveying your family, it is the intention of the Commander of the Faithful to assume responsibility for their affairs, notwithstanding the right of close relationship in which you stand. As for sending them on a journey as you have thought best to
[788] do, I do not think it wise to expose them to becoming separated by a journey. If I decide so for my part, I will send them to you with trusted messengers of my own, God willing. Peace.

When the letter came to al-Ma'mūn, he said, "Refusing to grant what is our due, he wants us to become weakened by his withholding of our forces. Then, because of our weakness, he will gain a chance to oppose us." Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn said to him, "Is it not known that al-Rashīd gave that money to al-Amīn to be kept together, and that al-Amīn took possession of it in the sight of the leading men of his populace on the basis that he would hold it for administration and would not touch it? So do not leave him with no way out of this. Write to him something whose consequence will not force you to show him open hostility over it. It is best to hold fast to the rope of trust and prevent estrangement. [If he abstains, well and good.][153] If he casts covetous eyes on it, he will lay himself open to [punishment from] God for his opposition; you, by forbearance, stand to receive God's help and assistance."

Al-Ma'mūn and al-Faḍl knew that after his letter some incident would occur that would require his knowledge,[154] and some report that would require that he deal with it through his trusty companions. He knew that (Muḥammad) would cause no incident without the concurrence of men of eminence and power

153. The bracketed text is added in ed. Cairo from Ms. A.
154. Ed. Cairo: "that would require his rectification."

among the partisans [of the 'Abbāsids] and those with long service [to the 'Abbāsid cause].[155] So he decided to choose a man to carry letters addressed to the leading figures of the army in Baghdad. If Muḥammad caused al-Ma'mūn to be deposed, the man would go and deliver[156] the letters and would feel out the inclinations of the addressees. If Muḥammad did none of this, the man would keep [the letters] in his box and withhold [789] delivery of them. He ordered the man to travel quickly. When he arrived, he delivered the letters.[157] [Al-Ma'mūn's] letter with the messenger whom he sent to find out news was as follows:[158]

> To proceed: In regard to their affairs, the faithful are like the members of the body.[159] If disease occurs in one of them, the misfortune is painful to all of them. So it is with the Muslims: an incident occurs regarding one of them, but the misfortune of it reaches the others because of the law (*sharī'ah*) of their religion that unites them and the sanctity of their brotherhood[160] that binds them. As regards the imāms, this is an even more serious matter because of the position in which the imāms stand in relation to the rest of their peoples. There has been such a report as I cannot but believe will clearly express its distressing nature and uncover what has been hidden of its real meaning.[161] Never did two disputants dispute, one of them being on the side of God's command,[162] but that the Muslims' first help and assistance were with God Himself. You—may God have mercy upon you—

155. Arabic: *al-shī'ah wa-ahl al-sābiqah*.

156. Reading, with ed. Cairo, *daf'ihā*, rather than the conjectural emendation of ed. Leiden, *dhawīhā*, "the owners, i.e., addressees" of the letters.

157. The translation follows ed. Cairo. The Leiden text reads: "When he arrived, he continued the letters."

158. Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 210–11.

159. The translation follows the emended reading of ed. Leiden. Ed. Cairo keeps the original reading, which yields a loose, but not impossible sentence: "The *Commander* [reading *amīr*, not *amr*] of the Faithful is like the members of the body."

160. The translation follows ed. Cairo (*ukhuwwatihim*). Ed. Leiden reads *ākhiratihim*: "the sanctity of their Hereafter."

161. The translation follows ed. Cairo. Ed. Leiden reads: "such a report as I believe will return from its coming and uncover what was hidden."

162. Ed. Cairo fills the lacuna found in ed. Leiden.

are in sight and hearing of the affair and are so situated that, if you speak, what you say will be listened to.[163] If you, finding it impossible to speak, refrain from something fearful, your example in the matter will be followed. The reward for good action will not be neglected by God, in addition to the obligation to you that we shall incur by your good action. A lot that obtains for you both parts, or one of them, is better than eagerly desiring one of the parts, while exposing oneself to the loss of both. Write to me with your view. Tell it to my messenger, that he may convey it to me from you, God willing.

He wrote similarly to the eminent military men.

The messenger's arrival in Baghdad coincided with the command to cease praying for al-Ma'mūn in the Friday sermon. [The messenger] was in a position of trust vis-à-vis all those to whom letters had been sent through him. Some of them refrained from replying, but clearly told the messenger what they thought; others replied to the letter. One of them wrote:[164]

[790] To proceed: I have received your letter. Truth has a proof that is self-evident, whereby it carries the argument against all who depart from it. What a bad bargain it is to lose a share of future good fortune because of present good fortune for which one hopes![165] It is even more clearly a bad bargain to lose future good fortune along with becoming subject to [present] misfortune and contingencies. I have such knowledge of where my fortune[166] lies that I hope thereby to take good care of myself and that this will spare me the trouble of seeking more, God willing.

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163. The vocalization of ed. Cairo, followed here, seems more likely than that of ed. Leiden, which reads: "if you speak, *I* will listen to what you say."

164. Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 211.

165. The translation follows ed. Cairo.

166. Following ed. Cairo's *ḥaẓẓī*, "my fortune," instead of ed. Leiden's *khaṭar*, "danger."

The messenger who had been sent to Baghdad wrote to al-Ma'mūn and Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn:[167]

> To proceed: I have come to the city. Your copartner has publicly shown his alteration.[168] He has put forward a sign of his opposition and separation [and has ceased from what is his duty to mention and discharge][169] in his court. I delivered your letters and found most of the people to be friends of secrecy, rejecters of publicity. I found those who are eminent among the populace[170] to care only for it and to be unconcerned about what they have borne in it. [Your] opponent is in a quandary, neither finding anyone to repel him from his design, nor anyone desiring it in its entirety. Those who disengage themselves consider the completion of the innovation to be lawful, so that they may become safe from the defeat of their innovation. The [fighting] men are in a state of earnestness. Do not give languor [a part in your affair],[171] God willing. Peace!

When Sa'īd b. Mālik b. Qādim, 'Abdallāh b. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah,[172] al-'Abbās b. al-Layth (the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful),[173] Manṣūr b. Abī Maṭar, and Kathīr b. Qādirah came to Muḥammad from al-Ma'mūn's camp, he showed them kindness and drew them close. For those of them

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167. Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 210–11. Gabrieli's comment on the obscurity and probable corruptness of the text should be noted.

168. The translation follows ed. Cairo: *tanakkur*, "change, alteration," usually in a pejorative sense.

169. The bracketed words are from ed. Cairo.

170. The text is difficult and almost certainly corrupt. Ed. Leiden notes a lacuna in the manuscript and conjectures an original reading, "those who were swayed by desire." Ed. Cairo reads, *al-mushrifīn* or *al-musharrafīn bi-al-ra'iyyah*, "those who are eminent (or honored) among the populace." *Mushrifīn* might also mean "those who desire vehemently."

171. The bracketed words are from ed. Cairo.

172. He was the grandson of Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb al-Ṭā'ī, next to Abū Muslim the most important general of the 'Abbāsid revolution. See Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 79–80; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 188–89.

173. See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 192.

who had collected [pay] for six months, he ordered twelve months' allowance (*rizq*), and he increased their special and general stipends (*al-khāṣṣah wa-al-ʿāmmah*); for those who had not yet collected, he ordered eighteen months' [pay].

When Muḥammad resolved to depose al-Ma'mūn, he summoned Yaḥyā b. Sulaym and consulted him about it.[174] Yaḥyā
[791] said, "Commander of the Faithful, how can you do such a thing, given the oath of allegiance to him that al-Rashīd confirmed, binding himself in the matter by his promise and by taking oaths and stipulating conditions in the document that he wrote?" Muḥammad said to him, "Al-Rashīd's decision was a whim that Ja'far b. Yaḥyā [al-Barmakī],[175] with his beguilement, represented to him as good; he swayed him with his charms and spells, so that he planted for us a hateful shoot. Never will our situation benefit us unless that shoot is cut down; never will our affairs run straight unless it is uprooted and we have relief from it." [Yaḥyā] said, "Then if the Commander of the Faithful thinks that he should be deposed, do not announce it openly, lest [important] people disapprove and the ordinary troops regard it as unseemly. Rather, summon one body of troops after another and one commander after another, pacifying each with kindnesses and gifts. Separate his confidants and those who are on his side. Entice them with money, and sway them with hopes of gain. When you have sapped his strength and drawn away his men, you will command him to come to you. If he comes, it will turn out as you wish with regard to him; if he refuses, you will take him with his force dulled, his wing broken, his support weakened, and his strength cut off." Muḥammad said, "Nothing settles an affair like a firm decision. You are a garrulous speechmaker, not a man of counsel. Turn from this view to [that of] 'the fortunate old man and wise vizier.'[176] Up, and get back to your ink and your pens." [Yaḥyā] said: [I said,—it was anger][177] mixed with truth and good counsel—"You have alluded to a

174. Parallel: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 161.

175. For the career of this member of the famous family of viziers, see *EI*² s.v. al-Barāmika (Sourdel). Note that Ja'far b. Yaḥyā had served as tutor to al-Ma'mūn.

176. I.e., al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ.

177. The bracketed words are from ed. Cairo. The text seems to be unreliable.

view that is mixed with deceit and ignorance." By God, before many days had passed, he remembered what he had said and it tormented him with his error and stupidity.[178]

According to Sahl b. Hārūn: Al-Faḍl b. Sahl had infiltrated chosen men, commanders and prominent people whom he trusted in Baghdad, to write him reports on a daily basis.[179] When Muḥammad was about to depose al-Ma'mūn, al-Faḍl b. [792] al-Rabī' sent to one of these men to consult him about what he thought in the matter. The man made al-Faḍl see the gravity of breaking the promise to al-Ma'mūn and the loathsomeness of treachery toward him. Al-Faḍl said to him, "You are right, but 'Abdallāh has already caused an incident[180] that makes it necessary to break what al-Rashīd caused to be sworn to him." The man said, "Has the argument of his well-known incident become as firmly fixed in the mind of the populace as is the argument of the promise to him that has been renewed?" "No," he replied. "Then," said the man, "does this man's incident regarding you necessitate from the point of view of the populace the breaking of your promise, as long as his incident has not been a well-known one such as requires the annulment of the promise to him?" "Yes," said al-Faḍl. Raising his voice, the man said, "By God, never have I seen—as I have today—a man's judgment leading him to look into a matter, where he consults about removing a kingdom that is in his hand by argument, and then proceeds to demand it from him with stubbornness and contention!"

Al-Faḍl fell silent for a moment; then he said, "You have given me honest advice and have kindly transmitted confidential information.[181] Tell me, however: if we disregard[182] what the populace (*al-'āmmah*) say and find helpers from our partisans (*shī'atinā*) and our soldiers, what would you say?" "God keep you!" said the man. "Don't your soldiers belong to

178. Following ed. Cairo's *wa-qarra'ahu bi-khaṭa'ihi wa-khurqihi*, rather than ed. Leiden's "and he fled from him (*wa-farra 'anhu*) with his error and ill-fatedness (*ḥurfihi*)."

179. Parallel: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 161.

180. *Aḥdatha al-ḥadath* can also mean "has innovated an innovation."

181. Ed. Cairo: "and have sustained the burden of trustworthiness."

182. Reading *aghmaḍnā* (ed. Cairo), instead of *a'aḍnā* (ed. Leiden).

your populace in their having sworn the oath of allegiance and in the power that a true argument has in their hearts? Even if they give you their outward obedience, will they not be on the side of the covenant documents about which they have assured knowledge?" [Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ said, "And what if they give us obedience nevertheless?"][183] The man said, "There is no obedience unless one has firm inner conviction." Al-Faḍl said, "We will awaken their desire by improving their fortunes." "Then," said he, "they will accept[184] at first, but then abandon you when you need their loyalty." Al-Faḍl said, "What is your opinion about ʿAbdallāh's soldiers?" "They are men," he said, "Who have enthusiasm for their enterprise because of their longstanding effort and the important affair in which they are engaged together."[185] Al-Faḍl said, "What is your opinion of their common people?" "They are men," he said, "who were in
[793] great distress because of mistreatment. Because[186] they in their property and persons have come through him to their desire[187] as regards property and to easy circumstances of life, they are defending prosperity that is newly come to them, and they remember tribulation to which they fear a return." (Al-Faḍl) asked,[188] "Is there no way to corrupt the loyalty of the great men of the land to rebel against him, so that our battle with him could be by the intrigue of his side, not by marching toward him to do battle with him?" [He replied,][189] "As for the weak, they have come to love him because of the security and fair treat-

183. The translation follows ed. Cairo. The words in brackets were omitted in the manuscript used for the Leiden text. The Leiden editor made an unnecessary conjectural emendation to preserve the sense of his defective text.

184. Following ed. Cairo's *taqabbul*. Ed. Leiden's reading (*thiqal*, "heaviness, indolence") is a conjectural emendation of an incompletely written word in the manuscript.

185. Ed. Cairo: "their longstanding oath of allegiance and their fortune in which they are engaged together."

186. Ed. Cairo reads *wulātihim* ("their governors"), where ed. Leiden reads *wa-liʿannahum* ("and because they"). The Cairo text may be translated: "who were in great distress because of their governors' mistreatment of their property and even their persons, and who came through him. . . ."

187. Alternate translation: "to security." See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, p. cxx.

188. Following ed. Cairo; the manuscript used by ed. Leiden was defective at this point.

189. The bracketed text is from ed. Cairo.

ment they have obtained from him, while the powerful have found nothing to censure and no ground for argument; and the weak are the great majority." Al-Faḍl said, "I think you have left us no room to believe that we should go [to fight] his soldiers or that concern about our soldiers has taken hold on his side.[190] Even stronger is what you have said about the weakness of our soldiers and the strength of his soldiers in a conflict with him. But the Commander of the Faithful is not content to abandon what he knows to be his right, nor am I satisfied with peace, given the progress that has occurred in his enterprise. Sometimes matters approach threatening danger, but in the aftermath they reveal peace and profit." The two then parted.

Because al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ had set up observation points so that letters might not cross the border, the messenger wrote by way of a woman, depositing the letter in the hollowed-out board of a packsaddle, and writing to the postmaster to speed the news on. The woman passed among the border posts (*masāliḥ*) unmolested and unsearched, as if she were traveling from village to village. The news reached al-Ma'mūn, agreeing with the other letters that came to him; the letters corroborated each other. So al-Ma'mūn said to Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn, "These are matters whose substance judgment foretold. These are harbingers that portend what is to come. It is enough for us that we are on the [794] side of the truth. Perhaps what is hateful will bring good in its wake."

The first action that al-Faḍl b. Sahl took after prayer for al-Ma'mūn was omitted and the report of this was confirmed was to gather the troops he had prepared in the vicinity of al-Rayy, along with troops he had garrisoned there and [other] troops to undertake their enterprise. Because the country was too barren to support them, he supplied the troops with goods brought in by pack animals over every mountain pass and road, so that they lacked nothing they needed. They stayed at the border, not crossing it and not laying violent hands on anyone coming in or passing through.[191] Then he dispatched Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn,

190. The text seems disturbed.

191. Following ed. Cairo's *ʿāmid*, rather than ed. Leiden's *ʿāmmah* ("ordinary person"), which makes less sense.

along with the commanders and soldiers he attached to him. Ṭāhir marched quickly, turning aside for nothing, until he arrived at al-Rayy and encamped there. He assigned men to its districts, established his garrisons, and sent out his spies and scouts. One of the poets of Khurāsān said:[192]

The imām of justice and right-guided king
    has launched against the people of Iraq and its ruler
The man who of all who walk [the earth] is most resolute in
    judgment, prudence,
    and effective stratagem in what he devises:
A calamity[193] oppressive[194] and swift,
    whose fearful assault turns the newborn babe's hair white.

It has been mentioned: Muḥammad [al-Amīn] sent ʿIṣmah b. Ḥammād b. Sālim to Hamadhān[195] with a thousand men and put him in charge of military affairs of the districts (*kuwar*) of al-Jibāl. He commanded him to stay at Hamadhān and to send his vanguard to Sāwah.[196] (ʿIṣmah) appointed his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād to be his deputy over the guard (*ḥaras*). Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ and ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā began inflaming Muḥammad and urging him to depose al-Ma'mūn and have allegiance sworn to his own son Mūsā.

Various Items of Information

In this year, in the month of Rabīʿ I,[197] Muḥammad b. Hārūn confirmed his son Mūsā over everything for which he had made
[795] him his deputy and made ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān master of all

192. Parallel: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 162.

193. *Dāhiyah* can mean both "calamity, misfortune," and "a man who is very cunning, or very intelligent." See Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 928.

194. The translation follows ed. Cairo (*naʿādin*), rather than ed. Leiden (*taʿaddu*, "that comes").

195. Hamadhān (modern Hamadān, ancient Ecbatana), a major city of western Jibāl province, lay on the Khurāsān road, approximately 250 miles northeast of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 194–96, 227–30; *EI*² s.v. Hamadhān (Frye).

196. Sāwah (modern Sāveh) lay approximately midway between Hamadhān and al-Rayy on the great Khurāsān road (ca. 175 km east of Hamadhān). See Le Strange, *Lands*, 211–12, 228–30. A more detailed account of the mission of ʿIṣmah b. Abī ʿIṣmah al-Sabīʿi is given in Yaʿqūbī, II, 530. See p. 50, below.

197. Rabīʿ I 194, corresponds to December 13, 809–January 11, 810.

his affairs. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Nahīk was in charge of (Muḥammad's) police (*shuraṭ*); ʿUthmān b. ʿĪsā b. Nahīk was in charge of his personal guard (*ḥaras*); ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydah was in charge of his tax [bureau] (*kharāj*); and in charge of his correspondence bureau (*dīwān al-rasā'il*) was ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ the keeper of the prayer rug (*muṣallā*).

In this year, the Romans rose against Mīkhā'īl,[198] the ruler of the Romans. He fled and became a monk. His reign is said to have lasted for two years.

In this year, Leon the General[199] became king of the Romans.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Hārūn removed Isḥāq b. Sulaymān from [the governorship of] Ḥimṣ and appointed as its governor ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī, with whom was ʿĀfiyah b. Sulaymān. He killed a number of their prominent people and imprisoned a number, and he set fire to their city from its outer parts. When they asked him for quarter (*amān*), he agreed, and they became quiet. Later, they rioted; so he cut off the heads of a number of them.

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198. That is, Michael I Rhangabe. See note 92.

199 That is, Leon V, the Armenian, who ruled from 813 to 820. See Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, 163–65.

The Events of the Year 195

(October 4, 810–September 22, 811)

Among the events taking place this year was Muḥammad b. Hārūn's order to invalidate the dīnārs and dirhams that had been struck for his brother 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn in Khurāsān in the year 194, because al-Ma'mūn had ordered that Muḥammad's name should not be recorded on them.[200]

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200. Parallel: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 164–65. The conflict over coinage raises many questions: What was the established practice as to inscriptions upon al-Amīn's accession in 193? What changes did each brother make in coins issued in his territory, and would these changes cause offense? First, it needs to be said that no dīnārs have been discovered from any Iranian mint before the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, so the information in the text seems to project the circumstances of Ṭabarī's time back into the earlier period. As for dirhams, there was no established practice at the time of al-Rashīd's death as to whose name might appear on them. Al-Amīn's coins for 193 used the inscription *Rabbī Allāh* ("God is my Lord"), without naming anyone. In the same year, the mints under al-Ma'mūn's control introduced dirhams inscribed *mimma amara bihi al-Amīr al-Ma'mūn walī 'ahd al-muslimīn 'Abd Allāh b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn* ("By order of the Commander al-Ma'mūn, heir to the rule of the Muslims, the Servant of God, son of the Commander of the Faithful"), and this continued throughout 194 and into 195, with the addition of the name of al-Faḍl sometime during 194. In 194, al-Amīn added to his dirhams the inscription *mimma amara bihi 'Abd Allāh al-Amīn Muḥammad Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-'Abbās* ("By order of the Servant of God al-Amīn Muḥammad, Commander of the Faithful, Family of 'Abbās"). Al-Amīn might at this point have objected to al-Ma'mūn's refusal to accept the new caliphal inscription or identify himself as anything

These dīnārs and dirhams were called *rubā'iyyah*. For a time they were not allowed [as currency].

Al-Amīn Forbids Prayer for al-Ma'mūn and al-Qāsim as Heirs

In this year, al-Amīn forbade prayer from the pulpits in his entire domain for al-Ma'mūn and al-Qāsim. He commanded that there should be prayer for himself on them, and after him for his son Mūsā. This took place in Ṣafar[201] of this year. His [796] son Mūsā was a child at the time. He named him, *"al-Nāṭiq bi-al-Ḥaqq"* ("Speaker of the Truth"). He acted in the matter on the advice of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī'. Concerning this, a poet said:[202]

The caliphate has been brought to ruin by the vizier's malice,
the commander's (*amīr*) dissoluteness, and the counselor's ignorance.
Faḍl is a vizier and Bakr[203] a counselor
who desire what will bring about the commander's death.

When word of this reached al-Ma'mūn, he took for himself the name *"Imām al-Hudā"* ("Imām of Right Guidance"), and he was addressed by this name in letters.[204]

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else than the heir of the previous caliph. Al-Ma'mūn, for his part, could point out that many governors in previous reigns had put their names on the coinage without any reference to the reigning caliph. A more serious offense took place in 195, when al-Ma'mūn introduced the inscription *al-Imām al-Ma'mūn*, openly claiming the imāmate and by implication the caliphate. About *rubā'iyyah* one can only guess. It does not seem to be the name of a denomination or to refer to the year 194 (from *arba'* "four"). It is possible that an author or copyist at some point confused the words *rubā'iyyah* and *rabbāniyyah* (very similar in Arabic script) and that the passage had originally added information about al-Amīn's coins, which may have been called *rabbāniyyah* because of the inscription *Rabbī Allāh*—but this is speculation. (I am indebted to Dr. Michael L. Bates of the American Numismatic Society for this information.)

201. I.e., between November 3 and December 1, 810.

202. The poem is quoted again, with additional lines, on pp. 58–59, below. See note 252.

203. I.e., Bakr b. al-Mu'tamir.

204. Cf. Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 136–37: "No Abbasid caliph had officially used this title [sc. *imām*] before, and he himself refrained from taking the title of caliph at this time. It was probably a deliberately ambiguous gesture,

'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān Assigned Command of al-Jabal

In this year, on Wednesday, the first day of the month of Rabī' II (January 1, 811), Muḥammad gave 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān governance of all the districts (*kuwar*) of al-Jabal—Nahāwand, Hamadhān, Qumm, and Iṣfahān—both their military command and their taxes.[205] He attached to him a group of commanders and ordered that he should be given—according to what has been mentioned—200,000 dīnārs, and that his sons[206] should be given 50,000 dīnārs. He gave much money to the army and ordered for it 2,000 ornamented swords and 6,000[207] garments as robes of honor. Muḥammad had the people of his household, his *mawālī*, and his military commanders come to the *maqṣūrah* [of the mosque] in al-Shammāsiyyah[208] on Friday, the 8th day of Jumādā II (March 7, 811). Having led the Friday worship, Muḥammad went into [the *maqṣūrah*]; his son, Mūsā, held an audience for them in the *miḥrāb*—with him were al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' and all who had been summoned. He read them a letter from al-Amīn. It informed them of his good opinion of them, his right over them, how they had previously sworn allegiance to him as having priority and as having none to share in the allegiance with him, and how this was binding for them. It informed them also of the innovations 'Abdallāh had caused: styling himself imām, having prayers made on his behalf, cutting off the post, and omitting mention (of al-Amīn) in the mints and workshops for embroidered garments (*ṭirāz*);

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to announce his defiance of his brother without providing an excuse for attack. It also shows that Ma'mun was pursuing the policy, begun by Mahdi and continued by the Barmakids, of developing the religious nature of Abbasid authority and seeking a reconciliation with the Alids and their supporters."

205. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 165; *Fragmenta*, 323.

206. At least four sons of 'Alī b. 'Īsā are known. 'Īsā b. 'Alī had already died fighting the rebel Rāfi' (Ṭabarī, III, 712). Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī commanded his father's right wing (p. 52, below) and after his father's death was sent by al-Amīn to Syria to recruit troops. Afterward, he switched his allegiance to al-Ma'mūn, attempted a coup in Baghdad, and was killed. Also mentioned are 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī and Yaḥyā b. 'Alī (p. 82, below). See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 179.

207. *Fragmenta*, 323: "seven thousand."

208. The quarter of East Baghdad lying to the northeast of al-Ruṣāfah; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 199–216.

('Abdallāh) had no right to such innovations, nor were the stipulations that he claimed had been made in his favor valid. [797]
It urged them to obey (al-Amīn) and maintain allegiance to him. After the letter had been read, Sa'īd b. al-Faḍl, the preacher, rose and spoke in the same vein, seconding it and saying things similar to what it had said. Then al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' spoke while seated; he spoke energetically and at length. He mentioned how no one but the Commander of the Faithful, Muḥammad al-Amīn, had any right to the imāmate and caliphate; God had given neither 'Abdallāh nor anyone else any share or portion therein. As for Muḥammad's household or the others, none of them said anything, except Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Nahīk and a group of important persons from the caliph's personal guard (*ḥaras*). In his speech, al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' said, "Prince Mūsā, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, has ordered that you be given, people of Khurāsān,[209] from his very own money 3 million dirhams to be divided among you." Then the people departed. 'Alī b. 'Īsā came to Muḥammad (al-Amīn) and told him that the people of Khurāsān had written him a letter saying that if he marched forth, they would obey him and be led by him.

In this year, 'Alī b. 'Īsā went to al-Rayy to fight al-Ma'mūn.[210]

'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān Goes to al-Rayy to Fight the Forces of al-Ma'mūn

According to al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq: 'Alī b. 'Īsā left the City of Peace[211] the evening of Friday, the 15th of Jumādā II of the year

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209. Note that the people addressed must be troops of Khurāsānian origin resident in Baghdad, i.e., the so-called *Abnā' al-Dawlah*. On the other hand, Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 195, interprets the letter mentioned in the next sentence as having actually come from the province of Khurāsān ("if he came to them, they would obey him . . ."). In view of 'Alī b. 'Īsā's record as governor of Khurāsān, al-Amīn should have been aware of potential problems. See the report given on p. 63, below, explaining the appointment of 'Alī b. 'Īsā as having been cunningly engineered by an agent of Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn, knowing that the people of Khurāsān hated their former governor.

210. Parallels: Ya'qūbī, II, 530; *Fragmenta*, 323.

211. I.e., Baghdad. See note 15. A second account of the expedition can be found on pp. 75 ff., below, with different dates.

195 (March 14, 811). He left in the late afternoon of that day, between the Jum'ah prayer and the afternoon (*'aṣr*) prayer, for his camp on the Bīn Canal.[212] There he stayed with about
[798] 40,000 men. He carried with him a silver shackle with which to bind al-Ma'mūn—so he asserted. Muḥammad al-Amīn went with him as far as al-Nahrawān on Sunday, six days before the end of Jumādā II (March 23, 811); there he reviewed the troops who had been attached to 'Alī b. 'Īsā. He remained the rest of that day in al-Nahrawān and then returned to the City of Peace. 'Alī b. 'Īsā stayed at al-Nahrawān for three days. Then he marched quickly in the direction he had been ordered to take. When he reached Hamadhān, he appointed 'Abdallāh b. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah to be in charge of it. Muḥammad had written to 'Iṣmah b. Ḥammād, instructing him to return with his closest companions, and had attached the rest of his army, including its funds and other things, to 'Alī b. 'Īsā.[213] He had also written to Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim b. 'Īsā,[214] instructing him, along with his companions who were with him, to join ('Alī b. 'Īsā). He sent with him Hilāl b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥaḍramī and commanded that soldiers with stipends (*farḍ*) [be assigned] to him. Then he assigned to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jabalah al-Abnāwī[215] the command over Dīnawar[216] and commanded him to travel with the best[217] of

212. The Bīn Canal (*Nahr Bīn*) branched from the Nahrawān Canal at the town of Jisr Nahrawān (about 10 miles northeast of Baghdad, where the Khurāsān road crossed the Nahrawān Canal) and flowed west and south to join the Tigris at Kalwādhā. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 59–60, 174.

213. According to Ya'qūbī, II, 530, al-Amīn had earlier sent out 'Iṣmah b. Abī 'Iṣmah al-Sabī'ī, but 'Iṣmah, calling attention to the Meccan agreement, had refused to cross into al-Ma'mūn's territory without the latter's permission. Cf. p. 44, above, and p. 74, below; neither of these reports, however, mentions 'Iṣmah's reluctance to breach the Meccan agreement as a motive for his replacement.

214. Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim b. 'Īsā b. Idrīs al-'Ijlī was an important Arab landowner in the area southeast of Hamadhān and leader of the Banū 'Ijl tribal group. See Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 139.

215. The name is corrected in ed. Cairo to "al-Abnāwī"; ed. Leiden reads "al-Anbārī" throughout.

216. The city of Dīnawar in western Jibāl province lay about 60 miles west of Hamadhān, north of the main Khurāsān road. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 189; *EI*[2] s.v. (Lockhart).

217. *Baqiyyah* often has this meaning; cf. ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CXXXIX. An alternative translation would be "with the remainder of his companions."

his companions; with him he sent 2 million dirhams that had been conveyed to him previously. 'Alī b. 'Īsā left Hamadhān for al-Rayy before 'Abd al-Raḥmān reached him; he traveled until he reached al-Rayy in full battle readiness. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn met him with fewer than 4,000 men—it has been reported that he was with 3,800 men.

Three persons left Ṭāhir's army for 'Alī b. 'Īsā, seeking thereby to gain his favor.[218] He asked them who they were and from which country. One of them told him that he was from the army of ('Alī's) son 'Īsā, whom Rāfi' [b. Layth] had killed.[219] "Then," he said, "you are one of my soldiers!"[220] He [799] gave orders concerning him, and the man was flogged two hundred strokes; the [other] two men he treated with contempt. The report of this reached the companions of Ṭāhir, and they became more eager to fight 'Alī and more hostile toward him.

According to Aḥmad b. Hishām, who was in charge of Ṭāhir's police (*shurṭah*), who said:[221] The letter from al-Ma'mūn saying that he should be addressed as caliph had not reached them when we met [in battle]. I said to Ṭāhir, "'Alī b. 'Īsā has come with those whom you see. If we show ourselves to him and he says, 'I am the agent of the Commander of the Faithful,' and we concede that to him, we shall not be in a position to fight him."[222] Ṭāhir said to me, "I have received nothing concerning this." So I said, "Leave me to what I intend to do." "As you will," he said. I ascended the pulpit, cast off [allegiance to] Muḥammad, and offered prayers for al-Ma'mūn as caliph. We set out that day or the next, a Saturday—it was in Sha'bān[223] of the year 195. We encamped at Qusṭānah, which is the first stage from al-Rayy toward Iraq. 'Alī b. 'Īsā reached a desert tract called Mushkuwayh.[224] Between him and us was a distance

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218. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 168; *Fragmenta*, 324.

219. For the death of 'Īsā b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā fighting the rebel Rāfi' b. Layth in 191/806–7, see Ṭabarī, III, 712.

220. That is, you had no business remaining with al-Ma'mūn.

221. His father had suffered at the hands of 'Alī b. 'Īsā. See Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 140. Parallel: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 167.

222. See Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 368, for a discussion of Aḥmad b. Hishām's advice.

223. I.e., between April 29 and May 27, 811.

224. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, this was a small town two stages from al-Rayy on the road to Sāwah.

of seven *farsakhs* (26 miles). We set our vanguard at a distance of two *farsakhs* (7.4 miles) from Qusṭānah.[225] ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā thought that when Ṭāhir saw him, he would hand over the administrative district [of al-Rayy] to him. When he saw that Ṭāhir was serious [in his intention to fight], he said, "This is a desert place, not a place for encampment." He therefore turned left, toward a district called Rustāq Banī al-Rāzī.[226] The Turks were with us. We encamped by a river, and he encamped near us; between him and us there were sand flats (*dakādik*) and hills. In the last part of the night, a man came to me and told me that ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā had entered [the territory of] al-Rayy; he had sent a letter to the people, and they had responded to him. I went out onto the road with the man and said to him, "This is
[800] their road, but there are no hoof-prints here and nothing to indicate his passage." I went to Ṭāhir and awakened him. "Are you going to pray?" I asked. "Yes," he said, and he called for water and made ready. Then I told him the report. We prayed the morning prayer. Then he told me to mount. We stopped on the road. He said to me, "Would you like to cross these flats?" So we looked down on ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's army. They had girded on their swords. "Go back," he said. "We have made a mistake." So we went back. He said to me, "Go forth."[227] So I summoned al-Maʾmūnī, al-Ḥasan b. Yūnus al-Muḥāribī, al-Rustumī, and Muḥammad b. Muṣʿab. All of them went forth. Al-Maʾmūnī was in charge of the right wing. Al-Rustumī and Muḥammad b. Muṣʿab were in charge of the left wing.

ʿAlī [b. ʿĪsā] approached with his army. The desert was filled with white and yellow from the swords and the gold.[228] Over his right wing he set al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [b. ʿĪsā]. With him was Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim b. ʿĪsā b. Idrīs. Another person was in charge of his left wing. They charged and drove us back, until they entered the army, which with great difficulty rose and drove them off.

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225. The translation follows ed. Cairo (note), rather than the conjecture of ed. Leiden.

226. That is, he entered the administrative district (*ʿamal*) of al-Rayy by a road other than the main road.

227. Ed. Cairo: "Make our companions depart."

228. Alternative reading: "from the gilded swords."

When he saw 'Alī b. 'Īsā, Ṭāhir said, "This is something we cannot stand up to, but let us do it like the Khārijites!"[229] So he decided to attack the main part of the army. He gathered 700 men from the Khwārazmians, among them Mīkā'īl, Saysal,[230] and Dāwūd Siyāh.

According to Aḥmad b. Hishām:[231] We said to Ṭāhir, "We should remind 'Alī b. 'Īsā of the oath of allegiance that was sworn and the oath of allegiance that he himself received specifically on behalf of al-Ma'mūn from the people of Khurāsān." He agreed. So we attached the two [texts] to two spears. I stood between the battle lines and said, "Truce! Do not shoot at us, and we will not shoot at you." 'Alī b. 'Īsā said, "You have it." I then said, "'Alī b. 'Īsā, do you not fear God? Isn't this the text of the oath of allegiance that you yourself had people swear? Fear God, for you have reached the door [801] of your grave!" "Who are you?" he asked. "Aḥmad b. Hishām," I said. ('Alī b. 'Īsā had once given him 400 lashes.[232]) 'Alī b. 'Īsā cried out, "People of Khurāsān, whoever fetches him shall have 1,000 dirhams!"

There were people from Bukhārā with us. They shot at ('Alī), saying, "We will kill you and take your money." From ('Alī's) army, al-'Abbās b. al-Layth, the *mawlā* of al-Mahdī, came forth; also, a man called Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī came forth. Ṭāhir attacked him, grasped the hilt of the sword with both hands, struck him, and felled him.[233] Dāwūd Siyāh attacked 'Alī b.

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229. This appears to be the meaning of *naj'alhā khārijiyyatan*. That is, "Let us make an attack on a vastly more numerous foe," an attack such as the notoriously ferocious Khārijite rebels might make.

230. Saysal is the correction suggested by ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXIV; the manuscript and ed. Cairo read "Sabsal." Ed. Leiden also suggests that "Mīkā'īl" may be a mistake for "Mīkāl."

231. Parallel: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 168.

232. Presumably this had occurred during 'Alī's term as governor of Khurāsān under al-Rashīd.

233. Ed. Cairo adds, "and killed him." Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 168: "And for that reason, Ṭāhir was named *Dhū al-Yamīnayn* ('Possessor of Two Right Hands')." Mas'ūdī, VI, 423, adds that Ṭāhir's two-handed blow killing al-'Abbās b. al-Layth caused the defeat of 'Alī's army and earned him this nickname. An astrological derivation of the name is given in Ibn Khallikān (trans. de Slane), II, 472.

ʿĪsā and felled him, not recognizing him.[234] ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā was on a white-backed destrier[235] that Muḥammad [al-Amīn] had given him as a mount. Such a horse is thought unlucky in battle and presages defeat. Dāwūd said, "Let us sport with them."[236]

[Continuing, Aḥmad b. Hishām] reported: Ṭāhir the Younger—i.e., Ṭāhir b. al-Tājī—said, "Are you ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā?" "Yes," he replied, "I am ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā." (ʿAlī) thought that he would be held in awe and that no one would advance against him; but (Ṭāhir) attacked him and slaughtered him with the sword.[237] Muḥammad b. Muqātil b. Ṣāliḥ attempted to wrest the head from them; he tore out a tuft of his beard and took it to Ṭāhir [b. al-Ḥusayn], announcing the good news to him. Ṭāhir's blow[238] was the victory, and for that reason he was given the name *Dhū al-Yamīnayn* ("Possessor of Two Right Hands") that day, because he had grasped the sword with his two hands. The companions (of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā) took up arrows to shoot us. I did not know about ʿAlī's death until someone said, "By God, the commander has been killed." We followed them for two *farsakh*s. Twelve times they stood their ground against us, but we kept driving them back. Ṭāhir b. al-Tājī came up to me with the head of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā. (The latter had sworn that he
[802] would set up Aḥmad's head on the pulpit on which Muḥammad had been deposed and had ordered the morning meal to be prepared for him in al-Rayy.)

I went back and found a leather bag that had belonged to ʿAlī. It contained a tunic (*durrāʿah*), a coat (*jubbah*), and an

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234. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 169: "Some accounts say that Dāwūd Siyāh shot him with an arrow and killed him." Cf. Masʿūdī, VI, 423.

235. *Birdhawn*, a war horse capable of carrying a man in full armor, not the lighter-limbed and fleeter Arabian horse. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 186.

236. The words of Dāwūd Siyāh (the name means "Black David" in Persian) seem to be Persian, but the copyist has so corrupted them that they are unintelligible. Ed. Leiden reads: "*nārī alīnān katabtum*. Ed. Cairo reads: "*nārī asnān katabtum*." In Arabic, this would mean, "My fire teeth you have written." Ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXIV, proposes reading "*bāzī-yi īnān kunīm*," which is what I have translated.

237. Note that Yaʿqūbī, II, 531, conflates Ṭāhir al-Tājī and Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn.

238. Cf. Masʿūdī, VI, 423: "which he inflicted with both hands on al-ʿAbbās b. al-Layth was the reason for the army's defeat."

undershirt (*ghilālah*). I put them on and prayed two prostrations of prayer in thanksgiving to God, who is exalted and blessed. In his camp we found 700 bags, with 1,000 dirhams in each. In the hands of the men from Bukhārā who had taunted him, saying that they would take his money, we found a number of mules carrying chests. They thought that it was money, but when they broke open the chests, lo and behold it was wine from the Sawād.[239] They divided up the bottles and said, "We have worked hard in order to drink!"

According to Aḥmad b. Hishām: I came to Ṭāhir's tent. He had become worried because I had been away from him so long. "Good news!" he said to me. ["This is a tuft from 'Alī's beard!" "Good news!" I said to him.] "This is 'Alī's head."[240] In thanksgiving to God, Ṭāhir freed those of his slaves who were in his presence. Then they brought [the body of] 'Alī—the aides had tied his hands to his feet—carried on a beam, as a [dead][241] donkey would be carried. Ṭāhir gave orders concerning him: he was wrapped in a felt cloth and thrown into a well. Ṭāhir wrote a letter to Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn with the news. The mail pouch traveled the night of Friday, the night of Saturday, and the night of Sunday—there are about 250 *farsakh*s between Marw and that place. It arrived with them on Sunday.[242]

According to Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn: We had given directions to Harthamah and furnished him with supplies of weapons.[243] He set out that day, and al-Ma'mūn saw him off. I said to al-Ma'mūn, "Do not stop on any account until you are saluted as caliph, for it has become your due. We cannot be sure that someone may not propose a truce between the two brothers; but if you are saluted as caliph, it will not be possible for you to

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239. The Sawād (literally, "the black," sc. earth) is the fertile plain of Mesopotamia.

240. The bracketed words are from ed. Cairo. The manuscript used for ed. Leiden became abbreviated through homoioteleuton. The version in Mas'ūdī, VI, 423–24, adds that the page of Aḥmad b. Hishām was carrying the head in a horse's nosebag, which he set before Ṭāhir on cue from his master.

241. The addition is from ed. Cairo.

242. This implies an astonishing average daily speed of 400 km (248 miles) over the ca. 1,150 km (713 miles) between al-Rayy and Marw. See Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 33.

243. That is, to reinforce Ṭāhir. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 169.

retreat." I came forward, along with Harthamah and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, and we saluted him as caliph. Al-Ma'mūn's supporters hastened [to do the same]. Then I went back tired and weary; I had not slept for three days while outfitting Harthamah. The servant said to me, "Here comes 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mudrik." The latter was in charge of the postal service, and we were awaiting the mail pouch [to learn whether matters had turned out] for us or against us. He came in, but remained silent. I said, "Alas, what are you hiding?" "Victory!" he said. Lo, Ṭāhir's letter to me was:[244]

> May God lengthen your life, subdue your enemies, and make those who hate you your ransom! I write to you with the head of 'Alī b. 'Īsā before me and his ring on my finger. Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds!

I rushed to the residence of the Commander of the Faithful, and the slave lad (*ghulām*) followed me with black clothing.[245] I went before al-Ma'mūn, announced the good news to him, and read him the letter. He ordered that the people of his family, the commanders, and important people be summoned. They came in and saluted him as caliph. The head of 'Alī arrived on Tuesday and was sent around Khurāsān [to be displayed].

According to al-Ḥasan b. Abī Sa'īd, who said: We appointed Ṭāhir to a military command in the year 194, and his command has continued uninterrupted until the present time.[246]

According to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Naysābūrī, who said:[247] When news of the death of 'Alī b. 'Īsā reached Muḥammad b. Zubaydah, who at the time was by the riverside, fishing, he said to the man who announced it

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244. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 169; Mas'ūdī, VI, 424.

245. *Sawād*: black clothing was the court dress of officials. See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CCCI; Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 699.

246. The original significance of this truncated report is unclear. It may be connected to the report in Ibn Khallikān (trans. de Slane), II, 473, that, at the time Ṭāhir was assigned his command, al-Faḍl b. Sahl predicted that his standard would not be "untied" (i.e., defeated) for 56 years, and that this prediction proved true.

247. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 169; *Fragmenta*, 325.

to him, "Woe to you! Leave me. Kawthar[248] has already caught two fishes, and I haven't caught anything yet."

[Continuing,] he said: A certain man who was envious used to say, "Ṭāhir thinks that ʿAlī is superior to him."[249] He also said, "When will Ṭāhir arise to fight ʿAlī, given the large size of his army and the obedience of the people of Khurāsān to him?" When ʿAlī was killed, he backed down and said, "By God, had Ṭāhir met him by himself, he would have fought him with his army until he prevailed or was killed in the attempt."

One of ʿAlī's companions, a man of strength and courage, said concerning the death of ʿAlī:[250]

With him we met the lion when it breaks the neck of its prey;
and we were such as never to be frightened away by an encounter.
From of old we have rushed into death and adversities;
when (death) bears down, there is nowhere to hide!
He brought low our riders when we met:
death came, and the covering was removed.[251]
He killed our ram, our head, [804]
as if destiny had been in his hand.

When news of the death of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā reached Muḥammad and al-Faḍl [b. al-Rabīʿ], the latter sent on Muḥammad's authority to Nawfal, al-Maʾmūn's eunuch (*khādim*)—he was al-Maʾmūn's agent in Baghdad, his treasurer, and his caretaker for his family, children, estates, and money—and took from him the million dirhams that al-Rashīd had given to al-Maʾmūn. He seized his estates and the income from them in the Sawād and put his own agents in charge of them. He sent out ʿAbd

248. Kawthar was al-Amīn's favorite eunuch.

249. Following ed. Cairo; ed. Leiden reads, "A certain man who was envious of Ṭāhir used to say that ʿAlī was superior to him."

250. Ed. Cairo adds: "and the encounter with Ṭāhir."

251. "Covering" is a metaphor for ignorance. Cf. Qurʾān 50:21–22 (describing the Day of Judgment): "And the Trumpet shall be blown; that is the Day of the Threat. And every soul shall come, and with it a driver and a witness. 'Thou wast heedless of this; therefore We have now removed from thee thy covering, and so thy sight today is piercing.'"

al-Raḥmān al-Abnāwī with strength and armaments. The latter encamped at Hamadhān.

Someone mentioned having heard ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim say at that time: Muḥammad [al-Amīn] wants to remove mountains and rout armies with his management and ill-fated heedlessness. How far he is from doing that, by God! As the former man said: "God has caused the flock you were herding to perish."

When Muḥammad had the oath of allegiance sworn to his son Mūsā and sent out ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, a poet from Baghdad, seeing Muḥammad's preoccupation with his own diversion and his idleness and how he neglected to oversee ʿAlī and al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ, said:[252]

The caliphate has been brought to ruin by the vizier's malice,
the imām's dissoluteness, and the counselor's ignorance.
Faḍl is a vizier and Bakr a counselor
who desire what will bring about the commander's death.
This is nothing but a path of delusion:
the worst of roads are the paths of delusion.
The caliph's active homosexuality (*liwāṭ*) is a marvel,
even more marvelous than it is the vizier's passive homosexuality (*ḥulāq*).[253]
One of them buggers; the other gets buggered:
such, by my life, is the difference of the cases.
[805] If only the two would make use of each other,
they could manage to keep the affair quiet.
But one of them plunged into [the eunuch] Kawthar,
and being covered by donkeys did not satiate the other.

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252. Masʿūdī, VI, 438, quotes eight lines of the poem and identifies the author as the blind poet ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 170, quotes the first three verses, but says that he has omitted the remaining verses "because of the foul slander in them. I am amazed that Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī], Godfearing man that he was, recorded them!"

253. Both printed editions misread the word *ḥulāq* as *khalāq* "portion, share"; the two words differ by a single diacritical dot. The parallelism of the verse points to a sexual meaning. In *Lisān*, II, 970, one finds two sexual meanings for *ḥulāq*: either an infectious venereal disease of horses and donkeys, causing inflammation of the skin of the penis, and treated by gelding the infected animal; or the condition of a female ass constantly in heat but never conceiving despite being covered many times. See also al-Khafājī, *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*, s.v. *ḥalaqī*.

So they themselves brought their deeds into scorn,
and they were at odds, like a camel's way of urinating.[254]
More wondrous than the one and the other is that we
swear allegiance to the small child among us:
One who does not know how to wash his buttocks,
and whose back[255] has not left the bosom of a nurse.
This has happened only because of Faḍl and Bakr,
who want to abrogate the Book that gives light.
Were it not for time's vicissitudes, would these two
be either in the caravan or in the company going forth to fight?[256]
But these are disorders[257] like mountains
on which the lowly and contemptible have risen aloft.
Patience! In patience there is great good,
even if the long-suffering man's patience has already worn thin.
Lord, take them quickly
to Thyself; bring them to the punishment of hellfire.
Make an example of Faḍl and his party,
and crucify them around these bridges.[258]

It has been mentioned: When Muḥammad sent to al-Ma'mūn concerning the oath of allegiance to his son Mūsā, and sent out messengers to him about the matter, al-Ma'mūn wrote in reply to his letter:[259]

> To proceed: The letter of the Commander of the Faithful has reached me, criticizing my rejection of a

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254. Arabic lexicographers explain the proverb "More contrary than a camel's urinating," as arising from the ability of the camel (and also the lion, according to Arab naturalists) to direct the stream of its urine backward. See Freytag, *Proverbia*, I, 456; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, 447.

255. Another reading: "And from whose urine the nurse's breast is not free."

256. The line alludes to the proverb "Such a one is neither in the caravan nor in the company going forth to fight," applied to one not regarded as fit for a difficult undertaking. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VIII, 2825; Freytag, *Proverbia*, II, 500; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, III, 168–69.

257. Following the reading (*fitan*) in ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXIV, instead of the original Leiden reading (*qunan*), "hills."

258. This is probably meant to recall the unhappy fate of al-Rashīd's disgraced vizier Ja'far b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī in 187/803. See Ṭabarī, III, 667 ff.

259. Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 212.

position wherein he has wronged me and has desired me to be in a state contrary to what he knows to be right. By my life, had the Commander of the Faithful brought things to a state of fairness, demanding only it, and not provoking disapproval by its abandonment, his very first words would have been clearly persuasive, and I would have been convicted if I abandoned rightful obedience to him. However, as I am quick to render what is rightful, while he is ceasing to act in accordance with it, it rather behooves him to act in accordance with what is right in his own affair. He should adhere to it
[806] and give of his own accord. Then, if I do what is right, I shall have freed him from worry; whereas if I reject what is right, he will be justified [in what he does]. As for the beneficence he has promised in exchange for obedience to him and the punishment he has threatened for disobedience to him, has anyone ever departed from the right in his action, and yet left the considerate man room to trust his word? Peace!

[Continuing,] he said: He wrote to ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, when he learned of what the latter had resolved to do:[260]

To proceed: You are in the [protective] shadow of a mission (*daʿwah*) whose sanctum you and your forebears have always been ready to defend, whose preservation you have sought, and whose right you have upheld. Making this your duty to your imāms, you have clung to the rope of your community (*jamāʿah*), giving willing obedience, joining together against your opponents, and being partisans and brethren[261] to those who agree with you. You have preferred them before fathers and children, and gone through thick and thin with them.[262] You have considered nothing more advantageous to you than that which unites your fellow-

260. Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 213–15.
261. Ed. Cairo: "helpers."
262. Literally: "comporting yourselves in whatever tribulation or prosperity they comported themselves."

ship, and nothing more damaging to you than that which dissolves your unity. Anyone averse to this you have held to be astray from the goal and from following the path of truth; and against them you have been swords of God's vengeance. How many of them have been left lying in a land of rending beasts, lifeless limbs, with the winds blowing dust in their faces, and the beasts of prey summoning each other to the place where they fell unbedded and unpillowed, having gone to a nation...[263] and whose good fortune is not quick to come! The imāms have therefore accorded you the trust in their affairs and precedence in their traditions that you have earned. You yourself have been more zealous than many of their trusted agents and close associates, so that God has made you the hero of the people of your mission (*da'wah*) and the chief who undertakes the main part of the business of your community.[264] If you tell them to draw near, they draw near; if you give the sign to proceed, they proceed; and if you hold back, they stop and stand still from faith in you[265] and seeking counsel. You increase in fortune with the increase in yourself [of obedience to them], and they increase in [807] fortune with the increase for you of [their] obedience to you. Now you have arrived at a position in which you have approached your day (i.e., your end), a position for which the greater part of your lifetime was expended. Only the seal of your work remains to be awaited. If it is good, your earlier good deeds will be accepted because of it; if it is the opposite, your earlier effort will be lost because of it. Abū Yaḥyā, you now see a state of affairs in which you have dislodged the people who favored you and the rulers who upheld the right of your imāmate by thrusting at a knot that you yourself undertook to

263. There is a lacuna in the manuscript.

264. Ed. Cairo: "your imāms."

265. Following the emendation (*īmānan bika*) proposed by ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXIV. The original Leiden reading, followed by ed. Cairo, was *wi'āman laka*, "in harmony with you."

tighten and by [violating][266] covenants whose ratification you oversaw. These affected first the inner circle, but then the matter reached the generality of Muslims, with binding oaths and confirmed pacts. What has arisen is something that will cause unanimity to be disrupted, a community to be split, and a unity to be dispersed. You thereby expose yourself to an alteration of favor and the disappearance of the path that former imāms have trodden. When favor departs from those who govern your affairs, its departure will extend to you in your own persons. God will not change [His favor] toward a people until they change their own state.[267] Anyone who labors to disperse it labors therein not so much against himself as against those who sustain it[268] and are in charge of its defense, having exposed them to becoming prey to their enemies and food for a people whose claws will immerse themselves in their blood. Your position is such that if you speak, your words will be regarded; if you advise, you will not be impugned for your counsel. By favoring the right, you will have favor with the people of right. How different the man who obtains present gain by abandoning the right, bringing ruin upon himself in his last state, and the man who backs the right, attaining to a good last state along with abundant good fortune in his present life! That to which you are being summoned is not your advantage; that to which you are being asked to incline is not his disadvantage. It is a duty that your merits demand, something that will deserve reward from your Lord and from the people of your imāmate whose right you will have maintained. If it is impossible for you to speak or act,

266. The word is supplied from ed. Cairo, reading *khatr* for *khathr*.

267. Cf. Qur'ān 8:53 and 13:11. Cf. the paraphrase of the verse in Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, XIII, 81: "God does not change the favor and well-being that are among a people, removing these and destroying the people, until they exchange their state for mutual injustice and aggression; that is when God's punishment and indignation alight upon them."

268. Following the reading of ed. Cairo (*ḥamalatihā*). Ed. Leiden reads *jumlatihā*, "the totality of it." The meaning is unclear.

go to an abode where you will be free from fear for your person and where you will rule by your judgment. Cross over to someone who will favorably receive your good action and who will restore you to your post and your wealth.[269] God will be with you in this; and God suffices as a guarantor. If that is not feasible for you for reasons of your own safety, then withhold your hand, and speak the truth as long as you[270] do not fear that it will entail harm to you. Perhaps, someone will emulate you and be content with your prohibition! Inform me of your opinion, that I may know it, God willing. [808]

'Alī [b. 'Īsā] brought the letter to Muḥammad. The people who were for abrogation among the aides aroused the latter's ardor and fueled his fires. His intoxication with power and his base nature assisted in this. He turned over judgment in the matter to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī', for the latter used to act as his helper. Meanwhile, the letters of Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn were reaching the spy he was consulting in his affair, saying: "If the people insist on deciding for conflict, use subtle means so that they entrust the matter to 'Alī b. 'Īsā." Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn specified 'Alī for this because the latter had left a bad impression on the people of Khurāsān, who were united in their opposition to him, and because the populace held that he should be fought.[271] Al-Faḍl consulted the spy he used to consult, and the man said, "'Alī b. 'Īsā—if he does it, you cannot hit them with anyone like him in terms of his wide renown,[272] generosity of spirit, and his position of having long governed in the terri-

269. This may be an offer to restore 'Alī to the governorship of Khurāsān.

270. Reading with ed. Cairo *takhaf* ("you do not fear") for ed. Leiden's *nakhaf* ("we do not fear").

271. Cf. Ṭabarī, III, 702 (year 189/804–5): "When 'Alī b. 'Īsā went off to Khurāsān, he tyrannized over its people and treated them harshly. He gathered an immense sum of money, and out of it sent to Hārūn presents, including horses, slaves, clothing, musk, and wealth, whose like had never been seen before." (Translation, Bosworth, *'Abbāsid Caliphate in Equilibrium*, 250–51.)

272. Reading *ṣawtihi*, as suggested by ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXIV. Ed. Leiden originally read *ṣawmihi* ("his fasting"). The reading of ed. Cairo (*ṣawbihi*, "his rain") may be preferable. Rain is sometimes used as a metaphor for generosity. "Extensiveness or abundance of rain" would form a parallel to "generosity of spirit."

tory of Khurāsān and done many good works among its people. Furthermore, he is the elder statesman (*shaykh*) of the mission (*da'wah*) and the best[273] of those who are its partisans." So they decided to send 'Alī, and events took their course. Two armies rallied to al-Ma'mūn when 'Alī was sent: his soldiers with whom he made war on the enemy, and the common people of Khurāsān, who were a party[274] against 'Alī because of the bad impression he had left with them. This (sc. the appointment of 'Alī b. 'Īsā) was a policy in which there was great risk, except in the minds of men of weak judgment, both
[809] because of 'Alī's own nature and because of what he and his forebears had done previously. So events took their course and he was killed.

Sahl [b. Hārūn] mentioned that 'Amr b. Ḥafṣ, the *mawlā* of Muḥammad, said: I went in to see Muḥammad in the middle of the night—I was one of his inner circle and could come to him when none of his [other] *mawālī* and entourage could. I found him with a candle before him, thinking. I greeted him, but he did not reply to me; so I realized that he was planning some affair of his. I remained standing in his presence until most of the night had passed. Then he raised his head to me and said, "Bring me 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim." I went to 'Abdallāh and brought him, and ('Abdallāh) continued arguing with (Muḥammad) until the night ended. I heard 'Abdallāh saying, "I beseech you for God's sake, Commander of the Faithful; do not be the first of the caliphs who broke his promise, violated his covenant, made light of his oath, and rejected the judgment of the caliph who preceded him." "Be silent," he said. "What a man you are![275] 'Abd al-Malik[276] was wiser than you and

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273. Perhaps to be translated, "the remnant of those who were its partisans."

274. Ed. Cairo reads, "who made war against him."

275. Literally, "To God [be attributable] your father!" For an explanation of the idiom, see Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 11.

276. The parallel accounts disagree about which 'Abd al-Malik is meant. Dīnawarī, 389, identifies him as the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (ruled from 65/685 to 86/705). Mas'ūdī, VI, 419–20, identifies him as 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ, a prominent member of the 'Abbāsid family who had been imprisoned by al-Rashīd on suspicion of aspiring to the caliphate and who was released by al-Amīn. See Ṭabarī, III, 688–94. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 156, places the episode in 194.

saw things more fully when he said, 'Two stallions cannot be together in one camel herd.'"

'Amr b. Ḥafṣ [continued,] saying: I heard Muḥammad saying to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī', "Alas, Faḍl, life is impossible while 'Abdallāh remains and resists. He must be deposed." Al-Faḍl was supporting him in this and promising him that he would do it. (Al-Amīn) was saying, "When will that be, if he gains control of Khurāsān and the adjacent territory?"

One of Muḥammad's eunuchs (*khadam*) mentioned: When Muḥammad set about deposing al-Ma'mūn and having allegiance sworn to his son, he gathered the chief military commanders and proposed [the matter] to them one by one.[277] They refused him; scarcely any people backed him. Finally, he reached Khuzaymah b. Khāzim and asked him for his advice about it. The latter said, "Commander of the Faithful, anyone who lies to you is not giving you sincere advice, and anyone who speaks the truth to you is not deceiving you. Do not embolden the military commanders to depose, lest they depose you; and do not induce them to break the compact, lest they break their compact with you and their allegiance to you; for the treacherous man is abandoned, and the perfidious man is defeated." 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān approached. Muḥammad [810] smiled and said, "But the elder statesman (*shaykh*) of this regime, the eyetooth of this dynasty (*dawlah*) will not oppose his imām and will not obey halfheartedly." Then he raised him to a place to which I had never seen him raise him before. People therefore say that he was the first of the military commanders who agreed to depose 'Abdallāh and followed Muḥammad in his opinion.

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]:[278] When Muḥammad resolved to depose 'Abdallāh, al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' said to him, "Will you not excuse him, Commander of the Faithful? After all, he is your brother. Perhaps he will concede this matter peacefully, and you will have been spared the trouble of dealing

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277. Cf. the parallel account in Dīnawarī, 391, where the issue is not the deposition of al-Ma'mūn, but his being asked to return to Baghdad to serve as vizier, while Mūsā was to be made governor of Khurāsān.

278. Parallel: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 159.

with him and will have escaped from having to fight and oppose him." "What should I do?" he said. "You should write a letter to him," he said, "trying to placate him, allaying his apprehension, and asking him to yield to you what he has under his control. That is a more effective way of managing the affair and will be better spoken of than trying to subdue him with troops and forestall him with trickery." Muḥammad said to him, "I[279] will do as you think best in the matter." When Ismāʿīl b. Ṣubayḥ came to write the letter to ʿAbdallāh, he said, "Commander of the Faithful, your asking him to yield what he has under his control will engender doubt, strengthen suspicion, and put him on guard. Write to him telling him that you need him and that you would like to have him close to you and profit from his counsel. Ask him to come to you; that will be more effective and more likely to lead to making him obey and comply." Al-Faḍl said, "What he has said is right, Commander of the Faithful." "Then," he said, "let him write as he thinks best." So he wrote to him:[280]

> From al-Amīn Muḥammad, Commander of the Faithful, to ʿAbdallāh, the son of the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn:
>
> To proceed: The Commander of the Faithful has considered your situation, your location in your frontier region, and the help and assistance he hopes to obtain
> [811] in his God-given burden and responsibility for the affairs of God's worshipers and lands from your closeness. He has pondered the governorship that the Commander of the Faithful, al-Rashīd, assigned to you and what he commanded—that you alone should be in charge of what was assigned to you. The Commander of the Faithful hoped that no offense toward his religion or violation of his oath would be introduced, as his sending for you was in a matter whose benefit affects the Muslims and whose advantage and merit extends to

279. Following ed. Cairo; ed. Leiden has "Do as you think best."

280. Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 204–5. The letter is paraphrased in Dīnawarī, 389–90.

them all. The Commander of the Faithful has realized that your being close to him will be a more solid defense for the frontier regions and better for the armies. It will render the income from captured lands [*fay'*][281] more secure and will be more profitable for the populace than your staying in the province of Khurāsān, separated from your family, and absent from the Commander of the Faithful and from the advice and counsel from you that he wishes to enjoy. In investing Mūsā, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, as your deputy, the Commander of the Faithful has thought it wise to give him responsibility for any of your commands or prohibitions that shall reach him.[282] Come to the Commander of the Faithful with God's blessing and assistance, bringing the amplest hope, the broadest expectation, the most praiseworthy result, and the most penetrating intelligence; for you are the most worthy person for the Commander of the Faithful to ask for help in his affairs and to relieve his toil in matters involving the good of the people of his household[283] and those under his protection. Peace!

He gave the letter to al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, 'Īsā b. Ja'far b. Abī Ja'far,[284] Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Nahīk, and Ṣāliḥ, the keeper of the prayer rug, and commanded them to take it to 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn. They were to spare no manner of softness and gentleness and were to make the matter easy for him. One of

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281. *Fay'* ("permanent booty") was the tribute or tax income from captured lands from which the stipends of Muslim soldiers were paid. See *EI*[2] s.v.

282. This seems to imply that Mūsā is to assume nominal responsibility for Khurāsān (doubtlessly under an elder tutor to carry out the actual administration) as al-Ma'mūn's *khalīfah* (deputy). Cf. Dīnawarī, 389; Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 357.

283. Following ed. Leiden in reading *ahl baytihi*. Ed. Cairo reads *ahl millatihi* ("people of his religious community," i.e., Muslims), contrasting with *dhimmatihi* ("those under his protection," i.e., non-Muslims). The Cairo reading may be preferable. Note that on p. 69, below, both editions agree on a similar phrase, *ahl al-millah wa'l-dhimmah* ("people of the [Muslim] community and protected [non-Muslims]").

284. That is, the grandson of al-Manṣūr.

them carried money, favors, and gifts. This was in the year 194. So they took his letter. When they reached ʿAbdallāh, he
[812] admitted them, and they gave him Muḥammad's letter and the money, favors, and gifts he had sent with them.

Then al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā spoke. Having praised and extolled God, he said, "Commander, your brother has taken upon himself in the caliphate a great weight and in attending to the affairs of men an enormous burden. He has been truly intent on good, so that he has needed ministers, aides, and assistants in what is just. He has little fellowship with the members of his family. You are his brother, his like; he has turned to you in his affairs, and has hoped for your help and assistance. Not because we doubt your sincerity toward him do we deem you to be slow in devotion to him, nor is it because we fear you will disobey him that we urge you to obedience. In your coming to him lies great fellowship and benefit for his dynasty (*dawlah*) and reign. Answer, commander, the call of your brother. Choose obedience to him, and help him in those of his affairs in which he has called upon you for help; for therein lies the performance of what is right, kindness toward kindred, the welfare of the dynasty (*dawlah*), and the strength of the caliphate. May God make the commander resolute to follow the right course in his affairs, and may He grant him goodness and righteousness in the outcome of his judgment."

ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar spoke, saying, "Multiplying words to the commander, may God assist him,[285] would be foolishness, and frugality[286] in acquainting him with his duty toward the Commander of the Faithful would be deficiency. The commander, may God grant him honor, has been absent from the Commander of the Faithful, and the latter has not been able to dispense with his presence. In the presence of other members of his family he finds that he has no one adequate, and he finds no substitute or replacement for him. The com-

285. The translation follows ed. Cairo's *ayyadahu Allāh*. Ed. Leiden's *Allāh Allāh* is a probably a copyist's error based on the similar ductus of the two words.

286. Following ed. Cairo's *iqtiṣād*, which is preferable to ed. Leiden's *iqtiṣār* ("limitation, abbreviation").

mander is the person whom it most behooves to show piety toward his brother and to obey his imām. Let the commander do as the Commander of the Faithful has written to him, as will be most pleasing and closest to the approval and affection of the Commander of the Faithful. Coming to him will be an act of merit and good fortune; slowness in coming to him will be an offense to religion and a damage and harm to the Muslims."

Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Nahīk spoke, saying, "Commander, we will not give you even more multiplication of words and [813] long-windedness about what you already know concerning the right of the Commander of the Faithful, nor will we[287] with stories and sermons sharpen your intention about the attention and concern required of you in the affairs of the Muslims. The Commander of the Faithful has needed aides and advisors in his presence. He has tried to place you under obligation, turning to you to help and strengthen him in his affairs. If you respond to the Commander of the Faithful in his invitation to you, it will be a great blessing and to the advantage of your subjects and family. If you stay put, God will enable the Commander of the Faithful to dispense with you; but that will not cause him to be any less devoted to you or to rely less on your obedience and sincere advice than he does now."

Ṣāliḥ, the keeper of the prayer rug, spoke, saying, "Commander, the caliphate is weighty, and aides are few. The people of strife and disobedience who plot against this dynasty (*dawlah*) and harbor deceit toward it and recalcitrance toward its friends are many. You are the brother of the Commander of the Faithful and his like. Whether matters go well or badly depends on you and on him; for you are his heir by virtue of a covenant, and the sharer in his authority and governorship. The Commander of the Faithful has tried to lay you under obligation by his letter. He has trusted that you will assist in those of his affairs in which he has asked you to help. Your agreeing to come to him will entail great benefit for the caliphate and joy and ease of mind for people of the [Muslim] community and protected aliens. May God grant the commander success in his affairs and

287. Following ed. Cairo's *nashḥadhu*; ed. Leiden's *yushḥadhu* is unlikely on grammatical grounds.

decree for him that which will be most pleasing and profitable to him."

Al-Ma'mūn then praised and extolled God and said, "You have informed me of what I do not deny as regards the right of the Commander of the Faithful, may God grant him honor. You have called me to what I choose and do not reject—namely, to help and assist. I am ready to obey the Commander of the [814] Faithful and eager to hasten to do what will please him and be agreeable to him. But in deliberateness lies clarification of judgment, and in using good judgment lies sincere resolution. The matter to which the Commander of the Faithful has called me is one from which I will not hang back by way of delaying or resisting, but I will not embark on it haphazardly or hastily. I am in one of the frontier regions of the Muslims. Its enemy is rabid with fury; his vehemence is intense. If I neglect him, I fear that damage and harm will befall both soldiers and subjects. Yet, if I stay to deal with him, I fear that I shall fail to do what I would like—namely, help and assist the Commander of the Faithful and freely give him obedience. Depart until I consider my affair and [obtain] sincere advice about what I should decide as regards going, if God so wills." He then commanded that they should be lodged, given hospitality, and treated well.

According to Sufyān b. Muḥammad: When al-Ma'mūn read the letter, he wrung his hands.[288] What came to him in it was distressing to him, and he did not know what to reply to it. So he called al-Faḍl b. Sahl, had him read the letter, and said, "What do you think about this matter?" He replied, "I think you should hold fast to your position and not make a way against us,[289] while you can avoid it." "How," he asked, "can I hold fast to my position and defy Muḥammad, when the greater part of the commanders and troops are with him, and when most of the money and stores have gone to him, not to mention the favors and benefits that he has distributed among the people of Baghdad? People incline toward money and are led by it; if they find it, they do not care about maintaining allegiance or desire to fulfill a covenant or a trust." Al-Faḍl

288. Parallels: Dīnawarī, 390; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 159–60.
289. Ed. Cairo: "against yourself."

said to him, "When suspicion has arisen, caution is in order. I fear Muḥammad's treachery and am apprehensive that he may covet what you have in your hands. It is better for you to be with your soldiers and your strength, residing amid the people of your governorate. If something befalls you from him, you shall gather forces against him and strive to overcome him in battle and by strategy. Either God will give you victory over [815] him in reward for your loyalty [to the Meccan agreement] and good intention, or the other will happen, and you will have died steadfast, with your honor intact; you will not have sat idle and enabled your enemy to have his way with your person and your blood."

Al-Ma'mūn said, "Had this affair come upon me while I was in a position of strength and while my affairs were in good order, it would have been of minor importance, and it would have been possible to repel it by stratagem. But it has come upon me after Khurāsān has been stirred up. Its inhabited lands and waste lands are in a state of disturbance. Jabghūyah[290] has abandoned obedience; Khāqān, the ruler of Tibet,[291] is acting up; the king of Kābul is preparing to raid the lands of Khurāsān that border on him; the king of Abrāzbandah[292] is withholding the tribute (*ḍarībah*) that he used to render; and I have no strength for even one of these matters. I know that Muḥammad has asked me to come only for some evil that he plans. I see nothing else to do than abandon my position and join Khāqān, the king of the

290. Barthold identifies *jabghū* or *yabghū* as a Turkish title and identifies the ruler in question as "the jabghū of the Qarluq [Turks]" (cf. *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 173, 202). Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 138, freely renders, "the *jabghū* of the Turks." Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 358 n., calls him "Jabghūyah the king of Ṭukhāristān," following Ṭabarī, II, 1206.

291. Arabic *Tubbat*, from which the word "Tibet" comes, referred to the lands around the headwaters of the Oxus River, in the west of modern Sinkiang province of China, rather than Tibet proper. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 435, 437; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v. Tubbat.

292. Or, Barāzbandah: The original reading, amended on the basis of references given in ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXIV, was Utrārbandah, apparently a compound of the place name Utrār or Uṭrār, a town on the Sayḥūn (Jaxartes, Syr Darya) River, earlier known as Bārāb or Fārāb, with the Persian word *band*, dam or weir. Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v. Uṭrār; Le Strange, *Lands*, 484–85. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 202, accepts the reading Utrārbandah.

Turks, asking him for protection in his country. It is better for me to be safe in my person and out of reach of someone who wants to subdue me and use treachery against me."

Al-Faḍl said to him, "Commander, the end of treachery is disaster, and one cannot be safe from the evil consequence of injustice and tyranny. Many a man disesteemed has again become powerful; many a man subdued has again become an overpowering subduer. Victory is not by small or great numbers. The anguish of death is less grievous than the anguish of humiliation and injury. I do not think you should leave your position and go to obey Muḥammad, stripped of your commanders and soldiers, like a head separated from its body, for him to pass judgment over you, so that you become one of his subjects without exerting yourself in striving and fighting. Rather, write to Jabghūyah and Khāqān. Give them charge over their lands. Promise them that you will strengthen them in fighting the kings. Send to the king of Kābul some gifts and precious things from Khurāsān, and ask him for a treaty; you
[816] will find him eager for it. Remit to the king of Abrāzbandah his tribute for this year; make it a gift from yourself that you grant to him. Gather your outlying provinces to yourself, and attach to yourself those of your troops who have become separated. Then strike cavalry with cavalry and infantry with infantry. If you win, [well and good]; if not, you will be able to join Khāqān as you wish."

'Abdallāh realized that what he had said was right. "Do as you think best," he said, "in this and in my other affairs." [Al-Faḍl] sent letters to those rebels. They became satisfied and yielded. He wrote to the commanders and soldiers who had left Marw, and made them come to him. He wrote to Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, who was then 'Abdallāh's agent in charge of al-Rayy. He commanded him to secure his area, gather his outlying districts to himself, and be in a state of alert and preparation for an army if it invaded him or a foe[293] if it attacked him. So the latter readied himself for war and prepared to repel Muḥammad from the province of Khurāsān.

293. Reading *aw 'adūw*, with ed. Cairo, rather than *wa-'adad* ("and a number") as in ed. Leiden.

It is said: ʿAbdallāh sent to al-Faḍl b. Sahl and asked his advice in the matter of Muḥammad. "Commander," he replied, "give me a respite today, and I will bring you an opinion tomorrow." He spent that night considering what was best to do. In the morning, he came to (ʿAbdallāh) and told him that he had considered the stars and had seen that he would win and that the result would be in his favor.[294] So ʿAbdallāh remained in his place and made up his mind to fight and contend with Muḥammad. Having finished consolidating matters in Khurāsān as he wished, ʿAbdallāh wrote:[295]

> To the Servant of God Muḥammad, Commander of the Faithful, from ʿAbdallāh b. Hārūn:
>
> To proceed: I have received the letter of the Commander of the Faithful. I am merely one of his governors and aides. Al-Rashīd, may God's blessings be upon him, commanded me to stay in this frontier region and oppose any enemy of the Commander of the Faithful who seeks to ensnare its people. Upon my life, my remaining here will be more profitable for the Com- [817]
> mander of the Faithful and more useful to the Muslims than my going to the Commander of the Faithful, although I would be happy to be in his presence and glad to see God's favor toward him. Therefore, if he thinks it wise to confirm me over my district and excuse me from going to him, he will do so, God willing. Peace.

Then he summoned al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā, ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar, Muḥammad [b. ʿĪsā], and Ṣāliḥ and gave them the letter. He gave them generous gifts for the way and conveyed to Muḥammad a gift to Khurāsānian delicacies that he had prepared for him. He asked them to speak well of him in Muḥammad's presence and to excuse him.

According to Sufyān b. Muḥammad: When Muḥammad read ʿAbdallāh's letter, he realized that al-Maʾmūn would not

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294. On al-Faḍl b. Sahl's knowledge of astrology, see Ibn Khallikān (trans. de Slane), II, 472–73; also Dīnawarī, 390.

295. Parallels: Dīnawarī, 390–91; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 160; Italian translation and discussion in Gabrieli, "Documenti," 205–6.

submit and come to him. He therefore dispatched 'Iṣmah b. Ḥammād b. Sālim, the master of his guard (*ṣāḥib ḥarasihi*), and commanded him to establish a garrison (*maslaḥah*) between Hamadhān and al-Rayy. He was to prevent merchants from carrying any provisions into Khurāsān. He was to search travelers, so that they would have no letters with them containing reports about him and what he intended to do. This was in the year 194. Then he resolved to fight him. He summoned 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān and assigned him the command of 50,000 horsemen and foot soldiers from the people of Baghdad.[296] He handed him the army registers (*dafātir al-jund*) and commanded him to select and choose those who pleased him. He was to give special treatment to whomever he liked and raise those he wanted to [a salary of] 80 [dīnārs]. He gave him access to the [stores of] weapons and treasuries. Then they were dispatched against al-Ma'mūn.

According to Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith, who said: When 'Alī [b. 'Īsā] was about to set out for Khurāsān, he rode to the door of Umm Ja'far and said goodbye to her.[297] She said, "'Alī, although the Commander of the Faithful is my child for whom I feel the utmost affection and greatest anxiety, I sympathize
[818] with 'Abdallāh and feel pity for him because of the adversity and harm that are befalling him. My son is merely a king who has competed with his brother for his power and who has envied what the latter has in his hand. The generous [among his followers] will devour his flesh; the others will kill him![298] Show 'Abdallāh the respect due to him because of his father and because of his being a brother. Do not speak roughly to him, for you are not his peer. Do not compel him as slaves are compelled, and do not weaken him with a shackle or fetter. Do

296. *Ahl Baghdād*: This normally does not mean the general population of the city, but rather the soldiers registered on the military rolls at Baghdad. See Lassner, *The Shaping of 'Abbāsid Rule*, 280 (note 61) for a discussion of the term.

297. That is, to the residence of al-Amīn's mother, Zubaydah. Parallels: Dīnawarī, 392; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 165–66.

298. Cf. the somewhat freer translation of Nabia Abbott: "The better sort among his followers devour his worldly substance and the rest would be the death of him." (*Two Queens of Baghdad*, 213–14). "Eat the flesh of someone" can mean either devour his wealth or defame him. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 71, s.v. *akala*.

not deprive him of a maidservant or servant. Do not be harsh with him in journeying. Do not go beside him or ride before him. Do not mount your horse until you have held his stirrup. If he reviles you, bear with him. If he uses many words[299] to you, do not dispute with him." Then she gave him a silver shackle and said, "If he comes to be in your hand, bind him with this shackle."[300] He said to her, "I accept your command and will act in obedience to you in this."

Muḥammad published the deposition of al-Ma'mūn and had allegiance sworn to his two sons, Mūsā and 'Abdallāh, in all regions except Khurāsān. When they swore allegiance, he gave the Banū Hāshim, the military commanders, and the army money and gifts. He gave Mūsā the name *al-Nāṭiq bi-al-Ḥaqq* ("Speaker of the Truth"), and he gave 'Abdallāh the name *al-Qā'im bi-al-Ḥaqq* ("Upholder of the Truth"). 'Alī b. 'Īsā departed from Baghdad on 7 Sha'bān 195 (May 5, 811) and encamped at al-Nahrawān.[301] Muḥammad escorted him out, and the commanders and soldiers also rode forth. Provision wagons[302] were gathered, and craftsmen and workers were dispatched with him. It is said that his army was a *farsakh* [in length], with its tents, equipment, and baggage. One of the people of Baghdad said they had never seen an army with more men, livelier mounts, brighter swords, fuller equipment, or in more perfect array than his army.

According to 'Amr b. Sa'īd: After Muḥammad had passed the Khurāsān Gate,[303] ['Alī][304] dismounted and went on foot. (Muḥammad) approached to impart a commission to him.[305] He said, "Forbid your soldiers to harass the populace, or raid the [819]

299. Ed. Cairo reads, "If he behaves foolishly." The same reading is suggested in ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CCXCII.

300. The parallel in Ya'qūbī, II, 530, has al-Amīn give 'Alī the shackle.

301. The date has previously been given as 15 Jumādā II 195 (p. 49, above). Arguments in favor of the earlier date are given in Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 366 (note 3).

302. *Aswāq*: see ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CCCII, for this meaning.

303. The Khurāsān Gate (*Bāb Khurāsān*), one of the four gates in the walls of the original Round City of Baghdad, faced northeast and led to the main floating bridge over the Tigris and the great Khurāsān highway. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 15.

304. The bracketed text is present only in ed. Cairo.

305. Parallel: Dīnawarī, 391.

people of the villages, or cut trees, or rape women. Put Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī in charge of al-Rayy. Attach to him a large body of troops. Command him to pay his troops their salaries (*arzāq*) from income from the land tax (*kharāj*) [of al-Rayy]. Put one of your companions in charge of every district you leave. If any of the soldiers or notables of the people of Khurāsān comes out to you, honor him openly and give him a generous gift.[306] Do not punish a brother for his brother. Remit from the people of Khurāsān one-fourth of the land tax (*kharāj*). Grant no quarter to anyone who shoots an arrow at you or who thrusts at one of your companions with a spear. Do not allow ʿAbdallāh to remain more than three days from the day you capture him. When you send him forth, let him be with your trustiest companion. If Satan beguiles him, so that he shows himself hostile to you, be careful to bind him well. If he escapes from you into one of the districts of Khurāsān, take charge yourself of going after him. Have you understood all I have charged you?" "Yes," he said, "may God preserve the Commander of the Faithful." "Go," he said, "with God's blessing and help."

It has been mentioned: His astrologer came to him and said, "May God preserve the commander! If you delayed your journey until the moon is good,[307] bad luck would be in the ascendant for him, and good luck would be declining and departing from him." He, however, said to one of his slaves, "Saʿīd, tell the commander of the vanguard to strike his drum and advance his banner. We know no difference between a bad moon and a good moon. If anyone fights us, we fight him; if anyone makes peace with us, we make peace with him and leave him alone. If anyone makes war on us and fights us, there is nothing for us to do than slake the swords with his blood. We take no account

306. Contrast ʿAlī's behavior toward the three deserters from Ṭāhir's camp mentioned on p. 51, above.

307. *Ṣalāḥ al-qamar*: this may mean the full moon, although I have not found the phrase in any dictionary. Since ʿAlī left Baghdad on the seventh day of the lunar month, this would have meant a week's delay. The phrase *fasād al-qamar* ("a bad, imperfect moon") also is not recorded in the dictionaries. Another possibility is that *ṣalāḥ* ("becoming better") and *fasād* ("deteriorating") refer to waxing and waning phases of the moon or to its location in auspicious or inauspicious signs of the zodiac.

of a bad moon. We have set our minds on bravery in the encounter and on fighting the enemy."

According to Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]: One of [those in the army of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā] was mentioned as having said: I was among those who went out in the army of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān. When he passed Ḥulwān,[308] caravans from Khurāsān met him.[309] He asked them about the news, seeking inform- [820] ation about the troops of Khurāsān. He was told that Ṭāhir was staying at al-Rayy, reviewing his forces and mending his equipment. He laughed and said, "What is Ṭāhir? By God, he is a mere thorn, compared to my branches; or a spark, compared to my fire. Someone like Ṭāhir does not take charge of armies and deal with battles." Then he turned to his companions and said, "By God, all that stands between you and his being snapped like a tree in a tempest is that word reach him of our crossing the pass of Hamadhān. Lambs are not strong enough to butt with their horns, neither do foxes have the endurance to encounter lions. If Ṭāhir stays in his place, he will be the first to be subjected to the edges of swords and the points of spears!"

According to Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith: When ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā reached the pass of Hamadhān, he met a caravan that had come from Khurāsān. He asked them about the report. They said that Ṭāhir was established at al-Rayy; he had prepared for fighting and had obtained battle gear; reinforcements were flowing to him from Khurāsān and the adjacent districts; he was growing stronger by the day and his forces more numerous; and he was, they thought, the master of the army of Khurāsān. ʿAlī said, "Has anyone [of account][310] from the people of Khurāsān come?" "No," they said, "but matters there are confused, and the people are frightened." So he ordered that they should journey on without stopping. He said to his companions, "The enemy's farthest point is al-Rayy. Once we have put it behind our backs,

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308. The town of Ḥulwān (east of modern Qaṣr-e Shīrīn) lay on the great Khurāsān road in a mountain pass that marked the border between Iraq and al-Jibāl province (the Iranian highlands). See Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 63, 191, 227–28; *EI*[2] s.v. (Lockhart).

309. Parallels: Dīnawarī, 392–93; Mas'ūdī, VI, 420–24; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 166–67.

310. The words in brackets are from ed. Cairo.

that will break their strength; they will become disorganized, and their forces will scatter." Then he sent letters to the kings of Daylam[311] and the Ṭabaristān mountains[312] and to the kings friendly to them, promising them favors and gifts. He made them presents of crowns, bracelets, and gold-ornamented swords, and he commanded them to cut the Khurāsān road and stop anyone who intended to reach Ṭāhir to reinforce him. They agreed to do this. Then he marched until he reached the
[821] beginning of the district of al-Rayy. The commander of his vanguard came to him and said, "God save the commander! If you were to send spies, dispatch scouts, and look for a place where you could encamp and make a trench for your forces so that they would be safe, that would be a better plan and more pleasing to the soldiers." "No," he replied, "one does not prepare for someone like Ṭāhir by stratagems and caution. Ṭāhir's condition will result in one of two things: either he will fortify himself in al-Rayy, and its inhabitants will fall upon him unexpectedly, saving us the trouble of dealing with him; or he will vacate the city and retreat, if our horsemen and soldiers approach him." Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī came to him and said, "Pull the army together; take care that your troops are not attacked by night; and do not send the horses out to pasture without men to protect them: for armies are not managed by negligence, neither are wars conducted by being unprepared. The sure way is for you to be on guard. Do not say, 'My opponent is Ṭāhir'; for a hidden spark has often become a blaze, and a trickle has often been disregarded and dismissed, only to become a great flood. Our armies have drawn near to Ṭāhir; had his intention been to flee, he would not have waited until today." "Be silent," he replied, "for Ṭāhir is not of the rank that you think him to be. Men use caution only when they meet their match; they make preparations only if their foe is their peer or their equal."

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311. Daylam, a small mountainous area between the Safīd Rūd River and the Caspian Sea in Gīlān province of northwestern Iran, was inhabited by warlike tribesmen who had served the Sasanians as mercenaries and maintained their autonomy after the Iranian plateau came under Arab rule. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 172–74; *EI*[2] s.v. (Minorsky).

312. Ṭabaristān was the region of high mountains (the Alburz chain) south of the Caspian Sea. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 368–76.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Mujālid, who said: ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā advanced until he encamped ten *farsakhs* from al-Rayy. Ṭāhir was in the city; he had shut its gates and placed garrisons on the roads leading to it, and had made ready to fight ʿAlī. Ṭāhir consulted his companions, and they advised him to remain in the city of al-Rayy and delay fighting as long as possible, until reinforcements of cavalry came to him from Khurāsān and a military commander to take charge of the matter instead of him. They said, "Your staying in the city of al-Rayy will be easier on your forces and on you.[313] It will render them better able to obtain supplies and find shelter from the cold. Better, if a fight [822] befalls you suddenly, that they[314] take refuge in houses and that you[315] have strength to procrastinate and hold out until reinforcements reach you or a force comes to you from behind you."

Ṭāhir replied, "Yours is not the best plan. The people of al-Rayy are in awe of ʿAlī and fearful of his depredation and violence. On his side are those you have heard about: Bedouins from the desert, brigands from the mountains, and rabble from the villages. I am worried that if he attacks the city while we are in it, fear of him may lead its people to rise against us and help him fight us. Also, never have fighters been threatened in their homes, with the army of the foe coming against them, but that they lost courage and became submissive; their strength departed, and their foe became emboldened against them. The only plan is for us to set the city of al-Rayy behind our backs. If God gives us victory, [well and good]; if not, we shall rely upon the city, fighting in its streets, and taking refuge in its impregnability, until reinforcements or a force from Khurāsān comes to us." "Yours is the best plan," they said. So Ṭāhir issued orders among his forces, and they went out and encamped five *farsakhs* from al-Rayy, at a village called Kalwāṣ. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ came to him and said, "Commander,

313. Ed. Cairo omits the words, "and on you." They may be the result of dittography.

314. That is, "your forces." The translation follows the text of ed. Cairo. The Leiden text (*naʿtaṣimū*, "we take refuge") is grammatically anomalous.

315. The translation follows the Cairo reading. The Leiden reading (*naqwū*, "we have strength") is grammatically anomalous.

your soldiers have become awed by this army; their hearts have filled with fear and terror of it. You should stay in your place and put off fighting, until your men sniff out the foe, become at ease with them, and know the way to take in fighting them." "No," he replied, "I will not be destroyed by inexperience and irresoluteness. My men are few; the enemy's army is great, and their numbers are many. If I put off fighting and delay the conflict, I fear they will learn how few in number we are and how exposed. They may seek to win over those on my side by enticement or intimidation, so that most of my forces may turn [823] away from me, and the men of steadfastness and endurance may abandon me. Instead, I will make infantrymen fight hand to hand with infantrymen, and horsemen join battle with horsemen. I will rely on obedience and loyalty. I will be steadfast, like one who reckons on a good reward and is eager to gain the merit of martyrdom. If God bestows victory and success, that is what we want and hope; if the other happens, I shall not be the first to have fought and been killed! What is in God's presence is greater and better."

'Alī [b. 'Īsā] said to his companions, "Hasten toward the enemy, for their number is small. If you advance toward them, they will have no courage to endure the heat of swords or the thrust of spears." He arranged his troops into a right wing, left wing, and center. He assigned ten banners, with a thousand men under each, and sent the banners forward one by one, putting a bowshot between each. He gave orders to the commanders: when the first banner had fought, held out, and defended [those behind], and the battle had become too protracted for it, the next banner was to be brought forward; the one that had fought was to be moved back, until its men regained their spirits, rested, and had energy to fight again. He put men with coats of mail, chest armor, and helmets in front of the banners; he himself stayed in the center with his companions—men of strength, constancy, and courage.

Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn arranged his troops, divided his squadrons of horsemen, and set his ranks in order. He passed by each commander and each group and said, "You friends of God and people who are loyal and give Him thanks, you are not like these whom you see—people of perfidy and treachery. They

have neglected what you have preserved; they have scorned what you have honored; they have violated the oaths to which you have been faithful; they are seeking only what is false and are fighting in a state of treachery and ignorance—men of plunder and pillage! If you avert your eyes and make firm your feet, God will fulfill His promise and will open to you the gates of His strength and help. Fight for your religion against tempters to civil strife and lords of hellfire! Repel their falsehood by your [824] truth, for it is but a single hour until God will judge between you—and He is the best of judges!"[316] He became very anxious and began saying, "People of loyalty and sincerity, be steadfast, be steadfast! Defend [your honor], defend [your honor]!"

The people [in the two armies] advanced toward each other. The inhabitants of al-Rayy gathered[317] and locked the city gates.[318] Ṭāhir proclaimed, "Friends of God, attend to those in front of you, rather than to those behind you, for only effort and valor will save you." They joined and fought fiercely with each other; both sides showed endurance. ʿAlī's right wing overcame and badly broke Ṭāhir's left wing, and his left wing dislodged [Ṭāhir's] right wing from its position. Ṭāhir said, "Set your strength and your effort against the squadrons of horsemen in the middle! If you break one of their banners, those in front will turn back upon those in the rear." So his forces showed true bravery; they attacked the foremost of the center banners, put them to flight, and killed many among them. The banners turned back upon each other, and ʿAlī's right wing collapsed. The men in Ṭāhir's right wing and his left wing saw what his companions had done. They turned against those who were opposite them and put them to flight. The rout reached ʿAlī, and he began calling to his companions, "Where are the wearers of bracelets and crowns? You Sons [of the Dynasty],[319] come to

316. Qur'ān 7:87.
317. Ed. Cairo: "rose up."
318. Parallels: Dīnawarī, 393; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 168.
319. The *Abnāʾ al-Dawlah* ("Sons of the Mission or Dynasty") were Arabs and Iranians of Khurāsānian origin, who had come to Iraq with the ʿAbbāsid revolution, settled in Baghdad, and formed the dominant force in the army of al-Amīn. See Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 104; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 66; Lassner, *The Shaping of ʿAbbāsid Rule*, 133–36; and Bosworth, *The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate in Equilibrium*, pp. xvii and 4.

me! Rally after retreat! Returning[320] to the battle is part of endurance in it!" One of Ṭāhir's men shot him with an arrow and killed him. They set their swords on them, killing them and taking them prisoner, until night fell and separated them from their quarry. They took many spoils. Ṭāhir proclaimed among ʿAlī's forces that anyone who laid down his weapons would be safe. So they threw away their weapons and dismounted from their horses. Ṭāhir returned to the city of al-Rayy and sent the prisoners and heads to al-Ma'mūn.

It has been mentioned: ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā threw
[825] himself down on that day among the slain. He had received many wounds. He remained among the dead, pretending to be one of them, that day and that night, until he felt safe from pursuit. Then he got up, attached himself to a group of refugees from the army, and went to Baghdad. He was one of ʿAlī's oldest sons.

According to Sufyān b. Muḥammad: When ʿAlī [b. ʿĪsā] set out toward Khurāsān, al-Ma'mūn sent to the commanders who were on his side, proposing to each one of them individually that he should fight him. All of them showed fear and made excuses in order to find a way to be released from encountering him and fighting him.

According to one of the people of Khurāsān: When al-Ma'mūn received Ṭāhir's letter with the news about ʿAlī [b. ʿĪsā] and what God had inflicted upon him, he gave audience to the people. They came before him, congratulated him, and wished him strength and victory. On that day, he proclaimed that Muḥammad was deposed. He himself[321] was mentioned as caliph in prayers in all the districts of Khurāsān and neighboring areas.[322] The people of Khurāsān were delighted. Preachers there gave sermons, and poets recited verses. On that subject, a poet [from the people of Khurāsān][323] said:

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320. Following the Cairo reading (*mu'āwadah*), which makes better sense than the Leiden reading (*mu'āwanah*, "assistance").

321. Following ed. Cairo; ed. Leiden reads: "and mentioning [himself] as caliph in prayers," which is syntactically strained.

322. Ya'qūbī, II, 531, gives a sermon reportedly preached by al-Ma'mūn on this occasion.

323. The bracketed words are from ed. Cairo.

The community has come to be in a state of happiness
regarding its worldly affairs and religion:
For it has kept the compact of the Imām of Right Guidance,
the best of Eve's sons, its Trusted One (*ma'mūnihā*).[324]
It was on the brink [of destruction]; but when it kept faith,
it escaped the evil that would have destroyed it.
It upheld God's truth, when there were written
among his children the books of its registers.
Do you not see the community—how, after ruin,
God has brought it good fortune to adorn it?

The [rest of the] poem is many verses long.

According to ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥarbī: When ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā was killed, people in Baghdad became very agitated and spread wild rumors.[325] Muḥammad regretted his own perfidy and treachery. The military commanders met among themselves. This took place on Thursday, the middle of Shawwāl 195 (July 10, 811). They said, "ʿAlī has been killed, and we do not doubt that Muḥammad needs men and must employ people who have skills. Men are advanced only by their own selves; they are raised by their valor and boldness. Let each of you command his troops to riot and demand pay and gifts. Perhaps, given this state of affairs, we shall obtain from him what is to our advantage and to the advantage of our troops." They agreed upon this. The next morning they went to Bāb al-Jisr.[326] They shouted, "*Allāhu akbar!*"[327] and demanded pay and gifts. News of this reached ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim, and he rode toward them with his men and with the forces of other commanders of Bedouin Arabs. The two sides shot arrows at each other, threw stones, and fought fiercely. Muḥammad heard the shout of "*Allāhu akbar!*" and the noise. He sent one of his *mawālī* to bring him a report. The man returned to him and informed him [826]

324. The line alludes to the title *Imām al-Hudā* taken by al-Ma'mūn (see p. 47, above) and puns on the meaning of al-Ma'mūn's name, "he who is trusted or trustworthy."

325. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 170; *Fragmenta*, 325.

326. Bāb al-Jisr (Gate of the Floating Bridge) was at the eastern end of the northernmost of the three floating bridges linking Baghdad with the districts on the east bank of the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 178.

327. "God is most great!"—used here as a rallying cry.

that the troops had assembled and had rioted to demand their pay. "And are they demanding anything except their pay?" he asked. "No," the man replied. "How small a thing they have demanded!" he said. "Go back to ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim, and command him to turn away from them." Then he ordered that they should be given four months' pay. He raised those who had been under eighty [dīnārs] to eighty.[328] He ordered that the commanders and inner circle (*khawāṣṣ*) should be given presents and gifts.

Al-Amīn Sends ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jabalah to Fight Ṭāhir

In this year, Muḥammad the Deposed[329] sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jabalah al-Abnāwī to Hamadhān to fight Ṭāhir.[330]

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ: When news that ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān had been killed and that Ṭāhir had extirpated his army reached Muḥammad, he dispatched ʿAbd al-Raḥmān
[827] al-Abnāwī with 20,000 men from the *Abnāʾ*.[331] He sent money with him, strengthened him with weapons and horses, gave him gifts, and appointed him governor of Ḥulwān in addition to whatever territory of Khurāsān he might conquer. With him he assigned skilled horsemen of the *Abnāʾ* and men of valor, vigor, and ability from them. He commanded him to travel quickly, with little tarrying or resting, so that he would arrive at the city of Hamadhān before Ṭāhir. He was to dig a trench around himself and his forces, gather to himself [war][332] equipment, and hasten to fight Ṭāhir and his forces. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān exerted himself and carried out al-Amīn's command in all that the latter wanted him to do. He advanced toward Ṭāhir cautiously and warily, avoiding the negligence and slug-

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328. On military salaries for the period, see Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 78.

329. Henceforth, the reports in Ṭabarī frequently designate al-Amīn as "Muḥammad the Deposed (*al-Makhlūʿ*)."

330. Parallels: Yaʿqūbī, II, 532; Dīnawarī, 393–94; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 170; *Fragmenta*, 325–26.

331. See note 319 on *Abnāʾ al-Dawlah* ("Sons of the Mission or Dynasty").

332. The addition is from ed. Cairo.

gishness of ʿAlī [b. ʿĪsā]. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān went and took up quarters at the city of Hamadhān. He secured the roads leading to it, fortified its wall and its gates, and repaired the breaches in them. He gathered provision wagons and laborers into the city, collected equipment and provisions in it, and prepared to meet Ṭāhir and fight him.

After his father was killed, Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī escaped with a group of his companions and established himself between al-Rayy and Hamadhān. Whenever any refugee from his father's army passed him, he retained him. He thought that Muḥammad would appoint him in his father's stead and would send him cavalry and infantry. He intended to gather the remnants of the army until reinforcements and help reached him. He wrote to Muḥammad, asking him for help and assistance. Muḥammad wrote back, informing him that he had sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Abnāwī and commanding him to stay where he was and encounter Ṭāhir with the men he had with him; if he needed strength and men, he was to write to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and the latter would strengthen and help him.

Having received the news, Ṭāhir headed toward ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and his forces. When he drew near Yaḥyā, Yaḥyā said to his companions, "Ṭāhir has drawn near us. He has with him those whom you know—foot soldiers and horsemen of Khurāsān. [828] He was your master only yesterday. If I encounter him with the remnants of the army that I have with me, I fear he will scatter us, causing those behind us to lose courage. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān will use this as an excuse and thereby clothe me with shame, cowardice, and weakness in the eyes of the Commander of the Faithful. On the other hand, if I appeal to him for assistance and remain waiting for his help, I fear that he may hold back from us, clinging to his men, preserving them, and trying to avoid having them killed. Let us march toward the city of Hamadhān and encamp near ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. If we appeal to him for help, his help will be close to us. If he needs us, we will help him; we shall be in his vicinity and fight on his side." "Yours is the best plan," they replied. So Yaḥyā departed; but when he approached the city of Hamadhān, his companions abandoned him, and most of those who had gathered around him dispersed.

Ṭāhir proceeded to the city of Hamadhān and came within

sight of it. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān called up his forces, and they came out in battle order; he drew up his ranks[333] against Ṭāhir, and they fought fiercely. Both sides held out steadfastly, and there were many killed or wounded among them. Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was driven back. He entered the city of Hamadhān and remained there some days, until his forces became stronger and the wounded recuperated. He then ordered preparations and marched out to fight Ṭāhir. When Ṭāhir saw his banners and the first of his forces come into sight, he said to his companions, "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān wants to present himself to your sight. If you approach him, he will fight you. If you drive him back, he will hurry to the city, enter it, and fight you by its trench, making himself secure by means of the gates and wall of the city. If he drives you back, they will have wide room to maneuver against you: the breadth of the battlefield will enable them to fight you and kill any of you who are driven back and flee. So take a stand close to our trench and our camp: if he approaches us, we will fight him; if he goes far from their trench, we will [829] close in on him." So Ṭāhir halted where he was. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, thinking that fear was making him slow to encounter him and attack him, hastened to fight with him. They fought fiercely. Ṭāhir held out resolutely and killed many of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's men. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān kept saying to his forces, "People of the *Abnāʾ*! Sons of kings, and men familiar with swords![334] These are Persians; they are not men who can last for long or show endurance. So hold out against them—may my father and my mother be your ransom!" He would pass by each banner, saying, "Show endurance, for we need to endure only a little while. This [hour] is the beginning of endurance and victory!" With his own hands he fought hard and made fierce charges; with every charge he inflicted much slaughter upon Ṭāhir's forces, but no one withdrew or moved from his place. Then one of Ṭāhir's men attacked ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's standard bearer and killed him, and Ṭāhir's forces made a bold rush

333. Ed. Cairo reads: "he encountered Ṭāhir."

334. The translation follows the emendation {*ālāf*, "those who are familiar with," instead of manuscript *alfāf*, "groves"} proposed in ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CDLXX.

against their foe. The latter turned to flee, and Ṭāhir's forces put their swords to them and continued killing them until they had driven them back to the gate of the city of Hamadhān. Ṭāhir stayed at the gate of the city besieging him and the inhabitants. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān would come out every day and fight at the gates of the city; his men would throw stones and shoot arrows from on top of the wall. The siege tightened around them. The inhabitants of the city suffered harm at the hands of (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's) men and loathed the fighting and the war. Ṭāhir cut off their supplies from every direction. When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān saw this—seeing that his men had perished or were in distress and fearing that the people of Hamadhān would rise against him—he sent to Ṭāhir and asked him for safe conduct (*amān*) for himself and those on his side. Ṭāhir granted it to him and fulfilled [the agreement]. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān withdrew with his forces and those forces of Yaḥyā b. ʿAlī for whom he had requested safe conduct.

Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn Named Dhū al-Yamīnayn

In this year, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn was given the name Dhū al-Yamīnayn ("He Who Has Two Right Hands"). The report of the reason why he was thus named has already been given;[335] now the person who gave him that name will be mentioned.[336] [830]

It is mentioned that after Ṭāhir had defeated the army of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān and had killed ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, he wrote to al-Faḍl b. Sahl:

> May God lengthen your life, subdue your enemies, and make those who hate you your ransom! I write to you with the head of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā on my lap and his ring on my hand. Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds!

Al-Faḍl arose and saluted al-Ma'mūn as Commander of the Faithful. Al-Ma'mūn reinforced Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn with men and commanders and named him Dhū al-Yamīnayn and Ṣāḥib

335. See p. 54, above, and note 233.
336. Ed. Cairo, "now we shall mention the person..."

Ḥabl al-Dīn.[337] He raised those with him who were at [a salary] under eighty [dīnārs] to eighty [dīnārs].

The Rebellion of al-Sufyānī in Syria

In this year, al-Sufyānī[338] ('Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah) appeared in Syria and pressed his claim to power. This took place in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.[339] He expelled Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far from there, after having besieged him in Damascus. Sulaymān was Muḥammad's governor of Damascus, and he made his escape only after he had despaired.[340] Muḥammad the Deposed dispatched al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān to [fight] him. Al-Ḥusayn did not reach him; instead, when he reached al-Raqqah,[341] he remained there.

Ṭāhir Expels al-Amīn's Agents from al-Jibāl Province

In this year, Ṭāhir expelled Muḥammad's agents from Qazwīn[342] and the other districts of al-Jibāl province.[343] The reason for this was as follows.

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337. The title means "Master of the Rope of Religion," i.e., the bond or covenant of the Islamic religion, and thus commemorates Ṭāhir's upholding of the Meccan agreement. Its wording is modeled on Qur'ān 3:103, "Hold fast to God's rope, together, and do not scatter."

338. The name identifies him as a descendant of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty overthrown by the 'Abbāsids. He was one of the few survivors of the Umayyad family. His grandfather, Khālid b. Yazīd, had played a prominent role in Umayyad family politics during the reigns of Marwān and 'Abd al-Malik. His mother was a descendant of 'Alī. Parallels: Ya'qūbī, II, 532; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 172. Further references in Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 253, note 549.

339. That is, the last month of the year, between August 25 and September 22, 811.

340. Accepting the emendation (*al-ya's*) proposed by ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXV, which also is the reading of ed. Cairo. The original Leiden reading (*al-ba's*) would mean "after valor," i.e., after a fight.

341. The city of al-Raqqah was located on the upper Euphrates River in the province of al-Jazīrah. The 'Abbāsids made it the center of a large military garrison. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 101–3.

342. Qazwīn (modern Qazvīn), about 100 miles northwest of al-Rayy and 125 miles northeast of Hamadhān, was heavily garrisoned to defend the Iranian heartland against the only partially pacified Daylamī tribesmen to the north. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 218–20; *EI*[2] s.v. Ḳazwīn (Hillenbrand).

343. Parallel: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 171.

According to 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ: When Ṭāhir headed toward 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Abnāwī in Hamadhān, he became afraid that Kathīr b. Qādirah, who was in Qazwīn as one of Muḥammad's agents, along with a large army, would fall upon him if he left him behind his back. After Ṭāhir had drawn near to Hamadhān, he commanded his forces to encamp, and they did so. He then rode with a thousand horsemen and a thousand [831] foot soldiers and headed toward Kathīr b. Qādirah. When he drew near him, Kathīr fled with his men and abandoned Qazwīn. Ṭāhir stationed a large garrison of soldiers there. He put one of his companions in charge of the city and commanded him to fight any of the forces of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Abnāwī or any others who tried to enter the city.

The Death of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jabalah al-Abnāwī

In this year, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jabalah al-Abnāwī was killed at Asadābādh.[344]

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣāliḥ: When Muḥammad the Deposed dispatched 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Abnāwī to Hamadhān, he had the two sons of al-Ḥarashī, 'Abdallāh and Aḥmad, follow him with a large body of horsemen from the people of Baghdad. He commanded the two to encamp at Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ.[345] They were to heed and obey 'Abd al-Raḥmān and reinforce him if he needed their help. After 'Abd al-Raḥmān had come out to Ṭāhir on a guarantee of safety, 'Abd al-Raḥmān remained to show Ṭāhir and his forces that he was peaceably intentioned and satisfied with their promises and oaths. But then he took them off guard. He rode with his men—Ṭāhir and his forces sensed nothing—and attacked them; and they laid their swords to them. The foot soldiers among Ṭāhir's forces held their ground against them by means of swords,

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344. The town of Asadābādh was located on the great Khurāsān road about 30 miles east of Hamadhān, on the eastern side of a mountain pass. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 195–96; *EI*[2] s.v. (Streck). Parallels: Dīnawarī, 394; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 171; *Fragmenta*, 326.

345. Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ ("Robbers' Castle") was the Arabic name for the town of Kanguvār, about 120 miles east of Ḥulwān on the Khurāsān Road, and 60 miles west of Hamadhān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 20, 188.

shields, and arrows; they knelt down on their knees[346] and fought him as fiercely as possible. The foot soldiers held off the attackers until the horsemen had taken up their equipment and gear and advanced boldly in battle. The two sides fought fiercely, until swords became ragged and spears broke in two. Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's forces fled. He himself dismounted with some of his companions and fought until he was killed. His companions said to him, "You can escape; do so! The foe has wearied of fighting. The battle has tired them out. They have no energy or strength to pursue." He kept saying, "I will [832] never retreat! The Commander of the Faithful shall never see the face of me defeated." There was great slaughter among his companions, and his army was destroyed. Those of his forces who escaped reached the camp of ʿAbdallāh and Aḥmad, the sons of al-Ḥarashī. The forces of the latter became overcome by apprehension[347] and faintheartedness; their hearts were filled with fear and terror, so that they turned back in defeat, turning aside for nothing, without anyone encountering them until they reached Baghdad. The country having become open to him, Ṭāhir advanced, passing[348] town by town and district by district, until he encamped in one of the villages near Ḥulwān, called Shalāshān. He dug a trench there, fortified his camp, and gathered his forces around him.

One of the *Abnāʾ*, elegizing ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Abnāwī, said:

Verily, eyes are weeping only for a horseman
who banished shame from himself with swords and spear shafts.
When the dust of death[349] cleared away, revealing the surface of his face,
he had attained the highest glory and made it his own.

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346. This was a defensive position used by infantry being attacked by cavalry.

347. Ed. Cairo reads, "weakness."

348. Ed. Cairo reads, "taking," which is also the reading of the parallel texts in Ibn al-Athīr and *Fragmenta*.

349. *Ghubār al-mawt* can be interpreted in a number of ways. Because dust is a frequent attribute of battles in Arabic poetry, it could mean "the death-bringing dust of battle." Because *ghubār* can be a synonym for *ghubrah*, "dusty color," the phrase could also mean "the dusty color or paleness of death."

He was a young man who, as long as he was close to manliness,
cared not
whether this afflicted the citadel of his soul or scattered his wealth;
One who made for spearheads a marketplace,[350]
and who did not fear appointed death when it drew near.

Various Items of Information

In this year, the governor of Mecca and Medina for Muḥammad b. Hārun was Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās. It was he who led the pilgrimage in this year and in the two years preceding—193 and 194. Al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā al-Hādī was governor of al-Kūfah for Muḥammad. Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī was governor of al-Baṣrah for Muḥammad. [833] Al-Ma'mūn was in Khurāsān; his brother Muḥammad was in Baghdad.[351]

350. The word *sūq* ("market") is frequent in military metaphors. Al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-Balāghah*, 314, explains the phrase *sūq al-ḥarb* ("the war's marketplace") as "the thick of the battle and its center." In other words, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was always in the place where the spears were thickest.

351. Cf. Ya'qūbī, II, 532–33 for additional reports for this year, especially two pro-Ma'mun disturbances, one in the Sawād of Iraq, the other among the *Abnā'* in al-Ḥarbiyyah quarter of Baghdad. Ya'qūbī also has a report of trouble in Egypt when al-Amīn's governor there omitted al-Ma'mūn's name as heir from the oath of allegiance.

The Events of the Year 196

(SEPTEMBER 23, 811–SEPTEMBER 11, 812)

Among the events taking place this year was Muḥammad b. Hārūn's imprisonment of Asad b. Yazīd b. Mazyad and his dispatching of Aḥmad b. Mazyad and ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah to Ḥulwān to fight Ṭāhir.

Al-Amīn Imprisons Asad b. Yazīd and Dispatches Aḥmad b. Mazyad to Fight Ṭāhir

According to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Waththāb: Asad b. Yazīd b. Mazyad related to him that al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ had sent to him after the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Abnāwī.[352] [Asad b. Yazīd continued,] saying: So I came to him. When I went in to him, I found him sitting in the courtyard of his house, with a piece of paper he had read in his hand. His eyes were red, and he was very angry. He was saying, "He sleeps like a polecat, [and he wakes up like a wolf whose only concern is its belly and that tries to deceive the herdsman, while the dogs lie in wait for it.][353] He does not consider how happiness comes to an end,

352. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 174; *Fragmenta*, 327.

353. The bracketed words are restored from ed. Cairo. A line of text has dropped out of the manuscript used by ed. Leiden.

and he does not set his mind on carrying out a plan or strategy. His cup diverts him; his goblet distracts him. He runs after his pleasure, while the days approach stealthily[354] for his destruction. 'Abdallāh already has set to work to deal with him. He has notched for him his most accurate arrow, to hit him, despite the remoteness of his dwelling, with a lethal blow that penetrates, with death that strikes home. He has marshalled doom for him on horseback and has hung tribulation for him on spearheads and sword blades." Then he exclaimed, "Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return!"[355] and quoted from the poetry of al-Ba'īth:[356]

I remember a slender girl, tight-knit as a rein, bashful,
with curly hair and a beautiful face;
With a mouth clear-colored and sweet-tasting—
on account of it, the darkness brightens when she smiles—
With breasts like two [perfume] boxes, a stomach lean [834]
and slender, and beauty[357] whose fire burns vehemently.
I sported with her the longest night of the year, Ibn Khālid,[358]
while at Marw al-Rūdh[359] in anger you abstain from sin.[360]
I keep speaking tenderly to her, while under Ibn Khālid
Umayyah is a strong [horse] with large flanks.
Charging against cavalry in many an attack has made it lean;
it has a cheek by which spearheads resound.

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354. Ed. Cairo: "while the days hasten."

355. Qur'ān 2:156, traditionally said in times of misfortune.

356. Al-Ba'īth (Khidāsh b. Bishr b. Khālid al-Mujāshi'ī) was a poet and orator of the tribe of Tamīm who died ca. 134/751 in al-Baṣrah. He was involved in exchanges of satires with the poet Jarīr. See Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 363–64; *EI*[2] s.v. al-Ba'īth (Pellat). The text of the poem in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 174, contains some variants.

357. Reading *juhr*, the emendation proposed in the Leiden note. The manuscripts and Ibn al-Athīr (followed by the Cairo edition) read *jahm*, "a frowning, or austere look."

358. This may refer to Umayyah (b. 'Abdallāh) b. Khālid b. Asīd, a member of the Umayyad family who served as governor of Khurāsān under 'Abd al-Malik between 74/693 and 78/697.

359. Marw al-Rūdh (Marv-ar-Rūd, Marrūd), called Upper or Little Marv to distinguish it from the larger city of Marw, was located about 160 miles south of its namesake on the same river, the Murghāb, in the province of Khurāsān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 404.

360. Following ed. Cairo's *wa-anta* ("while you"); ed. Leiden reads *'alayya* ("against me").

He battles Ibn Khāqān's Turks by night,
not wavering until dawn becomes visible.
The next day from the long chase his body is
emaciated; but I in the morning devote myself to pleasure.
[Early in the morning I take something that is ruddy, whose
odor is like musk;
when you sniff it in its jug it has a sweet fragrance.][361]
What a difference there is between me and Ibn Khālid
Umayyah in the sustenance that God allots!

Then he turned to me and said, "Abū al-Ḥārith,[362] you and I are running toward a goal such that if we fail to reach it, we shall be blamed; yet if we exert ourselves to attain it, we shall be cut off. We are branches from a [single] root: if it thrives, we thrive; if it weakens, we weaken. This fellow[363] has abandoned himself to fate like a foolish slave girl. He takes counsel with women and pursues dreams. The pleasure seekers and reckless men who are with him have gained his ear. They promise him
[835] victory and make him expect a good outcome, while destruction is coming toward him faster than a torrent toward a sandy plain. I fear, by God, that we shall perish when he perishes and be destroyed when he is destroyed. You are the outstanding horseman of the Arabs and the son of their outstanding horseman.[364] He has turned to you to confront this man. Two things on your part have given him hope: one is the sincerity of your obedience and the merit of your advice; the other is the good fortune that attends on your counsel and the firmness of your courage. He has commanded me to remove any excuse you might have and give you whatever you desire, although moderation is the beginning of good counsel and the key to good fortune and blessing. So take whatever you need, and hasten quickly toward your enemy. I hope that God will grant you the honor of this victory and that through you He will set in order the muddled affairs of this caliphate and dynasty (*dawlah*)."

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361. The bracketed line, which refers to wine, is found only in ed. Cairo and in the parallel text in Ibn al-Athīr.
362. "Abū al-Ḥārith" is the *kunyah* (agnomen) of Asad b. Yazīd.
363. That is, al-Amīn. The Arabic implies contempt.
364. See note 38.

I said, "I will be bold to obey the Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him, and to obey you, and eager to do everything that will bring weakness and humiliation upon his enemy and your enemy. However, a warrior does not act without preparation, nor does he begin his business with inadequacy and deficiency. There can be no warrior without soldiers, and there can be no soldiers without money. The Commander of the Faithful—may God strengthen him—has filled the hands of his soldiers who are present in the camp [sc. at Baghdad]; he has continually given them ample salaries and generous gifts and benefits. If I lead my men forth while their hearts are fixed on their brethren who remain behind, they will be of no use to me in confronting him who is in front of me. Indeed, he has preferred men [of peace][365] to men of war; he has elevated men of repose above men of exertion and toil. What I ask is that a year's salary be ordered for my men and that salaries for a year be carried with them. He should give extra salary (*khāṣṣah*) to those men of ability and valor among them who do not have it now. I will replace those among them who are chronically ill or weak and give horses to a thousand of the men who are with me. I will not be asked to give an account of the cities and districts I have captured for myself." "You have demanded a great deal," he said. "The matter must [836] be discussed with the Commander of the Faithful." Then he mounted, and I rode with him. He went in to Muḥammad before me and announced me; then I was given admittance and entered. Scarcely had two words been exchanged between us before (Muḥammad) became angry and ordered me to be imprisoned.

According to one of Muḥammad's courtiers (*khāṣṣah*): Asad said to Muḥammad, "Give me the two sons of ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn, to be prisoners in my hands. If he gives me obedience and submits to me, [well and good]; if not, I will deal with them according to my judgment and carry out my command upon them." (Muḥammad) replied, "You are a mad Bedouin![366]

365. The words in brackets are from ed. Cairo.

366. *Aʿrābī* means a Bedouin, as opposed to a sedentary Arab, but as ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CCCLV, notes, it often is used abusively ("rustic"). Cf.

I call upon you to lead the Arabs and the Persians; I assign you the tax revenue of the districts of al-Jibāl province as far as Khurāsān; I raise your rank above your peers among the sons of military commanders and kings—and you call upon me to kill my children and spill the blood of my family! Truly, this is folly and insanity!" Two of the sons of ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn were in Baghdad. They were with their mother, Umm ʿĪsā, the daughter of Mūsā al-Hādī, living in al-Maʾmūn's palace in Baghdad. When al-Maʾmūn gained control of Baghdad, they went out with their mother to join him in Khurāsān, where they remained until they [all] came to Baghdad. They were his oldest sons.

According to Ziyād b. ʿAlī, who said: When Muḥammad became angry with Asad b. Yazīd and ordered his imprisonment, he said, "Is there among the family of this man anyone who can take his place? For I do not want to render them disaffected, given their priority in service[367] and their past obedience and loyalty." He was told, "Yes, among them there is Aḥmad b. Mazyad.[368] He is the best of them in manner of conduct and the soundest of them in intention to obey. In addition to this, he possesses strength, valor, and skill in managing soldiers and confronting battles." So Muḥammad sent a post rider to him to command him to come to him.

According to Bakr b. Aḥmad, who said: Aḥmad was heading toward a village called Isḥāqiyyah. With him were a group of
[837] his family members, his *mawālī*, and his entourage. After he had crossed the Abān River,[369] he heard the voice of the post rider in the middle of the night. "This is very strange," he said, "a post rider at a time like this and a place like this! Surely, he is about some business."[370] Presently, the post rider halted and

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Ṭabarī, II, 590: *mā ahlu Makkata illā aʿrāb* ("The people of Mecca are nothing but rustics").

367. That is, the early attachment of their family to the ʿAbbāsids.

368. Aḥmad b. Mazyad was the uncle of Asad b. Yazīd b. Mazyad.

369. The Abān or Bān River was one of the watercourses through which the Tigris flowed into the Great Swamp between Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣrah in southern Iraq. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 40–41.

370. The translation follows the emendation proposed by ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXV. The earlier emendation proposed by ed. Leiden and followed by ed. Cairo was, "Surely, this business is strange."

called to the boatman, "Is Aḥmad b. Mazyad with you?" "Yes," he said. So the rider dismounted and handed him Muḥammad's letter. Aḥmad read it; then he said, "I have reached my estate—between me and it there is only a mile.[371] Let me visit it and give what orders I wish to give concerning it. I will come with you tomorrow morning." "No," he replied, "the Commander of the Faithful commanded me not to let you delay or allow you to rest, but to make you set out at whatever hour of night or day I met with you." So Aḥmad went back with him. When he reached al-Kūfah, he stayed there for a day, until he had outfitted himself and had taken provisions for the journey; then he went to Muḥammad.

According to Aḥmad [b. Mazyad], who said: When I entered Baghdad, I went first to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ. I said, "I will greet him and make use of his position and influence with Muḥammad." Having been given admittance, I went in to him. With him was ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, whom he was trying to induce to go to [fight] Ṭāhir. ʿAbdallāh was making large demands upon him for money and men. When [al-Faḍl] saw me, he greeted me and took me by the hand. Then he led me up until he had brought me with him onto the elevated part of the sitting room. He turned toward ʿAbdallāh, jesting and joking with him. With a smile on his face, he said:

I tell you, when your cord became frayed,[372] we found
a mother and a father from the tribe of Shaybān instead of you.[373]
If one were to count the stones, the Shaybānīs would be even more numerous;
and they are more closely related to us than you.

ʿAbdallāh replied, "They are indeed so. By them the breach will be filled, the enemy defeated, and obedient subjects de- [838]

371. An Arabic mile (*mīl*) was one-third of a *farsakh*, or about 2 km (1.08 miles). See Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 63.

372. The frayed tent rope is a metaphor for a relationship or obligation that is weakening or unraveling.

373. Asad b. Yazīd b. Mazyad and Aḥmad b. Mazyad were from the tribe of Shaybān. See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 169–70. A pun may be involved: *dūnakum* ("instead of you") may also mean "cheaper than you."

fended from the violence of rebels." Al-Faḍl then turned toward me and said, "The Commander of the Faithful mentioned you; so I described you to him as being very obedient, excellent in counsel, severe against rebels, and outstanding in judgment. He therefore has decided to choose you for a mission and make your name famous. He will raise you to a rank that no member of your family has ever attained." He turned to his servant and said, "Saddler, order my horses!" Horses were saddled for him without delay; he went, and I went with him. When we went in to Muḥammad, he was in the courtyard of his residence, with a cloak.[374] He kept ordering me to come closer, until I was almost touching him. He said, "Your nephew's confused ideas and bad manners became too much for me. His contrariness went on too long for me. Finally it alienated me from him and engendered suspicion about him in my heart. By his misconduct and disobedience he caused me to impose on him such correction and imprisonment as I did not wish to impose on him. But you have been described to me as a fine man, and a good character has been imputed to you; so I have decided to raise your status, exalt your rank, and give you precedence over the other members of your family. I will put you in charge of making war on this miscreant, perfidious company of men, and I will give you pay and reward for encountering them in battle. Consider how you will act. Make firm your intention, and help the Commander of the Faithful according to your goodness. Make him rejoice over his enemy, and your joy and honor shall be abundant." I replied, "In obedience to the Commander of the Faithful—may God strengthen him!—I will give my heart's blood. In making war on his enemy, I will accomplish the best he has hoped from me and the strength and skill he expects from me, God willing."

Muḥammad said, "Faḍl!" "At your service, Commander of the Faithful," he replied. "Give him," he said, "the registers
[839] of Asad's men, and attach to him the men of al-Jazīrah and the Bedouin Arabs who are present in the camp." [To me] he said, "Hurry about your business, and hasten your journey toward

374. *Lahu sāj* "with, i.e., wearing a cloak," is problematic. See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CCC.

him." I went out, selected the men, and reviewed the registers. The number of men whose names I certified came to 20,000. Then I set out for Ḥulwān with them.

It has been mentioned that when Aḥmad b. Mazyad was about to depart, he went before Muḥammad and said, "Give me your charge—may God bestow honor upon the Commander of the Faithful!" Muḥammad said, "I commend a number of good traits to you. Beware of envy, for envy is the shackle of aid [from God].[375] Take no step forward without asking God's blessing. Unsheathe the sword only after doing what excuses.[376] If you can accomplish something by mildness, do not go beyond it to roughness and sharpness.[377] Be a good companion to the regular soldiers (*jund*) who are with you. Inform me of your news every day. Do not endanger yourself in the pursuit of favor with me, and do not bestir yourself in anything that you fear may redound to my disadvantage. Be a sincere brother and good comrade to ʿAbdallāh [b. Ḥumayd]; do your best to join with him, accompany him, and be on good terms with him.[378] Do not let him down, if you asks you for help; do not delay, if he calls on you to aid. Let your hands be one and your word be in agreement." Then he said, "Ask for what you need, and set out as soon as possible toward your enemy." Aḥmad invoked blessings upon him and said, "Pray often for me. Do not believe what the envious say about me. Do not reject me before learning where my foot stands for you, [and do not contravene my considered judgment. Grant me the pardon of my nephew." "It is granted to you," he said.][379] He then sent to Asad, loosed his bonds, and

375. The expression is proverbial. From an original sense of "strong desire," the word *baghy* developed the negative connotation of "desiring that someone else's happiness be transferred to oneself," and then the even more negative meaning of "acting wrongfully, injuriously, or tyrannically." See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 231.

376. That is, only after giving a warning. Cf. the proverbial expression, *aʿdhara man andhara*, "He who warns has an excuse," i.e., cannot be blamed for his action. See Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 1983–84.

377. Reading *shirrah* ("evil, inordinate desire, sharpness, anger") with ed. Cairo, rather than ed. Leiden's *sharah* ("vehement desire, greed").

378. That is, do not allow friction to develop between your Bedouin troops and ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥumayd's regular troops (*Abnāʾ*) from Baghdad.

379. The translation follows the longer text of ed. Cairo. In place of the words in brackets, ed. Leiden reads, "Send to Asad, loose his bonds, and set him free."

set him free. [Praising Aḥmad, and mentioning his condition and rank,][380] Abū al-Asad al-Shaybānī[381] said concerning this:

Let the decision of his imām give joy to Abū al-ʿAbbās;
what he has in mind concerning him is the bestowing of more and more.
The Commander of the Faithful summoned him to a thing
from which the shadow of every pillar[382] falls short.
He hastened to do it with judgment, resolution, and skill:
the judgment of Abū al-ʿAbbās is strong and true.
[840] You rose to a task that [other] men could not shoulder,
and you [shouldered it] with ready success and good fortune.
You thereby restored to the seekers the person most dear to them:
one who is like you links newly acquired with inherited honor.
He saved Asad from the constraint and pain of shackles,
and to him he was as kind as Yazīd.[383]
He fetched him out like an enormous lion,
the sire of cubs, with brawny arms, and tall of stature.

According to Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith: Muḥammad [al-Amīn] dispatched Aḥmad b. Mazyad with 20,000 men of the Bedouin Arabs, and ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah with 20,000 men of the *Abnāʾ*. He commanded the two of them to encamp at Ḥulwān and repel Ṭāhir and his forces from it. If Ṭāhir stayed at Shalāshān, they were to head toward him with their forces, so as to push him back and make war on him. He also charged them to maintain unity, be on friendly terms with each other, and love one another in obedience [to him].

The two of them set out and encamped near Ḥulwān, at a

380. The text in brackets is from ed. Cairo.

381. See *Aghānī*, XII, 174–79 [ed. Cairo, XIV, 5005–15] for a biography of this poet, whose full name was Abū al-Asad Nubātah b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥimmānī al-Shaybānī.

382. *ʿAmīd* ("pillar, stay") also means "a person on whom one relies," and hence, "military commander." In modern Arabic the word means "brigadier general."

383. That is, he was like a father to his nephew Asad b. Yazīd.

place called Khāniqīn.[384] Ṭāhir stayed in place and entrenched himself and his forces. He smuggled spies and scouts into the camps of the two men; these brought false rumors to the men and told them that Muḥammad had assigned military pay (*ʿaṭā'*) to his companions and had commanded such and such salaries (*arzāq*) for them. Ṭāhir kept working surreptitiously to stir up dissent and sedition among the men. Finally, they fell out with each other, and their affairs became disorganized. They fought each other, evacuated Khāniqīn, and retreated without having encountered Ṭāhir and without any fighting having transpired between them and him. Ṭāhir advanced and encamped at Ḥulwān. Having entered Ḥulwān, Ṭāhir remained only a short time, until Harthamah b. Aʿyan brought him a letter from al-Ma'mūn and al-Faḍl b. Sahl, commanding him to hand over to him the cities and districts he had taken and go to al-Ahwāz.[385] Ṭāhir handed them over to him. Harthamah established himself in Ḥulwān and fortified it. He placed his garrisons and observation posts on its roads [841] and its mountains. Ṭāhir went to al-Ahwāz.

Al-Ma'mūn Raises the Rank of al-Faḍl b. Sahl

In this year, al-Ma'mūn raised the rank and standing of al-Faḍl b. Sahl.[386]

It has been mentioned: After al-Ma'mūn received the news that Ṭāhir had killed ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and had seized his camp and that he had named him "Commander of the Faithful"; when, furthermore, al-Faḍl b. Sahl saluted him with this title; and when he became convinced that the report about Ṭāhir's having killed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jabalah al-Abnāwī and overcome his army was true, he summoned al-Faḍl b. Sahl and in Rajab[387] of this year gave him the governance of the East, from

384. Khāniqīn, on the Khurāsān road, was six *farsakhs* (22.3 miles) before Qaṣr Shīrīn, which in turn was six *farsakhs* before Ḥulwān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 62; *EI*² s.v. Khāniḳīn (Schwarz).

385. Al-Ahwāz was a city in Khūzistān, about 260 miles southeast of Ḥulwān and about 70 miles northeast of al-Baṣrah. See *EI*² s.v. (Lockhart).

386. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 177; *Fragmenta*, 327–28.

387. That is, between March 18 and April 16, 812.

the mountains of Hamadhān to the mountains of Siqīnān[388] and Tibet in longitude, and from the Sea of Persia and India to the Sea of Daylam and Jurjān[389] in latitude. He gave him a salary (*'umālah*) of 3 million dirhams. He bound his banner on a two-pronged spearhead, gave him a flag, and named him "Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn."[390]

Someone has mentioned that he saw his sword at the house of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. On one side it was inscribed in silver, *Ri'āsat al-Ḥarb* ("Leadership of War"), and on the other side, *Ri'āsat al-Tadbīr* ("Leadership of Administration"). 'Alī b. Hishām carried the banner; Nu'aym b. Ḥāzim carried the flag. He appointed al-Ḥasan b. Sahl to be in charge of the tax bureau (*dīwān al-kharāj*).

'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ Appointed Governor of Syria

In this year, Muḥammad b. Hārūn appointed 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī[391] to be in charge of Syria and commanded him to travel there. He recruited soldiers for him from its inhabitants

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388. *Siqīnān* is the Leiden editor's conjectural emendation for the manuscript's *Sufyān*. Ed. Cairo reads *Siqīnān*, but does not say whether Ms. A confirms this reading. The Leiden editor based his emendation on De Goeje's edition of al-Istakhrī's *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik*, 290. De Goeje originally read this Central Asiatic place-name as *al-Safīnah*, but in the glossary and addenda volume (p. 426) he corrected the reading to *al-Saqīnah*, citing an 1873 article on Central Asiatic place-names preserved in a contemporary Chinese travel account (H. Yule, "Notes on Hwen Thsang's Account of the Principalities of Tokháristán," 92–120). Yule connected the Chinese form *Shikhini* with the Arabic *Shighnān*. De Goeje apparently thought that *Siqīnān* was an alternate form of the same name. In any case, a mountainous area on the upper headwaters of the Oxus River seems to fit the context as the northeastern boundary of the area assigned to al-Faḍl b. Sahl.

389. I.e., the Caspian Sea. Jurjān was the province and city of the same name at the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea (approximately the modern Iranian province of Astarābād). See Le Strange, *Lands*, 376–81; *EI*[2] s.v. Gurgān (Hartmann).

390. See note 56.

391. 'Abd al-Malik's father was an uncle of al-Manṣūr. 'Abd al-Malik had been imprisoned by al-Rashīd at the time of the fall of the Barmakids, but was released by al-Amīn after al-Rashīd's death. Cf. Ṭabarī, III, 692; Ya'qūbī, II, 526–27; Ibn al-Athīr, 177–79; *Fragmenta*, 327; Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 372. For a history of this branch of the 'Abbāsid family and its power in Syria, see Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 74–75, 142.

to fight Ṭāhir and Harthamah. A report of the reason for this appointment follows.

According to Dāwūd b. Sulaymān: After Ṭāhir had become strong, after his cause had advanced, and after he had defeated those of Muḥammad's commanders and armies that he de- [842] feated, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ came before Muḥammad. ʿAbd al-Malik had been imprisoned in al-Rashīd's prison. After al-Rashīd died and Muḥammad succeeded to power, the latter commanded that ʿAbd al-Malik should be released. This took place in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 193.[392] ʿAbd al-Malik felt grateful to Muḥammad for this and considered it his obligation to obey him and give him sincere advice in return. So he said, "Commander of the Faithful, I see that the people have become emboldened against you. The men of the two armies have acted in this way. You have given free rein to your generosity. If you keep doing this, you will make them unruly and insolent; and if you stop giving and being generous, you will irritate and anger them. One does not retain soldiers by economizing; on the other hand, fiscal stability cannot last in the face of expenditure and extravagance. Furthermore, the defeats have frightened your army. Fighting and battles have unnerved and weakened them, and their hearts have become filled with awe of their enemy and aversion to meeting them and fighting them. If you send them against Ṭāhir, he with his few troops will overcome their large numbers; with his strength of resolve, he will defeat their weak loyalty and resolve. The Syrians, on the other hand, are men tested in war and disciplined by hardships. Most of them are submissive to me and quick to obey me. If the Commander of the Faithful dispatches me, I will get him an army of them who will do great damage to his enemy and through whom God will aid His friends and the people who obey Him."

Muḥammad said, "I will put you in charge of them and strengthen you with whatever money and equipment you ask. Set out as soon as possible. With your judgment and insight, act so that the effect of the action will become apparent and its benefit will be praised, God willing!" He put him in charge

392. That is, between August 16 and September 14, 809.

of Syria and al-Jazīrah and strongly urged him to depart. He sent with him a garrison (*kanaf*) of soldiers and *Abnā'*.

'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ Recruits Troops in Syria for al-Amīn

In this year, 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ traveled to Syria. When he reached al-Raqqah, he established himself there. [He dispatched his messengers and letters to the heads of the armies of the Syrians, saying that men should be assembled there and Muḥammad should be supplied with them for the war against
[843] Ṭāhir.][393] A report of this follows. (I have already mentioned the reasons why Muḥammad sent him to do this.)

According to Dāwūd b. Sulaymān: When 'Abd al-Malik reached al-Raqqah, he dispatched his messengers and wrote to the heads of the armies of Syria and the chiefs of al-Jazīrah. There remained not one of them of whom hopes were entertained and whose valor and ability were commended to whom he did not make promises and whose hopes and expectations he did not enlarge. So they came to him chief after chief and group after group. Whenever anyone came before him, he would give him a gift, bestow a robe of honor upon him, and give him a horse. So the people of Syria—*Zawāqīl*[394] and Bedouin Arabs—came to him from every direction. They assembled in his presence until they became very numerous. Then someone from the army of the people of Khurāsān[395] sighted a horse that had been taken from him at the battle of Sulaymān b. Abī

393. The bracketed text is from ed. Cairo.

394. Ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CCLXXVIII, wrongly suggests the translation, "non-Arab soldiers of Syria and Mesopotamia," for *Zawāqīl*. Note the unambiguously Arab (Qaysi) names of the three *Zawāqīl* leaders mentioned on p. 108, below: Naṣr b. Shabath (al-'Uqaylī), 'Amr al-Sulamī, and al-'Abbās b. Zufar. According to Ibn Durayd (quoted in *Lisān al-'Arab*), *Zawāqīl* was the name of a tribe in and adjacent to al-Jazīrah. The Leiden glossary quotes this passage and adds (on the authority of al-Jāḥiẓ), "they seem not to have been of good reputation, because highwaymen were designated by the same name." The *Zawāqīl* were probably a group of Qaysī tribesmen known for brigandage. See discussions in Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 143; Ayalon, *The Military Reforms of Caliph al-Mu'taṣim*, 18–20.

395. That is, from the *Abnā'* who had come from Baghdad; they were of Khurāsānian origin.

Ja'far[396] being ridden by one of the *Zawāqīl*. He pursued[397] it, and a quarrel ensued between the two men. A group of *Zawāqīl* and [Khurāsānian] soldiers gathered. They joined battle. Each group helped its man. They clashed and fought hand to hand. The *Abnā'* consulted with each other and assembled before Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid.[398] "You are our shaykh," they said, "our chief and our hero. You have seen how the *Zawāqīl* have treated us. Unite us; or else they will despise us, embolden themselves against us, and behave like this every day." He replied, "I am not going to get into a fight or be present with you in such a situation." The *Abnā'* then prepared themselves and made ready. They took the *Zawāqīl* by surprise, attacked them with swords, killed large numbers of them, and slaughtered them in their dwellings. The *Zawāqīl* assembled, mounted their horses, and girded on their swords. A battle broke out between them. Word of this reached 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ. He sent a messenger to them, commanding them to stop and lay down their arms, but they threw stones at him. They fought fiercely all day, and the *Abnā'* killed many of [844] the *Zawāqīl*. When 'Abd al-Malik, who was seriously ill, was told of the large number who had been killed, he struck his hands together and said, "Oh my humiliation! The Arabs are being mistreated in their own dwelling, their own place, and their own land."

The *Abnā'* who had held back from the violence became

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396. This does not refer to the Battle of Fakhkh (169/786), at which al-Manṣūr's son, Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far, put down an 'Alid revolt at Mecca (cf. Ṭabarī, III, 551–68), which would make the horse over thirty years old! The chronicle of Michael the Syrian records that soon after his accession, al-Amīn sent Sulaymān b. al-Manṣūr to govern Ḥimṣ, Damascus, and Palestine, but that his forces were badly defeated by a certain rebel named 'Amr and returned covered with shame to Baghdad. The same chronicle mentions that the fighting on this later occasion broke out when a "Persian" (i.e., a soldier from the regular army sent from Baghdad) saw one of the "Ṭaiyayê" (Bedouins) passing Callinice (al-Raqqah) riding a horse "that had belonged to his father, who had been killed by the Ṭaiyayê at Saroug." This makes it clear that the reference here is to Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far's activity in Syria no more than three years earlier, not to the battle of Fakhkh. See Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, III, 21–22, 26.

397. *Ta'allaqa bihā* could also mean "he grabbed hold of it."

398. On Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid al-Marwazī, see Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 105, 144–45.

angry. The situation worsened. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān led the *Abnāʾ*. The next morning, the *Zawāqīl* gathered in al-Raqqah; the *Abnāʾ* and Khurāsānians gathered in al-Rāfiqah.[399] One of the men of Ḥimṣ[400] stood up and said, "People of Ḥimṣ, flight is a lesser evil than destruction, and death is a lesser evil than humiliation.[401] You have gone far from your lands and have left your regions, seeking abundance after having experienced dearth, and esteem after having been despised—and now you have fallen into disaster and dismounted in the place where death rages most fiercely! Death is in the moustaches and the high hats of the black-robed ones.[402] To arms! To arms!—before the way is cut off, and trouble alights; before the time of seeking passes, and the way of departure becomes difficult; before action becomes impossible, and the appointed time draws near!"[403] A man from [the tribe of] Kalb stood up in the stirrups of his camel and recited:[404]

A war so vehement that whoever suffers it comes to grief!
A war whose horsemen have leveled their spear shafts!
God has brought a blaze—the blaze of war!
If Kalb plunges into it, He will cover them with shame!

Then he said, "Men of Kalb, it is the black banner![405] By God, it has never turned back or turned aside. Its upholder[406] has never submitted, and its keeper has never become weak. You know the blows that the Khurāsānians' swords have inflicted on your

399. Al-Rāfiqah ("the Companion") was the new garrison town built on the outskirts of al-Raqqah by the caliph al-Manṣūr in 155/772. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 101–2.

400. The men from Ḥimṣ, identified later as belonging to the tribe of Kalb, are a group separate from the *Zawāqīl* (Qays). See Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 143.

401. The meaning seems to be "death from famine" is better than humiliation.

402. That is, the partisans of the ʿAbbāsids, who wore black as their color. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *musawwid*. On the high hat (*qalansuwah*), see note 482.

403. The end of the speech is in rhymed prose (*saj*ʿ), suggesting the gravity of the speaker's words and his excitement.

404. The meter is *rajaz*, often used for such spontaneous battlefield poems.

405. Black was the color of the ʿAbbāsids.

406. Reading, with ed. Cairo, *nāṣiruhā*, instead of ed. Leiden, *naṣruhā* ("its help, victory").

necks and the marks of their spears on your breasts. Withdraw from evil, before it grows great; pass it by, before it flames up. To Syria! [To Syria!][407] To your home! To your home! A Palestinian death is better than a life in al-Jazīrah.[408] I for one [845] am going back. Whoever wants to depart, let him depart with me." So he went, and most of the Syrians went with him.

The *Zawāqīl* went and burned most of the fodder that the merchants had gathered. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān with a group of Khurāsānian troops stayed at the gate of al-Rāfiqah for fear of Ṭawq b. Mālik. A man from the Banū Taghlib went to Ṭawq and said, "Don't you see what the Arabs have suffered at the hands of these men? Arise! You are not the kind of man to hold back from this affair. The people of al-Jazīrah have turned their eyes to you. They hope for your help and assistance." Ṭawq replied, "By God, I do not belong to al-Jazīrah's Qays or to its Yemen.[409] I was not involved in the beginning of this affair, that I should be present to witness its end! I care too much for my men and my people to expose them to death on account of these fools from the army and ignorant men from Qays. I see safety only in keeping clear."

Naṣr b. Shabath [al-ʿUqaylī][410] came with the *Zawāqīl*. He was riding a chestnut horse with a blaze on its forehead and was wearing a black tunic (*durrāʿah*) that he had tied behind his back. In his hand he had a spear and shield, and he was reciting:

Horsemen of Qays, be steadfast unto death!
[My soul],[411] do not frighten me away from meeting sudden death.

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407. The second "Syria" is supplied from ed. Cairo. One must understand an imperative or hortatory verb, such as "let us go toward," or "take care for."

408. After the preceding reference to abundance and dearth, the intention seems to be, "Death by starvation in Palestine is better than a livelihood in al-Jazīrah."

409. Qays and Kalb (or Yemen) were the two parties into which the Bedouins of al-Jazīrah were divided.

410. His full name is given in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 179.

411. The verbs in this line and the next are in the feminine. They must be understood as addressed to something feminine, such as *yā nafsī*, "O my soul." Ed. Cairo incorrectly vocalizes the verb in the second line as *turhibunī* ("you [m. sg.] do not frighten me"), which is metrically impossible. The vocalization of ed. Leiden (*turhibinnī*, second energetic mood) is correct.

Cease hoping[412] with [thoughts of] "it might be" and "would that it were."

He and his companions then attacked. He fought fiercely, but the army held firm against them, and there was great slaughter among the *Zawāqīl*. Then the *Abnā'* made attacks, killing and wounding in each of them. Most of the killing and bravery in that charge were the work of Kathīr b. Qādirah, Abū al-Fīl, and Dāwūd b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā al-Khurāsānī. The *Zawāqīl* were defeated. Their line of defense that day had been led by Naṣr b. Shabath, 'Amr [b. 'Abd al-'Azīz] al-Sulamī, and al-'Abbās b. Zufar [al-Kilābī].[413]

[846] In this year, 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ died.[414]

In this year, Muḥammad b. Hārūn was deposed and made to swear allegiance to his brother, 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn, in Baghdad.

The Abortive Coup of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān against al-Amīn in Baghdad

In this year, Muḥammad b. Hārūn was imprisoned in the Palace of Abū Ja'far with Umm Ja'far, the daughter of Ja'far b. Abī Ja'far.[415] A report of the reason for this follows.

According to Dāwūd b. Sulaymān: After the death of 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ at al-Raqqah, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān summoned the army. He put the foot soldiers into boats and had the horsemen mount. He gave them gifts; those who were weak he strengthened and mounted on horses, until he brought them out of the territory of al-Jazīrah. This was in the year 196.

Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh mentioned that he was one of those present in al-Jazīrah with 'Abd al-Malik when al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī led them back and that this was in Rajab of 196.[416]

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412. The reading of ed. Cairo (*tamannī*) is superior to the conjecture of ed. Leiden (*taḥannī*, "bending, being compassionate").
413. Full names from Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 179.
414. Cf. Ya'qūbī, II, 534, on the anarchy in Syria.
415. Parallels: Ya'qūbī, II, 534; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 179–80; *Fragmenta*, 328–30.
416. I.e., between March 18 and April 16, 812.

He mentioned that the *Abnā'* and people of Baghdad met al-Ḥusayn with honor and exaltation. They erected tents for him,[417] and the commanders, chiefs, and nobles (*ashrāf*) went out to meet him. He entered his home in the highest honor and making a very fine figure.

In the middle of the night, Muḥammad sent to him, commanding him to ride to him. Al-Ḥusayn said to the messenger, "By God, I am not a singer, an evening companion, or a jester. I have not taken charge of any province for him, nor have I collected money for him. Why does he want me at this hour? Go away! When it is morning, I will come early to him, God willing." The messenger went away. In the morning, al-Ḥusayn went to Bāb al-Jisr.[418] Troops gathered around him, and he ordered that the gate leading out to the Palace of 'Abdallāh[419] b. 'Alī should be locked, along with the gate of the Market of Yaḥyā.[420] He said, "Men of the *Abnā'*, God's caliphate gives [847] no license for arrogant behavior, nor do His favors consort with insolence and pride. Muḥammad wants to corrupt the usages of your religion. He would violate [the terms of] your oath of allegiance, break up your unity, and transfer your strength to others. Only yesterday, he was the master of the *Zawāqīl*! By God, if his term lasts long and he regains strength, the unwholesome consequences of this will return upon you, and the harm and adversity he causes to your dynasty (*dawlah*) and regime (*da'wah*) will become evident. Cut off his influence, before he cuts off yours! Bring down his strength, before he brings down yours! By God, none of you has aided him but that he has been abandoned, and no one has protected him but that he has been killed. No one finds indulgence with God, nor does

417. Ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CDX, suggests that the phrase *ḍarabū lahu al-qibāb* may mean "they decorated the squares in his honor with garlands and wreaths," or "they set up a triumphal arch for him."

418. Gabrieli, on the basis of other indications of location in the passage, locates this Bāb al-Jisr (Bridge Gate) at the end of the second or main bridge over the Tigris. See "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 374 (note 3); but cf. note 326 earlier.

419. Corrected from the manuscript reading 'Ubaydallāh by the editor of ed. Leiden, who suggests that this is the Palace of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān. See ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXV.

420. On the Market of Yaḥyā (*Sūq Yaḥyā*), see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 199–201.

God have regard for him, if he violates his promises and breaks his oaths."

Then he ordered the people to cross the bridge. They crossed it and came to the Khurāsān Gate Road.[421] [Meanwhile, the people of] al-Ḥarbiyyah[422] and the people of the suburbs near the Syrian Gate, [al-Anbār Gate, and the bank of the Ṣarāt Canal near al-Kūfah Gate][423] gathered. Some of Muḥammad's horsemen—Bedouin Arabs and others—hurried to [fight] al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. They fought fiercely for part of the day. Al-Ḥusayn ordered his commanders and close companions who were with him to dismount. They dismounted to fight their foe with swords and spears, fighting with true valor, and pushing them back until they dispersed from the gate of al-Khuld [Palace].

On Sunday, the 11th of Rajab, 196 (March 28, 812), al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī declared Muḥammad to be deposed and received the oath of allegiance for ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn from the morning of Monday until the evening. On Tuesday, after the battle between al-Ḥusayn and the forces of Muḥammad, al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā al-Hāshimī went early to Muḥammad and seized him. He went in to him and forced him to leave al-Khuld Palace for the Palace of Abū Jaʿfar. There he imprisoned him until
[848] the time of the midday prayer. Then al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā seized Umm Jaʿfar and ordered her to leave her palace for the City of Abū Jaʿfar.[424] She refused; so he summoned a chair for her and ordered her to sit on it. He lay about her head with a whip, abused her, and spoke coarsely to her; so she sat in it. Then he gave orders concerning her and she was taken into the city, [to be] with her son and her [other] children.

The next day, the men demanded their pay (*arzāq*) from al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and became unruly. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid stood up at the Syrian Gate and said, "Men! By God, I do not know why al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī is acting as if he were our com-

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421. That is, the road near the Khurāsān Gate of the Round City. See Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 144.

422. Al-Ḥarbiyyah quarter was located to the northwest of the Round City, beyond the Syrian Gate. It was populated mainly by people who had accompanied the ʿAbbāsids from Khurāsān. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 107ff.

423. The bracketed text is from ed. Cairo.

424. That is, the Round City of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr.

mander and taking charge of this affair instead of us. He is not the oldest among us, nor the one among us with the greatest claim to honor, nor the highest among us in rank. Among us there are those who will not accept base action and will not be led by deception. I am the first of you to break his compact. I openly rebuke him and condemn his action. Whoever thinks as I do, let him stand aside with me."

Asad al-Ḥarbī stood up and said, "People of al-Ḥarbiyyah, this is a day of great consequence. You have been asleep, and your sleep has lasted a long time. You have lagged behind, and others have been given precedence over you. Some people have taken the position that Muḥammad should be deposed and imprisoned; as for you, go and take the position that he should be released and set free."

Then came an aged shaykh on a horse, one of the "abstainers."[425] He shouted to the men to be quiet, and they did so. He said, "Men, are you assailing Muḥammad because he has cut off your pay?" "No," they said. "Has he fallen short," he said "in what is due to any of you, or your chiefs, or your eminent men?" "We know of no such case," they said. "Has he removed any of your leaders?" he said. "God forbid that he should have done that!" "Then why have you abandoned him," he said, "and helped his enemy oppress him and take him captive? I swear to God, never have people killed their caliph [849] but God has set upon them the power of the slaying sword and violent death. Arise and defend your caliph. Fight against whoever wants to depose and murder him."

[The troops from] al-Ḥarbiyyah arose, and with them arose most of the people of the suburbs, with drawn swords[426] and

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425. *Abnā' al-kaffiyyah* (the original, unamended Leiden reading, which is recommended in *Addenda*, DCCLXV) is explained thus in ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CDLIV: "In Iraq in Umayyad times, those who, although dissatisfied with the death of 'Uthmān, refrained from taking up arms, saying..., 'Better that you should be 'Abdallāh the slain than 'Abdallāh the murderer,' were called *ahl al-kaff*. In Khurāsān, this name was given to those who dedicated themselves and their possessions to the cause of the house of the Prophet.... In Ṭabarī, III, 848, they are called *al-kaffiyyah*, which seems to refer to abstaining from stipends—i.e., that they would accept no stipends." Ed. Cairo prefers Guyard's original emendation: *abnā' al-kifāyah*, "men of capability, skill, or intelligence."

426. Reading *mushahharāt*, with ed. Cairo, rather than ed. Leiden's *mushtaharāt*, "holiday garments."

good equipment. They fought fiercely against al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and his forces from mid-morning until the rays of the sun grew weak, inflicting many wounds upon his forces. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was taken prisoner. Asad al-Ḥarbī went in to Muḥammad, broke his fetters, and seated him in the caliph's seat. Muḥammad noticed some men who were not wearing military or army clothing and who were not carrying weapons; he gave them orders, and they took what they needed from the weapons that were in the storerooms. He made them promises and raised their hopes; as a result the rabble (*ghawghāʾ*) looted many weapons, silken goods, and other things. Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was brought, and Muḥammad rebuked him for his disobedience, saying, "Did I not advance your father over people? Did I not give him charge of cavalry troops and fill his hand with money? Did I not give you positions of honor among the people of Khurāsān and raise your ranks above those of other commanders?" "Yes," he replied. "Then how have I deserved your repudiating obedience to me," he asked, "your inciting the people against me, and your urging them to fight me?" Al-Ḥusayn said, "I trust the pardon of the Commander of the Faithful and hope for his forgiveness and favor." (Muḥammad) said, "The Commander of the Faithful hereby does so for you and puts you in charge of avenging yourself[427] and the slain members of your family." He then called for a robe of honor for him and put it on him. He gave him mounts, commanded him to go to Ḥulwān, and put him in charge of whatever was beyond its pass.

[850] According to ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd al-Ṭāʾī, who said: I used to enjoy special favor with al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. After Muḥammad pardoned him and restored to him his command and rank, I crossed over to him along with the well-wishers. I found him standing at Bāb al-Jisr. I congratulated him and wished him well. Then I said to him, "You have become master of the two armies and the confidant of the Commander of the Faithful. Be thankful for the pardon and forgiveness!" Then I jested and joked with him. I recited some verses to him, saying:

427. Perhaps one should read, "avenging your father," as in *Fragmenta*, 329, and Ibn al-Jawzī [Leiden note].

They slew him when his perfection had become complete,
and he had become renowned for generosity and nobility.
He was bright faced, as if the full moon were the form of his face,
when he came walking in a coat of mail.
When the coward's soul was sick with fear and recoiled,
he marched forward, with a Mashrifī sword of Indian steel.
He was grave in the council chamber, but impetuous in the fray:
often turning back to fight the foe, not speaking in excess.
Then avenge yourself upon the enemy, for they
intentionally have assailed you with a foul and ignoble deed.

He laughed and said, "How eager I am for that, if time helps me, and if I am aided by conquest and victory!" Then he halted at the foot of Bāb al-Jisr.[428] He fled with a group of his servants and *mawālī*. Muḥammad summoned troops, and they rode in pursuit of him. They overtook him at the Mosque of Kawthar. When he saw the horsemen, he dismounted and tied his horse. He prayed two prostrations and placed himself in a state of dedication.[429] Then he encountered them, charging at them, driving them back with each charge, and killing some of them. Then his horse stumbled and he fell off. The people hastened [851] to strike him with spears and swords, and they took his head. Concerning this, ʿAlī b. Jabalah (some say al-Khuraymī) said:[430]

Yea, may God assail those who disbelieved in Him,
and took[431] the head of Ḥusayn al-Harthamī.
In him they brought down a firm spear [of a man],
with a Yemeni sword and Rudayni spear.

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428. The fuller text in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 181, is probably original and may have been shortened in the Ṭabarī manuscript by a copyist's error (homoioteleuton): "People were congratulating him. When the people departed from him, he cut the bridge and fled."

429. The Arabic *taḥarrama* can mean either to assume the simple garment (*iḥrām*) of a pilgrim, or to pronounce the words *Allāhu akbar* ("God is most great!"). The latter seems appropriate here as a preparation for death.

430. ʿAlī b. Jabalah al-ʿAkawwak (160/776–213/828) was a poet of Khurāsānian origins active in Baghdad. See Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 572–74; *EI*[2] s.v. al-ʿAkawwak (Blachère). On al-Khuraymī (corrected from manuscript al-Khuzaymī), see note 462.

431. The translation follows ed. Cairo, *fāzū*, rather than ed. Leiden, *fādaw* ("they ransomed").

In opposition to right he expected honor and authority,
but his desire brought him only the boot of Ḥunayn to wear.[432]

It has been said: When Muḥammad pardoned al-Ḥusayn, he appointed him vizier and gave him his ring.

Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān was killed on the middle day of Rajab of this year,[433] in the Mosque of Kawthar, one *farsakh* from Baghdad on the road to Nahr Bīn.[434] Allegiance was renewed to Muḥammad on Friday, the 16th of Rajab of this year (April 2, 812). Al-Ḥusayn's imprisonment of Muḥammad in the Palace of Abū Jaʿfar had lasted two days. During the night in which Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was killed, al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ fled.

The Death of Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī and Ṭāhir's Entry into al-Ahwāz

During this year, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, when Harthamah had come to him, went from Ḥulwān to al-Ahwāz and killed Muḥammad's governor of the city, Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī.[435] This happened after Ṭāhir sent armies ahead of himself toward the city, and before he himself set out toward him to fight him. A report of this follows.

[852] According to Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith, who said: After Ṭāhir had encamped at Shalāshān, he dispatched al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar al-Rustumī to al-Ahwāz. He commanded him to travel at a moderate pace: he was not to travel without sending out scout-

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432. "Coming back wearing the boots of Ḥunayn" was a proverbial expression for coming back empty-handed or not achieving one's hopes. The source of the proverb is explained in Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 770.

433. I.e., the fifteenth day of the month, April 1, 812.

434. The Bīn Canal (Nahr Bīn) was a subsidiary canal east of Baghdad. It left the main Nahrawān Canal a short distance above the town of Nahrawān and flowed into the Tigris about 2 *farsakhs* below Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 174–76.

435. Parallels: Yaʿqūbī, II, 534; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 181–83; *Fragmenta*, 330. On the Muhallabī family, to which the governor Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim b. Qabīṣah b. al-Muhallab belonged, and its importance among the Azd tribesmen of al-Baṣrah, see Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 82–83; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 135.

ing parties, and he was to encamp only in a secure location, where he could feel safe about his forces. After al-Ḥusayn had set out, Ṭāhir's spies came and informed him that Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī, Muḥammad's governor of al-Ahwāz, had set out with a large host, intending to encamp at Junday Sābūr,[436] which was the boundary between [the provinces of] al-Ahwāz and al-Jabal, to protect al-Ahwāz and ward off any of Ṭāhir's forces who wanted to enter it. They said that he was with a numerous and powerful force. Ṭāhir summoned a number of his companions, including Muḥammad b. Ṭālūt, Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ, al-ʿAbbās b. Bukhārākhudhāh, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, Dāwūd b. Mūsā, and Hādī b. Ḥafṣ. He ordered them to travel quickly, until their foremost forces made contact with the rearmost forces of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar al-Rustumī. If he needed reinforcement, they were to reinforce him; if an army encountered him, they would back him up.

Ṭāhir sent out these armies, but no one encountered them until they were close to al-Ahwāz. Word of them reached Muḥammad b. Yazīd. He reviewed his forces, strengthened those of them who were weak, and mounted the foot soldiers on mules. He advanced and encamped at the market of ʿAskar Mukram,[437] setting the inhabited area and the water behind his back. Ṭāhir became fearful that [Muḥammad] would hasten toward his forces; so he reinforced them with Quraysh b. Shibl, and he himself set out until he was close to them. He dispatched al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Maʾmūnī and commanded him to join up with Quraysh b. Shibl and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar al-Rustumī. These armies traveled until they drew close to Muḥammad b. Yazīd at ʿAskar Mukram. Muḥammad gathered his forces and said, "What do you think best? Should I delay fighting and put off the encounter with enemy, or should I fight it out with them, regardless of whether it is to my advantage or against it? [853]

436. Junday Sābūr, or Jundī Shāpūr, about seventy miles north of al-Ahwāz, was an important city. Under the Sasanians, it had been the capital of Khūzistān province and was famous for its medical school. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 238, 247; *EI*² s.v. Gondēshāpūr (Huart).

437. The town of ʿAskar Mukram, on the Masruqān Canal in Khūzistān, was about halfway between al-Ahwāz and Junday Sābūr. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 233, 236–37, 242, 246–47; *EI*² s.v. (Streck).

By God, I do not think that I should go back [to the Commander of the Faithful or leave al-Ahwāz." They said to him, "The best plan is for you to return] to al-Ahwāz, fortify yourself there, and avoid fighting Ṭāhir. You should send to al-Baṣrah and enroll troops there, summoning an army from those of your tribesmen over whom you have authority and who have sworn allegiance to you."[438] He accepted their advice. His men followed him, and he turned back until he came to Sūq al-Ahwāz.[439] Ṭāhir commanded Quraysh b. Shibl to follow him and deal quickly with him, before he could fortify himself in Sūq al-Ahwāz. He commanded al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ma'mūnī and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Umar al-Rustumī to travel on the heels of [Quraysh]; if he needed their help, they were to help him. Quraysh b. Shibl closely followed Muḥammad b. Yazīd: whenever Muḥammad b. Yazīd departed from a village, Quraysh encamped in it, until they came to Sūq al-Ahwāz. Muḥammad b. Yazīd arrived at the city first and entered it. He relied on the inhabited area for support, setting it to his rear; he mustered his forces and resolved to fight the enemy. He called for money, and it was poured out before him. He said to his companions, "Whoever among you wants reward and rank, let him show me his mettle." Quraysh b. Shibl advanced until he was close to him and said to his companions, "Remain in your position and your battle lines. Let most of your fighting with them be done while you are on foot. Fight them with energy and strength." There was not one of his men who did not gather for himself as many stones as he could. Before Muḥammad b. Yazīd could pass over toward them, they weakened his men with stones and inflicted many injuries on them with arrows. A group of Muḥammad b. Yazīd's forces came over. Quraysh ordered his forces to dismount to fight them, and they did so, fighting them fiercely, until they went back, retreating one group after the

438. The translation of the three preceding sentences follows the Cairo text, which is clearly superior to that of ed. Leiden, with the exception of one word (*tughādiya*, "hasten," sc. to fight), where I prefer the Leiden reading (*nu'ādiya*, "we should avoid," sc. fighting). The bracketed words are not found in ed. Leiden. The Cairo text itself may contain corruptions.

439. Sūq al-Ahwāz ("Market of al-Ahwāz") is the longer form of the name of the city of al-Ahwāz. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 232.

other. Muḥammad b. Yazīd turned to a group of his *mawālī* who were with him and said, "What do you think best?" They said, "Regarding what?" He said, "I see that those on my side have been routed. I fear they will abandon me. I do not expect them to return. I have decided to dismount and fight by myself, until God decrees what He wants. Whoever of you wishes to depart, let him depart. By God, I would rather that you survive than that you perish and be destroyed!" They replied, "Then we would be treating you unjustly, by God! You freed us from slavery, raised us up from humiliation, enriched us after we were poor—and then we abandon you in this condition! No, we will advance before you and die beside the stirrup of your horse. May God curse this world and life after your death!" Then they dismounted, hamstrung their horses, and attacked Quraysh's forces fiercely, killing many of them, and crushing their heads with rocks and other things. But one of Ṭāhir's men reached Muḥammad b. Yazīd, struck him with a spear, and felled him. The men rushed to strike him and thrust at him, until they killed him. [854]

Lamenting the death of Muḥammad b. Yazīd, one of the people of al-Baṣrah said:

Whoever tastes slumber's savor of joy—
as for me, sleeplessness has pressed me hard.
A generous man of right action has passed away; I have lost, in him,
my heart and my hearing, and my eyes have overwhelmed me [with tears].
He was succor in time of drought:
and now the spring rainclouds have passed away.
Al-ʿUyaynī[440] was faithful to the imām:
the blow of the ridged, iridescent one[441] did not frighten him.
He would have assailed time's vicissitude with his skill,
were it not that mankind is subject to the Decree.

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440. I.e., al-Muhallabī [Leiden note].
441. I.e., the sword: a well-tempered sword had ridges in the metal of its blade and an iridescence.

Then depart praised; for everyone with an allotted term of life
strives for what you strove for at the end of life.

A Muhallabī clansman who was wounded many times in the battle and whose hand was cut off said:[442]

[855] I reproached myself only that I was incapable
of agility, and that I had been weakened by wounds.
Had my two hands been sound, I would have fought to defend him,
and I would have warded off from him Ṭāhir's accursed one.
He was a hero never seen to abandon the sword in the fray,
when he entered battle with its dust and earned fame.[443]

According to al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, who said: When Ibn Abī ʿUyaynah[444] went before Ṭāhir, he recited to him his poem [that begins with the verse]:

He whom a country delights does not depart
from it, but he whom it displeases does not abide.

Finally, he came to his verse:

My thought was grieved only because of one thing
concealed in the breast from speech.

Ṭāhir smiled and said, "By God, what grieved you regarding him grieved me also, and what pained you pained me. I disliked what happened, but death will occur and destiny will descend. Ties of kindred are inevitably cut and one becomes estranged from relatives for the sake of upholding the caliphate and performing the duty of obedience." We supposed that he was referring to Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim.

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442. Parallel: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 182.

443. Literally, "and became known by a by-name."

444. Two poets, brothers from the al-Muhallabī family, both sometimes called simply "Ibn Abī ʿUyaynah," were active at this time, and the poem sometimes is attributed to one and sometimes to the other. The elder was Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUyaynah b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah; the younger was Abū al-Minhāl Abū ʿUyaynah b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUyaynah. The poem can be found in *Aghānī*, XVIII, 17 (ed. Cairo, 7742). Its theme is disappointment over kinsmen who do not maintain family solidarity—thus its appropriateness to the present context. See also Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 605–6.

According to 'Umar b. Asad, who said: Ṭāhir established himself at al-Ahwāz after he had killed Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim.[445] He sent out his agents into its districts and took charge of al-Yamāmah,[446] al-Baḥrayn, and 'Umān—what was adjacent to al-Ahwāz and what was adjacent to the district of al-Baṣrah. Then he turned inland, heading toward Wāsiṭ.[447] At that time, al-Sindī b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashī and al-Haytham, the [856] deputy of Khuzaymah b. Khāzim, were in the city. The garrisons and agents began to collapse, garrison by garrison, and agent by agent. As soon as Ṭāhir approached them, they left their districts and fled from them, until Ṭāhir was close to Wāsiṭ. Al-Sindī b. Yaḥyā and al-Haytham b. Shu'bah summoned their forces, gathered them to themselves, and were about to fight. Al-Haytham b. Shu'bah ordered the master of his horses to saddle his horses for him. So the man brought him a horse, but al-Haytham kept shifting his eyes from one horse to another—there were a number of them before him. The master of horses saw the disturbance and fear in his face. "If you are going to flee," he said, "this is the one for you. She gallops farther and is stronger for traveling." Al-Haytham laughed and said, "Bring the escape horse here! It is Ṭāhir; there is no shame for us in fleeing from him!" So both of them left Wāsiṭ and fled.

Ṭāhir entered Wāsiṭ. He became fearful that al-Haytham and al-Sindī would reach Fam al-Ṣilḥ[448] before him and fortify themselves there. So he dispatched Muḥammad b. Ṭālūt and commanded him to reach Fam al-Ṣilḥ before the two and prevent them from entering it, if they tried. He also dispatched one of his commanders, a man called Aḥmad b. al-Muhallab, toward al-Kūfah, which was then being governed by al-'Abbās b. Mūsā al-Hādī. When the report about Aḥmad b. al-Muhallab reached al-'Abbās, he threw off his allegiance to Muḥammad and wrote to Ṭāhir that he would obey and swear allegiance to

445. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 183–84; *Fragmenta*, 330.

446. Al-Yamāmah was a part of the Najd area in central Arabia. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.

447. Wāsiṭ was a major city on the lower Tigris. It was called "Wāsiṭ" (central, middle) because it was roughly equidistant from Baghdad, al-Kūfah, and al-Baṣrah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 39.

448. Fam al-Ṣilḥ ("Mouth of the Ṣilḥ Canal") was a town seven *farsakhs* (26 miles) upstream from Wāsiṭ. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 38.

al-Ma'mūn. Ṭāhir's horsemen encamped at Fam al-Nīl,[449] and Ṭāhir took control of everything between Wāsiṭ and al-Kūfah. Al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, who was Muḥammad's governor of al-Baṣrah, wrote to Ṭāhir announcing his obedience. Ṭāhir moved on and encamped at Ṭarnāyā.[450] He stayed there for two days, but did not think it a suitable location for the army. He ordered a floating bridge, and it was thrown across the river. [857] He secured his camp with a trench, and he sent his letters of appointment to the governors. Al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī in al-Baṣrah, al-'Abbās b. Mūsā al-Hādī in al-Kūfah, and al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdallāh b. Mālik in al-Mawṣil swore allegiance to al-Ma'mūn and cast off their allegiance to Muḥammad in Rajab of the year 196.[451] Some have said that the man who was governing al-Kūfah for Muḥammad when Ṭāhir arrived was al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā. After the men I have just mentioned wrote to Ṭāhir announcing their allegiance to al-Ma'mūn and their repudiation of Muḥammad, Ṭāhir confirmed them over their districts. He appointed Dāwūd b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Hāshimī to govern Mecca and Medina, and Yazīd b. Jarīr al-Bajalī to govern Yemen, and he dispatched al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and Dāwūd b. Mūsā to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah.[452]

Ṭāhir Takes al-Madā'in and Marches toward Ṣarṣar

In this year, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn took al-Madā'in[453] from the forces of Muḥammad [al-Amīn]. From there he went toward

449. Fam al-Nīl ("Mouth of the Nīl Canal"), where the Nīl Canal flowed into the Tigris, was a few miles above Fam al-Ṣilḥ. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 72–73.

450. The location and vocalization are unknown. The manuscript may be corrupt. Ibn al-Jawzi and Ibn al-Athīr read "at Jarjarāyā," which is on the Tigris River about halfway between Wāsiṭ and Baghdad.

451. That is, between March 18 and April 16, 812. Ya'qūbī, II, 534, dates Ṭāhir's entry into Wāsiṭ on 3 Rajab 196.

452. Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah was located just east of the Sūrā branch of the Euphrates River, on the main road halfway between Baghdad and al-Kūfah. Under the name al-Hāshimiyyah, which never succeeded in displacing the original name, the town had served briefly as the first capital of the 'Abbāsids in Iraq. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 70–71; *EI*[2] s.v. Ḳaṣr ibn Hubayrah (Lassner).

453. Al-Madā'in ("the cities," so named because it consisted of a number of separate towns linked by a floating bridge across the Tigris) was the former Sasanian winter capital about 20 miles south of Baghdad. See *EI*[2] s.v. (Streck).

Ṣarṣar,[454] constructed a floating bridge, and proceeded to Ṣarṣar. A report of the reason for his entering al-Madā'in and going to Ṣarṣar follows.

It has been mentioned: After Ṭāhir had sent al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and Dāwūd b. Mūsā to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, and after word had reached Muḥammad that his governor in al-Kūfah had cast off allegiance to him and had sworn allegiance to al-Ma'mūn, Muḥammad dispatched the commander Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Barbarī.[455] He commanded them to attack al-Ḥārith and Dāwūd by night at Qaṣr [Ibn Hubayrah]. They were told, "If you follow the main road, it will not escape their notice; instead, take the shortest route to Fam al-Jāmi',[456] which is the site of a market and a camp. Encamp there, and make a night attack upon them, if you want to do that, for you will be near enough to them." So the two of them sent the foot soldiers from al-Yāsiriyyah[457] to Fam al-Jāmi'. Word of this reached al-Ḥārith and Dāwūd. They rode with a detachment of horsemen and prepared to deal with the foot soldiers. They crossed over to them by a ford in the [858]
Sūrā',[458] beside which they had encamped, and inflicted a heavy blow on them. Ṭāhir dispatched Muḥammad b. Ziyād and Nuṣayr b. al-Khaṭṭāb to reinforce al-Ḥārith and Dāwūd. The armies assembled at al-Jāmi' and marched until they encountered Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and Muḥammad b.

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454. Ṣarṣar, on the canal of the same name, which joined the Tigris a few miles above al-Madā'in, was only 5 miles south of Baghdad, on the main north-south road to al-Kūfah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 32, 35, 67.

455. Muḥammad's father, Ḥammād al-Barbarī ("the Berber" or "the Nubian"), had been a slave and *mawlā* of the caliph. He had been freed by al-Rashīd at the opening of his reign. See Ya'qūbī, II, 498–99; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 191.

456. Location uncertain: Fam al-Jāmi' (the mouth of the Jāmi' canal) is perhaps to be connected with the town of al-Ḥillah, sometimes called al-Jāmi'ayn (the Two Mosques), on the east branch of the Euphrates, south of Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. The road to al-Ḥillah passed east of Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 71; Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 376 n. 2.

457. Al-Yāsiriyyah, on the 'Īsā Canal 2 miles west of Baghdad, was considered either the westernmost quarter of the city or a separate village. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 74, 76, 151–52.

458. That is, the Sūrā (eastern) branch of the Euphrates. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 70.

Ḥammād between the Durqīṭ Canal[459] and al-Jāmiʿ. The two sides fought each other fiercely. The forces from Baghdad were defeated. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān fled and reached the village of Shāhī.[460] He crossed the Euphrates and took the desert road to al-Anbār.[461] Muḥammad b. Ḥammād returned to Baghdad. Concerning this, Abū Yaʿqūb al-Khuraymī[462] said:

The two of them transgressed with breach of promise, that they might split thereby
the rock of truth; so they (themselves) were broken, with scattered host.
A lean one, O Ibn al-Barbarī, allowed us to escape—
a horse that goes forth for a long march and finds the way.

According to Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith: When Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Barbarī entered Baghdad, Muḥammad the Deposed sent al-Faḍl b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā al-Hāshimī to al-Kūfah and appointed him governor of it. He joined to him Abū al-Salāsil, Iyās al-Ḥirābī, and Jumhūr al-Najjārī and commanded him to travel quickly. Al-Faḍl set out. After he crossed the ʿĪsā Canal,[463] his horse stumbled and fell. He therefore switched from it to another, regarding it as an evil omen, and said, "O God, I ask you for blessing on this journey!" Word of this reached Ṭāhir, and he sent Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ and wrote to al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and Dāwūd b. Mūsā that they should obey him. Muḥammad b.

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459. For the Durqīṭ (or Darqīṭ) Canal, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 80.

460. Yāqūt, with some uncertainly, places Shāhī near al-Qādisiyyah, which was west of al-Kūfah on the road to Mecca. The text here implies a location on the east side of the Euphrates.

461. Al-Anbār, on the left bank of the Euphrates, was about 12 *farsakhs* (44.6 miles) west of Baghdad. It was an important crossing point on the Euphrates near the northernmost navigable canal connecting the Euphrates with the Tigris. See *EI*² s.v. (Streck).

462. Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq b. Ḥassān b. Qūhī al-Khuraymī was a poet of Sogdian origin who settled in Iraq and became a *mawlā* of the Khuraym family. A eulogist of al-Rashīd and the Barmakids, he supported al-Amīn in the civil war and died ca. 214/829. See *GAL*, S I, 111–12; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 550–51; *EI*² s.v. Abū Yaʿqūb al-Khuraymī (Pellat). His poems have been collected and edited by ʿAlī Jawad al-Ṭāhir and Muḥammad Jabbār al-Muʿaybid, *Dīwān al-Khuraymī* (Beirut, 1971). The following poem is not included in their collection.

463. The ʿĪsā Canal flowed in a semicircle around the southern limits of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 49–56.

al-ʿAlāʾ encountered al-Faḍl at Qaryat al-Aʿrāb.[464] Al-Faḍl sent word to him, saying, "I will heed and obey Ṭāhir. My departure was merely a deception on my part upon Muḥammad [al-Amīn]; so leave me free to go to [Ṭāhir]." Muḥammad [b. al- [859]
ʿAlāʾ] said to him, "I do not know of what you are speaking; I neither accept it nor reject it. If you want the commander Ṭāhir, turn around and take the easiest and most direct way." So he went back. Muḥammad [b. al-ʿAlāʾ] said to his companions, "Be careful, for I fear this man's trickery." Thinking that Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ felt himself safe from him, al-Faḍl without delay cried out, "God is most great!"[465] However, he found Muḥammad ready and prepared. They fought very fiercely. Al-Faḍl's horse fell, but Abū al-Salāsil defended him until he mounted, and he said, "I will mention this stand to the Commander of the Faithful." The forces of Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ attacked those of al-Faḍl and defeated them: they continued killing them all the way to Kūthā.[466] Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī and Jumhūr al-Najjārī were taken prisoner in that battle.

Ṭāhir headed toward al-Madāʾin, where there was a large force of Muḥammad's cavalry under al-Barmakī, who had fortified himself there and was receiving reinforcements, gifts, and robes of honor from Muḥammad every day.[467] When Ṭāhir had drawn near to al-Madāʾin, but was still two *farsakh*s away, he dismounted, prayed two prostrations, and added many extra prayers to God, saying, "O God, we ask for help, as Thou didst help the Muslims at the Battle of al-Madāʾin."[468] He dispatched al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Maʾmūnī and Quraysh b. Shibl. He dispatched al-Hādī b. Ḥafṣ in charge of his vanguard, and

464. Qaryat al-Aʿrāb seems to be a proper name; however, it may simply mean "the village of the Bedouin Arabs."

465. *Allāhu akbar*, i.e., as the signal for an attack.

466. The town of Kūthā, on the canal of the same name, was located on the main north-south road from Baghdad to al-Kūfah, about 35 miles south of Baghdad, and 18 miles north of Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 68–69; *EI*² s.v. [Plessner].

467. Parallel: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 184.

468. That is, the battle in which the capital of the Sasanian Empire fell to Muslim forces led by Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ in Ṣafar 16 [March 637]. See *EI*² s.v. al-Madāʾin [Streck].

he marched. When al-Barmakī's forces heard the sound of his drums, they saddled the horses. They began to draw up their ranks and make those in the forefront of the men join those in the rear. Al-Barmakī began setting the ranks into good order; but as soon as he set a line in order, it would break up and fall into disorder. "O God," he said, "we take refuge in Thee from desertion!" Then he turned to the commander of his rear and said, "Let the men go, for I see an army that is worthless." So they followed one another closely, heading toward Baghdad. Ṭāhir encamped at al-Madā'in and sent Quraysh b. Shibl and al-'Abbās b. Bukhārākhudhāh ahead to al-Darzījān.[469] Aḥmad
[860] b. Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī and Naṣr b. Manṣūr b. Naṣr b. Mālik were encamped at the Diyālā River,[470] and they prevented al-Barmakī's forces from crossing to Baghdad. Ṭāhir advanced until he reached al-Darzījān, opposite Aḥmad [b. Sa'īd] and Naṣr b. Manṣūr. He had the foot soldiers go over to them. Not much fighting took place between the two sides before [al-Barmakī's forces] were defeated. Ṭāhir turned left, toward the Ṣarṣar Canal, constructed a floating bridge, and encamped there [sc. at Ṣarṣar].

The Governor of Mecca Casts off Allegiance to al-Amīn

In this year, Dāwūd b. 'Īsā, the governor of Mecca and Medina, cast off his allegiance to Muḥammad, whose governor he was for the two cities.[471] He swore allegiance to al-Ma'mūn and received the oath of allegiance to him from the people. He wrote announcing this to Ṭāhir and al-Ma'mūn. Then he himself departed to go to al-Ma'mūn. A report of how this happened follows.

It has been mentioned: After the caliphate had devolved upon al-Amīn, he sent to Mecca and Medina Dāwūd b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās and

469. Al-Darzījān was a large village located close to Baghdad on the west side of the Tigris. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v.

470. The Diyālā River flowed into the Tigris from the east 3 miles below Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 59–60; *EI*[2] s.v. [Longrigg].

471. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 184–85; *Fragmenta*, 330–31.

removed al-Rashīd's governor of Mecca, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī, who had been responsible for public worship, the police (*aḥdāth*), and the administration of justice among the people. Muḥammad [b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] was replaced in all of these things by Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā, save for the administration of justice, for al-Amīn retained (Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) in the latter office. Dāwūd resided as governor of Mecca and Medina on behalf of Muḥammad [al-Amīn]. He led the pilgrimage in the years 193, 194, and 195. After the year 196 began, word reached him about how ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn had deposed his brother and what Ṭāhir had done to Muḥammad's commanders. Muḥammad had written to Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā, commanding him to cast off allegiance to ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn and swear allegiance to al-Amīn's son, Mūsā. Muḥammad sent for the two documents [861] that al-Rashīd had written and hung in the Kaʿbah and took them.[472] After Muḥammad had done this, Dāwūd assembled the doorkeepers of the Kaʿbah, the people of Quraysh, the jurists, and the witnesses who had attested to the contents of the two documents—Dāwūd himself had been one of them. Dāwūd said, "You know the promise and covenant that al-Rashīd received from us and from you at the Sacred House of God, when we swore allegiance to his two sons, that you[473] would be on the side of the wronged against the wrongdoer, the injured against the injurer, and the betrayed against the betrayer. Now we have seen, and you have seen too, how Muḥammad has initiated the wronging, injuring, and betrayal of his brothers ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn and al-Qāsim al-Muʿtaman. He has deposed the two of them and has had allegiance sworn to his infant son, a babe not yet weaned. He has disobediently [and wrongfully][474] had the two contracts removed from the Kaʿbah and has burned them with fire. I have decided to cast him off

472. The chronology is unclear. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 162, places al-Amīn's action in 194, before al-Maʾmūn's sending of Ṭāhir to al-Rayy. In any case, Dāwūd's anger over the destruction of the Meccan documents was not the immediate cause of this change of allegiance. See Kimber, "Hārūn al-Rashīd's Meccan Settlement," 58.

473. Ed. Cairo: "we."

474. The bracketed text is from ed. Cairo.

and swear allegiance to ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn as caliph, because he has been wronged and injured." The people of Mecca said to him, "Our judgment is as your judgment. We will cast him off with you." He set them a time—the midday prayer—and sent a crier into the roads between the mountains of Mecca, announcing, "To prayer! In congregation!" When the time for the midday prayer came—it was Thursday,[475] the 27th day of Rajab 196—Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā came out [of his residence] and led the people in the midday prayer. The pulpit had been placed for him between the Corner and the Standing Place.[476] He climbed up and sat on it. He gave orders for the dignitaries and nobles (*ashrāf*) of the people, and they drew near to the pulpit. Dāwūd was an eloquent preacher with a strong voice. The people having assembled, he rose to preach, saying:

> Praise be to God, the Possessor of dominion, who gives dominion to whom He will, and withdraws dominion from whom He will; who exalts whom He will, and abases whom He will; in whose hand is the good;
> [862] and He is powerful over everything.[477] I bear witness that there is no god but God alone, who has no partner, and who upholds justice; there is no god but He, the Almighty, the Wise.[478] And I bear witness that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger, whom He sent to bring the religion [of Islam], through whom He sealed the prophets, and whom He made a mercy for all beings.[479] May God bless him among the ancients and those of later times.

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475. The 27th of Rajab (April 13, 812) fell on a Tuesday, and the 29th fell on Thursday. The numbers *sabʿ* (seven) and *tisʿ* (nine) are very similar in Arabic script and are often confused. The correct reading is probably "Thursday, the 29th of Rajab" (April 15, 812).

476. That is, between the eastern corner (*rukn*) of the Kaʿbah's main façade, where the Black Stone kissed by pilgrims is affixed to the building, and the Standing Place (*maqām*) of Abraham, located in front of the main façade, which also contains the door of the building. According to Qurʾān 2:125 and 3:97, the Kaʿbah stands at the place where Abraham had once prayed. See von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals*, 19.

477. Cf. Qurʾān 3:26.

478. Ibid., 3:18.

479. Ibid., 21:107.

> To proceed: People of Mecca, you are the root and the branch, tribesmen and kin, partners in the blessing. To your land have God's visitors[480] come, and toward your *qiblah*[481] the Muslims turn. You know the promise and covenant that al-Rashīd Hārūn—may the mercy and blessing of God be upon him—enjoined upon you when he received the oath of allegiance to his two sons, Muḥammad and 'Abdallāh, in your midst: that you would help the wronged against the wronger, the injured against the injurer, and the betrayed against the betrayer. Now you have learned, and we have learned also, that Muḥammad b. Hārūn has initiated wronging, injuring, and betrayal. He has violated the conditions that he voluntarily granted in the interior of the Sacred House. Now it has become lawful for us and for you to depose him from the caliphate and to transfer it to him who has been wronged, injured, and betrayed. Behold, I make you witnesses that I have cast off Muḥammad b. Hārūn from the caliphate, even as I have cast off this *qalansuwah*[482] from my head.

He removed his *qalansuwah* from his head and threw it to one of the servants at his feet. It was made of red striped Yemeni cloth.[483] A black Hāshimī *qalansuwah* was brought, and he put it on. Then he said: "I swear allegiance to the Servant of God 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn, the Commander of the Faithful, for the caliphate! Arise to swear allegiance to your caliph!" A group of dignitaries ascended the pulpit to him, one after the other, swore to him the oath of allegiance to 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn for the caliphate, and repudiated Muḥammad [al-Amīn]. Then

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480. That is, the participants in the annual pilgrimage, who are called "visitors" (*wafd*) of God.

481. The *qiblah* is the direction of the Ka'bah. Muslims face it during prayer.

482. The *qalansuwah* was a tall, conical hat, a symbol of high rank in Sasanian Iraq, later worn by the Abbasid caliphs, their viziers, and judges. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 409, and *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements*, 365–71; Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial 'abbaside," 133–34; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 186.

483. *Burūd ḥibarah musalsalah*: Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements*, 133–36.

[863] he descended from the pulpit. The time for the midafternoon prayer had arrived, so he led the people in worship and then sat down at one end of the mosque. People began to swear the oath of allegiance to him, one group after another. He would read to them the document of allegiance, and they would clasp his hand. He did this for several days. He also wrote to [his son,][484] Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā, who was his deputy in Medina, commanding him to do with the people of Medina as he had done with the people of Mecca—cast off Muḥammad and swear allegiance to ʿAbdallāh al-Maʾmūn.

As soon as he received a [favorable] reply from Medina about the swearing of allegiance [to al-Maʾmūn], Dāwūd, who was in Mecca, set out—he and a group of his children—to go to al-Maʾmūn in Marw. He went by way of al-Baṣrah, Fārs, and Kirmān. When he reached al-Maʾmūn in Marw, he told him how he had sworn allegiance to him and had cast off Muḥammad and how the people of Mecca and of Medina had hastened to do the same. Al-Maʾmūn was delighted by this. He took the fact that the people of Mecca and Medina were the first to swear allegiance to him as a good omen, and he wrote them a gentle and amiable letter, promising them good things, and raising their hopes. He ordered that a writ be drawn up appointing Dāwūd to be in charge of Mecca, Medina, and their districts—public worship, special exactions,[485] and taxes (*jibāyah*). In addition, he was given the governorship of ʿAkk.[486] Three brigades (*alwiyah*) of troops were assigned to him to deal with these. Al-Maʾmūn wrote on his behalf to al-Rayy authorizing a special grant (*maʿūnah*) of 500,000 dirhams.

Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā left in haste, journeying quickly, striving to arrive in time for the pilgrimage. With him was his nephew, al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās. Al-Maʾmūn had appointed al-ʿAbbās

484. The bracketed words are from ed. Cairo.

485. *Maʿāwin*, pl. of *maʿūnah*, probably refers to levies for the police force. *Ṣāḥib al-maʿūnah* often means "chief of police." See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 192.

486. ʿAkk was a tribe with territory in the Tihāmah, the coastal plain of Yemen. See *EI*[2] s.v. (Caskel).

b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā to be in charge of the pilgrimage festival. He and his uncle Dāwūd traveled and stayed at Baghdad as guests of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, who honored them, showed them favor, and gave them generous support. He dispatched with the two of them Yazīd b. Jarīr b. Yazīd b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, [864] whom Ṭāhir had appointed to be governor of Yemen, and with whom he sent a large body of horsemen. Yazīd b. Jarīr b. Yazīd b. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī guaranteed them that he would induce his family and tribesmen, the kings and nobles of the people of Yemen, to cast off Muḥammad and swear allegiance to ʿAbdallāh al-Ma'mūn. They all traveled until they reached Mecca. When the pilgrimage arrived, al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā led the people who came for the festival. After they had completed the pilgrimage, al-ʿAbbās returned to Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, who was besieging Muḥammad. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā remained in his district of Mecca and Medina, and Yazīd b. Jarīr went on to Yemen. He called on its people to cast off Muḥammad and swear allegiance to ʿAbdallāh al-Ma'mūn. He read them a letter from Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, promising them justice and equity, encouraging them to obey al-Ma'mūn, and telling them of the just treatment al-Ma'mūn had extended to his subjects. The people of Yemen agreed to swear allegiance to al-Ma'mūn. They were delighted with this, swore allegiance to al-Ma'mūn, and cast off Muḥammad. Yazīd b. Jarīr b. Yazīd conducted himself very well among them, showing justice and equity. He wrote to al-Ma'mūn and to Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn about their acquiescence and swearing of allegiance.

Harthamah b. Aʿyan Defeats al-Amīn's Forces

In this year, during the months of Rajab and Shaʿbān,[487] Muḥammad [al-Amīn] placed about 400 companies (*liwāʾ*) of troops under the command of various leaders and appointed ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Nahīk commander over them all.[488] He commanded them to march against Harthamah b.

487. I.e., between March 18 and May 15, 812.
488. Parallels: Yaʿqūbī, II, 534–35; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 186–87; *Fragmenta*, 332.

A'yan. They did so, and the two sides met at Jalultā, a few miles from al-Nahrawān, during the month of Ramaḍān.[489] Harthamah defeated them and captured 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Nahīk. Harthamah sent him to al-Ma'mūn. Harthamah advanced and encamped at al-Nahrawān.

Some of Ṭāhir's Men Go over to al-Amīn

[865] In this year, a large group of men left Ṭāhir and went over to Muḥammad on a promise of safety (*amān*), and the army mutinied against Ṭāhir. Muḥammad distributed a large sum of money among Ṭāhir's men who had come to him. He appointed men to be commanders and daubed their beards with perfume.[490] People therefore called them "the perfume commanders." A report of the reason and consequences of this follows.

According to Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith, who said: Having reached [Ṣarṣar], Ṭāhir established himself by the Ṣarṣar Canal and energetically prosecuted the war against Muḥammad and the people of Baghdad. He defeated every army that came against him. But the money and clothing that Muḥammad was giving were too much for Ṭāhir's men, and about 5,000 Khurāsānians and others who joined them left his army. Muḥammad was delighted with them. He made promises to them, raised their hopes, and registered their names among [those who received pay of] eighty [dīnārs].

They continued at this for months. (Muḥammad) appointed commanders from al-Ḥarbiyyah and others—men who presented themselves and sought the position. He gave them appointments and sent them to Daskarat al-Malik[491] and al-Nahrawān. He sent to them Ḥabīb b. Jahm al-Namarī the Bedouin Arab with his forces. There was not much fighting between them

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489. I.e., between May 16 and June 14, 812.

490. *Ghāliyah* was a perfume containing musk, ambergris, camphor, and oil of ben. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VI, 2289.

491. Daskarat al-Malik ("King's Daskarah," so named because of the ruins of a Sasanian palace), 16 *farsakhs* northeast of Baghdad on the Khurāsān highway, was the stage beyond Nahrawān and before Jalūlā. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 62; *EI*[2] s.v. Daskara (Duri).

[and the enemy]. Muḥammad summoned some of the Baghdad commanders and sent them to al-Yāsiriyyah,[492] al-Kawthariyyah, and the Double [Bridge of] Boats.[493] He supplied them with food, strengthened them with pay allowances (*arzāq*), and made them a buttress for those behind them. He scattered spies among Ṭāhir's forces and smuggled letters to the heads of the army, raising their hopes, and exciting their desires, so that they mutinied against Ṭāhir. Many of them went over to Muḥammad on a promise of safety. Each group of ten had a drum; they thundered and stormed and raised a clamor. They advanced until they were close to the Ṣarṣar Canal. Ṭāhir [866] arranged his forces in phalanxes (*karādīs*). Then he passed by each phalanx and said, "Do not let the multitude of those you see deceive you, and do not let the fact that some of them went over on a promise of safety inhibit you; for victory lies with true bravery and constancy, and conquest lies with steadfastness. 'How often a little company has overcome a numerous company, by God's leave; and God is with the steadfast'."[494] Then he commanded them to advance, and they did so. They fought the enemy with swords for a time. Then God made the people of Baghdad turn their backs; they retreated in defeat and evacuated their campsite. Ṭāhir's forces plundered all the weapons and money it contained.

When news of this reached Muḥammad, he commanded that pay (*'aṭā'*) [be distributed], and it was done.[495] He brought out his chests and treasuries and distributed gifts. He gathered the people of the suburbs and reviewed the men with his own eyes. Whenever he saw someone handsome and good-looking, he gave him a robe of honor and appointed him commander. Whenever he appointed someone a commander, he had the man's beard daubed with perfume. They were the ones that

492. See note 457.

493. *Al-Safīnatayn* apparently refers to the fourth bridge of boats, described as "double," that al-Amīn added to the three that already crossed the Tigris. Located downstream from the Lower Bridge, it crossed the river to a point near the palace that al-Amīn built at Kalwādhā, on the east bank. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 179, 296–97.

494. Qur'ān 2:249.

495. Parallels: Ya'qūbī, II, 534; Mas'ūdī, VI, 446–47.

people called "perfume commanders." To each of his new commanders he distributed 500 dirhams and a flask of perfume, but he gave nothing to the army of the commanders and their forces. When Ṭāhir's scouts and spies brought him word of this, he sent messengers and letters to the men, made them promises, and sought to win them over to his side. He set the lower ranks among them against the higher ranks. They mutinied against Muḥammad on Wednesday, the 6th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 196 (August 18, 812). One of the *Abnā'* of the people of Baghdad said concerning this:

Say to al-Amīn, "By God Himself,
    it was only the perfume that dispersed the army."
And Ṭāhir—my soul, fear Ṭāhir,
    with his deliberateness and ample provisions!
The reins of the kingdom have come to be in his hand,
    while he fights the company who commit injustice.
[867] O perfidious one, delivered [to destruction] by your own perfidy,
    the disgrace of your wickedness has been revealed.
The chief lion has come upon you with his assaults,
    raging, among ravenous lions.
Flee! But there is no place of refuge from one like him,
    except to the Fire [of Hell] or the Pit.

When the army mutinied and matters became difficult for Muḥammad, he consulted his commanders. He was told, "Make amends to the men, and correct your affairs; for in them is the stay of your kingdom. It was they, after God, who took it away from you in the days of al-Ḥusayn [b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā]; it was they who returned it to you; and you have learned their valor and bravery." But he was stubborn about them and commanded that they should be fought. He sent al-Tanūkhī to deal with them, along with others of those who had come over on a promise of safety (*musta'minah*) and soldiers who were on his side, and the latter hastened to fight the men. Ṭāhir sent the men messages, and they sent messages to him. He took [persons who were] their pledges for obedience to him and wrote to the men. He gave them a guarantee of safety (*amān*) and bestowed money on them generously. On Tuesday, the 12th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (August 25, 812), Ṭāhir advanced as far as the garden at the

foot of al-Anbār Gate.[496] He encamped at the garden with his commanders, soldiers, and forces. Muḥammad's commanders and soldiers who had joined Ṭāhir on a guarantee of safety also encamped in the garden and in the suburbs. He increased the pay (*arzāq*) of all of them to eighty [dīnārs], doubled the special bonuses (*khawāṣṣ*) for commanders and the sons of commanders, and caused the money to be paid regularly to them and many of their men.

The prisoners breached the prisons and came out. There was civil disorder. Rogues and scoundrels (*al-du''ār wa'l-shuṭṭār*) assaulted decent people. Sinners became powerful, believers were humiliated, and decent people were disturbed. Conditions among the people deteriorated, except for those who were in Ṭāhir's camp, for he kept check on the situation, restrained unruly and immoral people, and was severe with them. He went out to fight both early and late, until the two sides grew sluggish and populated areas became ruinous.

In this year, al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad [868]
b. 'Alī led the pilgrimage on behalf of Ṭāhir. He mentioned al-Ma'mūn as caliph in the prayers. This was the first pilgrimage festival at which prayers were offered for him as caliph at Mecca and Medina.

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496. Ṭāhir's position was to the northwest of the city, outside the suburb of al-Ḥarbiyyah, and controlling the main road that, leaving the Round City through the Syrian Gate, went west to the city of al-Anbār. The al-Anbār Gate (*Bāb al-Anbār*) was located where this road crossed the canal known as the Trench of Ṭāhir, approximately 1 mile west of the Syrian Gate. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 110–11.

The Events of the Year 197

(SEPTEMBER 12, 812–AUGUST 31, 813)

In this year, al-Qāsim b. Hārūn al-Rashīd and Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī joined al-Ma'mūn from Iraq. Al-Ma'mūn sent al-Qāsim to Jurjān. Also in this year, Ṭāhir, Harthamah, and Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab besieged Muḥammad b. Hārūn in Baghdad.[497]

Details and Results of the Siege of Baghdad

According to Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Tamīmī and others: Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab al-Ḍabbī encamped at the Palace of Raqqat Kalwādhā.[498] He set up siege engines—*manjanīq*s and *'arrādah*s[499]—and dug ditches. He would go out during

497. Parallels: Ya'qūbī, II, 535; Mas'ūdī, VI, 447–72; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 188–94; *Fragmenta*, 332–34.

498. This palace (the name means "the palace of the plain or marsh of Kalwādhā") was built by al-Amīn on the east bank of the Tigris, near the town of Kalwādhā, about 6 miles south of the Lower Bridge of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 295, 307.

499. The *manjanīq* and the *'arrādah* were stone-hurling machines of the traction trebuchet type. An asymmetrically positioned beam was rotated swiftly around a fulcrum by several men pulling ropes attached to the beam's shorter end. The projectile was attached to a sling on the beam's longer end. The *manjanīq* was the larger machine, with two trestles supporting a horizontal

the days, when the army was occupied with the fight against Ṭāhir, and with the *'arrādah*s would shoot at people who were coming and going. He collected a tithe on merchants' money, taxed boats, and harassed the people greatly. What he was doing was reported to Ṭāhir: the people came and complained to him of what had befallen them at the hands of Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab. Word of this also reached Harthamah. [Ṭāhir] reinforced him[500] with soldiers, for he had almost been taken. The troops then desisted from [attacking] him.

An anonymous poet from the East Bank said concerning Zuhayr and how he killed people with *manjanīq*s:[501]

Do not come near the *manjanīq* and the stones.
    You saw this slain man, how he was buried:
He went out early, that no news might escape him; [869]
    he came back a slain man and left the news behind!
What energy he had,
    and what bodily health when he went out early!
He did not want it to be said, "There took place involving so-and-so
    some affair," while he did not know who had commanded it.[502]
O master of the *manjanīq*, what have your hands wrought?
    They have not spared or left alone.[503]
His desire was other than what was decreed:
    Alas, desire will never overcome fate!

Harthamah encamped at the Bīn Canal, surrounded himself with a wall and a ditch, and set up *manjanīq*s and *'arrādah*s.

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beam that served as fulcrum for the arm. In the *'arrādah*, a single upright with a U-shaped socket attached to its upper end supported the arm. I am indebted to an unpublished paper by Dr. Paul Chevedden for details about the operation of the two engines. See also *EI*² s.vv. 'Arrāda (Cahen) and Mandjanīk (Hill).

500. The reference appears to be to Harthamah—cf. the incident narrated on pp. 164 ff., below.

501. Mas'ūdī, VI, 454, quotes six lines with variants and identifies the author as the blind poet 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

502. The line puns on two words from the same root: *amr*, affair, and *amara*, he commanded.

503. Cf. Qur'ān 74:28.

He had 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Waḍḍāḥ encamp at al-Shammāsiyyah. Ṭāhir encamped at the garden by al-Anbār Gate.

According to al-Ḥusayn al-Khalī',[504] who said: When Ṭāhir took possession of the garden at al-Anbār Gate, Muḥammad felt very afraid that he would enter Baghdad. He distributed whatever money he had at hand. Distressed and with burning heart, he commanded that whatever property was in the storerooms should be sold and that the gold and silver vessels should be minted into dīnārs and dirhams; these were to be brought to him for his forces and expenses. It was at this time that he commanded that al-Ḥarbiyyah should be bombarded with naphtha and fire and by *manjanīq*s and *'arrādah*s; people coming and going there were killed as a result of them. Concerning this, 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Malik al-'Itrī al-Warrāq[505] said:

[870] O shooters of the *manjanīq*,
all of you are without compassion.
You do not care whether one is a friend,
or is not a friend.
Alas, do you know what you are shooting?
Passers-by on the road!
Many a tender girl, flirtatious,
like a leafy bough,
Was expelled from her world
and from a goodly life.
She found no way to avoid it:
she was forced into public view on the day of the fire.

According to Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Bāwardī, who said: After Ṭāhir's strength had become too strong for Muḥammad, so that the latter's troops were defeated and his commanders scattered, one of those who went over to Ṭāhir on a promise of safety was Sa'īd b. Mālik b. Qādim. He joined Ṭāhir, and the latter put him in charge of the district of al-Baghiyyīn[506] and

504. See note 512.

505. Further information about 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Warrāq in Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 524. Mas'ūdī, VI, 455, ascribes the verses (with an additional fifth verse) to the blind poet 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

506. Al-Baghiyyīn district was on the west bank of the Tigris, at the foot of the Upper Bridge, north and east of al-Ḥarbiyyah. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 108.

the markets there, and the bank of the Tigris, with what adjoins it and faces it, up to the Tigris bridges. He commanded him to dig trenches and build walls in all the [areas of] houses and streets he took. He provided him with money, workers, and weapons. He commanded [the people of] al-Ḥarbiyyah to accompany him on patrols. He assigned someone to Dār al-Raqīq[507] Road and someone to the Syrian Gate, giving orders similar to those he had given to Sa'īd b. Mālik. There was so much ruin and destruction that the beauties of Baghdad were effaced. Concerning this, al-'Itrī says:[508]

Who has smitten you, Baghdad, with the [evil] eye? [871]
    Were you not for a long time the delight of the eye?
Were there not in you people whose dwelling
    and whose friendship were a great adornment?
The raven[509] cried to them of departure, so they separated.
    Oh the pain of departure I felt because of them!
I commend to God people whom I never remember
    but that tears flow from my eye.
They once were; then a fate separated and dispersed them:
    for fate it is that separates the two sides.

Muḥammad [al-Amīn] assigned 'Alī Farāhmard, along with the fighters (*muqātilah*) he joined to him, to the Palace of Ṣāliḥ (*Qaṣr Ṣāliḥ*) and the Palace of Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far,[510] up to the palaces of the Tigris and adjoining areas. He diligently burned houses and streets and destroyed them with *manjanīq*s and *'arrādah*s at the hands of a man who was known as al-Samarqandī, who used to shoot with the *manjanīq*. Ṭāhir

507. Dār al-Raqīq ("Slaves' House") was not far from the Upper Bridge, off the main road between al-Baghiyyīn and al-Ḥarbiyyah. It originally was a barracks for slaves brought from the Turkish borderlands to serve in the caliphal household. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 123. Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 382 (note 1) discusses this front of the siege.

508. For more lines of the poem, see pp. 213–14, below. Mas'ūdī, VI, 456, quotes the poem with variants.

509. In Arabic poetry, the raven is a harbinger of separation.

510. The Palace of Prince Ṣāliḥ (*Qaṣr Ṣāliḥ*) and the Palace of Prince Sulaymān (*Qaṣr Sulaymān*), named after sons of the caliph Manṣūr, were located on the west bank of the Tigris not far upstream from the Main Bridge, which carried the Khurāsān Road across the river. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 108.

acted similarly. He sent messages to the people of the suburbs—al-Anbār Road, al-Kūfah Gate, and adjoining areas. Whenever the people of an area yielded to him,[511] he dug a trench around them and positioned his garrisons and banners. If any people refused to yield and become obedient to him, he opened hostilities, fought them, and burned their houses. Thus he came
[872] and went with his commanders, horsemen, and foot soldiers, until Baghdad became desolate, and people feared that it would remain a ruin. Concerning this, al-Ḥusayn al-Khalīʿ says:[512]

Are the men hurrying with rapid pace
    from both sides of Baghdad, or what is it?
Have you not seen how strife has joined
    to men of strife men who are strangers [to strife].[513]
Baghdad—its buildings have been pulled to pieces,
    according to the decision of neither that man nor this one.
By destruction and fire her people have been annihilated;
    a punishment has encompassed whoever sought refuge.
How good time's changes will be, if *Baghdād*,
    for lack of people, does not again become *Baghdādh*![514]

Ṭāhir gave the name "Abode of Promise-Breaking"[515] to the suburbs whose inhabitants disobeyed him, the eastern City of

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511. Variant in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 189: "assailed him."

512. The poet al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, called al-Khalīʿ ("the Profligate") or al-Ashqar ("the Blond"), was a courtier of al-Amīn. The first of these nicknames seems to have been acquired through feats of wine drinking. See *Aghānī*, VI, 170 ff., for a biography; also Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 518–19; *EI*² s.v. (Pellat).

513. *Shudhdhādh*, here rendered "strangers," can have a variety of meanings derived from a basic meaning of "to be apart, to fall out of the common mass of things." It sometimes means "deviant." See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. I read the verb in the line as active, rather than passive as vocalized by ed. Leiden. The meaning seems to be that the fighting has affected not only those normally affected by war—soldiers—but also those who should be strangers to it—either irregular troops or civilian casualties.

514. That is, if the city whose Arabic name is *Baghdād* does not return to bearing the name of the Persian village *Baghdādh* that occupied the site before the caliph al-Manṣūr constructed his capital. Ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXVI, lists other Arabic authors who note (and condemn) the pronunciation *Baghdādh* as "pagan" and "non-Arab."

515. *Dār al-Nakth*: Cf. the expression *Dār al-Ḥarb* ("Abode of War") used to designate territory occupied by people who resisted the advance of Islam and rejected its call, thereby becoming legitimate objects of war.

Abū Ja'far,[516] and the markets of al-Karkh[517] and al-Khuld[518] and adjacent areas. He seized the estates and commercial properties (*ghallāt*) of any members of the Hāshimī family, military commanders, and *mawālī* who did not come out promptly to him, wherever these properties were to be found in the area under his control; so they became submissive, broken in spirit, and obedient. [On al-Amīn's side,] the soldiers became submissive and too sluggish to fight—except for the street vendors, naked ones, people from the prisons, riffraff, rabble, cutpurses, and people of the market, to whom Ḥātim b. al-Ṣaqr had given permission to plunder.[519] Al-Hirsh[520] and the Africans (*Afāriqah*) went forth; Ṭāhir fought them without letup, without wearying, [873] and without tiring. Mentioning Baghdad, and describing what took place in it, al-Khuraymī said:[521]

They said, when Time had not yet made sport with Baghdad,
when her misfortunes had not yet caused her to fall;
When she was like a bride, whose hidden part[522]
was as enticing to the young man as her visible part:

516. Perhaps the text should be corrected to "the City of Abū Ja'far *and* al-Sharqiyyah." Al-Sharqiyyah was a suburb southeast of the Round City. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 188.

517. Al-Karkh was the quarter located to the southwest of the Round City. It became the market center for the entire city. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 65–68.

518. I.e., the markets near al-Khuld Palace, to the east of the Round City, near the foot of the Main Bridge. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 101–2.

519. Naked ones (*'urāh*): the word can mean unclothed or unarmed (see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 123)—either paupers who fought in their rags or people who fought with makeshift weapons. The accounts of al-Amīn's irregulars use a colorful vocabulary—*'urāh* (naked ones), *awbāsh* (riffraff), *ri'ā'* (rabble), *ghawghā'* (mob), *ṭarrārūn* (cutpurses), and *'ayyārūn* (vagrants). Mas'ūdī, VI, 452–53, gives a detailed description of them. Cf. Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 383–84; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 145–46.

520. For the identity of al-Ḥasan al-Hirsh, a leader of irregular troops, see *Fragmenta*, 412 note b [Leiden note].

521. The text of this 135-verse poem was badly preserved in the manuscript available to the Leiden editor: not only did many places require emendation, but there were a number of lacunae. In many of these places the Cairo edition is superior. The text may also be found in the modern *Dīwān*, 27–37 (poem number 24), which is based on the text from Ṭabarī.

522. The Cairo reading (*bāṭinuhā*, "her hidden part") is logically and grammatically preferable to the conjectural Leiden reading (*bādiyuhā*, "her apparent part").

"A paradise on earth![523] The abode of happiness!"
Of distressing calamities there were few.
The world's breasts yielded abundantly to her inhabitants;
there were few of them who were debtors or creditors.
Her residents enjoyed a life of ease;
they pastured there on her pleasures.
Her people were in a pleasing garden,
whose flowers shone brightly after the raindrops.[524]
[They were] people whom a life in pleasure and ease beguiled—
if only the prosperous places of this world endured!
It was the abode of kings whose foundations were anchored
there, and whose pulpits were established in it:
People of eminence and wealth,[525] epitomes
of glory,[526] if one were to count their exploits;
Fortune's favorites,[527] in the inheritance of a kingdom
whose stays were tied firmly by its elders.
But then—time is full of change—
their younger successors kept injuring their kingdom,
Until they gave each other an intoxicating cup to drink
of strife whose destructiveness cannot be told.
Once there had been fellowship, but now they separated into parties,
with the bonds between them severed.
Have you seen the kings, what they did
when no rebuker restrained them with counsel?
Our kings made themselves fall
into a pit of perdition from which they could not emerge.
How would it have harmed them if they had fulfilled their pact,
and if their zeal for righteousness had been strong;
[874] If they had not competed to shed the blood of their partisans,

523. Ed. Cairo: "A paradise of immortality (*khuld*)," with a pun on al-Khuld Palace.

524. The translation follows ed. Cairo.

525. Ed. Cairo: "eminence and generosity"—reading *nadā* instead of ed. Leiden's *tharā*.

526. Literally, "gathering places of glory," i.e., people in whom all titles to glory came together, as if assembling in a "club" (*nādī*).

527. Literally, "the chicks of happiness" (*afrākhu nu'mā*)—happiness being compared to a hen nurturing its brood.

and sent out[528] warriors to contend for superiority against each other;
And if the goods of this world that had been gathered for them had satisfied them?
But the soul's voraciousness harms the soul!
The pool of the kings—they kept digging it,
those of them who were filled with desire and those who filled them [with it].[529]
They kept desiring[530] the luxuries of this world, seeking to surpass each other,
until their treasures were plundered by force.
They kept selling what the fathers had gathered
for the sons—may their traffickings bring no profit!
Have you seen the gardens in flower,
when their blossoms delight the eye of the beholder?
Have you seen the palaces rising into view,
their chambers concealing women like statues?
Have you seen the villages the kings have planted,
when their fields are green,
Surrounded by vineyards, palm trees,
and fragrant herbs from which their birds take seeds?[531]
Now they have become devoid of
people. Their gardens[532] have been defiled with blood—
Desolate and empty! Dogs howl in them.
He who visits[533] them does not recognize the vestiges of them.
Now misery never leaves them;
it is their companion, while joy has forsaken them.

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528. The translation follows ed. Cairo (*tabta'ith fityatan*).

529. That is, both kings and their counselors dug a pit for themselves.

530. The translation follows ed. Cairo (*tabghī*), rather than ed. Leiden (*tubqī*), "preserving."

531. The translation follows ed. Cairo for the second part of this line. The copyist of the manuscript used for ed. Leiden replaced the line's second hemistich with the corresponding hemistich of the following line.

532. A double meaning is involved: *maḥājir* means both "enclosed gardens" and "cheeks."

533. The translation follows ed. Cairo (*zā'iruhā*).

At Zandaward[534] and al-Yāsiriyyah,[535]
and on the two river banks, where the ferries have ceased,
At the mills[536] and Upper al-Khayzurāniyyah,[537]
whose bridges were lofty,
And at the Palace of 'Abdūyah, there is a lesson and guidance
for every soul whose inner thoughts have become pure.
Where are their guards,[538] and where is their guardian?
Where is he upon whom benefits were bestowed, and where is their bestower?
Where are their eunuchs and their servants?
Where are their inhabitants and their builder?
Where have the Slavic *al-Jarādiyyah*[539] guards gone,
and the Abyssinians, with their pendulous lips?
[875] The army disperses from its parades;
its lean [horses] run there at random—
Carrying men from Sind and India, Slavs,
and Nubians with whom Berbers have been mixed—
Like birds in flights,[540] they have been sent forth to no avail,
their fair-skinned troops preceding their blacks.
Where are the virgin gazelles in the garden
of the kingdom—the young ones who walked so gracefully?
Where are their comforts and their pleasures?

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534. At Zandaward, on the east bank of the Tigris, south of Baghdad, there was a monastery famous for its orchards. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 210–11.

535. See note 457.

536. The conjectured reading *bi'l-ruḥiyyi* is metrically difficult, and the manuscripts have *ya t.r.l.ḥ.y*, which makes no sense. The mills might be Ruḥā al-Baṭrīq, "the Patrician's Mill," a large grain milling complex at the southern end of a very fertile tract of land west of the city. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 142–44.

537. Al-Khayzurāniyyah, named for the wife of the caliph al-Mahdī, was north of Ruṣāfah on the east bank of the Tigris and contained a cemetery where the imām Abū Ḥanīfah was buried. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 190–92.

538. Instead of *ḥurrās*, "guards," I conjecture an original reading of *maḥrūs*, "the one who is guarded." This would make the first hemistich parallel in construction with the second.

539. The Jarādiyyah corps of guards may have been given this name in reference to the pale color of the locust (*jarād*) or to a species of falcon (*ṣaqr al-jarād* or *al-jarādī*). See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CLXII; also the explanation given on p. 225, below.]

540. The unusual word *abābīl* echoes Qur'ān 105:3, a passage evoking the flight of an army.

Where are they who were adorned, and he who adorned them?
With musk, Yemeni ambergris,
and aloes wood their censers were kindled.
They glided in silk, in garments saffron-colored and embroidered, with their lyres strung.
Where is their dancer and their piper,
to whom they responded until their throats were tired?
People's ears were utterly captivated,
when their flutes vied with their lutes.
Now it has become as empty as the belly of a wild ass,[541]
and he who burns it burns it with blazing fire.
One would think that in their courts had dwelt
the people of 'Ād,[542] and that roaring winds had smitten them.
No soul knows what will assail it by night—
what accident of Fortune—or what will come upon it in the morning.
Morning and evening it is a target and a butt,
wherever its inclination leads it,
For the arrows that Fortune shoots—
those that draw blood and those that rip open.
Oh the misfortune of Baghdad, the capital of a kingdom
whose calamities have fallen on its people!
God granted her a respite; then he punished her,
when her grievous sins encompassed her,
With leveling to the ground, bombardment, and fire,
and with war that came to assail her.

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541. The comparison of a deserted place to the belly of a wild ass goes back to pre-Islamic poetry, e.g., verse 49 of the *Mu'allaqah* of Imru al-Qays. Commentators gave various explanations: that the wild ass is an emblem of poverty because it finds little fodder, that it is useless because it cannot be ridden or milked, or that there was a desert place named *Jawf al-Ḥimār* ("Ḥimār's Hollow") whose inhabitant, a man named *Ḥimār* ("Ass"), was punished by God.

542. The people of 'Ād are mentioned in the Qur'ān. They were people of old, perhaps giants, and builders of buildings still to be seen. The prophet Hūd was sent to them to warn them to mend their ways, but they disbelieved and were destroyed by a wind that below for seven nights and days. See Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 127–28; Qur'ān, Suras 7, 11, 26, 46, 54, and 69.

[876] How many transgressions have we seen in Baghdad!
Will the Lord of Majesty forgive her?[543]
Upon Baghdad, while she was at peace, descended
a disaster she had not anticipated.
Evil rose over her from its places of rising,
and her people were overtaken by their offenses.
Religion was weak in her: there was no respect
for the virtuous, and her unrighteous overpowered the devout.
The slave humiliated his master,
and her freeborn[544] were enslaved.
He who was most wicked became lord of his neighbors,
and robbers gained control over the gates of the streets.
He who has seen Baghdad, with the armies by it,
with the soldiers having thrown a cordon around it,
With many a numerous troop, well armed and courageous,
their shrieks causing unborn babes to be aborted,
Throwing its gentle girls into the perdition of death,
with Ṭāhir bearing down to attack it,
With the "shaykh"[545] passing with his troops collected,
sending forward their rear, attacking by turns,
While Zuhayr at al-Firk[546] has a band of lions—
distinguished ones, who bear up under adversity—
Squadrons of death, under banners
whose victor and helpers bring trouble:
[He who has seen these things] knows that things foreordained
must surely take place as their Ordainer desires.
Behold Baghdad! No nest is built
in its houses by its sparrows from bewilderment.
Behold it surrounded by destruction, encircled
with humiliation, its proud men besieged.

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543. The translation of the second hemistich follows ed. Cairo. The manuscript used by ed. Leiden was illegible at this point.

544. Following ed. Cairo; ed. Leiden reads, "her women living in seclusion."

545. The reference is unclear. Perhaps one of the leaders of street gangs or irregular troops is intended.

546. Following ed. Cairo: al-Firk was a village near Kalwādhā on the east bank of the Tigris south of Baghdad (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*). Ed. Leiden has *bi-l-qawli* ("according to report"), a *lectio facilior*. On Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab's encampment near Kalwādhā, see p. 134, above.

From the shore of the Euphrates up to
the Tigris, where its ferries have stopped,
Fire, like the neck of a red-maned horse, stampedes, [877]
while its ruddy ones gallop around it.[547]
This one burns [the city], and that one demolishes it;
and the scoundrel (*shāṭir*) sates himself with plunder.
The markets of al-Karkh are deserted;
its vagrant (*'ayyār*) and wayward prance about.[548]
From the vilest of her men war has brought forth
mighty lions from their lairs to assail them.
Their shields are of reed mats;
their neck protectors,[549] when they put them on, are of palm leaves.
Early to the battle in their coats of mail
made of wool, when their "horsemen" are numbered,[550]
Go the battalions of al-Hirsh, under whose banner
the cutpurse aids the gambler.
They get neither pay (*rizq*) nor salary (*'aṭā'*),
nor does their gatherer assemble them for the encounter.[551]
In every gated street and on every side
there is a siege engine[552] whose moving beam[553] raises its voice.

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547. The text of this verse is corrupt in the two available manuscripts. The Leiden editor marks the line "*non certum*." The Cairo text is metrically possible, but incomprehensible. The *Dīwān*, 32, restores the line based on a quotation in *Muḥāḍarāt al-Udabā'* by Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī. Its reading (*nārun ka-hādi l-shaqrā'i nāfiratun*) turns the line into a striking metaphor based on the fact that the adjective *ashqar* ("ruddy") is applied both to horses with red manes and to fire (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

548. This and the next two verses are quoted in Mas'ūdī, VI, 462.

549. The *mighfar* was a piece of fine mail worn under the helmet and extending downward to cover the shoulders. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

550. That these are not regular troops is emphasized by describing their makeshift armor: shields made of reed mats, neck protectors made of palm leaves, and armor made of wool. The word used for "horsemen" (*asāwir*, pl. of *iswār*) normally refers to heavily armored Persian cavalrymen and may be ironic, as these irregulars had no war horses.

551. Variant: "with difficulty."

552. The word used, *khaṭṭārah*, is derived from the verb *khaṭara*, "it (an animal) lashed its tail up and down or from side to side." The seesaw action of the beam of the *manjanīq* suggested the name, which was also given to a rotating-beam irrigation machine. See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CCXXVI; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 382.

With [projectiles] like men's heads [taken] from pieces
of stone the evil man loads the sling.
It is as if over their heads there were flocks
of dusky sand grouse taking flight in commotion.[554]
The shouts of the men come from beneath them,
while the swinging beams hurl [their missiles].
Have you seen the unsheathed swords
that men are brandishing in the markets?
Horses are prancing in its lanes,
carrying Turks with sharpened daggers.
Naphtha and fire are in its roads;
its inhabitants are fleeing because of the smoke.
[878] Men run carrying plunder,
while the city's wellborn women have exposed their ankle bracelets,[555]
Having gathered in the lanes:
their Concealer[556] has caused them to emerge into view.
Each is a woman who used to lie abed until midmorning, concealed from view,
her visage not visible among her family.
The hidden damsel of the curtained chamber has emerged
into public with her hair loose.
She trips over her gown; urging her to haste
is a charge of horses whose hooves are being spurred on.
Distraught, she asks where the way is;
behind her the flames strive to reach her.
The sun has never unveiled her fair beauty,
but now war has unveiled her to touch her.
Have you seen the woman bereft of her child, wailing
in the streets, running, overcome by fatigue,

553. The Leiden glossary suggests that the participle *khāṭir* is used to describe the operator of the *manjanīq*: "and its operator raises his voice." It is more likely that the term describes the beam of the machine and that the line refers to the sound it makes as it is fired.

554. The stones flung by the *manjanīq* are like the swift flight of flocks of desert sand grouse [*qaṭā*].

555. That is, as they run, their ankle bracelets become visible.

556. *Sātir*, the Concealer or Protector, is an epithet for God. A woman in danger of being seen in a state of undress would call out, "*yā Sātir!*" See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 633.

Following a bier on which her only son,
in his breast a spear wound, assails her [with grief]?
Wide [the wound]: its spacious place purges away dishonor;
he that pierced it shook it with the head of the spear.[557]
She looks at his face and cries of
bereavement, while a flood of tears covers her.
The breath rattled in his throat, then he gave up the ghost,
slain for naught, with no avenger to be feared.
I have seen the young men on the field
of battle, their noses defiled in the dust.
Each was a young man who defended those he was honor-bound to protect:
kindlers of strife experienced distress in the fray because of him.
The dogs have spent the night by him, mangling him,
their claws stained with blood.
Have you not seen the horses wheeling round
with the men, their hindquarters wounded?
The horses trip over the handsome faces
of the dead, and the skin around their hooves is smeared with blood.
They trample the livers of courageous young men,
and their hooves split their skulls.
Have you not seen the women under the *manjanīqs*,
striving with each other in running, their hair dissheveled:
Noble women, aged women, [879]
and middle-aged spinsters; the young girls among them have had no experience?[558]

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557. The text is uncertain and its meaning unclear to me. For ed. Leiden's *murīduhā* ("its desirer"), which is metrically impossible, ed. Cairo reads *mirbaduhā* ("its spacious place"), which is metrically possible but problematic in meaning. The line may describe the wound of the only son referred to in the previous verse. The Leiden editor's suggested emendation for the first hemistich, *tulqī n-nuthāra min yadiha*, "she [the distraught mother] scatters coins from her hand," hardly seems appropriate, even if such a funeral custom existed. In any case, the vocabulary of the line points to a context of spears and wounds. For the possibility of a spear's metaphorically "desiring" to make a wound, see Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1184.

558. The text and meaning of the second hemistich are uncertain. The reading of ed. Leiden, *lam tukhayyar* ("have not been chosen") is impossible on metrical

They carry food made of flour on their
shoulders, their headcloths bound tightly.
Both she who lived in poverty and she who was wealthy:
a stone crushes the head now of one, now of the other.
One asks about her family, having been despoiled;
even the rag on her head has been stripped away.
Would that I knew[559]—for fortune is full of changes,
some desirable, and others whose occurrence is to be feared—
Will our land ever again be rich as once it was,
now that its events have brought us to this end?
Who will deliver to Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn
messages whose author has occupied himself with good counsel?—
That the best of rulers men have ever known,
when their noble qualities are enumerated,
Is God's caliph among mankind, al-Ma'mūn,
their rescuer[560] and restorer.
Toward him have aspired the hopes of his nation
submissively, both the righteous and the sinner.
They expect an abundant rain of justice from his indications,
and the evidences of them reveal godliness.
They have praised policy on your part which has removed doubt,
and other policy whose justifications are sound.[561]
They have joined together in obedience, through your gentleness,
to al-Ma'mūn, those in the highlands and those in the lowlands.
You [Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn] are his ear among mankind,

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grounds. Ed. Cairo reads *lam tuḥtabar*, a form not attested in the dictionaries. Perhaps one should read *lam takhtabir*, which is what I have translated.

559. The translation follows ed. Cairo, *yā layta shi'rī*, rather than the emendation proposed by Leiden to make sense of an unintelligible manuscript reading.

560. The reading of ed. Cairo (*muntāshuhā*, "their rescuer, savior [from destruction]) is superior to that of ed. Leiden (*sā'isuhā*, "their manager, governor").

561. The parallelism of the line implies that the first "policy" or "behavior" (*sīrah*) refers to benefits bestowed, whereas the second reference is to punishments imposed. For this use of *ma'dhirah* ("justification, excuse") to refer to heavy-handed actions, see Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 1984.

and an eye whose sight never weakens;
So give thanks to Him who is Enthroned for the favor of His blessing:
whoever is thankful for favor becomes deserving of even more favor.[562]
Be on guard—ransom for you be your subjects
and the armies, both those who are commanded in them and those who command.
Do not bring yourself into deep waters
from which no one can emerge by skill.
Keep to the shallow water; do not embark upon
the deep when its floods are in tumult.
Moderation! The road is full of branchings:
the most unlucky of them are those where [feet sink into] soft sand and that deviate.
You are now in a nation [880]
whose latter-day [rulers] have departed from the guidance of its earliest [rulers].
But you are its skilled manager and guide:
will you compel it to the right?
Chastise men whose behavior you have seen,
who by their actions have violated the ordinance of the Book;
And extend to the people the hand of mercy,
thereby rendering them free from want.
You are in a position to act with justice, for that is your intent,
and destiny agrees with its extension.
People have seen that toward which their faces turn,
and its best men have been made to rule the nation.
Our[563] necks are turned toward you,
whenever the nobles of the tribes assemble.
How many sincere counsels we have for you,
for the sake of God and kinship whose props are strong!—
And a claim whose bonds have drawn [me] close
to you, and another one—do you remember it?

562. The repetition of *faḍl* ("favor") in each hemistich evokes the name of al-Faḍl b. Sahl ("Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn").
563. Ed. Cairo reads, "its," i.e., the nation's.

Men's striving for knowledge causes them to make requests;
both those of them who travel in the evening and those who travel in the morning hasten.[564]
Receive something [viz. a poem] bright as a mirror:
as it travels it will not become lost in any country.[565]
I have not composed it from greed or insolence:
every soul is subject to the command of its ruling passion.
God has caused it to travel bringing sincere advice
and reverence; and its strands have been tightly woven.
It has come to you to relate matters to you,
as one might unroll a merchant's bolt of cloth.
I have caused it to be conveyed by a friend who is trustworthy,
one who, because of admiration for it, will continually recite it.

The Battle at Qaṣr Ṣāliḥ

In this year, those who had been put in charge of Qaṣr Ṣāliḥ (the Palace of Ṣāliḥ) by Muḥammad [al-Amīn] went over [to Ṭāhir] on a promise of safety. In this year the battle that went against Ṭāhir's forces at Qaṣr Ṣāliḥ took place. The account of this battle follows.

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab: Ṭāhir
[881] continued to vie in endurance with Muḥammad and his army, as I have described, until the people of Baghdad grew weary of fighting him. ʿAlī Farāhmard, who had been assigned to the Palaces of Ṣāliḥ and Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar by Muḥammad [al-Amīn], wrote to Ṭāhir, asking him for a promise of safety, and guaranteeing him that he would give him what was in his possession from that area to the bridges, including the *manjanīq*s and *ʿarrādah*s that were there. [Ṭāhir] accepted this from him and responded favorably to his request. By night he sent to him[566] Abū al-ʿAbbās Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb al-Bādhaghīsī,

564. The sense is not clear. I vocalize the last word of the first hemistich as *muṭlibuhum*, following Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 1846.

565. The idea may be that the fame of the poem will spread far and wide, reaching all lands.

566. Possibly "to the palace"; the Arabic is ambiguous.

the commander of his police, along with those of his commanders and valiant horsemen whom he had joined to the latter. On the eve of Saturday, the middle day of Jumādā II of the year 197,[567] ('Alī Farāhmard) handed over everything that Muḥammad had put him in charge of. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā [b. Nahīk], Muḥammad's chief of police, also asked for a promise of safety from [Ṭāhir]. He had been fighting along with the Africans (*Afāriqah*), men from the prisons, and rabble (*awbāsh*). Muḥammad b. 'Īsā had not been in any way insincere in regard to Muḥammad and was redoubtable in war. When these two went over to Ṭāhir on a promise of safety, Muḥammad was on the brink of destruction. So disquieted that he could not remain at rest, he resigned himself [to his fate] and went to the gate of [the palace of] Umm Ja'far[568] to await what would happen. Irregulars (*ghuwāt*) consisting of vagrants (*'ayyārūn*), street vendors, and soldiers came, and the two sides fought each other inside and outside Qaṣr Ṣāliḥ until the day became advanced.

Abū al-'Abbās Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb al-Bādhaghīsī was killed inside Qaṣr [Ṣāliḥ], along with the important commanders and chiefs who were with him. Farāhmard and his forces fought outside Qaṣr [Ṣāliḥ], until he was defeated and withdrew to Ṭāhir. No battle before or after was more difficult for Ṭāhir's forces than this one; none resulted in more dead, injured, and [882] disabled among Ṭāhir's forces than this battle. The factions[569] composed a great deal of poetry about it, mentioning the intense fighting that occurred in the war. The mob (*ghawghā'*) and

567. According to Wüstenfeld-Mahler, the middle day of Jumādā II (the 14th day of a month of twenty-nine days) in 197 fell on Sunday, February 14, 813. Possibly, the previous thirty-day month was ended a day early, so that the 14th fell on Saturday, February 13. In any case, 'Alī Farāhmard surrendered during the night between Friday and Saturday.

568. This palace, named after al-Amīn's mother, Zubaydah ("Umm Ja'far"), was also called al-Qarār Palace. It was on the west bank of the Tigris, about half a mile south of al-Khuld Palace, between the Main Bridge and the Lower Bridge. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 102–3.

569. Accepting the reading *ḥizab* of ed. Leiden and interpreting it as a plural of *ḥazbah*, which is attested by Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 281, in this meaning. The reading is suspect. Ed. Cairo reads *al-shu'arā'*, "the poets."

rabble [*ri'ā'*] composed [poetry] about it. Among what was said about it were the verses of [al-Ḥusayn] al-Khalī':[570]

God's *Amīn*, trust in God,[571]
    and you shall be granted endurance and help.
Entrust the matter to God,
    and God the Almighty will protect you.
Victory will be ours with God's help—
    the attack, and not the retreat;
Whereas for the renegades, your enemies,
    will come a day of evil and defeat.
Many a cup that spews forth death,
    hateful its taste and bitter,
Have we been made to drink, and we have made them drink of it;
    but the thirst was with them.[572]
Thus it is with war—sometimes
    it is against us, and sometimes for us.

According to one of the *Abnā'*: Ṭāhir dispersed his messengers and wrote to the commanders, Hāshimītes, and others, after he had taken their estates and properties, inviting them to a promise of safety [*amān*] and to join in repudiating Muḥammad and in swearing allegiance to al-Ma'mūn. A group went over to him, including 'Abdallāh b. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah al-Ṭā'ī and his brothers, the children of al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah, Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Māhān, and Muḥammad b. Abī al-'Āṣ.[573] Some of the commanders and Hāshimites corresponded with him in secret, and their hearts and inclinations came to be on his side.

After the battle of Qaṣr Ṣāliḥ, Muḥammad turned to diversion and drink. He entrusted matters to Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b.

570. This poem, which was recited in al-Amīn's presence to celebrate the victory over Ṭāhir at Qaṣr Ṣāliḥ, is said to have earned the poet a reward of 10,000 dirhams. It is quoted in *Aghānī*, VI, 202; also Mas'ūdī, VI, 458–59.

571. The hemistich puns on the meaning of al-Amīn's name, "the trustworthy one." One might translate "Trustworthy one of God, trust in God."

572. That is, they were the ones who drank deeply of the drink of death. Variant in Mas'ūdī: "but the last [draught] of it was for them."

573. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 190, reads, "Muḥammad b. Abī al-'Abbās al-Ṭā'ī."

Nahīk and al-Hirsh. From the streets and gates near them, the two of them placed their agents in the city gates, suburbs, al-Karkh market, the Tigris quays, al-Muḥawwal Gate,[574] and al-Kunāsah.[575] The thieves and criminals of these areas despoiled anyone they were able to lay hands on—men, women, and infirm people from the [Muslim] community and non-Muslims.[576] They did things the likes of which we have never heard to have happened in any other countries at war. [883]

When this had gone on a long time for the people and Baghdad had become oppressive for its inhabitants, those who had the strength to do so left the city after the oppressive exactions, painful affliction, and great danger. Ṭāhir admonished his forces to behave quite differently: he was strict in this and treated suspicious characters roughly. He commanded Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid to protect the weak and women and to give them gifts and relief. When a man or a woman escaped from the hands of al-Hirsh's forces and reached Ṭāhir's forces, their fear would depart and they would feel secure. The woman would display whatever gold and silver, goods, or fine clothing she had. People therefore said that [the situation of] Ṭāhir's forces, the forces and companions of al-Hirsh, and the people who had escaped was like the parable of the wall, concerning which God, whose Name is exalted, said:[577] "And a wall shall be set up between them, having a door on whose inward side is mercy, and on whose outward side is chastisement." After the people's tribulation had gone on a long time, their condition became very bad and they were unable to endure it any longer. Concerning this, one of the young men of Baghdad said:[578]

I wept blood over Baghdad, when
I lost the ease of a pleasant life.

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574. Al-Muḥawwal Gate was located about three-quarters of a mile from the al-Kūfah Gate of the Round City, on the southwest. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 146.

575. Al-Kunāsah ("Place of Sweepings") was an open space about 2 miles west of al-Muḥawwal Gate on the main road. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 150.

576. *Ahl al-dhimmah*: protected monotheists, Jews and Christians.

577. Qur'ān 57:13.

578. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 190–91, quotes fourteen verses of the poem with variants; Mas'ūdī, VI, 460, quotes twelve verses with variants.

We have been given sorrow in exchange for joy,
and in exchange for plenty we have been given scarcity.
[884] The [evil] eye of the envious has afflicted Baghdad,
and has caused its people to perish by the *manjanīq*.
Here are people who have been overcome and burned by the fire,
and here a woman is mourning for a drowned man.
Here a woman is shouting, "Alas the day!"
and here one is crying over the loss of someone dear.
Here a dark-eyed woman, pleasing of mien,
in a shift anointed with perfume,
Is fleeing from the fire into the looting,
while her father is fleeing [from the looting] into the fire.
One who stole [the beauty of] her eyes from the gazelle,
and whose teeth are like the flash of lightning—
[All these], as bewildered as beasts being led to the sacrifice, pensive,
wearing necklaces around their throats,
Call on someone to take pity, but there is none to take pity:
brother has lost brother.
Here are people who have been expelled from the shade of this world:
their property is being sold in every market.
[885] Here a stranger, whose home is close,[579] lies
headless in the middle of the road.
He was caught in the middle of all their fighting,
and people do not know to which party [he belonged].
Child does not remain to care for his father,
and friend has fled without friend.
Whatever I may forget of the past,
I will always remember [the battle of] Dār al-Raqīq.[580]

It has been mentioned: One of Ṭāhir's Khurāsānian commanders, a man of courage and strength, went out one day to fight. Seeing some unclothed[581] men without weapons, he said to his companions in scorn and contempt, "Are only these

579. The sense is uncertain. The variant in Mas'ūdī, "far from home," makes more sense.
580. See note 507. This may refer to the battle described on p. 176, below.
581. See note 519.

whom I see fighting us?" "Yes," he was told, "these whom you see are the plague!" "Fie on you," he said, "shrinking from them and holding back, when you have splendid weapons, equipment, and strength, as well as your bravery and courage! What could the devices of these I see accomplish, when they have no weapons, no equipment, and no armor to protect them?" So he strung his bow and went forward. One of the men [on the other side] saw him and went toward him with a pitch-covered reed mat in his hand and a horse's nose bag full of stones under his arm. Whenever the Khurāsānian shot an arrow, the vagrant (*ʿayyār*) covered himself, and the arrow fell on his mat or near him. He would then take it and put it into a part of his reed mat he had prepared for that purpose and had fashioned like a quiver. Whenever an arrow fell, he would take it and cry [886] out, "A dāniq!"—that is to say, he had obtained the value of the arrow, which was a dāniq.[582] The Khurāsānian and the vagrant continued at this until the Khurāsānian exhausted his arrows. He then rushed at the vagrant to strike him with his sword. The latter took a stone out of his bag, put it into a sling, hurled it, and did not miss the man's eye. Then he hurled another and would have knocked the man off his horse, had he not dodged it. The man wheeled round and retreated, saying, "These people are not human beings!"[583]

[Continuing, the narrator of this account] said: It has been related to me that when the story of the man was told to Ṭāhir, he was moved to laughter and excused the Khurāsānian from going out to fight. One of the poets of Baghdad said concerning this:[584]

These wars have brought out men
    who belong neither to war's Qaḥṭān nor to its Nizār:[585]
A company in woolen coats of mail

582. The dāniq or dānaq was a small coin, one-sixth of a dirham.

583. That is, they fight like demons (*jinn*), rather than men (*ins*). Cf. *Fragmenta*, 334: "These people are not men; they are *jinn*."

584. Masʿūdī identifies the author as the blind poet ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

585. That is, they belong to none of the famous lineages of the Arabs—Qaḥṭān being the ancestor of the South Arabian tribes, and Nizār an ancestor of the North Arabian tribes.

who go into battle like ravenous lions.
Upon them are neck protectors made of palm fronds,
which serve instead of helmets, and shields of reed mats.
They do not know what flight is, when
even heroes seek refuge from the spears in flight.
One of them rushes to attack
two thousand—naked, not having even a waist wrapper.
They young fellow says, when he strikes
a spear thrust, "Take that from the vagrant lad (*'ayyār*)!"
[887] How many a noble (*sharīf*) has war rendered of no repute!
How many a gambler and cutpurse has it exalted!

Ṭāhir Forbids Boatmen to Bring Anything to Baghdad[586]

According to Muḥammad b. Jarīr [al-Ṭabarī]: In this year, Ṭāhir forbade boatmen and others to bring anything to Baghdad, except to the people who were in his camp. He established surveillance over them for this purpose. A report of what took place between him and the forces of Muḥammad the Deposed in this and Ṭāhir's reason for doing so follows.

The reason for this, according to what has been related, was as follows: When so many of his forces were killed or wounded at Qaṣr Ṣāliḥ, Ṭāhir was pained and troubled. Never had he had a battle that had not gone in his favor, rather than against him. Feeling troubled, he ordered razing and burning. He tore down the houses of those who opposed him between the Tigris, Dār al-Raqīq, and the Syrian Gate, and [from] al-Kūfah Gate to the Ṣarāt Canal, the mills of Abū Ja'far,[587] the suburb of Ḥumayd, the Karkhāyā Canal, and al-Kunāsah.[588] He began to make

586. The following paragraph and the accompanying heading are not in the manuscript on which the Leiden edition was based. The translation follows ed. Cairo.

587. Apparently, this was another name the Patrician's Mill (*Raḥā al-Baṭrīq*), on the Ṣarāt Canal close to al-Kūfah Gate on the southwest side of the Round City. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 142, and note 536, above.

588. The suburb of Ḥumayd, named after a fief granted to Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah, was located along the Muḥawwal Road, going west from al-Kūfah Gate. The Karkhāyā Canal paralleled this road, and al-Kunāsah (see note 575) lay farther west along it. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 147–48.

attacks on Muḥammad's forces during the night and just before daybreak. Every day he gained possession of one district after another, dug trenches around them, [and set] watchposts of soldiers [in them]. Muḥammad's forces also began to demolish, adding [to the destruction]. Ṭāhir's forces would wreck a house and depart, whereupon Muḥammad's forces would pull off its doors and roofing and would be even more damaging in their depredations upon their own people than Ṭāhir's forces were. One of their poets—some say he was 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Warrāq al-'Itrī—said about this:[589]

Every day we have a breach we cannot close;
    they increase in regard to what they seek, and we decrease.
Whenever they tear down a house, we take its roofing, [888]
    and wait for yet another one [to be torn down].
Whenever they strive their utmost in evil,
    our mob strives even more than they to do evil.
They have hemmed in every broad place of our land;
    they have come to have people in it and have stayed.
They start the quarry with drums; if there appears
    to them the face of game nearby, they hunt it down.
They have destroyed the lands east and west
    for us, and we do not know where to go.
When they are present, they speak of what they know;
    and if they see nothing ugly, they conjecture.[590]
No one kills brave men like an experienced man,
    a messenger of death, who roves as a thief by night.
You see the hero famous in every town,
    if he ever sees an "unclothed one,"[591] show his fear.
If a vigorous man sees him, limping
    back on his heels for fear he retreats.
He will sell you the head of a young man for a dirham;
    if he says, "I will get it cheaper," he will do it.
How many among us who slay one of them [889]

589. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 192, quotes the first eight verses with variants; Mas'ūdī, VI, 464, quotes ten verses with variants.

590. The text may be corrupt. The sense is difficult. The word translated "conjecture" (*takharraṣū*) can also mean "speak falsehood."

591. I.e., one of the irregular troops.

will, in recompense for his death, have his sins purged away!
You see him, if he proclaims a truce (*amān*), coming forth to single combat;
sometimes he signs at us, and sometimes he singles [us] out.
Our Qur'ān readers have given authorization to fight them,
so that any man killed has been killed only by someone who has received authorization.

He also said about this:[592]

People are in the midst of destruction and movement from place to place;
they have spoken allusively, spreading rumors.
You who ask about their condition,
your eye will suffice you instead of asking.
Once they said *"Allāhu akbar!"* referring to the Merciful One;
now they say *"Allāhu akbar!"* for battle.[593]
Cast your eyes upon their host;
wait for relief, and count the nights.
No one remains in Baghdad but he
to whom poverty clings, who has many children to support.[594]
No mother protects her home, nor
does her brother protect it, nor anyone else.
He has no wealth but a spear;
his spear in his hand is his capital.
[890] It was the lesser [of evils] to God, so He provided for
his hands, because of his misery, the killing of men [as a means of support].
If this condition comes upon anyone,
his end is to be killed, in any event!

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592. Mas'ūdī, VI, 465–66, quotes eight verses, attributing them to the blind poet 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

593. That is, they use the slogan "God is most great!" as a battle cry. Literally, "Once their *takbīr* was for *al-Raḥmān*; now their *takbīr* is for fighting."

594. Mas'ūdī adds after this line: "Or a man who has escaped from prison, who is neither an Arab nor one of the *mawālī*." The line, "He has no wealth but a spear" seems to continue the sense of this line that Ṭabarī omits.

Why are we being killed for their sake?
Praise be to Thee, O God of glory!

He also said:

I will never leave Baghdad,
no matter who departs or who stays.
So long as sustenance supports us, we do not
care afterwards who is the imām.

According to 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Malik al-'Itrī: When Ṭāhir saw that they were not heeding the killing, destruction, and burning, he commanded that merchants be forbidden to take any flour or other commodities from his district into the City of Abū Ja'far, al-Sharqiyyah, and al-Karkh.[595] He commanded that boats coming from al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ be diverted at Ṭarnāyā onto the Euphrates, thence to al-Muḥawwal al-Kabīr, then into the Ṣarāt [Canal], and then into the trench by al-Anbār Gate.[596] Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab for a certain price would give protection up to Baghdad: from each ship containing cargo he took from 1,000 to 2,000 or even 3,000 dirhams, more or less. Ṭāhir's agents and forces in Baghdad did the same or worse on all the roads of the city. Prices rose. People were caught in the tightest kind of siege. Many of them despaired of relief and [891] ease. Those who had left the city were glad; those who had remained regretted that they had done so.

In this year, Ibn 'Ā'ishah asked Ṭāhir for a guarantee of safety. He had fought on Muḥammad's side for a time in al-Yāsiriyyah.

The Battle of al-Kunāsah

In this year, Ṭāhir placed some of his commanders in [various] parts of Baghdad. He placed al-'Alā' b. al-Waḍḍāḥ al-Azdī with his companions and those he attached to him in al-

595. The translation follows the text of ed. Cairo, rather than ed. Leiden, which is corrupt at this point.

596. On the Trench of Ṭāhir and al-Anbār Gate, located about 1 mile due west of the Syrian Gate of the Round City, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 109–11.

Waḍḍāḥiyyah[597] over al-Muḥawwal al-Kabīr. He placed Nuʿaym b. al-Waḍḍāḥ, the brother of al-ʿAlāʾ, with the Turks and others who were with him next to the suburb of Abī Ayyūb on the shore of the al-Ṣarāt [Canal]. He fought continually[598] for months. Both sides held firm. During this time, they fought a battle in al-Kunāsah. Ṭāhir directed it in person. Many of Muḥammad's forces were killed in it. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Malik [al-Warrāq] said:[599]

Sunday's battle
was something that will be spoken of forever.
How many bodies have I seen
thrown down, and how much blood!
For one onlooker
death was lying in wait:
A stray arrow came upon him
and tore through his liver.
Someone cries out, "O my father!"
and someone cries out, "O my son!"
Many a man is floating drowned,
who once was strong in endurance.
No one has missed him,
except the "ladies of the town."[600]
And how many a person has been lost who was valiant,
who was dear to the bereaved:
He was among the onlookers
in front, very silent.[601]
[892] If he had set eyes on what
[the bereaved] has set eyes on, he would not have returned.

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597. Al-Waḍḍāhiyyah is the reading of ed. Cairo. The manuscript used for ed. Leiden has an undotted word that the editor conjecturally read as *bi-l-rābiṭah* ("at the post or garrison"). Al-Waḍḍāḥiyyah lay just outside the al-Baṣrah Gate of the Round City. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 58, 92.

598. Literally, "he went out early in the morning to fight and late in the afternoon."

599. Masʿūdī, VI, 467–68, quotes sixteen lines and attributes them the blind poet ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

600. On *banāt al-balad* as prostitutes, see ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CXLIII.

601. Ed. Leiden reads *shadīda l-kharadi* ("stong of bashfulness, virginity, or silence"). Ed. Cairo reads *shadīda l-ḥaradi* ("strong of anger").

There remains no mature man of them
who has escaped, nor any youth.
Ṭāhir's ravenousness
is like the ravenousness of a lion.
He has pitched his tent, not to depart,
on the battlefield, like a man who does not quit his abode.
His eyes emit at the time of
battle a blaze of fire.
One person says, "They have killed
a thousand, but not any more."
Another says, "Yea, more; indeed,
the slain cannot be counted."
One person flees toward them,
dreading the fear of the morrow.
In vain! You will see
of those who have passed away not a one!
Those who have passed away will never return to
those who remain, even to all eternity.
I said to one who had been pierced by a spear,
but whose spirit within him had not yet perished:[602]
"Who are you—alas for you,
poor man—in relation to Muḥammad?"
He replied, "Not through kinship am I
close [to him], nor am I from a town [of his].
"I have never seen him at all, and have never
received of him any gift."[603]
And he said, "Not because of error
did I fight, nor out of good sense;
"But only for something immediate
that comes from him into my hand."

According to ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Malik: Muḥammad commanded Zurayḥ, his slave (*ghulām*), to search for money and to [893]
demand it from people who held deposits in safekeeping and

602. The last word of the line is problematic. The translation follows ed. Cairo's *lam tabid(ī)*. Ed. Leiden reads *ta'adi*, with the note *sic in codice*. Perhaps this should be vocalized *lam ta'ud(ī)* from the root *'-w-d*, "to decline, return."

603. *Ṣafad* means both "bond" and "gift."

from others. He commanded al-Hirsh to obey Zurayḥ. He would force his way into people's houses, raid them by night, and make seizures on mere suspicion. In this way he collected a great deal of money and ruined many people. People escaped [from Baghdad] on the pretext of going on the pilgrimage. The rich fled. Al-Qarāṭīsī said concerning this:[604]

They have pretended to be making the pilgrimage, though not intending to make it;
rather, they want to flee from al-Hirsh.
How many people were living a life of well-being,
when al-Hirsh was deputed to bring ruin upon them!
Anyone whose house Zurayḥ searches
experiences humiliation and is visited by plundering.

The Battle of Darb al-Ḥijārah

In this year, the Battle of Darb al-Ḥijārah[605] took place. A report of it follows.

It has been mentioned: This battle, which took place in the vicinity of Darb al-Ḥijārah, went in favor of Muḥammad's forces and against Ṭāhir's. Many people were killed in it. Concerning this, ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-ʿItrī said:

Saturday's battle, the day of Darb al-Ḥijārah,
cut off a company of onlookers.
That was after they wore themselves out, but
our rabble killed them with stones.
He came to the *shūrajīs*[606] with intent to kill;
he said, "I want the command for you."
[894] He was met by men each of whom was a suspicious thief

604. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 190, quotes the first two verses; Masʿūdī, VI, 496, quotes the poem and attributes it to the blind poet ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

605. Darb al-Ḥijārah ("Street of Stones") was the location of a bridge that crossed the Karkhāyā Canal that paralleled the main road from the al-Kūfah Gate to Muḥawwal. Al-Kunāsah was located on the same road, about 1 mile to the west. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 150–51, 308.

606. The lacuna in the Leiden text of this hemistich is filled by ed. Cairo. A *shūrajī* (from Persian *shūra*, nitre) was either a slave employed in making salt-encrusted land fit for agriculture or the master of such land. See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CCCXIX.

who had spent his term in prison for mischief,
One who had nothing on to conceal himself,
whose penis stood up like a minaret.
So they retreated from them, although in the past
they had fought well in every attack.
To us, these are the same as those:
they respect no man or woman with a right to protection.[607]
Everyone who was obscure has become a chief,
living a life of comfort and abundance:
Every day he carries in his right hand
a spear with a pennant on top.
The Mother of Evil has brought him forth from her house
to seek plunder—his vagrant mother.
He speaks abusively to people; he does not care
for nice words when he abuses, nor does he hint.
This is not a time of the noble and generous man;
this is the time of villains, people of evil nature.
Fighting once used to be fighting;
today, O Most High, it is a trade.

He also said: [895]

A reed mat coated with pitch on the back—
Muḥammad and Manṣūr are in it.
Strength and security are their watchwords,
and their saying is, "The wall has been taken."
What benefit will there be for you in their wall,
when you are slain or taken prisoner?
Your horsemen have been killed in conflict,
and many of your homes have been destroyed.
Bring for yourselves a single leader
who is well mannered, in whose face there is light.
You who ask about our condition,
Muḥammad is in the palace, besieged.

607. Ed. Cairo fills in the lacuna in the Leiden text of this hemistich.

The Battle of al-Shammāsiyyah Gate

In this year, a battle took place at al-Shammāsiyyah Gate.[608] Harthamah was taken prisoner in it. A report of the reasons for the battle, how it took place, and its results follows.

According to ʿAlī b. Yazīd, who said: Harthamah was encamped at the Bīn Canal (*Nahr Bīn*), protected by a wall and trench. He had prepared *manjanīq*s and *ʿarrādah*s, and had stationed ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Waḍḍāḥ at al-Shammāsiyyah. From time to time he would go forth, but he would halt at the Khurāsān Gate,[609] fearful of the men of the army, not desiring to fight. He would summon the people to his cause, but they would abuse him verbally and mock him. So he would stand
[896] for a time and then depart. Ḥātim b. al-Ṣaqr was one of Muḥammad's commanders. He had agreed with his forces—unclothed ones and vagrants (*ʿayyārūn*)—that they would give battle to ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Waḍḍāḥ by night. They descended upon ʿUbaydallāh suddenly, while he was unaware, and launched an attack on him, driving him from his position. He retreated in defeat, and they captured from him horses, weapons, and much equipment. Ḥātim b. al-Ṣaqr took control of al-Shammāsiyyah. When the news reached Harthamah, he brought his forces up to reinforce (ʿUbaydallāh) and to drive off the army from him back to its position. Muḥammad's forces came to [fight] him, and fighting broke out between them. One of "the unclothed" took Harthamah prisoner, not recognizing him. One of Harthamah's companions attacked the man, cut off his hand, and freed Harthamah. The latter came back in defeat. When news about him reached the men of his camp, it collapsed totally, and its men went fleeing in panic toward Ḥulwān. Night and their preoccupation with plundering and taking prisoners hindered Muḥammad's forces from pursuit. I have been told

608. Al-Shammāsiyyah Gate was located at the northern extremity of al-Shammāsiyyah quarter on the east bank of the Tigris, at the point where the main road north to al-Mawṣil left al-Shammāsiyyah. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 170, 199.

609. That is, the Khurāsān Gate of al-Mukharrim quarter on the East Bank, not to be confused with the similarly named gate of the Round City. See Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 385 (note 5).

that the men of Harthamah's army did not make their way back for two days. The "unclothed ones" became stronger because of what had come into their hands. Many poems were written about that battle. One of them is the following by 'Amr al-Warrāq:

A naked one who owns no shirt
    goes forth in the morning to look for a shirt.
He assaults someone who has a coat of mail
    that blinds the eyes with its brightness.
In his hand is a banner
    red that gleams like jewels.
He is eager to seek fighting,
    more eager than a man who seeks pleasure.
He is easy to be led, as if
    he were going forth to eat date candy.
He is a marauding lion, who has always been
    an accomplished chief of robbers.
He is bolder and more resolute in advancing
    in battle than a wounded lion.
He approaches on a contemptible mount,
    and his stock is from the worst stock.
He escapes, if escape occurs, [897]
    on something fleeter than a young camel.
A man in armor, if exposed to his murderous intent,
    has no place of refuge.
How many a brave horseman
    has he sold at a cheap price!
He calls out, "Oh who will buy
    the head of an armored man for a handful of dates?"

One of Harthamah's companions said:

Time comes to an end, but their fighting never ends:
    houses are pulled down, and wealth diminishes.
People are unable to do what they have sought to do:
    they cannot fend off ruin, no matter how they try.
They bring us a report in which there is no light;
    every day there are stories about the sons of harlotry.

When news of what the "unclothed ones" and Ḥātim b.

al-Ṣaqr had done to ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Waḍḍāḥ and Harthamah reached Ṭāhir, it grieved and distressed him. He commanded that a floating bridge be thrown across the Tigris above al-Shammāsiyyah. He dispatched his forces and set them in order; he himself went forth with them to the bridge. They crossed over toward the enemy and fought them in very fierce fighting. He reinforced them with his men periodically, until they turned back Muḥammad's forces and made them leave al-Shammāsiyyah. He sent ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Waḍḍāḥ and Harthamah back to the places that had been abandoned.[610]

After the victory of the "unclothed ones," Muḥammad had given out 2 million dirhams [in pay] by taking apart his palaces and audience rooms (*majālis*) at al-Khayzurāniyyah. Now, the forces of Ṭāhir burned them all—the roofs had been gilded—and killed many of the "unclothed ones" and looters. Concerning this, ʿAmr al-Warrāq says:[611]

Two heavy things[612] and Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn
came upon us the morning of Monday.
[898] They assembled their host at night and proclaimed:
"Seek your vengeance today for al-Ḥusayn."[613]
They beat their drum, and to [fight] them rushed
men, each of them strong of spear and forearm.
You who were slain on the plain, who were cast down on the shore,

610. *Wa-radda al-mahājir / muhājir ʿUbaydallāh ibn al-Waḍḍāḥ wa-Harthamah.* This might mean, "He sent ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Waḍḍāḥ and Harthamah back to *al-Muhājir*," taking al-Muhājir as a place name. Such a place is attested (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 59), but it was next to al-Kūfah Gate of the Round City, whereas the context implies that the two men reoccupied the positions in al-Shammāsiyyah, across the river from the Round City. I therefore take *mahājir* to be equivalent to *mahājir*, "abandoned places."

611. Masʿūdī, VI, 471, quotes the lines with variants.

612. According to the lexicons, *thaqalāni* ("two heavy things") can mean two armies (because they are heavy in assault), or mankind and the *jinn* (because anything held in esteem can be called a *thaqal*). See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 344. There is some uncertainty about the reading, which is Guyard's emendation of manuscript *baʿlāni* ("two lords"). Neither the original reading nor the emendation fits the meter, although the emendation is possible by poetic license.

613. That is, vengeance for al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān. See pp. 108–14, above, for the circumstances surrounding his death.

the object of whose love was among Ṭayyi' of the Two Mountains:
What was in your hands? If
the people had made peace, would you have been in need?
Were you a vizier or a commander? Nay, you were as far
from both things as the stars of the Little Dipper.
How many a keen-sighted man went out early with two eyes
to see the situation [of the armies] and came back with one eye!
They do not miss what they intend:
their archers aim only at the eyes.
You who ask me about them, they are the worst people
I have ever seen among mankind; no others are like these two:
The worst of those still alive or those who have passed on—
of those who have passed on or those I have seen among the two heavy things (sc. mankind and *jinn*).

When what Ṭāhir had done was reported to Muḥammad, it caused him great distress and anxiety. A secretary to Kawthar [899] mentioned that Muḥammad composed the following verses, or that someone composed them and attributed them to him:

I have been sorely afflicted by the most brave-hearted among men and *jinn*,
who, when he excels, is like nothing else that excels.
With every man of power he has a spy
who watches him and knows what he says.
He is not inattentive to something because of stubbornness,
when an inattentive person would cause an affair to fail.

In this year, Muḥammad's situation weakened, and he became certain that he would perish. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim b. Khuzaymah fled from Baghdad to al-Madā'in.

According to al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk: When he realized that Muḥammad entertained suspicions about him, and that low persons and rabble were biased against him, 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim b. Khuzaymah became worried about himself and his property. He made his way to al-Madā'in at night in boats with his dependents and children and stayed there. He was not present at any of the fighting.

According to someone else: Ṭāhir sent a letter to him and warned him that his estates would be seized and that he would be liquidated. So he took warning, escaped from the strife, and remained safe. One of his relatives said concerning this:

Ibn Khāzim was not cowardly in the face of rowdies,
    riffraff, and inferior persons:
But he feared the assault of a lion,
    crushing in his strength, famous for his aggressiveness.

When his action became known among the people, the merchants of al-Karkh met among themselves and said, "We ought to disclose our position to Ṭāhir and show him that we are innocent of giving aid against him." They assembled and drafted a letter informing him that they were obedient and well disposed toward him because of what they had heard: namely, his commitment to obeying God, upholding the right, and repressing wrongdoers. They did not look on the war as legitimate, let alone fight [in it]. Anyone from their side who advocated
[900] it did not belong to them. "The common thoroughfares were choked with them. Indeed, the men . . . ,[614] nor do they own houses or real estate in al-Karkh. They are either cutpurses, makers and sellers of sweets,[615] or people from the prisons. Their only shelters are the baths and mosques. The merchants among them are mere street vendors who deal in trifles. A woman is forced to support herself by the mercy of a pimp for a while before she can escape.[616] An old man even falls on his face from weakness. A person carrying a purse in his waistband or in his hand has it cut away from him. We have no might or power against them, nor do we have anything for ourselves with them [here]. Indeed, some of us remove the stones from the road

614. There is a lacuna in the manuscript. The words with which ed. Cairo attempts to fill the lacuna turn out to be a dittography from the previous line.

615. *Sawwāṭ wa-naṭṭāf*: makers and sellers of *nāṭif*, a sweet paste that had to be kneaded a long time, drawn out, and pounded. See Fagnan, *Additions*, 83, s.v. *sawwāṭ*.

616. The translation follows the Leiden text as interpreted in *Glossarium*, CDXXXI. Ed. Cairo differs, but also seems to have suffered corruption: "A man meets a woman in the press of people, and the two tarry (*yaltaththāni*, an otherwise unattested form of the root *l.th.th*) before escaping."

because of the tradition (*ḥadīth*) concerning this that has been reported from the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace; how then [would we fail to act] if we had power to prevail against those it would benefit religion and life in this world to have kept off the street, put permanently into prison, and banished from the land, and [if we had power] to stop greed and riot and banish vice, purse-snatching, and stealing? God forbid that any of us should make war on you!"

It has been mentioned that they wrote a petition concerning this and that some men arranged[617] to slip through to him with it. But those who were wise and prudent among them said to them, "Do not think that Ṭāhir does not understand this or that he is unable to send spies among you and against you, so that it is as if he were present among you. The best plan is not to make yourselves conspicuous with this; for we cannot be sure but that if some base person sees you, it will lead to your destruction and the loss of your property. The danger of your being exposed to these base persons is too fearful for you to seek to clear yourself from disgrace in the eyes of Ṭāhir. Indeed, if you were sinners and wrongdoers, you would be more likely to receive his pardon, mercy, and forgiveness. So put your trust in God, who is blessed and exalted, and forbear." They deferred to them and forbore. Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the blind [poet], said:[618]

Never mind the people of the streets, for soon [901]
the claws of the lion will get them.
The membrane around strong hearts will be torn asunder;
soon they will go into the grave.
God will destroy all of them
because of greed[619] and wickedness.

It has been mentioned: Al-Hirsh went out, and with him the rabble, "unclothed ones," and a multitude of all sorts of people,

617. The translation follows ed. Cairo's *itta'ada qawmun*, rather than ed. Leiden's *anfadhū qawman* ("they dispatched men"). The passage makes it clear that the petition was never sent. The two words are similar in Arabic script.

618. Quoted in Mas'ūdī, VI, 470.

619. Variant in Mas'ūdī: "rebellion."

and made his way to the Island of al-'Abbās.[620] A party of Ṭāhir's men came forth, and the two sides fought violently. It was a section in which no fighting had taken place, but after that day it became a battlefield. In the end, the victory went to [Ṭāhir]; however, on the first day of the fighting, Muḥammad's forces gained the upper hand over Ṭāhir's forces, until they drove them back to the house of Abū Yazīd al-Sharawī.[621] The people of the suburbs in the areas next to the al-Anbār Gate Road became frightened.

It has been mentioned: When Ṭāhir saw this, he dispatched one of his commanders to them. He was occupied in many directions, fighting off Muḥammad's forces from them. He inflicted a heavy blow on them there: many men drowned in the Ṣarāt [Canal], and others were killed. Concerning the defeat of Ṭāhir on the first [day],[622] 'Amr al-Warrāq said:

Ṭāhir's crier announced in our presence,
"People, desist; remain at home.
"Tomorrow will come to you; so beware
[a lion with a wide jaw in which there is . . .]"[623]
Then the rabble arose to confront him
after midnight, before the prayer [of dawn].
On Saturday, they left his army
confounded and silent in the darkness of night.

About the battle that went against Muḥammad's forces, he said:

How many a slain man have we seen!
We did not ask him why!—

620. Jazīrat al-'Abbās, or more commonly, al-Jazīrah al-'Abbāsiyyah, was a large area, about one and one-half miles in length and half a mile in width, located west of the Round City, between two branches of the Ṣarāt Canal, which split below the plot and reunited above it. It had been granted as a fief to al-'Abbās, brother of the caliph al-Manṣūr, and was celebrated for its fertility. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 142.

621. That is, toward the Round City. The house of Abū Yazīd al-Sharawī was on the northwest side of the square outside al-Kūfah Gate. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 59.

622. The bracketed word is from ed. Cairo.

623. The second hemistich of the line is found only in ed. Cairo; the manuscript used by ed. Leiden has a lacuna. The last word of the line in ed. Cairo, *'uyūt*, is not recorded in any dictionary and almost certainly is corrupt.

One wearing mail, whom a "naked one"
    met with violence and recklessness:
If the former met the latter with a spear, [902]
    the latter met the former with boasting[624]—
An Ethiopian who kills people
    over a piece of canvas,
Cloaked in [only] the sun, content
    with every sustenance that is wished for.
He makes an attack and kills
    none but the head of an army:
Such as 'Alī Afrāhamard,[625]
    or 'Alā', or Quraysh.
Beware of a shot, O Ṭāhir,
    from the hand of the little Ethiopian!

'Amr al-Warrāq also said concerning this:

The beauty of Baghdad has departed—
    and it indeed possessed beauty.
Every day there has broken it
    one shock after another.
The earth has raised a cry unto God
    from the abomination, crying aloud.
O you who have been slain,
    you are not following the religion of the [true] way.
Would that I knew what you gained
    when you journeyed by night.
Was it to Paradise that you were sent,
    or are you being sent to the Fire?
Was it stones that killed you, or
    were you killed perforce by spears?
If you fought in piety,
    then a thousand pilgrimages be upon us![626]

According to 'Alī b. Yazīd—a certain eunuch (*khādim*): Muḥammad ordered that whatever remained in the already

624. A pun is involved, since *faysh* means both "boasting" and "glans penis"—alluding to the "unclothed" state of the irregular troops.
625. He is referred to elsewhere by the variant name Farāhmard.
626. That is, to expiate the sin of murder.

despoiled storehouses should be sold. However, those in charge of them concealed[627] what was in them, to steal [it]. Muḥammad's situation became increasingly precarious: he had lost what he possessed, and the men were demanding pay (*arzāq*). One day, in vexation at what was befalling him, he said, "I wish that God Almighty would kill the two sides, both of them,[628] and give people rest from them. Not a one of them but is an enemy—both those who are on our side and those
[903] who are against us. The former want my money; the latter want my life." Some verses that he is said to have recited were mentioned to me:[629]

Disperse and leave me alone,
    you company of "helpers."
All of you are many-faced,[630]
    as is the nature of human beings,
And I see nothing but deceit
    and false hopes.
I possess nothing—
    ask my treasurers!
Alas for me, what has befallen me
    from the one who resides in the garden.[631]

[Continuing,] he said: Muḥammad's cause became weaker. His army dispersed and became frightened in its camp. He sensed that Ṭāhir was about to overcome him and defeat him.

In this year, al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā led the pilgrimage. Ṭāhir sent him to be in charge of the ceremonies at the command of al-Ma'mūn. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā was in charge of Mecca in this year.

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627. The translation follows the reading of ed. Cairo (*katama*). The original Leiden reading (*kamma*, "hid") is changed in the *Addenda* to *lamma*, "gathered up."

628. Ms. Ahmet III, 2929, the second manuscript used by ed. Cairo, ends at this point. The text of the remainder of this volume is based on the single manuscript available to the Leiden editor.

629. Masʿūdī, VI, 472, quotes the poem with variants.

630. The translation follows Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 387 n. 2, who takes *dhū wujūh* to mean "hypocrites."

631. That is, from Ṭāhir. Instead of *sākin*, the Masʿūdī version reads *nāzil*, "encamped," and glosses, "meaning Ṭāhir."

The Events of the Year 198

(SEPTEMBER 1, 813–AUGUST 21, 814)

Ṭāhir Captures Baghdad

In this year, Khuzaymah b. Khāzim disobeyed Muḥammad b. Hārūn, separated himself from him, and sought a promise of safety from Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn.[632] Harthamah entered the eastern part [of Baghdad]. A report concerning why Khuzaymah left Muḥammad, how this turned out, and how he became obedient to Ṭāhir follows.

It has been mentioned as the reason for this: Ṭāhir wrote to Khuzaymah, telling him that if he were to sever relations with Muḥammad and offer him no effective aid, he [sc. Ṭāhir] would [904] not be remiss in his regard.[633] When he received Ṭāhir's letter, Khuzaymah consulted his trusted friends and members of his family. They said to him, "By God, it seems to us that this man has our master by the nape of the neck; so make an arrangement for yourself and for us." He therefore wrote to Ṭāhir, announcing his obedience, and telling him that if he himself were the person encamped on the eastern side instead of Harthamah, he would

632. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 194–97; *Fragmenta*, 335.

633. The translation follows the emendation proposed in ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXVII.

undertake every danger for him. He made known to (Ṭāhir) his lack of confidence in Harthamah and urged him not to lay any burden on the latter in the matter without guaranteeing to him (sc. Khuzayamah) that he would stand in his stead; Harthamah would then be brought into the affair. He (sc. Khuzaymah) would cut the bridges and as consequence bring about a situation that would elicit his approval and pleasure. If (Ṭāhir) did not guarantee him this, it would not be possible for him to expose himself to the mob, rabble, ruffians, and destruction. Ṭāhir accordingly wrote to Harthamah, rebuking him and accusing him of incompetence, saying, "You have gathered soldiers, wasted money, and given it in grants without the Commander of the Faithful or myself, when I am in such need of it to cover expenses and expenditures. You have failed to act against troops of little might and small significance, as if drawing back and afraid. This is surely an offense! Get ready to enter [the city], for I have decided to push back the army and cut the bridges. I hope that you will meet no significant opposition to this plan, God willing!" Harthamah wrote [back] to him, "I acknowledge your salutary opinion and excellent advice. Command as you wish; I will not oppose you." So Ṭāhir wrote to Khuzaymah to inform him of this.

It has been mentioned that when Ṭāhir wrote to Khuzaymah, he wrote a similar letter to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān.

It has been said: On the eve of Wednesday, eight nights remaining in the month of Muḥarram of the year 198 (September 21, 813), Khuzaymah b. Khāzim and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā seized the Tigris bridge and cut it.[634] They set up their banners on it, cast off their allegiance to Muḥammad,
[905] and proclaimed allegiance to ʿAbdallāh al-Ma'mūn. The people of ʿAskar al-Mahdī[635] remained quiet and stayed in their

634. Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn ar-Rašīd," 387 n. 4, identifies this as the main (middle) bridge, but notes that other bridges may have been cut as well, as implied by Ṭāhir's preceding message and the poem that follows.

635. ʿAskar al-Mahdī (al-Mahdī's Camp) was another name for the suburb of Ruṣāfah at the foot of the main bridge on the east bank of the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 42, 187–89.

homes and markets that day. As soon as Harthamah entered, a few other commanders besides these two came to him and swore to him that he would see no misbehavior from them. He accepted this from them. Ḥusayn al-Khalīʿ composed the following about Khuzaymah's cutting of the bridge:[636]

We all owe Khuzaymah a debt of gratitude,
because God the Merciful has stilled the tumult of war.
He himself took charge of the affairs of the Muslims,
and defended and protected them most gloriously.
Had it not been for Abū al-ʿAbbās [Khuzaymah], fortune would not have ceased
being angry with us night and day.
Khuzaymah was not criticized for doing such a deed,
when the east of the country and the west were in turmoil.
He subjected the two Tigris bridges to cutting, while spears were pointed and souls were in the palm of the sword.
He wounded the head of doom when it was threatening doom,
suffering distress because of one event, and laughing because of another event.
So it (sc. doom) was like a fire that a cloud has beguiled,
extinguishing by flame an encompassing flame.[637]
What is the killing of one soul among many souls,
if the world returns to peace and plenty? [906]
The heroic deed of Abū al-ʿAbbās requires no expiation,
when persistent trouble has recourse to trouble [to stop it].

According to Yaḥyā b. Salamah the Secretary (*al-Kātib*): Ṭāhir came early on Thursday against the city—al-Sharqiyyah[638] and its residential districts and al-Karkh and its markets. He demolished the two bridges over the Ṣarāt [Canal]—the old and the

636. The first five verses with variants are quoted by Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 194–95.

637. That is, as a cloud with flashing lighning puts out a fire by raining, so Khuzaymah by violence has extinguished violence. The translation of this and the preceding verse is uncertain.

638. Al-Sharqiyyah was a suburb of West Baghdad southeast of the Round City, between the main road leaving al-Baṣrah Gate and the shore of the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 53, 90, 94. Ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXVII, quotes from al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, "It was named al-Sharqiyyah because it was to the east (*sharq*) of the Ṣarāt [Canal]."

new. There was heavy fighting at them. Ṭāhir tasked his forces severely and oversaw the fighting in person. Those who were with him fought at Dār al-Raqīq, and he[639] defeated the men until he drove them back to al-Karkh. Ṭāhir fought at al-Karkh Gate and al-Waḍḍāḥ Palace. He defeated Muḥammad's forces, and they were driven back in confusion. Ṭāhir passed through without turning aside for anything, until he had entered forcibly with the sword. He commanded his crier to proclaim security to anyone who remained in his house. At al-Waḍḍāḥ Palace, the market of al-Karkh, and the outskirts he placed commanders and soldiers in every location as required. He made his way to the City of Abū Jaʿfar and encircled it, along with the Palace of Zubaydah and al-Khuld Palace, from near the Bridge Gate,[640] to Khurāsān Gate, the Syrian Gate, al-Kūfah Gate, al-Baṣrah Gate, and the bank of the Ṣarāt [Canal] up to its outlet into the Tigris, with horses, equipment, and weapons. Ḥātim b. al-Ṣaqr, al-Hirsh, and the [North] African troops fought Ṭāhir steadfastly; so he set up *manjanīq*s behind the wall against the city and across from the Palace of Zubaydah and al-Khuld Palace and bombarded [them]. Muḥammad, with his mother and children, left for the City of Abū Jaʿfar. Most of his soldiers, eunuchs, and slave girls scattered from him into the streets and roads without turning aside for anything. The rabble and the low persons also scattered. ʿAmr al-Warrāq said about this:

[907] O Ṭāhir of strength,[641] whose
like has never been found!
O master (*sayyid*), son of a master,

639. The pronouns are ambiguous. I take the clause to mean that *Ṭāhir* (i.e., his forces) defeated *them* (i.e., the opposing forces of Muḥammad) and drove them back to al-Karkh. Ṭāhir then fought at the gate of al-Karkh, defeated Muḥammad's forces, and entered al-Karkh. The textual witness, however, is uncertain, probably because what we have is a condensation of a longer account. Ed. Cairo continues as follows: "Ṭāhir fought them at al-Karkh Gate and al-Waḍḍāḥ Palace: Muḥammad's forces defeated *them*, and they [i.e., Ṭāhir's forces] were driven back in confusion." This makes Ṭāhir's entry into al-Karkh and proclamation of security illogical.

640. *Fragmenta*, 335, reads: "from near the bridge to Khurāsān Gate."

641. *Yā ṭāhira l-ẓahri*: the Arabic plays on the similar sound of the two words and their visual similarity in Arabic script.

son of a master, son of master!
Back to their former occupations
have gone Muḥammad's "naked ones."
Makers and vendors
of sweets,[642] as well as impostors;
Bandits who were taking refuge with
vagrants and paupers;
Men in shackles who broke out of prisons
and became unshackled;
Men bold to plunder, who became masters,
though they were never entitled to be masters:
These have become obedient to your strength and have submitted,
after having been rebellious for a long time.

According to ʿAlī b. Yazīd, who said: One day I was at the home of ʿAmr al-Warrāq with a group of people, when a man came and told us about Ṭāhir's attack at al-Karkh Gate, and how the men had been driven back from it. ʿAmr said, "Hand me a cup," and he said concerning this:[643]

Take it, for wine has [many] names:
"medicine" is one, and "disease" is another.
Water improves it, when it is decanted—
sometimes—but water sometimes spoils it.
Someone said, "They had a battle
this very day," and [other] things.
I said to him, "You are an ignoramus.
You neglect the good things.
"Drink, and spare us reports about them.
People will make peace, if they want to."

Someone else then came among us and said, "So-and-so has fought with the 'naked ones'; so-and-so has come; so-and-so has plundered." Again, [al-Warrāq] said:

What a time we are in!
The great have died out.

642. For *naṭṭāf* and *sawwāṭ*, see note 615.
643. The text with minor variants is quoted in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 195.

These low persons and rabble
    are commanders among us.
We have nothing,
    except what *He* wills.
[908] The earth has cried out,
    and the heavens, too, have cried out to God.
Religion has been taken away,
    and blood has become of little importance to God.
Abū Mūsā, take the good things:
    the time for the meeting has come.
Here is unmixed wine for you:
    the drinking companions have come to you.

'Amr al-Warrāq also said about this:

If you want to anger
    a soldier and get him to obey,
Say, "You soldiers,
    Ṭāhir has come to you!"

Muḥammad fortified himself in the city, along with those who were fighting on his side. Ṭāhir besieged him, taking the gates from him, and preventing flour, water, and other things from reaching him and the people of the city.

According to al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Sa'īd, who said that the eunuch (*khādim*) Ṭāriq, one of Muḥammad's courtiers (*khāṣṣah*) and one of al-Ma'mūn's after the arrival of the latter, told him that one day while under siege—or he may have said that it was on his last day—Muḥammad asked him to bring him something to eat: [Continuing, Ṭāriq] said: I entered the kitchen and found nothing. So I went to Jamrah the perfumer, who was al-Jawhar's slave girl, and said to her, "The Commander of the Faithful is hungry. Do you have anything, for I have found nothing in the kitchen?" She said to a girl of hers named Banān, "What do you have?" She brought a chicken and a loaf of bread. I brought them to him and he ate. He asked for water to drink, but there was none in the beverage closet.[644] By the evening he had decided

644. *Khizānat al-sharāb* may refer to a place where beverages were placed to be cooled. Cf. the description of the *meshrebeeyeh* (*mashrabiyyah*) in Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 8–9.

to meet Harthamah, and he never again drank water until he perished.

According to Muḥammad b. Rāshid, who said that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī[645] told him that he had been staying with Muḥammad the Deposed in the City of al-Manṣūr in his palace at the [909] Golden Gate,[646] when Ṭāhir besieged him. [Continuing, Ibrāhīm] said: [Muḥammad] went out one night, wanting to relieve the dejection he was feeling. He went to al-Qarār Palace,[647] at Ṣarāt Point, below al-Khuld Palace, late at night. He sent for me, and I went to him. He said, "Ibrāhīm, don't you see the pleasantness of this night and the beauty of the moon in the sky, with its light in the water?" [We were on the bank of the Tigris at the time.] "Would you like to drink?" "As you will," I said, "may God make me your ransom!" So he called for a flagon [*raṭl*] of date wine [*nabīdh*]. He drank it and then gave orders, and I was given a similar one to drink.

I began to sing to him without his asking me, for I knew in what bad humor he was. I sang something that I knew he liked. "How would you like someone to accompany you?" he said. "How I would like that!" I said. So he called for a favorite slave girl of his named Ḍa'f. Given that we were in such a state of affairs, I found her name ominous.[648] When she came before him, he said, "Sing," so she sang from the poetry of al-Nābighah al-Ja'dī:[649]

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645. The 'Abbāsid prince Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī was famous as a singer. See *EI*[2] s.v. [Sourdel]. Another version of the incident is found in *Aghānī*, IV, 189 [ed. Cairo, V, 1794–96]. Cf. Mas'ūdī, VI, 426–30 [different *isnād* and details]; *Fragmenta*, 335–36. Two shorter reports of apparently the same incident occur on pp. 231–33, below.

646. The Palace of the Golden Gate was at the center of the Round City. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 19, 30–33, 309–10.

647. On al-Qarār Palace, also known as the Palace of Zubaydah, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 102–3. Le Strange's explanation of the name is wrong. As Nabia Abbott noted, the meaning of *Qarār* was "permanency," alluding to the phrase *dār al-qarār* ("abode of permanency," i.e., heaven) in Qur'ān 40:39. See Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, 218 n.

648. *Ḍa'f* means "weakness."

649. Al-Nābighah al-Ja'dī [Ḥibbān b. Qays] was born before Islam, but lived most of his life as a Muslim and died in 65/684. The verse alludes to Kulayb b. Rabī'ah from the tribe of Taghlib. By killing a camel belonging to al-Basūs, a woman from the closely related tribe of Bakr [the camel had strayed onto his pasture and broken the eggs in a bird's nest], Kulayb precipitated the "War of

Kulayb, by my life, was a better defender
and less guilty than you, yet he became stained with [his own] blood.

What she sang distressed him and was ominous to him. He said to her, "Sing something else," so she sang:[650]

Their departure has made my eye tearful and sleepless:
verily, parting from loved ones provokes many tears.
The vicissitudes of their fortune continued to oppress them,
until they destroyed each other: verily the vicissitudes of fortune are oppressive!

He said to her, "May God curse you! Don't you know anything
[910] else to sing?" She replied, "Master, I only sang what I thought you liked. I didn't mean to do anything you disliked. It was only something that came to me." Then she started another song:[651]

By the Lord of repose and movement,
fate possesses many snares.
Night and day succeed each other,
and the stars revolve in the firmament,
Only to transfer prosperity from one king
occupied with the love of this world to another.
But the kingdom of the Possessor of the [Heavenly] Throne endures forever:
it neither passes away nor is shared with a partner.

"Get up," he said, "and may God be wrathful with you!" So she stood up. Now he had a beautifully made crystal cup—Muḥammad used to call it *Zubb Rubbāḥ*[652]—that had been

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al-Basūs" between the two tribes. See Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 245–47; Nallino, *Le Poesie di an-Nābiġah al-Ġa'dī* (Rome, 1953), 105–8; *Shi'r al-Nābighah al-Ja'dī*, 143.

650. Quoted with minor variants in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 196.

651. In *Aghānī*, III, 179, the poem is attributed to Abū al-'Atāhiyah. Seven verses of it are quoted in Ṭabarī, III, 450, where they are said to have been recited by a mysterious hidden voice (*hātif*) foreboding the death of al-Manṣūr in A.H. 158. Variants exist in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 196.

652. The text and the meaning are uncertain. In the notes to his edition of *Fragmenta* (I, 125), de Goeje explains the name as derived from a kind of date from al-Baṣrah called *zubb rubbāḥ* or *zubb rubāḥ* (literally, "monkey penis"; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1208). Ibn al-Athīr reads *rubb riyāḥ*, which is the name of a kind of mushroom.

placed before him. As the slave girl got up to leave, she tripped over the cup and broke it.

[Continuing,] Ibrāhīm said: The strange thing is that whenever we sat with this slave girl, we experienced something unpleasant in our assembly. [Muḥammad] said to me, "Alas, Ibrāhīm, don't you see what this slave girl has mentioned and what happened with the cup? By God, I think my time has come." "God," I said, "will lengthen your life, strengthen and preserve your kingdom for you, and subdue your enemy." Before I had finished my words, we heard a voice from the Tigris, saying: "Decided is the matter whereon you two enquire."[653] "Ibrāhīm," he said, "didn't you hear what I just heard?" "No, by God, I heard nothing," I said, although I had indeed heard. "You will hear a soft sound," he said. So I went down to the river bank, but I saw nothing. We resumed the conversation, and the voice returned: "Decided is the matter whereon you two enquire." He jumped up in distress from where he was sitting, mounted, and returned to his place in the city. It was only one or two nights later that the events of his death occurred—it was [911] on Sunday, the 6th or 4th day of Ṣafar in the year 198.[654]

According to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī,[655] who said: On the eve of Friday, seven days before the end of the Muḥarram in the year 198 [September 23, 813], Muḥammad b. Hārūn entered the City of Peace, fleeing from the palace called al-Khuld, because of the *manjanīq* stones that were landing on it. He commanded that his audience rooms [*majālis*] and carpets be burned, and they were. Then he went into the city. It had been fourteen months, less twelve days, since war had broken out with Ṭāhir.

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653. Qur'ān 12:41.

654. The day of the week and the day of the month do not match. The 4th of Ṣafar [October 4, 813] fell on a Tuesday; the 6th of Ṣafar [October 6] fell on a Thursday. In the chronology of al-Madā'inī, which follows, the day and date do coincide.

655. The historian Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sayf al-Madā'inī [b. 135/752, d. ca. 228/843] was active at al-Baṣrah [his birthplace], al-Madā'in, and Baghdad, and was credited with over 200 works on history and literature, most of which survive only as quoted in the works of later authors. See *EI*[2] s.v. al-Madā'inī [U. Sezgin].

The Death of al-Amīn

In this year, Muḥammad b. Hārūn was killed.[656] The report of his death follows.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Julūdī, who said: After Muḥammad had gone into the city and taken up residence there, his commanders realized that neither they nor he had equipment for the siege. Fearing that they would be defeated, Ḥātim b. al-Ṣaqr, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab al-Ifrīqī, and his [other] commanders went before Muḥammad and said, "Your condition and ours has come to what you see. We have formed a plan which we submit to you. Consider it, and make up your mind to do it; for we hope that it will be right, and that God will make it prosper, if He will." "What is it?" he asked. They said, "The men have scattered from you, and your foe has encircled you on every side. Of your cavalry, 1,000 horses, the best and swiftest of them, remain with you. We think we should choose 700 of the *Abnāʾ*, men whom we know to love you. We will mount them on these horses and make a sortie by night from one of these gates; for the night belongs to its people,[657] and no
[912] one will stand firm against us, God willing. We will go out until we reach al-Jazīrah and Syria. You will raise troops and gather taxes, and will gain a large domain and a new kingdom. People will rally to you, and the soldiers will be cut off from pursuing you. It is for this that God, the Almighty and Exalted, has made new things happen in the succession of night and day." "How excellent your plan is!" he said to them, and he determined to do it. When word of this got out to Ṭāhir, he wrote to Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. Nahīk, and al-Sindī b. Shāhak: "By God, if you do not make him stay and dissuade him from this plan, I will leave you not one estate unconfiscated, and my only objective will be your lives!" So they went before Muḥammad and said, "We have heard what you have decided to do. We beseech you for God's sake to take care for your life. These men are wretches. Now that the siege

656. Parallels: Yaʿqūbī, II, 536 (very brief); Dīnawarī, 395 (very brief); Masʿūdī, VI, 472–84; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 197–202; *Fragmenta*, 337–41, 413–15.

657. Apparently a proverbial expression. See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CXXII.

has resulted in what you see, they feel they have no place to go. They think there will be no security for their persons or property with your brother or with Ṭāhir and Harthamah because of the widespread knowledge of how they have applied themselves to the war and prosecuted it assiduously. We fear that if they make a sortie with you and you fall into their hands, they will take you prisoner and take your head. They will seek to gain favor by means of you and will make you the means to their own safety." And they cited examples of this to him.

[Continuing,] Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Julūdī said: My father and his companions were sitting in the portico (*riwāq*) of the room (*bayt*) where Muḥammad and Sulaymān and his companions were. When they heard what they were saying and saw that he had accepted it for fear that matters would turn out as they had told him, they were on the verge of going in to them and killing Sulaymān and his companions. But then they changed their minds. They said, "War within, and war without!" and they ceased and desisted.

[Continuing,] Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā [al-Julūdī] said: When this made an impression on Muḥammad's heart and sank into his mind, he turned from his decision and returned to accepting the [913] guarantee of safety (*amān*) and departure they had given him. He acceded to the request of Sulaymān, al-Sindī, and Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā [b. Nahīk]. They said, "Your only objective today is safety and diversion. Your brother will leave you [to go] where you like. He will set you apart in some place and give you everything that befits you and all you like and desire. No harm or evil will befall you from him." He trusted in this and agreed with them to go out to Harthamah.

[Continuing,] Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā [al-Julūdī] said: My father and his companions did not want to go out to Harthamah, because they had been his companions and knew his ways. They feared he would treat them roughly, would not favor them, and would give them no offices. So they went before Muḥammad and said to him, "Since you have refused to accept our advice to you—and it was the right advice—and have agreed with these flatterers, it would be better for you to go out to Ṭāhir than to Harthamah."

[Continuing,] Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā [al-Julūdī] said: He said to

them, "Alas, I do not like Ṭāhir! For I have dreamed: it was as if I were standing on a brick wall towering into the sky, broad-based and firm; never have I seen one like it in length, breadth, and firmness. I was wearing my black robes,[658] my belt, my sword, my hat (*qalansuwah*), and my boots. Ṭāhir was at the base of the wall, and he kept striking its base until the wall fell. I fell and my hat fell from my head. I have an ominous feeling about Ṭāhir. I am uneasy about him and therefore do not want to go out to him. But Harthamah is our *mawlā* and like a father. I am more comfortable with him and trust him more."

According to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Ḥafṣ b. Irmiyāʾīl: When Muḥammad wished to cross from the palace at al-Qarār to a house that was in the Garden of Mūsā[659]—he had a floating
[914] bridge in that place—he ordered that [carpets] should be spread in that audience room (*majlis*) and that it should be perfumed.

[Continuing,] he said: So my assistants and I spent the night getting perfume and aromatics, gathering apples, pomegranates, and citrons, and putting them in the rooms. My assistants and I stayed up all night. After I had prayed the morning prayer, I gave an old woman a piece of ambergris incense containing 100 *mithqāls*,[660] like a melon, and said to her, "I've been up all night and am very tired. I have to get some sleep. If you see the Commander of the Faithful coming on the bridge, put this ambergris on the brazier"—and I gave her a small silver brazier with coals on it. I told her to blow until she burnt it all. I went onto a bark (*ḥarrāqah*)[661] and fell asleep. Before I knew what was happening, the old women came in a panic and woke me up. "Get up, Ḥafṣ," she said. "I've gotten into trouble." "What is

658. For the significance of black clothing as the official ʿAbbāsid color, see the references in note 245.

659. The exact location is unknown. The Mūsā Canal passed through al-Mukharrim quarter of East Baghdad. The reference may be to the Garden of Ẓāhir, which was located on the east bank of the Tigris, where the Mūsā Canal emptied into the river, a short distance below the main bridge. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 219–20.

660. I.e., 446.4 grams, or 15.75 ounces (see Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 1–5).

661. On the kind of ship, see Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, tr. Khuda Bakhsh and Margoliouth; Kindermann, *"Schiff" im Arabischen*; and al-Nukhaylī, *Al-Sufun al-islāmiyyah*.

it?" I said. She said, "I saw a man coming on the bridge, alone, resembling the Commander of the Faithful in build. There was a group of people in front of him and one behind him, so I didn't doubt that it was he. So I burned the ambergris; and when he came, it was 'Abdallāh b. Mūsā, and here is the Commander of the Faithful coming now!" I cursed her and upbraided her, and gave her another piece like the first to burn in his presence. She did so. This was when things began to take a turn for the worse.

According to 'Alī b. Yazīd, who said: After the siege against Muḥammad had gone on for a long time, Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, and Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Nahīk left him, and all of them made their way to 'Askar al-Mahdī. Muḥammad remained besieged in the city Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. Muḥammad discussed with his companions and those who remained with him whether to ask for quarter (*amān*). He asked them about the way to escape from Ṭāhir. Al-Sindī said to him, "By God, master, if al-Ma'mūn were to get hold of us, it [915] would be against our wishes and to our misfortune. I see no deliverance but Harthamah." "How by Harthamah," he asked him, "when death has surrounded me on every side?" Others advised him to go out to Ṭāhir. They said, "If you swore him oaths by which he became certain that you were committing your kingdom to him, perhaps he would trust you." But he said to them, "You have missed the mark in your advice, and I have erred in consulting you. If 'Abdallāh my brother had toiled himself and taken charge of matters according to his own judgment, would he have accomplished one-tenth of what Ṭāhir has accomplished for him? I have tested Ṭāhir and inquired about his thinking. I have not found him inclined to break faith with 'Abdallāh or to have any ambition except for him. If he agreed to obey me and turned to me, I would fear nothing, even if all the people of the earth opposed me. I wish he would agree to that: I would give him my treasuries; I would put my affairs into his hands and be pleased to live under his protection. But I have no hope that he will do so." Al-Sindī said to him, "You are right, Commander of the Faithful. Let us go quickly to Harthamah, for he thinks that there is no justification to act against you if you go out to him from the [capital of the] kingdom. He has already given me a guarantee that he will fight to defend you if

'Abdallāh moves to kill you. Go out at night, at an hour when people are asleep. I hope that what we do will escape the people's notice."

According to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī: When Muḥammad was about to go out to Harthamah and had agreed to his terms, Ṭāhir was troubled and refused to show leniency and allow him to depart. He said, "He is in my quarter, on the side [of the river] where I am. I have made him come out by siege and fighting, [916] until he has come to ask for quarter (*amān*). I do not agree that he should go out to Harthamah, rather than me, so that the victory should be his."

When Harthamah and the commanders saw this, they met in the house of Khuzaymah b. Khāzim. Ṭāhir and his closest commanders went to them. Sulaymān b. al-Manṣūr, Muḥammad b. 'Īsā b. Nahīk, and al-Sindī b. Shāhak came to them. They negotiated and arranged the matter. They informed Ṭāhir that al-Amīn would never come out to him: if what he requested were not granted, there was a risk that the result in his case would be like [what had happened] in the days of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān. They said to him, "He will come out in his person to Harthamah, for he feels safe with him and trusts his good intention, but is afraid of you. To you he will give the seal, the scepter, and the mantle—that being the caliphate.[662] Do not spoil this affair. Take advantage of it, since God has facilitated it." (Ṭāhir) granted this and agreed. But according to report, when al-Hirsh learned the news, he decided to gain favor with Ṭāhir; so he informed him that what had taken place between them and him was a trick, and that the seal, the mantle, and the scepter would be carried with Muḥammad to Harthamah. Ṭāhir accepted this and believed that it was as (al-Hirsh) had written. He became angry. He placed men in ambush around the Palace of Umm Ja'far and the Palaces of al-Khuld with weapons; they also had crowbars[663] and hoes. It was the

662. On these insignia of the caliphate, see note 41.

663. *'Atal* has a variety of meanings: an iron implement, perhaps like a machete, for cutting or lopping the side-shoots of palm trees; a kind of pickax used for digging; or an iron bar like a crowbar, used for demolishing walls. See Lane, *Lexicon*, V, 1949.

eve of Sunday, five days before the end of Muḥarram 198—the 25th of Aylūl (September), according to the Syriac month.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Abī Sa'īd—Ṭāriq the Eunuch (*khādim*), who said: When Muḥammad was about to go out to Harthamah, he became thirsty before leaving. So I looked for water in his beverage closet, but found none. In the evening, he hastened out, intending to go to Harthamah at the time that had been arranged between them. He put on the caliphal robes, a woolen tunic (*durrā'ah*), a shawl (*ṭaylasān*), and his tall hat (*qalansuwah*). Before him was a candle. When we reached the [917] guardhouse of al-Baṣrah Gate,[664] he said, "Get me a drink from the guards' wells." I handed him a cup of water, but it revolted him because of its foul odor, and he did not drink it. He went to Harthamah. Ṭāhir then assaulted him: he had hidden himself in ambush for him at al-Khuld; when Muḥammad went to the bark (*ḥarrāqah*), Ṭāhir and his companions came out and bombarded the bark with arrows and stones. [The passengers] leaned toward the water, and the bark overturned; Muḥammad, Harthamah, and those in it fell into the water. Muḥammad swam across and reached the Garden of Mūsā. But he suspected that his falling into the water had been a trick on the part of Harthamah, so he crossed the Tigris [again] and reached the vicinity of the Ṣarāt [Canal]. Those in charge of the garrison were Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Balkhī and Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd. The latter was the son of the brother of Shaklah, the mother of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. Ṭāhir had put him in charge—whenever (Ṭāhir) gave one of his Khurāsānian companions a command, he joined men to him.[665] Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd, who was known as al-Ṭāhirī because Ṭāhir was promoting him in responsibilities, recognized (Muḥammad al-Amīn). (Al-Ṭāhirī) called out to his men, and they came down and took (Muḥammad). He himself quickly laid hold of Muḥammad. He grasped his legs and dragged him. He

664. Cf. another version on p. 189, below, where the cavalcade passes the Khurāsān Gate.

665. That is, he joined to Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Balkhī (from Balkh in Khurāsān, as his name indicates) a man with Baghdad connections, in this case the nephew of the concubine Shaklah, the mother of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. On Shaklah, see Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, 33–34.

was placed on an ordinary horse,[666] a coarse soldier's waist-wrapper was thrown on him, and he was taken to the lodging of Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar al-Balkhī, who was staying at al-Kūfah Gate. (Al-Ṭāhirī) mounted a man behind him to hold him lest he fall, as is done with prisoners.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Abī Saʿīd—Khaṭṭāb b. Ziyād: When Muḥammad and Harthamah fell into the water, Ṭāhir hastened to the Garden of Mu'nisah, opposite al-Anbār Gate, the site of his camp, lest he be accused of the drowning of Harthamah. [Khaṭṭāb continued,] saying: When Ṭāhir reached the Syrian Gate—we were with him in the cavalcade, along with al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ma'mūnī and al-Rashīd's eunuch (*khādim*) al-Ḥasan al-Kabīr—Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd caught up with us and dismounted. He approached Ṭāhir and told him that he had taken
[918] Muḥammad prisoner and had sent him to al-Kūfah Gate, to the lodging of Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī. Ṭāhir turned to us and told us the news. "What do you say?" he asked. Al-Ma'mūnī said [in Persian], "*Ma-kun*"—that is, "Do not do as was done to Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī." Then Ṭāhir called a *mawlā* of his named Quraysh al-Dandānī and commanded him to kill Muḥammad. Ṭāhir followed him, heading for al-Kūfah Gate, toward the place.

According to al-Madā'inī[667]—Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Julūdī, who said: When (Muḥammad) had made ready to leave—it was after the final night prayer (*ʿishā'*), the eve of Sunday—he came out into the courtyard of the palace and sat down on a chair. He was wearing white robes and a black shawl (*ṭaylasān*). We came into his presence and stood before him with maces.

Kutlah the eunuch (*khādim*) came and said, "Master, Abū Ḥātim[668] sends you his greetings. He says, 'Master, I have come at the appointed time to transport you, but I think you should not come out tonight; for I saw by the Tigris, on the shore, something that made me suspicious. I fear that I may be overpowered, so that you may be taken from my hands or your life

666. A *birdhawn*, a hack or destrier, i.e., a non-Arabian, nonthoroughbred horse.

667. Ṭabarī highlights the contrasting nature of this account by introducing the *isnād* with the word *ammā*: "As for al-Madā'inī, he mentioned . . ."

668. That is, Harthamah, whose *kunyah* (agnomen) was Abū Ḥātim. See Ṭabarī, III, 718.

be lost. Instead, stay where you are, until I go back and prepare myself. I will come tomorrow night and bring you out. If you are attacked, I will fight to defend you, and shall have my equipment with me.'" Muḥammad said to him, "Go back to him and say to him, 'Do not leave, for I am coming out to you now. It cannot be avoided. I will not stay until tomorrow.'"

(Muḥammad) was apprehensive. He said, "The people and the *mawālī* and guards in charge of my gate have scattered from me. I am afraid that if I wait for the morning and the report of their scattering reaches Ṭāhir, he will come in to me and take me." He called for a black horse of his—a bobtail with a blaze on its forehead and white on its legs; he called it "al-Zuhrī."[669] Then he called for his two sons. He embraced them, smelled them, and kissed them. He said, "I commend you to God." His eyes [919] filled with tears, and he began to wipe them with his sleeve. Then he stood up and jumped onto the horse. We went out in front of him to the palace gate, until we had mounted our horses. Before him was a single candle. When we reached the arcades[670] next to Khurāsān Gate, my father said to me, "Muḥammad, stretch out your hand over him, for I fear that some man may strike him with a sword. If he is struck, the blow will hit you instead of him." So I threw the reins of my horse onto its mane and stretched out my hand over him, until we reached Khurāsān Gate. We ordered it to be opened and went out to the wharf. Harthamah's bark was there. (Muḥammad) went up to it. The horse began to hesitate and shy. He struck it with the whip and urged it onward, until he had ridden into the Tigris and boarded the bark. We took the horse, went back to the city, and entered it. We gave orders and the gate was locked. We heard the screaming, so we went up to the dome that was over the gate. There we stood, listening to the sound.

According to Aḥmad b. Sallām, the official in charge of peti-

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669. The vowels are uncertain; al-Zahrī, al-Zuhrā, al-Zahrā, and al-Zuharī are other possibilities. Mas'ūdī, VI, 476, reads al-Zuhayrī, al-Zuhayrā, or al-Zahīrī.

670. *Ṭāqāt*: The round city of Baghdad was surrounded by a triple wall (outer, main, and inner ramparts). The roadway into the city from each of the four main gates was bordered on either side between the main and inner wall by vaulted arcades. These originally contained shops, but later were occupied by the city police and horse guards. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 25–26.

tions and complaints,[671] who said: I was among the commanders who rode with Harthamah in the bark. When Muḥammad got into it, we stood up out of respect. Harthamah knelt on his knees and said, "Master, I cannot stand up because of my arthritis."[672] He embraced him, held him to his bosom, and then began kissing his hands, and feet, and eyes, saying, "My lord and master, the son of my lord and master!"

(Muḥammad) began to examine our faces. He looked at ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Waḍḍāḥ and said to him, "Which of them are you?" He replied, "I am ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Waḍḍāḥ." "Yes," he said. "May God reward you well. How thankful I am for what you did in the matter of the snow![673] If I meet my brother, may God preserve him, I will not fail to praise you before him and
[920] ask him to reward you on my behalf."

While we were about these things and Harthamah had given orders for the bark to push off, Ṭāhir's men attacked us in skiffs (*zawārīq*) and boats (*shadhawāt*). They raised a clamor and clung to the rudder. Some of them cut the rudder; others bored holes in the bark; others threw bricks and shot arrows. The bark was breached. Water entered it, and it sank. Harthamah fell into the water, and a sailor pulled him out. Each of us struck out as best he could. I saw how Muḥammad, having come to that state, was encumbered by his clothes, and how he threw himself into the water.

Then I came ashore. One of Ṭāhir's men caught hold of me and took me to a man who was sitting on an iron chair on the bank of the Tigris behind the Palace of Umm Jaʿfar with a fire lit before him. He said in Persian, "This is a man who came out of the water—one of the passengers in the bark who fell into the water." "Who are you?" he said to me. I said, "One of Harthamah's men. I am Aḥmad b. Sallām, the police chief (*ṣāḥib shurṭah*) of the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful." "You're lying," he said. "Tell me the truth."

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671. *Ṣāḥib al-maẓālim*: On the development of this insituation, see Amedroz, "The Maẓālim Jurisdiction in the Aḥkām Sulṭāniyya of Māwardī," *JRAS* (1911), 635–74; Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, 348–51.

672. *Niqris*: a swelling of the joints of the leg, either from arthritis or gout. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

673. *Sic.* I do not know to what this refers.

I said, "I have told you the truth." "Then what has happened to the Deposed One?" he said. I said, "I saw how he was encumbered by his clothes and how he threw himself into the water." He said, "Bring my horse." They brought his horse and he mounted. He gave orders that I should be led by his side.

A rope was put on my neck and I was led by his side. He turned onto al-Rushdiyyah Street. When he reached the Mosque of Asad b. al-Marzubān, I became out of breath from running and was unable to run. The person who was leading me said, "This man has stopped; he isn't running." "Dismount," he said, "and cut off his head." I said to him, "May I be made your ransom! Why will you kill me, when I am a man to whom God has shown favor? I wasn't able to run, but will ransom myself with 10,000 dirhams." When he had heard mention of the 10,000 dirhams, I said, "You shall detain me with you until the [921] morning and give me a messenger for me to send to my agent in my home in ʿAskar al-Mahdī. If he doesn't bring you the ten thousand, cut off my head." "You've made a fair offer," he said, and he commanded that I should be mounted. So I was mounted behind one of his companions. He took me to the house of his master—it was the house of Abū Ṣāliḥ the secretary (*al-kātib*). He took me into the house and commanded his slaves to keep me. He gave them orders and instructions. He found out from me the news about Muḥammad and how he had fallen into the water; so he went to Ṭāhir to tell him the news about him. He turned out to be Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī.

His slaves took me into one of the rooms of the house. There were reed mats in it, two or three pillows—and, in one version, some rolled-up mats.[674] I sat down in the room. They brought a lamp into it, checked the door of the house, and sat down to talk.

674. The reading of ed. Leiden, *fī riwāyah*, implies that this is a parenthetical remark by al-Ṭabarī, alluding to a different version of Aḥmad b. Sallām's account. Cf. p. 194, below, which seems to be such a version. But the text is suspect. On p. 193, Aḥmad b. Sallām goes behind the mats rolled up "in the corner (*fī zāwiyah*) of the room." Since *riwāyah* and *zāwiyah* differ in Arabic script only in the order of two letters and the presence or absence of a dot over the first letter of the word, the original reading here may also have been: "and, in a corner, some rolled-up mats."

After an hour of the night had passed, we suddenly heard horses moving. People knocked on the door. It was opened for them, and they entered, saying, "*Pusar-i Zubaydah!*"[675] A man was brought in to me, unclothed, wearing drawers, a turban veiling his face, and a tattered piece of cloth on his shoulders. They put him with me, ordered those in the house to guard him, and left additional men behind with them.

After the man had settled down in the room, he removed the turban from his face. It was Muḥammad! I wept and said to myself, "Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return."[676] He began looking at me and said, "Which of them are you?" I said, "I am your *mawlā*, master." "Which of the *mawālī*?" he asked. I said, "Aḥmad b. Sallām, the official in charge of petitions and complaints." "I know you from somewhere else," he said. "You used to come to me in al-Raqqah." "Yes," I said. He said, "You used to come to me and often showed me kindness. You are not my *mawlā*; you are my brother and one of my own [family]." Then he said, "Aḥmad—." "At your service, master," I said. "Come close to me," he said, "and hold me. I feel very
[922] frightened." So I held him to myself. His heart was beating so hard that it was about to burst his chest and come out. I kept holding him to me and calming him. Then he said, "Aḥmad, what has happened to my brother?" I said, "He is alive." "May God bring evil upon their postmaster!" he said. "What a liar he is! He said that he had died." He seemed to be apologizing for waging war against him. I said, "Rather, may God bring evil on your ministers!" "Say nothing but good about my ministers," he said, "for they are not at fault. I am not the first person to have sought a thing and been unable to achieve it." Then he said, "Aḥmad, what do you think they will do to me? Do you think they will kill me, or will they keep their oaths to me?" I said, "No, they will keep them for you, master." He began to draw around himself the tattered rag that was on his shoulders, drawing it and holding it with his upper arm on the right and left. I took off a lined cloak that I was wearing and said, "Master, throw this over you." "Alas," he said, "let me be. This is from

675. Persian for "Zubaydah's son," i.e., Muḥammad al-Amīn.
676. See note 23.

God, who is magnified and exalted. In this place it is better for me."

While we were thus, there was a knocking on the door of the house, and it was opened. An armed man came in to us and looked closely at him to confirm that it was he. When he became certain that it was, he left and locked the door. This was Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭāhirī. Thus I realized that the man would be killed.

I had yet to perform the odd prostration of my prayer.[677] I feared that I would be killed with him without having completed the prayer. So I stood up to complete an odd number of prostrations. "Aḥmad," he said. "Do not go away from me. Pray next to me. I feel very afraid." So I drew near to him. At midnight or close to it, I heard the movement of the horses. There was a knocking at the door, and it was opened. Some Persians entered the house with drawn swords in their hands. When he saw them, he stood up and said, "'Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return!' By God, my life has perished for the sake of God! Is there no escape? Is there no one to help? Is there none of the *Abnā*'?" [923]

They came and stood at the door of the room where we were. They drew back from entering it. They started saying to each other, "Go on," and pushing each other. I stood up and went behind the mats rolled up in the corner of the room. Muḥammad got up and took a pillow in his hand and started saying, "Woe unto you! I am the cousin of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace. I am the son of Hārūn. I am the brother of al-Ma'mūn. [Fear] God, [fear] God concerning my blood!" One of them came in to him—he was named Khumārawayh and was a slave (*ghulām*) of Quraysh al-Dandānī, Ṭāhir's *mawlā*. He struck him a blow with the sword. It landed on the front of his head. Muḥammad struck his face with the pillow that was in his hand and leaned on him to take the sword from his hand. Khumārawayh shouted in Persian, "He's killed

677. The reference is to a form of night prayer called *ṣalāt al-witr*, consisting of an odd number of prostrations (*rak'ahs*)—three or five. The narrator remembers that he has not yet completed the final one. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *watara*.

me! He's killed me!" A group of them came in. One of them pricked him in the hip with his sword. They got on top of him and slaughtered him, cutting the nape of his neck. They took his head and went with it to Ṭāhir. They left his body. A little before daybreak, they came for his body, wrapped it in a horse blanket, and carried it away.

In the morning, I was told, "Hand over the 10,000 dirhams, or we will cut off your head." So I sent to my agent. He came to me. I commanded him, he brought them, and I handed them over. Muḥammad's entry into the city had taken place on Thursday. He had gone out to the Tigris on Sunday.

Aḥmad b. Sallām is also reported to have said in this account: I said to Muḥammad, after he had come into the room with me and had become calm, "May God not reward your ministers well, for they brought you to this pass." He replied to me, "Brother, this is not the place for blame." Then he said, "Tell me about al-Ma'mūn, my brother: is he alive?" "Yes," I said, "this fighting—on whose behalf is it, if not his?" He said, [924] "Yaḥyā, the brother of ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿĀmir"—he was in charge of news in Harthamah's camp—"told me that al-Ma'mūn had died." I said to him, "He lied." Then I said to him, "This waist wrapper (*izār*) you are wearing is a coarse one. Put on mine and this shirt of mine, for it is soft." He said to me, "For someone in a state like mine, this is plenty." So I instructed him to turn his thoughts toward God[678] and pray for forgiveness, which he began to do.

While we were thus, suddenly there was a thud from which the floor almost shook, and behold, Ṭāhir's men had entered the house and headed toward the room. The door was narrow; so Muḥammad tried to hold them off with a pillow[679] that was

678. *Laqqantuhu dhikr Allāh*: The expression has a general sense here. In later times, the custom developed of whispering "instructions" into the ear of the dead man at the time of interment, so that he could answer the examining angels correctly. This instruction was called *talqīn* (from the same root as *laqqantuhu*). Cf. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 523–25; Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 553–54.

679. The text of the only manuscript reads *mijannah*, "shield." As ed. Leiden notes, the parallel in *Fragmenta*, 415a, reads *mikhaddah*, "pillow." The two words are easily confused in Arabic script. Because a pillow (referred to as a

with him in the room. As soon as they reached him, they threw him to the ground. Then they rushed at him and cut off his head. They went to meet Ṭāhir with it, and they carried his body to the Garden of Mu'nisah, to his camp. When 'Abd al-Salām b. al-'Alā', the commander of Harthamah's guard, came, (Ṭāhir) gave him permission [to enter]. He had crossed over to him by the bridge that was in al-Shammāsiyyah. ('Abd al-Salām) said to him, "Your brother [Harthamah] sends greetings to you. What is your news?" (Ṭāhir) said, "Lad, bring the basin." They brought it. Muḥammad's head was in it. "This," he said, "is my news! Let him know." In the morning, he set Muḥammad's head on al-Anbār Gate.[680] Countless residents of Baghdad went out to look at it, and Ṭāhir came to say that it was "the head of Muḥammad the Deposed."

According to Muḥammad b. 'Īsā: The Deposed One saw a louse on his garment. "What is this?" he said. They said, "Something that gets into the clothing of the people." He said, "May God protect me from the passing away of prosperity." He was killed that very day.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Abī Sa'īd: Both armies, that of Ṭāhir and that of the people of Baghdad, regretted the killing of Muḥammad because of the wealth they had been obtaining.

Also according to him: He mentioned that the repository (*khizānah*) holding the head of Muḥammad, the head of 'Īsā b. [925]
Māhān, and the head of Abū al-Sarāyā[681] was entrusted to him. [Continuing,] he said: I looked at the head of Muḥammad. There was a blow on his face. The hair of his head and beard was intact: none of it had fallen[682] off, and its color was unchanged.

Ṭāhir sent the head of Muḥammad to al-Ma'mūn, along with

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wisādah) already has been mentioned as in the room and it would be unlikely for the captors to have left al-Amīn in a room with military equipment with which to defend himself, *mikhaddah* is likely to have been the original reading.

680. Cf. *Fragmenta*, 415: "on the tower, the tower of the wall of the garden next to al-Anbār Gate. Al-Anbār Gate was opened and countless residents . . ."

681. I.e., al-Sarī b. Manṣūr, known by his *kunyah*, Abū al-Sarāyā, who in the following year (198/815) led an 'Alid uprising in al-Kūfah in the name of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (known as Ibn Ṭabāṭabā). The rebellion was put down, and Abū al-Sarāyā was executed on 10 Rabī' I 200 (October 19, 815). See Ṭabarī, III, 977–81, 984–87.

682. The reading of ed. Cairo (*yataḥātta*) is superior to that of ed. Leiden.

the mantle, the scepter, and the prayer rug—it was of palm leaves and lined—with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muṣʿab, his cousin.[683] Al-Maʾmūn ordered that he be given a million dirhams. I saw Dhū al-Riʾāsatayn bring the head of Muḥammad before al-Maʾmūn on a shield by his own hand. When the latter saw it, he prostrated himself.

According to al-Ḥasan [b. Abī Saʿīd]—Ibn Abī Ḥamzah—ʿAlī b. Ḥamzah al-ʿAlawī, who said: A number of members of the family of Abū Ṭālib[684] approached Ṭāhir while he was in the garden at the time of the death of Muḥammad the son of Zubaydah. We happened to be in the capital. He gave them and us gifts. He wrote to al-Maʾmūn granting us or some of us permission [for an audience]. So we set out for Marw, and then returned to Medina. People congratulated us on our good fortune. We met the residents and other people who were in Medina and described to them the death of Muḥammad and how Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn had summoned a *mawlā* of his named Quraysh al-Dandānī and ordered him to kill him. A certain old man among them said to us, "How did you say [his name was]?" I told him. The old man said, "Praise God! That is what we used to relate—that Quraysh would kill him. We assumed this meant the tribe [of Quraysh], but the name has fit with the name."

According to Muḥammad b. Abī al-Wazīr—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Barmak: When news of the death of Muḥammad reached Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, he exclaimed "Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return!" He wept a long time and then said:[685]

Turn aside at a place of wind-swept ruins,
    at al-Khuld [Palace], with its stones and bricks;
[926] With its polished marble that was gilded,
    and the door that was a door of pure gold:
Turn aside at it, and learn there
    with certainty the power of the Almighty.

683. Literally, "the son of his father's brother."
684. That is, descendants of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.
685. The poem is quoted with variants in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 201–2.

Take a message from me to the
master who is over the subordinate and the commander.
Tell him, "O son of him who was favored with [God's]
guidance,[686]
cleanse God's lands of Ṭāhir."[687]
He was not satisfied with severing his jugular veins,
as sacrificial animals are slaughtered with butchers' knives,
But went so far as to come dragging his limbs
with a rope, destroying [his limbs] as far as one can go,[688]
Death having already settled upon him,
and his eye having lost its sight.

When news of this reached al-Ma'mūn, it was distressing to him.

According to al-Madā'inī: Ṭāhir wrote [the following letter] to al-Ma'mūn about the victory:

> To proceed: Praise be to God the Exalted, the Possessor of power and glory, kingdom and dominion; Who, when He wills a thing, says to it only "Be," and it is; save Whom there is no god; the Merciful, the Compassionate.[689]
>
> Among the things that God determined and confirmed, ordained and established, were how that the Deposed One should break his oath of allegiance, violate his covenant, and be overthrown[690] in his strife, and how that He would decree that he would be slain for the deeds his hands had earned; and God is never unjust to His servants.
>
> I have previously written to the Commander of the Faithful, may God lengthen his life, about how God's

686. The poet addresses al-Ma'mūn as a relative of the Prophet.

687. There is a pun on *ṭahhir* ("cleanse") and the name Ṭāhir.

688. The text of the second hemistich is uncertain. The translation follows the reading and interpretation suggested by ed. Leiden, *Addenda*, DCCLXVII.

689. Cf. Qur'ān 36:82.

690. The unusual word (*irtikās*) recalls Qur'ān 4:88, 91, where the same root is associated with God's overthrow of those who become hypocrites or cause civil strife (*fitnah*).

army surrounded the [Round] City and al-Khuld [Palace]; how they occupied its outlets, its roads, and its ways of access on the Tigris, up to the streets of the City of Peace; how garrisons were set up around it; how I brought down ships and boats with *'arrādah*s and fighters opposite al-Khuld and the Khurāsān Gate to keep watch over the Deposed One, lest he practice some guile
[927] or follow a course of action whereby he might find a way to stir up strife, arouse discord, or provoke combat, after God, who is exalted and glorified, had encircled him and abandoned him; how messengers went repeatedly, conveying what Harthamah b. A'yan, the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful, was offering to him and asking of me: that the way should be cleared for him to go out to [Harthamah]; how I met with Harthamah b. A'yan to discuss the matter; and how I disliked what [Harthamah] proceeded to do on his own initiative regarding him after God had exhausted him and cut off his hope concerning every stratagem or support, after requisites had been cut off, and after he had been prevented from reaching water, let alone other things, so that his own servants and followers among the people of the city and those who had taken refuge in it with him wanted to kill him and conspired to fall upon him to protect and save their own lives. And there were other things, such as I have explained to the Commander of the Faithful, may God lengthen his life, and such as I hope have reached him.

I now inform the Commander of the Faithful that I carefully considered what Harthamah b. A'yan, the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful, had arranged regarding the Deposed One, what he had offered him, and what he had agreed to for him. I found that if he were to escape from his place, where God had made him dwell with humiliation and contempt, and where He had brought him into confinement and siege, civil strife would increase; the people lying in wait in the outlying areas would only grow more ambitious and unsettled. I informed Harthamah b. A'yan of this and of my dislike

of what he had given (al-Amīn) hope of and had agreed to for him. Harthamah, for his part, said he did not think it right to go back on what he had granted him. Having despaired of his changing his mind, I made an agreement with him: the Deposed One would send ahead the Prophet's mantle, sword, and scepter before leaving; then I would give him free passage to go out to (Harthamah). I did not want there to be any disagreement between myself and (Harthamah), by which we might reach a situation that would give the enemies hope against us, or any falling out of hearts, instead of [928] our unity. The agreement was on this basis and that we would meet at our appointed time on the eve of Saturday. So, with my closest confidants, men I have relied on and whose self-possession, valor, and loyalty I trust, I went and made a full inspection of those whom I had put in charge of the city and al-Khuld on land and water, and commanded them to be vigilant and alert, on guard and cautious. Then I went back toward the Khurāsān Gate. I had prepared barks and ships in addition to the existing equipment, so that I might ride them myself at the time of my rendezvous with Harthamah. I boarded them, together with a group of my closest confidants and hired men (*shākiriyyah*). I stationed a group of them, horsemen and foot soldiers, between Khurāsān Gate and the wharf and on the shore. Harthamah b. A'yan approached until he came close to the Khurāsān Gate, equipped and ready. He had tried to outwit me by a message to the Deposed One: he was to go out to him when he reached the wharf, and he would transport him before I knew of it or before he had sent me the mantle, the sword, and the scepter according to the terms on which he had agreed with me. When the Deposed One's departure was reported to those whom I had stationed at Khurāsān Gate, they came hurrying as soon as he came into their sight to check the seal, for I had given them an order and warned them not to allow anyone to pass without my order. He, however, tried to reach the wharf before them. Harthamah brought the bark up to it, and

the promise breaker reached it before my men. Kawthar was in the rear; my *mawlā* Quraysh captured him and with him the mantle, the scepter, and the sword. He took him and the things he had. The companions of the Deposed One fled when they saw that my forces [929] intended to prevent their Deposed One from leaving. Some of them rushed toward Harthamah's bark, which capsized with them, so that it filled with water and sank; others returned to the city. The Deposed One then threw himself out of the bark into the Tigris to reach safety on shore, regretting his having left, violating the promise, and proclaiming his rallying cry. A group of my aides, whom I had posted between the Khurāsān Gate wharf and al-Ṣarāt Point, hastened to him. They took him by force and compulsion, without pact or agreement. He proclaimed his rallying cry, persisted in his perfidy, and offered them 100 beads,[691] each of which, he said, had a value of 100,000 dirhams; but they insisted on being loyal to their caliph, may God preserve him, on upholding their religion, and on preferring their bounden duty. So they laid hold of him, God having delivered him up and left him solitary, each desiring him and wishing to obtain favor with me before his fellow, until disorder broke out among them.[692] They tried to subdue him with their swords, competing for him, and fearing lest he should elude them. Finally, there was appointed[693] for him one zealous for God, His religion, His Messenger, and His caliph, and he did away with him. Word of this reached me, and I commanded that his head should be carried to me. When it had been brought, I ordered those whom I had posted in the city, al-Khuld, and the surrounding area, and everyone else in the garrisons to remain in their places and secure

691. The word *ḥabbah* can mean either a bead, a small coin, or a unit of weight (0.0706 gram). See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 241; Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 1–5. Perhaps al-Amin was carrying jewels.

692. Alternative translation: "they fought among themselves."

693. The verb used here, *utīḥa*, normally is used of things ordained or destined by God.

their immediate vicinity, until my order should come to them. Then I left. Thus God has granted great benefit and victory to the Commander of the Faithful—to him, and to Islam through him and in him.[694]

In the morning, the people became excited and disagreed about the Deposed One. Some believed he had been killed, whereas others denied it; some doubted, whereas others were certain. So I thought it wise to dispel their uncertainty about him. I brought out his head for them to look at, that it might be verified in their eyes. Thus the confusion in their minds would be ended, along with the evil of sedition by those who seek corruption and hasten to strife. I went toward the city early in the morning. Those in it surrendered, and its people rendered obedience. The areas adjoining the [930] City of Peace on the east and the west—their quarters, suburbs, and districts—showed themselves loyal to the Commander of the Faithful. The war came to an end. (God) restored with peace and Islam the people of (peace and Islam). God has removed corruption from them. Through the blessing of the Commander of the Faithful, He has brought them into peace and tranquillity, into meekness, loyalty, and contentedness. Every benefit comes from God, the Almighty and Exalted, and every good thing; and to God be praise for this.

As I write this to the Commander of the Faithful, may God keep him, there is not in my presence any inciter to strife, or any instigator, or any mischief maker; there are only people who heed and obey, eager and ready. God has caused them to taste the sweetness of the Commander of the Faithful and the gentleness of his rule, so that they go about their affairs in its shadow, going early to their places of business, and returning late to their homes. God is the Bestower of this benefit, the Completer of it, and the One who will grant even more of it through His blessing.

I pray that God will gladden the Commander of the

694. The meaning of the end of the sentence is not clear.

Faithful with His favor; that He will continually increase it for him; that He will cause him to be thankful to Him for it; and that He will make His grace toward him continuous, lasting, and uninterrupted; until God unites for him the good of this world and of the world to come—for him, his friends, the upholders of his right, and for all the Muslims through his blessing, the blessing of his rule, and the good fortune of his caliphate. For He is their protector in this and faithful in it; and He is quick to hear and benevolent in what He desires.

Written on Sunday, four nights remaining in the month of Muḥarram 198.[695]

It has been mentioned concerning Muḥammad the Deposed that before his death, after he had gone into the city and had seen how events had turned against him and how his aides were slipping away and going out to Ṭāhir, he sat in the gallery[696] that he had made on [the Palace of] the Golden Gate.[697] [He had ordered it to be built some time earlier.] He commanded that all the commanders and soldiers who were with him in the city should be summoned; and so they were gathered in the courtyard (*raḥbah*). He looked down upon them and said:[698]

[931] Praise be to God who raises up and brings low, who gives and withholds, who straitens and enlarges; and to Him is the journeying. I praise Him even for time's misfortunes, the desertion of helpers, the scattering of men, the departure of wealth, the coming of misfortunes, and the arrival of disasters; praising Him with praise in return for which He will lay up for me the greatest reward and give me the best consolation. I bear witness

695. The day, Sunday, and the date [the 26th day of a thirty-day month] do not coincide. The last Sunday in Muḥarram, according to modern tables, was the 25th of the month (September 25, 813).

696. *Janāḥ* means "wing." Le Strange calls it a "belvedere" or "pinnacle," a covered gallery or balcony built high enough so that the caliph could look out at the courtyard of the palace and address a gathering. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 31–32.

697. On this palace, located at the center of the Round City, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 31–32.

698. Parallel: Mas'ūdī, VI, 443–44.

that there is no god but God alone—no partner has He—as He has testified to Himself, and as His angels have testified to Him; and that Muḥammad is His faithful servant and His messenger to the Muslims (may God bless him and grant him peace). Amen, O Lord of the worlds!

To proceed: O company of the *Abnā'* and people who preceded [all others] in following right guidance! You know of my negligence in the days when al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' was my vizier and adviser and how his days continued, causing me regret among courtiers (*khāṣṣah*) and commoners (*'āmmah*). Finally, you alerted me, and I took notice; you sought my aid in everything that displeased you in regard to myself and among you; and I gave you unsparingly what my kingdom contained and my power had obtained—what I had gathered and what I had inherited from my fathers. I named as commander someone who was not suitable and entrusted matters to someone who was not up to them. I strove—God knows—to gain your approval by every means I could; you strove—God knows—to displease me by every means you could. As part of this, I sent you 'Alī b. 'Īsā, an elder and senior man among you, and people who were merciful and affectionate toward you. It would take too long to mention what was done on your part. I forgave the offense and was generous. I acquiesced and told myself to be patient when I learned that victory had eluded him. I wanted you to remain as a garrison in Ḥulwān with the son of the elder statesman of your mission (*da'wah*), the man under whose father you had glory and through whom your obedience became complete, 'Abdallāh b. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭabah. You, however, reached a point in leaguing together against him that he could neither tolerate nor endure, led by a man of your [932]
own. Numbering 20,000, you aimed at me, revolting against your leader with Sa'īd al-Fard,[699] to whom you

699. Sa'īd "the Unique": The reference may be to Sa'īd b. Mālik b. Qādim. See p. 136, above.

> listened and whom you obeyed. Then, under the leadership of al-Ḥusayn,[700] you revolted against me, deposed me, and reviled me. You seized me, imprisoned me, bound me, and you forbade me from mentioning some things. The hatred in your hearts and your disobedience became greater and greater. But I praise God, as one who has submitted to His command and accepted His decree. Peace!

It has been said: After Muḥammad had been killed and the tumult had ceased, and after a guarantee of safety (*amān*) had been given to all and sundry[701] and the people had become calm, Ṭāhir came into the city on Friday and led the people in worship, preaching to them an eloquent sermon in which he quoted the [verses called] *al-Qawāri'*[702] from the Qur'ān. Among what has been preserved of it is that he said: "Praise be to God, 'Master of kingship, who gives kingship to whom He will, and takes away kingship from whom He will; He exalts whom He will, and abases whom He will; in whose hand is the good; and He is powerful over everything.'"[703]—along with [other] verses of the Qur'ān, which he made to follow one after the other. He urged obedience and the maintenance of unity (*jamā'ah*) and exhorted the people to hold fast to the rope of obedience. Then he returned to his camp.

It is mentioned: When Ṭāhir ascended the pulpit on Friday, a large group of Hāshimites, commanders, and others were present before him. He said:

> Praise be to God, "Master of kingship, who gives it to whom He will; who exalts whom He will, and abases

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700. For the attempted coup against al-Amīn under the leadership of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān, see pp. 108 ff., above.

701. Literally, "had been granted to white and black."

702. The original meaning of *qawāri'* (plural of *qāri'ah*) is "calamities," or "disasters," and it is used as the title of Sūrah 101 of the Qur'ān. However, the word came to be used to designate "verses that one reads when one is afraid of the *jinn* or men, so that one feels secure, such as the Verse of the Throne [2:255], the verses at the end of the Sūrah of the Cow [2:284–86], and the Sūrah of Yāsīn [36]; for they avert fear from whoever reads them, as if they upbraided the devil." (*Lisān*, V, 3597c).

703. Cf. Qur'ān 3:26.

whom He will; in whose hand is the good; and He is powerful over everything." "He does not set right the work of those who do corruption,"[704] and "He does not guide the devising of the treacherous."[705] Truly, the emergence of our victory came not of our own hands, nor from our own devising; rather, God has chosen [what is best] for the caliphate.[706] For He has made it a stay for His religion and a support for His servants, the governance of the provinces and the barring of the borders, the readying of provisions and gathering of tribute (*fay'*), the execution of judgment, the propa- [933] gation of justice, and the revival of the [Prophet's] tradition (*sunnah*) after vanities and reveling in destructive lusts had sapped it. He who inclines toward this world thinks well of the call of its beguilement: he draws out the milk of its prosperity, cleaves to the flower of its garden, and loves the splendor of its beauty. You have seen the fulfillment of God's promise—He is exalted and glorified—against the one who behaved insolently against Him: how He brought His strength and retribution upon him after he had turned from his promise, rebelled against Him, and disobeyed His commandment; and how His prohibition replaced him, and His admonition brought about his destruction.[707] So hold fast to the firm cords of obedience, and follow in the paths of unity (*jamā'ah*). Beware the fate of those who disobeyed and rebelled, who kindled the spark of civil strife and divided a people that had been at unity, so that God requited them with loss of this world and the next.

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704. Qur'ān 10:81.

705. Qur'ān 12:52.

706. Either *ikhtāra Allāhu li-l-khilāfah* is to be rendered "has chosen [the best for] the caliphate"—a construction attested elsewhere (see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 415)—or some words have fallen from the text. The version of the speech in *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* (II, 188 in ed. Bulaq; IV, 212 in the 1983 Beirut printing) reads: "God has chosen for the caliphate . . . him who will carry its burdens and assume its weight."

707. The text of the end of the sentence ("and how His prohibition . . .") is hopelessly corrupt. The phrase may originally have begun, "and altered His (i.e., God's) prohibition . . ." (*wa-ghayyara nahyahu*).

After Ṭāhir had conquered Baghdad, he wrote to Abū Isḥāq al-Muʿtaṣim[708]—one [authority] has mentioned that he in fact wrote this to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī,[709] but [most] people have said that he wrote it to Abū Isḥāq al-Muʿtaṣim:

> To proceed: It is distressing to me to write to a man of the caliphal family without having been given authorization to do so. However, it has been reported to me that you lean in opinion and incline in affection toward the promise breaker who has been deposed. If that is so, what I have written to you of it is quite enough. If it is not so, then peace be upon you, prince, and the mercy of God and His blessing!

At the bottom of the letter he wrote the following verses:

Your embarking upon the matter while the proper time for it was not made manifest
was ignorance, and your heedless opinion was [indeed] heedlessness.
How ugly a world it is in which those who do wrong acquire the portion of those who do right, and the vain man is deceived!

The Army Mutinies against Ṭāhir

In this year, the army mutinied against Ṭāhir after the killing of Muḥammad.[710] Ṭāhir fled from them and went into hiding for
[934] several days, until he set matters right with them. A report of why they mutinied against him and the consequences for him and them follows.

According to Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd, who mentioned that his father related [the following] to him: Ṭāhir's forces mutinied against him five days after the death of Muḥammad. Having no money at hand, he was hard pressed. He supposed that this had

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708. He was the third son of al-Rashīd and ruled as caliph from 218/833 to 227/842.

709. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī led a revolt against the rule of al-Ma'mūn in 202/817. See Ṭabarī, III, 1013–17, 1074–75, Cf. *Fragmenta*, 416.

710. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 207–8; *Fragmenta*, 416–17.

happened through the connivance of the people of the suburbs (*arbāḍ*) with them and that they were on the side of (the mutineers) against him. However, none of the people of the suburbs had made a move in the matter. The strength of his forces increased. Fearing for himself, he fled from the garden, and they plundered some of his property. He went to ʿAqarqūf,[711] having commanded the gates of the city and the gate of the palace to be guarded against Umm Jaʿfar and against Mūsā and ʿAbdallāh, the sons of Muḥammad. Afterward, he ordered that Zubaydah, along with Muḥammad's sons Mūsā and ʿAbdallāh, should be transferred from the Palace of Abū Jaʿfar to the Palace of al-Khuld. They were transferred on the eve of Friday, twelve nights before the end of Rabīʿ I (November 17, 813). They were taken the same night in a boat to Humayniyā on the west bank in the Upper Zāb district.[712] Afterward, he commanded that Mūsā and ʿAbdallāh should be taken to their uncle [al-Maʾmūn] in Khurāsān by way of al-Ahwāz and Fārs.

When the soldiers mutinied against Ṭāhir and demanded their pay (*arzāq*), they burned al-Anbār Gate, which was by the trench, and the Garden Gate (*Bāb al-Bustān*), and they brandished their swords. They continued thus that day and the next and shouted, "Mūsā, O Victorious One!"[713] People said that Ṭāhir had acted with good judgment in sending Mūsā and ʿAbdallāh away. Ṭāhir and the commanders who were on his side had withdrawn. Ṭāhir prepared to fight (the mutineers) and do battle with them, but when the commanders and notables learned of this, they went to him and apologized. They placed the blame on "foolish and immature persons" and asked him to pardon them, accept their apology, and be pleased with them. They guaranteed to him that they would never again do anything displeasing to [935]

711. ʿAqarqūf (vocalized ʿAqraqūf by Yāqūt) was a village four *farsakhs* (23.9 km, or 14.9 miles) from Baghdad on the Dujayl Canal, north of Baghdad and west of the Tigris. It was the site of a large mound, thought to be the grave of pre-Sasanian Persian kings. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v.; *EI*[2] s.v. ʿAḳarḳūf.

712. Humayniyā (or Humāniyah) was a village on the west bank of the Tigris about 60 miles downstream from Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 37; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, s.v. Humāniyah.

713. *Yā Manṣūr*—indicating their acceptance of al-Amīn's young son as caliph.

him, as long as he remained with them. Ṭāhir said to them, "By God, I departed from you only in order to bring down my sword upon you. I swear by God that if you ever again do anything like this, I will go back to my intention concerning you and will go out to do something you won't like!" In this way he broke their spirit. He commanded that the men be given four months' pay (*rizq*). One of the *Abnā'* said concerning this:

The commander swore—his word and his deed
were true—in the assembly of the evildoers:
If any of them became unruly or rioted,
wherever in the area it might be,
He would not argue with people from their assembly;
he would not delay, like a just man or one who grants a respite,
Until he had brought upon them great tribulation
that would leave their homes vacant ruins.

According to al-Madā'inī: After the soldiers had rioted and Ṭāhir had withdrawn, Sa'īd b. Mālik b. Qādim, Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid, and Hubayrah b. Khāzim rode to him with elders of the people of the suburbs (*arbāḍ*). They swore solemn oaths that none of the people of the suburbs had made a move during those days: what had taken place had not accorded with their opinion, nor had they wanted it. They guaranteed him the good behavior of their areas of the suburbs and that each of them would undertake in his area everything incumbent upon him, so that nothing disagreeable to him would befall him from any direction. 'Amīrah, the father of Shaykh b. 'Amīrah al-Asadī, and 'Alī b. Yazīd came to him with elders from the *Abnā'* and behaved toward him as Ibn Abī Khālid, Sa'īd b. Mālik, and Hubayrah had done. They told him that the *Abnā'* behind them were well disposed in their opinion and obedient to him. They had not been involved in anything his forces had done in the garden. Ṭāhir was pleased; however, he said to them, "The men are demanding their pay, and I have no money." So Sa'īd
[936] b. Mālik guaranteed them 20,000 dīnārs and conveyed them to him. Ṭāhir was pleased and went back to his camp in the garden. Ṭāhir said to Sa'īd, "I accept them from you as a debt to be owed by me." "No," he replied, "it is only a gift and a little

for your slave (*ghulām*) and for what God has made your due." So Ṭāhir accepted it from him and commanded that the soldiers be given four months' pay. They were satisfied and became quiet.

According to al-Madā'inī: There was a man named al-Samarqandī on Muḥammad's side. He used to shoot from *manjanīq*s that were on ships in the middle of the Tigris. Sometimes, the people of the suburbs (*arbāḍ*) would gain against Muḥammad's forces who were facing them in the trenches; so (Muḥammad) would send to (al-Samarqandī) and bring him to shoot at them. He was a marksman whose stones did not miss. (According to report, people had not yet been killed by stones at that time.) After Muḥammad was killed, the bridge was cut and the *manjanīq*s from which he had been shooting on the Tigris were burned. Al-Samarqandī feared for his life. Afraid that someone whom he had given cause to seek vengeance[714] would look for him, he went into hiding. The people looked for him. He hired a mule and left for Khurāsān, fleeing. While he was on the road, a man met him and recognized him. After he had passed on, the man said to the muleteer, "Alas for you! Where are you going with this man? By God, if you are taken with him, you will be killed. The least that will befall you is that you will be imprisoned." "Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return!" said the muleteer. "I recognized his name, by God, and had heard of him—God take his life!" So the muleteer hastened to his comrades—or he may have reached a garrison—and told them about him. The men [whom he told] were companions of Kundghūsh from Harthamah's forces. They took (al-Samarqandī) and sent him to Harthamah. Harthamah sent him to Khuzaymah b. Khāzim in the City of Peace, and Khuzaymah turned him over to someone whom al-Samarqandī had given cause to seek vengeance. He took al-Samarqandī out to the bank of the Tigris on the east side, and he was crucified alive.

People have mentioned: When they were about to fasten him to his beam of wood, a crowd gathered. Before they had fastened [937] him, he kept saying, "Yesterday you were saying, 'May God

714. That is, by killing one of the man's relatives.

not cause your hand to fail, O Samarqandī!' Today you have prepared your stones and arrows to shoot me." When the beam was raised, the people approached him, throwing stones, shooting arrows, and thrusting spears, until they killed him. Even after his death they kept shooting. The next morning they burned him: they brought fire to burn him and lit it, but it would not ignite. They threw cane and firewood on him and set fire to it. Part of him burned; part of him the dogs tore to pieces. This took place on Saturday, the 2nd of Ṣafar (October 1, 813).

A Description of Muḥammad b. Hārūn, His Agnomen, the Length of His Reign, and His Age[715]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad[716] and others: Muḥammad b. Hārūn—Abū Mūsā—came to power on Thursday, eleven days before the end of Jumādā I 193.[717] He was killed the eve of Sunday, six days before the end of Ṣafar 198.[718] His mother was Zubaydah, the daughter of Ja'far al-Akbar b. Abī Ja'far. His caliphate lasted four years, eight months, and five days. His *kunyah* (agnomen) has also been given as "Abū 'Abdallāh."

However, Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī[719] is mentioned as having said: The caliphate passed to Muḥammad b. Hārūn on the middle day of Jumādā II 193 (March 6, 809). In the year

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715. Parallels: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 202–5; *Fragmenta*, 342–44, 418. Cf. the biography in al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-wafayāt*, V, 135–39 (repeated in al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, IV, 46–48).

716. Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (b. ca. 120/737, d. 204/819 or 206/821), often called "Ibn al-Kalbī" after his father (d. 146/763), who himself was a genealogist, historian, geographer, and Qur'ān commentator, was a Shī'ī native of al-Kūfah who wrote prolifically on many subjects. See *EI*[2] s.v. al-Kalbī (Atallah).

717. I.e., 19 Jamādā I (February 10, 809). Compare the dates given on p. 2, above; Ya'qūbī, II, 536–37; Dīnawarī, 395–96; and *Fragmenta*, 342.

718. I.e., 23 Safar 198 (October 23, 813). Compare the date given on p. 181, above ("six days *from the beginning of* the month"). A confusion between the words *khalawna* ("having elapsed [since the beginning of the month]") and *baqīna* ("remaining [to the end of the month]") is possible. The 23rd of Ṣafar did indeed fall on a Sunday. Compare also the date given on p. 187 and implied below, placing al-Amīn's death on the 23rd of the previous month, Muḥarram.

719. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī was a great mathematician and chronologist. See *EI*[2] s.v. al-Khwārazmī (Vernet).

he came to power, Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, the governor of Mecca, led the pilgrimage. Abū al-Bakhtarī remained in charge of his governorship.[720] Ten months and five days after coming to power, Muḥammad dispatched ʿIṣmah b. Abī ʿIṣmah to Sāwah.[721] He appointed his son Mūsā heir apparent on the 3rd day of Rabīʿ I (December 15, 809). ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān was in charge of his police (*shuraṭ*). In the year 194, the pilgrimage was led by ʿAlī b. al-Rashīd. Ismāʿīl b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad [938] was in charge of Medina. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā was in charge of Mecca. Between the appointment of his son [Mūsā as heir apparent] and the encounter of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān with Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn and the death of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān in 195 there was one year, three months, and twenty-nine days. The Deposed One was killed the eve of Sunday, five nights before the end of Muḥarram (September 25, 813). His period in power accompanied by civil war was four years, seven months, and three days. After Muḥammad had been killed and the report of this reached al-Ma'mūn in a pouch from Ṭāhir on Tuesday, 12 Ṣafar 198 (October 11, 813), al-Ma'mūn made the report public. He gave permission to the commanders, and they came into his presence; al-Faḍl b. Sahl stood up and read the letter containing the report. He was congratulated on the victory, and they invoked God's blessing upon him. After the death of Muḥammad, Ṭāhir and Harthamah received a letter from al-Ma'mūn, saying that al-Qāsim b. Hārūn should be deposed [from the succession]. They made this public and sent out their letters to this effect. The letter deposing him was read on Friday, two nights before the end of the month of Rabīʿ I 198 (November 25, 813). According to what has reached me, Muḥammad's entire lifespan was twenty-eight years. He was tall, bald over the temples, fair, small eyed, hook nosed, handsome, big boned, and broad shouldered. His birthplace was al-Ruṣāfah.

It has been mentioned that Ṭāhir said after killing Muḥammad:

720. That is, the governorship of Medina. See Ṭabarī, III, 739, where Abū al-Bakhtarī Wahb b. Wahb is listed as Hārūn's last governor of Medina.

721. That is, ʿIṣmah b. Ḥammād b. Sālim. See p. 44, above. The *kunyah* of Ḥammād b. Sālim was "Abū ʿIṣmah." The date is mentioned here apparently as the first sign of military hostility on al-Amīn's part.

I killed the caliph in his residence,
and with the sword I caused his wealth to be plundered.

He also said:

I overcame people by force and strength,
and slew mighty heroes.
I dispatched the caliphate to Marw,
hastening its way to al-Ma'mūn.

Poems Composed about Muḥammad b. Hārūn and Elegies for Him

[939] Among the poems written in derision (*hijā'*) of him was the following:[722]

Why should we weep for you? Why?—because of [your] raptures,
Abū Mūsā [al-Amīn]? because of [your] promoting of amusement?
Because of [your] omission of the five [prayers] in their times,
in your eagerness for the juice of the grape?
For Shanīf[723] I do not weep;
as for Kawthar, the thought of his death gives me no grief.
You did not know what was the measure of [God's] pleasure,
nor did you know the measure of [His] wrath.
You were not fit to rule,
and the Arabs did not grant you obedience as ruler.
You who weep for him, may the eye
of whoever caused you to weep have wept only for wonder!
Why should we weep for you?—because you exposed us
to *manjanīq*s, and at times to being plundered,
And to people who made us their slaves—
because of them the tail seeks to gain power over the head—
In torment and wasting siege
that blocked the roads, so that there was no way to [obtain] one's needs?

722. Eleven verses of the poem with variants are quoted in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 205.

723. Apparently, Shanīf, like Kawthar, was one of al-Amīn's eunuchs.

They have alleged that you are alive and recruiting [soldiers]:
anyone who has said this has lied.
Would that whoever has said it, in isolation
from all, were to go where he has gone!
God made it necessary for us to kill him:
when He necessitates something, it indeed becomes necessary.
By God, he was a trial for us:
God became angry with him and wrote [His decree].

'Amr b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Warrāq composed the following, lamenting Baghdad, deriding Ṭāhir, and speaking evil of him:[724]

Who has smitten you, Baghdad, with the [evil] eye?
Were you not for a long time the delight of the eye?
Were there not in you people possessing nobility, [940]
who would meet me with good deeds and kindness?
Were there not in you people whose dwelling
and whose residence were a great adornment?
Time cried to them of departure; so they separated.
How the pain of departure grieved me!
I commend to God people whom I never remember
but that tears flow from my eye.
They once were; then a fate separated and dispersed them:
for fate it is that separates the two sides.
How many of them were helpers to me against my fate!
How many among them were generous to me with assistance!
How goodly was the time that united us!
Where is the time that has departed? Whence [has it departed]?
You who are devastating Baghdad that you may reside in it,
you have destroyed yourself between the two ways.
The hearts of all people were one—
ready money—and being ready money is not like [being] a debt [to be paid later]—

724. Five verses of this poem have been quoted on p. 137, above, with variant readings.

When you dispersed them. You divided them into parties,
and the people one and all were [divided] between two hearts.

According to 'Umar b. Shabbah[725]—Muḥammad b. Aḥmad
[941] al-Hāshimī: Lubābah, the daughter of 'Alī b. al-Mahdī, said:[726]

I weep for you not because of [lost] happiness and companionship,
but because of exalted deeds, the spear, and the shield.
I weep for a mortal[727] by whose death I have been grieved,
who made me a widow before the wedding night.

Some have said that this poem was composed by the daughter of 'Īsā b. Ja'far, who was betrothed to Muḥammad.

Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Ashqar,[728] a *mawlā* of [the tribe of] Bāhilah, composed [the following], lamenting Muḥammad. One of Muḥammad's boon companions, he did not believe Muḥammad had been killed and expected him to return.

Best of your family (though they alleged otherwise),
because of you I am sore wounded and grieving.
God knows that I have a liver
that is thirsty because of you, and an eye that weeps.
Though I lament the loss I have suffered,
I hold within me more than I express.
Why did you not remain to meet our need

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725. Abū Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah (b. 173/789, d. 262/875), a traditionist and historian, was a pupil of al-Madā'inī. According to Ṭabarī, II, 168, Ṭabarī personally studied 'Umar b. Shabbah's *Kitāb Akhbār ahl al-Baṣrah* under the author. See Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 345.

726. The poem, with three additional verses, is quoted in Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, I, pt. 2, p. 773, with the following note in the margin: "Ibn Shādhān said that this poem about Muḥammad al-Amīn was by Lubābah, the daughter of Mūsā al-Hādī. She was al-Amīn's cousin and was betrothed to al-Amīn, but he was killed before the marriage was consummated." Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, III, 225, gives the woman's name as Lubānah, the daughter of Rayṭah b. 'Alī. "Her verses for the occasion became the type for the use of noble ladies who lost their husbands before the marriage was consummated" (Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, 222). Cf. also Mas'ūdī, VI, 485.

727. Variant in Mubarrad and Mas'ūdī: "a horseman" (*fāris*); Ibn 'Abd Rabbih: "a master" (*sayyid*).

728. That is, the poet al-Ḥusayn al-Khalī'. Twenty verses are quoted in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 202–3.

forever? Why did harm not come to someone else?
You succeeded caliphs who came before,
but after you the succession will surely be wanting.
May your kin not sleep after their offense:
after it I have come to hate your kin.
By rending open your inviolability, they rent open
the Prophet's sanctuary, before which [hang] curtains.
Your relatives who deserted [you] attacked:
all of them avow their disgrace.
When they came, they did not do at the shore
what a jealous, proud person would do.
They left their father's harem to be plundered,
while the chaste women were screaming and shouting.[729]
Beside themselves, they allowed their ankles to be seen—
the young girls among them—and the middle-aged lamented.
Their kerchiefs were snatched away: exposed was
she who wore a veil, and earrings were wrested away.
Among the plunder the women were like [942]
pearls that a shell has opened to reveal.
[He was] a king whose kingdom fate diminished,
so that he grew weak: time's shiftings are various.
How unlikely it is that after you
our[730] strength will endure and our honor last!

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729. This line and the line below, "How unlikely it is that after you *their* strength will endure and *their* honor last," are quoted in *Aghānī*, VI, 204, with the following story: "According to al-Ṣūlī, from al-Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā, who said that al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk had told him: 'I was determined to write an elegy for al-Amīn, giving free rein to my tongue, and relieving my grief. However, Abū al-'Atāhiyah met me and said to me, "Ḥusayn, I sympathize with you and like you. I know how you feel about al-Amīn. He deserves to be elegized by you. But you have given your tongue free rein from grief and pain over him, saying things that verge on disparagement and defamation of someone else and incitement against him. Al-Ma'mūn is about to descend into Iraq to come against you. Save yourself! Alas, do you dare to say...?"—and he quoted the two lines. "Curb your tongue's vehemence! Withdraw what has been published in your name, and remedy the excess you have committed." Realizing that he had given me good advice, I thanked him and stopped composing. Because of his advice I escaped—and just barely!'"

730. *Aghānī* reads "their strength," and "their honor," referring specifically to the members of the 'Abbāsid family who sided with al-Ma'mūn. See note 729.

They did not respect solemn documents,
under which there is the grave for betrayers.
After an oath to God will you kill him?
Killing after a promise of safety is an outrage!
Tomorrow you shall know by an [evil] consequence
the power of God; so consider and halt.
You whose sleep is diminished by sleeplessness,
the lamentations have subsided, yet your heart is grieving.
To me you were a sufficient hope;
then it passed away, and grief took its place.
The order of things became confused; things hateful to us became
approved; and after your death, what was approved became hated.
Unity has been disrupted because of your loss:
the world is left untended,[731] and the mind is grieved.[732]

He also said, lamenting him:

Whenever the trustworthy one remembers, he laments al-Amīn;[733]
even if the carefree man sleeps, he makes his eyelids hot [with tears].
Dwellings between Buṣrā[734] and Kalwādhā
have not ceased to arouse sadness for me.
The courtyards of kingship are empty;

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731. The metaphor implicit in the Arabic *sudan* is that of an animal left to pasture by itself. There is an allusion to Qur'ān 75:36, "What, does man reckon he shall be left to roam at will?"

732. The reading of ed. Cairo *wa-l-bālu munkasifu* ("the mind is grieved," literally, "eclipsed, darkened") is preferable to ed. Leiden's *wa-l-bālu munkashifu* ("the mind is uncovered"), which the Leiden glossary (CDLIII) explains as meaning "the covering of the heart is uncovered from fear."

733. The Arabic text could also be translated, "When al-Amīn is mentioned, he (the poet) laments for al-Amīn; even if he goes to sleep free of [other] care, he causes his eyelids to become hot [with tears]." There is a pun on the name "al-Amīn" and the adjective *amīn*, "trustworthy, faithful."

734. The town of Buṣrā (not to be confused with a similarly named city in Syria) lay on the Tigris about 10 *farsakhs* (37.2 miles) upstream from Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 50.

in them the winds blow to and fro, weaving them diversely.[735]
Time has diminished the might of their inhabitant—
[time], which made sport of the ancient generations.
After they had lived in unity, time scattered them:
I used to cling to the goodness of their friendship.
After their departure I have not seen goodness like them,
nor have the eyes of beholders seen them.
O my grief, though enemies rejoice [at his misfortune]!
Alas for the Commander of the Faithful!
After your death, those who seek bounty cannot find it,
and the mounts of petitioners are left to rest.[736]
To your court every day they used to [943]
come late and early with good fortune.
He was the mountain: the heights hurled themselves down
at the sound of his collapse, and the righteous were seized with fear.
After your death the world will mourn for [your] protection,
and after your death it will mourn for the religion that was defended [by you].
The brightness of everything has departed,
and religion has again become outcast and despised.
The might of one linked with Kisrā[737] and his nation
has become firmly established, and the Muslims have been humbled.

He also said, lamenting him:

O my grief over you! One closer [to you] in kinship than I has forgotten you,
while my griefs for you increase!

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735. The image is borrowed from the descriptions of abandoned campsites in pre-Islamic poetry, where the sand blown into delicate ripples by the wind evokes the passage of time and the loss of dear ones.

736. That is, people no longer tire their camels in long journeys to seek al-Amīn's patronage. The theme of the journey across the desert to a patron of great generosity is common in pre-Islamic poetry.

737. The Arabs called any of the Persian kings who ruled Iraq and Iran before the Arab conquest "Kisrā" [from Persian *Khusraw*]. The line alludes to al-Ma'mūn's "Persianness."

The following was composed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Hudāhid, lamenting Muḥammad:

Flow, O tears: he has been cut off from his cord,
and we have lost the copiousness of his rain.[738]
A disaster's hand snatched away your prosperity;
you became a thing whose misfortunes we bear with patience.
Death has come to have a banner among us:
death's tooth laughs from his banner.
What caused the blow of death to descend upon
the most generous person who ever alighted on his family's soil—
God's viceroy (*khalīfah*)[739] in His creation?
The hands of kings fell short of his virtues;
The radiance of a moon shone from his face;
and from his light the darkness of its shadow was dispelled.
[944] The Earth was shaken in its quarters,
when the sword was made to lap up his spilled blood.
Anyone whose soul is calm at his fall,
whether he be an ordinary man or a member of his family,
May I see such a one in a situation like the one in which he saw [al-Amīn],
so that they [all] taste something bitterer[740] than his illness.
How many a mighty one of a kingdom have we seen
taken away from his family and his servants!
O king beyond whom there is no king
among the nations of the Seal of the Prophets:
You who were generous and gave life to the place where you dwelt,
and from whose rain an abundant dropping flowed:
If death desisted from a man worthy of trust,
to the level of whose foot [and no higher] it (sc. death) was

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738. The generosity of al-Amīn is compared to a continuous rain (*dīmah*, pl. *diyam*).

739. Both the title "caliph" and its literal meaning of "successor, viceregent" are intended.

740. The vocalization of ed. Cairo (*tadhūqa l-amarra*), followed here, yields a metrical line; ed. Leiden's vocalization *tadhawwaqa l-amra* is unmetrical.

made equal in strength;
Or [if death desisted from] a king whose power is not challenged,
save as the grim-faced [lion] is challenged in his lair:
Nobility would have made you immortal, as long as night passes away,
or the clouds of evening rise on high;
Sovereignty, when you clothed yourself in it,
would have caused the teeth of evildoers to gnash from regret;
He of the [Heavenly] Throne would have made a mark upon your enemies, [945]
as He made a mark upon His 'Ād and His Iram.[741]
May God not deprive of effect a Sūrah[742] that has been recited
for the best caller [to Islam] He ever summoned into His sanctuary.
I was only like the dream of a dreamer
who was made to enter the door of happiness in his dream;
Until, when his sleep released him,
he again felt the absence [of happiness].

He also said, lamenting him:

I say, being about to flee,
"May you be watered with rain, O Palace of al-Qarār!"[743]
Time's hand shot you with an arrow to the eye,
and you became scorched by the smoke of fire.
Tell me of your assembly: Where have they alighted?
In what place may they be visited,[744] after [this] place of visiting?
Where are Muḥammad and his two sons? How is it
that I see as traces of their habitation blackened buildings?

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741. 'Ād (an ancient tribe) and Iram (a city) are cited as examples of God's destruction of evildoers. The two names are juxtaposed in Qur'ān 89:6–7.

742. Following ed. Cairo *Allāhu sūratan*; ed. Leiden's *Allāh ṣayyūratan* is metrically difficult. Both readings are conjectural emendations of a single manuscript reading.

743. Arabic elegies often express the hope that the grave may be rained on, as water is a sign of blessing.

744. Ed. Cairo's *mazāruhum* is metrically preferable to ed. Leiden's *zamruhum*, "their company."

It is as if they had never been made at ease in a tranquil kingdom,
that protected against kings by the best protector.
[He was] an imām who in times of trouble was a help
to us, and a cloud bestowing rain.
Time has left the sons of his father
overwhelmed by black seas.
They caused their sun to perish, so that misfortune came,
and they came to be in darkness without daylight.
They drove out from themselves a light-giving moon,
and the horses of evildoers trod them down.
Had they been a match for them and equal to them,
they would not have been crowned with crowns of shame.
Verily, the imām has departed, and his two heirs
have made our bowels burn with fire.
[946] They said, "Al-Khuld has been bought." I said, "In ignominiousness
that will bring its buyers to abasement."
Thus the kingdom will follow its former [rulers],
when stability is cut off from al-Qarār [Palace].[745]

Muqaddis b. Ṣayfī said, lamenting him:

My friend, what have events brought upon you,
that weeping has become your obedient servant?
From disaster's heights has descended
a disaster that hearts cannot resist.
In the cemetery of the garden is a grave:
dwelling beside his grave is an alien lion.
The disaster of his loss was grievous to anyone
who has a portion in deeds of nobility.
For men such as he tears are shed,
and in assemblies to mourn him garments are rent.
Zubaydah held back no tears from him
to be bestowed on kinswoman or kinsman.
Leave Mūsā his son to lament a calamity:
distress has befallen Mūsā his son.

745. The line puns on the meaning of *qarār*, "stability."

I have seen the assemblies of the caliphs
empty of him; in their court there is no one who answers.
May it gladden you that I, a mature man,
dissolve [in tears] for him, and my liver dissolves within me.
He who was far away was afflicted because of him and bowed down in grief;
he who caused disquiet saw his own day in him.[746]
I call from the bowels of the earth a person
whom the summons would stir, but he does not reply.
If wars[747] announce the death of any soul to him,
the wars [themselves] have been grieved by his fall.

Khuzaymah b. al-Ḥasan wrote [the following poem], lamenting him through the words of Umm Ja'far:[748]

To the best imām, risen from the best lineage;
to the most excellent person who ever ascended the boards of a pulpit;
To the inheritor of the ancients' knowledge and understanding;
to the king al-Ma'mūn,[749] from Umm Ja'far:
As I write to you, my tears fall heavily [947]
from my eyelids and eye, O my cousin.
Harm and the abjectness of grief have befallen me;
my thoughts have banished sleep from my eye, O my cousin.
I am distraught because of what I suffered after his affliction:
my state is grievous and most loathsome.
I will complain of what I suffered after the loss of him
to you, as one complains who is beside herself, overwhelmed.
I make request because of what has passed over me since I lost him,

746. The verse appears to be a veiled reference to al-Ma'mūn.

747. The text and meaning of the line are uncertain. The word "wars" (*ḥurūb*) is the editor's conjecture. The manuscript reads *ḥurūf*, "letters, sounds, words."

748. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 203–4, quotes the text and adds: "After reading the poem, al-Ma'mūn wept and said, 'By God, I will seek vengeance for my brother—may God strike his murderers dead!'" Mas'ūdī, VI, 486–87, quotes eight verses. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, III, 215, quotes six verses of the poem and attributes them to Abū al-'Atāhiyah.

749. Both the proper name and its meaning "the trustworthy one" are intended.

for you are the best person to rectify and remedy my sorrow.
Ṭāhir came—may God not account Ṭāhir pure![750]
In regard to what he did, Ṭāhir will never be purified!
He made me go out with my face uncovered and without a head cloth;
he plundered my wealth and burned my homes.
Hārūn would be grieved by what I have suffered
and what has befallen me from one who is deficient in nature, depraved.[751]
If what he perpetrated was because of a command you gave,
I will suffer patiently the command of a Powerful Ordainer.
Remember my kinship, O Commander of the Faithful:
I give my life as your ransom, worthy of reverence as you are, and given to remembering.

[948] He also said, lamenting him:

Glory be to your Lord, the Lord of might, the Everlasting!
How we were afflicted the morning of that Sunday!
How all Islam has been afflicted
with the decline and weakening of its two stays!
Whoever was not afflicted by [the death of] the Commander of the Faithful, and did not
come to be in peril, with anxiety increasing,
Yet I have been afflicted by him, until it has become evident in my mind and my religion, in my [enjoyment of] this world and my body.
O night, of whose passage Islam will complain—
and all mankind—until the end of eternity,
You betrayed the king who presaged good fortune,
the imām, the valiant lion.
Fate came to him: it disquieted him;
it accosted him with a multitude of villains,
With *shūrajīs*[752] and people of unclear language,[753] led by

750. The verse puns on the meaning of the name "Ṭāhir": "clean, pure, blameless."

751. *A'war* ("one-eyed") seems to be used here in its extended sense of "bad, corrupt, abominable."

752. For the origin of this term, originally applied to slaves who worked reclaiming salt-encrusted land, see note 606.

Quraysh [al-Dandānī], with swords, in shirts of mail.
They encountered him when he was alone, having no one to help him
against them, without supporters to bring him aid.
They made him drink of death, when he was unable to defend himself:
alone—and what an unequalled submitter he was!
He met their faces[754] with a face not lacking dignity, [949]
more beautiful and unstained than new Qūhistān tunics.[755]
O my grief, when Quraysh closed in on him,
and the sword was quivering in a quivering hand!
He did not move; he remained erect,
with his head lowered; he did not say a word;[756]
Until, when the sword reached the middle of his head,
his hands brushed it away, as one does who is calm.
He arose; his hands held fast to the base of his neck,
like a fierce shaggy lion rushing into danger.
He dragged it;[757] it fell; he brought it
to the ground with the hand of a cornered, angry lion.
He almost had killed him, had they not outnumbered him;
he rose, freeing himself from him, but he hardly could.
This is the report about the Commander of the Faithful;
I have not omitted a word from it or added anything.
May I not cease to mourn him until death, even though
that destroyed him which destroyed Lubad.[758]

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753. *Aghtām* are people who do not speak [Arabic] clearly or correctly. It is synonymous with *'ajam*, Persians—just as the Greeks called all speakers of other languages "*barbaroi*," i.e., babblers. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VI, 2229.

754. The margin of the manuscript gives the alternate reading, "swords" [Leiden note].

755. Literally, than new *qūhī* garments; i.e., made of a white cloth imported from Qūhistān [Persian, Kūhistān] province. Cf. ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CDXLI.

756. Literally, "he did not [say] anything for the first time, nor anything for the second time." For the idiom, see Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 163.

757. Apparently the antecedent is the sword, but the pronouns are ambiguous and could refer to Quraysh [translate "him"].

758. That is, even though time or fate destroyed him, as it destroyed Lubad, the last of the seven vultures of the legendary sage Luqmān, whose life was to end with the death of Lubad. See Lane, *Lexicon*, VII, 2646; *EI*[2] s.v. Luḳmān [Heller].

According to al-Mawṣilī, who said: When Ṭāhir sent the head of Muḥammad to al-Ma'mūn, Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn wept and said, "He has drawn down upon us people's swords and their [950] tongues. We commanded him to send him as a prisoner, and he sent him slaughtered." Al-Ma'mūn said to him, "What is past is past. Use your ingenuity to find an excuse for it." So the men wrote and kept at the task. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf produced a small piece of paper containing the following:[759]

> To proceed: The Deposed One was indeed the partner of the Commander of the Faithful in lineage and kinship; however, God made a distinction between them in right of succession and honor; for the one forsook the bonds of religion and departed from the common interest[760] of Muslims. God, the Mighty and Exalted, relating to us the story of the son of Noah, says, "He is not of thy family; he is a deed not righteous."[761] Thus, there is no obedience to anyone in disobedience to God, and there is no rupture [of the obligations of kinship] if the rupture takes place for the sake of God. My letter to the Commander of the Faithful comes after God has slain the Deposed One and clothed him with the cloak of his perfidy. He has set the affairs of the Commander of the Faithful on a firm basis. He has accomplished His promise to him and what was expected from His sincere promise, when by him He restored union after it had been broken, joined together the community after it had

759. For Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, al-Ma'mūn's secretary, also known for his letters, aphorisms, and verses, see *EI*[2] s.v. [Sourdel]. *Qirṭās* normally referred to papyrus at this period. Sourdel, *Vizirat 'abbaside*, 206 n., summarizes the attributions given by other historians to the letter. Parallels: Ya'qūbī, II, 536–37; *Fragmenta*, 418.

760. *Al-amr al-jāmi'*: the phrase means "the business that joins (the Muslims) together."

761. Qur'ān 11:46. Cf. the preceding verses: "And Noah called to his son, who was standing apart, 'Embark with us, my son, and be thou not with the unbelievers!' He said, 'I will take refuge in a mountain, that shall defend me from the water.' Said he, 'Today there is no defender from God's command but for him on whom He has mercy.' And the waves came between them, and he was among the drowned."

been fragmented, and restored the banners of Islam after they had become tattered.

Some Aspects of the Conduct and Mode of Life of the Deposed Muḥammad b. Hārūn[762]

According to Ḥumayd b. Sa'īd, who said: After he became ruler and after al-Ma'mūn wrote to him and gave him his allegiance, Muḥammad sought out eunuchs and purchased them, spending inordinately on them. He appointed them to [attend on] his private quarters by night and by day, his provisions of food and drink, and his decisions commanding or forbidding. Some he enrolled into a special unit (*farḍ*) that he named "al-Jarādiyyah," and others, Abyssinians, he enrolled into a special unit which he named "al-Ghurābiyyah."[763] He forsook both free women and [951] slave girls, so that they were sent away. Concerning this, a certain poet said:[764]

O you who stay long at your residence in Ṭūs,
    far from your family, who cannot be ransomed by [other] lives:
You have left behind a husband for the eunuchs—
    someone who has endured the bad luck of Basūs from them![765]
As for Nawfal, he is a person of importance.
    What a companion Badr is!

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762. Parallel: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 205–7.

763. Cf. the reference to the two groups in the poem quoted on p. 142, above, where the Jarādiyyah are identified as *Ṣaqālib*, or Slavs, and note 539, explaining the possible origin of the name. "Ghurābiyyah" is derived from the word for raven, *ghurāb*, with reference to their black skins. See Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, 210–11. On *farḍ*, troops not on the regular muster roll and paid contractually, see ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CDI; also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, glossarium, s.v.

764. Quoted with variants in Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 205–6.

765. The line echoes the proverb, "More unlucky than Basūs." The origin of the proverb was unclear even to the early Arabic lexicographers. One explanation is that Basūs was a pre-Islamic Arab woman whose camel caused a forty-year war between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib. See *Lisan*, s.v. (ed. Cairo, I, 281). The translation follows the vocalization of ed. Leiden. I would prefer to vocalize *taḥammalu* (for *tataḥammalu*) and to translate, "a husband for the eunuchs, from whom you will endure the bad luck of Basūs."

Neither is Bashshār al-ʿUṣmī,
when they are mentioned, the possessor of a lowly share with him;
Nor does young Ḥasan have a lowlier lot
with him when the cups are passed round.
They have one half of his life;
in the other half he applies himself to drinking old wine.
Young women have no share with him,
except frowning with a gloomy face.
If the chief is so ill,
how does it fare with us after the chief?
If the one staying in the residence of Ṭūs knew,
it would distress the one staying in the residence of Ṭūs!

[Continuing,] Ḥumayd said: After Muḥammad became ruler, he sent to all the countries in search of entertainers. He attached them to his court and paid them salaries. He went all out in buying swift horses. He obtained wild animals, lions, birds, and such things.[766] He secluded himself from his brothers, family members, and military commanders and held them in contempt. He divided whatever was in the treasuries and the jewels that were in his residence among his eunuchs, table companions, and confidants. Whatever jewels, stores, and weapons were in al-Raqqah were also brought to him. He commanded the building of audience rooms (*majālis*) for his villas (*mutanazzahāt*) and his places of retreat, amusement, and sport at al-Khuld Palace, al-Khayzurāniyyah, the Garden of Mūsā, ʿAbdūyah[767] Palace, al-Muʿallā Palace, Raqqat Kalwādhā, al-Anbār Gate, Banāwarī,[768] and al-Hūb. He ordered five barks (*ḥarrāqāt*) to be built on the
[952] Tigris in the shape of a lion, an elephant, an eagle, a serpent, and a horse, spending a great deal of money on their construction. Abū Nuwās[769] said, praising him:

766. Cf. the anecdotes in Masʿūdī, VI, 431–33, about exotic fishes, lions, and so forth.

767. Also vocalized *ʿAbdawayh*.

768. Banāwarī (the reading is uncertain) was the name of the village (also called Bayāwarī) that had stood on the site of the Karkh suburb, south of the Kūfah Gate of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 67.

769. Abū Nuwās al-Ḥasan b. Hāniʾ al-Ḥakamī (b. 139/756, d. between 195 and 198) was known for his poems celebrating wine and young boys. See *EI*[2] s.v. Abū

God has made subject to al-Amīn riding animals
that never were made subject to the master of the temple.[770]
Whereas the mounts of the latter traveled by land,
the former has traveled on the water riding a lion of the jungle:
A lion that stretches out its arms, advancing quickly,
wide of mouth, grim of teeth.
He does not master it with bridle or whip,
or with pressure of his foot in the stirrup.
People marveled when they saw you on the image
of a lion, moving as fast as the clouds.
"Praise God!" they shouted, when they saw you traveling on it:
What if they had seen you atop the eagle—
With its breast, its beak, and its wings,
cutting through wave after wave;
Outstripping the birds in the sky whenever one
urges it to speed in coming or going!
May God bless the commander and preserve him. [953]
May He preserve for him the garment of youth.
—A king for whom no praises are adequate,
a Hāshimite inspired to the right course!

According to al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who said: The Commander [of the Faithful] built a great ship on which he spent 3 million dirhams. He also obtained one in the shape of a sea-creature called the dolphin. Abū Nuwās al-Ḥasan b. Hāni' said about this:[771]

The "moon of the night" has mounted the dolphin;
rushing into the water, he has sailed the deep.
The Tigris shone with his beauty;
the people[772] shone and rejoiced.

Nuwās (Wagner); Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 543–50. The poem, with variants, may be found in *Dīwān*, I, 265–66; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 206, quotes six verses.

770. According to Qur'ān 34: 12–13, God subjected the wind and certain of the *jinn* to work for Solomon. The *jinn* assisted Solomon in his construction projects: "places of worship (*maḥārib*, pl. of *miḥrāb*, translated here as 'temple'), statues, porringers like water-troughs, and anchored cooking-pots."

771. The poem, with variants, can be found in *Dīwān*, I, 266.

772. Variant: "the banks (of the river)."

Never has my eye seen a boat like it,
    better at going forward or veering round.
Urged on by its oars,
    it speeds over the water or goes at a gentle pace.
God has bestowed it upon al-Amīn alone,
    who has been crowned with the crown of kingship.

According to Aḥmad b. Isḥāq, who was the grandson of the Kūfan singer Barṣawmā,[773] and who said: Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar was one of the important men
[954] of the Banū Hāshim in strength, intellect, and deeds. He used to keep eunuchs (*khadam*, pl. of *khādim*). One of his favorite eunuchs, who was named Manṣūr, became angry with him and fled to Muḥammad. He came to the latter while he was in the palace of Umm Jaʿfar known as al-Qarār. Muḥammad received him very warmly, and the eunuch enjoyed unusually good favor with him.

One day the eunuch rode out with a group of Muḥammad's eunuchs who were called *al-Sayyāfah* ("Swordsmen"). He passed by the gate of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh, wanting to show al-ʿAbbās's eunuchs his appearance and condition. Word of this was brought to al-ʿAbbās, who ran out in a shirt, without a turban, with a leather-covered staff in his hand. He overtook the eunuch in Suwayqat Abī al-Ward[774] and caught hold of the reins [of his horse]. The [other] eunuchs tried to put up a fight, but whenever he hit one, that one would lose courage, so that they finally scattered from him. Al-ʿAbbās led the eunuch back into his house. When a report of this reached Muḥammad, he sent a group of men to the house of al-ʿAbbās. The men stood in front of it, while al-ʿAbbās lined up his slaves (*ghilmān*, pl. of *ghulām*) and *mawālī* on the wall of his house with shields and arrows.

Aḥmad b. Isḥāq [continued his report,] saying: By God we

773. The musician Barṣawmā (actually a flute virtuoso, not a singer) was introduced to al-Rashīd's court by Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. See *EI*², Supplement, s.v. Barṣawmā al-Zāmir (E. Neubauer).

774. A *suwayqah* (diminutive of *sūq*) is a small market. There was a well-known Sūq Abī al-Ward about half a mile south of al-Kūfah Gate in the Karkh suburb. Perhaps the two are to be identified. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 60.

were afraid that the fire might burn down our homes, for they wanted to burn down al-ʿAbbās's house. Rashīd al-Hārūnī came and asked to be admitted. He went before al-ʿAbbās and said, "What are you doing? Do you know what you are involved in and what has come upon you? If he allowed them, they would plunder your house at spearpoint! Aren't you under obedience?" "Yes," he said. "Then get up," he said, "and ride!" So al-ʿAbbās went out, wearing his black [court] robes. When he reached the gate of his house, he said, "Page, bring my horse!" "No way!" said Rashīd, "You shall go on foot." When al-ʿAbbās reached the street, he looked, and behold a crowd had gathered: al-Julūdī, al-Ifrīqī, Abū al-Baṭṭ, and al-Hirsh's forces had come for him. He looked at them. I saw him set off on foot, while Rashīd rode.

When a report of this reached Umm Jaʿfar, she went before Muḥammad and started to beg him. He said to her, "May I be [955] declared to be no relative of the Prophet, God bless him and grant him peace, if I don't kill him!" She began to implore him. "By God," he said to her, "I'll teach you a lesson!" She uncovered her hair and said, "And who will come into my presence when my head is uncovered?" While Muḥammad was in the midst of this—al-ʿAbbās had not yet arrived—the eunuch Ṣāʿid came before him, bringing news of the death of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān. Muḥammad turned his attention to this. Al-ʿAbbās remained in the antechamber ten days. Muḥammad forgot about him. Then he remembered him and said, "Let him be imprisoned in one of the rooms of his house. Let three of his senior *mawālī* have access to him to serve him. Let him be given a three-course meal every day."

Al-ʿAbbās remained in this condition until Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān revolted in the name of al-Maʾmūn and imprisoned Muḥammad. Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Maʿbadī then paid a visit to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh. He was in a belvedere (*manẓarah*). The two said to him, "Why are you sitting still? Go out to [join] this man!" They meant Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. So he went out and came to Ḥusayn. Then he stood by the Bridge Gate and left no abuse of Umm Jaʿfar unspoken, while Isḥāq b. Mūsā was receiving oaths of allegiance to al-Maʾmūn.

Before long, al-Ḥusayn was killed. Al-ʿAbbās fled to the Bīn

Canal (Nahrabīn), to Harthamah. His son, al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās, then went to Muḥammad and denounced to him what his father owned. Muḥammad sent men to al-ʿAbbās's house and took from it 4 million dirhams and 300,000 dīnārs, which were in bottles in a well. They overlooked two of the bottles. Al-Faḍl [later] said, "Nothing remained of my father's inheritance but these two bottles, with 70,000 dīnārs in them." After the civil war ended and Muḥammad was killed, he returned to his house and took the two bottles. He gave them...[775] He made the
[956] pilgrimage in that year—that is, 198.

According to Aḥmad b. Isḥāq: Afterward, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbdallāh used to say, "Sulaymān b. Jaʿfar said to me while we were in al-Maʾmūn's residence, 'Haven't you killed your son yet?' 'May I be made your ransom, uncle!' said I. 'Who would kill his own son?' 'Kill him,' he said to me, 'for he was the one who denounced you and your money and made you poor.'"

According to Aḥmad b. Isḥāq b. Barṣawmā, who said: After Muḥammad had been besieged and matters were pressing hard on him, he said, "Alas, there is no one to rely on!" "Yes, there is," he was told. "He is one of the Arabs, a Kūfan named Waḍḍāḥ b. Ḥabīb b. Budayl al-Tamīmī, one of the best of the Arabs, and a man of sound judgment." "Send for him," he replied.

So he came to us. When he had come to him, Muḥammad said to him, "I have been told of your conduct and judgment. Counsel us in our affair." He said to him, "Commander of the Faithful, today judgment has become unsound and has departed. However, use false rumors, for they are an instrument of war." So he appointed a man named Bakīr b. al-Muʿtamir, who used to go down to Dujayl.[776] Whenever Muḥammad suffered a reverse or defeat, he would say to Bakīr, "Come up with something, for we have suffered a reverse." Bakīr would then devise reports for him. But when the people spoke among themselves, they discovered that these were false.

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775. There is a lacuna in the text.

776. A canal and a road in the Ḥarbiyyah suburb bore this name. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 127–31.

[Continuing,] Aḥmad b. Isḥāq said: I can still clearly picture Bakīr b. al-Muʿtamir—an old man with a large frame.

According to al-ʿAbbās b. Aḥmad b. Abān, the secretary (*kātib*)—Ibrāhīm b. al-Jarrāḥ—Kawthar, who said: One day, Muḥammad b. Zubaydah commanded that [cloths] should be spread for him on a raised bench (*dukkān*)[777] in al-Khuld [Palace]. A green carpet was spread for him on it, matching cushions and furnishings were placed on it, and a great many silver, gold, and jeweled vessels were made ready for him. He commanded the woman superintendent of his slave girls that [957] one hundred skilled slave girls should be readied for him. They were to be sent up to him in groups of ten, carrying lutes, and singing in unison. So she sent ten up to him. When they had settled themselves on the bench, they began to sing:

They killed him that they might take his place,
as once Kisrā was betrayed by his *marzubāns*.[778]

Muḥammad grumbled in displeasure at this, cursed her, and cursed the slave girls. He commanded, and they were taken down. He waited a while and then commanded her to send up [another] ten. When they had settled themselves on the bench, they began to sing:[779]

Whoever is glad at the death of Mālik,
let him come to our women at the beginning of the day:

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777. *Dukkān* usually means a sitting room or alcove provided with raised stone or brick benches built against the wall. Pillows would be placed on these for sitting. See Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 900. The parallel in Masʿūdī, VI, 426, has al-Amīn sitting in a *ṭārimah*, a portable pavilion closed on three sides. The fact that he orders the structure to be torn down argues for some such interpretation. See Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial ʿabbaside," 129, for a description of the *ṭārimah*.

778. The verse is by al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah, who was addressing the Banū Hāshim after the death of the caliph ʿUthmān. See Ibn al-Athīr, III, 28. *Kisrā* was the Arabic name for any king of the Sasanian dynasty of Iran; a *marzubān* was a noble charged with defending the borders of the Sasanian Empire.

779. The verses, by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād, are from an elegy for Mālik b. Zuhayr al-ʿAbsī, whose murder launched a forty-year-long war between the brother tribes of ʿAbs and Dhubyān in pre-Islamic times. The full text may be found in Abū Tammām, *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah*, III, 34–41; German translation and commentary in Rückert, *Hamāsa*, No. 335–36.

He will find the women bareheaded, lamenting him,
beating their cheeks before the glow of dawn.

Muḥammad became angry and did what he had done with the first group. For a long time he bowed his head in silence. Then he said, "Send up [another] ten." She sent them up. When they had taken their place on the bench, they started to sing in unison:

Kulayb, by my life, was a better defender
and less guilty than you, yet he became stained with [his own] blood.[780]

Muḥammad rose from where he had been sitting and ordered the place to be torn down, so ominous did he find what had happened.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kindī—Muḥammad b. Dīnār, who said: Muḥammad the Deposed was sitting one day. The siege had closed in on him, and he was very worried and depressed. He called for his boon companions and for drink to divert himself. It was brought. He had a slave
[958] girl whom he favored; he commanded her to sing, and he took a cup to drink. But God constrained her tongue, so that all she could sing was:

Kulayb, by my life, was a better defender
and less guilty than you, yet he became stained with [his own] blood.

He threw the cup he was holding at her. He gave orders concerning her, and she was thrown to the lions. He then took another cup and called for another girl. She sang:

They killed him that they might take his place,
as once Kisrā was betrayed by his *marzubān*s.

He threw the cup in her face. Then he took another cup from which to drink and said to another girl, "Sing!" So she sang:[781]

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780. See note 649.

781. The poem by al-Ḥārith b. Waʿlah al-Dhuhlī may be found in Abū Tammām, *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah*, I, 199–205; German translation and commentary in Rückert, *Hamâsa*, No. 43. The poem begins:

Arise, Umaymah, they have killed my brother...

He threw the cup in her face, kicked the tray with his foot, and returned to his dejection. He was killed a few days afterward.

According to Abū Sa'īd, who said:[782] Faṭīm, the mother of Mūsā, the son of the deposed one, Muḥammad b. Hārūn, died, and he showed himself to be greatly grieved. Word of this reached Umm Ja'far, and she said, "Carry me to the Commander of the Faithful." So she was carried to him, and he received her. He said, "My lady, Faṭīm has died!" She said:

May my soul be your ransom! Let grief not destroy you;
for in your life there is a succession to those who have passed away.
With Mūsā as your compensation, every affliction has become insignificant;
after [the birth of] Mūsā there is no sadness for a woman lost.

And she said, "May God make great your reward! May He make your patience abundant, and make consolation for her your treasure!"[783]

According to Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. Hāni' (the nephew of Abū Nuwās)—his father [Ismā'īl b. Hāni'], who said [to Ibrāhīm]: Your uncle, Abū Nuwās, satirized Muḍar in his poem in which he said:[784] [959]

Arise, Umaymah, they have killed my brother;
and if I shoot, my arrow will hit me.
If I forgive, I forgive something enormous;
and if I assault, I weaken my own bone.

The poet's brother had been killed by his own tribesmen. The poet faced the dilemma of taking revenge against his own kin and thereby weakening his own tribe or allowing his brother's death to go unavenged.

782. Parallel in Mas'ūdī, VI, 430, where the name is given as Naẓm, with Faṭm as a variant.

783. That is, may God consider your bearing her death with patience as a meritorious deed to be kept as a deposit for your benefit on the day of judgment. See Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 956, s.v. *dhakhara*.

784. The poem praises the South Arabian tribes, to which Abū Nuwās himself belonged, and satirizes the North Arabian tribes. Muḍar was originally a powerful confederation of North Arabian tribes. Quraysh, the Prophet's tribe (and the tribe of the caliph) belonged to the Muḍar group. See *EI*[1], Supplement,

As for Quraysh, it has no reason to boast,
    except its profits from its trade.[785]
If you mention a claim to glory,
    Quraysh comes slandering the one who overcomes her.[786]
When Quraysh gives her genealogy,
    (trade)[787] has half of her affiliations.

He meant [in the second line] that its noblest part is contested. This was reported to al-Rashīd during his lifetime, and he imprisoned Abū Nuwās, who remained imprisoned until Muḥammad came to power. Abū Nuwās, who had been Muḥammad's companion during the time he was prince, then said, praising Muḥammad:[788]

Remember, O trustworthy one of God[789]—and acquaintance should be remembered—
    how I stood and recited to you, while the people were present;
How I scattered pearls on you, O pearl of Hāshim—
    Oh, who has ever seen pearls being scattered on pearls!
Your father [Hārūn] was one whose like never ruled the earth;
    your paternal uncle was Mūsā [al-Hādī], his equal, the chosen;
Your grandfather was al-Mahdī, rightly guided, whose closest brother,
    Abū al-Faḍl Ja'far, was the father of your mother.[790]
There are none like your two Manṣūrs—the Manṣūr of Hāshim,
    and the Manṣūr of Qaḥṭān, when claims to glory are counted.

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s.v. Rabī'a and Muḍar. For the full text of the poem, with variants, see Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, II, 1–11.

785. The more martial Bedouin tribes looked down on tribes that supported themselves, as did Quraysh, from the caravan trade.

786. In the *Dīwān*, the second half of the line reads, "her merchants bring her most of it." The meaning of the text in Ṭabarī is unclear.

787. *Dīwān*: "We have," i.e., the Yemeni tribes of whom Abū Nuwās considered himself the spokesman. The scholium on the poem says that this alludes to the Yemeni and Azdi grandmothers of the Prophet's grandfather, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

788. Text, with variants, in Abu Nuwās, *Dīwān*, I, 241.

789. Punning on the name *al-Amīn*, which means "the trustworthy one."

790. Muḥammad's mother, Zubaydah, was the daughter of Abū al-Faḍl Ja'far, the son of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr.

Who is there who can shoot at the heights with your two arrows,
when 'Abd Manāf[791] and Ḥimyar[792] are your two progenitors?

A slave girl sang these verses before Muḥammad. He said to her, [960]
"By whom are the verses?" He was told that they were by Abū Nuwās. "How is he?" he asked. He was told that he was in prison. "He has nothing to fear," he said. He sent to him Isḥāq b. Farāshah and Sa'īd b. Jābir (the latter had been Muḥammad's nursing brother). The two of them said, "The Commander of the Faithful mentioned you yesterday and said, 'He has nothing to fear.'" Abū Nuwās then composed some verses and sent them to him. They are these verses:[793]

I was wakeful, and slumber flew from my eye;
the evening companions fell asleep, but they did not share [their sleep with me].
O trustworthy one (*amīn*) of God, you have been made ruler of a kingdom
in which the fear of God is your garment.
Your face sheds dew, whereby
people in every place live.
It is as if mankind were in the likeness of a spirit
having one body, with you as its head.
O *Amīn* of God, prison is a fearsome thing;
and you have sent, saying, "You have nothing to fear."

When it was recited to Muḥammad, he said, "He has spoken the truth. Fetch him to me." So he was brought at night. His fetters were broken, and he was taken out [of prison] and brought into Muḥammad's presence. He recited:[794]

Welcome! Welcome to the best imām
ever shaped from the mettle of the caliphate in character.[795]

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791. 'Abd Manāf was the father of Hāshim, the common ancestor of the 'Abbāsid family and the Prophet.

792. Ḥimyar was a Yemeni tribe. Through his grandmother Khayzurān, the wife of al-Mahdī, al-Amīn could claim Yemeni ancestry.

793. See Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, I, 242.

794. Text, with variants, in Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, I, 261.

795. For "in character" (*naḥtan*), the *Dīwān* reads, "purely" (*baḥtan*), which is probably the original reading.

O *Amīn* of God, God watches over you,
when you are at rest and when you travel, wherever you go.
The entire earth is a habitation for you;
for God is your friend, wherever you are.

[961] Muḥammad gave him a robe of honor, freed him, and made him one of his companions.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī—Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārisī, who said: Once Abū Nuwās drank wine, and this was reported to Muḥammad during his days [as caliph]. He therefore ordered him to be imprisoned, and al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ put him in prison for three months. Muḥammad then thought of him and ordered him to be brought. The Banū Hāshim and others were with Muḥammad, and he called for the sword and leather mat,[796] to threaten Abū Nuwās with death. Abū Nuwās then recited the following verses to him:

Remember, O trustworthy one of God—and acquaintance should be remembered . . .

He continued with the poem we have quoted above, and added to it:[797]

This world has become beautiful with the beauty of a caliph
who is the full moon, except that he always shines;
An imām who will rule the people for seventy years:
for that has he put on the garment and girdle [of rule].
Generosity points to him from his cheeks,
and looks from his sides when he looks.
O best object of hope, I am one
who is held in custody, incarcerated in your prisons, destitute.
Three months have past since I was imprisoned,
as if I had committed an unpardonable crime.
If I have committed no crime, why is fault being found with me?[798]

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796. The *naṭʿ* or *niṭʿ* was a leather mat used to receive an executed man's head.

797. Text, with variants, in Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, I, 241–42.

798. The reading of the *Dīwān* is more likely to be original: "why am I being treated with rigor," reading *taʿannutī* for ed. Leiden's *taʿaqqubī*.

But if I have committed a crime, your pardon is greater. [962]

Muḥammad then said to him, "If you drink it—." "My blood," he said, "shall be yours to shed, Commander of the Faithful." He released him. Abū Nuwās therefore used to smell wine, but not drink it—as he said:

I will not taste aged wine, except as a fragrance.

According to Mas'ūd b. 'Īsā al-'Abdī—Yaḥyā b. al-Musāfir al-Qarqisā'ī, who said: Duḥaym, the slave (*ghulām*) of Abū Nuwās told me that Muḥammad reproved Abū Nuwās for drinking wine and imprisoned him. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' had a maternal uncle who used to examine the inmates of the prisons, visit them, and investigate them. He entered the place where the *Zindīqs*[799] were being held and, seeing Abū Nuwās, whom he did not know, said to him, "Young man, are you with the *Zindīqs*?" "God forbid!" he replied. "Perhaps," he said, "you are one of those who worship the ram?" "No," he replied, "I eat rams, wool and all!" "Perhaps," he said, "you are one of those who worship the sun?" "In fact," he replied, "I find the sun so loathsome that I avoid sitting in it." "Then for what misdeed were you imprisoned?" he asked. Abū Nuwās replied, "I was imprisoned on a charge of which I am innocent." "Is it nothing but that?" he asked. "By God," he replied, "I have told you the truth."

So the uncle came to al-Faḍl and said to him, "Sir, you are not being good caretakers of God's blessings. Are people to be imprisoned [merely] on suspicion?" "What is it?" he asked. So the uncle told him what Abū Nuwās claimed about his misdeed. Al-Faḍl smiled and went before Muḥammad and told him about it. Muḥammad summoned Abū Nuwās and ordered him to avoid

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799. The *Zindīqs* (Arabic *zindīq*, pl. *zanādiqah*) comprised mainly Manichaean dualists, and probably also Mazdakites and other remnants of once-flourishing Mesopotamian sects. They were subject to persecution. See G. Vajda, "Les zindîqs en pays d'Islam au début de la période abbaside," *RSO*, XVII (1938), 173–229; Gabrieli, "La ‹zandaqa› au Ier siècle abbasside," in *L'élaboration de l'Islam*, 23–38; Omar, "Some Observations on the Reign of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mahdī 775–778 A.D.," in *'Abbāsiyyāt*, 89–93; Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, 83–84; and *EI*[1] s.v. Zindīḳ.

wine and drunkenness. "Yes," he said. He was told, "By an oath by God?" "Yes," he said.

So Abū Nuwās was allowed to leave. Some young fellows from Quraysh then sent for him. He said to them, "I will not drink." They said, "Even if you do not drink, entertain us with your conversation." So he accepted. As the cup was being passed among them, they said, "Didn't you once like it?" He answered,
[963] "By God, there is no way for me to drink it!" And he recited:[800]

You two who go speaking reproof, reprove on!
    I will not taste aged wine, except as a fragrance.
I was reproved on account of it by an imām
    whom I do not think it right to disobey.
Sc pass it to someone else,
    for I am a boon companion only for conversation.
My share in the wine, when it is passed round,
    is to see it and smell the scent.
As for my approving of it,
    I am like a *Qa'adī* extolling *Khārijism*:[801]
Unable to carry a weapon into battle,
    he advises anyone who can [carry one] not to stay home.

According to Abū al-Ward al-Sub'ī, who said: We were at the home of al-Faḍl b. Sahl in Khurāsān, when al-Amīn was mentioned. He said, "How can it not be considered justified to fight against Muḥammad, when his poet says in his assembly:[802]

'Yea, give me wine to drink, and say to me that it *is* wine;
    do not give it to me to drink secretly, if it is possible to declare it openly'?"

When the story reached Muḥammad, he commanded al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī', and the latter took Abū Nuwās and imprisoned him.

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800. Text, with variants, in Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, III, 273–74.

801. A *Qa'adī*, as explained in the margin of the *Dīwān*, was any of the Khārijites who held the opinion that "Judgment belongs to God alone" (the formula known as *taḥkīm*, used to challenge the legitimacy of the ruling caliph), but who did not actually rebel against the ruling caliph. The word is derived from *qa'ada*, "to sit, stay behind (from a battle)." See Lane, *Lexicon*, II, 618 (for *taḥkīm*), and *Dīwān*, ad. loc.

802. For the full text of the poem, see Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, III, 126–29.

According to Kāmil b. Jāmiʿ, on the authority of one of the companions of Abū Nuwās and transmitters of his poetry, who said: Abū Nuwās composed some verses that were reported to al-Amīn. At the end of them was the following:[803] [964]

What makes me behave even more proudly toward people
is that I see myself as the wealthiest of them, even when I am in poverty.
Even if I had obtained[804] no [other] glory,
my tongue's having protected me from all men would be glory enough for me.
Let no one hope to overcome me in this—
not even the owner of the crown secluded in the palace.

So al-Amīn—Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar[805] was with him—sent for him. When he came before him, al-Amīn said, "You biter of your whore mother's clitoris! Son of a stinking uncircumcised woman!"[806] (And he cursed him with the foulest curses.) "With your poetry you earn filth from the hands of the wicked, and then you say, 'Not even the owner of the crown secluded in the palace!' My God, you had better not slander *me* ever in any way!" Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar said to him, "By God, Commander of the Faithful, he is one of the biggest dualist heretics." Muḥammad said, "Can anyone witness to it against him?" Sulaymān brought a group of witnesses. One of them said that Abū Nuwās had been drinking on a rainy day and had set his cup under the open sky, so that raindrops fell into it, and had said, "They say that with each drop an angel descends. How many angels do you think I'm drinking now?"—and he drank what was in the cup. Muḥammad therefore ordered him to be imprisoned. Concerning this, Abū Nuwās said:[807]

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803. For the full text, with variants, see Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, I, 339–40.

804. The reading of the *Dīwān* (*arith*) is superior—"Even if I had *inherited* no glory": Abū Nuwās often boasted of his descent from Yemeni tribes that carried on the traditions of the South Arabian kingdoms.

805. He was al-Amīn's great uncle on both the paternal and maternal sides.

806. The adjective *lakhnāʾ*, meaning "stinking, malodorous," is applied particularly to women whose genitals are malodorous or who are uncircumcised (i.e., have not had their clitoris removed at puberty). See *Lisān*, s.v.

807. See Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, I, 340.

Lord, men have wronged me;
without my having committed dereliction[808] they have imprisoned me.
[965] To [the charge of] unbelief (*juḥūd*), though you know that the opposite
is true of me—to this [charge] have they linked me by their cunning.[809]
Running in their racecourse
in every race and the fear [of God] have been my only religion.
My excuse is not accepted, so that their witness against me
fears, nor are they satisfied with the oath of my right hand.
Truly Kawthar was more deserving of imprisonment
in a house of reproach and home of shame.
As for al-Amīn, I have no hope that he will defend me:
Who will today be my helper with al-Ma'mūn?

When these verses by him reached al-Ma'mūn, the latter said, "By God, if I reach him, I will enrich him with wealth he had not hoped for!" However, Abū Nuwās died before al-Ma'mūn entered the City of Peace.

After Abū Nuwās had been imprisoned for a long time, he composed the following about his imprisonment—it was related on the authority of Di'āmah:

Praise God all together,
all you Muslims.
Then say, and do not flag,
"Lord, grant life to al-Amīn!"
He has promoted eunuchs, until
he has made impotence a religion.
And people one and all have emulated
the Commander of the Faithful.

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808. Instead of *ta'aṭṭul* ("dereliction"), the *Dīwān* reads *khaṭī'ah* ("offense, sin").

809. The text is difficult, but seems to represent real variant, not merely a miscopying of the text in the *Dīwān*, which is syntactically simpler:

To repudiation of that to which my heart is resolved,
by falsehood and slander they have linked me.

These verses also reached al-Ma'mūn when he was in Khurāsān. He said, "I will take care of him, if he flees to me."

According to Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq, on the authority of someone who reported this from Kawthar, the eunuch (*khādim*) of the Deposed One: Muḥammad was unable to sleep one night while he was engaged in his war with Ṭāhir. He wanted someone [966] to spend the night conversing with him, but no one from his entourage was at hand. So he summoned his chamberlain (*ḥājib*) and said, "Alas, my mind is full of thoughts. Bring me a witty poet with whom I can spend the rest of this night." The chamberlain went to the closest person in his presence. He found Abū Nuwās and said to him, "Comply with the request of the Commander of the Faithful." Abū Nuwās replied, "Perhaps you were seeking someone else?" The chamberlain said, "I was seeking no one but you." So he brought Abū Nuwās to him. Muḥammad said, "Who are you?" "Your servant," he replied, "al-Ḥasan b. Hāni', whom you released yesterday." "Don't be afraid," said Muḥammad. "Certain proverbs came into my mind, and I wanted you to set them into poetry. If you do it, I will reward you with whatever you ask." Abū Nuwās asked, "What are they, Commander of the Faithful?" Muḥammad said, "They are these sayings of the Arabs: 'God has effaced what has past.'—'How badly, by God, my horse has run!'[810]—'Break a stick on your nose!'[811]—and, 'Refuse, and he will desire you even more.'"[812] Abū Nuwās said, "My wish is four shapely maidservants. Muḥammad ordered them to be brought, and Abū Nuwās recited:

Your long making of excuses has been for nought;
I see no wisdom in delaying with you.

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810. See Freytag, *Proverbia*, I, 208. The proverb is said to be used referring to anyone who has done less than he should have done or to whom too little has been presented.

811. Ibid., II, 404. The proverb (addressed to a woman) is said to be used referring to anyone whom people want to compel by force or deceive by trickery.

812. Ibid., I, 218. The proverb is said to come from what a man once said to a woman: "Make a show of refusing when I court you, and it will arouse even more desire." It can be used to refer to a person who pretends not to want to sell something in order to sell the thing for a higher price, since desire increases for a thing withheld.

You wanted to avoid me,
    but I wanted dalliance with you.
What did you want by this?—
    "Refuse, and he will desire you even more."

He took a maidservant by the hand and set her aside. Then he recited:

The oaths of your swearing were firm,
    and I cried out till I died from your staying away.
By God, my lady, violate your oath just once;
    then "break a stick on your nose!"

He set the second one aside, and then he recited:

May I be your ransom! Why this disdain?
    Why do you revile people of honor?
Grant a rendezvous to a wearied lover
    for whose misdeed there has been repentance.
[967] Do not remember bygones:
    "God has effaced what has past."

He set the third one aside, and he recited:

Certain women sent to me in the darkness of night,
    saying, "Come to us, but beware of the watchmen."
And so, when the enemies had been lulled to sleep,
    and I feared no observer or fire's glow,
I mounted my colt and went joyfully toward
    creatures dark-eyed, fair, soft, and dark-lipped.
But I came when morning had already risen:
    "How badly, by God, my horse had run!"

Said Muḥammad, "Take them [all]—may God not prosper you with them!"

According to al-Mawṣilī—Ḥusayn, al-Rashīd's eunuch (*khādim*), who said: When the caliphate came to Muḥammad, one of his lodgings on the bank [of the Tigris] was readied for him by spreading the best and most splendid of the carpets of the caliphate. He[813] said, "Master, your father never had any

813. The subject is unclear—presumably, someone in charge of furnishing the residence, perhaps Ḥusayn the eunuch.

better carpet than this to impress kings and visitors who came to him; so I wanted to spread it for you." He replied, "I wanted to have what was inherited[814] spread out for me at the beginning of my caliphate." And he said, "They have cut it up!" By God, I saw that the servants and grooms had caused it to be cut up and had divided it.

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, who said: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barmakī told me that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī once sang to Muḥammad b. Zubaydah:[815]

I shunned you, until they said, "He knows not passion";
and I visited you, until they said, "He has no patience."

Muḥammad was delighted and said, "Fill his boat with gold."

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Mukhāriq,[816] who said: I was with Muḥammad b. Zubaydah on a rainy day. He was drinking a morning drink, and I was sitting near him, singing. There was no one with him. He was wearing an embroidered coat.[817] Never, by God, had I seen a better one. So I began to look at it. He said, "You seem to like it, Mukhāriq." I said, "Yes, master, on you, because your face is beautiful in it. I am looking at it, and praying for your protection." "Slave (*ghulām*)," he said; and the eunuch (*khādim*) responded to him. He called for another coat, put it on, and gave me the one he had been wearing. After a little while, I looked at him again. He repeated something similar, and I gave the same reply. So he called for another coat; and this went on until he had done this with three coats, which I put on, one over the other. However, when he saw me wearing them, he regretted what he had done, and his expression changed. "Lad," he said, "go to the cooks. [968]

814. The word used (*al-m.r.d.raj*) apparently corresponds to Persian *murdarīg*, "inheritance, patrimony." The reading may be corrupt. See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CDLXXXIII.

815. The rest of the poem by Abū Ṣakhr al-Hudhalī can be found in al-Qālī, *Kitāb al-Amālī*, I, 148–50. Muḥammad b. Zubaydah is al-Amīn.

816. Mukhāriq was a virtuoso singer at the court of al-Rashīd. He continued at court until his death in the reign of al-Wāthiq in 230/844–45. See *EI*[1], Supplement, s.v. Mukhārik (Farmer).

817. The *jubbah* was an outer garment with broad sleeves. See Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, 107–17.

Tell them to cook us a roast and prepare it quickly.[818] Bring it to us right away." No sooner had the lad gone than the table was brought. It was pretty and small, and in the middle of it was a huge bowl and two loaves of bread. It was set before him. He broke off a morsel, dipped it into the dish, and said, "Eat, Mukhāriq!" I said, "Sir, excuse me from eating." "I won't excuse you. Eat!" he said. So I broke off a morsel and took something. When I put it into my mouth, he said, "God curse you! What a glutton you are! You've ruined it for me. You've spoiled it and stuck your hand into it." Then he lifted the bowl with his hand, and suddenly it was in my lap. "Get up!" he said, "and God curse you!" So I got up, with the fat and the gravy dripping from the coats. I took them off and sent them home. I called for the fullers and embroiderers. I tried my best to restore them to their original condition, but they were not restored.

According to al-Buḥturī Abū ʿUbādah[819]—ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Ghassān, who said: I was with Muḥammad on a very cold
[969] winter day. He was in one of his audience rooms (*majlis*) that was set apart and spread with a carpet such that I have rarely seen one more precious or more beautiful. On that day I had for three days and nights consumed nothing but date wine (*nabīdh*) and could hardly speak or think. Muḥammad went to relieve himself. I said to one of the personal eunuchs (*khādim*), "Alas, by God, I am dying. Is there any way to get something to put into my stomach to soothe what I am feeling?" "Give me a chance," he said, "and I will use cunning on your behalf. Pay attention to what I say and say that my words are true." When Muḥammad returned and sat down, the servant looked at me and smiled. Muḥammad, seeing him do so, asked, "Why did you smile?" He said, "It was nothing, sir." Muḥammad became angry. [Continuing,] al-Buḥturī said: [The servant] then said, "There is something about ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Ghassān: he cannot smell the odor of watermelons or eat them. He becomes very upset because of them." [Muḥammad] said, "ʿUbaydallāh,

818. Ed. Cairo reads, "prepare it well."

819. The poet al-Walīd b. ʿUbayd[allāh] b. Yaḥyā Abū ʿUbādah was born in 206/821 and died in 284/897. See *EI*[2] s.v. al-Buḥturī (Pellat); Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 560–64.

is this true about you?" I said, "Yes, sir, it is something from which I suffer." "Too bad for you," he said, "seeing how good watermelons are and how good they smell!" "But that's how I am," I said. He expressed amazement and said, "Bring me some watermelon." Several were brought. When I saw them, I made a show of shuddering and of recoiling from them. "Take it," he said [to the servants], "and set the watermelon before him." I began to show him how upset and agitated I was about this, while he kept laughing. Then he said, "Eat one!" "Sir," I said, "you will kill me. You will ruin my stomach and make me sick. God help me!" "Eat a watermelon," he said, "and you shall have the carpet of this room! I swear to God." I said, "What shall I do with the room's carpet, when I die if I eat it?" I kept refusing, but he insisted. The servant[820] came with knives; they cut up a watermelon and began stuffing it into my mouth, while I screamed and struggled. Withal, I swallowed, making it appear to him that I was doing it against my will. I struck my head and [970] cried out, while he kept laughing. When I finished, he moved into another room. He called the carpet spreaders, and they carried the carpet of that room to my house. Then he bandied words with me about the carpet of the [second] room for another watermelon. He did as he had done the first time, and gave me the carpet of the room, until he had given me three carpets and had made me eat three watermelons. My condition, by God, became good, and I felt strong.

Now Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī used to make a show of giving (Muḥammad) sincere advice. He came when Muḥammad had gotten up to wash himself. I realized that Muḥammad would seek to do me some evil out of regret for what he had given away. Having heard the news, Manṣūr approached me while Muḥammad was out of the chamber and said, "Son of a whore! Will you cheat the Commander of the Faithful and take his property? By God, I was on the verge of doing something, and will." "Sir," I said, "it did happen, but the reason was such

820. *Al-Khādim*: Ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CCXV, argues that the word has a collective sense and should be translated "servants." This is unnecessary. One servant (or eunuch) brought in the knives, and those present began to cut up the watermelon and feed it to 'Ubaydallāh.

and such"—and I explained. "If you would like to kill me and commit a sin, that's up to you! But if you act with graciousness, that would be worthier of you. I will not do it again." He replied, "I will be gracious to you."

Muḥammad then came and said, "Spread carpets for us by that pool.[821] They spread them for him by it. He sat down, and we sat down also. The pool was full of water. Muḥammad said, "Uncle,[822] I have longed to do something—throw ʿUbaydallāh into the pool, so that you can laugh at him." Al-Manṣūr replied, "Sir, if you do it, he will die, because the water is very cold and it is a very cold day today. But I will tell you about something very nice I have tried." "What is it?" he asked. He replied, "Command that he be tied to a board and placed at the door of the lavatory. Everyone who comes to the door of the lavatory will urinate on his head." "By God, that's good!" he said. A board was brought, and I was tied to it. Then he gave orders, and I was carried off and set at the door of the lavatory. The servants came. They loosened the cord from me and approached, letting him see that they were urinating on me, while I screamed. This
[971] went on God knows how long, while he kept laughing. Then he gave orders and I was untied. I let him see that I had cleaned myself and changed my clothes, and then I got away from him.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ—his father, the Deposed One's chamberlain (*ḥājib*), who said: I was standing beside him. The morning meal was brought. He ate alone, and had a wonderful meal. Sometimes it used to be prepared for the caliphs before him in the manner in which it used to be prepared for each one of them; he would eat of each food, and then he would be brought his food.[823] He ate until he had finished; then he raised his head toward Abū al-ʿAnbar, who was one of his mother's eunuchs (*khādim*), and said, "Go to the kitchen and tell them to prepare *bizmāward*[824] for me. Let

821. *Birkah* can refer either to a natural lake or to a man-made pool or tank.

822. That is, Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, who was al-Amīn's uncle.

823. The text is almost certainly corrupt, and the original meaning of the sentence cannot be determined.

824. *Bizmāward* (other forms of the same, originally Persian word are *bazmāward, buzmāward,* and *zumāward*) are described as meatballs wrapped in dough. See ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CXXXIII; and Lane, *Lexicon*, III, 1250.

them leave them very long, and not cut them up. The filling should be fat pieces of chicken, clarified butter, herbs, eggs, cheese, olives, and nuts. Let them make a lot of them, and hurry." It was only a short time before they brought them on a square table. The long *bizmāward* had been placed on it in the shape of the Dome of 'Abd al-Ṣamad,[825] so that the top [of the pile] was a single *bizmāward*. It was placed before him. He took one and ate it, and he kept eating until he had left nothing on the table.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad—Jābir b. Muṣ'ab—Mukhāriq, who said:[826] I once passed a night the like of which I had never passed before. I was at home after nightfall, when a messenger came from Muḥammad, who was then caliph. He galloped off with me, and brought me to Muḥammad's residence. I was taken inside. There was Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, who had been sent for, as I had been. We went forward and reached a gate that led to a courtyard. Behold, the courtyard was filled with some of Muḥammad's large candles; it was as if the courtyard were in daylight. Muḥammad was on a hobby horse,[827] and the residence was full of maidservants and menservants (*khadam*). [972] The players were playing, and Muḥammad in the midst of them was on the hobby horse, dancing about with it. A messenger came to us and said, "He has said, 'Stand in this spot, by this door next to the courtyard, and raise your voices, singing loudly or softly after the oboe,[828] following it in its melody.'" Now the oboe, the maidservants, and the players were [singing and playing] one thing:

Lo, Danānīr forgets me, but I remember her[829]—

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825. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī, the uncle of al-Manṣūr, had died in 185 (801–2) during the reign of al-Rashīd (see Ṭabarī, III, 650).

826. Parallel: *Aghānī*, XVI, 138–39.

827. The word used (*kurraj*) is an Arabicized version of Persian *kurrah*, "colt." The word was applied to wooden horses used as toys by children. From the context, this must have been something like the representations of horses that Spanish dancers sometimes wear suspended from their shoulders in dances representing the movements of a battle. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 461; also Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Sur le cheval-jupon et al-kurraj," 155–59.

828. On the *sūrnāy*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 831.

829. Danānīr was the celebrated singer Danānīr al-Barmakiyyah, the freed slave girl of Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmaki. She was a favorite of al-Rashīd, and

and were following the piper. Ibrāhīm and I remained standing, reciting it, and splitting our throats with it, until daybreak. Muḥammad was on the hobby horse; he neither wearied nor grew bored until morning. Sometimes he would come near us and we would see him; sometimes the maidservants and menservants came between him and us.

According to al-Ḥusayn b. Firās, a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim, who said: In the time of Muḥammad, men went on military expedition on condition that he return to them the fifth.[830] It was returned to them. A man would obtain six dīnārs, which was a lot of money.

According to Ibn al-Aʿrābī, who said: I was present with al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ. Al-Ḥasan b. Hāniʾ[831] was brought. Al-Faḍl said, "The charge has been raised before the Commander of the Faithful that you are a *Zindīq*." Al-Ḥasan began to declare his innocence and to swear. Al-Faḍl kept repeating what he had said about him and asked him to speak to the caliph about him. He promised, and [al-Faḍl] released him. As al-Ḥasan left, he said:[832]

My family, I have come to you from the grave,
while [other] people wait in vain for resurrection.
Were it not for Abū al-ʿAbbās [al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ],
my eye would not be looking at children or at abundance.
Through him, God has clothed me with benefits
the recounting of which has occupied the hands of my gratitude.
I was made to receive[833] them from a counselor of quick intelligence,
and I counted[834] them with ten fingertips.

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some of Abū Nuwās's love poems are addressed to her, e.g., *Dīwān*, IV, 11–12. See *Aghānī*, XVI, 136ff.; also Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, 138–40.

830. That is, that he return to them the one-fifth share (*khums*) of any booty that was normally reserved for the ruler under Islamic law. See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 404.

831. That is, Abū Nuwās.

832. See Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, I, 249–50.

833. The translation follows the vocalization of the *Dīwān*, rather than that of ed. Leiden, which is metrically impossible.

834. The reading (*ʿaqadtuhā*) of the *Dīwān* is preferable. Ed. Leiden has *madadtuhā*, "I drew them (up, as from a well)."

According to al-Riyāshī—Abū Ḥabīb al-Mūshī, who said: I was with Mu'nis b. 'Imrān. We were on our way to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' in Baghdad. Mu'nis said to me, "Why don't we go to visit Abū Nuwās?" So we went into the prison to see him. He said to Mu'nis, "Abū 'Imrān, where are you heading?" He replied, "I was on my way to see Abū al-'Abbās al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī'." Abū Nuwās said, "Will you deliver to him a note that I give you?" "Yes," he replied. So Abū Nuwās gave him a note containing the following:[835] [973]

Not a single hand is there among men
but that Abū al-'Abbās is its master.[836]
Trusted friends slept on their beds,
but *he* came to my soul by night and revived it.
I feared you, but then there made me feel safe
from fearing you your fear of God.
You pardoned me, as one pardons who is powerful
and entitled to exact punishments, but remitted them.

These verses were the cause of his release from detention.

According to Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Sharawī—his father [Khallād], who said: Muḥammad heard Abū Nuwās's poem that says:[837]

Yea, give me wine to drink, and say to me that it *is* wine—

also, his poem that says:[838]

Give me it to drink, Dhufāfah,
tart in taste and unsullied.
Inglorious in my eyes is he who hates it
out of hope or out of fearing;[839]
Just as after the death of Hārūn
the caliphate became inglorious and neglected.

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835. See Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, I, 248

836. The reading of the *Dīwān* may be preferable: "Not a single hand is there among men *like* the hand of which Abū al-'Abbās is the master."

837. See note 802.

838. For additional lines and variants, see Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, III, 210–11. Dhufāfah al-'Absī was in charge of al-Rashīd's horses.

839. That is, hope for heaven or fear of hell.

Then the following was recited to him:[840]

[974] He brought it olive-golden,
and we could not restrain ourselves from worshiping it.

Muḥammad imprisoned him for this, saying: "Enough! You are an unbeliever! You are a *Zindīq*!" Abū Nuwās wrote to al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ concerning this:[841]

You, Ibn al-Rabīʿ, taught me goodness[842]
and accustomed me to it, and goodness became a habit.
My life of vanity stopped, my mindless behavior ceased,
and I manifested fear of God and abstemiousness.
If you saw me, you would compare to me al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī
in his asceticism, or Qatādah,[843]
Because of bowings that I adorn with prostrations,
and a paleness like that of the locust.
Summon me then—may you not fail to evaluate someone like me—
and note with your eye the prostration mark [on my forehead].[844]
If a hypocrite ever saw it,
he would buy it to use as evidence [of his piety].

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840. Ibid., 131.

841. Ibid., I, 246–47. Discussion and German translation in Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, 82–83; discussion and English translation in Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, 293–94.

842. For *khayr*, "goodness," the *Dīwān* reads *nusk*, "piety, asceticism."

843. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was a famous ascetic. Qatādah, a scholar also from al-Baṣrah (Abū Nuwās was himself a native of the city), was a contemporary of al-Ḥasan. He died in 735.

844. That is, the mark (*sajjādah*) left by repeatedly touching the forehead to the ground in prayer.

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Index

The index contains all proper names of persons, places, and tribal and other groups, as well as topographical data, occurring in the introduction and the text (but not normally in the footnotes), together with technical terms.

The definite article al-, *the abbreviations* b. (ibn, *"son of") and* bt. (bint, *"daughter of"), and everything in parentheses are disregarded for the purposes of alphabetization. Where a name occurs in both the text and the footnotes on the same page, only the page number is given.*

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXXII

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TRANSLATED BY C. E. BOSWORTH

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The 20 years' caliphate of al-Ma'mūn began as a stormy period in Middle Eastern history; after the comparatively peaceful reign of his father Hārūn al-Rashīd, the caliphate was plunged into violent civil warfare in both Iraq and Arabia, involving the sons of al-Rashīd, rivals for the supreme authority, and various other sectarian rebels and aspirants for power. Yet once peace was secured and the caliphate lands united once more, al-Ma'mūn's reign settled down into one of the most exciting and innovative of the mediaeval caliphate. The Caliph himself was a highly cultivated man who possessed a keen intellectual curiosity and who interested himself in the practical sciences, astronomy and mathematics. He also encouraged the translating of Greek philosophical, scientific and medical works from Greek and Syriac into Arabic and involved himself in theological controversies in which the dialectical techniques of the Greek thinkers were to figure. Ṭabarī's history of this period constitutes a prime source for political and military history. His racy and vivid style, including many verbatim conversations and documents, brings the Caliphate of al-Ma'mūn very much alive.

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

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In 1971 the General Editor proposed to the UNESCO to include a translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* in its Collection of Representative Works. UNESCO agreed, but the Commission in charge of Arabic works favored other priorities. Deeming the project worthy, the Iranian Institute of Translation and Publication, which collaborated with UNESCO, agreed to undertake the task. After the upheavals of 1979, assistance was sought from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The invaluable encouragement and support of the Endowment is here gratefully acknowledged.

The General Editor wishes to thank sincerely also the participating scholars, who have made the realization of this project possible; the Board of Editors for their selfless assistance; Professor Franz Rosenthal for his many helpful suggestions in the formulation and application of the editorial policy; and Dr. Susan Mango of the National Endowment for the Humanities for her genuine interest in the project and her advocacy of it.

Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839-923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who

said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place-names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place-names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as qāḍāʾand imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place-names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been translated.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations Employed

BGA	Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum
EI[1]	*Encyclopaedia of Islām*, first edition
EI[2]	*Encyclopaedia of Islām*, new edition
GAS	F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*
GMS	Gibb Memorial Series
IC	*Islamic Culture*
IJMES	*International Journal of Middle East Studies*
Isl.	*Der Islam*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
MW	*The Muslim World*
REI	*Revue des Etudes Islamiques*
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
SI	*Studia Islamica*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

In citations from the Qur'ān, where two different numbers are given from a verse, the first is that of Flügel's text and the second that of the official Egyptian edition.

Translator's Foreword

The section of Ṭabarī's history devoted to the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn concentrates essentially on events in Iraq and, to a lesser extent, on events in Mecca and the Hijaz insofar as the struggles for political and religious control of the Holy Places were reflections of those going on in the heartland of Iraq. Nevertheless, Ṭabarī was a chronicler of the history of the caliphate as a whole, hence he could not entirely neglect the regions outside Iraq. A fair amount of attention is paid to Egypt, where al-Ma'mūn's governors had to cope with various rebellions of both the local Muslim Arabs and the Copts, and to events in northern Syria, the Jazīrah and the Byzantine marches in eastern Anatolia, which formed the backdrop to the Caliph's last illness and death. But events in the Maghrib beyond Barqah are totally ignored; and the laconic references to Khurasan, Transoxiana and Sind rarely go beyond the noting of changes of governors there.

The main theme of the annalistic narrative of the earlier years of the reign, from al-Ma'mūn's succession to rule over the united empire on al-Amīn's death in 198(813) until al-Ma'mūn's decision to come westwards from Marw and establish firmly for the first time his authority in Iraq in 204(819), is of violent conflict in Iraq. At the outset the conflict focused on three contending groups: Abū al-Sarāyā's pro-Shī'ī revolt; the

representatives of al-Ma'mūn's authority there under al-Ḥasan b. Sahl; and the old Arab and Iranian families of Iraq like the Hāshimites and their allies the Khurasanian Abnā' or guards of the first 'Abbāsids, now settled mainly in Baghdad, above all in the Ḥarbiyyah quarter to the north of al-Manṣūr's Round City. This last group resented the Persophile policies of al-Ma'mūn exemplified, as they saw it, by his favor to the Sahl brothers; hence they took the lead in raising to power at Baghdad other members of the 'Abbāsid family, notably in 201(817) al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī as amīr or nominal deputy for the Caliph, and then in 202(817) Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī as an explicit anti-Caliph. The military maneuvers of the respective groups, covering an area between Baghdad and Baṣrah, are treated in great detail, as are domestic events within the capital itself, including the fascinating episode of the attempt of the local representatives of Sunnī orthodox piety, Khālid al-Daryūsh and Sahl b. Salāmah, to take advantage of the deep yearning for public order after the social chaos and strife of the Civil War years and to establish in Baghdad a theocratic society with the secular power made more conformable to the moral imperatives of the Qur'ān and sunnah.

This period of storm and stress comes to an end with al-Ma'mūn's migration from Khurasan to assume the throne of his forefathers in their traditional capital; the collapse of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī's anti-caliphate; and the latter's subsequent ignominious capture in the streets of Baghdad wearing female guise. The death—most probably accidental—of the Eighth Imām of the Shī'a, 'Alī al-Riḍā, conveniently brought about the abandonment of al-Ma'mūn's policy of endeavoring to reconcile the two wings of Islam, Sunnī and Shī'ī, by making the Imām his heir, though a similar policy was sustained on the intellectual plane with the enforcement by al-Ma'mūn and his two successors of Mu'tazilī theological doctrines. The most serious grievances of the anti-Iranizing forces in Iraq were removed by the murder of al-Faḍl b. Sahl in 202(818) and the illness and retirement shortly afterwards of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl.

Hence Ṭabarī's narrative for the last decade-and-a-half of al-Ma'mūn's reign is taken up with such episodes as the final quelling of Naṣr b. Shabath's prolonged uprising amongst the

Arabs of the Jazīrah; the story of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn's appointment as governor of Khurasan and his apparent repudiation of caliphal authority just before his sudden death in 207(822); the munificent ceremonies attending al-Ma'mūn's consummation of his marriage to Būrān, daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, at Fam al-Ṣilḥ; the abortive rebellion in Baghdad of the 'Abbāsid Ibn 'Ā'ishah; the restoration of caliphal authority in Egypt; and the last campaigns of al-Ma'mūn against the Byzantine emperor Theophilus, in the course of which he was to die near Tarsus in 213(833). Above all, we find inserted here, under the events of the year 213(833), the story of the beginnings of the *miḥnah* or inquisition by means of which al-Ma'mūn endeavored to impose on the leading religious dignitaries of the empire acquiescence in the Mu'tazilī doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'ān. The annals proper of al-Ma'mūn's caliphate close with a selection of anecdotes about the Caliph and his conduct, relating to his stay in Syria or to his presence at the court in (normally) Baghdad.

A feature of the post-204(819) part of Ṭabarī's account of al-Ma'mūn's caliphate is his insertion of the apparently complete texts of various chancery or *inshā'* documents, such as Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn's admonition to his son 'Abdallāh, itself an early example of the "Mirrors for Princes" genre in Arabic; letters from al-Ma'mūn and 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir summoning the rebel Naṣr b. Shabath to obedience; the letter from Aḥmad b. Yūsuf to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir congratulating him on receiving the surrender of the Egyptian rebel 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī; the public proclamation made on the occasion of al-Ma'mūn's execution of 'Alī b. Hishām; the correspondence between al-Ma'mūn and the Emperor Theophilus; al-Ma'mūn's *waṣiyyah* or dying testament to his brother Abū Isḥāq al-Mu'taṣim; and above all, the series of three lengthy letters sent by al-Ma'mūn, en route for the Byzantine front, to his lieutenant in Baghdad, the Ṭāhirid Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Muṣ'abī, requiring subscription by the theologians and canon lawyers to the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'ān.

For some three-fifths of Ṭabarī's section on al-Ma'mūn's caliphate we have a parallel text, that of the surviving part of Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr's *Kitāb Baghdād*; the parallelism

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE 'ABBĀSIDS

(with special reference to those members of the family mentioned in this section of al-Ṭabari's *History*)

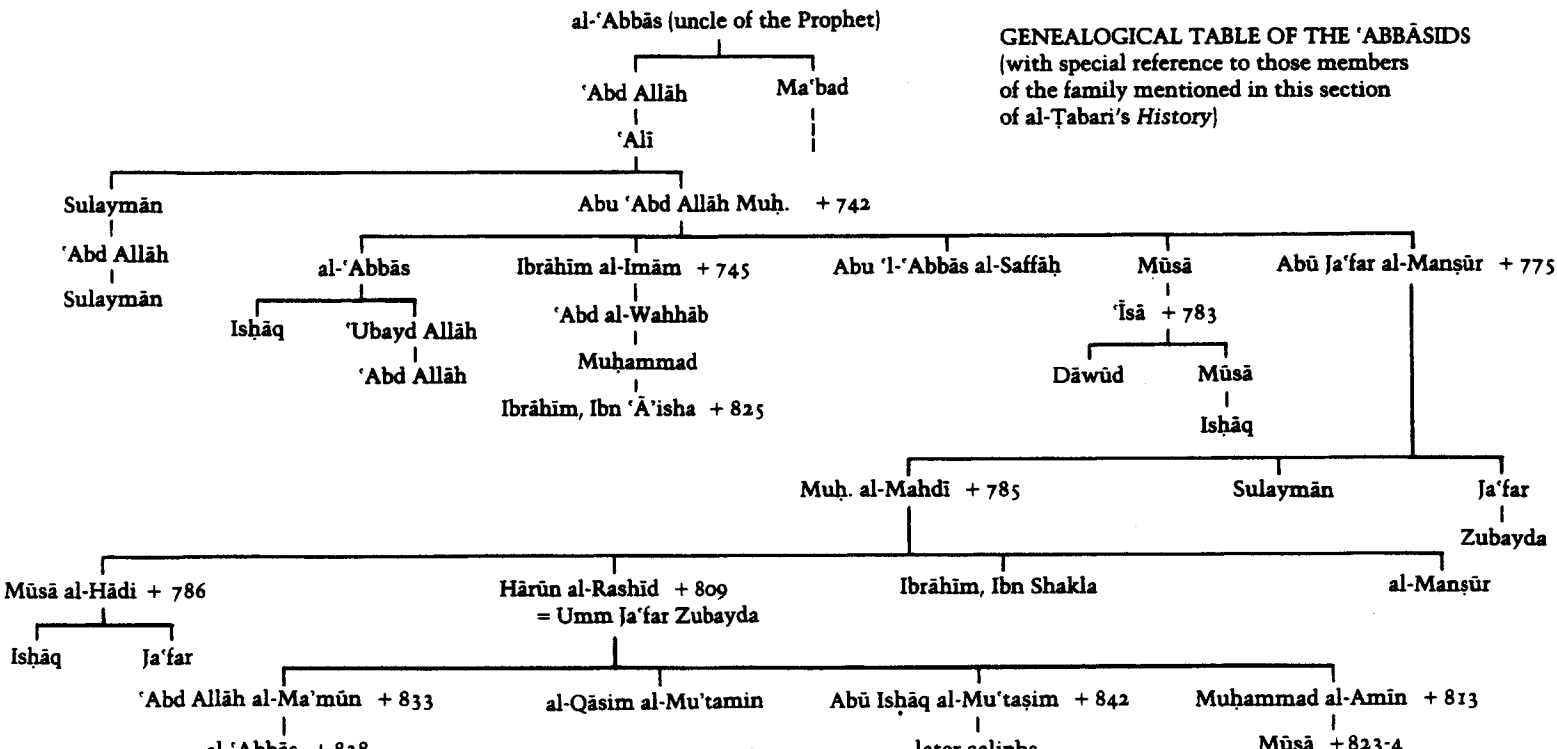

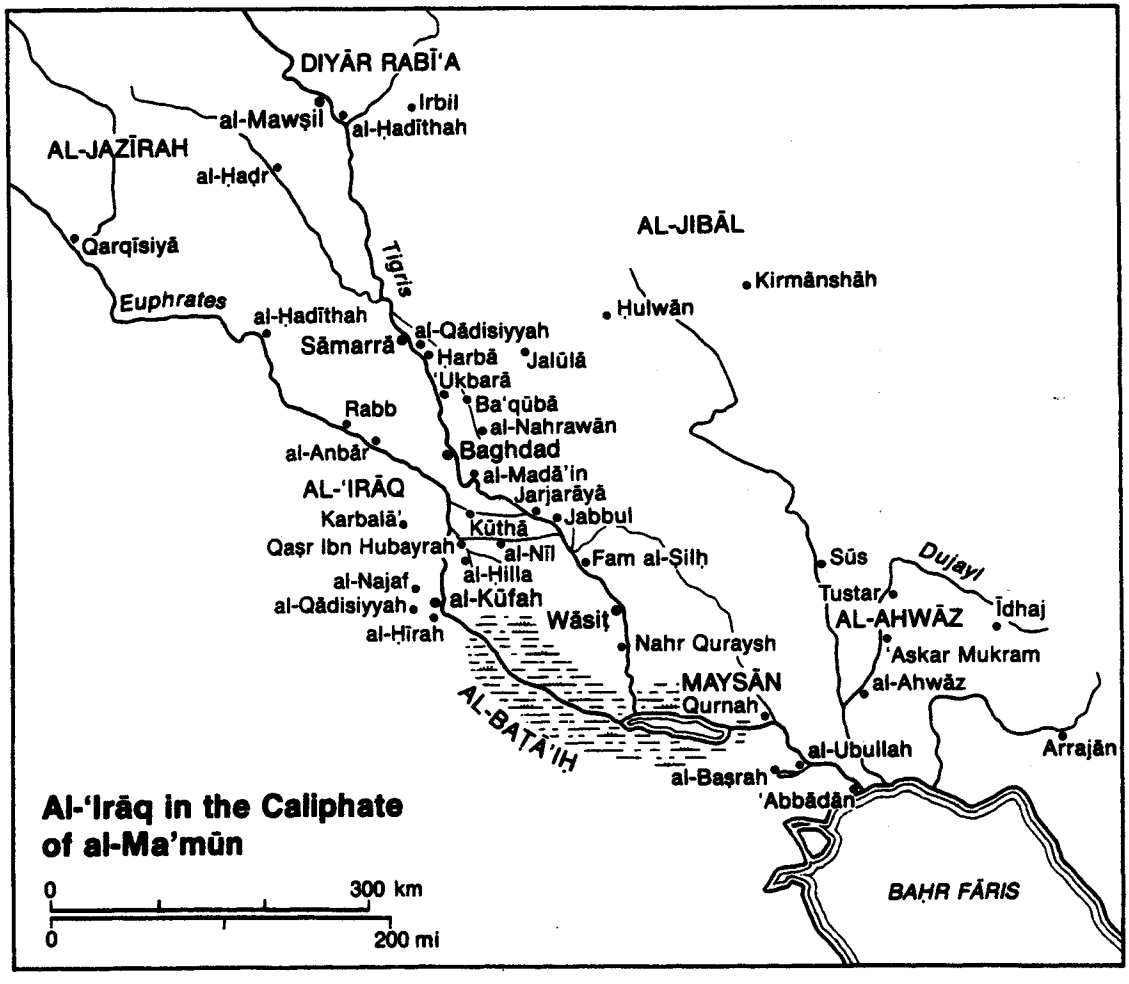

Al-'Irāq in the Caliphate of al-Ma'mūn

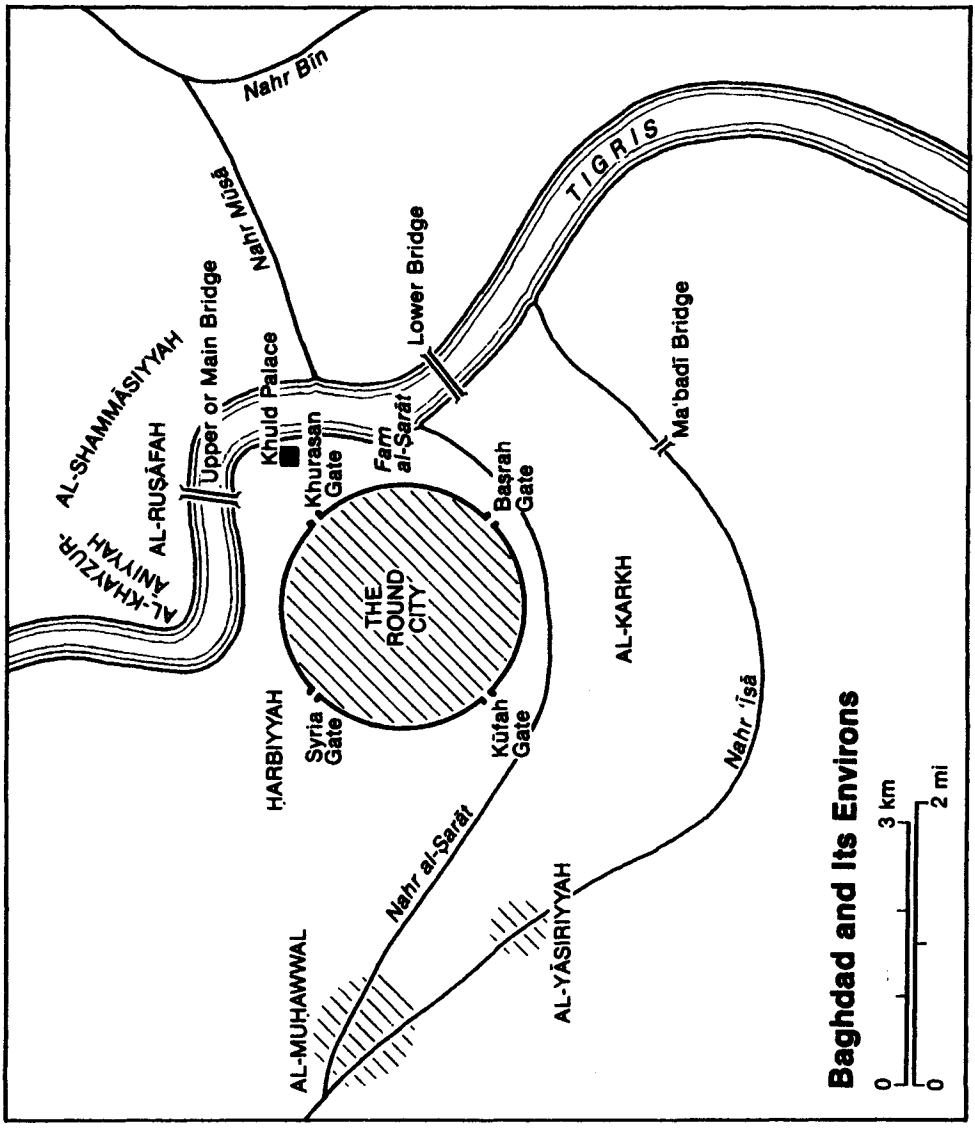
Nahr Bīn
Nahr Mūsā
TIGRIS
Lower Bridge
Upper or Main Bridge
Khuld Palace
Farn al-Ṣarāt
Khurasan Gate
Baṣrah Gate
Ma'badī Bridge
AL-SHAMMĀSIYYAH
AL-RUṢĀFAH
AL-KHAYZUR
ANIYYAH
THE ROUND CITY
AL-KARKH
ḤARBIYYAH
Syria Gate
Kūfah Gate
Nahr 'Īsā
Nahr al-Ṣarāt
AL-MUḤAWWAL
AL-YĀSIRIYYAH
Baghdad and Its Environs
0
3 km
0
2 mi

begins in Ṭabarī at III, 1036, with the events of the year 204[819/20], but excludes a part of the extensive section (III, 1118–33) on the *miḥnah*, where several folios of the corresponding text of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir seem to have been lost. There is no doubt that Ṭabarī followed the older historian (who died in 280[893], according to al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn al-Nadīm), even though he only mentions Ibn Abī Ṭahir once by name (in III, 1516, quoting him, citing Ibn al-Ṣūfī al-Ṭālibī on the rebellion of the Ḥusaynī 'Alid Yaḥyā b. 'Umar b. Yaḥyā in Kūfah in 250[864]). Yet Ṭabarī copied intelligently; thus Keller, the editor and translator of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, has pointed out that he omitted two verses of the ode to al-Ma'mūn by which Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī made his submission to the Caliph because Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's text rendered them faultily. He was also, as an annalist, less interested in literary and cultural history, hence he omitted some of the anecdotes which Ibn Abī Ṭāhir gives at the end of his narrative about al-Ma'mūn's stay in Damascus and about the poets and singers at his court; but it seems certain that the passage on the *miḥnah* mentioned above as unique to Ṭabarī stemmed also from Ibn Abī Ṭāhir. However, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's concentration on affairs in Iraq and Syria meant that Ṭabarī could not, as a conscientious annalist, entirely pass by events in other parts of the caliphate comprising the Islamic heartlands, and so had to find other sources for, e.g., the events in Egypt. Here, two sources are specifically mentioned: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Makhlad, who was personally in Egypt at the time of 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir's quelling of the revolt of Ibn al-Sarī (III, 1087); and, more vaguely, several of the indigenous people of Egypt (III, 1091). Other items of information, e.g., the sparse ones relating to events in Khurasan and on the far eastern fringes of the caliphate, must have come from (to us) unknown chronicles, *kutub al-ta'rīkh*. The whole question of the relationship between Ibn Abī Ṭāhir and Ṭabarī has been discussed in a highly detailed and masterly fashion, so as to require no further discussion here, by Keller in the Introduction to his German translation of the *Kitāb Baghdād*, II, pages XIII-XXVI.

Although Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's history is a parallel text and source and, therefore, provides a control for much of Ṭabarī's text, Stanislas Guyard, who edited pages 459–1163 of the *Tertia se-*

ries of Ṭabarī's history, faced peculiar difficulties in his task. Like Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's history (which Guyard utilised in the then still unedited British Museum manuscript), much of this section, from page 755 l. 14 onwards, rests on a unicum in the Istanbul manuscript Köprülü 1041 (C) copied in 651(1253). From page 1068 l. 11 onwards, it is true, he had a second manuscript, located in the Oxford Bodleian, Pococke 354 (O), but this has a lacuna from page 1101 l. 16 to page 1112 l. 14 (see the general editor de Goeje's *Introductio*, page LXV). That the text which Guyard finally produced for the period of al-Ma'mūn's caliphate reads as intelligibly as it mostly does is a tribute to his sagacity and insight; the obscure passages which remain would not appear to be capable of complete elucidation unless fresh good manuscripts turn up.

There remains only the pleasant task of thanking those who have given valuable advice on problems connected with the text or have lent me necessary books: my colleague Dr. Norman Calder; my former student Dr. Yūsuf Abū al-'Addūs; and my friends Dr. Martin Hinds, Dr. Patricia Crone and Dr. Carole Hillenbrand. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Hinds, who has read through the whole of my translation and accompanying notes, and has indicated many useful references, corrections and improvements; but for any remaining shortcomings, the responsibility is mine alone.

C.E. Bosworth
Manchester, April 1984

The Caliphate of ʿAbdallāh b. Hārūn al-Ma'mūn

[*The Remainder of the Events of the Year 198 (September 1, 813–August 21, 814)*]

In the year 198 (September 1, 813–August 21, 814), the war between the two sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd, Muḥammad (al-Amīn) and ʿAbdallāh (al-Ma'mūn), came to an end, and the people in the eastern lands, in Iraq and the Hijaz, came together and gave their obedience to ʿAbdallāh al-Ma'mūn.

In this year, al-Ḥasan al-Hirsh came out in revolt in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (July–August 814) with a group of the dregs of the people and a large number of tribesmen, proclaiming, or so he asserted, the cause of "the one well-pleasing [to God] from the house of Muḥammad [*al-Riḍā min al-Muḥammad*]." He came as far as Nīl,[1] and then exacted taxes, practised extortion on the merchants, plundered the villages (of the neighborhood) and drove off herds.[2]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn granted to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl,[3] brother

1. Town of central Iraq to the south-southeast of Baghdad, near a transverse canal, the Greater Ṣarāt, which connected the Euphrates with the Tigris; see G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 72–3.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 301.

3. Secretary and financial official for al-Ma'mūn, detested, like his brother, by the Abnā', the Khurasanian military class of Baghdad, for his Zoroastrian background (see below, 52) and Iranian sympathies; see D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 215–18; id., *EI*[2] s.v.

of al-Faḍl b. Sahl,[4] the governorship of all the districts of Jibāl, Fārs, Ahwāz, Baṣrah, Kūfah, the Hijaz and the Yemen which Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn[5] had conquered, this being after the killing of the deposed one Muḥammad (al-Amīn) and the people's general submission to al-Ma'mūn.[6]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn wrote to Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, who was at that moment established at Baghdad,[7] ordering him to hand over the whole of the tax revenues in his possession, collected from all the provinces, to the representatives of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, and that he should leave and make his way to Raqqah.[8] He handed over to him responsibility for the war against Naṣr b. Shabath[9] and appointed him governor of Mosul, the Jazīrah, Syria and the western provinces (al-Maghrib).[10]

In this year, 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd[11] came to Iraq as al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's representative for collection of the land tax there. However, Ṭāhir refused to hand over the land tax to 'Alī until he had paid in full the army's pay allowances. When he had fulfilled this obligation to them, he handed over the tax revenues to him.

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4. Adviser and vizier to al-Ma'mūn till his assassination in 202 (818) (see below, 80); see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 196–213; id., *EI*[2] s.v.

5. Al-Ma'mūn's general in the civil war with his brother al-Amīn, and member of an Iranian family long in the service of the 'Abbāsids; see C.E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 90–5; *EI*[1] s.v. (W. Barthold).

6. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 539; anon., *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-ḥadā'iq*, 344; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, *VI*, 297–8.

7. Al-Ma'mūn himself was at this time in his eastern Khurasanian capital of Marw.

8. The main town of Diyār Muḍar, on the upper Euphrates, in what is now northern Syria; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 58–60; Le Strange, *Lands*, 101–3; M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdânides*, I, 90–1; *EI*[1] s.v. al-Raḳḳa (E. Honigmann).

9. Arab leader from the 'Uqayl tribe who took advantage of the confused situation in the Jazīrah during the civil war period to head bands of Zawāqīl or Qaysī Arabs against the central government till his submission in 209 (824/5) (see below, 138–44); see H. Kennedy, *The early Abbasid caliphate*, 168–9.

10. *'Uyūn*, 344; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 298.

11. Khurasanian and cousin of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, bearer of the honorific of Dhū al-Qalamayn and administrator of Iraq for al-Ḥasan after the death of al-Amīn; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 202, 205, 216.

In this year, al-Maʾmūn wrote to Harthamah (b. Aʿyan) ordering him to proceed to Khurasan.[12] [976]

In this year, al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī led the pilgrimage.[13]

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12. *ʿUyūn*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit. Harthamah was a Khurasanian commander long in the service of the ʿAbbāsids until he was killed on al-Faḍl b. Sahl's orders in 200 (816) (see below, 39–41); see Patricia Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 177; *EI*[2] s.v. (Ch. Pellat).

13. Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 333; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year

199

(August 22, 814–August 10, 815)

The notable events taking place during this year included the arrival in Baghdad of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, as al-Ma'mūn's appointee with responsibility for both military and financial matters. When he reached the city, he divided up his tax collectors (*'ummāl*) amongst the various districts and provinces.[14]

In this year, in Jumādā I (December 814–January 815), Ṭāhir, together with 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid,[15] set out for Raqqah.

In this year, Harthamah also set out for Khurasan.

In this year, Azhar b. Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab marched out against al-Hirsh and then killed him in Muḥarram (August–September 814).

In this year, on Thursday, the tenth of Jumādā II (January 26, 815), Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib rebelled at Kufāh, proclaiming the cause of "the one well-pleasing [to God] from the house of Muḥammad" and of acting in conformity with the Book (the Qu-

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14. Azdī, 334; *'Uyūn*, loc. cit.

15. Son of the Abnā' leader in Baghdad Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid (on whom see below, 42, n.117) and brother of 'Abdūs (see below, 15–16).

r'ān) and *sunnah*. This is the person known as Ibn Ṭabāṭabā.[16] The one who took charge of affairs for him in the conduct of war and who acted as commander of his forces was Abū al-Sarāyā, whose given name was al-Sarī b. Manṣūr; he used to mention that he was from the progeny of Hāni' b. Qabīṣah b. Hāni' b. Mas'ūd b. 'Āmir b. 'Amr b. Abī Rabī'ah b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān.[17]

The Reasons behind the Revolt of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, called Ibn Ṭabāṭabā

There are differing accounts about that. Some people say that the reason for his rebellion was al-Ma'mūn's dismissal of [977]
Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn from the responsibility of collecting the taxes from the provinces which he had conquered and the Caliph's dispatch of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl for this duty. When he did this, people in Iraq talked (about it) among themselves, saying that al-Faḍl b. Sahl had secured an ascendancy over al-Ma'mūn; (they said) that he had installed al-Ma'mūn in a palace, where he had forbidden the members of his own family (the 'Abbāsids) and his chief military commanders, whether from his intimate circle or from the population at large, access to the Caliph. It was alleged, moreover, that al-Faḍl was managing affairs of state according to his own desires and was assuming sole judgment over public affairs without reference to the Caliph. Hence those members of the Hāshimite family and the leading men of the community who were in Iraq grew angry at this. They reacted strongly against al-Faḍl b. Sahl's ascendancy

16. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 539–40; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, VII, 55 = ed. Pellat, § 2740; a detailed account of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's revolt in Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-Ṭalibiyyīn*, 518–36, with the story of Abū al-Sarāyā's revolt continued at 542–59; Azdī, loc. cit.; A. Arioli, "La rivolta di Abū Sarāyā: appunti per una tipologia del leader islamico," *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, V (1974), 189–97; Kennedy, 207–11. It seems that there is nothing to indicate that Abū al-Sarāyā had any ideological commitment to Shī'ism, but that he saw the 'Alids as convenient tools to further his own military ambitions.

17. See on Abū al-Sarāyā, *EI*[2] s.v. (H.A.R. Gibb). His alleged ancestor Hāni' b. Qabīṣah had been one of the Arab chiefs of central Iraq connected with the last Lakhmid rulers of Ḥīrah; see Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 332 ff.

over al-Ma'mūn and assumed a provocative attitude towards al-Ḥasan b. Sahl because of it. Civil strife broke out in the garrison cities, and the first to come out in rebellion at Kūfah was Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, whom I have mentioned.

An alternative account about why he rebelled says that Abū al-Sarāyā was one of Harthamah's commanders, but that Harthamah held back his pay allowances and kept putting off payment to him. Abū al-Sarāyā accordingly grew angry at this procrastination, and went off to Kūfah and proclaimed his allegiance to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. He seized control of Kūfah, and the people there came together and gave him their obedience. He set up Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm in the city, and the people of the surrounding rural districts, the tribesmen and others flocked to his standard.[18]

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl sent Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab (al-Ḍabbī)[19] with his personal forces to Kūfah. The official in charge of the taxes of Kūfah when Ibn Ṭabāṭabā entered the city was Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far al-Manṣūr,[20] an appointee of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's; Sulaymān's deputy there was Khālid b. Muḥajjal al-Ḍabbī. When the news (of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's arrival in Kūfah) reached al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, he upbraided Sulaymān harshly and denounced him for his weakness. He dispatched Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab with an army of ten thousand calvary and infantry, and Zuhayr advanced towards them. When they heard reports of Zuhayr's approach, the rebels in Kūfah prepared to march out against him, but they did not have sufficient strength for such a counteradvance. So they stood fast until Zuhayr reached Qaryat Shāhī;[21] then they made a sortie, and stood fast (at the bridge) until Zuhayr encountered them there.
[978] He pitched camp on the Tuesday evening at Ṣa'nabā,[22] and then fell upon them the next morning. But the Kūfans put him

18. Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 521, 523–4, with the date of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's receiving the homage of the people of Kūfah given as the tenth of Jumādā I, 199 (December 27, 814); C.L. Geddes, "Al-Ma'mūn's Šī'ite policy in Yemen." *WZKM*, LIX–LX (1963–4), 99.

19. Veteran Khurasanian commander of the 'Abbāsids; see Crone, 186–7.

20. Great-uncle of al-Ma'mūn and governor of Baṣrah under Hārūn al-Rashīd.

21. "The royal village," presumably the one near Qādisiyyah of Kūfah given in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 316.

22. Presumably the village of the Sawād mentioned in ibid., III, 408.

to flight, treated his army camp as legitimate plunder (*istabāḥū 'askarahu*), and seized all the money, weapons, beasts, etc., which he had with him. This was on Wednesday.[23]

On the day after this battle between the people of Kūfah and Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab, i.e., Thursday, the first of Rajab, 199 (February 15, 815), Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, (called) Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, suddenly died.[24] People said that Abū al-Sarāyā had poisoned him because, it was alleged, when Ibn Ṭabāṭabā had placed a secure guard on all the money, weapons, beasts, etc., captured from Zuhayr's army encampment, he had refused to give Abū al-Sarāyā any of it and had prevented his access to it; moreover, he had the obedience of all the people. Abū al-Sarāyā realized that he had no control over Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, so he poisoned him. On the latter's death, Abū al-Sarāyā set up in his place a young, beardless lad called Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib;[25] but Abū al-Sarāyā was really the one who executed all affairs, appointing whomsoever he saw fit to official positions and dismissing whomsoever he pleased, and all affairs were in his hands.[26]

Abū al-Sarāyā kills 'Abdūs

Zuhayr withdrew on the same day of his defeat to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah[27] and took up his position there. Now al-Ḥasan b. Sahl had dispatched 'Abdūs b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid al-Marwarrūdhī[28] to Nīl at the same time as Zuhayr was sent to Kūfah. After Zuhayr's defeat, 'Abdūs set out for Kūfah, according to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's instructions, and he and his forces

23. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 542–3.

24. Ibid., II, 540; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 525–32; Azdī, 335.

25. I.e., of the Zaydī branch of the Ḥusaynids; as Kennedy, 208–9, points out, he was doubtless acceptable in Kūfah because his grandfather, Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, had led an 'Alid rising there against the Umayyad Caliph Hishām in 122 (740); see *EI*[1] s.v. Zaid b. 'Alī (R. Strothmann).

26. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 55–6 = ed. Pellat, § 2740; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 532–4, 545–50.

27. A town to the north of Ḥillah and named after its founder, the Umayyad governor Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayrah; see Yāqūt *Mu'jam*, IV, 365; Le Strange, *Lands*, 70–1; *EI*[2] s.v. Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra (J. Lassner).

28. Brother of 'Īsā and son of the Abnā' leader in Baghdad (see below, 42, n.117).

reached Jāmi';[29] Zuhayr in the meantime had taken up his position at Qaṣr (Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah). Abū al-Sarāyā marched out against 'Abdūs and fell upon him at Jāmi' on Sunday, the seventeenth of Rajab[30] (March 3, 815). In this (confrontation) Abū al-Sarāyā killed 'Abdūs, captured Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid and proclaimed 'Abdūs's army camp to be lawful plunder.[31] It is reported that 'Abdūs had four thousand cavalrymen, of whom every one was either killed or taken prisoner. The Ṭālibids were able to spread themselves through the land, and
[979] Abū al-Sarāyā now coined dirhams at Kūfah with the inscription, "God loves those who fight in His way in ranks, as though they were a building well-compacted."[32]

When the news reached Zuhayr that Abū al-Sarāyā had killed 'Abdūs—at that time (Zuhayr was) still at Qaṣr—he and his forces retired to Nahr al-Malik.[33] Abū al-Sarāyā now advanced and encamped with his troops at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, with his advance scouts penetrating as far as Kūthā[34] and Nahr al-Malik. He then sent out armies to Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ, which occupied those two cities. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī[35] was the governor of Wāsiṭ and its environs on al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's behalf. Abū al-Sarāyā's army engaged 'Abdallāh's army near Wāsiṭ and put 'Abdallāh to flight; accordingly, he had to fall back on Baghdad, having lost a considerable number of his forces either killed or taken captive. When al-Ḥasan b. Sahl realized that any army which he might send against Abū al-Sarāyā and

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29. More usually in the dual form Jāmi'ān, the settlement on the Sūrā branch of the Euphrates which later developed into the town of Ḥillah; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 96; Le Strange, *Lands*, 71–2; G. Makdisi, "Notes on Ḥilla and the Mazyadids in mediaeval Islam," *JAOS*, LXXIV (1954), 249–62.

30. Actually a Saturday.

31. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 543, with the same date for the battle.

32. Qur'ān, LXI, 4. At least one dirham of this type is extant; see C.J. Tornberg, "Ueber muhammedanische Revolutions-Münzen," *ZDMG*, XXII (1868), 706–7.

33. Town on the canal of the same name, to the south of Baghdad and connecting the Euphrates and Tigris; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 324; Le Strange, *Lands*, 70–1.

34. Town on the canal of the same name, to the south of Nahr al-Malik; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 487–8; Le Strange, *Lands*, 68–9.

35. Commander of al-Rashīd who fought for al-Amīn but who obviously recovered favor under the new régime; see Crone, 145.

his partisans would inevitably be put to flight; that whatever province they marched against, they occupied; and that, moreover, he had no commander in his own entourage who could successfully undertake a counter-campaign against Abū al-Sarāyā, he was compelled to have recourse to Harthamah. Now when Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl had come to Harthamah in Iraq as the governor appointed over it by al-Ma'mūn, Harthamah had handed over to him what tax revenues he then had in his possession and had set off for Khurasan, bitterly angry at al-Ḥasan. He journeyed onwards as far as Ḥulwān.[36] At that point, al-Ḥasan sent al-Sindī[37] and the *ṣāḥib al-muṣallā* Ṣāliḥ,[38] begging Harthamah to return to Baghdad and take charge of the warfare against Abū al-Sarāyā. However, he rejected the approach and refused. The envoy returned to al-Ḥasan bearing his refusal, so he sent al-Sindī back to him once more with conciliatory and flattering letters. Harthamah then agreed and turned back towards Baghdad; he entered Baghdad in Sha'bān (March–April 815). As he got ready to march on Kūfah, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl ordered 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd to move out to the neighborhood of Madā'in, Wāsiṭ and Baṣrah; this he and his forces prepared to do. [980]

Harthamah Marches Against Abū al-Sarāyā

News of all this reached Abū al-Sarāyā, all this time still at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. He sent a force against Madā'in, and his troops entered it in Ramaḍān (April–May 815). In this same month of Ramaḍān, he himself and his forces moved forwards

36. Town of western Persia on the high road to Khurasan, and the first one in the mountain zone after leaving the plains of Iraq; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 293–4; Le Strange, *Lands*, 191; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 673 ff.; *EI*[2] s.v. (L. Lockhart).

37. Presumably al-Sindī b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī, of the old Qaysī family, hence a nephew of the 'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd mentioned above, and again a former supporter of al-Amīn; see Crone, 145.

38. Court official of al-Rashīd, who had charge of the prayer carpet (*muṣallā*) which was spread over the Caliph's *sarīr* (the divan which served as a throne) and which was regarded as one of the insignia of royalty; this might also be allotted for the use of distinguished visitors. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 172; id., "Questions de cérémonial 'abbaside," *REI*, XXVIII (1960), 131–2.

and encamped at the Nahr Ṣarṣar,[39] in the district which lies along the road to Kūfah. While Harthamah was still holding back from returning to al-Ḥasan at Baghdad, he had ordered al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī[40] to move forward and encamp at Yāsiriyyah[41] until Harthamah himself should join up with him. This al-Manṣūr did. When Harthamah arrived, he went forward and encamped at al-Safīniyyīn[42] in front of (al-) Manṣūr. Then he pushed on until he made camp at the Nahr Ṣarṣar, facing Abū al-Sarāyā and with the canal between them. Meanwhile, 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd was encamped at Kalwādhā.[43] He set off on Tuesday, one day after the 'Īd al-Fiṭr, and sent his vanguard on to Madā'in. There he engaged Abū al-Sarāyā's force in fierce fighting from the morning of Thursday till nightfall on that day. The next morning, he and his troops renewed the battle. Abū al-Sarāyā's soldiers were defeated, and Ibn Abī Sa'īd occupied Madā'in. The news (of the defeat) and Ibn Abī Sa'īd's capture of Madā'in reached Abū al-Sarāyā, and during the night of (Friday) Saturday the (twenty-fourth twenty-) fifth of Shawwāl (June 7–8, 814) he fell back from the Nahr Ṣarṣar to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah and encamped there. Harthamah moved forward the next morning and hurried in pursuit of him. He came upon a substantial detachment of Abū al-Sarāyā's troops and slaughtered them, sending their heads to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. Harthamah then proceeded to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, and there took place a battle between him and Abū al-Sarāyā in which a large number of the latter's soldiers were killed; therefore Abū al-

[981]

39. The transverse canal connecting the Euphrates and Tigris immediately to the south of Baghdad, on which lay the town of Ṣarṣar; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 401; Le Strange, *Lands*, 67–8.

40. Leading member of the 'Abbāsid family in Iraq during al-Ma'mūn's absence, whom the opponents of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl later tried to set up as Caliph there; see below, fol. 23, and Kennedy, index s.v.

41. Township on the Nahr 'Īsā Canal, to the west of Baghdad, where there was a bridge over the canal; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 425; Le Strange, *Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphate*, 151–2; Lassner, *The topography of Baghdad*, 100, 259.

42. Reading uncertain; this is the one adopted by the editor here and at III, 865, of the text, but in M.J. de Goeje's *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXVIII, and in *'Uyūn*, 422, we have al-Safinatayn.

43. District and town on the left bank of the Tigris just below Baghdad; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 477–8; Le Strange, *Lands*, 32; *EI*[2] s.v. (ed.).

Sarāyā had to retreat towards Kūfah. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad and the group of Ṭālibids accompanying him now swept down on the houses of the 'Abbāsid family in Kūfah and on the houses of their clients and retainers (*mawālīhim wa-atbā'ihim*), ransacking and destroying these houses, expelling the 'Abbāsids and their followers from the city, and searching out their goods and possessions which had been deposited with other people and appropriating them.[44] They behaved in an abominable fashion.

Meanwhile, Harthamah was telling the people, so it is said, that his intention was to lead the pilgrimage. During this period, he had held back pilgrims from Khurasan, Jibāl and the Jazīrah, and the pilgrims of Baghdad and others, and had not allowed anyone to set off on the pilgrimage, hoping that he himself would take Kūfah. Abū al-Sarāyā sent representatives to Mecca and Madīnah who would take control there and take charge of the pilgrimage. The governor of Mecca and Madīnah at that time was Dāwūd b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.[45] The person whom Abū al-Sarāyā sent to Mecca was Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Afṭas b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib[46] and the one whom he sent to Madīnah was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[47] The latter entered Madīnah without encountering any resistance at all. Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan travelled towards Mecca, and when he drew near to it he halted for a brief while because of the garrison within the city.

Events at Mecca

When Dāwūd b. 'Īsā heard the news that Abū al-Sarāyā had sent Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan to Mecca in order to take charge of the [982]
rites of the pilgrimage, he gathered together the clients of the 'Abbāsid family and the slaves who worked on their agricul-

44. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 760–1; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 542–4; Azdī, 335; *'Uyūn*, 345–7; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 302–6.
45. Great-nephew of al-Saffāḥ and first cousin once removed of al-Ma'mūn.
46. I.e., grandson of the fourth Imām 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn.
47. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 760; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 55, 58 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2740, 2743; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 540.

tural properties (*'abīd ḥawā'iṭihim*).[48] The eunuch Masrūr al-Kabīr[49] had made the pilgrimage that year with a force of two hundred cavalrymen from amongst his own troops. He now got ready to oppose the Ṭālibid forces attempting to enter and take over Mecca. He said to Dāwūd b. 'Īsā, "Set yourself up, or one of your sons, as my chief, and I will take upon myself the responsibility for fighting them."[50] Dāwūd replied, "I cannot declare lawful the idea of fighting in the sacred enclosure [*al-ḥaram*]. By God, if they enter by this way down through the mountains, I myself shall leave by another defile." Masrūr said to him, "You would hand over your ruling power and authority to your enemy! Who is there who will not criticize you for this, reproaching you for an act against your religion, the honor of your family and your own material interests?" Dāwūd responded to him, "What ruling power do I really have? By God, I have dwelled in their midst till I have grown aged, and they never appointed me to any administrative office till I had become an old man and my life had almost run. Then they made me governor of a part of the Hijaz which does not provide me with any sustenance. You and your likes can have this ruling power, so put up a fight or abandon the struggle, just as you wish!" Thereupon, Dāwūd left Mecca and retired to the vicinity of Mushāsh.[51] He had already loaded his bulkier possessions on camels, and he now sent them off on the road to Iraq and on his own initiative forged a diploma from al-Ma'mūn appointing his own son Muḥammad b. Dāwūd as leader of the worship during the pilgrimage period. He told him, "Go forth and lead the people in the midday and afternoon worship at Minā and then the sunset and evening worship. Stay overnight at Minā

48. The *ḥawā'iṭ* (sing. *ḥā'iṭ*) of Mecca are listed by Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, II, 227–30, cf. 301, and described as embanked pieces of agricultural land irrigated by water brought in through conduits leading ultimately to the Ḥaram.

49. Abū Hāshim Masrūr, official in the service of al-Rashīd, and then apparently of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn; see Crone, 192–3.

50. I.e., the 'Abbāsid Dāwūd would be nominal leader of the forces, while the slave or freedman Masrūr would be the real commander.

51. A well-irrigated district between the hill of 'Arafāt and Ṭā'if, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 131; or a place half-a-stage from Mecca between there and the territory of the Banū Sulaym, according to Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, IV, 1230.

and lead the dawn worship, then mount your steeds and go down via the 'Arafah Road and take the route on your left to the ravine of 'Amr until you get on to the Mushāsh Road, and then join up with me at Ibn 'Āmir's garden."[52] Muḥammad b. Dāwūd did that, and the body of men who had been with Dāwūd b. 'Īsā in Mecca, comprising the clients of the 'Abbāsid family and the slaves who worked on their agricultural properties, split up. This weakened the eunuch Masrūr's military strength, and he grew apprehensive that if he resisted the Ṭālibid forces, the majority of the people (i.e., the pilgrims) would join their side. Hence he set off on Dāwūd's tracks, returning to Iraq, and the pilgrims remained at 'Arafah. [983]

When the sun began to decline and it was time for the worship, a group (of religious leaders) from the people of Mecca successively refused to undertake the task of leading it. When they found that none of the rulers were present, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Radmī,[53] who was the muezzin, judge of the community of pilgrims (*qāḍī al-jamā'ah*) and imām for the congregation of the Sacred Mosque of Mecca, then said to the judge of Mecca, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, "Step forward, deliver the sermon [*khuṭbah*] for the people and lead them in the two worships [midday and afternoon], for you are indeed the judge of the city." He replied, "In whose name shall I deliver the sermon, when the governor has fled, and these fellows [the Ṭālibids and their followers] are on the point of entering [the city]?" Aḥmad replied, "Don't make the prayers for anyone specifically." Muḥammad retorted, "No, you do it. Step forward, deliver the sermon and lead the people in the worship." Nevertheless he refused. Then they pushed forward a man from the lower classes of Mecca, and he led the

52. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 414, this was the vulgar name for Bustān Ibn Ma'mar, described as two wadis filled with date palms, and identified by Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, IV, 1304, with the date grove called Nakhlat al-Yamāniyyah.

53. Vocalization of this *nisbah* or gentilic uncertain, unless from *radm*, "barrier." Several *rudūm* in Mecca are mentioned by Azraqī, e.g., *Akhbār Makkah*, II, 33, 167, as being barriers or embankments constructed to keep water in the wadis in check and to prevent flooding of the courtyard of the Ka'bah; cf. also the Radm Banī Jumaḥ of Yāqūt, *Mu'jam* III, 40.

people in the midday and afternoon worship without delivering any sermon. They proceeded and halted, in a body, at the standing-place of 'Arafah until the sun went down. Then the people began to go down from 'Arafah by themselves without any imām until they came to Muzdalifah. Another man from the lower classes of Mecca led them in the sunset and evening worships.

Meanwhile, Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan was pausing at Sarif,[54] reluctant to enter Mecca for fear of being repulsed from it and of being forcibly opposed by its defenders, until a deputation of the citizens of Mecca who were favorably disposed towards the Ṭālibids and fearful of the 'Abbāsids went out to meet him. They told him that Mecca, Minā and 'Arafah had now become empty of any representatives of the ('Abbāsid) ruling power, and that these leaders had departed in the direction of Iraq. Hence Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan was able to enter Mecca before the time of the sunset worship on the Day of 'Arafah, together with all his retinue, numbering less than ten persons. They made the circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) round the Holy House, the running (*sa'y*) between Ṣafā' and Marwah, and proceeded to 'Arafah during the night. They then remained there during a period of time of that night for the standing (*wuqūf*), and then returned to Muzdalifah. Ḥusayn led the people in the dawn worship and
[984] performed the standing at the place of Quzaḥ, and kept the press of people away from himself. He halted at Minā for the remaining days of the pilgrimage, staying there until the year 199 came to its end (August 10, 815). The Ṭālibid Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd remained at Madīnah for the rest of the year also. Then the pilgrims, and all of those who had been in Mecca and had taken part in the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, returned homewards—the pilgrims having had to make the running down (*ifādah*) from 'Arafah without any leader, however.[55]

54. A hollow or wadi, according to Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, II, 208, 213.

55. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 761; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IX, 69 = ed. Pellat, § 3648; Azdī, 335, 338; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 306–7; Geddes, 99–100. For the various features of the pilgrimage ceremonies mentioned here, see *EI*[2] Ḥadjdj (A.J. Wensinck—J. Jomier).

Meanwhile, when Harthamah had grown afraid that he would not be able to make the pilgrimage (i.e., that he would lose too much time over the military operations in Iraq to be able to lead the pilgrims on their way across Arabia) and had encamped at Qaryat Shāhī, he attacked Abū al-Sarāyā and his partisans at the very same spot that Zuhayr had attacked him (previously). In the first part of the daylight hours, Harthamah was pushed back, but in the latter part, Abū al-Sarāyā's forces were defeated. When Harthamah realized that he had not managed to attain his aim (of taking charge personally of the pilgrims of Persia and Iraq), he remained at Qaryat Shāhī, made the pilgrims and others retrace their steps, and sent for al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, who joined up with him at Qaryat Shāhī. Harthamah kept sending letters to the leading men in Kūfah. After ʿAlī b. Abī Saʿīd had occupied Madāʾin, he had gone on to Wāsiṭ and seized that city; then he had marched to Baṣrah, but did not manage to capture it till the end of this year.[56]

56. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 543–4; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 307.

The Events of the Year

200

(August 11, 815–July 29, 816)

One of the events taking place during this year was the flight of Abū al-Sarāyā from Kūfah and Harthamah's entering the city. It is mentioned that Abū al-Sarāyā and his supporters from amongst the Ṭālibids fled from Kūfah during the night of (Saturday-) Sunday, the (fifteenth-) sixteenth of Muḥarram, 200 (August 26–7, 815) until they reached Qādisiyyah.[57] Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī and Harthamah entered Kūfah the morning after that night and gave the people a guarantee of safety; they did not, indeed, lay a hand on a single one of the townspeople. Manṣūr and Harthamah and their forces remained there during that day until the time of the afternoon worship, and then they went back to their encampment, leaving behind as their representa-
[985] tive in Kūfah one of their men called Abū Ibrāhīm Ghassān b. Abī al-Faraj b. Ghassān,[58] who held the office of commander of

57. I.e., that of Kūfah, lying to the west of the latter on the road to Mecca, and the site of the great battle between the Arabs and Persians in the conquest period; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 291–3; Le Strange, *Lands*, 76.

58. The person mentioned below, 53, as Abū Ibrāhīm b. Ghassān; the text seems disturbed in both places, and confusion seems to have occurred in the latter place with the governor of Khurasan Ghassān b. 'Abbād.

the guard for the governor of Khurasan. He set up his residence in the house which had been formerly occupied by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad and Abū al-Sarāyā.[59]

Abū al-Sarāyā Is Captured and Executed

Abū al-Sarāyā, together with his retainers, left Qādisiyya and went to the neighborhood of Wāsiṭ, ʿAlī b. Abī Saʿīd being at Wāsiṭ itself. At this point Baṣrah was still in the hands of the ʿAlids, so Abū al-Sarāyā travelled onwards till he crossed the Tigris below Wāsiṭ and came to ʿAbdasī.[60] There he found a sum of money which had been brought thither from Ahwāz, so he appropriated it. Then he proceeded further until he reached Sūs.[61] He encamped there with his forces, remaining there for four days, and he started to allot one thousand (dirhams) each to the cavalrymen and five hundred (dirhams) each to the foot-soldiers. On the fourth day of their stay, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Bādhghīsī, known also as al-Ma'mūnī,[62] advanced towards them and sent a message, "Depart to wherever you like, for I see no point in engaging in fighting with you; and if you leave my province, I shall make no attempt to pursue you." But Abū al-Sarāyā was determined to provoke an engagement, and he attacked al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī's troops. The latter, however, defeated Abū al-Sarāyā's forces and plundered their encampment; Abū al-Sarāyā himself was severely wounded.[63] He now took to flight. He and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad and Abū al-Shawk joined together, after their troops had split up and dispersed. They made for the region of the road to the Jazīrah, intending to go to Abū al-Sarāyā's residence at Ra's al-ʿAyn.[64] But when

59. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 543; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 545–7.

60. Settlement of the district of Kaskar, on the course of the modern Tigris channel just north of Qurnah; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 77; Le Strange, *Lands*, 42–3.

61. Town in Ahwāz, the ancient Susa; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 280–1; Le Strange, *Lands*, 240; Schwarz, 358–64.

62. Khurasanian mawlā of al-Ma'mūn, appointed governor of Armenia in 214 (829); see Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 566; Crone, 257.

63. According to Yaʿqūbī, op. cit., II, 543, in the abdomen.

64. Town of the Jazīrah, on the headwaters of the Great Khābūr River and famed for its springs; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 13–14; Le Strange, *Lands*, 95; Canard, 97–8; *EI*[1] s.v. (Honigmann).

they reached Jalūlā,[65] they were intercepted. Ḥammād al-Kundughūsh came upon them and seized them, and then brought them to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who stationed himself at Nahrawān when the Ḥarbiyyah troops drove him out (of Baghdad). Abū al-Sarāyā was brought forward and decapitated on Thursday, the tenth of Rabī' I (October 18, 815). It is mentioned that the man who took charge of his execution was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid, who had been a captive in Abū al-Sarāyā's hands. They mention that they never saw anyone, at the time of his [98
execution, more terror-stricken than Abū al-Sarāyā; his arms and legs were violently agitated, and he was shrieking at the top of his voice. Finally, they put a halter round his neck; he was in a state of violent agitation, writhing and shrieking, until his head was actually cut off. Then his head was sent to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's army camp and publicly paraded round it, while his corpse was sent to Baghdad, where it was gibbeted in two halves on the bridge (over the Tigris), one half at each end of it. Ten months had elapsed between his rebellion at Kūfah and his execution.[66]

At the time of Abū al-Sarāyā's crossing of the river, 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd had moved towards him, but when he had missed him, he had pressed on to Baṣrah and recovered it. The member of the Ṭālibids who was at Baṣrah, together with a group of other members of the Ahl al-Bayt,[67] was Zayd b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[68] It was he who acquired the nickname of Zayd al-Nār ("Zayd of the Fire"), simply because of the large number of houses belonging to the 'Abbāsid family and their retainers at Baṣrah which he

65. Town of Iraq on the road from Baghdad to Ḥulwān and Khurasan; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 156–7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 62–3. According to Ya'qūbī, loc. cit., the interception took place at Rustaqābādh (conjectural reading of the text), but since this was in Ahwāz (the later 'Askar Mukram, Le Strange, *Lands*, 237), this can hardly be correct.

66. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 765; Ya'qūbī, loc. cit.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 59 = ed. Pellat, § 2744; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 547–9; Azdī, 338–9; 'Uyūn, 347; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 309–10; F. Gabrieli, *Al-Ma'mun e gli Alidi*, 10–23.

67. Here used apparently in the strict sense of the 'Alids, but the term had varying degrees of wideness; see *EI*[2] s.v. (I. Goldziher—Wensinck—A.S. Tritton).

68. I.e., the son of the sixth Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim.

burnt down.[69] Whenever a member of the Musawwidah[70] was brought before him, he used to decree that his punishment was to be burnt alive. Zayd's supporters also plundered wealth and possessions at Baṣrah. 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd now took Zayd prisoner; it is said that the latter sought a guarantee of safety, and 'Alī granted this to him. From amongst the commanders who were with him, 'Alī b. Sa'īd then sent 'Īsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī,[71] Warqā' b. Jamīl, Ḥamdawayh b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān[72] and Hārūn b. al-Musayyab[73] to Mecca, Madīnah and the Yemen, ordering them to make war on any of the Ṭālibids in those places.[74] Al-Taymī[75] composed the following verses about al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's killing of Abū al-Sarāyā:

Have you not considered al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's blow,
dealt with your sword, O Commander of the Faithful?

It sent Abū al-Sarāyā's head spinning as far as Marw,
but preserved a warning [the corpse] to those crossing over [987]
[the bridge].

When Abū al-Sarāyā was killed, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl sent Muḥammad b. Muḥammad to al-Ma'mūn in Khurasan.

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69. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 546; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 534. On the significance of Zayd's insurrection, see Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, 198–9.

70. "Those who wear black garments," the supporters of the 'Abbāsids.

71. Subsequently governor of Egypt in 212 (827) after 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir's pacification of the country (see below, 159 ff.); see Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāt wa-Kitāb al-Quḍāt*, 184 ff.

72. Member of an Abnā' family and son of the 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān whose governorship in Khurasan under al-Rashīd had been so oppressive; Ḥamdawayh himself subsequently became governor of the Yemen (see below, 38). See E. Daniel, *The political and social history of Khurasan under Abbasid rule 747–820*, 170–4; Crone, 187.

73. Scion of a family of prominent 'Abbāsid supporters in Khurasan; see Crone, 187.

74. Ya'qūbī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 310.

75. Text, al-Tamīmī. The correct reading appears in Azdī, 339, the poet in question being the *māǧin* or libertine poet and colleague of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, 'Abdallāh b. Ayyūb, a mawlā of the Meccan clan of Taym; see Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 114–25.

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib rebelled in the Yemen.[76]

Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā Rebels in the Yemen

According to what has been mentioned, Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā and a group of members of his family were at Mecca when Abū al-Sarāyā rebelled and the fate of the latter and that of the Ṭālibids in Iraq were as described. News of them reached Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā. He therefore set out from Mecca, together with those of his family who were with him, making for the Yemen; the governor of the Yemen at that time was Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, who resided there and held power on al-Ma'mūn's behalf.[77] When Isḥāq heard about the 'Alid Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā's approach and how near he was to Ṣan'ā', he set off from the Yemen along the Najd Road with all his troops, comprising cavalry and footsoldiers, and abandoned the Yemen to Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far, recoiling from the prospect of fighting him. He had heard news of how his paternal uncle Dāwūd b. 'Īsā had acted at Mecca and Madīnah, so he did the same thing, (abandoning his charge without striking a blow). He journeyed onwards in the direction of Mecca until he descended to Mushāsh and then encamped there. He planned to enter Mecca, but the body of 'Alids within the city prevented him. Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā's mother was at this time in Mecca, in concealment from the 'Alids; they were searching for her, but she remained in hiding from them. Meanwhile, Isḥāq b. Mūsā remained encamped at Mushāsh. Those persons who had gone underground in Mecca
[988] now began to slip away along the mountaintops, and they brought 'Isā's mother to him at his camp. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā used to be called al-Jazzār ("The Butcher") because of the large num-

76. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 760; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 540, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 56 = ed. Pellat, § 2740; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 533–4; Geddes, 100–1. Ibrāhīm was the brother of Zayd al-Nār (see above, 26–7), hence also a son of the Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim.

77. Great-grandson of al-Saffāḥ's brother Mūsā and third cousin of al-Ma'mūn.

ber of people whom he killed in the Yemen; he also took people as slaves and confiscated people's wealth.[78]

In this year, on the first day of Muḥarram (August 11, 815), after the pilgrims had dispersed on their various ways from Mecca, Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Afṭas took up his position behind the *maqām* (*Ibrāhīm*),[79] on a doubled-over saddle cushion, and then gave orders regarding the covering of the Ka'bah.[80] As a result, the covering was stripped off until he left nothing at all of it, and the Ka'bah was left as a bare piece of stonework.[81] Then he had it covered with two pieces of fine silk which Abū al-Sarāyā had sent with him and which had written on them the following: "Al-Aṣfar b. al-Aṣfar[82] Abū al-Sarāyā, the propagandist for the house of Muḥammad, ordered this to be made as the covering of God's Holy House, and [he also ordered] that the covering of the tyrants from the progeny of al-'Abbās should be flung away so that the Holy House might be purified from [the profanation of] their covering. He wrote [this] in the year 199 [814/15]."[83]

Then Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan issued a command about the original covering of the Ka'bah, and as a result, it was divided up amongst his 'Alid supporters and their followers according to what he considered to be their respective statuses.[84] He directed his attention to the wealth in the treasury of the Ka'bah-

78. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 544; *'Uyūn*, 347–8; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 310–11.

79. "The standing-place of Abraham," the stone, now kept in a small building in front of the façade of the Ka'bah, on which Abraham, re-founder of the Ka'bah after the Flood, is said to have stood; see *EI*[2] s.v. Ka'ba (Wensinck—Jomier).

80. I.e., the *kiswah*, the ornate, embroidered brocade covering, see ibid.

81. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 58 = ed. Pellat, § 2743.

82. *Aṣfar*, literally, "the light-coloured one;" the term Banū al-Aṣfar was often applied to the Byzantines and other Europeans (see *EI*[2] s.v. "Aṣfar" [Goldziher]), but is perhaps here used as a contrast to the use of black as the color par excellence of the 'Abbāsids (cf. the Musawwidah, above, 27). Abū al-Sarāyā's name al-Aṣfar was apparently used on the coins minted by him at Kūfah in the year 199 (814/5), see above, 16.

83. Cf. Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, I, 264.

84. Or: "according to how he viewed their importance to his cause," *'alā qadri manāzilihim 'indahu*.

and seized it.[85] He swept down on the house of every person who, so he heard, had deposited with him valuables entrusted to him by a member of the 'Abbāsid family or their followers. If he found there anything of these valuables, he seized them and inflicted punishment on the house owner; and if he found nothing there, he jailed and tortured the owner so that he
[989] should have to procure his release by handing over the whole of his personal fortune and should have to make an attestation before the legal witnesses that the money in question belonged to the Musawwidah from the progeny of al-'Abbās and their followers. This procedure came to affect a large number of people. The man charged with torturing the victims was a man from Kūfah called Muḥammad b. Maslamah, who was living in a special house[86] near the (quarter of) the wheat dealers, which became known as the "House of Torture." The 'Alids so terrified the populace that a considerable number of the better-off citizens fled; the 'Alids thereupon punished these fugitives by pulling down their houses. They went so far as to interfere with people's womenfolk and to seize people's children, causing great scandal. They started scraping off the thin gilded covering on the capitals of the columns of the (Sacred) Mosque, and obtained from a single column, after much tedious labor, one *mithqāl* (4.25 gr.) or so of gold; this process was consequently applied to the majority of the columns of the Sacred Mosque. They wrenched out the iron which formed the gratings around Zamzam[87] and also beams of teak, and these were sold off for a negligible price.

Anti-Caliph in Mecca

When Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan and the members of his family accompanying him saw how the people's attitude towards them had

85. According to Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, I, 248, five thousand dirhams were appropriated as a forced loan; the custodians of the Ka'bah pursued their claim before al-Ma'mūn after Muḥammad b. Ja'far (see below) lost power in Mecca and managed to recover the money.

86. *Dār khāliṣah*, which might be alternatively rendered as "a white house;" the expression echoes Qur'ān, XXXVIII, 46.

87. The well in the courtyard of the Ka'bah; see *EI*[1] s.v. (Carra de Vaux).

changed on account of their behavior, and when they received news of Abū al-Sarāyā's execution, of the expulsion of the Ṭālibids resident there in Kūfah, Baṣrah and the regions of Iraq, and of the re-imposition of control there by the ʿAbbāsids, they went together in a body to Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[88] The latter was a venerable figure, of a very pacific nature, well-loved by the people at large and in no way associated with the evil activities of which many of the members of his house were guilty. He used to relate traditions concerning the religious sciences (*ʿilm*) from his father Jaʿfar (al-Ṣādiq) b. Muḥammad; people used to write down this knowledge from his transmission, and he used to [990] show forth seemly behavior and asceticism.[89] They now said to him, "You are probably aware of your high status in the eyes of the people; so show yourself publicly, and we will give allegiance to you as Caliph, for if you do that, no two persons would dispute your status." Nevertheless he refused to accede to their request. But his son, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, and Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Afṭas kept on at him until they persuaded the old man, against his better judgement, and he agreed to their plan. Thus they set him up on Friday, after the worship, the sixth of Rabīʿ II (November 13, 815). Then they did homage to him as Caliph, and all the people, including the permanent residents of Mecca and the temporary foreign immigrants (*mujāwirūn*), gathered round him in a body and pledged their allegiance, whether willingly or unwillingly, and addressed him by the title of "Commander of the Faithful."

He remained in this position and dignity for a few months, but held only the title and not the substance of power, while his son ʿAlī, Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan and a group of their partisans behaved in the most outrageous possible way and committed the most reprehensible deeds. Thus Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan assaulted a woman of Quraysh from the Banū Fihr, whose husband belonged to the Banū Makhzūm and who was outstandingly

88. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 540; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 537–41.

89. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 56–7 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2741–2. His honorific title was al-Dībājah, "embellishment, handsome [face]," from his handsomeness and accomplishments.

beautiful. He sent a message to her[90] that she should come to him, but she refused his demand. He frightened her husband (with threats) and gave orders for him to be sought out, with the result that the husband went into hiding from him. Then, during the night, Ḥusayn sent a gang of his associates who broke down the house door, seized the woman's person and carried her off to Ḥusayn. She remained in his clutches almost till his departure from Mecca, but managed at that point to escape from him and return to her own family, who were at that moment involved in the fighting at Mecca. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far assaulted a youth of Quraysh, the son of a judge in Mecca, called Isḥāq b. Muḥammad, who was extremely handsome. He rushed in and seized him, openly and by the full light of day, in his house on al-Ṣafā', overlooking the route of the pilgrims' *sa'y*; he hoisted him up on the saddle of his horse and himself rode behind him on the beast's hindquarters. 'Alī b. Muḥammad rode off with him and went right through the market until he came to Bi'r Maymūn[91] (he used to reside in the
[991] house belonging to Dāwūd b. 'Īsā on the road to Minā). When the indigenous people of Mecca and the temporary foreign immigrants saw that, they all sallied forth and gathered together in the Sacred Mosque. The shops were closed and locked up, and the pilgrims who were circumambulating the Ka'bah (on the 'Umrah) joined up with them. They then went along to Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad, who was residing in Dāwūd's house and said, "By God, we shall certainly renounce our allegiance to you and kill you, unless you restore to us this youth whom your son has seized openly!" Muḥammad barred the door of the house and spoke to them from behind the grill of the window which opened on to the mosque and replied, "By God, I knew nothing [of this]!" He sent a message to Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan asking him to ride off to his son 'Alī and rescue the youth from him. But Ḥusayn refused to undertake this, protesting, "By God, you know perfectly well that I have no power over your son. If I were to go to him, he would attack me

90. Reading, with the editor, n. *b*, *ilayhā* for the text's *ilayhi*.
91. See concerning this, Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, II, 222; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 302.

and set upon me with his band of partisans." When Muḥammad realized the position, he said to the people of Mecca, "Give me a guarantee of safety, so that I may ride along to ʿAlī and take the youth away from him." They provided him with the required guarantee and allowed him to ride off. He rode along unescorted till he reached his son. Then he took back the youth from him and restored him to his family.

The narrator continues: Only a short while elapsed before the ʿAbbāsid, Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā, approached from the Yemen and halted at Mushāsh. The ʿAlids gathered round Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad and said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, this is Isḥāq b. Mūsā approaching us with a force of both cavalry and infantry. We have come to the opinion that we should excavate a protective ditch and rampart around the higher parts of Mecca, and that you should show yourself publicly [in Mecca] so that the populace will see you and will take up arms at your side." They also sent messages to secure the support of the tribesmen of the surrounding districts and allotted subsidies to them, and they constructed the ditch and rampart around Mecca so that they might combat Isḥāq b. Mūsā from behind it. Isḥāq engaged them in battle over a period of several days, but then became disinclined to continue the fighting and the battle, and withdrew in the direction of Iraq. En route, Warqāʾ b. Jamīl and his personal force, and also those who were with him of al-Julūdī's force, met Isḥāq and said to [992]
him, "Go back to Mecca with us, and we will bring this fighting to a satisfactory conclusion for you." So he turned back in company with them till they drew near to Mecca and halted at Mushāsh. Those members of the Meccan mob who supported Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, the blacks employed as water-carriers (*sūdān ahl al-miyāh*)[92] and the tribesmen who had received subsidies, rallied round Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, and he then got them ready for battle at Biʾr Maymūn. Isḥāq b. Mūsā and Warqāʾ b. Jamīl, together with the latter's commanders and

92. Presumably slaves or ex-slaves. This interpretation of the phrase is that of Kennedy, 211, and fits well in the context; he notes the ʿAlid attempts, here as in Kūfah, to enlist support amongst the lowest strata of society, the slaves and laborers.

troops, approached and engaged them in combat at Bi'r Maymūn, and a considerable number on both sides were killed or wounded. Isḥāq and Warqā' then returned to their encampment, but returned to the fray a day later and resumed fighting the enemy.

Muḥammad b. Ja'far and his forces were now put to flight. When Muḥammad perceived this, he sent a group of envoys from Quraysh, including the judge of Mecca, asking them (Isḥāq and Warqā') for a guarantee of protection so that they might evacuate Mecca and go off to wherever they liked. Isḥāq and Warqā' b. Jamīl agreed to this request and guaranteed them a period of safety lasting for three days. When Tuesday arrived, Isḥāq and Warqā' entered Mecca, this being in the month of Jumādā II (January–February 816), with Warqā' acting as governor over Mecca on behalf of al-Julūdī. The Ṭālibids dispersed from the city, with groups of them making for various destinations. As for Muḥammad b. Ja'far, he started out in the direction of Juddah[93] and then went off towards Juḥfah.[94] However, he was intercepted by one of the clients of the 'Abbāsids called Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm b. Marwān. The Ṭālibids had despoiled Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm's house in Mecca and had violently ill-treated him; he used to act as the agent and steward (*yatawakkalu*) for one of the 'Abbāsids in Mecca from the family of Ja'far b. Sulaymān. He had now gathered together a force of the 'Abbāsids' slaves, those who worked in the gardens and orchards, and he eventually overtook Muḥammad b. Ja'far between Juddah and 'Usfān.[95] He then plundered and stripped him of everything which Muḥammad had brought with him from Mecca, to the point that he left him with nothing but his drawers, and fully intended to kill him; but in the end he threw him

93. The modern port of Jeddah; see *EI*[2] s.v. Djudda (R. Hartmann—P.A. Marr).

94. A settlement in the Tihāmah or Red Sea coastland of Arabia, on the pilgrimage route from Syria, between Madīnah and Mecca; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 111; Abdullah al-Wohaibi, *The Northern Hijaz in the writings of the Arab geographers 800–1150*, 102–12.

95. A settlement on the Madinah-Mecca pilgrimage route some forty miles northwest of the latter; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 121–2; Al-Wohaibi, 284–9.

a shirt, a turban, a cloak and a few dirhams (or: a very few dirhams, *durayhimāt*) on which he could eke out an existence. [993]

Muḥammad b. Ja'far set out and came to the territory of the Juhaynah on the (Red Sea) coast.[96] He remained there until the pilgrimage season came to an end, gathering together followers during this period, and on several occasions he clashed at Shajarah.[97] and elsewhere with Hārūn b. al-Musayyab, governor of Madīnah. The explanation of these clashes was that Hārūn sent men to seize Muḥammad b. Ja'far, and when the latter realized this intention, he marched out against Hārūn with the force which he had collected round himself until he reached Shajarah. Hārūn moved forward to confront him and gave battle. Muḥammad b. Ja'far's forces were defeated; he himself lost an eye through an arrow-shot, and a large part of his force was killed. Hence he withdrew and established himself at his original encampment, awaiting the outcome of the pilgrimage (in the hope that some of the pilgrims would join his cause). But none of those who had given promises to him ever showed up. So when he realized this, and when the pilgrimage season was over, he sought a guarantee of personal security from al-Julūdī and from Rajā' (b. Abī al-Ḍaḥḥāk)[98] al-Faḍl b. Sahl's cousin on his father's side.[99] Rajā' gave him guarantees in regard to al-Ma'mūn and al-Faḍl b. Sahl, that he should not be personally harassed and that the promise of security should be fully honored. He willingly accepted these conditions, and Rajā' brought him to Mecca eight days after the final dispersion of the pilgrims back to Mecca from Minā, on Sunday, the nineteenth of Dhu al-Ḥijjah (July 19, 816). 'Īsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī and Rajā' b. Abī al-Ḍaḥḥāk, al-Faḍl b. Sahl's cousin on his father's side, ordered the pulpit (*minbar*) to be brought forward and set up be-

96. The Banū Juhaynah, part of the Quḍā'ah group, occupied a large tract of the northern Hijaz, lying to the north of Madinah; see *EI*[2] s.v. s.v. Ḳuḍā'a (M.J. Kister).

97. A place just to the west of Madīnah; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 325; Al-Wohaibi, 337.

98. Official under al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim, and subsequently head of the *Dīwān al-kharāj* or financial department for the former; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 240 n. 1.

99. *'Uyūn*, 347–9.

tween the corner of the Ka'bah[100] and the *maqām* (*Ibrāhīm*), in the very same spot where homage had been given to Muḥammad b. Ja'far. The populace, Quraysh and the rest, had been assembled, and al-Julūdī then went up to the top of the pulpit, with Muḥammad b. Ja'far standing one step below him, wearing a short black coat and a pointed black cap, but without a sword, so that he might formally divest himself of power.

Then Muḥammad arose and delivered a speech, thus:

[994] O people, those of you who recognize me now knew me formerly, and those of you who do not recognize me, well, I am Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Originally I pledged my allegiance to the servant of God, the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdallāh, an allegiance by hearing and obedience, one freely entered into and not extracted by compulsion, and I was one of the legal witnesses who attested in the Ka'bah the two succession documents of Hārūn al-Rashīd regarding his two sons, the deposed one Muḥammad [al-Amīn] and the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn.[101] Then, indeed, there arose civil strife which enveloped[102] the whole earth, involving ourselves and others, and a report reached me that the servant of God, 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn, had died. This information led me to the position where they did homage to me as Commander of the Faithful, and I deemed the acceptance of that honor as lawful because of my earlier promises and convenants regarding my allegiance to the servant of God, 'Abdallāh; the Imām, al-Ma'mūn.[103] So you gave homage to me, [O people], or at least, those of you who did give homage [gave it]. But verily, the news has now reached me, and I attach full cre-

100. I.e., the northern 'Irāqī one, or, more probably, the eastern, Black Stone one.

101. The famous "Meccan documents" of 186 (802) in which al-Rashīd endeavored to arrange the succession and reconcile the conflicting claims of his sons; see Gabrieli, "La successione di Hārūn al-Rašīd et la guerra tra al-Amīn e al-Ma'mūn," *RSO*, XI (1926–8), 341–97; Kennedy, 124–5.

102. Reading *ghashiyat* for the text's *ghushiyat*.

103. I.e., he regarded himself as released from his earlier pledge of allegiance because of his belief that al-Ma'mūn was dead.

dence to it, that he is alive and sound in body. Indeed, I now ask pardon of God for having drawn you into giving allegiance to me, and I have cast off the allegiance which you pledged to me in exactly the same way as I have taken off this ring of mine from my finger. I have reverted to the status of being an ordinary Muslim, so that the Muslims have no obligation of allegiance to me, and I have extricated myself from all that affair. God has restored the rightful authority to the trusty Caliph, the servant of God, 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn, Commander of the Faithful. Praise to be God, the lord of the worlds, and blessings be upon Muḥammad, the seal of the prophets. Farewell, O Muslims!

Then he descended from the pulpit, and 'Īsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī set off with him towards Iraq. He left behind as governor over Mecca his son, Muḥammad b. 'Īsā, in the year 201 (816/17). 'Īsā and Muḥammad b. Ja'far travelled onwards until 'Īsā handed the latter over to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who then sent [995] him onwards, in the custodianship of Rajā' b. Abī al-Ḍaḥḥāk, to al-Ma'mūn at Marw.[104]

In this year, the Ṭālibid Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad sent one of the progeny of 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib[105] from the Yemen to Mecca with a numerous military force in order that he might lead the pilgrimage. But the 'Aqīlī was met by armed resistance and put to flight, and was unable to enter Mecca.

The affair of Ibrāhīm and the 'Aqīlī

It is mentioned that Abū Isḥāq b. Hārūn al-Rashīd[106] led the pilgrimage in the year 200 (816). He travelled onwards until he en-

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104. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 761, 763; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 544; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 540; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 311–13. Muḥammad b. Ja'far died in Gurgān en route for Marw; Ya'qūbī, loc. cit.

105. I.e., a descendant of the Caliph 'Alī's half-brother; although 'Aqīl had supported Mu'āwiyah, his descendants adopted pro-'Alid views and are often reckoned among the Ahl al-Bayt (see above, 26). It now seems possible that the later Fāṭimid caliphs of Egypt and Syria arose from the 'Aqīlī branch of the Ṭālibids; Professor Heinz Halm of Tübingen University hopes to document this in a future publication.

106. I.e., the later Caliph al-Mu'taṣim.

tered Mecca, being accompanied by a large number of his commanders, including Ḥamdawayh b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān, whom al-Ḥasan b. Sahl had appointed governor over the Yemen. They went into Mecca, where al-Julūdī and his troops and commanders were in control. The 'Alid Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad dispatched from the Yemen one of the progeny of 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, ordering him to lead the pilgrimage. When the 'Aqīlī got as far as the garden of Ibn 'Āmir, he heard the news that Abū Isḥāq b. Hārūn al-Rashīd had taken charge of the pilgrimage and that he had with him commanders and troops (so numerous) that no one had power to withstand him. The 'Aqīlī halted at the garden of Ibn 'Āmir, and then there passed by him a caravan of pilgrims and merchants which also had with it the covering (*kiswah*) for the Ka'bah and fragrant perfumes for it. He seized the merchants' goods and the covering and perfumes for the Ka'bah, and the pilgrims and traders reached Mecca naked and stripped of their possessions.

News of this reached Abū Isḥāq b. al-Rashīd, who was at that moment residing in the house (or: factory, storehouse) of the glass vessels (*dār al-qawārīr*)[107] in Mecca. He gathered together
[996] his commanders and sought their advice. Al-Julūdī told him—this being two or three days before the Day of Refreshment ([Yawm] al-Tarwiyah)[108]—"May God keep the Amīr in the upright way! I will deal with these rebels for you. I will sally forth against them with fifty of the élite of my companions and another fifty whom I shall select from the rest of the commanders." They all agreed with him about this plan. Hence al-Julūdī marched out with his hundred men, until he fell upon the 'Aqīlī and his companions in the morning at the garden of Ibn 'Āmir. He surrounded them and took the greater part of them prisoner. Some of them took to flight, running away on foot. He got back the covering of the Ka'bah, except for part of it which the deserters from the 'Aqīlī's force had fled with a day previously, and also the perfumes and the goods of

107. Mentioned several times in Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, e.g., II, 75, 87, 250, as marking an open space and also a gate adjoining the Sacred Mosque.

108. The eighth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, when the pilgrims shift from the rites performed within Mecca to those performed on the hills outside.

the merchants and pilgrims. He sent the 'Aqīlī captive to Mecca, and he had all the 'Aqīlī's captured companions brought before him. He ordered each of them to be beaten round the head with ten strokes, and then said to them, "O dogs destined for hell fire, get you hence, for by God, there would be no difficulty in slaughtering you and no advantage in keeping you captive." Accordingly, he released them, and they went back to the Yemen, begging for food along the road until the majority of them perished from hunger and from exposure.[109]

Ibn Abī Sa'īd adopted an attitude of opposition towards al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. Al-Ma'mūn sent the eunuch Sirāj and gave him instructions, "If 'Alī places his hands in al-Ḥasan's hand [in submission], or makes his way towards me at Marw, [then well and good]; but if not, cut off his head!" So Ibn Abī Sa'īd went to al-Ma'mūn in the company of Harthamah b. A'yan.

In this year, in the month of Rabī' I (October–November 815), Harthamah travelled from his army camp to al-Ma'mūn at Marw.

Harthamah's Journey to al-Ma'mūn and what befell him

It is mentioned that Harthamah, having dealt with the revolt of Abū al-Sarāyā and the 'Alid, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, and having entered Kūfah, remained in his encampment till Rabī' I. Then, as soon as the new month began, he set off towards the [997]
Nahr Ṣarṣar. People thought that he was going to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl at Madā'in, but when he reached the Nahr Ṣarṣar he continued in the direction of 'Aqarqūf,[110] then to Baradān,[111] then to

109. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 313–14; Geddes, 101–2. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 544–6, the 'Alid Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā himself successfully occupied Mecca after driving out its governor Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanẓalah al-Makhzūmī, and remained there to enforce the *bay'ah* or oath of allegiance to the Imām 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Riḍā in 201 (817); cf. also Geddes, 102–3.

110. Settlement on the West Side of Baghdad, famed as the site of a large tell; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 137–8; Le Strange, *Lands*, 67; *EI*[2] s.v. (S.M. Stern).

111. Village on the left bank of the Tigris above Baghdad; see Yāqūt, I, 375–6; Le Strange, *Lands*, 50.

Nahrawān,[112] and he proceeded until he reached Khurasan. Before this, letters had come to him from al-Ma'mūn, reaching him at various stages of his journey, to the effect that he should turn back and take up the governorship of Syria or the Hijaz. Harthamah refused, however, saying that he would not retrace his steps until he had had a personal meeting with the Commander of the Faithful in order to give proof on his part against al-Faḍl because of his acknowledged wise counsels in the past to al-Ma'mūn and his forefathers. He wished to inform the Caliph about how al-Faḍl b. Sahl was conducting affairs to the detriment of al-Ma'mūn's interests and how al-Fadl was concealing items of information from him, and that he, Harthamah, would not leave him until he had brought him, al-Ma'mūn, back to Baghdad, the seat of the caliphate of his ancestors and their royal power, in order that he might assume direct control of his own sphere of authority and watch over its outlying parts. Al-Faḍl realized what Harthamah was aiming at, and he said to al-Ma'mūn, "Harthamah has stirred up unrest in your territories and amongst your subjects; he has given support against you to your enemies and has shown hostility to your supporters. He secretly used Abū al-Sarāyā for his own nefarious designs, Abū al-Sarāyā being one of the soldiers in his army, until Abū al-Sarāyā came to act as he did; if Harthamah had really wanted Abū al-Sarāyā not to behave in that way, Abū al-Sarāyā would not have done so. The Commander of the Faithful has written numerous letters to him instructing him to go back and take up the governorship of Syria or the Hijaz, but he has refused; he has come back to the Commander of the Faithful's door in a state of rebelliousness and dissension, openly using harsh words and uttering threats with the intention of making a great issue of it. If, despite all these crimes, he is allowed to go free, this will be a cause of corruption for others." In this way, he filled the Commander of the Faithful's heart (with anger) against him.

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112. Town to the northeast of Baghdad where there was a bridge, carrying the road to Khurasan, over the Nahrawān Canal; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 324–7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 59–61; R. McC. Adams, *Land behind Baghdad*, 91–2.

Harthamah's journey was a protracted one, and he did not reach Khurasan till Dhū al-Qa'dah (June 816). When he arrived in Marw he was afraid lest his coming be kept from al-Ma'mūn, hence he had drums beaten so that al-Ma'mūn should hear the noise. The latter did in fact hear them, and exclaimed, "What is this?" They told him, "Harthamah has begun to thunder and lighten!" Harthamah himself imagined that he was in full fa- [998]
vor. Al-Ma'mūn then ordered him to be brought in. When he was brought in—the Caliph's heart having been changed against him, as described above—al-Ma'mūn upbraided him, "You have conspired with the people of Kūfah and the 'Alids, and you have intrigued and plotted with Abū al-Sarāyā until he came out in revolt and perpetrated his various misdeeds. He was one of your retainers, and if you had really wanted to arrest the whole lot of them, you could have done so; but you let the rope around their throats be slack and you let the halter on their necks hang loosely." Harthamah was impelled to speak out, to make excuses and to defend himself against the charges levelled at him; but al-Ma'mūn would not listen to any of this. He gave orders; Harthamah's nose was violently struck, his belly was trampled on and he was dragged out of the Caliph's presence. Al-Faḍl b. Sahl had previously instructed his minions to treat Harthamah with harshness and violence, and he was then jailed. He remained in prison for a few days, and then they secretly conspired to kill him, reporting to the Caliph that he had died.[113]

In this year, an émeute was stirred up in Baghdad between the troops of the Ḥarbiyyah quarter[114] and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl.[115]

113. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 546; Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa-al-kuttāb*, 259–61; Azdī, 341; *'Uyūn*, 349–50.

114. The suburb to the north and northwest of the Round City, originally occupied by various groups of the 'Abbāsids' Khurasanian troops and named after al-Manṣūr's commander Ḥarb b. 'Abdallāh; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 107–35; Lassner, *Topography*, 68, 112, 152, 254 n. 26.

115. *'Uyūn*, 351.

Trouble in Baghdad between the Troops of Ḥarbiyyah and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl

It is mentioned that al-Ḥasan b. Sahl was at Madā'in when Harthamah set off for Khurasan, and he remained there until the news of what had been done to Harthamah reached the people of Baghdad and Ḥarbiyyah. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl now sent a message to 'Alī b. Hishām,[116] the governor of Baghdad appointed by himself, as follows: "Delay payment of their stipends to the army, both the Ḥarbiyyah and Baghdad troops; inspire them with promises of payment, but do not actually give it to them." Previously, al-Ḥasan had given promises to them that he would pay their stipends. Also, the Ḥarbiyyah troops had erupted when Harthamah had departed for Khurasan, and had proclaimed, "We shall not be content until we have driven al-Ḥasan b. Sahl out of Baghdad." Al-Ḥasan's financial officials in Baghdad included Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid (al-Marwarrūdhī)[117] and Asad b. Abī al-Asad. The Ḥarbiyyah troops now
[999] rose up against them, expelled them and appointed Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. al-Mahdī[118] as al-Ma'mūn's representative in Baghdad. The citizens of Baghdad from both sides of the river concurred in this and approved of Isḥāq as governor. But al-Ḥasan used trickery towards them and was in correspondence with their commanders, until they rose up on the side of the 'Askar al-Mahdī.[119] He also began to pay out their stipends due for the previous six months, but only actually paid out exiguous amounts. The Ḥarbiyyah troops then transferred Isḥāq to their

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116. Prominent Khurasanian, apparently brought westwards by al-Ḥasan b. Sahl to govern Baghdad, and subsequently executed, with his brother Ḥusayn, by al-Ma'mūn in 217 (832), see below, 192–4, and Kennedy, 152, 154–5. He was also a littérateur; see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 617; J. Sadan, "Kings and craftsmen—a pattern of contrasts. On the history of a medieval Arabic humoristic form," *SI*, LVI (1982), 21–2.

117. Son of an Abnā' leader with a power base in the Ḥarbiyyah quarter, and ally of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn during the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn; see Kennedy, 105, 144–5, 151, 154–6.

118. I.e., the son of the former Caliph al-Hādī.

119. The territories in the Ruṣāfah district of eastern Baghdad allotted by the Caliph al-Mahdī after his father al-Manṣūr had laid out Ruṣāfah, hence named after the former; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 42, 189; Lassner, *Topography*, 64, 251.

own camp and they installed him at Dujayl.[120] Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab arrived and then encamped at 'Askar al-Mahdī. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl sent 'Alī b. Hishām, and 'Alī made his way round the other flank and encamped at the Nahr Ṣarṣar. Then he, Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid and their commanders came by night and entered Baghdad. 'Alī b. Hishām lodged in the house of al-'Abbās b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Khuzā'ī[121] near the Bāb al-Muḥawwal[122] on the eighth of Sha'bān (March 12, 816).

A little before that, the Ḥarbiyyah troops, hearing reports that the people of Karkh were intending to admit Zuhayr and 'Alī b. Hishām, had attacked the Bāb al-Karkh[123] and had gone on to burn it down and to plunder everywhere from the limits of the Qaṣr al-Waḍḍāḥ[124] to the area within the Bāb al-Karkh and to (the quarter of) the booksellers and paper vendors[125] during the night of (Monday-) Tuesday. On the Tuesday morning, 'Alī b. Hishām entered and engaged in battle with the Ḥarbiyyah troops over a period of three days at the old bridge and the new bridge of Ṣarāt[126] and at the water mills.[127] Then he promised the Ḥarbiyyah troops that he would pay their six months' stipend as soon as the tax revenues were gathered in. They, in turn, asked him for an immediate advance of fifty

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120. The district of the Old Dujayl Canal which ran northwestwards from Baghdad to the Euphrates at Rabb; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 53; id., *Lands*, 51.

121. Former governor of Khurasan under al-Rashīd; see Crone, 185.

122. The gate leading out of the suburb to the southwest of the Round City, through which the nearby town of Muḥawwal ("the place of transfer," i.e., landing-stage) on the Nahr 'Īsā was reached; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 136–52; id., *Lands*, 67.

123. The gate of the suburb of Karkh to the south of the Round City, reached through the Bāb al-Kūfah of the Round City; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 63; *EI*[2] s.v. al-Karkh (M. Streck—Lassner).

124. Palace said to be formerly that of al-Mahdī, which marked the northern limits of Karkh; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 58, 92; Lassner, *Topography*, 61, 73, 248.

125. The Qaṣr al-Waḍḍāh quarter was famed for its booksellers and paper vendors.

126. The Ṣarāt Canal passed to the south of the Round City to join the Tigris; see Lassner, *Topography*, 101, 277.

127. The so-called "Mills of the Patricius" at the junction of the Greater and Lesser channels of the Ṣarāt Canal; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 148; Lassner, *Topography*, 75–6, 260.

dirhams to each soldier for their living expenses during the month of Ramaḍān. He agreed to this, and began to pay out the promised money, but had not paid over to them the whole of their stipends by the time that Zayd b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the person known as Zayd al-Nār, had rebelled at Baṣrah.[128] He had escaped
[1000] from his imprisonment at the hands of 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd, and then had rebelled in the district of Anbār,[129] together with the brother of Abū al-Sarāyā, in Dhū al-Qa'dah 200 (June 816). They sent forces against him, and he was captured and brought before 'Alī b. Hishām.

However, only Friday elapsed before 'Alī b. Hishām fled from the Ḥarbiyyah troops and set up his camp by the Nahr Ṣarṣar. The reason for this was that he had tricked the Ḥarbiyyah troops and had not fulfilled his promise to them to pay fifty (dirhams) by the time the 'Īd al-Aḍḥā (the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [July 10, 816]) came round. Furthermore they heard the news about Harthamah and his fate, so they fell upon 'Alī and drove him out, the guiding spirit behind this action and their leader in war being Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid. This arose from the fact that when 'Alī b. Hishām had entered Baghdad, he had treated Muḥammad with contempt. Furthermore, relations between Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid and Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab had deteriorated to such a point that Zuhayr caused Muḥammad to be flogged. Accordingly, the latter reacted angrily to this treatment, and in Dhū al-Qa'dah (June 816) went over to the side of the Ḥarbiyyah troops. He took the lead in proclaiming war against 'Alī b. Hishām and his forces, and people flocked to his standard. 'Alī b. Hishām lacked the strength to stand up to him, so they were able to expel him from Baghdad. Then they went after him in pursuit, until they defeated and
[1001] dislodged him from the Nahr Ṣarṣar.[130]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn sent Rajā' b. Abī al-Ḍaḥḥāk and the

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128. See above, 26–7.

129. Town on the Euphrates to the west of Baghdad; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 257–8; Le Strange, *Lands*, 65–6; *EI*[2] s.v. (Streck—A.A. Dixon).

130. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 547; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 315–16.

eunuch Firnās to bring back 'Alī (al-Ridā) b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad[131] and Muḥammad (al-Dībājah) b. Ja'far.[132]

In this year, the progeny of al-'Abbās were counted, and their number amounted to thirty-three thousand, including males and females.[133]

In this year, the Byzantines murdered their king Leo, who had ruled over them for seven years and six months, and they set up as ruler for his second reign Michael, son of George.[134]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn executed Yaḥyā b. 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl (al-Ḥārithī), because Yaḥyā had upbraided him in an unseemly fashion and had stigmatized him as "Commander of the Unbelievers" (Amīr al-Kāfirīn). Hence he was killed in his presnece.[135]

In this year, Abū Isḥāq (al-Mu'taṣim) b. al-Rashīd led the pilgrimage.[136]

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131. I.e., the eighth Imām of the Shī'a, whom al-Ma'mūn was planning to nominate as his heir; see below, 61–2.

132. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 544–5; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 59 = ed. Pellat, § 2745; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 319.

133. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, loc. cit.; Azdī, 339; *'Uyūn*, 351; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

134. Ibid. Leo V the Armenian (813–30) was murdered in 820 by the partisans of Michael II the Stammerer (820–9), founder of the Amorian dynasty; see M.V. Anastos, in *Cambridge medieval history. IV. The Byzantine empire. 1. Byzantium and its neighbours*, 99–100; A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes. I. La dynastie d'Amorium* (820–867), 280, noting that Arab authors confused Michael I Rhangabé and Michael II; id., *History of the Byzantine empire*, I, 272. Ṭabarī's date for the Emperor's death is therefore four years too early.

135. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 546, Yaḥyā was a confrère of Harthamah; see also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 320; Crone, 257 n. 604, citing this incident as an instance of the opposition of the old Abnā' to al-Ma'mūn's Persianizing policies and reliance on Persian advisers.

136. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 764; Azdī, 341; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year

201

(July 30, 816–July 19, 817)

The events taking place during this year included the populace of Baghdad's attempt to persuade Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī to accept the caliphate; but he refused to accept it. On his affirming this refusal, they then dangled before him the prospect of assuming the military command (*imrah*) over them, with the proviso that they would recognise al-Ma'mūn in the Friday worship as Caliph, and he agreed to this.[137]

Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī Accepts the Military Command over Baghdad

We have already mentioned previously the reason why the people of Baghdad expelled thence 'Alī b. Hishām. It is recorded concerning al-Ḥasan b. Sahl that, when the news of the Baghdādīs' expulsion of 'Alī b. Hishām from the city reached him at Madā'in, he took to flight and retreated to Wāsiṭ. This took place at the opening of the year 201 (end of July 816). It has already been stated how the cause of 'Alī b. Hishām's ejection

137. *'Uyūn*, 352.

from the city by the Baghdādīs was al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's sending Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid al-Marwarrūdhī after Abū al-Sarāyā's execution and his rebellion[138] and his appointing ʿAlī b. Hishām as governor of the West Side of Baghdad, whilst Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab was to become governor over the East Side. Al-Ḥasan himself had remained at Khayzurāniyyah.[139] He had had ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān[140] flogged for an infringement of the *sharīʿah*, so that the anger of the Abnāʾ was aroused; the populace rose up, and al-Ḥasan was forced to flee to Jarjarāyā[141] and then to Bāsalāmā.[142] He had ordered the [1002]
troops of ʿAskar al-Mahdī to be paid their stipends but had refused to pay the troops of the West Side, and fighting had broken out between the soldiers of the two sides of the city. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid had distributed money to the Ḥarbiyyah troops and had put to flight ʿAlī b. Hishām. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl had then been forced to flee because of ʿAlī's flight.

Al-Ḥasan fell back to Wāsiṭ, and Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid b. al-Hinduwān pursued him, in open revolt against him, Muḥammad had himself assumed leadership over the people in Baghdad; he appointed Saʿīd b. al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭabah (al-Ṭāʾī)[143] as governor of the West Side and Naṣr b. Ḥamzah b. Mālik (al-Khuzāʿī[144] over the East Side. Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, Khuzaymah

138. Reading here *wa-fasādihi*. One might also read *baʿd qatli Abī al-Sarāyā wa-fasādihi/ifsādihi*; the editor's n. *c* queries the manuscript's reading.

139. The quarter of Baghdad where Khayzurān, wife of al-Mahdī and grandmother of al-Maʾmūn, had had much property; see Nabia Abbott, *Two queens of Baghdad*, 120–1.

140. Brother of Ḥamdawayh, on whom see above, n. 72, and Crone, 179.

141. Clearly the emendation required of the text's Barbakhā, in the light of 50 below. Jarjarāyā was a town on the Tigris below Baghdad in the direction of Wāsiṭ; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 123; Le Strange, *Lands*, 37.

142. According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 322 (spelling Bāsalāmah), a village of the Baghdad district.

143. Member of an old Abnāʾ family, whose father and grandfather had been prominent in the ʿAbbāsid revolution; the family had fought strongly for al-Amīn in the civil war; see Crone, 188–9; Kennedy, 79–81.

144. From a similar background to Saʿīd's; his father had been governor of Khurasan for al-Rashīd; Naṣr's cousin Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh was a supporter of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī's anti-caliphate in Baghdad, see below, 66; and another cousin, Aḥmad b. Naṣr, suffered death under the *miḥnah* of al-Wāthiq. See Crone, 180–1; Kennedy, 80–1.

b. Khāzim (al-Tamīmī)[145] and al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī[146] gave him their support in Baghdad. It has been stated that 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid arrived during the course of this year from Raqqah, where he had been in the entourage of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, and he and his father agreed to attack al-Ḥasan. The two of them, together with those of the Ḥarbiyyah troops and the members of the Baghdad forces who were with them, proceeded until they reached the village of Abū Quraysh[147] near Wāsiṭ. Whenever they came upon a detachment of al-Ḥasan's forces in some place and a clash occurred there, al-Ḥasan's troops were on every occasion put to flight. When Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid came to Dayr al-'Āqūl,[148] he remained there for three (nights). At that moment, Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab was at Iskāf Banī al-Junayd,[149] acting as al-Ḥasan's financial agent (*'āmil*) over Jūkhā,[150] hence resident within his administrative charge. He kept sending messages to the commanders of the troops in Baghdad, and then sent his son al-Azhar. He himself proceeded as far as the Nahr al-Nahrawān, but came up against Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid. The latter rode forward against him and encountered him at Iskāf (Banī al-Junayd). He surrounded Zuhayr's force, but gave him a guarantee of personal security and took him captive. He brought Zuhayr into his camp at Dayr al-'Āqūl and stripped him of all the wealth and possessions, every single item, small or great, which he had with him. Then Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid advanced, and when he

145. From a similar background to that of Sa'īd and Naṣr, and now a leader in the anti-Sahlid movement in Baghdad; see Crone, 180–1; Kennedy, 81–2.

146. Formerly vizier to al-Rashīd and al-Amīn, subsequently a supporter of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 183–94; A.J. Chejne, "Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī'—a politician of the early 'Abbāsid period," *IC*, XXXVI (1962), 167–81; *EI*[2] s.v. (Sourdel).

147. A village between Wāsiṭ and Quraysh, the latter on the canal of the same name flowing into the Tigris below Wāsiṭ; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 337; Le Strange, *Lands*, 35.

148. Town on the Tigris below Madā'in; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 520–1; Le Strange, *Lands*, 35–6; Adams, *Land behind Baghdad*, 91; *EI*[2] s.v. (S.A. El-Ali).

149. Town on the Nahrawān Canal to the east of Baghdad; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 181; Le Strange, *Lands*, 59–60; Adams, 95–6.

150. District to the east of the present course of the Tigris, to the north of Maysān; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 179; Le Strange, *Lands*, 42.

reached Wāsiṭ, he sent Zuhayr back to Baghdad for imprisonment at the hands of a blind son of his named Ja'far.

Meanwhile al-Ḥasan remained at Jarjarāyā, but when he [1003]
heard the news that Zuhayr had fallen into the hands of Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid, he travelled onwards till he entered Wāsiṭ and then encamped at Fam al-Ṣilḥ.[151] From Dayr al-'Āqūl, Muḥammad sent his son Hārūn to Nīl, which was being held by Sa'īd b. al-Sājūr al-Kūfī.[152] Hārūn defeated him and then pursued him until he (Hārūn) entered Kūfah, which he occupied, appointing a governor over it. 'Īsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī arrived from Mecca, accompanied by Muḥammad b. Ja'far. They set off together until they came to Wāsiṭ, via the land route. Then Hārūn retraced his steps towards his father, and they all met up together at the village of Abū Quraysh in order to enter Wāsiṭ, where al-Ḥasan b. Sahl was. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl then moved forward and encamped behind Wāsiṭ on its outer fringes. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' had been in concealment since the killing of the deposed one (al-Amīn), but when he saw that Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid had reached Wāsiṭ, he sent a message to him seeking a guarantee of personal safety; Muḥammad granted him this, and he emerged into the open.

Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid now prepared for battle. He and [1004]
his son 'Īsā and their forces advanced to a position two miles from Wāsiṭ. Al-Ḥasan sent against them his troops and his commanders, and a fierce struggle took place by the residential area (*abyāt*) of Wāsiṭ. At a point after the time of the afternoon worship, a violent wind and dust storm blew up, until the combattants were completely mixed up with each other and confused together. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid's forces were defeated; he himself stood firm against the enemy, but received

151. Town on the Tigris at its confluence with the Ṣilḥ Canal, to the south of modern Kut el-Amara, shortly to be famed as the venue for the opulent celebrations of the consummation of al-Ma'mūn's marriage to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's daughter Būrān (see below, 153ff.); see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 276; Le Strange, *Lands*, 38.

152. Former supporter of al-Amīn, who soon after this deserted al-Ḥasan's side for that of the Baghdad insurrectionists (see below, 69–75); see Kennedy, 156, 159–60.

several severe wounds on his body.[153] He and his soldiers fled in total disarray, and al-Ḥasan's forces routed them.[154] This battle took place on Sunday the twenty-third of Rabīʿ I, 201 (October 19, 816).

When Muḥammad (and his forces) reached Fam al-Ṣilḥ, al-Ḥasan's forces marched out against them and drew up their ranks ready to give battle to Muḥammad's army. But when nightfall came, Muḥammad and his forces travelled onwards until they halted at Mubārak[155] and then encamped there. The next morning, al-Ḥasan's forces moved up towards them. They drew up their ranks against them for battle and the two sides clashed. When night enveloped them, they marched off till they reached Jabbul[156] and encamped there. Muḥammad sent his son Hārūn to Nīl, where he then took up his position, while Muḥammad remained at Jarjarāyā. His wounds became worse; he left his commanders behind with the rest of his army, and his son Abū Zanbīl had him carried till he brought him to Baghdad on the night of Saturday (Friday–Saturday),[157] the sixth of Rabīʿ II (October 31,–November 1, 816). Abū Zanbīl entered the city on the night of Monday (Sunday–Monday),[158] and Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid died of his wounds that very night. He was buried secretly in his house during that same night. Meanwhile, Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab was kept in prison at the hands of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid. When Abū Zanbīl arrived, he went to Khuzaymah b. Khāzim on Monday, the eighth of Rabīʿ II (November 3, 816) and told him the news about his father. Khuzaymah sent to the Hāshimites and the commanders and

153. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 547, from an arrow.

154. As the editor notes, this phrase seems superfluous and adds nothing to the sense; if it is retained, one would have to emend *hazama* to *hazamahum*.

155. Village and canal on the Tigris to the north of Wāsiṭ; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 50–1; Le Strange, *Lands*, 38.

156. Small town on the eastern bank of the Tigris below Jarjarāyā; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 103–4; Le Strange, *Lands*, 36.

157. Reading, after the editor's suggestion in n. *e*, *laylat al-sabt* for *laylat al-ithnayn*, which gives the correct correspondence of date and day of the week and is congruent with the date of Monday, the eighth of Rabīʿ II below.

158. As the editor despairingly points out, this does not seem to accord with the reading *laylat al-sabt* possibly to be adopted, following also Ibn al-Athīr, for the preceding line (see n. 157 above); perhaps we should accordingly emend this also to *laylat al-sabt*.

gave them this information. He read out to them 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid's message, to the effect that he would assume the burden of the leadership in the war on their behalf, and they assented to this. 'Īsā accordingly assumed the military leadership in succession to his father. Abū Zanbīl left Khuzaymah and went to Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab, dragged him out of his cell and cut off his head; it is said that he slaughtered him like a sacrificial victim. He took Zuhayr's head and sent it [1005]
to 'Īsā in his camp, and 'Īsā stuck it up on a spearpoint. As for the body, they took it, tied a rope round the feet and then paraded it through Baghdad, carrying it past his own houses and those of his family in the quarter near the Bāb al-Kūfah.[159] Then they bore it publicly round Karkh, and brought it back to the Bāb al-Shām[160] in the evening; finally, when night came down, they threw it into the Tigris. This was on Monday, the eighth of Rabī' II (November 3, 816). Abū Zanbīl now made his way back to 'Īsā, who dispatched him to Fam al-Ṣarāt.[161]

News of Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid's death reached al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, so he set off from Wāsiṭ and travelled as far as Mubārak. He halted there, and when it was Jumādā II (December 816–January 817), he sent Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī,[162] in company with '.r.kū[163] al-A'rābī, Sa'īd b. al-Sājūr, Abū al-Baṭṭ, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ifrīqī and a number of other commanders. They encountered Abū Zanbīl at Fam al-Ṣarāt and defeated him. He fled to his brother Hārūn at Nīl, and the forces of the two of them engaged in battle with al-Ḥasan's army by the residential area (*buyūt*) of Nīl. They fought together for a while, and then Hārūn's and Abū Zanbīl's forces were defeated, and they fled as far as Madā'in. This was on Monday, the twenty-fourth of Jumādā II[164] (January 17, 817). Ḥumayd and

159. The southwestern gate of the Round City; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 17.
160. The northwestern gate of the Round City; see ibid.
161. The mouth of the Ṣarāt Canal which ran along the southwestern fringes of Baghdad.
162. Kinsman of Qaḥṭabah b. Shabīb, and newly-arrived at this time from Khurasan to take command of al-Ḥasan's army; see Kennedy, 156, 159–60; *EI*[2] s.v. (ed.).
163. A conceivable reading for this same might be 'Urwah.
164. Actually a Saturday.

his forces entered Nīl and sacked it for three days; they plundered the wealth and goods of the local people and further plundered the surrounding villages. Meanwhile, when Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid died, the Hāshimites and the commanders discussed the new situation together and said, "We will appoint one of ourselves as Caliph and throw off allegiance to al-Ma'mūn." They were urging each other on to these alluring courses when they received the news of the defeat of Hārūn and Abū Zanbīl. This only made them hurry even more in their plans, and they importuned Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī to accept the
[1006] caliphate. He refused to accept the office, but they kept on at him until they made him amīr and representative (*khalīfah*) of al-Ma'mūn in Baghdad and Iraq, saying, "We won't accept the Zoroastrian, son of the Zoroastrian (*al-majūsī ibn al-majūsī*) al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, and we'll drive him out until he returns to Khurasan."[165]

It has been stated that, when the people of Baghdad rallied round 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid and gave him support in the struggle against al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, al-Ḥasan realized that he had insufficient military power to overcome 'Īsā. So he sent, as an envoy to him, Wahb b. Sa'īd al-Kātib,[166] promising 'Īsā a marriage alliance with one of his daughters; a sum of a hundred thousand dīnārs; a guarantee of personal security for himself, his family and the people of Baghdad in general; and the governorship of any region he might choose for himself. 'Īsā sought from al-Ma'mūn a document in the Caliph's own hand setting forth these conditions. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl sent Wahb back with a favorable answer, but Wahb was drowned between Mubārak and Jabbul.[167] 'Īsā now wrote to the Baghdad troops

165. *'Uyūn*, 352. In a letter couched in violent and denunciatory language these rebellious partisans of the 'Abbāsid family in Baghdad were later to castigate al-Ma'mūn for setting over them Magian governors; see below, 85, and W. Madelung, "New documents concerning al-Ma'mūn, al-Faḍl b. Sahl and 'Alī al-Riḍā," in *Studia arabica et islamica, Festschrift for Iḥsān 'Abbās*, 344.

166. Presumably the son of the Nestorian Christian secretary of the Barmakids, Sa'īd b. Wahb, from whom there later descended a line of viziers to the caliphs; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 143, 312.

167. See for these two places, above, 50 nn. 155–6.

that he was too preoccupied with the conduct of the warfare to concern himself with the collection of the land tax, and that they should appoint for this function one of the Hāshimites. So they nominated Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī. The latter encamped with his forces at Kalwādhā. They urged him to accept the caliphate, but he refused and said, "I am only the representative (*khalīfah*) of the Commander of the Faithful until he comes personally or until he appoints his own nominee as governor." The Hāshimites, the commanders and the army at large accepted this arrangement. The moving spirit behind this was Khuzaymah b. Khāzim. He now sent out commanders into every district.

Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī came immediately in pursuit of the sons of Muḥammad (b. Abī Khālid) until he reached Madā'in. He stayed there for just one day and then left for Nīl. When the news about these movements of Ḥumayd reached Manṣūr, he marched out and encamped at Kalwādhā. Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān[168] came to Madā'in and then Manṣūr dispatched Isḥāq b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī[169] from the other side, and he himself encamped at the Nahr Ṣarṣar. Ghassān b. 'Abbād b. Abī al-Faraj[170] sent Abū Ibrāhīm b. Ghassān,[171] the governor of Khurasan's commander of the guard, to the region of Kūfah. [1007]
Ghassān proceeded until he reached Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra and then halted there. When the news of this reached Ḥumayd —Ghassān being unaware of the fact that Ḥumayd had surrounded Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah—he took Ghassān captive, despoiled his retainers and killed some of them. This happened on Monday, the fourth of Rajab (January 26, 817). All the forces involved then remained in their respective encampments, ex-

168. Brother of the Ḥamdawayh and 'Abdallāh mentioned above, 27, 47, and deputy of his father 'Alī b. 'Īsā in the decisive battle of 195 (811) between al-Amīn's forces in Persia and Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn; see Kennedy, 140.

169. Grandson of Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad, hence nephew of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr.

170. Cousin of the Sahl brothers, and subsequently governor of Khurasan before Ṭāhir's nomination and then governor in Sind; see below, 104, 179–80, 189.

171. On the apparent confusion between these two personages, see above, 24–5 and n. 58.

cept that Muḥammad b. Yaqṭīn b. Mūsā,[172] who was with al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, now fled from al-Ḥasan to 'Īsā's side. 'Īsā sent him to Manṣūr, who in turn sent him to the vicinity of Ḥumayd (and his forces). Ḥumayd was encamped at Nīl, except for a cavalry detachment at Qaṣr (Ibn Hubayrah). Ibn Yaqṭīn set off from Baghdad on Saturday, the second of Sha'bān[173] (February 23, 817), until he arrived at Kūthā.[174] Ḥumayd received news of this movement, but Ibn Yaqṭīn knew nothing of this last fact until Ḥumayd and his troops confronted him at Kūthā. They attacked Ibn Yaqṭīn and defeated him, killing some of his force and capturing others; a large number were drowned, too. Ḥumayd and his troops plundered the villages in the environs of Kūthā and seized cattle, sheep and goats, asses, and every piece of jewelry and finery, possessions, etc., which they could lay their hands on. Then Ḥumayd went back as far as Nīl, while Ibn Yaqṭīn withdrew and encamped at the Nahr Ṣarṣar.

Abū al-Shaddākh[175] has recited concerning Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid,

The lofty pride of the Abnā' has crashed to the ground after Muḥammad,
and the great man of them who enjoyed power and respect has been brought low.

Yet do not rejoice at his death, O house of Sahl,
for at some day in the future, the field of slaughter will be your lot too.

'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid counted the number of men
[1008] in his army, and they came to one hundred twenty-five thousand, comprising both cavalrymen and foot soldiers; he then

172. Presumably the brother of the secretary and official for previous caliphs like al-Mahdī and al-Hādī, 'Alī b. Yaqṭīn, several times mentioned in Ṭabarī; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 112–14.

173. Actually a Monday.

174. The town of Kūthā Rabba, where there was a bridge of boats across the Kūthā Canal, running to the south of Baghdad; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 487–8; Le Strange, *Lands*, 68–9; *EI*[2] s.v. (M. Plessner).

175. I have not been able to identify this poet.

gave each cavalryman a pay allowance of forty dirhams and each foot soldier an allowance of twenty dirhams.[176]

In this year, the volunteer fighters (*al-muṭṭawwaiʿah*) enthusiastically set about suppressing evildoers in Baghdad, under the leadership of Khālid al-Daryūsh and the Khurasanian Abū Ḥātim Sahl b. Salāmah al-Anṣārī.[177]

The Volunteer Fighters Suppress Crime in Baghdad

The reason for this was that the evildoers (*fussāq*) from amongst the Ḥarbiyyah troops and the mobsters (*shuṭṭār*) who were in Baghdad and Karkh inflicted great harm on the populace and indulged in evil behavior, brigandage and the seizing of youths and women openly from the streets.[178] They used to band together, go up to a man, seize his son and carry him off, and nothing could be done to stop them. They used to demand that people lend them money or give it to them as a gift, and nothing could be done to stop them. They used to band together, and then go out to the villages and overpower the local people, seizing all the goods, money, etc., which they could lay

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176. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 321–4.

177. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 62 = ed. Pellat, § 2748, stigmatizing the volunteers as *ruwaybiḍah* "dregs of the population." Ṭabarī's qualification here *min ahl Khurāsān* most naturally refers to Sahl only, but in view of Khālid's Iranian other name, it was probably applicable to them both. For this most interesting episode, in which Khālid and Sahl, with slightly differing aims and attitudes, endeavored to halt the social and moral disintegration within Baghdad caused by the lack of discipline of the anti-Sahlid forces there and, doubtless, by the previous anarchy in the latter days of al-Amīn, see R. Levy, *A Baghdad chronicle*, 82–5; I.M. Lapidus, "The separation of state and religion in the development of early Islamic society," *IJMES*, VI (1975), 372–8; M.A. Shaban, *Islamic history, a new interpretation. 2. A.D. 750–1055* (A.H.*132–448*), 46; Kennedy, 156–7.

178. Ṭabarī does not use here the term *ʿayyārūn* (although it is used in the corresponding context in *ʿUyūn*, 353), but it is clearly these anti-social, semi-criminal elements who are meant. On them and the *shuṭṭār*, elements of society much discussed recently by historians, see Cl. Cahen, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen Âge*, [40] ff.; Shaban, 45; R.P. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and leadership in an early Islamic society*, 157 ff.; S. Sabari, *Mouvements populaires à Baghdad à l'époque ʿabbaside*, 77 ff.; *EI*[2] s.v. Ayyār (F. Taeschner).

their hands on. There was no government authority (*sulṭān*) which could restrain them, and none of its representatives had any control over them because the government authority itself depended on them for its power and they were, indeed, the government's own trusted guards. Hence it was impossible for the government to hold them back from any evil deed which they were perpetrating. They used to exact money from passersby on the roads, from passengers in the boats and from those riding on mounts. They used to demand protection money for watching over gardens, and they openly used to commit robberies on the roads. No one was able to stand up against them, and the people were in extreme misery because of them.

The culmination of their activities was that they sallied forth to Qaṭrabbul[179] and openly plundered the town, seizing
[1009] goods, gold, silver, sheep and goats, cattle, asses, etc. They brought all these back to Baghdad and started publicly to offer them for sale. The rightful owners came along and appealed for the government authority's protection against them, but it was totally unable to punish them, nor was it able to get back for them, the rightful owners, anything at all of what had been seized. This was at the end of Sha'bān (ca. March 22, 817).

When the people perceived all that—what had been seized from them, the sale of their own possessions in their very own markets, and all the evil in the land, the oppression, iniquity and brigandage which the evildoers and mobsters had unleashed—and when they saw that the government authority was not reproving them in any way,[180] the God-fearing men from each suburban district and street (of the city) (*ṣulaḥā' kull rabaḍ wa-kull darb*)[181] rose up and went to each other, saying, "In each street there is just one evildoer, or a couple, or up to

179. Small town and district to the northwest of Baghdad, on the 'Isā Canal; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 371–2; Le Strange, *Lands*, 65–6; *EI*[2] s.v. (Lassner).

180. Reading here, and in two places below, with the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXVIII, the verb *'ayyara* instead of the text's use of *ghayyara*.

181. The movement accordingly took advantage of local religious leadership. As appears from below, Khālid's center of power was in the western, Anbār Road area of the city, and Sahl's in the northern Ḥarbiyyah one; see Lapidus, 376. It is hard to see here, as does Shaban, 46, a movement deliberately manipulated by reactionary, wealthy, proto-Ḥanbalī merchants.

ten of them, yet they have managed to get the upper hand over you, despite your superior numbers. If only you would join together and agree on a concerted policy, you would put down these evildoers and they would not be able to commit all this iniquity in your midst." A certain man from the Anbār Road district, called Khālid al-Daryūsh, then came forward and summoned his neighbors, the members of his family and the inhabitants of his quarter to assist him in the enjoining of praiseworthy measures and the forbidding of reprehensible actions (*al-amr bi-al-ma'rūf wa-al-nahy 'an al-munkar*).[182] They responded to his call, and he launched an attack on the local evildoers and mobsters and prevented them from carrying out their former depredations. They in turn put up resistance to him and intended to oppose him forcibly; so he fought them and defeated them, seizing some of them, beating them, imprisoning them and hauling them up before the government authority—not that he intended to criticize or blame that authority in any way.

Then after him, there arose a man from the Ḥarbiyyah populace called Sahl b. Salāmah al-Anṣārī, one of the Khurasanians, who had the patronymic of Abū Ḥātim. He summoned the people to enjoin praiseworthy measures and to forbid reprehensible actions and to behave in conformity with the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet. He tied leaves of the Qur'ān round his neck and then began with his neighbors and the inhabitants of his quarter, giving them both positive injunctions and prohibitions; and they accepted these instructions from [1010] him. Then he summoned the populace en masse along these same lines, from the noble to the humble, from the Hāshimites to those socially inferior to them. He set up a register (*dīwān*) for this purpose in which were written the names of all who came and pledged loyalty to him (*bāya'ahu*) in pursuance of these aims and in combatting all who opposed him and the

182. Qur'ān, III, 100, the classic expression of the ruler's (or his deputy's, such as the *muḥtasib* or market inspector) duty to point the subjects in the direction of conformity with the *sharī'ah*; see e.g., Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyyah*, tr. E. Fagnan, *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, ch. xx, 513–53; Lapidus, 376.

measures which he advocated, whoever they might be. A great number of people came to him and pledged loyalty to him. Next, he went all round Baghdad, its markets, its suburban districts and its thoroughfares, and he prevented all those who were levying protection money and exacting payments from (making their demands on) passing travellers and on those visiting (the capital), announcing that "There is no protection-money [*khifārah*] in Islam." *Al-khifārah* meant that a man used to go along to the owner of a garden or an orchard and tell him, "Your garden is under my protection; I will ward off anyone intending damage to it, and you will have to pay me such-and-such amount of dirhams each month."[183] He had to hand over this money willy-nilly. The extortioner would have grown powerful through this if al-Daryūsh had not opposed him and said, "I do not mean to brand the government authority as being corrupt, nor to blame it, nor to combat it, nor to issue orders and prohibitions to it about anything." And Sahl b. Salāmah added, "But I shall attack anyone who opposes the Book and the *sunnah* whoever it may be, the government authority itself or anyone else; what is just and right [*al-ḥaqq*] is now established in the community as a whole, and whoever has pledged loyalty to me in this I shall accept, and whoever opposes me, I shall attack."[184] Sahl's proclamation of this took place on Thusday, the fourth of Ramaḍān, 201 (March 26, 817) in the mosque of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn which the latter had built in the Ḥarbiyyah quarter; Khālid al-Daryūsh had made his call two or three days previously.

At this time Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī remained in his encampment at Jabbul. When these events involving the rise of Sahl b. Salāmah and his companions took place, and the news reached Manṣūr and ʿĪsā, it shattered them, for the greater part of their

183. *Khifārah, khafārah*, "protection money" is in fact a term of ancient tribal life, the sum paid over to a *khafīr* or leader of tribal escorts for a caravan journeying through tribal territories; see H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, 178–84. For a modern form of this due, *khâwah* (< *khuwwah*, "fraternity"), see H.R.P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, 442–3.

184. I.e., Sahl is emphasizing the responsibility of the godly community as a whole, and not just the Caliph and his representatives, for bringing about the just society, one conformable to the *sharīʿah*; see Lapidus, 376.

forces was composed of mobsters and evildoers. Manṣūr now entered Baghdad. Meanwhile, ʿĪsā had been corresponding with [1011] al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, so when ʿĪsā heard the news about events in Baghdad, he asked al-Ḥasan b. Sahl to grant himself, his family and his retainers a guarantee of safety, with the further proviso that al-Ḥasan would issue six months' pay allotment to his retainers, his troops and the remainder of the Baghdad troops when he had received the revenues from the tax collection. Al-Ḥasan agreed to this, and ʿĪsā left his encampment and entered Baghdad on Monday, the thirteenth of Shawwāl (May 4, 817). The whole of their forces was thrown into disarray, and then they entered Baghdad. ʿĪsā informed them of the peace agreement which he had made with al-Ḥasan b. Sahl on their behalf, and they assented to this.[185]

ʿĪsā then retraced his steps to Madā'in. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdallāh, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's cousin on his father's side, came to him, until he halted at Dayr al-ʿAqūl. They appointed Yaḥyā governor of the Sawād, associating him and ʿĪsā together in the exercising of the power of governorship. Each one was given a number of the sub-districts (*ṭasāsīj*) and tax divisions (*aʿmāl*) of Baghdad. When ʿĪsā took up the appointments which had been granted to him, this being at a time when the troops of ʿAskar al-Mahdī were hostile to him, there suddenly rose up al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mālik al-Khuzāʿī[186] proclaiming al-Ma'mūn's name and those of the two sons of Sahl, al-Faḍl and al-Ḥasan. Sahl b. Salāmah, however, displayed an attitude of aversion from him, saying, "You did not pledge your loyalty to me for this!"

Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, Khuzaymah b. Khāzim and al-Faḍl b. Rabīʿ now removed themselves, having on the very day of their departure pledged their loyalty to Sahl b. Salāmah on the basis of behavior in conformity with the Book and the *sunnah*, to which Sahl had been summoning people. They encamped in the Ḥarbiyyah quarter, in flight from al-Muṭṭalib. Sahl b. Sa-

185. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 324–6.

186. Member of the family of the ʿAbbāsid *naqīb* or agent Mālik b. al-Haytham (see above, 47 n. 144) and former governor of Egypt, whose conduct was was characterized by such tergiversations as these; see Lapidus, 373–4; Crone, 182.

lāma came to the bridge[187] and sent a message to al-Muṭṭalib asking him to come to him; he also reiterated, "You did not pledge loyalty to me for this!" Al-Muṭṭalib, however, refused to come to him, so Sahl engaged in violent fighting with him extending over two or three days until 'Īsā and al-Muṭṭalib
[1012] made peace together. 'Īsā now contrived secretly to send someone to assassinate Sahl. The assassin struck Sahl with his sword, but the blow did not have any serious effect on him. After this attempt on his life, Sahl retired to his house. 'Īsā thus became the people's leader, and they then all ceased from fighting.

Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd had remained at Nīl, but when he heard the news of this, he entered Kūfah and remained there for some days, before departing for Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, where he took up his position, obtaining a house and fortifying it with a wall and a trench; this was at the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah (mid-June 817). 'Īsā remained in Baghdad, inspecting and reviewing the troops and approving their fitness for service (*ya'riḍu al-junda wa-yusaḥḥiḥuhum*)[188] until the tax revenues were gathered in. He sent a message to Sahl b. Salāmah and apologized to him for what he had done (that is, for attempting his assassination), pledging his loyalty to Sahl and adjuring him to go back to his previous mission in direction people to praisworthy measures and restraining them from reprehensible actions, and promising that he would be Sahl's helper in all that. Sahl accordingly resumed his original rôle of summoning people to behavior in conformity with the Book and the *sunnah*.[189]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn designated 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as heir to the throne for the Muslims and as Caliph after himself, and gave him the name of The One Well-pleasing [to God] from the House of Muḥammad (*al-Riḍā* min āl Muḥammad); he further ordered his troops to

187. Reading, with n. *d* of the editor, *al-jisr* for *al-Ḥasan*.

188. On the institution of army reviews and musters, see *EI*[2] "Isti'rāḍ" (Bosworth), and id., "Recruitment, muster and review in medieval Islamic armies," in *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, 59–77.

189. *'Uyūn*, 352–3; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 326.

discard their black robes and start wearing green ones, and he wrote letters announcing that to the farthest corners of the realm.[190]

Al-Ma'mūn Designates 'Alī b. Mūsā as Heir to the Throne

It is mentioned that, while 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid was busy reviewing and inspecting his troops after his return from his encampment to Baghdad, he received unexpectedly a [1013] message from al-Ḥasan b. Sahl informing him that the Commander of the Faithful al-Ma'mūn had made 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad heir to the throne after himself. The reason for this, it said, was that al-Ma'mūn had given consideration to the members of the two houses of al-'Abbās and 'Alī but had not found anyone more excellent,[191] more pious or more learned than 'Alī. The message went on to say that al-Ma'mūn had given him the title of The One Well-pleasing [to God] from the House of Muḥammad, and it ordered him to throw off his black robes and put on green ones. This was on Tuesday, the second of Ramaḍān, 201 (March 24, 817). In the text of the message, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl further ordered 'Īsā to convey the command to all his subordinates and appointees—personal retainers, soldiers and commanders—and to the Hāshimites, that they should take an oath of allegiance to 'Alī (as heir to the throne); to require them to wear green-sleeved coats (*aq-*

190. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 764; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 545; Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, 255–6; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 562 ff.; *'Uyūn*, 350, 353; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 326–7. On this episode in general, see Levy, *A Baghdad chronicle*, 80–1; Gabrieli, *Al-Ma'mūn e gli Alidi*, 35 ff.; D.M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion*, 161–7; Abbott, 224; Sourdel, "La politique religieuse du calife 'abbāside al-Ma'mūn," *REI*, XXX (1962), 33–7; Y. Marquet, "Le Šī'isme au IXᵉ siècle à travers l'histoire de Ya'qūbī," *Arabica*, XIX (1972), 111; W.M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, 176–8; Lapidus, 378–9; Kennedy, 157 ff.; Madelung, "New documents concerning al-Ma'mūn, al-Faḍl b. Sahl and 'Alī al-Riḍā," 333–46; *EI*² s.v. 'Alī al-Riḍā (B. Lewis).

191. *Afḍal*. This adjective had emotive connotations for the Shī'ah when applied to 'Alī and his line, for the Shī'ah regarded each of these last as *al-imām al-afḍal*, "the most excellent leader of the community;" on this topic of *faḍl* as a characteristic of the imamate, see Watt, 226–8.

biyah),[192] tall pointed caps (*qalānis*) and other distinguishing features (*a'lām*);[193] and to compel the people of Bahgdad in general to adopt these measures. When 'Īsā received these instructions, he proclaimed to the Baghdad troops that they should put them into practice, stipulating however to al-Ḥasan that he should expedite payment to them of a month's pay allotment and then the remainder when the tax revenues came in. Some of them replied, "We agree to take the oath of allegiance and to wear green;" but others answered, "We will not take the oath of allegiance, we will not wear green and we will not let this question of the succession pass out of the line of al-'Abbās; all this is nothing but machinations on the part of al-Faḍl b. Sahl." They persisted in this attitude for several days. The members of the 'Abbāsid family were angered by this; they banded together and discussed the question, and finally announced, "We will appoint as ruler one of ourselves and throw off our allegiance to al-Ma'mūn." The spokesmen here, the ones who were ceaselessly occupied in the negotiations involved in this matter and the ones who assumed the responsibility for it, were Ibrāhīm and Manṣūr, the two sons of al-Mahdī.[194]

In this year, the people of Baghdad gave their allegiance to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī as Caliph and declared al-Ma'mūn deposed.[195]

The People of Baghdad give allegiance to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī

We have already mentioned the reason for the members of the 'Abbāsid family in Baghdad rejecting al-Ma'mūn's provisions as

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192. The *qabā'*, a short coat of Persian origin, was becoming the general garment for ceremonial and court wear during this period; see Sourdel, "Questions de cérémoniale 'abbaside," 135.

193. This seems here a better translation than "flags" after the verbal noun *libs* on which these three nouns depend.

194. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 545; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 60–1 = ed. Pellat, § 2746; Azdī, 341–2; *'Uyūn*, 353–4; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 326–7.

195. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 764; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 547–8; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, loc. cit.; *'Uyūn*, 350, 353. On this episode in general, see C. Barbier de Meynard, "Ibrahim, fils de Mehdi, fragments historiques . . . ," *JA*, ser. 6. vol. XIII (1869), 225 ff.; Levy, *A Baghdad chronicle*, 80–5; Shaban, 45 ff.; Kennedy, 158–62; *EI*[2] s.v. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (Sourdel).

they did, and the banding together of members of their group with the aim of combatting al-al-Ḥasan b. al-Sahl militarily, until he departed from Baghdad. When al-Ma'mūn proclaimed [1014] 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far as his heir and commanded the people to wear green, and when al-Ḥasan's letter reached 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid ordering him to put the measures into practice, and when he required the people in Baghdad to set about adopting them—this being on Tuesday, the twenty-fifth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (July 14, 817)—the members of the 'Abbāsid family in Baghdad proclaimed that they had given their allegiance to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī as Caliph and, after him, to his nephew Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. al-Mahdī. They declared al-Ma'mūn deposed and that they would issue a pay allotment of ten dīnārs to each man on the first day of Muḥarram, that is, on the first day of the coming year. Some people (among the Baghdad troops) agreed to this, but some would not agree to it until they actually got the payment. When Friday came round and they wished to perform the worship, they wished to set up Ibrāhīm as al-Ma'mūn's representative (in Baghdad) in place of Manṣūr. Therefore they gave instructions to a certain man who was to say, when the muezzin gave the call to worship, "We desire to pray for al-Ma'mūn and then, after him, for Ibrāhīm, who is to act as a representative." They had also secretly suborned a group of people and had told them, "When he gets up, saying, 'We will pray for al-Ma'mūn,' then you yourselves are to get up and say, 'We will only be satisfied by your giving allegiance to Ibrāhīm and to Isḥāq after him and by your declaring al-Ma'mūn irrevocably deposed; we do not wish you to seize our wealth and possessions, as Manṣūr did.' Then remain in your houses." Thus when the man got up to speak, this group of people answered him. Hence he did not lead them in the Friday worship on that particular Friday nor did anyone deliver the sermon. The people merely performed four cycles of inclinations (*rak'ahs*) and then went home. That took place on Friday, the twenty-eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 201 (July 17, 817).[196]

196. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 327.

In this year, 'Abdallāh b. Khurradādhbih,[197] governor of
[1015] Ṭabaristān, conquered Lāriz[198] and Shirrīz[199] in Daylam and added them to the lands of Islam; he conquered the mountainous parts of Ṭabaristān; and he dislodged Shahriyār b. Sharwīn from them.[200] Salm[201] al-Khāsir has said (concerning these events):

Indeed, we expect the conquest of Byzantium and of China
at the hands of one who has made us to prevail over[202] the royal power of Sharwīn!

So strengthen your hands by means of 'Abdallāh!
Indeed, he possesses an untiring faculty of judgment as well as faithfulness.

In this year, he sent Māzyār b. Qārin to al-Ma'mūn and took prisoner Abū Laylā, king of Daylam, without making any peace agreement with him.[203]

In this year, Abū al-Sarāyā's protégé Muḥammad b. Muḥammad died.[204]

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197. Khurasanian commander and father of the geographer Abū al-Qāsim 'Ubaydallāh, called Ibn Khurradādhbih; for his governorship, see H.L. Rabino di Borgomale, "Les préfets du Califat au Ṭabaristān, de 18 à 328/639 à 939–40," *JA*, CCXXXI (1939), 262 (not recorded in E. von Zambaur's *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*).

198. Perhaps identical with Lārijān, also in this region near Āmul, *pace* Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 7; see Schwarz, 786; *EI*[2] s.v. Lār and Lāridjān (J. Calmard).

199. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 334; Schwarz, loc. cit.; according to Rabino di Borgomale, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 132, probably the present-day Shīr-rūd.

200. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, 127–9. Shahriyār was a local ruler of the Bāwandid dynasty; see Zambaur, 187; *EI*[2] s.v. Bāwand (R.N. Frye).

201. Text, Sallām. Salm was a eulogist of the early 'Abbāsids, see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 511–12. However, these verses must be attributed to him erroneously since, as G.E. von Grunebaum has pointed out, Salm died fifteen years before these events, in 186 (802); see his "Three Arabic poets of the early Abbasid age," *Orientalia*, XIX (1950), 56, 79.

202. Following here the correction of the *Addenda et emendenda*, p. DCCLXVIII.

203. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 328. On Māzyār and his family, the Qārinids of Ṭabaristān, see *EI*[1] s.v. Māzyār (V. Minorsky) and *EI*[2] s.v. Ḳārinids (M. Rekaya); Madelung, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 204–5.

204. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 340. The Zaydī youth mentioned above, is meant.

In this year, Bābak al-Khurramī became active with the Jāwīdhāniyyah, the partisans of Jāwīdhān b. Sahl, ruler of Badhdh;[205] he claimed that Jāwīdhān's spirit had entered into him, and embarked on mischief-making and evildoing.[206]

In this year, the people of Khurasan, Rayy and Iṣfahān were afflicted by famine; the price of food rose high and deaths resulted.[207]

In this year, Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī led the pilgrimage.[208]

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205. Jāwīdhān was a leader of the Khurramiyyah before the rise of Bābak; see B. Scarcia Amoretti, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 505–6, 517. For al-Badhdh, the capital and bastion of these sectarians, see *EI*[2] Suppl. s.v. (Bosworth).

206. *ʿUyūn*, 354; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 328. Of the extensive literature on Bābak and the Khurramiyyah movement, see G.-H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens*, 229–80; E.M. Wright, "Bābak of Badhdh and al-Afshīn during the years 816–41 A.D.," *MW*, XXXVIII (1948), 43–59, 124–31; Amoretti, op. cit., 503–9; *EI*[2] s.v. Bābak (Sourdel), s.v. Khurramiyya (Madelung).

207. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 340.

208. Ibid.; but in Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 764, Dāwūd b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā is named, and in Azdī, 342, Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā.

The Events of the Year

202

(July 20, 817–July 8, 818)

The events taking place during this year included the people of Baghdad's giving their allegiance to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī as Caliph and their addressing him by the (regnal) name of al-Mubārak—it is said that they hailed him as Caliph on the first day
[1016] of Muḥarram (July 20, 817) and declared al-Ma'mūn deposed.[209] When Friday came round, Ibrāhīm ascended the pulpit, and the first person to do homage to him was the Hāshimite 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad,[210] then Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, then the rest of the Hāshimites and then the commanders. The person who organized the ceremony of taking the oath of allegiance was al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdallāh b. Mālik, and the ones who busied themselves and took charge of the whole affair were al-Sindī, the *ṣāḥib al-muṣallā* Ṣāliḥ, Minjab, Nuṣayr the slave retainer (*al-waṣīf*) and the rest of the clients and freedmen; these

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209. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 547, gives Ibrāhīm the regnal name of al-Marḍī and gives the date of the *bay'ah* to him as the fifth of Muḥarram, the same as in Mas'ūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa-al-ishrāf*, 349–50, tr. Carra de Vaux, *Le livre de l'avertissement*, 449.

210. Grandson of Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad and nephew of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr.

persons were indeed the leaders and foremost persons, (and did this) because of their anger against al-Ma'mūn when he wished to transfer the caliphate from the descendants of al-'Abbās to those of 'Alī and because he had abandoned the black garments of his forefathers in favor of green ones. When he had finished with the ceremony of pledging allegiance, he promised the army that he would give them pay allotments for six (months), but in fact he kept this back from them. When they realized this, they rose up in a clamor against him, so he gave each man two hundred dirhams. He also wrote to the Sawād on behalf of certain amongst them for the equivalent of the amount of pay owing to them in the form of wheat and barley. Hence they sallied forth to take possession of that, and everything in their path they carried off as plunder. In this way, they appropriated two shares in one operation, that of the local people and that of the ruling authority. With the aid of the Baghdad troops, Ibrāhīm secured power over the people of Kūfah and the whole of the Sawād. He established his encampment at Madā'in, and appointed as governor of the East Side of Baghdad al-'Abbās b. Mūsā al-Hādī and over the West Side Isḥāq b. Mūsā al-Hādī.[211] Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī recited the following:

O house of Fihr,[212] have you not realized that
I have devoted myself to your defence in the perilous places?

In this year, Mahdī b. 'Alwān al-Ḥarūrī proclaimed a Khārijite rising (*ḥakkama*).[213] He raised the standard of rebellion at [1017]
Buzurjshābūr and secured control of the sub-districts there and of the Nahr Būq and Rādhānayn.[214] Some people have asserted

211. Azdī, 342, 343; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 341.

212. I.e., Quraysh, Fihr usually being identified with the eponymous ancestor Quraysh.

213. The Khārijites were often called the Muḥakkimah because of their original call to 'Alī to submit to the judgment (*taḥkīm*) of God, and Ḥarūriyyah because their original secession from 'Alī's army took them to Ḥarūrā'.

214. Buzurjshābūr was a district to the east of the Tigris between Baghdad and Ḥarbā'; the Būq Canal connected Baghdad and Nahrawān; and the "two Rādhāns," Upper and Lower, comprised the district north of Madā'in to Nahrawān; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 410, 510, III, 12–13, V, 318; Le Strange, *Lands*, 31, 35.

that Mahdī's rebellion took place in the year 203, in the month of Shawwāl (April 819). Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī sent against him Abū Isḥāq b. al-Rashīd (the future Caliph al-Mu'taṣim), together with a group of commanders, including Abū al-Baṭṭ and Sa'īd b. al-Sājūr. In addition Abū Isḥāq had with him some Turkish military slaves (*ghilmān*). It is mentioned from Shubayl, the *ṣāḥib al-s.l.bah*,[215] that he accompanied Abū Isḥāq when he was himself a military slave, and they encountered the Khārijites (al-Shurāt)[216] in battle. One of the tribesmen aimed a lance-thrust at Abū Isḥāq, but one of his Turkish military slaves interposed himself to protect Abu Isḥāq, saying to the tribesman, "*ashināS mā-rā* [recognise me]!"[217] Abū Isḥāq gave him the name of AshināS on that very day; he was Abū Ja'far AshināS. Mahdī was defeated and driven back to Ḥawlāyā.[218]

A certain person (of those relating historical traditions) has said that Ibrāhīm sent only al-Muṭṭalib against Mahdī b. 'Alwān al-Dihqān al-Ḥarūrī. He marched against Mahdī, and when he drew near to the latter, he captured one of the non-activist Khārijites (*qa'ad al-Ḥarūriyyah*) called Aqdhā and killed him. The tribesmen banded together and attacked him, and routed him, compelling him to retreat into Baghdad.

In this year, the brother of Abū al-Sarāyā[219] rose in rebellion at Kūfah and adopted the wearing of white garments.[220] A group

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215. Unexplained. Possibly a reference to an estate owned by this man, although Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 235, knows only vaguely of a Salabah mentioned in the historical traditions; perhaps more probably, given the military context of the passage, Shubayl was the official charged with the division of plunder, *salab(ah)*, after a battle.

216. Again, the Khārijites were also known as "sellers" because they allegedly bartered (*sharaw*) their present life for a martyr's heavenly crown, echoing Qur'ān, II, 203.

217. In Persian.

218. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 548; Azdī, 343, 345, 350–2; *'Uyūn*, 354; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 342. Ḥawlāyā was a village in the district of Nahrawān; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 322.

219. Named as Abū 'Abdallāh, below, 72.

220. I.e., an anti-'Abbāsid, in this case almost certainly pro-'Alid, symbolic gesture; the wearing of green garments was an innovation of al-Ma'mūn, symbol of his hope of reconciling the two wings of Islam; see Sourdel, "La politique religieuse du calife 'abbāside al-Ma'mūn," 35. In Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb*

of adherents gathered round him. Ghassān b. Abī al-Faraj then confronted him in battle in Rajab (January–February 818), killed him and sent his head to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī.[221]

Abū al-Sarāyā's Brother Adopts White Garments (tabyīḍ) and Appears at Kūfah

It is mentioned that al-Ma'mūn's message ordering him to adopt green clothing and to take the oath of allegiance to 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad as heir to the throne after his own death reached al-Ḥasan b. Sahl when he was at Mubārak in his military encampment. The message further ordered him to move forward against Baghdad and besiege the people in it. Al-Ḥasan therefore struck camp and arrived at Simmar.[222] He wrote to Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd instructing him to move forward against Baghdad in order to besiege the people there from another side, and ordering him to adopt green clothing; this Ḥumayd duly did. Sa'īd b. al-Sājūr, Abū al-Baṭṭ, Ghassān b. Abī al-Faraj, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ifrīqī and a number of Ḥumayd's other commanders had written to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī undertaking to seize Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah on his behalf. There happened to have arisen a considerable distance between them and Ḥumayd himself, and at the same time, they were in correspondence with al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, telling him that Ḥumayd was in communication with Ibrāhīm, whilst Ḥumayd was writing similar information about them. Al-Ḥasan himself was writing to Ḥumayd summoning the latter to him; but Ḥumayd did not comply with this, fearing that if he set off to- [1018]

al-Wuzarā', 256, Nu'aym b. Khāzim protests to al-Faḍl b. Sahl that white is the traditional color of the 'Alids, and green that of Kisrā and the Magians. In fact, as Farouk Omar rightly observes, there is much confusion and contradiction in the sources on this question of colors; what seems clear is that the wearing of white expressed opposition to the official 'Abbāsid authority, whether these opponents were pro-Umayyad, pro-'Alid or adherents of heterodox Iranian sects like the partisans of al-Muqanna' and the Khurramiyyah. See F. Omar, "The significance of the colours of banners in the early 'Abbasid period," in *'Abbāsiyyāt. Studies in the history of the early 'Abbāsids*, 148–54.

221. Azdī, 343.

222. A village in the district of Kaskar, i.e., the region to the north and east of Wāsiṭ, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 246.

wards al-Ḥasan, the others would swoop down on his army. They, for their part, were writing to al-Ḥasan to the effect that there was nothing preventing Ḥumayd from going to al-Ḥasan except the fact that he was showing opposition to him and that he had purchased landed properties in the districts bounded by Ṣarāt, Sūrā[223] and the Sawād.[224]

When al-Ḥasan wrote messages to Ḥumayd insisting that he should come, Ḥumayd set out to go to him on Thursday, the fifth of Rabīʿ II[225] (October 21, 817). At that point, Saʿīd and his confederates wrote to Ibrāhīm passing on this information and asking him to dispatch to them ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid, so that they could transfer to his control Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah and Ḥumayd's army. Ibrāhīm had left Baghdad on the Tuesday and had encamped at Kalwādhā en route for Madāʾin. When the message reached him, he sent ʿĪsā to them. When the troops in Ḥumayd's army camp heard about ʿĪsā's advance and
[1019] his encamping at Qaryat al-Aʿrāb,[226] only one *farsakh* (six km) from Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, they prepared for flight; this was on the night of (Monday–) Tuesday. The troops of Saʿīd, Abū al-Baṭṭ and al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī al-Kūfī[227] fell upon Ḥumayd's encampment and plundered everything in it. It is reported that they seized a hundred bags of wealth and goods belonging to Ḥumayd. One of Ḥumayd's sons and Muʿādh b. ʿAbdallāh fled; some of the fleeing troops proceeded in the direction of Kūfah and some in that of Nīl. Regarding Ḥumayd's son, he fled with his father's slavegirls to Kūfah, where he hired mules, and then set off along the highway till he caught up with his father at al-Ḥasan's camp. Meanwhile ʿĪsā entered Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah; Saʿīd and his confederates handed it over to him, and ʿĪsā took formal possession of it

223. Presumably the district of the Sūrā channel of the Euphrates (the main one at the present day), or the channel itself, which flowed by Ḥillah; see ibid., V, 321; Le Strange, *Lands*, 26, 70–2.

224. Presumably meant here in the restricted sense of the Sawād, i.e., the surrounding agricultural region, of Kūfah.

225. Actually a Wednesday.

226. "The village of the tribesmen, Bedouins."

227. Descendant of the great Kūfan family of al-Ashʿath b. Qays al-Kindī; shortly after this he was appointed governor of the city by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī's supporters (below, 74); see Crone, 111.

from them. This was on Tuesday, the tenth of Rabīʿ II[228] (October 26, 817).

(This news) reached al-Ḥasan b. Sahl when Ḥumayd was with him, and the latter said to al-Ḥasan, "Didn't I tell you that this would happen? But you let yourself be deceived!" He then left al-Ḥasan and set off and came to Kūfah, where he collected some money and possessions of his which were deposited there. He also appointed as governor of Kūfah the ʿAlid al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar[229] and ordered him to wear green garments and to put in the sermon al-Ma'mūn's name and then after it that of his own brother ʿAlī b. Mūsā. He provided him with a subvention of a hundred thousand dirhams and told him, "Fight on your brother's behalf, for the people of Kūfah will respond to your call for this cause and I shall, moreover, be at your side." After nightfall, Ḥumayd set out from Kūfah and left him there. Meanwhile, when al-Ḥasan had received the news, he had sent Ḥakīm al-Ḥārithī to Nīl. When all this came to ʿĪsā's notice—he being at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah—he and his forces got ready and then set out for Nīl. During the night of Saturday (Friday–Saturday), the fourteenth of Rabī II[230] (October 29–30, 817), a red glow appeared in the sky and then faded, leaving two red pillars in the sky which lasted till the end of the night.

On the Saturday morning, ʿĪsā and his troops marched out of Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah to Nīl. Ḥakīm fell on them in battle. ʿĪsā and Saʿīd actually arrived when the battle was already on. Ḥakīm was defeated, and the victors entered Nīl. While there, they received the news about the ʿAlid al-ʿAbbās b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, how he had summoned the people of Kūfah (to acknowledge al-Ma'mūn and then his own brother ʿAlī b. Mūsā) and how a large number of the citizens of Kūfah had joined him. Another group of the people had, however, told him, "If you are going to place al-Ma'mūn's name in the sermon, and only after him your brother's name, then your appeal is of no concern to us; but if you will invoke your brother's name (first), or [1020]

228. Actually a Wednesday.
229. I.e., the brother of the Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā and Zayd al-Nār.
230. Actually a Friday.

some other member of the 'Alid family or yourself, then we will join you." Al-'Abbās replied, "I am invoking al-Ma'mūn's name [first], and after his name, my brother's." Accordingly, the extremist faction (*al-Ghāliyah*) of the Rāfiḍah[231] and most of the Shī'ah[232] refused to support him. Al-'Abbās was also proclaiming publicly that Ḥumayd was going to come back with aid and military support for him and that al-Ḥasan was sending a detachment of his own troops as reinforcements; but not a single person of these ever reached him.

Sa'īd and Abū al-Baṭṭ set out from Nīl against Kūfah. When they reached Dayr al-A'war,[233] they took a road which brought them to Harthamah's encampment at Qaryat Shāhī. When Sa'īd's forces had gathered round him, they set out on Monday, the second of Jumādā I (November 16, 817). When they reached the vicinity of Qanṭarah[234] there marched out to engage them in battle the 'Alid 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far, the son of the man who had been hailed as Caliph at Mecca, and Abū 'Abdallāh, the brother of Abū al-Sarāyā, accompanied by a numerous host which his cousin the governor of Kūfah, al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. Ja'far, had sent with 'Alī b. Muḥammad. They fought with their opponents for a period of time and then 'Alī and his followers fled in defeat back into Kūfah.

Sa'īd and his accompanying forces advanced until they made camp at Ḥīrah.[235] On the Tuesday morning, they set out and gave battle to 'Alī's forces in the neighborhood of 'Īsā b. Mūsā's house.[236] The members of the 'Abbāsid family and their clients

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231. Originally, those who rejected (*rafaḍa*) the first three Caliphs. See Nöldeke, "Zur Ausbreitung des Schiitismus," *Isl.*, XIII (1923), 73–4; Watt, index, and esp. 158–60, where the term's different denotations are given; *EI*[2] s.v. Ghulāt (M.G.S. Hodgson).

232. I.e., the more moderate Shī'īs, contrasted to the extremists.

233. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 499, a monastery in the environs of Kūfah, but not apparently mentioned in Shābushtī's *Kitāb al-Diyārāt*.

234. Often rendered as Qanṭarat al-Kūfah or al-Qanāṭir, bridge point and settlement on the Badāt Canal leading off the Euphrates to the north of Kūfah; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 74.

235. The ancient capital of the pre-Islamic Lakhmid kings, by now eclipsed by Kūfah, and lying just to the south of that city; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 328–31; Le Strange, *Lands*, 75–6; *EI*[2] s.v. (A.F.L. Beeston—I. Shahid).

236. I.e., that of the 'Abbāsid prince 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad, nephew of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr and one-time heir apparent to the throne, for fifteen

and freedmen acceded to Sa'īd and came out from Kūfah (to join him). A battle then took place lasting all through the day till nightfall. Sa'īd's troops' battle-cry was, "For Ibrāhīm and [1021] Manṣūr, and no obedience to al-Ma'mūn;" they wore black, whereas al-'Abbās and his forces drawn from the people of Kūfah wore green. When Wednesday came, they fought again in the same spot, and every detachment of the troops was involved; whenever they secured control of something, they set fire to it. When the leading men of Kūfah perceived this, they went to Sa'īd and his confederates and asked for a guarantee of safety for al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. Ja'far and his companions on condition that they evacuate Kūfah. Sa'īd and his confederates agreed to this. The Kūfan leaders then went back to al-'Abbās and informed him of this arrangement. They said, "The greater part of your forces is composed of the rabble [*ghawghā'*].[237] You must have seen what the local citizens have had to suffer—burning, plundering and slaughter—so depart from our midst, for we no longer want to be burdened with you." Al-'Abbās accepted their instructions, fearing that they were going to hand him over. He moved out of the house which he had been occupying by the open space of al-Kunāsah;[238] his followers, however, remained unaware of this arrangement. When Sa'īd and his forces fell back on Ḥīrah, al-'Abbās b. Mūsā's followers suddenly attacked those of Sa'īd's forces and the clients and freedmen of the 'Abbāsid 'Īsā b. Mūsā who had remained behind in Kūfah. Al-'Abbās's followers put them to flight, driving them back to the protective rampart and ditch (*khandaq*) (round the city)[239] and plundering the suburb (*rabaḍ*) of 'Īsā b. Mūsā; then

years governor of Kūfah, died in 167 (783/4); see Lassner, *The shaping of 'Abbāsid rule*, index; Kennedy, 91–3; *EI*[2] s.v. (Sourdel).

237. An indication that, as in Mecca (see above, 33), the 'Alids' appeal was especially to the lower classes and mob; cf. Kennedy, 160.

238. Originally, as its name implies, a rubbish dump on the west side of the city, then an open space used for unloading caravans, for fairs, etc., but clearly by now containing buildings; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 75; *EI*[2] s.v. al-Kūfa (H. Djaït).

239. Presumably the rampart and ditch constructed in al-Manṣūr's time, but not enclosing, in Djaït's surmise, the Kunāsah and some of the suburbs; see ibid.

they set fire to the houses and killed everyone they could get hold of.

The members of the 'Abbāsid family and their clients and freedmen sent to Sa'īd informing him of these events and telling him that al-'Abbās had failed to keep his side of the guarantee of security which he had sought. Sa'īd and Abū al-Baṭṭ rode forth with their troops and reached Kūfah by the early part of the night. Every person who had been involved in the plundering whom they caught, they killed, and every possession belonging to al-'Abbās's partisans which they got hold of, they burned. Finally, they came to the open space of al-Kunāsah, and remained there for the greater part of the night, until the leading men of Kūfah came to them and informed them that the breaches of the guarantee had been the responsibility of the rabble and that al-'Abbās himself was blameless here; then they returned (to their homes). When morning came—this being Thursday, the fifth of Jumādā I (November 19, 817)—Sa'īd
[1022] and Abū al-Baṭṭ entered Kūfah (proper).[240] A herald of theirs proclaimed that there was a guarantee of safety for everyone (literally, "for the white and the black"); the only measures which they took affecting people were beneficial ones. They appointed as governor of Kūfah a local citizen, al-Faḍl b. Muhammad b. al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī.

At this point, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī wrote instructing them to move to the neighborhood of Wāsiṭ, and he wrote specifically to Sa'īd instructing him to appoint someone other than al-Kindī as governor of Kūfah because of his bias in favor of his fellow-townsmen. So he appointed over it Ghassān b. Abī al-Faraj but then removed him after he had killed Abū 'Abdallāh, Abū al-Sarāyā's brother. Next, Sa'īd appointed over Kūfah his nephew al-Hawl. The latter remained governor until Ḥumayd b. 'Abd Ḥamīd marched on Kūfah and al-Hawl had to flee. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī also ordered 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid to make his way to the neighborhood of Wāsiṭ via the

240. Presumably the *madīnah*, that part of the city enclosed by the rampart and ditch.

Nīl Road, and Ibn 'Ā'ishah al-Hāshimī[241] and Nu'aym b. Khāzim[242] to travel together; these last two set out from the region of Jūkhā, as Ibrāhīm had ordered them. This was in Jumādā I (November–December 817). Sa'īd, Abū al-Baṭṭ and al-Ifrīqī caught up with Ibn 'Ā'ishah and Nu'aym, and they encamped at Ṣiyādah[243] near Wāsiṭ. They assembled all the forces in one place, under the leadership of 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid. They kept on making cavalry sorties each day as far as the encampment of al-Ḥasan and his troops at Wāsiṭ; but none of al-Ḥasan's forces would ever come out and engage them, remaining fortified within the town of Wāsiṭ. Then al-Ḥasan gave his troops the order to prepare to march out for battle, and they did this on Saturday, the twenty-sixth of Rajab[244] (February 7, 818). Fierce fighting raged till almost noon, but then 'Īsā and his army were put to flight. They retreated till they came to Ṭarnāyā and Nīl, and al-Ḥasan's troops seized everything there [1023] was—weapons, beasts, etc.—in 'Īsā's camp.[245]

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī arrested the vigilante leader Sahl b. Salāmah and then jailed and ill-treated him.

Ibrāhīm Arrests and Imprisons Sahl b. Salāmah

It is mentioned that Sahl b. Salāmah remained resident in Baghdad, adjuring people to act in accordance with the Book of God and the *sunnah* of His Prophet; he kept on urging people thus until the majority of the population of Baghdad had rallied to him and had taken up their abode around him, with the exception of those who remained within their own houses but who nevertheless agreed with and supported his views.

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241. The 'Abbāsid prince Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām, great-great-nephew of al-Saffāḥ, active in support of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and in 210 (825) executed by al-Ma'mūn, see below, 145–6, 147–8.

242. Presumably a brother of the Khuzaymah b. Khāzim who was also a supporter of Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, see above, 47–8.

243. Or perhaps Ṣayyādah; unidentified, but presumably meaning, "place where traps, snares, etc., are set for game or fish."

244. Actually a Sunday.

245. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 342–4.

Ibrāhīm had intended to attack Sahl before the battle (in which 'Īsā was defeated at Wāsiṭ), but he had held back. When the battle actually took place, and 'Īsā's confederates and the troops with him were beaten, Ibrāhīm turned his attention to Sahl b. Salāmah. He now began to intrigue against Sahl and those supporters of his who had pledged their allegiance to Sahl on the basis of behavior in conformity with the Book and the *sunnah* and of denying obedience to anyone of God's creation who was in rebellion against his Creator.[246] Every person who had pledged himself to Sahl had constructed by the door of his house a tower of plaster and fired brick, with weapons and copies of the Qur'ān on it. These adherents of his reached as far as the Bāb al-Shām, in addition to his adherents among the people of Karkh and others.

When 'Īsā got back to Baghdad after his defeat, he, his brothers and his body of retainers proceeded against Sahl b. Salāmah, because he had been denouncing them for the most vicious of their works and activities and had been stigmatizing them as "evildoers" (*fussāq*);[247] he never used any other word in reference to them but this. So they fought with him over a period of several days, the leader in this struggle being 'Īsā b. Muḥam-
[1024] mad b. Abī Khālid. When 'Īsā came to the streets and alleys which were near Sahl, he gave the people living along these ways a thousand or two thousand dirhams on condition that they would stand aside from the streets and alleys for him (and admit 'Īsā's troops). Thereupon they agreed to this, and each man received as his share one or two dirhams or suchlike. On Saturday, the twenty-fourth of Sha'bān[248] (March 7, 818), they prepared an onslaught from every direction. The inhabitants of

246. Lapidus, 376–8, notes that these two slogans had been used by previous revolutionary movements, the first originally by the Khārijites, the second by the 'Abbāsids themselves in their *da'wah* or campaign to achieve power; by adopting these, Sahl was setting himself up as the embodiment of the righteous community, if necessary against the caliphate itself, no longer regarded as the sole mouthpiece for the community or its sole representative.

247. Much theological discussion in early Islam revolved around the salvational status of the *fāsiq*, the man guilty of grave sins (*kabā'ir*); the Khārijites held that he was doomed to perpetual hell fire, and both they and the Mu'tazilah taught that a *fāsiq* imām or caliph should be deposed.

248. Actually a Sunday.

the streets and alleys deserted Sahl, until the attackers penetrated to the mosque of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn and to Sahl's own house, while he himself was in the neighborhood of the mosque.

When they drew near to him, he concealed himself, threw away his arms and mingled with the crowd of onlookers and slipped in amongst the womenfolk. The attackers entered his house, and when they were unable to find him, set agents and informers to watch out for him. During the night, they arrested him in one of the streets near his house and brought him to Isḥāq b. Mūsā al-Hādī, the next in succession after his paternal uncle Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, who was in the City of Peace. Isḥāq questioned him and argued with him; he brought him into the presence of his companions and accused him, "You have incited the people against us, and have impugned the validity of our rule." Sahl replied, "My movement was in the name of the ʿAbbāsids, and I was only adjuring people to act in accordance with the Book and *sunnah*; and at this present moment, I summon you to adhere to the program which I have laid down." However, they rejected his justification and then told him, "Go forth to the people and confess to them that the program to which you summoned them is invalid." He was brought out before the people, but told them, "You have been fully cognizant of what I summoned you to—to act in conformity with the Book and the *sunnah*—and I still summon you to it at this present moment." When he uttered these words to the people, ʿĪsā's men slashed his neck and beat him in the face. When [1025] they did that to him, he cried out, "The one who has been deceived is the one whom you have deceived, O men of Ḥarbiyyah!" He was seized and taken in to Isḥāq, who put him in fetters. This was on the Sunday.

During the night of Monday (Sunday–Monday), they took him along to Ibrāhīm at Madāʾin. When he came into Ibrāhīm's presence, Ibrāhīm spoke to him in the same terms as Isḥāq had done, but he still returned the same answer as before. They had captured one of Sahl's adherents called Muḥammad al-Rawwāʿī. Ibrāhīm struck him, pulled out the hairs of his beard, put him in irons and jailed him. When Sahl b. Salāmah was arrested, they jailed him also and gave out the supposed informa-

tion that Sahl had been handed back to ʿĪsā and that the latter had killed him. They only spread this story out of fear that the people would get to know where Sahl was and rescue him. The period between his first public appeal and his arrest and imprisonment was twelve months.[249]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn set out from Marw intending to go to Iraq.

Al-Ma'mūn's Departure from Marw

It is mentioned that the ʿAlid ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad told al-Ma'mūn about the conditions of civil tumult and fighting into which the people had been plunged since his brother had been killed; about how al-Faḍl b. Sahl had been concealing reports from him; that his own family and the people in general had condemned him for various things, saying that he was bewitched and mentally deranged; and that, when they had perceived all that, they had pledged their allegiance to his paternal uncle Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī as Caliph. Al-Ma'mūn replied that, according to what al-Faḍl had informed him, they had not pledged allegiance to Ibrāhīm as Caliph but had merely set him up as amīr to rule over and look after their interests.

ʿAlī then told al-Ma'mūn that al-Faḍl had misinformed and hoodwinked him, that a state of war existed between Ibrāhīm and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl and that people were condemning al-Ma'mūn for al-Faḍl's position and influence and that of his brother (al-Ḥasan), and for ʿAlī's own rôle and al-Ma'mūn's requirement of homage to him as successor to the throne after al-Ma'mūn. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Who of my military commanders knows
[1026] all this?" ʿAlī told him, "Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh[250] and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān and a number of other leading commanders." The Caliph told ʿAlī to send them into him so that he might interrogate them about ʿAlī's report. So ʿAlī had them—comprising Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān, Mūsā, ʿAlī b. Abī

249. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 345–6.

250. Of Khurasanian origin and a supporter of al-Ma'mūn; see Crone, 184. He is not to be confused with the famous ascetic and mystic of a generation later, Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh al-Rāzī, who died in 258 (872).

Sa'īd (the son of al-Faḍl's sister[251]) and Khalaf al-Miṣrī—brought into the Caliph's presence, and al-Ma'mūn asked them about what 'Alī had said. At first, they refused to say anything until al-Ma'mūn would give them a guarantee of personal safety from possible reprisals against them by al-Faḍl b. Sahl; the Caliph gave them this promise, wrote out for each one of them a guarantee in his own hand and passed it over to them.

Then they told him about the state of civil conflict into which the people had been plunged, giving a clear and detailed exposition of it, and informing him about the anger against him on the part of his own family, his mawlās (clients and freedmen) and his commanders, on account of so many things. (They pointed out) how al-Faḍl had deluded him in the affair of Harthamah, in that the latter had only come to al-Ma'mūn in order to give sincere advice and to explain clearly to him what was being wrought against his interests and how the caliphate would slip out of his hands and those of his family unless al-Ma'mūn reasserted his personal control over affairs of state; and how, nevertheless, al-Faḍl had secretly suborned someone to kill Harthamah, when the latter had only wished to offer wise counsel. (They further told the Caliph) that Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn had exerted himself to the utmost in al-Ma'mūn's service, had made numerous conquests and had secured the caliphate for him, but then when Ṭāhir had made everything smooth for al-Ma'mūn's assumption of power, he was suddenly torn away from everything and dispatched to a distant corner of the empire at Raqqah, with a denial of access to his own wealth and possessions until his position had become enfeebled and his own troops rose in revolt against him. If Ṭāhir had been the Caliph's representative in Baghdad, he would have exercised the governmental power firmly, and the assaults on al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's position would not have been ventured against Ṭāhir. All the different regions of the world had fallen apart, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn had been deliberately left in obscurity at Raqqah during these years since the killing of Muḥammad (al-Amīn), and his help had never been sought in any of these mili- [1027]

251. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 549, the son of al-Faḍl's maternal aunt.

tary campaigns; indeed, the help of people many times his inferior in worth had been sought. They asked al-Ma'mūn to go to Baghdad, adducing the argument that if the Hāshimites, their mawlās, the commanders and the troops could only see his prestige and might, they would become stilled and quiescent before it and hasten to give him full obedience.[252]

When al-Ma'mūn realized fully the truth of these allegations, he gave orders for departure to Baghdad. But when he issued this command, al-Faḍl b. Sahl realized that at least some of the responsibility for this decision stemmed from the commanders' advice; hence he treated them harshly, even having some of them flogged, jailing some others and having the hairs of the beards of yet others pulled out. 'Alī b. Mūsā then came to him repeatedly concerning them, and informed him about the guarantee of safety vis-à-vis him which they held; however, he told 'Alī that he would achieve his own aims anyway, by stealth. Then al-Faḍl set off from Marw, but when he reached Sarakhs,[253] a group of men attacked him when he was in the bath and hacked him to death with their swords. This happened on Friday, the second of Sha'bān, 202[254] (February 13, 818). They were apprehended, and the assassins proved to be men from al-Ma'mūn's retinue, numbering four persons, Ghālib al-Mas'ūdī al-Aswad, Qusṭanṭīn al-Rūmī, Faraj al-Daylamī and Muwaffaq al-Ṣaqlabī. Al-Faḍl was sixty years old when they killed him. They fled, and al-Ma'mūn sent people in pursuit of them, offering a reward of ten thousand dīnārs to whomsoever brought them back. Al-'Abbās b. al-Haytham b. Buzurjmihr al-Dīnawarī brought them back. They asserted to al-Ma'mūn, "You yourself ordered us to kill him!" The Caliph, however, ordered their heads to be cut off.[255]

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252. *'Uyūn*, 355–6; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 346–7.

253. A town of northern Khurasan, on the route through the desert from Marw to Ṭūs; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 208–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 395–6; *EI*[1] s.v. (J. Ruska).

254. Actually a Saturday. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 350, tr. 449, has Monday, the fifth of Sha'bān (actually a Tuesday).

255. Id., *Murūj*, VII, 61 = ed. Pellat, § 2747; Azdī, 343. It was widely believed that the Caliph was behind al-Faḍl's assassination, now that the era of Sahlid ascendancy (marked also by al-Ḥasan's attack of acute melancholia shortly af-

It has been said that, when al-Faḍl's killers were captured, al-Ma'mūn interrogated them, and some of them said that 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd, the son of al-Faḍl's sister, had secretly suborned them, whilst others denied this. The Caliph ordered them to be executed, and then summoned 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Imrān, 'Alī, [1028]
Mūsā and Khalaf for questioning. They denied having known anything at all about the affair, but he refused to believe them and ordered them to be put to death. He then sent their heads to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl at Wāsiṭ and informed him what a severe misfortune he had suffered through al-Faḍl's murder and how he had appointed al-Ḥasan to take al-Faḍl's place. The letter containing this information reached al-Ḥasan in the month of Ramaḍān (March–April 818).[256]

Al-Ḥasan and his troops continued to remain at Wāsiṭ until the tax collection became due and at least part of the land tax was gathered in. Al-Ma'mūn departed from Sarakhs for Iraq on the day of the breaking of the fast, al-Fiṭr (on the first of Shawwāl, 202 [April 12, 818]). Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī was meanwhile at Madā'in, with 'Īsā, Abū at-Baṭṭ and Sa'īd at Nīl and Ṭarnāyā making repeated military forays (literally: in the evenings and mornings). Al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdallāh b. Mālik b. 'Abdallāh had set out from Madā'in. He now claimed to be ill, and started secretly acknowledging al-Ma'mūn as Caliph, on the plea that al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī was al-Ma'mūn's representative, and throwing off allegiance to Ibrāhīm. Manṣūr, Khuzaymah b. Khāzim and many commanders from the troops of the East Side (of Baghdad) followed his lead here. Al-Muṭṭalib wrote to Ḥumayd and 'Alī b. Hishām instructing them to move forward and that Ḥumayd should then encamp at the Nahr Ṣarṣar and 'Alī at Nahrawān.

When Ibrāhīm became fully apprised of this news, he set off from Madā'in to Baghdad and encamped at Zandaward[257] on Sat-

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terwards, see below, 85) was coming to an end; cf. Abbott, 224–5; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 208–10.

256. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 765; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 549–50; *'Uyūn*, 355, 356–7; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 347–8; Donaldson, 168–9.

257. A place on the East Side of Baghdad, famed for its monastery; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 512–13 (citing a lost part of Shābushtī, see 'Awwād's edition, 337–8); Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 179; Lassner, *Topography*, 281.

urday, the fourteenth of Ṣafar (203 [August 21, 818]). He sent messages to al-Muṭṭalib, Manṣūr and Khuzaymah, but when his messenger came to them, they made excuses to him. So when Ibrāhīm perceived this, he sent 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid and his brothers to them. Manṣūr and Khuzaymah threw in their hands without a fight, but al-Muṭṭalib's clients and freedmen and his retainers put up a fight in defence of his house until the number of men against them grew too large. Ibrāhīm ordered a herald to proclaim that anyone eager for
[1029] plunder should make his way to al-Muṭṭalib's house. By the time of the noon worship, the mob reached the house; they plundered everything they could find and further ransacked the houses of his kinsmen. They searched for al-Muṭṭalib but were unable to find him. This took place on Tuesday, the sixteenth of Ṣafar[258] (203 [August 23, 818]).

When the news reached Ḥumayd and 'Alī b. Hishām, Ḥumayd sent a commander who seized Madā'in, cut the route across the bridge and encamped by it. 'Alī b. Hishām sent a commander who encamped at Madā'in and proceeded to the Nahr Diyālā,[259] and then cut off the route there. Ḥumayd's commanders and their troops remained in Madā'in. Ibrāhīm now regretted what he had done in regard to al-Muṭṭalib, but he was still unable to get his hands on him.[260]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn married Būrān, the daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl.[261]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn married his daughter Umm Ḥabīb to 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā and another daughter, Umm al-Faḍl, to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mūsā.[262]

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258. Actually a Monday.

259. The Diyālā Canal ran from the Nahrawān Canal southwards to the Tigris below east Baghdad; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 495; Le Strange, *Lands*, 59–61; *EI*[2] s.v. (S.H. Longrigg).

260. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 348.

261. Azdī, loc. cit.; *'Uyūn*, 357; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 350. The consummation of the marriage took place in Ramaḍān 210 (December 824-January 825), see below, 153, 158. The reference here is to the Caliph's betrothal to the eight-year-old Būrān, see Abbott, 225.

262. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 61–2 = ed. Pellat, § 2747; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 565; Azdī, loc. cit.; *'Uyūn*, 357; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 350; Donaldson, 167; Abbott, 224–5; Sourdel, "La politique religieuse du calife 'abbāside al-Ma'-

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad led the pilgrimage and invoked his brother in the prayers as heir to the caliphate after al-Ma'mūn. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl had written to 'Īsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī, who was at Baṣrah, and the latter came to Mecca with his followers; he participated in the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, and then returned. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā proceeded to the Yemen, which Ḥamdawayh b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān had seized.[263]

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mūn," 38, noting this as a sign of al-Ma'mūn's veneration for 'Alī, even after the reversal of these pro-'Alid usages after 'Alī al-Riḍā's death; Marquet, 127–8, also noting the Caliph's continued policy of sympathy for the 'Alids after 'Alī al-Riḍā's demise, displayed in several ways.

263. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 765; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IX, 69–70 = ed. Pellat, § 3649; Azdī, 350; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.; Geddes, 103–4; Marquet, 111.

Events of the Year

203

(JULY 9, 818–JUNE 27, 819)

It is mentioned that one of the events taking place during this year was the death of ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar.

The Cause of the Death of ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar

[1030] It is mentioned that al-Ma'mūn set out from Sarakhs until he arrived at Ṭūs. When he came to it, he halted at his father's tomb there for a few days. ʿAlī b. Mūsā then ate an inordinate quantity of grapes and suddenly died, this being at the end of Ṣafar (early September 818). Al-Ma'mūn gave orders, and he was buried at the side of al-Rashīd's grave.[264] In the month of

264. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 766; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 551, stating that he died at the village of Nūqān and giving a report that ʿAlī b. Hishām killed him with a poisoned pomegranate (for Ya'qūbī's general attitude here, see Marquet, 127); Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 61 = ed. Pellat, § 2747; id., *Tanbīh*, 350, tr. 449, with the date of death given as 1 Ṣafar; Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 565–7, 571–2; Azdī, 352; Donaldson, 169, 171–2; Abbott, 226; Kennedy, 161. However, G.C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, 105–8, regards this date of Ṣafar 203 for ʿAlī's death as too early, on numismatic grounds.

Rabīʿ I (September–October 818) al-Ma'mūn wrote to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl informing him that ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar had died and communicating to him how his death had overwhelmed him with grief and feelings of loss. He also wrote to the members of the ʿAbbāsid family, the clients and freedmen, and the people of Baghdad, announcing to them ʿAlī b. Mūsā's death, stressing that it was only his (al-Ma'mūn's) appointment of ʿAlī as his successor to the throne of which they had disapproved, and asking them to resume now their obedience to him; but they wrote back a reply to him and to al-Ḥasan couched in the toughest terms by which anyone could ever be addressed.[265] The person who led the prayers over ʿAlī b. Mūsā was al-Ma'mūn himself.

In this year, al-Ma'mūn travelled from Ṭūs en route for Baghdad. When he reached Rayy, he lowered its tax assessment by two million dirhams.[266]

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl was overcome by an attack of melancholia and depression (*al-sawdā'*). The cause of this was said to be that he suffered a severe illness, which subsequently brought about a mental disturbance, to the point that he had to be put in fetters of restraint and locked up in a house. Al-Ḥasan's commanders wrote to al-Ma'mūn about this, and a reply to their letter came back appointing Dīnār b. ʿAbdallāh as supreme commander of al-Ḥasan's army and informing them that the Caliph himself was on his way, close behind the letter.[267]

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī had ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid beaten and imprisoned.

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265. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 351. The text of this letter is not extant, but what purports to be al-Ma'mūn's answer is reproduced by the much later Shīʿī author Majlisī, apparently going back to the historian Miskawayh; see Madelung, "New documents concerning al-Ma'mūn, al-Faḍl b. Sahl and ʿAlī al-Riḍā," 339–45.

266. Again, Miles, 105, regards this date as too early and would place this event in the year 204 (819/20).

267. *ʿUyūn*, 357; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 356. Shortly after this, Dīnār served briefly as governor of Jibāl for al-Ma'mūn; see Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 553, and cf. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 223.

'Īsā b. Muḥammad is Beaten and Imprisoned

It is mentioned that 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid had been in constant correspondence with Ḥumayd and al-Ḥasan, the envoy between them being Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ma'badī al-Hāshimī.[268] At the same time, 'Īsā was ostensibly displaying his obedience and giving his counsel to Ibrāhīm, but
[1031] was never showing any fight to Ḥumayd nor opposing the latter's actions in any way. Whenever Ibrāhīm instructed him, "Get ready to go out and engage Ḥumayd!" he would make excuses to him that the army was clamoring for its pay allocations, or, on another occasion, he would say, "[Let us wait] till the tax yields are gathered in." He kept on in this vein until finally, when he became fully assured about what he wanted from the negotiations between himself and al-Ḥasan and Ḥumayd, he deserted Ibrāhīm's side, with the understanding that he would hand Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī over to them on Friday, the twenty-ninth of Shawwāl (April 29, 819). Information about this reached Ibrāhīm. On the Thursday, 'Īsā proceeded to the Bāb al-Jisr[269] and proclaimed to the people, "I have come to a peace agreement with Ḥumayd; I have solemnly pledged to him that I shall not trespass upon his administrative charge and he has guaranteed to me that he will not trespass on mine." He then ordered a defensive trench and rampart (*khandaq*) to be dug at the Bāb al-Jisr and the Bāb al-Shām. These words of his reached Ibrāhīm, as did news of what he had been doing. 'Īsā had previously asked Ibrāhīm if he might lead the Friday worship in the City (of Peace), and Ibrāhīm had assented. Now when 'Īsā uttered these pronouncements, and news of them was duly reported to Ibrāhīm, together with the

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268. I.e., of the branch of the 'Abbāsid family descended from Ma'bad b. al-'Abbās; they owned property in Karkh, after which the Ma'badī bridge over the 'Īsā Canal was named; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 75; Lassner, *Topography*, 75.

269. Probably the gate leading to the main or upper bridge (*jisr*) constructed by al-Manṣūr to connect the district of the Khuld Palace with Ruṣāfah on the east bank, but the sources are not entirely explicit over the location; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 178, 198; Lassner, *Topography*, 151, 281. At all events, the defensive trench and rampart mentioned below would be along the northern perimeter of the Round City.

fact that ʿĪsā was planning to seize him, Ibrāhīm was on his guard.

It is mentioned that Hārūn, ʿĪsā's brother, told Ibrāhīm what ʿĪsā was planning to do to him. Hence when Hārūn passed this information on, Ibrāhīm sent to ʿĪsā ordering him to come to him so that he might harangue and examine him about certain aspects of his intentions, but ʿĪsā adduced various reasons for not coming. Ibrāhīm kept on, repeatedly dispatching messengers to ʿĪsā, until finally he went personally to ʿĪsā's palace in Ruṣāfah.[270] When he went in, all the other people were excluded, and Ibrāhīm and ʿĪsā talked in private. Ibrāhīm started to reproach ʿĪsā, and ʿĪsā began to excuse himself from such reproof and to give the lie to some of the accusations which Ibrāhīm was making. When Ibrāhīm had forced ʿĪsā to admit to various things, he gave orders and ʿĪsā was beaten. He then imprisoned him, and arrested a number of his commanders and jailed them; he sent (men) to ʿĪsā's house and arrested the slave mother of his children and several of his young children and jailed them too. This took place in the night of Thursday (Wednesday–Thursday, the twenty-seventh–)twenty-eighth of Shawwāl (April 28–29, 819). Ibrāhīm searched for one of ʿĪsā's lieutenants called al-ʿAbbās, but the latter concealed himself.

When the news of ʿĪsā's imprisonment reached his family [1032]
and his retainers, groups of them went along to each other, and members of his family and his brothers incited the people against Ibrāhīm. They gathered together under the leadership of (al-) ʿAbbās, ʿĪsā's lieutenant, and attacked Ibrāhīm's financial official at the bridge and drove him out; he crossed over to Ibrāhīm and told him the news, and Ibrāhīm ordered the bridge to be cut. They expelled every single one of Ibrāhīm's financial officials in Karkh and elsewhere. Evildoers and mobsters appeared, and took over the manning of the strong points (*al-masāliḥ*). (Al-)ʿAbbās wrote to Ḥumayd asking him to advance

270. The westernmost quarter of what had been known as ʿAskar al-Mahdī (see above, 42, n. 119) on the east bank of the Tigris; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 46–7; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 187–98; Lassner, *Topography*, 64–5, 250.

towards them so that they might hand over Baghdad to him.[271] When Friday came, the Friday worship in the mosque of the City (of Peace) comprised only four cycles of inclinations (*rakaʿāt*); the muezzin led the worship, but there was no sermon.

In this year, the people of Baghdad threw off allegiance to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and mentioned al-Ma'mūn's name as Caliph in the prayers.

The People of Baghdad Throw off Allegiance to Ibrāhīm

We have just mentioned above the story of Ibrāhīm and ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid's relations, Ibrāhīm's imprisoning of ʿĪsā, the banding together of ʿĪsā's lieutenant (al-) ʿAbbās and ʿĪsā's brothers against Ibrāhīm and their message to Ḥumayd inviting him to come to them so that they might hand over Baghdad to him. It is further mentioned that this message of theirs, containing the stipulation that Ḥumayd should give each man of the Baghdad troops fifty dirhams, reached Ḥumayd, and he agreed to their terms. He moved forward till he encamped at the Nahr Ṣarṣar on the road to Kūfah on the Sunday, and (al-) ʿAbbās and the commanders of the Baghdad troops went out to him. They met him on the Monday morning, and he gave them promises and hopes of reward, which they accepted. He promised them (specifically) that he would hand out the pay allotments to them on the following Saturday at
[1033] Yāsiriyyah,[272] on condition that they would perform the Friday worship and would place al-Ma'mun's name in the bidding prayer and renounce allegiance to Ibrāhīm; to this they agreed.

When the news reached Ibrāhīm, he released ʿĪsā and his brothers from jail and asked him to return home and take charge, on his behalf, of that side (of Baghdad); but ʿĪsā refused to undertake this for him. When Friday came, (al-) ʿAbbās sent

271. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 351–2.

272. A suburb of western Baghdad lying on the ʿĪsā Canal towards Muḥawwal; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 425; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 151–2; Lassner, *Topography*, 75, 100, 259.

to the legal scholar (*faqīh*) Muḥammad b. Abī Rajā,[273] and the latter led the people in the Friday worship and made the prayers in al-Ma'mūn's name. On the Saturday, Ḥumayd went to Yāsiriyyah, reviewed the army of the Baghdad troops and paid out to them the fifty dirhams which he had promised. They asked him, however, to reduce this sum by ten dirhams each and thereby pay forty dirhams each instead, because of their feeling of ill-omen stemming from the episode of 'Alī b. Hishām's offering them fifty dirhams and then tricking them by not paying out the allotments. Ḥumayd answered them, "No, I won't; on the contrary, I shall increase your pay and give you each sixty dirhams."

When Ibrāhīm heard the news, he summoned 'Īsā and asked him to engage Ḥumayd in fighting; he agreed to do this, so Ibrāhīm let him go completely free, having however taken from him guarantors of his good faith. 'Īsā then addressed the troops and promised them the same as Ḥumayd had given, but they refused to accept this from him. On the Monday, 'Īsā, his brothers and the commanders of the troops on the East Side crossed over to them and offered the troops on the West Side an amount in excess of what Ḥumayd had given; but they greeted 'Īsā and his companions with obloquy and expostulated, "We don't want Ibrāhīm!" So 'Īsā and his companions went forward and entered the City (of Peace); they locked the gates and went up on the walls, and fought the troops for a while. When, however, the numbers opposing them became too great, they retreated till they reached the Bāb Khurāsān, and then they took to boats.[274] 'Īsā himself went back as if he intended to throw himself into the fight against them once more, but devised a stratagem so that he placed himself into his opponents' hands as if he had been taken prisoner; one of his commanders then took him to his house, whilst the rest of the troops went back to Ibrāhīm and told him what had happened. The news plunged [1034] Ibrāhīm into deep grief.

Al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdallāh Mālik had concealed himself from Ibrāhīm, so when Ḥumayd drew near, he tried to cross over to

273. Cf. ibid., 69, 255; this scholar is thus identified.
274. I.e., on the Tigris.

him. But the ferry man[275] arrested him and took him along to Ibrāhīm, who imprisoned al-Muṭṭalib in his house for three or four days and then freed him on the night of Monday, the first of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (Sunday–Monday, the twenty-ninth of Dhū al-Qa'dah-the first of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 203[May 30, 819]).[276]

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī concealed himself and disappeared from view after the period of warfare between him and Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and after he had released Sahl b. Salāmah from prison.[277]

Ibrāhīm Goes into Hiding

It is mentioned that the people used to mention that Sahl b. Salāmah had been killed, when he was (in fact) held in captivity by Ibrāhīm. When Ḥumayd marched on Baghdad and entered it, Ibrāhīm brought Sahl forth, and the latter used to offer up prayers in the mosque of Ruṣāfah as formerly, and then when it was night, Ibrāhīm committed Sahl back to his imprisonment. He remained subject to this procedure for several days. Sahl's partisans came to him with the intention of joining up with him (banding together to release him); but he told them, "Stay in your houses, for I shall obtain something advantageous from this fellow [*arzī hādhā*]," meaning Ibrāhīm. On the night of Monday (Sunday–Monday), the first of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (May 30, 819), Ibrāhīm set him free, and Sahl went off and hid himself. When Ibrāhīm's retainers and commanders saw that Ḥumayd had encamped at the mills of 'Abdallāh b. Mālik,[278] the greater part of them transferred their allegiance to Ḥumayd, and seized Madā'in on his behalf. When Ibrāhīm real-

275. Reading, with the *Addenda et emendenda*, p. DCCLXVIII, *al-mu'abbir* "ferry man, boatman" (see *Glossarium*, p. CCCL); for the text's dubious *al-m.'.b.d*, which might, nevertheless, refer to the Ma'badī bridge, see above, 86 and n. 268.

276. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 548; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 353–4.

277. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 551; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 62 = ed. Pellat, § 2748; Barbier de Meynard, 250 ff.

278. 'Abdallāh b. Mālik's property lay on the eastern bank of the Tigris near Qarn al-Ṣarāt, where the Ṣarāt Canal joined the river near the new bridge; see Lassner, *Topography*, 70, 255.

ized this, he sent all the forces which he had with him forth to fight. The two sides met in battle at the bridge over the Nahr Diyālā and fought together. Ḥumayd defeated Ibrāhīm's forces. They cut the bridge, but Ḥumayd's forces pursued them right into the houses of Baghdad. This was on Thursday, the thirtieth of Dhū al-Qa'dah,[279] (203 [May 29, 819]).

When it was the day of the Festival of the Sacrifice ('Īd al-Aḍḥā) (the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 803 [June 8, 819]), Ibrāhīm ordered the judge to lead the people in the worship at 'Īsābādh;[280] he did this, and then the people returned home. Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' was in hiding, but then went over to Ḥumayd. 'Alī b. Rayṭah[281] likewise transferred to Ḥumayd's encampment, and the Hāshimites and the commanders began one-by-one to attach themselves to Ḥumayd's side. When Ibrāhīm perceived this, he was filled with self-reproach and thrown into misery. Al-Muṭṭalib had been in correspondence with Ḥumayd, undertaking to deliver to him control of the East Side of the city, while Sa'īd b. al-Sājūr, Abū al-Baṭṭ and 'Abdawayh, in company with a host of other commanders, were in correspondence with 'Alī b. Hishām, undertaking to capture Ibrāhīm for him. When Ibrāhīm got to know about their plans and that all his retainers were plotting against him, he realized that they had surrounded him, and he set about outwitting them. When nightfall came, he went into hiding on the night of Wednesday, the sixteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 203 (the night of Tuesday–Wednesday,[282] June 13–14, 819)[283] [1035]

Al-Muṭṭalib sent a message to Ḥumayd informing him that he and his followers had surrounded Ibrāhīm's house, and if Ḥumayd was seeking Ibrāhīm, he was to come to him. Also,

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279. Actually a Sunday.

280. This is what al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī calls al-Mahdī's pleasure palace (*mustaqarr*), actually built for his son 'Īsā at an unidentified spot in east Baghdad; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 194; Lassner, *Topography*, 81, 264.

281. Possibly a son of al-Saffāḥ's daughter Rayṭah, though not by her best-known husband al-Mahdī.

282. Actually the night of Tuesday (i.e., of Monday-Tuesday).

283. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 350, tr. 449–50, has the eleventh of Dhū al-Ḥijjah; *'Uyūn*, 358, has Tuesday, the seventeenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (correctly, the sixteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah).

Ibn al-Sājūr and his companions sent a message to 'Alī b. Hishām. Ḥumayd, who was staying at the mills of 'Abdallāh (b. Mālik,) rode off immediately, and went to the Bāb al-Jisr. 'Alī b. Hishām proceeded till he halted at the Nahr Bīn and then advanced to the Kawthar mosque.[284] Ibn al-Sājūr and his companions came out to meet him, and al-Muṭṭalib came to Ḥumayd and met him at the Bāb al-Jisr. Ḥumayd showed them great favor, gave them promises of future beneficence and told them that he was going to inform al-Ma'mūn about what they had done. They came to Ibrāhīm's house and began a search for him there, but without success; Ibrāhīm remained in concealment till al-Ma'mūn arrived and after that, until events turned out for him as they did.

Sahl b. Salāmah had returned from his place of concealment to his own house. He now showed himself openly. Ḥumayd
[1036] sent for him, received him with favor and treated him as an intimate. He had Sahl mounted on a mule and sent him back to his family. Sahl remained there till al-Ma'mūn entered Baghdad; then he came to the Caliph, who rewarded him with favors and presents and ordered him to remain quietly in his house.[285]

In this year, there was an eclipse of the sun on Sunday, the twenty-eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, (203[June 26, 819]), to the extent that the sun's light faded away and over two-thirds of its orb disappeared. The eclipse began when the sun was getting high and continued till it was nearly noon; then it cleared away.[286]

The total length of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī's tenure of power was one year, eleven months and twelve days. 'Alī b. Hishām secured control of the East Side of Baghdad, and Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd controlled the West Side.[287] Al-Ma'mūn pro-

284. Presumably on the property of Kawthar b. al-Yamān in Karkh; see Lassner, *Topography*, 258, n. 58.
285. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 354–5.
286. Ibid., VI, 356.
287. *'Uyūn*, 358; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 355.

ceeded as far as Hamadhān by the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (203[late June 819]).

In this year, Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī led the pilgrimage.[288]

288. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 766; Azdī, 353. Sulaymān was an ʿAbbāsid prince, descended from ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās; subsequently, in 214 (829/30), he became governor of Mecca.

The Events of the Year

204

(JUNE 28, 819–JUNE 16, 820)

The events taking place during this year included al-Ma'mūn's arrival in Iraq and the end of the (previous) increase in civil strife in Baghdad.

Al-Ma'mūn's Arrival in Iraq and What Happened There[289]

It is mentioned concerning al-Ma'mūn that when he reached Jurjān[290] he stayed there a month. Then he left and travelled to Rayy in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (203[June 819]), and stayed there for a
[1037] few days.[291] Then he left Rayy and began travelling from one staging post to another, staying one or two days (in each of them) until he reached Nahrawān, this being on a Saturday, and stayed there eight days. The members of his family, the

289. The surviving part of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's *Kitāb Baghdād* begins here.

290. I.e., the southeast Caspian coastland region, Persian Gurgān; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 376–81; Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, 115; *EI*[1] s.v. Gurgān (Hartmann—J.A. Boyle).

291. This must be the occasion recorded above, 85, when al-Ma'mūn lightened the assessment of the land-tax of Rayy.

commanders and the leading personalities came out (to meet him) and greeted him. Previous to this, while he was on the road, al-Ma'mūn had written to Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, who was at that time at Raqqah, telling Ṭāhir to meet him at Nahrawān; and Ṭāhir duly met up with him there. On the next[292] Saturday, al-Ma'mūn entered Baghdad, as the sun was getting high, on the fifteenth of Ṣafar, 204[293] (August 11, 819), with himself and his retinue all wearing short green Persian coats (*aqbiyah*) and tall caps (*qalānis*) and bearing short lances (*ṭarrādāt*) (with green pennants) and green banners (*a'lām*).[294]

When he arrived, he halted and encamped at Ruṣāfah, accompanied by Ṭahir. He ordered Ṭāhir to encamp at Khayzūraniyyah with his troops. Then he transferred his quarters to his palace on the bank of the Tigris. He gave commands to Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid, 'Alī b. Hishām and every one of the commanders in his army that they should remain in their military encampments. Now these commanders had been resorting to al-Ma'mūn's palace each day, and no one had been able to enter into his presence unless he wore green clothes. The people of Baghdad and the Hāshimites likewise all wore green. Al-Ma'mūn's partisans used to tear off anything black which they observed people wearing, except for caps;[295] isolated individuals used to wear them (black caps), but in fear and trembling; and as for a Persian coat or banner, no one dared to wear one at all or to carry one.

They remained in this state of affairs for eight days, but then the Hāshimites, and the members of the 'Abbāsid family in

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292. Reading *al-ākharu* for the text's *al-ākhiru*.

293. Actually a Thursday. The date of the fifteenth of Ṣafar for al-Ma'mūn's entry given by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 2, n. 3, tr. Keller, 1, n. 1, by Ṭabarī here, by Ibn al-Athīr following them, etc., must really be, relying on other, parallel sources (e.g., Ibn Qutaybah), Sunday, the eleventh of Ṣafar (August 7). Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 551, has Rabī' I, i.e., the following month; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 351, tr. 450, has Saturday, the eighteenth of Ṣafar (actually a Sunday). Azdī, 353, merely has the month of Ṣafar.

294. Following the *ṭarrād/ṭirād* of Lane's *Lexicon* = *miṭrad*, "short spear;" in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, tr. 1, Keller has for these last two terms, "Fahnen und Abzeichungen waren grün."

295. This exception is not easily explicable, unless it was that the black cap was so archetypically the 'Abbāsid symbol as to be regarded as sacrosanct.

particular, began to mumur against it and told al-Ma'mūn, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have abandoned the dress of your forefathers, the members of your family and the supporters of their dynasty, and you have adopted green!" The commanders of the Khurasanian troops also wrote to him about this. It is said that al-Ma'mūn instructed Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn to ask him for any of his requirements, and the first matter which Ṭahir raised with him was that he should cast
[1038] aside the wearing of green clothes and revert to wearing black clothes and the traditional apparel of the régime of ('Abbāsid) forefathers. So when al-Ma'mūn saw that the people were obediently following his orders and wearing green, but were hating it, and Saturday came along, he took his place among them, still wearing green. When all his followers were gathered round him, he called for black garments and donned them; he then called for a black robe of honor, and presented it to Ṭāhir. Then he summoned forward a number of commanders and gave them black coats and caps to wear. When they came forth from the Caliph's presence wearing black, the rest of the commanders and the army in general threw off their green garments and adopted black ones. This was on Saturday, the twenty-second of Ṣafar[296] (204 [August 18, 819]).[297]

It has been said that al-Ma'mūn wore green garments for twenty-seven[298] days after his entry into Baghdad, and then they were torn up. It is said that he continued to stay in Baghdad at Ruṣāfah until he built residences along the Tigris bank near his own original palace and in the Mūsā garden.[299]

It is mentioned from Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās (al-Ṣūlī) al-Kātib[300] from 'Amr b. Mas'adah (al-Ṣūlī)[301] that Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid

296. Actually a Thursday.

297. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 551; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 62 = ed. Pellat, § 2748; *'Uyūn*, 358–9; Abbott, 226–7.

298. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 4, tr. 2: for 29 days.

299. Cf. also ibid., 4, 22, tr. 2, 10. Concerning al-Ma'mūn's palaces, see Lassner, *Topography*, 84, 265–6.

300. Secretary to Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid and subsequently controller of expenditure and chancery head under al-Mutawakkil, and also a poet; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 10, 221, 266, 274, II, 734; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 578–80.

301. Cousin of the above and secretary to al-Ma'mūn, and also a poet; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 234–8; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 616–17.

al-Aḥwal[302] said: When we travelled from Khurasan with al-Ma'mūn, and we arrived at the pass of Ḥulwān,[303] I myself being his riding-companion, he said to me, "O Aḥmad, I detect the fragrant smell of Iraq!" I answered him with an inappropriate reply and said, "How suitable it is!" And he said, "This is not the answer to my observation, but I assume that you were somehow distracted or were deep in thought." Aḥmad went on to relate: I replied, "Yes, indeed, O Commander of the Faithful." He said, "What were you thinking about?" Aḥmad went on to relate: I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I was reflecting about our forthcoming attack on the people of Baghdad [or: the troops, *ahl*, of Baghdad], when we have with us only fifty thousand dirhams and there is internecine strife raging in the hearts of the people, to the extent that they positively revel in it. So what will be our position if someone stirs up trouble, or someone makes an untoward move?" Aḥmad went on to relate: He bowed his head and remained silent for quite a while, and then he replied, "O Aḥmad, you are quite right, and how correctly were you thinking! But let me tell you, people in this [1039]
city can be divided into three categories: those who are the oppressors, those who are the oppressed and those who fall into neither category. In regard to the oppressor, he can only expect our forgiveness and our restraint [from punishing him]; in regard to the oppressed person, he can only expect to get justice through ourself; whilst in regard to the person who is neither an oppressor nor oppressed, his house is wide enough for him [that is, he is quite content and has no need of us]." And by God, it proved just as he said.[304]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn ordered that the proportional tax (*muqāsamah*)[305] levied on the produce of the cultivation of the

302. Secretary who became head of al-Ma'mūn's administration after al-Faḍl b. Sahl's death; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 218–25. As noted by Kennedy, 166, it is not entirely clear whether he was the brother of the Khurasanian military leader in Baghdad, Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid, but Shaban, 51–2, is surely right in stressing his Iranian origin, *pace* Sourdel's suggestion that he was a Syrian.

303. I.e., the Paytak pass through the Zagros mountains; see *EI*[2] s.v. Ḥulwān (Lockhart).

304. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 1–6, tr. 1–3; Azdī, 353–5, with further anecdotal material; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 357–8.

305. See on this, F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, 108 ff.

Sawād should be reduced to two-fifths, whereas they had previously been liable for a half of their produce, and he adopted the "bridled" *qafīz* (*al-qafīz al-muljam*), made up of ten *makkūk*s according to the Hārūnī *makkūk*, as the officially authorised measure of capacity.[306]

In this year, Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh gave battle to Bābak, but neither side gained the upper hand over the other.[307]

(In this year,) al-Ma'mūn appointed Ṣāliḥ b. al-Rashīd[308] as governor of Baṣrah, and ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib over the two Holy cities (Mecca and Madīnah).[309]

In this year, ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan (b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib) led the pilgrimage.[310]

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306. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 22, tr. 10, with a fuller account of this event; Azdī, 353; *ʿUyūn*, 359; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 358. For the measures mentioned here, see Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, tr. 10, n. 1; W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 48–9; Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art," *JESHO*, XII (1969), 149–50; but note that Ibn Abī Ṭāhir here and also Khwārazmī gives the equivalence in Iraq as being eight *makkūk*s to a *qafīz*.

307. Azdī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

308. I.e., the son of the Caliph al-Rashīd.

309. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 553; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.; Geddes, 104.

310. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 767; Azdī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year

205

(JUNE 17, 820–JUNE 5, 821)

Among the events taking place during this year was al-Ma'mūn's appointment of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn as governor of the lands from the City of Peace to the farthest province of the East.[311] Previously, the Caliph had appointed him governor of the Jazīrah, commander of the guard (*al-shurat*), (in Baghdad), governor of the two sides of Baghdad and the person responsible for police duties (*ma'āwin*)[312] in the Sawād.[313] Ṭāhir now took up the rôle of receiving people in audience.

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311. For the general background to this, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 208–9; Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 108–9; id., in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 95–6; Daniel, 181–2.

312. It is not clear from the sources exactly what the *ma'āwin*, sing. *ma'ūnah*, literally "assistance," involved; as well as entailing police duties, they seem also to have denoted some kind of financial burdens, perhaps for supporting local officials; see Løkkegaard, 186–7. In some of the Cairo Geniza documents, *ma'ūnah* appears as a euphemism for "jail;" see S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society. II. The community*, 368; P. Crone, *EI*[2] s.v. Ma'ūna.

313. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 23, tr. 11 (Ṭāhir's appointment to the offices in the Jazīrah and Baghdad, the date for this being given as Sunday, 'Āshūrā day = the tenth of Muḥarram, 205 (June 26, 820, actually a Thursday)); Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 542, 553–4; Azdī, loc. cit.; *'Uyūn*, 363; G. Rothstein, "Zu aš-Šābustī's Bericht über die Ṭāhiriden," in *Orientalistische Studien Theodor Nöldeke . . . gewidmet*, I, 159–61.

The Appointment of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn as Governor of Khurasan

The reason for al-Ma'mūn's appointing Ṭāhir over Khurasan and the East is what is mentioned from Ḥammād b. al-Ḥasan, from Bishr b. Ghiyāth al-Mārisī[314] who related: I, together with Thumāmah (b. Ashras al-Numayrī)[315] and Muḥammad b. Abī al-'Abbās (al-Ṭūsī)[316] and 'Alī b. al-Haytham,[317] was present at
[1040] 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn's court. They were engaged in a disputation about Shī'ism. Muḥammad b. Abī al'Abbās argued on behalf of the cause of the imāmate (for the Imāmī Shī'ah), whilst 'Alī b. al-Haytham upheld the cause of the Zaydī Shī'ah. The discussion between the two proceeded, until a point was reached when Muḥammad said to 'Alī, "You ignorant peasant [*nabaṭī*],[318] what do you know about theological disputation [*kalām*]?" Bishr continued: Al-Ma'mūn, who was at first reclining on a cushion, then sat up and spoke out, "Hurling insults is unseemly, and unpleasant language is reprehensible. We have allowed theological disputation to take place and have staged the open presentation of [religious] viewpoints [*aẓharnā al-maqālāt*]. Now upon whoever speaks the truth, we bestow praise; for whoever does not know the truth, we provide instruction; and in regard to whoever is ignorant of both ways [of disputation], we make a decision as to what is appropriate for him. So, you two, come to an agreement on basic principles [*aṣl*], for *kalām* is concerned with secondary, derivative matters [*furū'*], and if you pursue a topic into all its second-

314. Prominent Murji'ite theologian and upholder of the createdness of the Qur'ān, died in 218 (833); see Watt, index; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 616–17; *EI*[2] s.v. (Carra de Vaux—Nader—Schacht).

315. Mu'tazilite theologian, highly esteemed at the 'Abbāsid court, died in 213 (828); see Watt, index; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 615–16; *EI*[1] s.v. (Horten).

316. Khurasanian commander in al-Ma'mūn's army, from a family which had been prominent in the 'Abbāsid revolution, and brother-in-law of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn; see Crone, 174.

317. Zaydī Shī'ī theologian; cf. Watt, 348.

318. *Nabaṭī* (originally referring to the Aramaic-speaking indigenous populations of Syria and Iraq) was a term of opprobrium in early Islam; see Nöldeke, "Die Namen der aramäischen Nation und Sprache," *ZDMG*, XXV (1817), 124–7.

ary aspects, you nevertheless come back in the end to the basics." He went on to say, "Thus we say, 'There is no god but God, the Unique One, who has no partner, and Muḥammad is His servant and His prophet.'"

The two of them discussed the topic of the divinely-ordained prescriptions and laws (*al-farā'iḍ wa-al-sharā'i'*) in Islam, and argued together after that. Muḥammad pressed 'Alī once more with arguments similar to those used at first, but 'Alī replied, "By God, were it not for the elevated nature of his [the Caliph's] gathering, and the compassion which God has bestowed on him, and were it not a prohibited action, I woud certainly make your forehead run with sweat! Your ignorance is sufficiently demonstrated by your washing down the pulpit in the city [the City of Peace?]!"[319] Bishr continued: Al-Ma'mūn sat up, having been reclining, and said, "What's this about your washing down the pulpit? Was it the result of my falling short in some way in regard to you, or because al-Manṣūr fell similarly short in regard to your father? Were it not that the Caliph, having bestowed something, would be embarassed to take it back, the nearest thing to the ground between the two of us would be your head [cut off]! So arise, and take care not to do it again!" Bishr continued: Muḥammad b. Abī al-'Abbās departed [1041]
and went along to Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, who happened to be his sister's husband, and said to him, "So-and-so has just happened to me!"

(The eunuch [*al-khādim*][320] Fatḥ used to act as al-Ma'mūn's doorkeeper when the Caliph was involved in his date wine

319. The washing down of the *minbar* in order to get rid of the impurity and pollution left by a previous occupant of it seems to have been not infrequent in early Islamic times. See Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, p. CCCLXXXVIII, citing Mas'ūdī and Iṣfahānī, when, during 'Uthmān's caliphate, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ washed the *minbar* of the mosque at Kūfah when he took over as governor from al-Walīd b. 'Uqbah; and see Crone, 258, n. 606, citing Kindī, on the washing down of the *minbar* at Fusṭāṭ on al-Ma'mūn's orders after the death of the Imām 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, whose name had been pronounced from it. The point of the remark in the present context nevertheless remains obscure.

320. Literally "servant," but in this period virtually synonymous with the derogatory term *khaṣī*, "eunuch"; see D. Ayalon, "On the eunuchs in Islam," *JSAI*, I (1979), 67–124; *EI*[2] s.v. Khaṣī (Pellat).

[*nabīdh*][321] drinking sessions; Yāsir was in charge of the robes of honor; Ḥusayn acted as cup-bearer; and Abū Maryam, the slave boy of Sa'īd al-Jawharī, used to go to-and-fro attending to various needs.) Ṭāhir rode up to the palace. Fatḥ went in and announced, "Ṭāhir is at the door." The Caliph replied, "It isn't one of his usual times, [but] let him come in!" So Ṭāhir entered; he greeted al-Ma'mūn, and the Caliph returned the salutation. The Caliph ordered, "Give Ṭāhir a *raṭl* [of wine] to drink." Ṭāhir took it in his right hand. Al-Ma'mūn said to him, "Sit down!" But he went away (from the circle), drained the cup and then came back. Al-Ma'mūn had meanwhile drunk another *raṭl*, so he ordered, "Give him a second draught!" Ṭahir behaved exactly as when he drained the first draught. Then he came back, and al-Ma'mūn said to him (again), "Sit down!" Ṭāhir replied, however, "O Commander of the Faithful, it is not fitting for the commander of the guard to sit down in his master's presence." Al-Ma'mūn retorted, "That only applies to public sessions at court [*majlis al-'āmmah*], whereas in private sessions [*majlis al-khāṣṣah*] it is allowable."

Bishr continued: Al-Ma'mūn wept, and tears welled up in his eyes. Ṭāhir said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, why are you weeping, may God never cause your eyes to flow with tears! By God, all the lands have submitted to your rule, all the Muslims have acknowledged you as ruler, and you have achieved your desired object in everything you have undertaken." Al-Ma'mūn replied, "I am weeping on account of a matter which is humiliating to mention and whose concealment is a source of grief. No one is free from some care, so tell me about any pressing need which you may have." Ṭāhir said, "O Commander of the Faithful, Muḥammad b. Abī al-'Abbās has committed a fault, so please pardon his error and show your favor to him." The Caliph replied, "I have this moment received him back into my favor, I have ordered gifts to be awarded to him and I have restored to him his former position. Moreover, were it not for the fact that he is not the sort of per-

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321. *Nabīdh* is properly any intoxicating drink fermented from anything but grapes; only the Ḥanafī law school regarded the drinking of it as licit in certain circumstances; see *EI*[1] s.v. (Wensinck); *EI*[2] Khamr. 1 (Wensinck).

son suitable for convivial sessions, I would summon him here to court."

Bishr continued: Ṭāhir went away, and told Ibn Abī al-ʿAbbās about all this. He summoned Hārūn b. Jabghūyah[322] and said to him, "The secretaries have a feeling of mutual professional interest, and the Khurasanians [that is, the military] always stick together and support each other. So take with you three hundred thousand dirhams, and give the eunuch al-Ḥusayn two hundred thousand and his secretary Muḥammad b. Hārūn one hundred thousand, and ask al-Ḥusayn to ask al-Ma'mūn why he was weeping." Bishr relates: He accordingly did that. He continued: When the Caliph had eaten his morning meal, he said, "O [al-] Ḥusayn, pour out a drink for me!" The latter replied, "No, by God, I won't let you have anything to drink unless you tell me why you wept when Ṭāhir came into your presence." Al-Ma'mūn replied, "O [al-] Ḥusayn, why are you so concerned about this, to the point that you have questioned me about it?" He said, "Because of your own grief about that." Al-Ma'mūn replied, "O [al-] Ḥusayn, it is a matter concerning which, if it goes beyond your mouth [literally, "head"], I shall kill you." Al-Ḥusayn said, "O my lord, when did I ever divulge any of your confidences?" Al-Ma'mūn said, "I called to mind my brother Muḥammad [al-Amīn] and the humiliation which he suffered; the tears suffocated me, and I only found release in copious weeping. But Ṭāhir will not escape that from me which he will find unpleasant [because vengeance on him is still due from al-Amīn's killing.]" [1042]

Bishr continued: [Al-] Ḥusayn passed on this information to Ṭāhir. Ṭāhir rode off to Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid and said to him, "Praise addressed to me is not accounted of low value, and a useful act done for me is never wasted. So get me away from the Caliph's gaze [that is, from his possible vengeance]." He re-

322. Following the correct reading of this name or title in the *Addenda et emendenda*, p. DCCLXVIII, and in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 31. This Hārūn must have been of Turkish extraction, perhaps a descendent of the pre-Islamic Yabghus, or rulers of Ṭukhāristān, on the upper Oxus; see Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, "Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia," *JRAS* (1965), 9–10. In Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIV, 37, Hārūn is described as a "senior Khurasanian, shrewd and trustworthy."

torted, "I will certainly do that, so come back to me first thing tomorrow morning." Bishr continued: Ibn Abī Khālid rode off to al-Ma'mūn, and when he went into his presence, he said to the Caliph, "I never slept at all last night." Al-Ma'mūn said, "Why was that, you poor fellow?" Ibn Abī Khālid replied, "Because you have appointed Ghassān as governor over Khurasan, and he and his following are weak in numbers. I am afraid lest there be an outbreak of Turkish rebels against him, and they will annihilate him."[323] Al-Ma'mūn said, "You have been thinking on the same lines as myself.[324] Whom do you think is suitable?" He replied, "Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn." The Caliph exclaimed, "I am surprised at you, O Aḥmad; Ṭāhir is, by God, a person who will throw off his obedience [*khalī'*]." Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid said, "I will stand guarantor for his loyalty." Al-Ma'mūn said, "Send him forth, then." Bishr continued: So Aḥmad summoned Ṭāhir immediately. Al-Ma'mūn appointed
[1043] him to the command, and Ṭāhir departed instantly.[325] He encamped in the garden of Khalīl b. Hāshim,[326] and every day he remained there a hundred thousand (dirhams) were brought to him. He stayed there for a month, and a total of ten million (dirhams) which were regularly brought for the governor of Khurasan, was brought to him.[327]

Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī says: Ṭāhir had been granted Khurasan and Jibāl, from Ḥulwān to (the far borders of) Khurasan, and his departure from Baghdad was on Friday, the twenty-ninth of

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323. For Ghassān's governorship in Khurasan, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 208–10; Bosworth, *Sīstān*, 101–2. Ghassān in fact restored order there after a period of disturbance on al-Ma'mūn's departure from Marw, and among other things, appointed members of the Sāmānid family to local governorships. The fears expressed of the Turks doubtless reflect the help given by them to the rebellion in al-Rashīd's reign of Rāfi' b. Layth, see Barthold, op. cit., 200–1.

324. Following Keller's vocalization of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's parallel text, 32 11. 4–5, rather than that of Ṭabarī's text; the respective meanings amount to the same in any case.

325. *'Uyūn*, 360–1.

326. Apparently to be identified with the suburb (*rabaḍ*) of Khalīl b. Hāshim al-Bāwardī mentioned by Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 247, tr. G. Wiet, *Les pays*, 27.

327. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 28–32, tr. 13–15; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIV, 37–8. The arithmetic here seems strange.

Dhū al-Qa'dah, 205[328] (May 6, 821), he having established his encampment[329] two months previously and having remained in his camp continuously. Abū Ḥassān continued: The reason for Ṭahir's appointment as governor, according to the generally-accepted view of people, was that 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muṭṭawwi'ī gathered together forces in Naysābūr with the intention of using them to fight the Ḥarūriyyah[330] but without the governor of Khurasan's permission. People were afraid that this was because of some secret plan or intention which he had worked towards.[331] Ghassān b. 'Abbād was acting as governor of Khurasan at that time, having been nominated by al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, Ghassān being the paternal cousin of al-Faḍl b. Sahl.[332]

It is mentioned from 'Alī b. Hārūn that, before Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn's departure for Khurasan and his assumption of the governorship over it, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl urged him to go out and fight Nasr b. Shabath, but Ṭāhir replied, "Have I made war on a caliph, and have I handed over the caliphate to [another] caliph, that I should be given such an order as this? It is only fitting that you should send one of my subordinate commanders for a task like this!"[333] This was the reason for the breach between al-Ḥasan and Ṭāhir. He continued to relate: Ṭāhir set out for

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328. Actually a Monday; according to Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 54, tr. 25, Ṭāhir departed on Sunday, the twenty-ninth of Dhū al-Qa'dah.

329. Or: "he having gathered together his troops," *wa-qad kāna 'askara.*

330. Since al-Rashīd's reign, Khurasan and Sīstān had been disturbed by a prolonged Khārijite rebellion under Ḥamzah b. Adharak (died in 213 [828]), and in the past 'Abd al-Raḥmān had fought the Khārijites in Sīstān; see Bosworth, *Sīstān*, 91–102.

331. The phrase is problematical; it reads, *li-aṣlin 'amila 'alayhi.*

332. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 32–3, tr. 15; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 554–5; id., *Buldān*, 307, tr. 136–7, both with the different account of Ṭāhir's appointment as being the result of his friend Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid's intrigue. The divergent accounts on Ṭāhir's appointment and his subsequent act of rebelliousness, seen especially sharply in the account of Ya'qūbī on one side and that of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir and Ṭabarī on the other, but with significant items of information from further sources, are discussed by Sourdel, "Les circonstances de la mort de Ṭāhir Ier au Ḫurāsān en 207/822," *Arabica*, V (1958), 66–9. It seems likely that Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid, known to have been corruptible and perhaps suborned by Ṭāhir, forged a letter of resignation from his governorship by Ghassān; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 222–3.

333. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 360–2.

[1044] Khurasan as soon as he assumed the governorship, without speaking to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl at all. People reproached him for that, but he replied, "I am not the man to offer a solution to a difficulty [literally, to untie a knot] which he has made for me in his hostility."

In this year, 'Abdallah b. Ṭāhir reached Baghdad, having returned from Raqqah. His father Ṭāhir had appointed him there as his deputy and had commanded him to make war against Naṣr b. Shabath. Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh arrived, and al-Ma'mūn appointed him governor of the Jazīrah.[334]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan, with responsibility for the war against Bābak.[335]

In this year, al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam, governor in Egypt, died there.[336]

In this year, Dāwūd b. Yazīd (b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī), governor and financial administrator (*'āmil*) in Sind, died. Hence al-Ma'mūn appointed as governor there Bishr b. Dāwūd (al-Muhallabī), with the stipulation that he should deliver to the Caliph a million dirhams each year.[337]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Īsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī to combat the Zuṭṭ.[338]

In this year, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn set out for Khurasan in Dhū al-Qa'dah (205[April–May 821]).[339] He remained (in his encampment) for two months until news of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Naysābūrī al-Muṭṭawwi'ī's outbreak (*khurūj*) at Naysābūr

334. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 554; *'Uyūn*, 363; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 362.

335. *'Uyūn*, 361; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

336. Ibid. Al-Sarī had been appointed governor in 200 (816); see Kindī, 161.

337. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit. Bishr remained governor, as his father's successor, till Ghassān b. 'Abbād was appointed in 213 (828/9), see below, 179–80.

338. Ibid. The Zuṭṭ were peoples from Sind, Jhats and others, established on the Persian Gulf shores since Sāssānid times. The revolt of these Zuṭṭ in the marshlands of lower Iraq was not suppressed till 220 (835); see Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 37–40; *EI*[1] s.v. Zoṭṭ (G. Ferrand).

339. Cf. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 33, 54, tr. 15, 25.

reached him, and then he left. The Toghuz-Oghuz[340] arrived in Ushrūsanah.[341]

In this year, Faraj (b. Ziyād) al-Rukhkhajī[342] seized 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ammār al-Naysābūrī.

In this year, 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan (b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās b. 'Alī), governor of the two Holy Cities, led the pilgrimage.[343]

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340. A Turkish people of Inner Asia, from whom the Seljuqs were later to arise and who were at this time harrying the fringes of Islamic Transoxiana and assisting rebels there; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 200–2; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 210 ff.; *EI*[1] s.v. Toghuzghuz (Barthold); *EI*[2] s.v. Ghuzz. i. Muslim East (Cahen).

341. The region of Transoxiana to the south of the southermost bend of the Syr Darya; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 474–6; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 165–9.

342. A mawlā, originally captured in Sīstān and overseer of the caliphal private domains under Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid; see Bosworth, *Sīstān*, 82–3; Crone, 190.

343. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 768; Azdī, 359; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 362.

The Events of the Year

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(JUNE 6, 821–MAY 26, 822)

The events taking place during this year included al-Ma'mūn's
[1045] appointment of Dāwūd b. Bānījūr[344] to be in charge of the war against the Zuṭṭ and to be governor of the provinces of Baṣrah, the Tigris districts, Yamāmah and Baḥrayn.[345]

In this year, there occurred the high tide which inundated the Sawād, Kaskar, the land-grant (*qaṭī'ah*) of Umm Ja'far and the land-grant of al-'Abbās and carried away the greater part of (the topsoil of) them.[346]

In this year, Bābak defeated (literally: cast down) 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid.[347]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir governor of Raqqah with the task of combatting Naṣr b. Shabath and Muḍar.[348]

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344. Following the reading of the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXIX. Dāwūd was apparently a member of the Bānījūrid or Abū Dāwūdid family, later governors of Ṭukhāristān; see *EI*[2] Suppl. s.v. Bānīdjūrids (Bosworth).

345. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 379.

346. Azdī, 362; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

347. Ibid.

348. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 555; Azdī, 359; *'Uyūn*, 362, 363. The North Arabian tribal group of Muḍar (on which see *EI*[1] Suppl. s.v. Rabī'a and Muḍar (Kindermann)) provided much of Naṣr's support.

Al-Ma'mūn Appoints 'Abdallāh b. Ṭahīr Governor of Raqqah

According to what is mentioned, the reason for this was that al-Ma'mūn had appointed Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh as governor of the Jazīrah, but then he died in this year, having appointed as successor in his governorship there his own son Aḥmad. It is mentioned from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Khāliq that al-Ma'mūn summoned 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir during the month of Ramaḍān (January–February 822)—some say, however, that this was in the year 205 (820/1), others in the year (200) odd, and yet others in the year (20)7 (822/3). When 'Abdallāh came into his presence, al-Ma'mūn said, "O 'Abdallāh, I have been seeking guidance from God for a month now, and I hope that God is leading me to the right decision. I have observed a man describing his son's characteristics in order to praise the son in glowing terms, because of his own high opinion of him; and in order to exalt his status; but I have noted that you are actually better than your father's description of you. Now Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh has died, and has appointed as his successor his son Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, who is a nonentity. I have therefore considered it fit to appoint you governor over Muḍar and the conduct of the war against Naṣr b. Shabath." 'Abdallāh replied, "I hear and obey, O Commander of the Faithful, and I hope that God will vouchsafe His favor for the Commander of the Faithful and the Muslims!"[349]

Yaḥya continues: The Caliph invested him with the insignia of office, and then he ordered the drying lines of the fullers impeding 'Abdallāh's way to be taken down and the awnings against the sunlight to be removed from the streets so that there should be nothing which would catch on 'Abdallāh's banner as he went along them. Then, as part of the insignia of office he presented 'Abdallāh with a banner, which had as its legend, written in gold letters, the wording usually written on banners, to which he further added the phrase "O victorious one [*yā Manṣūr*]!"[350] 'Abdallāh went forth with his retinue and [1046]

349. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 34, tr. 16; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 363.
350. On the *shi'ār* or *da'wah* "rallying cry in battle," such as this, see Gold-

arrived at his house. The next morning, a host of people rode along to visit him, including al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ. The latter remained with him till nightfall and then got up to go. ʿAbdallāh said, "O Abū al-ʿAbbās, you have been generous and kind, and both my own father and your brother have adjured me not to decide any great matters without your advice. I need to know your views, and I need to find guidance through your good counsels. If you think it possible to remain here in my house till we can break the fast,[351] then please stay!" Al-Faḍl replied to him, "Various circumstances render it impossible for me to break my fast here." ʿAbdallāh said, "If you don't like the cuisine of the Khurasanians, then send along to your own kitchen and they will bring you your usual food." Al-Faḍl told him, "I have to perform several cycles of inclinations between the evening worship and complete darkness." So ʿAbdallāh retorted, "Go, with God's protection!" and went along with him as far as the courtyard of his (al-Faḍl's) house, seeking his advice on various private matters.[352]

Ṭāhir's Advice to his Son

It is said that ʿAbdallāh's actual departure for (the lands of) Muḍar[353] in order to combat Nasr b. Shabath took place six months after his father's departure for Khurasan. When Ṭāhir appointed his son ʿAbdallāh over Diyār Rabīʿah,[354] he sent him an epistle, whose text is as follows:

> Let there be in you the fear of God, He who is one and without associate. Hold Him in awe and reverence and avert his wrath. Look after the interests of your subjects.

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ziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 60–3, Eng. tr. *Muslim Studies*, I, 63–5; M. Hinds, "The banners and battle cries of the Arabs at Ṣiffīn (657 AD)," *al-Abḥāth*, XXIV (1971), 12–16.

351. The month being Ramaḍān.

352. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 34–5, tr. 16.

353. Diyār Muḍar was the region of the Jazīrah along the middle Euphrates and its tributaries, the lower Khābūr and Balīkh, with Raqqah as its centre; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 101 ff.; Canard, 86–97; *EI*² s.v. (Canard—Cahen).

354. The eastern part of the Jazīrah, centred on Mosul; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 86 ff.; Canard, 97–131; *EI*² s.v. (Canard—Cahen).

Hold fast to all the good fortune which God has bestowed on you, at the same time remembering the ultimate destination [the return to God for judgment] towards which you are inevitably travelling, the duties to which you are obligated and for which you will be held responsible. [Take [1047]
care] to labor at everything in such a way that God will ensure your preservation and will keep you safe from His punishment and painful retribution on the Day of Resurrection.

God has been gracious to you and has accordingly made it incumbent upon you to show tenderness towards those of His creatures over whom He has appointed you shepherd. He has enjoined you to behave justly with them, to maintain His divine truth and His prescribed punishments [*ḥudūd*] amongst them, to protect them, to defend their womenfolk and kindred [*ḥarīmihim wa-bayḍatihim*], to preserve them from bloodshed, to keep the roads safe for them and to create the peaceful conditions in which they can go about their daily work. He holds you fully responsible for all the things enumerated above, whose observance has been laid upon you; He will require from you a reckoning concerning them, will question you about them and will recompense you for the good acts which you have committed and the evil acts which you have refrained from. So let your thoughts, your mind, your sharp-sightedness and your vision be entirely concentrated on these things, and let no one distract or divert you from them; for all this is the basic foundation of your authority and the fundamental support of your ruling position, and is the first thing which God bestows on you for guiding you along the right path.

Now the first thing which you must impose on yourself, and the goal towards which your actions should dispose you, is assiduous observance of the ritual prescriptions laid down by God as mandatory—the five daily acts of worship [*ṣalawāt*], and the assembling of the people together for worship with you at the appointed times and after due performance of the ritual ablutions [*wuḍū'*] required by the religious law. You must begin the ceremony

with the mention of God's name; you must use the correct chant as you recite the words of the worship; you must perform the inclinations and prostrations involved firmly and decisively and pronounce the profession of faith clearly. Also, let your intention in performing the worship be sincere in the sight of your Lord. Furthermore, urge
[1048] those in your retinue and under your command to be assiduous in attendance and always show keenness yourself, for as God says, the worship urges people to what is reputable and restrains [them] from what is disreputable.[355]

You must then follow this up by firm adherence to the practices [*sunan*] laid down by the Messenger of God and by perseverance in imitating his [noble] qualities, and you must imitate the examples left by the Prophet's successors, the virtuous early generation of Muslims [*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*]. Whenever you are faced with some problem, seek help over it by desiring God's favor, by showing piety to Him, by adhering to what He has ordained or prohibited, made lawful or forbidden, as revealed in His Book, and by following the trail indicated by the traditions from the Prophet; then act in this matter in accordance with the duties which you owe to God.

Do not incline away from justice according to your own likes and dislikes in favor of someone near to you or someone far away, but choose to be guided by the religious law [*fiqh*] and its practitioners, by religion and its exponents the theologians, and by the Book of God and those who act by it; for the greatest adornments which a man can have are a thorough knowledge of the religion of God, a searching desire for it, a zeal in urging others to follow it and a knowledge of that part of it by which a man is brought closer to God. Indeed, this thorough knowledge guides the way towards all that is good and is the leader thither; it ordains man towards good and restrains people from all acts of rebellion against God and from sins entailing perdition. By means of this, and with the help of God's favor, His ser-

355. Cf. Qur'ān, XXIX, 44/45, and XXXI, 16/17.

vants increase in knowledge of Him, in glorifying Him and in following the right path towards the highest stages in man's journey back to God [*ma'ād*, after the Resurrection]. All this in addition to what becomes apparent of the people's regard for your rule, their respect for your authority, their close bond with you and their trust in your justice.

Be careful to observe moderation [*iqtiṣād, qaṣd*][356] in all things, for there is nothing of more obvious value, nothing more conducive to personal security and nothing containing within itself so many merits, as moderation. Moderation is one of the forces predisposing towards right guidance, and right guidance is a guide towards divine fa- [1049]
vor and success; and this last, in turn, leads the way to happiness. Moreover, moderation is a supporting prop for religion and for those usages handed down from the Prophet by which men are guided. So choose moderation as your watchword in all affairs of your present life. Do not, however, fall short in your pursuit of the next world and a heavenly reward, in performing meritorious works, in following the accepted ways of virtuous behavior and in seeking out the waymarks towards righteousness. For the endeavor to increase in piety and the pursuit of good works can have no bounds when God's grace and approval, and the companionship of His saints in the abode of divine felicity, are being sought through them.

Know that moderation in the things of this world brings one increased prestige and preserves one from sinfulness. There is nothing more excellent than moderation as a protection for yourself and your intimates or as a force to improve and put right your affairs. So adopt it as a rule of life, and let yourself be guided by it; if you do, your affairs will all reach satisfactory completion, your power will increase, and both your personal circle of friends and the people in general [or: your personal affairs and public affairs] will benefit from it.

356. These terms here clearly mean "moderation, prudence, circumspection," the golden mean of the Greeks, and Ṭāhir is here echoing Aristotle in urging it as the foundation for all right conduct; see Bosworth, "An early Arabic Mirror for Princes," *JNES*, XXIX (1970), 28.

Keep your mind fixed on God's favor; if you do, your subjects will behave towards you in an honest and upright fashion. In all your affairs, seek to bring yourself closer to God; through this policy, His grace will be vouchsafed to you perpetually. Do not take action against anyone for some offence committed in the official position to which you have appointed him before you have investigated the matter under suspicion, since it is a crime to let suspicions and evil thoughts come down upon innocent people. Adopt as a conscious policy a favorable attitude towards your associates, and set aside and repudiate malevolent thoughts about them. This will assist you in attaching them firmly to your own interest and in managing them. Do not allow Satan, the enemy of God, to be able to find some defect in your conduct. He only needs [to become
[1050] aware of] a minor weakness, and he will be able to introduce an element of grief into your mind through your acquiring a bad opinion [of those around you] which will make the sweetness of life bitter for you.

Know that, in holding a favorable attitude towards people, you will find a source of strength and contentment of mind, and through it you will be able to bring to a satisfactory conclusion any of your affairs you wish; you may also use it to make people love you and behave honestly in all their dealings with you. However, this good opinion of your associates and this tenderness towards your subjects should not prevent you from making use of enquiries and investigations into the way in which your affairs are being conducted, from personally supervising the actions of your agents, from protecting the interests of your subjects and from looking into whatever may be conducive to their welfare and happiness. Indeed, personal supervision of your agents' activities, protection of your subjects' interests, investigation into their needs and shouldering their burdens should be preferred by you over everything else, for they will have more effect in strengthening religion and in breathing life into the *sunna*. Let your intentions in all this be pure; concentrate your efforts on self-reformation, in the same way as does a person who real-

izes that he will be held responsible for everything which he does, will be recompensed for his good deeds and will be punished for his bad ones. God has made His faith a sure refuge and a source of strength; He exalts those who follow Him and raises them in dignity. Hence lead those over whom you rule, and act as shepherd in the path of true religion and the way of divine guidance!

Be swift to apply the penalties prescribed by God [*ḥudūd*], to criminals, according to their positions in society and according to their deserts. Do not neglect this duty, and do not treat it lightly or be laggardly in punishing those deserving punishment, because if you fall short in this duty, you will surely damage your good reputation in people's eyes. In this matter, always stick determinedly to the well-established practices [*sunan*]. If you avoid all dubious courses and innovations [*al-shubah wa-al-bidaʿāt*], your faith will be preserved unsullied and your nobility of character [*muruwwah*] will be kept intact.

When you make an agreement with someone, keep to it; and when you promise to perform some good deed, make [1051] sure that you fulfill it. Accept a favor gracefully and return it. Close your eyes to the minor shortcomings of petty offenders among your subjects; guard your tongue against uttering falsehood and calumny and show your detestation of those who practice this vice. Banish from your presence all slanderers, because the prime factor which will vitiate your present life and your future one is the encouragement of a notorious liar or a shameless disposition towards lying yourself. Mendacity, indeed, is the beginning of all sins, and calumny and slander set the seal on them. For the person who manufactures slander is not safe himself; nor is any friend of a man who listens to slander[357] safe; and nothing will go right for the person who acts in accordance with slander.

Make friends of the people of sincerity and righteous-

357. Reading *qābiluhā* for the text's *qāʾiluhā*, as according to F. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah, an introduction to history*, II, 145, n. 760.

ness. Give succor to the aristocracy [*al-ashrāf*] by allotting them their just due; give material help to the weak; and strengthen the bonds of kinship. In all these things desire the face of God and the strengthening of His power; through them seek a heavenly reward from Him and the abode of eternal life. Shun evil thoughts and oppressive behavior, deflecting your mind completely from them, and demonstrate openly to your subjects your freedom from these defects. Let your rule over them be graced with the exercise of justice; govern them with due equity and with the knowledge which will lead you on the way of divine guidance. Keep a grip on your temper when you are angry, and adopt rather the attitudes of forbearance and magnanimity. Take care not to succumb to hasty temper, frivolous behavior and deception in anything you undertake. Also, take care that you do not say to yourself, "I have been set in authority, I shall do what I like," because that will speedily destroy your judgment, and it further shows a lack of firm belief in God, He who is one and without associate. Make pure to God your intentions in this and your firm belief in Him!

Know that royal authority belongs to God alone; He be-
[1052] stows it upon whom He wills and takes it away from whom He wills. You will not find His favors towards anyone change more completely, nor His vengeance descend more swiftly, than in regard to those holders of power and those set in authority who have been the recipients of His favor, but have shown ingratitude towards God's bounty and benevolence, and who have adopted a high and mighty attitude because of the goodness which He has bestowed on them.[358]

Lay aside any avariciousness which may be in your heart. Let the treasuries and storehouses which you pile up

358. Or: who have used oppressively that which He of His goodness has bestowed on them, *wa-staṭālū bi-mā ātāhum Allāh min faḍlihi*. Keller translated the corresponding passage of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 42, tr. 19, "[wenn sie] . . . das, was ihnen Gott in seiner Freigebigkeit verleiht, für ewig halten." The lexica support all these various meanings for *istaṭāla*; see *Lisān al-'Arab*[1], XIII, 438, and *Tāj al-'arūs*[1], VII, 422–3.

and accumulate be composed of piety, fear of God, justice, measures for your subjects' welfare and the prosperity of their land, acquaintance with their affairs, protection for the mass of them and assistance for those who sorrow. Know that wealth which is accumulated and then stored away in treasuries bears no fruit; but when it is expended on the improvement of the conditions of subjects, on the provision of their just dues and on removing burdens from them, it thrives and multiplies. As a result, the common people derive benefit from it, the governors bask in reflected glory from it, the whole age is made bright by it, and strength and defensive power are consolidated through it. Consequently, let the accumulated wealth of your treasuries be expended on making the world of Islam and its populace more prosperous. Further, allot part of it for what is due to those of the Commander of the Faithful's officials who preceded you[359]; and utilise another part of it to fulfill the just claims of your subjects, paying close heed to what will improve their general state and conditions of life. If you do all this, God's favor will be vouchsafed to you and you will have merited an increased reward from Him. Moreover, you will find that all these things will facilitate your levying the land-tax [*jibāyat kharājika*] and your collecting the taxes in kind from your subjects and from the regions under your control [*jam' amwāl ra'iyyatika wa-'amalika*]. Because of your all-encompassing justice and benevolent rule, the whole of [1053] these will be more obedient to your authority and will be more complaisant towards whatever you desire of them. So strive to the best of your ability to achieve what I have delineated for you under this heading, and let your esteem for it be great; for the only wealth which endures forever is that which is expended in furtherance of God's just dues.[360]

359. Following the preference of Rosenthal, op. cit., II, 146 and n. 766, for *qablaka* rather than the text's *qibalaka*.

360. On the ruler's or governor's relations with his officials and tax collectors, a constant preoccupation of the writers of Mirrors for Princes, see Bosworth, op. cit., 28–9.

Acknowledge the gratitude of those who show thanks and recompense them appropriately for it. Beware lest this present world and its deceptions make you forget due fear for the next world, so that you treat lightly your obligations in this connection; because this insouciance will inevitably breed neglectfulness, and neglectfulness will lead to ruin. Let all your work be undertaken for God and have its being in Him, and hope only for reward. Indeed, it is He who has lavished on you His beneficence in this present world and has shown His grace to you. Accordingly, make yourself secure by showing proper gratitude; trust in Him, and He will increase your share of His goodness and benevolence. God rewards people according to the measure of their gratitude [to Him] and according to the conduct of those who act righteously; He has judged rightfully in regard to the good things which He has brought and the good fortune and exalted status which He has conferred.

Do not treat any sinful deed [*dhanb*] lightly; do not incline towards the envious person; do not show mercy towards the evildoer; do not give presents to an ungrateful person;[361] do not hold culpable relations with [or: treat gently] an enemy; do not give credence to a slanderer; do not trust a treacherous person; do not make friends with an evil-liver; do not follow after someone who will lead you into error; do not give praise to a hypocrite; do not treat any man with contempt; do not send away empty-handed a destitute beggar; do not deign to bandy words with a foolish person; do not pay attention to a buffoon; do not go back on your promises; do not show respect for overweening pride;[362] do not undertake anything while in a state of
[1054] anger; do not go forth exhibiting haughtiness; do not walk along showing an unseemly hilarity [or:displaying arrogance]; do not commit an act of stupidity; do not fall short in your pursuit of the next life; do not pass the days in an

361. *Wa-lā taṣilanna kafūran*; Keller's translation in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 43, tr. 20, "tritt nicht in Verbindung mit dem Ungläubigen," hardly fits here.

362. Following the *fakhr*^{an} of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 44, tr. 20, instead of the text's *fajr*^{an}.

unthankful manner;[363] do not avert your eyes from someone who is behaving tyrannically, either from respect for him or out of fear; and do not seek the rewards of the next world by means of this present life.

Make a habit of consulting the scholars of the religious law [*fuqahā'*] as much as possible, and when exercising your will, show forbearance [*ḥilm*].[364] Learn from people with experience of the world and from people with intelligence, judgment and wisdom. Do not allow into your counsels contemptible and stingy people, and never pay heed to their words, for they will do you more harm than good. There is nothing more likely to bring to disaster any course of action regarding your subjects which you may embark upon than avarice. For know that if you are avaricious, you will want to grab everything and give nothing. If you behave thus, your rule will not go right for very long. Your subjects will only have confidence in your benevolence in as much as you refrain from arbitrary exactions on their wealth and avoid tyrannizing over them, and your subordinates will only remain sincerely devoted to your interests as long as you give them adequate allowances and good pay. Therefore shun avarice, and know that avariciousness was the first act of rebellion raised by man against his Lord, and that the abode of the rebel against God is that of abasement and disgrace, according to what God says [in His Book]; "Those who are protected from niggardliness of soul, they are the ones who prosper."[365] So be really generous. Grant to all the Muslims a share and allotment from the revenue of your captured plunder,[366] and

363. Following the *'abāmᵃⁿ*. of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, loc. cit., instead of the text's *'iyānᵃⁿ*. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 370, has *'itābᵃⁿ*, "in finding fault," which is favored in the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXX.

364. The ensemble of qualities which made up *ḥilm*—restraint, moderation, conciliatoriness, statecraft, magnanimity, etc.—were regarded by the early Arabs as the highest attributes for the successful leader; see Bosworth, op. cit., 28, and *EI*² s.v. (Pellat).

365. Qur'ān, LIX, 9, LXIV, 16.

366. Following the reading preferred in the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXX.

be sure that liberality is one of the most meritorious acts
[1055] of which God's creatures are capable. Account it as one of your virtues, and regard it with constant favor in your work and practice.

Maintain close supervision of the affairs of your army, the soldiers' pay registers and the government departments concerned with military matters. See that they have adequate salaries and be generous in their living allowances; by this means, God will take away their neediness. Their happy condition will become a source of strength for you, and their hearts will increase by means of it in sincerity and contentedness, in obedience to you and attachment to your cause. It is sufficient felicitousness for a ruler that his army and his subjects should find compassion in his equitable conduct, his protection, his exercise of justice, his concern for people, his solicitude, his benevolent works and his open-handedness. Avoid the unpleasantness of either of the two ways[367] [of erring on the sides of harshness or leniency] by being conscious of the merits of the other alternative and by always acting in accordance with it. You will then, God willing, achieve worldly success, spiritual merit and personal happiness.

Know that the judge's office [*qaḍā'*] enjoys in God's sight an importance exceeding all others. This is because it is God's balance, by means of which the affairs on earth are regulated. When justice prevails in the judge's office and in judicial procedure, the subjects' welfare is assured, the highways are kept safe, those who have been wronged are given just recompense, people receive their due rights, people's ways of life become pleasant and rightful obedience is freely vouchsafed. God gives provision for happiness and preservation of life, religion is firmly maintained, the *sunna* and the religious law are put into practice and, on the basis of their effectiveness, truth and justice are successfully achieved in the judge's office.

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367. Following the reading preferred in the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXX.

Be zealous in carrying on God's work and refrain from corrupt behavior; be assiduous in applying the obligatory [1056] legal penalties for offences; never be overhasty in doing things; avoid becoming vexed and disturbed in your mind; and be content with a [moderate] share.[368] In this fashion, your successfulness will be undisturbed and your good fortune firmly established. Profit by your past experience; concentrate your thoughts while you are silent, and then when you speak be cogent and to the point. Be fair to the plaintiff; pause when you are in doubt, but exert yourself in bringing forward relevant evidence. Do not let partiality, claims to protection or fear of anyone's blame sway you in any dealings with one of your subjects. Instead, act with patience and deliberation; keep your eyes open and watch carefully; consider, reflect and ponder over things; adopt an attitude of humility towards your Lord and of clemency towards all your subjects. Make the pursuit of righteousness the dominating principle of your personal conduct and do not hasten to spill blood, for God regards bloodshed all the more seriously when it is spilt with violence and injustice.

Look carefully into this matter of the land-tax, which the subjects have the obligation to pay.[369] God has made this a source of strength and might for Islam, and a means of support and protection for His people; but He has made it a source of chagrin and vexation for His enemies and the enemies of the Muslims, and for the unbelievers in treaty relationship with the Muslims[370] a source of abasement

368. Keller in his translation of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 46, tr. 21, interprets the *q.s.m.* of his text and that of Ṭabarī here as *qism*, "begnüge dich mit dem Teile"; Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah*, II, 149, interprets it as *qasam*, "be satisfied with an oath."

369. From what follows, *kharāj* here seems to have the wide definition so as to include the *jizyah*, normally interpreted as "poll-tax;" concerning the common confusion of terminology here, see Bosworth, op. cit., 37, n. 2.

370. *Ahl al-kufr min mu'āhadatihim*, i.e., the "protected peoples" or Dhimmīs.

and humiliation.[371] Apportion it amongst the taxpayers with justice and fairness, and with equal treatment and universal applicability for all. Do not remove any part of the obligation to pay land-tax from any noble person just because of his nobility; nor from any rich person on account of his richness; nor from any of your secretaries or personal retainers. Do not require from anyone more than he can bear, and do not exact an amount which is in excess of the normal rate.[372] Impose taxation on all the people in an equitable manner, for that is more likely to attach them to your interests and more certain to make the masses contented.

Know that, by your appointment as governor, you have been placed as a custodian of valuables, a watchman and a shepherd; the people in your sphere of administrative jurisdiction are only called "your flock" [*ra'iyyataka*] because you are their shepherd [*rā'īhim*] and their overseer. Take from them that which they hand over to you from their surplus income and means of subsistence, and expend it on things which will ensure their continued mate-
[1057] rial well-being and welfare and which will provide for their burdens. Within the provinces under your control, appoint over the people officials of clear foresight and judgment, men who are well-tested and experienced in provincial government and who know when to show severity and when to show restraint [or: who know how to exercise statesmanship, *siyāsah*, and moderation]. Pay them adequate salaries, for this is one of the inescapable obligations laid upon you when you took up your governorship and when it was entrusted to your charge. Let no one distract or deflect you from this, for if you choose consciously to follow this path, and fulfill faithfully the attendant obligations, you will gain for yourself additional grace and favor

371. *Dhull*^{an} *wa-ṣaghār*^{an}, echoing Qur'ān, IX, 29/30, a phrase whose exact interpretation has been much discussed by recent scholars; see the views of Cahen, M. Bravmann and M.J. Kister in *Arabica*, IX (1962), 76–9, X (1963), 94–5, XI (1964), 272–8.

372. *Amr*^{an} *fīhi shaṭaṭ*, echoing Qur'ān, LXXII, 4.

from your Lord and a favorable reputation within your own province; you will secure as a protection sincere advisers from amongst your people, and you will be helped in following a policy of amelioration. As a consequence, well-being [or: charitable works] will abound in your land and prosperity will be general in your territories. The land under your rule will burgeon with fertility, the yield from the land-tax will increase and your income in kind will be proportionately expanded.[373] By this means, you will be able to strengthen the bonds linking your army to you, and you will bring contentment to the masses by distributing your personal largesse to them. In following these courses your statesmanship will be acclaimed and your justice regarded with satisfaction, even by your enemies. In all your affairs you will be characterized by justice and might, and you will have the equipment and armaments of war. Strive zealously in this, and let nothing come before it; [if you do this,] the successful outcome of your affairs will receive due praise, if God wills.

In every district of your governorship, you should appoint a trusted observer [*amīn*][374] who will keep you informed of the activities of your local officials and will write to you regularly about their way of life and doings, in such a way that you will be, as it were, an eyewitness of every official's complete activities within his sphere of responsibility. If you wish to instruct an official to adopt a certain course of action, have due regard for all the consequences which you expect to follow from that. If you consider it to be a safe and wholesome course of action, and hope to find in it a useful defensive measure, wise counsel or benefit, then put it into practice. But if you find the con-

373. Or: your own personal properties/your wealth in general will become extensive, *wa-tawaffarat amwāluka*.

374. Here obviously the equivalent of the *ṣāḥib al-barīd*, postmaster and intelligence officer, of the 'Abbāsid caliphate and of the later *mushrif al-mamlakah* of eastern Iranian states; see A. Mez, *The renaissance of Islam*, 495 ff.; Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, 299–302; *EI*[2] s.v. Barīd (Sourdel); Bosworth, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art," 141–3.

[1058] trary, renounce it, and refer the matter to far-sighted and prudent experts in the question; then make proper provision for putting it into effect. For it often happens that a man examines a certain course of action in his policy and finds it agreeable, because of his personal inclinations, and this accordingly strengthens his resolve and gratifies him; but if he neglects to examine the consequences, it may lead to his destruction or ruin his whole policy.

Employ resolution in all that you purpose to do and, after obtaining God's help, set about it with vigor. Seek to discover by prayer your Lord's will in everything which you undertake. See that you finish the day's stint of work and never leave it to finish the next day. Instead, give it your personal attention, because the morrow always has its own affairs and events, which will divert you from the work left over from the previous day. You must realize that once a day is over, it carries away with it everything which was done during that day; so, when you put off the work belonging to it, you find yourself burdened with two days' work, and this will keep you occupied until you are able to turn aside from it. When you get through each day's work on the same day, you keep your mind and body fresh and at the same time you strengthen the fabric of your rule.[375]

Look to those of noble lineage and gentle birth, and then to those concerning whom you are certain[376] of the sincerity of their intentions, of the genuineness of their love for you, of their open manifestation of good counsel and their warm devotion to your rule. [When you are sure of this,] take them into your personal service and act kindly towards them. Take care of the interests of those members of good families [*ahl al-buyūtāt*] who have fallen on hard

375. This injunction to get through each day's work and not let unsolved problems pile up, is an echo of the injunction attributed to the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in a letter to the governor of Baṣrah, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, concerning the judge's duties; see R.B. Serjeant, "The Caliph 'Umar's letters to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and Mu'āwiya," *JSS*, XXIX (1984), 69.

376. Following the reading of the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXXI.

times; shoulder their burdens and improve their condition, so that they do not, in their distressed state, feel the touch of misfortune so keenly.

Devote yourself to looking after the affairs of the poor and destitute, those who are unable to bring their complaints of ill-treatment to you personally, and those of wretched estate who do not know how to set about claiming their rights. Ask about these people as discreetly as possible; appoint as agents, in this work of seeking out such oppressed persons, reliable people from among your [1059] subjects, and give them orders to raise before you their needs and conditions, in order that you may examine them and bring such relief as God may provide for their predicaments. Turn your attention to those who have suffered injuries and to their orphans and widows, and provide them with allowances from the state treasury, following the example of the Commander of the Faithful, may God exalt him, in showing compassion for them and in giving them financial subventions, so that God may thereby bring some alleviation into their daily lives and may by means of it bring you the spiritual food of His blessing and an increase in His favor. Give pensions from the state treasury to the blind, and give to those who know the Qur'ān text by heart or the greater part of it higher allowances than to others. Set up hospices where sick Muslims can find shelter, and appoint custodians for these places who will treat the patients with kindness and physicians who will cure their illnesses. Comply with their desires, provided that this does not lead to the state treasury being thereby squandered.

Know that people, even if they are given their due rights and the greater part of their desires, will not be satisfied with these and their minds will not be at peace unless they are able to present their needs to their rulers, in the hope of getting more attention and kinder treatment from them. The man who investigates closely the people's affairs often becomes wearied by all the things which come before him, and the trouble and hardship which he undergoes in chasing them up often completely occupy his mind and

thoughts. The person who seeks after justice, and who recognizes his material advantages in this present life and the superiority of the reward which he will enjoy in the next one, is not like the person who sets his face towards that which will bring him closer to God and through it seeks His mercy.[377]

Allow people access to your person as much as possible, and show your face to them as often as you can. Order your guards to treat them peaceably; be humble towards them,
[1060] and show your face of approval to them. When questioning them or speaking with them, be gentle, and grant them a share of your goodness and beneficence. Moreover, when you give, give in a generous and open-hearted manner, seeking to do a good action and to secure a future reward, and not so as to embarrass the recipient or remind him of it [in the hope of a gift or favor in return]; for a gift bestowed according to the first fashion will be regarded as a profitable transaction, if God wills.

Take careful note of everything which you observe in this present world, and consider the examples of your predecessors, the rulers and leaders of past centuries, and of nations [that have] now disappeared from the earth. Then in your affairs hold fast to God's command; keep yourself in the orbit of His love; let your actions be guided by His religious law and the examples laid down by His prophet and the successors, and maintain the supremacy of His faith and His Book. Avoid anything which departs from that or which contradicts it or which arouses[378] God's ire. Be cognizant of the amount of taxation which your officials collect, and of that which they expend of it; do not amass unlawful wealth and do not spend wealth prodigally.

Spend a lot of time with the learned scholars ['*ulamā*']; seek their advice, and frequent their company. Your desire

377. I.e., the first person deserves a greater reward because he is seeking to enforce God's will, here on earth, and is not just seeking his personal salvation in isolation from the needs of this present world.

378. Following the reading of the *Addenda et emendenda*, p. DCCLXXI.

should be that of following the established practices of the faith and of putting them into action, and that of preferring [before all else] the noble and lofty aspects of affairs. The noblest person among all those who join your circle and act as your confidants should be the person who, when he discerns a fault in you, is not held back by awe of you from privately pointing out to you the defect and from telling you about the shortcoming which lies in that defect. Such persons as these are the sincerest of your intimates and supporters in giving disinterested advice.

Keep an eye on the officials at your court and on your secretaries. Allot to each of them a fixed time each day when they can bring you their official correspondence and any documents requiring the affixing of the ruler's mark,[379] and can acquaint you of the officials' various requirements and of all the affairs of your provinces and your subjects. Then devote all your faculties—ears, eyes, understanding and intellect—to the affairs of that sort which they set before you; reflect and pore over it repeatedly. Finally, put [1061] into effect those courses which seem to you to be in accordance with good judgment and justice, and seek to know God's will in them; but where they seem to be opposed to these criteria, put them off for further consideration and more enquiries.

Do not remind your subjects or anyone else, to whom you have granted a favor, about it [in expectation of a gift in return]; accept nothing from anyone except faithfulness, honest dealing and assistance to the Commander of the Faithful's interests; do not grant any favor except on this basis.

Strive to understand this epistle of mine to you; study it at length, and always use it as a guide for your actions. In all your undertakings, ask God for help and seek to know His will, for God is with every good work of righteousness

379. *Mu'āmarah*, originally a financial term, sometimes with the modern meaning of "surcharge," but one which became generalized for any file or inventory of documents requiring the ruler's or governor's signature; see Bosworth, op. cit., 126.

and with those who follow after it. Let your most important conduct and your best desire be what is pleasing to God and what brings order to His faith, strength and steadfastness to His people, and justice and righteousness both for the protected peoples and the community of the Muslims [*al-dhimma wa-al-milla*].

I myself will ask God to favor you with His aid, His help towards success, His right guidance and His safe keeping. Also, [I will ask Him] to grant you His favor and mercy through a bestowal of all His grace and generosity, so that He will make you the most fortunate of all your peers and contemporaries, the richest in possessions and the most elevated in reputation and power. Finally, [I will ask Him] to destroy your enemies, those who rise up against you and those who act wrongfully against you; to bring you prosperity from your subjects; and to keep Satan and his evil promptings away from you. As a result of this, your position will be exalted in power and might and successfulness; indeed, He is always near, always ready to answer.[380]

It is mentioned that when Ṭāhir gave this charge to his son 'Abdallāh, people struggled amongst themselves (to get a copy), wrote it out and studied it repeatedly. Its fame spread until it reached al-Ma'mūn. He ordered a copy to be brought, and it was read out to him. He exclaimed after this, "Abū al-Ṭayyib has not mentioned anything of the matters concerning the
[1062] faith, the present world, the conduct of public affairs, judgment, statecraft, the improvement of the realm and of the subjects, the safeguarding of the Muslim community, obedience to

380. Qur'ān, XI, 64/61. For the original version of the text of this epistle of Ṭāhir's, see Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 35–53, tr. 16–25, with an English translation also by Bosworth, "An early Arabic Mirror for Princes," 25–41; Ibn Abī Ṭāhir was of course the basis for Ṭabarī's text. Of later authors, Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 363–77, used Ṭabarī, and Ibn Khaldūn, tr. Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah*, II, 139–56, French tr. V. Monteil, *Ibn Khaldûn, discours sur l'histoire universelle (al-Muqaddima)*, II, 616–31, used, according to Rosenthal, II, 139, n. 751, Ibn al-Athīr's text in the first place but revised it in the light of Ṭabarī's. On the place of Ṭāhir's epistle within the genre, see G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, 80–5; Bosworth, op. cit., 25–30; id., "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture," *JSS*, XIV (1969), 55–6.

the Caliphs and maintenance of the caliphate, without in fact dealing with them thoroughly, making recommendations about them and giving instructions [for their execution]."[381] Al-Ma'mūn ordered that it should be copied out and sent to all the governors in the various districts 'Abdallāh then set out to take up his official appointment; he modelled his conduct on that recommended in the epistle, followed its injunctions and acted in accordance with what he had been enjoined to do.[382]

In this year, 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir placed Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm [al-Muṣ'abī][383] in charge of the two bridges[384] and appointed Isḥāq as his representative in the offices which his father Ṭāhir had [previously] made 'Abdallāh himself his representative—the command of the guard at Baghdad and the collection of the tax revenues from there.[385] This was at the time when he set off for Raqqah in order to combat Naṣr b. Shabath.

In this year, 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan, governor of the two Holy Cities, led the pilgrimage.[386]

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381. Supplying, with the text of Ibn Abī Ṭayfūr, 54, *fīhi*.

382. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 53–4, tr. 25; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 377.

383. Member of the Ṭāhirid family, first cousin of Ṭalḥah and 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, and holder of the office of governor of Baghdad till his death in 235 (849/50); see Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture," 67–8; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 260, 265, 273.

384. The old and new bridges over the Tigris at Baghdad, the former dating back to Sāsānid times and the latter to al-Manṣūr; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 60, 91–3; Lassner, *Topography*, 101, 277.

385. See Bosworth, op. cit., 45–6.

386. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 769; Azdī, 362.

The Events of the Year

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(MAY 27, 822–MAY 15, 823)

The events taking place during this year included the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in the district of the ʿAkk[387] in the Yemen, summoning people in the name of The One Well-pleasing [to God] from the House of Muḥammad.

The Rebellion of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān

The reason for his rebellion was that the tax officials in the Yemen had behaved in an oppressive manner, so the local people gave their allegiance to this ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. When news of this reached al-Ma'mūn, he sent against him Dīnār b. ʿAbdallāh with a powerful army, and sent with him a written promise guaranteeing ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's security. Dīnār b. ʿAbdallāh arrived at the season of the pilgrimage and made the pilgrimage

387. The Banū ʿAkk were an old-established South Arabian tribe, dwelling to the north of Zabīd, according to Hamdānī; see *EI*² s.v. [W. Caskel]. Five years before this, in 202 [817], the two tribes of ʿAkk and A'shar had risen in revolt against al-Ma'mūn's governor in the Yemen, Ḥamdawayh b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān; see Geddes, 105–6.

himself. When he had accomplished this, he went on to the Yemen until he made contact with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He sent to him the guarantee of security from al-Ma'mūn; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān accepted this, coming into Dīnār's presence and clasping hands with him. Dīnār went back with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to al-Ma'mūn. At this point al-Ma'mūn forbade the Ṭālibids to enter his presence and ordered them to start wearing black garments. This was on Thursday, the twenty-ninth of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (April 15, 823).[388] [1063]

In this year, the death of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn took place.

The Death of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn[389]

It is related from Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir[390] that the death of Dhū al-Yamīnayn[391] was the result of a fever and high temperature which attacked him and that he was found dead in his bed. It is also related that his two paternal uncles, ʿAlī b. Muṣʿab and the latter's brother Aḥmad b. Muṣʿab,[392] went to visit him in his sickness. They asked the servant how he was, at the point when the servant was performing the dawn worship. The servant replied that Ṭāhir was sleeping and had not yet awakened. ʿAlī and Aḥmad accordingly waited for a while, but when the dawn had unfolded itself fully and there was still no sign of any movement on Ṭāhir's part at this time when he normally used to rise for the worship, they became disquieted about this and told the servant to wake him up. The latter replied, "I daren't

388. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 381 (with the date the twenty-eighth of Dhū al-Qa'dah); Geddes, 106–7. The date the twenty-ninth of Dhū al-Qa'dah was actually a Wednesday.

389. The historical reports on Ṭāhir's death show considerable divergences; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 208–9; Rothstein, 161; Sourdel, "Les circonstances de la mort de Ṭāhir Ier," 66–9; Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 95.

390. This son of Ṭāhir is given the *kunyah* or patronymic of Abū Muḥammad in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 129, tr. 59.

391. Various explanations are given in the sources for Ṭāhir's sobriquet of "the man with two right hands;" see Goldziher, "Ueber Dualtitel," *WZKM*, XIII (1899), 324; Bosworth, op. cit., 92.

392. It had been this forebear, Muṣʿab b. Ruzayq al-Khuzāʿī, and his brother Ṭalḥah, who had founded the family's fortunes by their rôle in the ʿAbbāsid revolution; see Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture," 47–8; M. Kaabi, "Les origines Ṭāhirides dans la *daʿwa* ʿabbāside," *Arabica*, XIX (1972), 158–9.

do that." But they told him to knock at the door on their behalf[393] so that they might enter. Then they went in and found him wrapped in a coverlet which he had tucked underneath himself and with which he had covered himself securely from head to feet. They touched him, but he did not move at all; so they uncovered his face and found him dead. They had no idea exactly when he had died, and none of his servants was aware of his time of death. They questioned the servant about what had happened to him and about last thing which he (the servant) had been aware of from him. He recounted that Ṭāhir had performed the sunset and the final night worships, and then had wrapped himself up in his coverlet. The servant related that he had heard Ṭāhir utter a few words in Persian, "*dar marg nīz mardī wāyadh*," meaning, "manly fortitude is necessary even in death."[394]

[1064] It is related from Kulthūm b. Thābit b. Abī Sa'd, whose patronymic was Abū Sa'd,[395] that he said: I was in charge of the intelligence and postal service (*barīd*) in Khurasan, and the place where I usually sat each Friday was at the foot of the pulpit. In the year 207 (822/823), two years after Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn had become governor, I was present at the Friday worship. Ṭāhir ascended the pulpit, and then delivered the sermon (*khuṭbah*). When he came to mentioning the Caliph, he refrained from praying for him, and merely said, "O God, secure the welfare of the community of Muḥammad as you have secured it for those who are your close supporters (*awliyā'aka*), and relieve them of the crushing burden of those who would oppress and band together against them by repairing the disorder of affairs, preventing the shedding of blood and restoring harmonious relations between people." Kulthūm went on to relate: I said to myself, "I am going to be the first to be killed, for I cannot con-

393. The text has *uṭruq lanā*; Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 130, has, alternatively, *ṭarriq lanā*, "clear the way for us."

394. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 129–30, tr. 59–60; *'Uyūn*, 364; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 381; cf. Bosworth, op. cit., 48.

395. In Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 117, tr. 53, Kulthūm is given the *nisbah* or gentilic of al-Nakha'ī and described as a mawlā of Muḥammad b. 'Imrān of Fūtaq (a village of the Marw oasis, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 279), who obtained for Kulthūm the office of Ṣāḥib al-Barīd of Khurasan.

ceal this news." Hence I went away, performed the ablutions prescribed before death, put on the waistcloth of those about to die and a robe, and threw a cloak over myself. I took off my (official 'Abbāsid) black clothing, and wrote to al-Ma'mūn.

He continued: When Ṭāhir had performed the afternoon worship, he sent for me, but at that point he had some sort of attack in his eyelids and the interior corner of his eye, and fell down dead. He continued: Ṭalḥah b. Ṭāhir went forth and shouted, "Bring him back, bring him back!"—I having left—so they brought me back. He asked me, "Have you written a report about what happened [that is, about Ṭāhir's act of rebelliousness]?" I retorted that I had. Then he said, "Write a message about his death," and gave me five hundred thousand (dirhams) and two hundred sets of clothes. I then wrote a report about Ṭāhir's death and Ṭalḥah's assumption of command over the army.

He continued: There reached al-Ma'mūn the dispatch bag (*kharīṭah*) containing the letter announcing Ṭāhir's renunciation of obedience in the morning. He summoned Ibn Abī Khālid and told him, "Set out, and bring Ṭāhir back to me, just as you said you would and just as you guaranteed." Ibn Abī Khālid replied, "Let me stay here just this one night." Al-Ma'- [1065]
mūn swore, "Nay, upon my life, you shall only spend the night on the back of a mount!" Ibn Abī Khālid kept on imploring him to relent, until al-Ma'mūn at last gave him permission to remain for one night. He continued: By night, the dispatch bag arrived bringing news of Ṭāhir's death. Al-Ma'mūn summoned Ibn Abī Khālid and told him, "Ṭāhir is dead; whom do you think [should be his successor]?" Ibn Abī Khālid replied, "His son Ṭalḥah." The Caliph said, "You have spoken correctly. Write out a diploma investing him with the governorship." So he wrote it out. Ṭalḥah remained governor in Khurasan during al-Ma'mūn's caliphate for seven years after Ṭāhir's death, and then he himself died; al-Ma'mūn thereupon appointed 'Abdallāh governor in Khurasan.[396] The latter was at that time in

396. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh* II, 557; *'Uyūn*, 364–5; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 208; Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 98.

charge of the military operations against Bābak. He established his base at Dīnawar and sent out armies from there. The news of Ṭalḥah's death reached al-Ma'mūn; he thereupon sent Yaḥyā b. Aktham[397] with a message of condolences on his brother's death and hailing him with his appointment as governor of Khurasan, and he placed 'Alī b. Hishām in charge of the war against Bābak.[398]

It is mentioned from al-'Abbās[399] that he was present at one of al-Ma'mūn's sessions when the latter had just received the announcement of Ṭāhir's death, and the Caliph exclaimed, "O [my] two hands and mouth![400] Praise to be God, who has sent Ṭāhir on [to the next life] and kept us back!"[401]

An account different from the one above has been mentioned in regard to Ṭalḥah's appointment as governor of Khurasan after his father Ṭāhir. According to what this account says, when Ṭāhir died—this event taking place in Jumādā I (September–October 822)—the army rose up in an émeute and plundered some of his treasuries. The eunuch Sallām al-Abrash assumed leadership of them; he issued an order, and they were given six months' pay allowance. Al-Ma'mūn then entrusted Ṭāhir's governorship to Ṭalḥah, as the deputy of 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. The point here was that, according to the people who give this variant account, al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Abdallāh as governor after Ṭāhir's death over the whole of Ṭāhir's former area of responsibility. 'Abdallāh was at that moment stationed at Raqqah engaged in the war with Naṣr b. Shabath. Al-Ma'mūn added Syria to his responsibilities, and sent him an investiture diploma for Khurasan and his father's (other) administrative

397. Grand judge of Baghdad and counsellor of al-Ma'mūn, but who was later disgraced for his corruption and licentiousness; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 238–9.

398. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 130–2, tr. 60, (see also Rothstein, 161), with another, briefer account of Ṭāhir's act of rebelliousness and death, related from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan, in ibid., 116–17, tr. 53; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh* II, 556–7, with the story that Ṭāhir was poisoned by the nephew of his friend Muḥammad b. Farrukh al-'Amrakī (see also Rothstein, loc. cit.).

399. I.e., al-Ma'mūn's son.

400. For this proverbial expression, whose exact point is unclear, see Maydānī, *Mu'jam amthāl al-'Arab*, tr. G.W. Freytag, II, 475, no. 243.

401. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 133, tr. 61; *'Uyūn*, 365; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 382.

responsibilities. ʿAbdallāh then sent his brother Ṭalḥah to Khurasan,[402] and appointed as his deputy in the City of Peace Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm.[403] Ṭalḥah wrote to al-Maʾmūn in his brother's name. Al-Maʾmūn sent Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid to Khurasan in order to take over Ṭalḥah's responsibilities. Aḥmad led an ex- [1066] pedition into Transoxiana; he conquered Ushrūsanah and captured Kāwūs b. Khārākhuruh[404] and his son al-Faḍl, and sent them both to al-Maʾmūn. Ṭalḥah gave Ibn Abī Khālid three million dirhams plus moveable objects excluding gold and silver (*ʿurūḍ*) amounting to one million (dirhams), and gave Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās, Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid's secretary, five hundred thousand dirhams.[405]

In this year, prices rose high in Baghdad, Baṣrah and Kūfah, until the price of a *hārūnī qafīz* of wheat rose to forty dirhams and the price of a *muljam qafīz* of wheat to fifty.[406]

In this year, Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ was appointed governor of Ṭabaristān, Rūyān and Dunbāwand.[407]

In this year, Abū ʿĪsā b. al-Rashīd led the pilgrimage.[408]

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402. Cf. above, and Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 131, tr. 60.

403. Ibid., 35, tr. 16. The accounts of Ṭāhir's death are particularly divergent over chronology; it may be that an interval of several weeks took place between Ṭāhir's act of rebelliousness and his actual death, cf. Sourdel, "Les circonstances de la mort de Ṭāhir Ier," 68–9.

404. The father Khārākhuruh (for this Iranian name, see F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 170) had submitted to al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī in 178 (794), see Ṭabarī, III, 631; Kāwūs's other son Ḥaydar was to enter ʿAbbāsid service as the famous general al-Afshīn, on whom see *EI*² s.v. (Barthold—Gibb).

405. *ʿUyūn*, 365; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 382–3; Barthold, 210–11; Rothstein, 162; Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 96–7.

406. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 134, tr. 61; Azdī, 362; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 384. For these measures of capacity, see Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art," 148–50.

407. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 385; Rabino di Borgomale, "Les préfets du Califat au Ṭabaristān," 262. Rūyān was the westernmost district of Ṭabaristān, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 373–4, and Barthold, *An historical geography of Iran*, 233–4; and Dunbāwand was the highest peak of the Elburz chain, see Le Strange, ibid., 371, Schwarz, 755 ff., and *EI*² s.v. Damāwand (Streck).

408. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 770; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year

208

(MAY 16, 823–MAY 3, 824)

Among the events taking place during this year was al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab's move from Khurasan to Kirmān, where he then defied the government, and Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid's expedition against him until he seized him and brought him to al-Maʾmūn, who then pardoned him.[409]

In this year, in Muḥarram (May–June 823), al-Maʾmūn appointed Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī as judge of ʿAskar al-Mahdī (of Ruṣāfah).

In this year, the judge Muḥammad b. Samāʿah asked to be relieved of his office; he was accordingly released from it and Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād b. Abī Ḥanīfah appointed in his stead.[410]

[1067] In this year, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was dismissed from the office of judge after he had only just been invested

409. Op. cit., VI, 386. The Ṭāhirid al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn was the uncle of ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, and subsequently acted as deputy governor for the latter in Ṭabaristān; see Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Taʾrīkh-i khāndān-i Ṭāhirī*, I, 29–30, citing Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān u Rūyān u Māzandarān*.

410. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit. Azdī, 341, gives the name as Muḥammad b. Samāwah in recording his appointment in 201 (816/17) as judge of the West Side of Baghdad.

with it, in the same year, in Rabīʿ I (July–August 823), and Bishr b. al-Walīd al-Kindī was appointed to it. A certain poet has said:

O monarch, who proclaims the unity of his Lord,
your judge Bishr b. al-Walīd is an ass!

He rejects the legal testimony of the person who holds the faith of what
the Book has spoken about and what the historical traditions have brought,

And he considers as a reliable legal witness the person who says that
he is a shaykh who encompasses with his body the regions of the world [that is, a universal sage]![411]

In Shaʿbān (December 823–January 824), Mūsā b. Muhammad al-Makhlūʿ (the son of the deposed Caliph al-Amīn) died, and in Dhū al-Qaʿdah (March–April 824), al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ died.[412]

In this year, Ṣālih b. al-Rashīd led the pilgrimage.[413]

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411. Azdī, 365; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

412. Ibid. Mūsā had been his father al-Amīn's choice as his first heir; see Abbott, 230–1.

413. Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 771; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year

209

(MAY 4, 824–APRIL 23, 825)

Among the events taking place during this year was ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir's exertion of pressure on (or: his surrounding of) Naṣr b. Shabath, driving him into a tight corner so that he had to seek a guarantee of safety.[414] It is mentioned from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-ʿĀmirī that he said: Al-Ma'mūn said to Thumāmah (b. Ashras), "Can't you point out to me a man from the people of the Jazīrah with intelligence, eloquence and knowledge, who can transmit a message from me, which I will dispatch him with, to Naṣr b. Shabath?" He replied, "Certainly, O Commander of the Faithful, [there is] a certain man from the Banū ʿĀmir called Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad." Al-Ma'mūn said, "Bring him to me!" Jaʿfar continued: So Thumāmah summoned me
[1068] and brought me into the Caliph's presence. He spoke to me at great length, and then commanded me to deliver these words to Naṣr b. Shabath. Jaʿfar continued: So I went to Naṣr, who was at that moment at Kafar ʿAzūn in the neighborhood of

414. *ʿUyūn*, 365. For Naṣr's final efforts and surrender, see Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 91, and cf. Shaban, 52.

Sarūj,[415] and passed on to him al-Ma'mūn's message. He showed himself submissive, but laid down certain conditions, including that he should not be required to step on any of the Caliph's carpets (as a sign of supplication and submission).

Ja'far continued: I went back to al-Ma'mūn and gave him the reply. He answered, "By God, I'll never agree to these stipulations of his, even if I reach the point of having to sell my shirt in order to persuade him to step on my carpet! What's the matter with him, shrinking from us in fear?"

Ja'far continued: I said, "Because of his offences and all that he has perpetrated up till now." Al-Ma'mūn replied, "Do you imagine that he has committed greater offences, in my sight, than al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' and 'Īsā b. Abī Khālid? Do you know what al-Faḍl did to me? He appropriated my commanders, my troops, my weapons and everything which my father had bequeathed to me, and went off with them to Muḥammad [al-Amīn], leaving me alone and isolated at Marw! He betrayed me, and he turned my brother against me until those events involving him took place as they did. That struck me more harshly than anything else! Do you know what 'Īsā b. Abī Khālid did to me? He drove my representative out of my own city and the city of my forefathers, went off with my receipts from the land-tax and my revenues from the cultivators of the conquered lands, razed my houses to the ground, set up Ibrāhīm as Caliph in place of me and hailed him with my rightful title!"

Ja'far continued: I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, will you allow me to speak, so that I may say something apposite?" He replied, "Speak on!" I said, "Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' was your foster-brother and your close associate [mawlā]; the status of his forebears was the same as your, and the status of your forebears the same as his; you can make a claim on him[416] in vari-

415. The village of Kafar 'Azūn is mentioned later in accounts of Byzantine-Arab warfare in this neighborhood, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 470, and E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, 108; Sarūj was a town of the Jazīrah to the west of Ḥarrān and Edessa, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 216–17, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 108.

416. Conjectural restoration of the text here by the editor.

ous ways, all of which connect you with him. As for 'Īsa b. Abī Khālid, he is a man who comes from the supporters of your dy-
[1069] nasty (the 'Abbāsids); his precedence [*sābiqah*][417] and the prece-
dence of his forebears, all this constitutes a claim on him through that. Whereas this fellow [Naṣr] has never had any share of power on the basis of which he might achieve eminence, nor have any of his forebears; these last merely came from the troops of the Umayyads." Al-Ma'mun answered, "If what you say is indeed the case, what about all the rancor and ire which is involved? I shall never leave him alone until he steps on my carpet."

Ja'far continued: I went back to Naṣr and told him all that. He continued: He shouted loudly for his horses, and they wheeled around. Then he said, "Shame on him! He has not the strength to subdue four hundred frogs on his own doorstep [literally: under his own wing]"—he was referring to the Zuṭṭ—"so can he overcome the assembled cohorts of swift horses of the Arabs?"[418]

Naṣr b. Shabath Seeks a Guarantee of Safety

It is mentioned that when 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir brought his full force to bear on Naṣr in battle and constricted him, and when his request for a guarantee of safety came (to 'Abdallāh), the latter granted it and then moved out of his military camp to Raqqah in the year 209 (824/5). Naṣr now went to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir.[419] Previous to this, after 'Abdallāh had defeated Naṣr's armies, al-Ma'mūn had written a letter to Naṣr summoning him to obedience and the abandonment of his rebellion. However, Naṣr had rejected this. 'Abdallāh himself then wrote to Naṣr. The text of al-Ma'mūn's letter to Naṣr—indited by 'Amr b. Mas'adah—was as follows:

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417. The repeated use here of the term *sābiqah* obviously echoes its importance in earliest Islam in regard to pre-eminence and a preferential rôle in the new *ummah* or Islamic community.

418. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 141–3, tr. 64–5.

419. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 388–9.

O Naṣr b. Shabath, you know about obedience to authority, its mightiness, the coolness of its shade and the sweet smell of its pasturage; and [on the other hand] the regretfulness and deprivation which result from rejecting this obedience. Even though God may grant you a long respite, He only grants a lengthy period of enjoyment of life in the case of a person whom He wishes to make a publicly-known proof, so that God's warning examples may strike home to the people concerned, according to the de- [1070]
gree of their persistence [in such courses] and their meriting [eventual retribution]. I have deemed it good to give you due warning and to open your eyes, because I hope that what I am writing to you may have an effect on you. For truth is indeed truth, and falsity is falsity, and speech can only be judged according to the times and places of its enunciation [*makhārijihi*] and by those who are concerned with it [that is, have uttered it]. None of the Commander of the Faithful's governors has treated you in a manner more beneficial to your material wealth, your faith and your own person, nor has anyone been more solicitous of drawing you back and rescuing you from your errors than myself.

O Naṣr, by virtue of what first or last reason, or by what means or by what power, have you rebelled against the Commander of the Faithful? Do you seize his property and arrogate to yourself the authority which God has conferred on him, excluding him from it, and expect to remain in a state of security, with peace of mind, quietness, peaceableness and calm? By Him who knows both what is hidden and what is open, if you do not return to obedience, submitting fully to it, you will certainly experience the unpleasantness of retribution, and I shall certainly then concentrate my attention on you before everything else; for if the horns of Satan are not cut off, they are a source of strife and great corruption in the earth. Moreover, I shall certainly, with the supporters of the royal power [or: of the dynasty] who are in my forces, press down on the backs of the necks of the dregs of your followers, those who have [1071]

come to you in a confused band from the near and distant corners of the lands, with their scum and worst elements, those thieves and robbers who have rallied to your side and those whom their land has spewed forth or whose tribe has expelled them because of their bad reputation within it. He who has delivered a warning is excused [from any of its consequences]! Farewell![420]

According to what has been mentioned, 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir remained engaged in fighting Naṣr b. Shabath for five years, until Naṣr sought a guarantee of safety. 'Abdallāh then wrote to al-Ma'mūn informing him that he had driven Naṣr into a tight corner and was tightening the screws on him, that he had killed the leaders in his entourage and that Naṣr had sought refuge in a guarantee of safety and had asked for this. Al-Ma'mūn ordered 'Abdallāh to write a letter to Naṣr promising this guarantee. So he wrote our a guarantee of safety for him, with the following text:

Vigorous exertion in the cause of what is right is God's decisive proof and one which is linked with success, and conducting one's cause with justice is a call to God with which is connected strength. The one who continuallly strives for what is right and who conducts his cause with justice is always seeking to open the gates of succor and always calling for the means of firm control, until God gives the victory—and He is the best of those who give victory—and establishes people in firm control—and He is the best of those who establish people in firm control. With regard to the course which you have been following, you must inevitably fall into one of three classes: [that of] the one who seeks religion; [that of] the one who desires the present world; or [that of] the one who rushes forward recklessly, seeking dominance through tyrannical behavior.

Now if you are following the way of religion in your

420. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 137–8, tr. 63.

conduct, then make this clear to the Commander of the Faithful, who will [immediately] seize the opportunity to accept this, if it is really genuine; for by my life, his supreme intention and farthest aim is to incline towards what is right, whenever he inclines [towards something], and to incline away, with what is just, whenever he inclines away [that is, to make affirmative or negative decisions, according to what is right or just, in their appropriate places]. If you are aiming to follow the way of the present world, then inform the Commander of the Faithful about your aim and about the state of affairs under which you claim an entitlement to it. If you establish a deserving [1072] claim to it and he is able to grant that, then he will do it for you; for by my life, he does not permit any person to be debarred from what he justly deserves, however great this may be. But if you are rushing forward through life recklessly, then God will relieve the Commander of the Faithful of the burden of you and will speedily bring that about, just as He speedily disposed of the burden of other people who followed the same way as you, who were stronger in resources, with more numerous armies, and extensively endowed with manpower, numbers and support than you; He drove them towards the places where those who have been found wanting are left prostrated, and He brought down on them the calamities merited by those behaving tyrannically. The Commander of the Faithful seals his letter with the declaration of faith that there is no god but God, the Unique One who is without associate, and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger. His guarantee to you, according to his religion and his protection, is the pardoning of your previous misdeeds and earlier crimes and your being established in the positions of power and exaltedness which you merit, if you come forward and respond [to his invitation], if God wills. Farewell![421]

421. Ibid., 138–40, tr. 63–4.

When Naṣr b. Shabath went forth to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir with the guarantee of safety, he ('Abdallāh) pulled down and destroyed Kaysūm.[422]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn appointed Ṣadaqah b. 'Alī, known as Zurayq,[423] as governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan, with responsibility for the war against Bābak; Ṣadaqah invited Aḥmad b. al-Junayd b. Farzandī al-Iskāfī to take charge of the actual military operations against Bābak. Aḥmad b. al-Junayd b. Farzandī returned to Baghdad and then came back to (fight) the Khurramiyyah, but Bābak took him captive. The Caliph then appointed Ibrāhīm b. al-Layth b. al-Faḍl al-Tujībī[424] over Azerbaijan.[425]

[1073] In this year, Ṣāliḥ b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī (b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās), the governor of Mecca, led the pilgrimage.[426]

In this year, there died Michael son of George, emperor of Byzantium, who had reigned for nine years. The Byzantines appointed as ruler over themselves Theophilus son of Michael.[427]

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422. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 560; Azdī, 366; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 390; Rothstein, 163. Kaysūm lay in the upper Euphrates region, to the southwest of Adiyaman, and is the modern Keysun, Greek Kaisou; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 123; Honigmann, 62.

423. Thus apparently correct, following Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 330–1: Ṣadaqah b. 'Alī b. Ṣadaqah b. Dīnār, a mawlā of the Azd tribe, *pace* the Zurayq b. 'Alī b. Ṣadaqah of Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 564, and Azdī, 366 ff., and the 'Alī b. Ṣadaqah of other sources, see Ṭabarī, III, 1072, n. *f*.

424. Editor's conjecture for this *nisbah*, written without dots; but we do not otherwise know of the presence of members of Tujīb of Kindah in Azerbaijan; Dr. Hinds accordingly suggests the *nisbah* al-Yaḥmadī (a subdivision of the Azd) as a conceivable reading. Cf. also Azdī, 366.

425. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 390.

426. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 772; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

427. As with Tabarī's previous recording of the death of Leo V four years too early (above, 45), Ṭabarī is some five years premature here; Michael II, founder of the Amorian line of emperors, actually died in 829, when his son Theophilus succeeded him. See Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 272, 280–1; Anastos, in *Cambridge medieval history. IV. The Byzantine empire*, I, 100–2.

The Events of the Year

210

(APRIL 24, 825–APRIL 12, 826)

Among the events taking place during this year was the arrival at Baghdad of Naṣr b. Shabath, whom ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir sent to al-Ma'mūn. He entered the city on Monday, the seventh of Ṣafar, 210[428] (May 30, 825); he was lodged in the City of Abū Jaʿfar (the Round City), with guards appointed to watch over him.[429]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn gained the upper hand over Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām, who was known as Ibn ʿĀ'ishah,[430] Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ifrīqī, Mālik b. Shāhī,[431] Faraj al-Baghwārī[432] and their confederates who had been active in securing allegiance to Ibrāhīm b. al-

428. Actually a Tuesday.

429. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 143, tr. 65.

430. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 558–9, gives his full *nasab*, or lineage, back to al-ʿAbbās through eight generations.

431. Ibid., II, 559, adds Mālik's *nisbah* as al-Niffarī.

432. Reading uncertain, and Sam'ānī in his *Kitāb al-Ansāb* does not mention such a *nisbah*; perhaps we should read al-Baghawī, see ibid. (Hyderabad), II, 273–6.

Mahdī. The person who provided al-Ma'mūn with information about them and about what they were plotting was 'Imrān al-Qaṭrabullī. According to what is mentioned, al-Ma'mūn sent officers to arrest them on Saturday, the fifth of Ṣafar, 210[433] (May 28, 825). Al-Ma'mūn ordered Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Ā'ishah to be left (pinioned) in the sun for three days at the gateway of his (al-Ma'mūn's) palace; on Tuesday he had him flogged and then jailed him in the Maṭbaq (or: Muṭbaq) prison.[434] Then he had Mālik b. Shāhī and his confederates flogged. They wrote down
[1074] for al-Ma'mūn the names of all those—commanders, troops and other persons—who had entered into the conspiracy with them. Al-Ma'mūn did not, however, make a move towards any of those who had been delated, since he was not sure that the conspirators were not accusing innocent persons.[435] The conspirators had agreed among themselves that they would cut the bridge when the troops had gone forth to meet Naṣr b. Shabath. But they were delated and then arrested. After this, Naṣr b. Shabath entered Baghdad alone, none of the troops being sent to escort him.[436] First of all, he was lodged with Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, and subsequently transferred to the city of Abū Ja'far.

Ibrāhīm al-Mahdī Is Arrested

In this year, during the night of Sunday (the night of Saturday-Sunday), the sixteenth of Rabī' II (August 5–6, 825),[437] Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī was arrested, veiled and dressed like a woman and in the company of two women.[438] A black negro guard stopped

433. Actually a Sunday; Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 176, has the sixth of Ṣafar, corrected by Keller in his tr. 80, to the fifth of Ṣafar.

434. The celebrated jail in the Round City on the street running between the Kūfah and Baṣrah gates; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 27; Lassner, *Topography*, 243.

435. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 391.

436. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 176–7, tr. 80.

437. Inserting, with Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 185, and the ms. cited in the editor's n. *f*, the word *baqiyat* rather than *khalat*; the date of the sixteenth of Rabī' II gives the correct correspondence with Sunday.

438. According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 63 = ed. Pellat, § 2750, in the street called "The Long" (al-Darb al-Ṭawīl); see for this, Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 221. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 351, tr. 450, confirms this date.

him during the night and demanded, "Who are you, and where are you going at this hour?" According to what is mentioned, Ibrāhīm offered him a ruby ring of high value from his own finger, if he would let them pass and cease questioning them. When the guard looked at the ring, he became suspicious about them and said to himself, "This ring belongs to a man of high social status." Hence, he took them along to the commander of the guard post, and the latter ordered them to unveil their faces. Ibrāhīm refused, but the commander pulled it away,[439] and Ibrāhīm's beard was revealed. He took him to the commandant of the bridge, who recognised him and took him to al-Ma'mūn's gate. The Caliph was informed, and ordered him to be kept in the palace. On the Sunday morning, he was set down in al-Ma'mūn's palace so that the Hāshimites, the commanders and the troops might gaze on him. They put the veil which [1075] he had been wearing round his neck and the mantle in which he had been wrapped across his breast, so that people might see him and know in what guise he had been taken. When it was Thursday, al-Ma'mūn had him transferred to Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid's house and had him imprisoned in his custody. Then al-Ma'mūn had him brought forth to accompany himself when he went to visit al-Ḥasan b. Sahl at Wāsiṭ. People said that al-Ḥasan spoke to the Caliph about him, and al-Ma'mūn showed his favor towards Ibrāhīm, released him and sent him back to Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid.[440] Along with Ibrāhīm, al-Ma'mūn sent Ibn Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh and Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad[441] to watch over him, except that he was allowed plenty of living space there, having his mother and family with him; he used to ride to al-Ma'mūn's palace with these (two) persons guarding him as an escort.[442]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn had Ibn 'Ā'ishah killed and gibbeted.

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439. One might have here, with the same meaning, the *lectio facilior* of *fa-jadhabahu*.

440. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, loc. cit.; *'Uyūn*, 365; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 392.

441. Governor of Kūfah and then of Armenia, and member of an Arab family prominent under the early 'Abbāsids; from his family there later sprang the Yazīdī line of Shīrwān-Shāhs; see Crone, 169–70; V. Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, 22 ff., 116–17.

442. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 184–5, tr. 83–4.

Al-Ma'mūn Has Ibn 'Ā'ishah Killed

The reason for this was that al-Ma'mūn consigned to prison Ibn 'Ā'ishah, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ifrīqī, two men from the city mobsters called Abū Mismār and 'Ammār respectively, Faraj al-Baghwārī, Mālik b. Shāhī and also a group of those who had conspired with them to give allegiance to Ibrāhīm (b. al-Mahdī), after they had been flogged, with the exception of 'Ammār, who was given a guarantee of immunity because he had denounced the plans of the group in the Maṭbaq prison. One of the prisoners in the Maṭbaq reported that the prisoners intended to stir up a riot and bore a way through the walls of the jail. The day before, they had barricaded the door of the prison from the inside and had prevented anyone from getting access in to them. When night fell and people heard the commotion they were making, the news reached al-Ma'mūn. He rode there in person immediately, had these four men brought forth and
[1076] had them beheaded while pinioned. Ibn 'Ā'ishah hurled savage insults at al-Ma'mūn. Next morning, their corpses were gibbeted on the lower bridge. On the Wednesday morning, Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'A'ishah's body was taken down; it was enshrouded, prayers were said over it and it was buried in the cemetery of Quraysh.[443] Ibn al-Ifrīqī's body was taken down and buried in the cemetery of al-Khayzurān, but the rest were left there.[444]

It is mentioned that when Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī was captured, he was taken along to the palace of Abū Isḥaq b. al-Rashīd (the later Caliph al-Mu'taṣim) at a time when Abū Isḥāq himself was with al-Ma'mūn. So Ibrāhīm was borne along, mounted behind Faraj al-Turkī. When he was brought into al-Ma'mūn's presence, the latter said to him, "So we meet again, O Ibrāhīm!" Ibrāhīm said, "O Commander of the Faithful, the

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443. On the upper West Side of the city, according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 158, 193–4, and Lassner, *Topography*, 111, 285–6, who suggests that the name was also used for the cemetery of al-Khayzurān on the East Side, see ibid., 114, 287.

444. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 178–9, 206, tr. 80–1, 94; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 558–9; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 78 = ed. Pellat, § 2763; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 391–2. For the whole episode of Ibn 'Ā'ishah, see Barbier de Meynard, 251–3; Levy, *A Baghdad chronicle*, 95.

kinsman to whom it falls to exact vengeance [*walī al-tha'r*] is the one who is made to judge in respect of [the nature of] the retaliation, but forgiveness is nearer to piety.[445] The man who is made heedless and hesitant by the causes of difficulty and heart-searching placed in his way [in securing the vengeance] brings down on himself the adverse buffetings of fate.[446] God has set you above every sinner, just as He has placed every sinner below you. If you punish, then it is only in accordance with your right; but if you grant pardon, then it comes from your own graciousness." Al-Ma'mūn replied, "Nay, I pardon you, O Ibrāhīm!" Then Ibrāhīm glorified God and fell down in prostration.[447] It is said that Ibrāhīm wrote these words to al-Ma'mūn while he was still in hiding, and al-Ma'mūn made a note in the margin of his copy to the effect that "power drives away anger; contrition implies repentance; and between the two is God's forgiveness, and this is the greatest thing we can ask of Him."[448]

Ibrāhīm recited, praising al-Ma'mūn:

O best of those after the Messenger [of God] whom a Yamanī she-camel conveys gently along
towards him who is in despair or who is hopeful of bounty!

And [O] most pious of those who worship God with godly fear [1077]
and in earnestness,[449] and most eloquent one of those who proclaim clearly-manifest truth!

The honey of the mountain tops, so long as men give you obedience; but if you are aroused [by opposition],
then you are the colocynth, mingled with deadly poison!

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445. Qur'ān, II, 238.

446. The exact meaning of this difficult passage is not certain, but the general idea seems to be that the person who neglects his obligations lays himself open to the vicissitudes of fate. The text of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 184, has *al-rajā'*, "hope," for *al-shaqā'*, "wretchedness," and Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille translate this passage in Mas'ūdī (see next note) as "L'homme . . . plein d'une confiance aveugle dans les moyens de révolte qui s'offrent à lui, se livre tout entier aux vicissitudes de la destinée."

447. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 63–4 = ed. Pellat, § 2750.

448. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 184, tr. 83; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh* II, 558; Azdī, 369.

449. An alternative reading for the text's *'ayn*[an], "in earnestness, in reality," might be *ghayb*[an], "without seeing Him directly."

The ever-wakeful one, the one who remains watchful;
he who remains alert during the periods of sleep of the slumbering night does not have to fear any foe!

People's hearts are filled with awe of you,
and you continue protecting them with a compassionate heart.

May my father, my mother and their sons be your ransom,
against all calamities and vicissitudes which may arise!

[1078] How pleasant is the place in which you have set me down as a homeland,
and how sweet is its herbage for the one seeking pasture! [that is, how pleasant is life for the subjects in your land].

You have become established as an exponent of [literally: brother to] righteous deeds and godly fear,
and a tender father to the humble, destitute person

May my life be your ransom! For my excuses go astray,
and I take refuge from you in the bountifulness of ample beneficence,

In hope of your grace; for bountiful actions are an innate quality [of yours],
which have elevated your character [literally: building] to a lofty place.

For you have lavished outstandingly generous deeds on such a scale
that the widest of hearts [literally: souls] are too narrow to be able to bestow its like,

And you have pardoned a person [that is, himself] with a pardon such as never before been known for such a deed
and [for which] no intercessor has ever pleaded before you previously,

Were it not that loftiness of character [recoils] from vengeance after
your strong arms have seized a humiliated and abased one.

Then you have shown compassion on children, like the sand-grouse's young,
and on the lamentations of a woman past her youth and not yet married, [with a sound] like the [release of an] archer's bow.[450] [1079]

You have inclined to me with affection, out of a bond of kinship, just as
the bone of one limping from a broken limb heals together again after being broken for a second time.

God knows what I am saying, for it is indeed
the solemnest oath which a true believer, who inclines in worship, can make,

[That] I never became a rebel against you, even when resources and allurements of the erring ones dragged me along,
without retaining the inner intention of remaining obedient,

Until when the cords of my wretched state were suspended,
near to death, over the dark abyss of destruction, a confused and anguished one,

I did not know that a crime like mine could be forgiven,
so I halted there in order to ascertain what mode of death was to strike me down.

The piety of the Imām, the one mighty yet full of humility, [1080]
has given back life to me, after it had gone.

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450. Barbier de Meynard, 259, translates, "d'une jeune fille gémissante que la douleur avait courbée comme un arc;" but the comparison of lamentation with the twanging sound made by bows is not infrequent in ancient Arabic poetry.

May He who has appointed you to the position of rulership grant you life for the longest possible period,
and may He strike your enemy with an incisive blade in the vein of the heart!

How many benefits from you, which my heart [literally: soul] has been unable to recount [or: did not mention] to me
when I saw myself disappointed in my desires,

Have you conferred on me as an act of pardon to me and as an act of grace,
hence I have given thanks to one who offers favors for the noblest of doers,

Except that it was a small thing when you granted it to me,
but it is a great deal as far as I was concerned, which will never be lost.

If you are generous to me over it [the act of pardoning], well, such liberality is only fitting for you;
and if you withhold it, well, you are the most just of those who withhold [benefits].

The one who allotted noble characteristics[451] gathered them all up
in the loins of Adam for the seventh Imām [that is, for al-Ma'mūn, the seventh 'Abbāsid Caliph].

The One who controls people's affairs has gathered together hearts around you,
and your cloak has gathered together all goodness which brings [men] together.[452]

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451. Following the reading *al-faḍā'il* of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Azdī and Ibn al-Athīr rather than Ṭabarī's *al-khilāfa*, the former one being in fact indicated in the editor's n. *i* as preferable.

452. Three of these last verses are given in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 204, tr. 93, and, apparently from there, in Azdī, 371, and four are given in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 64 = ed. Pellat, § 2751.

It is mentioned that, when Ibrāhīm recited this ode to al-Ma'mūn, the latter exclaimed, "I can only say what Joseph said to his brothers,[453] 'There is no reproach upon you today; God will forgive you, and He is the most merciful of those showing mercy.'"[454] [1081]

In this year, in the month of Ramaḍān (December 825–January 826), al-Ma'mūn consummated his marriage with Būrān, the daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl.

Al-Ma'mūn's Marriage with Būrān

It is mentioned that when al-Ma'mūn proceeded to Fam al-Ṣilḥ to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's military encampment, he took with him Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. Setting off for the ceremony there for the consummation of his marriage with Būrān, al-Ma'mūn left Baghdad in a skiff (*zawraq*),[455] (and sailed) until he anchored at al-Ḥasan's gate. Al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn had preceded his father, travelling on a mount, and al-Ḥasan met him outside his military encampment in a place which had been specially chosen for him on the banks of the Tigris where a pavilion had been erected for him. When al-'Abbās saw him, he bent his leg (over the saddle) in order to dismount, but al-Ḥasan adjured him not to do so. Then when he had straightened it, al-Ḥasan lifted his own leg in order to dismount, but al-'Abbās exclaimed, "By the Commander of the Faithful's rights, don't get down!" whereupon al-Ḥasan embraced him while still mounted. Then he ordered that al-'Abbās's riding beast should be given precedence before him, and the two of them entered al-Ḥasan's house together. Al-Ma'mūn arrived at the time of the evening worship, this being in Ramaḍān 210 (December

453. Qur'ān, XII, 92.

454. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 186–8, tr. 84–5, giving twenty-nine verses of the poem, as opposed to Ṭabarī's twenty-seven, and with three of them further repeated, see the previous note; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, IX, 60, giving seventeen verses; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, loc. cit.; 'Uyūn, 366–7; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, IV, 392–5; Barbier de Meynard, 257–60.

455. See Kindermann, *"Schiff" in arabischen. Untersuchung über Vorkommen und Bedeutung der Termini*, 37–8; cf. Mez, *The renaissance of Islam*, 486 ff.

825–January 826). He, al-Ḥasan and al-'Abbās broke their fast,
[1082] while Dīnār b. 'Abdallāh was still standing (in attendance on them), until they had finished the meal and had washed their hands. Al-Ma'mūn then called for some wine; a golden goblet was brought in and the wine poured into it. Al-Ma'mūn drank from it, and then held out his hand with the goblet containing wine to al-Ḥasan. Al-Ḥasan held back from it, since he had never drunk wine before then. Dīnār b. 'Abdallāh made a discreet sign to al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥasan said to the Caliph, "O Commander of the Faithful, I am drinking it with your permission and at your command!" Al-Ma'mūn told him, "If this were not my command, I would not hold out my hand to you!" So al-Ḥasan took the goblet and drank from it.[456]

On the second night, he brought together (in marriage) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl and al-'Abbāsah, daughter of al-Faḍl Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn.[457] On the third night, he consummated his marriage with Būrān, who had with her (during the preceding preparations and festivities) Ḥamdūnah,[458] Umm Ja'far[459] and her grandmother. When al-Ma'mūn sat down with her, her grandmother scattered over her a thousand pearls which were on a golden platter. Al-Ma'mūn ordered them to be collected up and asked her how many pearls there were. She replied, "A thousand." He ordered them to be counted, and ten were missing. He said, "Whoever has taken them must give them back." They said, "[It was] Ḥusayn Z.j.lah."[460] He commanded him to return them, but Ḥusayn protested, "O Commander of the Faithful, the pearls were only scattered so that we might take them [or: were not the pearls scattered just so that we might take them?]! Al-Ma'mūn insisted, "Give them back, and I will give you their equivalent." So Ḥusayn returned them. Al-Ma'-

456. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 206–7, tr. 94.

457. On this *laqab*, "the man with the two authorities," given to al-Faḍl in 196 (812), see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 201, II, 678, 681, and on this type of title in general, Goldziher, "Ueber Dualtitel," 321–9.

458. Daughter of Hārūn al-Rashīd, married to Ja'far b. al-Hādī, hence half-sister to al-Ma'mūn; see Abbott, 157.

459. I.e., Zubaydah bt. Ja'far b. al-Manṣūr, wife of Hārūn and step-mother of al-Ma'mūn; see Abbott, 137 ff.

460. Keller, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, tr. 95, vocalizes Zujlah.

mūn placed all the pearls together in the vessel, as they had originally been, and they were placed in her bosom. He said, "This is your wedding present, and now, ask me for any of your requests." However, she remained silent. Her grandmother said to her, "Speak to your lord and ask him for your requests, since he has commanded you to do so." Hence she asked him to show his favor to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. He replied, "I grant [1083] this." She also asked his permission for Umm Ja'far to go on the pilgrimage, and this he granted also.[461] Umm Ja'far presented her with the (formerly) Umayyad seamless jacket.[462] Al-Ma'mūn consummated his union with her that night, (and the same night) a candle of ambergris, weighing forty *manns* (3.25 kg.), in a golden vessel, was lit. Al-Ma'mūn criticized them for that, saying that it was an act of extravagance.[463]

The next morning, he sent for Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, and he appeared walking from the banks of the Tigris, wearing a fur-lined robe made from cloth with a silk thread warp (*mubaṭṭanah mulḥam*)[464] and with a turban round his head, until he entered (the Caliph's abode). When the curtain was removed from before al-Ma'mūn, Ibrāhīm threw himself on the ground. Al-Ma'mūn cried out, "O my uncle, do not worry any more!" So Ibrāhīm came forward, greeted him in the fashion appropriate to caliphs, kissed his hand and recited his (own) poetry. Al-Ma'mūn called for robes of honor and presented him with a second robe; he summoned a mount for him and girded him with a sword. Ibrāhīm then went out, greeted the assembled people and was escorted back to his place.[465]

It is mentioned that al-Ma'mūn stayed with al-Ḥasan b. Sahl for seventeen days, and all the requirements, each day, for the Caliph and for the whole of his retinue, were taken care of (by

461. Abbott, 235, notes that al-Ma'mūn may have discouraged his stepmother from revisiting the scenes in the Hijaz of her philanthropic activities of previous years.

462. This was a special heirloom of the royal harem, formerly the property of the wives of the Umayyad Caliphs 'Abd al-Malik and Hishām; see Abbott, 12, 234.

463. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 207–9, tr. 94–5; *'Uyūn*, 365–6.

464. Cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, II, 522a. *Mulḥam* cloth was a speciality of Marw.

465. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 209, tr. 95.

al-Ḥasan's munificence).[466] Al-Ḥasan also presented robes of honor to the commanders, according to their ranks, gave them mounts and rewarded them with presents. The total sum expended on them was fifty million dirhams. The narrator says: When he was about to depart, al-Ma'mūn ordered Ghassān b. 'Abbād (al-Ḥasan's cousin) to hand over to al-Ḥasan ten million (dirhams) from the taxation of Fārs, and he granted Ṣilḥ to him as an assignment of land. This sum was brought to him on the spot, and was laid out (or: was counted out) in Ghassān b. 'Abbād's presence. Al-Ḥasan then sat down and divided it up among his commanders, his companions, his retinue and his servants. When al-Ma'mūn departed, al-Ḥasan accompanied him (for the first part of his journey) and then returned to Fam al-Ṣilḥ.[467]

It is mentioned from Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who said that his family used to talk about how al-Ḥasan b. Sahl wrote
[1084] out pieces of paper with the names of his estates on them and scattered them among his commanders and among the Hāshimites, and whoever got hold of one of these pieces of paper with the name of an estate written on it, sent (to there) and took possession of it.[468]

It is mentioned from Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Kātib, who said that al-Ḥasan b. Sahl spoke to him one day about various things relating to Umm Ja'far, and described the weightiness of her intelligence and understanding. Then al-Ḥasan said: Al-Ma'mūn questioned her one day at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, when he came to visit us, regarding how much the expenditure on Būrān's festivities had amounted to, and he questioned Ḥamdūnah bt. Ghaḍīḍ about the amount which she had spent on that affair. The narrator (al-Ḥasan b. Sahl) continued: Ḥamdūnah replied, "I spent twenty-five million [dirhams]!" The narrator continued: Umm Ja'far then exclaimed, "You

466. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 66 = ed. Pellat, § 2752.
467. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 209–10, tr. 95.
468. Ibid., 210, tr. 95; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 559; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 65–6 = ed. Pellat, § 2752; *'Uyūn*, 367; Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, 120–2, tr. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, 99–100. This episode especially caught the fancy of later *adab* writers, see e.g., Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī, *Chahār maqāla, maqāla* i, anecdote 7.

didn't do anything at all! I spent between thirty-five and thirty-seven million dirhams!" The narrator continued: We prepared for al-Ma'mūn two candles of ambergris. He continued: Al-Ma'mūn consummated his marriage with Būrān by night, and the two candles were lit in his presence. But they smoked badly, so that he said, "Take them away, the smoke is bothering us, and bring ordinary [wax] candles." The narrator continued: That day, Umm Ja'far gave her as a wedding present Ṣilḥ. He continued: This was how Ṣilḥ reverted to my possession. I had owned it previously. Then one day, Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī came into my presence and recited to me four verses of poetry in which he eulogized Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn (al-Ḥasan's brother al-Faḍl b. Sahl). I said to him, "We will pass on the verses to Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn on your behalf, and I myself will make you a grant of Ṣilḥ as an interim measure until you get your full reward directly from him." Thus I made him a grant of Ṣilḥ. Then al-Ma'mūn gave it to Umm Ja'far, and she gave it as a wedding present to Būrān.[469]

'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn relates that al-Ḥasan b. Sahl used not to [1085]
have the curtains taken away from round him, nor were the candles removed from his presence, until the sun rose and he could distinguish it clearly when he looked at it. Also, he was superstitious and believed in omens (*kāna mutaṭayyiran*). He used to like people to say to him, when someone came into his presence, "We have left happiness and enjoyment behind;"[470] and he used to dislike being told about a funeral bier or someone's death.

The narrator ('Alī b. al-Ḥusayn) continued: I went into his[471] presence one day, and someone had told him that 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (the narrator) had sent his son al-Ḥasan to the Qur'ān school that day. He continued: He expressed his felicitations to me, and I went away and found in my house a gift of twenty

469. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 210–11, tr. 95–6; cf. Abbott, 230–4.

470. I.e., we are awe-stricken and feel completely at his mercy.

471. The most natural referent of the pronoun would be al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, mentioned immediately previously by name; Keller, however, takes it in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's text—as ambiguous as Ṭabarī's—as referring to the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, and this seems the more suitable inference in the general context.

thousand dirhams for (my son) al-Ḥasan and a draft for twenty thousand more. He continued: He had already given me as a present an estate from his own lands at Baṣrah valued at fifty thousand dīnārs, but (subsequently) Bughā al-Kabīr[472] deprived me of it and added it to his own lands.[473]

It is mentioned from Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī[474] that he said that when al-Ma'mūn visited al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, he stayed with him for several days after the consummation of his marriage with Būrān. The total time which he spent on his stay and on the journey, both the outward journey and the return amounted to forty days, and he re-entered Baghdad on Thursday, the eighteenth of Shawwāl (210 [February 1, 826]). It is mentioned from Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī[475] that he stated that al-Ma'mūn set out for Fam al-Ṣilḥ to visit al-Ḥasan b. Sahl on the eighth of Ramaḍān, (210 [December 23, 825]) and journeyed back from Fam al-Ṣilḥ on the twentieth of Shawwāl, 210 (February 3, 826).[476]

In this year, Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (al-Ṭūsī) perished on the day of the breaking of the fast (on the first of Shawwāl [January 15, 826]). His slave girl 'Adhal recited:

[1086] He who set out on the morning of the day of the breaking of the fast with a light heart,
at a time when we had no envious feelings towards him,
God be praised!

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472. The Turkish slave commander who played a great rôle in politics and military affairs during the middle years of the third/ninth century; see *EI*[2] s.v. (Sourdel).

473. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 211, tr. 96.

474. A judge by profession who was later involved in the *miḥnah* (see below, 210, 211), and who was also a significant historical source for Ibn Abī Ṭāhir; see Keller, II, Intro., pp. XIV–XVII.

475. The famous mathematician and astronomer, who in his youth worked in al-Ma'mūn's research and translation center, the Bayt al-Ḥikmah, see *EI*[2] s.v. al-Khʷārazmī, Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. Mūsā (J. Vernet); but he was also a historian and a source for Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, see Keller, loc. cit.

476. The reading adopted here of the eighteenth of Shawwāl follows the text of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 212, against Ṭabarī's text with the eleventh of Shawwāl (*baqiyat* against *khalat*); as Keller points out, tr. 96, n.1, the date of the eighteenth of Shawwāl gives a period of forty days from the departure date of the eighth of Ramaḍān. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 559, simply mentions al-Ma'mūn's total absence as being forty days.

Or else he was waiting for his master at the time of the breaking of the fast,

while our master was in fact already laid in his sepulchre in the earth.

In this year, 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir conquered Egypt and 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam[477] sought a guarantee of security under his protection.

'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir Goes Forth from Raqqah to Egypt; Ibn al-Sarī Goes Out to Him under a Guarantee of Security

It is mentioned that when 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir had finished with the campaign against Naṣr b. Shabath al-'Uqaylī and had sent him on to al-Ma'mūn, letters from al-Ma'mūn reached him at Baghdad ordering him to march to Egypt. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Makhlad[478] related to me that he was at that time in Egypt and that when 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir drew near to it and was only one stage's journey away, he sent out one of his commanders in order to reconnoitre for a good place in which his army could encamp. Ibn al-Sarī had dug a defensive trench round it (the capital Fusṭāṭ).[479] The latter got news about 'Abdallāh's commander's reconnaissance to the close vicinity of the capital, hence he marched out with a force of supporters who had flocked to his standard against the commander whom 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir had deputed to find a camping-place for his army. Ibn al-Sarī's army and 'Abdallāh's commander and his accompanying force, which was only a small one, made battle

477. 'Ubaydallāh had been *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* in Egypt since 205 (820/1) under his brother Abū Naṣr and then himself governor in Sha'bān 206 (January 822), resisting attempts by al-Ma'mūn to replace him; see Kindī, 172–4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*, II, 178, 181 ff.

478. Presumably a member of the family of secretaries and viziers, of Christian origin, who served the caliphs in the second half of the century; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 309 ff., 316 ff; *EI*[2] s.v. Ibn al-Makhlad (id.).

479. From Kindī, 180, it appears that 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir encamped at Bilbays on entering Egypt and then moved to Zufaytā some twenty miles north of Fusṭāṭ (modern Zifta), whilst 'Ubaydallāh fortified himself within Fusṭāṭ by building the ditch and rampart (*khandaq*) further referred to in ibid., 174.

contact. 'Abdallāh's commander and his troops wheeled away in an evasive action, and he sent a dispatch by mounted mes-
[1087] senger to 'Abdallāh informing him about what he had been doing and about Ibn al-Sarī's actions. 'Abdallāh mounted his foot soldiers on mules, two men on each mule, with all their arms and equipment. They led the horses along by the side of the mules and travelled as speedily as possible till they caught up with 'Abdallāh's commander and Ibn al-Sarī. 'Abdallāh and his troops only had to make a single charge and Ibn al-Sarī and his forces were routed. Most of Ibn al-Sarī's forces fell successively into the ditch, and more of them perished in the trench by their bodies falling one on top of another than were killed by the swords of the opposing army. Ibn al-Sarī himself fled; he retired into Fusṭāṭ and closed the gate, with himself, his followers and the resident population all inside it. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir besieged him, but Ibn al-Sarī did not continue fighting back against him after this; in the end, he came forth to 'Abdallāh under a guarantee of safety.

It is mentioned from Ibn Dhī al-Qalamayn[480] (the son of 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd, cousin of al-Faḍl b. Sahl), who stated that when 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir came to the capital of Egypt and Ibn al-Sarī barred him from entry, Ibn al-Sarī sent him a thousand male and female slaves, each slave boy having with him a thousand dīnārs in a silken purse; these he sent by night. The narrator continued: However, 'Abdallāh sent all these back to him and wrote, "If I were able to accept your present by day, then I would
certainly accept it by night, but 'Nay, it is you who rejoice in your gift. Return to them; indeed, we shall come to them with hosts which they will have no power to withstand and we shall certainly expel them from it abased and in a state of humiliation'"[481] The narrator continued: At that point, Ibn al-Sarī sought a guarantee of security from 'Abdallāh and went forth to him.[482]

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480. For suggestions on the meaning of this honorific, see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 202–3.

481. Qur'ān, XXVII, 36–7.

482. In Abī Ṭāhir, 148–9, tr. 67–8; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 560–1; Kindī, 180–3, giving the date of 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī's submission to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir as in

Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar mentioned from Abū al-Samrā', who said: We set out with the amīr 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, travelling in the direction of Egypt. When we were at a point between Ramlah and Damascus, a tribesman suddenly appeared before us. He turned out to be an old man, of obvious intelligence and piety [*baqiyyah*],[483] mounted on a greyish-colored camel. He greeted us, and we returned the greeting. Abū al-Samrā' continued: I was with Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Rāfiqī and Isḥāq b. Abī Rib'ī, and we were accompanying the amīr in his journey. It happened that on that particular day we had more spirited mounts than he, and we were wearing finer-quality clothes. He continued: The tribesman started peering intently at our faces. He continued: I therefore said, "O shaykh, you are eyeing us very persistently; have you recognized something, or is there something of which you disapprove?" He replied, "No, by God, I never knew you before today, and I have not discerned in you any evil characteristic which I should condemn; but I possess a very keen ability of knowing people's character and fates through physiognomy [*firāsah*],[484] and am able to discern a great deal about them." He continued: I then pointed out Isḥāq b. Abī Rib'ī to him and said, "What can you say about this man?" He thereupon recited: [1088]

I see a secretary, whose skill in the secretary's art is clearly to be discerned,
and with his training in Iraq shining forth.[485]

The movements which he makes amply bear witness to the fact that he is
knowledgeable and far-sighted about the assessment of the land-tax.

Ṣafar 211 (May–June 826); *'Uyūn*, 367–8; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 396–7; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, II, 181, 191–2. On al-Ma'mūn's Egyptian policy in general, see Shaban, 52–3, 59–61.

483. This is the meaning which this word acquired from the traditional interpretation of the phrase *ūlū baqiyyah* in Qur'ān, XI, 118/116; see Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, Part 1, 238c.

484. On this skill, see *EI*[2] s.v. (T. Fahd).

485. The complexity of the administrative and fiscal system of the Sawād of Iraq made it the training ground par excellence for secretaries.

Then he looked at Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Rāfiqī and recited:

Many a person who outwardly manifests piety does not reveal externally his inner character,
loves presents [that is, he is corrupt] and acts deceitfully with men.

I discern in him cowardliness, avarice and a personal character which tells one about him that he is indeed a vizier.

Then he looked at me and began to recite:

This man is one of the amīr's boon companions and confidants, from whose intimacy the amīr derives joy.

I recognise him as a transmitter of poetry and the religious sciences,
and also at times a boon companion and storyteller at nocturnal literary sessions.

Then he looked at the amīr and began to recite:

This one is the amīr, the bounty of whose hands is hoped for; among all those I have ever seen, there is none like him.

He wears a cloak of seemliness and dignity,
and has a face which bears the good tidings of the attainment of success.

Through him, Islam has been made secure from the outset; through him, goodness has flourished and evil has withered away.

Is not 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir
indeed a father to us, a benefit for us as well as being an amīr?

He continued to relate: All this made an extremely favorable impression on 'Abdallāh. The shaykh's words delighted him,

so he ordered that he should be given five hundred dīnārs and that he should accompany him.[486] [1090]

It is mentioned from al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā al-Fihrī, who said: We met al-Buṭayn, the poet of Ḥimṣ,[487] while we were accompanying ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, at a spot between Salamiyyah[488] and Ḥimṣ. He halted in the roadway and recited to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir:

A twofold welcome and greetings
to the son of the munificent one, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn!

A twofold welcome and greetings
to the son of the man with two noble characteristics [*ghurratayn*] in the two missions [*daʿwatayn*]![489]

A twofold welcome to the one whose palm is a sea [of bounty]
when it overflows like the foaming waters over the two sides of a well!

Al-Maʾmūn, may God strengthen him, does not have to worry
as long as he has the two of you [Ṭāhir and ʿAbdallāh] remaining in his service.

You are a West, and he is an East, established there
against whatever breach may occur from the two sides [of the empire].

It is only right, since the two of you are from a long time back
the descendants of Ruzayq,[490] Muṣʿab and Ḥusayn,

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486. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 158–60, tr. 71–2; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 397–8; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, II, 193–4.

487. Al-Buṭayn b. Umayyah al-Bajalī; see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 477.

488. A town to the northeast of Ḥimṣ; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 240–1; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 510, 528; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, 272–3; *EI*[1] s.v. Salamīya (Kramers).

489. I.e., the ʿAbbāsid revolution and the movement to place al-Maʾmūn on the throne, sometimes referred to by contemporaries as *al-daʿwah al-thāniyah*; cf. on the latter, Daniel, 177–80.

490. Both Ṭabarī's text and that of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, loc. cit., have, wrongly,

That you should both reach the peak of glory which you have in fact reached

and that you should attain a position of superiority over the two heavy creations [men and jinn].[491]

[1091] 'Abdallāh said, "Who are you, may your mother be bereft of you?" He replied, "I am al-Buṭayn, the poet of Ḥimṣ." 'Abdallāh said, "Ride with us, lad, and reflect how may lines of verse you have just recited." He replied, "Seven." So 'Abdallāh ordered that he should be given seven thousand dirhams or seven hundred dīnārs. Al-Buṭayn journeyed with 'Abdallāh all the way to Egypt and Alexandria, until the time when a drainage outlet (*makhraj*) opened up in the ground and swallowed him and his mount, and he died in it at Alexandria[492]

In this year, 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir captured Alexandria—according to other reports, in the year 211 (826/7)—and expelled from it the Andalusians who had taken the city over.[493]

The Activities of 'Abdallāh and the Andalusians

Several of the people of Egypt related to me that some ships approached on the Mediterranean (Baḥr al-Rūm) from the direction of Andalus, containing a large number of men, at the time when the local people were distracted from their approach by the insurrection of al-Jarawī[494] and Ibn al-Sarī. Finally, they an-

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Zurayq. The ancestor Ruzayq had been a mawlā of the Umayyad governor of Sīstān Ṭalḥah b. 'Abdallāh al-Khuzā'ī; see Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture," 47; Kaabi, 148–51.

491. See Bosworth, op. cit., 60–1.

492. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 160–1, tr. 72–3; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, II, 194–5.

493. These Andalusian corsairs and adventurers included considerable elements from the rebels expelled from the suburb of Cordova in 202 (818) by the Umayyad amīr, al-Ḥakam I, the so-called al-Rabaḍiyyūn; see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, I, 165–73.

494. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 555–6, Kindī, 169 ff., and Severus b. al-Muqaffa', *Ta'rīkh Baṭāriqat al-kanīsah al-miṣriyyah*, ed. and tr. B. Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, IV, 428, give accounts of 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jarawī's revolt in lower Egypt and then his submission to al-Ma'mūn's commanders, sent to Egypt to re-establish caliphal authority, Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī (see above, 147) and 'Umar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhajī.

chored their ships at Alexandria, their leader at that time being a man called Abū Ḥafṣ ('Umar b. Ḥafṣ al-Ballūṭī), and they remained there till 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir entered Egypt.[495]

Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā told me: A young man—he meant 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir—came to us from the direction of the east at a time when our whole world had been plunged into strife; various usurpers had seized power in every part of the land, and had terrorized the people; but he set the world to rights, brought peace and security to the innocent and struck fear into the evil-minded, and the subjects flocked to him tendering their obedience. Then he continued: 'Abdallāh b. Wahb related [1092] to us from 'Abdallāh b. Lahī'ah, who said (I do not know whether he carried the transmission back to an earlier generation or not; we have not found [it] in any of the books which we have read): God has an army in the east, and none of His creation has rebelled against Him without His having sent this army against them and His having wrought vengeance on them by means of it (or some other form of words with this meaning).

When 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn entered Egypt, he sent a message to the Andalusians there and to those who had joined up with them, announcing that he was going to attack them unless they submitted. They (that is, the authorities on events in Egypt) related to me that the Andalusians agreed to submit, and sought a guarantee of safe-conduct from him, on condition that they were to depart from Alexandria to some other region of the land of Rūm (the Byzantine territories) which was not part of the lands of Islam. 'Abdallāh granted them a guarantee on this condition, hence they set sail from Alexandria and landed on one of the islands in the (Mediterranean) Sea called Crete. They established a colony and settled there, and there are the remains of their progeny on that island to this day.[496]

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495. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 541–2, Kindī, 158, 161–5, 169–70, and Severus, IV, 429 ff., give the circumstances of the Andalusians' seizure of the city from the Banū Mudlij and the Lakhm in 199 (814/15).

496. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 560–1; Kindī, 183–4 (both placing 'Abdallāh's recovery of Alexandria in the early part of 212 [summer 827]; Severus, IV, 455 ff.,

In this year, the people of Qumm threw off their allegiance to the ruling authority and withheld payment of the land-tax.

The People of Qumm Throw off the Ruling Authority

It is mentioned that the reason for their renunciation of it was that they considered the burden of the land-tax imposed on them as being excessively high. The tax required amounted to two million dirhams. Al-Ma'mūn had reduced the people of Rayy's assessment when he had entered the city on his journey from Khurasan to Iraq by the amount which I mentioned previously. Hence the people of Qumm were eager for al-Ma'mūn to lighten their burden and decrease their taxation just as he had done for the people of Rayy. They made petition to him, requesting a reduction in taxation and complaining of its heavi-
[1093] ness upon them. But al-Ma'mūn refused to grant their request. Thereupon they withheld payment of taxes, so al-Ma'mūn sent against them 'Alī b. Hishām and then reinforced him with 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasah. One of Ḥumayd's commanders called Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-K.ḥ b.q.w.ṣ[497] came from Khurasan, and al-Ma'mūn wrote to him to head towards Qumm and attack its people in concert with 'Alī b. Hishām. 'Alī fought with them and gained a victory over them, killing Yaḥyā b. 'Imrān and razing the town walls of Qumm. He imposed on them a tax assessment of seven million dirhams, after they had (previously) complained of two millions.[498]

In this year, Shahriyār, the son of Sharwīn, died. His son Sābūr took his place, but Māzyār b. Qārin disputed the succes-

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465 ff.; *'Uyūn*, 369; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 398–9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, II, 192. The Andalusian control over Crete, under members of the family of Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar, lasted until the Byzantine reconquest of 961; see Canard, in *Cambridge medieval history. IV. The Byzantine empire. I*, 709; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 49–61, 287; *EI*[2] s.v. Iḳrīṭish (Canard).

497. Reading uncertain here, and equally so in the death notice (year 236 [850/1]) of this commander in Ṭabarī, III, 1407 (where he is given the *nisbah* of al-Marwazī).

498. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 399; Shaban, 55. Al-Ma'mūn's destruction of the town walls is noted in Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Qummī, *Ta'rīkh-i Qum*, 35, 163, 189–90.

sion with him, and captured and killed him. The mountain region (the inland parts of Ṭabaristān) now passed into the hands of Māzyār b. Qārin.[499]

In this year, Ṣāliḥ b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, the governor of Mecca at that time, led the pilgrimage.[500]

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499. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 401; *EI*[1] s.v. Māzyār (Minorsky); *EI*[2] s.v. Ḳārinids (Rekaya).

500. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 773; Azdī, 372.

The Events of the Year

211

(APRIL 13, 826–APRIL 1, 827)

Among the events taking place during this year was 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī's journeying forth to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir under a guarantee of safe-conduct and 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir's entering Egypt. It is said that this (actually) took place in the year 210 (825/6). A certain authority mentions that Ibn al-Sarī went forth to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir on Saturday, the twenty-fourth of Ṣafar 211[501] (June 5, 826),[502] was brought to Baghdad on the twenty-third of Rajab, 211 (October 29, 826) and lodged in the
[1094] City of Abū Ja'far.[503] 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir remained in Egypt as

501. Actually a Monday.

502. Keller, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, tr. 68, n.1, points out that, from mentions elsewhere (e.g., text 145, tr. 66) of this author's concern with Egyptian events in 210, the date of 'Ubaydallāh's going forth to 'Abdallāh must have been on Saturday, the twenty-sixth of Rajab, 210 (November 12, 825—but this was actually a Sunday). Ṭabarī's ms. O has Rajab, and the preferable date 210 of mss. C and O was rejected by the editor as wrong. But Kindī, 182, in a detailed account of events, with several circumstantial dates, has Ṣafar 211 as the date for 'Ubaydallāh's formal acceptance of the *amān*.

503. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 561, says that 'Abdallāh appointed 'Ubaydallāh over upper Egypt for two months before sending him to Baghdad.

governor of the province and over the whole (*sā'ir*) of Syria and the Jazirah.[504] It is mentioned from Ṭāhir b. Khālid b. Nizār al-Ghassānī, who said that al-Ma'mūn wrote to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir when the latter was in Egypt at the time of his conquest of the province, and at the foot of one of his letters (were the words):

You are my brother and my friend (*mawlāyā*),
and the one for whose benefits I give thanks.

Whatever thing you may love,
I will show my desire for it eternally.

While whatever thing you may dislike,
I shall find it displeasing.

You have God's word for this,
you have God's word, you have God's word!

Al-Ma'mūn Tests 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir

It is mentioned from 'Aṭā', the official charged with hearing complaints (*ṣāḥib al-maẓālim*)[505] for 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, who related that one of al-Ma'mūn's brothers spoke to al-Ma'mūn thus, "O Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir has an inclination towards the progeny of Abū Ṭālib, just as his father had before him." He continued: Al-Ma'mūn pushed this suggestion aside and gave it no credence. Then the brother came back and repeated the same allegation. So al-Ma'mūn sent a man secretly to 'Abdallāh instructing him, "Go forth to Egypt in the guise of one of the Qur'ān reciters[506] and ascetics, and summon a group of the great men of state there to the alle-

504. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 149, tr. 68; Azdī, 368, 373; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 402.
505. Concerning this function, see H.F. Amedroz, "The mazālim jurisdiction in the Ahkam Sultaniyya of Mawardi," *JRAS* (1911), 635–74; Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, 348–51; *EI*[2] s.v. Maẓālim (J.S. Nielsen).
506. *al-qurrā'*, also in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 402; Ibn Abī Ṭahir, 146, tr. 66, and 'Uyūn, 369, have *al-ghuzāt*, "frontier warriors for the faith."

giance of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭabāṭabā (al-Rassī),[507] recounting his virtues, his learning and his merits. After that, get in touch with one of ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir's confidants and then go to ʿAbdallāh himself, summoning him and making attractive to him the giving of allegiance to the ʿAlid. Ferret out in a manner which dispels doubt about his innermost intentions, and report back to me what you hear from him."

He continued to relate: The man did what al-Ma'mūn had told and instructed him to do. He summoned to allegiance a group of the leading men and notables, and then he sat down one day at ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir's gate, at a moment when the latter had ridden to visit ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Sarī after he had made peace with him and granted him a guarantee of security. When ʿAbdallāh returned, the man rose up before him and brought
[1095] out of his sleeve a paper, and handed it to him. ʿAbdallāh took it in his hand. ʿAbdallāh had hardly gone in, when the chamberlain came out to the man and escorted him inside, where he found ʿAbdallāh seated on his carpet with nothing else between it and the ground, with his legs stretched out and his boots still on. ʿAbdallāh said to him, "I have understood what is in your paper, the whole of what you have said—so out with what you really mean!" The man said, "Do I have your guarantee of safety and the protection of God in regard to you?" He replied, "Certainly."

He related: He then revealed to ʿAbdallāh his intention, and summoned him to give allegiance to al-Qāsim, telling him all about his merits, his learning and his ascetic way of life. ʿAbdallāh asked him, "Will you give me a fair hearing?" He replied that he would. ʿAbdallāh then asked him, "Is gratitude to God incumbent on all His servants?" He agreed that it was. He further asked, "Is gratitude incumbent on one person to another in return for beneficence, favors and acts of kindness?" He agreed that it was. ʿAbdallāh said, "Yet you come to me, when I am in this exalted position which you see, with my seal effica-

507. Brother of the Ḥasanid Ibn Ṭabāṭabā whose revolt in Kūfah in 199 (815) was managed by Abū al-Sarāyā, see above, 13 ff., and founder of the Rassid line of Zaydī Imāms in the Yemen, died in 246 (860), see *EI*[1] s.v. Rassids (A.S. Tritton).

cious in the East as in the West, and my command obeyed and my word accepted in the lands between? I have only to turn to my right or left, or to look behind me or before me, and I see manifestations of acts of liberality from a man who has heaped them upon me, favor with which he has laid a seal on my neck, and unsolicited, clear beneficence [literally: a white, shining hand, *yad lā'iḥah bayḍā'*] which he bestowed upon me from the outset of graciousness and nobility of character! And you now invite me to display ingratitude for favor and for this beneficence, and you say, 'Betray the one who was the first and the last mover in all this, and bend your efforts to sever the vital cord of his neck and shed his blood!'? Do you yourself think that, even if you were to invite me directly into the Garden of Paradise, so that I could see it before my very eyes, as I know Paradise to be, God would like me to betray him, display ingratitude for his beneficence and favors, and break my oath of allegiance to him?"

The man remained silent. Then 'Abdallāh said to him, "Moreover, I have heard all about your activities, and by God, I am only afraid for your life. So depart from this land, for if the supreme ruling authority gets to hear about your doings—and I [1096] cannot give you a guarantee of security concerning that—you will bring down disaster on both yourself and others."

Thus when the man had despaired of acheiving anything of his intentions, he came to al-Ma'mūn and told him the whole story. The Caliph rejoiced greatly and exclaimed, "That man is the tender shoot nurtured by my own hand, the intimate companion from my process of upbringing and the sprig of my fertilization and grafting!" He never divulged anything of this to anyone, and 'Abdallāh only knew about it after al-Ma'mūn's death.[508]

It is mentioned from (or: concerning, *'an*) 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir that, while he was besieging 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī in Egypt, he recited these verses:

508. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 145–8, tr. 66–7; *'Uyūn*, 369–70; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 402–3, identifying the brother who denounced 'Abdallāh as al-Mu'taṣim.

She shed copious tears in the morning,
when she saw how near was the moment of my departure,

And I exchanged by richly-embroidered sash
for a gleaming Yemeni sword,

And spent a long time in journeying
both in the mornings and the evening [that is, in perpetual travelling].

She considered it foolish, in that
I was weary and without rest,

[But I said to her,] Cut short your dalliance with me, for I am
setting out on the road in search of my fortune.

I am one of al-Ma'mūn's servants,
in the shadow of [his] protective wing.

If God one day grants success,
then the attainment of my place of refreshment and repose
will be near;

But if it be destruction, then proclaim
with lamentation and cries,

"A slain one has found his last resting-place in Egypt,"
and leave off your complaining and querulousness.[509]

It is mentioned from 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf that his father[510] wrote to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir at the point when 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī submitted to him congratulating him on that success (in the following words):

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509. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 148, tr. 67.

510. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf was a secretary and confidant of al-Ma'mūn, occupying in effect the position of vizier after the death in 211 (827) of Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 225–31.

I have heard the news, may God strengthen the amīr, of the victory which God has granted you and Ibn al-Sarī's submission to you. So praise be to God, who upholds the cause of His faith, who strengthens the secular power of His Caliph appointed over His servants, and who humbles [1097] the one who deviates from His way and His rightful due and who throws off obedience to Him! We implore God to strengthen him with acts of favor and to assist him in conquering the lands of polytheism. Praise be to God for the authority which he has given to you[511] since you departed from your specified purpose! Indeed, we and all our dependents remind ourselves with pride of your conduct in engaging in battle and granting peace, and we show immense wonder at the qualities bestowed on him ['Abdallāh] [by God] of severity and leniency in their appropriate places. We do not know of any ruler over a body of soldiers or subjects who acts so equitably between them as you do, nor of anyone who grants forgiveness, to persons who have caused harm or shown rancor towards him, from a position of superior strength as you do. How rarely do we see a nobly-descended person who does not give up control of his affairs [that is, throw away his own personal talent or potential], relying rather upon what his forefathers have passed on to him! And the one who is given good fortune, material sufficiency, ruling authority and governmental power does not simply cleave to[512] what has fallen to his share in abundant quantity,[513] so that he falls short in being able to cope with what is before him.[514] Furthermore, we do

511. This seems to be the sense, and Keller, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, tr. 68, adopts a similar interpretation of the parallel passage in this author, "was er dir erwiesen hat."

512. *Lam yukhlid*, following the sense of *akhlada ilā al-arḍ*, "he clung to the ground," in Qur'ān, VII, 175/176.

513. *Mā 'afā lahu*, echoing the sense of *'afā* given by some commentators, "be luxuriant," where it occurs in Qur'ān, VII, 93/95.

514. This seems to be the sense of a difficult passage with tortuous syntax, whose general meaning depends largely on the interpretation of the phrase *lam yulqi bi-yadihi*, here translated as "does not cast away by his own hand," following Dozy, II, 547a.

not know any person exercising power who deserves success on account of his good conduct and his restraining of the arbitrary conduct of his retainers as you do. Nor does any one of our dependants consider it appropriate that he should prefer before you anyone whom he would like to have in the face of affliction or some calamitous happening. So may God's beneficence and His augmentation of favor reward you, and may God grant you this favor which He has brought together for you, by keeping firm hold of that by means of which the bond with your Imām and master and the master of all the Muslims will be completely strengthened for you. May He also grant you and us perpetuation of life! For you yourself well know that you have never ceased to be, in our eyes and in those of our dependents, in an honored status, assured of primacy and magnified in our sight. God has bestowed on you an increase of glory and honor in the eyes of the high and the
[1098] low, so that they focus all their personal hopes on you and regard you as their bulwark against the adverse events and vicissitudes which come upon them. I hope that God will guide you to those things which He loves, just as His benefits and favor have helped you to success. Indeed, you have comported yourself well in achieving the protection of divine favor; for it has not led you into arrogance and presumption, and you have only grown in humility and self-abasement. So praise be to God for what He has secured for you, has conferred on you of benefits and has entrusted to you! Farewell![515]

In this year, 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn arrived in the City of Peace from the western lands,[516] and al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn,[517] Abū Isḥāq al-Mu'taṣim and the rest of the men of

515. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 150–1, tr. 68–9.

516. Kindī, 184, says that 'Abdallāh sailed down the Nile from Fusṭāṭ, en route for Iraq, on the twenty-fifth Rajab, 212 (October 20, 827).

517. Claimant to the caliphate after his father's death in 218 (833) and especially during the rebellion of 223 (838) against his uncle al-Mu'taṣim; see Ṭabarī, III, 1249–50, 1257–68, tr. E. Marin, *The reign of al-Mu'taṣim (833–842)*, 71, 76–85.

state came out to meet him. He brought with him the rebels who had previously seized control over Syria, such as Ibn al-Sarj, Ibn Abī al-Jamal and Ibn Abī al-Ṣaqr.[518]

(In this year,) Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ died, and Muḥammad b. Mūsā took over the governorship of Ṭabaristān in his father's stead.[519]

(In this year,) Ḥājib b. Ṣāliḥ became governor of India, but Bishr b. Dāwūd (al-Muhallabī) defeated him in battle and he retreated to Kirmān.[520]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn ordered a herald to proclaim, "No protection for anyone who mentions the name of Mu'āwiyah favorably or who accords him superiority over any one of the Messenger of God's Companions."[521]

In this year, Ṣāliḥ b. al-'Abbās, governor of Mecca, led the pilgrimage.[522]

In this year, the poet Abū al-'Atāhiyah died.[523]

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518. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 149, tr. 68; Azdī, 378; *'Uyūn*, 370; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil.*, VI, 406.

519. Ibid.; Rabino di Borgomale, "Les préfets du Califat au Ṭabaristān," 264.

520. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 557, records that Ḥājib b. Ṣāliḥ was originally sent out by al-Ma'mūn to quell the rebellious Bishr.

521. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 90–1 = ed. Pellat, § 2775; *'Uyūn*, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 46–7, Eng. tr. II, 54; Pellat, "Le culte de Mu'âwiya au IIIe siècle," *SI*, VI (1956), 55. According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 93 = ed. Pellat, § 2776, cf. Sourdel, "La politique religieuse du calife 'abbāside al-Ma'mūn," 39, the Caliph was dissuaded from this course on the grounds that it would cause discontent among the people.

522. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 774; Azdī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

523. Ibid.; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 534–5; *EI*[2] s.v. (A. Guillaume).

The Events of the Year

[1099]

212

(APRIL 2, 827–MARCH 21, 828)

Among the events taking place during this year was al-Ma'mūn's dispatching Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī[524] via the Mosul Road to campaign against Bābak, and his reinforcing Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd for this purpose. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd seized Ya'lā b. Murrah and other rebels like him in Azerbaijan and sent them back to al-Ma'mūn.[525]

In this year, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-'Umarī, known as the Red-eyed One, rebelled in the Yemen.[526]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn appointed as governor in the Yemen Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, known as Abū al-Rāzī.[527]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn proclaimed the doctrine of the

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524. Son of Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, and a poet as well as a soldier, cf. Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 583.

525. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 564 ff., with a very detailed account of events in Arrān, Azerbaijan and Armenia and the war against Bābak; Azdī, 378 ff., with a detailed account of events in the region of Mosul; *'Uyūn*, 373; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 407; Shaban, 56–9.

526. Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 561–2; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 408.

527. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

createdness of the Qur'ān and the pre-eminence (*tafḍīl*) of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, saying that he was the best of mankind after the Messenger of God. This was in the month of Rabī' I (June 827).[528]

In this year, 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad led the pilgrimage.[529]

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528. *'Uyūn*, 370; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.; Sourdel, op. cit., 38–41; cf. Marquet, 127.

529. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 775; Azdī, 385; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year

213

(MARCH 22, 828–MARCH 10, 829)

Among the events taking place during this year was the renunciation of allegiance by 'Abd al-Salām (or: al-Sallām) and Ibn Jalīs in Egypt with a throng of Qaysīs and Yamanīs and their rebellion there.[530]

In this year, Ṭalḥah b. Ṭāhir died in Khurasan.[531]

[1100] In this year, al-Ma'mūn appointed his brother Abū Isḥāq as governor of Syria and Egypt, and his son al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn over the Jazīrah, the frontier regions and the defensive fortresses (*al-thughūr wa-al-'awāṣim*),[532] and he ordered five hundred thousand dīnārs to be given to each of them and to

530. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 567, and Kindī, 185–6, give 'Abdallāh b. Jalīs al-Hilālī as the leader of the Qays and 'Abd al-Salām b. Abī al-Māḍī al-Judhāmī al-Jarawī as leader of the Yaman.

531. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 173–4, tr. 78, with a much fuller account; *'Uyūn*, 371; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 409; Rothstein, 162; Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, IV, 98.

532. I.e., the much fought-over frontier zone of northern Syria and the Jazīrah separating the Dār al-Islām from Byzantium; see Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 94 ff.; *EI*[2] s.v. al-'Awāṣim (Canard).

'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. It is said that he had never before divided out a sum of money of this magnitude in a single day.[533]

In this year, he appointed Ghassān b. 'Abbād as governor of Sind.

Al-Ma'mūn Appoints Ghassān b. 'Abbād Governor over Sind

According to the reports which have reached me, the reason for that was that Bishr b. Dāwūd b. Yazīd (al-Muhallabī)[534] rebelled against al-Ma'mūn. He levied the land-tax, but did not forward any of it to al-Ma'mūn. It is mentioned that al-Ma'mūn said to his courtiers one day, "Tell me about Ghassān b. 'Abbād, for I want him for an important office;" he had, in fact, already decided to appoint him governor of Sind because of the rebelliousness of Bishr b. Dāwūd. Those present spoke and went on at great length in Ghassān's praise. Then al-Ma'mūn looked towards Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, who remained silent, and said to him, "What do you say, O Aḥmad?" The latter replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, here is a man whose virtues are more numerous than his bad qualities. He is not sent[535] to any class of people without his rendering justice to them. Whatever fears you may have regarding him, he will never embark on any affair which needs excusing [or: from which he has to exculpate himself];[536] for he has divided up his days into days of beneficence [*al-faḍl*] [or possibly: he has divided up his time in the service of al-Faḍl (b. Sahl)], and for every person he allots a special time [for approaching him with petitions or complaints]. When you examine his conduct, you do not know which of his personal modes of conduct is the more remarkable—that

533. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, loc. cit.; Azdī, loc. cit.; *'Uyūn*, 371, 373; Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, 141, tr. 110; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 409.

534. Son of the former governor of Sind Dāwūd, and great-great-great-grandson of the famous Umayyad general al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah.

535. Interpreting the consonant ductus here as *lā yuṣrafa bihi*, as seems allowable by n. g.

536. The text given here by the editor is very conjectural, hence the present translation must be equally so; furthermore, there is a variant text in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 238, tr. 109.

which his intelligence directs him towards, or that which he acquires through his education." Al-Ma'mūn said, "You have
[1101] eulogized him, despite your personally unfavorable opinion of him." Aḥmad b. Yūsuf replied, "[That is] because he is, in regard to what I have just stated, like what the poet has said:

May it be sufficient thanks for what you have bestowed on me
that I have praised you in regard to both friends and enemies.[537]

He related: Al-Ma'mūn was delighted at his words and found his learning and wit impressive.[538]

In this year, 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad led the pilgrimage.[539]

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537. Reading here, with ibid., 239, and the *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DCCLXXII, *'udātī*.

538. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 238–9, tr. 108–9, adding a second verse; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 557; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 409–10.

539. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 776; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 410.

The Events of the Year 214

(MARCH 11, 829–FEBRUARY 27, 830)

Among the events taking place in this year was the killing of Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī by Bābak at Hashtādsar[540] on Saturday the twenty-fifth of Rabīʿ I[541] (June 2, 829); Bābak scattered Muḥammad's army and killed a large number of his troops.[542]

In this year, Abū al-Rāzī was killed in Yemen.[543]

In this year, ʿUmayr b. al-Walīd al-Bādhghīsī, financial administrator (*ʿāmil*) in Egypt for Abū Isḥāq b. al-Rashīd, was

540. Literally, "the eighty peaks;" apparently this lay in northern Azerbaijan, in the mountainous region south of the Araxes, where lay also Babak's headquarters of al-Badhdh; see Schwarz, 970–1.

541. Actually a Wednesday.

542. *ʿUyūn*, 373–4, and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 412–13, with a much more detailed account of these events; Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 92–3.

543. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 561–2, with a detailed account of how Abū al-Rāzī captured the rebel al-ʿUmarī but was himself subsequently killed by Ibrāhīm b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Ḥimyarī, called al-Manākhī, who seized power in the Yemen; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 415.

killed in the Ḥawf[544] in the month of Rabīʿ I (May-June 829).[545] Abū Isḥāq marched into Egypt and brought it into submission. He seized ʿAbd al-Salām and Ibn Jalīs and executed them,[546] while al-Ma'mūn had Ibn al-Jarawī[547] beaten and then sent him back to Egypt.[548]

In this year, Bilāl al-Ḍabābī al-Shārī (the Khārijite) came out in revolt. Al-Ma'mūn set off for al-ʿAlth,[549] and then returned to Baghdad, and sent (instead) his son ʿAbbās, together with a
[1102] body of commanders, including ʿAlī b. Hishām, ʿUjayf (b. ʿAnbasah) and Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid. Hārūn then killed Bilāl.[550]

In this year, ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir set out for Dīnawar.[551] Al-Ma'mūn dispatched to him Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm (al-Muṣʿabī) and Yaḥyā b. Aktham, who offered him the choice between Khurasan on the one hand, and Jibāl, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the conduct of the war against Bābak on the other; ʿAbdallāh chose Khurasan, and set off towards it.[552]

In this year, Jaʿfar b. Dāwūd al-Qummī became active (that is, became rebellious), but ʿAzīz the freedman of ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir seized him; Jaʿfar had fled from Egypt, but was now sent back to there.[553]

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544. Literally "flank," the region stretching from the eastern Nile delta to the fringes of Sinai; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 322.

545. Kindī, 186, gives the date of the battle in which the rebels (see above, 178) killed ʿUmayr as Tuesday, the thirteenth of Rabīʿ II, 814 (June 20, 829: actually a Sunday).

546. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 567; Kindī, 185–9, giving the date of the rebels' execution as Monday, the eighteenth of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 214 (January 17, 830); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 409.

547. Text, al-Ḥarūrī, but see above, 178 and n. 530.

548. According to Kindī, 189–90, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jarawī was tortured by al-Ma'mūn's general, the Afshīn Ḥaydar, to make him disgorge his wealth, but held out and was therefore executed on the fourteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 215 (February, 1, 831).

549. A town on the Tigris above ʿUkbarā; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 145–6; Le Strange, *Lands*, 50.

550. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 415. Azdī, 395, gives this rebel's name as al-Ṣanābī.

551. Cf. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 268–9, tr. 122.

552. Azdī, loc. cit.

553. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

In this year, al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Alī b. Hishām as governor of Jabal, Qumm, Iṣfahān and Azerbaijan.[554]

In this year, Isḥāq b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad led the pilgrimage.[555]

554. Ibid.
555. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 777; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 416.

The Events of the Year 215

(FEBRUARY 28, 830–FEBRUARY 17, 831)

Among the events taking place during this year was al-Ma'mūn's setting out from the City of Peace to raid the Byzantines, this being, reportedly, on Saturday, the twenty-seventh of Muḥarram (March 26, 830). Other reports say that he travelled from Shammāsiyyah[556] to Baradān[557] on Thursday, after the noon worship, the twenty-fourth of Muḥarram, 215[558] (March 23, 830). When al-Ma'mūn departed from the City of Peace, he appointed as his deputy over it Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab, who was further entrusted with the Sawād, Ḥulwān and the districts of the Tigris. When al-Ma'mūn arrived at Takrīt,[559]

556. The quarter of East Baghdad northeast of Ruṣāfah; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 199–216.

557. A town lying just to the north of Baghdad, which gave its name to the Baradān Gate leading out of Shammāsiyyah; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 375–6; Le Strange, *Lands*, 32.

558. Actually a Wednesday.

559. A town on the Tigris above Sāmarrā; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 38–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 57; Barthold, *A historical geography of Iran*, 205–6; *EI*[1] s.v. (Kramers).

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (the son of the Imām ʿAlī al-Riḍā) arrived from Madīnah in Ṣafar, during the night of Friday (Thursday-Friday night), in the same year, and met the Caliph there. Al-Maʾmūn bestowed gifts on him, and ordered him to consummate his union with his (al-Maʾmūn's) daughter [1103] Umm al-Faḍl, whom he had (previously) given in marriage to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. She was brought into his presence in the house of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, which was situated on the banks of the Tigris. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī remained there. When the time of the pilgrimage came round, he set off with his household and family back to Mecca; then he went on to his house at Madīnah, and remained there.[560]

After this, al-Maʾmūn took the road for Mosul until he got as far as Manbij,[561] and then went on to Dābiq,[562] to Antioch and to Maṣṣīṣah.[563] Then he set off from there for Tarsus,[564] and then into the land of the Byzantines in the middle of Jumādā I (July 10, 830), while al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn set out from Malaṭyah.[565] Al-Maʾmūn next besieged a fortress called Qurrah[566] until he captured it by storm and ordered the fortress to be destroyed, this being on Sunday, the twenty-sixth of Jumādā I (July 21, 830).[567] Previous to this, he had conquered a fortress called Mājidah,[568] but had spared its occupants. It is said that when al-Maʾmūn halted before Qurrah and then attacked

560. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 262–3, tr. 119.

561. A town on the Euphrates above Raqqah where there was a bridge of boats; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 205–7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 107; id., *Palestine*, 501–2; Canard, 87–8; *EI*[1] s.v. Manbidj (Honigmann).

562. A town in northern Syria on the road from Manbij to Antioch; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 416–17; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 426, 503; *EI*[2] s.v. (Sourdel).

563. A town in Cilicia, classical Mopsuestia; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 144–5; Le Strange, *Lands*, 130–2; id., *Palestine*, 505–6; *EI*[1] s.v. Miṣṣīṣ (Honigmann).

564. The town, famed since classical times, in Cilicia; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 28–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 132–4; *EI*[1] s.v. Ṭarsūs (F. Buhl).

565. A frontier fortress near the course of the upper Euphrates, classical Melitene; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 192–3; Le Strange, *Lands*, 120; Honigmann, 58–9, 72 ff.; *EI*[2] s.v. (Honigmann—S. Faroqhi).

566. A fortress in Cappadocia, Greek Koron; see Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 101–2; Honigmann, 45.

567. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 263, tr. 119.

568. A fortress in Cappadocia; see Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 101; Honigmann, 46.

its defending garrison, they sought a guarantee of security. Al-Ma'mūn granted this to them, and he then sent Ashinās to the fortress of Sundus,[569] and Ashinās brought back to the Caliph its commander. He further sent 'Ujayf and Ja'far al-Khayyāṭ to the commander of the fortress of Sinān,[570] and the latter harkened to the Caliph and gave his obedience.[571]

In this year, Abū Isḥāq b. al-Rashīd returned from Egypt. He met up with al-Ma'mūn before the latter reached Mosul, and Manuel[572] and his (al-Ma'mūn's) son 'Abbās met up with him at Ra's al-'Ayn.[573]

In this year, after leaving the land of the Byzantines, al-Ma'mūn set off for Damascus.[574]

In this year, 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad led the pilgrimage.[575]

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569. The Greek Soanda, perhaps the modern Turkish town of Nevşehir, according to Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 102.

570. A fortress which probably lay near Heracleia and Tyana; see ibid., I, 103.

571. Azdī, 399; *'Uyūn*, 374; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 417. For the whole campaign, see Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 94–103, 287–8, 370, 391–2.

572. Byzantine *patricius* who had fled to the Muslims in the reign of the Emperor Michael II; see Canard, in *Cambridge medieval history. IV. The Byzantine empire*, I, 709–10.

573. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 264, tr. 120, with a much fuller account; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 418; Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 288, 392.

574. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

575. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh* (Damascus), II, 778; Azdī, 405; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year [1104]

216

(FEBRUARY 18, 831–FEBRUARY 6, 832)

The events taking place during this year included al-Ma'mūn's return to the land of the Byzantines.

Al-Ma'mūn's Return to the Land of the Byzantines

There are varying reports about this. It is said, the reason for it was that al-Ma'mūn received reports about the king of Byzantium's slaughter of people of Tarsus and Maṣṣīṣah—according to what has been mentioned, amounting to sixteen hundred in all.[576] When he got this news, he set off on an expedition till he entered the land of the Byzantines on Monday, the nineteenth of Jumādā I of this year[577] (July 4, 831), and he remained there till the middle of Sha'bān (September 26 or 27). But it is also said that the reason for it was that Theophilus son of Michael wrote to al-Ma'mūn and put his own name first in his letter

576. According to the *'Uyūn*, 374, two thousand were killed. Cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 103–4.

577. Actually a Tuesday.

(*bada'a bi-nafsihi*). When the letter reached al-Ma'mūn, he did not read it, and set off for the land of the Byzantines. The envoys of Theophilus, son of Michael, met him at Adana, and Theophilus sent along to al-Ma'mūn five hundred Muslim captives. When al-Ma'mūn entered the Byzantine lands, he halted before Anṭīghū[578] and besieged it, and its garrison marched out to him after securing peace terms (without fighting). Al-Ma'mūn then proceeded to Heraclia,[579] and its garrison marched out to him after securing peace terms. He sent off his brother Abū Isḥāq, who captured thirty fortresses and subterranean strongholds and storehouses (*maṭmūrah*),[580] and he sent off from Ṭuwānah[581] Yaḥyā b. Aktham, who raided, killed, burned, seized and enslaved captives, and then returned to the main body of the army. Al-Ma'mūn next set off towards Kaysūm, and remained there for two or three days and then turned back to Damascus.[582]

[1105] In this year, 'Abdūs al-Fihrī rose in rebellion, and he and his partisans attacked Abū Isḥāq's tax officials and killed several of them, this being in Sha'bān (September-October 831). Al-Ma'mūn set out from Damascus for Egypt on Wednesday, the fifteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah[583] (January 23, 832).[584]

In this year, al-Afshīn arrived from Barqah,[585] on his way back from there, and remained in Egypt.[586]

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578. A fortress in Cappadocia; see Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 111–12; Honigmann, 46.

579. Arabic Hiraqlah, modern Eregli, a town in the Taurus region; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 398–9; Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 110; *EI*[2] s.v. Eregli (J.H. Mordtmann—Taeschner).

580. Pl. *maṭāmīr*, subterranean grottoes or emplacements, placed by Le Strange, *Lands*, 138, in the region of Malacopia, Arabic Malaqūbiyah; see also Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 112; Honigmann, loc. cit.; *EI*[2] s.v. Maṭmūra (Pellat).

581. The town in Cilicia, classical Tyana; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 45–6; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 547; id., *Lands*, 139.

582. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 264–5, tr. 120; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 567–8; Azdī, loc. cit.; *'Uyūn*, 374–5; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 419. For this campaign, see Canard, in *Cambridge medieval history. IV. The Byzantine empire*, I, 710; Vasiliev. op. cit., I, 109–14, 272–3, 288–9, 371, 409.

583. Actually a Tuesday.

584. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 265, tr. 120; Kindī, 192; Azdī, 406; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 419.

585. The port in modern Cyrenaica; see *EI*[2] s.v. Barḳa (J. Despois).

586. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 568, he had been suppressing a re-

In this year, al-Ma'mūn wrote to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm (al-Muṣ'abī) ordering him to oblige the troops to pronounce the *takbīr*[587] when they performed the worship. So they first put this into practice in the mosque of the City (of Peace) and at Ruṣāfah on Friday, the sixteenth of Ramaḍān of this year (October 27, 832), at the moment when they had completed the worship; they all remained standing and pronounced the *takbīr* three times. Subsequently, they followed this procedure at every prescribed session of the worship.[588]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn became angry with 'Alī b. Hishām; he sent 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasah and Aḥmad b. Hishām to him, and ordered the confiscation of his property and weapons.[589]

In this year, Umm Ja'far (Zubaydah, mother of al-Amīn) died at Baghdad in Jumādā I (June–July 831).[590]

In this year, Ghassān b. 'Abbād arrived from Sind, after Bishr b. Dāwūd al-Muhallabī had come to him seeking a guarantee of security. Ghassān restored order in Sind, and appointed as chief financial officer (*ista'mala*) there 'Imrān b. Mūsā al-Barmakī.[591] A poet said:

The gleam of battle is in Ghassān's sword,
and a deadly fate lies in two edges of its point.

When he brings it along to the land of Sind, [1106]
Bishr shows his submission [literally: lets himself be led]
to him,

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bellion at Barqah; see also Kindī, 190–1; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 420; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, II, 212. Al-Afshīn remained in Egypt, suppressing unrest among the Arabs of the Ḥawf and in Alexandria.

587. I.e., the formula *Allāh akbar*, "God is most great."

588. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 265–6, tr. 120; Azdī, 405; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit. The ordering of supplementary *takbīr*s was apparently in accordance with Shī'ī practice, and is considered by later Sunnī historians as one of al-Ma'mūn's *bida'* or heretical innovations; see Sourdel, "La politique religieuse du calife 'abbāside al-Ma'mūn," 41–2, 46.

589. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

590. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 568; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.; Abbott, 247.

591. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 557–8, giving considerable detail, including about Ghassān's first appointing Mūsā b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī as his deputy there after Bishr, then Mūsā's death and the appointment of his son 'Imrān; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

Swearing that he will never again, while ever any worshipper makes the pilgrimage in duty to God

and hurls his pebbles from the two [*sic*] piles of stones [actually, three piles, in the *rajm* of Satan at Minā],

Act treacherously, throwing off allegiance to rulers and suddenly attacking

troops which seek refuge in his nobility [*dhurwatayhi*, literally, "his two peaks"].

Ghassān then came back to al-Ma'mūn.

(In this year,) Ja'far b. Dāwūd al-Qummī fled to Qumm and threw off his allegiance there.[592]

In this year, there was an excessively cold spell.

In this year, according to what some people say, Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās led the pilgrimage, but according to what others assert, it was 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās who led the pilgrimage this year; al-Ma'mūn had appointed him governor of the Yemen and had given him the governorship of all the regions which he would pass through till he reached the Yemen. Accordingly 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh left Damascus and came to Baghdad; he led the people in the worship there on the day of the breaking of the fast (the first of Shawwāl [November 11, 831]), and then set off from Baghdad on Monday the second of Dhū al-Qa'dah (December 11, 831) and performed the rites of the pilgrimage for the people.[593]

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592. Ibid.

593. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 266, tr. 120, giving 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās as leader of the pilgrimage, and Monday, the first of Dhū al-Qa'dah (actually a Sunday) as the date of his departure from Baghdad; Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 779, also naming him; Azdī, 407, naming Sulaymān; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year

217

(FEBRUARY 7, 832–JANUARY 26, 833)

The events taking place during this year included al-Afshīn's victory at Bīmā, a place in the land of Egypt. Its people came forth under a guarantee of security granted on al-Ma'mūn's au- [1107] thority. The proclamation announcing its capture was read out on the twenty-eighth of Rabī' II (June 2, 832).[594]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn came to Egypt during Muḥarram (February–March 832). 'Abdūs al-Fihrī was brought before him and executed, and then he returned to Syria.[595]

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594. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 267, tr. 120; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 569; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 421. This is presumably al-Afshīn's quelling of a rebellion of the Copts at Basharūd in the Lower Delta, described by Kindī, 192, and Severus, IV, 486–502. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 534, however, describes Bīmā as a place on the borders of Upper Egypt and the lands of the infidels. See also Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 114–15.

595. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, loc. cit., giving the exact dates for al-Ma'mūn's stay of forty-seven days in Egypt as being from the tenth of Muḥarram to the twenty-sixth of Ṣafar, 217; Kindī, loc. cit., making it forty-nine days; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 94 = ed. Pellat, § 2778; *'Uyūn*, 376; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit. 'Abdūs was leader of the Coptic revolt.

In this year, al-Ma'mūn had the two sons of Hishām, 'Alī and Ḥusayn,[596] killed at Adana[597] in Jumādā I (June–July 832).

Al-Ma'mūn Has 'Alī Killed

The reason for this was because reports reached al-Ma'mūn about 'Alī's tyrannical conduct with the people within the governorship entrusted to him by al-Ma'mūn—the regions of Jibāl—including his killing of people and his seizure of property. 'Ujayf was therefore sent against him. 'Alī hoped to fall upon him suddenly and then join up with Bābak, but 'Ujayf got hold of him and sent him back to al-Ma'mūn. The Caliph ordered him to be decapitated. Ibn al-Jalīl was in charge of 'Alī's execution and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, his brother's ('Alī's) son,[598] was in charge of al-Ḥusayn's decapitation at Adana on Wednesday, the sixteenth of Jumādā I (June 19, 832). 'Alī b. Hishām's head was sent (first) to Baghdad and Khurasan, where it was paraded in the streets; then it was sent back to Syria and the Jazīrah, where it was publicly paraded in district after district. After this, it was brought to Damascus during Dhū al-Ḥijjah (December 832–January 833), and then it was sent to Egypt, where it was finally thrown into the Nile (or: the sea, *al-baḥr*).[599]

It is mentioned that, when al-Ma'mūn had 'Alī b. Hishām executed, he ordered a paper to be written out and hung from his head so that the people might read it. He had the following words written:

[1108] In the past, the Commander of the Faithful summoned 'Alī b. Hishām among the group of Khurasanians whom he summoned to give support and to establish his rightful claims during the time of the deposed one [al-Amīn]. 'Alī

596. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 267, tr. 121, gives their *nisbah* or gentilic of al-Marwazī.

597. The modern capital of Cilicia; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 133; Le Strange, *Lands*, 131; *EI*[2] s.v. (R. Anhegger).

598. I.e., Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Marwazī, often mentioned in the pages of Ṭabarī.

599. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 267–8, tr. 121; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 570–1, mentioning that 'Alī's head was finally sent to Barqah and then hurled by catapult into the sea; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

was one of those who responded, answered the call speedily and gave help enthusiastically. Hence, the Commander of the Faithful acknowledged this to his credit and took him into his service as his protégé, thinking that 'Alī was filled with the fear of God and obedience to Him, and would be whole-heartedly devoted to the interests of the Commander of the Faithful in any administrative office if it were entrusted to him, displaying praiseworthy conduct and incorruptibility in regard to the mode of gain. The Commander of the Faithful heaped favors on him from the outset, and conferred on him the governorship of prestigious provinces, and showered on him munificent gifts, regarding whose value the Commander of the Faithful ordered an enquiry; he found that they amounted to more than fifty million dirhams. Yet 'Alī stretched out his hand into treachery and reckless wastefulness in regard to the office which the Caliph had asked him to watch over in a trustworthy manner. The Caliph therefore removed him from office and banished him from his presence to a remote spot. But then 'Alī besought the Commander of the Faithful to overlook his misdeeds, so the latter vouchsafed to him his forgiveness for them, and appointed him as governor of Jibāl, Azerbaijan and the districts of Armenia, and gave him responsibility for carrying on the war against God's enemies the Khurramiyyah on condition that he did not revert to his former misdeeds. Yet he returned to his old ways more violently than before by his preferring dīnārs and dirhams to actions pleasing to God and to His religion; he behaved tyrannically and oppressed the subject population, and he shed prohibited blood. So the Commander of the Faithful sent 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasah with full responsibility to deal with his affair and with a call to restore the situation which 'Alī had brought about. 'Alī attacked 'Ujayf and tried to kill him, but God gave 'Ujayf strength because of his pure-hearted devotion in service to the Commander of the Faithful, so that he was able to ward him off. If 'Alī had been able successfully to wreak what he intended on 'Ujayf, there would have arisen a situation which could not have been put right or reversed.

However, when God desires a matter, it is as good as done. When the Commander of the Faithful put into effect God's
[1109] decree concerning 'Alī b. Hishām, he realized that he ought not to punish 'Alī's offspring for his offences, so he ordered that the same sums as had been paid during 'Alī 's lifetime to his children, his family, all those in their household and those to whom he used to give allowances, should continue to be paid out to them. If it had not been that 'Alī b. Hishām intended the gravest onslaught on 'Ujayf, he would merely have been counted amongst those of al-Ma'-mūn's army who had rebelled and acted treacherously like 'Īsā b. Manṣūr[600] and his ilk.[601] Farewell![602]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn invaded the Byzantine lands, and halted before and besieged Lu'lu'ah[603] for a hundred days. Then he withdrew from there and left as his deputy for the siege 'Ujayf, but the people of Lu'lu'ah outwitted 'Ujayf and captured him, so that he remained a prisoner in their hands for eight days until they set him free. (The Emperor) Theophilus[604] advanced on Lu'lu'ah and surrounded 'Ujayf; but al-Ma'mūn dispatched further troops to Lu'lu'ah, and Theophilus fell back before making any contact with the Muslim army. So the people of Lu'lu'ah marched forth to 'Ujayf under a guarantee of security.[605]

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600. Presumably 'Īsā b. Manṣūr al-Rāfi'ī, governor of Egypt in 216 (831) and again in 229 (843); see Kindī, 189–93, 196.

601. I.e., and possibly would have been pardoned.

602. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 269–70, tr. 122.

603. The Greek Loulon, on the ancient site of Faustinopolis, a fortress whose site is marked today by Ulu Kişla northwest of Adana; see Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 116–17; Honigmann, 44–5.

604. The second ruler of the Amorian line, who reigned 829–42; see Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine empire*, I, 276.

605. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 570–1; Azdī, 408; *'Uyūn*, 375–6; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 421; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 115–18, 273–4, 289, 371; Canard, in *Cambridge medieval history. IV. The Byzantine empire*, I, 710.

The Ruler of Byzantium Asks for Peace

In this year, the ruler of Byzantium, Theophilus, wrote to al-Ma'mūn asking for peace.[606] He put his own name first in his letter, and al-F.ṣ.l[607] the vizier of Theophilus brought the letter, seeking peace and offering a tribute (literally: a ransom). The actual text of Theophilus's letter to al-Ma'mūn was as follows:

> It seems more sensible that the two opposing sides should come together over their respective shares [of good fortune] than adopt courses injurious to themselves. You are not the sort of person who would relinquish such a share which you possess for yourself in favor of a share which might pass to another person. You already know this well enough without my having to tell you. I have written to you inviting you to make a peace agreement and as one desirous of the advantage of a truce in military operations, so that you may remove the burdens of war from upon us and so that we may be to each other friends and a band of associates, in addition to the accruing of benefits [1110] and widened scope for trading through commercial outlets, the release of those who have been carried off into captivity and the security of the highways and heartlands of the realms. If you reject this [peace offer], I shall not bamboozle you [literally: creep up on you secretly in an ambush[608]], nor shall I speak to you in an ingratiating, misleading manner; but I shall penetrate into the innermost recesses of your land, take over against you its barriers and scatter its cavalry and infantry alike. And if I do this, it will only be after setting forth a valid excuse [for adopting this course of action] and after setting up between us the standard of decisive argument. Farewell![609]

606. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit., adding, "but did not succeed in getting it."

607. For this cryptic name, Canard, in Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 289 n. 1, suggests a deformation of Syncellus, originally perhaps written "al-S.q.l."

608. A proverbial saying, see Maydānī, tr. II, 913.

609. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 284, tr. 128–9.

Al-Ma'mūn wrote back to him as follows:

There has reached me your letter, in which you ask for a truce in the fighting and call for the making of a mutual peace treaty. In your letter also, you mingle soft words with harsh ones in that you are seeking to achieve conciliation [with me] in regard to the opening-up of commercial outlets, the achieving of advantageous dealings, the release of captives and the cessation of killing and fighting. If it were not that what I am working towards involves proceeding with deliberation and seizing a favorable opportunity through turning things over in the mind, and were it not that I do not formulate any opinion [*ra'y*] on a future contingency except on a basis of an informed opinion taking into account the welfare of the community [*istiṣlāḥ*] as to what I prefer in regard to its outcome,[610] I should make the answer to your letter [the dispatch of] cavalry horses bearing steadfast, courageous and keen-sighted riders, who would contend with you over your destruction [*thuklikum*], to seek God's favor by spilling your blood and to make light, as a means of obtaining nearness to God, of the suffering which they will have endured from your military might. Then I should provide them with reinforcements and send them a sufficiency of matériel and military equipment. They are more eager to go forward to the
[1111] watering-places of death than you are to preserve yourselves from the fearful threat of their onslaught upon you. They have the promise of one of the two best things:[611] a speedy victory or a glorious return [to God as martyrs in battle]. But I consider that I should proffer you a warning, with which God establishes clearly for you the decisive proof [of Islam], involving the summoning of you and your supporters to knowledge of the divine unity and the divine law of the religion of the *ḥanīfs*.[612] If you refuse [to accept

610. This passage of the letter seems to echo legal terminology.

611. Cf. Qur'ān, IX, 52.

612. *al-Sharī'ah al-ḥanīfiyyah*, i.e., the religion of the *ḥanīf*s or pre-Islamic monotheist seekers after righteousness, regarded as proto-Muslims, so that *al-dīn al-ḥanīfī/al-sharī'ah al-ḥanīfiyyah* = Islam; see *EI*[2] s.v. Ḥanīf (Watt).

this offer], then you can hand over tribute [literally: a ransom] which will entail the obligation of protection [*dhimmah*] and make incumbent a respite [from further warfare]. But if you choose not to make that [payment or ransom], then you will clearly experience face-to-face our [martial] qualities to an extent which will make any effort [on my part] of eloquent speaking and an exhaustive attempt at description superfluous. Peace be upon him who follows the divine guidance![613]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn went to Salaghūs[614]

In this year, 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Qummī sent along Ja'far b. Dāwūd al-Qummī, and Abū Isḥāq b. al-Rashīd had him executed.[615]

In this year, Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī led the pilgrimage.[616]

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613. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 285, tr. 129, Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 568; Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 118–21, 289–91; Canard, in *Cambridge medieval history. IV. The Byzantine empire*, I, loc. cit.; Shaban, 56, 61.

614. *'Uyūn*, 375; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 422. Salaghūs was a fortress beyond Tarsus; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 238; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 528.

615. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

616. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 780; Azdī, 411; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, loc. cit.

The Events of the Year 218

(JANUARY 27, 833–JANUARY 15, 834

The events taking place during this year included al-Ma'mūn's journeying from Salaghūs to Raqqah and his executing there Ibn Ukht al-Dārī.

In this year, he ordered the clearing of the population from Rāfiqah so that he might quarter his personal entourage (*ḥasham*) there; but the people there raised an outcry, so al-Ma'mūn allowed them to stay.[617]

In this year, al-Ma'mūn sent his son al-'Abbās to the Byzantine lands and ordered him to encamp at Ṭuwānah and to embark on a building program there. He had already dispatched thither workmen and detachments of regularly-paid troops (*furūḍ*).[618] He set to work on this building program, and con-

617. Azdī, 412. Rāfiqah was the new garrison town just outside Raqqah (hence its name, "the companion") built by al-Manṣūr on the pattern of the Round City at Baghdad; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 15; Le Strange, *Lands*, 100–1; Canard, *H'amdânides*, 90–1. The two places are sometimes referred to by the geographers as "the two Raqqahs."

618. For this sense of *farḍ*, pl. *furūd*, see Lane, 2374b.

structed it to occupy a mile square.[619] He made its wall three [1112]
farsakhs (eighteen km) in circumference, with four gates, each gate having a fortified tower. Al-Ma'mūn's dispatch of his son al-'Abbās for this purpose was on the first of Jumādā (I [May 25, 833]).[620] He also wrote to his brother Abū Isḥāq b. al-Rashīd to the effect that he had made a levy on the armies of Damascus, Ḥimṣ, Urdunn and Filasṭīn of four thousand men, with the pay allocations of one hundred dirhams for each cavalryman and forty dirhams for each infantryman.[621] He further made a levy on the troops of Egypt, and he wrote to al-'Abbās about the numbers of troops which he had levied from (the armies of) Qinnasrīn and the Jazīrah, and to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm (al-Muṣ-'abī) about those levied from the army of Baghdad, these last amounting to two thousand men. Some of them marched off till they reached Ṭuwānah and encamped there with al-'Abbās.[622]

The Interrogation of the Judges and Traditionists

In this year, al-Ma'mūn wrote to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm that he should interrogate the judges and traditionists, and he ordered a group of them to be sent to him at Raqqah.[623] This was the first letter which he issued on this topic, and the text of his letter to Isḥāq was as follows:

> God has made incumbent upon the imāms and caliphs of the Muslims that they should be zealous in establishing

619. The Arab mile (*mīl*) has been variously estimated, but was probably just over two thousand yards, and three of these made up a *farsakh* (six km). The wall three *farsakhs* in circumference must accordingly have been an outer wall, and not that of the *madīnah* itself; at all events, these operations must have been on an enormous scale.

620. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 94 = ed. Pellat, § 2778; Azdī, 412.

621. Ibid.; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 440–1.

622. Azdī, loc. cit.; Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 121–2, 291.

623. See in general on the *miḥnah*: Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 572–3; Azdī, 412–14; Abū al-'Arab al-Tamīmī, *Kitāb al-Miḥan*, 436–53; 'Uyūn, 376–7; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 423–7; W.M. Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*; Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic theology and law*, 98–100; Sourdel, "La politique religieuse du calife 'abbāside al-Ma'mūn," 42–4; Watt, 178–9, 242–5, 253, 280–1, 292; *EI*[1] s.v. (Wensinck); *EI*[2] s.v. (Hinds).

God's religion, which He has asked them to guard faithfully; in the heritage of prophethood of which He has made them inheritors; in the tradition of knowledge which He has entrusted to their keeping; in acting justly with the government of their subjects; and in being diligent in obeying God's will in their conduct towards those subjects. Now the Commander of the Faithful asks God to direct him to firmness and resolution in the right way, and to just actions in the exercise of political authority over his people which God, with His compassion and grace, has entrusted to him.[624]

The Commander of the Faithful has realized that the broad mass and the overwhelming concentration of the base elements of the ordinary people[625] and the lower strata
[1113] of the commonalty are those who, in all the regions and far horizons of the world, have no farsightedness, or vision, or faculty of reasoning by means of such evidential proofs as God approves along the right way which He provides, or faculty of seeking illumination by means of the light of knowledge and God's decisive proofs. [These persons are] a people sunk in ignorance and in blindness about God, plunged into error regarding the true nature of His religion and His unity and faith in Him; [they are] too far off the right track from His clear marks for guidance and the obligation of following in His way; [they are] a people who fall short of being able to grasp the reality of God as He should be recognized, to acknowledge Him exactly as He should be acknowledged and to distinguish between Him and His creation.[626] This is because of the feebleness of their judg-

624. The Caliph, while avoiding the claims to infallibility and immaculateness ('*iṣmah*) of the Shī'ī Imāms, nevertheless claims a high status for himself as bearer of the Prophet's charge to guide his people; see Sourdel, op. cit., 44.

625. *Ḥashw al-ra'iyyah*. F. Steppat sees here a possible influence from the terminology of one Middle Persian wisdom text, as known from its later Arabic version, and more generally a strand in al-Ma'mūn's religious policy here deriving from earlier Persian imperial governmental attitudes; see "From '*ahd Ardasīr* to al-Ma'mūn: a Persian element in the policy of the *Miḥna*," in *Studia arabica et islamica, Festschrift for Iḥsān 'Abbās*, 451–4.

626. Here the Caliph's contempt for the intellectual powers and judgment of the masses of his subjects distances him from the Sunnī veneration for the

ment, the deficiency of their intellects and their lack of facility in reflecting upon things and calling them to mind; all this arises from the fact that they consider as perfectly equal God Himself and the Qur'ān which He has revealed; they have agreed with one voice and have asserted unequivocally that it is eternal and primordial, not created nor originated nor invented in any way by God. Yet God has said in the clear and unambiguous parts of His Book, which He has set forth as a healing for what there is [of anguish] in people's breasts and as an act of mercy and guidance for the believers, "Indeed, we have made it an Arabic Qur'ān."[627] Now everything which God made He must have created. He has also said, "Praise be to God who has created the heavens and earth and has made the darkness and the light."[628] He has further said, "In this way, We recount to you some of the stories of the past,"[629] and He gives the information that this is an account of events which He brought into existence subsequently to those events happening, and with it He followed up the begin- [1114]
nings of the events. He has also said, "*Alif, lām, rā'*. A book, whose miraculous signs have been clearly set forth and then made distinct, from One wise and well-informed."[630] Now everything which has been clearly set forth and made distinct must necessarily have an agent who brings these actions to pass; God is the One who has clearly set forth His Book and made it distinct, and He is its creator and originator.

Furthermore, those are the people who dispute about vain and useless things and then invite others to adopt their views.[631] They consider themselves adherents of the *sunnah*, whereas in every section of the Book of God there

community, *jamā'ah*, and its corporate will or validatory consensus, *ijmā'*, and approaches him in some measure towards the Shī'ī stress on the need for an authoritative Imām.

627. Qur'ān, XLIII, 2/3.

628. Qur'ān, VI, 1.

629. Qur'ān, XX, 99.

630. Qur'ān, XI, 1.

631. I.e., those who should give instruction and provide a lead for the masses are themselves purveyors of false teaching.

is an account related by Him which invalidates their words and gives the lie to their claims, turning their sayings and their call to adopt their professed beliefs back on themselves. Despite all this, they go on to make an outward show of being people of the divine truth, the [real] religion and the community of Muslims, and assert that all others are people of false beliefs, infidelity and schism. They raise themselves up importunately against the people with these assertions, and thereby deliberately lead astray the ignorant, to the point that a group of adherents of the false way, who display submissiveness to someone other than God and who lead an ascetic life—but for another cause and not the true faith—have inclined towards agreement with them and accordance with their evil opinions, thereby acquiring for themselves glory in their eyes and securing for themselves leadership and a reputation for probity amongst them. These people have forsaken the divine truth for their own delusions and have adopted for themselves a supporter for their error to the exclusion of God. Thus their testimony had been accepted because they [the ignorant ones or the people of the false way] have declared them [those who claim to be the people of truth] to be veracious witnesses, and the prescriptions of the Book have been put into effect through them [those who claim to be the people of truth], despite the suspect nature of their religion, the corruptness of their honor and the depraved nature of their intentions and their faith.

That has been their ultimate aim, to which they have urged others and which they have sought after in their own course of action and in their mendaciousness towards their Lord, even though the solemn covenant of the Book has been laid upon them, that they should not say any-
[1115] thing against God except what is true, and even though they have studied intently its contents. These are the people whom "God has made deaf and has blinded their eyes. Do they not consider the Qur'ān, or are there locks on their hearts?"[632]

632. Qur'ān, XLVII, 25–6/23–4.

The Commander of the Faithful considers that these people are the worst of the Muslim community and the chief ones in error, the ones who are defective in their belief in the divine unity and who have an imperfect share in the faith. They are vessels of ignorance, banners [or: milestones, *a'lām*] of mendaciousness and the tongue of Iblīs, who speaks through his companions and strikes terror into the hearts of his adversaries, the people of God's own religion. They are the ones most fittingly considered as suspect in their truthfulness, whose witness is to be discarded and whose words and deeds are alike to be mistrusted. For there can be no good works except after sure faith, and no sure faith except after fully apprehending the true nature of Islam and a sincere profession of faith in the divine unity. Whoever is too blind to perceive his own right course and his share of faith in God and in His unity has, in other respects in regard to his conduct and endeavors to bear witness to the faith, become even more blind and even more errant from the right road.

By the life of the Commander of the Faithful! The person who most properly deserves to be branded as a liar in his utterances and as a forger of false testimony is the one who utters lies against God and His divine revelation and who does not recognize God as He really is. Indeed, the person who most appropriately deserves to be rejected when he bears witness about what God ordains and about His religion is the one who rejects God's testimony to His Book and who makes slanderous statements about God's truth through his vain lying.

Therefore, summon together all the judges in your sphere of jurisdiction and read out to them this letter from the Commander of the Faithful to you. Begin by testing them out concerning what they say and by finding out from them their beliefs about God's creating and originating the Qur'ān in time. Inform them too that the Commander of the Faithful will not seek the assistance in any of his administrative tasks of anyone whose religion, whose sincerity of faith in God's unity and whose own religious beliefs are not deemed trustworthy, nor will he [1116]

place any reliance on such a man in the responsibilities laid on him by God and in the affairs of his subjects which have been entrusted to him. Then when they have publicly declared that [the Qur'ān is created] and have shown full agreement with the Commander of the Faithful concerning it, and are on the road of right guidance and salvation, order them to interrogate closely the legal witnesses within their sphere of jurisdiction and to question them about their knowledge of the Qur'ān; then [they are] no longer to recognize the validity of the testimony of those failing to affirm or hold the view that the Qur'ān was created and originated in time, and [they are] to prevent the admission and countersigning of such testimony in the judge's own court. Write back to the Commander of the Faithful what you learn from the judges over the people within your administrative province as to the results of their enquiries and their ordering these processes to be set in motion. Then keep a close oversight of them and search out what they have been doing, to such a point that God's decrees are only put into execution on the testimony of people clear-sighted in religion and wholly sincere in belief in the divine unity. Write to the Commander of the Faithful about what happens in regard to all this, if God wills.

He wrote this in Rabī' I 218 (March–April 833).[633]

Al-Ma'mūn wrote to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm about sending (to him) seven persons, including Muḥammad b. Sa'd,[634] the secretary of al-Wāqidī;[635] Abū Muslim, the one charged with the task of writing down dictated information (*mustamlī*) from Yazīd b. Hārūn;[636] Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn;[637] Abū Khaythamah Zuhayr b. Ḥarb;[638]

633. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 338–43, tr. 153–5; Patton, 56–61.

634. The historian and traditionist, died in 230 (845); see *EI*[2] s.v. Ibn Sa'd (J.W. Fück); Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 300–1.

635. The historian Muḥammad b. 'Umar, died in 207 (823); see *EI*[1] s.v. (J. Horovitz); Sezgin, *GAS*, 1, 294–7.

636. Qur'ān commentator and traditionist, died in 206 (821); see ibid., I, 40.

637. Traditionist, died in 233 (847); see ibid., I, 106–7.

638. Traditionist, died in 234 (848); see ibid., I, 107.

Ismā'īl b. Dāwūd; Ismā'īl b. Abī Mas'ūd; and Aḥmad b. (Ibrāhīm) al-Dawraqī.[639] These seven persons were sent to him (at Raqqah),[640] and he put them to the test (*imtaḥanahum*) and interrogated them about the creation of the Qur'ān. They all replied to him that the Qur'ān was created. Hence he dispatched them to the City of Peace, and Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm summoned them together at his house. He announced publicly their opinion and their judgement to a gathering of experts in the religious law (*fuqahā'*) and senior traditionists, and they affirmed exactly what the seven persons had replied to al-Ma'mūn. So Isḥāq let them go. What Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm did in this matter was by the command of al-Ma'mūn.[641] [1117]

After this, al-Ma'mūn wrote to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm as follows:

> That which God has a right to expect from His representatives [or: caliphs, *khulafā'*] on earth and from those entrusted by Him with authority over His servants, upon whom He has been pleased to lay the setting up of His religion and upon whom He has laid the burden of caring for His creatures, the putting into effect of His ordinance and His laws (*sunanihi*), and the conscious imitation of His justice among His creation, is that they should exert themselves earnestly for God; render Him sincere service in that which He has asked them to keep safe and has laid upon them; make Him known through that excellence of learning which He has entrusted to them and the knowledge which He has placed within them; guide back to Him the one who has turned aside from Him and bring back the one who has turned his back from His command; trace out for their subjects the way of salvation for them; draw their attention to the limits of their faith and the way to their heavenly success and protection from sin; and reveal to them those of their affairs which are hidden from them and those which are dubious and obscure by means of what will remove doubt from them and bring back illumi-

639. Traditionist, died in 246 (860); see ibid., I, 112.
640. See above, 198.
641. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 343–4, tr. 155–6; Patton, 64–5.

nation and clear knowledge to them all. [God also claims from them as of right] that they should bring this about by guiding the subjects aright and giving them clear vision, since this involves all the different kinds of their actions and systematically gathers together their shares of fortune in this present life and in the next. They [God's representatives, the caliphs] should reflect how God is the one who holds himself ready to question them about what they have been made responsible for, and to reward them for what they have done in advance and have laid up with Him. The Commander of the Faithful's way to success comes through God alone, and his sufficiency is in God, who is all-sufficient for him.

Among those things which the Commander of the Faithful has made plain to himself by reflection, and has [1118] studied intently by his thinking so that the great danger attending it has become obvious, as well as the seriousness of the corruption and harm which will rebound on religion, are the sayings which the Muslims are passing round among themselves about the Qur'ān, which God has established as an exemplar for them and an enduring legacy to them of the Messenger of God and His chosen one, Muḥammad. [Another thing is] the confusedness of opinion about the Qur'ān in the minds of many people, to the point that it has seemed good to them and attractive to their intellects that it is not created. They thereby lay themselves open to the risk of rejecting God's creative power, by which He is distinguished from His creation and remains apart in His splendor in the bringing into existence of all things by means of His wisdom and their being originated by His power, and in His priority in time over them by reason of His primordial existence, whose beginning cannot be attained and whose extent cannot be comprehended. Everything apart from Him is a created object from His creation and a new thing which He has brought into existence. [They hold this erroneous view about the uncreatedness of the Qur'ān] even though the Qur'ān itself speaks about God's creating power, sets forth its proof and decisively confutes all difference of opinion about it.

[These people] talk just like the Christians when they claim that Jesus son of Mary was not created, because he was the Word of God.[642] But God says, "Indeed, We have made it an Arabic Qur'ān,"[643] meaning, "We have created it," just as He also says,[644] "And He made from him his spouse, that he might dwell with her."[645] He also says, "We have made the night a garment and have made the daylight as a means of sustenance,"[646] and, "We have made every living thing from water."[647] Thus God places the Qur'ān and these created things, which He mentions with the [1119] indications of the act of making, on an equal footing, and He gives the information that He alone is the one who made it, saying, "Indeed, it is a glorious Qur'ān, [recorded] on a preserved tablet."[648] Now He says that on the supposition that the tablet encompasses the Qur'ān, and only something which is created can be encompassed by something else. He likewise says to His prophet, "Do not move your tongue in it in order to get through it quickly,"[649] and also, "No new reminder comes to them from their Lord."[650] He further says, "Who does greater wrong than the one who forges a lie against God or accounts His miraculous signs false?"[651] He speaks too about a group of people whom He blames for their mendacity, in that they have said, "God has not sent down anything to a human being."[652] Then, by the tongue of His messenger, He brands

642. Cf. Qur'ān, CXII.
643. Qur'ān, XLII, 2/3.
644. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 344–6, tr. 156–7 (here the manuscript of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir breaks off at f. 130b, with a lacuna, resuming at f. 131a with a short section of similar theological polemic regarding the createdness of the Qur'ān, not in Ṭabarī; the lacuna caused by the lost folios is obviously a considerable one, and the text of Ṭabarī corresponding with Ibn Abī Ṭāhir does not resume till p. 1134, 1.2. See Keller's Introduction to his vol. II, pp. XV–XVI).
645. Qur'ān, VII, 189.
646. Qur'ān, LXXVIII, 10.
647. Qur'ān, XXI, 31/30.
648. Qur'ān, LXXXV, 21–2.
649. Qur'ān, LXXV, 16.
650. Qur'ān, XXI, 2.
651. Qur'ān, VI, 21.
652. Qur'ān, VI, 91.

them as liars, and says to His messenger, "Say, who has sent down the Book which Moses brought?"[653] Hence God calls the Qur'ān a collection to be recited, a reminder, and item of faith, a light, a right guidance, a blessed thing, a composition in Arabic and a story. For He says, "We shall narrate to you the finest of stories, in that We have revealed to you by inspiration this Qur'ān."[654] He also says, "Say, indeed, if men and jinn agree together to produce a Qur'ān like this one, they will not be able to produce its like."[655] He says additionally, "Say, bring forth ten *sūras* like it which have been invented,"[656] and, "Falsehood does not come to it either from before or from behind it."[657]

In this way, God places [at least putatively] something before it and after it, and indicates that it is finite and created. But by their utterances concerning the Qur'ān, these ignorant people have enlarged the breach in their religion and the defect in their truthworthiness; they have made the way easy for the enemy of Islam, and have confessed perversion of the Qur'ānic text and heresy against their
[1120] own hearts; they have made known and described God's work of creation and His action by that form of description which belongs to God alone and have compared Him with it, whereas it is only His creation that is the fitting subject of comparison. The Commander of the Faithful does not consider that the person professing this doctrine has any share in the true religion, nor any part in the real faith and the certainty of revealed truth. Nor does he consider that he should regard any of them as suitable for an office of confidence like that of trusted depository, person in good legal standing, legal witness, person veracious in speech or report, or one involving the exercise of any aspect of authority over the subjects. Moreover, even if any of them is outwardly known for his equitable behavior and is

653. Ibid.
654. Qur'ān, XII, 13.
655. Qur'ān, XVII, 90/88.
656. Qur'ān, XI, 16/13.
657. Qur'ān, XLI, 42.

recognised for his straightforwardness, as one who pursues a just course among the subjects, nevertheless, the branches must be traced back to their roots and must be classified among the categories of praise or blame according to these roots. A man who is ignorant in the matter of his religion, that which God has commanded him in regard to His divine unity, is even more sunk in ignorance in regard to other things, more blind in finding right guidance concerning other matters and more erring from the right road.

So read out the Commander of the Faithful's letter, and what he has instructed you in it, to Ja'far b. 'Īsā and the judge 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq,[658] and question them both about their knowledge of the Qur'ān. Inform them that the Commander of the Faithful will not seek the aid, in any affairs of the Muslims, of anyone except those in whose sincerity of faith and belief in God's unity he has full trust, and that belief in God's unity cannot be imputed to anyone who does not affirm that the Qur'ān is created. If Ja'far b. 'Īsā and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq profess the Commander of the Faithful's view in this regard, then command them both to test those who are in their courts for purposes of giving evidence about claimant's rights and to cite them to answer for their professions regarding the Qur'ān. If any of them will not profess that the Qur'ān is created, then the two of them are to declare that person's legal witness invalid and to refrain from pronouncing sentence on a basis of what he says, even though his probity of life be firmly established by his equity and straightforwardness. Do this with all the judges in the remainder of your sphere of administrative authority and watch over them with such a careful watch as God may by means of it [1121] cause an increase in the clearsightedness of the clearsighted person and may prevent the one in doubt from neglecting his religion. Then, if God wills, write to the Commander of the Faithful what you are doing in this matter.[659]

658. Scholar of the Ḥanafī law school; see Watt, 286.
659. Patton, 65–9.

He continued to relate: Acting on these instructions, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm summoned to his presence a number of the *faqīhs*, judges (*ḥukkām*) and traditionists. These included Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī, Bishr b. al-Walīd al-Kindī, 'Alī b. Abī Muqātil, al-Faḍl b. Ghānim, al-Dhayyāl b. al-Haytham, (al-Ḥasan b. Ḥammād) Sajjādah, ('Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar) al-Qawārīrī, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Qutaybah (b. Sa'īd), Sa'dawayh al-Wāsiṭī, 'Alī b. al-Ja'd, Isḥāq b. Abī Isrā'īl, Ibn al-Hirsh, Ibn 'Ulayyah al-Akbar, Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Umarī and another shaykh from the progeny of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who was judge of Raqqah, Abū Naṣr al-Tammār, Abū Ma'mar al-Qaṭī'ī, Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. Maymūn, Muḥammad b. Nūḥ al-Maḍrūb and Ibn al-Farrukhān. He further summoned another group, which included al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, Ibn 'Alī b. 'Āṣim, Abū al-'Awwām al-Bazzāz, Ibn Shujā' and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq.[660] All of these were brought into Isḥāq's presence en masse, and he read out to them twice this letter of al-Ma'mūn's until they comprehended it. Then he asked Bishr b. al-Walīd,[661] "What is your view about the Qur'ān?" He replied, "I have acquainted the Commander of the Faithful with my views about this on more than one occasion." Isḥāq replied, "But this letter from the Commander of the Faithful is something new, as you can see." Bishr retorted, "I say that the Qur'ān is the word of God." Is-
[1122] ḥāq said, "I didn't ask you about this. Is it created?" Bishr responded, "God is the creator of everything." Isḥāq said, "Is not the Qur'ān a thing?" Bishr replied, "It is a thing." Isḥāq said, "Then it must be created?" Bishr replied, "It is not a creator." Isḥāq said, "I didn't ask you about this; is it created?" Bishr replied, "I cannot do better than what I have said to you, and I have already secured from the Caliph a promise that I do not have to speak about it; I have no views other than what I have told you." Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm took up a document which lay before him and read it out and explained it to him. Then he went on to say, "Bear witness that there is no god but God, the One, the Solitary, before whom there was nothing and after whom

660. See concerning various of these figures, ibid., 70; Watt, 281, 286.
661. See ibid., 281; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 438.

there shall be nothing, and whom nothing of His creation resembles in any meaning or sense whatsoever." Bishr retorted, "I bear witness to that, and I have been having people beaten for less than that [*'alā dūni hādhā*]." Isḥāq turned to the clerk and said, "Set down what he has said."

Then Isḥāq said to 'Alī b. Muqātil "What do you say, O 'Alī?" 'Alī replied, "I have let the Commander of the Faithful hear my words about this on several occasions, and I have nothing to add to what he has already heard." Isḥāq then put 'Alī to the test with the document, and 'Alī gave his assent to its contents. Then Isḥāq said, "Is the Qur'ān created?" 'Alī replied, "The Qur'ān is the word of God." Isḥāq said, "I didn't ask you about this." 'Alī responded, "It is the word of God, but if the Commander of the Faithful commands us with the doing of a thing, we hear and obey." Isḥāq said to the clerk, "Set down his views." Then he said to al-Dhayyāl more or less what he had said to 'Alī b. Abī Muqātil, and al-Dhayyāl replied in the same vein.

Then Isḥāq said to Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī,[662] "What is your opinion?" He replied, "Ask about anything you like." Then Isḥāq read out the document and explained it to him, and Abū Ḥassān gave his assent to the contents. Then Isḥāq said, "Any person who does not agree with these doctrines is an unbeliever," and asked him, "Is the Qur'ān itself created?" Abū Ḥassān replied, "The Qur'ān is the word of God, and God is the [1123] creator of everything; all things apart from him are created. But the Commander of the Faithful is our Imām, and by means of him we have heard the whole sum of knowledge. He has heard what we have not heard, and he knows what we do not know. God has invested him with the rule over us; he upholds the pilgrimage and the worship for us, we hand over to him the poor-tax levied on our wealth, we fight at his side in the holy war and we recognize his imāmate as a true one. So if he commands us, we obey his orders; if he forbids us from doing something, we desist; and if he calls upon us, we respond to him." Isḥāq

662. Judge and traditionist who died in 243 (857/8) and who is frequently quoted by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir (see concerning this, above, 158 n. 474); see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, tr. B. Dodge, I, 241–2.

said, "Is the Qur'ān itself created?" In answer, Abū Ḥassān repeated his views as given above. Isḥāq said, "This is the Commander of the Faithful's doctrine." Abū Ḥassān retorted, "But sometimes the Commander of the Faithful's view is one concerning which he gives the people no explicit command and does not call upon them to adopt it. If, however, you tell me that the Commander of the Faithful has commanded you that I should say this, I will say whatever you command me to say, for you are a trustworthy person, one on whom reliance is to be placed regarding anything which you convey to me from him; hence if you convey to me any command from him about anything, I will hasten to do it." Isḥāq said, "He has not given me the order to convey anything to you." 'Alī b. Abī Muqātil said, "The Commander of the Faithful's words may conceivably be like the variation in views amongst the Companions of the Messenger of God concerning the obligatory shares [*farā'iḍ*] and inheritances,[663] and he has not given any injunction to the people about them." Abū Ḥassān said to him, "I have no idea but to hear and obey; command me, and I shall obey his orders." Isḥāq said, "The Commander of the Faithful has not commanded me to give you any orders, but only that I should put you to the test."

He then came back to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal[664] and said to him, "What is your view concerning the Qur'ān?" Aḥmad replied, "It is the word of God." Isḥāq said, "Is it created?" Aḥmad retorted, "It is the word of God; I cannot add any more to these words." Isḥāq then put him to the test with the contents of the document. When he came to the words "There is nothing like Him, and He is the hearing and seeing one," he held back from the phrase " . . . whom nothing of His creation resembles in
[1124] any meaning or sense whatsoever." Ibn al-Bakkā' al-Aṣghar interrupted him and said, "May God grant you righteousness! It speaks of 'a hearing one' because of ears and 'a seeing one' be-

663. See J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, 170 ff.; *EI*[2] s.v. Farā'iḍ (T.W. Juynboll).

664. Spearhead of the conservative and traditionalist opposition to al-Ma'mūn's religious policy here and founder of the subsequent Ḥanbalī law school; see Patton, *passim*; Watt, index; *EI*[2] s.v. (H. Laoust).

cause of eyes!" Isḥāq said to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, "What do the words 'a hearing and seeing one' mean?" Aḥmad replied, "God is even as He has described Himself." Isḥāq said, "But what does it mean?" Aḥmad responded, "I don't know; He is even as He has described Himself." Then Isḥāq summoned them, one by one, and they all said that the Qur'ān was the word of God except for this group of people: Qutaybah, 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Ibn 'Ulayyah al-Akbar, Ibn al-Bakkā', 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Idrīs b. Bint Wahb b. Munabbih, al-Muẓaffar b. Murajjā, a blind man who was not a *faqīh* and about whom nothing was known except that he had been introduced into there, the judge of Raqqah who was descended from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Ibn al-Aḥmar. In regard to Ibn al-Bakkā' al-Akbar, he replied that the Qur'ān was something made (*maj'ūl*) because of God's words, "Indeed, we have made it [*ja'alnāhu*] an Arabic Qur'ān,"[665] and something originated (*muḥdath*) because of His words,"No recently-originated [*muḥdath*] warning has come to them from their Lord."[666] Isḥāq said to him, "Is, then, what is made, created?" Ibn al-Bakkā' replied, "Yes." Isḥāq said, "So the Qur'ān is created?" Ibn al-Bakkā' replied, "I don't say that it is created, but that it is something made." Isḥāq then wrote down what he had said.[667]

When he had finished putting the members of the group to the test and had recorded their replies, Ibn al-Bakkā' al-Aṣghar broke in, saying, "May God grant you righteousness! These two judges are leading scholars, why don't you order them [to affirm their views on the Qur'ān?" He kept on urging this. Isḥāq said to him, "These two men are the ones who held their position through the Commander of the Faithful's nomination." Ibn al-Bakkā' kept on, "Why don't you order them to let us hear their views, so that we might pass these down directly from them?" Isḥāq replied, "If you will serve as a witness before them, you will know their views, if God wills." He wrote [1125]
down the views of all the group one after the other, and these were sent to al-Ma'mūn. The group remained there for nine

665. Qur'ān, XLIII, 2/3.
666. Qur'ān, XXI, 2.
667. Patton, 69–74.

days.[668] Then Isḥāq summoned them together again, the Caliph's letter having arrived in answer to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm's communication regarding the affair. Its text was as follows:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There has reached the Commander of the Faithful your letter, comprising an answer to his letter sent to you about that doctrine which the ostentatious ones among the people of *qiblah* [the Muslims] and those among the people of the faith who seek a leadership for which they are not qualified, profess about the creation of the Qur'ān. The Commander of the Faithful also commanded you in that letter to put them to the test, investigate their various positions and set them down in their appropriate places. You mention summoning to your presence Ja'far b. 'Īsā and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq on the arrival of the Commander of the Faithful's letter, together with your summoning those who have been classed as experts on the religious law, who have been recognized as transmitters of tradition and who have set themselves up as competent to give judicial decisions in the City of Peace; [you mention] your reading the Commander of the Faithful's letter out to the assembled group; [you mention] interrogating them about their religious convictions regarding the Qur'ān; [you mention] pointing out to them how they could best serve their own interests; [you mention] their agreement to reject anthropomorphism [*tashbīh*][669] and their differences of view concerning the Qur'ān. [You also mention] your giving orders to those of them who would not profess that the Qur'ān was created to refrain from transmitting traditions and from giving judicial decisions, whether in private or in public; and [you mention] your giving instructions to al-Sindī and to 'Abbās, the Commander of the Faithful's client, to the same effect as the instructions concerning them which you gave to the two judges, even the same

668. Ibid., 74.
669. See for this, also called *tajsīm*, Watt, 246–9, 290, 295; *EI*[1] s.v. Tashbīh (R. Strothmann).

which the Commander of the Faithful prescribed to you, namely, the testing of the legal witnesses who attend their courts. [You also mention] the dispatch of letters to the judges in the outlying parts of the areas of your administrative jurisdiction, instructing them to come to you so that you might constrain them and test them according to what the Commander of the Faithful has defined; and [you mention] your listing at the end of your letter the names of those who were present and their professed doctrines.

The Commander of the Faithful has understood what you have recounted, and he gives God abundant praise, as indeed befits Him, and asks Him to grant a blessing upon His servant and His messenger Muḥammad, and he desires earnestly of God success in obeying Him and, through his mercifulness, effective aid to realize his good intentions. The Commander of the Faithful has also pondered over what you have written to him concerning the names of those whom you interrogated about the Qur'ān, the replies which you got back from each one of those persons in regard to it, and the explanations which you have given of their views. [1126]

As for what the deluded Bishr b. al-Walīd has said about rejecting anthropomorphic conceptions and as for what he has held back from in connection with the createdness of the Qur'ān, and also what he has claimed concerning his not having to speak about that and his having obtained an agreement to this effect from the Commander of the Faithful—he has lied about it and shown himself an unbeliever, and has uttered deceit and falsehood. For there has not passed between him and the Commander of the Faithful any agreement or exchange of views on this topic or on any other beyond his telling the Commander of the Faithful that he believed in the doctrine of exclusive devotion to God [*ikhlāṣ*][670] and profession of the Qur'ān's createdness. So summon him before you and tell him what the Commander of the Faithful has just told you about this

670. See for this, *EI*[2] s.v. (L. Gardet).

matter; require him to answer about what he has said regarding the Qur'ān and ask him to recant his beliefs. For indeed, the Commander of the Faithful believes that you should ask someone who holds views like his to recant, since such views are unalloyed infidelity and sheer polytheism in the Commander of the Faithful's opinion. If he then repents of these views, proclaim his action publicly and leave him alone; but if he persists in his polytheism and refuses, in his unbelief and heresy, to admit that the Qur'ān is created, then have him decapitated and, if God wills, send his head along to the Commander of the Faithful. Do likewise with Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. Test him in the same terms as you tested Bishr, for he used to profess
[1127] Bishr's views, and reports about him have reached the Commander of the Faithful. If he acknowledges that the Qur'ān is created, proclaim his action publicly and disclose it fully; but if not, then have him decapitated and, if God wills, send his head along to the Commander of the Faithful.

As for 'Alī b. Abī Muqātil, say to him, "Are you not the person who said to the Commander of the Faithful, 'You are the one who declares what is permissible and what is not permissible,' and who spoke to him about what you have spoke to him about." The recollection of this cannot yet have left him. As for al-Dhayyāl b. al-Haytham, tell him that what should occupy his mind is the corn which he used to steal at Anbār and what he used to appropriate for himself in the city of the Commander of the Faithful Abū al-'Abbās [al-Saffāḥ], and that if he were a follower in the footsteps of his forefathers, walking in their ways and keeping to their identical tracks,[671] he would certainly not go off into polytheism after having believed. As for Aḥmad b. Yazīd, known as Abū al-'Awwām, and his saying that he cannot answer well regarding the Qur'ān, tell him that he is a child in intellect, if not one in years, and an ignoramus, and that unless he sees his way to answer properly about the Qur'ān, he will certainly see his way to do it properly when

671. Following the reading of the *Addenda et emendanda.*, p. DCCLXXII.

punishment befalls him; then if he still does not do it, there is the sword beyond that, if God wills. As for Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and what you write about him, tell him that the Commander of the Faithful has understood the significance of that view and his conduct regarding it, and from it he deduces as proven his ignorance and defective intelligence. As for al-Faḍl b. Ghānim, tell him that what he did in Egypt and the riches which he amassed for himself in less than one year have not been hidden from the Commander of the Faithful, nor has the legal imbroglio over those doings which went on between him and al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh;[672] for one cannot but believe that a man who behaved as he did, and who showed himself as avid [1128] for dīnārs and dirhams as he did, would barter his faith out of lust for money and out of a preference for deriving an immediate advantage from it. [Remind him,] moreover, that he is the one who said to ʿAlī b. Hishām what he said and who opposed him in that in which he opposed him, and [remind him] what it was that caused him to abandon that doctrine and brought him over to another one. As for al-Ziyādī, tell him that he is alleging a connection with the first false claimant over lineage in Islam, in whose case the Messenger of God's ordinance was set aside;[673] it is only fitting that he should behave as he does. [But Abū Ḥassān denied that he was a client of Ziyād (b. Abīhi),[674] or indeed that he was anyone's client, and stated that he simply had a *nisbah* relating to Ziyād for some other reason.] As for the person known as Abū Naṣr al-Tammār, the Commander of the Faithful compares the insignificance of his intellect with the insignificance of his trade.[675]

As for al-Faḍl b. al-Farrukhān, tell him that, through the doctrine which he professes on the Qur'ān, he has tried to appro-

672. Al-Faḍl was appointed chief judge in Egypt by the governor al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khuzāʿī in 198 (813), but was dismissed after ten months in office; see Kindī, 422–3.

673. I.e., a connection with Ziyād b. Abīhi, who claimed to be a son of the Meccan leader Abū Sufyān by the notorious whore Sumayyah and whom the Caliph Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān endeavored to adopt into the Umayyad family; see H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le siècle des Omayyades*, 27–161; *EI*[1] s.v. (Lammens).

674. I.e., that a forebear of his had been a client of Ziyād b. Abīhi.

675. *Tammār* = "seller of dates" (*tamr*).

priate the deposits which 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq and others entrusted to him, waiting for a favorable moment when someone will ask him to act as a depository and hoping to add to what has already come into his hands; furthermore, there is no way of securing redress from him, because of the extended duration of the agreement and the prolongation of the period of its existence. But say to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq, "May God not recompense you with good for your giving strength to a man like this and your reposing trust in him, seeing that he is firmly bound up with polytheism and has completely thrown off belief in God's unity." As for Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, Ibn Nūḥ and the man known as Abū Ma'mar, tell them that they
[1129] are too much occupied with devouring usury properly to grasp the concept of the divine unity and that, if the Commander of the Faithful had sought legal justification in combatting them for the sake of God and launching a holy war against them solely on the grounds of their taking usury and that which has been revealed in the Qur'ān regarding their likes, he would surely have found it lawful. How will it be with them now, when they have added polytheism to their practice of usury and have become just like the Christians? As for Aḥmad b. Shujā', tell him that you were in close contact with him only recently and extracted from him what he himself had confiscated as being licit of 'Alī b. Hishām's wealth, and [tell him] that he is one of those people whose religion is made up of dīnārs and dirhams. As for Sa'dawayh al-Wāsiṭī, say to him, "May God make vile a man whose ostentatious preparation of himself for transmitting traditions, his self-glorification by means of it and his avidity in seeking a leading position in that field have reached such a pitch that he looks forward to the coming of the *miḥnah* and proclaims his desire to ingratiate himself with me through it. Let him be put to the test, and [if he assents to the createdness of the Qur'ān,] he may still teach traditions.

As for the person who is known as Sajjādah and his denial that he has ever heard the doctrine that the Qur'ān is created from any of the traditionists and *faqīhs* with whom he used to study, tell him that, in his concern to prepare datestones and his rubbing [his forehead] in order to make the callosity on his

forehead [*sajjāda*] look more imposing,[676] and similarly in his care for the deposits which ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā and others commited to his keeping, lies that which has diverted his attention from the idea of God's unity and made him unmindful of it. Then ask him about what Yūsuf b. Abī Yūsuf and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan used to say, if he really did have contact with them and attend their sessions for study. As for al-Qawārīrī, what shows up clearly his real beliefs, his evil conduct and the feebleness of his intellect and religion can be discerned in what has become open and notorious about his proclivities and his taking of bribes and presents offered to influence his decision favorably. It has also reached the Commander of the Faithful that he has taken upon himself responsibility for [the settling of] legal questions for Jaʿfar b. ʿĪsā al-Ḥasanī; so command Jaʿfar b. ʿĪsā to set him aside and no longer place any reliance on him [1130] or confidence in him. As for Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUmarī, if he were genuinely from the progeny of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, it is well-known how he would answer. As for Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim, if only he really did imitate his ancestors,[677] he would not profess that spurious doctrine which has been related of him. He is still a child who needs instruction.

Now the Commander of the Faithful has also sent to you a certain person called Abū Mus'hir after the Commander of the Faithful had required him to answer in his testing about the Qur'ān. He mumbled indistinctly over it and kept on repeating himself in it, until the Commander of the Faithful ordered the sword to be brought out for him; then he made his profession in the manner of one worthy of censure. So require him to make his affirmation about it, and if he stands fast in it, proclaim it publicly and divulge it openly, if God wills. But those

676. Such a callosity when caused by repeated prostration (*sujūd*) was regarded as a sign of great piety, but could be fabricated by rubbing the forehead.

677. Muḥammad was presumably either the descendant of the traditionist and author on the Prophet's *maghāzī*, or raids, ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatādah, died in 120 (738) (see A.A. Duri, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, 27, 34) or else of ʿĀṣim b. Bahdalah al-Asadī, Kūfan author of one of the seven canonical systems of Qur'ān reading, died in 127 or 128 (745) (see *EI*[2] s.v. [A. Jeffery]).

who refuse to abandon their polytheism, from amongst those whom you named to the Commander of the Faithful in your letter and whom the Commander of the Faithful has either mentioned to you or else has refrained from mentioning in this letter of his, and who will not profess that the Qur'ān is created, with the exceptions of Bishr b. al-Walīd and Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, send them all in bonds to the Commander of the Faithful's encampment, together with someone who will be responsible for watching over and guarding them on the journey; then bring them to the Commander of the Faithful's encampment and hand them over to the person to whom their delivery has been entrusted, so that the Commander of the Faithful may require them to give their answer. If they do not then recant and repent of their errors, he will consign them en bloc to the sword, if God wills; and there is no power except in God. The Commander of the Faithful has dispatched this letter by a special courier's letter bag [*kharīṭah bundāriyyah*],[678] and has
[1131] not considered [awaiting] the collection of letters for the regular letter bag service [*kutub kharā'iṭiyyah*], thereby expediting it and seeking to advance in God's favor through the decree which he has issued, expecting to achieve his purpose and thereby gaining a hoped-for generous reward from God. So put into effect the Commander of the Faithful's order which comes to you, and hasten to give a reply to him about what you are doing by special courier's letter bag, sent separately from the rest of the letter bags, so that you may inform the Commander of the Faithful what they are doing, if God wills.

(This) was written in the year 218 (833).[679]

When Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm put the question to them again, all of the group now confessed that the Qur'ān was created, except for four of them—Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Sajjādah, al-Qawārīrī and Muḥammad b. Nūḥ al-Maḍrūb. Accordingly, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm ordered these last to be loaded with iron fetters. The next day, he sent for (the four of) them together, and they were thrust

678. I.e., by express courier service. For the Persian term *bundār*, here meaning "rapid courier," see Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, pp. CXLI–CXLII.

679. Patton, 74–80.

forward in irons. He put them to the test once more, and this time Sajjādah responded that the Qur'ān was indeed created. Isḥāq therefore ordered his fetters to be struck off and set him free. The others, however, maintained their original position. On the day after that, he had (the three of) them brought out once more and repeated the question. This time, al-Qawārīrī acknowledged that the Qur'ān was created, so Isḥāq ordered his fetters to be struck off and set him free. But Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Muḥammad b. Nūḥ persisted in their original profession and would not recant. Hence they were both loaded with fetters and sent to Tarsus, accompanied by a letter from Isḥāq with instructions that they should be sent onwards. He further wrote a separate letter giving an explanation of what the group had finally assented to. The group remained (in Baghdad) for a few days, and then Isḥāq summoned them. At this juncture, a letter had just reached him from al-Ma'mūn to the effect that:

> The Commander of the Faithful has understood what the group assented to. The postmaster and intelligence agent [*ṣāḥib al-khabar*] Sulaymān b. Ya'qūb has reported that [1132]
> Bishr b. al-Walīd has furnished an interpretation of the verse which God Most High revealed in connection with 'Ammār b. Yāsir,[680] " . . . except him who is compelled, while his heart is still at peace in belief,"[681] but his interpretation is erroneous; God merely refers in this verse to the person who holds fast [in his heart] to the faith, while outwardly professing polytheism. As for the person who holds fast [in his heart] to polytheism, while outwardly showing the faith, the verse does not refer to him at all. Hence, send them all to Tarsus, where they are to wait until the time when the Commander of the Faithful will leave the Byzantine lands.

Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm took guarantors from the group, that they would meet up at the army camp at Tarsus, and accordingly

680. Companion of the Prophet, famed for his piety and knowledge of traditions; see *EI*² s.v. (H. Reckendorff), noting that various passages of the Qur'ān were interpreted by anti-Umayyad polemicists as referring to 'Ammār.

681. Qur'ān, XVI, 108/106.

sent forward Abū Ḥassān, Bishr b. al-Walīd, al-Faḍl b. Ghānim, 'Alī b. Abī Muqātil, al-Dhayyāl b. al-Haytham, Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Umarī, 'Alī b. al-Ja'd, Abū al-'Awwām, Sajjādah, al-Qawārirī, Ibn al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. 'Āṣim, Isḥāq b. Abī Isrā'īl, al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, Abū Naṣr al-Tammār, Sa'dawayh al-Wāsiṭī, Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. Maymūn, Abū Ma'mar, Ibn al-Hirsh, Ibn al-Farrukhān, Aḥmad b. Shujā' and Abū Hārūn b. al-Bakkā'. When they approached Raqqah, the news of al-Ma'mūn's death reached them, and the governor of Raqqah, 'Anbasah b. Isḥāq, ordered them to enter the town; but then he sent them back to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm at the City of Peace in the company of the envoy who had been charged with escorting them to the Commander of the Faithful. The envoy delivered them to Isḥāq, who instructed them to remain in their houses. He subsequently relented towards them and allowed them to go out. However, Bishr b. al-Walīd, al-Dhayyāl, Abū al-'Awwām and 'Alī b. Abī Muqātil set out (from Raqqah) without having obtained permission, and reached Baghdad. As a penalty
[1133] for that, they received punishment from Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm. The rest of the group arrived with Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm's envoy, and he then set them free.[682]

In this year, letters from al-Ma'mūn were dispatched to his governors in the provinces, (with the heading,) "From the slave of God 'Abdallāh, the Imām al-Ma'mūn, Commander of the Faithful, and his brother, the Caliph in succession to him, Abū Isḥāq, son of the Commander of the Faithful al-Rashīd."[683] It is also said that al-Ma'mūn did not have it written just like that, and that it was only set down in a period of lucidity which al-Ma'mūn regained from the general state of unconsciousness which came over him during his illness at Budandūn,[684] on al-Ma'mūn's instructions to al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn, to Isḥāq (b. Ibrāhīm al-Muṣ'abī) and to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, to the effect that, if death should supervene during this illness of his, then

682. Patton, 83–4.
683. *'Uyūn*, 377.
684. A river and place in Cilicia to the north of Tarsus, Greek Podandos; see Honigmann, 44–5, 82.

the next Caliph in succession to him should be Abū Isḥāq, son of the Commander of the Faithful al-Rashīd. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd wrote that out, sealed the letters and dispatched them.

Abū Isḥāq wrote to his governors, (with the heading,) "From Abū Isḥāq, brother of the Commander of the Faithful and Caliph after the Commander of the Faithful." Then there arrived a letter from Abū Isḥāq Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rashīd to Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh, his governor over the *jund*[685] of Damascus, on Sunday, the thirteenth of Rajab[686] (August 4, 833). Its heading was: "From the slave of God ʿAbdallāh, the Imām al-Ma'mūn, Commander of the Faithful, and the Caliph in succession to the Commander of the Faithful [al-Ma'mūn], Abū Isḥāq, son of the Commander of the Faithful al-Rashīd," (and its text was as follows,) "The Commander of the Faithful has commanded in the letter to you that you should instruct your [subordinate] governors [*ʿummāl*] that they should conduct themselves well, lighten the financial burdens and avoid harming the people within your administrative district. So in- [1134]
struct your governors concerning this in the strongest possible terms, and write to the officials charged with levying and collecting the land-tax [*ʿummāl al-kharāj*] in the same vein." He wrote a similar letter to all his governors in the various *junds* of Syria—those of Ḥimṣ, Urdunn and Filasṭīn—and then when Friday, the nineteenth of Rajab[687] (August 10, 833), came round, Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh led the Friday worship in the mosque at Damascus and proclaimed in his *khuṭbaḥ*, after prayers for the Commander of the Faithful, "O God, grant righteousness to the Amīr, the brother of the Commander of the Faithful Abū Isḥāq, son of the Commander of the Faithful al-Rashīd."

In this year, al-Ma'mūn died.

685. Here with the meaning of the administrative region around Damascus, originally settled in the conquest period by an Arab army group (*jund*); see *EI*[2] s.v. Djund (Sourdel).

686. Actually a Monday.

687. Actually a Sunday.

The Cause of al-Ma'mūn's Fatal Illness

It is mentioned from Sa'īd al-'Allāf the Qur'ān reciter, who related: Al-Ma'mūn sent for me, at the time when he was in the Byzantine lands, having entered them from Tarsus on Wednesday, the sixteenth of Jumādā II (July 9, 833).[688] I was brought to him at Budandūn. He used often to ask me to recite, and one day he summoned me. I found him sitting on the bank (of the river) of Budandūn with Abū Isḥāq al-Mu'taṣim seated at his right hand. He bade me, and I sat down near him, and behold, at that moment, he and Abū Isḥāq were dangling their feet in
[1135] the water (of the river) of Budandūn. He said to me, "O Sa'īd, dangle your feet in this water too, and taste it; have you ever seen water more cool, more sweet and more clear than this?" I did (as he instructed), and replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, I have never seen its like." He said, "What comestible would go well with this water, to follow it?" I replied, "The Commander of the Faithful knows best." He said, "Fresh green dates of the *āzādh* variety!"[689]

At the very moment when he was uttering these words, the clinking noise of the bridles of the mounts of the postal and intelligence service (*barīd*) could be heard. He turned round and looked, and behold, there were some of the mules of the postal and intelligence service with panniers over their hindquarters in which were gifts. He said to one of his servants, "Go and see if there are any fresh dates amongst these gifts, and if there are in fact any fresh dates, see whether there are any of the *āzādh* variety and bring them here." The servant came hurrying back with two baskets of fresh *āzādh* dates, as if they had been gathered from the palm tree that very moment. He vouchsafed thanks to God Most High, and we were most astonished at all this. Al-Ma'mūn said, "Come forward and eat some!" He and

688. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 94–6 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2778–9, cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 122–3, describes the coming of an envoy from the Emperor Theophilus to al-Ma'mūn, seeking to buy him off with tribute and an exchange of captives, but failing in his mission, after which the Caliph invaded Byzantine territory, returning to Budandūn.

689. *Āzādh* = Persian "free, noble," hence here "excellent;" see Dozy, I, 19a-b.

Abū Isḥaq ate some, and I ate with them, and we all drank some of that water; but by the time we got up, each one of us had contracted a fever. That illness proved fatal for al-Ma'mūn; al-Mu'taṣim continued to be ill till he reached Iraq; but I myself remained ill only for a short while.[690]

When al-Ma'mūn's illness grew worse, he sent for his son al-'Abbās, although he imagined that he would not arrive (in time). But al-'Abbās came to him, by which time al-Ma'mūn was extremely ill, with mind impaired; the letters containing his instructions regarding Abū Isḥāq b. al-Rashīd had already been sent off. Al-'Abbās stayed with his father for some days, al-Ma'mūn having already made his last testament, concerning the succession, to his brother Abū Isḥāq previously to that. [1136]
Others say that he did not make this testament until al-'Abbās, the judges, the *faqīhs*, the army commanders and the secretaries were all present.

(The text of) his last testament was as follows:

> This is what 'Abdallāh b. Hārūn, the Commander of the Faithful, asks witness to be borne to, in the presence of those who have gathered round him. He asks all of them to bear witness to himself, that he and those present testify that God is one, that He has no associate in His power and no controller sharing His authority except Himself, and that He is the creator, and everything else apart from Him is created, so that the Qur'ān must be a thing which can have a likeness, whereas there is nothing resembling God. Also, that death, the physical resurrection and the final reckoning are realities, and that the reward of him who does good will be Paradise but the punishment of him who does evil will be hell fire. Also, that Muḥammad has delivered from his Lord the prescriptions of His religion and has conveyed His wise counsels to His community, until the

690. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 349–50, tr. 157–8 (the surviving part of Abī Ṭāhir's historical narrative ends here); Azdī, 414–15; *'Uyūn*, 377–8; Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 291–2. In Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 94–101 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2779–83, cf. Vasiliev, op. cit., I, 329–30, a different, equally anecdotal account of al-Ma'mūn's fatal illness on the banks of the Budandūn is given, on the authority of the judge Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Zayd al-Dimashqī.

time when God took him to Himself—may God bless him with the finest of blessings which He has ever given to those angels of His brought near to His presence and the prophets whom He has sent as messengers. Also, that I confess freely my sinfulness, and I both hope [for forgiveness] and fear [the divine punishment],[691] except that when I mention God's forgiveness, I am filled with hope.

When I die, turn my face [towards God], close my eyes, perform the lesser ablution and the rites of purification over me, and see that I am properly shrouded. Then give repeated promises to God for the Islamic faith and for the knowledge of His necessary beneficence to you concerning Muḥammad, when he made us part of his community, meriting God's mercy. Then lay me on my side in my litter and hasten along with me, and when you set me down for the worship,[692] let the one among you who is nearest to me in kinship and the eldest in years come forward to lead the worship. Let the leader utter the *takbīr* five times, and on the first occasion begin with the formula, "Praise be to God and eulogies on Him, and blessing upon our master and the master of all the messengers who have been sent," as the opening words. Then should come a prayer for the men and the women believers, those still alive and those now dead; and then a prayer for those who have preceded
[1137] us in the faith. Then let him utter the *takbīr* for the fourth time, and then let him praise God, proclaim the confession of faith to Him, magnify Him and ask Him to grant peace on the fifth occasion. Then load my corpse on your shoulders and bear me along to my grave; once there, let the one of you nearest in kinship to me and the one who has the deepest feeling of affection go down into the grave. Render profuse praises to God and mentions of His name. Place me on my right side and turn me in the direction of the

691. *Arjū wa-akhāfu*, echoing Qur'ān, XVII, 57/55. On the concept of contrasting hope and fear (*rajā' wa-khawf*) as a factor in human behaviour and human religious consciousness, see Rosenthal, *"Sweeter than hope", complaint and hope in medieval Islam*, 79, 141 ff.

692. I.e., for the *ṣalāt al-mawt*; see *EI*[1] s.v. Ṣalāt. IV (Wensinck).

qiblah. Unwind my shroud from my head and feet, and then wall up the niche with mud bricks and sprinkle earth over me.[693] [Finally,] depart from me and leave me with my own affair. For indeed, none of you will avail me at all, nor will you be able to keep back from me anything unpleasant which may befall me.

Then all of you together are to stand there, and to say good things [about me], if you know of any, but refrain from mentioning unfavorable things if you have known about any of them, for I [alone] among you shall be held responsible for what you may say and what you may enunciate.[694] Do not allow any weeping woman to be near me, for the person who is lamented over is thereby troubled. May God have mercy on a man who takes heed of warnings and who reflects on the annihilation which God inevitably brings down on all His creation and the inescapable death which He decrees for them! So praise be to God who has made eternal existence a quality solely for Himself alone and has decreed annihilation for the whole of His creation! Next, let [such a heedful man] consider what my own state once was, with the might of the caliphate—has that been of any avail for me when God's command has come for me? No, by God! Indeed, I shall have to give a double accounting [at the last day] because of this responsibility. So would that 'Abdallāh b. Hārūn [that is, himself] had not been created as a human being, yea, would that he had not been created at all! O Abū Isḥāq, come close to me and derive a warning from what you see!

Follow your brother's policy regarding the Qur'ān, and when God invests you with the caliphate, strive in it as one earnestly desiring God's favor and as one fearing His retribution and punishment. Do not be deluded in regard to God and the respite [from death and judgment] which He grants, for death has already established itself within you. Do not neglect the affairs of the subjects; keep your

693. For these burial practices, see T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, 44–7; *EI*[2] s.v. Djanāza (Tritton).

694. I.e., don't say anything detrimental to me, which might send me to hell!

[1138] subjects and the common people perpetually in mind! For the maintenance of royal power comes only through them and through your continual concern for the Muslims and their welfare. So watch over them and the other Muslims, and do not let any matter which involves any advantage or benefit for the Muslims come along without giving it a priority and preference over any other of your inclinations. Take from the powerful subjects and give to the weak ones. Do not impose any intolerable burden upon them, and ensure that justice is meted out between all individuals with fairness; keep them near to you and treat them in a gentle manner.

Hurry away from me quickly on your journey and head speedily for the seat of your authority in Iraq. Look to these people in whose land you find yourself, and do not neglect them at any time. Launch against the Khurramiyyah expeditions led by a commander who is resolute, fierce and firm, and support him with finance, arms and troops, both cavalry and infantry. If they are away campaigning for a long time, concentrate your attention on them and send them reinforcements from the auxiliaries and retainers whom you have around you. In all this, act just like a person putting his whole heart into it, hoping for God's reward in return for it. Know, too, that exhortation, when it becomes prolonged, renders obligatory a demonstrable justification for it on the one who hears it and one the one giving the exhortation. Fear God in all your affairs and do not be seduced [from the path of duty]![695]

Then after a while, when his affliction grew intense and he felt the imminence of God's command (that is, death), al-Ma'mūn summoned Abū Isḥāq and he said to him:

695. Sourdel, "La politique religieuse du calife 'abbāside al-Ma'mūn," 44–5, has underlined the importance of this *waṣiyyah* or testament as an exposition of several pro-Shī'ī and Mu'tazilī attitudes, such as the need to show kindness to the 'Alids, the emphasis on the divine unity (*tawḥīd*), the use of the Shī'ī quintuple *takbīr* during his obsequies, etc.

O Abū Isḥāq, take care to observe God's covenant and contractual agreement, and the Messenger of God's protection, in order that you may maintain God's right among His servants and that you may choose obedience to Him in preference to disobedience, since I have conveyed it [the Messenger of God's protection] to you from someone else.

Abū Isḥāq replied, "By God, I certainly will." Al-Ma'mūn said:

Also, look to the person whom you have heard me putting forward [giving preferment] in my express words, and increase his prominent position [or, less probably: double the financial reward for him, *al-taqdimah*], that is, 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. Confirm him in his governorship and do not disquiet him in any way, for you have recognized what the two of you achieved in the past during my own lifetime and at my court. Endeavor to conciliate him with all your heart and single him out with your benevolence, for you have known well his bravery and his ability to be able to do without your brother [that is, his ability to act independently and his freedom from entanglements]. [In regard to] Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm [al-Muṣ'abī], associate him in the above policy also, since he is indeed worthy of it. [In regard to] your own family [the 'Abbāsids], you have well realized that there are no outstanding qualities [*baqiyyah*][696] among them, even though an odd one of them retain a regard for personal honor [*al-ṣiyānah li-nafsihi*]. [In regard to] 'Abd al-Wahhāb,[697] pay particular attention to him among the members of your family; make him their leader, and entrust all matters concerning them to him. [In regard to] Abū 'Abdallāh b. Abī Duwād,[698] make sure that he does not abandon your side, and associate him as an adviser in all [1139]

696. Cf. Qur'ān, XI, 118/116.

697. Presumably 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām b. Abī 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, nephew of al-Saffāḥ and governor of Syria in the time of al-Manṣūr, although by now he must have been extremely old.

698. The Mu'tazilī scholar, chief judge for al-Mu'taṣim and head of the *miḥnah* under him; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 258–60; *EI*[2] s.v. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād (K.V. Zetterstéen—Pellat).

your affairs, for he is indeed a repository of good advice for you. After I am gone, do not take for yourself any vizier to whom you might impute any fault [who has not got an unimpeachable reputation], for you have known with what troubles Yaḥyā b. Aktham burdened me through his treatment of the people and his infamous conduct, to the point when God made these activities of his clear to me, my own integrity remaining intact [*fī ṣiḥḥah minnī*], and I then proceeded to dispense with him, feeling detestation and disapproval towards him for what he had done with the money meant for God and the alms collected on His behalf. May God not reward him with any goodness from Islam! [In regard to] these, your paternal cousins who are the descendants of the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [the 'Alids], make them welcome in your court circle, overlook the transgressions of those who act wrongfully and welcome those who act honestly. Do not neglect giving them presents each year on the appropriate occasions, for the rights due to them demand recognition on several grounds of consideration. "Fear God, your Lord, with the respect due to Him, and do not die except as Muslims."[699] Fear God, and labor on his behalf. Fear God in all your affairs. I commend you, as also myself, to God. I seek pardon from God for what has gone before, and I further seek pardon from Him for what I myself have committed; indeed, He is the all-forgiving one. Of a certainty, He
[1140] knows the extent of my contrition for my sins; hence I place my confidence in Him from [the effects of] the worst of these sins, and to Him I turn in repentance. There is no strength except in God; God is my sufficiency, and how excellent He is as an advocate! May God grant blessings on Muḥammad the prophet of right guidance and mercifulness![700]

699. Qur'ān, III, 97/102.
700. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 428–31.

The Time of al-Ma'mūn's Death, the Place where He Was Buried, the Person Who Prayed over Him, His Age and the Duration of His Caliphate

In regard to the time of his death, there have been varying reports. Some authorities have said that his term of life expired on Wednesday the eighteenth of Rajab, 218[701] (August 9, 833) after the afternoon worship. Others have denied this, and say that his term of life came to an end on that same day at the time of the midday worship. When he expired, his son al-'Abbās and his brother Abū Isḥāq Muḥammad b. al-Rashīd bore him to Tarsus and buried him in a house belonging to Khāqān, al-Rashīd's eunuch (*khādim*), and his brother Abū Isḥāq al-Mu'taṣim prayed over him. Then they entrusted the task of watching over him to a guard composed of men from the garrison of Abnā' (Khurasanians) in Tarsus and others, a hundred men all told, each man being allotted ninety dirhams.[702]

His caliphate lasted for twenty years, five months and thirteen days, excluding the two years when he was hailed as ruler in the *khuṭbah* of Mecca and while his brother Muḥammad al-Amīn b. al-Rashīd was being besieged in Baghdad. He was born in the middle of Rabī' I (on the 15th) 170 (September 14, 786) and given the patronymic, according to Ibn al-Kalbī,[703] of Abū al-'Abbās.[704] He was of middle stature, pale-complexioned, handsome and with a long beard which had become whitened with advancing age. It has (also) been said that

701. Actually a Saturday.

702. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 573, placing his death on Thursday, the seventeenth of Rajab; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, I, 396, placing his death on Wednesday, the eighth of Rajab, aged forty-nine; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 2, 101 = ed. Pellat, §§ 2694, 2783; id., *Tanbīh*, 351, tr. 450 (with date given wrongly here); *'Uyūn*, 378, placing his death on the eighth of Rajab, aged forty-eight; Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 123–4.

703. The historian Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (died in 204 [819] or two years later), an important source for Ṭabarī, or else his son 'Abbās; see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 268–71; *EI*[2] s.v. al-Kalbī (W. Atallah).

704. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 573–4, states that he died aged forty-eight years, four months, and that his caliphate lasted twenty-two years, with twenty years five, months and twenty-five days since the death of al-Amīn; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 1–2 = ed. Pellat, § 2694, that he died at the age of forty-nine.

[1141] he was swarthy-complexioned, but with a yellowish tinge, with a bowed back, with large, dark pupils to his eyes, a long beard with the thinner parts growing white, a narrow forehead and with a black mole on his cheek.[705] He was hailed as Caliph on Wednesday, the twenty-fifth of Muḥarram, (198 [September 25, 813]).[706]

Some of the Stories about al-Ma'mūn and His Conduct[707]

It is mentioned from Muḥammad b. al-Haytham b. 'Adī[708] that Ibrāhīm b. 'Īsā b. Burayhah b. al-Manṣūr[709] said: When al-Ma'mūn wanted to set out for Damascus, I prepared a speech to be delivered to him which occupied me for two whole days and part of a third one. When I stood respectfully before him, I said:

> May God prolong the days of the Commander of the Faithful in the most enduring state of might and most ample state of nobility, and may he make me his ransom against any evil which may befall him! The person who goes about early and late [literally, in the evening and in the morning, that is, continuously] discovering for himself God's favor [may He be abundantly praised!] through the Commander of the Faithful's [may God strengthen him!] favorable opinion of him and affability towards him, must necessarily seek the prolongation of this favor and ask for an increase in it, with gratitude to God and to the Commander of the Faithful [may God extend his life in that state of fa-

705. *'Uyūn*, 378–9; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 431–2.

706. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 538–9, with details of the astral conjunctions at this moment.

707. Various anecdotal details about al-Ma'mūn and his confidants, with emphasis on their great liberality, are given by Ya'qūbī in his *Mushākalat al-nās li-zamānihim*, ed. W. Millward, 27–31, tr. id., "The adaptation of men to their time," *JAOS*, LXXXIV (1964), 340–2.

708. Son of the Kūfan historian, who died in or after 206 (821) and was a prime source for historians like Ṭabarī, Ya'qūbī and Mas'ūdī; see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 272; *EI*[2] s.v. al-Haytham b. 'Adī (Pellat).

709. A second cousin of al-Ma'mūn's.

vor!] [Such a person] has furthermore earnestly wanted the Commander of the Faithful to know that I do not desire for myself any letting-up or ease of life which might distract me from my service to the Commander of the Faithful, since he takes upon himself the burden of rough travelling conditions and painful journeyings. The most suitable of all persons to share these hardships with him and to devote his life to him is myself, for God has given me knowledge of his state of mind, and has given me a sense of obedience to him and a knowledge of the recognition of his rights which God necessarily requires. Hence, if the Commander of the Faithful [may God make him noble!] sees fit to honor me by taking me into his service as a permanent companion and letting me be with him, let him so ordain!

Al-Ma'mūn answered me, speaking immediately and without pausing to reflect:

The Commander of the Faithful has not yet come to any decision at all in regard to that, but if he chooses anyone from the members of your family as a travelling companion, he will select you in the first place and you will be the person put forward to be at his side for that, above all if you willingly let yourself be set down in the same place as the Commander of the Faithful chooses to place you in relationship to him [that is, if you show yourself as adaptable]. And if he does not fulfill this intention, this will not imply any dissatisfaction with your position and capabilities, but because he has need of you [elsewhere]. [1142]

Ibrāhīm b. 'Īsā commented, "By God, the Caliph's words delivered on the spur of the moment were more incisive than my carefully-prepared speech."[710]

It is mentioned from Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sarakhsī, who related: A man thrust himself forward on several occasions before al-Ma'mūn when the latter was in Syria and said to the Caliph, "O Commander of the Faithful, look after the interests of the Arabs of Syria just as you look after the inter-

710. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 261–2, tr. 118–19.

ests of the Persians from the people of Khurasan." Al-Ma'mūn replied, "O brother from the people of Syria, you have reproached me in strong terms! By God, I have never made Qays dismount from the backs of their horses [that is, dismissed them from service] except at times when I saw that there was not a single dirham left in the public treasury [in times of great financial stringency]. As for Yaman, I have never liked them and they have never liked me. As for Quḍā'ah, their chiefs live in the messianic expectation of the Sufyānī and his appearance, so that they might join his party.[711] As for Rabī'ah, they have been angry with God ever since He sent His prophet from Muḍar,[712] and there have never been two of them going out [in rebellion] without one of them being a Khārijite [*Shārī*]. Now get out, may God wreak [evil] on you!"[713]

It is mentioned from Sa'īd b. Ziyād that when he went into al-Ma'mūn's presence at Damascus, the Caliph said to him, "Show me the document which the Messenger of God wrote out for your family." He related: So I showed it to him. He related: Al-Ma'mūn said, "I should very much like to know what this covering is over this seal." He related: Abū Isḥāq said to him, "Untie this knot so that you may know what it is." He related: But al-Ma'mūn then said, "I do not doubt that the
[1143] Prophet tied this knot himself, and I am not the person who is going to unloose a knot tied by the Messenger of God." Then he said to (his nephew) al-Wāthiq, "Take it and lay it on your eye; perhaps God will heal you." He related: Al-Ma'mūn began to lay it on his eye and to weep.[714]

It is mentioned from al-'Ayshī, the confidant of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, that he said: I was with al-Ma'mūn at Damascus, at a time when the amount of money which he had with him had

711. Cf. Ṭabarī, III, 830, year 195 (810/11), recording the revolt in Syria in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 195 (August–September 811) of the Sufyānid 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, expelling al-Amīn's governor Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far al-Manṣūr from Damascus; Lammens, "Le 'Sofiānī', héros national des Arabes syriens," in *Etudes sur le siècle des Omayyades*, 391–408.

712. Quraysh and Kinānah were considered as part of the Muḍar branch of the North Arabs.

713. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 266–7, tr. 121; Azdī, 408–9; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 342–3.

714. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 271, tr. 123; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 433.

become very low, until he found himself in a tight spot. He complained about this to Abū Isḥāq al-Mu'taṣim, and the latter said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, you have as good as got money; it will have reached you after Friday." He related: There was brought to him the sum of thirty million (dirhams) from the land-tax for whose collection, on his behalf, Abū Isḥāq al-Mu'taṣim was responsible. He related: When that sum of money reached him, al-Ma'mūn said to Yaḥyā b. Aktham, "Let us go along and look at this wealth." He related: So the two of them set off until they came to an open space and halted to look at it. It had been arranged in the most attractive way possible: the camels carrying the money were adorned with figured silk saddle cloths and caparisons dyed in rich colors, and with woollen streamers draped round their necks. The money bags were made from Chinese silk, red, green and yellow, and their necks were sticking out (from under the cover). He related: Al-Ma'mūn looked at what was a fine sight and accounted it a splendid amount of wealth. It made a great impression on him, and the people (with him) strained their gaze at it, looking at it and marvelling at it. Then al-Ma'mūn said to Yaḥyā, "O Abū Muḥammad, are these companions of ours, whom you have seen just a moment ago [wondering at the sight], to go back to their homes disappointed, while we are going back with all this wealth which has come into our possession but to their exclusion? In such circumstances, we would indeed be contemptible persons." He thereupon summoned Muḥammad b. Yazdād[715] and told him, "Set down in the register a million [dirhams] for the family of so-and-so, and the same for the family of so-and-so and for the family of so-and-so." He related: By God, he kept on in this fashion until he [1144]
had allocated twenty-four million dirhams, while his very foot was in the stirrup. Then he said, "Hand over the remainder to al-Mu'allā[716] for him to pay our troops." Al-*'Ayshī related*: I went along until I stood before his eyes, and I did not take away

715. The Khurasanian official and secretary who was, in effect, the chief executive for al-Ma'mūn at the time of his death; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 214, 232–4.

716. The secretary al-Mu'allā b. Ayyūb.

my gaze from his eyes. He did not notice me till he saw me thus. Then he said, "O Abū Muḥammad, set down in the register for this man fifty thousand dirhams out of the six millions, and then I will not be deprived of my sight!" He related: Before two nights had elapsed, I had received the money.[717]

It is mentioned from Muḥammad b. Ayyūb b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān[718] that there lived in Baṣrah a man from the Banū Tamīm who was a poet and wit, but who used unseemly language[719] and did not enjoy any fame. I was at that time the governor of Baṣrah, in close contact with him, and I found him pleasant company. I wanted to deceive him and to bring him down a peg or two.[720] So I said to him, "You are a poet and wit, and al-Ma'mūn is more generous than an abundantly-flowing rain cloud and a rain-bearing wind; what then keeps you away from him?" He replied, "I do not possess means to transport me[721] [thither]." I said, "I will give you a sprightly, nobly-bred horse and an ample sum for living expenses, and you can go to him. You have already praised al-Ma'mūn, and if you obtain favor through your encounter with him, you will have attained your desire." He replied, "By God, O Amīr, I think you are not far from the truth! So get ready for me what you have promised." He related: I called for a noble, high-spirited horse to be brought for him and told him, "This is yours to do as you like with it, so ride off on it." He replied, "This is just one of the two pieces of bounty [which you promised to me]; what about the other?" So I then called for three hundred dirhams to be brought for him and told him that these were his living expenses. But he complained, "O Amīr, you have been stingy over these!" I protested, "No, these are adequate, even though I
[1145] have stopped short at being extravagant." He replied, "When

717. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 271–3, tr. 123; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 434.

718. Mentioned in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 129–30.

719. *Kāna shā'ir*^{an} . . . *khabīth*^{an}, presumably in the sense of "foul-mouthed;" cf. ibid., XX, 183, where 'Umārah b. 'Aqīl is characterised similarly as *khabīth al-lisān*.

720. *Astanzilahu*. This seems to give the best sense. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, p. DX, suggests, less fittingly, "he tried to persuade him," for *istanzalahu*, presumably with the meaning that he could expect no further bounty from the governor (!).

721. *Mā yuqillunī*, following ibid., p. CDXXXI

do you see extravagance among the great men of the [Banū] Sa'd?[722] You only see that among the lesser of them." He thereupon took the horse and the money, and then composed a poem in *rajaz* metre which was not very long and recited it to me, but omitted any mention of me or praise for me and showed himself as discontented. So I told him, "You haven't composed anything [worthwhile]!" He enquired, "How is that?" I said, "You are going to the Caliph, but you don't have a word of praise for your Amīr!" He replied, "O Amīr, you wanted to deceive me, but you have found me to be a deceiver [in showing myself discontented and not praising and thanking you adequately]! The proverbial saying 'He who copulates with a wild ass copulates with one who is a really experienced copulator'[723] [that is, he meets more than he has bargained for] was coined for an occasion like this. For by God, it wasn't out of honor for me that you gave me your noble horse as a mount, nor were you generous to me with your money, [a sum] which no one would ever desire unless God had made his rank in society the lowest [totally down-and-out and grateful for anything]. Nevertheless, I will certainly mention you in my poetry and praise you before the Caliph; be certain of this!" I said, "Have you spoken truly?" He replied, "Since you have revealed what was in your mind, I have [now] mentioned your name and praised you." I said, "Recite to me what you have composed." He then recited it, and I congratulated him on it. Thereupon he bade me farewell and set off.

He came to Syria, at a time when al-Ma'mūn was at Salaghūs. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb related: The poet [subsequently] told me the story, saying: I was joining up with the Qurrah campaign, riding that noble horse of mine and wearing my ordinary garments [*muqaṭṭa'ātī*],[724] and I was heading for the

722. Keller, Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, tr. 124, erroneously sees here *sa'd* as a common noun; but the Tamīmī poet's affiliation to the component Banū Sa'd is explicitly mentioned below, 238.

723. Maydānī, *Amthāl al-'Arab*, tr., II, 674–5, no. 293.

724. Literally, "Garments sewn together from several pieces," perhaps here with the denotation of non-military dress. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, p. CDXXIX, "garments which are sewn together like the *qamīṣ*, *jubbah*, *sarāwīl*;" Dozy, II, 375a, "worn, used clothes."

army camp, when I suddenly found myself with an elderly man on a high-spirited mule which was too restive to stand still and which could not be overtaken in its swift flight. He related: While I was reciting to myself my *rajaz* poem, he met me brow-to-brow and face-to-face. He greeted me with the words, "Peace be upon you!" in a loud voice and with an unforced mode of expression. I returned the greeting, "Upon you be peace, and the mercy and blessings of God!" He said, "Halt
[1146] there, if you please," so I halted. There diffused from him a sweet perfume of amber and pungent-odored musk. He said, "What is your first [genealogical name]?" I replied, "I am a man of Muḍar." He said, "We come from Muḍar too." Then he said, "And after that, what?" I replied, "I am a man of the Banū Tamīm." He said, "And after Tamīm, what?" I replied, "From the Banū Sa'd." He replied, "Tell me more! What has impelled you to come to this land?" He related: I said, "I have headed for this kingdom, of whose like I have never heard for abundance of sweet odors, wideness of living space, richness in resources of power and extensiveness of hills." He replied, "What have you brought with you to this land?" I said, "Some fine poetry which is pleasant on the lips, which the rhapsodists can repeat and which is sweet in the ears of its hearers." He said, "Recite some of it to me, then." Thereupon I grew angry with him and said, "O ignoble fellow, limited in your mind [*yā rakīk*]! I have told you that I am making my way towards the Caliph with a poem which I have composed and a eulogy which I have put together with skill, and you ask me to recite it to you?" He related: He gave the appearance, by God, of not having heard my words, and remained with lowered eyes at them, making no answer. Then he said, "What do you hope to gain by means of it?" I replied, "If the state of affairs is as it has been reported to me, then one thousand dīnārs." He said, "I will give you one thousand dīnārs if I consider the poetry to be good and the speech sweet, and I will spare you the trouble and the continued repetition [of the verses] and the fact that, when you arrive at the Caliph's presence, [you will find there] ten thousand spearmen and archers between you and him!" I interjected, "Do I have your word that you will do that?" He retorted, "Yes, you do have my word." Then I said, "Do you have the money

with you at this precise moment?" He replied, "This is my [1147]
mule, which is worth more than one thousand dīnārs; I will dismount from its back and hand it over to you." He related: I grew angry again, and there came over me the hasty temper of the Banū Sa'd and their quickspiritedness; I told him that this mule was not equal in value to my noble horse. He replied, "Leave the mule, then, and I undertake before God as witness against me on your behalf to give you the one thousand dīnārs immediately."

He related: So I then recited to him:

O Ma'mūn, bestower of exalted favors
and occupier of the loftiest rank,

Commander of the most numerous military forces,
would you like to hear an elegant *rajaz* poem?

One more elegantly-constructed than the legal system of Abū Ḥanīfah?
Nay, by Him whose deputy [*khalīfah*] you are,

No weak female person suffers oppression in our land,
and the burdens laid on us by our amīr are light.

He does not exact for himself anything above the official rate of taxation,

so that the wolf and the ewe can remain under one roof,

And the thief and the merchant can lie down together under one coverlet.

He related: By God, I had hardly finished reciting it when suddenly a host of around ten thousand cavalrymen filled the horizon, crying, "Peace and the mercy and blessings of God be upon you, O Commander of the Faithful!" He related: Terror gripped me, and he saw me in that state and said, "No harm will come to you, my brother!" I replied, "O Commander of [1148]
the Faithful, may God make me your ransom, do you know the various modes of speech of the Arabs?" He replied, "Yes, by

God's life." I said, "And those of them who pronounce the *kāf* in place of *qāf*?" He replied, "These are the Ḥimyar." I said, "May God curse them and anyone who uses this mode of speech after today!"[725] Al-Ma'mūn laughed at this, and realized what I wanted; he turned to the servant at his side and said, "Give him all that you have with you here." The servant pulled out for me a bag containing three thousand dīnārs. Al-Ma'mūn said, "Take it!" Then he said, "Peace be with you," and went on his way; and that was the last contact I ever had with him.[726]

Abū Sa'īd al-Makhzūmī[727] recited:

Have you seen that the stars were of any use to al-Ma'mūn
or to his solidly-based royal power?

[On the contrary,] they left him at the two open spaces of Tarsus,
just as they left his father at Ṭūs.[728]

'Alī b. 'Ubaydah al-Rayḥānī[729] recited:

How inadequate are tears for al-Ma'mūn!
I am not satisfied with anything but blood dripping from my eyelids.

Abū Mūsā Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Mūsā al-Hādī[730]
[1149] has mentioned that 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ[731] related to him as follows: One day, al-Ma'mūn said to me, "Obtain for me a man from

725. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 436, adds a gloss to this: that he meant to say *yā raqīq*, "O tender, elegant one!" but said *yā rakīk*, "O feeble, vile one!" (i.e., the poet is exonerating himself from having unwittingly stigmatised al-Ma'mūn previously as "ignoble, limited in mind" [above, 238] and implying that he really meant to describe him in favorable terms as "tender, elegant").

726. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 273–8, tr. 123–5; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 434–6.

727. Abū Sa'd (thus in Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 575) 'Īsā b. Khālid al-Makhzūmī was a poet of al-Ma'mūn's court circle.

728. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 101–2 = ed. Pellat, § 2784. Al-Rashīd had died near Ṭūs in Khurasan.

729. The author of works on rhetoric and belles-lettres, who died in 219 (834); see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 58, 83.

730. I.e., a descendant of the fourth 'Abbāsid caliph.

731. A poet of al-Ma'mūn's time; see I. Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques du Kitâb al-Aġânî*, II, 497.

the people of Syria who has the ways of polite society [*adab*] and who can act as my intimate companion and provide conversation for me." So I made enquiries about such a person and found him. I then summoned him and told him, "I am going to bring you into the Commander of the Faithful's presence. You are not to ask him for anything until he has himself taken the initiative in speaking; for indeed, I am very well acquainted with your importunings, O people of Syria!" He replied, "I shall not overstep the bounds which you have commanded me to observe." Then I went in to al-Ma'mūn's presence and informed him, "I have found the required person, O Commander of the Faithful!" He said, "Bring him in!" At that the man entered and gave a greeting. Then al-Ma'mūn invited him to draw near; he was at that moment involved in a drinking session. Then he said to the man, "I would like you to be one of my intimates and to converse with me." The Syrian said, "O Commander of the Faithful, when a boon-companion's clothes are inferior to those of his associate, this gives him a feeling of inferiority." He related: So al-Ma'mūn ordered him to be given a robe of honor. He related: At that, a feeling came over me such as God only knows! He related: When the Syrian had put on the robe of honor and gone back to his place in the circle, he said, "O Commander of the Faithful, since my mind is preoccupied with my family, you will not derive much benefit from conversation with me." Al-Ma'mūn said, "Fifty thousand [dirhams] are to be conveyed to his house!" Then the Syrian said, "O Commander of the Faithful, and a third thing . . . ". Al-Ma'mūn replied, "And what is that?" The Syrian said, "You have introduced something which interposes between a man and his understanding [to rob him of his peace of mind.] If I should have committed any minor fault, please forgive it." Al-Ma'mūn replied, "That also [will be done]." 'Alī said: It was as if this third thing dispelled from my mind what I had been apprehensive about [and I breathed more easily now that nothing further was to be asked for by the Syrian].[732]

Abū Ḥashīshah Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Umayyah b. 'Amr[733] has

732. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 279–80, tr. 126–7.
733. A secretary, poet and musician of the third [ninth] century, who had

mentioned: We were at Damascus, before the presence of the Commander of the Faithful, and 'Allawayh[734] sang,

[1150] May I renounce the Islamic faith [or alternatively: I will renounce . . .], if that which
my traducers report to you is as they allege;

But when they have seen how swift you are to [reward] me,
they have urged each other to slanderous talk and have devised trickery.

Al-Ma'mūn said, "O 'Allawayh, who is this poetry by?" He said, "By the judge." Al-Ma'mūn said, "Which judge, shame on you?" 'Allawayh said, "The judge of Damascus." Al-Ma'mūn said, "O Abū Isḥāq [al-Mu'taṣim], dismiss him from office!" Abū Isḥāq replied, "I will do this immediately." Al-Ma'mūn said, "Let him be brought in straight away." He related: An old man, short of stature, his hair and beard dyed with henna, was brought in. Al-Ma'mūn said to him, "Who are you?" He replied, "So-and-so, son of so-and-so, with so-and-so *nisbah*." Al-Ma'mūn said, "Are you a poet?" He replied, "I used to be a poet." Al-Ma'mūn said, "O 'Allawayh, recite the verses to him." So 'Allawayh recited them. Al-Ma'mūn said, "Are these verses by you?" He replied, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful, but may the poet's wives all be divorced, and may he give all his possessions away for pious purposes, if he has composed any poetry during the last thirty years except on the theme of asceticism or in order gently to reproach a friend." Al-Ma'mūn said, "O Abū Isḥāq, dismiss him from his job; I am not going to give power over the necks of the Muslims to a man who begins, in his jesting, to speak about throwing off the Islamic faith." Then he continued, "Give him something to drink," And they brought the poet-judge a beaker of wine. He took it, all the time trembling with fear, but then protested,

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the *nisbah* of al-Ṭunbūrī; see H.G. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, 158; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 608.

734. A musician who flourished at the caliphal courts from al-Rashīd's time onwards, and who was originally a mawlā of the Umayyads (see below, 243–4); see Farmer, 123; *EI*[2] Suppl. s.v. (E. Neubauer).

"O Commander of the Faithful, I have never tasted it before." Al-Ma'mūn said, "Would you perhaps prefer another kind [of wine]?" The judge said, "I have never touched any of it before." Al-Ma'mūn said, "Is it forbidden, then?" He replied, "Certainly, O Commander of the Faithful!" Al-Ma'mūn said, "Good for you! Through this answer you have escaped [punishment for an infringement of the *sharī'ah*]. Be off with you!"[735] Then al-Ma'mūn said, "O 'Allawayh, do not say the words, 'May I renounce the Islamic faith . . . ', but say instead:

May I be deprived of the object of my desires in you [that is, of your love; or alternatively: I will be deprived . . .], if that which
my traducers report to you is as they allege.[736]

He related: We were with al-Ma'mūn at Damascus. He rode [1151]
off, with the intention of going to Mount Hermon,[737] and passed by a large cistern, one of those constructed by the Umayyads. On its banks stood four cypresses and the water would flow up to them and then flow back. Al-Ma'mūn found the spot pleasing, and called for *bazmāward*[738] and a *raṭl* (of wine). He mentioned the Umayyads, and then spoke of them in a deprecatory fashion and belittled them. Then 'Allawayh came forward with his lute (*'ūd*) and began to sing:

These are my people; after being once powerful and rich,
they have all passed to destruction. Should I not therefore
let my eyes weep, and feel sadness?

At this, al-Ma'mūn lashed out at the food with his foot and sprang up, saying to 'Allawayh, "O son of a whore, was there no other suitable time than this for you to mention your ancient masters [*mawālīka*]?" 'Allawayh replied, "Your client

735. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, X, 124, gives three verses as sung by 'Allawayh.
736. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 281–3, tr. 127–8; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, X, 123–4; Azdī, 409–10.
737. The Arabic *Jabal al-Thalj*; see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 79–80, 418–19.
738. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, p. CXXXIII, defining it as a Persian term (*bazmāward*, "what is brought away from a feast") denoting a kind of confection of pastry, meat, etc., *pace* Keller's translation, 128, "eine Flasche Rosenwasser."

[*mawlākum*] Ziryāb[739] is at this moment with my masters [*mawāliyya*],[740] riding with an escort of a hundred slave boys, while I am dying of hunger here with you." Al-Ma'mūn was angry with him for twenty days, but then took him back into favor. The narrator says: Ziryāb was originally the client of al-Mahdī who went first to Syria and then to the Western lands (al-Maghrib) and joined the Umayyads there.[741]

Abū 'Alī al-Salīṭī has mentioned from 'Umārah b. 'Aqīl,[742] who said: I once recited to al-Ma'mūn an ode containing a eulogy of him and comprising a hundred verses. I began with the first hemistich, but he quickly forestalled me (in adding the remaining hemistich of each verse) right up to the rhyme letter, exactly as I myself had completed the rhyme. I accordingly commented, "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, no one has ever heard this ode from me before." He replied, "It must nevertheless be thus." Then he came up to me and said, "Have you not heard that 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah[743] recited to 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās his ode in which he said:

In the morning, the encampment of our neighbours will be far away

[1152] and Ibn al-'Abbās continued (and completed the verse),
. . . and the day after that it will be even further away

until 'Umar had recited to Ibn al-'Abbās the whole ode, with the latter completing each second hemistich." Then al-Ma'mūn remarked, "I am the successor [literally: the son] of that one [Ibn al-'Abbās]."[744]

739. The famed musician who, during al-Ma'mūn's reign, entered the service of the Umayyad amīrs of Spain; see Farmer, 128–30; *EI*[1] Suppl. s.v. (id).

740. I.e., the Spanish Umayyads.

741. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 283–4, tr. 128; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, X, 131–2.

742. A tribal poet of northeastern Arabia, the great-grandson of Jarīr, who also frequented the courts of al-Ma'mūn and his successors; see Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XX, 183–8; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 559–60.

743. The famed lyric poet of Mecca and Madīnah in the Umayyad period; see ibid., II, 415–17; *EI*[1] s.v. 'Omar b. Abī Rabī'a (I. Kratschkowsky).

744. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 289–90, tr. 131; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 436. Al-Ma'mūn was of course the direct physical descendant of Ibn al-'Abbās as well as being, as he claimed, the inheritor of this feel for poetry.

It is mentioned from Abū Marwān Kāriz[745] b. Hārūn that Al-Ma'mūn once recited:

I sent to you, out of passion, so that you had the good fortune
to gain a glance,
and then you neglected me, until I acquired a bad opinion
of you.

Then you were in intimate contact with the one whom I love,
while I was far away;
so would that I knew what would relieve me of wanting
you near!

I see a clear trace of him in your eyes;
your eyes have indeed taken beauty from his eye!

Abū Marwān related: In expressing this meaning in his verses, al-Ma'mūn relied upon (that is, was alluding to) the poem of al-'Abbās b. Aḥnaf,[746] who produced the following:

If my eye is afflicted because of her, the eye of my messenger
has become happy,
and I have experienced good fortune from his news.

Whenever the messenger from her comes to me,
I deliberately direct my gaze again and again at his glance.

Her beauties are revealed in his face;
they have left on it the most beautiful of impressions.

O messenger, take freely my eye's orb,
look with it and give judgement with my glance![747]

Abū al-'Atāhiyah related: Al-Ma'mūn sent for me one day. I [1153]
went along to him, and found him with bowed head and sunk

745. Following the correct reading of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 290, *pace* the text's Kāzir.

746. A court poet of al-Rashīd; see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 513–14; *EI*[2] s.v. (Blachère).

747. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 290–1, tr. 131–2; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 436–7.

in thought. I accordingly refrained from approaching him while he was in that state. Then he raised his head, looked at me and beckoned me with his hand to come near; so I drew near. He remained downcast for a considerable while, and then raised his head and said, "O Abū Isḥāq, the natural state of the soul is a feeling of tedium and a love of something strange and new; it comes to find solitude congenial just as it does sociability." I replied, "Assuredly, O Commander of the Faithful, and I have composed a verse on this theme." He said, "What is that?" I then recited:

When the soul is disquieted, the only remedy for it
is changing from one state of mind to another.[748]

It is mentioned from the poet Abū Nizār al-Ḍarīr,[749] that he said: 'Alī b. Jabalah[750] told me: I once said to Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid, "O Abū Ghānim, I have praised the Commander of the Faithful with a eulogy so fine that no one on the whole earth could produce its like; so mention my name to the Commander of the Faithful." Ḥumayd said, "Recite it to me!" So I recited it to him. Ḥumayd exclaimed, "I bear witness that you are speaking the truth!" So he took the panegyric and presented it to al-Ma'mūn. Al-Ma'mūn said, "O Abū Ghānim, the answer to all this is clear. If he wishes, we will pardon him and consider this as a reward for his panegyric. But if he wishes otherwise, we will bring together for comparison his poetry on you and on Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim b. 'Īsā [al-'Iǰlī].[751] If what he has written on you and on Abū Dulaf is finer than his eulogy on us, we will flog him on his back and prolong his imprisonment. But if what he has written is finer, I will reward him with a thousand dirhams for every verse of his panegyric, and if he

748. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 293, tr. 133; Mas'ūdī, *Murūǰ*, VII, 31–2 = ed. Pellat, § 2720.

749. This blind poet is mentioned in conjunction with 'Alī b. Jabalah in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 105.

750. A poet of the time of al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn, known as al-'Akawwak; see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 572–3; *EI*[2] s.v. al-'Akawwak (Blachère).

751. Famed contemporary military leader, poet and patron of the arts; see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 632–3; *EI*[2] s.v. al-Ḳāsim b. 'Īsā (J.E. Bencheikh).

wishes, we will let him go free."[752] I replied, "O my master, who are Abū Dulaf and myself, that he should eulogize us [1154] in finer words than those in your praise?" Al-Ma'mūn said, "These words are no answer at all to the question; lay my propositions before the man." 'Alī b. Jabalah related: Ḥumayd said to me, "What do you think about it?" I replied, "In my estimation, being pardoned is better." This was reported to al-Ma'mūn, and he commented, "He knows best [what he is doing!]!" Ḥumayd related: I said to 'Alī b. Jabalah, "What words was the Caliph thinking of in your eulogies of Abū Dulaf and of myself?" He replied, "About my words on Abū Dulaf,

The present world is nothing but Abū Dulaf,
[in the time which is] between his coming into the world naked and his being at the point of death.

So when Abū Dulaf turns his back [on life],
the world turns its back [on life] also, following in his track.

and about my words on you,

If it were not for Ḥumayd,
no outstanding merit or noble lineage could be enumerated.

O unique one of the Arabs,
through whose greatness the Arabs have become great!"

'Alī b. Jabalah related: Ḥumayd remained with bowed head for a while, and then said, "O Abū al-Ḥasan, the Commander of the Faithful has already allotted a sum of money for you, and has ordered me [to give you] ten thousand dirhams, a beast for bearing these presents, a robe of honor and a slave." Abū Dulaf

752. *Wa-in shā'a, aqalnāhu*. This translation gives good parallelism with the phrase *in shā'a, 'afawnā 'anhu*, "if he wishes, he will pardon him," a few lines further up. Keller's translation of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir's parallel text, 133, "Will er dies, so lasse er uns wissen," seems to take *aqāla* here as form IV of root *q-w-l* and not of *q-y-l* and seems less plausible.

heard about this, and doubled the gift to me. Both of them did this in secret, and no one has ever known about it, O Abū Nizār, until I have told you about this.

Abū Nizār related: I imagined that al-Ma'mūn viewed 'Alī b. Jabalah with disfavor[753] because of this verse on Abū Dulaf:

[1155] The water of liberality flowed down from Adam's loins,[754]
and then the Merciful One fixed it in the loins of [Abū Dulaf al-] Qāsim.[755]

It is mentioned from Sulaymān b. Razīn al-Khuzā'ī,[756] the nephew of Di'bil,[757] as follows. He said: Di'bil once satirized al-Ma'mūn, saying:

Al-Ma'mūn is imposing on me the office of diviner;
did he not see only yesterday the head of Muḥammad [al-Amīn, his brother]?

He looks down on the skulls of the caliphs[758] just as
the mountains look down on the low-lying hills,

And he lurks in the refuge-places of every inaccessible spot,
until he brings low a lofty mountain, which has never before been ascended.

The one who seeks revenge is kept awake at nights and is sleepless;
so keep your spittle away from the spittle of the black one [the venomous viper]![759]

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753. See for this sense of *ta'aqqada*, Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, p. CCCLXX
754. Cf. Qur'ān, LXXXVI, 6–7.
755. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 294–6, tr. 133–4.
756. Cf. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 36.
757. The Shī'ī poet and satirist, hence generally hostile to the 'Abbāsids and Ṭāhirids; see Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture," 52–4; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 529–32; *EI*[2] s.v. (L. Zolondek).
758. The *Dīwān* of Di'bil, 145, has the inferior reading *khalā'iq*, "creatures," for the *khalā'if* of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir and Ṭabarī.
759. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 296, tr. 134; Di'bil, *Dīwān*, 144–5 (fragment of seven verses); Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 55 (the first verse only).

Someone said to al-Ma'mūn, "Di'bil has satirized you." Al-Ma'mūn replied, "[No,] he is satirizing Abū 'Abbād [Thābit b. Yaḥyā],[760] and not me," alluding to Abū 'Abbād's passionate temper. Whenever Abū 'Abbād went into al-Ma'mūn's presence, the latter would frequently laugh and say to him, "What did Di'bil really mean regarding you when he was saying:

It is as if he had escaped from the Dayr Hizqil,[761] [1156]
a deranged and violent one, who still drags along the chains of his fetters."[762]

Al-Ma'mūn used to say to Ibrāhīm b. Shaklah (Ibrāhim b. al-Mahdī)[763] when the latter came into his presence, "Di'bil has caused you pain when he says,

If Ibrāhīm is able to bear the burden of it [the caliphate],
then it will certainly be suitable for al-Mukhāriq after him,

And it will certainly be suitable after that one for Zulzul,
and likewise after Zulzul for al-Māriqī.[764]

How can it be? Nay, it cannot be and it never has been possible
for an evildoer [*fāsiq*] to take over from [another, previous] evildoer."[765]

Muḥammad b. Haytham al-Ṭā'ī has mentioned that al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Ṭayfūrī related to him saying: (Abū Mu-

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760. Al-Ma'mūn's secretary; see ibid., XVIII, 39; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 214, 231–2.

761. The principal madhouse in Baghdad; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 540–1; A. Mez, *Abulkâsim, ein bagdader Sittenbild*, p. XLVIII and the references there.

762. Di'bil, *Dīwān*, 148; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 30.

763. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī is frequently referred to pejoratively in the sources as the son of his black slave mother Shaklah, from whom he acquired his swarthy visage; see Ibn Khallikān *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, I, 39, tr. de Slane, I, 17.

764. The text here and Ibn Khallikān have al-Māriq, but Ibn Abī Ṭāhir and Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 20–1, XIII, 31, have the apparently more correct al-Māriqī. For the singers and musicians mentioned here, see Farmer, 118–19, 121.

765. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 296–7, tr. 134, with the first three of the latter verses also at 194, tr. 88, with a variant third verse; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 58, with verses one and three; Ibn Khallikān, I, 40, tr. 18, with all four of these verses.

ḥammad) al-Yazīdī[766] complained to al-Ma'mūn about a financial loss which he had suffered and about some debt which he was now required to settle. Al-Ma'mūn said, "We do not have by us at this moment a sum which, if we handed it over to you, would be sufficient for your needs." Al-Yazīdī replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, I am in straitened circumstances just now, and my creditors are pressing me hard." Al-Ma'mūn said, "Suggest a way out for yourself, from which you might derive advantage." He replied, "Among your boon-companions is one from whom, if I move him to respond, I will get what I desire; so give me free rein to devise a stratagem with them." Al-Ma'mūn said, "Say what you have in mind." He replied, "When both they and I are present [in the Caliph's palace], order your servant so-and-so to bring you my petition, and when
[1157] you have read it, send back to me the message 'Your entry at this moment [into the Caliph's circle of boon-companions] is not possible; but choose for yourself [as a companion] whomsoever you like.'" He related: When Abū Muḥammad (al-Yazīdī) knew that al-Ma'mūn was holding a convivial session, with his boon-companions gathered round him, and when he was certain that they were befuddled from their wine drinking, he came to the door and handed over to that servant a petition which he had written out. The servant conveyed it to the Caliph on his behalf, and the Caliph read it out, and behold, it contained the words,

O best of my brothers and companions,
this intruder at the feast is at the door!

He has been told that the members of the circle are all in a state of enjoyment,
in which every comer yearns to share.

So make me one of your number,
or else let one of my equals come out to me!

766. Presumably Yaḥyā b. al-Mubārak, a poet from this well-known family; see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 610; M. Fleischhammer, in *ZDMG*, CXII (1962), 299–308.

He related: Al-Ma'mūn read these words out to those assembled round him, and they said, "It is not fitting that this parasite should come in under the present circumstances." So al-Ma'mūn sent back to him, "Your entry at this moment is not possible; but choose for yourself whomsoever you would like to make your companion." He said, "I don't consider that there is anyone whom I would like to choose except 'Abdallah b. Ṭāhir." Al-Ma'mūn said to 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir, "His choice has fallen on you, so off you go to him!" 'Abdallāh protested, "O Commander of the Faithful, must I be the parasite's companion?" Al-Ma'mūn replied, "Abū Muḥammad cannot be refused both of his requests. If you wish to go out [and join him, well and good]; but if not, then purchase your freedom [from this commitment]." He related: 'Abdallāh said, "O Commander of the Faithful, I will pay him ten thousand dirhams." [1158]
Al-Ma'mūn replied, "I don't think that that sum from you will satisfy his claim on you, nor compensate for companionship with you." He related: 'Abdallāh kept on increasing the sum offered by ten thousand dirhams at a time, with al-Ma'mūn telling him each time, "I am not satisfied with that for him." Finally, he reached the figure of a hundred thousand (dirhams). He related: Al-Ma'mūn then told him, "Hand it over to him immediately!" He related: He thereupon wrote out for him an order to his financial intendant for the money, and sent a messenger along with him. Al-Ma'mūn wrote a message to al-Yazīdī, "In your present circumstances, getting this sum of money is better to you than enjoying the companionship of him in his kind of position, and has a more useful end-product!"[767]

It is mentioned from Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, the master of the caliphal stables and conveyances (*ṣāḥib al-marākib*), that he said: My father related to me from Ṣāliḥ b. al-Rashīd, who said: I once went into al-Ma'mūn's presence, having with me two verses by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk.[768] I said, "O Commander

767. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 303–5, tr. 137–8; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 467–8.
768. Court poet of various 'Abbasid caliphs of the time, who was called al-Khalī', "The Debauched One"; see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 518–19; *EI*² s.v. (Pellat).

of the Faithful, I should like you to hear from me two verses." He said, "Recite them." He related: Ṣāliḥ then recited to him:

We praise God, O Commander of the Faithful,
out of thankfulness, since He has bestowed on us your help.

You are truly the representative [*khalīfah*] of the Merciful One,
and have united in yourself generosity and religion.

Al-Ma'mūn found them to be good, and asked, "O Ṣāliḥ, who is the author of these two verses?" I replied, "Your servant, O Commander of the Faithful, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk." He said, "He has done well." I replied, "But he has written even better poetry than this, O Commander of the Faithful!" He said, "Such as?" So I recited to him:

Can the one whose goodness is unique, and whose [noble]
characteristics are unique, be miserly
[1159] towards me, when I have devoted to him exclusively a unique love?

God has seen that 'Abdallāh [al-Ma'mūn] is the best of His servants,
hence has given him kingly power—and God is the most knowing one about His servant.[769]

It is mentioned from 'Umārah b. 'Aqīl that he related: 'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Simṭ[770] said to me, "Did you know that al-Ma'mūn has little taste for poetry?" He related: I replied, "But who is there, nevertheless, who is more knowledgeable about poetry than him? By God, you shall see us recite the first part of a verse to him, and he will complete its latter part before we ourselves can." He said, "I once recited a verse to him, which I had composed very well, but I could not detect any re-

769. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 312, tr. 141; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 72 (where, however, it is stated that these verses did not counterbalance, in al-Ma'mūn's eyes, the poet's previous eulogies of his brother al-Amīn and satires on himself).

770. Apparently a member of the famous Abū Ḥafṣah poetic family; see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 583.

action to it on his part." He related: I said, "What was it you recited to him?" He said, "I recited to him,

The Imām of right guidance, al-Ma'mūn, has become fully occupied
with religion, whereas the people devote themselves to the affairs of the present world."

He related: I said to him, "By God, what you have composed is worthless! Have you added anything [to his status] in making him [like] an old woman in her prayer niche, with her rosary in her hand? Who can be responsible for the affairs of the world, when he has been invested [by God] with its direction, if he is unconcerned about it? Why didn't you say of him like your forebear [literally: your paternal uncle] Jarīr[771] said of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd,[772]

He does not let his share in this present world go to waste,
yet on the other hand, the concerns of this world do not deflect him from religion.

He commented: At that moment, I realized that I had made an error.[773]

It is mentioned from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Sabārī[774] that he said: When [Kulthūm b. 'Amr] al-'Attābī[775] came to al-Ma'mūn in the City of Peace, he was given permission to enter. So he went into the Caliph's presence, the latter having with him at that time Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī.[776] Al-'Attābī was at this time a highly-respected elderly man. He greeted the Caliph, who returned the greeting and ordered al-'Attābī to approach him, and brought him near until he was close to him. Al-'Attābī kissed his hand. The Caliph then ordered him to [1160]

771. See above, 244 and n. 742.

772. The Umayyad prince, son of al-Walīd I.

773. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 313, tr. 141–2; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 438.

774. The correct reading for this *nisbah* is unclear; al-Sayyārī would be possible, whilst Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 3, has al-Yasārī. Sam'ānī (Hyderabad), VII, 22, connects al-Sabārī with a village of the Bukhara oasis.

775. The secretary and poet, eulogist of al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn; see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 540–1; *EI*[2] s.v. al-'Attābī (Blachère).

776. The great musician, singer and poet, and favorite of al-Ma'mūn; see Farmer, 124–6; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 578; *EI*[2] s.v. (Fück).

be seated, so he sat down, and then the Caliph came up to al-ʿAttābī and questioned him about his present circumstances. Al-ʿAttābī began to answer him in an eloquent voice, which al-Ma'mūn found pleasing, and he came up to al-ʿAttābī, making jests and pleasantries. The old man thought that al-Ma'mūn was mocking him, and exclaimed, "O Commander of the Faithful, does assembling beasts for milking come before making yourself familiar to them?"[777] He related: Al-Ma'mūn did not comprehend the allusion to "assembling beasts for milking" (*al-ibsās*); he looked at Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, and then said, "Yes! O slave boy, [bring] one thousand dīnārs!" The sum was brought and then poured out in front of al-ʿAttābī.

They then began to talk together and tell stories. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm made a surreptitious sign with his eye to al-Ma'mūn. He would not allow al-ʿAttābī to embark on any topic without starting to dispute with him over the greater part of it. Al-ʿAttābī was left mystified by this, but then said, "O Commander of the Faithful, give me permission to ask this old man what his name is!" Al-Ma'mūn answered, "Certainly, do ask him." Al-ʿAttābī said, "O old man, who are you, and what is your name?" Isḥāq replied, "I am a human being and my name is Kul baṣal."[778] Al-ʿAttābī said, "As for the name of attribution [*nisbah*], that is known, but with regard to the name proper [*ism*], that is still unknown [to me]; Kul baṣal is not a recognized name." Isḥāq answered him, "You are quite unjust here! Is not Kul thūm a recognized name, then? Onions are pleasanter than garlic!" Al-ʿAttābī said, "What an excellent fellow you are! How persuasively you have argued! O Commander of the Faithful, I have never before seen an old man like this one! Would you permit me to make him a gift of what
[1161] the Commander of the Faithful bestowed on me [earlier]? For by God, he has got the better of me!" Al-Ma'mūn retorted, "Nay, you shall keep the whole of it, and I shall order him to be given an equivalent sum." Isḥāq then said to al-ʿAttābī, "Since

777. An allusion to the proverb, "Make yourself known to beasts before milking them," cf. Maydānī, tr. I, 94.

778. *Kul baṣal*, literally, "eat onions!"—al-ʿAttābī's *ism* being interpretable as *kul thūm* "eat garlic!"

you have acknowledged this [superiority of mine in debate], make a guess about me, and you will find me out!" He said, "By God, you must be none other than the shaykh, concerning whom reports reach us from Iraq and who is known as Ibn al-Mawṣilī." Isḥāq replied, "I am that person, just as you imagined." He then went up to him to give him the greetings of long life and of peace. Al-Ma'mūn commented, after the conversation between the two shaykhs had gone on for a considerable time, "Since the two of you have come to a peaceful and amicable understanding, arise, and go off together as boon-companions!" So al-'Attābī went off to Isḥāq's house and stayed there with him.[779]

It is mentioned from Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Jasham al-Rib'ī that 'Umārah b. 'Aqīl said: One day, when I was drinking with him, al-Ma'mūn said to me, "What poor company you are, O bedouin!" He related: I protested, "That is not the case, O Commander of the Faithful, but my heart is troubled." He enquired, "How is that?" I replied:

Mufaddāt said, when she saw that I was sleepless
and that the phantom of care was visiting me repeatedly,
as an obsession,

You have dissipated your wealth on acts of favor to people both near
and far, to the point that indigence now encompasses you.

Seek out these people, and you will see what a fine state you once enjoyed;
you shower them with gifts, so that they have now already got whole herds of camels!

But I replied, Away with your reproaches! You have blamed me too much; [1162]
neither Ḥātim nor Harim died from extreme poverty.

779. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 316–17, tr. 143; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 26–8 = ed. Pellat, § 2715; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 3–4.

Al-Ma'mūn said to me, "What are you thinking of, setting yourself up in comparison with Harim b. Sinān, the lord of the Arabs, and Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī?[780] They did so-and-so and so-and-so," and he began to overwhelm me with a heap of examples of their generosity. He related: I replied, however, "O Commander of the Faithful, I am better than both of them, because I am a Muslim and they were infidels, and I am an Arab as well."[781]

It is mentioned from Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' b. Maymūn al-Farghānī that he said: Al-Ma'mūn said to Muḥammad b. al-Jahm,[782] "Recite to me three verses of poetry which are on the respective themes of eulogy, satire and elegy, and I will give you a tract of land for each verse." So he recited to him as an example of eulogy:

He yields up his life, when even the [ordinary] generous person
is tenacious of it;
giving up one's life is the highest point of generosity.

He recited to him as an example of satire:

Their external appearance is hateful, but when you get to know them,
their external appearance appears beautiful because of the extreme hatefulness of their inner character.

He recited to him as an example of elegy:

They wished to conceal his grave,
but the sweet odor of the grave's earth indicated the way to the tomb.[783]

It is mentioned from al-'Abbās b. Aḥmad b. Abān b. al-Qāsim[784] al-Kātib, who said, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk related to me,

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780. The two tribal chiefs, of Dhubyān and Ṭayyi' respectively, who were famed in pre-Islamic times for their liberality; see R.A. Nicholson, *A literary history of the Arabs*, 85–7, 116–17, cf. 288.

781. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 317–18, tr. 144; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XX, 184–5.

782. Apparently a client of the Barmakīs; see Guidi, II, 598; G. Lecomte, "Muḥammad b. al-Ǧahm al-Barmakī . . . ," *Arabica*, V (1958), 263–71.

783. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 318–19, tr. 144.

784. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 320, has here Abū al-Qāsim.

saying: 'Allawayh said to me, I will tell you about an episode that once happened to me when I would have despaired of continuing in al-Ma'mūn's favor had it not been for his nobility of character. He summoned us, and when the effects of the wine had got a hold of him, he said, "Sing to me!" Mukhāriq preceded me, and started off by singing a melody by Ibn Surayj[785] to a poem by Jarīr, [1163]

When I recalled to mind the two monasteries,
where the noise of the domestic fowls and the beating of the wooden clappers kept me awake,

I said to the party of riders, at a time when we were weary from the journey
"How far is Yabrīn[786] from the gates of the gardens of paradise!"

He related: I was given the instruction to start singing at that moment, when al-Ma'mūn had in fact just had the idea of setting out for Damascus with the intention of proceeding to the (Byzantine) frontier region,

The moment of time has urged [us] on to Damascus, even though
Damascus is no fitting place for our people.[787]

He thereupon dashed his drinking-cup to the ground and exclaimed, "What's the matter with you? May God's curse be upon you!" Then he said, "O slave boy, give Mukhāriq three thousand dirhams!" I was taken by the hand and set down in my place, whilst his eyes were overflowing with tears and he was saying to al-Mu'taṣim, "This is, by God, my last expedition and I don't think that I shall ever see Iraq again." He related: By God, it was indeed his last contact with Iraq, at the time of this expedition, just as he said.[788]

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785. Famed singer in the Hijaz during the Umayyad period; see Farmer, 79–80; *EI*[2] s.v. (Fück).

786. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 427, a sand dune region of eastern Arabia.

787. Following the *li-ahlinā* of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 320, and Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, X, 132, instead of the text's *li-ahlihā*.

788. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, 320–1, tr. 145.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXXIII

Storm and Stress along the Northern Frontiers of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate

TRANSLATED BY C. E. BOSWORTH

Storm and Stress
along the Northern Frontiers of the
'Abbāsid Caliphate
Volume XXXIII
Translated by C. E. Bosworth

This section of al-Tabarī's *History* covers the eight-year reign of al-Mu'taṣim (833-42), immediately following the reign of his elder brother al-Ma'mūn, when the Islamic caliphate was once more united after the civil strife and violence of the second decade of the ninth century A.D. Al-Mu'taṣim's reign is notable for the transfer of the administrative capital of the caliphate from Baghdad north to the military settlement of Sāmarrā on the Tigris, where it was to remain for some sixty years. This move meant a significant increase in the caliphs' dependence on their Turkish slave guards. Al-Mu'taṣim's reign was also marked by periods of intense military activity along the northern fringes of the Islamic lands: against the Byzantines in Anatolia; against the sectarian Bābak and his followers—the "wearers of red," the Khurramiyyah—in northwestern Persia; and against the politically ambitious local prince Mazyar in the Caspian provinces of Persia. These episodes take up the greater part of al-Ṭabarī's account of al-Mu'taṣim's reign, and he has provided graphic and detailed narratives of the respective campaigns, including valuable details on military organization and tactics during this period.

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

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A.D. 833–842/A.H. 218–227

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(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l mulūk)

VOLUME XXXIII

Storm and Stress along the Northern Frontiers of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate

translated and annotated
by

C. E. Bosworth

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 39 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

BGA: *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*
BiOr: *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BSOAS: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CT: *Cahiers de Tunisie*
EI[1]: *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, first edition
EI[2]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition
EIr: *Encyclopaedia Iranica*
GAL: C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte des arabischen Literatur*
GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*
GCAL: G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*
GMS: Gibb Memorial Series
HJAS: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
IC: *Islamic Culture*
Iran, *JBIPS*: *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*
Isl.: *Der Islam*
JA: *Journal Asiatique*
JAL: *Journal of Arabic Literature*
JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JESHO: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JHS: *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JIH: *Journal of Indian History*
JRAS: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSAI: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
JSS: *Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS: *Journal of Theological Studies*
MW: *The Muslim World*
REI: *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*

RSO: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
SI: *Studia Islamica*
St. Ir.: *Studia Iranica*
WbKAS: *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*
ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

Translator's Foreword

Al-Muʿtaṣim's reign of almost nine years saw a recrudescence of conflict and disturbance such as had characterized the early years of the previous caliphate, that of his brother al-Maʾmūn, but with the difference that the focuses of discontent were now no longer Baghdad and Iraq but rather the northern fringes of the Persian lands and, to a lesser extent, Syria and Palestine.

It is not therefore surprising that in this section of his *History* Ṭabarī should devote a great amount of space to, and provide the most detailed and graphic historical accounts that we possess of, the last years and final overthrow of Bābak and his Khurramī movement in Ādharbayjān and Arrān, as well as the eventually unsuccessful rebellion of the Qārinid prince Māzyār b. Qārin in Ṭabaristān and the Caspian provinces. The ideology and beliefs of the Khurramiyyah are unfortunately insufficiently known for us to decide whether the primary impulse behind the movement, of which Bābak was only the latest leader, was religious, perhaps a recrudescence of neo-Mazdakism, or whether the movement was one of social protest or of incipient Persian national feeling directed against the Arab political domination of Persia.[1] It is,

1. Cf. A. H. M. Jones, "Were Ancient Heresies National or Social Movements in Disguise?" *JTS*, N.S. 10 (1959): 280–98. Jones is very skeptical that ethnic or "nationalist" motivations were at work among the heterodox Christian sects of the later Roman and early Byzantine empires; for example, North African Donatism or Egyptian Monophysitism. We should probably be equally wary of imputing similar motivations to early Islamic religious dissidence in the Iranian world.

however, certain that the aim of Māzyār, himself a convert to Islam in the previous reign, was eventually to extend his own political authority over neighboring petty dynasties and to achieve a position within the Caspian provinces comparable to that of his rival ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir in Khurāsān, rather than to subvert the position of Islam in Persia by engaging in a grand conspiracy against it in alliance with al-Afshīn, the prince of the Transoxanian principality of Ushrūsanah.

Ṭabarī likewise devotes considerable space and detail to the external campaign that established al-Muʿtaṣim's reputation as a great *ghāzī*-prince and hammer of infidels, the attack in 223 (838) on the Byzantine city of Anqirah (Ankara) and the sack of another great fortress of central Anatolia, ʿAmmūriyyah (Amorion), the original home of the ruling Amorian dynasty, in retaliation for a preceding Greek attack on the Muslim population of Zibaṭrah in the Byzantine-Arab marches.

Ṭabarī's interest as a chronicler of the ʿAbbāsids was in the heartlands of Islam, so that we lack from him any information at all about the eastern and western wings of the caliphal dominions—a general characteristic of his treatment of other ʿAbbāsid caliphates. Thus we learn nothing about what was happening in Sind under its Arab governors; about events in Sīstān and eastern Khurāsān, where serious Khārijite uprisings continued to disturb the countryside; or about the political processes in Transoxania, where the Sāmānid family was consolidating its power under the aegis of the Ṭāhirid governors in Nayshābūr. Regarding the Muslim west, Ṭabarī tells us nothing about Egypt, the Maghrib, and Spain, though these years were areas in which, for example, the Aghlabid conquest of Sicily from the Byzantines was proceeding apace.

Even information on what was happening in Iraq and the traditional capital of the ʿAbbāsids, Baghdad, is sparse compared with Ṭabarī's concentration on events there during al-Amīn's brief caliphate and al-Maʾmūn's early years, when he was still based in Marw in Khurāsān and Baghdad itself was for the most part in hands hostile to him. The major happening in Iraq during al-Muʿtaṣim's reign was, of course, the Caliph's decision to transfer the military and administrative capital of the ʿAbbāsid empire from Baghdad to Sāmarrā in 220 (835) and to buttress his

personal power there with a professional army, in which Turkish slave soldiers were prominent. Although the sources are not explicit, the research of scholars like David Ayalon have made it abundantly clear that al-Ma'mūn came to feel, in view of the support that the *ahl Baghdād*, the Abnā' (the Arabs from Khurāsān who had migrated westward to Baghdad and become the mainstays of the first 'Abbāsid caliphs), had given to his rival al-Amīn in the civil warfare of 195–98 (811–13) and their subsequent chronic disaffection, that he could never thenceforth rely on them and must accordingly seek his personal military support elsewhere. Al-Mu'taṣim carried the process farther and came to realize—as the sources frankly state—that his new Turkish slave soldiery would never be welcomed in Baghdad by the Abnā', who were dominant there. He thus planned his new capital a safe seventy miles away at Sāmarrā.[2] The wisdom of his policies must have been further apparent to al-Mu'taṣim when he was nearly toppled from his throne on his way home from the 'Ammūriyyah campaign by a conspiracy largely mounted by the Arab and Khurāsānian commanders to raise his nephew al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn to the caliphate. In this abortive putsch, Turkish commanders of the army like Ashnās and Bughā remained conspicuously loyal, and their influence in the state grew proportionately. The condemnation in 225 (840) of al-Afshīn, who had been the victor over Bābak only three years previously, may be viewed as a further diminution of the influence of the 'Abbāsids' traditional support from the peoples of the eastern Iranian world, whether the Arabs originally settled in Khurāsān or, in the case of al-Afshīn, Iranians from the pre-Islamic local aristocracy. Only in Khurāsān itself was al-Mu'taṣim wise enough to retain 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir in Nayshābūr as the supremely capable and knowledgeable controller of events in the east, and 'Abdallāh's first cousin Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn b. Muṣ'ab, governor of Baghdad for the Caliphs, always remained one of the closest confidants of both al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim.

If we depended solely on Ṭabarī for information on al-Mu'taṣim and the events of his reign, we would be unaware of the major

2. See Ayalon, *The Military Reforms of Caliph al-Mu'taṣim*, pp. 4–12, 31–33.

event of intellectual and theological significance during these years; that is, the continuation by al-Muʿtaṣim of the *Miḥnah*, or inquisition, involving the requirement of assent to Muʿtazilī doctrine on such questions as the createdness of the Qur'ān as a condition for holding official legal and theological posts. Al-Ma'mūn had put these measures into effect in Iraq during the last year of his life, and al-Muʿtaṣim had been his close lieutenant in this.[3] Thus it was al-Muʿtaṣim who in Jumādā I 218 (June 833), two months before his brother's death, had written to the governor of Egypt, Naṣr b. ʿAbdallāh Kaydar,[4] and to the governor of Syria, Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh al-Khuttalī,[5] obliging them to enforce the stipulations of the *Miḥnah* in their provinces. These Muʿtazilī measures were enthusiastically promoted, and the caliph's resolution was stiffened by one of al-Muʿtaṣim's closest intimates and the most decisive single influence on him, his chief judge, Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād.[6] In Ramaḍān 219 (September–October 835) the spearhead of the conservative, orthodox opposition to the new official policies, the Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, was summoned before the caliph and, after refusing his assent to Muʿtazilī measures, was severely beaten and jailed for two years.[7] There seems also to have been an intensification of inquisitorial activities in the year or so before al-Muʿtaṣim's death, both in Egypt under the Muʿtazilī *faqīh* Muḥammad b. Abī al-Layth al-Aṣamm and in Baghdad under the judge Shuʿayb b. Sahl.[8]

The picture of al-Muʿtaṣim's character and aptitudes that emerges from Ṭabarī's pages is not very clear, except that his strategic skill and generalship are demonstrated by his careful planning of the Anatolian campaign, involving a meticulously timed pincer movement on the Anatolian cities executed by the

3. For Ṭabarī's account of these developments, see vol. III, 1112–33; trans. Bosworth, *The Reunification of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, pp. 199–222.

4. Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāt wa-kitāb al-quḍāt*, pp. 193, 445–49.

5. Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb ta'rīkh Dimashq*, vol. II, p. 458.

6. On him, see p. 33 n. 127 below.

7. W. M. Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*, pp. 90–113; W. M. Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, pp. 178, 292.

8. See *EI*², s.v. "Miḥna" (M. Hinds).

two wings of the Muslim army led by himself and al-Afshīn respectively. His personal bravery also seems established. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī's biography of him illustrates, with several episodes recounted on the authority of Ibn Abī Duwād, al-Mu'taṣim's great physical strength,[9] and it emerges from Ṭabarī's own pages that he was a lover of the game of polo.[10] Also, his kingly presence and dignity were regarded as particularly awe-inspiring.[11] It does, however, appear that these features and traits of character were combined with what was at times a violent temper and lack of self-control.[12]

Intellectually, he appears insignificant beside his brother al-Ma'mūn, with his wide-ranging scientific and philosophical interests, and is described in some sources as totally lacking in learning (though some Arabic verses are nevertheless attributed to him).[13] Subkī was doubtless right when he asserted that al-Mu'taṣim had not the intellectual formation to make an informed decision on the correctness of the Mu'tazilī measures being enforced under the *Miḥnah* but was largely impelled to continue them by al-Ma'mūn's dying charge to him[14] and the influence over him of Ibn Abī Duwād and others.[15]

The sketchiness of Ṭabarī's portrayal of the caliph is emphasized by the paucity of anecdotes about his conduct and character that he retails, compared with the number of similar stories given for Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn, for example. For amplification of such material on al-Mu'taṣim, one has to go to such works as the *Kitāb al-aghānī* and the *adab* collections.[16] One facet of culture, in the widest sense, does seem to have interested the caliph, however: He appreciated food and was interested in the *haute cuisine* of the time, as were other members of his

9. *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, vol. IV, p. 49 no. 500.
10. Ṭabarī, vol. III, pp. 1326–27 (p. 213 below).
11. Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, vol. IV, p. 49 no. 500: *min ahyab al-khulafā'*.
12. Cf. Ṭabarī, vol. III, p. 1326 (p. 212 below).
13. Kutubī, vol. IV, pp. 49–50.
14. Ṭabarī, vol. III, pp. 1136, 1137–38; trans. Bosworth, pp. 225, 227–28.
15. Cited in Patton, p. 114.
16. Some material additional to that of Ṭabarī was adduced by E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, pp. 153 ff.

family.[17] This emerges from a passage in Mas'ūdī describing how, at his Jawsaq palace in Sāmarrā, al-Mu'taṣim brought in Ibn Abī Duwād to adjudicate various dishes of food prepared by his boon companions.[18] In addition, a *nuskhah* (list, collection of recipes?) on practical cookery by al-Mu'taṣim is mentioned—together with similar *nusakh* and *kutub* by Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, al-Ma'mūn, al-Wāthiq, and the like—in a later fourth-century (tenth-century) cookbook, Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq's *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*.[19]

The editor of this section of Ṭabarī's *History*, the general editor, M. J. de Goeje, had at his disposal as the basis for his text two manuscripts, one in Istanbul, Köprülü 1040-2 (C), and one in Oxford, Bodleian Uri 650 (O).[20] Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm used the Leiden text as the basis for his Cairo edition of 1960–69 but in this section of the text he added a few readings from another Istanbul manuscript, Ahmet III 2959;[21] the extra information is, however, negligible.

This section of Ṭabarī on the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim is the only substantial portion of the Islamic part of the *History* treating an entire caliphal reign that has previously been translated into a Western language, in Elma Marin's *The Reign of al-Mu'taṣim (833–842)* (American Oriental Series 35, New Haven, 1951), prepared under the guidance of the late G. E. von Grunebaum.[22] It has been discussed at some length by F.-C. Muth, who noted the views and comments of various reviewers soon after the book's appearance.[23]

In general, these reviewers welcomed Marin's rendering as the first sizable portion of Ṭabarī's text to be translated since Theodor Nöldeke's exemplary *Geschichte der Perser und Araber* some

17. E.g., Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, whom David Waines describes as the author of the first, practical, comprehensive cookbook; "A Prince of Epicures: The Arabs' First Cookbook," *Ur*, 3 (1984), pp. 26–29.

18. *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. VII, 214–20 = pars. 2898–2904.

19. At p. 265, specifically for the confecting of the sweetmeat *lawzīnaj*.

20. See *Introductio*, pp. XLVII–XLVIII, LV–LVI, LXV.

21. See the *muqaddimah* of his edition, vol. I, pp. 30–31.

22. Cf. F. Rosenthal's brief words on translations of Ṭabarī, in *The History of al-Ṭabarī, vol. I*, 144–45.

23. *Die Annalen von aṭ-Ṭabarī im Spiegel der europäischen Bearbeitungen*, 61–63.

seventy years before, while disagreeing with her opinion that Ṭabarī's style is flat and uninteresting and his narrative consequently dry and jejune. Their main criticism of her work, however, was that it is in general too free, often without regard for the subtleties of Arabic syntax, as for example, in the use of dependent circumstantial clauses, relative clauses, and the like.[24] Their criticism is, indeed, quite justified; one might add that the connections, distinctions, and changes brought into the flow of the narrative by Ṭabarī's choice of *wa-*, *fa-*, and *thumma*—the usage of which in Arabic is never haphazard—were not always recognized by Marin and taken into account in her rendering. Also, some of the technicalities of early ʿAbbāsid history eluded her, for example, the identification of the troops of the Ḥarbiyyah quarter of Baghdad (Ṭabarī, vol. III, p. 1179 l. 14 = trans. Marin, p. 15 and n. 105a) and of the Abnāʾ (vol. III, p. 1181 l. 3 = trans. Marin, p. 16; cf. p. 7 n. 57). It is only fair to observe that much less was known about these groups forty years ago, before the work of Ayalon and others on the military foundations of the early ʿAbbāsid caliphate, though research centered on Sāmarrā by Ernst Herzfeld (not used at all by Marin) might have put her on the right track.

There remains the pleasant task of thanking those scholars who have given advice and help on certain difficult passages and on certain doubtful points, the sorts of problem from which no substantial passage of Ṭabarī's *History* is free; as Helmut Ritter stated, there is an ever-present danger of becoming lost in the Arabic/Arabian desert ("in der arabischen wüste").[25] In particular, I am grateful to my colleague Dr. Norman Calder and to Professor Josef van Ess (Tübingen), Professor Wilferd Madelung (Oxford), and Dr. David Waines (Lancaster), while Dr. P. O. Skjærvø and Dr. Estelle Whelan (New York) have provided valuable corrections to my text in the fields of Iranian philology and Islamic art respectively. Nevertheless, I must add the usual disclaimer that any errors and imperfections are my responsibility alone.

C. E. Bosworth

24. Cf. H. Horst, *ZDMG*, 105 (1955): 219.
25. *Oriens* 6 (1953): 157.

Table I.
Genealogy of the 'Abbāsids, with Special Reference to Members of the Family Mentioned in This Section of al-Ṭabarī's *History*

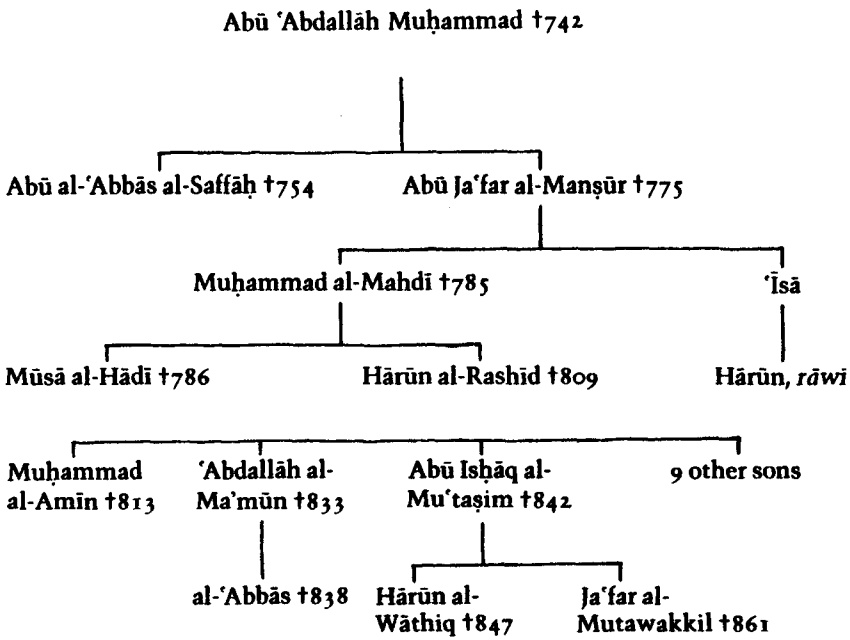

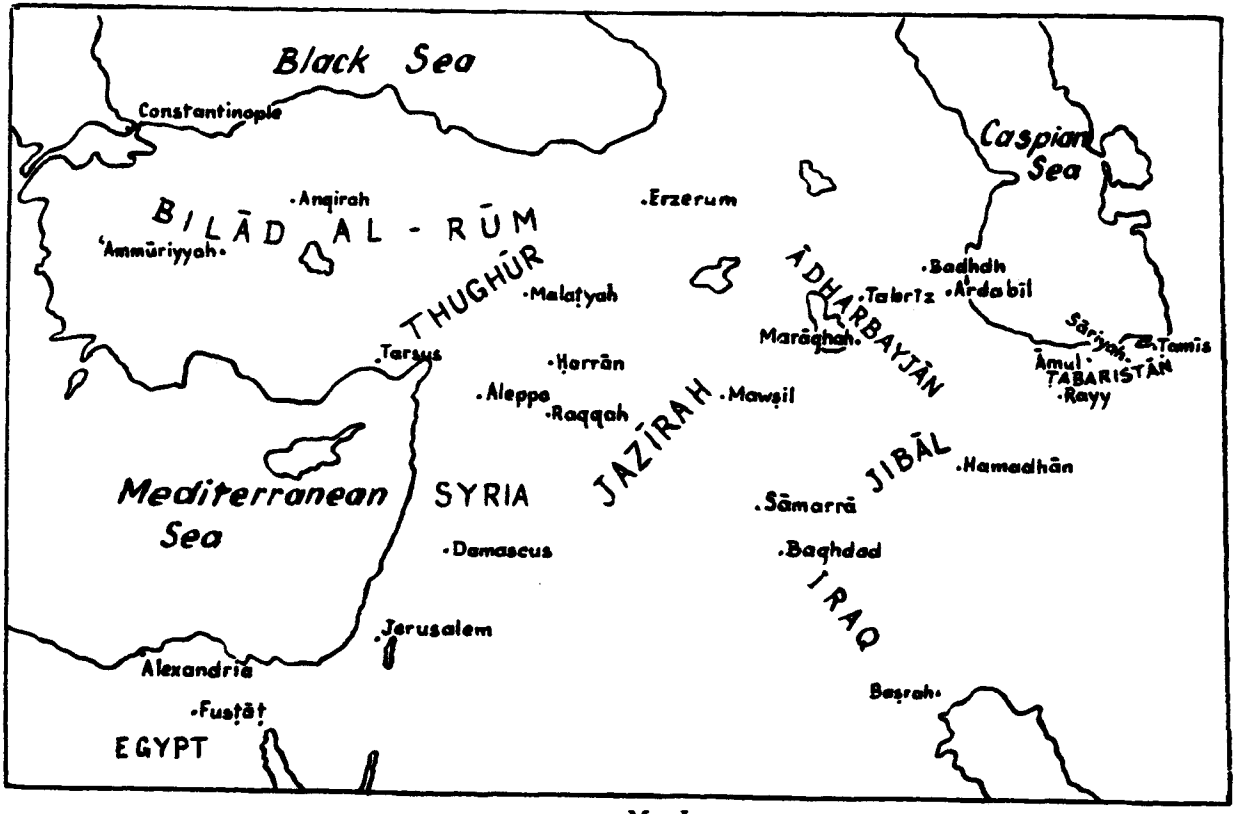

Map I.
The Central Lands of the Caliphate during the Reign of al-Mu'taṣim

The Events of the Year [1164]

218 (cont'd)

(JANUARY 27, 833–JANUARY 15, 834)

The Succession of Abū Isḥāq al-Mu'taṣim on His Brother al-Ma'mūn's Death

In this year, on Thursday, the eighteenth of Rajab 218 (August 9, 833),[1] allegiance was given to Abū Isḥāq Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rashīd b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. 'Abdallāh al-Manṣūr as caliph. It has been mentioned that the populace (*al-nās*) had been perturbed lest al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn dispute with al-Mu'taṣim over the caliphate, but they had been spared that. It has been mentioned that the army (*al-jund*) rioted when allegiance was given to Abū Isḥāq as caliph; they sought out al-'Abbās and hailed him with the name of caliph. Hence Abū Isḥāq sent for al-'Abbās and summoned him to his presence, and the latter gave allegiance to him. Then al-'Abbās went forth to the army and said, "What is the use of this pointless devotion? I have already given allegiance to my paternal uncle and have handed over the caliphate to him." The army thereupon became calm again.[2]

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1. Actually a Saturday, though stated by Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 575, to be a Friday.
2. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 575, says that the army regarded al-'Abbās's backing down as feeble and inadequate; hence they reviled him for his weakness before

In this year al-Muʿtaṣim ordered the destruction of all the construction work that al-Maʾmūn had commanded to be done at Ṭuwānah.[3] He carried away all that was transportable there of arms, equipment, and so on, and what he was unable to transport he burned. He also ordered the removal back to their original home territories of all those whom al-Maʾmūn had settled at Ṭuwānah.[4]

In this year, al-Muʿtaṣim, accompanied by al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn, returned to Baghdad, entering it, according to what has been mentioned, on Saturday, the first of Ramaḍān (September 20, 833).[5]

[1165] *An Expedition Sent against the Khurramiyyah*

In this year, according to what has been mentioned, a great number of the people of al-Jibāl, from Hamadhān, Iṣfahān, Māsabadhān and Mihrajānqadhaq,[6] embraced the Khurramī faith (*dīn al-Khurramiyyah*).[7] They banded together and then en-

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finally acquiescing in al-Muʿtaṣim's succession. See Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 401; Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, VII, 102–3 = par. 2786; *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 380; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, VI, 439; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, I, 68. Although, while dying, al-Maʾmūn had nominated his brother as his heir (Ṭabarī, III, 1133), in a later tradition it was alleged that al-Maʾmūn had, at least at some point in his caliphate, expected his son al-ʿAbbās to succeed him (Ṭabarī, III, 1469). Certainly al-ʿAbbās had experience of fighting on the Byzantine marches and had been governor of Syria and al-Jazīrah for his father, an office in which al-Muʿtaṣim confirmed him (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *op. cit.*, I, 68); and in 223 (838) he was to be the focus of an abortive plot against al-Muʿtaṣim by discontented commanders during the march against Anqirah and ʿAmmūriyyah, being subsequently arrested and killed at Manbij after that campaign had been successfully concluded (Ṭabarī, III, 1249–50, 1256–67; pp. 112–13, 121–33, below). See also M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History*, 61.

3. The classical Tyana in Cilicia. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, IV, 45–46; G. Le Strange, *Palestine*, 547; idem, *Lands*, 139. Al-ʿAbbās had fortified it on al-Maʾmūn's orders earlier in the same year; see Ṭabarī, III, 1111–12.

4. Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 415; see also Shaban, *op. cit.*, 61–62.

5. This date is confirmed by Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 575, with more details of the new Caliph's journey than Ṭabarī in fact gives: that he traveled via al-Raqqah and while there appointed Ghassān b. ʿAbbād, the former governor of Khurāsān, governor of al-Jazīrah and the frontier fortresses (*al-ʿawāṣim*) there. See also Ṭabarī, trans. Balʿamī, IV, 523.

6. These two last being districts of the province of al-Jibāl, in modern Luristān, to the northeast of the Pusht-i Kūh. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 41, 233; Le Strange, *Lands*, 202; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 464–73.

7. Khurramī unrest in the mountainous regions of northern Persia, in the three distinct regions of Khurāsān, al-Jibāl, and Ādharbayjān, is mentioned from the

camped in the province of Hamadhān. Al-Mu'taṣim accordingly sent troops against them, the last army sent against them being that which he dispatched under the command of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab,[8] whom he appointed governor of al-Jibāl in Shawwāl of this year (October–November 833). Isḥāq set out against them in Dhū al-Qa'dah (November–December 833), and his dispatch announcing victory was read out (in the capital) on the "Day of Refreshment" (*Yawm al-Tarwiyah*, the eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [December 25, 833]).[9] He killed 60,000 of them in province of Hamadhān, and the rest fled to Byzantine territory.[10]

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middle years of the second (eighth) century onward, but the major outbreak, which convulsed northwestern Persia for more than twenty years under the leadership of Bābak, began around 201 (816–17), in al-Ma'mūn's reign; cf. Ṭabarī, III, 1015. See B. Scarcia Amoretti, "Sects and Heresies," 504–6; *EIr*, s.v. "Bābak Ḵorramī" (Ḡ.-H. Yūsofi).

8. Abū al-Ḥasan Isḥāq was the most distinguished of what might be called the Muṣ'abid line, parallel to the Ṭāhirid line of Ṭāhir Dhū al-Yamīnayn, and was first cousin to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. He was *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*, or governor, of Baghdad and Sāmarrā, and deputy for the Caliph when he was absent from Iraq, for nearly thirty years, until his death in 235 (849–50). Having been one of al-Ma'mūn's right-hand men (see Ṭabarī, III, 1328; p. 214, below), he had taken a prominent part in the opening interrogations of the *Miḥnah*, or Mu'tazilī inquisition; see Ṭabarī, III, 1116, 1121 ff., 1131–32; on his role in general, see E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, 107; C. E. Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic Culture," 67–68; M. Kaabi, *Les Ṭāhirides*, I, 315–25.

9. The day during the sequence of Pilgrimage ceremonies when the participants move from Mecca to Minā and 'Arafāt. See M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 236ff.; *EI*², s.v. "Ḥadjdj" (A J. Wensinck [-J. Jomier]).

10. Ṭabarī, trans. Bal'amī, IV, 523; Azdī, *op. cit.*, 415; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 380; Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāmah*, 292–93, trans. 233–34 (detailed account with several original details); Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 441. Poetry written by Abū Tammām (on whom see p. 92 n. 258, below) in praise of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm includes the names of various places in Ādharbayjān and al-Jibāl where clashes with the Khurramiyyah took place, for example, Qurrān and Ashtar; see A. Haq, "Historical Poems in the Diwan of Abū Tammām," 21.

A detailed analysis of this Khurramī rising is given by M. Rekaya in his "Mise au point sur Théophobe," 42–48, emphasizing the need to distinguish this rising in al-Jibāl and Kurdistān from Bābak's parallel movement in Arrān and Ādharbayjān and the important fact that it was the numerous body of refugees fleeing from Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm's repressions to Byzantine territory who then became the Persian and Kurdish contingent of the Emperor Theophilus's army under their leader Naṣīr/Nuṣayr (Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 136 = par. 2818; Ṭabarī never gives this name) or Naṣr the Kurd (Michael the Syrian), who became a convert to Christianity and adopted the Greek name Theophobus. He was eventually killed in 225 (839–40) fighting the Muslims in the *thughūr*, or frontier regions, around al-Maṣṣīṣah in Cilicia; see p. 119 n. 334, below. Naṣīr/Nuṣayr's followers formed part of the Byzantine army that attacked Zibaṭrah in 223

In this year Ṣāliḥ b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad[11] led the Pilgrimage.[12] The people of Mecca made the sacrifice of the ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā on the Friday, and the people of Baghdad on the Saturday.[13]

(837–38) (see Ṭabarī, III, 1234–35; pp. 93–95, below), and it must have been they who shortly afterward, at the battle of Anzen (see Ṭabarī, III, 1242; p. 105 n. 305, below), made up the 2,000 Persian troops mentioned in both the Christian and Arabic sources (these being numbered by Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh*, 169, trans., 230–31, as "several thousands" and specifically described as the Kurds and Persians who had fled from al-Jibāl some five years before). See also J. Rosser, "Theophilus' Khurramite Policy," based entirely on Greek sources and Arabic sources in translation. Rosser fails to distinguish between the various Khurramī revolts but does correctly observe (267) that Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm's victory in al-Jibāl caused Khurramī elements to flee westward and enter the Byzantine Emperor's service.

11. Member of the ʿAbbāsid family and first cousin of the Caliph al-Mahdī. The Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbbāsī subsequently mentioned by Ṭabarī, e.g., at III, 1362–63, was however a Turkish soldier, presumably a mawlā of the ʿAbbāsid family, and it was after this last person that the street in Sāmarrā where his palace stood was named. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 262, trans., 55; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 111.

12. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 442; but, according to Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 781, it was Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī who led it.

13. This latter day was actually the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in the year 218.

The Events of the Year 219

(JANUARY 16, 834–JANUARY 4, 835)

The Rebellion of the 'Alid Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim at al-Ṭālaqān

Among the events taking place during this year was the rebellion, at al-Ṭālaqān[14] in Khurāsān, of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,[15] summoning people to the cause of "the well-pleasing one from the family of Muḥammad" (*al-riḍā*[16] *min āl Muḥammad*). A considerable number of people there rallied to his side, and military encounters took place in the vicinity of al-Ṭālaqān and the mountains there between him and 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir's[17]

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14. A town in Khurāsān between Marw al-Rūdh and Balkh, to be distinguished from others of the same name in Ṭukhāristān and on the borders of al-Jibāl and Daylam. See *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 107, 335; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 6–7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 423–24; *EI*[1], s.v. Ṭālaḳān (Cl. Huart).

15. This 'Alid, a descendant of al-Ḥusayn through the Fourth Imām, 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (see K. Öhrnberg, *The Offspring of Fatima*, Table 47), is described by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 384, as an adherent of the Jārūdiyyah subsect of the Zaydī Shī'ah (on the Jārūdiyyah, see C. Van Arendonck, *Les débuts de l'Imāmat Zaidite*, 78–90).

16. Or, perhaps, *al-raḍī*.

17. The son of al-Ma'mūn's governor in Khurāsān Ṭāhir Dhū al-Yamīnayn and himself holder of this office in 215–30 (828–45). See Ḳaabi, *op. cit.*, I, 221–91; *EI*[2]

commanders. [In the end] he and his followers were defeated, and he fled, seeking a certain district of Khurāsān whose people had been in correspondence with him. He reached Nasā,[18] where the father of one of his followers lived, and this follower of his at that point went along in order to greet his [the follower's] father. When he met his father, the latter asked him the news, so the man told his father about what had happened to them and how they were making for so-and-so district. The man's father thereupon went to the governor of Nasā and told him about Muḥammad b.
[1166] al-Qāsim's plans. It has been mentioned that the governor gave the father 10,000 dirhams for information that would lead him to Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim. The father accordingly gave him information about Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim's whereabouts.

So the governor went along to Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, arrested him, placed him in firm custody, and dispatched him to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. The latter sent him to al-Muʿtaṣim; he was brought to him on Monday, the fourteenth of Rabīʿ II (April 28, 834) and was then imprisoned, so it has been mentioned, at Sāmarrā in the house of Masrūr al-Khādim al-Kabīr[19] in a narrow cell some three by two cubits only. He remained there for three days and was then transferred to a more commodious place than the previous cell, food was given to him regularly, and a group of persons was appointed and charged with the task of guarding him. When it was the night of the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (the thirtieth of Ramaḍān 219, the night of October 8–9, 834 and everybody was distracted by the festival and the rejoicings, he devised a stratagem for escaping.

It has been mentioned that he fled from jail by night and that a rope was let down for him from an aperture [in the wall of] the upper part of the house, through which light penetrated to him. When his jailers came next morning with food for his breakfast,

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s.v. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (E. Marin); *EIr*, s.v. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāher (C. E. Bosworth).

18. Or Nisā, a town on the northern fringes of Khurāsān near the beginning of the Qara Qum Desert. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 281–82; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 103, 326; Le Strange, *Lands*, 394; W. Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 89–90; *EI*[1], s.v. Nasā (V. Minorsky).

19. Eunuch slave of of Hārūn al-Rashīd's who acted as the Caliph's executioner (e.g., for the killing of Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī in 187 [803]; Ṭabarī, III, 678–79); see P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 192–93.

he was missing. It has been mentioned that a reward of 100,000 dirhams was offered for whomever might give information that would lead to Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim; the public herald proclaimed this, but no further news was heard of him.[20]

In this year Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm [b. Muṣ'ab] entered Baghdad, [returning] from al-Jibāl, on Sunday, the eleventh of Jumādā I (May 24, 834), accompanied by Khurramī captives and those who had sought a guarantee of security (*al-musta'minah*). It has been said that, in the course of his fighting with the Khurramiyyah, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm killed around 100,000, apart from the women and children (taken captive and enslaved).[21]

The Campaign against the Zuṭṭ

In this year, in Jumādā II (June–July 834), al-Mu'taṣim sent 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasah[22] to combat the Zuṭṭ,[23] who had been creating [1167]

20. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 576; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 382–92; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 116–18 = pars. 2799–2800; Gardīzī, *Kitāb zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḥabībī, 76; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 382; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 442–43. Uncertainty about Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim's fate is reflected in stories given by Mas'ūdī, including the one that he returned to al-Ṭālaqān and was expected by the Zaydīs to return as a Mahdī after his death; Iṣfahānī regards it as most probable that he escaped to Wāsiṭ.

21. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 575–76, according to whom Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm had to be sent out after the rebels had defeated al-Mu'taṣim's commander Hāshim b. Bānījūr (read thus for the text's Bātījūr, as also at II, 465); on this family of commanders from the upper Oxus region, also called the Abū Dāwūdids, see *EI*[2] Suppl., s.v. Bānīdjūrids (C. E. Bosworth); Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 445.

22. Khurāsānian commander of Arab origin, prominent in al-Ma'mūn's reign and commander of the guard (*ṣāḥib al-ḥaras*) for al-Mu'taṣim but later to be involved in the plot to dethrone the latter, in 223 (837–38); see Ṭabarī, III, 1256–58, 1264–66; pp. 121–23, 130–32, below. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 576, Aḥmad b. Sa'īd (b. Salm b. Qutaybah) al-Bāhilī was first sent against the Zuṭṭ but was defeated; hence the decision to send 'Ujayf. See also Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 107.

23. Zuṭṭ is an Arabization of the Indian ethnic term Jhāt. Members of this group were transported from India to the Gulf region by the Sāsānid emperors and their numbers reinforced in the Umayyad period by Indian troops whom the governor al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf brought back from Sind and settled in the Baṭā'iḥ or marshlands of lower Iraq. Under al-Ma'mūn, in 205 (820) we hear of a rebellion by the Zuṭṭ, which would be contemporary with that of Bābak and the Khurramiyyah in northwestern Persia and, like that movement, probably directed at the central government and irksome caliphal control (Ṭabarī, III, 1044). Efforts to put an end to their terrorizing of the region of al-Baṣrah were not however successful until this expedition of 'Ujayf's. See Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 37–40; *EI*[1], s.v. Zoṭṭ (G. Ferrand).

disturbances on the road to al-Baṣrah. They attacked traffic along the road, carried off the crops from the threshing floors at Kaskar[24] and adjacent districts of al-Baṣrah, and made the roads unsafe. On every one of the postal and intelligence service roads al-Muʿtaṣim set up relays of horsemen (*sikak al-burud*) who could gallop and bring the news; in this way, information would come from ʿUjayf and reach al-Muʿtaṣim the same day. The person appointed by al-Muʿtaṣim to take charge of the expenses and supplies of ʿUjayf's campaigns was Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, Ibrāhīm al-Bakhtarī's secretary.

When ʿUjayf reached Wāsiṭ he pitched his camp with 5,000 men at a village in the district below Wāsiṭ called al-Ṣāfiyah.[25] Then he went to a canal that leads off the Tigris called Bardūdā[26] and remained there until he had blocked it up. It has been said, however, that ʿUjayf pitched his camp at a village in the district below Wāsiṭ called Najīdā and that he sent Hārūn b. Nuʿaym b. al-Waḍḍāḥ,[27] the Khurāsānian commander, to a place called al-Ṣāfiyah with 5,000 men, while ʿUjayf himself proceeded with another 5,000 troops to Bardūdā and remained there until he had blocked it. He furthermore blocked other waterways by means of which the Zuṭṭ used to slip through and issue forth, and thus encircled and put pressure on them from all sides. Among the waterways that ʿUjayf blocked was a canal called al-ʿArūs ("the Bride"). When he had cut their lines of communication, he attacked them and captured 500 of their menfolk, killing an additional 300 men in the battle. He struck off the heads of the

24. An ancient settlement on the right bank of the Tigris in lower Iraq, facing al-Ḥajjāj's new garrison town of Wāsiṭ, and also the name of the surrounding district. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 461; Le Strange, *Lands*, 39, 42–43; *EI*², s.v. Kaskar (M. Streck- [J. Lassner]).

25. Not apparently the al-Ṣāfiyah ("the Pure," e.g., of water) mentioned by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 389, as being near al-Nuʿmāniyyah, to the northwest of Kaskar.

26. The Nahr Bardūdā was one of the five navigable waterways by means of which the Tigris below Wāsiṭ flowed into the Baṭāʾiḥ or Great Marshes; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 41.

27. Khurāsānian commander whose father Nuʿaym was, according to Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 256, trans., 45, the first owner of the Turkish slave commander Ashnās, on whom see p. 98 n. 281, below. On Hārun b. Nuʿaym and his family, see further Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 107, and p. 113 n. 315, below.

prisoners and sent the heads of the whole lot of them to al-Mu'taṣim's court. Then 'Ujayf remained in his position facing the Zuṭṭ for fifteen days and seized a great many more of them as captives. The chief of the Zuṭṭ was a man called Muḥammad b. [1168]
'Uthmān, with S.m.l.q as his chief executive and in charge of the conduct of warfare. 'Ujayf stayed there, engaged in fighting the Zuṭṭ, for nine months, according to the reports.[28] In this year Ṣāliḥ b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad led the Pilgrimage.[29]

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28. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 576; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 443–44.
29. Khalīfah, *op. cit.*, II, 783.

The Events of the Year 220

(JANUARY 5–DECEMBER 25, 835)

The Deportation of the Captured Zuṭṭ

Among the events taking place during this year was 'Ujayf's entry into Baghdad with the Zuṭṭ and his crushing them to the point that they had sought from him a guarantee of security, which he had granted them. They came forth to him [in surrender] in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 219 (December 834–January 835), on condition that he would guarantee the security of their lives and possessions. They numbered, according to what has been mentioned, 27,000, of whom 12,000 were fighting men. 'Ujayf enumerated them at 27,000 persons, men, women, and children. He put them in boats and went forward with them until he encamped at al-Za'farāniyyah.[30] There he gave his troops a donative of two dīnārs each and remained for a day. He formed up the Zuṭṭ in their skiffs (*zawārīq*),[31] in their full battle order and

30. A village to the southeast of Baghdad and near Kalwādhā; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 141.

31. Sing. *zawraq*. See H. Kindermann, *"Schiff" im Arabischen*, 36–37; Darwīsh al-Nukhaylī, *al-Sufun al-islāmiyyah*, 59–62.

with trumpets, and then he entered Baghdad with them on 'Āshūrā' Day of the year 220 (the tenth of al-Muḥarram [January 14, 835]). Al-Mu'taṣim was at this moment at al-Shammāsiyyah,[32] in a boat of the type called *zaww*,[33] when the Zuṭṭ passed before him in their battle order, blowing trumpets; the first of them were at al-Qufṣ[34] and the last of them opposite al-Shammāsiyyah. They remained in their boats for three days and then were taken across the river to the eastern side and handed over to the charge of Bishr b. al-Sumaydi', who took them to Khāniqīn.[35] After this they were transported to 'Ayn Zarbah[36] [1169] in the Byzantine marches (*al-thaghr*). But the Byzantines swept down on them and exterminated them, not a single one escaping.[37] One of their poets said:

O people of Baghdad, die! May your frustrated rage,
out of longing for *barnī* and *suhrīz* dates,[38] be prolonged!
We are the ones who struck you in open defiance
and violently and who drove you on like weaklings.
You did not thank God for His previously vouchsafed goodness
and were not mindful of His benefits, duly extolling [Him].
So summon help from the slaves, made up of the supporters of
your state (*abnā' dawlatikum*),[39]
of Yāzamān,[40] of Balj and of Tūz,[41]

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32. The northernmost quarter of East Baghdad, running down to the Tigris banks; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 199–216.

33. See Kindermann, *op. cit.*, 36–37; al-Nukhaylī, *op. cit.*, 58–59.

34. A village on the Tigris between Baghdad and 'Ukbarā, famed as a pleasure spot; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 382.

35. A town on the road linking Baghdad with Ḥulwān and the interior of Persia. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 340–41; Le Strange, *Lands*, 62–63; *EI*², s.v. Khāniḳīn (Schwarz).

36. One of the *'awāṣim*, or frontier fortresses, guarding al-Jazīrah, Greek Anabarzo, the Crusaders' Anazarbus. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 177–78; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 387–88; idem, *Lands*, 128–29; *EI*², s.v. 'Ayn Zarba (M. Canard).

37. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 171, 375–76; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 446.

38. Superior varieties of dates; see the references given by Pellat in the glossary of terms to his translation of Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-bukhalā'*, 313–14, 319.

39. A sarcastic reference to the designations *ahl al-dawla*, *abnā' al-dawla*, etc., for the supporters of the early 'Abbāsid state; see p. 17 n. 74, below.

40. On chronological grounds, this is unlikely to be the Yāzmān al-Khādim mentioned later by Ṭabarī as active as a military commander under al-Mu'tamid, i.e., some fifty years later.

41. These two names are unidentified, but the name Tūz at least, like Yāzmān, indicates a Turkish slave commander.

Of Shinās (Ashnās), of Afshīn and of Faraj,[42]
those who are conspicuous in silk brocade and pure gold,
Those who wear garments of Chinese silk velvet,[43]
with the seams of their gored fringes fastened to their sleeves,
Those who carry sharp daggers, with their hilts fastened
to unsewn, fine linen belts.
The sons of Bahallah[44] leading the sons of Fayrūz
will slash their skulls with gleaming Indian swords.
[1170] [They are] riders, whose steeds are black and are bedecked with
seashells on their noses' rims (i.e., their steeds are ships with
decorated bows),
With detachments rendered subject to them, in the water,
which are like ebony and *shīz* wood[45] when they are hurled
forward!
Whenever you are eager to seek us out in the depths of our
boundless open sea,
well, beware, for we shall hunt you down like those who trap
birds with snares[46]

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42. Perhaps Faraj al-Rukhkhajī, a commander of al-Ma'mūn's (Ṭabarī, III, 1044) and governor of Ahwāz in al-Mu'taṣim's reign (Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al-maḥāsin*, ed. Schwally, 447 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 148), though Faraj was a common euphuistic name for slaves. For the other two commanders mentioned in this hemistich, see pp. 98 n. 281, 14 n. 54, below.

43. *Kamkhān al-Sīn*. This term (also *kamkhā, kimkhā, kamkhāw*) was used in medieval Islamic times to denote Chinese figured silk; see Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, 221, trans., 141; and R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, 69, 218. Thence it passed to medieval western Europe as a term for damask or brocade, *cammoca*; see H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 484–85, s.v. Kincob.

44. Apparently a reference to Bahallah al-Hindiyyah, wife of the Umayyad governor al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah and mother of his son Yazīd; see Ṭabarī, II, 1210. Al-Muhallab himself may have been of mawlā origin; see Crone, *op. cit.*, 39. The Zuṭṭ poet is referring to his own people's Indian origins, and, in "the sons of Fayrūz," to the transplantation westward of the Zuṭṭ by the Sāsānids, which gave the Zuṭṭ a Persian as well as an Indian, connection (see p. 7 n. 23, above). It is also notable that Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 355, trans., 455, speaks of a westward migration of the Zuṭṭ into southern Persia after they were driven out of India by famine, possibly to be regarded as a comparatively recent movement.

45. A dark-colored hardwood, perhaps walnut, from which bowls were made; see E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. shīz.

46. Following *Addenda et emendanda*, CDVI, with its suggested reading of this dubious last word as *al-maqāfīz*, the plural of a putative *miqfāz* for *miqfās* "trap, snare." The Cairo edition, IX, 11, has the meaningless *al-ma'ātīz*.

Or with a rapid and violent snatching, just as
the birds seeking refuge in overhanging river banks are seized
by hunters using swift falcons.[47]
Fierce fighting—fighting the Zuṭṭ—you must acknowledge,
is not like just eating *tharīd*[48] or drinking from goblets!
We are the ones who gave war its milk to drink,
and we shall certainly follow it up with the violent onslaught
of warriors who fight in the sea.[49]
And we shall indeed assault you with an assault[50] that will make
the Master of the Throne[51] take heart and inspirit the lord of
Tīz![52]
So weep for the dates! May God make your eyes flow with tears
on every Day of Sacrifice, every Day of the Breaking of the
Fast, and every New Year (*nayrūz*)![53]

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47. Following *Glossarium* and *Addenda et emendanda*, CCCXVII, DCCLXXIII, and the Cairo edition, IX, 11, with their reading in the second hemistich of *al-diḥal*; and *Glossarium*, CCCXVII, for the interpretation of *al-shanāqīz* as "falcons."

48. A dish of meat minced with bread, grain, or dates, a favorite food of the Quraysh in Mecca at the time of the Prophet. See M. Rodinson, "Recherches sur les documents arabes," 133 and n. 5; Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-bukhalā'*, trans., 320.

49. *Al-kawālīz*; see *Glossarium*, CDLVII.

50. Echoing Qur'ān XCVI: 15.

51. *Rabb al-sarīr*. In the light of M. J. de Goeje's interpretation in *Glossarium*, CCLXXXIX, E. Marin (Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 8 n. 66) may be correct in regarding this as a reference to Bābak, for possession of such a throne had connotations of power and authority; see p. 57 n. 171, below. But it is equally possible that the allusion is not to him but to the Caucasian ruler known in the Arabic sources (e.g. Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, 196) as the *ṣāḥib al-sarīr*, who ruled over a group of Avars in southern Dāghistān and after whom the region of Sarīr was subsequently named. See *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 161, 447–50; V. Minorsky, *History of Sharvān and Darband*, 97ff.; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳabḳ (C. E. Bosworth).

52. Tīz was the main port of Makrān, probably near the modern Chāhbahār. See *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 123; Le Strange, *Lands*, 329–30. But it is difficult to see who is meant by *ṣāḥib al-Tīz* or what his contemporary fame was.

53. More correctly *nawrūz*, the festival of the beginning of the Persian solar new year, originally at the summer solstice but now on 21 March. This holiday continued to be observed by Islamic princes and viziers in the ancient Sāsānid lands of Persia and Iraq and to be celebrated by exchanges of gifts and other festivities. It came to have practical, as well as ceremonial, significance, in that subsequent caliphs, beginning with al-Mutawakkil, proposed to adopt Nawrūz as the beginning of the solar year for financial and taxation purposes. Al-Mu'taḍid was the first who actually did so. Hence Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, writing in the fourth (tenth) century, considered it important enough to devote a special section of his work on history and chronology to the correspondences of the date of *nayrūz* with

In this year al-Muʿtaṣim appointed the Afshīn Khaydhar[54] b.
[1171] Kāwūs governor of al-Jibāl and sent him to combat Bābak, this being on Thursday, the second of Jumādā II (June 3, 220). He pitched his camp at the *muṣallā* of Baghdad[55] and then proceeded to Barzand.[56]

The Affair of Bābak and His Outbreak

It has been mentioned that Bābak's (first) rebellion was in the year 201 (816/817) and that the settlement and town that was his headquarters was al-Badhdh.[57] (On that occasion) he put to flight

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the dates of the Hijrī calendar from A. H. 1 to A. H. 350; see his *Taʾrīkh sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa-al-anbiyāʾ*, 130–43. See further A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 400–1, trans., 425–26; D. S. Margoliouth, "The Historical Content of the *Diwan* of Buhturi," 253–54; G. E. von Grunebaum, *Muhammadan Festivals*, 54–55; *EI*², s.v. Nawrūz (R. Levy).

54. Corrected to this reading in *Addenda et emendanda*, DCCLXXIII, the reading also in Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 259, trans., 51, adopted by de Goeje and followed by F. Justi in *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 253, but often assimilated by Arabic copyists to the more familiar Arabic name Ḥaydar. On al-Afshīn, who plays such a dominant role in the affairs of al-Muʿtaṣim's caliphate, see *EI*², s.v. Afshīn (Barthold- [H. A. R. Gibb]) and *EIr*, s.v. Afšīn (C. E. Bosworth); for the circumstances in which he came to enter ʿAbbāsid service, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 211; and on the title Afshīn, Justi, *op. cit.*, 252–53; and Bosworth and Clauson, "Al-Xwārazmī on the Peoples of Central Asia," 7–8.

55. I.e., the extensive open site usually used for the *ṣalāt*, or public worship, on the great festivals and on other special occasions; see *EI*², s.v. Muṣallā (A. J. Wensinck and R. Hillenbrand). The Baghdad *muṣallā* lay on the eastern bank of the Tigris, in the Shammāsiyyah quarter (on which see p. 11 n. 32, above), near the Baradān cemetery and close to where the highway to Hamadhān, al-Rayy, and Khurāsān passed. In the historical sources for the fourth (tenth) century (e.g., Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ and Miskawayh), it is frequently mentioned as the place where discontented troops massed for rioting and hatching plots. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 204–5; M. Canard, *Histoire*, 163 and n. 207. For *muṣallā* in its other technical sense of "prayer rug," see Ṭabarī, III, 1327; p. 214 and n. 638, below).

56. A town in Mūqān (on which see p. 19 n. 77, below), hence adjacent to the mountainous center of Bābak's power and a suitable place for al-Afshīn to establish his field headquarters. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 175–76; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 1094–95; Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens*, 252–53 n. 7; *EI*², s.v. Barzand (R. N. Frye).

57. Bābak's capital lay in the modern Qaraja Dagh region, north of Ahar and south of the Araxes, in northern Ādharbayjān. A Tehran archaeological team seems now to have identified the actual fortified site at Qalʿa-yi Jumhūr. See Abū Dulaf, *Second Risalah*, 35–36, 75; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 970–74, 1126–34; *EI*², Suppl., s.v. al-Badhdh (C. E. Bosworth); *EIr*, s.v. Badd (Ḡ.-H Yūsofī).

forces sent by the central government and killed a number of its commanders. When the supreme power passed to al-Muʿtaṣim, he sent Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf[58] to Ardabīl[59] and ordered him to rebuild the strongholds between Zanjān[60] and Ardabīl that Bābak had destroyed and to put armed men in them as garrisons to hold the road, in order to ensure safe passage for those bringing provisions to Ardabīl. So Abū Saʿīd embarked on this and rebuilt the strong points that Bābak had destroyed. In one of his incursions Bābak sent a detachment of troops against him (Abū Saʿīd) under the command of a man called Muʿāwiyah, who then sallied forth, raided some of the neighboring districts, and withdrew to his base. News of this reached Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, so he gathered his forces together and marched out against Muʿāwiyah, to intercept him at some point along the road. [Abū Saʿīd] attacked [Muʿāwiyah], killed a number of his followers, took a number of them captive, and he recovered what Muʿāwiyah had amassed [in the raids]. This was the first reverse that Bābak's partisans had suffered. Abū Saʿīd sent the severed heads [of the fallen enemy] and the prisoners to al-Muʿtaṣim billāh.[61]

The next defeat of Bābak that followed was at the hands of Muḥammad b. al-Baʿīth.[62] This came about because Muḥammad

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58. I.e., al-Marwazī (also called al-Thaghrī, presumably because of his experience fighting on the Byzantine marches), in al-Maʾmūn's reign commander under Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī, d. 236 (850–51).

59. A town of eastern Ādharbayjān. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 145–46; Le Strange, *Lands*, 168; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 1026–47; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 215–17; *EI*[2], s.v. Ardabīl (R. N. Frye); *EIr*, s.v. Ardabīl (C. E. Bosworth et al.).

60. A town on the road between Ardabīl and Qazwīn. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 152–53; Le Strange, *Lands*, 221–22; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 729–31; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 213; *EI*[1], s.v. Zandjān (V. Minorsky).

61. See Rekaya, "Mise au point sur Théophobe," 49–51. Abū Tammām, who addressed eulogies to the commander Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, states in one of his poems that this clash took place behind Sindbāyā in Ādharbayjān (placed by the geographers in the region of al-Badhdh; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 267, and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 1125–26) and that Muʿāwiyah was able to flee under cover of night, when the encounter must have taken place; see Haq, *op. cit.*, 21–22.

62. Muḥammad's father had been a soldier in the service of the Rawwādids (see p. 17 and n. 68, below) and had established himself in Marand. Muḥammad himself expanded his power at the expense of the Rawwādids and subsequently rebelled against the caliphs; he was defeated only in 235 (849), by al-Mutawakkil's general Bughā al-Ṣaghīr. See R. Mottahedeh, "The ʿAbbāsid Caliphate in Iran," 78;

b. al-Baʿīth was in a strongly defended fortress of his called Shāhī
[1172] ("the Royal")[63] which Ibn al-Baʿīth had seized from al-Wajnā' b. al-Rawwād,[64] which was situated on a rocky ridge (*ʿarḍ, ʿurḍ*) approximately two farsakhs long and which fell within the administrative district of Ādharbayjān. He had another fortress in the province of Ādharbayjān called Tabrīz,[65] but Shāhī was the more impregnable of the two. Ibn al-Baʿīth had made peace with Bābak, so that when Bābak's raiding parties went forth they used to halt [at his fortress], and he would give them hospitality and treat them kindly, to the point that they became completely at ease with him and this became an established custom of theirs. On one occasion, Bābak sent out one of his followers called ʿIṣmah,[66] who was one of his senior commanders (*min iṣbahbadhīhi*),[67] with a raiding party. He halted by Ibn al-Baʿīth, and the latter providing ʿIṣmah, according to the custom then current, with sheep and goats, other foodstuffs fitting for guests, and various items of hospitality. He sent a message to ʿIṣmah for him to go up to him, accompanied by his personal guard and leading commanders. ʿIṣmah accordingly went [to Ibn al-Baʿīth], and Ibn al-Baʿīth plied [ʿIṣmah] and his companions with food and drink until he rendered them all drunk, whereupon he pounced on ʿIṣmah, secured him firmly in bonds, and killed those of his companions who were with him. He then ordered [ʿIṣmah] to

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and Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids," 101; *EI*², s.v. Marand (V. Minorsky-[C. E. Bosworth]).

63. This lay on an island in Lake Urmiya, though it could be reached on foot when the water level was low. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 160–61; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 990; *EI*¹, s.v. Urmiya (V. Minorsky). For the descriptive phrase used just below, *ʿarḍuhā/ʿurḍuhā naḥwan min farsakhayn*, the translation suggested by A. Dietrich, in *BiOr*, XI, 35, has been adopted.

64. A member of the Kurdicized Arab family of the Rawwādids, who in the later fourth (tenth) and early fifth (eleventh) centuries dominated Ādharbayjān from Tabrīz. See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 167–69; Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, 88–89; W. Madelung, "Minor Dynasties," 227, 236–39; Bosworth, "Political and Dynastic History," 32–34.

65. Only a few years, later, however, when the geographer Ibn Khurradādhbih wrote (middle third [eighth] century), Tabrīz was in the hands of Muḥammad b. al-Rawwād; see *EI*¹, s.v. Tabrīz (V. Minorsky).

66. Called by Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 577, "al-Kurdī" and lord of Marand.

67. For this ancient Persian term, Middle Persian *spāhpat*, see *EI*², s.v. Ispabadh (C. E. Bosworth).

enumerate each man of [the remainder of] his followers, one by one and by individual name, at which the man in question would be summoned by name, and he would mount [to the fortress], where Ibn al-Ba'īth would give an order and he would be beheaded. [This process continued] until the remainder of them became aware of that trick so that they fled. Ibn al-Ba'īth sent 'Iṣmah on to al-Mu'taṣim. Abū Muḥammad al-Ba'īth (Muḥammad b. al-Ba'īth's father) had been one of Ibn al-Rawwād's freebooters and desperadoes (*ṣu'lūk*).[68] Al-Mu'taṣim interrogated 'Iṣmah about Bābak's territory, and the latter provided him with information about the roads of access into it and the possible modes of fighting there. 'Iṣmah remained in captivity until the reign of al-Wāthiq.[69]

When al-Afshīn arrived at Barzand he encamped there and repaired the fortresses between Barzand and Ardabīl. He stationed Muḥammad b. Yūsuf at a place called Khushsh,[70] and there Muḥammad b. Yūsuf dug a protective trench (*khandaq*).[71] He stationed al-Haytham al-Ghanawī, a commander who originated [1173]
from the people of al-Jazīrah,[72] in a rural district (*rustāq*) called Arshaq,[73] and al-Haytham repaired its fortress and dug a protective trench around it. He stationed 'Alawayh al-A'war ("the One-Eyed"), one of the commanders of the Abnā',[74] at a fortress

68. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 577–78, states that al-Mu'taṣim first sent the Muṣ'abid Ṭāhir b. Ibrahīm b. Muṣ'ab, brother of the governor of Baghdad Isḥāq, against Bābak. Muḥammad b. al-Ba'īth, after having married 'Iṣmah's daughter as part of the strategy against him, brought him and his followers in chains to Ṭāhir. Al-Mu'taṣim was angry because it was Muḥammad b. al-Ba'īth, and not Ṭahir himself, who had been successful; he therefore sent al-Afshīn against the Khurramiyyah. See Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 251–52; Kaabi, *op. cit.*, I, 322. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 447–48, follows Ṭabarī on this point.

69. Al-Mu'taṣim's son and successor, who reigned as caliph in 227–32 (842–47). Cf. on this episode, Ṭabarī, trans. Bal'amī, IV, 526–27.

70. This place lies roughly midway between Ardabīl and Barzand and is known today as Kushā. See Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 1160–61; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 25–52.

71. It was the normal practice to dig such trenches when warfare entered a static phase. See R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, 437–38.

72. Tribes of Qays such as Ghanī (a tribe associated with Bāhilah; see *EI*², s.v. Ghanī b. A'ṣur [J. W. Fück]) had settled extensively in northern Syria and al-Jazīrah, the homeland of this otherwise unknown commander.

73. Also in Mūqān, between Ardabīl and Barzand. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 152; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 1164–65.

74. I.e., the descendants of the Khurāsānian supporters of the 'Abbāsid *da'wa*, the *ahl Khurāsān* (largely descended from the original Arab tribesmen settled in

near Ardabīl called Ḥiṣn al-Nahr.[75] Groups of travelers and caravans used to set off from Ardabīl accompanied by an escort until they reached Ḥiṣn al-Nahr, and then the commander of Ḥiṣn al-Nahr would escort them to al-Haytham al-Ghanawī. [Al-]Haytham, in turn, would set off with those who had come from his own district until he handed them over to the garrison force at Ḥiṣn al-Nahr, who would escort those travelers coming from Ardabīl until they reached al-Haytham. Under this arrangement the commander of Ḥiṣn al-Nahr was exactly halfway along the road, and he would hand over those in his protection to [al-]Haytham, and the latter would hand over those in his protection to the commander of Ḥiṣn al-Nahr. One commander would go with the one group and the other commander with the other group. If one group arrived at the meeting place before the other, they would not go on beyond that point until the other group arrived. Then each commander would entrust to the other the group of travelers whom he had escorted, so that the one could escort them as far as Ardabīl and the other could escort them to al-Afshīn's camp. Likewise, al-Haytham al-Ghanawī would escort the group under his protection as far as Abū Saʿīd's men, who themselves meanwhile had set forth and halted at the halfway meeting point along the road with their group of travelers. Then Abū Saʿīd and his men would hand over that group to al-Haytham, and the latter would hand over the group accompanying him to Abū Saʿīd's men. Then Abū Saʿīd and his men would escort those in the caravan to Khushsh, while al-Haytham and his men would go back to Arshaq with the
[1174] travelers entrusted to them so that they would arrive with them the next day. Then they would be able to hand them over to

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the east since the Umayyad period]. Many of these had come west with Abū Muslim and settled above all in Baghdad, though also in other garrison cities of the central and western Islamic lands. In the early years of the previous reign, that of al-Maʾmūn, the Abnāʾ of Baghdad had been the mainstay of the opposition in Iraq to al-Maʾmūn and his Persian entourage at Marw; but during al-Muʿtaṣim's caliphate their military importance was considerably reduced, as he shifted his dependence to slave troops (see Ṭabarī, III, 1179–81; pp. 27–28, below). On the Abnāʾ, see Crone, *op. cit.*, 65–67; A. Arazi and A. El'ad, "L'epître à l'armée," 52–61.

75. Or Maṣlaḥat al-Nahr, two farsakhs to the northwest of Ardabīl on the Barzand road; see Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 1168.

'Alawayh al-A'war and his men, who would convey them to their intended destination. Abū Sa'īd and those accompanying him would proceed to Khushsh and thence to al-Afshīn's camp, where the leader of a caravan from al-Afshīn met him and that leader would receive from him those in the caravan and send them on to al-Afshīn's camp. This arrangement was in constant use.[76]

Whenever any spy came to Abū Sa'īd or any of the garrisons they would dispatch him to al-Afshīn. The latter used not to kill or beat such spies but on the contrary would give them sums of money and gifts and would question them about what sum of money Bābak was accustomed to give them. Thereupon he would double it for them and say, "Act as a spy for us now!"

In this year a battle took place between Bābak and Afshīn at Arshaq, in which al-Afshīn killed a large number of Bābak's followers—it has been said more than a thousand. Bābak fled to Mūqān[77] and from there proceeded to the town of his that was called al-Badhdh.

The Reason for This Battle between al-Afshīn and Bābak

It has been mentioned that the reason for this was that al-Mu'taṣim sent with Bughā al-Kabīr[78] a sum of money to al-Afshīn for the latter to use as pay for his troops and for expenditure on supplies. Bughā brought that money to Ardabīl, but when he halted there reports about this reached Bābak and his followers, so they prepared to intercept him before he could reach al-Afshīn. The spy Ṣāliḥ came to al-Afshīn and informed him that Bughā al-Kabīr had arrived with a sum of money and that Bābak

76. This involved description of the procedure merely shows how al-Afshīn established a relay system, with Ḥiṣn al-Nahr as its central point, to protect Muslim travelers and caravans from Khurramī raids.

77. The low-lying steppe region to the south of the lower course of the Araxes. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 225–26; Le Strange, *Lands*, 175–76; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 1086–91; *EI*[1], s.v. Mūkān (V. Minorsky).

78. A Turkish general of successive caliphs in the middle years of this century; he died in 248 (862). He is not to be confused with Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, or al-Sharābī, who was no relation. See Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 110–11; *EI*[2], s.vv. Bughā al-Kabīr, Bughā al-Sharābī (D.Sourdel).

and his followers had prepared to intercept him before he could reach al-Afshīn. However, it has also been said that Ṣāliḥ
[1175] approached Abū Saʿīd and that Abū Saʿīd then sent him to al-Afshīn.

Bābak prepared ambushes in various places. Al-Afshīn in turn wrote to Abū Saʿīd, ordering him to employ stratagems to check on the authenticity of the information about Bābak, so Abū Saʿīd and a group of his men sallied forth disguised until they saw the lights and the fires in the places described to them by Ṣāliḥ. Meanwhile, al-Afshīn wrote to Bughā, instructing him to remain in Ardabīl until details of al-Afshīn's plans should come to him. Abū Saʿīd wrote to al-Afshīn, telling him that Ṣāliḥ's information was authentic; hence al-Afshīn promised Ṣāliḥ largesse and heaped favors on him. He then wrote to Bughā with the instructions that Bughā was to give out that he was ostensibly about to set forth on a journey and was to fasten the sum of money on the camels' backs, tie the beasts together and form a file with them, and set out from Ardabīl as if he were heading for Barzand. But when he should arrive at the stronghold (*maṣlaḥah*) of a al-Nahr, or to within about two farsakhs from it, he was to hold back the convoy of animals until those travelers who were accompanying the money should reach Barzand, and then when the caravan had passed on he was himself to return with the money to Ardabīl.

Bughā did that, and the caravan traveled on until it halted at al-Nahr. Bābak's spies went back to him, informing him that the money had been transported and that they had seen it with their own eyes being carried along until it had reached al-Nahr. But in reality Bughā returned to Ardabīl with the money.

Al-Afshīn rode out from Barzand on the afternoon of the day that he had agreed upon with Bughā and at sunset reached Khushsh, where he encamped with his forces outside the protective trench dug by Abū Saʿīd. When morning came he rode off secretly, without having a drum beaten or displaying a banner, and he ordered that the banner should be kept furled and that the troops should keep silent and proceed swiftly on their journey.

[1176] The caravan that set out on that same day from al-Nahr to the vicinity of al-Haytham al-Ghanawī departed; and al-Afshīn traveled from Khushsh, heading for the vicinity of al-Haytham, to

meet him along the road. But al-Haytham was unaware of this; hence he and those with him in the caravan pressed onward in the direction of al-Nahr. Bābak deployed his cavalry, foot soldiers, and troops in war formation and proceeded along the road to al-Nahr, imagining that the money would come into his hands. The commander of al-Nahr went out to escort those in his charge as far as al-Haytham, but Bābak's cavalry launched an attack on him, never doubting that the money was with him. The commander of al-Nahr fought with them, but Bābak's partisans killed both him and the troops and travelers who were accompanying him. They seized all the baggage and other things that they had with them and realized that the actual money had eluded them. They further seized the commander of al-Nahr's banner and also the clothing of the garrison of al-Nahr, their *durrā'ahs*,[79] pennants,[80] and caftans,[81] and they donned them and disguised themselves so that they might capture al-Haytham al-Ghanawī and also his companions. They were at this point unaware of al-Afshīn's departure, and they proceeded as if they were the garrison of al-Nahr. But when they arrived they did not know the place where the banner and insignia of the commander of al-Nahr habitually stood and hence took up their position in a different spot.

Al-Haytham arrived and took up his position; but he was disquieted at what he saw, so he sent forward a paternal cousin of his, saying to him, "Go to this detestable character and tell him, 'Why have you halted there?'" Al-Haytham's cousin went along, but when he saw the group of persons he failed to recognize them, even when he drew near to them. Hence he returned to al-Haytham and informed him, "Indeed, I do not recognize these people!" Al-Haytham said to him, "May God confound you! How cowardly you are!" and he sent out five cavalrymen whom he [1177]

79. I.e., a woolen garment that buttoned up the front; see p. 31 n. 120, below. But, according to n. *f* in the text, ms. O has a variant reading, probably *mazāriqahum*, "their short spears or javelins."

80. *Ṭarrādātihim*, which could have the meaning "lances, javelins"; cf. R. P. A. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 34; ms. O has the variant form *ṭarā'idahum*, as if it were the plural of *ṭarīdah*.

81. *Khafātin*; for this garment, see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 162–68.

detached from his entourage. When they went along and drew near to Bābak two men from the Khurramiyyah sallied forth. They encountered the two men and failed to recognize them [as being really 'Alawayh's men] but gave the latter to understand that they had recognized them [as being ostensibly members of the Muslim caravan]. They galloped back to al-Haytham and told him, "The unbeliever has killed 'Alawayh and his companions, and they have taken their banners and their clothing."

[Al-]Haytham thereupon rode off and went back and came to the caravan that he had brought along under his escort. He ordered them to ride hard and return, lest they be captured. He himself remained with his troops, traveling with them for a few stages and then halting with them for a while, to divert the attention of the Khurramiyyah away from the caravan and acting as a protective force for them, as it were, until the caravan reached the fortress that was al-Haytham's base; that is, Arshaq. He said to his companions, "Whoever among you will go to the Amīr [al-Afshīn] and to Abū Sa'īd and will inform them of what has happened shall get 10,000 dirhams and a [new] horse to replace his own, and if his horse becomes exhausted, he will get a fresh one, just like the original one, on the spot!" So two of his men set out on sprightly horses at a gallop, while al-Haytham went back inside the fortress.

Bābak, accompanied by his troops, went forward until he halted at the fortress. A seat was set down for him there, and he sat down on an eminence opposite the fortress. He sent a message to al-Haytham, saying, "Clear out of the fortress and depart, for I intend to demolish it." But al-Haytham refused and delivered battle to him instead. Al-Haytham had with him in the fortress 600 foot soldiers and 400 cavalry, and the fortress had a strongly fortified trench, so he attacked Bābak. The latter sat down, in the midst of his followers, and wine was set before him to drink while the battle was raging, as was his custom.[82]

The two horsemen [those sent by al-Haytham] met al-Afshīn at

82. It is unclear whether a practice like this has any connection with the licentiousness attributed to the Khurramiyyah or Khurramdīnān, "devotees of the religion of joy," by their orthodox opponents. See E. M. Wright, "Bābak of Badhdh and al-Afshīn," 49; Scarcia Amoretti, *op. cit.*, 504.

less than a farsakh from Arshaq, and the moment he saw them from afar he said to the commander of his vanguard, "I perceive two riders galloping at full tilt." Then he added, "Beat the drums [1178] and unfurl and banners, and gallop out toward the two riders." So his men did that; they sped onward, and al-Afshīn said to them, "Shout to the two of them, 'At your service, at your service!'"[83] The troops continued in a single gallop forward, vying in urging their horses onward, their mounts jostling each other, until they came up to Bābak, who was still seated. He did not have a chance to remove himself or to ride away before the cavalrymen and the body of troops reached him, and a closely fought battle, with the two sides locked together, was engaged. Not one of Bābak's foot soldiers escaped, but he himself escaped with a small group of men and withdrew into Mūqān, by which time his companions had become separated from him. Al-Afshīn remained in that place and spent the night there. Then he returned to his encampment at Barzand.[84]

Bābak remained in Mūqān for a certain number of days; then he sent a message to al-Badhdh, and during the night a force of troops, including foot soldiers, came to him. He traveled with them from Mūqān until he reached al-Badhdh. Al-Afshīn, meanwhile, continued to encamp at Barzand.

Some days later, a caravan passed by him (Bābak), going from Khushsh to Barzand, which had with it a man appointed by Abū Sa'īd named Ṣāliḥ Āb-kash, which means "the Water Carrier" (*al-saqqā'*).[85] Bābak's general (*iṣbahbadh*) attacked him and seized the caravan, killing those who were in it and those in Ṣāliḥ's force. Ṣāliḥ himself escaped bootless (barefoot) with those who managed to get away, but all the people in the caravan were killed and their goods and possessions plundered. Thus al-Afshīn's army suffered deprivation (literally, "lacked water," *qaḥaṭa*) because of that caravan's being captured from al-Āb-

83. *Labbayka, labbayka*, the *talbiyah* or cry—meaningless by Islamic times—of the pilgrims, uttered during the *wuqūf* on 'Arafāt and at other points in the Ḥajj ceremonies. See J. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 79–80; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage*, 179–85, 249.

84. Abū Tammām mentions this defeat of Bābak's in his poems; see Haq, *op. cit.*, 22.

85. From Persian *āb kashīdan*, "to draw water."

kash,[86] for it had been carrying supplies and provisions. Al-Afshīn thereupon wrote to the commander of al-Marāghah,[87] ordering
[1179] him to bring supplies and provisions and to send them to him with all possible speed because the troops were suffering from lack of water and food. The commander in al-Marāghah sent to him a huge caravan, having in it about a thousand steers, as well as asses and riding beasts and mules and the like, bearing supplies and provisions and accompanied by a body of troops as escort. But once again a detachment of Bābak's forces, commanded by either Ṭarkhān[88] or Ādhīn,[89] attacked them and treated the whole caravan, from front to end, and everything in it as their lawful plunder, leaving al-Afshīn's men reduced to dire straits. So al-Afshīn wrote to the commander in al-Sīrawān,[90] ordering him to send food, and he (the commander) accordingly dispatched a large quantity of food to al-Afshīn and brought succor to the people in that year. Also, Bughā came to al-Afshīn with money and men.[91]

In this year, in the month of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (October–November 835), al-Muʿtaṣim set out for al-Qāṭūl.[92]

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86. With an ironical juxtaposition of the opposing concepts in *qaḥaṭa* and *āb-kash*.

87. One of the chief towns of Ādharbayjān, lying to the southeast of Lake Urmiya, and capital of the Arabs after their first invasions of that province. See Yāqut, *Muʿjam*, V, 93–94; Le Strange, *Lands*, 164–65; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 1005–23; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 214–15; *EI*², s.v. al-Marāgha (V. Minorsky).

88. It is curious to see what was in origin an ancient, pre-Turkish title of Inner Asian political and tribal structures used by a presumably Iranian (but conceivably Khazar Turkish?) commander of Bābak's. On this title, see Bosworth and Clauson, *op. cit.*, 11–12. According to R. N. Frye, the title Ṭarkhān should be distinguished from a personal name Ṭarkhūn found in early Islamic sources on the history of Central Asia; see "Ṭarxūn-Türxün," 105–29.

89. Literally, "custom, manner; adornment."

90. The chief town of the district of Māsabadhan in al-Jibāl (see p. 2 n. 6, above). See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 296–97; Le Strange, *Lands*, 202; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 466–67.

91. See also Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 402–3; Azdī, *op. cit.*, 422; *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 382–83; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 447–51; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 252–53; E. M. Wright, *op., cit.*, 50–51; S. Nafīsī, *Bābak-i Khurram-dīn*, 67 ff.

92. The name of canals flowing southward from the Tigris at Dūr just north of Sāmarrā, said to have been dug by Anūshirwān and Hārūn al-Rashīd. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 297–98; Le Strange, *Lands*, 57. Yaʿqubī, *Buldān*, 256–57, trans., 45–47, gives a detailed account of al-Muʿtaṣim's attempts (apparently following earlier efforts by Hārūn al-Rashīd; see below) to establish a new military

The Reason for al-Mu'taṣim's Departure for al-Qāṭūl

It has been mentioned from Abū al-Wazīr Aḥmad b. Khālid[93] that he said: Al-Mu'taṣim sent for me in the year 219 (834) and told me, "O Aḥmad, purchase for me in the vicinity of Sāmarrā land on which I can build a city—for I am afraid lest these troops of the Ḥarbiyyah quarter[94] raise a great clamor and kill my slave retainers (*ghilmānī*)—in order that I may be above them (*ḥattā akūna fawqahum*).[95] But [once I am installed there], if anything emanating from them disquiets me, I shall come upon them by land and by sea until I overcome them." And he further said to [1180] me, "Take this 100,000 dīnārs." He related: I said, "I'll take 5,000 dīnārs, and whenever I need any additional money I'll send to you and ask for more." He agreed to that. So I went to the place in question and bought Sāmarrā for 500 dirhams from the Christians

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settlement for his slave troops outside Baghdad, starting in the east-bank suburb of Shammāsiyyah and gradually moving north, after rejecting various sites, to the Qāṭūl Canal, where construction was begun along the canal and the Tigris. It is not completely clear where al-Qāṭūl lay within the general area of the new town of Sāmarrā. See N. al-Asil, "La ciudad de al-Mu'taṣim en al-Qāṭūl," 339–57 (inconclusive); Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 71 ff.; J. M. Rogers, "Sāmarrā," 130; A. Northedge and R. Faulkner, "The 1986 Survey Season at Sāmarrā'," 158–60, noting that the site adjacent to al-Qāṭūl, al-Qādisiyyah of Sāmarrā (to be distinguished from the Qādisiyyah near al-Kūfah, site of the great battle between the Arabs and Persians), has been fairly certainly pinpointed within the Sāmarrā complex.

93. Secretary under al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq, said by Mas'ūdī to have acted briefly as vizier, perhaps without the specific title, at the outset of al-Mutawakkil's reign. See *Murūj*, VII, 197 = par. 2881; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 108; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 263, 271.

94. I.e., the suburb to the north and northwest of al-Manṣūr's Round City, originally settled in the early 'Abbāsid period by the caliphs' Khurāsānian troops and subsequently the center of the Abnā'. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 107–35; J. Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad*, index, s.v. Ḥarbiyya; Ṣ. A. al-'Alī, *Baghdād*, 165–84.

95. The meaning would appear to be that, by constructing his new military center upstream from Baghdad, at Sāmarrā, the Caliph would be placing a reasonable distance (actually about seventy-five miles) between his Turkish slave guards and their opponents, the Khurāsānian Arab nobility of the Abnā' (who, as mentioned in n. 94, above, formed the main population element in the Ḥarbiyyah quarter of Baghdad). He would be able further to swoop south on the latter from his position upriver. This seems a more probable translation than that in Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 15: "kill my pages and me on top of them." Nor did Marin realize that here *Ḥarbiyyah* designates a specific group, not the common noun "warriors".

who dwelt in the monastery,[96] and I purchased the site of the Khāqānī garden[97] for another 5,000 dirhams plus a number of other places until I had fully accomplished what I had set out to do. Then I traveled down [the Tigris] with the deeds of sale (*al-ṣikāk*).[98] Al-Muʿtaṣim resolved to move there in the year 220 (835). He set out until, when he drew near to al-Qāṭūl, the pavilions and tents (*al-qibāb wa-al-maḍārib*) were pitched there for him, and all the troops pitched their tents (*al-akhbiyah*).[99] Thereafter he continued to put into practice his intentions, and tents were set up for him until buildings were erected at Sāmarrā in the year 221 (836).[100]

It has been mentioned from Abū al-Ḥasan b. Abī ʿAbbād al-Kātib that Masrūr al-Khādim al-Kabīr said: Al-Muʿtaṣim once asked me, "Where did al-Rashīd use to have his pleasure ground when he grew fed up with staying in Baghdad?" He related: I replied to him, "At al-Qāṭūl." Al-Rashīd had built a city there, the vestiges and walls of which still remained, for he had been afraid of what his troops might do, just as al-Muʿtaṣim feared. But when the people of Syria rose up and rebelled in Syria al-Rashīd

96. There are said to have been no fewer than eight monasteries in the area.

97. Presumably the garden of the Jawsaq al-Khāqānī palace, the modern Qaṣr al-Khalīfah, to the north of the modern town of Sāmarrā. It was named for the Caliph's Turkish general, the Khāqān Abū al-Fatḥ ʿUrtūj, to whom, as to other commanders, a *qaṭīʿah*, or concession of land was granted; see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 258, trans. 48–50.

98. Sing. *ṣakk*, a commercial, legal, and above all financial term. Here the *ṣikak* brought back by Aḥmad would attest the disbursement of the price paid to the original owners of the land. For the term, see Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī," 125–26. 127.

99. On the terminology for tents and their components—the nuances in significance of the various types of tent often being obscure today—see *EI*², s.v. Khayma (Ch. Pellat et al.).

100. The bibliography on the foundation of Sāmarrā and the attempts to identify specific buildings within the urban site is very extensive. For the history of Sāmarrā during the fifty odd years of its occupation by the caliphs, see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 86–270. For a general consideration of Sāmarrā and its environs as an expression of caliphal self-glorification, see Rogers, *op. cit.*, 119–55. For the most recent excavations on the site, now considerably eroded by urbanization and agricultural development, see Northedge, "Planning Sāmarra'"; idem and Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 143–73.

went off to al-Raqqah.[101] He stayed at this latter place, and the city at al-Qāṭūl remained uncompleted.

When al-Muʿtaṣim set out for al-Qāṭūl he left his son Hārūn al-Wāthiq as his deputy in Baghdad.

Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Bawwāzah al-Farrā' related to me that the reason for al-Muʿtaṣim's departure for al-Qāṭūl was that his Turkish slave retainers were continually finding (their comrades), one after the other, slain in their quarters. This arose from the [1181] fact that they were rough-mannered barbarians (*ʿujm*)[102] who used to ride their steeds and gallop through the streets and roads of Baghdad, knocking down men and women and trampling children underfoot. As a result, the men of the Abnā' would seize them, drag them off their steeds, and inflict wounds on some of them; on occasion, some of them would perish through their wounds. The Turks complained of that to al-Muʿtaṣim, and because of them the general populace suffered. Jaʿfar further mentioned that he saw al-Muʿtaṣim riding back from the *muṣallā* on the day of the Festival of the Sacrifice or that of the Breaking of the Fast, and when he reached the square of al-Ḥarashī[103] he perceived that an old man had planted himself in his path and cried out, "O Abū Isḥāq!" He related: The troops hastened forward to strike him, but al-Muʿtaṣim motioned to them and restrained them from him, saying to the old man, "What do you want?" The old man answered, "May God not recompense you with good for your stay here among us! You have dwelt among us and have brought in these untutored foreigners (*ʿulūj*)[104] and have set them down to dwell in our midst. Through them you have made our children orphans, you have made our womenfolk

101. The main center of the Diyār Muḍar district of al-Jazīrah, which al-Rashīd in effect made his capital during his later years. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 58–60; Le Strange, *Lands*, 101–2; Canard, *Histoire*, 90–91; *EI*[1], s.v. al-Raḳḳa (E. Honigmann).

102. Literally, "those speaking Arabic indistinctly," *aʿjam*.

103. The *murabbaʿah* of (Saʿīd) al-Ḥarashī, which included within it a market and a palace, marked the site of Saʿīd's *qaṭīʿah* in the Mukharrim quarter on the east side of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 221–22; Lassner, *op. cit.*, 79, 262–63. Saʿīd stemmed from a Qaysī family prominent as military commanders under both the Umayyads and early ʿAbbāsids; see Crone, *op. cit.*, 144–145.

104. Literally, "stout, coarse-bodied," *ʿilj*, but applied especially to non-Arabs, usually those who were country dwellers.

widows, and you have killed our men!" Al-Muʿtaṣim listened to all of that. He related: Then he went back into his palace and was not seen again out riding until the very same day of the following year. When it was the next year, on exactly the same day, al-Muʿtaṣim went forth and led the people's worship at the celebration of the Festival; however, he did not go back to his residence in Baghdad but turned his steed's face toward the vicinity of al-Qāṭūl and left Baghdad, never to return thither.[105]

In this year al-Muʿtaṣim became angry with al-Faḍl b. Marwān and imprisoned him.

The Reason behind al-Muʿtaṣim's Anger against al-Faḍl b. Marwān and His Imprisoning of the Latter, and the Reason for al-Faḍl's Connection with al-Muʿtaṣim

It has been mentioned that al-Faḍl b. Marwān, who was a man
1182] from al-Baradān,[106] was connected with one of the financial officials, for whom he used to indite correspondence; he had a beautiful hand. Then he joined one of al-Muʿtaṣim's secretaries

105. Al-Muʿtaṣim's prime motive for moving from the ʿAbbāsids' ancestral capital to the new town of Sāmarrā—where there was probably some form of settlement around the monasteries even before al-Rashīd's time—does seem broadly to have been a desire to separate his professional slave troops (Turks, Maghribīs, etc.) from the longer-established Abnāʾ military elements in the Ḥarbiyyah and other parts of Baghdad, as Ṭabarī (followed also by trans. Balʿamī, IV, 523–25; *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 381–82; and Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 451–52) states here. It is likewise the motive put forward by the other early sources, including Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 255–64, trans., 44–57; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 118–23 = pars. 2801–5; idem, *Tanbīh*, 356–57, trans., 457–58; cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 88 ff. As D. Ayalon has remarked ("Preliminary Remarks," 53–56), there seems no reason to doubt these assertions. Nor is there any sound reason for adopting the skeptical attitude of Shaban, *op. cit.*, 63, toward the idea that the new troops were proving a rowdy and uncontrollable element in the city of Baghdad itself. See also on the topic of the motive behind the transfer to Sāmarrā, O. S. A. Ismail, "Founding of a New Capital," 3–6; and H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, 158–60, who attempts, on the questions of the legal status and the ethnic origins of the new troops (see also p. 49 n. 159, below), to steer a middle course between the views of Shaban, on the one hand, and those of Crone (*op. cit.*, especially, 78–79) and D. Pipes (*Slave Soldiers and Islam*, especially, 150–58), on the other.

106. A small town on the left bank of the Tigris just north of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 375–76; Le Strange, *Lands*, 32, 50; *EI*², s.v. Baradān (M. Streck-[S. H. Longrigg]).

called Yaḥyā al-Jurmuqānī, and al-Faḍl b. Marwān used to indite letters directly for him. When al-Jurmuqānī died al-Faḍl succeeded to his place,[107] and ʿAlī b. Ḥassān al-Anbārī used then to indite correspondence for al-Faḍl. This arrangement continued until al-Muʿtaṣim attained his high office,[108] with al-Faḍl as his secretary. Then al-Faḍl accompanied al-Muʿtaṣim to al-Maʾmūn's field headquarters and after that went with him to Egypt, where he gathered in the taxes of Egypt. Before al-Maʾmūn's death al-Faḍl returned to Baghdad, where he used to deal with al-Muʿtaṣim's business affairs and used to write down, in al-Muʿtaṣim's name, whatever he himself desired until al-Muʿtaṣim came [to Baghdad] as caliph. From that point on, al-Faḍl became the effective director of the caliphate: All the government departments came under his control, and he stored up all the collected taxes. When Abū Isḥāq [al-Muʿtaṣim] entered Baghdad he ordered al-Faḍl in the first place to give largesse to singers and musicians, but al-Faḍl failed to carry out that order; this made Abū Isḥāq resentful.[109]

Ibrāhīm b. Jahrawayh related to me that Ibrāhīm, who had the cognomen al-Haftī ("the Foolish"), was a jester and buffoon (*muḍḥik*) and al-Muʿtaṣim ordered him to be given a sum of money. He instructed al-Faḍl b. Marwān to pay out that sum to Ibrāhīm, but al-Faḍl would not give him what al-Muʿtaṣim had commanded that he was to get. Some time afterward, al-Haftī was with al-Muʿtaṣim one day—this being after his palace in Baghdad had been built and a garden there had been made for his use—and al-Muʿtaṣim got up and walked around the garden, looking at it and at the various kinds of aromatic herbs and trees growing

107. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 248 n. 1.

108. I.e., when he became governor in Egypt and suppressed the rebellion there in 214–15 (829–30). See Ṭabarī, III, 1101; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 567; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 409; A. H. Saleh, "Les Bédouins d'Égypte," 157.

109. On al-Faḍl, who was the first of the many secretaries of Iraqi Christian origin to serve the caliphs during this century, see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 246–53; and *EI*², s.v. al-Faḍl b. Marwān (D. Sourdel). It seems that, as is implied here and in the next anecdote, al-Faḍl endeavored during his three-year vizierate, 218–21 (833–36), to restore financial stability and to satisfy the pay demands of the troops by restricting the caliph's personal expenditure and prodigality. Unusually, after his fall he filled lesser administrative offices under al-Wāthiq and other caliphs, dying in 250 (864) at an advanced age.

there, accompanied by al-Haftī. Meanwhile, al-Haftī—who had been al-Muʿtaṣim's companion since before the caliphate came to
[1183] him[110]—was saying to him, among the pleasantries he was exchanging with the caliph, "By God, your affairs will never prosper!" He related: Al-Haftī happened to be a plumpish person of middle height, whereas al-Muʿtaṣim was a lean man with little flesh on him. Al-Muʿtaṣim would begin to outstrip al-Haftī when they were walking, and when he got ahead of al-Haftī and did not see the latter still with him he would turn to him and say, "Why don't you get a move on?" at the same time urging al-Haftī to catch up with him.

When this sequence of events involving al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Haftī had taken place on several occasions al-Haftī said to him jokingly, "May God guide you in an upright way! I used to visualize myself ambling around with a caliph, but I never saw myself striding along with a courier![111] By God, I am sure your affairs will never prosper!" Al-Muʿtaṣim laughed at all this and said, "Woe on you! Is there anything of success remaining that I have not already attained? Can you say this to me after my having attained the caliphate?" But al-Haftī replied, "Do you really think that you have now attained success? In reality, you have nothing of the caliphate except the mere name! By God, your commands do not go farther than your own ears! The real caliph is al-Faḍl b. Marwān, who issues commands that are immediately put into execution." Al-Muʿtaṣim said to him, "And what command of mine has not been carried out?" Al-Haftī responded, "Two months ago you commanded that I should be given so-and-so, but since that time I have not been given even a single grain[112] of what you commanded." He related: As a result, al-Muʿtaṣim held this in his mind against al-Faḍl until he pounced upon him.[113]

It has been said that the first thing that al-Muʿtaṣim did concerning al-Faḍl when his attitude toward him changed was to

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110. Following the Cairo edition, IX, 19, *qabla an tufḍiya*.

111. *Fayj*, the Arabized form of Persian *payk*, "messenger, courier."

112. *Ḥabbah*, literally "a grain of corn," but used as a weight—the smallest one distinguished—for gold and silver coins, canonically something like .0445 gr. but varying among different provinces of the Islamic world and at different periods. See W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 12–13.

113. Cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 93.

appoint Aḥmad b. ʿAmmār al-Khurāsānī[114] as financial controller (*zimām*)[115] over him in regard to the privy-purse expenditure and Naṣr b. Manṣūr b. Bassām as financial controller over him in regard to the land tax and all other taxes collected. And he continued like that.[116]

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt[117] used to be responsible, just as his father had been responsible in the time of al-Maʾmūn, for the manufacture of the parasol (*al-mushammas*),[118] the large tents (*al-fasāṭīṭ*),[119] and the equipment for swift riding camels (*ālat al-jammāzāt*), and in return for that, he (ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt) used to write about what Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt was doing (i.e., acted as a spy on his son's activities). Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik used to wear a black *durrāʿah*[120] and a sword with its belts and fastenings

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114. A native of al-Mādhar in lower Iraq, he became chief secretary to al-Muʿtaṣim in Ṣafar 221 (February 836); after al-Faḍl's disgrace, he seems to have acted for a while as vizier, in practice if not in name. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 252, 253, II, 726.

115. On this term, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 601–2. At various epochs under the ʿAbbāsids there was a special *Dīwān al-Zimām/al-Azimmah* to control the accounts of the financial departments. See Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 106; *EI*², s.v. Dīwān. i. The Caliphate (A. A. Duri).

116. Cf. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 252.

117. Literally, "the dealer in oil" (*zayt*); hence the reference below to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik as a trader or tradesman (*tājir*).

118. I.e., the *miẓallah*, Persian *chatr*, which was one of the insignia of royal power. See *EI*², s.v. Miẓalla (C. E. Bosworth et al.); Bosworth, *Ghaznavids*, index s.vv. *chatr*, *chatr-dār*.

119. *Fusṭāṭ*, from Late Latin *fossatum*, "trench (and rampart)," originally denoted the armed camps of earliest Islam (as in the name Fusṭāṭ for the Arabs' new center in Egypt after transfer of the capital from Alexandria); see *Glossarium*, CDIII. The term seems then to have come to denote the large tents that must have been a feature of these camps in their early stages; see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 266.

120. The *durrāʿah*, a robe that seems to have had a slit fastened with buttons in the front, was worn on ceremonial occasions by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs from the time of al-Manṣūr to the mid-third (ninth) century, when it was replaced by a shorter jacket (*qabāʾ*) of Persian origin. It was also worn by civilian and military members of the ruling elite, as distinct from the religious classes (for whom the *ṭaylasān* was regarded as the distinguishing garment; see p. 192 n. 553, below) and the lower classes. Cf. the geographer Maqdisī's use of the term *ahl al-durrāʿah*, cited in Mez, *op. cit.*, 75, trans., 83–84, and his experience of the greater prestige conferred by the wearing of a *durrāʿah*, cited in D. A. Agius, *Arabic Literary Works*, 217–20; for information on the garment in general, see Dozy, *Vêtements*,

[1184] whenever he was present at court. Al-Faḍl b. Marwān said to him, "You're only a trader; what right have you to wear black and carry a sword?" So Muḥammad had to stop wearing these. When Muḥammad had done this al-Faḍl moved against him by bringing his accounts to the attention of Dulayl b. Ya'qūb al-Naṣrānī,[121] and then he arraigned him. But Dulayl acted kindly in the matter of Muḥammad and did not confiscate anything from him. Muḥammad offered Dulayl presents, but the latter refused to accept anything at all from Muḥammad.[122]

When it was the year 219 (834)—or, it has been said, (2)20 (835), but in my opinion this is a mistake—al-Mu'taṣim set out toward al-Qāṭūl, intending to undertake building operations at Sāmarrā. But the excessively high level of the Tigris waters deflected him from this, and he was unable to continue his move; hence he turned back to Baghdad and to al-Shammāsiyyah. Then he set out again after that. When he reached al-Qāṭūl in Ṣafar (February–March 834) he showed his anger at al-Faḍl b. Marwān and his household and ordered them to give an accounting of what had passed through their hands. Al-Faḍl was arrested, as the object of [al-Mu'taṣim's] anger regarding the conduct of his accounts. When al-Mu'taṣim had completed this accounting process he made no further investigation into his affairs, but he ordered him (al-Faḍl) to be imprisoned and conveyed to his house at Baghdad in the street of the Maydān.[123] He further imprisoned al-Faḍl's associates and appointed in his place Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt.[124] He jailed Dulayl and exiled al-Faḍl to

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177–81; idem, *Supplément*, I, 434. At this point in Ṭabarī's *History* al-Faḍl b. Marwān is ridiculing Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik's pretensions to membership in the secretarial class. Black was, of course, the official 'Abbāsid color (whence the name *al-Musawwidah*, "wearers of black," applied to their partisans at the time of the 'Abbāsid Revolution). See Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Rusūm dār al-khilāfah*, 91–92, trans., 74; Mez, *op. cit.*, 80, trans., 89; F. Omar, *'Abbāsiyyāt*, 148–49.

121. A Christian official who was later secretary to the Turkish general Bughā al-Ṣaghīr; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 256, 304.

122. *Ibid.*, 255–56.

123. Naturally, there were many squares and open places (*mayādīn*) in Baghdad, but it is unclear which particular one is meant here.

124. According to Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī, *op. cit.*, ed. Schwally, 567 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 332–33, when al-Faḍl was disgraced and imprisoned, he was made to disgorge (*isti'dā'*) 1.6 million *dīnārs*.

a village called al-Sinn[125] on the road to al-Mawṣil, where he thenceforth remained. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik now acted as vizier and secretary, and the greater part of the building operations that al-Muʿtaṣim undertook at Sāmarrā, both on the eastern and western banks [of the Tigris], passed through his hands. He continued to enjoy his high position until al-Mutawakkil became caliph and then killed Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik.[126]

It has been mentioned that when al-Muʿtaṣim appointed al-Faḍl b. Marwān as his vizier the latter came to occupy a position so close to al-Muʿtaṣim's heart that no one could hope to gain his attention, much less to dispute with him or to thwart him [1185] regarding his commands and prohibitions, his requirements and decisions. This continued to be his manner of acting and his exalted status until overconfidence and a sense of his own great prestige impelled him to oppose al-Muʿtaṣim in regard to certain of the latter's commands and to refuse him money that he was needing for his important affairs.

It has been mentioned from Ibn Abī Duwād[127] that he said: I used to be present at al-Muʿtaṣim's court sessions, and I often used to hear him say to al-Faḍl b. Marwān, "Bring me so-and-so amount of money," and al-Faḍl would reply, "I haven't got it," at which al-Muʿtaṣim would say, "Then devise some means or other of procuring it!" Al-Faḍl would answer, "Where am I going to be

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125. At the junction of the Tigris and Lower Zāb rivers, about halfway between al-Mawṣil and Sāmarrā. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 268–69; Le Strange, *Lands*, 90–91.

126. Ibn al-Zayyāt was to serve al-Muʿtaṣim as his second vizier, in 221–27 (838–42), and his successor al-Wāthiq as his first vizier, in 227–32 (842–47). He also briefly served al-Mutawakkil in 232–33 (847) until he was executed, after having been tortured in an instrument of his own devising, a spiked cylinder similar to the Nuremburg Iron Maiden. He left behind him a reputation for harshness and cruelty. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 254–69; *EI*², s.v. Ibn al-Zayyāt (D. Sourdel).

127. Chief judge under al-Muʿtaṣim and the guiding spirit behind the Muʿtazilī inquisition, or *miḥnah*, established by al-Maʾmūn toward the end of his reign. His influence on al-Muʿtaṣim seems to have been as great as that of the Caliph's viziers, and in fact he grew increasingly hostile to Ibn al-Zayyāt (Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 258–60, 265, 269). See the extensive biography in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, IV, 141–56 no. 1825; *EI*², s.vv. Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād (K. V. Zetterstéen and Ch. Pellat), Miḥna (M. Hinds).

able to light upon such a sum, who will give me this amount of money, and with whom shall I find it?" That used to displease al-Muʿtaṣim, as I could discern from his face. When al-Faḍl had behaved thus on several occasions I rode over to him one day and said to him, after having sought a private word with him, "O Abū al-ʿAbbās, people are coming between us with what I dislike and you dislike, too. You are a man whose character I have well understood, but those who come between us understand it equally. If I am compelled to take action against you[128] justifiably, then set it down as devoid of real animus [do not hold it against me]. Despite that, I shall not cease giving you sincere advice and doing what is incumbent upon me to perform or justly owed to you. Now I have often observed you returning the Commander of the Faithful a brusque answer that sears him and pierces his heart. A ruling authority [*sulṭān*][129] will not tolerate this even in his own son, especially when it happens frequently and in an abrupt manner." He asked, "O Abū ʿAbdallāh, what exactly is this?" I replied, "I have often heard him say to you, 'We need such-and-such an amount of money for expending on so-and-so matter,' and you retort, 'And who will give me this sum?' This sort of thing is what caliphs will not tolerate." He
[1186] said, "But what, then, am I to do when he demands from me what I don't have?" I said, "Be prepared to say, 'O Commander of the Faithful, we will devise some means or other for getting that,' and you will secure for yourself a delay of a few days until he is prepared, and then you will take to him part of what he seeks and put him off in regard to the remainder." He replied, "Yes, I'll do that, and I'll adopt the procedure that you advise me." He related: Yet, by God, it was as if I had been urging him on to refuse [even more], for, when the caliph once more repeated to him his

128. Following the voweling of the Cairo edition, IX, 21, *fa-idhā ḥurriktu fīka*. The passage is, however, difficult; one might read *fa-idhā ḥarrakat fīka*, with the word "character" [*akhlāqaka*] considered as the subject of the verb and with a meaning like "if it stirs up in you a charge [against me], then consider it false, and on that basis, I shall not cease . . . ."

129. Or perhaps this is an early instance of the abstract noun in its later sense of "the holder of power > ruler," as *sulṭān* is at least personified here as having a son; see *EI*[1], s.v. Sulṭān (J. H. Kramers).

demand with the same words, al-Faḍl returned an answer of the same sort as the caliph resented.

He related: When al-Muʿtaṣim had endured this treatment on several occasions al-Faḍl came into his presence one day bearing a bunch of freshly plucked narcissus. Al-Muʿtaṣim took them and toyed with them, and then he said, "O Abū al-ʿAbbās, may God preserve you alive!" Al-Faḍl took them in his right hand, and al-Muʿtaṣim drew his seal ring from the finger of al-Faḍl's left hand, saying to him in a low voice,[130] "Give me my seal ring," and then pulled it from al-Faḍl's hand and placed it in Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik's hand.[131]

In this year Ṣāliḥ b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad led the Pilgrimage.[132]

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130. Or perhaps "in words full of hidden meaning," *bi-kalām khafī*.

131. *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 383–84; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 453–54; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 93–94. According to Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 356, trans., 456, al-Muʿtaṣim's seal had the motto "Glory to God, Who has no equal, Creator of all things," but, according to *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 410, the motto was "God is the Trusted One of Muḥammad b. al-Rashīd, and in Him he believes." See the discussion on the caliphs' seals in Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 156–57.

132. Khalīfah, *op. cit.*, II, 784; Azdī, *op. cit.*, 424; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 454.

The Events of the Year

221

(DECEMBER 26, 835–DECEMBER 13, 836)

Among the events taking place during this year was the battle that took place in the vicinity of Hashtādsar[133] between Bābak and Bughā al-Kabīr, in which Bughā was defeated and his camp laid open to plundering. Also in this year al-Afshīn fell upon Bābak and defeated him.

[1187] *The Clashes of Bughā al-Kabīr and al-Afshīn with Bābak, and the Reasons behind Them*

It has been mentioned that Bughā al-Kabīr reached al-Afshīn with the money which has previously been mentioned and that al-Mu'taṣim also sent with him to al-Afshīn pay for the troops accompanying him and for his own expenses. Furthermore, Bughā reached him with the troops for al-Afshīn that were being sent

133. In Persian literally "eighty peaks." This must have lain in the mountain region of northern Ādharbayjān; see Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 990–91. It may well be, as the editor Houtsma conjectured, the name that lies behind the very corrupt rendering (*Sādār.s.b* ?) of the name of the place where al-Afshīn is said by Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 578, to have established himself; see also Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 139 n. 3.

out with him [as reinforcements]. Al-Afshīn was thus able to pay the money to his troops, and after the New Year celebrations he fitted out his troops in readiness and sent Bughā with a force to circle round Hashtādsar and encamp at the Trench of Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd[134] and excavate it further, strengthen it, and station himself there. Bughā set out and made his way to the Trench of Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd. Al-Afshīn left Barzand, and Abū Sa'īd left Khushsh in search of Bābak. They met up at a place called Darwadh.[135] There al-Afshīn dug a trench and built a rampart round it, and he and Abū Sa'īd, together with those volunteers (*muṭṭawwi'ah*)[136] who had joined his forces, encamped within the perimeter of the trench. Between him (or: it) and al-Badhdh was six miles.

Bughā now made his preparations and took with him traveling provisions of a different kind from those about which al-Afshīn had written to him and a kind that he had not ordered him to take. He circled round Hashtādsar until he entered the settled area (*qaryah*) of al-Badhdh[137] and halted in its center, remaining there for one day. Then he sent out 1,000 men as a foraging party (*'allāfah*). But one of Bābak's detachments came out and put to plunder the foraging party, killing all those who resisted them

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134. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī was the grandson of 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Ṭā'ī, one of the leaders of the 'Abbāsid *da'wah*; the family seems subsequently to have kept up its links with and residence in Khurāsān. See Crone, *op. cit.*, 174–75; Arazi and El'ad, *op. cit.*, 61 n. 79. Muḥammad had been killed at Hashtādsar in 214 (829) by Bābak's army, after he had constructed this defensive *khandaq*. See Ṭabarī, III, 1101; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 373–74; Niẓām al-Mulk, *op. cit.*, 291–92, trans., 233; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 412–13; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 971–72, 1167–68.

135. Apparently the Dū al-Rūd mentioned by Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-*Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 121, as one farsakh from al-Badhdh but here placed by Ṭabarī at six miles' distance. It would appear to be the D.r.w.dh al-Rūdh of Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 578 (reading the defective text thus). See Schwarz *op. cit.*, 1131; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 254 n. 3.

136. I.e., those irregular troops who were not originally registered on the *dīwān*, hence in receipt of *'aṭā'* or salary, but who joined up with the professional forces and received a share of captured plunder; see Levy, *op. cit.*, 415. On the role of volunteers and *ghāzīs* in the society and affairs of Transoxania and Khurāsān see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 214–15. Men from these regions almost certainly would have followed al-Afshīn from the eastern Islamic provinces to the campaigns against Bābak here in Ādharbayjān.

137. If the recent identification of the site of al-Badhdh (see p. 14 n. 57, above) is correct, this must have been the urban area in the valley around the approximately 8,000-foot-high mountain on which Bābak's citadel and residence were situated.

and taking prisoner all whom they could. Bābak's force selected some of the captives and sent two men, who were especially close
[1188] to al-Afshīn, from among them and instructed them, "Go to al-Afshīn and inform him about what has befallen your comrades." The two men hove in sight, and the chief of the force of watchmen placed on the mountaintops (*al-kuhbāniyyah*)[138] spotted them. He waved the signal flag, and at that the troops in the encampment shouted "To arms, to arms!" and rode out in the direction of al-Badhdh. The two men, reduced to a state of nakedness, met them. The commander of the vanguard took them and brought them to al-Afshīn, and they told him about the calamity that had befallen them, and al-Afshīn commented, "Bughā did something without authorization from us."

Bughā returned to the Trench of Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd in something resembling a rout and wrote to al-Afshīn, telling him about it and asking him for reinforcements, explaining that his army had been shattered. Al-Afshīn sent to him his brother al-Faḍl b. Kāwūs, Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl b. Hishām,[139] Ibn Jawshan, Janāḥ al-Aʿwar al-Sukkarī, the commander of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's[140] police guard (*shurṭah*), and one of two brothers, kindred of al-Faḍl b. Sahl.[141] They circled round Hashtādsar, and the troops in Bughā's camp were inspirited by their approach. Then al-Afshīn wrote to Bughā, informing him that he himself would lead out an expedition against Bābak on a day that he specified to him and ordering Bughā also to lead [another] expedition on that same day to attack Bābak from both sides.

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138. See *Glossarium*, CDLXI, literally "mountain keepers." According to Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 141 n. 2, the term stems from Middle Persian **kōhbān* < Old Persian **kaufa-pāna* "mountain guard, watcher". There is nothing in Ṭabarī or in any other source to support Shaban's conjecture, *op. cit.*, 66–67, that these mountain watchmen were from al-Afshīn's native province of Ushrūsanah; it is more probable that they were recruited on the spot in Ādharbayjān, as experts on the local terrain and conditions.

139. Later to be involved in the conspiracy to depose al-Muʿtaṣim in favor of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn; he was punished by death at Sāmarrā. See Ṭabarī, III, 1260–67 (pp. 125–33, below).

140. I.e., al-Maʾmūn's old commander and secretary, and the Caliph's father-in-law through his marriage to Būrān; see *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl (D. Sourdel).

141. I.e., al-Ḥasan's brother and vizier to al-Maʾmūn; see *EI*², s.v. al-Faḍl b. Sahl b. Zadhānfarūkh (D. Sourdel).

Al-Afshīn accordingly went forth on the specified day from Darwadh intending to attack Bābak; and Bughā set out from the Trench of Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd, ascended to Hashtādsar, and encamped within hailing distance[142] at the side of Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd's grave.[143] But a cold wind and violent rain raged, and the troops were unable to hold the position on account of the excessive cold and strong wind, so that Bughā returned to his camp.

The next morning, after Bughā had already gone back to his camp, al-Afshīn fell upon Bābak's troops; he put Bābak to flight, [1189] captured his camp, his tent, and also a woman who was with him in the camp. He then established himself in Bābak's encampment.

In the morning Bughā again got his forces ready and went up to Hashtādsar, but he found that the force that had been established opposite him at Hashtādsar had already gone back to join Bābak; so Bughā pushed on to the place where the force had been, finding there, however, only simple utensils and pieces of clothing. He descended from Hashtādsar toward al-Badhdh, and on the way found a man and a youth sleeping. Dāwūd Siyāh,[144] the commander of Bughā's vanguard, seized them and interrogated them. They related that an envoy from Bābak had come to them on the night in which Bābak had fled in defeat and had ordered them to meet up with him at al-Badhdh. The man and youth were both drunk, and sleep had overcome them, so that they had no other information except this. This incident took place before the afternoon worship. At this point Bughā sent a message to Dāwūd Siyāh, saying, "We are now in the midst of the place with which we are already familiar (he meant the place where they had been the first time). It is now evening, and the infantrymen are tired out; so look for a naturally defensible mountain that will accommodate our army, so that we may encamp there tonight." Dāwūd Siyāh sought for such a site. He ascended one of the

142. *'Alā da'wah. Addenda et emendanda*, DCCLXXIII, suggest the possible reading *'alā raghwah* "on a rocky area."

143. A possible reading from ms. O, signaled in n. *p* of the text, is "Trench" (*khandaq*, instead of *qabr*), this being followed in Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 23.

144. I.e., in Persian "the Black One."

mountains and made for its summit and from there looked down. He saw al-Afshīn's banner and his encampment almost opposite and said, "This will be our place until early next morning, and at that time we will swoop down upon the unbelievers (i.e., Bābak and his followers), if God wills."

However, during that night clouds came down upon them, accompanied by cold and rain and heavy snow, so that when morning arrived no one was able to descend the mountain to fetch water or to water the riding beasts because of the intense cold and excessive snow. The heavily overcast sky and the mist were such that it was as if they were still in the night. At the third day the troops said to Bughā, "The provisions that we had with us
[1190] are now exhausted, and the cold has been harmful for us. So go down, whatever course of action is to be adopted, whether for us to return or to press on toward the unbeliever." The days remained misty; Bābak harried al-Afshīn by night and hammered his army so that al-Afshīn disengaged his forces and withdrew into his encampment.

Bughā then beat his drums and went down, still seeking to reach al-Badhdh, until he reached the plain. There he saw the sky clear and the terrain passable everywhere, except for the mountaintop where he had been. Bughā now deployed his troops in battle formation, with a right wing, a left wing, and a vanguard, and moved forward in the direction of al-Badhdh, never doubting that al-Afshīn was in his encampment. He proceeded onward until he came to the side of the mountain of al-Badhdh, and there only a half-mile ascent remained between where he was and the point where he would be overlooking the houses of al-Badhdh. In his vanguard were a number of soldiers, including a youth (or slave, *ghulām*) of Ibn Baʿīth's, who had relatives in al-Badhdh. Scouts of Bābak's met them, and the youth recognized one and said to him, "So-and-so!" The man replied, "Who's this here?" So the youth named to the man those of his kinsmen who were with him. The man said, "Draw near, and let me speak with you!" So the youth went up to him, and the man said, "Go back, and tell the person in charge to withdraw, for we have attacked al-Afshīn by night, and he has fled to his defensive trench, and against you, moreover, we have prepared two armies. Hence return quickly, and you may be able to escape!"

The youth went back and informed Ibn al-Ba'īth about all this. He named the man to him, and Ibn al-Ba'īth knew the man in question; so he informed Bughā about this. Bughā halted and took counsel with his companions. One of them expostulated, however, "This is a fraud, this is a trick, there can't be anything in it!" At this, one of the mountain watchman said, "This is a mountaintop with which I am familiar! Anyone who ascends to its summit will be able to see al-Afshīn's camp." Bughā, al-Faḍl b. [1191] Kāwūs, and a group of their men who were agile and nimble climbed up and were able to look down on the place; but they could not discern al-Afshīn's camp there and were convinced that he had moved away. They consulted together again and came to the opinion that the troops should go back in the early part of the daytime before the night enveloped them. Bughā ordered Dāwūd Siyāh to return, and he set out, traveling swiftly and avoiding the road by which he had previously approached Hashtādsar, fearful of the defiles and mountain tracks. Instead, he took the road that he had taken the first time, circling round Hashtādsar, as there were no defiles along it except at one place. He traveled with the troops and sent the infantrymen on ahead. The latter threw away their spears and weapons along the road (i.e., to travel more swiftly), and a great fear and terror came over them.

Bughā, al-Faḍl b. Kāwūs, and a group of the commanders traveled in the rear guard. Bābak's scouts appeared, and, whenever Bughā's troops went down a mountain slope, Bābak's scouts went up it (to spy on them). Sometimes the scouts came into their sight and sometimes they were out of their view; and the scouts, comprising about ten horsemen in all, were following the army's tracks until the period between the noon and afternoon worships (i.e., the early afternoon). Bughā dismounted to do the minor ablutions and perform the worship. Bābak's scouts drew near them and came out into the open within their field of vision. Bughā performed the worship and stood there, within their sight, and when they saw him they halted. Bughā was afraid for his army, lest the scouts should fall upon it from one side and a further body of Bābak's forces should encircle them in some of the mountains and defiles. He sought the advice of those who were with him and said, "I am not sure that these people have not planned a diversionary attack that will prevent us from

[1192] continuing along the road, and then they will send forward their forces to seize the defiles against our own troops."

But al-Faḍl b. Kāwūs told him, "These people do not fight by day, but only by night, and one need fear for our troops only at night; so send to Dāwūd Siyāh [a message telling him] to speed up his march and not to halt, even if it should not be midnight before he gets through the defile. Meanwhile we will wait here, for as long as the enemy forces continue to keep us in their view, they will not go onward. In that way, we shall delay them and keep them off to some extent until darkness falls. Then, when it is dark, they will not know our position, and our troops will go forward and pass through one by one; and, if the defile is closed against us, we will reach safety by means of the Hashtādsar road or some other route."

Someone else, however, gave Bughā advice and pointed out, "The army has become divided into separate groups, and its front portion will not be able to join up with the rear portion. Moreover, the troops have thrown down their weapons, although money and arms still remain on the mules. There is no one with this money and arms, and we cannot be sure that someone may not make a dash for it and seize the money and the captive," meaning Ibn Jawīdhān,[145] who was a prisoner with them and by means of whom they sought to ransom a secretary of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb who had been captured by Bābak.

When the [additional factors of the] money, arms and captive were mentioned to Bughā, he decided to encamp with his troops; and he sent a message to Dāwūd Siyāh saying, "Wherever you see an easily defensible mountain, encamp there." Dāwūd turned aside and went obliquely up the side of a mountain, but there was no place on it for the troops to rest because of its excessively steep slopes. Dāwūd nevertheless pitched his camp and put up a tent for Bughā on the flank of the mountain in a spot that resembled a

145. Clearly the son of the leader of the Khurramī movement in its pre-Bābak phase, Jawīdhān b. Shahrak or Sahl [the latter in Ṭabarī, III, 1015], whose wife Bābak married after Jawīdhān had been killed in battle, thus consolidating his own role as the new leader of the sect. It would seem that Bābak was able to set aside any claims in leadership that Jawīdhān's son might have had. See E. G. Browne, *Literary History*, I, 324–28; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 242–45; E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 45–47; Scarcia Amoretti, *op. cit.*, 505, 517–18.

walled enclosure with no path into it. Bughā arrived and halted and made the troops encamp, for they were weary and tired, and their provisions were exhausted. They passed the night deployed ready for action and on guard against the direction of the slope; but the enemy came upon them from another direction and went up the mountainside until they reached Bughā's tent. They [1193] surrounded and attacked the tent and fell upon the army by night. Bughā fled on foot and escaped safely. Al-Faḍl b. Kāwūs was wounded; Janāḥ al-Sukkarī, Ibn Jawshan, and one of the two brothers who were kindred of al-Faḍl b. Sahl were killed. Bughā had indeed fled from the camp on foot, but he found a mount and rode on it, passing by Ibn al-Ba'īth. He made the latter go up [with him] to above Hashtādsar until he brought him down to Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd's camp (i.e., his Trench), which they reached in the middle of the night. The Khurramiyyah seized the money, the encampment, and the weapons and rescued the prisoner Ibn Jawīdhān; but they did not pursue the [Muslim] troops, and these last made their way, routed and in disarray, till they came to Bughā, who was within the Trench of Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd.

Bughā remained within the Trench of Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd for fifteen days. Then a letter reached him from al-Afshīn, ordering him to return to al-Marāghah and to send back the reinforcements that he had sent to strengthen him. Bughā proceeded to al-Marāghah, while al-Faḍl b. Kāwūs, together with all those of al-Afshīn's troops who had gone with him, rejoined al-Afshīn. The latter allocated to them their winter quarters for that year until the spring of the following year arrived.[146]

In this year one of Bābak's commanders called Ṭarkhān was killed.

The Killing of Bābak's Commander Ṭarkhān

It has been mentioned that this Ṭarkhān held a prominent position in Bābak's entourage, being one of his commanders.

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146. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 578–79; Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 403; Azdī, *op. cit.*, 422; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 382–85; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 456–59; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 254–55; E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 52; Nafīsī, *Bābak-i Khurram-dīn*, 104–8.

When the winter of this year set in he sought permission from Bābak to pass the winter in a village of his in the vicinity of al-Marāghah. Al-Afshīn, meanwhile, was lying in wait for him
[1194] and hoping to capture him because of his high position with Bābak. Bābak accordingly gave Ṭarkhān permission, so he went off to his village in the neighborhood of Hashtādsar to spend the winter. Al-Afshīn now wrote to Turk, the mawlā of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab, who was then at al-Marāghah, ordering him to make a nocturnal raid on that village—which he described to him—with the aim of either killing Ṭarkhān or else sending him back to al-Afshīn as a prisoner. Turk therefore mounted a nocturnal raid against Ṭarkhān. He went to him in the middle of the night, killing him, and sending his head to al-Afshīn.[147]

In this year, Ṣūl Er-tigīn and people from his country arrived in fetters. The fetters were struck off them, and they were transported on mounts, there being about 200 men all told.[148]

In this year, al-Afshīn became angry with Rajā' al-Ḥiḍārī[149] and sent him forward in fetters.

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147. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 459; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 255; Nafīsī, *Bābak-i Khurram-dīn*, 108.

148. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 460. The occasion of this event is otherwise unknown but appears related to the bringing into caliphal service—probably after defeat in a revolt or as the result of a punitive expedition into the steppes—of a member of the ancient Iranized Turkish rulers of the Gurgān and Dihistān steppes to the southeast of the Caspian Sea, who had the family or tribal name of Chōl, Arabized to Ṣūl, and a band of his retainers. The correct form of the man's name is more likely that given in the text n. *e*, from ms. O, Ṣūl-Tigīn "Ṣūl the Prince." A Ṣūl is mentioned as *dihqān* of Gurgān and Dihistān in 97 (715–16); see Ṭabarī, II, 1320. The famous family of Arabic littérateurs in the third-fourth (ninth-tenth) centuries, that of al-Ṣūlī, was descended from this local dynasty. See J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 73; Barthold, *History of the Turkman People*, 87–88. At all events, Ṣūl-Tigīn now rapidly achieved favor with al-Mu'taṣim, for he is mentioned in Ṭabarī, III, 1313 (p. 194, below) as governor of Damascus in 226 (840–41).

149. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 460. Ḥiḍār (thus vocalized explicitly in Ibn al-Athīr, *pace* Caskel's spelling Ḥaḍār) b. Ḥarb b. 'Āmir were a clan of the South Arabian tribe of al-Ash'ar b. Udad; see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, I, Tafel 273, II, Register, 290. The cause of Rajā''s digrace is not specified here but cannot have been permanent; he was sent against the rebel al-Mubarqa' in Syria and Palestine in 227 (841–42); Ṭabarī, III, 1320–22 (pp. 204–6, below), and again in 240 (854) he or his son Muḥammad was recommended to be sent against rebels in the Syrian town of Ḥimṣ. He died in 244 (858–59), according to Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, V, 312.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās led the Pilgrimage, he being at that time governor of Mecca.[150]

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150. Khalīfah, *op. cit.*, II, 885; Azdī, *op. cit.*, 424; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 460.

The Events of the Year 222

(December 14, 836–December 2, 837)

Among the events taking place during this year was al-
[1195] Mu'taṣim's sending Ja'far b. Dīnār al-Khayyāṭ[151] to al-Afshīn as a reinforcement for the latter and then his sending Aytākh[152] subsequently to follow him, accompanied by 30 million dirhams as pay for the army and for supplies and expenses.

In this year a battle took place between the forces of al-Afshīn and one of Bābak's commanders called Ādhīn.

The Engagement between al-Afshīn's Forces and Bābak's Commander Ādhīn and Its Causes

It has been mentioned that, when the winter of 221 (835/836) was over and spring came along and the year 222 had begun,

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151. Ja'far had fought on the Byzantine frontier (Ṭabarī, III, 1103) and was to be governor of Yemen 224–25 (839–40) (Ṭabarī, III, 1300, 1302–3 [pp. 174, 179, below]) and military governor over the Pilgrimage route during the years 239–43 (853–57; Ṭabarī, III, 1420, 1422, 1433, 1435, 1436). See Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 108.

152. Aytākh al-Khazarī, often called al-Ṭabbākh ("the cook") because he had originally been a domestic slave in the kitchens, achieved high favor as commander of the caliphal guard in Sāmarrā under al-Mu'taṣim, but was killed by

al-Mu'taṣim sent to al-Afshīn certain reinforcements and money, all of which reached the latter when he was at Barzand. Aytākh handed over to al-Afshīn the money and the troops who had accompanied him and set off homeward, but Ja'far al-Khayyāṭ remained with al-Afshīn for some time.[153] Then al-Afshīn moved on when the time of year made movement possible and came to a place called Kalān Rūdh, where he dug a defensive trench and rampart (*khandaq*). He wrote to Abū Sa'īd, who journeyed from Barzand to a spot opposite him on the fringes of the rural district of Kalān Rūdh—which means (in Persian) "Great River"[154]—so that a distance of three miles separated the two of them. Abū Sa'īd established a camp within a defensive trench and remained at Kalān Rūdh for five days. Then someone came to him and informed him that a certain one of Bābak's commanders called Ādhīn had encamped opposite al-Afshīn and had sent his family up into a mountain that overlooked Rūdh al-Rūdh,[155] saying, "I won't entrench myself in a defensive position from the Jews"—he meant the Muslims[156]—"and I won't place my family within a fortified position!" This was because Bābak had said to him, "Place your family within a fortified position!" But Ādhīn had replied, "I protect myself from the Jews? By God, I'll never place my family within any fortified position!" Hence he moved them to this mountain. [1196]

Al-Afshīn sent Ẓafar b. al-'Alā' al-Sa'dī and al-Ḥusayn b. Khālid

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al-Mutawakkil in 235 (849–50). See Ṭabarī, III, 1384–87; *EI*² Suppl. s.v. Aytākh al-Turkī (Ed.). The etymology of the name is presumably Turkish "moon-like."

153. In the fairly compressed account of Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 403 (cf. 404), it is mentioned that around this time al-Afshīn sent forward Ja'far b. Dīnār and his own deputy Yūbārah (?) to dig this new defensive trench; the latter name—whatever its true form may be—appears only later in Ṭabarī, III, 1225–26 (p. 79, below), in the account of Bābak's extradition from Armenia, as Būzbārah; the reading of the name in parallel and later sources, e.g. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII = par. 2809, is equally uncertain.

154. Glossed here in the text as Arabic *nahr kabīr*.

155. Described by Ibn Khurradādhbih, *op. cit.*, 121, as the site of al-Afshīn's third camp, only one farsakh from al-Badhdh.

156. Hereby setting off his own group of the Khurramiyyah, a body within the ancient Iranian religious tradition, from the Muslims, with their Semitic religious background, shared by the Jews. Ādhīn's contemptuous reference to his opponents as Jews was to be echoed by Bābak when the Armenian prince Sahl b. Sunbāṭ betrayed him to al-Afshīn; see Ṭabarī, III, 1226 (pp. 80–81, below); Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 265; E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 51, 53–54.

al-Madāʾinī, two of Abū Saʿīd's commanders, with a force of cavalrymen and mountain guards. They traveled all through the night from Kalān Rūdh until they descended into a defile so narrow that even a single rider could pass through it only with great effort. Most of the troops led their mounts; and they squeezed through, one man behind the other, for al-Afshīn had ordered them to travel to Rūdh al-Rūdh before the break of dawn. [He also ordered] the mountain guards to cross on foot, because it was impossible for cavalrymen to maneuver there, and to climb up the mountain. They reached Rūdh al-Rūdh before daybreak. At this point, he (Ẓafar b. al-ʿAlāʾ) ordered the cavalrymen who had approached to dismount and go on foot and to remove their clothing. So all the cavalrymen dismounted and crossed [the river] on foot, accompanied by the mountain guards, en masse, and they went up the mountainside. There they seized Ādhīn's family and some of his children and brought them back across the river.

The news about the seizure of his family reached Ādhīn. It happened that al-Afshīn had been fearful lest, when this force of troops on foot pressed onward and entered the defile, the defile be closed against them. Hence he ordered the mountain guards to take banners with them and to station themselves on the peaks of the loftiest mountains in places from which they could look down on Ẓafar b. al-ʿAlāʾ and his forces; and, if they should see anyone about whose behavior they were suspicious, they were to wave the banners (i.e., as a signal). The mountain guards accordingly passed the night on the mountaintops.

When Ibn al-ʿAlāʾ and al-Ḥusayn b. Khālid returned with those members of Ādhīn's family whom they had captured and when they had gone some way along the road, before they were to reach the defile, Ādhīn's foot soldiers swept down on them and engaged them in fighting before they could enter the defile. Men on both
[1197] sides were slain, but they rescued some of the women [from being massacred]. The mountain guards, whom al-Afshīn had deployed, saw them. Ādhīn had sent two bodies of troops, one to engage the Muslims in battle and one to seize the defile and hold it against them.[157] Thus, when the mountain guards waved their flags [as a

157. Following the text (and that of the Cairo edition, IX, 30), which seems better than the suggestion in *Addenda et emendanda*, DCCLXXIII.

signal], al-Afshīn sent Muẓaffar b. Kaydar with a squadron (*kurdūs*)[158] of his troops, and these last galloped off. He also sent Abū Sa'īd behind al-Muẓaffar and then, to follow them both, the Bukhārā-khudāh,[159] and these all met up together. When Ādhīn's foot soldiers who were above the defile looked down on them, they descended and joined forces with their comrades. Ẕafar b. al-'Alā' and al-Ḥusayn b. Khālid, together with the troops who were with them, escaped; none of them was killed except those

158. Defined as a small detachment of troops, especially of cavalry but possibly also of infantry, numbering some forty to fifty men, hence smaller than a *katībah* (see *WbKAS*, I, 122–23). Ṭabarī, II, 1941, 1944, mentions the adoption by Marwān b. Muḥammad (sc. the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān II) of the military formation of *karādīs*, compact bodies of troops as opposed to the traditional Arab formation of lines of soldiers (*ṣufūf*). S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäische Fremdwörter*, 239, suggested a derivation of the word *kurdūs* from the Greek plural *choortis*, ultimately from Latin *cohortes*. Hence some authorities have held that Marwān took over this military formation from the Byzantines in the course of his warfare with them along the eastern Anatolian frontier (cf. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 232–33, trans., 371–73; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 141 n. 1; *EI*², s.v. Ḥarb. ii. The Caliphate [Cl. Cahen]), but it is probable that it was used before then. Poets of a somewhat earlier period, such as A'shā Qays and Jarīr, used the word in their poetry, and Levy, *op. cit.*, 430, noted that it is used by Ṭabarī, I, 2091 ff., in connection with the Battle of Yarmūk against the Byzantines.

159. This is the first mention by Ṭabarī of this Iranian prince, the hereditary local ruler of Bukhārā, as one of al-Afshīn's leading commanders, and it is an indication of the strength and importance of Iranian elements from Transoxania within the 'Abbāsid army side by side with the Turkish *ghilmān*. With the final subjugation and Islamization of Transoxania and adjacent regions, the local Soghdian, Khwārazmian, and other free Iranian peoples were recruited in large numbers by the caliphs, thus providing a fresh wave of easterners, *mashāriqah*, after the Khurāsānians of the first 'Abbāsid decades. They seem often to have been led by their own local princes, of whom al-Afshīn and the Bukhārā-khudāh are of course good examples. Thus we find mentioned in the historical sources "the men of Farghāna," *al-Farāghinah*, "the men of Ushrūsanah," *al-Ushrūsaniyyah*, and "the men of Ishtīkhān," *al-Ishtīkhāniyyah* (not *al-Ishtīkhāniyyah*; cf. Ṭabarī, III, 1362) as distinct units. Ishtīkhān was the district north of Samarqand, to which the local rulers of Soghdia, the Ikhshīds, had moved their capital in the second (eighth) century, after the Arabs' occupation of Samarqand; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 466; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 95–96. At Sāmarrā these Iranian units were allocated land grants, *qaṭā'i'*, adjacent to those of the Turks, as Mas'ūdī expressly states (*Murūj*, VII, 122 = par. 2805). Indeed, Ya'qūbī, in his detailed survey of Sāmarrā and also of its component parts, mentions quarters inhabited by people from Balkh, Marw, Khuttal, Bukhārā, Isfījāb, Kābul, Khwārazm, Soghdia, Fāryāb, Ishtakhanj, etc. (*Buldān*, 248–49, 259, 262–63, trans., 30–31, 52, 54–55). Shaban is right in emphasizing that al-Mu'taṣim's new armies included a considerable proportion of these Iranian troops from the northeastern fringes of the Islamic world (*op. cit.*, 62–64). It is equally true that these soldiers were freemen, who entered the 'Abbāsid service of their own accord, for reasons of personal advancement, and not as slaves. But to deny, as Shaban does (63–66), that there

killed in the first engagement. They all eventually reached al-Afshīn's encampment, accompanied by some of the womenfolk whom they had captured.[160]

In this year, Bābak's capital, al-Badhdh, was captured. The Muslims entered it and treated it as lawful plunder (i.e., sacked it). This was on Friday, the twentieth of Ramaḍān of this year (26 August 837).[161]

The Capture of al-Badhdh, How It Was Achieved, and the Reasons for This

It has been mentioned that, when al-Afshīn resolved to advance toward al-Badhdh and depart from Kalān Rūdh, he began to creep

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were any appreciable numbers of Turks in the new 'Abbāsid armies and that there were any slave elements at all is perverse and ludicrous. The undoubted presence of Turks is shown, if by nothing else, by the frequency of Turkish names among the leading commanders of the third (ninth) and fourth (tenth) centuries: Bughā, Aytākh, Unūjūr, Minkajūr, Adgutigīn, Bektimūr, Yināl, etc.. There is no obvious cultural process by which Iranians would have adopted Turkish names; rather, the reverse (cf. perhaps Ash[i]nās, the commander of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim, whose name is explained by Ṭabarī, III, 1017, as derived from Persian *shināḫtan* "to recognize, know"). Furthermore, the slave origins of these commanders is shown by the use of such terms as *waṣīf* and *khādim* (for which see pp. 99 n. 293, 134 n. 375, below; Ayalon, "On the Eunuchs in Islam." 74–89) and by the presence of commanders known to have been eunuchs (Yāzmān, Mu'nis al-Muẓaffarī, etc.); it is most unlikely that free Iranians would willingly have consented to be castrated. Nor would Jāḥiẓ have thought it worthwhile to compose a lengthy epistle on the virtues of the Turks as the fighting race par excellence if these troops had not loomed large in the public eye. On the Turkish element of the 'Abbāsid army, see also Ayalon, "Military Reforms," 29–33; Ismail, "Mu'taṣim and the Turks," 14–15, 17.

The personal name of the Bukhārā-khudāh is not given by Ṭabarī, but he was probably the grandson of the Bunyāt b. Tughshādah, killed in 166 (782–83), whose line continued to rule the city-state of Bukhārā until the time of the Sāmānid Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad in the later third (ninth) century (Narshakhī, *Ta'rīkh-i Bukhārā*, 10–11, trans., 11). Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 403, and Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 580, actually name him as Muḥammad b. Khālid; if this is correct, it shows that these rulers had by now adopted fully Islamic, rather than indigenous Iranian, names.

Finally, one may note that the Bukhārā-khudāh (with the name written corruptly but recognizably) appears as a patron of the poet al-Masdūd in the time of the Caliph al-Muntaṣir, sc. 247–48 (861–62); see Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, XXI, ed. Brünnow, 258 line 14. This may well be the same Bukhārā-khudāh as the one involved here against Bābak, or it may be his son.

160. Ṭabarī, trans. Bal'amī, IV, 527–33; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 385; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 461–62.

161. Actually a Sunday.

forward a little at a time, in a manner different from his steady advance on earlier occasions, to the places where he had previously encamped. He would advance for four miles and then encamp in a spot on the road leading to the defile that goes down to Rūdh al-Rūdh, not digging a defensive trench but pitching his camp inside a protective belt of caltrops (*al-ḥasak*).[162] Al-Muʿtaṣim wrote to him, ordering him to station his troops in squadrons that would take turns on guard duty [during the day], [1198] mounted on their horses, just as the army would normally patrol [the encampment] by night; some of the troops were to remain in camp, and others were to remain mounted on their steeds about a mile away, just as the army would normally patrol [the encampment], but night and day for fear of any nocturnal attack. In this fashion, if any sudden disaster should assail them, the troops [of the cavalry] would be deployed in battle formation, and the infantry would be in the encampment.

However, the troops raised an outcry because of their exhaustion and said, "How long are we going to be stuck here in the defile when we could be out on the open plain? Between us and the enemy are four farsakhs, yet we are behaving just as if the enemy were directly facing us! We have become an object of shame in the eyes of the people and the spies who pass between us and the enemy within this four farsakhs' intermediate zone, and we behave as if we were nearly dead of fright. Let us advance, whether the outcome be for us or against us!"

Al-Afshīn replied, "By God, I know full well that what you say is right. But the Commander of the Faithful has ordered me to do this, and I have no choice but to implement it." Not long after that, a letter came to him from al-Muʿtaṣim, commanding him to remain on his course of action by night, just as he was already doing. So he continued thus for several days and then went down with his close retainers till he halted at Rūdh al-Rūdh. He proceeded onward until he found himself overlooking the spot where there was the rocky area[163] at which Bābak had attacked

162. For this term, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 286.

163. *Al-rakwah*, following *Glossarium*, CCLXX (cf. Ṭabarī, III, 1188 (p. 39 n. 142, above). *Glossarium*, however, also mentions a possible translation "pool," following the *Glossaire* to Ibn Khurradādhbih, *op. cit.*, 4.

him the previous year. He examined the place and found there a squadron of the Khurramiyyah, but they did not attack him, nor did he attack them. One of (or: some of) the indigenous non-Arab population (*baʿḍ al-ʿulūj*) said to him, "What's the matter with you? You move forward and then come to a halt! Aren't you ashamed of yourselves?" Nevertheless, al-Afshīn ordered that they should not attack them (the Khurramiyyah)[164] and that no one should march out and give them battle. He remained there confronting the enemy until nearly noon and then returned to his encampment. He stayed in it for two days, and then he went
[1199] down the slope again with a larger force than he had gone down with on the first occasion. He ordered Abū Saʿīd to go forward and confront the enemy in the same manner in which he had confronted them on the first occasion but not to provoke them and not to launch an assault on them.

Al-Afshīn remained at Rūdh al-Rūdh. He ordered the mountain guards to climb up to those mountaintops that they deemed to be naturally defensible, so that they might then report back in person to him about them and might choose for him places on the mountaintops in which the infantrymen could fortify themselves. Hence they chose for him three mountains where there had in the past been fortifications that were now in ruins; and al-Afshīn learned of them. He next sent for Abū Saʿīd, who came back to him on that very same day. When two days had elapsed al-Afshīn went down from his camp to Rūdh al-Rūdh, taking with him the *kilghariyyah*,[165] that is, the pioneer and labor corps, who brought with them skins filled with water and also dry biscuit (*kaʿk*).[166] When they reached Rūdh al-Rūdh he sent Abū Saʿīd

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164. The text here and in the Cairo edition, IX, 31, gives *yajīʾūhum*, which seems preferable to the possible emendation *yujībūhum* of *Addenda et emendanda*, DCCLXIII, with the translation "that they should not make any response to them."

165. This word is stated in *Glossarium*, CDLVII, and *WbKAS*, I, 320, to be from Persian *gilghar*, but the Persian lexica (Vullers; Steingass) do not list this word with any appropriate meaning. It would in fact appear to derive from Persian *gil-kār* "one who works with clay; e.g., clay bricks in building."

166. A kind of dry bread or biscuit, particularly associated with Egypt (where the Greek geographer Strabo mentions *kakeis*; Coptic *caace, kake*) and used as iron rations by pilgrims and other travelers across deserts and difficult terrain. See Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 474; BGA, IV, 341; *WbKAS*, I, 234–35. On the Persian form

forward, ordering him to stand up against the enemy once more in the same manner as he had ordered him on the first day. He ordered the laborers to transport rocks and fortify the roads that led to those three mountains until they resembled fortresses. He gave further commands, and along every road behind those rocks he had a trench dug, right up to the top of the mountain, leaving [free] only a single way up the each mountaintop. Then he instructed Abū Sa'īd to return; the latter returned, and al-Afshīn also went back to his encampment.

He related: When it was the eighth day of the month and the stronghold had been rendered well fortified al-Afshīn issued biscuit and *sawīq*[167] [as provisions] for the foot soldiers and provisions and barley for the cavalry. He appointed men to guard his encampment, and the rest of the troops went down. He ordered the foot soldiers to ascend to the tops of those mountains and take up with them water and all that they would need there; [1200] and they in fact did this. He encamped in the vicinity and sent Abū Sa'īd to confront the enemy as previously, at the same time ordering his troops to descend with their weapons at the ready but that the cavalry were not to take the saddles of their mounts. Then he delimited the trench and ordered the laborers to get to work on it, setting over them overseers who would urge them on, and he and the cavalry dismounted. They halted in the shade beneath the trees, letting their mounts pasture. When he had led the afternoon worship, he ordered the laborers, together with the foot soldiers, to ascend to the mountaintops that he had fortified, and he ordered the foot soldiers to stay on their guard and not to go to sleep on the mountaintops but to let the laborers on the mountaintops sleep. He ordered the cavalry to mount their steeds at the gleam of dawn and formed them up into squadrons that he stationed one in front of the other, with the distance of a bowshot between each squadron. He gave the command to all the

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kāk, see A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter*, 71. The trade of the *ka'ki*, or baker of *ka'k*, was recognized in medieval Cairo; see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, 114.

167. A dish made from flour and then a soup thickened with flour and other ingredients. See Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, 10, trans., 41 and n. 20; *EI*², s.v. Sawīk [J. Ruska].

squadrons, "Make sure that each one of you pays no attention to the other, so that each person guards what is near him. Even if you hear any loud noise, let none of you pay any attention to anyone else; each squadron is to be responsible only for what is near it, without being heedful to any loud noise."[168]

The squadrons of cavalry remained mounted [at the ready] until dawn, while the foot soldiers were keeping guard on the mountaintops. Al-Afshīn ordered the foot soldiers that, if they became aware of anyone in the course of the night, they were not to concern themselves with it. Rather, each group of them was to remain in the assigned position and guard its particular mountain and trench; and no one was to pay any attention to anyone else.

They continued in this way until daybreak. Then he ordered someone to get the cavalrymen and the foot soldiers to come to a [1201] mutual agreement concerning the night (i.e., for dividing it into periods of guard duty and sleep); then [later] he would consider their situation. They spent the next ten days excavating the trench, and on the tenth day he took up his position in it. Then he divided it among the troops and ordered the commanders to send for their baggage and that of their men, so that they would fight to better advantage (literally, "by way of bringing them comfort and support," *ʿalā rifq*).

[At that point] an envoy from Bābak came to him, bearing cucumbers (*qiththāʾ*), melons and [other kinds of] cucumber (*khiyār*), explaining to al-Afshīn that it was known that he was suffering hardship in those days and that he and his troops were having to exist on biscuit and *sawīq* alone; hence Bābak wished to show kindness to him by means of these gifts. Al-Afshīn replied to the envoy, however, "I am certainly aware of what my brother intends with this! He only wishes to get a look at the army, but I am indeed most worthy of receiving his benevolence and satisfying his desire, for he has truly observed that I am having a hard time." He also told the envoy, "As for you, you must definitely go up in order to view our encampment; you have already seen what there is here [in front of us], and now you will

168. As Marin observed, Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 32, n. 175, the text is disturbed here, and any translation is conjectural.

see what is behind us too." He thereupon gave orders that the envoy was to be provided with a mount and taken up [the mountain] until he should see the trench and likewise the trenches of Kalān Rūdh and Barzand; that he should have a good look at all three of them and study them carefully and should have nothing of the military arrangements concealed from him, so that he might fully inform his master. All this was done for the envoy until he reached Barzand, and then al-Afshīn had him sent back to his own presence. Al-Afshīn now set him free, saying, "Go and give Bābak my greetings!"

Some of the Khurramiyyah used to interfere with those who were bringing supplies to the army (to that of al-Afshīn). This was done once or twice, but after that the Khurramiyyah came in three squadrons until they drew near to the ramparts of al-Afshīn's trench, all the time shouting. Al-Afshīn ordered that none of his troops should speak [to them], and this they did for two or three nights running. They (the Muslim troops) began to gallop their steeds behind the ramparts on several occasions until, [1202] when the Khurramiyyah were familiar [with that noise], al-Afshīn got ready against them four squadrons of cavalrymen and foot soldiers—the latter being archers—and established them in ambushes against the Khurramiyyah within the valleys, placing lookouts above them. When the Khurramiyyah came down at the time they had usually swept down on each previous occasion, shouting and yelling as was their wont, al-Afshīn unleashed against them the cavalry and foot soldiers who had been [previously] deployed, and these blocked the Khurramiyyah's way of retreat. Al-Afshīn further launched against them two squadrons of foot soldiers in the middle of the night. The Khurramiyyah realized that the mountain pass had been blocked against them, so they scattered along a number of tracks until they began to ascend the mountains. They passed along and never returned to what they had been doing before. Al-Afshīn's troops came back to the trench at Rūdh al-Rūdh from the pursuit at the time of the morning worship, without however having overtaken a single one of the Khurramiyyah.

Once every week al-Afshīn used to have the drums beaten at midnight and would go out with candles and naphtha torches

(*al-naffāṭāt*)[169] to the gate of the trench. Meanwhile, each one of his troops knew his own squadron, whether he was on the right wing or the left wing, and they would go forth and then wait in their positions and places. Al-Afshīn also used to carry large black banners, twelve of them, which he transported on mules, rather than on horseback, lest the banners should wave, placing them [instead] on twelve mules. His large drums numbered 21 and his smaller banners around 500. His troops would wait, each section arranged in its place, from the first quarter of the night until, when dawn first gleamed, al-Afshīn rode forth from his tent. The
[1203] muezzin would give the call to worship in his presence, and al-Afshīn would perform the worship. Then the troops would perform the worship at daybreak. Al-Afshīn would thereupon order the drums to be beaten, and he would move slowly forward. His signals for moving and halting were the beating and silencing of the drums because of the great number of troops who were traveling in the mountains and on the narrow paths in their military formations. Whenever they came to a mountain they would ascend it, and when they descended into a valley they would proceed onward through it, unless it was an inaccessible mountain, impossible either to ascend or descend, in which case they would rejoin the army units and return, when they came to a mountain, to their military formations and positions. The signal for moving forward was the beating of drums, but if al-Afshīn wanted the army to halt he silenced the drums, and the troops would stop, the whole lot of them, in every part of the mountain or valley or wherever they might be. Al-Afshīn advanced by slow stages, and, whenever one of the mountain guards came to him with a piece of information, he halted for a brief while. He traversed those six miles between Rūdh al-Rūdh and al-Badhdh between the gleaming of dawn and high noon. When he wished to ascend to the area of rocky ground where the battle had taken place the previous year, he left the Bukhārā-khudāh at the top of the mountain slope with 1,000 cavalrymen and 600 foot soldiers to guard the road for him and block the road against any of the Khurramiyyah who might sally forth.

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169. Clearly with this meaning, here, whereas in Ṭabarī, III, 1215 (p. 68, below), *naffāṭah* has the sense of "naphtha-hurling weapon."

When Bābak became aware that the [Muslim] army was closing in upon him, he sent one of his detachments of troops, consisting of foot soldiers, to a valley below the mountain slope on top of which was the Bukhārā-khudāh, and they lay in ambush for anyone who might intend to block the road against him (i.e., against Bābak). Al-Afshīn had stationed the Bukhārā-khudāh to [1204] hold this mountain track to which Bābak had sent his military force in order to seize it against al-Afshīn. The Bukhārā-khudāh was to stand fast there for as long as al-Afshīn was entering al-Badhdh across the stretch of rocky ground. Al-Afshīn had ordered the Bukhārā-khudāh to station himself in a valley resembling a defensive trench, which lay between him and al-Badhdh. He also ordered Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf to cross that valley with a squadron of his troops. He ordered Ja'far al-Khayyāṭ, moreover, to station himself with a squadron of his troops; and he ordered Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl to take up his position with another squadron. Thus in that part of the valley there would be three squadrons on the outskirts of the houses of Bābak's people (i.e., of the urban area of al-Badhdh).

Bābak had sent out a military force under Ādhīn, who stationed himself on a hill opposite these three squadrons [of al-Afshīn's troops] outside al-Badhdh, lest any of al-Afshīn's forces approach the gate of the town. Al-Afshīn was intending to make for the gate of al-Badhdh and was ordering his troops to cross but then just halt and not engage Bābak's forces in battle. When Bābak realized that al-Afshīn's troops had moved out of the trench and were aiming toward him, he split his men up into ambush groups, retaining with him only a small number of men. Al-Afshīn got knowledge of this but did not know the places where the ambushes had been laid. Then the information came to him that the Khurramiyyah had come out en masse and that only a handful of his men remained with Bābak.

When al-Afshīn had gone up to that position, a leather mat (*naṭ'*)[170] was spread out for him and a seat (*kursī*)[171] set up for [1205]

170. This term is also used for a leather mat with drawstrings round the edges, which could be used at beheadings as a receptacle for the severed heads.

171. For the *kursī*, originating from the Iranian cultural sphere, see Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial," 130–31; J. Sadan, *Mobilier*, 92–94, 123 ff.; *EI*², s.v.

him. He sat on a hillock that overlooked the gate of Bābak's fortress, with the troops drawn up in their [cavalry] squadrons; he ordered those who were with him on this side of the valley to dismount from their steeds and likewise those on the other side with Abū Sa'īd, Ja'far al-Khayyāṭ, and his men. Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl, however, did not dismount because of his close proximity to the enemy, and his troops remained in place and on the backs of their mounts. Al-Afshīn now divided up the mountain-guard foot soldiers in order to search the valleys, because he was eager to find the places where the enemy was lurking in ambushes and thus be aware of them.

This was al-Afshīn's procedure [each day] in carrying out this work of searching until afternoon; the Khurramiyyah would be with Bābak, drinking wine (*nabīdh*),[172] playing on reed pipes (*surnāyāt*),[173] and beating drums until, when al-Afshīn had performed the noon worship, he would go forward and then go down to his trench at Rūdh al-Rūdh. Abū Sa'īd would be the first to descend, followed by Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl and then Ja'far b. Dīnār. Then al-Afshīn would come back again. This coming and going of al-Afshīn used to infuriate Bābak, so that, when he was on the point of returning, the Khurramiyyah would strike their cymbals (*ṣunūj*)[174] and blow their trumpets (*būqāt*)[175] in a mocking fashion. The Bukhāra-khudāh, meanwhile, would re-

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Kursī (Cl. Huart and J. Sadan). It was often regarded as a symbol of power, like a throne; cf. the Chair of 'Alī, covered in silk and brocade, which was the focus of circumambulation and was carried into battle like the Hebrews' Ark of the Covenant during the revolt of al-Mukhtār in 66–67 (685–87); Ṭabarī, II, 702–6.

172. Originally date wine and as such allowed for medicinal use by certain of the Islamic law schools, but the term often becomes a generalized designation for wine. See *EI*[1], s.v. Nabīdh (A. J. Wensinck); EI[2], s.v. Khamr. 1. Juridical Aspects (A. J. Wensinck).

173. On this small reed pipe, the name of which is also found in the form *suryānay*, see *EI*[2], s.v. Mizmār (H. G. Farmer); it came to be used especially in military bands; see Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, 154, 208.

174. Sing. *ṣanj(ah)*, another name for the *jank*, pl. *junūk* (< Persian *chang*), a term used both for the harp or lyre and for the cymbals; in both senses it was derived by the Arabs from Sāsānid Persian music. See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 845; Farmer, *op. cit.*, 16, 18, 74, 155; for the philological aspects of the varying Persian and Arabic forms, see Siddiqi, *op. cit.*, 72, 73.

175. Sing. *būq*, essentially a military band instrument; see *EI*[2], s.v. Būḳ (H. G. Farmer).

main on the mountain slope where he was stationed until all the troops had passed him and only then would return in their tracks. One day the Khurramiyyah became tired of the position of stalemate (*mu'ādalah*) and the process of searching being carried out against them. So, [when] al-Afshīn returned, according to his custom, and the squadron returned one after the other and Abū Sa'īd crossed the valley as also Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl and some of Ja'far al-Khayyāṭ's troops, the Khurramiyyah opened the gate of their defensive trench and rampart, and ten of their cavalrymen rode forth and attacked those of Ja'far al-Khayyāṭ's men who had [1206] remained in that place. A clamor broke out among the [Muslim] army, and Ja'far, on his own initiative, came back with a squadron of his troops and charged those [Khurramī] cavalrymen until he drove them back to the gate of al-Badhdh. Further clamor nevertheless continued within the army, and at this point al-Afshīn returned, while Ja'far and his troops were fighting on that side, a number of Ja'far's men having previously gone forth (i.e., to join him). Bābak rode forth with a number of his cavalrymen, neither side—al-Afshīn's or Bābak's—having any infantrymen with them. Each side in turn would lead assaults on the other side; and men on both sides suffered wounds. Al-Afshīn went back, and the leather mat was laid down for him and the seat set up. He then sat down in the place which had been his wont, all the time blazing with anger against Ja'far, who, he kept saying, "has spoiled my deployment of the troops and my intended plans."

The clamor rose higher. Abū Dulaf[176] had with him, in a squadron, a group of volunteers from al-Baṣrah and others also. When these volunteers saw that Ja'far was engaged in battle, they went down, without any order from al-Afshīn, and crossed to that side of the valley[177] until they reached the flank of al-Badhdh.

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176. I.e., Abū al-Qāsim b. 'Īsā al-'Ijlī, lord of Karaj in al-Jibāl, famed not only as a warrior, the beau ideal of an Arab knight, but as a Maecenas and littérateur himself; see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 139–40; *EI*², s.v al-Ḳāsim b. 'Īsā (J. Bencheikh). Abū Dulaf's contingent of volunteers from lower Iraq would be mainly Arabs, and there seems in fact to have been hostility between him, as a representative of Arab influence at the caliphal court, and the Iranian al-Afshīn; see further Ṭabarī, III, 1308 (p. 186 and n. 529, below).

177. Strict grammar requires *jānib al-wādī dhālika*, rather than *dhālika jānib al-wādī*, as given in the text; the variant in n. 1, from two of the manuscripts,

They kept close to it (i.e., to the side of the valley), marked out tracks up it, and almost climbed to its top and entered the town. Jaʿfar sent a message to al-Afshīn, "Send me reinforcements of 500 foot soldiers, archers, for I hope to enter al-Badhdh, if God wills, and I do not see facing me more than this single squadron of troops that you yourself can see," meaning Ādhīn's squadron. But al-Afshīn sent back the reply, "You have already ruined my [1207] intended plan, so extricate yourself little by little and save your troops, and come back." Clamor broke out among the volunteers when they came up against al-Badhdh. The Khurramī troops whom Bābak had sent out to man the ambushes thought that the battle had become firmly interlocked so they rushed forward and rose from under the Bukhārā-khudāh's force, while another group of ambushers rose up from beyond the rocky tract where al-Afshīn had been sitting. The Khurramiyyah rushed around, while the troops stationed above them made no move, for al-Afshīn commented, "Praise be to God Who has revealed to us the enemy's places!"

Then Jaʿfar and his troops and the volunteers returned, and he went to al-Afshīn and told him, "My master the Commander of the Faithful sent me solely to the military compaign that you see and did not send me to sit down here. You hindered me in the very hour of my need—a mere 500 foot soldiers would have been sufficient for me to enter al-Badhdh or to penetrate into Bābak's residence [there], for I had perceived what forces lay before me." Al-Afshīn answered him, "Don't look at what lies before you; just look at what is behind you and at how they launched an assault on the Bukhārā-khudāh and his men." Al-Faḍl b. Kāwūs said to Jaʿfar al-Khayyāṭ, "If the decision had been yours, you wouldn't have been able to get up to this place where you are now standing so that you might say, 'I would have done this' or 'I would have done that'!" Jaʿfar replied to him, "[You call] this war, when here we are standing waiting for whoever may come!" Al-Faḍl told him, "If this were not the Amīr's council, I would teach you on the spot how to behave!" but al-Afshīn called out to them both, and they desisted.

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leads one to suspect that the correct reading is probably *dhālika al-jānib li-al-wādī*, though it would make no difference to the essential meaning.

Al-Afshīn ordered Abū Dulaf to recall the volunteers from the wall (i.e., of al-Badhdh); hence Abū Dulaf said to them, "Come back!" But one of the volunteers came back bearing a stone and [1208] said, "Are you going to send us back now? I have taken this stone from the town wall!" But Abū Dulaf told him, "Return instantly, and when you get back you will realize who is straddling your road (i.e., your way of retreat)," meaning by this the force [of the Khurramiyyah] that had leaped upon the Bukhārā-khudāh from behind the [Muslim] troops.

Then al-Afshīn said to Abū Sa'īd in Ja'far's presence, "May God grant you a goodly recompense, both on your own account and on behalf of the Commander of the Faithful! I never knew that you were so knowledgeable about matters concerning those troops and their management! And does not every person old enough to shave his head say that halting in a place that he needs is better than giving battle in a place that he does not need? If those of the enemy who were beneath you had risen up"—and he pointed to those in the ambush below the mountain—"what do you think would have been the state of these volunteers, who have what beats under their shirts (i.e., who are far from stout-hearted)? What would have been their condition, and who would have got them together again? Praise be to God, Who has delivered them safely! Now wait here and do not move until no one is left here."

Al-Afshīn went back, and it was his custom when preparing to return that the flag of the squadrons, his cavalrymen, and his foot soldiers should be lowered, while the last squadron would wait, so that between him and it was the distance of an arrow shot. He would not go near the mountain slope or the defile until he could see that all the men in the squadron in front of him had passed through and the road was then clear for him. After that he would approach and would go down with his cavalrymen and his foot soldiers, together with the last squadron, and would continue thus. He had previously instructed each squadron behind whom it was to return and [had instructed them] that not a single man was to go on ahead of his companions or dawdle behind. This was to be the procedure until all the squadrons had passed through and no one remained behind except the Bukhārā-khudāh; then [1209] the Bukhārā-khudāh himself was to go down, abandoning the mountain slope. On that day the Bukhārā-khudāh went back in

this same manner; Abū Saʿīd was the last to return, and, whenever the troops passed by the place where the Bukhārā-khudāh was stationed and saw the spot where the ambushers were concealed, they realized what was in store for them. Then those of the indigenous population (*al-aʿlāj*) who wanted to capture the place that the Bukhārā-khudāh was holding dispersed and returned to their positions.

Al-Afshīn remained in his trench at Rūdh al-Rūdh for several days. At that point the volunteers complained to him about their straitened circumstances in regard to fodder, provisions, and living expenses (*nafaqāt*).[178] He answered them, "Whoever of you endures patiently, let him endure patiently, and whoever cannot endure, well, the road is wide open, so let him go back in peace. I have with me the Commander of the Faithful's army (*jund*), and those who are in receipt of regular pay allowances (*arzāq*)[179] from him will stay with me in heat and cold; I am not going to leave this place until the snow falls."

The volunteers went back but were murmuring among themselves, "If only al-Afshīn had left Jaʿfar and us alone, we would have captured al-Badhdh; this man wants only to procrastinate." This talk, and all the other lengthy words of the volunteers, reached al-Afshīn. They bandied these words around with their tongues and asserted that al-Afshīn did not want to march out

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178. Volunteers, as noted, p. 37 n. 136, above, were not paid regular salaries by the *dīwān al-jaysh* (cf. n. 179, below) but attached themselves to the regular forces, either from motives of religious enthusiasm (hence as *ghuzāt* or *mujāhidūn*) or from sheer love of plunder (see Levy, *op. cit.*, 414–15. Both motives were doubtless present in the volunteer element of al-Afshīn's forces, and both may have contributed to the disenchantment and impatience with al-Afshīn's cautious generalship expressed here. The problems of supplying themselves with food and other necessities were beginning to outweigh the prospects of martyrdom fighting the infidel Bābak or, more probably, the hopes of finding rich plunder within al-Badhdh. Hence, as appears below, faced with the onset of winter and no immediate prospect of victory, some of the volunteers were starting to melt away homeward. In general, keeping an army together in the field for a long period was as much a problem for medieval Islamic commanders as for their medieval Christian counterparts.

179. The regular soldiers, those in receipt of salaries (*rizq/razqah, ʿaṭāʾ*), were accordingly known as *murtaziqah*. On such terms as *jund* and *razqah*, see W. Hoernerbach, "Zur Heeresverwaltung der ʿAbbāsiden," 278 ff.; Levy, *op. cit.*, 414–15; Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī," 144–45; *EI*², s.v. Djaysh. i. Classical (Cl. Cahen).

against the enemy but only wanted to prolong matters as far as possible, until one of them stated that he had seen in a dream the Messenger of God, who said to him, "Tell al-Afshīn, 'If you make war on this fellow [Bābak] and exert yourself in hunting him down, [then well and good!]. But if not, I will order the mountains to rain down stones on you!'" As a result, the troops talked about that openly in the encampment, as if the man who had seen the dream had been divinely inspired (*mastūr*).[180]

[When he learned of this,] al-Afshīn sent a message to the leaders of the volunteers and had them brought before him. He told them, "I would like you to show me this man, for people see in dreams remedies and solutions to problems (*abwāb*)."[181] So they brought the man to him, together with a group of other people. Al-Afshīn greeted him, put him at his ease, and brought him near, saying to him, "Tell me your dream; don't be [1210] embarrassed or ashamed, but just relate it." The man said, "I saw in my dream so-and-so and so-and-so." Al-Afshīn replied, "God knows everything before anyone else and [knows] what is wanted of these people. If God, He is blessed and exalted, wanted to command the mountains to pelt anyone [with stones], then He would pelt the unbeliever (Bābak) and relieve us of the trouble of dealing with him. How could He stone me and thereby allow me to relieve Him of the trouble of dealing with the unbeliever? [On the contrary, if He wanted to stone anyone,] He would be stoning Bābak and would not need me to make war on him! I know that nothing is concealed from God, He is mighty and exalted, and that He is the One who knows the secrets of my heart and what I intend to do with you, O wretches!"

One of the volunteers, who had a reputation for piety, said, "O Amīr, do not deprive us of [a chance of] martyrdom, if an opportunity for it has now come to hand! We only intended and sought God's reward and His favor. So leave us alone until we can advance, after receiving your permission, and it may be that God will grant us the victory." Al-Afshīn replied, "Indeed, I perceive

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180. Literally, "veiled," but here in the sense of "humble, self-deprecating, hidden from public view" > "pious, ascetic, having outstanding spiritual gifts." See *Glossarium*, CCLXXXVI; Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 633.

181. For this sense of *bāb*, see *Glossarium*, CXLIV.

that the object of your intention is now close at hand, and I believe that God does in fact desire this course of action and that it will be successful, if He so wills. You and the rest of the troops have now an intense desire for engaging battle. God knows best that this was not my original view, but it has now at this point become that after hearing your words. I hope that He desires this course of action and that it will be successful. Go forth, with God's blessing, on whichever day you think best, so that we may rise up and assail them. There is no strength and no power except through God!"

The soldiers went away rejoicing and passed on the good news to their comrades. Those who had wanted to go back remained, and those who were still in the vicinity, having actually gone back some days' distance [only] but who then heard about the decision, now returned. Al-Afshīn named an appointed day to the troops and ordered the regular troops (*al-jund*), the cavalry, the infantry, and all the other warriors to get ready; and he made it [1211] clear that he was intending to fight, without any doubt. He set out bearing money and provisions; not a mule remained in the encampment that did not carry a litter for transporting the wounded. He brought with him physicians and supplies of biscuit, *sawīq*, etc., and everything that he might possibly need. The troops moved forward slowly until they went up to al-Badhdh,[182] leaving the Bukhārā-khudāh in the position on the mountain slope where he had previously stationed him. Then the leather mat was spread out and the seat set up for him, and he seated himself on it, as was his wont.

He said to Abū Dulaf, "Tell the volunteers to concentrate their efforts and confine themselves to whatever sector is easiest for them," and he said to Ja'far, "You have the whole army at your disposal, including the archers and the naphtha throwers (*al-naffāṭūn*);[183] and if you need extra men, I will transfer them to you. So take all necessary items and whatever you need, and go

182. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 578, this slow advance (verb *zaḥafa*) took place on Thursday, the ninth of Ramaḍān (August 15, 837).

183. On these troops, also called *zarrāqūn* "those who hurl, throw (missiles)," see Levy, *op. cit.*, 439; *EI*², s.vv. Bārūd. i. General (G. S. Colin), Ḥiṣār. iii. Persia (C. E. Bosworth).

forth, with God's blessing! Proceed to any place (i.e., in the battle front) you choose." Ja'far replied, "I intend to make for the place where I was before." Al-Afshīn said, "Make your way there, then." He summoned Abū Sa'īd and said to him, "Stay here with me, you and all your troops, and don't let any one of you leave!" He summoned Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl and said to him, "You and your troops stay here, and let Ja'far and all the men with him cross. If he requires any more [foot] soldiers or cavalry, we will assist him with these reinforcements and send them to him." He now sent forward Abū Dulaf and his troops, comprising the volunteers, and they dropped down into the valley and then went up to the walls of al-Badhdh from the place where they had gone up to them on that previous occasion and took up a position against the wall, just as they had done on that day.

Ja'far launched an attack until he reached right up against the gate of al-Badhdh, exactly as he had done on that first occasion. [1212]
He halted there, and the unbelievers held him up for a substantial while. So al-Afshīn sent a man with a purse (*badrah*)[184] of dīnārs, saying to him, "Go to Ja'far's men and ask who was in the van of the battle, and then pour out a handful of coins for him." He handed over a second purse to another one of his men, telling him, "Go to the volunteers, taking with you this money, neck chains, and bracelets (*aṭwāq wa-aswirah*),[185] and tell Abū Dulaf to reward each of the volunteers and the others whom he sees fighting well." Then he summoned the chief cellarer (*ṣāḥib al-sharāb*)[186] and said to him, "Go and take up a position with the troops in the midst of the fray so that I can see you with my own eyes, and take with you *sawīq* and water in case the troops become thirsty and have to return." He did likewise regarding water and *sawīq* for Ja'far's troops. Then he summoned the

184. Conventionally a *badrah* contained 10,000 dirhams.

185. Gold neck chains and arm bracelets were often conferred, together with robes of honor (*khila'*), on successful commanders. See Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *op. cit.*, 93–94, trans., 75–76; Mez, *op. cit.*, 131 n. 2, trans., 133 n. 1; Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial," 143.

186. Cellarers, in charge of the provision of wine and drinking vessels, were employed by private individuals (see Mez, *op. cit.*, 376–77, trans., 398). The post of cellarer to the Caliph at this time was held by a high-ranking Turkish slave commander; slightly later it was held by Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, also called al-Sharābī (see *EI*², s.v. Bughā al-Ṣaghīr [D. Sourdel]).

commander of the pioneer and labor corps (*ṣāḥib al-kilghariyyah*), instructing him, "Whichever person of the volunteers whom you see in the thick of the fighting, with a battle-ax in his hand, will get fifty dirhams from me," and he handed over to him a purse of dirhams. He did likewise for Jaʿfar's troops and sent to them the pioneer and labor corps, with their battle-axes in their hands. He also sent to Jaʿfar a chest containing neck chains and bracelets and told him, "Hand over these to whomever you wish of your troops, this being in addition to what they are due to receive from me (i.e., their regular pay) and the increased amount of pay allowances that they have been guaranteed from me, plus the letters (i.e., of commendation for bravery) containing their names that are to be sent to the Commander of the Faithful."

For a long while the battle at the gate was closely interlocked. Then the Khurramiyyah opened the gate to sally forth to attack
[1213] Jaʿfar's men and pushed them back from the gate. They also assailed the volunteers from another quarter; they captured two of their standards, hurled the volunteers back from the walls, and inflicted wounds on them with rocks to the point that they made appreciable marks on the Muslims, so that the latter were unable to sustain the fighting and had to stop. Jaʿfar cried out to his men, and about a hundred of them rushed forward and knelt behind the shields with which they were equipped, halting up against the enemy, with both sides refraining from fighting, neither side advancing upon the other. They continued like that until the [Muslim] troops performed the noon worship.

Al-Afshīn had brought up ballistas (*ʿarrādāt*)[187] and he set one of these up near Jaʿfar at the gate and another on the side of the valley in the vicinity of the volunteers. Jaʿfar fought to defend the ballista that was near him, the ballista being in the area between the two opposing sides for a lengthy period; but then Jaʿfar's troops got it free after strenuous efforts, dragged it away, and brought it back into their own camp. The troops on both sides

187. In antiquity the ballista (Greek *onagros*) was a kind of torsion artillery and probably tension artillery also. In Islam the *ʿarrādah* was generally a smaller instrument than the *manjanīq* (though the terms seem at times to have been interchangeable), and until the Crusading period they were of the beam-operated traction type, the trebuchet. See *EI*², s.vv. ʿArrāda (Cl. Cahen), Mandjanīk (D. R. Hill).

continued in positions against each other, refraining from [hand-to-hand] fighting, but with arrows and stones flying to and fro between them, Bābak's troops being on the walls and at the gate and Ja'far's hundred warriors sheltering beneath their shields. Then later the two sides fought with each other.

When al-Afshīn observed that, he feared lest the enemy become emboldened against his troops. So he sent on ahead the foot soldiers whom he had marshaled, and they took up their stand in the same place as the volunteers. He sent to Ja'far a squadron containing infantrymen, but Ja'far said, "I have not been adversely affected by shortage of men; I have ample troops[188] with me, but I don't discern any place where they can advance and fight. Here there is space only for one or two men to maneuver. They have been reduced to a standstill in this spot, [1214] and fighting has ceased." [On hearing that,] al-Afshīn sent a message to him, "Return, with God's blessing"; hence Ja'far returned.

Al-Afshīn sent the mules that he had brought with him, with litters on their backs, and the wounded and those incapacitated by the stones and unable to walk were placed on them. He ordered the troops to turn back, so they returned to their trench at Rūdh al-Rūdh. The troops despaired of victory in that year, and the greater part of the volunteers departed.

Two weeks later al-Afshīn got his forces ready. When it was the middle of the night he aroused the infantrymen archers, amounting to about 1,000 men, and to each one of them he gave a waterskin and some biscuit, while to some of them he gave black banners and such things. He dispatched them at sundown, sending guides with them. They traveled all the night through unknown, difficult mountains, avoiding the roads, until they made their way round and came up behind the hill on which Ādhīn was stationed, this being [in fact] a lofty mountain. Al-Afshīn ordered them not to let their presence be known to anyone until they saw al-Afshīn's banners, had performed the morning worship, and had seen battle raging; then they were to mount those banners on their spears, beat the drums, go down from above the mountain, and hurl arrows and rocks at the

188. *Rijāl firah*; the Cairo edition, IX, 41, has *rijāl furh* "skilled troops."

Khurramiyyah. If, however, they did not see al-Afshīn's banners, they were not to move until information from him reached them.

They did that and reached the crest of the mountain at daybreak; they had filled those waterskins with water from the wadi and had traveled to the top of the mountain. When a certain night came round, al-Afshīn sent a message to his commanders that they were to get ready with their weapons, for he himself intended to ride out at dawn. At some point in the night he sent
[1215] Bashīr al-Turkī and several commanders from the Farghānan troops[189] who were with him and ordered them to move onward until they reached the point below the hill in the lowest part of the wadi from which they had carried away their water, this spot being below the mountain where Ādhīn was. Al-Afshīn had previously become aware that the unbelievers hid in ambush below that mountain whenever troops approached it. Bashīr and the Farghānan troops made for that place, where he knew that the Khurramiyyah had a force lying in ambush. Bashīr and his troops traveled through part of the night, with the greater part of the troops in the camp being unaware of their movement. Then Bashīr sent word to his commanders that they were to get ready for riding forth with their weapons because the Amīr was going to thrust forward at daybreak.

Accordingly, when daybreak came, al-Afshīn sallied forth, taking with him the troops, naphtha throwers (*al-naffāṭīn*),[190] naphtha-hurling weapons (*al-naffāṭāt*), and torches (*al-shamʿ*, literally "wax candles"), just as he had previously done. He performed the dawn worship, and he beat the drum and rode out until he reached the place where he used to halt each time, and the leather mat was spread out for him and his seat set out for him, as was his usual practice.

The Bukhārā-khudāh was meanwhile waiting on the mountain slopes where he used to have his position each day. But on that

189. I.e., from the region of Farghānah, the valley of the upper Syr Darya or Jaxartes, the later khanate of Khokand. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 253; Le Strange, *Lands*, 447–80; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 155–65; for the Farghānan troops in the caliphal service, see p. 49 n. 159, above.

190. Here *naffāṭ* is used as military term; in a civilian context it denotes a person concerned with the processing or refining of petroleum. See Goitein, *op. cit.*, 85.

particular day al-Afshīn sent the Bukhārā-khudāh forward in the vanguard with Abū Sa'īd, Ja'far al-Khayyāṭ, and Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl. The troops were unfamiliar with this battle formation at that time, and al-Afshīn ordered them to approach the hill where Ādhīn was, in order to encircle it, although previous to that particular day he had been forbidding them to do so. The troops went onward, led by these four commanders named above until they surrounded the hill. Ja'far al-Khayyāṭ was near the gateway of al-Badhdh, Abū Sa'īd was next to him, the Bukhārā-khudāh was next to Abū Sa'īd, and Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl b. Hishām was next to the Bukhārā-khudāh. They came together in an encircling formation round the hill, and the confusion and uproar from the lower part of the valley was great. The troops hidden in [1216] ambush below the hill where Ādhīn was stationed had suddenly leaped out upon Bashīr al-Turkī and the Farghānan troops. They fought with them for some time, and the conflict became confused. The troops in the [Muslims] camp heard the uproar and became stirred up for action, so al-Afshīn ordered his heralds to proclaim, "O troops, this is Bashīr al-Turkī and the men of Farghānah whom I sent on ahead, and they have as a result stirred up an enemy ambush [into showing their position], so do not get overexcited!"

When the infantrymen archers who had advanced to the crest of the mountain heard this, they raised the banners just as al-Afshīn had commanded them. The troops then saw banners coming from a lofty mountain, black banners, there being about a farsakh between the army and the mountain. They themselves were descending Ādhīn's mountain from above Ādhīn's forces, since the banners had been raised, and began to go down with the aim of attacking Ādhīn. When the soldiers in Ādhīn's army spied them, Ādhīn sent some of the Khurramī infantrymen who were with him against the enemy. When the Muslim troops saw them, they filled them with fear, but al-Afshīn sent a message to the Muslim troops, saying, "Those [descending the mountain] are our own troops, who will reinforce us in the struggle against Ādhīn." With that, Ja'far al-Khayyāṭ and his men attacked Ādhīn and his followers until they advanced right up to them. But then Ādhīn's forces mounted a strong counterattack against the Muslims and hurled Ja'far and his men back down to the valley. A man who

was one of those fighting in the vicinity of Abū Saʿīd, one of his own warriors called Muʿādh b. Muḥammad or Muḥammad b. Muʿādh, then led a further assault on the Khurramiyyah with a band of troops, but behold, beneath their horses' hooves pits had been dug out (i.e., by the Khurramiyyah), into which the horses' forelegs stumbled, so that Abū Saʿīd's cavalrymen fell into them
[1217] one after the other. At that point al-Afshīn sent the pioneers and labor corps to prise out [the stones from] the walls of their dwelling places[191] and to fill up those pits with them, which they did, and then the Muslim troops made a concerted attack on the Khurramiyyah. Ādhīn had got ready on the mountaintops carts (or trolleys, *ʿajal*) loaded with rocks, and when the Muslim troops attacked him he pushed the carts toward them and released them onto the troops so that they rolled down. Then the troops attacked from every side.

When Bābak saw that his followers had been surrounded, he left al-Badhdh by means of the gate nearest to al-Afshīn—there being a mile's distance between this gate and the hill on which al-Afshīn was—and approached, accompanied by a band of his partisans, inquiring for al-Afshīn.[192] Abū Dulaf's followers demanded, "Who is this?" They replied, "This is Bābak seeking al-Afshīn." Abū Dulaf sent word to al-Afshīn, informing him of that, who thereupon dispatched a man who knew Bābak. This man looked at Bābak, returned to al-Afshīn, and told him, "Yes, he is indeed Bābak!" Hence al-Afshīn rode off to where he could have speech with Bābak and his companions; meanwhile, the battle had become confused and interlocked in Ādhīn's sector of the front. Bābak said to al-Afshīn, "I seek a safe-conduct from the Commander of the Faithful." Al-Afshīn replied, "I have already offered you this, and it is available whenever you want it."[193] Bābak said, "I want it now, on condition that you allow me a

191. Presumably of the rough shelters that the Muslim troops had constructed within their lines.

192. According to Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 404, Bābak first sent a representative, one Mūsā al-Aqṭaʿ, to inquire about the possibility of a meeting.

193. As Marin notes, Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 43 n. 208, these words and what follows seem to point to some previous communication between al-Afshīn and Bābak, as also hinted at in correspondence adduced in al-Afshīn's subsequent trial ("I exerted myself to avert death from him," Ṭabarī, III, 1311; p. 191, below); cf. Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 260, 293. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh, II*, 579, regards Bābak's approaches and

period of time in which I can get together mounts for my household and equip myself for traveling." Al-Afshīn told him, "By God, I have already given you advice more than once, but you didn't take my advice; I am now giving you up-to-the-moment advice—it is better for you to come forth today with your safe-conduct than tomorrow!" He answered, "O Amīr, I accept this and will follow this course [forthwith]!" Al-Afshīn then said to him, "Now send the hostages about whom I asked you [1218] previously." He replied, "Yes, but so-and-so and so-and-so are on that hill [i.e., where Ādhīn was fighting], so order your troops to hold back."

He related: Al-Afshīn's envoy went to bring the troops back and was told that the banners of the Farghānan troops had already entered al-Badhdh and that the troops had scaled the strongholds there. He therefore rode on, shouting to the troops [to follow him]. Then he entered, and they entered, too, and the troops went up with their banners over Bābak's strongholds. However, Bābak had set ambushes in his strongholds—there being four of these—the men in ambush totaling 600, and the Muslim troops encountered them. They climbed to the tops of the fortresses with the banners, and the streets and public square of al-Badhdh were thronged with people. Those partisans of Bābak lying in ambush threw open the gates of the fortresses, and foot soldiers poured forth, combating the Muslim troops. Meanwhile, Bābak traveled onward until he came to the valley near Hashtādsar.

Al-Afshīn and all his commanders were fully occupied with the fighting at the gates of the fortresses, and the Khurramiyyah fought on strenuously. He brought up the naphtha throwers, and they began to pour naphtha and fire over the Khurramiyyah, while the troops were pulling down the fortresses until the Khurramī soldiers were killed to the last man. Al-Afshīn took captive Bābak's children and those members of their families who were with them in al-Badhdh.[194] Finally, evening came on, so

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seeking of *amān* here as simply procrastinating measures so that he could fortify al-Badhdh more securely against the Muslims.

194. According to Yāqūt, *Irshād*, I, 369, al-Mu'taṣim subsequently had in his harem a daughter of Bābak's, together with daughters of Māzyār and the *patricius* of 'Ammūriyyah, or Amorion, Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 579, states that al-Afshīn's forces released 7,600 Muslim captives from al-Badhdh.

al-Afshīn gave orders for the return, so the troops returned [to their camp], all the [survivors of the] Khurramiyyah being [still] in their houses. Al-Afshīn himself returned to the defensive trench at Rūdh al-Rūdh.[195]

It has been mentioned that, when Bābak and those followers of his who had gone with him into the valley learned that al-Afshīn had returned to his defensive trench, they returned to al-Badhdh. They carried off all the travel provisions they could transport and bore away their personal possesions; then they went into the valley near Hashtādsar. The next morning al-Afshīn set out until he reentered al-Badhdh. He halted in the town; he ordered the
[1219] fortresses to be demolished and sent foot soldiers to patrol the outer fringes of the town, but they did not find there a single member of the indigenous population (*al-'ulūj*). He sent up the pioneer and labor corps, and they pulled down and set fire to the fortresses, spending three days on that until he had destroyed by fire Bābak's treasuries and fortresses. He did not leave a single house or fortress in al-Badhdh without burning down or demolishing it.[196] After that al-Afshīn went back and learned that Bābak had slipped away with a group of his followers. Hence he wrote to the rulers of Armenia and its local princes (*baṭāriqihā*),[197] informing them, "Bābak, together with a number of his partisans, has fled and has gone to a certain valley, and from there has set out in the direction of Armenia and will pass by you." He ordered each one of them to guard his own district

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195. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 578–79; Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 403–4; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 123–24 = par. 2806; Ṭabarī, trans. Bal'amī, IV, 533–39; Azdī, *op. cit.*, 425; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 385–87; Niẓām al-Mulk, *op. cit.*, 293–95, trans., 234–35; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 462–71; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 256–61; E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 51–52; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 61–63; Nafīsī, *Bābak-i Khurramdīn*, 109–17; Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 166.

196. The poetic eulogies on al-Afshīn's victory (by Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, and al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, the verses of the last being given by Ṭabarī at III, 1256 [pp. 120–21, below]), imply that the Khurramī population of al-Badhdh, or that part of it that had not yet fled, was massacred en bloc. Haq notes (*op. cit.*, 23) that this particular author refers in his verses not only to the final capitulation of al-Badhdh but also to various other skirmishes and engagements of the previous two years not apparently mentioned by Ṭabarī.

197. *Baṭrīq/biṭrīq* is the normal Arabic rendering of the Byzantine title *patricius*; see Bosworth, "Al-Khwārazmī," 30–32. Here it is used for the Christian princes of Armenia, who could be considered equivalent in status and rank to the Byzantine nobles and generals bearing the title *patricius*.

carefully and not to let anyone travel through it without first seizing him and ascertaining his identity.

Spies came to al-Afshīn and informed him of Bābak's hiding place in valley. It was a valley filled with thick vegetation and trees, with Armenia on one side and Ādharbayjān on the other. Cavalry could not penetrate into it, nor could anyone hiding there be seen on account of the density of its trees and watercourses. It was indeed one big jungle-like thicket, and this valley was in fact called a "thicket" (*ghayḍah*).[198] Al-Afshīn sent to every place to ascertain whether there was any road going down from that place into that thicket or whether [if there were such a road] Bābak could get out by that road. On every road in every locality in those parts he posted a detachment of troops, comprising between 400 and 500 warriors, and he sent with them the mountain guards to provide them with information about the road; and he ordered them to guard the road by night, lest anyone leave by it. At the same time he sent to each one of these detachments of troops provisions from his own army camp. These detachments amounted to fifteen in all.

They remained thus until there arrived a letter from the [1220] Commander of the Faithful al-Mu'taṣim, sealed in gold and containing a safe-conduct (*amān*) for Bābak. Thereupon al-Afshīn summoned those [former] partisans of Bābak who had sought protection (*ista'mana*) from him, among whom was one of Bābak's grown-up sons, the eldest of his sons in fact. Al-Afshīn said to him and the other captives, "This is something which I had not expected from the Commander of the Faithful and had not been hopeful of him regarding it, that he should write a safe-conduct for Bābak when the latter is in this present situation.[199] Now which of you will take it and convey it to Bābak?" But none of them dared to undertake it, and one of them protested, "O Amīr, none of us would venture to confront him with this!" "Woe to you," al-Afshīn answered him, "surely he will rejoice at this?" The man replied, "May God guide the Amīr

198. Presumably this was part of the low-lying Kur valley.

199. Following here the suggested translation of H. Ritter, "Autographs," 158, which makes unnecessary Marin's surmise, Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 45 n. 213a, that al-Afshīn was alarmed at the arrival of the Caliph's safe-conduct, in the light of his own previous connivance at Bābak's escape.

in an upright way! We know better than you about this matter." Al-Afshīn said, "Even so, you must ineluctably submit yourselves to me completely and must deliver this letter to him."

At that, two men from among them got up and said to him, "Give us a guarantee that you will provide for our families"[200] (i.e., if anything unpleasant should happen to us), so al-Afshīn gave them the required guarantee. The two men took the letter, set out, and kept on going round in the thicket until they came upon Bābak. Bābak's son sent a letter [also] with the two envoys, informing him of the new situation and asking him to come back and take up the safe-conduct, for this would be the safest and best course for him.

The two men delivered to Bābak his son's letter, which he read. Then he said, "What have you been doing?" They replied, "Our families and children were taken captive on that night, and we did not know where you were in order that we might join you. We were in a place where we feared that they would capture us, so we sought a guarantee of protection." Bābak said to the man who had brought the letter, "I know nothing of this. But you, O son of a whore, how have you dared to do this, to come to me from that son of a whore," and he seized the man, cut off his head, and fastened the (caliph's) letter to his breast, still sealed, never having broken the seal. Then he said to the other man, "Go and
[1221] ask that son of a whore"—he meant his own son—"how it is that he writes to me thus?" And he wrote back to him in these terms, "If you were to join up with me and follow in the way of the movement to which you belong (*daʿwataka*, i.e., the movement of the Khurramiyyah) until one day you succeeded to power, you would indeed be my son, but at this point I am certain about the corruption of your mother, the whore. O son of a whore, it may be that I shall live [a long time] after this, but it will have been as one bearing the name of this ruling position, and, wherever I am or wherever I am spoken of, it will be as a king. You [on the other hand] come from a stock that is devoid of good characteristics, and I bear witness that you are no son of mine, for it is better to live for just a single day as a ruler than to live for forty years as an abject slave." With that, he left his place of concealment and sent

200. Following *Addenda et emendanda*, DCCLXXIII, *tujrī ʿalā ʿiyālātinā*.

three men with al-Afshīn's envoy to escort him up to a certain spot. Then they rejoined Bābak.

Bābak remained in that thicket until his provisions were exhausted, and then he went out at a place adjoining a road on which some troops were stationed on guard. The place where this road ran was a mountain devoid of water; hence the detachment of troops was unable to stay on the road because of its distance from water and had to turn away from the road to a spot near which water was available. They had, however, stationed two mountain guards and two cavalrymen at the side of the road to guard it, there being about a mile and a half between the road and the main body of troops. Each day two cavalrymen and two mountain guards took turns in patrolling the road. One day, around midday, they were engaged on this duty when Bābak and his companions came forth; they saw no one and did not observe the two cavalrymen and the two mountain guards and imagined that there were no troops there. Accordingly, Bābak and his two brothers ʿAbdallāh and Muʿāwiyah,[201] together with his mother and one of his wives called Ibnat al-Kalandāniyyah, set out. The whole group went forth, leaving the road and heading for [1222] Armenia.

The two cavalrymen and the two mountain guards saw them and sent a message to the main body of troops, which was under the command of Abū al-Sāj,[202] "We saw a group of horsemen passing by, but we do not know who they are." The troops thereupon mounted and rode off and observed them (Bābak's party) from afar, Bābak's group having halted at a spring of water to eat their midday meal. When they spotted the Muslim troops the unbelievers rose up in great haste. Bābak and those with him rode off and managed to escape, but Muʿāwiyah, Bābak's mother, and the wife who was with him were captured. One of Bābak's

201. Somewhat surprisingly, the Islamic names of Bābak's brothers are used here. We learn Bābak's own one, al-Ḥasan, only from Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, = par. 2812 (given in several manuscripts as al-Ḥusayn).

202. I.e., Abū al-Sāj Dīwdād b. Yūsuf Dīwdast, an Iranian commander from the Transoxanian region (in fact, like al-Afshīn himself, from Ushrūsanah), who subsequently served the caliphs in various governorships until his death in 266 (879–80); his sons Muḥammad and Yūsuf became governors of Ādharbayjān and Armenia and founded a virtually autonomous short-lived ruling line there. See Madelung, "Minor Dynasties," 228–32; *EI*[1], s.v. Sādjids (Cl. Huart).

slave retainers (*ghulām*) escaped with him also. Abū al-Sāj sent Muʿāwiyah and the two women back to his army camp. Bābak pressed onward in the direction that he intended until he came to the mountains of Armenia,[203] traveling through them clandestinely. He was in urgent need of food, but all the Armenian nobles had set watchmen and guards over their neighborhoods and outlying districts and had instructed their guard posts (*masāliḥ*) not to let anyone pass without seizing him so that they might establish his identity. Hence all the guard-post commanders were on the alert.

Bābak was stricken with hunger. He looked down from an eminence and noticed a ploughman ploughing one of his acres (*faddān*)[204] in a certain valley, so he said to his slave retainer, "Go down to this ploughman and take with you dīnārs and dirhams, and if he has bread with him take it and give him the money (i.e., in exchange)." The ploughman had a companion who had gone aside to fulfill a need of nature. The slave went down to the ploughman, and the latter's companion observed him from a distance; he stood there apart, waiting, fearful of the slave's going up to his companion and watching what his companion would do. The slave handed something over to the ploughman; the ploughman came forward and, taking some bread, handed it over to the slave. His companion was meanwhile standing there watching him and imagined that the slave had seized the bread from the ploughman by force, not realizing that he had given the ploughman something in return. He ran off to the guard post and told them that a man bearing a sword and weapons had come to them and that he had taken the bread of his companion who was in the valley.

The commander of the guard post rode out, and, as this was in
[1223] the mountains of Ibn Sunbāṭ, he sent information about this to Sahl b. Sunbāṭ,[205] who thereupon rode off in haste, with a group

203. As Bābak later entered the territory of Sahl b. Sunbāṭ, he must have been heading northwest toward the upper reaches of the Kur River in the Western part of the modern Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic; see n. 205, below.

204. In medieval times this measurement of area was around 6,000–6,400 square meters. See Hinz, *op. cit.*, 65; *EI*[1], s.v. Faddān (Cl. Huart); *EI*[2], s.v. Misāḥa. 1. In the Central Islamic Lands (C. E. Bosworth).

205. Sahl b. Sunbāṭ (Armenian Smbat), from a local Armenian family of eastern Transcaucasia, lord of Shakkī (Shak'ē) to the north of the upper reaches of the Kur

of his retainers, until he came to him. When he reached the ploughman, the slave was still with him, and he said to the man, "What's happening here?" The ploughman replied, "This is a person who was passing by me and asked me for bread, so I gave him some." Ibn Sunbāṭ thereupon said to the slave, "Where is your master?" and he replied, "Over there," inclining his head in the direction of Bābak. Ibn Sunbāṭ followed him and came up with Bābak, who was descending [the mountain]. When he saw his face, he recognized him. Ibn Sunbāṭ dismounted from his horse in deference to Bābak and drew near to him on foot, kissing his band. Then he said to him, "Alas, my lord, where are you heading?" Bābak replied, "I am heading for the Byzantine lands," or some other place that he named. Ibn Sunbāṭ said, "You will not find any place or any person who is more conscious of your rights or more deserving that you should stay with him than myself. You know my position; there is no contact between me and the central power (*al-sulṭān*, i.e., the central power of Islam, meaning the caliphate), and you will not be coming into the presence of one of that power's adherents. You are well acquainted with my personal affairs, my country, and all the local princes here; indeed, they are people of your own house, for sons have come to you by them!" By that he meant that, whenever Bābak learned of a beautiful daughter or sister of one of the nobles, he would send a message to that noble, seeking her [in marriage]. If the noble in question sent her to Bābak, [all well and good]; but, if not, Bābak

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River and an important figure in the affairs of Arrān (Armenian Alvan-k', classical Caucasian Albania), is mentioned in both Armenian and Arabic sources; it may be that Ibn Sunbāṭ (Armenian Smbatean) was a family name, rather than a direct patronymic. He came into prominence after 205 (820–21) and was involved in resistance against the Arabs' attempts to extend their influence in Arrān (see p. 78, n. 208, below). Then, after the fall of al-Badhdh, Bābak, hoping for asylum with Sahl, fled north into Arrān by a route that cannot be determined exactly from the vague itinerary in Ṭabarī's account. The two leaders, Sahl and Bābak, shared a common hostility to the Arabs, but in the event Sahl decided to conciliate them and to surrender Bābak, as detailed below. He must have enjoyed the Caliph's favor for about fifteen years, until ca. 238 (852–53), when Bughā al-Kabīr, the new governor of Ādharbayjān and Arrān, is reported in Armenian sources to have deported him, along with many local Armenian princes; in Ṭabarī's list of these deportees (III, 1416), however, it was Sahl's son Mu'āwiyah, "*baṭrīq* of Arrān," who was deported in this group. Ṭabarī (III, 1232 [pp. 89–90, below]) also mentions Mu'āwiyah as having escorted Bābak to al-Afshīn. See Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 412–14, 422–23; Minorsky, "Caucasica," 505–10; *EI*², s.v. Arrān (R. N. Frye); *EIr*, s.v. Arrān (C. E. Bosworth).

would swoop down on him in a night raid and seize her, together with all the noble's possessions, etc., and take everything back to his own land by force.

Ibn Sunbāṭ then said to Bābak, "Come and stay with me in my fortress, for indeed it is your own house and I am your slave. Spend this winter here and then consider your future course of action." Bābak was suffering from hardship and fatigue, so he relied on Sahl b. Sunbāṭ's words and told him, "It is not good that both myself and my brother should be in the same place, for if anyone should stumble upon one of us, then [if we have separated] the other would be preserved alive; but I will stay here with you and my brother ʿAbdallāh will go to Ibn Iṣṭifānūs,[206] for
[1224] we do not know what might happen, and we have no successor who could then continue to uphold our cause."[207] Ibn Sunbāṭ said to him, "Your sons are many!" But Bābak answered, "There is not one of them who is any good," and he resolved upon sending his brother to Ibn Iṣṭifānūs's fortress, for he trusted him. So at that point he went with Ibn Sunbāṭ to his fortress, and when it was morning ʿAbdallāh proceeded to Ibn Iṣṭifānūs's fortress, while Bābak remained with Ibn Sunbāṭ.

Ibn Sunbāṭ wrote to al-Afshīn, informing him that Bābak was with him in his fortress. Al-Afshīn wrote back to Ibn Sunbāṭ, "If this news is true, then you will have something coming to you from me and from the Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him, which you will like very much!" And he wrote promising Ibn Sunbāṭ a handsome recompense. Al-Afshīn gave a description of Bābak to one of his intimates whom he trusted and sent him to Ibn Sunbāṭ, and he wrote to the latter that he had sent to him one of his intimate circle, with the aim that he should see Bābak in order to report back to al-Afshīn [i.e., with the identification].[208]

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206. The full name of Ibn Iṣṭifānus appears in the list of Armenian princes deported by Bughā al-Kabīr in 238 (852–53; Ṭabarī, III, 1416) as ʿĪsā b. Yūsuf b. Ukht Iṣṭifānus, which Minorsky interpreted as a nephew of Iṣṭifānus (Armenian Step'annos), born to Yūsuf of a sister of Iṣṭifānus. His principality must have lain to the south of the Kur River valley in Arrān; according to Ṭabarī, III, 1232 (p. 90, below), it was in the region of Baylaqān. See Minorsky, "Caucasica," 512–14.

207. Bābak was obviously not wholly certain of Sahl's good faith in offering him shelter.

208. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 579 (cf. also Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, 211), records that, when al-Afshīn first arrived an Ādharbayjān to take charge of the war against

Ibn Sunbāṭ did not wish to arouse Bābak's suspicions, so he said to the man, "You won't be able to see him except at the times when he is occupied with eating his food. He has his midday meal [with me], so, when you see us calling for the meal, put on the clothes of the cooks in our household, the garb of the indigenous people hereabouts, and come forward as if you were bringing in food or presenting something. He will be preoccupied with the food, and you can look closely at him as much as you want; then go back and report it to your master." The man accordingly did that at the mealtime. At that point Bābak raised his head and looked at him but failed to recognize him, saying, "Who is this man?" Ibn Sunbāṭ answered him, "He is a man from the people of Khurāsān, who came to join us some time ago, a Christian," and [1225] he made the Ushrūsanī understand what he was saying. Then Bābak said to the man, "How long have you been here?" He replied, "Since the year so-and-so." Bābak said, "How did you come to remain here?" He replied, "I got married here." Bābak exclaimed, "You have spoken truly! When a man is asked, "Where do you come from?' he replies, 'From where my wife comes!"

The man then went back to al-Afshīn with the information and described to him everything that he had seen there of Bābak. Al-Afshīn sent Abū Sa'īd and Būzbārah[209] to Ibn Sunbāṭ with a letter to him and ordered that, when they came to a certain road, they should forward his letter to Ibn Sunbāṭ with one of the indigenous people. He further ordered them not to disobey Ibn Sunbāṭ in whatever instructions he might give them. They did that. Ibn Sunbāṭ wrote to them both, telling them to stay in a certain place, which he named and described to them, until his envoy should come to them. They therefore remained fixed in the location that he had described to them, and Ibn Sunbāṭ sent supplies and provisions to them until Bābak was moved to go forth hunting. Ibn Sunbāṭ said to him, "Here is a valley with sweet and fragrant air, and you are enveloped in care within the

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Bābak, Sahl had been in revolt in Arrān; al-Afshīn had sent against him the governor whom he had appointed over Armenia, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Azdī al-Samarqandī, but the latter was defeated by Sahl. Sahl's extradition of Bābak may accordingly be viewed as an attempt—successful as it turned out—to regain favor with the caliphal authorities.

209. See p. 47 n. 153, above.

bowels of this fortress! Why don't we go out, taking with us a falcon and sparrow hawk and other necessary equipment, and we'll dispel our cares and divert ourselves till the midday mealtime by hunting." Bābak answered, "Just as you wish."

Ibn Sunbāṭ put this intention into execution, so that they rode out together the next morning. He wrote to Abū Saʿīd and Būzbārah informing them of what he had resolved upon and instructing them to meet him with their military forces, one on one side of the mountain and the other on the other side. [He
[1226] further instructed them] to journey clandestinely at the time of the dawn prayer. Then, when his messenger should come to them, they were to take up a vantage point overlooking the valley, and when they saw them they were to come down into the valley and capture them. When Ibn Sunbāṭ and Bābak rode out the next morning, the former sent a messenger to Abū Saʿīd and another one to Būzbārah, and to each messenger he said, "Take this [group of men] to such-and-such a place, and take this [group of men] to such-and-such a place; then assume a position overlooking us, and, when you see us both, shout 'There they are! Seize them!'" He wished [by means of this stratagem] to throw Bābak into confusion, so that he might say, "This group of cavalrymen has come toward us and will capture us!"—not wanting to hand Bābak over to them [directly] from his own residence.

The two messengers came to Ibn Saʿīd and Būzbārah and proceeded with them until they reached a vantage point over the valley. Lo and behold, there they found themselves in the presence of Bābak and Ibn Sunbāṭ! They looked down at Bābak, and then they and their men descended to him, one from one side and the other from the other side, and seized both of them, together with their sparrow hawks. Bābak was wearing a white *durrāʿah*, a white turban, and short boots and is said to have had a sparrow hawk on his hand. When he saw that the troops had surrounded him, he stopped and looked at the two leaders, who told him, "Dismount!" He replied, "Who are you both?" One of them replied, "I am Abū Saʿīd," and the other replied, "I am Būzbārah." Bābak said, "All right then," bent his leg, and dismounted. Ibn Sunbāṭ was meanwhile watching him. Bābak raised his head toward him and reviled him, saying, "Indeed, you

have sold me to the Jews[210] merely for a trifling amount. If you wanted money and had asked me for it, I would have given you much more than these are giving you!" Abū Saʿīd said, "Mount again and ride on!" Bābak replied, "So be it!"

They conveyed him thus and brought him to al-Afshīn. When Bābak drew near to the camp, al-Afshīn went up to Barzand, and a [1227] tent was pitched for him there. He ordered the troops to form two lines, and he himself sat down within a tent or booth (*fāzah*).[211] They brought in Bābak, and al-Afshīn commanded that they should not let anyone of the Arabs[212] enter between the two lines, out of fear lest someone whose comrades Bābak had killed or upon whom he had wrought great misfortune might kill or wound Bābak. A large number of women and children had already come to al-Afshīn, relating that Bābak had taken them captive and that they were of freeborn status, either from the Arabs or from the (Persian) *dihqān*s. So an extensive enclosure was set aside in which he installed them and issued to them allowances of bread. He instructed them to write to their next of kin, wherever they might be, and he handed them over to anyone who might come along and recognize a woman, a boy, or a girl and then bring forward two witnesses testifying that he really did know them or that they were women of his household or kindred. People came along and took away a large number of them, but a considerable number of them were left behind, still waiting for their relatives.[213]

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210. I.e., the Muslims; see p. 47 n. 156.

211. This term recurs at III, 1261 (p. 126, below), where it has the sense of a tent or booth within a larger tent or pavilion, as noted in *Glossarium*, CDVIII. This meaning is confirmed by the detailed description in Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarāʾ*, 221, of Hārūn al-Rashīd's encampment at Ṭūs in Khurāsān just before his death there. He held public audience in a large, black-silk tent or pavilion (*miḍrāb*), apparently rectangular, for in the corners there were four canopies or cupolas (*qibāb*), also covered in black silk; the whole tent was 400 *dhirāʿs* around. Within this, the Caliph sat in a black silk *fāzah* in the center of the *miḍrāb*, the supporting columns of which were also black. The rendering "large two-poled tent" in Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 51 and n. 233, based on Lane, does not therefore seem appropriate. Cf. Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial," 128.

212. Thus in the text and in that of the Cairo edition, IX, 50. But one could read with ms. C *gharīb*^{an} "any stranger" for *ʿarabiyy*^{an}; *gharīb*^{an} is preferred in Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 51 nn. 233–34.

213. The restoration of the former captives to their families is referred to by Abū Tammām in his poetry; see Haq, *op. cit.*, 23.

On that day when al-Afshīn ordered the troops to form up in lines, there being a distance of half a mile between him and Bābak, the latter was made to dismount and walk between the two lines in his *durrāʿah*, turban, and boots until he reached al-Afshīn and stood before him. Al-Afshīn scrutinized him and said, "Take him down to the army camp"; so they rode down with him. But, when the women and boys in the enclosure saw him, they beat their faces, cried out, and wept until their voices rent the air. Al-Afshīn said to them, "Last night you were crying out, 'He made us captive!' yet today you are weeping for him, may God curse you!" They answered, however, "He used to treat us
[1228] well!" Al-Afshīn then gave orders, and Bābak was placed in a house, with al-Afshīn then appointing some of his men as guards over him.

Bābak's brother ʿAbdallāh, at the time when Bābak was staying with Ibn Sunbāṭ, went to [the stronghold of] ʿĪsā b. Yūsuf b. Istifānūs.[214] When al-Afshīn had seized Bābak and had brought him to his army camp and set guards over him, he was informed of ʿAbdallāh's whereabouts: that he was in fact staying with Ibn Iṣṭifānūs. Hence al-Afshīn wrote to this last asking him to send ʿAbdallāh to him, so Ibn Iṣṭifānūs duly dispatched ʿAbdallāh to him. When he came into al-Afshīn's hands, al-Afshīn imprisoned him in the same house with his brother (with Bābak), setting a group of men to stand guard over them both. He wrote to al-Muʿtaṣim about his capture of Bābak and his brother, and al-Muʿtaṣim wrote back, ordering him to bring them both to him. When al-Afshīn was on the point of traveling back to Iraq, he sent a message to Bābak, saying, "I am about to set off, taking you along, so have a last look at whatever you wish in the land of Ādharbayjān." Bābak answered, "I long to see my own town again." So al-Afshīn sent an escort of men with him on a moonlit night to al-Badhdh, and Bābak roamed around in it and looked at the slain and the houses until dawn; then the escort brought him back to al-Afshīn. The latter had consigned Bābak to the custodianship of one of his retainers, but Bābak sought from al-Afshīn to be relieved of that man. Al-Afshīn said to him, "Why

214. For the more probably correct filiation of this name, see p. 78 n. 206, above.

do you seek to be relieved of him?" Bābak replied, "He comes [to me] with his hands full of the foul reek of meat and then sleeps at my head, and the smell from his hands discommodes me." So al-Afshīn removed the mān. Bābak came to al-Afshīn in Barzand on the tenth of Shawwāl (15 September 837), [escorted] between Būzbārah and [Abū al-Sāj] Dīwdād.[215]

In this year Muḥammad b. Dāwūd led the Pilgrimage.[216]

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215. Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 404–5; Ya'qūbī, *Tar'rīkh*, II, 579; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 124–27 = pars. 2807–9; Ṭabarī, trans. Bal'amī, IV, 539–44; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 387–88; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 471–75; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 265; Spuler, *op. cit.*, 63–64; Nafīsī, *Bābak-i Khurram-dīn*, 40.

216. Khalīfah, *op. cit.*, II, 786; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, 476. One might have expected to have found here, among the miscellaneous events that Ṭabarī often inserts at the end of the entry for each year, mention of a plague of rats (or mice, *fa'r*) that infested the districts of Sarakhs and Marw al-Rūdh in northern Khurasan during this year and even affected the crops adversely; it is mentioned on the authority of Ṭabarī by Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, 144, under this year.

The Events of the Year 223

[1229]

(DECEMBER 3, 837–NOVEMBER 22, 838)

Al-Afshīn's Bringing of Bābak and His Brother to al-Mu'taṣim at Sāmarrā and Their Execution

It has been mentioned that al-Afshīn reached al-Mu'taṣim at Sāmarrā with them on the night of Thursday (i.e., the night of Wednesday–Thursday), the third of Ṣafar (4 January 838) and that al-Mu'taṣim used [at this time] to send to al-Afshīn, on every day from the moment when he set off from Barzand until he reached Sāmarrā, a horse and a robe of honor.[217] [It is further mentioned] that, because of his concern over the matter of Bābak and over getting news about him and because of the bad state of the road on account of snow and other things, al-Mu'taṣim stationed sleek, swift horses (*khayl muḍammarah*) along the road from Sāmarrā to the pass leading to Ḥulwān.[218] At the start of each

217. The standard awards for victorious generals (robes of honor, jeweled sword, standards, horses, gold collars and armbands, etc.) are mentioned by Hilāl al-Ṣābi' as having been given to al-Afshīn by the Caliph; *op. cit.*, 93–94, trans. 75 (read al-Mu'taṣim for al-Mu'taḍid); in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 127–28 = par. 2810, there is a detailed description of the gifts heaped on al-Afshīn when he reached Sāmarrā.

218. Ḥulwān was on the borders of Iraq and al-Jibāl, where the highway to

farsakh was specially stationed a horse with a rapid rider (*mujrī*), who would gallop with the news, so that he might relay it personally to another man [similarly stationed], placing it in the latter's hand directly from his own. In the stretch from beyond Ḥulwān to Ādharbayjān they had stationed mounts from al-Marj;[219] these were ridden for a day or for two days and then would be exchanged for new mounts that were then dispatched onward, and slaves from the personnel at al-Marj would travel on their backs, each mount being stationed at the beginning of each [new] farsakh. He (al-Muʿtaṣim) posted for them watchmen (*dayādibah*)[220] on the mountaintops by night and day and ordered them to cry out when news came to them (i.e., of the approach of one of the relays). When the person who was near the shouting heard the noise, he got himself ready, but his opposite number who had shouted was not to go to him until the other was waiting for him on the road; then he would take the dispatch bag (*kharīṭah*).[221] In this way, the mail bag used to reach Sāmarrā from al-Afshīn's army camp in four days or less.

When al-Afshīn reached Qanāṭir Ḥudhayfah,[222] there met him Hārūn b. al-Muʿtaṣim (al-Wāthiq) and members of al-Muʿtaṣim's household. When al-Afshīn brought Bābak to Sāmarrā, he lodged the latter in his own palace at al-Maṭīrah.[223] During the middle of [1230]

Khurāsān left the plain and entered the mountains; the Paytak Pass over the Zagros Mountains leading to Hamadhān lay to the east of the town. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 290–93; Le Strange, *Lands*, 191–92; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 673–83; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 198–99; *EI*², s.v. Ḥulwān (L. Lockhart).

219. Sc. Marj al-Qalʿah "Meadow of the Fortress," a fertile grazing ground at the head of the Ḥulwān Pass, ten farsakhs from Ḥulwān itself, where, according to Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 270, trans., 68, the caliphal studs were kept. Obviously these studs were drawn upon, as stated here, for the use of the postal and intelligence couriers. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 101; Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, II, 159–60; Le Strange, *Lands*, 191–92; Schwarz, *op. cit.* 491–92.

220. Arabic broken plural of Persian *dīda-bān*. The task of these men must have been similar to that of the *kūhbāniyyah* mentioned earlier, in the account of the campaign against Bābak, e.g., at Ṭabarī, III, 1188 (see p. 38, above); cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 142 n. 1.

221. According to Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, the official *kharāʾiṭ* were of black silk brocade secured by a drawstring with a sealed tassel made of either ambergris and musk or of black clay mixed with ambergris; *op. cit.*, 127, trans., 103.

222. These bridges, named after the Companion Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamānī al-ʿAbsī, who had encamped there during the conquest of Iraq from the Sāsānids, lay in the Sawād of Baghdad, according to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 400.

223. This lay some two miles to the south of the modern city of Sāmarrā and was, according to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, V, 151–52, a pleasure ground (*mutanazzah*) for

the night Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād came in disguise and saw and spoke with Bābak; then he went back to al-Muʿtaṣim and described Bābak to him. Very soon thereafter al-Muʿtaṣim rode forth to Bābak between the two walls of al-Ḥayr,[224] went into Bābak's presence disguised, and scrutinized him at length, without Bābak's recognizing him.

The next morning al-Muʿtaṣim sat in state to receive Bābak, this being either Monday or Thursday.[225] The troops were drawn up in lines [along the road] from the Bāb al-ʿĀmmah[226] to al-Maṭīrah, and al-Muʿtaṣim wished to display Bābak publicly and show him to the populace at large. He therefore asked, "On what sort of mount should this fellow be placed, and how can he best be shown off?" Ḥizām[227] told him, "O Commander of the Faithful, there is nothing better for displaying [someone] than an elephant!" Al-Muʿtaṣim commented, "You have spoken truly," and ordered the elephant to be gotten ready.[228] He gave further orders concerning Bābak, and he was dressed in a short coat

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Baghadad and Sāmarrā, first laid out in al-Maʾmūn's reign. Subsequently, al-Muʿtaṣim allotted it to al-Afshīn, and around it were the land grants to his Ushrūsanī troops (Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 259, trans., 51). After his fall it passed to the general Waṣīf and then to a son of al-Mutawakkil's. The actual site of al-Maṭīrah and even that of al-Afshīn's palace have now been identified with reasonable certainty as lying in the modern area of Jubayriyyah. See Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 101; Northedge, "Planning Sāmarrāʾ," 118–21; idem and Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 145.

224. Literally, "the enclosure"; see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 100–1, and *EI*², s.v. Ḥāʾir (J. Sourdel-Thomine). Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 328, states that this was a palace at Sāmarrā on which al-Mutawakkil spent a vast amount of money, but it clearly antedates that Caliph. It is mentioned at length by Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 258 ff., trans., 50 ff., as an area with many estates allotted to the Turkish generals, where al-Mutawakkil subsequently built a large congregational mosque.

225. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 261, trans., 53 (cf. Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial," 126), Mondays and Thursdays were the days when the caliphs at Sāmarrā held public audience in the Dār al-ʿĀmmah. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 129 = par. 2811, fixes the precise date of the reception of Bābak as Thursday, the second of Ṣafar, 223 (January 3,838).

226. On the "Public Gate," see n. 232, below.

227. Ḥizām b. Ghālib, Khurāsānian commander who, with his brother Yaʿqūb, was in charge of the caliphal stables at Sāmarrā and to whom a land grant was allotted in the area of al-Maṭīrah. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 260, trans., 52; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 107.

228. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 127 = par. 2810, describes the sumptuous coverings of this gray elephant, which had been a present from an Indian prince.

[*qabā'*][229] of satin brocade and a round cap [*qalansūwah*][230] of sable fur; he was completely alone. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt[231] recited,

The elephant has been painted and adorned with dyestuff, as is
the custom with such a beast,
for it is bearing the devil from Khurāsān.
The elephant does not have its limbs painted and adorned
except for a very momentous person (or: for a very momentous occasion, *dhī sha'n*[in] *min al-shān*).

The people watched Bābak intently from al-Maṭīrah to the Bāb al-ʿĀmmah, and then he was brought into the Public Audience Chamber [*Dār al-ʿĀmmah*] before the Commander of the Faithful.[232] The latter summoned a butcher to cut off his hands and feet. But then he ordered [instead] Bābak's own executioner

229. This coat or jacket, regarded as a Persian garment, in contrast to the Arab *durrā'ah*, was increasingly worn by the caliphs from the mid-third (mid-ninth) century onward; see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 352–62.

230. This headgear (often qualified as *ṭawīlah* "tall" or *ruṣāfiyyah*, from the type of fabric used for it) was worn by the caliphs and by the learned classes, often in conjunction with a turban (*'imāmah*). See Dozy, *Vêtements*, 365–71; idem, *Supplément*, II, 401; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 142–43 n. 5; Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial," 133–34; *EI*[1], s.v. Kalansuwa (W. Björkman). Herzfeld saw in its use by the caliphs a reminiscence of the Achaemenid emperors' *kyrabasia* mentioned by Aristophanes. The word *qalansūwah* is clearly non-Arabic, but its origin is unclear; as Herzfeld implies, it does not seem to be derived from New Persian *kalāh* "hat."

231. I.e., the vizier; see pp. 31–33 and nn. 117, 126, above. In his time, Ibn al-Zayyāt had in fact a considerable reputation as a poet and *adīb*, leaving behind a *dīwān* of poetry that has survived, though so far unpublished; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 576–77.

232. It is clear from this passage that there was a distinction between the Public Gate, presumably a monumental edifice, and the Public Audience Chamber, which would be part of the palace complex—in this case, the Jawsaq al-Khāqānī, the modern Qaṣr al-Khalīfah (see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 95–99, 104–6)—but would lie before the inner, private parts of the palace. In the Public Audience Chamber, as noted, p. 86 n. 225, above, the Caliph held open sessions on Mondays and Thursdays, and the texts make clear that visitors and suppliants had to traverse a series of courtyards and rooms before reaching it. Sourdel has affirmed, in "Questions de cérémonial," 126–28, that the triple-arched *īwān* of the Jawsaq al-Khāqānī, which still stands, was an ideal place for the Caliph to hold audience, but there is no reason to equate it, as did Herzfeld, with the Public Gate, the site of which remains unclear.

to be brought in, so the chamberlain went out by the Bāb
[1231] al-ʿĀmmah, at the same time calling out "Nūdnūd!"—this being the name of Bābak's executioner—and the cry of "Nūdnūd!" rose up until he actually appeared. He came into the Public Audience Chamber, and the Commander of the Faithful ordered him to cut off Bābak's hands and feet. He did this, and Bābak fell to the ground. Then the Commander of the Faithful ordered him to be slaughtered (or: to be ripped open, *bi-dhabḥihi*), and one of the two of them (i.e., either the butcher originally summoned or Nūdnūd) slit open his belly. Then he sent Bābak's head to Khurāsān[233] and gibbeted his trunk[234] in Sāmarrā at al-ʿAqabah (literally, "the rise, slope"), a place well known for its pieces of timber.[235]

Al-Muʿtaṣim further ordered that Bābak's brother ʿAbdallāh should be sent with Ibn Sharwīn al-Ṭabarī[236] to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm (al-Muṣʿabī), his deputy in the City of Peace; and he commanded

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233. Ṭabarī, trans. Balʿamī, IV, 545, adds the detail (from a local tradition?) that ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir had it paraded around the towns of Khurāsān and then finally exhibited on a pole at Nīshāpūr.

234. *Wa-ṣalaba badanahu.* Although *ṣalb* and *taṣlīb* can literally mean "crucifixion" (see *Glossarium*, CCCXXVI), they often refer to the impalement or gibbeting of a corpse (or a victim still alive?) on a post or beam; see Herzeld, *op. cit.*, 143n. 1.

235. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 129–31 = par. 2812, gives a different version of Bābak's mutilation and execution. See also Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 405; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍarah*, I, 147–48 (anecdote on Bābak's fortitude); Ṭabarī, trans. Balʿamī, IV, 544–45; Azdī, *op. cit.*, 426; *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 388; Niẓām al-Mulk, *op. cit.*, 295, trans., 235–36; Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, VI, 477–78; Browne, *op. cit.*, I, 329; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 265–67; E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 54–55; Nafīsī, *Bābak-i Khurram-dīn*, 141–44; Frye, *Golden Age*, 115. Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 260, trans., 52, locates Bābak's gibbet on the main avenue leading from al-Maṭirah to the Nahr Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, along which lay the land grants of the Khurāsānian commanders, just before the great market and the Old Mosque, later to be replaced by al-Mutawakkil's *jāmiʿ* (see p. 86 n. 224, above); cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 103, 143. The post in Sāmarrā on which Bābak's corpse was gibbeted was still known for this more than thirty years later, as appears from Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XXI, ed. Brünnow, 258, *shajarat Bābak*; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 131 = par. 2813, says that the spot was still known as *khashabat Bābak* in his own time, a century later, when Sāmarrā was much reduced in population.

236. This name was frequent among the Bāwandids of the mountainous region of Ṭabaristān, so that their homeland became known as Jabal Sharwīn, but at this time the head of the family was Qārin b. Shahriyār b. Sharwīn. He is nevertheless probably the person referred to here, "Ibn Sharwīn" being a dynastic, rather than a personal, name. See Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʿrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, 147 ff; H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, "Les dynasties du Māzandarān," 412–13.

the latter to decapitate ʿAbdallāh and to do to him what had been done to his brother and then to gibbet him. When al-Ṭabarī brought ʿAbdallāh to al-Baradān, he halted with him in the palace there. ʿAbdallāh, Bābak's brother, said to Ibn Sharwīn, "Who are you?" Ibn Sharwīn replied, "The ruler of Ṭabaristān." ʿAbdallāh exclaimed, "Praise be to God, Who has fittingly brought for me a man from the *dihqān* class to take charge of my execution!" But Ibn Sharwīn replied, "It is in fact this fellow who is going to be in charge of killing you," for he had with him Nūdnūd, who had killed Bābak. ʿAbdallāh commented, "You are my social equal and compatriot (*ṣāḥibī*), but this fellow is a mere barbarian (*ʿilj*)! Now tell me, were you ordered to allow me any food or not?" He replied, "[Ask for] whatever you like!" ʿAbdallāh said, "Rustle up for me some *fālūdhajah*!"[237] He related: Ibn Sharwīn gave orders, and some *fālūdhajah* was put together for him in the middle of the night, and he ate till he was fully sated. Then he said, "O Abū so-and-so, tomorrow morning you will know that I am a true *dihqān*, if God wills!" Then he asked, "Could you give me some *nabīdh* to drink?" He replied, "Yes, but not a lot." ʿAbdallāh said, "I shan't, indeed, drink a lot." He related: Ibn Sharwīn called for four *raṭls*[238] of wine, and ʿAbdallāh sat down and drank them at a leisurely pace until it was almost dawn. Then he (Ibn Sharwīn) set off at dawn and brought ʿAbdallāh to the City of Peace and to the head of the bridge. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm ordered his hands and feet to be cut off, but ʿAbdallāh did not utter a sound or speak during this. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm ordered his corpse to be gibbeted, so it was gibbeted at the City of Peace on the eastern side [of the city] [1232] between the two bridges.[239]

It has been mentioned from Ṭawq b. Aḥmad that when Bābak fled he went to Sahl b. Sunbāṭ. Al-Afshīn then sent Abū Saʿīd and Būzbārah, who assumed custody of Bābak from Sahl. Sahl sent

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237. A sweetmeat confected of starch, honey, and nuts. See Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-bukhalāʾ*, 203, trans., 292 (cf. 314, noting that it was a dish originally favored by the Persians and their emperors; Rodinson, *op. cit.*, 148).

238. A *raṭl* was a measure of weight; the Iraqi *raṭl* was considered canonical and at *ca.* 130 dirhams was the equivalent of 406.25 gr. See Hinz, *op. cit.*, 31.

239. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 131 = par. 2813; Azdī, *op. cit.*, 426; *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 388; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 478; Browne, *op. cit.*, I, 329–30; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 267–68; E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 55.

his own son Muʿāwiyah with Bābak to al-Afshīn; the latter thereupon ordered 100,000 dirhams for Muʿāwiyah and a million dirhams for Sahl, eliciting this for him from the Commander of the Faithful, plus a richly jeweled belt and a crown denoting princely rank (*tāj al-baṭraqah*), and this was how Sahl acquired the status of prince.[240] [It is also mentioned from Ṭawq that] the person with whom ʿAbdallāh, Bābak's brother, took refuge was ʿĪsā b. Yūsuf, known as Ibn Ukht Iṣṭifānūs, ruler of al-Baylaqān.[241]

It has been mentioned from Muḥammad b. ʿImrān,[242] ʿAlī b. Murr's secretary, that he said that ʿAlī b. Murr told him, on the authority of one of the vagabond desperadoes (*al-ṣaʿālīk*) called Maṭar, who said: "O Abū al-Ḥasan, by God, Bābak was my son!" I said, "How was that?" He replied, "We were with Ibn al-Rawwād,[243] and Bābak's mother was B.r.w.m.y.d[244] the one-eyed, one of Ibn al-Rawwād's indigenous population. I used to lodge with her. She was strong and healthy;[245] hence she used to act as my servant and launder my clothes. One day my eye fell on her, and I leaped upon her with the lust such as one feels when traveling and a long away from home, and I left the seed of Bābak firmly implanted in her womb.[246] Then," he went on to relate, "we went away after that for some time. But then we came back,

240. Azdī, op. cit., 425; *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 388; E. M. Wright, *op cit.*, 55.

241. "Ibn Ukht Iṣṭifānūs" pertains to the paternal name Yūsuf; cf. Ṭabarī, III, 1224 (p. 78 and n. 206, above). Baylaqān (Armenian P'aytakaran) lay in the steppe between the Araxes and Kur Rivers. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 533; Le Strange, *Lands*, 178; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 1144, 1296–98; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 228; *EI*², s.v. Baylaḳān (D. M. Dunlop); *EIr*, s.v. Baylaqān (C. E. Bosworth).

242. This name seems fairly common. This person cannot be, on obvious chronological grounds, the official of al-Manṣūr mentioned in Ṭabarī, III, 172–73, 191; nor, as apparently a humble secretary, is he likely to be the Muḥammad, son of ʿImrān b. Mūsā b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, who was arrested and mulcted by al-Wāthiq in 227 (841–42) after his father had been killed (Ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitāb al-dhakhāʾir*, 185 no. 239).

243. See Ṭabarī, III, 1172 (p. 16 and n. 64, above).

244. The putative *b* and *y* here are written without dots. According to *Addenda et emendanda*, DCCLXXIII–DCCLXXIV, following the parallel passage in the autograph ms. of Dhahabī's *Kitāb duwal al-Islām*, a probable reading would be "was (known as) Rūmiyyah"; the Cairo edition, IX, 54, however, vocalizes it as T.r.tūmīdh.

245. *Miṣakkah*; the normal meaning of the word seems to fit the context perfectly well, *pace* de Goeje, in *Glossarium*, CCCXXVI, "knock-kneed" = *aṣakk*.

246. An alternative reading for *fa-aqrartuhu* in the text might be *fa-aqarrat-hu* "she was left pregnant with him (quickening in her womb)."

and behold, she had given birth to the child. I lodged in another house, and she came to me one day and said, 'When you made me pregnant, you used to stay here with me, but now you cast me aside,' and she revealed that her son was mine. I told her, 'By God, if you mention my name, I'll assuredly kill you!' She therefore let me alone, but by God, he [really] is my son!"[247]

During the period of his confrontation with Bābak, al-Afshīn was paid, in addition to the pay allowances for the troops, costs of provisions, lodging, and such for extraordinary expenses (*al-arzāq wa-al-anzāl wa-al-ma'āwin*), 10,000 dirhams for every day he [1233] rode forth [against the enemy] and 5,000 for each day when he did not ride forth.[248]

The total number of people whom Bābak killed in a period of twenty years was 255,000 and he defeated Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh,[249] 'Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid,[250] Aḥmad b. al-Junayd (whom he took prisoner[251]), Zurayq b. 'Alī b. Ṣadaqah,[252] Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī,[253] and Ibrāhīm b. al-Layth.[254] Together with

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247. This is a folkloric, even legendary, story intended to affirm the plebeian and bastard origins of Bābak; a parallel story is given, on the authority of one Wāqid b. 'Amr al-Tamīmī, author of *Akhbār Bābak*, by Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, 406–7, trans., II, 818–22. Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 402, identifies Bābak's father as Muṭahhar b. Fāṭimah bt. Abī Muslim and says that a subsect of the Khurramiyyah called the Fāṭimiyyah were attached to him. As Dīnawarī wrote in the last decades of the third (ninth) century weight should perhaps be given to this filiation, which would accord with Bābak's brother 'Abdallāh's satisfaction that his death was to be at the hands of a Persian nobleman, *dihqān*, the prince of Ṭabaristān Ibn Sharwīn, and not at the hands of a low-class barbarian; see Ṭabarī, III, 1231 (p. 89, above). On the question of Bābak's antecedents and early life, see Browne, *op. cit.*, I, 323–28; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 239 ff.; E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 45–48.

248. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 438.

249. Khurāsānian commander who, according to Ṭabarī, III, 1039, engaged in an indecisive battle with Bābak in 204 (819–20); see Crone, *op. cit.*, 184.

250. He had been apointed governor of Armenia and Ādharbayjān, with special responsibility for carrying on the war against Bābak, in 205 (820–21); see Ṭabarī, III, 1044.

251. This is recorded in Ṭabarī, III, 1072, under the year 209 (824–25).

252. Properly, it seems, Ṣadaqah b. 'Alī, known as Zurayq, given thus in Ṭabarī, III, 1072, where he is said to have been appointed governor of Armenia and Ādharbayjān by al-Ma'mūn in 209 (824–25); see Ṭabarī, trans. Bosworth, *Reunification*, 144 and n. 423.

253. See p. 37 n. 134, above.

254. Appointed governor of Ādharbayjān in 209 (824–25) after the capture of Aḥmad b. al-Junayd; see Ṭabarī, III, 1072, trans. Bosworth, *Reunification*, 144 and n. 424.

Bābak there were captured 3,309 persons (of Bābak's partisans); and out of the Muslim women and children who had fallen into his hands, 7,600 were rescued. The number of the sons of Bābak who fell into al-Afshīn's hands amounted to seventeen, together with twenty-three daughters and daughters-in-law.[255]

Al-Muʿtaṣim presented al-Afshīn with a crown (*tawwaja*),[256] girded him with two jeweled belts (*wishāḥayn*), and presented him with 20 million dirhams, 10 million of which he kept as a personal gift and the other 10 million of which he was to distribute among his troops. Al-Muʿtaṣim appointed him governor of Sind, and he had poets brought in to praise him and ordered presents for them.[257] This was on Thursday, the thirteenth of Rabīʿ II (March 14, 838). Among the poetry eulogizing him were the words of Abū Tammām al-Ṭāʾī:[258]

The stout warriors subdued (*badhdha*) al-Badhdh and it was buried;
no dweller is left there but the wild beasts.
This sword [of ours] has been vouchsafed this endurance in battle only so that this faith (Islam) could be exalted.
Al-Badhdh was formerly a virginal (unbreached) seat of power, but there deflowered it
[1234] with a sword the stallion of the East, al-Afshīn.
And he rendered it once more a place in whose midst the foxes howl,

255. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 45–48; E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 55–56.

256. Somewhat surprisingly, the wearing of a crown was not common caliphal practice at this time (although it became so later, in the fourth [tenth] century). Crowns tended to be regarded as Iranian, rather than Arab, emblems of authority and were bestowed, as here, on successful generals. The grant to al-Afshīn seems to be the first attested occasion for this, but in the next two or three decades Ashnās, Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, and others received them from their masters. See Mez, *op. cit.*, 131 and n. 2, trans., 133 and n. 1; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 143, 145–46; Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial," 134, 143–44. Masʿūdī, *Murūj, VII*, 132–33 = par. 2815, is more detailed here than Ṭabarī: al-Afshīn received a *tāj* of gold set with jewels and an *iklīl* with rubies and emeralds within gold-filigree work.

257. Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 405; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 132–33 = par. 2815; Azdī, *op. cit.*, 426; *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 388; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, 45–48; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 268; E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 55.

258. The great poet and compiler of the anthology entitled *Ḥamāsah*, who died in 231 (845). See *GAS*, II, 551–58, IX, 299–300; *EI*², s.v. Abū Tammām (H. Ritter).

as it had been in past times, when it was a thicket for wild beasts.

There rained down on it from the skulls of its people
continuous downpours (i.e., of blood), shed by necks and skulls.

It was a miserable desert waste before the lifeblood flowed,
and then it became transformed through it (i.e., the sword) into a place of running springs.[259]

The Byzantine Emperor's Attacks on the Muslims at Zibaṭrah and Malaṭyah

In this year Theophilus son of Michael,[260] the ruler of the Byzantines, fell upon the inhabitants of Zibaṭrah,[261] taking them captive and devastating their town. He proceeded immediately to Malaṭyah[262] and launched attacks on its people and successively on the people of various of the fortresses held by the Muslims. He enslaved Muslim women—over a thousand of them, it is said—and made an example of those Muslim men who fell into their hands, putting out their eyes with hot irons and cutting off their ears and noses.[263]

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259. Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, III, 316–22 no. 166, these being the opening six verses of a *qaṣīdah* of thirty-six verses. Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 170, trans., 231, citing other verses from this poem. Among what must have been a plethora of panegyrics composed on this occasion of Bābak's being brought to Sāmarrā, Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 405, cites three from a *qaṣīdah* addressed to al-Mu'taṣim; they were composed by Isḥāq b. Khalaf (d. *ca.* 230 (844–45)), a Shī'ī poet of al-Mu'taṣim's circle, often known as Ibn al-Ṭabīb al-Ṭunburī (see *GAS*, II, 575).

260. Second ruler of the Amorian dynasty, successor of Michael II the Stammerer (829–42). See A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 89–190; M. V. Anastos, "Iconoclasm and Imperial Rule," 103–4.

261. A fortress in the *thughūr* of al-Jazīrah, the Greek Sōzopetra. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 130–31; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 553–54; idem, *Lands*, 128; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 138 nn. 4, 5; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, index s.v.

262. A fortress of southeastern Anatolia, now a provincial capital of modern Turkey, the classical Melitene. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 192–93; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 499–500; idem, *Lands*, 120; Honigmann, *op. cit.*, index, s.v. Melitene; Canard, Histoire, 262–64; *EI*², s.v. Malaṭya. i. Pre-Ottoman History (E. Honigmann).

263. Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, 191–92; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 580–81; Ṭabarī, trans. Bal'amī, IV, 531–32; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 389; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 479; J. B. Bury,

The Reason for the Byzantine Ruler's Behaving Thus with the Muslims

It has been mentioned that the reason for that was the position into which Bābak had fallen, because of his being driven into a tight corner by al-Afshīn, his reduction to the verge of destruction, and al-Afshīn's continuous pressure on him. When he was close to final perdition and became convinced that his own resources were now too weak to combat al-Afshīn, he wrote to the king (*malik*)[264] of the Byzantines, Theophilus, son of Michael, son of George, informing him that the king of the Arabs had sent his armies and warriors against him, even to the point of sending his tailor (he meant Jaʿfar b. Dīnār) and his cook (he meant Aytākh),[265] and that no one remained behind at his headquarters. [He accordingly told him], "If you want to march
[1235] out against him, know that there is no one in your way who will prevent you." Bābak sent that communication of his to the king of the Byzantines in the hope that, if he could induce the king to mount an attack, some of the difficulties that he himself was at that point enduring would be dispelled by al-Muʿtaṣim's having to transfer some of the armies then facing Bābak to combat the king of the Byzantines and by his attention's being thus deflected from Bābak.[266]

History, 259–62; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 274–75, 293–94; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 257; Rekaya, "Mise au point sur Théophobe," 55–56; Rosser, *op. cit.*, 268.

264. Thus used slightingly in reference to the Emperor.

265. Contemptuously referring to the *nisbahs*, or gentilics, of these two commanders, al-Khayyāṭ ("the tailor") and al-Ṭabbākh ("the cook"); see Ṭabarī, III, 1194–95 (p. 46 and nn. 151, 152, above).

266. According to Ṭabarī, trans. Balʿamī, IV, 531, Bābak, in his plea to Theophilus for help, pretended that he was a Christian and would, if victorious, endeavor to convert his followers to Christianity; cf. Bury, *History*, 259–62. However, Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 257, correctly noted that chronological difficulties are involved here. If Bābak really did send an appeal to Theophilus, it must have been a reasonable time before his final defeat at al-Badhdh in Ramaḍān 222 (August 836), and it seems improbable that Theophilus, after an appeal for immediate action, should have waited for several months, until 223 (which began in December 837), before launching his diversionary attack. Rosser, *op. cit.*, 267–68, accepts Ṭabarī's information at face value and speaks of Theophilus' being "obligated to help Bābak when the latter requested it in 837." But Rekaya discounts completely the laconic information of Ṭabarī, trans. Balʿamī, not repeated in any of the later Arabic sources, and denies that there could have been any alliance between Bābak and Theophilus, much less that Bābak would have

It has been mentioned that Theophilus set out with a force of 100,000 men—or, it has been said, more than that—including 70,000 odd regular army (*al-jund*) and the rest auxiliary troops (*atbāʿ*), until he reached Zibaṭrah.[267] He had with him a group of the Muḥammirah[268] who had been involved in the revolt in Jibāl and had subsequently joined up with the Byzantines at the time when Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab had fought with them; their leader was Barsīs (?).[269] The Byzantine king had assigned stipends to them, had provided them with wives, and had enrolled them as [regularly paid] warriors, utilizing their services in those affairs of the greatest importance to him. When the king of the Byzantines entered Zibaṭrah, killing the menfolk, enslaving the children and womenfolk, and burning it down, it was reported that the fleeing refugees came as far as Sāmarrā. The people of the frontier zones of Syria and al-Jazīrah, and the people of al-Jazīrah itself, sallied forth (i.e., for a counterstroke), with the exception of those lacking either a mount or weapons. al-Muʿtaṣim regarded this event as a great calamity, and it has been reported that when news of it finally reached him, he raised a call to arms in his palace. Then he mounted his horse and attached behind his

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promised to become a Christian. Moreover, the chronological difficulties, already noted by Sadighi, make it very unlikely that Theophilus's Zibaṭrah campaign could have resulted from the direct prompting of Bābak, even though it is possible that the latter, increasingly desperate as al-Afshīn gradually and methodically tightened the noose around al-Badhdh, did send a general appeal to the Emperor. See Rekaya, "Mise au point sur Théophobe," 55–59.

267. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 133–34 = par. 2816; cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 330, who states that Theophilus had in his army contingents under the kings of the Burjān (?), Bulghars (B.r.gh.r), Slavs, and others.

268. Literally, "wearers of red," in Persian *surkh-jāmagān* (also Persian *surkh-ʿalamān* "those with red banners"), a term that Islamic authors applied also to the Mazdakite sect of pre-Islamic Persia. The color red thus seems generally to be associated with change, a break with tradition, and the forging of new ideas or ways of life. See Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 108, 188, 219–21; Scarcia Amoretti, *op. cit.*, 514.

269. The commander of this group of the Khurramiyyah of al-Jibāl who entered Byzantine service is named in other sources as Naṣīr/Nuṣayr or Theophobus, as noted (p. 3 n. 10, above). Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 138 n. 3, following Adontz, suggested that the man's original name may have been Narsī, Narseh (from ancient Iranian Nariyathaha; see Justi, *op. cit.*, 221–25), rendered in Arabic script as *Narsīs*. This seem quite possible. The assertion of Rekaya, "Mise au pont sur Théophobe," 45 n. 4, tht we should follow the varant of ms. C in n. *e* for the preceding word, *raʾīsuhum*, and read instead *yusammīhim Barsīs*, "they were called Persians," seems less likely.

saddle shackles, an iron plowshare, and a provision bag, but he did not deem it advisable actually to set out until all arrangements had been completed.[270]

According to what has been mentioned, he held a meeting in the Public Audience Chamber, having summoned thither a group of persons from the City of Peace, including the judge of the city, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq,[271] and Shu'ayb b. Sahl,[272] accompanied by 328 men whose testimony was regarded as legally admissible;[273] and he made them bear formal witness to the arrangements for the disposal of his estates. He set aside one-third
[1236] for his children, one-third for God, and one-third for his mawlās, and then he camped on the western bank of the Tigris. That was on Monday, the second of Jumādā I (April 1, 838). He sent 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasah, 'Amr al-Farghānī,[274] Muḥammad Kūtah,[275] and a group of other commanders to Zibaṭrah as succor for its people, but [on arrival] they found that the king of the Byzantines had gone back to his land after perpetrating what we have previously recorded. They waited for a short while until the people gradually returned by degrees to their villages and became calm.[276]

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270. Some later sources, including *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 390; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 480; and Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *al-Kitāb al-fakhrī*, 209–10, trans., 229, include a folkloric story that a captive Hāshimite woman in 'Ammūriyyah cried out to al-Mu'taṣim for help when he was in his palace at Sāmarrā; he heard her appeal and answered it by preparing for battle. It is, of course, quite likely that appeals for help from Muslim survivors or refugees from Zibaṭrah reached the Caliph, as is implied by v. 46 of Abū Tammām's celebrated ode on the capture of 'Ammūriyyah (see. p. 121 n. 339, below), which speaks of a "cry from Zibaṭrah," *ṣawt^an^ Zibaṭriyy^an^*, to which al-Mu'taṣim responded. More soberly, Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh, II*, 580–81, cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 275, relates that al-Mu'taṣim was deeply disturbed, sat down on the ground, distributed pay to the troops, and encamped with them immediately at the base of al-'Uyūn, to the west of the Tigris, departing on campaign of the sixth of Jumādā I 223 (April 5, 838). According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 135 = par. 2817, he arrived at this camp four days previously.

271. Ḥanafī scholar, involved in the enforcement of the *Miḥnah* in al-Ma'mūn's reign. See Ṭabarī, III, 1120, 1121; al-Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, X, 260–61 no. 5376; Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, 285.

272. Judge of al-Ruṣāfah in East Baghdad; see al-Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, IX, 243–44 no. 4816.

273. *Ahl al-'adālah*, i.e., *'udūl*, those qualified by their probity to act in various legal capacities of attesting and verifying; see *EI*², s.v. 'Adl (E. Tyan).

274. On the Farghānan element in the 'Abbāsid armies, see p. 49 n. 158, above.

275. Literally, "the short" (Persian *kūtah*).

276. In Ṭabarī, trans. Bal'amī, IV, 532, al-Mu'taṣim personally marches to Zibaṭrah. It seems that Theophilus marched from there farther eastward into

When al-Mu'taṣim had [finally] got the upper hand over Bābak, he said, "Which place in the Byzantine lands is the most impregnable and securely fortified?" He was told, "'Ammūriyyah.[277] No Muslim has ever made an attempt upon it since the coming of Islam; it is the very heart (literally, "eye") and core of Christendom. In the view of the Christians, it is even more exalted in estimation than Constantinople."[278]

Al-Mu'taṣim's Campaign against 'Ammūriyyah

In this year al-Mu'taṣim set out with a military expedition into the Byzantine lands. It has been said that he departed thither from Sāmarrā in 224 (838/839)—or, alternatively, in 222 (836/837)[279]—after he had killed Bābak.[280]

It has been mentioned that he equipped himself in a manner

Little Armenia and subdued various local Armenian princes; see Bury, *History*, 260–61.

277. I.e., the central Anatolian city, in the Anatolikon theme, the classical Phrygia, with a strong fortress and the seat of an archbishopric. It was of particular concern to Theophilus as the seat of his dynasty, the Amorian emperors, and had been attacked four times by the Arabs—despite what is said here by the Caliph's responders—in the previous two centuries, beginning with the raid of the governor of Syria Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān in 25 (646). See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 158; Le Strange, *Lands*, 137–38; 153; Bury, *History*, 262–63; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 160–61; *EI*², s.v. 'Ammūriyya (M. Canard).

278. *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 390; Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, VI, 480; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 145, 293–95.

279. The date given by Ya'qūbī and Mas'ūdī, Jumādā I 223 (see p. 96 n. 270, above), seems more accurate.

280. The main additional primary sources for the 'Ammūriyyah campaign are Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 580–81 (brief); Khalīfah, *op. cit.*, II, 787–88 (brief); Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, 192 (brief); Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 169–70, 354, 355–56, trans. 230–32, 454, 456, idem, *Murūj*, VII, 134–37 = pars. 2817–18; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 389–95; Azdī, *op. cit.*, 426–27; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 480–88; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *op. cit.*, 209–11, trans., 229–30. Many of the relevant excerpts from these sources and from others are translated into French by Canard in Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 271–394; he notes that Ṭabarī's account is by far the most detailed and important. Supplementary information from Christian Syriac and Armenian chronicles is noted in Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 145 n. 2.

Secondary sources include accounts based on the above sources and in varying detail; Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, VI, 44–46; Bury, *History*, 262–72; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 144–75; idem, *History*, I, 276–77; Canard, "Byzantium," 710–11. Bury, in "Mutasim's March," endeavors to solve some of the problems connected with the itineraries of the Caliph and his commanders Ashnās and al-Afshīn.

that no previous caliph had ever done in regard to weapons, military supplies, implements, leather water troughs for the animals, mules, beasts of burden for carrying water (or: leather waterskins, *rawāyā*), goatskins for water, iron tools, and naphtha. He placed Ashnās[281] in charge of his vanguard, with Muḥammed b. Ibrāhīm[282] following him, Aytākh on his right wing, Jaʿfar b. Dīnār b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khayyāṭ on his left wing, and ʿUjayf b.
[1237] ʿAnbasah in charge of the center.[283] When he entered the Byzantine lands he encamped on the Lamas River,[284] by Salūqiyah,[285] near the sea, a day's journey from Ṭarsūs.[286] It is here that the ransoming takes place when there is an exchange of prisoners between the Muslims and the Byzantines.[287]

Al-Muʿtaṣim sent al-Afshīn Khaydhar b. Kāwūs to Sarūj[288] and instructed him to start out from there and enter [the Byzantine territory] via the pass (*darb*) of al-Ḥadath,[289] specifying for him a

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281. Abū Jaʿfar Ashnās was a Turkish general and governor of al-Jazīrah, Syria, and Egypt in 25–30 (840–45). The name looks more Persian than Turkish, and Ṭabarī, III, 1017, gives a fanciful story explaining how it originated. It is found elsewhere in Iranian onomastic, and Justi, *op. cit.*, 44, conjectured an origin from *-shinās* "knowing, knower," with an omitted previous element; but the name remains basically unexplained.

282. Member of the Musʿabī line, parallel to that of the Ṭāhirids, brother of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Musʿabī (see Ṭabarī, III, 1165 (p. 3 and n. 8, above)), governor of Fārs. He was regarded by al-Muʿtaṣim as one of the great men of state from his brother al-Maʾmūn's time; see Ṭabarī, III, 1328 (p. 214, below). He did, however, become involved in disputes with his nephew Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm during al-Mutawakkil's caliphate, and these brought about his execution. See Nafīsī, *Taʾrīkh-i khāndān-i Ṭāhirī*, 30; Kaabi, *op. cit.*, I, 327.

283. For the various estimates of the numbers of the Muslim troops and their beasts, see Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 146 n. 1.

284. Classical Lamos, the modern Turkish Lamas Su, which runs from the Taurus Mountains down through the plain of Cilicia. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 133; *EI*², s.v. Lamas-Ṣū (X. de Planhol).

285. The classical Seleucia, modern Turkish Selefke. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 242; Le Strange, *Lands*, 133; idem, *Palestine*, 530.

286. The most important and the most disputed of the frontier fortresses; it lay on the Cilician plain and commanded the southern approaches to the Cilician Gates. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 28–29; Le Strange, *Lands*, 133; *EI*¹, s.v. Ṭarsūs (F. Buhl).

287. On these exchanges, see *EI*², s.v. Lamas-Ṣū (X. de Planhol).

288. A town of al-Jazīrah, in Ḍiyār Muḍar, to be associated with the classical names Anthemusia and Batnae. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 216–17; Le Strange, *Lands*, 108; Canard, *Histoire*, 92–93; *EI*¹, s.v. Sarūdj (M. Plessner).

289. Al-Ḥadath, Greek Adata, was a town of the frontier *ʿawāṣim* between Marʿash and Malaṭyah, used by the ʿAbbāsids as a base for incursions into Byzantine territory; the famed pass lay northwest of the town, traversing the

day when he was to enter it.[290] He also assigned a day [of departure] for his own army and that of Ashnās, allowing between this day and the one of al-Afshīn's entry into Byzantine territory an amount of time corresponding to the difference of the two distances involved, the amount of time that he deemed adequate for the armies to come together in one place, i.e., Anqirah.[291] He organized the attack on Anqirah carefully, so that when God conquered it for him he could proceed against 'Ammūriyyah, as there was nothing greater in the Byzantine lands upon which he had fixed his intentions than these two towns or any worthier goal for which he was aiming.

Al-Mu'taṣim ordered Ashnās to enter via the pass of Ṭarsūs and to wait for him at al-Ṣafṣāf.[292] Ashnās set out on a Wednesday, the twenty-second of Rajab (June 19, 838), and al-Mu'taṣim sent Waṣīf[293] forward after him and in command of al-Mu'taṣim's own advance guard. He himself set off on Friday the twenty-fourth of Rajab (June 21, 838). When Ashnās reached Marj al-Usquf[294] a letter from al-Mu'taṣim dispatched from al-Maṭāmīr[295] reached

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eastern part of the Taurus range. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 227–29; Le Strange, *Lands*, 121–22; idem, *Palestine*, 443–44; Honigmann, *op. cit.*, see index s.v. Adata; Canard, *Histoire*, 272–73; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥadaṯh (S. Ory).

290. The Greek sources state that it was at this point that al-Afshīn's Turks were joined by an Armenian army commanded by the prince of Vaspurakan and the amīr of Malaṭyah; see Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 148.

291. Classical Ankyra of Galatia, in the Bucellarian theme, also known in Arabic sources as Qal'at al-Salāsil "Fortress of the Chains." See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 271–72; Le Strange, *Lands*, 149–50; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 151 n. 2; *EI*², s.v. Ankara (F. Taeschner).

292. This fortress, often in the plural al-Ṣafāṣif "the Willows," lay beyond the southern end of the Cilician Gate. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 413; Le Strange, *Lands*, 134–35, 139; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 149; Honigmann, *op. cit.*, 42; Canard, *Histoire*, 284.

293. Turkish slave commander (*waṣīf* being a common term for "slave" in medieval Islam; Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 810), purchased by al-Mu'taṣim in Baghdad and the owner of extensive land grants, or *qaṭā'i'*, at Sāmarrā, eventually including those confiscated from al-Afshīn. He was finally killed in an insurrection of Turkish troops in 253 (867). See Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 256, 258, 262, 264–65, trans., 45, 50, 54–55, 58; Ṭabarī, II, 1687–88; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, III, 243.

294. "The Bishop's Meadow" lay to the west of the Podandos River; its possible location is discussed by Bury, "Mutasim's March," 121–22, 124, and by Canard, in Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 412. See also Le Strange, *Lands*, 138; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 149; Honigmann, *op. cit.*, 45–46 n. 9.

295. Literally, "subterranean chambers, storehouses, strongholds"; these lay in the region of Malacopia, Arabic Malaqūbiyah. See Bury, "Mutasim's March," 121–22; Le Strange, *Lands*, 138; Honigmann, *op. cit.*, 46; *EI*², s.v. Maṭmūra (Ch. Pellat).

him, informing him that the [Byzantine] king was in front of him hoping that the [Muslim] forces would cross the Lamas (the Halys[296]) and that he (al-Muʿtaṣim) would take up a position by the fording place and thereby take them by surprise; Ashnās
[1238] therefore was to remain at Marj al-Usquf. Jaʿfar b. Dīnār was in charge of al-Muʿtaṣim's rear guard, and al-Muʿtaṣim informed Ashnās in his letter that he was awaiting the arrival of the rear guard because in it were the baggage, mangonels, provisions, etc.—the rear guard was in fact still in the narrow defile of the pass and had not yet emerged—so he was ordering Ashnās to stay put until the commander of the rear guard and the troops accompanying him were safely through and could go forth into the open country and reach Byzantine territory.[297]

Ashnās waited at Marj al-Usquf for three days until [another] letter from al-Muʿtaṣim arrived, ordering him to send one of his commanders on a nocturnal foray to seek out a man from the Byzantines whom they could question about the doings of the [Byzantine] ruler and those accompanying him. Hence Ashnās sent ʿAmr al-Farghānī with 200 cavalrymen, and they traveled all through the night until they came to the fortress of Qurrah.[298] They sallied forth in search of a man from the area outside the fortress but were unable to find anyone. The commander of

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296. The classical Halys is the modern Turkish Kızıl Irmak, the longest river of Asia Minor; see *EI*², s.v. Ḳizḥl Irmāḳ (Cl. Huart). The apparent confusion of the Cilician Lamas Su with the Kızıl Irmak has attracted discussion, beginning with Bury, "Mutasim's March," 122–23. Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 146 and n. 4, suggested that it arose from corrupt readings of orthographically similar Arabic renderings of the names. In the same work Canard argues that it would have been pointless for the caliphal army to be within the great bend of the Halys if it was heading for Anqirah and suggests that the river intended is the Hylas; the orthographical confusion would thus be Hylas-Halys-Lamas.

297. It thus emerges, as Bury notes in "Mutasim's March," 120–21, that the Muslim attack on Anqirah was to be three-pronged. Al-Afshīn, commanding what might be called the Eastern Army, was to cross the Taurus range via al-Ḥadath, while the two divisions of the Western Army, under the Caliph himself and Ashnās, were to start from Cilicia and cross the mountains through the Cilician Gate, the aim being to converge simultaneously on their goal in Phrygia. To this end, the starting times of the armies and the distances to be covered had been carefully calculated beforehand, as Ṭabarī's narrative here shows.

298. Greek Koron, a fortress in Cappadocia and residence of the *kleisurarch* of that province. See Bury, "Mutasim's March" 123; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 101–2, 150; Honigmann, *op. cit.*, 45.

Qurrah was aware of their presence, so went out with all the cavalry who were with him in al-Qurrah and concealed himself in ambush in the mountain that lay between Qurrah and Durrah,[299] a large mountain that flanks a rural district called "the *rustāq* of Qurrah."

ʿAmr al-Farghānī realized that the commander of Qurrah had become aware of their presence, so he proceeded onward toward Durrah and concealed himself there during that night. When the first gleams of dawn were visible he sent out his forces in three squadrons and ordered them to ride swiftly, so that they might bring back to him a captive who had intelligence regarding the [Byzantine] king. He arranged with them in advance to meet him, bringing the captive, at a certain place that the guides knew, and he sent two guides with each squadron. They rode forth at dawn and then split up in three directions. They took prisoner a number of Byzantines, including some from the king's army and some from the frontier regions (*al-ḍawāḥī*).[300] ʿAmr singled out one of the Byzantine captives, a man from the cavalry force of [1239] Qurrah, and questioned him about what was happening. The man told him that the king and his army were near to him, to the other side of the Lamas (of the Halys), four farsakhs away, and that the commander of Qurrah had become aware of their presence during that night and had ridden away and hidden himself in an ambush in that mountain above them. ʿAmr continued to remain in the place where he had arranged to meet his troops and ordered the guides who were with him to spread out among the mountain tops and thereby assume vantage points above the squadrons that he had sent out, fearing that the commander of Qurrah would fall upon one of the squadrons in their absence. The guides saw them and signaled to them [concerning the new orders], so they went forward; and they and ʿAmr met up in a place different from the one where they had originally been told to meet. They halted for a

299. Bury, "Mutasim's March," 123–24, and Canard, in Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 412, conjecture that it is to be identified with the modern Nora-halvadere (*pace* Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 150, who suggested Doara, which lay farther north, near the modern Hacı Bektaş).

300. Sing. *ḍāḥiyah*, literally, "outer, border region," in effect a no-man's-land between the Arabs and the Greeks. See Honigmann, *op. cit.*, 39–40; Bosworth, "Byzantine Defence System," 123–24.

short while and then traveled onward, seeking to regain the main army and having taken a number of prisoners from the [Byzantine] king's army.

They came to Ashnās on the Lamas (the Halys), and he asked them what had been happening, They informed him that for over thirty days the king had been fixed in one spot, awaiting the crossing of the Lamas (the Halys) by al-Muʿtaṣim and his vanguard, so that he might fall upon them from the other side of the river. [They also mentioned] that information had come to him (the king) recently that a powerful army had traveled from the direction of al-Arminiyāq[301] and had penetrated well into the country—meaning al-Afshīn's troops—and that these last had come up behind him. The king of the Byzantines had accordingly ordered one of his own kinsmen, the son of his maternal uncle, to act as deputy over his army and had himself gone forth with a detachment of his army seeking the whereabouts of al-Afshīn.

[On hearing all this] Ashnās sent the man who had given him this information to al-Muʿtaṣim, and he repeated the information to him. Al-Muʿtaṣim thereupon sent out a group of guides from his army, and he guaranteed to each one 10,000 dirhams if they should safely deliver his letter to al-Afshīn. In this letter he informed al-Afshīn that the Commander of the Faithful was remaining [where he was] and that he should likewise remain
[1240] [where he was], for fear of the possibility of the king of the Byzantines' attacking him. He also wrote a letter to Ashnās, ordering him to send, from his own resources, a messenger from among the guides who knew the mountains and tracks and could pass as Byzantines; and he guaranteed to each of them 10,000 dirhams if they could deliver the letter. He further wrote to him [in this same letter] that the king of the Byzantines had advanced toward him, so he could remain where he was until a letter should reach him from the Commander of the Faithful [with further instructions]. The messengers proceeded in the direction of al-Afshīn, but none of them was able to catch up with him

301. Arabization of the name of the Armeniakoi theme, which lay in the northeastern part of Asia Minor and bordered on independent Armenia; Qudāmah b. Jaʿfar, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, 258, renders it as *ʿamal al-Arminiyāq*. See Vasiliev, *History*, I, 228; Bosworth, "Byzantine Defence System," 122.

because he had penetrated into the Byzantine lands (i.e., more deeply than had been assumed).

Al-Muʿtaṣim's matériel and baggage finally reached the army camp with the commander of the rear guard. Al-Muʿtaṣim now wrote to Ashnās ordering him to advance, which he did, with al-Muʿtaṣim one stage[302] behind him, one group halting to camp while the other journeyed forward [and vice versa], but without any news from al-Afshīn reaching them until they were [only] three stages from Anqirah.

Al-Muʿtaṣim's army was reduced to extreme distress because of lack of water and fodder. In the course of his march[303] Ashnās had captured a number of prisoners, whose execution he had ordered until only one of them, an aged man, remained. The aged man said, "What good will killing me do you, when you are in this parlous condition and your troops also are suffering from lack of water and provisions? Now in this vicinity are a group of people who have fled from Anqirah for fear lest the king of the Arabs descend upon them. They are close to us here, and they have with them a considerable quantity of grain, food, and barley. Send a party of men with me so that I can hand over this group to them, and then set me free!"

So Ashnās's herald proclaimed, "Whoever feels lively and ready for action, let him ride forth!" And there rode with him around 500 cavalrymen. Ashnās went out until he had gone a mile from [1241] the army, and those soldiers who were eager for action went forth with him. He rode forward, whipped his mount, and galloped furiously for about two miles. Then he stopped to look at his troops behind him, and those who could not keep up with the main body because of the inadequacy of their mounts he sent back to the army camp. He handed over the captured man to Mālik b. Kaydar [al-Ṣafadī][304] and told him, "When this fellow

302. I.e., a day's march, *marḥalah*, on which see *EI*², s.v. Marḥala (Ed.).

303. According to Michael the Syrian, Ashnās, on his march between al-Ṣafṣāf and Anqirah, captured and razed the citadel of Nīshīʿā, i.e., the episcopal seat of Nyssa, south of the Halys; see Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 152.

304. Subsequently governor over the *ṣalāt* in Egypt, as deputy of Ashnās, during the years 224–26 (839–41). He died at Alexandria in 233 (848); see Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāt*, 195.

shows you captives and extensive plunder, release him according to our undertaking!"

The aged man traveled with them until the time for the evening prayer, and he led them to a river valley with abundant herbage. The troops were able to pasture their mounts on the herbage until the mounts were satisfied; and they, the troops, were able to eat their evening meal and drink until they were refreshed. Then he took them along until he brought them out of the valley with its lush vegetation. Ashnās pressed on from where he was camped in the direction of Anqirah, and he ordered Mālik b. Kaydar and the guides accompanying him to meet him there. The aged man from the local inhabitants (*al-shaykh al-ʿilj*) led them onward for the remainder of the night, leading them around on a mountain but not conducting them from out of it, so that the guides complained to Mālik b. Kaydar, "This man is leading us around in circles." Mālik questioned him regarding the guards' accusations, and he replied, "They have spoken truly. The group of people whom you seek are outside the confines of the mountain, but I am afraid to leave the mountain at night, lest they hear the noise of the horses' hooves on the rocks and take flight. If we leave the mountain [now] and see no one there, you will kill me; however, I shall lead you round on this mountain until dawn, and then, when it is morning, we will go forth upon them, and I will show them to you, so that I shall be preserved from your killing me."

Mālik said to him, "Woe upon you! Bring us to a halt upon this
[1242] mountain, so that we may take a rest." The aged man replied, "Just as you think fit." So Mālik and the troops stopped on the rocks, holding fast in their hands the bridles of their mounts, until the dawn broke. When the dawn began to gleam the aged man said, "Send two men to climb up this mountain and see what is on it and to seize anyone they come upon there." So four of the troops climbed up and took prisoner a man and a women and brought them down. The local inhabitant questioned them as to where the group of people from Anqirah had spent the night, and they named for them the spot where the people from Anqirah had stayed. Then the aged man said to Mālik, "Release these two, for we promised them a safe-conduct so that they would guide us." So Mālik set them free. Then the local inhabitant went with

Mālik's troops to the place that he (i.e., acting on the information of the two captives) named to them. He brought them out above the camp, that is, the camp of the people of Anqirah, who were on the edges of some salt workings (*mallāḥah*). When the people of Anqirah saw the [Muslim] troops they shouted to the women and children, and these last went inside the works while they (the menfolk) waited for the Muslim troops on the edges of the works, fighting with spears, as there was no room to fight with stones or to use cavalry. The Muslim troops seized a number of captives from them. Among those who fell into their hands was a number of those who had long-standing wounds acquired some time previously. They questioned these captives about their wounds, and the captives said, "We were in the king's battle with al-Afshīn."[305] They instructed them, "Tell us about the affair!"

They accordingly told them that the king had been encamped four farsakhs away from the Lamas (the Halys) when a messenger had come to him with the news that a formidable army had entered from the vicinity of al-Arminiyāq. He had therefore appointed as deputy leader over his forces a member of his own family and had ordered him to stand fast in his position: If the vanguard of the king of the Arabs should come upon him, he (the deputy) was to attack him so that he himself (the Byzantine emperor) could go forth and attack the army that had entered al-Arminiyāq, that is, al-Afshīn's army.

Their leader (that of the Byzantine troops captured with the refugees from Anqirah) said, "Yes, [this is true]. I was one of those who went with the king; we attacked them at the time of the [1243] morning worship, and we put them to flight and killed all their infantrymen. Then our own troops split up into groups to pursue them (the fleeing Muslim troops), but at noon their cavalry

305. This battle had taken place on the plain of Dazimon, at Anzen near Tokat, Greek Dokeia, in northern Cappadocia, showing that al-Afshīn had penetrated deep into Byzantine territory from al-Ḥadath. According to the Greek sources, Theophilus's army included a contingent of Persians with the Persian commander Theophobus, and the Emperor also had with him the *domesticus* Manuel; these Persians were, of course, the Khurramī refugees from al-Jibāl who had fled west in 218 (833) under their leader Naṣīr/Nuṣayr, now the convert (Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 136 = par. 2818, *rajul min al-mutanaṣṣirah*) Theophobus; see p. 3 n. 10, above. See further, Bury, *History*, 264–66; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 154–59; Rekaya, "Mise au point sur Théophobe," 61–63; Rosser, *op. cit.*, 68–69.

returned and engaged us in battle fiercely until they pierced our ranks and mingled with us and we with them. We did not know in which squadron was the king. We continued in this fashion until the time of the afternoon worship. After that we returned to the place where [previously] the king's army, of which we were a part, had been, but we did not come upon him. Hence we went back to the place of the camp that he had left behind on the Lamas (the Halys). There we found that the army had mutinied and the troops had abandoned the king's relative, the one whom he had appointed as his deputy leader over the army.[306] We remained there for the next night, and the following morning the king met us with a small contingent of troops. He found that his army had been broken up and thrown into confusion, so he arrested the man whom he had made his deputy and executed him. He also wrote to the towns and strongholds that, if they intercepted any deserter from the royal army, they were to flog him with whips, and then the fugitive was to return to a place that the king named, to which he himself repaired, so that all the troops might gather together and encamp in order to resist the king of the Arabs. He sent one of his servants, a eunuch, to Anqirah, with the instructions to remain there and guard the local populace in case the king of the Arabs should descend upon it."

The captive continued, "The eunuch proceeded to Anqirah, and we with him, but lo and behold, the people of Anqirah had left the city empty and had fled from it. The eunuch wrote to the king of the Byzantines telling him this news, and the king wrote back ordering him to travel onward to ʿAmmūriyyah."[307] He stated, "I

306. According to the Greek sources, either Manuel or Theophobus engaged in treacherous discussions with the Arabs during the battle, but Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 136 = par. 2812, reports that Theophilus lost the greater part of his patricians in the battle and himself escaped only through the aid of Naṣīr/Nuṣayr and his companions. He was able to reassemble the remnants of his forces on the plain of Khiliokōmon near Amasya. Theophilus's gratitude toward Theophobus later manifested itself in the Emperor's refusal to extradite him to the Caliph in order to stop the latter's march on Constantinople. See Ṭabarī, III, 1254 (p. 117 n. 327, below); Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 156–58; Rekaya, "Mise au point sur Théophobe," 62–63.

307. Theophilus now retreated westward to Dorylaeum in the Opsikion theme, or, according to the Greek sources, even as far as Nicaea, where he awaited news of what had happened at Amorion. It may have been from this refuge in

asked about the place for which its people"—meaning the people of Anqirah—"had made, and they told me that they were at the salt workings, so we joined up with them there."

[On hearing this], Mālik b. Kaydar said, "Leave behind all the people. Take just what you have, and leave the rest." The troops accordingly abandoned the captives (the women and children) and the [captured] soldiers and turned back, making for Ashnās's camp, and on their way they drove before them a great number of [1244] sheep and goats and also cattle. Mālik set free that aged man who had been captured and went on to Ashnās's camp with the prisoners until he reached Anqirah. Ashnās remained encamped for one day, and then the following morning al-Muʿtaṣim joined him. He told al-Muʿtaṣim what the captive had told him, and al-Muʿtaṣim rejoiced at that. On the third day good news came from the direction of al-Afshīn, reporting that he was safe and sound and that he was on his way to the Commander of the Faithful at Anqirah.[308]

He related: Just one day after that al-Afshīn reached al-Muʿtaṣim at Anqirah. They remained there for some days. Then al-Muʿtaṣim proceeded to divide the troops into three armies: The first army was on the left wing, under the command of Ashnās; al-Muʿtaṣim was in the center; and al-Afshīn was on the right wing. Between each army was a distance of two farsakhs. He further ordered that each component army should have a right wing and a left wing and that they should burn down and destroy the villages and capture anyone they found in them. When it was time to encamp all the soldiers in the army were to come together with their particular commander and their chief. They were to do this all the way between Anqirah and ʿAmmūriyyah, a distance

northwestern Anatolia that the Emperor had to go to Constantinople in order to quell a plot to replace him on the throne, a rumor having spread that he had been killed in battle. This story is reported by Michael the Syrian, who may in fact have confused it with the information in Greek sources (the credibility of which may be suspect) that Persian troops in the imperial army rebelled at Sinope with the intention of proclaiming Theophobus emperor. See Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 158–59; Rekaya, "Mise au point sur Théophobe," 63; Rosser, *op. cit.*, 268–71.

308. It was after the Anzen defeat that the Emperor sent his first embassy to the Caliph, with the aim of securing peace and a Muslim withdrawal. It reached al-Muʿtaṣim when the siege of ʿAmmūriyyah was about to begin, and he kept the envoys in his camp until the city had fallen and a second Byzantine embassy arrived. See Ṭabarī, III, 1254 (p. 117, below) and the sources listed in n. 280, above.

of seven stages, until all the troops should have reached ʿAmmūriyyah.

He related: When the troops all converged on ʿAmmūriyyah, the first to arrive there was Ashnās, who reached ʿAmmūriyyah on Thursday in the early morning and then circled around the place. He encamped two miles away in a place that had water and herbage. When the sun rose next morning, al-Muʿtaṣim rode up; and he, too, circled around the city. Then on the third day al-Afshīn arrived. At this point the Commander of the Faithful divided the city between his commanders as they were circling around it. He allotted to each one of them a certain number of the city's defensive towers, according to the relative strength of that commander's forces, whether greater or lesser, so that each
[1245] commander had between two and twenty towers. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of ʿAmmūriyyah had entrenched themselves behind their fortifications and had prepared for a siege.

The people of ʿAmmūriyyah had [previously] captured a man of the Muslims, who had then become a Christian and married among them.[309] He had hidden himself away when the Byzantines had entered the fortress, but when he saw the Commander of the Faithful he came into the open and went over to the Muslims. He came to al-Muʿtaṣim and told him that there was a place in the city where the stream had borne down on it, owing to heavy rainstorms, so that the water had been carried down against it, with the result that the wall had collapsed at that place. The king of the Byzantines had written to the governor of ʿAmmūriyyah, ordering him to rebuild that place, but the governor had been dilatory over rebuilding it until the time when the king had set out from Constantinople, heading for some destination or other. The governor feared lest the king, passing through that district, should pass by the wall and see that it had not been rebuilt. At that point he had sent for skilled artisans, and

309. This is the first of two acts of treachery that, according to Ṭabarī, brought about the fall of ʿAmmūriyyah. The Christian sources are somewhat confused as to whether there was a single or a double betrayal; see p. 114 n. 318, below. The first traitor, originally a Muslim but converted to Christianity, may be the Manikophagos of one Byantine Greek source; as Vasiliev remarks, this name, "he who gnaws his manacles," would fit a former captive very well; see *Byzance*, 162–63, 169 n.

the facade of the wall had been repaired with stones laid one upon the other; but the rear surface of the wall, facing the city, he merely filled up with rubble (*ḥashw*). Then he had constructed on top of it battlements just as it had been there before. That man (the renegade) gave information to al-Muʿtaṣim about that particular place that he had described, and al-Muʿtaṣim gave orders for his own tent to be pitched in that place. He also set up mangonels[310] against the reconstructed part of the wall, and the wall was breached in that spot. When the people of ʿAmmūriyyah saw the breach in the wall, they hung down over it great balks of timber, each lapped over another, but when the rocks hurled by the mangonels fell on those timbers they shattered. So they hung down further pieces of timber with packsaddles over them to furnish a shield over the wall, but when the (fire of the) mangonels bore down hard on that place, the wall was split open. [1246]

Yāṭis (Aetius)[311] and the eunuch wrote a letter to the king of the Byzantines, informing him about the state of the wall, and they sent the letter with a man who spoke Arabic fluently and a Greek youth. They let them out through the outer protecting wall (*al-fāṣil*), and they crossed the defensive trench and emerged in the neighborhood of the force of royal princes and nobles (*abnāʾ al-mulūk*) attached to ʿAmr al-Farghānī. When the two men came up out of the trench, they (the attackers) did not recognize them; hence asked them where they came from. They replied, "We're from your comrades." They asked further, "Whose command are you under?" But the two men did not know any of the commanders of the army to name them to their questioners. As the latter could not identify the two men, they brought them to ʿAmr al-Farghānī Ibn ʾr. b. khā (?), who sent them to Ashnās, who in turn sent them to al-Muʿtaṣim.

Al-Muʿtaṣim questioned and searched them, and he found on them a letter from Yāṭis to the king of the Byzantines, in which Yāṭis told him that a very large army (that of the Muslims) had surrounded the city, that the place had become barely tolerable

310. *Majānīq*; see *EI*², s.v. Manjanīk (D. R. Hill).

311. Described as Theophilus's maternal uncle in Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 581. Aetius was the *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme; see Bury, "Mutasim's March," 267, and Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 147 and n. 1, on the commanders of the opposing Byzantine forces.

for them, and that his entry into that place had been a mistake. [Yāṭis continued] that he had therefore determined upon riding forth, bringing with him the elite of his companions on whatever mounts were within the fortress. He would open the gates by night without any warning (*ghaflat*^{an}) and would go forth and attack the [Muslim] forces, whatever the outcome might be; some would manage to escape, and the rest would fall in battle, but he would then get free of the fortress and come and join the king. When al-Muʿtaṣim had read the letter, he ordered a purse of money (*badrah*)[312] for the man who could speak Arabic and the
[1247] Greek youth accompanying him, who both thereupon became Muslims. He presented them with robes of honor and gave orders so that, when the sun rose, the two men were paraded around [the walls of] ʿAmmūriyyah. The two men stated that Yāṭis would be in such-and-such a tower, so al-Muʿtaṣim ordered them to halt for a long while opposite the tower where Yāṭis was. In front of them two men bore the dirhams that they had been given, and they themselves wore the robes of honor and had with them the letter, until Yāṭis and all the Byzantines comprehended what they had done and hurled insults at them from the walls. Then al-Muʿtaṣim ordered that the two men be removed.

Al-Muʿtaṣim commanded that the soldiers take turns on guard duty all through each night [and that] the cavalry be on hand, spending the nights mounted and with their weapons at the ready, stationed there, lest the gate be opened at night and any man [of the people of ʿAmmūriyyah] slip out of the city. The troops continued to spend their nights that way, taking turns, on the backs of their mounts with their weapons ready, the mounts being saddled, until the stretch of wall between two towers in the place that had been described to al-Muʿtaṣim as poorly reconstructed collapsed. The troops of the army heard the crash, and they looked up, thinking that the enemy had broken out in an attack on one of the squadrons, until al-Muʿtaṣim sent someone to go round the troops in the encampment, informing them that that noise was the sound of the wall that had fallen down; as a result, the troops were jubilant.

When al-Muʿtaṣim had [originally] halted before ʿAmmūriyyah,

312. On this term see p. 65 n. 184, above.

he had observed the width of its defensive trench and the length of its walls, and he had driven along the road with him a great quantity of sheep. His plan in doing that was that he would utilize powerful mangonels proportionate to the height of the [1248] wall, each mangonel manned by four persons and constructed as firmly and skillfully as possible. He mounted them on platforms on wheeled carts, and in regard to this he further planned to hand over the sheep to the troops, a single sheep for each man. The man was to eat its flesh, stuff its skin with earth, and then to bring these skins, stuffed with earth, for throwing into the defensive trench; this last was done. He further constructed large movable siege towers (*dabbābāt*),[313] each one capacious enough to hold ten men, and he had them carefully built so that he could roll them forward over the earth-filled skins when the trench became filled; this, too, was done. The skins were hurled down [into the trench] but did not fall in a regular, even-surfaced pattern, because the men were afraid of the rocks being thrown down by the Byzantines. They fell in an uneven layer, and it was not possible to level them. So al-Mu'taṣim ordered earth to be thrown on them until the surface of the trench became level, and then a siege tower was pushed forward. He had it rolled, but halfway across the trench it became stuck on those skins; the crew were still inside and able to get free of it only with great effort. The wheeled cart remained fixed and immobilized there, and no stratagem could free it until 'Ammūriyyah had been conquered. Thus the siege towers, mangonels, scaling ladders, and such remained ineffective and in the end were [broken up and] burned.

The next morning (after the collapse of the section of the wall) he attacked them at the breach. Ashnās and his men led the first assault, but the place was narrow, and they were unable to fight [properly] there. Al-Mu'taṣim thereupon gave orders, and the big mangonels that were scattered around the perimeter of the wall were brought together in one spot and deployed around the

313. For this siege instrument, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 421; Levy, *op. cit.*, 440. Already in 149 (766) al-Manṣūr's generals had used mangonels and such movable towers as these for the conquest of Kamakh (Greek Kamakha) to the south of modern Turkish Erzincan; see Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, 184–85.

breach. Then he ordered that place to be bombarded. On the second day it was the turn of al-Afshīn and his troops to give battle; they fought well and were able to advance. Al-Muʿtaṣim
[1249] was waiting, on horseback, opposite the breach, accompanied by Ashnās, [al-]Afshīn, and the leading commanders, while the subordinate commanders were waiting on foot.

Al-Muʿtaṣim commented, "How well the battle is going today!" And ʿAmr al-Farghānī added, "The battle is going better today than yesterday!" Ashnās heard these words but controlled himself. However, when al-Muʿtaṣim went back to his tent for the midday meal and the commanders also went back to their tents for their meals and Ashnās drew near to the entrance of his own tent, the commanders dismounted from their horses in his honor, as was their custom, with ʿAmr al-Farghānī and Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl b. Hishām among them. They stepped before him, as usual, at his tent, but Ashnās said to them, "O you misbegotten sons [*awlād al-zinā*]! How can you walk before me? It would have been better if you had fought yesterday, rather than waiting there with the Commander of the Faithful. You now say that the conduct of the fighting today is better than yesterday, as if others than you were fighting then! Get back to your tents!"[314]

When ʿAmr al-Farghānī and Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl b. Hishām went back, one of them said to the other, "Don't you see what this slave, the son of a whore"—he meant Ashnās—"has done with us today? Wouldn't it be easier to go over to Byzantine territory than to endure what we have heard today?" ʿAmr al-Farghani, who had special information, said to Aḥmad b. Khalīl, "O Abū al-ʿAbbās, God will relieve you in the near future of his attitude, so rejoice!" And he led Aḥmad to suspect that he had [private] information. Aḥmad kept on pressing him with questions, and ʿAmr revealed to him what they were up to, saying, "The preparations regarding al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn have been completed, and very soon we shall openly declare our allegiance to him and kill al-Muʿtaṣim,
[1250] Ashnās, and others." Then he told Aḥmad, "I would advise you to

314. This altercation seems to reflect the jealousies and hostilities of the Abnāʾ and Iranian elements (Khurāsānian and Transoxanian) toward the Turkish slaves, feelings that soon afterward assumed concrete form in the conspiracy to murder al-Muʿtaṣim and replace him with his nephew al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn; see Ṭabarī, III, 1256–68 [pp. 121–23], below].

go to al-ʿAbbās, to step forward and become numbered among those sympathetic to his cause."

Aḥmad replied, "I don't believe this project will come to fruition." but ʿAmr told him, "It's already accomplished and finished!" And he directed him to al-Ḥārith al-Samarqandī, the kinsman of Salamah b.ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Waḍḍāḥ,[315] who was in charge of recruiting men to al-ʿAbbās's side and administering to them the oath of allegiance. ʿAmr said to Aḥmad, "I will bring you and al-Ḥārith together, so that you become one of the circle of our supporters." Aḥmad told him, "I am with you if this matter can be completed within ten days, but if it drags on beyond that then I can have nothing to do with you." Al-Ḥārith went along to al-ʿAbbās and informed him that ʿAmr had mentioned him (al-ʿAbbās) to Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl, but al-ʿAbbās said to him, "I don't like al-Khalīlī becoming cognizant of any part of our business. Keep away from him, and don't include him in any aspect of your affairs. Leave it between just the two of them." So they kept away from him.[316]

On the third day the battle was fought by the Commander of the Faithful's own troops in particular, together with the Maghāribah[317] and Turks, the overall commander being Aytākh. They fought and did well, and under their attacks the breach in

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315. Possibly a kinsman, a first cousin, of the Khurāsānian general Hārūn b. Nuʿaym b. Waḍḍāḥ, employed in the campaign against the Zuṭṭ in lower Iraq in 219 (834–35); see Ṭabarī, III, 1167 (p. 8, above). The common grandparent Waḍḍāḥ may have been the Khurāsānian commander Abū Budayl Waḍḍāḥ b. Ḥabīb, who was active in the last years of the Umayyads and under al-Mahdī; see Ṭabarī, II, 1888, III, 496; Crone, *op. cit.*, 167.

316. Cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 165–66.

317. The sources give little exact information about the ethnic or local origins of these "Westerners," in contradistinction to the detailed and specific information on the Khurāsānians and Transoxanians and their land grants at Sāmarrā (see pp. 28 n. 105, 49 n. 159, above). But they seem to have included, first of all, Bedouins who had long been located in the two *ḥawfs*, or "districts," of the Egyptian desert, to the east and west respectively of the Nile delta (those of Qays and Yaman, according to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 118 = par. 2801, recruited by al-Muʿtaṣim), then Berbers from North Africa and possibly blacks brought as slaves from East Africa. They had their own *qaṭāʾiʿ* in Sāmarrā (Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 263, trans., 55) and achieved particular power in caliphal affairs in the troubled middle decades of the third (ninth) century. See Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 99, 112; *EI*², s.v. Maghāriba (M. Talbi). As to their numbers, it is mentioned, on the authority of the *rāwī* Ḥamdūn b. Ismāʿīl (for whom see Ṭabarī, III, 1314 (p. 196 n. 570, below), that 4,000 Maghāribah were involved in a ceremonial parade on the

the wall was enlarged. The fighting continued thus until many of the Byzantines were wounded. At the time when al-Muʿtaṣim's army had sat down before them, the king of Byzantium's commanders had divided among themselves the defensive towers, each commander and his troops being allotted a number of towers. The commander responsible for the place where the
[1251] wall had been breached was a man of the Byzantine commanders called W.n.dū, whose interpretation in Arabic is "bull."[318] This man and his troops fought strenuously night and day, but the whole weight of the fighting was on the shoulders of him and his troops alone, and neither Yāṭis nor anyone else would reinforce him with a single Byzantine soldier. When night came, the commander who was in charge of the breach went to the [other] Byzantines and said, "The whole weight of the fighting is on me and my troops, and I have no one left who has not been wounded. So send some of your own troops to man the breach and fire back for a while, for if you don't you will be disgraced and the city lost." They nevertheless refused to help him with a single man and told him, "The wall is intact in our section, and we aren't asking you for any assistance; so manage as best you can in your section, for you can expect no reinforcements from us."

As a result, W.n.dū and his comrades resolved to go out to the Commander of the Faithful al-Muʿtaṣim, asking him for a guarantee of safe-conduct for their families and [having been assured of this] to yield up to him the fortress, with all its contents of fittings, goods, weapons, etc. So when morning came he appointed his troops to hold the two sides of the breach while he went forth, saying, "I intend to go to the Commander of the Faithful," and instructing his soldiers not to fight until he should

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occasion of the ʿĪd; see Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī, *op. cit.*, ed. Schwally, 165 = ed. Ibrāhīm, I, 250.

318. This name is corruptly written in the sources, but, if, as Ṭabarī says, it is to be equated with *thawr* "bull," then the correct reading is probably B.y.dū, corresponding to the Boiditzes of the Greek chronicles, described as having derived his surname from the ox (*boidon*) and stigmatized as the traitor who delivered the city to the Arabs. Bury, *History*, 269–71, and Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 167–70, 188–90, discuss at length the rather confused accounts in the Christian sources of the treacherous delivery of the impregnable fortress of Amorion to the Muslims; some of them mention only a single act of treachery.

return. He went forth till he came to al-Muʿtaṣim and stood in his presence.

Meanwhile, the [Muslim] troops were advancing to the breach, the Byzantines having held back from fighting, until they reached the wall. The Byzantines were making signs with their hands and saying, "Don't be afraid!" while the troops were at that moment advancing. W.n.dū was sitting with al-Muʿtaṣim, and the latter called for a horse and set W.n.dū on it; and he set his face forward [1252] until the troops proceeded with them to the edge of the breach. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAlī was in front of al-Muʿtaṣim, and he gestured to the troops with his hand that they were to enter, and they duly entered the city. At that point, W.n.dū turned [toward the Caliph] and seized his own beard with his hand. Al-Muʿtaṣim asked him, "What's the matter with you?" He replied, "I came because I wanted to hear your words and to let you hear mine, but you have acted treacherously with me!" Al-Muʿtaṣim, however, said, "Anything you want to ask, I guarantee to fulfill for you; say what you wish, for I shall not gainsay you." W.n.dū protested, "How can you say that you won't gainsay me, when the troops have already entered the city?" Al-Muʿtaṣim said, "Place your hand on whatever you want, and it is yours, and say whatever you want, and I will truly grant it to you. So W.n.dū remained in al-Muʿtaṣim's tent.

Yāṭis was in his tower with a group of Byzantines gathered around him. A detachment of them went along to a big church situated in one corner of ʿAmmūriyyah and fought there fiercely, but the Muslim troops burned the church over them; they were burned to death to the last man. Yāṭis remained in his tower with his soldiers and the remainder of the Byzantines, but the swords [of the enemy] wrought havoc among them, and all were either slain or wounded. At that, al-Muʿtaṣim rode on until he arrived and halted opposite Yāṭis, this place being near Ashnās's troops, and these last cried out, "O Yāṭis, this is the Commander of the Faithful!" The Byzantines shouted down from the top of the tower, "Yāṭis isn't here!" They replied, "Yes he is; tell him that the Commander of the Faithful is waiting." But they responded, [1253] "Yāṭis isn't here!" So the Commander of the Faithful went onward in an angry state. But when he had passed beyond [them] the Byzantines cried out [mockingly], "Yāṭis is here, Yāṭis is

here!" Al-Muʿtaṣim accordingly came back and halted just opposite the tower. Then he gave orders regarding the ladders that had already been got ready, and one of them was carried forward and placed against the tower where Yāṭis was. Al-Ḥasan al-Rūmī, a slave of Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf's, climbed up it, and Yāṭis spoke to him.[319] Al-Ḥasan said, "This is the Commander of the Faithful, so descend the submit to his judgment." Then he went back down and told al-Muʿtaṣim that he had seen Yāṭis and spoken with him. Al-Muʿtaṣim instructed him, "Tell him that he must come down!" Al-Ḥasan went up a second time, and Yāṭis, girded with a sword, came out of the tower and stood on it, with al-Muʿtaṣim watching him meanwhile. Yāṭis then took off his sword from around his neck[320] and handed it over to al-Ḥasan and finally came down and presented himself before al-Muʿtaṣim, who lashed him in the face with a whip. Al-Muʿtaṣim returned to his tent and said, "Bring him here." Yāṭis walked a little distance, and then a messenger from al-Muʿtaṣim came to him [and instructed the Caliph's attendants], "Set him on a mount," so they conveyed him to the Commander of the Faithful's tent.[321]

The troops drew near from every direction with male prisoners and women and children captives until the encampment was full. Al-Muʿtaṣim commanded Basīl al-Tarjumān[322] to sort out the male prisoners and to set the noble and high-born Byzantines[323] on one side and the rest on another; and Basīl did this. Then al-Muʿtaṣim gave orders that his commanders should be in charge of the lots to be sold. Thus he gave Ashnās charge of what had come from his sector and told him to proclaim its sale. He gave al-Afshīn charge of what had come from his sector and told him
[1254] to proclaim and sell it. Aytākh was to deal with what came from his sector likewise and Jaʿfar al-Khayyāṭ similarly with what was

319. Presumably in Greek, since al-Ḥasan was of Greek (*rūmī*) origin.

320. A sign of submission.

321. Aetius's surrender effectively marked the fall of the city, which very probably took place on Tuesday, the seventeenth of Ramaḍān (August 12, 838); Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 581. The Christian sources are imprecise, but there seem to be some grounds for stating that the duration of the siege was quite short, only twelve or fifteen days. See Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 170–71, 275.

322. I.e., "the interpreter, translator."

323. These amounted a considerable number, according to the Greek chronicles, including, in addition to Aetius, the *patricius* and *strategos* Theophilus, the *drungarius* Constantine, etc.; see Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 171.

in his sector. At the side of each of these commanders he appointed a man from Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād's staff to keep an account of the gains that the commander made [*yuḥṣī 'alayhi*].[324] The various lots were sold in five days. What proved salable of them was sold, and he ordered that the remainder should be thrown on the fire. Al-Mu'taṣim then started back for the region of Ṭarsūs.

When it was Aytākh's day [i.e., to sell his share of the plunder]—this being before al-Mu'taṣim was to set out on his return journey—the troops pounced upon the spoils that Aytākh was in the process of selling. This was also the day on which 'Ujayf had arranged with the troops to fall upon al-Mu'taṣim. Al-Mu'taṣim galloped out alone [against the looters] with drawn sword, so that the troops fell back on each side before him and desisted from plundering the spoils. Al-Mu'taṣim then returned to his tent. However, the next morning he gave orders that bids for the women and children captives were to be invited only three times, to speed up the sale; if someone raised the price after the third call, [well and good]; but if not the whole lot[325] was to be sold anyhow. He was involved doing that on the fifth day [of the sale]. The slave captives were being proclaimed for sale in groups of five and ten and the extensive spoils of goods and equipment in one block.[326]

He related: The king of the Byzantines had sent an envoy [i.e., to negotiate peace] when al-Mu'taṣim first besieged 'Ammūriyyah, but al-Mu'taṣim ordered the envoy to be made to stay at a watering place three miles from 'Ammūriyyah, where the troops were providing themselves with good drinking water; he would not let the envoy come to him until he had conquered 'Ammūriyyah. Only then did he allow the envoy to go back to the king of the Byzantines, which he did.[327]

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324. I.e., a representative of the chief judge was deputed to see that the division was handled fairly—an obvious precaution in the light of the quarrels mentioned below—and to take the ruler's fifth of all the spoils of war.

325. Following *Glossarium*, CCCLXXIII, for *'ilq* in this context.

326. According to Michael the Syrian, the Caliph ordered that captured children should not be separated from their parents; see Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 172.

327. This is the embassy mentioned at p. 107 n. 308, above, to which was added a second embassy from Theophilus after the fall of the city. The two

Al-Muʿtaṣim went back in the direction of the frontier region (*al-thughūr*), as he had heard that the king of the Byzantines intended to set out following his (al-Muʿtaṣim's) tracks or else aimed at harrying the Muslim forces.[328] He accordingly pro-
[1255] ceeded along the main highway for one stage but then returned to ʿAmmūriyyah and ordered the troops to turn back also. He now turned aside from the main highway onto the road leading to the Wādī al-Jawr.[329] He distributed the prisoners among the commanders; and to each one of these last he gave a group to guard. The commanders in turn divided them among their troops. They traveled along a road for about forty miles, a waterless stretch, and they executed every prisoner who, because of the intense thirst he was suffering, refused to keep up with them. The troops entered the desert on the road through the Wādī al-Jawr; they were struck by thirst, so that both men and beasts kept

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embassies seem to be conflated by Yaʿqubī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 581, trans. in Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 275, and the details given here and by Michael the Syrian may relate to both embassies, though the plea for the return of the captives from ʿAmmūriyyah must obviously have been made by the second embassy. In his letter(s) Theophilus expressed contrition for the destruction of Zibaṭrah, promising to rebuild it and return the captives from there plus all other Arabs in Greek hands. Michael the Syrian alone adds further material: that the leader of the second delegation, the *patricius* Basil, asked for the release of Aetius and the other captives of ʿAmmūriyyah, offering a ransom of 200,000 *centenaria*. Al-Muʿtaṣim, however, demanded the extradition of Naṣr Khurdanāyā (i.e., Theophobus; see pp. 3 n. 10, 105 n. 305, above), his son, and the *domesticus* Manuel, who had once been a refugee in Muslim territory but had subsequently returned to Byzantine service. Basil refused these demands and presented a further letter from Theophilus, couched in menacing terms, after which al-Muʿtaṣim angrily dimissed the embassy and sent back the Emperor's presents. See Bury, "Mutasim's March," 266; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 172, 174–75; Rekaya, "Mise au point sur Théophobe," 64–65.

328. The general assumption would be that al-Muʿtaṣim razed the walls of ʿAmmūriyyah completely, though Michael the Syrian states that he was able to pull down only a small part of the walls. Nevertheless, though Idrīsī and Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī describe it as still flourishing, the city fell into ruins after the eighth (fourteenth) century. Its ruined site was identified only in the nineteenth century by Western travelers like William Hamilton as being that called by the local Turks Hergān-Qalʿe. See W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, 230; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 173–74.

329. This, with varying orthographies of the second element, is located by the geographers twelve miles from ʿAmmūriyyah; though unattested, a form like Wādī al-Ghawr "watercourse of the hollow" might perhaps be correct. See Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 172 n. 3.

falling down [dead], and some of the prisoners killed some of the soldiers and escaped.[330]

Al-Mu'taṣim had traveled on ahead of the army and now came to meet the troops with water that he had brought from the place where he had encamped; nevertheless, many of the troops died of thirst in that valley. The troops told al-Mu'taṣim, "These prisoners have killed some of our soldiers." So he immediately ordered Basīl al-Rūmī to sort out those prisoners who were of high rank, and these were set on one side;[331] then he further ordered that the remainder were to be taken up the mountains and brought down into the valleys [beyond] and executed en masse. These amounted to 6,000 men, killed in two places, in the Wādī al-Jawr and in another place. Al-Mu'taṣim pressed on from there in the direction of the frontier zone until he reached Ṭarsūs. Water troughs made from leather had been set down for him around his encampment and all the way to the encampment at 'Ammūriyyah; these were now filled, and the troops drank from them, untiring in their demand for water.

The battle between al-Afshīn and the king of the Byzantines [1256]
took place, it has been recorded, on Thursday, the twenty-fourth of Sha'bān (July 21, 838),[332] while al-Mu'taṣim sat down before 'Ammūriyyah on Friday, the sixth of Ramaḍān (August 1, 838)[333] and came back [from the expedition] after fifty-five days.[334]

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330. This return march must have been through the deserts to the west and south of the Tuz Gölü.

331. The Christian sources state that forty-two distinguished Byzantine prisoners were carried off to Sāmarrā, imprisoned there for seven years, and finally killed by al-Wāthiq in 230 (845) after refusing to convert to Islam; subsequently they entered Greek hagiology as "the Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorion." See Bury, *History*, 271–72.

332. Actually a Sunday.

333. Actually a Thursday.

334. Both Arab and Byzantine military operations along the *thughūr* and Byzantine naval activities as far as the Syrian coast continued over the next four years. According to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 136–37 = par. 2818, al-Mu'taṣim had, after his 'Ammūriyyah victory, planned an expedition by land and sea against Contantinople, but the conspiracy centered on al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn forced his hurried return to Syria and al-Jazīrah. It seems, however, that naval operations were in fact undertaken in the last year or so of his life, probably in 227 (841–42), though the Arabic historical sources do not mention them. Canard has noted a lengthy eulogy by the poet Buḥturī of the Amīr Aḥmad b. Dīnār b. 'Abdallāh, probably the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd's mawlā Dīnār b. 'Abdallāh, who had been

Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Bāhilī[335] recited these verses eulogizing al-Afshīn and mentioning the battle between him and the king of the Byzantines:

The one protected (*al-maʿṣūm*; by God, i.e., al-Muʿtaṣim) made firm the power of Abū
Ḥasan (al-Afshīn) more securely than the pillar of Iḍam.[336]
All glory falls below that which he established
for the house of Kāwūs,[337] the lords of the Persians.
Al-Afshīn is nothing but a sword drawn
by God's power (or: His divine decree, *qadar*) in the hand of al-Muʿtaṣim.
He left no inhabitant at al-Badhdh,
except for images like those of Iram.[338]

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briefly governor of al-Jibāl under al-Maʾmūn (Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 553) and had quelled a revolt in Yemen for that Caliph (Ṭabarī, III, 1062–63). He is described as having achieved a glorious naval victory against the Byzantines, and this may be the expedition aimed at Constantinople that the Greek historians mention as commanded by one Apodeinar (Ibn Dīnār?) and destroyed by a great storm; Vasiliev placed this event in 842. See Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, ed. Beirut, 398 ff. = ed. al-Ṣayrafī, II, 980–85 no. 387; Bury, "Mutasim's March," 273–74; Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, 270; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 176–77, 406–7.

Military operations, not recorded by Ṭabarī or other Arab historians but detailed by Michael the Syrian, also continued in the fronter region through the last years of al-Muʿtaṣim's life. They were conducted by the Amīr Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (Ṭabarī, III, 1171 (p. 15 and n. 58, above); from such raids as these he derived his *nisbah* al-Thaghrī) and by the garrison commander of al-Maṣṣīṣah (Mopsuestia) in Cilicia, Bashīr. See Bury. "Mutasim's March," 275; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 175–76. In the course of fighting near al-Maṣṣīṣah in 225 (839–40) Bashīr and Abū Saʿīd defeated and killed Naṣīr/Nuṣayr, or Theophobus, the leader of the Persian and Kurdish troops from the Khurramiyyah of al-Jibāl in the Byzantine army. The event was celebrated by the poets Abū Tammām and Buḥturī, the latter an eye witness to the events in question. See Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, 269–70; Canard, "Les allusions," 398, 400–1, 403–4; H. Grégoire, "Manuel et Théophobe," 416; Rekaya, "Mise au point sur Théophobe," 65–67.

335. ʿAbbāsid court poet, often dubbed al-Khalīʿ "the debauchee, the libertine" (i.e., one of several *mājin*, or "frivolous, scoffing" poets of this period; see *EI*², s.v. Mudjūn (Ch. Pellat)), who died *ca.* 250 (865); he was in particular favor with al-Muʿtaṣim and his successors. *GAS*, II, 518–19; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk (Ch. Pellat).

336. Described by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 215, as a mountain in eastern Arabia between al-Yamāmah and Ḍariyyah.

337. I.e., that of al-Afshīn; on the ancient Iranian name Kāwūs, Avestan Kawa Usa, see Justi, *op. cit.*, 334–36.

338. This verse is also cited by Yāqūt in his entry on Badhdh, *Muʿjam*, I, 361. Iram Dhāt al-ʿImād "Iram of the Pillars," in Qurʾān LXXXIX:6, was generally

Then he brought forward as a present its ruler Bābak, as a captive,
and as one taken in pledge, in double fetters, humbly
expressing contrition.
And he pierced Theophilus with a well-aimed lance thrust,
which shattered both his armies together and routed him.
The greater part of them were slain, and those who did escape
of them were as meat on a chopping block (i.e., pounded and
cut to pieces).[339]

In the year, al-Muʿtaṣim imprisoned al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn and ordered him to be publicly cursed.

The Reason for al-Muʿtaṣim's Imprisoning al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʾmūn

It has been mentioned that the reason for this was that, when al-Muʿtaṣim sent ʿUjayf b. ʿAnbasah, together with ʿAmr b. ʾr.b.khā al-Farghānī and Muḥammad Kūtah, to the Byzantine lands at the time of the trouble with the king of the Byzantines at Zibaṭrah, he did not give ʿUjayf a free hand regarding expenditure on salaries and supplies as al-Afshīn had been given a free hand, al-Muʿtaṣim having found ʿUjayf's conduct and activities unsatisfactory. This became apparent to ʿUjayf, at which he reprehended al-ʿAbbās for his previous actions at the time of [1257]

taken by the commentators to refer to a mighty city in the Arabian Desert, which had been destroyed by God as part of His punishment of the tribe of ʿĀd; see *EI*², s.v. Iram (W. M. Watt).

339. Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, *Dīwān*, 99–100. These verses and others by this poet are also cited in Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 169–70, trans., 231–32. Canard, "Les allusions," on Arabic poetry alluding to Byzantine-Arab warfare, has been mentioned in n. 334, above; he notes that these allusions are fairly meager and vague but do on occasion add further details to the accounts of the Muslim and Christian historians. See his listing of and comments on the poetry of Buḥturī and, above all, Abū Tammām, 397–403; for a detailed assessment of Abū Tammām's verse, see Haq, *op. cit.*, 24–29. The most famous example is, of course, the *qaṣīdah* in praise of al-Muʿtaṣim's victory at ʿAmmūriyyah, which begins *al-sayfu aṣdaqu anbāʾ^an min al-kutubi* (Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, I, 40–74 no. 3, analyzed by S. P. Stetkevych in "The ʿAbbāsid Poet Interprets History," 60–64, and discussed by M. M. Badawi, "The Function of Rhetoric in Medieval Arabic Poetry," 43–56. It is somewhat surprising that Ṭabarī, who has quoted from Abū Tammām's ode on the fall of al-Badhdh (III, 1233–34 [pp. 92–93, above]) does not cite this even more famous poem of his.

al-Maʾmūn's death, when he had given allegiance to Abū Isḥāq (al-Muʿtaṣim), and for his inadequate measures then,[340] and he encouraged al-ʿAbbās to repair the resultant damage. Al-ʿAbbās undertook to do that and he secretly plotted with a man called al-Ḥārith al-Samarqandī, a kinsman of ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Waḍḍāḥ[341] and a person with whom al-ʿAbbās was on intimate terms.

Al-Ḥārith was a well-educated, intelligent person, skilled in intrigue, so al-ʿAbbās sent him out as his emissary and liaison officer to the commanders [of al-Muʿtaṣim]. He used to circulate around the army camp until a number of commanders came to be on close terms with him and swore allegiance to him [as al-ʿAbbās's representative], including some from [the Caliph's] close entourage. For each one of al-Muʿtaṣim's great commanders he nominated one of his followers whom he trusted, chosen from those who had sworn allegiance to him, and gave him responsibility for that, saying, "When we give the appropriate order, each one of you is to fall upon the person whom we have assigned to you to kill." They each pledged that to him, whereupon he would say to the man who had sworn allegiance to him, "O so-and-so, you are to kill so-and-so," and the man would reply, "All right!" He appointed one of al-Muʿtaṣim's close intimates, who had sworn allegiance to him, to be responsible for [killing] al-Muʿtaṣim, one of al-Afshīn's entourage for al-Afshīn, and one of Ashnās's entourage for Ashnās, all these from the Turks who had sworn allegiance to him; and they gave him their agreement en bloc.

When they were about to enter the mountain pass en route for Anqirah and ʿAmmūriyyah, al-Afshīn having [already] entered [the Byzantine lands] from the region of Malaṭyah, ʿUjayf advised al-ʿAbbās to fall upon al-Muʿtaṣim in the pass while he had few troops with him and the main army had become separated from him and thereupon kill him and return to Baghdad, for the troops would rejoice at the prospect of returning home from the expedition. However, al-ʿAbbās refused to do this and said, "I won't spoil this campaign until they have entered the Byzantine

340. See Ṭabarī, III, 1164 (p. 1, above).
341. *Ibid.*, 1250 (p. 113 and n. 315, above).

lands and conquered 'Ammūriyyah." At this, 'Ujayf said to [1258]
al-'Abbās, "O sleeping one, how long will you remain asleep? 'Ammūriyyah is as good as already captured,[342] and the man (i.e., al-Mu'taṣim) can now be dealt with. Secretly incite some of the troops to plunder these small amounts of captured spoils, and, when al-Mu'taṣim hears the news of this looting, he will immediately ride forth. You can then give orders for him to be killed here on the spot." Al-'Abbās nevertheless refused, saying, "I shall wait until he travels through the pass (i.e., on the way back), for he will be as isolated then as he was on the original way out, and he will be more vulnerable than he now is here."

But 'Ujayf had already actually ordered some troops to plunder the baggage and equipment, so some of the spoils in Aytākh's encampment were actually looted. [As foreseen], al-Mu'taṣim rode out at the gallop [to the looting], but the troops quieted down, for al-'Abbās did not give permission to act freely to any of those men with whom he had a covenant, so that they did nothing, reluctant to undertake any action without his orders.

News of what had been happening on that day reached 'Amr al-Farghānī. He had a relative, a beardless youth, among al-Mu'taṣim's close entourage, and the youth came to drink with 'Amr's sons that night. He informed them that the Commander of the Faithful had ridden in haste and that he himself had run before him, and he reported, "The Commander of the Faithful became angry today and ordered me to draw my sword, saying, 'Anyone who plants himself in front of you, strike him!'" 'Amr heard that report from the youth and was fearful that something unpleasant might happen to him, so he said to the youth, "O my son, you are foolish! Don't spend too much time with the Commander of the Faithful tonight! Keep to your tent, and if you hear any shoutings like these shoutings (of the discontented troops and looters), or any uproar, or anything at all, don't leave your tent, for you are indeed just an inexperienced lad, and you don't yet know how troops can behave." The youth then comprehended 'Amr's speech.

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342. This makes better sense in the context than the translation in Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 77: "'Ammūriyya is already conquered." On this usage of the perfective form of the verb, see W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, II, 2 A, par. 1 (e); cf. H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 301, par. 155.2.b.

Al-Muʿtaṣim set out from ʿAmmūriyyah making for the frontier region. Al-Afshīn dispatched Ibn al-Aqṭaʿ[343] by a road
[1259] different from that of al-Muʿtaṣim and ordered him to press on rapidly[344] to a place he named and to meet him at a certain point along the road, so Ibn al-Aqṭaʿ proceeded onward. Al-Muʿtaṣim also traveled onward toward the frontier region and journeyed until he reached a place where he halted for rest and refreshment and so that the troops might make their way through the defile that lay ahead of them. Ibn al-Aqṭaʿ, with the plunder he had gained, met al-Afshīn's troops, the camps of al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Afshīn being separate from each other, with two miles or more between them.

Ashnās fell ill, so al-Muʿtaṣim rode out at the time of the morning prayer to visit the sick man. He came to his tent and visited him, at a time when al-Afshīn had not yet caught up with him. Al-Muʿtaṣim set off back, when al-Afshīn met him on the road. Al-Muʿtaṣim said to him, "Are you heading for Abū Jaʿfar [Ashnās]?" At the time of al-Muʿtaṣim's departure from his visit to the sick Ashnās, ʿAmr al-Farghānī and Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl both set out to the vicinity of al-Afshīn's encampment so that they might see what captives Ibn al-Aqṭaʿ had brought and purchase any of them that took their fancies. So they headed for the vicinity of al-Afshīn's camp, but al-Afshīn himself, on his way to visit Ashnās, met them. They dismounted and greeted him, while Ashnās's doorkeeper (*ḥājib*) observed the two of them from afar. Al-Afshīn went on to Ashnās and then returned. Meanwhile, ʿAmr and Aḥmad had proceeded to al-Afshīn's encampment, but the captives had not yet been brought out; hence they stood on one side waiting for the public bidding for captives to begin in order to purchase some of them.

Ashnās's doorkeeper went into his master's presence and said, "ʿAmr al-Farghānī and Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl met al-Afshīn as they

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343. I.e., the Amīr of Malaṭyah ʿAmr b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Aqṭaʿ, whose father had, during al-Amīn's reign, yielded up the fortress of Kamakh to the Byzantines in order to secure the freedom of his son. See Balādhurī, *op cit.*, 185; Canard, "Les allusions," 446.

344. Vocalizing *yughīra*, form IV of *gh-w-r*, rather than *yaghīra*, form I of *gh-y-r* "provide provisions" ("and ordered him to bring provisions to a place"), as in Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 78.

were going toward his encampment. They dismounted and greeted him and then continued onward to his encampment." At that, Ashnās summoned Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Sa'dī[345] and said to him, "Go to al-Afshīn's encampment and look if you can see [1260] 'Amr al-Farghānī and Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl there; observe with whom they stop and what they are up to." Muḥammad b. Sa'īd did this and found the two stationary on the backs of their mounts. He asked them, "What has detained you here?" They replied, "We stopped to await Ibn al-Aqṭa'"s captives' being brought out so that we might buy some of them." Muḥammad b. Sa'īd said to them, "Appoint an agent to purchase on your behalf." But they replied, "We don't want to buy anything we don't see personally."

Muḥammad went back and informed Ashnās about that. The latter told his doorkeeper, "Say to those two, 'It would be better for you if you stuck to your own encampment'"—meaning [by "those two"] 'Amr and Ibn al-Khalīl—"'and don't keep wandering hither and thither.'" The doorkeeper accordingly gave them this message. They were perturbed by it and put their heads together and decided to go to the camp intelligence officer (*ṣāḥib khabar al-'askar*) and ask to be removed from responsibility to Ashnās as their military superior. They therefore went to him and said, "We are the Commander of the Faithful's slaves, and he can attach us to whomsoever he wishes. But this fellow (i.e., Ashnās) treats us with contempt; he has reviled and threatened us, and we are afraid that he is going to take measures against us. So let the Commander of the Faithful attach us to whomsoever [else] he wishes." The intelligence officer repeated that to al-Mu'taṣim the very same day.

The striking of camp coincided with the time of the morning worship. When the troops set out the armies traveled separately. Ashnās, al-Afshīn, and all the commanders in the Commander of

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345. Ms. C has the variant (n. *l*) of "al-Ṣughdī" for this *nisbah*, which would actually fit well with the Transoxanian Iranian origin of many of al-Mu'taṣim's senior military commanders. The Banū Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt were a clan of Tamīm (cf. Ṭabarī, III, 1146; Ibn al-Kalbī, *op. cit.*, I, Tafel 75, II, Register, 497; *EI*[1], s.v. Tamīm [G. Levi della Vida]), but Muḥammad b. Sa'īd may well have been of non-Arab mawlā origin, with a forebear who had become affiliated to the genuinely Arab Banū Sa'd.

the Faithful's army went on [together]; they appointed their deputies over the armies, and these were to travel with the armies. Al-Afshīn was in command of the left wing and Ashnās was over the right wing. When Ashnās went to al-Muʿtaṣim, the latter told him, "Punish ʿAmr al-Farghānī and Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl in an exemplary fashion, for they have made fools of themselves."

With that, Ashnās galloped off to his encampment. He asked
[1261] for ʿAmr and Ibn al-Khalīl. He found ʿAmr all right, but Ibn al-Khalīl had already gone forward with the left wing of the army, hastening toward the Byzantines. They brought ʿAmr al-Farghānī to Ashnās, who said, "Bring whips!" ʿAmr remained stripped for a long time, but the whips were not brought. ʿAmr's paternal uncle, who was a Persian (*aʿjamī*), spoke to Ashnās on ʿAmr's behalf, with the latter meanwhile waiting there. Ashnās thereupon said, "Carry him away and dress him in a *qabāṭāq*,"[346] so they bore him away on a mule in a canopied litter (*qubbah*) and took him to the camp. Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl galloped up, and Ashnās said, "Imprison this fellow with him." So he was made to dismount from his steed and put [in the litter] as the counterbalance[347] to ʿAmr, and the two of them were delivered to Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Saʿdī, who was to keep them under guard. He pitched for them a twin-poled tent[348] with a room and a table [for food], and he spread out for them mattresses and bedding,[349] and provided a tank of water. Their baggage and their slave boys remained in the encampment, and Muḥammad did not take away any of these. The two of them remained thus until they reached the mountain of al-Ṣafṣāf, Ashnās being in command of the rear guard (of the whole forces) and Bughā [al-Kabīr] being in command of the rear guard of al-Muʿtaṣim's [section of the] army.

When the army came to al-Ṣafṣāf and the Farghānī youth, who was a relative of ʿAmr's, heard of ʿAmr's imprisonment, he mentioned to al-Muʿtaṣim the conversation that had gone on between him and ʿAmr that night, including ʿAmr's words to

346. Not identified exactly, but possibly a gown, either sleeveless or with short sleeves, to be equated with the *b.gh.l.tāq* mentioned in Dozy, *Vêtements*, 81–84.

347. Here *ʿadīl*; in Ṭabarī, III, 1325 (p. 211, below), the term *zamīl* is used. Such a litter had two seats, one on each side of the mount.

348. *Fāzah*; see p. 81 n. 211, above.

349. *Ṭayyah*, translated as "platform" in Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 80.

him, "If you perceive an uproar, stay inside your tent." Al-Muʿtaṣim said to Bughā, "Do not set out tomorrow morning until you go first to Ashnās; then take over custody of ʿAmr from him and bring him to me." This took place at al-Ṣafṣāf. Bughā halted with his banners, awaiting Ashnās. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd appeared with ʿAmr and Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl, at which Bughā said to Ashnās, "The Commander of the Faithful has ordered me to bring ʿAmr to him immediately." ʿAmr was therefore made to descend [from the litter], and some other man was placed in the litter with Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl to counterbalance it, and Bughā brought ʿAmr [1262] to al-Muʿtaṣim. Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl sent one of his slave boys to ʿAmr, so that he might learn what had been done with him. The slave boy came back and informed him that ʿAmr had been taken to the Commander of the Faithful's presence, had stayed there for a while, and then had been handed over to Aytākh and that, when he came in, the Commander of the Faithful had questioned ʿAmr about the words he had said to the youth who was his relative but that ʿAmr had denied this and had stated, "This lad was drunk and did not understand; I didn't say anything of what he has mentioned." Al-Muʿtaṣim gave orders, however, and ʿAmr was handed over to Aytākh.

Al-Muʿtaṣim traveled onward till he came to the entrance of the defiles leading to al-Budandūn,[350] and Ashnās remained there for three days waiting for the Commander of the Faithful's troops to emerge safely from it, because he was in charge of the rear guard.

Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl now wrote a letter to Ashnās telling him that he had valuable information for the Commander of the Faithful, Ashnās being at that moment stationed at the defile of al-Budandūn. Ashnās dispatched to him Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb[351] and Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf to ask him about the nature

350. I.e., the Podandos River in Cilicia, north of Ṭarsūs; see Honigmann, *op. cit.*, 44–45, 82. It was here that the Caliph al-Maʾmūn suffered his fatal illness in 218 (833). See Ṭabarī, III, 1133; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 122.

351. I.e., Aḥmad al-Ǧarǧarāʾī, at this time secretary to Ashnās, later to the prince al-Muntaṣir and, after the latter became Caliph, vizier; he died in 265 (879). He had a residence at Sāmarrā when it was first laid out. See Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 113, 212, 217–18, 230; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 262–65, 287–89; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḏjarḏjarāʾī (D. Sourdel).

of this information, but Aḥmad averred that he would communicate it to no one but the Commander of the Faithful personally. The two envoys returned and reported that to Ashnās, who said, "Go back, and swear to him that I myself have sworn by the life of the Commander of the Faithful that, unless he reveals this information to me, I will have him flogged to death."

They retraced their steps and repeated these words to Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl. He made all those present with him leave, and only Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and Abū Saʿīd were left. He then communicated to them what ʿAmr al-Farghānī had proposed to him concerning al-ʿAbbās; he explained to them everything that [1263] he knew and gave them information about the activities of al-Ḥārith al-Samarqandī. The two of them then went back to Ashnās and informed him about the whole affair. At this, Ashnās sent for blacksmiths, and they brought two blacksmiths from the army. He provided them with iron and told them, "Make for me shackles like those now on Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl, and get it done immediately," and they did that. Now at the time for the evening worship Ashnās's doorkeeper used to spend the night at Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl's in company with Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Saʿdī. But on this particular night, at the time for the evening worship, the doorkeeper went to al-Ḥārith al-Samarqandī's tent, made him come out, and took him along to Ashnās. The latter put him in shackles and ordered the doorkeeper to bear him to the Commander of the Faithful, and the doorkeeper did this. Ashnās's departure coincided with the time for the morning worship. When he reached the place of his encampment, al-Ḥārith met him, [now] wearing robes of honor and in the company of al-Muʿtaṣim's officials. Ashnās said to him, "What's all this?"[352] Al-Ḥārith replied, "The shackles that were on my leg have now been transferred to al-ʿAbbas's leg!"

When al-Ḥārith had come to him al-Muʿtaṣim had questioned him about his activities, and al-Ḥārith had confessed that he was al-ʿAbbās's secret agent (*ṣāḥib al-khabar*), revealing to the caliph everything he had done and providing information about all those commanders who had pledged allegiance to al-ʿAbbās. Al-Muʿtaṣim then freed al-Ḥārith and presented to him robes of

352. *Mah*, literally, "steady on there!"; see W. Wright, *op. cit.*, I, 295.

honor but did not move against those commanders because of their numbers and the many who were specifically named among them.

Al-Muʿtaṣim was much disquieted over al-ʿAbbās's plot. When he marched out to the mountain pass he sent for al-ʿAbbās, set him free,[353] treated him kindly, and led him to believe that he (the caliph) had forgiven him. He ate his midday meal with al-ʿAbbās and then sent him back to his tent. At night he summoned al-ʿAbbās, made him his partner in conviviality over *nabīdh*,[354] and plied him [with it] until he had rendered him intoxicated and then made him swear an oath not to conceal from him any aspect of his undertaking. Consequently al-ʿAbbās disclosed to him his plan and gave him the names of all those who [1264] had clandestinely entered into his plot, and [he further disclosed to him] how each one of them had become involved in it. Al-Muʿtaṣim recorded this and kept it safe. After that, he summoned al-Ḥārith al-Samarqandī and questioned him about the occasion and reasons [of those involved in the plot]. Al-Ḥārith repeated to him and confirmed al-ʿAbbās's story, whereupon al-Muʿtaṣim ordered al-ʿAbbās to be shackled. He told al-Ḥārith, "I made it easy for you to have lied so that I might consequently have a just cause for shedding your blood, but you did not do so, hence have escaped." Al-Ḥārith replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, I am not a liar!" At that point al-Muʿtaṣim handed over al-ʿAbbās to al-Afshīn.[355]

From then onward al-Muʿtaṣim pursued those commanders relentlessly, and the whole lot of them was arrested. He ordered that Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl be transported on a mule with a packsaddle but no saddleblanket, left in the sun whenever he

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353. The sequence of events in the unmasking of the plot against al-Muʿtaṣim is not entirely clear. It may be that al-ʿAbbās was put in irons on two occasions (see below), or perhaps, as Marin suggests (Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 81 n. 383), al-ʿAbbās had been under some sort of surveillance as a suspect.

354. This was properly any intoxicating drink fermented from anything but grapes, e.g., dates; see *EI*[1], s.v. Khamr (A. J. Wensinck), and *EI*[2], s.v. Khamr. I. Juridical Aspects (A. J. Wensinck).

355. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 581, the great sum of 116,000 dīnārs was found with al-ʿAbbās when he was arrested. This was divided out among the regularly salaried troops (*murtaziqah*), two dīnārs each; al-Muʿtaṣim made up from his own resources the difference between this and the larger sum required, so that all these troops could benefit.

halted, and fed with a single loaf of bread per day. ʿUjayf b. ʿAnbasah was arrested among those commanders who were seized, and he was handed over, together with the rest of the commanders, to Aytākh, [except that] Ibn al-Khalīl was handed over to Ashnās. ʿUjayf and his companions were transported along the road on mules with packsaddles but no blankets. Al-Shāh b. Sahl, the hereditary leader of the people of a region of Khurāsān called Sijistān,[356] was also arrested. Al-Muʿtaṣim sent for him when al-ʿAbbās was also there in his presence and said to him, "O son of a whore, I treated you with kindness, but you were ungrateful!" Al-Shāh b. Sahl replied to him, "If only this son of a whore who is with you now"—meaning al-ʿAbbās— "had left me alone, you yourself would not at this moment be able to sit in this session and call me a son of a whore!" With that, al-Muʿtaṣim ordered his decapitation. Al-Shāh was the first of the commanders, in company with his retainers (*ṣaḥb*), to be killed.

ʿUjayf was handed over to Aytākh, who loaded him with numerous iron fetters and had him transported on a mule in a [1265] litter without any saddle blanket.

As for al-ʿAbbās, he was in the custody of al-Afshīn. When al-Muʿtaṣim halted at Manbij,[357] al-ʿAbbās was hungry and asked for food. Ample food[358] was brought to him, and he ate, but when he asked for water this was refused, and he was wrapped in a felt blanket (*misḥ*). As a result, he died at Manbij, and one of his brothers prayed over him.[359]

As for ʿAmr al-Farghānī, when al-Muʿtaṣim halted in a garden in Niṣībīn,[360] he sent for the owner of the garden and told him to

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356. Perhaps the scion of a local dynasty of Sīstān, which fell within the governorate of Khurāsān, held at this time by ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, who appointed deputies over Sīstān to fight the local Khārijites, as related in the relevant section of the anonymous local history of the region, the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, 181 ff., trans., 144 ff., though there is no mention there of al-Shāh b. Sahl.

357. A town on the Euphrates, in al-Jazīrah, where there was a bridge of boats over the river. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 205–7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 107; idem, *Palestine*, 501–2; Canard, *Histoire*, 87–88; *EI*², s.v. Manbidj (N. Elisséeff).

358. Very salty food, according to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 581.

359. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 489–92; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *op. cit.*, I, 69.

360. A town on the Hirmās River in al-Jazīrah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 288–89; Le Strange, *Lands*, 94–95; Canard, *Histoire*, 103; *EI*¹, s.v. Naṣībīn (E. Honigmann).

dig a pit, to the depth of a man's height, in a place that he indicated by making a sign with his head. The owner of the garden began to dig it out. Then he sent for 'Amr, al-Mu'taṣim being at that time seated in the garden, having drunk several cups of *nabīdh*. He did not utter a word to 'Amr, nor did 'Amr speak to him until, when 'Amr was there before him, al-Mu'taṣim ordered, "Strip him!" He was stripped and flogged with whips by the Turks. The pit was meanwhile in process of being excavated until, when the digging was completed, the owner of the garden reported, "I have dug it out." At that, al-Mu'taṣim issued orders, and 'Amr's face and body were beaten with wooden cudgels; he was beaten continuously until he fell to the ground. Then al-Mu'taṣim said, "Drag him to the pit and throw him into it." 'Amr meanwhile did not speak or utter a sound all through that day until he died. He was hurled into the pit, and it was filled up with earth on top of him.

As for 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasah, when he reached Bā'aynāthā,[361] a little distance above Balad,[362] he died in the litter.[363] [His corpse] was thrown down and left with the commander of the garrison, who ordered that he be buried there. Hence he took the corpse to the side of a ruined wall; he threw the corpse down by it, and the corpse was buried there. It has been recorded from 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Raydānī that he said: 'Ujayf was in the custody of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab. Al-Mu'taṣim inquired of Muḥammad about 'Ujayf and asked him, "O Muḥammad, is [1266] 'Ujayf not dead yet?" He replied, "O my lord, he will die today." Muḥammad then went back to his tent and said to 'Ujayf, "O Abū Ṣāliḥ, what do you have a craving for?" He answered, "Some *isfīdbāj*[364] and *fālūdhaj* sweetmeats."[365] Muḥammad ordered a

361. A town in al-Jazīrah on the al-Mawṣil-Naṣībīn road, to the northwest of Balad. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 325; Le Strange, *Lands*, 99; Canard, *Histoire*, 106, 110.

362. A town on the Tigris to the north of al-Mawṣil, the modern Eski Mawṣil. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 481–82; Le Strange, *Lands*, 99; Canard, *Histoire*, 106, 117.

363. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 582, 'Ujayf was brought from Adana in Cilicia in heavy chains, with a felt gag sewn over his mouth and a large fetter round his neck.

364. A dish made with meat, onions, etc.; see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 22.

365. See p. 89 n. 237, above.

meal of all these foodstuffs to be made for him, and ʿUjayf ate. He asked for water, but this was denied him, and he kept on asking and pleading for it until he died. He was then buried at Bāʿaynāthā.[366]

He continued to relate: As for the Turk who had undertaken to al-ʿAbbās to kill Ashnās whenever al-ʿAbbās should give the order—he being regarded with great favor by Ashnās, treated by him as a boon companion, and never denied access to him by day or night—al-Muʿtaṣim ordered him to be imprisoned. Ashnās imprisoned him next to himself in a house whose door he bricked up with clay, and he used to provide him with a loaf of bread and a pitcher of water each day. One day the Turk's son came to him, and he talked with him from behind the wall, saying, "O my dear son, if only you could get me a knife, I could free myself from this place." His son kept on using various subterfuges until he managed to get a knife to him; the Turk then killed himself with it.

As for al-Sindī b. Bukhtāshah,[367] al-Muʿtaṣim ordered that he should be given back to his father, Bukhtāshah, because Bukhtāshah had not been smeared in any way by al-ʿAbbās's conspiracy. Al-Muʿtaṣim said, "This venerable shaykh should not be afflicted through [the loss of] his son." And he ordered the son to be set free.

As for Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl, Ashnās handed him over to Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Saʿdī, who dug a pit for him in al-Jazīrah at Sāmarrā. One day, al-Muʿtaṣim asked about him and said to
[1267] Ashnās, "What is Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl doing?" Ashnās told him, "He is with Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Saʿdī, who had a pit dug for him and then covered it over, leaving, however, a hole so that bread and water could be lowered down to him." Al-Muʿtaṣim replied, "This fellow must, I think, have grown fat under these

366. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 582, states that ʿUjayf's son Ṣāliḥ asked the Caliph for permission to drop his father's name from his *nasab* and to be called Ṣāliḥ al-Muʿtaṣimī; he also cursed his father and cut off all connection with him.

367. The consonants and vocalization of this name are uncertain; conceivably his father was one of the local rulers of Transoxania or the east. Al-Sindī survived and regained favor, for he is heard of in 248 (862) commanding the right wing on the summer raid (*ṣāʾifah*) into Byzantine territory; see Ṭabarī, III, 1481.

conditions." Ashnās told Muḥammad b. Sa'īd about that, and the latter ordered that Aḥmad b. Khalīl should be given water and that it should be poured over him in the pit until he died and the pit was filled up. Accordingly, water was continuously poured over him, but the sand soaked it up, and he did not drown, nor did the pit fill. Ashnās therefore ordered him to be handed over to Ghiṭrīf al-Khujandī.[368] This was done; he lingered with him for a few days and then died and was buried.

As for Harthamah b. al-Naḍr al-Khuttalī,[369] he was governor of al-Marāghah and was one of those whom al-'Abbās named as among his fellow conspirators. Al-Mu'taṣim gave written orders that he should be transported in irons, but al-Afshīn spoke up for him and asked al-Mu'taṣim for Harthamah to be awarded to him as a gift. This al-Mu'taṣim did. Al-Afshīn thereupon wrote a letter to Harthamah b. al-Naḍr informing him that the Commander of the Faithful had given his person over to himself and that he (al-Afshīn) had now appointed him governor over the region where he would receive the letter. Harthamah was brought to al-Dīnawar[370] at nightfall in shackles and flung down in the caravanserai, still fastened in irons. Then the letter reached him in the course of the night; morning came, and he was governor of al-Dīnawar.

The remainder of the commanders, comprising Turks, men of Farghānah, and others, none of whose names have been preserved, were killed in their entirety.[371]

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368. I.e., from Khujandah in Farghānah; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 347–48; Le Strange, *Lands*, 479; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 164–66; *EI*², s.v. Khudjand(a) (C. E. Bosworth).

369. I.e., from Khuttal or Khuttalān, a principality to the north of the upper Oxus; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 346–47; Le Strange, *Lands*, 438–39; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 69; *EI*², s.v. Khuttalān (C. E. Bosworth).

370. An important town in al-Jibāl, known in earliest Islamic times as Māh al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 545–46; Le Strange, *Lands*, 189, 227; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 473 ff.; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 207–8; *EI*², s.v. Dīnawar (L. Lockhart).

371. According to *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 398, al-Mu'taṣim killed some seventy commanders in all, the greater part of those participating in the 'Ammūriyyah campaign, by various methods: beheading, strangling, gibbeting on a wooden beam, etc. The result of this mass slaughter must have been a considerable diminution in the Khurāsānian and Transoxanian element among the leading commanders of the army and a corresponding rise in the influence of the Turkish

Al-Muʿtaṣim reached Sāmarrā safely and in the best of circumstances. On that day al-ʿAbbās was publicly called "The Accursed One." and al-Maʾmūn's [other] sons by Sundus[372] were handed over to Aytākh. They were imprisoned in an underground cellar in his house, where they later died.[373]

[1268] In this year, in Shawwāl (August–September 838), Isḥaq b. Ibrāhīm [al-Muṣʿabī][374] was wounded by one of his servants (or: eunuchs, *khādim*).[375]

In this year Muḥammad b. Dāwūd led the Pilgrimage.[376]

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slave element, a trend accentuated a year or so later by the arrest and condemnation of the Iranian al-Afshīn (Ṭabarī, III, 1303–13, 1314–18 [pp. 179–93, 195–200, below]). See also Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 492–93; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 144.

372. This name literally means "fine silk brocade," the sort of name one would expect a slave concubine to have. The sons are named by Azdī, *op. cit.*: Hārūn, Aḥmad, ʿĪsā, and Ismāʿīl.

373. According to Ṭabarī, III, 1383, Aytākh took charge of executions for al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāthiq, and many important prisoners were committed to his charge. For the other primary sources on the conspiracy around al-ʿAbbās and its aftermath, see Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 581–82 (with several details not in Ṭabarī); Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 136–37 = par. 2818; Azdī, *op. cit.*, 427–28; *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 395–98; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 489–93. See also Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 166–67.

374. I.e., the governor of Baghdad; see p. 3 n. 8, above.

375. The general term *khādim* "servant" was extensively used in this period as a euphemism for such blunter terms as *khaṣī* and *majbūb*, as has been emphasized and documented in great detail by Ayalon, *Military Reforms*, 3–4, 42–43; idem, "On the Eunuchs in Islam," 74–89; and *EI*², s.v. Khaṣī. I. In the Central Islamic Lands (Ch. Pellat).

376. Khalīfah, *op. cit.*, II, 787; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 494; but, according to Azdī, it was ʿAlī b. Dāwūd al-Hāshimī who led this rite.

The Events of the Year 224

(November 23, 838–November 11, 839)

These included the open rebellion of Māzyār b. Qārin b. Wandāhurmuz[377] in Ṭabaristān against al-Mu'taṣim and his warfare against the people of the plain and the chief towns there.[378]

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377. On the etymology of the name Māzyār, see Justi, *op. cit.*, 201–2; and Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, II, 56 and n. 4: "helper, friend of Māhīzad"; cf. the form Māyazdyār in Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, 134, 339–40.

378. The roots of this episode lay in the complex family rivalries in the petty Caspian principalities but became entangled with tensions within the caliphate from the time of al-Ma'mūn and his minister al-Faḍl b. Sahl, on one side, and the Ṭāhirids, on the other. Essentially, it involved the Qārinid family, local rulers in the mountainous inland parts of Ṭabaristān, and their rivals in the Elburz Mountains region, the Bāduspānids and Bāwandids of Jabal Sharwīn. The Qārinids first appear in history, as opposed to legend, with the revolt of Māzyār's grandfather Wandād-Hurmuzd against the Muslim tax collectors of al-Mahdī in 165 (781–82). Qārin succeeded his father at some point during al-Ma'mūn's reign and was then succeeded, after only a short reign, apparently toward the end of al-Ma'mūn's caliphate, by his own son Māzyār. The Qārinid domains were at this time shrinking under pressure from the neighboring Bāwandid prince Shahriyār. At one point Māzyār had to flee Ṭabaristān altogether and take refuge at al-Ma'mūn's court, where he became a Muslim, in effect a client of al-Faḍl b. Sahl, and the first of his line to embrace the Islamic faith. He assumed the name of Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Qārin and the title "Mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful." Māzyār's fortunes now began to revive. He defeated the Bāwandids and

The Reason for Māzyār's Open Rebellion against al-Muʿtaṣim and His Severe Measures with the People of the Plain

It has been mentioned[379] that the reason for that was that Māzyār b. Qārin had an antipathy toward the house of Ṭāhir and would refuse to hand over the land tax (*kharāj*) to the Ṭāhirids (i.e., through their intermediacy). Al-Muʿtaṣim would write to him, ordering him to convey the taxation to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, and Māzyār would say, "I won't convey it to him, but I *will* convey it [directly] to the Commander of the Faithful." So, when al-Māzyār brought the taxation to him, al-Muʿtaṣim would direct one of his

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sought to extend his authority, by oppressive and brutal methods, into the coastal plain of Ṭabaristān, with its centers at Āmul and Sāriyah. First al-Maʾmūn and then al-Muʿtaṣim confirmed him in his position as *Ispahbadh*, or prince, of Ṭabaristān, and Māzyār was thus able to adopt grandiloquent titles (see Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 582; Ṭabarī, III, 1298 [p. 172, below]). He became more and more tyrannical and independent, maltreating both the Muslim population of the coastal towns and the Zoroastrian *dihqān* class of landowners. He refused, as Ṭabarī here details, to send the land tax of Ṭabaristān to the Caliph via his family's ancient rivals the Ṭāhirids, who, as governors of Khurāsān, were at least nominally his suzerains; he insisted on sending it directly to Iraq. Finally, he revolted against the central government.

The primary sources for Māzyār's earlier career and his revolt are Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, 339–40; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 582–83; Ṭabarī's account here; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-buldān*, 305–7, trans., 362–63; and Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 137–39 = pars. 2819–22 (followed by *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 399–403, and Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 495–505 (but totally omitted in Ṭabarī, trans. Balʿamī). From a somewhat later date the local chronicles of the Caspian region include Ibn Isfandiyār, *op. cit.*, 145–57, and Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, 114–18, 231.

Secondary sources include Rabino di Borgomale, "Les dynasties du Māzandarān," 408–9; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 290–303 (mainly on Māzyār's part in al-Afshīn's trial but pointing out, 301–2 n. 4, that Ṭabarī's account of Māzyār's revolt includes material from four sources of varying reliability plus two short fragments, unimportant but with some extra details); E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 125; Rekaya, "Māzyār"; idem, "La place des provinces" (stressing that Māzyār's uprising was not an anti-Islamic movement of Iranian socioreligious protest against the incoming Arabs but rather a familiar early Islamic type of rebellion by a provincial governor against the central government in distant Iraq, there being no doubt about Māzyār's continued adherence to the Islamic faith); Mottahedeh, *op. cit.*, 75–76; Bosworth, "Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids," 100; Madelung, "Minor Dynasties," 204–5; Scarcia Amoretti, *op. cit.*, 506; Frye, *Golden Age*, 116–117; Kabbi, *op. cit.*, 253–57; *EI*[1], s.v. Māzyār (V. Minorsky); *EI*[2], s.v. Ḳārinids (M. Rekaya).

379. This short section, from an unnamed authority, at III, 1267–68, is the first of the sources drawn upon by Ṭabarī for his account of the revolt.

own officials, as soon as the money should reach Hamadhān, to collect the whole of it together and hand it over to 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir's representative, so that the latter might take it back to Khurāsān.[380] This was his procedure for a complete run of several years, with Māzyār showing his detestation of the house of Ṭāhir until the affair between them grew serious.

From time to time al-Afshīn used to hear talk from al-Mu'taṣim, indicating that he would like to remove the Ṭāhirids from Khurāsān.[381] When al-Afshīn had overcome Bābak and had secured in al-Mu'taṣim's counsels a position such that no one had [1269] precedence before him, he came to covet the governorship of Khurāsān. He got news of Māzyār's antipathy toward the Ṭāhirids and hoped that it would become a reason for removing 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. He therefore began intriguing by means of letters to al-Māzyār,[382] endeavoring to win him over by an appeal to fellow feelings as a Persian of noble birth and status (*yastamīluhu*

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380. This compromise perhaps indicates that the Caliph was somewhat unwilling to throw his weight entirely behind the authority of the Ṭāhirids in Khurāsān, as would follow from the anti-Ṭāhirid talk attributed below to al-Mu'taṣim; see, further, n. 381, below.

381. That a deep distrust and hostility existed between al-Mu'taṣim and 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir became something of an *idée fixe* in subsequent *adab* works (see, e.g., the anecdote about an exchange of letters between the two in Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī, *op. cit.*, ed. Schwally, 477–78 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 196–97, and the episode in Shābushtī, *Kitāb al-diyārāt*, 139–40, related on the authority of al-Faḍl b. Marwān (cf. G. Rothstein, "Zu aš-Šābuštī's Bericht," 164) and in the work of later historians (e.g., the Ghaznavid historian Gardīzī's statement, *op. cit.*, ed. Ḥabībī, 136 = ed. Nāẓim, 7, that al-Mu'taṣim plotted to poison 'Abdallāh, who had slighted him during al-Ma'mūn's reign). Barthold, *Turkestan*, 208–9, accepted such stories as true and attributed to the Caliph a deep hatred for 'Abdallāh. The whole question is considered at length by Kaabi, *op. cit.*, 247–53, who suggests that it was in the nature of things for the Caliph to be suspicious of the Ṭāhirids' immense power in both Iraq and Khurāsān and that, in the light of these suspicions, the stories in the sources must contain some truth. Certainly 'Abdallāh never left his governorate to come to the caliphal court (a reluctance prominently mentioned in the stories about their mutual coolness). But Kaabi points out that in practice both sides acted with prudence and restraint. Al-Mu'taṣim recognized the fundamental importance of a well-governed, prosperous Khurāsān for the stability of his caliphate, while 'Abdallāh never displayed any sign of insubordination or desire for independence, fully acknowledging his dependence on the Caliph, for example, by forwarding the tribute, including Turkish military slaves, regularly to the capital in Iraq.

382. As is already apparent, the name Māzyār sometimes appears with and sometimes without the Arabic definite article.

bi-al-dahqanah), telling him of his (al-Afshīn's) affection for him and that he had been promised the governorship of Khurāsān. This induced al-Māzyār to stop delivering the taxation due from him to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.[383]

ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, for his part, kept continually dispatching letters about al-Māzyār to al-Muʿtaṣim until he made the latter fearful and angry about him.[384] This impelled al-Māzyār to rise up in rebellion and withhold taxation.[385] He took up a firm position in the mountains of Ṭabaristān and its outlying fringes, which was making al-Afshīn rejoice and leading him to covet the province. Al-Muʿtaṣim thereupon wrote to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, ordering him to make war upon Māzyār, while al-Afshīn wrote to al-Māzyār ordering him to make war on ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir and telling him that he would favorably represent his best interests at al-Muʿtaṣim's court.[386] Al-Māzyār would stand up against ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir and resist him, to the point that al-Muʿtaṣim

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383. See Rekaya, "Māzyār," 159–61. Despite the doubts thrown by Rekaya on the translation of the phrase *yastamīluhu bi-al-dahqanah*, given here and earlier by Minorsky, it still seems preferable to his "pour attirer (par la promesse de lui consentir la qualité de) dihqān." Such a promise would hold nothing fresh for Māzyār, already virtually an independent ruler in Ṭabaristān.

384. For ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir's role in the affair of Māzyār, see Kaabi, *op. cit.*, 253–55, who emphasizes that the dispute between Māzyār and ʿAbdallāh was purely political and secular in origin; Māzyār was attempting to establish for himself a position in the Caspian provinces analogous to that of ʿAbdallāh in Khurāsān. A further factor was the earlier hostility between the Ṭāhirids and Sahlids, Māzyār having a connection with the latter (see n. 378, above).

385. *Kafara wa-ghadara*, in the words of Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, 339, who places the event six years and a few months after al-Muʿtaṣim's accession, i.e., in 224; but the rebellion may well have begun earlier, and Māzyār seems to have made his preparation in 223 (837–38). The use of *kafara* does not imply Māzyār's apostasy from Islam, and no other early sources state this. The verb is used here in its earliest signification, "to show ingratitude" > "to rebel." Only the fifth (eleventh)-century historian Gardīzī, *op. cit.*, ed. Nāẓim, 8 = ed. Ḥabībī, 136–37, explicitly attributes to Māzyār the doctrines of Bābak and the adoption of red garments like those of the Khurramiyyah, and the seventh (thirteenth)-century source of Ibn Isfandiyār, *op. cit.*, 153, speaks of Māzyār's demolition of mosques in the coastal region of Ṭabaristān and his grant of public offices to Zoroastrians.

386. That al-Afshīn urged Māzyār on in his rebellion is repeated by Ṭabarī at III, 1305 (p. 182, below). As Rekaya points out, in the words exchanged at al-Afshīn's trial between him and Māzyār, reported by Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 583, Māzyār categorically avers that al-Afshīn had never corresponded with him, though acknowledging that his steward or agent (*wakīl*) had on occasion been kindly received by al-Afshīn.

would of necessity have to send him and others to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir (i.e., to take the situation in hand and restore order).

It has been mentioned from Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Thaqafī al-Ṭabarī[387] that, when al-Māzyār resolved on rebellion, he summoned his people to pledge allegiance. This they pledged to him, but unwillingly, so he took hostages from them and imprisoned them in the Iṣbahbadh's fortress (*burj*). He also ordered the peasant cultivators on the estates to rise up against the owners of those estates and to plunder their wealth.[388] Al-Māzyār had [previously] been corresponding with Bābak, egging him on and offering him assistance. Hence, when al-Mu'taṣim had completed his campaign against Bābak and was free, he let it become widespread among the people that the Commander of the Faithful planned to travel to Qarmāsīn[389] and was sending al-Afshīn to al-Rayy[390] to combat Māzyār.[391] [1270]

387. This account, at III, 1269–82, 1282–93, is the second and longest of the four given by Ṭabarī: highly detailed, circumstantial, and apparently worthy of credence; cf. Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 301 n. 4. Minorsky, in *EI*[1], s.v. Māzyār in the bibliography, questioned whether the *rāwī* Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ might not be a kinsman of the Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ who became governor of Ṭabaristān, Rūyān, and Dunbāwand under al-Ma'mūn in 207 (822–23) but died in 211 (826–27); he was succeeded there by his son Muḥammad (Ṭabarī, III, 1066, 1098).

388. This item of information has been used by certain modern writers to support the assertion that Māzyār's revolt was rooted in the ancient Iranian customs and ways of thought, aiming at a restoration of past glories and involving a kind of primitive communism and a hatred of the landowning classes similar to that of the Mazdakites in Sāsānid times. Rekaya ("Māzyār," 157–68; "La place des provinces," 145–46) has refuted this thesis, pointing out that what we have here is simply a policy on the part of Māzyār to eliminate his political opponents, those opposed to the extension of his arbitrary power, in which he used whatever means came to hand. Minorsky noted that Māzyār's violence and tyranny against all opposition in Ṭabaristān remained proverbial in the time of Ẓahīr al-Dīn Mar'ashī (ninth [fifteenth] century); *EI*[1], s.v. Māzyār, and cf. Ibn Isfandiyār, *op. cit.*, 152, and Mar'ashī, *op. cit.*, 118.

389. The town of al-Jibāl more recently known as Kirmānshāh. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 330–31; Le Strange, *Lands*, 186–88; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 480–82; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 195–198; *EI*[2], s.v. Kirmānshāh (A. K. S. Lambton).

390. A town in northern Persia on the highroad to Khurāsān, commanding the approaches to Ṭabaristān and Gurgān; it lay just south of modern Tehran. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 116–21; Le Strange, *Lands*, 214–17; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 740–81; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 122–26; *EI*[1], s.v. Raiy (V. Minorsky).

391. The question whether there had really been any collusion between Bābak in Ādharbayjān and Arrān, on one hand, and Māzyār in Ṭabaristān, on the other, has aroused the interest of modern historians. Some recent Persian scholars have

When al-Māzyār heard about the people being thrown into a state of alarm through hearing news of that, he ordered that a cadastral survey[392] be made of the land, except for [the lands of] those who came to an agreement for paying taxation on their estates at a rate three times a [normal] tithe; action would be taken against anyone who refused to come to such an agreement and an increased assessment, and never a diminished one, levied against him.[393] Then he composed a letter to the official of his responsible for collecting the land tax, this official being a man called Shādhān b. al-Faḍl, the text of which was as follows:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.[394] Information has been continually reaching us, and we have given it full credence, on the subject of what foolish people in Khurāsān and Ṭabaristān are disquietingly spreading concerning us, the [false] reports that they are engendering against us, and the

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assumed the existence of a vast, anti-Arab conspiracy, involving not only Bābak but also the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus [see Ṭabarī, III, 1234–35 [p. 94 and n. 266, above]] and al-Afshīn, echoing the words, put into Māzyār's mouth at the time of his capture by 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir by the later historian Ibn Isfandiyār, *op. cit.*, 155, that for many years he and Bābak and Afshīn Ḥaydar b. Kāwūs [read thus for "Afshīn and Ḥaydar b. Kāwūs" in Ibn Isfandiyār's text] had been plotting the downfall of the Arabs and the restoration of the ancient Persian empire. This seems even more unlikely than the possibility of limited contact between Bābak and Māzyār, for which there is no solid evidence. Sadighi's conclusion, *op. cit.*, 297 ff., was that all such accusations are highly dubious [even if the idea of a revival of former Persian glories does seem to have been in circulation at the popular level in some regions], affirmed by Rekaya, "Māzyār."

What does seem true is what Ṭabarī states here: that al-Afshīn coveted the government of Khurāsān and, having acquired an access of prestige through the capture of Bābak and through his part in the campaign against 'Ammūriyyah and the Greeks, thought that, if 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir became embroiled in the revolt of Māzyār over a long period of time and proved unable to suppress it, al-Afshīn himself would then be able to put himself forward to the Caliph as the one person in the empire who could save the situation in the east [cf. Ṭabarī, III, 1305 [p. 182, below]].

392. I.e., a *misāḥah*, for which term see F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, 108 ff., and *EI*², s.v. Misāḥa. 3. As a Technical Financial Term [Ed.].

393. Māzyār was clearly boosting his financial resources in preparation for a long war against the Ṭāhirids.

394. One would not expect Māzyār to begin his letter with the *basmalah* if he had in fact apostatized from Islam.

violent feeling against our dynasty and the critical attacks on our system of government that they are inciting their local leaders to nurture, the correspondence with our enemies, the expectation of civil strife, and the awaiting of changes of fortune among us, thereby denying favors [received from us] and making little of the security, tranquility, ease of life and riches that God has bestowed on them in preference [to others].

No commander or intelligence officer[395] comes to al-Rayy, nor does any envoy, young or old, reach us without saying thus-and-thus, and these foolish people stretch out their necks (i.e., hasten) toward him and engage at length in their tales to which God has already given the lie and their fanciful desires (i.e., for a forthcoming upheaval), which He has already frustrated time after time. The first [disappointment] does not deter them from indulging in the second, nor does fear of God or ordinary apprehension scare them away from that. All this we have patiently overlooked and have swallowed its bitterness to spare the whole of them and in furtherance of their welfare and security. But our desire to spare them has only increased them in obstinacy, and our refraining from punishing them has only incited them more. If we delay the process of the perception of the land tax (*iftitāḥ al-kharāj*)[396] out of consideration and tenderness for them, they say, "[He—i.e., the tax collector—has been] dismissed," and, if we hasten to begin the process, they say "[He needs it urgently] for some emergency that has arisen." They are not restrained by violence if we act [1271] roughly or by kindness if we act generously. But God is sufficient for us, and He is our patron; upon Him we repose our trust and to Him we return repeatedly.

We have already ordered a letter to be written to the

395a For *wa-lā mushrif*, ms. O and the Cairo edition, X, 80, offer *wa-lā musharriq wa-mugharrib* "no traveler making his way eastward or making his way westward."

396. I.e., the opening of the financial year, a term of the financial *dīwāns*, see Bosworth, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī," 134–35.

tax collector (*bundār*)[397] of Āmul[398] and to that of al-Rūyān[399] concerning the completion of the process of collecting the land tax (*istighlāq al-kharāj*)[400] in their respective districts, and we have granted them a delay in this until the end of the month of Tīr-Māh.[401] Take cognizance of that, exact the amount of taxation due to you, and raise what has been imposed on the people of your district in its entirety; do not let the month of Tīr-Māh reach its close with a single dirham outstanding to you, for if you turn away from that to doing something else your recompense from us will inevitably be gibbeting. So watch out for yourself, protect your own life's blood, and exert yourself diligently in your work. Forward your letter to al-ʿAbbās,[402] and beware of making excuses.[403] Report on the celerity and diligence with which you are proceeding, for we have been hoping that this procedure will constitute something that will distract them from spreading false news and act as a deterrent from putting off [payment of the required tax].

In recent days they have bruited abroad the rumor that the Commander of the Faithful—may God grant him

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397. This Persian term (literally, "one who possesses a firm basis") had come by Seljuq times to apply generally to the tax collector = Arabic *ʿāmil* but seems originally to have designated commercial agents or speculators who purchased items of the land tax collected in kind. See *Glossarium*, CXLI-CXLII; BGA IV, 194; Løkkegaard, *op. cit.*, 244 n. 110.

398. The main town of the coastal plain of Ṭabaristān. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 57–58; Le Strange, *Lands*, 370; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 238–42; *EI*², s.v. Āmul (L. Lockhart).

399. The westernmost district of Ṭabaristān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 373–74; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 233–34.

400. Again a technical financial term, often in the form *ighlāq* (literally, "closing, completing") *al-kharāj*; see Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī," 135.

401. I.e., the fourth month of the Persian solar calendar, corresponding to late June–early and middle July. The equivalent month in the Avestan calendar is named after Tishtrya; and cf. Armenian Trē (Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, I, 64 and n. 55).

402. Note *i* by the editor suggests that this person may be the Abū Ṣāliḥ Sarkhāstān named later as Māzyār's deputy in Sāriyah.

403. For *al-taʿdhīr*, the editor's reading of an ambiguous ductus in the mss., the Cairo edition, IX, 82, has *al-taghrīr* "(beware of) rashly exposing yourself to destruction."

nobility!—is going to Qarmāsīn and is sending al-Afshīn to al-Rayy. By my life, if indeed he—may God grant him strength!—does that, it is one thing by means of which God will grant us joy, will provide us with pleasure through his company with us, will enlarge the hope for what we have in the past been accustomed to enjoy of his benefits and favor, and will humble both his enemies and our own enemies. For he—may God grant him nobility!—will certainly not neglect his affairs or abandon his frontier districts and his personal attention to the management of the outlying provinces of his empire simply on account of alarmist reports spread about his tax collectors and slanderous talk about his close associates. Nor will he—may God grant him nobility!—send out his army when he sends it out, nor will he dispatch his commanders, when he dispatches them, except against a [1272] rebel.

Accordingly, read out this letter of ours to the land-tax collectors who are with you, in order that those of them who are present may convey it to those who are absent. Speak to them in harsh terms about exacting fully the taxation, and as for he who intends to break off short the work of levying it (*kasrihi*),[404] let him openly reveal his shortcomings in order that God may bring down on his head what He has brought down [in the past] on his likes. They have an example in the various imposts liable from the people of Jurjān,[405] al-Rayy, and the adjoining districts. The caliphs lightened the land tax due from them, and the obligation to pay the taxes normally raised (*al-rafā'i'*)[406] was removed from them only because of the need that they (the people of Jurjān, etc.) had to combat

404. Again a technical financial term, with the cognate form in *māl munkasir*, relating to tax arrears that, for one reason or another, could not be collected and had to be written off; see Bosworth, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī," 136.

405. Persian Gurgān, classical Hyrcania, the region and also its main town, at the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 119–22; Le Strange, *Lands*, 376–81; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 115; *EI*², s.v. Gurgān (R. Hartmann-[J. A. Boyle]).

406. For this term, see *Glossarium*, CCLVII; in Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 88, *rufi'at 'anhum* is misinterpreted as "raised revenue from them."

> the mountain peoples and because of the incursions of the errant Daylamīs;[407] but now God has relieved the Commander of the Faithful—may God exalt him in might!—of all that and has constituted the mountain peoples and the Daylamīs into a force of troops and auxiliaries.[408] God is worthy of praise!

He related: When al-Māzyār's letter reached Shādhān b. al-Faḍl, his collector of the land tax, the latter demanded the tax from the people and collected the whole of it within a space of two months, whereas it used previously to be collected in twelve months, a third every four months.

Then a man called ʿAlī b. Yazdād al-ʿAṭṭār, who was one of the group of persons from whom a hostage had been taken, fled and abandoned al-Māzyār's territory. Abū Ṣāliḥ Sarkhāstān,[409] al-Māzyār's deputy over Sāriyah,[410] was informed of that. He assembled the leading citizens of the town of Sāriyah and began to upbraid them, saying, "How can the king repose any confidence in you, and how can he trust you when this ʿAlī b. Yazdād was one of those who had given his oath, pledged his allegiance, and handed over a hostage but has now broken his oath, departed, and left his hostage behind, while you yourselves are not being true to your pledges and not really condemning this breach of faith and violation of an oath? How can the king trust you, and how can he [1273] treat you again as you will like?" One of them replied, "We'll kill

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407. For the first three centuries or so of Islam, the Caspian coast and the lands to the south of the Elburz range suffered from the incursions of the Daylamīs, predatory mountain people of the western Elburz region who were still pagans; they were converted to Shīʿī Islam by Ḥasanid ʿAlid *duʿāt*, or missionaries, toward the end of the third (ninth) century. See *EI*², s.v. Daylam (V. Minorsky).

408. Ibn al-Faqīh, *op cit.*, 306, trans., 362–63, speaks of Māzyār's earlier desire to implant Islam in Daylam and of a successful expedition thither by his commander al-Surrī (see Ṭabarī, III, 1274 (p. 147 and n. 417, below)). This success can only have been temporary, as the real Islamization of Daylam came later; see n. 407, above.

409. Somewhat dubiously interpreted by Justi, *op. cit.*, 277, 289, and Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, II, 56 n. 5, as meaning "he whose desire is set upon the ruler"; but the element *khʷāst* seems to mean here "seek (out)."

410. Beside Āmul the other main town of the Ṭabaristān coastal plain, at times alternating with Āmul as the administrative center of the province. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 170–71; Le Strange, *Lands*, 370, 375; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 238–39; *EI*¹, s.v. Sārī (Cl. Huart).

the hostage so that no one else will flee again." Sarkhāstān asked them, "Will you really do that?" They replied, "Yes!" whereupon he wrote to the custodian of the hostages and ordered him to send al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Yazdād, who was hostage for his father['s good behavior]. But, when they brought him to Sāriyah, the people repented of what they had said to Abū Ṣāliḥ and began to turn violently against the person who had advised killing him. Sarkhāstān then gathered them all together, having previously had the hostage brought in, and addressed them, "Verily, you guaranteed to perform a certain thing; here is the hostage [in question], so put him to death now!" However, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kātib said, "May God guide you in an upright way! [In the past] you granted a delay of two months to those who abandoned this land. Regarding this hostage who is now before you, we ask you to grant him a respite of two months [before killing him]. Then if his father comes back [well and good]; if not you can put into effect your will regarding him."

He related: Sarkhāstān became angry with the people. He summoned the commander of his personal guard, a man called Rustam b. Bārūyah, and ordered him to gibbet the youth. This last asked him to grant him leave to perform two *rakʿahs*.[411] He gave him permission, but the youth took a long time over his act of worship, for he was trembling with fear, and a palm trunk had already been erected for his execution. They therefore dragged the youth from his worship and stretched him on the gibbet, tying his throat round it until he was strangled and expired on it.

[After this] Sarkhāstān ordered the people of the town of Sāriyah to go forth to Āmul, and he ordered the commanders of the garrisons to summon the people of the trenches (*ahl al-khanādiq*) (?),[412] both Abnāʾ and Arabs, to be present. They were duly brought in, and he proceeded with the people of Sāriyah to Āmul, saying to them, "I wish to call you to bear witness for the people of Āmul, and the people of Āmul as witnesses for you,

411. I.e., the middle part of the *ṣalāt*, or worship, from the recitation of the *Fātiḥah* to the second *sujūd* or prostration, a certain number of *rakʿahs* making up the whole *ṣalāt*; see *EI*[1], s.v. Ṣalāt (A. J. Wensinck).

412. The reference here is obscure, unless it refers to the defensive works that the inhabitants of the lowland settlements had been constructing to protect themselves.

and I will restore your estates and wealth; if then you stick to obedience and to providing good counsel, we shall from our own resources increase to you twofold what we [previously] took from
[1274] you." When they reached Āmul he gathered them together at the palace of al-Khalīl b. Wandāsfajān,[413] and made the people of Sāriyah go to one side apart from the rest, and he placed al-Lawzajān (?)[414] in charge of them. He wrote down the names of all the people of Āmul until not a single one of their names was hidden from him, and after that he passed them in review, according to their names, until they were all gathered together and not one of them had been left behind. Armed men surrounded them, and they were all paraded in ranks, he having appointed over each one two armed guards. He ordered the man in charge of them to cut off the head of anyone who held back in walking,[415] and the man drove them along with their hands pinioned behind their backs until he brought them to a mountain called Hurmuzdābādh,[416] eight farsakhs from Āmul and eight farsakhs from the town of Sāriyah. There he put them in irons and imprisoned them. They amounted to a total of 20,000. This happened in the year 225 (839/840), according to what has been mentioned from Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ, but other relaters of historical traditions and a number of persons who were alive at that time state that it happened in 224 (838/839), and I believe that the latter is more likely to be correct, since the killing of Māzyār took place in 225 and the measures that he took against the people of Ṭabaristān were one year previous to that.

The narrative returns to the story of Māzyār and what he did to the people of Āmul, according to what has been mentioned from

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413. Following *Addenda et emendanda*, DCCLXXIV, and Ibn al-Faqīh, *op. cit.*, 305 and n. 1, trans., 362. The original Middle Persian form of this name is *Windād-ispān*, literally, "having attained peace, tranquility"; see Justi, *op. cit.*, 370.

414. Reading of this name dubious.

415. *Kāʿa ʿan al-mashy*, literally, "walked on one side of the foot." The verb *kāʿa* means basically "to walk on its knuckles (of a dog)"; see *WbKAS*, I, 437–38.

416. This was the site of Māzyār's main stronghold; see Ṭabarī, III, 1291–92 (p. 165, below). From Ṭabarī's account of subsequent operations in the area, III, 1289–92, Minorsky concluded that it must have lain in the valley of the Tālār river, or river of ʿAlīābād; see *EI*[2] s.v. Māzandarān (V. Minorsky-[C. E. Bosworth]).

Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ. He related: Māzyār wrote to al-Durrī[417] to do the same thing with the leading men of the Arabs and the Abnā' who were with him at Muzn,[418] and he placed them in irons, imprisoned them, and appointed guards over them in their prison.

When Māzyār became assured of his position and his power and his domination of the people became firmly established, he [1275] gathered together his followers and ordered Sarkhāstān to demolish the walls of the town of Āmul. Sarkhāstān accordingly did this, to the accompaniment of music from drums and flutes, and then proceeded to the town of Sāriyah and did the same there. Then Māzyār sent his brother Qūhyār to the town of Ṭamīs,[419] which is situated in the province of Ṭabaristān on the frontier of Jurjān, and he demolished its walls and its inner *madīnah*[420] and allowed its people to be taken as lawful spoil. Those who were able fled, but others suffered in the general calamity. After that Sarkhāstān set out for Ṭamīs, and Qūhyār came back from it and then joined his brother al-Māzyār. Sarkhāstān built a wall from Ṭamīs to the [Caspian] Sea and made it stretch out into the sea for a distance of three miles (or: its extension into the sea amounted to a distance of three miles). The Persian emperors had originally constructed this wall between themselves and the Turks because in their time the Turks used to raid the people of Ṭabaristān. Sarkhāstān encamped with his forces at Ṭamīs; he surrounded it with a secure trench and guard towers, provided it with a strong gate, and posted trustworthy men there as custodians.[421]

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417. This name appears in Ibn al-Faqīh, *op. cit.*, 306, trans., 363, as al-Surrī, previously sent by Māzyār against the Daylamīs; see p. 144 n. 408, above.

418. Amending the text's *Marw* in accordance with *Addenda et emendanda*, DCCLXXIV, and Ibn al-Faqīh, *op cit.*, 305, 306; this is also the reading of the Cairo edition, IX, 100. According to Ibn al-Faqīh, *op cit.*, 305–7, trans., 362–63, and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 122, it was a place from which raids were launched into pagan Daylam by the Muslim governors.

419. On this place, see n. 421, below.

420. I.e., the core area of a town, that part of it around the citadel (*qal'ah, arg*) containing the markets, Friday mosque, government offices, etc. (Persian *shahrastān*), as opposed to the surrounding suburbs (*rabaḍ, bīrūn*); on the frequent tripartite structure of eastern Islamic towns, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 78.

421. Ṭamīs(ah), modern Tammishah, lies on the eastern border of Ṭabaristān adjoining Jurjān; according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 41, the Emperor Khusraw Anūshirwān built a causeway there to carry the highway to Jurjān and Khurāsān

The people of Jurjān grew apprehensive and feared for their property and their town, and small group of them fled to Naysābūr.[422] The news reached ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir and al-Muʿtaṣim, so the former dispatched against Māzyār his paternal uncle al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab,[423] together with a powerful army with which to secure Jurjān. He ordered him to make his camp at the trench; hence al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn encamped at those defenses that Sarkhāstān had constructed, just the width of the trench separating the two armies. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir further dispatched Ḥayyān b. Jabalah[424] with 4,000 men to Qūmis,[425] where he made his camp on the edge of the mountains
[1276] of Sharwīn. For his part, al-Muʿtaṣim sent from his headquarters

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over the marshes facing the Caspian; see also Le Strange, *Lands*, 375, and Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 232, 238 n. 49. There were certainly walls here in Sāsānid times, part of a system of man-made defenses intended to protect or to block points of entrance into Persia against invading armies, nomadic hordes, etc.; other such defenses were to be found along the Iraqi desert fringes, in the Caucasus, and in Jurjān. The Tammīshah walls, extending into the Caspian, were probably a second line of defense behind those in Jurjān farther east. Anūshirwān is popularly associated with the construction of various walls but may have simply repaired or reconstructed them. The ancient Tammīshah walls were demolished by Māzyār but then rebuilt by his commander Sarkhāstān. Recent excavations at the site have yielded finds of Kushan and Kushano-Sāsānid provenance, clearly indicating early settlement in the area. See Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, II, 56; A. D. H. Bivar and G. Fehérvári, "The Walls of Tammīsha," 35–50; Frye, "Sasanian System of Walls," 13–14.

422. Ibn Isfandiyār, *op cit.*, trans. 153–54 (also Kaabi, *op cit.*, I, 254, and II, 81–83), gives the text of an Arabic *qaṣīdah* by a certain Abū al-Qāsim Hārūn b. Muḥammad, which was addressed to the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim on behalf of the people of Āmul, complaining of Māzyār's tyranny and seeking deliverance from the hands of ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

423. I.e., the brother of the first Ṭāhirid governor of Khurāsān, Ṭāhir Dhū al-Yamīnayn and uncle of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Muṣʿabī, governor of Baghdad (on whom see p. 3 n. 8, above). In the past there had been ill feeling over the succession in Khurāsān after Ṭāhir's death, with a brief rebellion by al-Ḥasan in Kirmān in 208 (823–24), for which, however, he was pardoned; see Ṭabarī, III, 1066. After Māzyār was defeated, al-Ḥasan remained in that office till his death in 231 (846); see Ṭabarī, III, 1357. On al-Ḥasan, see Nafisī, *Ta'rīkh-i khāndān-i Ṭāhirī*, 29–30 (giving the date of his death as 231 [845–46]; the present writer has not been able to find this event exactly dated thus in the text of Mar'ashī as edited by Shāyān); Kaabi, *op. cit.*, I, 189, 254–55, 293, 296.

424. Described in Ṭabarī, III, 1282 (p. 156, below), as a mawlā of ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir's.

425. The small province (classical Komisēnē) the center of which was Dāmghān, lying to the southeast of the Elburz range along the Khurāsān highway.

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm's brother, with a large army, attaching to him the commander al-Ḥasan b. Qārin al-Ṭabarī[426] and the force of Ṭabarī troops who were at court. He also sent Manṣūr b. al-Ḥasan Hār, the lord of Dunbāwand,[427] to the city of al-Rayy that he might enter Ṭabaristān from the direction of al-Rayy, and he despatched Abū al-Sāj [Dīwdād] to al-Lāriz[428] and Dunbāwand.

When the cavalry surrounded al-Māzyār from every side he sent at that point Ibrāhīm b. Mihrān,[429] the commander of his police, and 'Alī b. Rabban al-Kātib al-Naṣrānī,[430] together with the deputy of the commander of the guard,[431] to the people of the towns (of Āmul and Sāriyah) who had been imprisoned by him, [saying], "The [Arab] cavalry have crept up round me on every side. I imprisoned you only so that this fellow"—he meant al-Mu'taṣim—"might make overtures to me on your behalf; but

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See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 414–15; Le Strange, *Lands*, 364–68; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 809–28; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 87, 121; *EI*², s.v. Ḳūmis (C. E. Bosworth).

426. Probably a member of the Bāwandid family, a son of Qārin, himself son of Sharwīn b. Surkhāb, who had died in al-Ma'mūn's reign. See Justi, *op. cit.*, 431; Rabino di Borgomale, "Les dynasties du Māzandarān," 412.

427. The region of Ṭabaristān around the highest point of the Elburz chain, Mount Demavend. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 371; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 785–92; *EI*², s.v. Damāwand (M. Streck).

428. Variously described as a town of al-Rūyān (Ibn al-Faqīh, *op.cit.*, 303, trans., 359) and as a village with a citadel near Āmul (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 7), See also *EI*², s.v. Lār and Lāridjān (J. Calmard).

429. Later described (in Ṭabarī, III, 1540, year 251 [865]) as the owner of a house in Sāmarrā and called al-Naṣrānī al-'Askarī—the latter presumably because, although Christians were commonly secretaries and financial officials, it was less common that they should be military men. After the collapse of Māzyār's cause Ibrāhīm must have entered the caliphal service.

430. 'Alī b. Sahl Rabban, a Nestorian Christian from Khurāsān, subsequently passed into the caliphal service and, under al-Mutawakkil, converted to Islam. It was after this, in *ca.* 240 (854–55), that he wrote his celebrated defense of his new faith, *Kitāb al-dīn wa-al-dawlah*; see *GAL*, S I, 415; *GCAL*, II, 120; *GAS*, III, 236–40.

431. The repetition of the whole phrase *khalīfat ṣāḥib al-ḥaras* shortly afterward (III, 1277 l. 3) inclines one to think that *khalīfah* here means "deputy," rather than a personal name, as Marin takes it, Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 91. This seems also to be the opinion of the editor of the text here, who, at III, 1277 n. *a*, suggests, on the basis of ms. C, that the personal name Muḥammad might perhaps be inserted here before the word *khalīfah*; it is also the opinion of the compiler(s) of the indexes, who do not include this person under the name Khalīfah.

he has not made a move. I have heard that al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf[432] once became angry at the ruler of al-Sind because of a woman of the Muslims who had been captured and taken to al-Sind, to the point that he sent an expedition against that land and expended whole treasuries until he had rescued the woman and returned her to her own city. But this fellow does not care about 20,000 people and is not sending to me anyone to inquire about you! I will certainly not move forward and engage him in warfare while you are in my rear, so hand over to me the land tax for two years, and I will then release you. Those among you who are strong young men I will send forth to battle, and to those who fulfill their promise to me I will return their wealth and possessions, but, for those who fail to keep their promise, I shall have already assessed their blood money. Further, those who are aged men or
[1277] feeble I will appoint as guards or doorkeepers."

A man called Mūsā b. Hurmuz al-Zāhid[433]—of whom it was said that he had not drunk water for the previous twenty years—said, "I will hand over to you two years' land tax and assume responsibility for this matter. But the deputy of the commander of the guard said to Aḥmad b. al-Ṣuqayr, "Why don't you speak out, for you used to be the most highly favored of the people in the Ispahbadh's eyes? I used to see you eating with him and lolling back on his cushion, and this was something that the prince did with no one else. Thus you are more suitable for taking charge of this affair than Mūsā." Aḥmad replied, "Mūsā will certainly not be able to assume responsibility for collecting a single dirham. He answered you in this foolish manner only because of the stress that he and all the people are under.[434] If your master had known that we had a single dirham, he would not have imprisoned us; in fact, he imprisoned us only after cleaning us out of all the possessions and treasuries we had. If he seeks to acquire landed estates by means of this wealth, we will

432. The celebrated Umayyad governor of the East (75–95 [694–714]), known for his firm rule over the turbulent Arab tribes of Iraq but also, as here, for his meticulous oversight and care for the welfare of the Muslims. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf (A. Dietrich).

433. I.e., "the ascetic."

434. Following Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 92, rather than the reading of the editor in n. g, which seems to make less sense in the context.

give it to him." 'Alī b. Rabban al-Kātib said to him, "The estates belong to the ruler [anyway] and not to you," and Ibrāhīm b. Mihrān added, "I implore you by God, O Abū Muḥammad, not to say this sort of thing!"[435] Aḥmad said to him, "I wasn't saying anything until this fellow spoke to me the words you just heard."

At that point the envoys, accepting the guarantee of Mūsā al-Zāhid, went back and informed al-Māzyār of his undertaking. A group of fiscal agents [*su'āt*][436] attached themselves to Mūsā al-Zāhid and said, "So-and-so is capable of paying 10,000, and so-and-so 20,000, more or less"; and they began to appropriate the wealth of those subject to the land tax and of others as well. When this process had gone on for some days Māzyār sent envoys again, demanding the money and seeking fulfillment of what Mūsā al-Zāhid had guaranteed, but he was unable to collect the merest [1278] trace of that or any reliable information about it. The truth of Aḥmad's words was established, and the offense became firmly fixed to him (i.e., to Mūsā al-Zāhid). Al-Māzyār had [actually] realized that the people did not have the wherewithal to pay; he wanted only to make trouble between those liable to the land tax and the merchants and artisans who were not liable to it.[437]

He related: Sarkhāstān had with him a group of vigorous and brave youths whom he had chosen from the sons of commanders[438] and others of the people of Āmul. He gathered together in his own house 260 of those youths whose presence in his vicinity he feared, ostensibly for interrogation purposes. Then

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435. *Lammā sakatta 'an hādhā al-kalām*; for this sense of *lammā* after an oath, see W. Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 340A, par. 186 Rem *c*, and Reckendorf, *op. cit.*, 512, par 262. 12.

436. Sing. *sā'ī*, literally, "someone who busies himself with an affair," whence in later usage "courier, agent of the *barīd* or postal service"; see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 656. Here it must refer to the agents of the *Dīwān* who went out into the field personally to collect taxes in money or kind.

437. Again, the implication is that Māzyār was following a policy of encouraging divisiveness and disunity among the various social classes of Ṭabaristān, in order to strengthen his own authoritarian rule.

438. This is the literal translation of *abnā' al-quwwād*, yet it seems clear, from the mention of the Abnā' (in the technical sense) just below that what is intended is a reference to the Abnā' resident in the towns of Ṭabaristān and regarded, despite their Khurāsānian origin, as hostile to Māzyār, perceived as the representative of purely Iranian feeling; the rendering in Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 93, "some officers of the *Abnā'*," thus seems more accurate.

he sent a message to selected cultivators (*al-akarah al-mukhtārīn*) of the *dihqāns* (i.e., to the local Persian agrarian population) and told them, "The sympathies of the Abnāʾ are [inevitably] with the Arabs and with the partisans of the ʿAbbāsid régime (*al-musawwidah*; literally, "the wearers of black"),[439] and I do not feel safe from their treachery and scheming. I have assembled together the suspect persons from among those whose presence I fear, so kill them, in order that you, too, may feel secure and that there may not be in your military forces anyone whose sympathies are in conflict with your own aspirations." At that, he ordered their hands to be pinioned behind them and their handing over to the *dihqān* cultivators by night, and this was done. They took them to a *qanāt*[440] thereabouts, then killed them and threw their corpses into the inspection shafts of that *qanāt* and returned home. But, when they recovered their senses, they regretted what they had done and were filled with fright at it.

When al-Māzyār realized that the people had nothing with which they could pay him, he sent a message to the select group of cultivators—the ones who had killed the 260 youths—and said to them, "I herewith grant to you as lawful spoil the dwellings of the owners of the estates and their womenfolk also, except for any of their daughters who are beautiful maidens,[441] for they are to become the ruler's (i.e., his own) property." He went on to tell
[1279] them, "Go to the prison and kill all the owners of the estates first; then after that take possession of the houses and womenfolk that I have bestowed upon you." But the men were too faint hearted to do that. They were stricken with fear and behaved cautiously and did not do what he had ordered them to do.

He related: The men appointed by Sarkhāstān to guard the walls of Āmul] used to talk by night with al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab's guard, there being just the width of the trench between

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439. See p. 31 n. 120, above.

440. I.e., a subterranean irrigation tunnel, which would have vertical shafts at intervals for inspection and cleaning; see *EI*², s.v. Ḳanāt. I. In Iran (A. K. S. Lambton).

441. *Jāriyah* seems here to have the general sense of "girl, maiden," rather than the more specific sense of "slave girl"; the Arabic lexicographers take it as the female equivalent of *ghulām* and explain unconvincingly that it is derived from the woman's activity and running about (verb *jarā* "to run, flow").

them, to the point that they grew to be on familiar terms with each other. Al-Ḥasan's guard and Sarkhāstān's guardians of the wall conspired together for the latter to hand over the walls to the besiegers. They accordingly did that, and al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn's guard entered via that spot to Sarkhāstān's camp, unknown to either al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn or to Sarkhāstān. Al-Ḥasan's troops observed a band of persons entering from the wall, so they joined them in entering [the town]. The inhabitants looked at each other (i.e., in astonishment) and were thrown into perturbation. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣ'ab arrived and began shouting to the populace to keep them back, saying, "O people, I fear for your safety lest you become like the people of Dāwandān!"[442] But the troops of Qays b. Zanjūyah, who was one of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn's men, continued going on until they set their banner on top of the wall in Sarkhāstān's camp. The news finally reached Sarkhāstān that the Arabs had broken through the wall and entered the town unexpectedly. Accordingly, his only thought was of flight, he being at that moment in the bathhouse (*ḥammām*). He heard the shouting, so came forth and fled, clad only in a thin shift (*ghilālah*).[443]

When al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn found himself impotent to get his followers to come back, he said, "O God, they have indeed disobeyed me but have obeyed you, O God, so watch over them and succor them." Al-Ḥasan's forces continued to follow the [first [1280]
wave of] troops until they reached the gate in the wall; they broke it down and poured in, without anyone hindering them, until they had gained control over all who were in the camp, with one group [of the troops] continuing the search (i.e., for fugitives).

It has been mentioned from Zurārah b. Yūsuf al-Sijzī[444] that he

442. Said by Yāqūt, , *Mu'jam*, II, 434–35, to have been a place near the site of the later Islamic town of Wāsiṭ in lower Iraq; the inhibitants in ancient times fled in order to avoid the plague, were nevertheless killed by divine action, but were brought to life again by the prophet Ezekiel (Arabic Hizqīl; see T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 114). In traditional exegesis, Qur'ān II: 244/243, was taken to refer to the inhabitants of Dāwandān. In early Islamic times a Christian monastery, the Dayr Hizqīl, was located there. See Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 321, trans., 164; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 540–41.

443. A garment worn by both sexes, more recently the equivalent of an undershirt. See Dozy, *Vêtements*, 319–23; *EI*², s.v. Libās, i, ii (Y. K. Stillman).

444. I.e., the man from Sijistān, or Sīstān, on the border between modern Persia and Afghanistan.

said: I passed onward in the search, and while I was thus engaged I came to a spot on the left side of the road. I was afraid to penetrate farther into it, but then I rushed headlong into it with my spear without, however, seeing anyone. I shouted out, "Who are you? Woe upon you!" when behold, a well-built, elderly man cried out "*Zīnhār*!" meaning "Quarter!"[445] He related: I rushed upon him and seized him and pinioned him securely with cords, and, lo, it was Shahriyār, the brother of Abū Ṣāliḥ Sarkhāstān, the chief of the army. He related: I handed him over to my commander, Yaʿqūb b. Manṣūr. Night descended, preventing us from continuing the search, whereupon the troops returned to their camp. Shahriyār was brought to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, who had his head cut off.

As for Abū Ṣāliḥ, he went onward until he was some five farsakhs from his camp, being ill at this time. He was also tormented by thirst and fear. He halted in a thicket on the right-hand side of the road at the foot of a mountain, tethered his mount, and threw himself down on his back. One of his own slave boys and also one of his retainers called Jaʿfar b. Wandāmīd[446] recognized him and saw him reposing there. Sarkhāstān cried out, "O Jaʿfar, a drink of water, for I have become afflicted by thirst!" He (Jaʿfar) related: I replied, "I have no vessel with me with which I can get water from this place." Sarkhāstān said, "Take the top of my quiver and get me water in that." Jaʿfar related: At that, I went along to a number of my comrades and
[1281] told them, "This devil has brought about our destruction, so why should we not ingratiate ourselves by means of him with the ruling power (i.e., the ʿAbbāsid central government) and secure for ourselves a guarantee of safe-conduct?" They asked him, "How shall we achieve this through him?" He related: He made them stand round him and told them, "Help me for brief moment, and I will spring upon him." So Jaʿfar took a large beam of wood, Sarkhāstān being meanwhile laid out on his back, and hurled himself on Sarkhāstān; they overpowered him and made him fast by pinioning him to the beam. Abū Ṣāliḥ cried out to them, "Take

445. Persian *zinhār* "protection, refuge, security."
446. The latter element probably a compressed form of the name Windād-umīd, literally, "bringing about the attainment of hope," see Justi, *op. cit.*, 370.

from me 100,000 dirhams and leave me alone, for the Arabs will not give you anything." They said to him, "Produce it forthwith!" But he replied, "Bring some scales!" They protested, "Where are there any scales here?" But he replied, "And where is there anything for me to give you? But go with me to my house, and I will furnish you with bonds and guarantees of payment; truly, I will fulfill my promises to you and lavish wealth upon you."

Nevertheless, they took him along to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, one of whose cavalry detachments came out to meet them, and these cavalrymen cut off their heads. They seized Sarkhāstān from them, intending themselves to profit by him, and then al-Ḥasan's men conveyed Sarkhāstān to al-Ḥasan himself. When they brought him before al-Ḥasan, the latter summoned the military leaders of Ṭabaristān, such as Muḥammad b. al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah al-Azdī, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Quṭquṭī al-Ḍabbī, al-Fatḥ b. Q.rāṭ, and others,[447] and asked them, "Is this Sarkhāstān?" They replied "Yes!" Then he said to Muḥammad b. al-Mughīrah, "Arise and kill him in revenge for your son and brother!" Muḥammad went up to him and struck him with sword; the blows found their mark, and he was killed.

The Story of the Poet Abū Shās [1282]

The poet Abū Shās, whose full name was al-Ghiṭrīf b. Ḥusayn b. Ḥanash, was a youth of Iraqi origin but raised in Khurāsān, well educated and knowledgeable.[448] Sarkhāstān had attached Abū Shās to himself to learn from him the characteristics and ways of thought of the Arabs. When Sarkhāstān suffered his fate Abū Shās was in his military camp, together with riding beasts and baggage. A group of the Bukhāriyyah[449] from al-Ḥasan's troops suddenly fell upon him, seizing as plunder everything that he had with him, and several wounds were inflicted on him. Hence he rapidly snatched up a water jar he had by him, placed it on his shoulder,

447. From their names and the context, apparently members of the Arab or Abnā' military class settled in the towns of Ṭabaristān.

448. Obviously a poet of purely local fame; he is not mentioned in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*.

449. I.e., troops drawn from the Iranian population of Bukhārā; cf. p. 49 n. 159, above.

took a drinking cup in his hand, and shouted, "Water freely available!" (*al-mā' li-al-sabīl*)[450] until he took advantage of a moment of inattentiveness on the part of the soldiers and fled from his tent, despite his wounds. When he passed by the tent of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Quṭquṭī al-Ṭabarī, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn's secretary, a slave boy spotted him, and they, that is, his slaves, recognized him also, he at that moment having the water jar on his shoulder, giving out water. They took him into their tent and told their master what Abū Shās was doing. He was accordingly brought into the presence of their master (ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad), who gave him a mount, provided him with [rich] clothing, and showed him the highest honor. He mentioned him to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn and told Abū Shās, "Compose an ode on the Amīr!" Abū Shās, however, replied, "By God, fear and dread have blotted out what there was of the Qur'ān in my breast, so how can I compose a satisfactory ode?"

Al-Ḥasan sent Abū Ṣāliḥ Sarkhāstān's head to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, but he did not leave his camp.

The Continuation of the Operations against Māzyār and His Capture and Execution

It has been mentioned from Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ that Ḥayyān b. Jabalah, the mawlā of ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, had drawn near, in the
[1283] company of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, to the vicinity of Ṭamīs. He entered into correspondence with Qārin b. Shahriyār and encouraged him to give obedience, promising him that he would guarantee him possession of the mountain territories that his father and grandfather had held. Qārin was actually one of Māzyār's commanders and the son of his brother.[451] Māzyār had

450. *Sabīl*, in full *fī sabīl Allāh*, denotes anything made available by pious charity but is used especially in connection with the provision of drinking water. From this arises the later usage, certainly from Mamlūk times onward, of *sabīl* alone = "drinking fountain, source of fresh water provided by charity" and of the verbal noun *tasbīl* = "the charitable distribution of drinking water." See Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 630; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, Chapter 14, 332–33; *EI*[1], s.v. Sabīl (T. W. Haig).

451. This nephew of Māzyār was his governor in the Jabal Sharwīn and the eastern part of the Elburz range adjoining Jurjān. For his services in abandoning Māzyār's cause, he was rewarded after his uncle's fall by the grant of Jabal

sent him out with his [further] brother 'Abdallāh b. Qārin, attaching to them a number of his trusty commanders and faithful relatives of his. When Ḥayyān endeavored to win over Qārin, the latter guaranteed to Ḥayyān that he would hand over to him the mountains and the town of Sāriyah as far as the frontier with Jurjān, on condition that Ḥayyān would make him ruler over the mountain territories held by his father and grandfather once he [Qārin] had fulfilled his pledge to Ḥayyān. Ḥayyān wrote to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir about this, and 'Abdallāh set down formally, in writing and duly sealed, everything he asked, but he wrote back also to Ḥayyān that he should halt for a while and not enter the mountains or penetrate deeply into them until something should come from Qārin that would indicate his good faith, lest there be some trickery on his part.

Ḥayyān wrote to Qārin in these terms, and Qārin forthwith summoned 'Abdallāh b. Qārin, Māzyār's brother, together with all his commanders, to a feast. When they had all eaten, laid down their weapons, and felt completely at ease, his own troops, who were armed to the teeth, surrounded them, pinioned them in bonds, and sent them to Ḥayyān b. Jabalah. When they reached Ḥāyyān he made sure of them and then rode forth with his forces until they entered the mountains of Qārin (*jibāl Qārin*).

News of this event reached Māzyār and disturbed him deeply. His brother al-Qūhyār said to him, "You have 20,000 Muslims in your custody, ranging from shoemakers to tailors, and you have given your attention to them; but now you are faced with the question of your own security and that of your family and kindred, so what are you going to do now with these prisoners in your custody?" He related: At that, Māzyār ordered the release of all who were in his custody. Then he summoned Ibrāhīm b. Mihrān, the commander of his police guard; 'Alī b. Rabban al-Naṣrānī, his secretary; Shādhān b. al-Faḍl, the chief fiscal [1284]
officer (*ṣāḥib kharājihi*); and Yaḥyā b. al-Rūzbahār, his assayer and banker (*jahbadhahu*[452]), who were all members of the

Sharwīn, and in 227 (842) he became a Muslim; see Madelung, "Minor Dynasties," 205–6.

452. On this term, which may be of Persian origin and derive from Sāsānid administrative practice, see *EI*², s.v. Djahbadh (W. J. Fischel).

element of plains dwellers in his entourage, and said to them, "Your womenfolk, your residences, and your estates are all in the [coastal] plain, which the Arabs have now entered. I do not wish to bring down on you ill fortune, so go back to your dwellings and obtain guarantees of safety for yourselves." He then gave them gifts and accorded them permission to return, and they went away to their dwellings and obtained guarantees of safety for themselves.

When the people of the town of Sāriyah heard the news of Sarkhāstān's capture, the plundering of his camp, and Ḥayyān b. Jabalah's invasion of Sharwīn's mountain territories, they rose up and attacked Māzyār's governor (*'āmil*) in Sāriyah, who was called Mahrīstānī b. Shahrīz, but he fled from them and saved his skin. The populace threw open the gate of the prison and released those jailed there. After that Ḥayyān arrived at the town of Sāriyah; news of his arrival in Sāriyah reached Qūhyār, Māzyār's brother, whereupon he set free from his imprisonment Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ, the governor of Ṭabaristān, set him on a mule with a saddle, and dispatched him to Ḥayyān in order that Ḥayyān might accord him a guarantee of safety and so that Ḥayyān might grant him the mountain territories that his father and grandfather had held, [this] on condition that he would hand over Māzyār to Ḥayyān. To make that firm, he would offer him the guarantees of Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ and Aḥmad b. al-Ṣuqayr. When Muḥammad b. Mūsā came to Ḥayyān and told him about Qūhyār's message to him, Ḥayyān said to him, "Who is this?" meaning Aḥmad. Muḥammad b. Mūsā replied, "The leading figure of the region; the representatives (*al-khulafā'*) [of the central government] know him,[453] as does the Amīr 'Abdallāh b.
[1285] Ṭāhir." Ḥayyān then sent for Aḥmad, and he came to him. He ordered Aḥmad to set out for the garrison at Khurramābādh[454] in

453. The Cairo edition, IX, 91, has *wa-baqiyyat al-khulafā'* "and the best of the representatives (of the central government)."

454. A village in the province of al-Rayy, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 361. It is to be distinguished from the better-known Khurramābādh in Lur-i Kūchik; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 200–1. One should, however, note the existence, in modern times, of at least one other Khurramābād in Māzandarān itself, the chief place of the district of Tunakābun; also Rabino di Borgomale, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 23. A location on the coastal plain of Ṭabaristān seems better to fit the

the company of Muḥammad b. Mūsā. Now Aḥmad had a son called Isḥāq who had previously fled from Māzyār, spending the daylight hiding in the dense undergrowth and traveling by night to an estate called Sāwāsh.r.yān on the main highway from Qidḥ[455] al-Iṣbahbadh, where lay Māzyār's fortress.

It has been mentioned from Isḥāq that he said: I was at this estate when a number of Māzyār's troops passed me by, having with them riding beasts that were being led and other [? animals or things]. He related: I leaped onto one of the horses, a stout animal of mixed breed (*ḥajīn*); I rode it bareback and brought it to the town of Sāriyah, and there I handed it over to my father. When Aḥmad decided to set off for Khurramābādh he was riding that horse. Ḥayyān observed him [on it] and was filled with admiration for the horse. He turned to al-Lawzajān, who was one of Qārin's retainers, and said, "I see this shaykh on a noble horse, whose like I have rarely seen!" Al-Lawzajān told him, "This horse was Māzyār's." Ḥayyān thereupon dispatched a message to Aḥmad, asking him to send the horse to him so that he might look it over, and Aḥmad sent it on to him. When Ḥayyān had examined it at length and had inspected it closely he found that it had scarred forelegs, so he lost interest in it and gave it back to al-Lawzajān. He further told Aḥmad's envoy, "This belonged to Māzyār, and Māzyār's property belongs to the Commander of the Faithful."

The envoy returned and informed Aḥmad [about that]. Aḥmad grew angry against al-Lawzajān because of it, and Aḥmad sent him an insulting message. Al-Lawzajān protested, "I've committed no fault over this," returning the horse to Aḥmad, together with a horse of inferior breed (*birdhawn*) and a sprightly one of mixed breed (*shihrī fārih*);[456] and he ordered his envoy to deliver [1286]

events described in Ṭabarī, III, 1291 (p. 165, below), when the captive Māzyār was sent to Sāriyah from Khurramābādh.

455. *Qidḥ* is presumably used here in the sense of "share, portion," hence "The Ispahbadh's allotment of land"; cf. Qidḥ al-S.l.tān in Ṭabarī, III, 1288 (p. 162, below). It appears to be an alternative designation for Burj al-Iṣpahbadh, mentioned at III, 1269 (see p. 139, above).

456. The word *fārih* is supplied from one of the mss. utilized in the Cairo edition, IX, 91.

them both to him.[457] Aḥmad became angry at how Ḥayyān had treated him and said, "Can this weaver[458] send to a shaykh like myself and treat him as he has done?" At that he wrote to Qūhyār, "Woe upon you! Why do you act so mistakenly in your undertaking? You spurn a man like al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, the paternal uncle of ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, and accept a guarantee of security from this servile wretch of a weaver! You are handing over your brother and diminishing your own prestige (or: power, *qadr/qadar*). Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn will bear a secret hatred for you for leaving him and cleaving to one of his vilest slaves!"

Qūhyār wrote back to him, "I have indeed acted mistakenly in the first part of this affair, but I have promised the man that I would come to him the day after tomorrow, and I would not feel safe, if I were to break my word to him, that he would not rise up against me, launch an attack on me, and treat as lawful plunder my properties and possessions. Moreover, if I were to fight with him and as a result were to kill some of his retainers and blood were to flow between us, deeply felt hatred would result. Consequently, this matter that I am working toward would be brought to nothing." Aḥmad wrote to him, "When the day appointed for the meeting comes round, send to him a man from your own household, and write a letter to him that you have been afflicted with an illness that prevents you from moving and that you require medical treatment for three days. Then if you are restored to health [well and good]; if not you will come to him in a litter. We ourselves will prevail upon him to accept that story from you and [the promise of your] coming to him in due course."

Aḥmad b. al-Ṣuqayr and Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ wrote to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, who was at that moment in his army camp at Ṭamīs awaiting orders from ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir and a
[1287] reply to his letter announcing the killing of Sarkhāstān and the conquest of Ṭamīs. They wrote to him, "Ride to us so that we can hand over to you Māzyār and the mountain territory; otherwise, he will escape from you, and you will lose the chance of

457. There is some ambiguity here as to whether al-Lawzajān sent the latter two horses or all three of them; cf. Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 98 n. 463. For these terms denoting various breeds of horse, see *EI*², s.v. Faras (F. Viré).

458. The trade of weaver (*ḥā'ik*) was generally regarded with contempt as mean and debased; see R. Brunschvig, "Métiers vils en Islam," 50–54.

vengeance."[459] They sent the letter with Shādhān b. al-Faḍl al-Kātib and ordered him to journey as speedily as possible. When al-Ḥasan got the letter, he rode off immediately and covered three days' [normal] distance in a single night until he reached Sāriyah; then when the day broke he pressed on to Khurramābādh on what was the day of the appointed meeting with Qūhyār. Ḥayyān heard the sound of the drums accompanying al-Ḥasan; hence he rode out and met him a farsakh's distance away.

Al-Ḥasan said to him, "What are you doing here? Why are you making your way to this place? You have conquered the mountain territories of Sharwīn, yet you have abandoned them and come here! What guarantee do you have that an opportunity may not present itself to the people there and that they will not act treacherously with you, so that all you have achieved will crumble to pieces around you? Get back to the mountains, send out garrisons to the outlying parts and districts, and keep such a close eye on the people there that they will have no opportunity to act treacherously, even if they intend it." Ḥayyān replied, "I am just about to go back, and I want only to transport my baggage and give orders for departure to my men." Al-Ḥasan, however, told him, "Your yourself get moving, and I'll send on your baggage and your troops after you. Spend tonight in the town of Sāriyah, so that they may catch up with you, and then set off in the morning." Ḥayyān accordingly left immediately, just as al-Ḥasan had ordered him, for Sāriyah.

There then reached Ḥayyān a letter from 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, instructing him to camp at Labūrah[460] in the mountains of Wandāhurmuz,[461] this being the most strongly fortified place in

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459. Vocalizing the text here as *fa-lā naqm*[a]; the Cairo edition, IX, 92, has less plausibly *fa-lā taqum* "so don't arise!"

460. This is the Lafūr frequently mentioned by Ibn Isfandiyār (*op. cit.*, index), on the eastern source of the Bābul river, which runs down to Bārfurūsh. Subsequently it was ruled by local Ispahbadhs; see Rabino di Borgomale, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 118, 147); Ibn Isfandiyār *op. cit.*, 95, states that in his time (early seventh [thirteenth] century) the noble families of Lafūr traced their descent back to the Qārinids, early rulers of the district. See also p. 180 n. 511, below.

461. At III, 1295 (pp. 168–69, below), Ṭabarī describes the mountain of Māzyār's grandfather Wandād-Hurmuz as in the center of the mountains of Ṭabaristān between that of his brother Wandās.b./f.jān and the Jabal Sharwīn of the Bāwandid prince; see Rabino di Borgomale, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 2.

his mountains and the spot where the greater part of Māzyār's wealth was stored. 'Abdallāh gave further orders to Ḥayyān that
[1288] he should not prevent Qārin from doing what he wished in regard to those mountains and treasures. Qārin accordingly carried off that wealth of Māzyār's deposited there and Māzyār's treasuries at Asbāndarah,[462] together with what Sarkhāstān had at Qidḥ al-S.l.tān,[463] and took possession of the whole of it. Thus because of that horse everything that had presented itself to Ḥayyān as a favorable opportunity crumbled about him. Ḥayyān b. Jabalah died after that, and 'Abdallāh sent in his place and over his troops Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣ'ab, with orders that he should not prevent Qārin from doing anything he wished.

Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn arrived at Khurramābādh. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ and Aḥmad b. al-Ṣuqayr came to him; they engaged in private discussions with him, and he said to them, "May God reward you handsomely [for that]!" He himself wrote to Qūhyār, who came to Khurramābādh and went to al-Ḥasan, who rewarded him and showed him honor and agreed to everything he asked. The two of them fixed on a certain day [for the betrayal of Māzyār]. Then al-Ḥasan dismissed Qūhyār, who now went to Māzyār and informed him that he had secured for him a guarantee of safe-conduct and made it firm for him. Al-Ḥasan b. Qārin had written to Qūhyār from where Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mus'ab was, pledging to him desirable rewards from the part of the Commander of the Faithful, and in response Qūhyār had pledged to him what he had pledged to others, all this being aimed at deterring them from making war, and had gone over to al-Ḥasan's side. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm rode off from the town of Āmul, and the information [about all this] reached al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn.

It has been mentioned from Ibrāhim b. Mihrān that he was engaged in conversation at Abū al-Sa'dī's, and when the meridian approached he went back in the direction of his residence. His
[1289] way went past the door of al-Ḥasan's tent. He related: When I drew opposite his tent, lo, al-Ḥasan appeared, riding alone with merely three Turkish slave retainers of his following him. He

462. The reading of this name in the manuscripts is very doubtful.
463. The vocalization of the second element of this name is uncertain.

related: I threw myself off my mount and greeted him, at which he said, "Mount!" When I had remounted he said, "Where is the road to Ārum?"[464] I replied, "It goes through this valley." He said to me, "Proceed in front of me." He related: So I proceeded until I reached a pass two miles from Ārum. He related: I became very afraid and expostulated, "May God guide the Amīr uprightly! This is a fearful place; not less than a thousand cavalrymen ought to venture along this path! I would advise you to turn back and not enter it!" He related: But he roared at me, "Go on!" So I went on, almost bereft of my reason, although we did not see anyone along the road until we reached Ārum. Then he said to me, "Where is the road to Hurmuzdābādh?" I replied, "Over the mountain, by this track." He related: He told me, "Travel along it!" I protested, "May God make the Amīr mighty! [I seek the help of] God in preserving you and ourselves and all this body of troops with you!"[465] He related: But he shouted back at me, "Get going, O son of a stinking, uncircumcised whore!" He related: I said to him, "May God make the Amīr mighty! Cut my head off yourself, for this would be preferable to me than Māzyār's killing me and than the Amīr ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir's fastening the blame on me!" He related: He thereupon upbraided me so roughly that I thought he was going to lay violent hands on me, and I went along, having completely lost heart. I said to myself, "At any moment now we shall all be seized, and I shall be brought before Māzyār; he will upbraid and threaten me and will say, 'You have acted as a guide against me!'" This was our situation when we reached Hurmuzdābādh as the sun began to gleam. Al-Ḥasan said to me, "Whereabouts around here was the prison where the Muslims were kept?" I replied, "On this very spot." He related: He dismounted and sat down, while we were at this time silent and holding back, with the cavalry catching us up in separate groups, because he had ridden forth without the troops' knowing; [1290] they knew about it only after he had gone.

464. Thus vocalized by the editor of the text; perhaps it is to be identified with the village Arim, in the mountainous district of Sawādkūh to the south of Sārī, listed by Rabino di Borgomale, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 115.

465. *Allāhᵃ Allāhᵃ fī nafsika*, with a verb like *astaʿīnu* or *astaghīthu* understood; the expression is badly mistranslated in Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 101.

Al-Ḥasan summoned Yaʿqūb b. Manṣūr and said to him, "O Abū Ṭalḥah, I want you to go to al-Ṭālaqāniyyah[466] and then, employing your subtle stratagems, take care of Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab's army there for two or three hours or more, whatever you can manage." There was a distance of two or three farsakhs between him and al-Ṭālaqāniyyah. Ibrāhīn continued to relate: While we were standing waiting in al-Ḥasan's presence, behold, he summoned Qays b. Zanjūyah and told him, "Proceed to the defile (*darb*) of Labūrah. It is less then a farsakh away, so go forth with your troops to the defile." He related: When we had performed the sunset worship and the night had come on, behold, a group of horsemen appeared before me, bearing lighted wax candles and coming from the Labūrah road. Al-Ḥasan said to me, "O Ibrāhīm, what is there on the Labūrah road?" I replied, "I can see lights and horsemen who have approached from that road." He related: I was filled with bewilderment and did not know what our situation was until the lights drew near to us. I was looking, and behold there was al-Māzyār, together with al-Qūhyār. I was not fully aware [of the position] until they both dismounted. Al-Māzyār advanced and greeted al-Ḥasan as Amīr, but the latter did not return to him the salutation and instead told Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm and Aws al-Balkhī, "Take him into your custody!"

It has been mentioned from the brother of Ummīdwār b. Khwāst Jīlān[467] that on that same night he went with a group of men to Qūhyār and told him, "Fear God! You have now taken the
1291] place of our leading men, so permit me to round up all these Arabs, for the troops are in a confused state and starving, and there is no road open to them for fleeing. You will thereby do away with their power and authority forever. Do not repose any trust in anything that the Arabs may give you, for they never keep

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Grammatically the construction is analogous to those of *taḥdhīr* and *ighrā'*; see W. Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 74–75.

466. Not identified but unconnected with the Ṭālaqāns of Khurāsān and Daylam. Rabino di Borgomale, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 22, notes however the existence of a Ṭalaqānī clan today, in the district of Tunakābun in western Māzandarān.

467. For the first element of this name the text has *W.m.y.d.wār*; a more correct orthography (Persian *umīdwār* "hopeful") appears in the editor's n. *l*, as given by Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī.

their trust." Qūhyār, however, said, "Don't do that!" [Ummīdwār's brother continued to relate:] By that time Qūhyār had already ranged the Arabs against us and had handed over Māzyār and the members of his family to al-Ḥasan that he himself might enjoy the sole possession of royal power and that no one might contend with or oppose him.

When dawn had come al-Ḥasan sent Māzyār in the custody of Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm and Aws al-Balkhī to Khurramābādh and ordered them to take him to the town of Sāriyah. Al-Ḥasan rode on and took possession of the Wādī Bābak as far as al-Kāniyyah,[468] coming up with and encountering Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab, who was traveling toward Hurmuzdābādh to seize al-Māzyār. Al-Ḥasan said to him, "O Abū 'Abdallāh, where are you heading?" He replied, "I am seeking al-Māzyār." Al-Ḥasan said, "He is at Sāriyah; he came to me, and I sent him on to there." Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was left in a state of great perturbation, for al-Qūhyār had planned to act treacherously with al-Ḥasan and to hand over al-Māzyār to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. But al-Ḥasan had forestalled him over that, and al-Qūhyār was afraid that al-Ḥasan would attack him when he observed him in the middle of crossing the mountains, for Aḥmad b. al-Ṣuqayr had previously written to al-Qūhyār, "I do not see you either cultivating friendly relations or showing hostility to 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. Information about your position and the assurances given by you has been written down and sent to him, so don't act in a two-faced manner (literally, "two-hearted," *dhā qalbayn*)." At that he paid heed to what had been said (*ḥadhirahu*),[469] and handed al-Māzyār over to al-Ḥasan.

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm and al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusayn went to Hurmuzdābādh, burned down al-Māzyār's palace there, and plundered his possessions. They then proceeded to al-Ḥasan's [1292] army camp at Khurramābādh. They sent [men] to al-Māzyār's brothers, and these last were imprisoned in his residence with guards appointed over them. Then al-Ḥasan rode on to the town of Sāriyah and remained there, al-Māzyār being imprisoned near

468. The pointing of the consonants and the vocalization of these two place names are uncertain.

469. Or "he (sc. al-Ḥasan) gave him a warning," vocalizing *ḥadharahu*, as in the Cairo edition, IX, 95.

al-Ḥasan's tent. Al-Ḥasan also sent to Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ asking him about the shackles with which al-Māzyār had loaded him (i.e., had loaded Muḥammad b. Mūsā); Muḥammad sent them to al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥasan fettered al-Māzyār in these same shackles.

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm came to al-Ḥasan at the town of Sāriyah to ask about and discuss with him the wealth and possessions of al-Māzyār and his family. The two of them wrote to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir concerning this matter and awaited his orders. A letter from ʿAbdallāh reached al-Ḥasan, commanding him to hand over al-Māzyār, his brothers, and the members of his family to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, so that the latter might convey them to the Commander of the Faithful, al-Muʿtaṣim. ʿAbdallāh did not make any move regarding their wealth and possessions but ordered Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm to take the whole of al-Māzyār's wealth and possessions and to guard them. Al-Ḥasan then sent for al-Māzyār and had him brought in and questioned him about his wealth and possessions. Al-Māzyār stated that these last were deposited with a group of the leading citizens and persons noted for their probity, whom he named, of Sāriyah, ten individuals in all. At this al-Ḥasan also summoned al-Qūhyār and in a written document imposed on him an obligation, making him responsible for extracting the whole[470] of the wealth and possessions that al-Māzyār had said were in the custodianship of his treasurers and the keepers of his accumulated wealth. Al-Qūhyār assented to this duty laid upon him and formally bound himself to it before witnesses; then al-Ḥasan ordered the witnesses whom he had assembled to go to al-Māzyār and bear witness for him.

It has been mentioned by one of them that he said: When we went in to al-Māzyār's presence I was afraid lest Aḥmad b. al-Ṣuqayr might frighten him with [harsh] speech, so I told him, "I would like you to restrain yourself with him and not to mention what you have been advised about him." Aḥmad accordingly remained silent during the entire proceedings. Al-Māzyār now
[1293] affirmed, "I bear witness that the whole of what I brought along and what accompanied me, of my personal wealth, amounts to

470. *Tawfīr*, in its sense of "exacting the whole of something due"; see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, VII, 150.

96,000 dīnārs, seventeen emeralds, sixteen rubies, eight loads of baskets bound with leather and containing various items of clothing, a crown and a sword decorated with gold and jewels, a golden dagger studded with jewels, and a large chest filled with jewels," he having placed it (the document) before us, which I had then handed over to Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir's treasurer and intelligence officer over the troops, and to al-Qūhyār. He related: We then went back to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, and he said, "Did you bear witness for that fellow?" He related: We replied, "Yes." He said, "This is something that I would have preferred to do myself, but I wanted his unimportance and contemptible status in my eyes to be made manifest."

It has been mentioned from ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Naṣrānī al-Kātib that that chest containing jewels belonging to al-Māzyār, his grandfather, Sharwīn, and Shahriyār, was sold for 18 million dirhams, and al-Māzyār brought the whole of this sum to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn on condition that he would proclaim publicly that al-Māzyār had come to him under a guarantee of safe-conduct; that he (al-Ḥasan) had given him a guarantee of safety for his person, his wealth and possessions, and his children; and that he had made over to him [the government of] the mountain held by his father. However, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn refused to accept this and held back from taking it (i.e., the wealth of al-Māzyār and his family); he was the most incorruptible of men with regard to taking dirhams and dīnārs.

When it was morning he sent off al-Māzyār with Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm and ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī, but a letter arrived from ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir with instructions to send him with Yaʿqūb b. [1294] Manṣūr. They had meanwhile already traveled three stages with al-Māzyār; so al-Ḥasan despatched an envoy, brought al-Māzyār back, and then sent him with Yaʿqūb b. Manṣūr.

After this al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn ordered al-Qūhyār, al-Māzyār's brother, to convey the wealth that he had pledged and provided him with mules from the army, at the same time ordering a force of soldiers to accompany him. Al-Qūhyār, however, refused, saying, "I don't need them," and he and his personal slave retainers (*ghilmān*) set out with the mules. When he entered the mountain zone he opened the treasuries, removed the wealth, and got it ready for transporting himself. But

al-Māzyār's Daylamī slave retainers (*mamālīk*), amounting to 1,200 in number, rose up against him and said to him, "You betrayed our master and handed him over to the Arabs, and now you have come to carry off his wealth." They thereupon seized him and made him fast in irons. Then, under cover of night, they killed him and carried off as plunder that wealth and the mules. News of this reached al-Ḥasan, and he sent an army against those who had killed al-Qūhyār, and Qārin also sent a force of his own troops to capture them. Qārin's commander captured a number of the plunderers, including one of al-Māzyār's paternal cousins called Shahriyār b. al-Maṣmughān,[471] who was the leader of the slave troops and the one who had egged them on. Qārin sent him on to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, but when he reached Qūmis he died. A group of those Daylamīs had set out along the way through the foothills and jungle, heading for al-Daylam. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab became aware of them, hence sent out, from the forces at his disposal, the troops of Ṭabaristān and others until these troops came up against and confronted the Daylamīs and blocked their road, and they were thus captured. He then sent them to the town of Sāriyah with ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's route of access when he entered from Shalanbah[472] was (or: was from Shalanbah) on the road from al-Rūdhbār[473] to al-Rūyān.

It has been said[474] that the deterioration of Māzyār's position and his final ruin were at the hands of one of his paternal cousins
[1295] called . . . ,[475] who ruled over all the mountain regions of Ṭabaristān, while al-Māzyār controlled the plain, this being the division between them as they had inherited it. It has been mentioned from Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Ṭabarī that the mountain regions of Ṭabaristān consisted of three mountains: that of

471. Maṣmughān was an ancient title of Ṭabaristān, held by a local dynasty of the Damāwand region, the Zarmihrid elder branch of the Qārinids, but by this time it seems to have become a proper name and to have been adopted in the younger branch of the Qārinids, that of Māzyār. See the discussion of this complex topic in *EI*², s.v. al-Maṣmughān (V. Minorsky).

472. Described by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 360, s.v. Shalambah, as a place in the region of Damāwand; see also Ibn Isfandiyār, *op. cit.*, 28.

473. The Rūdhbār situated in Daylam, one of the many places with this name. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 77; Le Strange, *Lands*, 173.

475. There is a lacuna here in the texts of both manuscripts.

Wandāhurmuz in the middle of the Ṭabaristān mountains; second, the mountain of his brother Wandās.b/f. jān b. al-Andād b. Qārin; and, third, the mountain of Sharwīn b. Surkhāb b. Bāb.[476] When al-Māzyār's authority grew strong, he sent to that paternal cousin of his—or, as has been said, to his brother al-Qūhyār—and compelled him to stay with him at his court, meanwhile entrusting the governorship of the mountains to one of his own men, called Durrī. When al-Māzyār had a need for troops to combat ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir he summoned his cousin—or his brother al-Qūhyār—and told him, "You are more familiar with your mountain than anyone else." He revealed to him the matter of al-Afshīn and the latter's [secret] correspondence with him and told him, "Go to that region of the mountain and guard the mountain for me." Al-Māzyār also wrote to al-Durrī, ordering him to come to him, which al-Durrī did, and he gave him military forces and sent him against ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. He thought that he had made firm for himself the mountain through his cousin—or his brother al-Qūhyār—because he did not imagine that anyone could come upon him via the mountain, because there was no way for [the access of] armies or the possibility of fighting there on account of the numerous defiles and [dense] trees. He further made sure of the places where he feared [possible access] by [1296] means of al-Durrī and his forces, and he reinforced him with warriors and troops from his own army.

ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir sent his paternal uncle al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣʿab with a large army from Khurāsān against al-Māzyār, and al-Muʿtaṣim sent Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab, together with an intelligence officer called Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Būshanjī, the mawlā of al-Hādī, known as Qawṣarah,[477] who was to write intelligence reports about the army. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm met al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, and the

476. I.e., for Bāw/Bāv, sc. the Bāwandid Ispahbadhs. On this threefold division of the mountains, see *EI*², s.v. Māzandarān (V. Minorsky-[C. E. Bosworth]); the second would adjoin Daylam, as it was the starting point for expeditions against the Daylamīs (see p. 147 n. 418, above), and third would lie in the southeastern part of Ṭabaristān.

477. Literally, "a basket of dates woven from palm fibers," perhaps indicative of an originally servile status for this Khurāsānian. Būshanj was a town in what is now western Afghanistan. In connection with the attachments of this al-Būshanjī to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab, it may not be without significance that the

armies advanced together toward al-Māzyār until they were close to him. Al-Māzyār, meanwhile, was not in any doubt that he had made secure for himself the place where the mountains faced him (faced al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, his enemy?)[478] and was at this moment in his capital with only a small group of men. But the secret rancor that al-Māzyār's cousin nursed in his heart against al-Māzyār, the latter's treatment of him, and al-Māzyār's removal of him from his mountain impelled the cousin to write to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn and tell him about everything that was happening in his camp, including the fact that al-Afshīn had been in correspondence with al-Māzyār. Al-Ḥasan forwarded al-Māzyār's cousin's letter to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, and ʿAbdallāh in turn sent it with an envoy to al-Muʿtaṣim. ʿAbdallāh and al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn then wrote back to al-Māzyār's cousin—or, it has been said, al-Qūhyār—and they both promised him whatever he might wish. Al-Māzyār's cousin had informed ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir that the mountain where he then was had belonged to him and his father and his forefathers before al-Māzyār[479] and that the latter, at the time when al-Faḍl b. Sahl had appointed him ruler over Ṭabaristān, had snatched the mountain from his possession and compelled him to remain at his court, treating him with
1297] contempt. Accordingly, ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir made the stipulation to him that, if the cousin should rise up against al-Māzyār and use stratagems so that the mountain should pass into his own possession, as it had always previously been, no impediment would be placed in his way regarding it, nor would he be pursued with military force. Al-Māzyār's cousin agreed to these terms, so ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir wrote out for him a document with that stipulation and in it gave him the requisite assurances.

Al-Māzyār's cousin promised al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn and their troops that he would lead them into the mountain. When the

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region around Bushanj was the original home of the Ṭāhirid family and the birthplace of Ṭāhir Dhū al-Yamīnayn himself. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 508–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 431; Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 60; Kaabi, *op. cit.*, I, 65.

478. One might also follow here the variant in n. g and read "the place in front of [*tilqā*] the mountain."

479. *Min qabli* "before" seems to be the best vocalization here, in the light of the unequivocal phrase just below, "as it had always previously been"; the Cairo edition, IX, 99, vocalizes *min qibali* "under the suzerainty of."

time of the appointed meeting came round ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir ordered al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn to advance to engage al-Durrī in battle and in the middle of the night sent out a powerful force under one of his commanders. They met up with al-Māzyār's cousin in the mountain; he delivered the mountains over to them and conducted them into the mountains. Al-Durrī drew up his own army in ranks against the opposing force; al-Māzyār in his palace was meanwhile quite unaware of what was happening until the [Arabs'] infantrymen and cavalry planted themselves at the very gate of his palace. Al-Durrī was at this time engaged in battle with the other army. The caliphal troops surrounded and besieged al-Māzyār and brought him forth in accordance with (or: "for," *ʿalā*) the Commander of the Faithful al-Muʿtaṣim's judgment.

ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ṭabarī[480] has mentioned that al-Māzyār was out hunting and the [Arab] cavalry came upon him during the hunt. He was taken prisoner, and his palace was entered forcibly and the whole of what was in it captured. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn brought along al-Māzyār, with al-Durrī still at this time fighting the enemy facing him and unaware of al-Māzyār's capture; he remained oblivious of the situation until ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir's troops came up behind him. His own troops were cut up and scattered and he himself put to flight, fleeing and seeking to enter the land of al-Daylam. His companions were slain, and the caliphal troops pursued and overtook him when he had with him only a small group of his retainers. He turned round and fought with them but was slain and his head taken and then sent to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, into whose hands al-Māzyār had already [1298] passed.

ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir promised al-Māzyār that, if he would show him al-Afshīn's letters, he would ask the Commander of the Faithful to pardon him, and he warned al-Māzyār that he had learned that al-Māzyār had the letters in his possession. Al-Māzyār acknowledged the truth of that; the letters were sought for and found, and there turned out to be a considerable number of

480. This is the fourth of Ṭabarī's authorities for Māzyār's revolt (III, 1297–98), noted by Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 302 n. 4, as differing on some points from the principal account of Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ and containing some errors.

letters. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir took them and sent them, together with al-Māzyār, to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, commanding him not to allow the letters out of his hands, or al-Māzyār either, unless directly into the hands of the Commander of the Faithful, lest some stratagem be employed regarding the letters and al-Māzyār. Isḥāq followed his instructions and delivered them out of his own hands into those of al-Mu'taṣim. Al-Mu'taṣim then questioned al-Māzyār about the letters, but he refused to acknowledge them, whereupon al-Mu'taṣim ordered al-Māzyār to be beaten until he died. His corpse was then gibbeted at the side of Bābak's.[481]

Al-Ma'mūn used to write to al-Māzyār, "From 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn to the Jīl-i Jīlān,[482] Iṣbahbadh-i Iṣbahbadhān, Bishwār Khurshād,[483] Muḥammad b. Qārin, mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful."[484]

It has been mentioned that al-Durrī's position began to deteriorate when, after al-Māzyār's reinforcing him with an army, the news reached him of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's descent of Dunbāwand. He thereupon sent his brother Buzurj-Jushnas,[485] reinforcing him with Muḥammad and Ja'far, the two sons of Rustam al-Kalārī,[486] and with troops from the frontier region and
[1299] from al-Rūyān, and he ordered them to proceed to the boundary of

481. I.e., in Sāmarrā, at the *'aqabat Bābak*; see Ṭabarī, III, 1231 (p. 88, above). For 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir's relations with Māzyār and 'Abdallāh's part in Māzyār's fate, see Kaabi, *op. cit.*, I, 255–57.

482. I.e., Māzyār claimed authority over Gīlān, the province to the west, as well as over Ṭabaristān.

483. Minorsky amended this phrase, in *EI*[1], s.v. Māzyār, to Patishwārjarshāh, without, however, giving his interpretation; perhaps he was following Marquart's Patashwārgar-shāh, listed by Ibn Khurradādhbih, *op. cit.*, 17, as an early Sāsānid provincial ruler's title. See Justi, *op. cit.*, 99; Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, II, 71–72; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 145.

484. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 582, gives these titles and says that, when Māzyār started getting pretensions, he no longer called himself by the humble title of "client of the Commander of the Faithful," but adopted *muwālī* ("partner, associate") *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. See also Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 145; Rekaya, "Māzyār," 150–52.

485. Text, *b.z.r.j.sh.n.s.* The element *j.sh.n.s* is the usual Arabized rendering of the Persian name Gushnasp (literally, "stallion"), the whole name thus meaning "great stallion." see Justi, *op. cit.*, 354–55; Ṭabarī, trans. Nöldeke, 110 n. 3.

486. Kalār is the district of western Ṭabaristān lying between Tunakābun and Kujūr, at this time adjoining the frontier of pagan Daylam and ruled by the Bāduspānids; see Rabino di Borgomale, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, 27, 154–55.

al-Rūyān and al-Rayy to ward off the army. Al-Ḥasan b. Qārin had been corresponding with Rustam's sons Muḥammad and Ja'far, who were among the leaders of al-Durrī's troops, inciting the two of them [to betray their commander]. When the armies of al-Durrī and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm met, Rustam's two sons plus the troops from the two frontier regions and from al-Rūyān turned against al-Durrī's brother Buzurj-Jushnas, took him captive, and joined up with Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm as his vanguard. Al-Durrī, together with his family and all his troops, was in his fortress at a place called Muzn.[487] When the news reached him of the treachery of Rustam's two sons, Muḥammad and Ja'far, and the rallying to their side of the troops from the two frontier regions and from al-Rūyān and of his brother Buzurj-Jushnas's capture, he became deeply grieved on account of that. He submitted [to the will of] his followers, whose only thought was for themselves, and the whole body of them split up, seeking guarantees of safe-conduct for themselves and contriving to save their skins as best they could. Al-Durrī then sent to the Daylamites [i.e., for reinforcements], and 4,000 of them rallied to his side. He held out inducements to them, gave them hope of largesse, and offered them gifts. Then he rode on, bearing his wealth and possessions with him, and proceeded as if his intention were to rescue his brother and attack Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, but in reality he intended to enter al-Daylam and seek the Daylamites' military assiatance against Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. At that point Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm and his army met him, and a bitter battle ensued.

After al-Durrī had gone the prison guards fled, and the prisoners broke their fetters and escaped, and every one of them reached his own land. It happened that the men from Sāriyah who had been in al-Māzyār's jail and those persons who had been in al-Durrī's one got free on the very same day, this being the thirteenth of Sha'bān in the year 225 (June 18, 840) according to Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ; others, however, say that this took place in the year 224 (i.e., on June 30, 839).

It has been mentioned from Dāwūd b. Qaḥdham that Muḥam- [1300]

487. With the same emendation of this name as in Ṭabarī, III, 1274 l. 16 (p. 147 n. 418, above).

mad b. Rustam said:[488] Al-Durrī and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm met in combat on the coast of the [Caspian] Sea between the mountain chain, the jungle, and the sea, the jungle being contiguous with the border of al-Daylam. Al-Durrī was a courageous and valiant warrior. He hurled himself single-handed against Muḥammad's troops until he put them to flight. Then he went off to one side, not however fleeing precipitately and intending to go into the jungle. But one of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's followers, called Find[489] b. Ḥājibah, attacked him and took him prisoner, and he was brought back.[490] The troops pursued al-Durrī's men, and everything that al-Durrī had with him—personal equipment, money, riding beasts, and weapons—was seized. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm ordered al-Durrī's brother Buzurj-Jushnas to be killed, and then al-Durrī himself was summoned. He stretched out his forearm, and it was cut off from the elbow; his leg was stretched out, and that was cut off from the knee. The same thing was done with the other forearm and leg. He squatted down on his backside, but did not utter a word or tremble at all. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm then ordered his head to be chopped off. He furthermore seized al-Durrī's men and had them transported in fetters.

In this year Ja'far b. Dīnār became governor of Yemen.[491]

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshin married Utrunjah, the daughter of Ashnās, and consummated the marriage at al-Umarī,[492] the palace of al-Mu'taṣim, in Jumādā II (April–May 839). He invited to the marriage celebrations the general populace

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488. Dāwūd b. Quḥdham is otherwise unknown as an authority for this information, but his informant, Muḥammad b. Rustam, is presumably the Muḥammad son of Rustam al-Kalārī mentioned earlier.

489. This name seems to have perplexed the copyists, and also Marin, but is in fact not unknown in early Arabic onomastic (literally, "peak, mountain," hence a name for a powerfully built man); cf. the Jāhilī poet al-Find al-Zimmānī represented in Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsah*, 9–12, trans. in C. J. Lyall, *Translations*, 5–7 no. III.

490. Reading *wa-sturji'a*, since *istarja'a*, which is transitive except in the denominative sense of "to exclaim 'Indeed we belong to God!'," requires an object in the active voice.

491. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 508.

492. The palace built by and thus named after the commander 'Umar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhajī (cf. p. 12 n. 42, above). See Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 258, trans., 48–49; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 95.

of Sāmarrā. I was informed that they sprinkled the populace there with costly perfume (*ghāliyah*)[493] in silver vases and that [1301] al-Mu'taṣim personally charged himself with the task of looking after those attending.[494]

In this year 'Abdallāh al-Warthānī assumed a rebellious attitude at Warthān.[495]

In this year Minkajūr al-Ushrūsanī, a kinsman of al-Afshīn, rebelled in Ādharbayjān.[496]

The Reasons behind Minkajūr's Rebellion in Ādharbayjān

It has been mentioned that, when al-Afshīn had concluded the affair of Bābak and had returned from al-Jibāl, he appointed as governor of Ādharbayjān—which was one of the regions in his own charge and for which he was responsible—this Minkajūr. In Bābak's capital, in one of Bābak's dwellings, Minkajūr came

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493. This was a mixture of musk, ambergris, and olibanum, used only on the most festive occasions; see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 144 n. 2. An anecdote given by Hilāl al-Ṣābi' emphasizes, however, al-Mu'taṣim's extreme detestation of the smell of *ghāliyah*; *op. cit.*, 32–33, trans., 30–31.

494. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 133 = par. 2815; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 508; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 144. For the use of *tafaqqada* in the sense of "to look after, care for," see Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 271.

495. A town on the south bank of the Araxes, hence on the border between Mūqān and Arrān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 370–71; Le Strange, *Lands*, 176–77, Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 1047–53. The rebel Warthānī is described in Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, 329, as one of the mawlās of al-Rashīd's wife Zubaydah. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 580, records the revolt of Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Warthānī, against whom al-Afshīn dispatched Minkajūr; but the rebel secured *amān* and came to al-Mu'taṣim's court. He must have been reinstated in Mūqān, for Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 583, goes on to record that Minkajūr, in the course of his own revolt (see below), killed Warthānī and other officials of the 'Abbāsids. The form of the name in Azdī, *op. cit.*, 429, and Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 508, sc. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah, is doubtless less correct. See also Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 1051.

496. See Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 144. The rebel is described by Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 579, as Minkajūr al-Farghānī and as the maternal uncle of one of al-Afshīn's sons. Minorsky, in *Studies in Caucasian History*, 111 n. 1, suggested that the ford, now a dam, of Mingechaur over the Kur River in Arrān is named after him. The first element of what looks much more like a Turkish than an Iranian name may be *ming/bing* "1,000" or *mengü* "eternal, everlasting" (see Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, 345–47, 350–51), both of them common components in early Turkish onomastic. We may have here a Turkish slave soldier sold at or imported into Farghānah, rather than one of the indigenous population of that province.

across a large sum of money, which he then appropriated for himself without either al-Afshīn's or al-Muʿtaṣim's knowing about it (or: "being informed about it"). The head of the postal and intelligence service in Ādharbayjān was an adherent of the Shīʿah called ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He wrote to al-Muʿtaṣim with the information about that hoard of wealth and Minkajūr in turn wrote branding the accusation a lie. Arguments and disputes broke out between Minkajūr and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān until Minkajūr finally determined to kill the latter. ʿAbdallāh sought the aid of the people of Ardabīl, and they shielded him from Minkajūr's intentions, so that as a result Minkajūr attacked them.

News of this reached al-Muʿtaṣim, who thereupon ordered al-Afshīn to send a man to remove Minkajūr from office; so al-Afshīn dispatched one of his commanders with a powerful army. When Minkajūr heard about this, he threw off allegiance, gathered around himself the vagabonds and desperadoes (*al-ṣaʿālīk*), and left Ardabīl. Al-Afshīn's commander spotted him and attacked him, and Minkajūr was put to flight. He went to one of the fortresses of Ādharbayjān that Bābak had destroyed, a
[1302] well-defended site on an inaccessible mountain. There he rebuilt and repaired it and fortified himself within it. However, before less than one month had elapsed, Minkajūr's followers who were with him in the fortress rose up against him; they betrayed him and handed him over to that commander who had previously fought with him. The latter brought him to Sāmarrā, where al-Muʿtaṣim ordered him to be imprisoned; al-Afshīn also came under suspicion regarding Minkajūr's affair.[497] It has been said that the commander sent to wage war on this Minkajūr was Bughā al-Kabīr, and it has further been said that when Bughā encountered Minkajūr the latter went out to him with a guarantee of safe-conduct.[498]

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497. I.e., for allegedly inciting Minkajūr to rebellion; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 579, explicity adduces this incitement, plus the fact that the army originally sent against Minkajūr under Abū al-Sāj Dīwdād was really intended as reinforcement for him, forcing the Caliph to send an army under Bughā al-Kabīr actually to quell the outbreak.

498. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 579–80, also has information on events in northwestern Persia and Armenia at this time that is not in Ṭabarī and records Minkajūr's

In this year Yāṭis al-Rūmī died, and [his corpse] was gibbeted at the side of Bābak.[499]

In this year, in the month of Ramaḍān (July–August 839), Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī died, and al-Mu'taṣim led the worship at his funeral.[500]

In this year Muḥammad b. Dāwūd led the Pilgrimage.[501]

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appointment as governor there; the relevant passage is translated by Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 460–61.

499. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 138–39 = par. 2821, states that the corpses of Bābak, Māzyār, and then Yāṭis all bent toward each other on their respective gibbets and quotes some verses of Abū Tammām on this.

500. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 508.

501. Khalīfah, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 789; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 508.

The Events of the Year 225

(November 12, 839–October 30, 840)

These included al-Warthānī's coming to al-Mu'taṣim in al-Muḥarram (Novermber–December 839) with a guarantee of safe-conduct.[502]

In this year, Bughā al-Kabīr brought Minkajūr to Sāmarrā.[503]

In this year al-Mu'taṣim went to al-Sinn, appointing Ashnās as his deputy. Also in this year, in Rabī' I (January–February 840), he installed Ashnās on a throne, awarding him a crown and a ceremonial girdle.[504]

In this year Ghannām the apostate (*al-murtadd*) was burned.[505]

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502. This would refer to Warthānī's reinstatement after his submission; see p. 175 n. 495, above.

503. See Ṭabarī, III, 1301–2 (pp. 175–76, above).

504. *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 404; Herzfeld, *op. cit*, 145–46. Ashnās was now high in the Caliph's favor, and in this year also al-Mu'taṣim appointed him overall governor of the vast region of al-Jazīrah, Syria, and Egypt (in practice, gubernatorial powers in these provinces were exercised by deputies while Ashnās himself remained in Iraq). See Kindī, *op. cit.*, 194–95; Ibn al-'Adīm, *op. cit.*, I, 69, according to whom al-Mu'taṣim gave to Ashnās, in total, 40 million dirhams during the last years of his life; P. von Sivers, "Military, Merchants and Nomads," 222–23.

505. This character and episode remain enigmatic; all we have is a laconic mention by Jāḥiẓ in *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, I, 9, implying that Jāḥiẓ had previously written against him.

In this year al-Muʿtaṣim grew angry with Jaʿfar b. Dīnār on account of his attack on those of the Shākiriyyah[506] who were with him and imprisoned him in the custody of Ashnās for fifteen days. He dismissed him from the governorship of Yemen and gave it to Aytākh, but then he relented toward Jaʿfar. [1303]

In this year al-Afshīn was dismissed from the caliphal guard (*al-ḥaras*), and Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh took over the office.[507]

In this year ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir sent Māzyār (i.e., to the caliphal court).[508] Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm [b. Muṣʿab] went out to al-Daskarah[509] and conducted Māzyār to Sāmarrā in Shawwāl (August 840), and he ordered Māzyār to be transported on an elephant. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt said,

The elephant has been painted and adorned with dyestuff, as is
the custom with such a beast,
[for] it is bearing the Jīlān of Khurāsān.

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506. This group (*shākir*, Persian *chākir* "servant," according to the lexicographers; Herzfeld suggested, *op. cit.*, 99, that the word was derived from Middle Persian *shkar*, cf. New Persian *shikār* "hunt, hunting," but this does not have any very obvious connection with his adducing of instances in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*, where *shākirī* clearly means "personal attendant, bodyguard." These last instances accord however with the usage in Central Asia of *chākir/chākar* to denote the personal guard of rulers there, both Iranian and Turkish; see Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī*, 94) formed a body of mercenaries in the caliphal serivce. In the Arabic historical sources the *Dīwān al-Jund wa-al-Shākiriyyah* is clearly distinguished from the *Dīwān al-Mawālī wa-al-Ghilmān*, that of the clients and military slaves (Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 267, trans., 61; idem, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 596, reign of al-Mutawakkil). By the middle years of the third (ninth) century, the old *jund* of free Arab warriors (cf. *EI*², s.v. Djund [D. Sourdel]) had virtually disappeared, and both the new *jund* and the *shākiriyyah* must have been paid, presumably non-Arab soldiers. See Hoernerbach, *op. cit.*, 264–66; Bosworth, "Recruitment, Muster and Review," 69. Shaban, *op. cit.*, 64–65, suggests that the *shākirs* of this period were the personal guards of Iranian and Turkish princes and local rulers of Central Asia, brought into the caliphal army, like al-Afshīn himself; this seems quite feasible.

507. Isḥāq was the grandson of a Khurāsānian commander, from Khuttal or al-Rayy, who served the first ʿAbbāsids; he was the son of al-Maʾmūn's governor of Armenia and al-Jazīrah, who unsuccessfully fought Bābak (see Ṭabarī, III, 1233 [p. 91, above]). Isḥāq governed Damascus for both al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāthiq. See Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 584; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 516; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 107, 145; Crone, *op. cit.*, 183–84; p. xv, above.

508. Ibn Isfandiyār, *op. cit.*, 154; cf. Marʿashī, *op. cit.*, 117, who says that Māzyār was confined in a box with only eyeholes and transported thus on a mule back to Iraq.

509. In full, Daskarat al-Malik, one stage from al-Nahrawān on the high road to Khurāsān. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 455; Le Strange, *Lands*, 62; *EI*², s.v. Daskara (A. A. Duri).

The elephant does not have its limbs painted and adorned
except for a very momentous person (or: for a very momentous occasion).[510]

Māzyār refused to ride on the elephant, so he was brought in mounted on a mule with a packsaddle. [On this day], the fifth of Dhū al-Qa'dah (September 6, 840), al-Mu'taṣim sat in the Public Audience Chamber. He gave orders and brought Māzyār into confrontation with al-Afshīn, who had been imprisoned the previous day. Al-Māzyār acknowledged that al-Afshīn had been in correspondence with him and had persuaded him that it was right to show disobedience and rebelliousness. Al-Mu'taṣim ordered al-Afshīn to be returned to his prison and Māzyār to be beaten with 450 lashes; he begged for water, was given some, and then expired immediately.[511]

In this year al-Mu'taṣim became angry with al-Afshīn and imprisoned him.

The Reason for al-Mu'taṣim's Anger against al-Afshīn and His Imprisoning Him

It has been mentioned that, during the time when al-Afshīn was engaged in his war with Bābak and was stationed in the land of the Khurramiyyah, all the presents that he received from the people of Armenia he invariably sent on to Ushrūsanah.[512] These
[1304] presents used to pass through [the territory of] 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir,

510. These two verses are a repetition of those given in Ṭabarī, III, 1230 (p. 000, above), with the substitution of Jīlān, alluding to Māzyār's title Jīl-i Jīlān (Ṭabarī, III, 1298 [p. 172, above]), for Shayṭān in the first verse.

511. Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, 340; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 138–39 = pars. 2820–21; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 403, placing this event in the previous year, 224; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 510; E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 125; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 145; Rekaya, "Māzyār," 188–89. The Persian local historical sources, e.g., Mar'ashī, *op. cit.*, 231, state that the line of Qārin, the Qārinwands, expired with Māzyār's execution. However, Madelung, "Minor Dynasties," 205, has pointed out that petty rulers in Lafūr (see Ṭabarī, III, 1287 [p. 161 n. 460, above]) are mentioned in the fourth (tenth) and fifth (eleventh) centuries and described as Qārinids; one branch at least of the family thus survived.

512. The province to the south of the great bend of the Jaxartes River, lying between it and the river of Soghdia; al-Afshīn's family were hereditary rulers of Ushrūsanah, continuing there after Khaydhar's death until 280 (893). See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 197; Le Strange, 474–76; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 165–69, 211; Bosworth and Clauson, *op. cit.*, 7–8; *EI*[1], s.v. Osrūshana (J. H. Kramers).

who therefore wrote to al-Muʿtaṣim about this affair. Hence al-Muʿtaṣim wrote back to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, ordering him to set down a detailed description of all the presents that al-Afshīn was sending to Ushrūsanah, and ʿAbdallāh did that. Whenever any of the money in question was ready and at hand with al-Afshīn, he would load it round the waists of his retainers in the form of dīnārs and waist purses (*al-hamāyīn*), as much as they could carry. A man used to carry 1,000 dīnārs and more round his waist. ʿAbdallāh was informed about this, so that one day, when al-Afshīn's envoys had halted at Naysābūr, having the presents with them, ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir sent after them and apprehended them. He searched them and found the purses around their waists, which he took away from them, saying to them, "Where did you get all this money?" The replied, "There are presents given to al-Afshīn, and they're his property." ʿAbdallāh said, "You're lying; if my colleague al-Afshīn had wished to send such wealth as this, he would have written to me informing me about it so that I might order measures for guarding it and provide an escort for it, for that is an enormous sum! You are nothing but thieves!"

At that, ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir confiscated the money and distributed it to the troops under his command. He wrote back to al-Afshīn, recounting to him what the men had said and himself saying [in his letter], "I am unable to believe that you can have sent such a sum of money as this to Ushrūsanah without writing to me informing me of it, so that I might provide an escort for it. So, if this wealth is not in fact yours, well, I have distributed it to the troops in place of the money that the Commander of the Faithful forwards to me each year (i.e., for the payment of their salaries). If, however, the money really is yours, as the men assert, then, when the money arrives from the Commander of the Faithful, I will return it to you. Again, if the position should be [1305] otherwise, then the Commander of the Faithful has the best entitlement to this money. I simply gave it to the troops because I intend sending them out to the land of the Turks (i.e., on a campaign into the Central Asian steppelands)." Al-Afshīn thereupon wrote back to ʿAbdallāh, telling him that his own money and the Commander of the Faithful's money were one and the same and requesting that ʿAbdallāh set the men free, so that

they might proceed to Ushrūsanah. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir accordingly released them, and they went on their way. However, this was the reason for the hostility that arose between ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir and al-Afshīn; thereafter, ʿAbdallāh began to keep a close watch on him.[513]

From time to time, al-Afshīn used to hear words from al-Muʿtaṣim that indicated that he wanted to remove the Ṭāhirids from Khurāsān. Al-Afshīn coveted the governorship of Khurāsān for himself, so he began to send letters to Māzyār, inciting him to rebel and undertaking to assume the task of defending him with regard to the ruling power (*al-sulṭān*), thinking that, if Māzyār should rebel, al-Muʿtaṣim would, will-nilly, have to send him to combat Māzyār, would remove ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir from office, and would appoint him governor of Khurāsān instead. What subsequently transpired regarding Māzyār we have already recounted, and what happened regarding Minkajūr in Ādharbayjān we have already described.

What al-Muʿtaṣim had suspected regarding Minkajūr's affair and the fact that al-Afshīn's planning and express instructions to Minkajūr must have lain behind it became confirmed in the caliph's mind by al-Afshīn's correspondence with Māzyār in the terms that al-Afshīn had actually been carrying it on. Because of that, al-Muʿtaṣim's attitude toward al-Afshīn changed, and the latter sensed it and realized al-Muʿtaṣim's altered opinion of him but did not know what to do. He therefore resolved, according to what has been mentioned, to prepare rafts of inflated waterskins (*aṭwāf*)[514] in his palace and to employ the stratagem, on some day when al-Muʿtaṣim and his commanders were
[1306] otherwise occupied, of taking the road to al-Mawṣil and crossing the Zāb[515] on those waterskin rafts until he should reach the land of Armenia and then the land of the Khazars.[516] This plan proved, however, difficult to execute, so he prepared [instead] a great

513. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 145–46.

514. On these (sing. *ṭawf*), which were used for constructing rafts on the rivers of Iraq (known by the term *kelek*, for which see *EI*², s.v. Kelek [H. Kindermann]), see Bosworth, "Some Remarks on the Terminology," 84–85.

515. This river would be the Lesser Zāb, the left-bank affluent of the Tigris, which joints it at al-Sinn; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 90–91.

516. I.e., the land of the Turkish people of that name, north of the Caucasus and along the lower course of the Volga River. See D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*; *EI*², s.v. Khazar (W. Barthold-[P. B. Golden]).

quantity of poison and decided on arranging a banquet, to which he would summon al-Muʿtaṣim and his commanders and then give them to drink [the poison]. If al-Muʿtaṣim were to refuse the invitation, he would seek the caliph's permission to invite his Turkish commanders, such as Ashnās, Aytākh, etc., on some day when the Commander of the Faithful was otherwise occupied. Then, when they came to him, he would ply them with food and drink and poison them, and then, when they had left his residence, he would go forth in the early part of the night, carrying on the backs of pack animals those waterskin rafts and other equipment for making a crossing, until he should come to the Zāb. He and his baggage would then cross on the rafts while the pack animals would swim across as best they could. He would then send on the rafts so that he might cross the Tigris and enter Armenia, the governorship of which he himself held. From there he would proceed to the land of the Khazars, seeking a guarantee of safe-conduct through them, thence go round from the land of the Khazars to that of the Turks, and return from the latter territory to the province of Ushrūsanah. Having achieved this, he planned to win over the Khazars into hostility against the Muslims. His preparations for this course of action got under way, but the whole affair took up an inordinate amount of time, and he was unable to achieve it.[517]

Al-Afshīn's commanders used to take turns (i.e., at guard duty) in the Commander of the Faithful's palace, as is the custom with commanders. A conversation had taken place between Wājan[518] al-Ushrūsanī and some person who had become aware of al-Afshīn's plans, and Wājan had told this person that, in his opinion, the scheme was not possible and could not be brought to a conclusion. The man who heard Wājan's words went away and [1307] related them to al-Afshīn. One of al-Afshīn's slaves (or: eunuchs, *khadam*[519]) and intimates, whose sympathies inclined toward Wājan, overheard what al-Afshīn said concerning Wājan; so, when Wājan came back from his turn of guard duty one night, this man went to him and told him that this matter (i.e., of

517. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 146.

518. On this Iranian name (the Bīzhan son of Gīw of the *Shāh-nāma*), see Justi, *op. cit.*, 367, and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 146 n. 1. Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, I, 68, cites Parthian *wēǰan*, *wēzhan*, *bēzhan* "of good stock."

519. See p. 134 n. 375, above.

Wājan's doubts about the feasibility of al-Afshīn's plans) had been related to al-Afshīn.

Wājan was accordingly put on his guard and immediately rode off in the dead of the night till he came to the Commander of the Faithful's palace at a time when al-Muʿtaṣim himself was asleep. So Wājan went to Aytākh and told him, "I have some important counsel for the Commander of the Faithful." Aytākh replied, "You're here at the wrong time; the Commander of the Faithful has gone to sleep!" Wājan told him, however, "I can't wait until morning!" Aytākh therefore knocked on the door of someone who would inform al-Muʿtaṣim about what Wājan said. Al-Muʿtaṣim sent back word, "Tell him to return to his house tonight and come back to me first thing in the morning." But Wājan replied, "If I return tonight, I shall die." At that, al-Muʿtaṣim sent the message back to Aytākh, "Have him spend the night with you." Aytākh had Wājan spend the night with him, and then, when it was morning, he went with him at the time of the dawn worship and introduced him into al-Muʿtaṣim's presence. Wājan told al-Muʿtaṣim everything he knew, at which al-Muʿtaṣim sent for Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. D.n.q.sh al-Kātib[520] and dispatched him to summon al-Afshīn. The latter arrived, dressed in black robes, but al-Muʿtaṣim ordered these to be taken away from him and consigned him to prison. He was incarcerated in al-Jawsaq,[521] but then the caliph had a lofty prison built for him within al-Jawsaq, which he named al-Luʾluʾah ("the Pearl")[522] and which is known until today[523] as [the prison of] al-Afshīn.[524]

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520. *Ḥājib* or door keeper to al-Muʿtaṣim, according to Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 356, trans., 457. As Sourdel notes, *Vizirat*, I, 242, the office of *ḥijābah* was very much in the background during this period, and its holders are shadowy persons. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrikh*, II, 584, included Muḥammad b. Ḥammād among a group of Turks who served as *ḥājib*s for al-Muʿtaṣim. From an anecdote in Tanūkhī, *op. cit.*, VI, 162–63, it emerges that Ḥammād b. D.n.q.sh had been a mawlā of al-Manṣūr's; the son Muḥammad was subsequently to become al-Muhtadī's *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*, according to this same source.

521. On this palace, see pp. 26 n. 97, 87 n. 232, above.

522. Not to be confused with the Luʾluʾah Palace constructed later by al-Mutawakkil, at vast expense, in the Jaʿfariyyah district of Sāmarrā; see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 128, 132.

523. The words *ilā al-ān* are added in the Cairo edition, IX, 106.

524. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 146–47. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 138 = par. 2820, uniquely has the detail that al-Afshīn was denounced by a secretary of his called Sābūr.

Al-Muʿtaṣim wrote to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, telling him to employ a stratagem against al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn. Now al-Ḥasan had bombarded ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir with letters [complaining] about Nūḥ b. Asad, informing him about Nūḥ's unjust and oppressive treatment of him regarding his (al-Ḥasan's) estates and his region.[525] So ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir wrote to Nūḥ b. Asad informing [1308] him about what the Commander of the Faithful had written to him concerning al-Ḥasan, and he ordered him to gather together his forces and make preparations for al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn, so that, when the latter should come to him with a letter announcing his appointment to the governorship, Nūḥ was to secure his person and bring him to ʿAbdallāh. [At the same time], ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir wrote to al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn, informing him that he had dismissed Nūḥ b. Asad from office and had appointed him (al-Ḥasan) governor of the region instead, and he sent to him the official letter of Nūḥ b. Asad's dismissal. At that, al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn set off with only a small force of his troops and few weapons until he reached Nūḥ. b. Asad, all this time under the delusion that he himself was the new governor of the region. But Nūḥ b. Asad seized him, placed him in secure bonds, and sent him to ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, who in turn sent him to al-Muʿtaṣim.[526]

The prison that was built for al-Afshīn was in the form of a minaret, and inside it was left just sufficient space for al-Afshīn to sit down.[527] The guards used to walk round the minaret's perimeter below it during their spells of duty.

It has been mentioned from Hārūn b. ʿĪsā b. al-Manṣūr[528] that he said: I was present in al-Muʿtaṣim's palace, where there were

525. Nūḥ b. Asad was one of the four Sāmānid brothers given governorships in Transoxania and eastern Khurāsān by al-Maʾmūn as a reward for their support. As governor in Samarqand, Nūḥ would endeavor at this time to extend his authority over the neighboring principality of Ushrūsanah, thus clashing with al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 209–11; Frye, "Sāmānids," 136.

526. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 147. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, III, 103, says that ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, on the Caliph's orders, forced al-Ḥasan to divorce Utrunjah bt. Ashnās, whom he had married with such pomp the previous year; see Ṭabarī, III, 1300–1 (pp. 174–75, above).

527. Following Herzfeld's translation, *op. cit.*, 147 and n. 2, *pace* Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 114.

528. A great-nephew of his, Isḥāq b. Muḥammad, is mentioned in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*; see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 147 n. 3.

also assembled Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād,[529] Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt. Al-Afshīn was brought in, he not yet being in the strong prison. A group of prominent figures had been assembled to heap reproaches on al-Afshīn for what he had done, and not a single person of high social or official rank (*aḥad min aṣḥāb al-marātib*)[530] was left in the palace apart from the sons (i.e., the lineal descendants) of al-Manṣūr, the rest of the [generality of] people having been dismissed. The prosecutor (*al-munāẓir*)[531] chose for al-Afshīn was Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, and those who had been

529. The prominent part played by the chief judge in the interrogation and condemnation of al-Afshīn is noteworthy. Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 291 ff., sees in the whole affair a reflection of Arab hatred of the Iranian element in the caliphate and its prominence (hence a continuation of the tension between the eastern part of the caliphate and the Arabs of the Iraqi and Syrian heartlands, discernible in the previous caliphates of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn). Later sources—but not Ṭabarī here—give another explanation for this personal hostility between the chief judge and al-Afshīn. In the Arabic sources of the fourth (tenth) century (sc. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, and Tanūkhī, *op. cit.*, VII, 246–47) we find a story that Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād had saved the life of the Arab general Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim al-'Ijlī, who had commanded the volunteers during al-Afshīn's last campaign against Bābak (see Ṭabarī, III, 1206 ff. [pp. 59 ff. and n. 176, above]) and who is depicted in Arabic *adab* literature as an all-round Arab hero, after he had somehow fallen into al-Afshīn's power. Aḥmad had interceded for him, explaining to the Caliph about al-Afshīn's hatred for the Arabs and Arabic culture in all its aspects (see Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 291–92; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 140). The story is given at great length and with much circumstantial detail by the Persian historian of he Ghaznavid period Abū al-Faḍl Bayhaqī in his *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, trans. of this section in A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Menoutchehri*, 149–54. Whether or not full credence should be attached to Bayhaqī's highly ornamented narrative is uncertain; his authority for the story is one Ismā'īl b. Shihāb, not recorded as a *rāwī* in Ṭabarī. But the authority for the briefer version in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Būlāq ed., VII, 154–55 = ed. Ibrāhīm, VIII, 250–51) is Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (presumably from the lost later part of his history), and one must conclude that there is some substance to it.

530. In 'Abbāsid court and ceremonial procedure these persons of rank (*martabah*) included other members of the 'Abbāsid family, descendants of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, the Umayyad Caliphs, the 'Alids, etc. The term *martabah* also denotes the physical embodiment of this status, in the form of a cushion or seat of a height appropriate to its user's rank. See Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 140; Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial," 139 ff.; *EI*², s.v. Marāsim. 1. Under the Caliphate and Fāṭimids (P. Sanders).

531. A term also used for the official charged with extracting the ill-gotten gains of fallen officials, if necessary by violence, the process being called *muṣādarah* or *munāẓarah*; see *EI*², s.vv. Muṣādara. 2. In the Mediaeval Caliphate; Mustakhridj (C. E. Bosworth).

assembled there included al-Māzyār, the ruler of Ṭabaristān; the Mūbadh;[532] al-Marzubān b. T.r.k.sh, who was one of the princes of al-Sughd;[533] and two men from among the people of al-Sughd. [1309]

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik summoned first the two men, who were dressed in threadbare garments. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Malik said to them, "What happened to you?" They uncovered their backs, which were stripped of flesh, and Muḥammad said to al-Afshīn, "Do you know these two men?" He replied, "Yes, this one is a muezzin and the other an imām. They built a mosque in Ushrūsanah, so I gave each of them 1,000 lashes because there exists between me and the princes of al-Sughd a covenant and stipulation that I should leave each people to their own religion and beliefs. These two men fell upon a house that contained their idols"—he meant [those] of the people of Ushrūsanah—"and then threw out the idols and turned it into a mosque. I accordingly gave them 1,000 lashes each because of their transgression and their keeping the people from their place of worship."[534]

Muḥammad now asked him, "What is a certain book that you have and that you have ornamented with gold, jewels, and satin brocade and that contains blasphemies against God?"[535] Al-Afshīn replied, "This is a book that I inherited from my father and that contains some of the wise counsels (*ādāb*) of the Persians. As for what you mention concerning blasphemies, I used to enjoy the wise counsels in it and ignore the rest. I found it already adorned, and there was nothing to impel me to remove

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532. I.e., the chief priest of the Zoroastrian community, the Mōbadh-Mōbadhān; see *EI*², s.v. Mōbadh [M. Guidi-[M. G. Morony]].

533. Al-Marzubān (literally, "warden of the marches") b. T.r.k.sh (perhaps to be vocalized Türgesh, after the Western Turks, or Türgesh, who had been active in military intervention in Soghdia a century or so previously) was the *dihqān*, or local ruler, of a district near Samarqand, which was named Marzbān after him. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 95; Le Strange, *Lands*, 466.

534. The two Muslim zealots were thus punished for their ill-considered and fanatical iconoclasm, which affronted the beliefs of the majority of the population of Ushrūsanah, not yet converted to Islam; al-Afshīn, though personally a Muslim, regarded it as conducive to social and religious harmony in his principality to curb the Muslims' excesses. Thus one does not have to assume, as does E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 57, that al-Afshīn was himself still a secret devotee of the old religion of his subjects.

535. There has been speculation that this may be an allusion to the illuminated, finely written books of the Manichaeans; see p. 200, below.

the decoration from it. Thus I left it as it was, like the *Book of Kalīlah and Dimnah*[536] and the *Book of Mazdak*[537] in your own house. I did not think that this was in any way going outside Islam."

Hārūn b. 'Īsā b. al-Manṣūr continued: Then the Mūbadh came forward and said, "This man used to eat the flesh of strangled beasts, and he used to urge me to eat it also, alleging that it was more tender than meat that had been [ritually] slaughtered.[538] He used to kill a black ewe each Wednesday; he would sever it through the middle with a sword, walk between
[1310] the two halves, and then eat its flesh. One day he said to me, "I have fallen in with these people (i.e., the Muslims) regarding everything that I in fact detest, to the point that, for them, I have gone as far as eating oil, riding camels, and wearing sandals; however, no hair has so far ever fallen from me," meaning that he had never smeared himself (i.e., had never used depilatories on his pubic hair) or been circumcised. Al-Afshīn replied, "Tell me about this man who utters these words—is he trustworthy in his own religion?" Now the Mūbadh was a Magian who subsequently converted to Islam at the hand of al-Mutawakkil and became one of the latter's boon companions. They replied, "No." Al-Afshīn said, "Then what is the meaning of your accepting testimony from a man whom you don't trust or account competent to act as a valid legal witness?"[539] Then he went up to

536. I.e., the Arabic version of the *Fables of Bidpai*, based on the Sanskrit Panchatantra and translated into Arabic from the Pahlavi version by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. *ca.* 139 [756]); see *EI*², s.v. Kalīla wa-Dimna (C. Brockelmann).

537. This work, also translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa', apparently belonged, like *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, to the genre of *adab*, intended to divert, and was not a work of theology or polemic; see Ṭabarī, trans. Nöldeke, 461 n. 2. However, Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 295 n. 2, cites the Persian scholar 'Abbās Iqbāl to the effect that it is not a *Kitāb Mazdak* but a *Kitāb Marwak* (cf. the reading in Ṭabarī's text, n. o: *M.r.w.t.k*). Marwak was a legendary person to whom aphorisms and wise sayings were attributed; the book would thus still be a work of *adab*.

538. I.e., in the manner conforming to Islamic law, with the animal's throat cut and the blood drained. See Hughes, *op. cit.*, 697, s.v. Ẕabh; *EI*², s.v. Ḏhabīḥa (G.-H. Bousquet).

539. Because he was a Zoroastrian, the Mūbadh's legal testimony (*'adālah*) could not be accepted as the equal of a Muslim's or, indeed, be regarded as admissible at all in a legal suit with a Muslim. See A. Fattal, *Le statut légal*, 361 ff.; on the role of the *'adl* in general, see J. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 193–94; *EI*², s.v. 'Adl (E. Tyan).

the Mūbadh and said, "Was there any door running between my house and yours or any garret window by means of which you could look down upon me and know what I was doing?" He replied, "No." Al-Afshīn continued, "Didn't I let you come in to me, and didn't I communicate to you my inner secrets and tell you about the concept of Persian national consciousness (*al-aʿjamiyyah*) and my sympathies for it and for its exponents?" He replied, "Yes." Al-Afshīn went on, "Then in that case you were neither trustworthy in your own religion nor upright in keeping to your word, as you divulged openly, to my detriment, a secret that I had confided to you."[540]

Then the Mūbadh went aside, and al-Marzubān b. T.r.k.sh came forward. They said to al-Afshīn, "Do you know this man?" He replied, "No." Then al-Marzubān was asked, "Do you know this man?" He replied, "Yes, he is al-Afshīn." They told al-Afshīn, "This is al-Marzubān." The latter said to al-Afshīn, "O liar and trickster (*mumakhriq*), how long will you fend off [the truth] and confuse the issues?" But al-Afshīn replied, "O long-beard,[541] what are you talking about?" Al-Marzubān asked, "How do the people of your province address you in correspondence?" Al-Afshīn replied, "Just as they used to address my father and grandfather." Al-Marzubān said, "Explain that," but al-Afshīn retorted, "I won't." Al-Marzubān said, "Don't they write to you in such-and-such terms in the language of Ushrūsanah?"[542] Al-Afshīn admitted, "Yes, indeed." Al-Marzubān continued, "Doesn't that mean in Arabic, 'To the God of Gods, from his [1311] servant So-and-so, son of So-and-so'?" He said, "Yes, indeed." Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik now asked, "Do Muslims allow themselves to be addressed in this way? What have you left for Pharaoh when he said to his people, 'I am your supreme Lord'?"[543]

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540. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 148.

541. This being taken as a sign of stupidity; see *Glossarium*, CCCXLIV.

542. In *Addenda et emendanda*, DCCLXXIV. Von Kremer plausibly suggested reading the Persian title *khudā-yi khudā* instead of the Arabic of the text *kadhā wa-kadhā*, presumably with the same meaning in Persian "lord of lords" (though this would actually require *khudā-yi khudāyān*).

543. Qur'ān, LXXXIX:24, taken as revealing Pharaoh's pretentions to divinity, an idea borrowed from the Jewish Aggada. In the Midrashim we also find the idea that Pharaoh falsely claimed divinity in order to delude the stupid Egyptians; see A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* 157–58; L.

Al-Afshīn answered, "This was the custom of the people when addressing my father and grandfather and when speaking to myself before I became a Muslim, and I was reluctant to lower my status to a level inferior to them and thus adversely affect their obedience to me." Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab reproached him, "Woe to you, O Khaydhar,[544] how can you swear by God to us in such a way that we can consider you veracious, hold your oath reliable, and treat you like other Muslims when you claim for yourself what Pharaoh claimed?" Al-Afshīn replied, "O Abū al-Ḥusayn, this is a sūrah that 'Ujayf cited against 'Alī b. Hishām,[545] and now you cite it against me! Consider carefully who may cite it against you tomorrow!"[546]

Hārūn b. 'Īsā b. al-Manṣūr continued: Then Māzyār, the ruler of Ṭabaristān, was brought forward, and they said to al-Afshīn, "Do you know this man?" He replied, "No." Then they said to al-Māzyār, "Do you know this man?" He replied, "Yes, he's al-Afshīn." They said to al-Afshīn, "This is al-Māzyār," and he replied, "Yes, I recognize him now." They asked, "Did you enter into correspondence with him?" He replied, "No." They asked al-Māzyār, "Did he write to you?" And he replied, "Yes. his brother Khāsh wrote to my brother Qūhyār in these terms, 'Indeed, there has been no one to uphold this pure religion (literally, "white religion," *al-dīn al-abyaḍ*)[547] but myself, you,

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Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, II, 347–48, V, 201 n. 87, 427 n. 175, VI, 354 n. 16, 423 n. 100.

544. The use of the *ism*, or given name, for someone of al-Afshīn's status would be regarded as contemptuous; al-Afshīn himself uses Isḥāq's *kunyah*, or patronymic, implying respectful intimacy, when replying to him.

545. Al-Ma'mūn's governor of Ādharbayjān, Jibāl, and Armenia but executed, with his brother Ḥusayn, after 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasah had been sent against him, in 217 (832–32); see Ṭabarī, III, 1107–9.

546. As Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 297 n. 1, points out, the Arab accusers of al-Afshīn are unable to comprehend the purely protocolar nature of the titulature in a letter addressed to an Iranian prince.

547. Browne, *op. cit.*, I, 334, translates "this Most Luminous Religion." Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 149 n. 2, takes *abyaḍ* here in the sense of "decisive, categorically true" and states that he is unable to discern any connection with the use of colors to denote various sectarian religious groups. White had, of course, been associated with the movement of al-Muqanna' in Transoxania, that of the "wearers of white," *Mubayyiḍah*, *Ispīdh-jāmagān*. Certainly Islam is characterized in more than one source as the "black religion," in contrast to the "white religion" of the Persians; see Scarcia Amoretti, *op. cit.*, 500, 513.

and Bābak. But as for Bābak, he brought about his own death through his foolishness. I exerted myself to avert death from him, but his folly inevitably led him into falling into what he eventually fell into (i.e., his death). But if you rebel, these people [1312] (the Arabs) will have no one except myself to launch against you. I have with me cavalry and valiant, fearless troops, and if I am sent against you there will be no one left to combat us apart from three groups—the Arabs, the Maghāribah, and the Turks. As for the Arab, he is like a dog; I will throw him a scrap of food and then beat his brains out with a mace. As for these flies"[548]—meaning the Maghāribah—"they are only a handful. As for those sons of devils"—meaning the Turks—"it is only a short period of time before they will have loosed off their arrows, and then the cavalry will swoop down on them in a concerted charge and destroy them to the last man.[549] [After that] the [true] religion will return to what it always was in the days of the Persians."

Al-Afshīn commented, "This fellow is marking an allegation against his own brother and my brother[550] that should not be imputed to me. Even if I had written such a letter as this to him in order that I might win him over to my side and that he might feel confident of my support and favor (literally, "my flank," *nāḥiyatī*),[551] it would not have been anything to be deprecated. For if I can aid the caliph with my hands, it is all the more fitting for me to aid him with cunning stratagems in order to seize him (Māzyār) unawares and bring him to the caliph, that I might thereby enjoy his favor as does ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir with the caliph." Then al-Māzyār was sent away on one side.[552]

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548. Presumably a contemptuous reference to the swarthy and dark skins of the Maghāribah.

549. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 149 n. 3, cites as a parallel to this judgment of the relative merits and demerits of these different groups of warriors similar words of al-Maʾmūn and al-Muʿtaṣim, used in a discussion, from Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr's *Kitāb Baghdād*.

550. The variant reading of ms. O, "against me and against my brother." makes equally good sense.

551. For these transferred meanings of *nāḥiyah*, see *Glossarium*, DV.

552. E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 126, notes that al-Afshīn's evasiveness here—his defense that the letter was really his brother's and that, even if he himself had written it, it was for use as a stratagem to gain Māzyār's confidence and then capture him—leaves the impression that al-Afshīn had no strong desire to deny the genuineness of at least the letter's contents.

When al-Afshīn replied to al-Marzubān al-T.r.k.shī as recorded above and to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm in those above-mentioned terms, Ibn Abī Duwād chided him; but al-Afshīn said to him, "O Abū ʿAbdallāh, you lift your *ṭaylasān* with your hand and won't place it back on your shoulder until you have killed a great number by means of it."[553] Ibn Abī Duwād asked him, "Are you circumcised?" He replied, "No." Ibn Abī Duwād said, "So what kept you back from that, seeing that it signifies completion of one's Muslim faith and purification from uncleanliness?" Al-Afshīn replied, "Is there not a place in the Islamic faith for prudent dissimulation (*al-taqiyyah*)?"[554] He said, "Yes, certainly." Al-
[1313] Afshīn continued, "I was afraid to cut that member of my body, lest I die." Ibn Abī Duwād observed, "You may be pierced with spears and struck with swords, but still that does not prevent you from engaging in battle; yet you are anxious about cutting a foreskin!" Al-Afshīn replied, "That first eventuality is a necessary affliction that may befall me, and I shall have to bear it when it occurs. But this last is something that I would draw upon myself voluntarily, and I am not sure that it might not involve my death. Moreover, I was not aware that the omission of being circumcised means the renunciation of Islam."[555]

At that Ibn Abī Duwād exclaimed, "His case has now become clear to all of you. O Bughā"—he was adressing Bughā al-Kabīr Abū Mūsā al-Turkī—"seize him!" He related: Bughā clapped his hand on al-Afshīn's girdle and pulled him toward himself, saying, "I had been expecting this (condemnation) from you (from the assembled inquisitors) before now!" He drew the fullness of al-

553. I.e., by condemning men to death through the exercise of his judicial authority, symbolized by his wearing of the *ṭaylasān*, a loose hood or gown worn by the *faqīh*, or religious lawyer. See Dozy, *Vêtements*, 278–80; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 150 n. 2; p. 31 n. 120, above.

554. *Taqiyyah* or *kitmān*, the justifiable concealment of one's true religious views when under duress or threat of injury, recognized by Sunnīs but of special significance to the Shīʿah, who often suffered persecution or discrimination; see *EI*[1], s.v. Taḳīya (R. Strothmann).

555. Male circumcision is not, of course, prescribed in the Qurʾān, but in continuation of pre-Islamic practices and in accordance with much of ancient Near Eastern religion, above all that of the Hebrews, it came to be regarded very early in Islam as a touchstone of the faith; most of the law schools regard it as *mandūb*, recommended. See Rekaya, "Māzyār," 163; *EI*[2], s.v. Khitān (A. J. Wensinck).

Afshīn's *qabā'* over his head, and then he grasped the parts of the *qabā'* itself firmly at his neck and brought al-Afshīn out via the Bāb al-Wazīrī[556] to his prison.[557]

In this year 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir caused al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn and Utrunjah bt. Ashnās to be conveyed to Sāmarrā.

In this year Muḥammad b. Dāwūd led the Pilgrimage.[558]

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556. See Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 96, 150, regarding the problems of locating this; it may have been a gate out of the Jawsaq Palace leading to Qaṣr al-Wazīrī or a doorway within the palace where the vizier usually worked. Whether the al-Wazīriyyah also mentioned in the sources for this period as being in Sāmarrā is to be identified with this Bāb al-Wazīrī or whether it was a separate locality is unclear; see also p. 200 n. 583, below.

557. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 583; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 137–39 = pars. 2819–21; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 405–6; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 513–16; The trial of al-Afshīn has been translated almost entirely by Browne, *op. cit.*, I, 331–36; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 294–304; and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 147–50, with comments and paraphrases, and analyzed by E. Wright, *op. cit.*, 56–59, 124–27; cf. also Kaabi, *op. cit.*, I, 255–57; Rekaya, "Māzyār," 163 ff., 189–90.

558. Khalīfah, *op. cit.*, II, 790; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 516.

The Events of the Year 226

(OCTOBER 31, 840–OCTOBER 20, 841)

The Rebellion of 'Alī b. Isḥāq in Damascus

These events included the rebellion of 'Alī b. Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh,[559] who was in charge of police duties (*al-ma'ūnah*)[560] at Damascus on the authority of Ṣūl Er-Tigīn,[561] involving an attack on Rajā' b. 'Alī al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who was in charge of the department of tax collecting. He killed Rajā' and then feigned madness

559. The son of al-Mu'taṣim's recently appointed commander of the guard; see Ṭabarī, III, 1303 (p. 179, above).

560. Von Sivers, *op. cit.*, 223, takes *ma'ūnah*, however, as meaning here "auxiliary troops," and this would fit the context equally well; we are obviously dealing with locally raised or long-resident troops of the Syrian *jund*, who, as von Sivers points out, must have resented the appointment, a year previously, of a slave commander of the new caliphal guard from the east, Ashnās, as overall governor of Syria and al-Jazīrah, in place of the 'Abbāsid 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī (see p. 178 n. 504, above). Finally, in regard to this ambiguous term *ma'ūnah*, pl. *ma'āwīn*, one should note that it is also used in the sense of extraordinary taxes and levies for the support of officials. See Løkkegaard, *op. cit.*, 186–7; *EI*², s.v. Ma'ūna (P. Crone).

561. For the origins of Ṣūl Er-Tigīn in the caliphal service, see Ṭabarī, III, 1194 (p. 44 and n. 148, above).

(*aẓhara al-waswās*).[562] [However,] Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād [1314]
subsequently spoke up for him, and he was released from his prison.[563] Al-Ḥasan b. Rajā' used to encounter him on the street in Sāmarrā. Al-Buḥturi al-Ṭā'ī[564] said:

Through his impetuousness 'Alī b. Isḥāq erased the traces of the strange haughtiness that was once in al-Ḥasan.
A certain serious happening made him forget his loud, futile talk and left in him nothing but surrender to fate.
He was not like Ibn Ḥujr[565] when he was angry or like the brother of Kulayb[566] or Sayf b. Dhī Yazan.[567]
It was never said to you regarding an act of blood vengeance that you sought,
"[The blood of] those noble souls is not [like] two bowls of milk curds."[568]

In this year Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn died, and al-Mu'taṣim led the worship over him in Muḥammad's own house.[569]

In this year al-Afshīn died.

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562. The verb *waswasa* is frequently used of the "whisperings" of Satan, but the interpretation followed here is that of von Sivers, *op. cit.*, 223, that he feigned madness or diabolical possession in order to provide an excuse for his rebellious actions.

563. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 517.

564. Al-Walīd b. 'Ubayd[allāh], of the Buḥtur clan of the Banū Ṭayyi', (died 284 (897)), was a poet and author of an anthology called, like that of Abū Tammām, the *Ḥamāsah*. He was at this time a protégé of his fellow-Ṭā'ī the commander Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (see p. 15 n. 58, above). See also *GAS*, II, 560–64, IX, 300–1; *EI*², s.v. al-Buḥturī (Ch. Pellat).

565. I.e., the famous pre-Islamic poet-king Imru' al-Qays b. Ḥujr al-Kindī.

566. I.e., Muhalhil b. Rabī'ah, avenger of Kulayb on the enemy tribe of Bakr in the pre-Islamic War of Basūs. See R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History*, 55–59; *EI*², s.v. Kulayb b. Rabī'a (G. Levi della Vida).

567. The Ḥimyarite prince famed for his role in the expulsion of the alien Abyssinians from South Arabia in the sixth century. See Nicholson, *op. cit.*, 28–29; *EI*¹, s.v. Saif b. Dhī Yazan (R. Paret).

568. Al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣayrafī, IV, 2246 no, 883.

569. This item of information cannot be correct, as Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir lived on until 253 (867), in al-Mu'tazz's caliphate, having played a leading role in affairs of the time. See Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic Culture," 68–69; Kaabi, *op. cit.*, I, 299–312.

Al-Afshīn's Death, the Treatment of Him at That Time, and What Was Done with His Corpse after His Death

It has been mentioned from Ḥamdūn b. Ismāʿīl[570] that he related: When the new fruits came into season al-Muʿtaṣim gathered some of them on a platter and told his son Hārūn al-Wāthiq, "Go personally with these fruits to al-Afshīn and convey them to him." So they were brought along with Hārūn al-Wāthiq until he
[1315] went up with them to al-Afshīn in the building that had been constructed for the latter's imprisonment and that was called Luʾluʾah. Al-Afshīn looked at the platter but missed certain fruits (or: "looked for certain fruits," *iftaqada*), either ordinary plums (*ijjāṣ*) or plums of the *shāhlūj* variety,[571] and exclaimed to al-Wāthiq, "There is no god but God! What an excellent platter, except that there are no *ijjāṣ* or *shāhlūj* plums there for me!" Al-Wāthiq replied, "That's true! I'll go back and send the missing fruit to you," al-Afshīn not having at that point touched any of the fruit. When al-Wāthiq got ready to go back, al-Afshīn said to him, "Give my lord greetings, and tell him, 'I beseech you to send me a trustworthy person from your entourage, who will convey what I shall say.'"[572]

Al-Muʿtaṣim at this point gave orders to Ḥamdūn b. Ismāʿīl—it was this Ḥamdūn who was, during al-Mutawakkil's reign, imprisoned by Sulaymān b. Wahb[573] in the very same prison where al-Afshīn was incarcerated, and he related this story when he was actually in it. Ḥamdūn said: Al-Muʿtaṣim sent me to

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570. Ibrāhīm, called Ḥamdūn, b. Ismāʿīl b. Dāwūd b. Ḥamdūn, was a courtier and boon companion of al-Maʾmūn, al-Muʿtaṣim, and their successors. With his son Abū ʿAbdallāh he figures frequently in anecdotes in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, passim, and in Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī, *op. cit.*, ed. Schwally, 164–68, 574–75 = ed. Ibrāhīm, I, 249–53, II, 328–30; see also Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 151 n. 1. The Ḥamdūn family of boon companions ran to four generations; see A. G. Chejne, "The Boon-Companion," 335; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, ed. Pellat, VI, 285–86.

571. This type of plum is also found in Persian, spelled *shāh-lūk*; see Vullers, *op. cit.*, II, 396. On *ijjāṣ*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 10.

572. E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 127, takes al-Muʿtaṣim's offer of the fruit as a sign that he intended momentarily to relent toward al-Afshīn.

573. I.e., the man who was subsequently the vizier of al-Muhtadī and al-Muʿtamid and who had previously been secretary to Mūsā b. Bughā al-Kabīr and Aytākh; he died in 271 (884–85) or 272 (885–86). See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 300–3, 310–13; *EI*[1], s.v. Sulaimān b. Wahb (K. V. Zetterstéen).

al-Afshīn and told me, "He will spin out his tale for you, so don't dally there." He related: I accordingly went in to al-Afshīn, who had the platter of fruit still in front of him, not having touched a single piece or more from it. He said to me, "Sit down," so I sat down, and he tried to win me over by stressing his position as a noble figure among the Persians (*bi-al-dahqanah*). I told him, however, "Don't spin things out, for the Commander of the Faithful ordered me not to dally here with you, so make it short!" He said, "Tell the Commander of the Faithful, 'You were good to me and showed me honor, and people followed me submissively (literally, "walked at my heels"). But then you accepted statements about me that were not confirmed for you as being true, nor did you reflect on them with your own intelligence, just how this situation could occur and how it could be thought possible of me that I should do these things you had heard about. You are informed that I was in secret communication with Minkajūr, urging him to rebel, and you give it credence. You are also informed that I told the commander whom I sent against Minkajūr, "Don't actually fight him, but hold back and feign battle, and if you come into contact with one of our men, flee from him!" You are a [courageous] man; you have been familiar [1316] with war, have fought against opponents, and have led armies. Is it possible that the head of an army would tell a body of troops that was about to encounter an enemy, "Behave in such-and-such a way!"? It would be inadmissible for anyone to behave in this fashion! And even if this were possible, it would not be fitting for you to accept its truth from an enemy whose ulterior motive you had already perceived. You are in a superior position over me (or: "you are always my first concern," *anta awlā bī*); I am merely one from among your slaves and a creature of yours.[574] But a fitting comparison between the two of us (i.e., in regard to the caliph's uncritical acceptance of calumnies against al-Afshīn), O Commander of the Faithful, is that of a man who tended and raised a calf of his until he had fattened it and it had grown big and was in a fine condition. He had friends who were longing to eat the calf's flesh, so they proposed to him that the calf should be

574. *Ṣanī'uka*, in the sense of protégé, dependent; see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 151 n. 2.

slaughtered; but he refused their plea about that. At this, they all agreed to say to him one day, "Woe upon you! Why are you rearing this lion? This is a savage beast that has grown big, and, when a savage beast grows big, it reverts to its kind." The man answered them, "Woe upon you! This is a bovine's calf, not a savage beast!" But they replied, "This is a savage beast; ask whom you will about it! They had previously given instructions to all those who knew the man and had said to them, "If he asks you about the calf, tell him that it's a savage beast!" Hence whenever the man questioned another person about it and said to him, "Don't you see this calf, how fine it is!" the other person would reply, "It's a savage beast, a lion, woe upon you!" So [in the end] the man ordered the calf to be slaughtered. Now I am that calf, so how can I be a lion? [I ask the help of] God concerning my plight![575] You (al-Muʿtaṣim) have chosen me as one of your protégés and have raised me to a level of honor, and you are my lord and master. I implore God to incline your heart toward me!' "

Ḥamdūn related: I rose and went away, and I left the platter just
[1317] as it was, without al-Afshīn's having touched anything of it. Then it was only a short time afterward that it was reported that he was either dying or had already died. Al-Muʿtaṣim then said, "Show him to his son."[576] So they brought out al-Afshīn's corpse and flung it down in front of him, and he tore out his beard and his hair.[577] Then al-Muʿtaṣim gave orders, and al-Afshīn's corpse was borne away to Aytākh's house.[578]

Ḥamdūn related: Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād had summoned al-Afshīn from prison to the Public Audience Chamber and said to him, "O Khaydhar, it has reached the Commander of the Faithful that you are uncircumcised." He answered, "Yes." By asking that, Ibn Abī Duwād had only wanted him to bear witness against himself, for, if he exposed himself, weakness and lack of spirit would be imputed to him, and, if he did not expose himself, the accusation against him that he was uncircumcised would

575. *Allāh^a Allāh^a fī amri*; see on this construction, p. 163 n. 465, above.

576. I.e., to al-Ḥasan, sent captive to Sāmarrā shortly before this by ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir; see Ṭabarī, III, 1308 (p. 185, above).

577. I.e., as a sign of distress and mourning.

578. Al-Ḥasan himself was not released from prison until 250 (864), in al-Mustaʿīn's caliphate; see Ṭabarī, III, 1533.

be substantiated. But al-Afshīn answered, "Yes, I am uncircumcised."

All the commanders and other troops and courtiers (*al-nās*) were present at the palace on that day when Ibn Abī Duwād had brought al-Afshīn forth into the Public Audience Chamber. This had taken place before al-Wāthiq's visit to him with the fruit and before Ḥamdūn b. Ismāʿīl went to him.

Ḥamdūn related: I said to him (i.e., later, when al-Afshīn was back in his prison), "Are you [really] uncircumcised as you asserted [on that day]?" Al-Afshīn replied, "He (Ibn Abī Duwād) brought me forth to a place like that (i.e., to the Public Audience Chamber within the palace), with all the commanders and other people assembled, and then said to me what he said! He only wanted to dishonor me; if I had told him, 'Yes,' he would not have accepted my word but would have told me to expose myself so that he might dishonor me before all the people! Death would have been preferable for me, rather than exposing myself before all the people. But you, O Ḥamdūn, if you wish me to expose myself in your presence so that you can see me, I will do so." Ḥamdūn continued: I said to him, however, "In my opinion, you are a highly veracious person, and I don't want you to expose yourself."

When Ḥamdūn returned and conveyed al-Afshīn's message to al-Muʿtaṣim, the latter ordered that all but a little food should be denied to al-Afshīn, so he used to be given only a loaf of bread each day until he died.

After his death his body was taken along to Aytākh's house,[579] and they brought it forth and gibbeted it on the Bāb al-ʿĀmmah, [1318] so that the populace might see it. Then it was flung down at the Bāb al-ʿĀmmah, together with the wooden beam on which it had been gibbeted, and burned and the ashes carried away and thrown into the Tigris.[580]

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579. Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 262, trans., 54, places this in the second of the main streets of Sāmarrā, adjacent to the *qaṭāʾiʿ* and houses of the two Bughās, Sīmā al-Dimashqī, Waṣīf, and other Turkish commanders; see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 108.

580. The story of al-Afshīn's appeal to the Caliph, his adducing the story of the calf-lion, and his final fate, is given in a briefer form, also on the authority of Ḥamdūn, by Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī, *op. cit.*, ed. Schwally, 574–75 = ed. Ibrāhīm, II, 328–30. Abū Tammām wrote an ode in praise of al-Muʿtaṣim on the occasion of the gibbeting and burning of al-Afshīn's corpse (*Dīwān*, II, 198–209 no. 72), a

At the time when al-Muʿtaṣim ordered al-Afshīn to be imprisoned, on a certain night, he sent Sulaymān b. Wahb al-Kātib to make an inventory of everything in al-Afshīn's residence and to record it. Al-Afshīn's palace was at al-Maṭīrah.[581] In his residence was found a tabernacle (*bayt*) containing an image of a man, carved out of wood and covered with many ornaments and jewels and having in its ears two white stones with intricate gold filigree work over them. One of the men who were there with Sulaymān took one of these two stones, thinking that it was a jewel of great value—this being nighttime. But, when morning came and he pulled the gold filigree work off it, he found that it was a stone resembling the seashell called *ḥabarūn*, the kind of shell called "trumpet shell."[582] There were brought out of his residence grotesque figures (or: "paintings," *ṣuwar*) and such, idols and things of that ilk, together with the rafts made of inflatable skins and timber frameworks that he had got ready; and there were further items of his at al-Wazīriyyah.[583] Among them was found another idol, and among his books they found a book of the Magians called *Z.rāwah*[584] and many other books pertaining to his faith by means of which he used to worship his lord.[585] Al-Afshīn's death was in Shaʿbān 226 (May–June 841).[586]

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poem described by Stetkevych as strongly anti-Iranian and anti-Shuʿūbī in sentiment; see her analysis, *op. cit.*, 55–60.

581. Al-Afshīn's *qaṭīʿah*, where his palace was built, was adjacent to the lands of others of his Ushrūsanī troops; the ruins of his palace are now called Jubayriyyah. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 259, 262, trans., 51, 55; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 101. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 264–65, trans., 58, al-Afshīn's palace was taken over after his death by Waṣīf, who abandoned his old dwelling for this new one.

582. See *Glossarium*, CLXXIX.

583. Either a part of the Maṭīrah Palace, accessible by the Bāb al-Wazīrī (see p. 193 n. 556, above), or the district where lay the *qaṣr al-wazīrī*, the house of Abū al-Wazīr Aḥmad b. Khālid, who is said to have had a pioneer role in the original laying out of Sāmarrā; see Ṭabarī, III, 1179–80 (pp. 25–26, above); cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 91, 95–96.

584. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 152 n. 4, interprets this as being correctly *zuwārah*, *uzwārah*, rendered in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* as *ūzwārsh*, meaning "interpretation, exegesis."

585. According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 139 = par. 2822, the idols were thrown on to the fire when al-Afshīn's corpse was burned and consumed.

586. Hence al-Afshīn remained in prison for nearly nine months. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 139 = par. 2822; *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 407; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 517–18; Sadighi, *op. cit.*, 303–5; E. M. Wright, *op. cit.*, 127–30; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 151–52.

In this year Muḥammad b. Dāwūd led the Pilgrimage by order of Ashnās, who himself made the Pilgrimage this year. He (Ashnās) was given charge over every place that he was to enter, and his name was mentioned with blessings in the worship from all the pulpits through which he passed, from Sāmarrā to Mecca and Medina. The one who mentioned him from the pulpit at al-Kūfah was Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā,[587] [1319] from the pulpit at Fayd[588] it was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid al-Marwarrūdhī,[589] from the pulpit at Medina it was Muḥammad b. Ayyūb b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān,[590] and from the pulpit at Mecca it was Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā.[591] In all these districts he was greeted as *amīr*, and he continued to hold this administrative charge over them until he returned to Sāmarrā.[592]

The last two authorities note, in connection with al-Afshīn's idols or pictures, what were originally believed to be painted stone columns (called by Herzfeld *Bildsäulen* "picture columns"), discovered by the German team of archaeologists who first excavated Sāmarrā under the floor of the throne room in the Jawsaq al-Khāqānī. In fact, D. S. Rice subsequently showed that these are fragments of tall wine vessels (technically called *dann*, pl. *dinān*), with scenes painted on them of a secular nature and appropriate to wine drinking and other convivial activities; see his "Deacon or Drink," 15–23. Thus these finds cannot be cited as having any connection with Manichaean idols or paintings. With regard to the nature of al-Afshīn's own religious beliefs, Sadighi rightly points out that his ancestral religion can hardly have been Zoroastrianism, in the light of the prominence of these idols, but could well have been Buddhism, which had certainly been one of the faiths of pre-Islamic Transoxania; this, too, is the conclusion arrived at by Rekaya, "Māzyār," 163.

587. Probably the great-grandson of the first ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Saffāḥ's brother Mūsā, hence a first cousin of the Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, mentioned in n. 591, below.

588. A settlement in Najd, important as the halfway point on the Pilgrimage route from al-Kūfah to the Holy Places in the Ḥijāz; see *EI*² Suppl., s.v. Fayd (C. E. Bosworth).

589. A commander of Abnāʾ descent whom Ṭabarī mentions at various points at serving al-Maʾmūn; his father had been the leader of the Baghdad opposition to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl during the early years of al-Maʾmūn's caliphate.

590. This man is mentioned in Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, Būlāq ed., XII, 129–30 = ed. Ibrāhīm, XIV, 17, 19, as governor of al-Baṣrah and as the grandson of the Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān who was an ʿAbbāsid of the line of ʿAlī al-Sajjād and governor of al-Baṣrah, Mecca, and Medina in the caliphates of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī.

591. The great-grandson of the brother of al-Saffāḥ and governor of Mecca 221–33 (836–48).

592. Khalīfah, *op. cit.*, II, 791; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 521.

The Events of the Year 227

(OCTOBER 21, 841–OCTOBER 9, 842)

These included the rebellion in Palestine of Abū Ḥarb al-Mubarqa'[593] al-Yamānī[594] and his defiance of the central government.

593. Literally, "the Veiled One." As noted by H. Eisenstein, "Erhebung," 454, Abū Ḥarb was by no means the first rebel in Islam to call himself thus. Cf. the Yemeni rebel of the Prophet's time al-Aswad or Dhū al-Khimār; the Transoxanian rebel of early 'Abbāsid times al-Muqanna'; and the leader of the Zanj, or black slaves, in lower Iraq toward the end of the third (ninth) century 'Alī b. Muḥammad, al-Burqu'ī or al-Mubarqa'. (Eisenstein, *op. cit.*, 454 n. 3, noted that it must be this last rebel who is to be identified with the "al-Burqu'ī" who Tha'ālibī claims, *op. cit.*, 142 trans. 110, was among the monsters who killed more than a million people in Islam, rather than the Palestinian al-Mubarqa'.) This Palestinian outbreak is examined in detail by Eisenstein, *op. cit.*, and *EI*², s.v. al-Mubarḳa'. He notes that Ṭabarī's account is the most detailed, the one upon which later writers, like Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-umam*, VI, 526–27; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 408; Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, V, 311–12; and Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 522–23, largely depend. The only account clearly originating from a different source is the brief one given by Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 586, which is inserted among the events of al-Wāthiq's reign and involves the exploits of Rajā' b. Ayyūb al-Ḥiḍārī (see below), who suppressed a rebellion of the Berbers of Cyrenaica, supported by dissident Arab elements, in 228 (842–43), after he had dealt with Ibn Bayhas in Damascus and al-Mubarqa' in Palestine, to which should be added von Sivers, *op. cit.*, 223–24.

594. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 586, calls him "Tamīm al-Lakhmī, known as Abū Ḥarb and with the *laqab* al-Mubarqa'."

The Reason for Abū Ḥarb al-Mubarqa''s *Rebellion and Its Eventual Outcome*

One of my acquaintances, who stated that he was familiar with the story of al-Mubarqa'*'s outbreak, has mentioned to me that the reason behind his rebellion against the central government was that a certain one of the troops wanted to lodge in his house while he himself was away and [only] his wife or sister there. She refused to let him (the soldier seeking a billet) do that, so he struck her with a whip that he had with him, and she fended it off with her forearm, but the whip hit her forearm and left marks on it. When Abū Ḥarb returned to his house she wept and complained to him about what the soldier had done to her and showed him the marks on her forearm from his blow. At that Abū Ḥarb took up his sword and went along to the soldier, catching him unawares,[595] and struck him with the sword until he killed him. He then took to flight, covering his face with a veil (*burqu'*), so that he would not be recognized, and went into one of the mountains of the Jordan region. The government authorities sought him, but there was no report of him. [1320]

Abū Ḥarb used to appear openly during the daytime and sit out, veiled (*mutabarqi'an*), on the mountain in which he had taken refuge, and people would see him and come to him. He would then exhort them and enjoin upon them good behavior and the prohibition of bad actions (*al-amr bi-al-ma'rūf wa-al-nahy 'an al-munkar*), and he would mention the central government (*al-sulṭān*) and how it oppressed the people and would speak scathingly of it. He persisted in doing this habitually until a group of the peasant cultivators from that region and also the villagers responded to his call. He used to assert that he was an Umayyad, with the result that those who responded to him said, "This man is the Sufyānī!"[596] When his adherents and followers from this

595. *Ghārr*, literally, "neglectful, unprepared."

596. I.e., an awaited deliverer from the Sufyānid line of the Umayyads, who would arise and release Syria from the tyranny of the 'Abbāsids. Outbreaks headed by such figures are mentioned up to the beginning of the fourth (tenth) century. The bibliography here is extensive. Earlier studies are reviewed in Madelung, "The Sufyānī," who is himself skeptical that the popular legend of the Sufyānī as a Syrian national hero was the mainspring of messianic beliefs about the Sufyānī and the Mahdī.

class of people grew numerous, he summoned the members of leading families and notables of the region. Out of these a good number of the leaders of the Yemenis[597] responded to his call, including a man named Ibn Bayhas, who commanded the obedience of the Yemenis,[598] and also two other men from the people of Damascus.[599]

The news [of this rebellion] reached al-Mu'taṣim at the time when he was ill with the sickness from which he [eventually] died. He therefore sent Rajā' b. Ayyūb al-Ḥiḍārī[600] against Abū Ḥarb with about a thousand men from the local troops (*al-jund*). But when Rajā' reached Abū Ḥarb he found the latter with a vast host (literally, "a world, universe") of followers. The person who related this story to me about Abū Ḥarb's revolt mentioned that Abū Ḥarb had approximately 100,000 men. Rajā' was unwilling to engage forces with him, encamped opposite him, and procrastinated with him until it was the beginning of the season for the peasants' cultivating their lands and for their plowing.[601] The peasant cultivators in Abū Ḥarb's following went back to their plowing, and the landowners to their own estates, and Abū Ḥarb was left with a force of around 1,000 or 2,000 men. Rajā' now came out against him in battle, and the two armies met: that of Rajā' and that of al-Mubarqa'. When they came together Rajā'
[1321] scrutinized al-Mubarqa'ʿs army and said to his companions, "I don't discern within his forces any man who has the equestrian and martial skills (*furūsiyyah*)[602] except him. He will sally forth

597. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 586, mentions men of Lakhm (Abū Ḥarb's own tribe), Judhām, 'Āmilah, and Balqayn as responding specifically to him.

598. This same historian, however, gives him the *nisbah* "al-Kilābī" (hence from what was actually a North Arab tribe of the Rabī'ah group; see *EI*², s.v. Kilāb b. Rabī'a [W. M. Watt]; from the Kilāb Bedouins of Syria were to spring, in the next century, the Mirdāsids of Aleppo) and states that he rallied round him a great many of the clans of Qays.

599. This participation of the *ahl Dimashq* doubtless refers to members of the local *jund*, who had broken out in revolt against the central government in Iraq during the previous year, as recorded by Ṭabarī, III, 1313–14 (pp. 194–95, above); see von Sivers, *op. cit.*, 223.

600. See, on him, p. 44 and n. 149, above.

601. Eisenstein, *op. cit.*, 456, notes that at this juncture, according to Ibn Khaldūn and, by inference, Ibn al-Athīr, the already sick al-Mu'taṣim died.

602. See, on the ensemble of skills that made up this concept, *EI*², s.v. Furūsiyya (G. Douillet and D. Ayalon).

in person to display to his companions his manliness (*rujlah*), so don't hasten against him."

He related: The matter turned out just as Rajā' had predicted. Very soon al-Mubarqa' attacked Rajā'/s forces. Rajā' instructed his men, "Leave a way open for him," and they did this until al-Mubarqa' passed right through their lines. Then he turned back again, and Rajā' again ordered his troops to leave a way open for him, and they did this until he passed right through them and returned to his own camp. Again Rajā' delayed any action and told his troops, "He will attack you once more, so leave a way open for him, but when he tries to return [this time] intercept him, and take him prisoner." Al-Mubarqa' behaved exactly thus. He attacked Rajā'/s troops, and they left a way open for him until he passed right through them. Then he turned back again, but [this time] they surrounded him, captured him, and brought him down from his steed.

He related: Previously, when Rajā' had abandoned the idea of making a sudden onslaught on al-Mubarqa', an envoy had come to him, sent by al-Mu'taṣim, with the task of urging him on to action. Rajā' had seized the envoy and put him in fetters until the outcome of the struggle between him and Abū Ḥarb was as we have just mentioned; then he set him free. The same authority went on to relate: On the day when Rajā' brought Abū Ḥarb to al-Mu'taṣim the latter upbraided Rajā' for what he had done to his envoy. Rajā' told him, "O Commander of the Faithful, may God make me your ransom! You sent me with 1,000 men against a force of 100,000. I shrank from launching an immediate attack, lest I myself and the troops with me perish to no avail whatever. Hence I proceeded carefully until the forces that he had with him had grown sparse. I found an opportunity and discovered ways and means to combat him. Then I rose up and attacked him at the moment when his forces had grown sparse and he was in a weak position while we were in a strong one. And now I have brought you the man as a prisoner!"

Abū Ja'far (al-Ṭabarī) says: Another source, as well as the one that I have mentioned as relating to me the story of Abū Ḥarb as I [1322] have just described it, has asserted that his rebellion was actually in the year 226 (840–841) and that he came out in arms in

Palestine or at al-Ramlah.[603] They (the people of that region) said that he was the Sufyānī. He then came with 50,000 Yemenis and others, and Ibn Bayhas and two other men with him from the people of Damascus raised the standard of rebellion (*i'taqada*).[604] Al-Mu'taṣim sent Rajā' al-Ḥiḍārī with a powerful force, and Rajā' attacked them at Damascus. He killed about 5,000 of the followers of Ibn Bayhas and his two associates, and he took Ibn Bayhas prisoner and killed his two companions. He attacked Abū Ḥarb at al-Ramlah, killed about 20,000 of his followers, and took Abū Ḥarb himself prisoner. He was transported to Sāmarrā, and he and Ibn Bayhas were incarcerated in the Maṭbaq prison.[605]

In this year Ja'far b. Mihrj.sh al-Kurdī rebelled. In al-Muḥarram (October–November 841) al-Mu'taṣim sent Aytākh to the mountains of al-Mawṣil to combat him, and one of his soldiers fell upon Ja'far and killed him.[606]

In this year, in the month of Rabī' I (December 841–January

603. The administrative capital of the *jund* of Filasṭīn, some twenty-five miles northeast of Jerusalem. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 69–70; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 28, 38, 303–8; *EI*[1], s.v. al-Ramla (E. Honigmann).

604. Understanding the omission of an implied object like *liwā'*[an], as is pointed out by Eisenstein, *op. cit.*, 457 n. 13, *pace* Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 126.

605. Einstein notes, *op. cit.*, 457, that neither the role of Ibn Bayhas in al-Mubarqa'a's uprising nor the relationship between the Damascus and Palestine movements is clear, nor is the chronology certain. Given the fact, however, that Rajā' waited for some time while Abū Ḥarb's peasant followers returned to work their fields and that al-Mu'taṣim died in Rabī' I 227 (January 842), it may well be that the outbreak of al-Mubarqa' began in 226, rather than in 227, as Ṭabarī's second authority for the events related states. Nothing is recorded about the presumed eventual deaths of al-Mubarqa' and Ibn Bayhas. The Maṭbaq or Muṭbaq was a well-known jail within the Round City of al-Manṣūr at Baghdad. See Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 240, trans., 15–16; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 27; Lassner, *op. cit.*, 55, 243.

606. The reading of the second element of Ja'far's name is uncertain. Azdī, *op. cit.*, 430–31, starts to tell the story of this revolt in detail (placing it under the events of the year 224), but his recital is broken off in the extant manuscripts midway through the story. It was doubtless Azdī's account that Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 506–7, used for his own narrative of the revolt, placing it under the year 226. The outbreak clearly turned into a large-scale uprising of the Kurds in the mountain regions north and east of al-Mawṣil; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 355, trans., 456, counts its suppression among the major victories of al-Mu'taṣim's reign. The caliphal governor of al-Mawṣil, 'Abdallāh b. al-Sayyid b. Anas al-Azdī, was himself unable to quell it; it was not until Aytākh was sent into the mountains of Dāsin (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 432: apparently the mountains of the modern Amadiyah ['Imādiyyah] region) to combat Ja'far that the latter was defeated and killed.

842), the death of Bishr b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḥāfī took place. He was originally from Marw.[607]

In this year, al-Muʿtaṣim's death took place. According to what has been mentioned, it was on a Thursday, and some people say it was on the eighteenth of the month of Rabīʿ I (January 5, 842),[608] two hours after daybreak.

Al-Muʿtaṣim's Fatal Illness, the Length of His Life, and His Physical Characteristics [1323]

It has been mentioned that the beginning of his illness was when he was cupped (or "asked to be cupped") on the first of al-Muḥarram (October 21, 841) and fell ill at that point.[609] It has been mentioned from Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Rashīd from Zunām al-Zamīr,[610] who said: Al-Muʿtaṣim felt a momentary easing of his pain during his final illness and said, "Get a *zulāl*[611] ready for me, so that I may travel in it tomorrow." He related: He

607. Bishr was a renowned Khurāsānian mystic whose nickname al-Ḥāfī meant "the barefooted one." See al-Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, VII, 67–80 no. 3517; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, I, 274–77 no, 114, trans., I, 257–60; *EI*², s.v. Bishr al-Ḥāfī (F. Meier).

608. This date was in fact a Thursday. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 354, trans., 454, gives Thursday, the nineteenth of Rabīʿ I (also the date in Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 584, and Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 406), but in his *Murūj*, VII, 144 = par. 2829, he gives Thursday, the eighteenth of Rabīʿ I. *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, 409, and Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 523–24, follow Ṭabarī in giving the day of the month as the eighteenth. The figures for al-Muʿtaṣim's age at his death vary between forty-six and forty-nine years; see pp. 208–9, below.

609. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, citing Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq, in his biography of Salmawayh b. Bunān (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, I, 164–65; cf. *GAS*, III, 227), al-Muʿtaṣim used to be cupped regularly and then purged twice a year by his Christian physician Salmawayh, whom he trusted so implicitly that he called him "my father" and personally prayed over his grave when he died in 225 (840). After this the noted physician Yūḥannā or Yaḥyā b. Māsawayh (died in 243 (847); cf. *GAS*, III, 231–36) treated al-Muʿtaṣim but allegedly reversed the order of treatment, thereby overheating the Caliph's blood and bringing about his death. For an anecdote on Ibn Māsawayh's prescribing for the Caliph, see also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 104–6 = par. 2789.

610. Literally, "the reed pipe or flute player." i.e., the player on the *zamr* or *mizmār*, pace Ṭabarī, trans. Marin, 127 n. 606: "the lute player." Sunām was a celebrated performer on the reed pipe, who was patronized by caliphs from Hārūn al-Rashīd to al-Wāthiq; see Farmer, *op. cit.*, 131; *EI*², s.v. Mizmār (H. G. Farmer).

611. This was a small, light, swift river craft used especially for pleasure. See Kindermann, *op. cit.*, 35; al-Nukhaylī, *op. cit.*, 59–62.

sailed off in it, with myself accompanying him, and on the Tigris he passed along opposite his palaces. He said, "O Zunām, play for me [the tune of the verses]:

O dwelling place whose traces have not yet become effaced,
God forbid that your traces should ever disappear completely!
I have not wept [merely] for your ruined traces, but
I have wept for my life there within you as it has ebbed away.
His [past] life is the most fitting thing that a noble youth can weep over,
[but ultimately] the sad one must find consolation."

He related: I continued playing this melody until he called for a jar containing a *raṭl* [of wine] (*raṭliyyah*) and then drank a beakerful. I began to play my flute and repeated the melody. He meanwhile had taken up a napkin (*mandīl*)[612] before him and continued weeping, wiping his eyes with the napkin and sobbing until he went back to his palace, not having finished drinking the contents of the *raṭliyyah*.[613]

It has been mentioned from ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd[614] that he said: When al-Muʿtaṣim was on the point of death, he began to murmur, "All possible stratagems have come to an end; there is no way out now left," until he was reduced to silence.[615] Others, however, have mentioned that he began to murmur, "I am being snatched away from the midst of all these people." He is also reported to have said, "If only I had known that my life-span would be thus short, I would not have done what I did."

When he died he was buried at Sāmarrā.[616] His caliphate lasted
[1324] for eight years, eight months, and two days. It is said that he was born in Shaʿbān 180 (796–797), but others place it in the year 179 (795–796). If he was born in 180, his complete life-span was forty-six years, seven months, and eighteen days, but, if he was

612. Or handkerchief; see *EI*², s.v. Mandīl (F. Rosenthal).
613. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 523–24; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *op. cit.*, 212, trans., 231–32.
614. ʿAbī b. al-Jaʿd al-Jawharī al-Baghdādī was a *muḥaddith* from whom Bukhārī related traditions and who died in 230 (844–45). See al-Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, XI, 360–66 no. 6215; *GAS*, I, 105.
615. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 524; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *op. cit.*, 212, trans., 232.
616. In the Jawsaq Palace, as Yaʿqūbī specifies, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 584.

born in 179, his life-span was forty-seven years, two months, and eighteen days. According to what has been mentioned, he was fair-complexioned, with a black beard the hair tips of which were red and the end of which was square and streaked with red, and with handsome eyes.[617] He was born in the Khuld Palace.[618] He related: Some authors say that he was born in the year 180 in the eighth month (Sha'bān), was the eighth caliph (of the 'Abbāsids), in the eighth generation from al-'Abbas,[619] his life-span was eight and forty years, that he died leaving eight sons[620] and eight daughters, and that he reigned for eight years and eight months.[621]

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt said,

I commented, when they consigned you to oblivion and hands hovered over you, [throwing] earth and clay,
"Go forth, for what a fine guardian you were for the world, and what an excellent protector of religion!
May God not restore the fortunes of a community that has lost one like you, except through someone like Hārūn (al-Wāthiq)!"[622]

Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb, that is, Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah, said,

Abū Isḥāq died when the sun was still extending its light, and we died too;

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617. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 354, trans., 454; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 409; and Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *op. cit.*, 209, trans., 229, stress al-Mu'taṣim's physical strength, and the last source notes also his illiteracy (*kāna ummiyy*[an] *lā yaktubu*).

618. The "Palace of Eternity," i.e., Paradise (cf. Qur'ān, XXV:17/16), was al-Manṣūr's palace, situated on the right bank of the Tigris opposite the Khurāsān gate and to the east of the Round City. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 101–5; Lassner, *op. cit.*, 55, 76; al-'Alī, *op. cit.*, 240, 343–47.

619. I.e., from the Prophet's uncle al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

620. Numbered by Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 584, however, at six: Hārūn al-Wāthiq, Ja'far al-Mutawakkil, Muḥammad, Aḥmad (al-Musta'īn), 'Alī, and 'Abdallāh.

621. In a typically Arab search for *nawādir*, strange happenings and coincidences, the sources stress al-Mu'taṣim's role as *al-Muthamman* "the man whose affairs were characterized by the number eight." See Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 354–55, trans. 454–55; Ṭabarī, trans. Bal'amī, IV, 545–56; Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, 135–36, trans., 107; *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, 409; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 524–25; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *op. cit.*, 209, trans., 229.

622. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 525.

but in the evening we were given Hārūn and were brought back to life!

Indeed, if Thursday has brought us what we have regarded with loathing,
it has also brought us that which we have come to love passionately (i.e., the new caliph al-Wāthiq)![623]

Something about al-Muʿtaṣim's Character and Behavior

It has been mentioned from Ibn Abī Duwād that he [often] mentioned al-Muʿtaṣim bi'llāh; he mentioned him profusely, gave detailed descriptions of him, spoke at length about his
[1325] merits, and expatiated on the openness of his character, the nobility of his lineage, the agreeableness of his manner, the easiness of his presence, and the pleasantness of his company. He said: One day, al-Muʿtaṣim said to me when we were at ʿAmmūriyyah, "What would you say to some fresh dates (*busr*),[624] O Abū ʿAbdallāh?" I replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, we are in the Byzantine lands, and fresh dates are in Iraq." He said, "You have spoken truly, but I have sent to the City of Peace, and they have brought two clusters of dates, which I know you love passionately." Then he said, "O Aytākh, bring in one of the date clusters," so he brought a cluster of fresh dates. Al-Muʿtaṣim thereupon stretched out his forearm and gripped the cluster with his hand, saying, "Eat, by my life, set to and eat them from my hand." I protested, "May God make me your ransom, O Commander of the Faithful! On the contrary, put them down, and I will eat as much as I want." He nevertheless replied, "No, by

623. Ṭabarī has here confused Abū al-Simṭ Marwān al-Aṣghar b. Abī al-Janūb (died *ca.* 248 [862]) with his grandfather Abū al-Simṭ Marwān al-Akbar b. Sulaymān, called Abū Ḥafṣah, the most talented of this famous poetic family (died in 182 [798]). Marwān al-Aṣghar must have been a eulogist of al-Muʿtaṣim, but only these two verses and two other fragments have survived from this period of his poetic career. See M. Y. al-Rasheed, *The Abū Ḥafṣah Family*, 67 ff., 131 n. 94, 179 nos. 202–3, 218, 250; *EI*², s.vv. Marwān al-Akbar b. Abī Ḥafṣa; Marwān al-Asghar b. Abi'l-Djanūb (J. E. Bencheikh).

624. I.e., fresh and still moist but not fully ripe, or *ruṭb*; see Ibn Manẓūr, *op. cit.*, V, 123–24.

God, only from my own hand!" He related: And, by God, he kept on uncovering his forearm and stretching forth his hand while I was plucking dates from the cluster and eating until he threw it away, completely stripped and without a single date left.[625]

Ibn Abī Duwād further related: I used often to act as his counterweight (or: "used often to ride behind him on his mount," *uzāmiluhu*)[626] during that journey of his (i.e., during the 'Ammūriyyah campaign) until one day I said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, if only one of your mawlās or court intimates would ride with you as counterweight and if you had a refreshing change from me to them for a period and then from them back to me for another period, that would be more inspiriting to your heart and more pleasant to your mind, and you would find it more restful." He said, "Sīmā al-Dimashqī[627] is acting as my counterweight today, but who will accompany *you* thus?" I replied, "Al-Ḥasan b. Yūnus."[628] He said, "Just as you like." He related: So I sent for al-Ḥasan, and he acted as my counterweight, and preparations were made for al-Mu'taṣim to ride a mule, for he chose to ride alone. He related: He began to travel along at the side of my camel, and when he wished to talk to me he would raise his head toward me, and when I wanted to talk to him I would lower my head. He related: We came to a wadi the depth of which we did not know, having left the main body of [1326] the army behind us. Al-Mu'taṣim said to me, "Stay where you are while I go forward and thus ascertain the depth of water and look

625. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 525.

626. Cf. Ṭabarī, III, 1261–62 (p. 127, above), where, on the return from the 'Ammūriyyah campaign, two conspirators against al-Mu'taṣim are made to ride side by side in a litter on a mule. The verb *zāmala* and the noun *zamīl* (basically "traveling companion") can refer to journeying side by side or one behind the other (the rear person being called the *radīf*); see Ibn Manẓūr, *op. cit.*, XIII, 329–30.

627. A Turkish commander (to be distinguished by the *nisbah* from another slave officer, Sīmā al-Sharābī) and doorkeeper (*ḥājib*) of al-Mu'taṣim, originally purchased by the Caliph from al-Faḍl b. Sahl. Sīmā held *qaṭā'i'* at Sāmarrā; see Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 256, 262, trans., 45, 54. Subsequently, it was he who, with Waṣīf, placed al-Mutawakkil on the throne; see Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 584, 591; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 243.

628. Unidentified, unless he is the Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Yūnus b. Mihrān al-Zayyāt, a traditionist mentioned by al-Khaṭīb. *op. cit.*, VII, 455 no. 4027, without, however, any date of birth, death, or *floruit*.

for shallow patches, and you follow in my tracks." He related: He thereupon went forward, plunged into the wadi, and began to search for shallow patches; at one time he would swerve to his right, another time to his left, and on some occasions he would go straight on, with me behind him, following in his track until we had crossed the wadi.

Ibn Abī Duwād also related: I sought to obtain from al-Muʿtaṣim 2 million dirhams for the people of al-Shāsh[629] for digging out one of their irrigation canals (*nahr*), which had silted up in early Islamic times and had thereby brought them hardship. He said to me, "O Abū ʿAbdallāh, what concern is it of mine or yours that you should take my money for the people of al-Shāsh and Farghānah?" But I replied, "They are your subjects, O Commander of the Faithful, and the farthest and the nearest one are alike in the benevolent oversight of the Imām!"[630]

Someone else has related that when al-Muʿtaṣim was roused to anger he did not care whom he killed or what he did.[631]

It has been mentioned from al-Faḍl b. Marwān that he said: Al-Muʿtaṣim took no pleasure in making buildings decorative and attractive to see; his sole aim was to make them solid. He also said: There was no item of expenditure on which he was more lavish in providing money than military campaigns.[632]

Muḥammad b. Rāshid has mentioned that Abū al-Ḥusayn Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm (b. Muṣʿab) once said to him: The Commander of the Faithful al-Muʿtaṣim summoned me one day. I went into his presence, and he was wearing a silk-embroidered waistcoat (*ṣudrah*),[633] a girdle of gold, and red boots. He said to me, "O

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629. Shāsh (Persian form: Chāch) was a district adjacent to the district of Īlāq, on the right bank of the Jaxartes; the town of Shāsh was on the site of modern Tashkent. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 308–9; Le Strange, *Lands*, 480–83; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 169–75; *EI*[1], s.v. Tashkent (W. W. Barthold); *EIr*, s.v. Čāč (C. E. Bosworth).

630. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 525–26. Al-Muʿtaṣim's grudging attitude here hardly conforms to Masʿūdī's information, in *Murūj*, VII, 104 = par. 2788, that he was devoted to the improvement of his territories and their prosperity (*ʿimārah, ʿumrān al-arḍ*).

631. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 526.

632. *Ibid.*

633. This garment, though only vaguely explained in the sources, clearly denoted a waistcoat or short jacket covering the chest (*ṣadr*); see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 246.

Isḥāq, I would very much like to play polo (*al-ṣawālajah*)[634] with you, so by my life you must dress in the same fashion as I." I sought to be excused from that, but he refused. So I got dressed in the same dress as his. Then a horse caparisoned with gold [1327] trappings was brought forward for him, and we entered the polo field (*al-maydān*).[635] When he had played for a while he said to me, "I see you're lazy and half-hearted, but I realize that you dislike this outfit." I replied, "That's true, O Commander of the Faithful!" He then dismounted and took my hand and proceeded onward, walking in my company, until he came to the chamber of the bathhouse.[636] He said, "Take my clothes, O Isḥāq," so I took his clothes until he was left naked. Then he ordered me to remove my own clothes, which I did, and the two of us entered the bath. We were unaccompanied by any slave boy, so I stood over him and rubbed him, and the Commander of the Faithful al-Muʿtaṣim undertook the task of doing the same for me.[637] Meanwhile, during the course of all this I was requesting him not to concern himself with me, but he refused. Then he left the bath, and I gave him his clothes and donned my own ones. Then he took my hand,

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634. This term possibly designated the curved polo stick (Persian *chawgān*), rather than the game itself (*chawgān-bāzī*); see *EI*², s.v. Čawgān (H. Massé). The more usual Arabic form is *ṣawlajān*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 854. For this episode, see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 152–53, locating the polo ground to the east of the Jawsaq Palace. There may well have been one there, for as many as twelve putative polo grounds have been identified among the remains of Sāmarrā, though the bottle-shaped course located to the east of the Jawsaq al-Khāqānī or Dār al-Khilāfah (clearly visible at the time of Sarre and Herzfeld's first survey during World War I but now largely plowed up) is characterized by Northedge as one of the five walled tracks at Sāmarrā obviously intended for horse racing (his Course 2: see "Racecourses," 37–38). Northedge pertinently observes that recent writers on horse racing in medieval Islam have not always distinguished properly between courses for horse racing and polo grounds; "Racecourses," 52 n. 79.

635. For such fields, see *EI*², s.v. Maydān (F. Viré); Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 153 n. 2, pointed out that *maydān* in this context was a synonym for Middle Persian *asprēs* "polo, race ground."

636. *Ḥujrat al-ḥammām*. Here the general term *ḥujrah* must denote the first room of the bath, that for undressing and resting, the *apodyterium* of classical baths; in the central Islamic lands it was called the *maslakh* after the sixth (twelfth) century; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 153, calls this room *vestibulum*. See H. Grotzfeld, *Das Bad im Arabisch-Islamischen Mittelalter*, 28 ff, *EI*², s.v. Ḥammām (J. Sourdel-Thomine).

637. Rubbing and massaging, *tadlīk*, would normally be done by a special attendant, the *dallāk*; see Grotzfeld, *op. cit.*, 69–70.

and we walked on, the two of us together, until he reached his council chamber.

[When we were there] he said to me, "O Isḥāq, bring me a prayer rug [*muṣallā*][638] and two pillows." I brought these to him, and he put down the pillows and lay down on his face as if to sleep. Then he said, "Bring [another] prayer rug and two [more] pillows," so I brought them, and he said, "Throw them down, and lie down on them opposite me." I swore that I would not do that, but I sat down on the rug. Aytākh al-Turkī and Ashnās entered, and he told them, "Just withdraw to a spot where, if I cry out, you will both be able to hear me." Then he said, "O Isḥāq, there is something on my mind (literally, "heart") that I have been pondering over for a long time, and I have only put you at your ease at this juncture so that I might divulge my inner thoughts to you." I answered, "Speak on, O my master, O Commander of the Faithful, for I am merely your slave and the son of your slave." He said, "I have been considering my brother al-Ma'mūn. He nurtured for his own service four men who turned out excellently, while I have nurtured for my own service likewise four men, none of whom has proved successful." I asked, "Who are these men whom your brother nurtured?" He replied, "Ṭāhir b.
[1328] al-Ḥusayn, whom you saw and heard of [his fame]; ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, a man of unparalleled quality; you yourself, for by God you are a person for whose like the ruling authority could never hope to find a substitute; and your brother Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm—where is there his like? Whereas I myself have nurtured al-Afshīn, and you have seen what finally became of him; Ashnās, and what a feeble heart and coward he is!;[639] Aytākh, who is totally insignificant; and Waṣīf, who is an unprofitable servant." I said, "O Commander of the Faithful, may God make me your

638. The Caliph normally had his own *muṣallā* for special ceremonial occasions, supervised by an official called *ṣāḥib al-muṣallā*. The family of one Ṣāliḥ seems customarily to have exercised this function from the time of al-Manṣūr onward, certainly until al-Mu'taṣim's reign, according to an anecdote in Tanūkhī, *op. cit.*, VI, 187–89, and possibly until the time of al-Muntaṣir; see Sourdel, "Questions de cérémonial," 131–32, 146.

639. *Fa-fashl*[un] *ayyuhu*. For *ayyu* in exclamations and to express surprise, see W. Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 316, Rem. *a*; Reckendorf, *op. cit.*, 33–34 par. 18.2, 40 par. 21.2. Neither, however, notes this particular use of *ayyu* + pronoun suffix *after* its qualifying noun, as opposed to the more usual *ayyu fashl*[in].

ransom! I can provide an answer, on condition of a guarantee of security from your wrath!" He replied, "Speak on!" I said, O Commander of the Faithful, may God make you mighty, your brother considered the roots and made use of them, and their branches flourished exceedingly; whereas the Commander of the Faithful has utilized only branches, which have not flourished because they have lacked roots." He replied, "O Isḥāq, the hardships that I have endured during the passage of this long period of time are indeed easier for me to bear than this answer!"[640]

It is mentioned from Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī[641] that he said: I went into the Commander of the Faithful al-Muʿtaṣim bi-Allāh's presence one day when he had with him a slave singing girl (*qaynah*)[642] from whom he derived great pleasure, and she was singing to him. When I had greeted him and taken my seat he said to her, "Carry on with what you were singing," so she sang again. He said to me, "What do you think of her, O Isḥāq?" I answered, "O Commander of the Faithful, I see her subduing [her instrument] with skill and mastering it with delicacy; whatever she brings forth, she raises it to a level superior to what it was previously. In her melody are fragments of small pearls more beautiful than the settings of pearls that one sees on people's throats." He exclaimed, "O Isḥāq, your description of her is more beautiful than she herself or her singing," and he told his son Hārūn (al-Wāthiq), "Listen to these words!"

It has been further mentioned from Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī that he said: I spoke to al-Muʿtaṣim regarding some matter, and he said to me, "O Isḥāq, when passion becomes dominant, one's [1329] judgment becomes impaired." I told him, "O Commander of the Faithful, I used to wish that my youth would stay with me always, so that I might remain at your service, as I would like to do." He said to me, "Haven't you achieved your aim in this respect, then?" I replied, "Yes, certainly." He observed, "Thus

640. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 526–27; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 152–54.

641. The famous musician and singer (150–235 [767–850]) and son of the equally celebrated musician Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. See Farmer, *op. cit.*, 124–26; *EI*², s.v. Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (J. W. Fück).

642. Such singing girls formed a highly trained, often well-educated class in ʿAbbāsid times; see *EI*², s.v. Ḳayna (Ch. Pellat).

now at present you are achieving what you intended, so the two aims are equally realized!"

It has been mentioned from Abū Ḥassān[643] that he said: Abū Isḥāq al-Mu'taṣim's mother was a non-Arab slave (*muwalladah*) from al-Kūfah called Māridah.[644] It has been mentioned from al-Faḍl b. Marwān that he said: Al-Mu'taṣim's mother was Māridah, of Soghdian origin, whose father had, however, grown up in the Sawād.[645] He related: I think he was actually from al-Bandanījīn.[646] Al-Rashīd also had from Māridah, in addition to Abū Isḥāq, Abū Ismā'īl, Umm Ḥabīb, and two others whose names are unknown.

It has been mentioned from Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād that he said: Al-Mu'taṣim gave alms, and at my own hand and through my own agency he bestowed the amount of 100 million dirhams.[647]

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643. I.e., al-Ḥasan b. 'Uthmān al-Ziyādī, judge and *rāwī*, who had been involved in al-Ma'mūn's *miḥnah*, or inquisition proceedings (Ṭabarī, III, 1121, 1122–23), and who was a source for Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, whence for Ṭabarī, for events in the first half of the third (ninth) century.

644. Called by Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 103 = par. 2786, Māridah bt. Shabīb. See also Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, 42; Ibn Qutaybah, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, 392; Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, 126 trans., 102.

645. I.e., the "dark," because green and cultivated, region of central Iraq around Baghdad; see *EI*[1], s.v. Sawād (H. H. Schaeder).

646. A town lying to the east of Baghdad and the Tigris, the center of the rural district to Bādurāyā in the foothills of the Pusht-i Kūh range. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 499, Le Strange, *Lands*, 63.

647. Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VI, 527; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 156. Despite such largesse, al-Mu'taṣim was nevertheless able to leave in the state treasury at his death, according to Ibn al-Zubayr, *op. cit.*, 213–14 par. 300, 8 million dīnārs and 8 million dirhams, beside 33,000 riding beasts in the royal stables.

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Index

The index contains all proper names of persons, places, and tribal and other groups, as well as topographical data, occurring in the introduction and the text (but not normally in the footnotes), together with technical terms; where the latter are explained in the footnotes, they are also noted.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXXIV

Incipient Decline

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY JOEL L. KRAEMER

Incipient Decline
Volume XXXIV
Translated and Annotated by Joel L. Kraemer

The events described in this volume took place during al-Ṭabarī's own time. Al-Ṭabarī was thus writing "contemporary history," and his narrative, often based on first-hand reports, is drawn in vivid and arresting detail. The volume portrays the summit of "the Sāmarrā period," following al-Muᶜtaṣim's transfer of the ᶜAbbāsid capital upstream from Baghdad to Sāmarrā.

Three caliphs are portrayed in this volume: al-Muᶜtaṣim's son and successor, al-Wāthiq; al-Wāthiq's brother al-Mutawakkil; and al-Mutawakkil's son al-Muntaṣir. At this time the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs came under the dominant influence of the Turkish military elite. The crowning example of Turkish power and ᶜAbbāsid frailty was the dramatic assassination of al-Mutawakkil by Turkish officers within the precincts of his own palace. The Turks were afterward not only instrumental in raising al-Muntaṣir to the caliphate, they also forced him to depose his two brothers as heirs apparent. Finally, they had al-Muntaṣir himself killed.

During the period of al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil, insurrections erupted in the center of the empire, and serious revolts broke out in distant provinces, including Africa and Armenia. The Byzantine raids on Damietta and Samosata were memorable events, and periodic Muslim forays were made into Byzantine territory. Prisoner exchanges between Muslims and Byzantines are reported in engaging detail on the basis of eyewitness testimony. The report of a prisoner release by a Shiᶜite emissary to the Byzantine emperor contains a charming description of his visit to Constantinople and his audience with Michael III.

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

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A.D. 841–863/A.H. 227–248

The History of al-Ṭabari

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(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXXIV

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translated and annotated
by

Joel L. Kraemer

Tel Aviv University

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the diving lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash

(—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume 1.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

Ya'qūbī begins his description of Sāmarrā thus: "We shall now speak of Surra Man Ra'ā ("He who sees it rejoices"), the second capital of the Hāshimite caliphs. Eight caliphs have resided there." The caliphs he mentions, after its founder al-Mu'taṣim, were all sons or grandsons of his. Three of them are treated in this volume, namely, al-Mu'taṣim's son and successor al-Wāthiq, al-Wāthiq's brother al-Mutawakkil, and al-Mutawakkil's son al-Muntaṣir. This was the summit of what has been called "the Sāmarrā period." The massive building projects in the new capital—quarters, palaces, mosques, gardens, markets, thoroughfares, canals, and so on—inaugurated by al-Mu'taṣim and carried on by al-Wāthiq, and especially by al-Mutawakkil, defined Sāmarrā's physical character.

Al-Mu'taṣim is said to have founded Sāmarrā and to have moved upstream to his new capital in order to avoid the perennial clashes and friction between the Turkish troops and the Baghdad populace. In Sāmarrā, with wisdom that grows from experience, al-Mu'taṣim adopted a policy of isolating the Turkish (and related) military elite from the rest of the population. The Turkish officers—men such as Ashnās, Bughā the Elder, Bughā the Younger, Ītākh, Waṣīf, and Sīmā (whom we shall meet on the following pages)—were assigned fiefs, as were civil officers and other members of the ruling elite. High Turkish officers were given palaces. The famous Jawsaq al-Khāqānī, which came to be a caliphal residence, had in fact been the palace of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān.

The Turkish presence in Sāmarrā cast long shadows. The ca-

liphs of Banū Hāshim came under the dominant influence of the Turkish military class. Al-Muʿtaṣim's policy of segregating the Turkish soldiery, it has been suggested (by J. M. Rogers, "Sāmarrā"), was aimed at achieving his own personal safety. (See also Ayalon, "Mamlūk Military Institution," 54–55). If so, this strategy certainly backfired. For it is more than likely that their isolation contributed to their growing consolidation and power. It is significant that when Ītākh was trapped and murdered in Baghdad by order of al-Mutawakkil, our narrator points out that this never could have happened in Sāmarrā. "Were he not seized in Baghdad, they would have been unable to apprehend him. Had he entered Sāmarrā and wanted his men to kill all his opponents, he would have been able to accomplish this."

The crowning example of Turkish power and Hāshimite frailty was the assassination of al-Mutawakkil by Turkish officers within the precincts of his own palace. The Turks were afterwards not only instrumental in raising al-Muntaṣir to the caliphate—he was, it appears, involved in the assassination plot—they also forced him eventually to depose his two brothers as heirs apparent, and finally they (evidently) had al-Muntaṣir himself killed.

The attempts by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs to counter and alleviate the growing Turkish pressure foundered. Near the beginning of his reign, al-Wāthiq arrested and fined a group of eminent secretaries, that is, administrators and officials. This measure, allegedly prompted by his wazīr Ibn al-Zayyāt, was conceivably aimed at securing funds to pay the salaries of the Turkish military personnel, as some sources say. But a further motive—also mentioned—may have been to strike a blow at these very Turks, such as Ītākh and Ashnās. Many of the leading secretaries arrested were in their service. But this step was isolated and ineffectual. In any case, it is noteworthy that al-Wāthiq was (reportedly) moved to fine and imprison the secretaries by the precedent set by his grandfather, Hārūn al-Rashīd, who had removed the Barmakids from favor because of their alleged control over the caliphate. To be sure, such expropriations were basically predatory. And al-Wāthiq's successor, his brother al-Mutawakkil, shortly after assuming office, removed officials, confiscated property, and executed powerful notables.

The two mainstays of the administration—the military officers

and civil officials—worked hand in hand directing the affairs of the far-flung empire. The base of power was a praetorian-bureaucratic condominium, buttressed by the swords of the Turks and the pens of the secretaries. It would be a mistake to view the Turkish military elite as a purely martial force. The Turks often served as government administrators and provincial rulers. The cultural attainments of some members of this military aristocracy are noteworthy. The rapid acculturation of the Turkish immigrants to the ʿAbbāsid realm is indeed striking. Fatḥ b. al-Khāqān, son of a newcomer, was a first-generation, arabicized Turk. (Consider also the famous philosopher Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī [d. 950], who was born in Turkestān, in the district of Fārāb, to a father who came to Baghdad as an army commander.)

Al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān was knowledgeable in the Arabic language, assimilated Arab culture, and amassed a great library that also served his friend and protégé, Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ. The latter's *Fī manāqib al-Turk (On the Merits of the Turks)* was addressed to al-Fatḥ. In his brief treatise Jāḥiẓ in fact concentrates on the horsemanship, bowmanship and, in general, upon the courage, pride, and military prowess of the Turks, although he cites (van Vloten, *Tria opuscula*, 47) exceptions, noting also that military prowess itself requires other virtues, including technical knowledge, cultural refinement and administrative competence (which al-Fatḥ, we may add, evidently possessed). Ṭabarī does not comment on the cultural pretensions and attainments of the Turks, but neither does he take interest in secular culture in general. This was the age of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq and his school, translators of Greek science and philosophy into Syriac and Arabic, and yet not a whit of this is mentioned. Ṭabarī does not evince the interest that (the Shīʿite historians) Yaʿqūbī and Masʿūdī exhibit in these matters.

The Turks were apparently the primary cause of al-Mutawakkil's rather mysterious move to reestablish his capital in Damascus, which is described in our narrative. The transfer of the seat of power may be seen as an effort to elude their overwhelming influence. It failed for somewhat obscure reasons—an inclement climate and a mutiny by Turkish troops over pay allotments are alluded to.

In military affairs the Turkish officer class clearly proved itself

absolutely indispensable. When revolts broke out in distant provinces, a local commander or an Arab officer from the central government would often be dispatched initially to suppress it. These first efforts were generally futile. As a result, a Turkish general—like Bughā the Elder or Bughā the Younger—was usually called upon to establish order and loyalty to the central government authorities. During the reign of al-Mutawakkil, wars at the periphery of the empire were particularly rampant—in Upper and Lower Egypt, Ādharbayjān, Armenia and Asia Minor—and these energetic Turkish commanders were kept very busy. These military expeditions to maintain government jurisdiction in the remotest regions betoken caliphal authority rather than weakness.

The power and influence of the Turkish praetorian guard invaded the Caliphal Palace itself. Al-Mutawakkil, as stated, was assassinated by a cabal of Turks, with his son al-Muntaṣir taking part in the conspiracy. The latter had cosseted the Turkish officers, much to his father's annoyance and discontent. Caliphs had been assassinated before: regicide was not uncommon in the annals of Islamic history. But never before had regicide taken the form of a patricide. This was indeed shocking and unprecedented. When al-Muntaṣir thereafter succeeded to the caliphate, tongues wagged and heads shook in dismay.

At this place in his narrative, Ṭabarī injects a personal note, a reminiscence from his youth: "I often heard people say," he states, "when the caliphate passed to al-Muntaṣir, that from the time he acceded to rule until his death he would live for six months, the extent of life of Shīrawayh b. Kisrā after he killed his father, and this was spread among the populace and notables alike."

Reading this volume the reader should bear in mind that the swirl of events described on its pages took place during Ṭabarī's lifetime. He was about three years old when al-Wāthiq came to power; about eight when al-Mutawakkil succeeded him; and about twenty-two when al-Muntaṣir supplanted his father. Thus, Ṭabarī lived through these events and had a personal connection with some of the action he describes. And if he did not experience events directly, he knew informants who did or who had their information from informants who did. His reports are often given

in vivid and striking detail. Moreover, he knew some of the protagonists personally. For instance, he was tutor to the sons of the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā (for ten dīnārs a month, it is said), and he studied with Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī, who supported the revolt of Aḥmad b. Naṣr.

Ṭabarī is, then, writing "contemporary history." And although he did not experience the major events directly, he often reports the testimony of people who did—eyewitnesses and informants who were in touch with eyewitnesses. Thus, our volume, unlike previous ones, lacks *isnād*s (chains of transmission); it contains relatively few anonymous informants—individual and collective—and rather many identified as actual participants in the events reported. A brief survey of sources may illustrate this point and bring out others regarding Ṭabarī's sources and his striking attention to authentic evidence and detail. He was not an ingenuous annalist but a genuine historian who searched for witnesses and documentation. His informants are occasionally very simple people—a singer, a black slave, a Turkish woman, and the ladies of the harem. The most momentous occasion, in fact, the murder of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, is reported by the most ordinary people.

Close to the beginning of his narrative, Ṭabarī describes caliph al-Wāthiq's arrest of government officials and confiscation of their property. For this purpose, he summons the testimony of a certain ʿAzzūn b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Anṣārī, who reports (p. 1331) a conversation with the caliph in his court. ʿAzzūn attests that he was in al-Wāthiq's company when a discussion took place on the reason for the fall of the famous Barmakids, namely, their inordinate control over Hārūn al-Rashīd and his purse. Al-Wāthiq reportedly drew a lesson from his ancestor's experience and went on to deflate his own government officials.

During the period of al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil insurrections and disturbances—major and minor—erupted in the center of the empire, and serious revolts broke out in distant provinces. The central government's expedition against the Banū Sulaym tribal group in the Ḥijāz (pp. 1335ff.) is described by a spectator, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Makhlad (pp. 1341, 1358), who marched with the commander Bughā al-Kabīr on his expedition to suppress the revolt. The campaign waged against the Banū Numayr tribal

group in al-Yamāmah is reported (p. 1358) by the same Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Makhlad, who again rubbed shoulders with Bughā and observed the events. The account is expanded by another spectator, who described Bughā's initial rout at the hands of the tribesmen (p. 1360). The insurgence of the religious leader Aḥmad b. Naṣr in Baghdad is reported (1343) on the authority of "some(one) of our shaykhs." ("Some[one]" renders *baʿḍ*, which may mean "one" or "some.") The source knew a man who visited with Aḥmad, and thus he was able to name his associates.

The revolt of Muḥammad b. al-Baʿīth in Ādharbayjān is reported partly (p. 1379) by an eyewitness, Abū al-Aghar, son-in-law of Ibn al-Baʿīth, who surrendered to the government forces and was brought to Sāmarrā, as was Ibn al-Baʿīth after his capture. The poet ʿAlī b. al-Jahm was on hand (p. 1387) when Ibn al-Baʿīth was presented to al-Mutawakkil, and quotes Ibn al-Baʿīth's poetry recited on the occasion, noting the man's literary talent. Another (anonymous) spectator is also cited. Some accounts of prominent revolts are not assigned to a witness or authority, for instance, the revolt of the inhabitants of Armenia against Yūsuf b. Muḥammad (p. 1408) and its aftermath, namely, Bughā's defeat of Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl in Tiflis and the burning of the town (p. 1414). As a sequel to Aḥmad b. Naṣr's rebellion, Ṭabarī relates how his body was taken down from the gallows in Sāmarrā and sent with his friends to Baghdad (p. 1412). In this case, Ṭabarī cites a report by the postmaster of Baghdad to the caliph concerning the behavior of the populace and a letter from al-Mutawakkil to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir instructing him how to behave toward the crowds. The revolt of the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ against their chief of security police is related without reliance on (named) informants (p. 1420). The revolt of the Bujah tribesmen in Africa is described without a source for the events, but only a reference to the fact that Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, chief of Egyptian Post and Intelligence, wrote to al-Mutawakkil about the uprising (p. 1429). The Byzantine raid on Damietta, a memorable event, is related (p. 1417) without authorities, as is most of Ṭabarī's (often fascinating) information concerning Byzantium. For instance, the Byzantine raid on Samosata is reported without an informant (p. 1447), as is the account telling that the inhabitants of Lulon prevented their (Byzantine) governor from entering the town. The caliph al-

Muntaṣir's dispatching Waṣīf the Turk on a summer expedition to Byzantine territory is reported without source (p. 1480), although Ṭabarī preserves a long letter of al-Mutawakkil to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir concerning Waṣīf's campaign. The letter, containing pious sentiments about the holy war, was written by the wazīr Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb (p. 1485).

The prisoner exchanges that took place in our period between the Muslims and Byzantines are reported in engrossing detail and on the basis of eyewitness testimony. The prisoner exchange of 231 (845–46) is related primarily (p. 1351) on the authority of Aḥmad b. Abī Qaḥṭabah, an associate of Khāqān al-Khādim, the Muslim representative at the exchange. In addition, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith's attestation is cited (p. 1353)—he had questioned Ibn Abī Qaḥṭabah and had also visited the Byzantine emperor. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭarsūsī, a Muslim prisoner released by the Byzantines, describes (p. 1354) how the ransoming was actually carried out. A slightly different version (p. 1355) is offered by al-Sindī, *mawlā* of Ḥusayn al-Khādim, while Muḥammad b. Karīm, another Muslim prisoner, adds important details (p. 1356). The prisoner exchange of 246 (860) reported (p. 1449) by Naṣr b. al-Azhar al-Shīʿī ("the Shīʿite"), the emissary of al-Mutawakkil to the Byzantine emperor, contains a charming description of Naṣr's visit to Constantinople and his audience with the emperor Michael III. The Shīʿite ambassador relates (correctly) that Bardas, maternal uncle of the emperor, was in charge of the affairs of the realm.

The rather frequent occasions when officials—even high officers such as wazīrs—were arrested and tortured to death are communicated by our historian with great care and precision. The famous wazīr Ibn al-Zayyāt, for instance, was tortured in an iron maiden, an instrument of his own design. A certain al-Dandānī communicates details of the wazīr's discomfort (p. 1374) on the basis of the torturer's own authoritative account. Further detail is provided by Mubārak al-Maghribī, who was also close to the scene.

The murder of Turkish commander Ītākh is told by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir (p. 1384). Ibrāhīm says that he had gone out with the chief of security police, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, to meet Ītākh on his return from Mecca, and he gives a careful eyewitness account of

the process leading to the murder. A man named Turk, a *mawlā* of Isḥāq, reported (p. 1386) on a conversation he had with Ītākh while the latter was in prison.

The long account of Najāḥ's demise is related by (p. 1400) al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāmah—historian and traditionist—and others. Al-Ḥārith gives details of the punishment (p. 1442).

Ṭabarī diligently preserves *literatim* documents concerning the events he portrays. While these documents, in a narrative setting, are not the same as archival records, their value is appreciable. Al-Mutawakkil's decree concerning Dhimmīs, for example, is presented (p. 1389) in its official form, and his letter concerning these regulations (p. 1390), sent to district governors, is also preserved. It was written by the secretary Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī. Ṭabarī was presumably in touch with circles of government officials, like al-Ṣūlī, who were in a position to make this kind of material available to him. The letter of investiture by al-Mutawakkil to his three sons (p. 1396) was made in four copies, three for the sons and one for the library of the caliph. Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣūlī recited a poem about the investiture (p. 1402), and it appears that he also wrote these letters. To be sure, investiture documents were formularies and thus of less interest than some other records. Private correspondence of the caliph is also preserved, such as al-Mutawakkil's letter of condolence to Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir (p. 1406) on the occasion of the death of his relative, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. The account of the abdication of the princes al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad, brothers and heirs apparent of the caliph al-Muntaṣir (p. 1486), is accompanied by the text of the abdication (p. 1489), which had been read aloud by the wazīr Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb. And the text of the long letter, signed by Aḥmad, which al-Muntaṣir writes to Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, pertaining to the abdication, is also presented. It is a pity that al-Mutawakkil's letters to the provinces prohibiting debate concerning the Qurʾān and the like have not been preserved (p. 1412).

Ṭabarī evidently had access to police records and information of the Bureau of Post and Intelligence (*barīd*). For instance, the notice on the death of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl (p. 1406) is derived from a report of al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī. Al-Qāsim was in the service of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān, who was in charge of Intelligence in Sāmarrā

and the Hārūnī Palace. Another source for this notice was Ibrāhīm b. 'Aṭā', supervisor of Intelligence in Sāmarrā. A day later, Ṭabarī writes, a dispatch came from the chief of Intelligence in Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) announcing the death of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm (p. 1407). In describing (p. 1424) the flogging of 'Īsā b. Ja'far b. 'Āṣim, a Shī'ite who had defamed Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Ā'ishah and Ḥafṣah, in the Sharqiyyah Quarter of Baghdad, Ṭabarī tells how the information about 'Īsā got to the authorities. The postmaster of Baghdad conveyed details to the wazīr 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā, who transmitted them to al-Mutawakkil. The report of the judge in 'Īsā's trial was evidentally included in the postmaster's communication. Ṭabarī preserves the detailed letter of the wazīr 'Ubaydallāh in response to the judge's report, spelling out exactly how Ibn 'Āṣim should be punished. Ṭabarī's account of the appearance of Maḥmūd al-Naysabūrī in Sāmarrā (p. 1394), a man who claimed to be Dhū al-Qarnayn and a prophet, was probably based on police or intelligence records.

Ṭabarī relates accounts of the death of the three caliphs treated in this volume and the transition of power predominantly on the basis of participants' reports. The death of al-Wāthiq is based upon information (p. 1363) derived from a number of "our colleagues," but reports about al-Wāthiq's conduct prior to his death (p. 1365) are assigned to the poet al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who was present. The transition from al-Wāthiq to al-Mutawakkil is told (p. 1368) by more than one authority, although Sa'īd the Younger reports (p. 1370) on Mutawakkil's relations with al-Wāthiq and events which preceded his being elevated to the caliphate. When al-Wāthiq placed his brother al-Mutawakkil in custody, Sa'īd was taken along with him.

The portrayal of the murder of al-Mutawakkil (p. 1452) is an outstanding narrative. On the fateful day, Ibn al-Ḥafṣī, the Singer, attended an audience with the caliph, and so was in a position to report (p. 1455) vital details. Ibn al-Ḥafṣī was accompanied by 'Ath'ath al-Aswad, a black slave, and a certain Naṣr b. Sa'īd al-Jahbadh ("the Government Banker"). He describes the caliph's cheer that day and his gloomy premonitions. Ibn al-Ḥafṣī also reports on caliph's ridicule of his son al-Muntaṣir one day earlier. Details of this treatment are assigned to Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī, who was informed by some(one) of the

women in the curtained off area. Then Bunān, a page and close associate of al-Muntaṣir, gives a report concerning al-Muntaṣir and his reaction to news of the caliph's assassination, hinting that he was taken by surprise (p. 1459). The black slave ʿAthʿath is the main observer who actually describes the assassination. His own role in defending the caliph, he says, was limited by the circumstance that he was struck by a blow on his head. An alternate description by Zurqān, deputy of the chamberlain Zurāfah, has it that ʿAthʿath fled headlong. Zurqān does not depict al-Muntaṣir as having been surprised (p. 1462). According to another report, a Turkish woman delivered a note regarding what the group planned to al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān. Thus, he and the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh knew of the plot but were overconfident and did not prepare a defense.

Abū ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd the Younger (p. 1471) places full responsibility for the murder plot on al-Muntaṣir, but says that it was a defensive act. He tells of the aftermath of the assassination, al-Muntaṣir's announcement of the murder, and the oath of allegiance to him. Al-Muntaṣir's final illness is reported (pp. 1495ff.) by some(one) of the informants, with versions or details by Ibrāhīm b. Jaysh, Ibn Dihqānah, and Saʿīd b. Salāmah al-Naṣrānī.

Although Ṭabarī may have been affected by many of these events, personal accents are rarely audible. His primary task qua historian, as he conceived it, was to be a reliable transmitter of information, of tradition. He prefers just to give the facts without comment and fanfare. He does this conscientiously and with fine detail.

Although Ṭabarī's orientation was that of a Baghdadian, a supporter of the central government and a Sunnī Muslim (see Rosenthal, *History*, 134), these points of view are not intrusive in the narrative. If Ṭabarī held a personal position on Muʿtazilism, it is not reflected in our text. He tells dispassionately how al-Wāthiq made confession of the Muʿtazilite creed a condition for ransoming Muslim captives in the hands of the Byzantines—a policy that must have scandalized many Muslims. He describes with detachment the abortive revolt of Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuzāʿī and his Traditionist supporters against al-Wāthiq and his pro-Muʿtazilah policy.

Indeed, his most intimate note is struck in connection with the

death of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, which took place in 241 (856–57). Ṭabarī simply does not report it. His silence is eloquent. Ṭabarī's opinion of Ibn Ḥanbal was allegedly reserved, and his relations with the Ḥanbalī school were marred by strain and conflict. The discord brought on his head the wrath and abuse of Ḥanbalīs and their many supporters among the populace (who eventually, it is reported, refused him a decent burial). Ṭabarī's passing over the death of Ibn Ḥanbal in total silence was surely not accidental. Other historians took note. And Mas'ūdī, duly registering the event, even recorded the popular belief that the world had dimmed on the occasion, mentioning a meteor storm that took place during that year. Ṭabarī reports the meteor storm, which he says was visible in Baghdad, but no more. Indeed, a later historian, Ibn Kathīr, noting Ṭabarī's silence, includes in his *Bidāyah* a long biographical encomium of Ibn Ḥanbal, almost by way of compensation. Ibn Kathīr observes that Ṭabarī did not in fact mark the death of *any* Ḥadīth scholars in 241, intimating that he went this far so as to avoid having to mention Ibn Ḥanbal.

We would not expect Ṭabarī, who was after all a pious Muslim, to have had much affection or sympathy for al-Mutawakkil. The caliph was a notorious tippler, sensual and ruthless, hardly an exemplar of God's vicegerent on earth. Ṭabarī recounts his cruel destruction of the wazīr Ibn al-Zayyāt and the Turk Ītākh, as well as his virtually systematic elimination of men who had helped his father found Sāmarrā. But he does not express a whit of criticism or bend his narrative to insinuate disapproval. On the contrary, he describes very movingly the scene when al-Mutawakkil returned to his palace after having viewed the populace that turned out to view him when he appeared in public. He took a handful of earth, Ṭabarī says, and sprinkled it upon his head, remarking, "I saw this great throng and, realizing that they were under my sway, I wished to humble myself before God." And Ṭabarī describes the assassination of al-Mutawakkil with some sympathy for the victim, it seems. When he notes that al-Mutawakkil's palace was demolished after his death, and that his canal project was never completed, this comes more as a statement of fact and sad comment on the frailty of grand human designs than as a judgment upon al-Mutawakkil himself.

Ṭabarī studiously transmits the material he received, preserv-

ing different points of view, various aspects and possibilities. He does not strain to give a consistent account; he strives to give conflicting versions a hearing. He is, of course, selective, as any historian must be. For example, he admits that he did not wish to relate unseemly things about al-Mutawakkil, which his son al-Muntaṣir had told a group of jurisprudents. And he states that he recounted the story of al-Mutawakkil's assassination only in part. Some things the reader is not supposed to know.

As for the rest, the reader must often draw his own conclusions and offer his own interpretation. Ṭabarī gives different accounts of the same event much as he offers diverse interpretations of a verse in his Qur'ān commentary. A true interpretation, a final authorized version, need not be spelled out. It may be elicited from the various traditions and reports that are handed down, if at all. The historian, like the Ḥadīth scholar, is primarily obliged to preserve traditions for posterity. Ṭabarī was no more disturbed by contradictions in rival accounts than was the Biblical narrator. The value of this technique was commented upon by I. Goldziher long ago: "[Ṭabarī's] method of ranking together, in an Oriental manner, the various and often contradictory items of his information, instead of amalgamating his inferences from them into a compact unity, is sure to diminish its literary value but for that it enhances its usefulness in the matter of sources, by having preserved many of them in their literal texts, without which we should be compelled to use unilateral information only" (Goldziher, "Historiography," *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, 361).

Ṭabarī occasionally nudges the reader gently to understand the significance of events. He demonstrates his brand of sophistication by clever juxtaposition of material and by subtle understatement. The final anecdote in our narrative is a trivial one, like the final "trivial item [that] concludes [his] majestic work that deals with events that are among the greatest in world history" (Franz Rosenthal, *The History of Ṭabarī*, Vol. XXXVIII, 207, n. 978). He tells that al-Muntaṣir had promised something to his most intimate confidant—Bunān. The caliph's untimely demise left Bunān empty-handed. Ṭabarī deftly records Bunān's lament: "He died . . . and did not give me anything."

The basis of the translation is the Leiden edition. The text from

III, 1329 to 1367 was edited by M. J. de Goeje. He used two manuscripts, referred to by sigla C and O.

C = Constantinople, Köprülü 1041.
O = Oxford Bodleiana Pocock 354.

The text from III, 1367 to 1501 was edited by V. G. Rosen on the basis of the same manuscripts.

There is a considerable lacuna in Ms. O from 1358.12 to 1410.8 (232–237 A.H.).

Professor Stephen Humphreys kindly shared with me information about pertinent manuscripts found in Istanbul.

Ms. Ahmet III 2929, vol. 12, preserved in the Topkapi Saray, a thirteenth century manuscript, is said by Humphreys to be "of superb quality and in very good condition." This manuscript was used by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm for his edition of the text that concerns us (Cairo edition, vol. IX). The manuscript preserves some valuable readings as well as material that does not appear in Mss. C and O. For example, it contains a long passage at III, 1497 that does not appear in the recension preserved by Mss. C and O. There is reason to believe that the passage properly belongs to the text and is not an addition. I have used Ibrāhīm's edition for variant readings from this manuscript, to which Ibrāhīm gives the siglum A.

Esad Efendi 2085, housed in the Süleymaniye, covers the years 224–251, which is pertinent to our material (the years 227–248). However, according to Humphreys, it is late (fourteenth century?) manuscript and does not add anything of importance, while abbreviating personal names and omitting some lines of poetry.

Ibrāhīm also used Ms. Dār al-Kutub 1602 Ta'rīkh, to which he gives the siglum D.

The notes in the Leiden edition begin to give variant readings at III, 1353.6 from Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī's *Kitāb al-awrāq fī akhbār āl al-ʿAbbās wa-ashʿārihim*, preserved in a Leningrad manuscript that was identified and used in connection with Ṭabarī by V. R. Rosen. (See V. I. Belayev, in the *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Orientalists*, held in Munich in 1957.)

The *Kitāb al-awrāq* covers the years from 227 to 256, and is

therefore most relevant to our text. I have cited al-Ṣūlī from the notes to the Leiden edition.

In addition, readings from al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-jumān fī ta'rīkh ahl al-zamān* are cited (from manuscript) beginning at III, 1369.18 and will be cited from the Leiden edition apparatus.

Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum, II, ed. M. J. de Goeje, which covers the years 196 to 251, follows Ṭabarī's text very closely and is useful for variant readings, as is Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rīkh*.

Several friends and colleagues were generous with aid and advice, and I wish to express my gratitude to them. Professor Jacob Lassner was helpful in many ways. He clarified points of terminology, lent me books from his library in an hour of need, and edited the manuscript with professional skill. Professor Franz Rosenthal made many valuable improvements. A discussion with him was enlightening vis-à-vis the manuscript situation. This was then supplemented by Professor Stephen Humphreys, whose information about manuscripts in Istanbul is gratefully acknowledged here. My colleague Professor Joseph Sadan sat over the poetry with me and made many beneficial suggestions.

The project could not have been completed without the help and support of my wife, Roberta.

Joel L. Kraemer

Abbreviations

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
EI¹: Encyclopaedia of Islam, first edition
EI²: Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition
GAS: Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums. See Sezgin
IJMES: International Journal of Middle East Studies
JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies
JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
RSO: Rivista degli studi orientali
SI: Studia Islamica
WZKM: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZDMG: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

Table 1. Genealogy of ʿAbbāsid Caliphs (A.D. Ninth Century)

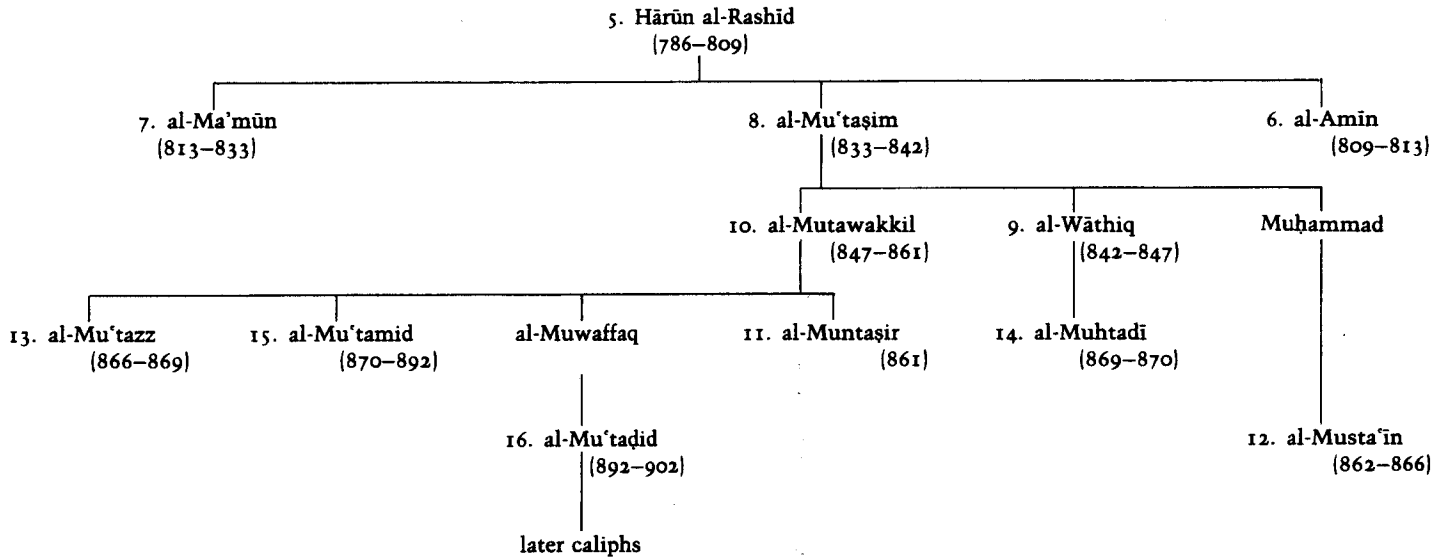

Table 2. Genealogy of the Khāqānids

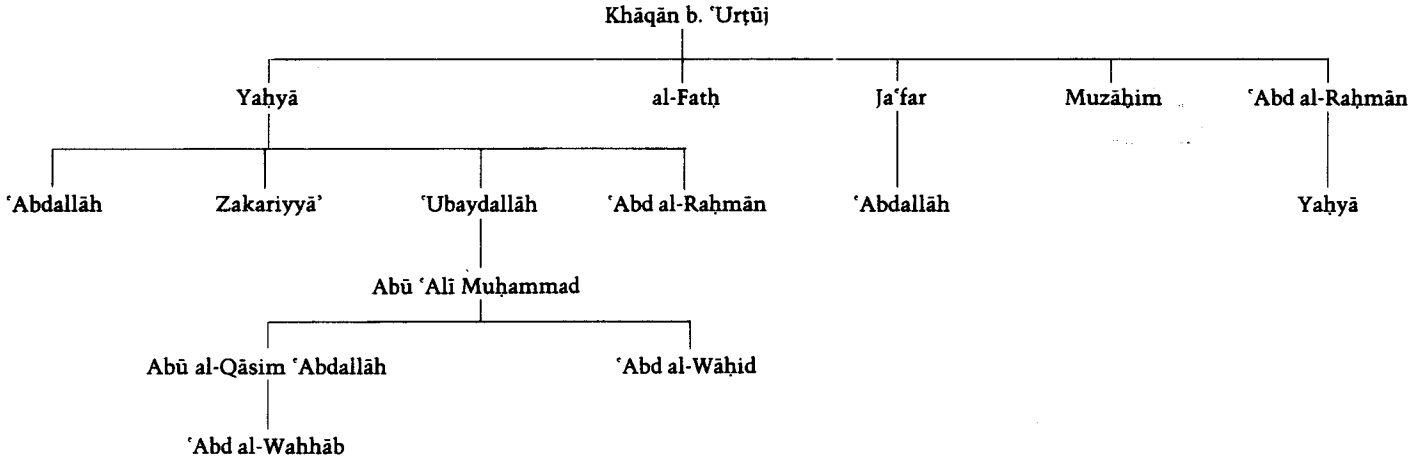

Table 3. Genealogy of the Ṭāhirids

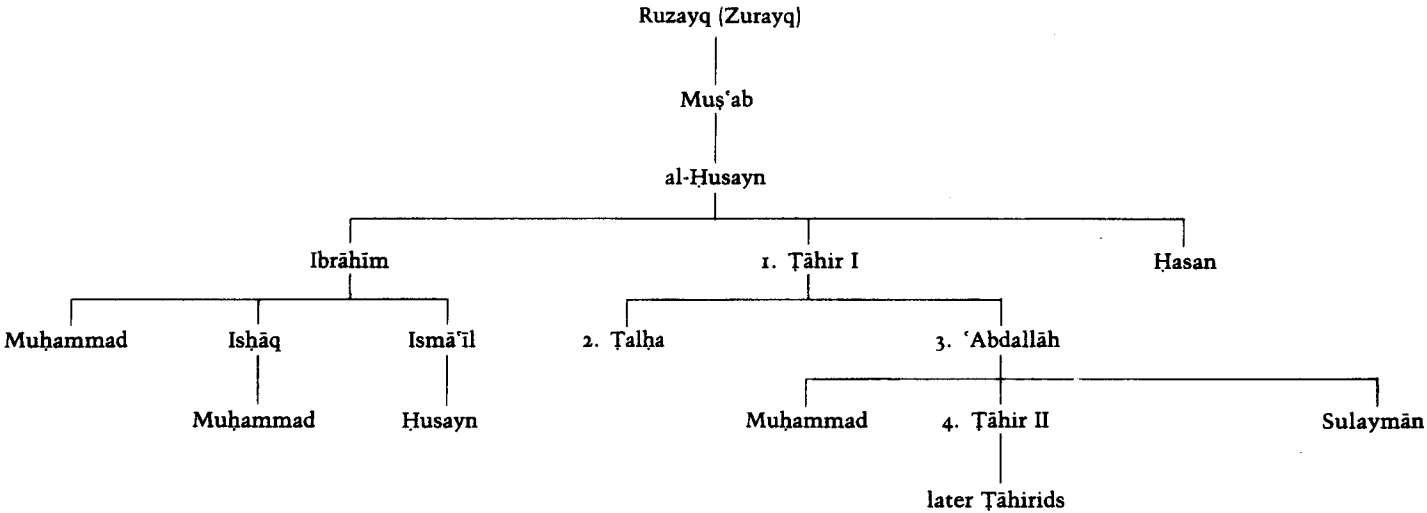

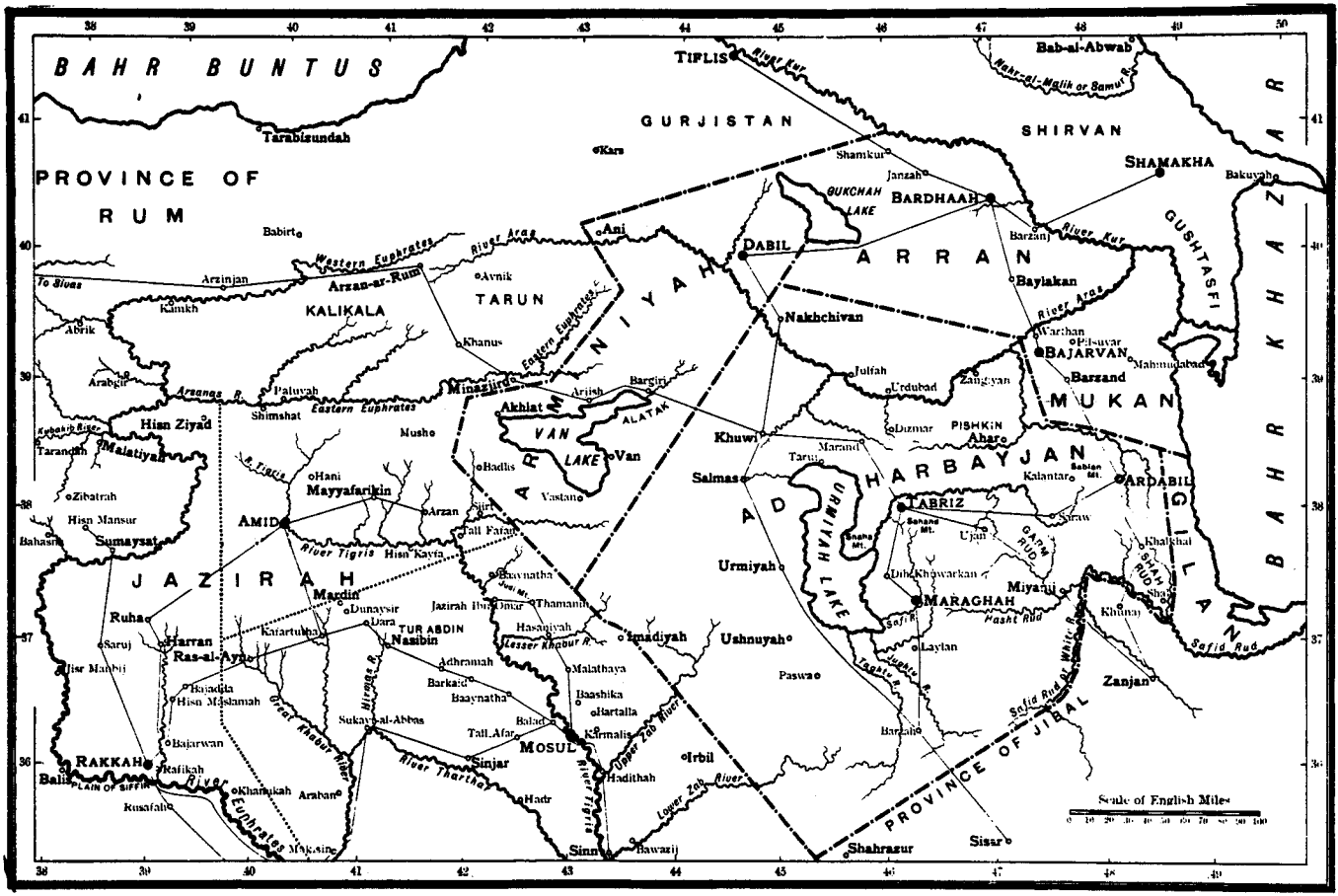

Map 1. Armenia, Ādharbayjān, Arrān. After G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*

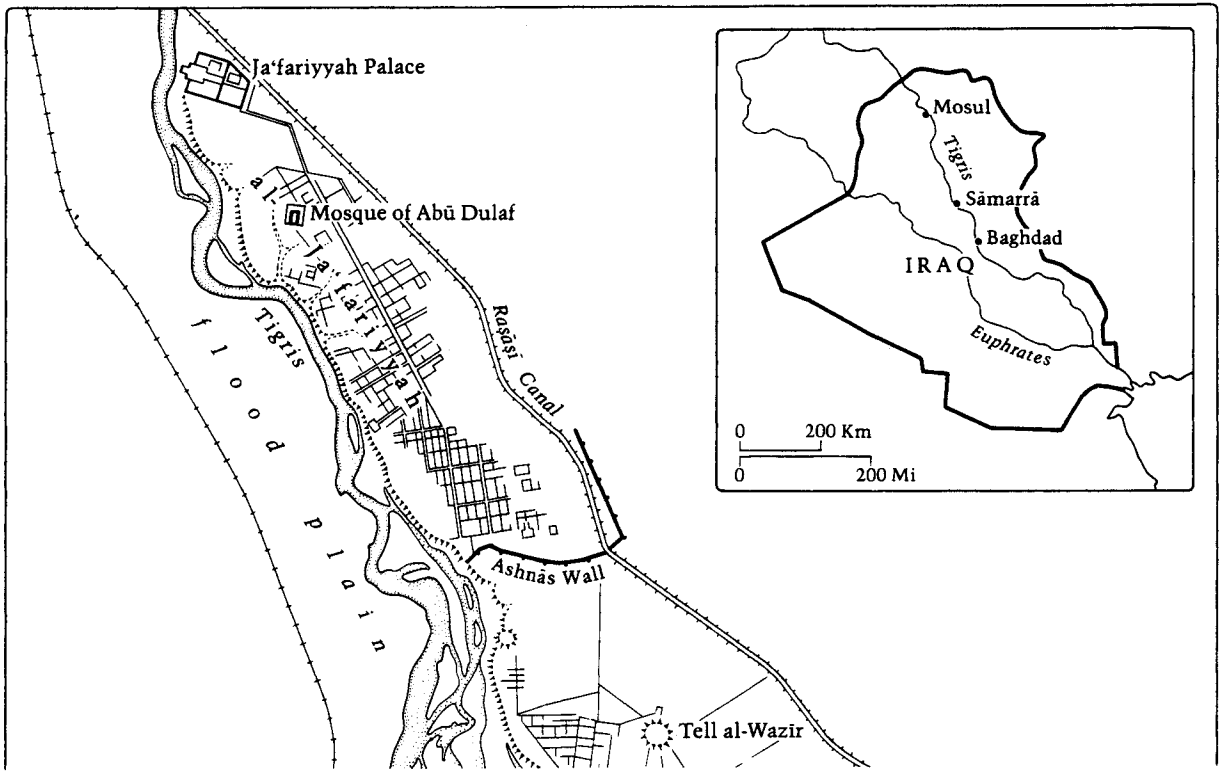
Ja'fariyyah Palace
Mosque of Abū Dulaf
al-Ja'fariyyah
Tigris
flood plain
Raṣāṣī Canal
Ashnās Wall
Tell al-Wazīr
Mosul
Tigris
Sāmarrā
Baghdad
IRAQ
Euphrates
0 200 Km
0 200 Mi

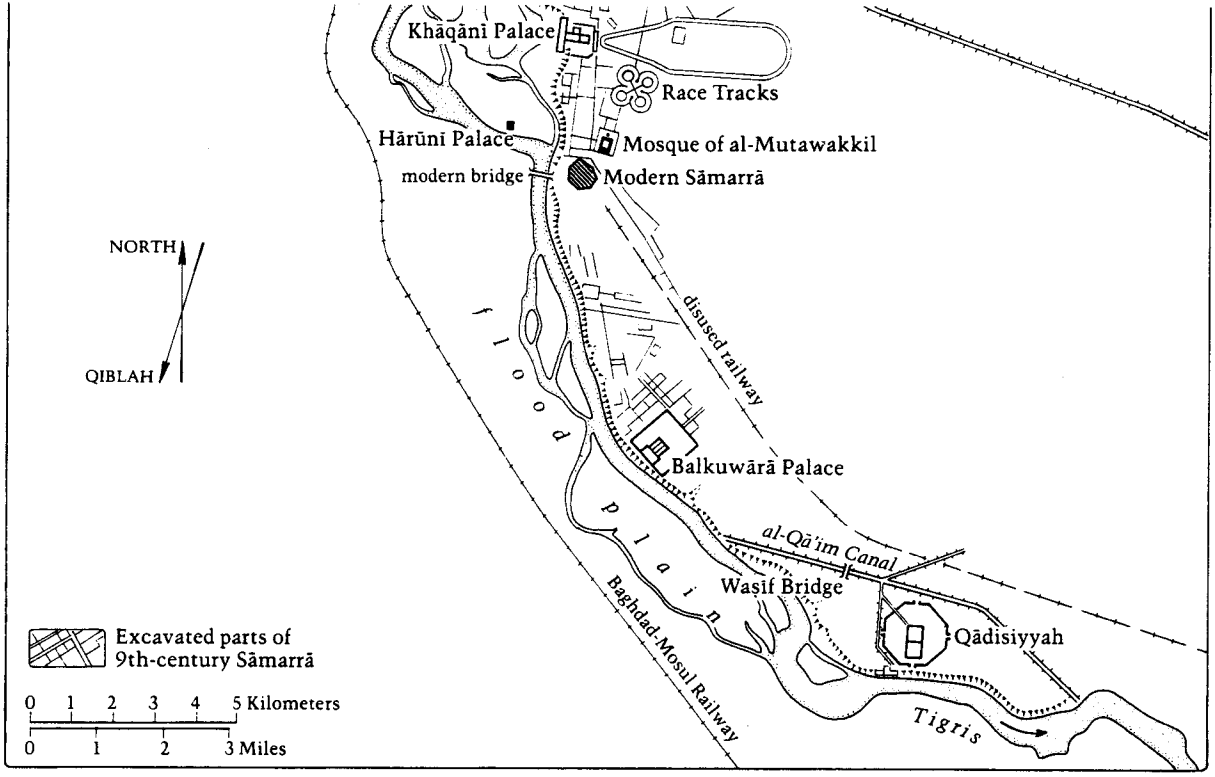

Map 2. Sāmarrā. Map drawn by George Colbert after E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra.*

The Caliphate of Hārūn al-Wāthiq

Abū Jaʿfar

The Events of the Year 227 (cont'd)

(October 21, 841–October 9, 842)

On the day that al-Muʿtaṣim died, his son Hārūn al-Wāthiq b. Muḥammad al-Muʿtaṣim received the oath of allegiance. This was on Wednesday, 8 Rabīʿ I, 227 (December 26, 841).[1] He was given the teknonym Abū Jaʿfar. His mother was a Byzantine slave named Qarāṭīs.[2] [1329]

In this year the Byzantine emperor Theophilus died following a reign of twelve years. His wife Theodora reigned after him, her son Michael son of Theophilus being but a youth.[3]

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1. 8 Rabīʿ I, 227, actually fell on a Monday. The day of the week given by Ṭabarī does not always correspond to the date mentioned.

2. An *umm (al-)walad* was a female slave, or concubine, who bore children to her master and was thus entitled to certain rights; see *EI*[1], s.v. Quite a few ʿAbbāsid caliphs were the offspring of slave mothers; See Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 102. *Qarāṭīs* is the plural of *qirṭās* ("papyrus"), which is derived from Greek *khartēs*.

3. Theophilus, son of Michael II, reigned 829–42, and was succeeded by his son Michael III (842–67). They belonged to the Amorian, or Phrygian, dynasty. Michael ruled for fourteen years along with his mother, Theodora, and for ten years on his own. See Bury, *History*, Appendices, VI–VII, 465–71. According to C. Mango, "When Was Michael III Born?" his birth date was January 9/10, 840. Thus, he was two years old when his father died (January 20, 842), and he was crowned in the same year. See also below, n. 264.

[1330] Leading the pilgrimage this year was Ja'far b. al-Mu'taṣim.[4] Al-Wāthiq's mother accompanied him, intending to make the pilgrimage, but she died in al-Ḥīrah on 4 Dhū al-Qa'dah (August 16, 842) and was buried in al-Kūfah in the palace of Dāwūd b. 'Īsā.[5]

4. Ja'far b. al-Mu'taṣim, brother of al-Wāthiq, became the tenth caliph of the 'Abbāsid dynasty with the regnal title al-Mutawakkil; see below, pp. 61–191.

5. Dāwūd b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad, an 'Abbāsid prince, was son of the famous 'Īsā b. Mūsā, nephew of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr; see *EI*², s.v. He had been governor of Mecca and Medina at the time of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. See Ṭabarī, III, 709; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20, 25, 193; and see Ṭabarī, III, 981–83 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 19–21).

The Events of the Year 228

(October 10, 842–September 29, 843)

Al-Wāthiq bestowed a crown upon Ashnās and adorned him with two ornamental belts in Ramaḍān (June–July 843).[6]

6. Abū Ja'far Ashnās (d. 230/844–45) was a Turkish army commander who had been purchased by al-Mu'taṣim and served during the caliphates of al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq; see Ṭabarī, III, 1236–67 (Marin, *Reign*, Index, 134); Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 256=Wiet, *Les pays*, 45. He led the vanguard in the battle of Amorium; III, 1236 (Marin, 61). Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 585, makes the ceremony mentioned here an act of appointment, said to be al-Wāthiq's first, and states that Ashnās was put in charge of territories from Sāmarrā (*min bābihi*) to the Maghrib. Ashnās was governor of Egypt from 219 (834–35) to 230 (844–45); Kindī, *Wulāh*, 192, 194–96; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 231, 255; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 27; see also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 364. Abū Ja'far Ashnās al-Turkī is not to be confused with Abū Ja'far Ashnās, Turkish page of Abū Isḥāq b. al-Rashīd (Ṭabarī, III, 1017) or with Ashnās, a page of Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad; Ṭabarī, III, 2203 (see Rosenthal, *Return*, 95). Al-Mu'taṣim had presented his Turkish *mawlās* with brocade, belts, and gold ornaments, attiring them differently from other soldiers; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 118; Ṭabarī, III, 1169 (Marin, 7, n. 62). Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm*, 93 (tr. Salem, 75), gives a list of honorary insignia bestowed upon army commanders. Crowns were occasionally presented to wazīrs; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 295, 677. For *wishāḥ* ("ornamental belt"), see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 429. Compare the Byzantine insignia, which included diplomas, gold-handled swords, tunics, and colored mantles and belts; Bury, *Imperial Administrative System*, pp. 22f.

In this year Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī died in the residence of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī.[7]

In this year the poet Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Ṭā'ī died.[8]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir.[9]

In this year the prices on the Mecca Road were so high that a *raṭl* of bread cost a dirham, and a water skin cost forty dirhams.[10] At the Place for Standing (Mawqif) people were first stricken by intense heat and then by heavy rain mixed with hail, so that severe heat and cold afflicted them within a single hour.[11] The downpour at Minā on the Day of Sacrifice (Yawm al-Naḥr) was

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7. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Madā'inī, the famous historian and traditionist, was born in al-Baṣrah, then went to al-Madā'in, and thereafter to Baghdad, where he joined Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, who was his patron; *EI*², s.v. al-Madā'inī; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 314. The date of his death is variously given as 215, 225, 231, 234, 235. Sezgin accepts 235 (849–50). He does not mention the date given here. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, noted musician and composer, son of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, also a famous musician, died in Baghdad in 235 (849–50). He was a companion of the caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Wāthiq, and al-Mutawakkil; see *EI*², s.v. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 371; Farmer, *History*, 124–26 *et passim*.

8. Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Ṭā'ī, famous poet and anthology editor, died in 231 (845–46), according to his son, or in 232 (846–47), according to other sources, although Ṭabarī and others dependent upon him give 228 (842–430); *EI*², s.v. Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws.

9. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, d. 265 (878–79), belonged to the Ṭāhirid family/dynasty, which produced governors of Khurāsān and Baghdad in the third/ninth century, and participated actively in its cultural life; see Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic Culture." He became governor of Baghdad in 255 (868–69); see Ṭabarī, III, 1506, etc.; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 197–98. See Table 3.

10. A *raṭl* (<Gr. *litra*) in the early Islamic period in Mecca was = 1.5 kg.; in Medina in the tenth century = 625 gr.; Hinz, *Masse und Gewichte*, 28. The standard weight of a dirham (silver) was 3.125 grams; Hinz, 3. Nominally, 13 dirhams = 1 dīnār. To be sure, the exchange rate always varied. Ashtor, *Prix*, 49–50, notes that a similar quantity of bread in ninth- or tenth-century Iraq cost merely 1/20 dirham. See also *EI*², s.v. Dirham.

11. The Place for Standing is the place of halting, or station (*wuqūf*), in the valley of 'Arafāt, in front of Jabal al-Raḥmah, during the pilgrimage celebrations. The halting takes place on the ninth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. The Day of Sacrifice, on the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, is commemorated by the sacrifice of animals, usually sheep and goats, at Minā. Jamrat al-'Aqabah is a construction on the western side of the valley of Minā. The *jamrah* is stoned by pilgrims on the Day of Sacrifice prior to the festival sacrifice.

unprecedented. A mountain slide at Jamarat al-'Aqabah killed a number of pilgrims.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Dāwūd.[12]

12. The 'Abbāsid Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā, son of Dāwūd b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā (above, n. 5), was governor of Mecca during the caliphates of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn (221–33/835–47), and led pilgrimages during the caliphates of al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq. He was governor of Mecca, 221–33 (835/6–847/8); Ṭabarī, III, 982 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 20–21); Marin, *Reign*, Index, 136; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20.

The Events of the Year 229

(September 30, 843–September 17, 844)

In this year al-Wāthiq bi-llāh imprisoned and fined the secre-
[1331] taries.[13] He remanded Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl to Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh, captain of the guard, and ordered that Isḥāq flog him ten

13. A number of sources ascribe al-Wāthiq's measures against the secretaries to the initiative of his wazīr Ibn al-Zayyāt; see, for instance, Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, 102–03; Ibn al-Abbār, *I'tāb*, 136–37. And see Pseudo-Tanūkhī, *Mustajād*, 141. According to Tanūkhī, Ibn al-Zayyāt had the property of the secretaries confiscated in order to secure funds to maintain the Turks. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 587, stresses the misdemeanors of the secretaries who were punished. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 301. As the secretaries were often in the employ of the Turkish military commanders and officials, the steps taken against them may have been aimed indirectly against the Turks as well. See also Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XXI, 162, where a version is given according to which al-Wāthiq's caliphate depended upon the Turks Ītākh (or Aytākh) and Ashnās and their secretaries Sulaymān b. Wahb and Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb. According to this version, Ibn al-Zayyāt wrote an ode, which he ascribed to a military figure, denouncing the excessive wealth and power of Sulaymān b. Wahb and Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, and inciting al-Wāthiq to take action against the secretaries. This was done by comparing the caliph's relationship to the secretaries to that of Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Barmakids. This version, as far as the analogy is concerned, is consistent with the account given below. In our text, however, Ibn al-Zayyāt is not presented as an instigator of the attack, but only as hostile to Ibn Abī Du'ād and others in charge of the *maẓālim* courts.

lashes daily.[14] He is said to have flogged him about a thousand lashes, whereupon he handed over 80,000 dīnārs.[15] Al-Wāthiq seized 400,000 dīnārs from Sulaymān b. Wahb,[16] secretary of Ītākh;[17] 14,000 dīnārs from al-Ḥasan b. Wahb;[18] and he seized

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14. Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl al-Anbārī was later wazīr of al-Mu'tazz; 252–55 (866/67–868/69). He was arrested and killed along with Abū Nūḥ 'Īsā b. Ibrāhīm in 255/869; see Ṭabarī, III, 1720–23; Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, 52, 142, 173–74; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 281, 290, 295–99; Index, 753. Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh was governor of Damascus in 191 (806–807) and of Egypt in 235 (849–50); Kindī, *Wulāh*, 198–99; Maqrīzī, *Mawā'iẓ*, I, 338; Ṭabarī, III, 1133 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 223); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 27, 28. He became captain of the caliphal guard in 225 (839–40), replacing Afshīn; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 590; Ṭabarī, III, 1303 (Marin, *Reign*, 110). For his grant in Sāmarrā, see Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 260, 272=Wiet, *Les pays*, 52, 79. His father had been a commander in the war against Bābak (Ṭabarī, III, 1233; Marin, *Reign*, 56). On Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā and his genealogy, see also Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 183–84. For his brother Aḥmad, see below, n. 587.

15. The standard weight of a dīnār (gold) was 4.233 grams; see Hinz, *Masse und Gewichte*, 1; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, 359. Goitein put the purchasing power of a dīnār in medieval Egypt (ca. A.D. 1000) at about a hundred U.S. dollars (1967). See also *EI*², s.v. Dīnār.

16. Sulaymān b. Wahb b. Sa'īd, of the Banū Wahb, served as secretary of al-Ma'mūn, then of Ītākh and Ashnās, and thereafter as wazīr under al-Muhtadī and al-Mu'tamid. He was arrested with Ītākh in 235 (849–50; Ṭabarī, III, 1386; below, p. 85). And he was arrested under al-Muwaffaq and died in prison in 271 (884–85) or 272 (885–86); Ṭabarī, III, 1315; Marin, *Reign*, 120, 123; Ibn al-Abbār, *I'tāb*, 138–44 (138, n. 2); Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 45; *EI*¹, s.v. Sulaimān b. Wahb; Amedroz, "Tales," 418ff.; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 300–03, 310–13; Index, 782.

17. Ītāk (Aytākh), a Turkish army commander, had been a Khazar slave, a cook, who belonged to Sallām al-Abrash al-Khādim. He was purchased by al-Mu'taṣim from Sallām in 199 (814–15; below, 1383, p. 81 and n. 281). He served as chief of the security police at Sāmarrā under al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq, then as *ḥājib* (chamberlain) of al-Mutawakkil and commander of the royal guard. Ītākh was made governor of the Yemen by al-Wāthiq in 229 (843–44), and after the death of Ashnās, in 230 (844–45), he became governor of Egypt. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 585, al-Wāthiq also made him governor of Khurāsān, Sind, and the sub-provinces of the Tigris. He was later imprisoned by al-Mutawakkil and killed in 235 (849–50); see below, pp. 83–86. See Ṭabarī, III, 1195; Marin, *Reign*, 27 and n. 162; Index, 135; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 196–97; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 255–56, 275; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 27; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 264, n. 2; Index, 769.

18. Al-Ḥasan b. Wahb was a brother of the more influential Sulaymān b. Wahb; see the family tree of the Banū Wahb in Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 745; and see 256, n. 3; Index, 765. He was the main *aide de camp* of the wazīr Ibn al-Zayyāt. He was also a poet, and was in touch with Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī; some of his poetry is preserved by Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 149, 152, 167. See also Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XX, 54–55; Ibn al-Abbār, *I'tāb*, 138, n. 2.

one million dīnārs from Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and his secretaries;[19] 100,000 dīnārs from Ibrāhīm b. Rabāḥ and his secretaries;[20] 60,000 dīnārs from Najāḥ;[21] and 140,000 dīnārs from Abū al-Wazīr by way of settlement.[22] This was aside from what he seized from financial agents on the basis of their revenues.[23]

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik[24] evinced hostility to Ibn Abī

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19. Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb al-Jarjarā'ī belonged to the famous Jarjarā'ī family of government officials and wazīrs. His father had been governor of Egypt. Under al-Wāthiq he was secretary to Ashnās. He became wazīr to al-Muntaṣir (247–48/861–63) after the latter became caliph, having served formerly as his tutor and secretary. He was later exiled to Crete, in 248 (862–63), as a result of the enmity he aroused among Turkish military commanders in Sāmarrā, and he died there in 265/878–799; see Ṭabarī, III, 1262 (Marin, *Reign*, 80, and n. 379, 81); 1471–73 (below, p. 195ff.); 1508 (Saliba, 7); *Fragmenta*, 557; Ibn Abbār, *I'tāb* 136, 138–39, 141, 166; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 287–89, Index, 753; *EI*², s.v. al-Djardjarā'ī.

20. Ibrāhīm b. Rabāḥ b. Shabīb al-Jawharī was appointed over the Bureau of Expenditure under al-Ma'mūn. Under al-Wāthiq he was in charge of administration of the Bureau of Estates. His name is variously given as Ibn Rabāḥ or Ibn Riyāḥ (an orthographic variant—one diacritic marks the difference). See Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, 302–03 (cited in Leiden edition, note *ad loc.*). Dhahabī notes that the name was common among *mawlās* (cf., *inter alios*, Rabāḥ, who was a *mawlā* of Muḥammad). Ibrāhīm died in 245 (859–60); see below, 1440 (p. 158); Ibn al-Abbār, *I'tāb*, 145; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 240, n. 1, 262–63, 733.

21. Abū al-Faḍl Najāḥ b. Salamah was secretary under al-Wāthiq, and later secretary and in charge of inspection of fiscal officials under 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā, wazīr of al-Mutawakkil. He was executed in 245 (859–60) after a falling out with 'Ubaydallāh; below, 1440 (p. 157); Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 601; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 59, 61, 493; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 262–63, 272, n. 5, 280, Index, 776.

22. Abū al-Wazīr Aḥmad b. Khālid was fiscal prefect of Egypt in 226 (840–41); Kindī, *Wulāh*, 449; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 263, n. 2, citing A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library* (Cairo, 1938), III, 143. Abū al-Wazīr was involved in purchasing land for the construction of Sāmarrā, along with Ibn al-Zayyāt, Ibn Abī Du'ād, and 'Umar b. Faraj; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 258 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 48; Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 93. The four disappeared from public life at about the same time; Wiet, *Les pays*, 48, n. 5. And see Ṭabarī, III, 1179 (Marin, *Reign*, 15). He was briefly wazīr under al-Mutawakkil in 233 (847–48). In the same year he fell from grace, and was removed from office; below 1378 (p. 74); Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 592; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 148, 197; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 6; Amedroz, "Tales," 423; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 257, n. 1, 263, 268, 271.

23. For *'umālāt* = "revenues," see Glossarium, CCCCLXXVII; Lane, *Lexicon*, 2159. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 177, gives also "financial administration, district, province."

24. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Zayyāt, at first chancellery secretary at the end of the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, served as wazīr under al-Mu'taṣim, al-Wāthiq, and al-Mutawakkil. The name al-Zayyāt means oil merchant, a profession that his grandfather and father practiced. It is both a family name (Ibn al-Zayyāt) and a personal cognomen (al-Zayyāt), as he himself was apparently an oil

Du'ād[25] and others in charge of the *maẓālim* [courts], as a result of which they were investigated and imprisoned. Called upon to preside, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm[26] deliberated their case. They were publicly displayed and treated harshly.

The Reason for al-Wāthiq's Action against the Secretaries This Year

'Azzūn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Anṣārī[27] reportedly said: We were in al-Wāthiq's company one evening this year. He remarked, "I have no desire for wine tonight; let's have a discussion instead." He sat in his middle portico in the Hārūnī [Palace],[28] in the first edifice,

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merchant. He was later arrested and his property confiscated under al-Mutawakkil in 232 (846–47), and he died in 233 (847–48); see Ṭabarī, III, 1183; Marin, *Reign*, 19 and n. 119, Index, 136; below, pp. 65ff.; Amedroz, "Tales," 416ff.; Sourdel, *Vizerat*, 252–69, esp. 254, n. 3; Index, 788; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 576; *EI*², s.v. Ibn al-Zayyāt.

25. Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād, the famous judge, who served under the caliphs al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim (who appointed him chief judge) and al-Wāthiq, was a leading Mu'tazilite. He played an active role in the *miḥnah* (inquisition) and in the interrogation of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and had considerable influence upon al-Wāthiq, a strong upholder of Mu'tazilite doctrine. He and Ibn al-Zayyāt were staunch rivals. He died in 240 (854–55); below, 1421 (p. 131); and see earlier, Ṭabarī, III, 1139. See also Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 258–60; Index, 753; *EI*², s.v. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād.

26. The Ṭāhirid Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab, governor of Baghdad under al-Ma'mūn, was appointed chief of security police (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*) of Baghdad by al-Mu'taṣim, and served thereafter during the reigns of al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil. When al-Mu'taṣim went to Sāmarrā, Isḥāq served as his deputy in Baghdad. He participated actively in the inquisition of al-Ma'mūn. Isḥāq's father Ibrāhīm was a brother of Ṭāhir I, and he was therefore occasionally called al-Ṭāhirī. He died in 235 (849–50). See Bosworth, *Reunification*, Index, 274; Marin, *Reign*, Index, 135; below 1403 (p. 105); Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Baghdād* 18–19, 37–38; Shābushtī, Diyārāt, Index, 437; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 44, 197–98; Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal*, 70ff. *et passim*; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 260, n. 4, 265–66; Index, 769 (234, n. 1, is not relevant); Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic Culture," 46, 67–68; *idem*, "The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffarids," 90ff., 101. See Table 3.

27. 'Azzūn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Anṣārī's name is given by Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 6, as 'Arūd (with variants). Ṭabarī Ms. C has 'Azūr; Ms. O reads 'Arūz. Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 56, says that he was a boon campanion of al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq. Ṭabarī, III, 1503 (Saliba, 4) mentions a street named for Zurāfah (or Zarāfah) and 'Azzūn; see Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 119, n. 1 (*dār* 'Azzūn). 'Azzūn's account of the reason for the fall of the Barmakids is not noted by Ṭabarī in his description of this episode, where he lists different versions.

28. The Hārūnī was a palace complex that al-Wāthiq constructed in Sāmarrā and named after himself. His full name was Abū Ja'far b. al-Mu'taṣim Hārūn al-

[1332] which Ibrāhīm b. Rabāḥ had erected. Over one of the sections of this portico was a very high dome that was white as an egg, except for what appears[29] to be a cubit-thick[30] belt around the middle, which was teak plated with lapis lazuli and gold. It was called the Dome of the Girdle, and the portico was called the Portico of the Dome of the Girdle.

'Azzūn said: We conversed the whole evening. Al-Wāthiq inquired, "Who among you knows the reason why my ancestor [Hārūn] al-Rashīd assailed the Barmakids and removed them from favor (*ni'mah*)?"[31]

'Azzūn said that he responded: By God, I'll tell you, Commander of the Faithful. The reason for this was that a slave girl (*jāriyah*) belonging to 'Awn al-Khayyāṭ[32] was mentioned to al-Rashīd, whereupon he sent for her and had her presented. Pleased by her beauty, intelligence, and cultural refinement, he asked 'Awn what price he proposed.

'Awn replied, "Commander of the Faithful, the issue of her price is well-known. I have taken an irrevocable oath to free her and all my slaves and to donate my property to charity. I summoned legal representatives to witness that I would not set her price any lower than 100,000 dīnārs, and I cannot circumvent this

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Wāthiq. He was named Hārūn after his grandfather Hārūn al-Rashīd. Al-Wāthiq's successor, al-Mutawakkil, also dwelled in the Hārūnī. (Another Hārūnī Palace, named for Hārūn al-Rashīd, existed in Baghdad.) The Hārūnī was situated near the Dār al-'Āmmah (Public Audience Hall), south of the caliph's residence on the Tigris River. See Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264–65 = Wiet, *Les pays* 57–58; *Ta'rīkh*, II, 590; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 364; Yaqut, *Mu'jam*, IV, 946; Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 95, 104, 118–19. See also *EI*[1], s.v. Sāmarrā; Le Strange, *Lands*, 154; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, 228, 254. and Rogers, "Samarra," 148–49; al-'Amid, *Architecture*, 16 (Fig. 1), 134.

29. The words "what appears" render *fīmā tarā al-'ayn*; see Glossarium, CCCLXXXIV.

30. The *dhirā'* (cubit) was of various lengths (ca. 50 cm.), depending upon time and place; see Hinz, *Masse und Gewichte*, 55ff.

31. The term *ni'mah* relates to "benefit" and "ties created by benefit"; see Mottahedeh, *Loyalty*, 73–79, 82–84. The decline of the Barmakids (Ṭabarī, III, 674ff.) has been a subject of speculation from their time until today; *EI*[2], s.v. 'Abbāsa, and s.v. Barāmika. The account given here traces their fall to the pecuniary, or perhaps rather circumspect, behavior of Yaḥyā b. Khālid, and implies an inordinate degree of control over the caliph and his purse. See also Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, I, 28ff., especially p. 30.

32. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 6–7, gives the name as 'Udūl al-Khayyāṭ (with the variant Ghawn, which differs from 'Awn by a single diacritical point).

by any legal subterfuge. This is her legal status." The Commander of the Faithful responded that he was ready to purchase her for 100,000 dīnārs.

He then wrote to Yaḥyā b. Khālid[33] informing him about the slave girl and ordering Yaḥyā to send him 100,000 dīnārs. Yaḥyā commented that this was a bad precedent, because if al-Rashīd dared request 100,000 dīnārs to pay for a single slave girl, he was liable to go on requiring commensurate sums of money. Thus, Yaḥyā wrote back informing him that he could not do it. Al-Rashīd then became angry with Yaḥyā and exclaimed, "Aren't there 100,000 dīnārs in the treasury?" And he reiterated to Yaḥyā that he had to have the money. [1333]

Yaḥyā gave word that the sum should be drawn up in dirhams so that upon seeing it al-Rashīd would consider it excessive and perhaps return it. Yaḥyā then sent the money in dirhams, stating that it was the equivalent of 100,000 dīnārs. He ordered that the dirhams be placed in al-Rashīd's portico,[34] which he passed through on the way to the place of the ritual ablution for the noon prayer.

'Azzūn said: Al-Rashīd went out around this time and came upon a pile of coins. When he asked what it was, he was told that it was the payment for the slave girl, and that as dīnārs were unavailable an equivalent sum of dirhams was delivered. Al-Rashīd thought that this was excessive. He summoned one of his servants (*khādim*)[35] and asked him to take the money into his custody and to make a treasury (*bayt māl*) for him so that he

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33. The famous Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, former governor of Ādharbayjān, became tutor and secretary to al-Rashīd while he was still a prince, and ascended to power alongside him. When al-Rashīd became caliph, Yaḥyā was appointed wazīr, with his sons al-Faḍl and Ja'far b. Yaḥyā serving in the government with him. He served as wazīr from 170 (786–87) to 187 (802–03); *EI*[1], s.v. Yaḥyā b. Khālid; *EI*[2], s.v. Barāmika.

34. The portico was presumably in the Khuld Palace (Qaṣr al-Khuld), where al-Rashīd usually stayed when he was in Baghdad.

35. The word *khādim* may mean "eunuch," and this is the primary and virtually universal meaning for the term as suggested by Prof. David Ayalon in many publications. The evidence adduced by Ayalon points in this direction, but as not every *khādim* was a eunuch, I have left the cognomen untranslated in the case of high-ranking officers (e.g. Ītākh al-Khādim) and have otherwise rendered the noun *khādim* as "servant." Whether the servant (or: slave) was a eunuch or not I therefore leave undetermined.

might store there what he wished. He called it the Treasury of the Bride (Bayt Māl al-ʿArūs). And he ordered that the slave girl be returned to ʿAwn.

He then began to investigate the treasury and discovered that the Barmakids had squandered it. Consequently, he began to suspect them but held back.

It was al-Rashīd's custom to send for companions and for a number of cultured men so as to pass the evening in conversation and repast with them. Among the attendants was a man renowned for his cultural refinement, known by his teknonym, Abū al-ʿŪd.[36] He was among those in attendance one night, and his conversation impressed al-Rashīd. He thereupon ordered one of his servants (*khādim*) to go to Yaḥyā b. Khālid when the latter arose in the morning and order Yaḥyā to give him 30,000 dirhams. He did so.

Yaḥyā said to Abū al-ʿŪd, "I'll do it, but we have no ready cash today. Tomorrow, when money is available, we'll give it to you, God willing." He then put him off to the point of tediousness. Abū al-ʿŪd began to angle for an opportunity to incite al-Rashīd against the Barmakids. Al-Rashīd's suspicions concerning their conduct had become public knowledge.

Abū al-ʿŪd visited al-Rashīd one night, and as they conversed,
[1334] Abū al-ʿŪd kept turning the conversation deftly until he got al-Rashīd to the saying of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah:[37]

Hind promised and it wasn't her custom to promise.
Would that Hind had fulfilled to us her promise.

Would that she had acted independently for once!
It is the weakling who does not act independently.

Al-Rashīd commented, "Yes, by God, only the weakling does not act independently." He went on this way until the session ended.

Yaḥyā had procured one of al-Rashīd's servants (*khādim*) to provide him with information about the caliph. When Yaḥyā

36. Abū al-ʿŪd is a nickname, *ʿūd* meaning "lute."

37. For the verses by ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah, in slightly different form, see his *Dīwān*, ed. P. Schwarz, 115; ed. Beirut, 101–02; *Sharḥ Dīwān ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah* of al-Makhzūmī, 312–13; Arberry, *Arabic Poetry*, 40/41. Hind, often mentioned by the poet, is Hind bt. al-Ḥārith of the Banū Murrah.

called upon al-Rashīd in the morning, al-Rashīd proclaimed upon seeing him, "I wanted to send you a poem yesterday that someone in my company recited to me, but then I refrained from disturbing you." He then recited the two verses to him. Yaḥyā remarked, "How beautiful they are, O Commander of the Faithful!"—wondering what it was that he intended. Having departed, Yaḥyā sent a message to this servant, inquiring about the recitation of the poem. The servant replied that Abū al-ʿŪd had recited it.

The wazīr Yaḥyā thereupon summoned Abū al-ʿŪd and said to him, "We withheld your money, but now we have funds ready at hand." He then told one of his servants (*khadam*), "Go and give him 30,000 dirhams from the treasury of the Commander of the Faithful, and give him 20,000 dirhams from my own funds for our having put him off. Go also to al-Faḍl and Jaʿfar and tell them, 'This man deserves to be treated well. The Commander of the Faithful ordered that he be given money but I put him off. When the funds were available I ordered that they be handed over. I also gave him a donation from my own resources. I should like you to give him a contribution as well.'" When they asked how much the contribution should be, Yaḥyā replied: "20,000 dirhams." Whereupon each one gave him 20,000 dirhams, and Abū al-ʿŪd left for his residence with all this money. [1335]

Al-Rashīd applied himself in earnest to the matter of the Barmakids until he eventually assailed them and removed them from favor (*niʿmah*). He had Jaʿfar killed as he did with all the rest.

Al-Wāthiq remarked, "By God, my ancestor was right. The weakling does not act independently." And he launched into a discussion of disloyalty and what its perpetrators deserve.

ʿAzzūn said: "I reckon that he will assault his secretaries." In less than a week he did so. He seized Ibrāhīm b. Rabāḥ, Sulaymān b. Wahb, Abū al-Wazīr, Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and the whole lot of them.

ʿAzzūn said: Al-Wāthiq ordered that Sulaymān b. Wahb, secretary of Ītākh, be imprisoned, and he confiscated 200,000 dirhams from him, or according to another version—dīnārs.[38] Sulaymān

38. According to the account above (p. 9), 400,000 dīnārs were confiscated from Sulaymān b. Wahb. A description of Sulaymān b. Wahb's arrest and torture (by Ibn al-Zayyāt) appears in Pseudo-Tanūkhī, *Mustajād*, 85. See also Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XXI, 162.

was fettered and dressed in a woolen sailor's tunic,[39] whereupon he handed over 100,000 dirhams, and requested that the balance be deferred for twenty months. Al-Wāthiq acceded to this. He ordered that he be set free and returned to the secretariat of Ītākh, authorizing him to don black [garments].[40]

In this year Shār Bāmiyān governed the Yemen for Ītākh.[41] He departed for there in Rabī' II (December 28, 842–January 25, 843).

In this year Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. al-'Abbās became governor of Medina.[42]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Dāwūd.

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39. The *midra'ah* was a woolen sleeveless tunic worn by slaves and the lower classes; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 181; *EI*², s.v. Libās.

40. Dignitaries in the 'Abbāsid court customarily wore black garments, and wearing black thus signified that an official was in caliphal service; see, e.g., Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Rusūm*, 91 (tr. Salem, 74); Ahsan, *Social Life*, 51–52.

41. Harthamah Shār Bāmiyān, an associate of Ītākh, is mentioned also below, 1373 (p. 69). Ibn al-'Adīm, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, I, 71–72, gives a list of the places he governed. See Zambaur, *Manuel*, 114. *Shēr (Shīr* or *Shār)* is a Persian word meaning "king," and was the title of the rulers of Bāmiyān, a city in the Hindu Kush. In the 'Abbāsid period descendants of the Bāmiyān dynasty served in the 'Abbāsid court; see *EI*², s.v. Bāmiyān.

42. For Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Hāshimī, 'Alid governor of Medina, see also below, 1336, 1341 (pp. 18 and 25); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 25. Al-Wāthiq tended to favor 'Alids.

The Events of the Year 230

(SEPTEMBER 18, 844–SEPTEMBER 6, 845)

One of the events was al-Wāthiq's dispatching Bughā al-Kabīr[43] to the Arab tribesmen who had created havoc in Medina and its environs.

An Account of the Dispatch of Bughā al-Kabīr to the Tribesmen

It is reported that the trouble began when the Banū Sulaym[44] behaved insolently toward the people around Medina. Whenever [1336]

43. Bughā al-Kabīr (the Elder) was a military commander of Turkish descent (Bughā = "bull") active during the reigns of al-Mu'taṣim, al-Wāthiq, and al-Mutawakkil. He died in 248 (862–63); Ṭabarī, III, 1174; Marin, *Reign*, 11 and n. 91; Index, 134; *EI*², s.v. Bughā al-Kabīr. Another Bughā, called al-Ṣaghīr ("the Younger"), makes his appearance below.

44. The Banū Sulaym were a northern tribe, descendants of Qays 'Aylān, very powerful east of the Medina-Mecca line. They consisted of both sedentary and nomadic (or seminomadic) elements; Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 92; II, 517; *Jamharah*, 120a; *EI*¹, s.v. Sulaim. See also Tanūkhī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 586–87. Dr. Michael Lecker has kindly answered a number of my queries about the Banū Sulaym.

the Banū Sulaym came to a market in the Ḥijāz they would fix its prices according to their whim. This matter went so far that they attacked members of the Banū Kinānah[45] and Bāhilah[46] in al-Jār,[47] injuring some and killing others. This was in Jumādā II, 230 (February 13–March 13, 845). Their chief was ʿUzayzah b. Qaṭṭāb al-Sulamī. As a result, Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. al-ʿAbbās al-Hāshimī, then governor of Medina—the city of the Messenger—dispatched Ḥammād b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī against them.

Al-Wāthiq had sent Ḥammād to Medina along with an armed party[48] consisting of 200 Shākiriyyah horsemen to prevent the Arab tribesmen from infiltrating into the town. Ḥammād set out against them with a contingent of regular army troops and with volunteers from the Quraysh, the Anṣār and their clients, along with residents of Medina. While Ḥammād was heading for the Banū Sulaym, their scouts encountered him. The Banū Sulaym were reluctant to fight, but Ḥammād b. Jarīr gave orders to do combat with them. He attacked them at a place called al-Ruwaythah, three days march from Medina.[49]

The Banū Sulaym and their reinforcements then came from the desert, 650 altogether, along with all who joined them from those Banū ʿAwf[50] belonging to the Banū Sulaym, including Ashhab b.

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45. The Banū Kinānah b. Khuzaymah were related to Asad. They lived in the mountains north and northeast of Mecca and on the coast. Many were indigent and tended to indulge in plunder and warfare. See Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 3; II, 371; *Jamharah*, 4b; *EI*², s.v. Kināna b. Khuzayma.

46. The Bāhilah were a sedentary and semisedentary tribe in middle Arabia. Their center was Sūd (Sawd). They occupied both sides of the road from Riyāḍ to Mecca; Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 92, 137; II, 220; *EI*², s.v.

47. Text: bi-l-Jār; Ms. C and Cairo ed.: bi-l-Ḥijāz (and cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, VII, 8). Jār, half on the mainland and half on an island, was the port of Medina; see *EI*², s.v. al-Djār. "Al-Jār" is the *lectio difficilior*; and "Ḥijāz" may be influenced by the occurence of this word two lines above.

48. Literally, "as an armed party" (*maslaḥatan*). For the term, see Glossarium, CCXCCV; Lane, *Lexicon*, 1403. It may also refer to one person. The function of a *maslaḥah* is to occupy an observation point, to go before an army and warn of an enemy approach, to look for spies, and to prevent enemies from entering Muslim territory. It is, then, a reconnaissance patrol or scouting unit.

49. Al-Ruwaythah, diminutive of al-Rawthah, was a station for watering animals on the pilgrimage route between Mecca and Medina in the territory of the Banū Sulaym; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 875; Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, 171, 180, 181, 184; Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 685, x.v. Ruwaythah.

50. The Banū ʿAwf were a northern tribe, descendants of Sulaym; Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 265; II, 212; *Jamharah*, 205.

Duwaykil b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥimyar al-ʿAwfī, his paternal uncle Salamah b. Yaḥyā, and ʿUzayzah b. Qaṭṭāb al-Labīdī of the Banū Labīd b. Sulaym. These were their commanders. Their cavalry[51] consisted of 150 horses. Ḥammād and his forces fought them. Then 500 of their reinforcements[52] joined the Banū Sulaym, having come from a place where their bedouins[53] were located, called the heights of al-Ruwaythāh, four *mīl* (eight km.)[54] from the battlefield. They fought fiercely. The blacks (*sūdān*) of Medina[55] were thoroughly routed, whereas Ḥammād and his entire force, along with the Quraysh and the Anṣār, stood firm. They engaged in battle until Ḥammād and his entire force were killed, along with a substantial number of the Quraysh and Anṣār who had stood firm. The Banū Sulaym gained possession of sheep and oxen, weapons, and clothing. [1337]

The matter of the Banū Sulaym now became grave. The villages and watering places that lay between them and Mecca and Medina were looted to the point that no one could travel along this route. In addition, the bedouin tribes that were allied to them interdicted the roads.[56]

Consequently, al-Wāthiq sent Bughā the Elder, Abū Mūsā the Turk, against them, along with the Shākiriyyah, the Turks, and the Maghāribah. Bughā proceeded at their head to Ḥarrat Banī Sulaym,[57] with Ṭardūsh the Turk at his vanguard, in Shaʿbān, 230 (April 13–May 11, 845), a few days before the end of the month. He encountered them at one of the watering places of the Ḥarrah. The skirmish took place at Shaqq al-Ḥarrah,[58] beyond al-Suwāri-

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51. Instead of "their cavalry" (*khayluhum*), Ms. O reads *jumlatuhum*, "all of them," which the note in the Leiden edition prefers.

52. Ms. O reads: *wa-amdāduhā* instead of *amdāduhā*, i.e., "Then the Banū Sulaym and their reinforcements came."

53. The Banū Sulaym, as stated (above, n. 44), consisted of nomadic (or semi-nomadic) bedouins and a settled population.

54. See Hinz, *Masse und Gewichte*, 63.

55. The *sūdān* al-Madīnah were black slaves who formed a kind of fighting force; see also Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 110.

56. For *taṭarraqa* "infiltrate, penetrate," see Glossarium, CCCCXXXIX; Lane, *Lexicon*, 1847, "found a way, sought to gain access."

57. Ḥarrat Banū Sulaym was the large bed of lava in the area of the Sulaym settlements; See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 248; Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, 170, 185; Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, II, 436.

58. Shaqq al-Ḥarrah is the eastern part of Ḥarrat Banī Sulaym.

qiyyah—their village where they would take refuge.[59] Al-Suwāriqiyyah consists of strongpoints. Most of the Banū Sulaym who encountered Bughā were of the Banū 'Awf, including 'Uzayzah b. Qaṭṭāb and Ashhab, their two commanders-in-chief at the time. Bughā killed about fifty of their men, taking captive a like number, and the remainder were routed. As a result, the Banū Sulaym became vulnerable, and after the skirmish Bughā invited them to accept a guarantee of safe conduct under the jurisdiction of the Commander of the Faithful al-Wāthiq.

Bughā remained in al-Suwāriqiyyah, and the Banū Sulaym
[1338] came and rallied to him. He mustered them by the tens and fives and singly,[60] and seized from among those gathered at al-Suwāriqiyyah, aside from the Banū Sulaym, people of unknown origin. The lightly equipped among the Banū Sulaym fled, except for a few. These were the ones who would assail people and interdict the roads. Most of those who came into Bughā's custody were of the Banū 'Awf who had remained steadfast. The last of those seized belonged to the Banū Ḥubshī of the Banū Sulaym. Those marked as evil and vicious—about 1,000 men—were imprisoned under Bughā's jurisdiction. The rest he freed.

Bughā then left al-Suwāriqiyyah for Medina along with the Banū Sulaym captives and those given a guarantee of safe-conduct. This was in Dhū al-Qa'dah, 230 (July 10–August 9, 845). He incarcerated the captives in Medina in the palace complex named after Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah.[61] Bughā made the pilgrimage to Mecca in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (August 9–September 6, 845). When the festive season ended, he headed for Dhāt 'Irq.[62] He dispatched someone

59. Al-Suwāriqiyyah was a populous settlement on the pilgrimage route northeast of Mecca, in the territory of the Banū Sulaym. It was also called Qāriyat Banī Sulaym. Some of the Banū Sulaym resided in the town and some lived as bedouins in the surrounding area and infiltrated into the Ḥijāz and Najd pilgrim road; Yāqūt, Mu'jam, III, 180; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, III, 764; Samhūdī, *Wafā*, II, 325.

60. For the distributive sense of the numbers given here, see Glossarium, CDXCIV. Ms. O omits "two," which occurs in the text but appears out of place.

61. A palace named after 'Atīka bt. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah is mentioned by Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, II, 725.

62. Dhāt 'Irq is a town near 'Irq, a mountain slightly northeast of Mecca and on the Mecca Road. An *'irq* is a vein formed by sand; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 651; Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab*, Index, 45; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, s.v.

to the Banū Hilāl,[63] who proposed to them something along the lines of what was offered the Banū Sulaym. When the Banū Hilāl approached, he seized about 300 of their insurgents and violent men and freed the rest. He then returned from Dhāt 'Irq. It is a day's journey from al-Bustān (the Garden),[64] and it is a two-day journey from Dhāt 'Irq to Mecca.

In this year Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir died in Naysābūr, on Monday,[65] 11 Rabī' I (December 26, 844), nine[66] days after the death of Ashnās the Turk. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir died. He had been in charge of the security police (*al-ḥarb wa-l-shurṭah*),[67] al-Sawād, Khurāsān and its districts, al-Rayy, Ṭabaristān and its adjacent territories, and Kirmān. The tax of these districts was, on the day he died, forty-eight million dirhams. Al-Wāthiq appointed 'Abdallāh's son Ṭāhir[68] governor of all the districts of 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. [1339]

Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab went on the pilgrimage this year and was in charge of the events of the festive season.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Dāwūd.

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63. The Banū Hilāl were descendants of the eponymous ancestor Hilāl, whose genealogy is traced back to Muḍar, 'Aylān, and Qays. Some of the tribe emigrated to Egypt with the Banū Sulaym in the eighth century. In the tenth century they fought alongside the Carmathians. In the eleventh, they invaded North Africa along with the Banū Sulaym. They are related to the Banū Numayr; Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 92; II, 282; *Jamharah*, 121a; *EI*², s.v. Hilāl.

64. The Garden is the Bustān Ibn 'Āmir (or Ibn Ma'mar); Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 611.

65. But 11 Rabī' I was a Wednesday. For the Ṭāhirid Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, army commander, poet, companion of caliphs, and patron of the arts, son of the founder of the dynasty, See Ṭabarī, III, 1044ff; Rothstein, "Zu aš-Šābuštī's Bericht über die Ṭāhiriden," 162–65; Zambauer, *Manuel*, 197, and Index, 318; Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic Culture," 58ff.; *idem*, The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffarids," 97–101. His greatest protégé was the poet Abū Tammām al-Ṭā'ī. See Table 3.

66. Ms. C reads "Seven," as do Cairo edition Mss. A and D.

67. Chiefs of the security police (*shurṭah*) are occasionally called "chiefs of war," or "chiefs of war and police" (*wulāt al-ḥarb wa-l-shurṭah*); Tyan, *Histoire*, 578.

68. For Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, i.e. Ṭāhir II, see Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic Culture," 69–70; *idem*, The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffarids, 98, 101. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 9–11, adds here a long passage on 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. In the Cairo edition, a note suggests that the material may have gone back to Ṭabarī, but this is doubtful. See Table 3.

The Events of the Year 231

(SEPTEMBER 7, 845–AUGUST 28, 846)

A prisoner exchange was carried out between the Muslims and the Byzantines by Khāqān al-Khādim in Muḥarram (September 7–October 6, 845).[69] The number of Muslims allegedly came to 4,362.

It was in this year that members of the Banū Sulaym were killed in Medina in Bughā's prison.

The Reason for the Liquidation of the Banū Sulaym and Its Consequences

It is reported that, when the Banū Hilāl came to Bughā in Dhāt 'Irq, and he seized those I mentioned, he went on the small pilgrimage (*'umrah*) of al-Muḥarram. He then departed for Medina. All of the Banū Hilāl whom he had seized he imprisoned in his

69. A Khāqān al-Khādim had served Hārūn al-Rashīd; Ṭabarī, III, 1140; Baladhurī, *Futūḥ*, 381 (Kāqān al-Khādim al-Ṣughdī). On the prisoner exchange, see below, pp. 38ff. The number of Muslims given there is 4,460.

custody along with the members of the Banū Sulaym whom he had previously apprehended. He assembled all of them, in fetters and chains, in the palace complex named after Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah. The Banū Sulaym had previously been incarcerated for several months.

Bughā then went to the Banū Murrah.[70] In the prison of Medina there were about 1,300 men belonging to the Banū Sulaym and Hilāl. They breached the palace in order to escape. But a Medinese woman noticed the breach and alarmed the inhabitants of Medina, who thereupon approached. The Medinese discovered [1340] that the prisoners had assaulted the prison custodians, killing one or two, and that some or all had come out, having seized the custodians' weapons. The Medinese, free (*aḥrār*) and slave (*ʿabīd*), rallied against them—the governor of Medina at the time being ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Hāshimī[71]—and prevented their escape. Their besiegers passed the night surrounding the palace until the morning.

Their assault had been on Friday evening. This was because ʿUzayzah b. Qaṭṭāb had said to the prisoners that he foresaw an evil omen for Saturday.

The Medinese kept pressing the battle, and the Banū Sulaym fought back. But the Medinese defeated them and killed every last one of them. ʿUzayzah would recite in *rajaz* verse:

A push is needed be the gate narrow.
I indeed am ʿUzayzah b. Qaṭṭāb.

Death is preferable to disgrace for a true man.
This, my Lord, is the gatekeeper's work.

He freed the fetter on his hand, and was then shot in the leg, falling over prostrate. They were all killed. The blacks of Medina killed the tribesmen they encountered in the lanes of Medina—those who had entered in order to bring provisions—until they met a tribesman emerging from the tomb of the Prophet and killed

70. On the Banū Murra, see Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 125; II, 433; *Jamharah*, 162b.

71. An ʿAbdallāh b. *Muḥammad* b. Dāwūd b. ʿIsā b. Mūsā was governor of Mecca in 239 (853–54); see below, 1420 (p. 129); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20.

him. He was one of the Banū Abī Bakr b. Kilāb,[72] a descendant of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Zurārah.[73]

Bughā was away. When he arrived and discovered that they had been killed, he was deeply distressed. It is reported that the gatekeeper had accepted a bribe from the prisoners in exchange for a promise that he would open the gate for them, but they came too soon, before the appointed time.

They would recite in *rajaz* verse while fighting:

Death is preferable to disgrace for a true man.
The gatekeeper took a thousand dīnārs.

[1341] And they set about reciting when Bughā seized them:

O finest benefit (*bughyah*), sword of the vigilant,
Remover of wrongdoing, remote and perverse,

I do not hold with whoever of us is delinquent.
Do—may God guide you—what you are commanded.

He replied, "I have been commanded to kill you."

When the comrades of 'Uzayzah b. Qaṭṭāb, chief of the Banū Sulaym, were killed, he fled and entered a well. A Medinese fellow went in after him and killed him. The dead were heaped one on top of the other over the Gate of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

I have received an account on the authority of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad[74] that the muezzin of the Medinese summoned the Banū Sulaym to prayer during the night when they were under guard in order to warn them that the dawn was breaking, but that they had already been awake. The Arab tribesmen began to laugh, saying, "O tipplers of barley soup,[75] you teach us about the night. We know it better than you."

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72. For the Banū Abī Bakr b. Kilāb, a subtribe of Kilāb, see Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 93, 94; II, 222; *Jamharah*, 121b.

73. For 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Zurārah, see Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 94.

74. He is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Makhlad. See also below, 1358 (p. 45), and note 169.

75. *Sawīq* is dried wheat or barley, usually made into a heavy soup by mixing water, butter, honey, oil, etc. It was also eaten dry. *Sawīq* was often taken by travelers on journeys or by troops on campaigns. A skirmish between the Muslims and Meccans after the battle of Badr was called Ghazwat al-Sawīq. In our text, the Medinese, who indulged in this repast, are the butt of the bedouins' derision; see Glossarium, CCCII; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; *EI*[1], s.v. Sawīq; *EI*[2], s.v. Ghidhā', II, 1059.

A man of the Banū Sulaym recited:

When Ibn ʿAbbās[76] was amīr,
The mere gnashing of his canine teeth clamored.

He oppressed with impunity,
And attacked what was weak[77] against his blow.

We were such as to repel oppression
With swords unsheathed in our hands.

The Commander of the Faithful rose against us
Like a lion bestirring from the thicket.

If he be gracious, we hope for God's pardon,
And if he kills, at least our killer is noble.

The reason for Bughā's absence was that he had gone to Fadak [1342]
to combat the Banū Fazārah[78] and Murrah there who had conquered it. When he could see them, he sent a Fazārī to offer them a guarantee of safe conduct and to get information about them. When the Fazārī came to them, he warned them of Bughā's impending assault and suggested that they escape, whereupon they fled for the open country, abandoning Fadak, except for a few who remained. Their destination was Khaybar and Janafāʾ[79] and the surrounding areas.

Bughā overcame some of them and offered a guarantee of safe conduct to others, the rest having fled with a chief of theirs called al-Rakkāḍ ("the Runner") to a place in al-Balqāʾ,[80] in the district of Damascus. Bughā remained for about forty nights in Janafāʾ, a village on the border of the district of Syria, adjacent to the Ḥijāz.

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76. Ibn ʿAbbās is Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. al-ʿAbbās, ʿAlid governor of Medina, mentioned above, 1335 (p. 16). "ʿAbbās" is one of the Arabic terms for "lion," and also means "stern, austere, morose" (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.). Thus the images in our poem are quite apposite.

77. The word *ḍaʿīf* is used here as a substantive; see Glossarium, CCCXXXIV.

78. The Banū Fazārah were a subtribe of Ghaṭafān; Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 92, 130; II, 246; *Jamharah*, 166b; *EI*², s.v. Fazāra.

79. Janafāʾ is an oasis in the region of Syria, near the Ḥijāz; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 133; Thilo, *Ortsnamen*, 45.

80. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 728; *EI*², s.v. al-Balqāʾ.

He then departed for Medina with the Banū Murrah and Fazārah who had fallen into his hands.

During this year, a contingent from the tribes of Ghaṭafān,[81] Fazārah, and Ashjaʿ[82] came to Bughā. He had sent emissaries to them and to the Banū Thaʿlabah.[83] When they came to him, it is reported, he ordered Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Jaʿfarī[84] to have them swear a firm oath that they would not fail to show up when he summoned them; they did so.

Bughā then headed for Ḍariyyah[85] to pursue the Banū Kilāb.[86] He sent his emissaries to them, and it is alleged that about 3,000 of their men rallied to him. He imprisoned about 1,300 of them, of those who were miscreants, and freed the rest. Bughā then brought them to Medina in Ramaḍān, 231 (May, 846) and imprisoned them in the palace complex of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah. After that he went to Mecca and remained there until he witnessed the festive season.

[1343] The Banū Kilāb remained in custody. Nothing happened to them during the period of Bughā's absence until he returned to Medina. Then, when he arrived in Medina, he sent for the members of Thaʿlabah, Ashjaʿ and Fazārah, and he required them to swear the oath. They did not respond, however, but dispersed throughout the countryside. He had them pursued, but not[87] one was overtaken.

In this year a group rebelled in Baghdad, in the suburb (*rabaḍ*) of ʿAmr b. ʿAṭāʾ, rendering the oath of allegiance to Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuzāʿī.[88]

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81. See *EI*², s.v. Ghaṭafān.

82. The Ashjaʿ were a principal tribe of Ghaṭafān; see Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 92, 135; II, 201; *Jamharah*, 166a; *EI*², II, 1023, s.v. Ghaṭafān.

83. See Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 141; II, 552; *Jamharah*, 195a; *EI*¹, s.v. Thaʿlaba.

84. On Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Jaʿfarī, see below, 1358–62 (pp. 46–50). He was a guide of Bughā in the campaign against the Banū Numayr and, according to the account, a member of that tribe.

85. Ḍariyyah is a village of the Banū Kilāb on the road from al-Baṣrah to Mecca; *EI*², s.v.

86. Banū Kilāb b. Rabīʿah are a tribe of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah, ultimately of Qays ʿAylān; see Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 92, 93; II, 371; *Jamharah*, 121a; *EI*², s.v. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa.

87. For *kathīr aḥad* in this sense, see Glossarium, CVI.

88. On the rebellion of Aḥmad b. Naṣr, see Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 589; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 169; Abū al-Ḥusayn, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, I, 80–82; Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, V, 173–84; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 13–15; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 303–

The Reason for the Rebellion of the Baghdad Group and the Consequence of Their Action and That of Aḥmad b. Naṣr

The reason for this was that Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzā'ī[89] . . . Mālik b. al-Haytham was one of the *naqīb*s of the 'Abbāsids, and his son was occasionally visited by Ḥadīth scholars, such as Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn,[90] Ibn al-Dawraqī,[91] and Abū Khaythamah.[92] Aḥmad b. Naṣr would openly express disagreement with the exponents of the doctrine of the Qur'ān's creation, notwithstanding the position his father held with the governing authorities of the 'Abbāsid regime.[93] He would excoriate those

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06. And see Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal*, 116ff.; Laoust, *Ibn Baṭṭa*, xxxiv–xxxv; *idem*, *Schismes*, 110; Lapidus, "Separation," 381–82.

89. Aḥmad b. Naṣr's father was a close associate of the 'Abbāsids. The Market (*suwayqah*) of Naṣr, on the Mahdī Canal below the Rūm Quarter, named for him, was given to him by al-Mahdī as a grant; Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, V, 173; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 214–15; Lassner, *Topography*, 78, 79, 104. Aḥmad's grandfather, Mālik b. al-Haytham, an agent (*naqīb*) of the 'Abbāsids in Khurāsān, was governor of Mosul in 142 (759–60); Azdī, *Ta'rīkh Mawṣil*, Index, 465; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 36. The sentence is an anacoluthon; part of the text may be lacking at this point, perhaps a comment on Naṣr b. Mālik; see the note in the Leiden edition. For Aḥmad b. Naṣr and his ancestry, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 181–83; Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 80–81; Daniel, *Political and Social History*, Index, 219.

90. Abū Zakariyyā' Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn b. 'Awn was a famous Ḥadīth scholar, an associate of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; died in 233 (847) in Medina; see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 106.

91. Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Kathīr al-Dawraqī, a Ḥadīth scholar, died in 246 (860–61); Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 112. *Fragmenta*, 529, has here *ibnā* al-Dawraqī, i.e., the two Ibn al-Dawraqīs. According to the Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, V, 174, both Aḥmad and Ya'qūb al-Dawraqī were associated with Aḥmad b. Naṣr. On Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī, the older brother, see Khaṭīb, XIV, 277–80. Ṭabarī is said to have studied with Ya'qūb al-Dawraqī; see Introductio, LXIX.

92. Text: Ibn Khaythamah. But *Abū* Khaythamah Zuhayr b. Ḥarb b. Shaddād al-Nasā'ī is obviously intended. He died in 234 (848–49); Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 107. *Fragmenta*, 529, has correctly Abū Khaythamah. Al-Ma'mūn had summoned Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, Abū Khaythamah and Aḥmad b. al-Dawraqī, *inter alios*, for interrogation concerning the question of the Qur'ān's creation. They responded, under intimidation, that it is created; Ṭabarī, III, 1116 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 204); Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Baghdād*, 187; Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal*, 64; Lapidus, "Separation," 379. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 14.1, adds an Abū Zuhayr (variant: Zuhr); but this appears to be a truncated version of Abū Khaythamah Zuhayr.

93. From the time of al-Ma'mūn until al-Mutawakkil, the Mu'tazilite view that the Qur'ān is created was followed by 'Abbāsid caliphs, and a supporter of the regime was expected to embrace this doctrine. Aḥmad b. Naṣr, however, adopted the Ḥanbalite position advocating the Qur'ān's eternity. See Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal*, *passim*; Madelung, "Origins."

who held this doctrine, despite al-Wāthiq's severity toward those who professed this, the inquisition he directed against them, and the prevailing influence Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād had upon him.[94]

I received an account from some(one) of our shaykhs, on the authority of the one who reported it. He had dropped in on Aḥmad b. Naṣr one of those days. A group of people was with Aḥmad, and al-Wāthiq was mentioned in his presence, whereupon he launched into saying, "Didn't this pig do . . . . ?" Or he said, "This infidel (*kāfir*)." This behavior of his was bruited
[1344] about. People made him afraid of the government authorities[95] by saying they have learned of your business, and he got afraid of them.

Among his visitors there was reportedly a man named Abū Hārūn al-Sarrāj:[96] another called Ṭālib; and another, who was a Khurāsānī and associate of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab, chief of the security police. These men openly professed to him adherence to his doctrine. The Ḥadīth scholars who surrounded him, namely, Aḥmad b. Naṣr and those Baghdadīs who denied the doctrine of the Qur'ān's creation, incited Aḥmad and induced him to agitate against this doctrine. In this matter they had recourse to him in particular because of the influence his father and grandfather had with the 'Abbāsid regime and on account of his assets in Baghdad.

He was one of those to whom the residents of the East Side had given the oath of allegiance concerning "the promotion of the good, the discouraging of evil and obedience to Him." This was in 201 (816–17), when dissolute people were rampant in Madīnat al-Salām and corruption out in the open, al-Ma'mūn being then in Khurāsān—we gave an account of this above.[97] He persisted in

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94. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 146, says that al-Wāthiq followed his father (al-Mu'taṣim) and uncle (al-Ma'mūn) on the question of justice (a Mu'tazilite principle); and see *Murūj*, VI, 21. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād, a staunch supporter of Mu'tazilism, is often said to have had great influence upon al-Wāthiq.

95. Text: *fa-khuwwifa bi-l-ṣultān*. Leiden O and Cairo edition D read *fa-khawwafa al-sulṭān*. The term *sulṭān*, usually translated "government authorities," may mean "caliph" here, as it occasionally does in historical writings of the ninth and tenth centuries.

96. The text of Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 14, gives the name pointed as al-Saddākh (variant: al-Sarrāj).

97. Aḥmad b. Naṣr received the oath of allegiance in 201, according to Khatīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, V, 176; but Ibn Kathīr says it was his father *Naṣr b. Mālik*;

this undertaking until al-Ma'mūn came to Baghdad in 204 (819–20). They had hoped that the general populace would respond to his call, as he had acted for the reasons that have been mentioned.

It is reported that Aḥmad b. Naṣr reacted favorably to those who requested this of him, that those who strove on his behalf by summoning people to him were the two men whose names I mentioned previously, and that Abū Hārūn al-Sarrāj and Ṭālib distributed money among people, giving a dīnār to each person.

Aḥmad b. Naṣr fixed with them an appointed night when a drum would be beaten, signaling a rallying together the next morning for an assault against the government authorities. Ṭālib [1345] was on the West Side of Baghdad together with those in league with him, and Abū Hārūn was on the East Side together with those in league with him. Ṭālib and Abū Hārūn gave dīnārs to two sons of the commander Ashras, among others, for distribution among their neighbors. Some of them drank wine (*nabīdh*), and a number of them gathered around to partake of it. Having become drunk, they beat the drum on the night of Wednesday, one night before the appointed time. The set time for this was the night of Thursday, 3 Sha'bān, 231 (April 4, 846). They thought that it was the night of Thursday, the one that they had set for the uprising. They beat the drum vigorously, but no one responded.

Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm was away from Baghdad, his proxy there being his brother, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm.[98] The latter dispatched to them a page (*ghulām*) of his by the name of Rakhsh,[99] who came and questioned them concerning their story. None of those men-

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Bidāyah, X, 303. According to Ṭabarī, Naṣr b. Ḥamzah b. Mālik al-Khuzā'ī, was appointed governor over the East Side in 201; Ṭabarī, III, 1002 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 47). The Khaṭīb states that Aḥmad b. Naṣr acted (in 201) along with Sahl b. Salāmah al-Anṣārī. See Ṭabarī, III, 1009 (Bosworth, 57), where Sahl, Khālid al-Daryūsh, and other "good citizens" (*ṣulaḥā'*) are said to have defended their neighborhoods from criminal elements and self-styled protectors. See Lapidus, "Separation," 375, 379–81, on the movement of *al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf*; and Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 81.

98. The Ṭāhirid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. [al-Ḥusayn b.] Muṣ'ab, brother of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, died in 236 (850–51); see below, 1404 (p. 107); and see Ṭabarī, III, 1236; Marin, *Reign*, 61 and n. 304; Index, 136; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 46, 197, 198; Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffarids," 101, 102. See Table 3.

99. Rakhsh, a Persian name, means "lightning, the rainbow, reflection of light," etc., and "happy, fortunate, prosperous," as well as "mottled or swift horse" (the name of Rustam's steed); Steingass, *Dictionary*, 572.

tioned as having beaten the drum showed up. A man was pointed out who was a bathhouse attendant, afflicted in his eye, by the name of ʿĪsā al-Aʿwar ("the One-Eyed"). Rakhsh threatened to have him beaten. He consequently informed on the two sons of Ashras, on Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Mālik and others whom he named.

Rakhsh searched for the group that very night, apprehending some of them. He seized Ṭālib, whose residence was in the suburb on the West Side, and Abū Hārūn al-Sarrāj, whose residence was on the East Side. And he pursued for several days and nights those whom ʿĪsā al-Aʿwar had named. They were taken into cus-
[1346] tody on the East Side and the West Side, each group being seized in its own section. Abū Hārūn and Ṭālib were each shackled with seventy[100] *raṭl*s of iron. In the residence of the two sons of Ashras two green banners with red on them were found in a well.[101] One of the supporters of Muḥammad b. ʿAyyāsh brought them up. He was prefect of the West Side. The prefect of the East Side was al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Jibrīl al-Qāʾid ("the Commander") al-Khurāsānī.[102] Afterwards a eunuch (*khaṣī*) of Aḥmad b. Naṣr was seized and threatened. He thereupon confirmed what ʿĪsā al-Aʿwar had confessed.

Rakhsh went to Aḥmad b. Naṣr, who was then in the bath. He said to the government officers, "This is my residence. If you come upon a banner or equipment, or weapons for rebellion, you are free to expropriate them and to shed my blood with impunity." The residence was searched, but not a thing was found in it, whereupon he was brought to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab. Two of his eunuchs and two of his sons were seized, as well as a man who often visited him by the name of Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr al-Bāhilī, whose residence was on the East Side.

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100. Ms. O and Cairo edition Ms. D: ninety.

101. Green was actually the color that had been adopted by al-Maʾmūn after he appointed the ʿAlid ʿAlī al-Riḍā as heir apparent. The choice of green may have signified paradise (*al-janna*) or the beginning of a new era. It was later used by the Ottomans, who claimed an ʿAbbāsid precedent. See Fārūq ʿUmar, *Buḥūth*, 242ff. Red was a color used by rebels (e.g. al-Muḥammirah) against government authority; Hilāl al-Ṣābi, *Rusūm*, 75 (to Salem, 61).

102. For al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and his ancestry, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 179–80.

These six were brought on mules, having saddles without cushions underneath, to the Commander of the Faithful al-Wāthiq, who was in Sāmarrā. Aḥmad b. Naṣr was shackled in a pair of fetters. They were brought out from Baghdad on Thursday, 28 Sha'bān, 231 (April 29, 846).

Al-Wāthiq was informed about their whereabouts. He invited Ibn Abī Du'ād and his partisans and convened a public assembly for them so that they might undergo an open inquisition (*imtiḥān*). The group was assembled in his presence. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād was reportedly averse to having Aḥmad b. Naṣr killed in [1347]
public.[103]

When Aḥmad b. Naṣr was brought in, al-Wāthiq did not argue with him about the uprising, nor about the report of his intention to rebel against him. He asked him instead, "What do you have to say concerning the Qur'ān?"

He replied, "It is the word of God." Defying death, Aḥmad b. Naṣr had smeared himself with a depilatory (*tanawwara*)[104] and perfumed himself.

When al-Wāthiq asked, "Is the Qur'ān created?" Aḥmad replied, "It is the word of God."[105]

When he asked, "What is your view concerning your Lord? Will you see Him on the Day of Resurrection?" Aḥmad replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, according to traditions of the Messenger of God, he said, 'You will see your Lord on the Day of Resurrection as you see the moon. You will not be harmed by viewing Him.' We follow the tradition."[106] He went on to say,

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103. Ibn Abī Du'ād's reluctance may indicate that Naṣr had wide public support in Sāmarrā, as he did in Baghdad. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād's hesitancy here (and see below, 1348, p. 33) is occasionally adduced as a sign of his moderation.

104. See Glossarium, DXXXIV. And see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *nāra*.

105. This is the very response that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and his supporters gave under the inquisition in the days of al-Ma'mūn; Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal*, 70–72. Note, however, that the reply dodges the question, as it is not stated that the Qur'ān is the *uncreated* or *eternal* word (or speech) of God.

106. The question relates to the vision of God (*ru'yat Allāh*) and ultimately to the issue of *tashbīh* ("anthropomorphism"). One of the principles of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal was the vision of God on the day of Resurrection and the belief that the Prophet saw his Lord. See, for instance, McCarthy, *Theology, Kitāb al-luma'*, pars. 68–81; and Appendix IV, p. 242 (from al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, I, 292): "They [Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth, Ahl al-Sunnah] hold that God will be seen by eyes on the Day of Resurrection as the moon is seen on the night of full moon." The Mu'ta-

"And I have received a tradition on sound authority from Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah[107] that 'the heart of a human being is between two of God's fingers; He scrutinizes it.' The Prophet would pray, 'Scrutinizer of hearts, make my heart steadfast in your religion.'"[108]

Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm[109] said to Aḥmad b. Naṣr, "Watch what you are saying." He replied, "You ordered me to say this." Disturbed by his remark, Isḥāq asked, "Did I really order you to say this?" He replied, "Yes, you ordered me to give sincere counsel to him, as he is the Commander of the Faithful. My sincere counsel to him is not to controvert a tradition of the Messenger of God."

Al-Wāthiq asked those around him what they had to say concerning Aḥmad b. Naṣr. They went on quite a bit. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq[110] said—he had been a judge on the West Side who was removed from office, and he was present, and Aḥmad b. Naṣr was devoted to him—"O Commander of the Faithful, his blood may be shed with impunity." Abū 'Abdallāh al-Armanī, an associate of Ibn Abī Du'ād, said, "Give me his blood to drink, O Commander of the Faithful." Whereupon al-Wāthiq said, "He
[1348] will be killed as you wish."

But Ibn Abī Du'ād commented, "O Commander of the Faithful,

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zilites, on the other hand, held that God cannot be seen. For the tradition, *tarawna rabbakum fī yawm al-qiyāmah* . . . , see Wensinck, *Concordance*, II, 202; Bukhārī, Mawāqīt, 16, 26; Adhān, 129; Tafsīr 50, 2, etc. And see below, 1353–54 (p. 40), where it is reported that Muslim captives in Byzantine hands were interrogated on these two questions prior to their being ransomed.

107. Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah b. Maymūn al-Hilālī, the famous Ḥadīth scholar, jurist and exegete, died in 196 (811) in Mecca; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 96. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal studied with him. For his view that the Qur'ān is the speech of God, see Madelung, "Origins," 511.

108. For the tradition, *inna qalb ibn ādam bayn uṣbu'ayn* . . . , see Wensinck, *Concordance*, V, 454; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, II, 173. In Ibn Ḥanbal's version, the epithet *al-jabbār* appears instead of *Allāh* as here; and it ends *idhā shā'a an yuqallibahu qallabahu*. In the version of Tirmidhī, Da'wat, 89, 60 (Wensinck, *loc. cit.*): *laysa ādamī illā wa-qalbuhu* . . . . The *ḥadīth* continues, in the version of Ibn Ḥanbal: *yā muṣarrif al-qulūb* (instead of *yā muqallib al-qulūb*, as in our text). And see the versions in Wensinck, V, 459, from *Musnad*, II, 168, etc.

109. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm had been one of the leaders of the inquisition at the time of al-Ma'mun; see above, n. 26.

110. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq al-Qāḍī had been a judge in Baghdad at the time of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim; Ṭabarī, III, 1120, 1128 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 209, 218), 1235 (Marin, *Reign*, 60 and n. 295); Massignon, "Cadis et naqībs," 107.

an infidel is asked to rescind thrice in case he has some infirmity or mental derangement."[111] He was apparently loath to have Aḥmad b. Naṣr killed on his account.

Al-Wāthiq said, "When you see that I have gotten up to go toward him, let no one else rise along with me. I shall reckon my steps toward him."[112] He called for al-Ṣamṣāmah, the sword of ʿAmr b. al-Maʿdī Karib al-Zubaydī. It was in the storeroom, having been presented to Mūsā al-Hādī, who ordered Salm al-Khāsir, the poet, to describe it for him, which he did, whereupon the caliph gave him a present.[113]

Al-Wāthiq took hold of al-Ṣamṣāmah. It had a wide blade, joined at the base by three nails that connected the blade with the joint of the hilt. Al-Wāthiq approached Aḥmad, who was in the middle of the palace. He called for a leather mat, in the middle of which Aḥmad b. Naṣr was placed, and a rope. Aḥmad's head was bound and the rope stretched. Al-Wāthiq gave him a blow that fell upon the rope that was on his shoulder. Then he gave him another blow on his head. At this point, Sīmā al-Dimashqī unsheathed his sword and struck the nape of Aḥmad's neck, severing his head.[114] Bughā al-Sharābī reportedly gave him another

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111. An unbeliever (*kāfir*) who is an apostate (*murtadd*), as opposed to an unbeliever by birth (*kāfir aṣlī* = *mushrik*), who is confined to a choice of death or slavery if captured, must be asked to rescind three times according to Islamic law; see *EI*[1], s.v. Murtadd.

112. That is, go slowly and deliberately. Abū al-Ḥusayn, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 81, adds "to this infidel who worships a Lord we neither worship nor recognize by the attributes which he ascribes to Him."

113. Abū Thawr ʿAmr b. al-Maʿdī Karib al-Zubaydī, a renowned Arab poet and warrior, fought with his famous sword named "al-Ṣamṣāmah" in the Jāhiliyyah and continued wielding his weapon after converting to Islam; *EI*[2], s.v. ʿAmr b. Maʿdīkarib. Salm b. ʿAmr al-Khāsir, d. 186 (802) (Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 511), was a panegyrist of al-Mahdī and al-Hādī. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 143, al-Wāthiq had a polisher temper the sword.

114. Sīmā al-Dimashqī (the Damascene), also called Sīmā al-Turkī ("the Turk"), was purchased by al-Muʿtaṣim from the wazīr Faḍl b. Sahl; Ṭabarī, III, 1325 (Marin, *Reign*, 129); Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 591; *Buldān*, 256, 262 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 45, 54; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 307; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 93. In the version of Abū al-Ḥusayn, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 81, it is the caliph himself who kills Aḥmad b. Naṣr, but the account there appears to be telescoped. Abū al-Ḥusayn adds "a marvelous report" according to which the severed head uttered, "There is no God but Allāh . . ." and relates other stories about the head reciting Qurʾān verses.

blow.[115] Al-Wāthiq stabbed him with the point of al-Ṣamṣāmah in his abdomen.

He was then carried seated backward to the enclosure in which Bābak[116] was. There he was suspended, with a pair of fetters on his feet, dressed in trousers (*sarāwīl*) and a shirt (*qamīṣ*).[117] His head was brought to Baghdad, where it was displayed first on the East Side and then on the West Side, and thereafter returned to the East Side. The head was placed in an enclosure, a pavilion erected about it, and a guard placed over it. This spot was known as Ra's Aḥmad b. Naṣr. A note was placed upon Aḥmad's ear, on which was written:

> This is the head of the infidel, polytheist, and deviant,
> [1349] namely, Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Mālik. He was of those killed by God at the hands of 'Abdallāh Hārūn al-Imām al-Wāthiq bi-llāh, Commander of the Faithful, after the latter had given him proof concerning creation of the Qur'ān and denial of anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*). He offered Aḥmad repentance, making possible return to the truth. But he refused, save open opposition. Praise to God who dispatched him to His fire and to His grievous punishment. When the Commander of the Faithful interrogated him about this, he confirmed anthropomorphism and uttered infidelity, whereupon the Commander of the Faithful regarded his blood as licit and cursed him.

Al-Wāthiq ordered that whoever was named as belonging to the associates of Aḥmad b. Naṣr, who was reported to be a follower of his, should be interrogated. They were put into prisons. After-

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115. For Bughā al-Ṣaghīr al-Sharābī, see *EI*², s.v.; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, Index. His cognomen al-Sharābī apparently means "the Cupbearer" (and not "the Tippler," as occasionally rendered). A *sharābī* is also a seller of juice or a preparer or seller of potions; Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, I, 151; II, 46, 253, 261. On the cognamen, see also Shaban, *Islamic History*, II, 82–83 (< Shārbāmyānī).

116. Bābak is the famous heresiarch who revolted during the period of al-Mu'taṣim; Marin, *Reign*, esp. 8–15, 21–57, 59; *EI*², s.v. He was killed and suspended on a gibbet in Sāmarrā, which became a favored spot for hanging religious deviants and criminals.

117. Sirwāl means "underdrawers," and in the later Islamic period the term "included also pantaloons, kneebreeches, long trousers, and close-fitting drawers"; *EI*², s.v. Libās, V, 733. A *qamīṣ* is a body shirt; *ibid.*; see also Ahsan, *Social Life*, 45–46, 55, 60 (*sirwāl*); 10, 34, 36–39 (*qamīṣ*).

wards, about twenty men who had been named were placed in dark dungeons. They were prevented from receiving the alms given to prisoners and from having visitors, and were encumbered with irons. Abū Hārūn al-Sarrāj was brought along with others to Sāmarrā. They were thereafter taken back to Baghdad and imprisoned.

The cause for apprehending the men who were seized on account of Aḥmad b. Naṣr was that a certain man, a fuller, who was in the suburb, came to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab and proclaimed that he would name the followers of Aḥmad b. Naṣr. Isḥāq sent men along with the fuller to pursue them. When they were rounded up, the pursuers found cause for imprisoning the fuller along with them. He had date palms in al-Mihrizār,[118] which were cut down, and his residence was plundered. Among those imprisoned [1350] on account of Aḥmad b. Naṣr was a group of people who were the offspring of ʿAmr b. Isfandiyār. They died in prison.

One of the poets recited the following concerning Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād:

Whenever you stray from Iyād
    You become a punishment against mankind.[119]

You belong, as you claim, to Iyād,
    So be gentle to these men, Iyādite.

In this year, al-Wāthiq intended to go on the pilgrimage and prepared himself for it. He sent ʿUmar b. Faraj[120] on ahead to put

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118. For Mihrizār, Ms. O has M-h-d-r-ā-n. Read perhaps Mihrijān. See Schwarz, *Iran* (IV), 170; (V), 546. A place called Mihrawān is mentioned by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 697; Le Strange, *Lands*, 375.

119. The word for mankind is *ʿibād*, lit. "servants" (of God). There may be an allusion here to the connection of the tribe of Iyād with the Christian community of al-Ḥīrah called ʿIbād; see note in Leiden edition. Some members of the tribe of Iyād had settled in al-Ḥīrah. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād claimed to belong to Iyād.

120. ʿUmar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhajī was one of the officials who had purchased land for the founding of Sāmarrā. He was later punished by al-Mutawakkil and his property confiscated in 233 (847–48); see below, 1377–78 (pp. 73–74). See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 357; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 592; *Buldān*, 258 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 48 and n. 4; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 148 (read ʿUmar), 228; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, II, 12–18, 20; Ibn al-Abbār, *Iʿtāb*, 145; Pellat, "Une charge," 38–39; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 237, 257, n. 1, 259, n. 3, 263, 268, 280, n. 1. A palace in Baghdad was named for his father, Faraj al-Rukhkhajī; Lassner, *Topography*, 79. And see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 190, on both father and son.

the route in order. 'Umar returned and notified him that water was scarce, whereupon al-Wāthiq changed his mind.[121]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Dāwūd.

In this year al-Wāthiq appointed Ja'far b. Dīnār governor of the Yemen.[122] He went there in Sha'bān (April 2–May 1, 846). He and Bughā the Elder went on the pilgrimage. Bughā the Elder presided over the events of the festive season. Ja'far went to the Yemen accompanied by 4,000 horsemen and 200 infantry, and was given six[123] months of service allotments.

In this year, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt appointed, in the Caliphal Palace, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Khamīṣah, client of the Banū Qushayr, of the people of Uḍākh, over al-Yamāmah, al-Baḥrayn, and the Mecca Road adjacent to al-Baṣrah.[124] Aside from the caliph, no one except Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt is reported to have made appointments in the Caliphal Palace.[125]

In this year, a group of brigands broke into the treasury, which was in the Public Palace (Dār al-'Āmmah) situated in the interior
[1351] of the palace complex.[126] They took 42,000 dirhams and a small

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121. Text; *fa-bada'a lahu*. Addenda, DCCLXXV: *fa-badā lahu*.

122. Ja'far b. Dīnār al-Khayyāṭ was an army commander who served under al-Mu'taṣim and governed the Yemen from 224 (838–39) until he was deposed in 225 (839–40). He was later reinstated by al-Wāthiq, as we have it in our text; see on him, Ṭabarī, III, 1103; Marin, *Reign*, 27 and n. 161; Index, 135; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 593; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 114. He became supervisor of the Mecca Road and the events of the festive season in the years 241–43 (1433–36; below, pp. 145–50).

123. Ms. C: seven.

124. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Khamīṣah was of the Banū Qushayr b. Ka'b b. Rabī'ah, a northern tribe, descendants of Qays 'Aylān (Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 101; II, 473; *Jamharah*, 129b). Uḍākh is a village of the Banū Numayr in al-Yamāmah; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 303. Al-Baḥrayn in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period was on the Eastern Arabian coast, southwest of the present-day island of Baḥrayn; Yaqut, *Mu'jam*, I, 148, 506; Thilo, *Ortsnamen*, 34; *EI*², s.v. al-Baḥrayn.

125. On the Caliphal Palace in Sāmarrā, also known as al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī, see Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 261 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 53; Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 104; Sāmarrā'ī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 78; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, 230; Rogers, "Samarra," 137. And see al-'Amid, *Architecture*, 91ff. It was excavated by H. Viollet and thereafter by F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld. It should not be confused, of course, with the Caliphal Palace (Dar al-Khilāfah or Khalīfah) in Baghdad (see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 233, 243, 314; Lassner, *Topography*, Index, 317).

126. The Public Palace, or Public Audience Hall (Dār al-'Āmmah), containing the public treasury (*bayt al-māl*), was the open palace of the Caliphal Palace complex, in which the caliph would sit on Mondays and Thursdays. The treasury storehouses were in the northeast corner of the palace, which was bordered on the north by the Sarījah Road. See Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 261 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 53;

amount of dīnārs. They were subsequently apprehended. Yazīd al-Ḥulwānī, chief of the security police and deputy of Ītākh, relentlessly pursued the brigands until he apprehended them.[127]

In this year, Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Khārijī, of the Banū Zayd b. Taghlib, along with thirteen men, rebelled in Diyār Rabīʿah.[128] Ghānim b. Abī Muslim b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī went out to engage him with a like number [of fighters]—the latter was responsible for the security police of Mosul.[129] Four of the rebels were killed. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr was taken captive and sent to Sāmarrā, and subsequently to the Maṭbaq [Prison] of Baghdad.[130] The heads of his followers and his banners were raised [for public display] near Khashabat Bābak.[131]

In this year, Waṣīf, the Turk, arrived from the area of Iṣbahān, al-Jibāl, and Fārs.[132] He had gone in pursuit of the Kurds, for they had been trying to infilitrate into these areas. About 500 of the Kurds came with him, including young slaves (*ghilmān*), bound together in chains and fetters. Waṣīf ordered that they be impris-

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Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 104–5; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, 230; Samarrāʾī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 82, 91; al-ʿAmid, *Architecture*, 98ff.

127. Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥulwānī (al-Turkī) became governor of Egypt under al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān in 242 (856–57); Kindī, *Wulāh*, 199, 202–04, 206–10; Maqrīzī, *Mawāʿiẓ*, I, 249; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 308, 314; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 27.

128. See Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 589 (Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Shaybānī al-Khārijī). Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 16, gives the name as Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khārijī al-Thaʿlabī (Taghlibī?). Khārijite "revolts" in Diyār Rabīʿah were fairly common; see also Ṭabarī, III, 1500 (below, p. 224), where the same man is said to have revolted in the area of Mosul. He was finally killed in Diyār Rabīʿah in 252 (866); III, 1685 (Saliba, 144). The frequent Khārijite uprisings in the area of the Jazīrah were often no more than disturbances by Arab nomads and seminomads; see Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 21.

129. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 16, reads: Ghānim b. Abī Muslim b. Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 37. For his family affiliation, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 174–75.

130. The Maṭbaq was a formidable prison built by al-Manṣūr in southwest Baghdad on the road leading to the al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah gates; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 27; Lassner, *Topography*, 243.

131. Khashabat Bābak was a section of Sāmarrā named after the gibbet where Bābak was hanged; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 259 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 51; Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 101, 103; Samarrāʾī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 44. See above, n. 116.

132. Waṣīf, a slave purchased by al-Muʿtaṣim, was a Turkish army commander who served under him and later became a chamberlain (*ḥājib*) for al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil; Ṭabarī, III, 1237; Marin, *Reign*, 62, and n. 313; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 591; *Buldān*, 256, 258, 262, 264 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 45, 52, 54, 58. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 255, 300; *Tanbīh*, 361–63. The name *waṣīf* means "servant" or "page." Waṣīf had estates in Iṣbahān and the Jabal that al-Mutawakkil later sequestered in favor of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān; below, 1452 (p. 171).

oned. He was awarded 75,000 dīnārs and invested with a sword and apparel.

In this year, the prisoner exchange between the Muslims and the Byzantine ruler was carried out.[133] The Muslims and Byzantines met near the Lamos River at Seleucia, a one day march from Tarsus.[134]

The Reason for the Prisoner Exchange and How It Took Place

It is reported on the authority of Aḥmad b. Abī Qaḥṭabah,[135] an
[1352] associate of Khāqān al-Khādim, a servant (*khādim*) of al-Rashīd—he had been raised in a frontier town (*thaghr*)—that this Khāqān presented himself to al-Wāthiq, together with a group of prominent people of Tarsus and other places, lodging grievances against an official over them in charge of complaints (*maẓālim*) whose teknonym was Abū Wahb. The official was summoned, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik kept confronting him with Khāqān and the others in the Public Audience Hall on Mondays and Thursdays after the notables had departed. They would remain until noon, when Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik and they would leave. The official was deposed.

Al-Wāthiq ordered that the inhabitants of the frontier towns (*ahl al-thughūr*) be subjected to an inquisition (*imtiḥān*) concern-

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133. On the prisoner exchange of 231 (845–46), notable because the Muslims made confession of the Mu'tazilite creed a condition for release of Muslim captives, see Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 589; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 190–91; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 16–17; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 307; Bury, *History*, 274–75; Ostrogorski, *History*, 196; Vasiliev, *History*, 276–77; *idem*, *Byzance*, I, 198–204, 310–15. Ṭabarī's report is particularly valuable for its detail and eyewitness accounts.

134. The Lamos River, on the border between Islamic and Byzantine territory, between Cilicia Trachea and Arab Cilicia, was the locale of prisoner exchanges on various occasions; the first between al-Rashīd and Nicephorus I in 189–90 (805); the second in 192 (808); and the third, the one treated here. See also below, *anno* 241, p. 140; Marin, *Reign*, 61, n. 306, 62, 63, 66; Rosenthal, *Return*, 33, n. 175; *EI*², s.v. Lamas-Ṣū.

135. Aḥmad b. Abī Qaḥṭabah is mentioned here and on p. 1353 (Ibn Abī Qaḥṭabah) as an associate of Khāqān al-Khādim. On p. 1354 an Abū Qaḥṭabah is mentioned as the emissary of Khāqān to the Byzantines, and Abū Qaḥṭabah al-Maghribī al Ṭurṭūsī is cited in connection with the prisoner exchange of 241 (855-56) on 1427 (below, p. 139 and n. 462). But we assume that the same person is intended.

ing the Qur'ān. All except four individuals declared its createdness, whereupon al-Wāthiq ordered that the four be decapitated unless they acknowledged it. He ordered that all the inhabitants of the frontier towns be given grants (*jawā'iz*) as Khāqān saw fit. The inhabitants of the frontier towns hastened to their places, Khāqān tarrying a bit after them.

Emissaries of the Byzantine ruler—he was Michael son of Theophilus, son of Michael, son of Leo, son of George[136]—came to al-Wāthiq, requesting that the caliph ransom Muslim captives who were under the Byzantine ruler's jurisdiction. Al-Wāthiq consequently sent Khāqān to carry out the transaction. Khāqān and his companions left in order to ransom the Muslim captives at the end of 230 (844–45), in keeping with the appointed time set between Khāqān and the emissaries of the Byzantine ruler, which was the Day of the 'Āshūrā',[137] that is, 10 Muḥarram, 231 (September 16, 845).

Al-Wāthiq thereafter appointed Aḥmad b. Sa'īd b. Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī[138] governor over the frontier towns (*thughūr*) and provinces (*'awāṣim*), and ordered him to be present at the prisoner exchange. He departed with seventeen[139] postal couriers. There was a dispute between the Byzantine emissaries who came to request the prisoner exchange and Ibn al-Zayyāt concern- [1353]
ing the matter at hand. The Byzantines stated that they would not accept in exchange old women, old men, or children.[140] This dispute went on between the emissaries and Ibn al-Zayyāt for a number of days until they consented to an equal exchange.

Al-Wāthiq sent to Baghdad and al-Raqqah in order to buy

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136. See above, n. 3, for Michael III (842–67), son of Theophilus (829–42), son of Michael II (820–29). Michael II was preceded by Leo V, the Armenian (813–20), who was, however, not his father, and Leo V was preceded by Michael I Rangabé (811–13).

137. The 'Āshūrā' is a voluntary fast day on the tenth of Muḥarram.

138. For Aḥmad b. Sa'īd b. Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī and his ancestry, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 136–38, and sources cited there; and see also Ibn al-'Adīm, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, I, 70. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 17, has Muslim instead of Salm, an obvious error.

139. Ms. O: fifteen.

140. According to Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 140–41, the Christian ambassador claimed that the Arab prisoners were all soldiers captured in battle, but that the Christian prisoners taken by the Arabs included, aside from soldiers, old men and women and very young boys and girls who were apprehended in villages.

mamlūk slaves available for sale. He purchased all those that he could, but the requisite number [for the prisoner exchange] was not reached. Al-Wāthiq therefore brought from his palace elderly Byzantine women[141] and others until the right number was met. He then sent two men who were associated with Ibn Abī Du'ād, one named Yaḥyā b. Ādam al-Karkhī, who had the teknonym Abū Ramlah, and [the other] Ja'far b. al-Ḥadhdhā'.[142] He sent with them one of the secretaries of the military administration[143] by the name of Ṭālib b. Dāwūd. Al-Wāthiq ordered Ṭālib and Ja'far to interrogate the captives. Whoever professed that the Qur'ān was created was to be ransomed, and whoever denied this was to be left in the hands of the Byzantines. Al-Wāthiq ordered that Ṭālib be given 5,000 dirhams, and that all those ransomed professing that the Qur'ān was created be given one dīnār from the money[144] brought with them. The group then departed.

It is reported on the authority of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith:[145] I questioned Ibn Abī Qaḥṭabah, an associate of Khāqān al-Khādim—he was the intermediary between the Muslims and the Byzantines who had been sent to determine the number of Muslims in Byzantine territory. Aḥmad had come to the Byzantine ruler and calculated their number prior to the ransoming. He reported that their number came to 3,000 men and 500 women.

Al-Wāthiq subsequently ordered that they be ransomed. He dispatched Aḥmad b. Sa'īd posthaste to carry out the prisoner exchange, and he sent as well men to interrogate the Muslim
[1354] prisoners. Those who professed that the Qur'ān was created, and that God cannot be seen in the Afterlife, were ransomed, and those who did not profess this were left in the hands of the Byzantines. There had not been a prisoner exchange since the days of Muḥammad b. Zubaydah in 194 (809–10) or 195 (810–11).[146]

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141. Ms. O: Byzantine women and old women.

142. Text: al-Ḥadā'. In Ṭabarī, Index, 102, the name is given as Ja'far b. (Aḥmad) al-Hadhā'. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh* (II, 588), has Ja'far b. Aḥmad al-Ḥadhdhā' ("Shoemaker") and says that he was *ṣāḥib al-jaysh* ("army commander"). See also Addenda, DCCLXXV.

143. The *kuttāb al-'arḍ* served in the *dīwān al-jaysh*; *EI*², II, 507, s.v. *Djaysh*; Glossarium, CCCCLVII.

144. Text: *min māl*. Cairo edition Ms. A: *min mālihi*.

145. An Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Mubārak, historian and pupil of al-Madā'inī, died in 258 (871–72); Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 318.

146. That is, the caliph al-Amīn, Muḥammad, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd by Zubaydah.

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith said: On the Day of the ʿĀshūrāʾ, on 10 Muḥarram, 231 (September 16, 844), the Muslims and the non-Arab peasants (*ʿulūj*)[147] with them met with two Byzantine officers, one called Anqās and the other, Telesios.[148] The Muslims and the volunteers numbered 4,000, including horsemen and infantry.[149] They met at a place called Lamos.

It is reported that Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Salm b. Qutaybah al-Bāhilī received a letter from his father[150] that stated that the Muslims and the Dhimmīs[151] with them who were ransomed numbered 4,600. Six hundred of them were women and children and fewer then five hundred were Dhimmīs. The rest were men from various regions.

Abū Qaḥṭabah reported—he was the emissary of Khāqān al-Khādim to the Byzantine ruler whose task was to examine the number of prisoners and to ascertain the accuracy of what Michael, the Byzantine ruler, claimed—that the number of Muslims prior to the exchange was 3,000 men, 500 women, and children who were in Constantinople and elsewhere, save those whom the Byzantines brought forth and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭarsūsī[152] who was in their custody.

Abū Saʿīd b. Salm sent Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭarsūsī and Khāqān, along with a number of prominent captives, to al- [1355]
Wāthiq. Al-Wāthiq placed each one of them upon a horse and gave him 1,000 dirhams.

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147. The term *ʿulūj* is polysemous and thus difficult to translate by a single word. It means, according to Kazimirski, s.v., someone ignorant, savage, rustic, barbarian, or a non-Arab who is not a Muslim. One may say that the term refers to the autochthonic, as yet not arabicized, population. Thus, the terms "peasants" and "infidels" are occasionally employed to render the sense. *ʿUlūj* occasionally means "peasants" in the pejorative sense, even when referring to Muslims, like English "rube" or "yokel."

148. The first name may also be read Ayqās; Ms. C: Nifās? The second—Ṭalsiyūs or the like—yields Telesios; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 313.

149. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrikh*, II, 589, gives the number as more than 70,000 men.

150. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad's father is mentioned above, 1352 (p. 39); and see n. 138.

151. The Dhimmīs are the non-Muslim minorities, primarily Christians and Jews, living under Muslim protection, the beneficiaries of a contract (*dhimmah*) with the Muslims stipulating their obligations in return for this protection. See *EI*², s.v. Ahl al-Dhimma.

152. Leiden Ms. O gives his toponymic *nisbah* as Ṭurṭūsī. The difference determines whether he, or his family, hailed from Tarsus in Asia Minor (which is most likely) or from Tortosa in Spain; see also below, n. 462.

This same Muḥammad reported that he had been a captive in the custody of the Byzantines for thirty years, and that he was taken captive in the raid of Rāmiyah.[153] He had been one of the sellers of provender when he was taken captive, and was among those ransomed in this exchange.

Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh said: We were ransomed on the Day of the 'Āshūrā', on the Lamos River at Seleucia, near the sea. The number of ransomed captives came to 4,460. There were 800 women, with their husbands[154] and children, and more than one hundred Dhimmīs of the Muslims. The exchange took place on a one-to-one basis, whether young or old. Khāqān endeavored to evacuate[155] all the Muslims that could be located in Byzantine territory.

Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh continued: When they were assembled for the exchange, the Muslims stood on the east side of the river, the Byzantines on the west side. The river was fordable. Each party would send forth a man, and the two would meet in the middle of the river. When a Muslim reached the Muslims, he and they would exclaim, "God is the greatest." And when a Byzantine reached the Byzantines, they said something in their language equivalent to "God is the greatest."

It is reported on the authority of al-Sindī, *mawlā* of Ḥusayn al-Khādim:[156] The Muslims and Byzantines built bridges over the river. We would send a Byzantine over our bridge, and the Byzantines would send a Muslim over their bridge. The one would come to us and the other to them. He denied that the river was fordable.

[1356] It is reported on the authority of Muḥammad b. Karīm: When

153. The Index gives Rāmiyah as a toponym. For a Rāmiyah ca. 22 km, southeast of Tyre, see Dussaud, *Topographie*, 11; *Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v. Rama. Vasiliev, on the other hand (*Byzance*, I, 313), translates: "expédition de troupes légères."

154. The phrase "with their husbands" is omitted in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 17. Ṭabarī cites conflicting accounts of the number of Muslims freed: p. 1339 (4,362), 1354 (4,600), 1355 (4,460). Ya'qūbī gives a low number of 500 men and 700 women. Other sources stay in the neighborhood of 4,000; see Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 202, n. 4.

155. The words "endeavored to evacuate" render *istafragha*; see Glossarium, CDI.

156. Perhaps Ḥusayn al-Khādim 'Araq al-Mawt; see Ṭabarī, III, 1841; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 621; Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 82.

we were restored to the Muslims, Ja'far and Yaḥyā interrogated us. We responded appropriately and were given two dīnārs apiece.

Muḥammad b. Karīm said: The two Byzantine Patrikioi who brought forth the captives did not mind associating[157] with Ja'far and Yaḥyā.

He said: The Byzantines were disturbed by the number of Muslims, as they were few and the Muslims many, but Khāqān reassured them in this regard. He established a truce of forty days between the Byzantines and the Muslims, during which time the Byzantines would not be raided, so that they could reach their territory and place of safety. The exchange went on for four days. A large number of Byzantine captives remained with Khāqān, whom the Commander of the Faithful had designated for ransoming the Muslims. Khāqān turned over to the Byzantine ruler one hundred persons of those who remained with him. Thus, the Byzantines would be in arrears owing to the difference, thereby assuring an exchange for the Muslims who might be captured before the ransom period expired. He returned the rest to Tarsus, where he sold them.

Muḥammad b. Karīm said: About thirty ransomed Muslims who had converted to Christianity in Byzantine territory departed with us. When the forty-day period of truce between Khāqān and the Byzantines elapsed, Aḥmad b. Sa'īd b. Salm b. Qutaybah undertook a winter raid. Snow and rain afflicted the men, and approximately 200 died. Many drowned in the Podandos [River],[158] and about 200 were taken prisoner. The Commander of the Faithful al-Wāthiq was angry with Aḥmad b. Sa'īd for this. The total number of men who died and were drowned came to 500.

A Patrikios who was one of the Byzantine commanders advanced upon Aḥmad b. Sa'īd, who was accompanied by 7,000 men. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd withdrew before him, whereupon the [Muslim] notables said to him. "An army of 7,000 men should not be frightened away. If you cannot face them head on, then at least [1357]

157. Text: *lā ba'sa bi-himā fī mu'āsharatihimā*; see Glossarium, CXXVI.

158. Badandūn or Budandūn (Budhandūn) = Podandos of the Romans and Byzantines, now called Bozanti (Pozanti), is ca. 13 km. north/northwest of the Cilician Gates; Le Strange, *Lands*, 133–35; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, Index, 253; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 78, 220; *EI*[2] s.v. Bozanti.

infiltrate their territory." So he seized about 1,000 head of cattle and 10,000 sheep and departed. As a result, al-Wāthiq deposed him and appointed Naṣr b. Ḥamzah al-Khuzā'ī,[159] on Tuesday, 16 Jumādā I of this year (January 18, 846).

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn, brother of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, died in Ṭabaristān in Ramaḍān (May, 846).[160]

In this year, al-Khaṭṭāb b. Wajh al-Fals died.[161]

In this year, Abū 'Abdallāh b. al-A'rābī al-Rāwiyah died on Wednesday, 13 Sha'bān (April 14, 846) at the age of 80.[162]

In this year, Umm Abīhā bt. Mūsā, sister of 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, died.[163]

In this year, Mukhāriq al-Mughannī ("the Singer")[164] died, as did Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Ḥātim, the transmitter of al-Aṣma'ī,[165] 'Amr b. Abī 'Amr al-Shaybānī,[166] and Muḥammad b. Sa'dān al-Naḥwī.[167]

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159. For Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, a cousin of Aḥmad b. Naṣr, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 183. He was appointed governor of Baghdad in 201 (816–17); Ṭabarī, III, 1002 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 47); and was later governor of Damascus.

160. For the Ṭāhirid al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣ'ab, see Ṭabarī, III, 1066, etc.; Marin, *Reign*, 91, 93–106; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 198 (Ṭāhirids); Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffarids," 97, 100. And see Table 3.

161. Al-Khaṭṭāb b. Wajh al-Fals, a *mawlā* of Banū Umayyah, supported the revolt of the Sufyānid 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. al-Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah against al-Amīn; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VI, 172, *anno* 195 (810–11).

162. He was a transmitter of poetry (*rāwiyah*), grammarian, poet, etc. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, III, 131–32, 138; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 15–16, and n. 9 *ad loc.* for additional sources.

163. Umm Abīhā bt. Mūsā was the daughter of Mūsā al-Kāẓim, seventh *imām* of the Imāmī/Twelver Shī'ites. 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, her brother, is the eighth *imām*, who had been designated by al-Ma'mūn as heir apparent.

164. Mukhāriq b. Yaḥyā al-Mughannī, a famous court musician, was active from the time of al-Amīn to that of al-Wāthiq; Ṭabarī, III, 967, etc., Guidi, *Tables*, 613; Farmer, *History*, 121–22, Index, 254; Neubauer, *Musiker*, 199–201; Stigelbauer, *Sängerinnen*, 36, 81, 111–13, especially 81, n. 537.

165. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 121; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āh*, 130; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, Index, 728; *EI*², I, 718, s.v. al-Aṣma'ī;

166. 'Amr b. Abī 'Amr al-Shaybānī, a philologist, was son of the philologist and poetry expert, Abū 'Amr Isḥāq b. Mirār al-Shaybānī; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 150; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 88, 183, 354;

167. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Sa'dān al-Naḥwī, a philologist and Qur'ān reader, was son of the philologist Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Sa'dān b. al-Mubārak; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 154; Sezgin, *GAS*, IX, 135.

The Events of the Year 232

(August 28, 846–August 16, 847)

One of the events was Bughā the Elder's march against the Banū Numayr and his attack upon them.

The Reason for Bughā the Elder's March against the Banū Numayr and What Took Place between Them [1358]

I was informed[168] by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Makhlad[169] concerning most of their account. He was said to be with Bughā on this journey. But the rest of the account derives from someone else.

It is reported that the reason for Bughā's march against the Banū Numayr was that 'Umārah b. 'Aqīl b. Bilāl b. Jarīr b. al-Khaṭafī[170] eulogized al-Wāthiq in an ode, and then visited him

168. O begins with "Abū Ja'far said," i.e., Ṭabarī.

169. Text: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid. C reads Makhlad (without points); and see also Index and Addenda, DCCLXXV; and Cairo edition (on basis of A and D).

170. A panegyrist of al-Wāthiq, 'Umārah was son of the poet 'Aqīl b. Bilāl; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XX, 183–88; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 559.

and recited the ode to him, whereupon al-Wāthiq ordered that he be given 30,000 dirhams and lodging. 'Umārah told al-Wāthiq about the Banū Numayr, informing him about their mockery and corruption upon earth, and about their making raids upon people, including al-Yamāmah and its adjacent territories. Al-Wāthiq thereupon wrote commanding Bughā to wage war against them.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad reported that when Bughā was ready to march against the Banū Numayr from Medina he brought with him Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ja'farī as a guide along the way. He headed for al-Yamāmah, and encountered a contingent of theirs in a place called al-Shurayf.[171] They engaged him in battle, and Bughā killed about fifty of their men, taking forty captive.

Bughā then went to Ḥuzzayyān, and thereafter to a village of the Banū Tamīm called Mar'ah in the district of al-Yamāmah.[172] He encamped there, and then dispatched his emissaries to propose to the Banū Numayr a guarantee of safe-conduct, summoning them to obedience. They refused him, however, reviling his emissaries, and slipped away to do combat with him. This went
[1359] on until he dispatched two last emissaries, one of the Banū 'Adī of Tamīm and the other of the Banū Numayr. They killed the Tamīmī and wounded the Numayrī.

Consequently, Bughā set out for them from Mar'ah. His march against them was on 1 Ṣafar, 232 (September 27, 846). He came to Baṭn Nakhl and kept marching until he entered Nukhaylah, whereupon he sent word to them that they should come to him.[173]

The Banū Ḍabbah of Numayr broke camp and ascended their mountain—on the left side of the Sawd Mountain—it was a mountain to the rear of al-Yamāmah, most of whose inhabitants

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171. There were two places named Shurayf, one in al-Yamāmah and the other in the Yemen. For the Yamāmah Shurayf, where the Banū Numayr were located, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 285.

172. For Ḥuzzayyān, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 292; for Banū Tamīm, see *EI*[1], s.v. Tamīm; for Mar'ah in al-Yamāmah, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 481; Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab*, 140, 181.

173. For Baṭn Nakhl, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 667; Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat* al-'Arab, 180, 189. There were many locations named Nukhayl (diminutive of *nakhl*, "date palm") or Nukhaylah, including the well-known Nukhaylah close to al-Kūfah (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 771).

were of the Bāhilah.[174] Bughā sent emissaries to them, but they refused to come to him, so he sent a detachment against the Banū Numayr, which, however, failed to overtake them. As a result, he sent detachments that eventually caught up with them and took captives. Bughā then sent in their wake one of the contingents accompanying him. It consisted of about 1,000 men, aside from the weak (*ḍuʿafāʾ*)[175] and attendants who stayed behind in the army camp. He encountered the Banū Numayr, and they rallied to fight him, numbering then about 3,000 men. They were in a place called Rawḍat al-Abān and Baṭn al-Sirr, two days journey from al-Qarnayn and one day from Uḍākh.[176] They routed his vanguard and put his left wing to flight, killing about 120 or 130 men of Bughā's force and hobbling about 700 camels and 100 riding animals in his army camp, as well as plundering the impedimenta and some of the material that was with him.

I was informed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad: Bughā encountered them and attacked them, but the night came over him. Bughā thereupon began to implore and summon them to return to obedience[177] of the Commander of the Faithful. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Jaʿfarī argued this with them.

They set about saying to him, "By God, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, we brought you into the world,[178] but you have not respected your blood relations. Now you come to us with these slaves and peasants (*ʿulūj*) with whom you fight us. By God, we'll show you hot tears"—and such kind of talk.

When morning approached, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf said to Bughā, "Attack them before the light of dawn when they see how few we are and move boldly against us." But Bughā refused him. [1360]
When dawn broke and the Banū Numayr took notice of the number of men with Bughā—they had placed their infantry in

174. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 183, and Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, 149, 169, mention Sawd (or Sūd) Bāhilah as a village belonging to the Bāhilah.

175. The term *ḍuʿafāʾ* (pl. of *ḍaʿīf*), meaning "weak, infirm," refers in this context to women, children, slaves, etc.

176. For Baṭn al-Sirr, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 666; Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, 174, 176. And for al-Qarnayn (the Two Peaks), named for two small mountains, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 73.

177. Text: *wa-ilā ṭāʿah*. Addenda, DCCLXXV; *ilā ṭāʿah* . . . .

178. The word *waladnāka*, lit. "we gave birth to you," has the sense of "your mother is of our folk"; see Glossarium, DLXVI.

front of them and their horsemen at their rear, with their livestock—they attacked and routed us, all the way to our camp, and we were certain to be wiped out.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad said: Bughā learned that some of the horses of the Banū Numayr were located at a certain place in their territory, and so he sent there about 200 horsemen from his force. Just as we were about done for, Bughā and his men having been routed, the contingent that Bughā had dispatched at night to these horses came on the scene. Coming from the place to which they had been sent from the camp, they arrived at the rear of the Banū Numayr, who had routed Bughā and his forces. Bughā's men blew their trumpets. And when the Banū Numayr heard the clarion, and spotted those who emerged against them at their rear, they exclaimed, "By God, the slave has deceived us!"[179] They turned their backs in flight, their horsemen abandoning their infantrymen after having protected them to the utmost.

I was informed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad: Not more than one of their infantrymen survived; every last one of them was killed. But the horsemen took off in flight on the backs of their steeds.

Someone aside from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad said that the rout of Bughā and his force went on from morning to noon, on Tuesday, 13 Jumādā II, 232 (February 4, 847). The Banū Numayr were then engaged in plundering and in hobbling the camels and horses until Bughā's men who had been put to flight returned to him, and those who were separated from him rejoined him. This force attacked and routed the Banū Numayr, and from noon until afternoon killed about 1,500 of their men. Bughā stayed at the site of the skirmish at the watering place known as Baṭn al-Sirr[180] until
[1361] the heads of the Banū Numayr who were killed were gathered for him. He and his companions then rested for three days.

I was also informed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad that the Numayrī horsemen who fled from the skirmish sent messengers to Bughā requesting a guarantee of safe conduct, which he granted them. Thus, they came to him; he bound them in fetters and went off with them.

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179. Text: *'udhr*. Addenda, DCCLXXV; *ghadara*; see Glossarium, CCCIV; so Cairo edition on basis of D. "The slave" is pejorative for Bughā.

180. See Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab*, 145.

However, someone other than Aḥmad b. Muḥammad said: Bughā went from the place of the skirmish in pursuit of those who had eluded him, but he overtook only the weak who were exhausted and some livestock, and then returned to the fortress of Bāhilah.

He said: Those of the Banū Numayr whom Bughā fought were the Banū ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr, the Banū Busrah and Bilḥajjāj, the Banū Qaṭan, the Banū Salāh, the Banū Shurayḥ, and clans that remained behind who belonged to the Banū ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr.[181] Only a few of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Numayr participated in the fighting. The Banū ʿĀmir b. Numayr are cultivators of date palms and ewes, and not horsemen. [The Banū] ʿAbdallah b. Numayr are the ones who fought the Arab tribesmen. ʿUmārah b. ʿAqīl recited to Bughā:

You left the rough ones and rugged clan,
And filled the prisons with refuse.

I was informed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad that after Bughā had bound, arrested, and taken with him the Banū Numayr who received his guarantee of safe-conduct, they rioted along the way and tried to break their fetters and escape. He ordered that they be brought forward one at a time. As each one was presented, he had him beaten about 400 to 500 lashes. Aḥmad[182] b. Muḥammad claimed that he witnessed their beating, and that not one of them gave vent to his pain. A shaykh of theirs was brought forth who had hung a text of the Qur'ān on his neck.[183] Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, who was seated next to Bughā, laughed at him, saying, [1362]
"This is the most offensive thing that has happened—may God give you prosperity." This was when he hung the text on his neck. He then beat him 400 or 500 lashes but the shaykh did not give in to his pain or appeal for help.

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181. On the Banū ʿAbdallāh b. Numayr, see Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 228; II, 116, *Jamharah*, 354. For the Banū Busrah and Bilḥajjāj of Numayr b. ʿĀmir, see *ibid.*, I, 92; II, 450; *Jamharah*, 121a. And for Banū Qaṭan, see *ibid.*, I, 290; II, 468. On Shurayḥ and Salāh, see Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam*, II, 590, 529.

182. Text: *aḥad*. Cairo edition (on the basis of Mss. A and D): Aḥmad.

183. For other instances of Qur'ān texts suspended from the neck, see, for example, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIqd*, I, 212; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, III, 946 (ʿAbdallāh b. Khabbāb), which were brought to my attention by Dr. Khalil Athamina.

It is reported that a horseman of the Banū Numayr, called[184] "the Madman" (*al-majnūn*), encountered Bughā and stabbed him in the course of the skirmish that I have described. One of the Turks shot the Madman, but he escaped and lived for three days before succumbing to his wound.

Then Wājin al-Ushrūsanī al-Ṣughdī[185] joined Bughā, along with an auxiliary force of 700 men of the Ushrūsaniyyah-Ishtīkhaniyyah.[186] Bughā sent Wājin and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ja'farī after the Banū Numayr. They pursued the latter relentlessly until they penetrated deep into the territory of the Banū Numayr, coming to Tabālah[187] and its environs at the border of the district of the Yemen, but the Banū Numayr eluded him.

Bughā departed, having apprehended only six or seven of them, and then stayed at the fortress of Bāhilah. Bughā sent detachments from Halān, Sawd, and other places in the district of al-Yamāmah to the mountains and plains of the Banū Numayr to fight those who accepted the guarantee of safe conduct and then held out. The detachments killed one contingent and took another captive. A number of the leaders of the Banu Numayr began to request a guarantee of safe conduct, each one for himself and for his own clan. Bughā acceded to them, and was magnanimous and conciliatory. He remained until all those suspected of being in these regions were rounded up for him. Seizing about 300 men, he fettered them with irons and brought them to al-Baṣrah, in Dhū al-Qa'dah, 232 (June 19–July 18, 847).

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184. Text: *bi-du'ā'*. Addenda, DCCLXXV and Cairo edition (Ms. D): *yud'ā*.

185. Wājin (or: Wājan) al-Ushrūsani al-Ṣughdī (the Ṣughdian) was from Ushrūsanah, the name of a province and a town east of Samarqand in Transoxania; Le Strange, *Lands*, 474–76. See also Ṭabarī, III, 1306–07 (Marin, *Reign*, 113) and 1503 (Saliba, 3); Ya'qūbī; *Ta'rīkh*, II, 602.

186. Text: Al-Ushrūsaniyyah al-Ishtīkhaniyyah. Ishtīkhan is a town slightly to the north of Samarqand; Le Strange, *Lands*, 466. The compound term may refer to citizens of the town of Ishtīkhan in the province of Ushrūsanah. But the two formed separate elements in the mixed population of military personnel living in Sāmarrā, that is, the Farāghinah, Ushrūsaniyyah, Ishtīkhanjiyyah and others, from various districts of Khurāsān; see, e.g., Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, 263 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 55. Perhaps the word "and" must be supplied or understood.

187. Tabālah is in northwest Yemen, in the interior of 'Asīr; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 816; *EI*[1], s.v.

Bughā sent a dispatch to Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbbāsī[188] to march with those of the Banū Kilāb, Fazārah, Murrah, Thaʿlabah, and others who were with him in the city and to meet up with him. Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbbāsī overtook Bughā in Baghdad, and both of them went to Sāmarrā in al-Muḥarram, 233 (August 17–September 15, 847).

The number of Arab tribesmen whom Bughā and Ṣāliḥ [1363] al-ʿAbbāsī brought, aside from those who died, fled, and were killed in these skirmishes that we have described, were 2,200, including men of the Banū Numayr, Banū Kilāb, Murrah, Fazārah, Thaʿlabah, and Ṭayyiʾ.[189]

In this year, the pilgrims were stricken upon the return journey by fierce thirst at four stations to al-Rabadhah.[190] A drink fetched the price of a few dīnārs. Many people died of thirst.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab was appointed governor of Fārs.

In this year, al-Wāthiq gave orders to desist from tithing seagoing vessels.

In this year, the cold was so severe in Nīsān (April) that water froze on the fifth day of the month.

In this year, al-Wāthiq died.

An Account of the Illness from Which al-Wāthiq Died

A number of our colleagues informed me that the illness from which al-Wāthiq died was dropsy. He was treated by being seated in a heated oven, where he found relief and comfort.[191] Al-Wāthiq ordered them the next day to increase the heat of the oven. This was done, and he sat in it longer than on the previous day. But he

188. On Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbbāsī (al-Turkī), see also below 1422 (p. 134), where the governor of Damascus sends him with troops to quell a revolt in Ḥimṣ. Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 262 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 55, notes a street and palace named for him in Sāmarrā. See Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 112.

189. See Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, I, 176; II, 555, *Jamharah*, 87.

190. Al-Rabadhah was an important station on the Mecca Road near Medina, about 6 km. from Dhāt ʿIrq; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 312 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 146; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II 748; Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʿArab*, 142, 171, 185.

191. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 590, the ground was dug out to form a cavity, which was then heated with tamarisk wood.

was overcome with heat, and was then removed from the oven and placed on a litter. Al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq al-Hāshimī, 'Umar b. Faraj, and others were present. Then Ibn al-Zayyāt and Ibn Abī Du'ād arrived. They were unaware of the caliph's death until his face struck the litter, at which point they realized that he had died.

According to another version, Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād attended him, and was with him when he lost consciousness[192] and died, whereupon Aḥmad approached to close his eyelids[193] and fit him out [for burial].[194] His death was on 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (August 10,
[1364] 847). He was buried in his palace in the Hārūnī. The one who recited funeral prayers, attended to his burial, and took care of his affairs was Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād. Al-Wāthiq had ordered Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād to lead the public prayer on the Day of Sacrifice (10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah) in the oratory. Aḥmad led the festival prayers, for al-Wāthiq was very ill, and could not attend the oratory. He died of this illness.

A Portrayal of al-Wāthiq, His Years, and the Extent of His Caliphate

Someone who knew him personally reported that al-Wāthiq was fair, tending to a ruddy complexion, and was handsome, of medium height and well-built. His left eye was paralyzed and had a white fleck.[195] He died, as some claim, at the age of thirty-six; according to others, he succumbed at the age of thirty-two. Those who claim that he was thirty-six say that he was born in 196

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192. Text: *a'mā 'alayhi*. Addenda, DCCLXXV and Cairo edition (Mss. A and D): *ghumiya 'alayhi*.

193. The word *ghammaḍa* means "to close the eyelids of a dead person"; Glossarium, CCCXCII; Introductio, LXXXIX.8, and note d, which refers to Ṭabarī, III, 1136.13; see also Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 227.

194. For *yuṣliḥu min sha'nihi* in the sense of "fit him out" or the like, see Glossarium, CCCXXVI.

195. A fair (*abyaḍ*) complexion connoted nobility, and ruddy (*aḥmar*) was often used for northern people (Byzantines and Greeks), according to Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen*, 338–39. For similar physical descriptions of al-Wāthiq, see also Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 361; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 263; Suyūṭī, *Ta'rīkh*, 342 = tr. Jarrett, 356. William Beckford, in his famous novel *Vathek* (1786), calls particular attention to al-Wāthiq's terrible eye that no one could bear to behold. Beckford's source was D'Herbelot's reference to al-Wāthiq's "oeil si terrible" in *Bibliothèque Orientale* (1697), 912. On al-Wāthiq's awesome glare, see, for example, Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if*, 111.

(811–12) and that his caliphate lasted five years, nine months, and five days. And some of them say seven days and twelve hours. He was born along the route of the Mecca Road. His mother was a Byzantine slave named Qarāṭīs. His name was Hārūn, his teknomyn, Abū Jaʿfar.

It is reported that when he was stricken with the sickness from which he died—his abdomen had become afflicted with dropsy—he ordered that the astrologers be brought into his presence, and they were. Among those in attendance were al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, the brother of al-Faḍl b. Sahl;[196] al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq al-Hāshimī;[197] Ismāʿīl b. Nawbakht;[198] Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī; al-Majūsī al-Quṭrabbulī;[199] Sanad, the associate of Muḥammad b. al-Haytham;[200] and all those engaged in astrology. They considered his illness, star, and horoscope, and predicted that he would live a long time, estimating fifty years in the future. But in less than ten days he died.

Some Reports about al-Wāthiq [1365]

Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk[201] reported that he saw al-Wāthiq a few days after al-Muʿtaṣim died. He was seated at the first soirée that

196. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl was court astrologer and finance minister and governor for al-Ma'mūn; d. 236 (850–51); Bosworth, *Reunification*, Index, 272; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, Index, 766, and especially 215–18; Sezgin, *GAS*, VII, 122; *EI*², s.v. His brother al-Faḍl b. Sahl, Dhū al-Riyāsatayn, was court astrologer for Hārūn al-Rashīd and then wazīr of al-Ma'mūn, who had him killed in 202 (817–18) or 203 (818–19); Bosworth, Index, 271; Sourdel, Index, 761, and especially 196–213; Sezgin, *GAS*, VII, 115; *EI*², s.v. Sezgin cites our passage on p. 119.

197. Al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq al-Hāshimī was presumably the son of Isḥāq b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī, who served in the court of al-Ma'mūn; Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Baghdād*, 1, 79; Sezgin, *GAS*, VII, 119.

198. See on him, Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Baghdād*, 164.

199. The mathematician-astronomer Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Khwārazmī was born in Khwārazm and served in the court of al-Ma'mūn; Ṭabarī, III, 1085 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 158); Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Baghdād*, 29, 79, 116, 192; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 652; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rīkh*, 286; Sezgin, *GAS*, V, 228; *EI*², s.v. Khʷārazmī, Abū Dja'far. Al-Majūsī al-Quṭrabbulī is unidentified.

200. For the mathematician and astronomer/astrologer Sanad (or Sind) b. ʿAlī Abū al-Ṭayyib, see Sezgin, *GAS*, V, 242; VI, 138; VII, 119. For Muḥammad b al-Haytham b. ʿAdī al-Ṭāʾī, see Ṭabarī, III, 1141, 1156 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 232, 249); and Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Baghdād*, 89, 144.

201. Text: al-Ḥasan. Addenda, DCCLXXV, and Cairo edition (Mss. A and D): al-Ḥusayn. Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Bāhilī al-Ashqar al-Khalīʿ ("the Dissolute"), a

he convened. The first song at this soirée was rendered by Shāriyah, the slave girl of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī:[202]

When the bearers raised his bier they knew not
If it be for abiding or perdition.

May your female mourners say about you what they wish,
Morning and night.[203]

Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk said: He wept and, by God, we wept to the point that the weeping totally possessed us. Then one of the singers proceeded to sing:[204]

Bid farewell, Hurayrah, for the cavalcade is departing.
O man, can you endure saying farewell?[205]

Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk said: And the caliph wept, by God, even more, exclaming, "I have never heard a condolence[206] for a father or an elegy as I did today." Then the soirée dispersed.

Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk reported on the authority of 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' that 'Alī b. al-Jahm recited concerning al-Wāthiq after he became caliph:[207]

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well-known Baṣrian poet, court poet of 'Abbāsid caliphs, confidant of al-Amīn, was a panegyrist of al-Wāthiq; d. 250 (864–65); *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 518–19.

202. Shāriyah al-Jāriyah, a famous singing girl, was freed by the 'Abbāsid prince Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, who then married her; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIV, 109–114; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 8,100,110-11, 154; Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, par. 144; Farmer, *History*, 134; Stigelbauer, *Sängerinnen*, Index, 173, especially 39–49.

203. Text: *wa-waqt*. Read *wa-'inda* (with Ibn al-Athīr and Ṣūlī). At this point the Leiden edition begins to cite variants from Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al-awrāq* (see Translator's Foreword).

204. Ṣūlī: *fa-ghannā Mukhāriq* ("Mukhāriq sang").

205. This is the beginning of one of the most famous odes in Arabic literature. See Geyer, *Zwei Gedichte von al-'A'šâ*, II, 10. Hurayrah, a singing girl of Bishr b. 'Amr of Ḥīrah, is the beloved of the poet al-A'shā.

206. Text: *wa-baghī*. Addenda, DCCLXXV, and Cairo edition: *wa-na'ī*.

207. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' was a singer and composer of melodies in caliphal courts from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd to that of al-Muntaṣir; d. 227 (841–42); Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVII, 121–41; Farmer, *History*, 160; Neubauer, *Musiker*, 161. 'Alī b. al-Jahm b. Badr was a well-known poet and sometime judge; d. 249 (863). He was court poet during the reign of al-Mutawakkil; *EI*², s.v. 'Alī b. al-Ḏjahm; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 580–81. For the poem, see Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 117, and 'Alī b. al-Jahm, *Dīwān*, 188.

Both the worldly and the pious
Thrive during the regime of al-Wāthiq Hārūn.

He abounds with justice and generosity,
Sustaining this world along with religion.

Goodness prevails through his kindness,[208]
And people are at comfort and ease.

How many wish him a long life [1366]
And how many intone "amen."

ʿAlī b. al-Jahm also recited concerning him:[209]

People trust (*wathiqat*) the king al-Wāthiq bi-llāh.
With this monarch wealth is wretched, not the companion.[210]

The sword is congenial to him,
The precious object alien.

A lion he, stern battle smiles at his might.
Sons of al-ʿAbbās, God wills that only you govern.[211]

Qalam, the slave girl of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, sang these two songs, and she rendered the song of Muḥammad b. Kunāsah:[212]

I may be respectful and timid,
But when I sit with people of faith and honor

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208. Text: *qad ʿamma bi-l-iḥsān fī faḍlihi.* Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī,* XII, 117 (cited in note): *wa-ʿamma bi-l-iḥsān min fiʿlihi.*

209. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī,* XII, 117, has the poem with slight variants; see also ʿAlī b al-Jahm, *Dīwān,* 13.

210. The meaning is that his generosity puts the wealthy to shame, while his companion benefits.

211. Text: *yaʾbī...illā.* Addenda, DCCLXXV: *yaʾba...illā,* Note the association here of the lion metaphor with the name ʿAbbās. See above, n. 76.

212. On Qalam, or Qalam al-Ṣāliḥiyyah—Qalam means "Reed Pen"—the slave girl of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, see Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī,* XII 115–117, VIII, 173; Herzfeld, *Samarra,* 162. For Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. Kunāsah, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist,* 198, 362; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī,* XII, 111–16. The poem and the following account appear in *Aghānī,* XII, 116.

I let my soul behave naturally
And say what I like without being shy.

When her tune was sung in al-Wāthiq's presence,[213] he liked it and sent a message to Ibn al-Zayyāt: "Woe unto you, who is this Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb? Summon him and have him bring along his slave girl." Ṣāliḥ brought her to al-Wāthiq, and she was introduced to him. Pleased with her singing, he sent to Ṣāliḥ asking that he state his price. Ṣāliḥ replied, "100,000 dīnārs, O Commander of the Faithful, as well as the governorship of Egypt." So the caliph returned her. Then Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, brother of Ṣāliḥ, recited concerning al-Wāthiq:

The house of the lovers does not wish you to separate,[214]
What you see has made you a new helper for them.

The souls of those who loved Laylā[215] were tormented
And remained unrequited and uncompensated.

Qalam, the slave girl of Ṣāliḥ, composed this song. And Zurzur
[1367] the Elder[216] sang it for al-Wāthiq. The caliph asked whose song it was, and Zurzur responded that it was composed by Qalam. Al-Wāthiq sent word to Ibn al-Zayyāt to bring Ṣāliḥ and Qalam along with him.

When she entered, al-Wāthiq asked her if she had composed the song, and she replied, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful." He said, "May God bless you." And he sent a message to Ṣāliḥ asking him to name a reasonable price.

Ṣāliḥ replied by message, "I give her as a gift to the Commander of the Faithful, and may God bless the Commander of the Faithful through her," The caliph replied, "I accept her. [And turning to

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213. Text: *fa-ghannathu.* The translation follows the reading suggested in the note {*fa-ghunniya laḥnuhā bayn yaday*}. In Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 116, where the poem is cited and the following anecdote related, the caliph immediately asks who composed the music and is told that it was Qalam.

214. The translation is uncertain.

215. The allusion is to Laylā, the beloved of Majnūn, in the popular romance Majnūn Laylā. A certain Qays b. al-Mulawwaḥ loved Laylā bt. Sa'd, but he could not have her and thus lost his mind. See *EI*², s.v. Madjnūn Laylā.

216. Zurzur or Zurzūr ("Starling") b. Sa'īd al-Kabīr was a page {*ghulām*} of Ja'far b. Mūsā al-Hādī and court singer during the caliphates of al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 92–93; Neubauer, *Musiker*, 210.

Ibn al-Zayyāt, he said,] "Muḥammad, pay him 5,000 dīnārs." He called her Ightibāṭ ("Delight").

Ibn al-Zayyāt put Ṣāliḥ off, and she went on singing, "The house of the lovers does not wish. . ."

Al-Wāthiq said to her, "May God bless you and the one who taught you."

She replied, "Sir, and how does the one who taught me benefit?" You have ordered that he be given something that he has not received." Al-Wāthiq said, "Sammānah, the inkwell!"[217] He wrote to Ibn al-Zayyāt: "Pay Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb the price for Ightibāṭ, 5,000 dīnārs, and double it."

Ṣāliḥ said: I went to Ibn al-Zayyāt, who received me well. He said, "Take this first 5,000. As for the other 5,000, I shall pay you in a week. If you are asked [about this], say that you have received the money."

Ṣāliḥ said, "I didn't want to be asked and have to acknowledge that I received the money, so I hid in my house until he paid me. When Sammānah asked me if I had received the money, I said yes."

Ṣāliḥ left government service and used the money for business ventures until he died.

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217. Text: Saymānah. Addenda, DCCLXXV, and Cairo edition: Sammānah. Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XII, 116.22, mentions here only an anonymous servant (*khādim*).

The Caliphate of Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh

Portrait of al-Mutawakkil from a medallion dated 241/855. Photo courtesy Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

The Events of the Year 232 (cont'd)

(August 28, 846–August 16, 847)

In this year Ja'far al-Mutawakkil was given the oath of allegiance as caliph. He is Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad Dhū al-Thafināt b. 'Alī al-Sajjād b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.[218] [1368]

The Occasion of Ja'far's Becoming Caliph and the Period of His Caliphate

I was informed by more than one authority that when al-Wāthiq died Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād, Ītākh, Waṣīf, 'Umar b. Faraj, Ibn al-Zayyāt, and Aḥmad b. Khālid Abū al-Wazīr were present in his

218. Dhū al-Thafināt means "The Callused," referring to calluses on the knees caused by frequent praying. Sajjād is "The Worshipper," designating one who prostrates himself often. Thus, the two are virtually synonomous in meaning, and it is not surprising that the nicknames of Muḥammad and 'Alī are occasionally reversed. See, for instance, Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 54; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, II, 573; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 216–20; 592–94; Abū al-Faraj b. al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-alqāb*, s.v. And see Ṭabarī, III, 2497. On the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil, see M. Shamsuddin Miah, *The Reign of al-Mutawakkil*.

palace.[219] They decided to render the oath of allegiance to Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq, who was a beardless lad.[220] They dressed him in a black lined robe (*durrāʿah*)[221] and a Ruṣāfī cap.[222] It turned out that he was too small.

Waṣīf said to them, "For God's sake, can you assign the caliphate to someone like this, who is not even permitted to lead public prayer?"

My authorities said: They went on arguing about whom they would appoint, mentioning several candidates. One of those present in the palace with them reportedly said, "I left the place where I was and passed by Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil, who was dressed in a shirt and trousers, sitting with the sons of the Turks. He asked me what news there was, and I replied that their deliberation was still going on. They thereafter summoned him."

Bughā al-Sharābī gave him the news and brought him. Al-Mutawakkil responded that he feared that al-Wāthiq had not died.

My authorities said: Al-Mutawakkil passed by al-Wāthiq and saw that he was garbed in a shroud, whereupon he came and sat. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād dressed Jaʿfar with a tall hat,[223] affixed a
[1369] turban and kissed him between his eyes, saying, "Peace upon you, O Commander of the Faithful, and God's mercy and blessings." Then al-Wāthiq was washed, the funeral prayer was offered, and he was buried. Following this, they went immediately to the Public Audience Hall. Al-Mutawakkil had not yet been given his regnal title.

On the day that al-Mutawakkil received the oath of allegiance, he was reportedly twenty-six years old. He set aside pay allot-

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219. Note in this company the combination of government officials/secretaries (Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād, ʿUmar b. Faraj, Ibn al-Zayyāt, Aḥmad b. Khālid) with Turkish army commanders (Itākh, Waṣīf). For this passage, see also Chejne, *Succession*, 121–22.

220. Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq later became caliph with the throne name al-Muhtadī.

221. Ahsan, *Social Life*, 39–40, infers from our passage that caliphs occasionally wore a *durrāʿah* at their installation. On *durrāʿah*, see also *EI*², s.v. Libās, V, 737.

222. For *qalansuwah Ruṣāfiyyah*, see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 188, citing Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, I, 315; Ahsan, *Social Life*, 30, 52; *EI*², s.v. Libās, V, 734–35. The *qalansuwah* was at first a close-fitting cap, but it may also be a cowl or hood.

223. The word *al-ṭawīlah* is short for *al-qalansuwah al-ṭawīlah*; Glossarium, CCCXLIV. It was "a tall, conical Persian hat"; see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 15, 30, 55; *EI*², s.v. Libās, V, 737.

ments for the regular army for a period of eight months. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt drafted the oath of allegiance for him. He was responsible at the time for the Bureau of the Chancellery (*dīwān al-rasāʾil*).

They assembled afterward to choose a regnal title for the caliph. Ibn al-Zayyāt suggested that they call him al-Muntaṣir billāh. The notables discussed the matter thoroughly until they came to a definite conclusion. Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād came to al-Mutawakkil early the next day and said, "I've come up with a regnal title that I hope will be appropriate, God willing. It is al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh." Al-Mutawakkil then gave word that this regnal title should be adopted. He summoned Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik and ordered that this be conveyed in writing to the notables. Letters were dispatched to them bearing the following text:

> In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. The Commander of the Faithful, may God give him long life, has ordered, may God preserve you, that his official title be on his pulpits[224] and in his letters to his judges, secretaries, officials, and functionaries in his government bureaus and others with whom he is customarily in correspondence, "From ʿAbdallāh Jaʿfar al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh, Commander of the Faithful." I await your response indicating your readiness to execute this order and informing me of my letter's successful arrival, God willing.

It is reported that when the caliph ordered that the Turks be given service allotments for four months, and that the regular army, the Shākiriyyah, and those of a like status among the Hāshimites be given allotments for eight months, he ordered that [1370] the Maghāribah be given allotments for three months. They, however, refused to accept.[225] He wrote to them, "Whoever

224. For *aʿwād manābirihi* in this sense, see Glossarium CCCLXXXII; Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 186.

225. The translation follows the Leiden text. But in the Mss. used for the Leiden edition the Shākiriyyah appear after the words "eight months." The reading of the Leiden text is based upon a collation of Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 23; *Fragmenta*, 536, ll. 12–13; and ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān* (which the notes begin to cite here from manuscript). In these sources, however, it is stated: "He commanded to give the Shākiriyyah of the regular army [allotments] for eight months."

among you is a slave (*mamlūk*) shall go to Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād to be sold, and whoever is free will be treated by us along the lines of the regular army." They accepted this. Waṣīf persuaded them until they were brought around. They were given three months' service allotments, and then were paid along the lines of the Turks.

Al-Mutawakkil received the notables' oath of allegiance at the hour of al-Wāthiq's death, and [he received] the public oath of allegiance at sunset on the same day.

It is reported on the authority of Saʿīd the Younger[226] that before al-Mutawakkil was made caliph he told Saʿīd and a number of people who were with him that he dreamt that Sulaymānī sugar[227] would descend upon him from heaven, on which was written "Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh." He discussed the dream's significance with us. We said, "It is, by God, O amīr—may God strengthen you—the caliphate."

Saʿīd said: When al-Wāthiq learned of this, he held Jaʿfar in custody, and Saʿīd along with him, and harassed Jaʿfar because of it.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Dāwūd.

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226. Abū 'Uthmān Saʿīd al-Ṣaghīr appears below as confidant of al-Muntaṣir; below, 1471ff. (pp. 195ff.); see also p. 1743, where he is mentioned as belonging to al-Muntaṣir.

227. Sugar is called *sukkar Sulaymānī* at the second stage of preparation, according to *EI*[1], s.v. Sukkar. See also Ahsan, *Social Life*, 100ff., especially 101, n. 208 (citing N. Dear, *The History of Sugar*, London, 1949, I, 68ff., 74ff.; Rodinson, *EI*[2], s.v. Ghidhā'; *idem*, *JESHO*, 7 [1964], 57–72).

The Events of the Year 233

(August 17, 847–July 7, 848)

One of the events was al-Mutawakkil's anger at Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt and his incarcerating him.

The Reason for al-Mutawakkil's Anger at Muḥammad b. al-Zayyāt and Its Consequences

The reason for al-Mutawakkil's anger at him was reportedly as follows:

Al-Wāthiq had made Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt wazīr and delegated affairs to him. Al-Wāthiq had become angry with his brother Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil for certain things and authorized ʿUmar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhajī and Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-Khādim to observe him at all times and record information [1371] about him.[228]

228. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-Khādim is said to have been active under al-Maʾmūn along with the police chief ʿAyyāsh; Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 174, n. 2. Al-Wāthiq's annoyance was presumably triggered by the suspicion that his brother Jaʿfar wished to follow him in the line of succession, thus displacing al-Wāthiq's own son.

Jaʿfar went to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik to request that he intercede with his brother al-Wāthiq on his behalf so that he might be restored to favor. After entering, Jaʿfar remained standing before Muḥammad for a while without being addressed. Then Muḥammad motioned for him to be seated, at which point he sat down. When Muḥammad was finished going over his correspondence, he turned to Jaʿfar in a menacing way and inquired why he had come.

He replied, "I came so that you might ask the Commander of the Faithful to look upon me with favor."

Muḥammad commented to those around him, "Look at this one. He infuriates his brother and then asks me to restore him to favor. Go, and if you make amends, then you will be reinstated."

Jaʿfar rose, dejected and morose as result of the poor audience and his having been slighted. He left Muḥammad's company and approached ʿUmar b. Faraj to request that he sign his chit for receipt of pay allotments. But ʿUmar b. Faraj let him down. He took the chit and tossed it into the courtyard of the mosque. It was ʿUmar's custom to sit in a mosque.

Abū al-Wazīr Aḥmad b. Khālid was present. When he got up to depart, Jaʿfar rose along with him. Jaʿfar inquired, "O Abū al-Wazīr, did you see what ʿUmar b. Faraj did with me?" Abū al-Wazīr replied, "What may I do for you?"

Jaʿfar said, "I am ʿUmar's steward,[229] and yet he does not sign my chit without my importuning and groveling. Send me your agent." Abū al-Wazīr sent Jaʿfar his agent and paid him 20,000 dirhams, telling him, "Use this for spending until God straightens out your affairs."

Jaʿfar took the money and sent Abū al-Wazīr's messenger back to him a month later asking Abū al-Wazīr for help. Abū al-Wazīr sent him 10,000 dirhams.

Immediately after leaving ʿUmar, Jaʿfar went to Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād. When he entered, Aḥmad rose to meet him. He received him at the door of the house, kissed him, and acted obligingly toward him.

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229. Text: *zammām*. Addenda, DCCLXXV: *zimām*. See Glossarium, CCLXXIX ("inspector, controller"). The *zimām* was the Bureau of Control, that is, an auditing body, as of taxes or expenditures; see Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 284, 380; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, Index, 759.

Aḥmad asked him, "Why have you come? What may I do for you?" Jaʿfar replied, "I have come to try and secure the favor of the Commander of the Faithful." Aḥmad said, "It is my pleasure and honor to do it [for you]."

Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād then spoke to al-Wāthiq about this, and, although he promised [to restore Jaʿfar to favor], he was still not [1372] receptive to him. On the day of the races, Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād spoke with al-Wāthiq.[230]

Aḥmad said, "I am ever-mindful of al-Muʿtaṣim's kindness, and Jaʿfar is his son. I have spoken to you about him, and you promised to extend your grace. You owe it to al-Muʿtaṣim, O Commander of the Faithful, to show favor to him." Al-Wāthiq immediately showed kindness to him and attired him. Al-Wāthiq then departed. As Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād had spoken flatteringly of Jaʿfar, causing his brother to show him favor, Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād was in good stead with Jaʿfar when the latter assumed rulership.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik had reportedly written to al-Wāthiq when Jaʿfar left him: "Commander of the Faithful, Jaʿfar b. al-Muʿtaṣim came to me, requesting that I ask the Commander of the Faithful to be kind to him. He was, however, dressed in an effeminate fashion and had long hair in the back."

Al-Wāthiq wrote to Muḥammad, "Send for him and have him presented. Order someone to cut the hair in the back, then give word to someone to take some of his hair[231] and strike his face with it, and send him back to his residence."

It is reported on the authority of al-Mutawakkil: When al-Wāthiq's emissary came to me, I was wearing a new black garment, and I came to him, hoping that he would be favorably disposed toward me.

When I arrived he said, "Page, summon me a cupper (*ḥajjām*)," whereupon one was summoned. He said, "Cut his hair[232] and gather it together." The cupper sheared it upon the new black

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230. On *ḥalbah* ("races"), see Mercier, *La chasse*, 200–04. A hippodrome in Sāmarrā stood slightly to the southeast of the Great Mosque of al-Mutawakkil.

231. The expression *akhadha min shaʿrihi*, lit. "to take (from) his hair," may mean "to cut his hair"; Glossarium, CVII; Lane, *Lexicon*, 28. But here the first sense fits better.

232. See previous note.

garment, not bothering to catch it on a piece of cloth (*mandīl*).[233] He took Ja'far's hair, including the hair from the back, and struck him in the face with it.

Al-Mutawakkil said: I was never so distressed by anything as I was when al-Wāthiq had my hair sheared upon the new black garment. I came to him so attired, hoping to please him, but he had my hair cut upon it.

When al-Wāthiq died, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik nominated al-Wāthiq's son as his successor.[234] The matter was discussed[235] while Ja'far was in another room, not where they were deliberating the investiture.[236] [Ja'far remained in that other room] until
[1373] he was sent for, and he was invested [with the symbol of the caliphate] there. [His preference for al-Wāthiq's son] was the cause of Ibn al-Zayyāt's demise. Bughā al-Sharābī was the emissary who summoned Ja'far. On the way, he greeted him as caliph, and they invested him [with the symbol of the caliphate] and rendered him the oath of allegiance.

Ja'far bided his time until Wednesday, 7 Ṣafar, 233 (September 22, 847). Resolved to hurt Ibn al-Zayyāt, al-Mutawakkil ordered Ītākh to seize and punish him. So Ītākh sent for him. Ibn al-Zayyāt thought that he was being summoned [for an audience]. He rode out early the next day, supposing that the caliph had summoned him, but, when he was opposite the residence of Ītākh, he was told to turn in the direction of Abū Manṣūr's (Ītākh's) residence. He turned apprehensively, and, when he came to Ītākh's residence, he was diverted to the right,[237] and thus he sensed something ominous. Ibn al-Zayyāt was then brought into a room. His sword, ornamental belt, cap, and lined robe (*dur-*

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233. A *mandīl* (from Latin *mantellum*; cf. Spanish *mantilla* and English mantle) is a small or medium-size kerchief or piece of cloth, occasionally used as a head veil; see Rosenthal, *Four Essays*, 63ff., especially 67; Ahsan, *Social Life*, 53; *EI*², s.v.

234. This act is consistent with Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik's previous coolness toward Ja'far.

235. Text: *wa-takallama dhālika fī dhālika*. Omit first *dhālika* with note *ad loc.* (see also Addenda, DCCLXXV) and Cairo edition.

236. Text: *yaq'udūna*. Cairo edition (Ms. A): *ya'qidūna*.

237. Text: *'anhu* ("he was diverted from it"); Cairo edition, Mss. A and D: *yamnatan* ("to the right"). A vaulted cellar (Persian: *serdāb*) in Ītākh's residence was occasionally used as a prison; Ṭabarī, III, 1267 (Marin, *Reign*, 85). See below, n. 282.

rāʿah)[238] were confiscated. His pages were paid and told to leave, which they did, confident that he was staying with Ītākh to drink wine.

[My informant] said: Ītākh had prepared for the arrival of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik two of his eminent companions, named Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥulwānī and Harthamah Shār Bāmiyān. When Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik arrived, they galloped off to his palace with their troops and Shākiriyyah. Muḥammad's pages asked them, "Where do you want to go? Abū Jaʿfar [Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik] has ridden off." At that, they fell upon his palace and seized everything in it.

Ibn al-Ḥulwānī reportedly said: I came to the house in which Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik usually resided, and I noticed that it was shabby in appearance and sparsely furnished. I beheld there four carpets (*ṭanāfis*)[239] and flasks (*qanānī ruṭliyyāt*) that contained a beverage. I also saw a house where his slave girls slept, in which there were mats (*būriyyān*)[240] and cushions (*makhādd*) stacked at its side, although his slave girls slept there without household effects.

It is reported that on the same day al-Mutawakkil sent someone to seize the contents of Muḥammad's residence, including furniture, livestock, slave girls, and pages. He had all of this brought to the Hārūnī [Palace]. The caliph sent Rāshid al-Maghribī[241] to Baghdad to confiscate Muḥammad's property and slaves that were there. And he ordered Abū al-Wazīr to seize his estates and those belonging to his family wherever they were located. What was in Sāmarrā was brought to the storehouses of Masrūr Sammānah[242] after it was purchased for the caliph. [1374]

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238. Ahsan, *Social Life*, 39, points out that the *durrāʿah* was the main part of the vizier's garb, along with an ornamental belt (*wishāḥ*) and sword.

239. For *ṭanāfis* (sg. *ṭinfisah* or *ṭanfasah*), see Lane, *Lexicon*, 1886; Sadan, *Mobilier*, 113, note 440, Index, 176 ("tapis, selle, coussin [?]").

240. *Būrī* is an arabicized form for Persian *būriyā/būriya*, meaning a woven mat made of reeds; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. Bāra; Steingass, *Dictionary*, s.v.

241. For Rāshid al-Maghribī's grant in Sāmarrā, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 261 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 53. And on him, see Ṭabarī, III, 1749; Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 103, 107. He had a brother named Mubārak al-Maghribī; see below, n. 246.

242. Masrūr Sammānah al-Khādim had a grant and was in charge of the storehouses in Sāmarrā, according to Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 261 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 53. He may be identical with Masrūr al-Khādim al-Kabīr, an official of Hārūn al-Rashīd. See below, n. 567. The storehouses are also known as the *bayt al-māl*; see above, 1350 (p. 36); Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 91, 103, 104; Sāmarrāʾī, *Taʾrīkh*, 82, 91.

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik was told to delegate an agent to sell his furnishings. They brought to him al-'Abbās b. Aḥmad b. Rashīd, the secretary of 'Ujayf,[243] and Muḥammad made him his agent. Muḥammad remained in prison for several days unfettered. Then it was ordered that he be bound, and so he was. He refrained from eating; he would not taste a thing. He was extremely despondent in prison, wept copiously, talked little, and pondered much. He remained this way for a few days, and then was forced to stay awake and prevented from sleeping. This was done by pricking him with a large needle. Then he was left alone for a day and night, and he slept. When he awoke, he expressed a desire for fruit and grapes, and so they were brought in and he took refreshment. He was then forced to stay awake again, and after that it was ordered that he be placed in a wooden oven-like chest that had iron spikes.[244]

It is reported on the authority of Ibn Abī Du'ād and Abū al-Wazīr that Muḥammad had been the first to order use of [an iron maiden]. He tortured Ibn Asbāṭ al-Miṣrī with it to the point that he extracted from him all that he had.

Ibn al-Zayyāt was then afflicted and tortured in [the iron maiden] for a few days. Al-Dandānī[245] reports on the authority of the keeper deputized to torture Ibn al-Zayyāt: I would go out and lock
[1375] the door on him, and he would stretch both hands upward so that his shoulders were narrowed. Then he would enter the chest and sit. The chest had iron spikes in it, and in the middle there was a cross board on which the victim would sit when he wanted some

243. 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasah was an army commander who served under al-Mu'taṣim; see Marin, *Reign*, Index, 137, and p. 4, n. 32. He was governor of Ādharbayjān in 217 (832–33); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 177. And see Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Baghdād*, 146–47; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 570ff.; *Buldān*, 260, 294 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 52, 112; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, V, 74–75; XVIII, 179; etc. (Guidi, *Tables*, 478); Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 107.

244. According to several sources, the *tannūr* (lit. "oven") was made of iron. See, for instance, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 194; Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, II, 343; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 254; and Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 235. The poetic justice of Ibn al-Zayyāt's fall became thematic in historical and belletristic literature; see e.g. (in addition to the above) Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 591; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, I, 147; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 268; Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, 102–03; *Nishwār*, I, 17; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XX, 49; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, IV, 187; and Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 57.

245. Text: al-Dandānī. Mss. used in the Leiden edition have al-Ladhaydānī (?), which the note *ad loc.* says may also represent al-Raydānī or al-Kuzburānī.

relief. He would sit on the board for a while. Then the keeper would come, and, when the victim heard the sound of the door opening, he would stand as before. Then they would intensify the torture.

His torturer said: I fooled him one day, I led him to think that I had locked the door without actually doing so. I merely closed it with the bolt and waited for a while, at which point I pushed the door by accident, and seeing that he was sitting in the chest on the board I commented, "I see that you are doing this thing!" When I went out afterward, I tightened his strangling cord so that he was unable to sit, and I pulled out the board so that it would be between his legs. He tarried after that for only a few days before he died.

There were different opinions concerning the cause of death. One version had it that he was thrown prostrate and whipped fifty times on his abdomen, and was then turned over and beaten likewise on his posterior, and thereby died under the beating without their being aware. He died, his neck having been twisted and his beard pulled out. According to another version, he died without having been beaten.

It is reported on the authority of Mubārak al-Maghribī:[246] I think that during the entire time of his incarceration he ate only one loaf of bread, and he would eat one or two grapes.

[His torturer] said: I would hear him talking to himself, this being two or three days before he died, "O Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik, you were not content with prosperity, choice horses, fine palaces, and splendid clothes. You were in wonderful shape until you sought the wazīrate. Now taste what you have brought upon yourself." He would go on repeating this to himself. A day before he died his self-reproach ceased and he merely recited the confession of faith and invocation of God. When he died, his two sons, [1376]
Sulaymān and ʿUbaydallāh, were present.[247] They too were under arrest. He had been thrown upon a wooden door in the shirt that

246. On Mubārak al-Maghribī, see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 261 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 53 (his grant and small market in Sāmarrā). Mubārak's residence became the scene of an attack by the populace against the Turks in 248 (862–63), III, 1505 (Saliba, 5). He was brother of Rāshid al-Maghribī; above, n. 241.

247. Text: *aḥḍarahu*; Cairo edition, Ms. A: *iḥḍirā*.

he wore when he was imprisoned. It had become filthy. His sons said, "Praise God who has given relief from this criminal." His corpse was turned over to them, and they washed it on the wooden door and buried him in a shallow grave. It is reported that dogs dug him up and ate his flesh.

Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās was governor of Ahwāz, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik was a friend of his.[248] Muḥammad sent to him Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Abū al-Jahm,[249] who made a public example of Ibrāhīm,[250] so that the latter reached a settlement with him at the cost of 1,500,000 dirhams.

Ibrāhīm recited:[251]

You were my brother in the brotherhood of fate,[252]
But when the time came, you became constant war.

I used to complain of fate to you,
And now it is because of you that I complain of fate.

I used to consider you for help in adversity,
Now I seek safety from you.

And he recited:[253]

Because of the opinion of Abū Ja'far
I have fallen into a state boding loss.

Without any crime save
Enmity of the heretic to the Muslim.

After Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik's property was confiscated [in Sāmarrā], he was brought with Rāshid al-Maghribī to Baghdad

248. Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Ṣūl (al-Ṣūlī), of a Turkish *mawlā* family, a great-uncle of Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, was a well-known secretary and poet. He died in Sāmarrā in 243 (857–58); Sourdel, *Vizirat*, Index, 767; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 578.

249. For the poet Aḥmad b. Yūsuf Abū al-Jahm, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 367; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIII, 23.

250. The expression *aqāmahu li-l-nās* stands for *aqāmahu 'alā al-bulūs*; Glossarium, CDXXXXIX; Lane, s.v. *bulūs*.

251. The poem appears in Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, IX, 28, with minor variations (not noted in apparatus of Leiden edition). See also Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī, *Dīwān*, 166.

252. The "you" here is Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik.

253. See *Dīwān*, 165.

in order that his property there might also be confiscated. When he arrived, he took Rawḥ, his page, who was also his household manager (*qahramān*), in charge of his funds, with which he did business. He also took a number of his family and with them the packload of a mule. Buildings of his were discovered in Baghdad containing all kinds of merchandise, including wheat, barley, flour, grain, olive oil, raisins, figs, and one filled with garlic. Everything that was confiscated of his, along with the value of what was found, was assessed at 90,000 dīnārs.

Al-Mutawakkil had Muḥammad arrested on Wednesday, 7 Ṣafar (September 22, 847), and he died on Thursday, 19 Rabīʿ I (November 2, 847). [1377]

In this year, al-Mutawakkil turned his wrath upon ʿUmar b. Faraj, in the month of Ramaḍān (April 9–May 8, 848). ʿUmar was turned over to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab and was imprisoned in his custody. The caliph sent word to have ʿUmar's estates and property sequestered. Najāḥ b. Salamah went to his house but found there only 15,000 dirhams. Masrūr Sammānah, who was present, seized his female slaves. ʿUmar was fettered with thirty *raṭl*s [of chain], and his *mawlā* Naṣr brought from Baghdad. The former had 30,000 dīnārs of his own property delivered, and Naṣr delivered 14,000 dīnārs more. Forty thousand dīnārs belonging to ʿUmar were also found in Ahwāz, along with 150,000 dīnārs belonging to his brother Muḥammad b. Faraj. Sixteen camel loads of furnishings (*furūsh*) were delivered from his palace along with jewels worth 40,000 dīnārs. His provisions and furnishings were brought on fifty camels that made several return trips. ʿUmar was dressed in a woolen long-sleeved robe (*farajiyyah*)[254] and fettered, and remained this way for a week before being released. His palace was confiscated and the members of his family were seized and searched. There were one hundred slave girls. A settlement was then made for ten million dirhams on condition that only his estates seized in Ahwāz would be returned to him. The woolen tunic (*jubbah*) and fetters were removed. This was in Shawwāl (May 9–June 6, 848).

254. For *farajiyyah*, see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 327, where it is said to be a long cloak with sleeves beyond the fingers and lacking slits. See also Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm*, 96–97 (tr. Salem, 77); *EI*² s.v. Libās, V, 741.

'Alī b. al-Jahm b. Badr recited to Najāḥ b. Salamah, inciting him against 'Umar b. Faraj:[255]

Bring a message to Najāḥ, hero of the secretaries,
Which the wind will carry to and fro.

The property will not depart from 'Umar's hands on its own,
[1378] Unless a sword be sheathed in his temples.

The Rukhkhajī men will not fulfill what they promised,
Nor will the Rukhkhajī women fail to keep an appointed time.[256]

And 'Alī b. al-Jahm also recited, satirizing 'Umar:[257]

You joined two things which together effaced prudence
The vanity of kings (*mulūk*) and the behavior of slaves (*mamālīk*).

You wished to receive thanks without showing kindness and generosity;
You have indeed traveled an untrodden path.

You thought your honor would not meet calamity,[258]
But I see that you will not be passed over.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil ordered that Ibrāhīm b. al-Junayd al-Naṣrānī, the brother of Ayyūb, secretary of Sammānah, be beaten with poles. [This was done] until he confessed to [having stashed away] 70,000 dīnārs. Al-Mutawakkil sent Mubārak al-Maghribī along with him to Baghdad to appropriate the sum from his residence. Ibrāhīm was brought [back to Sāmarrā] and incarcerated.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil turned his wrath upon Abū al-

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255. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, IX, 114; and 'Alī b. al-Jahm, *Dīwān*, 124.

256. 'Umar b. Faraj was from Rukhkhaj (in Sijistān). For the place, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 339, 345.

257. 'Alī b. al-Jahm, *Dīwān*, 161.

258. The note in the Leiden edition cites Ṣūlī who has: *za'amta annaka lā tu'lā bi-dāhiyah* "You thought that a calamity would not befall you." Ms. C and Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, have *yurmā* for *yuqra'* of the text.

Wazīr, in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (July 7–August 4, 848), and ordered that accounts be settled with him. About 16,000 dīnārs were delivered, and tens of thousands of dirhams and jewelry. Sixty-two baskets of Egyptian furnishings were confiscated, as well as thirty-two pages (*ghulām*) and many carpets. Because of Abū al-Wazīr's betrayal, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik—he was the brother of Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik—as well as al-Haytham b. Khālid al-Naṣrānī and his nephew Saʿdūn b. ʿAlī were all arrested. A settlement was made with Saʿdūn for 40,000 dīnārs, and with his two nephews, ʿAbdallāh and Aḥmad, for about 30,000 dīnārs. Their estates were simultaneously confiscated.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil made Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Jarjarā'ī secretary.[259] [1379]

In this year, on Wednesday, 17 Ramaḍān (April 25, 848), al-Mutawakkil removed al-Faḍl b. Marwān[260] from the Bureau of Taxation (*dīwān al-kharāj*) and appointed over it Yaḥyā b. Khāqān al-Khurāsānī, a *mawlā* of the Azd.[261] On the same day, he appointed Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Ṣūl over the Bureau of Controlling Expenditures (*dīwān zimām al-nafaqāt*) and removed Abū al-Wazīr.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil appointed his son Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir over the two sanctuaries [Mecca and Medina], the Yemen and al-Ṭā'if, tying the banner of his office for him on Thursday, 11 Ramaḍān (April 19, 848).

In this year, Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād had a paralytic stroke on 6 Jumādā II (January 17, 848).

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259. That is, wazīr. For Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Jarjarā'ī, d. 250 (864–65), see Zambaur, *Manuel*, 6; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 271–73, 275–76, 293; *EI*², s.v. Djardjarā'ī [1]. A gifted poet and writer, he had been secretary to al-Faḍl b. Marwān. He returned to the wazīrate in the days of al-Mustaʿīn in 249 (863).

260. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Faḍl b. Marwān, a secretary of Christian origins, had been wazīr under al-Muʿtaṣim; d. 250 (864–65); Ṭabarī, III, 1181–86, 1326, 1329; Marin, *Reign*, 17–21, 130, 132; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, Index 761, and esp. 233–34, 246–53; *EI*², s.v. al-Faḍl b. Marwān.

261. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān al-Khurāsānī, *mawlā* Azd, was a member of the Khāqānid family, brother of al-Fatḥ and Jaʿfar; see Zambaur, *Manuel*, 12; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 273 and n. 3; Index, 787. He had been secretary of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn. For the circumstances of this appointment, see Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 592–93. See Table 2.

In this year, Yaḥyā b. Harthamah[262] came to Mecca from Medina, along with 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ja'far.[263] Yaḥyā was in charge of the Mecca Road.

In this year, Michael, son of Theophilus, assailed his mother, Theodora, exposed her, and placed her in a convent. He also killed the Logothete (al-Lughuthīṭ), for it was on his account that Michael suspected her. She had ruled for six years.[264]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Dāwūd.

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262. Yaḥyā b. Harthamah, son of Harthama b. A'yan (Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 177–78), was later rewarded for a steadfast stand against the Turks in 251 (III, 1560; Saliba, 47). And in the same year (III, 1621; Saliba, 91) we find him defeating Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh. See on him, Qummī, *Ta'rīkh Qumm*, 103, 185, 201.

263. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Riḍā b Mūsā b. Ja'far, or Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Hādī, was the tenth *imām* of the Shī'ites. He died on 25 Jumādā II, 254 (June 21, 868), according to Ṭabarī, III, 1697 (Saliba, 155). See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 591–92, where Yaḥyā b. Harthamah is said to have escorted him from Medina to Baghdad, whence he was brought to Sāmarrā. According to Ya'qūbī, al-Mutawakkil summoned him from Medina because of popular support there for his cause.

264. Ṭabarī alludes here to the fall of the Byzantine empress Theodora. This took place when her son Michael became old enough to conspire (with the backing of his uncle Bardas) against his mother and her chief minister, Theoktistos the Logothete. A plot was hatched in 856, which led to Theoktistos' murder and Theodora's deposition and banishment to a monastery. Michael had ruled for fourteen years along with Theodora; Bury, *History*, 157ff., 469ff. Theodora's fall was in 856–58 not, as here, in 847–48. Note also that Ṭabarī has Theodora as empress in 241 (855–56); below, 1426 (p. 138 and n. 456).

The Events of the Year 234

(August 5, 848–July 26, 849)

One of the events was the escape of Muḥammad b. al-Baʿīth b. Ḥalbas. He had been brought as a prisoner from Ādharbayjān and was subsequently incarcerated.[265]

The Reason for Muḥammad b. al-Baʿīth's Escape and the Consequences of His Affair

It is reported that the reason for this was [as follows]: Al-Mutawakkil had taken ill this year. Now there was a man who served [1380]
Ibn al-Baʿīth by the name of Khalīfah.[266] Khalīfah informed Ibn al-Baʿīth that al-Mutawakkil had died, and prepared horses for him. Ibn al-Baʿīth and Khalīfah, who had given him the news, fled to Ibn al-Baʿīth's place of residence in Ādharbayjān, namely, Ma-

265. Muḥammad b. al-Baʿīth b. Ḥalbas, a brigand and rebel chief, followed in the footsteps of his ancestors and fortified Marand. Once an ally of the rebel heresiarch Bābak, he later contributed to his defeat; Ṭabarī, III, 1171–72, 1190, 1193 (Marin, *Reign*, 9, 10, 24–26); and see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 503.

266. On the slave Khalīfah, who belonged to Muḥammad b. al-Baʿīth, see also below, 1387 (p. 86).

rand.[267] It is said that he had two fortresses, one called Shāhī and the other Yakdur.[268] Yakdur was outside the lake, and Shāhī was in the midst of it. The lake is about fifty *farsakh*s (three hundred km.),[269] [extending] from the border of Urmiya toward the district (*rustāq*) of Dākharraqān,[270] the country of Muḥammad b. al-Rawwād.[271] Shāhī is a fortified stronghold of Ibn al-Baʿīth, surrounded by water. People sail by way of Lake Urmiya from the outer limits of Marāghah[272] to Urmiya. It is a lake lacking fish and resources.[273]

It is reported that Ibn al-Baʿīth had been in the prison of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab. Bughā al-Sharābī spoke in his favor and secured about thirty guarantors [of good behavior] on his behalf, including Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī,[274] such that Ibn al-Baʿīth could move about freely in Sāmarrā. Afterward he escaped to Marand, where he hoarded food, and where springs of

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267. Marand is north of Lake Urmiya. Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 405, says that Ḥalbas Abū al-Baʿīth was the first to settle there and that it was fortified by al-Baʿīth, father of Muḥammad. Balādhurī also mentions Muḥammad's revolt and its suppression by Bughā; see also *EI*², s.v. Marand. Marand is described briefly below, 1381 (p. 79).

268. Text: Shāhī and Yakdur. Ms. C: Bakdur. Shāhī is mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 1171 (above, n. 265). It is the name of the peninsula on Lake Urmiya. See *EI*¹, IV, 1037, s.v. Urmiya, where there is a reference to the fortresses of Shāhī and Yakdur (Bakdur), which, it is proposed, may be related to the mountain of Bakyir (Bakdir). Ṭabarī, III, 1171–72 (Marin, *Reign*, 9) calls the fortresses Shāhī and Tabrīz.

269. *Fragmenta*, 539, says that the lake was twenty *farsakh*s (120 km.) from the border of Urmiya.

270. Dākharraqān (Dihkharghān; in local speech of Turks, according to Minorsky—Tukharghan) is in Ādharbayjān between Tabrīz and Marāghah; Le Strange, *Lands*, 164; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 395.

271. Muḥammad b. al-Rawwād was a member of the house of local rulers of the Rawwādid dynasty of Ādharbayjān, descendants of al-Rawwād al-Azdī; see, for instance, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 405; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 395–96; Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, 88–89. Cf. also Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik*, 119.

272. Marāghah, east of Lake Urmiya, is the old capital of Ādharbayjān, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 476; Le Strange, *Lands*, 164; *EI*², s.v.

273. The lack of life is due to Lake Urmiya's salt water. But Muslim geographers and travelers mention a fish there called "water dog"; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 513; Le Strange, *Lands*, 160.

274. Ṭabarī, III, 1577–78 and 1615 (Saliba, 59, 87), describes two encounters in which Muḥammad b. Khālid fled from battle. Zambaur, *Manuel*, 181, lists him as Shīrwānshāh, i.e. as belonging to the lords of Shīrwān (= Shīrvān, Sharvān); Minorsky, *History*, Index, 183. He had been governor of Ādharbayjān, Armenia, and Arrān. See also Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 170. He was a descendant of Maʿn b. Zāʾida al-Shaybānī/Rabīʿah.

water were also available. Ibn al-Baʿīth repaired its dilapidated walls. Those seeking to rebel—about 2,200 men—came to him from all sides, from the Rabīʿah and others.[275]

The governor of Ādharbayjān, Muḥammad b. Ḥātim b. Harthamah,[276] failed in his pursuit of Ibn al-Baʿīth. Al-Mutawakkil then appointed Ḥamdawayh b. ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl al-Saʿdī governor of Ādharbayjān,[277] sending him from Sāmarrā posthaste. When Ḥamdawayh arrived there, he rallied the regular army and the Shākiriyyah and those who responded to his call. They numbered 10,000 men.

Ḥamdawayh advanced toward Ibn al-Baʿīth, forcing him to take [1381] refuge in the town of Marand. It is a town whose circumference is two *farsakh*s (twelve km.). There are many gardens within the town, and outside it is surrounded by trees, except for where its gates are located. Ibn al-Baʿīth amassed siege instruments inside the town, where there were springs of water.

After Ibn al-Baʿīth had held out for a long time, al-Mutawakkil sent Zīrak the Turk[278] against him along with 200,000 Turkish horsemen, but Zīrak accomplished nothing. Al-Mutawakkil then sent against him ʿAmr b. Saysil (?) b. Kāl[279] along with 900 of the Shākiriyyah, but to no avail. Al-Mutawakkil thereupon sent against him Bughā al-Sharābī, along with 4,000 troops, comprising Turks, Shākiriyyah, and Maghāribah. Ḥamdawayh b. ʿAlī, ʿAmr b. Saysil and Zīrak advanced upon the city of Marand. They cut down about 1,000 trees surrounding it, as well as other trees of the thicket, and they set up twenty mangonels against the city. Opposite the city they erected a parapet. Ibn al-Baʿīth set up mangonels in a similar manner. The non-Arab peasants (*ʿulūj*) in his districts would shoot with slingshots, preventing anyone from

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275. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 594, describes Ibn al-Baʿīth's supporters as lawbreakers or brigands (*ṣaʿālīk*). Muḥammad's family was of the tribe of Rabīʿah.

276. See Zambaur, *Manuel*, 177, who makes him governor of Ādharbayjān as of 233 (847–48; following Ibn al-Athīr). For his family ties, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 177–78.

277. See Zambaur, *Manuel*, 177. And for a similar account, see Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 594.

278. Zīrak al-Turkī makes his first appearance here; see also below 1414–16 (pp. 122ff); and see Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 594.

279. Ms C: Sasīl; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 28: Saysīl; *Fragmenta*, 540: ʿUmar b. Saysil.

approaching the walls of the town. In the course of eight months, about one hundred supporters of the central government were killed fighting Ibn al-Baʿīth, and about four hundred were wounded. A similar number of Ibn al-Baʿīth's forces were killed and wounded.

Ḥamdawayh, ʿAmr, and Zīrak kept pressing the battle. The wall in front of the city was low, about twenty *dhirāʿ* (ca. ten meters) from the foundation. A contingent of Ibn al-Baʿīth's men, bearing spears, were lowered by ropes and gave battle. When the forces of the central government attacked them, they retreated to the wall.
[1382] They occasionally opened a gate called the Water Gate, from which a number of men would exit, fight, and then return.

When Bughā al-Sharābī approached Marand, he reportedly sent ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh b. al-Salīl al-Shaybānī,[280] bearing letters of safe-conduct for the prominent followers of Ibn al-Baʿīth and for Ibn al-Baʿīth, on condition that they and he surrender to the authority of the Commander of the Faithful. If not, Bughā would fight them, and if he defeated them no one would be spared. Whoever surrendered, however, would be granted safe-conduct. The vast majority of those who were with Ibn al-Baʿīth belonged to the Rabīʿah, of the folk of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh. Many of them came down [the walls] by ropes. Ibn al-Baʿīth's son-in-law Abū al-Agharr surrendered.

It is reported on the authority of this Abū al-Agharr: They then opened the gate of the city, and the forces of Ḥamdawayh and Zīrak entered. Ibn al-Baʿīth fled from his house trying to escape from another direction, but a contingent of the army caught up with him. They had along with them Manṣūr, his household manager. Ibn al-Baʿīth was riding a horse, with a sword about his neck, and he was attempting to get to a river, near which was a millstone, so that he could hide therein. They took him prisoner, and the regular troops plundered his house, the houses of his companions, and some of the houses of the townsmen.

When the people had finished plundering, it was announced that the perpetrators would be exempt from responsibility. They seized two of Ibn al-Baʿīth's sisters, three daughters, and his maternal aunt, the rest being female slaves. The central government

280. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh died in 269 (882–83); Ṭabarī, III, 2048.

authorities acquired possession of thirteen women of his female entourage. And, of his eminent companions who have been mentioned, they seized about two hundred men, the rest having fled.

Bughā al-Sharābī showed up the next day, and his herald announced that plunder was forbidden. Bughā al-Sharābī took personal credit for the victory.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil went out to al-Madā'in in Jumādā I (December, 848).

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Ītākh. He was in charge of Mecca and Medina and the festivities, and his name was invoked on the pulpits. [1383]

The Reason for Ītākh's Pilgrimage This Year

Ītākh was reportedly a Khazar slave (*ghulām*), a cook, belonging to Sallām al-Abrash. Al-Mu'taṣim bought Ītākh from Sallām in 199 (814–15).[281] As Ītākh was manly and intrepid, al-Mu'taṣim, and al-Wāthiq after him, promoted him to the position where many of the administrative functions (*a'māl*) of the central government were assigned to him. Al-Mu'taṣim appointed him governor of the security police (*ma'ūnah*) of Sāmarrā along with Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm. Both Ītākh and Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm were represented by deputies. Whoever al-Mu'taṣim or al-Wāthiq wished to have killed would be imprisoned and killed by Ītākh. Among them were Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, the sons of al-Ma'mūn whose mother was Sundus, Ṣāliḥ b. 'Ujayf, and others.[282]

When al-Mutawakkil took office, Ītākh retained his rank, being responsible for the regular army, the Maghāribah, the Turks, the *mawlā*s, the Postal and Intelligence Service (*barīd*), the office of

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281. Ītākh was, then, one of the first Turkish slaves acquired by al-Mu'taṣim, who made them into a formidable military unit; see Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 167. Sallām al-Abrash is cited as a translator of scientific works by Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 587; Qifṭī, *Ta'rīkh*, 196 (al-Abrash). But a Sallām al-Abrash al-Khādim is mentioned by Ṭabarī as having led an army uprising in Jumādā I, 207 (III, 1065; Bosworth, *Reunification*, 134). See also Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 256 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 45. Abrash = "Speckled" (or for Abraṣ, "Leprous").

282. Al-Mu'taṣim had turned over sons of al-Ma'mūn born to Sundus to Ītākh, who incarcerated them in a vaulted cellar of his residence; Ṭabarī, III 1267 (Marin, *Reign*, 85). Ṣāliḥ, mentioned only here, maybe a son of 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa, mentioned above, 1374 (p. 70).

chamberlain, and the Caliphal Palace. Once firmly ensconced in the office of the caliphate, al-Mutawakkil went out for a vacation to the district of al-Qāṭūl.[283] While drinking one night, the caliph picked a quarrel with Ītākh, as a result of which the latter thought to kill him. When al-Mutawakkil awoke the next morning, he was told what had taken place. He apologized to Ītākh and was conciliatory toward him, saying, "You are my father and you have reared me."

When al-Mutawakkil returned to Sāmarrā, he got someone to suggest that Ītākh ask permission to go on the pilgrimage. He did so, and was given permission. Al-Mutawakkil made him amīr of every town he entered [on the way to Mecca] and bestowed a robe of honor upon him. All the army commanders rode with him. Many of the Shākiriyyah, army commanders, and pages went out with him, aside from his own pages and retinue. After he departed, the office of chamberlain was turned over to Waṣīf. This
[1384] was on Saturday, 18 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (June 13, 849).

Another version holds that this episode concerning Ītākh took place in 233 (847–48), and that al-Mutawakkil turned over the office of chamberlain to Waṣīf on 17 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 233 (July 23, 848).

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā.[284]

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283. The Qāṭūl district, according to Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 256 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 46, was north of Shammāsiyyah and south of Sāmarrā. See also Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 922; Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 71; and the discussion by Rogers, "Samarra," 130, n. 21.

284. Text: Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā. Addenda, DCCLXXV, and Cairo edition: ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, followed here.

The Events of the Year 235

(July 26, 849–July 14, 850)

One of them was the killing of Ītākh al-Khazarī.[285]

How Ītākh Was Killed

It is reported that, when Ītākh left Mecca heading back to Iraq, al-Mutawakkil sent to him Sa'īd b. Ṣāliḥ the Chamberlain[286] with attire and precious gifts, ordering Sa'īd to meet Ītākh in al-Kūfah or somewhere along his route. Al-Mutawakkil had already broached his order concerning Ītākh to his chief of security police in Baghdad.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir reportedly said:[287] I went out with Isḥāq

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285. The episode of Ītākh's murder is related by Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 593, in a slightly different way.

286. Sa'īd b. Ṣāliḥ, at this point a chamberlain, was later made chief of the police; III, 1549 (Saliba, 39).

287. Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir (d. 279 [892]), a well-known secretary and poet, was later wazīr under al-Mu'tamid: see Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 160–64; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 270, 321, 367; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIX, 114–27; Ibn al-Abbār, *I'tāb*, 159–63; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 316.

b. Ibrāhīm as Ītākh was approaching Baghdad. Ītākh intended to take the Euphrates Road to Anbār and then proceed to Sāmarrā. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm wrote to him: "The Commander of the Faithful—may God give him long life—has ordered that you come to Baghdad, that the Hāshimites and notables meet you, and that you hold an audience for them in the palace of Khuzaymah b. Khāzim,[288] and have rewards given to them."

Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir said: We went as far as al-Yāsiriyyah.[289]
[1385] Ibn Ibrāhīm stationed the regular army and the Shākiriyyah on the bridge and went out with his special commanders. A bench (*ṣuffah*) was set down for him at al-Yāsiriyyah, upon which he sat, until he was told that Ītākh was approaching. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm then rode out to receive him. When Isḥāq saw Ītākh, he was ready to dismount, but Ītākh implored him not to do so.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir continued: Ītākh was accompanied by 300 of his men and pages. He was wearing a white sleeved robe (*qabāʾ*),[290] and was girded with a sword and sword belts. Both Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm and Ītākh marched as far as the bridge.[291] Isḥāq then preceded him and passed over [the bridge], going to the door of [the palace of] Khuzaymah b. Khāzim. He said to Ītākh, "Enter, may God cause the amīr to prosper." Whenever one of Ītākh's pages passed by the guards at the bridge, they let him proceed until Ītākh remained with his intimate pages. A group of men then moved in front of Ītākh. The palace of Khuzaymah had been fitted out for him.

Isḥāq remained behind and ordered that only three or four of

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288. The palace of Khuzaymah b. Khāzim was located where the road begins at the Main Bridge (*al-jisr*) connecting the West Side of Baghdad with Bāb al-Ṭāq. The land had been granted as an allotment by al-Mahdī to Khuzaymah b. Khāzim, for whom see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 180; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, Index, 235; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 218 and Map V, facing p. 107, no. 59; Lassner, *Topography*, 76, 78, 280, n. 1, 281, n. 6.

289. Al-Yāsiriyyah is said by Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, IV, 1002) to be a large village on the bank of Nahr ʿĪsā, 6 km. from Baghdad. He notes its fine masonry bridge (*qanṭarah*). Ṭabarī mentions here a pontoon bridge (*jisr*). *Fragmenta*, 543, speaks of "the two pontoon bridges" (*jisrayn*). One might suppose that what was a pontoon bridge at the time of Ṭabarī became a masonry bridge by the time of Yāqūt. On the other hand, sometimes *jisr* and *qanṭarah* mean the same thing.

290. The *qabāʾ* was a sleeved, close-fitting coat, and was typical attire of the Turks, according to Ahsan, *Social Life*, 41–42.

291. The Main Bridge in Baghdad is intended, not the bridge in al-Yāsiriyyah.

Ītākh's pages should enter the palace, and that the doors be seized. And he ordered his guardian escort on the side of the river embankment to wreck all the stairs leading to the palace of Khuzaymah b. Khāzim. When Ītākh entered, Isḥāq locked the door behind him, at which point Ītākh looked around and, realizing that only three pages were with him, he exclaimed, "They have done it!"

Were he not seized in Baghdad, they would have been unable to apprehend him. Had he entered Sāmarrā and wanted his men to kill all his opponents, he would have been able to accomplish this.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir went on: Food was brought around evening, and Ītākh ate. He stayed for two or three days. Then Isḥāq came, sailing in a fast boat (*ḥarrāqah*), and prepared another for Ītākh.[292] He sent Ītākh a message for him to come to the boat, and ordered that Ītākh's sword be confiscated. They lowered him into the vessel, and Isḥāq sent an armed escort with him. Isḥāq then traveled upstream as far as his residence. Reaching Isḥāq's palace, Ītākh was taken out [of the boat] and brought into a section of it. He was thereafter bound and fettered, irons being placed on his neck and feet.

At that, Ītākh's two sons, Manṣūr and Muẓaffar, and his two [1386]
secretaries, Sulaymān b. Wahb and Qudāmah b. Ziyād al-Naṣrānī, were brought to Baghdad.[293] Sulaymān was responsible for the administrative functions (*a'māl*) of the central government; Qudāmah, for the estates of Ītākh in particular. They were imprisoned in Baghdad, and Sulaymān and Qudāmah were flogged. Qudāmah embraced Islam; Manṣūr and Muẓaffar were imprisoned.

Turk, *mawlā* of Isḥāq, reportedly said:[294] I stood at the door of

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292. A *ḥarrāqah* is a light all-purpose craft, used in warfare as a fire ship. It was convenient for travel on the Tigris; *Kindermann, "Schiff,"* 22. Ītākh and his captors had to travel upstream on the Tigris from the area of the Main Bridge to that of the Upper Bridge.

293. Sulaymān b. Wahb is mentioned above (n. 16). His arrest and torture are related in detail by Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, I, 51, on the basis of Sulaymān's own report transmitted by his son 'Ubaydallāh. Qudāmah b. Ziyād, a Christian secretary, was father of the distinguished secretary Ja'far b. Qudāmah and grandfather of the famous Qudāmah b. Ja'far; *EI²*, s.v. Ḳudāma b. D̲ja'far.

294. For Turk, the *mawlā* of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, see Ṭabarī, III, 1194 (Marin, *Reign*, 27); Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Baghdād*, 147.

the chamber in which Ītākh was imprisoned. He called to me, "O Turk." I replied, "What do you want, Abū Manṣūr?" He said, "Give the amīr greetings and tell him, 'You know what al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāthiq ordered me to do in your case. But I protected you as far as I could. This should put me in good stead with you. As far as I am concerned, I have experienced adversity and comfort, and I don't care about what I eat and drink. But these two young men have lived in luxury and are not used to misery. So give them soup and meat and something from which to eat.'"

Turk continued: I stood at the entrance to the audience hall of Isḥāq. He asked me, "What is it, Turk? Do you wish to discuss something?" I answered that I did, and that Ītākh had said to me such and such.

Turk went on: The rations of Ītākh were a loaf of bread and a cup of water. Isḥāq ordered that Ītākh's sons be given a table on which were seven loaves of bread and five ladles of water. This remained in effect during Isḥāq's life. I do not know what was done with them afterward. As for Ītākh, he was shackled with eighty *raṭls* [of iron] about his neck and a heavy fetter. He died on Wednesday, 5 Jumādā II, 235 (December 21, 849). Isḥāq called Abū al-Ḥasan Isḥāq b. Thābit b. Abī ʿAbbād[295] to attest to his death, along with the chief of the Post and Intelligence of Baghdad and the judges. He showed them that Ītākh had not been beaten or marked.

I was informed by some(one) of our shaykhs that Ītākh's death
[1387] resulted from thirst. That is, he was fed, and when he asked for water it was withheld until he died from the lack of drink. His two sons remained in prison during the lifetime of al-Mutawakkil. When al-Muntaṣir acceded to rule, he freed them. Muẓaffar lived after he was freed from prison for only three months before he died, Manṣūr surviving him.

In this year, Bughā al-Sharābī delivered Ibn al-Baʿīth in Shawwāl (April 18–May 16), as well as Khalīfah and Abū al-Agharr[296] and

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295. An Abū al-Ḥasan b. Abī ʿAbbād, a secretary, is mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 1180 (Marin, *Reign*, 16).

296. Text: *wa-bi-khalīfatihi Abī al-Agharr* ("and with his deputy Abū al-Agharr"). Ms. C (without points); *wa-bi-Khalīfah*. The note suggests *wa-bi-Khalīfah wa-Abī al-Agharr* ("and with Khalīfah and Abū al-Agharr"). Ṭabarī, Index, 172, implicitly identifies this Khalīfah with Khalīfah, the *ghulām* of Ibn al-

the two brothers of Ibn al-Baʿīth, Ṣaqr and Khālid—they had surrendered in return for a guarantee of safe-conduct—and a son of Ibn al-Baʿīth called al-ʿAlā' who gave himself up for a guarantee of safe-conduct. Bughā al-Sharābī delivered about 180 of the prisoners, the rest of them having died before they arrived. When they approached Sāmarrā, they were placed upon camels so that the people could view them. Al-Mutawakkil ordered that Ibn al-Baʿīth and the others be imprisoned, and he had Ibn al-Baʿīth shackled in irons.

ʿAlī b. al-Jahm reportedly said: Muḥammad b. al-Baʿīth was brought to al-Mutawakkil. He ordered that he be decapitated, whereupon he was thrown down upon a leather mat. The swordsmen came and brandished their swords at him.

Al-Mutawakkil spoke to him harshly, "What prompted you to do what you did, Muḥammad?"

He replied, "Distress. You are the rope stretched between God and His creatures. I have two notions concerning [what] you [will do]. And I consider preferable what is most proper for you, namely, a pardon." He then launched into the following:[297]

People wish only that you be my killer today,
Imām of right guidance, whereas forgiving people[298] is better.

I am merely a sinful creature, [1388]
While your pardon is created of the light of prophecy.

Baʿīth, mentioned on 1380 (p. 77). A certain Abū al-Agharr Khalīfah b. al-Mubārak al-Sulamī (Ṭabarī, Index, 47) is mentioned in Rosenthal, *Return*, but (*inter alia*) he died in 303 (916); see Rosenthal, Index, 220.

297. The poem appears also, with variants, in Ṣulī, *Awrāq*; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 279; *Fragmenta*, 541; and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 32; see note in the Leiden edition. For Ibn al-Baʿīth's literary talent and the significance of his Persian poetry as evidential of Persian poetry in northwestern Iran in the ninth century, see Barthold, "Early Persian Poetry."

298. Text: *bi-l-nās*. Masʿūdi, *Murūj* VII, 279: *bi-l-ḥurr* = "for a free man." *Fragmenta*: *fi-llāh*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*: *bi-l-mar'* = "for a man." Both *bi-l-ḥurr* and *bi-l-mar'* fit here. Ṣūlī: *wa-l-ṣulḥ awlā wa-ajmal* = "but reconciliation is more fit and finer," and he then adds another line of verse: "My sin is diminished a bit by your pardon/ Whoever is pardoned by you finds pardon better."

You are the best of those who proceed to glory,
And the best of the two options you shall surely carry out.

ʿAlī b. al-Jahm said: Then al-Mutawakkil turned to me and said that Ibn al-Baʿīth possessed literary talent (*adab*). I hastened to say [to Ibn al-Baʿīth], "The Commander of the Faithful will carry out the best of the two [options] and will favor you." Al-Mutawakkil said, "Return to your residence."

I have received a report on the authority of . . . . :[299] "A group of shaykhs in Marāghah recited to me Persian poems by Ibn al-Baʿīth, and they noted his literary talent and courage. There are many stories about him."

I was informed by someone who reportedly was a witness when Ibn al-Baʿīth was brought to al-Mutawakkil, and Ibn al-Baʿīth spoke with him as he did. Al-Muʿtazz interceded for him while sitting with his father, al-Mutawakkil. Al-Muʿtazz asked that Ibn al-Baʿīth be turned over to him, which he was, and he was pardoned.

When Ibn al-Baʿīth fled he recited:[300]

How many things have I achieved that others have shirked,
And now that failure has begun to stifle me,

Do not rebuke me with what does not avail me.
Go, leave me, my fate is already sealed.

I shall squander money whether in hardship or in ease;
The generous person gives though having nothing.

[1389] When Ibn al-Baʿīth fled, he left behind in his residence three sons of his, called al-Baʿīth, Jaʿfar, and Ḥalbas, as well as slave girls. They were imprisoned in Baghdad in the Gold Palace (Qaṣr al-Dhahab).[301] After the death of Ibn al-Baʿīth—he died a month after he entered Sāmarrā—Bughā al-Sharābī spoke on behalf of Abū al-Agharr, his son-in-law, whereupon the latter was released.

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299. There is a lacuna in the text at this point instead of the informant's name.

300. See *Les Séances de Ḥarīrī*, ed. S. De Sacy (Paris, 1847), 75–76, note (on *bi-l-kaẓm*) (cited in note *ad loc.* in Leiden edition).

301. The Gold Palace was in the Round City; Lassner, *Topography*, 49; Index, 322.

A maternal aunt of Ibn al-Baʿīth was released from the prison and died from joy that very day. The rest [of his household] remained in prison.

A hundred *raṭls* [of iron] had reportedly been placed upon the neck of Ibn al-Baʿīth, and he remained bent over face forward until he died.

When Ibn al-Baʿīth was seized, those who were imprisoned as his guarantors were released. Some of them had died in prison. The rest of his family was thereafter freed. His sons—Ḥalbas, Baʿīth, and Jaʿfar—joined the number of of Shākiriyyah who were with ʿUbaydallah b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān.[302] They were treated as guests.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil ordered[303] that the Christians and all other Dhimmīs wear yellow hoods (*ṭayālisah*)[304] and *zunnār* belts,[305] ride on saddles with wooden stirrups, affix two pommels at the rear of their saddles, and place two buttons to the caps

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302. Abū al-Ḥasan ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān, of the Banū Khāqān (Zambaur, *Manuel*, 12; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 746), appears here for the first time. ʿUbaydallāh later became wazīr under al-Mutawakkil (236–47) and then under al-Muʿtamid (256–63). He died, according to Ibn al-Jawzī (*Muntaẓam*, V, 45), from a blow received in a polo match, on 10 Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 262 (August 5, 876). See also Zambaur, *Manuel*, 7–8, 12; Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 213; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 274–86, 305–09, etc. (Index, 785). Ṭabarī was employed as a tutor for his sons. See Table 2.

303. The type of restriction imposed upon the Dhimmīs by al-Mutawakkil was first enacted by ʿUmar II, and was thereafter refined and systematized by Hārūn al-Rashīd; see Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, 127–28; tr. Fagnan, 195–97; Fattal, *Statut légal*, 69, 96. See also Lichtenstädter, "Distinctive Dress"; Ashtor, "Social Isolation"; and Tritton, *Caliphs*, 117ff. Our text (up to the caliph's letter to his governors) is translated by Lewis, *Islam*, II, 224–25. And see his translation (pp. 225–26) of Mutawakkil's degree in Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (Cairo, 1331–37 [1913–18]), XIII, 368. See also the translation by N. A. Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, 167–68. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 141, noting al-Mutawakkil's "hatred for Christians," relates the following decrees with his leveling the tomb of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (see below, 1407, p. 110). In other words, the caliph's decrees vis-à-vis the Dhimmī minority were, in his view, connected with his hostility toward Shīʿites.

304. *Ṭayālisah* (sg. *ṭaylasān*) is translated here as "hoods." Ashtor, "Social Isolation," uses "mantle." According to Y. Stillman, *EI*², s.v. Libās, the *ṭaylasān* in this period was evidently a cowl. See also A. Arazi's Introduction to Suyūṭī, *Aḥādīth*; Ahsan, *Social Life*, 42–43. According to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimmah*, II, 738 (cited by Ahsan, 63), Jews were permitted to wear the *ṭaylasān* because it was traditional gear of theirs.

305. On *zunnār* (< Greek *zonarion*), see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 196; N. A. Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, 167, n. 2; Ahsan, *Social Life*, 61–63 (where the dress of the Dhimmī is treated in general).

(*qalānis*)[306] of those who wore them, which were to be of a different color from the cap worn by Muslims. [He also ordered them] to put two patches on their slaves' outer garment, the color of which was to differ from that of the outer garment, that one of the patches be in front of his chest and the other on his back, and that each patch be four finger spans (eight cm.)[307] in diameter and be yellow. [Those Dhimmīs] who wore a turban (*'imāmah*) should wear one whose color was also yellow. The [Dhimmī] women
[1390] who went out and showed themselves in public should only appear in a yellow wrap (*izār*).[308] Al-Mutawakkil also ordered that their slaves wear *zunnār* belts and prohibited them from wearing those of a decorative variety (*manāṭiq*).[309] In addition, he ordered that their renovated places of worship be destroyed, and that one-tenth of their residences be seized.[310] If the location was sufficiently spacious, it was to be turned into a mosque. If it was not suitable for a mosque, it was to be [destroyed and] the area made an open tract of land.

And he ordered that wooden images of devils[311] be nailed to the doors of their houses in order to distinguish between their residences and those of the Muslims.[312]

Al-Mutawakkil prohibited the employment of Dhimmīs in government bureaus and in official functions, in which their authority would be exercised over Muslims. He prohibited their children from studying in Muslim elementary schools (*katātīb*), or being taught by Muslims. And he prohibited their displaying

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306. The *qalansuwah* (pl. *qalānis*) might be a close-fitting cap or a tall cap of conical shape; see above, n. 222.

307. An *iṣba'* ("finger") = 2.078 or 2.252 cm. (Hinz, *Masse und Gewichte*, 54).

308. On *izār*, see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 24; N. A. Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, 167, n. 4; Lichtenstädter, "Distinctive Dress," 41, n. 22; Ashtor, "Social Isolation," 80. Y. Stillman, *EI*², s.v. Libās, V, 732, describes it as "a large sheet-like wrap worn both as a mantle and a long loin cloth or waist cloth." She compares the term to late-Biblical *ēzōr*.

309. Dozy, *Vêtements*, 420, explains *minṭaqah* as being a girdle or waist belt fastened by a buckle or clasp; see also Lichtenstädter, "Distinctive Dress," 41, 22; N. A. Stillman, *Jews in Arab Lands*, 167, n. 5; Ahsan, *Social Life*, 62.

310. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 50, claims that al-Mutawakkil was the first caliph to ban renovation of Christian and Jewish places of worship by law. See also Ashtor, "Social Isolation," 86.

311. For *shayāṭīn*, 'Aynī (citing Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, *Mir'at al-zamān*) has *asāṭīn* ("columns"). See also Ashtor, *loc cit.*

312. See Tritton, *Caliphs*, 23.

crosses on their Palm Sundays and holding religious processions. In addition, he ordered that their graves be made level with the ground so as not to resemble the graves of the Muslims.[313]

Thus, he wrote to his district governors:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Now then, God—may He be blessed and exalted—by His might which cannot be gainsaid and by His power to do whatever He wills has chosen Islam and wished it for Himself. Through Islam He has honored His angels, sent His messengers, and assisted His saints. He embraced Islam with righteousness, encompassed it with succor, protected it from infirmity. He gave Islam victory over other religions, and made it free from doubts, immune from faults, endowed with outstanding virtues. He distinguished it among the religious laws by making it the most pure and virtuous, among precepts by making it the most pristine and noble, among statutes by making it the most just and convincing, and among actions by making it the most beautiful and fitting. He has honored its professors by what he has permitted and prohibited for them. He expounded for them His laws and statutes, set [1391] down for them His rules and customs, and prepared for them His expansive reward and recompense.
>
> He says in His Book, by which He commands and prohibits, urges and counsels: "Verily Allāh commands justice and kindness, and giving to kindred, and He forbids indecency and disreputable conduct and greed: He admonishes you, mayhap you will be reminded."[314]
>
> He says, prohibiting His people from partaking of offensive food,[315] drink and sexual relations, exalting them above this, purifying their religion, and making His people superior over others: "Forbidden to you are the dead (carcass), blood, the flesh of swine, that over which any

313. Muslim graves were supposed to be made level with the earth, but were in fact more often raised and even constructed in the form of mausoleums.

314. Qur'ān 16:90/92. The Qur'ān translations throughout are from R. Bell.

315. Text: *'umiṭa*. Addenda, DCCLXXV, suggests *ṭu'ima*. Cairo edition *ghumiṭa* is followed here.

other (name) than Allāh has been invoked, that which has been strangled," etc.[316]

Then He concludes, referring to what He prohibits them to partake of, with this verse, protecting His religion from whoever opposed it and perfectly benefiting His chosen people. God—may He be powerful and exalted—says: "Today those who have disbelieved despair of your religion; fear them not but fear you Me. Today I have perfected your religion for you," . . . etc.[317]

God—may He be powerful and exalted—also says: "Forbidden to you are your mothers, your daughters," etc.[318]

And God says: "O you who have believed, wine, *maysir*, stone altars, and divining arrows are simply an abomination, some of Satan's work," etc.[319]

God thereby forbids Muslims to partake of the most abominable and impure foods of members of other religions and to imbibe the drink of theirs that most arouses enmity and hatred and that most impedes mentioning God's name and praying. And He forbids the most sinful and the most unlawful of their marriages in the eyes of the discerning.

He gives Muslims good qualities and noble virtues, and makes them professors of faith, fidelity, virtue, mercy, certainty, and veracity. And He has not posited in their religion division and opposition, nor fanaticism, haughtiness, treachery, perfidy, oppression, and injustice. He rather commands the former and forbids the latter, and promises for them His paradise and fire, His reward and punishment. [1392]

The Muslims, through God's favor by which He has elected them, and the superiority He gave them by the religion He chose for them, are distinguished from members of other religions by their righteous laws, their fine

316. Qur'ān 5:3/4.
317. Qur'ān 5:3/4–5.
318. Qur'ān 4:23/27.
319. Qur'ān 5:90/92.

and upright statutes, and their evident proof. They are distinguished through God's purifying their religion by what He permits and forbids them, by God's decree to strengthen His religion, by His determination to manifest His truth decisively, and by His volition to perfect His benefit to His people, "and that those who perished might perish because of an Evidence (of Allāh's intervention) and that those who remained alive might remain alive because of an Evidence";[320] and that God may give victory and a fortunate outcome to the pious and disgrace in this world and the next to the unbelievers.

The Commander of the Faithful decided—may his success and guidance be through God—that he would compel all the Dhimmīs, elite and common, in his presence and in his near and distant provinces, to make their hoods (*ṭayālisah*)—which some of their merchants, secretaries, their old, and young wear—the color of yellow clothing. None of them shall evade this.

And those of their humble followers beneath these in station, whose circumstance prevents them from wearing hoods, shall affix two pieces of cloth of the same color [to their clothing]. The circumference of each piece shall be a complete span,[321] and shall be affixed in like manner on the outer cloak that he wears, front and rear. And all of [the Dhimmīs] shall fasten buttons to their caps having a color different from that of the caps. They shall protrude where they are fastened, so that they not adhere and be hidden, and so that what is affixed by plaiting not be concealed. [1393]

They shall also attach wooden stirrups to their saddles and fix protruding pommels to their saddlebows. They shall not be permitted to remove the pommels from their saddle bows and place them farther back on their sides. What they do shall be inspected to ensure that the orders of the Commander of the Faithful are carried out by their

320. Qur'ān 8:42/44.
321. A span (of the hand; *shibr*) = about 10 cm.

clear compliance. The inspector should be able to spot compliance readily, it being immediately apparent.

Their male and female slaves, and those of this class who wear girdles, shall wear *zunnār* belts and *kustīj* girdles[322] in place of the girdles that were on their waists.

You shall instruct your officers concerning the orders of the Commander of the Faithful, and do so in such a way that they are motivated to carry out their examinations as commissioned. And you shall warn them about circumventing and deviating from [these regulations], and about punishing whoever of the Dhimmīs contravenes these regulations, be it by opposition, neglect or whatever, so that all of them, regardless of class or profession, hew to the path that the Commander of the Faithful has ordered, God willing.

Know this, whoever considers the Commander of the Faithful and his order. And dispatch to your officers in the regions of your province the letter of the Commander of the Faithful, that is, the letter that you have received concerning what you shall do, God willing.

The Commander of the Faithful asks God, his Lord and Patron, to bless His servant and Messenger Muḥammad and His angels, and to preserve him, having made him caliph for His religion. May he carry out God's commission, which he rightly executes only with God's help, so that he fulfills what God has appointed him to do, and
[1394] attains his consummate reward and most excellent recompense. For God is the Noble, the Compassionate.

Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās wrote this in Shawwāl, 235 [April 18–May 17, 850].

'Alī b. al-Jahm recited:[323]

The yellow things divide
Between the righteous and the errant,

322. For *kasātīj*, pl. of *kustīj* (<Persian *kustī*), meaning belt, girdle, see Glossarium, CDLI; Steingass, *Dictionary*, 1029.
323. See 'Alī b. al-Jahm; *Dīwān*, 192.

What cares the wise if the errant increase?[324]
All the more for the booty!

In this year, a man named Maḥmūd b. al-Faraj al-Naysābūrī appeared in Sāmarrā. He claimed to be Dhū al-Qarnayn.[325] He had with him twenty-seven men in the vicinity of Khashabat Bābak. Two of his companions appeared at the Public Gate (Bāb al-ʿĀmmah). And in Baghdad, in the mosque of its administrative center, there were two others who claimed that Maḥmūd was a prophet and that he was Dhū al-Qarnayn. He and his companions were remanded to al-Mutawakkil, who ordered that Maḥmūd be beaten with scourges. He was flogged severely and died thereafter from this beating.

Maḥmūd's companions were imprisoned. They had come from Naysābūr and had with them some [text] that they recited. They brought their families with them. Among them was a shaykh who bore witness to Maḥmūd's prophecy, claiming that the latter had received a revelation from Gabriel.

Maḥmūd was flogged one hundred strokes, but did not disclaim his prophecy under the beating. The shaykh who had vouched for him was flogged forty times, whereupon he disavowed Maḥmūd's prophecy under the whipping. Maḥmud was brought to the Public Gate (Bāb al-ʿĀmmah), where he recanted.

The shaykh declared that Maḥmūd had duped him, and ordered Maḥmūd's companions to slap him, which each of them did ten times. A text was taken from Maḥmūd containing words that he composed. He stated that it was his Qur'ān, and that Gabriel—peace upon him—had revealed it to him. He died thereafter on Wednesday, 3 Dhū al-Ḥijjah of this year (June 18, 850), and was buried in the Jazīrah.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil confirmed the oath of allegiance for his three sons as heirs apparent:[326] Muḥammad, whom he called

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324. For *kathura* in the sense of "increase," see Glossarium, CDXLVIII.

325. Dhū al-Qarnayn ("the Two-Horned") appears in Qur'ān 18:83/82ff. and is often identified with Alexander the Great by both Muslim exegetes and Western scholars. Muslims regard Dhū al-Qarnayn as a believer who warned people of God's reward and punishment. See Paret, *Koran: Kommentar*, p. 318. Maḥmūd b. al-Faraj presumably regarded Dhū al-Qarnayn as a prophet.

326. Nabia Abbott, "Arabic Papyri," discusses the appointment of the three sons of al-Mutawakkil as heirs apparent and the division of the empire. Muḥam-

[1395] al-Muntaṣir; Abū 'Abdallāh b. Qabīḥah—there was a difference of opinion concerning his proper name: according to one view his name was Muḥammad; according to another it was al-Zubayr—whom he gave the honorific title al-Mu'tazz; and Ibrāhīm, whom he called al-Mu'ayyad.

This was said to have been on Saturday, 26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (July 11, 850), or, according to another version, on 27 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (July 12, 850).[327] He tied two banners for each, one black, as the banner of investiture, the other white, as the banner of the province. He assigned to each of his sons the province that I shall mention.

The caliph assigned to his son Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir: Ifrīqiyah and the entire Maghrib, from 'Arīsh Miṣr to where his sovereignty extended in the west; the district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn; the Syrian and Jazīrah border provinces and towns; Diyār Muḍar, Diyār Rabī'ah, Mosul, Hīt, 'Ānāt, al-Khābūr, and Qarqīsiyā; the districts of Bājarmā and Takrīt; the subdistricts of the Sawād; the districts of the Tigris, the two holy places, the Yemen, 'Akk, Ḥaḍramawt, al-Yamāmah, al-Baḥrayn, al-Sind, Makrān, Qandābīl, and Farj Bayt al-Dhahab; and the districts of al-Ahwāz. He also gave him the annual income from produce in Sāmarrā; Māh al-Kūfah, Māh al-Baṣrah, Māsabadhān, Mihrajān Qadhaq, Shahrazūr, Darabādh, al-Ṣāmighān, Iṣbahān, Qumm, Qāshān, Qazwīn; the affairs of al-Jabal and the estates affiliated to al-Jibāl; and the income from alms taxes of the Arab tribesmen in al-Baṣrah.

He assigned to his son al-Mu'tazz: The districts of Khurāsān and its affiliated territories, Ṭabaristān, al-Rayy, Armenia, Ādharbayjān, and the districts of Fārs. In 240 (845–855), al-Mutawakkil

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mad al-Muntaṣir received the largest share, and Ibrāhīm, the last in line of succession, the smallest. See the accounts in Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh II*, 594–95; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 32–33; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 280; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, III, 275. They differ in details concerning the provinces assigned to each. Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir was thirteen (see below, 1471, where he is said to be twenty-five years old in 274/861–62); Ibrāhīm had not reached puberty; and al-Zubayr was only three. This meant that agents had to be appointed to administer their territories. The papyri published by Abbott concern village surveys ordered by Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir, agent for the Syrian region assigned to Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad. Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir was a brother of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir (above, n. 287).

327. Ṣūlī gives the date as 1 Muḥarram, 236 (July 15, 850).

assigned to al-Muʿtazz the contents of the treasuries in all the districts, and the mints, and ordered that his name be stamped on dirhams.

He assigned to his son al-Muʾayyad the districts (*jund*) of Damascus, Ḥimṣ, al-Urdunn and Filasṭīn. [1396]

Abū al-Ghuṣn al-Aʿrābī recited:[328]

The majestic rulers of the Muslims
Are Muḥammad, then Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Then there is Ibrāhīm, disdainful of baseness,
Blessed among the sons of God's caliph.

Al-Mutawakkil wrote a letter to his sons, the text of which is as follows:

> This is a letter written by the Servant of God, Jaʿfar al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh, The Commander of the Faithful, calling upon God and those who were present, including the members of his household, partisans (*shīʿah*), army commanders, judges, trusted deputies, jurists, and other Muslims, to witness its entire contents.[329]
>
> To Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, and to Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, and Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, sons of the Commander of the Faithful, in the full competence of his judgment, complete health of his body, thorough understanding, free volition, and striving for obedience to his Lord and the well-being of his subjects, their compliance and the amplitude and integrity of their community.
>
> This was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 235 (June 16–July 14, 850).[330]
>
> To Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of Jaʿfar al-

328. For the poet Abū al-Ghuṣn al-Aʿrābī, see, for instance, Ibn Qutaybah, *ʿUyūn*, IV, 22.

329. The word *shīʿah* in this context has the sense of "followers, assistants, officers, etc."; Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 811. The letter is also translated by Chejne, *Accession*, 123ff.

330. Cairo edition adds *annahu jaʿala*, on the basis of Mss. A and D, according to which the translation would be: "It was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah . . . that he made Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir. . . ."

Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh, the Commander of the Faithful, heir apparent of the Muslims during al-Mutawakkil's life and caliph over them after him:

Al-Mutawakkil commended to al-Muntaṣir piety, which protects whoever cleaves to it, saves whoever takes refuge in it, and is the might and glory[331] of whoever contents himself with it. Good favor is attained by obedience to God, and mercy flows from God. God is forgiving and merciful.[332]

The Servant of God, Jaʿfar al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh, Commander of the Faithful, invested as [future] caliph after Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of the
[1397] Commander of the Faithful, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful. Following Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, he ordered that the caliphate be transferred to Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful.

And the Servant of God, Jaʿfar al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh, Commander of the Faithful, imposed upon Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh and Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, the two sons of the Commander of the Faithful, obedience and sincere counsel, alliance with [al-Muntaṣir's] friends and enmity toward his foes, secretly and publicly, whether in anger or favor, whether withholding or giving. He also enjoined them to uphold their oath of allegiance to al-Muntaṣir and to show loyalty to his investiture. They should not seek his ruin, nor should they endeavor to deceive him or make common cause against him. They should not act independently of al-Muntaṣir in any way that violates his investiture by the Commander of the Faithful as heir apparent, either while al-Mutawakkil lives or as caliph after him.

The Servant of God, Jaʿfar al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-

331. Text: *ʿizz*. The note *ad loc.* suggests *ʿizzah*, which may mean "glory" here, but the terms are virtually identical in meaning. I have used two words to encompass the possible semantic range.

332. Qurʾān 2:173/168 and parallels.

llāh, the Commander of the Faithful, has imposed [the following] upon Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, with respect to Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh and Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, the two sons of the Commander of the Faithful: Fidelity to what al-Mutawakkil has appointed for them and invested them with, namely, the caliphate after Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, the living succession being Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, becoming caliph after Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful. Al-Mutawakkil enjoins fulfillment of this.

Al-Muntaṣir, in turn, should not renounce any one of them, nor make an investiture excluding any one of them, be it by rendering the oath of allegiance to a son of his or to anyone else among all mankind. The order of succession shall not be altered. Al-Muntaṣir shall not violate any [of the arrangements] concerning the offices that the Servant [1398]
of Allāh Jaʿfar al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh has assigned to each of them, including: [the supervision of] prayer, police services,[333] judgeships, *maẓālim* courts, taxes, estates, booty, income from alms taxes, and other privileges of their offices, and the office of each of them, including post,[334] [the monopoly on] embroidery (*ṭuruz*),[335] the treasury, subsidies, the mint houses, and all the offices that the Commander of the Faithful has assigned and will assign to each of them.

And al-Muntaṣir shall not transfer anyone servicing them in their districts, including commanders, troops, Shākiriyyah, *mawlās*, pages, etc. And he shall not interfere with them by reducing anything of their estates and fiefs and other properties and treasures and all that they

333. For the term *maʿāwin* in this sense, see Bosworth, *Reunification*, 99, n. 313. For *maʿāwin* in the sense of "payments" or "subsidies," see Glossarium, CCCLXXXIII.

334. Or: post and intelligence; see *EI*², s.v. Barīd.

335. For *ṭirāz* (sg. of *ṭuruz*), see R. B. Serjeant, "Islamic Textiles," *Ars Islamica*, 9 (1942), 60ff.; *EI*¹, s.v.; Ahsan, *Social Life*, 68–70.

possess, as well as what they own of inherited and newly acquired wealth, old and renovated property, and all that they will acquire and will be acquired for them. And he shall not dispossess, harass, or interfere with any one of his partisans (*shī'ah*), secretaries, judges, slaves, agents, followers, and all their circumstances by [demands for] supervision and accounting or in any other way. And he shall not nullify what the Commander of the Faithful confirmed for the two of them in this contract and investiture by altering it, postponing its execution, or contradicting anything of it.

The Servant of God, Ja'far al-Mutawakkil 'alā-llāh, the Commander of the Faithful, imposed upon Abū 'Abdallāh al-Mu'tazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, the same conditions regarding Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, as he imposed upon Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, should the caliphate pass to him after Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful. As caliph after Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Mu'tazz bi-llāh must behave toward Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, according to the conditions al-Mutawakkil set down for Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, including all that al-Mutawakkil designated in this letter, according to what he
[1399] expounded, concerning loyalty on the part of Abū 'Abdallāh al-Mu'tazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful.

Inasmuch as the Commander of the Faithful al-Mutawakkil assigned the caliphate to Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Mu'tazz bi-llāh must see to it that the agreement is fully carried out, in accordance with what he owes God and with what the Commander of the Faithful ordered him to do. He must not violate the agreement by dismissing it or substituting [provisions with it].

God threatens whoever opposes His command and de-

viates from His path in His perfect Book: "Then if any alter it having heard it, the guilt rests upon those who alter it; verily God is One Who hears and knows."[336]

Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, and Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, have a guarantee of safe-conduct from Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of the Comander of the Faithful, whether one or both of them are staying with him or are absent from him. That is, while Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, is not in his governorship of Khurāsān and its adjacent dependencies, those falling within the jurisdiction of Khurāsānī rule, and Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, is not in his governorship in Syria and its districts (*ajnād*).

It is incumbent upon Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, to transfer Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, to Khurāsān and its adjacent dependencies, those falling within the jurisdiction of Khurāsānī rule, and to deliver to him the governorship of Khurāsān and all of its provinces (*aʿmāl*) and districts (*ajnād*), as well as the subdistricts (*kuwar*) included in what Jaʿfar al-Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh, the Commander of the Faithful, has assigned Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful.

Al-Muntaṣir shall not keep Abū ʿAbdallāh from them or detain him in his presence or in any land except Khurāsān and the districts and subdistricts falling under [1400] Khurāsānī rule. He must see to it that Abū ʿAbdallāh gets to Khurāsān as governor over it and all its provinces, serving independently, with all its provinces assigned to him, so that he may reside where he wishes in the subdistricts of his province. Al-Muntaṣir shall not transfer al-Muʿtazz from them. All those whom the Commander of the Faithful has attached and will attach to his service shall go with him, including his *mawlās*, commanders,

336. Qur'ān 2:181/177.

Shākiriyyah, companions, secretaries, agents, slaves, and the various people who follow him, along with their wives, children, families, and property. Al-Muntaṣir shall not detain anyone from going to al-Mu'tazz nor cause anyone else to share in anything of his administrative offices. He shall not send [to oversee him] a confidant, secretary, or courier. He shall not chastise him for any reason.

And Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh shall free Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, to go out to Syria and its districts, along with those whom the Commander of the Faithful has attached and will attach to his service, including his *mawlās*, commanders, slaves, troops, Shākiriyyah, companions, agents, female slaves, and the various classes of people who follow him, including their wives, children, and property. He shall not detain anyone from going to them. He shall deliver to him his governorship (*wilāyah*), and all its provinces (*a'māl*), and districts (*junūd*). Al-Muntaṣir shall not prevent al-Mu'ayyad from having access to them or detain him in his presence, nor in any of the lands aside from them. He shall see to it that al-Mu'ayyad gets to Syria and its districts (*ajnād*) to govern them, and he shall not transfer him from them. He is responsible to him for those he attached to his service, including commanders, *mawlās*, pages, troops, Shākiriyyah, and various classes of people in all circumstances. His responsibilities are governed by conditions similar to those set for Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, with regard to Abū 'Abdallāh al-Mu'tazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, in Khurāsān and its provinces, according to what
[1401] has been prescribed, elucidated, adumbrated, and expounded in this letter.

If the caliphate passes to Abū 'Abdallāh al-Mu'tazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, and Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh stays in Syria, al-Mu'tazz must confirm Ibrāhīm there, whether he is in his presence or is absent from him. He must let Ibrāhīm go to his province (*'amal*) in Syria, and hand over to him its districts (*ajnād*), governorship (*wilāyah*), and all of its provinces (*a'māl*).

He shall not keep Ibrāhīm from them nor detain him in his presence nor in any land aside from it. He must see to it that Ibrāhīm gets to Syria quickly so as to govern it and all its provinces, in accordance with the conditions set down for Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, with regard to Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, in Khurāsān and its provinces, that is, according to what was prescribed, described, and stipulated as a condition in this letter.

The Commander of the Faithful will not permit any of those to whom these stipulations apply—Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, and Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, sons of the Commander of the Faithful—to expunge anything that we have made a condition in this letter and affirmed. Fidelity to it is incumbent upon all of them. God will accept only this from them. Adherence is accepting God's compact concerning this matter and that alone.

Jaʿfar al-Imām al-Mutawakkil, Commander of the Faithful, called God, Lord of worlds, and the Muslims who were in his presence as witnesses to all that is in this letter, that he (al-Mutawakkil) will execute what pertains to Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, and Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, sons of the Commander of the Faithful, along with all that he designated in it. God is sufficient as witness and helper to whoever obeys hopefully and is faithful to His compact out of fear and after taking careful measure. God punishes those who oppose Him or strive to shun His command. [1402]

This letter was written in four copies. The attestation of the witnesses in each copy was made in the presence of the Commander of the Faithful. There was a copy in the library of the Commander of the Faithful, a copy in the possession of Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir, son of the Commander of the Faithful, a copy in the possession of Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, and a copy in the possession of Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful.

Jaʿfar al-Imām al-Mutawakkil made Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, governor of the provinces of Fārs, Armenia, and Ādharbayjān, as well as the provinces and subdistricts of Khurāsān, its adjacent dependencies, and those falling within the jurisdiction of Khurāsānī rule. Al-Mutawakkil imposed on Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, son of the Commander of the Faithful, protection of al-Muʿtazz's life and firm commitment to the provinces in his jurisdiction and all the people who have recourse to him in Khurāsān and its adjacent dependencies and those falling within the jurisdiction of Khurāsānī rule, according to what is designated in this letter.

Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Ṣūl recited, praising the three sons of al-Mutawakkil—al-Muntaṣir, al-Muʿtazz, and al-Muʾayyad:[337]

The bonds of Islam, linked with
Victory, power and confirmation,

Join now a Hāshimite caliph and three
Heirs apparent surrounding the caliphate.

He is a moon (*qamar*) around which satellites (*aqmār*) turn,
Surrounding the ascent of its good fortune with good fortunes.

The ancestors protect them and are protected by them,[338]
They are distinguished by their noble souls and ancestry.[339]

[1403] He is also the author of a poem about al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh:[340]

The rising light of the east becomes bright
by [the presence of] al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh.[341]

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337. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, IX, 32. And see Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūlī, *Dīwān*, 131, which omits the third verse, as does Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al-awrāq*.

338. *Aghānī* has "Fate has elevated them, and they are raised by it [read: *bihā*]."

339. The word *judūd* is a double entendre (*jinās*), meaning both "ancestors" and "good luck."

340. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūlī, *Dīwān*, 130.

341. Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al-awrāq*, adds: "the investiture became so bright that it caused dawn to break at night,/ By it God has bestowed on the nation justice and kindness."

Al-Mu'tazz is indeed perfume
Sent to mankind giving fragrance.

And he is the author of another poem about them:[342]

It is God who has made his religion victorious
And strengthened it with Muḥammad.[343]

God ennobled with the caliphate
Ja'far b. Muḥammad.[344]

And God confirmed his investiture
Of Muḥammad and Muḥammad.[345]

And the one confirmed (Mu'ayyad) by those two confirmed,
Back to the Prophet Muḥammad.

In this year, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, Supervisor of the Bridge, died.[346] This was on Tuesday, 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (July 8, 850) or, according to another version, on 22 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (July 7, 850). Isḥāq had appointed his son as his successor. The latter was bedecked with five robes and girded with a sword. When al-Mutawakkil heard news of Isḥāq's illness, he sent his son al-Mu'tazz to visit him along with Bughā al-Sharābī and a contingent of commanders and soldiers.

The waters of the Tigris reportedly turned yellow[347] this year for three days. People were alarmed at this. They then turned to the color of flood water. This was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (June 16–July 14).

In this year, al-Mutawakkil brought Yaḥyā b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥu-

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342. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūlī, *Dīwān*, 132.

343. Muḥammad is apparently the caliph Abū Isḥāq Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim (rather than the Prophet Muḥammad).

344. Ja'far b. Muḥammad is al-Mutawakkil, son of Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim.

345. The two Muḥammads are Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir and Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Mu'tazz. The next line alludes to their brother Mu'ayyad.

346. Text: *ṣāḥib al-jisr*. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab was chief of security police (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*), as Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 35, notes here, as though this were the correct reading. On the other hand, Ṭabarī reports, III, 1062 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 129), that in 206 (821–22) he was put in charge of "the two bridges." Thus, he was called *ṣāḥib al-jisr*.

347. The color *aṣfar/ṣufrā* may be yellow, beige, orange, or yellowish brown; Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen*, 358.

sayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib[348] from one of
[1404] the provinces. He had reportedly assembled a group [of supporters]. 'Umar b. Faraj flogged him eighteen lashes, and he was incarcerated in Baghdad in the Maṭbaq [Prison].

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Dāwūd.

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348. Text: Yaḥyā b 'Umar b. Yaḥyā b. Zayd b 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. Cairo edition, following Ms. D, has Yaḥyā b. 'Umar b. Ḥusayn b. Zayd. But cf. Ṭabarī, III, 1515 (Saliba, 15), where his name is given as Yaḥyā b. 'Umar b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn b. Zayd, etc. And see Addenda, DCCXXV. He was called Abū al-Ḥusayn. Ṭabarī, III, 1515–24 (Saliba 15–21), describes his abortive uprising in al-Kūfah in 250 (864–65). His revolt had an interesting sequel in 255 (868–69; III, 1745), when a leader of the Zanj rebellion claimed to be the incarnated form of Yaḥyā b. 'Umar.

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Among them was the killing of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab b. Zurayq, brother of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, in Fārs.

The Killing of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab and How It Took Place

I have been informed by more than one authority that when Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm's father, Isḥāq, learned that Muḥammad was an insatiable glutton, who demanded exorbitant amounts of food, Isḥāq sent a message summoning him.[349] Isḥāq ordered Muḥammad to eat, explaining, "I want to see how you consume food." He devoured a quantity that astounded Isḥāq. Then, when it seemed that he had reached his surfeit, a roast lamb was served, which he ravaged until only the bones remained. When he had consumed it, Isḥāq remarked, "My son, your father's money will not suffice to feed your belly. Go and associate with the Commander of the Faithful; he can better afford to support you than I."

349. For the Ṭāhirid Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, see Table 3.

Isḥāq sent Muḥammad to the gate [of the caliph][350] and made him stay there. Muḥammad was in the service of the central government during the lifetime of his father and was his father's proxy at the gate [of the caliph] until his father Isḥāq died.

Al-Muʿtazz appointed Muḥammad b. Isḥāq over Fārs, and al-Muntaṣir appointed him over al-Yamāmah, al-Baḥrayn, and the Mecca Road in Muḥarram (July 15–August 13, 850) of this year. Al-Mutawakkil assigned him all the districts of his father. Al-Mun-
[1405] taṣir added the governorship of Egypt. This was because he reportedly delivered to al-Mutawakkil and his heirs apparent the contents of his father's storehouses, including jewelry and precious objects, thus gaining their favor so that they elevated his rank.

When Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm[351] learned what was done in the case of his nephew Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, he became hostile to the central government, and al-Mutawakkil discovered objectionable things about him.

I was told by some(one) of my informants that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's hostility was directed only against his nephew Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, the reason for it being as follows: The taxes (*kharāj*) of Fārs had been delivered to [Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm]. Now Muḥammad b. Isḥāq complained to al-Mutawakkil about the hostility of his uncle, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, whereupon al-Mutawakkil gave the former latitude to treat his uncle as he saw fit.

At that, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq appointed al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab governor of Fārs and deposed his uncle.[352] Then Muḥammad b. Isḥāq approached al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl about killing his uncle Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. It is reported that when al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl went to Fārs, he presented his uncle with gifts, including sweets, on the day of Nayrūz.[353] Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm

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350. Text: *al-bāb*. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 36, says more explicitly *bāb al-khalīfah*.

351. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, uncle of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, was the brother of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab; above, n. 98. See Table 3.

352. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab was a cousin of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm and (like him) a nephew of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 46, 197, 198. He was very active as a military commander in the ensuing period; see Saliba, Index, 176.

353. Nayrūz is the Arabic form of the Persian Nawrūz, the ancient Iranian (Achaemenid) New Year, which was celebrated into Islamic times, and with particular enthusiasm in the period of al-Mutawakkil. On the days of Nawrūz, sweets were prepared and given as presents, for instance, *ṣābūniyyah* and *lawzīnaj* (basically, sugar and almonds); *EI*[1], s.v. Nawrūz; Ahsan, *Social Life*, 99–100, 287.

partook of them. Then al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl entered and ordered that he be brought into another place and that sweets be offered to him again. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm ate more of them so that he became thirsty and wanted to drink, but water was withheld. He tried to leave the place where he was brought, but was denied exit. Muḥammad survived for two days and nights, and then he died. His property and family were carried to Sāmarrā on one hundred camels.

When al-Mutawakkil heard the announcement of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's death, he ordered that a letter concerning him be written to Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir expressing condolences, and it was written as follows:

> Now then. The Commander of the Faithful offers you, [1406]
> with every benefit and favor, felicitation for the gifts of God and consolation for the calamities of His destiny. God has determined for Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful, His decree for mankind (*ʿibād*) so that they have transience and He have permanence. The Commander of the Faithful consoles you for [the loss of] Muḥammad, as God gives His rich reward and recompense to whoever acts according to His command in his misfortunes. May God and what brings you near Him take precedence in all your circumstances. With thanks to God comes His abundance; and with submission to God's command, His pleasure. And God gives success to the Commander of the Faithful. Peace.

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl died, according to one informant, on the first of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (June 5, 851).[354] The informant who stated this said that Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm died on the twenty-fifth of this month (June 29, 851).

Al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī reportedly said: I was in the service of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān in 235 (849–50), while al-Fatḥ held administrative offices for al-Mutawakkil, including intelligence (*akhbār*) concerning the elite and commoners in Sāmarrā and the Hārūnī [Palace] and what was adjacent to it.[355]

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354. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl had been finance minister and governor under al-Ma'mūn; see above, n. 196.

355. He is al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān, son of Khāqān b. 'Urṭūj (Ghurṭūj). The Khāqānids were of Turkish stock, and were the ruling dynasty in Farghānah (see Zambaur,

A dispatch came from Ibrāhīm b. 'Aṭā', supervisor of Intelligence in Sāmarrā, reporting the death of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, stating that he took an overdose of medicine on the morning of Thursday, 25 Dhū al-Qa'dah (May 20, 851), that he died at noontime on this day, and that al-Mutawakkil ordered that his funeral equipment be furnished from his treasuries. When he was placed on his litter (*sarīr*), a number of merchants who were creditors of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl hung onto it, holding up his burial. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān,[356] Ibrāhīm b. 'Attāb, and a man known as Barghūth mediated their case.[357] They resolved the matter, and he was buried.

[1407] The next day a dispatch arrived from the chief of Intelligence in Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) with an announcement of the death of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm on the afternoon of Thursday, 5 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (June 9, 851). Al-Mutawakkil grieved deeply over him. He said, "May God be great and exalted. How fate has overtaken al-Ḥasan [b. Sahl] and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq at the same time!"

In this year, al-Mutawakkil ordered that the grave of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and the residences and palaces surrounding it be destroyed. The site of his grave was to be ploughed, sown, and irrigated, and people were to be prevented from visiting it.[358] It is reported that

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Manuel, p. 12—Khāqānids). His father was chief of the Turkish troops from Central Asia who formed part of the royal guard of al-Mu'taṣim. Al-Fatḥ was educated, from the age of seven, along with al-Mutawakkil, in the court of the caliph, who adopted him. Thus, he was the adopted brother of al-Mutawakkil, and became his secretary and close confidant. He was governor of Egypt, 242 (856–57)–47 (861–62); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 27. Al-Fatḥ was friend and patron of the great Jāḥiẓ (Pellat, *Milieu*, 66), as well as other writers and poets, and was himself an author. Al-Fatḥ assembled a large library at Sāmarrā, containing many philosophical works, and had an impressive command of Arabic; see, for instance, Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 116ff; and see O. Pinto, "al-Fatḥ B. Ḫāqān"; *EI*², s.v. Al-Fatḥ died while protecting al-Mutawakkil on the night he was assassinated (see below, 1460, p. 180). See Table 2.

356. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān was the brother of al-Fatḥ and Ja'far (Zambaur, *Manuel*, 12).

357. For *qaṭa'a amrahum* in this sense, see Glossarium, CDXXVIII.

358. The grave of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (Qabr al-Ḥusayn, Mashhad al-Ḥusayn) is located at Karbalā', where al-Ḥusayn and his followers were massacred by the Umayyads in 680. Al-Mutawakkil's obliteration of the site was part of his anti-Shī'ite policy. By 366 (977), when Ibn Ḥawqal visited Karbalā', during the rule of the Shī'ite Buwayhid dynasty, he found a large shrine over the tomb; it had once again become an attraction for pilgrims; see Ibn Ḥawqal, *Masālik*, p. 166; *EI*², s.v. Karbalā'. According to a tradition, the caliph was punished for destroying the tomb in such a way that after his death hardly a trace remained of Sāmarrā; see Qazvīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 32, 42; tr. 39, 49.

an agent of the chief of security police announced in the area: "Whomever we find near al-Ḥusayn's grave after three days we shall send to the Maṭbaq [Prison]." People fled and refrained from going to the grave. This place was ploughed, and the area around it was sown.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil appointed as secretary 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān and dismissed Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Jarjarā'ī.[359]

In this year, Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir went on the pilgrimage. His grandmother, Shujā', mother of al-Mutawakkil, went on the pilgrimage with him, al-Mutawakkil accompanying her as far as al-Najaf.

In this year, Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Marwazī al-Kabaḥa Fāhu perished.[360]

It is reported that Fāris b. Bughā al-Sharābī—he was the deputy of his father—appointed this Abū Sa'īd, a *mawlā* of Ṭayyi', as governor of Ādharbayjān and Armenia. He encamped in al-Karkh, that is, Karkh Fayrūz.[361] He died suddenly on 7 Shawwāl (June 28, 851) while he was in al-Karkh. He had put on one of his shoes and reached out to put on the other when he fell over dead.

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359. Al-Jarjarā'ī had followed Ibn al-Zayyāt in the wazīrate. 'Ubaydallāh's appointment (Zambaur, *Manuel*, 6) indicates the growing power and influence of the Khāqānids.

360. The cognomen al-Kabaḥa Fahu, if correct, means "The One Who Bridled His Mouth." See Ṭabarī, Index, 235; al-Thaghrī al-Kabaḥa Fahu. Ms. C has al-Kakh (?). But the reading is uncertain. Cairo edition's text reads: *al-Kabaḥa fujā'atan* (the second word appears in the text farther on). See *Fragmenta*, 546: *fujā'atan* (after Yūsuf). He was an army commander from Khurāsān (Marw), who made his first appearance at the time of al-Ma'mūn, in 210 (816–17; Ṭabarī, III, 1093), when he participated in a campaign against the rebellious citizens of Qumm, along with (his uncle) 'Alī b. Hishām (al-Marwazī). His cognomen there is given as al-K-ḥ-b-q-w-ṣ (see Bosworth, *Reunification*, 166). He executed his uncle Ḥusayn b. Hishām in 217 (832–33) in the name of al-Ma'mūn (Ṭabarī, III, 1107; and Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Baghdād*, 147). But Bosworth, 192, n. 598, does not identify him with our man. He was active under al-Mu'taṣim and participated in the campaign against Bābak; Marin, *Reign*, Index, 133. See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 198; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XVIII, 47, 108, 169–70; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 658 (with Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī< Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, 169–70). According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 598, he died on his way to a campaign in Armenia.

361. The words "that is Karkh Fayrūz" appear to be a gloss. A Karkh Quarter existed in Baghdad, and a Karkh Fayrūz in the area of Sāmarrā, which was situated between the villages of Karkh Fayrūz (or Karkh Bājaddah) on the north and al-Maṭīrah on the southeast. Karkh Fayrūz was a military cantonment occupied by a number of the caliphal Turkish guards, who were isolated from the local citizens. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 255; *EI*², s.v. al-Karkh.

[1408] Al-Mutawakkil appointed Abū Saʿīd's son Yūsuf over the security police (*al-ḥarb*), over which his father had been in charge. Following that, he assigned to him the taxes of the province [of Ādharbayjān and Armenia] and its estates. He went to the province, took control of it, and sent his administrative officers to every area.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Muntaṣir Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil.

The Events of the Year 237

(July 5, 851–June 22, 852)

One of the events was the revolt of the inhabitants of Armenia against Yūsuf b. Muḥammad.[362]

The Cause of the Revolt by the Inhabitants of Armenia against Yūsuf b. Muḥammad

We have previously mentioned the reason for al-Mutawakkil's appointing this Yūsuf b. Muḥammad governor of Armenia. The reason for the revolt of the inhabitants of Armenia against him was reportedly as follows:

When he went to his administrative prefecture in Armenia one of the Patrikioi named Buqrāṭ b. Ashūṭ, called the chief Patrikios,

362. Yūsuf, son of Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Marwazī, was governor of Armenia in 235 (849–50) and of Ādharbayjān in 237 (851–52); Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 248; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 177, 178. Armenia was the scene of periodic insurrections in the 'Abbāsid period; the rebellion against al-Mutawakkil reported here was the most serious; see also Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 598, and in general, *EI*², s.v. Armīniya.

rebelled, seeking to take rule.[363] Yūsuf b. Muḥammad seized him, bound him, and deported him to the gate of the caliph.[364] Buqrāṭ and his son then converted to Islam.

It is reported that when Yūsuf deported Buqrāṭ b. Ashūṭ, the latter's nephew and a number of Armenian Patrikioi rallied against Yūsuf. Snow had fallen in the town where Yūsuf was situated. It is said to have been Ṭarūn.[365] When the snow settled, the Armenians besieged it from every side, surrounding Yūsuf and those who were with him in the town. Yūsuf went out to the
[1409] gate of the city and fought them. [The Armenians] killed him and all those who fought alongside him. Those who did not fight alongside him were told to strip and escape naked. Many of them discarded their clothing and escaped nude and barefoot. Most of them died from the cold, but some escaped, losing their fingers.

When Yūsuf deported Buqrāṭ b. Ashūṭ, the Patrikioi took an oath to kill Yūsuf and vowed to shed his blood. Mūsā b. Zurārah[366] went along with them in this. He was responsible for the daughter of Buqrāṭ.

Sawādah b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jaḥḥāfī[367] discouraged Yūsuf b.

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363. The rulers of Armenia were called Biṭrīq (Patrikios) by the Arabs. Buqrāṭ b. Ashūṭ (Bagrat son of Ashot Bagratuni) refused to pay tribute to Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf in 849 and had resisted the caliph's forces sent in 850. Balādhurī, who reports these events (*Futūḥ*, 248), does not mention the present rebellion of Buqrāṭ b. Ashūṭ that led to his deportation, thus magnifying the offence to the Armenian Patrikioi. See Laurent, *L'Arménie*, 117ff.; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, 91ff.; and Vardan's *Universal History*, tr. J. Muyldermans, 122ff. See also Grousset, *Histoire*, 357f; Minorsky, *History*, 24f.; and "Caucasia IV," 510. Armenian chronicles, including an eyewitness account of some of these events by Thomas Ardzruni (Artsruni), taken together with reports in Muslim sources, give a fairly clear and detailed picture.

364. That is, the Caliphal Palace in Sāmarrā.

365. Ṭarūn (Taron) is the area west of Lake Van; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 534; Le Strange, *Lands*, 115–17. The event took place in the town of Mūsh in Taron; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, 93. According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 248, the Khuwaythiyah participated in this attack, a detail that is confirmed by our text farther on.

366. On Mūsā b. Zurārah (of Arzan), see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 248. In 849–50, he tried to take over Taron on the pretext that he would deliver tribute to the caliph. He was repulsed, however, by Bagrat of Taron and Ashot Ardzruni, after which he supported the Armenians against the Muslims. He came to negotiate with the Muslims but was seized and deported to Sāmarrā; see Laurent, *L'Arménie*, 119, 326. See also Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 598.

367. The Arab amīr Sawādah b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jaḥḥāfī is mentioned in the *Universal History* of Vardan (tr. Muyldermans, 118) as having led 4,000 men in battle (in 823–24) against Ashot Msaker. Smbat, son of Ashot (Sunbāṭ b. Ashūṭ), made peace with him. See also Minorsky, "Caucasia, IV," 509.

Abī Sa'īd from remaining where he was and told him the news he heard concerning the Patrikioi. Yūsuf, however, refused to comply, and the [Armenians] caught up with him in the month of Ramaḍān. They surrounded the wall of the town, the snow being up to twenty *dhirā'* (ca. ten meters) in the vicinity of the town and as far as Khilāṭ and Dabīl.[368] Everything was snowed in.[369]

Before this, Yūsuf had divided his forces among the villages (*rasātīq*) of his province, groups of his forces heading [to be stationed in] each of its regions. A contingent of the Patrikioi and their allies were sent against each group and killed them in a single day. They had surrounded Yūsuf in the town for several days, at which point he went out to [confront] them. He fought until he was killed.

Al-Mutawakkil consequently sent Bughā al-Sharābī to Armenia, seeking vengeance for Yūsuf.[370] He headed for Armenia from the direction of the Jazīrah. He began in Arzan[371] [by attacking] Mūsa b. Zurārah[372]—he is Abū al-Ḥurr—and he had sisters and brothers, [namely] Ismā'īl, Sulaymān, Aḥmad, 'Īsā, Muḥammad, and Hārūn. Bughā deported Mūsā b. Zurārah to the gate of the caliph. He then proceeded to lay siege in the mountain of the Khuwaythiyyah.[373] They constituted the majority of the inhabitants of Armenia and were the killers of Yūsuf b. Muḥammad. [1410]
Bughā fought and defeated them, killing about 30,000 and taking

368. Khilāṭ (Akhlāṭ, Armenian Khlat') was a town and fortress immediately northwest of Lake Van; see *EI*², s.v. Akhlāṭ. Dabīl is Dvin, the capital of Armenia; *EI*², s.v. Dwin.

369. Literally, "The world was all snow" (*wa-l-dunyā kulluhā thalj*).

370. Ṭabarī says that it was Bughā al-Sharābī, that is, the Younger, who was dispatched, but other sources state that it was Bughā the Elder, governor of Ādharbayjān and Armenia in 237 (851–52); see, for instance, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 248; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 598; *Fragmenta*, 547; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 39; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, I, 290. See also Vasmer, *Chronologie*, 94, n. 16. It is possible that Bughā al-Sharābī participated in the early stages of the campaign. See also Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 247, 253, 254.

371. The most important town by this name in eastern Anatolia is on the east bank of the Arzanṣū (modern Garzansu) River; *EI*², s.v. Arzan. Baladhuri, *Futūḥ*, 248, says that Bughā al-Kabīr began in Badlīs, where he seized Mūsā b. Zurārah.

372. There is a lacuna in the text. Cairo edition reads (Mss. A and D): "And he is Abū al-Ḥurr," and then has "and he had sisters." Leiden Ms. C is corrupt but may be construed to yield the same as Cairo edition. The words "and he had sisters" also appear in Ibn al-Athīr.

373. The Khuwaythiyyah were rugged mountain folk who lived in the region of Sāsūn. See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 206; Canard, *Histoire*, 185f.

many captive. He sold them in Armenia. He then went to the territory of Aghbagh[374] and took prisoner Ashūṭ b. Ḥamzah, Abū al-'Abbās, ruler of Aghbagh. Aghbagh was a subdistrict of al-Busfurrajān. Bughā also built al-Nashawā.[375] He then went to the city of Dabīl in Armenia and stayed there for a month, after which he went to Tiflis.[376]

In this year, 'Abdallāh b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm was appointed governor of Baghdad and over the security police of the Sawād.[377]

In this year, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir[378] came from Khurāsān [to Sāmarrā] on 22 Rabī' II (October 2, 851), and was appointed over the security police, the poll tax (*jizyah*), and the administrative districts of the Sawād, and he was made the representative of the Commander of the Faithful in Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām). He then proceeded to Baghdad.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil removed Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād from the *maẓālim* courts and appointed Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, known as Abū al-Rabī'.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil showed favor to Ibn Aktham.[379] He

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374. The text reads: Albaq. The note in the Leiden edition says Albaq = Armenian Aghbagh, located, as the next sentence states, in the district of al-Busfurrajān (Vaspurakan). It lies between Lake Van and Lake Urmiya. See Canard, *Histoire*, 191–92 (citing, *inter alia*, our passage). For Ashūṭ b. Ḥamzah, see also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 248. He is Ashot Ardzruni, son of Hamazasp, whose son was Gregory; Vardan, *Universal History*, tr. Muyldermans, 123, n. 2. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 598, Ashūṭ was executed and suspended at the Public Gate.

375. The note in the Leiden edition suggests that some part of the text is lacking before the word *wa-banā* ("he built"). Al-Nashawā is a town north of the Aras River in Ādharbayjān; see Le Strange, *Lands*, 167.

376. On Tiflis, capital of Georgia, see *EI*[1], s.v. Bughā occupied all of Armenia systematically, beginning in the south with Taron, reaching the basins of the Araxes and the Kur Rivers, and going as far as Albania in the east and Georgia in the west (below, 1415; p. 122); Laurent, *L'Arménie*, 118–19.

377. 'Abdallāh b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm was apparently son of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, the Ṭāhirid, but he does not appear in Zambaur, *Manuel*, 197, 198, or in other references to the Ṭāhirids.

378. For the Ṭāhirid Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, d. 253 (867–68), see *EI*[1], s.v. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20, 25, 197, 198. See also Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Their Culture," 46, 68; *idem*, "The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffarids," 102, 103.

379. The judge Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. Aktham was active under al-Ma'mūn and al-Mutawakkil; d. 242. See Bosworh, *Reunification*, Index, 281; Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Baghdād*, Index, 219; Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XIV, 191–204; Ibn al-Abbār, *I'tāb*, 97, 157; Massignon, "Cadis et naqibs," 107; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 238–39. Yaḥyā b.

was in Baghdad, and was sent to Sāmarrā and made chief judge. He was then appointed also over the *maẓālim* courts. Al-Mutawakkil removed Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād from the *maẓālim* courts of Sāmarrā on 19 Ṣafar this year (August 22, 851).

In this year, al-Mutawakkil became angry with Ibn Abī Du'ād and ordered that his estates be put in trust on 24 Ṣafar (August 27, 851). His son Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād was imprisoned on Saturday, 3 Rabī' I (September 4, 851), in the [1411]
Bureau of Taxation; and his brothers were imprisoned in the custody of 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī,[380] deputy chief of security police. On Monday (4 Rabī' [September 6]), Abū al-Walīd delivered 120,000 dīnārs and jewels valued at 20,000 dīnārs. A settlement was made thereafter in the amount of sixteen million dirhams. The sale of all their estates was witnessed. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād had been paralyzed. On Wednesday, 4 Sha'bān (January 31, 852), al-Mutawakkil ordered that the children of Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād be remanded to Baghdad.

Abū al-'Atāhiyah recited:[381]

If your judgment were sound,
Your decision apposite,

Jurisprudence, were you content, would have diverted you
From professing that God's Word is created.

How can you do this when the root of religion creates consensus,
And ignorance and foolishness make one follow a branch.

Aktham was a fervent proponent of Sunnism and enemy of Mu'tazilism, and his appointment was clearly related to the deposition of the pro-Mu'tazilite Ibn Abī Du'ād, which is reported immediately below. Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 315–16, 319–29, records that Ibn Ḥanbal recommended Yaḥyā to the caliph. Indeed, in this year al-Mutawakkil invited Ibn Ḥanbal to visit Sāmarrā; see *Tarjamat al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, in *Musnad*, ed. Shākir, 110ff.

380. For 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī, see Ṭabari, III, 1086–87 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 159–60, and Index, 280). He was chief of police and then governor of Egypt (820, 822). See also Zambaur, *Manuel*, 27. And see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 75; 255, n. 578.

381. See Abū al-'Atāhiyah, *Dīwān*, 354.

Al-Khalanjī was displayed in public in Jumādā II (November 30–December 28, 851).[382]

In this year, Ibn Aktham appointed Ḥayyān b. Bishr[383] over the judiciary of the East Side [of Baghdad], and he appointed Sawwār b. 'Abdallāh al-'Anbarī[384] over the West Side. Both of them were blind in one eye.

[1412] Al-Jammāz recited:[385]

I have seen among grave offenses two judges,
Who are the gossip of East and West.

They divided blindness into two equal halves,
As they divided the judgeship of the two sides [of Baghdad].

You would think the one of them who nods his head
To look into inheritances and debts

Were like someone upon whom you placed a wine jug[386]
Whose bung you opened for a single eye.

They augur the demise of Yaḥyā
If he begins his judgeship with two one-eyed men.

In this year, on the Day of Breaking the Fast, al-Mutawakkil

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382. On al-Khalanjī, see also *Ṭabarī*, III, 1639 (Saliba, 104), 1641 (106), 1684 (143). For *uqīma li-l-nās*, see Glossarium, CDXXXIX.

383. Ḥayyān b. Bishr b. al-Mukhāriq, d. 237 (851–52) or 238 (852–53), had been a judge in Iṣbahān at the time of al-Ma'mūn. See Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, VIII, 284–86; Massignon, "Cadis et naqībs," 108. The Khaṭīb cites (p. 285) our passage ('Alī b. al-Muḥassin [al-Tanūkhī]—[Abū al-Qāsim] Ṭalḥah b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far—Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī). The following poem is said to have been recited by 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad al-Kātib, and it is ascribed to Di'bil (b. 'Alī al-Khuzā'ī) rather than to al-Jammāz, as in our text. See also Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, VI, 101–02.

384. Sawwār b. 'Abdallāh al-'Anbarī; d. 245 (below, 1440 [p. 157]); Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 210; Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, IX, 210–12 Guidi, *Tables*, 393.

385. On Muḥammad b. 'Amr al-Jammāz, see Guidi, *Tables*, 272; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 18–19; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'*, 99, 373–75; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 508. He died by 255 (868–69).

386. The word *dann* means wine jug, or jar; but as the *qalansuwa ṭawīlah*, the conical Persian hat, was also called *danniyyah* because of its resemblance to a *dann*, there may also be an allusion here to the headgear of the judges. We are led to picture an inverted jar (or hat) pulled over the eyes, having one eye opening.

ordered that the corpse of Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Malik al-Khuzāʿī be taken down and turned over to his friends.

What Was Done with Aḥmad b. Naṣr and the Result of This

Al-Mutawakkil reportedly ordered that Aḥmad b. Naṣr's corpse be turned over to his friends for burial, and this was done. When al-Mutawakkil had become caliph, he prohibited debate concerning the Qur'ān and so on, and sent letters about this to distant regions.[387] When he was considering the removal of Aḥmad b. [1413]
Naṣr from his gallows, the mob and riffraff assembled at the site, where they grew in number and talked [boldly] among themselves. When al-Mutawakkil heard about this, he sent Naṣr b. al-Layth to them. Naṣr seized about 20,000 of them, and flogged and imprisoned them. Al-Mutawakkil gave up the idea of removing Aḥmad b. Naṣr from his gallows when he learned of the growing involvement of the populace in his cause. Those who were seized on Aḥmad b. Naṣr's account remained in prison for some time, after which they were released.

When Ibn Naṣr's body was turned over to his friends at the time that I have mentioned, his nephew Mūsā brought it to Baghdad. It was washed and buried, and the head was brought together with the body. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥamzah brought his body in an Egyptian cloth[388] to his own residence, covered it in a shroud, and offered a funeral prayer. A merchant called al-Abzārī,[389] along with some members of Aḥmad b. Naṣr's family, undertook its burial.

The postmaster in Baghdad, who was named Ibn al-Kalbī, wrote from a place in the region of Wāsiṭ called al-Kaltāniyyah[390] to al-

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387. This is Ṭabarī's only reference to al-Mutawakkil's anti-Muʿtazilite policy, and it is introduced *en passant* in connection with the report that the caliph gave a decent burial to the anti-Muʿtazilite, pro-Ḥanbalī rebel, Aḥmad b. Naṣr.

388. See Rosenthal, *Four Essays*, 74, who observes that Egyptian *mandīls* were popular in ʿAbbāsid Iraq.

389. The word *abzār* (or *ibzār* < Pers. *afzār*) means "food seasoning." Thus, an *abzārī* is a "seller of food seasoning." It was also the man's family name, as he is called Ibn al-Abzārī below.

390. So Leiden text. Leiden Mss. and Cairo edition: al-Kalbāniyyah; see Addenda, DCCLXXV; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 299 (al-Kaltāniyyah); Minorsky, *History*, 181.

Mutawakkil concerning the populace and how they had gathered, and their wiping the funeral bier, that is, the bier of Aḥmad b. Naṣr, and the wood where his head had been.[391] Al-Mutawakkil then asked Yaḥyā b. Aktham how Ibn al-Abzārī had been admitted to the grave despite the great number[392] of the Khuzā'ah. He replied, "Commander of the Faithful, he was Aḥmad's friend."

Al-Mutawakkil ordered that a letter be sent to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir restraining the populace from assembling and agitating in this manner. Some(one) among them had nominated
[1414] his son to alarm the populace at the time of Aḥmad's death. Al-Mutawakkil consequently sent a dispatch prohibiting public assembly.

'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī led the summer campaign this year.[393]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Ja'far b. Abī Ja'far al-Manṣūr. He was governor of Mecca.[394]

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391. Text: *wa-mijassat ra'sihi.* Cairo edition: *bi-khashabat ra'sihi,* which is followed here.

392. Text: *kibrah.* Cairo ed. vocalizes *kubrah* and cites variant (Ms. A) *kathrah,* which is accepted here. On the Khuzā'ah in early Islam, see the detailed article in *EI*², s.v. Aḥmad b. Naṣr was, of course, from this tribe.

393. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī ("the Armenian") engaged in several campaigns against the Byzantines. He was finally killed in battle in 249 (863–64); Ṭabarī, III, 1509 (Saliba 9–10). He had been governor of Egypt in 226 (840–41) and again in 234 (848–49); see Kindī, *Wulāh,* 195, 197; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm,* II, 245, 246, 248, 257, 274, 278). 'Alī b. Yaḥyā was governor of Ādharbayjān and of Armenia, with his residence in Dabīl in 248 (862–63); Zambaur, *Manuel,* 27, 177, 178. See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ,* 201, according to whom he built Sīsiyyah, the administrative center of 'Ayn Zarbah.

394. 'Alī b. 'Īsā was a Hāshimite, a great-grandson of the caliph al-Manṣūr; see Zambaur, *Manuel,* 20.

The Events of the Year 238

(June 23, 852–June 11, 853)

One of the events was Bughā's defeat of Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl, *mawlā* of the Umayyads, in Tiflis and Bughā's burning the town.[395]

Bughā's Role in the Defeat of Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl

It is reported that when Bughā went to Dabīl because of the murder of Yūsuf b. Muḥammad by the inhabitants of Armenia, he stayed

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395. Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl, *mawlā* of the Umayyads, namely, of the caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad, was said to have been of Qurayshite descent. He governed Armenia from its capital, Tiflis. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 598, tells that, when Isḥāq once refused to answer Bughā the Elder's summons, the latter attacked him. ʿArīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus*, 153, refers to a *Risālah* on the killing of Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl. Ibn Khurrādadhbih, *Masālik*, 63, reports that when he passed through Armenia, bearing a letter of commendation from al-Wāthiq, Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl was the ruler there. Bughā's campaign against Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl is actually a continuation of the campaign of 237 (851–52) described above, pp. 1408–10 (pp. 113–16). The reason for the break in narrative is simply the annalistic form of Ṭabarī's *History*. Isḥāq was an energetic ruler, who had subdued the Abasges, Georgians, and Khazars and defeated a Byzantine army in 837 near Kars, as well as two other armies in 842. See Laurent, *L'Arménie*, 320–21; and Grousset, *Histoire*, 359ff. And see Minorsky, *History*, 25, where it is stated that the revolt of Isḥāq lasted thirty-five years before he was finally executed.

there for a month. On Saturday, 10 Rabīʿ I, 238 (August 30, 852), Bughā sent Zīrak the Turk, who crossed the Kur [River]. It is a large waterway, the size of the Ṣarāt [Canal] in Baghdad, even larger, and it is between the town [of Dabīl] and Tiflis on the west side and Ṣughdbīl on the east side. The camp of Bughā was on the east side [of the river]. Zīrak crossed the Kur to the Hippodrome (*maydān*) of Tiflis. Tiflis had five gates: the Hippodrome Gate, the Qarīs Gate, the Small Gate, the Suburb Gate, and the Ṣughdbīl Gate. The Kur is a river that flows down along the town.

[1415] Bughā also sent Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Wāthī al-Naṣrānī[396] against the inhabitants of Armenia, Arab and non-Arab alike. Zīrak assaulted them near the Hippodrome [Gate],[397] and Abū al-ʿAbbās, near the Suburb Gate. Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl went out to [confront] Zīrak and engaged him in battle, while Bughā stood on a hill overlooking the town near the Ṣughdbīl [Gate] to see what Zīrak and Abū al-ʿAbbās were doing. Bughā sent fire hurlers (*naffāṭīn*), who bombarded the town with fire. The [buildings in the] town [were made] of pine wood, and the wind fanned the flames, which ignited the pine.

When Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl came to the town to observe [what was happening], he noticed that the fire, which had engulfed his palace and surrounding area,[398] had trapped him. Then the Turks and Maghāribah attacked him, took him captive, seized his son ʿAmr, and brought them to Bughā. Bughā ordered that Isḥāq be remanded to the Gate of Thorns, where he was decapitated. His head was brought to Bughā, and his body was suspended on a cross at the Kur [River].[399]

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396. Text follows Ms. C. O: al-Wāritī; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*: al-Wārithī. The note in the Leiden edition suggests either al-Wānandī (Armenean Vanant) or al-Qārithī (Garouts = Kars). Cairo edition Ms. A: al-Wādī. On p. 1416, his name is said to be Sunbāṭ (Smbat) b. Ashūṭ.

397. It appears that the word *bāb* must be supplied or understood here and immediately below.

398. Text: *Wa-jawārīhi* ("and his female slaves"). The combination of palace and female slaves—or place where they were—is possible but rather odd. Read: *wa-jiwārīhi*.

399. The *History of Sharvān and al-Bāb*, tr. Minorsky, *History*, 25, says that Isḥāq was suspended at the gate of Ṣughd in Tiflis. His head, according to Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIqd*, I, 136, was sent to the caliph in Sāmarrā. See also Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 598. In Georgian (according to Minorsky) the name is Sagodebeli, meaning "place of lamentations." See above, 1414, where a Ṣugdhbīl Gate is mentioned.

Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl was a stocky old man[400] and had a large head. He was tattooed with blue (indigo) markings, and was ruddy, bald, and cross-eyed. His head was raised over the Gate of Thorns. Barghāmush,[401] deputy of Bughā, supervised his execution. About 50,000 men were burned in the city. The fire burnt itself out in a day and a night,[402] for it was a pine-wood fire that does [1416] not last. The Maghāribah arrived in the morning. They took the living captive and plundered the dead.

The wife of Isḥāq lived in Ṣughdbīl. It is opposite Tiflis, on the east side, and is a town that Kisrā Anūshirwān built.[403] Isḥāq had fortified it, dug its defensive trench, and manned it with Khuwaythiyyah warriors and others. Bughā gave them a guarantee of safe-conduct, stipulating that they lay down their arms and go where they wished. The wife of Isḥāq was the daughter of the Lord of the Throne (Ṣāḥib al-Sarīr).[404]

Then Bughā reportedly sent Zīrak to the fortress of Jardmān,[405] which is between Bardhaʿah[406] and Tiflis, along with a contingent of his troops. Zīrak conquered Jardmān and took captive its Patrikios, al-Qitrīj,[407] on the Jardmān Road, and brought him to the army camp.

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400. For *shaykh maḥdūr*, see Glossarium, CLXXXV.

401. Text: Ghāmish. The note *ad loc.* suggests Barghāmush (unpointed); see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 262 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 54.

402. Ms. O has on Wednesday through the night.

403. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 396, describes Ṣughdbīl as a town on the east of the Kur River opposite Tiflis, and says that it was built by Kisrā Anūshirwān near the place where he founded Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband). Yāqūt also relates the account of Bughā's attack on Tiflis, his burning the city and killing Isḥāq. And he notes that Isḥāq had married the daughter of Ṣāḥib al-Sarīr. His report is presumably derived from Ṭabarī.

404. He is also called Wahrazān-Shāh. The district of Sarīr is named after him, in the middle of the Ḳoy-Su valley in southern Dāghistān; *EI*², s.v. al-Ḳabḳ. See also Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 447; and see especially the account in the *History of Sharvān and the Bāb*, tr. Minorsky, *History*, 97, 155.

405. For the fortress of Jardmān or Gardmān, see Vardan, *Universal History*, tr. Muyldermans, 123, n. 5. Ms. C: al-Khazarmān; ʿAynī and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*: al-Ḥarazmān.

406. Bardhaʿah (Armenian Partav and modern Barda) was the former capital of Arrān, 28 km. from the Kur river; *EI*², s.v. Arrān, the present-day Soviet republic of Azarbayjan, is ancient Caucasian Albania; *EI*², s.v.

407. He is Ktričn, prince of Gardmān; Vardan, *Universal History*, tr. Muyldermans, 123, n. 5.

Bughā then attacked ʿĪsā b. Yūsuf, the nephew of Stephanos.[408] He was in the fortress of Xtiš, belonging to the subdistrict of al-Baylaqān.[409] Xtiš is ten *farsakh*s (sixty km.) from al-Baylaqān and fifteen *farsakh*s (ninety km.) from Bardhaʿah. Bughā made war against him and conquered [his fortress]. He seized ʿĪsā b. Yūsuf and deported him along with his son and father. He deported Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Wāthī—his name was Sunbāṭ (Smbat) b. Ashūṭ—and along with him, Muʿāwiyah b. Sahl b. Sunbāṭ (Smbat),[410] Patrikios of Arrān, and Adharnarsē b. Isḥāq al-Khāshinī.[411]

[1417] In this year, 300 Byzantine vessels came, bringing Ooryphas, Nikētiatēs (?) and Martinakios (?).[412] They were naval commanders. Each of them commanded one hundred vessels.[413] Nikētiatēs besieged Damietta.[414] Between Damietta and the coast is a

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408. See Ṭabarī, III, 1224, 1228 (Marin, *Reign*, 48, 51), where he is called ʿĪsā b. Yūsuf b. Iṣṭifānūs. Read perhaps: b. ukht Iṣṭifānūs. On p. 1232 (Marin, 56), ʿĪsā b. Yūsuf is said to be the *nephew* of Stephanos by the latter's sister. In the *History of Sharvān and the Bāb*, he is called Abū Mūsā; see Minorsky, *History*, 165; and "Caucasia IV," 512ff. He began to reign in 841, after the defeat of Bābak, and ruled for another thirteen years.

409. For the fortress Xtiš, Arabic Kithīsh, see Minorsky, *History*, 165, n. 4. For Baylaqān, the town and district of Arrān, south of the Caucasus, see *idem*, "Caucasia IV," 513; *EI*², s.v. Minorsky places the fortress, according to its location given here, in present-day Shusha (Shushi).

410. Muʿāwiyah's father, Sahl b. Sunbāṭ, had succeeded in dominating Arrān. See Ṭabarī, III, 1232 (Marin, *Reign*, 55), where Sahl sends Muʿāwiyah with Bābak to Afshīn. On Sahl b. Sunbāt, see Minorsky, "Caucasia IV," 506ff. Minorsky contends (p. 510), on the basis of Armenian sources, that it was rather Sahl b. Sunbāṭ who was deported, along with Armenian princes, and that his name was mistakenly replaced by that of his son.

411. On Adharnarsē (Adarnasē), see Minorsky, "Caucasia IV," 510, 514. The toponymic *nisbah* Khāshinī is from Khachen. See note in Leiden edition and Vardan, *Universal History*, tr. Muyldermans, 123; Minorsky, "Caucasia IV," 514, 526.

412. For the reading Ooryphas, see note on the text, and Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 214, n. 3. The second name is written clearly as Ibn Qaṭūnā. Vasiliev (*apud* Grégoire) proposes that it represents Greek Nikētiatēs (Ib[n] Nqaṭūnā), i.e. Sergios *ho* Nikētiatēs, who had commanded an expedition to Crete. Two other possibilities mentioned are Photinos (E. W. Brooks) and Kontomutēs. The third name, it is said (here and 315, n. 1), may be either Bardas (W-r-d) or Martinakios. See Grégoire, "Études," 516–17. And see Christides, *Conquest*, 164, n. 53; 165, n. 54. Christides rejects Grégoire's identification of Nikētiatēs and regards the others as mere guesswork.

413. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 596, says that there were eighty-five vessels.

414. Damietta is a well-known town in Lower Egypt, situated near the egress of the Nile. Its location exposed it to periodic naval raids. (Following the attack

kind of lake in which water reaches the chest of a man.[415] Whoever crosses it to the land is safe from sea vessels. A group of people crossed it to safety, but many of the women and children drowned. Those who were able to take ships escaped [by going] to Fusṭāṭ. Fusṭāṭ is a four-day journey from Damietta.

ʿAnbasah b. Isḥāq al-Ḍabbī[416] was the chief of the security police (*maʿūnah*) of Egypt. When the festival approached, he ordered the troops that were in Damietta to come to Fusṭāṭ to help celebrate it. Thus, Damietta was vacated of troops. The vessels of the Byzantines arrived from the direction of Shaṭā, where *shaṭawī* [cloth] is manufactured.[417] One hundred *shalandiyah* vessels[418] besieged Damietta, each carrying between fifty and one hundred men. The Byzantines attacked Damietta and burned whatever of its houses and reed huts they reached. They carted away the weapons there that the [Muslims] intended to ship to Abū Ḥafṣ, ruler of Crete—about 1,000 lances along with their equip-

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described here, al-Mutawakkil constructed a fortress in Damietta as part of an overall strategy to fortify the coastal area.) The Byzantine attack on Damietta was an offshoot of the struggle between the Muslims and Byzantines for control of Crete. The Byzantines, led by the Logothete Theoktistos, had attacked that island, then ruled by Andalusian Muslims, and occupied it temporarily. See Christides, *Conquest*, 172. As the Muslims in Crete received their arms from Egypt, the Byzantine fleet besieged Damietta in order to capture arms there destined for Crete. The purpose of the invasion may have been also to relieve pressure on Sicily. See Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 35, 92–93 *et passim*. And see Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 212ff., 315ff.; Bury, *History*, 292ff.; Grégoire, "*Études*"; Levi Della Vida, "A Papyrus Reference." And see accounts in Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 596–97; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 201; and Maqrīzī, *Mawāʿiẓ*, IV, 40; Christides, *op. cit.*, 164–65; *EI*², s.v. Dimyāṭ.

415. Between Damietta and the coast is the northern part of Lake Manzala, where there are sandbars, inlets, and shallow water.

416. ʿAnbasah b. Isḥāq al-Ḍabbī was governor of Egypt as of 237 (851–52) or 238 (852–53); Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 596—237; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 200–02; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 293 (*sub anno* 238); Maqrīzī, *Mawāʿiẓ*, V, 139; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 27. According to some of these sources he was accused of tyranny and ineffective strategy against the enemies of the Muslims. ʿAnbasah had also been sent to govern Sind by Ītākh, according to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 585. It is possible that the Byzantine attack was timed with ʿAnbasah's absence from Damietta, as he and his garrison had left for Cairo; see Christides. *Conquest*, 164 (citing J. Shayyāl, *al-Mujmal fī taʾrīkh Dimyāṭ* [Alexandria, 1949], 10).

417. Shaṭā, a few miles from Damietta on the western side of Lake Manzalah, was famous for its fine *shaṭawī* cloth, mentioned here.

418. *Shalandiyah* vessels, also called *Sharandī* and *Sharandiyah* (<Greek *chelandion*) were often used by the Byzantines as warships, particularly troop carriers, as in our text; see Kindermann, "*Schiff*," 51 (where our text is cited).

[1418] ment.[419] They killed whomever of the men they could, and took furnishings, candy (*qand*)[420] and flax, which had been loaded for transport to Iraq. They took captive about 600 Muslim and Copt women. There were said to be 125 Muslim women, the rest being Copts.[421]

There were reportedly about 5,000 Byzantines in the *shalandiyah* vessels that besieged Damietta. They loaded their ships with furniture, property, and women, and burned the storehouse containing the sails—they are ship sails[422]—and set fire to the Friday Mosque and churches in Damietta. The women and children, who tried to escape and were thought to have drowned[423] in the lake of Damietta, outnumbered those whom the Byzantines took captive. The Byzantines thereafter withdrew from Damietta.

It is reported that Ibn al-Akshaf, who had been incarcerated in the prison of Damietta by 'Anbasah, broke his bonds and went out to fight the Byzantines. A group of men helped him, and he killed a number of the Byzantines.

Following that, the Byzantines proceeded to Ushtūm [near] Tinnīs.[424] As they could not manage to sail [as far as Tinnīs], and were afraid of running aground, they proceeded to Ushtūm. It is an anchorage four *farsakh*s (twenty-four km.), or somewhat less, from Tinnīs. Ushtūm has a wall with two iron gates, which al-

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419. During the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Īsā al-Andalusī raided Crete, gradually conquering its fortified places and expelling the Byzantines, and then setting up an "independent emirate" that recognized 'Abbāsid authority; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 279; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 70; *EI*², s.v. Iḳrītish; Christides, *Conquest*, 85ff. *et passim*. On the Muslim arsenals and shipyards in Damietta, see *ibid.*, 164, citing A. M. Fahmy, *Muslim Sea-Power in the Eastern Mediterranean* (London, 1950), 30ff.; M. Abbady and E. A. Salem, *Ta'rīkh al-baḥriyyah al-Islāmiyyah fī Miṣr wa-l-Shām* (Beirut, 1972), 46ff.

420. *Qand* is from Persian *qandī* ("sugar, sugar candy"), which is related to English "candy" < French (*sucre*) *candi* < Italian (*zucchero*) *candito*.

421. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 597, says that the Byzantines took captive 1,820 Muslim women, 1,000 Copt women, and 100 Jewish women, as well as weapons. Christides, *Conquest*, 165, prefers Ṭabarī's count, as the Christian population in Damietta was greater than that of the Muslims.

422. The statement "they are ship sails" is apparently a gloss on the word *qulū'*, which may be a plural of *qal'ah* = "fortress" but here is rather a plural of *qil'* = "sail"; Glossarium, CDXXXII. On shipyards in Damietta, see above, n. 419.

423. Text: *wa-kāna man ḥadhira minhum*. Cairo edition (Ms. A): *huẕira*.

424. Ushtūm is a fortified town situated between Tinnīs and Faramā on a branch of the Nile; Maspéro and Wiet, *Matériaux*, 17.

Muʿtaṣim had ordered to have built. The Byzantines destroyed all of it, burned the town with mangonels and ballistas, and carted away its two iron gates. They then headed for their own territory without any interference.

In this year, on Monday, 5 Jumādā II (November 22, 852), al-Mutawakkil left Sāmarrā, heading for al-Madā'in. He arrived at al-Shammāsiyyah[425] on Tuesday, 13 Jumādā II (November 30, 852), and stayed there until Saturday. He crossed in the evening to Quṭrabbul[426] and then returned, entering Baghdad on Monday, 18 Jumādā (December 5, 852). He went through its bazaars and thoroughfares and then halted at al-Zaʿfarāniyyah, thereafter going on to al-Madā'in.[427] [1419]

ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī led the summer expedition.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar.

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425. Al-Shammāsiyyah is the well-known quarter in northeast Baghdad; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 169–76, 199–216.

426. Quṭrabbul is a district northwest of the Round City, opposite the Shammāsiyyah Quarter. Al-Mutawakkil thus crossed the Tigris from east to west.

427. Al-Zaʿfarāniyyah is a village near Baghdad below Kalwādhā; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 931. Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 201, identifies it with modern Zimberāniyyah. Al-Madā'in was the famous city, founded on the site of Ctesiphon and adjacent towns, along the Tigris, about 32 km. to the southeast of Baghdad; *EI*², s.v.

The Events of the Year 239

(June 12, 853–June 1, 854)

In al-Muḥarram (June 12–July 11, 853) this year al-Mutawakkil ordered that the Dhimmīs affix two yellow sleeves to their outer cloaks.[428] Then in Ṣafar (July 12–August 9) he ordered that they restrict their mounts to mules and donkeys and avoid riding and pack horses.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil banished ʿAlī b. al-Jahm b. Badr to Khurāsān.[429]

In this year, the ruler of the Ṣanāriyyah was killed at the Public Gate in Jumādā II (November 7–December 6).[430]

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428. This regulation follows the above edicts (p. 1389, p. 89) by about four years. The word *dhirāʿayn*, sg. *dhirāʿ*, means "forearm," "cubit," but also "sleeve," as is appropriate here; Lane, *Lexicon*, 962; Ahsan, *Social Life*, 62.

429. Ṭabarī typically does not give a reason for the dismissal. ʿAlī b. al-Jahm was a strong supporter of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the Sunnite camp, and thus, he was welcomed as a court companion of al-Mutawakkil, but his loose tongue and the envy of rivals landed him in trouble and led to his imprisonment and banishment; *EI*², s.v.

430. The Ṣanāriyah (Armenian Tsanar-kʿ; Georgian Tsʿanar) were Christians of a martial bent who lived in the central Caucasus area north of Georgia; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 400–02; *idem*, *History*, 162, and Index, 183; "Caucasia IV,", 506. According to Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 598, Bughā was defeated by them.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil ordered that churches and synagogues newly built under Islam be destroyed.

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah (May 3–June 1, 854) this year Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād died in Baghdad. [1420]

In this year, ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī led the summer expedition.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. He was the governor of Mecca.

In this year, Jaʿfar b. Dīnār went on the pilgrimage. He was the supervisor of the Mecca Road near al-Kūfah, and he was appointed over the events of the festive season.

In this year, Palm Sunday of the Christians and the Day of Nayrūz coincided on Sunday, 20 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (April 22, 854). The Christians reportedly claimed that these two days would never coincide under Islam.[431]

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431. See below, n. 508.

The Events of the Year 240

(June 2, 854–21 May 21, 855)

One of the events was the revolt of the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ against their chief of security police (*maʿūnah*).

The Cause for the Revolt of the Inhabitants of Ḥimṣ and Its Result

It is reported that their chief of security police (*maʿūnah*) killed a man who was one of their leaders. The chief at the time was Abū al-Mughīth al-Rāfiʿī Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm.[432] As a result, the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ revolted in Jumādā II (October 28–November 25) of
[1421] this year and killed a number of his men. They then expelled him along with the tax supervisor from their town. When al-Mutawakkil heard this, he sent against them ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb, dispatching with him Muḥammad b. ʿAbdawayh Kirdās al-Anbārī.[433] The

432. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 599, describing this revolt, calls Abū al-Mughīth the *ʿāmil* (governor or fiscal administrator) of Ḥimṣ. See also Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 249ff., 301.

433. ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb al-Qāʾid appears in Ṭabarī, III, 1822, as a commander of the Shākiriyyah and is identified (p. 1826) as a Khurāsānian commander. See also

caliph ordered ʿAttāb to tell them that the Commander of the Faithful had replaced al-Mughīth by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdawayh and that, if they obeyed and acquiesced, then the latter would be appointed over them. But if they refused and persisted in opposition, then [al-Mutawakkil ordered ʿAttāb], "Stay put, and write to the Commander of the Faithful to send you Rajāʾ or Muḥammad b. Rajāʾ al-Ḥiḍārī or some other cavalryman to wage war against them."[434]

ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb left Sāmarrā on Monday, 24 Jumādā II (November 20, 854).[435] They acquiesced to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdawayh, whereupon al-Mutawakkil appointed him over them, and he accomplished wonders with them.

In al-Muḥarram (June 2–July 1) of this year, Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād died in Baghdad after his son Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad, his son having died there twenty days before him, in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (May 3–June 1, 854).

In this year al-Mutawakkil removed Yaḥyā b. Aktham from the office of judge in Ṣafar (July 2–30, 854).[436] He confiscated from him what he had in Baghdad, in the amount of 75,000 dīnārs.[437] He took 1,000 dīnārs from Yaḥyā's columned arcade in his palace, and he also seized 4,000 *jarīb*s[438] of land in al-Baṣrah.

Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 594 (where he appears as one of the commanders sent against Muḥammad b. al-Baʿīth); Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 291 (in charge of the *dīwān [al-]jaysh [wa]-l-shākiriyyah*); and Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, 89–90. As for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdawayh (b. Jabalah), see Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 599. Yaʿqūbī mentions him earlier (p. 586) in connection with revolts in Damascus and Palestine.

434. Rajāʾ b. Ayyūb al-Ḥiḍārī, father of Muḥammad b. Rajāʾ al-Ḥiḍārī, had been an army commander at the time of al-Muʿtaṣim; Ṭabarī, III, 1194 (Marin, *Reign*, 27), and III, 1320 (Marin, 125). He was governor of Damascus in 226 (840–41); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 28. His son, Muḥammad b. Rajāʾ al-Ḥiḍārī (Leiden edition, Ms. O: al-Ḥiṣārī), was also an army commander. He led the rear guard of Waṣīf against the Byzantines in 248 (862–63). In 252 (866–67) he appears along with "Baghdadian commanders," including ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb. In 254 (868) he was governor of al-Baṣrah (Ṭabarī, III, 1745); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 41, gives 255 (868–69).

435. Ms. C: Rabīʿ.

436. As usual, Ṭabarī does not give a reason for the dismissal. See Ṭabarī, III, 1139 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 230), on the "infamous conduct" of Ibn Aktham; and Marzubānī, *Muʿjam*, 431, for a poem on the same. He was renowned for his licentious behavior and pederasty.

437. Ms. O: twenty-five thousand; ʿAynī: eighty thousand.

438. A *jarīb* = 1592 sq.m., according to Hinz, *Masse und Gewichte*, 65.

In Ṣafar (July 2–30, 854) of this year, al-Mutawakkil appointed Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī as chief of the judiciary.

[1422] Leading the pilgrimage this year was ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd. Jaʿfar b. Dīnār went on the pilgrimage and was in charge of the events of the festive season.

The Events of the Year 241

(May 22, 855–May 9, 856)

Among them was the revolt of the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ against their chief of security police, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdawayh.[439]

The Role of the Inhabitants of Ḥimṣ in the Revolt against Muḥammad b. ʿAbdawayh and Its Consequence for Them

It is reported that the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ revolted in Jumādā II (October 17–November 14, 855) of this year against Muḥammad b. ʿAbdawayh, their chief of security police, with some of the Christians of Ḥimṣ supporting their revolt. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdawayh sent a dispatch about this to al-Mutawakkil.

Al-Mutawakkil then wrote ordering Muḥammad to resist them, and reinforced him with troops from the garrison[440] of

439. The population of Ḥimṣ was frequently restive from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd. This was the second year in succession that they rebelled. The uprising this time included elements of the Christian population. The inhabitants of Ḥimṣ repeated in 250 (864–65); Ṭabarī, III, 1533 (Saliba, 27).

440. For *rātibah*, see Glossarium, CCLVIII.

Damascus, along with Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī the Turk, who was governor there, and troops from al-Ramlah. Al-Mutawakkil ordered Muḥammad b. 'Abdawayh to seize three of their chiefs and flog them to death. And when they died, he was to suspend them on crosses at the doors [of their residences] and thereafter to take twenty of their notables and flog each of them thirty times and bring them in iron fetters to the gate of the Commander of the Faithful.

[The caliph also ordered Muḥammad to] destroy the churches and places of worship in Ḥimṣ, to join the house of worship[441] that was adjoined to the mosque of Ḥimṣ to it, to expel every single Christian from the city, and to make a prior announcement
[1423] among them to the effect that whoever he found there after three days would be severely chastised.[442]

Al-Mutawakkil ordered that Muḥammad b. 'Abdawayh be given 50,000 dirhams, and that his officers and eminent companions be given gifts. And he ordered that his deputy, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, be given 15,000 dirhams and his officers 5,000 dirhams each. The caliph also ordered that robes of honor be presented [to them].

Muḥammad b. 'Abdawayh seized ten people from Ḥimṣ, and wrote that he had seized them, and that he had deported them to the palace of the Commander of the Faithful, but he did not flog them.[443] Al-Mutawakkil sent one of the associates of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān by the name of Muḥammad b. Rizqallāh to restore to Ḥimṣ those whom Ibn 'Abdawayh had deported—Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥaydī and al-Qāsim b. Mūsā b. Fū'ūs[444]—and to flog them to death and suspend them on crosses over the gates of the city. Muḥammad b. 'Abdawayh returned them, flogged them to death, and then suspended them over the Ḥimṣ Gate. He had the rest brought to Sāmarrā. There were eight of them. When they

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441. The term *bī'ah* may refer to a synagogue, but here a Christian place of worship is intended.

442. Ms. O: *b-l-d-y-h*; superscript: *adabahu*; read: *ta'dībahu* (note *ad loc.*).

443. Text: *wa-lam yaḍribhum*. Ms. O: *wa-amara bi-ḍarbihim*, "and ordered that they be flogged."

444. The reading Fū'ūs follows Ms. C. Ms. O and 'Aynī: Far'ūsh. Read perhaps Qar'ūsh, or Turkish Qarghūsh (for Qarāqūsh; note *ad loc.*).

445. Cairo text adds bi-Naṣībīn.

arrived in Naṣībīn, one of them died,[445] whereupon al-Mutawakkil had them take his head, and had the seven others brought to Sāmarrā along with the head of the deceased. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdawayh thereafter wrote that he seized ten of the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ after this and flogged five to death. He then flogged five more, but they did not die.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdawayh wrote afterward that he defeated one of their rebels by the name of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Isḥāq b. ʿImārah. He was reportedly one of the leaders of the rebellion (*fitnah*). He flogged him at the Ḥimṣ Gate until he died, and suspended him on a cross above a fortress called Tall al-ʿAbbās. [1424]

In this year, people in Sāmarrā reportedly had abundant rain in Āb (August, 855).

In this year, in Muḥarram (May 22–June 21, 855), al-Mutawakkil appointed Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī as judge of the Sharqiyyah [Quarter].[446]

In this year, al-Mutawakkil flogged ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim, the proprietor of Khān ʿĀṣim in Baghdad.[447] He was flogged, it is said, 1,000 stripes.

The Reason for Flogging ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar b. ʿĀṣim and the Caliph's Role in This

The reason for this was that seventeen men testified before Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī, judge of the Sharqiyyah [Quarter], against ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar to the effect that the latter had defamed Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿĀʾishah, and Ḥafṣah. Their testimonies reportedly differed in this regard.[448]

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446. Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī, al-Ḥasan b. ʿUthmān, was a traditionist, historian, and judge under al-Mutawakkil. He died, according to Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 316, in 243 (857–68). But Ṭabarī, III, 1434, says that he died in Rajab, 242 (November 3–December 2, 856; see below, p. 147); see on him, Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, 159–63; *Nishwār*, II, 234; VI, 64; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 344; Massignon, "Cadis et naqībs," 108. For location of the Sharqiyyah suburb east of the Baṣrah Gate, see Lassner, *Topography*, 248, 275.

447. An alternative name given below, 1426 (p. 137), is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim. The Khān ʿĀṣim was a caravanserai in the Market of the Perfumers (Sūq al-Rayḥāniyyīn); Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 271. See also Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, I, 304.

448. The cursing of Abū Bakr, etc., indicates that ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar was a Shīʿite.

The postmaster of Baghdad wrote about this to 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān, and he transmitted it to al-Mutawakkil. Al-Mutawakkil then gave orders for 'Ubaydallāh to write to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, instructing him to flog this 'Īsā, and [to see to it that] when 'Īsā died he should be tossed into the Tigris, and that his body not be handed over to his folk. 'Ubaydallāh replied to al-Ḥasan b. 'Uthmān's letter to him concerning 'Īsā:[449]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

May God give you long life, protect you and extend His
[1425] beneficence to you. Your letter has arrived concerning the man named 'Īsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Āṣim, the proprietor of the caravanserais, and the witnesses' testimony as to his defaming the companions of the Messenger of God, cursing them, declaring them infidels, accusing them of grave sins and ascribing hypocrisy to them, and so on, by which he came out in opposition against God and His Messenger. [And the letter mentioned] your verification of these witnesses and their testimony, your validation of the probity of those who were qualified witnesses and their testimony that was evident to you, and your exposition of this in a note that went along with your letter.

You presented this to the Commander of the Faithful, may God give him power, whereupon he ordered that a letter be sent to Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful, may God give him long life, concerning the ideas of the caliph, may God give him long life, about protecting the religion of God, reviving its tradition, and taking revenge upon those who deviate from it. And he ordered that the man ('Īsā b. Ja'far) be flogged as a fixed punishment (*ḥadd*)[450] for public defamation and be given 500 stripes beyond the

449. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Uthmān = Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī. He had apparently written a letter that was forwarded by the postmaster, who as chief of Intelligence included an account of his own.

450. The *ḥadd* punishments are those that are sanctioned in the Qur'ān for crimes committed against God (*EI*², s.v. Ḥadd). Defamation (*shatm*) is occasionally considered one of them.

fixed punishment for the grave things he dared to undertake. And, if he dies, he should be thrown into the river without a funeral prayer, thus deterring every deviant in religion who abandons the community of Muslims. I have informed you of this so that you shall know it, God—the exalted—willing. Peace upon you and the mercy and blessings of God.

It is reported that after this ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim—one informant said that his name was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĀṣim[451]—was flogged; he was left in the sun until he died and was then thrown into the Tigris. [1426]

In this year, there was a meteor storm visible in Baghdad. This was on Thursday night, 1 Jumādā II (October 17, 855).[452]

In this year, an epidemic[453] took place, so that horses and cattle perished.

In this year, the Byzantines raided ʿAyn Zarbah and took captive the Zuṭṭ who were there along with their wives, children, buffaloes, and cattle.[454]

In this year, there was a prisoner exchange between the Muslims and Byzantines.[455]

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451. Ms. O omits this comment, which may, in fact, be an intrusive gloss or a supplementary parenthetical remark. The confusion in Ms. C points in this direction.

452. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 230, mentions the meteor storm immediately after noting the popular belief that after Ibn Ḥanbal's death the world darkened. See also Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 600. Ṭabarī does not mention Ibn Ḥanbal's death. In fact, he generally overlooks Ibn Ḥanbal (see Translator's Foreword). Sensitive to the silence, Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, X, 325, observes that Ṭabarī did not mention the death of *any* Ḥadīth scholars this year (so as to avoid mentioning the death of Ibn Ḥanbal). Ibn Kathīr then gives a long eulogy of Ibn Ḥanbal.

453. See Glossarium, CCCCXXIII; Lane, s.v. *ṣidām*.

454. The Zuṭṭ (Zoṭṭ), arabicized form of Jāt (see *EI*², s.v. Djāt), were an Indian people who raised buffaloes. They were brought by Muʿāwiya or al-Walīd to Antioch and the area north of the city; see Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 192. Many were settled by al-Ḥallāj in the marshes (al-Baṭīḥah) in southern ʿIrāq, where they indulged in robbery and plunder, and eventually revolted in the area of al-Baṣrah from 205–20 (820–35). The caliph al-Muʿtaṣim defeated them and transplanted them (220/835) to ʿAyn Zarbah on the frontier, where they were occasionally raided by the Byzantines; see Ṭabarī, III, 1167–70 (Marin, *Reign*, 4–8). See also Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 223.

455. On the prisoner exchange of 241 (855–56), see Vasiliev, 222ff.; 317ff.

The Reason for the Prisoner Exchange

It is reported that Theodora, empress of Byzantium, mother of Michael, sent a man named George, son of Cyriac, to request an exchange of Muslims who were in the hands of the Byzantines.[456] The number of Muslims approached 20,000. Al-Mutawakkil sent a Shī'ite by the name of Naṣr b. al-Azhar b. Faraj[457] to determine the exact number of Muslim captives in the hands of the Byzantines, so as to order their exchange. This was in Sha'bān (December 15, 855–January 12, 856) of this year. [Naṣr returned],[458]
[1427] having remained with the Byzantines for some time.

It is reported that after Naṣr's departure, Theodora ordered that her prisoners be passed in review, and that conversion to Christianity be proposed to them. Those who converted were to be on an equal footing with those who had done so previously, but those who refused [to convert] were to be killed. She reportedly had 12,000 prisoners killed. Another view is that it was Theoktistos the Eunuch[459] who had them killed, without her having ordered this.[460]

The governors of the frontier towns of Syria and the Jazīrah

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456. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 599, states that the emperor (*ṭāghiyat al-Rūm*) initiated the prisoner exchange, sending gifts, and that the caliph reciprocated with twice as many. See also Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 191. The Leiden edition gives the name Cyriac half unpointed. The Cairo edition has *Q-r-y-ā-f-s*. Vasiliev suggests the reading Qiriyāqus or Karbeas; *Byzance*, I, 225, 317. Thus, Ṭabarī makes Theodora empress in 241 (855–56), which is compatible with her actual fall in 243 (857–58). Cf., however, above, where he places her fall in 233 (847–48); 1379 (p. 76) and n. 264.

457. Text: Faraj. Ms. O is unpointed. C has Qarkh or the like. Cairo edition, Ms. D, has Farūkh. Naṣr b. al-Azhar was also involved in the prisoner exchange of 246 (860–61) and gives his own personal account; below, 1449 (pp. 168–70).

458. The note in the Leiden edition suggests that some words are lacking, such as *fa-kharaja Naṣr*. See also Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 317. The Cairo edition does not take this into account. Without the addition, the sentence would read something like: "This was in Sha'bān of this year after he remained with them for some time."

459. Text: *Q-n-q-l-h*. Ms. O is unpointed. C: *F-n-q-l-h*. Cairo edition text is like the Leiden text. Ms. A has *Q-y-f-l-h*. Theoktistos the Eunuch (Kanikleios) is suggested by the note in the Leiden edition, *ad loc.*; and see Vasiliev, *Byzance*, 225. The form Nīqōlā in Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 142, is simply a mistake for *Qaniqlā* (Vasiliev).

460. Vasiliev regards these reports by Arab choniclers as "fort douteuses" (*Byzance*, I, 225). On laws for prisoners of war, see E. Gräf, "Religiöse und rechtliche Vorstellungen."

received a letter from al-Mutawakkil stating that negotiations had taken place between Shunayf al-Khādim and George, emissary of the Byzantine emperor, concerning the prisoner exchange, and that an agreement had been reached between them. This George had requested an armistice from 5 Rajab, 241 (November 19, 855), until 22 Shawwāl of this year (March 5, 856), in order to assemble the prisoners and give the Byzantines sufficient time to get to their place of sanctuary. The letter concerning this arrived on Wednesday, 5 Rajab (November 19), and the prisoner exchange took place on the Day of Breaking the Fast this year [1 Shawwāl (February 12, 856)].[461]

George, the emissary of the Byzantine empress, departed for the region of the frontier towns on Saturday, 22 Rajab (December 6, 855) with seventy mules that were leased to him. Abū Qaḥṭabah al-Maghribī al-Ṭurṭūsī[462] went along with him, so that they might observe the time of the Breaking of the Fast.[463] A number of Patrikioi and pages belonging to George came with him, about fifty men.

Shunayf al-Khādim departed for the prisoner exchange in the middle of Sha'bān (ca. 30 December, 855), along with one hundred horsemen, thirty Turks, thirty Maghāribah, and forty Shākiriyyah horsemen. Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid, who was chief judge,[464] requested that he be permitted to attend the prisoner exchange, and [1428]
that someone be deputized to take his place. He was given permission, and 150,000 dirhams were allocated for him as a subsidy and 60,000 for service allotments. He deputized Ibn Abī al-

461. The 'Īd al-Fiṭr is celebrated at the conclusion of Ramaḍān.

462. An Abū Qaḥṭabah is said to be the emissary of Khāqān al-Khādim in the prisoner exchange of 231 (845–46); see above, 1352 (p. 38) and n. 135. The toponymic *nisbah* al-Ṭurṭūsī indicates a provenance from Tortosa, Spain. (Consider also the *nisbah* al-Maghribī.) But the reading "al-Ṭarsūsī" may also be considered.

463. Text: *al-fiṭr*. Ms. O *al-fidā'* = "the prisoner exchange." So Cairo edition (Ms. A).

464. Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Hāshimī al-Qurayshī had been chief judge in Sāmarrā in 240 (854–55); al-Musta'īn later deposed him and exiled him to al-Baṣrah (249–50/863–65). He died in 258 (871–72). See also Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 191; Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, VII, 173; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 11, 152; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, II, 258–59; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, I, 330–331.

Shawārib,[465] who was then a young man. Ja'far departed and met Shunayf. And a group of leading Baghdadians[466] departed.

The exchange of prisoners reportedly took place in Byzantine territory, on the Lamos River, on Sunday, 12 Shawwāl, 241 (February 23, 856). The number of Muslim prisoners was 785 men and 125 women.[467]

In this year, al-Mutawakkil made the subdistrict of Shimshāṭ tithe (*'ushr*) land, transferring [its inhabitants] from land tax (*kharāj*) to a tithe, and he sent them a letter to this effect.[468]

In this year, the Bujah[469] attacked a military guard (*ḥaras*)[470]

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465. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib al-Qāḍī belonged to the family of the Banū al-Shawārib (*EI*², s.v. Ibn Abī'l-Shawārib), which included Ḥadīth scholars, jurists, and judges. They were strong advocates of Sunnism. Ṭabarī studied Ḥadīth with Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī al-Shawārib. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad became chief judge in 252 (866–67; Ṭabarī, III, 1684, Saliba, 143). Ṭabarī says that he died in Mecca after going on the pilgrimage in 261 (874–75; III, 1891). Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, VII, 410–11, notes that he was deputy chief judge in Sāmarrā as of 240 (854–55); and see Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 27; Massignon, "Cadis et naqībs," 108.

466. In today's Arabic *awsāṭ al-nās* means "the middle class." Here it means "important people"; see Glossarium, DLVI (*optimi*); and Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 801; "les grands."

467. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 191, says that there were 2,200 men and 100 women.

468. Shimshāṭ is ancient Greek Arsamosata, north of Āmid, on the Arsanas River. Yāqūt, III, *Mu'jam*, 319, warns the reader to distinguish it from Sumaysāṭ (Samosata). These two toponyms were indeed occasionally confused by scribes. See also Le Strange, *Lands*, 116–17; and see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 393, on the confusion between Shimshāṭ and Sumaysāṭ, which is often spelled Shumayshāṭ. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 219, says that al-Mutawakkil transformed the territory of Shimshāṭ from *kharāj* to tithe land so that the area would be on the same footing as other *thughūr*. See also Balādhurī, 203, on these *thughūr*. The *'ushr* rate amounted to 1/10 of the produce; the *kharāj* from 1/5 to 2/3, most often 1/2; see Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, 72ff.

469. The Bujah, a people of Hamitic origin, were nomadic tribes that lived between the Nile and the Red Sea. They had submitted to Muslim control by treaty, but periodically withheld the annual tribute and mounted raids. See especially Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 32–34; Maqrīzī, *Mawā'iẓ*, III, 2, 267–80; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, I, 295ff. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Masālik*, 53, gives an account of the episode described in our text. See Levtzion and Hopkins, *Corpus*, 21, 31, 40–41, 44, 184, 199, where classical sources concerning the Bujah and related groups are cited. See also *EI*², s.v. Beḏja; Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, Index, 281. Abū al-Maḥāsin places the blame for the Bujah's effrontery at this time upon the weak governorship of 'Anbasah b. Isḥāq al-Ḍabbī.

470. For *ḥaras*, see Glossarium, CLXXXIX.

from Egypt, and al-Mutawakkil dispatched Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qummī[471] to wage war against them.

The Affair of the Bujah and Its Consequences

It is reported that the Bujah did not raid the Muslims, nor did the Muslims raid them because of the long-standing armistice between them, which we have mentioned previously in our book.[472] They are of the stock of the Ḥabash (Abyssinians), in the West. Among the black peoples (*sūdān*) in the West are the Bujah, the Nūbah, and the people of Ghānah, al-Ghaf-r, ʔ-y-n-w-r, R-ʿ-wīn, F-r-ww-iyah, B-k-sūm, M-kār-h, ʾ-k-r-m and al-Khams.[473] 1429]
There are gold mines in the territory of the Bujah. They bind by oath those who work in them. The Bujah deliver annually from their mines to the agents of the Egyptian government 400 *mithqāls*[474] of gold ore, prior to smelting and refining. From the time of al-Mutawakkil's reign the Bujah refrained from delivering this tax for several consecutive years. Al-Mutawakkil reportedly appointed over the Egyptian Postal and Intelligence Service one of his servants (*khadam*) named Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Bādhghīsī, *mawlā* of al-Hādī. He was known as Qawṣarah.[475] Al-Mutawakkil assigned to him the Intelligence Service of Cairo, Alexandria, Barqah, and the provinces of the Maghrib.

Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm wrote to al-Mutawakkil that the Bujah had broken the treaty between them and the Muslims. They advanced

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471. Ms. O has ʿĪsā with ʿUbaydallāh as a superscript. He is mentioned, for instance, by Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 282; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 200; Maqrīzī, *Mawāʿiẓ*, III, 275; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 297.

472. See Ṭabarī, I, 2593. For the treaty, see also Maqrīzī, *Mawāʿiẓ*, III, 273–75; and see Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, 39–40.

473. The names in the text are uncertain. For *B-k-sūm*, O reads *Y-kshūm*, which the note says may be identified with Axum. (But cf. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 474.) And the note compares *F-r-ww-iyah* with *bilād al-Faruwiyyīn* (citing Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, ed. De Slane, 174).

474. A *mithqāl* is a dīnār of full weight.

475. The cognomen Qawṣarah means "date basket." Ṭabarī, III, 1296 (Marin, *Reign*, 105), mentions him as chief of Intelligence. He is called there Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Būshanjī, *mawlā* of al-Hādī, known as Qawṣarah. Būshanj is a town, and Badhghīs (or: Badghīs) is a district, in Khurāsān. *Fragmenta*, 514, reads: Muṣʿab b. Ibrāhīm.

from their territory to the mines of gold and precious stones that were on the border between Egypt and the territory of the Bujah.[476] The Bujah killed a number of Muslims employed in the mines for mining the gold and precious stones, and took captive a number of the Muslim children and women. The Bujah claimed that the mines belonged to them and were in their territory, and that they would not permit the Muslims to enter them. This alarmed all the Muslims employed in the mines, so that they abandoned them in fear for their lives and for their children. The
[1430] assessment of a fifth of the gold, silver, and precious stones that was excavated from the mines and levied for the central government thereby ceased.

Al-Mutawakkil was dead set against this and greatly annoyed. He therefore sought advice concerning the circumstances of the Bujah. He was informed [as follows]: They were a nomadic people, tenders of camel and livestock. Getting to their territory was difficult, and it was inaccessible to troops, for it consisted of desert and steppe. It was a month's journey from the land of Islam to the territory of the Bujah, through wasteland, mountains, and barren country, lacking water, vegetation, refuge, or a fortified position. Any government representative who entered Bujah territory would have to be supplied with provisions for his entire intended stay until he returned to the land of Islam. If the extent of his stay was greater than estimated, he and all his comrades would perish. And the Bujah would simply overcome them without hostilities. Their land did not remit to the central government land tax or any other tax.

Al-Mutawakkil therefore refrained from dispatching anyone against them. But the situation only got worse, and the boldness of the Bujah against the Muslims intensified to the point that the inhabitants of Upper Egypt feared for their lives and for their children. As a result, al-Mutawakkil appointed Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, known as al-Qummī, to wage war against them, and

476. The area was famous for its emeralds and other precious stones, mentioned by Mas'ūdī and Maqrīzī, among others. The gold and emerald mines were between Qūṣ, Wādī al-'Allāqī, and the Red Sea.

appointed him chief of security police[477] for these subdistricts, namely, Qifṭ, Aqṣur, Isnā, Armant, and Uswān (Aswān).[478]

Al-Mutawakkil commissioned Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh to wage war against the Bujah and to correspond with ʿAnbasah b. Isḥāq al-Ḍabbī, the officer in charge of the Egyptian security forces. Al-Mutawakkil also wrote to ʿAnbasah, instructing him to supply Muḥammad with all the requisite regular troops and [1431] Shākiriyyah stationed in Egypt. Thus ʿAnbasah removed Muḥammad's pretext [that he lacked forces].

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh departed for the land of the Bujah, and all those who had been employed in the mines and a large number of volunteers joined him. About 20,000 men[479] accompanied him, including horsemen and infantry. He sent to al-Qulzum[480] by sea seven vessels loaded with flour, olive oil, dates, *sawīq*,[481] and barley, ordering a contingent of his men to maneuver the vessels by sea so as to land at the coast of Bujah territory.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qummī forged on in Bujah territory until he traversed the mines, where gold was mined, and came to their fortresses and citadels. Their king encountered Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qummī—the king's name was ʿAlī Bābā, and the name of his son was Laʿīs[482]—with a great army, far outnumbering the men who were with al-Qummī. The Bujah were mounted on their camels, carrying their lances with them. Their camels were choice, of noble pedigree, like the camels of Mahrah.[483] The

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477. The term *muʿāwin* is understood here as equivalent to *ṣāḥib al-maʿūnah*, which is similar to *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* and *ṣāḥib al-ḥarb*; see Glossarium, CCCLXXXIII.

478. For these places in Upper Egypt, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 333 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 188–89 (Qifṭ, Luqṣur, i.e., Luxor, Isnā and Aswān). See also Maspéro-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 185, for Qifṭ, Aqṣur, Asnā, Armant, and Aswān; and for Qifṭ, ancient Coptos, see 148–49; Luxor, 23, Armant, 7, 191, Aswān, 127–29 *et passim*. And see Maqrīzī, *Mawāʿiẓ*, III, 3, 5, 32, 194, 248, 249, 280, 295, 303, 304; and *EI*², s.v. Qifṭ.

479. In his account, Abū al-Maḥāsin gives 7,000 men.

480. See *EI*², V, 367, s.v. Ḳulzum (where the Buja rebellion is mentioned).

481. For *sawīq*. see above, n. 75.

482. For "his son" Ms C has rather "his father" (*abīhi*); the note suggests *ibn akhīhi*, "his nephew." For Laʿīs, the note refers to *Fragmenta*, 550, note c, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 52, note 2.

483. Mahrī (cf. French *méhari*) camels are speedy riding camels from the area of the Mahrah tribe in southeastern Arabia; see *EI*², s.v. Mahra. These camels were

two sides began to confront each other on successive days. But they would only skirmish and not actually engage in combat. The Bujah king set about harassing[484] al-Qummī, so as to protract the time [of their stay] and exhaust the supplies and fodder that were with [al-Qummī and his men]. Thus they would lose strength and die from exhaustion, and the Bujah could then easily overcome them.

Just when the Bujah ruler figured that the supplies were ex-
[1432] hausted, the seven vessels that al-Qummī had sent landed on the coast at a place called Ṣanjah.[485] Al-Qummī dispatched there a group of his men to protect the vessels from the Bujah. Al-Qummī divided the ships' freight among his followers, so that they had adequate supplies of fodder.

Seeing this, 'Alī Bābā, the Bujah chief, went on to do battle with the Muslims, rallying troops against them. The two sides clashed and fought violently. The camels upon which the Bujah fought were unseasoned[486] and tended to be frightened and alarmed by everything. Noticing this, al-Qummī rounded up all the camel and horse bells in his camp. He then attacked the Bujah, stampeding their camels with the clanging of the bells. Their alarm was considerable. It drove them over mountains and valleys, totally splintering the Bujah forces. Al-Qummī and his men pursued and seized them, dead or alive, until night overtook him. This took place at the beginning of 241 (855–56). Al-Qummī then returned to his camp and could not count the dead they were so many.

When al-Qummī arose in the morning, he discovered that the Bujah had rallied a contingent of infantry and had proceeded to a place where they felt safe from al-Qummī's pursuit. But al-Qummī with his cavalry overtook them at night. Their king fled,

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prized from ancient times for their fine, noble breed, and were valued by caliphs. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Travels*, 69, who visited 'Aydhāb, took note of the superior camels of the Bujah. Maqrīzī, *Mawā'iẓ*, III, 268, notes the martial virtues of their camels and the effective use the Bujah made of lances while fighting from their backs.

484. For *taṭarrada* in this sense, see Glossarium, CCCXXXVIII. And see also Maqrīzī, *Mawā'iẓ*, III, 268.

485. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 282, states that the place of landing was rather 'Aydhāb. See also Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, I, 297.

486. Text: *za'iratan* = "thin-haired." Ms O: *ghirratan*, i.e., "inexperienced," etc. Cf. Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, I, 298: *wa-hiya* [*al-ibl*] *'alā ghāyah min al-za'ārah wa-l-nifār* ("extremely peevish and timid").

taking his crown and furnishings. ʿAlī Bābā requested thereafter a guarantee of safe-conduct to return to his kingdom and territory. Al-Qummī granted him this, and ʿAlī Bābā delivered the taxes to him for the period of time for which he had withheld them, namely, four years, at 400 *mithqāl*s per year.

ʿAlī Bābā appointed his son Laʿīs as deputy over his kingdom. [1433] Al-Qummī departed with ʿAlī Bābā for the gate of al-Mutawakkil, and arrived there at the end of 241 (855–56). He attired this ʿAlī Bābā with a silk brocade-lined robe and a black turban and covered his camel with a brocaded saddle and brocade horse cloths. At the Public Gate, along with a group of the Bujah, were stationed about seventy pages, upon saddled camels, carrying their lances, on whose tips were the heads of their warriors who had been killed by al-Qummī.[487]

Al-Mutawakkil discharged al-Qummī on the Day of Sacrifice, 241 (April 20, 856), and appointed Saʿd al-Khādim al-Ītākhī[488] over the Bujah and the road between Mecca and Egypt. And Saʿd appointed Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qummī. Al-Qummī departed with ʿAlī Bābā, who stuck to his religion. Some(one) of [the informants] reported seeing ʿAlī Bābā with a stone idol in the shape of a young boy to which he prostrated himself.

In this year, Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, known as Qawṣarah, died in Jumādā II (October–November 855).

Leading the pilgrimage this year was ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd.

Jaʿfar b. Dīnār went on the pilgrimage this year, and he was the supervisor of the Mecca Road and the events of the festive season.

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487. Ms. O omits *qutilū min ʿaskarihim*.

488. Saʿd al-Khādim al-Ītākhī appears below (1465, p. 185) as a courtier of al-Mutawakkil.

The Events of the Year 242

(May 10, 856–April 29, 857)

Among the events that happened this year were the enormous earthquakes that took place in Qūmis and its surrounding villages in Shaʿbān (December 3–31, 856).[489] Homes were destroyed,
[1434] and many people died from collapsing walls and the like. Their number reportedly came to 45,096. The greatest effect of the earthquakes was in Dāmaghān. It is reported that there were earthquakes and shocking noises this year in Fārs, Khurāsān, and Syria. The same thing took place in the Yemen along with a lunar eclipse.

In this year, the Byzantines advanced from the area of Samosata, following the summer expedition of ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī, as far as Āmid.[490] They then advanced from the frontier

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489. Qūmis is a small province between the Alburz mountains to the north and the Great Desert to the south. Its administrative capital was Damghān, or Madīnat Qūmis (the City of Qūmis); Le Strange, *Lands*, 364–68; *EI*², s.v. Ḳūmis. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 600, mentions the earthquakes that took place in Qūmis and Naysābūr and the surrounding area in 242 (856–57), in which about 200,000 people are said to have perished.

490. Leiden and Cairo editions: Shimshāṭ. The note in the Leiden edition cites the reading Sumaysāṭ (i.e. Samosata) of Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 53, and Abū al-

towns of the Jazīrah and plundered a number of villages, taking captive about 10,000 men. They entered from the direction of Tephrikē,[491] a village [in the control] of Karbeas. They then departed, returning to their territory. Karbeas, ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh al-Aqṭaʿ, and a contingent of volunteers pursued them but did not catch one of them.[492] ʿUmar wrote to ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā to make a winter expedition into their territory.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil had ʿUṭārid killed.[493] He was a Christian, who had converted to Islam, and remained a Muslim for many years, and then he apostatized. He was asked to recant, but he refused to return to Islam. He was executed on 2 Shawwāl (February 1, 857), and was burned at the Public Gate.[494]

In this year, in Rajab (November 3–December 2, 856), Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī, judge of the East Side [of Baghdad], died.

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd, judge of Madīnat al-Manṣūr, died.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Mūsā b.

Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 307. It was Samosata that was, in fact, raided by the Byzantines during this campaign. For confusion in texts between Shimshāṭ and Sumaysāṭ, see above, n. 468. Āmid (or Amida), the most important city in Diyār Bakr, was located on the left bank of the Tigris; it was frequently attacked by the Byzantines in the tenth century. On this episode, see Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 233–34, 318–19.

491. Text: Abrīq. The note in the Leiden edition identifies Abrīq with Greek Tephrikē (citing *Theophanes continuatus*, p. 16). The name, it is pointed out, is also written Tibrikē, Brikē, and Aphrikē. See also Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 233; Bury, *History*, 278. The Arabic name appears to be derived from *Brikē*. Karbeas (Qarbiyās) belonged to the Paulician iconoclasts. On their beliefs, see Runciman, *Medieval Manichee*, 26–62. Persecuted by Theophilus and Theodora, who regarded them as Manichaeans, they took refuge in Muslim territory. Karbeas sought shelter with the amīr of Melitene (Malaṭiyah) and settled in the area of Tephrikē. Before the fall of Theodora, the Byzantines sent an army to raid Samosata and Āmid, and they thereafter attacked Tephrikē, the headquarters of Karbeas; Bury, *ibid.*, 278f.

492. ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh al-Aqṭaʿ ("the One-Armed") was a military commander who fought on several occasions against the Byzantines. He led a summer raid in 246 (860–61; below, 1449, p. 167). He was finally killed in a battle with the Byzantines in 249 (863–64); Ṭabarī, III, 1509 (Saliba), 9, where he is called b. ʿUbaydallāh.

493. Ms. O and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 53, have *rajulan ʿaṭṭāran*, that is, a perfumer, pharmacist. ʿUṭārid is the planet Mercury.

494. Burning was occasionally used as a punishment for apostates (*murtaddūn*); see *EI*[1], s.v.

[1435] Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, who was governor of Mecca.[495] Jaʿfar b. Dīnār went on the pilgrimage this year. He was the supervisor of the Mecca Road and the events of the festival season.

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495. An ʿAbbāsid, he was governor of Mecca beginning with this year (Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20) and led the pilgrimage in 243, 244, and 249 (below, 1436, 1437, 1515 [Saliba, 14]).

The Events of the Year 243

(April 30, 857–April 18, 858)

In this year, al-Mutawakkil went to Damascus on 20 Dhū al-Qa'dah (March 8, 858).[496] He observed the Day of Sacrifice in Balad. Yazīd b. Muḥammad al-Muhallabī recited when he departed [from Baghdad]:[497]

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496. On Mutawakkil's move to Damascus, see, e.g., Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 600; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 257; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 315. The reason for transferring the capital from Sāmarrā to Damascus was evidently the caliph's desire to avoid the powerful influence of the Turks in Sāmarrā by moving to Arab Syria. Balad is a town in the Jazīrah slightly northeast of Mosul; Le Strange, *Lands*, 99, 125. On the way to Damascus, al-Mutawakkil followed the route along the Tigris passing through Mosul. This was the postal road. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 84. On the way back, he took the route along the Euphrates to Anbār (below, 1436, p. 152).

497. Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī was a member of the famous Muhallabī family that supplied governors and wazīrs in the ninth and tenth centuries; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 11. He was a poet, a boon companion of al-Mutawakkil, and panegyrist of al-Muntaṣir; see Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VIII, 176–77, XI, 165; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 606. He wrote a fine elegy on the death of al-Mutawakkil; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd*, II, 26; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, III, 1258. According to Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūlī recited the poem quoting al-Muntaṣir (note *ad loc.*). Abū Bakr al-Ṣulī also preserves two additional lines of verse: Muḥammad (al-Muntaṣir) says: "Let my soul be ransom for you, pity me and refrain from leaving./ If you depart, abandoning me, I shall have no joy but meeting again." Se also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 257; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 315.

I think that Syria gloats at Iraq,
Now that the Imām has resolved to depart.

If you abandon Iraq and its people,
Consider that a beauty may fade if divorced.

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. al-ʿAbbās [al-Ṣūlī] died.

Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad b. al-Jarrāḥ, deputy of Ibrāhīm, supervised the Bureau of Estates in Shaʿbān (November 23–December 21, 857).[498]

Hāshim b. Bānījūr died in Dhū al-Qaʿdah (February 19–March 20, 858).[499]

[1436] Leading the pilgrimage this year was ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Mūsā.

Jaʿfar b. Dīnār went on the pilgrimage, and was supervisor of the Mecca Road and the events of the festival season.

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498. Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad b. al-Jarrāḥ was a secretary of Christian background who had recently converted to Islam. He later served al-Mutawakkil and became wazīr under al-Muʿtamid; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, Index, 766; *EI*², s.v. Ibn Makhlad.

499. Hāshim b. Bānījūr belonged to the family of Bānījūr that ruled Balkh from 233 (847–48) until 337 (948–49); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 27, 41, 202 (genealogical table), 204; *EI*², *Supplement*, s.v. Banīdjūrids.

The Events of the Year 244

(April 19, 858–April 7, 859)

Among these events was al-Mutawakkil's entrance into Damascus in Ṣafar (May 19–June 16, 858). From the time he left Sāmarrā until he entered Damascus ninety-seven days elapsed or, it is said, seventy-seven days. He decided to take up residence there, transferred the royal bureaus, and gave orders for building in Damascus. The Turks were in a state of foment over [the withholding of] their service allotments and the allotments for their families, and so al-Mutawakkil gave orders to placate them.

Al-Mutawakkil thereafter found Balad unpleasant. This was because its air was cool and humid, the water unwholesome, the wind blowing from afternoon and continuing to intensify throughout the entire night. It had many fleas; prices were high; and snow interfered with supply of provisions.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil dispatched Bughā from Damascus to raid the Byzantines in Rabīʿ II (July 17–August 14, 858). Bughā undertook the summer expedition and conquered Ṣamāluh.[500]

500. Ṣamāluh is written here with final *h*; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 416, has final *w*. He places it at the Syrian frontier towns near Maṣīṣah (Mopsuestia) and Tarsus. Ṣamāluh = *Sēmalouos kastron*; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 234; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 220.

Al-Mutawakkil resided in Damascus for two months and a number of days. He then returned to Sāmarrā, staying along the Euphrates, turning off for al-Anbār, and then from al-Anbār taking the Ḥurf Road to Sāmarrā.[501] He entered Sāmarrā on Monday, 22 Jumādā II (October 5, 858).

In this year, some(one) of the informants allege(s), al-Mutawakkil[502] appointed Abū al-Sāj[503] supervisor of the Mecca Road in place of Ja'far b. Dīnār. What is correct, in my view, is that he appointed him as supervisor of the Mecca Road in 242 (856–57).

[1437] In this year, a lance that had belonged to the Prophet, called al-'Anazah, was reportedly brought to al-Mutawakkil.[504] It is said to have belonged to the Najāshī, king of Abyssinia, who gave it to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. Al-Zubayr gave it to the Messenger of God, and it remained in the possession of the muezzins. Someone marched with it before the Messenger of God on the two festivals. It was implanted before him in the courtyard,[505] and people prayed toward it.[506] Al-Mutawakkil ordered that it be carried before him. The chief of the security police would bear it before the caliph, and the deputy chief of security police would carry his lance.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil became angry with Bukhtīshū', confiscated his property, and banished him to al-Baḥrayn.[507]

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501. Al-Mutawakkil stayed along the Euphrates road and headed southeast until Anbār instead of heading directly east from Ḥadīthah, which would have brought him straight to Sāmarrā. He then headed back north to Sāmarrā, thus doubling the distance he had to travel. Ḥurf is a village in the area of al-Anbār (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 243) after which this route is presumably named.

502. Ms. C and Cairo edition Ms. D have al-Muntaṣir instead of al-Mutawakkil.

503. Abū al-Sāj Dīwdād b. Dīwdast was an army commander who had supported Afshīn in his campaign against Bābak (Ṭabarī, III, 1222, 1228, Marin, *Reign*, 46, 52). He was commander of the Mecca Road until the struggle between al-Musta'īn and al-Mu'tazz erupted in 251 (865–66). He then continued to engage actively in warfare and politics; d. 266 (879–80); Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 56; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 32 (governor of Aleppo in 254/868–69), 43 (governor of al-Kūfah in 252/866–67), 179 (genealogy of Sājites in Ādharbāyjān); *EI*², Abū'l-Sādj Dīwdād.

504. On the famous lance called al-'Anazah, see *EI*², s.v. It was an emblem of prophetic and caliphal authority.

505. Text: *al-fanā'*. 'Aynī: *fī al-asfār* ("on journeys").

506. Ms. O adds *fī al-faḍā'* = "in the open space."

507. Bukhtīshū' b. Jibrīl, of the famous family from Jundaysābūr, died in 256 (869–70); Sezgin, *GAS*, III, 243. Bukhtīshū' was a court physician for al-Mutawak-

An Arab tribesman recited:

O anger that came with fateful force,
When the lion sprang upon him with might and main.

Bukhtīshūʿ was deluded
When he intrigued against the lords, the moons,

The amīrs, the pure leaders,
Heirs apparent of the chosen lord,

And against the *mawlās* and the free.
He cast him to an isolated wasteland,

The shore of al-Baḥrayn, for his baseness.

In this year, the Festival of Sacrifice of the Muslims, Palm Sunday of the Christians, and Passover of the Jews coincided.[508]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Mūsā.

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kil. He had been dispossessed and banished previously by al-Wāthiq, in 230 (844–45), but his situation improved under al-Mutawakkil, until the physician took liberties with the caliph, and was then banished on several occasions; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, *ʿUyūn*, I, 138. In the poem here, he is said to have intrigued against the crown princes and the Turks (*mawlās*).

508. Gil, *Palestine*, I, 385, n. 700, mentions that Muslim chroniclers (citing Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, Abū al-Maḥāsin) recorded an unprecedented occurrence in the year 244, namely, that the Day of Sacrifice, the Jewish Passover, and the Christian Palm Sunday (al-Shaʿānīn < Heb. *Hōshaʿnōt*) fell on the same day. The coincidence, as Gil shows, does not work out, as the Festival of Sacrifice was on March 19, 859, whereas Passover was on March 23.

The Events of the Year 245

(April 8, 859–March 27, 860)

[1438] In this year al-Mutawakkil gave orders to build al-Māḥūzah, and he called it the Ja'farī.[509] He granted there fiefs to his army commanders and companions. Al-Mutawakkil expended great effort in building it and withdrew to al-Muḥammadiyyah so that the construction of al-Māḥūzah could be carried out.[510] The caliph or-

509. The Ja'farī Palace complex, or al-Ja'fariyyah, was named after al-Mutawakkil whose name (*ism*) was Ja'far. It is not to be confused with the Ja'farī Palace in Baghdad, built by Ja'far al-Barmakī. Ya'qūbī (*Buldān*, 266–76 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 60–61) observes that al-Mutawakkil lived in the palaces of the Ja'farī for only nine months and three days before his assassination there. Al-Muntaṣir then ordered that al-Māḥūzah be abandoned and destroyed, and that the building material be brought back to Sāmarrā. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 601, al-Māḥūzah was 3 *farsakhs* (18 km.) from Sāmarrā. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 17, says that the renovation of the Ja'farī cost ten million dirhams. See also *Mu'jam*, III, 18 (poem of 'Alī b. al-Jahm). The remains of the Ja'fariyyah complex occupy about 1⅓ sq. km. between the Nahr al-Raṣāṣ canal and the Tigris (Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, 277, and Plate 70a). See Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 125; Creswell, II, 277f.; Sāmarrā'ī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 95–96; Rogers, "Samarra," 130, 136, 148, 150; al-'Amid, *Architecture*, 202ff.

510. Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 125, cites Ibn Serapion to the effect that the Muḥammadiyyah (named for Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir) was in al-Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 430, it was formerly the monastary of Dayr Abū Ṣufrā, then the Itākhiyyah (after Itākh al-Turkī). See also Herzfeld, 72.

dered that the palaces of al-Mukhtār and al-Badīʿ be demolished and had their teak wood transferred to the Jaʿfarī.[511] It is said that he spent more than two million dīnārs on the Jaʿfarī.[512] He assembled therein Qur'ān readers, who recited the Qur'ān; and entertainers, to whom he gave two million dirhams, also attended. Al-Mutawakkil and his followers called it al-Khāṣṣah al-Mutawakkiliyyah.[513] And he constructed within it a palace which he named Lu'lu'ah. A taller structure had never been seen.[514]

Al-Mutawakkil ordered that a canal (*nahr*) be dug, beginning at a place called Karmā, five *farsakh*s (thirty km.) above al-Māḥūzah.[515] The canal would feed into the mouths[516] of the canals around it, providing drinking water. And he ordered the expropriation of Jabiltā, Upper and Lower al-Khaṣāṣah,[517] and Karmā,

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511. Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 600, mentions the Badīʿ; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 17, mentions only Mukhtār (which he says cost five million dirhams to construct); see also Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 132–33; Samarrā'ī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 135–36.

512. If this is the renovation that Yāqūt had in mind, the sum was ten million dirhams; *Muʿjam*, III, 17 (above, n. 509).

513. The administrative center al-Mutawakkiliyyah thus equals al-Jaʿfariyyah; see Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 124–25. Baladhuri, *Futūḥ*, 240, 364, states that al-Mutawakkil built a new administrative center (*madīnah*), calling it al-Mutawakkiliyyah between al-Karkh Fayrūz and al-Qāṭūl, in which al-Māḥūzah was included. He also takes note of the great mosque that he built there, which Ṭabarī does not mention in our text.

514. The Lu'lu'ah (Pearl) Palace, situated within the Jaʿfariyyah administrative center, according to Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 128, was either identical with the Jaʿfarī Palace or was its main building; see also 104, 132, 147. Rogers, "Samarra," 148, suggests that the Lu'lu'ah was not a vast building but most probably a kiosk or courtyard. According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 17, five million dirhams were spent on the Lu'lu'ah; it was built by al-Muʿtaṣim for Afshīn (Ṭabarī, III, 1307 and 1315; Marin, *Reign*, 114, 120). Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 365, calls it Lu'lu'at al-Jawsaq to distinguish it from Lu'lu'at al-Jaʿfarī. He notes that al-Muʿtazz and al-Mu'ayyad were imprisoned there (see below, pp. 210f.). Both these Lu'lu'ahs are to be distinguished, of course, from the town Lulon in Asia Minor that the Arabs called Lu'lu'ah (below, n. 551).

515. On al-Mutawakkil's irrigation project, see Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 601; *Buldān*, 267 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 67. Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 125, and n. 2, says that Karmā (Syriac Karmē) had been a Nestorian bishopric from A.D. 486 to 554. See also Rogers, "Samarra," 145.

516. For the expression *fūh al-nahr* in the sense of "mouth of the canal," see Glossarium, CDVIII; Lane, *Lexicon*, 2465.

517. Jabiltā or Jabultā is on the east bank of the Tigris slightly northeast of Takrīt and opposite it on the post road from Baghdad to Mosul. It is sometimes mispointed as Ḥabiltā; Le Strange, *Lands*, 91, 92, n. 1, 125. For upper and lower Khaṣāṣah, Ms. O and ʿAynī have al-Khaṣāṣiyyah; see also Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 67, 125.

forcing their inhabitants to sell their residences and land. They were compelled to do this so that the land and residences in all these villages would be turned over to the custody of al-Mutawakkil, who would then evict the inhabitants. He allocated 200,000 dīnārs for expediture on the canal and assigned the money to Dulayl b. Yaʿqūb al-Naṣrānī, secretary of Bughā.[518] This was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 245 (February 27–March 28, 860). He held 12,000 men responsible for the job of digging the canal. Dulayl
[1439] continued to work at it, allocating ever increasing sums of money, dispersing all of it among the secretaries, until al-Mutawakkil was killed, whereupon the canal fell into disuse. Al-Jaʿfariyyah was laid waste and demolished, and the canal project went uncompleted.

In this year, the territory of the Maghrib suffered an earthquake, which destroyed fortresses, residences, and bridges. Al-Mutawakkil ordered that three million dirhams be distributed among those whose residences were afflicted. ʿAskar al-Mahdī in Baghdad suffered an earthquake this year, as did al-Madāʾin.[519]

In this year, the Byzantine ruler sent Muslim prisoners and communicated a request for a prisoner exchange for those he still held.[520] The person who came to al-Mutawakkil as an emissary on behalf of the Byzantine sovereign was an elder named Triphylios.[521] With him were seventy-seven Muslim prisoners whom Michael, son of Theophilus, the Byzantine ruler, presented to al-Mutawakkil. Triphylios came to al-Mutawakkil on 24 Ṣafar (May 31) of this year (859). He resided with Shunayf al-Khādim. Then al-Mutawakkil dispatched Naṣr b. al-Azhar al-Shīʿī with the emissary of the Byzantine sovereign. He set out during this year, but the prisoner exchange did not take place until 246 (March 28, 860—January 16, 861).

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518. Dulayl b. Yaʿqūb al-Naṣrānī, a Christian secretary, served Bughā al-Turkī and al-Mutawakkil. He is first mentioned in Ṭabarī, III, 1184 (Marin, *Reign*, 1, 19, 20). Dulayl later served as supervisor of the ministry of estates (III, 1513; Saliba, 12). He still appears as Bughā's secretary in 251 (865–66; 1535, Saliba, 28); and see Saliba, Index, 174. See also Yāqūt, *Irshād*, II, 30.

519. ʿAskar al-Mahdī is the older name of Ruṣāfah in Baghdad; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 42, 189; Lassner, *Topography*, 150.

520. See Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 234–35, 319.

521. Text: Aṭrūbaylīs. The note in the Leiden edition identifies the elder as Triphylios (citing *Theophanes continuatus*, 122.8). Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 234, n. 5, cites Bar Hebraeus (*Chronography*, 144), where the reading is Aṭrōphilos (or Aṭrōphīlōs).

It is reported that in Shawwāl (December 30, 859–January 27, 860) an earthquake and tremor killed many people in Antioch. Fifteen hundred homes and about ninety towers along its walls collapsed as a result. Dreadful indescribable noises were heard emanating from the openings of the residences. The inhabitants of Antioch fled to the desert. [Part of] Mount al-Aqra' shook loose and sank into the sea.[522] The sea was stormy on that day, and black, murky, putrid vapors rose from it. A river in Antioch disappeared the distance of a *farsakh* (six km.), and it was not known where the waters vanished. [1440]

It is said that in this year the inhabitants of Tinnīs[523] in Egypt heard a continuous, dreadful clamor, from which many people died.

In this year, an earthquake effected Bālis, al-Raqqah, Ḥarrān, Ra's 'Ayn, Ḥimṣ, Damascus, Edessa, Tarsus, Mopsuestia, Adana,[524] and the coasts of Syria. Laodicea was convulsed. Not a residence remained there, and only a few of its inhabitants escaped. Jabalah[525] and its inhabitants perished.

In this year, the level of Mushāsh—the spring of Mecca—declined, so that the price of a waterskin in Mecca reached eighty dirhams.[526] The mother of al-Mutawakkil sent funds that were disbursed for it.[527]

In this year, Isḥāq b. Abī Isrā'īl, Sawwār b. 'Abdallāh, and Hilāl al-Rāzī died.[528]

In this year, Najāḥ b. Salamah perished.

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522. Mount al-Aqra' is classical Casius. Earthquakes and seismic shocks were quite common in the Antioch region throughout history.

523. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 56: Sīs; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, I, 752: Bilbays.

524. Text: Adanah, Addenda, DCCLXXVI and Cairo edition, Ms. D: Adhanah.

525. Jabalah is a port on the coast of Syria, about 30 km. south of Laodicea. Its citadel had been built by Mu'āwiyah; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 25; *EI*², s.v. Djabala.

526. Mushāsh is a canal near Mt. 'Arafāt that reaches Mecca; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 316 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 154; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 536. On the price of a waterskin, see above, 1330 (p. 6) and n. 10.

527. Ms. O has *fa-ba'atha* and omits *umm*, that is, "Al-Mutawakkil sent. . . ."

528. Isḥāq b. Abī Isrā'īl Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī, a Ḥadīth scholar, died this year in Shawwāl (December 30, 859–January 27, 860) in Baghad, at the age of ninety-five, according to Dhahabī, *'Ibar*, 444. For Sawwār b. 'Abdallāh, see above, 1411 (p. 118) and n. 384. A Hilāl b. Yaḥyā, Abū Yaḥyā, called al-Rā'ī (not al-Rāzī), a Ḥanafī scholar, died in al-Baṣrah in 245; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 507; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 435. (The *Fihrist* gives his surname as Abū Bakr.) The identification is uncertain.

The Cause of Najāḥ b. Salamah's Demise

I have received an account on the authority of al-Ḥārith b. Abī Usāmah, some of which I report on the basis of information from him and some from other informants:[529] Najāḥ b. Salamah was responsible for the Bureau of Registering and Supervising Government Officals (*dīwān al-tawqī' wa-l-tatabbu' 'alā al-'ummāl*). Before this he had been secretary of Ibrāhīm b. Rabāḥ al-Jawharī and was responsible for estates. The government officials all feared
[1441] him and carried out his wishes, unable to deter him from doing whatever he wanted. Al-Mutawakkil often took him as a drinking companion.

Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad and Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Malik were associates of 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān, who was wazīr of al-Mutawakkil. They would carry out for 'Ubaydallāh whatever he ordered them to do. Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad was responsible for the Bureau of Estates (*dīwān al-ḍiyā'*) and Mūsā for the Bureau of Taxation (*dīwān al-kharāj*).

Najāḥ b. Salamah wrote a note to al-Mutawakkil concerning al-Ḥasan and Mūsā, in which he reported that they had acted in bad faith and had been derelict in their duties, and that he would expropriate from them forty million dirhams [which they had allegedly embezzled].

Al-Mutawakkil invited Najāḥ to drink with him that evening. He said, "O Najāḥ, may God forsake whoever forsakes you, come to me early tomorrow so that I may turn al-Ḥasan and Mūsā over to you." Early in the morning Najāḥ organized his men, saying, "So-and-so, you seize al-Ḥasan; so-and-so, you seize Mūsā."

When Najāḥ came to al-Mutawakkil early in the morning, he came across 'Ubaydallāh. The latter had ordered that Najāḥ be kept away from the caliph. 'Ubaydallāh said to him, "O Abū al-Faḍl, take leave so that we and you can look into this matter, and let me give you advice that will redound to your benefit." Najāḥ asked, "What might it be?" 'Ubaydallāh replied, "I shall conciliate between you and the two of them (al-Ḥasan and Mūsā). Write a note stating that while you were drinking you divulged things

529. For al-Ḥārith b. (Muḥammad) Abī Usāmah, who died in 282 (895–96) at the age of ninety-six, see Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, VIII, 218–19; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 160.

that you would rather reconsider. And I shall settle the matter with the Commander of the Faithful."

Thus 'Ubayadallāh tricked Najāḥ into writing a note as he requested.[530] [When Najāḥ had written a note in his own hand, 'Ubaydallāh took it with him. He then summoned al-Ḥasan and Mūsā. Informing them of the situation, he ordered them to draft two million dīnārs to the credit of Najāḥ and his colleagues. They did so, and 'Ubaydallāh took both notes] and brought them to al-Mutawakkil.

'Ubaydallāh said, "O Commander of the Faithful, Najāḥ has reconsidered what he said yesterday. And this is a note of Mūsā and al-Ḥasan stating that they guarantee [to pay Najāḥ] the [1442] amount that they have stipulated. Take the sum which they guarantee, but be considerate to them and take approximately what Najāḥ guaranteed to give you from them."[531]

Al-Mutawakkil was delighted and consented to do as 'Ubaydallāh had suggested. He said, "Hand Najāḥ over to the two of them." They took him along as they departed, ordering that his cap be removed from his head. It was silk. He was chilled as a result, and said, "Woe to you, O Ḥasan, I am cold." Ḥasan ordered that his cap be put back on his head. Mūsā then went with Najāḥ to the Bureau of Taxation.

They then went to Najāḥ's two sons, Abū al-Faraj and Abū Muḥammad. Abū al-Faraj was seized, and Abū Muḥammad b. bt. Ḥasan b. Shunayf fled.[532] And they also seized his secretary, Isḥāq

530. The bracketed material that follows is from Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 57, 11.5–8. The segment was omitted in our text due to homoeoteleuton. *Fragmenta*, 553, adds that 'Ubaydallāh threatened al-Ḥasan and Mūsā that, if they failed to comply with his advice, he would turn them over to the caliph, who would have them killed. The threat appears in the second version of the story, which is related by Ṭabarī below.

531. The drift of this account is that Najāḥ was tricked into writing a note informing the caliph that he did not take money from Mūsā and al-Ḥasan, but they wrote a note stating that he did, and thus *he* appears to be an embezzler. 'Ubaydallāh suggests that the caliph not take from Mūsā and al-Ḥasan all the money that Najāḥ was to receive from them but the lower sum that he was to turn over to the caliph. According to Ashtor, *Prix*, 40, in the mid-tenth century the ratio of dirhams to dīnārs was 25:1.

532. Najāḥ had two sons. The first, called here Abū al-Faraj, is named Muḥammad on 1443. The second son, called here Abū Muḥammad b. bt. Ḥasan b. Shunayf, is named Aḥmad on 1443.

b. Sa'd b. Mas'ūd al-Quṭrabbulī, and 'Abdallāh b. Makhlad, known as Ibn al-Bawwāb—he was devoted to Najāḥ.

Najāḥ and his son (Abū al-Faraj) confessed to al-Ḥasan and Mūsā to having about 140,000 dīnārs, aside from the value of their palaces, furnishings, and income-producing properties[533] in Sāmarrā and Baghdad, and from the many estates they had.

Al-Mutawakkil ordered that all this be confiscated. Najāḥ was repeatedly beaten with whips, about 200 lashes, in a place other than that used for flogging. He was smothered and suffocated. Mūsā al-Furāniq and al-Ma'lūf suffocated him.[534]

Al-Ḥārith, however, maintained that Najāḥ's testicles were
[1443] crushed until he died. He expired on Monday, 22 Dhū al-Qa'dah, of this year (February 18, 860). Al-Mutawakkil ordered that he be washed and buried, and he was interred at night.[535]

Najāḥ's son Muḥammad, 'Abdallāh b. Makhlad, and Isḥāq b. Sa'd were beaten about fifty-five stripes. Isḥāq confessed to having 50,000 dīnārs, and 'Abdallāh b. Makhlad confessed to having 15,000 or, it is said, 20,000 dīnārs. Najāḥ's son Aḥmad b. bt. Ḥasan had fled. Aḥmad was caught after the death of Najāḥ and imprisoned in the Bureau [of Taxation]. All the furnishings in the palace of Najāḥ and his son Abū al-Faraj were seized; their palaces and estates were confiscated wherever they were; their families were evicted. His representative in the region of the Sawād was seized—he was Ibn 'Ayyāsh. The latter confessed to having 20,000 dīnārs. Ibn 'Ayyāsh sent to Mecca, seeking al-Ḥasan b. Sahl b. Nūḥ al-Ahwāzī and Ḥasan b. Ya'qūb al-Baghdādī. Because of Ibn 'Ayyāsh a group of people were seized and imprisoned.

It is reported that the reason for Najāḥ's demise was different from what we have mentioned. Accordingly, he was antagonistic toward 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān. Now, 'Ubaydallāh had great influence with al-Mutawakkil and was in charge of the wa-

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533. Text: *wa-mustaghallātihimā*. Ms. O *wa-musta'malātihimā*. Glossarium, CCCLXXVII: "products," citing Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 603.

534. Mss. C and O: without points and add *ibn* after Mūsā. Ṣūlī omits *ibn*. The note identifies him with Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh al-Iṣfahānī (citing Ibn Khallikān; see *Wafayāt*, III, 59). *Furāniq* (< Pers. *parwanak*) means "courier, messenger." Al-Ma'lūf is apparently identical with Ja'far al-Ma'lūf, mentioned below on 1444.

535. See also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III, 59, where this account is given.

zīrate and all of its administrative functions. Najāḥ was in charge of [the Bureau of] the Public Registry (*tawqīʿ al-ʿāmmah*).

When al-Mutawakkil decided to build the Jaʿfarī [Palace], Najāḥ said to him—he was among the boon companions—"Commander of the Faithful, I shall name some men for you. Turn them over to me so that I can expropriate money from them with [1444] which you can build your administrative center, because you need to lay out quite a sum for its construction." He replied, "Name them." Najāḥ then sent a note in which he mentioned: (1) Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik; (2) ʿĪsā b. Farrukhānshāh, deputy of al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad;[536] (3) al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad; (4) Zaydān b. Ibrāhīm, deputy of Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik; (5) ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā and his two brothers (6) ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā and (7) Zakariyyāʾ; (8) Maymūn b. Ibrāhīm;[537] (9) Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Munajjim[538] and his brother (10) Aḥmad b. Mūsā; (11) ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr;[539] and (12) Jaʿfar al-Maʿlūf, accountant (*mustakhrij*) of the Bureau of Taxation, and others—about twenty men.

This favorably impressed al-Mutawakkil, who bade Najāḥ to come early the next day. When al-Mutawakkil arose, he had no doubts about this. But ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā argued with al-Mutawakkil, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful, Najāḥ wants to assault every single secretary and army commander. Who, O Commander of the Faithful, will perform the administrative functions?"

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536. Zambaur, *Manuel*, 6, says that ʿĪsā was wazīr for al-Muʿtazz in 252 (866–67), but this is not mentioned by Ṭabarī, according to whom he was head of the Bureau of Taxation; III, 1513 (Saliba, 13), 1640 (Saliba, 105); see Saliba, Index, 177.

537. According to Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 271, he was a secretary in charge of correspondence under al-Mutawakkil; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 203–04, 250; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 338, 738.

538. Text: Muḥammad b. Mūsā. Ms. C: Mūsā b. Mūsā; Ms. O: Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā. Muḥammad b. Mūsā was one of the famous Banū Mūsā b. Shākir. See, for instance, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 645–46; Sezgin, *GAS*, V, 246; VI, 147–48. Muḥammad had two brothers, Aḥmad (mentioned here) and Ḥasan. Muḥammad, the eldest, died in 259 (872–73).

539. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, of the famous Banū al-Munajjim, was a protégé of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm and a close associate of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān, for whom he assembled a great library. He was a leading boon companion of al-Mutawakkil; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 255, 313; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, V, 459–77; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 312–13; Stern, "*Chronography*," 437–38.

Najāḥ came early the next day, and ʿUbaydallāh let him take his place in his audience hall (*majlis*), but did not present him to the caliph.

ʿUbaydallāh had Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad presented and said to them, "If Najāḥ gets to see the Commander of the Faithful, he will turn the two of you over to him, and he will kill you and confiscate your property. So write a note to the Commander of the Faithful in which you stipulate that you guarantee [to pay] two million dīnārs."

They wrote a note in their hand, and ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā brought it to al-Mutawakkil.[540] ʿUbaydallāh began to go back and forth among the Commander of the Faithful, Najāḥ, Mūsā b. ʿAbd
[1445] al-Malik and al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad. He kept going in and out [of the caliphal audience], keeping an eye on Mūsā and al-Ḥasan.[541]

Then ʿUbaydallāh brought Mūsā and al-Ḥasan in to al-Mutawakkil, and they guaranteed this amount. He went out with the two of them and handed Najāḥ over to them. All the people, including the inner circle of notables and the commoners, as well as Mūsā and al-Ḥasan, were certain that they two and ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā would be handed over to Najāḥ in view of the discussion between Najāḥ and al-Mutawakkil.

They seized Najāḥ. Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik supervised his torture and imprisoned him in the Bureau of Taxation in Sāmarrā and flogged him severely.

Al-Mutawakkil ordered that his secretary Isḥāq b. Saʿd—he supervised his private affairs and the estates of some(one) of his sons—be fined 51,000 dīnārs. He was made to swear an oath on this.

Al-Mutawakkil said, "He appropriated from me fifty dīnārs in the days of al-Wāthiq, when he replaced ʿUmar b Faraj, until he freed my pay allotments. Take one thousand dīnārs for every dīnār [he appropriated] and then another thousand beyond that, just as he seized an exorbitant amount of money."

Isḥāq b. Saʿd was imprisoned, and three installment payments were arranged for him.[542] He was not released until he paid

540. The words "to al-Mutawakkil" are added in Ms. O.

541. Ms. O omits this sentence, which is not entirely clear.

542. *Wa-nujjima ʿalayhi fī thalāthati anjum*. For the sense of "to discharge a debt through payments," see Glossarium, DII.

17,000 dīnārs in cash and only after guarantors were secured from him for the balance.

ʿAbdallāh b. Makhlad was seized and fined 17,000 dīnārs. ʿUbaydallāh [b.] al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl[543]—he was one of the chamberlains of al-Mutawakkil—and ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb were directed by a letter of al-Mutawakkil to flog Najāḥ fifty times if he did not confess and deliver the wealth he was reported to own.[544] He flogged him and then repeated the same a second and third day. [1446]

Najāḥ said, "Inform the Commander of the Faithful that I am dying." Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik ordered Jaʿfar al-Maʿlūf, along with an officer from the Bureau of Taxation, to crush his genitals, [which they did] until he turned cold and died.

Mūsā rode early in the morning to al-Mutawakkil and informed him that Najāḥ had died. Al-Mutawakkil said to Mūsā and al-Ḥasan, "I want my money which you two guaranteed." They used artful means to confiscate all [Najāḥ's] property and that of his sons. They imprisoned Abū al-Faraj—he was responsible for the Bureau of Control of Estates on behalf of Abū Ṣāliḥ b. Yazdād[545]—confiscated all his possessions and all his landed property, and assigned his estates over to the Commander of the Faithful, seizing what they did from his companions.

Al-Mutawakkil would often say to them when he was drinking, "Bring my secretary back to me; if not, bring the money." He assigned the Bureau of Public Registry[546] to ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā, and appointed as deputy over it his cousin, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khāqān. Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad were dilatory in this matter, and al-Mutawakkil kept demanding from them the money that they had guaranteed from Najāḥ.

Only a small amount of the money had been delivered before Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Malik rode out accompanying al-Muntaṣir from the Jaʿfarī [Palace]. Al-Muntaṣir was heading for Sāmarrā to his

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543. Ms. O: ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan.

544. For this translation of *mā wuṣifa ʿalayhi*, see Glossarium, DLVII.

545. Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Marwazī b. Yazdād ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad later became wazīr under al-Mustaʿīn in 249 (863–64); III, 1513 (Saliba, 13); Zambaur, *Manuel*, 6.

546. Text: *dīwān tawqīʿ al-ʿāmmah*. O: *dīwān al-tawqīʿ al-ʿāmmah*.

residence in the Jawsaq [Palace].[547] Mūsā arrived there with him [and stayed for][548] an hour, and then departed, heading back. While he was on the way, he cried out to someone who was with
[1447] him, "Grab me." They rushed to him, and he fell paralyzed into their arms. He was carried to his residence. He held out that day and night and then died.

Al-Mutawakkil appointed 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā also over the Bureau of Taxation. He appointed as deputy Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl, secretary of al-Mu'tazz. Aḥmad was also his deputy over the secretariat of al-Mu'tazz.

Al-Qiṣāfī recited:[549]

Najāḥ did not fear the assault of fate,
Until his power passed to Mūsā and al-Ḥasan.

He came wresting the benefits of the noble,
And he left deprived of purse and limb.

In this year, in Rajab (October 2–31, 859), Bukhtīshū' the physician was flogged one hundred and fifty times, and then shackled in irons and incarcerated in the Maṭbaq [Prison].

In this year, the Byzantines raided Samosata,[550] killing and

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547. The Jawsaq al-Khāqānī was named for al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 17, says that al-Mutawakkil spent 500,000 dirhams on it. See Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 94–95, 104, 115, 132; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, 232ff., and figure 194; Rogers, "Samarra," 147. It is identified with the Caliphal Palace; see above, n. 125.

548. The note in the Leiden edition suggests that *aqāma* be added here.

549. For Abū al-Fayḍ 'Amr b. Naṣr al-Qiṣāfī, panegyrist of Hārūn and his successors, d. ca. 247 (861–62), see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 526. Ms. C: al-Qunāfī; Ṣūlī: al-Quḍāfī al-Shā'ir. Ṣūlī omits the last verse and adds four others:

His havoc befell people, crushing them
As though he were a rough-taloned lion.

Oppression has removed him humbly from this world
For it casts one from power to impotence.

He did not thank God for the health and benevolence
That embraced him.

Ingratitude brings one
From joy to misery and grief.

550. Text: Sumaysāṭ. Ms. O: Simshāṭ; Ms. C: Shimshāṭ. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 57; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 320: Sumaysāṭ. See above, n. 468. On the events, see Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 235f., 319f.

taking captive about 500 persons. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī led the summer expedition.

The inhabitants of Lulon prevented their governor from entering the town for thirty days.[551] The Byzantine ruler sent to them [1448] a Patrikios who was to guarantee each of them 1,000 dīnārs if they would deliver Lulon to him. They let the Patrikios come up to them, and then, once they were given their back allotments and what they wished, they handed over Lulon and the Patrikios to Balkājūr in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (February 27–March 27, 860).[552] The Patrikios whom the Byzantine emperor dispatched to them was called "Logothete."[553]

When the inhabitants of Lulon handed him over to Balkājūr, [he brought the Patrikios to al-Mutawakkil.][554] Others say that ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī brought him to al-Mutawakkil. Al-Mutawakkil handed him over to al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān, and he proposed Islam to him, but the Patrikios refused. When they said, "We'll kill you," he responded, "You know better." The Byzantine ruler wrote offering to exchange him for 1,000 Muslims.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām.[555] He was known as al-Zaynabī, and he was governor of Mecca.

The Nayrūz of al-Mutawakkil, which the supervisors of the land tax cooperated with him in postponing, fell this year on Saturday, 11 Rabīʿ I (June 16, 859), corresponding to 17 Ḥazīrān (June 17) and 28 Ordīwihisht.[556]

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551. Lulon, Arabic Lu'lu'ah, was strategically located, having a fortress that overlooked the northern end of a pass that led over the Cilician Gates, from Podandos to Tyana; Le Strange, *Lands*, 134, 135, 139, 150. Lulon was under Byzantine control.

552. Balkājūr was the commander for the Muslims.

553. Text: Lughuthīṭ. For the title Logothete, see Bury, *History*, 210; *idem*, *Imperial Administrative System*, 111.

554. The words "he brought the Patrikios to al-Mutawakkil" are added from Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 57: *fa-sayyarahu ilā al-Mutawakkil*.

555. See Zambaur, *Manuel*, 20.

556. Nayrūz (Nawrūz) is the first day of the Persian solar year on which the land tax (*kharāj*) was collected. As the intercalation of one day per four years was disregarded under Islam, the date of Nawrūz and collection of the *kharāj* continued to advance so that by the time of al-Mutawakkil it fell two months early, permitting tax agents to collect taxes prematurely before crops were harvested. The new date fixed by al-Mutawakkil was meant to correspond with the old time. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 32, says that the fiscal reform of al-Mutawakkil took place in

Al-Buḥturī al-Ṭā'ī recited:[557]

The Day of Nayrūz has returned to the time
That Ardashīr enacted.

Muḥarram, 243 (April 30, 857–May 29, 857). Bīrūnī notes that the planned reform was not actually put into effect, so that al-Mu'taḍid had to address himself to the problem later. See Ṭabarī, III, 2143 (Rosenthal, *Return*, 19 and n. 103). Yāqūt, *Irshād*, II, 128–29, relates an account, going back to Balādhurī, concerning the letter, drafted by Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī, announcing the reform. He had made an error that was detected by the astronomers 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Munajjim and Muḥammad b. Mūsā. Ordīwihisht stands for Ordībihist (Ordībehesht), the second month of the Persian (Zoroastrian) calendar.

557. The famous poet Buḥturī died 284 (897–98); *EI*², s.v.; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 560. He was companion and panegyrist of al-Mutawakkil and of later caliphs. Cairo edition cites his *Dīwān*, II, 57. Bīrūnī (see previous note) cites three additional verses of the poem.

The Events of the Year 246

(March 28, 860–January 16, 861)

One of the events was the summer expedition of ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh al-Aqṭaʿ. He brought back 7,000 head of livestock.[558] There was also the raid of Karbeas, who brought back 5,000 head of livestock. And then there was the raid of al-Faḍl b. Qārin.[559] He conquered the fortress of Anṭālya,[560] traveling by sea in twenty vessels. [1449]

There was the raid of Balkājūr; he brought back livestock and captives.

Finally, there was the summer expedition of ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī. He brought back 5,000 head of livestock and about 10,000 horses, mares, and donkeys.

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558. Ms. O: 15,000 heads.

559. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 159, says that al-Faḍl b. Qārin was governor (*ʿāmil*) of Ḥimṣ. In 248 (862–63) he was again sent to put down a rebellion there (III, 1508, Saliba, 7). He was eventually killed, while he was governor, by the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ, supported by the Banū Kalb, in 250 (864–65); III, 1533 (Saliba, 27).

560. Mss. Anṭākiyah, that is, Antioch. So Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 59, and Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, III, 589. ʿAynī: Anṭālyah. Anṭālyah (Greek Attaleia) is a town on the southern coast of Anatolia; *EI*², s.v. Anṭālyah is easily confused with the more common Anṭākiyah. As Antioch is inland, and this was a sea raid, it is clear that Anṭālyah is meant.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil withdrew to the administrative center that he built in al-Māḥūzah and began to reside there on the Day of the ʿĀshūrāʾ (February 25, 861).

In this year, there was the prisoner exchange in Ṣafar (April 27–May 25, 860) administered by ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī.[561] Two thousand three hundred and sixty-seven persons were exchanged. Some authorities say that the prisoner exchange this year was carried out in Jumādā I (July 24–August 22, 860).

The following is reported on the authority of Naṣr b. al-Azhar al-Shīʿī, who was the emissary of al-Mutawakkil to the Byzantine ruler for the prisoner exchange:[562] When I went to Constantinople, I visited [Emperor] Michael's palace with my black robe, sword, dagger, and cap. I had a discussion with the maternal uncle of the ruler, Bardas, who was in charge of the affairs of the realm.[563] They refused to let me enter with my sword and black robe, whereupon I said that I was leaving, which I did. But I was
[1450] brought back while I was on my way. I had gifts with me, including about 1,000 musk bags, silk garments, much saffron, and exquisite pieces. The emperor had permitted delegations from Burjān to attend and others who had come to him.[564] The gifts that I brought were carried in to him.

When I was admitted into his presence, he was on an elevated throne,[565] with the Patrikioi standing around him. I greeted him and then sat down at the edge of the large dais where a seat had been prepared for me.[566] I placed the gifts before him.

In front of Michael there were three interpreters: a valet

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561. On this prisoner exchange, and the mission of Naṣr b. al-Azhar, see Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 237ff., 320ff.; Bury, *History*, 279–81.

562. See also the description in Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 144–45.

563. The Mss. are unpointed. The text has *B-t-r-n-ā-s*; ʿAynī: *B-t-r-y-ā-s*. Petronas was a brother of Theodora. Bury, *History*, 279, suggests that Bardas is intended. This makes sense in view of the fact that Bardas, also a brother of Theodora, was by 861 virtually the supreme authority in the empire, wielding power in his nephew's name. Bury suggests that Naṣr had written in his report "his uncle" and Ṭabarī added the explanatory "Petronas." But cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 238, n. 1.

564. Burjān is the area of the Bulgars; *EI*², s.v. Bulghar; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, Index, 488.

565. Text: *fa-idhā huwa ʿalā sarīr fawqa sarīr*, lit. "he was on a throne above a throne." The bottom *sarīr* must have been a dais. For *sarīr* ("seat, bench, sofa, royal seat/throne, bier"), see Sadan, *Mobilier*, 32ff.

566. That is, at the edge of the platform or elevation on which the royal throne was placed.

(*ghulām farrāsh*) of Masrūr al-Khādim,[567] a page of ʿAbbās b. Saʿīd al-Jawharī, and a veteran interpreter of his named Sergius.[568] They asked me how they should translate my words to him, and I answered, "Don't add anything to what I say to you." They set about translating what I was saying. The emperor accepted my gifts and did not give orders that any of them be handed on to anyone else. He was congenial to me and honored me, and had a house prepared for me close by him. I went out and took up residence there.

Inhabitants from Lulon approached the emperor expressing their desire to convert to Christianity and join up with him. They sent along two Muslims from there to serve as hostages.

Naṣr said: Michael disregarded me for about four months until he received a letter about the revolt of the inhabitants of Lulon, their seizing his emissaries, and the Arab conquest of the town. The Byzantines resumed speaking with me, and the negotiations between us concerning prisoner exchange led to the surrender of all the prisoners in their possession and all those whom I brought. There were a little over one thousand. And all the prisoners who were in their hands came to more than two thousand, including twenty women, along with ten children.

They accepted my request for a mutual oath. I asked that the emperor's maternal uncle swear, whereupon he did so on behalf of Michael. I said, "O king, your maternal uncle has sworn an [1451] oath to me. Does this oath bind you?" He responded affirmatively with a nod.[569] I did not hear him utter a word from the time I entered Byzantine territory until I left. Only the interpreter would speak, and he would listen and then nod yes or no without talking. His maternal uncle administered his affairs.

I then left him, along with the prisoners, who were in excellent condition. When we came to the place for the prisoner exchange, we released our respective groups of prisoners. More than two

567. A Masrūr al-Khādim al-Kabīr first appears at the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd; see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 192–93; and see Ṭabarī, III, 1166 (Marin, *Reign*, 4). According to Jahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 254, he survived until the time of al-Mutawakkil. See above, n. 242.

568. Text: Surḥūn. Read perhaps Sarjūn, that is, Sergius; Vasiliev, *Byzance*, I, 238, n. 3.

569. For *qāla bi-raʾsihi* in the sense of gesturing, see Glossarium, CDXXXVII, where Ṭabarī, III, 1251, is also cited (Marin, *Reign*, 72).

thousand Muslims came into our hands, including a few who had converted to Christianity. The Byzantines received a few more than a thousand.

A number [of Muslim prisoners] had converted to Christianity. The emperor said to them, "I will not accept you until you reach the site of the prisoner exchange. Whoever wishes me to receive him into Christianity should return from this place. If not, let him rejoin his companions and go off with them."

Most of those who had converted to Christianity were inhabitants of the Maghrib. The majority had converted in Constantinople. There were two goldsmiths who had converted, and they were friendly toward the [other] prisoners. Only seven Muslims remained in Byzantine territory of those whom the [Byzantine] ruler had taken captive. Five had been brought from Sicily, and I paid their ransom so that they could be sent back there. Two men were hostages from Lulon, whom I left, saying, "Accept these two,[570] for they wish to convert to Christianity."

The inhabitants of Baghdad had rain this year for twenty-one days in Shaʿbān (October 21–November 18, 860) and Ramaḍān (November 19–December 18). It rained so much that the grass grew beyond the roofs of houses.

[1452] Al-Mutawakkil performed the prayer of Breaking the Fast this year in al-Jaʿfariyyah. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Mūsā prayed in its Friday Mosque, but no one led public prayer in Sāmarrā.

In this year, information was received concerning a neighborhood in the area of Balkh belonging to the *dihqāns*, where it rained pure blood.[571]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Zaynabī.

In this year, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir went on the pilgrimage, and supervised the events of the festival season.

The inhabitants of Sāmarrā observed the Day of Sacrifice this year (10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah [February 25, 861]) on Monday, on the basis of sighting the new moon, and the inhabitants of Mecca observed it on Tuesday.

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570. Text: *uqtuluhumā* = "Kill these two." Addenda, DCCLXXVI: *iqbaluhumā*, which is followed here.

571. Balkh was the principal city in Khurāsān. The *dihqāns* were in this period hereditary rulers of a given area; Minorsky, *Ḥudud*, 523; *EI*², s.v. Dihḳān.

The Events of the Year 247[572]

(July 5, 861–June 22, 862)

One of the events was the murder of al-Mutawakkil.

The Reason for al-Mutawakkil's Murder and How It Took Place

Abū Jaʿfar said:[573] It was reported to me that the reason for this was that al-Mutawakkil ordered that letters be drawn up concerning the confiscation of Waṣīf's estates in Iṣbahān and the Jabal so as to grant them as fiefs to al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān. The appropriate letters were written, and they were transmitted to the [Office of the] Seal to be executed[574] on Thursday, 5 Shaʿbān (October 14, 861). Waṣīf learned of this and then confirmed that this was indeed al-Mutawakkil's order.

Al-Mutawakkil planned to lead the public prayer on the last Friday of Ramaḍān (December 5, 861). On the first day of Ramaḍān

572. Text: *wa-thalāthīn*. Addenda, DCCLXXVI: *wa-arbaʿīn*.

573. That is, Ṭabarī. The following account is translated by Sauvaget, *Historiens*, 24–31 ("Une tragédie de palais"); and see pp. 45–50 for a translation of Masʿūdī's account.

574. Text: *ʿalā an tataqaddama*. Cairo edition (Mss. A and D): *ʿalā an tunfadha*.

(November 8, 861) it became common knowledge that the Commander of the Faithful would lead the public prayer on the last Friday of the month. The people assembled for this purpose,
[1453] thronging together. The Hāshimites left Baghdad [for Sāmarrā] to present petitions to him and to speak with him when he went out riding.[575]

When Friday arrived, al-Mutawakkil decided to ride to the prayer service, whereupon ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā and al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, the people have assembled, and there are many, from your family and others, some registering grievances and some petitioning. As the Commander of the Faithful is complaining of dejection and indisposition,[576] if he wishes to order that one of the heirs apparent lead the prayer, and that we should all support him, let him do so."

The caliph replied that he agreed and ordered al-Muntaṣir to lead the prayer.

When al-Muntaṣir rose to ride to the prayer service, ʿUbaydallāh and al-Fatḥ said, "O Commander of the Faithful, we have an idea—but the Commander of the Faithful is more perceptive [than we]." He asked, "What is it? Propose it to me." They replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, give orders that Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh lead the public prayer, so as to honor him on this exalted day." The members of his household and all the notables gathered together, for God has caused him to reach his appointed time.[577] Abū Jaʿfar said: A child had been born to al-Muʿtazz a day before this.

Thus al-Mutawakkil ordered al-Muʿtazz to ride out and lead the public prayer, while al-Muntaṣir remained in his residence, which was in al-Jaʿfariyyah.[578] This only exasperated al-Muntaṣir further. When al-Muʿtazz had completed his sermon, ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā and al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān rose in his honor and kissed his hands and feet. Having finished praying, al-Muʿtazz departed, the two leaving with him, along with the notables, in the caliphal

575. Text: *rakaba*. Leiden Ms. C: *rākib*.

576. Text: *wa-waʿkah*. Leiden Mss. *w-ʿ-l-a*. Cairo edition, Mss. A and D; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 60: *wa-ʿillah bihi*.

577. Text: *balagha ʾllāhu bihi*; see Lane, s.v. *balagha*, I, 250a.

578. Text: *fī manzilihi wa-kāna bi-l-Jaʿfariyyah*. Ms. O: *bi-dārihi fī al-Jaʿfariyyah*.

procession. He marched with the insignias before him, until he was admitted into his father's presence, 'Ubaydallāh and al-Fatḥ [1454] accompanying him.

Dāwūd b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī, who entered with him, said, "O Commander of the Faithful, permit me to say something." He replied, "Speak." Dāwūd then said, "By God, O Commander of the Faithful, I have known al-Amīn, al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim, and al-Wāthiq bi-llāh as well. But, by God, I have never witnessed anyone occupy a pulpit who was superior in imposing stature, spontaneous speech, sonorous voice, mellifluous tone, and eloquence to al-Mu'tazz bi-llāh. May God give him power, O Commander of the Faithful, by your abiding survival, and may God give you and us pleasure by giving him life." Al-Mutawakkil replied, "May God let you hear glad tidings and delight us through you."

On Sunday—this was the Day of Breaking the Fast (December 8, 861)—al-Mutawakkil felt weak and requested that al-Muntaṣir be given orders to lead the public prayer. 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān then said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, the people had anticipated seeing the Commander of the Faithful on Friday and thronged together, but the Commander of the Faithful did not ride out. We fear that if he does not ride out [this time] people will spread alarming news about his illness. It would be best for the Commander of the Faithful to cheer his friends and daunt his enemies by doing so. Al-Mutawakkil then ordered them to make the necessary preparations for him to ride out. He did so and led the public prayer, and then turned back to his residence, remaining there on this day and the next without inviting any of his boon companions.

It is reported that, when he rode out on the Day of Breaking the Fast, lines had been formed for him for about four *mīl* (eight km.).[579] The people passed before him on foot, and he led the public prayer. He returned to his palace, took a handful of earth, and sprinkled it upon his head. Asked about this, he said, "I saw this mighty throng, and realizing that they were under my power, [1455] I wished to humble myself before God."

579. The following section on al-Mutawakkil's murder is translated by Lewis, *Islam*, 30–34; see also the reference by Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 63.

On the day after the Day of Breaking the Fast, he did not invite any of his boon companions. On the third day, which was Tuesday, 3 Shawwāl (December 10, 861), in the morning, he was vivacious and cheerful. He commented, "I feel as though I have recovered my pulse."[580]

Al-Ṭayfūrī and Ibn al-Abrash, who were his physicians, said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, may God determine what is good for you, go ahead [and summon your boon companions]."[581] And so he did. He craved camel meat and gave orders that it be served to him, and then grasped it with his own hand.

It is reported that Ibn al-Ḥafṣī the Singer attended the audience.[582] Ibn al-Ḥafṣī said: None of those who usually dined with him attended[583] except for me, ʿAthʿath,[584] Zunām,[585] and Bunān,[586] the page of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh,[587] who came with al-Muntaṣir. Ibn al-Ḥafṣī went on: Al-Mutawakkil and al-

580. Text: *mass al-dam*. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 274: *harakat al-dam*.

581. Al-Ṭayfūrī is Isrāʾīl b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Ṭayfūrī; Sezgin, *GAS*, III, 91, 97. An Ibn al-Ṭayfūrī is mentioned below, 1496 (p. 219), who may be his son. Al-Ṭayfūrī is a family name. The word *ṭayfūr* means "bird, winged insect"; Steingass, *Dictionary*, s.v. Al-Ṭayfūrī was the physician of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān, who presented him to al-Mutawakkil; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, *ʿUyūn*, I, 107–8. For Ibrāhīm b. Ayyūb al-Abrash, son of the translator-physician Ayyūb al-Abrash, see *ibid.*, I, 158.

582. Ibn al-Ḥafṣī al-Mughannī was a court singer of al-Mutawakkil; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 153; Neubauer, *Musiker*, 181. Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhāʾir*, par. 143, mentions him among a group of singers.

583. Text: *mimman yaʾkul ḥāḍiran*. Cairo edition, Ms. A, adds *bayn yadayhi* after *yaʾkul*.

584. ʿAthʿath al-Aswad was a black slave of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh. See also below, 1459–61; Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Baghdād*, 106; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIII, 30–32; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 154; Farmer, *History*, 140, 161.

585. Zunām al-Zamīr ("the Reed Pipe Player") was a musician who specialized on the *mizmār*, or reed pipe, and entertained in the courts of Hārūn, al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Wāthiq, and al-Mutawakkil; Ṭabarī, III, 1323 (Marin, *Reign*, 127); Shābushtī, Diyārāt, 154; Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhāʾir*, par. 143; Farmer, *History*, 131; Neubauer, *Musiker*, 209–210; Stigelbauer, *Sängerinnen*, 67, 131.

586. Bunān b. ʿAmr al-Ḍārib, Raʾs al-Baghl ("Mule Head") was a court singer at the time of al-Mutawakkil and al-Muntaṣir and a close confidant of the latter; Farmer, *History*, 158; Neubauer, *Musiker*, 176; Stigelbauer, *Sängerinnen*, 144, 147–49.

587. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh followed his father Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh as governor of the Jazīrah under al-Maʾmūn, in 206 (821–22); Ṭabarī, III, 1045, 1075 (Bosworth, *Reunification*, 109, 147); Ibn Ṭayfur, *Baghdad*, 18, 101; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, V, 104. See also Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 184. He was a brother of Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh; above, n. 14.

Fatḥ b. Khāqān were dining together; we were nearby, across from them. The boon companions were dispersed in their chambers, as he had not yet invited any of them. The Commander of the Faithful turned to me and said, "You and ʿAthʿath dine before me, and let Naṣr b. Saʿīd al-Jahbadh dine with you."[588] I responded, "O my lord, Naṣr eats me out of house and home, by God. How can he be [permitted to] sit with us?" The caliph responded, "Go on and eat, by my life." And so we ate. Then we let our hands drop opposite him.[589] The Commander of the Faithful turned and looked at us with our hands dropped. He asked, "What is wrong with you that you are not eating?" I replied, "My lord, what was in front of us is gone." He ordered that more food be added. So [the [1456]
food] that was before him was ladled to us.

Ibn al-Ḥafṣī said that the Commander of the Faithful was never more cheerful than on that day. He added: Al-Mutawakkil convened his court, summoning his boon companions and singers, who then attended. Qabīḥah, the mother of al-Muʿtazz,[590] gave him a green, silk ornamented gown (*miṭraf*).[591] People had never seen anything quite as beautiful. He kept staring at it with approval, admiring it greatly. He then ordered that it be cut in half and returned to her, commenting to her messenger, "It will remind her of me."[592] He went on, "By God, my heart tells me that I shall not wear it, and I don't wish anyone after me to do so. I ordered that it be torn only so that no one wears it after me." We said to him, "Our lord, this is a happy day, O Commander of the Faithful. God forbid that you should say this, our lord." Then he began to drink and revel while repeating,[593] "By God, I am leav-

588. Naṣr b. Saʿīd al-Jahbadh, a government banker, is apparently not the same as Naṣr b. Saʿīd al-Maghribī, an army commander, mentioned below, 1481 (pp. 205–6).

589. The expression *ʿallaqa yadayhi* means to drop one's hands at a banquet when nothing more remains on the table, as opposed to raising the hands as a sign of satisfaction; Glossarium, CCCLXXII.

590. For Qabīḥah, mother of al-Muʿtazz, see, for example, Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, Index, 550; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 48 (d. 264/877/78). She was called Qabīḥah ("Ugly") by al-Mutawakkil by way of antiphrasis; see Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 63.

591. A *miṭraf* is a garment with a (silk) embroidered border on either end; Ahsan, *Social Life*, 40–41; *EI*², s.v. Libās, V, 737.

592. Text: *adhkaratnī bihi*. ʿAynī: *qul lahā tadhkurīnī bihi* = "Tell her to remember me by it."

593. For *lahija bi-qawl* in this sense, see Glossarium, CDLXXIII.

ing you soon." He went on being frivolous and merry until the evening.

It is reported by some(one) of the informants that al-Mutawakkil decided—he and al-Fatḥ—that they would have lunch with 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar al-Bāzyār[594] on Thursday, 5 Shawwāl (December 12, 861), and arrange for him to assassinate al-Muntaṣir, and kill Waṣīf and Bughā, as well as other Turkish commanders and notables.

According to what Ibn al-Ḥafṣī reported, al-Mutawakkil's
[1457] ridicule of his son al-Muntaṣir increased on Tuesday, one day earlier. He would alternately vilify him, get him drunk, give orders that he be cuffed, and threaten to have him killed.

It is reported on the authority of Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī: I was informed by some(one) of the women who was in the curtained-off area that al-Mutawakkil turned to al-Fatḥ and said to him, "I am acquitted of God and my relationship to the Messenger of God[595] if you do not cuff him," that is, al-Muntaṣir. Al-Fatḥ got up and cuffed him twice on the back of his neck. Al-Mutawakkil then said to those present, "All witness that I have deposed the Impatient One."[596] Then al-Mutawakkil turned to him and said, "I named you al-Muntaṣir ("the Victorious"), but because of your folly the people named you al-Muntaẓir ("the Expectant"), and now you have become al-Musta'jil ("the Impatient")."

Al-Muntaṣir replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, if you had given orders that I be decapitated, it would have been more bearable than your present treatment of me." The caliph said, "Let him drink." Al-Mutawakkil then ordered that supper be served, and it was brought in, this being in the middle of the night.

Al-Muntaṣir left the caliph's company and ordered Bunān, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā's page, to accompany him. When he exited,

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594. Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 7–8, mentions a *Muḥammad* b. 'Umar al-Bāzyār as a boon companion of al-Mutawakkil. The cognomen al-Bāzyār means "the Falconer" or more correctly "the Ostreger"; see *EI*², s.v. Bayzara.

595. See Qur'ān 9:1.

596. Leiden text adds at this point: *Fa-qāla al-Muntaṣir, yā Amīr al-Mu'minīn* ("Al-Muntaṣir replied, "O Commander of the Faithful"). But no reply follows (see two lines below). Cairo edition indeed omits these words, retaining only the name "al-Muntaṣir," according to which we would translate ". . . the Impatient One, al-Muntaṣir" as a gloss (see also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 62: *ya'nī al-Muntaṣir*).

food[597] was placed in front of al-Mutawakkil, which he set about eating, devouring it while drunk. It is reported on the authority of Ibn al-Ḥafṣī that, when al-Muntaṣir went out to his chamber, he took the hand of Zurāfah,[598] saying to him, "Come with me." He replied, "My master, [I cannot, for] the Commander of the Faithful has not yet risen." Al-Muntaṣir then said, "The Commander of the Faithful has been overcome by wine, and right now [1458] Bughā and the boon companions are leaving. Now, I would like you to place the responsibility for your children with me. Ūtāmish[599] requested that I marry off his son to your daughter and your son to his daughter." Zurāfah said to him, "We are your slaves, my master. Command us as you please." Al-Muntaṣir took him by the hand and departed with him.[600]

Ibn al-Ḥafṣī said: Zurāfah had commented to me before this, "Take care, for the Commander of the Faithful has become drunk and is just now awaking. Tamrah[601] summoned me and requested that I ask you to come to him, and we shall all go to his chamber." I said to him, "I shall precede you to him." He added: Zurāfah had gone with al-Muntaṣir to his chamber.

Bunān, the page of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, reported that al-Muntaṣir said to him, "I have matched the son of Zurāfah with the daughter of Ūtāmish and the son of Ūtāmish with the daughter of Zurāfah." I said to al-Muntaṣir, "My master, where is the wed-

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597. *Mā'idah*, the common word for "table," has the sense of "food" here (cf. English "spread"), as is evident from the word *ya'kuluhā*; see Glossarium, CDXCVII.

598. A fellow named after Zurāfah (or Zarāfah = "Giraffe") is mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 1504 (Saliba, 4); and see 1511 (Saliba, 11), where he leads a contingent of *mawlās* against attackers of the Sāmarrā prison. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 362, says that he was a chamberlain (*ḥājib*) of al-Mutawakkil. See also Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 7, 40.

599. Ūtāmish later became wazīr under al-Musta'īn; Ṭabarī, III, 1502–03 (Saliba, 2). He was an army commander and nephew of Bughā the Elder. According to Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 601–02, Ūtāmish, called '*ṣāḥib* al-Muntaṣir,' took part in the plot to assassinate al-Mutawakkil. The note *ad loc.* gives his teknonym as Abū Mūsā and his patronymic as Khaṭarkīn. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 273, says that he was a page of al-Wāthiq, and that he was close to al-Muntaṣir, who cultivated the Turks, for which reason al-Mutawakkil hated him. See also Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, 157, 159; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 289–91, 294, 303, 673, 726, 735.

600. Al-Muntaṣir tried to cajole Zurāfah to be loyal to him, and thus he hoped to build up a coterie of followers.

601. Text: Tamrah ("date"). Ṣūlī and Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XIV, 52 (cited in note *ad loc.*) have Thamarah ("fruit").

ding felicitation?[602] It will enhance the betrothal [ceremony]." He replied, "Tomorrow, God willing, for this evening has already passed." Zurāfah departed for the chamber of Tamrah, and when he entered he called for food, which was brought in. He had eaten just a bit when we heard a clamor and screaming, at which point we got up.

Bunān continued: It was only after Zurāfah left Tamrah's residence that Bughā met al-Muntaṣir, who asked, "What is this clamor?" Bughā replied, "It's all right, Commander of the Faithful," whereupon al-Muntaṣir inquired, "What are you saying, woe unto you?" To which Bughā answered, "May God magnify your reward [for the loss of] our lord, the Commander of the Faithful. He was the Lord's servant, and when God summoned him, al-Mutawakkil responded."

Bunān said: Al-Muntaṣir held audience and gave orders that the
[1459] door of the house and the audience hall in which al-Mutawakkil had been killed be locked. It and all the other doors were then locked. He thereafter sent a message to Waṣīf ordering him to bring al-Mu'tazz and al-Mu'ayyad on the pretext that the message was from al-Mutawakkil.

It is reported on the authority of 'Ath'ath that al-Mutawakkil called for the repast after al-Muntaṣir had risen and left along with Zurāfah. Bughā the Younger, called al-Sharābī, was standing at the curtain [of the harem]. That day it was the turn of Bughā the Elder's patrol to guard the palace. His deputy in the palace was his son Mūsā, who was the son of al-Mutawakkil's maternal aunt.[603] Bughā the Elder was then away in Samosata.

Bughā the Younger entered the audience hall and ordered the boon companions to leave for their chambers. Al-Fatḥ said to him that it was not yet time for their departure, and that the Commander of the Faithful had not yet risen. Bughā then replied, "The Commander of the Faithful ordered me not to let anyone

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602. *Nithār* is the strewing of fruits, nuts, sugar, or money on a festive occasion; Lane, *Lexicon*, 2764. The well-known sprinkling of coins on the head of a poet is mentioned below, 1466 (p. 186).

603. Mūsā, son of Bughā the Elder, died in Muḥarram, 264 (September 13–October 12, 877), and was buried in Sāmarrā, according to Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 49; and see Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, IV, 110; VIII, 79–82; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, Index, 775.

remain in the audience hall after [he had imbibed] seven [*raṭls*], and he has already drunk fourteen." Al-Fatḥ still did not want the guests to rise. Bughā now said to him that the female relatives of the Commander of the Faithful were behind the curtain, and that he had become drunk, in which case they should get up and leave. They all went out except for al-Fatḥ, ʿAthʿath, and four of the caliph's personal servants (*khadam al-khāṣṣah*)—Shafīʿ, Faraj the Younger, Muʾnis, and Abū ʿĪsā Mārid al-Muḥrizī.[604]

ʿAthʿath said: The cook placed the repast before al-Mutawakkil, whereupon he set about eating voraciously, inviting Mārid to eat with him. The caliph was drunk, and when he finished part of his food he recommenced drinking.

ʿAthʿath reported that Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil [al-Muwaffaq], brother of al-Muʾayyad on his mother's side, was with them in the audience hall. He rose to go to the privy, but Bughā al-Sharābī had locked all the doors except the one that led to the riverbank, through which the group that was designated to kill the caliph entered. Seeing them, Abū Aḥmad bellowed at them, "What is this, low lifes!" At that point their swords were already [1460] drawn.

ʿAthʿath went on: At the head of the band that set about to assassinate the caliph were Baghlūn, the Turk; Bāghir; Mūsā b. Bughā; Hārūn b. Suwārategin; and Bughā al-Sharābī.[605] When al-Mutawakkil heard the cry of Abū Aḥmad, he raised his head, and seeing the group he asked, "What is this, Bughā?" The latter replied, "These are the men of the patrol who have put up for the night at the door of my lord, the Commander of the Faithful." The group withdrew to the rear when they heard al-Mutawakkil

604. For *al-khadam al-khāṣṣah* (*khawāṣṣ*), see Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm*, 27, 80, 91; tr. Salem, 26, 65, 73. *Inter alia* they stand around and behind the caliphal throne. A Mārid al-Khādim is mentioned, *op. cit.*, 73; tr., 60.

605. For Baghlūn the Turk, see *Fragmenta*, 556; Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 208. Bāghir, or Bāghar, the Turk, Abū Muḥammad, was killed in 251 (865–66; Ṭabarī, III, 1535–38 [Saliba, 28ff.]. The story connects with events in our text. See also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 263, 268, 269, 271–72; *Tanbīh*, 362. Bāghir is often singled out as the main assassin. The assassination scene is described, for instance, by Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 601–02; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 271–74; *Tanbīh*, 362; *Fragmenta*, 554–57; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 117. Yaʿqūbī mentions among the assassins Bughā the Younger, Ūtāmish, Bāghir, Baghlūn, Wājin, Kindāsh (and two other names that are unclear). Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 271, mentions only Bāghir, accompanied by ten anonymous Turks.

speak to Bughā. Neither Wājin[606] and his companions nor the sons of Waṣīf were with them as yet.

ʿAthʿath reported: I heard Bughā say to them, "Low lifes, you are as good as dead, so at least die with honor," whereupon the group [of assassins] returned to the audience hall. Baghlūn rushed over to al-Mutawakkil and struck him with a blow upon his shoulder and his ear, cutting it off. Al-Mutawakkil cried out, "Hold it! May God cut off your hand!" Then the caliph tried to throw himself upon Baghlūn. The latter blocked him with his hand, which the caliph removed. Bāghir then came to Baghlūn's support.

Al-Fatḥ called out, "Woe to all of you! [This is the] Commander of the Faithful." To this Bughā replied, "Why don't you shut up, you idiot!" Al-Fatḥ then shielded al-Mutawakkil, but Hārūn slit him open with his sword, whereupon he cried out "Death!" Hārūn and Mūsā b. Bughā pounced upon al-Mutawakkil with their swords. They killed him and sliced him to pieces. ʿAthʿath was struck by a blow on his head. A young servant (*khādim*) who was with al-Mutawakkil slipped under the curtain [of the harem] and thus was saved. The rest fled.[607]

[1461] Bunān reported: [The assassins] had approached Waṣīf and said to him, "Be with us. We fear that our plan will not work and we'll be killed." He replied, "Have no fear." They went on, "So send with us some of your sons," whereupon he sent with them five of his sons—Ṣāliḥ, Aḥmad, ʿAbdallāh, Naṣr, and ʿUbaydallāh[608]—so that they were able to accomplish their plan.

It is reported on the authority of Zurqān, the deputy of Zurāfah over the gatekeepers, and others that, when al-Muntaṣir took Zurāfah by the hand and led him from the palace and the group of assassins entered, ʿAthʿath looked at them and said to al-Mutawakkil, "We have gotten rid of the lions, snakes, and scorpions only to fall prey to the swords." The basis for this comment was

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606. Ṣūlī adds al-Ṣughdī; cf. III, 1306 (Marin, *Reign*, 113), where he is called Wājin al-Ushrūsanī. Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 208, vocalizes Wājan.

607. Text: *wa-taharraba*. Leiden Ms. O, Cairo edition, Mss. A and D: *wa-taṭayyara* = "dispersed, vanished, disappeared."

608. Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf continued to play a role as a military figure in the following decades; d. 256 (III, 1832). Aḥmad b. Waṣīf is mentioned once again (Ṭabarī, III, 1833).

that al-Mutawakkil occasionally [amused himself] by inciting[609] snakes, scorpions, and lions [against prey].

When ʿAthʿath mentioned swords, al-Mutawakkil asked him, "Woe to you, what are you saying?"[610] He had just finished making his remark when the assassins burst in. Al-Fatḥ confronted them,[611] "Get out of here, you dogs, get out!" Bughā al-Sharābī rushed over to him and split open his belly with a sword. The others pounced upon al-Mutawakkil. ʿAthʿath fled headlong. Abū Aḥmad was in his chamber, and when he heard the commotion he came out and shielded his father. Baghlūn rushed up to him and struck him twice. When Abū Aḥmad saw the swords overtaking him, he exited, abandoning them.

The group of assassins went out to al-Muntaṣir and hailed him as caliph, informing him that the Commander of the Faithful had died. Brandishing swords over Zurāfah, they urged him to render the oath of allegiance, whereupon he did so. At this point, al-Muntaṣir sent a message to Waṣīf saying, "Al-Fatḥ assassinated my father, so I killed him in turn. Come with your eminent companions," whereupon Waṣīf and his companions presented themselves and rendered the oath of allegiance.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā was in his chamber executing affairs and thus knew nothing of the [assassination by] the group. [1462]

It is reported, however, that a Turkish woman delivered a note disclosing what the group had planned. Accordingly, the note came to the attention of ʿUbaydallāh, who consulted al-Fatḥ about it. The matter [first] came to the attention of Abū Nūḥ ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm,[612] secretary of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān, who communicated it to al-Fatḥ. They concurred that al-Mutawakkil should be kept in the dark so as to preserve his cheerfulness, being loath to spoil his day. They did not take the plot of this group seriously, confident that no one would dare or be able to carry it out.

It is also reported that Abū Nūḥ planned to flee on that very

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609. For the verb *ashlā* in this sense, see Lane, *Lexicon*, 1592; Ahsan, *Social Life*, 214–16.

610. Leiden Ms. O and Cairo edition Ms. A add: *ay suyūf* = "that is, swords," and then *qāla* "He said"], as though resuming the narrative.

611. Text: *fa-qāla lahum*; Ms. O: *fa-ṣāḥa bihim* = "He shouted at them."

612. See *Fragmenta*, 556, l. 4: Ibn Nūḥ. He died in 255 (868–69); Ṭabarī, III, 1723. And see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 297–99, 304, 317, n. 4; 323, n. 6; 735.

night, while ʿUbaydallāh was poring over his work, executing affairs.[613] Jaʿfar b. Ḥāmid[614] was in front of him when one of the servants (*khadam*) suddenly intruded and said, "Why are you sitting, my master?" He asked, "What's the matter?" The servant replied, "The palace is a single sword."

ʿUbaydallāh ordered Jaʿfar to go out, which he did.[615] He then returned and informed ʿUbaydallāh that the Commander of the Faithful and al-Fatḥ had been assassinated, whereupon ʿUbaydallāh left with his servants (*khadam*) who were with him and his personal entourage (*khāṣṣah*). He discovered that the doors were locked, and so headed in the direction of the riverbank, but the doors [leading to it] were also locked. He ordered that the [doors] on the side of the riverbank be forced open, whereupon three doors were forced, permitting him to exit to the riverbank. He went down into[616] a skiff[617] and took his place in it, accompanied by Jaʿfar b. Ḥāmid and a page of his. ʿUbaydallāh then traveled to the residence of al-Muʿtazz and asked for him, but did not find
[1463] him. He remarked, "We belong to God and to Him we return."[618] It is my death and the caliph's. And he lamented for him.

ʿUbaydallāh's companions rallied to him on Wednesday morning, including the Abnāʾ,[619] Persians, Armenians, street thugs (*zawāqīl*), Arab tribesmen, outlaws (*ṣaʿālīk*) and others. [There was a difference of opinion concerning their number.][620] Some(one) of the informants said that there were about 20,000 horsemen. Others stated that he had 13,000 men with him, and still others claimed that he had 13,000 bridles (horses) with him. Those who gave a low count put it somewhere between 5,000 and 10,000 men.

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613. Ms. O adds *al-sulṭān* (that is, affairs of the central government), probably as explanation.

614. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 284, n. 4 (concerning our text).

615. Ms. O has: "He went out, looked and then returned . . . ," which makes the text clearer.

616. Text: *fa-ṣāra ilā*. Leiden Ms. O: *fa-nazala fī*, which is preferred here.

617. The *zawraq* is a popular small craft that was often used in the rivers and canals of Iraq; Kindermann, "*Schiff*," 37.

618. See Qurʾān 2:151 and parallels.

619. The Abnāʾ (al-Dawla) were a military contingent in Baghdad; see *EI*², s.v.; and especially Lassner, *Shaping*, 129–36.

620. The bracketed words are added from Ms. O and from Cairo edition Ms. A.

They said to ʿUbaydallāh, "You have taken us as your protégés precisely for this kind of day; order us, then, to assail the group of assassins and kill al-Muntaṣir, the Turks, and his other associates. He refused this, commenting, "This is not the way of handling the situation, as our man is in their hands," meaning al-Muʿtazz.

It is reported on the authority of ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munajjim:[621] I was reading to al-Mutawakkil, a few days before he was killed, one of the books of the *Malāḥim*.[622] Coming to a passage in the book stating that the tenth caliph would be killed in his audience hall, I stopped reading and put the book aside. The caliph asked me, "What is the matter that you have stopped?" I answered that it was all right. He said, "By God, you must read it." I then read it but refrained from mentioning the caliphs. Al-Mutawakkil commented, "I wish I knew who this poor fellow is who is going to be killed."

It is reported on the authority of Salamah b. Saʿīd al-Naṣrānī[623] that al-Mutawakkil saw Ashūṭ b. Ḥamzah al-Armanī a few days before he was killed. The caliph grumbled about having an audience with Ashūṭ and ordered that he be evicted. When asked [1464] whether he was satisfied with Ashūṭ's service, he replied, "Yes, indeed, but I dreamt a few nights ago that I had been riding him, when he turned to me, his head becoming like that of a mule,[624] and said to me, 'How much longer [do you suppose] you will molest us? Only a few days remain until the end of your appointed time of fifteen years.'" Salamah said: It tallied with the number of days [remaining of] his caliphate.

It is reported on the authority of Ibn Abī Rabʿī as follows: I dreamt that a man entered by way of the Rastan Gate[625] on a

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621. See above, n. 539.

622. On *Malāḥim* books of prognostications concerning the length of rule of dynasties, see, for instance, Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, II, 187, 200, 202; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 77; *EI*², s.v. Malāḥim, Malḥama.

623. Salamah b. Saʿīd al-Naṣrānī was a Christian who later became secretary to al-Mustaʿīn's mother (III, 1512, Saliba, 12); Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 304.

624. Text: *al-baghl*. Ms. O: *al-baʿīr* = "camel" and omits "to me."

625. Text: Bāb al-Rastan (cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 335.18). Ms. O: al-Rastīn; C: al-Rassīn. There was a Rastan Gate in Ḥimṣ. In both dreams, representatives of groups the caliph had suppressed (Armenians, citizens of Ḥimṣ) appear.

heifer, his face to the desert steppe and his back to the town, reciting:

O eyes, woe to you, shed copious tears.[626]
The killing of al-Mutawakkil means resurrection is nigh.[627]

Ḥubshī b. Abī Rabʿī reportedly died two years before al-Mutawakkil was assassinated.

It is reported on the authority of Muḥammad b. Saʿīd—Abū al-Wārith, the judge of Naṣībīn: I dreamt that someone came to me saying:

O sleepy-eyed in a body that is awake,
Why do your eyes not weep copiously?[628]

Have you not seen what fate's trials have done
With the Hāshimite and al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān?

[1465] They will be succeeded by their own people who betrayed them
Until they too disappear like yesterday.[629]

After a few days, the postal courier conveyed the news that both the caliph and al-Fatḥ had been assassinated.

Abū Jaʿfar said: Al-Mutawakkil was assassinated an hour after dark on Wednesday night, 4 Shawwāl (December 11, 861). It is also said that he was killed on Thursday night. His caliphate had lasted fourteen years, ten months and three days at the time when he was assassinated. On the day of his murder, he was allegedly forty years old. Al-Mutawakkil was born in Fam al-Ṣilḥ[630] in Shawwāl 206 (February 27–March 27, 822). He had a light tan complexion, attractive eyes, and a sparse beard; he was slender.[631]

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626. The second hemistich reads in the Leiden text: *bi-l-damʿ saḥḥan wa-ʾsbilī* (for *wa-asbilī*). Ṣūlī and Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ*, 257: *bi-l-damʿ minki wa-asbilī*.

627. Text: *al-qiyāmah*. Ṣūlī has *al-maniyyah* = "fate," "death."

628. Text and Cairo edition: *bi-tahtāni*. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 64: *bi-buhtāni* ("in dismay").

629. Ms. O, Ibn al-Athīr, and Ṣūlī omit this verse.

630. Fam al-Ṣilḥ is on the east bank of the Tigris River, at the mouth (*fam*) of the Ṣilḥ Canal, north of Wāsiṭ; Le Strange, *Lands*, 28, 38.

631. For *asmar* as light-brown complexion, see Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichungen*, 36ff. The term is probably used to depict the color of skin expressed below (see n. 656) by *aṣfar*. A portrait of al-Mutawakkil, from a coin or medallion

Some Things about al-Mutawakkil and His Way of Life

It is reported on the authority of Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb Abū al-Simṭ:[632] I recited to the Commander of the Faithful a poem about him in which I mentioned the Rāfiḍah.[633] He appointed me as governor of al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāmah and bestowed four robes upon me in the Public Audience Hall. Al-Muntaṣir bestowed a robe upon me and ordered that I be given 3,000 dīnārs, whereupon they were sprinkled on my head. Al-Mutawakkil ordered his son al-Muntaṣir and Sa'd al-Ītākhī to collect them for me so that I would not handle any of them. They collected them, and I departed with the coins.

Marwān said that the poem which he recited about the caliph was:[634]

The kingdom of the caliph Ja'far
Bodes well-being for this world and the next.

Yours is the heritage of Muḥammad,
And by your justice oppression is banished.

The daughters' sons[635] hope for the heritage, [1466]
But they do not have a whit of it.

The son-in-law[636] is not an heir,
And the daughter does not inherit the caliphate.

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dated 855, preserved in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, is printed by Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, 277 (fig. 221). It is also shown in a large plate in Sourdel, *Civilisation*, plate no. 28. An "effigie hiératique," it depicts the caliph's coiffure, and shows him without crown or turban. He wears instead a large cap as a kind of diadem, from which a veil falls similar to those worn by Umayyad rulers. He has a large moustache and a double-pointed beard. See also the description of his garb in Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 26. See above, p. 59.

632. Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb Abū al-Simṭ was a panegyrist who served in the courts of al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim, al-Wāthiq, and al-Mutawakkil; d. 240 (854–55); Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XI, 2-6; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 582.

633. That is, Imāmi Shī'ites.

634. On this important poem, see C. E. Bosworth, *Al-Maqrīzī's "Book of Contention,"* 21; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 98–101.

635. That is, the descendants of Fāṭimah (and 'Alī).

636. That is, 'Alī, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet.

Those who pretend to your legacy
Have only regret.

The deserving have received the inheritance,
So what does your reproach indicate?[637]

If you had a right to the caliphate,[638]
The resurrection would come to mankind.

The heritage is not for any but you,[639]
No, by God, and neither is honor,

I have come to show
The distinction between those who love and those who hate you.

After this, he sprinkled upon my head 10,000 dirhams for a poem I recited in the same vein.

It is related on the authority of Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb: When al-Mutawakkil became caliph, I sent to Ibn Abī Du'ād a panegyrical ode in which I eulogized him. At the end of the ode were two verses in which I mentioned the affair of Ibn al-Zayyāt, namely:

I was told that al-Zayyāt met his fate,
So I said that God has brought me conquest and victory.

Al-Zayyāt dug a pit with treachery
And was cast into it by falseness and betrayal.[640]

Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb continued: When Ibn Abī Du'ād received the ode, he mentioned it to al-Mutawakkil and recited the two verses to him. Al-Mutawakkil ordered that Marwān be presented to him. Ibn Abī Du'ād replied that he was in al-Yamāmah, where al-Wāthiq had banished him because of his affection for the Commander of the Faithful [al-Mutawakkil]. Al-Mutawakkil

637. "Your" here refers to the 'Alids.
638. Text: *lahā*. Ms. O; Cairo edition, Ms. A; Ibn al-Athīr: *lamā*. See also Addenda, DCCLXXVI, and Glossarium, CDXL. The verse is addressed to the 'Alids. I take *lahā* as referring to the caliphate.
639. Here "you" refers to the 'Abbāsids in general.
640. Ṣūlī has: "The betrayal, which he intended, cast him into it."

called for Marwān to be presented. Ibn Abī Du'ād replied that Marwān was in debt, and al-Mutawakkil then asked how much it was. He answered that it amounted to 6,000 dīnārs. Al-Mutawakkil then gave orders that the money be given to Marwān, and so it was. After that, Marwān was brought from al-Yamāmah to Sāmarrā, where he eulogized al-Mutawakkil in an ode: [1467]

Youth has departed, would that it had not.
Old age has come, would that it had not.

And when he came to the following two verses of the ode, al-Mutawakkil ordered that he be given 50,000 dirhams:

The caliphate of Ja'far resembles prophecy,
It came without his seeking it or laying claim.[641]

God gave him the caliphate as
He gave prophecy to the apostle.

It is reported on the authority of Abū Yaḥyā b. Marwān b. Muḥammad al-Shannī al-Kalbī[642]—Abū al-Simṭ Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb: When I went to the Commander of the Faithful al-Mutawakkil 'alā-llāh, I eulogized the heirs apparent and recited to him:[643]

May God water Najd, and peace be upon Najd,
How lovely is Najd in spite of distance.[644]

I looked to Najd, and Baghdad is far away.
Perhaps I shall see Najd, but O Najd!

In Najd there is a group who desire my visit, [1468]
And nothing is more pleasant than their visiting me.[645]

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641. That is, borrowing from another people.

642. Ms. O: Abū Yaḥyā Ḥammād b. Muḥammad. Ṣūlī: "I was informed by Fatūḥ b. Maḥmūd b. Marwān—his father (Maḥmūd)—his father Marwān." Fatūḥ was thus the grandson of the poet Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb. Fatūḥ—or rather Mutawwaj?—was a poet in the court of al-Muktafī; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 354; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 582 (Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 303).

643. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghani*, XI, 2.

644. Ṣūlī has "from near and far."

645. Ṣūlī omits the last verse but gives nineteen others, according to the note in the Leiden edition.

Marwān said: When I finished reciting the poem he ordered that I be given 120,000 dirhams, fifty gowns, and three mounts: a horse, a mule, and a donkey. I did not depart before reciting in gratitude:[646]

The Lord of mankind has chosen Jaʿfar for them,
Electing him to rule over them.

Marwān continued: When I came to the following verse, that is,

Restrain your generosity,
I fear I shall become overweaning—

Al-Mutawakkil exclaimed: "No, by God, I shall not hold back until I flood you[647] with my bounty, nor shall you depart[648] without stating a wish." I said: "O Commander of the Faithful, Ibn al-Mudabbir noted that the estate in al-Yamāmah, which you gave orders to present me as a fief, is *waqf* property[649] that al-Muʿtaṣim gave to his offspring, and thus it may not be bestowed as a fief." Al-Mutawakkil replied, "I'll hold you responsible for [payment of] a dirham a year for one hundred years."[650] I replied, "It is not proper, O Commander of the Faithful, that one dirham be paid to the bureau." Ibn al-Mudabbir then asked if 1,000 dirhams [could be paid over one hundred years], and I said yes, whereupon al-Mutawakkil handed it over to me and to my descendants.

Following that, the caliph remarked, "This is not [the fulfillment of] a wish; it is a liability." I replied, "Al-Wāthiq ordered that the estates that I owned be granted to me as fiefs, but Ibn al-
[1469] Zayyāt banished me, preventing me from taking possession of them, so deliver them to me." The caliph then ordered that they be handed over for one hundred dirhams per annum. They are the Suyūḥ.[651]

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646. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XI, 3.

647. Text: *uʿarrifaka* = "make you familiar with." The note in the Leiden edition suggests the reading *ugharriqaka*, which is followed here.

648. Text: *bariḥta*. O: *tabraḥ*.

649. *Waqf* is property that is inalienable, the profits from which go to charitable purposes.

650. He would thereby be paying a symbolic rent, and the *waqf* property would not be alienated.

651. The Suyūḥ were villages in al-Yamāmah that did not accept a peace treaty with Khālid b. al-Walīd when Musaylimah was defeated; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 222.

It is reported on the authority of Abū Ḥashīshah:[652] Al-Ma'mūn used to say, "The caliph after me will have an *'ayn* in his name." It was assumed that it was his son al-'Abbās, and it turned out to be al-Mu'taṣim.[653] He would say that after him there would be a *hā'*. It was thought that it was Hārūn,[654] and it turned out to be al-Wāthiq. He would say that after him would be someone with yellow legs. It was surmised that it was Abū al-Ḥa-?-ā'iz al-'Abbās,[655] and it turned out to be al-Mutawakkil. I have seen him expose his legs when he sat on the throne, and they were yellow like the color of saffron.[656]

It is reported on the authority of Yaḥyā b. Aktham: I once attended the court of al-Mutawakkil when we mentioned al-Ma'mūn and his letters to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. I went on quite a bit praising al-Ḥasan and depicting his merits, knowledge, learning, and intelligence, but none of those present concurred. Al-Mutawakkil asked what al-Ḥasan b. Sahl's view of the Qur'ān was.

I replied: He used to say, "Beyond the Qur'ān there is no need for further knowledge of precepts; beyond the Sunnah of the Messenger there is no need[657] for a single further action; and beyond clarification and exposition there is no need for further learning. And after rejection of demonstration and truth there are only swords to manifest proof." Al-Mutawakkil then said to Yaḥyā, "This is not what I wanted from you." To this Yaḥyā replied, "One who claims to be charitable should cite only the good qualities of someone who is absent."

The caliph now asked, "And what was al-Ḥasan accustomed to say during his discourse? For al-Mu'taṣim bi-llāh—may God have [1470] mercy upon him—used to recall it, but I have forgotten." Yaḥyā replied, "He used to say, 'O God, I praise you for the favors that

652. Abū Ḥashīshah Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Umayyah b. 'Amr al-Ṭunbūrī was a court musician (a tunburist) and poet, who entertained in caliphal courts from the time of al-Ma'mūn to al-Mu'tamid; Farmer, *History*, 158; Neubauer, *Musiker*, 196; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 608.

653. For al-'Abbās b. Ma'mūn, see Bosworth, *Reunification*, Index, 267. He died in prison at Manbij in 223; see Ṭabarī, III, 1257f. (Marin, *Reign*, 76f.); Zambauer, *Manuel*, 4, 28, 32. Al-Mu'taṣim was al-Ma'mūn's brother.

654. Hārūn, son of al-Mā'mūn.

655. Ms. C: Abū al-'Abbās. His brother, Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad?

656. Aṣfar means yellow or light-colored, and is the color by which the Arabs often described persons of Byzantine or European descent; See *EI*[2] s.v. It is probably intended to render what we call today "white." See also above, n. 631.

657. For *waḥshah* in the sense of necessity, see Glossarium, DLII.

only You can count, and I take refuge with You from sins that only Your pardon encompasses.'"

Al-Mutawakkil went on asking, "And what used he to say by way of approval or upon receiving some good news? Al-Muʿtaṣim bi-llāh had ordered ʿAlī b. Yazdād[658] to write it down for us. He did so and taught it to us, but we have forgotten." Yaḥyā replied that he would say, "Mentioning God's blessings and disseminating them, and counting his benefits and recounting them, is a precept which God has imposed upon their recipients, and is obeying His command regarding them and gratitude to Him for them. Praise be to God, Whose blessings are great and Whose favor is abundant, praise commensurate with His goodness that determines what is due Him and entails utmost gratitude to Him, thanks to His constant favor, kindness, and permanence—praise by someone who knows that this is from Him and gratitude to Him." Al-Mutawakkil said, "You are right. These are his very words, and all this is wisdom [which comes] from someone with experience and knowledge." The session then ended.

This year Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir came to Baghdad, having left Mecca in Ṣafar (April 16–May 14, 861). He complained that he was disturbed by the disagreement concerning the Day of Sacrifice. Al-Mutawakkil therefore ordered that a yellow mail pouch[659] be delivered from the gate [of the Caliphal Palace] to the celebrants of the festive season as to viewing the new moon of
[1471] Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and that it be sent, as is the mail pouch that comes at the farewell ceremony of the festive season. He also ordered that wax be used instead of olive oil and naphtha for the pilgrimage station of Muzdalifah and other pilgrimage shrines.

In this year, al-Mutawakkil's mother died in al-Jaʿfariyyah on 6 Rabīʿ II (June 19, 861).[660] Al-Muntaṣir offered the funeral prayer, and she was buried at the Friday Mosque.

In this year, the caliphal oath of allegiance was rendered to Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, on Wednesday, 4 Shawwāl (December 11,

658. In Ṭabarī, III 1272, 1273 (Marin, *Reign*, 88–89), he is called ʿAlī b. Yazdād al-ʿAṭṭār. See also Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhāʾir*, 241.

659. A *kharīṭah* is a leather pouch or envelope used for official mail; Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm*, 17, 126, 127; tr. Salem, 21, 103.

660. Ms. O has Rabīʿ I.

861) or, it is said, on 3 Shawwāl (December 10). He was twenty-five years old, and his teknonym was Abū Ja'far. This was in al-Ja'fariyyah, where he stayed for ten days after the oath of allegiance was rendered. He then withdrew from there with his family, officers, and troops for Sāmarrā.

The Caliphate of al-Muntaṣir Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar

The Events of the Year 247 (cont'd)

(July 5, 861–June 22, 862)

Those whom we have mentioned previously gave al-Muntaṣir the oath of allegiance on Wednesday night. It is reported on the authority of some(one) of them: On Wednesday morning the notables were present in al-Jaʿfariyyah, including the army commanders, secretaries, eminent men, Shākiriyyah, regular troops, and others. Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb read to them a letter reporting in the name of the Commander of the Faithful al-Muntaṣir that al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān had assassinated al-Muntaṣir's father, Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil, and that al-Muntaṣir therefore killed al-Fatḥ in turn. The notables gave the oath of allegiance. ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān was present. He gave the oath of allegiance and then departed.

It is reported on the authority of Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd the Younger: On the night that al-Mutawakkil was assassinated we were in the palace with al-Muntaṣir. Whenever al-Fatḥ went out, al-Muntaṣir accompanied him. And when he returned, al-Muntaṣir would rise or sit as al-Fatḥ did, and then exit in his wake. Whenever al-Fatḥ rode out, al-Muntaṣir held his stirrup and adjusted his attire on the saddle of his mount.

We received information that ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā had sta- [1472]

tioned a group of men along al-Muntaṣir's way to assassinate him when he departed. Al-Mutawakkil had reviled and vexed al-Muntaṣir before he left. Offended by the caliph, al-Muntaṣir went out in anger, we along with him. When al-Muntaṣir reached his palace, he sent a message to his boon companions and inner circle of notables—he had arranged with the Turks before he departed to kill al-Mutawakkil while he was intoxicated from the wine.

Saʿīd the Younger went on: It was not long before a messenger arrived to summon me, informing me that emissaries of the Commander of the Faithful had come to the amīr al-Muntaṣir while he was riding. Our previous discussion came to my mind, that is, they were going to assassinate al-Muntaṣir, and this is why he was being summoned. I rode along, armed and prepared, and came to the gate of the amīr, where I found the men agitated. For Wājin had come to him and informed him of al-Mutawakkil's demise,[661] at which point he rode off. Alarmed, I caught up with him on one of the roads.

Realizing the state I was in, al-Muntaṣir said, "Don't worry. After we departed, the Commander of the Faithful choked on his drinking cup and died, may God have mercy upon him." I was overwhelmed and distressed by this. We proceeded—Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and a contingent of the commanders who were with us—until we entered al-Ḥayr,[662] and the news of al-Mutawakkil's murder followed us. The gates were seized and put in charge of guards.

I called out, "O, Commander of the Faithful," saluting al-Muntaṣir as caliph. I went on to say, "We should not leave you to the mercy of your *mawlās*[663] at this time."

He said, "By all means. You and Sulaymān al-Rūmī stay behind me." A piece of cloth was put down for him, which he then sat
[1473] on, while we stood about him. Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and his secre-

661. Text: *qad fazi'a min amrihi*. Cairo edition: *qad faragha min amrihi* (lit. "had finished his task" or the like; followed here). See also Addenda, DCCLXXVI.

662. A *ḥayr* is a park, enclosure, or pleasure garden. The al-Ḥayr section of Sāmarrā was, according to Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 100, between the Jawsaq Palace, the Great Mosque of al-Mutawakkil, and the site of modern Sāmarrā. See Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 258 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 50, 261–63/53–55, 265/58; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, 229f., 241, 254. Al-Ḥayr was also the name given to the outer thoroughfare of the city.

663. That is, the Turks.

tary Sa'īd b. Ḥamīd[664] were present so as to render the oath of allegiance.

It is reported on the authority of Sa'īd b. Ḥamīd that Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb said to him, "Woe to you, O Sa'īd, don't you have two or three words by which the oath of allegiance may be rendered?" I answered, "Yes, and still more words." So I drew up the document of the oath of allegiance and administered it to those who were present and to all who came until Sa'īd the Elder arrived.

[Al-Muntaṣir] then sent the oath of allegiance to al-Mu'ayyad and told Sa'īd the Younger to go summon al-Mu'tazz.

Sa'īd the Younger reported: I said to him, "You shall not remain, O Commander of the Faithful, with less than the men who are [now] with you; and, by God, I shall not depart from behind you until the notables assemble." Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb then said, "There is someone here who is your equal, so go." I said, "I shall not go until enough men have assembled. I am at the moment more fit to serve him than you are." Then, when the number of army commanders rendering the oath of allegiance grew, I left in a state of despair. There were two pages with me. When I came to the gate of Abū Nūḥ,[665] the notables were coming and going in a state of agitation, for a great crowd with arms and equipment was at the gate.

When they became aware of me, one of their horsemen came over. He asked me who I was, for he did not know me. I gave him a cryptic reply about myself, telling him that I was one of al-Fatḥ's men. I proceeded to the gate of al-Mu'tazz, but did not find there any of the guards, gatekeepers or beggars,[666] nor any folk, until I came to the great gate. I knocked quite loudly but was answered only after some time. Asked who was there, I replied, [1474]
"Sa'īd the Younger, emissary of the Commander of the Faithful

664. Sa'īd b. Ḥamīd, secretary of Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, was appointed over the Bureau of Correspondence in 249 (863–64; III, 1514; Saliba, 13); see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 288, 293, 735.

665. Abū Nūḥ = 'Īsā b. Ibrāhīm? See above, 1462 (p. 181). He was a secretary of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān.

666. Text (and Cairo Ṭ): wa-l-muktarīn. Ms. C (and Cairo A, D): wa-l-mukabbirīn. Ms. O: wa-l-mukthirīn. The note in the Leiden edition suggests the reading al-muktadīn = "beggars," accepted here. See also *Wörterbuch*, p. 22a, where meaning of "human beings" is given for *mukabbirīn*. And see Addenda, DCCLXXVI; Glossarium, CDXLV.

al-Muntaṣir." The messenger went away and left me waiting. I felt rejected and at a loss. But he then opened the gate and Baydūn al-Khādim[667] came out, bade me enter, and locked the gate behind me. I thought to myself that I was surely finished.

Baydūn then asked me for news, and I informed him that the Commander of the Faithful had choked on his cup of drink and died on the spot, that the notables had assembled and rendered the oath of allegiance to al-Muntaṣir, and that he dispatched me to the amīr Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh to summon him to attend the oath-of-allegiance ceremony. He went in and then came out to me and said that I should enter, whereupon I was admitted to al-Muʿtazz.

Al-Muʿtazz said to me, "Woe unto you, O Saʿīd, what news is there?" So I told him more or less what I had told Baydūn. I offered condolences to him and wept. I said, "Attend, my lord, and be among the first to give the oath of allegiance, thus gaining your brother's good will." He replied, "Woe unto you, [let us wait] until the morning." I kept diverting him,[668] with Baydūn al-Khādim lending a hand, until he prepared himself for the public prayer. He called for his clothing, got dressed, and a horse was brought out for him. He rode off, I along with him, avoiding the main road. I set about talking to him, trying to ease the situation for him. I kept reminding him of things he knew about his brother until we arrived at the gate of ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān. When al-Muʿtazz asked me about him, I replied that he would render the oath of allegiance with the notables, and that al-Fatḥ had already rendered the oath of allegiance, at which point he was relieved.[669]

[1475] A horseman caught up with us and went to Baydūn al-Khādim, confiding to him something I did not catch. Baydūn shouted at him, whereupon he went away, only to return three times. Each time Baydūn drove him away, shouting at him, "Leave us," until

667. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, IX, 118f. When Mutawakkil arrested ʿAlī b. al-Jahm, Baydūn went over to Qabīḥah. Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 212–13, says that he was the trusted servant of Qabīḥah and al-Muʿtazz.

668. For *fa-mā ziltu aftiluhu al-ḥabla wa-l-ghārib* in this sense, see Glossarium, CCCXCVII; Lane, *Lexicon*, 2333.

669. Text: *fa-taʾannasa*. Cairo edition, Mss. A and D: *yaʾisa* = "He then despaired."

we came to the gate of al-Ḥayr. I called for it to be opened. Asked who I was, I replied, "Sa'īd the Younger, with the amīr al-Mu'tazz," whereupon the gate was opened for me.

We went to al-Muntaṣir. Seeing al-Mu'tazz, he invited him to approach, embraced him, consoled him, and took the oath of allegiance from him. Then al-Mu'ayyad arrived with Sa'īd the Elder, and al-Muntaṣir did the same with him. When the notables arose in the morning,[670] al-Muntaṣir went to the Ja'farī [Palace] and ordered that al-Mutawakkil and al-Fatḥ be buried, and the notables[671] settled down.

Sa'īd the Younger said: I kept on demanding that al-Mu'tazz welcome the caliphate of al-Muntaṣir while he was immured in the palace until he gave me 10,000 dirhams.[672]

The text of the oath of allegiance that was rendered for al-Muntaṣir was as follows:[673]

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
>
> You render the oath of allegiance to the servant of God, al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, Commander of the Faithful, in obedience and contentment, with devotion, acceptance and sincere intention, not compelled but rather consenting, aware of what confirmation of this oath of allegiance entails, namely, obeying and fearing God and exalting the religion of God and His truth, the general welfare of God's servants, uniting the community, reforming affairs, tranquillity of the multitude, a secure future, power[674] of friends, repression of renegades.
>
> You are obligated to obedience and sincerity, and faithfulness to the rights and investiture of Muḥammad al-Imām, al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, the Servant of God and his

670. Text: *wa-aṣbaḥa al-nās*. But this is strange and is unrelated to their settling down. One expects a verb such as *taḥarraka* or *iḍṭaraba* ("were agitated"). See also below, 1479 (p. 202); and cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 68, ll. 8–9.

671. Text: *li-nās*. Read *li-l-nās*; see also Addenda, DCCLXXVI.

672. Cairo edition, Ms. A, adds: "In this year al-Mu'tazz and al-Mu'ayyad abdicated, and [al-Muntaṣir] made public their abdication in the new Ja'farī Palace." But see below, 1485 (p. 210).

673. See the similar text in Ṭabarī, III, 1545f. (Saliba, 35f.).

674. Text: *wa-'izz*. O: *wa-'izzah* = "glory."

[1476] caliph. You shall not doubt, deceive, deviate, or have misgivings.

You shall heed him and give support, loyalty, and good counsel, secretly and openly, as well as ready devotion,[675] to all that the servant of God, al-Imām al-Muntaṣir billāh, Commander of the Faithful, orders.

You shall be allies of his friends and foes of his enemies, elite and common, far and near. You shall adhere to his oath of allegiance, in loyalty to [his] investiture, in responsibility for the covenant. Your heart shall be like your speech, your mind like your tongue, willing what the Commander of the Faithful wishes for you now and in the future.

After undertaking this oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful on your souls, confirming it on your necks, you shall render him your solemn oath, willing, obeying, with integrity of heart and intention.[676]

You shall not be permitted to violate anything that God has enjoined upon you.

No one among you shall deviate in this from support, devotion, good counsel, and friendship.

You shall not substitute [anything for this], and no one among you shall go back on his intention and deviate from his public position.

Your oath of allegiance, which you have sworn, is such that God will examine your hearts [to ensure] your commitment[677] and loyalty to its promise and your devotion to supporting it and assisting its recipient.

No defect, circumventing, artifice, or interpretation on your part shall adulterate this until the time when you
[1477] meet God. You shall fulfill His covenant and carry out His claim upon you, not being presumptuous,[678] nor infringing [the oath of allegiance]. For those of you who render an oath of allegiance to the Commander of the

675. Text: *al-khufūf wa-l-wuqūf*; see Glossarium, CCXXVII.
676. Text: *niyyatihi*. See 1546, l. 20, in parallel text: *bayʿatihi*.
677. Text: *wa-iʿtiqādihā*. See 1547, l. 2; *wa-iʿtimādihā*.
678. Text: *mustashrifīn*. See 1547, l. 5: *mustaribīn*.

Faithful are actually rendering an oath of allegiance to God. God's hand is above your hands. Whoever violates [the oath] only violates his own interests. And whoever fulfills what God has imposed upon him shall be given a great award.

You are obligated by this, [namely] by this oath of allegiance that has been imposed upon you, through which you rendered your solemn vow, and by which loyalty, support, friendship, and sincerity are laid upon you. The divine covenant is incumbent upon you, for His covenant demands responsibility,[679] and the compact of God and His messenger. God has most strictly enjoined His prophets and messengers, and every one of His servants, in imposing His contracts,[680] that you heed this oath of allegiance, that you do not substitute [anything for this], that you obey and not disobey, that you are sincerely devoted without reservation, and that you adhere to what you promised, just as those bound to obedience obey, and those bound to a contract and loyalty remain steadfast in their loyalty and obligation. No whim or distraction shall divert you from this. And no error shall divert you from right guidance, while you expend your souls and effort, fulfilling the obligation of religion and obedience by means of your commitment. God will only accept from you loyalty to this oath of allegiance.

Whoever has rendered the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful and then violates what he has [1478] affirmed, secretly or overtly, explicitly or deviously, deceiving with regard to his devotion to God, his commitment to the compacts of the Commander of the Faithful, and the divine covenants laid upon him,[681] using levity rather than seriousness, reliance upon falsehood rather than defending the truth, departing from the manner of

679. The words *inna 'ahdahu kāna mas'ūlan*, according to the note *ad loc.*, are an intrusion from the margin. But cf. 1547, ll. 11–12.

680. Text: *min muta'akkadi wathā'iqihi*. See 1547, l. 14; *min mawākīdihi wa-mawāthīqihi*.

681. Text: *mawāthīq Amīr al-Mu'minīn wa-'uhūd Allāh 'alayhi*. See 1548, l. 9, which omits "the compacts of the Commander of the Faithful."

honorable men in their oaths—all that the betrayer owns who violates God's covenant in any way, whether money or immovable property, freely grazing livestock, or agriculture or stock farming, will become charity for the poor for the sake of God.[682] It is forbidden for him to restore deceitfully anything of this to his property. And whatever benefit he has for the rest of his life from property of little or great value shall be treated in this way, until his fate overtakes him and his appointed time comes upon him. Every slave (*mamlūk*) that he owns today up to thirty years of age, whether male or female, is free for the sake of God. And his wives on the day that the sin adheres to him and whomever he marries after them up to thirty years of age are divorced definitely by a legally approved[683] divorce, in which there is no exception or taking back. He is obligated to go to the sacred house of God for thirty pilgrimages. God will only accept from him fulfillment of this. He is quit of responsibility to God and His messenger, and God and His messenger are quit of responsibility to him.[684] God will not accept from him any substitute [for this].[685] God is your witness in this, and God is a sufficient witness.[686]

The following is reported: On the morning when al-Muntaṣir
[1479] was given the oath of allegiance, the news spread in al-Māḥūzah—it is the administrative center that Jaʿfar [al-Mutawakkil] had built—and among the inhabitants of Sāmarrā[687] concerning the murder of Jaʿfar. At that time, the troops and the Shākiriyyah, as well as others from among the rabble and commoners, came to the Public Gate in the Jaʿfarī[688] [Palace]. Many people gathered,

682. Text: *fī wujūh sabīl Allāh*. 1548, l. 12 adds *maḥbūs*, that is, "given as a religious bequest."

683. The word *wa-l-sunnah* in the text is omitted by Ms. O.

684. See Qur'ān 9:1.

685. Qur'ān 2:48/45, 123/117.

686. Qur'ān 13:43; 29:52/51, etc.

687. Text: *fī ahl Sāmarrā*. Read: *wa-fī ahl Sāmarrā*; see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 68.

688. The Jaʿfarī Palace had a Public entrance where the Main Road (Shāriʿ al-Aʿẓam) met it. Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 266 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 60, speaks of three monumental gates. Rogers, "Samarra," 150, states that the triple entrance of the Jaʿfarī

word got around among them, and they rode to one another discussing the oath of allegiance.

'Attāb b. 'Attāb went out to them—or it is said that it was Zurāfah who did so—and told them something they would like concerning al-Muntaṣir, but they let him hear something offensive.[689] He then went in to al-Muntaṣir and informed him, whereupon the latter came out, with a number of Maghāribah before him. He shouted to them, "O those dogs, seize them." So they attacked the people and pushed them toward the three gates. The people were crushed and fell upon one another. They then scattered, [retreating] from several who had died from the crowding and trampling. Some said that six individuals [died], and some said that there were between three and six.

In this year, one day after the oath of allegiance was rendered to him, al-Muntaṣir appointed Abū 'Amrah Aḥmad b. Sa'īd, *mawlā* of Banū Hāshim, to the *maẓalim* [court]. Someone recited:

O domain of Islam, when Abū 'Amrah
    Is appointed over public complaints

He is entrusted over a nation,
    While he could not be entrusted even with dung.

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 247 (February 5–March 6, 862), al-Muntaṣir brought 'Alī b. al-Mu'taṣim[690] from Sāmarrā to Baghdad and placed him under custody.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Zaynabī.

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was merely a facade with decorative function. The Jawsaq Palace also had a Public Gate with a triple portico that took up the entire entrance, where the caliph held audience twice a week; Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 261 = Wiet, *Les pays*, 63; Rogers, *loc. cit.*; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, II, 232, and Fig. 181. And see al-'Amid, *Architecture*, 207.

689. After *fa-asma'ūhu* of the text 'Aynī adds: *mā yakrahuhu*.

690. 'Alī b al-Mu'taṣim was a brother of al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil, and thus an uncle of al-Muntaṣir.

The Events of the Year 248

(March 7, 862–February 23, 863)

[1480] One of the events was al-Muntaṣir's dispatching Waṣīf the Turk on the summer expedition to Byzantine territory.

The Reason for Dispatching Waṣīf to Byzantium and His Role

It is reported that the reason for this was that there was rancor between Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and Waṣīf. When al-Muntaṣir became caliph and Ibn al-Khaṣīb was his wazīr, the latter incited al-Muntaṣir against Waṣīf. Aḥmad advised al-Muntaṣir to get Waṣīf to leave his army camp and to mount a campaign at the frontier. Ibn al-Khaṣīb persisted until al-Muntaṣir summoned Waṣīf and ordered him to go off on the campaign.

It is reported that when al-Muntaṣir decided to send Waṣīf to campaign at the Syrian frontier, Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb said to him, "Who will be bold against the *mawlās* until you order Waṣīf to march?"

Al-Muntaṣir told some(one) of the chamberlains to permit those present in the palace to enter. He did, and among them was

Waṣīf. The latter approached al-Muntaṣir, who said to him, "O Waṣīf, we have learned that the tyrant of Byzantium[691] is heading for the frontier towns. This is something that cannot be overlooked. Either you march, or I shall march." Waṣīf replied, "No, I shall march, O Commander of the Faithful," whereupon al-Muntaṣir said, "O Aḥmad, see to whatever he needs." When Aḥmad replied, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful," al-Muntaṣir exclaimed, "What do you mean by 'yes?' Get going right now."

[Al-Muntaṣir went on to say] "O Waṣīf, order your secretary to [1481] come to an agreement with Aḥmad as to what is required and stay with him until he settles matters with him."

Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and Waṣīf then stood up [and left the caliph's presence]. Waṣīf continued to make preparations until he departed, but he nevertheless failed to carry out [his objective].

It is reported that when al-Muntaṣir summoned Waṣīf and ordered him to go on the campaign, he said to him, "The tyrant—that is, the Byzantine king—is on the move, and I fear that he will destroy whatever he touches in the territory of Islam, killing [people] and taking children captive. If you go on the campaign and wish to return, you may proceed forthwith to the gate of the Commander of the Faithful."

Al-Muntaṣir ordered a contingent of commanders and others to set forth with Waṣīf and selected elite soldiers for him. There were about 10,000 men accompanying him of the Shākiriyyah, the regular army, and the *mawlās*.[692] At the head of his advance guard was Muzāḥim b. Khāqān, brother of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān.[693] Commanding his rear guard was Muḥammad b. Rajā'. On his right flank was al-Sindī b. Bukhtāshah.[694] And Naṣr b. Sa'īd al-

691. Ṭāghiyat al-Rūm is a common dysphemistic epithet for the Byzantine emperor.

692. Ms. O omits *mawlās* and has twelve thousand men.

693. Muzāḥim b. Khāqān, brother of al-Fatḥ, was governor of Egypt in 253 (867–68) and remained active as military commander in warfare and politics during the caliphates of al-Musta'īn and al-Mu'tazz. He was governor in Egypt as of 3 Rabī' I, 253 (March 16, 867); he died according to Ṭabarī (III, 1693, Saliba, 150) in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 253 (December 2–31, 867); see also Kindī, *Wulāh*, 207–9, 211; Abū al-Maḥāsin, *Nujūm*, II, 337; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 27 (giving date of death as 9 Rabī' II, 254); Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 274, n. 5.

694. Al-Sindī b. Bukhtāshah is mentioned during the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim; III, 1266 (Marin, *Reign*, 84).

Maghribī[695] was responsible for the siege machines. Waṣīf placed his deputy Abū 'Awn at the head of the men and the camp. He was chief of the security policy in Sāmarrā.

When al-Muntaṣir sent his *mawlā* Waṣīf on the campaign, he forwarded a dispatch of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, the text of which is as follows:

> In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. From the Servant of God, Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir billāh, Commander of the Faithful, to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful. Peace upon you. The Commander of the Faithful praises God for you—there is no God but He—and asks Him to pray for Muḥammad His servant and messenger, may God bless him and his family.
>
> [1482] Now then. God, to Him be praise for His blessings and gratitude for His favor, has chosen Islam, preferred and perfected it, and has made it a means to His approval and reward, an open road to His mercy and a way to the treasure of His glory. God has caused those who opposed Islam to incline toward it, and subjugated to it those who departed from its truth and preferred another way. He has favored Islam with the most complete and perfect of laws, the most excellent and just statutes. He has sent by way of Islam the best of mankind and the choicest of humans, Muḥammad, and has made the holy war the noblest of His precepts and the most expeditious means for reaching Him. For God has exalted His religion and has humbled the impudent polytheists.
>
> God says by way of commanding holy war and making it obligatory: "March out light or heavy (hearted), and strive with goods and person in the way of God; that will be better for you, if you have knowledge."[696] No mishap will befall the one who wages holy war for the sake of God. He will not suffer disease or harm as long as he is

695. Naṣr b. Sa'īd al-Maghribī later commanded the Maghāribah against the Turks, along with Muḥammad b. Rāshid, in 252 (866–67). They were both killed (Ṭabarī, III, 1680–81; Saliba, 140–41).

696. Qur'ān 9:41.

with God. He will not undergo the expense [of fighting], or clash with an enemy, or cross into a territory or tread on a land without having something written down [to his credit], abundant reward and hope for recompense.

God says: "That is because there befalls them not thirst or fatigue or lack of food in the way of God, nor do they make any invasion that rouses the anger of the unbelievers, nor do they wreak any stroke upon an enemy, but a good deed is thereby written down to their credit; verily God alloweth not to go lost the reward of those who do well. Nor do they make any contribution small or great, or cross a single wadi, but it is written down to their credit, that God may recompense them for the best they have been doing."[697] [1483]

Then God extols the superior rank of those who wage the holy war over those who refrain, His reward that He promised them and their proximity to Him. For He says: "Those of the believers who sit still—other than those who have some injury—are not on a level with those who strive with goods and persons in the way of God. God hath given preference in rank to those who strive with goods and persons over those who sit still, though to all God hath promised the good (reward). And God hath bestowed upon those who strive, in preference to those who sit still, a mighty hire."[698]

And through holy war God purchases the souls and property of the believers and makes His paradise a reward for them, His good pleasure a recompense for them for spending [their souls]. This is a promise from Him, truth in which there is no doubt, a fair judgment for which there is no substitute.

God says: "God has bought from the believers their persons and their goods at the price of the Garden (in store) for them, fighting in the way of God and killing and being killed—a promise binding upon Him in the Torah, the Evangel, and the Qur'ān; and who fulfills His cove-

697. Qur'ān 9:120–21/121–22.
698. Qur'ān 4:95/97.

nant better than God? So rejoice in the bargain you have made with Him; that is the mighty bliss."[699]

God has decided to revive those who strive for His victory and mercy, and has vouchsafed for those who die eternal life and proximity to Him, and an abundant share of His reward. He also says: "Count not those who have been killed in the way of God as dead, nay, alive with their Lord, provided for, delighting in what God has vouchsafed them of His bounty and rejoicing at (tidings
[1484] of) those who, left behind, have not yet joined them, that fear rests not upon them nor do they grieve."[700]

Holy war is more noble and suitable for triumph in this world and the next than any action by which the believers approach God and by which they may lay down their burdens, liberate themselves, and merit reward from their Lord. For those who profess it have sacrificed their souls so that the word of God be the highest, and they were generous with their souls, apart from their brothers behind them and the Muslim women. They have subdued the enemy by holy war.

The Commander of the Faithful desires to come close to God by waging holy war against His enemy, by carrying out His obligations in the religion that He entrusted him with, and seeking proximity to Him by strengthening His friends and permitting injury and revenge against those who deviate from His religion, deny His messengers, and disobey Him.

Pursuant to the above, he has seen fit to urge Waṣīf, the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful, to march this year to the territory of the enemies of God, the Byzantine infidels, to mount a campaign, since God has informed the Commander of the Faithful of Waṣīf's obedience and good counsel, and his excellent disposition[701] and pure intention in all that brings him close to God and His caliph.

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699. Qur'ān 9:111/112.
700. Qur'ān 3:169–70/163–64.
701. Text: *ta'bi'atihi*. Addenda, DCCLXXVI: *naqībatihi*.

The Commander of the Faithful—God is the sponsor of his help and success—has seen fit that Waṣīf, along with his *mawlās*, regular troops, and Shākiriyyah, whom the Commander of the Faithful has dispatched with him, arrive at the frontier of Malaṭyah[702] on 12 Rabīʿ II, 248, corresponding to 15 Ḥazīran of the months of the non-Arabs (June 15, 862), and that his invasion of the territory of the enemies of God take place on 1 Tammūz (July 1, 862).

Know this and send dispatches to the administrators in your provinces with the text of this letter of the Commander of the Faithful. Order them to read it to the Muslims before them and thus to motivate them for holy war, inciting and summoning them to it, and informing them of the reward that God has given those who wage it. This is so that those who have the intention, the readiness[703] and the desire for holy war will act in accordance with this letter by pouncing upon their enemy and speedily aiding their brothers, by defending their religion and protecting their territory when the army of Waṣīf, the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful, arrives in Malaṭyah, at the time that the Commander of the Faithful has designated for them, God willing. [1485]

Peace upon you and God's mercy and blessings. Written by Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb on 7 al-Muḥarram, 248 (March 13, 862).

It is reported that someone by the name of Abū al-Walīd al-Jarīrī al-Bajalī was sent to take responsibility for the expenditures of Waṣīf's army, the booty, and the division of spoils. Al-Muntaṣir sent a dispatch with him to Waṣīf, ordering him to stay at the territory of the frontier when he had completed his expedition. He was to stay for four years, mounting [additional] campaigns at the usual times until word from the Commander of the Faithful arrived.

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702. Malaṭyah (Greek Melitene) on the upper Euphrates, on the frontier of the Byzantines, was exposed to periodic Byzantine attacks; *EI*², s.v.

703. For *ḥisbah* in *jihād*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, 566, "reckoning, preparing, seeking, laying in store reward in world to come; reward."

In this year, al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad abdicated, and al-Muntaṣir made public their abdication in the New Jaʿfarī Palace.

The Abdication of al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad

It is reported that, when Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh's rule
[1486] had become stable, Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb said to Waṣīf and Bughā, "We have no guarantee against future events. The Commander of the Faithful may die, and al-Muʿtazz may assume rule, who then will wipe us out completely. The best course is to work toward deposing these two youths before they overcome us."

The Turks made every effort to accomplish this, urging it upon al-Muntaṣir by saying, "O Commander of the Faithful, depose them from [succession to] the caliphate and have the oath of allegiance rendered to your son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb." They importuned him to do this until he finally did so. The caliph went on paying respect to al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad, strongly favoring al-Muʾayyad. But then, forty days after he took office, he ordered that al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad be summoned after they had departed. They were summoned and installed in a palace residence.

Al-Muʿtazz said to al-Muʾayyad, "My brother, why do you think we were brought here?" He replied, "To depose us, O wretched one." Al-Muʿtazz said, "I don't think he will do this to us." Then, while they were going on this way, the messengers arrived with the deposition. Al-Muʾayyad announced right then, "I heed and obey." But al-Muʿtazz stated, "I am not the person who would do such a thing, and, if you wish to kill me, it's your business."

The messengers returned to al-Muntaṣir and informed him [of what took place]. They then came back and carried on very roughly. Seizing al-Muʿtazz violently, they ushered him into the chamber, shutting the door behind him.

It is reported on the authority of Yaʿqūb b. al-Sikkīt[704]—al-Muʾayyad: When I saw that, I said to them brazenly, "What is

704. He is Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. al-Sikkīt, a famous grammarian, tutor to al-Muʾayyad; d. 246 (860–61); Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 159; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 300–302; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, IV, 293; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, Index, 769; IV, 335; VII, 347; VIII, 129f.

this, you dogs? You are spilling our blood. Is this how you attack your lord? Stay away—God damn you—and let me talk to him." They now responded to me tentatively after they had been acting impetuously. They paused for a while and then said to me, "Go [1487] meet with him if you like." I suspected that they had taken consultation [concerning this]. I rose and went to al-Muʿtazz, and found him in the chamber weeping. So I said to him, "Fool, in view of what they are known to have done to your father, and considering who he was, you still refuse to do what they want you to do! Abdicate, woe unto you, and don't discuss it any further with them."

Al-Muʿtazz said, "Praise God. Shall I divest myself of a right that I have already exercised, one that has come into effect in remote regions?"

I said, "This right killed your father. Would that it not kill you. Give it up, woe unto you! By God, if it is in God's prescience that you rule, then you surely will."

He then replied that he would [abdicate].

Al-Mu'ayyad said: I came out and said that he had responded favorably, and that the messengers should inform the Commander of the Faithful. They went off and then returned and congratulated me for it. A secretary whose name al-Mu'ayyad mentioned entered with them. He had with him an inkwell and a sheet of paper. He sat and then, turning to Abū ʿAbdallāh [al-Muʿtazz], he said, "Write your abdication with your own hand." When he hesitated, I said to the secretary, "Give me a sheet of paper and dictate what you wish."

He dictated to me a letter for al-Muntaṣir in which I informed him that I am incapable of ruling and I know that I cannot assume rule; that I am averse to having al-Mutawakkil held in error on my account if I am unsuitable; that I shall, therefore, ask the caliph for a deposition, and inform him that I abdicate and release the notables from their oath of allegiance to me. I wrote whatever he wanted. I then said, "Write, O Abū ʿAbdallāh." But al-Muʿtazz held back, so I said, "Write, woe unto you." At that point he wrote. The letter was then sent off.

After this the caliph summoned us. I asked, "Should we get new clothing or come in these?" He replied that we should get fresh clothes. I called for clothing and put it on, and Abū ʿAbdal-

lāh did the same. We left and entered [the caliph's presence.] He
[1488] was in his audience hall, the notables arrayed according to rank. We greeted them, and they returned our greeting, at which point he ordered that we be seated.

Al-Muntaṣir then asked, "Is this your letter?" Al-Muʿtazz was silent, so I took the initiative and said, "Yes, O Commander of the Faithful, this is my letter by my request and wish." I told al-Muʿtazz to speak up, whereupon he said something of this sort. Al-Muntaṣir then turned to us, with the Turks standing by, and said, "Do you think that I have deposed you, aspiring to live until my son grows up and then have the oath of allegiance rendered to him? By God, I do not covet this for even a minute! And, by God, as this is not my ambition, I prefer that my fathers' sons rule rather than my cousins. But these—and he gestured toward all the *mawlās*[705] standing and sitting—urged me to depose you. And I feared that, if I did not do so, one of them would attack you with an iron weapon and finish you off. What do you recommend that I do? Could I then kill him? By God, the blood of all the *mawlās* does not equal the blood of one of you. It is more expedient for me to yield to their demand." [Yaʿqūb b. al-Sikkīt] said: The two of them leaned over to him and kissed his hand. He embraced them, and they then departed.

It is reported that on Saturday, 22 Ṣafar 248 (April 27, 862), al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad abdicated. Each one wrote a document in his own hand, to the effect that he renounced the oath of allegiance that was rendered to him, that the notables were free to rescind it, and that they were incapable of executing any part of it. They then carried out the abdication in the presence of the notables, Turks, eminent men, companions, and judges—Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was the chief judge. Also present were the army commanders; the Hāshimites; the administrators of the government bureaus; the officials;[706] the elite commanders of the guard; Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir; Waṣīf; Bughā the Elder; Bughā
[1489] the Younger; and all those who were present in the Private Palace (Dār al-Khāṣṣah) and the Public Audience Hall (Dār al-ʿĀmmah).

705. That is, Turks.
706. For *shīʿah* in the sense used here, see above, n. 329.

The notables departed after this. The text that the two of them wrote was as follows:

> In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate.
> The Commander of the Faithful al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh, may God be pleased with him, assigned to me this matter and had the oath of allegiance rendered to me, without my consent, while I was a minor. When I understood my circumstances, I realized that I could not execute what he assigned to me and would not be suitable as caliph of the Muslims. Whosoever is bound by the oath of allegiance to me is free to rescind it. I free you from it and I release you from your oath. I have no binding covenant or compact with you. You are released from it.

Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb read the documents aloud. Then each one of them rose and declared to those present: "This is my document and this is my statement. Witness for me. I release you from your oath and free you from it."

Al-Muntaṣir thereupon said to them, "God has blessed you and the Muslims." He arose and went inside. He had been sitting in the presence of the notables and had al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad sit near him. Then he wrote a dispatch to government officials deposing al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad. This was in Ṣafar, 248 (March 7, 862–February 23, 863).

The text of the letter of al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh to Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful, pertaining to deposing Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz and Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad was as follows:

> From the Servant of God, Muḥammad al-Imām al-Muntaṣir bi-llāh, Commander of the Faithful, to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful.
> Now then. God—to Whom belongs praise for His blessings and gratitude for His favor—has made His caliphs governors, who carry out what His Messenger was sent with. They defend His religion, preach His truth, and [1490]
> execute His statutes. He has conferred His glory, by which He favored them, as support for His servants and

welfare for His land, and as mercy causing His creatures to thrive. He has imposed obedience toward them and related it to obedience to Him and to His Messenger, Muḥammad. He has imposed it as an obligation in His unambiguous (*muḥkam*) revelation, because obedience brings about tranquillity of the multitude, harmony of passions, the creation of order out of disorder, security of roads, repelling of the enemy, protection of women, sealing frontiers, and setting affairs straight.

He says: "O you who have believed, obey God and obey the Messenger and those of you who have the command."[707]

It is an obligation of God's caliphs, those whom He has rewarded with His great beneficence, favored with the highest rank of His glory and entrusted with a way to His mercy, good pleasure, and reward, to prefer obeying Him in every circumstance, to discharge what is His due, each one of them in order of proximity [to God].

May their role in striving for whatever draws one near to God match their rank in Islam and ruling Muslims. The Commander of the Faithful requests from God, seeking Him humbly before His greatness, to entrust to him rulership that brings welfare to his subjects; to ease his burdens that He placed upon him; and give him success in obeying Him; for He is attentive and nigh.

You know what you witnessed concerning the delivery to the Commander of the Faithful of two documents, in their handwriting, that is, by Abū ʿAbdallāh and Ibrāhīm, sons of the Commander of the Faithful al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh, may God be pleased with him. They mention in these documents what God informed them of concerning the Commander of the Faithful's sympathy and compas-
[1491] sion, and his providing well for them. And they mention the investiture by the Commander of the Faithful al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh of Abū ʿAbdallāh as heir apparent of the Commander of the Faithful and of Ibrāhīm as heir apparent after Abū ʿAbdallāh, and that when this investiture

707. Qur'an 4:59/62.

was made Abū ʿAbdallāh was an infant, not yet three years old, uncomprehending of his investiture and appointment. Ibrāhīm was young and had not yet reached puberty. They were not legally responsible, and the statutes of Islam therefore did not apply to them.

They mention that, when they reached puberty and understood their incapacity to carry out their investiture and the administrative functions assigned to them, it might become necessary for them to exhort God and the community of Muslims to let them extricate themselves from this matter with which they were invested, and relinquish the administrative functions to which they were appointed, releasing thereby all those under obligation of an oath of allegiance to them, for they were unable to carry out what they were nominated for and unsuited to be assigned to it.

And those who are associated with them, in their provinces, including commanders of the Commander of the Faithful, his *mawlās*, pages, regular army, and Shākiriyyah, and all those who are with these officers in the court and in Khurāsān and all the other provinces shall be released from their service, and there shall cease to be any mention of association with the two of them. The two shall now become plebeians (*sūqah*) and commoners (*ʿāmmah*) among the Muslims.

They shall describe [themselves as such] whenever they mention this to the Commander of the Faithful and ask him about it from the time when God has brought His caliphate to him. They have abdicated and retired from the investiture. And they have released from their oath of allegiance, deposing them as they have deposed themselves, all those who have an oath of allegiance to them among the officers of the Commander of the Faithful, all [1492]
his close associates, his subjects, near and far, present and absent.

They granted the Commander of the Faithful the right to impose upon themselves the covenant of God and the most strict covenant and compact rendered to His angels, prophets, and servants. And they have acknowledged all

the oaths that the Commander of the Faithful has imposed upon them to render obedience, sincere counsel, and friendship to him, secretly and openly.

They ask the Commander of the Faithful to publicize and disseminate what they have done, and to invite all his close associates to hear this from them. This they request, desire, and obey without being compelled or forced. The two documents that they presented in their handwriting shall be read to the caliph's close associates, to the effect that the investitute as heirs apparent came to them while they were young, and that they abdicated after they had reached puberty. They request dismissal from the administrative functions that they undertook, and that their associates in these provinces, including officers of the Commander of the Faithful, his regular troops, pages, Shākiriyyah, and all those who are with these officers in the court, in Khurāsān and all the rest of the provinces, shall be released from their service, and there shall cease to be any mention of association with the two of them. A dispatch pertaining to this should be sent to all the administrative officers of the provinces.

The Commander of the Faithful acknowledged the veracity of what they reported and presented, and proceeded to summon all his brothers and those in his court, including his family, his officers, his *mawlā*s, his adjuncts, the chiefs of his regular troops, his Shākiriyyah, secretaries, judges, jurists, and others, and all the rest of his close [1493] associates to whom the oath of allegiance was rendered.

Present were Abū ʿAbdallāh and Ibrāhīm, the sons of the Commander of the Faithful al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-llāh, God be pleased with him. Their documents, in their own hand, were read aloud in their presence to the Commander of the Faithful, to them, and to all those present. They repeated the statement, once the two documents were read, in accordance with what they had written. Responding to this, the Commander of the Faithful decided to disseminate and publicize what they had done. He carried this out in accordance with three rights: (1) The right of God, insofar as He entrusted al-Muntaṣir with his

caliphate and obligated him to provide for his friends by consolidating their community at all times and reconciling their hearts. (2) The right of subjects, who are entrusted to him by God, so that the one appointed over their affairs supervises, night and day, with care, justice and compassion, and carries out the statutes of God for mankind while assuming the responsibility of governance and right management. (3) The right of Abū ʿAbdallāh and Ibrāhīm, obliging the Commander of the Faithful because of their brotherhood and mutual kinship; for had they persisted in what they relinquished, despite their incapacity, this might have harmed Islam, and the adversity would have affected all Muslims. Thus, the heavy responsibility would have redounded to them.

The Commander of the Faithful has deposed them, as they deposed themselves, from the investiture as heirs apparent. And all the brothers of the Commander of the Faithful deposed them, as did the members of his family in his court. All those who attended deposed them, including the officers of the Commander of the Faithful, his [1494]
mawlās, officials, commanders of his regular troops, Shākiriyyah, secretaries, judges, jurists, and his other close associates who rendered the oath of allegiance.

The Commander of the Faithful has ordered that the letters concerning this be drawn up and dispatched to all the administrative officials, so that their contents be made known in the provinces. They will depose Abū ʿAbdallāh and Ibrāhīm from the investiture as heirs apparent since they had deposed themselves and released the notables and commoners, those present and absent, the near and far. They will eliminate any reference to them as heirs apparent and remove from their letters and formulas any reference to the genealogy[708] of al-Muʿtazz bi-llāh and al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, nor are they to invoke their names from the pulpits. In addition, they will eliminate all the old and new offices established by the two of them in their government bureaus, that is, offices pertaining to

708. Text vocalized: *nisab*. Addenda, DCCLXXVI: *nasab*.

their [former] associates. They will remove mention of them from emblems and flags,[709] and the officials are also obliged to remove their names where they were used to mark the horses of the Shākiriyyah and the frontier cavalry (*rābiṭah*).

Your station vis-à-vis the Commander of the Faithful will be determined by what God has chosen for him, namely, your obedience, sincere counsel and support, what God has granted your ancestors and yourselves, and what God has apprised the Commander of the Faithful of
[1495] concerning your obedience, discernment,[710] and endeavor to discharge [your] duty.

The Commander of the Faithful has assigned you independently to your office and has released you from service to Abū ʿAbdallāh and from those [others] in your provincial seat and in all the rest of the provincial areas. The Commander of the Faithful will not place between you and himself anyone who will govern over you. His order concerning this has gone out to the administrative officers of his government bureaus.

Know this and write to your administrative officers according to the text of this letter of the Commander of the Faithful to you. Suggest to them that they act in accordance with it, God willing. Peace.

Written by Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb on Saturday, 19 Safar, 248 (April 24, 862).

In this year, al-Muntaṣir died.

The Illness That Caused al-Muntaṣir's Death, the Time When He Died, and How Long He Lived

There is disagreement about the illness that caused his death. Some(one) of the informants said that he was afflicted by angina in his throat, on Thursday, 25 Rabīʿ I, 248 (May 29, 862), and that he died at the time of the afternoon prayer on Sunday, 5 Rabīʿ II (June 8, 862). Another view is that he died on Saturday afternoon,

709. Text: *maṭārid*. For the sense here, see Glossarium, CCCXXXIX.
710. Text: *wa-yumn naqībatika*. Ms. O: *wa-min tamyīz nafsika*.

4 Rabīʿ II (June 7, 862), and that the cause of his death was an inflammation in his stomach that moved to his heart, causing his death, and that his illness lasted for three days or so.

I have been informed by some(one) of our colleagues that al-Muntaṣir, having a fever, summoned a physician whom he ordered to bleed him. He bled al-Muntaṣir with a poisoned lancet, from which he died. [1496]

The physician who bled the caliph returned to his residence, where he too was stricken with fever. He summoned one of his pupils and ordered him to bleed him, placing his lancets before the pupil, so that he might choose the best. The poisoned lancet with which he had bled al-Muntaṣir was among them. He had forgotten about it. The pupil did not find among the lancets placed before him any one better than the poisoned lancet. He therefore bled his teacher with it without being aware of what had taken place previously. When the pupil had bled his teacher with this lancet, his colleague noticed it and realized that he was about to die. The physician gave his bequest immediately and died the same day.

It is also reported that al-Muntaṣir was afflicted in his head. Ibn al-Ṭayfūrī[711] therefore put drops of oil in his ear. His head became inflamed, and he soon died. Another view is that Ibn al-Ṭayfūrī poisoned the caliph with his cupping glasses.

Abū Jaʿfar said: I often heard people say, when the caliphate passed to al-Muntaṣir, that from the time he acceded to rule until his death he would live for six months, as did Shīrawayh b. Kisrā after he killed his father. This [account] was spread among the populace and notables alike.[712]

It is reported on the authority of Yusr al-Khādim,[713] who was

711. See above, p. 174, and n. 581, for his father al-Ṭayfūrī. As son of a court physician of al-Mutawakkil, it is possible that he retained a residual loyalty to his father's patron. See also Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ*, 284.

712. Shīrawayh (Shīrūyah) b. Kisrā (591–628 A.D.) killed his father, Kisrā Parvīz. See the more elaborate account of Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 291, where it is told that the caliph saw a Persian inscription on a carpet telling the fate of Shīrawayh, which was translated for him; and see, for instance, Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ*, 283; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 239, Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 72, and n. 2.

713. Yusr al-Khādim is mentioned again by Ṭabarī, *sub anno* 255 (869–69; III, 1743), with other members of al-Muntaṣir's entourage, including Saʿīd the Younger.

said to be in charge of al-Muntaṣir's treasury in the days of his amīrate, that one day during his caliphate, al-Muntaṣir awoke, after sleeping in his sitting room (*īwān*), weeping and lamenting. Yusr said: I respected him too much to ask him about his weeping and stood behind the door, when ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar al-Bāzyār arrived and heard his lamenting and sobbing. ʿAbdallāh asked me,
[1497] "What is wrong with him, woe to you, O Yusr." I informed him that the caliph had awakened from sleep in tears. ʿAbdallāh now approached al-Muntaṣir and said to him, "What is wrong with you, O Commander of the Faithful, that you are weeping, may God not let your eye shed tears?" Al-Muntaṣir replied, "Come close to me, O ʿAbdallāh." He did. The caliph then said to him, "I was sleeping and dreamt that al-Mutawakkil had come to me and said, 'Woe unto you, O Muḥammad. You killed me, wronged me, and usurped my caliphate.[714] By God, you will only enjoy the caliphate after me for a few days; then you are bound for hell.' I then awoke and could not control my weeping or anxiety."

ʿAbdallāh said to him, "This is a dream, and dreams may be either true or false. No, God will prolong your life and give you happiness. Now summon wine and entertainment and never mind dreams."

Yusr continued: The caliph did just that, but nevertheless went on being dejected until he died.

It is reported that al-Muntaṣir had consulted a group of jurists about killing his father, informing them about his doctrines and relating unseemly things about him, which I am reluctant to put down in writing. They advised al-Muntaṣir to kill him. We have mentioned in part what happened to him.

It is reported that, when al-Muntaṣir's illness became severe, his mother came to him inquiring about his condition. He replied, "By God, I have lost this world and the next."

[Ibrāhīm b. Jaysh said:[715] I have been informed by the secretary Mūsā b. ʿĪsā, secretary of my uncle Yaʿqūb and my cousin Yazīd, that when al-Muntaṣir acceded to the caliphate he would carry on quite a bit while intoxicated about the murder of his father al-

714. Text: *ghabantanī*. ʿAynī: *ghaḍibtanī*, i.e. *ghaṣabtanī* = "you have usurped me" (note *ad loc.* in Leiden edition).

715. The bracketed text appears only in the Cairo edition, on the basis of Ms. A.

Mutawakkil. He would say with reference to the Turks, "These are murderers of the caliphs." In such fashion he mentioned what they feared. The Turks gave one of his servants (*khādim*) 30,000 dīnārs to try and poison him. And they also gave a sum of money to ʿAlī b. Ṭayfūr.

When served fruit, al-Muntaṣir tended to favor pears. Ibn Ṭayfūr therefore chose a large, ripe pear, pierced the top, and poured poison into it. And the servant placed it on top of the pears that he served al-Muntaṣir. Setting eyes on the pear, al-Muntaṣir ordered the servant to peel it and feed it to him. The servant peeled and cut it, and then gave it to him, piece by piece, until he devoured it. When he had finished eating the pear, he felt faint and told Ibn Ṭayfūr that he felt feverish.

Ibn Ṭayfūr said, "O Commander of the Faithful, have yourself cupped, and you will recover from the illness in your blood." He expected that with the emission of blood the poison would take better effect. The caliph was cupped and became feverish, and his illness became worse. But Ibn Ṭayfūr and the Turks feared that his illness would last for a long time.

So Ibn Ṭayfūr said to al-Muntaṣir, "O Commander of the Faithful, the cupping has not had the beneficial effect that we expected. You require bleeding, which will be more effective in your case." When the caliph told him to go ahead, Ibn Ṭayfūr bled him with a poisoned lancet. The doctor, in a state of confusion, threw the instrument among his lancets. It was the sharpest and the best.

Then ʿAlī b. Ṭayfūr became feverish himself and summoned a pupil of his to bleed him. The pupil looked through the lancets and did not find any that was sharper or better, so he bled him, and Ibn Ṭayfūr died as a result.]

It is reported on the authority of Ibn Dihqānah: We were in al-Muntaṣir's audience hall one day after al-Mutawakkil was killed when al-Masdūd al-Ṭunbūrī related a story.[716] When al-Muntaṣir

716. Ibn Dihqānah al-Nadīm appears as a boon companion of al-Muʿtaṣim in Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Rusūm*, 72; tr. Salem, 60. Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Masdūd al-Ṭunbūrī was a composer and tunburist who performed in the courts of al-Wāthiq, al-Mutawakkil and al-Muntaṣir. See Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, XXI, 256–58; Farmer, *History*, 158–59; Neubauer, *Musiker*, 193–94.

asked, "When did this take place, he answered, "On a dangerous night."[717] This vexed al-Muntaṣir.

It is reported on the authority of Sa'īd b. Salamah al-Naṣrānī:
[1498] Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb came to us in a cheerful spirit, mentioning that the Commander of the Faithful al-Muntaṣir dreamt at night that he had ascended a flight of stairs until he came to the twenty-fifth step, whereupon he was told, "This is your dominion." Ibn al-Munajjim learned of this, so Muḥammad b. Mūsā and 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Munajjim visited the caliph and congratulated him on the dream.

Al-Muntaṣir said, "The matter was not as Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb told you. Rather when I reached the end of the stairs I was told, 'Stop, this is the end of your life.'" He was extremely distressed and lived after this for some days, filling out a year, and then died when he was twenty-five years old.[718]

It is also said that he was twenty-five years and six months old when he died. Still another view is that he was twenty-four years old. According to the view of (some)one of the informants, his caliphate lasted six months and two days. Another version puts it at exactly six months. And still another view is that it lasted one hundred and seventy-nine days.

He died in Sāmarrā, in the renovated palace,[719] forty-four days after he came out publicly against his brothers.

It is reported that when death was upon him he said:

I never delighted in any worldly blessing I obtained,
  But [I am joyous now that] I proceed to the noble Lord.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'taṣim[720] said the funeral prayer over him in Sāmarrā, where he was born.

He had wide eyes, an aquiline nose, and he was short and well endowed.[721] He is said to have been capable of inspiring respect for his authority. He was allegedly the first 'Abbāsid caliph whose

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717. Literally, "a night of no prohibition or impediment"; hence a night of anarchy or danger.

718. O adds: and six months, and omits the next sentence (by homoeoteleuton).

719. Text: *al-qaṣr al-muḥdath*. According to Herzfeld, *Samarra*, 105, it is the renovated Jawsaq Palace.

720. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'taṣim became the caliph al-Musta'īn, succeeding al-Muntaṣir.

721. Text: *jayyid al-biḍ'ah*. Addenda, DCCLXXVI: *al-biḍā'ah*. See also Glossarium, CXXXV; Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 92.

grave was known. This is because his mother requested that his grave be made public.[722] His teknomyn was Abū Ja'far and his mother's name was Ḥabashiyyah. She was a Byzantine concubine. [1499]

Something of al-Muntaṣir's Conduct

It is reported that when al-Muntaṣir assumed the caliphate the first thing he did was to remove Ṣāliḥ[723] from Medina and to appoint 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn[724] b. Ismā'īl b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad as governor there.

It is reported on the authority of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn: When I visited him to bid farewell, he said to me: "O 'Alī, I am sending you to my flesh and blood." He pinched the skin of his forearm and said, "I am sending you to this. Watch how you are with these people and how you deal with them, that is, the family of Abū Ṭālib." I replied, "I hope to follow the opinion of the Commander of the Faithful, may God support him, concerning them, God willing." He said, "You will then thrive thereby[725] with me."

It is reported that Muḥammad b. Hārūn,[726] secretary of Muḥammad b. 'Alī Bard al-Khiyār[727] and his deputy over the Bureau of Estates of Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad, was struck dead on his bed

722. 'Aynī comments, citing al-Sibṭ [b. al-Jawzī], that Ṭabarī's statement here is surprising since the tombs of the 'Abbāsid caliphs are in fact known, e.g., the tomb of al-Saffāḥ is in Anbār beneath the *minbar*; and those of al-Mahdī in Māsabadhān, Hārūn in Ṭūs, al-Ma'mūn in Ṭarsūs, and al-Mu'taṣim, al-Wāthiq, and al-Mutawakkil in Sāmarrā.

723. O adds Ibn 'Īsā; Ibn al-Athīr *Kāmil*, VII, 76 and Ṣūlī have Ibn 'Alī. He is Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā.

724. Text and Cairo edition: al-Ḥusayn. Ms. O and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 76: al-Ḥasan.

725. Ṣūlī adds *'inda Allāh wa-*, that is, "You will then thrive in this with God and with me." On al-Muntaṣir's new orientation in favor of the Shī'ah and policy of détente with the 'Alids, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 75–76; and Sourdel, "La politique religieuse," 6–8. Among other things, he permitted visiting the site of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī's grave and restored Fadak to the descendants of al-Ḥusayn and al-Ḥasan, sons of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

726. Ms. O: Hārūn. Ms. C: *Fragmenta*, 561.5; Ṣūlī: Dāwūd.

727. Text: Muḥammad b. 'Ali Bard (or: Burd) al-Khiyār. C: Ibn Bard al-Ḥanār (?); O: Ibn Bard al-Khiyār. *Fragmenta*: Ibn Bard al-Khabbāz. Ṣūlī says that Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Anbārī (?) was a secretary of Bard (?) al-Kh-?-ār, that is, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣūlī. And elsewhere he mentions Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣūlī, known as Bard (?) al-Khiyār.

[1500] with a number of blows by a sword. His son summoned a black servant (*khādim*) of his and also Waṣīf. Waṣīf reportedly tried to get the black to confess. He was then brought before al-Muntaṣir, and Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was summoned, and questioned him about his murdering his patron. The black confessed, describing what he had done to Muḥammad and the reason for his killing him.

Al-Muntaṣir asked him, "Woe to you, why did you kill him?" The black replied, "Why did you kill your father, al-Mutawakkil?" Al-Muntaṣir then queried the jurists about the black's case, and they advised that he be killed, whereupon he had him decapitated and suspended near the gallows of Bābak.

In this year, Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Shārī (the Khārijite) rebelled in the region of Mosul.[728] Al-Muntaṣir sent against him Isḥāq b. Thābit al-Farghānī. He took Muḥammad captive with a number of his men, and they were killed and suspended.

In this year, Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār moved from Sijistān and proceeded to Herat.[729]

It is reported on the authority of Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh, son of Ṣāliḥ, the prefect of the oratory: My father had a muezzin. Some(one) of our family saw him in a dream summoning [the people] to one of the [daily] prayers. Then he approached a house where al-Muntaṣir was and called out, "O Muḥammad, O Muntaṣir, your Lord is waiting in ambush."[730]

It is reported on the authority of Bunān the Singer—he was allegedly the person most intimate with al-Muntaṣir during the life of his father (al-Mutawakkil) and after he assumed the caliphate: I asked al-Muntaṣir to give me a brocade robe when he was caliph. He said, "I have something better for you than a brocade robe." I asked what it was. He replied: "Feign illness so that I will visit you, and more than a brocade robe will be given to you."

[1501] Bunān said: He died during these days and did not give me anything.

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728. See also above, 1351 (p. 37).

729. Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār was one of the two brothers who founded the Ṣaffārid dynasty; Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 103.

730. See Qur'ān 89:14.

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of

the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Each volume has an index of proper names. A general index volume will follow the publication of the translation volumes.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

The period covered in this volume is that of the upheaval following the assassination of Caliph al-Mutawakkil, who ruled from 847–861. Within eight years or so, three caliphs came to power only to be murdered by the same group of army officers that murdered al-Mutawakkil. The first of these caliphs, al-Muntaṣir, who survived barely a year, falls outside the scope of this volume. The caliphate of al-Musta'īn (862–866) and that of al-Mu'tazz (866–869) are the concern here.

The period covered by al-Ṭabarī highlights the accelerated breakdown of centralized authority and the formation of local petty-states within the larger 'Abbāsid polity. Appointed by the caliph, and nominally loyal to him, the local governors were, in effect, semi-autonomous in conducting their affairs. Moreover, the caliphs had become totally dependent on the slave army that had initially been recruited to support caliphal authority—so dependent, that the military leaders decided the fate of the central authority. The commanders, mainly of Central Asian Turkish extraction—such as Waṣīf and Bughā—survived the successive changes of rulers, and often they were actively involved in plotting the downfall of a particular caliph. The caliph has been duly immortalized by the following lines:

> [Behold] a caliph in a cage,
> between Waṣīf and Bughā
>
> Repeating what they say to him,
> as the parrot itself would repeat.

In this period the caliphate, as an institution, was undergoing its critical test in the face of the military power which was by then based on professional foreign recruits. The tension between the "legitimate" power, as represented by the caliphate, and the "real" power, as represented by the military, had not yet resolved itself into a complementary mode of sharing authority; each party seems to have been totally preoccupied with plotting to control the other, or to overcome it if need be.

As Waṣīf and Bughā made and broke caliphs, they created a political and military infrastructure that paralleled the formal government. They groomed their sons for political power, handing over to them the military command they once held. Within the seven years covered in this volume, control of the regular army was passed on from Waṣīf and Bughā to their respective sons Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf and Mūsā b. Bughā. Having assimilated the lessons of clientage, the two power-brokers tightened their alliance by marital bonds when Bughā's daughter was given in marriage to Waṣīf's son.

The most significant episode of the time was the civil war between al-Mustaʿīn and al-Muʿtazz. Economically, the conflict was, at the very least, extremely disruptive. The description of the events is rich with references to the cost of the war. We are even told the details of payments made to soldiers to fight, or to guard somebody, as well as the costs for an entire campaign. We are also informed that the total cost of government for a single year had become equal to the tax revenues (*kharāj*) of the whole realm for two years. Moreover, the professional soldiers fighting in the mid-ninth century no longer conducted war for ideological or religious reasons as did earlier Islamic armies. They fought for private gain. Indeed, their demands are echoed with every event. The caliph was always asked to produce additional service pay and bonuses. As traditional loyalties eroded, the central authorities, with increasing frequency, gave approval to political and monetary arrangements over which they could exercise no effective control. Critical positions were bought and sold, further accelerating the decline of centralized authority.

Such is the larger picture contained within these pages. The careful reader will also note myriad details that reflect the more prosaic aspects of life, for, here as elsewhere, the narratives of al-Ṭabarī are rich in allusions to daily life.

The Caliphate of al-Mustaʿīn

[1501]

The Caliphate of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muʿtaṣim, Known as al-Mustaʿīn. His Patronymic was Abū al-ʿAbbās

The Account of His Rule and the Time Allegiance Was Rendered to Him

It was reported that when al-Muntaṣir died—that was on Saturday afternoon, the fourth of Rabīʿ II, 248 (June 7, 862)—the mawlās[1] gathered at the Hārūnī[2] (Palace) on Sunday. Among them were Bughā the Elder, Bughā the Younger, and Utāmish. They took the oath of allegiance from the commanders of the Turks, the Maghāribah and the Ushrūsaniyyah. It was ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abd al-Aʿlā al-Iskāfī, the secretary of Bughā the Elder, who took the oath

1. The word *mawlā*, pl. *mawālī*, has several meanings in Arabic. In this period it refers mainly to the military personnel who were employed by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and were mostly of Central Asian origin.

2. That is, the palace built by al-Mutawakkil (847–861), Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 276.

from them. They were to accept whomever was acceptable to Bughā the Elder, Bughā the Younger and Utāmish, a procedure already arranged by Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb. The group took the oath; they had consulted with one another and were averse to having any of al-Mutawakkil's sons declared caliph, for the commanders had killed his father and were afraid that they would, in turn, be murdered by any of al-Mutawakkil's sons who assumed the caliphate. But Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and those mawlās who were present concurred in choosing Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muʿtaṣim. saying, "The caliphate should not depart from the offspring of our patron Muʿtaṣim." Previous to this, they had mentioned some of the Banū Hāshim. They rendered the oath of allegiance to him at the time of
[1502] the second *ʿishāʾ* prayer on Monday evening, the sixth of Rabīʿ II, 243 (June 9, 862). He was then twenty-eight years old,[3] and his patro-
[1503] nymic was Abū al-ʿAbbās. Al-Mustaʿīn took Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb as his secretary, and Utāmish as his wazīr.

On Monday, the sixth of Rabīʿ II (June 9, 862), Abū al-ʿAbbās went

3. Note the account of Ṣūlī of the election of al-Mustaʿīn which is included by the Leiden editors: "I received an account on the authority of Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar al-Akhbārī —— ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Iskāfī: When al-Muntaṣir Billāh died on Saturday afternoon, the fourth of Rabīʿ II, 248 (June 7, 862), the *mawlās* gathered together including Bughā the Elder and Utāmish. They took an oath from the commanders of the Turks and Maghāribah that they would accept whomever they themselves accepted. They did swear to that. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn said: I was taking the oath of allegiance from them as arranged by Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb. They were of the unanimous opinion that they would not elevate any of al-Mutawakkil's sons to the caliphate, lest he assassinate them in revenge for his father's blood. They then agreed upon Aḥmad b. al-Muʿtaṣim saying: 'The son of our lord al-Muʿtaṣim.' Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Munajjim came to Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and Bughā asking: 'Would you give authority to a man who thought that he is more worthy of the Caliphate than even al-Mutawakkil, and that you kept him from it, and that he is indeed worthier than both al-Mutawakkil and al-Muntaṣir? How then do you expect him to respect you? Wouldn't you rather obey a man who honors you?' Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Munajjim had done so on account that Aḥmad b. al-Muʿtaṣim was a friend of al-Kindī the philosopher, and al-Kindī himself was an enemy of Muḥammad and Aḥmad the two sons of al-Munajjim. They all accepted his opinion except for Bughā the Elder who remarked. 'We will appoint someone whom we fear and respect for then we shall remain with him. If we brought someone who fears us, we would then compete among ourselves and kill one another.' It was then that they mentioned Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Muʿtaṣim, saying: 'He is a descendant of our Lord al-Muʿtaṣim, and (the Caliphate) should not be taken away from them. If we hold him in high esteem he will be indebted to us. They kept on persuading Bughā the Elder until he accepted. Then they brought Aḥmad b. Muḥammad on the eve of Monday, the sixth of Rabīʿ II (June 9, 862), who was twenty-eight years old.'"

to the Public Audience Hall (Dar al-ʿĀmmah),[4] by way of the ʿUmarī[5] Road, between the gardens. They had dressed him in long robes and in the caliphal raiment.[6] Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq carried the spear (*ḥarbah*)[7] in front of him; this took place before sunrise. Wājin al-Ushrūsanī arrived at the gate of the Public Audience Hall by way of the main thoroughfare leading to the public treasury (*bayt al-māl*).[8] After arranging his troops in two lines, he took his position in line together with the notables among his men. Present at the hall were the men of rank (*aṣḥāb al-marātib*). These included the sons of al-Mutawakkil, the ʿAbbāsids, the Ṭālibids and others of stature. While they were stationed in this manner—an hour and a half of the day had already passed—shouting was heard from the direction of the main thoroughfare and the markets.[9] Suddenly, there were fifty horsemen of the Shākiriyyah[10]—it is reported that they were men of Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh[11]—accompanied by a group of Ṭabariyyah cavalry and mixed forces (*akhlāṭ al-nās*). They were joined by the hotheads and the rabble from the market, amounting to a group of about one thousand men. Drawing their weapons, they shouted "Victory to Muʿtazz! (*yā Muʿtazz yā manṣūr*)"[12] and charged the two lines of the Ushrūsaniyyah formed

4. For this translation see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 365, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 54. This Dār was also sometimes called Dār al-Sulṭān. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 255.

5. The reference is to al-Qaṣr al-ʿUmarī, built by ʿUmar b. Faraj for al-Muʿtaṣim. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 258.

6. For the caliphal dress, see Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm*, 73–74.

7. Originally it was the spear of the king of Abyssinia. It was given as a gift to Prophet Muḥammad and was passed thereafter from one caliph to the next as a sign of authority. See Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 118–119.

8. For the thoroughfare leading to the *bayt al-māl*, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 255, 260, and Sāmarrāʾī, *Sāmarrā fī Adab*, appended map where the main street runs parallel to the Tigris in a north-south direction.

9. For the arrangement of the markets around the main thoroughfare, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 260.

10. The probable origin of the word is from Persian *shāgird*, meaning apprentice. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 276. But sometimes it is used to mean simply mercenary soldiers. See Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, II, 130.

11. Ṭabarī, Cairo ed., IX, 188 mentions the arrival of this Muḥammad from Khurāsān in the year 237 (851/852) and his appointment as al-Mutawakkil's lieutenant over Baghdad in that year. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, V, 92–93, and Kutubī, *Fawāt*, III, 403–4. The text here refers to the possibility that Muḥammad's men may have been still loyal to the descendants of al-Mutawakkil and were here objecting to al-Mustaʿīn's usurpation of their power.

12. *Yā . . . yā manṣūr* is obviously a battle cry, rendered in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 117, as *nafīr yā manṣūr* (call to arms! O victorious one!).

by Wājin. A great melee ensued, and the men collided with one another. Some of the Mubayyiḍah[13] guarding the Public Gate (Bāb al-
[1504] ʿĀmmah) broke rank and joined the Shākiriyyah, thus increasing their number. At this the Maghāribah and the Ushrūsaniyyah attacked, and, routing the rebels, they forced them onto the great road (*darb*) named after Zurāfah and ʿAzzūn.[14] A group of them charged the followers of al-Muʿtazz, and, having defeated them, they pursued them to the residence of Azzūn b. Ismāʿīl's brother where the latter held a narrow part of the road. Al-Muʿtazz's followers held their ground there, whereupon the Ushrūsaniyyah fired arrows at some of them and engaged them with swords. As the battle raged between them, the followers of al-Muʿtazz and the rabble proclaimed "God is Great!" Many of the protagonists fell, slain, as the battle continued until the third hour of the day. The Turks then departed, having rendered allegiance to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muʿtaṣim. They left (by the road that runs) beside the ʿUmarī (Palace) and the gardens. Before leaving, the mawlās obtained the oath of allegiance from all those present at the Public Audience Hall, including, among others, the Hāshimites and the men of rank. Al-Mustaʿīn departed by way of the Public Gate for the Hārūnī (palace) where he spent the night.

The Ushrūsaniyyah (also) went to the Hārūnī; both factions had lost many men. A group of Ushrūsaniyyah had entered some private quarters, whereupon the rabble overwhelmed them and took their shields, weapons, coats of mail and their mounts. The rabble and the plundering mob entered the Public Audience Hall en route to the Hārūnī (Palace). They freely pillaged the storehouse containing weapons, shields, coats of mail, swords, and *thaghrī* bridles. None of them refrained from looting a coat of mail or a lance that happened
[1505] to be lying by.[15] They also pillaged the residence of Armash b. Abī

13. The name *Mubayyiḍah* was commonly used to describe a non-orthodox sect believing in the possibility of God's incarnation. See Sāmarrāʾī, *al-Ghulūw*, 143, on the authority of Isfarāyinī, *Tabṣīr*, 70. They seem to have been recruited into the army as a sect.

14. The reference is probably to Zurāfah, al-Mutawakkil's chamberlain (see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 394 and *FHA*, III, 555) and to ʿAzzūn, al-Muʿtaṣim's boon companion (see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 163).

15. The text reads *rubbamā marra aḥaduhum bi-l-jawshan wa-l-ḥirāb fa-akthara*, which is difficult to understand with the previous *fa-akthara*.

Ayyūb, accompanied by the sellers of barley juice (*fuqqāʿ*),[16] taking shields and headless spears of bamboo. As a result, spears and shields became plentiful in the hands of the rabble, the bath attendants and the boys who delivered groceries.[17] A contingent of Turks, including Bughā the Younger, then came at them from the direction of Darb Zurāfah and forced them away from the storehouse, killing several of them and detaining a few.

Both factions now departed, having suffered many losses. But the rabble began confiscating the weapon of any Turk passing by the lower reaches of Sāmarrā while heading through the thoroughfares towards the Public Gate. They killed a contingent of Turks near the residences of Mubārak al-Maghribī and Ḥabash the brother of Yaʿqūb Qūṣarrah.[18] Most of those seizing these weapons were reportedly sellers of barley juice and dried fruits (*nāṭif*), bath attendants, water bearers and the rabble from the markets. They continued in this way until midday. The prisoners at Sāmarrā became agitated on that day (as well), and a group of them managed to escape. The receipt of military pay (*ʿaṭāʾ*) was now made contingent on swearing allegiance to the new Caliph, and the document of the oath of allegiance was sent to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir on the day when allegiance was sworn to al-Mustaʿīn. The document reached Muḥammad on the second day; it was brought to him by a brother of Utāmish, when Muḥammad was out on a walk. Muḥammad's chamberlain sent Utāmish's brother to his patron after informing him of Ibn Ṭāhir's whereabouts. At this, Muḥammad returned immediately and sent for the Hāshimites and for the commanders and troops. He granted them all their allotments (*waḍaʿa lahum al-arzāq*).

In Rajab, 248 (August 31–September 29, 862), word reached al-Mustaʿīn of the death of Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir in Khurāsān. Al-Mustaʿīn now appointed Ṭāhir's son Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAb- [1506]
dallāh b. Ṭāhir as governor of Khurāsān. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh

16. *Fuqqāʿ* is barley juice according to *Lisān*, VIII, 526, and those who sold such items were considered of low class. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 261.

17. Some occupational groups were apparently beginning to make themselves felt as especially threatening to the central authority. For more information on their interaction, see Dūrī, *Abḥāth*, 15–17. For their social position, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 261.

18. The vocalization is unclear.

was given control of Iraq as well as the Ḥaramayn[19]; (he was put in charge of) security (*shurṭah*), and (he was appointed) vice-ruler (*muʿāwin*) over the Sawād.[20] The appointment of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir over Khurāsān and the adjoining districts took place at the Jawsaq Palace[21] on Saturday, the twelfth of Shaʿbān (October 11, 862).

Bughā the Elder fell ill in Jumādā II (August 2–30, 862) and was visited by al-Mustaʿīn in the middle of the month. Bughā died that very day, and his son Mūsā was given all his duties, that is, all his father's duties, in addition to (heading up) the postal service (*barīd*).

In this year, Unūjūr the Turk arranged (*wajjaha*) to kill Abū al-ʿAmūd al-Thaʿlabī in Kafartūthā on the twenty-fourth of Rabīʿ II (June 27, 862).

In this year, ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān went on pilgrimage. A Shiʿite messenger called Shuʿayb was sent after Ibn Khāqān to inform him that he was being banished to Barqah[22] and was thus prohibited from continuing the pilgrimage.

[1507] In Jumādā I, 248 (July 3–August 1, 862), al-Mustaʿīn bought from al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʾayyad everything they possessed except for one item valued at one hundred thousand dīnārs which al-Muʿtazz kept. The latter and Ibrāhīm (al-Muʾayyad) were to receive annual revenues (*ghallah*) of eighty thousand dīnārs.[23] And on Monday, the

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19. Usually refers to Mecca and Medina. See *EI*², III, 175.

20. Ṣūlī's account as given by the editors of the Leiden edition: "Al-Mustaʿīn appointed his son Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir over Khurāsān, and his uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh over Iraq. He also added Fars to the latter's responsibilities. He had previously intended to appoint Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh over Khurāsān, but al-Mustaʿīn was told that he was their most distinguished person (i.e. the Ṭāhirids) and is like a hostage for them. He was then inclined to appoint ʿAbdallāh's offspring of whom Sulaymān, Ṭalḥah and ʿUbaydallāh were in Khurāsān. Muḥammad was afraid, however, that they would seize authority (for themselves) and councelled al-Mustaʿīn to appoint his nephew. Thus the two police departments were specifically given to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh; his nephew Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir had no responsibility for them." The two police departments refer to the security arrangements for East and West Baghdad. See Dūrī, *Abḥāth*, 17; *FHA*, III, 563.

21. The Jawsaq Palace was one of the most famous palaces built by al-Muʿtaṣim. For the literary and historical sources concerning this palace, see Sāmarrāʾī, *Sāmarrā fī Adab*, 225–228; Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, 301; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 265; and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 175. The architectural details are discussed in Creswell, *Architecture*, 259f.

22. This is a reference to Barqah in North Africa (modern Tunis). See Aboulfeda, *Géographie*, 127, and Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, 91.

23. This was obviously their pay-off to drop the claim to the caliphate.

twelfth of Ramaḍān (November 9, 862), all the possessions of al-Mu'tazz and al-Mu'ayyad, including buildings, residences, estates, palaces, household furnishings and so forth were bought from them for twenty thousand dīnārs. This sale was witnessed by (legal) witnesses (*shuhūd*), notaries (*'udūl*)[24], and judges, among others. It is said that (only) their estates were bought and that Abū 'Abdallāh (al-Mu'tazz) retained properties producing a cash revenue of twenty thousand dīnārs per annum, while Ibrāhīm (al-Mu'ayyad) had access to a yearly revenue of five thousand dīnārs. What was bought from Abū 'Abdallāh was worth ten million dīnārs and ten pearls, and from Ibrāhīm three million dirhams and three pearls. Bearing witness to the transaction were the jurists (*fuqahā'*) and judges. The purchase was made in the name of al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad[25] on behalf of al-Musta'īn in the month of Rabī' II, 248 (June 4–July 2, 862). The two ('Abbāsid princes) were then jailed in the (detention) room of the Jawsaq Palace, and were entrusted to Bughā the Younger. The Turks had intended to kill them when the rabble and the Shākiriyyah rioted, but they were stopped by Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb who said, [1508]
"They have committed no fault and the rioters are not their followers but, rather, the followers of Ibn Ṭāhir. Better that they be jailed." Therefore, they were jailed.

In that year, the mawlās were angered by Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb; in Jumādā I (July 3–Aug. 1, 862) his possessions as well as those of his sons were confiscated (*ustuṣfiya*), and he was banished to Crete.

In this year, 'Alī b. Yaḥya was relieved of his command of the Syrian frontier and was appointed governor of Armenia and Ādharbayjān. This was in Ramaḍān, 248 (October 29–November 27, 862).

In this year, the inhabitants of Ḥimṣ rioted against Kaydar b. 'Ubaydallāh, al-Musta'īn's governor of the city, and expelled him from it. Al-Faḍl b. Qārin was then sent against them. Using his guile, he captured the rebels and killed a great number of them. He destroyed their (defensive) wall and he took one hundred of their notables to Sāmarrā.

In this year, Waṣīf—he was residing on the Syrian frontier—was

24. The translation "notaries" follows Schacht, *Introduction*, 194.

25. This al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad was originally in charge of the dīwān of the estates (*ḍiyā'*) under al-Mutawakkil. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 290, n. 9. After an illustrious career in several government jobs he became the wazīr to al-Mu'tamid, ibid.

taking part in the summer campaign when word reached him of al-Muntaṣir's death. Nevertheless, he invaded the Byzantine territory and conquered a fortress called Farūriyyah.[26]

In this year, al-Mustaʿīn appointed Utāmish over Egypt and the West (al-Maghrib), and he took him as his wazīr.

In this year too, Bughā al-Sharābī was appointed over Ḥulwān, Māsabadhān, and Mihrajān Qadhaq,[27] and al-Mustaʿīn assigned Shāhak al-Khādim to administer his apartments, kitchen, harem, treasury, and his private affairs. The Caliph favored him and Utāmish over all others.

[1509] Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Zaynabī.

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26. For a parallel description of this campaign, see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 300.
27. These are districts east of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 202, 228.

The Events of the Year 249

(FEBRUARY 24, 863–FEBRUARY 12, 864)

Among the events taking place were Ja'far b. Dīnār's raid during the summer campaign and the capture of a fortress and several storage depots (*maṭāmīr*). 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Aqṭa' sought permission from Ja'far to march to a district of the Byzantine territory. The former granted his request, and 'Umar set off with a great force drawn from the people of Malaṭiyah. He was met by the emperor, who commanded a huge army, in a place called Arz of Marj al-Usquf.[28] The emperor engaged 'Umar in a fierce battle, and many men were killed on both sides. The Byzantines then surrounded 'Umar—there were fifty thousand of them. He was killed together with two thousand Muslims on Friday in the middle of Rajab (September 3, 863).

In this year, 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī was killed.

The Reasons for His Death

It is reported that when the Byzantines killed 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh, they went to the frontier of al-Jazīrah, eager for the lands and the Muslim strongholds (*ḥaram*) there. When the news reached 'Alī b.

28. Marj al-Usquf is known from other sources to have been in Asia Minor. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 138.

Yaḥyā, (who was) on his way back from Armenia to Mayyāfāriqīn,[29]
[1510] he rushed to meet them at the head of a contingent drawn from Mayyāfāriqīn and al-Silsilah.[30] As a result, some four hundred men were killed. This took place during Ramaḍān (October 18–November 16, 863).

On the first day of Ṣafar, 249 (March 26, 863), the troops and the Shākiriyyah rioted in Baghdad.

The Reasons for This

When news concerning the death of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Aqṭa' and 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī reached the people of Baghdad (*Madīnat al-Salām*), Sāmarrā and the rest of the nearby Muslim cities—the two were strong defenders of Islam, men of great courage who elicited enormous praise along the frontier districts they served—people became exceedingly distressed. Their hearts were heavy, especially because one had died so quickly after the other. Moreover, they had already been appalled by al-Mutawakkil's death at the hand of the Turks and by the way (in which) the latter assumed control over the affairs of the Muslims. The Turks killed any caliph they desired to kill and appointed in his stead whomever they wished, without reference to the religious authority and without eliciting the opinions of the Muslims. The populace (*al-'āmmah*) of Baghdad gathered, shouted out in protest and called for action. Joining them were the Abnā'[31] and the Shākiriyyah, who openly called for their allotments. That took place on the first day of Ṣafar (March 26, 863).

The Baghdādīs liberated the prison of Naṣr b. Mālik and freed those who were in it, as well as those who were in the masonry bridge (*qanṭarah*) near the Bridge Gate (Bāb al-Jisr).[32] Among the detainees there were the dregs of society (*rufūgh*) from Khurāsān, wretches (*ṣa'ālīk*) from Jibāl, and the Muḥammarah. They cut one of

29. Located in upper Mesopotamia, ibid., 111–112.

30. It is obviously in the area of upper Mesopotamia.

31. For this group of military personnel, refer to Lassner, *Shaping*, 129–136, 279, n.49, and 280, n.67, for further bibliography.

32. At the uppermost bridge spanning the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 178, 198.

the two (river) bridges[33] from its moorings and set the other afire, sinking its pontoons. The prison records of the detainees were looted, and the individual files were torn loose and cast into the [1511] water. They also looted the residence of Bishr and Ibrāhīm, the sons of Hārūn, Christians who were secretaries to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. All of that took place on the East Side of Baghdad, which was governed at that time by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Harthamah.

At that time, the wealthy people of Baghdad and Sāmarrā spent great amounts of their money to supply those setting out for the frontiers to fight the Byzantines. Masses of people came forward from al-Jabal, Fārs, al-Ahwāz and other districts in order to partake in the raids against the Byzantines. We received no information that the central authorities were prepared to send a military force against the Byzantines on their own account in those days, despite the actions of the latter against the Muslims.[34]

On Friday, the twentieth of Rabīʿ I (May 14, 863), an unknown group of people attacked the prison in Sāmarrā and freed everyone in it. Zurāfah was sent with a contingent of mawlās to seek the perpetrators of this act, but he was himself attacked and routed by the mob. Utāmish, Waṣīf and Bughā now rode out with the Turks for the same purpose and killed some of the mob. A boiling pot was reportedly dumped on Waṣīf; it is also said that a group from the mob hurled stones at him near al-Sarījah.[35] At this, Waṣīf gave orders to the fire hurlers (*naffāṭīn*), who cast their fire at the shops and [1512] residences in that neighborhood. I, myself, have seen that burnt-out place in Sāmarrā near the residence of Isḥāq.[36]

It is reported that on that day the Maghāribah looted the houses of some of the common people. The disturbance finally quieted down towards the end of that day. Aḥmad b. Jamīl was dismissed from his

33. On bridges, see Lassner, *Topography*; also Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 108.

34. The text is very difficult, but this seems to be the sense of: *fa-lam yablughnā annahu kāna li-l-sulṭān fī-mā kāna min al-rūm ilā-l-muslimīn min dhālika taghyīr wa-lā tawjīh jaysh ilayhim li-ḥarbihim*.

35. The text is *al-Sharīḥah*; it should be read *al-Sarījah*, which was both a major artery of traffic and a large neighborhood. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 260.

36. Either Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm or Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā, for they both had their residence around that area. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 260.

duties in charge of security at Sāmarrā on account of the aforementioned actions by the mob and the (rebellious) troops[37] that day. Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Dārij was subsequently appointed in his place.

In that year Utāmish and his secretary Shujāʿ were killed. This took place on Saturday, the fourteenth of Rabīʿ II (June 6, 863).

The Reason for Their Death

It is reported, that when al-Mustaʿīn assumed the caliphate, he gave Utāmish and Shāhak al-Khādim control over the treasury, permitting them to do whatever they pleased. Moreover, he did the same for his own mother, refusing to deny any of her wishes; her secretary was Salamah b. Saʿīd al-Naṣrānī. Invariably, the wealth that came to the central authorities from the various regions ended up in the possession of these three people. Utāmish, who had designs on the trea-
[1513] sury, skimmed off the money that was in it. Al-Mustaʿīn had entrusted his son al-ʿAbbās to the supervision of Utāmish[38] (*fi ḥijr Utāmish*), and whatever money was left over by those three was taken for al-ʿAbbās to be spent on his needs. The supervisor of the Caliph's Bureau of Estates at that time was Dulayl who, in turn, embezzled an enormous amount of money.

The mawlās began to see that the (government's) wealth was being squandered while they themselves were hard pressed. Moreover, Utāmish, the companion of al-Mustaʿīn, who had been given full control over the caliph and his affairs, started to dispense the business of government to the exclusion of Waṣīf and Bughā. As a result, they stirred up the mawlās against Utāmish by persistently plotting against him. Finally, they perfected their plot, and the Turks and Farāghinah were incited to rise against Utāmish. On Thursday, the twelfth of Rabīʿ II, 249 (June 4, 863), a group of them from al-Dūr and al-Karkh[39] came out against him. They set up camp and then

37. The text reads *nafar*.

38. See *Lisān*, IV, 167, has *ḥjr* meaning supervision as well.

39. These two northern quarters of Sāmarrā were given by al-Muʿtaṣim to the Turks in an attempt to isolate them from the main population, thus avoiding the troubles they caused in Baghdad where they had no special quarters of their own. See Sāmarrāʾī, *Tārīkh*, I, 243–246, and Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 259.

slowly marched towards him while he was at the Jawsaq Palace[40] with al-Musta'īn. When word of this reached him he wished to flee but was unable to do so. He now sought refuge with al-Musta'īn but was refused. The mawlās maintained their positions all day Thursday and Friday; and then on Saturday they entered the Jawsaq Palace and brought Utāmish out of the place where he had been hiding. He was subsequently killed along with his secretary Shujā' b. al-Qāsim. The mawlās then looted the residence of Utāmish; I have reports that enormous amounts of money as well as furniture, rugs, and household items were taken from it.

When Utāmish was killed, al-Musta'īn appointed Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād as wazīr. Al-Faḍl b. Marwān was removed from the Bureau of Taxation, and the Caliph appointed 'Īsā b. Farrukhānshāh to head it. Wāṣif was appointed over al-Ahwāz and [1514] Bughā the Younger was given Palestine during Rabī' II (May 24–June 21, 863). Afterwards, Bughā the Younger and his party became angry with Abū Ṣāliḥ b. Yazdād, and the latter subsequently fled to Baghdad. Al-Musta'īn appointed in his stead Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Jarjarā'ī, and he entrusted Sa'īd b. Ḥumayd to head the Bureau of Correspondence (*Rasā'il*) Concerning that al-Ḥamdūnī recited:

Sa'īd (now) wears the sword after living in
rags [*dhā ṭimrayn*] with no position.

Indeed, God has his own signs [*āyāt,*] this being
one of them [that] has been bestowed [*munzalah*] upon us.

In this year, 'Alī b. al-Jahm b. al-Badr was killed. The reason for this was that he had set out from Baghdad to the frontier. When he neared Aleppo, at a place called Khusāf,[41] a group of cavalry from the Kalb engaged and killed him. The bedouins took whatever he had with him. While in the chase he recited:

Has the night been increased or has the dawn been
swept away by the torrent.

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40. The Jawsaq Palace, see n. 21 above was actually on the eastern bank of the Tigris and was thus very close to al-Dūr and al-Karkh. If the Turks were marching against Utāmish, they were doing so at a very slow pace.

41. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 370.

I recall the people of Dujayl, but alas! Where am
I from Dujayl?

His residence had been in the street of Dujayl.[42]

In this year, Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was removed from his position
[1515] as head of the judiciary, and Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār al-Burjumī from al-Kūfah was appointed. It has been said that this took place in the year 250.

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 249 (January 15–February 12, 863), a violent earthquake struck al-Rayy. As a result, many houses were demolished and a number of the inhabitants were killed. The survivors fled the city and camped at the outskirts.

On Friday, the twenty-fifth of Jumādā I (July 16, 863), a violent downpour struck the populace of Sāmarrā accompanied by thunder and lightning. The clouds darkened that day and the rain kept pouring until the sun was about to set. Afterwards, the weather became calm.

On Thursday, the third of Jumādā I this year (June 24, 863), the Maghāribah[43] became agitated—they used to meet near the bridge in Sāmarrā—but on Friday they dispersed.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm the imām and governor of Mecca.

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42. That is, in Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 443, and Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 111, 127–31.

43. Since the Maghāribah had their own quarters along Gulf Street (*Shāriʿ al-khalīj*) which was parallel to the eastern bank of the Tigris, Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 263, the bridge where they used to meet was probably the one spanning the Tigris near the Jawsaq Palace at the end of their quarter.

The Events of the Year

250

(FEBRUARY 13, 864–FEBRUARY 1, 865)

Among the events taking place this year was the uprising of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the one who is nicknamed Abū al-Ḥusayn. He rebelled in al-Kūfah and was killed there.

The Causes and Consequences of His Uprising [1516]

It is reported that Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, whose mother was Umm al-Ḥusayn Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, was hard pressed by his creditors. One day he met ʿUmar b. Faraj who was entrusted with the affairs of the Ṭālibids; the latter had just arrived from Khurāsān during the reign of al-Mutawakkil. The ʿAlid asked him for a grant (*ṣilah*) but ʿUmar responded harshly, whereupon Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar cursed him (*qadhafahu*) during his own assembly. Yaḥyā was subsequently imprisoned and remained incarcerated until his family vouched for him and he was set free. Following this, he went to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) where he took up residence, still suffering from hardship. Then he went to Sāmarrā where he met Waṣīf and requested that an allowance be given to him, but Waṣīf responded harshly, saying, "Why should there be an allowance for the likes of you?" Yaḥyā then left his presence.

Ibn Abī Ṭālib reported on the authority of Ibn al-Ṣūfī, the Ṭālibid, that (Yaḥyā) had come to him on the eve of his uprising and spent the night, but he did not reveal anything of his intentions. He had offered Yaḥyā food, for he had realized that he was hungry, but the latter rejected it, saying, "If we live, we will eat." Ibn al-Ṣūfī said, "I realized then that he had decided on a rash course of action." Yaḥyā left him and went directly to al-Kūfah, whose governor at the time was Ayyūb b. al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān—he ruled on behalf of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. Yaḥya b. ʿUmar gathered
[1517] a great throng of bedouins; a contingent from al-Kūfah also rallied to him. Coming to al-Fallūjah, he encamped in a village known as al-ʿUmud, where he was reported by the post master.[44] Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir then wrote to Ayyūb b. al-Ḥasan and ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Sarakhsī, who was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's security officer for Iraq, ordering them to join forces against Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar. The tax collector in al-Kūfah (at the time) was Badr b. al-Aṣbagh. Together with seven men drawn from his cavalry, Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar marched to al-Kūfah. He entered the city and proceeded as far as the treasury, where he took whatever he found. This amounted to more than two thousand dīnārs; as regards silver, he found seventy thousand dirhams.

Declaring his rebellion in al-Kūfah, he now liberated the two prisons of all those who were interred, while expelling the wardens. He was met by ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Sarakhsī, who was one of the Shākiriyyah. Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar struck him where his hair parted, and the force of the blow cut his face. Ibn Maḥmūd then fled together with his companions, and Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar took possession of all that Ibn Maḥmūd had in the way of mounts and money. Afterward Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar left al-Kūfah for its agricultural hinterland (the Sawād) and journeyed until reaching a place called Bustān, or some place close to it, around three *farsakhs* (eighteen km) from Junbulā'.[45] He did not reside in al-Kūfah. He was followed by a
[1518] group of Zaydīs,[46] and was supported as well by bedouins residing

44. The post master was also responsible for intelligence information. See Dūrī, *Abḥāth*, 18. For Fallūjah in the area of al-Kūfah, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 74.

45. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 168.

46. Originally a group of Shīʿite sects following either Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn or Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; they believed that the imām should be chosen

near that district. He was also supported by the people of the Ṭaff region and the lower Sīb all the way to Wāsiṭ.[47] The ʿAlid then established himself at Bustān while his followers grew in number.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh now sent al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab against him, attaching to al-Ḥusayn's command a group of brave and valiant officers such as Khālid b. ʿImrān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who was known as Wajh al-Fals, Abū al-Sanā al-Ghanawī, ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, and Saʿd al-Ḍabābī. From the Isḥāqiyyah came Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, some elite Khurāsānīs, and others. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl went out and camped opposite Hafandā,[48] facing Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar; but he and his force did not attack. Yaḥyā went off in the direction of al-Baḥriyyah, a village five *farsakhs* (thirty km) away from Qussīn.[49] Had al-Ḥusayn wished to catch up with him, he could have done so. Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar now marched along the eastern bank of the Sīb, while al-Ḥusayn did likewise on the western side, until reaching Aḥmadābādh.[50] There he crossed over in the direction of Sūrā[51] and had the troops sieze every soldier who was too weak to keep up with Yaḥyā; at the same time, they were to detain those villagers who had gone over to Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar. Aḥmad b. al-Faraj, who was known as Ibn Fazzārī, [1519] was in charge of the security of the Sīb on behalf of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. He was carrying whatever he could gather of the Sīb revenue before Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar entered Ahmadābadh. As a result, Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar did not gain possession of it. Yaḥyā marched towards al-Kūfah, and was met by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khaṭṭāb Wajh al-Fals whom he engaged in a fierce battle near the Kūfah Bridge. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Kaṭṭāb was routed and he fled in the direction of Shāhī;[52] he was joined by al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl who encamped there.

Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar entered al-Kūfah and was joined by the Zaydīs

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by the consent of the descendents of ʿAlī. See Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, 19; Sāmarrāʾī, *al-Ghulūw*, 300–301; Shahrastānī, *Milal*, I, 207.

47. See Ṭaff in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 36, and for lower Sīb, near Qaṣr Hubayrah in the region of al-Kūfah, ibid., III, 293.

48. Ibid., V, 408.

49. Ibid., IV, 350.

50. A general term used to describe several villages or cities that were associated with some Aḥmad or other.

51. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 70–72

52. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 316.

who propagandized on behalf of the Chosen One (*al-Riḍā*) of Muḥammad's family.[53] With that, his position became solidified; for a group of people gathered to him and liked him. The mob of Baghdad held him in esteem, and it is not known that they did as much for anyone else of his house. In al-Kūfah a group of experienced Shīʿites swore allegiance to him and were joined by a mixed bag of people who were not known for their piety. In the meantime, al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl remained encamped at Shāhī and rested; his companions revived their mounts and were themselves revived as they drank the sweet waters of the Euphrates, and supplies, provisions, and funds reached them. As for Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, he remained in al-Kūfah, collecting provisions, forging swords (*yaṭbaʿ al-suyūf*),
[1520] reviewing fighting men, and gathering weapons. A group of Zaydīs, without knowledge of combat, counselled Yaḥyā to hasten against al-Ḥusayn, and most of his followers urged the same. So Yaḥyā advanced against him from the back of al-Kūfah, behind the trench—this was on Monday, the thirteenth of Rajab (August 20, 864).

The ʿAlid was joined by al-Hayḍam al-ʿIjlī at the head of a group of horsemen from Banū ʿIjl, a group of the Banū Asad, and infantry drawn from the populace of al-Kūfah, who had neither knowledge of war nor experience, and were without valor. They marched the whole night and in the morning came up against al-Ḥusayn and his men—the latter were rested and prepared. They charged wildly and hurled (stones)[54] at them for a whole hour just before daybreak. Al-Ḥusayn's troops then counter-attacked and put them to the sword. The first prisoner was al-Hayḍam b. al-ʿAlāʾ b. Jumhūr al-ʿIjlī. The Kūfan infantry was routed, most of them being unarmed, weak and dressed in rags; and the (government) cavalry trampled them. The army scattered from the presence of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, who was wearing the Tibetan coat of mail which he had taken from ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd; it trailed down the sides of the mule. A son of Khālid b. ʿImrān called Khayr came upon Yaḥyā but did not recognize him; he thought that Yaḥyā was a man from Khurāsān on account of the

53. This is but one more instance of the continuous struggle by the Shīʿites against the ʿAbbāsids that is profusely documented by Ṭabarī.

54. Their uncoordinated and chaotic attack is only a reflection of their lack of training and inexperience.

coat of mail he was wearing. Abū al-Ghawr b. Khālid b. ʿImrān also came upon him and called out to Khayr b. Khālid, "O brother! By God! This is Abū al-Ḥusayn. The heart of his army has fled and he doesn't yet realize it." Khayr then called upon one of his men, an officer (*ʿarīf*) from Mosul by the name of Muḥsin b. al-Muntāb. The latter dismounted and went after him; after killing Yaḥyā, he put his head in a basket and sent it with ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the brother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khaṭṭāb, to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. [1521]

Several people claimed to have killed him. Al-ʿIrs b. ʿUrāhim (said) they discovered him slain (*bārik*) and found his signet-ring and sword with a man known as al-ʿAsqalānī, who claimed that he had stabbed him and robbed him. Saʿd al-Ḍabābī also claimed that he had killed him. And it is also reported on the authority of Abū al-Ḥusayn, the maternal uncle of Abū al-Sanā, that he had stabbed a man in the back at dawn without recognizing who it was; they subsequently discovered a stab wound in the back of Abū al-Ḥusayn (Yaḥya). But no one is certain who killed him because so many claimed to have done it.

The head arrived at the residence of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir in a state of decomposition. They sought someone who would carve the eyes and larynx out of the flesh but to no avail; the butchers ran away. A volunteer was sought from the slaughterers among the Khurramiyyah[55] who were (then) in prison, but none came forth except for one man, one of the attendants of the new prison by the name of Sahl b. al-Ṣughdī. The latter took charge of carving out his brain and eyes, performing this task with his own hands. The (empty) head was then stuffed with aloes, musk, and camphor after it had been washed and wrapped in cotton. They reported that they had seen (evidence of) a severe sword blow on his temple. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir gave orders that the head be sent to al-Mustaʿīn on the morning of the day it had reached him, and he personally wrote to the Caliph of the victory. [1522]

The head was displayed at the Public Gate in Sāmarrā, where the people gathered to see it. They grew in numbers and complained.

55. There were several sects known by this name. Originally, the name designated the followers of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī, see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 41–42. But later the name was given to regional sects who were mainly extremist Shīʿites. See, for example, Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Zīnah*, 306.

Ibrāhīm al-Dayraj was in charge of displaying it, having been ordered to do so by Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's lieutenant. He displayed it for a little while, then it was taken down to be sent to Baghdad for display at the Bridge Gate.[56] But this couldn't be arranged for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh on account of the crowds that had gathered; he was told that they gathered to seize it. As a result, he did not display it but, instead, had it placed in a coffer in the arsenal of his palace. On the other hand, al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl sent the prisoners and the heads of the slain in his possession with a man called Aḥmad b. ʿIṣmawayh—he was one of those accompanying Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm. Aḥmad drove them hard, starved and humiliated them, and had them detained in the new prison. Then Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh wrote, asking that they be pardoned and then set free. He also ordered that the heads be buried and not displayed. Thus, they were buried in a palace near the Golden Gate.[57]

One of the Ṭāhirids reported that he was in the assembly of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir while the latter was being congratulated for the death of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar and the military victory. A group of Hāshimites and Ṭālibids, among others, were in attendance. Among those who had entered into his presence was Dāwūd b. al-Haytham
[1523] Abū Hāshim al-Jaʿfarī who, hearing people congratulating him, said, "O Prince! You are being congratulated for killing a man for whom the Messenger of God, had he been alive, would be among the bereaved." Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh did not respond, whereupon Abū al-Hāshim al-Jaʿfarī left, reciting:

O Banū Ṭāhir eat him like a plague
for the flesh of the prophet is not nourishing.

A revenge that God himself seeks
will, I am sure, be crowned with perfect success.

Al-Mustaʿīn had sent Kalbātikīn to reinforce al-Ḥusayn (b. Ismāʿīl) and to help him to victory. But he caught up with al-Ḥusayn after the enemy had been routed and Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar had been

56. Public display of parts of bodies of one's political enemies, usually the head, was a common practice at this time as is attested by Ṭabarī himself in several instances below.

57. That is, in the Round City of al-Manṣūr. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 19, 30–33, 242–5, and Lassner, *Topography*, s.v. Gold Palace.

killed. Kalbātikīn continued his march, accompanied by the postmaster of al-Kūfah, and encountered a contingent of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar's men. They were carrying provisions and food and were seeking Yaḥyā's camp. He killed them and then entered al-Kūfah with the intention of looting it and putting its populace to the sword. Al-Ḥusayn (b. Ismāʿīl) prohibited him from doing so, giving protection to both the blacks and whites of the city. Kalbātikīn stayed for a few days, then withdrew from al-Kūfah.

In this year, during the month of Ramaḍān (October 6–November 4, 864), the rebellion of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib took place.

The Reason For His Rebellion [1524]

A group of people from Ṭabaristān and others reported on the reason for this. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir had been granted some government controlled lands in Ṭabaristān as fiefs. This was to mark his success in killing Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar and the subsequent entry of his officers and troops into al-Kūfah. Among those grants was a fief near the two frontiers of Ṭabaristān bordering Daylam, that is, Galār and Sālūs. Behind it was land jointly utilized by the people of that district as a source of firewood, and for grazing lands and pasturage for their animals. No one held ownership of this area; it was but a barren stretch of uncultivated state land, except for thickets, some bushes and grazing grass. I was told that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir sent one of the brothers of his secretary Bishr b. Hārūn al-Naṣrānī—he was called Jābir b. Hārūn—to take possession of the land there that had been granted (to the Ṭāhirid) as a fief.

At that time the governor of Ṭabaristān was Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh, the lieutenant of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. But Muḥammad b. Aws al-Balkhī had Sulaymān totally under his control. The former positioned his offspring in the cities of Ṭabaristān, establishing them as governors. Each was assigned to a particular city of the province. They were impudent youths and caused harm to those subjects who were their responsibility. Their [1525] subjects thus disapproved of them as well as of their father, Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh, on account of their arrogance, the manner in which they treated them, and their brutality. If the story of these excesses were properly told, it would fill a book by itself.

According to reports I have received, Muḥammad b. Aws also started a blood feud with the Daylamites by launching a surprise attack against the regions of their country that bordered Ṭabaristān. He did this although they were peaceful people on good terms with the populace of Ṭabaristān. Muḥammad took some Daylamites prisoner and killed others before he returned, contented, to Ṭabaristān. This further enraged the people of Ṭabaristān against him. When the messenger of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, that is, Jābir b. Hārūn al-Naṣrānī, came to Ṭabaristān to take possession of the land that was granted there to Muḥammad, he went, so I was told, to the government controlled lands. He reportedly took possession of this land (which had been granted to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh) and in addition he took the uncultivated state land which was commonly utilized by the inhabitants of that region. Among the uncultivated state lands (*mawāt*) he wanted the (area) by the two frontier regions, Galār and Sālūs.

At the time, there were two men in that region who were famous for their courage and valor. Moreover, they were known in days gone [1526] by for their ability to hold that region against any Daylamites, who desired it, thus allowing people to find sustenance there and granting favor to those who would support them. One of them was called Muḥammad, the other Jaʿfar; they were brothers, the sons of Rustam. They disapproved of Jābir b. Hārūn's attempt—described previously—to appropriate the uncultivated state land, and they resisted it. The two sons of Rustam were obeyed in that region, and they stirred up support among their followers to prevent Jābir b. Hārūn from obtaining the uncultivated state land that he desired—the land which was reportedly utilized by the people of that region and which was not inside the fief granted to his master Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. Their followers rose in support of them, and Jābir b. Hārūn fled for his life, fearing Muḥammad and Jaʿfar and their followers who did not approve of Jābir al-Naṣrānī's intended action. The latter thus joined Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

The two sons of Rustam and their followers, who supported them in preventing Jābir from obtaining the uncultivated state land, as I have mentioned, became convinced that mischief was underway. For the governor of all of Ṭabaristān, Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh, was the brother of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and the paternal uncle of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh, who was then al-Mustaʿīn's gov-

ernor over Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, al-Rayy and all of the eastern provinces. When the people became convinced (of what would happen), they contacted their neighbors among the Daylamites and reminded them of their loyalty to the existing agreement between them, and of what treachery Muḥammad b. Aws had perpetrated in killing and [1527] taking prisoners among them. They also expressed their fear that he was about to do the same to them, and they were therefore asking the Daylamites to show themselves against him and his followers. The Daylamites responded by saying that their land was totally surrounded by territory under the control of either the Ṭāhirid governors, or those governors who supported the Ṭāhirids when needed. Thus, there was no way that they could support them until their fear—that troops would be sent against them if they became openly involved in a war that affected the subjects of Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh's governors—abated.[58]

Those who sought their open support against Sulaymān and his governors informed the Daylamites that they would not be mindless of their needs, thereby allaying the Daylamite fears. The Daylamites then responded positively, and formulated an agreement with the people of Galār and Sālūs to support one another in the fight against Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh, Ibn Aws and any others who intended to attack them. Afterwards, Rustam's sons Muḥammad and Jaʿfar reportedly sent word to one of the Ṭālibids then living in Ṭabaristān—he was called Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm—offering to solicit the oath of allegiance to him. He refused them, saying, "However, I will direct you to another one of us who is more suited to your call." They asked, "Who is this man?" And he told them that it was al-Ḥasan b. Zayd and directed them to al-Ḥasan's residence in al-Rayy. People were then sent to al-Rayy, at the recommendation [1528] of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm the ʿAlid, to invite al-Ḥasan to Ṭabaristān. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd did this. He met the local population and found that the Daylamites and the people of Galār, Sālūs and Rūyān had already spoken of their allegiance to him and of their intention to campaign jointly against Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh. When al-Ḥasan b. Zayd met them, they swore allegiance to him. Those who

58. The text is difficult: *wa-inna mā saʾalū min muʿāwanatihim lā sabīl lahum ilayhi illā bi-zawāl al-khawf ʿanhum man(?) yuʾtū min qibal ẓuhūrihim idhā hum ishtaghalū bi-ḥarb min bayn aydīhim min ʿummāl Sulaymān . . .*

swore allegiance were: the two sons of Rustam; most of the people of the frontier region; the chiefs of the Daylamites such as Jāyā, Lāshām, and Wahsūdām b. Justān; and of the people of Rūyān, ʿAbdallāh b. Wandāmīd, who was esteemed among them as a devout and pious man. They now rebelled against the governors of Ibn Aws in that region and expelled them, whereupon the latter joined Ibn Aws and Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh who were then in Sāriyah.[59]

Those who swore allegiance to al-Ḥasan b. Zayd from the aforementioned districts were joined by those who now heard of his rebellion. That is, they were joined by the thugs (*ḥawziyyah*) of the
[1529] mountains of Ṭabaristān such as Masmughān, Qādusbān, Layth b Qubādh, and, among the people of the foothills, Khushakajistān b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Khalīl b. Wandāsifjān. The exceptions were the inhabitants of Mount Firīm,[60] who were well defended in their mountain and were under the leadership of Qārin b. Shahriyār. They did not join al-Ḥasan b. Zayd and his followers until after Qārin himself died, although at times they had amicable dealings with them and also intermarried with them. These dealings were an attempt by Qārin to ward off the antagonism of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd and his followers.

After that, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd and his commanders from the aforementioned regions marched on Āmul, the city of Ṭabaristān closest to Galār and Sālūs[61] by way of the foothills. Ibn Aws proceeded from Sāriyah to defend the city, and the two armies met in one of the regions of Āmul and engaged one another in battle. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd slipped away from the scene of the battle with some of his followers and entered the city from another direction. When the news of his entrance into the city reached Ibn Aws, who was preoccupied with al-Ḥasan b. Zayd's men before him, he thought only of saving
[1530] himself and joining Sulaymān at Sāriyah. When al-Ḥasan b. Zayd entered Āmul the ranks of his army swelled, and his cause began to show promise. Joining him was every seeker of booty and every adventurous rebel from among the vagabonds (*ṣaʿālīk*), the squatters and others.

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59. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 370, 375.
60. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 260.
61. In Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 130, 132, it is spelled in the alternate form Shālūs. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 172, 311.

According to what I was told, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd remained in Āmul for a few days in order to collect taxes from its inhabitants and make preparations. Then he and his force pushed on towards Sāriyah seeking Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh. Sulaymān and Ibn Aws marched out with their armies, and the two forces met outside Sāriyah where they waged battle. One of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd's commanders slipped away from the area of the engagement and approached the city of Sāriyah from another direction. He then entered the city together with his officers and men. Once that news reached Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh and his troops, they thought only of saving themselves.

A group of people from that district and others (said) Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh fled, leaving behind his family, his household, his baggage, and all the money, furnishings, and other things he had at Sāriyah. He did this without a second thought and went straight to Jurjān. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd and his men then took over Sulaymān's possessions in Āmul as well as those of his army. As for Sulaymān's household, his family and furnishings, I was told that al-Ḥasan b. Zayd had them sent to Sulaymān, and they caught up with him in [1531] Jurjān. As for the possessions of his companions, they were looted by the followers of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. With Sulaymān b ʿAbdallāh taking refuge in Jurjān, the control of all Ṭabaristān was left to al-Ḥasan b. Zayd.

As soon as al-Ḥasan b. Zayd gained control over Ṭabaristān, having driven out Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh and his men, he sent cavalry, under the leadership of a man from his own house (also) called al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, to al-Rayy. The latter reached the city and expelled the Ṭāhirid governor. When al-Rayy was taken by the man sent by the Ṭālibids, its governor fled. The former appointed a Ṭālibid called Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar as his lieutenant and then withdrew from the city. In addition to Ṭabaristān, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd now controlled the whole district of al-Rayy, up to Hamadhān.

News of this reached al-Mustaʿīn—his administrative assistant at the time was Waṣīf the Turk, and his secretary was Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shīrzād who was also entrusted with the privy-seal and the wazīrate. The Caliph now sent Ismāʿīl b. Farāshah with an army to Hamadhān with orders to establish himself there and secure the region lest the cavalry of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd penetrate the area. The order was limited to that (locality) because the district beyond Hamadhān was controlled by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

The latter's governors ruled it, and he was charged with its welfare.

[1532] When Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar the Ṭālibid was firmly in control over al-Rayy, he reportedly manifested behavior which elicited the disapproval of its inhabitants. At this, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh sent to al-Rayy one of his commanders, called Muḥammad b. Mīkāl—he was the brother of the Shāh b. Mīkāl—with an army of cavalry and infantry. He and Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar the Ṭālibid met outside the city. It is reported that Muḥammad b. Mīkāl took Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar the Ṭālibid prisoner. Dispersing the latter's army, he entered al-Rayy where he remained and mentioned the central authorities (once again) in the invocation (*daʿā li-l-sulṭān*).[62] Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd did not wait long before sending a cavalry force commanded by a man from Lāriz[63] called Wājin. As Wājin made out for al-Rayy, Muḥammad b. Mīkāl came forth to meet him. They engaged in a battle in which Wājin and his troops routed Muḥammad b. Mīkāl and his men. The latter then fled to the city seeking to defend himself there, but Wājin and his followers pursued him until he was killed. As a result, al-Rayy went over to the supporters of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. Appearing in al-Rayy on the day of *ʿarafāt* that year,[64] following the death of Muḥammad b. Mīkāl, were Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn the Younger b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī
[1533] Ṭālib and Idrīs b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā led the festival prayer at al-Rayy and invoked the name of the Chosen One of Muḥammad's family.[65] Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir came up against him, but Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā routed him and afterward made his way to Qazwīn.

In this year, Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid fell from favor, having been accused by Waṣīf of corrupting the Shākiriyyah to whom he was sent. He was exiled to al-Baṣrah on the twenty-third of Rabīʿ I (May 4, 864).

In this year, those Umayyads who had a position of rank at the

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62. Although the Ṭāhirids had full control over the area, they still ruled on behalf of the central authority and recognized the Caliph as their supreme sovereign.

63. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 7.

64. The day of *ʿarafāt* is on the ninth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, *EI*², *I*, 604, hence the date is January 11, 865.

65. See n. 53, above.

Public Audience Hall such as Ibn Abī al-Shawārib were dropped from that position. This was also true of the 'Uthmānids.[66]

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn was freed from prison.

In this year, al-'Abbās b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was made heir to the throne (*ujlisa*) and Ja'far b. al-Faḍl b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā, who was known as Bashāshāt, was appointed governor of Mecca in Jumādā I (June 10–July 9, 864).

In this year, the people of Ḥimṣ, and a group of the Kalb under the leadership of 'Uṭayf b. Ni'mah al-Kalbī, attacked al-Faḍl b. Qārin, the brother of Māziyār b. Qārin, and killed him—he was then governor of Ḥimṣ on behalf of the central authorities. Al-Musta'īn then sent Mūsā b. Bughā the Elder against them. The latter set out from Sāmarrā on Thursday, the thirteenth of Ramaḍān (October 18, 864). When Mūsā approached (Ḥimṣ), its inhabitants met him between the city and Rastan. Engaging them in combat, he routed them and conquered Ḥimṣ. He killed a great many of its inhabitants, burned [1534] the city and took a group of the local leaders prisoner; but 'Uṭayf had escaped and joined the bedouins.

On Sunday, the twenty-fourth of Ramaḍān, 250 (October 29, 864) Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. 'Ammār al-Qāḍī died.

In this year, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jawārī al-Taymī, the judge of al-Baṣrah, died.

In this year, Ḥamad b. al-Wazīr was put in charge of the judiciary of Sāmarrā.

In this year, the Shākiriyyah and the regular army (*jund*) in Fārs assaulted 'Abdallāh b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm. They looted his residence and killed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Qārin as 'Abdallāh b. Isḥāq fled.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir sent two elephants from Khurāsān (to Baghdad?)—he had received them from Kābūl—along with statues and perfumes.

Leading the summer campaign this year was Balkājūr.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Ja'far b. al-Faḍl Bashāshāt, who was the governor of Mecca.

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66. For these ranks of nobility and the social stratification, see Mez, *Renaissance*, 132–155.

[1535]

The Events of the Year 251

(FEBRUARY 2, 865–JANUARY 21, 866)

Among the events taking place, Waṣīf and Bughā the Younger killed Bāghar al-Turkī, and the mawlās became agitated.

Their Killing of Bāghar

The reported reason (was that) Bāghar had been one of those who murdered al-Mutawakkil. As a result, his military allotment increased and he was granted several fiefs, among them the estates belonging to the hinterland of al-Kūfah. One of the dihqāns of Bārūsmā and Nahr al-Malik[67] was given the responsibility for farming taxes on these estates; (the taxes were to be collected) by a Jewish secretary acting on behalf of Bāghar. The sum was two thousand dīnārs a year. Now a man from that region by the name of Ibn Mārimmah attacked[68] one of Bāghar's agents, as a result of which Ibn Mārimmah was arrested and fettered. But he later managed to escape from prison and went to Sāmarrā where he met Dulayl b. Ya'qūb al-Naṣrānī who was then Bughā al-Sharābī's secretary and the ad-

67. For Bārūsmā and Nahr al-Malik, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 70, 81. For dihqān, see *EI*², II, 253–254.

68. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 137, where he uses *wathaba* instead of the unusual *'adā . . . 'alā* for "attack".

ministrator of his affairs. The army was Dulayl's responsibility, and commanders and governors thus came to him with requests on account of the esteem accorded to him by Bughā. Ibn Mārimmah was a friend of Dulayl, and Bāghar was one of Bughā's commanders.

Dulayl prevented Bāghar from dealing harshly with Aḥmad b. Mārimmah. This precipitated the antagonism that Bāghar felt for [1536] Dulayl and was the reason for the rift between them. Bāghar was a courageous hero and well respected among Turks, but Bughā and others were wary of him and feared his capacity for evil. Bāghar reportedly came to Bughā on Tuesday the twenty-seventh of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 250 (January 29, 865). He was totally intoxicated when he found Bughā in the bath. He waited for the latter to get out. Then, entering into Bughā's presence, he said, "By God Dulayl must be killed." He then took to insulting Dulayl, whereupon Bughā replied, "If you had wished to kill my son Fāris I wouldn't have stopped you. Why should I concern myself with Dulayl al-Naṣrānī? But my affairs, as well as those of the caliphate, are in his hands. Wait until I appoint someone in his stead, and then do with him as you please."

Following this, Bughā sent word to Dulayl ordering him not to ride out. It is also said that one of Bughā's physicians, called Ibn Sarjawayh, met Dulayl and told him the news, whereupon the latter returned to his residence and hid. Bughā then sent for Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Fīrūz—he had been one of his previous secretaries—and appointed him in Dulayl's place to deceive Bāghar into thinking that he had discharged Dulayl from his office. Bāghar quieted down, and Bughā then attempted to reconcile Dulayl and Bāghar. But Bāghar kept threatening to kill Dulayl if he ever came face to face with him.[69]

Bāghar then ingratiated himself with al-Mustaʿīn and was assigned to palace duties. (He was liked so much that) al-Mustaʿīn disliked having him replaced. When it was the day for Bughā to be at home off duty, al-Mustaʿīn asked, "What duties [*aʿmāl*] were assigned to Ītākh." Waṣīf informed him, whereupon the Caliph said, "These functions ought to be transferred to Abū Muḥammad Bāghar." To which Waṣīf replied, "Yes". When the story reached Dulayl, he rode out to Bughā and said, "You sit at home while they are arranging to discharge you from all your duties. If you are indeed [1537]

69. The text reads: *khalā bi-aṣḥābihi*, "He was alone with his friends."

discharged, nothing remains but for you to be killed." Then, on the eve of his day off, Bughā went straight to the caliphal palace and said to Waṣīf, "You wanted to demote me and bring in Bāghar to replace me, while Bāghar is but one of my servants and followers?" Waṣīf responded, "I had no idea of the Caliph's wishes in that regard." Waṣīf and Bughā then agreed to remove Bāghar from the palace and to plot against him. They spread alarming rumors that he was being given command of a force in addition to his own, that he was being given robes of honor, and that he was to be seated in the palace assemblies in place of Bughā and Waṣīf, while the latter would be reduced in status to commanders (*amīr*). They persisted in arguing that that was going to take place on account of al-Mustaʿīn's fear of him.

Bāghar and his followers became suspicious, and he gathered the group who had sworn allegiance to him in the killing of al-Mutawakkil, or at least some of them, as well as others. When they gathered, he consulted them and confirmed their allegiance as he did at the killing of al-Mutawakkil. They responded, "We are still bound by our oath of allegiance." To which he replied, "Stay at the palace until we kill al-Mustaʿīn, Bughā and Waṣīf. Then we will install ʿAlī, the son of al-Muʿtaṣim, or the son of al-Wāthiq as caliph, so that control will be ours, as it is now for those two who have taken everything tangible and left us with nothing." They agreed with him on this course of action. When the news reached al-Mustaʿīn, he sent for Bughā and Waṣīf—that was on Monday—and he said to
[1538] them, "I didn't ask you to make me caliph, but you and your friends did it anyway. Now you want to kill me?" They both swore that they knew nothing of this. Whereupon he told them the news—it was said that word had been brought by a divorced wife of Bāghar, who came to al-Mustaʿīn's mother and to Bughā with it. Early the next morning Dulayl went to Bughā, and there he was joined by Waṣīf, who was accompanied by Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, his secretary. They all agreed to seize and imprison Bāghar and two other Turks until they determined what to do with them. Bāghar was then brought with many others into the house of Bughā.

Bishr b. Saʿīd al-Marthidī (said that he) was present when Bāghar arrived. He was denied access to Bughā and Waṣīf but was taken, instead, to one of Bughā's bath-houses, and shackles were ordered for him. Although he resisted, they imprisoned him in the bath-house. When word reached the Turks at the Hārūnī Palace, at al-Karkh and

at al-Dūr,[70] they attacked the government stables and looted them of all the animals they could find. Then they mounted the animals and presented themselves at the Jawsaq Palace fully armed. By the end of the day Waṣīf and Bughā commanded Rashīd, the son of Waṣīf's sister Suʿād, to kill Bāghar. He came to him with a group of men, and they cut him down with axes until he lay still. When al-Mustaʿīn got wind of their gathering, he set sail in a fire-boat (*ḥarrāqah*) together with Waṣīf and Bughā, and they journeyed to the residence of Waṣīf. People rushed back and forth with their weapons all day and all night—that was Tuesday. Waṣīf told (his followers), [1539] "Wait and see. If they persist in their uprising, we'll throw them his head." When the news of his death reached the rioting Turks, they persisted in their uprising until they learned that al-Mustaʿīn, Bughā and Waṣīf were already on their way to Baghdad. Waṣīf had given arms and lances to some cavalry and infantry among the Maghāribah and sent them against these rioters. He also sent word to the Shākiriyyah to be prepared in case they were needed. But, by noontime people quieted down, and the disturbance came to an end. A number of Turkish commanders had gone to these rioters and asked them to go home, saying, "Yūq Yūq," meaning "No! No!"

Bishr b. Saʿīd reported on the authority of Jāmiʿ b. Khālid, one of the Turks who succeeded Waṣīf: He (Jāmiʿ) and several people who knew Turkish were ordered to speak to the rioters. They told the latter that al-Mustaʿīn, Bughā and Waṣīf had already gone to Baghdad, whereupon the Turks showed signs of regret and left with their spirit broken. But as the news of al-Mustaʿīn's departure spread, the [1540] Turks attacked the dwellings of Dulayl b. Yaʿqūb and the nearby houses of his family, as well as those of his neighbors. They looted them completely, even the wood and the *darwands*.[71] They killed whatever mules they could, stole the fodder of the pack-animals and the wine that was stored in the wine cellar (*khizānat al-sharāb*). The dwelling of Salamah b. Saʿīd al-Naṣrānī was defended by a group of wrestlers and other neighbors of Dulayl, who were charged with protecting it. The defenders (also) prevented them from going

70. See n. 39, above.

71. *Darwand* probably refers to the wooden stalks used for medicinal purposes and usually hung around houses to dispel desease. It is an arabized word from the Persian *dorānij* or *dorowanj*. See Shir, *Loan-Words*, 62.

through the building—the rioters wanted to reach the dwelling of Ibrāhīm b. Mihrān, the Christian soldier—and drove them away. Therefore, Salamah and Ibrāhīm were spared the looting.

A poet, reported to have been Aḥmad b. al-Ḥārith al-Yamāmī, said on the occasion of Bāghar's death and the riot that took place on account of it:

By my life, having indeed killed Bāghar,
Bāghar unleashed a devastating war.

The caliph escaped with the two commanders
at night seeking [the fastest] ship.

They called for Maysān their sailor,
and he came faster than a glance.

He made them retreat to the belly of the ship
and the squeak of their oars [marked] the speed.

And what power had this Ibn Mārimmah
that we suffer on his account vicious war?

But it was Dulayl who intervened this one time,
and on account of it God devastated the world.

[1541] He came to Baghdad just before sunrise
thereby bringing to it much of the Baghdādīs' sorrow.

Would that that ship had never reached us,
but that God had sunk it along with its passengers,

For the Turks came with the Maghāribah
and were joined by the Farāghinah armour clad.

Their squadrons march fully armed
going to and fro, mounted soldiers and infantry.[72]

72. The text *thibīnā* should be read *thāʾibīnā*, "coming back"—in contrast to *yarūḥūn*, "they go forth."

They were met by an expert at war,
someone who had been at it for too long.

He refurbished the defensive walls on both sides
until he encompassed all of them.

He reinforced all of the gates
along the defensive wall protecting al-Mustaʿīn.

He set up a ballista
that casts death, but protects the lion's den.

He called to arms many a soldier and a recruit,
that would number thousands and thousands if counted.

And he aligned the ballistas in perfect order
all along the wall like the pupils of eyes.

It was reported that when they (that is, al-Mustaʿīn, Waṣīf and Bughā) reached Baghdad, Ibn Mārimmah fell ill. He was visited by Dulayl b. Yaʿqūb who asked him about the cause of his illness, to which he replied, "The wound caused by the shackles went foul [*intaqaḍa*] on me." Dulayl then said, "If the shackles have caused you wounds, you [in turn] have defiled [*naqaḍta*][73] the caliphate and caused internal strife."

Ibn Mārimmah died during those days. Abū ʿAlī al-Yamāmī al-Ḥanafī said on the occasion of al-Mustaʿīn's arrival at Baghdad:

He lasted only as long as his reign,
perishing shortly thereafter.

The Turks forbade the people from coming down to Baghdad. [1542]
They reportedly took a sailor who had rented out his boat and whipped him two hundred times, after which they hung him on the mast of his vessel. The boat-men were thus inhibited from making the trip except secretly, or heavily laden with provisions.

In this year the internal strife came to a boil and war broke out between the people of Baghdad and the government army stationed in

73. The pun is in the use of the verb *intaqaḍa*, said of an unsound wound that has gone bad, and *naqaḍa*, "meaning "to break a pact," "to demolish a house," etc.

Sāmarrā. Everyone in Sāmarrā swore allegiance to al-Muʿtazz, while those in Baghdad kept their allegiance to al-Mustaʿīn.

The Outbreak of This Civil Strife and the Reason Why the Regular Army in Sāmarrā Pledged Allegiance to al-Muʿtazz and Deposed al-Mustaʿīn; Their War Against Those Who Retained Allegiance to the Latter

We have already mentioned the arrival in Baghdad of al-Mustaʿīn, Shāhak al-Khādim, Waṣīf, Bughā, and Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shīrzād. That took place three hours past daylight on Wednesday, the fourth—some say the fifth—of Muḥarram, 251 (February 5–6, 865). Upon arriving, al-Mustaʿīn established his residence at the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. Following that, one of Waṣīf's lieutenants known as Sallām came to Baghdad. He exchanged information and then returned to his residence in Sāmarrā. With the exception of Jaʿfar al-Khayyāṭ and Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh, the commanders now came to Baghdad, along with most of the secretaries, the governors and the Hashimite family. These, in turn, were
[1543] followed by the Turkish commanders who were on the side of Waṣīf: Kalbātikīn the commander, Ṭayghaj the lieutenant (*al-khalīfah*), who was a Turk, and Ibn ʿAjūz the deputy, who was from Nasā.[74]

Among those on the side of Bughā was Bāyakbāk the commander, who was one of the bodyguards (*ghilmān al-khidmah*), together with several of Bughā's lieutenants. Waṣīf and Bughā had reportedly sent a messenger to them before their arrival, ordering them to do the following: If they came to Baghdad, they were to go to the island opposite the dwellings of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. They were not to go to the pontoon bridge (spanning the Tigris) where they would frighten the populace by their arrival. They complied,
[1544] and on arriving at the island they dismounted. Skiffs were now sent

74. The text is difficult to interpret and hard to defend on grammatical grounds: *wāfā baʿd dhālika . . . Kalbātikīn al-qāʾid wa-Ṭayghaj al-khalīfah Turkī wa-Ibn ʿAjūz al-khalīfah Nasāʾī*. If the vocalization *nasāʾī* is correct, then it is probably a *nisbah* signifying the town in Khurāsān known as Nasā. See Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 559r. One would normally expect al-Turkī and al-Nasāʾī to occur as adjectives rather than as predicates of sentences, which seems to be the case here.

to transport them across (the river). Kalbātikīn, Bāyakbāk, the commanders from al-Dūr, and Arnātjur the Turk climbed out of the skiffs and presented themselves to al-Musta'īn. They threw themselves in front of him with their belts on their necks, as signs of submission and humiliation, and then spoke to al-Musta'īn and asked him for forgiveness and acceptance. He responded by saying, "You are people of corruption and ill-repute who belittle the bonds of privilege. Didn't you bring your children for me to put on the military rolls, about two thousand of them, and didn't I agree to let them join you? And didn't I order that your daughters, about four thousand women, be counted amongst the married? Then there were those who had just reached puberty, the recent born. I have seen to it that all your desires were met. I poured out my gifts to you until I was giving you the gold and the silver that I deprived myself of. All of that I did in an attempt to please you and to attend to your welfare. In return you persisted in your corruption, infamy, arrogance and threats." They pleaded with him, saying, "We have sinned; the Commander of the Faithful is right in all that he has said. We ask his forgiveness in overlooking our offence." Al-Musta'īn responded, "I have already forgiven you, and I am content." Bāyakbāk then said, "If you are pleased with us and have forgiven us, then come ride with us to Sāmarrā where the Turks are waiting for you." Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh signaled to Muḥammad b. Abī 'Awn who, in turn, nudged Bāyakbāk. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh then said to the latter, "Does one speak thus to the Commander of the Faithful, 'Come, ride with us?'" Al-Musta'īn laughed at that and said, "These are foreign people and have no knowledge of protocol [*ḥudūd al-kalām*]". Then he said to them, "Go to Sāmarrā, where [1545]
your allotments are secure, while I stay here to manage my affairs and look into the matter of my residence." They left, despairing of him and angered by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh's behavior.

They reported what had happened to all the Turks that they encountered, but they distorted his response to them in an attempt to provoke the Turks into deposing the Caliph and replacing him (with another). The Turks thus agreed to free al-Mu'tazz and to swear allegiance to him. Al-Mu'tazz had been detained, together with al-Mu'ayyad, in a small room at the Jawsaq Palace. Each of them was attended to by a page serving a Turk called 'Īsā, the lieutenant of

Yulnār.[75] With them were several aides. They freed al-Muʿtazz on that same day and took some of his hair—the oath of allegiance had already been rendered to him. He, in return, ordered that the people be given ten months worth of their allotments, but the money could not be raised. Given the scarcity of funds, they were granted two months payment instead. Al-Mustaʿīn had left around five hundred thousand dīnārs in the treasury at Sāmarrā. These revenues originated in Syria, having been brought from the region of Mosul by the commanders Ṭalmajūr and Astakīn. In the treasury of al-Mustaʿīn's mother there were close to one million dīnārs, and in that of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Mustaʿīn there were around six hundred thousand dīnārs.

The text of the oath of allegiance reportedly read as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate

You swear allegiance to the Servant of God, the imām al-
[1546] Muʿtazz billāh, Commander of the Faithful. You swear this allegiance of your free will, and in good faith. You swear contented with desire and with loyalty from your very hearts. You swear full of joy and good intention, not forced or coerced, but fully cognizant of what this allegiance calls for by way of asserting the fear of God, the preferance for His obedience, the strengthening of His ways and His religion, the common welfare of His servants, following the concensus of opinion, the buttressing of unity, the subduing of troublemakers, insuring peace of mind, the strengthening of the supporters and the suppression of the unbelievers. You swear that Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz billāh is the Servant of God and His caliph to whom you owe obedience, good counsel, and loyalty without any doubt, hypocrisy, swerving, or suspicion, and to whom you owe submission, support, faithfulness, uprightness, good counsel in secret and in public, and that you will rush to fulfill all the commands of the servant of God, Abū ʿAbdallāh, the imām al-Muʿtazz billāh, Commander of the Faithful, in all matters concerning loyalty to his supporters, waging war against his internal or external foes.

75. The name is uncertain, with a range of possible variations as different as Limyān, Bilyān, etc.

You swear that you will always uphold your allegiance to him, being fully honest, and accepting what the Commander of the Faithful accepts after this allegiance of yours. You have taken upon yourself and confirmed most willingly with complete sincerity of heart the desire and intention that the heir apparent of the Muslims be Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad billāh, the brother of the Commander of the Faithful. You also swear that you will not attempt to disobey any of the promises given by you, nor swerve in your loyalty and support, nor change your minds, nor contradict nor go back on this allegiance, nor would you hold in secret other than what you declare. Now allow this allegiance that [1547] you have given by your word and pledge to be an allegiance that God can exact from your hearts and count on its fulfillment. Let Him count on your loyalty and your support for it, aiding those to whom His allegiance is given without hesitation, duplicity or reconsideration, in order that you meet your God having fulfilled His pledge and satisfied His commandments to you, without any violation. Those of you who swear the caliphal oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful and the heir apparent, the brother of the Commander of the Faithful, Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad billah, do so as though they swear to God, and the hand of God is above all of theirs. Anyone violating this pledge does so at his own peril, and those who remain faithful to it, will be greatly rewarded in the hereafter on that account, and on account of the demands this allegiance requires them, and which they give in good faith in accordance with the conditions incumbent upon them by way of loyalty, support, and earnest assistance. The pledge is with God, and God's pledge is indeed executable. It is incumbent upon you under God's guardianship, may He be exalted, and under the guardianship of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, and in accordance with all the pledges that God has exacted of his prophets, messengers and any of his servants, that you heed what you promised in this pledge. Do not change it nor deviate from it, and hold fast to what you pledged to God in the same manner the obedient hold to obedience and [1548] the faithful keep their pledges.

Let no ambition or desire dissuade you from your pledge, nor any plotting and wickedness turn your hearts away from the

right path. Strive to the utmost in that regard and be obedient and faithful to this pledge as a supreme duty; God accepts nothing but faithfulness to his pledges.

Anyone amongst those of you who have sworn allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful and the heir apparent of the Muslims, the brother of the Commander of the Faithful, anyone of you who violates this pledge secretly or publicly, expressly or finding excuses by dubious means, and betrays his pledge to God or to His commandments, and strays from the path that the righteous take, all the possessions of such a person who has treacherously violated his pledge, be they estates, flocks, agricultural lands or cattle, they will be given as legal charity to the poor and will be used towards righteous objectives, and he will be prohibited from having access to them, even if he resorts to ruses or legal stratagems. He shall not be allowed to benefit from any possessions, be they small or large, and it will remain thus [1549] until his day comes and he departs from this life. Every slave he owns, be it male or female, is from this day on till the end of thirty years, completely free. All his wives at the day when his infringement is proven, and all those he will marry thereafter till the end of thirty years, are considered obligingly divorced. God will accept no substitute for faithfulness to His pledges. Any such violator has no claim unto God or His Prophet, and God and His Prophet are free of any obligation towards him. God will not accept from him any repentance [*ṣarf*] or ransom [*ʿadl*]. He is your witness, and there is no strength except in God. He is sufficient for us, and He is the best of Guardians.

Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd was reportedly brought to swear allegiance while carried on a litter, for he was stricken by gout. When he was ordered to swear allegiance, he refused and said to al-Muʿtazz, "You had spoken out before, declaring your obedience and repudiating [the caliphate], while proclaiming that you would not assume rule." Al-Muʿtazz retorted, "I was coerced into saying that, in fear of the sword." Abū Aḥmad then said, "We were not told that you were coerced, and we have sworn allegiance to this man.[76] Now you

76. That is, al-Mustaʿīn.

want us to divorce our wives and lose our possessions.[77] We do not know what will become of me if you leave me until the people gather here. You have no alternative but to use this sword." Al-Muʿtazz then ordered, "Let him be." And he was returned to his house without swearing allegiance.

Among those swearing allegiance were Ibrāhīm al-Dayraj and ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb—the latter fled afterwards and went to Baghdad. As for al-Dayraj, he was given robes of honor and was put in charge of security. Robes of honor were also given to Sulaymān b. Yasār, al-Kātib, who was appointed head of the Bureau of Estates. He spent that day issuing orders and (generally) carrying out his functions. Then concealing himself in the (darkness) of night, he made his way to Baghdad. When the Turks swore allegiance to al-Muʿtazz he appointed his officials (*ʿummāl*): Saʿīd b. Ṣāliḥ over the police, and [1550] Jaʿfar b. Dīnār over the guards; Jaʿfar b. Maḥmūd was made wazīr, and Abū al-Ḥimār was given the Bureau of Taxation but was soon dismissed, to be replaced by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Minqār; The Bureau of the Turkish Army was given to one known as Abū ʿUmar, the secretary of Sīmā al-Sharābī; Muqallad Kayd al-Kalb, the brother of Abū ʿUmar, was given control of the treasury and the army payrolls of the Turks, the Maghāribah and the Shākiriyyah, while the postal bureau and the privy-seal were given to Sīmā al-Sharābānī; Abu ʿUmar was appointed as secretary in the rank of wazīr.

When word reached Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh concerning the oath of allegiance to al-Muʿtazz and that the latter had appointed his officials, he ordered that all foodstuffs be withheld from the populace of Sāmarrā.[78] He also wrote to Mālik b. Ṭawq ordering him to Baghdad along with those of his kinsmen who accompanied him, and his contingent of troops. And he sent word to Najūbah b. Qays, who ruled al-Anbār, to call for general mobilization, while Sulaymān b. ʿImrān al-Mawṣilī was given orders to gather his kinsmen and to prohibit all vessels and foodstuffs from going down to Sāmarrā.[79]

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77. The idea being that in the oath of allegiance to al-Mustaʿīn, Abū Aḥmad had already sworn that if he were to change his allegiance he would lose his wives and possessions. The text of allegiance to al-Muʿtazz just cited makes the same demand.

78. Apparently Sāmarrā was heavily dependent on Baghdad and other cities for supplies. See Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 263, 265.

79. That is, the foodstuff that had to be brought to Sāmarrā downstream from the north.

He saw to it that no foodstuffs came up to Sāmarrā from Baghdad. A boat carrying rice and spices (*saqaṭ*)[80] was thus confiscated, whereupon the captain fled his vessel which was left abandoned until it sank. Al-Mustaʿīn ordered Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir to fortify Baghdad. At this, Muḥammad proceeded to encompass the East
[1551] Side of the city with a protective wall, extending from the Tigris near Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah to Sūq al-Thalāthāʾ and back to the Tigris.[81] Similarly on the West Side (he built a wall) from the Tigris by the Gate of the Fief (Qaṭīʿah) of Umm Jaʿfar to the palace of Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.[82] Moreover, he placed at each gate an officer with a contingent of his troops as well as others. The Caliph also ordered that trenches be dug along the curving walls on both sides of the city and that pavilions (*miẓallāt*) be erected so that the cavalry could take refuge underneath them during the hot weather and rain. The expenditures for the two walls, the trenches and the pavilions was said to have reached 330 thousand dīnārs. At the Shammāsiyyah Gate[83] he set up five war engines (*shaddākhāt*) covering the width of the road. The engines contained cross beams (*ʿawāriḍ*), wooden planks (*alwāḥ*) and long protruding spikes. Outside the second gate, another gate, equal to it in thickness and armored with iron sheets, was suspended by ropes in such a way, if one were to enter that gate, the suspended gate would drop and kill whoever happened to be underneath it. On the inner gate a ballista (*ʿarrādah*) was set up, and on the outer one there were five huge mangonels (*majānīq*). Among them was a large one called The Angry One (*al-ghaḍbān*). Added to these were six ballistas which fired in the direction of Raqqat al-Shammāsiyyah.[84] On the Baradān Gate, eight ballistas, four on each side, and four war engines were set up. Similar arrangements were made for each and every gate on

80. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 1381, col. 3.

81. That is, along the East Side of Baghdad in a north to south direction. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 168–186, and Lassner, *Topography*, 78–84, 203.

82. This wall encircled the West Side in the same north to south direction as the previous wall. For the palace of Ḥumayd and the possible location of this wall, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 96, 172.

83. The Shammāsiyyah Gate is the natural entrance to Baghdad from the direction of Sāmarrā. For a full description of the neighborhood, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 199–230.

84. For the word *Raqqah*, meaning "plain" in this context, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 203.

the West and East Sides of Baghdad. Moreover each of the city gates was furnished with an arched passageway ample enough for a hundred cavalry and infantry. Every mangonel and ballista had men assigned to stretch the ropes and one man to fire whenever fighting broke out. [1552]

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh instituted a special draft in Baghdad. He even requested a group of Khurāsānīs who had come to the city (en route to Mecca) as pilgrims to assist in fighting the Turks, and they did. He also ordered a special draft among the vagabonds (*ʿayyārūn*) and appointed a commander (*ʿarīf*) over them. Muḥammad saw to it that they had shields made of tar-covered mats (*bawārī*),[85] and nosebags (*makhālin*) filled with rocks, and this was done—Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn was reportedly in charge of making the tar-covered mats. Any man standing behind the mat could not be seen; it was made of fabrics that cost more than a hundred dīnārs.[86] The commander of the vagabonds with the tar-covered mats was called Yantawayh.

The work along the wall was completed on Thursday, the twenty-first[87] of Muḥarram (February 22, 865). Al-Mustaʿīn then wrote to the tax-collectors in every city and region to transport their revenues to the authorities at Baghdad and take nothing to Sāmarrā. He also wrote to the deputies of his lieutenant (over Iraq?) to reject the letters of the Turks. And he ordered that a document be sent to the Turks and the regular army at Sāmarrā commanding them to break the pledge to al-Muʿtazz, to return and fulfill their pledge of allegiance to him. He reminded them of his generosity towards them and prohibited them from disobeying him and violating their pledge to him. This letter was addressed to Sīmā al-Sharābī. [1553]

Various correspondences and messages were then exchanged between Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir and al-Muʿtazz. The latter called upon Muḥammad to undertake the same pledge to him as was given by the others who swore allegiance to his caliphate and the deposition of al-Mustaʿīn. He reminded Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh of the pledge that (al-Muʿtazz's father) al-Mutawakkil, had extracted

85. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 274, col. 3.

86. It is not clear whether the price is for all the mats (too low) or for each (too high).

87. The text is *li-sabʿin*, which could not be Thursday. It should be read *li-tisʿin*, which is very close orthographically, to coincide with Thursday which was indeed the twenty-first of Muḥarram.

from Muḥammad in regard to his being heir to the caliphate after his brother al-Muntaṣir. For fear of becoming too verbose, I have left out all the excuses which al-Muʿtazz provided Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh to render allegiance to him and still not be held in violation of his services to al-Mustaʿīn.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh now gave orders that the masonry bridges (*qanāṭir*) be destroyed, and the water canals be flooded in the district (*ṭassūj*) of al-Anbār and those sections of the district of Bādurāyā[88] that bordered it. He did this in order to cut the road to the Turks, fearing that they would come to al-Anbār. The men in charge of that were Najūbah b. Qays and Muḥammad b. Ḥamad b. Manṣūr al-Saʿdī.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh received word that the Turks had sent someone for the royal canopy (*shamsah*)[89] which was in the custody of al-Baynūq al-Farghānī. He was to guard it from the latter's men. Instead, Muḥammad sent Khālid b. ʿImrān and Bundār al-Ṭabarī to the region of al-Anbār on the evening of Wednesday, the twentieth of al-Muḥarram (February 21, 865). Following them, he
[1554] sent Rashīd b. Kāwūs, and they met al-Baynūq and his followers among the Turks and the Maghāribah. Khālid and Bundār demanded the royal canopy from them, after which Baynūq and his men came to al-Mustaʿīn in Baghdad.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Jaylawayh the Kurd was in charge of ʿUkbarā'.[90] Rādān[91] was entrusted to a man from the Maghāribah; he had gathered some revenue. Ibn Jaylawayh went to him and asked him to bring the district revenue, but the latter refused and declared his intention to do battle. Ibn Jaylawayh captured him and brought him to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's door together with the district revenue, which came to 12,030 dīnārs. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallah then granted Ibn Jaylawayh ten thousand dirhams.

Both al-Muʿtazz and al-Mustaʿīn wrote to Mūsā b. Bughā, each calling upon him to serve them. He was then stationed at the fron-

88. These districts were in the north-west section of Baghdad, a possible direction of the forthcoming attack. By flooding the land, the attacking army will have to come down the Tigris through the well-defended Shammāsiyyah Gate. For the geography involved, refer to Le Strange, *Baghdad*, the map facing page 47.

89. The meaning is uncertain. The translation follows Mez, *Renaissance*, 133.

90. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 50, 51, 84, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 142.

91. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 35, 80.

tiers of Syria near al-Jazīrah, having been sent to fight the people of Ḥimṣ. The two sent him several standards to dispense to whomever he pleased. Al-Mustaʿīn ordered him to report to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) after leaving behind a suitable replacement for himself. But Mūsā went to al-Muʿtazz and joined with him, while ʿAbdallāh b. Bughā the Younger came to Baghdad. He had tarried in Sāmarrā when his father left the city with al-Mustaʿīn. ʿAbdallāh now apologized to al-Mustaʿīn and said to his father, "I have come to you to die under your stirrup." He stayed in Baghdad for a few days before asking permission to leave for a village near Baghdad on the road to al-Anbār. Permission was granted to him, and he stayed there till nightfall when he fled through the West Side to Sāmarrā, avoiding his father and lying (*mumāliyan*) to him. He apologized to al- [1555]
Muʿtazz for having gone to Baghdad and told him that he went there only to gather information about them and come back to him with the truth. Al-Muʿtazz accepted this explanation and returned him to his post.

Al-Ḥasan b. Afshīn came to Baghdad and al-Mustaʿīn bestowed robes of honor upon him. In addition he attached a large contingent of the Ushrūsaniyyah and others to his command, and increased his military allotments by sixteen thousand dirhams per month.

Asad b. Dāwūd Siyāh stayed at Sāmarrā until he fled the city. The Turks reportedly pursued him in the direction of Mosul, al-Anbār and along the western bank (of the Tigris). Fifty horsemen were sent after him in each direction. But he arrived at Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) and came to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, who gave him command of a hundred horsemen and two hundred infantry drawn from the troops of Ibrāhīm al-Dayraj. In addition he was given charge of Bāb al-Anbār together with ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā b. Abī Khālid.

On Saturday, the twenty-third of al-Muḥarram, 251 (February 24, 865), al-Muʿtazz charged his brother, Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil, to do battle with al-Mustaʿīn and Ibn Ṭāhir, giving him full command of the army and supreme authority. The administration he gave to Kalbātikīn al-Turkī. Abū Aḥmad encamped in al-Qāṭūl[92] with five thousand Turks and Farāghinah, and two thousand Ma-

92. Since Qāṭūl is in Sāmarrā's vicinity, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 174, IV, 297, and Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 256, this camp was then only a staging ground for the troops and not a camp for actual combat.

ghāribah under the command of Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Maghribī. They arrived at ʿUkbarā' Friday evening, the twenty-ninth of al-Muḥarram (March 2, 865). Abū Aḥmad led the prayers there and declared the caliphate of al-Muʿtazz (from the pulpit); he then sent a copy of his sermon to al-Muʿtazz. Some people of ʿUkbarā' reported
[1556] that they had seen the Turks, the Maghāribah and the rest of their followers extremely frightened when they noticed that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh had already come out to surprise them into war. They started looting the villages between ʿUkbarā' and Baghdad. The populace residing between ʿUkbarā', Baghdad, and Awāna[93] and in the remaining villages on the western bank fled for their lives, leaving the estates and the harvest behind. Estates were laid waste, harvest (crops) and household items were looted, houses were demolished, and people on the road were robbed.

When Abū Aḥmad reached ʿUkbarā' with his troops, a contingent of Turks among the mawlās of Bughā al-Sharābī, who were with him in Baghdad and who were attached to his command, fled at night through the Shammāsiyyah Gate. Commanding the gate was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khaṭṭāb, but he did not know of their escapade. When news of this reached Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, he became angry with him and chastized him, and he offered recompense to anyone who would take charge of guarding the gates and defending them. When al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn came to Baghdad he was put in charge of the Shammāsiyyah Gate. When Abū Aḥmad and his army reached Shammāsiyyah on Sunday evening, the seventh of Ṣafar (March 10, 865), he was accompanied by the following: his secretary Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bishr b. Saʿd al-Marthidī, an army intelligence officer (*ṣāḥib khabar*) working for al-Muʿtazz, al-Ḥasan b.
[1557] ʿAmr b. Qimāsh, and one of his own called Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad al-Bayān[94] also known as Ibn al-Khabbāzah.

A man from al-Baṣrah known as Bādhinjānah, who was with the army, said:

Oh! Sons of Ṭāhir the Soldiers of God have
come up against you carrying death along in their ranks,

93. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 50.
94. The text is unvocalized and could be read as tabbān, banān, etc.

And armies led by Abū Aḥmad
indeed a good man in charge and an excellent supporter.

When Abū Aḥmad reached the Shammāsiyyah Gate, al-Musta'īn appointed al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl in charge of that Gate and assigned the commanders there to be his aides. He remained positioned there during the period of war until he set out for al-Anbār, at which time Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm was appointed in his stead. On the thirteenth of Ṣafar (March 16, 865), a spy came to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh and reported that Abū Aḥmad had recruited people to burn the market awnings on both sides of Baghdad; the coverings were thus removed that same day.

It was reported that Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh sent Muḥammad b. Mūsā the astrologer and al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl with orders to leave the (city) from the West Side and climb past the army of Abū Aḥmad in [1558]
order to estimate its numbers. Muḥammad b. Mūsā claimed that he estimated it as two thousand men and one thousand animals. On Monday, the tenth of Ṣafar (March 13, 865), the Turkish vanguards came to the Shammāsiyyah Gate and positioned themselves next to it; whereupon Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh sent al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl, al-Shāh b. Mīkāl and Bundār al-Ṭabarī together with their troops against them. He himself was about to ride out to battle when al-Shāh came to him and reported that he (al-Shāh) and his men reached the Shammāsiyyah Gate, but the Turks, having seen the standards and the battle flags coming in their direction, returned to their camp. Al-Shāh and al-Ḥusayn thus departed and Muḥammad decided against riding out that day. But on Tuesday, the eleventh of Ṣafar (March 14, 865), Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh decided to send the army to al-Qufṣ[95] in order to review them there and put fear in the hearts of the Turks.

Bughā and Waṣīf rode along with him wearing coats of mail. Muḥammed wore Ṭāhir's breast-plate above his own coat of mail, as well as an iron sleeve. He took along jurists and judges with the intention of calling upon the enemy to turn back from their longstanding rebellion and obstinacy. He offered them a guarantee,

95. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 146. See also Ṭabarī, index. A suburb of Baghdad, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 382.

promising that Abū ʿAbdallāh (al-Muʿtazz) would be the heir apparent to al-Mustaʿīn. If they would accept his offer, well and good; otherwise, he would begin hostilities on the morning of Wednesday, the twelfth of Ṣafar (March 15, 865). Muḥammad then marched to the
[1559] Qaṭrabbul Gate[96] and dismounted at the bank of the Tigris together with Waṣīf and Bughā; he could go no further on account of the crowds. Opposing them on the eastern side of the Tigris was Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Maghribī. Afterwards Muḥammad departed.

In the morning, he was met by messengers from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khaṭṭāb Wajh al-Fals, ʿAlak the commander, and other officers who were with the two. They informed him that the army had drawn near and had returned to their base near Raqqat al-Shammāsiyyah where they dismounted and set up their tents.[97] He sent word to them, "Don't initiate hostilities. If they attack, do not attack them. Defensive action is the order of the day." Twelve horsemen of the Turks came up to the Shammāsiyyah Gate. It was protected by a (fortified) gate and an arched way (*sarāb*) which itself had a gate. The twelve horsemen stood at the gate and cursed those who protected it. Then they shot their arrows, but the defenders at the Shammāsiyyah Gate turned a deaf ear to them. When they persisted, ʿAlak gave orders to the man at the mangonel to fire at them; he did, and hit one of them, killing him. His companions dismounted, and carried him back to their camp by the Shammāsiyyah Gate. ʿAbdallāh b. Sulaymān, the lieutenant of Waṣīf the Turk, who was sent to guard the Mecca Road with Abū al-Sāj, returned with three hundred men of the Shākiriyyah and presented himself to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, who bestowed five robes of honor upon him and four upon another man who accompanied him.

[1560] On that day, a bedouin from the Thaʿlabah presented himself seeking to enlist; he had fifty men with him. Also arriving were forty Shākiriyyah who came from Sāmarrā in various companies. Muḥammad issued orders to give them bonuses and a place to camp; they were subsequently paid.

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96. On the north side of Baghdad along the Ṭāhirid Trench. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, map facing p. 107.

97. For Raqqah, see n. 84 above. The attacking army seems to have taken the plain of the Shammāsiyyah as their camping grounds.

The Turks arriving at the Shammāsiyyah Gate this day were shot at with arrows and from mangonels and ballistas. Among them were many dead and wounded. The commanding officer fighting the Turks was al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl; he was reinforced by four hundred of the Muṭallibīn under the command of a man known as Abū al-Sanā al-Ghanawī, and later by a group of about three hundred bedouins. Those who fought well that day were rewarded with gifts including twenty-five thousand dirhams, and gold necklaces and bracelets. These were given to al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAlak, Yaḥyā b. Harthamah, al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn and the chief of staff (*ṣahīb al-ḥarb*) al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl. The wounded among the people of Baghdad amounted to more than two hundred persons; also, a number of them were killed. The same was true of the dead and wounded among the Turks; most of the killing was done by the mangonels. Most of the general populace at Baghdad were routed; those with the mats stood fast and then withdrew completely, suffering an equal number of dead and wounded. It was reported that about two hundred men were wounded from each faction and a number were killed.

On this day a squadron of Farāghinah and Turks came to the Khurāsān Gate on the East Side[98] in order to enter (the city). The commotion was heard by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, but the Mubayyiḍah and the rabble stood firm and drove them back. Muḥammad had given orders that the area be ploughed; so, when the enemy tried to withdraw their mounts became stuck in the mud, but still most of them managed to escape. The Turks now brought in a mangonel, but the rabble and the Mubayyiḍah overwhelmed it, breaking one of its supports—two of the pilgrims from Shāsh[99] were killed. The order was given to bring burnt bricks from Qaṣr al-Ṭīn[100] and that area to the Shammāsiyyah Gate. The Shammāsiyyah Gate itself was opened, and people went out to get the bricks and bring them inside the wall. Afterwards, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh received word that a group of Turks had marched to the vicinity of al-Nahrawān.[101] He [1561]

98. This should be distinguished from the gates with the same name in New Baghdad, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 281, 288 and in the Round City, ibid., 17, 24, 101, 105.

99. A district in Tashkand. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 480–483.

100. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 201.

101. That is, just east of Baghdad, and actually adjacent to it. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 324–325.

therefore sent two of his commanders to that area; they were called ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd al-Sarakhsī and Yaḥyā b. Ḥafṣ, who was known as Ḥabūs. The two commanded five hundred cavalry and infantry. Muḥammad subsequently reinforced them with seven hundred men, ordering them to establish their position there and rebuff any of the Turks who wished to seize it. The last of them set out for that district on Friday, the seventh of Ṣafar (March 10, 865). On the
[1562] evening of Monday, the sixteenth of Ṣafar (March 19, 865), a contingent of Turks marched to al-Nahrawān. A group of ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd's followers came out to challenge them but turned around and fled. Their mounts were seized, and those who were able to save themselves withdrew to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) in flight. Around fifty men were killed and sixty mounts were taken together with several mules that had previously arrived from the vicinity of Ḥulwān laden with weapons. The Turks sent them to Sāmarrā, along with the heads of those killed. These were the first heads to reach Sāmarrā during that war. When ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd departed in defeat with a few remaining followers, the road to Khurāsān fell into the hands of the Turks, and traffic between Baghdad and Khurāsān was cut. Ismāʿīl b. Farāshah had been sent to Hamadhān to make a stand there, but word was sent to him to withdraw, which he did. He and his men were then given bonuses that were due them.

Al-Muʿtazz now sent out an army of Turks, Maghāribah, Farāghinah, and their like. Al-Durghumān al-Farghānī was in command of the Turks and the Farāghinah, and Ratlah[102] led the Maghāribah. They marched against Baghdad from the west bank (of the Tigris) and penetrated Qaṭrabbul en route to the city. They encamped between Qaṭrabbul and the Fief of Umm Jaʿfar on Tuesday evening, the seventeenth of Ṣafar (March 20, 865). The following morning, that is Wednesday, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir sent (out) al-Shāh b. Mīkāl from the Gate of the Fief, accompanied by
[1563] Bundār and Khālid b. ʿImrān with their troops of cavalry and infantry. Al-Shāh and his companions lined their men in rows and began casting stones and shooting arrows, but the enemy forced al-Shāh to retreat to a narrow place near the Gate of the Fief. The Mubayyiḍah of Baghdad now gathered in large numbers and, together with al-

102. The reading is uncertain. It could also be Rablah, Zaylah, etc.

Shāh, they all charged in unison and displaced the Turks, the Maghāribah and their companions from their positions. The Mubayyiḍah charged on and managed to clear the area of them. The Ṭabariyyah attacked, in turn, and engaged them in battle while Bundār and Khālid b. ʿImrān attacked them from an ambush they had laid for them in the vicinity of Qaṭrabbul. They put the followers of Abū Aḥmad to the sword, Turks and others among them, and killed huge numbers of them. Only a few escaped.

The Mubayyiḍah looted their camp, taking everything in it, including furnishings, household members, heavy baggage, tents, and odds and ends. All those escaping death threw themselves into the Tigris to cross over to Abū Aḥmad's camp. They were, however, seized by the troops on the river boats (*shabbārah*), which had been loaded with fighting men. The enemy were thus either killed or taken prisoner; the dead (bodies) and the heads of the dead from among the Turks, the Maghāribah and others were placed in skiffs. Some of them were hung, either on the two bridges,[103] or on the gate of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's (palace). Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh gave orders that those who fought valiantly that day were to be rewarded with bracelets. A great number of men from the regular army and others were thus given bracelets. The fleeing enemy were [1564]
sought; some of them reached Awānā, while others reached the camp of Abū Aḥmad, across the Tigris. Still others reached as far as Sāmarrā. It was reported that on the day of its defeat by the Gate of the Fief the Turkish army numbered four thousand men; two thousand were killed there the day of (that) battle. They had been put to the sword from the Gate of the Fief to al-Qufṣ. There were those who were slain in battle and those who were drowned; a number of them were also taken prisoner.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh bestowed four robes of honor on Bundār, one woven type (*mulḥam*), one of *washy*, one black (*sawād*) and one silk (*khazz*). In addition he gave him a gold necklace. He also bestowed four robes of honor on Abū al-Sanā and (gave) the same to Khālid b. ʿImrān and to each of the commanders. They departed on the day of battle around sunset, after requisitioning mules and taking saddle bags to transport the heads to Baghdad. Anyone reaching

103. That is, probably the upper and the main bridges spanning the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 122f, 102.

the palace of Muḥammad with the head of a Turk or a Maghribī was given fifty dirhams; most of the work was done by the Mubayyiḍah and the drifters (*ʿayyārūn*).[104] The drifters of Baghdad then came to Qaṭrabbul and looted whatever furnishings the Turks had left behind belonging to the people of Qaṭrabbul as well as the doors of their houses.

Towards the end of this day, Muḥammad sent his brother, Abū Aḥmad ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh, and al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal to follow
[1565] the tracks of those who fled in an attempt to safe-guard the people of Baghdad, for he was afraid that they would return to the attack. The two reached as far as al-Qufṣ and returned safely after having dispersed the infantry and the drifters in the vicinity of Qaṭrabbul. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh was then counselled to send (another) army after the enemy on the second day and that night in order to follow relentlessly in their tracks, but he refused and did not follow those who escaped, nor did he give the order to finish off the wounded; it was said that he felt the confidence of complete security. He then gave orders to Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd to compose a document describing that battle. The document was subsequently read to the populace of Baghdad in the Friday Mosque. The text reads as follows:

> In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate.
> Thanks to the Beneficent Lord who cannot be sufficiently thanked, the Mighty who cannot be opposed, the All-Powerful whose obedience is not humiliating. He is the Fair Judge whose judgement cannot be overruled, and the supporter of the truth and its advocates. He is the inescapable Owner of everything, the true Guide to mercy for those who are obedient to Him. He exhibits His forbearance in order to exact His claim.
>
> He granted His religion out of compassion for His servants, and made the succession over the guardianship of His religion a virtue. The obedience to His caliph is a duty incumbent upon the whole nation, for the caliphs are the protectors on this earth of the message that He had entrusted to His prophets and His
> [1566] trustees over His creation. They have been called to His religion

104. For this organized group, see Dūrī, *Abḥāth*, 16, and *EI*², I, 794.

and have been shown the passage to the truth, and thus have been protected from error.

He is the Guide to the path of the Chosen Ones of His servants. They are the guardians of religion against sedition and rebellion. They hold against other nations the Book of God that grants them their authority; and to it they call the nation in accordance with God's justice for which they had been chosen.

When they fight, God's claim will be on their side. And when they go to war He will ordain victory for them. If they are sought by an enemy, God's protection will be a shelter for them and a stronghold. If anyone plots against them, God will be their aid. God has appointed them to uphold His religion, and whoever opposes them would oppose the religion which God has fortified through them. Whoever resists them would be rebelling against the truth that God defends through them.

Their armies are always crowned with victory and glory. Their forces are guarded by God's might from their foes. Their arms are for the defense of God's religion. And their zeal for the defense of the truth encompasses all of their factions. All bands of their enemies are defeated by their own injustices—their claim in the eyes of God and His creation being of no value—and their attempts at victory are in vain. God ordains defeat to these enemies, and their destinies are put in the hands of God's servants, as it has been the case with all nations of times past. [1567]
God does that in order that the people of the truth are assured of the execution of His forewarnings and the enemy is fairly dealt with by admonishments. God's anger is quickly dealt to them through His servants. And punishment awaits them with their Lord. Ahead of them is the shame of this world, and behind them is the torment in the hereafter. God was never unjust to His servants. May His prayers be upon His chosen prophet, His favored messenger, the rescuer from error and the guide to the right path. May it be a perfect and continuous prayer of everlasting blessings, and may His salutations be upon him.

May humble praise be accepted by the Lord as a sign of His majesty, and a confession of His lordship. May it be an admission of the incompatibility of our highest thanks with His dignity, for our thanks are always lacking. Praise be to the Lord

whose praise elicits further praise, and through it He exhibits the extent of His beneficence. May it be a praise that pleases Him. May He accept it and allow it to shine forth as it issues from His sovereignty and His graciousness. Praise be to the Lord Who has decreed unquestionable defeat to those who trespass against the people of His religion, for He had already promised victory to His supporters who had been transgressed against. He revealed His Glorious book as a counsel to the transgressors; for if they were to abstain, such a reminder would be useful, and God will fulfill the desires of the obedient among them. God has also decreed that after reminding the transgressors one should persist in fighting them, for he had said in His fore-
[1568] warning and clear admonishing, "Those who have been victims of transgression, God will grant them victory".[105] Indeed it is an assured promise from God in which He prohibits His enemies from disobeying Him, and He strengthens His faithful in His path; and God does not break His promise.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the client of the Commander of the Faithful, is a chief supporter of God's cause. He is the sword of the caliph's authority, a defender of his sovereignty, and an object of his trust. He is in the forefront of those giving obedience to him and giving counsel to his servants. He is a protector of his rights, and a fighter of his enemies. He is a favor granted by God to the Commander of the Faithful; may he be grateful for it and may it endure. God had decreed that the ancestors of the Commander of the Faithful be destined to issue the first call [to righteousness], and to him He granted their heritage. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh enabled him to establish his rule when the enemies of God attempted to suppress His religion and obliterate it. He rose in the cause of God and His caliph; he fought for its support by giving advice to those who were near and far, and by devoting himself to that which brings him closer to God and insures his position with Him. God favored the Commander of the Faithful by this client who guided him to the truth and

105. Qur.: 22:60 "That [is so]. And whoso hath retaliated with the like of that which he has made to suffer and then hath again been wronged, Allāh will succor him. Lo! Allāh verily is Mild, Forgiving."

helped him in establishing goodness against the enemies of religion.

You have already learned of the contents of the message of the Commander of the Faithful to you concerning the deeds of the band that strayed from the path of God, and forsook the dignity of religion. Those were ungrateful for the graces of God and His caliph, and were against the majority of the community whose order was bound together by God's caliphate. They attempted to sow dissention in place of unity, thereby betraying the oath of allegiance, and denying their fellowship to Islam. I mean the Turkish clients who supported the youth known as Abū 'Abdallāh b. al-Mutawakkil in order to set him up as Commander of the Faithful when he descended to Baghdad leading a group of his own supporters and the sons of his father's supporters. You have also learned of the way the Commander of the Faithful has dealt with their treason and his patience with them. [1569]

But these defectors had gathered around them a group of Turks, Maghāribah and bands of deception who have all joined them in error and merged with them in support of their rebellion. These bands were led by Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil. They marched against the East Side of Baghdad upholding injustice and arrogance and persevering in support of deception. The Commander of the Faithful was patient with them, gave them a chance to reconsider, and ordered that a message be sent to them to guide them to the wise course. He reminded them of their allegiance and clarified to them their duties towards God and himself—that their rebellion against their voluntary oath of allegiance was a rebellion against the religion of God and a rejection of His prophet. He reminded them that their acts would prohibit them from access to their possessions and their wives; and that if they were to rally around him they would have the security of their religion, continuation of their prosperity and protection from wrath. He detailed to them his previous graciousness to them, when he promoted them to the highest ranks and selected them for the most supreme positions. They refused to heed counsel and persisted in their rebellion and error. The Commander of the Faithful appointed his loyal coun- [1570]

sellor and supporter, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the client of the Commander of the Faithful, to take charge of them, to call them to the truth, while they had a chance, and to ask them to repent; otherwise, if they perservered in their error by going astray and rushing headlong into deception, he was to fight them. He did not spare them any chance of admonishment, guidance, persuasion and advice. But they kept raising their voices, threatening to put the people of Baghdad to the sword and seize their women and possessions.

Moreover, while following the path of the idolators, they never missed an opportunity to raid or destroy every inhabited district on their way, and to desecrate the inviolable [rights] of Muslims and others. They killed helpless Muslims and appropriated their possessions. Because of that, many who had heard they were coming their way fled their districts, abandoned their habitations and dwellings, and ran to the door of the Commander of the Faithful to take refuge from this devastation. They did not leave one rich person without appropriating his wealth, nor
[1571] did they leave a God-fearing person without defiling his womenfolk and dependents. They did not differentiate between Muslims and others, and devastated both in the same manner without heeding any prohibitions concerning bloodshed or sanctity. They received the threat of war, but responded to it by persevering in their iniquity and countered good advice with further contemplation of evil.

As they thronged at the Shammāsiyyah Gate, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the servant of the Commander of the Faithful, had already amassed armies there as well as at the other gates of Baghdad, all clad in full armor and prepared for war. These armies took refuge in their dependence on God, and defended themselves with His obedience. Their banners were the claim of God's greatness and they upheld them in the face of their enemy.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the servant of the Commander of the Faithful, ordered them to fortify their lines and to abstain from war as much as possible. The faithful thus dealt with them by counsel and advice, while the rebellious answered with war. They kept on provoking them for days in great numbers and with weapons, assuming that no one could defeat them—not

knowing that the power of God is greater than theirs, and His commandments, unlike their desires, are always realized. His decrees are just and He would support those who are on the right course against them [the defectors].

On Saturday, middle of Ṣafar [March 17, 865], they all gathered at the Shammāsiyyah Gate and raised their banners, proclaiming their battle cry and fortifying themselves with their weapons. Anyone observing them then would have thought that no warning would dissuade them from bloodshed nor from seizing both women and possessions. The faithful counselled them but they would not listen. They admonished them but they would not yield and, instead, went further and commenced hostilities. At that time the faithful rushed against them, seeking the help of God and confident that their will would be realized by Him. They waged war against them until the afternoon of that day. God killed great numbers of their defenders, cavalry, chiefs and leaders of their infamy, and wounded the great majority of their masses. When the enemies of God and His religion saw that He denied their hopes, stood between them and their ambitions, and turned their fortune into a tragedy, they mobilized a large army of Turks and Maghāribah from Sāmarrā with full gear, weapons and fighting machines.[106] Then they came up against the West Side of Baghdad intending treachery and hoping to have their way with God's people, for they thought that the latter were busy fighting on the East Side. [1572]

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the servant of the Commander of the Faithful, had anticipated that and had amassed men and weapons on both sides of Baghdad. He also appointed for each area someone who would guard it and defend it from the affliction of this enemy. Over each gate he appointed a general with a great number of followers and ordered that the wall be guarded day and night. He also sent men to gather information about the enemies of God, their movements, their march, and their camps. He sought details of their condition in order to control every situation, so that, with God's help, he could defeat them. [1573]

106. The text has *wa-lijuld*, which should be read *wa-l-juld*, that is "robust men." But since several weapons of that period were made of skin, *jild*, and since it is parallel to *asliḥah*, it may be a reference to war machines protected by skin.

On Wednesday, the eighteenth of Ṣafar (March 21, 865), the mobilized army of the rebels arrived on the West Side of Baghdad by the Qaṭrabbul Gate, and took their position across from the camp of their followers who were on the east bank of the Tigris. Their numbers had by then filled the horizon and covered an immense stretch of space. They had agreed that they would approach the gates together in order to engage the faithful in a war on both fronts and, thus, weaken them and defeat their truth with their own deception. But God frustrated their false hopes and realized His decree by thwarting their ambitions.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh set against them Muḥammad b. ʿAwn, Bundār b. Mūsā al-Ṭabarī, the servants of the Commander of the Faithful, and ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah at the Qaṭrabbul Gate. His orders were that these commanders fear God, obey Him and heed His commandments. They were to behave in accordance with His Book, and not to wage war until their admonitions had been well heard. Only then would they be free of blame for attacking the enemy which still persevered in rushing into evil.

[1574] They went out in an army that matched that of the rebels, but these were well guided by their duty to God while in combat. They advanced in full confidence of reward in the hereafter and recompense here and now. They were met by the enemies of God who charged at them with lance in hand, seeking their throats, thinking that it was the opportune time for the thief and the marauder to earn his loot.

They were admonished with clear, good advice, but it fell on deaf ears and blind eyes. The faithful kept their promise, however, and met them with unified hearts and the full knowledge that God would fulfill His promise to them. The cavalry charged the enemy more than once, followed by lances, swords and arrows. The pain began to surge from their wounds, and war was tearing at them with its teeth, mauling them under its millstone; once they realized that they were pursued by warriors thirsty for blood, they took to flight as God dealt them His mighty blow. A great number of those who did not fear the affliction of God, who did not repent nor take refuge from His punishment by reestablishing their loyalty, were killed.

Then they were reinforced from their camp by some one thousand men in ships, who encouraged them further in their transgression. They came up against the faithful at the Shammāsiyyah Gate, and war surged again. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh set against them Khālid b. ʿImrān and al-Shāh b. Mīkāl, the servant of Ṭāhir, who charged at them without hesitation and with unfailing will. They were accompanied by al-ʿAbbās b. Qārin, [1575] the servant of the Commander of the Faithful. When al-Shāh and his company came up against the enemies of God, he set guards at the positions which could be infiltrated by assailants and then joined the other commanders in a unified assault, fearing no threats and being completely assured of God's support and victory. They fell on them with their swords, executing God's decrees against them, until they chased them back to their camp and well beyond it. Once in flight the faithful looted all their weapons, animals and war machinery.

Many a dead body was abandoned on the very spot where death came upon it, while the head was moved to a place where it could be a lesson for others. Many a man ran away from the sword only to be drowned, and God did not offer him any refuge. Many a prisoner was brought in shackles to the dwellings of the faithful and God's party. Many a man escaped with his life after God had filled his heart with fear. With God's assistance, defeat was dealt out to both those who came up on the West Side and those who crossed over from the East Side to help them; no one escaped. No one took refuge in repentance, and no one came forth to the side of God.

Four bands[107] were to be fed to the fire, and punishment was quickly meted out to them in order that it be an exhortation and an advice to those who comprehend [*ūlī al-abṣār*]. Their example was the one intended by God, may He be exalted: "Hast [1576] thou not seen those who exchanged the bounty of God with unthankfulness, and caused their people to dwell in the abode of ruin? — Gehenna, wherein they are roasted; an evil establishment".[108]

But war raged on between the faithful and the dissenters on

107. The text is difficult here. One cannot determine which four are intended.
108. Qur. 14:28.

the East Side. The killing spread amongst their warriors, and the wounds were laying them low. They saw the destruction that God had dealt to their fellow supporters, and the vengeance He meted out to them. They found themselves without a shelter from God's wrath. They had no refuge nor a hiding place from those who were faithful to Him. They saw that, and they fled in defeat and disarray after learning the lesson of their erring brethren and their bands of deceivers. They themselves were also bewildered when they saw God's victory granted to His soldiers and the aid He gave to His faithful.

Praise be to God, Lord of all Creation, the Oppressor of the evil ones who dissent from His religion, the transgressors who rebel against His pledge, and the hypocrites who revolt against those of His domain. May it be a praise that secures His utmost satisfaction, and may God's prayers and many salutations, first and last, be upon Muḥammad, His servant and messenger, who guides to His path and calls to Him by His permission.

That was written by Saʿīd b. Ḥamīd on Saturday, the seventh of Ṣafar (March 10, 865).[109]

On Tuesday the seventeenth of Ṣafar (March 20, 865), Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh rode to the Shammāsiyyah Gate and ordered the destruction of the houses, shops and gardens behind the wall of Baghdad. He also ordered that the palm trees and shrubbery be cut down there. The razing and cutting was to extend from the Shammāsiyyah Gate up to Three Gates[110] in order to make room for the men fighting in that area.

[1577] The Caliph had had over seventy donkeys loaded with money sent from the districts of Fars and al-Ahwāz to Baghdad. The Commander Mankajūr b. Qārin al-Ushrūsanī was reportedly in command. Abū Aḥmad and the Turks discharged Ibn Bābak with a force of three hundred cavalry and infantry to Ṭabaristān to intercept this

109. This date is obviously a later insertion since most of the events described in the dispatch took place a few days later than the tenth of March, 865. The twenty-fourth of Ṣafar, 251 (March 25, 865), the seventh day before the end of Ṣafar, is preferable.

110. This area was to the northeast of the Shammāsiyyah quarter which itself was north of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 203. The way the name Thalāthat Abwāb is used in the sources suggests a specific locality rather than any "three gates." See also Lassner, *Topography*, 263, n. 13.

money if it came to that province. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, however, sent his own general by the name of Yaḥyā b. Ḥafṣ to transport that money. For fear of Ibn Bābak, the latter diverted it from Ṭabaristān. When Ibn Bābak knew that the money had escaped him, he marched with his company to al-Nahrawān,[111] and together with the regular troops accompanying him, he attacked the inhabitants, forcing most of them from the town. He then set the boats of the pontoon bridge aflame[112]—there were more than twenty boats—before he departed to Sāmarrā.

Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Yazīd now advanced—al-Mustaʿīn had entrusted him with the frontier areas of al-Jazīrah. The former had been positioned in the administrative center (*madīnah*) of Balad[113] to wait for the troops and money coming to him. But when the Turks rebelled and al-Mustaʿīn took to Baghdad his only route to the city was by way of al-Raqqah.[114] Thus he went to al-Raqqah with his special retainers and his troops, about four hundred horsemen and infantry. Following that, he left the city and went down to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām). Having entered it on Tuesday, the seventeenth of Ṣafar (March 20, 865), he went to the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir who presented him with five cloaks of honor: a garment of embroidered brocade (*dabīq*)[115], (one of) silk, one distinguished by colorful embroidery, and a black one. He then sent him at the head of a large army to fight Ayyūb b. Aḥmad. Ibn Yazīd sailed [1578] along the Euphrates and then engaged Ayyūb in combat with a small group. The former was routed and subsequently returned to his village in the Sawād.

Saʿīd b. Ḥamīd (reported the following.) When word of Muḥammad b. Khālid's flight reached Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the latter said, "No Arab could succeed unless accompanied by a prophet through whom God offers assistance."

On this day the Turks engaged in a battle at the Shammāsiyyah Gate. They had come up to the gate and dispersed the defenders after heavy fighting. They shot naphtha and fire at the mangonel which

111. For al-Nahrawān, just east of Baghdad, see n. 101 above, and Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 217, 307.
112. On the pontoon bridges, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 42, n. 1.
113. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 90.
114. That is, along the Euphrates, ibid., 4, 86.
115. An Egyptian brocade, see ibid., 294, and Mez, *Renaissance*, 460.

had been erected at the left side of the gate, but their fire did not affect it. The troops defending the gate grew too strong for them and succeeded in dislodging the Turks from their positions. They pushed them back from the gate, but only after the latter had killed a number of Baghdadis and wounded many others with arrows. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh now dispatched against them eight ballistas carried in vessels and skiffs. Using these weapons, he subjected the defenders to an intense bombardment which took a great toll among them—some one hundred men. The defenders were now forced to retreat from the gate. On this day, one of the Maghāribah came to the wall of the Shammāsiyyah [Gate] and cast grappling hooks. The hooks caught and he ascended the wall. Those entrusted with guarding the wall seized and killed him, and then used the mangonel to cast his head to the Turkish camp. At this, the Turks retreated to their camp.

It was also said that some of the Abnāʾ,[116] who were among those
[1579] entrusted with defending the wall of the Shammāsiyyah Gate, became terrified when they saw the throng of Turks and Maghāribah who came there that day. They had approached with their banners and drums, when one of the Maghāribah cast a grappling hook that found the wall. One defender wanted to yell "Victory to Mustaʿīn," but erred and called out "Victory to al-Muʿtazz." Some of those guarding the gate thought that he was a Maghribī, whereupon they killed him and sent his head to the residence of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, who ordered that it be displayed in public. That evening, his mother and brother brought his body on a stretcher, screaming and demanding his head. It was not given to them but remained displayed at the head of the bridge until it was brought down together with the other heads.

On Friday evening, the twenty-first of Ṣafar [March 24, 865], a group of Turks reached the Baradān Gate, which was commanded by Muḥammad b. Rajāʾ—this was before he went down to the Wāsiṭ area. He killed six of them and captured four.

On one of those days al-Durghumān, a courageous hero, came with the Turks to the Shammāsiyyah Gate and was hit by a stone fired from a mangonel that struck him in the chest. He was taken to

116. See n. 31, above.

Sāmarrā but died between Buṣrā[117] and 'Ukbarā'.[118] (His body) was then transported to Sāmarrā.

Yaḥyā b. al-'Akkī, the Maghribī commander, reported that one day he was next to al-Durghumān when the latter caught a Nawākī[119] arrow that struck his eye. Following that he was hurt with a stone which split his head. He was (already) dead when he [1580] was carried away.

'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Rāmī (reported the following incident). We had gathered a group of bowmen at the wall by the Shammāsiyyah Gate. A Maghribī used to draw near the gate, bare his rear end, and fart giving a yell. One day, I selected an arrow for him, and shot it right through his anus. It came out at his throat as he fell dead. A group of men exited from the gate and hung him for public display; afterwards, the Maghāribah came and carried him away.

The rabble reportedly gathered in Sāmarrā after the Turks had been routed during the battle for the Qaṭrabbul Gate. Realizing the weakness of al-Mu'tazz, they looted the markets of the jewellers, the swordsmiths and the money-exchangers, taking everything they found there. The merchants then gathered with Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad, the brother of al-Mu'tazz, and complained to him, saying that the authorities had guaranteed them their possessions and promised to look after them. He retorted, "You should have taken your possessions to your houses." That reply made him appear haughty.

On Saturday, the twenty-first of Ṣafar (March 24, 865), Najūbah b. Qays b. Abī al-Sa'dī advanced with his bedouin recruits[120]—they numbered six hundred men on foot and two hundred horsemen. On this day too, ten notables of Tarsūs came forward to complain of Balkajūr. They claimed that two hours after receiving a (copy) of that oath of allegiance to al-Mu'tazz, he went out demanding (that [1581] others sign) the oath of allegiance to him. Thus Balkajūr received the oath on behalf of al-Mu'tazz from the commanders and the people of the frontier regions. Most of them swore allegiance, but a few declined; the latter were beaten, fettered or put in jail. Some

117. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 50.
118. See n. 90, above.
119. For Nawākī, see the Leiden edition of Ṭabarī, Glossary, Dxxxv.
120. That is, those whose names had been inscribed on the military roll.

reportedly refused and fled when he demanded their allegiance against their wishes. To that Waṣīf retorted, "I can only say that the man was deceived and that the carrier of al-Muʿtazz's missive to him was al-Layth b. Bābak; the latter told him that al-Mustaʿīn had died and that they [the military] had replaced him with al-Muʿtazz." But this group persisted in their complaint concerning Balkajūr, pointing out that he acted intentionally, and accusing him of favoring the sons of al-Wāthiq.[121] Then a letter from Balkajūr arrived on Wednesday, the twenty-fifth of Ṣafar (March 28, 865). It came with a man called ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn—he was known as Ibn al-Ṣuʿlūk. The letter stated that he (Balkajūr) had received a communication from Abū ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mutawakkil that the latter had assumed the caliphate, and thus he swore allegiance to him; but (it continued) when al-Mustaʿīn's letter came revealing the truth, he again sought the oath of allegiance from those beholden to him, and he, himself, would heed and obey al-Mustaʿīn. The messenger was given one thousand dirhams which he accepted. A letter had been drafted to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Armanī, who was known as Abū Naṣr, charging him with responsibility for the Syrian frontier regions; but after the arrival of Balkajūr's letter of obedience, the letter of appointment to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Armanī was withheld.

On Monday, the twenty-third of Ṣafar, 251 (March 26, 865), Ismāʿīl b. Farāshah advanced from the district of Hamadhān at the head of three hundred cavalry. His (entire) force contained fifteen
[1582] hundred scattered men, some of whom arrived before the others. Accompanying him was a messenger who had been sent by al-Muʿtazz in order to exact his oath of allegiance (on behalf of the pretender). He had him fettered and brought him to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) on a bare-back mule. Ismāʿīl was then given five cloaks of honor. He also arrived with a man, reportedly an ʿAlid, who had been seized in the vicinity of al-Rayy and Ṭabaristān. He had been sent to the ʿAlids there. With the ʿAlid were pack animals and slaves (*ghilmān*). Orders were given that he be detained in the Public Audi-

121. For al-Wāthiq, Hārūn b. al-Muʿtaṣim, the ninth ʿAbbāsid caliph and the uncle of al-Mustaʿīn, see Kutubī, *Fawāt*, IV, 228–230. Balkajūr is being accused here of defection from al-Mustaʿīn's camp, and of his support for the house of al-Wāthiq which produced the fourteenth caliph al-Muhtadī, who came to power after al-Muʿtazz, in 869.

ence Hall for several months, but he was released after a surety was extracted from him.

On this day, the letter of Mūsā b. Bughā was read. In it he mentioned that al-Muʿtazz's missive had arrived, and that he had summoned his companions and told them what had transpired. He had ordered them to come with him to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām), but they had refused. The Shākiriyyah and the Abnāʾ had supported him, while the Turks and their supporters broke rank and fought against him. He killed several of them and took others prisoner bringing them along (to Baghdad). When this letter was read at Ibn Ṭāhir's palace, the people declared "God is Great."

On the twenty-fourth of Ṣafar (March 27, 865), ten deepwater vessels called *bawārij*[122] came up from al-Baṣrah, each carrying a ship master (*ishtiyām*),[123] three fire hurlers, a carpenter (*najjār*), a baker, and thirty-nine oarsmen and warriors. Thus every vessel had a complement of forty-five men. That night, they reached the island opposite the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir; still later they reached the Shammāsiyyah area. The men on the vessels fired upon the Turks, who then decided to move their camp from the low-lying area of al-Shammāsiyyah to Abū Jaʿfar's garden at the bridge.[124] Then it appeared to them that they should go still higher, to a place above their camp, in order to avoid the fire. [1583]

The day before the end of Ṣafar (March 31, 865), the Turks and the Maghāribah came up against the eastern gates of the city. The gates were locked in front of them, and they were assaulted with arrows, mangonels, and ballistas. Both factions suffered losses and many were wounded, but they did not cease fighting until the time of the afternoon prayer.

In this year Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh reversed the course he had set and returned from Jurjān to Ṭabaristān. He emerged from Āmul with a large force, including cavalry and weapons, whereupon al-Ḥasan b. Zayd retreated into Daylam. Sulaymān's nephew, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, then wrote to the central authorities informing them

122. For this and other names of vessels, see Kinderman, *Schiff*; for *bārijah* pl. *bawārij*, ibid., 3.

123. For *ishtiyām*, meaning *raʾīs al-rukkāb*, "chief of the passengers," see *Lisān*, XII, 319.

124. It cannot be precisely located.

that he had entered Ṭabaristān. His letter was read in Baghdad, and al-Mustaʿīn sent a copy of it to Bughā the Younger, the mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful. It mentioned the conquest of Ṭabaristān at the hands of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, the rout of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, and the safe arrival of Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh at Sāriyah.[125] It also mentioned that Māziyār and Rustam, two sons of Qārin b. Shahriyār, the mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful, had reached Sulaymān with five hundred men. And (it reported) the remaining news of the conquest. The letter also informed him that the people of Āmul came to Sulaymān, publicly repenting and seeking forgiveness for their misdeeds; he received them in a way that put
[1584] them at ease and made them feel secure. Before marching on with his force, which had been fully mobilized and was headed cross-country through the villages and highways, he ordered his men to refrain from killing and from acting in a dishonorable fashion. They were given a free hand to loot, but they were warned not to go beyond that. Furthermore, al-Mustaʿīn's missive indicated that a letter had reached him from Asad b. Jandān telling of the defeat of ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh the Ṭālibid, who was named al-Marʿashī,[126] together with his companions. They were more than one thousand men. With them were two of the chiefs of al-Jabal,[127] and a huge crowd which followed them when they heard of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd's defeat and of how Asad had entered that district with the loyalists. The original letter also noted how Sulaymān had entered Āmul in fine form, displaying an aura of invincibility and creating a sense of security; all rebellion was then quenched.

On the twenty-fifth of Muḥarram, 251 (February 26, 865), a dispatch arrived at (Baghdad) from al-ʿAlāʾ b. Aḥmad, Bughā al-Sharābī's agent responsible for the taxes and the estates of Armīniyah. The dispatch told of the uprising of two men in that district who were mentioned by name. It also reported that he attacked them and that they took refuge in a fortress. He then employed the mangonels and exhausted the defenders, whereupon the two men fled the fortress and vanished. It then fell into the hands of the loyalists.

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125. See n. 59, above.

126. As in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 183. Ṭabarī's text is unvocalized and could be read as al-Mubarnaʿash, al-Mubartaʿash, etc.

127. The text is al-Jīl; it should be read al-Jabal as in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 163.

Also in that year, a dispatch dated the nineteenth of Muḥarram [1585]
(February 20, 865), brought news of an uprising (*intiqāḍ*) by the people of Ardabīl. They received a letter from the Ṭālibid who sent four armies against the four gates of their city to beseige it.

In that year, a dispatch arrived reporting the war between ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh and al-Muwaffaq al-Khārijī. It indicated how ʿĪsā had arrested al-Muwaffaq and how he then requested needed weapons of al-Mustaʿīn so that ʿĪsā might have equipment at al-Balad to arm the troops for raiding. He also requested that the governor of Tyre (al-Ṣūr)[128] be instructed to send him four fully equipped vessels to join the vessels already under his command there.

In that year, a dispatch from Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir brought news of the Ṭālibid who rebelled in al-Rayy and the surrounding area. It spoke of the armies that were prepared and sent against him, and it brought news of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd's flight while en route to al-Muḥammadiyyah[129] and of the siege layed to al-Muḥammadiyyah by Muḥammad's army. When al-Ḥasan entered al-Muḥammadiyyah he appointed officers (to guard) the roads and major highways, and he scattered his men. God granted him victory over Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar who surrendered unconditionally. Those ʿAlids who came to al-Rayy a second time after the capture of Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar were Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn the Younger b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Idrīs b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh
b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, that is, the one who rebelled when the [1586]
pilgrims ascended Mt. ʿArafāt.[130] The ʿAlid in Ṭabaristān was al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Also in this year, a dispatch from Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir reached al-Mustaʿīn reporting his defeat of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. He had met the rebel with an army of about thirty thousand and the battle ensued. Muḥammad indicated that he had killed some 340 men of his chief supporters. Al-Mustaʿīn ordered that a copy of this letter be read throughout the realm.

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128. The text reads al-Sūr instead of Ṣūr, that is Tyre, which is the only coastal city that has similar vocables.

129. That is, of al-Rayy, not to be confused with other locations of that name. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 57, 214, 215.

130. The text reads *maṣʿad al-Ḥajj*, that is, the ascent of the pilgrims to ʿArafāt which takes place during the pilgrimage in Mecca.

In this year, Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl the ʿAlid, the nephew of Mūsā b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusaynī, rebelled.

In Rabīʿ I, 251 (April 2–May 1, 965), Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh ordered that the vagabonds (*ʿayyār*)[131] of Baghdad be given clubs (*kāfirkūbāt*) fashioned with iron nails to be distributed at the residence of al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal. They used to present themselves for battle without any weapons and (simply) cast bricks. He called for a herald and the latter announced, "Those who need weapons, let them come to the residence of al-Muẓaffar." The vagabonds arrived from every direction; weapons were distributed to them, and their names were registered (in the military roll).[132] These vagabonds ap-
[1587] pointed their own chief, a man called Yantawayh whose patronymic was Abū Jaʿfar, and several other (leaders) called Dūnal, Dimḥāl,[133] Abū Namlah and Abū ʿUṣārah. Only Yantawayh retained his rank as he continued to be the chief of the vagabonds of the West Side until this rebellion came to an end. When the vagabonds were given the clubs, they spread out to the gates of Baghdad. That day they killed some fifty Turks and their followers. Their own casualties were ten persons. Some five-hundred of them went out with bows and arrows, and seized two banners and two ladders (after battling) with the Turks.

In (this year), Najūbah b. Qays engaged a group of Turks in battle in the district of Bazūghā;[134] he met them there together with Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn and others. They captured seven of them and killed three, while the others threw themselves in the water; some drowned and others escaped.

Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shīrzād (reported that) he (Aḥmad) had asked one of the prisoners about the number of men who had battled Najūbah. The prisoner responded, "We were forty men. Najūbah and his companions met up with us very early in the day. Three of us were killed, three drowned, and eight were taken prisoner; the rest escaped. He also took eighteen animals, coats of mail, and a banner belonging to the governor of Awānā,[135] who was the brother of

131. See n. 104, above.

132. That is, they received combat pay.

133. It could also be Damḥāl, Dumḥāl, etc.

134. That is, about two *farsakhs* (twelve km) northeast of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 50, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 411.

135. That is, a famous town between Baghdad and Sāmarrā, some ten *farsakhs* (sixty km) north of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 274, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 50.

Hārūn b. Shu'ayb." The battle took place at Awānā on Wednesday, [1588]
and the soldiers of Najūbah and 'Abdallāh b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah remained armed at Qaṭrabbul.

During one of those days, Yantawayh and his companions among the vagabonds reportedly set out from the Qaṭrabbul Gate and continued cursing the Turks until they passed Qaṭrabbul. Some Turks crossed over in skiffs, shooting arrows at them. They killed one of the vagabonds and wounded ten others. However, the vagabonds overwhelmed them with stones causing numerous casualties, so that the Turks retreated to their camp. Yantawayh was brought to the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir who ordered him not to go out except on a day of battle. The former was then presented a bracelet of honor, and Ibn Ṭāhir ordered that he be given five hundred dirhams.

On the fourteenth of Rabī' I, 251 (April 15, 865), Muzāḥim b. Khāqān came from the area of al-Raqqah and gave orders to the commanders, the Hāshimites and the heads of the government bureaus to meet him. About one thousand of his companions among the Khurāsānīs, the Turks and the Maghāribah accompanied him, bringing with them all sorts of instruments of war. He entered Baghdad with Waṣīf to his right and Bughā to his left. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir was to the left of Bughā, and Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq was behind them. The impression he himself made in public was one of dignity. Upon arriving, he was granted seven cloaks of honor and girded with a sword; each of his two sons was granted five cloaks of honor. It was ordered that he be given command of three thousand men including cavalry and infantry. Al-Mu'tazz sent Mūsā b. Ashnās along with Ḥātim b. Dāwūd b. Bajūr with a force of three [1589]
thousand men including cavalry and infantry. Mūsā then set up camp opposite Abū Aḥmad on the West Side by the Qaṭrabbul Gate. This was on the first evening of Rabī' I (April 2, 865). One of the vagabonds, known as Daykawayh, went out riding on a donkey accompanied by his lieutenant on another donkey. They carried shields and weapons. Another bearing the patronymic Abū Ja'far, and known as al-Mukharramī, emerged from the East Side at the head of five hundred men carrying drawn weapons, shields, tar-covered mats, swords, knives in their belts, and clubs.

When the army arriving from Sāmarrā drew near to the West Side of Baghdad, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh rode out in full gear together with fourteen of his commanders. Also coming out (of the city) were

great numbers of the Mubayyiḍah and onlookers (*naẓẓārah*). He marched until he was opposite the camp of Abū Aḥmad. They fought one engagement across the water,[136] during which more than fifty men of Abū Aḥmad's force were killed. The Mubayyiḍah advanced until they passed more than half a *farsakh* (three km) beyond the army. At this, river boats (*shabbārah*)[137] from Abū Aḥmad's force crossed over to them. A skirmish between the two contingents took place, and several vessels were seized and secured,
[1590] together with their fighting men and sailors. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh then left giving orders to Ibn Abī ʿAwn to disperse the people. Ibn Abī ʿAwn thus sent someone who dispersed the masses of people and the onlookers. The latter addressed them crudely and cursed them, and they, in turn, cursed him. He then struck one of them killing him, whereupon the mob charged him and rendered him defenseless in their midst. Four river vessels from the flotilla of the Baghdadis had been left behind; so that when Ibn Abī ʿAwn left, fleeing the mob, Abū Aḥmad's troops saw them and sent their own vessels after them. They seized the vessels and burned one with a ballista in it belonging to the Baghdadis. The mob immediately set off to plunder the residence of Ibn Abī ʿAwn, saying, "He inclined towards the Turks, aided them and fled with his followers." They called upon Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh to dismiss him and began to hoot and holler; whereupon Muḥammad dispatched al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal with his followers, ordering him to disperse the mob and prevent them from taking any of Ibn Abī ʿAwn's belongings. Muḥammad also informed them that he had dismissed Ibn Abī ʿAwn from his naval command and all other military duties, and that he had transferred these responsibilities to his own brother, ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh. Muẓaffar then went out and dispersed the people from the residence of Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn.

On Thursday, the nineteenth of Rabīʿ I (April 20, 865), the Turkish army coming to Baghdad from Sāmarrā reached ʿUkbarā.[138] At this Ibn Ṭāhir sent out several of his commanders, including Bandār
[1591] al-Ṭabarī, his brother ʿUbaydallāh, Abū al-Sanā, Muzāḥim b.

136. The text reads *fī al-maʾ*, "in the water."

137. *Shabbārāt* is rendered as *sufun*, that is "vessels," in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 150. See also Kinderman, *Schiff*, 45–46.

138. That is, they travelled about half the distance between Sāmarrā and Baghdad. For ʿUkbarāʾ, see n. 90, above.

Khāqān, Asad b. Dāwūd Siyāh, and Khālid b. 'Imrān. They marched until they reached Qaṭrabbul where the Turks lay in ambush. The latter attacked and the two forces became engaged in combat. The Turks pushed them back against the two walls of Qaṭrabbul Road. Abū al-Sanā and Asad b. Dāwūd fought furiously, each killing several Turks and Maghāribah. Abū al-Sanā pressed forward, followed by (his) troops, and managed to kill one of the Turkish commanders—he was called Sūr. He severed his head and made straight for Ibn Ṭāhir's palace, where he informed the latter of his troops' defeat, and requested reinforcements. Ibn Ṭāhir gave orders that he be granted necklaces of honor. The weight of each necklace was thirty dīnārs and the weight of each bracelet was seven and a half *mithqāl*.[139] Abū al-Sanā went back to the troops with the reinforcements that he brought along from all the gates (of the city).

Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh reportedly chastised Abū al-Sanā for deserting his position and bringing the head himself. He allegedly said to him, "You have abandoned the troops. May God shame this head and your bringing it." When Muḥammad b. 'Abdūs (Abū al-Sanā) left (the field of battle), Asad b. Dāwūd fought on furiously; even after the troops had split off from him. He was subsequently killed. Some of the Baghdadis went back to the place where he had been, but this was after the Turks had taken his head. They repelled the Turks guarding his corpse and transported it to Baghdad in a skiff. The Turks reached Qaṭrabbul Gate, but the people went out and exerted great pressure against them, forcing them away from the gate. They then pursued the enemy until they broke them. That day, after the battle, the heads of those Turks and Maghāribah who were killed were brought to the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir. He ordered that they be displayed at the Shammāsiyyah Gate, and this was done. [1592]

Following that, the Turks and the Maghāribah returned to attack the Baghdadis from the direction of Qaṭrabbul. A great number of Baghdadis and Turks were killed, as Bandār and his troops kept on fighting until evening. Then he took leave with the people, and the gates were locked. Ibn Ṭāhir now left orders for al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal, Rashīd b. Kāwūs and another commander. They went out at the head of five hundred cavalry, exiting from the Qaṭrabbul Gate in the direction of Ibn Ashnās's camp. They came up against an enemy

139. That is, about 34 grams. See Hinz, *Masse*, 1–8.

(force) which was unprepared and offguard, and they killed about three hundred of them, captured several, and then withdrew.

On this day, the Turks and the Maghāribah reportedly reached the Gate of the Fief (*qaṭīʿah*)[140] and breached the wall near the bathhouse (*ḥammām*) known as Ḥammām Bāb al-Qaṭīʿah. The first of them to come through the breech was killed. The number of dead among the Turks and the Maghāribah this day was higher than among the defenders, but many among the Baghdadis were wounded by arrows.

I heard some say that a young man who had not yet reached puberty took part in this battle. He had a nosebag filled with stones and a slingshot in his hand. He would cast (the stones) never missing the faces of the Turks and their animals. Four Turkish horsemen who were bowmen began to shoot at him but they always missed. He would shoot back and hit them, and their mounts would then throw them. The Turks kept at it, until, assisted by four Maghribī horsemen carrying lances and shields, they charged at him. Two of
[1593] them came upon him, but he threw himself in the water. They jumped in after the boy, but could not catch up with him. He crossed to the East Side and taunted them. The troops proclaimed "God is Great!" and returned without ever catching him.

On this day ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh reportedly summoned the commanding officers—there were five of them—and ordered each of them to a district. The people then marched off to war while he left for the gate. He told ʿAbdallāh b. Jahm who was in charge of Qaṭrabbul Gate, "Do not let any of them come back through the gate in retreat." When the battle was engaged, the people scattered and the rout was on. Asad b. Dāwūd stood fast until he was killed. He had killed three with his own hands when a silver (*gharab*) arrow struck his throat. He was retreating when another arrow hit the back of his mount; it bolted and threw him. No one stood with him except his son, who himself was wounded. The closing of the gates in the face of the retreating men was harder on them than the enemy. Seventy prisoners and three hundred Baghdadi heads were reportedly taken to Sāmarrā.

It was reported that when the prisoners drew close to Sāmarrā, the (officer) accompanying them was given orders not to let them enter

140. That is, the Fief of Umm Jaʿfar. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 113.

the city until their faces were covered. When the populace of Sāmarrā saw them emotions ran high, and they joined their womenfolk in crying aloud and in prayer. News of this reached al-Muʿtazz and he feared the hardening of the hearts of those around him. He thus ordered that each prisoner be given two dīnārs on condition [1594] that they abandon their belligerency. He also ordered that the heads be buried, and it was done. Among the prisoners was a son of Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, a brother of Qusṭanṭīnah, the slave girl of Umm Ḥabīb, and five of the notables of Baghdad who were among the onlookers. As for the son of Muḥammad b. Naṣr, he was reportedly killed and then hung aloft opposite the Shammāsiyyah Gate where his father's position was.

On Thursday, the twenty-sixth of Rabīʿ I (April 27, 865), Abū al-Sāj advanced by way of the Mecca Road accompanied by seven hundred horsemen and eighteen litters containing thirty-six shackled bedouin prisoners. He and his men then entered Baghdad, smartly attired and with their weapons in full view. He marched until reaching the palace (of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh) where he was given five cloaks of honor and was girded with a sword. He then departed for his residence along with his companions. Four of his men had also been given cloaks of honor.

It was said that on Monday, the last day of Rabīʿ I (May 1, 865), a group of Turks came up to the Shammāsiyyah Gate bearing a message from al-Muʿtazz to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, and requested that they be allowed to deliver it. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl refused to receive it until he consulted (someone); the order to receive it was subsequently given. Three horsemen then came on Friday and were met by a man armed with a sword and shield, who had been sent to them by al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl. He removed the letter from a pouch, and it was taken away and delivered to Muḥammad. It contained a reminder to Muḥammad of the duties encumbent upon him stemming from his previous and unbreakable agreement with al-Muʿtazz. It was his duty to be the first of those who support al- [1595] Muʿtazz in his endeavor and set his caliphate on the right course. That letter was said to have been the first to reach him from al-Muʿtazz after the conflict (had begun).

On Saturday, the fifth of Rabīʿ II (May 6, 865), Ḥabshūn b. Bughā the Elder came to Baghdad accompanied by Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb Qūṣarrah, the mawlā of al-Hādī, and those Shākiriyyah who were

with Mūsā b. Bughā. Most of the Shākiriyyah stationed in al-Raqqah—there were some thirteen hundred men—joined them. He was given five cloaks of honor while Yūsuf was given four. Cloaks of honor were also bestowed on some twenty notables among the Shākiriyyah. Following this, they all departed for their residences.

A man came to Baghdad and reported that the Turks, Maghāribah and their retinue on the West Side numbered twelve thousand men; they were headed by Bayakbāk, the commander. The troops with Abū Aḥmad on the East Side numbered seven thousand; al-Durghumān al-Farghānī was Abū Aḥmad's lieutenant. He also reported that there remained but six commanders of the Turks and the Maghāribah in Sāmarrā. They were in charge of guarding the gates.

The two parties engaged in battle on Wednesday, the seventh of Rabī' II (May 8, 865). On that day, al-Mu'tazz reportedly lost four hundred men, including those who drowned. Ibn Ṭāhir lost three
[1596] hundred killed and drowned; the count included only troopers, for on that day none of the rabble came out. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ḥarbi[141] was killed; this had been a hard day for both parties.

It was also reported that Muzāḥim b. Khāqān was struck by an arrow, shot by Mūsā b. Ashnās, and left (the field) wounded. About twenty Turkish and Maghribī commanders were found missing from the army of Abū Aḥmad.

On Thursday, the fifteenth of Rabī' II (May 16, 865), five cloaks of honor were given to Abū al-Sāj, four to Ibn Farāshah, and three to Yaḥyā b. Ḥafṣ (who was known as) Ḥabūs.[142] The camp of Abū al-Sāj was then at Sūq al-Thalāthā'.[143] The regular army was given mules from the stock held by the central authorities; they were to be used as transport for the infantry. Muzāḥim b. Khāqān was transferred from the Ḥarb Gate[144] to the Salāmah Gate and Khālid b. 'Imrān al-Ṭā'ī al-Mawṣilī was appointed in his stead.

It was also reported that when Ibn Ṭāhir ordered Abū al-Sāj to come to him, the latter was supposed to have said, "O Prince, I have

141. Reading is uncertain.

142. The text is Jabūs; it should be read Ḥabūs. See the Leiden edition of Ṭabarī, index, 632.

143. That is, in the southeast section of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 68, and Lassner, *Topography*, 264, n. 25.

144. That is, in the northeast section of Baghdad, in the Ḥarbiyyah quarter. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 112, and map facing p. 107, n. 11.

advice to give." He was told, "Go ahead, Abū Jaʿfar, you are above suspicion," and he said, "If you want to get the most out of those people, you are advised not to take leave of your commanders and not to scatter them but, rather, to hold them together until you break this army stationed across the way. For once you finish with them, you will have full mastery of your own forces." Ibn Ṭāhir responded, "I have my battle plan; if God wills it, He will see to it that it is [successful]." Abū al-Sāj then said, "I am at your command," and departed to execute his orders. [1597]

It was reported that al-Muʿtazz wrote to Abū Aḥmad blaming him for his tarrying in fighting the Baghdadis whereupon the latter responded:

Death's command has its way with us
sometimes it can be borne with ease, sometimes it is hard.

Our recorded battle days are examples for people,
some of them are firsts of their kind, some are not.

Some are hard enough to turn the infant's hair white,
and some see friends betraying one another.

A wide wall so high
that eyes cannot see its top, and a deep trench;

The devastating battle, the drawn sword,
the terrible fear, and the strong fortress.

The early morning calls, "To arms!
to arms!" but no one wakes.

Here's a dead body, here's a wounded one;
here's a burnt person, and here's a drowned one.

This one has been killed, this one has been knocked down,
another one has been bashed with a mangonel.

There, one finds cruelty, and over there looting
ruined palaces which had been pleasing.

Everytime we climb a new path
we find the way blocked.

[1598] Only with God's help shall we attain what we desire,
and only with God's help shall we resist the hardships.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh responded, or (the following) may have been said on his behalf:

Isn't it true that anyone who goes astray
and digresses from the guided path,

Will find what you have described?
and how befitting is such an end to such a person!

It is especially true of the one who violates his allegiance;
for exacting it from him is a confirmed pledge.

The guided path will be closed to his face,
and he will meet unbearable hardships.

He will never attain what he desires,
nor will the one who does not repent his transgressions.

This we know just like a proverb,
received from one generation to another.

Our witness is this [Holy] Book
which has been confirmed by the true Prophet.

As for the first poem, it was recited by ʿAlī b. Umayyah during the civil war between the deposed (al-Amīn) and al-Maʿmūn. The response is anonymous.

In Rabīʿ II, 251 (May 2–30, 865), two hundred cavalry and infantry were reportedly sent by al-Muʿtazz to the district of Bandanījayn[145] under the command of a Turk called Ablaj. They made for al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī and looted his residence while attacking his village. Follow-

145. That is, the northeast section of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 499, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 63, 80.

ing this, they proceeded to a nearby village, where they ate and drank. When they felt secure, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī cried out for help against them, (addressing his call to) some Kurds from among his maternal uncles and people from the villages surrounding him. [1599] They fell upon the Turks, catching them unawares. They killed most of them, and took seventeen men as prisoners. Ablaj was killed, and the rest of them fled at night. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī now sent the prisoners, the head of Ablaj, and the heads of those who were killed with him, to Baghdad. This al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī was from the (tribe of) Shaybān. He reportedly served as Yaḥya b. Ḥafṣ's deputy when the latter was a public official. His mother was Kurdish.

Al-Madā' in During This Civil War

It was reported that when Abū al-Sāj, Ismāʿīl b. Farāshah and Yaḥyā b. Ḥafṣ were given cloaks of honor in order to proceed to al-Madāʿin; they set up camp at Sūq al-Thalāthā'. On Sunday, the twentieth of Rabīʿ I (April 21, 865), Abū al-Sāj[146] let his infantry ride the mules, and he set off towards al-Madā'in, which had been the trench of the Sassanian Emperor.[147] He wrote asking for reinforcements, and five hundred infantry of the regular army were sent to him. He himself had set out at the head of three thousand horsemen and infantry. Then Abū al-Sāj asked for further reinforcements, and they were given to him; so his army reached three thousand men of the old Shākiriyyah who were transported in vessels that set sail for him on Sunday, the fourth of Jumādā I[148] (June 3, 865).

Al-Anbār[149] and the Civil War There

Among these events, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent Najūbah b. Qays at the head of a bedouin force to al-Anbār, and ordered him to estab-

146. The text does not specify his name, but he is obviously intended by the context.

147. For Madā'in, and its importance under the Sassanians, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 74–75.

148. The text has Jumādā II, which would not be a Sunday. The fourth of Jumādā I, however, was a Sunday, and the text should be emended as in the translation.

149. That is, on the Euphrates, northwest of Baghdad, at some ten *farsakhs* (sixty km) away. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 257.

lish a position there and to enlist recruits among the bedouins of that district. He managed to enlist some two thousand men from
[1600] among them and those like them, and he established himself at al-Anbār, thus securing the city. Word then reached him that a contingent of Turks was making its way towards him. At this, he opened the floodgates of the Euphrates, emptying its waters into the trench of al-Anbār. When the trench was filled, it overflowed (and flooded) the surrounding steppes, with the water reaching as far as al-Saylaḥayn.[150] The area surrounding al-Anbār thus became one continuous swamp. He also demolished the masonry bridges (*qanṭarah*) leading to the city, and he wrote asking for reinforcements. Rashīd b. Kāwūs, the brother of al-Afshīn, was selected to go to him, and the latter gathered those of his troops who were with him—they numbered one thousand men: five hundred cavalry and five hundred infantry. He went forth and set up camp by Qaṣr ʿAbdawayh.[151] Ibn Ṭāhir reinforced him with three hundred infantry from the Malaṭiyah[152] contingent which was coming from the frontier region. They were selected, given what was due them, and assigned to him on Tuesday. By Monday, the last day of Rabīʿ I [153] (May 1, 865), Rashīd departed from Qaṣr ʿAbdawayh at the head of fifteen hundred men.

On Tuesday, al-Muʿtazz dispatched Abū Naṣr b. Bughā from Sāmarrā along the Isḥāqī Road. After marching a day and a night, he came up to al-Anbār in the morning. At the same time Rashīd b. Kāwūs set up camp there. Najūbah had positioned himself inside the city while Rashīd was camped outside of it. When Abū Naṣr ar-
[1601] rived, he took Rashīd and his men unawares; they had not taken up their battle stations yet. Abū Naṣr's men put them to the sword and

150. The text is al-Ṣāliḥīn; it should be read al-Saylaḥayn, as in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 298–299. This district, according to Yāqūt, is only some three *farsakhs* (eighteen km) from Baghdad; hence the flooded land must have covered some forty km down from Al-Anbār.

151. See Lassner, *Topography*, 70. The camp was still in the Baghdad area.

152. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 120, 121, 128, 136, 142.

153. There is a mistake in the text at this point. The last day of Rabīʿ II was not a Monday but, rather, a Wednesday. The confusion may have occurred because the daily cycle begins in the evening rather than at midnight or midday. In any case, Tuesday is the correct reading, being consistent with the rest of the text as well as with the end of Rabīʿ I, which was, indeed, a Tuesday.

showered them with arrows, killing a number of them. Some of Rashīd's troops took up their arms and fought furiously with the Turks and the Maghāribah, killing several of them. Rashīd and the Shākiriyyah then fled back to Baghdad along the road they had taken before. When Najūbah learned what had befallen Rashīd's men, and that the Turks intended to attack al-Anbār following the former's retreat, he crossed over with a group of his men to the west bank and cut the pontoon bridge of al-Anbār (behind him). That night, Rashīd went to al-Muḥawwal,[154] while Najūbah moved along the west bank (of the Ṣarāt) until he reached Baghdad on Thursday evening. Later that evening, Rashīd entered the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir. Najūbah told Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh that when the Turks were marching to al-Anbār, he sent word to Rashīd asking him for a hundred archers so that he could array them in front of his army, but the latter refused. Najūbah now asked Ibn Ṭāhir to assign to his command archers drawn from the cavalry and the infantry so that he could march with them to his kinsmen. Najūbah mentioned that they were stationed here on the West Side, obediently awaiting the Commander of the Faithful. After giving guarantees that he would execute what was expected of him,[155] Najūbah was given the command of three hundred archers from the cavalry of the Shākiriyyah and from their [1602] infantry. After being given five cloaks of honor, he marched to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah to make ready there.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh then selected al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl to go to al-Anbār and sent along with him Muḥammad b. Rajāʾ al-Ḥiḍārī, ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, Rashīd b. Kāwūs, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā and a group of others. He also ordered that money be given to anyone leaving with al-Husayn and this company. The Shākiriyyah, who came from Malaṭiyah, and who represented the main group[156] accepting four months military allotment, refused, for most of them did not have a mount. They said, "We need to replenish ourselves and buy mounts." Four thousand dīnārs had been offered them, but they were satisfied with four months pay. Al-Ḥusayn held an audi-

154. That is, on the ʿĪsā Canal, about one *farsakh* (six km) northwest of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 31, 32, 66, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 425.

155. This seems to be the sense of the uncertain text, *ḍamana an yatalāqā mā kāna minhu.*

156. The text is *man*, "who"; it should be read *mimman*, "of those," as in Ms. O.

ence at the door of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's palace and began to check the lists (*jarāʾid*) of recruits[157] in order to review the troops[158] with his companions in Madīnat Abū Jaʿfar.[159] On that day, he paid a contingent of his special forces. Following that, al-Ḥusayn and the clerks of the dīwāns went to Madīnat Abī Jaʿfar and offered service pay to those regular troops who would move out with him. They were to be paid at three sessions; the payments were completed on Saturday, the eighteenth of Jumādā I (June 17, 865).

On Monday, al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl was brought to the palace (of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh). With him were the commanders who were leaving with him, namely: Rashīd b. Kāwūs, Muḥammad b.
[1603] Rajāʾ, ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, Irmīs (?) al-Farghānī, Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, the brother of Ḥuzām, Yūsuf b. Manṣūr b. Yūsuf al-Barm, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī, al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, and Muḥammad b. Harthamah b. al-Naḍir. Al-Ḥusayn was given cloaks of honor and was promoted from the fourth battalion (*fawj*) to the second. These commanders were also given cloaks of honor; Rashīd b. Kāwūs was put in charge of the vanguard, and Muḥammad b. Rajāʾ was given the train. Al-Ḥusayn, those of his kinsmen (*ʿashīrah*) who were attached to him, and his generals marched to their camp, following Waṣīf and Bughā (who) had been ordered (to depart) ahead of him. He was escorted to al-Yāsiriyyah[160] by ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh and all of Ibn Ṭāhir's commanders, (his) secretaries, the Banū Hāshim, and the notables. The army families were given thirty-six thousand dīnārs. Eighteen hundred dīnārs were taken to the encampment at al-Yāsiriyyah to be distributed to the remaining fighting men in order to pay off what was due them.

On Thursday al-Ḥusayn's vanguard, commanded by ʿAbdallāh b. Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb and comprising one thousand cavalry and infantry, marched until they reached the dam (*bathq*) known as Bathq al-Qāṭūfah, where they encamped.

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157. *Jarāʾid* could also mean a company of horsemen without footmen among them. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 407, col. 1; but it is hard to read that meaning with *taṣḥīḥ*, that is, "to correct," "to check." In this context it should be understood as military rolls.

158. The Text is *al-nās*, "people."

159. The reference is to the Round City. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 15–46.

160. That is, some two miles northwest of Baghdad. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, V, 425, and n. 154 above.

The Turks had already sent to al-Manṣūriyyah,[161] five *farsakhs* [1604]
(thirty km) from Baghdad, a contingent consisting of their men, some Maghāribah, and the rabble. The group numbered around one hundred men. Seven of the Maghāribah were taken (prisoner), and then brought to al-Ḥusayn who had them taken to the Gate (in Baghdad). Al-Ḥusayn himself set forth on Friday, the twenty-third of Jumādā I (June 22, 865). The populace of al-Anbār had asked for guarantees of safe conduct when the Turks and Maghāribah arrived at the city after Najūbah and Rashīd had retreated. It was granted to them. They were ordered to open their shops, conduct business in them, and go about their affairs as usual. As a result, the Anbārīs felt secure and trusted that the garrison would not harm them. They remained so for a day and a night. But the next morning, while the garrison was (still) in control of the city, vessels sailing from al-Raqqah arrived containing flour, and rafts bearing oil and other items also arrived. The garrison seized the shipments and everything they found including camels, pack animals, mules and donkeys. They sent them off with someone who would deliver them to their residences in Sāmarrā. They looted whatever they could find, and sent along the heads of those who were killed from among the men of Rashīd, Najūbah, and the Baghdadis, together with those that were taken prisoner. The prisoners numbered 120 men; there were sev- [1605]
enty heads. The prisoners were carried in sacks with their heads sticking out until they reached Sāmarrā. Later the Turks went up to the mouth of the river at al-Asnānah[162] and attempted to block it, thereby preventing the waters of the Euphrates from reaching Baghdad. After paying a man some money, they sent him to get (hold of) the lock mechanism and to lock it with ropes and yardarms. But he was discovered as he was buying (the equipment). The mob beat him and cursed him until he lay near death, and then he was taken to the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir. When he was asked about the matter, he confessed the truth and was sent to prison.

Ibn Ṭāhir had already sent al-Ḥārith, Abū al-Sāj's lieutenant—he

161. This town name is mentioned several times by Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII, 599, 620, 622, IX, 251, 569, X, 16, 50, but all references are to North Africa. The Iraqi counterpart is hard to determine.

162. We should probably read Astān to mean a "district." See Le Strange, *Lands*, 79–80. Apparently they wanted to block the traffic along one of the major arteries that connected the Euphrates to Baghdad.

had been travelling along the Mecca Road—to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. He attached to al-Ḥārith's command five hundred Shākiriyyah cavalry who were to advance with him. Al-Ḥārith departed with his companions on the seventh of Jumādā I (June 6, 865). Ibn Ṭāhir also sent Ibn Abī Dulaf Hāshim b. al-Qāsim at the head of two hundred infantry and cavalry to al-Sībān[163] in order to establish a position there. When al-Ḥusayn set out for al-Anbār, written orders were sent to Hāshim to join al-Ḥasayn's army and accompany it to the city. In Baghdad, the call went out to the troops of al-Ḥusayn and Muzāḥim b. Khāqān to join their commanders, after which al-Ḥusayn set out. Khālid b. 'Imrān also advanced, setting up camp in
[1606] Dimimmā.[164] There, he wanted to build a pontoon bridge across the Aniq[165] canal so that his troops might cross the waterway, but the Turks resisted him. A contingent of infantry crossed over to encounter the enemy and dispersed them, whereupon Khālid completed the bridge and crossed over with his company. Meanwhile, al-Ḥusayn marched to Dimimmā and camped outside the village. After having spent one day in his camp, the vanguard of the Turkish army reached him in the area along the Aniq and the Rufayl above the village of Dimimmā. Al-Ḥusayn then ranged his troops along one side of the river while the Turks, numbering around one thousand men, were on the other side. They showered each other with arrows and a number of troops were wounded. The Turks then departed for al-Anbār, while Najūbah was still positioned at Qaṣr b. Hubayrah.

Joining al-Ḥusayn at this point were all the bedouins in Najūbah's force and others. Najūbah wrote asking for money to pay to his troops, and orders were given that three thousand dīnārs be taken to al-Ḥusayn's camp and paid out to Najūbah's men. As for al-Ḥusayn, he was given money, necklaces, bracelets and gifts to be distributed to those who fought with valor. Moreover, al-Ḥusayn was promised further reinforcements to bring his army up to ten thousand men. Orders were subsequently dispatched that that promise be met. Moreover, it was ordered that Abū al-Sanā Muḥammad b. 'Abdūs al-Ghanawī and al-Jaḥḥāf b. Sawād be sent at the head of a thousand in-

163. The locale is uncertain. Any two water courses (*sīb*) could be called thus. See, however, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 293, who locates it near Qaṣr Hubayrah.

164. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 66.

165. The reading is uncertain. Also rendered as Abiq.

fantry and cavalry from among the Malaṭiyah (troops) and a force selected from various commands. These men received their rations on [1607]
the second day before the end of Jumādā I (June 28, 865),[166] and then marched with Abū al-Sanā and al-Jaḥḥāf along the Karkhāyā[167] Canal to al-Muḥawwal,[168] and then to Dimimmā.

Al-Ḥusayn encamped with his army in an open expanse that was sufficient for his force; it was known as al-Qaṭīʿah. He stayed there for one day and then intended to leave for an area adjacent to al-Anbār. But Rashīd and the commanders advised him to keep the camp in that place because it had ample space and was fortifiable. He could then proceed together with his commanders and part of a cavalry squadron to find out if the conditions (there) would be in his favor. If so, he could then transfer the camp; if not, he could withdraw to the camp and counterattack his enemy. He did not accept the idea and ordered his men to move out from their positions. They did this, moving to a new place some two *farsakhs* (twelve km) away. When they reached the place where al-Ḥusayn wanted to set up camp, he gave orders for people to dismount.

The Turks had spies in al-Ḥusayn's camp, and they went and informed them of the latter's journey and how the loyalist army found their (new) encampment crowded. The Turks charged al-Ḥusayn's force while people were still unloading their baggage. The army was stirred to action, and the call went out, "To arms!" They arrayed their troops and fought back as both parties suffered casualties. Al-Ḥusayn's troops then attacked the Turks, inflicting an ignominious defeat on the latter, slaughtering a great number of them while many others drowned in the Euphrates. The Turks, however, had also positioned a party of ambushers. With the battle joined, they emerged, attacking the rest of the loyalist camp. The latter found no refuge except the Euphrates. Many of al-Ḥusayn's men were thus drowned, a number were killed, and some of the infantry were taken [1608]
prisoner. As for the cavalry, they beat a hasty retreat on their mounts, paying attention to nothing else. None responded to the

166. The text does not specify which Jumādā. But since the events seem to lead into Jumādā II, we assume here that it was Jumādā I.

167. The Karkhāyā Canal was on the West Side of Baghdad, and still within the city area. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 52–56.

168. The distance to Muḥawwal is some six kilometers northwest of Baghdad. See n. 154, above.

commanders who pleaded and called upon them to return. Muḥammad b. Rajā' and Rashīd, however, fought valiantly that day. Those who retreated withdrew all the way to the Yāsiriyyah Gate of Baghdad. When the commanders could not control their men any longer they, too, retreated behind them, protecting their rear lest they be followed. As a result, the Turks appropriated all of al-Ḥusayn's camp, including the tents, the household possessions of the troops and the wares of the merchants. Al-Ḥusayn also had with him weapons that had been stored aboard vessels. These were safe, however, for the sailors guarded their vessels, thus saving the weapons and the merchant's wares they were carrying.

Ibn Zanbūr, the secretary of al-Ḥusayn (reported the following). Seized from al-Ḥusayn were twelve chests containing garments, eight thousand dīnārs belonging to the central authorities, about four thousand dīnārs of his own, and a hundred mules. Al-Ḥusayn's (own) recruits looted his tents and those of his troops and then fled, arriving at al-Yāsiriyyah. Most of the looting, however, had taken place among the men of Abū al-Sanā. As for al-Ḥusayn, he and those who fled arrived at al-Yāsiriyyah on Tuesday, the sixth of Jumādā II[169] (July 5, 865). One of the merchants, from among those who had lost their possessions in al-Ḥusayn's camp, met him along with
[1609] a group of them and said, "Praise the God Who cheers you. It took you twelve days to get where you wanted, but only one to retreat all the way back." Al-Ḥusayn paid no attention to him, however.

(According to) Abū Ja'far, what follows is drawn from the reports that reached us about al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl and his commanders and troops, who were dispatched in this year by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. They were dispatched from Baghdad to fight the Turks and the Maghāribah who had come to al-Anbār and the adjacent district. When al-Ḥusayn reached al-Yāsiriyyah, after having retreated from Dimimmā in defeat, he stayed at Bustān Ibn al-Ḥarūrī. The others who came back in defeat stayed on the western side of al-Yāsiriyyah and were not allowed to cross over. It was announced in Baghdad that those troops of al-Ḥusayn's army (who were) currently in the city were to join his camp (at al-Yāsiriyyah). They were given three days to do so; anyone found in Baghdad after three days would

169. The sixth of Jumādā II was not a Tuesday but, rather, a Thursday. Better read Jumādā I, which would then be June 5, 865.

be administered three hundred lashes and his name would be erased from the military roll. At this, the people left. On the same night in which al-Ḥusayn arrived, Khālid b. ʿImrān was given orders to encamp with his men at al-Muḥawwal. That night he gave his men their allotments while they sat mounted. It was also announced among Khālid's men, who were then in al-Muḥawwal, to join him there. Similarly, the old recruits, who were conscripted by Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar in al-Kūfah—they amounted to some five hundred men—were called into service together with Khālid's troops, about one thousand men. They encamped at al-Muḥawwal [1610] on Tuesday, the fourth of Jumādā II (July 3, 865).[170]

The morning following the night of al-Ḥusayn's arrival, Ibn Ṭāhir gave orders to al-Shāh b. Mīkāl to meet al-Ḥusayn and refuse him entry to Baghdad. He met him en route (to the city) and sent him back to Bustān Ibn al-Ḥarūrī, where they (al-Ḥusayn and his retinue) stayed that day. When night fell they came to the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir. The latter chastized al-Ḥusayn and ordered him to go back to al-Yāsiriyyah and then march to al-Anbār together with any soldiers who would do so. That same night, al-Ḥusayn returned to al-Yāsiriyyah and ordered that one month's salary be given to the families of this army. Nine thousand dīnārs were brought, and the clerks handling the payroll and the muster roll came to al-Yāsiriyyah to muster the troops and hand them their pay.

When Friday, the seventh of Jumādā II (July 6, 865), came around, Khālid b. ʿImrān went up to the masonry bridge of Bihlāyā, which is the site of the dam (*sikr*). At the same time, some twenty vessels set sail and ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh, Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl, and al-Ḥusayn b. Makhlad rode off to the camp of al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl in al-Yāsiriyyah. There, they read to al-Ḥusayn and the commanders a letter written by al-Mustaʿīn. In it, al-Mustaʿīn informed them of their offensive disobedience, their mutiny and their dissent. It was read to them while the army stood by and the muster officers were lining them up to find out who had been killed and who had drowned from each command. After that, they were called to join [1611] their units. Marching out, they received a dispatch from some of their informants at al-Anbār that the Turks suffered more than two hundred dead, and around four hundred wounded. All the prisoners

170. The text reads Jumādā, but it should be emended to read "fourth of Jumādā II".

that the Turks took from the Baghdadis, including regular troops and infantry recruits were 220 persons. The heads of the (loyalist) dead were counted and found to be seventy heads. They had taken along some of the market people who cried out to Abū Naṣr, "We are the people of the market." He asked, "And why was it that you were with them?" To which they answered, "We were compelled, and thus we went along to ply our trade or. . . ."[171] Those of them who looked like market people were set free, while the prisoners were jailed at al-Qaṭī'ah. The officer in charge of the government mules was reported to have said that all the government mules that were lost amounted to 120 animals.

Al-Ḥusayn departed on Monday, the seventeenth of Jumādā II (July 16, 865), and wrote to Khālid b. 'Imrān, who was positioned at the dam, to march before him. But Khālid refused to do so and indicated that he would not leave his position until an officer with a huge army replaced him, for he feared that the Turks operating from their camp in the region of Qaṭrabbul might come up behind his army. Ibn Ṭāhir ordered that money be sent to al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl to pay each of his troops one month's salary. The money was to be distributed at Dimimmā. He also ordered that clerks and muster of-
[1612] ficers accompany the shipment sent there. Al-Faḍl b. Muẓaffar al-Saba'ī was in charge of military expenditures and also the payroll, which was to draw upon the bureau of taxation for funding. The money was brought by al-Saba'ī to al-Ḥusayn's camp so that the former could march along with him when he moved on.

It was said that al-Ḥusayn departed for al-Anbār at midnight on Wednesday, the nineteenth of Jumādā II (July 18, 865). The call went out for his men to join up with him, and his army followed him during the day on Wednesday.[172] Al-Ḥusayn marched until reaching Dimimmā where he wanted to build a pontoon bridge over the Aniq Canal[173] to cross the waterway, but the Turks resisted him. A contingent of his infantry crossed over and fought the Turks until they

171. The exact meaning of *sūqī* and *sawaqah* is uncertain. Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 1472, col. 2, argues that it means subjects of a king, because he drives them. But here it seems to mean people who make their livelihood by roaming around in the sūq with whatever commodity they are selling.

172. The Muslim day begins at night fall. See Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 5. So midnight of Wednesday is midnight Tuesday of the civil day.

173. This story, almost verbatim, was attributed to Khālid b. 'Imrān, p. 1606 of the Leiden edition. Ṭabarī seems to be confusing both events.

dispersed them, whereupon Khālid[174] built the bridge allowing his men to cross the waterway. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh then sent him a message of congratulations with his secretary Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, who was said to have brought along necklaces and bracelets. Muḥammad then returned to his residence. On Saturday, the eighth of Rajab (August 5, 865),[175] a man came to al-Ḥusayn and told him that the Turks had been guided to several spots on the Euphrates which could be forded in an effort to reach his camp. He ordered that the informant be given two hundred lashes, and ordered one of his officers called al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī together with one hundred infantry and one hundred cavalry to guard the crossing points. When the Turkish vanguard appeared, carrying fourteen banners, he charged them, and his men engaged them for an hour. He [1613] charged Abū al-Sanā with guarding the bridge (*qanṭarah*)[176] and instructed him to prohibit anyone fleeing from crossing it. When the Turks came up to the crossing and found it guarded, they left and moved on to another one behind it. But they were fought by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī who persevered in battle. When al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl was informed of that, he marched in that direction, but he did not reach Ibn ʿAlī before the latter was routed together with Khālid b. ʿImrān, and their men. At the bridge Abū al-Sanā would not let them cross, and the infantry and Khurāsānīs turned back throwing themselves into the Euphrates. Those who could not swim drowned; but those who could swim escaped, crossing without their clothes, to an island from which one could not reach the shore because there were Turks along the shore.

Some of al-Ḥusayn's troops (reported that) when al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Armanī sent word to al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl informing him that the Turks had reached the crossing, the messenger was told, "The commander is asleep." So he returned and reported that. Then a second messenger was sent, but he was told by the guard, "The commander is at the privy." And he went back and reported that. A third messenger reported back, "He came out of the privy but he went back to

174. The text has Khālid where it should read al-Ḥusayn. Note, this is the same account as the one given on p. 1606 of the Leiden edition.

175. Saturday was the seventh of Rajab, 251. One should read either Sunday or the seventh of Rajab.

176. The reference here seem to be to a masonry bridge (*qanṭarah*) and not to a pontoon bridge (*jisr*). See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 424, col. 3.

sleep." When morning came and the Turks attacked, al-Ḥusayn sat himself in a skiff (*zawraq*) or river vessel and sailed downstream. A group of Khurāsānīs were taken prisoner; they cast aside their clothes and weapons and sat naked on the shore. Those who bore the Turkish banners pressed on until they hoisted their flags at al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl's tent and cut off the marketplace. Most of the
[1614] vessels sailed downstream and were safe except for those that were put under guard.[177] The Turks pursued al-Ḥusayn's followers and put them to the sword. They killed or captured some two hundred men, while a great number drowned. Al-Ḥusayn together with the defeated army reached Baghdad by midnight. The rest of those fleeing arrived during the day; among them were several wounded. They kept on arriving, naked and wounded, until midday. Among the lost commanders of al-Ḥusayn was Ibn Yūsuf al-Barm. But a letter came later reporting that he was being held prisoner by the Turks at the camp of Mufliḥ, and that the number of prisoners from al-Ḥusayn's second battle exceeded 170 men. There were a hundred dead, and two thousand pack animals and two hundred mules were lost. The value of the clothes, and weapons and other things lost was more than one hundred thousand dinārs. Al-Hindawānī recited in reference to al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl:

O You, most firm in staying behind
From battle. You've mixed serenity with sorrow.

When you saw the drawn swords of the Turks,
you knew what destinies these swords were bringing.

You stayed secluded in shame and disgrace,
success is always lost between impotence and distress.

In Jumādā II, 251 (June 30–July 28, 865), a group of people from Baghdad joined al-Muʿtazz, including some of the secretaries and members of the Banū Hāshim. Joining al-Muʿtazz from among the
[1615] generals was Muzāḥim b. Khāqān Urṭūj, and from among the secretaries were ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūḥ, Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq, Namārī, Yaʿqūb b. Ṣāliḥ b. Murshid, Muqlah, and a son of Abū Muzāḥim b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān. The Hashimites included ʿAlī and Muḥammad the sons of

177. That is, they were told not to move.

al-Wāthiq, Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, one of the sons of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī.

In this year, there was a battle in which Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Yazīd and Aḥmad al-Muwallad faced Ayyūb b. Aḥmad at Sukayr[178] in the territory of Banū Taghlib. A great number of men from the two factions were killed. Muḥammad b. Khālid fled, leaving his possessions to be looted by the others. Ayyūb destroyed the dwellings of the family of Hārūn b. Maʿmar and killed every man of theirs that he captured.

In (this year), Balkājūr conducted a raid of conquest which reportedly uncovered a cache containing a great deal of booty. He captured a number of the heathen soldiers (*aʿlāj*), and the news was brought to al-Mustaʿīn through a letter dated Wednesday, the twenty-sixth of Rabīʿ II, 251 (May 27, 865).[179]

On Saturday, the twenty-second of Rajab, 251 (August 19, 865), a battle took place in which Muḥammad b. Rajāʾ and Ismāʿīl b. Farāshah faced Juʿlān al-Turkī. The battle occurred in the districts of Bādurāyā and Bākusāyā.[180] Ibn Rajāʾ and Ibn Farāshah defeated Juʿlān and killed or captured several of his men.

In Rajab, 251 (July 29–August 27, 865), a battle reportedly took [1616]
place between Dīwdād Abū al-Sāj and Bāyakbāk in the district of Jarjarāyā.[181] In this battle Abū al-Sāj killed Bāyakbāk together with a number of his men and captured some others. Still others drowned in the Nahrawān.

In the middle of Rajab, 251 (August 12, 865), the ʿAbbāsids of the Banū Hāshim, who were in Baghdad, gathered together and went to the island opposite the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. They called for al-Mustaʿīn and cursed Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, using ugly words. They also said, "We have been denied our stipends, while you pay money to others to whom it is not due. We shall die shrunken from starvation. Unless you pay our due we will go to the

178. That is, in the Jazīrah area, near the Byzantine borders. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 97–98, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 231, II, 334–335.

179. That day was not Wednesday but, rather, Sunday. Was it possibly the third day of Rabīʿ I, which was indeed a Wednesday, and hence April 4, 865 ?

180. These districts are to the northeast of Baghdad. See n. 145, above, and Le Strange, *Lands*, 63.

181. That is southeast of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 37. Note these military activities are conducted without involving the ruling family, a sign of their lack of control.

gates and open them to the Turks, and no one in Baghdad would oppose us." Al-Shāh b. Mīkāl crossed over and spoke gently with them. He asked that three of them accompany him to the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir. They rejected that and refused to do anything except cry out against and curse Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. Al-Shāh took leave of them, and they persisted in this behavior until night approached. Then they departed, but they gathered again the very next day. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent orders to them to appear at his palace on Monday so that he could appoint someone to look into their claims (*yunāẓiruhum*). When they came to the palace, Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Ṭūsī was ordered to negotiate with them. He gave them one month's payment with an order to accept it and not bother the Caliph anymore. They, on the other hand, refused to accept one month's payment and left.

[1617] In this year a Ṭālibid called al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib rebelled in al-Kūfah. He sought the caliphate for one of the Ṭālibids, a man called Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥusayn b. Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan. His patronymic was Abū Aḥmad. Al-Mustaʿīn sent Muzāḥim b. Khāqān Urṭūj against him. The ʿAlid was in the environs of al-Kūfah at the head of three hundred men from the Banū Asad, and three hundred men of the Jārūdiyyah and the Zaydiyyah;[182] most of them were wool manufacturers. The governor of al-Kūfah at that time was Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Malik al-Khuzāʿī. The ʿAlid killed eleven of Ibn Naṣr's men, four of them troops in the city. Aḥmad b. Naṣr fled to Qaṣr Hubayrah and met with Hishām b. Abī Dulaf who was in charge of some of the hinterland and surroundings of al-Kūfah. When Muzāḥim reached the village of Shāhī, he received orders to position himself there until someone was sent to persuade the ʿAlid to return to the fold. He (Hishām) then sent Dāwūd b. al-Qāsim al-Jaʿfarī along with some money. The latter headed towards the rebel; but Dāwūd and his message were slow in coming to Mu-
[1618] zāḥim, and the latter had already marched off against al-Kūfah from the villgae of Shāhī. He entered the city, seeking the ʿAlid who had, in turn, fled. Whereupon, Muzāḥim sent an officer to pursue the

182. For more information on these Shīʿite groups, see Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, 19, 49–51, and Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 207–214.

rebel. He wrote of his conquest of al-Kūfah, sending the dispatch in a feathered mail pouch.

It was reported that the people of al-Kūfah urged the ʿAlid to fight Muzāḥim when the latter came up against him, and they promised him victory. The ʿAlid went out on the west side of the Euphrates, whereupon Muzāḥim dispatched one of his commanders on the east side with orders to march until he crossed the Kūfah Bridge. Then he was to return. The officer went to execute his orders while Muzāḥim ordered some troops who remained with him to ford the river at the crossing point of the Euphrates at the village of Shāhī. They were then to advance and engage the Kūfans in combat when they were arrayed directly in front of them. Thus they marched with Muzāḥim, who crossed the Euphrates leaving his baggage and the rest of his men. When the Kūfans saw them, they attacked. But Muzāḥim's commander reached them and attacked the rear while Muzāḥim (himself) was in front of the Kūfans. The government force overwhelmed the Kūfans, and not one of them escaped.

Ibn al-Kurdiyyah (reported that) thirteen of Muzāḥim's men were killed before he entered al-Kūfah. Among the Zaydī, the wool manufacturers, seventeen were killed. The bedouins lost three hundred men. When Muzāḥim entered al-Kūfah stones were thrown at him. He responded by hurling fire on both sides of al-Kūfah, burning seven marketplaces, until the fire reached al-Sabīʿ.[183] He also attacked the house where the ʿAlid was staying, but the latter had fled. Later he was brought back and killed. In that battle only one ʿAlid (supporter) was killed, while all the ʿAlid (supporters) who were in al-Kūfah were reportedly imprisoned, as were the Banū Hāshim; the [1619]
ʿAlid (himself) was one of them.

Abū Ismāʿīl al-ʿAlawī (told that) Muzāḥim reportedly burned a thousand dwellings in al-Kūfah and manhandled the ʿAlid's daughters. It was also reported that he took the servant girls of the ʿAlid, including a free woman who was in his charge. He set her up by the mosque door and auctioned her off.

In the middle of Rajab, 251 (August 12, 865), Muzāḥim received a letter sent by al-Muʿtazz in which the latter ordered him to join his side and promised him whatever he desired. Muzāḥim read the let-

183. A district of al-Kūfah named after the tribe Sabīʿ. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 187.

ter to his followers. The Turks, the Farāghinah and the Maghāribah responded positively, while the Shākiriyyah refused to go along. He marched on with those who obeyed him—some four hundred men. Abū Nūḥ had already preceded him to Sāmarrā, as the letter indicated. Muzāḥim had been waiting for word of al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, and when the latter was routed Muzāḥim marched off to Sāmarrā. With the conquest of al-Kūfah, al-Mustaʿīn sent Muzāḥim ten thousand dīnārs, five cloaks of honor, and a sword. As the (Caliph's) emissary was heading towards Muzāḥim, he met the latter's troops along the road. They returned everything to the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and reported to him about Muzāḥim. The troops and the Shākiriyyah were commanded by a lieutenant of al-Ḥusayn b. Yazīd al-Ḥarrānī, Hishām b. Abī Dulaf, and al-Ḥārith, the lieutenant of Abū al-Sāj. Ibn Ṭāhir ordered that each of them be given three cloaks of honor.

[1620] It was also reported that this ʿAlid had risen in rebellion at Nīnawā at the end of Jumādā II, 251 (July 28, 865). A group of bedouins—some of whom had rebelled in support of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar in 250 (864)—joined him. Hishām b. Abī Dulaf had come to that region, and the ʿAlid attacked him with some fifty men. The latter was defeated and several of his followers were killed; twenty men were captured together with a young boy (*ghulām*). The ʿAlid then fled to al-Kūfah and hid there. Later on he reappeared.

The prisoners and the heads (of the dead) were taken to Baghdad. Five of the men were identified; they had served with Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, (were captured at that time) and (were) then set free. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh had ordered that anyone who had been set free and then returned (to rebellion) should be administered five hundred lashes.[184] They were beaten on the last day of Jumādā II (July 28, 865).

It was also reported that when the dispatches of Abū al-Sāj came with the news that he had defeated Bāyakbāk on the eighteenth of Rajab, 251 (August 15, 865), ten thousand dīnārs in aid were sent to him together with a gift of five cloaks of honor and a sword.

In this year, a battle reportedly took place between Mankajūr b.

184. It is not clear whether such an order was supposed to dissuade people from rejoining the battle once they had been freed, or whether *aṭlaqa* here means "to single out."

Ḥandarūs (?) and a group of Turks at the Madā'in Gate. In this battle Mankajūr defeated the Turks, killing several of them.

Also in 251, Balkājūr led a summer campaign in which he [1621] reportedly conquered some territory.

A battle between Yaḥyā b. Harthamah and Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh took place this year. Several men from both sides were killed and Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh was defeated.

On Thursday,[185] the twelfth of Sha'bān (September 8, 865), a battle took place at the Baghwārayā Gate between the Turks and the followers of Ibn Ṭāhir. The occasion for that was as follows. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim and the commander known as al-Nasawī were in charge of the Baghwārayā Gate at the head of some three hundred infantry and cavalry. A large contingent of Turks and Maghāribah came forward, pierced the wall in two places, and entered through the breaches. Al-Nasawī gave combat, but they routed him and reached the Anbār Gate, which was defended by Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab, Ibn Abī Khālid, and Ibn Asad b. Dāwūd Siyāh, who were unaware of the Turks' entry through the Baghwārayā Gate. They fought furiously against the Turks, and a number of men were killed on both sides. Then those Baghdadis who were at the Anbār Gate fled, paying attention to nothing else. The Turks and Maghāribah attacked the Anbār Gate with fire, and it was set aflame, as were the mangonels and ballistas situated there. They now entered Baghdad, reaching the Iron Gate and the Rahīnah Cemetery.[186] From the direction of the Shāri' quarter[187] they reached the street of the waterwheel workers,[188] burning everything in that vicinity before and after them. They hoisted their flags on the shops of that neigh- [1622] borhood, and the people fled leaving no one to face them. That took place at the time of the morning prayer.

Ibn Ṭāhir sent for the commanders and then rode out armed. He stopped at the gate of Darb Ṣāliḥ al-Miskīn,[189] where the com-

185. Read Saturday.

186. They seem to have entered the Ḥarbiyyah quarter of Baghdad itself. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, map facing p. 107; for Rahīnah, see Lassner, *Topography*, 71.

187. That is, just north of the Round City, ibid.

188. The text is *mawḍi' aṣḥāb al-dawālīb*. For dwellings of such professionals, see Lassner, *Topography*, 102.

189. Ṣāliḥ al-Miskīn owned property on both sides of Baghdad. See Lassner, *Topography*, 70, 82, and Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 249.

manders assembled to meet him. He dispatched them to the Anbār Gate, the Baghwārayā Gate and all the gates of the West Side. He massed men at these gates, while Bughā and Waṣīf rode out as well. Bughā with his men and his sons headed for the Baghwārayā Gate, while al-Shāh b. Mīkāl, ʿAbbās b. Qārin, and al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, together with the rabble, went to the Anbār Gate. They met the Turks inside the gate, where al-ʿAbbās b. Ḥāzin charged them at once and reportedly killed a group of them on the spot. He then had their heads sent to Ibn Ṭāhir's door. The people of Baghdad overwhelmed the invaders at these gates and pushed them back, forcing them out of the gateways after a group of them had been killed. Bughā al-Sharābī set out for the Baghwārayā Gate at the head of a large force. He caught the enemy by surprise, killing a large number of them as the rest fled. The Turks exited through the gate, but Bughā kept fighting them until late afternoon. Following their defeat the Turks withdrew. Bughā appointed someone to take charge of the gate, and then went to the Anbār Gate. He also directed that burnt bricks and gypsum be brought to block up the structure.[190] On this day, there was also a fierce battle at the Shammāsiyyah
[1623] Gate. It was reported that many were killed from both factions, and others were wounded. The one who fought the Turks that day was reportedly Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb Qūṣarrah.

In this year, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh gave orders to al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal to set up camp at the al-Yāsiriyyah, and he did. Later, he shifted to al-Kunāsah[191] where he was met by Balfardal, Ibn Mkḥwnfḥl[192] al-Ushrūsanī. Orders went out for recruits to join the latter, and some Shākiriyyah and others were subsequently attached to his command. It was also decreed that he join al-Muẓaffar and encamp at al-Kunāsah as part of a joint command securing that region. They both remained there for a while; then Balfardal ordered al-Muẓaffar to move out and obtain information about the Turks, in order to use this information to devise a strategy for dealing with them. Al-Muẓaffar refused, claiming that the commanding officer

190. It is not clear whether the gate itself was blocked or the bricks were used to block the breach in the wall.

191. If al-Kunāsah is the quarter in al-Kūfah, as in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 481, then he moved the camp site quite some distance and from the northwest of Baghdad to the south.

192. Both names, Balfardal and Ibn Mkḥwnfḥl, are uncertain.

gave no orders to that effect. Each of them then wrote, complaining about the other. Al-Muẓaffar sent word asking to be excused from his position at al-Kunāsah, claiming that he was not fit for combat. He was excused and ordered to depart and to remain confined to his house. Balfardal was given command of that army, both the reserves (*nā'ibah*) and the regular forces (*athbāt*). Al-Muẓaffar's regulars were also attached to his command as he took charge of the whole area.

In the month of Ramaḍān 251 (September 26–October 25, 865), Hishām b. Abī Dulaf encountered the rebellious 'Alid at Nīnawā. The latter was accompanied by a man of the Banū Asad. The two forces clashed, and about forty followers of the 'Alid were reportedly killed. After the factions parted the 'Alid entered al-Kūfah, whose [1624] inhabitants swore allegiance to al-Mu'tazz, while Hishām b. Abī Dulaf entered Baghdad.

Also in Ramaḍān, a battle took place in the vicinity of Jarjarāyā between Abū al-Sāj and the Turks. Abū al-Sāj routed them, killing a great number of Turks and capturing others.

On the day before the end of Ramaḍān, 251 (October 24, 865), Balfardal was killed. The circumstances of his death were as follows. When Abū Naṣr b. Bughā conquered al-Anbār and the adjacent area, forcing the armies of Ibn Ṭāhir to retreat from there, he dispatched his cavalry and infantry to the outskirts of West Baghdad. He then marched to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah which was held by Najūbah b. Qays for Ibn Ṭāhir, but the latter fled the city without giving fight. Abū Naṣr went on to the Sarsar Canal.[193] News of him reached Ibn Ṭāhir together with news of Abū al-Sāj's battle against the Turks in Jarjarāyā and the latter's disappointment with his recruits during the adverse conditions. Ibn Ṭāhir then selected Balfardal to march with his troops and join forces with Abū al-Sāj. Balfardal and his men moved out on Tuesday morning, the twenty-eighth of Ramaḍān (October 23, 865). He marched the whole day, and as morning broke he reached al-Madā'in at the same time as the Turks and others who were attached to their command. The commanders and men of Ibn Ṭāhir were stationed in al-Madā'in. The Turks engaged the loyalists in combat, and the latter were routed. The commander who had been in the city then joined Abū al-Sāj. Meanwhile,

193. One of the major canals connecting the Euphrates with the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 49.

Balfardal had engaged the Turks in furious combat; when he saw
[1625] that Ibn Ṭāhir's men had been routed in the city, he and his troops headed towards Abū al-Sāj, but he was overtaken and killed.

Ibn al-Qawārīrī, who was one of the commanders, reported the following. I was in charge of the Baghdad Gate[194] together with Abū al-Ḥusayn. Mankajūr, himself, was in charge of the Sābāṭ Gate. There was a gap in the wall of al-Madāʾin close to his gate. I asked Mankajūr to block it up, but he refused. The Turks then entered the city through it and dispersed his followers. Ibn al-Qawārīrī continued. I remained behind with some ten men when Balfardal himself arrived together with his troops. The latter said, "I am the field commander. I am a cavalryman, and I have cavalry with me. We shall march along the river banks,[195] while the infantry proceeds aboard the vessels." He resisted (the enemy) a while and then left seeking Abū al-Sāj, or the area where he was situated, leaving his troops aboard the vessels on their own. After his departure, I held my position for a while, dressed with ornaments and mounted on a blond horse. Then I rode it into a canal where it stumbled and threw me, and they made for me saying, "The master of the blond horse." I emerged from the canal on foot, and, having cast off my ornaments, I escaped. Ibn Ṭāhir was angered by Ibn al-Qawārīrī and his men, and he ordered them to confine themselves to their residences. Balfardal drowned.

On the fourth of Shawwāl, 251 (October 29, 865), Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir reportedly gathered all of his commanders, (those) who were in charge of the Baghdad gates and others. He consulted with all of them on the state of affairs and told them of the retreating armies that had come to them. Each of them responded to Ibn Ṭāhir's desires by expressing his readiness to sacrifice himself
[1626] and his possessions. He rewarded them handsomely and brought them in to al-Mustaʿīn, telling the latter of his negotiations with them and their favorable response to him. Al-Mustaʿīn said to them, "Commanders! I swear to you by God, if, indeed, I fight for myself and my authority, I fight only for your victory [*dawlah*] and for your subjects [*ʿāmmatikum*], and that God might bring you full circle,

194. That is, the Baghdad Gate at al-Madāʾin.
195. Probably along the Tigris, going north to Baghdad.

back to the status you enjoyed before the arrival of the Turks and their like.[196] It is incumbent upon you to be sincere in your advice and persistent in your fight with these profligates." They responded in the most positive manner, and he rewarded them handsomely. Ibn Ṭāhir then ordered them to leave for their command posts, and they did so.

On a Monday in Dhū al-Qa'dah, 251 (November 24–December 23, 865), The Baghdadis engaged in a great battle in which they defeated the Turks and looted their camp. The circumstances were as follows. The gates were opened on both sides of the city. Mangonels and ballistas were set up at all the gates and in the river vessels in the Tigris. The entire army then came out of the city. Ibn Ṭāhir, Bughā and Waṣīf rode out when both factions were on the march, and the battle was engaged as far as the Gate of the Fief (of Umm Ja'far).[197] The three of them then crossed over to the Shammāsiyyah Gate, and Ibn Ṭāhir sat under a canopy that was erected for him. Archers with *nāwakī* bows moved out from Baghdad in skiffs. At times a single arrow went through several men, killing all of them. The Turks were routed, and the Baghdadis pursued them all the way to their camp, where they plundered their market. The loyalists set aflame one of the Turkish boats, known as The Iron One (*al-Ḥadīdī*); it had inflicted much damage on the people of Baghdad. Those who were in it drowned. In addition they took two of their [1627] river boats as the Turks fled, paying heed to nothing else. Every time a head was brought, Waṣīf and Bughā would say, "By God, the mawlās are broken."

The Baghdadis pursued them until Rūdhabār,[198] where Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil stood, and sent the mawlās back into the fight; he warned them that if they did not turn back, they would be totally routed and the enemy would pursue them all the way to Sāmarrā. As a result, they re-formed and returned to battle. The rabble began to sever the heads of the dead, for Muḥammad b. Abdallāh began to bestow necklaces and gifts to anyone bringing in a head.

196. Note the melodramatic plea of a powerless caliph in the face of his Turkish commanders.

197. That is, the northern entrance to Baghdad.

198. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 77, identifies this place simply as one of the villages of Baghdad, meaning in the Baghdad region. The exact location is hard to determine.

The practice became excessive, however, and the Turks and the mawlās who were under the command of Bughā and Waṣīf were visibly displeased. Then, as a southerly wind carried the dust and the smoke of the burning fires, the banners of al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn were brought forward together with the Turkish flags. At the head of the flags was a red standard that was stolen by one of Shāhak's slaves who forgot to lower it. When the Baghdadis saw the red standard and those behind it, they imagined that the Turks had returned to do combat, and fled. Some of those who stood their ground attempted to kill Shāhak's slave, who now realized what was happening and lowered the flag. The people were fleeing in confusion as the Turks fell back to their camp, not knowing that the Baghdadis were in retreat and that they could attack them.[199] Thus the two factions broke away from each other.

In that year, Abū al-Salāsil, Waṣīf's agent (*wakīl*) in the region of of al-Jabal, battled with the Maghāribah. The battle was engaged at
[1628] the instigation of a Maghribī called Naṣr Salhab, who came at the head of a group of Maghāribah to some of the places which fell under the jurisdiction of Abū al-Sāj. He and his companions plundered the villages there. Abū al-Salāsil wrote to Abū al-Saj informing him of that, and the latter reportedly dispatched about a hundred infantry and cavalry. When they reached Abū al-Salāsil, they took these Maghāribah by surprise, killing nine of them and taking twenty prisoners; but Naṣr Salhab escaped at night.

After this engagement between the mawlās and Ibn Ṭāhir, the weapons of war were put aside and the battle was not renewed. The circumstances were reportedly as follows. Ibn Ṭāhir had already corresponded with al-Muʿtazz seeking peace before the battle. When this battle took place, he was criticized for it (by al-Muʿtazz), and word was sent to him in that regard. He responded that he would never again undertake anything that al-Muʿtazz would disapprove of. But the gates of Baghdad were closed shut after that, and the siege against them was intensified. On Friday, the first of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 251 (November 24, 865), the populace cried out "Hunger!" and went to the island facing the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir. Ibn Ṭāhir sent word to them, "Send me five of your elders." And they complied. When the

199. The text is *taḥammalū ʿalayhim*; it should be read *yaḥmilū* as in the Leiden edition Glossary cciii.

elders were brought to him, he said, "There are certain things that the common people do not know. I am ailing, but I wish to give the soldiers their allotments and then lead them to fight your enemy." They were appeased and departed empty-handed. But the common people and the merchants later returned to the island facing the palace of Ibn Ṭāhir, and they cried out complaining about the rise in prices and the hardships it caused them. Ibn Ṭāhir sent word to them and thus calmed them, promising (he would attend to their wishes) and, thereby, offering them hope. He also sent al-Muʿtazz an offer of peace as the affairs of the Baghdadis were thrown into disarray. Ḥammād b. Isḥāq b. Ḥammād b. Zayd arrived at Baghdad in the middle of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 251 (December 8, 865), and Abū Saʿīd al-Anṣārī was sent to Abū Aḥmad's camp as security (for Ḥammād's return). The latter met with Ibn Ṭāhir privately; there was no mention of what transpired between them. Ḥammād then went back to Abū Aḥmad's camp, and Abū Saʿīd al-Anṣārī returned. Later, Ḥammād returned to Ibn Ṭāhir, and many letters were exchanged between the latter and Abū Aḥmad through him. [1629]

On the twenty-first of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (December 14, 865), Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl set out for Abū Aḥmad's camp together with Ḥammād and Aḥmad b. Isḥāq, the agent *(wakīl)* of ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā. They left with Ibn Ṭāhir's permission to negotiate peace with Abū Aḥmad.

On the twenty-third of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (December 16, 865), Ibn Ṭāhir ordered the release of all those who had been taken prisoner in the battles between him and Abū Aḥmad, those who had supported the latter against him. On the morning of that day, a group of the regular infantry and many of the common people gathered. The troops demanded their allotments, and the people complained of the atrocious conditions which had been imposed upon them, owing to the rise in prices and the intensity of the siege. They said, "Go out and fight, or let us be." He promised them that he would either go out or open the door for peace. He gave them cause for hope, and they departed. But after that, on the twenty-fifth of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (December 18, 865), he positioned a large number of troops at the prisons, bridges, the gates of his palace and at the island. Nevertheless, a large crowd came to the island and drove away those (troops) that Ibn Ṭāhir had brought there. Then they marched to the bridge from the East Side and liberated the women's prison, setting the detainees free. But they were stopped by ʿAlī b. Jahshiyār and his [1630]

men of the Ṭabariyyah at the men's prison. Abū Mālik who was in charge of the eastern bridge resisted them, and they fractured his skull. They also injured two of his men's pack animals. He went into his residence,[200] leaving them to loot what they could find in his audience room. The Ṭabariyyah attacked, forcing them to give way until a group of them were pushed beyond the doors, which were locked behind them. Later, Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn crossed over to them and guaranteed the troops four month's allotments, whereupon they departed. Ibn Ṭāhir then gave orders that Ibn Jahshiyār's men be given two months' salary that very day, and it was done.

During those days, Abū Aḥmad sent out five vessels laden with flour, wheat, barley, fodder and straw to Ibn Ṭāhir, and they arrived. On Thursday, the fourth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (December 27, 865), the populace learned how Ibn Ṭāhir had deposed al-Mustaʿīn and rendered the oath of allegiance to al-Muʿtazz. They also learned that he had sent his commanders to Abū Aḥmad to obtain the oath of allegiance to al-Muʿtazz. They were each given four cloaks of honor. The common people thought that peace had been achieved with al-Mustaʿīn's permission and that al-Muʿtazz was appointed as his heir apparent.

On Wednesday, Rashīd b. Kāwūs, who was in charge of the
[1631] Salāmah Gate, left (the city) with a commander by the name of Nahshal b. Ṣakhr b. Khuzaymah b. Khāzim and with ʿAbdallāh b. Maḥmūd. He sent word to the Turks that he is on his way to join them. About one thousand Turkish cavalry came to him, and he went out to them intending to greet them with the understanding that peace had been concluded. He greeted them, embracing those that he knew and they, in turn, took the reins of his mount and led him and his son behind him. On Monday, Rashīd went to the Shammāsiyyah Gate and said to the people, "The Commander of the Faithful and Abū Aḥmad send you their greetings. Their message to you is, whoever obeys us, we will promote him and reward him. Anyone who does not, will learn his lesson." The populace responded by cursing him. Following that, he circumambulated all the gates of the East Side and repeated his offer; at each gate he was

200. For the residence of ʿAlī b. Jahshiyār on the East Side of Baghdad, see Lassner, *Topography*, 78.

cursed as was al-Muʿtazz. When Rashīd did that, the people knew what Ibn Ṭāhir had been up to and went to the island facing his palace. They screamed at him and cursed him in the ugliest terms. Then they went to his door and did the same. Rāghib al-Khādim came out to them and urged them to continue what they were doing in their support of al-Mustaʿīn. But, following that, he went to the army barracks and brought along the troops and another group; altogether there were some three hundred armed men. They marched to Ibn Ṭāhir's door, dispersed those who were there and pushed them back. They kept on fighting the populace until they pushed them into the (open) corridor *(dihlīz)* of the palace.[201] They attempted to burn the entrance gate but could not find fire. Instead, they spent the whole night at the island cursing and reviling him.

Ibn Shujāʿ al-Balkhī (reported the following). I was with the amīr. [1632]
While talking to me he heard everyone's curse against him. When they mentioned the name of his mother, he laughed and said, "Abū ʿAbdallāh! I can't figure out how they came to know the name of my mother, since it was not known to many of the slave girls of Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir." I then responded, "O amīr, I have never seen anyone with more forebearance than you." He then said to me, "O Abū ʿAbdallāh! I do not see anything better than being patient with them; besides, I have no alternative." When they awoke, the populace came to the door and cried out. Ibn Ṭāhir went to al-Mustaʿīn and asked him to go out and calm them and tell them of his condition. He appeared above the gate clad in the Prophet's cloak *(burdah)* and the lance *ṭawīlah*,[202] with Ibn Ṭāhir at his side. He swore to them invoking God's name, "I do not accuse him. I am indeed well and suffering no distress on his account." He also indicated that he was not deposed, and promised that he would come out the next morning and lead them in the Friday prayers while making his appearance. Most of them departed; several had already been killed. On Friday morning, the people arose early screaming for al-Mustaʿīn and then looted the pack animals of ʿAlī b. Jahshiyār, which were at the ruins by the Bridge Gate on the East Side. As ʿAlī

201. The exact architectural meaning is uncertain. According to *Lisān*, V, 349, it is any space between the outer door and the inner house. All sources agree, however, that it is a Persian word. See Shir, *Loan-Words*, 68, where it is translated as vestibule (*qanṭarah*).

202. The reference is to the *ḥarbah*. See n. 7, above.

fled, they took everything they could find in his residence and continued to behave in this fashion well into the day. Then Waṣīf, Bughā, their children, mawlās, officers and the maternal uncles of al-Mustaʿīn arrived. The entire populace then went to the door of (Ibn Ṭāhir's) palace. Waṣīf, Bughā and their retainers entered to-
[1633] gether with al-Mustaʿīn's uncles, reaching the (open) corridor where they remained mounted.

Ibn Ṭāhir was told about the uncles, and gave them permission to dismount, but they refused, saying, "We will not dismount this day until we and the populace know the truth of the matter." Although messengers were continuously sent to them, they still refused. Finally, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh himself emerged, and asked them to dismount and go in to see al-Mustaʿīn. They informed him, "The common people became agitated because of the news that reached them. They have been able to verify your deposition of al-Mustaʿīn, and your swearing of allegiance to al-Muʿtazz. They have also verified your having sent the commanders to swear allegiance to al-Muʿtazz, as well as your intention to use intimidation in order to turn the rule over to him and allow the Turks and the Maghāribah to enter Baghdad. They know you would allow the latter to deal with them in the same fashion as they dealt with those who rebelled against them in al-Madāʾin and the villages. The people of Baghdad are suspicious of you, and they accuse you of being against the Caliph and unmindful of their possessions, their children and themselves. They have asked for the Caliph to come out to them, in order that they see him and refute the news reaching them about him." When Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh confirmed the truth of their remarks and saw for himself the size of the mob that had gathered and its agitated state, he asked al-Mustaʿīn to go out to them. The Caliph then left for the Public Audience Hall. A chair was set aside for him there, and a group from the populace entered and looked at him. Then they left to tell those behind them that he was in good condition. But they were not convinced of this. When he realized that they would not be calmed without his going out to them—he had
[1634] known of the large crowd—he ordered the exterior iron gate locked. This was done.

Following that, al-Mustaʿīn, his paternal uncles, Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Munajjim, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh all ascended the

stairs that lead to the roofs of the Public Audience Hall and the arsenals. Ladders were then set up for them against the roof of the audience hall where Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and al-Fath b. Sahl held sessions. (From there) al-Mustaʿīn appeared to the people. He was wearing a black garment covered by the Prophet's cloak and he carried the scepter *(al-qaḍīb)*.[203] He spoke to the people and pleaded with them, asking them, for the sake of the cloak's (original) owner, to leave, for he (that is, al-Mustaʿīn) was safe and sound and was not under any distress on account of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. They asked him to ride out with them away from the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, as they were not certain of his safety. He informed them that he was about to transfer to the residence of his maternal aunt Umm Ḥabīb, the daughter of al-Rashīd, and that he would leave after his quarters were prepared and after plans to move the treasury, the arsenals and all his belongings from the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh were completed. Most of the people departed, and the Baghdadis calmed down.

When the populace of Baghdad continued to behave as they did, gathering time after time and addressing Ibn Ṭāhir in vituperative language, he sent word to the men of the city police to requisition every camel, mule and donkey that they could lay hold of so he could use them for moving. They say that he wanted to make for al-Madā'in, but a group of notables *(mashāyikh)* from al-Ḥarbiyyah[204] and the suburbs all gathered at his door to apologize to him and to ask him to forgive them their offenses. They pointed out that those [1635] deeds were committed by the rabble and the riffraff on account of the grievous conditions they had to contend with and the poverty that had afflicted them. According to reports, he responded in a beautiful way, speaking kindly to them, forgiving them, and then praising them. He ordered them to approach their youth and their riffraff and to restrain them, and he agreed to set aside his departure. He then wrote to the city police to stop requisitioning the animals.

In the early days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (December 24, 865–January 21, 866), al-Mustaʿīn moved from the palace of Muḥammad b.

203. Simply as a symbol of authority. See Qalqashandī, *Ṣubh*, III, 468.

204. For this quarter of Baghdad, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 122–135, and Lassner, *Topography*.

ʿAbdallāh, and he rode to the residence of Rizq al-Khādim in al-Ruṣāfah.[205] On his way, he passed by the palace of ʿAlī b. al-Muʿtaṣim, who came out and asked him to stay. Instead, al-Mustaʿīn asked ʿAlī to ride along. When he reached the house of Rizq al-Khādim, he took up residence there. He reportedly arrived in the evening, and at that time ordered ten dīnārs for each horseman and five for each footman. Ibn Ṭāhir rode in al-Mustaʿīn's train carrying the lance of authority in front of him, and the commanders followed behind. It was also reported that the evening al-Mustaʿīn moved to the residence of Rizq, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh stayed with al-Mustaʿīn for one third of the night and then departed. As for Waṣīf and Bughā, they stayed until the morning and then left for their own residences.

The morning following the night al-Mustaʿīn moved from the house of Ibn Ṭāhir, the populace gathered at al-Ruṣāfah, and the
[1636] commanders and the Banū Hāshim were ordered to go to Ibn Ṭāhir. They were to greet him[206] and ride with him to al-Ruṣāfah if he went there. They marched to him, and by late morning Ibn Ṭāhir rode (out) at the head of all his commanders in military formation surrounded by archers on foot. When he left his house, he waited for the people and then scolded them, swearing that he intended no evil against the Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him, nor against any of his supporters, nor any of the populace. He only wanted to improve their condition and ensure that they would continue to be favored. Moreover, he complained that he had no knowledge of the things they accused him of. Ibn Ṭāhir continued until he had the populace in tears. One of those present prayed for him, and he then crossed the bridge. Upon coming to al-Mustaʿīn he sent for the neighbors and the notables of the western suburbs. He spoke to them reproachfully and then apologized for the news that had reached them. Waṣīf and Bughā sent someone to circumambulate the gates of Baghdad with the news and appointed Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf over the Shammāsiyyah Gate.

It was reported that al-Mustaʿīn did not care to move from Muḥammad's palace, but he did so because the people sailed in skiffs carrying fire hurlers, intending to fire at Ibn Ṭāhir's balcony

205. That is, in the northeast quarter of Baghdad, south of Shammāsiyyah. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 187–198.

206. The text is *al-salām*; it should be read *taslīm*, as in Mss. O and M.

when they found it difficult to open the gate on Friday.

It was also reported that a group, including Kanjūr, stood at the Shammāsiyyah Gate on behalf of Abū Aḥmad and requested that Ibn Ṭāhir talk to him. The latter wrote to Waṣīf about these people and asked him to inform al-Musta'īn so that the Caliph might issue orders as he saw fit. Al-Musta'īn responded by giving him full charge [1637] of the matter and instructed him to proceed as he saw fit.

On that occasion, 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Manṣūr al-Munajjim reportedly spoke to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh in a coarse manner. As a result Muḥammad b. Abī 'Awn pounced upon him, reviling him and abusing him physically.

Sa'īd b. Ḥumayd (reported that) Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl, al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad and 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā met privately with Ibn Ṭāhir and persisted in beguiling him *(yaftulūnahu bi-l-dhurwah wa-l-ghārib)*[207] and counselling him to conclude peace. Whenever (other) people were with him, they would launch conversation opposing peace, whereupon he would frown at them and turn aside. But whenever these three came he would receive them and hold consultations with them.

It was reported that one of them said he told Sa'īd b. Ḥamīd one day that Ibn Ṭāhir must have been filled with treason from the very beginning. But he responded, "I wish it were so. No, by God, I think it was only after his men were routed from al-Madā'in and al-Anbār that the group wrote to him and he responded to them in earnest."

Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī, who was the tutor of Ibn Ṭāhir's sons (reported that) Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh was sincere in his support of al-Musta'īn until he was dissuaded by 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān, who told him, "May God prolong your life. Indeed, the one you support and on whose behalf you strive is the most sacrilegious of people and the most deviant in observance, for he had given orders to Waṣīf and Bughā to kill you. They didn't act, as they were [1638] appalled. And if you doubt what I have described, ask and you will be told. As to his obvious sacrilegious behavior, during the prayers at Sāmarrā he never pronounced the *basmalah*[208] aloud; he only said it aloud when he came to you, in order to appease you and to

207. Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 2244, col. 2.

208. That is to say: *bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, "In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate."

persuade you to cease from supporting your benefactor, your in-law [*ṣuhr*],[209] and the youth that you reared." When he was told more of the same, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh responded, "May God defeat the one who is no good for this world nor for the hereafter." During that session, the first one to attempt to dissuade Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh from supporting al-Mustaʿīn was ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā. Only then , did ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā gain the support of Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl and al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, and they did not desist with Ibn Ṭāhir until they succeeded in changing his mind in regards to his support for al-Mustaʿīn.

On the day of the Aḍḥā[210] feast this year (January 2, 866), al-Mustaʿīn led the Aḍḥā prayers on the island facing Ibn Ṭāhir's palace. The Caliph rode out with ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh in front of
[1639] him, carrying Sulaymān's lance. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl carried the lance of authority *(sulṭān)*, while Bughā and Waṣīf flanked the Caliph. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir did not ride along , however, and ʿAbdallāh b. Isḥāq stayed to pray at al-Ruṣāfah.

On Thursday, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh rode out to al-Mustaʿīn, who was attended by some jurists and judges. He reportedly told al-Mustaʿīn, "You have previously promised to execute anything I considered proper. I have a document [*ruqʿah*] in your own handwriting testifying to that." Al-Mustaʿīn responded, "Produce the document!" He brought it. It mentioned peace, but there was no mention in it of deposing (the Caliph). Al-Mustaʿīn then said, "Yes! start with the peace." At this, al-Khalanjī rose and said, "O Commander of the Faithful! He is asking you to shed [*takhlaʿa*] the shirt [*qamīṣ*] that God has granted you."[211] ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munajjim also spoke and addressed Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh crudely. After that incident, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh rode out in the middle of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (January 7, 866) to meet al-Mustaʿīn in al-Ruṣāfah, and then he departed with Waṣīf and Bughā. They all went to the Shammāsiyyah Gate, where Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh waited on his mount while

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209. That is, related by marriage, for *ṣuhr* could be the husband of the sister or the daughter. See *Lisān*, IV, 471.

210. The *ʿId al-Aḍḥā*, "Sacrificial Feast," falls on the tenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and is the day when those who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca sacrifice at al-Minā. See *EI*², III, 1007.

211. Note the use of *khalaʿa*, "to take off the cloak" of authority, to mean "to depose," "to abdicate," etc.

Waṣīf and Bughā went to the residence of al-Ḥasan b. al-Afshīn. The Mubayyiḍah and the riffraff came down from the defense wall, and no one was allowed to open the gates; for earlier, a large group left (the city) for the camp of Abū Aḥmad where they bought what they wanted. When those whom we previously mentioned left for the Shammāsiyyah Gate, an announcement was made that the followers of Abū Aḥmad were not to trade with any of the Baghdadis; they [1640] were thus forbidden to sell (to them).

A large red canopy *(maḍrab)* had been erected for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh at the Shammāsiyyah Gate. Ibn Ṭāhir was accompanied by Bundār al-Ṭabarī, Abū al-Sanā, some two hundred cavalry and a like number of infantry. Abū Aḥmad drew close to the canopy in a fast skiff. The latter then disembarked and entered the canopy with Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. The troops accompanying each of them stood aside while Ibn Ṭāhir and Abū Aḥmad negotiated for a long time. Following this they exited, and Ibn Ṭāhir departed for his palace in a fast skiff.[212] As soon as he disembarked, he rode off to al-Mustaʿīn to tell him what transpired between himself and Abū Aḥmad. He stayed with the Caliph until afternoon and then departed. It was reported that when Ibn Ṭāhir left Abū Aḥmad, he left him with the impression that al-Mustaʿīn was to pay (the army) fifty thousand dīnārs and set aside a revenue of thirty thousand dīnārs a year for them. Moreover, he was to reside in Baghdad until enough money to pay the troops had been collected. Furthermore, he was to appoint Bughā as governor of Mecca, Medina, and the Ḥijāz, and Waṣīf as governor of al-Jabal and the neighboring regions. One third of the revenue was to be given to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and the Baghdad army, while the remaining two thirds were for the mawlās and the Turks. When Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl came to al-Muʿtazz, the latter reportedly appointed him in charge of the postal service and he left with the understanding that he would (later) be appointed as wazīr. ʿĪsā b. Farrukhānshāh was given charge of the bureau of taxation, Abū Nūḥ was entrusted with the privy seal and signatures *(tawqīʿ)*. Thus they divided the administrative tasks among themselves.

When the pouch of the pilgrimage season (*kharīṭat al-mawsim*)

212. The text reads *zallāl*, meaning "a fast boat." See Kinderman, *Schiff*, 35, and Khoury, *Nautical Sciences*, 772–3. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 160 uses the term *sumayriyyah* which is also a name of a ship. See Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 1426, col. 1.

arrived safely at Baghdad it was sent to Abū Aḥmad.[213] Ibn Ṭāhir reportedly rode out to al-Mustaʿīn on the sixteenth of Dhū al-Ḥij-
[1641] jah, 251 (January 8, 866). He did so to negotiate the (Caliph's) deposition. He held discussions with the latter, but refused (to step aside), thinking that Bughā and Waṣīf were with him. When they revealed the truth to him, al-Mustaʿīn responded, "Here is my neck, the sword and the throat." When Ibn Ṭāhir saw that al-Mustaʿīn refused, he left. Thereafter, al-Mustaʿīn sent ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munajjim and some of his (the Caliph's) trustworthy associates to Ibn Ṭāhir saying, "Tell him 'Fear the Lord. I came to you so that you would defend me. If you do not wish to do so, just let me be.'" Ibn Ṭāhir retorted, "I will sit in my home, but, whether you like it or not, you have to abdicate."[214]

ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā reported that Ibn Ṭāhir told him "Tell him [al-Mustaʿīn], 'If you take off the [cloak of authority], by God, there is no harm in that. For it is already shredded beyond repair. You will give up nothing by doing this.'" When al-Mustaʿīn realized his weakness and the betrayal of his supporters, he agreed to abdicate.

On Thursday, the eighteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (January 10, 866), Ibn Ṭāhir sent Ibn al-Kurdiyyah, that is, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar al-Aṣghar b. al-Manṣūr, al-Khalanjī, Mūsā b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shaykh, Abū Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl and Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Munajjim to Ibn Aḥmad's camp. They were to deliver Muḥammad's letter to him; the letter concerned the things al-Mustaʿīn requested when he was urged to voluntarily abdicate. They delivered the message and Abū Aḥmad granted whatever he had requested. The response came in the form of a letter indicating that al-Mustaʿīn was being granted an estate *(yuqṭaʿ)*, that hence he would reside in the city of the Prophet (i.e., Medina), and that he would only be allowed
[1642] to move back and forth between Mecca and Medina. Al-Mustaʿīn agreed to those conditions, but he would not be fully convinced until Ibn al-Kurdiyyah took his request to al-Muʿtazz, discussed it with him and then obtained al-Muʿtazz's written approval, signed by his own hand. Al-Mustaʿīn thus sent Ibn al-Kurdiyyah to him.

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213. The fact that the pouch was sent to him is an acknowledgement of his authority.

214. The text reads *lā budda laka min khalʿihā*, "You have no alternative but to take off the cloak," referring to the Prophet's cloak as an insignia of the caliphate. See n. 211, above.

The reported reason why al-Mustaʿīn decided to abdicate (is as follows). Waṣīf, Bughā and Ibn Ṭāhir held discussions with al-Mustaʿīn and advised him to abdicate, but he answered them harshly. Waṣīf then said to him, "You ordered us to kill Bāghar and that led us to this. You also urged us to kill Utāmish and said that Muḥammad is unreliable."[215] They kept on frightening him and beguiling him. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh said, "You also told me that our affairs were not going to be set right until we were rid of those two."[216] When he saw that they spoke as one, he acknowledged their request for him to abdicate, and he stipulated in writing his conditions that were incumbent upon them. This was on the nineteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (January 11, 866). On Saturday,[217] the twentieth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (January 12, 866), Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh rode to al-Ruṣāfah with all the judges and the jurists. He brought group after group of them to al-Mustaʿīn to witness that the former had entrusted Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir with his affairs. Following that, he brought in the doormen and the servants, and the jewels of the caliphate were taken from him. He stayed with him for part of the night, and the next morning the populace spread all kinds of alarming news.

Ibn Ṭāhir sent for his commanders; each was to bring ten of his leading men. When they came to him he had them enter and then raised their hopes with promises saying, "I did what I did for your good and safety and to avoid further bloodshed." He then commissioned a delegation to go to al-Muʿtazz with the conditions that he had set for al-Mustaʿīn, for himself, and for his commanders. Al- [1643]
Muʿtazz was to sign (the document) in his own hand. Following that, Ibn Ṭāhir sent them off to al-Muʿtazz. When they arrived, they obtained his signature, securing everything requested by al-Mustaʿīn and Ibn Ṭāhir. The delegates acted as witnesses to his approval of all that. Al-Muʿtazz, in turn, bestowed cloaks of honor upon them and gave them swords as gifts, but they left without any monetary rewards or personal favors. He sent along with them a group of his own men to secure al-Mustaʿīn's allegiance to him, but

215. The events referred to here are described above, pp. 1535–1538 of the Leiden edition and p. 1512 of the same edition.

216. That is, Waṣīf and Bughā.

217. This date is uncertain, for the tenth day before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah was not a Saturday.

he gave no orders concerning the (loyalist) army. The mother, sister and family of al-Mustaʿīn were returned to him after they had been searched and some of their belongings that were with Saʿīd b. Ṣāliḥ had been confiscated. Having left al-Muʿtazz, the emissaries entered Baghdad on Thursday, the third of Muḥarram, 252 (January 24, 866).

It was reported that when the emissaries of al-Muʿtazz passed al-Shammāsiyyah, Ibn Sajjādah said, "I fear the Baghdadis. Let al-Mustaʿīn be brought to al-Shammāsiyyah or to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's palace. He can render the Caliphal Oath to al-Muʿtazz there and formally abdicate, giving up the cloak and the scepter."

In Rabīʿ I, 251 (April 2–May 1, 865), the one called al-Kawkabī rebelled in Qazwīn and Zanjān. He conquered those places and expelled the Ṭāhirids. Al-Kawkabī's full name is al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Arqaṭ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

[1644] In this year the Banū ʿUqayl cut the Jiddah Road and were fought by Jaʿfar in Shāshāt, where three hundred Meccans were killed. It was one of the Banū ʿUqayl who said:

> You have two garments and my mother is nude
> cast me your cloak! You son of an adulteress!

When the Banū ʿUqayl did what they did, prices rose in Mecca and the bedouins attacked the villages.

In this year, Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib rebelled in Mecca, forcing Jaʿfar b. al-Faḍl b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, the governor, to flee. Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf looted Jaʿfar's residence as well as the residences of the government's men, killing the troops and a group of Meccans. He also seized the funds that had been brought for repairing the water fountain, the gold kept at the Kaʿbah, and the gold, silver, perfumes and coverings of the Kaʿbah which were in the city treasure house. He also confiscated some two hundred thousand dīnārs from the people, opened Mecca to looting, and burned some of it during Rabīʿ I of this year (April 2–May 1, 865).[218] Fifty days later he left the city and went to Medina where ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, its governor, had gone into hiding. But Ismāʿīl returned to Mecca and laid seige to it until its population began to die from starvation and thirst. Prices reached as high as one

218. See Fāsī, *Akhbār Makkah*, II, 195.

dirham for three *āwāq* of bread and four dirhams for a *raṭl* of meat; the price of a drink of water reached three dirhams.[219] After inflicting all kinds of calamities on the populace of Mecca, he left for Jiddah fifty-seven days later. He withheld food from the people [1645] there, seized the possessions of the merchants and boat owners, and carried off wheat and mace from the Yemen to Mecca. The boats from the Red Sea arrived later. On the day of ʿArafāt[220] (January 1,866), Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf came to the place of assembly *(al-mawqif)*. At the place of assembly were Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Manṣūr, known as Kaʿb al-Baqar, and ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī, commander of the Mecca garrison. Both had been sent by al-Muʿtazz to the city. He engaged them in combat, causing the death of some eleven hundred pilgrims. Subjected to robbery, the people fled to Mecca and did not assemble at ʿArafāt during the night or day; however, Ismāʿīl and his followers did assemble there before returning to Jiddah and looting everything there.

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219. About three grams of silver. See Hinz, *Masse*, 2.
220. See n. 64, above.

The Caliphate of al-Muʿtazz

The Events of the Year

252

(JANUARY 22, 866–JANUARY 10, 867)

Among the events taking place, al-Mustaʿīn, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muʿtaṣim, abdicated and rendered the oath of allegiance to al-Muʿtazz, Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil b. Muḥammad al-Muʿtaṣim. Prayers were said for al-Muʿtazz from the pulpits of both Friday mosques at Baghdad, the one on the East Side and the one on the West Side. This took place on Friday, the fourth of Muḥarram, 252 (January 25, 866). In addition, the oath of allegiance was obtained from the troops who were in Baghdad that day.

Ibn Ṭāhir reportedly came to al-Mustaʿīn along with Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd when the latter had written a document guaranteeing the Caliph's safety. Ibn Ṭāhir then said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful! Saʿīd has set down the conditions (for your safety) in unambiguous language. May we read the document for you to hear?" Al- [1646]
Mustaʿīn then said, "Never mind that, why don't you disregard it, Abū al-ʿAbbās? Those people know God no more than you do. You gave assurances before they did, and you know what has happened." Muḥammad did not reply.

When al-Mustaʿīn swore allegiance to al-Muʿtazz, he did so in Baghdad. The act was witnessed by the Banū Hāshim, the judges, the jurists and the commanders. He then moved from the place where he stayed at al-Ruṣāfah to the palace of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl in al-

Mukharrim.[221] That is, he moved there together with his family, his children, and his servant girls. They were all housed there under the supervision of Saʿīd b. Rajāʾ al-Ḥidārī and his men. The signet, the cloak and the scepter were taken from al-Mustaʿīn, who sent along the following message with ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh:

> Now, Praise the Lord, the One Who sees that benefits [*niʿam*] are granted through His mercy, and Who rightly guides [men] to express gratitude to Him through His benevolence. God's prayers and salutations be upon Muḥammad, His servant and Messenger, unto whom He granted all the virtues that were distributed to all the previous Messengers, and Who, in turn, passed Muḥammad's inheritance to whomever He selected for succeeding him. My letter to the Commander of the Faithful, now that God has established his rule, is: "I had received the inheritance of the Messenger of God from the one who had it, and now I hand it over to the Commander of the Faithful with ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh, the mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful and his servant."

[1647] Al-Mustaʿīn was not allowed to go to Mecca, so he chose to take up residence at al-Baṣrah. Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd (reported that) Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir exclaimed, "Al-Baṣrah is ridden with plagues. Why do you choose to live there?" Al-Mustaʿīn then retorted, "Which is more plague-ridden, al-Baṣrah or abdication?"

It was also mentioned that Qurb, Qabīḥah's slave girl,[222] brought a message to al-Mustaʿīn from al-Muʿtazz. In it the latter asked him to give up three of al-Mutawakkil's slave girls that he (al-Mustaʿīn) had married. He consented and gave the girls the freedom to choose for themselves. Al-Mustaʿīn had also withheld two (caliphal) rings; one was called al-Burj, the other al-Jabal.[223] Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh then sent Qurb, the intimate of al-Muʿtazz, and a group of people over to him. Al-Mustaʿīn gave them the rings, and they returned to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh who, in turn, sent them on to al-Muʿtazz.

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221. For the palace of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl on the East Side of Baghdad which later became the caliphal residence, see Lassner, *Topography*, 85f.

222. Qabīḥah was the mother of al-Muʿtazz.

223. For the history of this ring, see Bayhaqī, *Maḥāsin*, 470–471.

On the sixth of Muḥarram (January 27, 866), more than two hundred boats laden with all kinds of merchandize and large numbers of sheep arrived at Baghdad. Al-Mustaʿīn was sent to Wāsiṭ with Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar b. Saysal and Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah, along with four hundred cavalry and infantry. Following that, ʿĪsā b. Farrukhānshāh and Qurb came to Ibn Ṭāhir and told him that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad had withheld a ruby *(yāqūt)* belonging to the caliphal jewels. Ibn Ṭāhir then sent al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl who retrieved it. It was a beautiful ruby, four fingers long, four wide. He (Aḥmad) had already written his name on it. It was given to Qurb who, in turn, took it to al-Muʿtazz.

Al-Muʿtazz made Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl his wazīr and granted him cloaks of honor and also placed a crown on his head. On the twelfth of Muḥarram (February 2, 866), Abū Aḥmad headed back to Sāmarrā accompanied by Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad. [1648]
Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh was given five cloaks of honor and a sword, and then returned from al-Rūdhabār.

One of the poets composed the following about al-Mustaʿīn's deposition:

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad had been deposed from the caliphate
and his successor will either be killed or deposed.

The rule of his ancestors will vanish without seeing
anyone who rules and enjoys it.

O Banū ʿAbbās! Your way of dealing
with the death of your servants is now a beaten track.

You've mended your earthly world but
shredded your life so much beyond repair.

One of the Baghdadis recited:

I see that you are afraid of separation.
But the Imām has been expelled and deposed.

On his account the world used to be smiling
for he was the spring for those who sought a spring.

Don't you ever deny fate's upsets and vicissitudes
for fate separates those who were brought together.

[1649] He wore the caliphate and lovingly undertook
conducting all of the Muslim's affairs.

But the hand of fate afflicted him by dealing him
a war when he was as far as he could be from war.

The Turks broke away from him in mutiny
leaving him frightened after he had been full of courage.

He attacked them and they him as
brave hands and heads were covered with the same blood.

Destiny had moved him from the highest ranks
to settle in Wāsiṭ feeling he could not return.

They took him by surprise, beguiled him and betrayed him
and left him to keep to his bed perpetually asleep.

They encircled Baghdad from all its sides
and overcame what used to be impregnable.

Had he faced wars by himself
clad in his shields as he met them head on,

[1650] Facing brave men with his own brave [men]
in order to kill anyone who intended to fight,

He would have been beyond reach of fate's vicissitudes;
he would have been impregnable to the assault of the traitors.

But he refused the advice and reproof of the compassionate,
and obeyed, instead, the orders of traitors.

Authority can only be wielded by a ruler
who does not lay waste to genuine advice.

He kept on betraying himself by fooling himself
until he was betrayed from his rule.

Ibn Ṭāhir sold his religion for
an allegiance that had made the imām impregnable.

He disowned the caliphate and the subjects and fed himself,
thus disowning the religion of Muḥammad's God.

May he drink a bitter cup on that account,
and let him become a follower of those who follow him.

Muḥammad b. Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb b. Marwān recited the following when al-Musta'īn was deposed and went to Wāsiṭ: [1651]

Al-Mu'tazz is now in charge of all affairs
while al-Musta'īn has gone [back] to his old self.

He already knew that he was not cut out for rule.
It was yours all along, but he fooled himself.

The real ruler is the one who grasps rule and clasps it.
and now rule is brought to you, having been grasped from him.

The caliphate did not agree with him,
it was like a free wife given away in a temporary marriage *mut'ah*.[224]

How hateful it was for the people to offer allegiance to him!
How beautiful it was for them to say he's been deposed.

Would that a ship had pushed him till the end of the world [*qāf*].
I'd have sacrificed myself for the sailor pushing him off.

How many a king controlled the affairs of men before you;
burdened with your load, he would have been crippled.

224. For this kind of temporary marriage, see Schacht, *Introduction*, 163.

[1652] With you, people see affluence after distress;
God always grants a respite after crisis.

May God protect you, O King! from all evil
as He has protected us from distress by your aid.

My praise for you has never disappeared [*ḍāʿā*] nor has
your patronage [*iṣṭināʿ*];
I, thank God, have found my patron.

Give me back the estate [*ḍayʿah*] in Najd that was seized
from me;
it is the likes of you who grant estates to the likes of me.

If you were to give me back its revenue, O imām of justice,
God would let me cut off the noses of those who envy me.

He also said in praise of al-Muʿtazz after the deposition of al-Mustaʿīn:

The world has returned to its original state,
and God has gladdened us with its fortunes.

A world which God has relieved through you
of the terrible horrors it once held.

It had been ruled by an ignorant ruler,
and the world will never be right for ignorant ones.

The world had been locked by him,
until you became the key to its locks.

What you have succeeded to, in spite of him,
has been returned to its favored state.

[1653] A caliphate you were well deserving of,
God preferred you with its [ceremonial] garb.

God returned him to his original place
and returned it [i.e., the caliphate] to its former state.

It was not the first borrowed thing
that was returned by force to its owner.

By God, if he were to rule over a village
he would not be fit to rule any of it.

He inserted a shaking hand into the rule,
but soon pulled it out after inserting it.

God has exchanged him with a real master for us,
one who calmed the world after it had been badly shaken.

The community had been given this one for that
as if it had been living in the times of its false prophet.

He shouldered rule and its responsibilities
and shouldered war and its burdens as well.

What frustrated the dreams of the enemies
was your charge with horsemen and heroes.

You muster a cavalry that was always successful,
no cavalry could replicate its deeds.

Concerning the deposition of al-Musta'īn, al-Walīd b. 'Ubayd al-Buḥturī recited the following in the praise of al-Mu'tazz:

Hasn't he come to take command, and the darkness of the night
has been dispersed and life has been eased!

With shame we have returned the borrowed [one] [1654]
to its owners, and truth has been restored by its master.

I am amazed by this life; its misfortunes are debilitating.
But life is nothing other than misfortunes and miracles,

When the arrogant [man] hopes to be uncontested
concerning the bonds of the crown, or [hopes] that the
turban will be placed on his head.[225]

How a usurper claimed the right of the caliphate
while the relatives of the Prophet have more right than
he to his inheritance.[226]

The eastern pulpit cried when above it there bellowed
an ox revealing its dewlaps at the people.

Sluggish, but constantly by the side of the food,
watching the table, ready to pounce on it.

Once stuffed with whatever food he could find,
he cared little if the star of royalty shone or not.

[1655] The waiter who comes early to report [what he heard]
you find him slim on praise, fat on blame.

He bounded into an affair he couldn't control—
at times he flirted with it, other times he fought it.

Don't you see how truth has finally been established
and the fruits of injustice finished with completely?

Once al-Muʿtazz billāh marched out
he couldn't be defeated, as long as al-Muʿtazz remained
the seeker.

He was forced to cast away the scepter obligingly
and the cloak of the Prophet was removed from his shoulders.

I rejoiced when I heard that he was sent quickly.
towards the East with his caravans and mounts driven by
chants.

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225. The text is difficult: *yuthnā ʿalayhi ʿaṣāʾib (al-tāj)*, which seems to imply "securing the crown," as *shadd al-tāj* in Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ, III*, 480.

226. That is, inheritance of the Prophet.

To Kashkar behind the chicken for he was
not capable of fiercely attacking anything but the chicken.

The fluffy beard of the cloth washer [1656]
does not bring good to anyone equal in rank to him.

Ibn Khallād[227] becomes his choice poet
and is considered courageous while he writes foolishness.

I swear by the sacred valley with all the sacred things
in its low lands and high mountains,[228]

That al-Muʿtazz has urged the community of Aḥmad[229]
unto paths that lead to the clear highway of truth.

He rescued God's religion after its identifiable features
had been erased in us and its stars had set.

And he embraced the shining lights of rule
until it all gathered unto him from east and west.

Abū al-Sāj Dīwdād b. Dīwdast came to Baghdad on the twenty-third of Muḥarram, 252 (February 13, 866). Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh then appointed him to supervise all the land irrigated by the Eu- [1657]
phrates. This Abū al-Sāj sent one of his lieutenants by the name of Karbah to al-Anbār, and (he sent) some of his men with another lieutenant to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. Abū al-Sāj also sent al-Ḥārith b. Asad at the head of five hundred cavalry and infantry to look into his domain and expel the Turks and the Maghāribah, who had been running wild and looting the countryside. On the third of Rabīʿ I (March 24, 866), Abū al-Sāj set out from Baghdad and distributed his men throughout the administrative districts (*ṭassūj*) of the Euphrates. He camped at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah, and from there he went to al-Kūfah.

After having departed from his camp, Abū Aḥmad came to Sāmarrā on the nineteenth of Muḥarram (February 9, 866). Al-

227. He is probably the judge al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khallād who was also "a poet" according to Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 172.

228. That is, Mecca.

229. That is, the Prophet Muḥammad.

Muʿtazz bestowed six cloaks of honor upon him and gave him a sword, a golden crown—in the form of a tall hat *(qalansuwah)*—decorated with precious stones, and two golden sashes with precious stones. He was then given another sword encrusted with precious stones, and he was seated on a throne while the leading men of the commanders were given their cloaks of honor.

In this year, Sharīḥ al-Ḥabashī was killed. The circumstances were as follows. When peace was concluded, he ran off with a group of Abyssinians and cut the highway lying between Wāsiṭ and the area of al-Jabal and al-Ahwāz. He camped at one of the villages belonging to the mother of al-Mutawakkil—it was called Dayrī.[230] Sharīḥ took up residence in its caravanserai together with fifteen men. Once they had eaten and drunk, the villagers pounced on them. They bound them and then carried them off to Manṣūr b. Naṣr at Wāsiṭ, who took them to Baghdad. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, in turn, sent them off to the army camp. When they arrived there Bāyakbāk met Sharīḥ and cut him in half with the sword. He was
[1658] subsequently hung in public at Khashabat[231] Bābak. His companions were administered from five hundred to one thousand lashes.

During the month of Rabīʿ II 252 (April 21–May 19, 866), ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān died in Madīnat Abū Jaʿfar.[232]

Also in this year, al-Muʿtazz wrote to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh ordering him to drop the names of Bughā and Waṣīf and those they had registered from the dīwāns. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn, one of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's commanders reportedly discussed killing Bughā and Waṣīf when Abū Aḥmad arrived at Sāmarrā. Ibn Abī ʿAwn promised that he would kill them. When al-Muʿtazz sent a banner to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh and tied one for Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn signifying the latter's authority to rule al-Baṣrah, Yamāmah and al-Baḥrayn, some followers of Bughā and Waṣīf wrote to them about this, warning them against Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh. On Tuesday, the twenty-sixth of Rabīʿ I (April 16, 866), both Bughā and Waṣīf rode off to Ibn Ṭāhir. Bughā spoke, "We have learned, O

230. The reading is uncertain.

231. For Bābak, the leader of the Khurramite sect, and the place in Sāmarrā that carried his name, see *EI*², I, 844. For the quarter of Khashabat Bābak, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 259.

232. That is, the Round City.

amīr, of Ibn Abī ʿAwn's contract to kill us. That group has already betrayed us and broken their promises. If, however, they wish to kill us, by God they won't be able to do so." Ibn Ṭāhir, in turn, swore to them that he knew nothing of the matter. Bughā continued to talk tough, but Waṣīf tried to stop him, saying to Ibn Ṭāhir, "O amīr, that group has already betrayed us, but we intend to do nothing. We would rather stay put in our residences until someone comes to kill us." The two had come with a group of followers, and now they returned to their residences. They gathered their troops and mawlās, and started to prepare—buying weapons and distributing funds in their neighborhoods until the end of Rabīʿ I (April 20, 866).

When Qurb arrived, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh sent his secretary [1659]
Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā to them. They went with him until they came to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's palace near the bridge. There they were met by Jaʿfar al-Kurdī and Ibn Khālid al-Barmakī, each of whom took a bridle (of their horses) and said, "You were brought in to be taken to the army camp, where a group has been preparing to kill you." They turned back and gathered a force, paying each man two dirhams a day, and then stayed at their residences. Waṣīf had already sent his sister Suʿād to al-Mu'ayyad who had grown up in her care *(fi ḥijrihā)*. She brought out a million dīnārs that had been buried at Waṣīf's palace and turned them over to al-Mu'ayyad, and he, in turn, spoke to al-Muʿtazz concerning a pardon for Waṣīf. Al-Muʿtazz responded positively in writing, whereupon Waṣīf pitched his tents by the Shammāsiyyah Gate with the intention of leaving the city. Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil spoke for Bughā, and al-Muʿtazz responded in the same fashion for him. However, their situation had worsened while they resided in Baghdad.

The Turks later gathered with al-Muʿtazz and asked him to send for the two of them saying, "They are our elders and our chiefs." He sent them a written invitation with Bāyakbāk who brought the letter, accompanied by some three hundred men. The latter positioned himself at al-Baradān and sent the letter to them on the twenty-third of Ramaḍān, 252 (October 7, 866), but he also wrote to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh to detain them. They, in turn, sent their secretaries Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ and Dulayl b. Yaʿqūb to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh to ask for his permission to leave. A Turkish contingent came for them and encamped at the prayer platform *(al-*

muṣallā).[233] Waṣīf and Bughā now came out with their children and about four hundred of their horsemen, leaving behind in their
[1660] residence the immovable property and their households. The people of Baghdad wished them well, and they reciprocated.

Ibn Ṭāhir had already sent Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Wāthiqī and Bundār al-Ṭabarī to the Shammāsiyyah and Baradān Gates to detain them. But they went through the Khurāsān Gate without their secretaries even knowing.[234] Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh asked Aḥmad and Dulayl, "What have your patrons done?" Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ responded, "I left Waṣīf in his residence." When told (that Waṣīf) had just departed, he responded, "I had no idea." Once at Sāmarrā, Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl came to Waṣīf very early on Sunday, the twentieth of Shawwāl, 252 (November 3, 866), and visited him for a long time. He then departed and did the same with Bughā. Following that, Aḥmad returned to his residence, whereupon the mawlās gathered and asked him to return the two of them to their ranks. They received an affirmative reply, and he sent for the two of them. When they came, they were returned to the ranks they held before they went to Baghdad. An order was issued for their estates to be returned to them, and they were given the cloaks designating their rank. Al-Mu'tazz then rode to the Public Audience Hall and appointed Bughā and Waṣīf to their administrative positions. He also reappointed Mūsā b. Bughā the Elder over the postal bureau and the latter consented.

In Ramaḍān of this year (September 15–October 14, 866), a skirmish took place between the Baghdad garrison and the troops of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh. Commanding the garrison at the time was Ibn al-Khalīl. The circumstances leading to that were reportedly as follows. Concerning the harvest of 252, al-Mu'tazz wrote to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh asking him to sell the harvest of Bādurāyā,
[1661] Qaṭrabbul, Maskīn and other districts at an average rate of thirty-five dīnārs for two *kurrs.*[235] Al-Mu'tazz had given the post of Baghdad to a man by the name of Ṣāliḥ b. al-Haytham. The latter's brother had been in the service of Utāmish during the reign of al-

233. Originally, any prayer platform would be called a *muṣallā*. Here it seems to have become associated with a specific place. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 204. For similar places in other cities, such as Damascus, see Dhahabī, *Duwal*, 105, n.4.

234. That is, they went east instead of north.

235. A *kurr* is about 2.9 tons. See Hinz, *Masse*, 43.

Mutawakkil. This Ṣāliḥ rose in rank during the days of al-Musta'īn. He was one of those who took up residence at Sāmarrā, although he was from the Mukharrim section (of Baghdad). His father had started out as a weaver before he took to selling spun wool. His brother joined him at a later time, when his fortunes rose.

While at Baghdad, Ṣāliḥ received a letter which was to be read to the Baghdadi commanders such as 'Attāb b. 'Attāb, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Wāthiqī, Muḥammad b. Harthamah, Muḥammad b. Rajā', Shu'ayb b. 'Ujayf and their like. After he read it to them, they went to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh and told him about it. Orders were then issued by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, and Ṣāliḥ b. al-Haytham was brought to him. Muḥammad asked him, "What made you do that without my knowledge?" He threatened Ṣāliḥ and cursed him. Then he said to the commanders, "Wait until I decide what to do, and then issue orders concerning my intentions." They left with that understanding. Following that, on the tenth of Ramaḍān (September 24, 866), the recruits, the Shākiriyyah, and the reserves gathered at Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh's door asking for their allotments. He responded by telling them about the Caliph's letter, which had come to him in answer to one sent by him concerning the service pay of the Baghdad garrison. The Caliph's letter went, "If you recruited men to serve you, pay them. If you recruited them for us, we have no need of them."

When this letter reached him, the army had been rioting for a full [1662]
day. He therefore took out two thousand dīnārs and payed them, whereupon they quieted down. But on the eleventh of Ramaḍān (September 25, 866), they gathered, carrying banners and drums, and pitched their various tents by the Ḥarb Gate and the Shammāsiyyah Gate among others. They also built huts of matting and cane, and spent the night there. Their numbers increased as the morning came. Ibn Ṭāhir, on the other hand, had some of his elite troops stay the night at his palace, giving each of them one dirham. But as the morning came, they went out and joined the rioters. Ibn Ṭāhir then called in the troops who had come with him from Khurāsān and gave them two months pay. He also paid the veteran Baghdadi troops two dīnārs for a cavalryman and one for a footsoldier, thereby filling his house with men.

On Friday, a great number of rioters gathered by the Ḥarb Gate bearing arms, banners and drums. They were under the command of

a man called ʿAbdān b. al-Muwaffaq—his patronymic was Abū al-Qāsim. He was one of the regular fighters *(athbāt)* in the command of ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān; however, his listings were in the payroll register of Waṣīf. Abū al-Qāsim had come to Baghdad, sold one of his residences for one hundred thousand dīnārs and set out for Sāmarrā. When the Shākiriyyah rebelled at the Public Gate he went along with them. As a result, Saʿīd al-Ḥājib gave him five hundred lashes and imprisoned him for a long time before finally releasing him. Abū al-Qāsim then came to Baghdad during the disturbances in the reign of al-Mustaʿīn, and he attracted these rioters, urging them to demand their allotments and their back pay. He also assured them that he would lead them and manage their affairs. They con-
[1663] sented to that, and on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday he spent about thirty dīnārs to supply them with food. Those who were self-sufficient had no need for his largesse for they went home (to eat), as usual. On Friday, a large number of them gathered and decided to go into the city *(madīnah)* and make their way to the imām in order to prevent him from leading the prayer and from calling for allegiance to al-Muʿtazz.[236] They marched in military formation through the quarter of the Ḥarb Gate until they reached the city gate in the Damascus Gate quarter. At every street they passed, this Abū al-Qāsim placed a group of rioters consisting of lancers and swordsmen. They were to secure the streets lest someone emerge from them to offer combat. When he reached the city, a large group of people entered along with the rioters and went to the area between the two gates and the arcades.[237] They stood there for a while and then dispatched about three hundred armed men to the court *(raḥbah)* surrounding the city's Friday Mosque.[238] A large throng of the general populace went with them and positioned themselves in the court. They came to the imām Jaʿfar b. al-ʿAbbās and told him that they did not object to his praying, but they would object if he

236. This is the imām of the Friday Mosque in the Round City. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 33–37.

237. Arcades is a translation of *ṭāqāt*. For the exact location, see the diagram showing the doors and the *ṭāqāt* in Creswell, *Architecture*, 171, and Lassner, *Topography*, Appendix E, 207–213.

238. It is not clear whether *raḥbah* here refers to that by the gate, near the small *ṭāqāt*, or to an open space around the mosque itself.

called for allegiance to al-Muʿtazz. Jaʿfar responded that he was sick and would not be able to lead the prayer, whereupon they left him alone and made for the street of Asad b. Marzubān, filling the quarter *(shāriʿ)* connecting it with Darb al-Raqīq.[239]

The rioters appointed a group to take charge of the gate to the street of Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar and then made for the (upper) bridge by way of the blacksmiths' quarter[240]. Ibn Ṭāhir dispatched a number of his commanders against them, including al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, al-ʿAbbās b. Qārin, ʿAlī b. Jahshiyār and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Afshīn. They [1664] rode at the head of a group of cavalry. The commanders negotiated with them and pushed them back gently; but the Shākiriyyah and the troops charged them, whereby several of Ibn Ṭāhir's commanders were wounded. One of Ibn Qārin's pack animals was taken together with Ibn Jahshiyār and a Syrian, one of ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā's recruits by the name of Saʿd al-Ḍabābī. They also wounded one known as Abū al-Sanā, and forced the troops all the way back from the bridge, to the gate of ʿAmr b. Masʿadah's residence.[241] When those on the East Side saw that their friends had managed to repulse Ibn Ṭāhir's men from the bridge, they exclaimed "God is Great!" and charged, in an attempt to cross over to their friends. Ibn Ṭāhir had already prepared a boat with thorns and reeds to be set on fire and pushed in the direction of the upper bridge. He carried out his plan, and the boat burned most of the bridge's pontoons, cutting it off to traffic. The boat then made its way to the other bridge,[242] but the rioters on the West Side caught up with it and sank it; then they put out the fire that had spread to the bridge's pontoons.

A large group then crossed from the East Side to the West, pushed Ibn Ṭāhir's men from the vaulted passageway *(sābāṭ)* of ʿAmr b. Masʿadah's residence, and stormed the gate of Ibn Ṭāhir's palace. The Shākiriyyah and the troops went to the passageway of ʿAmr b. Masʿadah's residence, and by noon some ten men from both factions were dead. A group of rabble and common people went to the assem-

239. For the location of these activities along the main road near the Damascus Gate, northeast of the Round City, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 248–249.

240. This is probably in the Ḥarbiyyah quarter, going northwest from the Round City.

241. For this residence on the West Side, see Lassner, *Topography*, 70.

242. That is, to the other two bridges spanning the Tigris.

bly hall *(majlis),* known as the Police Headquarters (Majlis al-Shurṭah), on the western side of the bridge.[243] From there, they went to a building known as the Bayt al-Rufūʿ, and broke the door
[1665] down. They looted whatever they found in it —it was filled with all sorts of wares. They fought over it, leaving nothing behind of its rich contents. Ibn Ṭāhir burned both bridges when he saw that the (Baghdad) garrison were winning against his men, and he ordered that the shops lining Sulaymān Street in the Bridge Gate section be set aflame right and left. That was done, and in the shops the fire consumed great amounts of merchandise belonging to the merchants. The walls of the Police Headquarters collapsed as well. When the shops were set ablaze, the fire separated the two factions. The garrison then proclaimed aloud "God is Great!" and left for their camp at the Ḥarb Gate, while al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl and some of the Shākiriyyah commanders went to the merchants and the populace. They chastized them for supporting the troops saying, "Those [troops] have fought for their bread and, thus, could be excused. But you, being the neighbors of the amīr, those obligated to support him, why did you do what you did? You aided the Shākiriyyah against him and threw rocks when the amīr was preoccupied." Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn then went to them and told them similar things before going to Ibn Ṭāhir. The rioting troops remained in their positions and camps, but a contingent of regular warriors joined Ibn Ṭāhir. He now gathered all of his followers, positioning some of them in his palace, others in the thoroughfare connecting his palace to the bridge. He assembled them in battle formation, fearing that the Baghdad garrison might attack him again.

But that did not happen. Instead, one day two of the rioters asked him for safe conduct and came to (see) him—this was when Ibn
[1666] Ṭāhir was afraid they would return—and the two informed him of the breaches in their companions' defences. He ordered that these men be given two hundred dīnārs and then commanded al-Shāh b. Mīkāl and al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl to march out to the Ḥarb Gate after the second evening prayer, at the head of a group of their men. They were to speak gently to Abū al-Qāsim, the commander, and Ibn al-Khalīl, who was a companion of Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn. When

243. That is, at the west end of the main bridge. See Le Strange, *Baghdad,* map facing p. 107, n. 7.

they got there, Abū al-Qāsim and Ibn al-Khalīl had already gone off in opposite directions. They feared for their safety after the two men had gone to Ibn Ṭāhir together with a third man called al-Qummī. Moreover, they were afraid because the Shākiriyyah had broken away from them. Al-Shāh and al-Ḥusayn pursued them until they left the Anbār Gate, en route to the Baṭāṭiyah Bridge. Ibn al-Khalīl reportedly met them before they reached the Baṭāṭiyah Bridge[244] and called out to them and their companions, asking them to identify themselves. Then they called out to him. As soon as he recognized them, he attacked, wounding several of them. But they managed to surround him, and, as he was in the middle of the group, he was stabbed by one of al-Shāh's men who threw him to the ground. ʿAlī b. Jahshiyār ripped him open with a sword while he was on the ground. He was carried off on a mule, hardly breathing, and died before reaching Ibn Ṭāhir. Al-Shāh ordered that his body be cast away in an enclosure by the entrance corridor to the palace until it could be transported to the East Side.

As for ʿAbdān b. al-Muwaffaq, he had already gone to his residence [1667]
and from there into hiding. The authorities were guided to him, and he was subsequently captured and carried off to Ibn Ṭāhir. The Shākiriyyah, who were at the Ḥarb Gate, dispersed and went to their homes. ʿAbdān b. al-Muwaffaq was shackled with two chains weighing thirty *raṭls*. Later, al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl came to the prison in the Public Audience Hall where ʿAbdān was being held. Al-Ḥusayn sat on a chair and summoned him. He asked if he was an agent for someone or if he did what he did on his own. ʿAbdān responded that he was no one's agent; he was one of the Shākiriyyah who simply demanded his bread. When al-Ḥusayn returned to Ibn Ṭāhir and informed him of this, Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad went out with his brother to the interior wing of the Public Audience Hall. The two sat down and called in those commanders who slept in the building, as well as al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl and al-Shāh b. Mīkāl. They also sent for ʿAbdān who was carried in by two men. Al-Ḥusayn was the one who addressed him saying, "You are the leader of the people." To which he retorted, "No! I am only one of them, seeking what they sought." Al-Ḥusayn cursed him, and Ḥarb b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥarb called out, "You lie! You are the leader of the people and we

244. For this bridge, see Lassner, *Topography*, 103.

have seen you mobilize them at the Ḥarb Gate, at the city[245] and at the Damascus Gate." He continued to insist, "I was not their leader but, rather, one of them, seeking what they sought." Al-Ḥusayn cursed him again and gave orders that he be slapped; and he was. He also ordered that he be dragged by his fetters; and he was, until he was taken out of the house and cursed by everyone who followed him.

Then Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad went to his father and told him the story; whereupon ʿAbdān was put on a mule and taken to jail, while [1668] Ibn al-Khalīl was put in a skiff and transported to the East Side, where he was hung and displayed to the public. Orders were also given that ʿAbdān be stripped and administered a hundred lashes with the knotted part of the whip. Al-Ḥusayn, wishing to kill him, said to Muhammad b. Naṣr, "How about giving him fifty lashes on his waist?" To which Muḥammad answered, "This is a glorious month,[246] and it is illegal for you to do that to him." Therefore, Muḥammad ordered that he be put on display while still alive, and this was done. He was carried on a ladder until he was hung on the bridge, to which he was tied with ropes.[247] ʿAbdān asked for water after he was displayed, but al-Ḥusayn prohibited him from getting any. Al-Ḥusayn was told that if he drank water he would die, to which he replied, "Then let him drink." He was given a drink and left to hang until mid-afternoon. After that, he was imprisoned for two days; he died on the third with the coming of noon. Orders were given that he be hung and displayed on the same wooden plank where Ibn al-Khalīl had been displayed before him. The body of Ibn al-Khalīl was given to his faithful followers, and it was buried.

In Rajab, 252 (July 18–August 16, 866) al-Muʿtazz removed his brother as heir to the throne.

The Reason For Removing Him

The reason for that, according to information we received, is the following. Al-ʿAlāʾ b. Aḥmad, the governor of Armīniyah, sent Ibrāhīm

245. That is, the Round City.

246. That is, *Ramaḍān*, the month of fasting.

247. Bridges, as main gathering points, seem to have been favorite places for displaying criminals and enemies of the State.

al-Mu'ayyad five thousand dīnārs to settle his affairs; however, Ibn Farrukhānshāh sent for it and took it. Al-Mu'ayyad therefore incited the Turks against 'Īsā b. Farrukhānshāh, but the Maghāribah resisted them. It was then that al-Mu'tazz sent for his two brothers, al-Mu'ayyad and Abū Aḥmad, and imprisoned them at the Jawsaq Palace. He put al-Mu'ayyad in chains and held him in a small room. At the same time, he paid generous bonuses to the Turks and the Maghāribah. He also imprisoned Kanjūr, al-Mu'ayyad's chamberlain *(ḥājib)*, and beat him fifty times with a rod. In addition, he administered five hundred lashes to Abū al-Hawl, Kanjūr's deputy, and had [1669] him paraded around on a camel. Afterwards, he expressed satisfaction with him, as well as Kanjūr, and Abū al-Hawl returned to his residence.

It was also reported that he had his brother al-Mu'ayyad beaten forty times with a rod. He was deposed later, in Sāmarrā on Wednesday, the seventh of Rajab (July 24, 866),[248] and in Baghdad on Sunday, the eleventh of Rajab (July 28, 866). This was after al-Mu'ayyad signed a document in which he abdicated his position. On the twenty-fourth of Rajab—some say the twenty-sixth—(August 10 or 12, 866),[249] Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far, who was known as al-Mu'ayyad, died.

The Cause of His Death

One of the Turkish women reportedly came to Muḥammad b. Rāshid al-Maghribī and told him that the Turks were seeking to get Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad out of prison. Muḥammad b. Rāshid then rode off to al-Mu'tazz and told him about that, and he, in turn, summoned Mūsā b. Bughā and interrogated him. The latter denied it, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful! They wanted to free Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil on account of their feelings for him during the past conflict. As for al-Mu'ayyad, [what you have been told is] not true." But on Thursday, the twenty-second of Rajab (August 8, 866), the Caliph summoned the judges, jurists, witnesses and nota-

248. The text says Friday; read Wednesday. The next date is correctly given as Sunday, the eleventh of Rajab.

249. This must be the date when his death was announced publicly, for the next paragraph details the account of his death, which was certified by witnesses, judges, etc., on the twenty-second of Rajab (August 8, 866).

bles, and the dead body of Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad was brought to them containing no mark or wound.[250] He was taken on a donkey to his mother, Umm[251] Isḥāq; she was also the mother of Abū Aḥmad. Carried along with him were the shrouds and the funerary perfumes (*ḥunūṭ*). Orders were subsequently given to have him buried. Abū Aḥmad was then transferred to the cell where al-Mu'ayyad had been.

It was reported that al-Mu'ayyad was inserted into a fur wrapper whose sides were (tightly) wrapped until he died (of suffocation). Other reports say that he was seated on an ice block and his body was covered with ice until he died from cold.[252]

[1670] In Shawwāl of this year (October 15–November 12, 866), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mustaʿīn was killed.

The Report of His Death

It was reported as follows. When al-Muʿtazz intended to kill al-Mustaʿīn, he wrote to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir urging him to execute the former caliph and to dispatch his lieutenant's men to the outlying districts *(ṭassūj)*. Later, a letter was also sent to Ibn Ṭāhir with a servant, called Sīmā, in which the amīr was ordered to write to Manṣūr b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, the governor of Wāsiṭ. The latter was to deliver al-Mustaʿīn to Ibn Ṭāhir. Al-Mustaʿīn was residing there in the charge of Ibn Abī Khumayṣah, Ibn al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal, Manṣūr b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah, and the postal chief. Muḥammad wrote demanding that al-Mustaʿīn be delivered to him. It was said that he subsequently dispatched Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn the Turk at the head of a contingent of troops. The latter brought al-Mustaʿīn out (of Wāsiṭ) on the twenty-fourth of Ramaḍān (October 8, 866), and he arrived with him at al-Qāṭūl[253] on the third of Shawwāl (October 17, 866).

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250. The intention is to have legal witnesses to the fact that al-Mu'ayyad was not murdered, and that he did not die a violent death, but rather of natural causes.

251. The text is *ummihi*; it should be read *umm* as in Ms. C.

252. Such fanciful methods of execution seem to be the work of the chroniclers themselves. See, e.g., the account of al-Muʿtazz's death, p. 1711 of the Leiden edition, and the account of the death of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī, the uncle of Caliph al-Manṣūr (754–775) in Lassner, *Shaping*, 41.

253. See n. 92, above, for the location of Qāṭūl.

It was also said that Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn was in charge of al-Mustaʿīn, and that it was Saʿīd b. Ṣāliḥ who was sent to bring al-Mustaʿīn from al-Qāṭūl after he had been brought there by Ibn Ṭūlūn. Still other reports are at variance with these two. Some said that it was Saʿīd who killed him at al-Qāṭūl, and that on the day after he killed him he brought in al-Mustaʿīn's slave girls and told them, "Look at your master. He is dead." Others said that Saʿīd brought him to Sāmarrā together with Ibn Ṭūlūn, and the former went with him into his residence[254] where he tortured him to death. Another report said that he sailed with al-Mustaʿīn in a skiff filled with supplies until they [1671] reached the mouth of the Dujayl. At that point, he tied a stone to al-Mustaʿīn's feet and cast him into the water.

A Christian physician by the name of Faḍlān, who was in the company of al-Mustaʿīn, reported the following. I was with him when he was carried off. He was taken along the Sāmarrā Road, and when he reached a waterway he saw a procession, a group of people carrying banners. He told me, "Go ahead and take a look. If it is Saʿīd I'm finished." I went up to the lead men of the force and asked them. They said, "It's Saʿīd the gate keeper *(bawwāb)*." I then went back and reported this. He was in a domed litter accompanied by a woman. He said, "We are God's, and unto Him we shall return. By God, I am dead." I lagged a bit behind him. The lead men of the force met him and charged. Forcing him and his nurse *(dāyat)* down, they struck him with their swords. He and his nurse screamed, and then he was killed. At that point the troops departed. I reached the spot, and behold, he was dead in his drawers with no head. The woman was also dead with several stab wounds. We ourselves cast the river's earth upon them until we covered them, and (then we) departed. When his head was brought to al-Muʿtazz, the latter was playing chess. Told that it was the head of the deposed, he said, "Put it there." Then he finished playing. Following that, the Caliph had it brought to him. He looked at it and, subsequently, ordered that it be buried. Fifty thousand dirhams were given to Saʿīd, and he was put in charge of the security *(maʿūnah)* of al-Baṣrah.

One of al-Mustaʿīn's pages *(ghulām)* said that when Saʿīd received al-Mustaʿīn, he had him dismount and ordered one of the Turks to

254. The text is *manzilan lahu*; it should be read *manzilihi*, as suggested by Ms. O.

[1672] kill him. Al-Mustaʿīn asked Saʿīd to grant him time until he finished two prostrations in prayer. Saʿīd asked the Turk to demand the cloak that al-Mustaʿīn was wearing before killing him; this he did. When al-Mustaʿīn bowed down for the second prostration, the Turk killed him and severed his head. Saʿīd then had him buried and hid the place of his burial.

Praising al-Muʿtazz, Muḥammad b. Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb b. Marwān b. Abī Ḥafṣah composed the following verse on the affair concerning al-Muʾayyad:

You are the one who holds the world fast if it ever trembles.
You can, indeed, hold both the world and religion if they tremble.

Your subjects, may God keep you for them,
wish that with your justice you'll be preserved for generations.

You had to deal with a very difficult war,
but your arrows were of hardwood, not of willow.

You were never the first head to be betrayed by a tail,
for you were indeed the head, and the traitor [was] the tail.

If he had succeeded in accomplishing what he plotted,
both Islam and royalty would have vanished.

He wanted to destroy our world and to devastate it.
But it was religion that he really wanted to destroy.

[1673] As soon as he rose in rebellion with his impudence,
he found the imām of justice having already risen against him.

He shot an arrow at you but missed with it.
Whoever shoots his arrow at you, it boomerangs at him.

You had seen to it that he was well respected,
while he was ungrateful and disrespectful [to you].

No brother had ever done so much good for another brother
as you did.
We were always there to witness that.

You were always busy and drained by a war.
While he was playing, and you never charged him with any
responsibility.

O generous one, he was always given without asking.
And you, generous one, always gave him with no requests.

You were more faithful to him than his own father;
you were indeed a father in faithfulness, not a brother.

His seat was always close to the throne of rule,
but it was he who pulled away after he had been close.

He had several benefits that are now gone; he also had [1674]
an open house and was visited, but now he is secluded.

He is now isolated, after his processions,
twenty thousand men in groups were seen behind him.

Where are the ranks who used to rise with him
every time he came and every time he went?

Now he is humiliated after his transgressions and insolence
just like a big fish whose water has suddenly dried.

You have set every neck free from his allegiance.
no preacher would call his name if he ever preaches.

You gave him a title after elevating his rank,
as if God has exchanged his command for his title.

You dressed him with robes of glory, but he neglected it;
it was disregarded and thus was seized from him.

How many a time you shared with him your benefits,
but God now removed him from grace because of his deeds.

He is just like a lamp which had lots of fire,
but now you've left for him no light or flame.

[1675] The land grants [*qaṭīʿah*] to Ibrāhīm had already
severed [*qaṭaʿat*]
the rope of peace and cut the rope of love.

You, generous one, never took anybody to task
without succeeding in defeating them and exposing their faults.

I build my fame on praising the Banū ʿAbbās,
and praise of the Banū ʿAbbās is now my name.

The fear of God, Banū ʿAbbās, has become your way of life,
so much that Quraysh learn to conduct themselves from you.

Anyone who is brief in regard to your praise,
I am not with him, Thank God, nor am I brief.

Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fazārī,[255] reported what a young man from Sāmarrā had told him about the deeds of the people of Sāmarrā concerning the Turks: When the caliphate came to al-Muʿtazz and God gave him command over His servants wherever and whoever they might be, namely, the east, the west, on land, on sea, nomads or urban dwellers, in the plains or on mountains, he was displeased with the ill-advised choices of the people of Baghdad and with their rebellion. Al-Muʿtazz thus called for a group of clear-minded people who were good tempered, kind in their presumptions, sound in nature, of perceptive instincts and perfect for rational council. The Commander of the Faithful then said:

[1676] Won't you look at this band of lowly and foolish barbarians whose hypocrisy has become famous and whose aspirations have become base. There is no way to restrain them; they have

255. The reading is uncertain. It could also be read as Qānī, Fānī, etc., or probably Qāyinī.

no discernment or scrutiny. Their rush into folly has extolled their evil deeds; thus, they became a minority, in spite of their numbers, and are always cursed whenever they are mentioned. I have come to know that the only man who could lead armies, buttress the frontiers, carry out decisions and oversee the provinces is a man who has four main traits; namely, firmness with which to scrutinize things when the truth behind them is revealed, wisdom that restrains him from rashness and from taking risks without being certain of their results, courage that does not fail in times of repeated crises, and a generosity that regards as trivial the expenditure of great sums of money when they are called for. But if he were to have only three traits they ought to be: quick recompense for good deeds, harsh punishment against transgressors, and readiness for ominous events, for one is never certain of calamities. If there were to be only two traits, let them be: complete openness with subjects and fair judgement between the weak and the strong. If it were but a single trait, let that be: readiness for administering affairs, that [1677] is, never postponing a day's work until the next day. What do you think of that? I have already chosen men from among my mawlās possessing these traits. Each of them is known for his strength of will and determination. Each among them does not become arrogant in good time nor befuddled at times of crises. He is never frightened by what comes up behind him nor by that which confronts him, for he is like a crawling insect at the root of a bitter tree—it endures attacks and bites to kill. He is always prepared and his vengeance is stiff. He meets an army with a heart stronger than iron although his company may be few. He seeks revenge and cannot be subdued by armies. He is courageous and relentlessly *(muqtaḍib al-anfās)*[256] endures hardships. He is never dissuaded from what he seeks, and there is no refuge for anyone escaping from him. He is ready of mind and highly esteemed. He is not self-indulgent nor is he incapacitated by turns of fortune. When he rules, he does so completely, and when he promises, he always fulfills his promises. In war he is a genuine hero, and when he threatens he lives up to his

256. That is, short of breath; as if to say he can hold his breath as a sign of endurance.

threats. His shadow is indeed protective of all those who seek it, and his courage distinguishes him in battle. He overcomes those who vie with him, vanquishes those who rise against him, and is superior to anyone competing with him. He energizes those who are faithful to him.

One of those present stood up and said:

God has gathered for you, O Commander of the Faithful, all the virtues of eloquence [*adab*] and He has singled you out with the legacy of prophecy. He handed you the reigns of wisdom and favored you with the gift of dignity. He has granted you excessive discernment and He has enlightened your heart with the most precious knowledge and the clearest mind. Eloquence definitely
[1678] flows from your heart. By God, your acumen, O Commander of the Faithful, is evident even to those who are not as gifted as you are with magnificent graces, immense generosity, praiseworthy virtues and nobility of character. Wisdom expresses itself in your speech. What you have perceived is the truth itself, and what you have comprehended is the right that has no blemish. By God, you, O Commander of the Faithful, are unique in character and the hero of your time. There is no description that does justice to your virtues and there are no adjectives that can delineate the particulars of the excellence of your nobility.

Following that, the Commander of the Faithful appointed his own supporters over the various districts, entrusting them completely with the fates of their enemies, and giving them the power of life and death over those who oppose them. When word reached Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh about the orders the Caliph issued regarding the districts, he composed the following letter (to the incumbents):

Indeed, whimsical error has led you astray from solid thinking, and thus entangled you in falsehood. If you had allowed the truth to rule you, you would have become discerning and would have been saved from ignorance and confusion. But now, if you lean towards peace, you will save yourselves and improve your lot. The Commander of the Faithful will forgive the crimes of the offenders amongst you, and he will single you out for the choicest benefits. But if you continue in your error and hope for

your worst deeds, then you invite God's war and that of His Prophet. All excuses made on your behalf will be disregarded, for you will be associated with the wrong cause. Moreover, when battles begin, the flame of war is set ablaze, and war must run its full course. Swords begin to dismember their protectors, [1679] lances begin to quench their thirst, combat is called for, and heroes lock in battle. War exposes its jaws and teeth and totally unmasks its face. The necks of horses become tangled, and people of courage charge against those of folly. You will indeed come to know at that time which of the two factions finds it easy to challenge death, and which is mightier in enduring battle. Excuses will not be allowed, nor will ransom be accepted. Those who warn (of this) will surely be forgiven, and soon the unjust will surely know what change of fortune they will experience.[257]

When Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh's letter reached the Turks they wrote to him the following answer:

The embodiment of falsehood has revealed itself to you in the garb of truth. Thus folly appeared to you as wisdom, just like a mirage that appears as water to the thirsty but vanishes as one reaches it. And if you were to refocus the sharpness of your mind, it would enlighten you with rational proof and dispell the elements of suspicion. But you have strayed from the path of truth and swung back on account of your confusion, a confusion which has taken your full attention and obsessed you. You are just like one who has been enchanted by devils, perpetually wandering over the face of the earth. By your life, Muḥammad, your threats and admonishing have reached us, but they did not bring us any closer to you nor did they estrange us from you. For [1680] a close investigation has revealed your inner secrets and found you as if you were satisfied with the guidance of lightening—if it lights [in the sky] you would march, otherwise you would stay put. By your life, if your folly is to persist, and if you delve in the mist of hope, you will find yourself in total darkness, and we would come to you with troops, the likes of which you have never seen before. Be sure that you will come out of this totally

257. Qur. 26:227.

humiliated and downtrodden. If we had not been waiting for the letter of the Commander of the Faithful concerning what we should do with the likes of you, we would have brought death with our whips,[258] piercing [flesh] even with our dull swords. We would have turned everything upside down and made [your dwellings] a refuge for ostriches, serpents and owls. We addressed you very clearly to make sure you heard us if you had any life in you. If you pay heed, you will be saved, but if you persist in your folly we will humiliate you, and you will soon be sorry.

On the first day of Rajab, 252 [July 18, 866], a battle took place between the Maghāribah and the Turks. For on that day the Maghāribah gathered under Muḥammad b. Rāshid and Naṣr b. Saʿīd. They overcame the Turks at the Jawsaq Palace and expelled them
[1681] saying, "Every day you kill one caliph, depose another and kill a wazīr." The Turks had previously attacked ʿĪsā b. Farrukhānshāh, had him beaten and took his pack animals. When the Maghāribah expelled the Turks from the Jawsaq Palace and overcame them at the treasury, they seized fifty mounts from them. The Turks then gathered and sent for their compatriots in al-Karkh and al-Dūr.[259] Following that, they encountered the Maghāribah and killed one of them; however, the Maghāribah succeeded in capturing the killer. The Shākiriyyah and the rabble now assisted them and they wore down the Turks who capitulated to the Maghāribah. A reconciliation between the two groups was arranged by Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. They both agreed that they would not initiate any further action, and wherever a man of one group was to be stationed, a man from the other was to be with him. They kept that arrangement for a while, but when the Turks heard that the Maghāribah were gathering to Muḥammad b. Rāshid and Naṣr b. Saʿīd, they gathered under the command of Bāyakbāk saying, "We seek only those two heads and no one will say anything if we succeed in getting them." The morning of that day on which the Turks intended to attack them, Muḥammad b. Rāshid and Naṣr b. Saʿīd had already met and were on

258. *Balaghnā bi-l-siyāṭ al-niyāṭ*, to be understood with the sense of *bi-lā sawṭ wa-la nawṭ*, which is said of something done voluntarily "without [the threat of] a whip or hanging."

259. See n. 39, above.

their way home when they heard that Bāyakbāk had come to the residence of Ibn Rāshid. Muḥammad b. Rāshid and Naṣr b. Saʿīd then changed course and went, instead, to the residence of Muḥammad b. ʿAzzūn, where they intended to wait until the Turks calmed down. Following that, they would go back to their troops. A man betrayed them to Bāyakbāk and guided him to them. It was said that Ibn ʿAzzūn sent the man who guided Bāyakbāk and the Turks to them. [1682] The Turks seized them and then killed them. When al-Muʿtazz heard about that he wanted to kill Ibn ʿAzzūn. But words were spoken on his behalf, and the Caliph exiled him to Baghdad.

In that year, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf al-ʿAṭṭār was carried off from Baghdad to Sāmarrā together with a group of Ṭālibids, including Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and Abū Hāshim Dāwūd b. al-Qāsim al-Jaʿfarī. That took place on the eighth of Shaʿbān, 252 (August 24, 866).

The Reason For Their Being Carried Off

The reason was reportedly as follows. A Ṭālibid man came up with a group of regular troops and Shākiriyyah from Baghdad to the Kūfah district. Al-Kūfah and its environs were then in the charge of Abū al-Sāj, who was in Baghdad negotiating with Ibn Ṭāhir about his departure to al-Rayy.[260] When Ibn Ṭāhir learned of the Ṭālibid coming from Baghdad to the Kūfah district, he ordered Abū al-Sāj to return to his post in al-Kūfah. Abū al-Sāj, on the other hand, sent his deputy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ahead to al-Kūfah while he met with Abū Hāshim al-Jaʿfarī and a group of Ṭālibids in Baghdad. They spoke to him concerning the Ṭālibid who was going to al-Kūfah. Abū al-Sāj then responded, "Tell him to stay away from me, and I won't be looking for him." But when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Abū al-Sāj's deputy, reached al-Kūfah and entered the city, he was pelted with stones all [1683] the way until he reached the mosque, for people thought that he had come to fight the ʿAlid. When he explained to them (that he was) not intending to (and that he was) simply a man sent to fight the bedouins, they left him alone, and he took up his position at al-Kūfah.

260. See above, pp. 1656–1657 of the Leiden edition, concerning the appointment of Abū al-Sāj over the lands irrigated by the Euphrates.

This Abū Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar, the Ṭālibid whom I mentioned among those Ṭālibids carried off to Sāmarrā, had been appointed by al-Muʿtazz over al-Kūfah. This was after Muzāḥim b. Khāqān defeated the ʿAlid whom he was sent there to fight. All this is mentioned above in the appropriate place. This Abū Aḥmad reportedly devastated the regions around al-Kūfah, causing harm to people while seizing their possessions and estates. When Abū al-Sāj's deputy positioned himself in al-Kūfah, he treated Abū Aḥmad, the ʿAlid, gently and gained his confidence. Having befriended each other, they shared food and drink. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān then strolled with him in one of the gardens of al-Kūfah, after alerting his companions (of his secret intentions). He put the ʿAlid in shackles, and at night he carried him off in chains on the government service mules *(bighāl al-dukhūl)*.[261] He brought him to Baghdad on the first day of Rabīʿ II (April 21, 866). When he reached Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the latter imprisoned Abū Aḥmad at his palace. Later, he took a surety from him and set him free. Letters from al-Ḥasan b. Zayd were found in the possession of one of the nephews of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf al-ʿAṭṭār, and when the news about this reached al-Muʿtazz, he sent word ordering him to be sent off with ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb. These Ṭālibids were all transported together with fifty horsemen, including this Abū Aḥmad, Abū Hāshim al-Jaʿfarī, and ʿAlī b. ʿUbaydallāh
[1684] b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

People talked about ʿAlī b. ʿUbaydallāh, saying that he had asked for permission to go to his residence in Sāmarrā and that it had been granted to him. It was also said that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh granted him one thousand dirhams, simply because he complained to him of his difficult straits. As for Abū Hāshim, he bid farewell to his family. It was said that he was carried away because Ibn al-Kurdiyyah and ʿAbdallāh b. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā had told al-Muʿtazz, "If you write to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh asking him to send away Dāwūd b. al-Qāsim, he would not do so. Write to him that you wish to dispatch Dāwūd to Ṭabaristān to set its affairs in order. Once he comes to you, you can do with him as you see fit." He was carried away as a result, and no harm ever befell him.

261. The text literally means "mules of the intimate service" and may be a reference to their status in having access to the caliphal complex. For such provisions of security, see Lassner, *Shaping*, 184f.

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Shawārib was appointed as chief judge. Regarding the other legal appointments Muḥammad b. ʿImrān al-Ḍabbī, al-Muʿtazz's teacher, had nominated on the latter's behalf eight men, including al-Khalanjī and al-Khaṣṣāf. He had already written their letters of appointment, but Shafīʿ al-Khādim, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Kurdiyyah, and ʿAbd al-Samīʿ b. Hārūn b. Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar stopped him, saying, "These men are followers of Ibn Abī Du'ād[262] and are among the Rāfiḍites, Qadarites, Zaydites or Jahmites."[263] Al-Muʿtazz then ordered that they be expelled and exiled to Baghdad. The populace then attacked al-Khaṣṣāf, and the others fled to Baghdad on their own. Al-Ḍabbī was discharged from all his duties except for the court of appeals *(maẓālim)*.

The estimated payments required by the Turks, the Maghāribah and the Shākiriyyah for this year reportedly reached two hundred million dīnārs, which was equal to two years of taxes *(kharāj)* collected for the entire realm. [1685]

In this year, Abū al-Sāj was sent to the Mecca Road. The reason for that was said to have been as follows. When Waṣīf was restored to his rank, he was given the signet of al-Muʿtazz. He then wrote to Abū al-Sāj ordering him to go out to the Mecca Road and repair it. He also sent him the needed funds. Abū al-Sāj had begun preparations when Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh wrote asking that he be put in charge of the Mecca Road. This request was approved, and Abū al-Sāj was sent on the latter's behalf.

On the first of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (December 13, 866), ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh b. al-Salīl was appointed governor of al-Ramlah, whereupon he sent his deputy Abū al-Maghrā' to the city. It was also said that he payed Bughā forty thousand dīnārs for the position, or that he guaranteed that sum to him.[264]

In this year, Waṣīf wrote to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf, appointing him over al-Jabal. He also sent him the cloaks signifying his ap-

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262. That is, Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād, a famous Muʿtazilite *qāḍī* under al-Ma'mūn. See *EI²*, I, 271, and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, I, 81–91.

263. For these sects, see Nawbakhtī, *Firaq*, and Shahrastānī, *Milal*. The reference here is that they are all followers of unorthodox sects, and thus would be dangerous if appointed to official positions. It is also a reflection on al-Ḍabbī himself.

264. The text is *ḍamanaha*, that is, "he vouched" that he would pay that specific sum for it.

pointment, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ruled on his behalf.

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 252 (November 13–December 17, 866), one of Ayyūb b. Aḥmad's lieutenants killed Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Shārī in Diyār Rabīʿah.

In this year, Kanjūr fell from favor and was imprisoned at the Jawsaq Palace. Later, he was carried away to Baghdad in chains. Finally, he was sent to al-Yamāmah where he was imprisoned.

[1686] In (this year), Ibn Justān, the leader of the Daylamites, raided al-Rayy together with Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-ʿAlawī and al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kawkabī. They killed many people and took others as prisoners. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was in the city at the time of their attack, but he managed to flee. The people of al-Rayy made peace with them by paying two million dirhams. When Ibn Justān departed from the city, Ibn ʿAzīz returned and captured Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, whom he sent off to Naysābūr.

Also in this year, Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf the Ṭālibid, who did what he did in Mecca, died.

Leading the pilgrimage this year on behalf of al-Muʿtazz was Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Manṣūr.

The Events of the Year

253

(JANUARY 11, 867–DECEMBER 31, 867)

Among these events, al-Muʿtazz appointed Mūsā b. Bughā the Elder governor of al-Jabal on the fourth day of Rajab (July 10, 867). At the time Bughā had an army of Turks and equivalent troops that amounted to 2,443 men. Mufliḥ commanded 1,530 of them.

In this year, on the twenty-second of Rajab (July 28, 867), Mufliḥ, who commanded the vanguard of Mūsā b. Bughā's army, attacked ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf, who led a force consisting of some [1687] twenty thousand vagabonds and others. The battle between them was said to have taken place about one *mīl* (two km)[265] outside Hamadhān. Mufliḥ succeeded in pushing ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz back for some three *farsakhs* (eighteen km), killing some of the latter's men and taking others captive. Mufliḥ and his men returned unharmed; he dispatched the news of this victory that very day. During the month of Ramaḍān (September 4–October 3, 867), Mufliḥ arrayed his cavalry against al-Karaj[266] where he set up two ambushes. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, on his part, sent an army of four thousand men, whereupon Mufliḥ engaged them in combat. Mufliḥ's ambushers attacked ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's men, and the latter fled. Mufliḥ's men put them to the

265. One *mil* is about two kilometers. See Hinz, *Masse*, 63.

266. In the area of Jibāl, western modern Iran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 197–8, where it is simply identified as Karaj Abū Dulaf.

sword, killing and taking prisoners from among them. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who came to the aid of his followers, fled along with them. He then left al-Karaj and went to one of his fortresses nearby, called Diz, where he fortified himself. As for Mufliḥ, he went into al-Karaj and took a group from the family of Abū Dulaf as prisoners. He also seized some of their womenfolk, including, it is said, the mother of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and had them bound. Mufliḥ reportedly sent seventy loads of heads to Sāmarrā and a great number of banners.

In this year, Mūsā b. Bughā left Sāmarrā for Hamadhān and set up camp there.

Also in this year, al-Muʿtazz bestowed cloaks of honor upon Bughā al-Sharābī and dressed him with a crown and two sashes. He wore the sashes from the time he left (the Caliph's chambers) until he reached his residence.

On the twenty-sixth of Shawwāl, 253 (October 29, 867), Waṣīf the Turk was killed. The reason for his death was reportedly as follows. The Turks, the Farāghinah and Ushrūsanis rioted, demanding four months of their allotments. Meeting them were Bughā, Waṣīf, Sīma
[1688] al-Sharābī and about a hundred of their followers. Waṣīf addressed them saying, "What do you want?" They responded, "Our allotments." He then said, "Take dust. Do we have any money?" Bughā said, "Yes. Let's ask the Commander of the Faithful about this and then negotiate in the residence of Ashnās. But let those who do not belong to your group depart." Then they went into the residence of Ashnās, and Sīma al-Sharābī left for Sāmarrā. After that, he was followed by Bughā, in order to secure the Caliph's permission concerning their pay. Waṣīf was left to their mercy, and one of them attacked him twice with a sword while another stabbed him with a knife. Nūsharā b. Ṭājibak, who was one of his officers, then carried Waṣīf to his residence. When Bughā was late in returning, they thought that the Turks were mobilizing against them. Therefore they brought Waṣīf out of Nūsharā's residence and hit him with axes until they broke his arms and decapitated him. Then they placed his head on top of a stick which was used to stir bread ovens. The common people of Sāmarrā rushed to loot the residence of Waṣīf and those of his sons, but the sons had already returned to defend their houses. Following this episode, al-Muʿtazz entrusted Bughā al-Sharābī with all of Waṣīf's duties.

On the day of the Fiṭr (Feast) this year (October 4, 867), Bundār al-Ṭabarī was killed.

The Reason For His Death

The circumstances were as follows. A Khārijite *(muḥakkim)* known as Musāwir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd rebelled *(ḥakkama)* in al-Bawāzīj[267] [1689] during the month of Rajab, 253 (July 7–August 5, 876). Al-Muʿtazz dispatched Sātikīn against him during the month of Ramaḍān (September 4–October 3, 867). The rebel then headed towards the Khurāsān Road, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh was dispatched against him. The latter had entrusted the Khurāsān Road to the armed men of Bundār and Muẓaffar b. Saysal. When they reached the Daskarat al-Malik[268] they took up positions. Bundār reportedly went out to hunt on the last day of Ramaḍān (October 3, 867). He went far in search of his prey, indeed, he passed about a *farsakh* (six km) beyond the houses of al-Daskarah. While preoccupied with this, he saw two banners being carried by a group of people on their way to the city. He therefore sent some of his men to find out about the banners. They were told by the leader of the group that he was the governor of Karkh Juddān,[269] and that he had heard of a man by the name of Musāwir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, one of the dihqāns of al-Bawāzīj; the latter had risen in rebellion and the governor had received word that Musāwir was on his way to Karkh Juddān. Upon hearing that, the governor fled to al-Daskarah to take solace near Bundār and Muẓaffar. Bundār immediately went to Muẓaffar and told him, "The rebel is on his way to Karkh Juddān and will be seeking us next. Let's go after him first." Al-Muẓaffar retorted, "It's evening and we wish to pray the Friday prayer. Moreover, tomorrow is the holiday *(ʿīd)*. Once the Fiṭr is over, we will go after him." Bundār refused (to wait) and set out immediately, hoping to defeat the rebel by himself without Muẓaffar. As for Muẓaffar, he remained at al-

267. In the eastern part of the Jazīrah area. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 91.
268. The next station on the Khurāsān Road after Nahrawān, northeast of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 62.
269. Close to the border between Iraq and Iran. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 449.

Daskarah. The city itself was eight *farsakhs* (forty-eight km) from Tell 'Ukbarā'[270] and the distance between 'Ukbarā' and the battle-
[1690] field was four *farsakhs* (twenty-four km).

Bundār set out to Tell 'Ukbarā', reaching it at dusk on the eve of the Fiṭr (October 3, 867). He fed his animals, and following that he rode off until he overlooked the rebel camp. This was during the night while the people were praying and reading the Qur'ān. Some of his followers and associates suggested that he let them sleep without knowing of his presence. But he refused, saying, "Not until I face them and they face me." He then sent out two or three horsemen to bring back information. When they came close to the rebel camp, the latter gave warning, and cried out, "To arms!" Then they mounted their horses and stood for battle waiting for morning, when the battle was waged. Bundār's men were unable to shoot a single arrow, although they were (a force of) about three hundred cavalry and infantry. He therefore arrayed them in a formation consisting of right and left flanks and a rear, while he himself was positioned in the center. Musāwir and his followers charged them, but Bundār and his followers stood firm. The rebel then moved away from their camp and their night shelter, in order to entice Bundār and his followers into looting. But Bundār and his followers stayed away from the camp. Following that, the rebels counterattacked with swords and lances; there were about seven hundred of them. Neither party gave way. The rebels resorted to swords and disregarded lances, thus losing some fifty of their men. A similar number of Bundār's men were killed. Then, in one charge, the rebels managed to isolate about a hundred of Bundār's followers. The latter gave battle for a while, but soon all of them were killed. Bundār and his men retreated and the rebels isolated groups of them, one group after another, and then killed them. Bundār continued to flee and was persistently sought. The rebels caught up with him near Tell 'Ukbarā', about four *farsakhs* (twenty-four km) from the battlefield. They killed him and fixed his severed head (to a pole). Only about
[1691] fifty men, some say a hundred, of Bundār's followers managed to escape by wandering away from the battlefield at a time when the Khārijites were occupied in cutting them in groups. News of Bundār

270. See n. 90, above.

reached Muẓaffar—he was still in al-Daskarah. He therefore pulled out from the city and drew closer to Baghdad.

The news of Bundār's death reached Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh the day after the Fiṭr. It was said that he did not drink or amuse himself, as he used to do, for he was struck with grief on account of the news of Bundār's death. Musāwir went immediately to Ḥulwān, where he was met by the populace who fought him. He killed some four hundred persons while they killed a group of the rebel's followers. Moreover, a group of pilgrims from Khurāsān who were in the city were also killed; they had supported the people of Ḥulwān. Following that, the pilgrims departed.

During the night of the fourteenth of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 253 (November 15, 867), there was an eclipse of the moon that was either total or almost so.[271] Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir reportedly died by the end of the eclipse, having succumbed to ulcers that appeared on his head and throat. The ulcers on his head and throat were reportedly big enough for wicks to be inserted into them. When he died his brother ʿUbaydallāh and his son Ṭāhir vied with one another for who would pray over him. His son finally said the prayers; it was said that this was Ibn Ṭāhir's wish. Later, a dispute arose between ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh, the brother of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, and the latter's household retinue. It reached the point of their drawing swords against him, and he was pelted with stones. The rabble, the common people, and the mawlās of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm sided with Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir and shouted, "Victory to Ṭāhir [*Ṭāhir yā manṣūr*]!" As for ʿUbaydallāh, he crossed over to his [1692]
residence on the East Side. The commanders sided with him, for Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh had deputized ʿUbaydallāh in his will. ʿUbaydallāh was to take over (Muḥammad's) functions. Muḥammad had also written of this to his governors. Following that, al-Muʿtazz sent ʿUbaydallāh robes of honor and the document signifying him to be the governor of Baghdad. The latter was said to have ordered that fifty thousand dirhams be given to the person who brought the robes on behalf of al-Muʿtazz.

The following is a copy of the letter of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh to

271. This eclipse did indeed take place. See Oppolzer, *Canon*, No. 3206, Julian Day 2038048.

his governors, in which he deputized his brother ʿUbaydallāh to succeed him:

> Now, God has decreed death for those of his creatures who still live, as it was for those who are gone. Anyone who has been granted some of God's grace should prepare himself at all times to meet the unavoidable and the inescapable. I write now while I am afflicted by a terrible illness that causes despair to almost overshadow hope. If God were to cure me, it would be because of His might and His usual benevolence. But if I were to be struck with the same fate as those dead and alive, I would deputize ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh, the mawlā of the Commander of the Faithful, my brother, and the one trusted to follow my example and to execute what I am entrusted with by the Commander of the Faithful until he receives his orders to act accordingly. You shall obey the commands dispatched to you by ʿUbaydallāh, if God so wills it. Written on Thursday the thirteenth of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (November 14, 867).

[1693] In this year, al-Muʿtazz exiled Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil to Wāsiṭ and then to al-Baṣrah. Later, he was brought to Baghdad and made to reside on the East Side in the palace of Dīnār b. ʿAbdallāh.[272]

In this year, ʿAlī b. al-Muʿtaṣim was also expelled to Wāsiṭ and later brought to Baghdad.

Also in this year, Muzāḥim b. Khāqān died in Egypt during the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (December 2–31, 867).

Leading the pilgrimage this year was ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Zaynabī.

In this year, the Muslims raided in the district of Malaṭiyah, under the command of Muḥammad b. Muʿādh. They were, however, routed, and Muḥammad b. Muʿādh was taken prisoner. This took place in Dhū al-Qaʿdah (November 2–December 1, 867).

In this year, Mūsā b. Bughā met the Ṭālibid al-Kawkabī in battle, one *farsakh* (six km) from Qazwīn. This was on Monday the last day of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (December 1, 867). Mūsā routed al-Kawkabī, who

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272. For more information on Dīnār b. ʿAbdallāh, see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 223, and *FHA*, 357, 445, 456. The exact location of his residence in East Baghdad can not be determined any further.

then linked up with the Daylamites. Mūsā b. Bughā then entered Qazwīn.

I was told the following by those who witnessed the battle. The Daylamites who were with al-Kawkabī stood in rows when they met Mūsā and his followers, and they held their shields in front of them to avert the arrows of Mūsā's men. When Mūsā saw that the arrows of his men were ineffective, he ordered that all the oil that he had be poured on the ground on his side of the battlefield. Then he ordered his men to retreat, pretending that they were defeated, which they did. When al-Kawkabī and his followers thought that Mūsā's men had been routed they took after them. When Mūsā learned that al-Kawkabī's followers had reached the middle of the oil, he called for torches and a fire was subsequently lit. The flames [1694] took to the oil and reached the ground under al-Kawkabī's men where it incinerated some; the others fled. It was at that point that they were defeated, and Mūsā entered Qazwīn.

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah of this year (December 2–31, 867), Khuṭārmish met Musāwir the Khārijite in battle in the district of Jalūlā'. He was defeated by Musāwir.

The Events of the Year 254

(JANUARY 1—DECEMBER 19, 868)

Among those events was the killing of Bughā al-Sharābī.

The Circumstances Leading to His Death

The circumstances were reportedly as follows. Bughā al-Sharābī used to urge al-Muʿtazz to go to Baghdad, but the latter would refuse him that. One day, when Bughā was occupied with the wedding of his daughter Jumʿah to Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf—they were married in the middle of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (November 5, 868)—al-Muʿtazz rode off at night together with Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl to Karkh Sāmarrā. They were seeking Bāyakbāk and his men because he was estranged from Bughā. The cause of this estrangement was that one day, while they were sharing a drink, the two quarreled and parted ways. As a result, Bāyakbāk was fleeing from, Bughā and hiding from him. Now when
[1695] al-Muʿtazz and his company reached al-Karkh the people of al-Karkh and al-Dūr gathered around Bāyakbāk and proceeded with al-Muʿtazz to the Jawsaq Palace in Sāmarrā. When the news reached Bughā he set out with his pages, who were around five hundred men, and a similar number drawn from his sons, his followers and his officers. He proceeded until reaching the river Nayzak. Later on, he

shifted to other places before arriving at al-Sinn.[273] He carried with him coins—nineteen pouches of dīnārs, and one hundred pouches of dirhams. He had taken the money from his own treasury and that of the government, and he had barely spent any of it when he was killed.

When Bughā heard that al-Muʿtazz had come to al-Karkh with Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl, he reportedly marched with those commanders closest to him to Tell ʿUkbarāʾ, and from there he went to al-Sinn. His men began to complain to one another about the hardship that they were facing, for they had not moved out with tents nor with anything to keep them warm from the winter cold. While Bughā was in a small tent that he had pitched for himself by the Tigris, Sātikīn came to him and said, "May God favor the amīr. The people in camp have already discussed such and such a thing and I am their messenger to you." Bughā then asked, "Do they all say what you say?" He answered, "Yes. If you wish, send for them; they will speak as I do." To this Bughā responded, "Let me look into this tonight; I'll send word out to you in the morning." In the darkness of the night, he called for a skiff and sailed away with two of his servants, taking along some of the money. But he took no weapons, not even a knife nor a club. Nor did he inform the people at his camp of this. From [1696] the time of Bughā's absence, al-Muʿtazz slept in his clothes, fully armed. Moreover, he would drink no wine, and he entrusted all of his maids to one man. Bughā reached the bridge in the first third of the night. As the skiff drew near, the men in charge (of the bridge) sent someone to look into the skiff, but the young man turned back as Bughā yelled at him. Bughā escaped into the garden of the Khāqānī[274] Palace. Having been followed by a group of them, he halted for them and said, "I am Bughā." Walīd al-Maghribī, who had followed him, then replied, "What's the matter with you? I am at your service." Bughā replied, "Take me to the residence of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf or accompany me to my house so that I can reward you." Al-Walīd al-Maghribī put him in someone's care and galloped off to the Jawsaq Palace, where he sought an audience with al-Muʿtazz. When

273. He seems to have gone in the direction of Jazīrah, for Sinn was on the postal route from Baghdad to Mosul on the eastern bank of the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 125, 90, 91, 133, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 268–9.

274. For more information, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 175; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 258; and n. 21, above.

it was granted, he said, "My Lord, I have captured Bughā and put someone in charge of him." To which the Caliph exclaimed, "Woe unto you if you don't bring me his head." Walīd then returned to those in charge of him and said, "Stand aside, so I can deliver the dispatch to him." When they moved away, he struck him a blow on the forehead, and then the head. Then he went on to his hands, cutting them off. He kept striking Bughā until he felled him and then killed him. He carried Bughā's severed head in the folds of his garment and brought it to al-Muʿtazz, who granted him ten thousand dīnārs and a robe of honor. The head was hung first in Sāmarrā, then in Baghdad. The Maghāribah, pounced on his corpse and put the torch to it. As for al-Muʿtazz, he sent immediately for Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl, al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, and Abū Nūḥ. He invited them into his presence and then told them the news. In Baghdad, ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir pursued Bughā's sons one after another. They had fled to the city with some people they had trusted, and were now hiding at their
[1697] homes. Fifteen of his children and followers were reportedly imprisoned in the Gold Palace, and ten at the Maṭbaq Prison.[275]

It was also said that when Bughā went to Sāmarrā on the evening he was seized, he consulted his companions about his trip. He indicated that he would go to the residence of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, and at the approach of the holiday *(ʿīd)*, the troops would enter (the city) while he and Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf and his men would march against the Maghāribah and al-Muʿtazz.

In this year, Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf appointed Dīwdād governor of Diyār Muḍar, Qinnasrīn and the ʿAwāṣim.[276] This took place in Rabīʿ I (February 29–March 29, 868).

In (this year) Bāyakbāk appointed Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn over Egypt.

In Rabīʿ I, 254 (February 29–March 29, 868), Mufliḥ and Bajūr at-

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275. For Maṭbaq Prison, see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 27 who locates it in the southern part of the Round City at the intersection of the roads leading to the Baṣrah and the Kūfah Gates respectively. Qaṣr al-Dhahab (Gold Palace) was in the center of the Round City, ibid., 31, and Lassner, *Topography*.

276. In northern Syria, west of Aleppo, with Antioch as the capital city for most of the time. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, 36–37. See also Aboulfeda, *Géographie*, 233. According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 165, the name is derived from the singular *ʿāṣim*, meaning "an obstruction," because it was applied to a series of fortresses in this area bordering Byzantium and were thus like obstructions to the enemy. The exact extent of the area called *ʿawāṣim* varied.

tacked the people of Qumm[277] killing a great number of them.

On Monday, the twenty-fifth of Jumādā II (June 21, 868), ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā died. Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil prayed over him in the quarter named after Abū Aḥmad,[278] and he was buried in his own residence.

In Jumādā II (May 28–June 25, 868), Dulaf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf arrived at al-Ahwāz because his father ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had sent word for him to go there and to Jundī Sābūr and Tustar.[279] Dulaf collected two hundred thousand dīnārs in taxes at these places and then departed.

During the month of Ramaḍān, 254 (August 24–September 22, 868), Nūsharā marched against Musāwir the rebel. Upon encountering Musāwir he routed him, killing a great number of his followers.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad. [1698]

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277. That is, in northwest Iran. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 209, 210, 227, 229.

278. For this quarter of Sāmarrā, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 260, 261.

279. Jundī Sāpūr was a pre-Islamic city in western Iran, known for its hospital and for its intellectual life. Most of the physicians of the early ʿAbbasid caliphs, like the Bakhtīshūʿ family, came from this city. See Schoffler, *Akademie*. For its location, as well as that of Tūstar, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 233, 238, 247 and 233–236.

The Events of the Year

255

(DECEMBER 20, 868–DECEMBER 8, 869)

Among the events taking place were Mufliḥ's entry into Ṭabaristān and the battle that he fought with al-Ḥasan b. Zayd the Ṭālibid. In this battle Mufliḥ defeated al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, who then linked up with the Daylamites. Following that, Mufliḥ entered Āmul and burned the residences of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. Having done that, he set out for al-Daylam in pursuit of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd.

In this year, Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth fought a battle with Ṭawq b. al-Mughallis outside Kirmān. In this battle Yaʿqūb took Ṭawq prisoner. The circumstances of that event were reportedly as follows. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh b. Shibl wrote to the central authorities asking for the governorship of Kirmān. He had previously served as governor for the Ṭāhirids. He wrote complaining about the weakness of the Ṭāhirids and how little control they exercised over the regions that they were responsible for. Moreover, he mentioned that Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth had taken over Sijistān from them, and that he had been lax in sending the tax revenues of Fars to the central authorities. The authorities wrote back, appointing him over Kirmān, but they also wrote to Yaʿqūb giving him the same appointment, thus hoping to incite one against the other. Should this have come to pass, the central authorities would only have to supply the victo-
[1699] rious of the two, thereby saving the share of the other. For both were

at war with the authorities, and none displayed any obedience. When they did that to the two of them, Ya'qūb b. al-Layth marched from Sijistān seeking Kirmān. But as soon as 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn received word that Ya'qūb was marching with a large army from Fārs to Kirmān, he dispatched Ṭawq b. al-Mughallis who managed to reach Kirmān before Ya'qūb. Ṭawq entered the city as Ya'qūb approached from Sijistān, one day's journey from Kirmān.

I was told by those who witnessed what went on between the two that Ya'qūb remained in the position that he had established for himself, about a day's journey from Kirmān. He stayed there for about a month or two, spying on Ṭawq, and interrogating anyone who came out of Kirmān towards him. Also, he would not let any- [1700]
one going to Kirmān pass through his army in this sector. But neither he nor Ṭawq would march against one another. After some time, Ya'qūb gave indications that he left his camp to journey in the direction of Sijistān. He had, in fact, put a day's journey between himself and the camp. When word of his journey reached Ṭawq, he thought that it had become evident to Ya'qūb what it would cost to fight him, and that Ya'qūb had thus conceded Kirmān to him and to 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. He then put aside the implements of war and started drinking while calling for entertainment. Through all this, Ya'qūb continuously sought information about him. When he learned that Ṭawq had put away the implements of war and had started to drink and entertain himself at his alleged departure, he swung back covering two day's journey in one. As Ṭawq was still drinking and playing about, he only noticed towards the end of daylight that a cloud of dust had risen outside the city of Kirmān in which he was staying. He asked the villagers, "What is this cloud of dust?" He was told, "It is the dust of the villager's cattle returning to their owners." But very soon after that *(lam yakun illa kalā walā)* Ya'qūb and his men arrived and surrounded him and his followers. When surrounded, Ṭawq's followers thought of protecting their lives. Ya'qūb then ordered his men, "Make room for them." This they did; whereupon, Ṭawq's men fled before them, leaving behind in their camp all that they had with them. Ya'qūb then took Ṭawq as prisoner.

Ibn Ḥammād al-Barbarī (reported that) when 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn dispatched Ṭawq, he sent him off with several coffers. Some of them [1701]

contained necklaces and bracelets of honor to be granted to those men who fought valiantly at his side; some contained money to be dispensed as rewards to those of his men who were deserving, while still others contained chains and shackles to bind those men of Yaʿqūb who would be seized. When Yaʿqūb took Ṭawq prisoner along with the army commanders accompanying him, he ordered that everything belonging to Ṭawq and his men was to be confiscated. This included money, household items, animals and weapons. All this was confiscated and assembled before him; the coffers that were brought remained locked. Yaʿqūb ordered that some of them be opened, and when it was done, he discovered the chains and shackles. He then addressed Ṭawq, "O Ṭawq! What about these chains and shackles?" He replied, "ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn had given them to me for binding the prisoners." Yaʿqūb then ordered one of his men, "Hey you, see which is the biggest and the heaviest of them, place it on Ṭawq's feet and lock it." He did the same to the prisoners he had taken from among Ṭawq's men.

Following that, he called for the other coffers. They were opened, and he discovered the necklaces and bracelets. He then asked Ṭawq, "O Ṭawq! And what is that?" He replied, "They were given to me to decorate those of my men who fought valiantly." Yaʿqūb then or-
[1702] dered one of his men, "Hey you, take from that one such a necklace and such a bracelet and give them to so and so." He began to decorate his own followers, and he did the same with the other coffers.

When Yaʿqūb ordered Ṭawq to extend his hand so that he could shackle him, he discovered a bandage on his forearm; whereupon he asked, "What is that, O Ṭawq?" He replied, "May God favor the amīr, I had felt some fever, and had it bled." Yaʿqūb then summoned one of his men and ordered him to slip off his boots. When he did, dried crumbs of bread fell out. He then said to Ṭawq, "I have not taken these boots off for two months. I carry the bread which I eat in them and have not slept on a bed. And you sit and drink and act frivolously in this way, hoping for a battle in which to fight me?" When Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth finished with Ṭawq, he entered Kirmān, taking possession of the region. Along with Sijistān it became one of his provinces.

In this year, Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth entered Fārs and took ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh prisoner.

Why and How He Captured Him

Ibn Ḥammād al-Barbarī (reported the following). At that time I was in Fārs with ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh. Word reached him about the battle between Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth and his (ʿAlī's) follower Ṭawq b. al-Mughallis and how Yaʿqūb had entered Kirmān and annexed the region. When the defeated army reached him, he was certain [1703] that Yaʿqūb would be coming to Fārs. ʿAlī himself was at that time in Shīrāz in the province of Fārs. He mobilized his army as well as the infantry of Ṭawq's defeated army among others. After arming them he emerged from Shīrāz to a narrow reservoir *(kurr)*[280] outside the city. The open area between the reservoir, which is contiguous to the city, and the opposite mountain was wide enough for only one man or one animal. Its narrowness did not allow more than one man to pass at a time. He then established a position there and set up camp on the bank of the reservoir close to Shīrāz. He brought along the market people and merchants of Shīrāz to his camp saying, "If Yaʿqūb comes he will find no way to reach us through the desert; for he has no avenue of approach except this open area between the mountain and the reservoir, and it is wide enough for only one man. Were but a single man positioned there, he would be able to prevent anyone from passing through. And if he is unable to pass through to us, he will be left out in the open plain where there is no food for him and his men, nor will he find fodder for their animals."

Ibn Ḥammād (continued). Yaʿqūb proceeded until he approached the reservoir. On the first day, he ordered his followers to set up camp about a *mīl*[281] from the reservoir on the Kirmān side. Then he proceeded alone, carrying a ten-cubit lance *(rumḥ ʿushārī)*. I can still picture him proceeding alone on his mount accompanied by only a [1704] single man. He examined the reservoir, the mountain and the road. Drawing close to the reservoir, he examined the camp of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn as well. ʿAlī's followers started cursing him saying, "We will send you back to the people of copper caldrons and boilers, you copper worker."[282] He remained silent, offering no response.

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280. The translation of *kurr* as a reservoir follows Firūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, II, 130, where it is identified as a water well. The sense of a water reservoir is the only one that makes sense of this difficult passage.

281. See n. 265.

282. *Ṣaffār* is a reference to the fact that Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth was a founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty that ruled for centuries over a large part of Persia, centered around

After examining what he had come to see, he returned to his men. When it was noon of the following day he came forward with his companions and men until they reached the bank of the reservoir which is on the Kirmān side. He then issued orders for his men to dismount and remove their baggage. He then opened a chest that he had brought along.

Ibn Ḥammād (continued). I can still picture them. They let loose a wolfhound and then mounted their steeds bareback, holding lances in hand. Before that ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn had arrayed his troops in battle formation and arranged them in rows to guard the passage between the mountain and the reservoir, seeing that there was no other way for Yaʿqūb to cross through. They brought the dog and threw it into the reservoir while he and ʿAlī's followers watched and laughed. When they threw the dog in the reservoir, the dog started to swim to the side where ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn's camp was situated. Yaʿqūb's men then urged their animals to follow behind the dog. Carrying their lances in their hands, they started across after the dog.[283]

When ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn saw that Yaʿqūb had already crossed most of the reservoir, and was coming towards him and his men, he be-
[1705] came confused and failed to devise another plan. Yaʿqūb's men soon came out of the reservoir in pursuit of ʿAī b. al-Ḥusayn's followers. As soon as the lead troops came out (of the water), ʿAlī's men fled seeking the city of Shīrāz. For, once the army of Yaʿqūb came out of the water, they would be trapped between the army and the reservoir and would find no refuge if they were routed. After Yaʿqūb's troops came out of the reservoir, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn fled along with his men, but his mount stumbled and threw him to the ground. One of the Sijistānīs encountered ʿAlī, intending to strike him with his sword, when one of his servants called out, "The amīr." The Sijistānī dismounted and wrapped his scarf around ʿAlī's neck, and then he dragged him to Yaʿqūb. When he came with him to Yaʿqūb, the latter gave orders that ʿAlī be bound and that all the implements of war that were in ʿAlī's camp, including, among other things, the weapons and animals, be brought to him. He held his position well

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Sistān. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 104. Yaʿqūb himself gave this name to the dynasty because he traded as a coppersmith.

283. The text seems to imply that the dog's swimming encouraged the animals to swim after it, hence allowing main divisions of the army to cross over, and not come out one at a time.

into the night and then marched from that place. Ya'qūb entered the city of Shīrāz at night as his men beat the drums. No one in the city moved (to oppose him). When he greeted the morning, he allowed his followers to loot the residences of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and his followers. After that, he looked at everything that had been gathered at the treasury, including the tax and estate revenues. He confiscated it, and levied a tax (of his own), which he collected. Ya'qūb then left for Sijistān, taking along with him Ibn Quraysh and those of his commanders that were taken prisoner.

In this year, Ya'qūb b. al-Layth sent to al-Mu'tazz several steeds, [1706]
hawks, some musk and various garments as presents.

In this year, Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir was appointed Chief of Security in Baghdad and the Sawād. This took place on the sixth of Rabī' II (March 24, 869). Having come from Khurāsān, he reportedly arrived at Sāmarrā on Thursday, the eighth of Rabī' I (February 24, 869), went straight to al-Ītākhiyyah,[284] and presented himself for an audience with al-Mu'tazz on Saturday. Al-Mu'tazz bestowed robes of honor upon him and Sulaymān then departed.

In this year, 255 (869), a battle took place between Musāwir, the rebel, and Yārjūkh. The rebel routed Yārjūkh, who then fled to Sāmarrā.

Al-Mu'allā b. Ayyūb died during the month of Rabī' II, 255 (March 19–April 16, 869).

In this year, Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf seized Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl, al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, and Abū Nūḥ 'Īsā b. Ibrāhīm. He put them in chains and demanded money for them. The reason for that was reportedly as follows. These secretaries had gathered to drink on Wednesday, the second of Jumādā II, 255 (May 18, 869). On Thursday morning, Ibn Isrā'īl rode off at the head of a large contingent to the Public Audience Hall (Dār al-Sulṭān) where he held audiences, while Ibn Makhlad rode off to the residence of Qabīḥah, the mother of al-Mu'tazz,
for he was her secretary. Abū Nūḥ, in turn, was present at the pal- [1707]
ace[285] while al-Mu'tazz was asleep. When he woke up towards the middle of the day he gave them permission (to enter). Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf then attacked Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl, saying to al-Mu'tazz, "O Com-

284. For this area of the Sāmarrā region, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 175 and Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264.

285. It is not clear which palace. It was probably the residence of al-Mu'tazz.

mander of the Faithful, the Turks are not being paid, and there is no money in the treasury. Ibn Isrāʾīl and his companions have carted away all the money in the world." Aḥmad retorted, "O you disobedient son of a disobedient father." They continued to exchange words until Ṣāliḥ fell unconscious, whereupon water was sprinkled on his face. When his followers, who were at the door, heard about that, they cried out in unison and unsheathed their swords, entering upon al-Muʿtazz with weapons drawn. When al-Muʿtazz saw that, he left them and entered (his chamber). It was then that Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf seized Ibn Isrāʾīl, Ibn Makhlad and ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm. He shackled them with heavy iron chains and carried them off to his residence. Before they were taken away, al-Muʿtazz interceded with Ṣāliḥ saying, "Grant me Aḥmad, for he is my secretary, and he raised me." But Ṣāliḥ refused and then hit Ibn Isrāʾīl until his teeth were broken. Ibn Makhlad was thrown to the ground and administered one hundred lashes. ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm had been phlebotomized and he was now cuffed about until blood began to run from the sides of his neck *(maḥajīm)*. They were not released until they had signed (a statement) promising large sums of money that were to be collected in installments. A group of Turks went to Iskāf[286] to fetch Jaʿfar b. Maḥmūd, but al-Muʿtazz said, "As for Jaʿfar, I have nothing to do with him, nor will he work for me." They went off and al-Muʿtazz sent for Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād al-Marwazī. He was brought to the Caliph so that the latter might appoint him wazīr. He also sent for Isḥāq b. Manṣūr, and he was
1708] brought into the Caliph's presence. Qabīḥah interceded with Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf on behalf of Ibn Isrāʾīl, saying, "You either bring him to al-Muʿtazz, or I will ride to you myself on his behalf."

The following reasons were also reported for this turn of events. The Turks had requested their allotments and made that the pretext for their (actions). Messengers went back and forth between them and those secretaries until Abū Nūḥ said to Sāliḥ b. Waṣīf, "This is your plotting against the Caliph." It was then that Ṣāliḥ fell unconscious on account of the furious anger that overtook him; he remained unconscious until they sprinkled water on his face. When

286. Also known as Iskāf Banū Junayd, and located east of Baghdad on the Nahrawān Canal. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 59–60.

he came to, there were many words exchanged in front of al-Muʿtazz until they all went out to pray, and Ṣāliḥ remained alone with al-Muʿtazz. Then the people were summoned, and shortly thereafter they entered a pavilion in the courtyard. Then Abū Nūḥ and Ibn Makhlad were summoned, and their swords and caps *(qalansūwah)* were taken away while their garments were torn. Ibn Isrāʾīl now encountered the Turks and threw himself at their mercy, but they made him their third victim.[287] The secretaries were then taken out into the hallway and mounted on donkeys and mules, each accompanied by a Turk who rode behind him. They were all sent to Ṣāliḥ's residence along the Ḥayr Road.[288] When Ṣāliḥ left after a while, the Turks dispersed and went on their way. Several days later, each man was shackled with thirty *raṭl* of iron on his feet and twenty on his neck, and they were asked for the money. None of them had any response. Their situation went unresolved until the arrival of Rajab (June 15–July 14, 869), when the Turks sent (word) to seize their estates and their residences, the estates of their relatives, and their property. They were labeled "the treacherous secretaries *(al-kuttāb al-khawanah)*." Jaʿfar b. Maḥmūd arrived on Thursday, the tenth of Jumādā II (May 26, 869), and was given supreme command. [1709]

On the second of Rajab (June 16, 869), ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar and ʿAlī b. Zayd, the descendants of al-Ḥasan, rebelled in al-Kūfah and killed ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā.

On the twenty-seventh of Rajab, 255 (July 11, 869), al-Muʿtazz was deposed. His death was made public on the second of Shaʿbān (July 16, 869). The circumstances of his deposition were reportedly as follows. When the Turks acted as they did to the aforementioned secretaries and the latter did not acknowledge them, they went to al-Muʿtazz asking for their allotments. "Give us our allotments and we will kill Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf for you," they said. Al-Muʿtazz then sent to his mother asking her to give him the funds to pay them. She responded, "I have none." The Turks and the regular army at Sāmarrā saw that the secretaries had refused to give them anything. At the same time, they found nothing in the treasury, and al-Muʿtazz and

287. The text is *thullitha bi-hi*, that is, "he was made their third."
288. For this road in Sāmarrā, see Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 263.

his mother had already refused and denied them completely. The Turks, the Farāghinah and the Maghāribah therefore united and agreed to depose al-Muʿtazz.

They went to him on the twenty-seventh of Rajab. One of the Sulṭān's[289] relations mentioned that he was with Niḥrīr al-Khādim in the palace of al-Muʿtazz on the day they came for him. The Ca-
[1710] liph was shaken only by the shouts of the people of al-Karkh and al-Dūr. Then suddenly, Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, Bāyakbāk and Muḥammad b. Bughā, the one known as Abū Naṣr, entered with their weapons and stood by the door of the residence where al-Muʿtazz was staying. They sent word to him, "Come out to us." He sent word back, saying, "I took a medicine yesterday which has caused me to panic twelve times. I am so weak that I cannot talk. If it is an urgent matter, let one of you enter and inform me of it; let him see for himself why the matter which interests you is at a standstill." A group of the people from al-Karkh and al-Dūr, the lieutenants of the commanders, came in and dragged him to the room's door.

The source of this account also reported the following. I thought that they had already beaten him with clubs, for he came out with his shirt torn in several places and traces of blood on his shoulders. They stood him in the sun in the palace at that time when the heat is oppressive. I saw him lift his foot time and again due to the heat of the place where he had been made to stand. I also saw some of them slap him, as he tried to protect himself with his hand. They started to call out, "Take it off."[290] Then they brought him into a room connected by a door to his own room—this was the room where Mūsā b. Bughā used to stay when he was there. Following that, they sent for Ibn Abī al-Shawārib, who was admitted together with a group of his men. Ṣāliḥ and his followers then said, "Write a letter of deposition for him." He responded, "I can't do a good job of that." An Iṣbahānī who was accompanying him said, "I will write it." He wrote the letter, and they witnessed it and then departed. Ibn Abī al-
[1711] Shawārib now said to Ṣāliḥ, "They bore witness that his sister, his son and his mother shall be given safe conduct." Ṣāliḥ either sig-

289. For this usage of the term *sulṭān* to indicate a specific person rather than authority in general, see Tyan, *Institutions*, II, 12f.

290. Reference is to the Prophet's cloak as part of the caliph's symbols of authority. See n. 211, above.

naled with his head or answered, "Yes." They appointed men to guard the Caliph's company *(majlis)* and some women to watch over his mother. It was reported that Qabīḥah had dug a tunnel in the house in which she lived, and that she managed to leave through this tunnel together with Qurb[291] and the sister of al-Muʿtazz. The troops had blocked the roads around her, preventing people from passing through as of the day they did what they did to al-Muʿtazz. That was from Monday until Wednesday, the last day of Rajab (July 11–13, 869).[292]

After he had been deposed, he was reportedly given over to someone who tortured him, and he was forbidden food and water for three days. Even when he requested a mouthful of well water, it was denied to him. Finally, they plastered a small vault with heavy plaster, put him in it and shut the door behind him.[293] By the next morning he had expired. That took place on the second day of Shaʿbān, 255 (July 16, 869). When he died, Banū Hāshim and the generals bore witness to his death and testified that he had no scars on his body. He was buried with al-Muntaṣir in an area of the Ṣawāmiʿ Palace.

His caliphate, from the day when the oath of allegiance was rendered to him in Sāmarrā until he was deposed, was four years, six months and twenty-three days. He was twenty-four years of age when he died.

He was tall in stature. He had a white complexion and thick dark [1712]
hair. His eyes were beautiful, his face was narrow and handsome, and he had reddish cheeks. He was born in Sāmarrā.

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291. Qabīḥah's maid. See p. 1647, 1658 above of the Leiden edition.

292. There is some discrepancy in this date, for the last day of Rajab fell on a Friday, the fifteenth of July 869. July 11–13, 869 are retained, however, on the assumption that the events took place during that week.

293. See n. 252, above.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXXVI

The Revolt of the Zanj

TRANSLATED BY DAVID WAINES

The Revolt of the Zanj
Volume XXXVI
Translated by David Waines

The present volume of al-Ṭabarī's monumental history covers the years 255-265/869-878, the first half of the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Muʿtamid in Sāmarrā. Although the decade was one of relative calm in the capital, compared with the anarchy of the years immediately preceding, danger signals were flashing in territories adjacent to the imperial heartlands. Chief among them was the revolt of the Zanj, the narrative of which occupies the bulk of the present volume.

A people of semi-servile status, the Zanj, who were based in the marshlands of southern Iraq, were led by a somewhat shadowy and mysterious figure claiming Shīʿite descent, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. Their prolonged revolt against the central authorities was not crushed until 269/882.

Al-Ṭabarī's account of these momentous events is unique in both the quality and the quantity of his information. He himself was present in Baghdad during the years of the revolt, and he was thus able to construct his story from reports by numerous eyewitnesses. The result is a detailed narrative that brings alive for the modern reader the main personalities and engagements of the revolt.

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXXVI

The Revolt of the Zanj

A.D. 869–879/A.H. 255–265

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXXVI

The Revolt of the Zanj

translated and annotated
by

David Waines

Lancaster University

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS *(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)* by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 39 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—)

between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

To Martin Hinds,
in memory of
a long
and
valued
friendship

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EI[1]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition. 4 volumes and supplement. Leiden: 1913–42.
EI[2]: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition. Leiden and London, 1960–.

Translator's Foreword

The present volume of Ṭabarī's voluminous history covers the years 255–65/869–79. It deals with some of the most dramatic events, if not of the entire *History*, certainly of the lifetime of the historian himself. Ṭabarī was already a mature scholar of about thirty when al-Muhtadī became caliph in 255/868 and the leader of the Zanj commenced his uprising in the very heartland of the ʿAbbāsid domains, southern Iraq. These events marked a most severe test for the caliphate and were part of a prolonged internal crisis, not only political in nature, but economic and social as well, a crisis from which the ʿAbbāsids never fully recovered.[1]

The seat of the caliphate was still at Sāmarrā, where the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim had transferred affairs of state from Baghdad in 221/836. The move was occasioned by the desire to settle his new Turkish elite military forces and thus avoid tensions between them and the older established political and commercial sections of Baghdad's population. However, the concentration of Turks in Sāmarrā helped foster rivalries among them, as well as struggles between them and their masters, the caliphs. The assassination of al-Mutawakkil (247/861) ushered in a period of anarchy that came to an end only with the death of al-Muhtadī (255/868), when the Turkish leaders felt more secure of their position within the state apparatus. The new caliph, al-Muʿtamid (with the invaluable support of his brother Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq), remained on the caliphal throne in Sāmarrā for more than twenty years and died a natural death, in con-

1. See D. Waines, "The Crisis of the ʿAbbāsid Third Century."

trast to the violent deaths of the five previous caliphs in the space of a decade.

But, although a period of relative tranquillity began in the capital, danger signals were flashing in territories adjacent to the imperial heartlands. The situation in Sāmarrā, which had paralyzed central government, had allowed provincial dissent to emerge into the open. Ṭabarī deals here with one such expression of dissent in the career of Ya'qūb b. al-Layth, a coppersmith (al-Ṣaffār) who, having become master of the province of Sīstān, next moved to challenge the Ṭāhirids of Khurāsān, long-standing supporters of the 'Abbāsids both in the east and in Baghdad. The central government attempted to win Ya'qūb's support by granting him the governorship of several eastern regions, but a greater danger then arose when he marched westward toward al-Ahwāz and advanced upon Baghdad itself. Ultimately this particular danger was averted but not before it had seemed possible that Ya'qūb might join forces with 'Alī b. Muḥammad and his army of the Zanj in the southern marshlands (*baṭā'iḥ*) of Iraq.

The Zanj revolt occupies the bulk of the narrative in the present volume, from its tentative beginnings in 255/869 through the traumatic capture of al-Baṣrah in 257/871 to the sacking of Wāsiṭ in 264/878. The period covered here, in fact, marks what Alexandre Popovic has correctly called the first distinct phase of the revolt.[2] The movement was crushed only when the Zanj capital, Mukhtārah, fell to al-Muwaffaq's forces in 269/882 and the Zanj leader died the following year. In all, the revolt had occupied the central government's attention for fifteen years.

Ṭabarī's account of these events is of primary importance, "tant par la qualité que par la quantité de ses informations," as Popovic acknowledges.[3] Ṭabarī's skills as a historian are apparent from the manner in which he has constructed his account around reports from those who participated in or witnessed the events recorded. He also displays the storyteller's touch in his inclusion of certain selected anecdotes that bring the narrative to life. My favorite is the picture of a fleeing Zanj soldier who attempts to halt the advance of his pursuer first by tossing his armor at him and finally by trying to stop him with a metal field-oven that he had been carrying. More-

2. A. Popovic, *La révolte des esclaves en Iraq au III/IX siècle*, 83.
3. Popovic, 13.

over, Ṭabarī seems to have been living in Baghdad through at least some of the period of the revolt, as is attested in his brief account of the serial murderer of women who was captured and executed, and whose corpse was publicly displayed in the city, and more particularly in his mention of having been present at the departure of al-Muwaffaq's large and well-equipped army to engage the Zanj in the south. Ṭabarī, for the most part, avoids making judgments on the persons and events he is dealing with, yet he cannot restrain himself entirely from expression of feeling on such momentous events. For example, until the infamous incident of the "Day of the Barges" outside al-Baṣrah, he refers to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad as the Zanj leader; thereafter, however, ʿAlī is designated "the enemy of God," "the cursed one," and, most frequently, simply *al-khabīth* "the abominable one."

A brief comment on the annotation is apposite here. The primary importance of Ṭabarī's account, as already noted, lies in the mass of detail unique to him. Some personal names and place names, especially in the account of developments within the Zanj camp, occur only here and often only once, which makes complete identification virtually impossible. As far as possible, I have cited the works of Le Strange for the identification of place names, as readers of this translation may wish to pursue certain points in a language accessible to them. Tribal names have generally, been left unannotated. References to earlier passages in the *History* are confined to providing a fuller context for events at the beginning of this translation, linking them with earlier or alternative accounts of the same incidents or with immediate antecedent events. The labor of this translation would have been much greater but for the exhaustive study of the revolt by Popovic; my indebtedness to him will be evident from the footnotes.

It remains for me to thank those who have kindly responded to pleas for assistance on points of obscurity and difficulty in the text. To Professor C. E. Bosworth, Basim Musallam, Nasser Tuwaim, and Goudah al-Batanuni I offer gratitude. A more special thanks is owed to the edior, Ehsan Yar-Shater, for reviewing the text and to Everett Rowson for his painstaking scrutiny of the translation, his corrections, and numerous helpful suggestions. And finally, a word of appreciation to Estelle Whelan for her unfailing good humor at moments of mutual vexation.

David Waines

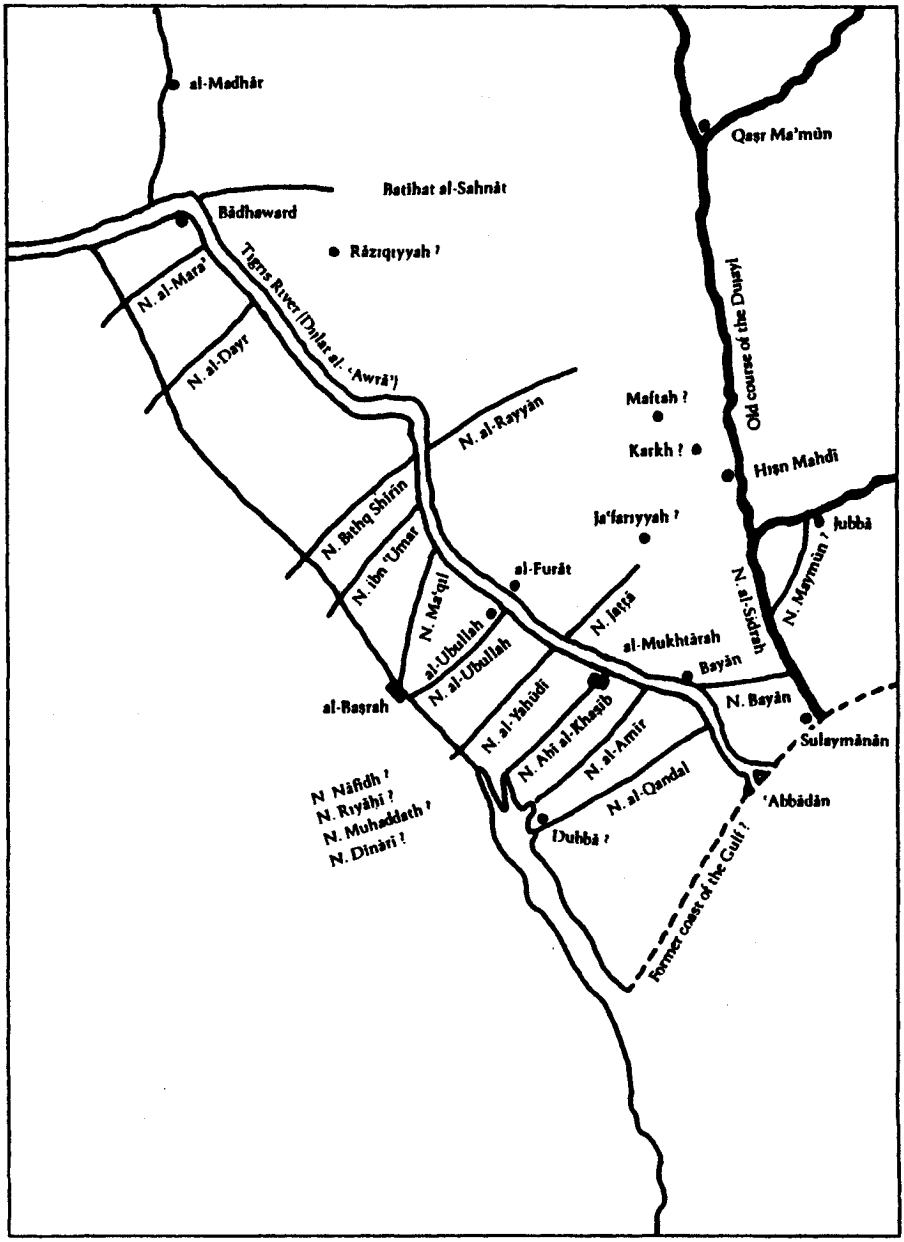

Map 1. The Lower Part of Southern Iraq in the Third/Ninth Century

The Caliphate of Ibn al-Wāthiq: Al-Muhtadī bi-Allāh

The Events of the Year

255 (cont'd) [1712]

(DECEMBER 20, 868–DECEMBER 8, 869)

On Wednesday, the last day of Rajab[1] of this year 255 (July 14, 869), Muḥammad the son of al-Wāthiq was rendered the oath of allegiance as caliph. He was called al-Muhtadī bi-Allāh.[2] His agnomen was Abū ʿAbdallāh. His mother, a Byzantine, was called Qurb.

It was reported on the authority of an eyewitness that Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq refused to accept the oath of allegiance from anyone until al-Muʿtazz came before him and submitted his abdication, confirming his inability to administer matters entrusted to him and, moreover, expressing his desire to relinquish these matters into the care of Ibn al-Wāthiq.[3]

Extending his hand, al-Muʿtazz acknowledged his allegiance to Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq, and only then was the new caliph given the honorific title of al-Muhtadī. Thereupon al-Muʿtazz withdrew,

---

1. The last day of the month was, in fact, Thursday.

2. See *EI*,[1] s.v. "al-Muhtadī"; Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-jawhar*, VIII, 1–41.

3. Al-Muʿtazz had become caliph in al-Muḥarram 252 (January 866), achieving the rank through the forced abdication of his predecessor, al-Mustaʿīn. See *EI*,[1] s.v. "al-Muʿtazz."

and the inner circle of clients (*mawālī*)[4] rendered their own oaths of allegiance.

The text of the statement concerning al-Muʿtazz's abdication is as follows:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. The following is what the witnesses, named in this document below, were called upon to testify. They witnessed that Abū ʿAbdallāh, the son of the Commander of the Faithful al-Mutawakkil ʿalā-Allāh (while calling upon them to attest that he was of sound mind and that he lawfully performed this act of his own free will and without compulsion) acknowledged that he had reflected carefully upon matters concerning his title to the caliphate and the administration of the Muslims' affairs. He had reached the conclusion that he no longer felt suited to the task, as he was unable to fulfill his
> [1713] duties. He was unequal to the responsibilities he had to shoulder. Thus he voluntarily withdrew from office, declaring himself free of the burden, removing it by means of abdication. He released from their oaths those of his entourage who had sworn allegiance to him. Likewise anyone else who had sworn before him an oath of allegiance, or covenants and compacts, or oaths of divorce, of the emancipation of slaves, the voluntary payment of alms (*ṣadaqah*) or of pilgrimage, indeed every manner of oath, he redeemed these from them.
>
> After it had become clear to al-Muʿtazz that the best course both for himself and for all Muslims was to give up the caliphal office and to abdicate, he set free all those with obligations to him.
>
> He called to witness for him, regarding everything that was cited and described in this document, all the witnesses named below and all those present after the document had been carefully read aloud to him and he had acknowledged freely and without compulsion his full awareness of its contents.

---

4. The word *mawlā*, pl. *mawālī*, in the ʿAbbāsid period refers mainly to military personnel employed by the caliphs and who were mainly, if not exclusively, of central Asian origin. See P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*.

This occurred on Monday, the 27th day of Rajab in the year 255 (July 11, 869).[5]

In his own hand al-Muʿtazz signed his consent to its contents with the words, "I Abū ʿAbdallāh acknowledge all that is contained in this document." It was dated Monday, the 27th day of Rajab, 255 (July 11, 869), and witnessed by the following persons: al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, Aḥmad b. Janāb, Yaḥyā b. Zakariyāʾ b. Abī Yaʿqūb al-Iṣbahānī, ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-ʿĀmirī, Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā, Ḥammād b. Isḥāq, ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad, and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad.[6] [1714]

In Baghdad at the end of Rajab of this year there were disturbances and riots among the populace against Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.[7]

An Account of the Causes and Consequences of [the] Disturbances [in Baghdad]

One Thursday, toward the end of Rajab,[8] Sulaymān, who was in Baghdad, received a despatch from Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq in-

---

5. The document, which is less a formal declaration of abdication than a report on the event itself, seems to end here. See Ṭabarī, III, 1709–12 for details of the deposition. Al-Muʿtazz's death was announced in public shortly afterward, on the 2nd of Shaʿbān (July 16, 869).

6. Only the first name in this list has been identified. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib had been appointed chief judge in 252/866 (see Ṭabarī, III, 1684; his arrest is noted in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 255 (October 11–November 9, 869), 1787; see also D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, I, 307), and his presence would have been deemed necessary to give the abdication/deposition at least the appearance of legitimacy. He did not, however, draw up the actual abdication document, which was undertaken by another of the company mentioned, Yaḥyā b. Zakariyāʾ al-Iṣbahānī. Ibn Abī al-Shawārib confirmed orally that the sister, son, and mother of al-Muʿtazz would be provided with safe-conduct. See Ṭabarī, III, 1710–11.

7. A scion of the famous Ṭāhirid family from Khurāsān, which had long supported the caliphs from the days of al-Maʾmūn (d. 218/833). As well as supplying governors of the eastern provinces, which led to the founding of an autonomous dynasty with its capital at Naysābūr, the family was deeply involved in the affairs of Baghdad. Sulaymān had been governor of Ṭabaristān in 250/864–865 and, earlier in the present year, on the 6th of Rabīʿah II (March 25, 869), he had been appointed chief of security in Baghdad and the districts of the *sawād* (see Ṭabarī, III, 1706). See *EI*,[1] s.v. "Ṭāhirids"; also C. E. Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids."

8. The expression *salkh*, meaning "in the last stage of," is used when the precise date of an event is not known but only its approximate occurrence in a phase or stage of the lunar month. See M. Ocaña Jiménez, *Nuevas tablas de conversión de datas islámicas a cristianas y viceverersa*, 45.

forming him of the people's oath of allegiance to him as caliph. At the time Abū Aḥmad, a son of al-Mutawakkil, was also in Baghdad.[9] His brother al-Muʿtazz had banished Abū Aḥmad to al-Baṣrah when he quarreled with his brother[10] al-Muʾayyad. Later, when factionalism erupted in al-Baṣrah, al-Muʿtazz had him brought back to Baghdad, where he continued to reside.[11] Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, who was at the time in charge of the office of security in Baghdad, sent for Abū Aḥmad and had him brought to his palace. The troops stationed in Baghdad and the mob (*al-ghawghāʾ*)[12] heard of the matter concerning the abdication of al-Muʿtazz and Ibn al-Wāthiq's accession to the caliphate. They gathered in front of Sulaymān's palace, creating a great uproar, but broke up somewhat later when they were informed that there was no confirmation of the report of what had happened. On the following day, Friday, there were again disturbances, and once again people were told the same thing as on the previous day. Prayers were performed in the two main mosques of the city and invocations offered in the name of al-Muʿtazz. Then, on the Saturday morning, troops attacked Sulaymān's palace, calling out in
[1715] the name of Abū Aḥmad (b. al-Mutawakkil) and demanding that he be rendered the oath of allegiance. Confronting Sulaymān in his palace, they asked him to produce Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil. He brought him before them, and he promised to meet their wishes if there was delay in their fulfillment. The crowd departed, having been reassured of his guarantee.

Yārjūkh[13] arrived and camped at al-Baradān.[14] He was transporting thirty thousand dinars for the pay of the troops (*al-jund*) of Madīnat al-Salām.[15] He then advanced to al-Shammāsiyyah[16] and the

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9. He was later known by the honorific title al-Muwaffaq.

10. *Akhi min ummihi.* Ṭabarī notes that Abū Aḥmad and al-Muʾayyad were brothers by the same mother.

11. Abū Aḥmad had been banished first to Wāsiṭ, thence to al-Baṣrah in 253/867. See Ṭabarī, III, 1693.

12. See n. 17, below.

13. Ṭabarī first mentions this Turkish officer during the course of events of this year in an engagement with the rebel Musāwir, who defeated him, forcing his flight to Sāmarrā. See Ṭabarī, III, 1706.

14. A town lying on the east bank of the Tigris just to the north of Baghdad. The road from it passed through the Baradān Gate on Baghdad's eastern side. See Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, 174.

15. At this time Madīnat al-Salām was synonymous with Baghdad, and the expression has been retained here wherever it occurs.

16. One of the northern quarters of eastern Baghdad, Shammāsiyyah has the mean-

following morning entered Baghdad. When word of this got around, the troops (*al-nās*) created an uproar as they rushed out to meet him. Yārjūkh was informed of their approach, and he returned to al-Baradān to remain there. Despatches were exchanged between him and the central authorities until he finally sent money to the troops (*ahl*)[17] of Baghdad, with which they were content. Al-Muhtadī was rendered the oath of allegiance by the inner circle [of clients][18] in Baghdad on Thursday, the 7th of Sha'bān (July 21, 869). Prayers were offered for him on Friday, the 8th of Sha'bān, following an outbreak of violence (*fitnah*)[19] in Baghdad, during which some people were killed, others were drowned in the Tigris, while yet others suffered various injuries. This violence occurred because Sulaymān had his palace guarded with a group of armed Ṭabariyyah,[20] against whom the troops of Baghdad waged a pitched battle in Tigris Street and at the Bridge.[21] Thereafter order and peace were restored.

In the month of Ramaḍān of this year (August 13 – September 9,

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ing "deaconry," as the place had originally been occupied by several monasteries. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 202.

17. Ṭabarī at the beginning of the paragraph employs the common word for a military force, troops, or soldiers, *al-jund*, and then resorts to the more euphemistic terms *al-nas* and *ahl*, which literally mean "people" in general. However, a few lines earlier (see n. 12, above) Ṭabarī uses another term in association with *al-jund*, namely *al-ghawghā'*, which normally has no military connotation. Thus, despite Ṭabarī's rather loose style, he nevertheless conveys the picture of disorder caused by both military and civilian elements in the city. This is underlined by his use of the word *al-'āmmah* "the populace" in introducing the account of these events. See Ṭabarī, III, 1714.

18. The word *al-khāṣṣah* alone is taken here to mean those close to the court and the Caliph's person, as in the phrase *khāṣṣat al-mawālī*, used by Ṭabarī, III, 1712.

19. Ṭabarī's use of the word *fitnah* here suggests the rising tempo of violence in Baghdad, which had moved from demonstrations of anger to open violence leading to deaths. Sulaymān's deployment of a "foreign" contingent of soldiers around his palace was seen as highly provocative by troops based in Baghdad.

20. A contingent of soldiers from the province of Ṭabaristān. These troops may have been brought by Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh on his journey from Khurāsān to Sāmarrā. See Ṭabarī, III, 1706.

21. *Al-jisr*. There were three pontoon bridges (pl. *al-jusūr*) across the Tigris, joining western and eastern Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 177–86, for a description of them. J. Lassner, *The Shaping of 'Abbāsid Rule*, 299 n. 109 (and 294 n. 63) says that *al-jisr* signifies the Main Bridge joining the quarter of the Khuld on the western side with the Bāb al-Ṭāq on the east. Of the various scholarly views concerning the precise location of these bridges, Lassner follows Le Strange. See Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages*, 173–76, 280 n. 1, 281 n. 6. Another problem about which there can be no certainty is when, whether in Ṭabarī's time or later, the term *al-jisr* became applied specifically to the Main Bridge.

869] Qabīḥah[22] went to the Turks and revealed to them the location of some of her possessions, including a hoard of treasures and jewels. That reportedly occurred because she had planned to assassinate Ṣāliḥ (b. Waṣīf)[23] and plotted to do so with a number of secretaries
[1716] whom Ṣāliḥ had already maltreated.[24] When Ṣāliḥ [again] submitted them to torture and Qabīḥah learned that they had withheld no information from Ṣāliḥ, owing to the punishment he meted out to them, she became convinced her own life was in danger. She undertook to save herself and thus removed the contents of her treasure stores from inside the Jawsaq palace,[25] which included money, jewels, and other precious goods; she deposited them for safekeeping along with other goods of the same kind she had previously deposited.

Qabīḥah was unsure of being able to act swiftly in the event of such circumstances as eventually overwhelmed her and her son, so she devised a strategem for her escape. A tunnel was excavated leading from one of her private chambers inside the palace to a place that would not be detected. When she learned of the circumstances [surrounding her son's abdication] she hastened to the tunnel without a second thought and escaped from the palace confines. When those who had rebelled against her son had succeeded [in imposing the situation] they wanted, they then set out in search of Qabīḥah, confident of her capture. But they found the palace empty. She had vanished without a trace, leaving them no clue where to search. Finally, however, they stumbled across the tunnel. Realizing this must have

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22. The mother of al-Mu'tazz.

23. Ṣāliḥ was a prominent military leader, whose father had been murdered two years earlier by his Turkish rivals. He was now attempting to restore the power of his own faction and bore grievances against both the deposed Caliph, al-Mu'tazz, and some of his government officials. Qabīḥah clearly felt Ṣāliḥ would not honor his pledge of securing her safety. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 297–98.

24. Prominent among those who were subjected to Ṣāliḥ's interrogation methods were Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Isra'īl al-Anbārī, al-Mu'tazz's vizier, who, together with Abū Nūḥ 'Īsā b. Ibrāhim and Ḥasan b. Makhlad, were the major pillars of the Caliph's administration. In addition, Ḥasan was also secretary to Qabīḥah. As such they became the target of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf's ambitions in his bid for power. See Ṭabarī, III, 1706–9; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 295–98, for details of relevant parallel sources.

25. This palace, built by the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, was located on the eastern side of the Tigris at Sāmarrā. See Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 55. It should not be confused with the palace al-Jawsaq al-Muḥdath situated in Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 257. The architectural details of the palace are discussed in K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, 259–60.

been her escape route, they followed it as far as the secret exit and became certain of her successful escape. They surmised that she would have sought a safe and secure refuge, and what better way [1717] than to seek shelter with Ḥabīb, the wife of Mūsā b. Bughā,[26] whom he had married from among the concubines of al-Mutawakkil? They set out for this quarter of the city, but being loath to expose themselves to any of her supporters, they organized a surveillance team to watch her. A threat was publicly announced against anyone with information of her whereabouts who then did not inform them of it. Thus matters stood until, in the month of Ramaḍān, she suddenly appeared and went to Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf. A female apothecary in whom she had trust acted as her intermediary with Ṣāliḥ. Qabīḥah had wealth in Baghdad, and so she sent written instructions for some of it to be brought to Sāmarrā.

On Tuesday, the 11th of Ramaḍān in this year (August 23, 869), it was reported, a sum of five hundred thousand dinars arrived in Sāmarrā. The money had been raised for Qabīḥah from the treasure she had in Baghdad and despatched according to her instructions. The central authorities profited greatly from this source, while in Baghdad itself the non-Arab troops (*al-jund*) and the Shākiriyyah[27] who received regular stipends were assigned considerable sums from it as well. The sale of these hoards continued to raise money in Baghdad and Sāmarrā for several months until, at last, they were depleted. Qabīḥah remained in Sāmarrā until people departed for Mecca on that year's pilgrimage. She was sent in the company of Rajā' al-Rabābī and Waḥash, a *mawlā* of al-Muhtadī. It was reported that someone heard her along the way imploring God in a loud voice

26. Mūsā was the son of the army commander the elder Bughā. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Bughā al-Kabīr."

27. A name variously applied to a group or groups of soldiers who became rivals of troops commanded by the Turkish commanders in Sāmarrā. See Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 276; also R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, 418, states the word is derived from the Persian *chākir* "servant or apprentice" and that, as a contingent, they were distinct from the *jund*, or regular soldiers. A more precise distinction may be found in the organization of military administration during the earlier reign of al-Mutawakkil (d. 248/861), when there existed a branch of the department of the army called the *Diwān al-jund wa-al-Shākiriyyah*; *jund* referred to non-Arab troops while Shākiriyyah meant mercenaries. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, II, 596; *EI*,[2] s.v. "Djund." Thus, in instances where Ṭabarī uses these two terms in conjunction, the word *jund* will be rendered as "non-Arab troops"; otherwise it will be rendered variously as "soldiers," "troops," "army," and the like.

[1718] against Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, saying: "Oh God, humiliate Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf just as he has dishonored me, murdered my son, seized my property, squandered my goods, banished me from my home, and behaved obscenely toward me." When the pilgrims set out on their return journey, Qabīḥah was detained in prison in Mecca.

It was reported that, when the Turks became agitated and roused against al-Muʿtazz, they demanded fifty thousand dinars from him, promising in return to kill Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf and then become pacific. Al-Muʿtazz sent word to his mother of the Turks' grievances against him and of his fear for his life. She replied, "I have no liquid resources. We have received some promissory notes,[28] and, if the Turks can wait until they are redeemed, we could then pay them."[29]

When al-Muʿtazz had been killed, Ṣāliḥ made contact with a jeweler, who recounted the following story: "I went to Ṣāliḥ. Aḥmad b. Khāqān[30] was present with him at the time. Aḥmad said to me, 'Woe upon you! This is it. Do you see what a fix I'm in?' Ṣāliḥ had been alarmed by the Turks, who had demanded money of him that he did not have. He said to me, pointing out one of the company present, 'I have been informed that Qabīḥah has treasure hidden in a place to which this man can guide you. Go, and take Aḥmad b. Khāqān with you. Should you uncover anything, make a record of it, hand it over to him, and come with him to me.'

When I had performed my prayers[31] in the congregational mosque, this man took us to a tidy dwelling, which we entered and searched
[1719] from top to bottom without finding anything. The man began to abuse Aḥmad b. Khāqān, who in turn menaced, threatened, and abused him and accused him of making an error. The man fetched an ax and commenced piercing the walls with it, searching for a place where the money might be hidden. He continued exploring in this fashion until the ax struck a spot in the wall that, by the sound it made, indicated that something was concealed there. By demolishing the wall, a door was revealed behind it. We opened it and entered. It led to a tunnel, and we found ourselves in a chamber built

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28. *Safātij.*

29. See Ṭabarī, III, 1709, for slightly different details of these events.

30. This is Aḥmad b. Khāqān al-Wāthiqī, a freedman of the Caliph al-Wāthiq, who appears briefly later; p. 73, below.

31. *Ila al-ṣufūf*, the reading favored by the editor of the Leiden text. Although each of the recensions has a different reading, none of them is satisfactory.

beneath the dwelling we had entered above, identical in structure and floor plan. There, stored in baskets placed upon shelves, we located the money, amounting to something in the order of a million dinars. Aḥmad and his companion removed three hundred thousand dinars. Then we discovered three baskets; one contained a *makkūk*[32] of emeralds, but of a kind that I could imagine neither al-Mutawakkil nor indeed anyone else possessing. Another smaller basket contained half a *makkūk* of large beads which, by God, I had never dreamed al-Mutawakkil or anyone else could possess. The third yet smaller basket contained a *kaylajah* of rubies, the likes of which I had never before seen or even imagined existing anywhere in the world. Estimating the market value of it all, it came to two million dinars. We removed the entire treasure and took it to Ṣāliḥ. When he heard of its value, he could scarcely believe it and remained unconvinced until he was shown the actual goods. He then re- [1720] marked, 'May God do such-and-such to her! Al-Muʿtazz's mother condemned her son to death for want of the miserable sum of fifty thousand dinars, when she actually had in only one of her treasuries such wealth as this!'"

The mother[33] of Muʿtazz b. al-Wāthiq (al-Muhtadī) died before the oath of allegiance had been rendered to him. She had been one of al-Mustaʿīn's wives, and when he was slain al-Muʿtazz transferred her to the palace of al-Ruṣāfah,[34] where he kept his harem. After al-Muhtadī became caliph he one day said to a company of his *mawlās*, "I now [unlike al-Muʿtazz] have no mother who requires the sum of ten million dinars every year as expenses for her maids and servants and hangers-on; as for myself and my children, I want only sufficient food and nothing extra, except for my brothers, as they have fallen upon hard times."

Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl and Abū Nūḥ were killed on the 27th of Ramaḍān of this year (September 8, 869).

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32. Measures like this and *kaylajah*, below, were subject to regional variation. A *makkūk* in Baghdad and al-Kūfah weighed 5.625 kg., while in al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ it weighed 6 kg. In Iraq a *kaylajah* was one-third of a *makkūk*. See W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 40, 44.

33. This was Qurb, the Byzantine woman mentioned above, p. 1.

34. Located in the northeastern quarter of Baghdad, the palace was orginally built by the Caliph al-Mahdī and probably restored or enlarged by Hārūn al-Rashīd. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 189; Lassner, *Topography*, index, q.v.

An Account of [the] Deaths [of Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl and Abū Nūḥ]

We have already mentioned the cause that led them to their deaths.[35] As for the nature of their deaths, it is reported that, when Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf had seized all their property and that of al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad as well, he did so by torturing them with beatings and chains and placing braziers of red-hot coals next to them, while depriving them of any respite the whole time they were in his custody. They were
1721] accused of grave crimes of treason, of intending to degrade the central authorities, and of attempting to prolong civil disorder by plotting dissent among Muslims. Al-Muhtadī did nothing to interfere with Ṣāliḥ in these matters, though he disapproved of and did not accept his violent behavior toward them. Then, in the month of Ramaḍān (August 13 – September 11, 869), Ṣāliḥ ordered al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Dūshābī[36] to supervise the extraction of any remaining property that they had concealed from him.

Al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān related that, when Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl had been brought to him, he abused him, saying "You wretch, do you think that God will give you respite and that the Commander of the Faithful will not sanction your death, though you are the cause of discord, an accomplice in murder and treason, and a corrupter of purpose and character? For the very least of these crimes you deserve to be made an example of, just as those before you have deserved such treatment. Death in this life and torment and ignominy in the life hereafter are your lot if you do not receive God's pardon and mercy, and your Imām's pardon and forgiveness. Protect yourself from incurring the punishment you deserve by being truthful concerning your wealth; if you do so and your truthfulness is confirmed, you can save yourself."

Aḥmad replied that he had nothing left, nor had anyone until then left him property or estates.

Al-Ḥasan said, "I then called for whips to be brought out and ordered that Aḥmad be stood outside in the sun. I assailed him with
1722] ferocity, though triumph could have slipped through my hands if he had shown a little courage and fortitude. Finally, however, he con-

35. See Ṭabarī, III, 1706–9.
36. No further information on this man has been found.

ceded to an amount of nineteen thousand dinars, and I accepted his bond on it."

Al-Ḥasan continued, "Thereafter I had Abū Nūḥ ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm brought to me and told him the same as I had to Aḥmad, or words to the same effect, elaborating somewhat upon them. "Withal, you remain a Christian, violating Muslim women while proclaiming yourself free from Islam and its followers. What better indicates this than the fact that you remain a Christian in private among your family and children? God has permitted such persons to be lawfully killed. But Abū Nūḥ gave no reply to any of this, weak and miserable man that he was."[37]

Al-Ḥasan continued: "As for al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, I had him brought to me next, but when I addressed him I was speaking to someone already weak and humiliated. I chided him for appearing this way. I said, 'Someone who has grooms to accompany him on his *shihrī* steed, who judges matters as you do, and desires what you do, should never appear humbled or impotent.' I kept up the pressure on him in this manner until he signed his bond for a jewel the value of which was some thirty thousand dinars. After this I departed, and they were then all returned to their places." Al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Dūshābī's examination of these men was the last involving them. According to the information that has reached me, no similar examination was held during the remaining days of al-Muhtadī.

On Thursday, the 27th of Ramaḍān (September 8, 869), Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl and Abū Nūḥ ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm were brought to the Public Gate. [1723]
Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, who presided in the public audience hall, ordered Ḥammād b. Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. Danqash[38] to beat them. Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl was prepared, and Ibn Danqash cried out "Scourge him!" Each flogger lashed him twice, then stepped aside for the next one until Aḥmad had received five hundred strokes. They next prepared Abū Nūḥ and administered five hundred severe lashes on him as well. The two wretches were then placed face down upon the backs of donkeys of water sellers, their heads toward the rear of the animals, so that their lacerated backs were plain for all to see. When

37. At this time there were in the administration several scribes of Nestorian origin, some of whom had been recently converted. To this general group belonged Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl, al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, and Abū Nūḥ ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 304.

38. No further information on this person has been found.

the procession reached Khashabat Bābak,[39] Aḥmad died and Abū Nūḥ died when the procession came to an end. Aḥmad was buried between the walls [of the city] and, according to another account, Abū Nūḥ died the same day in the prison of al-Sarakhsī, who was the deputy of Ṭalmajūr,[40] in charge of the special police. For his part, al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad remained in prison.

Someone who had been present at these proceedings reportedly said, "I heard Ḥammād b. Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. Danqash berate the floggers saying, 'Exert yourselves, you sons of harlots, may you never be addressed in respectful terms![41] Punish them! Change the whips and replace the teams of torturers with others!' Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl and 'Īsā [b. Ibrāhīm] cried out for mercy."

When news of this reached al-Muhtadī, he said, "Is there no choice of punishment other than either the whip or death? Is there nothing better? Is imprisonment not enough? We are God's, and to Him we shall return."[42] He repeated this last phrase over and over again.

Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad is reported to have said that their whole af-
[1724] fair involving Ṣāliḥ would have come to naught had 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād[43] not been present and in such a ruthless mood. He urged upon Ṣāliḥ to "beat and torture them; indeed it would be best to go beyond that and kill them. If they escape, you will never be sure their injustices will not visit you in the end, let alone what those seeking to avenge them might do." He then mentioned what vile things that he had heard concerning them, which delighted Ṣāliḥ.

Ibn Makhlad continued: "Dā'ūd b. al-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī[44] used to

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39. For Bābak, the leader of the Kurramite sect, and the place in Sāmarrā that carries his name, see *EI*,[2] s.v. "Bābak." For the quarter of Khashabat Bābak, see Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, 259. The quarter in these years was the site of public executions. See Ṭabarī, III, 1658.

40. The name is uncertain, other variants being given as Ṭalmaḥūn and Ṭalḥūr.

41. That is, they would not be addressed by their patronymics. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Kunya," on the honorific nature of this form of address.

42. A phrase that occurs in the Qur'ān several times.

43. Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād al-Marwazī was the son of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn's last secretary; 'Abdallāh himself was briefly vizier under al-Musta'īn and was last encountered being summoned by al-Mu'tazz to be appointed vizier during the events here recounted. See Ṭabarī, III, 1707; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 292.

44. His name is otherwise given as Dā'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī. See Ṭabarī, index, s.v. "Dā'ūd b. al-'Abbās." No other information about him is available, but see n. 45, below.

bring us to Ṣāliḥ, saying, 'May God give you strength, what are these people that they should have caused you such anger?' We thought he might influence Ṣāliḥ to treat us leniently until he said, 'But by God, I know that if they were set free they would perpetrate immense evil and corruption throughout the domain of Islam.' Before he departed Dā'ūd provided a legal opinion (*fatwā*)[45] justifying our execution and advised Ṣāliḥ to have us put to death. This legal opinion and the other things he said about us increased Ṣāliḥ's anger and his willingness to do us harm."

Someone who had some firsthand knowledge of these developments was once asked how al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad was spared the fate of his two companions. The reply was twofold. First, al-Ḥasan had at once truthfully revealed to Ṣāliḥ the information he required, also providing proof that what he said was true. Ṣāliḥ had promised to pardon al-Ḥasan if he told the truth and swore an oath to that effect. The second reason was that the Commander of the Faithful had mentioned his case to Ṣāliḥ, telling him of the esteem he had for his family and hinting that he desired to have al-Ḥasan rehabilitated. He thereby restrained him from doing anything too reprehensible to [1725] him. The informant also thought that, if Ṣāliḥ had held al-Ḥasan longer in custody, he would have released him in any case and treated him well. But in the matter of government secretaries, Ṣāliḥ was not content to sequester their wealth and that of their children. He went so far as to threaten their relatives and other near relations with sequestration of their wealth and extended his influence even over their hangers-on.

On the 13th of Ramaḍān of this year 255 (August 25, 869) the prison in Baghdad was breached. The Shākiriyyah and reserve soldiers (*al-nā'ibah*) in the city attacked Muḥammad b. Aws al-Balkhī.

An Account of [the] Events [of Ramaḍān 255]

The cause of these developments was the arrival in Baghdad of Muḥammad b. Aws,[46] who was accompanying Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh

45. This phrase would suggest that Dā'ūd b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ṭūsī was a *muftī*, a canon lawyer, competent to render such an opinion. See *EI*,[1] s.v. "Fatwā."

46. In his account of events of the year 250/864–65 Ṭabarī notes that Muḥammad b. Aws had virtually wrested Ṭabaristān from the control of its governor, Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh, by placing his own offspring in key positions of power. Their brutality

b. Ṭāhir.[47] Muḥammad was in charge of the army coming with Sulaymān from Khurāsān, in addition to the riffraff[48] whom Sulaymān had assembled while in al-Rayy but whose names were not recorded in the *dīwān* of the central authorities in Iraq.[49] Sulaymān had been given no instructions concerning them. The prevailing practice for such recruits, however, was to pay those who accompanied him from Khurāsān a rate of pay in Iraq equivalent to that paid to their like in Khurāsān, to be drawn from the revenues of the [Iraqī] estates[50] of
[1726] heirs of the Ṭāhirid family.[51] Instructions were then sent to Khurāsān concerning the matter, to arrange that the heirs there were compensated from the public treasury [in Khurāsān] for what was paid out from their property in Iraq. When Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh arrived in Iraq, however, he discovered that the treasury of the heirs' property was depleted. Once this information was confirmed, ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir[52] had undertaken to transfer to his brother, Sulaymān [responsibility for] the task[53] to which he had been assigned. ʿUbaydallāh secured the amount accumulated in the coffers of the heirs of his father and grandfather while demanding payment

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and arrogance had created much ill feeling against them among the population of the province. See Ṭabarī, III, 1524–25.

47. Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh had been appointed by al-Muʿtazz as chief of security in Baghdad and the Sawād on the 6th of Rajab II (March 24, 869). After receiving robes of honor from the Caliph, he departed for Baghdad. See Ṭabarī, III, 1706. His arrival there was the cause for the disturbances recounted on pp. 3–5, above.

48. *Ṣaʿālīk*, pl. of *ṣuʿlūk*. The word means a poor or needy person and, by extension, a thief and robber. In the present context they may be understood as a group of untrained conscripts; in any event, they appear to have been quartered together as a group, as will appear in the subsequent narrative. See n. 81, below, and p. 164, where one Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṣaʿlūk was engaged in warlike activities.

49. On the organization of the army in ʿAbbāsid times, see *EI*,[2] s.v. "Djaysh"; Bosworth, "Recruitment, Muster and Review in medieval Islamic Armies."

50. *Ḍiyāʿ warathah dhī al-yamīnayn*. The Ṭāhirids were acting as bankers for the army.

51. The text reads *dhū al-yamīnayn*. The epithet, meaning ambidextrous, was given to the founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, owing to his ability to use a sword in battle with either hand. See Bosworth, "Ṭāhirids," 90–5; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphs*, 150–52; *EI*,[1] s.v. "Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn."

52. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, the brother of ʿUbaydallāh, had deputized him in his will to assume his duties in the event of his death. When Muḥammad died in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 253 (November 867) al-Muʿtazz gave ʿUbaydallāh robes of honor and a document signifying that he was the governor of Baghdad; Ṭabarī, III, 1691–92. In the next year, 254/868, ʿUbaydallāh was in Baghdad, tracking down the sons of the Turkish commander Bughā the Younger, murdered at the instigation of the Caliph, III, 1696.

53. That is, the governorship of Baghdad.

of taxes in advance on immature crops. Payments[54] from tax collectors were brought forward to a time when they were not yet due. Nevertheless, he managed to gather the entire amount required.

Thereafter ʿUbaydallāh set out and established camp in al-Juwayth,[55] which was situated on the eastern side of the Tigris. Later he crossed over to the western side. Thus Sulaymān found himself in dire straits as the Shākiriyyah and the non-Arab soldiers[56] agitated for payment of their allotments. Sulaymān corresponded with Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Muʿtazz on the matter, estimating the amount of revenue required for these payments. He added an estimate as well for those who had accompanied him from Khurāsān. He instructed his secretary, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kātib al-Khurāsānī, to deal with the matter. After some negotiations Sulaymān received a reply that funds under the control of the tax agents of the Sawād would be assigned to him,[57] on condition of his assuming responsibility for their repayment. The funds would be for the pay of [troops] in Madīnat al-Salām and the garrisons of the Sawād; they were not to meet needs of [Sulaymān's] reserves or the troops accompanying them. Sulaymān was not able to get access to any of the funds. Ibn Aws, the riffraff, and his troops arrived, but the revenue was insufficient for his needs and the needs of those reserves who had anticipated receiving it. They thus found out about this situation and its harmful consequences to them. [1727]

The riffraff and others who had arrived in Baghdad with Sulaymān began to disturb the peace of the local neighborhoods, openly displaying foul behavior and attacking women, slaves (*al-ʿabīd*),[58] and servants (*al-ghilmān*).[59] They were able to assault these classes be-

54. *Amwāl nujūm. Najm* signifies the time when a payment falls due, hence also an installment.

55. The reading is uncertain, the name in manuscripts B and C being unpointed.

56. Ṭabarī again employs the term *al-jund* here. See n. 27, above. It is, however, unclear whether he is referring to troops already stationed in Baghdad or to soldiers who accompanied Sulaymān.

57. *Subbiba lahu. Tasbīb* was a form of direct payment made to soldiers either as a salary or as an assignment on a specific source of taxation. See Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*; CCLXXXIV see also Bosworth, "Recruitment," 75; Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art," 139–40.

58. On this term, pl. of *ʿabd*, see, *EI*,[2] s.v. "ʿAbd."

59. On the complex of meanings of this term, pl. of *ghulām*, see *EI*,[2] s.v. "Ghulām." In the urban contexts of Sāmarrā and Baghdad the term may be rendered as "attendant, guard, servant, and page." See also *EI*,[2] s.v. "Djaysh," especially at 507, for the

cause of their standing with the central authorities, and such behavior aroused against them the anger and fury of the people.

Now it happened that Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh had developed a deep resentment against al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab b. Ruzayq[60] because of the position granted him by ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh, as well as the support and maintenance ʿUbaydallāh provided him. Sulaymān also resented al-Ḥusayn's separation from himself and his supporters. After al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl had returned to Baghdad at the end of his appointment in charge of the non-Arab troops and the Shākiriyyah on behalf of ʿUbaydallāh, Sulaymān imprisoned al-Ḥusayn's secretary in al-Maṭbaq[61] and his chamberlain in the prison by the Syrian Gate.[62] He also placed troops to guard the residence of al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl under the command of Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm. Sulaymān had put this Ibrāhīm in charge of the double bridge[63] of Baghdad and the administrative districts (sg. *ṭassūj*) of Qaṭrabbul, Maskin, and al-Anbār.[64] These were the very same duties that al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, on ʿUbaydallāh's behalf, had been responsible for previously.

Events transpired as they did in the wake of al-Muhtadī's accession to the caliphate with the revolt of the troops and the Shākiriyyah in Madīnat al-Salām and the outbreak of general unrest. During this period, Muḥammad b. Aws severely maltreated an inhabitant from Marv who was a partisan of the Shīʿah. In Sulay-

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term "young soldier," which might at times also apply in these same contexts. For a contrasting usage, see n. 139, below.

60. One of the military commanders who had been in the service of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir in Baghdad; he then served as one of ʿUbaydallāh's commanders. See Ṭabarī, III, 1664–68.

61. Built by the Caliph al-Manṣūr, this prison is located by Le Strange in the southern part of the Round City at the intersection of roads leading to the al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah Gates. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 27.

62. This prison, also built by al-Manṣūr, was located by the Syrian Gate of the Round City. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 130.

63. *Jisrayn*. From the use of this expression and from an earlier context (see Ṭabarī, III, 1663–64), it is possible to suggest that there existed a double pontoon bridge in Baghdad, even before the one known to have been erected in the mid-eleventh century. See Lassner, *Topography*, 173–76, 281 n. 6; and note 72, below.

64. These districts formed part of a larger suburban area to the north and west of Baghdad, extending as far as the Euphrates river. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 51; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 50–51; Lassner, *Topography*, index, q.vv. On the *ṭassūj*, see Bosworth, "Abū ʿAbdallāh," 140; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation, in the Classic Period*, 164–65.

mān's palace, Muḥammad administered to him three hundred brutal lashes and then imprisoned him at the Syrian Gate. It happened that the man was among al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl's inner circle. So [1728] when this [unrest] occurred, there was need of al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, because of his fortitude and courage. The troops placed in charge of guarding his palace were removed, and he came out. His own troops, after having been distributed among the contingents of other army commanders, a large number of them being attached to the commander Muḥammad b. Abī Awn,[65] returned to him without orders.

It was reported that, when those who had been thus assigned to Ibn Abī Awn arrived at [al-Ḥusayn's] palace, he dispensed among them from his own resources ten dirhams for each foot soldier and a dinar for each horseman. After they thus returned to al-Ḥusayn, Ibn Abī Awn lodged a complaint regarding that, but no appointment [returning the soldiers to him] or order regarding that was forthcoming.

The position remained the same, and the non-Arab soldiers and the Shākiriyyah clamored for the payment due to them upon the accession of the new caliph[66] and for the remainder of their advance allotments. Arrangements for the distribution of their pay and their receipt [of it] had now passed again into the hands of al-Ḥusayn, along the same lines as in the days of ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. Al-Ḥusayn was continuously haranguing them about Muḥammad b. Abī Awn's behavior and that of those who had come with Sulaymān, how these were trying to get their hands on the troops' money and keep it from them, until their hearts were filled [with resentment].

On Friday the 13th of Ramaḍān (August 25, 869) a contingent of non-Arab troops and the Shākiriyyah assembled together with a crowd of the local populace. Under the cover of night they proceeded to the prison at the Syrian Gate, broke down its doors, and released most of the inmates, leaving behind only those criminals who were [1729] either too weak or sick or were loaded with fetters. Among those who managed to escape that night were a number belonging to the

65. He had formerly been one of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir's commanders, and had been appointed by al-Muʿtazz in 252/866 to govern al-Baṣrah, Yamāmah, and al-Baḥrayn. See Ṭabarī, III, 1658.

66. *Māl al-bayʿah*. See *EI*.[1] s.v. "Māl al-bayʿa."

family of Musāwir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd the Khārijite.[67] The man from Marv who had been maltreated by Muḥammad b. Aws was also set free. So too was a group of those to whom the central authorities had sent some fifty million[68] before being captured.[69]

When people went out on Friday morning, they found the prison gates opened. [The inmates] who could walk away did so; for those who were unable to walk riding animals were hired. They milled about without let or hindrance. This was one of the most significant events that caused both the privileged and the common people to lose any fear they had of Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh. Finally, the doors of the prison at the Syrian Gate were sealed with bricks and clay. No indication was known of any action whatsoever taken that night on the part of Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq[70] or any of his associates. It was rumored among the people that the person suspected of planning the assault on the prison was someone acting on behalf of, and in order to release, the man from Marv whom Ibn Aws had badly beaten.

Scarcely five days had elapsed after these events when Ibn Aws quarreled with al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl over the matter of paying the reserve forces. Ibn Aws wanted the money for his own troops, but al-Ḥusayn would have none of it. Foul words were exchanged between them, and Muḥammad [Ibn Aws] departed livid with anger. The next
[1730] morning he set out for Sulaymān's palace; al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl and al-Shāh b. Mīkāl, a *mawlā* of Ṭāhir,[71] did likewise. Among the

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67. Musāwir was one of the *dihqāns* of al-Bawāzīj, a town in the eastern part of the Jazīrah area, on the bank of the Lesser Zāb river (see Le Strange, *Lands*, 91). Ṭabarī calls him a Khārijite (*muḥakkim*, meaning "one who asserts there is no judgment, *ḥukm*, but God's," a known Khārijite principle) where he notes the commencement of his rebellion in Rajab 253 (July 7–August 5, 876), III, 1688–94. Here, as in all later references, Ṭabarī refers to him as al-Shārī, literally, "seller," a Khārijite term meaning "one who sells his soul for the cause of God," echoing Qur'ān 2:203.

68. *Khamsīn alf alf*. The text does not mention to what the figure refers; indeed, the copyist may have inadvertently repeated the *alf* (thousand) and the figure intended may have been fifty thousand.

69. The translation of this last sentence is tentative; the entire passage is quite obscure.

70. This incident appears to have been the sequel to an earlier clash in Baghdad between the mob and the clients of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, who sided with Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh against Muḥammad's brother ʿUbaydallāh in what was a petty interfamily squabble. See Ṭabarī, III, 1691–92.

71. Al-Shāh b. Mīkāl had been one of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir's loyal commanders in Baghdad. He had a brother Muḥammad who was a commander in the service of another member of the Ṭāhirid family and who was killed in 250/864–65.

crowd gathered in front of Sulaymān's residence some of Ibn Aws's troops were engaged in loud, heated discussion with the reserves. Then the troops of Ibn Aws and the newcomers [from Khurāsān] hastened across to the island,[72] followed by Ibn Aws himself and his sons. Men summoned one another to arms. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, al-Shāh b. Mīkāl, and al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal[73] departed with their own troops, and the men called to the mob, "Join us, those who want to plunder!" It is said that during the day some hundred thousand of the populace crossed over the double bridge (*al-jisrayn*) of boats.[74] The non-Arab troops and the Shakiriyyah arrived at the island armed, followed by the vanguard of the populace. Suddenly a man from Sarakhs attacked the eldest son of Muḥammad b. Aws and stabbed him, knocking him from the *shihrī* horse he was riding. He received sword wounds while his supporters fled without raising a finger. Lying there injured, he was stripped clean and then dumped into a boat and carried across the river to the palace of Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir, where he was left.

Someone who was present with Sulaymān at the time reported that, when Sulaymān saw the wounded man, his eyes filled with tears. A bed was prepared for him, and he was attended by physicians. Ibn Aws left immediately for his residence in a palace belonging to the family of Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shīrzād.[75] This was situated in the quarter of al-Dūr,[76] adjacent to the palace of Jaʿfar b. Yaḥyā b. [1731]

See Ṭabarī, III, 1532. Al-Shāh b. Mīkāl appears again, charged with putting down an ʿAlid revolt in al-Kūfah, on p. 115, below.

72. The topography in this passage is obscure. There is a reference by Ṭabarī, III, 1616, to "an island opposite the palace of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh (b. Ṭāhir)," where a crowd of Banū Hāshim gathered demanding their stipends in 251/865–66. The island in the present passage could be the same, if Sulaymān occupied Muḥammad's palace after his brother's death or else had his own palace adjacent to it. The double bridge (*al-jisrayn*) mentioned in the passage, therefore, could be the one noted by Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 179, which was known as the Zandaward Bridge. If this identification is correct, then the bridge that, according to Le Strange, had been "temporarily" established by al-Amīn, was still in existence many years later. See also Lassner, *Topography*, 281, n. 6.

73. A former commander of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. See Ṭabarī, III, 1590, 1623.

74. See n. 72, above.

75. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shīrzād had been secretary to the Turkish commander Waṣīf. See Ṭabarī, III, 1542.

76. The quarter lay along the road leading out of east Baghdad near the Shammāsiyyah Gate where a number of palaces (*al-dūr*) of the Barmak family were located. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 200.

Khālid b. Barmak.[77] The troops[78] of Baghdad searched everywhere for them, along with the military commanders, until at last they were found. Fighting broke out between the two sides in al-Dūr, which lasted from about two in the afternoon until seven in the evening. Each side fired arrows at the other, tossed spears, and attacked with their swords. Ibn Aws was supported by his neighbors from the Qaṭūṭā market[79] and boatmen from among the skiffs of al-Dūr. Fighting intensified until the Baghdādī troops sent for some naphtha throwers[80] from Sulaymān's palace; but, when his chamberlain informed him of this, he forbade their use. Ibn Aws himself fought tenaciously until he was overcome by wounds from arrows and spear thrusts, at which point he and his troops were defeated. He had managed to evacuate his family from the palace, but the troops followed them until they were expelled beyond the Shammāsiyyah Gate. Ibn Aws's residence was then ransacked of all its contents. It was reported that the value of its goods amounted to two million dirhams, or at least one million fifty thousand dirhams. The plunder included a hundred pantaloons lined with sable, beside those lined with camel or goat hair, which resembled the others. Furnishings of Ṭabaristān silk, together with brocade material and rich vestments to the value of a million dirhams, were also taken. The crowd then left,
[1732] as the regular soldiers began to throng the palace of Sulaymān, bringing with them their booty and creating a great clamor. No one restrained or checked their passage.

Meanwhile, Ibn Aws remained that night in the Shammāsiyyah quarter with those of his troops who had stuck by him. The Baghdādī troops next took to attacking the dwellings where the riffraff[81] [from al-Rayy] were quartered. They plundered their dwellings and dealt harshly with any of the inhabitants who happened to linger be-

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77. On the Barmakids, the famous family of viziers who dominated the political scene during the first decade of the rule of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–80/786–96), see *EI*,[2] s.v. "Barāmika"; and Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 127–81. When the family suddenly fell from favor, Ja'far, who had been Hārūn's closest companion, was murdered. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Dja'far b. Yaḥyā."

78. *Ahl Baghdād*. Here and several times in the following lines the expression is used; it literally means "people" or "populace," and Ṭabarī could be using it deliberately in a somewhat pejorative sense.

79. See Lassner, *Topography*, 105.

80. *Al-naffāṭīn*. See Levy, *Social Structure*, 439.

81. *Ṣa'ālīk*. See n. 48, above.

hind. Having been suddenly forced to flee, not one of them appeared openly in Baghdad the following day.

It was reported that during the same evening Sulaymān sent clothing, furnishings, and food to Ibn Aws. There is, however, disagreement as to whether he accepted them or sent them back.

The next morning al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl and al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal went to the palace of al-Shāh b. Mīkāl, where they were joined by some of the leading Shākiriyyah, the reserves (*al-nāʾibah*), and others. They remained there, avoiding contact with Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. Indeed, his palace was practically deserted; only a handful of persons were present. Sulaymān sent word to them with Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. Ḥamzah b. Mālik al-Khuzāʿī,[82] who was unaware of what agreement they had come to. This Muḥammad was to let them know that their behavior toward Muḥammad b. Aws was shameful and to instruct them in what was due him because of his honor and reputation. If they would apprise Muḥammad of what it was about Ibn Aws that they rejected, then progress could be made to rectify the situation in a manner satisfactory to them all.

At this the Shākiriyyah who were present in the palace of al-Shāh [1733]
b. Mīkāl raised a great hue and cry. They said, "We refuse to accept any clientship[83] with Ibn Aws or with any of his men or with the riffraff who have been assigned to him." Moreover, if anyone were to attempt to force them to do so against their will, they would conclude their own agreement, forsaking Ibn Aws and repudiating anyone who demanded their compliance to him. Al-Shāh b. Mīkāl, al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl, and al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal reluctantly supported them. The messenger returned to Sulaymān with this information. Sulaymān sent him back on another matter and assured them that he was confident of their word and guarantee, without requiring oaths or formal pledges. Thereafter he retired in a dignified fashion.

Nevertheless, Sulaymān continued to regard Muḥammad b. Aws, the riffraff, and others of his crowd of hangers-on as an unwelcome nuisance. He was well aware of their covetousness and corrupt behavior and the fact that Muḥammad b. Aws prized himself so highly, in addition to his passion for meddling in anything that might insti-

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82. He had been in the employ of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. Ṭabarī, III, 1668.

83. *Mujāwirah*. See E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. "j-w-r."

gate dissension and division. Sulaymān's musing upon these concerns led him to exaggerate greatly their import, to the point where he confessed that in his prayers he had been driven to plead for respite from Muḥammad b. Aws. Finally, he turned to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir[84] and ordered him to go to Muḥammad b. Aws and present him with the decision that he must return to Khurāsān. He was
[1734] to inform him as well that there was no way for him to return to Madīnat al-Salām or to handle the affairs that he had been entrusted with on Sulaymān's behalf.

When the news reached Muḥammad b. Aws, he left al-Shammāsiyyah for Raqqat al-Baradān,[85] situated on the Tigris. For some days he remained there while he reassembled those of his troops who had become dispersed. From Raqqat al-Baradān he moved to al-Nahrawān,[86] where he established his camp and settled. He had written to Bāyakbāk[87] and Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, submitting his grievances to them at the way he had been treated. But he found no satisfaction from them.

Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (al-Kātib al-Khurāsānī) had stayed behind in Sāmarrā to carry out Sulaymān's orders. Muḥammad loathed Ibn Aws and completely avoided him, while Ibn Aws, for his part, was greatly disturbed by the hostile presence of the secretary Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā. So, when Ibn Aws and his troops were deprived of material support, they began to prey upon villagers and travelers, the attacks and plundering becoming more frequent until Ibn Aws settled in al-Nahrawān.

It was reported from someone whom Ibn Aws's troops had gone off to plunder and who had reminded them of the afterlife and tried to instill in them a fear of God that they had replied to him, "If plunder and murder are acceptable in Madīnat al-Salām, the shrine of Islam, and the renowned seat of the caliph, why should anyone disapprove of such things in the countryside and deserts?" After leaving the

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84. Another of the Ṭāhirid clan, he was last mentioned by Ṭabarī, III, 1533, as unsuccessfully engaged in suppressing a Shīʿite revolt in al-Rayy in 250/864–65.

85. A town located to the north of Baghdad. *Raqqah* is the term for the swampy terrain beside a river that is subject to periodic inundation. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 59, 101.

86. This town was the first stage eastward out of Baghdad along the great Khurāsān Road.

87. Bāyakbāk had been one of the military chiefs and special bodyguard of the Turkish commander Bughā, from whom he later (in 254/868) became estranged. Ṭabarī, III, 1694–95.

marks of his rapacious behavior on the district, Ibn Aws departed from al-Nahrawān. He relieved the populace of money and food, which he had transported by boat from al-Nahrawān to Iskāf Banī Junayd[88] to sell there. [1735]

Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar b. Saysal was in al-Madā'in[89] at the time he heard of Ibn Aws's arrival in al-Nahrawān. Fearing for his own safety because of his father's presence and role in the battle [against Ibn Aws], Muḥammad made for his residence in al-Nu'māniyyah in the district of the Zābs.[90]

Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. Manṣūr b. Bassām, whose estate was in 'Abartā,[91] reported that his agent had fled the place after having given Ibn Aws, under duress and from fear of death, nearly fifteen hundred dinars. Ibn Aws remained in the district, coming and going, behaving in turns with closed fist and open hand, alternating severity with lenience. His campaign of intimidation lasted until he received a communication from Bāyakbāk granting him, on his behalf, control of the Khurāsān Road. The lapse of time between Ibn Aws's departure from Madīnat al-Salām and the arrival of this letter of appointment was two months and fifteen days.

One of the sons of 'Āṣim b. Yūnus al-'Ijlī reported that his father had been made steward of the estates belonging to al-Nūshurī[92] in the district of the Khurāsān Road. He wrote to al-Nūshurī, mentioning what he had been able to learn of the strength of Ibn Aws's forces and the apparent state of their matériel. He advised that this information should be passed on to Bāyakbāk, describing as well the absence along the Khurāsān Road of any of the central authority's forces to control it and protect the people. Moreover, the army [of Ibn Aws] was already encamped in the district with infantry, equipment, and supplies.

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88. Also known simply as Iskāf, this location was east of Baghdad on the Nahrawān canal. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 59–60.

89. Located on the Tigris to the south of Baghdad, al-Madā'in had been known as Ctesiphon under the Sāsānian emperors. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 25, 32–35.

90. Situated on the western bank of the Tigris, al-Nu'māniyyah was about halfway between Baghdad and Wāsiṭ and thus farther to the south, away from the threat of Ibn Aws in al-Nahrawān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 37.

91. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 59. The name means "crossing place" marked by a bridge of boats.

92. He was one of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf's commanders (see p. 71, below) and was also married to his sister (see p. 90, below).

[1736] Al-Nūshurī mentioned these matters to Bāyakbāk, advising him to appoint Ibn Aws over the Khurāsān Road, thus reducing the burden upon the central government. Bāyakbāk accepted this advice and ordered Ibn Aws to be contacted by letter regarding it. He was entrusted with the Khurāsān Road in Dhū al-Qaʿdah of the year 255 (October 11–November 9, 869).

Mūsā, the deputy of the Khārijite Musāwir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, was stationed in al-Daskarah[93] and its environs with around three hundred men. Musāwir had placed him in charge of the area from Bāb Ḥulwān up to al-Sūs[94] on the Khurāsān Road and Baṭn Jūkhā,[95] together with the nearby administrative districts of the Sawād.

During the course of this year al-Muhtadī banished the male and female singers[96] from Sāmarrā. He exiled them to Baghdad after an order to this effect had been submitted from Qabīḥah. This was before misfortune had befallen her son. Al-Muhtadī had also ordered that the lions that were kept in the caliphal palace be killed, that the dogs be cast out, and that all frivolous entertainments cease. He reintroduced the court of appeals (*maẓālim*),[97] and he himself sat and heard the cases of the commoners. During his reign all the domains of Islam were beset by faction and fighting.

Mūsā b. Bughā,[98] his *mawlās*, and troops of the central authorities set out from al-Rayy, while Mufliḥ[99] departed from Ṭabaristān after his arrival there. This Mufliḥ vanquished al-Ḥasan b. Zayd[100] and drove him from Ṭabaristān into the land of al-Daylam.

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93. Also Daskarat al-Mālik; it was the next station after al-Nahrawān on the Khurāsān Road, northeast of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 62.

94. A stage on the road between Wāsiṭ and Ahwāz in the province of Khūzistān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 82.

95. Located in the district of Wāsiṭ. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 42.

96. For a contemporary description of this profession, to which the Caliph objected, see Jāḥiẓ, *The Epistle on Singing Girls*.

97. A form of justice of last resort, derived from the absolute authority of the sovereign and from his fundamental competence to deal with all litigation and to right all wrongs. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, II, 640–49, for details of its functioning in this period. More generally, see Emile Tyan "Judicial Organization," 109–17.

98. The son of the famous Turkish army commander Bughā al-Sharābī. Mūsā was also the brother-in-law of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf. See Ṭabarī, III, 1694.

99. Mufliḥ was one of Mūsā b. Bughā's commanders. See Ṭabarī, III, 1687.

100. In the account of events at the beginning of this year, 255/868–69, Ṭabarī narrates Mufliḥ's defeat of the Shīʿah rebel al-Ḥasan b. Zayd in Ṭabaristān, thus driving him into an alliance with the Daylamites. Mufliḥ also destroyed al-Ḥasan's residences in Āmul and then set out against him in Daylam. See Ṭabarī, III, 1688.

An Account of Mūsā's Departure

It is reported that, when Qabīḥah, the mother of al-Muʿtazz, became aware of the Turks' unrest and was incensed by their behavior, she [1737] communicated with Mūsā b. Bughā, asking him to come and support her. She had hoped that he would arrive before events took the course they did, involving herself and her son, al-Muʿtazz. Mūsā resolved to set out to help her. Qabīḥah's letter had arrived while Mufliḥ was in Ṭabaristān, and Mūsā wrote to him ordering him to join him in al-Rayy.

One of our acquaintances from Ṭabaristān informed me that Mufliḥ had received Mūsā's letter when he had already set out for the region of al-Daylam to hunt down al-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Ṭālibī. When Mufliḥ received the letter, he returned to his point of departure, much to the distress of a group of notables from Ṭabaristān. They were fleeing from al-Ḥasan b. Zayd before Mufliḥ came to their aid. They thus expected Mufliḥ's arrival would settle the problem of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd and enable them to return to their towns and homes. Mufliḥ had indeed promised to pursue al-Ḥasan b. Zayd wherever he was, until he either defeated him or was himself vanquished. According to the account I heard, Mufliḥ had boasted to them that, if he tossed his cap down anywhere in al-Daylam, none of Ibn Zayd's followers would have the courage to come near it. But when the notables of Ṭabaristān saw him returning from his expedition without any of al-Ḥasan's [captured] army, indeed not even a single Daylamite, they demanded to know the reason for his failure to fulfill his promise to pursue Ibn Zayd. According to what I was told, they went on speaking to him, while he seemed confused and perplexed and failed to answer their queries. When they persisted, Mufliḥ said, "I [1738] have received a despatch from the commander, Mūsā, insisting that his instructions be carried out and for me to join him at once. Although I am concerned to settle matters uppermost in your minds, there is no way of disobeying the commander."

Mūsā had not completed his preparations to leave al-Rayy for Sāmarrā when he received a despatch concerning the death of al-Muʿtazz and the establishment of al-Muhtadī as caliph. Because he could not now attain what he had hoped for from al-Muʿtazz, Mūsā's resolve to leave for Sāmarrā was dampened. When he received the news that al-Muhtadī had been rendered the oath of allegiance, his

own troops at first prevented him from submitting his. Eventually they conceded, and their [own] oath of allegiance arrived in Sāmarrā on the 13th of Ramaḍān of this year (August 25, 869).

Later, the *mawlās* in Mūsā's army learned of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf's extraction of money from the secretaries and supporters of al-Muʿtazz and al-Mutawakkil. They begrudged the enjoyment of this money by the troops stationed in Sāmarrā, and they urged Mūsā to depart with them for the city. Mufliḥ then joined Mūsā at al-Rayy, having left Ṭabaristān to al-Ḥasan b. Zayd.

Al-Qāshānī reported that his cousin wrote to him from al-Rayy, mentioning that he had met Mufliḥ there and had enquired of him his reasons for departing from al-Daylam. Mufliḥ said that the *mawlās* had refused to stay and that, when they left, he was unable to manage without them.

On Sunday, at the time of the new moon in Ramaḍān 255 (August 13 – September 11, 869), Mūsā demanded the collection of the tax (*kharāj*)[101] for the year 256 (December 9, 869 – November 29, 870). According to reports, he raised that day five hundred thousand dirhams.

[1739] The inhabitants of al-Rayy assembled and said to him: "May God honor the commander! You claim that the *mawlās* wish to return to Sāmarrā because they have the prospect of greater pay there, while you and your troops here are better off than the troops there. If you desire to [continue] manning this frontier post[102] and expect your reward to come from its people, and impose on us as taxes on our private property whatever you think we can bear from which to pay your followers, then you should do so." But Mūsā did not comply with their requests. However, they persisted; "May God guide the commander. If he has decided to leave us, what is the sense of extracting the taxes (*kharāj*) for an agricultural year in which we have not even begun cultivation? Moreover the bulk of the crop of this current year upon which the commander has levied taxes is situated in open areas (*ṣaḥārā*), to which we would not have access after he had departed from us." But Mūsā paid no attention to any of their arguments or requests.

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101. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Kharādj," for details on the perception of this tax and the method of collecting it; cf. Levy, *Social Structure*, 309–16.

102. This is, at al-Rayy.

Now, when al-Muhtadī received word of Mūsā's [imminent] departure, he sent several letters to him which made no impression. When he heard that Mūsā was actually on his way from al-Rayy, without al-Muhtadī's despatches having had any effect, the caliph sent two men of the Banū Hāshim[103] bearing a message for Mūsā and for those *mawlās* attached to his army. They were to state frankly to the arrivals the true situation in the capital, the lack of resources there, and the general apprehension that what they left behind would be lost and that Ṭālibīs[104] would take control of it and their influence spread to the territory of al-Jabal.[105] One of these Hāshimites was called ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Mūsā, and the second was Abū ʿĪsā Yaḥyā b. Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās. The two men, with a number of *mawlas*, set out to fulfill their commission, as Mūsā and those accompanying him approached. Meanwhile Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf made much of Mūsā's departure with al-Muhtadī, attempting to ascribe to him dissent and rebellion. Indeed, he imputed far worse than this to him and declared before God his own innocence of anything Mūsā did. [1740]

A despatch from the master of the post (*ṣāḥib al-barīd*)[106] in Hamadhān concerning Mūsā's departure from there reportedly reached al-Muhtadī. Al-Muhtadī raised his hands to the sky and, after expressing his thanks to God and extolling Him, he exclaimed, "O God! Before You I am free of any guilt for the actions of Mūsā b. Bughā and his neglect of the defense of the frontier and his leaving it open to the enemy. I am absolved of any bonds between us. O God! Remove the artifice of [this] deceiver of Muslims. O God! Make the armies of Muslims victorious wherever they may be. O God! Wherever Muslims are afflicted, I shall freely venture forth with a firm resolve and give them support and defend them. O God! Reward my

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103. The Banū Hāshim were kinsmen of the Prophet Muḥammad by common descent from Hāshim, his great-grandfather. During the ʿAbbāsid period they enjoyed certain privileges, such as pensions paid by the state, exemption from payment of the alms tax, and having a special magistrate appointed by the caliph to attend their affairs. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Hāshimids."

104. That is, the Shīʿite rebels led by al-Ḥasan b. Zayd.

105. Literally, "the mountains," referring to the mountainous region stretching from the Mesopotamian plain on the west to the large desert region of Persia on the east. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 185.

106. The master of the post also fulfilled the function of intelligence officer, gathering, and sending information to his superiors. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Barīd."

intention since I am deprived of effective supporters." He then broke into tears, weeping.

Someone who was present at al-Muhtadī's assemblies reported what he had said on this particular occasion. Sulaymān b. Wahb[107] was also present and he asked, "Is the Commander of the Faithful
[1741] ordering me to write to Mūsā what I have heard?" Al-Muhtadī replied that this was so, saying, "If you could engrave my words in stone, then [I would tell you to] do so!"

The two Hāshimite messengers met with Mūsā on the road [to Sāmarrā], but without achieving anything. The *mawla*s began to clamor and nearly set upon the envoys. Mūsā replied to the caliph's comminiqué, presenting as his excuse that his troops would fail to pay any attention to what he said to them before reaching the Commander of the Faithful's court. Were he to try to go against them, he would not feel safe from them, and he adduced in his defense what the envoys themselves had witnessed. The messengers arrived with the reply, Mūsā having sent with them a delegation from his army. They reached Sāmarrā on the 4th of al-Muḥarram, 256 (December 12, 869).

In this same year Kanjūr[108] left ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh.[109] In the days of al-Muʿtazz he had been banished to Fārs, where ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn was placed in charge of him and imprisoned him. After ʿAlī had decided to wage war against Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth,[110] he released Kanjūr from prison and gave him command of cavalry and infantry. When ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn's supporters were defeated, Kanjūr escaped

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107. Sulaymān, one of a number of "Nestorian scribes" in the administration, was descended from a Christian family in Wāsiṭ. Formerly secretary to the military commander Mūsā b. Bughā, he was briefly vizier under al-Muhtadī and again for brief intervals during 263–65/877–79 under al-Muʿtamid. See Sourdel, *Vizirat* I, 300–303, 310–13; *EI*,[1] s.v. "Sulaymān b. Wahb."

108. Kanjūr was the chamberlain (*ḥājib*) of al-Muʿtazz's brother Ibrāhīm al-Muʾayyad at the time the Caliph imprisoned the two of them in the Jawsaq palace in 252/866. Later Kanjūr was sent in chains to Baghdad and was finally imprisoned in al-Yamāmah. See Ṭabarī, III, 1668–69.

109. The battle in which ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, another contemporary Shīʿite rebel, was defeated occurred near Shīrāz, and he was taken prisoner by Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth. See Ṭabarī, III, 1702–3.

110. Born in Sistān, Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth was a coppersmith (*al-ṣaffār*) by trade, but his military ambitions took him from membership in a band of marauders to control of Sistān province in 247/861. His influence spread into eastern Afghanistān before he turned against the caliphal authorities in Iraq and the Ṭāhirids in Khurasan. See Bosworth, "Ṭāhirids," 109–17; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-taʾrīkh*, VII, 191–94.

to the district of al-Ahwāz, where he made a considerable impact on Rāmhurmuz. He then joined Ibn Abī Dulaf[111] in Hamadhān, but he treated Waṣīf's[112] dependents badly, as well as his estates and agents in the district. Next he joined the army of Mūsā (b. Bughā). When Mūsā approached Sāmarrā with the troops who had joined him, word of this reached Ṣāliḥ. On the authority of al-Muhtadī he sent instructions that Kanjūr be brought to the caliph's palace bound in chains, but the *mawlās* refused to do this. [1742]

Communiqués on this matter continued to go back and forth until Mūsā's army reached and encamped in al-Qāṭūl.[113] It soon became apparent that Ṣāliḥ was nursing a deep dislike of Mūsā and that Mūsā had set out for Sāmarrā determined to avoid Ṣāliḥ and those who sympathized with him. Mūsā stayed in al-Qāṭūl for two days, during which time Bāyakbāk joined his forces. Al-Muhtadī sent his brother on his mother's side, Ibrāhīm, to tell Mūsā that the *mawlās* in Sāmarrā had unanimously refused to allow Kanjūr to enter the city. The Caliph ordered Mūsā to place him in chains and take him to Madīnat al-Salām, but things did not turn out as Ṣāliḥ had anticipated. Mūsā's reply was that, when they entered Sāmarrā, they would obey whatever the Commander of the Faithful ordered regarding Kanjūr or anyone else.

The First ʿAlawite Rebellion in al-Baṣrah[114]

In the middle of Shawwāl of the year 255 (September 10–October 8, 869) a man who claimed to be ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib[115] appeared in Furāt al-Baṣrah.[116] He assembled his forces from among the Zanj,[117]

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111. See Ṭabarī, III, 1605.

112. The Turkish commander, killed in 253/867; he was the father of Ṣāliḥ. See Ṭabarī, III, 1687.

113. In the vicinity of Sāmarrā. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, III, 174; Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 256.

114. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 83–93; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 205–14.

115. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 71–81; *EI*,[2] s.v. "ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Zandjī." See also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 31–33.

116. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 861–62; *EI*,[2] s.v. "al-Furāt."

117. The word is not Arabic, and, although its plural is *zunūj*, the expression is used here in its collective sense to refer to a class of people. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 54–56, for a discussion of the origin of the word. The generally accepted view of the origin of the Zanj is that they were blacks imported from East Africa at a time that

who labored in removing the nitrous topsoil (*sibākh*)[118] of the marshland districts. Thereafter he crossed over the Tigris river and established himself in al-Dīnārī.[119]

An Account of [ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm's] Expedition and What Determined Him to Revolt There

According to reports, his name and his origin were ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm,[120] and he was descended from the ʿAbd al-Qays. His mother's name was Qurrah, a daughter of ʿAlī b. Raḥīb b.
[1743] Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm of the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah, who were inhabitants of a village in the vicinity of al-Rayy called Warzanīn, where ʿAlī was born and grew up.

ʿAlī himself was reported to have said: "My ancestor Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm of al-Kūfah was one of those who took part in a rebellion against [the Caliph] Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Mālik with Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.[121] But, when Zayd was slain, Muḥammad fled to al-Rayy, and finding refuge in Warzanīn, he remained there." ʿAlī's paternal grandfather, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, who was of the ʿAbd al-Qays, was born in al-Ṭāliqān.[122] He went to Iraq and took up residence there and bought himself a concubine from Sind. She gave birth in Iraq to a son, Muḥammad, who was the father of our ʿAlī.[123]

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cannot be determined. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 56–62; C. Pellat, *Le Milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ*, 41.

118. See *EI*,[1] s.v. "Zandj"; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *s-b-kh*.

119. The name of one of the canals in the environs of al-Baṣrah where the Zanj gathered to launch their first major attack on the city. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 90.

120. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 71–73, 187–90, for a discussion of his name(s) and genealogy.

121. The ʿAlid Zayd, known as Abū al-Ḥasan, led a revolt against the Umayyad Caliph Hishām in 112/730–31, and he was killed in the same year.

122. Ṭāliqān (or Ṭālaqān) was reputed to be one of the foremost towns of Upper Ṭukhāristān a district east of Balkh stretching along the southern side of the Oxus river. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 423.

123. There is another account of ʿAlī's origins that differs in many details from that of Ṭabarī's. In *al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt*, al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) recounts a tale told by ʿAlī's mother, Qurrah. While on pilgrimage to Mecca, her father would spend time in Medina with the family of a *shaykh* descended from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law. The *shaykh* had a son called Muḥammad, who, after the death of his immediate family, was taken to Warzanīn by Qurrah's father. Qurrah and Muḥammad later married, and she bore him two daughters and a son,

[Earlier in Sāmarrā] 'Alī was associated with a group attached to the family of the Caliph al-Muntaṣir, among them Ghānim al-Shiṭranjī (the Chessplayer), Sa'īd the Younger, and Yusr the Eunuch.[124] 'Alī dervied his livelihood from them and from some of the Caliph's entourage and secretaries, seeking their favor by praising them in poetry.[125]

In the year 249/863–64, he reportedly left Sāmarrā for al-Baḥrayn. There he claimed that his genealogy was as follows: 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Ḥasan b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[126] At Hajar he summoned people to obey him, and a large number did so. However, others refused to do so. As a result, violent partisanship between them led to a number in each camp being killed. In the wake of these events 'Alī left Hajar and moved to al-Aḥsā'.[127] There he took refuge with a section of the Banū Tamīm, a branch of the Banū Sa'd[128] called the Banū al-Shammās, among whom [1744]
he made his residence. The people of Baḥrayn had regarded him as a prophet, so much so indeed that, according to report, taxes were collected in his name. He exercised judicial authority over them, and on his behalf they fought against the supporters of the central authorities. A substantial number, on the other hand, were afraid and, becoming embittered against him, caused him to withdraw into the desert. Even then, many in Baḥrayn joined him. Among them was a man from al-Aḥsā', a grain weigher (*kayyāl*) called Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Azraq, but known simply as al-Baḥrānī, who was a *mawlā* of the Banū Dārim.[129] Another was Yaḥyā b. Abī Tha'lab, a merchant from Hajar. There was also a black *mawlā*[130] of the Banū

'Alī. See MS. British Museum Or. 6587, ff. 140b–43b. The passage is translated in Popovic, *Révolte*, 73. See also Popovic's article, "Quelques renseignements inédits concernant le maître de Zanj, 'Alī b. Muḥammad," *Arabica*, XII/2, 1965, 175–87.

124. These three figures remain unidentified.

125. Popovic notes in *Révolte*, 74, that a later source, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (d. 655/1257), in *Sharḥ nahj al-balāghah*, adds that 'Alī also earned his living teaching children the arts of writing, grammar, and astronomy.

126. See reference n. 123, above.

127. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "al-Ḥasa."

128. The Tamīmite tribe of Sa'd resided in the Baḥraynī villages of al-Ẓahrān and Laḥsā, according to al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-al-ishrāf*, 396–97.

129. These were descendants of Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah, a segment of the Banū Tamīm.

130. *Mawlā aswad*. See n. 4, above.

Ḥanẓalah named Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ. This latter was a commander of ʿAlī's army. Thus ʿAlī moved about in the desert, from one tribe to another.

It was reported that ʿAlī used to say: "In the course of this period I received signs of my leadership as imām, which were manifest to the people." According to his own account, among such signs was this one: "I received sūrahs of the Qur'ān, which I had not learned by heart, and yet I was able to recite them in a flash. They included Subḥān, al-Kahf, and Ṣād."[131] He continued: "A further example was the time I was lying down, musing about the place I should be heading for to set up residence. The thought of the desert and its recalcitrant inhabitants dejected me, but then a cloud cast a shadow upon me; thunder crackled and lightning flashed. A thunderclap resounded in my ears, and a voice addressed me saying, 'Head for al-
[1745] Baṣrah.' I said to my companions who were assisting me, 'A voice from the thunder has commanded me to go to al-Baṣrah.'"

According to report, when ʿAlī had gone into the desert he caused people to believe that he was Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, who had been slain in the neighborhood of al-Kūfah.[132] There he deceived some of them, and, as a consequence, a great many joined his ranks. He then made his way with them toward a place in al-Baḥrayn called al-Radm.[133] A major battle broke out among them, which swung against ʿAlī and his troops, and many were swiftly killed. The Arab tribesmen abandoned him in disgust and renounced any association with him. Once the tribesmen had left, ʿAlī found the desert wearisome, and he next set out for al-Baṣrah and settled among the Banū Ḍubayʿah. A group of them joined him there, among them ʿAlī b. Abān, known by the epithet of al-Muhallabī; included, too, were his brothers Muḥammad and al-Khalīl and others. ʿAlī arrived in al-Baṣrah in the year 254/868 at the time when Muḥammad b. Rajā' al-Ḥiḍārī was the Caliph's governor there. His arrival also coincided with the civil disturbances between the two rival Baṣran factions of al-Saʿdiyyah and al-Bilāliyyah.[134] ʿAlī's ambition was to secure the

131. Sūrahs 18, 38, and 17(?), respectively.

132. This apparently occurred during the reign of the Caliph al-Mustaʿīn. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 75.

133. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 774.

134. Precise identification of these two factions, who appear at a number of points in the story of the Zanj operations in al-Baṣrah, has proven elusive.

support of one of the factions. Thus he commissioned four of his associates, with whom he had been in league in al-Baḥrayn and who had campaigned on his behalf. Their names were Muḥammad b. Salm al-Qaṣṣāb al-Hajarī, Buraysh al-Qurayʿī, ʿAlī al-Ḍarrāb, and al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣaydanānī; they proclaimed their revolt in the ʿAbbād mosque.[135] No one, however, responded to the appeal. Indeed, some [1746] soldiers chanced upon them, and they were forced to disperse without having won anyone over. ʿAlī fled al-Baṣrah, with Ibn Rajāʾ in search of him, albeit in vain. Ibn Rajāʾ was informed of a number of Baṣrans who sympathized with Ali, and he had them arrested and imprisoned.

Among those jailed were Yaḥyā b. Abī Thaʿlab, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Iyādī, and the eldest son of the Zanj leader himself, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Akbar, together with his wife, the mother of their son, and another daughter of his and a pregnant servant girl. ʿAlī, however, set out for Baghdad, accompanied by his associates Muḥammad b. Salm, Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, Sulaymān b. Jāmiʾ, and Buraysh al-Qurayʿī.

When they had reached the marshlands (*al-baṭīḥah*)[136] one of the *mawlās* of the Bāhilīs,[137] who administered the area, was on the lookout for them. His name was ʿUmayr b. ʿAmmār. He arrested them and conveyed them to the governor of Wāsiṭ, Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn. ʿAlī employed all his cunning and persuasion with Ibn Abī ʿAwn until at last he and his companions were released. From there ʿAlī traveled to Madīnat al-Salām, where he remained for a year. While in Baghdad he claimed to be related to Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd.[138] He alleged that during his sojourn in the city signs appeared to him, allowing him insight into the minds of his companions and what each of them was doing. He besought his Lord for some token

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135. See H. Halm, *Die Traditionen über den Aufstand ʿAlī Ibn Muḥammads, des "Herrn der Zanǧ,"* 44–49, where he notes that, apart from the Shīʿite character of the revolt, the Zanj leader's following was comprised almost exclusively of *mawlas*.

136. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "al-Baṭīḥa." The word, which frequently occurs in the plural, *baṭāʾiḥ*, applied to a very extensive area of swampland located on the lower course of the Tigris and Euphrates between al-Kūfah and Wāsiṭ in the north and al-Baṣrah, in the south. See also the articles in *EI*,[2] s.vv. "al-Furat," "Didjla"; Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad," 297–99.

137. On this anxient Arabian tribe, see *EI*,[1] s.v. "Bāhila."

138. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 208, lengthens the Zaydite connection, adding Muḥammad before Aḥmad.

revealing the true state of his own situation, and he saw on a wall a message being written to him by an invisible hand.

One of his followers reported that, during his stay in Madīnat al-Salām, ʿAlī won over to his side a number of persons. Among them were Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Ṣūḥānī, who was a descendant of Zayd b. Ṣūḥān, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, and two servants[139] of Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khāqān,[140] who were named Mushriq and Rafīq.
[1747] He renamed Mushriq Ḥamzah and gave him his agnomen Abū Aḥmad. Rafīq he renamed Jaʿfar, his agnomen becoming Abū al-Faḍl.

During ʿAlī's stay this year in Madīnat al-Salām Muḥammad b. Rajāʾ was removed from his post in al-Baṣrah. When he left the leaders of the Bilāliyyah and Saʿdiyyah factions responsible for the civil disorder attacked and opened the prisons, releasing all the inmates. When the news reached ʿAlī that his family was among those freed, he departed for al-Baṣrah, returning there in the month of Ramaḍān 255 (August 11–September 9, 869). Accompanying him was ʿAlī b. Abān, who had joined up with him in Baghdad. Also with him were Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, Muḥammad b. Salm, Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ, and the two servants (*ghulāms*) of Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Mushriq, and Rafīq. A soldier called Abū Yaʿqūb, who later adopted the sobriquet Jurbān, met with the other six, and they all set off together. Finally arriving at a place called Barankhal,[141] they settled there in a castle called al-Qurashī,[142] which was located on a canal called ʿAmūd ibn al-Munajjim, as it was the Banū Mūsā b. al-Munajjim who had excavated it. Now ʿAlī gave out that he was acting as an agent on behalf of one of [the Caliph] al-Wāthiq's sons, handling the sale of *sibākh;* he thus ordered his companions to treat him as such, and there he remained.

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139. On the various meanings of the word *ghulām* (plural *ghilmān*) see *EI*,² s.v. "Ghulām." The present narrative on the Zanj treats of a different context from that of the ruling circles in Baghdad or Sāmarrā; thus the renderings "attendant," "guard," "servant," and "page" are not always appropriate where the Zanj are concerned. See also *EI*,² s.v. "Djaysh," especially p. 507, for the term "young soldier." In what follows relating to affairs of the Zanj, unless otherwise noted, the word *ghulām* is translated loosely as "slave." See n. 59, above.

140. Yaḥyā, a cousin of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil's vizier ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān, in 245/860 held a post in the public treasury, owing to ʿUbaydallāh's influence. See Ṭabarī, III, 1446.

141. The reading is uncertain. Halm, *Traditionen*, 76, adopts the reading Branhal.

142. Following Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 32, Popovic, *Révolte*, 78, locates al-Qurashī at a place called Biʾr Nakhl.

It was reported from Rayḥān b. Ṣāliḥ, one of the slaves (*ghilmān*) of the Shūrajiyyīn,[143] who was the first of their number to join ʿAlī, that he said: "I was in charge of my master's slaves (*ghilmān*), transporting flour from al-Baṣrah to the Shūrajiyyīn and distributing it among them. I had conveyed a cargo to them as usual an on the way passed by the place where ʿAlī was staying, that is, at Barankhal in the castle al-Qurashī, when his supporters seized me and took me to him. I was ordered to greet him as *amīr*, which I did. He asked me where I had come from, and I told him that I had come from al-Baṣrah. He asked whether I had heard any news about them in al-Baṣrah, and I replied that I had not. He then asked me if there was any news of al-Zaynabī,[144] and I told him I knew nothing about him. Then he said: 'Tell me of the activities of the Bilāliyyah and Saʿdiyyah factions.' I replied that I had no information on them either. Finally, he inquired whether I knew anything of the slaves of the Shūrajiyyin and what each was doing in the business of transporting flour, *sawīq*,[145] and dates and also about those among both the freedmen (*al-aḥrār*) and slaves (*al-ʿabīd*)[146] who worked in the salt steppe (*shūraj*). I told him what I knew of these matters. He appealed to me to join him, to which I agreed. He then said to me, 'Induce as many slaves as you can to join, and bring them to me.' He promised to extend various benefits to me and make me their commander. He also made me solemnly vow that I would not disclose his whereabouts to anyone and that I would return to him. He then allowed me to proceed on my way. I delivered the flour tht I was carrying to its intended destination. I was away for the whole of that day and returned to Ali's camp the next morning." [1748]

When I arrived Rafīq, the servant of Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, had also arrived at the camp. He had been sent to al-Baṣrah with

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143. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.vv. *shūrajī*, *k-s-ḥ*. The Shūrajiyyīn were blacks engaged in the removal of the nitrous topsoil (*sibākh*) in the marshland. Although it is admittedly impossible to determine whether this group was comprised exclusively of freedmen or slaves, I have adopted the view that both were to be found in their ranks, though with the exception of certain explicit contexts (for example, see nn. 146 and 156, below) I have preferred for the purposes of this translation to indicate their status as servile.

144. His full name was Abū Manṣūr ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Zaynabī, who will be noted on p. 752, below, leading a force of Baṣrans against the Zanj.

145. A prepared dish of parched barley meal often carried by travelers, as it can be reconstituted from its dried form by adding water or milk.

146. See n. 143, above.

some of his business goods. He arrived with Shibl b. Sālim, one of the slaves of the al-Dabbāsīn,[147] who had with him a piece of silk material, which ʿAlī had commissioned him to purchase to have it made into a banner [*liwāʾ*].[148] Written upon it in red and green char-
[1749] acters were the following words: "God has purchased the souls of believers and their property, for they have attained to paradise fighting in the way of God," to the end of the verse.[149] ʿAlī's name and that of his father were also inscribed upon it, and the banner was fastened to the top of a barge pole.

In the early morning of Saturday, the 28th of Ramaḍān [September 9, 869], ʿAlī set out from [the castle al-Qurashī]. When he had reached the farthest end of the castle precinct, some slaves of one of the Shūrajiyyīn known as al-ʿAṭṭār met him as they were setting about their business. ʿAlī ordered them to be seized, along with their agent, who was placed in fetters. They numbered in all some fifty slaves. ʿAlī next proceeded to a place where al-Sanāʾī worked, and there around five hundred slaves were seized, among them one who was known as Abū Ḥudayd. Their agent was likewise bound with fetters and taken along as well. The place where this occurred was called Nahr al-Mukāthir. ʿAlī proceeded next to a place belonging to al-Sīrāfī and captured there another one hundred fifty slaves, among them an individual called Zurayq and another known as Abū al-Khanjar. Then, at a place belonging to Ibn ʿAṭāʾ, Ṭarīq, Ṣubayḥ al-Aʿsar, Rāshid al-Maghribī, and Rāshid al-Qarmaṭī were captured along with eighty more slaves. The next place was that of Ismāʿīl, who was known as a slave of Sahl al-Ṭaḥḥān. ʿAlī continued to operate in this fashion all day until he had amassed a large number of the Shūrajiyyīn slaves.

Assembling them together, ʿAlī rose and addressed them, raising their spirits by promising to lead and command them and to give them possession of property. He swore a solemn oath to them that
[1750] he would neither deceive nor betray them and that they would experience only kind treatment from him. ʿAlī then summoned their

147. Sellers of *dibs*, the juice pressed from fresh dates.

148. On the uses of banners and flags, see *EI*,[2] s.v. "ʿAlam."

149. Qurʾān 9:111. Although the symbolism of the Zanj revolt was ʿAlid, this verse has associations with the early Khārijite rebels, who may have referred to themselves as al-Shūrāt [pl. of Shārī] "vendors," i.e., those who have sold their souls for the cause of God. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Khāridjites."

masters and said to them: "I wanted to behead you all for the way you have treated these slaves, with arrogance and coercion and, indeed, in ways that Allāh has forbidden, driving them beyond endurance. But my companions have spoken to me about you, and now I have decided to set you free."

They replied that the slaves were merely habitual runaways, who would flee from ʿAlī [at the first opportunity], and then both he and they would be the losers. They said, "Turn them over to us, and let us pay you compensation for them." But ʿAlī ordered their slaves to bring whips of palm branches and, while their masters and agents were prostrated on the ground, each one was given five hundred lashes. ʿAlī extracted a vow from them, on penalty of having to repudiate their wives,[150] that they would neither divulge his whereabouts to anyone nor reveal the size of his following. They were then released and sent on their way to al-Baṣrah.

One of their number, a man named ʿAbdallāh and known as Karīkhā,[151] crossed over the Dujayl[152] and warned the Shūrajiyyīn to guard their slaves carefully. There were some fifteen thousand there at the time.

After performing the afternoon prayer ʿAlī ventured forth again, and upon reaching the bank of the Dujayl he found there boats laden with compost of dung and ashes (*samād*) entering port on the rising tide. Together with his partisans he traversed the river in them and then went on to the Nahr Maymūn.[153] He established his quarters in the mosque situated in the middle of the market that stretched along the Nahr Maymūn. He continued efforts to gather blacks (*al-sudān*)[154] to his camp right up to the time of the prayer breaking the fast of Ramaḍān (*ṣalāt al-fiṭr*).[155] On the day of the celebration of the feast he summoned his followers to assemble for prayer. When they

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150. On the gravity of this oath, see *EI*,[1] s.v. "Ṭalak."

151. Or, in an alternative reading, Karankha.

152. Literally, "Little Tigris," but here referring to the river Dujayl in al-Ahwāz, in order to distinguish it from the Dujayl canal of the Tigris to the north of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 232.

153. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 719. The Arabic word *nahr* can mean both "river" and "canal," and it is not always possible to distinguish them, given the nature of the primary sources; here, however, the term means canal.

154. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "ʿAbd." Although it is not entirely clear from Ṭabarī's usage, the term *sudān* (pl. of *aswad*) may be intended by him as synonym for the Zanj.

had done so, the pole flying his banner was set into the ground. ʿAlī
[1751] prayed with them, and in a sermon (*khuṭbah*) he recalled the wretched state from which, through him, God had rescued them. ʿAlī said that he wanted to improve their condition, giving them slaves (*al-ʿabīd*), money, and homes to possess for themselves, and that by them they could achieve the greatest things.[156] He then swore a solemn oath, and when his prayer and sermon were complete he ordered those who had followed his words to instruct those non-Arabic speakers among them who had not understood, in order [also] to raise their spirits. That was done, and ʿAlī entered the castle.

A day later he set out for Nahr Būr, where a detachment of his troops encountered a detachment of the [commander] al-Ḥimyarī and drove them off into the desert. The Zanj leader, accompanied by some more troops, joined forces with the others and defeated al-Ḥimyarī and his troops, driving them back as far as the Tigris flats. One of the superintendents of the blacks, called Abū Ṣāliḥ and known as "the Short," sought protection for himself and three hundred Zanj. ʿAlī graciously granted this and promised them good fortune. When the numbers of Zanj who had been thus gathered together increased significantly, he appointed leaders for them and said that, for each of them who brought another Zanj, he would be attached to him.

It is also said that ʿAlī did not appoint his commanders until after the battle of slaves (*al-khawal*)[157] in Bayān[158] and his move to Sabkhat al-Qandal.[159]

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155. *EI*,[2] s.v. "ʿĪd al-Fiṭr."

156. M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History*, II, 101, argues that ʿAlī b. Muḥammad's movement was not a slave revolt but rather an ethnic Zanj or black revolt. He notes that some of the first to fight against ʿAlī were themselves employed in working the salt marshes (see, e.g., n. 163, below). In his view there were only a few runaway slaves, the vast majority of rebels being Arabs, with the support of free East Africans who had made their homes in the region. Certainly the interpretation of these events rests upon one's understanding of such highly ambiguous words as *ghulām*, *sudān*, *ʿabīd*, and *khawal*. Indeed Ṭabarī himself is far from consistent in his use of the word *ghulām*. In the present context ʿAlī's words and actions clearly suggest that those he was dealing with at this stage of his movement were of a relatively depressed, if not entirely servile, condition. Popovic in his detailed study of the revolt is unable to commit himself firmly on the question, and the truth most likely lies somewhere between Shaban's interpretation and the earlier view represented by T. Nöldeke in "A Servile War in the East."

157. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *kh-w-l*; n. 156, above.

158. A village situtated on a canal of the same name was located on the eastern side

Ibn Abī ʿAwn was transferred from the governorship of Wāsiṭ to that of al-Ubullah and the districts of the Tigris. On the day that [ʿAlī b. Muḥammad] appointed his commanders news reportedly reached him that al-Ḥimyarī and ʿAqīl, along with Ibn Abī ʿAwn's deputy, who had been stationed in al-Ubullah, had advanced toward him and were encamped at Nahr Ṭīn. ʿAlī ordered his troops to move to al-Razīqiyyah, which was located at the far side of al-Bādhāward.[160] He reached there at the time of the midday prayer, which they performed and then prepared for battle. At the time where were only three swords in ʿAlī's so-called "army"—namely, his own, that of ʿAlī b. Abān, and that of Muḥammad b. Salm. Between the time of the midday and afternoon prayers, ʿAlī departed [from al-Razīqiyyah] with his troops and hastened back toward al-Muḥammadiyyah,[161] placing ʿAlī b. Abān in their rear with orders to report on anyone following them. He himself proceeded at the head of the company [of blacks] until they reached al-Muḥammadiyyah. He sat by the water's edge and ordered the company to quench their thirst. When the troops arrived, ʿAlī b. Abān said to him that they had seen swords glistening and heard the sounds of people moving behind them but that they could not tell whether they were moving away or heading toward them. He was still speaking when the enemy arrived. The Zanj called one another to arms and Abū Ṣāliḥ Mufarraj al-Nūbī hastened forth with Rayḥān b. Ṣāliḥ and Fatḥ al-Ḥajjām. Fatḥ had been eating [at the time], and so he went into the fray holding his plate. As his companions advanced, one of the Shūrajiyyīn called Bulbul encountered Fatḥ, who attacked him with his plate and beat him with it, causing Bulbul to drop his weapon, turn, and flee. He and four thousand other men were put to flight, some being killed and others dying of thirst on the way. A number, too, were [1752]

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of the Tigris estuary, on the way to al-Ahwāz. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 307–9.

159. The salt flat (*sabkhah*) situated by the Nahr al-Qandal (or al-Qandil), one of the nine major canals flowing into the estuary at al-Baṣrah. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 304.

160. A town located between Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣrah. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 318, vocalizes the word Bādhāward.

161. Ibn Serapion speaks of a great lagoon (*hawr*) called al-Muḥammadiyyah, the largest one of four in the swampland (*baṭaʾih*) near al-Baṣrah. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 297, 299.

taken captive and brought to the leader of the Zanj who ordered them
[1753] beheaded. Their heads were stacked on the backs of mules seized from the Shūrajiyyīn, who had used them for transporting the nitrous topsoil (*shūraj*). The procession set out and reached al-Qādisiyyah[162] by the time of the evening prayer.

A *mawlā* of the Hāshimites[163] attacked ʿAlī's company outside the village and killed one of the blacks. The news was brought to ʿAlī, and his companions asked him for permission to sack the village and search for the culprit who had killed their comrade. He replied saying, "That would be impossible without our knowing what the villagers intended and whether the killer acted with their consent. We will ask them to deliver him to us. If they do so, fine, but, if not, then it would be lawful for us to slay them."

ʿAlī urged them to prepare quickly for departure, and they returned to Nahr Maymūn, where he established himself in the same mosque that he had initially used. He ordered the heads [of the Shūrajiyyīn] to be brought as well and publicly displayed. He instructed Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Nūbī to make the call to prayer. This he did, saluting ʿAlī as the *amīr*. Then ʿAlī prayed the late evening prayer with his companions and spent the night there. The following morning ʿAlī set out again, first passing by the [village] of al-Karkh, before arriving at a village called Jubbā.[164] It was the time of the midday prayer. He crossed over the Dujayl (al-Ahwāz) by way of a ford he had been shown, but rather than entering the village he camped outside it. He sent a message to the inhabitants. Their elders, along with those of al-Karkh, came to meet him. He ordered them to provide hospitality for himself and his companions, which was done as he wished, and he spent that night among them.

The next day one of the inhabitants of Jubbā offered ʿAlī a bay horse,[165] but he could find neither bridle nor saddle for it; thus he had to make do with a rope and a cinch of palm fibers.[166] He set out and

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162. A village in the marshlands (*baṭā'iḥ*), not to be confused with a location of the same name north of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 50.

163. See nn. 139 and 156, above.

164. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 243. Situated to the east of the Dujayl, it was noted for its sugarcane.

165. *Faras kumayt*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *k-m-t*.

166. Halm, *Traditionen*, 30–32, considers that this description conveys an eschatological sense — referring to the horse without saddle and bridle belonging to the Mahdī.

finally reached a place called al-ʿAbbāsī al-ʿAtīq, where he secured the services of a guide as far as al-Sīb,[167] a canal upon which was situated the village of al-Jaʿfariyyah. The villagers were alerted to his [1754]
arrival and fled. ʿAlī entered and settled in the house of Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān,[168] which was located in the market, while his companions scattered thoughout the village. They brought to him a villager they had discovered, and ʿAlī asked him the whereabouts of the Hāshimites' agents. The man said they were in the thickets [outside the village]. ʿAlī sent the one nicknamed[169] Jurbān to fetch their headman, Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā al-Zubayrī[170] a *mawlā* of the Ziyādiyyīn. He was asked whether he had any money, and the man replied that he did not. So ʿAlī ordered him beheaded. Fearing now for his life, the man confessed to having hidden some money away; he sent for it and brought to ʿAlī the amount of two hundred fifty dinars and one thousand dirhams, the first such booty he had gained. ʿAlī next asked the headman about the animals owned by the agents of the Hāshimites, and he pointed out three pack animals, one a bay, one chestnut, and one gray. One was given to Ibn Salm, another to Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, while the third was given to Mushriq the servant of Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Rafīq rode upon a ḍonkey, loaded with baggage. Some of the blacks discovered a cache of arms in a house belonging to one of the Banū Hāshim; they were seized. Al-Nūbī the Younger brought a sword, which the Zanj leader then gave to Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad. In this way there fell into the hands of the Zanj swords, spears, daggers, and shields.

That evening ʿAlī spent in al-Sīb, and in the morning he was given news of the arrival there of Rumays, al-Ḥimyarī, and ʿAqīl al-Ubullī. He despatched Yayāḥ b. Muḥammad with five hundred men, among them Sulaymān, Rayḥān b. Ṣāliḥ, and Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Nūbī the [1755]
Younger. They engaged the enemy and routed them, seizing a galley[171] and arms in the process. After everyone had fled Yaḥyā b.

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167. Yāqūt *Muʿjam*, III, 209; Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 271, 274. The canal, which flowed through land (al-*jawāmid*, pl. of *jāmidah* "drained lands") reclaimed from the swamps, itself finally disppeared into the great swamp, al-Baṭāʾiḥ.

168. This refers to Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī al-Hāshimī; see Ṭabarī, III, 304–6.

169. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Laḳab," on the meanings and application of sobriquets.

170. The reading of the *nisbah* is uncertain.

171. *Sumayriyyah*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *s-m-r*.

Muḥammad returned to ʿAlī and told him the news. Remaining in al-Sīb that day, he set out the following morning for al-Madhār,[172] after reaching a pact with the inhabitants of al-Jaʿfariyyah that they would not engage in hostilities against him or aid or protect any of his enemies.

ʿAlī then traversed the [canal] al-Sīb and made for a village known as al-Yahūd, which lay along the Tigris. There he again encountered Rumays with a contingent of troops. Fighting between them continued throughout the day. A number of Rumays's troops were captured, while many others received arrow wounds. A servant belonging to Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn who had been with Rumays was killed. A galley with an oarsman aboard capsized; the man was seized and beheaded. Leaving the field of battle, ʿAlī continued toward al-Madhār. He reached the canal called Bāmdād[173] and crossed over it and into an open plain, where he saw an orchard and a small hill, known as Devils' Mountain.[174] He headed for the hill, positioned himself on the top, and settled his troops in the plain below while preparing for himself a scouting party.

Shibl b. Sālim reported that he had acted as scout for ʿAlī along the Tigris. "I sent word to him," he said, "that Rumays was on the bank of the Tigris, looking for someone to convey a message for him." So ʿAlī sent off ʿAlī b. Abān, Muḥammad b. Salm, and Sulaymān b.
756] Jāmiʿ, and when they reached Rumays he said to them, "Convey greetings to your master, and tell him that he shall have safe-conduct to go anywhere without hindrance from anyone." In exchange, he should return the slaves (*al-ʿabīd*) to their owners (*al-mawālīhim*),[175] for which he would be paid five dinars per head. ʿAlī's men returned to him with Rumays's offer. ʿAlī became incensed at this and swore that he would come, rip open the belly of Rumays's wife, raze his home to the ground, and cause blood to flow everywhere. This response was duly delivered to Rumays, who then set off to station himself on the Tigris opposite ʿAlī's own camp.

That same day Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar al-Hamdānī[176] arrived to meet

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172. The Nahr al-Madhār was the last reach of the easternmost course of the Tigris before it ran into the sea. The exact location of the town of al-Madhār is unknown; its surrounding district was called Jūkhā. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 42.

173. The reading is uncertain, an alternative being Bāṣdād.

174. Jabal al-Shayāṭīn.

175. See n. 156, above.

176. One of ʿAlī's future commanders.

ʿAlī with correspondence for him to read.[177] It was only at that moment that he joined ʿAlī's side. Following the last evening prayer, Ibrāhīm told ʿAlī that he did not think he should head for al-Madhār. When asked what he should do then, Ibrāhīm said that, as the inhabitants of ʿAbbādān, Mayān Rūdhān, and Sulaymānān[178] had rendered allegiance to him, he should return there. And he added, "You have also left behind a group of the Bilāliyyah at the mouth of the Qandal and at Abrasān[179] waiting for you."

Now when the blacks heard of Ibrāhīm's advice, along with what Rumays had proposed to ʿAlī that day, they feared that ʿAlī would betray them and hand them over to their masters. Thus some of them fled, while the rest became very disturbed. Muḥammad b. Salm reported their distress to ʿAlī and the fact that some had taken off. So that very night ʿAlī ordered them to be assembled together. Separating the Zanj of the Euphrates [from the others],[180] he sum- [1757]
moned an interpreter to announce that none of them would be returned to his owner. ʿAlī swore a most solemn oath on this, adding, "Some of your number should watch me closely, and, if they sense any treachery on my part, they could kill me." Then ʿAlī assembled the remainder of the Zanj together — namely, the Furātiyyah, the Qarmāṭiyyūn, the Nūbah, and others who understood Arabic — and made the same solemn oath to them as well, which he personally pledged and confirmed. Moreover, he said that he had not revolted to achieve earthly goods and glory, but only for the wrath of God and against the corruption and decay of the faith that he saw among the people. He concluded saying, "I shall share personally in every battle with you and assume the same risks as you." The Zanj were pleased by these words and wished him well.

At dawn the next day ʿAlī commanded one of the slaves of the Shūrajiyyīn named Abū Manārah to blow the horn, as a signal for the

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177. Ibrāhīm appears here for the first time in Ṭabarī's account without an indication of who he is [an agent?] or even a comment on the nature of the correspondence he carries.

178. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 44. The abrupt nature of the information in this paragraph, without prior reference to it, suggests that Ṭabarī's work as we have it may have been abridged from a longer text. See n. 217, below.

179. The reading is very uncertain, Abūsān, Anūshār being among other possibilities.

180. The text of the Leiden edition has al-Furātiyyah, but the critical apparatus notes the uncertain status of the reading; other manuscript copies provide al-Qawāniyyah, al-Maghāribah, and al-Fazzāniyyah as alternatives.

Zanj to assemble. He then set out again for al-Sīb, where he found al-Ḥimyarī, Rumays, and the associate of Ibn Abī ʿAwn. ʿAlī sent a secret message to them with Mushriq, who later returned with their reply. The leader of the Zanj reached the canal, and the associate of Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn approached, greeted [ʿAlī], and said, "It is no fit reward for our master from you that you cause his administrative district to be despoiled, given what you know he did for you in Wāsiṭ."[181] ʿAlī replied, "I have not come here to fight you, so tell your troops to make way for me so that I may pass by you."

[1758] ʿAlī departed from the canal [al-Sīb] and made for the Tigris. Shortly thereafter soldiers arrived accompanied by the inhabitants of al-Jaʿfariyyah, all fully armed. Abū Yaʿqūb, who was known as Jurbān, approached them and said, "People of al-Jaʿfariyyah! You are well aware that you have given us your solemn oath that you would neither fight against us nor provide assistance to anyone against us; indeed, you swore to assist any one of us if he came to you." They raised a great clamor and din, shouting as they fired stones and arrows at Jurbān.

There was a place nearby where there were some three hundred *zarnūqs*,[182] which Jurbān ordered dismantled and tied together like rafts.[183] They were launched onto the water, each with a single fighter astride it, and in this way battle with the enemy was joined.

Someone said that before the rafts were constructed, ʿAlī b. Abān swam across the canal. When the rafts had been made, the Zanj crossed the canal. They moved away from the bank of the canal and engaged the enemy with swords, killing a great number of them. Prisoners were first threatened, then released. One of the slaves of the Shūrajiyyīn called Sālim al-Zaghāwī was sent to bring back the troops who had entered the village of al-Jaʿfariyyah. He called out to them, "Anyone caught stealing anything from this village or taking any captives will have to answer for his actions and will be subject

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181. That is, the governor of Wāsiṭ, Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn, had been persuaded to release ʿAlī and his companions from custody. See p. 33, above.

182. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *z-r-n-q*, describes them thus: two pillarlike structures constructed by the head of a well, across which is placed a piece of wood, from which the pulley for drawing water is suspended. The plural is *zarānīq*. See also Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, CCLXXVII; and S. Fraenkel, *Die aramaischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 134, who calls it a *Wasseraufzug*.

183. *Al-shāshāt*, although the vocalization is uncertain. From the context "raft" seems a likely approximation.

to a painful punishment." ʿAlī b. Abān then recrossed the [al-Sīb] canal from the west to the east bank. After regrouping his troops under their chiefs, he had just passed beyond the village by the distance of a bowshot when he heard a great uproar coming from the direction of the canal. Carefully, the Zanj made their way back. [1759]

When Rumays, al-Ḥimyarī, and the associate of Ibn Abī ʿAwn, who, having heard of the situation at al-Jaʿfariyyah, had arrived on the scene, the blacks attacked them and seized four galleys, together with their crews and fighters. The personnel were disembarked and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad summoned the fighters for interrogation. They informed him that Rumays and Ibn Abī ʿAwn's associate had not let them go before compelling them to march on him and that the villagers had urged on Rumays, promising the two men large sums of money. The Shūrajiyyīn guaranteed to pay the associate in return for their slaves the sum of five dinars each. ʿAlī then inquired about a certain slave called al-Numayrī and another called al-Ḥajjām. They replied that al-Numayrī was being held as their prisoner, while the local people said that al-Ḥajjām had taken to robbing and murdering throughout their district, although evenutally he had been [caught] and beheaded, his body having been strung up publicly on the Abū al-Asad canal.[184] After ʿAlī had gleaned this information, he ordered the prisoners beheaded, all that is save one called Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī, who swore that he had come with a safe-conduct, unarmed, and without hostile intent; he was set free. The severed heads and flags were borne away upon mules, while the ships were ordered destroyed by fire. ʿAlī then set out for Nahr Farīd, finally arriving at a canal named after al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Qāḍī, across which stretched a dam lying between al-Jaʿfariyyah and the cultivated area (*rustāq*)[185] of al-Qufṣ.[186]

Villagers from the Banū ʿIjl welcomed ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, offering him their lives and extending generously to him whatever they possessed. ʿAlī returned their kindness, ordering them to keep what they had offered.

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184. One of the major canals flowing into the estuary (*fayḍ*) of al-Baṣrah. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 303.

185. Spelled also as *ruzdāq*, *ruztāq*, and *rusdāq*, the word signifies a rural district consisting of cultivated lands with towns and villages. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *r-z-d-q*.

186. A town between Baghdad and ʿUkbarā', but nearer the former, famous for its places of pleasure and entertainment, including fine wines. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 150.

[1760] He next proceeded to Nahr Bāqthā[187] and camped outside the village, which was on the canal itself and stretched along the bank of the Dujayl. The inhabitants of al-Karkh came to him, greeted him, prayed for his good fortune, and extended to him all the hospitality he required. A Jew from Khaybar called Māndawayh came to ʿAlī, kissed his hand, bowed before him, and then professed his gratitude for seeing him. Then he asked ʿAlī a number of questions, which he answered. The Jew claimed that he had found a description of him in the Torah and that he had foreseen fighting alongside him. He also queried ʿAlī about certain marks on his body, which he stated he knew about. The two men spent the evening discussing matters.

When ʿAlī set up his camp he [always] withdrew from his army with his six comrades. At that time wine[188] was not forbidden in his army. He had placed Muḥammad b. Salm in charge of watching carefully over the troops. Late that night one of the villagers of al-Karkh came and informed ʿAlī that Rumays, [leading] the inhabitants of al-Maftaḥ[189] and the adjoining villages, and ʿAqīl [accompanied by] the people of al-Ubullah, had arrived with fully armed Dabīlā.[190] Al-Ḥimyarī had also arrived that night with a group of Euphrates villagers at the Nahr Maymūn bridge, which they had destroyed to prevent ʿAlī's crossing. The following morning ʿAlī ordered it to be proclaimed to the Zanj to cross over the Dujayl. Then from the outskirts of al-Karkh he went to the Nahr Maymūn, where he found the bridge cut, with the enemy on the eastern side of the canal and gal-
[1761] leys containing the Dabīlā in the middle, while the villagers sailed in flat-bottomed vessels (*jarībiyyāt*) and reed boats (*mujawniḥāt*).[191]

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187. The reading is conjectural.

188. *Nabīdh*. The word is a general term for various kinds of intoxicating beverages, which could be made from dates, raisins, barley, honey, or spelt. *Nabīdh* was considered synonymous with *khamr*, which is forbidden in he Qur'ān (2:219, 16:67, and 5:90, where it is described as the work of Satan). See *EI*,[1] s.v. "Nabīdh"; *EI*,[2] s.v. "Khamr."

189. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 48; Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 299, 303; it was a village in the province of al-Baṣrah, lying between the city of al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ.

190. The critical apparatus of the Leiden edition notes, without supporting sources, that this was a group of Indian origin living in al-Baṣrah. See also Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, CCXXXVI. The reference is probably to people from the Indian coastal trading port Daibul, located east of Mihran, who had extensive commercial links abroad. See Ibn Ḥawqal, *Configuration de la Terre*, II, 316.

191. On these types of rivercraft, see Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, CLXII, CLXXII.

ʿAlī ordered his troops not to engage the enemy but to withdraw from the canal to protect themselves from arrows. ʿAlī retreated to a distance of about one hundred meters from the village. When the enemy saw that no one was about to attack them, a detachment left to make a reconnaissance. Now ʿAlī had commanded a group of his men to slip into the village and conceal themselves in ambush. When they spotted the enemy detachment, they attacked, and twenty-two prisoners were taken, while the remainder were pursued and a number of them were killed along the canal bank. They returned to ʿAlī with heads and prisoners and, after interrogating them, he had them beheaded as well. He ordered them to be guarded carefully, and for half the day their cries could be heard. A tribesman of the desert arrived seeking protection, and ʿAlī asked him about the depth of the river. The man told him he knew of a place that could be forded and informed him that the people were solidly against him and prepared to fight him. ʿAlī went with the man to the ford, about a mile[192] distant from al-Muḥammadiyyah, and he traversed the river with the rest of the company following behind him. Nāṣiḥ, known as al-Ramlī, supported ʿAlī, and he crossed over with the animals. Once on the eastern bank, ʿAlī turned again toward the Maymūn canal. Establishing himself there in the mosque, he gave orders for the heads [of the prisoners] to be planted on stakes. He remained there the whole day while Rumays's entire army traveled along the Dujayl and camped at a spot called Aqshā, opposite the Bard al-Khiyār canal.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad sent out a scout, who returned with news of Rumays's location. Immediately, he despatched a thousand men to [1762] encamp on the salt marsh at the mouth of the [Bard al-Khiyār] canal, telling them to inform him if the enemy had not approached them by the time of the sunset prayer. He wrote to ʿAqīl, reminding him that he had formerly rendered him allegiance, along with a group of inhabitants from al-Ubullah. He wrote also to Rumays, reminding him of the pact that they had concluded at al-Sīb: that they would not fight each other and that he would send news of the central authorities to him. He entrusted these two letters to a peasant, after first exacting an oath from him to deliver them.

ʿAlī next moved from Nahr Maymūn and set out for the salt

192. One Arabic *mīl* equals two km., three *mīl* making six km., or one *farsakh*. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 63.

marsh, where he had prepared a scouting party. Upon reaching the villages of al-Qādisiyyah and al-Shīfiyā, he heard a great commotion and saw shooting taking place; his practice when on the march was to give villages a wide berth. He commanded Muḥammad b. Salm to lead a party of men to al-Shīfiyā and ask the inhabitants to deliver to him the man who had murdered one of his troops as he was passing through. Muḥammad returned to inform ʿAlī that the villagers claimed they had no power to surrender the man, owing to his clientship with the Hāshimites and their protection of him. ʿAlī thus ordered his slaves to plunder the two villages, from which a great deal of currency in gold and silver, jewelry, ornaments, and gold and silver vessels were seized. On the same occasion slaves and women were captured, this being the first booty of its kind that they took. Muḥammad b. Salm's party happened upon a house in which there were fourteen Shūrajiyyīn slaves.[193] Their exit was blocked, and
[1763] they were captured. The Hāshimites' *mawlā* who had murdered the Zanj soldier was brought, and Muḥammad b. Salm ordered him beheaded. The execution was carried out.

At the time of the afternoon prayer Muḥammad left the two villages and set up camp by the salt marsh called Bard al-Khiyār. One of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad's six companions came to him at the sunset prayer time and told him that his soldiers were indulging in inebriating drink,[194] which they had discovered in al-Qādisiyyah. Accompanied by Muḥammad b. Salm and Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, ʿAlī went to inform the troops that intoxicants were not permitted, and from that day he declared wine (*nabīdh*) illegal. He addressed them saying, "You will be engaging armies in battle, so cease this indulgence in drink!" And they assented to his demand.

The following day one of the slaves of the blacks[195] named Qāquwayh came and told ʿAlī that Rumays's troops had set out for the eastern side of the Dujayl and proceeded toward the riverbank. The leader of the Zanj summoned ʿAlī b. Abān to advance with the Zanj and attack Rumays. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad then summoned

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193. *Ghilmān min ghilmān al-Shūraj*. See nn. 139, 146, 156, above.

194. The text refers to *khamr* and *nabīdh*, both of which could loosely be rendered by wine. See n. 188, above. The context here clearly intends intoxicating drink, although *nabidh* (and likely *khamr* as well) could be prepared in both alcoholic and nonintoxicating versions. See Ibn Sayyār, *Kitāb al-ṭabīkh*, 309–10.

195. The expression is *ghulām min al-sudān*.

Mushriq to bring him an astrolabe,[196] with which he took a reading of the sun, in order to determine the precise time. Then he, followed by his troops, crossed over the bridge[197] spanning the Bard al-Khiyār canal. When they had arrived on the eastern side, they overtook ʿAlī b. Abān and found that the forces of Rumays and ʿAqīl were on the river bank, while the Dabīlā were aboard boats from which they could shoot their arrows. The Zanj forces attacked and killed a great number of the enemy. Then a gust of wind from the western shore carried the boats to the nearest bank, and the blacks fell upon them, [1764] slaying all they found aboard.

Rumays and those with him retreated to Nahr al-Dayr[198] on the Aqshā road. He abandoned his boats without moving them, leaving the impression that he was staying there. ʿAqīl and Ibn Abī ʿAwn's associate left in haste for the Tigris without paying heed to anything. The Zanj leader ordered that the contents be removed from the boats that carried the Dabīlā; they were joined one to another. Qāquwayh went down to inspect them and found one of the Dabīlā. He tried to force him out, but the man resisted. Then he rushed the man with a trumpet (*ṣurnay*)[199] he was carrying and struck him a blow on the shoulder, severing one of the veins. A second blow cut a tendon in his leg. Then Qāquwayh grabbed the man and struck him on the crown of the head, and he collapsed. Seizing the man's hair, Qāquwayh cut off his head and took it to the Zanj leader, who ordered that he be given a dinar.[200] Then he commanded Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad to make Qāquwayh commander of one hundred blacks.

Thereafter the Zanj leader headed for the village of al-Muhallabī,[201] which lay opposite Qayyārān. The blacks, who had meanwhile been pursuing ʿAqīl and Ibn Abī ʿAwn's deputy, returned. They had captured a galley with two oarsmen still aboard. ʿAlī b.

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196. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Asṭurlāb," on the uses of this instrument.

197. *Qanṭarah*. This type of bridge was an arched or vaulted structure built with baked bricks or stones. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *q-n-ṭ-r*.

198. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 660, IV, 839, states that a monastery called Dayr al-Dihdar had stood here from the days before Islam. The canal was one of the major waterways emptying into the estuary of al-Baṣrah. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 303.

199. The reading is uncertain, but the meaning could be rendered either trumpet or bugle. See R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, I, 831, *ṣurnay*.

200. The expression is *dīnār khafīf*. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Dīnār."

201. Written thus, the name does not appear in the *Index* and is otherwise unidentifiable. See n. 202, below.

Muḥammad asked the blacks for a report about it. They told him that, while [they were] chasing the galley, most of the crew had thrown themselves into the river and abandoned the craft, which they were then able to retrieve. ʿAlī then interrogated the oarsmen, [1765] who informed him that ʿAqīl had coerced them into joining him, as he held their wives prisoner until they did so; he had used the same tactic with all the oarsmen. On the question of the arrival of the Dabīlā, the oarsmen said that ʿAqīl had promised them money, and so they followed him. Concerning the boats stationed at Aqshā, ʿAlī was informed that they belonged to Rumays, who had abandoned them, fleeing at the first light of day.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad then returned to a position opposite the boats [at Aqshā], and the blacks were ordered to bring them to him across the canal. The boats were then plundered and set on fire.

The Zanj next proceeded to the village of al-Muhallabiyyah, also called T.n.gh.t.[202] ʿAlī camped nearby and gave the order for the place to be plundered and razed, which was done. As he moved along the Mādiyān canal, he found quantities of dates, which he also had burned.

After these events the Zanj leader and his followers perpetrated outrages in this region, which we have not mentioned since none was especially atrocious, considering that every act he committed was atrocious.[203]

Among the momentous encounters that he later had with the forces of the central authorities[204] was one against the Turk Abū Hilāl in Sūq al-Rayyān.[205] One of the Zanj commanders called Rayḥān reported that this Turk had arrived in Sūq al-Rayyān at the head of a force of some four thousand men or more. They were preceded by a group of people wearing bright clothes and sporting flags and drums. The blacks led a ferocious attack against the Turk. One of the

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202. Popovic, *Révolte*, 88, locates this village on Nahr al-Mādiyān [not found in the *Index*]; it is not to be confused with the similar place name mentioned in n. 201, above. The reading *t.n.gh.t* as an alternative designation is entirely conjectural.

203. By highlighting in his succeeding account only the major crimes and depredations of the Zanj, Ṭabarī is perhaps also pointing to a shift in their leader's policy toward plunder and destruction, rather than recruitment of forces.

204. The expression is *aṣḥāb al-sulṭān*, and Popovic, *Révolte*, 88 n. 3, observes that this almost certainly refers to a force of the local garrison and not to troops sent from Baghdad.

205. A large town on Nahr al-Rayyān in the region of al-Ahwāz.

blacks fell upon the people's standard-bearer, felling him with blows from the two cudgels he was carrying. The crowd fled, while the [1766] blacks pursued their onslaught on Abū Hilāl's troops, slaying nearly one thousand five hundred of them. One of the blacks chased after Abū Hilāl, who managed to save himself by escaping on a horse bareback. Then the darkness of night descended between the blacks and those who had escaped. In the morning the pursuit resumed, and the blacks returned with heads and prisoners, all of whom were then killed.

Following this engagement there occurred another involving the Zanj against the troops of the central authorities, in which ʿAlī b. Muḥammad was also victorious. According to what one of the Zanj leader's commanders[206] reported, the affair commenced as follows. The commander, whose name was Rayḥān,[207] said, "One night during the course of the year," (which we have mentioned was one in which his rebellion commenced) "ʿAlī b. Muḥammad heard the sound of a dog barking at the gates [of a dwelling owned by] ʿAmr b. Masʿadah.[208] He ordered an inquiry into the source of the barking and sent one of his followers to investigate. He later returned with the news that he had seen nothing at all, and then the barking resumed."

Rayḥān continued: "ʿAlī then called for me to go to the source of the barking, for it seemed as though the dog barked only at someone it could see. So I set out and suddenly came upon the dog, standing on a breakwater (*al-musannah*),[209] although I could see nothing else. And then I spied a man sitting on some steps. I spoke to him, and, when he heard me addressing him in Arabic, he replied, introducing himself as Sayrān b. ʿAfwiallāh. He said he had brought letters for ʿAlī b. Muḥammad from his partisans in al-Baṣrah; he had been one of his associates during ʿAlī's sojourn in al-Baṣrah. So I took him to ʿAlī, who read the correspondence he was carrying. ʿAlī asked

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206. *Qāʾid li-ṣāḥib al-zanj min al-sudān*. Ṭabarī here seems to make a distinction between the Zanj as an ethnic/racial term and blacks (*al-sudān*) other than the Zanj.

207. Although it is not immediately apparent from the context here, this is the same Rayḥān b. Ṣāliḥ who has already appeared on p. 35, above, as one of the slaves of the Shūrajiyyin.

208. Ṭabarī's editors identify this individual as ʿAmr b. Masʿadah al-Kātib al-Rāwī, about whom nothing else is known; see *Index*.

209. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *s-n-w(y)*.

[1767] Sayrān about al-Zaynabī and the numbers of men he had. He said that al-Zaynabī was mustering a large force of slaves, volunteers, and the factions of the Bilāliyyah and the Saʿdiyyah, which was going to be despatched against ʿAlī at Bayān. ʿAlī told Sayrān to lower his voice lest the slaves be frightened by his news. He then inquired who was to lead this army and was told that one Abū Manṣūr, a Hāshimite *mawlā*, had been selected for the post. Asked whether he had seen this force, Sayrān replied that he had and added that they were also equipped with ropes to bind the hands of any blacks they captured. ʿAlī then told Sayrān to return to the place where he was staying, and he wandered off to ʿAlī b. Abān, Muḥammad b. Salm, and Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad and engaged in discussing matters with them until the dawn broke."

The Zanj leader then set out to spy upon this new force. When he reached the far side of Tursā, Barsūna, and Sandādān Bayān,[210] a detachment came out to do battle with him. ʿAlī b. Abān was ordered to engage the enemy, and he routed them, capturing from among them one hundred blacks.

Rayḥān resumed: "I heard ʿAlī b. Muḥammad say to his followers that what they had witnessed was one of the signs of perfection of their mission — that is, the arrival of the detachment with their slaves, who were surrendered into their hands, God increasing thereby the numbers of his own forces. Then the Zanj proceeded until they reached Bayān."

Rayḥān continued: "ʿAlī b. Muḥammad sent me, accompanied by a contingent of his troops to al-Ḥajar in search of transport boats [*al-kārawān*][211] and [the rest of] their army in the palm belt on the western side of the [Nahr] Bayān.[212] We reached the designated spot and
[1768] there found one thousand nine hundred boats, protected by a detachment of volunteers. When they saw us they abandoned the boats and crossed over the Sulbān without their arms, heading toward Jūbak. We boarded the vessels and sailed them back to ʿAlī's camp. Also aboard these craft were a number of pilgrims who had intended to

210. Although the location of these places cannot be identified, the action of the narrative is moving toward the environs of al-Baṣrah.

211. Arabized from the Persian *kārabān*. See Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, CDXLII, s.v. *qayrawān*.

212. A broad artificial channel that joined the estuary of the Tigris with the Dujayl. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 44, 48.

follow the road to al-Baṣrah. When we arrived with the boats ʿAlī had a carpet laid out on a rise of ground, and, seated upon it, he examined the pilgrims for the rest of the day until sunset, by which time they had begun to believe all that he told them. They said that, if they had had any spare resources, they would remain with him; with that he sent them back to their boats. In the morning ʿAlī fetched them from the boats and made them swear not to reveal to anyone the size of his forces; indeed they should, if asked, make as little of his circumstances as possible. The pilgrims presented ʿAlī with one of their carpets, and he reciprocated, giving them one of his own. ʿAlī also asked them to swear that they were carrying neither money nor commercial goods for the central authorities. However, they indicated that one man was a government agent, carrying dried fruits to al-Baṣrah. The master of the boat in which the man was found swore to ʿAlī that he was engaged only in ordinary commerce, and so he was released. The pilgrims were also free to leave."

The inhabitants of Sulaymānān appeared on the eastern bank of the Bayān opposite the Zanj, who were conversing with them. Ḥusayn al-Ṣaydanānī was among the inhabitants. He had been a close associate of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad in al-Baṣrah and one of the four persons who had declared their revolt in the ʿAbbād mosque. On this [1769]
day Ḥusayn rejoined ʿAlī[213]

ʿAlī asked Ḥusayn what had caused him to be absent for so long. He replied that he had been in hiding and that, when this army had left [al-Baṣrah], he had joined in with the masses of troops. ʿAlī then inquired about the army, its composition and numbers. Ḥusayn said that he had seen the army depart and tht it comprised one thousand two hundred slave fighters,[214] a thousand of al-Zaynabī's own troops, about two thousand from the Bilāliyyah and Saʿdiyyah factions, and two hundred cavalry. However, when this force had reached al-Ubullah a dispute had broken out between the army and the town's inhabitants, and each side had begun cursing and abusing the other. The slave troops had even vilified Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn. Ḥusayn continued, "I left them behind at Shāṭiʾ ʿUthmān, and I reckoned that they should arrive in the morning." ʿAlī asked what they intended to do upon arriving. Ḥusayn replied that they

213. See p. 33, above.
214. *Khawal*. See n. 156, above.

were intending to send the cavalry into Sandādān Bayān, while their infantry would approach from both banks of the canal.

The following morning ʿAlī sent out a scout to gather intelligence. He chose an old, feeble man, in order that attention would not be drawn to him. But the scout did not return. When he had been away a long time ʿAlī despatched Fatḥ al-Ḥajjām with three hundred men and Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad to Sandādān. He ordered Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad to pass through the market of Bayān. Fatḥ al-Ḥajjām reported to ʿAlī that the enemy was approaching en masse along both sides of the canal. ʿAlī inquired about the tide and was told that it had not yet come in. ʿAlī then observed that the enemy's cavalry could not have arrived as yet. He ordered Muḥammad b. Salm and ʿAlī b. Abān to lie in wait for them among the palm trees, while he occupied a higher vantage point on a hilltop overlooking them. Presently the [enemy] banners and foot soldiers came into view as they
[1770] approached the territory of Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Balkhī, situated on a bend of the Dubayrān canal.[215].

The Zanj raised the battle cry "Allāhu Akbar" and then launched their attack on the enemy, confronting them at Dubayrān. The enemy's slave contingent attacked under the leadership of Abū al-ʿAbbās b. Ayman, who was otherwise known as Abū al-Kubāsh and Bashīr al-Qaysī; the Zanj were forced to retreat to the hill were ʿAlī b. Muḥammad was stationed. The Zanj then counterattacked and this time held their position firm. Abū al-Kubāsh assaulted Fatḥ al-Ḥajjām and killed him. He also surprised one of the black slaves called Dīnār and delivered him several blows. Next the blacks charged the enemy facing them on the shore to the Bayān and were engulfed in sword fighting.

Rayḥān resumed: "I encountered Muḥammad b. Salm when he struck Abū al-Kubāsh a blow, causing him to fall into the mud, where one of the Zanj came across him and severed his head. ʿAlī b. Abān, however, claimed Abū al-Kubāsh's death for himself, as well as that of Bashīr al-Qaysī. Chatting about that day, ʿAlī (b. Abān) said, 'Bashīr al-Qaysī was the first person I encountered, and we struck each other blows. His blow landed on my shield, whereas mine caught him squarely in the chest and abdomen. I had pierced his ribs and slit open his stomach. He collapsed, and I slashed off his

215. The reading is conjectural.

head. Then I faced Abū al-Kubāsh, who gave me his full attention. One of the blacks came up behind him and struck his legs with a club, breaking them both. He fell and offered no resistance to my finishing him off and beheading him. I brought both heads to the leader of the Zanj.'"

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl said, "I heard the Zanj leader stating that ʿAlī had brought him the head of Abū al-Kubāsh and that of [1771] Bashīr al-Qaysī." Muḥammad added that he knew neither of them. Moreover, ʿAlī had told him that both men had been in the vanguard of their forces and, when he slew them, the troops had fled at the sight of their fallen leaders.

Rayḥān continued, according to what was reported from him, that the enemy fled using every avenue of escape while pursued by the blacks up to the Nahr Bayān. The water level in the canal had dropped, and, as the enemy attempted to cross, they sank in the mud, and most perished.

Some blacks passed by their comrade Dīnār, whom Abū al-Kubāsh had struck down. He was lying there wounded. The blacks mistook him for one of the enemy's slaves (*al-khawal*), and so they commenced to beat him with sickles, leaving him severely wounded. A passerby who recognized Dīnār carried him to the Zanj leader, who ordered his wounds attended to.

Rayḥān continued: "When the enemy had reached the mouth of the Nahr Bayān, they had lost many drowned and their boats with the animals aboard had been seized. Someone signaled us from a boat, and when we reached him he told us to enter the Nahr Sharīkān, where the enemy had set up an ambush. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad and ʿAlī b. Abān set out along the canal, Yaḥyā taking the western and ʿAlī the eastern side, when they came across about a thousand Maghāribah[216] troops lying in wait. Ḥusayn al-Saydanānī was being held their prisoner.

When the enemy saw us, they fell upon Ḥusayn and cut him to pieces. They then advanced upon the Zanj with their spears extended, and fighting ensued until the time of the noon prayer. The blacks in their turn threw themselves upon the enemy, slaying them all and seizing their weapons. The blacks returned to camp and found their leader sitting on the bank of the Bayān. Some thirty-odd

216. Government troops of North African origin.

flags and about a thousand heads had been brought to him, among them heads of the brave and courageous slaves (*al-khawal*). That same day Zuhayr was brought to him as well."[217]

[1772] Rayḥān continued: "I did not know him, but Yaḥyā, who arrived while Zuhayr was standing before the leader of the Zanj, recognized him and said to me, 'This is Zuhayr the slave (*al-khawal*); why should you spare him?' And the order was given for Zuhayr to be beheaded."

The Zanj leader remained in his camp that day and night. The following morning he sent a scout to reconnoiter the Tigris shore. The scout returned to inform him that there were two barges[218] moored to the island, which was then located at the mouth of the al-Qandal canal. When the afternoon [prayer] was finished the scout set out again for the Tigris, to ascertain developments. At sunset Abū al-ʿAbbās came to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad; he was his wife's brother and was accompanied by a soldier called ʿUmrān, who was married to the mother of this same Abū al-ʿAbbās. ʿAlī placed his troops on parade for them and requested that they [review them]. ʿUmrān handed him a communication from Ibn Abī ʿAwn, demanding that he cross over the Bayān and leave the district of his jurisdiction. For his part, Ibn Abī ʿAwn informed ʿAlī that he had removed the barges blockading the way out. ʿAlī gave the command to take the boats from Jubbā, which could traverse the Bayān. His troops went to al-Ḥajar[219] and found in Sulbān two hundred boats loaded with flour. The boats were commandeered; clothing, some *barr.kanat*,[220] and ten Zanj were discovered on board. The troops were ordered to embark upon the boats and, when the tide came in at sunset, he crossed over [the Bayān] with them opposite the mouth of the Qandal canal. One of the boats carrying flour, which was in the charge of Abū Dulaf, was
[1773] blown off course by a strong wind. He arrived the next morning and reported to the Zanj leader that the wind had carried him as far as

217. The sudden introduction into the account of this individual, as if the reader were already familiar with him, suggests that the text we possess may contain lacunae or has been abridged. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 89; n. 178, above.

218. *Shadhah*, also *shadhawah*, a kind of war boat. See Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, CCCVIII; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *sh-dh-w*.

219. A location near al-Baṣrah.

220. Like Popovic, *Révolte*, 89 n. 5, I have been unable to identify this word, which is unvocalized in manuscripts B and O.

Ḥasak ʿImrān. There the villagers had shown an inordinate interest in him and the boat's cargo, and he had had to fend them off.

Fifty blacks joined ʿAlī's side, and, with their arrival and the acquisition of the boats, he entered the Qandal canal [district] and ventured as far as a village belonging to al-Muʿallā b. Ayyūb, where he set up camp. He spread out his troops up to Dubbā,[221] where they discovered three hundred Zanj, whom they brought back to ʿAlī. They also found an agent of al-Muʿallā b. Ayyūb, and, when they demanded money of him, he replied, "Let me cross over to Bursān, and I will bring you money." So he was released, and he went. He failed, however, to return, and when his absence became prolonged ʿAlī gave the order to plunder the village. And this was done.

Rayḥān continued this report: "On that day I saw the leader of the Zanj taking part in plundering with the rest of us. My hand and his fell at the same time upon a quilted woolen jacket; we each had hold of a part of it, tugging it toward us, when I finally let him have it."

Later ʿAlī b. Muḥammad set out for al-Zaynabī's garrison, situated on the western bank of the Qandal canal. The defenders were defiant, and, although they believed they could resist, they actually did not possess sufficient strength to do so, and all, some two hundred persons, were killed, to the last man. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad remained in the castle that night and set out on the morning tide for the salt flat of al-Qandal. His troops proceeded along both sides of the canal and, arriving at the village of Mundhirān, they entered and [1774] plundered it. A number of Zanj were found in the village, and ʿAlī had them apportioned among his commanders. From there ʿAlī reached the far end of the Qandal [canal] and directed his boats into a canal called al-Ḥasanī, which opened onto another canal called al-Ṣāliḥī, which led directly to Dubbā. He camped there on the flats.

One of his followers reportedly said that it was there that ʿAlī b. Muḥammad named his commanders, and he denied his having done so previously.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad dispersed his troops among the canals until they converged upon the main square of Dubbā. They found there a man belonging to the harbor dwellers in al-Baṣrah who sold dried dates. His name was Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Muraydī. He was

221. The name of one of the subdistricts of al-Baṣrah, through which ran many canals. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 544.

brought to ʿAlī who, recognizing Muḥammad, greeted him. He asked him about the Bilāliyyah faction [in al-Baṣrah]. The man replied, "I was bringing you a message from them when the blacks met me and brought me to you. The Bilāliyyah are seeking certain conditions from you; if you grant them, they will follow and obey you." ʿAlī consented to the conditions. He also authorized the man to be responsible for them until they were able to reach him. ʿAlī then let Muḥammad go and sent with him an escort that would take him as far as al-Fayyāḍ[222] and then return. For four days the Zanj leader waited in vain for Muḥammad's return. On the fifth day ʿAlī disbanded the boats he had with him on the canal and proceeded by land between the canal called al-Dāwardānī and the Nahr al-Ḥasanī and the Nahr al-Ṣāliḥī. He had scarcely moved from one canal to the next, when he saw about six hundred horsemen approaching from the direction of the Nahr al-Amīr.[223] His troops hastened along the Dāwardānī, with the horsemen proceeding upon the western bank.
[1775] A lengthy discussion took place, and it transpired that the horsemen were Arab tribesmen, among whom were ʿAntarah b. Ḥajanā and Thumāl.

ʿAlī sent Muḥammad b. Salm to talk to ʿAntarah and Thumāl, and they in turn inquired who the Zanj leader was. Muḥammad pointed out ʿAlī, and the two Arabs said they wished to talk with him. Muḥammad returned to report to ʿAlī what they had said. He added, "If you would speak to them ...," but ʿAlī interrupted him abruptly and said, "This is a trap." He ordered the blacks to attack the tribesmen. When the blacks crossed the canal, the tribesmen turned away from them and raised the black flag.[224] Then there appeared in their midst Sulaymān, the brother of al-Zaynabī, who had been with them all the time. The Zanj troops returned, while the tribesmen withdrew. ʿAlī said to Muḥammad b. Salm, "Did I not tell you that they had set a trap for us?"

The Zanj arrived in Dubbā, and ʿAlī scattered his troops among the palm groves. They had found sheep and cattle, which they pro-

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222. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, *III*, 926, describes this as an ancient, broad canal in al-Baṣrah, with villages and cultivated fields along its banks.

223. A canal in al-Baṣrah (not to be confused with another of the same name in Wāsiṭ) dug by order of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr and thus originally known as Nahr Amīr al-Muʾminīn. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 835.

224. Indicating their support for the government.

ceeded to slaughter and gorge themselves on, spending the entire night there. The following morning they reached the narrow waterway (*al-arkhanj*)[225] called al-Muṭahhirī, which joined the Nahr al-Amīr opposite al-Fayyāḍ from both sides. There they encountered Shihāb b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-ʿAnbarī with a detachment of slaves (*al-khawal*). In the ensuing action Shihāb escaped with a small troop, but many of his forces were slain. Shihāb was pursued into the center of al-Fayyāḍ. There the Zanj came across six hundred slaves of the Shū- [1776]
rajiyyīn; they captured them and brought them to ʿAlī's camp, while their agents were killed. ʿAlī advanced as far as a castle called al-Jawharī, situated on the salt flats of the Barāmikah, and spent the night there. In the morning he reached the flats that began at the Dīnarī canal and the farthest reaches of which extended to the Nahr al-Muḥdath. ʿAlī reunited his troops and ordered them not to press on toward al-Baṣrah until the signal was given. Thereafter they were set loose to plunder the countryside, while ʿAlī spent the night there.

An Account of the Zanj Leader's Advance upon al-Baṣrah with His Army

After the Zanj leader had mustered his troops, they reportedly set out for al-Baṣrah from the salt flats stretching beside the Dīnārī canal, the farthest reaches of which extended to the Nahr al-Muḥdath. When they had arrived opposite the Nahr al-Riyāḥī, a party of blacks arrived and informed him that they had seen armed men in the al-Riyāḥī area itself. Moments later the Zanj assembled at a call to arms, and the Zanj leader ordered ʿAlī b. Abān to cross the canal against the foe, who were on the eastern side of the Dīnarī canal. ʿAlī b. Abān took about three thousand men with him while the Zanj leader collected together his remaining troops, telling ʿAlī [at the same time] that, if he required reinforcements, he need only ask for them. After ʿAlī b. Abān had left, the Zanj called for their weapons, for they had spotted another movement [of troops] from a direction different from the one ʿAlī had taken. The Zanj leader in-
quired about the troop movement and was told that they were com- [1777]
ing from the direction of the village of al-Jaʿfariyyah, which lay be-

225. See Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, CXI.

side the Nahr Ḥarb. So he despatched Muḥammad b. Salm in that direction.

It was reported from Rayḥān (b. Ṣāliḥ), one of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad's followers, that he said, "I was among those accompanying Muḥammad (b. Salm) when we set out at the time of the noon prayer. We confronted the enemy in al-Jaʿfariyyah, and a fierce battle developed between us, which lasted until the late afternoon." The blacks next led a ferocious assault, forcing the enemy to turn heel and flee. Around five hundred persons were killed from among the soldiers, the Arab tribesmen, and the Baṣran factions of the Bilāliyyah and the Saʿdiyyah. Among the enemy that day was one Fatḥ, a slave of Abū Shīth, and he too fled, with Fayrūz the Elder in pursuit. When Fatḥ realized that Fayrūz could not be shaken off, he flung his metal helmet at him, albeit in vain. He next threw his shield at Fayrūz, but this also did not cause him to retreat. Finally, he heaved a metal oven[226] he had been carrying at Fayrūz, again without the desired effect. They reached the Nahr Ḥarb, and Fatḥ jumped into the canal and escaped, leaving Fayrūz to return to the Zanj leader bearing the weapons that Fatḥ had discarded.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan — Shibl said, "It was related to us that Fatḥ had leaped across the Nahr Ḥarb that day." Shibl continued, "I related this tale to al-Faḍl b. ʿAdī al-Dārimī, and he said that he had been with the Saʿdiyyah that day and that Fatḥ had not been carrying a metal oven[227] with him. In fact, he was wearing only a yellow-silk tunic. He fought until there remained no one else in the battle, and then he made his way to the Nahr Ḥarb and leaped across it to the western bank." He seems not to have known Rayḥān's story about Fayrūz.

[1778] Rayḥān said, "I met Fayrūz before he had returned to the Zanj leader, and he told me the story of his encounter with Fatḥ and showed me the weapons. The Zanj had resorted to recovering spoils as I made my way along the Nahr al-Dīnārī. Suddenly I came across

226. The expression is *tannūr ḥadīd*, which suggests an implement designed for battlefield conditions or a journey, as the common domestic *tannūr* was constructed of baked earth or clay. If the implement was shaped like the Beduin metal cooking implement, the *sāj*, round and concave as a shield, it could have easily been carried. This interpretation seems confirmed by another occurence of the term, at n. 374, below.

227. See n. 226, above.

a man sitting under a palm tree. He was wearing a silk hat (*al-qalansuwah*), red shoes, and a woolen tunic (*al-durrāʿah*). I seized him, and he showed me letters he was carrying, which he said were from a group of people in al-Baṣrah who had sent them with him. I threw a turban (*al-ʿamāmah*) around his neckand led him to the Zanj leader and reported the man's news. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad asked the man's name, and he replied, 'I am Abū al-Layth Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh from Iṣfahān, and I have only come to you from a strong desire to be in your company.' ʿAlī accepted him."

Moments later the cry "God is greatest" was heard, and ʿAlī b. Abān appeared in possession of the head of one of the Bilāliyyah called Abū al-Layth al-Qawārīrī (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan — Shibl said that Waṣīf al-Zuhrī was the person who killed Abū al-Layth al-Qawārīrī, one of the celebrated members of the Bilāliyyah) and [in possession of] the head of another Bilāliyyah member named ʿAbdān al-Kasibī who had a voice among them, as well as the heads of a number of others from them. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad queried ʿAlī b. Abān about the incident, and he told him that no one had fought him more tenaciously than these two men, meaning Abū al-Layth and ʿAbdān. ʿAlī b. Abān forced them to flee and finally drove them into the Nahr Nāfidh, where they had a barge, which he capsized.

Muḥammad b. Salm later arrived with a prisoner from the Bilāliyyah whom Shibl had captured. His name was Muḥammad al-Azraq al-Qawārīrī. Muḥammad was also carrying a number of heads. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad called the prisoner over and asked him about the commanders of these two armies. The man replied that those in al-Riyāḥī were commanded by Abū Manṣūr al-Zaynabī and [1779]
the others along the Nahr Ḥarb were commanded by Sulaymān, the brother of al-Zaynabī, who stationed himself on their rear flank in the outlying areas. To a query about their numbers, he replied that he did not know the figures, only that they were a considerable force. ʿAlī then had Muḥammad al-Qawārīrī released and attached to Shibl's group.

ʿAlī and the Zanj next made for the salt flats of al-Jaʿfariyyah. He remained there that night among the slain. The following morning he gathered together his troops and cautioned them [again] against their entering al-Baṣrah. Regardless, some of them, including Ankalwayh, Zurayq, Abū al-Khanjar — who had not yet been made a commander — Salīm and, Waṣīf al-Kūfī hastened on ahead. When

they reached the Nahr al-Shādhānī, a number of Baṣrans came out to meet them, the number swelling quickly into a multitude. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad received news of this and sent off Muḥammad b. Salm, ʿAlī b. Abān, and Mushriq, Yaḥyā's slave, with a large contingent. He went along with them, accompanying the boats that were loaded with pack animals and the wives of the slaves. He established camp at the bridge on the Nahr Kathīr.[228]

Rayḥān continued: "I joined ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, having received a wound on my leg from a rock. He asked about developments and I told him that the battle was well underway. He then ordered my return and accompanied me until I reached the high ground overlooking the Nahr al-Sabābijah. He said to me, 'Go to our troops and tell them to disengage and fall back.' I told him that he should get as far
[1780] away from the place as possible, for I was unsure of his safety from the enemy's slave troops. So he withdrew.

I myself went and informed the commanders of his orders, and they retreated. The Baṣrans pressed the Zanj hard, and a complete rout was the result. That happened in the late afternoon. Many fell into the Kathīr and Shayṭān[229] canals. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad called to his followers to come back, but they could not return. A number of them drowned in the Nahr Kathīr and many were slain on the canal bank as well as on the Shādhānī. Among the commanders who drowned that day were Abū al-Jawn, Mubārak al-Baḥrānī, ʿAṭāʾ al-Barbarī, and Salām al-Shāmī. The slave of Abū Shīth,[230] Ḥārith al-Qaysī, and Suḥayl caught up with ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, and together they mounted the arched bridge (*qanṭarah*) over the Nahr Kathīr. ʿAlī then turned back to [challenge] them, and they retreated before him until they were back on the ground.[231] On this day ʿAlī was wearing a woolen tunic, a turban, sandals, and a sword, and he carried a shield. When he had left the bridge, the Baṣrans mounted it again in pursuit. ʿAlī turned back and killed a man on the fifth step of the bridge. He called out to his men to alert them to his position,

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228. A canal in al-Baṣrah named after Kathīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Salmī, who, as governor of the city, had it dug during the last years of the Umayyad period. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 843–44.

229. A canal in al-Baṣrah named after a client of Ziyād b. Abīhi, the Umayyad governor of Iraq. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 840.

230. Named Fatḥ; see p. 60, above.

231. That is, off the bridge.

but none of them remained in that spot save for Abū al-Shawk, Muṣliḥ, and Rafīq, Yaḥyā's slave."

Rayḥān said, "I was with ʿAlī b. Muḥammad at the time. He fell back to al-Muʿallā[232] and camped on the western side of the Shayṭān canal."

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that he had heard the leader of the Zanj himself relate the following: "That day I had found myself at one point completely out of touch with my troops and they with me. Only Muṣliḥ and Rafīq remained with me. I was wearing a pair of Sindī sandals and a turban, a twist of which had become unraveled [1781] and trailed along the ground. I was in too much of a hurry to pick it up, as I was carrying a sword and shield. Muṣliḥ and Rafīq hurried ahead on foot, and as I lagged behind they disappeared from sight. I spotted two Baṣrans behind me, one carrying a sword, the other with a rock in his hand. They saw me and recognized me and redoubled their efforts to catch me, so I turned upon them and they backed off. I finally made it back to the spot where my troops were gathered. They had become perturbed at my loss, and seeing me again calmed them down."

Rayḥān continued: "ʿAlī b. Muḥammad returned to al-Muʿallā on the western side of the Nahr Shayṭān and camped there. He discovered upon inquiry that many of the men had fled and, after an inspection, he found there were a total of only five hundred men left. A horn was blown, the sound of which used to be the signal for the slaves to assemble, but no one returned. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad spent the night there, in the course of which Jurbān arrived. He had escaped in the general flight, taking with him thirty slaves. ʿAlī asked him where he had vanished to, and he replied that he had made a reconnaissance of al-Zawāriqah."

Rayḥān continued: "ʿAlī b. Muḥammad sent me to find out for him who was still at the Nahr Ḥarb bridge. I found no one around. The Baṣrans had plundered the boats that ʿAlī had brought there, removing the pack animals and taking possession of his other goods, his letters and astrolabes. The following morning, when ʿAlī b. Muḥammad inspected the troops again, he discovered that a thousand [1782] men had made their way back during the night."

232. Probably the same village as that belonging to Muʿallā b. Ayyūb. See p. 57, above.

Rayḥān said that Shibl was among those who had fled, but Nāṣiḥ al-Ramlī denied that.

Rayḥān continued: "Shibl returned [to camp] in the morning with ten slaves. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad rebuked him harshly. He demanded to know what had happened to a slave called Abū Naʿjah Nādir and another, ʿAnbar al-Barbarī. Shibl reported that they had both fled with the others. The leader of the Zanj remained stationed where he was and gave the order for Muḥammad b. Salm to venture to the arched bridge of the Nahr Kathīr and there preach to the people, informing them of the reasons for his revolt. Muḥammad set out, accompanied by Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ and Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad; they stopped [by the river] while Muḥammad crossed over and made his way into the midst of the troops of al-Baṣrah.[233] As he commenced to address them, they caught him off guard, fell on him, and killed him."

Al-Faḍl b. ʿAdī said that when Muḥammad b. Salm crossed the river to preach to the Baṣrans, they were assembled at a spot called al-Faḍl b. Maymūn. Fatḥ, the slave of Abū Shīth, was the first person suddenly to confront and strike him down with a sword; then Ibn al-Tūmanī al-Saʿdī severed his head. Sulaymān and Yaḥyā returned to report to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, who ordered them to say nothing to the Zanj until he had a chance to do so himself. Following the afternoon prayers, he announced the death of Muḥammad b. Salm to those troops who had not heard the news. He said to them, "Tomorrow you shall slay ten thousand Baṣrans to avenge him." He sent Zurayq and
[1783] his slave Saqlabtūyā[234] with orders to prevent anyone from crossing the river. That was on Sunday, the 13th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah in the year 255 (October 23, 869).

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan — Muḥammad b. Simʿān al-Kātib: On Monday, the 14th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (October 24, 869), the people of al-Baṣrah[235] assembled together and went forth in the wake of what they regarded as a triumph over the Zanj the previous day. The man

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233. The expression is *ahl al-Baṣrah*, which could signify either the populace or troops; the latter seems preferable here. See n. 235, below. Clearly this incident did not take place in al-Baṣrah itself but rather on the outskirts of the city. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 92.

234. The reading is conjectural.

235. The expression once again is *ahl al-Baṣrah*. See n. 233, above. Here, however, Ṭabarī indicates a much broader participation in the expedition against the Zanj than just military personnel.

selected to lead the expedition was a Baṣran by the name of Ḥammād al-Sājī, a sailor experienced in operating and fighting from barges. The force comprised volunteers, archers, people from the main mosque, those from the Bilāliyyah and Sa'diyyah factions prepared to follow Ḥammād, and onlookers from the Hāshimites, Qurayshites, and other sections of the populace. Three barges were loaded with archers who crowded on board, eager to get to the scene of battle. A mob proceeded on foot, some bearing arms while others were mere spectators without weapons. The barges and boats entered the Umm Ḥabīb canal on the tide after sunset that same day. The procession of foot soldiers and spectators along the canal bank was so dense and numerous that they blocked from view everything in front of them. The Zanj leader had stationed himself on the canal known as al-Shayṭān.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said the Zanj leader told him that, when his scouts had arrived and he knew of the approaching crowd, he sent off Zurayq and Abū al-Layth al-Iṣbahānī with a detachment of troops along the east bank of the [Shayṭān] canal, and Shibl and Ḥusayn al-Ḥammāmī with another detachment along the western bank. Both parties were to set up ambushes. 'Alī b. Abān was ordered to take the remainder of his troops to intercept the enemy. They should, however, crouch down facing the enemy, guarding themselves with their shields, allowing no one to attack until the adversaries were close enough to brandish swords at them. When the situation had developed in this way, the Zanj attacked the enemy. The Zanj leader gave orders to the two ambuscades that when the throng [on the banks] were abreast of them and they heard their own troops on the attack, they should emerge on both sides of the canal shouting at the enemy. The Zanj women were ordered to gather bricks and keep the men supplied with them. [1784]

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that after this incident the leader of the Zanj told his followers, "That day, as I beheld the mob approaching, I was gripped by a terrible fear, such an overwhelming terror that I appealed [to God] for help. I was accompanied by only a few troops, among them Muṣliḥ, and there was not one among us who did not imagine that he was going to meet his doom. Muṣliḥ marveled at the size of the multitude and I motioned to him to contain himself. As the enemy neared, I cried out, 'Oh God, this is the hour of trial, so come to my aid!' I had scarcely finished saying this when I saw white

[1785] birds sweep down upon the enemy, and one of the galleys overturned, and all on board were drowned.[236] The barges met the same fate. My troops then fell upon the enemy they were heading for, shouting at them." The ambushers emerged from their hiding places on the canal banks behind the boats and the foot soldiers, clubbing those among them and onlookers on shore who tried to flee. A group here was drowned, a group there was killed, while others who fled toward the canal seeking rescue were overtaken by the sword. Those who resisted were slain, while those who ventured into the water were drowned. The foot soldiers on the canal's edge who sought escape in the water were either killed or drowned until most of the enemy forces had been annihilated. None but the odd fugitive was saved. The numbers of Baṣrans missing soared as their wives raised a chorus of lament.

People spoke of this day as the Day of the Barges (*yawm al-shadhā*).[237] They were horrified by the number killed that day. Among the innumerable host killed were a number of sons of the Hāshimite Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān and forty famous archers.

The abominable one[238] had the heads [of the slain] collected. He displayed them so that relatives of the deceased who came to him could claim those they recognized. For the rest, which no on claimed, he put aboard a flat-bottomed boat (*jarībiyyah*), filling it up. The boat was released on the falling tide from the Umm Ḥabīb
[1786] canal, where it drifted toward al-Baṣrah, stopping at Mashraʿah[239] al-Qayyār. People came and recovered the heads of those they recognized.

After this day the enemy of God became ever more powerful as fear of him gripped the Baṣrans' hearts. They abstained from further battle with him, but the central authorities were informed of his escapades, and Juʿlān al-Turkī was sent with reinforcements to the

236. On this incident, see Halm, *Traditionen*, 26.

237. *Shadhāh* being the name of the type of vessel employed by the Baṣrans.

238. Ṭabarī suddenly changes his tone toward the Zanj leader, employing the epithet *al-khabīth* here for the first time. On the following page he calls him "enemy of God." Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *kh-b-th*, gives a rich variety of words to choose from, among them "base, corrupt, artful, cunning, and wicked"; "abominable one" has been used here consistently to render *khabīth*.

239. *Mashraʿah*, as part of the place name, signifies a place to which people come to drink or draw water, and where animals are also watered. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *sh-r-ʿ*.

Baṣrans. Ju'lān ordered Abū al-Aḥwaṣ al-Bāhilī to proceed to al-Ubullah as governor, sending as support a Turk called Jurayḥ.

The abominable one alleged that his followers had boasted to him in the wake of this [recent] battle that they had slaughtered the entire fighting force of al-Baṣrah save for the weak and incapacitated. "Give us permission to storm the city," they demanded. 'Alī b. Muḥammad berated them and decried their request. "On the contrary," he scolded, "get as far away from al-Baṣrah as possible; we have instilled fear and terror in them, and now you are safe. The thing to do now is forsake war with them until they come looking for you." Then he withdrew his forces to a salt flat at the farthest edge of the network of canals and then went on to the al-Ḥājir canal.

Shibl said that this place was the salt flats of Abū Qurrah, which lay between the Nahr Abū Qurrah and the Nahr al-Ḥājir. 'Alī b. Muḥammad stationed himself there and gave the command to his troops to construct huts from the reeds (*akwākh*).[240] These salt flats were surrounded by palm groves, villages, and cultivated fields. The Zanj soldiers spread out right and left, raiding the villages, murdering the farmers, stealing their property, and leading their livestock away. [1787]

Such was the news of 'Alī b. Muḥammad and of the people who were affected by his rebellion this year.

Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī Shawārib al-Qāḍī[241] was imprisoned on the 28th of Dhū al-Qa'dah (November 7, 869), and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nā'il al-Baṣrī was appointed to the judgeship of Sāmarrā in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (November 10–December 8, 869) of this year.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ismā'īl b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī.[242]

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240. See G. Young, *A Reed Shaken by the Wind*, for a modern account of life among the marsh Arabs.

241. See n. 6, above.

242. He had led the pilgrimage the previous year as well.

The Events of the Year 256

(December 9, 869–November 28, 870)

Among the significant events of the year was the arrival in Sāmarrā of Mūsā b. Bughā. Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf was driven into hiding, while some of Mūsā's military commanders transferred al-Muhtadī under escort from the Jawsaq palace to the palace of Yājūr.[243]

It was reported that Mūsā b. Bughā entered Sāmarrā with those accompanying him on Monday the 11th of al-Muḥarram of this year (December 19, 869). Upon his arrival, Mūsā commenced a review of his troops, the left and right wings and the central sector presented
[1788] together with their arms, which took place in al-Ḥayr, and continued up to the point where they reached the Gate of al-Ḥayr adjacent to the Jawsaq palace and the Qaṣr al-Aḥmar. This was on the very day that al-Muhtadī was holding a session of the court of appeal (*maẓālim*). Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil b. Fityān[244] was among those summoned to attend that day, because of the court. He was still there at

243. The copyist of manuscript C reads for Yājūr the name of another Turkish commander, Yārjūkh.

244. The future Caliph al-Mu'tamid; see p. 115, below, for his accession date. His patronymic was Abū al-'Abbās, though he was also known by his mother's name, Fityān, or, according to Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, VII, 235), Qityān or Qinīn.

the palace when the *mawlas* (of Mūsā b. Bughā) entered and took al-Muhtadī off to the palace of Yājūr. Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil followed and continued the court of appeal session, deputizing for al-Muhtadī, in the tent of Mufliḥ, until the business with al-Muhtadī was cleared up and he had been returned to al-Jawsaq and released.

Bāyakbāk had been in charge of affairs in the caliphal palace and had been replaced a few days previous by Sātikīn. This was owing, people thought, to al-Muhtadī's confidence in him, which meant Sātikīn would also control both the palace and the Caliph's person at the moment of Mūsā (b. Bughā's) arrival. On that day Sātikīn remained in his own quarters, leaving the palace vacant. Mūsā arrived at the palace while al-Muhtadī was in session of the court of appeal; he was informed of Muhtadī's arrival but delayed giving him permission to enter for a while. When he and his company were finally allowed an audience, there first occurred a discussion like that on the day that [Mūsā's] delegation and messengers had arrived.[245] However, when such discussion became prolonged, the Turks began to mutter impatiently among themselves in their own tongue. Al-Muhtadī was then forced to leave the assembly and he was borne away on one of the animals of the Shākiriyyah, while the Turks plundered what was available in the Jawsaq palace in the way of riding beasts belonging to the elite. They then headed for al-Karkh[246] and upon reaching the Gate of al-Ḥayr in the fiefs attached to the palace of Yājūr, they brought him into the palace itself.

One of the *mawlās* who was present that day recounted the reason for their seizure of al-Muhtadī. One *mawla* had remarked to another that the delays [created by al-Muhtadī] were merely a device to allow Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf to take them by surprise with his forces. This prospect frightened them and caused them to remove al-Muhtadī to another spot. [1789]

245. As described p. 28, above.

246. This is the Karkh of Sāmarrā, also known as Karkh Fīrūz, to distinguish it from the southern quarter of Baghdad of the same name. It lay ten miles north of Sāmarrā. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 52; also Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 17. The Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim constructed al-Karkh beyond the built-up area of Sāmarrā, where the Turkish military personnel held lands (*qaṭāʾiʿ*), in order to keep them separated from the ordinary population of the city and from certain other contingents of the army that were housed there. See D. Ayalon, "Preliminary Remarks on the Mamluk Military Institution in Islam," especially 55, quoting al-Yaʿqūbī.

Someone reported that he had heard al-Muhtadī say to Mūsā, "What do you wish? Mercy on you! Honor God, and fear Him, for it is a momentous matter that you undertake." Mūsā replied, "We desire nothing but good. I swear by the grave of al-Mutawakkil, absolutely no harm will befall you from our part." The one who had overheard this remark was prompted to say to himself that, had Mūsā really sought only [the Caliph's] good, he would have better sworn on the grave of either al-Muʿtaṣim or al-Wāthiq.[247]

When al-Muhtadī had been transferred to Yājūr's palace, the *mawlās* extracted vows and promises from him that he would not side with Ṣāliḥ against them and that he would not harbor toward them ulterior intentions different from the way he treated them openly. Al-Muhtadī agreed, and the *mawlas* renewed their oath of allegiance to him on Tuesday the 12th of al-Muḥarram (December 20, 869). Later the same morning they sent for Ṣāliḥ to come to them for discussions, and Ṣāliḥ promised to appear.

One of the chiefs of the Farāghinah[248] reported that, when he was asked what they were demanding of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, he replied, "The blood of the government secretaries and their property and the blood of al-Muʿtazz and his entourage and property."[249]

The commanders accepted after pondering these matters, while their troops remained outside by the Gate of al-Ḥayr next to the palace of Yājūr. Then, on the Tuesday evening, Ṣāliḥ went into hiding.[250]

Ṭalmajūr recounted the following. "On the evening of Tuesday we assembled together with Ṣāliḥ. After he had ordered the distribution of periodic payments (*arzāq*) to those assigned to guard duty (*aṣḥāb*
[1790] *al-nawbah*), he ordered one of the company present to review[251] the

247. Both al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāthiq had died of natural causes while al-Mutawakkil had been murdered by Mūsā's father in league with Waṣīf, the father of Ṣāliḥ. For brief accounts of these events, see Kennedy, *Age*, 171–75; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 271–86.

248. A regiment of soldiers from the province of Farghanah, a large area lying on the north and south sides of the upper Jaxartes river. The region first supplied soldiers as guards for the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (d. 227/842). See Le Strange, *Lands*, 476–80, *EI*,[2] s.v. "Farghana."

249. Ṭabarī here means that the chief was seeking recompense for the blood of those mentioned, that is, vengeance. The Caliph al-Muʿtazz had been killed some five months previously.

250 That is, within a day of Mūsā b. Bughā's arrival in Sāmarrā.

251. On the formal procedures of the military review, see Bosworth, "Recruitment," especially 70–77.

number of troops at hand. That morning their number had been some five thousand. Returning to Ṣāliḥ, the man said that there were now only eight hundred men, most of whom were his freedmen (*ghilmān* and *mawlas*).[252] For a while Ṣāliḥ was silent, then he rose and left us without any further instructions. This was his last act."

It was reported from someone who had overheard that Bukhtīshūʿ (b. Jibrīl)[253] said, alluding to Ṣāliḥ before Mūsā's arrival, "First we roused this unruly force and incited them; then, when finally they did come to us, we were preoccupied with drinking and playing backgammon. It was as if we were here one moment, then just vanished when he (Mūsā) reached al-Qāṭūl."

In the early hours of Wednesday morning, Ṭughtā[254] arrived at the door of Yājūr's palace, where Mufliḥ confronted him and delivered him a blow with his battle-ax, striking him on the right temple. Those who remained with Ṣāliḥ the night he went into hiding included, from among the senior army commanders, the said Ṭughtā b. al-Ṣayghūn, Ṭalmajūr who was al-Muʾayyad's associate, Muḥammad b. Turksh, Khamūsh, and al-Nūshurī, while from among the ranking secretaries there were Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād, ʿAbdallāh b. Manṣūr, and Abū al-Faraj.[255]

On the Wednesday morning, which was the 13th of al-Muḥarram (December 21, 869), Ṣāliḥ had already gone into hiding, while Abū Ṣāliḥ made for the palace of Yājūr. ʿAbdallāh b. Manṣūr arrived there too with Sulaymān b. Wahb,[256] who disclosed to those present that he had drafts for five thousand dinars, which Ṣāliḥ had wanted him to handle. He refused to do so until the whole affair [concerning Ṣā- [1791]

252. On the interchangeability of these terms, see the discussion by Ayalon, "Preliminary Remarks," especially 51.

253. Bukhtīshūʿ was the name of a famous Christian family, originally from Jundaysābūr, which supplied a number of physicians to the caliphs throughout the third/ninth century. Bukhtīshūʿ b. Jibrīl died in exile in Baḥrayn in the year 256/870. His connection with Ṣāliḥ's forces is, however, unclear. On the family, see *EI*,[2] s.v. "Bukhtīshūʿ."

254. The reading is conjectural.

255. Abū al-Faraj was the son of Najāḥ b. Salamah, who had been in charge of the government department of the seal (*tawqīʿ*), with control as well over the fiscal prefects during the reign of al-Mutawakkil. In 245/858 both father and son were arrested and Najāḥ put to death; the property of both men was confiscated. See Ṭabarī, III, 1440–43; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 262–63, II, 733–34.

256. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, II, 300–2. A former secretary of Mūsā b. Bughā, he was at this time al-Muhtadī's vizier.

liḥ and Mūsā] was settled. On this same day, Kanjūr was given a robe of honor[257] and entrusted with searching Ṣāliḥ's palace. Yājūr, Mūsā's associate, brought al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad from the palace of Ṣāliḥ, where he had been imprisoned.

On the same day of the month, Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir was made governor of Madīnat al-Salām and the Sawād. Robes of honor were sent to him, more indeed than had been bestowed upon ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.[258]

This same day as well al-Muhtadī was returned to al-Jawsaq, while ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād was sent to al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad.[259]

A public proclamation was issued against Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, and on the 22nd of Ṣafar [January 29, 870] he was killed.

An Account of Ṣāliḥ's Discovery in Hiding and His Death

The cause of this was as follows. On Wednesday, the 27th of al-Muḥarram of the year 256 [January 4, 870], al-Muhtadī publicly disclosed the contents of a letter. He said that Sīmā al-Sharābī claimed a woman had brought it from somewhere near al-Qaṣr al-Aḥmar and given it to Kāfūr, a eunuch [*khādim*][260] in charge of the harem. She had told him that it contained some valuable information and mentioned also where she lived, should anyone wish to make contact with her. The letter was then delivered to al-Muhtadī. When in fact it became expedient to question the woman about the letter, she was [1792] not to be found at the address she had given, and no one had any news about her.

It was reported that al-Muhtadī himself had discovered the letter but did not know who was responsible for delivering it.

Al-Muhtadī then summoned Sulaymān b. Wahb to attend him,

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257. *Khilʿah*. This was generally not a single item of clothing but a variety of fine garments; see n. 447, below. See also *EI*,[2] s.v. "Khilʿa."

258. See p. 14 and n. 52, above. Here Sulaymān is officially awarded the position his brother had passed on to him.

259. Although Ṭabarī does not say so, the implicit sense here is that Ibn Yazdād was given permission to deal with al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad as he wished.

260. On this class of servant, see D. Ayalon, "On the Eunuchs in Islam," also *EI*,[2] s.vv. "Khādim," "Khaṣī."

along with a group of the *mawlas*, among whom were Mūsā b. Bughā, Mufliḥ, Bāyakbāk, Yājūr, Bakālabā, and others. He showed the letter to Sulaymān and asked him if he recognized the handwriting. Sulaymān replied that it was the hand of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, whereupon al-Muhtadī ordered Sulaymān to read the letter to the assembled company.

Ṣāliḥ stated in it that he had gone to ground in Sāmarrā. He had done so preferring safety for himself but also to spare the *mawlas* and in fear that skirmishes between them might erupt into full-scale hostilities. His intention was that everyone should sleep on the matter, so that whatever happened would be after reflection upon what he had set out in his letter. Ṣāliḥ went on to detail what he had seized of the secretaries' property. He said that al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad had that information, and he was one of the secretaries still in their custody. Next he noted who had delivered money to him and to whom he had entrusted its distribution. He remarked upon the affair of Qabīḥah and indicated that information on that was possessed by Abū Ṣāliḥ b. Yazdād and Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAṭṭār. Among other matters that he touched upon Ṣāliḥ attempted to justify his behavior for certain actions, while apologizing for others. In any event, his words expressed the strength of his feelings.

When Sulaymān had finished reading the letter, al-Muhtadī followed by urging upon the company reconciliation, harmony, and agreement, as he sought to stimulate an aversion for dissension, mutual hatred, and destruction. This only caused them to suspect that al-Muhtadī knew of Ṣāliḥ's whereabouts and that he might deliver them into [Ṣāliḥ's] hands. This suspicion created much discussion [1793] among them and lengthy examination of the matter. On Thursday morning, the 28th of al-Muḥarram 256 (January 5th, 870), the Turkish commanders went together to the residence of Mūsā b. Bughā inside the Jawsaq compound, muttering and discussing matters among themselves. News of this reached al-Muhtadī.

Aḥmad b. Khāqān al-Wāthiqī reported that he had been the one to bring this news to al-Muhtadī's attention. He said that he had heard someone present at the meeting of commanders say, "The troops are unanimous in their decision to depose this man." Aḥmad continued: "I went to his brother Ibrāhīm (al-Muwaffaq) and informed him of developments, and he in turn passed on the information from me

to al-Muhtadī. I nevertheless feared that the Commander of the Faithful might hasten to inform the Turks about me; but God granted me security."

Aḥmad reported further that the brother of Bāyakbāk addressed the assembly[261] once they had disclosed to him the course of action they had decided upon. He said: "You have slain the son of al-Mutawakkil, who was handsome, generous, and kind, and now you want to murder this man, who is a good Muslim who fasts, does not drink forbidden wine (*nabīdh*), and had done no wrong. By God, if you do kill him, then I shall take off for Khurāsān and spread notice of this whole affair of yours far and wide."

When news of this meeting reached al-Muhtadī, he entered his audience chamber girt with sword, dressed in clean robes, and perfumed. He then summoned the Turks into his presence, but for a while they refused. When finally they stood before him he said to them, "I have heard what you intend to do with me. I am not like my predecessors, such as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Musta'īn, or even like the son of Qabīḥah. By God, I have not come to confront you without being prepared to die. I have already entrusted my brother
[1794] with my son to succeed me. This is my sword, and by God I shall fight with it so long as I can hold onto it. And by God, if one hair of my head is touched, the lot of you shall surely perish. Have you no religion? Have you no shame? Have you no piety? How long will this dissension against the caliphs, this boldness and effrontery against God, go on? It is all the same to you whether one wants to spare you or, hearing such a tale as this about you, calls for gallons of drink to celebrate joyously your misfortune and rejoices in your ruin! Tell me from what you yourselves know: Are you aware of any of this wealth of yours that has reached me? You, O Bāyakbāk, don't you realize that just one of your company is more fortunate than all of my own family? If you really want to know, just take a look! Will you see in any of their residences furniture, servants, and slaves or whether they possess estates and revenues (*ghallāt*)?[262] Fie on you! And now

261. This meeting, according to Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, VII, 219), took place in the apartment of Mūsā b. Bughā, which was located in the Jawsaq palace. Ibn al-Athīr, however, puts the words into the mouth of Bābakiyāl, rather than Bāyakbāk's brother.

262. The word *ghallah* (pl. *ghallāt*) means the produce, revenue, or income from a wide variety of sources: produce of the land or income from its rent, rental of a house, or hire of a slave. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. "*gh-l-l*."

you come and say that I know what Ṣāliḥ is up to! Is he not just another *mawlā* like yourselves? How then would I put up with him, if you all think ill of him? If you should choose to make peace, that is what I heartily desire for all of you. But, if you persist in pursuing this course, that is your business.[263] Seek out Ṣāliḥ, and satisfy your blood lust! But, as for myself, I have no knowledge of his whereabouts."

They demanded that he swear an oath upon that, to which al-Muhtadī replied, "I will give you my right hand on it, but I shall postpone doing so until tomorrow when I perform the Friday prayers in the presence of the Hāshimites, religious judges, conciliators, and other men of rank."

The Turks seemed to relent a little at this. Al-Muhtadī sent for the Hāshimites, and they arrived in the evening. When al-Muhtadī gave them permission to enter and greetings were exchanged, he made no mention to them of these matters and simply ordered them to be at the palace for the Friday prayers, and they departed. The next morning, Friday, they (the Turks) had made no move. Al-Muhtadī performed his prayers; everyone was calm and departed in peace. [1795]

Someone who had overheard the quarrel on Wednesday reportedly said that, when Ṣāliḥ had been denounced as a traitor, al-Muhtadī had observed that Bāyakbāk had also been around when Ṣāliḥ was embroiled in the affair of the secretaries and the wealth of Qabīḥah's son (al-Muʿtazz). Thus, if Ṣāliḥ had gained anything from the business, Bāyakbāk must have profited as well. This remark infuriated Bāyakbāk.

Someone else who had heard this remark reported that al-Muhtadī had also observed that Muḥammad b. Bughā, too, had been around and was fully cognizant of what had happened and indeed had participated in the whole affair. This gibe provoked Abū Naṣr (Muḥammad b. Bughā's) anger.

It has been said that for a long time[264] the Turkish commanders held their counsel about the insult implicit [in al-Muhtadī's words] but that in their hearts they harbored rancor against him, though they were prevented from doing anything from fear of disorder and the lack of financial resources. When, however, the revenue arrived

263. That is, "I won't try to stop you."
264. Literally, from the time of the age of Moses.

from Fārs and al-Ahwāz on Wednesday, the 27th of al-Muḥarram (January 4, 870), they were roused to action. The total amount of these revenues was 17.5 million dirhams.

On Saturday, news spread among the populace that the army was about to depose and murder al-Muhtadī, an end they sought by provoking him to anger. They had leaflets written and distributed in the congregation mosque and in the streets. Someone who claimed to have read one said it contained, in part, the following words:

> In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. O community of Muslims! Pray to God for your Caliph, the just, the favored, the second ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Pray that God grant him victory over his enemies, that He spare him the trouble of [enduring] his oppressor, and that He fill him
> [1796] and this community with bounty by extending his life. The *mawlās* have been urging al-Muhtadī to abdicate, and for some days he has been submitted to torture. Those conducting this campaign are Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Thawābah and al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad. May God show mercy upon those with pure intentions and pray for Muḥammad (may the peace and blessings of God be upon him).

On Wednesday, the 4th of Ṣafar of this year (January 11, 870), the *mawlās* in al-Karkh and al-Dūr[265] became agitated. They despatched a spokesman, ʿĪsā, to tell al-Muhtadī that they needed to discuss certain matters with him. They requested that the Commander of the Faithful send one of his brothers to them. So al-Muhtadī sent his oldest brother, Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbdallāh, along with Muḥammad b. Mubāshir al-Karkhī, and they set out to inquire what was troubling the *mawlās*. First, the *mawlās* professed their obedience and loyalty to the Commander of the Faithful. They had heard that Mūsā b. Bughā, Bāyakbāk, and a number of their commanders were seeking to depose al-Muhtadī. While they would freely sacrifice their lives, they would not do so for that.

The *mawlās* continued, saying that they had read the leaflets distributed in the main mosque and in the streets. In this regard they complained of their straitened circumstances, the delay [in the pay-

265. Another settlement for the Turkish soldiery, lying farther to the north of al-Karkh. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 52.

ment of their] allotments, and the damage done to estates and the land tax as a result of the commanders' acquisition of fiefs (*iqṭāʿ*).[266] Moreover, most of the revenue from the land tax had been swallowed up by their chiefs and their bonuses and extras from previously established practices, as well as allotments for women and other interlopers.[267] They talked at length in this vein. Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbdallāh b. al-Wāthiq finally said to them, "Write all this down in a letter to the Commander of the Faithful, and I will ensure that it is delivered to him on your behalf." So a letter was drafted. The secretary [1797] responsible for writing it was Muḥammad b. Thaqīf al-Aswad, who acted as a secretary for ʿĪsā, on occasion master of al-Karkh.

Abū al-Qāsim and Muḥammad b. Mubāshir left and delivered the letter of al-Muhtadī, who replied in his own hand, sealing the letter with his own seal. On the following morning Abū al-Qāsim went to al-Karkh, where he met the *mawlās*. They went together to the palace of Ushnās, which had been turned into a congregational mosque for them. In the public square they halted, the assembled *mawlās* comprising some one hundred fifty cavalry and about five hundred infantry. Abū al-Qāsim read out Muhtadī's greetings to them, saying, "The Commander of the Faithful says that this is his personal letter to you, written and sealed by himself, so listen to it, and weigh carefully what it says." Abū al-Qāsim then handed the epistle to their secretary, who read it out:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praised be God, and His manifold blessings be upon Muḥammad the Prophet and his family. May God guide us and you rightly, and be to us and to you both friend and protector. I have taken note of your message and rejoice in your expression of loyalty and obedience. May God reward you and protect you well. It distresses me greatly to hear of your misery and your needs. By God, would that I could arrange for your welfare by eating and feeding my children and household only the necessary minimum amount of food and clothing my children only in what suffices to hide their modesty. But

266. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Iqṭāʿ."

267. The system of military payments was open to abuse by the commanders' inclusion in the registers of persons not entitled to such stipends. The formal military reviews were occasions intended to weed out such interlopers (*al-dukhalā*), although this did not always work in practice. See Bosworth, "Recruitment," especially 71.

no, by God! May He protect you! Since I accepted rule over you, I have had only fifteen thousand dinars for my own needs and those of my household, children, servants, and retinue. You have access to what [amounts] have arrived and shall arrive, and everything has been disbursed to you with
[1798] nothing held back. As for what you mention hearing and reading about in the leaflets distributed in the mosques and streets and about your unstinting service, this is indeed worthy of you. So why apologize for bringing the matter up? We and you are as one. May God compensate you well for your pledges and your fidelity. But the situation is not as you have heard; knowing this, act accordingly, God willing. As for what you mention about fiefs, bonuses, and other matters, I shall examine these questions and, God willing, shall earn your affection in doing so. Peace be upon you. May God rightly guide us and you, and be protector to us both. Praised be God, Lord of the worlds. Manifold blessings be upon Muḥammad the Prophet and his family.

When the man who was reading the letter reached the point where al-Muhtadī had said that he had only received a sum of fifteen thousand dinars, Abū al-Qāsim motioned to the man, and he stopped. And then he [Abū al-Qāsim] said, "What is this [paltry sum]? During his reign, the Commander of the Faithful has deserved more than this amount for a shorter period for [expenditure] on his allotments, provisions, and assistance. Surely you know what previous caliphs have spent on gifts for effeminates, singers, musicians, building villas and such like! So pray to God for the Commander of the Faithful!"

The man resumed reading the letter, and when he had finished there was much discussion. Then the *mawlās* made a statement of their own. Abū al-Qāsim replied, advising them to express their views in a letter, commencing it in the customary manner of correspondence to caliphs and addressing it from "the commanders, their deputies, and chiefs[268] in al-Karkh, al-Dūr and Sāmarrā."

They did so, first praying to God for the Commander of the Faithful. Then they requested the following: that all matters pertaining

268. *Al-quwwād wa-khulafā'ihim wa-al-'urafā'*. For the use of these ranks, see p. 79, below.

to rank, both high and low, be referred back to the Commander of the Faithful without interference from anyone else; that arrangements of military administration revert to what they had been in the days [1799] of al-Musta'īn, namely, that every nine men be under a chief,[269] every fifty men under a deptuy (*khalīfah*), and every hundred men under a commander (*qā'id*); that women, extras, and bonuses be excised from the register; that a *mawlā* not be included as part of a *qabālah* contract[270] or any other; that they be paid regularly every two months; that the practice of granting the fiefs be discontinued; and, finally, that the Commander of the Faithful be able to increase [the pay] of whomsoever he wished and promote whom he liked.

The *mawlās* added that immediately following their letter they were going to proceed to the residence of the Commander of the Faithful and remain there until their needs were met. Moreover, if they heard of anyone interfering with him concerning these matters, they would have his head. If anyone touched a hair of the Commander of the Faithful's head, they would kill Mūsā b. Bughā, Bāyakbāk, Mufliḥ, Yājūr, Bakālabā, and others. And with that they prayed to God for the Commander of the Faithful.

They gave the letter to Abū al-Qāsim and he departed and delivered it. In Sāmarrā the *mawlās* became unsettled and the commanders very disturbed. Al-Muhtadī had already taken his seat in the court of appeal, and the jurists and judges were allowed to enter and take theirs. The commanders stood according to their ranks while Abū al-Qāsim entered ahead of the plaintiffs. Al-Muhtadī read the letter and withdrew with Mūsā b. Bughā. The caliph next ordered Sulaymān b. Wahb to endorse their copy of the letter, approving what they had requested. When Sulaymān had done this in a paragraph or two, Abū al-Qāsim said, "O Commander of the Faithful,

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269. *'Ārif*. As a term applied to certain military and civilian offices, see *EI*,[2] s.v. "'Ārif."

270. On the nature of the juridical term "guarantee" as used in the practice of fiscal contracts, see *EI*,[2] s.v. "Ḳabāla"; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, II, 585–86. Military commanders sought such contracts in anticipation of benefits accruing from speculation on the differential between the sum contracted by a guarantor with the central treasury and the amount the guarantor was actually able to collect from taxes levied on the harvest. Here the intention seems to be a limitation of the abuse of the system by exclusion of *mawlās* as guarantors. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 222, however, has *lā yudkhal mawlā fī mālihi*, which suggests that *mawlās* were not to be included as part of their commanders' property. Neither reading provides an entirely satisfactory understanding of the passage.

only your endorsement in your own hand will satisfy them." So al-Muhtadī took the paper and struck out what Sulaymān had written, endorsing each article of their requests with his approval, stating that each would be fulfilled. He then composed a separate communication in his own hand, sealing it himself, and gave it to Abū al-Qāsim. The latter spoke to Mūsā, Bāyakbāk, and Muḥammad b. Bughā, "Send messengers accompanying me to them, to plead your excuses before them concerning what has reached them about you." So each of them appointed a man to go along with Abū al-Qāsim. He found the *mawlās* assembled in their usual places, numbering around a thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry. The time was noon on Thursday, the 5th of Ṣafar (January 12, 870) of this year.

[1800]

He read to them greetings from the Commander of the Faithful, saying, "The Commander of the Faithful has responded to everything you have asked for. So pray to God for him." He handed the letter over to their secretary who first read out al-Muhtadī's endorsements, then read them the second letter from the caliph. It went as follows:

> In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praised be God, He alone. God's blessings and peace be upon Muḥammad the Prophet and his family. May God guide you aright and protect you. May He give you plenty and restore your circumstances and through you and by means of you those of Muslims as well. I have taken note of your despatch and I also read it to your chiefs. They reported the same things as you have and have asked for the same things as you have. I have already consented to everything that you requested, out of love for your welfare and friendship, and to rally your support. I have ordered your allotments to be so stipulated that they will accrue to you on a regular basis; thus, there is no need for you to be unsettled. Be of good heart. Peace! and may God guide you aright and protect you; may He provide you with plenty and restore your circumstances and, through you and by means of you, those of Muslims as well.

When the man reading the letter had finished, Abū al-Qāsim said to them, "These men are messengers from your chiefs who have

come to plead their excuses before you for what you may have heard about them. They say that your are all brothers and belong to each other." Then the messengers spoke along the same lines. The *mawlās* themselves engaged in lengthy discussion and at the end of it drafted a [further] communication to the Commander of the Faithful, setting forth in it the same kind of justification as they had in their first letter. They dissociated themselves from what they had [1801] asserted in the previous communication. Now, they would be satisfied with nothing less than the Caliph's endorsement of five points. These were to reduce the increases; the restoration of fiefs to their former conditions [of tenure]; the demotion of *mawlās* who were gatekeepers from the status of the "elite" to that of the lower-ranking palace guards (*barrāniyyīn*);[271] reversion to the military administrative practices of the days of al-Mustaʿīn; and, finally, restoration of *talājī* properties,[272] so they could be placed in control of someone to whom were attached fifty men from the troops of al-Dūr and fifty from Sāmarrā, all of which could be successfully carried out by the *dīwāns*. In addition, the Commander of the Faithful should turn over the army to one of his brothers, or someone else [of his choice] who could act as intermediary between them in their affairs; but this person should not be from among the ranks of the *mawlās*. Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf and Mūsā b. Bughā should each be held responsible for his wealth. Thus, nothing would content them short of having all the requests in their communications dealt with; this, as well as having their pay (*al-ʿaṭāʾ*) expedited, their regular pay (*arzāq*)[273] being made every two months. The *mawlās* also informed the Caliph that they had written to the troops of Sāmarrā and the Maghāribah troops to join them, and that they would be going to the res-

271. Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, CXXX.

272. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 524. These properties referred to ownership of land ceded to another person, who undertook to protect the original owner's right to work the land; see also Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *l-j-ʾ*, for a variant meaning.

273. The difference between the two terms for pay or stipend, as explained by Lane, seems to be founded upon the time between payments; whereas, for example, the *ʿaṭāʾ* could be an allowance paid once a year, the *rizq* (pl. *arzāq*) was paid more frequently, the period stipulated being two months. In both instances payment appears to have been made both in money and in provisions and equipment. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ʿ-ṭ-w*. The word *ʿaṭāʾ*, which means "gift," was originally applied to pensions paid to Muslims and then became the term for troops' pay, where it could also be an ad hoc payment. See *EI*,² s.vv. "ʿAṭāʾ," "Djaysh."

idence of the Commander of the Faithful to seek fulfillment of their demands.

Their letter of demands was given to Abū al-Qāsim, the Caliph's brother. Meanwhile they wrote another to Mūsā b. Bughā, Bāyakbāk, Muḥammad b. Bughā, Mufliḥ, Yājūr, Bakālabā, and the other commanders, reporting their communication with the Caliph, and its contents.

[1802] They noted, moreover, that the Commander of the Faithful had accepted their request so long as the commanders did not interfere with his decisions; were the commanders in fact to do so and oppose the *mawlās*, then no agreement could be arranged with them on anything. The letter added that, if the Commander of the Faithful were wounded or if a hair of his head was disturbed, they the *mawlās* would have the heads of all of them. They would now only be satisfied with the reappearance of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf who would, together with Mūsā b. Bughā, examine the matter of the whereabouts of the [disputed] wealth; for before he vanished Ṣāliḥ had promised to pay them their allotments (*arzāq*) for six months.

This letter was given to Mūsā's messenger, while the *mawlās* despatched several of their colleagues with Abū al-Qāsim to deliver the other letter to the Commander of the Faithful and to await his response.

When Abū al-Qāsim returned, Mūsā sent some five hundred horsemen to stand by the al-Ḥayr Gate situated between al-Jawsaq and al-Karkh. Abū al-Qāsim turned aside to them along with the soldiers' messengers and those of Mūsā's forces. Mūsā's messenger gave him the *mawlās'* letter intended for himself and his associates. Among this group were Sulaymān b. Wahb and his son, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Thawābah, and some other secretaries. When Mūsā had read the letter to them, Abū al-Qāsim said that he bore another letter from the *mawlās*, this one of the Commander of the Faithful; he did not, however, disclose it to them. They then all rode off together to al-Muhtadī whom they found seated on a carpet in the sun, having just finished his prayers. In the palace he had destroyed every musical instrument and gadget of pleasure and amusement. Once the letters were delivered, he was left alone for a while. Later, he instructed Sulaymān b. Wahb to compose replies to the matters raised by the *mawlās* in five brief notes. Al-Muhtadī passed these on, enclosing them in a letter of him own, and gave [the roll] to his brother.

The commanders also composed a reply to the *mawlās* and gave it to Mūsā's associate. By sunset Abū al-Qāsim had returned to the Turks with al-Muhtadī's greetings and he read out to them the Caliph's letter: [1803]

> In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. May God find us worthy to obey and please Him. I have noted your letter, May God protect you. I have sent to you the five endorsements meeting the terms that you stipulated. So now delegate agents to those in the government bureaus who will successfully execute the promises, God willing. As for your request to turn your affairs over to one of my brothers so that your news may be brought to my attention and your needs conveyed to me, by God I would have been content to review these matters personally, and observe every matter that concerns your welfare. However, I shall, God willing, select for you one of my brothers or someone else suitable, as you have asked for. But do keep me informed as to your needs and also what you deem appropriate for yourselves, and I shall do what I can to meet your wishes. God willing. May God find us worthy to obey and please Him.

Then Mūsā's messenger delivered the epistle from Mūsā and his colleagues. In it he said:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. May God preserve and keep you, and perfect His bounty upon you. We have noted your letter. You are brothers to us and our cousins, and we are set upon meeting what you desire. The Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him, has ordered your wishes in all that you seek to be dealt with, and he has sent the endorsements concerning them to you. As for the matter you mention concerning Ṣāliḥ, the *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful, and our change of attitude toward him, [be assured that he is to us] as a brother and cousin, and we did not seek anything on this matter that you would find objectionable. If he had promised you six months payment of allotments, then [know] that we have [1804] raised the matter in messages to the Commander of the

Faithful seeking the very terms that you have requested. As for what you have stated regarding not obstructing the Commander of the Faithful, leaving him with full authority to govern, we ourselves are obedient and loyal to the Commander of the Faithful. Sovereign power is God's alone; He is our Master and we His slaves, and we are in no way recalcitrant toward Him in the governance of affairs. You state that we wish the Commander of the Faithful misfortune. May God surround whoever wishes that with a ring of misfortune and humiliate him in both this world and the hereafter. May God preserve and keep you and perfect his bounty upon you.

When Abū al-Qāsim had read these letters to the Turks, they said to him that, as it was evening, they would consider their situation during the night and return to him in the morning with their decision. At which point they split up and Abū al-Qāsim returned to the Commander of the Faithful.

The following day was Friday. Mūsā b. Bughā rode out in the early morning from the palace of the Commander of the Faithful accompanied by one thousand five hundred troops. He camped outside the al-Ḥayr Gate, which was adjacent to the fiefs of al-Jawsaq and al-Karkh. Al-Muhtadī's brother, Abū al-Qāsim left with al-Karkhī,[274] reaching the assembled Turks, who numbered around five hundred horsemen and three thousand foot soldiers.

Now when Abū al-Qāsim had gone the previous night to address the Turks, he had with him the Caliph's endorsements. Upon arriving, he extracted a message from al-Muhtadī, the copy of which resembled the letter containing the endorsements rolled inside it. So when Abū al-Qāsim read the message, his audience went into an uproar of conflicting views. The crowd increased with numbers of *mawlā* infantry from around the district of Sāmarrā joining them in al-Ḥayr.

Abū al-Qāsim kept waiting, expecting to go off with a response
[1805] that he could write up and then convey to the Commander of the Faithful. Nothing had happened, however, by four o'clock. They then broke up. One group said they wished that God would

274. This is Muḥammad b. Mubāshir al-Karkhī, mentioned p. 76, above.

strengthen the resolve of the Commander of the Faithful to provide the full amount of the allotments owed them, as they had suffered great hardship because of the delays. Another faction stated that they would not be content until the Commander of the Faithful appointed his brothers over them, one in al-Karkh, another in al-Dūr, and a third in Sāmarrā; they did not want any of the *mawlās* to govern them. A third party stated that they wanted Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf to reappear. They were the smallest party of the three.

As the debate dragged on, Abū al-Qāsim left for al-Muhtadī with all the news, first picking up Mūsā where he had camped and setting off with him. After completing his Friday prayer, al-Muhtadī transfered the army to Muḥammad b. Bughā, with orders to go with his brother Abū al-Qāsim to the *mawlās*; they rode out with about five hundred cavalry. Mūsā meanwhile returned to the camp he had set up that morning. Abū al-Qāsim and Muḥammad b. Bughā reached the *mawlās* and mingled with them in their midst. Abū al-Qāsim spoke to them, saying that the Commander of the Faithful had issued documents endorsing everything they had asked for. There now remained none of their requests that the Commander of the Faithful had not gone all out to fulfill. In addition, a safe-conduct was issued for Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf to come out of hiding. Abū al-Qāsim then announced the safe-conduct for Ṣāliḥ, which Mūsā and Bāyakbāk had sought from the Commander of the Faithful, who had responded to [1806] them with his firmest assurances.

Abū al-Qāsim then asked, "What are you agreed upon?" Discussion intensified and when Abū al-Qāsim departed, the agreed-upon demands were stated by them as follows: Mūsā should hold the same rank of Bughā the elder; Ṣāliḥ should hold the rank that Waṣīf (his father) had held in the days of Bughā (the Elder); and Bāyakbāk should be restored to his previous rank. Moreover, the army should remain in its present hands until Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf emerged from hiding. And finally, an allowance (*ʿaṭāʾ*) should be assigned to them, as well as their periodic allotments (*arzāq*)[275] expedited according to the Caliph's agreement. To these points they all assented. The *mawlās* departed but had scarcely gone a hundred fifty cubits' distance before they were quarreling again, some saying they were satisfied, others claiming they were not. Al-Muhtadī's messengers de-

275. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 224, mentions only the allowance (*al-ʿaṭāʾ*).

parted to him, as the soldiers had split up and were about to depart [for Sāmarrā]. Mūsā at that point returned as well, and the troops dispersed to their usual places in al-Karkh, al-Dūr, and Sāmarrā.

The next morning was Saturday. The Waṣīf clan along with a group of their freedmen (*mawlās* and *ghilmān*) rode forth calling out, "Arms!" Foot soldiers belonging to Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf's troops stole pack animals of the public infantry and proceeded to camp in Sāmarrā at the edge of the river valley of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm beside the mosque of Lujayn, the mother of al-Mutawakkil's children. Abū al-Qāsim had set out at the same time heading for al-Muhtadī's palace. On his way to al-Muhtadī's palace he passed Ṣāliḥ's forces; they joined him, his accompanying retinue, and pages and asked Abū al-Qāsim if he would take a message from them to the Commander of the Faithful. He told them to state their message but their response was such a confused babble that all he understood was that they wanted Ṣāliḥ [to return]. And so this was what he passed on to the Commander of the Faithful as well as to Mūsā in the presence of a group of commanders.

[1807] It was reported from someone present at this assembly that Mūsā b. Bughā said, "They demand that I give up Ṣāliḥ as though he were with me and I were the one who had hidden him away! If they have him, they should bring him forth!"

News of the gathering of the Waṣīf clan was confirmed and also that [Mūsā and his troops] broke out from the palace of the Commander of the Faithful and rode fully armed into the quarter of al-Ḥayr, assembling finally in the area between al-Dakkā and the rear of the main mosque. News [of this] reached the Turks and those who had taken refuge with them, and they ran helter-skelter, horseman, foot soldier, young, and old, none waiting for the other, until they reached the narrow streets and alleyways and the safety of their homes. Mūsā and his troops marched forward in a body toward the Caliph's palace, every commander in Sāmarrā riding with him. Proceeding steadily through the quarter, they left where the two city walls adjoined it. Mufliḥ and Wājin[276] and those attached to them went along Baghdad street until they reached the sheep market; they then turned into Abū Aḥmad street, where they met up with Mūsā's army. Mūsā and the commanders accompanying him, including Yā-

276. The reading is uncertain.

jūr, Sātikīn, Yārjūkh, and ʿĪsā al-Karkhī, headed along Abū Aḥmad street as far as the river and then made their way toward the Jawsaq palace. The estimated size of Mūsā's army that day, which was Saturday, was four thousand horsemen armed with bows at the ready, breastplates,[277] spears, and battle-axes[278]. Most of the commanders who in al-Karkh had demanded Ṣāliḥ were now with Mūsā's army, prepared to take on anyone else who demanded him.

Someone who had inquired into these events reported that most [1808]
of those riding with Mūsā were sympathetic toward Ṣāliḥ. There was no commotion that day among the troops of al-Karkh or al-Dūr. The first thing the troops did upon arriving at the Jawsaq palace was to issue a proclamation to the following effect: Anyone on the following morning, which was Sunday, from among all of Ṣāliḥ's commanders, his family, servants, and supporters who had not presented himself at the palace of the Commander of the Faithful would have his name dropped from the payroll and his house destroyed; and he would be flogged and led in chains to the Maṭbaq [prison].[279] Whoever emerged after having been in hiding after three days would be liable to the same punishment. Whoever stole an animal from a civilian or molested such a one in the public way would likewise be liable to a painful punishment. Mūsā and his company spent Sunday night, the 8th of Ṣafar (January 15, 870) still pursuing this matter.

On Monday morning al-Muhtadī received intelligence that the rebel Musāwir had been committing murder in and setting fire to Balad.[280] In his council meeting, al-Muhtadī proclaimed a call to arms and ordered Mūsā, Mufliḥ, and Bāyakbāk to leave [for Balad]. Mūsā evacuated his camp, but on Wednesday, the 11th of Ṣafar (January 18, 870), the order to Mūsā, Muḥammad b. Bughā, and Mufliḥ was canceled. They said, "We should all stay until our business and Ṣāliḥ's is settled." On that they were all agreed, fearing that Ṣāliḥ would cause them mischief in their absence.

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277. *Al-jawāshin* (sg. *jawshan*). See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *j-w-sh-n*.

278. *Al-ṭabarzīnāt*, an Arabized word from the Persian *ṭabarzad*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ṭ-b-r-z-d/l-/n*.

279. The *Index* does not list a place by this name in Sāmarrā, though the context clearly indicates that this city is intended. The duplication of Baghdad place names in Sāmarrā was perhaps not uncommon (e.g., al-Karkh).

280. A town on the road from Mosul to Naṣībīn, some seven leagues from the former. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 99.

One of the *mawlās* reportedly said, "I saw one of the Waṣīf clan who had got together soldiers who were playing polo[281] with Mūsā and Bāyakbāk in the hippodrome of Bughā the Younger, on Wednesday the 11th of Ṣafar [January 18, 870]."

The search for Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf was intensified and for this reason raids were made upon many of those who had formerly been connected with him or else were suspected of giving him refuge.
[1809] Among these were Ibrāhīm b. Saʿdān al-Naḥwī, Ibrāhīm al-Ṭālibī, Hārūn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Azhar al-Shīʿī, Abū al-Aḥwaṣ b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Salm b. Qutaybah, Abū Bakr, an in-law of Abū Ḥarmalah al-Ḥajjām, Shāriyah the singer, al-Sarakhsī, chief of the special security police, and many others.

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣʿab b. Zurayq reported that the owner of the Rabʿ al-Qubbah, which was opposite the palace of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, had related to him, saying, "On Sunday while we were sitting around, a slave boy suddenly emerged from a small alleyway and I could see that he was very frightened. We did not know him and wanted to ask him what the matter was, but he vanished. Moments later a *mawlā* of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf arrived, a ruffian [*ʿayyār*][282] called Rūzbah; he was with three or four others whom we also did not know, and they disappeared into the alleyway. Shortly after, they reemerged with Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf and we then asked what was going on. It seems that the slave boy had gone into a house in the alleyway wanting a drink of water, when he heard someone say in Persian, 'O commander, hide quickly, for a slave boy has come asking for a drink of water.' Now the lad had heard these words and, as he was acquainted with this ruffian (Rūzbah), he went and told him what had happened. The ruffian rounded up three other men and they captured Ṣāliḥ."

This same ruffian who had led the attack on Ṣāliḥ reportedly said, "This slave lad told me what he had heard, and when I arrived at the house with these three men, there was Ṣāliḥ with mirror and comb

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281. The text reads *ṣawālijah*, which is the plural of *ṣawlajah*, Arabized from the Persian *chawgan*. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ṣ-w-l-j*, describes the *ṣawlajah* as a kind of golf stick, with which a ball is struck by men on horseback, an accurate enough description of the game of polo.

282. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "ʿAyyār"; cf. the lengthy study by C. Cahen, "Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen Âge," especially 25–56, 233–65.

in his hands attending to his beard. When he saw me, he ran into the house, and I was afraid he might be going for his sword or some [1810] weapon, and I held back. Then I cautiously spied upon him and discovered that he was huddled in a corner, so I approached and brought him out, and he did no more than implore me. When he did, I told him there was no way I could let him go; but I would take him past the residences of his family, his companions, his commanders, and hirelings, and if two of them were to meet me I would turn him over to them. However, I met no one on the way who was not eager to help me to abuse him."

It was reported that the two of them had gone a distance of some two miles accompanied by fewer than five government soldiers.

It was further reported that, when Ṣāliḥ was captured, he was wearing a shirt, a half-silk lined garment,[283] and drawers; his head was bare, and he walked barefoot.

Ṣāliḥ was borne away upon a mustard-colored pack animal, the crowd running behind him, while five special security men tried to prevent their attacking him. Having arrived with Ṣāliḥ at the palace of Mūsā b. Bughā, Bāyakbāk, Mufliḥ, Yājūr, Sātikīn, and other commanders joined them there. Ṣāliḥ was then taken, riding a saddled mule, through the Ḥayr Gate, which was next to the *qiblah*[284] side of the main mosque as they made their way to the Jawsaq palace. Just as they reached the edge of the minaret,[285] one of Mufliḥ's soldiers struck Ṣāliḥ a blow to the shoulder from behind, which nearly killed him. His head was then severed and the corpse left behind. At length they came to al-Muhtadī's palace a little before sunset. Ṣāliḥ's head, wrapped in a garment of one of Mufliḥ's pages, was dripping with [1811] blood. Al-Muhtadī was at that moment at prayer, and he did not see them bring in the head, which was then taken away to be cleaned up. After al-Muhtadī had finished his prayers, he was informed that they had killed Ṣāliḥ and brought his head to him. His only reaction was to say "Cover it up," and he began to repeat "Praise the Lord!"[286] The

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283. *Mubaṭṭanah mulḥam*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *b-ṭ-n*.

284. The *qiblah* is the direction the Muslim faces when performing the prayer, i.e., the direction of Mecca. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Masdjid."

285. This could be the minaret (*al-minārah*) of the mosque, which Yāqūt says could be seen from the countryside for miles around. See *Muʿjam*, III, 17.

286. *Tasbīḥ*. The word also signifies the act of praying. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *s-b-ḥ*, notes that it meant to perform the supererogatory morning prayer.

news reached Ṣāliḥ's residence, at which a wailing lament was raised and continued thoughout the night. On Monday the 22nd of Ṣafar (January 29, 870), the head of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf was carried around town upon a lance, while proclamation was made: "This is the recompense for slaying one's master." It was hung up at the Public Gate for an hour and then removed, a practice followed for three successive days. The head of Bughā the Younger was removed at the same time as Ṣāliḥ's head was publicly displayed on the Monday.[287] Then it was given to Ṣāliḥ's family, and they buried it.

One of the *mawlās* reportedly said that he saw Mufliḥ crying when he had looked at Bughā's head, saying, "May God slay me if I do not avenge his death." On Thursday the 25th of Ṣafar (February 1, 870), Mūsā sent Ṣāliḥ's head to his sister Umm al-Faḍl, al-Nūshurī's wife, who had previously been married to Salamah b. Khāqān. One of the Hāshimites reportedly said, "I congratulated Mūsā b. Bughā for killing Ṣāliḥ, and he said, 'He was an enemy of the Commander of the Faithful and deserved to die.'" He also congratulated Bāyakbāk, who retorted, "I had nothing to do with this. Ṣāliḥ was my brother!"

Al-Salūlī recited these lines to Mūsā after Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf had been killed:

You have avenged yourself on the Pharaoh when he acted tyrannically.
And you have come when you did, O Mūsā, as ordained.[288]
[1812] Three; each of them is an oppressor, a brother of envy,
accusing you of oppression and aggression out of hate.
Waṣīf is in Karkh, of whom an example was made, and Bughā
is at the bridge, burning in the embers and flames.
And Ṣāliḥ, son of Waṣīf, his body lies tossed in the dust
in al-Ḥayr, and his soul is in hell.

On the 1st of Jumādā I of this year (Thursday, April 6, 870), Mūsā b. Bughā and Bāyakbāk set out against the Khārijite Musāwir. Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq bade them farewell.

Also in this same month of Jumādā I (April 6–May 5, 870), Musāwir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and the Khārijite ʿUbaydah al-ʿUmrūsī met

287. Bughā's death had been reported by Ṭabarī earlier, in the year 254/868, and his head was publicly displayed first in Sāmarrā and then in Baghdad. See III, 1694–95.

288. Reference to Qur'ān 20: 40.

in battle at al-Kuḥayl. They each held opposing views.[289] In his victory Musāwir killed ʿUbaydah.

In this month of Jumādā I Musāwir and Mufliḥ met each other in battle. I was told that Musāwir returned from al-Kuḥayl after he had killed al-ʿUmrūsī, with many of his men wounded, whose injuries had not yet healed. Indeed the battle [against al-ʿUmrūsī] had left them exhausted by the time they reached Mūsā's army and those who had joined him. As Musāwir attacked, Mūsā was in a defensive position. Their encounter took place at Jabal Zaynī,[290] and, when the victory Musāwir sought did not occur, he and his troops held fast to the mountain side and made their way to the top. There they lit fires [1813] and stuck their spears into the ground. Mūsā was camped farther down on the lower slopes of the mountain. Later Musāwir escaped by leading his troops down the far side of the mountain away from Mūsā's position and left them thinking that he was still on top.

On the 14th of Rajab of this year (June 17, 870), al-Muhtadī was deposed, and he died on the 18th (June 21, 870).

An Account of [al-Muhtadī's] Removal and Death

It was reported that on the 2nd of Rajab (June 5, 870) the dwellers of al-Karkh, Sāmarrā, and al-Dūr were aroused to demand their allotments. Al-Muhtadī sent their chief Ṭabāyaghū[291] and his own brother ʿAbdallāh to talk to them, but they were not well received; instead they insisted on talking directly to the Commander of the Faithful himself.

Abū Naṣr (Muḥammad) b. Bughā left that night for his brother's army camp, which was at al-Sinn in the vicinity of the Khārijite (Musāwir). Meanwhile, a group of soldiers went to the Jawsaq palace on Wednesday and al-Muhtadī spoke to them for some time. Their allowance was not forthcoming on Wednesday and Thursday, but they were prepared to refrain from any action until they knew what Mūsā b. Bughā was prepared to do. Now Mūsā had paid the allowance to his army for a month since his troops had been patient while

289. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 226, explains that the feud was over whether or not a sinner's repentance can be accepted; Musāwir argued that it should be, while ʿUbaydah claimed it could not.

290. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 110.

291. The reading is conjectural.

he was engaged in fighting (Musāwir) the Khārijite. But then disagreements broke out and Mūsā set off for the Khurāsān Road.

Explanations differed as to why these disagreements occurred,
[1814] why Mūsā left for the Khurāsān Road, and why al-Muhtadī had openly confronted certain Turks (*al-atrāk*) engaged in battle against him.

Some said that Mūsā had withdrawn from the conflict with the Khārijite (Musāwir) and had headed for the Khurāsān Road because al-Muhtadī was well disposed toward Bāyakbāk, who was still with Mūsā's army confronting Musāwir. The Caliph wrote to Bāyakbāk, ordering him to take command over Mūsā's army and either to dispose of Mūsā b. Bughā and Mufliḥ or else to bring them back in chains. When this despatch reached Bāyakbāk he took it to Mūsā b. Bughā and said, "I am not at all happy with this, as it appears to be only a plot against the lot of us. If you are treated this way today, then tomorrow I could be treated in the same manner. What do you think?" Mūsā replied, "In my view you should return to Sāmarrā and tell the Caliph that you will loyally assist him against Mufliḥ and myself. In this way he will feel at ease about you, and then we can plan to kill him." After returning from battle against the rebel they made for their homes, while Bāyakbāk went to see al-Muhtadī. Confronting him angrily, al-Muhtadī said, "I ordered you to kill Mūsā and Mufliḥ, so how could you leave the army and treat this matter so lightly?" Bāyakbāk asked how he could have dealt with them and managed to kill them when they had superior forces and were more powerful than he. Moreover, he said, "Once something or other happened between Mufliḥ and myself, and I did not avenge myself then; but I have in any case brought my army, companions, and those obedient to me to assist and reinforce your rule, and this has left Mūsā with fewer supporters." Al-Muhtadī said to him, "Lay down your weapons," and he ordered him brought into the palace.
[1815] Bāyakbāk replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, this is no way to treat me, as I have come to you in good faith; I must first return home and leave instructions for my companions and family." Al-Muhtadī refused to allow that, as it was essential to check Bāyakbāk's story. And so Bāyakbāk was relieved of his weapons.

When Bāyakbāk's companions had not heard from him for a while, his chamberlain Aḥmad b. Khāqān quickly urged them to search for their leader before something happened to him. Seething

with anger, the Turks surrounded the Jawsaq palace. At the time al-Muhtadī was with Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. Yaʿqūb b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr.[292] When he perceived these developments, al-Muhtadī asked him for advice on what he should do. Ṣāliḥ replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, none of your ancestors could match you for courage and daring. Abū Muslim's[293] hold over the Khurāsānīs was far more powerful than this Turk's position[294] among his followers. But no sooner had [Abū Muslim's] head been thrown to them than they quieted down, even though some of them worshiped him and regarded him as their lord. So if you were to do that, they would [similarly] be appeased; for you are much bolder and stouthearted than al-Manṣūr."

So al-Muhtadī summoned Muḥammad b. Mubāshir al-Karkhī, a blacksmith who had made tent pegs and poles in al-Karkh and then had become very devoted to al-Muhtadī in Baghdad, and the Caliph trusted him. Now he ordered him to kill Bāyakbāk, which deed was done while the Turks were lined up armed in the Jawsaq palace demanding to see Bāyakbāk. Al-Muhtadī gave the order to the commander ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb to throw them Bāyakbāk's head. He did so and, after a brief delay, the Turks broke into a rage, and one of them attacked and killed ʿAttāb. Al-Muhtadī then sent for contingents of the Farāghinah, the Maghāribah, the Ūkashiyyah,[295] the Ushrūsaniyyah,[296] and Turks who had rendered allegiance to him for the sum of two dirhems and some barley meal (*sawīq*). After they arrived, many among their ranks were killed, about which people have had [1816] many [different] things to say. It was said that some four thousand Turks who took part in the fighting were killed; others put the number at two thousand, while others said only a thousand. That was Saturday, the 13th of Rajab (June 16, 870).

On Sunday the numbers of Turks gathered together had swollen to some ten thousand men united by their common cause. The brother

292. A descendant of the second ʿAbbāsid Caliph, al-Manṣūr.

293. One of the leading commanders of the ʿAbbāsid revolt against the Umayyads in Khurāsān; his rising power was perceived as a threat to the new dynasty, and he was murdered by the Caliph al-Manṣūr. On his role and significance, see Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, 153–68; *EI*,[2] s.v. "Abū Muslim."

294. That is, Bāyakbāk.

295. The reading is uncertain, a variant being al-Ubkasiyyah.

296. Troops drawn from the province of Ushrusānah, which lay to the east of Samarqand between the rivers of Sughd and the Jaxartes. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 474–76.

of Bāyakbāk, Ṭaghūtyā,[297] and Aḥmad b. Khāqān, Bāyakbāk's chamberlain, had arrived with around five hundred men, plus the Turks and Persians brought by Ṭaghūtyā. Al-Muhtadī went out with Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī, who was wearing a Qur'ān tied around his neck; he pleaded with people to come to the aid of their Caliph. But the final straw was when the Turks accompanying al-Muhtadī sided with their fellows who supported Bāyakbāk's brother. Al-Muhtadī was left with the Farāghinah and the Maghribah and some of the populace, who were of little use to him. Thirsting for vengence, Ṭaghūtyā, Kāyakbāk's brother, launched a bitter attack, broke up their battle order, and routed them. Large numbers were killed while the rest turned and fled. Al-Muhtadī, sword in hand, fled from the scene, crying out, "O you people, come to your Caliph's assistance!" He finally managed to reach the place of Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād, which was located next to Khashabat Bābak. Aḥmad b. Jumayl, the commandant of police, was there. Al-Muhtadī entered
[1817] and, setting aside his weapon, he donned a [plain] white garment, in order to slip from the roof of one palace to another and make his escape. A search for him failed.

Then Aḥmad b. Khāqān arrived with thirty horsemen, making inquiries of al-Muhtadī's whereabouts and learned news of him at the palace of Ibn Jumayl. Aḥmad promptly rushed his men to the rooftops and al-Muhtadī was struck at last by an arrow and wounded by a sword. Aḥmad b. Khāqān had him carried on a pack horse, or mule, with a groom riding behind until they returned to the [Jawsaq] palace. His enemies gathered and began cuffing him and spitting in his face. They sought information as to the value of goods and furnishings he had sold, and al-Muhtadī confessed to a sum of six hundred thousand [dinars], which al-Karkhī had deposited for him with various people in Baghdad. They took his written pledge for that amount and then handed him over to someone who [tortured him] by kicking him in the testicles until he died.[298]

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297. The reading is conjectural.

298. *Fa wuṭiyaʾ ʿalā khuṣyatihi ḥattā qatalahu.* Ibn al-Athīr adds that he was also struck by sword blows and that afterward his executioners bore witness that he had died without a mark on him. He was buried in the tomb of the Caliph al-Muntaṣir. *Kāmil,* VII, 230. See also Ṭabarī's account, p. 99, below.

Other Accounts of al-Muhtadī's Death

Someone else said that the beginning of the whole dispute occurred when the sons of the Turks met together and stated that they were not content to allow anyone to be their chief except the Commander of the Faithful. They wrote to Mūsā b. Bughā and Bāyakbāk to that effect, while the two were still engaged with the Khārijite [Musāwir]. On Friday Mūsā arrived with his men at a bridge in the district of al-Wazīriyyah. Al-Muhtadī was camped with his army in al-Ḥayr; he approached them but then turned away and proceeded armed to the Jawsaq palace. On Saturday, the 13th of Rajab [June 16, 870], Bāyakbāk came [to al-Muhtadī] as an obedient subject, while Mūsā headed for the district of the Khurāsān Road with about two thousand men. One of the *mawlās* came to tell al-Muhtadī that Bāyakbāk had promised Mūsā he would assassinate him in the Jawsaq palace. Al-Muhtadī had Bāyakbāk disarmed and imprisoned. This [1818] was on Saturday, about the time of the afternoon prayer. Later the inhabitants of al-Karkh and al-Dūr went out in search of Bāyakbāk. The search was resumed the following morning, and everyone joined in either walking or riding, each one carrying a weapon. Al-Muhtadī had just finished the noon prayer when the crowd reached the Jawsaq palace. He confronted them with the Farāghinah and Maghāribah, but the Turks forced them back and then mounted a full attack upon them. Pursuing al-Muhtadī's forces, the Turks had laid a trap for them and many of the Farāghinah and Maghāribah were slain. Al-Muhtadī himself fled and as he passed the residence of Abū al-Wazīr, one of his servants shouted out, "O you people, here is your Caliph!"

With the Turks in hot pursuit behind him, al-Muhtadī managed to reach the palace of Aḥmad b. Jumayl and, by scaling the walls, he moved from one residence to another. The Turks spread throughout the entire district and finally trapped him in the house of a servant belonging to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar al-Bāzyār. Wearing only a shirt and drawers and wounded in the side, he was taken away on an emaciated pack animal. The residences of [Muḥammad b. Mubāshir] al-Karkhī, the Banū Thawābah, and a number of others were sacked. On Monday Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil, who was known as Ibn Fityān, was brought to the palace of Yārjūkh, while the Turks circulated the streets praising the populace for not having opposed them.

Others said that the cause of these events was quite different. On Monday, the 2nd of Rajab (June 5, 870), the troops of Dūr Sāmarrā and al-Karkh became agitated and began to congregate in al-Karkh
[1819] and the area beyond it. Al-Muhtadī despatched to them Kayghalagh, Ṭabāyaghū b. Ṣūl Artakīn and his own brother ʿAbdallāh, who remained with them until the crowd calmed down, whereupon the men returned to the [Jawsaq] palace. Word reached Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Bughā the Elder that al-Muhtadī had been speaking to the *mawlās* about him and Mūsā, telling them that the [Bughā] brothers possessed money. This stirred fear in Abū Naṣr, and he fled on Tuesday night, the 3rd of Rajab (June 6, 870). Al-Muhtadī sent four letters to Abū Naṣr granting him safe conduct for himself and those with him. Two letters arrived while he was in al-Muḥammadiyyah[299] with Artakīn b. B.r.n.m. kātakīn[300] and the others while he was with Faraj the Younger. Abū Naṣr put his trust in the safe-conduct and returned to the [Jawsaq] palace, together with his other brother, Ḥabshūn, and Bakālabā. They were imprisoned along with Kayghalagh, Abū Naṣr being isolated from the others. Money was demanded of him and fifteen thousand dinars was received from his agent. On Tuesday, the 3rd of Rajab (June 6, 870), Abū Naṣr was put to death and his body tossed into a well of the underground canal system (*al-qanāt*). The corpse was removed on Monday, the 16th of Rajab (June 19, 870), and taken to his house. It reeked of decay. Three hundred *mithqāls*[301] of must and six hundred of camphor were purchased to apply to the body, but the odor could not be checked. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ma'mūn said the funeral prayer over him.

Al-Muhtadī had corresponded with Mūsā b. Bughā at the time of Abū Naṣr's imprisonment and ordered Mūsā to surrender the army to Bāyakbāk and to bring his *mawlās* to Sāmarrā. He also wrote Bāyakbāk about delivering the army into his command and ordering
[1820] him to continue the fight against the Khārijite [Musāwir]. Bāyakbāk took the letter to Mūsā; he read it, and they then agreed to return to Sāmarrā. Word reached al-Muhtadī that they had disobeyed him. He

299. The place of that name in the marshlands (*baṭā'iḥ*) seems intended here.

300. The first part of the name is unpointed in the text, and therefore the first three consonants are conjectural.

301. For details of the variations in the use of this term of measurement, see Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 1–2.

called the *mawlās* together, exhorting them to obedience, urging them to attend him in the palace and leave off neglecting him. For each of the Turks and those of similar status al-Muhtadī arranged a stipend of two dirhems per day to be paid, and a dirhem for each of the Maghāribah. From these two groups and their friends he rounded up some fifteen thousand men in the Jawsaq palace and other apartments. Among the Turks was a man called al-Kāmilī. In charge of administration of the palace after Kayghalagh had been imprisoned was Masrūr al-Balkhī; the chief commander was Ṭabāyaghū, and ʿAbdallāh b. Takīn was put in charge of prisoners.

Mūsā, Mufliḥ, and Bāyakbāk learned of the incarceration of Abū Naṣr, Ḥabshūn, and the others and were hence on their guard. On Thursday messengers and despatches flowed between them and al-Muhtadī. The same day, which was the 11th of Rajab (June 14, 870), al-Muhtadī ventured forth with his force to await the arrival of the enemy. No one, however, appeared. On the Friday, the 12th of Rajab (June 15, 870), news was confirmed that al-Muhtadī and Mufliḥ had turned off the Sāmarrā road toward the district of al-Jabal and halted there. On Saturday Bāyakbāk, Yārjūkh, Asātakīn, ʿAlī b. Bāris, Sīmā the Tall, and Khuṭārish presented themselves at the Jawsaq palace. Bāyakbāk and his deputy Aḥmad b. Khāqān were imprisoned, while the rest were dismissed. Bāyakbāk's followers and some of the other Turks met together and asked themselves why their commander had been imprisoned and why Abū Naṣr had been killed. Al-Muhtadī confronted them on Saturday, but, as no conflict [1821] occurred, he returned [once again] to the palace. On Sunday the two sides met again, al-Muhtadī with his force of Maghāribah, Turks of the lower-ranking guards,[302] and the Farāghinah. He placed Masrūr al-Balkhī on the right flank and Yārjūkh on the left, with himself, Asātakīn, Ṭabāyaghū, and some other commanders occupying the heart of the battle line.

As the day grew hotter, the combatants approached each other, and battle ensued. The men demanded Bāyakbāk, and al-Muhtadī threw his severed head into their midst. ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb had pulled it out of his tunic. When they saw it, Bāyakbāk's brother Ṭaghūtyā and a group of his elite soldiers intensified the attack against al-Muhtadī's forces. The right flank turned, followed by the left, while the re-

302. *Al-atrāk al-barrāniyīn*. See n. 271, above.

mainder of the army fled from al-Muhtadī. There were many slain on the two sides.

Ḥabshūn b. Bughā reportedly said that seven hundred eighty men had been killed. The fighters dispersed and al-Muhtadī returned to the palace, locking behind him the gates through which he had entered and making his exit from the al-Maṣāff Gate, evenutally through the Iṭākh Gate into the little market of Masrūr and along al-Wāthiq street until he finally reached the Public Gate. There he cried out, "O you people, I am the Commander of the Faithful. Fight to defend your Caliph!" But none of the people heeded him. As he passed thus, crying out in the street but seeing no one prepared to help him, he reached the prison gate and ordered the release of all the inmates, thinking that they would come to his aid. Instead, they all fled. Not one responded to him.

After this al-Muhtadī made his way to the palace of Abū Ṣāliḥ
[1822] ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād, where the commandant of police, Aḥmad b. Jumayl, was staying. They broke in on him, and he was taken out by way of the Bureau of Estates and taken to al-Jawsaq, where he was imprisoned along with Aḥmad b. Khāqān. Ibn Jumayl's palace was then plundered.[303]

Among the commanders of the Maghāribah who were killed during the battle was Naṣr b. Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, and of the commanders of the Shākiriyyah ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb was killed bringing back Bāyakbāk's head. According to some al-Muhtadī killed a considerable number with his own hands in the course of the fighting.

Later, after al-Muhtadī was imprisoned, strong words were exchanged between him and his captors. They wanted him to abdicate but he refused, surrendering himself instead to death. They said that he had, in his own hand, made a written agreement with Mūsā b. Bughā, Bāyakbāk, and a number of the other commanders that he would neither deceive, harass, nor murder any of them, or even think of doing so, and, [if] he actually treated them in this manner, either collectively or individually, and they found out, they would be free to break their oath of allegiance to him, take charge of affairs, and depose whomsoever they pleased. On this basis they felt free to break their compact.

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303. Which presumably explains why he was staying elsewhere at the time of al-Muhtadī's final hours.

After the rout of the Caliph's forces, Yārjūkh had gone to the [Jawsaq] palace and taken some of al-Mutawakkil's sons back to his own palace. There, on Tuesday[304] the 13th of Rajab (June 16, 870), the oath of allegiance was rendered to Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil, known as Ibn Fityān, who took the regnal name of al-Muʿtamid ʿalā Allāh. On Thursday,[305] the 18th of Rajab (June 21, 870), the death of Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq al-Muhtadī was witnessed. The only marks [1823]
on his body were the two wounds he had received on the Sunday during the fighting; one of these was an arrow wound, the other was sustained by a sword blow. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid and a number of the Caliph's brothers recited prayers at his funeral. He was buried in the tomb of al-Muntaṣir. Mūsā b. Bughā and Mufliḥ entered Sāmarrā on Saturday, the 20th of Rajab (June 23, 870); Mūsā saluted al-Muʿtamid, who granted him a robe of honor. Mūsā returned to his residence, and calm settled upon the populace.

Someone who reportedly had witnessed these events said that on Saturday evening, the 1st of Rajab (June 4, 870), the whole population of al-Karkh and al-Dūr was stirred up and began to congregate. Whenever the people became agitated, al-Muhtadī would send his brother ʿAbdallāh to them, just as he did on this occasion. When ʿAbdallāh got there, he found them making their way to the Jawsaq palace. He addressed them and guaranteed them action to meet their needs. They, however, refused [this promise], insisting instead on returning with him to the Commander of the Faithful to plead their case with him directly. Now when ʿAbdallāh returned, there were present in the palace at that time Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Bughā, Ḥabshūn, Kayghalagh, Masrūr al-Balkhī, and others. ʿAbdallāh conveyed to al-Muhtadī what had transpired between him and the crowd, and he was ordered to go back and bring some of them to the palace. Encountering the crowd now quite near the Jawsaq palace, he directed them to stay where they were and send some of their number to accompany him. This they also rejected.

When the news of the crowd's approach reached Abū Naṣr and the
others in the palace, they all left by way of the al-Nazālah Gate. No [1824]
one was left in the palace except Masrūr al-Balkhī and Alṭūn, the deputy of Kayghalagh, and among the secretaries only ʿĪsā b. Far-

304. Actually, a Friday.
305. Wednesday, in fact.

rukhānshāh. The *mawlās* entered the palace near the gate of the Qaṣr al-Aḥmar, filling it with about four thousand men. They reached al-Muhtadī and complained to him of their situation. Chiefly, they were counting on the removal of their amīrs from responsibility for them, so that their affairs could be handled by the Commander of the Faithful's own brothers. Moreover, they wanted the amīrs and secretaries admonished for extorting sums from the central treasuries, the amount mentioned running to one hunded fifty million.[306] Al-Muhtadī promised to examine the matter and respond to their requests. So they remained in the palace for the rest of the day and al-Muhtadī sent Muḥammad b. Mubāshir al-Karkhī to purchase quantities of barley meal for them to eat.

At that, Abū Naṣr b. Bughā moved promptly to set up camp in al-Ḥayr a short distance from the racecourse. Around five hundred men joined him there, but during the night most slipped away, leaving behind fewer than a hundred. So Abū Naṣr decamped and moved to al-Muḥammadiyyah.[307]

On Thursday morning the *mawlās* resumed their original demands. They were told that what they wanted was difficult to achieve. Dislodging power from the hands of the amīrs would not be smooth sailing for them; all the more difficult when combined with attempts to seize their money. "Consider your own positions. If you think that you have the patience to see this affair through to its end, [1825] then the Commander of the Faithful has responded positively. But if it be otherwise, the Commander of the Faithful will do his best for you." They refused, however, to accept anything other than what they had sought in the first place. So they were invited to take oaths of allegiance and obedience that they would stand by their word and not go back on it, that they would fight against anyone who attacked them, and that they would be loyal to the Commander of the Faithful and protect him. To all these conditions they consented. Solemn oaths were administered and about one thousand men swore to them that day.

ʿĪsā b. Farrukhānshāh,[308] who was in charge of affairs, assuming

306. It is not specified whether the sum mentioned is in dirhams or dinars.

307. This location is clearly the one in close proximity to Sāmarrā. In the *Index* it is mistakenly placed in the marshlands of the south.

308. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 303–4; ʿĪsā did not actually hold the title of vizier.

the responsibilities of vizier, wrote to Abū Naṣr on behalf of the *mawlās*, mentioning their objection to his leaving the palace without cause and also that they had come to the Commander of the Faithful only to plead their needs and that when they found the palace empty they remained. Were he to return, they would restore his position, having had no wish to provoke him.

ʿĪsā also wrote in the same vein to Abū Naṣr on behalf of the Caliph. Between late afternoon and early evening Abū Naṣr approached from al-Muḥammadiyyah and entered the [Jawsaq] palace with his brother Ḥabshūn, Kayghalagh, Bakālabā, and a group of other commanders. The *mawlās* stood before them, armed. Abū Naṣr and the others joined al-Muhtadī where he was seated. Saluting him, Abū Naṣr drew near and kissed his hand, his feet, and the carpet. He then backed up, and al-Muhtadī addressed him, saying, "O Muḥammad, what do you think about what the *mawlās* are saying?" "What are they saying?" asked Abū Naṣr. Al-Muhtadī said, "They report that you all have expropriated wealth and usurped posts and that you give no thought to their affairs or to what could restore their welfare." Abū Naṣr Muḥammad replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, what have I to do with finances? I was not secretary of a bureau nor did administrative districts fall into my hands." Al-Muhtadī asked him, "So where is all the wealth if it is not in your possession [1826] and your brother's or in the possession of your secretaries and your companions?"

The *mawlās* now came closer. ʿAbdallāh b. Takīn and a group of them stepped forward and, seizing Abū Naṣr by the hand, cried out, "Here is the enemy of the Commander of the Faithful, standing before him armed with a sword." They relieved him of his sword. One of Abū Naṣr's pages named Thītal, who was then present, drew his sword and made a move to prevent them from harming Abū Naṣr. As Thītal had moved next to the Caliph, ʿAbdallāh b. Takīn reacted instinctively and struck him a blow on the head with his sword. No one in the room was without his sword drawn. Al-Muhtadī rose and entered a nearby apartment. Muḥammad b. Bughā was taken away and placed in a compartment in the palace, while the rest of his companions were imprisoned. The *mawlās* wanted to kill Abū Naṣr's page, but al-Muhtadī restrained them, saying he would handle the matter in his own way. He ordered the page given a [clean] shirt from

the wardrobe and his head cleansed of blood; then he should be put in prison.

By Thursday morning the numbers of *mawlās* had increased and oaths of loyalty and obedience sworn. Later on ʿAbdallāh b. al-Wāthiq gave the order for a thousand men of the Shākiriyyah, Farāghinah, and others to depart for al-Rafīf. Among the Khurāsānian commanders instructed to go with them were the following: Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Wāthiqī, ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb, Hārūn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Azhar, Ibrāhīm the brother of Abū ʿAwn, Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Dāʾūd, a son of Naṣr b. Shabath, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Dīnār, Aḥmad b. Farīdūn, as well as others.

Afterward ʿAbdallāh b. al-Wāthiq learned that these commanders
[1827] were saying to each other how improper it was to send them to the district [of al-Rafīf], so he abandoned the venture. They had a mind to correspond with Mūsā and Mufliḥ about leaving [for Sāmarrā] and handing the army over to one of the other commanders. Finally, they agreed to write Mūsā and Mufliḥ about the matter, and word was also sent to some of the commanders concerning their assumption of the army management in place of the two. Notes were sent as well to lower-ranking officers about what their troops in Sāmarrā had asked and what [positive] responses they received. Copies were made [for them] of the letters that had been sent to the commanders, and they were told to wait and see. If Mūsā and Mufliḥ swiftly did as they had been ordered, coming with their freedmen to the Caliph's palace and handing over the army to whomever had been charged with the task, well and good. Otherwise they were to shackle the two of them, taking them by force to the Caliph. These letters were despatched by means of thirty men, who left Sāmarrā on the night of Friday, the 5th of Rajab (June 8, 870).

Meanwhile in the palace each one who swore an oath of obedience was paid the sum of two dirhems per day. ʿAbdallāh b. Takīn was the person in charge of distributing the money to the oath takers; he was Kanjūr's brother-in-law. When Mūsā and his companions learned of this, Mūsā, who was then in al-Sinn, became alarmed about Kanjūr and had him beaten and imprisoned. Bāyakbāk heard the news while he was in al-Ḥadīthah and he went to al-Sinn[309] and had Kanjūr re-

309. Two locations on the Tigris south of Mosul, al-Ḥadīthah lying at the junction with the Upper Zāb river, al-Sinn near the junction with the Lower Zāb river. For both, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 90, 91.

moved from prison. The messengers arrived in al-Sinn with the commander's despatches while the army was assembled there. One of the despatches was read out to the troops. They responded by swearing an oath of support and departing for the bridge at al-Rafīf, where they established camp. This was Thursday, the 11th of Rajab [1828]
(June 14, 870).

The same day al-Muhtadī set out for al-Ḥayr. He reviewed the troops, marched around a bit, and then returned [to the Jawsaq palace], giving the order to have tents and pavilions[310] pitched for them in al-Ḥayr. On Friday morning around a thousand men from Mūsā's army had left [deserting him]. Among them were Kūtakīn and Khushanaj.[311] Once again al-Muhtadī made for al-Ḥayr. He placed Kūtakīn in charge of the right flank of his forces and Khushanaj in charge of the left, while he himself took the middle sector. Next the messengers began again to shuttle between the two armies. What Mūsā b. Bughā wanted was to be made governor of some district and allowed to proceed to it, while what the men wanted Mūsā to do was to come with his freedmen in order to negotiate with them. Nothing, however, was settled that day.

On Friday evening those who wanted to leave Mūsā had done so and Mūsā together with Mufliḥ had turned again toward the Khurāsān Road with about one thousand men. The same night Bāyakbāk and a group of his commanders joined ʿĪsā al-Karkhī and spent the night with him. The following morning, Saturday, Bāyakbāk and his company came to the Jawsaq palace, where he, Yārjūkh, Asātakīn, Aḥmad b. Khāqān, Khaṭārimush, and others were relieved of their swords. They appeared together before al-Muhtadī and saluted him. All were ordered to withdraw save Bāyakbāk who was commanded to remain standing before al-Muhtadī while he enumerated his many transgressions against Muslims and Islam. After this the *mawlās* abused him and locked him up in one of the palace chambers. Just five hours later, at sunset on Saturday, he was killed. Thus [1829]
was the matter settled. There was no unrest and only a few who disapproved of Bāyakbāk's treatment bothered to talk about it, and even they did not seem especially concerned.

On Sunday the Turks expressed their objection to the Farāghinah

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310. *Al-khiyām wa-al-maḍārib.*
311. The Arabized form of the Persian Khushank.

being treated as their equals in the palace, their admission to it altogether, [for] it became clear to them that the plot to murder the Turks' own leaders was designed to give the Farāghinah and the Maghāribah the upper hand. The Turks then abandoned the palace entirely to them. Protestations at that were voiced from al-Karkh and also included a demand for Bāyakbāk, as his troops had joined with theirs. Al-Muhtadī instructed a group of the Farāghinah to attend upon him, and he informed them of the Turks' objections. He said to them, "If you are sure you are up to taking care of the Turks, the Commander of the Faithful would not be displeased to have you by his side. If you feel yourselves unable to cope with them, we will be willing to do what they wish before things come to a head." The Farāghinah said they could cope and that, if they were combined with the Maghāribah, they could overcome them (the Turks); and they listed a number of reasons for their priority over the Turks. The Farāghinah sought to induce al-Muhtadī to go after the Turks and discussion about this continued until noon. Finally, when al-Muhtadī marched forth, most of his cavalry was comprised of Farāghinah and most of his infantry of Maghāribah. The Turks, who numbered around ten thousand men, were located between al-Karkh and the district of the fiefs. Al-Muhtadī and his forces numbered only six thousand, fewer than a thousand of whom were Turks, these being the troops of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf and a contingent accompanying Yārjūkh.

As the two sides advanced toward each other, Yārjūkh and his con-
[1830] tingent broke off, while the troops of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf fled in retreat to their homes. Ṭāshtimur emerged from behind al-Dakkah, where his troops had been waiting in ambush, and against stiff resistance hand-to-hand fighting raged for a time during the day until al-Muhtadī's forces were beaten. Al-Muhtadī held on trying to rally his troops around him; he continued fighting until he despaired of their return and then rode off in a hasty retreat. He carried an embossed sword[312] and was wearing a breastplate covered by a garment of patterned white-silk material.[313] He reached Khashabat Bābak, all the while urging people to help him and stand against the enemy. However, only a party of riffraff (*al-ʿayyārūn*)[314] decided to follow him.

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312. *Sayf mushaṭṭab*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *sh-ṭ-b*.
313. *Ḥarīr abyaḍ muʿayyan*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ʿ-y-n*.
314. See references in note 282, above.

When they got as far as the prison, they seized his horse's bridle and demanded he release the prison inmates. He turned his face from them, but they did not leave him until he had given the command to open the prison; then they abandoned him and busied themselves at the prison gate. Al-Muhtadī was left entirely alone.

He found his way to the palace of Abū Ṣāliḥ b. Yazdād where Aḥmad b. Jumayl was staying. Upon entering he had the doors locked behind him and shed his clothes and weapons. He had received a hip wound, and requested a [clean] shirt and pantaloons, which Aḥmad b. Jumayl gave him. After cleaning the wound, he drank some water and then said his prayers. A party of around thirty Turks led by Yārjūkh approached the palace of Abū Ṣāliḥ and beat upon the door until they were admitted. Al-Muhtadī heard them and, grabbing his sword, he made his way as quickly as possible up a flight of steps to the palace roof. One of the Turks wanted to go up after al-Muhtadī and, lunging at him with his sword, he missed and tumbled down [1831] the stairs. The Turks fired arrows at him, one of which struck his chest. It was only a slight wound but al-Muhtadī nevertheless knew he was finished. So he surrendered and descended, throwing away his sword. Seizing al-Muhtadī the Turks put him on a pack animal, with one of them in charge, and made their way back along the road he had come from to Yārjūkh's palace in the district of the fiefs.

The Jawsaq palace was plundered by the Turks who stripped it clean. Aḥmad, known as Ibn Fityān, b. al-Mutawakkil, imprisoned at the time in al-Jawsaq, was released by the Turks. They wrote to Mūsā b. Bughā asking him to come to [Sāmarrā]. Al-Muhtadī remained in their care, but no one did anything more to him. On Tuesday, in the district of the fiefs, they rendered the oath of allegiance to Aḥmad, the son of al-Mutawakkil, taking him on Wednesday to the Jawsaq palace, where the Hāshimites and the court elite also rendered their allegiance.

During these days, attempts to persuade al-Muhtadī to abdicate were made, but he refused and would not consent. He died on Wednesday. The following day, Thursday, his body was produced for the Hāshimites and the court elite; then his face was uncovered and his body washed. Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid recited the funeral prayers over him on Thursday, the 18th of Rajab 256 (June 21, 870).

On Saturday, the 20th of Rajab (June 23, 870), Mūsā b. Bughā arrived [in Sāmarrā], and Aḥmad Ibn Fityān rode to the Public Audi-

ence Hall[315] on Monday, the 22nd of Rajab (June 25, 870); the public oath of allegiance was rendered there.

Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Qurashī reportedly said that, when al-Muhtadī fell into the hands of the Turks, he refused to abdicate. So they removed his fingers and toes, causing the palms of his hands and his feet to become swollen. After that they did several other things to him, until he died.[316]

Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā also[317] reported, on the cause of the death of
[1832] Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Bughā, that he had set out from Sāmarrā to meet his brother Mūsā. Al-Muhtadī sent his brother ʿAbdallāh after Abū Naṣr with a contingent of the Maghāribah and Farāghinah, who caught up with him in al-Rafīf and brought him back to be imprisoned.

Once, before the conflict with al-Muhtadī, Abū Naṣr had visited the Caliph, greeting him. Al-Muhtadī said to him, "O Muḥammad, your brother Mūsā came [to Sāmarrā] with his army and slaves (*ʿabīd*) only to slay Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf and leave again." Abū Naṣr replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, may God protect you from thinking that! Mūsā is your loyal servant, engaged in fighting a vile enemy." Al-Muhtadī said, "Ṣāliḥ was more useful to us than Mūsā, and his policies better suited the empire. Now this ʿAlawī[318] has returned to al-Rayy." Abū Naṣr replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, what can he [Mūsā] do? He had defeated him and slain his companions and scattered his forces in every direction. But, whenever he goes away, he [al-Ḥasan] always returns. My God, he [al-Ḥasan] will do so again unless you order him [Mūsā] to remain in al-Rayy forever." The Caliph said, "Enough of that! Your brother has accomplished nothing more than stealing and expropriating property for himself."

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315. *Dār al-ʿāmmah*. Bosworth, "Recruitment," 63, notes that this term indicated the outer sections and annexes of the Caliphs's palace, where troops other than palace guards were quartered and workshops, storehouses, and stables were located. Bosworth is, however, referring to Baghdad during the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid's reign (279–89/892–902); in Sāmarrā, Public Audience Hall seems an appropriate designation for the Arabic phrase.

316. The critical apparatus notes an additional phrase taken from *ʿUyūn al-akhbār:* Al-Dūlābī related that the brother of Bāyakbāk arrived with Khanjar and drank from the [Caliph's] blood.

317. Ṭabarī does not mention the name of the transmitter, but it seems plausible to assume that it is a continuation of Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā's account.

318. That is, the rebel al-Ḥasan b. Zayd.

At this Abū Naṣr replied rudely, "Let what he and his family have acquired since you became Caliph be assessed and restored to their owners, and then do the same for what you and your brothers have acquired!" Al-Muhtadī ordered him arrested, beaten, and imprisoned; his palace was plundered along with that of Ibn Thawābah. A bounty was put on the heads of al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, Ibn Thawābah, and Mufliḥ's secretary, Sulaymān b. Wahb al-Qaṭṭān, who fled in consequence; their palaces were also stripped bare.

Following this, al-Muhtadī brought together the various groups of Farāghinah, the Ushrūsaniyyah, the Ṭabariyyah, the Daylamites, the Ishtākhaniyyah, and the remnants of the Turks of al-Karkh and the clan of Waṣīf and sought their support against Mūsā and Mufliḥ. He argued that they had expropriated much wealth and monopolized the tax revenue, and moreover that he was afraid they were plotting [1833] to kill him. "If you help me," he said, "I shall pay all that is owing to you and increase the level of your allotments." At this they agreed to assist him against Mūsā and his forces. As they remained in the Jawsaq palace, they renewed their oath of allegiance to him. Al-Muhtadī ordered barley meal and sugar to be purchased for them and each man was paid a daily rate of two dirhams, and given a frequent ration of bread and meat. The army command was entrusted to Aḥmad b. Waṣīf and ʿAbdallāh b. Bughā al-Sharābī.

The Banū Hāshim rallied to them, and together with al-Muhtadī they set out riding through the markets appealing to people for help saying, "These godless ones who slay caliphs and maltreat their own *mawlās* are the same who have appropriated the tax revenue for themselves; so support and aid the Commander of the Faithful." Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. Yaʿqūb b. al-Manṣūr and other members of the Banū Hāshim spoke to people in a similar fashion. Al-Muhtadī later wrote to Bāyakbāk with orders to take over as commander of the whole army and to arrest Mūsā and Mufliḥ.

After al-Muhtadī's death, people searched for Abū Naṣr [Muḥammad] b. Bughā, thinking he was still alive. When they were at last led to the spot where he was buried and he was disinterred, his body was found to have been butchered. The remains were taken to his family for Bāyakbāk's body was also taken and buried. The Turks broke a thousand swords over Muḥammad b. Bughā's grave in accordance with their custom when a chief died.

It was said that when al-Muhtadī refused to abdicate, his testicles were ordered crushed until he died.

It was also said that, when al-Muhtadī faced his executioners, he uttered these words:

"Were I able, I would be determined,
but there was an obstacle between intent and execution of the act."[319]

[1834] The day that Muḥammad b. Bughā was imprisoned nothing [else] was done to him. Restitution was demanded and he paid nearly twenty thousand dinars. After ripping open his belly and wringing his neck, they put him to death. His body was thrown into a well of the underground canal system, remaining there until the day after they took al-Muhtadī into custody when the *mawlās* extracted it for burial.

Al-Muhtadī's caliphate, to the very end of his reign, lasted exactly eleven months and twenty-five days.[320] He was then thirty-eight years old. He was a man of wide and elegant forehead, and austere gray-blue eyes, short and rotund, broad-shouldered, and with a long beard. He was born in al-Qāṭūl.[321]

In this year Juʿlān arrived in al-Baṣrah to take on the leader of the Zanj.[322]

News of [the] Encounter [between Juʿlān and the Zanj]

Following his arrival in al-Baṣrah, Juʿlān reportedly advanced with his army from the city until he was just a *farsakh*[323] distant from the Zanj army. There he had a trench excavated to enclose his forces where he remained for six months. Al-Zaynabī, Burayh, the Banū Hāshim, and other Baṣrans who were prepared to fight the abominable one were sent forth on the day that Juʿlān promised them he would attack the Zanj. But, when the two sides met, they only threw

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319. Literally "a barrier between the wild ass and escape."

320. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 233, has fifteen days.

321. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 57.

322. Popovic, *Révolte*, 93. Popovic observes that at this point, with the Caliph's despatch of a Turkish officer commanding government troops, the Zanj revolt had lost its local character and had become "an affair of state."

323. About 6 km.

stones and shot arrows at each other, and Ju'lān found he could not proceed owing to the dense stand of palm trees and undergrowth, which allowed no room for the horses upon which most of his troops were mounted.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that after Ju'lān had spent some time thus entrenched, the Zanj leader said he had decided to conceal some of his troops along the approach roads to the trench and then [1835] launch a night attack upon him. The result of the attack was that a number of Ju'lān's men were killed and the rest were gripped with such terror that Ju'lān left the camp to return to al-Baṣrah. Now prior to the abominable one's nocturnal attacks against Ju'lān, al-Zaynabī had collected fighters from the Bilāliyyah and Sa'diyyah factions and despatched them to Ju'lān from the districts of the Nahr Nāfidh and Hazārdar, so as to confront the Zanj from two sides. However, they offered no resistance when they encountered the Zanj whose victory left many of them dead while the rest fled in disarray. Ju'lān escaped to al-Baṣrah and remained there, which made his weakness apparent to the central authorities.

Thus, Ju'lān was removed from responsibility for fighting the abominable one, and Sa'īd al-Ḥājib was ordered to proceed to undertake the task.

In this year the Zanj leader transferred [his headquarters] from the salt flats where he had established himself on the western side of the Nahr Abī al-Khaṣīb.[324]

In this year as well the Zanj leader reportedly seized fourteen seacraft, which had formed part of a convoy heading for al-Baṣrah. When news of the Zanj raids on the waterways reached the boats' owners, they proposed binding their boats one to the other so as to form a kind of island linking the first craft to the last, which they could then sail along the Tigris. The abominable one got wind of this and detailed some of his troops to capture the flotilla, encouraging them by saying it was easy prey.

Abū al-Ḥasan said that he has heard the Zanj leader comment, "When news of the approaching boats reached me, I went to say my [1836] prayers. I had begun my humble petition for God's assistance when

324. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 304. It was at this place around this time that the Zanj leader built his capital, al-Mukhtārah. The canal takes its name from a freedman of the Caliph al-Manṣūr who was granted lands here in fief. According to the *Index*, it was also known as Nahr al-Atrāk.

a voice addressed me, saying that I had been granted a great victory. Scarcely a moment later, I turned round and caught sight of the boats and my troops heading toward them in flat-bottomed craft. They quickly overwhelmed the boats, killed the fighters on board, captured slaves, and plundered vast treasure, the extent of which could not be counted or even estimated." For three days the Zanj were allowed to carry on in this fashion, after which their leader ordered anything left to be delivered to him.

On the 25th of Rajab (June 28, 870) of this year the Zanj occupied al-Ubullah, killing many of the inhabitants and burning the city.

An Account of the Zanj Occupation of al-Ubullah[325]

At the time Ju'lān had withdrawn from the trench he had constructed in Shāṭi' 'Uthmān and returned to al-Baṣrah, the Zanj leader reportedly harassed the inhabitants of al-Ubullah with several brigades of troops, attacking them with infantry from the direction of Shāṭi' 'Uthmān and from the commandeered boats from the Tigris. His troops then turned toward the Nahr Ma'qil.[326]

The Zanj leader reportedly said that he hestitated whether to head for 'Abbādān[327] or al-Ubullah but decided in favor of the former. He entrusted the task to some of his men but was then told that the nearest enemy with regard to abode and the most fitting one to concentrate on to the exclusion of anything else were the inhabitants of al-Ubullah. "Therefore," he said, "the army that I had despatched against 'Abbādān I recalled and redirected to al-Ubullah."

The Zanj continued fighting the populace of al-Ubullah until Wednesday evening, the 25th of Rajab (June 28, 870). That night the
[1837] Zanj stormed the city from the Tigris side and the Nahr al-Ubullah. Abū al-Aḥwaṣ and his son were killed in the fighting, while the city was put to the torch. As the buildings were constructed of teakwood and built close together, the fire swept through the city, causing a violent wind, while the sparks of the conflagration spread as far as

325. Popovic, *Révolte*, 94–96; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 236–37.

326. The chief waterway of the nine canals lying on the western side of the Tigris estuary and the one through which ships reached al-Baṣrah from the north. It was named after a Companion of the Prophet. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 303, 305.

327. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 43, 44.

Shāṭi' 'Uthmān and engulfed it. Many were slain and many others drowned. Much booty was secured but more goods perished in the flames than were plundered. That evening 'Abdallāh b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī and one of his sons, who were aboard a barge on the Nahr Ma'qil with Abū Ḥamzah Nuṣayr, were killed.

This year the inhabitants of 'Abbādān also surrendered to the Zanj leader and yielded their citadel to him.

The Account of [the Zanj Leader's] Summons for [the] Surrender [of the Inhabitants of 'Abbādān]

The reason for this was that when the Zanj had dealt with the inhabitants of al-Ubullah in the manner they had, the 'Abbādānians' resolve weakened, and they feared for their lives and their families. Therefore they gave themselves over to the Zanj and surrendered their city to the abominable one. His troops occupied it and seized the slaves (*al-'abīd*) and weapons they found there; the abominable one distributed among his troops the weapons that they brought to him.

In this year as well the Zanj occupied al-Ahwāz and captured Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir.[328]

An Account of [the Occupation of al-Ahwāz]

The reason for this was that following the actions of the Zanj in al-Ubullah and the surrender of the inhabitants of 'Abbādān to the abominable one,[329] he next set his ambitions on al-Ahwāz. He had attached the 'Abbādānians' slaves (*mamālīk*) to his own Zanj troops, while distributing among them as well the weapons that had been seized from the city.

The Zanj troops eagerly set off for Jubbā. The population offered [1838]
no resistance and fled from the Zanj, who entered the town, killing,

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328. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir was the brother of the celebrated Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir, financial administrator under the Ṭulūnids in Egypt. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Ibn al-Mudabbir."

329. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 237, who has consistently referred to 'Alī b. Muḥammad as "the Zanj leader," avoiding the pejorative epithets used by Ṭabarī, calls him here al-'Alawī al-Baṣrī, the Baṣran 'Alid, as though conferring an honorific title of conqueror upon him.

burning, and pillaging. They also laid waste the environs of Jubbā, arriving at last before al-Ahwāz. The governor there at the time was Sa'īd b. Yaksīn, who was also in charge of defense matters; Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir was in charge of the bureaus of taxes and estates. The population of al-Ahwāz also fled from the Zanj, and almost no one offered resistance. Sa'īd b. Yaksīn withdrew with his soldiers, but Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir remained behind with his pages and servants. The Zanj entered and occupied the city. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, who had received a blow to the head, was captured and all his possessions, including money, furnishings, and slaves (*raqīq*), were seized. This was on Monday the 12th of Ramaḍān in the year 256 (August 13, 870).

Following these events in al-Ubullah and al-Ahwāz the Baṣrans were in such a state of dread that many evacuated the city for various other places, as disquieting rumors spread among the common people.

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah (October 30–November 28, 870) of this year the Zanj leader sent an army commanded by Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī to fight Shāhīn b. Bisṭām.[330] But, as Yaḥyā failed to achieve his objective, he returned from the campaign.

In Rajab (June 4–July 3, 870) of this year Sa'īd b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥājib arrived in al-Baṣrah to wage war against the Zanj on behalf of the central authorities.

In this year as well there occurred a battle between the troops of
[1839] Mūsā b. Bughā who had gone with him to the district of al-Jabal in revolt against Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq and Musāwir b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd the Khārijite. The battle took place in Khāniqīn.[331] Musāwir greatly outnumbered Mūsā and his two hundred men, yet they were able to rout Musāwir and slay a large number of his troops.

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330. He was the secretary attached to Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā who had replaced Sa'īd b. Yaksīn in his post in al-Ahwāz. For the account of Shāhīn's death, see pp. 123–25, below.

331. A city on the road to Ḥulwān, to the northeast of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 62–63.

The Caliphate of al-Muʿtamid ʿalā-Allāh

The Events of the Year 256 (cont'd)

(December 9, 869–November 28, 870)

In this year the oath of allegiance was rendered to Aḥmad b. Abī Jaʿfar, who was known as Ibn Fityān. He was given the regnal title al-Muʿtamid ʿalā-Allāh. The ceremony took place on Tuesday, the 16th of Rajab (June 19, 870).

In the same year news was despatched to Mūsā b. Bughā, who was then in Khāniqīn, about the death of Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq and also that the oath of allegiance had been given to al-Muʿtamid as Caliph. Mūsā arrived in Sāmarrā on the 20th of Rajab (June 23, 870).

On the 2nd of Shaʿbān (July 5, 870) ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān was appointed vizier.[332]

In the same year ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Ṭālibī[333] appeared in al-Kūfah. Al-Shāh b. Mikāl was sent with a large army to fight him, and ʿAlī and his troops met and routed him, killing a great many of his troops. Al-Shāh, however, managed to escape.

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332. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 305–9. The text has ʿAbdallāh; the correct name is found in Manuscript C.

333. A descendant of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, he is first reported raising a rebellion in al-Kūfah in Rajab 255 (June 869); Ṭabarī III, 1709. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 238–39, mentions another ʿAlid revolt that occurred at this time, this one in Upper Egypt, which caused the governor, Ibn Ṭulūn, to send a force to quell it.

Again in this same year, Muḥammad b. Wāṣil b. Ibrāhīm al-Tamīmī,[334] an inhabitant of Fārs, together with a Kurd called Aḥmad b. al-Layth, who was from the same region, attacked al-Ḥārith b. Sīmā al-Sharābī, the governor of Fārs. In the ensuing battle al-Ḥārith was killed, and this allowed Muḥammad b. Wāṣil to conquer Fārs.

[1840] Mufliḥ was sent into battle against Musāwir the Khārijite in this year as well.[335] Kanjūr was also despatched to fight ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Ṭālibī in al-Kūfah.[336]

The army of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Ṭālibī conquered al-Rayy in the month of Ramaḍān (August 2 to 31, 870) of this year.

On the 11th of Shawwāl of this year (September 11, 870), Mūsā b. Bughā departed from Sāmarrā for al-Rayy with al-Muʿtamid publicly bidding him farewell.

In this year a battle occurred between Amājūr and one of the sons of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh[337] at the gate of Damascus. I heard a report from someone attending Amājūr that, on the day the skirmish took place, he had prepared an expeditionary force for himself and departed from the city of Damascus. At the same moment the son of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh and one of his commanders called Abū al-Ṣahbāʾ were with their own forces in the vicinity of Damascus. They received intelligence of Amājūr's departure with a small contingent of troops. Spoiling for a fight, they advanced toward Amājūr, who was unaware of their approach until they were upon him. The two sides engaged in fierce hand-to-hand combat and Abū al-Ṣahbāʾ was killed. The rest of his troops and those of Ibn ʿĪsā were put to flight. I heard it

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334. For these developments, see Bosworth, "Ṭāhirids," 112–13, where the name is given as Muḥammad b. Wāṣil al-Ḥanẓalī.

335. The battle, according to Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 240, occurred in the Khāniqīn district. Mufliḥ, facing greater numbers of the enemy, nevertheless managed to slay many of the Khārijite forces.

336. Kanjūr succeeded in driving the ʿAlid from al-Kūfah and pursued him as far as Junbulā, where he defeated the rebel and captured many of his men, in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 256 (October 30–November 28, 870). See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 239–40, where the account of Kanjūr is complete. Ṭabarī mentions the circumstances of his death later under events of 259/872–73, p. 150, below.

337. Ibn al-Athīr's account, *Kāmil*, VII, 238, is clearer than Ṭabarī's, although differing slightly in some details. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh had been appointed over Damascus; he appropriated a sum of 700,000 dinars, which had been sent from Egypt en route to Baghdad and then claimed to have distributed it to his troops. The Caliph al-Muʿtamid sent Amājūr to Damascus as governor with a thousand troops. As Amājūr approached the city, he encountered the greater force of Manṣūr, ʿĪsā's son who was defeated and killed. ʿĪsā himself escaped toward Armenia, and Amājūr took control of Damascus.

mentioned that on that day the forces of Ibn ʿĪsā and Abū al-Ṣahbāʾ combined were about twenty thousand men, whereas Amājūr had only some two to four hundred men.

On Wednesday, the 13th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (November 11, 870), Abū Aḥmad (al-Muwaffaq), the son of al-Mutawakkil, set out from Mecca for Sāmarrā.

In the same year Abū Naṣr Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Marwazī, the judge Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Kurayzī and al-Ḥusayn the eunuch, otherwise known as ʿAraq al-Mawt,[338] were sent to ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh in order to offer him the governorship of Armenia,[339] on condition that he leave Syria, he being given a pledge of safe-conduct to do so. ʿĪsā accepted and set out from Syria for Armenia.[340] [1841]

Leading the pilgrimage in this year was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr.[341]

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338. "[Smelling of the] sweat of death" is an approximation to the meaning of the man's name.

339. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Armīniya."

340. The details in the paragraphs here are not recounted by Ibn al-Athīr. See n. 335, above.

341. Great-grandson of the Caliph al-Manṣūr; he was known as Kaʿb al-Baqar. This appears to have been the first pilgrimage he led. His father had performed the same office in 252/865.

The Events of the Year 257

(November 29, 870–November 18, 871)

Among the significant events of this year was the arrival in Fārs of Ya'qūb b. al-Layth. In Sha'bān of this year (June 24–July 22, 871) al-Mu'tamid sent to him a delegation comprising Ṭughtā and Ismā'īl b. Isḥāq and Abū Sa'īd al-Anṣārī. Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil also despatched to him confirmation of the governorship of Balkh and Ṭukhāristān including adjacent areas in Kirmān, Sijistān, Sind, and elsewhere, together with the stipulation of the annual amount of his revenue. Ya'qūb accepted these arrangements and departed.

In Rabī' II (February 26–March 26, 871) of this year, one of Ya'qūb's messengers arrived [in Sāmarrā] with idols he had reportedly seized from Kābul.

On the 12th of Ṣafar (January 9, 871) al-Mu'tamid conferred upon his brother Abū Aḥmad[342] the overall control of al-Kūfah, the Mecca

342. Known by the honorific title of al-Muwaffaq; he was unlike many of the 'Abbāsid family in that he seems to have embarked upon a military career from an early age. He retained close links with the Turkish commander Mūsā b. Bughā, with whose help he rebuilt the army's strength in order to conduct the campaign aginst the Zanj. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the army in Ṣafar 257 (December 29, 870–January 26, 871). See Popovic, *Révolte*, 104; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 307–25.

Road, the Ḥaramayn,[343] and the Yemen. Later, on the 7th of Ramaḍān (July 29, 871), Baghdad, the Sawād, Wāsiṭ, the districts of the Tigris, al-Baṣrah, al-Ahwāz, and Fārs were added to the others. The Caliph ordered that the governor of Baghdad take administrative charge of
[1842] Abū Aḥmad's districts. He also conferred upon Yārjūkh control of al-Baṣrah, the Tigris districts, al-Yamāmah and al-Baḥrayn in place of Saʿīd b. Ṣāliḥ. Yārjūkh then appointed Manṣūr b. Jaʿfar b. Dīnār as administrator of al-Baṣrah and the Tigris districts and other areas adjacent to al-Ahwāz.

Also in the same year, Bughrāj was commissioned to press Saʿīd (b. Ṣāliḥ) al-Ḥājib to proceed to the Tigris and station himself opposite the army camp of the Zanj leader.[344] Bughrāj did so and Saʿīd carried out this task in the month of Rajab (May 25–June 23, 871) of this year. It was reported that when Saʿīd reached the Nahr Maʿqil he found the forces of the Zanj leader there at a canal called the Murghāb,[345] one of the tributaries of the Nahr Maʿqil, Saʿīd engaged the Zanj in battle and routed them; he also managed to free women who had been held prisoner among them, as well as seizing booty. During the encounter Saʿīd received some wounds, one of them in the mouth. Afterward he departed for a spot known as the army camp of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr[346] and remained there one night. Next he moved on and camped at a place called Haṭmah[347] in the Euphrates valley. He remained there for some days, inspecting his troops and preparing them for a further encounter with the Zanj leader. During his sojourn in Haṭmah, word reached Saʿīd that an army of the Zanj leader was in the Euphrates area. So with a contingent of his own troops, he headed for the Zanj and succeeded in routing them. Among the defeated was ʿImrān, who was married to the grandmother of Ankalāy, son of the Zanj leader. This ʿImrān sought a pledge of safe-conduct from Bughrāj, after which the sides dispersed.

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343. That is, the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "al-Ḥaramayn."

344. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 97.

345. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 499.

346. Named after the former ʿAbbāsid Caliph.

347. Manuscript C has Hamṭah; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 242, calls it Haṭṭah and places it on the eastern side of the Tigris. The location cannot be identified, and, as this instance illustrates, many of the locations (and their correct names) that appear in connection with the Zanj uprising in the vast southern Iraqi swamplands were unfamiliar, even to a contemporary writer like Ṭabarī.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said: "Once I saw a woman from among the inhabitants of the Euphrates valley who discovered one of the Zanj concealed in some dense underbrush. She seized him and [1843] brought him without resistance to Saʿīd's camp." Later Saʿīd set out again to fight the abominable one. He crossed over to the western side of the Tigris and engaged him in several skirmishes over a period of days. Saʿīd then returned to his camp in Haṭmah and from there pursued the struggle against the abominable one throughout the remainder of Rajab and most of Saʿīd (from early June through mid-July 871).

In the same year Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir[348] escaped from prison where he had been detained by the abominable one. The reason for this was that he had reportedly been confined to one room in the residence of Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī. As al-Baḥrānī felt cramped in these quarters, Ibrāhīm was moved to an apartment in his palace and locked up there. Two men who lived in an adjacent building to that in which Ibrāhīm was held were put in charge of him. Ibrāhīm went to considerable lengths to excite the mens' cupidity. They ran a tunnel from their own quarters to the place where Ibrāhīm was confined, and both he and his nephew called Abū Ghālib made their escape along with a man from the Banū Hāshim who had been imprisoned with them.

During the course of the year the abominable one's forces fought against those of Saʿīd, who himself was killed along with many of his followers.

An Account of the Battle [between Saʿīd al-Ḥājib and the Zanj]

It was reported that the abominable one sent orders to Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī, who at the time was stationed on the Nahr Maʿqil with a large army, for him to proceed by night with a thousand of his troops toward Saʿīd's army. The force was to be commanded by Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ and Abū al-Layth al-Iṣbahānī. They were instructed to attack Saʿīd at the break of dawn. Sulaymān and Abū al-Layth set out for Saʿīd's army to execute their orders and happened to encounter him quite unprepared. In the ensuing battle a large

348. See n. 328, above; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 242.

number of Saʿīd's troops were slain, the Zanj on that occasion burn-
[1844] ing Saʿīd's camp to the ground and thereby gravely weakening his position.

Owing to the night attacks the Zanj launched against them, Saʿīd's camp was thrown into a state of confusion. A complicating factor was the withholding of the soldiers' allotments, which had been assigned[349] to them from the revenue of al-Ahwāz. Manṣūr b. Jaʿfar al-Khayyāṭ, who was then in charge of military affairs in al-Ahwāz as well as having a hand in matters of taxes, had delayed the payment of the soldiers' allotments. When the position of Saʿīd b. Ṣāliḥ had deteriorated to such an extent, he was ordered to depart for the court in [Sāmarrā][350] and surrender both the army and his administrative duties to Manṣūr b. Jaʿfar. Saʿīd eventually carried out these instructions, although he had been unable to move following the night attacks of the Zanj and their burning his camp, until he was relieved of his duties.

In this same year there occurred a battle between Manṣūr b. Jaʿfar al-Khayyāṭ and the Zanj leader, during which many of Manṣūr's troops were slain.

An Account of the Battle [between Manṣūr b. Jaʿfar and the Zanj]

It was reported that when Saʿīd al-Ḥājib had been removed from his post in al-Baṣrah, Bughrāj remained behind to protect its inhabitants. Manṣūr began to organize the supply ships, having them escorted by barge as far as al-Baṣrah. As a result, the Zanj were low on provisions. Then Manṣūr mustered his troops and added to the barges he had the Jannābī[351] barges and other boats. He headed in the direction of the Zanj leader's army camp, scaled the walls of a castle located beside the Tigris, and burned it to the ground and everything around it. Approaching from the same side he entered the Zanj encampment. The Zanj lay in ambush for them and attacked and killed

349. *Subbibat lahum*. See Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, CCLXXXIV, and n. 57 above.

350. The text reads *Bāb al-Sulṭān*, headquarters of the central authorities.

351. The reading is uncertain; the word in manuscript B is unpointed, while C reads al-Ḥan(n)āniyyāt. *Jannābī* barges would have been made in the city of Jannāba, located on the coast of the province of Fārs. See Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, CLXXI; Le Strange, *Lands*, 259.

a large number of [Manṣūr's] troops while the rest sought escape in the waters of the Tigris where many more were drowned. On that occasion about five hundred heads were reportedly borne away to the camp of Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī on the Nahr Ma'qil, where he ordered them publicly displayed. [1845]

In the same year, at a place called Birkat Zalzal, a strangler from Baghdad was apprehended. He had murdered a number of women and buried them in the house where he was living. He was brought to al-Mu'tamid, and I learned that he had ordered the prisoner whipped. He was given two thousand lashes and four hundred strokes with a bastinado, yet he continued to live. Only when the executioners beat his testicles with two wooden flogging posts (*'uqābayn*)[352] did he finally expire. His body was then returned to Baghdad, where it was strung up in the public view; the corpse was later burned.[353]

In this year Shāhīn b. Bisṭām was killed and Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā put to flight.[354]

The Death of Shāhīn b. Bisṭām and the Flight of Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā

Al-Baḥrānī had reportedly written to the abominable one advising the despatch of an army to accupy al-Ahwāz and arousing his interest in such a plan. He suggested the operation commence with the destruction of the Arbuk bridge (*qanṭarah*)[355] to prevent the [enemy's] cavalry[356] from reaching his army. The abominable one sent 'Alī b. Abān to destroy the bridge. 'Alī was met by Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā, who was returning from Fārs where he had been with al-Ḥārith b. Sīmā[357] in a tract of desert known as the Dast Arbuk, which was situated between al-Ahwāz and the aforementioned bridge.

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352. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. '-q-b. *Al-'uqābān* are two pieces of wood stuck in the ground, between which a man is extended to be flogged.

353. This tale seems curously out of place amid the narrative of events of greater import to the state; it was one that evidently caught Ṭabarī's personal interest.

354. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 96–98; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 243–44.

355. This was the only bridge crossing the Dujayl. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 185.

356. *Al-Khayl*. A feminine singular noun with the collective meaning "horses" and in a metonymous sense "mounted troops." See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *kh-y-l*; and *EI*,[1] s.v. "Khayl." The verb in the sentence should be emended to *taṣil*.

357. The governor of Fārs, as mentioned p. 116, above.

When ʿAlī b. Abān reached the bridge he and his troops established a camp hidden from view. However, when Ibrāhīm's cavalry had crossed this desert tract they were able to attack ʿAlī from several sides and as a result a great number of the Zanj were slain. ʿAlī himself was forced to flee. Ibrāhīm's cavalry pursued him as far as
[1846] al-Fandam[358] but a foot wound prevented ʿAlī from proceeding farther toward al-Ahwāz. Therefore he backtracked and headed for Jubbā.[359]

Saʿīd b. Yaksīn was removed from his post and Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā was appointed [to combat the Zanj].[360] His secretary was Shāhīn. The two men set out at the same time, Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā taking the Euphrates Road and heading for the mouth of the Nahr Jubbā.[361] ʿAlī b. Abān was at this moment in al-Khayzurāniyyah.[362] For his part, Shāhīn b. Bisṭām set out along the Nahr Mūsā road, judging that he would meet up with Ibrāhīm at a spot they had previously agreed upon. They had also made prior arrangements to attack ʿAlī b. Abān, and Shāhīn arrived at the spot first. Now an inhabitant of the Nahr Mūsā district came to ʿAlī b. Abān and informed him of Shāhīn's approach. ʿAlī advanced toward Shāhīn, and the two sides met in the afternoon at the Abū al-ʿAbbās canal, situated between the Nahr Mūsā and the Nahr Jubbā. Battle broke out between the two sides. At first Shāhīn's troops held fast and fought fiercely. But then, recovering, the Zanj dealt their opponents a crushing blow, causing them to turn heel and flee. In fact the first to fall mortally wounded that day were Shāhīn himself and a cousin of his named Ḥayyān; this was because he had been in the vanguard of the troops. A great many of his men were slain as well.

Another informant came to ʿAlī b. Abān and told him of Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā's arrival. This was after ʿAlī's battle with Shāhīn was over. Without delay ʿAlī departed for the Nahr Jubbā, where Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā's army was camped. As yet Ibrāhīm had heard no word of Shāhīn's fate. At the time of the last evening prayer, ʿAlī drew in

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358. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 278, places this in [the district] of al-Ahwāz and adds, "But I don't know what it is."

359. A town lying on a canal of the same name, east of the Dujayl and below al-Ahwāz in an area occupied by many villages. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 243.

360. Ibrāhīm was appointed to replace Saʿīd as military governor of al-Ahwāz.

361. The text of Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 243, has incorrectly, Nahr Jayy.

362. A town on the eastern side of the Tigris above Fam al-Ṣilḥ, in the district of Wāsiṭ. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 301.

close upon Ibrāhīm's position and then attacked ferociously, slaying his troops in droves. Thus in the brief span of time between the afternoon and evening prayers, Shāhīn had been killed and Ibrāhīm routed.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that he had once heard ʿAlī b. Abān talking of these events. He said, "That day, as it happened, I had [1847] come down with one of the bouts of fever to which I was subject. When my troops had achieved their victory over Shāhīn, they dispersed so that there were only about fifty left with me when I set out for Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā's army camp. When I reached it, I got close enough to hear the commotion of the soldiers and even some of their conversations. When the place fell quiet, I went onto the attack."

ʿAlī b. Abān left Jubbā when Shāhīn had been killed and Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā routed, after a despatch arrived for him from the abominable one with orders to proceed to al-Baṣrah and wage war against its inhabitants.

In this year the troops of the abominable one entered al-Baṣrah.

The Events that Led up to [the] Entry of al-Baṣrah [by the Zanj] and What Transpired Thereafter[363]

It was reported that, when Saʿīd b. Ṣāliḥ (al-Ḥājib) left al-Baṣrah, the central authorities handed over his duties to Manṣūr b. Jaʿfar al-Khayyāṭ. The events concerning Manṣūr and the troops of the abominable one we have dealt with already: They told of Manṣūr's enfeebled position, his inability to engage the abominable one in battle, contenting himself with providing protection for the supply ships[364] sufficient to relieve the inhabitants of al-Baṣrah of the harm caused when the flow of these supplies was interrupted. Word of this reached the abominable one, who was then frustrated by the news that the Baṣrans had been relieved. This caused him to send ʿAlī b. Abān to the districts of Jubbā, where he established camp in al-Khayzurāniyyah. This distracted Manṣūr b. Jaʿfar from the protection of the supply boats to al-Baṣrah, so once again the Baṣrans [1848] experienced straitened circumstances.

The abominable one's troops harassed the inhabitants of al-Baṣ-

363. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 98–104; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 244–46.
364. *Al-Qayrawānāt*. See n. 211, above.

rah day and night with attacks. Then, in the month of Shawwāl (August 22–September 19, 871) of this year, the abominable one determined to rally his forces together for a concerted assault on the Baṣrans and a serious [attempt to] destroy it. The decision was taken because he was aware of their weakness, their disunity, and the damaging effects upon them of the blockade and the destruction of surrounding villages. Moreover, the abominable one had consulted the astrological charts and discovered that there would be a lunar eclipse on Tuesday evening, the 14th of the month (September 4, 871).

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl reported that he had heard the abominable one say, "I earnestly prayed to God for help against the people of al-Baṣrah and humbly beseeched Him to hasten its destruction. A voice addressed me saying that al-Baṣrah was but a loaf of bread, which one could nibble around the edges; when half the loaf had been devoured, al-Baṣrah would be destroyed. I took this to mean that devouring half a loaf indicated the eclipse of the moon, which was expected at this time, so it was entirely plausible that the fate of al-Baṣrah would occur soon afterward."

Muḥammad continued: "The abominable one continued speaking in this vein to such an extent that he overwhelmed his followers with the story, repeating it among them ad nauseam. Then he deputized Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Dārimī, one of his adherents in al-Baḥrayn, to go among the Arab tribesmen, many of whom were successfully won over to the Zanj cause. They camped at a place called al-Qandal, and the abominable one sent Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Shaʿrānī to join them, and then ordered the whole force to head for al-Baṣrah and attack it. He forwarded instructions to Sulaymān b. Mūsā to drill the tribesmen in the execution of such an operation.

[1849] When the lunar eclipse occurred, the Zanj leader sent ʿAlī b. Abān with a detachment of Arab tribesmen, ordering him to approach al-Baṣrah by way of the territory of the Banū Saʿd. Likewise Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī, who was then blockading the Baṣrans, was instructed to approach the city via the Nahr ʿAdī with the remainder of the tribesmen who were attached to him."

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that Shibl (b. Sālim) had observed that the first attack on the Baṣrans was led by ʿAlī b. Abān. This was at the time when Bughrāj was present in the city with a detachment of soldiers. For two days the battle raged between the two sides, the

people in general supporting Bughrāj. Yaḥyā [b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī] approached with his troops by way of Qaṣr Anas, making their way to the bridge. ʿAlī b. Abān al-Muhallabī entered the city at the time of the Friday congregational prayers on the 17th of Shawwāl (September 7, 871). Killing and burning continued through the day and into the evening and throughout all of Saturday as well. Yaḥyā approached al-Baṣrah early on Sunday morning. Bughrāj and Burayh with a force of troops blocked his way and drove him back. Yaḥyā returned and held his ground for the rest of the day. On Monday morning he [Yaḥyā] made a further attempt, but, when he finally secured entry into the city, the defenders had scattered, Burayh had fled, and Bughrāj had withdrawn with his troops, leaving no opposition. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Muhallabī met Yaḥyā and sought a promise of protection from him on behalf of the inhabitants and this was granted.

Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā's town crier proclaimed the protection to anyone who sought it; he had only to present himself at Ibrāhīm's palace. The inhabitants of al-Baṣrah responded without exception, thronging the city squares. When he saw[365] the great gathering, he seized the opportunity to blockade every street, roadway, and alley, thus preventing anyone from escaping. Behaving in this treacherous manner, he then gave the order for his troops to kill, and, with rare exceptions, everyone present was slain. The perpetrator of this act departed the same day to stay in Qaṣr ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar in al-Khuraybah. [1850]

Muḥammad continued: Al-Faḍl b. ʿAdī al-Dārimī recounted to me the following: "At the time the traitor[366] was warring against the people of al-Baṣrah, I was in the district, staying among the Banū Saʿd." Al-Faḍl continued, saying that someone had arrived one night and mentioned that he had seen some passing cavalry heading for Qaṣr ʿĪsā in al-Khuraybah. [Al-Faḍl said], "My companions said to me, 'Go and gather some information for us about this troop.' I did so, and, when I came upon a part of the Banū Tamīm and the Banū Asad, I inquired what they were doing. They claimed to be supporters of the ʿAlawite and attached to ʿAlī b. Abān, who was supposed

365. The subject of the verb here is unclear. Grammatical requirements point to Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā as the perpetrator of the ensuing massacre, but it was certainly the work of Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī. See p. 131, below, for another account.

366. Ṭabarī uses the word *khāʾin* for the Zanj leader, a change from the monotonous *khabīth*, "abominable one."

to reach al-Baṣrah the following morning, his destination being the quarter of the Banū Saʿd. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad was also with another contingent, heading for the quarter of the Āl al-Muhallab. They said to me, 'Tell your companions from the Banū Saʿd, "If you wish to protect your women and children, then make haste to evacuate them before the army surrounds you."' "

Al-Faḍl said, "I returned to my companions and gave them the news from the Arab tribesmen." Having made their preparations, they sent someone to Burayh to inform him, too, of the situation. He came to them at dawn with the remaining chattels and a contingent of soldiers. They then marched out until they eventually reached a trench called Banū Ḥimmān. Some Banū Tamīm and fighters of the Saʿdiyyah met up with them, but it was not long before ʿAlī b. Abān overtook them with a contingent of Zanj and Arab tribesmen on horseback. Burayh became alarmed before even encountering this crowd and so he returned to his residence [in al-Baṣrah]. This was as good as admitting defeat. The Banū Tamīm who had gathered now dispersed and ʿAlī was able to approach the city unopposed, and he made his way to the quarter of al-Mirbad.[367] Burayh sent word to the Banū Tamīm requesting assistance, and a group of them responded.
[1851] Fighting broke out in al-Mirbad in front of Burayh's palace. Thereupon Burayh fled, and his supporters scattered. The Zanj burned his palace to the ground, having plundered all its contents. The killing continued, the Baṣrans' position having been gravely weakened, while that of the Zanj grew stronger. The sides battled on until the end of the day, when ʿAlī reached the congregational mosque and ordered it burned down. Fatḥ, the servant of Abū Shīth, together with a group of Baṣrans, took ʿAlī by surprise, and he had to retreat with his men, some of the Zanj being killed. ʿAlī thereupon turned back and established his army camp at a place called the graveyard of the Banū Shaybān.

People sought for someone in authority with whom they could join in battle, but none was found. When they looked for Burayh, they discovered that he had fled. On Saturday the Baṣrans realized that ʿAlī b. Abān had not returned, but early on Sunday morning he

367. Located at the western gate of al-Baṣrah, it was the quarter where caravans halted and hence was one of the busiest in the city. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 45; *EI*,[2] s.v. "al-Baṣrah."

did so, without encountering any opposition, and took al-Baṣrah in triumph.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan related as follows from Muḥammad b. Simʿān: "At the time the Zanj entered al-Baṣrah, I was living in the city. I used to attend the assembly held by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who was known as Burayh. On Friday, the 10th of Shawwāl 257 (August 31, 871), I was there, and Shihāb b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-ʿAnbarī was present as well. I heard Shihāb telling Ibrāhīm that the traitor had sent money and supplies into the desert in order to raise a force from among the Arab tribesmen; that he had in fact managed to muster a large toop of horsemen, and with them and his own Zanj infantry he intended to infiltrate al-Baṣrah. At the time al-Baṣrah was defended by only some fifty cavalry of the government forces under Bughrāj. Burayh told Shihāb that the Arab tribesmen would not venture to act with hostility toward him [because] he was obeyed and respected by the Arabs." [1852]

Ibn Simʿān continued: "I left Burayh's assembly and came across the secretary, Aḥmad b. Ayyūb, whom I overheard talking about Hārūn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Shīʿī, who at the time was in charge of the postal service (*barīd*) in al-Baṣrah. Hārūn confirmed that the traitor, on the 3rd of Shawwāl (August 24, 871), had performed the congregational prayer[368] with nine persons, while al-Baṣrah's leading commanders and its resident governor remained in total ignorance about what the traitor was up to, as I have described."

The blockade had driven the populace to hunger, and disease was on the increase. Conflict erupted in the city between the two factions of the Bilāliyyah and the Saʿdiyyah. Then on Friday morning, the 16th of Shawwāl (September 6, 871) of this year, the traitor's cavalry attacked al-Baṣrah on three fronts, the Banū Saʿd district, al-Mirbad, and al-Khuraybah. ʿAlī b. Abān led the army, which was despatched against al-Mirbad. He had divided his troops into two contingents: One was in the charge of Rafīq, the servant of Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khāqān, who was ordered to march into the Banū Saʿd district, and the other, with whom he himself remained,

368. The expression is *jammaʿa fī tisʿa anfus*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *j-m-ʿ*. Although the date was actually a Saturday, the meaning seems to be that ʿAlī b. Muḥammad had the temerity to pray with nine persons (with nine of his companions or with only nine other persons?) in the congregational mosque in al-Baṣrah prior to the final assault and under the noses of the authorities.

set out for al-Mirbad. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Azraq al-Baḥrānī led the cavalry, which was sent to al-Khuraybah, having assembled his troops together on one front. Those Baṣrans of little circumstance who could, despite being exhausted by hunger and the blockade, went out to face each of these divisions. The cavalry accompanying Bughrāj split up into two groups, one of which made for the district of al-Mirbad and the other for al-Khuraybah. Those [of ʿAlī's forces] who reached the Banū Saʿd district engaged in battle a contingent of the Saʿdiyyah fighters, along with Fatḥ, the slave of Abū Shīth and
[1853] his companions, but a few Baṣrans were no match for the assembled forces of the abominable one, whose troops attacked on horse and on foot.

Ibn Simʿān said: "On that day I was present in the congregational mosque when flames engulfed three areas, Zahrān, al-Mirbad, and Banū Ḥimmān, at the same time, as if they had been set by arsonists at an agreed moment. That was at the beginning of the day, on Friday. The calamity worsened, and Baṣrans were convinced that they were doomed. Those in the main mosque strove to reach their homes as swiftly as possible. I was hastening toward my own house, which was on the Mirbad Road. On the way, fleeing Baṣrans passed me retreating to the great mosque. Al-Qāsim b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī brought up their rear, seated upon a donkey and girt with a sword. He cried out to the crowd, 'Woe upon you! Will you surrender your city and your families? This is your enemy who has just entered your city!' But none paid heed to him or listened to his plea, and he went upon his way. Then the Mirbad Road cleared of people, and between those in flight and the Zanj there was empty space as far as the eye could see."

Muḥammad[369] said, "When I saw what was happening, I entered my house and locked the door. From the upper floor of the house I looked down and saw the cavalry of the Arab tribesmen and the Zanj foot soldiers led by a man riding a chestnut horse and carrying a spear bearing a yellow lappet.[370] Sometime later, after I had been taken to the traitor's city, I inquired about the man's identity. ʿAlī b. Abān claimed that he had been the one I had seen with the yellow streamer."

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369. That is, Muḥammad b. Simʿān.

370. *ʿAdhabah*. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ʿ-dh-b*, describes this as a strip of linen or the like that is bound to the head of a spear.

The [Zanj] troops entered the city and disappeared down the Mirbad Road, proceeding to the ʿUthmān Gate. By then it was late in the day. Then they left. The ignorant young clods of the city imagined that they were off to attend the Friday prayer, but what had really [1854] frightened them off was possible attack from bands of the Bilāliyyah and Saʿdiyyah who might attack them from the square,[371] for they feared ambushes there. So they left.

Those [Zanj] who were in the quarters of Zahrān and Banū Ḥiṣn also departed after they had burned, pillaged, and overwhelmed the city, for they knew no one could stop them. They let Saturday and Sunday go by. Then they came again on Monday, and found no one defending the city. The population[372] was collected before the palace of Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Muhallabī and promised their security.

Muḥammad b. Simʿān recounted the following from al-Ḥasan b. ʿUthmān al-Muhallabī, who was nicknamed Mundaliqah[373] and was one of Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad's companions. That morning Yaḥyā had ordered him to go to the graveyard of the Banū Yashkur and bring back as many ovens[374] as he could fetch. "I did so," said al-Ḥasan, "and brought back some twenty ovens carried on porters' heads. I took them to the palace of Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā, and people thought they were for the purpose of preparing food for them, as they suffered from hunger resulting from the harsh blockade and the strain of events. A crowd developed in front of Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā's palace, people coming and going and increasing in number through the night until sunrise."

Ibn Simʿān continued. "At this time I had moved residence from the Mirbad Road to the palace belonging to my mother's grandfather Hishām, who was called al-Dāff. It was located in the district of the Banū Tamīm; [I did this] because the Banū Tamīm were rumored among the populace to have accepted the traitor's peace. I was there [1855] when some informants brought news of the battle in front of the palace of Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā. They said that Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī had ordered the Zanj to surround the crowd. He allowed any of the Muhallabī family to enter Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥya's palace. A small

371. *Al-Murabbaʿah*. The reading is uncertain, though some location seems indicated by the context. Manuscript B has *al-muʿarabah* and C *al-muriʿah*.

372. *Al-nās*. The word is typically ambiguous and could also mean the Baṣran troops.

373. The reading is conjectural; manuscript B is unpointed, while C reads *s-da-l-ʿ-h*.

374. See n. 226, above.

number did so, and the gates were then shut. Finally, the Zanj were given the word to massacre the rest of the crowd, which they proceeded to do, to the very last person."

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, known as Abū al-Layth al-Iṣbahānī, was the one who had given the signal[375] to the Zanj, which they recognized as the order to commence the slaughter. The sword did the rest.

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿUthmān said, "I could hear their uproar, crying out 'There is no God but Allāh' as they were put to the sword. Their voices rang out with the cry of 'There is no God but Allāh' so loudly that they could be heard far away, in al-Ṭafāwah." After the crowd had been massacred, as we have described, the Zanj proceeded to slay anyone [else] they encountered. That day ʿAlī b. Abān burned down the congregational mosque; he also burned the harbor from the cable (*ḥabl*)[376] to the bridge, the fire destroying all before it, including people, animals, goods, and merchandise. Throughout the morning and afternoon the Zanj harassed anyone they found, driving everybody to Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad (al-Baḥrānī), who was then residing in Sayḥān; anyone with some money was tortured to extract it and then killed, but anyone who was poor was killed straightaway.

Shibl reportedly said that Yaḥyā entered al-Baṣrah early on Tuesday, following the massacre of the crowd in front of Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā's palace. An offer of safety and security was publicly proclaimed,
[1856] to try to lure people into the open, but no one appeared. The news reached the abominable one, and he removed ʿAlī b. Abān from al-Baṣrah, assigning Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad to the city on his own, sanctioning and approving the massacre, and expressing his affection for him. The abominable one judged ʿAlī b. Abān al-Muhallabī's performance lacking in regard to his restraint from seizing booty in the Banū Saʿd district. ʿAlī b. Abān had deputed a party of the Banū Saʿd to go to the abominable one, but, as they gained no benefit from him, they departed for ʿAbbādān.

Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad remained in al-Baṣrah. The abominable one sent him a despatch ordering the public announcement of Shibl as his deputy in al-Baṣrah in order to calm the fears of the populace and so that those in hiding would begin to reemerge and those who were

375. The signal was a verbal one, which, in the text, reads *kīlū*, an imperative meaning "measure!" or "weigh!"

376. See Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, CLXXIX.

known to be wealthy. When these reappeared, they were to be forced to reveal the money they had buried and hidden. Yaḥyā carried out this order. Not a day passed when a group of affluent persons was not stripped of their possessions and then put to death. Others of no evident substance were summarily put to death; none who appeared before Yaḥyā survived and many fled as best they could. Finally the abominable one withdrew his army from al-Baṣrah.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said, "When the traitor had completed the destruction of al-Baṣrah and word had reached him of the enormities perpetrated by his troops, I heard him comment that he had invoked Allāh's [judgment] upon the populace of al-Baṣrah the day his troops entered the city. He said: 'I prayed earnestly and prostrated myself, praying all the while, and behold I was given a vision of al-Baṣrah. I could see the city and my troops fighting there. I had the vision of a man standing in thin air between earth and the sky in the image of Jaʿfar b. Maʿlūf,[377] who was formerly put in charge of the registry of land taxes in Sāmarrā. He was standing with his left hand lowered and his right hand raised, about to overturn al-Baṣrah [1857] and its inhabitants. I knew then that the angels alone had been charged with the destruction of the city, and not my troops, for had they been responsible for that, the destruction would not have reached the vast proportions people speak about. The angels brought victory and supported me in my battle and kept my troops from being fainthearted.'"

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan continued: "It was following the destruction of al-Baṣrah that the abominable one claimed his descent from Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī,[378] because a large number of ʿAlawites who had been in al-Baṣrah joined his ranks. Among them were ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī,[379] together with their womenfolk and families. When they joined him, he abandoned his

377. He was involved in the torture and execution of the secretary Najāḥ b. Salamah in 245/857. See Ṭabarī, III, 1442, 1444, 1446, and n. 255, above.

378. Zayd b. ʿAlī, a descendant of the fourth Caliph, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, had raised a revolt in al-Kūfah against the Umayyad dynasty in 122/740, in which he was killed. His son, Yaḥyā, who participated in the rebellion, escaped to Khurāsān. The Zanj leader here is professing to be the great-grandson of this Yaḥyā. Although by this time his line was extinct, there were descendants from Yaḥyā's half-brothers, whose mother had been a slave. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 101, and annexes 1 and 2; *EI*,[1] s.v. "Zaid b. ʿAlī."

379. That is, ʿAbdallāh was the son of ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd. When they joined the Zanj, the Zanj leader ʿAlī b. Muḥammad switched his claim of descent

claim to be descended from Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, alleging instead to belong to the line of Yaḥyā b. Zayd.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan continued: "When a group of Nawfaliyyūn were with him, I heard al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan al-Nawfalī say that they had heard that he was a descendant of Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd, but the abominable one replied, 'I am not a descendant of ʿĪsā, but of Yaḥyā b. Zayd.' He lied about that; it is generally accepted about Yaḥyā that he had no offspring but a daughter who died in infancy."[380]

In the same year the central government despatched Muḥammad[381] al-Muwallad to al-Baṣrah in order to fight the Zanj leader. He left Sāmarrā on Friday, the 1st of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (September 20, 871).

An Account of al-Muwallad's Expedition

Muḥammad al-Muwallad reached the area and was quartered in al-Ubullah.[382] Burayh arrived and established himself in al-Baṣrah. A large number of Baṣrans who had previously fled the city gathered
[1858] around Burayh. When Yaḥyā (b. Muḥammad) withdrew from the city, he set up camp on the Nahr al-Ghūthā.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, reporting from Shibl, said that, when Muḥammad al-Muwallad arrived, the abominable one sent Yaḥyā instructions to proceed to the Nahr Awwā. He arrived there with his army and set about engaging al-Muwallad in battle for ten days. Al-Muwallad had selected a place of residence and settled himself in but had devoted less attention to pursuing hostilities. The abominable one ordered Yaḥyā to launch a night attack against him and sent him barges with Abū al-Layth al-Iṣbahānī. Yaḥyā launched the night attack and al-Muwallad ventured forth with his troops. The two sides fought until morning and well into the next afternoon. Then he turned and withdrew while the Zanj entered his camp and

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from Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd to that of Yaḥyā b. Zayd. Ṭabarī is, in fact, saying that the claim was fabricated. Thus the Zanj leader's reason for altering his claim would have been to make it more difficult for opponents and skeptics to challenge its truth, especially if descent from Yaḥyā meant from one of his several half-brothers.

380. This is probably a reference to Yaḥyā's daughter by a woman of the Azd tribe, whom he married in al-Kūfah. See *EI*,[1] s.v. "Zaid b. ʿAlī."

381. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 246, refers to him as Aḥmad al-Muwallad.

382. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 103 n. 2, on the nature of Muḥammad's forces.

plundered it. Yaḥyā sent word of this to the abominable one, who sent further instructions that Yaḥyā should pursue al-Muwallad. Yaḥyā chased after al-Muwallad as far as al-Ḥawānīt[383] before making his way back. He then passed by al-Jāmidah,[384] attacked its inhabitants, and plundered all the neighboring villages, spilling as much blood as he could in the course of the operation. Next he set up his army camp in al-Jālah and remained there a while before returning to the Nahr Maʿqil.

In the same year Muḥammad al-Muwallad captured Saʿīd b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Salm al-Bāhilī, who, with the aid of his Bāhilite troops, had gained control over the swamp region and made the land routes very insecure.

In this year as well Muḥammad b. Wāṣil violated his allegiance to the central authorities by conquering the province of Fārs.

Leading the pilgimage this year was al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās.

In this year Basīl,[385] one of the ruling household, who was known as al-Ṣaqlabī because his mother was a Ṣaqlabī,[386] attacked and killed Michael, the son of Tawfīl, the king of Byzantium. Michael had ruled alone for twenty-four years, and after him the Ṣaqlabī became ruler of Byzantium. [1859]

383. The name means "toll booths," and the place lay on the eastern bank of the Tigris, just north of the great swamp region. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 33, 46.

384. A large village in the Wāsiṭ district. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 274. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 137, notes that Yaḥyā pursued al-Muwallad to al-Jāmidah; he does not mention al-Ḥawānīt.

385. Basil I, founder of the Macedonian dynasty, ruled from 867 to 886. He had his co-emperor, Michael III, murdered in his bed, enabling himself to become sole ruler of the Byzantine empire. See Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 233ff.

386. See *EI*,[1] s.v "Ṣaḳāliba," a term meaning "Slav," widely applied to peoples of various origins who lived in territory lying between Constantinople and the lands of the Bulgars.

The Events of the Year 258

(November 18, 871–November 6, 872)

Among the important events of this year was the arrival of Saʿīd b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Salm al-Bāhilī before the central authorities, who ordered that he be punished with seven hundred lashes. This was in the month of Rabīʿ II (February 15–March 14, 872). Saʿīd died, and his body was placed on public display.[387]

In the same year also one of the religious judges of the Zanj leader, who had represented him in ʿAbbādān, was beheaded. Fourteen other Zanj, who had been captured in the district of al-Baṣrah, were beheaded at the Public Gate in Sāmarrā.

Mufliḥ fought with some Arab tribesmen in Takrīt.[388] It was reported that they were sympathetic to Musāwir the Khārijite.

Masrūr al-Balkhī engaged in battle the Kurds of the Yaʿqūbiyyah, routing them and inflicting casualties among them.

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387. Saʿīd and the activities of the Bāhilah in the marshland areas have already been mentioned, p. 135, above. The capture and death of the Bāhilah chief, Saʿīd, caused the tribe to go over to the cause of the Zanj. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Bāhila."

388. At this time Takrīt, located 30 miles north of Sāmarrā on the west bank of the Tigris, was regarded by the early Arab geographers as situated on the frontier between the province of Iraq and the Jazīrah but within the former. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 25, 57.

Muḥammad b. Wāṣil submitted obediently to the central authorities and delivered the taxes (*kharāj*) and the revenue of the estates in Fārs to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Fayyāḍ.

The Caliph al-Muʿtamid put his brother Abū Aḥmad in charge of the districts of Diyār Muḍar,[389] Qinnasrīn,[390] and al-ʿAwāṣim.[391] This occurred on Monday, the 20th of Rabīʿ I (February 4, 872). On [1860] Thursday, at the commencement of the new moon of Rabīʿ II (around February 29, 872), the Caliph in assembly bestowed robes of honor upon both his brother and Mufliḥ. The two of them set out for al-Baṣrah, riding in a public procession, with al-Muʿtamid accompanying Abū Aḥmad as far as Bazkuwār,[392] whence he returned to Sāmarrā.

Manṣūr b. Jaʿfar b. Dīnār al-Khayyāṭ was killed in the course of this year.[393]

An Account of [Manṣūr b. Jaʿfar's] Death

It was reported that, following the carnage wrought by his troops in al-Baṣrah, the abominable one ordered ʿAlī b. Abān al-Muhallabī to march toward Jubbā to wage war against Manṣūr b. Jaʿfar, who at the time was in Al-Ahwāz. ʿAlī camped opposite ʿAlī's army, which was then stationed in al-Khayzurāniyyah, Manṣūr employing at this moment small contingents of infantry. The abominable one then sent twelve barges to ʿAlī b. Abān, manned with the toughest of his troops, and placed in their charge Abū al-Layth al-Iṣbahānī.[394] He ordered Abū al-Layth to obey ʿAlī's commands, but this he failed to do to the extent of imposing his own views upon ʿAlī. As Manṣūr was approaching with his own barges to make one of his regular at-

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389. Lying along the banks of the Euphrates, one of the three districts constituting the province of the Jazīrah; it was named after the tribe of Muḍar. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 86.

390. The ancient Chalcis in northern Syria.

391. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 101–2; *EI*,[2] s.v. "al-ʿAwāṣim." This was part of the frontier zone between Byzantium and the ʿAbbāsid domains in the north and northeast of Syria. Abū Aḥmad's responsibilities in these districts were nominal; his real task was to conduct the campaign against the Zanj, as the remainder of the paragraph makes clear.

392. A town on the Tigris near al-Qādisiyyah, variously referred to as Barkuwāra, Balkuwāra (see Le Strange, *Lands*, 52), or Barkuwān, as in manuscript C.

393. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 251–52.

394. Abū al-Layth appears to have been the chief, if not the only, commander, or "admiral," of the Zanj flotilla.

tacks on the enemy, Abū al-Layth suddenly set out to meet him without first having consulted ʿAlī about this. Manṣūr seized Abū al-Layth's barges and killed a large number of both whites and Zanj who were aboard them. Abū al-Layth himself managed to escape and found his way back to the abominable one. ʿAlī b. Abān turned back as well with all his forces and remained in camp for a whole month. Then with his infantry troops he set out again to fight Manṣūr. After establishing his new camp, he sent out scouts to gather information concerning Manṣūr and his soldiers.

[1861] Now Manṣūr had a prefect stationed at Karnabā.[395] ʿAlī b. Abān launched a night attack against this commander, killing him along with most of those based there. ʿAlī looted the camp, took some horses, and burned the place to the ground. He returned during the course of the same night, and arrived at the mouth of the Nahr Jubbā. News of this reached Manṣūr, who ventured forth, finally approaching [ʿAlī's base] in al-Khayzurāniyyah. ʿAlī went out to challenge him with a small band of troops, and the battle between them lasted that day from mid-morning until noon. Manṣūr was forced to flee, and his own troops scattered, abandoning him. A party of Zanj caught up with Manṣūr and tracked him as far as the canal owned by ʿUmar b. Mihrān. Manṣūr repeatedly turned to attack his pursuers until at last his spears were all broken and his supply of arrows depleted, leaving him completely defenseless. He then made his way to the edge of the canal, intending to cross over. He shouted encouragement to his horse and it leaped, but failed to reach the other bank, and he plunged into the water.

Shibl said that the reason why the horse was unable to make the crossing successfully was because one of the Zanj had seen Manṣūr head for the canal bank, intending to cross over. Hurriedly throwing himself into the water, he swam across ahead of Manṣūr. When Manṣūr's horse jumped, the black confronted it, causing the horse to shy away, tumbling both itself and its rider into the water. Manṣūr's head bobbed to the surface, and a slave from among the blacks of Muṣliḥ's lieutenants called Abrūn struck him a mortal blow and then commenced to rob him. A large number of those with Manṣūr were killed, including his brother Khalaf b. Jaʿfar. Yārjūkh then placed [a

395. The reading is uncertain.

Turk named] Aṣghajūn[396] in charge of Manṣūr's administrative duties.

On Tuesday, the 18th of Jumādā I (April 1, 872), Mufliḥ was killed by an untipped arrow, which struck him in the temple. He died the following morning; his body was borne to Sāmarrā, and he was buried there. [1862]

An Account of [Mufliḥ's] Death[397]

I have already recounted how Abū Aḥmad [al-Muwaffaq] b. al-Mutawakkil departed from Sāmarrā and headed for al-Baṣrah to do battle with the cursed one.[398] I myself witnessed[399] in Baghdad the army with which Abū Aḥmad and Mufliḥ had set out. This was after the news had reached Abū Aḥmad and al-Muʿtamid concerning the atrocities endured by Muslims in al-Baṣrah and adjacent territories. The army passed by the Bāb al-Ṭāq,[400] the quarter where I was then staying, and I happened to hear a group of the elders of Baghdad saying that they had seen many armies of the caliphs but none that appeared larger and better equipped or prepared than this one. A large enthusiastic crowd of Baghdad's citizenry accompanied the army on its way through the city.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan recounted that Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī was camped on the Nahr Maʿqil before Abū Aḥmad's arrival in the locality of the abominable one. Yaḥyā sought permission of the Zanj leader to march on to the Nahr al-ʿAbbās, but this was strongly rejected out of fear that the central authorities' forces would arrive while his own troops were scattered in various places. Yaḥyā persisted, however, until he secured permission, and he departed, followed by the greater part of the abominable one's forces.

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396. Thus in manuscript B; C, however, gives such alternative readings as Aṣfahūr and Asfajūr.

397. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 252–53.

398. This is the fourth epithet (*al-laʿīn*) Ṭabarī employs for the Zanj leader, the others being "abominable one," "traitor," and "enemy of God."

399. A rare personal comment by Ṭabarī on an event at which he himself was present.

400. This was the great arched gate at the eastern end of the Main Bridge in Baghdad, which opened directly onto the major market street of the eastern quarter of the city. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 178; Lassner, *Topography*, 173–76.

ʿAlī b. Abān was stationed in Jubbā with a large number of the Zanj. Al-Baṣrah had already been plundered by his troops and they were busy moving back and forth transporting the goods they had seized
[1863] from it. And so, at that time there were not many troops available to man the abominable one's own camp. His situation remained thus when Abū Aḥmad arrived with Mufliḥ and his army, a formidable and mighty force such as had never before been sent against the abominable one.

When this war machine reached the Nahr Maʿqil, those of the Zanj leader's troops who were stationed there fled, terrified, to join him. The abominable one was alarmed by this development, and he summoned two of his army chiefs who had been present at the Nahr Maʿqil and asked them why they had abandoned their position. They told him of the might of the approaching army they had seen, its equipment, and its high state of preparedness. There was no way their own forces were sufficient to stop it. The abominable one inquired whether they knew the identity of the army commander. They did not; although efforts had been made to discover who he was, they had failed, owing to the lack of a trustworthy informant. So the abominable one despatched scouts in skiffs to attempt to glean this intelligence. His messengers returned with information concerning the imposing might of the army, but none had been able to find out who the commander-in-chief or the other leaders were. This lack of information only served to increase his apprehension and dismay. So [the Zanj leader] sent urgent word to ʿAlī b. Abān informing him of the approaching danger and ordering him to bring to him such troops as he had available. The government's army arrived and established camp in front of the Zanj position. On the day of the battle, which was a Wednesday, the abominable one ventured forth on foot, making the rounds of his army to examine carefully the state of affairs on his own side, as well as those confronting him.

[1864] That day a light rain had fallen. The ground was wet, making it slippery underfoot. The Zanj leader had made an early morning reconnaissance and after his return he called for ink and paper to despatch a message to ʿAlī b. Abān. He informed him of what he had observed of the government forces and ordered him to send whatever number of infantry he could spare.

While [the Zanj leader] was thus engaged, someone called Abū Dulaf, who was one of the commanders of the blacks, came to him

and said, "The enemy has advanced and the Zanj have fled from them; they had no leader among them to check their flight until they reached the fourth *ḥabl*."[401] The Zanj leader berated him loudly, saying, "Get out of my sight, you liar! You don't know what you're talking about. You have only been alarmed by the numbers of troops you have seen."

Abū Dulaf left him, and the abominable one then turned to his secretary, who had ordered Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm al-Sajjān[402] to summon the Zanj to move into the battlefield. Al-Sajjān informed the Zanj leader that he had despatched them and that his troops had seized two skiffs. Al-Sajjān was next commanded to get the infantry ready. It was only a short while after this that Mufliḥ was struck by an arrow from a concealed archer. Thereafter defeat was unavoidable, as the Zanj overwhelmed their enemy and engulfed them in a bloodbath. The Zanj brought to the abominable one heads of the enemy, holding them by their teeth, and tossed them at his feet; that day the heads of the enemy filled every corner. The Zanj even began to apportion the flesh of their victims among themselves and to exchange it as gifts. A prisoner from Farāghinah was brought before the traitor, who asked him who the commander of the army was, and he told him of the whereabouts of Abū Aḥmad and Mufliḥ. The Zanj leader was alarmed at the mention of Abū Aḥmad's name. Whenever he became alarmed by something, he would deny its truth. He said, [1865] "There is no leader in the army other than Mufliḥ, for I have heard mention of none save him. If the one this prisoner mentioned were in the army, he would be of such importance that Mufliḥ would only be his subordinate and adjutant to his associates."

When Abū Aḥmad's troops attacked the abominable one's camp, the noncombatants were filled with such fear that they fled from their dwellings and sought refuge by the Nahr Abī al-Khaṣīb. At this time there were no bridges spanning the water, and as a consequence

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401. See Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, CLXXIX, where the suggested meaning is one attested in Lane, *Lexicon*, as "'the station of the horses collected for a race before they are let go,' which was probably marked by an extended rope and was for that reason thus called." More likely, however, *ḥabl* means here a measure of distance, indicated by some marker. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 326 n. 1, notes that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī used the term *ḥabl* for a length equivalent to the side of a *jarīb*. See also Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 62.

402. As his name suggests, he was a jailer.

a great number of women and children drowned in the attempt to cross it.

The abominable one had not long to wait after the battle before ʿAlī b. Abān arrived with a number of his troops, although by then there was little need of them. Shortly after Mufliḥ's death, Abū Aḥmad withdrew to al-Ubullah to reassemble his shattered forces and renew his preparations for war. Finally, he set out for Nahr Abī al-Asad and set up his camp there.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that the abominable one did not know how Mufliḥ had been killed.[403] But, when he heard that he had been hit by a stray arrow that no one claimed, he boasted that he had himself shot it. Muḥammad continued: "I heard him say that an arrow had fallen near him and his servant Wah[404] picked it up and brought it to him. He then shot it and killed Mufliḥ. I know that he lied about that, because I was present and witnessed the whole thing; he did not get off his horse until the battle was over and the news arrived of the enemy's defeat and the heads were brought."

In this year an epidemic struck the population of the Tigris districts, and many people died in Madīnat al-Salām, Sāmarrā, Wāsiṭ, and elsewhere.

In this year as well Khuraskhāris[405] was killed, along with a number of his troops in Byzantine territory.

[1866] Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī, the close associate of the Zanj leader, was captured in this year and killed.

An Account of [Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad's] Capture and Death[406]

Muḥammad b. Simʿān the secretary reportedly said that when Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad reached the Nahr al-ʿAbbās he encountered at the mouth of the canal three hundred seventy horsemen from the forces of Aṣghajūn, who was in those days the financial administrator of al-Ahwāz; the horsemen were recruited from the same area. Upon seeing them, Yaḥyā underestimated their number and imagined

403. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 105 and n. 3.
404. Thus in Manuscript B; C is unpointed and could be read *bah/nah*, etc.
405. The reading is uncertain.
406. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 254.

that he had nothing to fear, given the size of his own force. So, without anything to protect them from danger, his troops attacked, and Aṣghajūn's soldiers rained arrows down upon them, injuring many. Yaḥyā then despatched one hundred twenty of his own horsemen across the canal, together with a large number of foot soldiers. Aṣghajūn's troops withdrew, allowing al-Baḥrānī's force to enter the canal. This was at a time of low water and the transport boats were stranded in the mud. The men on the boats saw the approaching Zanj and decided to abandon them, whereupon they were seized and an immense amount of valuable goods were plundered from them. The Zanj then headed for the marsh area known as the Baṭīḥah al-Ṣaḥnāh, carrying their spoils, but they left the well-traveled road, owing to the mutual envy that existed between al-Baḥrānī and ʿAlī b. Abān al-Muhallabī. Yaḥyā's companions advised him not to take the road frequented by ʿAlī's army. Yaḥyā accepted their advice, and [1867] they set out for and finally entered the marshland, showing him the road we have just mentioned. There Yaḥyā granted leave to the cavalry and ordered Abū al-Layth al-Iṣbahānī to march them to the encampment of the Zanj commander.

The abominable one had sent word to Yaḥyā alerting him of the approaching army that he had encountered and urging him to be on his guard on his return lest he also run into the enemy. Al-Baḥrānī sent out some scouting parties to the Tigris and they left just as Abī Aḥmad's army was setting off from al-Ubullah for the Nahr Abī al-Asad.

The reason for the departure of the government's forces to the Nahr Abū al-Asad was that Rāfiʿ b. Bisṭām and others from the neighborhood of Nahr al-ʿAbbās and the Baṭīḥah al-Ṣaḥnāh had communicated with Abū Aḥmad informing him of al-Baḥrānī and the size of his forces and, moreover, that he was planning to leave Nahr al-ʿAbbās for the Tigris. They thus advised Abū Aḥmad to advance to the Nahr Abū al-Asad and establish his army camp there in order to interrupt the flow of supplies to al-Baḥrānī and preventing anyone coming to or going from his camp. Yaḥyā's scouts returned with the news of Abū Aḥmad's army, causing him increasingly to fear an encounter. He therefore turned back along the road he had come from, both he and his troops experiencing great hardship. They succumbed to a sickness owing to their constant exposure in the swamp and many of their number fell ill. As they neared the

Nahr al-ʿAbbās, Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad placed Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ in charge of the vanguard of the Zanj who were engaged in towing their boats out of the Nahr al-ʿAbbās. The government forces, however, had barges and skiffs provided by Aṣghajūn guarding the mouth of the canal, along with contingents of cavalry and infantry. This situation caused considerable concern to Yaḥyā and his soldiers. The Zanj then abandoned their boats and took themselves off to the west
[1868] of the Nahr al-ʿAbbās making for the al-Zaydān road and the encampment of the abominable one.

Yaḥyā was totally in the dark about what had happened to this group [of Zanj]. No news reached him in the central sector of his army, which had just reached the Qūraj al-ʿAbbās Bridge (*qanṭarah*), at a narrow spot where the water flowed very swiftly in the channel. From there he could oversee his Zanj troops as they towed their boats, some of which sank while others were rescued.

Muḥammad b. Simʿān reported that while he was standing there by the bridge, Yaḥyā came up to him and was clearly astonished by the violent force of the water and the great difficulty experienced by his men in towing their boats. He said, "What do you imagine would happen if the enemy attacked us now; what situation could be worse the ours?" He was interrupted by the arrival of Ṭāshtimur al-Turkī with the army that Abū Aḥmad had despatched upon his return from al-Ubullah to the Nahr Abī al-Asad. Great consternation broke out among Yaḥyā's troops.

Muḥammad (b. Simān) continued: "I jumped up to take a look and saw red flags appear on the western side of the Nahr al-ʿAbbās were Yaḥyā was located. The Zanj spotted them and, throwing themselves into the canal, they crossed over to the eastern side. Yaḥyā's location became deserted, and only a few dozen men remained with him. At that Yaḥyā took up his shield and sword and wrapped a cloth around his waist. He met the approaching enemy with his small band and Ṭāshtimur's troops showered arrows upon them, swiftly causing many wounds. Al-Baḥrānī himself was wounded in three places, both his arms and his left leg. When his companions saw him injured, they scattered. However, as he was not recognized and no one made to finish him off, he retraced his way to one of the
[1869] boats and crossed over [as well] to the eastern side of the canal. The time was about midmorning."

The wounds that Yaḥyā had sustained sapped his strength. His

condition caused the Zanj's fear to increase and their resolve to weaken. They abandoned the battle, their only concern now being to save their own skins. The government troops plundered the boats situated on the western bank of the canal. When they had finished, they boarded one of the boats with fire-throwing machines and crossed over to the opposite bank where they proceeded to burn the craft the Zanj had abandoned there. The Zanj themselves had scattered, leaving Yaḥyā on his own. For the remainder of the day, those who could do so slipped away, leaving many dead and captured behind them, finally escaping under the protective cover of darkness. Seeing the total collapse of his forces, Yaḥyā boarded a galley that one of the white fighters was in charge of. He brought with him a practitioner of the medical arts called Abū Jaysh ʿAbbād, because of the injuries he was suffering from. His only desire was to make good his escape to the camp of the abominable one. As they approached the mouth of the canal, the sailors in the galley saw ahead of them barges and gallies [of the government forces] blockading the canal. They feared to approach too near, certain as they were to be apprehended. They then crossed over to the western bank and put Yaḥyā and those with him on shore at a small plantation. Yaḥyā made some distance on foot moving with difficulty until, too exhausted to go further, he dropped and spent the night where he was. The next morning the physician ʿAbbād, who was still with him, set out on foot carefully on the lookout for anyone. When he came across some of the government's troops, he signaled to them, told them where Yaḥyā was hiding, and then showed them the way, so that he fell into their hands. Some claim, however, that it had been another group of [1870] people who, in passing by Yaḥyā, saw him and gave his position away so that he was captured. The news of Yaḥyā's fate reached the abominable one, leader of the Zanj, which greatly increased his unease and heightened his sense of sorrow at the loss.

Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Azraq al-Baḥrānī was taken to Abū Aḥmad who transported him to al-Muʿtamid in Sāmarrā. A platform was ordered constructed at al-Ḥayr by the racecourse; Yaḥyā was then elevated before the crowd so they could witness him being publicly flogged. It is reported that he entered Sāmarrā on Wednesday, the 9th of Rajab (May 21, 872), seated upon a camel. Al-Muʿtamid held an assembly on the following morning, which was Thursday, and Yaḥyā was given two hundred strokes of a whip end in the Ca-

liph's presence. Next his hands and legs were severed from opposite sides.[407] Then he was beaten severely with swords, drawn and quartered, and finally his body was burned.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan related that, when Yaḥyā al-Baḥrānī was executed and the news of this reached the leader of the Zanj, he said, "Yaḥyā's death was deeply distressing to me and my anxiety was intense, when a voice addressed me saying that his death was a blessing for me, as he was a greedy person." Sometime later he approached a group of people I was standing with and said that an example of Yaḥyā's cupidity was the following story: "Once we had acquired a great deal of booty from one of the towns we took, and there came into his possession two necklaces of which the larger and more precious he concealed from me, showing me only the less valuable one, requesting that I give it to him as a gift. This I did. But I was then informed of the one he had hidden, and, summoning him, I said, 'Give me the necklace that you have concealed.' However, he produced only the one I had already presented to him, denying that he had taken any other. But, when I began to describe the necklace that had been reported to me, watching him, he became pale and speechless. He left and later brought me the second necklace and beseeched me to give it to him as a gift also. I did so and ordered him
[1871] to seek God's forgiveness for his deed."

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan — Muḥammad b. Simʿān reported that one day the Zanj leader said to him that he had been offered prophethood but that he had refused. Ibn Simʿān asked why and received the reply that prophethood involved burdens[408] he feared he had not the strength to bear.

In this same year Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil withdrew from his position in the neighborhood of the Zanj leader and made for Wāsiṭ.

An Account of [Abū Aḥmad's] Withdrawal to Wāsiṭ[409]

After Abū Aḥmad had gone to the Nahr Abū al-Asad and camped there, illness and disease spread among his soldiers and others ac-

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407. A punishment prescribed in Qur'ān 5:33 (al-Mā'idah).

408. Popovic, *Révolte*, 107, reads this word as *ʿabā*, "robe" (of prophethood), rather than *aʿbā'an*, a plural in the accusative, as in the text; the emendation does not seem justified. See Halm, *Traditionen*, 215.

409. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 255–56.

companying him. A number died, but he could not move until those who survived had managed to recover. Abū Aḥmad then set out to return to Bādhāward,[410] where he camped. He ordered the renewal of the army's equipment and the distribution to the troops of their allotments. He also refurbished the barges, galleys, and ferries and placed them under the command of men from among his freedmen.[411]

Setting out in pursuit of the abominable one's army, Abū Aḥmad ordered a group of his commanders to make for certain spots that he listed, including the Nahr Abī al-Khaṣīb and other places. Other commanders he ordered to stay with him to fight at the spot he himself would select. When the battle resumed between the two sides, most of his forces moved toward the Nahr Abī al-Khaṣīb, while Abū Aḥmad remained with only a handful of his troops. He held his position for fear that the Zanj might be tempted to attack him and other groups of his forces exposed to them while they were in the salt flats of Nahr Mankā. The Zanj observed the dispersal of Abū [1872] Aḥmad's troops and found out his [precarious] position, so they concentrated on it. Battle flared up furiously with many dead and injured on both sides. Abū Aḥmad's troops burned many of the fortified places and dwellings of the Zanj and rescued a large number of female [captives]. The Zanj then directed all their efforts toward the place where Abū Aḥmad was stationed. (Abū Aḥmad) al-Muwaffaq appeared on a barge and plunged into the middle of the battle, urging on his troops, until there arrived a crowd of Zanj whom he knew he could not combat, given the small number of his own followers. Realizing that the better part of valor would be to disengage from battle, he commanded his own troops to retreat to their boats in deliberate and orderly fashion. Abū Aḥmad then reboarded his barge after ensuring that most of his men were safely aboard their boats. A detachment remained behind, and they sought refuge in the heavy thickets and narrow waterways. They were completely cut off from their comrades. The Zanj ambushed them and picked them off one by one. These men defended themselves and in the hand-to-hand combat many Zanj met their fate. Nevertheless, some one hundred ten heads of Abū Aḥmad's soldiers were sent to the leader of the Zanj, which only served to increase his arrogance.

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410. Located between al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ. See Yaḥyā, *Mu'jam*, I, 462.

411. The phrase is *min mawālihi wa-ghilmānihi*.

Abū Aḥmad finally managed to make it back with his army to al-Bādhāward, where he stayed, mustering his troops for another round against the Zanj. A fire broke out at one end of the camp during a period of violent wind storms and the camp burned down. Then, in Shaʿbān of this year (June 12 – July 10, 872), Abū Aḥmad made the return journey to Wāsiṭ and, after his arrival, the bulk of his troops dispersed.

On the 10th of Shaʿbān (June 21, 872) a dreadful, thunderous
[1873] earthquake[412] occurred in al-Ṣaymarah.[413] Then the following morning, which was Sunday, an even greater crash than the first was heard, and as a result most of the city was destroyed. Everywhere walls of buildings collapsed, and, according to what was said, some twenty thousand persons were killed.

A man known as Abū Faqʿas was roundly beaten at the Public Gate in Sāmarrā, one thousand twenty strokes being administered. The charge against him was abusing the pious ancestors (*salaf*). He died on Thursday, the 7th of Ramaḍān (July 15, 872).

On Friday, the 8th of Ramaḍān (July 16, 872), Yārjūkh died. Abū ʿĪsā b. al-Mutawakkil recited the funerary prayers for him, with Jaʿfar b. al-Muʿtamid present.

In this year as well there occurred a battle between Mūsā b. Bughā and the troops of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, who were routed.

Masrūr al-Balkhī returned to Sāmarrā after his campaign against the Khārijite Musāwir. He brought back Khārijite prisoners and left Juʿlān behind as deputy of his army in al-Ḥadīthah.[414] Later Masrūr himself set out for the district of al-Bawāzīj,[415] where he encountered Musāwir again. In the ensuing battle a number of Musāwir's troops were captured. Before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (October 8 to November 6, 872) Masrūr set out on the return journey.

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412. The word is *haddah*, which Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *h-d-d*, states is a violent sound occasioned by a falling wall or part of a mountain; an earthquake certainly seems to have been the cause of the destruction.

413. The chief town in the district of Mihrajānqudhaq, on the frontier of Iraq. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 201–2.

414. This is Ḥadīthat al-Nūrah (Ḥadīthah of the Chalk Pit), which is on the Tigris and must be distinguished from the city al-Ḥadīthah on the Euphrates. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 64. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 257, calls the location Ḥadīthat al-Mawṣil, which would refer to the same place, that is, Ḥadīthah in the district of al-Mawṣil.

415. The town of Bawāzīj lay on the bank of the Lower Zab river, east of Sinn on the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 91.

In the same year a malady overcame people in Baghdad. It was called *quffāʿ*.[416]

In this year most of the Ḥājj pilgrims returned from al-Qarʿāʾ[417] out of a fear of thirst. But those who went on to Mecca arrived safely. The leader of the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq b. al-Ḥasan.[418]

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416. A person described as *aqfaʿ* is one whose toes are misshapen. See A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, s.v. *q-f-ʿ*.

417. Literally, "bare," so named, according to Yaḥyā, *Muʿjam*, IV, 325, because of its lack of vegetation. It was a stage on the route from al-Kūfah to Mecca.

418. This was the second year in succession that he had led the pilgrimage. See p. 135, above.

The Events of the Year

259[419]

(November 7, 872–October 26, 873)

Among the events of this year was the return of Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil from Wāsiṭ to Sāmarrā. He arrived on Friday, the 26th of Rabīʿ I (January 30, 873). He appointed Muḥammad al-Muwallad to be responsible for Wāsiṭ and for pursuing the war against the abominable one in the area.[420]

The death of Kanjūr[421] occurred in this year.

An Account of [Kanjūr's] Death

At the time he was governor of al-Kūfah, Kanjūr left it without official sanction for Sāmarrā. He refused an order to return to al-Kūfah and so, according to what has been reported, money was transported

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419. Popovic, *Révolte*, 109, notes the disproportionate amount of detail that Ṭabarī provides on the Zanj revolt. The years 255–58/868–72 cover more than twice the space given to the succeeding period, 259–65/873–79. In this latter period, Ṭabarī highlights only the important developments in the revolt.

420. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 108ff.

421. See n. 336, above.

to him to be distributed among his troops for their allotments. This failed to mollify Kanjūr, and he continued as far as ʿUkbarā'[422] in the month of Rabīʿ I (January 5–February 3, 873). In response, a number of army commanders were sent from Sāmarrā to deal with him, among them Sātikīn, Takīn, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mufliḥ, Mūsā b. Utāmish, and others. They butchered him and sent his head to Sāmarrā. This was on the 29th of Rabīʿ I (February 2, 873). Some forty thousand dinars were seized from him at the same time. Kanjūr's Christian secretary was forced to surrender more money. Then in the following month, Rabīʿ II (February 4 to March 4, 873), this secretary was punished by being given one thousand lashes at the Public Gate [in Sāmarrā], from which he died.

In this year Sharkab al-Jammāl conquered Marv and its adjacent territories and plundered them.

Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth returned from Balkh in this year and resided in Quhistān.[423] He appointed financial prefects over Herāt, Būshanj, and Bādhghīs, and then he departed for Sijistān.[424] [1875]

In this year as well ʿAbdallāh al-Sijzī[425] abandoned Yaʿqūb ibn al-Layth, breaking his bond of loyalty to him, and blockaded Naysābūr.[426] Then Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir sent messengers and legists to sort out matters, and they went back and forth between them [conducting negotiations], and finally ʿAbdallāh was appointed governor of al-Ṭabasayn and Quhistān.[427]

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422. A town lying on the east bank of the Tigris, about halfway between Baghdad and Sāmarrā. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 50, 51; Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 33, 38–39.

423. The province of Quhistān was generally regarded by Arab geographers as a dependency of Khurāsān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 352ff. The movements of Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth mentioned in this paragraph reflect the expansion of his power in the eastern provinces of the ʿAbbāsid domains. See Bosworth, "Ṭāhirids," 115ff.

424. The province situated on the southern border of Khurāsān; it was also called Sīstān. Le Strange, *Lands*, 334–51, 431.

425. That is, a native of the province of Sijistān. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 261–62.

426. One of the four major cities of the province of Khurāsān, the others being Marv, Herāt, and Balkh. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 382–88.

427. There were two places in Quhistān called Ṭabas; Ṭabas al-Tamr and Ṭabas al-ʿUnnāb, which are often referred to in the dual form Ṭabasayn. This province of Quhistān, which means "mountain land," is not to be confused with the Persian equivalent of the district known in Arabic as al-Jibāl. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 186, 359.

On the 6th of Rajab (May 8, 873) of this year (ʿAlī b. Abān) al-Muhallabī and Yaḥyā b. Khalaf al-Nahrabaṭṭī overran Sūq al-Ahwāz and killed a great many inhabitants, including the chief of security.

An Account of [the] Battle [at Sūq al-Ahwāz] and How the Army Commander[428] of the Central Authorities Was Killed

The burning of Abū Aḥmad's military camp in al-Bādhāward was reported to have been kept from the leader of the Zanj. He discovered what had happened only three days later, when two men from ʿAbbādān visited him and gave him the news.

At this the Zanj leader returned to plundering, as supplies of food were cut off from him. He sent off ʿAlī b. Abān al-Muhallabī with most of the army accompanied by Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ, who had taken charge of the forces formerly under Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī and Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Shaʿrānī. Sulaymān was also placed in charge of the cavalry while the rest of the troops were with ʿAlī b. Abān al-Muhallabī.

At the time the governor of al-Ahwāz was someone called Aṣghajūn; stationed there with him were Nayzak and a number of other
[1876] commanders. ʿAlī b. Abān approached al-Ahwāz with his Zanj forces, and when Aṣghajūn was alerted to this he advanced toward ʿAlī with his own troops, the two sides meeting in the desert wastes of Dastimārān. That day fate was against Aṣghajūn, who was drowned, while Nayzak and many of his troops were slain. Al-Ḥasan b. Harthamah al-Shār and al-Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar Zāwashār were both taken prisoner the same day.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan — al-Ḥasan b. (al-Harthamah) al-Shār said, "That day we left al-Ahwāz with Aṣghajūn to meet the Zanj, but our troops were unable to stand their ground, and they fled; Nayzak was killed, and Aṣghajūn went missing. When I became aware of this, I dismounted from my own crop-tailed horse.[429] By leading another horse I had with me into the river and seizing hold of its tail, I planned to make good my escape. But my servant beat me to it, making his escape and leaving me behind. I then tried to join Mūsā

428. *Ṣāḥib al-ḥarb.*
429. *Faras mahdhūf.* See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *h-dh-f.*

b. Jaʿfar so the two us could get away together, but he had boarded a rivercraft and departed without waiting for me. I caught sight of another boat, which I managed to board, but a crowd gathered round demanding to be taken on board as well, and, with so many clinging to the craft, they caused it to capsize. I scrambled onto the overturned hull and the crowd departed just as the Zanj arrived. They began shooting arrows at me and, as I felt my end was near, I cried out to them, 'Stop shooting and toss me something that I can grab myself and reach you.' So they extended a spear, which I grabbed with my hand, and they pulled me out. As for al-Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar, his brother put him on a horse and set him up to act as a messenger between him and the commander of the army. But, in the wake of [1877] defeat and in his haste to find safety, his horse stumbled, and he was captured."

ʿAlī b. Abān relayed the news of the battle to the abominable one and sent him many enemy heads and banners as well. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Shār, al-Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar, and Aḥmad b. Rūḥ, along with other captives, were ordered imprisoned. Meanwhile ʿAlī b. Abān entered al-Ahwāz and systematically pillaged it, forcing the central authorities to assign Mūsā b. Bughā to the task of waging war against the abominable one.

Mūsā b. Bughā left Sāmarrā for this purpose on the 17th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (September 14, 873). Al-Muʿtamid accompanied him in public procession as far as the city walls and there bestowed robes of honor upon him.

This same year ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mufliḥ arrived in al-Ahwāz, Isḥāq b. Kundāj[430] in al-Baṣrah, and Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā in Bādhāward, all acting on authority of Mūsā b. Bughā in preparation for waging war aginst the Zanj leader.

An Account of How [Mūsā b. Bughā's Commanders] Fared against the Zanj[431]

Following Ibn Mufliḥ's arrival in al-Ahwāz, he reportedly encamped for ten days at the Arbuk Bridge and then set out against (ʿAlī b. Abān) al-Muhallabī. Ibn Mufliḥ was defeated in the encounter by al-

430. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 260, calls him Isḥāq b. Kandajīq.
431. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 259–60.

Muhallabī and forced to withdraw to regroup his forces. Ibn Mufliḥ returned to do battle again. In the violent fighting the Zanj were dealt a devastating blow in numbers killed and taken captive. ʿAlī b. Abān was routed, yet managed to escape with some followers to Bayān. The abominable one tried to induce them to return to battle but, owing to the fear that gripped their hearts, they could not. When he saw the situation as it was, he allowed them to enter his camp;
[1878] they did so and settled for a time in his city.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (b. Mufliḥ) arrived in Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī[432] to establish his army there. The abominable one sent ʿAlī b. Abān to fight him but, as ʿAlī was unable to overcome Ibn Mufliḥ, he headed for a place called al-Dakar. At this time Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā was in al-Bādhāward, and in one engagement he defeated ʿAlī, who, when he returned to the attack, was beaten again. During the night ʿAlī left and, accompanied by some guides who led him through the dense thickets and copses, he reached Nahr Yaḥyā. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān received news of ʿAlī's [movements] and despatched Ṭāshtimur against him with a contingent of *mawlās*. However, owing to the inaccessibility of ʿAlī's position and the impenetrable barrier of reeds and grasses, Ṭāshtimur failed to reach him. So he forced them out by setting fire to the vegetation. A number of Zanj were captured, and Ṭāshtimur brought them and [news of] the victory to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mufliḥ while ʿAlī b. Abān made his way to Nasūkhā[433] and set up camp there with the remainder of his forces. News of ʿAlī's move reached ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mufliḥ, and he immediately shifted his own camp to al-ʿAmūd.

Meanwhile, ʿAlī b. Abān had gone toward Nahr al-Sidrah,[434] where he wrote to the abominable one seeking his reinforcements and barges. Thirteen barges were sent containing several contingents of Zanj troops. With these ʿAlī set out to meet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mufliḥ, who had also made his way toward an encounter. However, no fighting occurred and the two armies stood arrayed against each other for the whole day. After nightfall, ʿAlī hand-
[1879] picked a number of his troops, in whose courage and fortitude he had

432. A fortress situated at the head of the estuary of the Dujayl. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 238, 243; Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 313.

433. The reading is conjectural.

434. The broad reach of the Dujayl below al-Ahwāz was known as Nahr al-Sidrah, the Lotus canal. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 258.

complete trust. Leaving the rest of his army behind in order to conceal his real intentions, ʿAlī set out with these select few accompanied by Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Shaʿrānī. Taking up a position in the rear of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAlī launched a surprise night attack on the camp and inflicted serious losses on him and his troops, forcing ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to retreat and abandon four of his own fleet of barges; ʿAlī recovered these and departed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān proceded as far as al-Dūlāb,[435] where he reestablished his camp. Placing Ṭāshtimur in command of some of his infantry troops, he sent them into another campaign against ʿAlī b. Abān. Ṭāshtimur and ʿAlī met each other in the environs of Bayān Āzar.[436] In the fighting ʿAlī was forced to flee to Nahr al-Sidrah. When Ṭāshtimur sent word of ʿAlī's defeat to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, he set out with his army to reach al-ʿAmūd, where he set up camp and prepared his troops for battle. The barges, over which Ṭāshtimur was given command, were put in order and with them he ventured forth to the mouth of Nahr al-Sidrah, where he engaged ʿAlī b. Abān in a major battle. ʿAlī was again routed, losing ten of his barges and being forced to return in defeat to the abominable one. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān immediately set up his army camp in Bayān, from which both he and Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā advanced and attacked by turns the abominable one's position, stirring great fear among those in his camp.

Isḥāq b. Kundāj, who at the time was stationed in al-Baṣrah, had cut off the flow of supplies to the army of the abominable one. On the day that he feared that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā would come out against him, the abominable one would gather together his forces until the battle was over and then send a detach- [1880]
ment of them to the outskirts of al-Baṣrah, where Isḥāq b. Kundāj would attack them. For over ten months they remained deadlocked in this fashion, until Mūsā b. Bughā was replaced by Masrūr al-Balkhī as the one in charge of conducting the campaign against the abominable one. News of this change reached the abominable one.

In this same year al-Ḥasan b. Zayd conquered Qūmis,[437] and his troops occupied the city.

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435. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 622, where it is written as al-Dawlab.

436. Emended from the text: Bayāb Āzar. The critical apparatus suggests Bayān is a possible reading in Manuscript B, which is supported also in C. The reading Bayān would also seem to be supported by its mention a few lines later, though in both B and C it is unpointed.

437. This small province stretched along the foot of the chain of the Alburz moun-

In this year as well a battle occurred between Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Sinān al-Qazwīnī and Wahsūdhān b. Justān al-Daylamī,[438] who was routed by Muḥammad.

Mūsā b. Bughā appointed al-Ṣalābī[439] this year as governor of al-Rayy, at the time when Kayghalagh attacked Takīn[440] and killed him. Al-Ṣalābī went to take up his post.

The Byzantine emperor[441] conquered Sumaysāṭ[442] in this year and also attacked Malaṭyah[443] and besieged its inhabitants, who fought back and succeeded in driving him off. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qābūs killed Naṣr al-Iqrīṭashī, the supreme commander.[444]

This year, too, a group of Zanj prisoners was sent to Sāmarrā from al-Ahwāz. The Sāmarrān mob attacked and killed many of them and stripped their bodies.

Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth entered Naysābūr this year.

[1881] *An Account of [Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth's Entry into Naysābūr]*[445]

Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth had reportedly gone to Herāt and then headed for Naysābūr. As he approached the city, intending to enter it, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir sent word to him requesting that Yaʿqūb receive him, but he refused to comply. So Muḥammad had some of his kinsmen intercede on his behalf with Yaʿqūb, after which, in the evening of the 4th of Shawwāl (August 3, 873), Yaʿqūb entered the city and encamped in one of the suburbs called Dāʾūdābādh. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir rode out to meet Yaʿqūb in his pavilion, where he was closely

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tains. The capital town was al-Damghān, which the Arabs often called (Madīnat) Qūmis. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 364–65.

438. One of the chiefs of the Daylamites who, in 250/864, had sworn allegiance to the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. Zayd in a collaborative campaign against the Ṭāhirid Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh. See Ṭabarī, III, 1527–28.

439. Unidentified.

440. The reading is uncertain, and therefore it is not clear that this is the same person as the army commander mentioned on p. 151, above, who was despatched with others to deal with Kanjūr. There is no evidence that the latter Takīn held the governorship of al-Rayy, which is what the context suggests.

441. See n. 385, above.

442. A town on the Euphrates in the district of Diyār Muḍar, which bordered on the province of the Jazīrah. Le Strange, *Lands*, 87.

443. Called by the Greeks Melitene; it was an important fortress on the frontier between Muslim and Byzantine territory. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 120.

444. *Biṭrīq al-Baṭāriqah*, commander of ten thousand men.

445. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 261–62.

questioned. Ya'qūb then began to upbraid and rebuke Muḥammad for neglecting his duties, after which he appointed 'Uzayz b. al-Sarī as his agent and replaced Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir with him as governor of Naysābūr. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir and his kinsmen were imprisoned, and, when news of this reached the central authorities, they despatched Ḥātim b. Zayrak b. Salām to Ya'qūb at once. One the 20th of Dhū al-Qa'dah (September 17, 873) the central authorities received Ya'qūb's communications. According to report, Ja'far b. al-Mu'tamid and Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil held an audience in the main hall of the Jawsaq palace, attended by the army commanders. Permission was granted Ya'qūb's messengers to address them, and they related details that had come to Ya'qūb's attention concerning the state of affairs among the population of Khurāsān, where Khārijites and brigands had overrun the place, gravely weakening Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir's position. This had caused people to correspond with Ya'qūb, imploring him to come to their assistance, to which request he responded. When Ya'qūb was still ten *farsakhs*[446] from Naysābūr, people from the city met him and surrendered it, allowing him to enter.

Abū Aḥmad (b. al-Mutawakkil) and 'Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā then spoke to the messengers, saying that the Commander of the Faithful could not condone what Ya'qūb had done. He was therefore ordering Ya'qūb to return to the duties in his own province. As he had no justification for doing what he had done without orders, he must return [to his province]. If he returned, he would be behaving as a governor should; if not, then he would be treated as a rebel. Ya'qūb's messengers were sent back. [Before they left] they were each presented with a three-piece robe of honor.[447] They had brought with them a head stuck upon a lance with a message on it, which read: "This is the head of God's enemy 'Abd al-Raḥmān the Khārijite, who for thirty years falsely professed himself caliph in Herāt. He was slain by Ya'qūb b. al-Layth." [1882]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, who was known as Burayh.[448]

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446. About 60 km.

447. *Khil'ah fīha thalāthah athwāb.* See n. 257, above.

448. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 272, identifies him as governor (*al-'āmil*) and *amīr* of Mecca.

The Events of the Year 260

(OCTOBER 27, 873–OCTOBER 15, 874)

Among the events taking place this year was the death of Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. al-Muʿammar,[449] who was slain by one of the Kurds of Musāwir the Khārijite. Discovered aboard a boat heading for Sāmarrā, Muḥammad was killed, and his severed head sent to Musāwir. In Jumādā II (March 24, 874 – April 21, 874) [the tribe of] Rabīʿah sought to avenge Muḥammad's death, and so Masrūr al-Balkhī and a number of the other commanders were ordered to go after Musāwir.

[1883] In this year as well the leader of the Zanj killed ʿAlī b. Zayd al-ʿAlawī,[450] the master of al-Kūfah.

Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth in this same year fought and routed al-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Ṭālibī and then entered Ṭabaristān.

An Account of [the] Battle [in Ṭabaristān][451]

Well-informed sources related to me that in the struggle for dominance of Sijistān between Yaʿqūb and ʿAbdallāh al-Sijzī, Yaʿqūb got

449. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 273, calls him Ibn al-Maʿmar.

450. His full name was ʿAlī b. Zayd b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿĪsā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 110, for details.

451. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 268–69.

the upper hand, while ʿAbdallāh managed to escape from him and join Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir in Naysābūr. When Yaʿqūb reached Naysābūr, ʿAbdallāh fled and joined up with al-Ḥasan b. Zayd,[452] following which Yaʿqūb set out in pursuit of him, after what went on between him and Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, as I have already mentioned before.

On his way into Ṭabaristān he passed Asfarāʾīm[453] and its territories. A man lived there whom I used to know, called Badīl al-Kashshī. He was a collector of prophetic traditions and [was known for] practicing supererogatory works and commanding the good. He had been well received by the common people of this district. When Yaʿqūb stayed there he sent word to Badīl, informing him that they were alike in their performance of supererogatory works. Yaʿqūb continued to treat him with courtesy until Badīl ventured to come to visit him. Once in his power, however, Yaʿqūb placed Badīl in fetters and took him along to Ṭabarīstān, where, as he approached Sāriyah,[454] he was met by al-Ḥasan b. Zayd.

I was also told that Yaʿqūb sent word to al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, requesting that he deliver ʿAbdallāh al-Sijzī to him, after which he would depart, as he had come to Ṭabaristān only for the sake of ʿAbdallāh, not to pick a fight with al-Ḥasan. However, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd refused [1884] to hand over ʿAbdallāh. Yaʿqūb then informed al-Ḥasan of his intention to attack. The two armies met with neither side at first gaining the upper hand, though al-Ḥasan was finally forced to flee and head for al-Shirriz[455] and the country of Daylam. Yaʿqūb occupied Sāriyah and then proceeded toward Āmul,[456] collecting from its inhabitants a year's taxes. From Āmul he left for al-Shirriz in pursuit of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. Upon reaching the mountains of Ṭabaristān, he encountered a period of uninterrupted rainfall which, according to my reports, lasted for some forty days. Only with extreme difficulty was he able to advance. As I was told, he had managed to ascend a moun-

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452. Ṭabarī reported his last whereabouts in Qūmis, which he captured in 259. See p. 155, above. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 268, reports that at this time he was in Ṭabaristān, where ʿAbdallāh joined him.

453. Also written as Asfarayn, for which, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 393. It was a prosperous city in Khurāsān, located in a large plain of the same name.

454. At this time Sāriyah, rather than Āmul, was the seat of the Ṭāhirid governor in Ṭabaristān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 370.

455. The reading is uncertain.

456. Le Strange, *Lands*, 370, 381.

tain, but the descent was possible only by his being borne upon the shoulders of his men, as most of the pack animals had perished. Thereafter he resumed his pursuit of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd to al-Shirriz.

Someone from that district informed me that Yaʿqūb finally reached the road he had sought to join and there he paused with his troops. He advanced in front of them, carefully inspecting the way before finally rejoining his troops and ordering them to turn back. He said to his men, "If there is no other road than this, then there is no way of overtaking al-Ḥasan b. Zayd." The same person who had mentioned this to me also informed me that the women of this district said to their men, "Let him come, for, if Yaʿqūb ventures upon this road, we will take care of him for you. We will be responsible for seizing and imprisoning him for you."

When Yaʿqūb returned from the border area of Ṭabaristān, he reviewed his troops and discovered, as I was told, that he had lost forty thousand men along with the greater part of his horses, camels, and baggage, which were also lost.

It is said that he wrote to the central authorities about his expedition against al-Ḥasan b. Zayd and of his departure from Jurjān to
[1885] Ṭamīs,[457] which he conquered. He then noted his passage to Sāriyah where al-Ḥasan b. Zayd had destroyed the bridges and removed the ferries, thus preventing any advance along that road. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd was camped before the gate of Sāriyah, naturally protected by the surrounding great river valleys. Khurshād b. Jīlaw, the chief of Daylam, had come to al-Ḥasan's aid, providing a powerful force composed of troops gathered from Ṭabaristān, Daylam, Khurāsān, Qumm, al-Jabal, al-Shām, and al-Jazīrah. Yaʿqūb said, "I routed al-Ḥasan and slew a greater number of the enemy than I've ever seen before, capturing as well seventy of the Ṭālibiyyīn." That took place in Rajab (April 22 – May 21, 874). Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd returned to al-Shirriz, taking the Daylamites with him.

In this year in many of the Islamic lands prices shot up. According to one report, those who were living in Mecca for religous reasons

457. Le Strange, *Lands*, 375, notes that Ṭamīs (or Ṭamīsah) lay on the eastern frontier of Ṭabaristān, three marches distant from Sāriyah; it stood "on the great causeway across the marches which had been built to carry the high road by King Anūshirwan the Just." See also Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 503 – 4. This description helps clarify Ḥasan b. Zayd's moves to prevent passage along the road.

abandoned it for Medina and other places because price rises were particularly severe [in Mecca]. The financial administrator, [Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad] Burayh, who had been living in Mecca, also left the city. In Baghdad, too, prices rose, a *kurr*[458] of barley reaching one hundred twenty dinars, while wheat[459] reached one hundred fifty dinars a *kurr*. The situation remained this way for several months.[460]

Arab tribesmen this year killed Manjūr the governor of Ḥimṣ. Baktimur [b. Tashtimur] was made governor in his place.

Ya'qūb b. al-Layth left Ṭabaristān this year for the district of al-Rayy. According to a report I received, the reason for this was the fact that, after Ya'qūb's defeat of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, 'Abdallāh al-Sijzī had sought protection from Ya'qūb with al-Ṣalābī, offering him the choice of either delivering 'Abdallāh al-Sijzī to him, enabling him to return and leave al-Ṣalābī's jurisdiction, or else engaging in battle. According to what I was told, al-Ṣalābī chose to hand over 'Abdallāh. [1886] This done, Ya'qūb killed 'Abdallāh and then departed al-Ṣalābī's territory.

In this year al-'Alā' b. Aḥmad al-Azdī was slain.

An Account of [al-Azdī's] Death

It was reported that al-'Alā' b. Aḥmad suffered a stroke and became gravely incapacitated as a result. The central authorities sent to Abū al-Rudaynī 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Murr, confirming him in the governorship of Adharbayjān, a position held by al-'Alā' b. Aḥmad. Abū al-Rudaynī set out to take possession of the province from al-'Alā'. In Ramaḍān [June 20–July 19, 874] al-'Alā', borne upon a litter, went forth to confront in battle Abū al-Rudaynī, who was accompanied by a crowd of Khārijites and others. Al-'Alā' was killed. It is also reported that al-Rudaynī sent a number of his men to seize al-'Alā'-'s possessions, which he had left behind; goods valued at two million

458. A measure of wheat, etc., consisting of six assloads. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *k-r-r*. See also Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 64.

459. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 272, mentions only the price of wheat, which rose to one hundred twenty dinars.

460. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 273, adds in a separate note that price increases were also severe in Ifriqiyah, the Maghrib, al-Andalus, and other places, which resulted in many deaths from epidemics and plague.

seven hundred thousand dirhams were removed from his fortress.

In this year the Byzantines captured Lu'lu'ah[461] from the Muslims.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, known as Burayh.

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461. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 371, who identifies Lu'lu'ah as a fortress near Tarsus. At this time it seemed to change hands regularly; Ṭabarī notes at the end of the year 263 (877) that the fortress was [again?] surrendered by the Muslims to their enemies.

The Events of the Year 261

(October 16, 874–October 5, 875)

Among the events occurring this year was the departure of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd from the land of Daylam for Ṭabaristān. He destroyed Shālūs[462] by fire [in revenge] for the assistance its people had given to Ya'qūb. He also converted their estates into fiefs for the Daylamites.

Also this year the central authorities ordered 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir to round up the pilgrims present in Baghdad from Khurāsān, al-Rayy, Ṭabaristān, and Jurjān. This he did in Ṣafar (November 15 – December 13, 874) and read to them a declaration in which they were informed by the central authorities that Ya'qūb b. al-Layth had not been commissioned as governor of Khurāsān. They were, furthermore, ordered to disavow him, because the Caliph disapproved his entry into Khurāsān and his capture of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir. [1887]

'Abdallāh b. al-Wāthiq died this year in the army camp of Ya'qūb al-Ṣaffār.

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462. A city two days march west of Āmul, with a large stone castle and adjoining congregational mosque. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 373.

In this year as well, during the month of Jumādā II (February 11 – March 12, 875), Musāwir the Khārijite killed Yaḥyā b. Ḥafṣ, who administered the Khurāsān Road, in Karkh Juddān.[463] Masrūr al-Balkhī went out in pursuit of Musāwir, and he was followed by Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil. Musāwir withdrew and was not overtaken by his pursuers.

In Jumādā I (February 1 – March 1, 876) of this year Abū Hāshim Dāʾūd b. Sulaymān al-Jaʿfarī was slain.

A battle took place in Rāmhurmuz this year between Muḥammad b. Wāṣil and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mufliḥ, who was with Ṭāshtimur. Ibn Wāṣil killed Ṭāshtimur and captured Ibn Mufliḥ.

An Account of [the] Battle [of Rāmhurmuz][464]

According to reports I have received, the cause was because Ibn Wāṣil had killed al-Ḥārith b. Sīmā, the agent of the central government in Fārs, which had now fallen to Ibn Wāṣil. Fārs, along with al-Ahwāz, al-Baṣrah, al-Baḥrayn, and al-Yamāmah, was now assigned
[1888] to Mūsā b. Bughā, in addition to the east, which he already controlled. Mūsā b. Bughā despatched ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mufliḥ to al-Ahwāz to govern it and Fārs, giving him the assistance of Ṭāshtimur. Ibn Wāṣil got word of Mūsā's decision and also that Ibn Mufliḥ was headed for Fārs in pursuit of him, having previously been stationed in al-Ahwāz, where he had conducted a campaign against the Khārijite in al-Baṣrah.

Ibn Wāṣil marched toward Ibn Mufliḥ, and the two sides met in Rāmhurmuz, where Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṣaʿlūk[465] joined forces with Ibn Wāṣil as support against Ibn Mufliḥ. In his triumph Ibn Wāṣil captured Ibn Mufliḥ, while destroying his army and slaying Ṭāshtimur. Ibn Mufliḥ remained captive until he was killed, although the central authorities had sent to Ibn Wāṣil Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāq [the judge][466] to negotiate his release, but without securing any response from Ibn Wāṣil. Once Ibn Wāṣil was rid of Ibn Mufliḥ, he openly declared his intention of making for Wāsiṭ to fight Mūsā b. Bughā. He progressed

463. Located close to the border between Iraq and Iran. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 449.
464. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 275.
465. See n. 48, above.
466. He had been a member of the delegation sent by al-Muʿtamid to Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth in Fārs. See p. 119, above.

as far as al-Ahwāz, where Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā was stationed with a large force. Mūsā b. Bughā, realizing the seriousness of matters, with the rising wave of rebels in the eastern districts and with resources insufficient to check them, requested to be relieved of his duties over these provinces. This was granted, and his territories were added to those of Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil, who was made governor over them all. Mūsā b. Bughā meanwhile retired from Wāsiṭ to the central authorities [in Sāmarrā], along with his administrative prefects from the eastern districts.

In this year Abū al-Sāj[467] was made governor of al-Ahwāz and given responsibility for the conduct of the campaign against the Zanj leader. Abū al-Sāj made for al-Ahwāz after ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mufliḥ had left for Fārs.

In this year as well a battle occurred between ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [who was related by marriage to Abū al-Sāj] and ʿAlī b. Abān in the [1889]
district of al-Dūlāb. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was slain, and Abū al-Sāj departed for ʿAskar Mukram. The Zanj occupied al-Ahwāz and put some of its inhabitants to the sword, taking others captive and plundering and burning the houses. Thereafter Abū al-Sāj was removed from his duties in al-Ahwāz and his responsibilities for fighting the Zanj, being replaced as governor by Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā. He remained in charge, leaving al-Ahwāz only at the time when Mūsā b. Bughā was relieved of control of the eastern districts.

During this year Muḥammad b. Aws al-Balkhī was made governor of the Khurāsān Road.

When Abū Aḥmad took over control of the eastern provinces he appointed Masrūr al-Balkhī governor of al-Ahwāz, al-Baṣrah, the Tigris districts, al-Yamāmah, and al-Baḥrayn in Shaʿbān (May 11 – June 8, 875) of this year. He was also given the task of campaigning against the leader of the Zanj.

In Ramaḍān (June 9 – July 8, 875) Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Asad al-Sāmānī[468] was appointed governor of the land beyond the river of Balkh[469]; he received a letter of appointment to this post.

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467. His full name was Abū al-Sāj Diwdad b. Diwdast. He had previously held a post in al-Kūfah, with responsibility for repairing the Meccan road in 252 (866–67). See Ṭabarī, III, 1682–85; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 276; *EI*,[1] s.v. "Sādjites."

468. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 279–82, provides more details on these developments; see also R. N. Frye, "The Sāmānids."

469. This was the territory known as *Mā warā' al-nahr*, "what was beyond the

In Shawwāl (July 9 – August 6, 875) Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth marched toward Fārs. Ibn Wāṣil was still encamped in al-Ahwāz, and from there he set out for Fārs; in Dhū al-Qaʿdah (August 7 – September 5, 875) he clashed with Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth, who routed him and destroyed his army. Yaʿqūb sent off men to Khurramah to strip clean Ibn Wāṣil's fortress,[470] the contents of which reportedly reached a value of forty million dirhams. He also took prisoner Mirdās, Ibn Wāṣil's maternal uncle.

[1890] During the year the troops of Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth assaulted the inhabitants of Zamm[471] Mūsā b. Mihrān al-Kurdī for the assistance they had rendered to Muḥammad b. Wāṣil. The troops killed them, forcing Mūsā b. Mihrān to flee.

On the 12th of Shawwāl (July 20, 875) of this year al-Muʿtamid held an assembly in the Public Audience Hall (*dār al-ʿāmmah*), at which he appointed his son Jaʿfar his heir, giving him the honorific title al-Mufawwaḍ ilā-Allāh. He also made him governor of the western regions, attaching Mūsā b. Bughā to him as governor of Ifrīqiyah, Egypt, Syria, al-Jazīrah, Mosul, Armenia, the Khurāsān Road, Mihrajānqadhaq, and Ḥulwān. Al-Muʿtamid also appointed his brother Abū Aḥmad[472] heir after Jaʿfar, making him governor of the eastern regions. Masrūr al-Balkhī was attached to him as governor of Baghdad, the Sawād, al-Kūfah, the Mecca Road, Medina, the Yemen, Kaskar, the Tigris districts, al-Ahwāz, Fārs, Iṣfahān, Qumm, al-Karaj, al-Dīnawar, al-Rayy, Zanjān, Qazwīn, Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, Jurjān, Kirmān, Sijistān, and Sind. Al-Muʿtamid also bestowed upon each of his heirs two standards, one black, the other white. He stipulated that, in the event of his death, if Jaʿfar could not fulfill the duties of the caliphate,[473] it would pass first to Abū Aḥmad and then to Jaʿfar. On these terms the oath of allegiance was rendered by the people, and copies of the succession decree were dis-

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river," the river understood as the Oxus, the frontier between the Persian-speaking region of Khurāsān and Turkish Transoxania. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 433ff.

470. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 278. This was located some 80 km. from Shīrāz, on the road to Kirmān; see also Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 102.

471. Known also as Zamm al-Bazanjān. See Ṭabarī, *Index*; also Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik*, 145.

472. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 278, notes that at this ceremony Abū Aḥmad received his honorific title, al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh al-Muwaffaq.

473. That is, because Jaʿfar would not have reached the age of maturity, when he could assume these responsibilities.

seminated. One such copy was despatched with al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib to affix to the Kaʿbah [in Mecca]. In Shawwāl (July 9 – August 6, 875) Jaʿfar al-Mufawwaḍ made Mūsā b. Bughā his deputy over the western regions and sent Muḥammad al-Muwallad to him with an agreement to this effect.

Muḥammad b. Zaydawayh deserted Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth this year, [1891]
withdrawing thousands of his troops from Yaʿqūb's army and going over to Abū al-Sāj, who welcomed him. Muḥammad stayed with him in al-Ahwāz and received a robe of honor from Sāmarrā. Ibn Zaydawayh then requested of the central authorities that al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh be sent with him to Khurāsān.

On the 7th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (September 12, 875) Masrūr al-Balkhī set out from Sāmarrā as Abū Aḥmad's vanguard. According to report, robes of honor were bestowed upon him and thirty-four of his commanders. The two heirs publicly escorted him, and al-Muwaffaq followed him from Sāmarrā on the 21st of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (September 26, 875).

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās.

Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib died this year after he had performed the pilgrimage.

The Events of the Year 262

(October 6, 875–September 23, 876)

Among the events taking place this year were the arrival of Ya'qūb b. al-Layth in Rāmhurmuz in the month of al-Muḥarram (October 6 –November 4, 875) and the despatch of Ismā'īl b. Isḥāq and Bughrāj to him by the central authorities.[474] The central authorities also released from prison Ya'qūb b. al-Layth's supporters. At the time of the dispute between Ya'qūb and Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, the authorities had imprisoned Ya'qūb's servant Waṣīf and other supporters who had stood by him. They were released from prison following Ya'-
[1892] qūb's arrival in Rāmhurmuz on the 5th of Rabī' I (November 9, 875).

Thereafter Ismā'īl b. Isḥāq left Ya'qūb for Sāmarrā bearing a message from him. Meanwhile, Abū Aḥmad (al-Muwaffaq) held an audience in Baghdad, to which he summoned a group of merchants, informing them that the Commander of the Faithful had appointed Ya'qūb b. al-Layth governor of Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, Jurjān, al-Rayy, and Fārs and head of security in Madīnat al-Salām. One of Ya'-

474. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 290, commences his account of this year by stating that Ya'qūb journeyed from Fārs to al-Ahwāz in the month of al-Muḥarram; Rāmhurmuz was only a three-day march east of al-Ahwāz.

qūb's companions, Dirham b. Naṣr, was present at the audience. Al-Muʿtamid had sent this Dirham from Sāmarrā to Yaʿqūb [with a message] granting the latter what he had requested.[475] Dirham went to Yaʿqūb accompanied by ʿUmar b. Sīmā and Muḥammad b. Tarkashah.

Messengers of Ibn Zaydawayh arrived in Baghdad during the month of Rabīʿ I (December 14, 875 – January 12, 876) this year to deliver a communication from him. A robe of honor was bestowed upon him by Abū Aḥmad (al-Muwaffaq).

Later this same year those who had been sent by Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth returned to the Caliph and informed him that Yaʿqūb was not satisfied with merely corresponding with the Caliph, but he rather preferred to come in person to the caliphal palace. Yaʿqūb left ʿAskar Mukram,[476] while Abū al-Sāj went to meet him, and was received honorably and given presents. After the messengers had returned with Yaʿqūb's reply, al-Muʿtamid, on Saturday the 3rd of Jumādā II (March 15, 876), assembled his troops in al-Qāʾim, in Sāmarrā, leaving his son Jaʿfar in charge of Sāmarrā with the assistance of Muḥammad al-Muwallad. Departing from the city on Tuesday the 6th of Jumādā II (March 18, 876), al-Muʿtamid reached Baghdad on Wednesday the 14th of the month (March 26, 876). He passed straight through the metropolis, however, and proceeded to al-Zaʿfarāniyyah, where he set up camp. From al-Zaʿfarāniyyah he sent [1893]
ahead his brother Abū Aḥmad as vanguard, while Yaʿqūb proceeded with his army from ʿAskar Mukram, arriving within a *farsakh*'s[477] distance of Wāsiṭ. There he encountered flooded terrain created by Masrūr al-Balkhī, who had breached the dike on the Tigris in order to hinder Yaʿqūb's passage. Yaʿqūb remained there and managed to repair the breach, which allowed him to cross over the Tigris on the 24th of Jumādā II (March 23, 876) and advance toward Bādhibīn.[478] The next stage was the arrival of Muḥammad b. Kathīr, on behalf of Yaʿqūb, opposite the camp of Masrūr al-Balkhī, who then proceeded with his army to al-Nuʿmāniyyah.[479]

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475. That is, the governorships to which he had been appointed.

476. An important town on the Masruqān canal, which irrigated some of the richest land in Khūzistān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 236.

477. About 6 km.

478. Located east of Wāsiṭ, on the road to al-Ahwāz, Le Strange, *Lands*, 82, vocalizes the name Bādhbīn.

479. The halfway stage between Baghdad and Wāsiṭ. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 796.

Meanwhile, Yaʿqūb had reached Wāsiṭ and entered it on the 24th of Jumādā II (March 23, 876). On Thursday, the last day of the month (March 29, 876), al-Muʿtamid left al-Zaʿfarāniyyah and advanced as far as Sīb Banī Kūmā,[480] where he was joined by Masrūr al-Balkhī who had traveled along the western bank of the Tigris before crossing over to the side where the Caliph's forces were located. Al-Muʿtamid remained in Sīb Banī Kūmā for a few days in order that his various troops and regiments could assemble together. For his part, Yaʿqūb advanced by stages from Wāsiṭ to Dayr al-ʿĀqūl[481] and from there toward the government forces. Al-Muʿtamid remained camped in Sīb, along with ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā, while he sent his brother Abū Aḥmad to engage Yaʿqūb in battle. Abū Aḥmad stationed Mūsā b. Bughā on his right flank and Masrūr al-Balkhī on his left, while he himself, with his elite cavalry and the pick of his infantry, held the center. The two sides met on Sunday, at the beginning of Rajab (April 1, 876), at a place called Iḍṭarbad,[482] which was
[1894] between Sīb Banī Kūmā and Dayr al-ʿĀqūl. Yaʿqūb's right wing attacked Abū Aḥmad's left flank, driving it back in disorder. A large number were slain, including some of the government's commanders, like Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā al-Turkī, Ṭabāghū al-Turkī, Muḥammad Ṭughtā al-Turkī, and one known as al-Mubaraqaʿ al-Maghribī, among others. Then those [on the left flank] who had been driven back regrouped, while the rest of Abū Aḥmad's forces stood their ground and launched a counterattack against Yaʿqūb's forces. They stood their ground and engaged the foe with courage and determination. Many of Yaʿqūb's valiant warriors were killed, among them al-Ḥasan al-Dirhamī and Muḥammad b. Kathīr, who had been in charge of Yaʿqūb's vanguard, and one known as Lubbādah. Yaʿqūb himself was struck by three arrows in his neck and hands. According to what was said, the two sides continued fighting until the time the afternoon prayer had passed. Later, al-Dayrānī and Muḥammad b. Aws reached Abū Aḥmad, completing the assembly of all of Abū

480. Situated on the east bank of the Tigris between Dayr al-ʿĀqūl and al-Madāʾin, this small town was called Sīb of the Banū Kūmā to distinguish it from the Sīb farther south. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 36, 41; Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 41.

481. This was a monastery located on the east bank of the Tigris, south of al-Madāʾin. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 35; Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 41; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 676.

482. The word is unvocalized in Manuscripts B and C.

Aḥmad's troops. It had become apparent that many on Ya'qūb's side had developed an aversion to fighting with him when they saw the Caliph appear on the battlefield, and [the assembled government troops] now attacked Ya'qūb and those who still stood firmly by him. Ya'qūb's regular troops were routed, leaving him to stand fast with the elite of his forces until they managed to withdraw from the field of battle.

More than ten thousand pack animals and mules were reportedly captured from Ya'qūb's army along with a great many containers of musk and such an amount of dinars and dirhams that it wore out its bearers.

Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh, who had been shackled in irons, was set free by the one who was in charge of guarding him. He was then presented to the Caliph, who bestowed upon him a robe of honor to accord with his rank. A statement was read out in public, in which it was said: [1895]

> The accursed renegade called Ya'qūb b. al-Layth had always professed loyalty [to the central authorities] until he committed such foul acts as marching upon the governor of Khurāsān and overthrowing him; acting as leader of the public prayers there and committing other misdeeds; marching repeatedly into Fārs and seizing its revenues; advancing upon the seat of the Commander of the Faithful, on the pretext of requesting powers of which the Commander of the Faithful had already given him more than he deserved, in an attempt to appease him and avoid [direct contact] by taking a better way. Ya'qūb had been given authority over Khurāsān, al-Rayy, Fārs, Qazwīn, Zanjān, and the security forces in Madīnat al-Salām. He was ordered to be humble in his correspondence. He had been granted valuable estates as fiefs; but that had only made him more unjust and oppressive. The Caliph then ordered him to turn back [from his march on Baghdad], but he refused. When the accursed one was on the road between Madīnat al-Salām and Wāsiṭ, flying flags, some of which bore the sign of the cross, the Commander of the Faithful set out to repel him.
>
> The Commander of the Faithful despatched his brother Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq bi-Allāh, the Muslims' future

ruler, in the center of his army, with Abū ʿImrān Mūsā b. Bughā on the right flank and Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā on its outer wing. Abū Hāshim Masrūr al-Balkhī occupied the left flank and al-Dayrānī its outer wing. Yaʿqūb and his supporters rushed into battle, and he fought until he was severely wounded and Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir was safely rescued from the enemy's hands. Yaʿqūb's forces retreated in full flight, broken and plundered, while the accursed one was forced to surrender all his accumulated fortune.

This statement was dated Tuesday, the 11th of Rajab (April 10, 876).

Al-Muʿtamid then returned to his army camp and wrote to Ibn
[1896] Wāṣil, granting him the governorship of Fārs. Ibn Wāṣil had already gone there to gather together some forces. Al-Muʿtamid returned to al-Madāʾin, while Abū Aḥmad, along with Masrūr and Sātikīn and a number of the commanders, proceeded to confiscate the property of Abū al-Sāj in the form of estates and buildings, which were then granted to Masrūr al-Balkhī as fiefs. On Monday, the 16th of Rajab (April 15, 876) Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh came to Baghdad, his post having been restored, and a robe of honor was bestowed upon him in al-Ruṣāfah. He settled in the palace of ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir; he removed no one and appointed no one, but was ordered to receive five hundred thousand dirhams.

The day of the battle between the central authorities and [Yaʿqūb] al-Ṣaffār was Palm Sunday (*yawm al-Shaʿānīn*).

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Fayd al-Ṭāʾī praised Abū Aḥmad in a poem in which the business with al-Ṣaffār was alluded to.

The raven crowed—would that I could end his crowing—
and my heart inclined to remembrance of beloved ones.
The raven proclaimed their departure,
and my eyes responded to the departure of their saddles with a flood of tears.
They vanished, gentle ladies, like painted dolls,
gentle friends;[483] like doe-eyed creatures, slender-waisted, full-bosomed.

483. *Atrāb*. For this expression, see Qurʾān 38:52, 56:37.

These fair ladies of yours made me adore them by their
locks, figures, and brows.
The Muslims' heir apparent has many honorable [1897]
qualities, the light from which has shone out in many offices
And ranks the summit of which cannot be scaled.
How noble are these peaks and ranks!
Al-Ṣaffār had arrived with impressive battle machines but
suffered a terrible calamity,
Fate having dealt him a swift end
in obedient execution of providence.
The accursed devil, Iblīs, had seduced him with his plot
and lured him with a false promise
Until, when they became allies and al-Ṣaffār imagined
he was mighty among armies and regiments,
Fortunate troops advanced toward him, and
they met, pushing forward with victorious banner,
In a huge, clamoring army in which heroes were seen
bearing shields, spears, and arrows.
The Imām appeared with triumphant flag
for Muḥammad—God's keen-honed sword.
The Muslims' heir apparent is Blessed
of God,[484] swifter than a shooting star,
Appearing among the people as a full shining moon, [1898]
rejoicing in light, among the stars.
When they met with Mashrāfī swords and spears, piercing and
thrusting in combat hand to hand,
The dust swirled round, above it a cloud
scattering a rain [of arrows].
He routed the multitude with the decisiveness of a piercing opinion,
separating comrades one from another.
God's blessing upon he who is with him, who is blessed (*muwaffaq*)
and joyous,
steadfast and persistent in battle.
O horsemen of the Arabs, [there is] no other the likes of whom
can be found, who is equal to disasters
That might come from evil times or from facing
an army that is treacherous, treasonous, and violent.

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484. The regnal name of Mu'tamid's brother Abū Aḥmad, al-Muwaffaq 'alā-Allāh means "Blessed of God."

In this year the Zanj leader despatched his forces to the territory of the salt flats and Dastumīsān.[485]

An Account of [the Zanj Attack on the Salt Flats][486]

The cause for this reportedly was that, when al-Muʿtamid removed Mūsā b. Bughā from his responsibilities for the eastern provinces and their adjoining districts, he included them instead with his brother Abū Aḥmad's duties. Abū Aḥmad himself added the Tigris districts to the duties of Masrūr al-Balkhī. Thus, as the districts of the Tigris had been left without any government protection except for al-Madā'in and regions lying to the north,[487] Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth
[1899] commenced his advance toward Abū Aḥmad and reached Wāsiṭ. Just prior to this Masrūr had sent Juʿlān al-Turkī to al-Bādhāward in place of Mūsā b. Utāmish. Now opposing Mūsā b. Utāmish on the Zanj side was Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ. Before Ibn Utāmish was removed from al-Bādhāward, Sulaymān had already inflicted some damage on his army. Following his removal and replacement by Juʿlān, despatched a Baḥraynī called Thaʿlab b. Ḥafṣ to attack Juʿlān. Thaʿlab succeeded in inflicting casualties on both his cavalry and men. For his part the Zanj leader sent Aḥmad b. Mahdī, a man from Jubbā,[488] in command of galleys with marksmen on board and with orders to proceed to Nahr al-Mar'ah.[489] According to report, this man, al-Jubbā'ī, commenced plundering the villages in the neighborhood of al-Madhār, laying them waste before returning to Nahr al-Mar'ah, where he stationed himself. He communicated with the Zanj leader informing him that the salt flats were void of government troops, owing to the removal of Masrūr and his troops when Yaʿqūb b. Layth arrived in Wāsiṭ. The Zanj leader then ordered Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ and a number of his commanders to march to al-Ḥawānīt. He also gave orders to one of the Bāhilīs, ʿUmayr b. ʿAmmār,[490] who knew

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485. The word is vocalized thus in the Leiden edition, though it is also written Dast Maysān.

486. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 112–15; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 290–92.

487. That is, between al-Madā'in and Baghdad.

488. A town on the estuary of the Dujayl below al-Ahwāz. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 243.

489. This canal was the northernmost of nine lying to the west of the Tigris estuary. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 303, 305; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 844.

490. On the Bāhilah tribe, see Popovic, *Révolte*, 112 n. 3.

well the roads and byways through the salt flats to accompany al-Jubbā'ī and establish camp in al-Ḥawānīt.[491]

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Abbādānī said that, following the Zanj leader's decision to despatch his armies to the salt flats and Dastumīsān, he commanded Sulaymān b. Jāmi' to set up camp in al-Muṭṭawwi'ah and Sulaymān b. Mūsā was to establish his quarters at the head of Nahr al-Yahūdī;[492] these orders were carried out. They each remained in their camps until receiving word to advance: Sulaymān b. Mūsā proceeded to the village of al-Qādisiyyah and Sulaymān b. Jāmi' to al-Ḥawānīt, while al-Jubbā'ī was stationed with his galleys in front of this latter Sulaymān's army. Meanwhile, Abbā al-Turkī[493] sailed along the Tigris with thirty barges heading for the camp of the Zanj leader. Passing the village, which had made peace with the abominable one, he destroyed and burned it. The abominable one[494] contacted Sulaymān b. Mūsā by despatch to prevent his returning and Sulaymān blocked Abbā al-Turkī's way by engaging him in battle for a whole month until he managed to reach the region of the salt flats. [1900]

Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān reported that Jabbāsh the eunuch (*al-khādim*) claimed it was not Abbā al-Turkī who had ventured along the Tigris at this time but rather Nuṣayr Abū Ḥamzah.

When Sulaymān b. Jāmi' reportedly set out for al-Ḥawānīt, he reached a place called Nahr al-'Atīq, while al-Jubbā'ī, who had gone along the al-Mādiyān Road,[495] encountered Rumays, whom he engaged in battle and defeated. Al-Jubbā'ī captured twenty-four galleys and some thirty-odd larger craft (*ṣalghah*). Rumays escaped and took refuge in the woods. A group of the Jūkhāniyyīn[496] came upon [1901]

491. The word means "booths." Al-Ḥawānīt was situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris. Near there barriers, supervised by government officials, were moored across the river. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 46.

492. One of the canals of al-Baṣrah on its western side; it lay between Nahr al-Ubullah and Nahr Abī al-Khaṣīb. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 304, 306.

493. The copyists of Manuscripts B and C wrote his name with *tashdīd*, thus Abbā. Popovic *Révolte*, 112 n. 4, misreads this name as Abū al-Turkī and incorrectly identifies the patronymic as belonging to Masrūr al-Balkhī, whose *kunyah* was Abū Hāshim. The context of the passage on p. 178, below, makes this identification impossible. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 293, calls him Ibn al-Turkī.

494. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 293, who follows Ṭabarī closely here, lapses for the first time into calling 'Alī b. Muḥammad "the abominable one" (*al-khabīth*).

495. The reading is conjectural.

496. See Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, CLXXIV.

him and carried him off, but he manged to escape again. In their flight, Rumays's troops ran straight into Sulaymān (b. Jāmiʿ), who was just then emerging from Nahr al-ʿAtīq. In the ensuing battle, Rumays's forces were decimated while Rumays himself made his way to a place called Barr Musāwir. A number of the Bilāliyyah were reported to have joined up with Sulaymān with some one hundred fifty galleys. He interrogated them concerning what lay before him. They replied that neither government authority nor agents were present in the region between him and Wāsiṭ. Placing complete trust in this intelligence, Sulaymān was thrown off his guard and as he reached a spot called al-Jazīrah, he was met by one Abū Muʿādh al-Qurashī, who fought and routed Sulaymān, killing a number of his troops and capturing one of the Zanj commanders, Riyāḥ al-Qandalī. Sulaymān returned to his base camp, where two of the Bilāliyyah came and told him that there was no one in Wāsiṭ to defend it other than Abū Muʿādh with the five barges with which he had previously met him. So Sulaymān made his preparations, gathered his forces together, and sent word to the abominable one with some of the Bilāliyyah who had sought his protection, keeping a small select group to remain behind with him with ten galleys. However, the two who had informed him of the situation in Wāsiṭ he kept under close guard as he set out for Nahr Abān. Abū Muʿādh blocked his way and this sparked off fighting between the two sides. A strong
[1902] wind blew up, causing Abū Muʿādh's barges to flounder and giving Sulaymān and his men the chance to overpower him. Abū Muʿādh, nevertheless, managed to make good his escape while Sulaymān proceeded toward the Nahr Abān, where he swiftly burned and plundered [villages], taking women and children into captivity. News of this reached some of Abū Aḥmad's agents who were staying on one of his estates on the Nahr Sindād. They set out against Sulaymān with a detachment of troops, and in the battle that followed a large number of the Zanj were slain. Sulaymān and Aḥmad b. Mahdī and their followers fled back to their camp.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan — Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān said that when Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ had installed himself in al-Ḥawānit and set up a temporary camp on the Nahr Yaʿqūb b. al-Naḍr, he sent out someone to collect intelligence on Wāsiṭ and the disposition of government forces there. This was after the departure of Masrūr and his troops, owing to the arrival of Yaʿqūb (b. al-Layth). The spy returned

to Sulaymān and reported Ya'qūb's advance toward the government forces. Masrūr, before vacating Wāsiṭ for al-Sīb, had sent a man called Waṣīf al-Raḥḥāl with barges against Sulaymān. He fought and killed him, also seizing seven of the boats and killing the prisoners, dumping the dead in al-Ḥawānīt in order to instill fear in the hearts of government supporters who might happen by.[497]

After Sulaymān had received news of Masrūr's departure from Wāsiṭ, he summoned his deputy, 'Umayr b. 'Ammār, and one of the Bāhilī chiefs named Aḥmad b. Sharīk. He consulted them concerning withdrawal from the position, which could be reached by horses and boats, searching carefully instead for a spot joining a road that could be used as an escape route should he wish to make for the camp of the abominable one. The two men advised him to head for 'Aqr Māwar and entrench himself in Ṭahīthā[498] and its dense thickets. [1903]

The departure of Sulaymān b. Jāni' greatly annoyed the Bāhilites since, having become involved with him, they feared the retribution of the central authorities against them. Sulaymān set out with his troops to Ṭahītha via Nahr al-Barūr, having despatched al-Jubbā'ī to Nahr al-'Atīq with galleys. He ordered al-Jubbā'ī to make haste in bringing him intelligence on the strength of the government's forces in men and barges. He left behind a detachment of blacks to sent on any of his troops who had lagged behind. He headed for 'Aqr Māwar, setting up camp in the village of Qaryat Marwān, located on an island on the eastern side of Nahr Ṭahītha. There he gathered the Bāhilite chiefs and the men of al-Ṭufūf[499] and wrote to the abominable one, informing him of his movements. The abominable one replied, approving his plans and ordered him to transfer to him food supplies and animals that he had acquired. This was duly done. Meanwhile, Masrūr had proceeded to the spot of Sulaymān's previous camp. He found nothing there but that the enemy had already transferred their entire camp.

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497. Popovic, *Révolte*, 113, takes this possibly to mean that the bodies were thrown into the Tigris at al-Ḥawānīt.

498. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 113 n. 1, where he states that the camp was located on the Ṭahītha canal. The reading Ṭahītha is uncertain. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 293, writes it *ṭ-h-th-a* and reverses the relationship between it and 'Aqr Māwar; that is, Sulaymān was advised to entrench himself in the latter position.

499. *Ahl al-Ṭufūf*. The *Index* does not cite this as a place name, and it cannot be otherwise identified. It might also be loosely rendered "local inhabitants," that is, those living in cultivated areas along the canal banks. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ṭ-f-f*.

Abbā al-Turkī descended toward the marshlands in pursuit of Sulaymān, who himself thought that [Abbā al-Turkī] had left the district altogether and gone away, heading in the direction of the abominable one's camp. He found no trace of Sulaymān. On his return, however, he discovered that Sulaymān had moved an army to al-Ḥa-
[1904] wānīt in order to surprise any stragglers who might become separated from Masrūr's army. Abbā al-Turkī avoided the road that he feared might lead him to Sulaymān's army and instead took another way, which finally brought him to Masrūr, whom he informed that he had no news of Sulaymān's [exact] whereabouts.[500]

Sulyamān's army set out for [the abominable one] with the required provisions. Sulaymān remained behind. He despatched al-Jubbā'ī with the barges to take care of the food and supply depots and arrange their transport. Al-Jubbā'ī, however, burned such food supplies as he found wherever he went. This greatly displeased Sulaymān, who forbade him from such action but al-Jubbā'ī paid no attention, justifying himself on the grounds that the supplies would benefit their enemies and that it was wrong to leave anything behind. At this Sulaymān wrote to the abominable one complaining about al-Jubbā'ī's behavior. The abominable one in turn instructed al-Jubbā'ī to obey Sulaymān and accept whatever he commanded.

News reached Sulaymān that Aghartimish and Khushaysh[501] were heading his way, leading cavalry and infantry troops with barges and galleys intending to engage him in battle. Sulaymān was much troubled by these developments and sent off al-Jubbā'ī to glean information about them. He commenced his preparations to meet them. Al-Jubbā'ī returned shortly thereafter in flight and informed Sulaymān that Aghartimish and Khushaysh had reached Bāb Ṭanj, which was only half a *farsakh*[502] from Sulaymān's forces. Sulaymān ordered al-Jubbā'ī to return and block their army's way, diverting it from advancing directly toward his camp until Sulaymān could join forces with him. When al-Jubbā'ī had departed to execute these or-
[1905] ders, Sulaymān ascended a rooftop, from which he observed the advancing army. Then, hastily descending, he crossed over Nahr Ṭahīthā and proceeded on foot, followed by a number of the command-

500. See n. 493, above.

501. The vocalization of the names of these two ʿAbbāsid officers is conjectural. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 293, refers to the second as Ḥashīsh.

502. About 3 km.

ers of the blacks and their troops, finally arriving at Bāb Ṭanj. Aghartimish realized that he had arrived too late and left his troops to struggle back to his camp.

Sulaymān had ordered the deputy commander of his army not to allow any of the blacks to appear in view of any of Aghartimish's army, concealing themselves as best they could and letting the enemy penetrate along the waterway. Then, when they heard the sound of the drum roll, they should emerge and attack Aghartimish. Aghartimish approached with his army until there was no more than the Jārūrah Banī Marwān canal, which flowed from Ṭahīthā, between him and Sulaymān's force. Al-Jubbā'ī fled in the galleys and reached Ṭahīthā, and then leaving them there he retraced his way on foot to Sulaymān's army. This caused fear to deepen among Sulaymān's soldiers, and they scattered to the four winds.[503] A small group of men, however, among them one of the commanders of the blacks called Abū al-Nidā', took heart and attacked the enemy, preventing their entry into the camp, while Sulaymān pressed them from behind; then the Zanj beat their drums and throwing themselves into the water, crossed over the canal to join them. At this Aghartimish's troops were routed; the blacks who were in Ṭahītha fell upon them and put them to the sword. Khushaysh set out, riding upon a gray horse, intending to return to his soldiers, but he was met by blacks, who felled him with their swords and slew him. His head [1906] was taken to Sulaymān. Before being killed, as he was dragged away, he had said to them, "I am Khushaysh; you cannot kill me. Take me to your leader!" but they paid him no heed.

Aghartimish fled at the rear of his forces until he collapsed on the ground; he then proceeded on horseback, tracked by the Zanj until they reached their camp. The Zanj obtained their necessities from it, and seized Khushaysh's barges, while those who pursued the retreating army captured [more] barges that were with Aghartimish, containing much wealth. When news of this reached Aghartimish, he returned and managed to recover the boats from the Zanj.

Meanwhile, Sulaymān returned to his troops. He had succeeded in capturing booty and animals and sent word of the result of the battle to the Zanj commander, together with Khushaysh's head and

503. The phrase is *fa tafarraqū ayādiya sabā*; see H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, s.v. *s-b-'*.

ring seal, and added the barges that he had seized to his own forces. When the abominable one received Sulaymān's communication and Khushaysh's head, he ordered the later circulated throughout the camp and then displayed for a day on a pole. The head was later sent to ʿAlī b. Abān, who at the time was in the districts of al-Ahwāz, and he was ordered to display it in public there as well. Sulaymān, al-Jubbāʾī, and a group of commanders of the blacks left for the district of al-Ḥawānīt, skirting its border. There they came across thirteen barges with Abū Tamīm, the brother of Abū ʿAwn, associate of Waṣīf al-Turkī. They attacked. Abū Tamīm was killed and thrown into the water. Eleven of his barges were confiscated.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that this was the account of Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-ʿAbbādānī. As for Jabbāsh the eunuch, he claimed that Abū Tamīm had only eight barges. Two of these, which had arrived late on the scene, managed to slip away safely with all on
[1907] board. Sulaymān captured arms and spoils as well as most of the troops on the barges. Sulaymān returned to his camp and sent word to the abominable one of developments involving the slaying of Abū Tamīm and his companions and his confiscation of the barges in his camp.

In this year Ibn Zaydawayh took al-Ṭīb[504] by surprise and plundered it.

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib was appointed to the office of religious judge this year.[505]

Al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir left Baghdad during the last days of [the month][506] for al-Jabal.

Al-Ṣalābī[507] died this year, and Kayghalagh was appointed governor of al-Rayy.

Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī b. Yaʿqūb b. (Abū al-Jaʿfar) al-Manṣūr died in Rabīʿ II (January 3–31, 876) of this year. Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāq was appointed re-

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504. Le Strange, *Lands*, 64, 82. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 566, says that in his day (the seven/thirteenth century) the inhabitants of this southeastern Iraqi town were Nabatean and still spoke a dialect of Aramaic.

505. That is, the brother of al-Ḥasan, who had been appointed chief religious judge in 252/866 and had died in 261/874–75. See p. 167 and n. 6 above; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, II, 654.

506. Ṭabarī does not mention the actual month, but Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 304, places this event in Ṣafar (November 5–December 3, 875).

507. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 305, here confirms that he had been governor of al-Rayy.

ligious judge of the east side of Baghdad, thus holding the judgeship of both sides of the city.

Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb b. ʿAttāb was killed this year. He had been appointed governor of the two Sībs and had departed for the place, when he was killed by Arab tribesmen.

In the middle of Ramaḍān (June 12, 876) this year Mūsā b. Bughā arrived at al-Anbār on his way to al-Raqqah.

In this year al-Qaṭṭān, associate of Mufliḥ, was also slain. He was in charge of the administration of the taxes (*kharāj*) of Mosul. He was killed on the way back from it.

Kaftimur ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Dāʾūd, secretary of Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Luṭfī, was made leader of the Mecca Road in Ramaḍān (May 29–June 27, 876) of this year. [1908]

In Mecca the corn merchants (*al-ḥannāṭīn*)[508] and butchers fought each other on the day before *yawm al-Tarwiyah*,[509] so that people feared the pilgrimage would be canceled. Then the two sides made peace so that people could perform the pilgrimage rites. Seventeen persons had been killed.

Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth conquered Fārs this year, and Ibn Wāṣil fled from it.

A battle occurred this year between the Zanj and Aḥmad b. Laythawayh, in which many Zanj were killed. Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṣuʿlūk, who had been with the Zanj, was captured.

An Account of the Battle and Capture of al-Ṣuʿlūk[510]

Masrūr al-Balkhī reportedly sent Aḥmad b. Laythawayh to the region of the districts of al-Ahwāz. When he arrived in the region he settled at al-Sūs.[511] (Abū Layth) al-Ṣaffār had appointed Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Azārmard al-Kurdī governor of the districts of al-Ahwāz. Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh corresponded with the Zanj leader,

508. The editor of the Leiden text has preferred this reading, though Manuscript B is unpointed and C has the possible reading *khayyāṭīn* "tailors," which is also the reading of Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 306.

509. This day, when pilgrims provided themselves with water for the afterlife, was the 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (September 2, 876), the day before that of ʿArafāt. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Ḥadjdj."

510. Popovic, *Révolte*, 114–15.

511. The ancient Sūsa, situated on the banks of the Karkhah river in Khūzistān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 240.

holding forth the prospect that he was ready to go over to his side; indeed, he had been corresponding with him from the beginning of the Zanj leader's revolt. Muḥammad gave the impression that he would govern the districts of al-Ahwāz for him, although he would pretend to be loyal to (Abū Layth) al-Ṣaffār until he[512] had firm control of the district. The abominable one agreed to this, on condition
[1909] that his governor in the region be ʿAlī b. Abān and that Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh be only his deputy, an offer that he accepted.

ʿAlī b. Abān despatched his brother al-Khalīl with a large number of blacks and others, while Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh, together with Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṣuʿlūk, bolstered these forces, and they all made for al-Sūs. They did not, however, get that far, as Ibn Laythawayh and the troops of the central authorities accompanying him forced ʿAlī's troops to withdraw in full flight, losing a great many killed and others captured. Pushing forward, Aḥmad b. Laythawayh reached Junday Sābūr.[513]

Meanwhile, ʿAlī b. Abān left al-Ahwāz to lend Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh assistance against Aḥmad b. Laythawayh. Muḥammad, with a troop of Kurds and a ragtag collection of others (*ṣaʿālīk*), met up with ʿAlī, and, as Muḥammad approached each side proceeded along opposite banks of the Masruqān canal.[514] Muḥammad sent one of his aides with three hundred horsemen to join ʿAlī b. Abān. Both men arrived finally at ʿAskar Mukram. Muḥammad went alone to ʿAlī b. Abān, the two men meeting [for awhile] to discuss matters. Upon returning to his camp, Muḥammad sent to ʿAlī al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī and one of the Kurdish chiefs named Ḥāzim and a shaykh called al-Ṭalāqānī from among the associates of [Abū Layth] al-Ṣaffār; they arrived and greeted ʿAlī. Muḥammad and ʿAlī remained amicable until ʿAlī reached the Fārs bridge (*qanṭarah*) and Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallah entered Tustar. It reached Aḥmad b. Laythaway's attention that ʿAlī b. Abān and Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh planned to assist each other in fighting him, and so he departed from
[1910] Junday Sābūr and made for al-Sūs.

Now ʿAlī reached the Fārs bridge on Friday. Muḥammad b. ʿUbay-

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512. It is not clear whether the pronoun refers to Muḥammad or to the Zanj leader.

513. Written thus in the text but also found as Jundī Sābūr. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 238.

514. A canal that left the Dujayl river and rejoined it at a point near the city of ʿAskar Mukram. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 236–37.

dallāh had promised him to have the preacher make a sermon[515] that day and invoke blessings upon the leader of the Zanj and ʿAlī from the *minbar*[516] of the mosque in Tustar. ʿAlī remained [at the Fārs bridge], expecting such to happen, and he sent Bahbūdh b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to attend the Friday prayer and bring him news of it. When the prayer session commenced, the preacher rose and invoked blessings upon al-Muʿtamid, [Abu Layth] al-Ṣaffār, and Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh. Bahbūdh returned to ʿAlī with this news. Immediately ʿAlī set out upon his horse and ordered his troops to leave for al-Ahwāz, sending them on in front of him with his nephew Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Kirmānī his deputy, and his secretary. ʿAlī stayed behind until his troops had crossed over the bridge, and then he destroyed it so that he could not be followed by horses.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said: "I was among those of ʿAlī's troops who had been sent on ahead. The army traveled swiftly all that night, reaching ʿAskar Mukram by sunrise. ʿAskar Mukram had negotiated a peace with the abominable one, but now his soldiers broke the pact, attacking and pillaging the city. ʿAlī b. Abān arrived in the wake of what the troops had done, found out what they had done, but was unable to change it, and proceeded directly to al-Ahwāz. When word of ʿAlī's withdrawal reached Aḥmad b. Laythawayh, he retraced his way toward Tustar. There he clashed with Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh and his followers. Muḥammad escaped, but the one called Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṣuʿluk fell into Aḥmad's hands, and he was transported to the court of the al-Muʿtamid. Aḥmad himself remained in Tustar."

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—al-Faḍl b. ʿAdī al-Dārimī, one of the associates of the Zanj leader who had been attached to Muḥammad b. Abān, ʿAlī's brother, recounted as follows: After Aḥmad b. Laythawayh had settled himself in Tustar, ʿAlī b. Abān set out with his army toward him. He stopped at a village called Baranjān, and arranged for scouts to bring him information about Aḥmad. They re- [1911]

515. The sermon (*al-khuṭbah*) has a fixed place in the Friday service in the mosque. It was customary for the preacher to mention the name of the sovereign in the prayer on behalf of the faithful, thus indicating the preacher's political opinion or loyalty. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Khuṭba."

516. The "pulpit" of a mosque, from which the Friday prayer is given. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Masdjid."

turned to tell him that Ibn Laythawayh was already on his way, his forward cavalry having reached a village called al-Bāhiliyyīn. ʿAlī advanced toward Aḥmad, spreading good cheer among his troops, promising them victory, and recounting to them [the exploits] of the abominable one.

When ʿAlī reached al-Bāhiliyyīn, Ibn Laythawayh met him with his cavalry of around four hundred horsemen; they were quickly joined by reinforcements. As the government's cavalry forces were overwhelming in numbers, a group of Arab tribesmen who were on the side of ʿAlī b. Abān sought safe-conduct to join Ibn Laythawayh. The remainder of ʿAlī's cavalry was routed with only a small detachment of foot soldiers standing firm, most of them too having scattered. The fighting intensified between the two sides and ʿAlī b. Abān dismounted and joined the battle by himself on foot with one of his slave soldiers called Fatḥ, who was known as the slave of Abū al-Ḥadīd, joining him in the fray. Abu Naṣr Salhab and Badr al-Rūmī al-Shaʿrānī, who knew ʿAlī by sight, spotted him and shouted a warning to the troops. ʿAlī fled seeking the safety of the Masruqān canal. He threw himself into the water, followed by Fatḥ who threw himself into the water, followed by Fatḥ who threw himself in after ʿAlī, but he drowned. ʿAlī b. Abān reached Naṣr al-Rūmī, who pulled him out of the water and put him aboard a galley, ʿAlī having received a wound in the leg from an arrow. Utterly defeated, he escaped. A large number of Zanj solders and their brave ones had been slain.

[1912] In this year al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq b. al-Ḥasan b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad led the pilgrimage.[517]

517. The same person who led the pilgrimage in the previous year.

The Events of the Year 263

(September 24, 876–September 12, 877)

Among the events taking place this year was the victory of 'Uzayz b. al-Sarī, the associate of Ya'qūb b. al-Layth, over Muḥammad b. Wāṣil, who was taken prisoner.

In this year as well there occurred a battle between Mūsā Dāljuwayh[518] and Arab tribesmen in the district of al-Anbār. They defeated and routed him. Abū Aḥmad sent his son Aḥmad with a group of his commanders to seek out the tribesmen responsible for Mūsā Dāljuwayh's defeat.

This year, too, [Abū Aḥmad] al-Dayrānī attacked [Muḥammad] b. Aws. He launched the assault during the night, dispersing his personnel and plundering his camp. Ibn Aws escaped and made his way to Wāsiṭ.

One of the Farāghinah appeared along the Mosul Road this year indulging in highway robbery. He was finally captured and killed.

Ya'qūb b. al-Layth advanced from Fārs this year and, when he reached al-Nūbandajān,[519] Aḥmad b. Laythawayh departed from

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518. The reading is uncertain.

519. A city in the district of Anburān, in Fārs province. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 262–65.

Tustar. Then Yaʿqūb this year headed for al-Ahwāz. Before his departure from Tustar, Aḥmad had engaged in a battle against the brother of ʿAlī b. Abān, who was defeated; many of his Zanj troops were taken.[520]

[1913] *An Account of [the] Battle [at ʿAskar Mukram]*[521]

Following Ibn Laythawayh's defeat of ʿAlī b. Abān with the Bāhiliyyīn in which he had been wounded, ʿAlī reportedly reached al-Ahwāz but, without remaining there, made his way to the camp[522] of his master, the Zanj leader. There he was treated for his wounds until he completely recovered.

ʿAlī then set out again for al-Ahwāz, despatching at the same time his brother al-Khalīl b. Abān and his nephew Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ with a huge army against Ibn Laythawayh, who at the time was stationed in ʿAskar Mukram. The two men advanced with their forces and were met by Ibn Laythawayh, who was heading toward them about a *farsakh* from ʿAskar Mukram. The two sides drew upon each other and Ibn Laythawayh, who had prepared an ambush, fell back when fighting flared up. In their zeal to get him, the Zanj pursued him, passing by the ambush Ibn Laythawayh had set up. The ambushers emerged behind the Zanj, who were routed and scattered. Ibn Laythawayh then turned back to attack them and finished the job, while the Zanj returned to base in full flight. Ibn Laythawayh set off for Tustar, taking with him enemy heads. ʿAlī b. Abān sent off to the Masruqān canal against Aḥmad b. Laythawayh another army detachment led by Ankluwayh. Ibn Laythawayh despatched thirty of his best cavalry to engage Ankalwayh and, when al-Khalīl b. Abān heard of their mission, he laid an ambush for them. They reached his position and he attacked; not one of them escaped, slain to the last man. Their heads were taken to ʿAlī b. Abān in al-Ahwāz and he forwarded them to the abominable one.

Then [Yaʿqūb] al-Ṣaffār arrived in al-Ahwāz, while Ibn Laythawayh fled from it.

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520. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 307–8, adds the detail that Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth established himself in Junday Sābūr before setting off for al-Ahwāz. Ṭabarī's account is disjointed, and he mentions this point farther on, at p. 187, below.

521. Popovic, *Révolte*, 115.

522. This would be a reference to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad's capital, al-Mukhtārah.

An Account of [Yaʿqūb] al-Ṣaffār's Activities This Year[523] [1914]

When Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth reached Junday Sābūr and established himself there, all who were in the service of the central authorities had reportedly moved out of this district. Yaʿqūb sent to al-Ahwāz on his behalf a man called al-Ḥiṣn b. al-ʿAnbar.[524] As he approached the city, ʿAlī b. Abān, the associate of the Zanj leader, left and set up camp at the Nahr al-Sidrah.[525] Ḥiṣn[526] entered al-Ahwāz and established his quarters there. His troops and those of ʿAlī b. Abān began to make forays against each other, and both sides suffered losses. This continued until ʿAlī b. Abān was prepared to set out for al-Ahwāz where he clashed with al-Ḥiṣn and his troops in a vicious encounter in which a large number of Yaʿqūb's troops were killed, cavalry horses captured, and a great deal of booty seized. Al-Ḥiṣn and his followers fled to ʿAskar Mukram, while ʿAlī remained in al-Ahwāz confiscating what was left in it. He then returned to the Nahr al-Sidrah and instructed Bahbūdh to attack a Kurdish associate of [Yaʿqūb] al-Ṣaffār stationed in Dawraq.[527] Bahbūdh did as he was ordered and slew a number of his men, taking the Kurd prisoner. However, he acted generously toward the man and released him. After this, ʿAlī was expecting Yaʿqūb to set out against him, but he did not; instead he sent as support to al-Ḥiṣn b. al-ʿAnbar his brother al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAnbar and ordered them to refrain from confronting the abominable one's troops in battle and to restrict themselves to al-Ahwāz. Yaʿqūb wrote to ʿAlī b. Abān seeking to conclude a truce with him so that he might leave his troops in al-Ahwāz. ʿAlī rejected this proposal, unless he could transfer food supplies from the city. [Yaʿqūb] al-Ṣaffār withdrew, allowing him to move the food supplies while ʿAlī in turn withdrew, so Yaʿqūb could remove the [1915] animal forage in al-Ahwāz. So ʿAlī had the food supplies moved and left the forage and the two sides, both ʿAlī's and Yaʿqūb's troops, refrained from interfering with each other.

In this year, the Khārijite Musāwir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd died.[528]

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523. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 115–17.
524. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 308, calls him al-Khiḍr b. al-ʿAnbar.
525. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 258.
526. Here without the article.
527. A town in Khūzistān. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 618–19.
528. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 309, supplies a few more details.

On Friday, the 10th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah of this year (August 24, 877) ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān died, having fallen from his horse in the main square in a collision with his eunuch, Rashīq. With blood flowing from his nose and ears, he died three hours after his fall. Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawwakil performed the obsequies and accompanied the funeral procession.

The following day he appointed al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad as vizier.[529] Then, on the 27th of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (August 11, 877), Mūsā b. Bughā arrived in Sāmarrā, and al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad fled to Baghdad. In his place Sulaymān b. Wahb was appointed vizier, on the 6th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (August 20, 877). ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān was appointed secretary of al-Mufawwaḍ and al-Muwaffaq, in addition to his role of secretary to Mūsā b. Bughā. The palace of ʿUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā was presented to Kayghalagh.

In this year the brother of Sharkab drove al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir out of Naysābūr and occupied it. He forced its inhabitants to surrender to him a third of their wealth. Al-Ḥusayn went to Marv, where the brother of the Khwārazm Shāh[530] appealed to Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir.

In this year the Slavs surrendered Lu'lu'ah to the tyrant.[531]

In this year al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl led the pilgrimage.[532]

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529. On these developments, see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 309ff.

530. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Khwārazm-Shāhs." Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 310, says it was the son, rather than the brother, who was in Marv.

531. See n. 461, above. "The tyrant" is Ṭabarī's epithet for the Byzantine emperor. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 308–9, gives more detail, revealing that the fortress was surrendered voluntarily by its garrison because payment of their allotments and supplies were long overdue.

532. This is the same person who led the pilgrimmage in the two previous years; his full name is given on p. 167, above.

The Events of the Year 264

(September 13, 877–September 2, 878)

The events taking place this year included the despatch of an army by Ya'qūb al-Ṣaffār to al-Ṣaymarah. Ya'qūb marched at the head of the army toward al-Ṣaymarah. Ṣayghūn was arrested and brought to Ya'qūb, and he died while being held his prisoner.[533]

On the 11th of al-Muḥarram (September 23, 877) Abū Aḥmad, together with Mūsā b. Bughā assembled the army in al-Qā'im (in Sāmarrā), and it was escorted in public procession by al-Mu'tamid. Then the two men departed from Sāmarrā on the 2nd of Ṣafar (October 14, 877). After they had reached Baghdad, Mūsā b. Bughā died, and he was transported back to Sāmarrā for burial.

In the month of Rabī' I (November 11–December 10, 877) Qabīḥah, the mother of al-Mu'tazz, died.

In this year Ibn al-Dayrānī went to al-Dīnawar,[534] where Ibn 'Iyāḍ

533. Manuscript C adds that he died on the 11th of al-Muḥarram (September 23, 877), though the copyist may have confused it with the line immediately following, on the mustering of the army by Abū Aḥmad, which (by coincidence?) occurred on the same day.

534. A city in the province of Jibāl, between Ḥulwān and Hamadhān. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 188, 189.

and Dulaf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf united against him, forcing him to flee, after which they seized his property and estates. Ibn al-Dayrānī returned to Ḥulwān in defeat.

In this year as well, the Byzantines captured ʿAbdallāh b. Rashīd b. Kāwus.[535]

An Account of [the] Capture [of ʿAbdallāh b. Rashīd]

The reason for this was that ʿAbdallāh had entered Byzantine territory with four thousand troops of the Syrian frontier districts (*thughūr*).[536] He ventured to Ḥiṣnayn and al-Maskanīn.[537] The Muslims seized booty and then set off on the return journey. They had
[1917] just left al-Badandūn[538] when they were surrounded by the army commanders (*biṭrīq*)[539] of Salūqīyah[540] — Qadhaydhīyah, Qurrah, Kawkab, and Kharshanah. The Muslims dismounted and hocked their animals, and in the fighting all of them were slain, save for five or six hundred who laid on the whips to their riding beasts and escaped. The Byzantines killed many and captured ʿAbdallāh b. Rashīd, who was struck down by numerous blows; he was taken to Luʾluʾah and then on to the tyrant,[541] along the post road.

Muḥammad al-Muwallad was made governor of Wāsiṭ this year. Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ, who gathered the taxes of areas adjacent to Wāsiṭ on behalf of the Zanj leader, engaged Muḥammad in battle, defeated him and, after driving him from Wāsiṭ, occupied it.

An Account of [the] Battle [at Wāsiṭ][542]

Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ had been sent by the leader of the Zanj to the districts of al-Ḥawānīt and the marshlands. Following his defeat of Juʿ-

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535. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 312.

536. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "al-ʿAwāṣim"; Le Strange, *Lands*, 128ff.

537. The force led by ʿAbdallāh took one of the most common routes through the Taurus mountains into Byzantine-controlled territory, the Darb al-Salāmah, or Safety Pass, which went through the famous Cilician Gates. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 134.

538. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 133, where he transliterates it Badhandūn. This was the place, near Tarsus, where the Caliph al-Maʾmūn died.

539. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *b-ṭ-r-q*; he equates the Byzantine term *biṭrīq* with *qāʾid* "commander" in Muslim military ranks.

540. The ancient Seleucia, southwest of Tarsus. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 133.

541. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 312, uses the more polite expression "king of Rūm."

542. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 116ff. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 312–15.

lān al-Turkī, the central authorities' tax collector, and his battle against Aghartimish, whose army he routed, and his killing Khushaysh, whose camp he plundered, Sulaymān wrote to the Zanj leader, seeking permission to come and renew his bond with him and put in order various of his own domestic affairs.

After he had sent the letter, Aḥmad b. Mahdī al-Jubbā'ī advised Sulaymān to attack the forces of [Takīn] al-Bukhārī, who at the time was staioned in Bardūdā.[543] Sulaymān agreed and set out for Bardūdā. He arrived at a spot called Akramahr, which was about five [1918]
farsakhs[544] from Takīn's army camp.

When he reached the place, al-Jubbā'ī[545] said to Sulaymān that in his opinion Sulaymān should remain [in Akramahr] while he would proceed in the boats to attract the enemy toward him, causing them considerable trouble and effort on the way. He said, "By the time they reach you, they will be exhausted, and you can deal with them as you wish." Sulaymān followed this advice and mustered his cavalry and foot soldiers on the spot, while Aḥmad b. Mahdī set out early in the morning in the galleys. He reached Takīn's camp and fighting broke out for a while as Takīn prepared his own cavalry and infantry. Al-Jubbā'ī fell back from him and despatched a young man to inform Sulaymān that Takīn's troops were approaching him with their cavalry. The messenger found that Sulaymān had already begun to follow after al-Jubbā'ī when news was slow in reaching him. The messenger sent him back to his camp, while another messenger from al-Jubbā'ī arrived with the same information. After Sulaymān returned to his troops, he sent off Tha'lab b. Ḥafṣ al-Baḥrānī and one of the Zanj commanders called Manīnā with a detachment of Zanj. They were to set up an ambush in the countryside along the route that Takīn's cavalry would have to take, and Sulaymān ordered them to attack from the rear once they had passed by. When al-Jubbā'ī learned that Sulaymān had strengthened their position with his horsemen and ordered the setting up of an ambush, in a voice loud

543. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 41; Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 271. The Bardūdā was a canal issuing from the Tigris and flowing into the great swampland (*al-baṭīḥah*). The reference here could be to the canal or to a place of the same name located on it.

544. About 30 km.

545. Throughout the passage describing these events, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 313, refers to him as al-Ḥayātī.

enough to allow Takīn's troops to hear, he addressed his own troops saying, "You have deceived me! Destroyed me! I ordered you not to enter this canal,[546] but you insisted. Now you have put us in this position from which I can see no escape." When Takīn's troops heard al-Jubbāʾī's remarks, they eagerly renewed the pursuit, shouting
[1919] that they had "a bird[547] in a cage."

Al-Jubbāʾī hastened off, with Takīn's troops following and raining arrows down upon them. They passed by the spot where the ambush was set, approaching Sulaymān's camp where he himself was concealed behind a wall with his horsemen and soldiers. Sulaymān then advanced to meet the enemy army as the ambush emerged behind the cavalry and al-Jubbāʾī turned the fronts of his galleys around [to face] those [of the enemy] who were on the canal. Victory over the enemy was achieved on all fronts. The Zanj pursued them, killing and plundering, for a distance of some three *farsakhs*.[548] Then Sulaymān stopped and said to al-Jubbāʾī, "Let's turn back. We have won easily and are in good shape. Security is preferable to anything else." To which al-Jubbāʾī replied, "On the contrary! Our trick worked well on them and we have made their hearts faint. The best thing now is to take them again by surprise this very night. Perhaps we could drive them out of their camp and scatter them." Sulaymān put al-Jubbāʾī's advice into action and marched toward Takīn's camp, reaching it at sunset. He attacked, and Takīn and his followers responded as a ferocious battle developed. Then Sulaymān and his troops finally withdrew from the fighting. He halted to restore order to his troops and then despatched Shibl with a detachment of horsemen, together with some foot soldiers, into the countryside. He ordered al-Jubbāʾī to sail his galleys along the canal. Sulaymān set off with his cavalry and infantry, leading them himself, and he reached Takīn without obstacle. They, however, withdrew entirely, abandoning their camp. Sulaymān seized as booty all that could be found and then burned the camp. Upon returning to his own camp with all the booty that had been gathered, he found a letter awaiting him from the abominable one granting him permission to return home. Sulay-
[1920] mān left al-Jubbāʾī behind in charge. He took with him the banners found in Takīn's camp, the barges seized from Abū Tamīm, Khu-

546. Literally "entrance" or "mouth," here clearly meaning a canal.
547. Literally *bulbul*, a nightingale.
548. About 18 km.

shaysh, and Takīn as well and journeyed to the abominable one's base, arriving there in Jumādā I in the year 264 (January 9–February 7, 878).[549]

An Account of How the Abominable One Prepared His Zanj to Occupy Wāsiṭ[550] *(and Other Events of the Year 264)*[551]

Yaḥyā b. Khalaf[552] al-Jubbā'ī left for Māzrawān in the galleys and with the troops over which Sulaymān had given him charge. This was reportedly after Sulaymān b. Jāmi' had departed from his camp following the battle with Takīn and gone to the leader of the Zanj. Al-Jubbā'ī headed there in search of supplies, together with a group of blacks, but Ju'lān's troops challenged him and seized the boats accompanying him; they routed him and he returned in defeat to Ṭahītha. There he received letters from villagers[553] informing him that when Manjūr, a *mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful, and Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥabīb al-Yashkūrī learned of Sulaymān b. Jāmi''s absence from Ṭahītha, they joined forces, assembled their soldiers and set upon the village, killing and burning, and then departed. Those who escaped from the village went to another called al-Ḥajjājiyyah and remained there. [1921]

Al-Jubbā'ī wrote to Sulaymān with the information contained in the villagers' communication and also mentioned his encounter with Ju'lān's troops. The Zanj leader bade Sulaymān to hasten back to Ṭahītha. He arrived there and gave it about that he intended to go into battle against Ju'lān and mustered his army in preparation. Al-Jubbā'ī was sent in advance of Sulaymān with the galleys containing horses and men and with orders to reach Māzrawān and station himself opposite Ju'lān's army. He was instructed to let the horses be exposed to graze where Ju'lān's troops could see them; but (al-Jubbā'ī) was not to attack them.

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549. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 314, says this event occurred in the year 263.
550. Popovic, *Révolte*, 118–22.
551. This subheading is not in the form usually employed by Ṭabarī.
552. Manuscripts B and C have this reading, albeit a corrupt one, for al-Jubbā'ī's name was Aḥmad b. Mahdī.
553. These may have been from the village of Marwān, which, as noted on p. 177, above, was near Ṭahīthā.

Sulaymān, for his part, rode out with his entire army, except for a handful that he left behind in his camp, and entered the region of the Ahwār.[554] He at last came upon two such stretches of open water called al-Rabbah and al-ʿAmraqah. Sulaymān then headed for Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥabīb, who was at that time at a spot called Tallfakhkhār.[555] When he reached him, a major battle broke out. Many were slain and Sulaymān was able to seize a large number of horses and abundant booty. He killed a brother of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, though Muḥammad himself escaped. Sulaymān set out on return journey and when he was in the open countryside between al-Bazzāq and the village,[556] horsemen of the Banū Shaybān appeared. Now Sulaymān had struck down one of the chiefs of the Banū Shaybān in Tallfakhkhār, killing him, taking one of his young sons prisoner, and confiscating the mare he was riding. News of this had reached the tribe, and so now they confronted Sulaymān in the open with four hundred horsemen. At the time Sulaymān had marched against Ibn Ḥabīb, he had sent for his deputy in al-Ṭaff,[557] ʿUmayr b. ʿAmmār, to act as guide owing to his knowledge of the roads. When Sulaymān
[1922] spotted the horsemen of the Banū Shaybān, he sent off all his troops leaving ʿUmayr b. ʿAmmār on his own. The Banū Shaybān fought and killed him, carrying off his head when they left. The abominable one was greatly distressed at the news of ʿUmayr's death. Sulaymān had transported to the abominable one all that had been acquired in the territory of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥabīb, this occurring at the end of Rajab (March 9–April 7, 878) of this year.

In Shaʿbān (April 8–May 6, 878) Sulaymān took a detachment of his troops to Qaryat Ḥassān,[558] where, at the time, one of the central authorities' commanders called Jaysh b. Ḥamartakīn was stationed. Sulaymān attacked the village, causing Jaysh to flee in fear and allowing Sulaymān to capture, plunder, and burn it. He took with him horses [as booty] and returned to his own camp.

Next, on the 10th of Shaʿbān (April 17, 878), Sulaymān left for the

554. Ibn Serapion describes a *hawr* (pl. *ahwār*) as a great sheet of clear water in which no reeds grow. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 297–98; *EI*,[1] s.v. "Maisān."

555. The reading is uncertain.

556. The name of the place is not specified, but it may refer to the village of Marwān, as earlier in this passage.

557. A certain area in the district of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 36.

558. A village between Dayr al-ʿĀqūl and Wāsiṭ. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 266.

region of al-Ḥawānīt[559] and sent al-Jubbā'ī upstream in the galleys toward Bar[r] Musāwir.[560] There he found a number of large boats, which Ju'lān had wanted to use to reach the Nahr Abān; they contained his horses, with which he used to go out hunting. Al-Jubbā'ī attacked the vessels, killed the crews, and seized the horses, of which there were twelve, and then returned to Ṭahīthā.

On the 26th of Sha'bān (May 3, 878) Sulaymān attacked Tall Rumānā. The inhabitants evacuated the place, and Sulaymān gathered all he could in booty and returned to his camp. Next, on the 10th of Ramaḍān (May 16, 878), he went to al-Jazīrah, where Abbā[561] was at the time, while Ju'lān was in Māzrawān. Sulaymān had written to the abominable one, asking that he send him barges; he provided ten with a man from 'Abbādān in charge called al-Ṣaqr b. al- [1923]
Ḥusayn. When al-Ṣaqr reached Sulaymān with the barges, he pretended to be planning to attack Ju'lān. The news that Sulaymān intended to advance on him soon reached Ju'lān's ears, and thus his main concern was to protect his own camp. But, as Sulaymān approached Abbā's location, he turned aside to Abbā and attacked him, thus taking him by surprise, when he was not expecting him. Sulaymān succeeded in achieving his goal and in acquiring six barges.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said—Jabbāsh the eunuch said that Sulaymān actually found eight barges in [Abbā's] camp, and two of them, which were on the shore, he burned. He seized horses, weapons, and other booty and returned to his own camp.

Sulaymān next made it known that he intended attacking Takīn al-Bukhārī. To this end he equipped some boats with [the assistance of] al-Jubbā'ī and Ja'far b. Aḥmad, a maternal uncle of Ankalay,[562] son of the accursed abominable one. But, when the boats neared Ju'lān's camp, Ju'lān pursued, attacked, and seized possession of them. Sulaymān then launched an assault on Ju'lān from the landward side and drove him to flight toward al-Ruṣāfah.[563] He recovered

559. See Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 46.

560. The reading is very uncertain. See p. 176, above.

561. Popovic, *Révolte*, 117, queries whether this person might be one of Ju'lān's officers. It is possible, too, that he is same Abbā al-Turkī, who has already been reported as operating in this area. See p. 178, above.

562. Halm, *Traditionen*, 55, notes that Ankalay is a Persian name, which supports the view that the Zanj leader, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, was of Persian origin.

563. A town lying on the east bank of the Tigris below Wāsiṭ. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 40; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 782.

the boats, as well as twenty-seven horses, two foals of Juʿlān's, and three mules, to say nothing of considerable quantities of other booty and weapons. Once again Sulaymān returned to Ṭahītha.

Muḥammad (b. al-Ḥasan) said that Jabbāsh denied any mention of Takīn in this context; nor did he know anything concerning him from the evidence of [al-Ṣaqr b. al-Ḥusayn] al-ʿAbbādānī but claimed that Sulaymān's only objective was against Juʿlān.[564] In fact, Sulaymān's troops had no information of him until it was rumored that he and al-Jubbāʾī had both been killed, which caused great anxiety among his followers.[565] Then hard news emerged of developments in the fighting against Juʿlān. They calmed down and waited quietly until Sulaymān came to them. Sulaymān wrote to the abominable
[1924] one of his exploits and sent him banners and weapons.

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah (July 5 – August 3, 878) Sulaymān went to al-Ruṣāfah and attacked Maṭar b. Jāmiʿ, who was stationed there. He seized much booty, burned and plundered al-Ruṣāfah, and sent banners to the abominable one. On the 5th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 264 (August 8, 878) Sulaymān arrived at the abominable one's city.[566] He stayed to celebrate the feast[567] and remain at home. Maṭar b. Jāmiʿ went and attacked the village of al-Ḥajjājiyyah, taking a number of its inhabitants captive. One of these was Sulaymān's religious judge called Saʿīd b. al-Sayyid al-ʿAdawī, who was captured and sent to Wāsiṭ along with Thaʿlab b. Ḥafṣ (al-Baḥrānī) and four commanders who were with him. They had gone to al-Ḥarjaliyyah, about two and a half *farsakh*s from Ṭahītha, when al-Jubbāʾī set out with horses and men to thwart Maṭar. Al-Jubbāʾī arrived in the district, however, after Maṭar had already committed his acts there, and so al-Jubbāʾī retired and sent the news to Sulaymān, who arrived on Tuesday, the 28th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah of this year (August 31, 878).

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564. There appears to be some confusion or misunderstanding among the sources Ṭabarī is using here. There is a parallel, however, between Sulaymān's two campaigns against Abbā and Juʿlān, each of which was preceded by the spread of "disinformation" on his real intention. Jabbāsh seems not to have known about the first attack against Abbā, when Sulaymān had pretended to be campaigning against Juʿlān.

565. Apparently Sulaymān had left his main army and was using only the boats and the troops on them in his forays against Abbā and al-Jubbāʾī.

566. That is, al-Mukhtārah.

567. That is, the feast of the sacrifice, the major celebration of the pilgrimage. See *EI*,[2] s.vv. "Ḥadjdj," "ʿĪd al-Adḥāʾ."

Ju'lān was removed from his post, and Aḥmad b. Laythawayh arrived and stationed himself in al-Shadīdiyyah.[568]

Sulaymān ventured to the Nahr Abān where he discovered one of Ibn Laythawayh's commanders called Ṭurnāj,[569] whom he attacked and killed.

Muḥammad (b. al-Ḥasan)—Jabbāsh said that the one killed at that place was Bīnak; and, as for Ṭurnāj, he was slain in Māzrawān.

Next Sulaymān reached al-Ruṣāfah, where the army of Maṭar b. Jāmi' was then located. Sulaymān attacked and plundered his camp, capturing from it seven barges, two of which he burned. That was in [1925] the month of Rabī' II (December 11, 877–January 8, 878) of the year 264.[570]

Muḥammad—Jabbāsh said that six barges were seized and that this conflict was at al-Shadīdiyyah.

Following this, Sulaymān ventured forth with five barges aboard which he had arrayed the very finest of his commanders and troops. Takīn al-Bukhārī engaged him in battle in al-Shadīdiyyah, as Ibn Laythawayh had by then already proceeded to the district of al-Kūfah and Junbulā'. Takīn vanquished Sulaymān, seizing his barges with their war machines, weapons, and fighters. In this encounter the most experienced of Sulaymān's commanders were slain. Ibn Laythawayh afterward marched to al-Shadīdiyyah and administered these districts until Abū Aḥmad appointed Muḥammad al-Muwallad governor of Wāsiṭ.[571]

Muḥammad—Jabbāsh said that, when Ibn Laythawayh arrived in al-Shadīdiyyah, Sulaymān marched upon him and for two days they fought against each other. Finally, on the third day Sulaymān fell back and Ibn Laythawayh and his followers rushed to pursue him. Then Sulaymān returned to the attack and threw Ibn Laythawayh into the mouth of the Bardūdā canal; he saved himself after nearly drowning. Sulaymān captured seventeen of his riding animals.

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568. Ju'lān had been prefect of Wāsiṭ and was replaced by Aḥmad b. Laythawayh.

569. The reading is uncertain.

570. Unless Sulaymān attacked al-Ruṣāfah twice in the same year, this account is out of place in the chronological ordering of events. Ṭabarī has already reported, p. 196, above, Sulaymān's defeat of Maṭar b. Jāmi' in al-Ruṣāfah in Dhū al-Qa'dah, toward the end of the year.

571. That is, replacing Aḥmad Ibn Laythawayh, who had held the post. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 117.

[Muḥammad] continued, saying that Sulaymān communicated with the abominable one requesting reinforcements. The Zanj leader despatched al-Khalīl b. Abān and al-Mudhawwab[572] to him with about fifteen hundred horsemen. Upon the arrival of these reinforcements, Sulaymān straightaway went to engage Muḥammad al-Muwallad in battle. In the course of it Muḥammad fled and the Zanj occupied Wāsiṭ. A large number of persons were killed and the city was pillaged and burned. Kanjūr al-Bukhārī was in Wāsiṭ at the time and he held on, putting up a defense throughout that day until the afternoon, when he was killed. The ones who led the horsemen
[1926] in Sulaymān's army that day were al-Khalīl b. Abān and ʿAbdallāh, who was known as al-Mudhawwab. Al-Jubbāʾī was in charge of the galleys; al-Zanjī b. Mihrān was in charge of the barges. Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ led his black commanders and their infantry; Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Shaʿrānī and his two brothers led his horses and foot soldiers along with Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ. The entire force performed to perfection.[573]

Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ later left Wāsiṭ and with his entire army headed for Junbulāʾ, causing depoliation and destruction. Discord broke out between him and al-Khalīl b. Abān who wrote to his brother ʿAlī about it. ʿAlī b. Abān begged the Zanj leader to relieve al-Khalīl of his duties with Sulaymān, and permission was given for al-Khalīl to return to the abominable one's city with ʿAlī b. Abān's associates and slaves. Al-Mudhawwab remained behind with Sulaymān in charge of the Arab tribesmen. Sulaymān stayed in his camp for some days and then moved to the Nahr al-Amīr where he reestablished his camp. He despatched al-Jubbāʾī and al-Mudhawwab to Junbulāʾ, where they remained for ninety days while Sulaymān was encamped at the Nahr al-Amīr.

Muḥammad—Jabbāsh said that Sulaymān's camp was in al-Shadīdiyyah.

In this year Sulaymān b. Wahb departed from Baghdad for Sāmarrā. He was accompanied by al-Ḥasan b. Wahb, while Aḥmad b. al-Muwaffaq, Masrūr al-Balkhī, and the army commanders escorted them in public procession. When Sulaymān reached Sāmarrā, al-Muʿtamid grew angry with him and imprisoned him, bound in fet-

572. Ṭabarī enlightens us a few lines below. This man's name was ʿAbdallāh, his nickname al-Mudhawwab, literally "melted (fat)."

573. Literally "as one hand."

ters. His palace and those of his sons Wahb and Ibrāhīm were confiscated.

Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad was made vizier on the 27th of Dhū al-Qa'dah (July 31, 878).[574] [1927]

[Abū Aḥmad] al-Muwaffaq left Baghdad with 'Abdallāh b. Sulaymān.[575] As he approached Sāmarrā, al-Mu'tamid transferred to the west bank [of the Tigris] and assembled his camp there, while Abū Aḥmad and his entourage settled on the island of al-Mu'ayyad. Messengers went back and forth[576] between the two. A few days after the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah al-Mu'tamid boarded a fire boat[577] on the Tigris, as his brother Abū Aḥmad headed toward him in a light rivercraft. Then the Caliph bestowed robes of honor upon Abū Aḥmad, Masrūr al-Balkhī, Kayghalagh, and Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Bughā. On Tuesday, the 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, which was *yawm al-tarwiyah*[578] (August 11, 878), Abū Aḥmad's troops crossed over the river to al-Mu'tamid's camp.

Sulaymān b. Wahb was released from prison, and al-Mu'tamid returned to the Jawsaq palace. Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad fled with Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shirzād, and instructions were given for the confiscation of their property and that of their supporters.[579] Aḥmad b. Abī al-Aṣbagh was imprisoned. The army commanders stationed in Sāmarrā fled to Takrīt.[580] Abū Mūsā b. al-Mutawakkil went into hiding but reappeared thereafter. Those commanders who had gone to Takrīt went farther on, to Mosul, and began to help themselves to the tax revenues.

This year the pilgrimage was led by Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā al-Hāshimī al-Kūfī.

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574. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 315–26, for details.

575. Manuscript C and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 316, both have 'Ubaydallāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb.

576. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 316, reproduces this passage from Ṭabarī almost verbatim, though with certain shifts in the order of sentences. He glosses this sentence, stating that al-Mu'tamid was angry with al-Muwaffaq, and then an agreement was reached.

577. *Ḥarrāqah*. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḥ-r-q*.

578. Literally "day of providing oneself with water" the 8th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, during the annual pilgrimage ceremonies. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Ḥadjdj."

579. Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad and Sulaymān b. Wahb were bitter rivals. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 309–15.

580. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 316, where he explains that the commanders fled in fear of al-Muwaffaq.

The Events of the Year 265

(September 3, 878–August 22, 879)

Among the events taking place during this year was a battle in the district of Junbulā'[581] between Aḥmad b. Laythawayh and Sulaymān b. Jāmi', the Zanj master's commander.

(1928) *An Account of [the] Battle [of Junbulā'][582]*

Sulaymān b. Jāmi' had reportedly written to the Zanj leader, informing him of the situation on Nahr al-Zuhayrī. He requested permission for expenses to dig a canal from it into the Sawād al-Kūfah and the plain.[583] Sulaymān informed him the distance was not great and that once the canal was dug it would be easy for the Zanj leader [to arrange] shipments of food supplies from the districts of Junbulā' and the Sawād al-Kūfah. The abominable one sent him a man called Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Baṣrī to help in carrying out the task. He

581. A hamlet between Wāsiṭ and al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 126.
582. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 118; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 322.
583. Reading *al-barāz*, according to Ṭabarī, *Addenda et Emendanda*, DCCXCII, rather than *al-barār*, as in the text.

wrote to Sulaymān to supply all his needs in terms of expenses and lodging with him and his army until the task for which he had been sent was completed. Sulaymān moved his entire force to stay in al-Sharīṭiyyah[584] for almost a month and set the laborers to work on the canal. During this time Sulaymān did not touch [the provisions] at hand belonging to the villagers from nearby Khusrū Sābūr.[585] Rather, supplies reached him from the district of al-Ṣīn[586] and adjacent areas, until the moment when Ibn Laythawayh, Abū Aḥmad's financial administrator over Junbulā', attacked Sulaymān and killed fourteen[587] of his commanders.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that forty-seven commanders had been killed and untold numbers of others. Sulaymān's camp was pillaged and his boats, which were moored in this canal that he was engaged in digging, were burned. Sulaymān withdrew in utter defeat to Ṭahītha, where he remained. Al-Jubbā'ī arrived in the wake of the defeat and later went back upstream to stay in Barratimurtā,[588] leaving a boat master called al-Zanjī b. Mihrān in charge of the barges.

The central authorities had sent [Abū Ḥamzah] Nuṣayr to have [1929]
Shāmraj[589] sent in bonds to the court and appointed him to Shāmraj's duties. After this, Nuṣayr came upon al-Zanjī b. Mihrān on the Barratimurtā canal and seized nine of his barges, six of which al-Zanjī was able to recover.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that Jabbāsh denied that al-Zanjī b. Mihrān had recovered any of the barges, claiming that Nuṣayr got away with them all.

Al-Zanjī headed for Ṭahītha, forwarding a letter to Sulaymān before he arrived. Sulaymān stayed in Ṭahītha until news reached him that al-Muwaffaq was coming his way.

In al-Muḥarram of this year (September 3–October 2, 878) Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn[590] fought against Sīmā the Tall in Antioch,[591] besieging him until he conquered the city and killed Sīmā.

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584. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 322, calls the place al-Sharīṭah.
585. Well-known village near Wāsiṭ. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 96.
586. A location in the region of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 440.
587. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 322, has forty.
588. The reading is uncertain.
589. This person remains unidentified.
590. Ṭabarī, III, 1697, notes that in the year 254/868 Bāyakbāk appointed him governor of Egypt. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn."
591. Le Strange, *Lands*, 152 n. 2, calls attention to the confusion, in the early Ara-

Al-Qāsim b. Mimāh[592] assaulted Dulaf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf[593] in Iṣfahān and killed him. Later a group of Dulaf's companions killed al-Qāsim in revenge and declared Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz their chief.

In al-Muḥarram of this year (September 3 – October 2, 878) Muḥammad al-Muwallad joined Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth. The central authorities ordered the confiscation of his money and lands.

In Jumādā I of this year (December 30, 878–January 28, 879) Arab tribesmen killed Juʿlān the ruffian (*al-ʿayyār*) in Dimimmā.[594] He had been providing protection for a caravan when he was killed. The central authorities despatched a group of *mawlās* to seek out the
[1930] perpetrators of the crime, but they fled. The searchers got as far as ʿAyn al-Tamr[595] and then returned to Baghdad, a number of them having died of the gripping cold that lasted for some days, with snow even falling in Baghdad.

Abū Aḥmad ordered the imprisonment in his palace of Sulaymān and his son ʿUbaydallāh,[596] along with a number of their relations. The palaces of some of these latter were plundered, but a guard was ordered to protect the palaces of Sulaymān and his son. Their estates and wealth, along with the wealth and estates of their relatives, with the exception of Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, were confiscated. A settlement was later arranged with Sulaymān and his son ʿAbdallāh for the sum of nine hundred thousand dinars, and they were moved to a location where anyone they wished could come to visit.

This same year as well witnessed the assembly of troops of Mūsā b. Utāmish, Isḥāq b. Kundājīq, Yanghajūr b. Urkhūz, and al-Faḍl b. Mūsā b. Bughā at the Shammāsiyyah Gate. They crossed over the [main] Baghdad bridge[597] and ventured to al-Safīnatayn, followed by

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bic chronicles, between Antioch in Syria and other places of the same name in Asia Minor—e.g., Antioch of Pisidia. Here the locale intended is Antioch in Syria, the ancient Antiocheia; this is confirmed on p. 204, below, and by the report in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 324, that, when Ibn Ṭulūn left Egypt for Syria in this year he appointed his son ʿAbbās his deputy. See *EI*,[2] s.v. "Anṭākiya."

592. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 327, calls him al-Qāsim b. Mahāh.

593. In 254/868 his father had sent him to Junday Sābūr and Tustar to collect taxes. See Ṭabarī, III, 1697.

594. A village on the Euphrates just below al-Anbār. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 66; Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 69.

595. The district of ʿAyn al-Tamr lay west of the Euphrates; the fortified town itself was situated just south of Hīt. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 65, 81.

596. The text has incorrect ʿAbdallāh; see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, I, 311.

597. See n. 21, above.

Aḥmad b. al-Muwaffaq.[598] They did not return but encamped at Ṣarṣar.[599]

On the 17th of Jumādā II (February 14, 879) Abū Aḥmad appointed Saʿīd b. Makhlad as his secretary. After having bestowed upon him a robe of honor, Saʿīd traveled to the commanders in Ṣarṣar. Abū Aḥmad next sent his son Aḥmad to them. He discussed matters with them, and they returned together, after which robes of honor were bestowed upon them.

According to report, five of the Byzantine commanders, with thirty thousand troops, marched toward Adhanah.[600] Having reached the oratory,[601] they captured Urkhūz, who had been the governor of the frontier districts, then removed from his post, but had [1931] stayed on as part of the frontier guard. Some four hundred men were captured with him, and the Byzantines killed some fourteen hundred men who had rallied to them. The Byzantines withdrew after four days; this was in Jumādā I (January 2, 879) of this year.

In Rajab (February 27–March 28, 879) of this year Mūsā b. Utāmish, Isḥāq b. Kundājīq, and Yanghajūr b. Urkhūz assembled troops on Nahr Dayālā.[602]

In this same year Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Khujustānī conquered Naysābūr. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir's prefect, went to Marv and settled there. The brother of Sharkab al-Jammāl was between al-Ḥusayn and al-Khujustānī.

Ṭūs was devastated this year.

Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul was appointed vizier.[603]

Yaʿqūb b. al-Layth died this year[604] in al-Ahwāz and was succeeded by his brother ʿAmr b. al-Layth, who wrote to the central authorities to his obedience and loyalty. Aḥmad b. Abī al-Aṣbagh was

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598. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 326, who reproduces this passage with glosses, says that al-Muwaffaq prevented the return of the soldiers.

599. A town on the Ṣarṣar canal, reached by way of the southern road leading to al-Kūfah from Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 32.

600. The modern Adana. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 128, 130–31. It was one of the line of fortresses (*al-thughūr*) protecting Syria and was situated near the northern coast of the bay of Alexandretta; *EI*,[2] s.vv. "Adana," "al-ʿAwāṣim."

601. *Al-muṣallā*.

602. Having moved from their camp in Ṣarṣar (see p. 174, above) to the eastern bank of the Tigris, to the canal that irrigated the gardens of east Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 59 (vocalized Diyālā).

603. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 315–16.

604. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 325, for additional details.

despatched to him in Dhū al-Qaʿdah (June 25 – July 24, 879) of this year.

A group of tribesmen of the Banū Asad this year killed ʿAlī b. Masrūr al-Balkhī on the Mecca Road before he arrived at al-Mughīthah. Abū Aḥmad had appointed Muḥammad b. Masrūr al-Balkhī governor of the Mecca Road, and it was he who appointed his brother ʿAlī b. Masrūr to the post.

The Byzantine emperor sent ʿAbdallāh b. Rashīd b. Kāwus, the tax collector of the frontier districts who had been captured by him, to Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, along with many other Muslim prisoners. The emperor also sent him a number of manuscripts as a gift.

[1932] A detachment of Zanj went to Jabbul[605] in thirty galleys, seized four boats containing foodstuffs, and then returned.

Al-ʿAbbās b. Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn and his followers took themselves off to Barqah,[606] in defiance of his father, Aḥmad who, according to report, had left him in charge of his administrative duties in Egypt when he departed for Syria. Upon Aḥmad's return from Syria to Egypt, Al-ʿAbbās took what money there was in the Egyptian treasury, as well as furnishings and other things belonging to his father, and left for Barqah.[607] Aḥmad despatched a force against him, which captured and brought al-ʿAbbās back. Aḥmad imprisoned him in his own quarters. Because of this action of al-ʿAbbās, a group of men who had joined up with him in this venture were killed.[608]

The Zanj this year occupied al-Nuʿmāniyyah,[609] burned its market and most of the inhabitants' dwellings, and took prisoners. They next moved to Jarjarāyā,[610] causing people of the Sawād region to enter Baghdad.[611]

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605. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 38. It lay on the eastern bank of the Tigris, about 50 km. below Jarjarāyā; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 23; Popovic, *Révolte*, 119.

606. For further details, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 324–25; *EI*,[2] s.v. "Barḳa." The town and region attached to it were the classical Cyrenaica.

607. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 324, gives the date of his arrival in the month of Rabīʿ I, 265 (January 11 – 30, 878).

608. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 325, where it is stated that al-ʿAbbās was still in prison in the year 268/881 – 82.

609. A town on the western bank of the Tigris about halfway between Baghdad and Wāsiṭ. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 37; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 322.

610. A town below Dayr al-ʿAqūl, which lay on both banks of the Tigris. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 37; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 54.

611. This marked the northernmost point of the Zanj expansion, the closest to Baghdad that their campaigns brought them.

During the course of this year Abū Aḥmad made ʿAmr b. al-Layth governor of Khurāsān, Fārs, Iṣfahān, Sijistān, Kirmān, and al-Sind,[612] and had the formal investiture declared in the presence of witnesses. Aḥmad b. Abī al-Aṣbagh was sent to ʿAmr with the document of his investiture, together with a contract and robe of honor.

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah (July 25–August 22, 879) of this year Masrūr al-Balkhī marched on al-Nīl,[613] and ʿAbdallāh b. Laythawayh withdrew from it with his brother's troops. ʿAbdallāh had been in open conflict with the central authorities and had gone with his followers to Aḥmadābādh. He was pursued by Masrūr al-Balkhī, who intended to engage him in battle. Then ʿAbdallāh b. Laythawayh and his fol- [1933]
lowers unexpectedly came to Masrūr on foot and yielded to him in obedience and loyalty. ʿAbdallāh b. Laythawayh, with his sword and girdle hung about his neck, proferred his apologies to Masrūr and swore an oath that he had been incited to do what he did. His apology was accepted, and robes of honor were ordered bestowed upon him and several of his commanders.

Takīn al-Bukhārī ventured forth to al-Ahwāz as vanguard for Masrūr al-Balkhī.

An Account of Takīn's Arrival in al-Ahwāz[614]

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Masrūr al-Balkhī appointed Takīn al-Bukhārī governor of the districts of al-Ahwāz at the time Abū Aḥmad had appointed Masrūr over them.[615] Takīn set out and arrived at al-Ahwāz. ʿAlī b. Abān had already reached there and was on his way to Tustar, which he surrounded with a large force of his Zanj troops and others. The populace was terrified at the development and was about to surrender the city when, in this situation, Takīn arrived. He had not even had time to change from his travel attire when he went into battle against ʿAlī b. Abān and his troops. Defeat was the lot of the Zanj, as they were slain, routed, and scat-

612. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 326, adds to these posts that of commandant of police in Baghdad.

613. A town on Nahr al-Nīl, which was a continuation, of the Great Ṣarāt canal west of the town; it flowed from the Euphrates to the Tigris below Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 73; Le Strange, "Ibn Serapion's Description," 261.

614. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 323.

615. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 119.

tered. ʿAlī was forced to retreat with the remnants of his shattered forces. This was the famous battle of Bāb Kūdak[616] [at Tustar], after which Takīn al-Bukhārī returned and settled in the city. Many freebooters (*ṣaʿālīk*) and others swelled his forces. ʿAlī b. Abān also set out for Tustar with a sizable collection of his troops and encamped on the eastern side of the Masruqān canal. He placed his brother on the western side, together with a troop of horse and Zanj infantry. He sent on ahead a number of the Zanj commanders, among them An-
[1934] kluwayh and Ḥusayn al-Ḥammāmī and others, and ordered them to station themselves at the Fārs bridge (*qanṭarah*). Information about ʿAlī b. Abān's arrangements reached Takīn by means of a slave called Waṣīf al-Rūmī, who was a fugitive from ʿAlī b. Abān's army. He reported on the enemy's position at the Fārs bridge, on their indulgence in wine drinking, and on the dispersal of their troops to gather food. So during the night Takīn made his way toward them with a detachment of troops and attacked, killing from among their commanders Ankalwayh, Ḥusayn al-Ḥammāmī, Abū Ṣāliḥ Mufarraj, and Andarūn. The rest fled and caught up with al-Khalīl b. Abān, telling him what had happened to them. Takīn then ventured along the eastern side of the Masruqān and eventually found ʿAlī b. Abān with a detachment of troops. But ʿAlī did not pause to fight and withdrew, although a slave called Jaʿfarawayh from ʿAlī's cavalry was taken captive. ʿAlī and al-Khalīl returned with their detachments to al-Ahwāz, while Takīn went back to Tustar. ʿAlī wrote to Takīn to request he refrain from killing Jaʿfarawayh, and so he was imprisoned. There then occurred an exchange of messages and courtesies between ʿAlī and Takīn, news of which reached Masrūr, who thoroughly disapproved. Masrūr even heard that Takīn had besmirched his loyalty by going over to ʿAlī b. Abān.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—Muḥammad b. Dīnār—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Maʾmūnī al-Bādhghīsī, who was one of the associates of Takīn al-Bukhārī, said that when Masrūr
[1935] heard the news of Takīn's audacious behavior against him, he paused until he learned the true state of affairs and then set out toward the districts of al-Ahwāz, making a show of his pleasure with and approval of Takīn. He took the road to Shābarzān[617] and

616. The reading is very uncertain, Manuscript B having *k-d-d*, C *m-r-dh-k*, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII, 323, Kūrak.

617. The reading is uncertain.

thence to al-Sūs. Takīn already knew what Masrūr had heard about him, and this distressed him very much, as well as the group of his commanders who had followed in Masrūr's company. Messages went back and forth between Masrūr and Takīn until Takīn felt safe and secure. Masrūr went to Wādī Tustar, where he sent for Takīn, who crossed over to greet Masrūr. Masrūr ordered that his sword be removed and that he be placed in custody. When Takīn's army saw that, they immediately dispersed, a section of them making for the territory of the Zanj leader, another section joining the Kurd Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh. When Masrūr heard of this [reaction], he extended a safe-conduct to all who remained of Takīn's army, and they joined him.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Maʾmūnī said, "I was among those who went to Masrūr's camp when he handed Takīn over to Ibrāhīm b. Juʿlān. Takīn remained in his custody until his appointed time arrived and he died." Some of the affair of Masrūr and Takīn that we have mentioned occurred in the year 265 (878–79) and some in the year 266 (879–80).

The pilgrimage this year was led by Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. ʿĪsā al-Hāshimī.

In this year as well, a detachment of Zanj under Abū al-Mughīrah [1936]
b. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī attacked Mecca.[618]

618. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 120, who queries whether Ṭabarī intends "attack," rather than "conquer," which is what the Arabic word *mutaghalliban* suggests.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXXVII

The 'Abbāsid Recovery

TRANSLATED BY PHILIP M. FIELDS

The 'Abbāsid Recovery
Volume XXXVII
Translated by Philip M. Fields

This volume of Ṭabarī's annals deals almost exclusively with the final stages of the Zanj revolt, the most serious external challenge faced by the central authorities in the last half of the third/ninth century. The rebellion, which began as an 'Alid uprising, but soon gave way to Khārijite influences, was a movement that attracted the disenfranchised elements of society in lower Iraq. Their battle against the tested armies of the Caliphate continued over three decades. And while the Zanj were never able to translate their localized successes into any decisive victory, they caused widespread chaos and great concern for those who had a vested interest in political and economic stability.

In many respects, the Zanj resemble modern revolutionary movements that live off the countryside, and harass the authorities. They emerged occasionally for conventional battles, but, more often than not they resorted to unconventional warfare, taking advantage of the extremely difficult terrain in the marshy areas of the region that gave rise to them. To defeat them, the government armies had to improvise new tactics and a strategy based on the lessons of early defeats.

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VOLUME XXXVII

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THE WAR AGAINST THE ZANJ ENDS

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Philip M. Fields

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In 1971 the General Editor proposed to the UNESCO to include a translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* in its Collection of Representative Works. UNESCO agreed, but the Commission in charge of Arabic works favored other priorities. Deeming the project worthy, the Iranian Institute of Translation and Publication, which collaborated with UNESCO, agreed to undertake the task. After the upheavals of 1979, assistance was sought from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The invaluable encouragement and support of the Endowment is here gratefully acknowledged.

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Ab Ja^c^far Muhammad b. Jarr al-Ṭabarī (839-923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī,* is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muhammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The

chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, according to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place-names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place-names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling, Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place-names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Translator's Foreword

This work comprises the second part of the reign of the caliph al-Mu'tamid (r. 256–79/870–92). It centers on the struggle against the Zanj revolt which had been ravaging the south of Iraq since 255/868. The revolt was fomented by black slaves working in the saline areas of lower Mesopotamia to remove the salt sands and brine (*sibākh*) and open the area up to cultivation. The slaves were led by one 'Alī b. Muḥammad, who is termed al-Khabīth (the Abominable), al-Khā'in (the Traitor), and "enemy of God" in the chronicles. After the Zanj pillaged and looted Baṣra, Ahwāz, Ubullah, Wāṣiṭ, and disrupted the economies of the approaches to the capital, Mu'tamid summoned his brother al-Muwaffaq from Mecca to conduct the campaign against the rebellion. With various signs of discontent and secessionist sentiment growing in the area, al-Muwaffaq's mission was an important one indeed; the preservation of the caliphate was at stake.

The battle between the Zanj rebels and the forces of the caliph was fought on a riverain area below Baṣra composed of mud flats, rivers, canals, and swamps many of which are no longer in evidence. The terrain was affected by the ebb and flow of sea water and mud. Al-Muwaffaq, assisted by his son (who later became the caliph al-Mu'taḍid), studied the terrain carefully and applied a policy aimed at dividing the rebel forces. He offered generous conditions to those who agreed to give up the rebellion: such concessions as amnesty, safe conduct, security, robes of honor, stipends, and integration into caliphal government forces and operations. These offers were advertised, and those who accepted them were paraded before the remain-

ing enemy forces. The Abominable was even approached but the message remained unanswered. Both sides demonstrated great valor and ingenuity in the river battles in erecting and destroying earthen dams, bridges, and walls among the canals and on the adjacent land.

The Zanj had their own strongholds and villages, e.g., al-Manī'ah (the Impregnable), Manṣūrah, Mukhtārah, Zanj headquarters, and, during the course of their operations, the forces of the caliph established their own city al-Muwaffaqiyah. al-Muwaffaq's forces blocked sea approaches to the rebel towns. When government peace offers failed to dislodge the rebels, the struggle became more brutal as heads and limbs were paraded before the enemy. The Abominable's vizier was bent on surrender, but he failed to convince his master of the inevitability of their end.

The final assault on the rebels was signaled by a black banner and a trumpet. Al-Muqaffaq besieged Mukhtārah which fell in 269/882. The final battles featured chemical warfare (naphtha) that ignited fires in the enemy's wooden structures, bridges, and ships. Reputedly fifty thousand imperial troops with 400 vessels opposed forces six times as numerous (these figures may be subject to the customary exaggeration). After the brutal suppression of the revolt, much was made of the propaganda value of the thousands of women prisoners (among them 'Alid matrons) who were liberated by caliphal forces, which included both blacks and whites, Turks, Khazars, Greeks, and peoples from northern Iran (Daylam and Ṭabaristān) and from Africa. The struggle between al-Muwaffaq and the Abominable became the subject of many poems that Ṭabarī has recorded in this volume. One aftermath of the struggle that demonstrates just how sensitive the government was to any remaining pro-Zanj sentiment among the populace was that imprisoned Zanj leaders in Wāsiṭ paid with their lives, when serenading of a political nature was heard.

In this volume, the general trends and currents in 'Abbāsid history, midway in its course, are seen. The caliph lived at Samarrā, which had served as the capital for half a century (since 224/838), while the imperial governmental machine was

split between Samarrā and Baghdad. Both, however, evinced an atmosphere redolent of endless intrigues, plots, and secessions.

The eastern empire in Iran was shaken by local dynasts (the Ṭahirids and Ṣaffarids); in the west, Syria and Egypt were ever more bent on self-rule (under Ibn Ṭūlūn and his son Khumārahayh). Frictions among officials and petty revolts instigated by tribes and pretenders were also rife. These kept officials in the central administration very busy. Ṭabarī specifically mentions that Ibn Ṭūlūn formed a plot to abduct the caliph and bring him to Egypt (273/886). Signs of unrest were also evidenced by the caliph's public cursing of the various disturbers of law and order.

In Mecca, clashes and bloodshed occurred when supporters of the sundry factions converged during pilgrimage season. In other cities, revolts broke out and mobs attacked monasteries. A kind of censorship on preachers and booksellers was implemented to prevent provocative theological debates and fermentation in Baghdad.

Ṭabarī also chronicles the corruption that characterized the mid-'Abbāsid period. With all the demands made on it by corrupt officials and the needs of the military, the treasury was often empty. To remedy the poor fiscal situation, the government would often levy punitive taxes on grandees.

This volume also foreshadows events to come by tracing the origins of the powerful Ismā'īlī movement. Regrettably, Ṭabarī does not offer data about the aspirations, plans, and ideology of the rebellion.

The Events of the Year 266

(August, 23, 879–August 11, 880)

In Ṣafar (September 22–October 20, 879), 'Amr b. al-Layth appointed 'Ubaydallāh b.'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir as his deputy in charge of security (*shurṭah*) at Baghdad and Sāmarrā, and invested him with robes of honor. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh then returned to his residence, where 'Amr b. al-Layth invested him with robes of honor and had a bar of gold consigned to him.

In Ṣafar, (September 22–October 20, 879), Asātakīn seized al-Rayy and ousted Ṭalmajūr the governor of the city. Then he and his son Adhkūtakīn went to Qazwīn, whose governor was Abrūn, the brother of Kayghalagh. After negotiating peace with Abrūn, the two entered the city, seized Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Sinān al-'Ijlī, his clients and his estates. Asātakīn killed him and then returned to al-Rayy. Its inhabitants fought against him, but he overcame them and entered the city.

A detachment of Byzantines arrived in the Tall Basmā of [1937]
Diyār Rabī'ah,[1] killing or capturing about two hundred fifty

1. Not to be confused with the place of that name situated in the region of Shabakhtān. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 864.

Muslims. The people of Naṣībīn[2] and Mosul fled, and the Byzantines withdrew.

In Rabi' II (July 4–August 2, 879), while in Jundīsābūr, on his way back to Baghdad from the camp of 'Amr b. al-Layth, Abū al-Sāj died. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir[3] died before him in the month of al-Muḥarram (August 23–September 21, 879).

'Amr b. al-Layth appointed Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf governor of Iṣbahān. Muḥammad, the son of Abū al-Sāj, was appointed governor of the Ḥaramayn[4] and the road to Mecca.

Aghartmish was appointed governor for the districts of al-Ahwāz which had been under Takīn al-Bukhārī. He arrived there in the month of Ramaḍān (April 15–May 14, 880).

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that Masrūr ordered Aghartmish, Abbā and Maṭar b. Jāmi' to fight 'Alī b. Abān. They marched until they reached Tustar, where they halted and seized those men who had been in Takīn's prison, among them Ja'farawayh and a group of followers of the leader of the Zanj. All of them were killed; it was Maṭar b. Jāmi' who was responsible. They marched on and arrived in 'Askar Mukram.[5]

Meanwhile, 'Alī b. Abān set out against them sending forward his brother al-Khalīl with the vanguard of his troops. Al-Khalīl moved forward and occupied positions in front of them, while 'Alī followed. As the Zanj outnumbered the government forces, the latter cut the pontoon bridge (from its moorings) and abstained from fighting. In the dark of night, 'Alī b. Abān and his troops withdrew to al-Ahwāz, and al-Khalīl with his men remained in Masruqān. News now reached al-Khalīl that Aghartmish, Abbā and Maṭar b. Jāmi' were approaching and had landed on the eastern side of the Arbuk Bridge (*qanṭarah*),[6]

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2. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 95.

3. He had been governor of Ṭabaristān and deputy of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir in the reign of al-Musta'īn. In 255 (868-869) he was appointed chief of police of Baghdad and the surrounding areas. See Ṭabarī, III/3, 1524, 1706.

4. That is the two holy cities Mecca and al-Madīnah. See *EI*², s.v. al-Ḥaramayn.

5. 'Askar Mukram was on the route from Baghdad to Tustar. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 246, 247, and index, 494.

6. This was a vaulted structure built of either brick or stone. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 187.

intending to cross over and reach him. Al-Khalīl reported this [1938]
to his brother 'Alī b. Abān, whereupon 'Alī set out for them and encountered them at the bridge. He then sent an order for al-Khalīl to come and join him. This he did. Those of 'Alī's troops who were left in al-Ahwāz became terror-stricken and dismantled his camp, retreating to Nahr al-Sidrah.[7] The battle between 'Alī and the government commanders took place with the government forces carrying the day. The latter abstained from further fighting, and 'Alī returned to al-Ahwāz where, however, he found none of his men. Having discovered that they had reached Nahr al-Sidrah in good order he sent someone to retrieve them, but, since this was difficult, 'Alī himself followed them and remained in Nahr al-Sidrah. The government forces then stationed themselves at 'Askar Mukram.

'Alī b. Abān made preparations to resume fighting and summoned Bahbūdh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb who arrived with his troops. When Aghartmish and his men heard about the forces 'Alī was bringing to bear against him, he and his army took the field against 'Alī. The latter put his brother, al-Khalīl b. Abān, in command of his vanguard and assigned to him Bahbūdh and Aḥmad b. al-Zaranjī. The two parties came upon each other at Dawlāb,[8] whereupon, 'Alī instructed al-Khalīl b. Abān to position Bahbūdh in ambush. Al-Khalīl marched until he engaged the enemy, and the battle flared between them. During the early part of the day the government forces were successful, but while manoeuvering on the battlefield they were attacked by the ambushers. The Zanj humbled the government forces, causing them to flee and Maṭar b. Jāmi' was taken prisoner; having fallen from his horse, he was seized by Bahbūdh and brought to 'Alī. Sīmā, known as Ṣaghrāj, was killed with a group of officers. When brought before 'Alī by Bahbūdh, Maṭar begged him to spare his life, but 'Alī refused saying, "Had you spared the life of Ja'farawayh, I would indeed spare yours." Then he ordered that Maṭar be brought near him, and he be-
headed him with his own hand. 'Alī b. Abān now entered al- [1939]

7. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 237.
8. Presumably the waterwheel (*dawlab*) of al-Ahwāz. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 622.

Ahwāz, and Aghartmish and Abbā retreated with those men who had escaped with them until they reached Tustar. 'Alī sent the heads (of the enemy) to the abominable one (that is, the leader of the Zanj) who ordered them displayed on the walls of his city.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported: 'Alī b Abān used to attack Aghartmish and his forces with mixed success. Then the abominable one sent most of his contingents to the assistance of 'Alī b. Abān. As a result, the Zanj outnumbered the troops of Aghartmish, who was now forced to reconcile his differences with the enemy. Since 'Alī b. Abān also wished for the same, they concluded a truce. 'Alī b. Abān now started to attack the surrounding areas. One of his attacks brought him to the village known as Bayrūdh,[9] which he subdued, taking much booty. He wrote to al-Khabīth accounting for his actions, sent him the booty which he had acquired, and established himself in Bayrūdh.

In this year, Isḥāq b. Kundājīq deserted the camp of Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Bughā because the latter, arriving in the Jazīrah, had appointed Mūsā b. Utāmish governor of Diyār Rabī'ah. This displeased Isḥāq b. Kundājīq, who left his camp and went to Balad,[10] where he attacked the Jacobite Kurds.[11] He routed them and seized their property and, as a result, greatly increased his strength. Thereupon he encountered the son of Musāwir al-Shārī and killed him.

In Shawwāl (May 15–June 12, 880), the people of Homs killed their governor 'Īsā al-Karkhī.[12]

In this year, Lu'lu', the page (*ghulām*) of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, took Mūsā b. Utāmish prisoner. The former was staying in the hill country of the Banū Tamīm, while Mūsā b. Utāmish was at Ra's al-'Ayn.[13] One night, while intoxicated, Mūsā set out to

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9. Bayrūdh was situated between al-Ahwāz and al-Ṭīb. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 786.

10. Balad was a large settlement situated where the old Persian town Shahrābādh had been located. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 99, 125.

11. See Ṭabarī III/3, 1859.

12. So named because he had been governor of Karkh Sāmarrā during the reign of al-Muhtadī. See Ṭabarī, III/3, 1797.

13. A walled town famous for its gardens and parks on the banks of the Khabūr, a tributary of the Euphrates. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 95 ff.

attack Lu'lu''s forces by surprise, but they were lying in ambush. They captured him and delivered him to al-Raqqah. [1940]

In Shawwāl, Lu'lu' encountered Aḥmad b. Mūsā with his commander and their tribal levies. Lu'lu' was routed, and a great many of his troops were killed. Ibn Ṣafwān al-'Uqaylī[14] and the tribesmen made for Aḥmad b. Mūsā's camp to loot the baggage, but Lu'lu''s troops returned to humble them in battle. Those who escaped the rout reached Qarqīsiyyā, and subsequently, in Dhū al-Qa'dah (June 3-July 2, 880), they reached Baghdad and Sāmarrā. Ibn Ṣafwān fled into the desert.

In Shawwāl a battle took place between Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf and Buktimur. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz routed Buktimur and the latter went to Baghdad.

Al-Khujustānī attacked al-Ḥasan b. Zayd in Jurjān, taking him by surprise. Al-Ḥasan fled, reaching Āmul, while al-Khujustānī seized Jurjān and some of the districts of Ṭabaristān. This took place in Jumādā II and Rajab 266 (January 18–March 16, 880).

Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan al-Aṣghar al-'Uqayqī[15] summoned the people of Ṭabaristān to pledge allegiance to him because al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, before departing to Jurjān, had left him as his deputy in Sāriyyah.[16] After al-Khujustānī's attack on al-Ḥasan in Jurjān, and the flight of al-Ḥasan from there, al-'Uqayqī announced in Sāriyyah that al-Ḥasan had been captured, and he called upon his followers to give their allegiance to him. Some people subsequently took the oath of allegiance to him; however, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd returned and fought against him. Then al-Ḥasan employed a ruse which allowed him to overpower al-'Uqayqī, whom he then killed. Al-Khujustānī looted the property of the merchants of [1941] Jurjān and set fire to the city.

A battle between al-Khujustānī and 'Amr b. al-Layth took place. The former gained the upper hand and routed 'Amr. En-

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14. Al-'Uqaylī was Abū Aḥmad's governor of Qarqisiyyā. His father, who had been governor of Diyār Muḍar, died in prison at Sāmarrā in 253 (867-868). See Ṭabarī above, 2029, 2149; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 395 ff.

15. Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, XI, 39: al-'Uqaylī.

16. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 370, 375.

tering Naysābūr, he ousted 'Amr's governor and killed a number of those who had sympathized with 'Amr.

In al-Madīnah and the surrounding areas hostilities broke out between Ja'farids and 'Alīds.

The Cause of These Hostilities

According to reports, in this year Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ja'farī was the guardian of al-Madīnah, and of the Wādī al-Qurā and surrounding areas.[17] He sent an agent (*'āmil*) to the Wādī al-Qurā, but the populace rebelled against the Ja'farid's agent, killing him along with two of Isḥāq's brothers. Isḥāq then went to the Wādī al-Qurā, but fell sick there and died. His brother Mūsā b. Muḥammad took over his office in al-Madīnah. Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Ja'far rebelled against him, but the latter was bought off with eight hundred dīnārs. Following this, Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, the son of the maternal uncle of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, the governor of Ṭabaristān, staged a revolt. He killed Mūsā, gained control of al-Madīnah, and occupied the city.

At this time prices in the city rose steeply. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad went to the customs and lifted the duties on goods guaranteeing the merchants their money. Prices subsequently declined and the city became calm. The central authorties appointed the Ḥasanid governor of al-Madīnah until Ibn Abī al-Sāj arrived.

In this year, the tribesmen seized the carpet covering the Ka'bah[18] and carried it off. Some of them went to the leader of the Zanj. This calamity shocked the pilgrims in the city.

[1942] In this year, the Byzantines invaded Diyār Rabī'ah. The population was summoned to take to the field, but they set out at a time when the cold weather made it impossible for them to enter the mountain passes.

In this year, Sīmā, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn's deputy, and three hundred men from Ṭarsūs raided the Syrian border region. In the

17. On his family connection with the government see Ṭabarī, III/3, 1358 ff.
18. See *EI*², s.v. al-Kiswah.

area of Hirqlah[19] they were met by the enemy—about four thousand men—and they fought a fierce battle. The Muslims inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy, but they themselves also sustained numerous casualties.

In this year, a battle took place between Isḥaq b. Kundājīq and Isḥāq b. Ayyūb.[20] Ibn Kundājīq defeated Isḥāq b. Ayyūb, forcing him to set up his defenses at Naṣībīn. The victor seized everything in Ibn Ayyūb's camp and killed a great many of his men. Pursuing Ibn Ayyūb, Isḥāq b. Kundājīq reached Naṣībīn and entered the city. The former fled and appealed for help to 'Isā b. al-Shaykh, who was in Āmid,[21] and Abū al-Maghrā' b. Mūsā b. Zurārah, who was in Arzan.[22] They joined forces against Ibn Kundājīq, but then the central authorities sent Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb to Ibn Kundājīq with the governor's insignias for Mosul, Diyār Rabī'ah and Armenia. Yūsuf bestowed the robes of honor on Ibn Kundājīq, whereupon the rebels sued for peace, paying him a sum of two hundred thousand dīnārs so that he might recognize their local authority.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj arrived in Mecca. Ibn al-Makhzūmī offered resistance, but Ibn Abī al-Sāj routed him and seized all his possessions on Tarwiyyah Day.[23]

In this year, Kayghalagh departed for al-Jabal, and Buktimur returned to Dīnawar.

In this year, the troops of the Zanj commander entered Rāmhurmuz.[24]

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19. This city had been strongly fortified by Hārūn al-Rashīd, presumably because of his interest in a full-scale offensive against the Byzantines. It was turned into a station on the line uniting the border fortresses of the region. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 133, 136, 149.

20. For Ibn Ayyūb see Ṭabarī, III/4 2193.

21. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 108 ff.

22. For Abū al-Maghrā''s association with Ibn al-Shaykh, see Ṭabarī, III/3, 1685. Arzan was a fortified town near Āmid. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 112.

23. That is the eighth day of the pilgrimage. The day is so named because the pilgrims water their camels (*tarwiyyah*) this day, or because Abraham, who was to build the shrine, reflected (*rawwa*) on his dream of sacrificing Ishmael.

24. Three days journey east of al-Ahwāz. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 243, 247.

[1943] *Why the Zanj Journied to Rāmhurmuz*

We previously mentioned how Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Kurdī and 'Alī b. Abān, the companion of the abominable one, agreed to the reconciliation. It has also been reported that, because of what happened, 'Alī bore rancor in his heart against Muḥammad and was looking for a chance to wrong him. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh knew of this, and sought ways of evading him. He corresponded with the abominable one's son —the son known as Ankalāy—asking him to plead with his father to assign his, that is, Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh's, district directly to him (Muḥammad) in order to remove 'Alī's control over him. This request was granted, but it only increased 'Alī's rage, and so he wrote to the abominable one, informing him that he was certain Muḥammad was plotting treachery. He requested permission to attack Muḥammad, and in order to create a pretext, he asked that the latter be ordered to deliver the tax revenues (*kharāj*) from his district to him ('Alī). This was granted and 'Alī wrote to Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh to transfer the money to him. The latter put off payment, delaying the execution of this order. 'Alī therefore made preparations to engage him. He set out for him and attacked Rāmhurmuz where Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh was stationed. As Muḥammad lacked the means of stopping 'Alī, he fled. The latter thus entered Rāmhurmuz and ransacked the city, while Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh clung to the most distant strongholds of Arbaq and al-Bīlam.[25] Extremely frightened by 'Alī's action, Muḥammad wrote to him asking for a reconciliation. 'Alī in turn transmitted this request to the abominable one, and the latter instructed 'Alī to accept the offer and to make sure that Mu-
[1944] ḥammad promptly delivered the money. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh delivered two hundred thousand dirhams to 'Alī. The latter in turn, transferred the money to the abominable one and kept his distance from Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh and from districts under the latter's jurisdiction.

In this year, a battle took place between the Kurds of al-

25. Arbaq was situated in the area of Rāmhurmūz. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 178. I have not succeeded in identifying Bīlam.

Dāribān and the Zanj of the abominable one. The Kurds were routed in this engagement.

The Battle Between the Zanj and the Kurds

After Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Azarmard surrendered the funds—the sum was previously reported—and after he had been left alone in the districts under his jurisdiction, he wrote to 'Alī b. Abān asking for his assistance against a group of Kurds from a place called al-Dāribān. He suggested that the booty should go to 'Alī and his troops.

'Alī wrote to the abominable one, asking permission to set out to do that. The latter replied, "Send al-Khalīl b. Abān and Bahbūdh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, but you stay put. Don't dispatch your troops until you receive hostages from Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh. The hostages will remain in your power and give you security against his treachery. You have irritated him, and he is not beyond seeking revenge."

In accordance with his instructions from the abdominable one, 'Alī wrote to Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh asking for hostages. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh gave him assurances and oaths, but evaded sending hostages. However, greed for the spoils which Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh excited in him, induced 'Alī to dispatch his troops alongside the former's forces. When the combined forces arrived at their destination, the local populace set out to fight and a battle ensued. At first the Zanj had the upper hand; but later the Kurds gallantly counterattacked, and the men of Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh treacherously deserted the field and fled. The Zanj troops retreated in utter disorder. [1945]

Before that, Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh had prepared a group who were specially instructed to intercept people in flight. This group interecepted and attacked those who had fled. They took spoils from them; they forced a contingent to dismount and took their horses. The men returned to 'Alī in terrible condition.

Al-Muhallabī wrote to the abominable one about what had happened to his men, and the latter replied reproachfully, "I had instructed you not to rely on Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh,

but to have him send you hostages as a guarantee of cooperation. Now that you have disregarded my instructions and followed your own whim, you have brought ruin to yourself and your troops."

The abominable one also wrote to Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh, "Your plot against the troops of 'Alī b. Abān is no secret to me and the punishment you deserve will not fail to come." This message frightened Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh, and he wrote the abominable one a letter filled with humility and submission. He also sent the horses which his men had taken from 'Alī's troops during the flight, and (a message which) said, "With all my troops I went against those who attacked al-Khalīl and Bahbūdh. I threatened and intimidated them until I made them return these horses which I am sending to you."

The abominable one showed his anger, threatening Muḥammad in writing that he would throw a huge army against him. Again Muḥammad sent a letter of humility and self-effacement to him. He also sent a message to Bahbūdh guaranteeing him money; likewise he wrote to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Kirmānī, who at the time exerted the greatest influence
[1946] upon 'Alī, and whose judgment was always accepted by him.

Bahbūdh, with the support of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Kirmānī, went to 'Alī b. Abān to change his opinion in favor of Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh. They softened the rage and rancor which he held in his heart. Then they went to the abominable one, reaching him just when he received the letter from Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh. After lengthy discussions, he seemed to accept their view and thus agreed to reply favorably to Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh. He said, "After all, that has happened, I am not going to accept less than a vow of allegiance to me in the sermons emanating from all the pulpits of the districts under his jurisdiction."

With this, Bahbūdh and al-Kirmānī left the abominable one and transmitted the result of their audience to Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh. The latter answered that he would comply with every demand, but he acted evasively on the issue of vowing allegiance to the abominable one from the pulpits.

After all this, 'Alī remained put for a time; then he prepared

to go against Mattūth[26] and marched there. He eagerly desired to take the city, but he could not do so because of its fortifications and the numerous defenders. Frustrated, he returned, assembled ladders and implements for scaling walls and, gathering his troops, he made himself ready. Masrūr al-Balkhī, who was then stationed in the districts of al-Ahwāz, knew that 'Alī was going to Mattūth. When 'Alī marched there for the second time, Masrūr also moved out and overtook him just near the city before sunset. When 'Alī's men saw the advance units of Masrūr's cavalry, they fled in a most shameful manner, leaving all the implements which they had brought. Humiliated, 'Alī retreated, suffering heavy losses. Soon the news followed that Abū Aḥmad was advancing. After his retreat from Mattūth, 'Alī engaged in no more battles until Sūq al-Khamīs and Ṭahīthā fell to Abū Aḥmad. Then, receiving a letter from the abominable one which urgently summoned him, 'Alī went to the latter's camp. [1947]

Leading the pilgrimmage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā al-Hāshimī al-Kūfī.

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26. A fortified place (*qal'ah ḥaṣīnah*) between al-Ahwāz and Wāsiṭ. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 412–13.

The Events of the Year 267

(August 12, 880–July 31, 881)

In this year, the government jailed Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh and some members of his household. This occurred soon after Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Khujustānī routed 'Amr b. al-Layth. The latter had brought accusations against Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir. He accused him of corresponding with al-Khujustānī and al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir. He also accused al-Ḥusayn and al-Khujustānī of using the pulpits of Khurāsān to exhort the populace to give allegiance to Muḥammad b. Tāhir.

In this year, Abū al-'Abbās b. al-Muwaffaq seized all the towns of the Tigris districts, among them 'Abdasī[27] and others, which Sulaymān b. Jāmi', companion of the commander of the Zanj, had conquered.

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27. A town in the Kaskar district north of Wāsiṭ. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 43.

The Victory of Abū Al-ʿAbbās and His Activity Against the Zanj in This Area[28]

According to Muḥammad b. Al-Ḥasan—Muḥammad b. Ḥammād[29]: When news of how the Zanj entered Wāsiṭ and carried on (as reported above) reached Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil, he urged his son Abū al-ʿAbbās, to proceed to the area and fight against them. Abū al-ʿAbbās did so promptly. At the [1948]
time of Abū al-ʿAbbās's departure, Abū Aḥmad rode to Bustān Mūsā al-Hādī[30] to inspect the troops and their equipment. This was during Rabiʿ II 266 (November 20–December 18, 879). There were altogether ten thousand cavalry and infantry, all decked out in the most beautiful and elegant uniforms, and outfitted with the best equipment. They were provided with barges (*shadhdh*), galleys (*sumayriyyah*) and ferrys (*maʿābir*) for the infantry.[31] Everything was of the best construction.

Abū al-ʿAbbās left Bustān al-Hādī accompanied by Abū Aḥmad and travelled until he reached al-Firk.[32] Abū Aḥmad then departed and Abū al-ʿAbbās stayed on for several days to finish his preparations and to rally his troops. Following this, he departed for al-Madāʾin, where he stayed for a time, and from there he went to Dayr al-ʿAqūl.[33]

Muḥammad b. Ḥammād reported: My brother Isḥāq b. Ḥammād and Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Hāshimī, who is known as Burayh, and Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb al-Ishtiyām and a large group of people who had accompanied Abū al-ʿAbbās in

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28. For an analysis of this campaign see Popovic, *Révolte*, 123 ff.

29. A close companion of Abū Aḥmad and hence an eye witness to events. After the suppression of the Zanj revolt he was appointed over the judiciary of several districts. See Ṭabarī below, 2097.

30. Presumably the Bustān Mūsā at Baghdad. See Lassner, *Topography*, 295–96.

31. The designated translation for the various river vessels mentioned in the text is somewhat arbitrary. Any attempt to fix precise equivalents for the Arabic terms is hazardous. See Kindermann, *Schiff*, 42–43, 48, 54–55, 102.

32. A village near the Kalwādhā district of Baghdad. It may have been in the area subsequently known as al-Shammāsiyyah which served as a staging ground for troops. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 882; Lassner, *Topography*, index, 322.

33. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 676.

his march, told me what amounts to the following: Upon his arrival in Dayr al-'Aqūl, Abū al-'Abbās received a letter from Nuṣayr Abū Ḥamzah, the commander of the barges and galleys—he had been sent ahead with the vanguard. The letter informed him that Sulaymān b. Jāmi' had already reached the island, in the vicinity of Bardūdā. He had with him calvalry, infantry, barges and galleys. Al-Jubbā'ī was in the vanguard. Moreover Sulaymān b. Mūsa al-Sha'rānī had reached Nahr Abān with infantry, cavalry, and galleys. Abū al-'Abbās therefore departed for Jarjarāyā. From there he proceeded to Fam al-Ṣilḥ,[34] whence he travelled until he reached the canal. From there he sent out advance parties to gather information. They
[1949] brought him word that the enemy's armies were approaching, and that their advance units were in the Ṣilḥ, while their rearguard was in Bustān Mūsā b. Bughā, below Wāsiṭ.

When he digested this report, Abū al-'Abbās turned from the main routes and changed course. His troops came upon the enemy's advance units, feigned retreat and provoked the latter into a headlong pursuit. The enemy soldiers started shouting, "Look for a general to lead you in battle. Yours is busy with hunting." As soon as they came close to Abū al-'Abbās at the Ṣilḥ, he attacked them with horsemen and infantry. At his command, the call went out to Nuṣayr, "How long will you run from these dogs? Get them!" Then Nuṣayr turned to face them. Abū al-'Abbās, along with Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb al-Ishtiyām, boarded a galley, while the troops encircled the enemy from all directions and then inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. God put the enemy to flight before Abū al-'Abbās and his troops, and they killed and chased the Zanj until they reached the village 'Abdallāh, which was some six *farsakhs*[35] (thirty-six km) from the place where the clash had started. They seized five barges and a number of galleys. Many of the enemy surrendered, others were taken prisoners, and the aforementioned ships were sunk. This was the first victory for Abū al-'Abbās, the son of Abū Aḥmad.

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34. A town at the mouth of the Nahr al-Ṣilḥ above Wāsiṭ. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 38.

35. One *farsakh* = three Arabic *mīl*, or six kms.

After the battle was over that day, his officers and close associates, fearful of the proximity of the enemy, advised Abū al-'Abbās to set up his camp at the place which he had reached along the Ṣilḥ Canal, but he insisted on stopping in Wāsiṭ. After Sulaymān b. Jāmi' and his troops were routed—a rout in which God had struck them severely—Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Shar'rānī retreated from Nahr Abān to Sūq al-Khamīs, while Sulaymān b. Jāmi' went to Nahr al-Amīr.[36] Before they encountered Abū al-'Abbās, the enemy held, "This is an immature youngster without much experience and training in warfare. The right thing for us to do is to fall upon him with all our strength and try to eliminate him in the very first encounter. Then, perhaps, he will be so terrified that he will withdraw altogether." [1950]

This they did, they rallied all their troops and concentrated their efforts, but God smote them with His power and vengeance. The day after the battle, Abū al-'Abbās entered Wāsiṭ in splendid attire. This being Friday, he remained there to say Friday prayers, and a great many people put themselves under his protection. Then he marched on to al-'Umr,[37] one *farsakh* (six km) away, and established his camp there, saying, "I will establish my camp below Wāsiṭ so that those who are above the camp will be safe from the Zanj." It was Nuṣayr Abū Ḥamzah, and al-Shāh b. Mīkāl, who advised him to establish his position above Wāsiṭ, but he declined, saying, "I am only camping at al-'Umr. Both of you, go down to the mouth of the Bardūdā." Thus Abū al-'Abbās, shunning the counsel of his companions, and refusing to listen to any of their views, stopped at al-'Umr and started constructing barges.

Thereafter he began raiding the enemy incessantly. He assigned his special pages to galleys, placing two on each vessel. Sulaymān, as well, made ready and rallied his troops. He divided them into three columns: one coming from Nahr Abān,

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36. The original name of this canal was Nahr Amīr al-Mu'minīn; that is, the Canal of the Commander of the Faithful. The reference is to the Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr who had the canal dug in the area of al-Baṣrah. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 835.

37. This place is identical with 'Umr Kaskar, although it is also referred to as 'Umr Wāsiṭ. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 724, 726.

another from Barrtumartā,[38] and still another from Bardūdā. Abū al-'Abbās encountered them, and shortly thereafter they were put to flight. One contingent of the enemy remained behind at Sūq al-Khamīs, and another at Māzarwān.

Some of Abū al-'Abbās's troops started (to chase the Zanj)
[1951] from Barrtumartā, while others took hold of al-Madiyān. Abū Aḥmad did not stop until he reached Nahr Bar Musāwir. Thereupon, with the help of guides, he began inspecting the villages and roads until he returned to his camp and remained there to rest himself and his troops.

While there, an informant came with a report that the Zanj had assembled their forces, preparing to take his army by surprise, and that they were approaching from three directions. He further reported that they said that Abū al-'Abbās was a heedless youngster who would rush headlong into peril, and therefore they had decided to set up an ambush and to proceed towards him from three directions as mentioned above. Abū Aḥmad showed caution and prepared for this contingency.

Indeed, the Zanj had marched out towards him, after having placed some ten thousand men at Barrtumartā and about the same number at Quss Ḥathā.[39] They sent out twenty galleys against the (government) camp to lure the defenders past the positions of the ambushers. But Abū al-'Abbās prevented his men from chasing after them. When the foe perceived that their ruse failed, al-Jubbā'ī and Sulaymān came into the open with their barges and galleys. Abū al-'Abbās, however, had his troops realigned superbly; he instructed Nuṣayr Abū Ḥamzah to set forth with his barges against the enemy. Abū al-'Abbās himself dismounted and summoned one of his barges, which he named "the Gazelle [al-Ghazāl]." He instructed the captain Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb to select oarsmen for this vessel, which he boarded. He also selected from among his special troops and pages a detachment which he armed with spears. Then he ordered the cavalry to march before him along the bank of the river, warning them, "As far as possible do not slow your

38. Read: Bar Tumartā (?)

39. Perhaps confused with Qusyathā, mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 99, as a place in Iraq.

march until waterways obstruct your passage." He also ordered the transfer of some of the horses which were in Bardūdā. [1952]

The battle between the opposing factions flared up. The field of conflict ran from the limits of the village al-Raml to al-Ruṣāfah.[40] The Zanj were defeated and Abū al-'Abbās's troops seized fourteen barges. Sulaymān and al-Jubbā'ī fled that day, escaping death on foot. Their horses with all their ornaments and harnesses were seized. The entire government army, without losing a single soldier, reached Ṭahīthā and delivered their equipment. Abū al-'Abbās returned to his camp in al-'Umr and remained there. He ordered that all the seized barges and galleys be repaired and manned. For twenty days after that, none of the Zanj appeared. Every three days al-Jubbā'ī would go out with his scouts and return. Above the Sindād Canal he dug pits and at the base of the pits he planted iron rods and covered them with rush mats, thus concealing their position. These pits, intentionally scattered along the route usually taken by horsemen, were to trap bypassers. Then he would approach the flanks of Abū al-'Abbās's camp, showing himself to the troops there so that their horsemen would go out to pursue him.

One day, he came and the horsemen started to pursue him as usual, when the horse of an officer from Farghānah tumbled into one of those pits. Abū al-'Abbās's troops therefore became aware of the ruse that al-Jubbā'ī had conceived, and they took precautions to avoid passing along that road. The Zanj harassed the camp in the early morning every day to provoke an engagement; they even camped at Nahr al-Amīr in force, but all this was to no avail. They abstained from fighting for about a month. [1953]

Now Sulaymān wrote to the leader of the Zanj, requesting the latter to reinforce him with galleys of forty oarsmen each. And, indeed, within some twenty days forty galleys arrived, each carrying two army men. All the sailors were provided with swords, spears and shields. Al-Jubbā'ī established his position opposite the army of Abū al-'Abbās, and the opposing

40. That is, Ruṣāfat Wāsiṭ. A village in the adminsitrative district of Wāsiṭ some ten *farsakhs* (sixty kms) from the city. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 788.

forces resumed contact daily. But whenever the troops of Abū al-ʿAbbās set out against al-Jubbāʾī's forces, the latter, instead of holding fast to their positions, would retreat, while their skirmishers destroyed bridges, shot at horsemen appearing within the range of their arrows, or set fire to vessels of Nuṣayr which they found out on patrol. This went on for about two months, after which Abū al-ʿAbbās saw to it that an ambush was set up for the enemy at the village of Raml and several galleys were advanced ahead of the troops to serve as bait. Abū al-ʿAbbās also ordered two galleys, one for himself and one for Zīrak, and selectd for these vessels a number of his pages whom he knew to be gallant fighters. He assigned Badr and Mūʾnis to one galley, Rashīq al-Ḥajjājī and Yumn to another, Khafīf and Yusr to a third, and Nadhīr and Wasīf to a fourth. He prepared fifteen galleys, with two army men in each, and sent them ahead of the armed force.

Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb al-Ishtiyām reported: On that day, I was among those who were sent ahead. The Zanj seized a number of the advancing galleys and took prisoners. I hastily called out in a loud voice, "The enemy has seized our galleys." Upon hearing this, Abū al-ʿAbbās, who was taking his breakfast, [1954] rushed toward the galleys which had been prepared for him. The army moved forward, but Abū al-ʿAbbās did not wait for his men to join him; only those who were prepared to move swiftly followed him. We reached the Zanj and when they saw us, God filled their hearts with terror, and they plunged into the water and fled. We rescued our troops and captured thirty-one of the Zanj galleys, however, al-Jubbāʾī escaped with three of them. That day Abū al-ʿAbbās fired so many shots from his bow that his thumbs started bleeding, and he withdrew. I think that if we had persisted making a maximum effort in pursuing al-Jubbāʾī on that day, we could have seized him; but we refrained from doing so because of extreme fatigue.

Abū al-ʿAbbās and most of his troops returned to their places at the mouth of the Bardūdā, without having lost a single man. Upon arriving at his camp, Abū al-ʿAbbās bestowed on all those who had gone with him necklaces, robes of honor, and rings, and ordered that the galleys seized from the Zanj be repaired.

He instructed Abū Ḥamzah to take up positions with his men and barges on the Tigris in front of Khusrūsābūr.[41]

Abū al-ʿAbbās then decided to penetrate (enemy territory) along the Māzarwān Canal to the town called al-Ḥajjājiyyah, and then on to Nahr al-Amīr. Positioning himself at these places, he would find out about the routes followed by the Zanj galleys. Nuṣayr was ordered to move out with his barges and galleys. He went on this mission, leaving the road to Māzarwān for the area of Nahr al-Amīr. Abū al-ʿAbbās now summoned his galley and sailed with Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb; then he entered Māzarwān. Believing that Nuṣayr was in front of him, he said to Muḥammad, "Go ahead up the river so that I might have news of Nuṣayr." Then he ordered the barge and galleys to follow Muḥammad.

Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb reported: We proceeded until, close [1955]
to al-Ḥajjājiyyah, we came upon a transport (*ṣalghah*) with ten Zanj. We rushed toward it and the Zanj threw themselves into the water. Taking possession of the boat, we discovered that it was full of barley. When we discovered there was a Zanj in it, we seized him and questioned him about Nuṣayr and his barges. But he told us "No barge or galley has entered this waterway." We were perplexed. Meanwhile, the Zanj who had slipped through our hands went and informed their comrades of our whereabouts. Our sailors noticed some sheep and went ashore to carry them off.

Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb reported: I alone remained with Abū al-ʿAbbās. Before long a Zanj commander named Muntāb appeared with a group of men on one side of the canal, and ten of the Zanj appeared on the other. Seeing this, we rushed out, Abū al-ʿAbbās with his bow and arrows and I with my spear. I covered him while he shot arrows at the Zanj, wounding two of them. But they pressed the attack and their numbers increased. We espied Zīrak with the barges and the pages accompanying him. By that time, some 2,000 Zanj were around us on both

41. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 442, indicates that the general populace referred to it as Khussābūr. It was a village situated some five *farsakhs* (thirty kms) from Wāsiṭ.

sides of Māzarwān. But God meted out their due and drove the Zanj back, utterly humiliated. Abū al-'Abbās returned to his camp. His troops had seized great numbers of sheep, cows and water buffaloes. He ordered that three of the sailors who had been with him, and had then left to seize the cattle, be beheaded; those who had stayed on duty were to be given a month's pay. Abū al-'Abbās also issued a warning that none of
[1956] the sailors were to leave their galleys in time of battle, and that the death penalty would be imposed upon those who violated this order. The Zanj fled together to Ṭahīthā. Abū al-'Abbās stayed in his camp at al-'Umr while patrols fanned out over all the surrounding areas. This situation lasted for some time.

Meanwhile, Sulaymān b. Jāmi' gathered his troops and officers and entrenched himself at Ṭahīthā, while al-Sha'rānī did the same at Sūq al-Khamīs. At al-Ṣīniyyah[42] they also had a huge army comanded by one Naṣr al-Sindī. They began to ransack everything within reach, carrying off whatever they could of the crops, and fortifying the places where they were stationed.

Abū al-'Abbās sent out some of his commanders on horseback to the environs of al-Ṣīniyyah. Among them were al-Shāh, Kumushjūr, al-Faḍl b. Mūsā b. Bughā and his brother Muḥammad. Abū al-'Abbās, along with Nuṣayr and Zīrak, sailed on the barges and transports. He ordered that the cavalry be transferred from Bar Musāwir to the road to al-Ẓuhr. The army advanced until it reached al-Hurth, whereupon Abū al-'Abbās ordered that the beasts of burden be transferred there. The animals were transported across the water, thereby reaching the western side of the Tigris. Abū al-'Abbās then instructed the army to march along the road to Dayr al-'Ummāl.[43]

When the Zanj noticed the cavalry, they were seized with terror and escaped to the water and their vessels. Before long they were overtaken by (Abū al-'Abbās's) barges and galleys. Seeing that there was no escape, the Zanj sought to surrender.

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42. Al-Ṣīniyyah was reportedly a small town (*bulaydah*) below Wāsiṭ. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 458.

43. A town below Nahr Abān in the vicinity of Wāsiṭ. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 41.

A group of them were killed, others were captured, and some jumped into the water. The troops of Abū al-'Abbās seized their vessels which were filled with rice that now fell into the hands of the government forces. They also seized the galley of the [1957] Zanj commander known as Naṣr al-Sindī. The rest of the Zanj fled, one contingent to Ṭahīthā, and the other to Sūq al-Khamīs. Abū al-'Abbās thus returned to his camp filled with booty. He had conquered al-Ṣīniyyah and expelled the Zanj from there.

Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb reported: While we were fighting the Zanj at al-Ṣīniyyah, Abū al-'Abbās noticed a Numidian crane in flight. He aimed at it and pierced it with his arrow. The crane fell to the ground in front of the Zanj, who picked it up and, examining the hole of the wound, perceived that it was caused by the arrow of Abū al-'Abbās. This heightened their fear and was the reason for their flight.

Some reliable sources report that Abū al-'Abbās shot the arrow at the crane on another occasion.

Word reached Abū al-'Abbās that a huge force led by two Zanj, Thābit b. Abī Dulaf and Lu'lu', was stationed at 'Abdasī.[44] With a detachment of horsemen selected from his most valiant pages and courageous officers he marched to 'Abdasī to engage the enemy. At dawn he reached the spot where they were located, and dealt them a crushing blow, killing a great many of their best men. The Zanj force was routed. Abū al-'Abbās captured its leader, Thābit b. Abī Dulaf and, sparing his life, he entrusted him to one of his officers. The one named Lu'lu' was struck by an arrow which killed him. A great many women who were in the hands of the Zanj were rescued on that day. Abū al-'Abbās ordered that they be set free and returned to [1958] their families. He seized everything that the Zanj had collected.

Abū al-'Abbās then returned to his camp and ordered his troops to rest in preparation for marching against Sūq al-Khamīs. He summoned Nuṣayr and instructed him to get his men ready to march. Nuṣayr said to him, "The canal to Sūq al-Khamīs is narrow. Stay here and allow me to go there to check

44. A city in the Kaskar district. See Le Strange *Lands*, 42, 43.

it out." But Abū al-'Abbās refused to permit this because he was expecting the arrival of his father, Abū Aḥmad, from whom he had received a letter saying that he had decided to come.

Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb reported: Abū al-'Abbās called me and said, "I must take Sūq al-Khamīs." To this I retorted, "If, as you say, it is absolutely necessary for you to do this, do not take a great number of people in the barge. At any rate, take no more than thirteen pages, ten archers and three spear bearers, since I would hate to have the barge overcrowded in this narrow canal."

Abū al-'Abbās made himself ready and marched out with Nuṣayr in the lead. When they reached the mouth of (the canal to) Bar Musāwir, Nuṣayr said: "Send me ahead." Abū al-'Abbās concurred, and Nuṣayr proceeded with fifteen barges. One of the officers from among the mawlās (clients), Mūsā Daljawayh, who had asked permission to go forward, was allowed to do so, and he went along.

Abū al-'Abbās advanced until his journey took him to Basāmī; from there he went to the mouth of the Barātiq, then to the Riqq Canal, and finally to the waterway crossing Rawāṭā and 'Abdasī.[45] These three waterways led to three divergent
[1959] roads. Nuṣayr set out on the road along the Barātiq Canal, that is, the road leading to Madīnat Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Sha'rānī, which he named The Fortress of Sūq al-Khamīs (al-Manī'ah bi–Sūq al-Khamīs). Abū al-'Abbās stayed at the mouth of this canal and Nuṣayr (advanced until he) disappeared from sight, and nothing further was heard of him. Now a great many of the Zanj came out against us at this place, and hindered us from entering the canal. They positioned themselves between us and the approaches to the walls—the distance between the place which we had reached and the walls surrounding Madīnat al-Sha'rānī was about two *farsakh*s (twelve km) They stood their ground there and engaged us in combat. The battle between us—they fighting on land, and we aboard ships at the edge of the canal—raged from the beginning of the day to noon, by which time we still had no word from Nuṣayr. Then the

45. Other than 'Abdasī, I have not succeeded in identifying these locations.

Zanj began shouting, "We caught Nuṣayr. What are you going to do? We shall follow you wherever you go!"

Abū al-ʿAbbās became very worried when he heard this, and Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb asked permission to go and find out what had happened to Nuṣayr. This being granted, he went off in a galley with twenty oarsmen and reached Nuṣayr Abū Ḥamzah who had approached the dam which the profligates had set up. They discovered that he had just set fire to the dam and to their city (*madīnah*), and that he had engaged in a violent but victorious struggle with them. The Zanj had initially seized some of Abū Ḥamzah's barges, but he succeeded in recovering them.

Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb returned to Abū al-ʿAbbās and reported the good news that Nuṣayr and his men were safe, and told him of their exploits. Abū Aṃmad rejoiced at this. On that day Nuṣayr captured a great many Zanj and then returned to the place where Abū al-ʿAbbās was positioned. [1960]

Upon Nuṣayr's return, Abū al-ʿAbbās said, "I am not leaving this place until I fight them again tonight." And this he did. He instructed his men to expose one of his barges in full view of the Zanj, while concealing the rest. At the sight of the vessel, the Zanj, anxious to capture it, started off in pursuit. Now the crew of that barge kept it to a slow course so that the Zanj overtook it and held fast to the rudder. Then the sailors started to race so as to reach the position of the barges which lay in ambush.

Abū al-ʿAbbās, wearing a felt vest above his coat of mail, was aboard a galley—he had placed his barge behind him. When he noticed the barge which the Zanj clung to, he rushed toward it. He perceived it just as the Zanj grasped its rudders, surrounding it from all sides, and showered it with arrows and stone.

Muḥammad (continued): On that day we extracted twenty-five arrows from the felt vest of Abū al-ʿAbbās. I extracted forty arrows from the felt cap I had on, and from the rest of the sailor's felt caps twenty-five to thirty arrows. God rendered into the hands of Abū al-ʿAbbās six Zanj galleys; the barge was rescued and the Zanj fled. Abū al-ʿAbbās and his men repaired to the bank and charged the Zanj warriors with their swords and shields. The enemy fled in panic without looking back. Safely,

and with booty, Abū al-'Abbās returned. He clothed his sailors with robes of honor and bestowed gifts upon them. Then he returned to his camp at al-'Umr and remained there until the arrival of al-Muwaffaq.

On the eleventh of Ṣafar (September 22, 880) Abū Aḥmad b. [1961] al-Mutawakkil camped at al-Firk. Then he departed from Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) heading towards the camp of the leader of the Zanj, intending to do combat with him. The reason for this, according to reports, was that word had reached Abū Aḥmad that the leader of the Zanj had written to his lieutenant, 'Alī b. Abān al-Muhallabī, instructing him to march with all his troops to the location of Sulaymān b. Jāmi', in order to join forces with the latter in fighting Abū al-'Abbās b. Abī Aḥmad.

Abū Aḥmad remained in al-Firk for several days to permit his troops, and any others who wanted to proceed with him, to join on. He had prepared the barges, galleys, ferries and boats. Then, on Tuesday, the second of Rabī' I (October 11, 880), he and his clients, pages, cavalry and infantry reportedly left al-Firk, bound for Rūmiyat al-Madā'in.[46] From there they journeyed on stopping at al-Sīb,[47] Dayr al-'Aqūl,[48], Jarjarāyā, Qunnā,[49] Jabbul,[50] al-Ṣilḥ and a place one *farsakh* (six km) from Wāsiṭ. He remained at the latter for one day and one night and was met by his son Abū al-'Abbās and a squadron of cavalry including his leading officers and men. Abū Aḥmad inquired about the state of his men, and getting from his son a picture of their gallantry and devotion in fighting, he ordered that robes of honor be bestowed upon them and Abū al-'Abbās. Thereupon, the son returned to his camp at al-'Umr where he remained throughout the day. In the early morning of the next day, Abū Aḥmad took

46. According to Muslim authors, al-Madā'in, "the cities," received its name because it was an urban center formed from seven cities, one of which was Rūmiyyah. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 34.

47. Le Strange, *Lands*, 41.

48. Ibid., 35.

49. Ibid., 36.

50. Ibid., 38.

to the water where he was met by his son, Abū al-'Abbās, and all his troops in military formation, as fully equipped as they would be when confronting the traitor's forces. Abū Aḥmad sailed on until he reached his camp on the waterway called Shīrzād, where he stopped. On Thursday, the twenty-eighth of [1962] Rabī' I (November 6, 880), he departed from there and stopped at the canal called Nahr Sindād, opposite the village called 'Abdallāh. He instructed his son Abū al-'Abbās to halt on the eastern side of the Tigris, opposite the mouth of the Bardūdā, and put him in charge of the vanguard. Then he allotted the soldiers' allowances and paid them. Following that, he instructed his son to advance in front of him with the equipment that he had in his possession, toward the mouth of the Bar Musāwir Canal.

Abū al-'Abbās set out with the best of his officers and troops, including Zīrak al-Turkī, the commander of his vanguard, and Nuṣayr Abū Ḥamzah, the commander of the barges and galleys. After this it was Abū Aḥmad who set out with his selected cavalry and infantry, leaving the bulk of his army and many of his horsemen and foot soldiers behind in his place of encampment.

His son Abū al-'Abbās met him with a show of captives, heads and bodies of slain enemies from among the troops of al-Sha'rānī. For, on that same day, before the arrival of his father Abū Aḥmad, Abū al-'Abbās had been attacked by al-Sha'rānī who came upon the former's camp. Abū al-'Abbās dealt him a severe blow, killing a great many of his men and taking captives. Abū Aḥmad ordered that the captives be beheaded, which was done. Then Abū Aḥmad descended to the mouth of the Bar Musāwir, where he stayed for two days. From there, on Tuesday, the eighth of Rabi' II (November 17, 880), he departed from Sūq al-Khamīs with all his men and equipment bound for the city which the leader of the Zanj had named al-Manī'ah bi-Sūq al-Khamīs. He proceeded with his ships along the Bar Musāwir while the cavalry marched before him along the eastern side of the waterway until they reached the waterway called Barātiq, which led to Madīnat al-Sha'rānī. Abū Aḥmad [1963] preferred to begin fighting against Mūsā al-Sha'rānī before he

fought Sulaymān b. Jāmi' because he feared that al-Sha'rānī, who was to his rear, might attack and thus divert him from the adversary in front of him. That is why he set out against al-Sha'rānī. He ordered the cavalry to cross the canal and proceed along both banks of the Barātiq. Abū Aḥmad also instructed his son Abū al-'Abbās to advance with a flotilla of barges and galleys, and he himself followed with barges along with the bulk of his army.

When Sulaymān, his Zanj troops and others noticed the cavalry and infantry proceeding on both banks of the canal and the ships advancing along the waterway—this was after Abū al-'Abbās had met them and engaged them in a skirmish—they fled and scattered. The troops of Abū al-'Abbās climbed the walls killing those who opposed them. When the Zanj and their supporters scattered, Abū al-'Abbās and his forces entered the city, killed a great many of its people, took many prisoners and laid hold of whatever was there. Al-Sha'rānī and the others who escaped with him fled; they were pursued by Abū Aḥmad's men up to the marshes where many drowned. The rest saved themselves by fleeing into the thickets.

Thereupon, Abū Aḥmad instructed his troops to return to their camp before sunset of that Tuesday, and he withdrew. About five thousand Muslim women and some Zanj women, who were taken in Sūq al-Khamīs, were saved. Abū Aḥmad gave instructions to take care of all the women, to transfer them to Wāsiṭ and return them to their families.

[1964] Abū Aḥmad spent that night opposite the Barātiq Canal and in the early morning of the next day, he entered the city and gave the people permission to take all the Zanj possessions there. Everything in the city was seized. Abū Aḥmad ordered the walls razed, the trenches filled, and the remaining ships burned. He left for his camp at Bar Musāwir with booty taken in the districts (*rustāq*) and villages previously possessed by al-Sha'rānī and his men; this included crops of wheat, barley and rice. He ordered that the crops be sold and the money realized from the sale be spent to pay his mawlā's pages, the troops of his regular army, and other people of his camp.

Sulaymān al-Sha'rānī escaped with his two brothers and oth-

ers, but he lost his children and possessions. Upon reaching al-Madhār he reported to the traitor (that is, the leader of the Zanj) what had befallen him and that he had taken refuge in al-Madhār.[51]

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—Muḥammad b. Hishām, known as Abū Wāthilah al-Kirmānī: I was in the presence of the traitor—he was having a discussion—when the letter from Sulaymān al-Sha'rānī arrived with the news of the battle and his flight to al-Madhār. As soon as he had the letter unsealed and his eye fell on the passage describing the defeat, his bowel muscles loosened and he got up to relieve himself, then he returned. As his Assembly came to order, he took the letter and began reading it again, and when he reached the passage which had disturbed him the first time, he left once more. This repeated itself several times. There remained no doubt that the calamity was great, and I refrained from asking him questions. After some time had elapsed, I ventured to say, "Isn't this the letter from Sulaymān b. Mūsā?" He replied, "Yes, and a piece of heartbreaking news, too. Indeed, those who fell upon him dealt him a crushing blow 'that will not spare nor leave unburned.'[52] He has written this letter from al- [1965]
Madhār, and he has barely saved his own skin."

I deemed this news momentous and only God knows what a joy filled my heart, but I concealed it and refrained from rejoicing at the prospect of the approaching relief. However, the traitor regained self-control in face of vicissitude, and showed firmness. He wrote to Sulaymān b. Jāmi', cautioning him against al-Sha'rānī's fate and instructing him to be vigilant and watchful concerning what might lie before him.

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥammād: Al-Muwaffaq stayed in his camp at Bar Musāwir for two days to gather information about al-Sha'rānī and Sulaymān b. Jāmi' and to discover the latter's base. When some of those

51. Ibid., 42, 43.
52. That is, a crushing blow. See Qur'ān LXXIV: 28; Lane, *Lexicon*, I, 298.

sent out for this purpose brought him information that Sulaymān b. Jāmi' was encamped in the village called al-Ḥawānīt,[53] he immediately ordered the cavalry to cross to the Kaskar area on the western bank of the Tigris. He himself journeyed by boat and ordered the barges and infantry transports to proceed down to al-Kathīthah. Al-Muwaffaq left the bulk of his army, including a large troop of infantry and horses, at the mouth of Bar Musāwir and instructed Bughrāj to remain positioned there. Upon his arrival in al-Ṣīniyyah, Abū Aḥmad instructed Abū al-'Abbās to advance promptly with barges and galleys to al-Ḥawānīt in order to verify the information about Sulaymān b. Jāmi''s whereabouts. If the enemy were to display slackness, Abū al-'Abbās was to attack him. That same evening Abū al-'Abbās arrived in al-Ḥawānīt and, instead of Sulaymān, he found the black officers, Shibl and Abū al-Nidā'—two of the earliest companions of the rebel. Both were famous for their
[1966] courage and bravery, and were associated with him from the very beginning of his revolt. The officers had been left there by Sulaymān b. Jāmi' to guard vast crops in the area. Abū al-'Abbās engaged them, moving his barges into a narrow spot in the waterway. He killed some of their infantry, and injured many others with arrows. These were the most valiant of Sulaymān b. Jāmi''s men, the chosen ones on whom he relied. The battle between the opposing factions lasted until night intervened.

According to Muḥammad b. Ḥammād: This was the battle in which Abū al-'Abbās shot the crane, and to which Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb referred as the Battle of al-Ṣīniyyah—the bird passed on his right side.

On that day a man surrendered to Abū al-'Abbās. When Abū al-'Abbās asked him about Sulaymān b. Jāmi''s location, he reported that the latter was stationed in Ṭahīthā. At this, Abū al-'Abbās returned to his father with the news that Sulaymān's true location was the city which he named al-Manṣūrah, and which was in the place known as Ṭahīthā.[54] In addition, he told

53. Le Strange, *Lands*, 41.

54. The term for "city" is *madīnah*, which very often means administrative center.

his father that all of Sulaymān's officers were with him there except for Shibl and Abū al-Nidā', who were at al-Ḥawānīt which they had been ordered to guard. As soon as he learned this, Abū Aḥmad gave the order to set out for Bardūdā, since from there the road led to Ṭahīthā. Abū al-'Abbās went ahead with barges and galleys and instructed all those left behind at Barr Musāwir to march to Bardūdā. On the day after he had given instructions to Abū al-'Abbās, Abū Aḥmad left for Bardūdā and, after two days' march, on Friday the seventeenth of Rabī' II, 267 (November 26, 880), he arrived there. He remained to make whatever repairs were needed for his army, to effect the payment of the soldiers, and to repair the ferries that were [1967] to be taken along. He also picked up numerous workers and the equipment needed to block canals and repair roads for the horses. He left Bughrāj al-Turkī behind in Bardūdā.

When Abū Aḥmad decided to go to Bardūdā, he ordered a page of his called Ju'lān—he had been left with Bughrāj in his camp—to take down his tents and forward them and the weapons to Bardūdā with the animals which had been left at his camp. At the time of the late evening prayer, when the people did not expect it, Ju'lān disclosed the order he had received. This made them suspect that the order was given because of a defeat, and thus they ran headlong from the camp abandoning their tents and provisions. Fearful that the enemy was very close, they scattered so that no two remained together and, in the dark of the night, they all fled towards their camp in Bardūdā. Subsequently, they learned the true state of affairs and, calming down, they regained composure.

In the month of Ṣafar (September 11–October 8, 880), the troops of Kayghalagh al-Turkī and those of Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf engaged in a battle in the vicinity of Qarmāsīn. Kayghalagh emerged victorious and proceeded to Hamadhān. But in the same month, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, with the troops which he had rallied to his side, came upon Kayghalagh and attacked him; the latter was routed and set off for al-Ṣaymarah.

On the twenty-sixth of Rabī' II (December 4, 880), Abū Aḥmad and his troops entered Ṭahīthā and ousted Sulaymān b. Jāmi'. In this battle Aḥmad b. Mahdī al-Jubbā'ī was killed.

[1968] *How Abū Aḥmad and His Troops Occupied Ṭahīthā and How al-Jubbā'ī Was Killed*[55]

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—Muḥammad b. Ḥammād: In Bardūdā, Abū Aḥmad paid his troops and repaired the equipment of those going to fight against the leader of the rebellion. Having done so, he set out in the direction of Ṭahīthā. This was on Sunday, the eighteenth of Rabī' II, 267 (November 26, 880). He proceeded on horseback with his cavalry. The vessels were sent on with whatever they carried as regards infantry, weapons, and equipment. Also sent on were ferries, barges and galleys. They proceeded until he met them at the waterway called Nahr Mahrūdh[56] in the vicinity of the village called Qaryat al-Jawziyyah. Here Abū Aḥmad camped and ordered that a pontoon bridge be moored at the above-mentioned waterway. He remained there for a day and night. On the next day, he sent the horses and equipment over the bridge in his presence; then he crossed too and gave the order to his officers and troops to march to Ṭahīthā. They advanced to a place which Abū Aḥmad chose as quarters for himself, within two miles of the city of Sulaymān b. Jāmi'. Here, facing the troops of the perifidious one (that is, the leader of the Zanj), they stayed during Monday and Tuesday, the twenty-first of Rabī' II (November 29–30, 880). Then a heavy downpour began, and an intense cold afflicted his troops during the days of his stay there. Rain and cold prevented him from fighting, and they did not engage in battle until the end of the week. It was only on Friday evening that Abū Aḥmad with a small group of his officers and clients set out in search of a place to deploy his cav-
[1969] alry. He advanced close to the walls of (the city of) Sulaymān b. Jāmi', where numerous troops of the enemy confronted them. Ambushers attacked them from different positions, and an engagement which gave rise to heavy fighting broke out. A detachment of horsemen dismounted and fought back until they

55. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 130 ff.

56. Yāqūt mentions a canal of this name in the Baghdad region. See *Mu'jam*, IV, 700, It is difficult to see how this waterway can be identified with the canal of this text.

escaped from the straits into which they had gotten themselves. One of Abū Aḥmad's pages and officers, Wasīf 'Alamdār by name, and a number of Zīrak's officers were taken prisoner. Abū al-'Abbās fired an arrow which hit Aḥmad b. Mahdī al-Jubbā'ī in one of his nostrils and penetrated all the way to his brain. Hit, al-Jubbā'ī fell from his horse and was carried back on his final journey to the camp of the perfidious one. The latter was very distressed by this calamity because al-Jubbā'ī had been his most steadfast and indispensable lieutenant, and had the most foresight of all his followers. Al-Jubbā'ī lingered for a few days while being treated, and then he died. Griefstricken, the perifidious one took charge of the final ablutions, of putting the body in a shroud and of the funeral service. Then he stood by al-Jubbā'ī's grave until he was buried. Following this, he addressed his troops with a sermon in which he spoke of the death of al-Jubbā'ī. This death occurred on a night of thunder and lightning, and the perfidious one was reported to have said; "I knew the time of his soul's ascent before word of his death came to to me, because I heard the chant of the angels praying for him and pleading for mercy for him."

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported: Abū Wāthilah,[57] who was among those present at the sermon, came to me and began to amaze me with stories he had heard; then, Muḥammad b. Sim'ān came to me and told me stories similar to those of Muḥammad b. Ḥishām. The perfidious one left the interment of al-Jubbā'ī grieved and broken-hearted.

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—Muḥammad b. Ḥammād: when Abū Aḥmad returned from the engagement [1970] which took place Friday night, the twenty-fifth of Rabī' II (December 2, 880), news of it had already reached his camp. All of his army went out to meet him and they encountered him on his way back. As it was already sunset, Abū Aḥmad had them return to camp. When all the people of his camp were together, he instructed them to be on the alert that night in alternate shifts and to get ready for battle. When they arose on the morning of Saturday, the twenty-sixth of Rabī' II (December 3, 880), Abū Aḥmad arrange his troops in military formations, alter-

57. That is, Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Kirmānī.

nating squadrons of cavalry with infantry. He ordered that the barges and galleys proceed with him along the waterway called Nahr al-Mundhir, which bisects the city of Ṭahīthā.

Thus he advanced toward the Zanj until he reached the walls of the city; there he assigned officers from among his pages to the places from which he feared the Zanj might attack him. He positioned the infantry in front of the horsemen and assigned them to positions from which he feared ambushers might strike. Then he stopped and performed four *rak'ahs*, imploring God to extend his help to him and to the Muslims. Following that, he called for his arms. He put them on, and ordered his son Abū al-'Abbās to advance to the walls and rouse the pages to combat; this was done.

Sulaymān b. Jāmi' had a moat prepared before the walls of his city, that is, the city which he named al-Manṣūrah. When they reached this moat, the pages were startled and hesitated to cross, but the officers urged them on. Along with them, the officers dismounted from their horses, and with daring they rushed into the moat and crossed it. They came upon the Zanj, looking down the walls of their city and put them to the sword.
[1971] A party of horsemen also waded through the moat. When the Zanj saw these people who (had already) encountered them, coming again, they turned about and fled. Abū Aḥmad's men chased after them and entered the city from all sides. The Zanj had fortified it with five moats, each with a (protective) wall to make them impassable. The enemy made his stand behind each wall and moat reached by the government troops, but Abū Aḥmad's men drove them from every defensive position. The barges and galleys penetrated the city by the waterway traversing it, after the Zanj had been put to flight. Now the government ships started to sink every barge and galley which they passed. They chased the enemy on both sides of the canal, killing and capturing until they ousted him from the city and from about a *farsakh* (six km) of the adjacent territory. Abū Aḥmad then took control of the entire area.

Sulaymān b. Jāmi' escaped with only a small group of his men, losing the rest to death and captivity in this violent fight. Abū Aḥmad rescued about ten thousand women and children (taken captive) from the people of Wāsiṭ and the adjacent vil-

lages as well as from surroundings at al-Kūfah. He ordered them placed under protection and care. They were then transferred to Wāsiṭ and delivered to their families. Abū Aḥmad and his men took hold of all stores, money, food and cattle in the city, which came to an enormous amount; the crops and other things obtained he ordered sold, and the proceeds of the sale were transferred to his treasury to be disbursed as pay to the mawlās and troops of his camp. They carried away everything transportable, and captured a number of Sulaymān's wives and children. On that day, Waṣīf 'Alamdār and others who were captured with him on that Friday eve were rescued and taken [1972] from the prison, thus preventing their death at the hands of the Zanj.

A great many of the Zanj who escaped fled into the thickets around the city. On Abū Aḥmad's order, a pontoon bridge was laid across the waterway known as Nahr al-Mundhir and the people passed over it to the western side. Abū Aḥmad remained in Ṭahīthā for seventeen days, and ordered that the walls be razed and the moats filled. This being done, he ordered a search for the fugitives in the thickets, establishing a prize for everyone bringing in a prisoner. The people thus vied with one another in searching for them. Now, if one was brought in, Abū Aḥmad would pardon him, bestow upon him robes of honor, and assign him to the officers in charge of the pages. By doing this, he won them over, causing them to defect from their master.

Abū Aḥmad directed Nuṣayr to take his barges and galleys and pursue Sulaymān b. Jāmi' and the fugitives, that is, Zanj and others who were with him. He ordered Nuṣayr to pursue them vigorously through the marshes until entering that part of the Tigris which was called the Blind Tigris (Dijlat al-'Awrā').[58] Then he proceeded to open up the dams which the profligate had built, in order to cut off the barges on the Tigris from access to the area between his position and the waterway known as Abū al-Khaṣīb. He sent word to Zīrak to stay in Ṭahīthā so that its inhabitants, who had been driven away by the profligate (that is, the leader of the Zanj), might gradually re-

58. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 26, 43.

turn, and instructed him, as well, to search for the rest of the Zanj who still remained in the thickets and to capture them.

In the month of Rabī' II (November 9–December 7, 880), Umm Jabīb, the daughter of al-Rashīd passed away.

Having accomplished what he wanted, Abū Aḥmad returned to his camp in Bardūdā; he had set his mind on going to al-Ahwāz to put the affairs of that province in order. For a long
[1973] time he had been concerned with the actions of al-Muhallabī, who by his attacks harassed the government troops stationed there and established his domination over most of the districts of al-Ahwāz. Abū al-'Abbās had already gone on before him on this journey of his.

When Abū Aḥmad arrived in Bardūdā, he remained for several days, and issued instructions to prepare everything he needed for a cavalry march to the districts of al-Ahwāz. He sent people ahead to repair the roads and residences, and to store up provisions for the troops accompanying him. Just before his departure from Wāsiṭ, Zīrak arrived on his way back from Ṭahīthā, where the population of the districts once occupied by the Zanj were back (in their places) and living securely. Abū Aḥmad instructed him to get ready and to bring his best and most valiant men, as well as the barges and galleys down to the Blind Tigris. They were to join forces with Abū Ḥamzah in order to reconnoiter the Tigris, pursue the Zanj fugitives, and attack such troops of the profligate as they might come upon along the route to the latter's city on the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. If they thought it a proper place for battle, they were to fight the profligate in his city and to report to Abū Aḥmad, so that he might further instruct them how to proceed. Abū Aḥmad appointed his son Hārūn as his deputy over the people he left behind at his camp in Wāsiṭ and decided to depart with a mobile group of his officers and troops. He did this after having forwarded an order to his son Hārūn. The latter was to have the troops and boats which Abū Aḥmad had left behind set course for a base on the Tigris. This was to occur as soon as word to this effect was received from Abū Aḥmad.

[1974] On the first of Jumādā II, 267 (January 7, 881), Abū Aḥmad left Wāsiṭ bound for Al-Ahwāz and its districts. (En route) he

camped at Bādhibān,[59] Jūkā,[60] al-Ṭīb,[61] Qurqūb,[62] and Darustān. Next he stopped at Wādī al-Sūs where a pontoon bridge had been placed across the water for him.[63] He stayed from morning to late afternoon until all his men had crossed the waterway. Then he continued his march until he arrived at al-Sūs and camped there. Before that, he had sent an order to Masrūr, his governor in al-Ahwāz, to come to him. Masrūr met him with his troops and officers the day after Abū Aḥmad stopped at al-Sūs. Abū Aḥmad gave him and his men robes of honor, and stayed for three days.

Among the profligate's companions at Ṭahīthā was Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Sa'īd al-Baṣrī, who was known as al-Qalūṣ. The latter was one of his adjutants and one of his earliest followers. He was captured after being severely injured, and he died of his wounds. Abū Aḥmad ordered his head cut off and displayed on the Wāsiṭ Bridge.

Among the prisoners taken that day was 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Kirmānī. The abominable one, having forced al-Kirmānī to come to him, sent him to Ṭahīthā, putting him in charge of the judiciary and worship there. In addition, many choice black troops were captured, men of courage and valor. When the abominable one learned about their fate, his control began to come apart and he lost his ability (to act wisely). In a fit of anxiety, he sent a letter with a companion of his to al-Muhallabī, who, at the time, was positioned in al-Ahwāz with some thirty thousand men. The letter contained an order to abandon all the provisions and equipment that 'Alī had and to proceed to him (that is, to the abominable one).

Al-Muhallabī received the letter having already learned [1975]
about the march of Abū Aḥmad to al-Ahwāz and its districts. As a result, he lost his senses and left everything he had at his disposal to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Karnabā'ī, whom

59. Ibid., 82.
60. Ibid., 42.
61. Ibid., 64, 82, 241, 247.
62. Ibid., 241, 246.
63. Ibid., 233.

he appointed as his deputy. Muḥammad became seized with fear, abandoned everything that had been entrusted to him and followed al-Muhallabī. At the time, large quantities of various kinds of grain, dates and livestock were stored in Jubbā, in al-Ahwāz, and the areas surrounding it. All this they gave up.

The profligate wrote also to Bahbūdh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, who was at the time his governor of al-Fandam, and al-Bāsiyān, and the surrounding villages between al-Ahwāz and Fārs.[64] Bahbūdh was stationed in al-Fandam. The profligate ordered him to come (to his camp), whereupon Bahbūdh abandoned huge quantities of wheat and dates which he had at his disposal. Abū Aḥmad seized all of this, strengthening himself thereby and weakening the profligate.

When al-Muhallabī departed from al-Ahwāz, his men scattered about the villages between the city and the abominable one's camp, plundering them and banishing their inhabitants, even though the latter were at peace with the rebels. Many cavalry and infantry of al-Muhallabī failed to join him and remained behind in the districts of al-Ahwāz. Having heard about the pardon granted to those of the abominable one's men who had fallen into captivity in the region of Ṭahīthā, they wrote to Abū Aḥmad requesting him to take them under his protection. Meanwhile, al-Muhallabī and those of his troops who followed him reached the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal.[65]

That which had induced the profligate to order al-Muhallabī and Bahbūdh to march to him hastily was his apprehension lest Abū Aḥmad and his troops reach him in his present state. That is, he would reach him at a time when his own men were
[1976] stricken with terror and weariness, while al-Muhallabī and Bahbūdh and their troops were cut off from him. But things did not turn out as he had reckoned.

Abū Aḥmad stayed as long as it was necessary to take over everything left by al-Muhallabī and Bahbūdh, to open the dams which the abominable one had erected on the Tigris, and to repair the highways and roads. Then he left al-Sūs and went to

64. Ibid., 242, 243, 247.
65. Ibid., 48.

Jundaysābūr,[66] where he stayed for three days. Since the army was short of fodder, he sent out men to look for it and bring it in. Thereupon he departed from Jundaysābūr and went to Tustar where he ordered that the taxes from the districts of al-Ahwāz be collected, sending to every district an officer to speed the delivery of the money. He sent off Aḥmad b. Abī al-Aṣbagh to Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Kurdī—al-Kurdī was afraid that the troops of the abominable one might reach him before Abū Aḥmad reached the territory of al-Ahwāz. Abū Aḥmad instructed the former to treat Muḥammad al-Kurdī kindly, and to let him known that Abū Aḥmad was determined to forgive him and to exonerate him from his errors. Al-Kurdī was to come forward with the money quickly and to proceed to Sūq al-Ahwāz. Abū Aḥmad commanded Maṣrur al-Balkhī, his governor of al-Ahwāz, to send all his mawlās, pages, and regular troops so that he might inspect them, pay them their allotments and urge them on to fight against the abominable one. This, Masrūr did, and his troops were inspected one by one and given their pay.

Abū Aḥmad then left for 'Askar Mukram, where he set up his temporary quarters. From there he went to al-Ahwāz, seeing that the provisions which his troops were transporting would reach al-Ahwāz before his arrival. But he miscalculated this time, and his men became greatly agitated. He spent three days expecting the food to arrive, and still it did not come. Conditions grew bad and dissension broke out among the troops. Then, Abū Aḥmad made an inquiry into the reasons for the delay, and found that the troops had ruined an ancient Persian bridge, called Qanṭarat Arbuk,[67] which was between Sūq al-Ahwāz and Rāmhurmuz. This had blocked the way for the merchants and those who were transporting the food, preventing them from going further. Abū Aḥmad set out for that bridge, which was two *farsakhs* (twelve km) from Sūq al-Ahwāz. Gathering the black soldiers who remained in his camp, he ordered them to carry rocks and stones to repair it. He [1977]

66. Ibid., 237, 238, 247.
67. See Ṭabarī, III/2, 1835.

paid them generously and did not leave the spot until the bridge was repaired and restored completely that same day. Then the people took the bridge route, and the caravans with the food arrived. The army was resuscitated and conditions improved.

Abū Aḥmad now ordered that boats be assembled and put together to span the Dujayl.[68] The boats were gathered from the districts of al-Ahwāz and the bridge building began. Abū Aḥmad remained in al-Ahwāz several days until his troops put their affairs in order and repaired the necessary equipment. He also waited for their animals to round into good shape, thus making up for the suffering caused by the delay in the supply of fodder. Meanwhile, messages reached al-Muwaffaq from al-Muhallabī's men who had deserted. They remained in the area of Sūq al-Ahwāz and were now requesting guarantees of safe conduct from al-Muwaffaq. This being granted, about one thousand men came to him. Abū Aḥmad treated them kindly, assigned them to officers of his pages and allotted them military pay.

Now, when the Dujayl bridge was tied,[69] Abū Aḥmad sent his troops across, then he himself followed, and established his camp on the western bank of the river in the place called Qaṣr al-Ma'mūn.[70] He remained for three days. One night there was a terrible earthquake, May God preserve us from its evil and save us from its adversity! Before crossing the bridge over the Dujayl, Abū Aḥmad sent his son Abū al-'Abbās to the place where
[1978] he planned to camp in the area of the Blind Tigris. This was the place known as the Nahr al-Mubārak of Furāt al-Baṣrah.[71] He wrote to his son Hārūn to go there, as well, with all the troops

68. That is, the Dujayl which was known as the Dujayl of al-Ahwāz. It was better known as the Kārūn. See Le Strange, *Lands*, index, 524.

69. It was a pontoon bridge (*jisr*), and hence portable.

70. Not to be confused with any of the palaces of that name in Baghdad. See Lassner, *Topography*, index, 321.

71. Presumably the canal leading to al-Mubārak, a town which lay on the western side of the Tigris in the general vicinity of the fighting. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 38. Note that Yāqūt also mentions a canal of this name located in the Baṣrah region. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 408–409. Furāt al-Baṣrah was, however, an administrative region (*kūrah*) in Sassanian times, op. cit, III, 863.

that had been left behind with him, so that the armies would gather there.

Abū Aḥmad departed from Qaṣr al-Ma'mūn and, when he stopped at Qūraj al-'Abbās, he was met by Aḥmad b. Abī al-Aṣbagh, who brought him word about the settlement with Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh, as well as presents from the latter, such as animals and beasts trained for the hunt, and other things. At this, he departed from al-Qūraj and next stopped at Ja'fariyyah.[72] There was no water in this village exccept for the wells which Abū Aḥmad had dug earlier in his camp. He had sent Sa'd al-Aswad, the mawlā of 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Ammār from Qūraj al-'Abbās to do the job, and the wells were dug. Abū Aḥmad stayed at this place for a full day. He came upon stored-up provisions which the troops found more than sufficient for their needs and they partook of them. From there they went to the place called al-Bushīr, where they found a pool of rainwater. Abū Aḥmad stayed there for a day and a night, then late in the night they departed bound for Nahr al-Mubārak. After a rather long and strenous march, they arrived there after the midday prayer. On the way, Abū Aḥmad was met and welcomed by his two sons, Abū al-'Abbās and Hārūn,and they accompanied him on his journey until reaching Nahr al-Mubārak. This was on a Saturday, in the middle of Rajab, 267 (February 5–March 6, 881).

Meanwhile, between Abū Aḥmad's departure from Wāsiṭ and his arrival at Nahr al-Mubārak, Zīrak, Nuṣayr and their men carried out an impressive action, fulfilling their task of pursuing the Zanj fugitives from Ṭahīthā. (According to) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan—Muḥammad b. Ḥammād: When Zīrak and Nuṣayr met on the Blind Tigris they marched together until they reached al-Ubullah, where one of the abominable one's men asked for a guarantee of safe-conduct. He informed the two of them that the abominable one had sent out a great number of galleys, skiffs (*zawraq*) and boats (*ṣalghah*) loaded with Zanj under the command of one of his lieutenants, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. The latter's patronymic was Abū 'Īsā. This [1979]

72. Not to be confused with the various places of this name mentioned in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 88.

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, who hailed from al-Baṣrah, had been brought to the abominable one at the time al-Baṣrah was destroyed by a Zanj officer named Yasār. Yasār had been in charge of the profligate's security force. This Baṣran served Yasār as his scribe until the latter died. Meanwhile Aḥmad b. Mahdī al-Jubbā'ī prospered under the abominable one, who appointed him governor over most of his districts. This Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was assigned to him and served as his scribe until al-Jubbā'ī perished.

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm coveted the latter's rank and desired that the abominable one arrange for him to replace al-Jubbā'ī. He thus forsook the ink and the pen and took to arms, applying himself exclusively to military affairs. At this juncture the abominable one sent him out with these troops, ordering him to take up positions across the Tigris in order to repel any (enemy) force which might arrive. At times Muḥammad stayed on the Tigris, and at times he went out with his men to the waterway known as Nahr Yazīd.[73] Among these troops of his were Shibl b. Sālim and 'Amr, who was known as Ghulām Būdhā, the most valiant of his black troops and others. One man from this force surrendered to Zīrak and Nuṣayr and informed them of Muḥammad's designs. He told them that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm had targeted the area of Nuṣayr's camp—Nuṣayr was, at the time, stationed at Nahr al-Mar'ah.[74] He told them that Muḥammad and his troops were intending to pass along the
[1980] waterways which cross Nahr Ma'qil[75] and Bathq Shīrīn in order to reach the place known as al-Shurṭah[76] so as to emerge from behind and flank Nuṣayr's army. No sooner did this news reach Nuṣayr, than he hurriedly left al-Ubullah for his camp. At the same time, Zīrak took off for Bathq Shīrīn and appeared from behind him at a place called al-Mīshān, thinking that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm and his men would go to Nuṣayr's camp along this course. It was as he had surmised, and he encoun-

73. It is possible that this is the Nahr Yazīd in the area of al-Baṣrah mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 846.

74. An ancient canal in the Baṣrah area. See Yārūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 844.

75. Ibid., 845.

76. A large village between al-Baṣrah and Wāsiṭ. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 275.

tered them on the way. After he had gone through violent battle, God granted him the upper hand, and the enemy (forces) were routed. They escaped to a canal where an ambush of theirs had been prepared—this was the Nahr Yazīd. However, Zīrak was guided there, and his galleys and barges deeply penetrated their positions. Some of the enemy (troops) were killed; some were captured. Among the captured were Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, whose patronymic was Abū 'Īsā, and 'Amr, who was called Ghulām Būdhā. They were seized along with some thirty galleys. Shibl and the others who escaped fled to the abominable one's camp. Victorious, Zīrak left Bathq Shīrīn, taking along the captives, the severed hands of the dead, and the galleys, skiffs and other boats that he had seized. Zīrak thus made his way from the Blind Tigris to Wāsiṭ, and wrote to Abū Aḥmad about the battle, the victory, and the (ultimate) conquest.

As a result of Zīrak's action, all the partisans of the profligate that were in the districts along the Tigris were filled with fear. It is said that about two thousand men requested guarantees of safe-conduct from Abū Ḥamzah, while he was stationed at Nahr al-Mar'ah. Abū Ḥamzah wrote of this to Abū Muḥammad, and the latter instructed Zīrak to receive them and confirm their safe conduct. Moreover, he was to grant them a military allotment, integrate them with his own troops and use them against the enemy. [1981]

Zīrak remained in Wāsiṭ up to the time a dispatch arrived from Abū Aḥmad, ordering his son Hārūn to march to Nahr al-Mubārak with the troops that had remained with him; Zīrak then went with Hārūn. Abū Aḥmad now wrote to Nuṣayr, who was stationed at Nahr al-Mar'ah, ordering the latter to come to him at Nahr al-Mubārak. Abū Aḥmad then met him there.

In going to Nahr al-Mubārak, Abū al-'Abbās advanced with his barges and galleys to the camp of the profligate. He then attacked him in his city on the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. The battle between the two forces raged from early morning to late afternoon. One of the abominable one's officers called Muntāb, who had been attached to Sulaymān b. Jāmi', asked Abū al-'Abbās for a guarantee of safe-conduct. With him were a contingent of his men. This defection was the kind of thing that

shattered the abominable one and his army. Abū al-ʿAbbās withdrew with booty. He clothed Muntāb with robes of honor, treated him generously, and gave him a mount to ride. When Abū al-ʿAbbās reached his father, he told him about Muntāb, and how he had come to him, asking for guarantees of safe-conduct. At this, Abū Aḥmad also ordered robes of honor for Muntāb, as well as presents and a mount to ride. Muntāb was the first of the Zanj officers to seek a guarantee of safe-conduct.

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl—Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. Isḥāq b. Ḥammād b. Zayd: When Abū Aḥmad reached Nahr al-Mubārak on a Saturday, in the middle of Rajab, 267 (February 5–March 6, 881), the first thing he reportedly did concerning the abominable one was to write him a letter calling upon him to repent and return to God Almighty and to desist from bloodshed and crimes. He was to stop
[1982] devastating regions and centers of population, and desist from rape and the violation of property. Moreover, he was to stop boasting that he was a prophet or apostle—an honor which God had not bestowed upon him. In addition, he informed him that he would extend him forgiveness and guarantees of safe-conduct if he would desist from those actions which God abhors. If he would but join the community of the Muslims, all his grave crimes of the past would be forgotten and he would earn for himself a life of plenty.

He forwarded this letter to the abominable one by way of his (that is, Abū Aḥmad's) messenger. The latter tried to deliver it, but was prevented from doing so by the abominable one's men. So, the messenger threw the letter to them, and they presented it to the abominable one who read it. The warning contained in the message did nothing but augment his hatred and obstinacy. He gave no reply at all, and persisted in his errors. The messenger returned to Abū Aḥmad, reported his action and the abominable one's refusal to reply to the letter.

Now, from Saturday through Wednesday, Abū Aḥmad was busy inspecting the barges and galleys, assigning to them his officers, clients and pages, and selecting archers for the vessels. On Thursday, Abū Aḥmad and his men, accompanied by his son Abū al-ʿAbbās, set out by the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal for the city of the abominable one, which the latter had named al-

Mukhtārah.[77] Abū Aḥmad observed the city, and studied its defenses and fortifications, including the walls and surrounding moats. He studied the barricaded roads leading to it, the array of ballistas, catapults, and Nawukiyyah bows and other equipment on the city walls. The likes of these he had never seen in any previous revolt against the central authorities. Seeing the arrayed multitudes of enemy warriors, he realized how difficult his task was. When the abominable one's troops saw Abū Aḥmad, they raised their voices so that the earth trembled. [1983]

Abū Aḥmad instructed his son, Abū al-'Abbās to proceed to the walls of the city and shower the defenders with arrows; this he did. He moved so close to the city that his barges struck the quay of the profligate's fortress. The profligate's (troops) rushed to the spot where the barges approached. The enemy banded together and hurled a succession of arrows and stones from their ballistas, catapults and slings, while the rank and file threw stones with their hands until there was no spot at which an observer from the barges could glance without seeing an arrow or a stone. Abū al-'Abbās endured all this, and the profligate and his companions saw the government force displaying perseverance and zeal such as no one fighting against them had ever done. Then Abū Aḥmad ordered Abū al-'Abbās and his men to return to their positions in order to rest and attend to their wounds; this they did.

At this point, two of the troops from the galleys asked Abū Aḥmad for guarantees of safe-conduct and they brought him their boat with its equipment and sailors. Abū Aḥmad ordered that brocade robes of honor and jewel-bedecked belts and other gifts be bestowed upon them. At his command, their sailors were given robes of red silk and white garments; all were showered with generous gifts. In this way Abū Aḥmad won their sympathy; then he posted them in a place from which they could be seen by their former comrades. This was the most humilitating stratagem ever employed against the profligate. For, when the remaining Zanj saw how their companions had been pardoned and granted kindness, they too wished eagerly for safe-conduct. They then rushed towards Abū Aḥmad, desir-

77. On the seige of al-Mukhtārah, see Popovic *Révolte*, 134 ff.

[1984] ing to obtain what he had made available for the others. On that day, a number of troops from the galleys went over to Abū Aḥmad, and upon his order they all received the same treatment as their predecessors. When the abominable one saw that the troops from his galleys were inclined to surrender and were seizing every opportunity to do so, he ordered all of them to return from the Tigris to Nahr Abī al-Khaṣīb; at the mouth of this canal he placed men to prevent their leaving. At this, he had the barges brought forward, for which purpose he summoned Bahbūdh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, one of his most loyal champions; the latter had under his command the largest and the best equipped vessels. Bahbūdh and his men responded to this call. It happened to be full tide, and the barges of Abū Aḥmad were dispersed. Abū Ḥamzah with his ships clung to the eastern bank of the Tigris. Establishing his position there, he felt that the fight was over and he was no longer needed. But when Bahbūdh and his barges appeared, Abū Aḥmad ordered Abū Ḥamzah to advance with his barges; he also ordered Abū al-'Abbās to attack Bahbūdh with his vessels, while sending word to the officers and pages to attack with him. Twelve barges, manned by the officers and pages who were with Abū al-'Abbās and Zīrak, bore the brunt of the battle. As the battle flared, the abominable one's men chose to attack Abū al-'Abbās and his force, for they had only a few barges. However, when the Zanj were confronted with a counter-attack and put to flight, Abū al-'Abbās and his men turned to chase Bahbūdh, whom they drove to an enclosure near the abominable one's fortress. Bahbūdh suffered two lance thrusts and received many arrow wounds; his limbs were badly injured by stones. But his men saved him, for they protected him until he reached
[1985] Abū al-Khaṣīb; thus he narrowly escaped death. Among the officers who were with him and were slain that day was one called 'Amīrah, a man brave and valiant, who was always in the forefront of the battle. The men of Abū al-'Abbās seized one of Bahbūdh's barges whose men had been killed or drowned. The ship was taken and, in accordance with Abū Aḥmad's instructions, Abū al-'Abbās and his men set their ships toward the eastern bank of the Tigris as the force withdrew.

When the profligate perceived that Abū Aḥmad's force was withdrawing, he ordered those who had fled in their barges to Nahr Abū al-Khaṣīb, to come forward so as to allay his men's fear by creating an impression of an orderly retreat and not a flight in defeat. At this, Abū Aḥmad quickly instructed some of his pages to turn the fore of their barges toward them in pursuit. No sooner did the Zanj see this than they fled in great panic. One of their barges remained behind and the troops in it asked Abū Aḥmad for guarantees of safe-conduct. Displaying a white flag that they had, the Zanj came to him in their barge and were granted safe-conduct. They were given various presents and garments. This induced the profligate to order the Zanj barges brought back into the canal and to bar their exit from it. Since it was near the end of the day, Abū Aḥmad ordered his men to return to their camp at the Nahr al-Mubārak. On that day, during his withdrawal, a great many of the Zanj and others sought guarantees of safety from Abū Aḥmad. He welcomed them and had them transported on his barges and galleys. Then he ordered robes of honor for them, as well as various presents, and their names were inscribed in the registers of Abū al-'Abbās's troops.

Abū Aḥmad went to his camp, which he reached after the late evening prayer. He stayed there during Friday, Saturday [1986]
and Sunday, and then decided to transfer his camp to a place which would be nearer for him to carry on the campaign against the abominable one. On Monday, the twenty-fourth of Rajab, 267 (February 28, 881), Abū Aḥmad together with Abū al-'Abbās, his clients, pages and officers—among them Zīrak and Nuṣayr—boarded barges and sailed until they reached the waterway called Nahr Jaṭṭa,[78] east of the Tigris. It was opposite the canal called Nahr al-Yahūdī.[79] He stopped there, made whatever arrangements he felt were necessary, and then pushed on, leaving behind Abū al-'Abbās, Nuṣayr and Zīrak. Abū Aḥmad

78. One of the canals of the Baṣrah area. Its banks were heavily settled. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 837.

79. This does not seem to be the Yahūdī Canal which was in the vicinity of Sāmarrā. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 58. I have found no reference to this particular waterway.

returned to his camp, and upon his command, it was announced among the men that they were going to journey to the place he had chosen on the Jaṭṭā Canal. After the roads were put in good order for the tranport animals and the bridges on the canals were secured, he moved out, with the animals in the lead. Early on the morning of Tuesday, the twenty-fifth of Rajab (March 1, 881), he and all his troops travelled to Nahr Jaṭṭā and set up camp there.

They remained there until Saturday, the fourteenth of Sha-'bān, 267 (March 21, 881), having engaged in no combat. It was only on that day that Abū Aḥmad set out with his infantry and cavalry—he took along all his horsemen. He put the infantry men and the volunteers—every one of them in uniform and breastplate—aboard vessels and barges, and journeyed to the Euphrates, reaching a place opposite the profligate's camp. At the time, Abū Aḥmad had fifty thousand or more troops and auxiliaries, while the profligate had some three hundred thousand, all of whom were active warriors or defenders, such as
[1987] swordsmen, lancers, archers, sling-shooters and artillerymen for the catapults and ballistas. The weakest were charged with flinging stones by hand, and, as assembled onlookers, they added to the tumult by screaming and shouting, a task shared by the women.

Abū Aḥmad remained opposite the profligate's camp until late in the morning, when, at his command, heralds cried out that guarantees of safe-conduct were being offered to everyone without discrimination, except for the abominable one. He then called for arrows upon which were fastened sheets containing the text of the guarantees which had been announced. In it he promised to treat kindly those people (who surrendered). The sheets were then shot into the abominable one's camp. Now, the hearts of the heretics were swerving towards Abū Aḥmad out of awe and eagerness for the good-will and pardon which he had promised them. A great many of them came to him on that day, carried by barges; whereupon, he presented them with various gifts. Abū Aḥmad then returned to his encampment on the Jaṭṭā Canal, and no fighting took place that day. Two of his mawlā officers, one of them Buktimur and the other Ja'far b. Yaghla'uz, arrived with all their troops, strength-

ening the forces with Abū Aḥmad. Abū Aḥmad departed from the Jaṭṭa Canal to an encampment which he had prepared in advance. He constructed bridges along its waterways and had the river spanned so that the camp could expand to Furāt al-Baṣrah, opposite the city of the profligate. It was on a Sunday, in the middle of Sha'bān, 267 (March 7–April 4, 881), that Abū Aḥmad settled at this encampment; he made it his base and positioned himself there, assigning his officers and commanders to their various positions. He placed Nuṣayr, the commander of the barges and galleys, together with his troops, in the first range of the camp, whose outer limit was a place directly opposite the waterway known as Nahr Juwayy Kūr. [1988] Zīrak al-Turkī, the commander of the vanguard of Abū al-'Abbās, was assigned with his troops to a position opposite the area between the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, which is also known as Nahr al-Atrāk, and the waterway known as Nahr al-Mughīrah. Zīrak was followed by Abū Aḥmad's chamberlain (*ḥājib*), Ya'lā b. Juhistār, and his troops. The tents of Abū Aḥmad and his two sons were in front of Dayr Jābīl.[80] Abū Aḥmad sent his client Rāshid at the head of his (Abū Aḥmad's) clients and his pages down to the waterway called Nahr al-Maṭmah—his pages consisted of Turks, Khazars, men from al-Rūm, Daylam, Ṭabaristān, the Maghrib and Zanzibar. He placed his wazīr Sā'id b. Makhlad with a force of clients and page above Rāshid's force, and sent Masrūr al-Balkhī with his troops down to the waterway called Nahr Sindādān. Similarly, he sent al-Faḍl and Muḥammad, the sons of Mūsā b. Bughā, with their armies down to the waterway known as Nahr Hālah. These two were followed by Mūsā Dāljawayh with his soldiers and officers. Bughrāj al-Turkī was assigned to the rearguard camped at the Jaṭṭa Canal. In this way they established their base camp and remained there.

Now, observing the position of the abominable one, his fortifications and the vastness of the army, Abū Aḥmad realized that he must wear him out in a long siege and bring about a split among his troops by offering good-will to those who would turn away from their master, and by treating harshly

80. In the Baṣrah region. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 650.

those who stuck to their errors. He further realized that he needed more barges and other equipment for river fighting. He
[1989] therefore sent agents to collect provisions and let them come by land and water to his camp in the city which he named al-Muwaffaqiyyah. He wrote to the governors of the surrounding districts to bring the money to his treasury in this city. He also sent a messenger to Sīrāf[81] and Jannābā[82] about building the numerous barges which he needed in order to post them where they could cut off the flow of provisions to the traitor and his cohort. He also wrote to his governors in the surrounding districts to dispatch to him anyone fit and willing so that they might be inscribed on his roll. Then he spent a month or so waiting. Provisions kept on arriving regularly, transport after transport, and the merchants provided various kinds of wares and produce for the city of al-Muwaffaqiyyah. Markets sprang up in that city, and the number of merchants and contractors from every land grew in number. After more than ten years of brigandage on the waterways by the profligate and his men, boats began to arrive again.

Abū Aḥmad built a Friday Mosque and ordered the people to worship there; then he established mints that issued gold and silver coins. Various resources and amenities were concentrated in Abū Aḥmad's city, and its inhabitants missed nothing that was available in the older cities. Money flowed into it and pay was distributed on time. As the situation improved, people lived in comfort, and everyone was eager to travel to the city of al-Muwaffaqiyyah and stay there.

[1990] Two days after Abū Aḥmad's arrival in al-Muwaffaqiyyah, the abominable one ordered Bahbūdh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (to attack). He crossed (the water) to the edge of Abū Ḥamzah's camp, catching the troops in the galleys unaware. Bahbūdh charged Abū Ḥamzah and killed many of his men, capturing many others. He set fire to the reed huts they had put up before buildings were erected there. At this, Abū Aḥmad instructed Nuṣayr to rally all his men and to grant no one leave from the

81. The great seaport of the Persian Gulf. See Le Strange, *Lands*, index, 530.
82. Ibid., index, 509.

camp. He also ordered him to use his barges, galleys, skiffs, and infantry to guard the perimeter of his camp up to the outer reaches of Māyān Rūdhān,[83] al-Qindal[84] and Abrusān, and to engage whatever troops the profligate had there.

At Māyān Rūdhān was one of the profligate's officers, an Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Hamdānī along with four thousand Zanj; and in al-Qindal, Muḥammad b. Abān, who was known as Abū al-Ḥasān, the brother of 'Alī b. Abān, was stationed with three thousand men. Similarly, the one known as al-Dūr was stationed in Abrusān with a force of fifteen hundred, made up of Zanj and men of al-Jubbā'ī's contingent.

Abū al-'Abbās opened operations with an attack on al-Hamdānī. In a series of engagements, al-Hamdānī lost many men who were killed or captured.He himself escaped in a galley he had held ready and reached the brother of al-Muhallabī, the one whose patronymic was Abū al-Ḥāsan. The troops of Abū al-'Abbās took hold of everything the Zanj had in their possession and transported it to their camp. Abū Aḥmad had sent word to his son to grant safe-conduct to everyone appealing for it and to treat kindly all who came out to him. A band of Zanj deserted Alī b. Abān, seeking guarantees of safe-conduct and Abū al-'Abbās granted them their request. Then he sent them to his father, who ordered robes of honor an gifts for everyone of them according to their personal merits. He also ordered that [1991] they be placed opposite the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal so that their (former) compatriots could see them. Thus, Abū Aḥmad continued to trap the traitor, granting safe-conduct to all Zanj and others deserting him, and besieging and blockading the rest by cutting off their supplies and necessities.

The provisions from al-Ahwāz and the various kinds of merchandise from it, its districts, and the surrounding areas that fell under the jurisdiction of its officials, used to come along the waterway known as Nahr Bayān. Bahbūdh once got wind of a caravan with a variety of merchandise and food, so with a select team he set out one night to a palm grove and lay there in wait. As the caravan, unaware of the ambush, was passing,

83. See Yāqūt *Mu'jam*, IV, 708–709.
84. A place situated in the Baṣrah region. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 183.

Bahbūdh fell upon it, killing some and capturing others while seizing goods to his heart's content. Abū Aḥmad had dispatched with the caravan an officer with a convoy of troops to guard it, but they were unable to do so, because of the size of Bahbūdh's force and the terrain which was unfavorable for the use of cavalry that was indispensible.

When word of this reached Abū Aḥmad, he was shocked by the losses in money, men and goods, and he gave instructions to compensate the men in full. He now posted barges at the mouth of the Bayān and other canals, places which could not be reached by horsemen. He also ordered that additional barges be built and sent to him, and a goodly number of them arrived. He manned them and put them under the command of his son, Abū al-'Abbās, instructing him to take care of every spot through which provisions could flow to the profligate (forces). For this purpose Abū al-'Abbās, sailed with his barges to the mouth of the sea, placing officers on all the roads. Having done so, he fully acquitted himself of this task.

In Ramaḍān (April 5–May 4, 881) a battle took place be-
[1992] tween Isḥāq b. Kundāj, and Isḥāq b. Ayyūb, 'Īsā b. al-Shaykh, Abū al-Maghrā', Ḥamdān al-Shārī and the tribes of Rabī'ah, Taghlib, Bakr and Yaman that were connected with them. Ibn Kundāj routed them and chased them to Naṣībīn and beyond there to the vicinity of Āmid. He seized their possessions and they camped at Āmid. Further engagements ensued.

In this month Ṣandal al-Zinjī was killed. The reason for his being killed (is as follows). On the second of Ramaḍān, 267 (April 6, 881) troops of the abominable one reportedly made their way toward the camps of Nuṣayr and Zīrak with the intention of attacking them; but warned by people, Nuṣayr and Zīrak gave battle and, driving the Zanj back, they took Ṣandal prisoner. They say, this Ṣandal used to unveil the faces and heads of free-born Muslim women and treat them as if they were handmaids. And if one would resist, he would strike her in the face and pass her to some savage Zanj for a very low price. When he was delivered to Abū Aḥmad, the latter ordered him tied, and in his presence the man was ordered pierced with arrows and killed.

In Ramaḍān, (April 5–May 4, 881) a great many of the Zanj requested safe-conduct from Abū Aḥmad.

The Reason for These Requests

It is reported that Muhadhdhab, one of the abominable one's most prominent followers, and a leading and courageous figure among them, sought a guarantee of safe-conduct from Abū Aḥmad. A barge brought him to Abū Aḥmad while the latter was breaking his fast. Muhadhdhab reported that he came [1993] bearing good advice and seeking safety, and indicated that at that very moment the Zanj were on their way to Abū Aḥmad's camp in order to attack him by night. For this purpose the profligate had summoned his most valiant men. At this, Abū Aḥmad gave an order to send barges arrayed with a force to combat the Zanj and prevent their passage. When the Zanj perceived that their plan was disclosed, they withdrew in panic and scores of Zanj and others surrendered and continued to do so. By the end of Ramaḍān, 267, (April 5–May 4, 881) the number of people, white and black, who arrived at the camp of Abū Aḥmad reached five thousand.

In Shawwāl (May 5–June 2, 881), news arrived that al-Khujustānī had entered Naysābūr and that 'Amr b. al-Layth and his men had fled. The former had treated the people there harshly; he demolished the houses of the Mu'ādh b. Muslim's clan, and killed those of its members who fell into his hands. Their estates were given to others as fiefs. He eliminated the name of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir from the sermons in the pulpits of the cities which he seized in Khurāsān, and had the people pledge allegiance only to himself and to al-Mu'tamid, leaving out all others.

In Shawwāl, (May 5–June 2, 881) Abū al-'Abbās engaged in a fight with the Zanj, and inflicted heavy losses upon them.

The Reason For This Fight

According to information which reached me, the profligate selected from all his troops, men of courage and valor, and in-

[1994] structed al-Muhallabī to cross (the waterway) with them for a night raid on the camp of Abū Aḥmad. This he did.

The number of the Zanj and others who crossed the water was about five thousand, mostly blacks, among them some two hundred officers. They crossed to the eastern side of the Tigris, and decided that some of their forces should go behind the palm grove near the lagoon, so as to be in the rear of Abū Aḥmad's army. A large detachment was to pass with barges, galleys and ferries in front of Abū Aḥmad's camp. Should fighting break out between the two forces, the abominable one's commanders who reached the lagoon were to attack the camp of Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq with great vigor, surprising him and his men in the midst of battle.

The rebels counted on the success of this scheme. Their troops stayed all night on the Euphrates[85] in order to attack the army at the break of day. But a young sailor from their ranks sought safety from Abū Aḥmad and disclosed to him the plan which the rebels had conceived against him. Abū Aḥmad instructed Abū al-'Abbās and the officers and pages to set out for the area of the abominable one's troops. He dispatched a group of officers from among his pages with cavalry to the lagoon behind the palm grove on the Euphrates, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat to the lagoon. The men of the barges and galleys were instructed to block the Tigris, while the infantry were ordered to move toward the enemy from the palm grove.

When, contrary to their expectations, the rebels became aware of these measures taken against them, they fled along the same way they had come, and sought safety in the direc-
[1995] tion of Jawwīth Bārūbah.[86] Informed of their retreat, al-Muwaffaq instructed Abū al-'Abbās and Zīrak to go with their barges and reach the river before the Zanj so as to prevent them from crossing. He instructed one of his pages—he was called

85. Presumably where the river turns into The Great Swamp.

86. The text reads: Barawayh; it should read: Bārūbah, as in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 163. The latter indicates it to be a town in the Baṣrah region opposite al-Uballah.

Thābit—who had under his command an extensive force of black pages, to transport his men with bridging equipment and skiffs to the place where the enemies of God were positioned in order to attack them in place. Thābit overtook the Zanj at Jawwīth Bārūbah and attacked them. He engaged them in sustained combat, but the Zanj stood fast, and then pressed the attack against his combined force. His troops consisted of only some five hundred men because his contingent was not fully mobilized. The enemy sought them out, but then Thābit counterattacked them gallantly, forcing them back. God granted him the sight of them running away, bearing heavy losses in dead, wounded, and drowned; those who plunged into the water, relying upon their ability to swim, were picked up by the barges and galleys in the Tigris and the canal. Of this army, only a few escaped. Abū al-'Abbās and Thābit returned victorious. The heads of the killed were hung from the barges; similarly, the captives were crucified. They passed near the enemy city in order to terrify the compatriots of the dead and captured. Upon seeing this, the Zanj fell into despair and were seized by foreboding. After he had come with the prisoners and the heads into the city of al-Muwaffaqiyyah, Abū al-'Abbās heard that the leader of the Zanj was deluding his men with false stories that the heads displayed were only effigies to frighten them, and that the crucified captives were deserters who had surrendered to the government army. At this, al-Muwaffaq instructed Abū al-'Abbās to gather the heads and go with them in front of the profligate's fortress. He was then to hurl them into the latter's camp by means of a catapult at- [1996]
tached to a vessel. This was done. Now, when the heads dropped into the Zanj city, the friends of the dead recognized the heads of their compatriots and broke out in tears. The lies and duplicity of the sinner thus became evident to all.

In Shawwāl, (May 5–June 2, 881) the troops of Ibn Abī al-Sāj fought with al-Hayṣam al-'Ijlī, destroying his vanguard; then they seized his camp and pillaged it.

In Dhū al-Qa'dah, (June 3–July 2, 881), Zīrak fought with troops of the leader of the Zanj at Nahr b. 'Umar and inflicted heavy losses upon them.

The Reason for This Engagement

It is reported that the leader of the Zanj ordered the procurement of barges. These were constructed for him and added to those used in military operations. He divided his barges into three groups led by Bahbūdh, Naṣr al-Rūmī and Aḥmad b. al-Zaranjī respectively. Each commander was made responsible for his group. There were some fifty barges to a squadron. He manned them with archers and lancers, and an effort was made to bring their equipment and arms into perfect condition. Then they were ordered to set out upon the Tigris, cross to the eastern side and challenge the troops of al-Muwaffaq in combat.

Al-Muwaffaq, at this time, had only a small number of barges, since not all that he had ordered prepared for him had arrived, and those which he had at his disposal were scattered about the mouth of the sea and mouths of the canals along which provisions flowed to the Zanj. The henchmen of the sinner went about their task brutally, and as a result, it was possible to seize one after another of al-Muwaffaq's barges. Nu-
[1997] ṣayr, who was known as Abū Ḥamzah, at the time commanded the major part of al-Muwaffaq's barges; he refrained from engaging the enemy in combat or from advancing towards them, as he would otherwise have done, because the number of his barges was not sufficient. Therefore, people in al-Muwaffaq's camp were terrified, fearing that the Zanj with their superiority in barges might set out against them.

But at this juncture, barges which al-Muwaffaq had built in Jannābā arrived. Fearing the Zanj might intercept them on the Tigris, Abū Aḥmad instructed Abū al-'Abbās to set out with his barges to meet them and safely convey them to the camp. Abū al-'Abbās then brought these barges to Nuṣayr's camp.

When the Zanj noticed the barges, they were anxious to seize them. The abominable one ordered his barges and men out to challenge the enemy. The barges of Nuṣayr and Abū al-'Abbās went into action in an effort to cut them off.

One of Abū al-'Abbās's pages, a brave man called Waṣīf, who was known as al-Ḥijrā'ī, rushed forward with his barges and attacked the Zanj vigorously. They fled and he pursued them until he encountered them in the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, and was

cut off from his force. The barges of the Zanj turned about to attack him, and he found himself in a grave situation. Some of the Zanj barges clung with their oars to the oars of Waṣīf's barge and pulled it toward the bank, while others surrounded him and his men from all sides. More Zanj rushed down from the walls, and although Waṣīf and his men fought vigorously, they were killed. Then the Zanj withdrew with their barges into the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. Abū al-ʿAbbās met the Jannābā barges that had arrived safely with their armament and men. Abū Aḥmad ordered Abū al-ʿAbbās to take complete command of all the military operations involving the barges, and cut off [1998] the flow of supplies to the enemy from any quarter; this he did.

The barges were outfitted and manned with the best archers and lancers. When everything was fully prepared, Abū al-ʿAbbās posted the vessels in places where the barges of the abominable one sought loot, following their usual pattern. Abū al-ʿAbbās set out against them with his barges and the other commanders were ordered to join him in the attack. This they did, penetrating the enemy formations, showering them with arrows and stones, and reaching them with lances. God smote the enemy who fled in panic, while Abū al-ʿAbbās and his men chased them, forcing them to seek refuge in the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. Three of their ships were sunk, and two others were captured with all their fighting men and sailors. At the order of Abū al-ʿAbbās, they were all beheaded. When the abominable one saw the fate of his men, he held his barges back in the enclosure of his fortress and forbade his men to sail them into the Tigris except when the river was free from al-Muwaffaq's vessels.

After Abū al-ʿAbbās had attacked them in this fashion, the panic among the Zanj increased and prominent companions of the abominable one sought to surrender. They were granted safe conduct. It is reported that among the prominent Zanj seeking safety was Muḥammad b. Ḥārith al-ʿAmmī, who was charged with defending the camp at Munkā and the walls close to the camp of al-Muwaffaq. He deserted at night with a number of his companions, and al-Muwaffaq received him with generous gifts, clothed him with robes of honor, and gave him a number of horses with harnesses and equipment. He also put [1999]

him on the payroll. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith also attempted to take along his wife, who was his cousin, but the woman failed in her attempt to join him. Caught by the Zanj, she was returned to the abominable one, who kept her in jail for a time, then he had her auctioned off in the market and sold.

Among those seeking a guarantee of safe-conduct was Aḥmad, who was known as al-Bardha'ī. It is said that he was one of the most valiant companions of the abominable one and a close friend of al-Muhallabī. Among the Zanj commanders who sought safety were Madbad, Ibn Ankalawayh and Manīnah. They were all bestowed with robes of honor, and given numerous gifts and horses. All the soldiers who came with them were also accorded excellent treatment.

As the flow of provisions to the abominable one was cut off, and all the roads leading to him and his men were blocked, he instructed Shibl and Abū Nidā', two of his earliest followers—commanders upon whom he could rely and whose advice he trusted—to set out with ten thousand Zanj and others to the Dayr, Mar'ah and Abū al-Asad canals.[87] From there they were to go to the Great Swamp (*al-Baṭīḥah*)[88] to raid the Muslims, seize any provisions they might find, and cut off the provisions and other supplies flowing to the camp of al-Muwaffaq from Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) and Wāsiṭ and the surrounding areas. When news of their journey reached al-Muwaffaq, he summoned his client Zīrak, the commander of Abū al-'Abbās's vanguard, and instructed him to proceed against them with his troops. He also attached a select group of men to Zīrak's command.

Zīrak moved out quickly with his barges and galleys, and transported his infantry in skiffs and light vessels, reaching
[2000] Nahr al-Dayr.[89] Having found no trace of the Zanj, he moved on to Bathq Shīrīn, and then worked his way along the 'Adī Canal.[90] When he came out to the Ibn 'Umar Canal,[91] he met up

87. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 26, 41, 42; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 839.
88. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 41.
89. See above, n. 87
90. See above, n. 88.
91. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 830.

with the Zanj force, the size of which terrified him. Zīrak implored God to help him against the Zanj, then charged upon them with the most seasoned and stalwart of his men. God cast terror into the hearts of the Zanj, and they collapsed under the blows of Zīrak's arms. An enormous number of them were killed, as many drowned and a great number of them were captured. Zīrak took hold of as many vessels as he could, and sank as many as he could. The number of vessels he seized reached about four hundred. He took the captives and the heads of the slain and proceeded to the camp of al-Muwaffaq.

On the twenty-third of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (July 26, 881), al-Muwaffaq himself crossed with his troops to the city of the profligate to fight him.

The Reason Why He Crossed Over to the Profligate

The reason for this was as follows: It is reported that when the commanders of the profligate's troops perceived the misfortune which had befallen them—death for those who emerged from the city (to fight), a harsh siege for those who had remained within its limits—none of them ventured out. And as they saw the excellent treatment accorded to those who sought safety from Abū Aḥmad and the pardon granted them, they too tended to surrender. They started to flee by every means possible. This filled the abominable one with terror and a certain feeling of his own doom.

In every sector where he suspected there was an escape route [2001]
from his camp, he appointed guards and security men. He gave them the task of policing these areas and assigned men to the mouths of the canals to prevent boats from leaving. He was anxious to block any road, pass and opening so as to eliminate any temptation to leave his city.

A group of the deviate's commanders, that is, the leader of the Zanj, sent a message to al-Muwaffaq, requesting a guarantee of safe-conduct, and asking him to send out an army to fight the abominable one, so that they would have an opportunity to change allegiance. Then al-Muwaffaq instructed Abū al-'Abbās to go with a body of his troops to the place known as

Nahr al-Gharbī, which was patrolled at the time by 'Alī b. Abān.

Abū al-'Abbās set out for Nahr al- Gharbī with a select force, taking with him barges, galleys and ferries. 'Alī b. al- Muhallabī and his men volunteered to go out against him and the two forces thus engaged in combat. Abū al-'Abbās's force gained the upper hand and subdued the enemy. The profligate sent Sulaymān b. Jāmi' to reinforce al-Muhallabī with a large contingent of Zanj. The battle continued that day from early in the morning into the late afternoon; the victory went to Abū al-'Abbās and his men. That group of the abominable one's commanders who had sought safe-conduct from Abū al-'Abbās came over to him now, joined by a great many Zanj horsemen and others. Abū al-'Abbās then ordered his troops to return to the barges and boats, and he left. On the way back he passed the city of the abominable one and reached the place known as Nahr al-Atrāk. His troops, noticing that there were few Zanj in that section of the canal, were tempted to attack and set off in the direction of the enemy—this was after the major part of the government troops had already withdrawn to al-Muwaffaqiyyah. They approached the bank, climbed up and quickly ad-
[2002] vanced along the paths there. A group of them climbed the walls and came upon a small band of Zanj and their supporters. They killed those who came within their reach there. The profligate became aware of them, however, and bands of Zanj rallied to fight them, answering the call. When Abū al-'Abbās saw the growing concentration of the enemy against his small band of troops, he himself rushed back with his men from the barges to join them, while dispatching a message to al-Muwaffaq to send reinforcements. The latter immediately sent a force of pages to assist him; they came on barges and galleys. The pages gained the upper hand and put the Zanj to flight.

When Sulaymān b. Jāmi' noticed how Abū al-'Abbās's men were victorious over the Zanj, he rushed to the canal with a large body of troops, and travelled upstream until he reached the canal called Nahr 'Abdallāh. There he tracked the troops of Abū al-'Abbās, who were fighting the Zanj in front of them. As they were pursuing the fleeing Zanj, Sulaymān emerged behind them and beat his drums. At this, the troops of Abū al-'Abbās

turned to flee, and the Zanj who were running away turned about. A detachment of al-Muwaffaq's pages and other units of his army were attacked, and the Zanj thus acquired a number of flags and spears. Abū al-'Abbās protected the rest of his men; most of them were unharmed and he withdrew with them. This skirmish encouraged the Zanj and their followers, and strengthened their spirits.

Again al-Muwaffaq resolved upon crossing with all his troops to fight against the abominable one. He instructed Abū al-'Abbās and the rest of the officers and pages to prepare for the crossing. He also gave orders to assemble the boats and crossing equipment and to distribute them among different units. He then set the date on which he wanted to cross. This, however, was upset by stormy weather which lasted for many days. Delaying until these winds subsided, al-Muwaffaq re- [2003]
sumed the preparations for crossing and fighting against the deviate. When they were completed, on Wednesday, the twenty-fourth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 267 (Tuesday, July 28, 881), he crossed with a huge and fully-equipped army, and gave the order for many horses to be ferried over by boat. He commanded Abū al-'Abbās to march with the cavalry and to take with him all his officers from among the horsemen and infantry so as to attack the enemy in the rear on the lower part of the canal known as Nahr Munkā. He instructed his mawlā Masrūr al-Balkhī to go to the canal known as Nahr al-Gharbī, thereby forcing the abominable one to split his force. He ordered Nuṣayr Abū Ḥamzah and Rashīq, Abū al-'Abbās's page—he was one of his companions—who had almost as many ships as Nuṣayr, to sail to the mouth of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal and to fight whatever vessels of the abominable one they might come across. In the meanwhile, the latter increased the number of his vessels and manned them with the best of his fighting men. Abū Aḥmad advanced with his entire force to one of the fortresses of the abominable one's city—the latter had it reinforced by his own son, the one known as Ankalayh. He flanked Ankalayh with 'Alī b. Abān, Sulaymān b. Jāmi' and Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Hamdānī, and provided the fortress with ballistas, catapults, and Nawukiyyah bows. He placed the archers in position and concentrated the major part of his army there. When

the two parties came upon each other, al-Muwaffaq commanded the archers and lancers among the pages and blacks to draw nearer to the fortress in which the profligates were assembled. Between them was the canal known as Nahr al-
[2004] Atrāk, which was wide and deep. When they arrived there, al-Muwaffaq's men began to waver, but after being encouraged by shouting, they moved ahead, swimming while the profligates were shooting at them from ballistas, catapults, and slings, and hurling stones by hand, shooting arrows from the Nawukiyyah bows, foot-bows and various other launching devices. Al-Muwaffaq's men bore up against all this, crossed the canal, and reached the walls; but the men who were outfitted for demolition operations failed to join them. Then the pages of Abū al-'Abbās were put in charge of breaking walls with the weapons at hand. God granted them success and facilitated their ascent. By specially adapted ladders, which were delivered to the spot, they mounted the fortress and planted one of al-Muwaffaq's flags there. After the heaviest of fighting, in which both parties bore great losses, the profligates surrendered their wall and left the battle-ground. In this operation, Thābit, a page of al-Muwaffaq who had been one of the most illustrious commanders among the pages, was struck by an arrow in the stomach and died. Al-Muwaffaq's troops succeeded in seizing the walls of the rebels; they burned down all the ballistas, catapults, and Nāwukiyyah bows, and then, evacuating that sector, they withdrew.

Abū al-'Abbās with his men and cavalry had moved toward the canal known as Nahr Munkā, when they came upon 'Alī b. Abān al-Muhallabī and his troops. The enemy had come out to oppose them and push them back from their objective. Abū al-'Abbās charged 'Alī and routed him, killing a great many of his troops; but al-Muhallabī escaped. Abū al-'Abbās reached the spot from which he thought he might penetrate the city of the abominable one on the lower part of the Munkā Canal. He believed that the entrance into the city from this approach would
[2005] be easy, but when he entered the trench he found it wide and impeding. However, he urged his men on and they crossed —the horsemen on their horses and the infantry by swimming—until they reached the wall, where he made a breach

wide enough to enable them to get through. The first group to penetrate came upon Sulaymān b. Jāmi' who had come to defend this sector as soon as he learned that al-Muhallabī had fled. The government troops fought him. Ten pages of al-Muwaffaq who were in front of the men, repelled Sulaymān and his force, though there were many of them. They turned the enemy aside many times, defending their comrades until they withdrew to their positions.

Muḥammad b. Ḥammād reported: When al-Muwaffaq's troops seized the position that the profligate had entrusted to his son and his aforementioned men and officers, they scattered from the wall, as best they could, those who rushed them. Then the special demolition detachment arrived with tools and implements, and made a number of breaches in the wall. Al-Muwaffaq had prepared a special pontoon bridge to span the trench of the profligates. The bridge was set in place and all the people passed over it. Seeing this, the abominable ones became terrified and fled from a second wall to which they had been holding fast. Al-Muwaffaq's troops entered the city of the perfidious one. The deviate and his supporters fled, with al-Muwaffaq's troops in pursuit. They killed whoever came within their reach, and continued their chase until they came to the canal known as Nahr Ibn Sim'ān. The residence of Ibn Sim'ān fell to al-Muwaffaq's men, who burned everything in it and demolished it. The deviates held their position for a long time at Nahr Ibn Sim'ān, putting up stubborn resistance. [2006] One of al-Muwaffaq's pages pressed hard towards 'Alī b. Abān al-Muhallabī and seized him by his cloak, but the latter disentangled himself, slipped out of the cloak which he flung at the page and narrowly escaped death. Al-Muwaffaq's troops charged the Zanj gallantly and forced them from Nahr Ibn Sim'ān, reaching the fringe of the profligate's review ground. When the abominable one heard that his troops had been routed and that al-Muwaffaq's force had penetrated into the outskirts of his city, he took to his mount together with his men; but here, on the fringe of the review ground, the troops of al-Muwaffaq came upon them and recognized them. They charged him, and dispersed his troops and others who were with him, separating him and leaving him isolated. One of the

infantry got so close to the rebel that he struck the head of his horse with his shield. It was already sunset, and al-Muwaffaq ordered his men to return to their ships. They returned safely, carrying along a great many heads of slain rebels after having killed and wounded at random, and after having put (the enemy's) houses and markets to the torch. At the beginning of that day, a group of officers and horsemen of the deviate surrendered to Abū al-'Abbās, and he now had to transport them by boat. When night fell, a strong northern wind stirred, and the ebb tide became more pronounced causing most of the ships to be stuck in the mud. The abominable one urged his supporters on, encouraging them to act, and a group of them set out to attack some of the various vessels that remained behind. They seized them, killing some of the troops in them. Bahbūdh, who had been facing Masrūr al-Balkhī and his troops at Nahr al-Gharbī that day, attacked him, killing a number of his men,
[2007] seizing captives as well as some of their animals. This broke the fighting spirit of al-Muwaffaq's men.

The same day, the abominable one brought all his barges out into the Tigris to fight against Rashīq, but Rashīq seized some of his ships; others, he sank and burned. The rest fled to the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal.

It is reported that on that day the profligate and his men were forced to disperse and flee at random to the al-Amīr, and to al-Qindal, Abrusān, 'Abbādān and the other villages. On that day two brothers of Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Sha'rānī, Muḥammad and 'Īsā, fled to the desert and remained there until word reached them that al-Muwaffaq's troops had withdrawn; only then did they return. A group of tribesmen who were at the profligate's camp also fled, and upon reaching al-Baṣrah, they sent a delegation to Abū Aḥmad seeking a guarantee of safe-conduct from him. Abū Aḥmad accepted this and sent out vessels to transport them to al-Muwaffaqiyyah. He ordered them clothed with robes of honor, gave them presents and provided them with allotments and a place to stay. Among those who surrendered was also one of the most illustrious commanders of the deviate, Rayḥān b. Sāliḥ al-Maghribī, a man of leadership and authority, who held the chamberlain's office for the son of the abominable one, that is, the son called Ankalayh.

Rayḥān applied in writing for his own safety and for the safety of a group of his men. This he was granted, and a large number of barges, galleys and ferries were sent out to him with Zīrak, the officer who commanded the vanguard of Abū al-'Abbās. Zīrak sailed along the canal known as Nahr al-Yahūdī, and reached the place known as al-Muṭṭawi'ah where he encoun- [2008] tered Rayḥān and his men. This was the place where Zīrak had formerly arranged for them to meet. Zīrak escorted them to al-Muwaffaq's quarters, and robes of honor were ordered for Rayḥān. He was also presented with a number of horses and full equipment, and was assigned a generous yearly pension. His men also were clothed with robes of honor and allotted pensions according to their ranks; then they were assigned to Abū al-'Abbās and he ordered them transported to a position facing the palace of the abominable one. They were posted in a ship there and the abominable one's men thus learned about Rayḥān's desertion and that of his men, and about the kind reception they had been accorded.

Immediately, other troops of Rayḥān who had remained behind in the camp of the abominable one, as well as many others, surrendered. They were treated with the same generosity and kindness as their comrades. Rayḥān's desertion took place after the skirmish which occurred on Sunday, the twenty-eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 267 (July 30, 881).

In this year Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Khujustānī, so he asserted, set out for Iraq. He reached Simnān[92] and learned that the people of al-Rayy had entrenched themselves against him and fortified their city. Then he withdrew from Simnān and returned to Khurāsān.

At the beginning of the year, a great many people turned back while en route to Mecca due to the oppressive heat. A large number who continued their journey died because of the heat and thirst. Also in this year, the Fazārah fell upon the merchants and, reportedly, seized seven hundred loads of cloth.

In this year, at the pilgrims' station in Mecca, an agent ('*āmil*) of Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn with his horsemen, and an agent of [2009] 'Amr b. al-Layth with his horsemen, arrived simultaneously.

92. A town in the Qūmis region. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 360.

Each of them claimed his master's right to plant his flag to the right side of the pulpit in the Mosque of Ibrāhīm Khalīl al-Raḥmān,[93] since each claimed that the rights of guardianship belonged to his patron. They brandished their swords and most of the people fled the mosque. The Zanj clients of Hārūn b. Muḥammad backed the agent of 'Amr b. al-Layth, and he was able to do as he wished. Hārūn, who was governor of Mecca, cut his sermon short and the people were saved from harm. The one called Abū al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī was then in charge of maintaining security in the congregation.

Also in this year al-Ṭibā' was expelled from Sāmarrā.

Also in this year, al-Khujustānī minted dīnārs and dirhams, each dīnār being ten dāniqs in weight and each dirham, eight. The legend ran, "Rule and Power are with God. He is the Lord of strength and might. There is no God but God, and Muḥammad is the messenger of God." Next to it was written, "The one who relies upon God dwells in happiness and prosperity;" the other side read, "The Faithful, Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh."

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā al-Hāshimī.

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93. That is Abraham, the patriarch.

The Events of the Year 268

(August 1, 881–July 20, 882)

On Tuesday, the first day of al-Muḥarram (August 12, 881), Ja'far b. al-Ibrāhīm, who was known as al-Sajjān, sought safe-conduct from Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq. It is mentioned that [2010] the reason for this was Abū Aḥmad's battle at the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 267 (July 3-31, 881), to which we have referred above, as well as the flight of Rayḥān b. Ṣāliḥ al-Maghribī and his men from the camp of the deviate, and their linking up with Abū Aḥmad. The abominable one became completely discouraged at this; al-Sajjān was, reportedly, one of his trustworthy associates.

Abū Aḥmad conferred on this al-Sajjān robes of honor, various gifts, as well as a military allotment, and a place of lodging. Al-Sajjān was assigned to Abū al-'Abbās, who was ordered to transport him in a barge to a position in front of the abominable one's fortress so his (former) compatriots could see him. Al-Sajjān addressed them and told them that they were misled by the abominable one; he informed them what he had experienced because of the latter's lies and immoral behavior. The same day that al-Sajjān was placed in front of the abominable

one's camp, a great many Zanj officers and others sought guarantees of safety; all of them were treated kindly. One after another the enemy sought safety and abandoned the abominable one.

After that battle which I have mentioned as having taken place on the last day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year (2)67 (July 31, 881), Abū Aḥmad did not cross over to fight the abominable one, thus giving his troops a respite until the month of Rabī' II (November 9–December 7, 881).

In this year, 'Amr b. al-Layth went to Fārs to fight Muḥammad b. al-Layth, his own governor in this province. 'Amr routed Muḥammad b. al-Layth and auctioned off the spoils of his camp; the latter escaped with a small group of his men. 'Amr entered Iṣṭakhr, which was looted by his troops, and then sent a force to chase after Muḥammad b. al-Layth. They seized him, and then delivered him to 'Amr, a prisoner. Thereupon, 'Amr went to Shīrāz where he remained.

On the eighth of Rabī' I, 268 (Monday, October 10, 881) an
[2011] earthquake shook Baghdad. This was followed by a heavy rain which lasted for three days. Four thunderstorms hit the city.

In this year, al-'Abbās b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn marched to fight his father, who went out to meet him at Alexandria. Aḥmad seized him and they returned together to Miṣr.

On the fifteenth of Rabī' II (Nov. 23, 881), Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq crossed over to the city of the rebel. This took place after Abū Aḥmad had weakened the rebel by carrying out severe actions against him. He blockaded his city, and cut off his food supplies, so that a great many of the rebel's troops sought guarantees of safe-conduct. He was able to accomplish this because he was positioned at his city, al-Muwaffaqiyyah.

When he decided to cross over to the enemy's city, Abū Aḥmad, reportedly, instructed his son Abū al-'Abbās to go to that section of the city's fortification, where the abominable one had entrusted the defenses to his son and his most stalwart troops and officers. Abū Aḥmad himself made for the section of the wall between the canals known as Nahr Munkā and Nahr Ibn Sim'ān. He ordered Sa'īd, his wazīr, to go to the mouth of the canal known as Nahr Juwway Kūr with Zīrak at his flank, then he ordered Masrūr al-Balkhī to go to the Nahr al-Gharbī.

He assigned each of them a team of sappers to demolish the walls facing them, but at the same time, he instructed them not to carry out excessive demolition work, and not to enter the abominable one's city. To every area where he sent his commanders, Abū Aḥmad also assigned barges with archers. He instructed them to use their arrows to protect the sappers and the infantry from the Zanj. Many breaches were made in the walls and Abū Aḥmad's troops poured through all of them into the rebel's city. The men of the abominable one came to do [2012] combat, but Abū Aḥmad's troops routed them. The government force followed on their heels, pursuing them into the city, where the diverging roads, streets and ravines forced them to split up and separate. Setting fires and killing, Abū Aḥmad's men penetrated further than previously.

But the abominable one's men counterattacked and pressed Abū Aḥmad's troops. Their ambushers emerged from prepared positions which the others had not known, and thus Abū Aḥmad's men who were inside the city were caught unaware. Defending themselves, they retreated toward the Tigris; most of them reached the river. Some of them boarded vessels, others threw themselves into the water and were picked up by the men of the barges, and some of them were killed. The abominable one's troops captured arms and (other) booty.

A detachment of Abū Aḥmad's pages made a stand near the residence of Ibn Sim'ān. Among them were Rashīd, Mūsā, the son of Mufliḥ's sister, and a group of officers. They were the last of the troops to stand fast. The Zanj surrounded them, and with a superior force, they stood between them and the barges. However, the government troops defended themselves and their men and fought their way back to the barges, upon which they embarked. Some thirty pages from Daylam stood facing the Zanj and their allies, covering the retreating forces and assuring their safety. These thirty Daylamites were killed to the last man, after taking as many of the rebels as they could. The government troops were very grieved by the losses they had suffered in this battle, as Abū Aḥmad returned with his men to his city al-Muwaffaqiyyah. He assembled all his men and censured them for disobeying his instruction without consulting him about his plan and how to execute it. He threatened them [2013]

with the most severe punishment if they disregarded his orders again. Then he ordered a count of the missing of his troops, and when this was done and their names presented to him, Abū Aḥmad made arrangement so that what was due the missing would be transferred to their children and families. When the men saw his care for the heirs of those who had perished in his service, they were favorably impressed. They respected him all the more, and their good faith increased.

In this year Abū al-'Abbās fought and exterminated a band of tribesmen who were smuggling provisions to the profligate.

The Battle against the Tribesmen

It is said that when the abominable one had devastated al-Baṣrah, he appointed Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Sa'īd, the one called al-Qalūṣ, one of his earliest companions, as governor of the city. While al-Qalūṣ conducted the affairs of al-Baṣrah, it became the profligate's port. The tribesmen and merchants travelled to the city and carried off provisions and merchandise, which they then transferred to the camp of the abominable one. This lasted until Abū Aḥmad conquered Ṭahīthā and al-Qalūṣ was captured. Then, the abominable one appointed Mālik b. Bishrān, the son of al-Qalūṣ's sister, to govern al-Baṣrah and its surroundings. When now, Abū Aḥmad descended upon Furāt al- Baṣrah, the rebel feared that Abū Aḥmad would attack this Mālik—he was at the time stationed at Sayḥān[94] on the canal known as Nahr Ibn 'Utbah. He thus wrote to Mālik instructing him to transfer his camp to the canal known as Nahr al-Dīnārī, and to dispatch a detachment of his men to catch fish and to deliver the catch to his, that is, the abominable one's camp. He ordered him to send another group to the road which the tribesmen took from the desert, and to learn whether any of them
[2014] were carrying provisions. In case a party of tribesmen with provisions was encountered, the instructions were to go to them and to deliver their provisions to the abominable one.

94. Not to be confused with the town of that name located in Bilād al-Rūm. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 131. I have not found any reference to a Sayḥān in the vicinity of the battles.

Complying with these instructions, Mālik, the nephew of al-Qalūṣ, sent two inhabitants to the Great Swamp from the village Basmā.[95] One of them was al-Rayyān, the other al-Khalīl; both were staying in the camp of the abominable one. Al-Khalīl and al-Rayyān set out and gathered a band of people from the Ṭaff[96] and went to Basmā. They remained there, transporting catches of fish, one catch at a time. The fish were shipped from the Great Swamp,[97] to the abominable one's camp. They used small skiffs which could pass through the narrow canals and small waterways (*al-arkhanjān*),[98] which no barge or galley could traverse. As long as the two men stayed in the aforementioned place, a constant supply of fish moved from the Great Swamp to the abominable one's camp. Also reaching him were the provisions and other supplies brought by the tribesmen by way of the desert. This was sufficient for his army. In this way the situation of the people of his camp was eased. This continued on until 'Alī b. 'Umar, who was known as al-Nazzāb— he was one of the rebel's men who had been posted with al-Qalūṣ—sought safe-conduct with al-Muwaffaq and reported to him about Mālik b. Bishrān. He told him of Mālik's position on the Dīnārī Canal, how the latter supplied the abominable one's camp with fish from the Great Swamp, and of the deliveries by the tribesmen.

Al-Muwaffaq directed his mawlā Zīrak to take barges and galleys to the location where al-Qalūṣ's nephew was situated, whereupon Zīrak pounced upon him and his men. Zīrak killed some of them and captured others. The rest scattered, leaving Mālik, who fled and returned to the abominable one. The latter sent him back with a force to the lower part of the canal [2015] known as Nahr al-Yahūdī. Mālik then camped there, at a spot close to the canal known as Nahr al-Fayyāḍ, and as a result provisions from the area adjacent to the marshes of the Fayyāḍ again were arriving at the abominable one's camp.

When word reached al-Muwaffaq that Mālik was stationed

95. See above, n. 1.

96. For the Ṭaff region of the Euphrates, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 539.

97. The Great Swamp was famous for its fish which were easily caught. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 43.

98. For *al-arkhanjān*, see Ṭabarī, *Introductio et al*, CXI.

at the lower part of the Yahūdī Canal and that provisions from that sector were reaching the rebel's camp, he instructed his son Abū al-'Abbās to go to the Nahr al-Amīr and the canal called Nahr al-Fayyāḍ to verify the report which had reached him. The troops marched out and came upon a band of tribesmen under the command of an officer who was conveying camels, sheep, and other food-stuff from the desert. Abū al-'Abbās attacked, killing some of them and taking the rest prisoner. Only their leader escaped, for he was riding a fast mare. All the camels, sheep, and food which these tribesmen were conveying were seized. Abū al-'Abbās cut off a hand of one of the captives and let him go, whereupon the man arrived at the abominable one's camp and brought to him the news of what had befallen him. Abū al-'Abbās's attack on these tribesmen so terrified Mālik, the nephew of al-Qalūṣ, that he sought a guarantee of safe-conduct from Abū Aḥmad. He was granted protection, and gifts were bestowed upon him. Mālik was also given robes of honor and assigned to Abū al-'Abbās. In addition he received a military allotment and lodging.

In place of Mālik, the abominable one appointed one of al-Qalūṣ's companions, Aḥmad b. al-Junayd, and he instructed him to camp at the place known as Dahrshīr, and at the lower part of Nahr Abū al-Khaṣīb. Aḥmad was to proceed with his
[2016] men to a place from where he could procure the fish from the Great Swamp and then transport it to the camp of the abominable one.

A report about Aḥmad b. al-Junayd reached Abū Aḥmad who sent one of his mawlā commanders, called al-Tarmudān, with a body of troops. This force encamped on the island known as al-Rūḥiyyah, whereupon the supply of fish from the Great Swamp to the camp of the abominable one was cut off. Al-Muwaffaq also directed Shibāb b. al-'Alā' and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, both 'Anbarīs, to take cavalry and prevent the tribesmen from transporting food to the camp of the abominable one. He gave further instructions that the market of al-Baṣrah be opened to the tribesmen so that they could transport the dates they wanted to sell to that market, since the desire for profit was what had induced them to journey to the abominable one's camp.

Now, Shihāb and Muḥammad proceeded as instructed, and stationed themselves at Qaṣr 'Īsā.[99] The tribesmen brought them the dates they had taken from the desert and began selling them on behalf of the two officers. Abū Aḥmad then dismissed al-Tarmudān from al-Baṣrah, replacing him with one of his Farghānī officers, a man called Qayṣar b. Urkhūz Ikhshādh Farghānah. He also sent out Nuṣayr, the one called Abū Ḥamzah, with barges and galleys, ordering him to position himself at Fayḍ al-Baṣrah[100] and Nahr Dubays. In addition, he was to penetrate to the Ubullah, Ma'qil and Gharbī canals. He carried out these orders.

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan———Muḥammad b. Ḥammād: When Nuṣayr and Qayṣar were positioned at al-Baṣrah, they used barges to cut the flow of provisions to the abominable one and his supporters. That is, they cut off those provisions which had been brought from the Great Swamp and the sea. The rebels therefore devised a scheme by which they travelled the Nahr al-Amīr to al-Qindal, then the Masīḥī Canal to [2017]
the roads leading to the hinterland and the sea. In this way, their provisions came by sea and land, as did their supplies of sea fish.

When word of this reached al-Muwaffaq, he instructed Rashīq, Abū al-'Abbās's page, to establish a camp at Jawwīth Bārūbah, east of the Tigris, in front of Nahr al-Amīr. He also ordered him to dig and fortify a trench. In addition, he instructed Abū al-'Abbās to assign to Rashīq five thousand of his best men and thirty barges. Al-Muwaffaq then ordered Rashīq to position these barges at the mouth of the Amīr Canal and to establish a patrol of fifteen barges with which to penetrate the waterway up to the intersection by which the Zanj were passing to Dubbā, al-Qindal and the canal known as Nahr al-Masīḥī. The patrols were to remain there, and if any of the abominable ones (men) were to appear, the government troops were to attack them. After the patrol was completed, they

99. Not to be confused with the famous Qaṣr 'Īsā in Baghdad. See Lassner, *Topography*, index, 321. I have not succeeded in identifying a Qaṣr 'Īsā in the region of the battles.

100. The fayḍ (Estuary of) al-Baṣrah is identical with the Blind Tigris. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 43.

withdrew immediately, to be replaced by the other patrol waiting at the mouth of the canal. They acted according to these instructions. Rashīq camped at the place to which he was ordered and the routes the rebels used to pass to Dubbā, al-Qindal and the Masīḥī Canal were seized. Thus, the enemy no longer had access to the hinterland or the sea; the rebels' sphere of operation narrowed and the blockade became more severe.

In this year, the brother of Sharkab attacked al-Khujustānī and seized his mother, and Ibn Shabath b. al-Ḥasan rebelled and captured 'Umar b. Sīmā, governor of Ḥulwān.

[2018] In this year, Aḥmad b. Abī al-Aṣbagh left 'Amr b. al-Layth. The latter had sent him to Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf carrying funds. 'Amr sent on what was demanded of him: more than three hundred thousand dīnārs and gifts, among them fifty manns[101] of musk, fifty manns of saffron, two hundred manns of aloes, three hundred embroidered and other garments, gold and silver vessels, and two hundred thousand dīnārs worth of animals and slaves. The total value of what he sent in gifts amounted to five hundred thousand dīnārs.

In this year, Kayghalagh appointed al-Khalīl Rīmāl governor of Ḥulwān. The new governor treated the rebels harshly on account of 'Umar b. Sīmā and the crime commited by Ibn Shabath. They guaranteed Ibn Sīmā's release and set right the business concerning Ibn Shabath.

In this year, Rashīq, the page of Abū al-'Abbās b. al-Muwaffaq, attacked a band of the Banū Tamīm who had cooperated with the Zanj when the latter had occupied and burned al-Baṣrah. The reason for this was as follows. Word reached Abū al-'Abbās that some of these tribesmen were bringing provisions, such as wheat, camels and sheep from the hinterland to the abominable one's city. It was also indicated that they were in the lower part of the Amīr Canal, expecting ships which were to come to them from the lower part of the rebel's camp in order to transport them and their goods. Rashīq set out with

101. One *mann* = 2 *raṭl*, according to the established legal weight. In reality, the *mann* varied in different places and in different periods. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 16 ff.; also, see below, nn. 109, 127.

his barges and came upon them at the place where they had stopped, that is, the canal known as Nahr al-Isḥāqī.[102] He attacked them, taking them unawares. He killed most of them, and took a group prisoner—there were merchants who had left the camp of the abominable one in order to bring the provi- [2019]
sions. Rashīq seized all kinds of provisions from them, as well as the water buffalos, camels and asses which they used to transport them. He then sent the prisoners and heads (of the slain) in his barges and vessels to al-Muwaffaqiyyah. On al-Muwaffaq's order, the heads were fastened on the barges and the prisoners hung for display so that everyone could see the success of Rashīq and his men. As a result they were paraded throughout the camp. Following this the order was given, and the heads and captives were taken past the camp of the abominable one so that those in the camp might know about Rashīq and his attack on those who bring provisions to them. Among those seized by Rashīq was one of the tribesmen who used to travel between the leader of the Zanj and the tribesmen, negotiating the supply of provisions. Al-Muwaffaq had one of the man's hands and feet cut off; then he was thrown into the abominable one's camp. The command was given to behead the captives and it was carried out. All that Rashīq's troops had obtained was placed at their disposal. The order was given for Rashīq to receive robes of honor and presents, and return to his camp. The number of troops seeking safe-conduct from Rashīq increased, and on the instructions of Abū Aḥmad, all of them were assigned to the former's command. Their numbers grew to the point that his base had become as crowded as any of the largest camps. Supplies to the abominable one and his men were cut off from all directions, as all roads to them were blocked. The blockade hit them hard, and weakened them physically. The captives and deserters among them were asked when they had last seen bread. Surprised, they would say they had not seen bread for a year or two. [2020]

102. This does not seem to be the Isḥāqī Canal which flowed near Sāmarrā. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 52. I have not succeeded in identifying a canal of this name in the region of the battles.

With the troops of the perfidious one reaching this condition, al-Muwaffaq decided to resume attacking them in order to aggravate their injured state and fatigue. At this time, great throngs came to Abū Aḥmad, seeking guarantees of safe-conduct. Those who remained in the lines of the profligate had to resort to devious schemes by which to obtain their daily nourishment. They would scatter about villages and canals that were distant from their camp to look for food. When news of this reached Abū Aḥmad, he instructed a group of commanders and officers from the ranks (*ʿarīf*) drawn from among his black pages to go to the places frequented by the Zanj. They were to try and win their confidence, and ask for their loyalty. Any one among the Zanj who refused was to be killed, and his head delivered to Abū Aḥmad. He offered them a reward so that they became zealous in executing their duty by day and night. Not a day passed without a group coming over to them, or without the heads of slain being delivered, or prisoners taken.

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan———Muḥammad b. Ḥammād: When the number of the Zanj prisoners in al-Muwaffaq's camp became great, he ordered a review of them. Whosoever was strong, stalwart, and able to carry arms, he favored with kindness. He integrated them with black pages causing them to take cognizance of his generosity. Those who were feeble and infirm, or worn out, or aged and unable to bear arms, or disabled by wounds, were each given two garments, some dirhams and food. They were then transported back to the camp of the abominable one, where they were left after being instructed to describe al-Muwaffaq's kind treatment to all who came to him. They were also instructed to say that he intended to offer the same treatment to anyone seeking safety
[2021] with him or falling into his hands.

By these measures al-Muwaffaq succeeded in attaining his goal of causing the troops of the Zanj leader to become preoccupied with coming over to him, and making peace and offering their allegiance. Time and again, al-Muwaffaq and his son Abū al-ʿAbbās began to lead their troops in person while engaging the abominable one and his men in combat. They killed, captured, and inflicted many casualties. In one of these skir-

mishes, Abū al-'Abbās was hit and wounded by an arrow.[103] However, he recovered from this wound.

In Rajab of this year (January 25–February 23, 882), Bahbūdh, the companion of the abominable one, was killed.

How Bahbūdh Was Slain

It is reported that among the companions of the profligate, Bahbūdh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb was the one who held the record for the most raids, and was the most successful in cutting the highways and expropriating money. He had amassed a great fortune in this way. Frequently he would go out with his swift galleys, passing through the canals leading to the Tigris. If he would come upon a vessel belonging to the troops of al-Muwaffaq, he would seize it and bring it into the canal from which he had emerged. If someone pursued him for a long way, a specially prepared detachment of his men would emerge from the canal, cutting off the enemy and attacking him. Since this occurred quite often, and people were becoming more careful, he began riding in a barge which he made to resemble the barges of al-Muwaffaq, planting on it flags similar to those of the latter. He would go with this vessel to the Tigris, and if he took the government troops by surprise, he would attack, killing and taking prisoners. He would also penetrate the Ubullah, Ma'qil, Bathq Shīrīn, and Dayr canals; whereupon, he would cut the roads and waylay travellers, taking their money and lives.

When information about all these actions of Bahbūdh [2022] reached al-Muwaffaq, he decided to block all the canals which lent themselves to this movement and place barges at the mouths of the large canals to secure them from the actions of Bahbūdh and his accomplices. In addition, he would make the roads and highways safe for the people.

Thus, when the routes were placed under guard, and those canals which could be blocked had been blocked, and when Bahbūdh's freedom to maneuver was thus curtailed, he stayed

103. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 142 ff.

waiting for an opportunity to exploit the carelessness of the barge crews which were entrusted with (securing) the mouth of the Nahr al-Ubullah. He waited until such a chance presented itself, and then he slipped through from the lower part of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal with his barges and galleys resembling those of al-Muwaffaq's forces, as they hoisted similar flags. He manned his flotilla with his strongest, boldest and most courageous troops, and he led it from the lower part of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal into an intersecting waterway, leading to the Yahūdī and from there to the Nāfidh. When he finally reached the Ubullah, he came upon barges and galleys that had been arrayed to safeguard the canal. The crews of the barges were completely unaware and unprepared. Bahbūdh attacked, killing some and capturing others, while six barges were seized. Following this, he retreated along the Ubullah Canal.

When news about Bahbūdh reached al-Muwaffaq, he instructed Abū al-ʿAbbās to set out against him with barges from the canal known as Nahr al-Yahūdī. He hoped that his son would beat Bahbūdh to the intersecting canal, cutting the rebel's escape route. Abū al-ʿAbbās reached the place called al-Muṭṭawwiʿah but Bahbūdh had beaten him to it and entered the canal called Nahr al-Saʿīdī, which led to Nahr Abū al-Khaṣīb.

Abū al-ʿAbbās caught sight of Bahbūdh's barges and, eagerly desiring to reach them, he increased his speed, coming abreast with the enemy. They engaged in a fight in which Abū al-ʿAb-
[2023] bās killed a number of Bahbūdh's men while taking others prisoner. One contingent asked Abū al-ʿAbbās for safety but a great many of Bahbūdh's force stood by the Zanjid, steadfastly protecting him. Since all this took place when the water level tended to be low, the government barges ran into the mud in those sections of the canals and junctions where the water was receding. Bahbūdh and the rest of his men thus escaped by the skin of their teeth.

Al-Muwaffaq continued to besiege the abominable one and his men, blocking his supply lines; the number of those seeking safe-conduct from the government increased. Al-Muwaffaq saw to it that all of them were accorded robes of honor and

presents, and paraded on excellent horses with saddles, bridles, and other equipment. In addition military allotments were issued to them.

Reports reached al-Muwaffaq afterwards that want and misery had impelled a party of the abominable one's men to scatter about the villages in search of food, such as fish and dates. So, he ordered his son Abū al-ʿAbbās to hurry to these villages and places with his barges, galleys, and his swift skiffs. He was to take his strongest, most courageous and steadfast men and intercept those people, thus preventing their return to the city of the leader of the Zanj. Abū al-ʿAbbās set forth to carry out these orders.

The abominable one learned about this expedition of Abū al-ʿAbbās against him, and he instructed Bahbūdh to set out with his men in secret along the intersections and deserted canals as far as al-Qindal, Abrusān and the surrounding areas. As instructed by the abominable one, Bahbūdh went out to his destination with a Zanj detachment, but blocking his way was one of Abū al-ʿAbbās's galleys filled with archers drawn from [2024] his pages. Bahbūdh was eager to get the galley and went after it. Its defenders gave battle, and one of the black pages of the galley thrust at Bahbūdh with his lance and hit him in the stomach. Bahbūdh fell into the water, but his men ran and picked him up. They fled carrying him to the camp of the abominable one. God had taken his life, however, before they reached the camp.

The profligate and his leading men were overwhelmed by this loss, and their grief increased because of it. Bahbūdh's death was one of Abū Aḥmad's greatest victories, but he was unaware of his end until one of the sailors surrendering to him told him the news. Abū Aḥmad rejoiced with this report and ordered the page who had killed Bahbūdh brought to him. He was presented to Abū Aḥmad, who gave him presents, raiment and a neck ring, as well as an increase in his allotment. All the others in that galley were presented with special gifts, robes of honor, and other presents.

In this year, the month of Ramaḍān (March 25–April 23, 882) began on a Sunday. The second Sunday of Ramaḍān was

Palm Sunday, the third Sunday was Easter, the fourth was Nayrūz,[104] and the fifth was the last day of the month.

In this year, Abū Aḥmad captured al-Dhawā'ibī—he had been collaborating with the leader of the Zanj.

In this year, a battle took place between Yadkūtakīn b. Asātakīn and Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.[105] Yadkūtakīn routed the latter and took Qumm from him.

In this year, 'Amr b. al-Layth, on the order of Abū Aḥmad, sent an officer to capture Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Azārmard al-Kurdi.[106] The officer captured him and delivered him to 'Amr.

[2025] In Dhū al-Qa'dah of this year (May 23–June 21, 882), one of the descendants of 'Abd al-Mālik b. Ṣāliḥ al-Hāshimī—he was called Bakkār—revolted in Syria (in the region) between Salamyah, Aleppo and Homs. He called upon the people to pledge allegiance to Abū Aḥmad, but Ibn 'Abbās al Kilābī fought against him and was routed. Then, Lu'lu', Ibn Ṭūlūn's companion, sent a general called Būdan against him with a vast army, but on his return he scarcely had one soldier left.

In this year, Lu'lu' declared his revolt against Ibn Ṭūlūn.

In this year, the leader of the Zanj killed Ibn Mālik the Zanjid because word reached him that the latter intended to join Abū Aḥmad.

In this year, Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Khujustānī was killed. He was killed by a page of his in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (June 22–July 20, 882).

In this year, the troops of Ibn Abī al-Sāj killed Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥabīb al-Yashkarī,[107] in a village near Wāsiṭ. His head was displayed in Baghdad.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr fought against 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Kuftimur and captured him, but he subsequently set him free. This was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (June 22–July 20, 882).

In this year, the 'Alid, known as al-Ḥarūn, was imprisoned. The reason for this was that he had intercepted and seized a

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104. That is, the Persian New Year also known as Nawrūz.
105. That is, the son of Abū Dulaf.
106. See Ṭabarī, III/3, 1908 ff.
107. Ibid., 1920 ff.

dispatch case containing a report on the state of the pilgrimage. The deputy of Ibn Abī al-Sāj sent his men out to the Mecca Road and they seized al-Ḥarūn and delivered him to al-Muwaffaq. [2026]

In this year, Abū al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī marched on Mecca, where Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Hāshimī was governor. Hārūn rallied an army of about two thousand men, and with their help he thwarted al-Makhzūmī. The latter now turned toward 'Ayn Mushāsh[108] and spoiled its well. From there, he went to Jidda, looted its food, and burned down its houses. The price of bread in Mecca rose to a dirham for two *ūqiyah*.[109]

In this year Ibn Ṣaqlabiyyah, the emperor of the Byzantines, took the field and besieged Malaṭyah, but the people of Mar'ash and al-Ḥadath[110] assisted the people of Malaṭyah, and routed the emperor, chasing him up to al-Sarī'.

Khalaf al-Farghānī, the governor of Ibn Ṭūlūn, conducted the annual summer expedition along the Syrian frontier. He killed some ten thousand Greeks and took booty. The share for each participant in the raid reached forty dīnārs.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Hāshimī; Ibn Abī al-Sāj was in charge of security and safety on the road.

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108. This well provided Mecca with a major part of its drinking water. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 536.

109. One *ūqiyah* = 1/12 of a *raṭl*. At this time in history, it would have been about 125 gr. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 34–35; also, see above, n. 101, and below, n. 127.

110. Mar'ash was situated on the Syrian border; al-Ḥadath was a fortress nearby. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 122.

The Events of the Year 269

(July 21, 882–August 9, 883)

Among the events, the 'Alid known as al-Ḥarūn was brought into the camp of Abū Aḥmad in al-Muḥarram (July 21–August 19, 882). He was carried on a camel, wearing a brocade cloak (*qabā'*), and a tall hat (*qalansuwah*). He was then transported in a barge to a position where the leader of the Zanj could see him and hear the speech of the messengers.

[2027] In al-Muḥarram of this year, the tribesmen waylaid and plundered a caravan of pilgrims between Tūz and Sumayrā'.[111] They seized some five thousand camels with their loads and abducted many people.

On the fourteenth night of al-Muḥarram (Wednesday, August 1, 882), a total eclipse of the moon took place. On the twenty-eighth of the same month (August 17, 882)—which was a Friday—at sunset, there was a total eclipse of the sun. Thus, in the month of al-Muḥarram, the eclipse of both sun and moon took place.

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111. Two places situated along the pilgrimmage route. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 893.

In Ṣafar of this year (August 20–September 17, 882), the mob attacked Ibrāhīm al-Khalījī and plundered his house in Baghdad. The reason for this was that one of his servants had shot a woman with an arrow and killed her. Al-Khalījī implored the authorities for protection but when they recommended that he deliver the servant, he refused. His servants shot at the people, killing some and wounding others, among them two police officers. Ibrāhīm then fled, but his servants were seized and his house and stables were plundered. Muḥammad, the son of 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, who was stationed at the Main Bridge for his father,[112] gathered the animals and anything else he could of Ibrāhīm's plundered property. He did this because 'Ubaydallāh had instructed him to deliver all these things to Ibrāhīm. He confirmed the fact that all these things were returned.

In this year, having reached al-Ṭā'if in the course of his withdrawal from Mecca, Ibn Abī al-Sāj dispatched a force to Jidda which seized two boats of al-Makhzūmī loaded with both money and weapons.

In this year, Rūmī b. Khashanaj seized three Farghānī officers, one of them was named Ṣadīq, the other Ṭakhshā, and the third Tughān, and put them in chains. Ṣadīq was wounded but he escaped. [2028]

In Rabī' I of this year (September 18–October 17, 882), Khalaf, the companion of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn and his governor for the Syrian frontier, attacked Yāzamān al- Khādim, the mawlā of al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān, and imprisoned him. A group of inhabitants from the frontier fell upon Khalaf and rescued Yāzamān; whereupon, the former fled and the people withdrew their allegiance from Ibn Ṭūlūn and cursed him from the pulpits. When this reached Ibn Ṭūlūn he left Egypt for Damascus, and from there he went to the Syrian frontier, stopping in Adhanah. In the meanwhile, Yāzamān and the inhabitants of Ṭarsūs dammed all the flood-gates of the city except for the Bāb al-Jihād and the Bāb al-Baḥr.[113] The water then overflowed near

112. That is, at the headquarters of the *ṣaḥib al-shurṭah*, the prefect of police, who was in charge of security. See Lassner, *Topography*, 151.

113. These were two fortresses. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 131.

Adhanah and the surrounding area. They entrenched themselves in Ṭarsūs, while Ibn Ṭūlūn positioned himself in Adhanah for some time. Then he returned to Antioch, and from there he went to Homs and then on to Damascus where he remained.

In this year, Lu'lu', the page of Ibn Ṭūlūn, opposed his patron. At the outbreak of the dispute, Lu'lu' held Homs, Aleppo, Qinnasrīn and Diyar Muḍar. He went to Bālis[114] and looted the city, capturing Sa'īd and his brother, the sons of al-'Abbās al-Kilābī. Then, Lu'lu' corresponded with Abū Aḥmad about going over to the latter's side and breaking with Ibn Ṭūlūn. He stipulated certain conditions which Abū Aḥmad accepted.
[2029] Lu'lu', who was in al-Raqqah, left the city, taking with him a group of inhabitants from al-Rāfiqah[115] among others. They went to Qarqīsiyyā, where Ibn Ṣafwān al-'Uqaylī was stationed. Lu'lu' attacked Ibn Ṣafwān and seized the city which he turned over to Aḥmad b. Mālik b. Ṭawq. Ibn Ṣafwān fled and Lu'lu' set course for Baghdad.

In this year, an arrow shot by a Greek page of the abominable one—the page was called Qarṭās—hit Abū Aḥmad soon after he entered the abominable one's city in order to demolish its walls. The reason for this, according to reports, (is as follows). After the abominable Bahbūdh perished, the leader of the Zanj coveted the treasures and wealth which Bahbūdh had amassed. He had verified that his possessions amounted to two hundred thousand dīnārs, and jewels, gold and silver of great value. He used every strategem in searching for this, coveting it so much that he imprisoned all of Bahbūdh's leading men, relatives and companions. He flogged them, and ransacked house after house and destroyed building after building belonging to Bahbūdh, hoping to find anything buried there, but he found nothing.

That which he had done to Bahbūdh's leading men while

114. A town west of al-Raqqah, which was an important way station on the caravan route. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 107.

115. Raqqah-Rāfiqah was a composite city. The former was the private sector occupied by the civilian populace; the latter was the government sector that housed the local authority and garrison behind imposing walls. That is, al-Rāfiqah was an administrative center, al-Raqqah an integrated city.

searching for the wealth was one of the factors that turned the rebel's companions against him. It invited their anger, and caused them to shun the leader of the Zanj. Al-Muwaffaq gave orders to announce that he was offering safe-conduct to protect Bahbūdh's companions. When this was announced, they rushed to him gladly. They were then given favors, various gifts, robes of honor, and a military allotment according to their rank.

Abū Aḥmad observed that crossing to the camp of the rebel was difficult at those times when the winds stirred the waters [2030] of the Tigris. He therefore decided to prepare a place to serve as an encampment for himself and his troops on the western side of the Tigris between Dayr Jābil and Nahr al-Mughīrah. He gave the order to cut down the palm trees and (prepare) the ground for a defensive perimeter. It was to be surrounded by defensive trenches and fortified with walls to make it safe from night raids and unexpected assaults by the rebels. He set up shifts supervised by his officers. Everyone took his turn in going with the infantry and the laborers who were with them to work from early morning all through the day, preparing the camp which Abū Aḥmad had decided to establish there.

To counter this, the profligate also set up shifts with 'Alī b. Abān al-Muhallabī, Sulaymān b. Jāmi' and Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Hamadānī, each of them taking a shift for the day. The abominable one's son, the one known as Ankalāy, used to accompany Sulaymān every day of his shift, and he often did the same with Ibrāhīm. Later, the abominable one appointed Ankalāy instead of Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far, and Sulaymān b. Jāmi' accomanpanied the former. The abominable one then assigned Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Sha'rānī and his brothers to Ankalāy and they were constantly with him.

The abominable one knew that, given the terror of his men as the two armies came close, should al-Muwaffaq draw near to him during the fighting, the former would close the gap between himself and those seeking to flee to the government forces. With this, the rebel's position would collapse and all his [2031] preparations would be compromised. Therefore, he instructed his men to do combat with the government officers crossing every day, and to thwart their attempts to prepare the camp to

which the enemy wanted to transfer. On one of those days stormy winds broke out at a time when one of al-Muwaffaq's officers had crossed to the western side of the Tigris. The rebel, saw the captain isolated, cut off from his troops, and prevented from re-crossing by the stormy Tigris; he seized this opportunity to move against him with all his army, a group much larger than the government officer's contingent. The barges which had been assigned to the officer could not reach their assigned places because the wind tossed them against the rocks, and the crews feared their vessels would be torn apart. The Zanj overpowered this officer and his men, dislodging them from their positions. They overtook one detachment, and the government force stood fast and was killed to the very last man. The Zanj chased after another group which had fled to the water. They took prisoners and killed some men, but most of the enemy escaped. Reaching their ships they jumped in and crossed to al-Muwaffaqiyyah.

This success of the profligates caused much grief and became a matter of grave concern to the people of al-Muwaffaq's camp. Abū Aḥmad now thought that the plan of encamping on the western bank of the Tigris was unpromising and unsafe from the stratagems of the profligate and his men, who would always be able to raid by night or find some easy way to escape and gain a respite due to the many thickets of the terrain and the difficulty of passing through there. He realized that the Zanj were more able than his troops to pass those desolate
[2032] places and found it easier to do so. So he abandoned his plan of setting up camp on the western bank of the Tigris. He now set his goal at razing the walls of the profligate's city, and extending the roads and passes leading there for his troops. With that, he gave instructions to start with the demolition of the wall in the section adjacent to the canal known as Nahr Munkā.

To meet this threat the abominable one sent his son, the one known as Ankalāy, and 'Alī b. Abān and Sulaymān b. Jāmi' to prevent this. Each of them was to take his shift on the same day. Should the troops of al-Muwaffaq outnumber them, the three were to pool their forces jointly to repel the attackers. When al-Muwaffaq noticed the gathering of the abominable

ones and their joint-effort to prevent the demolition of the walls, he decided to take part in the action personally, thus inspiring his troops' greater dedication and zeal, and increasing their will to endure. This he did, and the battle was joined and became thick and heavy. Great losses in dead and wounded were suffered by both factions. Abū Aḥmad carried on against the profligates for several days without respite, but still his troops were unable to penetrate far into the positions of the abominable ones because of two bridges spanning the Munkā Canal. When the fighting seemed to reach its peak, the Zanj would pass over the bridges and take the road which led them to the rear of Abū Aḥmad's troops. They took their toll of the government force and diverted them from their goal of demolishing the walls.

Then, al-Muwaffaq sought a stratagem by which he would [2033] destroy these two bridges in order to block the profligates from the road they had taken in order to divert his troops when the fighting became intense. He instructed some of his officers from among the pages to go to these two bridges and lay in wait for the Zanj, with the intention of taking them by surprise when they became careless in their watch. He also ordered them to prepare pickaxes, saws and other tools which might be needed to destroy the two bridges and be helpful in speeding up the work. Acting upon these instructions, the pages set off and reached the Munkā Canal at midday, the Zanj appeared, and came forward, hastening to meet them. Among the Zanj hurrying toward them was Abū al-Nidā', with a party of more than five hundred men. Al-Muwaffaq's men and the Zanj force engaged in a battle which lasted until the turn of the day, when the pages of Abū Aḥmad overpowered the profligates, pushing them away from the two bridges. An arrow struck the one called Abū al-Nidā', in his chest. It pierced his heart and felled him. His soldiers shielded his body and carried it away, as they fled. The officers from al-Muwaffaq's pages were thus able to dismantle the two bridges. They cut the moorings and floated the pontoons to the Tigris while transporting the wooden planks to Abū Aḥmad. They returned safe and unharmed. The pages informed al-Muwaffaq of Abū al-Nidā''s death and the

dismantling of the bridges, whereupon al-Muwaffaq and the people of his camp became filled with joy. The archer who shot Abū al-Nidā', was granted a generous gift.

Now, Abū Aḥmad pressed the fight against the abominable one and his followers. They razed those sections of the wall where they could penetrate, while keeping the enemy preoccupied in their city in order to divert them from the defense of [2034] their wall. Thus they hastened its demolition. From the wall, they went to the residences of Ibn Sim'ān and Sulaymān b. Jāmi'. All these places fell to al-Muwaffaq's troops, the profligates being unable to defend them and stem the advance of al-Muwaffaq's men. These two residences were demolished and everything in them looted. Al-Muwaffaq's troops also reached one of the markets of the leader of the Zanj. The latter had established it on the bank of the Tigris and named it al-Maymūnah. Al-Muwaffaq ordered Zīrak, the commander of Abū al-'Abbās's vanguard, to set out for this market. The latter moved out with his troops, and went about the task before him. This market was subsequently levelled and laid waste.

Al-Muwaffaq now went to the residence which the leader of the Zanj had established for al-Jubbā'ī and demolished it. He plundered it as well as the adjacent stores of the profligate. Then, he instructed his men to set off for the spot where the abominable one had built a structure which he named the Friday Mosque. The profligates persevered in their defense of this place, as the abominable one had spurred them on imbuing them with the belief that it was incumbent upon them to defend the structure and glorify it. The Zanj believed these statements of his and obeyed his exhortations, so that it was very difficult for the men of al-Muwaffaq to reach their objective. The fight for this place lasted for days; at this point, only the staunchest, most heroic, and persistent of men remained with the profligate. They defended (themselves) with zeal; so much so, that they would hold their positions. If one (of them) were hit by an arrow or sustained the blow of a spear or were struck by a sword, and fell, his neighbor would draw him aside and take up his position; they feared that if the position of any man [2035] remained empty, (then) ill would befall the rest of his companions.

When Abū Aḥmad saw the endurance and defensive posture of this group, and that their resistance would last for days, he instructed Abū al-ʿAbbās to move to the strongest side of the building which the abominable one called the mosque, and to recruit for that purpose his most valiant troops and pages. He attached sappers to them, men who had been assigned to demolition duty. If preparations were made to demolish something, they would rush to carry out their task. Al-Muwaffaq ordered ladders placed against the walls, which archers climbed and then launched showers of arrows upon the profligates behind the walls. He spread his infantry from the limits of al-Jubbāʾī's residence to the position where he had assigned Abū al-ʿAbbās. Then he distributed money, medallions, and bracelets among those who rushed to demolish the walls and markets of the profligate, and the houses of his companions. What had been difficult before now. became easy after a long and violent fight—the building which the abominable one had named the mosque was demolished. The government troops reached its pulpit and carried it away, delivering it to al-Muwaffaq, who returned with it to al-Muwaffaqiyyah, in good spirits and happy. Then, al-Muwaffaq returned to the task of demolishing the walls, destroying the section (that ran) from Ankalāy's residence to that of al-Jubbāʾī. Al-Muwaffaq's men came upon some of the administrative offices and storehouses belonging to the abominable one; they were subsequently plundered and set to the torch. These events happened on a day of thick fog which obscured vision, so that the men could hardly see one another. This day was the beginning of victory for al-Muwaffaq. In the midst of the fighting a profligate arrow launched by Qarṭās, a Greek page who was with the rebel, struck al-Muwaffaq in the chest. That happened on Monday, [2036]
the twenty-fifth of Jumādā II, 269 (January 9, 883). Al-Muwaffaq kept his mishap secret and returned to al-Muwaffaqiyyah. He had his wound dressed that very night, and remained to spend the night at his city. Although his wound bothered him, he returned to the fight in order to rally the spirits of his leading men so that no apprehension or weakness would seize them. Because of this excessive activity, his illness intensified and complications set in; the matter took such a se-

rious turn that it caused concern for his life, and he was in need of the best possible care.

The entire camp, troops and subjects alike became disturbed. Their apprehension about the strength of the abominable one was so great, that one detachment of troops stationed in al-Muwaffaqiyyah left the city because of the fear that seized them. The gravity of his illness became a subject of discussion in government circles. Advisors from among his confidantes urged him to abandon his camp for Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) and leave behind someone in his place. He declined to do this, fearing that the abominable one's scattered forces could be reassembled. Therefore, despite the seriousness of his illness, and the discussion taking place in government circles, he remained. God in his mercy granted him good health, so that after lengthy seclusion he showed himself to his officers and his inner circle, causing them to feel strengthened. He remained in his retreat and continued to recover from his illness until Sha'bān of this year (February 13–March 13, 883). When he recovered and felt able to resume the fight against the profligate, he became aroused, and returned to battle the rebel with his old perseverance.

[2037] When the abominable one ascertained what had happened to Abū Aḥmad, he started to give his men false promises and to stir false hopes. But after word reached him that Abū Aḥmad had reappeared, sailing in his barge, the rebel started to swear from his pulpit that this was an empty and baseless rumor, and what they had really seen in the barge was an effigy which in their confused minds seemed to be Abū Aḥmad.

In this year, on Saturday in the middle of Jumādā I (November 16–December 15, 882), al-Mu'tamid, who set out for Egypt, stopped at al-Kuḥayl[116] to hunt. On Jumādā II (December 16, 882–January 13, 883), Ṣā'id b. Makhlad left Abū Aḥmad, and went to Sāmarrā with a group of officers. Two of Ibn Ṭūlūn's officers, one of them called Aḥmad b. Jayghawayh and the other Muḥammad b. 'Abbās al-Kilābī, proceeded to al-Raqqah.

116. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 240, mentions this place in connection with al-Mu'taḍid's journey to campaign against Khumarawayh in 271 (884/885). It was a large city on the west bank of the Tigris above Takrīt.

When al-Muʿtamid arrived in the province of Isḥāq b. Kundāj—he was governor of Mosul and of the Jazīrah—the latter fell upon al-Muʿtamid's retainers. These were the men who had left Sāmarrā with al-Muʿtamid for Egypt, namely Tīnak, Aḥmad b. Khāqān and Khaṭārmish. Isḥāq had them bound, and seized their money, animals and slaves. He had previously received a letter to arrest them and al-Muʿtamid. Their estates and those of Fārs b. Bughā were conferred upon Isḥāq b. Kundāj.

The reason for his detaining al-Muʿtamid and his retainers is as follows. When al-Muʿtamid arrived in Isḥāq's province, letters from Ṣāʿid ordering their detention had already reached Ibn Kundāj. He acted as though he sympathized with them and shared their feelings of loyalty to al-Muʿtamid, sihce the latter was the caliph, and it would be unlawful to oppose him. Now, some of al-Muʿtamid's officers cautioned him to bypass Ibn [2038] Kundāj, warning him that the latter would pounce upon them. But he insisted on stopping, as recorded above, saying, "Isḥāq is my mawlā and page. I want to hunt, and on the way to him there is bountiful game." When they reached his province, he met and accompanied them, reportedly to offer al-Muʿtamid hospitality before he passed into the province of Ibn Ṭūlūn. The next day, early in the morning, the retainers, pages, and the others who were with al-Muʿtamid and those who left Sāmarrā with him started to saddle their animals. Ibn Kundāj remained with al-Muʿtamid's officers, and said to them, "Now, you have neared the domain of Ibn Ṭūlūn and his commander who is stationed in al-Raqqah. As soon as you reach him, the power will be his and you'll be in his hands, as if you were one of his soldiers. Would you be content with this, knowing that he is one of you?"[117] They argued over this until daybreak. Al-Muʿtamid was not yet ready to depart, for his captains were involved in this argument in his presence without coming to any agreement. Then Ibn Kundāj suggested: "Let's go and discuss the matter at some other place, and let's respect the honor of the Commander of the Faithful and not raise our voices here." Clutching their hands, he took them out of al-Muʿtamid's tent

117. That is, they were equal in rank to Ibn Ṭulūn when he was stationed at the court in Sāmarrā.

and led them into his own. No other tent remained; all the tents but his had been removed. According to instructions he had forwarded to his attendants, pages, retainers and men, they were not to leave the place before he did. As soon as they entered Ibn Kundāj's tent, the bravest of his pages and troops entered into his presence and that of his officers. Chains were
[2039] also brought in, and Ibn Kundāj's pages seized and put chains on every one of al-Mu'tamid's officers who had accompanied him from Sāmarrā. After they were all fettered, and he had disposed of this task, Isḥāq b. Kundāj went to al-Mu'tamid and reproached him for leaving his capital[118] and that of his ancestors and for forsaking his brother at a time when he was conducting war against those who were attempting to kill him and all his family, and to abolish their empire. Thereupon, he delivered him and his chained attendants to Sāmarrā.

In this year, Rāfi' b. Harthamah established himself in districts and villages of Khurāsān which al-Khujustānī had seized. Rāfi' b. Harthamah had taken ten years worth of taxes on advance from a number of districts of Khurāsān, by which he brought destitution upon the people and devastation upon the districts.

In this year, a skirmish took place between the Ḥusaynīs, Ḥasanīs and Ja'farīs. The Ja'farīs had eight people killed in the battle, but they gained the victory and released al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās al-'Abbāsī, the governor of al-Madīnah.

In Jumādā II (December 16, 882–January 13, 883), Hārūn b. al-Muwaffaq appointed Ibn Abī al-Sāj governor of al-Anbār, the Euphrates Road, and Raḥbat Ṭawq. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭā'ī, was appointed governor of al-Kūfah and its environs. He acted as paymaster and collector of taxes there, distributing
[2040] the pay in the name of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, the one known as Kuftimur. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad encountered al-Hayṣam al-

118. The reference here is to forsaking Baghdad. There was a very likely polemical exchange between the partisans of the old capital, and the supporters of the new capital at Sāmarrā. This was also reflected in poetry. See, for examples, the verses of 'Umārah b. 'Aqīl b. Bilāl b. Jarīr al-Khaṭafī quoted by the Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 68 = Paris, 3–4.

'Ijlī in this year. Al-Hayṣam was routed, and Aḥmad auctioned off al-'Ijlī's wealth and estates.

On the fourth of Sha'bān this year (January 18, 883), Isḥāq b. Kundāj brought al-Mu'tamid back to Sāmarrā. The latter settled at al-Jawsaq (the palace) overlooking al-Ḥayr.[119]

On the eighth of Sha'bān (January 22, 883), Ibn Kundāj was given robes of honor. Two swords with swordbelts were conferred upon him, one for his right side and the other for his left, and he was named Possessor of Two Swords (Dhū al-Sayfayn). Two days later he was given a brocade cloak, two sashes, a diadem and a sword; all these were encrusted with gems. Hārūn b. al-Muwaffaq, Ṣā'id b. Makhlad and the officers escorted him to his residence and lunched with him.

In Sha'bān of this year (February 13–March 13, 883) Abū Aḥmad's troops burned down the profligate's fortress and plundered everything in it.

The Reason for This and How Abū Aḥmad's Troops Reached It[120]

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported: When Abū Aḥmad recovered from the wounds which he had received, he resumed fighting the profligate without letup. The abominable one had repaired some of the breaches that had been made in the wall, so that al-Muwaffaq ordered that the area of the breaches be demolished along with the adjoining wall. It happened late one afternoon. The battle had been fought near the Munkā Canal. The profligates were concentrated in this area and were busy fighting [2041] them, as they believed it to be the only active battleground. Al-Muwaffaq set out with sappers he had prepared earlier, and nearing the Munkā Canal, he charged the profligates there. When the fighting became intense, he instructed the oarsmen and captains to move quickly until they reached the canal

119. That is, al-Mu'taṣim's palace. The ruins of this immense structure were investigated by Viollet and Sarre and Herzfeld. A concise account of the palace is found in Creswell, *Shorter Early Muslim Architecture*, 260 ff.

120. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 152 ff.

known as the Juwayy Kūr. This was a canal that branched off from the Tigris below the canal known as Nahr Abū al-Khasīb. They did this, and upon arriving there they found the Juwway Kūr free of regular troops and foot soldiers. Al-Muwaffaq drew nearer and sent out the sappers to demolish the section of the wall next to this canal; then he brought up his regular troops, and penetrated his way up the canal, killing many people. They reached some of the profligate fortresses; whereupon, they plundered them, and then set them to the torch, rescuing scores of women who had been (held) there. The government force seized some of the rebels' horses and transported them to the western side of the Tigris. At sunset al-Muwaffaq withdrew safely with the booty. He then returned the next morning in order to resume the battle and demolish the wall. They pushed the demolition of the wall until they reached the residence known as Dār Ankalāy, which was contiguous to the residence of the abominable one. When all of the abominable one's ruses had failed to hinder the demolition of the wall and prevent al-Muwaffaq's troops from penetrating his city, he did not know how to deal with this situation that had gotten out of hand. 'Alī b. Abān al-Muhallabī advised him to let water flow onto the swampy ground on which al-Muwaffaq's troops passed, so as to deny it to them. He also suggested that the rebel dig trenches in a number of places, which would impede
[2042] their entrance into the city. If the government forces risked crossing the trench and were defeated, they would find it difficult to return to their vessels.

They did all of this in different sections of their city and along the parade ground which the abominable one had turned into a major road. These trenches now extended near his residence. Now that God had enabled him to succeed in demolishing the wall of the profligate's city, al-Muwaffaq was inclined to fill in the trenches, canals, and places where obstructions had been set up, so as to make them passable for (his) cavalry and infantry. That was what he wanted. But the profligates defended themselves and the fight lasted a long time and without respite, both sides sustaining heavy losses in dead and wounded. One day the number of injured reached almost two thousand; this was because the factions were close to

each other during combat, and because the trenches prevented each side from dislodging the other from its position. When al-Muwaffaq saw this, he decided to burn down the abominable one's residence and to attack it from the Tigris. A great many Zanj fighting men, who had been prepared by the abominable one, resisted these moves from his residence. They cast stones and shot (arrows and other projectiles) from bows, slings, ballistas, and catapults from the walls and upper reaches of the fortress. In addition lead was melted down and poured upon the government troops. They did all this whenever the barges neared the fortress. As we have described, it was impossible for the attackers to set the abominable one's residence aflame.

Al-Muwaffaq now ordered that wooden screens be prepared for barges. These screens were covered with buffalo skins [2043] spread over with canvas, and varnished with kinds of chemical substances which would protect them from fire. A number of barges were shielded with screens prepared in this manner. Al-Muwaffaq manned each of these vessels with a force of the bravest lancers and archers from among his pages, and he attached to them a team of fire-hurlers. They were assigned the task of setting the profligate's residence on fire, that is, the leader of the Zanj.

On Friday, the seventeenth of Sha'bān, 269 (February 28, 883), Muḥammad b. Sim'ān, the scribe and wazīr of the abominable one, asked al-Muwaffaq for a guarantee of safe-conduct. The reason for this, as reported by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, was because Muḥammad b. Sim'ān was one of those who hated the rebel and loathed his company as he knew he was an imposter.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported: This was why I was friendly with Ibn Sim'ān. Together we would devise plans for escape, but to no avail. But when the siege took its toll of the abominable one, and his men deserted him, weakening his position, Ibn Sim'ān devised a scheme to flee, and informed me about it, saying, "I am willing to leave without child or family, and will save only myself." Then he asked me, "Would you like to do the same?" I replied, "You are right in your decision, for you will leave behind only one small child. The perfidious one will not be able either to assail the child or expose you to

shame through it. But as for myself, I have womenfolk, and I cannot afford to expose them to the rebel's cruelty. So do as you have decided and pass on word about me; that is, about my intention to break away from the rebel and my disgust at being associated with him. If God redeems me and my children, indeed, I shall follow you promptly; but should our fates be con-
[2044] joined, we shall be together and bear it."

Muḥammad b. Simʿān now sent a representative of his called al-ʿIrāqī, who arrived at al-Muwaffaq's camp and secured for his master the safeguards he sought. Al-Muwaffaq prepared barges which reached Ibn Simʿān in the lagoon on the day reported above, and the latter thus arrived at al-Muwaffaq's camp. The day after Muḥammad b. Simʿān sought safe conduct, which was Saturday, the eighteenth of Shaʿbān, 269 (March 1, 883), al-Muwaffaq resumed the conflict against the abominable one, dressed in the finest battle garb and (utilizing the best) equipment. He took with him the barges that had been given screens, as described above, and then went with the rest of his barges and galleys manned by his mawlās and pages. He also took ferries carrying infantry. Al-Muwaffaq ordered his son, Abū al-ʿAbbās to set off for the residence of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, that is, the man known as al-Karnabāʾī. This place was opposite the residence of the perfidious one on the eastern side of the canal known as the Abū al-Khaṣīb—it overlooked the canal and the Tigris. He sent him forward to set fire to it and to the adjacent residences belonging to the perfidious one's commanders. In such fashion he would preoccupy the commanders, thus preventing them from assisting the rebel and providing him with support.

Al-Muwaffaq ordered the men in the barges which had screens to move to the structures and balconies of the abominable one which extended over the Tigris. This they did, bringing their barges close to the walls of the fortress. They engaged the rebels in the fiercest of battles, and showered them with fire. Although the rebels fought back tenaciously, God granted victory over them and they were pushed back from these balconies and structures which they were defending. Al-Muwaffaq's pages set all this on fire, while the men in the barges remained

unharmed from the arrows, stones, molten lead and other pro- [2045]
jectiles. This was due to the screens which they had fastened to their vessels. In such fashion, they were able to capture the abominable one's residence. Then, al-Muwaffaq ordered all the people of the barges to withdraw; he removed the pages and replaced them with others, while he stayed, expecting the tide to rise. When this occurred, the barges with screens returned to the abominable one's fortress, and in accordance with al-Muwaffaq's orders, they set fire to those elements of the profligate's fortress which faced out onto the Tigris. The fire in these structures raged on, reaching the coverings with which the abominable one shielded his quarters, and the curtains of his doors. The flames became more intense, making it impossible for him and his men to remove anything in his residences, such as his money, stores, moveable furniture and other items. Fleeing, they left all this behind. Al-Muwaffaq's pages and their men stormed the abominable one's fortress and looted everything which the fire had not reached; this included gold, silver, pearls, jewels and other items. A number of women whom the abominable one had had enslaved were rescued. Al-Muwaffaq's pages also reached the other residences of the abominable one and his son Ankalāy, and set them all on fire. Overjoyed with what God had granted them on this day, the troops kept on fighting the profligates in their city, and before the gate of the abominable one's fortress which was near the review ground. The government forces struck a heavy blow against the rebels, killing, wounding and capturing them.

In the same manner, Abū al-'Abbās attacked the residence of [2046]
al-Karnabā'ī and the contiguous area, burning, demolishing and plundering. The former cut a massive and strong iron chain which the abominable one had fastened across the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal in order to make it inaccessible to barges. He took this chain and carried it off in some of his vessels. At the time of evening prayer al-Muwaffaq withdrew with the army, completely victorious. On that day the profligate himself suffered losses in wealth, children, and captive Muslim women. The Muslims had hitherto suffered grief because of him, as well as dispossession, loss of kith and kin, affliction, captivity,

break-up of family, and hardship to women and children. His son, the one called Ankalāy was gravely wounded in the stomach that day, and only narrowly escaped death.

On the morrow of that day, which was the eighteenth of Sha'bān, 269 (Saturday, March 2, 883), Nuṣayr drowned.

How Nuṣayr Drowned

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported: On the morrow of that day, al-Muwaffaq rose early to fight against the abominable one. He instructed Nuṣayr, the one called Abū Ḥamzah to set out for the bridge which the perfidious one had constructed of teak wood on the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. This was beyond the two bridges which Nuṣayr had seized. Al-Muwaffaq also instructed Zīrak to go with his troops to the area of al-Jubbā'ī's residence to fight the rebels there, and to send another group of commanders to the vicinity of Ankalāy's residence to do the same. As soon as the tide rose, Nuṣayr quickly sailed forth with a number of his barges into the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, but the tide [2047] carried them and forced them against the bridge. At the same time, without being ordered, a number of al-Muwaffaq's barges staffed with mawlās and pages also entered the canal, and these were also carried by the tide and forced against Nuṣayr's vessels. They came so close to each other that the captains and oarsmen were helpless to cope with what had happened.

The Zanj perceived this, and gathered to attack the barges, surrounding them on both sides of the canal. Panicked with fear, the oarsmen jumped into the water, and abandoned their vessels to the Zanj, who seized them. The Zanj killed some of the fighting men, but most of them drowned. Nuṣayr fought back from his barge until, in fear of being captured, he jumped into the water and subsequently drowned.

Al-Muwaffaq began his day in combat with the profligates, pillaging and burning their residences, and he continued to hold the upper hand until the day was over. Among those defending the fortress of the perfidious one were Sulaymān b. Jāmi' and his troops. The battle between Sulaymān's men and those of al-Muwaffaq continued without respite as the latter held fast to his position. Sulaymān continued to offer resis-

tance until ambushers drawn from al-Muwaffaq's black pages emerged to his rear; whereupon, Sulaymān was routed. The pages pursued him killing some of his men and capturing others. In this fight Sulaymān was hit in the thigh, an injury which forced him down in a place consumed by fire where the coals were still smoldering. Parts of his body were thus burned, but he was protected by a group of his men as he was about to be captured. Victorious and unharmed al-Muwaffaq withdrew, while the profligates became weaker and more fearful as they saw the end was in sight.

Abū Aḥmad happened to fall ill with arthritis which lasted all through the end of Sha'bān, Ramaḍān (March 14–April 12, 883) and part of Shawwāl (April 13–May 11, 883). As a result he had to abstain from fighting the profligate. But as soon as he recovered, he gave the order to prepare everything necessary to encounter the profligates, and all his men prepared for that task. [2048]

In this year, 'Īsā b. al-Shaykh b. al-Salīl passed away.

In this year, al-Mu'tamid cursed Ibn Ṭūlūn from the Dār al-'Āmmah[121] and gave instructions that the same be done from the pulpits. On Friday, Ja'far al-Mufawwaḍ went to the Friday Mosque and cursed Ibn Ṭūlūn. All the provinces held by Ibn Ṭūlūn were given to Isḥāq b. Kundāj, who was appointed governor of all the regions extending from Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah[122] to Ifrīqiyyah. He was also made responsible for the security of the Caliph's personal force (*shurṭat al-khāṣṣah*).

In Ramadān (March 14–April 12, 883), Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn sent a message to the people of Syria urging them to assist his deputy. An express messenger seeking Ibn Ṭūlūn with dispatches from his deputy Jawwāb was apprehended. Jawwāb was also seized and imprisoned, and his money, slaves and animals were seized.

In Shawwāl (April 13–May 11, 883), a skirmish took place

121. That is, that chamber where the Caliph gave public audiences.

122. Al-Shammāsiyyah was, at the time, a staging ground for the 'Abbāsid armies just north of the settled areas in East Baghdad. The expression would seem to be a metaphor for 'Abbāsid rule extending from the capital westward. For al-Shammāsiyyah, see Lassner, *Topography*, index, 322.

between Ibn Abī al-Sāj and the tribesmen, in which the former was routed. Later he attacked them by night, killing some of them and taking others captive. He then sent the heads of the dead and also the captives to Baghdad. They arrived in Shawwāl of 269 (April 13–May 11, 883).

On the eighteenth of Shawwāl this year (Tuesday, April 30, 883), Ja'far al-Mufawwaḍ appointed Ṣā'id b. Makhlad governor of Shahrazūr,[123] Darābādh,[124] al-Sāmaghān,[125] Ḥulwān, Māsabadhān,[126] Mihrijānqadhaq and the Euphrates districts. He also as-
[2049] signed to him Mūsā b. Bughā's commanders except for Aḥmad b. Mūsā, Kayghalagh, Isḥāq b. Kundājīq and Asātakīn. On Saturday the twenty-second of Shawwāl (May 11, 883), Ṣā'id, in turn, delegated the government of the provinces which he received from al-Mufawwaḍ to Lu'lu'. He also sent a message to Ibn Abī al-Sāj confirming him as governor of the provinces he was ruling on behalf of Hārūn b. al-Muwaffaq, namely, al-Anbār, the Euphrates Road, and Raḥbat Ṭawq b. Mālik. Ibn Abī al-Sāj had departed there in the month of Ramaḍān (March 14–April 12, 883). As soon as all these lands were added to Ṣā'id's domains, Ṣā'id confirmed Ibn Abī al-Sāj in his territory.

Toward the end of Shawwāl (April 13–May 11, 883), Ibn Abī al-Sāj entered Raḥbat Ṭawq b. Mālik after its inhabitants came out against him. He overwhelmed them, and Aḥmad b. Mālik b. Ṭawq fled from there to Damascus. Thereupon, Ibn Abī al-Sāj went to Qarqīsiyyā and entered the city. It had been evacuated by Ibn Ṣafwān al-'Uqaylī.

On Tuesday, the tenth of Shawwāl (Monday night, April 15, 883), a battle took place in the profligate's city between Abū Aḥmad and the Zanj. In this engagement Abū Aḥmad obtained his desired objective.

The Reason for This Battle and What Transpired

According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan: While al-Muwaffaq was preoccupied by his sickness, the abominable one, the en-

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123. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 340.
124. Ibid., 364.
125. Ibid., 340.
126. Op. cit., IV, 392.

emy of God, restored the bridge into which Nuṣayr's barges had run. He added those elements to the bridge which he thought strengthened it. Beyond it he erected interlocking teakwood stakes and overlaid them with iron. In front of this he put a barricade of stones to narrow the entrance for the [2050] barges and to cause a whirling current in the canal known as Abū al-Khaṣīb so that people would dread entering it.

Al-Muwaffaq recruited two officers from among his pages—they commanded four thousand men—and instructed them to go to the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal; one of them was to travel along the eastern side of the canal and the other along the western side. They were to march to the bridge which the rebel had restored, and to the dam which he had erected in front of it. Having done this, they were then to combat the troops of the abominable one in the area of the bridge and dislodge them from it. He assigned carpenters and sappers to them in order to dismantle the bridge and the stakes that had been put in front of it. At his command, boats were also made ready and filled with reeds doused in naphtha. These would enter this canal—the one called Abū al-Khaṣīb—and when the tide rose, they would be put to the torch, setting the bridge on fire.

On that day al-Muwaffaq rode out with the army until he reached the mouth of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. He ordered that the fighting men be sent ashore at a number of places above and below the abominable one's camp in order to divert the rebel troops from assisting those defending the bridge. The two officers and their troops advanced and were met by the men of the perifidious one, a force of Zanj troops and others. They were led by his son Ankalāy, 'Alī b. Abān al-Muhallabī, and Sulaymān b. Jāmi'. The two forces then engaged in fighting. The battle was protracted, with the profligates fighting violently in defense of their bridge. They understood that dismantling this bridge could bring calamity upon them, and that the two pontoon bridges which the abominable one had established beyond it on the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal would now be- [2051] come a target easy to reach. The number of killed and wounded grew for both factions and the battle lasted until the time of the afternoon prayer. Then al-Muwaffaq's pages dislodged the rebels from the bridge and crossed over it. The carpenters and

workers cut the bridge loose, and they dismantled it as well as the aforementioned stakes. The profligate had constructed the bridge and stakes so solidly that it was impossible for the workers and carpenters to dismantle them quickly. Because of this, al-Muwaffaq commanded that the vessels bearing the naphtha-doused reeds enter the canal and be set on fire, whereupon, they would float with the current. This was done, and the ships reached the bridge, setting it aflame. The carpenters were now able to carry out their plan of dismantling the stakes, thereby opening the canal to the men on the barges. The force on the vessels then entered the canal. This raised the spirits of the pages and, driving the rebel's troops from their positions, they chased them until the latter reached the first pontoon bridge behind the bridge. A great many of the rebels were killed and a group of them sought guarantees of safe-conduct from al-Muwaffaq. He immediately ordered that they be given robes of honor and placed in positions where their comrades could observe them. Their compatriots would thus become eager for similar treatment.

The pages reached the first pontoon bridge—it was near sunset. Al-Muwaffaq disliked having his men deep within the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal with the advancing darkness, lest the rebels seize the opportunity. Therefore, he ordered the troops to withdraw safely to al-Muwaffaqiyyah. Al-Muwaffaq now dispatched letters to the districts to be read from the pulpits about the victory and conquest that God had granted to him. He ordered that those of his pages who had distinguished themselves
[2052] be rewarded according to their gallantry, their sacrifice and the manner in which they carried out orders, so as to inspire great effort in the fight against their enemies. This was carried out. Al-Muwaffaq now crossed over to the mouth of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, together with some of his mawlās and pages. They crossed in barges, galleys, and skiffs. The abominable one had already obstructed the passage with two stone barriers in order to make the entrance narrow and the current rapid, so that if the barges entered the canal, they would founder about and find their way back difficult. Al-Muwaffaq ordered these two barriers removed, and his men worked at this from sunrise to sunset.

The workers then withdrew and returned the next morning to finish dismantling what had remained. They discovered, however, that during the night the rebels had restored what had been removed. At this, al-Muwaffaq ordered two ballistas installed on two vessels stationed in front of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal; the ballistas had been prepared for these boats in advance. Their anchors were dropped so as to hold them steady. He assigned a team of barge troops to the vessels and charged them with removing these two barriers. The troops of the two ballistas were instructed to fire at any of the profligate's men who drew near to restore parts of the barriers, whether by day or night. The rebels kept their distance, and, after that, the men in charge of removing the stones pressed on until they had accomplished what they intended to do. The route in and out of the canal thus became more accessible for the barges.

In this year, the rebel moved from the western side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal to its eastern side, and provisions were cut off from all directions.

The Rebel's Situation and That of His Men When He Transferred From the West

It is reported that when al-Muwaffaq laid waste the residences of the leader of the Zanj and set them to the torch, the latter took refuge by fortifying himself in the residences further along the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. The rebel camped at the residence of Aḥmad b. Mūsā, who was known as al-Qalūṣ, where he gathered around him his extended family and children. His markets were now transferred to a nearby marketplace, that is the one called Sūq al-Ḥusayn.

His position, nevertheless, became extremely weak, and it became clear to the people that his cause was doomed. They were afraid of bringing provisions to him, and he was thus cut off from all supplies. The price of a *raṭl*[127] of corn bread in his camp now reached ten dirhams. As a result, the rebels ate barley and then different kinds of grain. This continued until, fi-

127. One *raṭl* = 12 *ūqiyah*. The Iraqi *raṭl* was 406.25 gr. See Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewischte*, 27 ff.; also, see above, nn. 101, 109.

nally, they started to practice cannibalism.[128] If one of them was isolated with a woman, child, or man, he would slaughter that person and devour the victim. The stronger Zanj then assailed the weaker ones, and when they isolated a weak person, they killed him and ate his flesh. Then they ate the flesh of their children. Following that, they dug up corpses, sold the shrouds, and ate the flesh. The only punishment imposed by the abominable one on the perpetrators of such deeds was imprisonment, but once their imprisonment became prolonged, they were released.

It is reported that when the profligate's residence was demolished and set to the torch, and after everything in it was plundered, he was driven, like a homeless outcast, from the western [2054] side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal to the eastern side. Abū Aḥmad now decided to lay waste the east bank, thereby replicating the conditions which had faced the abominable one on the opposite bank— that is, the western side from which he had been driven. Al-Muwaffaq instructed his son Abū al-'Abbās to take up positions in barges with a group of his men in the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. He also told him to select a team of his troops and pages and land them in the section where the residence of al-Karnabā'ī was located on the eastern side of the canal. Sappers were to be landed with them in order to demolish any houses or dwellings of the rebel's companions which they might come upon.

Al-Muwaffaq positioned himself at the fortress named after al-Hamdānī, who was entrusted with the defense of this sector. He was commander of the abominable one's troops and one of his earliest companions. On the instruction of al-Muwaffaq, a team of his officers and mawlās set off for the residence of al-Hamdānī—they had sappers with them. The place had been fortified with a great body of Zanj and other troops of the abominable one. Protecting it were ballistas, catapults, and Nāwukiyyah bows. A fight began in which many were killed and wounded. Finally the troops of al-Muwaffaq dislodged the profligates, putting them to the sword; a great many of the enemy were killed. Abū al-'Abbās's troops meted out the same to

128. Lit. "chase after people."

any rebel coming within their reach. Then al-Muwaffaq's troops and those of Abū al-'Abbās joined forces in concerted action against the profligates who fled to the residence of al-Hamdānī. It had been fortified with ballistas, and surrounded on all sides with white flags of the rebel, his name inscribed upon them. Now, it was impossible for the troops of al-Muwaffaq to surmount the walls of this house because they were high and thus inaccessible. They applied long ladders but still they could not reach the top. Then, some of al-Muwaffaq's pages hurled grappling hooks which were attached to long ropes. They were especially prepared for a place such as this. [2055] They fastened the hooks to the banners of the profligate and they pulled. At that, the banners tumbled from the top of the wall, and into the hands of al-Muwaffaq's men. The defenders of that residence were now certain that Abū Aḥmad's troops were on the wall. Seized with fear, they fled, surrendering the residence and everything around it. The naphtha-hurlers ascended (the wall) and set fire to the catapults, the ballistas, and the belongings of al-Hamdānī's residence. They also burned down the surrounding residences of the rebels. On that day, many captive Muslim women were wrested from them, and al-Muwaffaq ordered them transported by barge, galley and ferry to the city of al-Muwaffaqiyyah, and treated with kindness. The battle continued without respite from daylight until after afternoon prayers. A group of the profligate's troops and a party of his special pages, who were his personal attendants and guards, asked for safe-conduct. Al-Muwaffaq granted this to all of them, and ordered that they be treated kindly, given robes of honor and presents and alloted military pay. Al-Muwaffaq returned and ordered that the profligate's flags be hung upside down in the middle of the barges so that they could be seen by his men. A group of those who had asked for safe-conduct guided al-Muwaffaq to an immense marketplace which the abominable one had behind the residence of al-Hamdānī adjacent to the first bridge spanning the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. The abominable one had named the market al-Mubārakah. They told al-Muwaffaq that if he succeeded in burning it down, no other market would be left to the rebels, and the merchants, who were the source of their subsistence, would leave them.

The rebels would thus feel deserted and compelled to leave seeking guarantees of safe-conduct.

[2056] Al-Muwaffaq was resolved to go with troops to this market and its surroundings from three directions. He ordered Abū al-'Abbās to set off for the side of this market contiguous to the first bridge; he ordered his mawlā Rāshid to go to the market where it was adjacent to the residence of al-Hamdānī; and he ordered an officer of his black pages to go to the market sector adjacent to the Abū Shākir Canal. Each of these detachments did as ordered.

The Zanj became aware of the government troops marching against them and set out to encounter them. The battle was engaged, and the fighting grew heavy. The rebel reinforced his men. Al-Muhallabī, Ankalāy and Sulaymān b. Jāmi' and their troops had been fully prepared, and with the arrival of the reinforcements, they fought fiercely in defense of their sector. At the very beginning of their attack, al-Muwaffaq's men reached a point on the perimeter of this market, and set it to the torch. It burned, and the flames spread to most of the market. The two factions fought while the flames enveloped them—the booth coverings above, which had already caught fire, fell on the heads of the fighting men, often burning them. This situation lasted until sundown and the onset of night. Then they stopped fighting and al-Muwaffaq and his men returned to their vessels, and the profligates returned to their tyrant. This was after the market had gone up in flames. Its inhabitants, as well as those merchants with the perfidious one's army and the rabble from the market, fled and reached the upper parts of his city. They had with them money and goods of theirs which they had saved. They had already carried off the bulk of their merchandise and goods from this market, fearing that they would suffer that which befell them on the day God granted al-
[2057] Muwaffaq victory at the residence of al-Hamadānī, and made it possible for him to burn down everything he set to the torch around it.

Then, after this battle, the abominable one dug trenches on the east bank and made obstacle courses of the roads, just as he had done on the west bank. He dug a broad trench from the edge of the Juwayy Kūr to the Gharbī Canal. His main concern

was fortifying the section from al-Karnabā'ī's residence to the Juwway Kūr Canal, since this sector contained the main residences and dwellings of his men. As a result, gardens and (other) vacated places surrounded by walls and trenches stretched all the way from the Juwway Kūr to the Gharbī. Whenever the battle broke out in this sector, the Zanj rushed from their positions to defend it, preventing the enemy from advancing. Because of this, al-Muwaffaq decided to demolish the rest of the wall up to the Gharbī Canal, which he accomplished after a long drawn out battle.

The profligate was on the eastern side of the Gharbī in a camp in which there were contingents of Zanj and others. They were entrenched behind a protective wall and moats. These troops were the most courageous and valiant of the abominable one's men; they were defending the area adjacent the wall along the Gharbī Canal. During the battle at the Juwayy Kūr and the adjacent areas, they attacked al-Muwaffaq's troops from the rear. Al-Muwaffaq therefore gave orders to set out for this place, take on its defenders, demolish its walls, and dislodge those who were entrenched there. He forwarded instructions to Abū al-'Abbās and a number of commanders drawn from his pages and mawlās to prepare themselves for this task, and they did as ordered. Al-Muwaffaq advanced with troops he had prepared to the Gharbī Canal, whereupon he ordered the barges arrayed from the limits of the canal known as Nahr Juwayy Kūr to the place called al- [2058]
Dabbāsīn. The fighting men landed on both sides of the Gharbī Canal, and ladders were put aqainst the wall—the Zanj had a number of ballistas arrayed there—and a fight broke out which lasted from daylight to the afternoon. A number of breaches were made in the wall and the ballistas on it were set aflame, but the parties then desisted from further fighting, neither of them having gained an advantage over the other except that the troops of al-Muwaffaq had succeeded in making those breaches and setting fire to the ballistas. Both parties were severely stricken with suffering and pain from their wounds. Al-Muwaffaq and all his troops then returned to al-Muwaffaqiyyah, where he ordered the wounded treated and rewarded, everyone according to their injury. This was the policy he had

pursued in all of his battles from the beginning of his campaign against the profligate until God saw the latter dead.

After this battle, al-Muwaffaq remained where he was for a while. Then, he saw fit to return to this place and deal with it rather than with any other sector, because he perceived how well fortified it was, and he noted the courage and perseverance of the defenders. He realized that he would be unable to gain mastery over the area between the Gharbī and Juwway Kūr canals without first dislodging these troops. So he prepared what he needed in the way of equipment for demolition, and he increased the number of sappers. Then, he selected the fighting men, the archers, lancers, and expert black swordsmen, and set off for this place just as he had the first time. He landed the footmen in places he considered suitable and sent a number of barges into the canal. The battle commenced and raged on as the profligates displayed great persistence, and al-Muwaffaq's troops did likewise against them. The profligates now asked for [2059] reinforcements from their tyrant, and al-Muhallabī and Sulaymān b. Jāmi' came with their armies. This strengthened the enemy's resolve, and they charged al-Muwaffaq's troops. Sulaymān attacked from an ambush in the vicinity of the Juwayy Kūr, pushing al-Muwaffaq's force back to their ships and killing many of the men. Al-Muwaffaq withdrew without seeing his plans through. It had become clear that he should fight the profligates at a number of places, thereby splitting their troops and relieving the pressure they exerted on those coming to this difficult place. In such fashion, he would achieve his objective there.

He decided to renew the assault against the enemy, and instructed Abū al-'Abbās and some other commanders of his to make the crossing, choosing the best of their men. He entrusted his mawlā Masrūr with the canal known as Nahr Munkā, and instructed him to lead his men to this place and to the adjacent hills and palm grove. Masrūr would, as a result, divert the rebels, making them believe there was an attack intended against them from this direction. He instructed Abū al-'Abbās to land his troops along the Juwway Kūr and arrange his barges at these places until he reached the place called al-

Dabbāsīn, which was below the Gharbī Canal. Al-Muwaffaq set out for the Gharbī and ordered the commanders of his pages to set out with their men and start fighting the profligates in their stronghold and fortress. The government troops were not to turn away from them until God granted the government victory, or until they had received new orders from al-Muwaffaq. Then he ordered people to demolish the walls. As they went to (do this), the profligates, emboldened by the two battles which we have reported, rushed forward, but al-Muwaffaq's pages remained steadfast and fought against them gallantly. God bestowed victory upon the government troops, and they dislodged the profligates from their positions. Al-Muwaffaq's men became emboldened and charged the Zanj, putting them to flight. The fleeing enemy vacated their stronghold which fell into the hands of al-Muwaffaq's pages. The latter demolished the stronghold and burned the Zanj residences, looting everything there. They pursued the fleeing enemy, killing a great many of them, and taking captives. Scores of captive Muslim women held in this stronghold were rescued, and upon al-Muwaffaq's instructions, they were removed and treated kindly. Then, al-Muwaffaq ordered the men to return to their vessels. They did so and retired to their camp in al-Muwaffaqiyyah. He had attained his objective in this sector. [2060]

In this year, al-Muwaffaq entered the city of the profligate and set fire to his residences on the eastern side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal.

How He Came to Succeed Therein

It is reported, that after he had demolished the walls of this residence belonging to the rebel, Abū Aḥmad wished to penetrate the city. He, therefore, started to repair the paths on both sides of the Abū al-Khaṣīb and at the profligate's fortress in order to make a road wide enough for the fighting men to go in and out during combat. On his instructions, the gate of the abominable one's fortress, the same which he latter had dismantled from the Hiṣn Arwakh in al-Baṣrah, was removed and transferred to

Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām).[129] Then al-Muwaffaq decided to raze the first bridge which was on the Abū al-Khasīb Canal, since this bridge would hinder his troops assisting one another should fighting break out in the area of their camp. So, upon his instructions, a large vessel was prepared and filled with reeds which had been doused in naphtha. In the middle of the vessel a tall mast was set up, which would prevent the vessel from sailing through when it reached the bridge.[130] He seized the opportunity which presented itself towards the end of day-
[2061] light when the rebels were careless and scattered about. The vessel was advanced by barges which towed it until it reached the canal where it was set ablaze and released after the tide had risen. The Zanj became aware of this as the vessel reached the bridge. They gathered their forces and flocked there in such numbers that they covered the bridge and the entire area. The Zanj now started to blanket the vessel with stones and burnt bricks, and they deposited earth and poured water on it. The bridge had caught fire and was burned slightly, but some of the Zanj plunged into the water and put holes in the vessel, sinking it, and putting out the fire. They now took possession of the vessel which fell into their hands.

When Abū Aḥmad saw what they had done, he decided to contest them for this bridge until he destroyed it. For that purpose he singled out two officers from among his pages, and ordered them to cross over with all their troops, taking sharp-pointed arms, strong breast-plates, special tools, equipment for naptha-hurlers and tools for demolishing the bridge. Al-Muwaffaq ordered one of the officers to the western side of the canal; he placed the other to the eastern side. Al-Muwaffaq, together with his mawlās, servants and pages, embarked on the

129. On the symbolic meaning of transferring gates from one city to another, see Lassner, *Topography*, 136–37.

130. Thus far the references to bridges along the Abū al-Khaṣīb have all been to pontoon bridges (*jisr*) which were easily constructed, dismantled and moved. The reference here may be to a masonry bridge (*qanṭarah*) or more likely, a permanent wooden bridge since it allowed for clearance. This could be one of the stone barriers spoken of earlier, or a structure similar to it. See text, 2052. It is more likely to have been some sort of wooden bridge since the plan was to set it ablaze. See below, n. 133.

barges and galleys, and set off for the mouth of Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. This happened early Saturday morning, the fourteenth of Shawwāl, 269 (April 27, 883).

The first to reach the bridge was the officer who was directed to the western side of the canal. He charged the profligate's troops who had been entrusted with the bridge. A number of them were killed. The bridge was then set aflame; reeds and other incendiary material had been prepared for this purpose and were dumped on the structure. The abominable one's supporters who had been stationed there now fled. After this, the [2062] government troops which had been sent to the eastern side of the canal arrived at the bridge, and, as instructed, they did their share of burning. The abominable one had ordered his son, Ankalāy, and Sulaymān b. Jāmi' to stand with their armies in defense of the bridge in order to prevent its destruction. When the two did as ordered, al-Muwaffaq's troops, which had been positioned to their rear, set off against them and engaged them in heavy fighting until the Zanj were put to flight.

Thus the government troops were able to burn down the bridge, and they did so. They crossed over the bridge and advanced toward the yard where the profligate's barges, galleys and weapons were manufactured, and they burned absolutely everything, except for a few barges and galleys which were in the canal. Ankalāy and Sulaymān b. Jāmi' fled, and al-Muwaffaq's pages reached a prison which the abominable one had on the western side of Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. The Zanj defended it for part of the day until a group of them were chased away. Then the prison fell into the hands of al-Muwaffaq's pages, who released the men and women detained there. After burning the bridge as ordered, al-Muwaffaq's pages on the eastern side penetrated to the place known as Dār Muṣliḥ. This Muṣliḥ was one of the earliest of the profligate's commanders. They broke into his residence and plundered it. They seized his children and womenfolk, and then set fire to everything they could reach along the way.

In the middle of the bridge there still remained poles which the abominable one firmly fixed. Al-Muwaffaq thus ordered Abū al-'Abbās to dispatch a number of barges to that place, and he did so. Among those sent there was Zīrak with a number of [2063]

his troops. Upon their arrival, they sent out people with specially-prepared pickaxes and saws; the poles were cut and then pulled out of the canal. The rest of the bridge collapsed, and al-Muwaffaq's barges entered the canal. The two officers and all their troops moved ahead on both banks of the canal as the rebel's troops fled. At this, al-Muwaffaq and all his men withdrew safely; numerous people were rescued (as a result of all this). A great number of heads of the profligates were brought to al-Muwaffaq, and he meted out rewards and gifts to all those who brought them. Al-Muwaffaq's withdrawal commenced at three o'clock in the morning that day. This was after the profligate and all his Zanj and non-Zanj troops fled to the eastern side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, thus completely evacuating the western side, which was occupied by al-Muwaffaq's forces. The latter razed everything that hindered their fighting the rebels; that is, the fortresses of the profligate and those of his companions. They widened the narrow passages through Abū al-Khaṣīb, giving rise to increasing apprehension among the tyrant's men. Scores of his officers and troops, whom he had never expected to desert him, now were inclined to seek safe-conduct (from al-Muwaffaq). As their requests for safety were granted, they deserted in droves and were accepted and treated generously. They were granted military allotments, and given presents and robes of honor according to their rank.

After this, al-Muwaffaq devoted his attention to getting his barges and pages into the canal. He gave orders to burn the rebel residences along the banks and their ships in the water. He wished to train his men to penetrate the canal to make traveling the water course easy for them, because he intended
[2064] to burn down the second bridge and advance to the remotest positions of the rebels.

During one of those days in which al-Muwaffaq took the fight to the abominable one, and pressed forward into the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal—it was a Friday, and al-Muwaffaq was positioned at a certain spot of the canal—one of the rebel troops asked al-Muwaffaq for safe-conduct and came to him with a pulpit which his master had had on the western side of the canal. Al-Muwaffaq ordered this man to turn the pulpit over to him—the latter was accompanied by a judge who had served

the abominable one in his city. This was the kind of incident that caused the rebels' support to crumble.

Meanwhile, the abominable one had gathered his remaining vessels, those which were seaworthy and others, and placed them near the second bridge. There, he also concentrated his officers and troops and the most valiant of men. Al-Muwaffaq ordered some of his pages to approach the bridge and set fire to the seaworthy vessels that lay nearby. They were to torch as many vessels as possible and seize as many as they could. The pages assigned to this mission accomplished their task. Their operation intensified the rebel's activity in defending the second bridge. He attended to this personally at the head of all his forces, fearing that some ruse was in the making whereby he would be deprived of the western side of the canals. This would give al-Muwaffaq's troops a foothold there, one that eventually would mean the end of him (that is, the rebel).

After the first bridge had been burned, al-Muwaffaq spent several days transporting one detachment of his pages after another to the western side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. They burned the rest of the rebel dwelling places as they came closer to the second bridge. A group of Zanj, who had remained behind in their residences on the western side in the vicinity of the second bridge fought back against the government force. Al-Muwaffaq's pages used to come to this sector and establish positions on the major roads and paths taken by the army of the abominable one. When al-Muwaffaq found that his pages [2065] and troops were familiar with the road and able to find their way along its paths, he decided to burn the second bridge. By that (maneuver) he could wrest the western side of the canal from the abominable one's army and array his combined forces in a single area, without any barrier between the two armies except the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal.

On Saturday, the twentieth of Shawwāl, 269 (May 11, 883), al-Muwaffaq instructed Abū al-'Abbās to proceed with his troops and pages to the western bank. He sent orders for the latter to move out with his force at the site of a building which the rebel had named the Friday Mosque, and to take the route leading to the place which the abominable one had established as a prayer-platform for his festivals. When Abū al-'Abbās

reached the platform, he was to turn toward the hill (*jabal*) named after Abū 'Amr, the brother of al-Muhallabī. Al-Muwaffaq attached to his command officers from among his pages drawn from the cavalry and infantry; together they came to about ten thousand men. He ordered Abū al-'Abbās to position the vanguard under Zīrak at the open expanse of the platform in order to forestall an attack from an ambush that the rebels might have prepared in these places. Al-Muwaffaq also ordered a group of officers from among his mounted pages to spread out among the hills there, between the hill named after Abū 'Amr and the other one named after Abū Muqātil al-Zanjī. They were to do this until they all converged from this range of hills on the place of the second bridge along the Abū al-Khaṣīb. He forwarded instructions to anther group of officers from the pages assigned to Abū al-'Abbās, to go out with their troops between the profligate's residence and that of his son Ankalāy. They were to travel along the bank of the Abū al-Kaṣīb Canal and the adjacent territory, with the aim of joining the forward [2066] groups of pages coming from the hills. Their common cause was the bridge. Al-Muwaffaq ordered them to take along tools, such as iron-bars, pickaxes, saws, and a detachment of naptha-hurlers so that they might demolish and burn everything that they could.

He ordered his mawlā Rāshid to set off for the eastern bank of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal with similar equipment, and then head for the bridge, taking on its defenders. Abū Aḥmad entered the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal with the barges, having already set aside some vessels specially manned with his most valiant pages from among the bowmen and lancers. In addition to the men, he set aside tools necessary to demolish the bridge. Now he sent the force ahead along the canal.

Fighting between the opposing forces broke out on both banks of the canal, and the battle raged. On the western side, against Abū al-'Abbās and his men, were Ankalāy, son of the profligate, and his troops. The latter was supported by Sulaymān b. Jāmi' with his troops. On the eastern side, facing Rāshīd and his force, were the rebel, that is, the leader of the Zanj, and al-Muhallabī with the rest of their army. The battle this day lasted three hours past daytime. Then the profligates were

routed and ran without looking about, the swords taking their toll of them. The number of profligate heads taken was so great it could not be counted. Whenever a head was brought before al-Muwaffaq, he ordered it dumped into the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal so that the warriors would stop busying themselves counting the heads and would instead press on in the pursuit of their enemies.[131] Then he ordered the ship commanders assigned to the Abū al-Khaṣīb to approach the bridge and set it aflame, [2067] while turning aside the defenders with arrows. They did so and set the bridge to the torch. At the time, Ankalāy and Sulaymān, wounded and routed, arrived at the bridge, intending to cross to the eastern side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, but flames blocked their way. They and the guard which they had with them then threw themselves in the water. A great many of them were drowned, but Ankalāy and Sulaymān escaped, narrowly evading death.

Hordes of men gathered on both sides of the bridge, and it was demolished after a ship filled with blazing reeds was rammed into it, assisting the effort to demolish and burn it. At this, the entire government force scattered about the districts of the abominable one's city on both sides of the canal. They burned down a great number of residences, fortresses and markets belonging to the enemy, and rescued countless captive women and small children. Al-Muwaffaq ordered the fighting men to transport them in their ships and deliver them to al-Muwaffaqiyyah.

After his fortress and dwellings were burned down, the rebel lived in the residences named after Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Qalūṣ and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, that is, Abū 'Īsā. His son Ankalāy was accommodated in the residence named after Mālik, the nephew of al-Qalūṣ. Now, a detachment of al-Muwaffaq's pages went to the locations where the abominable one resided, and entered them. They set fire to several places and looted everything which the profligate had salvaged from the first con- [2068] flagration. The abominable one fled, but on that day his treasures were not uncovered. Many 'Alid ladies, who had been held

131. They, no doubt, busied themselves seeking heads so as to collect bonuses.

captive in a place close to his residence, were rescued, and al-Muwaffaq ordered that they be transported to his camp and treated with kindness and consideration. A group, consisting of al-Muwaffaq's pages and some of those who had deserted the rebels and were now assigned to Abū al-'Abbās, set off for a prison which the profligate had set up on the eastern side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. They captured it and released a great many imprisoned soldiers who had fought against the profligate and his troops, as well as other detainees. The prisoners were all taken out in their chains and manacles and brought before al-Muwaffaq, who ordered that their shackles be removed and that the prisoners be transported to al-Muwaffaqiyyah. On that day, all barges, seaworthy vessels, and other boats, large and small, including *ḥarrāqah*s and *zallālah*s, were moved from the canal into the Tigris. These ships, and everything taken from the camp of the abominable one and packed in the vessels, were auctioned off by al-Muwaffaq to his troops and pages. It was a rich and precious booty.

In this year, al-Mu'tamid visited Wāsiṭ; he arrived there in Dhū al-Qa'dah (May 12–June 10, 883) and was accommodated in the residence of Zīrak.

In this year, Ankalāy, the son of the profligate, sought a guarantee of safe-conduct from Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq. As regards the pardon, Ankalāy sent him a messenger requesting
[2069] special consideration. Al-Muwaffaq agreed to everything and returned his messenger. In the wake of this event, it was plain for al-Muwaffaq to see why Ankalāy was distracted from war. But the profligate, Ankalāy's father, knew of his son's intention. He reportedly upbraided him until he ultimately caused him to give up seeking safe-conduct. Thereafter, Ankalāy returned to the fight against al-Muwaffaq's forces with added determination, taking part personally in the fighting.

In this year, Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Sha'rānī—he was a commander in the profligate's army—sent someone to Abū Aḥmad to seek a guarantee of safety on his behalf. Abū Aḥmad refused to grant the request because of al-Sha'rānī's past behavior and his spilling of blood. Then word reached him that a group of the abominable one's companions were frightened by this rebuff to al-Sha'rānī. Abū Aḥmad now let him know that he

would grant him safe-conduct in order to appease the profligate's other companions. Al-Muwaffaq gave orders to send vessels to the place at which al-Sha'rānī had promised to appear and indeed, al-Sha'rānī, his brother, and a group of his officers came out to the spot and were carried away on board barges. The abominable one had empowered al-Sha'rānī to defend the lower part of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal.

Abū al-'Abbās delivered him to al-Muwaffaq; whereupon, the latter treated al-Sha'rānī benevolently, granting him safety, as promised, and ordering that he and his companions be given gifts and robes of honor. They were to be paraded on mounts that were saddled and fully equipped, and they were to be entertained sumptuously. Al-Sha'rānī and his men were assigned to Abū al-'Abbās, who included them in the ranks of his troops. Then, Abū al-'Abbās ordered that al-Sha'rānī be placed on a barge, to appear in full view before the troops of the abominable one. This would make them more confident in the promise of safe-conduct. And, indeed, not long after al-Sha'rānī's barges were removed from their position in the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, scores of Zanj officers and others sought guarantees of safe-conduct. They were all brought before Abū Aḥmad, who presented them with gifts and bestowed upon them the same robes and presents as had been granted to those who had preceded them.

With the defection of al-Sha'rānī, the abominable one's grip over the lower part of the camp was loosened and his cause was [2070] undermined and weakened. The latter now charged Shibl b. Sālim with defending the sector formerly assigned to al-Sha'rānī, and sent him down to the lower part of Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. But before the day was over—that is, the day on which al-Muwaffaq displayed the barge with al-Sha'rānī in full view of the abominable one's men—a messenger arrived from Shibl b. Sālim requesting al-Muwaffaq for safe-conduct. He also asked that barges be positioned near the residence of Ibn Sim'ān in order that Shibl and the officers and men accompanying him might set off for them by night. The messenger was sent back with word that the request was accepted, and the barges were positioned at the designated place. Late in the night, Shibl, his household and children, and a group of his officers and men,

went to the ships. However, his men had to display their arms, for the abominable one, having learned of Shibl's intention, sent out a group of Zanj to prevent them from reaching the barges. Fighting back, Shibl and his men killed a number of the Zanj, and arrived at the vessels safely. When dawn reddened the sky, the barges had brought them to the fortress of al-Muwaffaq at al-Muwaffaqiyyah. On al-Muwaffaq's order, Shibl was given costly gifts, clothed with many robes of honor and paraded on several horses equipped with saddles and bridles. This Shibl had been one of the abominable one's close associates, among the earliest of his companions, and someone who had displayed great courage and fortitude on the rebel's behalf. Shibl's men were rewarded as well; they were given robes of honor, and along with their master they were granted military allotments and quarters. All of them were assigned to an officer from al-Muwaffaq's pages. Shibl and his men were transported in barges positioned where they could be observed by the abominable one and his supporters. This impressed the profligate and his leading men as they saw their commanders [2071] eager to seize the opportunity and request safe-conduct.

Shibl's advice and sagacity induced al-Muwaffaq to entrust him with carrying out some tactics against the abominable one. Al-Muwaffaq thus ordered Shibl with a team of valiant Zanj deserters, who were especially assigned to him, to carry out a night attack on the abominable one's camp. He singled out Shibl and these men for the task because of their daring and their familiarity with the roads of the camp. Shibl left to carry out this (assignment), setting out for a place which he knew well; and then at dawn he took it by surprise. Here, he came upon a great body of Zanj including many officers and their guards whom the abominable one had arrayed to defend the residence known as Dār Abī 'Īsā. This was the place where the abominable one was quartered at the time. Shibl took them by surprise, killing a great many of them. He also took a group of Zanj officers captive and seized many of their weapons, while withdrawing safely with all his men. They came to al-Muwaffaq, who rewarded them handsomely, gave them robes of honor, and promoted a number of them to a higher rank. This attack of Shibl's men upon the troops of the perfidious one

drove deep terror into the hearts of the latter; they feared sleeping and kept vigil in turns every night. They were filled with terror to such a degree that the camp was continuously laden with uneasiness as anxiety overwhelmed them. The commotion and shouts of the nightwatch was heard as far away as al-Muwaffaqiyyah.

Following this, al-Muwaffaq continued to send patrols out against the abominable ones, harassing them day and night on both sides of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. The rebels were thus [2072] kept awake at night and thwarted in their search for food. Meanwhile, his troops were getting familiar with the roads and experienced in penetrating the abominable one's city, and then rushing (to the attack). These persistent raids kept the rebels' camp in a continual state of terror. When al-Muwaffaq felt that his troops had obtained all the training they needed, he decided to cross the canal and fight the profligate on the eastern side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb. He convoked a general assembly and called for the presence of the rebel officers who had gone over to his side, as well as the leaders of their cavalry and infantry from among the Zanj and white troops. They were brought to him and stood where they could hear al-Muwaffaq's speech. Then he addressed them enlightening them of their former waywardness, their foolishness and their violation of what is sacred, as well as the apostasy with which the profligate had indoctrinated them. All this, he said, had made their blood licit to him, but he had pardoned them of their sins, forgiven their transgressions, and granted them safety. He further recalled that he had been kind to those who had taken refuge with him, bestowing upon them gifts, granting them military allotments, and assigning them among his leading men and loyal troops. He said that these favors which he bestowed upon them obligated them to obey and follow him. They were not to undertake anything which might be inconsistent with loyalty to God, and the call to loyalty to their ruler obliged them to fight zealously in the holy war against the enemy of God, that is, the traitor and his accomplices. Since, more than anyone else, they were well acquainted with the roads of the abominable one's camp, the danger spots on the thoroughfares of his city, and the places of refuge he had prepared for his flight, it was incumbent [2073]

upon them to provide him with good advice and to do their utmost to invade and penetrate (the city of) the abominable one and to reach him in his strongholds, until God helped them overcome him and his supporters. If they did this, their lot would be reward and bounty. Anyone who did not live up to his obligation would be inviting the authorities to lower his position, reduce his status, and depose him from his rank.

Together, they raised their voices, hailing al-Muwaffaq, acclaiming his bounty and proclaiming their true intentions to heed and obey him. They declared their intention to fight his foes zealously as well as their readiness to shed their blood and sacrifice their lives in any task he might set for them. Whatever task he summoned them for only strengthened their intention and showed them that he had confidence in them and that he accorded them a place in the ranks of his leading men. They requested him to single out some area of the battle where they could fight, in order to show the sincerity of their intentions and their hatred to the foe, and to demonstrate that they had wholeheartedly abandoned the errors of their earlier foolishness. Al-Muwaffaq approved their request and let them know of his satisfaction with the loyalty they had manifested to him. They left encouraged by the response given to them—that is, by the kind words and fine promises.

In Dhū al-Qa'dah of this year (May 12–June 10, 883), al-Muwaffaq entered the profligate's city on the east side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. He razed his residence and plundered everything in it.

[2074] *The Account of This Battle.*

It is mentioned that when he decided to attack the profligate in his city on the eastern side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, Abū Aḥmad gave the order to gather the vessels and ferries from the Tigris, and The Great Swamp and the surrounding areas. He did this in order to add them to the vessels he had in his camp, since the latter were not sufficient for his numerous troops. A count was taken which showed that there were about ten thousand sailors receiving their monthly allotments from the treasury. This number included men from the barges, galleys, and

boats (*raqqiyyah*) which usually transported the cavalry. It did not include the vessels for the people of the camp in which provisions were carried, or which they sailed for their personal needs; nor did it include the galleys and small boats (*jāribiyyah* and *zawraq*) that were attached to each commander and his personal entourage. These had a permanent crew of sailors.

When the vessels and ferries were fully assembled, and their number proved satisfactory, al-Muwaffaq sent word to Abū al-'Abbās and the commanders from among his mawlās and pages to be ready and able to meet their foe. He gave instructions to assign a number of vessels and ferries to transport the cavalry and infantry. He also ordered Abū al-'Abbās to proceed with his army to the western side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal; then he assigned him some commanders from among his pages with about eight thousand of their troops. Al-Muwaffaq instructed him to go to the rear of the profligate's camp until he passed the residence known as Dār al-Muhallabī. The abominable one had already fortified this place and had settled a great many of his men near there in order to secure the rear of his camp and to make access to it difficult for any attacking forces. Abū Aḥmad then ordered Abū al-'Abbās to cross with his men to [2075] the western side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, and to reach this area from the rear. In addition, Abū Aḥmad instructed Rāshid, his mawlā, to emerge from the eastern side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb with a great number of cavalry and infantry, that is, about twenty thousand men. Some of them were to attack at the corner of the residence known as Dār al-Karnabā'ī, the scribe of al-Muhallabī. It was on the point of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, on the east bank. He instructed them to march along the bank of the canal until they reached the residence where the abominable one resided; this was the residence known as Dār Abī 'Īsā. He further ordered a detachment of his pages to emerge at the mouth of the canal known as the Abū Shākir—it was below the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal—while another group was assigned to come out with their men at the mouth of the canal known as Nahr Juwayy Kūr.

All these columns were instructed to move out with the infantry preceding the cavalry, and with all their forces marching towards the residence of the traitor. If God should deliver him

into their hands together with its occupants from among his men, and the members of his household and his children, so much the better; if not, they should set off for the residence of al-Muhallabī to be joined there by those who were ordered to cross (the river) with Abū al-'Abbās, thereby forming a single command against the profligates.

Abū al-'Abbās, Rāshid and the other commanders drawn from the mawlās and pages did as ordered; they all appeared and set off on their vessels. This took place on the evening of Monday, the seventh of Dhū Qa'dah, 269 (Sunday, May 10, 883). The horsemen rode out one after the other while the infantry marched. From the noon service on Monday until the end of the late evening service of Tuesday, the ships sailed
[2076] along the Tigris until they reached a place below the camp. Abū Aḥmad had ordered that this place be repaired, cleaned, and cleared of rubble and weeds. He filled in its streamlets and canals, so that it would become level and spacious as the outer perimeter was extended. Then he established a tower there and a square for mustering the infantry and cavalry; these he positioned in front of the profligate's fortress. His aim in doing so was to counter the assurances which the abominable one had made to his troops, namely, that he, that is, al-Muwaffaq, would move from his position hurriedly. He wanted both factions to know that he was there to stay until God passed the final judgment between him and his enemy. The government force spent Tuesday night in that place in front of the profligate's camp. The army consisted of some fifty thousand men, including horsemen and infantry. They were handsomely outfitted and sported the finest equipment. The army began to call out the *takbīr* and *tahlīl*.[132] They started to recite the Qur'ān and their prayers, and lit fires as well. The abominable one observed the multitude, their equipment and supplies, and it was sufficient to dazzle him and his men.

On Monday evening, al-Muwaffaq sent out the barges. There were one hundred fifty of them, each manned with bowmen and lancers from among his most valiant pages and mawlās. He arrayed them in front of the traitor's camp, from one end to the

132. That is, the formulas recited at the time of prayer.

other, so that they would serve as a battle line for the army behind him; they assumed positions near the bank and cast their anchors. He singled out a number of them which he selected for himself, and assigned to them some special officers from among his pages, so that they would accompany him when he attacked in the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. Then he selected ten thousand cavalry and infantry and instructed them to march along the banks of the canal, emulating his route, taking his positions, and following his orders in the course of the battle.

Early Tuesday morning al-Muwaffaq set out to fight the profligate, that is, the leader of the Zanj. He sent each of the commanders to his point of destination, as the army marched out against the profligate and his men. They subsequently encountered the abominable one and his army. The engagement began and both sides sustained heavy losses in dead and wounded. The profligates furiously defended the part of the city to which they were now limited, showing no regard for their own lives. But al-Muwaffaq's forces persevered and gallantly fought back. God granted them victory, and the profligates fled, as the government force inflicted heavy losses upon them and captured a great many of their warriors and brave men. The captives were brought before al-Muwaffaq, who ordered them beheaded on the spot. [2077]

Al-Muwaffaq set out for the traitor's residence with a body of his troops, and arrived there. The traitorr had taken refuge there, concentrating his most valiant men to defend it. But when this proved fruitless, he surrendered it, and his men dispersed. Al-Muwaffaq's pages entered it, and there, left behind, was what remained of the abominable one's money and valuables. They carried off all this and seized his women, his male and female children; their number exceeded a hundred persons. The profligate escaped and fled to the residence of al-Muhallabī, forsaking family and wealth. His house and the rest of his goods and valuables were subsequently set on fire. The rebel's women and children were brought before al-Muwaffaq, and he ordered them transported to al-Muwaffaqiyyah, placed under supervision, and accorded fair treatment.

A group of Abū al-'Abbās's officers crossed the Abū al-Khaṣīb

Canal, setting out for an assigned place at the residence of al-Muhallabī. Without waiting for their troops to join them, they
[2078] arrived at al-Muhallabī's residence. Now, most of the Zanj had fled there after their escape from the abominable one's residence. The troops of Abū al-'Abbās entered the residence and busied themselves with looting, grabbing everything that al-Muhallabī had amassed. They also seized Muslim women and the children al-Muhallabī had had by them. Everyone took something and left with it for his vessel in the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. Meanwhile, the Zanj noticed how few al-Muwaffaq's men were, and how they were preoccupied with looting; so they attacked them from a number of places where they had hidden in ambush, and they dislodged them from their positions. The government troops were routed and the Zanj chased them as far as the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. The latter killed a small number of the government horsemen and infantry, and recovered some of the women and valuables which al-Muwaffaq's men had taken.

A detachment of al-Muwaffaq's pages and troops which set off for the residence of the abominable one along the eastern side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal took to plundering and carrying the booty to their vessels. This emboldened the Zanj who attacked, routing the government troops; they followed on their heels until (they reached) the place known as the Sheep Market (Sūq al-Ghanam) of the Zanj camp. A group of officers from the pages now stood fast with their bravest and most valiant men and repelled the Zanj commanders, giving the rest of the troops a chance to recover and return to their positions. The battle between them lasted until late afternoon, when Abū Aḥmad ordered his pages and their forces to charge the profligates with all their might. They did so, and the Zanj were routed. Al-Muwaffaq's swords found them until they reached the residence of the abominable one. As a result, al-Muwaffaq decided to withdraw his pages and troops, although they held the initiative. He ordered his men to return, and they withdrew
[2079] calmly and quietly. Al-Muwaffaq and the men with him on barges positioned themselves in the canal and protected them, until they embarked on their vessels and brought their horses

aboard. The Zanj, having suffered the effects of the last battle, refrained from pursuing them.

Al-Muwaffaq, together with Abū al-'Abbās, the rest of his officers and all his army, left, having plundered the wealth of the profligate and having rescued many Muslim women who had been abducted by the latter. That day, the evacuation of the women began, as they were taken by droves to the mouth of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. They were then transported by vessels to al-Muwaffaqiyyah until the end of the war.

That very day, al-Muwaffaq forwarded orders to Abū al-'Abbās to send one of his officers with five barges along the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal to the lower part of the abominable one's camp. They were to burn an enormous threshing floor which the abominable one used to provision his Zanj troops and others. This was done, and the officer set most of the threshing floor on fire; this action proved to be one of the most significant factors in weakening the profligate and his troops, since they had no other reliable source of food.

On that day, Abū Aḥmad ordered that dispatches should be sent to the regions concerning his victories over the abominable one and his troops. The dispatches were to be read aloud in public, and this was done.

On Wednesday, the second of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 269 (Tuesday night, May 12, 883), Ṣā'id b. Makhlad, al-Muwaffaq's scribe, arrived at the latter's camp, having come to him from Sāmarrā. Arriving with Ṣā'id was an enormous army which, it was said, included some ten thousand cavalry and infantry. Al-Muwaffaq ordered Ṣā'id to give his troops a rest, to have them put their weapons in order and straighten out their affairs, and then make ready to fight against the abominable one. Ṣā'id remained several days after arriving in order to carry out these orders. His force was busy at this when a dispatch arrived from Lu'lu', Ibn Ṭūlūn's commander—it was carried by one of his officers. In this dispatch, Lu'lu' asked for permission to come to al-Muwaffaq and participate in the fight against the profligate. Al-Muwaffaq agreed to this and granted Lu'lu' permission to come. Anticipating Lu'lu''s arrival, al-Muwaffaq delayed resuming the battle against the rebel as he had decided earlier. [2080]

Lu'lu' was stationed in al-Raqqah with an enormous army consisting of men from Farghānah, Turks, troops from Bilād al-Rūm, Berbers, blacks and others, all the choicest troops of Ibn Ṭūlūn.

When Abū Aḥmad's letter with permission to come reached Lu'lu', the latter left Diyār Muḍar and came to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) with his men. He remained there for some time; and then departed for Abū Aḥmad, reaching the latter in his camp on Thursday, the second of al-Muḥarram, 270 (July 12, 883). Abū Aḥmad held an audience for him which was attended by the former's son Abū al-'Abbās, Ṣā'id, and the officers according to their rank. Lu'lu', in fine attire, was brought to him, whereupon, Abū al-' Abbās ordered Lu'lu' accommodated in a camp quarter which was especially prepared for him opposite the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. After Lu'lu' and his men settled there, Abū al-'Abbās ordered him to come, together with his officers and men, to al-Muwaffaq's quarters. He was to appear early next morning in order to salute al-Muwaffaq. Friday morning, on the third of al-Muḥarram (July 13, 883), Lu'lu' and his men appeared in great numbers. He arrived in al-Muwaffaq's presence and saluted him. Al-Muwaffaq drew him near and made generous promises to him and his companions, and ordered that Lu'lu' and one hundred fifty of his officers be given robes of honor, and be paraded with numerous horses bearing saddles and harnesses set in gold and silver. In front of Lu'lu' were one hundred pages who were required to carry different kinds of garments and purses of money. Al-Muwaffaq also ordered that Lu'lu''s officers be presented with gifts and gar-
[2081] ments, each according to his rank. He further bestowed upon Lu'lu' great estates and, in the most auspicious of circumstances, he sent him off to his camp in front of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal where lodging and fodder had been prepared for him and his men.

Abū al-'Abbās requested Lu'lu' to present him with the roster of his troops indicating the sums of their allotments according to rank, and when these registers were presented, he doubled everyone's allowance. At the same time, he assigned salaries to them and paid them according to the place inscribed on the roster. Then, Abū al-'Abbās instructed Lu'lu' to make ready

and prepare to cross to the western side of the Tigris to fight against the profligate and his men.

After he had lost his control over the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, and his masonry and pontoon bridges there had been cut, the abominable one constructed a dam which extended from both banks of the canal. In the middle of the dam he constructed a narrow opening, so that the current through it would become swift and hinder the barges from entering during the ebbtide and from exiting during the rising tide. Abū Aḥmad saw that without the destruction of this dam he would be unable to do battle, and he made efforts to raze it; but the profligates intensified their defense. Indeed, they began to strengthen the dam day and night. It was in the middle of their territory and it was thus easy to supply them (that is, the defenders), but difficult to supply those who tried to destroy the dam.

Abū Aḥmad decided to employ the troops of Lu'lu'. One detachment after another would be sent to fight, so that they would get training in fighting the Zanj, and to position themselves on the paths and thoroughfares of the enemy city. He thus ordered Lu'lu', to be present with a detachment of his troops in order to participate in the fight for this dam. He also ordered that the sappers be brought along to demolish it. Al-Muwaffaq saw Lu'lu''s bravery in advancing, and the courage [2082] and perseverance of his men, as they disregarded the pain and wounds, and he rejoiced. He was also gladdened when he saw their small force bravely and steadfastly facing the large numbers of the Zanj army. However, seized by apprehension and concern for them, he ordered Lu'lu' to call off his troops. Al-Muwaffaq then bestowed gifts upon them, treated them generously and sent them back to their camp.

Al-Muwaffaq continued to press the attack against the dam, combatting the defense troops of the abominable one with the help of Lu'lu''s men and others. All the while, the sappers worked at demolishing it. The troops fought the rebel and his factions from a number of directions, burning their dwelling places, killing their fighting men, and causing their leaders to seek safe conduct, one batch after another.

Some grounds in the vicinity of the Gharbī Canal were still held by the abominable one and his men. They had the use of

fields and meadows, and two bridges spanning the canal by which they could cross over to these grounds. Abū al-'Abbās discovered this and was inclined to march there, so he asked al-Muwaffaq for permission. The latter granted him this, and gave him instructions to select men who were among the bravest of his troops and pages. Abū al-'Abbās did as instructed, and turned towards the Gharbī Canal. He positioned Zīrak and a body of his troops as ambushers on the western side of the canal, and he ordered his page Rashīq to set off with a large body of his bravest and choicest men to the canal known as Nahr al-'Umaysiyyīn, so as to emerge behind the Zanj and catch them unawares. They would then attack the enemy on these grounds. He ordered Zīrak to attack the Zanj head-on when he
[2083] perceived them fleeing before Rashīq.

Abū al-'Abbās positioned himself, with a number of barges whose fighting men he had already selected, at the mouth of the Gharbī Canal. He had with him a sufficient number of his white and black pages. When Rashīq emerged to meet the rebels on the eastern side of the canal, he frightened them; whereupon, they moved forward seeking to cross to the western side in order to flee to their camp. Perceiving this, Abū al-'Abbās broke into the canal with the barges; landing his infantry on the banks, he overtook the Zanj and put them to the sword. Many of them were killed in the canal and on its banks, while others were taken prisoner and still others fled. Zīrak and his troops now met them, and they killed all but the few who escaped. Abū al-'Abbās's troops seized arms that weighed upon them so heavily that they could not carry them; they dropped most of them. Abū al-'Abbās now cut the two bridges and ordered that the posts and the wood be dumped into the Tigris.[133] He then returned to al-Muwaffaq with the captives and the heads of the slain which were paraded about the camp. The profligates were thus deprived of the cultivated fields along the Gharbī Canal, fields which provided them with foodstuffs.

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah of this year (June 11-July 10, 883), the household of the Zanj leader and his children were brought to Baghdad.

133. This would seem to indicate a wooden bridge. See above, n. 130.

In this year, Ṣā'id was named Dhū al-Wizāratayn.[134]

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah of this year, a skirmish occurred involving two officers of Ibn Ṭūlūn and their troops; one of them was named Muḥammad b. al-Sarrāj, the other was called al-Ghanawī. Ibn Ṭūlūn had sent both of them to Mecca, and they arrived there on Wednesday, the twenty-eighth of Dhū al-Qa'dah (June 8, 883), with a force of four hundred seventy horsemen and two thousand infantry. They gave the Jazzārīn and Ḥannātīn two dinārs each and the headmen (*ra'īs*) were given seven. At the time, Hārūn b. Muḥammad, the governor of Mecca was in Bustān b. 'Āmir.[135] [2084]

On the third of Dhū al-Ḥijjah (Wednesday, June 13, 883), Ja'far b. al-Bāghamardī arrived in Mecca with a force of about two hundred riders. Hārūn met himwith one hundred twenty horsemen, two hundred blacks, thirty cavalrymen from the troops of 'Amr b. al-Layth, and two hundred infantry from those who had arrived from Iraq. Ja'far was strengthened by their presence. Then, assisted by the pilgrims who came from Khurāsān, Ja'far's force met the troops of Ibn Ṭūlūn and killed about two hundred of them in the hollow of the city. The rest fled to the hills, with Ja'far's men taking their animals and money as booty. Ja'far lifted his sword and seized al-Ghanawī's tent—it is said there were two hundred thousand dīnārs in it. He granted a pardon to the Egyptians, the Ḥannātīn and the Jazzārīn. In the holy mosques a letter was read cursing Ibn Ṭūlūn. The people as well as the possessions of the merchants were now safe.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al- Hāshimī.

Although Isḥāq b. Kundāj was appointed governor of the entire Maghrib, he did not leave Sāmarrā before the year ended.

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134. That is, "the Master of Two Wazīrates." The reference was to his serving two masters, the Caliph and Abū Aḥmad.

135. Bustān b. 'Āmir was also referred to as Bustān b. Ma'mar. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 611.

The Events of the Year 270

(July 11, 883–June 28, 884)

In al-Muḥarram of this year (July 11–August 9, 883) a battle which sapped the power of the leader of the Zanj took place between him and Abū Aḥmad. In Ṣafar (August 10–September 7, 883), the rebel was slain, Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ and Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar al-Hamdānī were captured and the entire affair of the profligate came to an end.

The Two Battles[136]

We have already mentioned the dam which the abominable one constructed and, with regard to this, about Abū Aḥmad and his troops. It is mentioned that Abū Aḥmad pressed the fight for this dam without respite until he reached his objective, thus easing the entrance of the barges into the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal both at the ebb and high tide. From the place where he was positioned, it became easy for Abū Aḥmad to do as he wished. This included keeping prices low, making food-

136. See Popovic, *Révolte*, 152 ff.

stuffs available, and allowing for the delivery of tribute from the provinces. He also succeeded in instilling zeal among his fighting men, in order that they might carry on the holy war against the abominable one and his supporters. Among the volunteers joining him was Aḥmad b. Dīnār, the governor of Īdhaj and the surrounding territories from the districts of al-Ahwāz; he came with a great force of cavalry and infantry. Aḥmad himself, as well as his troops, took part in the fight until the abominable one was killed. Aḥmad was, in turn, followed by people from al-Baḥrayn, reportedly a large throng of about two thousand men, led by one of the 'Abd al-Qays tribe.

Abū Aḥmad held an audience for them, and he was visited by their leader and notables, whom he ordered given robes of honor. He reviewed all their men and gave instructions to provide lodging for them. Following them, about one thousand individuals from the districts of Fārs arrived under the leadership of an elderly volunteer whose patronymic was Abū Salamah. Al-Muwaffaq held an audience for them as well. This old man and his leading companions arrived, and Abū Aḥmad gave them robes of honor and made provision for their lodging. They were then followed by successive groups of volunteers from the provinces. [2086]

After al-Muwaffaq succeeded in taking care of the dam, as mentioned above, he decided to meet the abominable one in battle. He gave instructions to make ready the ships and ferries, and to prepare the military equipment necessary for fighting on land and water. He selected cavalry and infantry upon whose courage and valor he could rely, because the places where he would do battle were narrow, difficult and marked by numerous defensive trenches and canals. The number of cavalrymen selected was about two thousand, the infantry were fifty thousand or more. This number did not include the volunteers who crossed over, nor the people of the camp who were not listed on the military roll. He left a large army behind in al-Muwaffaqiyyah, mostly horsemen whom his ships could not carry.

Al-Muwaffaq then sent orders to Abū al-'Abbās to set out with his troops, pages and whatever cavalry and infantry and barges he had attached to his command. They were to set out

for the place which Abū al-'Abbās had reached on Tuesday, the tenth of Dhū al-Qa'dah, 269 (May 22, 883). This was the place on the east bank in front of al-Muhallabī's residence. He also ordered Ṣā'id b. Makhlad to attack on the east bank along the canal known as the Abū Shākir. In turn, al-Muwaffaq arrayed his mawlās and pages from the mouth of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal to the Gharbī. The sector from the residence of al-Karnabā'ī to the Abū Shākir Canal was occupied by Rāshid and Lu'lu', the mawlās of al-Muwaffaq. They had with them
[2087] a force of some twenty thousand horsemen and infantry in closed ranks. In the sector from the Abū Shākir to the canal known as Nahr Juwayy Kūr he placed a group of officers from his mawlās and pages, and he did the same in the sector between the Juwayy Kūr and the Gharbī Canal. Al-Muwaffaq commanded Shibl to set out with his troops and the forces which had been added to his command. They were to make for the Gharbī from which they would emerge facing the rear of al-Muhallabī's residence. At the outbreak of fighting, they were to attack from behind it. He ordered the entire government force to march out against the rebel at the same pace. The marching sign was the waving of a black banner which he hung on a place high atop the residence of al-Karnabā'ī at the mouth of Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. Another sign was the blowing of a distant trumpet. The crossing took place on Monday, the twenty-seventh of al-Muḥarram, 270 (Monday night, August 4, 883).

One commander based on the canal known as Nahr Juwayy Kūr started to march before the banner appeared, and he drew near the residence of al-Muhallabī. He and his men were subsequently met by the Zanj who pushed them back to their positions, killing many of them. Because the rest of al-Muwaffaq's force was so large, and because the distance between contingents was so vast, they did not notice what had happened to those who had rushed into the fight. As the officers and their men left for their assigned places, and the cavalry and infantry took up their positions, al-Muwaffaq ordered the flag waved and the trumpet sounded. He himself entered the canal on a barge while the people marched out in successive waves. Encouraged by their success against those who had rushed toward

them prematurely, the Zanj who had banded together encountered the troops. The government army met them and struck [2088] with firm, well-calculated blows. After a few skirmishes in which both parties lost many fighting men, they dislodged the Zanj from their positions. Abū Aḥmad's men persevered and God granted them victory over the profligates. The rebels fled, and al-Muwaffaq's troops pursued them, killing some and capturing others. Abū Aḥmad's men surrounded the rebels from all directions. God destroyed countless multitudes of them on that day; and a similar number were drowned in the canal known as Nahr Juwayy Kūr. The troops of al-Muwaffaq took possession of the profligate's city and rescued all the prisoners who were there: men, women and children. They seized the entire households, including children, of 'Alī b. Abān al-Muhallabī and his brothers al-Khalīl and Muḥammad, as well as the household and children of Sulaymān b. Jāmi'. All the captives were then transported to al-Muwaffaqiyyah.

The profligate and his companions, among them his son Ankalāy, al-Muhallabī, Sulaymān b. Jāmi', Zanj commanders and others, fled, setting off for a place which the abominable one had seen fit to prepare as a refuge for himself and his men should they lose control of his city. The place was on the canal known as Nahr al-Sufyānī. The abominable one fled, and Abū Aḥmad's troops triumphed as they did; but the troops remained at the residence of al-Muhallabī, which protruded into the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. The government forces busied themselves with looting what was in the residence and with setting the residence and the contiguous areas on fire. They broke into groups seeking plunder. All that remained to the abominable one and his men had been assembled in this residence.

Abū Aḥmad advanced with his barges for the canal known as Nahr al-Sufyānī. With him were Lu'lu' and his cavalry and [2089] infantry. Abū Aḥmad became separated from the rest of the army, so they thought that he had withdrawn; thus they returned to their ships with their loot.

Meanwhile, al-Muwaffaq and the men accompanying him reached the camp of the profligate and his troops—they were fleeing. Lu'lu' and his force pursued them, crossing the canal known as Nahr al-Sufyānī. Lu'lu' rushed into the water on his

mount, and was followed by his men. Then the rebel went on to the canal known as Nahr al-Qarīrī; but Lu'lu' and his force reached him. The government troops attacked the rebel and his cohort and drove them off. The enemy fled, pursued by Lu'lu' and his men, until he crossed the canal known as Nahr al-Qarīrī. Then Lu'lu' and his force crossed behind them, forcing the enemy to retreat to the canal known as Nahr al-Masāwān. The rebels crossed the waterway and took refuge in the mountains behind it. Lu'lu' and his men were the only government contingent taking part in this action. Their zeal in pursuing the profligate and his supporters brought them to the place which we have described, at the end of daylight. Then, al-Muwaffaq gave the order to withdraw and Lu'lu' withdrew, lauded for his action. Al-Muwaffaq took him along in the barges and again, was generous and bountiful to him. In recognition of what Lu'lu' had done in fighting the profligates, Abū Aḥmad also promoted him to a higher rank.

Accompanied by the troops of Lu'lu', al-Muwaffaq returned with his barges to the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. When he came face to face with al-Muhallabī's residence, he found none of his troops; he thus understood that they had withdrawn. Al-Muwaffaq ordered Lu'lu' to move out with his men to his camp, while he himself, seized with anger at his (missing) troops, turned toward his fortress.

Now, Abū Aḥmad was sure of victory, for he saw its signs,
[2090] and all the people rejoiced at what God had granted—namely, the rout of the profligate and his men. They rejoiced as well at God's having made it possible to expel the enemy from their city, and seize everything in it, and distribute what had been taken as booty—that is the money, treasures and weapons. Finally there was the rescue of all the captives held by the rebels. But Abū Aḥmad was angry at his men because they disobeyed orders and abandoned the positions in which he had placed them. He ordered that the commanders of his mawlās and pages and the leading men among them be gathered together. When they were assembled for him, he scolded them for what they had done, judging them weak and castigating them in harsh language. Then they made excuses; they supposed that he had returned, and they had not known about his advance

against the profligate, nor about his having pressed so far into the rebel's camp. Had they known this, they would have rushed toward him. They did not leave their places until they had taken a solemn oath and covenant that, when sent against the abominable one, none of them would withdraw before God had delivered him into their hands; and should they fail, they would not budge from their positions until God had passed judgment between them and him. They requested of al-Muwaffaq that, after they had left al-Muwaffaqiyyah to fight, he order the ships transporting them to return and, thus, eliminate any temptation to those who might seek to leave the battle against the profligate.

Abū Aḥmad accepted their apologies for their wrongdoing and again took them into his favor. Then he ordered them to prepare for crossing and to forewarn their troops just as they themselves had been forewarned. Abū Aḥmad spent Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday preparing whatever he would need.When this was completed, he sent word to his entourage and the officers of his pages and mawlās, instructing them as to their tasks when crossing (into combat). Friday evening he sent word to Abū al-'Abbās and the officers of his pages and mawlās to set out for places which he, that is, Abū Aḥmad, had specified. [2091]

Al-Muwaffaq instructed Abū al-'Abbās and his troops to set a course for a place known as 'Askar Rayḥān, which lay between the canal known as Nahr al-Sufyānī and the spot where the rebel sought refuge. He and his army were to follow the route along the canal known as Nahr al-Mughīrah, so that they would exit where the canal intersects the Abū al-Khaṣīb and reach 'Askar Rayḥān from this direction. He forwarded instructions to an officer of his black pages to reach the Nahr al-Amīr and cross at its center. At the same time, he ordered the rest of his officers and pages to pass the night on the eastern side of the Tigris, opposite the profligate's camp, and be prepared to attack him in the early morning.

During Friday night, al-Muwaffaq made the rounds among the officers and men in his barge. He divided amongst them key positions and locations which he had arranged for them in the profligate's camp. According to the assigned plan, they

were to march towards these places in the morning. Early Saturday morning, on the second of Ṣafar, 270 (August 11, 883), al-Muwaffaq reached the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal in his barge. He remained there until all his men had crossed (the waterway) and disembarked from their vessels, and the cavalry and infantry had assumed their positions. Then, after giving instructions for the vessels and ferries to return to the eastern side, he gave the troops the go-ahead to march against the profligate. He himself preceded them until he reached the spot where he estimated the profligates would make a stand in an attempt to repel the government army. Meanwhile, on Monday, after the army had withdrawn, the traitor and his men returned to the city and stayed there, hoping to prolong their defense and repel the attack.

[2092] Al-Muwaffaq found that the fastest of his cavalry and infantry among the pages had preceded the main force of the army and had attacked the rebel and his companions, dislodging them from their positions. The enemy force fled and dispersed without paying attention to one another, and the government army pursued them, killing and capturing whomever they managed to catch. The profligate, with a group of his fighting men, was cut off from (the rest) of his officers and troops—among them was al-Muhallabī. Ankalāy, the rebel's son, had abandoned him, as had Sulaymān b. Jāmi'. Moving against each of the contingents which we have named was a large force of al-Muwaffaq's mawlās, and cavalry and infantry drawn from his pages. Abū al-'Abbās's troops, assigned by al-Muwaffaq to the place known as 'Askar Rayḥān, met the rebel's fleeing men and put them to the sword. The officer assigned to the Amīr Canal also arrived there, and having blocked the rebels' path he attacked them. Encountering Sulaymān b. Jāmi', he took the fight to him, killing many of his men and seizing Sulaymān. He made Sulaymān a captive and delivered him to al-Muwaffaq without conditions. The people were glad to learn of Sulaymān's capture, and there were many cries of "God is Great!" and great clamor. They felt certain of victory, since Sulaymān was known to be the most able of the rebel's companions. After him, Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Hamdānī, one of the field commanders of the rebel's army, was taken

captive; then Nādir al-Aswad, the one known as al-Ḥaffār, one of the earliest companions of the rebel, was captured.

Upon al-Muwaffaq's order, precautionary measures were taken, and the captives were transferred in barges to Abū al-'Abbās.

Following this, those Zanj who had separated from the main body, together with the profligate, assaulted the government force, dislodging them from their positions and causing them to lose the initiative. Al-Muwaffaq noticed the loss of initiative, but he pressed on with the search for the abominable one, [2093] advancing quickly in the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. This bolstered his mawlās and pages, who hastened to pursue (the enemy) with him. As al-Muwaffaq reached the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, a herald arrived with the good news of the rebel's death; before long another herald arrived carrying a hand, and claimed that this was the hand of the rebel. This seemed to lend credence to the report of the rebel's demise. Finally a page from Lu'lu''s troops arrived, galloping on a horse and carrying the head of the abominable one. Al-Muwaffaq had the head brought closer, and then showed it to a group of former enemy officers who were in his presence. They identified it, and al-Muwaffaq prostrated himself in adoration to God for both the hardships and bounties He had conferred upon him. Abū al-'Abbās, the mawlās and the officers of al-Muwaffaq's pages then prostrated themselves, offering much thanks to God, and praising and exalting Him. Al-Muwaffaq ordered the head of the rebel raised on a spear and displayed in front of him. The people saw it and thus knew that the news of the rebel's death was true. At this, they raised their voices in praise to God.

It is reported that al-Muwaffaq's troops surrounded the abominable one after all his field commanders had abandoned him save al-Muhallabī; the latter now turned away from him and fled, thus betraying the rebel. The rebel then set off for the canal known as Nahr al-Amīr and plunged into the water, seeking safety. Even before that, Ankalāy, the son of the abominable one, had split off from his father and fled in the direction of the canal known as Nahr al-Dīnārī, where he entrenched himself in the swampy terrain.

Al-Muwaffaq retired, with the head of the abominable one

displayed on a spear mounted in front of him on a barge. The vessel moved along the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, with the people on both sides of the waterway observing it. When he reached the Tigris, he took his course along the river and gave the order to return the vessels, with which he had crossed to the western side of the Tigris at daylight, to the eastern side of the river. [2094] They were returned to ferry the troops (back) across the river.

Then al-Muwaffaq continued his trip, with the abominable one's head on the spear before him, while Sulaymān b. Jāmi' and al-Hamdānī were mounted for display. When he arrived at his fortress in al-Muwaffaqiyyah, he ordered Abū al-'Abbās to sail the barge, keeping the rebel's head and Sulaymān b. Jāmi' and al-Hamdānī in place, and to take his course to the Jaṭṭā Canal where the camp of al-Muwaffaq began. He was to do this so that all the people of the camp could have a look at them. Abū al-'Abbās did this, and then returned to his father, Abū Aḥmad, whereupon the latter imprisoned Sulaymān b. Jāmi' and al-Hamdānī and ordered that the rebel's head be properly prepared and cleaned.

It is reported that the Zanj who had remained with the abominable one, preferring his company, were continuously arriving (at al-Muwaffaq's camp), and that about one thousand of them arrived that day. Al-Muwaffaq saw fit to grant them safe-conduct because of their numbers and bravery. Otherwise, there might remain among them a group that could become an annoyance to Islām and the Believers. During the rest of Saturday, Sunday and Monday, about five thousand Zanj officers and troops surrendered. Those who had been killed in battle, drowned and captured were so numerous that their numbers cannot be ascertained. A group of about one thousand Zanj, who had been cut off, made for the hinterland. Most of them died of thirst, and those who survived fell into the hands of the tribesmen who enslaved them.

Word reached al-Muwaffaq that al-Muhallabī, Ankalāy, and the bravest Zanj officers and men who followed them, were staying at certain places. So he sent out his most courageous pages to pursue and harass them. When the besieged were certain that there was no escape for them, they surrendered. Al-Muwaffaq seized them and their followers without exception;

there were almost as many of them as those who had gone to al-Muwaffaq and asked him for guarantees of safety immediately after the death of the abominable one. Al-Muwaffaq then ordered that al-Muhallabī and Ankalāy be imprisoned and closely guarded. This was done. Among those fleeing from the camp of the abominable one on Saturday, without any guarantee, was Qarṭās, who had shot an arrow at al-Muwaffaq. He had succeeded in fleeing to Rāmhurmuz, but a man who happened to have seen him in the abominable one's camp recognized him and pointed him out to the governor of the city, who seized him and had him bound. Abū al-'Abbās asked his father to let him slay Qarṭās; the latter was thus handed over to Abū al-'Abbās who put him to death. [2095]

In this year, Darmawayh al-Zanjī asked Abū Aḥmad for a guarantee of safe-conduct. This Darmawayh was, reportedly, one of the most courageous and heroic of the Zanj. Long before his death, the rebel had sent Darmawayh to the lower part of the Fahrāj Canal. The waterway was west of the Tigris near al-Baṣrah. He took up his position there in a rugged place close to The Great Swamp, which was full of palms, thickets and bushes. Using fast skiffs and galleys they had taken for their own use, Darmawayh and the men stationed with him there would intercept travellers. If pursued by the barges, they would enter the narrow canals and take refuge in the thickets. If some of these canals proved too narrow, even for them, they would disembark, carry their vessels over their backs, and seek refuge in inaccessible spots. All the while, they would raid the villages of The Great Swamp and of the neighboring territory, killing and looting whatever they could get their hands on.

Darmawayh and his men carried out these actions until the rebel was killed. At the time, they were in the place which we have described, and they knew nothing of what befell their master. Following the death of the abominable one, the territory around his retreat was conquered, and the people, feeling safe, spread out in search of business, travelling along the Tigris and transporting merchandise. Darmawayh now attacked them, murdering and looting, causing people to be shocked (and frightened). A band of villains and profligates were inclined to do the same as Darmawayh. They made up [2096]

their minds to go to him, stay with him and lead the same kind of life.

Al-Muwaffaq now decided to send out a troop of his black pages and others, who were expert in fighting among the thickets and the narrow canals. For this purpose he equipped them with small boats and different kinds of weapons. But while he was completing preparations, a messenger from Darmawayh arrived asking al-Muwaffaq to grant safe-conduct to Darmawayh and his men. Al-Muwaffaq decided to grant him safety in order to put an end to the evil suffered by the populace, because of the rebel and the factions supporting him.

It is reported that the reason for Darmawayh's request for safe-conduct was that among the people he had attacked, there were some who had been on their way from al-Muwaffaq's camp to their homes in Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām)—among them were women. Darmawayh killed the men, plundered their possessions, and seized the accompanying women. When the latter fell into his hands, he interrogated them, and they told him of the profligate's death and that al-Muhallabī, Ankalāy, Sulaymān b. Jāmi' and other field commanders and officers of the profligate's troops had been seized. They also indicated that most of the Zanj had gone to al-Muwaffaq seeking safe-conduct, and that he had received them and treated them kindly. This news confounded Darmawayh, and he saw no way out but to commend himself to the mercy of al-Muwaffaq and ask him to pardon his crimes. So he sent word (to al-Muwaffaq) concerning this, and his request was accepted. When the guarantee arrived, Darmawayh and all his followers went to the
[2097] camp of al-Muwaffaq. This was a fine unit that arrived; fully equiped, it had not suffered from the harm and misery of the siege which had been so hard on the rest of the abominable one's troops. The former unit had benefited from the influx of money and provisions taken from others.

It is reported that after he was accorded protection, and he and his people were well treated, Darmawayh gave up all the money and property they had and openly returned it to the owners. This manifested his repentant return to God, and al-Muwaffaq gave him, his leading men, and his officers robes

of honor, and bestowed presents upon them. Then, he assigned all of them to one of his pages who was an officer.

Al-Muwaffaq ordered that letters be written to the centers of the Muslim world announcing to the people of al-Baṣrah, al-Ubullah, and the Tigris districts, and to the people of al-Ahwāz and its districts, and the people of Wāsiṭ and the surrounding areas—regions penetrated by the Zanj—that the rebel was dead and they could return to their native lands. These orders were carried out and the populace hastened to do as instructed. They came to the city of al-Muwaffaqiyyah from every direction. After that, al-Muwaffaq remained in al-Muwaffaqiyyah so that the populace would feel more secure and at ease. He appointed al-'Abbās b. Tarkas, one of his mawlā officers, as governor of al-Baṣrah, al-Ubullah and the districts of the Tigris—he had praised him for his behavior and was aware of the fine manner in which al-'Abbās acquitted himself. Al-Muwaffaq ordered him to move to al-Baṣrah and establish his residence there. He also appointed Muḥammad b. Ḥammād over the judiciary of al-Baṣrah, al-Ubullah, and the districts of al-Ahwāz and Wāsiṭ.

Then, al-Muwaffaq sent his son Abū al-'Abbās to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) with the head of the abominable one, the leader of the Zanj. He was to show it to the people, so that they might rejoice. Abū al-'Abbās and his men carried out this order, and on Saturday, the eighteenth of Jumādā I, 270 (November 30, 883), he and his troops reached Baghdad and entered the [2098] city sporting the finest raiment. Upon Abū al-'Abbās's command, the head of the abominable one was brought forth on a spear in front of him, and the populace gathered to view this procession.

The leader of the Zanj began his revolt on Wednesday, the twenty-sixth of Ramaḍān, 255 (August 6, 870). He was killed on Saturday, the second of Ṣafar, 270 (August 11, 883). From the inception of his revolt until the day he was killed, fourteen years, four months and six days passed. His entry into al-Ahwāz took place on the seventeenth of Ramaḍān, 256 (Friday, Aug. 18, 870); his entry into al-Baṣrah, at which time the massacre of its population and the burning of the city took

place, was on the sixteenth of Shawwāl, 257 (Thursday, September 6, 871).

The contest between al-Muwaffaq and the rebel became the subject of many poets. Among the works dealing with the subject is the following poem written by Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Aslamī:

I say the harbinger of good tidings brought word of a battle
which steadied all that had been shaken in Islam.

May God bestow the highest reward upon the best of men
who was so noble to people made homeless and robbed.

When no one appeared to uphold God's cause
He alone restored the faith, which had begun crumbling away.

[2099] He strengthened the Empire when its glory was on the wane
and followed this up by wreaking his vengeance on the foe.

He rebuilt devastated and ruined habitations,
so that collapsing roofs might be restored.

And cities, despoiled and destroyed repeatedly
and turned into desert-land and wastes, be rebuilt.

This battle will bring a consolation to our weeping eyes;
it will bring healing to the hearts of the believers.

The Book of God is read in every mosque;
the appeals of the Ṭālibīs[137] are rejected as comptemptible.

He forsook comfort and friends and pleasures
to emerge victorious in the cause of Islam.

These verses are from a lengthy ode. He has also written the following lines on the same subject:

137. That is, 'Alids.

Where are the stars of the heretic, the apostate,
indeed he was not one of skill and shrewdness;

Good fortune by the hand of a Prince, whose words are deeds,
visited calamity upon him.

The abominable one fell in battle and was left an easy prey
to lions of the bush that swooped down on the field;

From the cup of perdition he tasted a drink,
a beverage most loathsome to the palate of men.

On the same subject, Yaḥyā b. Khālid said:

O son of the caliphs of the stock of Hāshim, [2100]
of those who heap upon people their bounties

And repel the foe assailing the home,
of those whose days are marked with battles,

You are a ruler who restored the Faith after it was trampled down,
Who released captives from shackles and bonds;

You are the protector in time of misfortune
and unto you the needy [man] turns with his plea.

You extinguished the flames of impiety after they rose high,
O, you, who abundantly metes out both hope and death;

How excellent you are, O offspring of caliphs,
in decisions so wise, with armor so resplendent!

You have destroyed the infidel's hosts. To the ground they
fell looking death in the eyes. With a resolute mind

You have showered upon them decisive blows,
making their hearts swell with horror.

When the accursed rebel exceeded all bounds
you swooped down upon him with the whirling sword and spear.

And you cast him to the ground. Crows fly around him
picking the joints and limbs of his body.

He plunged into the depth of the scorching hell,
[2101] under the weight of chains wearing him away;

This he earned so justly by his numerous crimes
and by the wicked deeds of his own hands.

By saving it from the plotter you delighted all Islām,
and rid it of infanticide.

The attack of al-Muwaffaq was dealt in Iraq
but this heroic assault terrified those in the west.

Similarly, the verses of Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Marwān:

Give me a clear answer, O waste habitation
whose yards are still flooded by the heavy rain;

Tell me about the people, where have they gone,
will they return, will the traveller be back?

But what answer could the ruined home give me,
where no sign remained of the dwellers?

The songs of the people of those homes made me weep
and plunged me into grief; endurance betrayed me.

As if the camel's shriek came to them with a warning
about fatal days with doom in their wake,

[2102] Swiftly and viciously the vicissitudes of fate broke loose upon them,
and utmost evil it was, what fate had wrought.

But better times had arrived, and the plant is ripening;
under the auspices of the prince, the world has changed.

To their homes returned all those who had fled,
and not even a foothold for Satan remained.

By the sword of the heir-apparent Islām has regained its strength;
true faith has triumphed, and heresy has been uprooted.

Verily, he led the believers in holy war,
himself safe and sound and victorious.

This is also a lengthy ode. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad:

Off with you, I have had enough of you!
do not blame one who is above blame.

Do not blame one for leaving. I am a man
bent upon exploit, travel and travail.

Where shall I sojourn when I loath the land
as if I were in a nuptial chamber with an evil-eyed bride.

Desire is not aroused if it finds not
man awake at the side of his sweetheart.

None passes a night safely who did not know fear at night, [2103]
fear of the neighbor's nightly terror.

The meter is also ṭawīl.

In Rabīʿ I of this year (September 8–October 7, 883), a report reached Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) that the Byzantines camped at Bāb Qalamyah, some six *mīl* (twelve km) from Ṭarsūs;[138] they were a force of some hundred thousand men led by Andrayās the head patrikios. Four others accompanied him. Yāzamān al-Khādim set out against them by night and attacked

138. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 167.

them, killing the head patrikios and those of Cappadocia and Anatolikon. The patrikios of Qurrah, though gravely wounded, escaped. Seven of their crosses, made of gold and silver, were seized, among them the great cross made of gold and beset with gems. Seized as well were fifteen thousand horses and mules, about as many saddles, sabres ornamented with gold and silver, many vessels (*āniyah*), about ten thousand brocade standards, heaps of brocade, silk fabrics with ornaments, and sable-fur wrappers. The attack upon Andrayās took place on Tuesday, the seventh of Rabī' I (September 11, 883). The Byzantines were besieged by night and a great many of them were killed. Some people assert that seventy thousand of them were slain.

[2104] In this year, Hārūn, the son of Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq passed away. This happened in Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) on Thursday, the second of Jumādā I (November 7, 883).

On the sixth of Sha'bān this year (Saturday, February 8, 884), a report reached Baghdad that Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn had died. Some said that his death occurred on Monday, the eighteenth of Dhū al-Qa'dah (May 18, 884).

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-'Alawī died in Ṭabaristān, either in Rajab (January 4–February 2, 884) or in Sha'bān (February 3-March 2, 884).

In the middle of Sha'bān, al-Mu'tamid entered Baghdad. He exited from the city (al-Madīnah) and camped opposite Qaṭrabbul.[139] He had set his troops in order, with Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir marching in front of him carrying a spear. Following that, he moved on to Sāmarrā.

In this year, towards the end of Rajab (January 4–February 2, 884), Yāzamān ransomed the inhabitants of Sātīdamā.

On Sunday, the twentieth of Sha'bān, 270 (February 22, 884), the troops of Abū al-'Abbās b. al-Muwaffaq mutinied in Baghdad. Their action was directed against Ṣā'id b. Makhlad, who was then al-Muwaffaq's wazīr. They demanded their allotments; whereupon, Ṣā'id's men came out to repel them. Abū

139. One of the four ancient districts of the Baghdad area, the others being Kalwādhā, Bādurāyā, and Nahr Būq. Qaṭrabbul represented the northwest section of the greater urban area. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, index, 369 s.v. Ḳaṭrabbul. Also, see below, n. 156.

al-'Abbās's infantry went to the plaza at the bridge while Ṣā'id's men were inside the gates of Sūq Yaḥyā.[140] They became locked in battle, and both sides bore losses in dead and wounded; then night intervened. When Abū al-'Abbās's men began their morning's activities Ṣā'id provided them with pay, and they became reconciled with him.

In Shawwāl of this year (April 2—30, 884) a battle occurred between Isḥāq b. Kundāj and Ibn Da'bāsh. Ibn Da'bāsh was governor of al-Raqqah and its administrative districts. He also ruled the border region and major towns on behalf of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn while Ibn Kundāj was governor of Mosul on behalf of the central authorities. [2105]

In this year, the waters of the 'Īsā Canal in western Baghdad broke through the dam at al-Yasīriyyah. The waters engulfed the Tanner's Market (al-Dabbāghīn) and that of the teak-workers (*aṣḥāb al-sāj*) which were situated in al-Karkh. About seven thousand houses were reportedly demolished.[141]

In this year, the Byzantine emperor, who was known as Ibn al-Ṣaqlabī, was killed.[142]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Hāshimī b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.

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140. The reference here is to the area in the general vicinity of the Main Bridge which linked West Baghdad in the area of the Khuld Palace with the eastern neighborhoods of al-Ruṣāfah and the upper part of al-Mukharrim. Sūq Yaḥyā was situated in the Bāb al-Ṭāq area just below the bridge. See Lassner, *Topography*, index, s.v. and 203 (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, Map V).

141. Al-Karkh was the great market suburb (*rabaḍ*) of southwest Baghdad. It was framed by the 'Īsā and Ṣarāt canals. Al-Yāsiriyyah marks the western limits of this area. See Lassner, *Topography*, index, s.v.; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, Maps IV, VI. For the Tanner's Yard see Le Strange, op. cit., 156.

142. The reference is to Vasil, who actually died August 29, 886, that is, 273 A.H. He is referred to previously as Ibn al-Ṣaqlabiyyah.

The Events of the Year

271

(June 29, 884–July 28, 885)

It began on Monday, the twenty-ninth of Ḥazīrān, in the year 1195 of the Alexandrine calendar.

The Major Events of the Year

Among these events, in the beginning of Ṣafar (July 29—August 26, 884), a report arrived (at Baghdad) indicating that Muḥammad and ʿAlī, the sons of al-Ḥusayn b. Jaʿfar b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn, had entered al-Madīnah. The report stated that they had killed many townspeople, demanded money from the populace, and took it from a certain group of the local inhabitants. The dispatch went on to state that the people of the city did not hold Friday services nor did they congregate (for devotion) in the Mosque of the Prophet for four weeks. Abū al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl al-ʿAlawī commented:

[2106] Desolate lies the abode of the Prophet;
O Muslims, I lament over its devastation!

O eye, weep over the station of Gabriel, and the sepulchre,
and shed tears over the auspicious pulpit!

And cry over the place of worship which the Prophet had
founded in piety,
but which is empty of worshippers.

Cry over Ṭaybah upon which God had invoked His blessing
by sending thereto the seal of the prophets.

May God destroy the band which has laid it waste
obeying a master corrupt and accursed.

On the twenty-fifth of Shawwāl, 271 (Thursday, April 21, 885), pilgrims from Khurāsān who were staying in Baghdad were brought to al-Mu'tamid, who announced in their presence that 'Amr b. al-Layth was dismissed from the office to which he had been assigned. He then cursed 'Amr. At the same time, the Caliph informed them that he had bestowed the governorship of Khurāsān upon Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir. Al-Mu'tamid also ordered that 'Amr b. al-Layth was to be cursed from all the pulpits. This order was subsequently carried out.

On the twenty-first of Sha'bān (Thursday, February 11, 885), Ṣā'id b. Makhlad left Abū Aḥmad's camp in Wāsiṭ bound for Fārs to fight against 'Amr b. al-Layth.

On the tenth of Ramaḍān, 271 (Monday, March 1, 885), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭā'ī[143] was appointed governor of al-Madīnah and the Mecca road.

In this year, a battle took place between Abū al-'Abbās b. al-Muwaffaq and Khumarawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn at al-Ṭawāḥīn.[144] Abū al-'Abbās routed Khumarawayh and the latter fled from him on a donkey to Egypt. The troops of Abū al-'Abbās took to plundering, and Abū al-'Abbās himself [2107] occupied the tent of Khumarawayh, not thinking that anyone remained to harm him. However, Khumarawayh left ambushers behind to lay in wait for Abū al-'Abbās, among them Sa'd al-A'sar with a group of his officers and men. Abū al-'Abbās's men had already laid down their arms and settled in their quar-

143. See Ṭabarī, below, 2039.
144. A village between Ramlah and Damascus. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, 544.

ters when Khumarawayh's ambushers attacked, and the government troops were routed. The government forces scattered and Abū al-'Abbās withdrew toward Ṭarsūs with very few of his men. Everything was lost, the weapons, shields, valuables and money which were in the camps of both Abū al-'Abbās and Khumarawayh; all of it was looted. According to what has been said, this battle took place on Friday, the tenth of Shawwāl (Wednesday, March 31, 885).

In this year, Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj, who was governor of Mecca, attacked one of al-Ṭā'ī's pages, the one called Badr—the latter was in charge of the pilgrims—and put him in chains. A detachment from the garrison, assisted by the pilgrims, fought against Ibn Abī al-Sāj until they rescued al-Ṭā'ī's page and captured Ibn Abī al-Sāj. The latter was bound and taken to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām). The battle between them took place at the gates of the holy mosque.

In this year the mob ravaged the Ancient Monastery (Dayr al-'Atīq) which was behind the 'Īsā Canal, stripping it of all its valuables and removing the gates and woodwork, etc. They also demolished part of the walls and the roof.[145] Al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl, the prefect of police in Baghdad on behalf of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, arrived and prevented them from demolishing what still remained. For several days he and the mob returned
[2108] to the place so that the government troops and the mob almost [2108]
engaged in fighting. Then, several days later, everything the mob had destroyed was rebuilt. The restoration work was reportedly carried out under the auspices of 'Abdūn b. Makhlad, the brother of Ṣā'id b. Makhlad.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā al-'Abbāsī.

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145. There were several monasteries in the Baghdad area, but I have not succeeded in identifying this particular one. Perhaps the reference is to the Monastery of the Virgins which was situated near the 'Īsā Canal. See Lassner, *Topography*, 259, n. 60; also Le Strange, *Baghdad*, Map IV, ref. no. 30. The reason for the hostility to the Christians seems to be their impertinence in riding animals. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 84–85, *sub anno* 272.

The Events of the Year 272

(June 18, 885–May 7, 886)

It began on Friday, the eighteenth of Ḥazīrān, in the year 1196 of the Alexandrine calendar.

Among the events of this year, the populace of Ṭarsūs ousted Abū al-ʿAbbās b. al-Muwaffaq because of a dispute between him and Yāzamān. He left the city in the middle of al-Muḥarram (June 18–July 17, 885), setting out for Baghdad.

On Tuesday, the seventeenth of Ṣafar, 272 (August 3, 885), Sulaymān b. Wahb died in al-Muwaffaq's prison.

On Thursday, the eighth of Rabīʿ II, 272 (September 23, 885), a mob gathered and demolished the repairs which were made to the monastery.

In this year, a heretic established his rule over the road to Khurāsān. He arrived in Daskarat al-Malik,[146] killing and plundering.

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146. This is not the large village in the area of the Nahr al-Malik, west of Baghdad, but rather the Daskarat al-Malik on the road to Khurāsān near Shahrābān. The Sassanian emperor Hurmuz b. Sābūr b. Ardashīr b. Bābak stayed there frequently and it was subsequently named after him; that is, "the Daskarah of the Ruler [al-Malik]." See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 575.

In this year, a report reached Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām)
[2109] that Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn and Hārūn al-Shārī entered the city of Mosul. Al-Shārī led the people in the services in the Friday Mosque.

On the twentieth of Jumādā II, 272 (Thursday, December 2, 885), Abū al-'Abbās b. al-Muwaffaq arrived in Baghdad, returning from his battle with Ibn Ṭūlūn at al-Ṭawāḥīn.

In this year, a tunnel was dug from inside the Maṭbaq Prison,[147] and al-Dhawā'ibī al-'Alawī together with two others were brought out. Horses had been made ready for them and remained there all night so that they might come out and make their escape on them, but warning was received and the gates to Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr's city were locked. Al-Dhawā'ibī and the others who fled with him were thus apprehended. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir wrote about this incident to al-Muwaffaq, who was stationed at the time in Wāsiṭ. The latter ordered him to have al-Dhawā'ibī's hands and feet severed in parts. This was carried out in the police headquarters at the bridge (*majlis al-jisr*)[148] on the western side of the river. While this took place, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir sat on his mount (nearby). On Monday, the third of Jumādā II (November 16, 885), al-Dhawā'ibī's wounds were cauterized.

In Rajab of this year (December 12, 885–January 10, 886), Ṣā'id b. Makhlad arrived in Wāsiṭ en route from Fārs. On the instructions of al-Muwaffaq, all the commanders went out to welcome him on his arrival. They dismounted and kissed his hand.

In Wāsiṭ, on Monday, the ninth of Rajab (December 21, 885), al-Muwaffaq, seized Ṣā'id b. Makhlad and his retinue and expropriated everything they had in their houses. Ṣā'id's two sons in Baghdad, Abū 'Īsā and Abū Ṣālih, his brother 'Abdūn, and his staff in Sāmarrā were taken into custody. All this occurred on
[2110] one day, the same day on which Ṣā'id was seized. Thereupon,

147. This fortress-like structure was situated in the street of that name between the Kūfah and Baṣrah gates of al-Manṣūr's famous Round City at Baghdad. See Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 240. For a similar occurance in which the iron gates of the Round City were locked to keep escaping prisoners from leaving the structure, see Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 75-76 = Paris, 14.

148. See above, n. 112.

al-Muwaffaq appointed Ismā'īl b. Bulbul as secretary, limiting him to this function alone.

News arrived (at Baghdad) that in Jumādā II (November 13–December 11, 885), an earthquake shook Egypt destroying houses and the Friday Mosque, and that a thousand dead were counted in one day.

In the middle of Ramaḍān 272 (February 9–March 10, 886), prices rose in Baghdad. The reason for this was that the people of Sāmarrā reportedly prevented vessels with flour from reaching Madīnat al-Salām. Moreover, al-Ṭā'ī did not let the owners of estates thresh the crops and distribute them in anticipation of the rise in prices. In turn, the people of Baghdad prevented olive oil, soap, dates and other foods from being shipped to Sāmarrā.[149]

In this year the rise in prices caused the mob to become disquieted and they rallied to attack al-Ṭā'ī. In the middle of Shawwāl (March 11–April 8, 886), they went from the Friday Mosque to his house, which lay between the Baṣrah and the Kūfah gates, approaching it from the direction of al-Karkh.[150] Al-Ṭā'ī placed his troops on the roofs, and they greeted the mob with arrows. He also positioned his men, armed with swords and lances, at the gate and in the courtyard of his house. Some of the mob were killed and many were wounded, but they did not stop fighting until nightfall. When night came, they withdrew only to reappear early the next morning. Then Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir rode (to the scene) and calmed the people, and had them withdraw.

On Tuesday, the eighteenth of Shawwāl 272 (March 28, 886), Ismā'īl b. Burayh al-Hāshimī passed away; and three days later, 'Ubaydallāh b. Abdallāh al-Hāshimī followed suit.

In this year, the Zanj rioted in Wāsiṭ shouting, "Ankalāy, O Manṣūr."[151] At the time Ankalāy, al-Muhallabī, Sulaymān b. [2111]

149. The economic rivalry between Baghdad and Sāmarrā is a subject that is worthy of attention.

150. This residence seems to have been in the section known as Bayn al-Sūrayn. See Lassner, *Topography*, 275.

151. On the name Manṣūr (he who is aided by God to win victories) in battle cries, see Lewis, "Regnal Titles", 16 ff.

Jāmi', al-Sha'rānī, al Hamdānī, and other leaders of the Zanj were imprisoned in the house of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir in the Dār al-Baṭṭīkh at Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām).[152] One of the pages of al-Muwaffaq, Fatḥ al-Sa'īdī by name, was in charge of them. Al-Muwaffaq wrote to Fatḥ, ordering him to send off the heads of the six to him. Fatḥ went to the prisoners and sent them out one by one to a page of his who beheaded them. He then removed the lid of the sewer which was in the house and dumped the (decapitated) bodies in it. Then he covered the sewer with its lid and the heads were sent off to al-Muwaffaq.

In this year, a letter from al-Muwaffaq reached Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir concerning the bodies of these six who were slain. He ordered the latter to hang them for display in the vicinity of the Main Bridge (al-Jisr). Accordingly, the bodies were taken out of the sewer; they had already become swollen, foul-smelling, and parts of their skin had fallen off. They were carried on litters, each litter being carried by two men. Three of the bodies were hung on the west side and three on the east.[153] This took place on the twenty-second of Shawwāl 272 (April 1, 886); Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir rode out to the spot, and the bodies were hung in his presence.

In this year, quiet was restored to the city of the Messenger of God, and it flourished as people gradually returned to it.

In this year, the summer expedition (against the Byzantines) was conducted by Yāzamān.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Mūsā al-Hāshimī.

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152. The Dār al-Baṭṭīkh (Melon Market) was a fruit market situated at the juncture of Nahr 'Īsā and Nahr Ṭābaq. See Lassner, *Topography*, 249, n. 10; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, Map IV, ref no. 42.

153. That is, at the approaches to the Main Bridge on both sides of the river.

The Events of the Year

[2112]

273

(June 8, 886–May 27, 887)

On the sixteenth of Rabī' I (Sunday, August. 22, 886), a battle occurred between Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf and 'Amr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār.

Also, on Tuesday, the ninth of Jumādā I (October 12, 886), a battle took place in al-Raqqah between Isḥāq b. Kundāj and Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj; Isḥāq was routed in this battle.

In this year, messengers from Yāzamān returned from Ṭarsūs with a report that three sons of the Byzantine emperor had rebelled against their father and killed him. They had placed one of themselves on the throne.

On the twenty-second of Dhū al-Qa'dah, 273 (Friday, April 21, 887), Abū Aḥmad had Lu'lu' bound. The latter had come to him with a guarantee of safe conduct from Ibn Ṭūlūn, and Abū Aḥmad seized his wealth. The money seized reportedly amounted to four hundred thousand dīnārs. It is said, that Lu'lu', exclaimed, "Apart from my being wealthy, I do not know of any other sin I might have committed for which I should deserve what has been done to me."

On the fourteenth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 273 (Monday, May 12, 887), another battle between Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj and Isḥāq b. Kundāj took place. This time Ibn Kundāj was defeated.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās.

The Events of the Year [2113]

274

(May 28, 887–May 15, 888)

Among the events taking place, Abū Aḥmad departed for Kirmān to do combat with 'Amr b. al-Layth. This took place on the eighteenth of Rabī' I (Friday, August 4, 887).

In Ramaḍān 274 (January 19–February 17, 888), Yāzamān set out on a border raid and reached Maskanayn, where he took captives and booty. He and the Muslims returned safely.

In this year, Ṣiddīq al-Farghānī entered Dūr Sāmarrā[154] and plundered the possessions of the merchants, causing much damage among the populace. This Ṣiddīq was formerly a road guard, but then he turned into an armed brigand of the highway.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī.

154. The upper limits of the city. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 618.

The Events of the Year 275

(May 16, 888–May 5, 889)

Among the events taking place, al-Ṭā'ī sent an army to Sāmarrā because of what Ṣiddīq had done there, and because he had freed his brother from prison—the latter had been Ṣiddīq's prisoner. Al-Ṭā'ī's action took place during al-Muḥarram of this year (May 16–June 14, 888). Later, al-Ṭā'ī (himself) went to Sāmarrā and began corresponding with Ṣiddīq, making promises to him, arousing his ambition and offering him assurances. Ṣiddīq thus decided to go to al-Ṭā'ī under a guarantee of safeconduct. However, Hāshim, one of Ṣiddīq's servants—he he was reportedly a courageous man—cautioned his master against such a move. But Ṣiddīq did not accept his advice, and together with his men, he entered Sāmarrā; whereupon al-Ṭā'ī seized him and those of his men who entered the city. Al-Ṭā'ī
[2114] then cut off one of his hands and feet. Hāshim and a group of others were similarly treated and then imprisoned. Subsequently, they were carried on litters to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām); their severed hands and feet had already been displayed before the the populace. They were then imprisoned (at Baghdad).

In this year, Yāzamān carried out a sea raid and wrested four vessels from the Byzantines.

In this year, al-ʿAbdī became a vagabond and caused trouble in the vicinity of Sāmarrā. He went to Karkh Sāmarrā[155] and looted the habitations of the Ḥashanaj clan. Al-Ṭāʾī then set out against him and overtook him at al-Ḥadīthah. They clashed and al-Ṭāʾī routed al-ʿAbdī, seizing most of his men. The former then went to the Tigris and embarked on his flyer (*ṭayyār*) with the intention of crossing the river. But al-ʿAbdī's men overtook him and seized the anchor of the vessel, whereupon al-Ṭāʾī jumped into the Tigris and swam across the river. As he came out of the river, he shook the water from his beard and exclaimed: "What does al-ʿAbdī think. Don't I swim better than a fish?" Following that, al-Ṭāʾī camped on the eastern bank, while al-ʿAbdī was opposite him on the western side.

Concerning al-Ṭāʾī's withdrawal, Alī b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Naṣr b. Bassām said:

Al-Ṭāʿī came, would that he had not come;
his deeds were evil, certainly, not good.

What with his soft verbiage
he is like a young girl masticating a tough sweetmeat.

In this year, Abū Aḥmad ordered al-Ṭāʾī bound and put in prison. This was carried out on the fourteenth of Ramaḍān (Monday, January 21, 889), thus putting an end to al-Ṭāʾī's career. He had been governor of al-Kūfah and its territories, and [2115]
had been responsible for securing the Khurāsān Road. He had also been governor of Sāmarrā, in charge of security in Baghdad and the tax-collector of Bādurāyā,[156] Qaṭrabbul, Maskin,[157] and some of the domains belonging to the notables.

In this year, Abū Aḥmad put his son Abū al-ʿAbbās in jail, but the latter's troops rioted and took up arms. His pages took to their mounts and, as a result, all of Baghdad was in an uproar. Because of this, Abū Aḥmad (set out for the city) and rode

155. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 52, 54, 55.
156. See Lassner, *Topography*, 256, n. 46; and n. 139 above.
157. For the district of Maskin near Baghdad, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 520.

until reaching the Ruṣāfah Gate. He reportedly spoke to the troops and pages of Abū al-'Abbās as follows, "What is the matter with you, are you really more anxious about my son than I am? He is my offspring and it is incumbent upon me to set him straight." At this, the people put away their arms and withdrew. This happened on Tuesday, the sixth of Shawwāl 275, (February 12, 889).

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī.

The Events of the Year 276

(May 6, 889–April 24, 890)

Among the events taking place 'Amr b. al-Layth was charged with the security at Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) and his name was inscribed on the flags, poles and shields of the police headquarters at the bridge. This took place in al-Muḥarram (May 6–June 4, 889).[158]

On the fourteenth of Rabī' I, 276 (Thursday, July 4, 889), Abū Aḥmad left Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) bound for al-Jabal. The reason for this was, they say, that al-Mādharā'ī, the secretary of Adhkūtakīn, wrote to Abū Aḥmad that his master had an immense fortune there, and that should he come (to al-Jabal), it would pass into his hands. But when Abū Aḥmad arrived there he found none of the wealth which had been reported to him. [2116] When he did not find this wealth, Abū Aḥmad departed to al-Karaj, and from there he went to Iṣbahān seeking Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf; whereupon, the latter together with his troops and family departed from the city, leaving his house

158. These references to 'Amr were later removed in Shawwāl. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 99–100; and text above, 2117.

and its furnishings to accommodate Abū Aḥmad upon his arrival.

Before Abū Aḥmad left his tent at Bāb Khurāsān,[159] Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj arrived, having fled from Ibn Ṭūlūn. This was after several engagements between them, the last of which had enfeebled Ibn Abī al-Sāj to the point that he could no longer put up a fight, as his force was too small relative to the numerous troops of Ibn Ṭūlūn. Ibn Abī al-Sāj reached Abū Aḥmad and joined him; and the latter bestowed robes of honor upon him, and took him along to al-Jabal.

In the month Rabī' II 276 (August 3-August 31, 890), 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir was put in command of security at Baghdad on behalf of 'Amr b. al-Layth.

In this year, a report arrived at Baghdad that at Nahr al-Ṣilah,[160](the interior of) a hill bearing the name Tall Banī Shaqīq became exposed, disclosing seven graves with seven perfectly preserved bodies. The shrouds covering them were new and soft, with fringes giving off the smell of musk. One of the corpses was that of a youngster with luxuriant hair, his forehead, ears, cheeks, nose, lips, chin and the places of the eyelashes were free from any blemish. His lips were moistened, as if he had just drunk water, and (his eyes), as if he had just been made up with kohl. There was (the indication of) a blow on his waist. His shroud was put back on him. One of our colleagues told me that he pulled the hair on some of the bodies and found
[2117] that it had strong roots as if it were on a living person. It is said that the exposed area of the hill above the graves revealed the likes of a stone basin of whetstone color, which bore an inscription nobody could decipher.

In this year, orders were issued to remove the poles, flags and shields bearing the name of 'Amr b. al-Layth from the headquarters of the police. Moreover, no mention was to be made of

159. The reference here is not to the Khurāsān Gate of the Round City, but to the gate of that name which was situated at the outer limits of East Baghdad. See Lassner, *Topography*, index, 319.

160. The Ṣilah Canal was situated in Wāsiṭ. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 841.

his name. These orders were issued on the eleventh of Shawwāl (Friday, February 6, 890).

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Hāshimī, who was also governor of Mecca, al-Madīnah and al-Ṭā'if.

The Events of the Year 277

(April 25, 890–April 14, 891)

Among the events taking place, in Ṭarsūs, Yāzamān called upon the people to swear allegiance to Khumarawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. It is reported that the reason for this was that Khumarawayh had sent him 30,000 dīnārs, five hundred garments, one hundred fifty horses, one hundred fifty rain cloaks and weapons. When all this arrived, Yāzamān called for allegiance to Khumarawayh. Then Khumarawayh sent him fifty thousand (more) dīnārs.

In the beginning of Rabīʿ II (July 23–August 20), there was enmity between Waṣīf, the eunuch (*khādim*) of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, and the Berbers who were the troops of Abū al-Ṣaqr. They fought, and four of the eunuch' pages were killed, as were
[2118] seven of the Berbers. The battle between them took place between the Damascus Gate and the thoroughfare of Bāb al-Kūfah.[161] Then Abū al-Ṣaqr rode over to them and spoke to them, whereupon they dispersed. Two days later they resumed hostilities and, again, Abū al-Ṣaqr rode over and calmed them.

161. That is, on the west side of Baghdad.

In this year, Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb was put in charge of the court of appeals (*maẓālim*).[162] He gave the order to announce, "Whosoever has an appeal against the prince al-Nāṣr li-Dīn Allāh[163] or against any notable, let him come forward." He then sent word to the prefect of police not to release any prisoners except those on whose behalf petitions had been presented to himself (that is, Yūsuf), and whose release he had seen fit to grant.

On the first day of Sha'bān (Monday, November 8, 890), one of Ibn Ṭūlūn's commanders arrived in Baghdad with a great army consisting of cavalry and infantry.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī.

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162. He was the judge (*qāḍī*) of the city. See Ṭabarī III/4, 2161.
163. That is, al-Muwaffaq.

The Events of the Year 278

(April 15, 891–April 2, 892)

Among these events was the battle which took place between the troops of Waṣīf al-Khādim, the Berbers, and the troops of Mūsā, the son of Mufliḥ's sister. The battle lasted for four successive days before the parties to the conflict made peace. Some ten of their men had been slain. This took place in the beginning of al-Muḥarram (April 15–May 14, 891).

Then a disturbance broke out on the east side between the populace of al-Naṣrāniyyah[164] and the troops of Yūnus. During the course of the battle a man was killed; afterwards the contestants dispersed.

In this year, Waṣīf, the eunuch of Ibn Abī al Sāj, left for Waṣīt. He did so on the command of Abū al-Ṣaqr, reportedly, so that he might become of service to him, for Abū al Ṣaqr had conferred benefits upon Waṣīf his men, having granted him gifts and bountifully assigned allotments to them. Word had
[2119] reached Abū al-Ṣaqr that Abū Aḥmad was coming. He feared

164. Perhaps this should be read al-Naṣriyyah, referring to the place on the Dujayl Road in West Baghdad. See Lassner, *Topography*, 253, n. 18.

for his life, since he had embezzled all the money from Abū Aḥmad's treasuries in order to present gifts, presents, and robes of honor to the officers, and for other expenditures regarding them. When he had spent what he had from the treasury, he demanded from the landowners the payment of a year's land tax, and, regarding this demand, he arrested many of them. He assigned al-Zaghal to the task of carrying out this measure, and in doing so the latter treated the people ruthlessly. But Abū Aḥmad arrived before al-Zaghal finished extorting the money, and the practice was discontinued. Waṣīf's departure took place on Friday, the seventeenth of al-Muḥarram (Apr. 30, 891).

On the twenty-eighth of al-Muḥarram, 278 (Wednesday, May 12, 891), a star with a fringe appeared; the fringe later became a hanginq lock.

In this year, Abū Aḥmad returned from al-Jabal to Iraq. He was so sorely afflicted with the pain of gout that he was unable to ride. A covered bedstead was arranged for him; he would sit on it, while a servant cooled his feet with cold stuff. The gout became so severe, that the servant took to applying snow. Then his feet were stricken with elephantiasis. Forty men carried his bedstead in two teams, twenty porters in each. At times, his pain became excruciating, and he would order them to put him down. It is said that one day he remarked to those carrying him: "You are annoyed with carrying me, I know; but I wish I were like one of you, bearing a burden on my head, [2120] tired but in good health." He also said while sick, "This is my most complete military roll; a hundred thousand troops are inscribed. Not one of them awoke worse off than I am."

On Monday, the twenty-seventh of al-Muḥarram (May 11, 891), Abū Aḥmad reached al-Nahrawān, where the populace welcomed him. He set sail along the (Nahrawān) Canal, and then on to the Diyālā and Tigris, until he arrived in al-Za'farāniyyah. On Friday night he travelled to al-Fīrk. It was on Friday,the second night of Ṣafar (May 16, 891) that he entered his residence. On Thursday, the eighth of Ṣafar (May 23, 891), after Abū al-Ṣaqr left his house, rumors spread of his death. Abū al-Ṣaqr had sent orders to guard Abū al-'Abbās and kept him behind several locked doors. He had also taken Ibn al-Fayyāḍ along to Abū al-'Abbās's residence and Ibn al-Fayyāḍ

stayed nearby. Abū al-Ṣaqr remained at home that day, while excitement grew on account of the news of Abū Aḥmad's death; but the latter had only fainted. On Friday, Abū al-Ṣaqr went to al-Madāʾin and brought al-Muʿtamid and his sons to his (Abū al-Ṣaqr's) residence. Thereafter, he stayed home and did not go to Abū Aḥmad's residence.

Perceiving Abū Aḥmad's condition, those of his pages who were in sympathy with his son Abū al-ʿAbbās, as well as the leaders of Abū al-Abbās's pages, who were present, broke the locks of the doors behind which Abū al-ʿAbbās was confined.

The page who had been in the same room with Abū al-ʿAbbās reportedly said: Upon hearing the sounds of locks being broken Abū al-ʿAbbās remarked, "They can only be coming to take my life." He seized a sword at his disposal, unsheathed it, [2121] and sat so as to be ready to rise, while keeping the sword in his lap. Then he said to me, "Step aside. By God, they will not reach me as long as there is any life left in me." As the door opened, the first to enter was Waṣīf Mūshkīr, who had been the page of Abū al-ʿAbbās. When Abū al-ʿAbbās saw him, he dropped the sword, since he knew that they had come to him only with good intentions. They took him out and sat him before his father, who had just fainted. When Abū Aḥmad opened his eyes and came to, his glance fell upon his son, whereupon he drew Abū al-ʿAbbās close to him and embraced him.

Al-Muʿtamid, his son, the heir apparent, Jaʿfar al-Mufawwaḍ ilā-llāh, and his other sons, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Muḥammad, and Isḥāq, all arrived in Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) on the same day that they had been summoned. This was Friday noon, before the Friday service, the ninth of Ṣafar (April 24, 891). They stayed at the residence of Abū al-Ṣaqr. Then word reached Abū al-Ṣaqr that Abū Aḥmad had not died, whereupon he sent Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāq on to verify this report—this was on Saturday. Meanwhile, he assembled the officers and troops, and filled his residence and its surroundings with armed men. He did as well for the area between his residence and the bridge. In addition he cut the two bridges.[165] A group stood at the bridgehead on

165. It may be that Abū al-Ṣaqr's residence was on the East Side where the troops were stationed. The bridge referred to was the Main Bridge of the city

the eastern side (of the river) and fought the troops of Abū al-Ṣaqr, as both sides suffered losses in dead and wounded. Abū Ṭalḥah, the brother of Sharkab, was stationed with his men at Bāb al-Bustān.[166]

Meanwhile, Ismā'īl returned to Abū al-Ṣaqr, and informed him that Abū Aḥmad was alive. The first of the commanders to turn to Abū Aḥmad was Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj, who crossed the 'Īsā Canal. After that, they started to steal away, some crossing over to Abū Aḥmad's residence; others returned to their homes, and still others left Baghdad. When Abū al-Ṣaqr [2122] saw this and was certain that Abū Aḥmad was still alive, he and his two sons went to the latter's residence. Abū Aḥmad made no mention of what had happened and did not question him, and Abū al-Ṣaqr remained at Abū Aḥmad's residence. When al-Mu'tamid saw that he alone remained at Abū al-Ṣaqr's home, he embarked on a skiff together with his sons and Buktimur. They were then met by Abū Laylā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Dulaf's flyer. The latter sailed with them to his residence which is the palace of 'Alī b. Jahshiyār at the head of the bridge. But when al-Mu'tamid told him, "I want to go to my brother," Abū Laylā took him and those accompanying him from that house to Abū Aḥmad's residence.

Meanwhile, Abū al-Ṣaqr's residence was stripped of everything to the extent that the women had to leave barefoot and without veils. The house of his secretary, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, was also looted and the house of Ibn al-Wāthiqī was plundered and set on fire. Looted as well were the residences of al-Wāthiqī's intimates. The gates of the prisons were broken and their walls were pierced. All the prisoners escaped including all the inmates of the Maṭbaq. The two police headquarters

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connecting Bāb al-Ṭāq with the West Side near al-Khuld. The city had at different times two or three bridges spanning the Tigris. See Lassner, *Topography*, 280, n.1.

166. If these men were stationed on the East Side (see above, n. 165), the Bāb al-Bustān (Gate of the Garden) referred to here is likely the Bustān al-Ẓāhir. See Lassner, *Topography*, 280, n.2.; 295, n. 48.

167. Note that al-Muwaffaq granted 'Alī b. Jahshiyār the famous Ṭāq (Archway of) Asmā' which formed part of the Asmā's palace. It was situated between al-Ruṣāfah and al-Mukharrim and gave its name to the larger neighborhood near the bridge; that is, Bāb al-Ṭāq. See Lassner, *Topography*, 261, n.3.

buildings at the (main) bridge were looted and stripped of everything. Even the houses in the vicinity of Abū al-Ṣaqr's residence were robbed.

Abū Aḥmad gave robes of honor to his son Abū al-'Abbās and to Abū al-Ṣaqr. They rode together wearing the robes of honor from Sūq al-Thalāthā' to Bāb al-Ṭāq,[168] then they proceeded to Abū al-'Abbās's residence which was the Palace of Ṣā'id,[169] and from there Abū al-Ṣaqr set sail for his home, which had been so thoroughly plundered that they had to bring him a mat from al-Shāh's residence to sit on.

Abū al-'Abbās entrusted his page Badr with the security (of the city). He also appointed Muḥammad b. Ghānim b. al-Shāh
[2123] as his deputy on the east side and 'Īsā al-Nūsharī on the west side. This took place on the fourteenth of Ṣafar (Wednesday, April 28, 891).

On Wednesday, the nineteenth of Ṣafar, 278 (June 2, 891), Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq passed away. He was buried Thursday night near the tomb of his mother in al-Ruṣāfah.[170] That same day, Abū al-'Abbās received people who came to express their condolences.

In this year, the officers and pages took the oath of allegiance to Abū al-'Abbās as heir apparent following al-Mufawwaḍ (in the line of succession). He was given honorific title al-Mu'taḍid bi-llāh. That was on Thursday (the day his father was buried). Pay was distributed among the troops, and on Friday, the sermon mentioned the names of al-Mu'tamid, al-Mufawwaḍ and Abū al-'Abbās al-Mu'tadid in that order. This took place on the twenty-first of Ṣafar (June 4, 891).

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168. Presumably along the Main Thoroughfare (Shāri' al-A'ẓam) that ran from Sūq al-Thalāthā' in the south to Bāb al-Ṭāq in the north. That thoroughfare was frequently used for processions. See for example Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 100 ff. = Paris, 49 ff.; Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, I, 53–55, Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 143–44; Ibu al-Athīr, *Kamil*, VIII, 79; Ṣabī', *Rusūm*, 11 *ff.*; *Ibn al-Zubayr*, *Dhakhā'ir*, 131–139; the secondary literature is listed in Lassner, *Topography*, 268, n. 10.

169. The reference is to a palace that was to the north of the bridge in the area of al-Shammāsiyyah. It was used as a guest house for important visitors. See Lassner, *Topography*, 268, n.12.

170. That is , he was buried in the Tombs of the Caliphs. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 193–95.

On Monday, the twenty-third of Ṣafar (June 6, 891), Abū al-Ṣaqr and his intimates were seized and their houses plundered. A search was made for the Banū al-Furāt,[171] who had been in charge of the Dīwān al-Sawād; they subsequently went into hiding. On Tuesday, the twenty-fourth of Ṣafar (June 7, 891), 'Ubaydallāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb was granted robes of honor and entrusted with the wazīrate.[172]

In this year, Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj sent a message to Wāsiṭ, ordering his page, Waṣīf, to return to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām). Waṣīf went to al-Ahwāz and refused to return to Baghdad. Instead, he plundered al-Ṭīb and caused mayhem in al-Sūs.[173]

In this year, Abū Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt was seized, and subsequently imprisoned. He was also required to give up his wealth. Al-Zaghal was seized along with him, and he too was imprisoned and required to give up his wealth.

In this year, dispatches arrived (at Baghdad) that Alī b. al-Layth, the brother of al-Ṣaffār had been killed. He had been slain by Rāfi' b. Harthamah, who had deserted al-Ṣaffār and joined 'Alī.

In this year despatches arrived (at Baghdad) from Egypt that the Nile's level had dropped and that prices had risen. [2124]

The Origins of the Qarmaṭians[174]

In 278 (891/852), reports arrived (at Baghdad) of a revolutionary group in the Kūfah area (Sawād al-Kūfah) known as the Qarmaṭians. Their movement began with the arrival there of a man from the province of Khuzistān. Settling in a place known as al-Nahrayn, he led an ascetic life and displayed his piety to all. He earned his living by weaving baskets from palm leaves, and spent much of his time praying. He continued this way for some time. If anyone joined him, he would discourse with him

171. For this wazīrial family, see Sourdel, *Vizirat 'Abbāside*, II, index, 762–63.
172. Ibid., 785.
173. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 240, 246, 247 (al-Sūs), 241, 247 (Ṭīb).
174. See *EI*², s.v. Ḳarmaṭī (includes extensive bibliography).

upon religious affairs, inculcate him with contempt for this world, and teach him that it was incumbent upon everyone to pray fifty times each day and night. He did this until news spread about his activity in this place. Then he disclosed that he was urging allegiance to an Imām from the house of the Messenger.[175] He went on in this manner attracting people to his side and spreading his message which won over their hearts. He stayed at a greengrocer's in the village. Nearby there was a palm-grove, which was acquired by a group of merchants. The latter built an enclosure in which they stored the fruits they gathered from the grove. They came to the greengrocer and asked him to find them a man who could guard what they had gathered. The greengrocer pointed this man out
[2125] to them, and said, "If this man consents to guard your dates, he is just the man you want." So the merchants discussed the matter with him, and he agreed to act as guard for a certain remuneration. He acted as guard for them, spending most of his day at prayers and fasting. For breakfast, he would take a *raṭl*[176] of dates, and after eating he would collect the stones. When the merchants had loaded all their dates, they went to the greengrocer to settle their account with this hired-hand of theirs, and they paid him what he had earned. Then, the latter reckoned what he owed the greengrocer for his dates, and deducted from that sum the worth of the stones which he returned to the latter.

When the merchants heard what was going on between the man and the greengrocer concerning the date stones, they attacked him, and striking him, they said, "Was it not enough for you to eat our dates, but that now you even sell their stones?" The greengrocer then said to them, "Leave him alone; this man would not even touch your dates." And he told them his story. The merchants now regretted having struck him, and asked him to forgive them. This he did, and, as a result, when they

175. The expression "house of the Messenger [*ahl bayt al-Rasūl*]" here refers to the family of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. For an analysis of the term *ahl al-bayt* and the various interpretations of it by 'Alids and 'Abbāsids, see Sharon, "Abbāsid Da'wa," 9, n. 23.

176. See above, n. 127, also nn. 101, 109.

came across his asceticism, the people of the village esteemed him even more.

Afterwards, he fell sick and lay abandoned on the road. Now there was a man in that village who drove oxen. He had extremely red eyes; his eyes were so red that the people of the village came to call him Karmītah, on account of the redness of his eyes—Karmītah in Aramaic[177] means "red-eyed." The greengrocer asked this Karmītah to take the sick man to his home and ask his family to watch over him and take care of him. Karmītah did this, and the man stayed with him until he recovered.

Thereupon he would receive townspeople in his home, invite them to join him in his cause, and describe his creed to them. The people of this region responded and he took a dīnār from everyone who joined his religious group—they thought that he took it for the Imām. In this fashion, he continued to summon the people of those villages, and they responded favorably to him. Then he selected twelve agents (*naqīb*) from among them, and he instructed them to summon people to their faith. He said to the agents, "You are like the apostles of Jesus, the son of Mary."[178] [2126]

The farmers of that region neglected their work because of the fifty prayers he prescribed for them, and which he had declared incumbent upon them. Al-Hayṣam happened to have estates in this area. When he noticed that his farmers had become remiss in the tilling of the soil, he inquired about it and was informed that a man had appeared and revealed religious practices (*madhhab min al-dīn*) to them. He taught them that God made it incumbent upon them to pray fifty times during the day and night, and that this had kept them from their work. Al-Hayṣam then sent for the man; he was seized and brought before him. Al-Hayṣam asked him about his activities, and the

177. Lit. "Nabatean."

178. The 'Abbāsid propaganda also utilized twelve agents who were designated as *naqībs*. The model was Muḥammad, who sent twelve agents to pave the way for his journey to al-Madīnah. It is interesting that the Qarmaṭians should have traced this back to Christian sources. The 'Abbāsids relying on the Qur'ān found a prototype in the twelve leaders of the Banū Isrā'īl. A study of the term *naqīb* in 'Abbāsid propaganda is being readied by J. Lassner.

man told him his story; whereupon, al-Hayṣam swore to kill him. At the latter's command, the man was imprisoned in a house behind locked doors, and the key was placed under al-Hayṣam's pillow. Al-Hayṣam had been drinking when one of the maid-servants who had been in the house and heard the man's story was moved to pity for him. When al-Hayṣam fell asleep, she took the key from under his pillow, opened the door and led the man out. Then she locked the door and put the key back in its place. When al-Hayṣam awoke, he called for the key, opened the door and found that the man was not there. When news about this spread among the people of that region,
[2127] they were excited and said, "He has been taken to heaven."

Later on, he appeared in another place, and met some of his friends and others. They asked him about his experience and he replied, "No one can work evil upon me and thus control me." This lifted him still higher in their eyes. Fearing for his safety, he left for the vicinity of Damascus, and nothing was heard of him. People called him by the name of the owner of the oxen in whose house he had been, Karmītah. Later they found it easier to pronounce it as Qarmaṭ.[179]

This story was reported by one of our colleagues—someone who was in the presence of Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ. The latter had summoned some Qarmaṭians from prison and interrogated them about Zikrawayh—this was after he had slain the latter—and about Qarmaṭ and his story. These men pointed to one of the group, an old man, and said, "This man is Zikrawayh's brother-in-law, and he knows his story best, so ask him whatever you wish." Ibn al-Jarrāḥ asked him, whereupon, the man told him this story.

According to Muḥammad b. Dāwūd: Qarmaṭ was a man from the Kūfah area, who used to cart the crops of the villages of al-Kūfah with oxen; his name was Ḥamdān, and they nicknamed him Qarmaṭ.

Subsequently, word of the Qarmaṭians and their belief spread, and their numbers increased in the Kūfah area. When al-Ṭāʾī, that is, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, learned about them, he

179. This etymology does not seem likely. See Madelung's comments on the origins of the name Qarmaṭ in *EI*², s.v. Ḳarmaṭī.

taxed everyone of them a dīnār a year, and in this way he collected an enormous fortune. Some Kūfans went to the authorities and brought the matter of the Qarmaṭians to their attention, saying that the latter had invented a new religion which was different from Islām, and that they thought of putting Muḥammad's people to the sword, all except those who did homage to their religion. They added that al-Ṭā'ī was concealing the Qarmaṭian cause from the authorities, that he neither paid attention nor listened to them (that is, the Kūfans). [2128] The Kūfans left, but one of them remained at Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) for a long time, making his appeal and asserting that he could not possibly return to his city for fear of al-Ṭā'ī.

Among the stories about these Qarmaṭians and their beliefs is the following. They had brought a book which contained this text, "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful!" Thus says al-Faraj b. 'Uthmān—he was from the village called Naṣrānah[180] which preached the religion of Christ, who is Jesus, who is the Logos, who is the Messiah (Mahdī), who is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al Ḥanafiyyah, who is Gabriel.[181] He mentioned that Christ appeared before him in human form, and told him, "You are the preacher, and you are the proof; you are the she-camel, and you are the ass; you are the Holy Spirit, and you are John the Baptist (Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā')." He also informed al-Faraj that the prayer consists of four prostrations, two before the sunrise and two after sunset. He added that the call to every prayer is, "Allāh is great, Allāh is great, Allāh is great, Allāh is great. I testify that there is no God but Allāh"—to be said twice—"I testify that Adam is the Messenger of God; I testify that Noah is the Messenger of God; I testify that Abraham is the Messenger of God; I testify that Moses is the Messenger of God; I testify that Jesus is the Messenger of God; I testify that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God; I testify that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah is the Messenger of God." He

180. I have not succeeded in identifying this place. Naṣrānah may be a play on words; the word *naṣrānī* means Christian.

181. This statement may be a lingering echo of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls which was popular among the proto-Shī'ite groups of the eighth century. See Watt, *Islamic Thought*, 53, 57, 153.

further let him know that the *istiftāḥ*[182] is to be read with every prostration, as it was revealed to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah; and that the orientation of prayer (*qiblah*) is toward Jerusalem, and that the pilgrimage is to Jerusalem.

[2129] He added that Monday is the day of congregational prayers and no work is to be done on it, and that the *sūrah* reads:

> Praise God for His Logos. May He be exalted in His name, bestowed upon His saints through His saints. Say, "The new moons were given to the people." Their exoteric meaning allows people to calculate the years and months and days, but the esoteric meaning indicates that they are my Saints, who have taught my worshipers my path. Beware of me, O people of superior mind. I am the one who would not be called to account for his deeds. I am the knowing, I am the wise, and I am the one who will test my worshipers and try my creatures. He who bears patiently my test, trial and experience, I shall place in Paradise, and I will grant him my everlasting grace. But he who deserts my cause and speaks against my messengers will be flung into eternal pain and humiliation. I shall fulfill my purpose and reveal my cause through the tongues of my apostles. I am the one who is not surpassed by any powerful one, but I depose him; nor by any glorious one, but I render him contemptible. But I am not one of those who persist in their cause and persevere in their ignorance and say, "I shall continue to cleave to it, and believe it." For those are the unbelievers.

And when he would prostrate himself he would say, "Praise be to my Lord, the Lord of Glory, who is above all description by the wicked.'" This is to be said twice. And when he prostrated himself fully, he said, "God is most high, God is most high, God is most powerful, God is most powerful."

Among his precepts were these: that two fasts were to be observed during the year, on Mihrajān and Nawrūz;[183] that nabīdh

182. The reciting of the opening *sūrah* (fātiḥah) of the Qur'ān.
183. That is, the Persian festivals marking the fall and the new year.

was prohibited and wine permitted;[184] that ablution, in the sense of washing away legal impurity, was invalid and only ablution for prayer was left in force; that anyone who rose to fight against him was to be punished by death, but that those who opposed him without fighting were to have a poll-tax imposed upon them; that animals with tusks and talons were forbidden food.

The arrival of Qarmaṭ in the neighborhood of al-Kūfah took place before the leader of the Zanj was killed. That is, one of our colleagues (heard this from) Zikrawayh's brother-in law: I went to the leader of the Zanj. Arriving before him I said, "I subscribe to a certain religious practice, and have one hundred thousand swords at my command. Let us discuss this matter. If we agree about the practice, I will join you with all my men; if not, I will withdraw." I then said to him, "Grant me safe-conduct." He did this. I held a discussion with him until noon, but then it finally became clear to me that he was opposed to my ideas. When he rose to go to perform the prayer I slipped out, and, leaving his city, I went to the area of al-Kūfah. [2130]

On the twenty-fourth of Jumādā II, 278 (Sunday, October 3, 891), Aḥmad al-ʿUjayfī came to the city of Ṭarsūs, together with Yāzamān; he carried out the summer expedition (against the Byzantines), reaching Salandū. During this raid Yāzamān died. The cause of his death was a fragment from a ballista stone that hit him in the ribs when he was standing at the fortress of Salandū. The army withdrew, although they were on the verge of taking it. Yāzamān expired on the road the next day, that is, Tuesday, the fourteenth of Rajab (October 23, 891). He was brought to Ṭarsūs on the shoulders of the troops and buried there.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī.

184. This reverses Muslim practices which allow the drinking of certain slightly fermented beverages (*nabīdh*) but prohibit wine.

The Events of the Year

[2131]

279

(April 3, 892–March 22, 893)

Among the events taking place, the authorities decreed in Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) that no popular preachers, astrologers, or fortune-tellers should sit (and practice their trade) in the streets or in the Friday Mosque. Moreover, the booksellers were sworn not to trade in books of theology, polemics or philosophy.

On the twenty-eighth of al-Muḥarram, 279 (Sunday, April 30, 892), Ja'far al-Mufawwaḍ was stripped of his right to the throne. That same day, al-Mu'taḍid was acknowledged as the heir apparent to succeed al-Mu'tamid. Letters about the deposition of Ja'far and the appointment of al-Mu'taḍid were composed and sent to the provinces, and in the Friday sermon al-Mu'taḍid was named as heir apparent. On behalf of al-Mu'taḍid, letters were written to the governors and prefects to the effect that the Commander of the Faithful had named him heir to the throne and had transferred to him all the rights which al-Muwaffaq had had, to issue orders and prohibitions and to effect appointments and dismissals.

On the fifth of Rabī' II, 279 (Wednesday, May 8, 892), Jarādah,

the secretary of Abū al-Ṣaqr, was seized. Al-Muwaffaq had sent Jarādah to Rāfi b. Harthamah, and he returned to Baghdad (Madīnat al-Salām) a few days before he was seized.

On the twenty fourth of Jumādā I, 279 (Tuesday, August 22, 892), Abū Ṭalḥah Manṣūr b. Muslim left Shahrazūr—it had been assigned to him. Both he and his secretary, 'Aqāmah, were seized and placed in prison.

On Saturday, the twenty first of Jumādā I, 279 (August 19, 892), a fierce battle broke in Ṭarsūs between Muḥammad b. Mūsā and Maknūn, the page of al-Muwaffaq's mawlā, Rāghib. The reason for this is as follows. Ṭughj b. Juff came upon Rāghib in Aleppo, and told him that Khumarawayh b. Aḥmad would like to see him. Moreover, on behalf of Khumarawayh, he promised Rāghib his heart's desire. At this, the latter left Aleppo for Egypt with five of his pages, while he dispatched his eunuch Maknūn, together with his available forces, funds, and weapons to Ṭarsūs. Ṭughj, meanwhile, had written to Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-A'raj, informing him that he had sent Rāghib away, and that everything Rāghib had in the way of money, arms, and pages was in the hands of Rāghib's servant Maknūn, and that the latter was already en route to Ṭarsūs. It was therefore incumbent upon al-A'raj to seize Maknūn and his men the moment they entered the city. And, indeed, no sooner did Maknūn enter Ṭarsūs, than al-A'raj attacked him, and seized him and all he had. However, the populace of Ṭarsūs intervened and fell upon al-A'raj, seizing the former and turning him over to Maknūn for imprisonment. Having learned that there was a plot against Rāghib, the people of Ṭarsūs wrote to Khumarawayh b. Aḥmad, informing him what al-A'raj had done, and that they had taken him into custody. They proposed, "Let Rāghib go free so that he may return to us. Then we will release al-A'raj." Khumarawayh then released Rāghib and sent him to Ṭarsūs along with Aḥmad b. Ṭughān who was to serve as governor of the border regions. At the same time, he dismissed al-A'raj from this post. When Rāghib reached Ṭarsūs, Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-A'raj was released, and Aḥmad b. Ṭughān entered Ṭarsūs, as governor of the city and the border regions, accompanied by Rāghib. They entered Ṭarsūs on Tuesday, the thirteenth of Sha'bān (November 7, 892). [2132]

[2133] On Monday, the nineteenth of Rajab (October 14, 892), al-Mu'tamid passed away. He had spent Sunday drinking to excess on the river bank in the Ḥasanī Palace.[185] Then he had supper and overate. During the night he died. His reign, reportedly, lasted twenty-three years and six days.

185. For the Ḥasanī Palace in Baghdad, see Lassner, *Topography*, index, 321.

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VOLUME XXXVIII

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TRANSLATED BY FRANZ ROSENTHAL

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to Baghdad
Volume XXXVIII
Translated and Annotated by
Franz Rosenthal

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Preface

The History of Prophets and Kings (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839-923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work, and also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Each volume has an index of proper names. A general index volume will follow the publication of the translation volumes.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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*Considering the varied number of events mentioned under each year in this volume, the selection of subjects listed here under various years is, of necessity, somewhat arbitrary.

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Continued campaign against Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān and Khārijites/ 27 —Reform of inheritance/ 29—Egyptian officers arriving in Baghdad after defection/ 30—Relations between Byzantines and Slavs/ 31—Murder of Jaysh b. Khumārawayh/ 31—Ransom negotiations with Byzantines/ 32—Relations with Dulafites/ 34—ʿAmr b. al-Layth defeats Rāfiʿ b. Harthamah/ 39

The Events of the Year 284 (897-898)/41

Fighting in Ṭarsūs/ 41—Christian eunuch accused of slandering Prophet/ 42—Populace harassing black eunuchs/ 45—Edict against Umayyads/ 46—"Specter" in the palace/ 65—Escape of Dulafite Abū al-Layth from detention and his subsequent death/ 67—Wrong astrological predictions of rain/ 69

The Events of the Year 285 (898-899)/70

Al-Ṭāʾī's attack on pilgrim caravan/ 70—Atmospheric fallout in southern Mesopotamia/ 71—Naval raid against Byzantines/ 73—Negotiations with Hārūn b. Khumārawayh/ 73—Raid against Byzantines/ 74

The Events of the Year 286 (899-900)/75

Relations with Ibn Abī al-Sāj/ 75—Expedition to Āmid against Ibn Shaykh/ 75—Agreement with Hārūn b. Khumārawayh/ 76—Gifts from ʿAmr b. al-Layth/ 77—Appearance of Qarmaṭians under al-Jannābī/ 77—Raids of the Shaybān against al-Anbār/78

The Events of the Year 287 (900)/81

Arrest of Ibn Shaykh/ 81—Bedouin attacks on the pilgrim caravan/ 81—Growing Qarmaṭian danger/ 82—Troubles in Ṭarsūs/ 83—ʿAmr b. al-Layth's defeat and capture by the Sāmānid/ 84—Al-Ghanawī's unsuccessful expedition against al-Jannābī/ 86—Expedition against Waṣīf, *mawlā* of Ibn Abī al-Sāj/ 88—Death of the Caspian Zaydī ruler/ 91—Badr's expedition against the Qarmaṭians/ 92

The Events of the Year 288 (900-901)/94

Death of Ibn Abī al-Sāj/ 94—ʿAmr b. al-Layth in Baghdad/ 95—Gifts sent to Sāmānid/ 95—Troubles in Ṣanʿā/ 96—Fighting among Sājids/ 97—Military encounters with Byzantines/ 97

The Events of the Year 289 (901-902)/99

Execution of Qarmaṭian Ibn Abī al-Qaws/ 99—Death of al-Muʿtaḍid/ 101

The Caliphate of al-Muktafī bi-llāh

Death of ʿAmr b. al-Layth/ 103—Downfall of Badr/ 104—Sāmānid victory in Ṭabaristān/ 112—Zikrawayh and his sons/ 113

The Events of the Year 290 (902-903)/118

More Qarmaṭian trouble in Syria/ 118—Al-Muktafī's failed attempt to move to Sāmarrā/ 120—Death of Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh and Syrian raids by his brother Ḥusayn, the Man of the Mole/ 121—A mother searching for her son in the Qarmaṭian camp/ 123—Qarmaṭians near Aleppo/ 127—Successful attacks from al-Baḥrayn on al-Jannābī's relatives and lieutenant/ 128—Letter of the Man of the Mole to an official/ 129—and letter of an official to him/ 130—Ransom negotiations with Byzantines/ 133

The Events of the Year 291 (903-904)/134

Al-Muktafī in al-Raqqah/ 134—Capture of the Man of the Mole/ 135—Muḥammad b/ Sulaymān's battle with Qarmaṭians/ 136—Execution of Qarmaṭian leaders/ 141—Al-Qāsim b. Sīmā and the remnants of Qarmaṭian ʿUllayṣ/ 144, 147—Preparations for campaign against Hārūn b. Khumārawayh/ 146—Sāmānid victory over Turks/ 146—Byzantine campaigns/ 147—Appointment of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan/ 149

The Events of the Year 292 (904-905)/150

Seizure of insurgents in the Baṣrah region/ 150—Byzantine raid on Marʿash/ 151—Muḥammad b. Sulaymān in Egypt, Hārūn b. Khumārawayh killed/ 151—Revolt of al-Khalījī in Egypt/ 152—

Byzantine-Muslim ransom negotiations/ 153—Flood in Baghdad/ 154—Byzantine preparations for raid against Ṭarsūs/ 155

The Events of the Year 293 (905-906)/156

Al-Khalījī's revolt/ 156—Ṣaffārid Ṭāhir and events in Fārs/ 156—Qarmaṭian move on Damascus/ 157—Unrest in the Yemen/ 157—Qarmaṭian ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd and the Qarmaṭian attacks against various cities (Hīt, Tiberias, al-Kūfah), defeat of government forces/ 158—Zikrawayh/ 161—Battle at al-Ṣaw'ar/ 167—Al-Khalījī's defeat and transfer to Baghdad/ 169—Byzantine raid on Qūrus/ 171

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Raid into Byzantine territory/ 172—Qarmaṭian attacks on pilgrim caravans/ 172—Zikrawayh's death/ 179—Patrikios Andronikos defects to Muslims, raid on Konya/ 180—Qarmaṭian remnants defeated/ 181—Byzantine-Muslim ransom negotiations/ 181—Sufyānī appearing in Syria/ 181

The Events of the Year 295 (907-908)/183

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Rebellion of Ibn al-Muʿtazz/ 189—Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān in Baghdad/ 191

The Events of the Year 297 (909-910)/193

Mu'nis al-Khādim's campaign against Byzantines/ 193, in Fārs to fight Ṣaffārid al-Layth/ 193

The Events of the Year 298 (910-911)/195

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The Events of the Year 299 (911-912)/197

Raids against Byzantines by Rustum/ 197—Sāmānid activities/ 197

The Events of the Year 300 (912-913)/198

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Al-Ḥallāj/ 199—Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān's campaign against Byzantines/ 200—Sāmānid ruler killed, quarrels about succession/ 200—Fāṭimid general Ḥabāsah in Barqah/ 202—Death of al-Jannābī/ 202

The Events of the Year 302 (914-915)/204

Campaign against Byzantines/ 204—Al-Uṭrūsh seizing power in Ṭabaristān/ 204—Ḥabāsah's invasion of Egypt/ 205—Defeated/ 206—Battle against bedouins in Northern Mesopotamia/ 206—Bedouin attacks on pilgrim caravan/ 207

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Translator's Foreword

Ṭabarī was some fifty years old when al-Muʿtaḍid became caliph. He was well past seventy in the year his *History*, as we know it, was published. During the intervening years, he was a famous, if somewhat controversial, personality. Among the figures of his age, he had access to sources of information equal to anyone, except, perhaps, those who were directly connected with decision-making within the government. Most, if not all, the materials for the histories of al-Muʿtaḍid, al-Muktafī, and the early years of al-Muqtadir were collected by him about the time the reported events took place. His accounts are as authentic as one can expect from any pre-modern age.

Time and again, the author shows himself to be a true historian by recognizing the paramount importance of documents and the need to reproduce them exactly. His literary taste comes occasionally to the fore as in the anecdote of the woman in search of her son among the Qarmaṭians; it captures the flavor of the general reaction to the Qarmaṭian danger better than anything else would. On the whole, however, his presentation of historical material is concise. It consists mostly of short notes written down in contemporary language and without editorial comment. The scope of the information provided by Ṭabarī for this period is thus limited, but its quality is unique.

The events chronicled in this volume concern the reigns of the father and older brother of the teenage youth during whose reign Ṭabarī published his work. Many of the men involved in the events, or members of their families, were still alive and active and no doubt concerned with their reputations. Ṭabarī seems to be remarkably candid, but we also encounter some obvious reticence dictated by prudence. His historical judgement may not always have been colored merely by his closeness to events. We also do not know how much he simply omitted, when he put together his notes, in order to avoid giving offense or risking misinterpretation.

The long poem of Ibn al-Muʿtazz on the reign of his cousin al-Muʿtaḍid is even closer to the sources and events than Ṭabarī's

work. Its poetical form naturally determined the character, and limited the extent, of the information it conveys. The great historical work of ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, who died only a few years after Ṭabarī,[1] is not preserved. What little we know of it is based on sparse quotations in later authors (which have yet to be collected). A biography of al-Muʿtaḍid transmitted in the family of Thābit b. Qurrah is also lost.[2] Most of the other historians writing on the events of al-Muʿtaḍid's reign appear later in the tenth century. Among the earliest is Masʿūdī who used sources other than those of Ṭabarī. But the bulk of actual information on al-Muʿtaḍid's caliphate was derived by some tenth-century historians and practically all those later authors who wrote works on general history from Ṭabarī. The sketchy picture he presents can, however, be supplemented by a large amount of enormously valuable information to be found in other kinds of sources. The situation is substantially the same with respect to the reign of al-Muktafī. Beginning with the caliphate of al-Muqtadir, the number of widely available, relevant historical sources greatly increased, as was noted already by Masʿūdī[3].

The publication history of Ṭabarī's work is significant for understanding the section translated here. Until the year 294(906-7), the author lectured on the material that ultimately became the sections on Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid history. He discontinued teaching and lecturing on this material when al-Muqtadir became caliph, but he seemingly worked on it for its eventual inclusion in the work now before us.[4] Further data available to us are essentially as follows:

According to al-Farghānī [b. 282(895-6), d. 362(972-3], Ṭabarī's work ended with the year 302. It was finished on Wednesday, Rabīʿ II 26, 303 (Wednesday, November 8, 915).[5] Thus, on that date, a complete copy, or copies, of it were ready for publication. We do not know the publication procedure that was adopted in this particular case. Following known precedents, we can assume that a large number of scribes, both private entrepreneurs and library

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[1] See *EI*², s. v. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr.
[2] See Rosenthal, "From Arabic Books and Manuscripts IV," 138.
[3] *Murūj*, VIII, 249, ed. Pellat, V, 193 f.
[4] See Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, VI, 444f., ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 70.
[5] Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margoliouth, VI, 426, ed. Rifāʿī, XVIII, 44.

employees, prepared a number of copies simultaneously for sale and distribution, as ordered by interested private and public figures and, perhaps, booksellers. Al-Farghānī, it may be noted, was the author of a continuation of Ṭabarī's work.[6] More important in this connection, he also transmitted a recension of the text.[7] It remains to be investigated whether his recension is the one presented by most of the manuscripts available to us, as seems likely.

Still from the tenth century, but from close to its end, we have the information to be found in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm. According to him, Ṭabarī's dictation of the *History* stopped in 302.[8]

Our next source is over two centuries later and thus has hardly more authority than the preserved manuscripts. Ibn al-Athīr [555-630(1160-1233)] states that Ṭabarī's work ends in 302, but that in some manuscripts he had found it continuing to the following year. However, this continuation, Ibn al-Athīr informs us, was said to be an addition not belonging to the work (and thus not originating with Ṭabarī).[9]

Ibn al-Athīr's somewhat younger contemporary, (Ibn) al-Qifṭī [568-646(1172-1248)], speaks of the year 309 as the final year of the *History*.[10] Perhaps this should not simply be discounted as a mere slip of the pen or as speculation based upon the fact that Ṭabarī's death took place in 310. It may indicate that al-Qifṭī had a recension at his disposal with additions down to the year 309.[11]

All the manuscripts consulted (see below) conclude with the year 302. Strangely enough, Karatay's catalogue of the manuscripts in the Topkapısarayı Library in Istanbul, no. 5735, indicates that the manuscript described (Revan Köşk 1555=our Ms. R) contained events from 255 to 298. This is not correct. Ms. R continues through the year 302. I have no explanation for the statement in the catalogue.

Among the historians who wrote during the first century after Ṭabarī's death, ʿArīb used the *History* faithfully to the year 299,

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[6] See Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*², 82.

[7] As stated in the beginning of Ms. Topkapısarayı Ahmet III 2929/1. See Ibrāhīm's Cairo edition of Ṭabarī, I, Introduction, 31.

[8] *Fihrist*, 234, ll. 24 f.

[9] See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VIII, 68.

[10] See al-Qifṭī, 110f., translated in Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*², 81-3.

[11] See below, xvii f., on the addition concerning the death of al-Ḥallāj.

but the text at his disposal does not seem to extend beyond that date. Hamadhānī's continuation of Ṭabarī shows no clear evidence that he was familiar with the text beyond 295. This is somewhat surprising, since some of the information from those years might have greatly appealed to him. Similarly, Miskawayh abruptly discontinues quoting from Ṭabarī beginning with the reign of al-Muqtadir, although he cites him consistently and almost exclusively up to that point. He may have felt that the more substantial sources at his disposal from the year 295 on deserved to be followed as exclusively as Ṭabarī was followed for earlier years. Balʿamī's Persian translation has been said to stop with the year 295,[12] but it is not certain that the preserved translation allows any conclusion as to the breakoff date for the manuscripts of the *History* available to him; further study of Balʿamī's work is called for. The twelfth-century Ibn al-Jawzī was familiar with Ṭabarī's work down to the year 300, and possibly to 301,[13], as we might expect. But it may be noted that his first quotation from the history of Thābit b. Sinān concerns the year 296,[14] and that Ṭabarī no longer appears to have been an important source for him regarding events of 295 and later.

The evidence cited allows of no certain conclusions. It may be that there existed recensions of Ṭabarī's work that ended before the year 302. On the other hand, recensions that included additions beyond the year 302 may have also circulated. The problem of such additions deserves special attention.[15] At the time his work was published Ṭabarī may have looked forward to making further additions, as authors often do. The colophon of Ms. B(erlin),[16] which is in a poor state of preservation, somehow seems to indicate this intention. It apparently refers to "later events (*muta'akhkhir*)" and concludes with "if God postpones the final term (death)." However, *muta'akhkhir* is likely to be a corruption of *min khabar*, and the context of the statement

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[12]See Massignon, *Passion*², IV, 13 n. 1.

[13]*Muntaẓam*, VI, 115.

[14]*Muntaẓam*, VI, 80. Thābit's work is, in fact, said to have started with the reign of al-Muqtadir, see Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, X, 463.

[15]See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, XVf.

[16]Ms. C(onstantinople, Köprülü, I, 1042) breaks off shortly before the end of the work and thus does not contain the colophon.

referring to continued life is doubtful. It does not appear in R which has preserved what seems to be the full text of the badly mutilated version in B. The colophon in R reads:

> "Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī says: All the information mentioned by us with an indication of transmission and oral sources which we have included in this book—I mean the book entitled "A Short History of the Messengers, Kings, and Caliphs"—to this very day, month, and year is as we have included it in the book. All the information we have left without mentioning transmission and referring to a transmission [its transmitters?] belongs to information which is generally and widely known through continuous transmission and is generally familiar to those privy to it. You all should know this! (... *mā ḍammannā hādhā al-kitāb-aʿnī al-kitāb al-musammā Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk wa-al-khulafā'-ilā ḥaythu intahaynā ilayhi min yawminā min shahrinā min sanatinā hādhihī mimmā kāna fīhi min khabar dhakarnāhu bi-riwāyah wa-samāʿ fa-huwa ʿalā mā ḍammannā al-kitāb wa-mā kāna min dhālika mimmā akhlalnā min dhikr al-riwāyah wa-nisbatihī ilā riwāyah* [*read: ruwātihī?*] *fa-huwa min al-khabar al-mustafīḍ al-muntashir alladhī tawātarat bihī al-akhbār wa-istafāḍat bihī ʿinda ahlihī fa-iʿlamū dhālika*).

Ṭabarī thus alerts the reader that where the source situation is explained, the source in question was faithfully followed by him. The lack of any such indication of sources, on the other hand, means that reference is made to events generally known, and in these cases, the phrasing is apparently his own. Nothing is said here about future additions. It is, however, likely that he continued taking notes and including them in his personal copy. From there, they found their way to the copyists who, by using them and other minor variations in the text, created different "recensions" or, in modern terms, successive editions slightly divergent from each other but all, in some way, having the approval of the author.

The prime example of an addition beyond the year 302 is the brief reference to the death of al-Ḥallāj which occurred in the year preceding Ṭabarī's death. The reference appears in only one

manuscript *sub anno* 301.[17] Its terseness and patent lack of sympathy with the great mystic gives the impression of its coming from the hand of Ṭabarī. Of course, it cannot be ruled out entirely that someone else might have inserted it in a copy he possessed about the time the event took place. But in the absence of any indication to this effect, the preferred assumption is that Ṭabarī himself was the author of the account.

Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī concludes his quotation of passages from Ṭabarī with an item dated 305.[18] It describes the discovery of a vault at the Wall of Marw. That vault contained baskets with a thousand heads, each of which had in its ear a label giving the name of the individual.[19] Ḥamzah's story corresponds to a report by ʿArīb given in connection with the year 304(916-7).[20] The differences are, however, rather considerable and cannot be explained by the fact that the Ṭabarī quotations of Ḥamzah are usually quite free. It seems that Ḥamzah and ʿArīb used different sources. In ʿArīb's case it is unlikely that his source was Ṭabarī; for if this were so, we would be confronted with the possibility that ʿArīb's information for the years 300 to 309 may include more quotations from Ṭabarī, and this we are not prepared to concede. Ḥamzah, on the other hand, may in fact have found the information in the Ṭabarī recension used by him; yet, it is also possible that he followed some other source and failed to indicate it.

The existence of various "recensions" signalized by differences in the available manuscripts suggests that additions to and divergences from Ṭabarī's work found in later authors who used it extensively often go back to the manuscript tradition of the *History*. Obviously, omissions in otherwise literal reproductions of Ṭabarī's text do not reflect in any way an original state. In some cases, it can be argued that the additions of a later author who depended heavily on Ṭabarī were not derived from the latter's work. A major example of this is Miskawayh's report on Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī's message to al-Muʿtaḍid. The arguments that Miskawayh could

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[17] See below, n. 952.

[18] *Annales*, I, 192.

[19] For the custom of labeling an object by means of a piece of paper affixed to the ear, see text above, III, 1348.

[20] ʿArīb, 62f.

not have derived it from Ṭabarī are strong.[21] Still, I am not fully convinced that this important item escaped Ṭabarī's attention altogether and that it did not somehow find its way in some form into his work. It must be admitted, though, that the only other addition in Miskawayh, a lengthy story illustrating al-Muʿtaḍid's fairness,[22] is very unlikely to go back to Ṭabarī. Some of the additional information found in later authors that appears to be of Ṭabarīan origin has been referred to in the notes accompanying the translation. No attempt has been made, however, to speculate about everything that could possibly be derived from the *History*. Given the nature of the evidence, much of this sort of material is highly problematic.

For the concluding portion of the work that is the subject of translation here, only two manuscripts were available to the editor of the Leiden text. In the tenth volume of his edition published in Cairo (1969), Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm reproduced the Leiden text basically unchanged, as Ibrāhīm himself stated in his foreword. The indispensable critical apparatus of the Leiden edition was discarded by him, to the extent that he failed to note that a few words in the Leiden text had no manuscript authority but were taken from the quotation in a later author.[23] Ibrāhīm nevertheless deserves our special gratitude for adding the pagination of the Leiden edition in the margin, something he unfortunately failed to do when he republished the texts of ʿArīb, Hamadhānī, and Ṭabarī's *Dhayl al-Mudhayyal* as Volume XI of his Ṭabarī text.[24] A third printing of Volume X, which appeared in 1977, used no new manuscript material.

The two manuscripts used in the Leiden edition are, moreover, not entirely complete. Thus, C lacks one entire folio that belonged between folios 337 and 338 of the manuscript.[25] The insufficiency of the manuscript material of the edition made it advisable to collate Ms. R of the Topkapısarayı. The well-tested kindness and courage of the Turkish librarians enabled me to accomplish this

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[21] See below, n. 444.
[22] See Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 19-23, *sub anno* 289.
[23] See below, n. 774.
[24] Published in Cairo, 1977.
[25] See text below, 95 (l. 20)-104 (l. 22).

task during a brief stay in Istanbul in June of 1981. A little time was left over for a quick look at Ms. C in the Köprülü Library, I, 1042. But I have had no microfilm to do the additional checking which is necessary.

A microfilm of Ms. B (Mq 667, Catalogue Ahlwardt 9422) was kindly provided for me by Dr. D. George and the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. It has enabled me to check a few passages in the Leiden edition where I thought that such checking might be well advised. The collation of Ms. B with the printed text has increased my admiration for the accuracy and acumen of the editor and the fine work done by the printer. The passages which contain errors with respect to the indication of the manuscript situation are astonishingly few, and they are very minor. Only a few had to be indicated in the notes to the translation.

While Ms. R has its measure of mistakes, it enlarges our knowledge of Ṭabarī's work. R appears to be closer to B than to C, allowing the conclusion that wherever R and C agree against B, RC may have preserved the more original wording. However, the situation is by no means clear-cut. The three manuscripts may have equally acceptable readings as the result of author's variants.

R has a number of additions not to be found in C and B, and thus they are not contained in the Leiden text. These additions appear to go back to Ṭabarī, although in most cases proof either positive or negative is unavailable. As far as I can see, no decisive clues can be derived from internal evidence. Alternative statements and repetitiveness are no proof against Ṭabarīan origin. Positive evidence for it is provided by additions of the *homoioteleuton* variety which mend scribal omissions and thus restore the more original text. Positive evidence is also provided by quotations in later authors, some of which support additions and textual variants found in R. This makes it virtually certain that the material goes back to some recension of Ṭabarī's text. Altogether, then, at the present stage of our knowledge, we are justified in considering additions that occur in any one of the manuscripts to be part of his work.

A new scholarly edition of the *History* is certainly needed, but, regrettably, none may be published soon. Therefore, it has been advisable, and even necessary, to indicate some of the textual information found in R. This has been done as unobtrusively as

possible. Words and passages enclosed by asterisks indicate additions; those enclosed in raised half square brackets indicate omissions. Not infrequently, additions and omissions in R agree with what is found in C; here the apparatus of the Leiden edition must be consulted. References to minor variations are usually meant to call attention to readings that may go back to a recension of the *History* or exhibit a preferable text. Exhaustiveness and consistency have not been attempted, although even very small and seemingly insignificant variants may illuminate the history of Ṭabarī's text and its historical importance.

The translation and annotation procedure followed in this volume needs little comment. Brackets to mark names and nouns supplied for Arabic pronouns have been avoided for the most part. The Baghdad-centrism of the work has often called for the addition of "Baghdad" where the word itself is not expressly mentioned in the text. No attention has been paid to the various ways in which dates are expressed in the Arabic text. They have been rendered in a uniform manner and occasionally expanded by the addition of the year. One-day discrepancies in the indicated day of the week have been left unchanged.[26] All this has been done in order to facilitate the task of the historian who may peruse these pages.

An historical commentary on subjects and events has not been attempted because there is no room for it in this volume. Every one of Ṭabarī's brief items would require a lengthy discussion in order to place it in even the most rudimentary historical context. The available standard works have been preferred for reference. Those dealing specifically with the period treated here have not been referred to systematically on each occasion. This applies, for instance, to Canard on the Byzantines (also Vasiliev, Vol. II) and the Ḥamdānids, and to Massignon and his struggle to unravel the prevailing religious situation. Similarly, one should often refer to Bowen, who attempts to encompass the political scene in Baghdad during all these years in a work which remains entertaining and worth reading, and to Glagow's careful biography of al-Muʿtaḍid

[26]See below, n. 979, for an example of the fact that dates given in one form were at times converted into another. This could easily lead to mistakes, especially in connection with dates referring to the remaining nights of months having twenty-nine days.

in which he discusses all the data provided by Ṭabarī and parallel sources, and so on.

A brief identification has been provided in the notes for each individual at his first mention in this volume. With a very few exceptions for the most prominent personalities, such as caliphs, this has been done systematically and, alas, has required some rather superfluous notes. I have not, however, succeeded in identifying every single individual mentioned in the text. The names of tribes have been left unannotated as a rule. The names of places have rarely required annotation, the principal exceptions being the names of towns in Byzantine territory and the stations of the Mecca Road. References to earlier passages in the *History* are meant to alert the reader to the likelihood that a fuller annotation may be found in connection with the translation of those passages.

In addition to the librarians in Istanbul and Berlin, I am obliged to Professor E. Birnbaum of the University of Toronto for answering my questions concerning problematic proper names suspected by me to be of Turkish origin, to Professor E. Yar-Shater of Columbia University for checking the *Ta'rīkh-e Sīstān*, not available to me, and to Professor J. Lassner of Wayne State University for his painstaking editing of my manuscript. I am very grateful to all of them, as I am to the students in my Arabic Seminar with whom I read part of the text translated here during the academic year 1978-79.

Sigla

B	Ms. Berlin Mq 677
C	Ms. Köprülü I, 1042
R	Ms. Topkapısarayı, Revan Köşk 1555
...	Additions in R
⌜...⌝	Omissions in R

The Caliphate of al-Muʿtaḍid

In the morning following this night [Monday, Rajab 19, 279 (Monday, October 16, 892, to Tuesday, October 17)], the oath of allegiance as caliph was given to Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh. Al-Muʿtaḍid then appointed his page Badr as chief of police,[1] ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb as wazīr,[2] and Muḥammad b. al-Shāh b. Mīkāl as chief of the guard.[3] He also appointed Ṣāliḥ, who was known as (Ṣāliḥ) al-Amīn, as chief chamberlain *(ḥājib)* for both the inner circle of notables *(khāṣṣah)* and the commoners *(ʿāmmah)*.[4] Ṣāliḥ took the place of Khafīf al-Samarqandī.[5]

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[1] Upon his elevation to the caliphate, the new Caliph immediately filled the positions most important for the safe assumption of his duties with old friends. This was rarely, if ever, done on the spur of the moment. In one of the versions of al-Muʿtaḍid's dream reported *sub anno* 282 (see below, n. 137), we are told that the dream made him so confident of becoming caliph soon that he drew up a list of his first appointees. Only the names of Badr and ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān are mentioned there. Badr was listed as the future chamberlain, the more prestigious office, but, as it turned out, the new caliph felt that he needed a man with military experience whom he trusted completely in the office of Chief of Security. See also text above, III, 2122f. However, Badr remained at the top of the list, regardless of the normal ranking of his office. On Badr, who was killed shortly after al-Muʿtaḍid's death, see text below, 2209ff., and *EI*[2] *Suppl.*, s. v. Badr.

[2] On ʿUbaydallāh [d. 288 (April 903)], see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 326-45.

[3] There seems to be no further mention of him. His father, however, was an important officer, first mentioned in the text above, III, 1532.

[4] The meanings of *khāṣṣah* and *ʿāmmah* are briefly discussed in Mottahedeh, *Loyalty*, 115. There seems to be no information on Ṣāliḥ al-Amīn beyond what is mentioned here.

[5] He may be identical with the Khafīf mentioned above. See text, III, 1953. He was close to al-Muʿtaḍid and appears occasionally as an informant on events during his reign. See, for instance, Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, III, 260; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 134f.; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, *ʿUyūn*, I, 231. On his relations with the two Ibn al-Furāts, see Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarāʾ*, index.

On Shaʿbān 2, 279 (October 28, 892), the emissary of ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār[6] came to al-Muʿtaḍid bearing gifts[7] and requested that ʿAmr be appointed governor of Khurāsān. Al-Muʿtaḍid sent ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī[8] back with the emissary, carrying robes of honor and a standard for ʿAmr signifying his (new) rank as governor of Khurāsān. They reached ʿAmr in Ramaḍān 279 (November 25-December 24, 892). The robes of honor were bestowed upon him, and the standard was exhibited in the courtyard of his house for three days.

In this year, the report of the death of Naṣr b. Aḥmad reached Baghdad. Naṣr's brother, Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, took charge of his administrative functions in Transoxania.[9]

On Tuesday, Shawwāl 3, 279 (Wednesday, December 27, 892), al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh, who was known as Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ,[10] arrived from Egypt as the emissary of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.[11] He brought gifts among which were:

Twenty loads of gold specie on mules
Ten eunuchs
Two boxes containing textiles with ornamental borders (*ṭirāz*)[12]

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[6] For the Ṣaffārids, see the brief entry in Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, 103-6.

[7] The gifts offered on this occasion are listed in Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhāʾir*, 41. Further gifts from ʿAmr to al-Muʿtaḍid in the years 280, 281, 283, and 286 are listed in *Dhakhāʾir*, 39-45.

[8] One of the most important figures of his time, ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī died as governor of Egypt in the spring of 297 (910). See ʿArīb, 33f.; Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 297; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 145ff. The origin of his *nisbah*, meaning "New Town" in Persian, appears undetermined; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, has no further information on its likely origin.

[9] The Sāmānid brothers Naṣr and Ismāʿīl ruled, respectively, from 864 to 892 and from 892 to 907.

[10] See *EI*², s.v. Ibn al-Djaṣṣāṣ. His career as a selfmade, enormously wealthy jeweler and wit with powerful connections fascinated his contemporaries so that he is much discussed by historians and littérateurs.

[11] See *EI*², s. v. Khumārawayh.

[12] One of the glories of Muslim craftsmanship, usually produced in government factories. R has *ṭarāʾif* "curios," and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 138, l. 13, found the same reading in the manuscript he used. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 117f., ed. Pellat, V, 139, does not have a detailed list of gifts but refers to *ṭirāz*. Both readings are possible, but *ṭirāz* seems slightly preferable. Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhāʾir*, 41, speaks of "two boxes filled with fine material (*diqq*)."

Twenty / / men upon twenty noble camels, with saddles richly ornamented with silver, carrying silver lances and wearing brocade gowns and ornamented belts [III,2134]
Seventeen horses with saddles and bridles, five decorated with gold, and the rest with silver
Thirty-seven horses with saddle cloths ornamented with borders of different colors[13]
Five mules with saddles and bridles
A giraffe[14]

Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ went to al-Muʿtaḍid who bestowed robes of honor upon him and upon seven individuals with him. The purpose of his trip was to arrange a marriage between the daughter of Khumārawayh and al-Muʿtaḍid's son ʿAlī.[15] However, al-Muʿtaḍid said that he himself would marry her, and so he did.[16]

In this year, word reached Baghdad that Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh[17] had seized the fortress of Mārdīn from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundāj.[18]

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[13] See Ṭabari, *Introductio etc.*, CCCXVIII; Busse, "Hofbudget," 24, n. 104.

[14] The list appears in Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 41, in substantially the same form, with slight differences mainly in the wording. The fourth item appears as "twenty ornamented donkeys," and the giraffe is omitted, probably merely by oversight; giraffes were not uncommon in gifts from Africa. It would be difficult to assume that Ibn al-Zubayr used Ṭabarī and changed the wording arbitrarily. Ibn al-Zubayr has many other detailed reports on gifts not found in Ṭabarī. It is also unlikely that Ibn al-Zubayr used an intermediary that somehow depended on Ṭabarī. In all likelihood both Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Zubayr (or his source) depended upon a common source, possibly an original document, and Ṭabarī may have preserved the more accurate text. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 138, quotes Ṭabarī.

[15] It can be assumed that Khumārawayh's daughter Qaṭr al-Nadā "Dewdrop" was very young when the match with the prince, the future Caliph al-Muktafī, was proposed. ʿAlī was only about fifteen years old then, and, since her father was born in 250 (864), she cannot have been older and was probably somewhat younger. She died on Rajab 7 (9), 287 [July 8 (10), 900], see text below, 2195; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 26; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, II, 250.

[16] The way in which al-Muʿtaḍid handled the dynastic marriage struck historians as noteworthy and, probably, as a bit peculiar. It was rarely left unreported. See also Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, II, 315; Glagow, 63-67. For the brideprice paid by al-Muʿtaḍid to Khumārawayh, see Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 118f.; ed. Pellat, V, 139.

[17] See *EI²*, s. v. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh. He died in 285 (898), see text below, 2185. The name of his father al-Shaykh was ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

[18] Or Ibn Kundājīq, d. 304 (916-17). See ʿArīb, 63f.; *Eclipse*, I, 33 (n. 1). For his father, see text above, III, 1877, 2112.

In this year, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir[19] died on Wednesday, Shawwāl 16 or 17, 279 (Tuesday or Wednesday, January 9 or 10, 893). He had been in charge of the Office of Estates.[20] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd[21] was appointed in his place.

In this year, Rāshid, the *mawlā* of al-Muwaffaq,[22] was confirmed as governor of al-Dīnawar. Robes of honor were bestowed upon him on Saturday, Shawwāl 20,[23] 279 (Saturday, January 13, 893). Then, on Thursday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 10, 279 (Thursday, February 1, 893), Rāshid left to assume his administrative duties.

On the Day of Slaughtering (Dhū al-Ḥijjah 10), 279 (March 3, 893),[24] al-Muʿtaḍid, accompanied by the officers and troops, rode to the oratory he had chosen for himself near the Ḥasanī Palace[25] in order to lead the public prayer. He reportedly said "God is Great *(Allāhu Akbar)*" six times during the first *rakʿah*, and once
[2135] during the second.[26] // He then ascended the pulpit, but his sermon was inaudible. The Old Oratory was left vacant and was no longer used for prayer.[27]

In this year, a dispatch was sent to Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf, [28] ordering him into combat against Rāfiʿ b. Harthamah,[29]

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[19] See text above, III, 1384; *EI*², s. v. Ibn al-Mudabbir.

[20] The *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ* was the government department charged with the administration of the caliphal landholdings.

[21] D. 287 (900), see text below, 2192. See also n. 423.

[22] D. 280 (893), see text below, 2139. See also text above, III, 1988; Busse, "Hofbudget," 18, n. 60.

[23] According to the edition, the date was Shawwāl 22, which was a Monday. Thus "seven" must be corrected to "nine," i. e. Shawwāl 20.

[24] R had merely Dhū al-Ḥijjah, but it is clear that the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* festival is meant. According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 117, ed. Pellat, V, 139, the incident occurred on the day of the breaking of the fast, that is, the day of the minor *ʿīd*, Monday, Shawwāl 1, 279 (Monday, December 25, 892). The correct indication of the day of the week may favor this earlier date.

[25] See Lassner, *Topography*, 84f., 97, 265f.

[26] The number and sequence of *takbīrāt* during the prayer on the festival could hold political significance, as is indicated above, II, 1955f. This may also be the case here.

[27] The active is not excluded: "no longer used by the Caliph." If the Old Oratory was no longer used, it nevertheless remained a landmark on the East Side of Baghdad, see text below, 2244.

[28] Aḥmad died the following year. See text below, 2137; also above, III, 1929; Canard, *Ḥamdanides*, 311ff.; Zambaur, 199.

[29] Rāfiʿ was killed in 283, See text below, 2160; also above, III, 2039.

who was in al-Rayy. Aḥmad advanced against him, and they met in battle on Thursday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 23, 279 (Wednesday, February 14, 893). Rāfiʿ was routed and left al-Rayy, whereupon Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz entered the city.[30]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Hāshimī.[31] It was his last pilgrimage. He had led the pilgrimage sixteen times, from 264 (878) to this year.

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[30] See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 139f., ed. Pellat, V, 147f.

[31] Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Mūsā [who led the pilgrimage in 182 (799)] b. ʿĪsā [d. 167 (783-84)] b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was a great-great-grandson of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, the nephew of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IX, 74, ed. Pellat, V, 299, Hārūn led the pilgrimage fifteen consecutive times, the last time in 278; in 279, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā led the pilgrimage for the first of nine times ending in 287. Masʿūdī appears to be in error. For Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, see below, n. 357. Note that Ṭabarī does not report the leader of the pilgrimage for 281, 282, and 283; he lists Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh for the years 284-87. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 147, l. 20, and 151, l. 13, lists Muḥammad b. Hārūn (see below, n. 71) as the leader of the pilgrimage in 281 and 282 but, like Ṭabarī, gives no name for 283.

The Events of the Year 280

(MARCH 23, 893 - MARCH 12, 894)

One of the events was al-Muʿtaḍid's seizure of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muhtadī[32] and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who was known as Shaylamah.[33] This Shaylamah had stayed with the master of the Zanj[34] until his last days. He then joined al-Muwaffaq under a guarantee of safe-conduct and subsequently received his protection. Al-Muʿtaḍid seized the two men because Shaylamah was denounced to him by one of those who had obtained a guarantee of safe-conduct. The informer told the Caliph that Shaylamah was propagandizing for a person of unknown name and that he had already sought to corrupt a number of military men and others. A pharmacist and a nephew of Shaylamah from al-Madīnah were seized with him. Al-Muʿtaḍid tried to make Shaylamah confess, but he admitted
[2136] nothing. When asked by al-Muʿtaḍid // about the man for whom he was propagandizing, he again admitted nothing but said, "If he were underneath my feet, I would not lift them, and if you were to make minced meat[35] out of me, I would not tell

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[32] The name of the ʿAbbāsid prince is also transmitted as ʿUbaydallāh, but nothing further, it seems, is known about him. An Abū al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Muhtadī appears in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 194, 348. See also below, n. 39.

[33] Masʿūdī states expressly that he was a nephew of the great wazīr al-Faḍl b. Sahl [d. 202 (818)]. Al-Faḍl's brother al-Ḥasan b. Sahl died in the early summer of 235 (850). For Shaylamah at al-Muwaffaq's court, see Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, ed. I. al-Kaylānī, III,2, 505 (Damascus, n. d.). No information is available on the pharmacist and Shaylamah's nephew.

[34] The leader of the Zanj revolt, which lasted fourteen years, did not survive his defeat in August 883. See text above, III, 2098. According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 140, ed. Pellat, V, 148; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 127, Shaylamah wrote a biography of the Zanj leader.

[35] R: *kardanāj*, the expected spelling with final *j*. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, explains *gardanā, gardanāj* as meat boiled and roasted (with spices). The translation "minced meat" was chosen for its idiomatic flavor.

you about him." At this, al-Muʿtaḍid gave orders to make a fire. Shaylamah was tied upon a wooden tent plank and rotated over the fire till his skin peeled. He was then decapitated, and his corpse was hung at the Lower Bridge on the West Side.[36] Ibn al-Muḥtadī was detained until his innocence was ascertained, whereupon he was released. The hanging of Shaylamah took place on al-Muḥarram 9,[37] 280 (March 31, 893).

Al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly said to Shaylamah, "I have heard that you are propagandizing for Ibn al-Muhtadī." Shaylamah replied, "The real story is different. I am friendly to the cause of the family of the son of Abū Ṭālib."[38] Al-Muʿtaḍid had tried to make his nephew confess, and he did. When he told Shaylamah that his nephew had confessed, he replied, "He is a mere lad who said what he did because he is afraid of being killed. His statement is unacceptable." After a long time, his nephew and the pharmacist were released.[39]

On Sunday, Ṣafar 1, 280 (Sunday, April 22, 893), al-Muʿtaḍid marched from Baghdad against the Banū Shaybān. He encamped at the Garden (*Bustān*) of Bishr b. Hārūn,[40] and then left on Wednesday, having appointed his chamberlain (*ḥājib*) Ṣāliḥ al-Amīn to take his place in the caliphal palace and in the city.

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[36] See Lassner, *Topography*, 280.

[37] Text: "seven," but both R and B seem to have "nine." The reading of C remains to be checked.

[38] Apparently, any descendant of Abū Ṭālib through his most famous son, ʿAlī, could be meant.

[39] Ṭabarī combines two reports which most likely came to him from different sources. Other reports, not depending on Ṭabarī, appear in Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 140-42, ed. Pellat, V, 148f., and Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, I, 144ff. See also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 127.

Tanūkhī speaks of an unnamed descendant of al-Wāthiq (the father of al-Muhtadī) who aspired to the caliphate and made Shaylamah his wazīr. In Shaylamah's house, lists of names of the co-conspirators were discovered, and the prince fled. Shaylamah's denial that an ʿAbbāsid prince was involved, and his insistence that it was an ʿAlid, may have been a coverup for a dynastic intrigue. In view of Shaylamah's antecedents this may seem unlikely, but we should be aware that contemporaries, like modern scholars, were always inclined to suspect sectarian motives.

[40] The precise location of the Garden of Bishr b. Hārūn is not known. It was evidently a large park suitable as a staging area for military expeditions. It is not impossible that Bishr b. Hārūn was the brother of Jābir and Ibrāhīm, mentioned as Christian secretaries of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir; see text above, III, 1511, 1524.

Al-Muʿtaḍid marched toward the place in the Jazīrah that the Shaybān had chosen as a stronghold. When they heard that he was marching against them, they gathered their possessions and families in one place. A letter from al-Muʿtaḍid then reached Baghdad stating that he had marched at night from al-Sinn[41] to engage the Arab tribesmen and that he had attacked them. He had killed a great number of them, and a good many[42] of them
[2137] had drowned in the two Zābs. He had seized // women and children, and the soldiers had gained more booty than they could carry. Moreover, so many small cattle and camels of the Shaybān had fallen into their hands that a sheep sold for (only) a dirham and a camel for five dirhams.

Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered their women and children guarded until they could be sent down to Baghdad. He then went to Mosul and from there to Balad,[43] before he returned to Baghdad. The Shaybān came to meet him and asked his pardon, and they gave him numerous hostages. He reportedly accepted five hundred of their men.

When al-Muʿtaḍid was on his way back to Madīnat al-Salām,[44] Aḥmad b. Abī al-Aṣbagh[45] joined him, bringing along the amount of money which he had received for the release of Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh—money which the latter had taken from Isḥāq b. Kundāj. He also brought presents, horses, and mules. This was on Wednesday, Rabīʿ II 7,[46] 280 (Wednesday, June 26, 893).

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[41] At the confluence of the Lesser Zāb and the Tigris. Ibn al-Athīr has "at," instead of "from." Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 142f., ed. Pellat, V, 149, locates the battle at Wādī al-Dhi'āb, for which see text below, 2293.

[42] R omits *kathīr*.

[43] North of Mosul on the Tigris.

[44] By this time, Madīnat al-Salām was fully synonymous with Baghdad, but the expression has been retained here wherever it occurs.

[45] See text above, III, 1927. Ibn Abī al-Aṣbagh was in charge of the Office of Taxation. According to Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 50, 87, 152, he was Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Aṣbagh. His identification with Abū ʿAbdallāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Badr b. al-Aṣbagh, assumed by the editor of Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, VIII, 116 (see the translation of Margoliouth, *Table-Talk*, 54), appears to be unfounded. Badr b. al-Aṣbagh is mentioned in the text above, III, 1137, *sub anno* 250 (864), as the chief tax official in al-Kūfah. For Isḥāq b. Kundāj, see above, n. 18.

[46] On the page following.

In Rabīʿ I (May 21-June 19, 893),[47] word reached Baghdad that Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj[48] had conquered al-Marāghah after a difficult siege and a fierce battle between himself and the inhabitants of the city. He had granted safe-conduct to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn *al-Hamadhānī*[49] and his men but then seized him. He put him in fetters and imprisoned him. He made him confess where all his property was, then killed him. *He was buried in Zanjān.*

In Rabīʿ II, 280 (June 20-July 18,893),[50] word concerning the death of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf reached Baghdad. His death had occurred at the end of Rabīʿ I. The troops now demanded their allotments and looted the residence of Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad al-Munshi'.[51] Two (other) sons of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ʿUmar and Bakr,[52] competed for the position of leadership. ʿUmar took control of the administration, although al-Muʿtaḍid had not sent him a letter of appointment as governor.// [2138]

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[46] Here, and in the following two items, there seems to be some confusion as to whether it was Rabīʿ I or Rabīʿ II. The confusion probably goes back to Ṭabarī himself. Rabīʿ I 7 (as in Ṭabarī) fell upon a Monday and is thus ruled out. R, however, reads Rabīʿ I 9 (May 29), which was indeed a Wednesday (as was Rabīʿ II 7). Since the date appears to refer to the time when al-Muʿtaḍid was on his way back to Baghdad (which Ṭabarī reports as having taken place in Rabīʿ II), the later date seems preferable. The expedition presumably lasted longer than just one month. If the reference to Rabīʿ I in the following item (see below, n. 47) is correct, it merely means that the author resumed the chronological sequence after reporting events connected with al-Muʿtaḍid's campaign.

[47] RB: Rabīʿ II.

[48] See text above, III, 1937. His surname was Afshīn. He died in 288 (901), as reported below, 2202f. For his brother Yūsuf, see below, n. 57; for his son Dēwdād, see below, n. 471.

[49] He is also mentioned by Masʿūdī in connection with this episode, but there seems to be no more information on him. R: al-Hamdānī.

[50] RBC: Rabīʿ I. Although this was no doubt found in the original, the later reference to the end of Rabīʿ I shows it to be wrong.

[51] *Al-Munshi'* may indicate that he was a draftsman of documents, but information on him appears to be lacking.

[52] The rivalry of ʿUmar and Bakr and the role of their brothers is the subject of attention in the following pages. On their celebrated grandfather Abū Dulaf, see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 632. On Bakr [d. 285 (898)] in his capacity as poet, see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 633. I have no information on the date of ʿUmar's death. On Abū Dulaf and the family, see also *EI*², s. v. al-Ḳāsim b. ʿĪsā.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Thawr[53] conquered ʿUmān and sent the heads of a number of its inhabitants to Baghdad.

Jaʿfar b. al-Muʿtamid[54] reportedly died on Sunday, Rabīʿ II 12, 280 (Sunday, July 1, 893). He had resided in the palace of al-Muʿtaḍid and had not left it or made any public appearances; on occasion, al-Muʿtaḍid used to invite him as a boon companion.[55]

In this (month),[56] al-Muʿtaḍid returned to Baghdad from his expedition against the Arab tribesmen.

In Jumādā II, 280 (August 18-September 15, 893), word reached Baghdad that ʿAmr b. al-Layth had entered Naysābūr in Jumādā I.

In this year, Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj[57] sent thirty-two Khārijites[58] from the Mosul Road to Baghdad. Twenty-five of them were decapitated and their corpses hung. Seven[59] were imprisoned in the New Prison.[60]

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[53] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 143, ed. Pellat, V, 149, has Aḥmad, apparently corrected in Pellat's edition to Muḥammad on the basis of Ṭabarī. Masʿūdī tells us that he marched from al-Baḥrayn against the Ibāḍī Khārijites whose Imām, al-Ṣalt b. Mālik, resided in Nazwā. However, T. Lewicki, in *EI*², s.v. al-Ibāḍiyya (III, 652a), states that al-Ṣalt ruled until 273 (887); if this is correct, Masʿūdī's information on the Ibāḍī leadership in ʿUmān was out of date. No futher information on Ibn Thawr seems available.

[54] Al-Muʿtaḍid's cousin, Abū al-ʿAbbās Jaʿfar was appointed first successor, before al-Muʿtaḍid, and received the surname al-Mufawwiḍ (scil. *amrahū* rather than al-Mufawwaḍ *amruhū*) ilā Allāh in 278. He was deposed from this position on al-Muḥarram 22, 279 (April 24, 892), see text above, III, 2123, 2131.

[55] Of the known regular boon companions of al-Muʿtaḍid, only Ibn Ḥamdūn was mentioned by Ṭabarī (see below, n. 233). The historian had, of course, no particular interest in these aspects of al-Muʿtaḍid's life. He also tells us nothing about the Caliph's literary and scholarly interests. The reference here was intended to show al-Muʿtaḍid in a good light.

[56] The feminine pronoun refers here to the name of the month, and not to the year.

[57] See text above, III, 2107. He is repeatedly mentioned in ʿArīb, Hamadhānī, and Miskawayh (*Eclipse*, I 172ff.) down to the year 315 (927) in which he was killed.

[58] They may have been followers of the Khārijite Hārūn, mentioned *sub annis* 281 and 283.

[59] R and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 142, l. 20: "the rest of them."

[60] See Lassner, *Topography*, 70.

On Rajab 5, 280 (September 20, 893), Muḥammad b. Abbā[61] entered Ṭarsūs for the summer campaign on behalf of Khumārawayh. He was followed there by Badr al-Ḥammāmī,[62] and together with al-ʿUjayfī, the amīr of Ṭarsūs,[63] they raided as far as al-Balaqsūn.[64]

In this year, word reached Baghdad that Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad had raided the land of the Turks and reportedly conquered their capital.[65] He had captured their king and his wife Khātūn[66] as well as about ten thousand people, many of whom he killed. The booty included an uncounted number of horses. Upon division of the booty, every Muslim horseman received a thousand dirhams.[67] / / [2139]

On Ramaḍān 28, 280 (December 11, 893), Rāshid, the *mawlā* of al-Muwaffaq, died in al-Dīnawar. He was carried in a casket to Baghdad. *He had repented and recanted.*

On Shawwāl 13, 280 (December 26, 893), Masrūr al-Balkhī[68] died.

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[61] Text: Aḥmad; R: Muḥammad. R thus makes the identification with Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Abbā virtually certain. Muḥammad b. Abbā enjoyed his greatest prominence during the reign of Hārūn b. Khumārawayh. See Kindī, *Wulāh*, 251; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 99, 101 ff., 139. Canard, *Sources arabes*, 11, in his translation of the Ṭabarī passage, has "Muḥammad" without explanation, but see *Sources arabes*, 265, and Canard, in Vasiliev, II, 123.

[62] The powerful Egyptian general who is often mentioned in the following pages and who died in 311 (923).

[63] For Aḥmad b. Ṭughān al-ʿUjayfī, the military commander in Ṭarsūs, see text above, III, 2130, and below, n. 172.

[64] Final *n* also appears in R. The apparatus of the Leiden edition also notes final *n* and suggests an identification with Telmissos, for which see Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Telmessos, and, for more recent efforts to identify the Carian and Lycian Telmessos, *Der Kleine Pauly*, V, 375f. Canard, *Sources arabes*, 11, appears to accept this identification. It is, however, extremely difficult to reconcile the Arabic consonants with Telmessos/n, and Ṭabarī does not give the slightest hint where the place might be located.

[65] The capital of the Kharluq/Khaluq/Khallukh Turks, raided by the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl, was Ṭalas (Ṭarāz). See *EI²*, s. v. Ḳarluḳ. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 144f., ed. Pellat, V, 150, has some more details on the episode.

[66] Khātūn was a title, not a proper name.

[67] Miskawayh: "a thousand dīnārs, or rather a thousand dirhams," see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCVII. Although "dīnārs" is patently preposterous, the reading was no doubt found originally in Ṭabarī.

[68] Masrūr al-Balkhī was one of the Turks who helped to make al-Muʿtamid caliph. See text above, III, 1820, etc.

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 280 (February 11-March 12, 894), a letter reportedly reached Baghdad from Dabīl[69] with the information that a lunar eclipse had occurred on Shawwāl 14, 280 (December 27, 893). At the end of the night the moon had reappeared, but when the populace arose in the morning, it was dark, and the darkness continued. In the afternoon a heavy black wind began to blow. It lasted into the first third of the night. When that time had passed, there was an earthquake. In the morning the city had disappeared. Only a few of the houses had been spared—about a hundred. Up to the time the letter was written, the people of Dabīl had buried thirty thousand dead recovered from the ruins. Following the destruction, they suffered five (additional) earthquakes.[70] As reported by some(one) of them, the dead recovered from the ruins totaled one hundred and fifty thousand.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hārūn, who was known as Ibn Turunjah.[71]

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[69] For Dvin (Dabīl), the capital of Armenia, see *EI²*, s. v. Dwin.

[70] That is, aftershocks.

[71] That is, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿĪsā b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, a great-great-grandson of the second ʿAbbāsid caliph. He was the imām and preacher of the Great Mosque in the city of al-Manṣūr for fifty years. He died at the age of seventy-five in 308 (920-21). See Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, III, 356. The nickname Ibn Turunjah, referring to a citrus fruit (?) (also Utrujjah, see below, n. 357), is not mentioned in *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*. For Utrunjah as a female proper name, see text above, III, 1300.

The Events of the Year 281

(MARCH 13, 894 - MARCH 1, 895)

One of the events was the arrival in Madīnat al-Salām of Turk[72] b. al-ʿAbbās, the governor representing the central authorities in Diyār Muḍar. Ibn al-ʿAbbās arrived on al-Muḥarram 9,[73] 281 (March 21, 894). He brought some // forty of the men of Abū [2140]
al-Agharr,[74] the master of Sumaysāṭ, on camels. They wore hoods and silken cloaks.[75] The men were brought to al-Muʿtaḍid's palace. They were then remanded to the New Prison where they were incarcerated. Turk was given a robe of honor, and he then returned to his residence.

In this year, word reached Baghdad that a battle had taken place between Waṣīf,[76] the eunuch of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf, and that ʿUmar had been routed. Waṣīf then returned to his master Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj in Rabīʿ II, 281 (June 10-July 8, 894).

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[72] R: "Zīrak," in both cases. Since there is no more information on this individual, his actual name remains doubtful. It is unlikely that the reading Zīrak resulted from a confusion with Zīrak al-Turkī, d. 269; see below, n. 171.

[73] R: "seven."

[74] Abū al-Agharr Khalīfah b. al-Mubārak (b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā; see text below, 2191) al-Sulamī died on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 7, 303 (June 12, 916). See ʿArīb, 59. The essential information on him is contained in the following pages of Ṭabarī.

[75] The costume, mentioned frequently in connection with captured rebels, mainly heretics, who were displayed in triumph, appears to have the significance of branding them as effeminate and, in particular, as dressed in a manner not proper for Muslims. It seemed important for Ibn al-Muʿtazz to mention in his poem (verse 190) in connection with the Khārijite Hārūn. According to Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno*, Hārūn objected to wearing brocade because it was illegal, and he had to be forced to wear it.

[76] See text above, III, 2117f. His death in 288 (901) is reported below, 2205.

[77] Ṭughj, the father of Muḥammad, the founder of the Ikhshīdid dynasty, died in prison in Baghdad in 294 (906-7). On his brothers, who were military men like him, see nn. 155 and 742. This important contemporary leader appears first in Ṭabarī, text above, III, 2132. See also Bacharach, "The career of... al-Ikhshīd"; Kāshif, *Ikhshīdīyyūn*, 57-61.

On Thursday, Jumādā II 15, 281 (Thursday, August 22, 894), Ṭughj b. Juff[77] reportedly entered Ṭarsūs for the summer campaign on behalf of Khumārawayh. On this campaign, he reached Ṭarāyūn and conquered Malūriyah.[78]

On Jumādā (II) 24, 281 (August 31, 894), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭā'ī[79] died in al-Kūfah and was buried there in a place called Masjid al-Sahlah.[80]

In this year, the springs and brooks in al-Rayy and Ṭabaristān dried up. *Afterwards, people were afflicted by a terrible famine, so that people ate each other and someone would even eat his own daughter.*[81]

On Rajab 2, 281 (September 7, 894), al-Muʿtaḍid left for al-Jabal[82] and marched toward the district (*nāḥiyah*) of al-Dīnawar. He put Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. al-Muʿtaḍid in charge of al-Rayy, Qazwīn, Zanjān, Abhar, Qumm, Hamadhān, and al-Dīnawar.[83] Aḥmad b. Abī al-Aṣbagh was entrusted with ʿAlī's

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[78] The identification of Ṭarāyūn with Tyriaeon in Pisidia (see Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Tyraion; Naour, *Tyriaion*) seems acceptable. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 11. Among later distortions of the name, the reading Ṭarābzūn (Ibn al-Athīr; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-jumān*, as quoted in a footnote of the edition of Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 86) apparently came about through an absurd identification with Trebizond/Trabzon on the Black Sea.

The vocalization Malūriyah is uncertain. The name also occurs in Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 146, ed. Pellat, V, 151. Canard, *Sources arabes*, 11, 42, was unable to suggest an identification. It could be the same place as *Mlqwbyh* mentioned in the text above, III, 709, l. 11, that is, Greek Malakopea; see Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 47. An easy and natural identification, however, would seem to be Balboura near Tyriaeon. See Naour, map on p. 6.

[79] See text above, III, 2127; Halm, *Kosmologie*, 1. See also Guest, *Ibn er Rūmī*, 28; Busse, "Hofbudget," 14f.

[80] Massignon, "Plan de Kufa," 353, refers to this mosque with reference to Ṭabarī and places it on his map (fig. 1) at the site of Masjid ʿAbd al-Qays; reprinted in Massignon, *Opera Minora*, III, 52. See also *EI*², s. v. al-Kūfa (V, 348b).

[81] This addition in R also appears in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 147. Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno*, does not have it, but his entry for the year 280 adds: "Eventually three liters (*raṭl*) of water cost a dirham, and prices rose greatly." Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 86, includes both additions in his narrative.

[82] That is, Northern Iraq, with the alternative form al-Jibāl. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 185-231.

[83] When al-Muktafī, who was at the time seventeen years old, returned to Baghdad four years later, his father expressed great satisfaction with his accomplishments in al-Rayy: "You left a son and returned a colleague." See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 3.

secretariat, and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Naṣrānī[84] // was put in [2141]
charge of his military expenditures and the estates of al-Rayy. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf was given charge of Iṣbahān, Nahāwand, and al-Karaj. Returning hurriedly because of high prices and lack of provisions, the Caliph reached Baghdad on Wednesday, Ramaḍān 3, 281 (Wednesday, November 6, 894).

In this year, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Kūrah,[85] Rāfiʿ's agent in al-Rayy, asked ʿAlī b. al-Muʿtaḍid for a guarantee of safe-conduct together with a thousand men. ʿAlī sent him to his father al-Muʿtaḍid.

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah (January 2-February 1, 895), the Arab tribesmen entered Sāmarrā, took Ibn Sīmā Unuf[86] captive, and looted the city.

On Dhū al-Qaʿdah 24, 281 (January 25, 895), al-Muʿtaḍid left for Mosul for the second time in order to pursue Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn.[87] He did this because word reached him that Ḥamdān was leaning toward Hārūn al-Shārī al-Wāziqī[88] and was propa-

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[84] He is not heard from after his exile to Wāsiṭ in 290 (903). See text below, 2230.

[85] Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* 282, in relating al-Ḥasan's appointment as successor to Buktamir (see text below, n. 121), referred to him as al-Khurāsānī. Nothing significant seems to be known about him after Ṭabarī.

[86] The vocalization Unuf is conjectural. He may quite possibly be a son of Sīmā al-Sharābī (see text above, III, 1550). Since he presumably disappeared in connection with the reported incident, he could not be identical with the later-mentioned al-Qāsim b. Sīmā. The slave name Sīmā "Silver" is, of course, common.

[87] Ḥamdān, after whom the Ḥamdānid dynasty came to be named, was the father of Abū al-Hayjā', who was in turn the father of Nāṣir al-Dawlah and Sayf al-Dawlah. For the first report on his connection with the Khārijite Hārūn in the year 272 (885-6), see text above, III, 2108f. See also Canard, *Ḥamdānides*, 298ff.

[88] See Ibn al-Muʿtazz, verses 185-97. Hārūn al-Shārī survived his surrender in 283 (see text below, 2150f.; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 168f., ed. Pellat, V, 157f.) and died in prison in 304 (916-7) (see *Eclipse*, I, 40, referred to by Massignon, *Passion*², I, 472; Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 35). A treatise by Dāwūd b. ʿAlī, the founder of the Ẓāhirite school, who died earlier in 270 (884), is assumed to deal with this Hārūn al-Shārī. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 217, l. 16.

The term *shārī* is well known as a preferred self-designation of the Khārijites based on Qur. 2:207 and 4:74. *Wāziqī* may refer to a Khārijite subsect to which Hārūn belonged. If Ibn al-Athīr is correct in assigning Hārūn to the Ṣufriyyah, the term *wāziqī* may more precisely refer to a subsect of the latter. A Syriac fragment (referred to by the editor of the Leiden edition in a note to this passage) deals with the Khārijites in this area and is preserved in Elias Bar Shīnāyā, *Chronography*, text, 186, trans. 88, quoted from Baethgen, *Fragmente*, text, 66, trans., 132, *sub anno* 266. It mentions the *W'zyqāyē*. The Taghlib, to which the Ḥamdānids belonged, are listed there together with the Kurds as Yaʿqūbite/Wāzīqite Khārijites.

gandizing for him. The following dispatch from al-Muʿtaḍid in Karkh Juddān[89] reached the eunuch Najāḥ al-Ḥuramī[90] concerning a battle between al-Muʿtaḍid and the Arab tribesmen and Kurds that had taken place on Friday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 30, 281 (Friday, January 31, 895):

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

This dispatch of mine is being written early on the night of Saturday. God—Praised be He!—has given us victory over the Kurds and the Arab tribesmen and enabled us to capture a large number of them and their families. You could have seen us driving away their cattle and sheep as we did last year. The spears and swords were getting at them without interruption, until the night intervened between us. Fires were lit on the mountain tops. The following morning, the operation will be wound up, and my troops will follow me to al-Karkh.[91] We attacked[92] and
[2142] killed them // over a distance of fifty miles (*mīl*)[93], and not one of them remained to tell the tale. God be praised very much! It is now our duty to be grateful ⌜to God⌝. Praised be God, the Lord of the worlds, and may God's prayers and ample blessings be upon the Prophet Muḥammad and his family!

When the Arab tribesmen and Kurds had learned that al-Muʿtaḍid was leaving Baghdad, they had made a solemn compact with each other, swearing under oath that they all were ready to die together. They gathered and arranged troops in three

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[89] Also known as Karkh Sāmarrā. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 52, 54f.
[90] According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 116, ed. Pellat, V, 138, he was in charge of the dungeons and of torture. It is not evident why he should have been the recipient of the dispatch.
[91] That is, the previously mentioned Karkh Juddān/Sāmarrā.
[92] R: *īqāʿunā*.
[93] One *mīl* corresponds to 2 km. That they were pursued and slaughtered along a route that extended over a hundred kilometers seems exaggerated.

squadrons,[94] one behind the other. They placed their households *and possessions* at the rear of the squadron. Al-Muʿtaḍid, with a cavalry detachment, advanced ahead of his troops and attacked the Arab tribesmen and Kurds, killing some of them. A large number of them drowned[95] in the Zāb.

Al-Muʿtaḍid then left for Mosul, marching toward the fortress of Mārdīn which was in the hands of Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn. When word reached Ḥamdān of al-Muʿtaḍid's approach, he fled, leaving his son[96] behind. The troops of al-Muʿtaḍid stationed themselves opposite the fortress. Those within it fought them all that day. The next morning, al-Muʿtaḍid mounted and went up to the fortress. When he reached the gate, he called out, "O Ibn Ḥamdūn,"[97] and (someone) replied, "At your service!" Al-Muʿtaḍid told him, "Woe unto you! Open the gate!," and he did. Al-Muʿtaḍid now seated himself in the gate and ordered people to go in and bring out all the property and furniture that was in the fortress. He then ordered the fortress destroyed, and this was done. Following this, he sought Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, and the most strenuous search was undertaken. Property that was on deposit with him was seized, and all of it was brought to al-Muʿtaḍid. Ḥamdān was captured later.[98]

Al-Muʿtaḍid then went to a city called al-Ḥasaniyyah.[99] A man called Shaddād[100] was there with a substantial army, reportedly ten // thousand men. He had a stronghold in the [2143]
city. Al-Muʿtaḍid defeated him, then seized him and had his stronghold destroyed.

In this year, word was received from the Mecca Road that a severe cold, torrential rains, and hail had been encountered by

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[94] On the difference between fighting in rows (*ṣaff*) and in squadrons (*kurdūs*), see text above, III, 312.

[95] R: "was caused by him to drown."

[96] Apparently, al-Ḥusayn, about whom much is said in the following pages.

[97] "O Ibn Ḥamdūn" appears to be the original reading. It may indicate that al-Muʿtaḍid was under the impression that Ḥamdān was still there.

[98] This anticipates later events. R, however, reads incorrectly: "captured and brought to al-Muʿtaḍid to a city."

[99] According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 270, al-Ḥasaniyyah was a place east of Mosul named after al-Ḥasan (b. ʿUmar al-Taghlibī), at a distance of two days travel between Mosul and Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar (al-Taghlibī).

[100] There is no further information about him.

people undertaking the pilgrimage (*fī al-muṣʿad*).[101] More than five hundred people were affected.

In Shawwāl, 281 (December 4, 894-January 1, 895), the Muslims raided the Byzantines. The fighting between them lasted twelve days. The Muslims were victorious and gained much booty. Then they returned.[102]

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[101] This is the common meaning of *muṣʿad*, also vocalized incorrectly as *maṣʿad*. The suggestion in Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCCXXIV, with reference to earlier passages, that the word refers to ʿArafah does not apply here. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 147, ll. 20-23, gives a different account of the episode.

[102] See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 11. The concluding reference to the leader of the pilgrimage is missing here, see text above, n. 31.

The Events of the Year 282

(MARCH 2, 895 - FEBRUARY 18, 896)

One of the events was al-Muʿtaḍid's order, in al-Muḥarram, 282 (March 2-31, 895), that dispatches be drafted and sent to all government agents in the various districts and provincial centers stating that the collection of the land tax should not begin on New Year's Day—the Persian *nayrūz*—but that it should be postponed to Ḥazīrān 11 (June 11). This (new date) was called the Muʿtaḍidī New Year.[103] Dispatches were drafted to this effect and sent out from Mosul where al-Muʿtaḍid was at the time. In a dispatch concerning this sent to Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb[104] in Baghdad, al-Muʿtaḍid informed Yūsuf that he wanted to help the people and show kindness to them. He also ordered that his dispatch be read[105] in public, and this was done.

In this year, Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ arrived from Egypt with the daughter of Abū al-Jaysh Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn whom al-Muʿtaḍid had married.[106] She was accompanied by

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[103] With the end of the Sassanian Empire, the intercalary day of the Persian solar year came to be disregarded, with the result that New Year's Day moved back in the year by sixty days. It now fell so early in the year that the collection of the land tax started long before harvest time and caused great hardship to farmers. This fiscal reform was one of the most significant events of al-Muʿtaḍid's reign. It was considered as such already by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who devoted many verses to it (224-47), and was always mentioned in connection with al-Muʿtaḍid. See Glagow, 140-42. For the precedent set by al-Mutawakkil, see text above, III, 1448.

[104] The qāḍī Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb was born in 208 (823-4) and died on Monday, Ramaḍān 9, 297 (Tuesday, May 22, 910). He was appointed judge of the *maẓālim* court in 277 (890-1) (see text above, III, 2118). See Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XIV, 310-12; *EI² Suppl.*, s. v. Ibn Dirham VIII. See also text above, III, 1942. For his son, Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad, see below, n. 217.

[105] R: "he ordered him to read his dispatch."

[106] See above, n. 16; Glagow, 63-67. For Qaṭr al-Nadā's gifts to al-Muʿtaḍid on New Year's Day 282, see Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 38f. They may have been brought with her on this trip.

one of her paternal uncles.[107] They entered Baghdad on Sunday, al-Muḥarram 2, 292 (Monday, March 3, 895), and the lady was
[2144] brought to (her residence) // that night.[108] She settled in the (former) house of Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad,[109] as al-Muʿtaḍid was away in Mosul.

In this year, people were forbidden to pour water (upon passersby), raise bonfires,[110] *parade grotesque figures,*[111] and do other things they used to do on the Persian New Year's Day.

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid wrote from Mosul to Isḥāq b. Ayyūb[112] and Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn ordering them to come to him. Isḥāq b. Ayyūb complied speedily *and came to al-Muʿtaḍid,* but Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn ensconced himself in his fortresses and sent his possessions and women away. Al-Muʿtaḍid sent the army against him with Waṣīf Mūshgīr,[113] Naṣr al-Qushūrī,[114]

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[107] He was Abū al-Karādīs b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. See Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 43. Qaṭr al-Nadā had also been accompanied to the borders of Egypt by her aunt al-ʿAbbāsah.

[108] Instead of "lady" (*al-ḥurrah*) as in R and C, the text has *al-ḥaram* "she was brought into the harem," no doubt a mistake. The party seems to have arrived in Baghdad late on Sunday, during the night of Sunday to Monday, and Qaṭr al-Nadā was immediately taken to her temporary residence. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 207, ed. Pellat, V, 173, wrongly indicates that her arrival took place in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 281.

[109] A convert to Islam, Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad was appointed secretary in 265 (879) (see text above, III, 1930). He served as a wazīr of al-Muʿtamid and al-Muwaffaq (Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 316ff.). His property was confiscated in 272 (885), and he died in 276 (889-90) (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 101). His residence was used as a guest house after his death.

[110] Or "fireworks" (?).

[111] R adds *wa-ikhrāj al-samāḥāt* (read *samājāt*). For *samājah*, see text above, III, 1318. For further references, see also the editor's footnote in Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 26. Given their popularity, the New Year's customs mentioned could not be eliminated and continued to be observed on the Muʿtaḍidī New Year. See text below, 2163; Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ed. Sachau, 266.

[112] He was in charge of security in Diyār Rabīʿah. See text above, III, 1942. For his death, see text below, 2193f.

[113] He appears first as a page of Abū al-ʿAbbās (al-Muʿtaḍid) before he became caliph. See text above, III, 2121. He died on Thursday, Ramaḍān 16, 299 (Thursday, May 7, 912). See ʿArīb, 37f. *Mūshgīr* means "mouse catcher" in Persian and refers to a bird of prey that feeds on mice.

[114] Naṣr al-Qushūrī appears here for the first time in Ṭabarī. As Ibn al-Athīr reports *sub anno* 282, he wrote a threatening letter to the Khārijite Hārūn and received a defiant reply. Al-Muʿtaḍid was thus determined to take energetic measures (see year 283). He sent al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Kūrah against Hārūn on an expedition which was less than decisive. Under al-Muqtadir, Naṣr then played a great role as chamberlain. See, for instance, Massignon, *Passion*², I, 471-75.

and others. They encountered al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Kūrah and his men who had stopped (to attack) one of Ḥamdān's fortresses in a place called Dayr al-Zaʿfarān[115] in the territory of Mosul. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān[116] was there, and when he saw the first troops coming, he sought a guarantee of safe-conduct and was granted it. At this, he went to al-Muʿtaḍid and handed the fortress over to him. Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered it to be destroyed. Waṣīf Mūshgīr went off in hot pursuit of Ḥamdān who had reached a place known as Bāsūrīn[117] between the Tigris and a large river where the water was high. Waṣīf's men crossed over to Ḥamdān. When he became aware of them, he and his men mounted and defended themselves, until most of them were killed. Ḥamdān then jumped into // a skiff that lay prepared [2145] for him in the Tigris, together with a Christian secretary of his called Zakariyyāʾ b. Yaḥyā.[118] He carried money along. He crossed over to the western bank of the Tigris in Diyār Rabīʿah, counting upon joining the Arab tribesmen, as he was separated from his Kurds on the eastern[119] bank. A small number of troops crossed over to pursue him. Eventually, they came within view of a monastery where he had halted. Upon seeing them, he fled from the monastery together with his secretary. The two then jumped into a skiff and left the money behind in the monastery, from where it was taken to al-Muʿtaḍid. The government troops went down in pursuit of Ḥamdān, (on land) on horseback and (in boats) on the water. When they caught up with him, he left the skiff unarmed[120] and went to an estate of his on the eastern bank of the Tigris. He mounted a horse belonging to his estate agent and traveled all night, until he reached the tent of Isḥāq b. Ayyūb in the camp of al-Muʿtaḍid who gave orders that he be guarded and sent cavalry in pursuit of his associates. His

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115 The monastery has remained important to this day.

116 He died in 306 (918-9). See ʿArīb, 76f. See text above, n. 96.

117 Yāqūt mentions Bāsūrīn referring to the history of Ḥamdān, possibly relying on Ṭabarī. He indicates that it is in the administrative district of Mosul, east of the Tigris (*Muʿjam*, I, 467). See also Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 52, 54; Canard, *Ḥamdanides*, 301. Bāsūrīn, beginning with the abbreviated form of *bēt*, may be an Aramaic place-name. However, its second element may refer to the Persian Sūrēn.

118 No further information is available for him.

119 R: "western."

120 Text: *khāsiran*, read *ḥāsiran* as in R. *Ḥāsir* is commonly used with approximately the indicated meaning. See, for instance, text above, II, 1906.

secretary and a number of his relatives and pages were captured. At this, the chieftains of the Kurds and others, one after the other, asked for guarantees of safe-conduct. This took place at the end of al-Muḥarram, 282 (March 31, 895).

In Rabīʿ I, 282 (April 30-May 29, 895), Buktamir b. Ṭāshtamir[121] was seized, put in fetters, and incarcerated. His property, estates, and residences were also seized.

On Rabīʿ II 4, 282 (June 2, 895), the daughter of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad was taken to al-Muʿtaḍid. It had been announced on both sides of Baghdad that on Sunday (June 1), nobody should cross the Tigris. The gates of the alleys adjacent to the river were locked. On *each of* the streets leading to the Tigris, police barricades made of canvass[122] were set up, and on both banks of
[2146] the Tigris, deputies were stationed // to prevent anyone from appearing outside their houses on the river bank. After the night prayer, a barge arrived from the palace of al-Muʿtaḍid, carrying eunuchs with candles. They stopped in front of the house of Ṣāʿid. Four fast boats tied to the house of Ṣāʿid had been made ready, and when the barge came, they were lowered, and the barge then proceeded in front of the people (in the fast boats).[123] On Monday (June 2), the lady stayed in the palace of al-Muʿtaḍid. She was unveiled ⌜to him⌝ on Tuesday, Rabīʿ II[124] 5, 282 (Tuesday, June 3, 895).

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid went to al-Jabal. Reaching al-Karaj he seized property belonging to Ibn Abī Dulaf and wrote to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf asking him for jewels[125] that were in his possession. ʿUmar sent them to him but kept away from the Caliph.

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[121] Regarding him, see text above, III, 1885.

[122] See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCCIX and DCCXCVII. R: *shirāʿ* "sails." Sails strung up would have blocked the view of the river, but *sharāʿij* "sacks made of palm leaves" would serve well as barricades.

[123] This could mean that the fast boats pulled up alongside the barge, and Qaṭr al-Nadā was transferred from a fast boat to it.

[124] Text: Rabīʿ I. Although this is wrong, it is also found in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 150; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 27. R has the correct Rabīʿ II.

[125] The plural is more likely here than one specific jewel. *Jawhar* could mean both singular and plural.

In this year, after al-Muʿtaḍid had left Baghdad, Lu'lu',[126] the page of Ibn Ṭūlūn, was released and given horses and mules to ride.

In this year, Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj was sent to al-Ṣaymarah to reinforce Fatḥ al-Qalānisī,[127] *the page of al-Muwaffaq, with a number of officers and about two thousand men attached to al-Qalānisī.* However, he fled with those loyal to him to his brother Muḥammad in al-Marāghah. On his way, he came upon property belonging to the government and seized it. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir[128] said concerning this:

O rightly guided Imām! Your supporters, the family[129] of Ṭāhir,
Have been treated harshly over the years.

They have constantly combined steadfastness with gratitude,
Whereas someone else, who has been given many gifts, absconds.// [2147]

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid sent the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān to al-Rayy to his son Abū Muḥammad. *ʿUbaydallāh and Badr arrived and stayed, and al-Muktafī left. Badr and ʿUbaydallāh then went after Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. They stayed for a while in some of the regions of al-Rayy, but when Takīn did not come to them, they went toward Ṭabaristān.*[130]

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[126] Lu'lu', who had controlled northern and northeastern Syria for Ibn Ṭūlūn, defected to Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq in 269 (882-3) (see text above, III, 2028f.). On Dhū al-Qaʿdah 22, 273 (April 20, 887), he was imprisoned by al-Muwaffaq, and his property, amounting reportedly to four hundred thousand dīnārs, was confiscated. According to him, the only reason for the treatment meted out to him was his great wealth (see text above, III, 2112). He died in 304 (916-7). See ʿArīb, 63.

[127] I have not succeded in locating further information on him.

[128] The well-known Ṭāhirid died in his eighties on Saturday, Shawwāl 12, 300 (Saturday, May 22, 913). See ʿArīb, 40; Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XI, 340-4; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 117-9. On his poetical and literary activities, see Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 375, II, 612.

[129] R: "and the son."

[130] Although "al-Muktafī" replaces the more appropriate "Abū Muḥammad," there is no reason to assume that this addition of R did not originate somewhere in Ṭabarī's notes. However, since Badr is not mentioned before, it may be misplaced (see text below, 2178). The reference to Takīn (the same as text below, 2291 ?) derives from an uncertain reading of the manuscript and may be in error.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Zayd al-ʿAlawī[131] sent thirty-two thousand dīnārs from Ṭabaristān to Muḥammad b. Ward al-ʿAṭṭār[132] for distribution to his followers[133] in Baghdad and al-Kūfah as well as in Mecca and al-Madīnah. Muḥammad b. Ward was denounced and taken to the house of Badr and questioned about the matter. He mentioned that Muḥammad b. Zayd had been sending him the like amount of money every year, and he had subsequently distributed it among his followers in the way he had been ordered. Badr then informed al-Muʿtaḍid about this. He told him that the man and the money were in his hands, and asked him what he should do with him.

As mentioned on the authority of Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥasanī,[134] al-Muʿtaḍid asked Badr whether he did not remember the dream he once related to him. When Badr replied, "No, O Commander of the Faithful," al-Muʿtaḍid said, "Don't you remember that I told you that al-Nāṣir[135] called me and said to me, 'Know that the caliphate will be yours! Now (when you are caliph), be circumspect in your dealings[136] with the family of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib!' " Al-Muʿtaḍid continued, "I saw myself in a dream leaving Baghdad with my army for the district of al-Nahrawān. Many onlookers were watching me. I passed by a man standing upon a hill. He was praying and paid me no attention. I wondered about him and his lack of interest in my troops when all those people were watching them. I approached and stopped in front of him. When he finished his prayer, he asked me to come forward, and I did. He asked me whether I recognized him, and when I replied that I did not, he said, 'I am ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Take this spade'—pointing to a spade in front

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131 Al-Qā'im bi-l-Ḥaqq (referred to, it seems, as al-Dāʿī ilā al-Ḥaqq, in text below, 2151) was the ruler of the Caspian Zaydīs from 270-87 (883-900) and apparently the brother of the founder of Zaydī rule there, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 205f., ed. Pellat, V, 172, briefly refers to this episode and to a dream in which al-Muʿtaḍid saw ʿAlī, as proof of al-Muʿtaḍid's pro-ʿAlid leanings.

132 There is no further information on him.

133 Here and below, R has "the ʿAlawīs," which appears also in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 150.

134 Unidentified.

135 That is, al-Muʿtaḍid's father al-Muwaffaq.

136 Lit., "look out how you will be," which need not always be as positive as it appears to be meant here.

of him—'and hit the ground with it!' I took it and hit the ground with it several times. Then he said to me, 'The number of your descendants who will successively become caliphs will correspond to the number of times you have hit the ground. Exhort them to be good to my descendants!' " / / Badr said, "Yes, [2148]
O Commander of the Faithful, now I remember." Al-Muʿtaḍid continued, "So release the money and release the man, and tell him to write to his master in Ṭabaristān that anything he sends him he should send to him openly. Muḥammad b. Ward shall distribute whatever he does openly. Also, help Muḥammad to do as he wishes in this connection!"[137]

On Shaʿbān 18, 282 (October 12, 895), Abū Ṭalḥah Manṣūr b. Muslim[138] died in al-Muʿtaḍid's prison.

On Ramaḍān 8, 282 (October 31, 895), the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān reached Baghdad from al-Rayy. Al-Muʿtaḍid bestowed a robe of honor upon him.

On Ramaḍān 22, 282 (November 14, 895), Nāʿim, a slave girl of Umm al-Qāsim bt. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh,[139] gave birth to a son of al-Muʿtaḍid whom he named Jaʿfar.[140] Al-Muʿtaḍid called this slave girl Shaghab.

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[137] For another version, see Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, I, 132f., and for a different dream of the same meaning, see Masʿūdī (above, n. 131). For al-Muʿtaḍid's attitude toward the Daylam of Ṭabaristān, see Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, I, 319ff.

As this is a contemporary report, we cannot dismiss the dream as a literary convention. The story was circulated for political purposes, and for all we know, the Caliph himself, or his advisers, circulated it. It indicates the policy line which al-Muʿtaḍid adopted, or was forced to adopt, toward the ʿAlid Shīʿites, that is, tolerance wherever possible and to the extent possible. In this particular case, it was apparently assumed that the propaganda of the Caspian Zaydīs constituted no immediate threat to Iraq and the Holy Cities, which were always politically troublesome. This might have been the case, even though the political problem posed by the Daylam at the northern border was great and required constant vigilance and action. Already in the following year, the Caspian Zaydīs took over Naysābūr for a while.

[138] See text above, III, 2121.

[139] Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 95, confirms that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh was the well-known Ṭāhirid [d. 253 (867); see text above, III, 1291] and the brother of the above mentioned ʿUbaydallāh (see n. 128). Nothing more is known about his daughter Umm al-Qāsim.

[140] That is, the future al-Muqtadir. His mother Shaghab played an important role during his reign. She died in 320 (932). See, for instance, ʿArīb, 186; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 253f., *sub anno* 321; Massignon, *Passion*², I, 446-53.

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 18, 282 (February 7, 896), Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Mādharā'ī,[141] arrived in Baghdad from Damascus by way of the desert. He had reached Baghdad in eleven days. He informed al-Muʿtaḍid that Khumārawayh had been murdered in his bed by one of the eunuchs attached to his inner circle. He was reportedly killed on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 3, 282 (January 23, 896). According to another report, Ibrāhīm reached Baghdad from Damascus in seven days. Some twenty of Khumārawayh's eunuchs who were suspected of his murder were put to death.[142]

Al-Muʿtaḍid had sent gifts to Khumārawayh with Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ and had entrusted him with a message to Khumārawayh.[143]
[2149] Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ had already left on his mission and reached // Sāmarrā when al-Muʿtaḍid learned of Khumārawayh's death. He therefore wrote to Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ and ordered him to return, which he did. Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ entered Baghdad on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 23, 282 (February 12, 896).

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[141] See Gottschalk, *Mādarā'ijjūn*, 51; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, V, 306. A secretary of Khumārawayh, he was there when the latter was killed. He died in 313 (925-6), at the age of sixty-six.

[142] According to Eutychius, *Annales*, text, 72, he was killed on the night of Sunday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 27 (Saturday, January 17). Eutychius also mentions the names of six eunuchs involved in the assassination.

[143] The robes of honor which al-Muʿtaḍid sent to Khumārawayh and his brothers and which were worth fifty-three thousand dīnārs may have been part of these gifts. See Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 39.

The Events of the Year 283

(FEBRUARY 19, 896 - FEBRUARY 7, 897)

One of the events was al-Muʿtaḍid's departure, on al-Muḥarram 17, 283 (March 6, 896), for the district of Mosul on account of the Khārijite Hārūn, whom he subsequently defeated. His dispatch announcing the victory reached Madīnat al-Salām on Tuesday, Rabīʿ I 9, 283 (Monday, April 26, 896). The reason for his victory over him was as follows:

When al-Muʿtaḍid sent al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān with horsemen and foot soldiers from his household and others of his men against the Khārijite, al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān reportedly said to him, "If I bring the Khārijite to the Commander of the Faithful, I have three wishes for the Commander of the Faithful." Al-Muʿtaḍid told him to mention the wishes, and he said, "My first wish is for the release of my father. The other two I shall ask for after I have brought (the Khārijite) back." Al-Muʿtaḍid replied, "I grant you that, and now go!"

Al-Ḥusayn said that he required three hundred horsemen to be selected by himself, whereupon al-Muʿtaḍid sent three hundred horsemen with him together with (Waṣīf) Mūshgīr. Al-Ḥusayn then requested that the Commander of the Faithful order Mūshgīr not to oppose any of his commands, and al-Muʿtaḍid ordered Mūshgīr to do so.

Al-Ḥusayn went as far as the Tigris Ford,[144] and then ordered Waṣīf and those with him to stay there, telling him, "Hārūn will have to pass through here // while fleeing. Don't leave the [2150] place, until he passes by you, then prevent him from crossing! I shall come to you, unless you receive word that I have been killed." Al-Ḥusayn then went in search of Hārūn, and upon

[144] Apparently, a particular ford known as the Tigris Ford in the region of Mosul. Note, however, that B has "a ford in the Tigris."

finding him, he attacked. Both sides suffered losses, but the Khārijite Hārūn was routed. Meanwhile, Waṣīf had remained three days at the Ford when his companions said to him, "We have stayed too long in this desolate place; this has been harmful to us. We cannot be sure that Ḥusayn will not himself seize the Khārijite and get credit for the victory instead of us. The right thing to do is to follow them." Waṣīf listened to them and left.

Now the fleeing Khārijite arrived at the location of the Ford and crossed the river. Ḥusayn, coming in pursuit of him, did not see Waṣīf and his men in the place where he had left them, and he had no information about Hārūn and saw no trace of him. He started to ask for information about Hārūn and eventually learned about his having crossed *the Tigris*. He crossed the river in pursuit of him and came to one of the Arab tribes. When he asked them about the Khārijite, they concealed his whereabouts from him. As a result he intended to attack them, and he informed them that al-Muʿtaḍid was coming in his wake. They now informed him that the Khārijite had passed through their territory. Al-Ḥusayn left them his own horses, which had become weak and tired, and took some of theirs. He pursued the Khārijite, and, after several days, he made contact with him and about one hundred men with him.[145] The Khārijite implored him (not to fight) and made promises to him.[146] But Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān insisted upon fighting, and a battle took place. Ḥusayn reportedly threw himself at the Khārijite, but his men quickly got to him and seized him. Ḥusayn took him to al-Muʿtaḍid as someone who had peacefully surrendered without any preconditions. (In fulfilment of al-Ḥusayn's wish), al-Muʿtaḍid ordered that Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn's fetters be removed and that he be given generous gifts and shown kindness, until he[147] could come and release him and bestow a robe of honor upon him.

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[145] R omits *wa-al-Shārī*, giving the mistaken impression that "about one hundred men" were with al-Ḥusayn.

[146] The normal meaning of *tawaʿʿada*, "to threaten," is unlikely here.

[147] Apparently, al-Muʿtaḍid. However, Miskawayh has " his son," which is possibly the better reading. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCVII. In any case, the subject of "release," etc., would be the Caliph.

When the Khārijite was captured and // in al-Muʿtaḍid's [2151]
hands, the Caliph returned to Madīnat al-Salām. Arriving there on Rabīʿ I 22, 283 (May 9, 896), he encamped at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah where he mustered the army. Al-Muʿtaḍid bestowed a robe of honor and a gold necklace upon al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān. The elephant[148] was adorned with cloth of brocade, and something like a woman's litter was set up on it for the Khārijite. He was seated in it, dressed in a cloak of brocade with a silken hood over his head.[149]

On Jumādā I 20, 283 (July 5, 896), al-Muʿtaḍid sent a written order to all the districts indicating that the surplus of inheritance shares be returned to the blood relatives (of the deceased), that the Office of Inheritances (*Dīwān al-Mawārīth*) be abolished, and that the officials in charge of the inheritances be dismissed.[150] Letters to this effect were dispatched and read from the pulpits.

In this year, ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār left Naysābūr. Rāfiʿ b. Harthamah went there while ʿAmr was away. He entered the city and included mention of the Ṭālibids Muḥammad b. Zayd and his father Zayd in the Friday sermon in the following manner: "O God! Give success to him who calls to the truth (*al-dāʿī ilā al-ḥaqq*)."[151] ʿAmr later returned to Naysābūr and encamped outside the city, digging a trench around his camp. This was on Rabīʿ II 10, 283 (May 18, 896). He remained there, keeping the inhabitants of Naysābūr under siege.

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[148] The definite article may indicate that the special elephant customarily used on such occasions is meant. In reporting this episode, however, Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 169f., ed. Pellat, V, 157f., does not have the definite article. See, in particular, text above, III, 1303.

[149] For Hārūn's alleged objection to this treatment, see above, n. 75.

[150] The *mawārīth* dealt with estates for which there were not enough legal heirs to claim inheritance shares covering the entire estate. The question was whether the surplus was to go to the state or to the more remote agnates. Al-Muʿtaḍid's decision in favor of the second option must have been widely popular. The Caliph solicited legal opinions from his judges and followed the views expressed by Abū Khāzim (see below, n. 506) and Ibn Abī al-Shawārib (see below, n. 209) against Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 161f. In 311 (923), it proved necessary to reaffirm al-Muʿtaḍid's (and al-Muktafī's) practice. On this occasion, the secretary Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Thawābah (d. the following year; see *EI*², s. v. Ibn Thawāba) drafted a document restating the earlier arguments, and the original letter from Abū Khāzim addressed to Badr was reproduced. See Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarāʾ*, 268-75.

[151] See above, n. 131.

On Monday, Jumādā II 4, 283 (Monday, July 19, 896), Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundāj,[152] Khāqān al-Mufliḥī,[153] Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr, who was known as Bunduqah,[154] Badr b. Juff,[155] the brother of Ṭughj, and Ibn Ḥasanaj[156] arrived in Baghdad from Egypt together with a number of officers to
[2152] seek guarantees of safe-conduct. // Their reason for going to al-Muʿtaḍid to seek guarantees of safe-conduct was their attempted assassination of Jaysh b. Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.[157] They were denounced to him while Jaysh was out riding, and they were in his cortège. Thus they realized that he was aware of their plan. So they left the very same day and went into the desert, leaving their property and families behind. For several days, they wandered around and a number of them died of thirst. They emerged on the Mecca Road at a distance of a two or three days' journey above al-Kūfah.[158] The central authorities sent Muḥammad b. Sulaymān,[159] the commander of the army, to al-Kūfah to register their names (in the military roll), and rations[160] were made ready for them at al-Kūfah. When they approached Baghdad, rations, tents, and food were sent out to them. They went to al-Muʿtaḍid on the day of their arrival. Robes of honor were bestowed upon them, and each officer was given a horse complete

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152 RC: "Kundāj," an alternative of Kundājīk.

153 Khāqān al-Mufliḥī is not heard from after 304-5 (916-7). See text below; ʿArīb, 19, 67; Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 18.

154 Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 90, mentions a Muḥammad b. Lamjūr (sic) as the brother of Bunduqah b. Lamjūr, but this seems to be an error. "Bunduqah" means "pellet" and the like; "Kumushgūr" is Turkish/Persian "silver ass."

155 As is true of the other brothers of Ṭughj (see above, n. 77), practically nothing is known about Badr. See below, n. 742.

156 See text above, III, 2027, where he is identified as Rūmī b. Ḥasanaj.

157 Jaysh did not last much longer as ruler. He was deposed on Jumādā II 10, 283 (July 25, 896), and he was killed in prison a few days later. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 94.

158 "Above" appears to be used here in the sense of "south of" (in keeping with the orientation of medieval maps?).

159 He is identical with the person identified as a secretary of al-Muwaffaq. See text above, III, 2122. Before he defected with his master to al-Muwaffaq, he was known as the secretary of the eunuch Lu'lu' al-Ṭūlūnī. He died in 304 (916-7). See text below; ʿArīb; *Eclipse*, I, 51f. (with biographical footnote). Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn allegedly had forebodings concerning the role that Muḥammad b. Sulaymān would play in the downfall of his dynasty. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 111, quoting al-Quḍāʿī.

160 *Waẓīfah* is the per diem requirements of an official, noted on his employment record. For the word in this sense, see, for instance, Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 226, ed. Pellat, V, 182.

with reins and bridle. Robes of honor were bestowed upon the rest. They numbered *altogether* sixty men.[161]

On Saturday, Jumādā II 16, 283 (Saturday, July 31, 896), the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān went to al-Jabal to wage war against Ibn Abī Dulaf in Iṣbahān.

In this year, a dispatch reportedly arrived at Baghdad from Ṭarsūs stating that a large number of Slavs[162] had raided the Byzantines. They had killed some of them, and, laying waste many villages, they had eventually reached Constantinople, where the Byzantines sought refuge and locked the gates of their capital. The Byzantine tyrant[163] then sent a message to the king of the Slavs stating, "Our religion and your religion are one and the same, so why do we kill each other?" The king of the Slavs replied, "This is the realm of my forefathers. I am not leaving unless one of us defeats the other." When the king of the Byzantines found he was unable to get rid of the ruler of the Slavs, he gathered the Muslims who were around, // gave [2153] them weapons, and asked them to help him against the Slavs. They did so and routed the Slavs. Seeing that, however, the king of the Byzantines now feared for his own safety. Thus he sent (a military contingent) against them. He turned them back and took their weapons. Then he dispersed them all over the country, as a precaution against their rising up against him.[164]

In the middle of Rajab, 283 (August 28, 896), word reached Baghdad from Egypt that the Maghribī and Berber troops (in the Egyptian Army) had revolted against Jaysh b. Khumārawayh. They told him that they were not content with him as amīr and

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[161] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 178, ed. Pellat, V, 160, adds that they went via Wādī al-Qurā (al-ʿUlā, the ancient Dedan), thus taking a very southern route before reaching the safety of the Mecca Road.

[162] That is, the Bulghars.

[163] That is, Leon VI (886-912).

[164] See Vasiliev, II, 129f.; Canard, *Sources arabes*, 5, 13. The Bulghars under Symeon were provoked by Stylianos who exercised power under Leon VI, until he died in 896 and was succeeded by Leon's favorite, Samonas, an Arab convert. See Bréhier, *Monde byzantin*, II, 147ff.; L. Rydén, "The Portrait of the Arab Samonas in Byzantine Literature," *Graeco-Arabica*, 3 (Athens 1984), 101-108.

that he should remove himself so they could appoint his paternal uncle.[165] Jaysh's secretary, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Mādharāʾī,[166] talked to them, asking them to leave Jaysh alone for the day. They left, but they returned the following day. Jaysh proceeded against the paternal uncle whom they had mentioned as their choice for amīr. He had him decapitated along with a another paternal uncle of his[167] and had their heads[168] hurled at the (rebellious) troops. The latter now assaulted Jaysh b. Khumārawayh, killing him and killing his mother.[169] They also looted his palace, and looted and set fires in the Egyptian capital. They replaced Jaysh with his brother Hārūn b. Khumārawayh.[170]

In Rajab, 283 (August 14-September 12, 896), al-Muʿtaḍid gave orders that the Dujayl Canal be cleared out, regardless of effort and expense, and that a rock in the Canal's mouth which was preventing the flow of water be removed. For that purpose, a levy of some four thousand dīnārs was reportedly collected from the owners of estates and fiefs and spent on the project. The secretary of Zīrak[171] and one of al-Muʿtaḍid's eunuchs were placed in charge of it.

In Shaʿbān, 283 (September 13-October 11, 896), ransom negotiations organized by Aḥmad b. Ṭughān[172] took place between the Muslims and the Byzantines. The dispatch reaching Baghdad
[2154] from Ṭarsūs about it reportedly read / / as follows:

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[165] He was Abū al-ʿAshāʾir Naṣr. See Kindī, *Wulāh*, 242; *al-ʿUyūn wa-l-ḥadāʾiq*, ed. Dāwūd, I, 146; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 93f. In Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn*, 349, his name appears as Muḍar, which is very similar to Naṣr in the Arabic script.

[166] He was killed in this connection. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 93f.; Gottschalk, *Mādarāʾijjūn*, 37-40.

[167] For Jaysh's treatment of his uncles Rabīʿah, Muḍar (see above n. 165), and Shaybān, see Ibn al-Dāyah, *Mukāfaʾah*, 102f. (see Rosenthal, *Freedom*, 57); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 93f.

[168] R: *bi-raʾsayhimā*.

[169] Her name is apparently not recorded in the histories.

[170] The last of the Ṭūlūnids (except for a few days of the rule of his uncle Shaybān), he lost his life in 292 (904), as recorded in the following pages.

[171] I have not succeeded in identifying him. On Zīrak, see above, n. 72.

[172] For Aḥmad b. Ṭughān al-ʿUjayfī, the governor of Ṭarsūs, see text above, III, 2130. He also appears in the list of ransom negotiations compiled by Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 192, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 12, 405; and he is mentioned in connection with the fate of Jaysh in Kindī, *Wulāh*, 243.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

I hereby inform you that Aḥmad b. Ṭughān publicly announced attendance at the ransom negotiations[173] on Thursday, Shaʿbān 4, 283 (Thursday, September 16, 896). On Friday, Shaʿbān 5, he went to Lāmis,[174] the Muslim encampment, having ordered the people to come out with him on that day. He led the Friday prayers and rode from the Friday Mosque in the company of Rāghib[175] and his *mawlās*. The notables of the town, the *mawlās*, the officers, and the volunteers, all in their finest raiment, left with him. People left for Lāmis in a steady stream until Monday, Shaʿbān 8, 283 (Monday, September 20, 896). *The ransom negotiations took place the day after Monday, Shaʿbān 9 (September 21).* The ransom negotiations between the two parties lasted twelve days. A total of 2,504[176] Muslim men, women, and children were ransomed. On Tuesday, Shaʿbān 22, 283 (Tuesday, October 5, 896), the Muslims released Samyūn,[177] the emissary of the king of the Byzantines, while the Byzantines simultaneously released Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī,[178] the Muslim emissary who had been dispatched to the ransom negotiations. The amīr (Aḥmad b. Ṭughān) and those with him then returned.[179]

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173 All those who were called upon to attend were no doubt expected to make contributions toward the redemption of the prisoners.

174 Also al-Lāmis. The Lamos, a river in Cilicia, flows into the Mediterranean between ancient Soloi and Elaiusa, according to Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Lamos. Apparently there was also a town of that name, located on the river near the Mediterranean coast. According to Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 177f. (Canard, *Sources arabes*, 401), the location of the ransom negotiations was thirty-five *mīl* (seventy km) from Ṭarsūs. See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 44, and text below, n. 835; *EI*², s. v. Lamas-ṣu.

175 A *mawlā* of al-Muwaffaq. See text above, III, 2132; for his death in 286 (899), see text below, 2190.

176 R: "2,534," which may be correct against all the contrary evidence (Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī; Ibn al-Athīr; Canard, *Sources arabes*, 167).

177 Both R and C indicate *n* instead of *y*, but Symeon is the name that immediately suggests itself. Samonas (see above, n. 164) is hardly a possibility,

178 Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Thaghrī or al-Adhanī, a Baghdadi ḥadīth scholar, who died in Adana or Ṭarsūs in Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 292 (August-September, 905). See Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XIV, 227f. He was no doubt a member of the Adana family to which the prominent ʿAdī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī belonged (see below, n. 965).

179 The foregoing does not seem to be a literal quotation of the dispatch which apparently ends at this point.

In this month, after his return from the ransom negotiations, Aḥmad b. Ṭughān reportedly left (Ṭarsūs) by sea. He left Damyānah[180] behind to take care of his administrative functions there. He then sent Yūsuf b. al-Bāghmardī[181] to take charge of Ṭarsūs after him. Aḥmad himself did not return to Ṭarsūs.

On Friday, Ramaḍān 10, 283 (Thursday, October 21, 896), a dispatch was read from the pulpit of the Friday Mosque of Madīnat al-Salām indicating that on Saturday, Shaʿbān 26, 283 (Saturday, October 9, 896), ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf
[2155] had come to Badr and ʿ Ubaydallāh b. / / Sulaymān to ask for a guarantee of safe-conduct. He had come declaring his complete obedience, submissiveness, and loyalty to the Commander of the Faithful, and expressing his willingness to go with them to the Caliph's court. ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān had gone to him and having met him, had taken him to Badr's tent where he had exacted the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful from him and from his household and his men. Badr had bestowed robes of honor upon ʿUmar and the chiefs of his household, whereupon they all had gone to the tent that had been prepared for them.[182]

Earlier, Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had gone to Badr and ʿUbaydallāh ⌜b. Sulayman⌝ to ask for a guarantee of safe-conduct. They had turned the administrative functions of his brother ʿUmar over to him, on condition that he go out against ʿUmar and fight him. Now, when ʿUmar came to ask for a guarantee of safe-conduct, Badr and ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān told Bakr, "Your brother has now become loyal to the central authorities. We

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[180] The vocalization is based on Greek Damianos. He was the page of the eunuch Yāzmān who had switched allegiance to Khumārawayh in 277 (890) and died on Friday, Rajab 14, 278 (Friday, October 22, 891). See text above, III, 2130.

[181] Yūsuf (b. Ibrāhīm) b. Bāghmardī was not to replace Damyānah but to strengthen his hand (see text below, 2160f.). "After him" therefore refers to Ibn Ṭughān whose position Yūsuf was to take over as military chief, while Damyānah retained political control. Instead of al-Bāghmardī, Bughāmardī appears in the text below, 2257. However, this may be a different individual. What relationship, if any existed between him and Jaʿfar b. al-Bāghmardī (see text above, III, 2084) is not clear. See also Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn*, 298.

[182] The contents of the dispatch most likely ends here.

turned his administrative functions over to you, assuming that he was disloyal. Now, it is up to the Commander of the Faithful to decide about your status. Therefore, both of you go to his court!"

ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī was appointed governor of Iṣbahān, ostensibly on behalf of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Consequently, Bakr fled with his men. Al-Muʿtaḍid was informed[183] about this by letter, and he wrote to Badr ordering him to stay put, until Bakr's story and situation could be clarified. Badr remained where he was, while the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān went to Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. al-Muʿtaḍid in al-Rayy.

Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Abī Dulaf had reached al-Ahwāz, and al-Muʿtaḍid sent Waṣīf Mūshgīr in search of him. Waṣīf left Baghdad on this assignment, going as far as the border of Fārs. He reportedly caught up with Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but he did not attack him. They camped the night near one another. However, Bakr left during the night, and Waṣīf did not pursue him. / / Bakr went on to Iṣbahān, while Waṣīf returned to Baghdad. [2156]

Al-Muʿtaḍid then wrote to Badr and ordered him to search for Bakr and his Arab tribesmen,[184] and Badr passed the order on to ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī. Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz composed the following poem:[185]

(1) Keep your blame away from me! This is no time for blaming.
Begone! The scout of blamers has come upon infertile ground.[186]

(2) The shades[187] (of the dark hair) of youth have flown from my temples.
My time of quarrelsomeness and impetuosity is gone.

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[183] R: "Badr informed al-Muʿtaḍid."

[184] Text: *wa-ʿarabihī*; RB: *wa-ḥarbihī*. C remains to be checked.

[185] The poem appears in the edition of Bakr's collected poems, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Sūratī, 1-3 (Delhi 1937). Al-Sūratī's publication, it may be noted, consists of two parts with separate pagination, the first being *Shiʿr al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī* and the second *Shiʿr Bakr*....

The sequence of the verses in the *Dīwān* as compared to Ṭabarī's text is 1-2, 4, 3, 5-7, 9, 8, 14-17, 10-13, and 18-21. The *Dīwān* inserts one verse between verses 2 and 4, one between verses 6 and 7, two after versus 9/8, two or three between verses 16 and 17, two after verse 13, and one between verses 19-20. Only some of the textual variants have been noted here.

[186] See the *Dīwān* and Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCVII. Nöldeke's reading is supported by R and C.

[187] Text: *ʿināyāt*; RC: *ghayābāt*.

(3) The friends have thrown their sticks down[188] in the Iraq,
And I have remained the target of events.[189]
(4) The breaking of family ties has thrown rocks at the remote man[190]
And shot him far so as to be far away.
(5) The Arab tribesmen who fled have become distant,[191]
Although I have defended their honor with my sword,
(6) Which holds together their weakened condition,
And with spears, when people were clashing.[192]
(7) I shall crush the rock of a time which has befallen them[193]
In a forceful way that breaks firmly grounded mountains.
(8) I shall hit the pates in defense of their womenfolk,
[2157] As a cook hits an animal destined to be slaughtered. //
(9) And I shall leave those who come to their cisterns
At a place in which to plant their feet.[194]
(10) O Badr! Were you to witness the place where I stand,
While death looks on and the sides of the swords are dripping blood,
(11) You would find it blameworthy to cause me, as you do, the loss of dignity,
And you would be unable[195] to cast off my honor.
(12) You have set me in motion after I was still—You have succeeded only
In setting in motion something as strong as the mountains familiar to the inhabitants of the Tihāmah.[196]

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188 That is, they stay put.
189 This half-verse is transferred in the *Dīwān* to verse 6, where it takes the place of the second half-verse. The *Dīwān* has: "They have stopped in a house to halt and stay."
190 That is, the poet himself who is now in the unhappy situation of the stranger far away from his home and friends.
191 Text: *tasha*ʿʿ*aba; Dīwān: takhādhala* "abandoned each other." The easier reading of the *Dīwān* is possibly less correct.
192 See above, n. 189.
193 R: *haddahum* "crushed them."
194 Text: *li-mawāṭi'i*, but a wrong connection with the root *wṭn* (for *wṭ'*) is indicated in all three Ṭabarī manuscripts and is presumably the mistake of Ṭabarī himself.
195 Text: *dhirʿuka*. All three Ṭabari manuscripts read ʿ*udhruka*, which seems incorrect.
196 By setting in motion my fortress, you have only succeeded in setting in motion something as powerful as the mountains familiar from the Tihāmah. However, the *Dīwān* has the easier and probably more correct reading *ḥarrakta min qaḍafī jibāla shamāmi*. By setting in motion my hillock, you have succeeded only in setting in

(13) You have tried me, and found me strong,
Tough on every battle day.
(14) Tell the amīr Abū Muḥammad[197] who
Illumines with his splendor the darkest darkness:
(15) You have enabled me to dwell in the shade on top,
and I did
In luxurious living and growing power,
(16) Until, when I was debarred from it, there happened to me
What happened, and my days changed for the worse.
(17) I shall indeed be grateful to you for the good things you have done for me,
As long as the grey pigeons coo in the woods.// [2158]
(18) This Abū Ḥafṣ[198] is my support and my treasure
In all untoward happenings and my armament and my chief.
(19) I called him, and he answered me. I shook him
And thereby shook the edge of a cutting sword.
(20) He who wants to close the eyelids when there is a mote in the eye,
Or wants to be humble desires what must not be desired.
(21) He recoils cowardly when he sees the spear pointing
And the swords drawn to hit the pates.

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motion the mountain range Shamām(i), located in the territory of the Banū Qushayr or the Banū Ḥanifah and often mentioned in ancient poetry, as indicated in al-Bakrī and Yāqūt (s. v. Shamāmi).

[197] The future al-Muktafī, who was mentioned in the text above as being in al-Rayy at the time.

[198] For *yadī* "my support," the *Dīwān* has *akhī* "my brother." However this need not mean that "Abū Ḥafṣ" refers to a brother of the poet; it could be a friend. Abū Ḥafṣ is replaced in the *Dīwān* by Abū Naṣr. So far, the individual meant here has not been identified.

Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz mentioned[199] al-Nūsharī's flight before him, and he slandered Waṣīf for drawing back in fear of him, and he threatened Badr, in these verses:[200]

(1) The fair-skinned maidens say: Bakr has changed.
He was together (with us); now he keeps away.[201]
(2) There is no friend like the sword when
A distressing event occurs and there are problems.
(3) They kindled war among us—and he got hot from it.
They then turned away,[202] but where can one flee from it?
(4) They have meant to do evil unto us. This, therefore, is a time
Whose evil has become apparent and is followed by more evil.
(5) Al-Nūsharī has seen, when we met in battle,
Who is the one who flees when the spears are pointed.
(6) He came with a large army, but we undertook
An assault which would make heroes whine.
(7) The standard of Mūshgīr has come to us,
While the swords and lances were becoming moist (with
[2159] blood).[203] / /
(8) My kindness and excessive patience[204] and forbearance
Have deceived Badr. They are deceptive attitudes.
(9) Tough,[205] slender, lean, intensely colored
Reddish brown horses will come to him.
(10) Aggressive lions of the Banū Wā'il
Will compete on them which are like demons.[206]

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199 Text: *yadhkur*; R: *ḥīna*.

200 In the edition of al-Sūratī, 5f., the verse order is the same as in Ṭabarī, but the *Dīwān* has more verses between verses 1 and 2 (two), 4 and 5 (one), 6 and 7(one), 7 and 8 (three), and 10 and 11 (one).

201 Lovers like to be together. They fear most to be separated or to be shunned by their partners. The circumstances in which Bakr finds himself leave him no time for love. Attentive as he was before to girls, he must now perforce keep away from them.

202 Text: *ḥāṣū*; *Dīwān* and RC: *khāmū*. The meaning is essentially the same.

203 The reading of the *Dīwān*: *wa-bilālun rawīna bīḍun wa-sumru* appears also in R (and B). It was possibly substituted for Ṭabarī's original reading (preserved in C) by someone acquainted with the poem.

204 The reading *anātī*, suggested by Nöldeke, is confirmed by R and C and, in fact, is also suggested by B.

205 *Shawāzib*, as in the *Dīwān* and all three manuscripts.

206 *Saʿālī* was used for horses according to a verse quoted in *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s. v. *sʿl*. The ʿIjl, to whom Abū Dulaf al-ʿIjlī belonged, were part of the Bakr b. Wā'il.

(11) I would not be Bakr if I do not leave them talked about,[207]
As long as a star travels and time revolves.

On Friday, Shawwāl 7, 283 (Wednesday, November 17, 896),[208] ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib[209] died and was carried in a casket to Sāmarrā the very same day. He had held the post of chief judge in Madīnat Abī Jaʿfar for six months.

On Monday, Shawwāl 25(26), 283 (Monday, December 6, 896), ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Dulaf entered Baghdad coming from Iṣbahān. Al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly ordered the high officers to receive him, and he was received by al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh[210] as well as the officers. Al-Muʿtaḍid granted him an audience, and presented him with gifts. He bestowed a robe of honor upon him and gave him a horse to ride with a saddle and bridle adorned with gold. At the same time, he bestowed robes of honor upon his two sons and upon the son of his brother Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz[211] as well as two of his officers. He was lodged in the house that had belonged to ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh[212] at the head of the bridge. The residence was refurnished for him.

In this year, a letter which arrived in Baghdad from ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār was read to the officers in al-Muʿtaḍid's palace. It indicated that ʿAmr had attacked Rāfiʿ b. Harthamah and routed him, and that Rāfiʿ was continuing his flight with ʿAmr in pursuit. The battle had taken place on Ramaḍān 25, 283 (September 17, 896). The letter was read on Tuesday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 12, 283 (Tuesday, December 21, 896)// [2160]

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[207] That is, his people will become "a story," the subject of conversation, because of his bravery and heroic deeds.

[208] The discrepancy in the days of the week shows that something is amiss here, and, in fact, Ibn Abī al-Shawārib's death occurred on the night of Saturday, Shawwāl 10, 283 (Sunday, November 20, 896). See Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XII, 59f.

[209] Ibn Abī al-Shawārib's appointment to the judgeship is mentioned in the text above, III, 1907, *sub anno* 262 (875-6). Regarding him see, for instance, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* (preceding note); Dhahabī, *ʿIbar*, II, 71, quoted by Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, II, 185.

[210] Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qāsim, d. 291 (904), see text below, 2250; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 46f.; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 345-57.

[211] I have no further information on the sons of Aḥmad and ʿUmar.

[212] That is, Ibn Ṭāhir.

On Sunday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 17, 283 (Sunday, December 25, 896), a mail pouch from ʿAmr b. al-Layth reportedly reached al-Muʿtaḍid when he was in the hippodrome. He returned to the Dār al-ʿĀmmah,[213] and the letter from ʿAmr ⌜b. al-Layth⌝ was read to the officers. In it ʿAmr stated that he had sent Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Balkhī[214] and another of his officers in pursuit of Rāfiʿ after he was routed. Rāfiʿ had reached Ṭūs when they attacked him. He was routed (again), and they pursued him. He reached Khuwārizm, where he was killed. Together with the letter, ʿAmr b. al-Layth sent Rāfiʿ's signet. He also mentioned that he had given the courier a message for the central authorities concerning Rāfiʿ's head.

On Friday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 22, 283 (Friday, December 31, 896), the letters about the killing of Rāfiʿ b. Harthamah were read from the pulpits.

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[213] The Dār al-ʿĀmmah, the outer compound of the great palace complex which was known as the Dār al-Khilāfah, entered through the Bāb al-ʿĀmmah. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 275; Busse, "Hofbudget," 30f.

[214] I have not found further information about him.

The Important Events of the Year 284

(FEBRUARY 8, 897 - JANUARY 27, 898)

One of the events was the arrival of the courier of ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār with the head of Rāfiʿ b. Harthamah. He arrived in Baghdad on Thursday, al-Muḥarram 4, 284 (Friday, February 11, 897). Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered the head exhibited at the Police Station on the East Side until noon; it was then to be transferred to the West Side and exhibited there until night when it was to be returned[215] to the Caliph's palace. When the courier came to al-Muʿtaḍid with the head, a robe of honor was bestowed upon him.

On Thursday, Ṣafar 7, 284 (Wednesday, March 16, 897), fighting took place in Ṭarsūs between Rāghib and Damyānah. The reason for the conflict was reported to have been as follows: Rāghib, the *mawlā* of al-Muwaffaq, had omitted the prayer for Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad and instead prayed for Badr, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, thereby causing dissension between himself and Aḥmad b. Ṭughān. When Aḥmad b. Ṭughān returned / / from [2161]
the ransom negotiations which took place in the year 283 (896), he went by sea and did not re-enter Ṭarsūs. Continuing on, he left Damyānah behind to administer affairs in the city. Then, in Ṣafar of this year (March 10-April 7, 897), he sent Yūsuf b. al-Bāghmardī to take his place in Ṭarsūs. When the latter entered the city and Damyānah was strengthened by his presence, people expressed disapproval for Rāghib's praying for Badr, and trouble started among them. Rāghib defeated them and sent Damyānah, Ibn al-Bāghmardī, and Ibn al-Yatīm[216] to al-Muʿtaḍid in fetters.

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215 R: "then it was returned."

216 Presumably, a son (?) of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Yatīm who is mentioned by Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Vollers, 70, l. 21, in connection with events in Ṭarsūs in 269 (882-3). Al-Kindī, *Wulāh*, 317, does not have "al-Yatīm."

On Monday, Ṣafar 19, 284 (Monday, March 28, 897), a mail pouch arrived in Baghdad from al-Jabal with the information that al-Nūsharī had attacked Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf within the borders of Iṣbahān. He had killed his men and permitted the looting of his camp. Bakr had escaped with a few people.

On Thursday, Rabīʿ I 14, 284, (Thursday, April 21, 897), a robe of honor was bestowed upon Abū ʿUmar Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb on the occasion of his appointment as qāḍī of Madīnat Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr replacing ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib. His jurisdiction included Quṭrabbul, Maskin, Buzurjsābūr, and the two Rādhān.[217] On the very same day, he heard lawsuits in the Friday Mosque. Madīnat Abī Jaʿfar had been without a judge between the death of Ibn Abī al-Shawārib and the appointment of Abū ʿUmar, that is, a period of five months and four days.

[2162] On Wednesday, Rabīʿ I 13, 284 (Wednesday, April 20, 897), // a Christian eunuch ⌜called Waṣīf⌝ belonging to Ghālib al-Naṣrānī,[218] the Caliph's physician, was seized and remanded to

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[217] Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad, the son of Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb, is meant here. He was born on Rajab 9, 243 (November 1, 857), and died on Wednesday, Ramaḍān 23, 320 (Thursday, September 27, 932). See Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, III, 401-5; *EI² Suppl.*, s. v. Ibn Dirham IX; above, n. 104.

All the places mentioned here formed part of the larger surburban area to the north of Baghdad in the Dujayl region between Baghdad and Sāmarrā. For Quṭrabbul, see Le Strange, *Lands*, 50f.; for Maskin, Lassner, *Topography*, 279, n. 11. Buzurjsābūr is identified with ʿUkbarā, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 604, and III, 705. For the two Rādhān, op. cit., II, 729. See also *Eclipse*, I, 193: Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarāʾ*, 15; Busse, "Hofbudget," 15.

[218] Ghālib al-Naṣrānī had been a physician of al-Muwaffaq since the days of al-Mutawakkil. He gained great wealth as a physician of al-Mutawakkil's family, and his reputation grew when he cured al-Muwaffaq of an arrow-wound. He became one of the prominent members of al-Muʿtaḍid's large corps of physicians. According to Thābit b. Sinān b. Thābit, he died in Āmid during al-Muʿtaḍid's stay there between May and early June 286 (see text below, 2186f.). On the occasion of Ghālib's death, al-Muʿtaḍid showed extraordinary consideration for his son, Saʿīd, who also served as his physician. Saʿīd died on Sunday, Jumādā II 24, 307 (Sunday, November 21, 919). See Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, *ʿUyūn*, I, 230f.

In view of Ghālib's close relationship to the Caliph, the event, which caused a considerable stir (see below, n. 222), was obviously most embarrassing to al-Muʿtaḍid, and it is no wonder that every attempt was made to cover it up.

prison. Witnesses testified that he had slandered the Prophet. The day after the eunuch was incarcerated, some of the general populace gathered on his account. They shouted at al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh and demanded of al-Qāsim that in view of the testimony against the eunuch, he should apply the legal punishment to him. On Sunday, Rabīʿ I 17, 284 (Sunday, April 24, 897), the people of Bāb al-Ṭāq gathered at the Baradān Bridge[219] and the adjacent bazaars. They consulted with one another and agreed to go to the Caliph's palace,[220] where they were met by Abū al-Ḥusayn, the wazīr's son. They shouted at him, and he informed them that he had already passed on the eunuch's story to al-Muʿtaḍid *in al-Thurayyā.*[221] Considering him a liar, they called him names and then assaulted his bodyguards and men, who eventually fled before them. They went to al-Muʿtaḍid's Thurayyā palace, but having passed through the first and second gates, they were prevented from entering (into al-Muʿtaḍid's presence). They now assaulted those who were preventing them from entering. Someone came out to inquire about them, and they told him their story. Al-Muʿtaḍid was informed about it in writing, and a number of them were then allowed to enter into his presence. He asked them about the story, and they recounted it to him, whereupon he sent Khafīf al-Samarqandī with them to the qāḍī Yūsuf. He charged Khafīf with ordering the qāḍī to look into the eunuch's case and report the result to him. Khafīf thus went with them to Yūsuf. When they were about to enter the house (of the qāḍī), there was such a turmoil that they almost killed both Khafīf and Yūsuf. Passing through a door and locking them out, Yūsuf managed to escape from them. *In this connection, Ibn Bassām[222] said:

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[219] See Le Strange, *Lands*, 206; Lassner, *Topography*, index (Qanṭarat al-Baradān).

[220] Text: *bāb*; RC: *dār*. Abū al-Ḥusayn is al-Qāsim.

[221] The Thurayyā was one palace in the great complex known as the Dār al-Khilāfah, see Lassner, *Topography*, index.

[222] Ibn Bassām is the well-known poet and perennial satirist Ibn Bassām al-Bassāmī, d. 302 or 303 (914-5). See Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 589. While the wazīr's family was of Christian origin, the reference to al-Qāsim's father ʿUbaydallāh as a Christian merely shows the prejudice of the satirist and his environment.

Al-Qāsim's concern for the eunuch
Shows the religion of the father of al-Qāsim.

If the person slandered had been ʿĪsā, one would not have
Been satisfied with anything but killing the slanderer.*

After that, the eunuch was no longer mentioned, and the
[2163] populace no longer gathered in connection with his case. / /

Also in Rabīʿ I 284 (April 9-May 7, 897), some inhabitants of Ṭarsūs reportedly went to the central authorities with the request that a governor be appointed for them, mentioning that their city was without one. Ṭarsūs had earlier been in the hands of Ibn Ṭūlūn, but he treated them badly, so that they drove his agent out of the city.[223] Ibn Ṭūlūn corresponded with them about the matter and promised them better treatment, but they refused to let any page of his enter their city. They said that they would fight anyone coming on his behalf. He therefore left them alone.

On Thursday, Rabīʿ II 26, 284 (Thursday, June 2, 897), darkness reportedly fell upon Egypt, and there was a redness on the sky which was so strong that when someone looked someone else in the face, the face looked red to him. It was the same with walls and other things. This lasted from the afternoon prayer to the second evening prayer. Leaving their residences, people prayed to God and beseeched Him.[224]

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[223] See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 13.

[224] The same event is described in more detail by Eutychius, *Annales*, 72f. He dates it "on the night of Thursday, Rabīʿ I 28, 284 (Thursday, May 5, 897), on the Christian holiday of the ascension of our Lord Christ into Heaven." May 5 of that year was in fact Ascension Day, and the Christian Egyptian historian can be trusted to have preserved the correct date. Note that Ṭabarī indicates the correct day of the week. He possibly noted down the date of the event and the date when the news of it reached Baghdad, and the error occurred when the work was made ready for publication.

After his reference to this event, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 113, adds: "In this year, ʿAmr b. al-Layth sent a million dirhams for improvements on the Mecca Road, as stated by Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī." The reference to Ṭabarī is either misplaced and belongs to the statement on the atmospheric phenomenon in Egypt, or *qālahū* should be *qāla* and introduces the following brief summary of al-Muʿtaḍid's planned action against supporters of the Umayyads. The statement probably does not go back to a recension of Ṭabarī's work.

On Wednesday, Jumādā I[225] 3, 284 (Wednesday, June 8, 897), corresponding to Ḥazīrān 11 (June 11),[226] it was announced in the quarters and bazaars of Baghdad that it was forbidden to kindle bonfires on New Year's eve and to pour water (upon passersby) on New Year's Day. The announcement was repeated on Thursday (June 9), but on Friday[227] evening, it was announced at the office (*bāb*) of Saʿīd b. Yaksīn,[228] the chief of police on the East Side of Madīnat al-Salām, that the Commander of the Faithful had given permission for people to kindle bonfires and pour water. At this, the populace exceeded the bounds of propriety and reportedly[229] poured water even upon the policemen at the Police Station at the Bridge. *This was one of Islam's greatest troubles ever and was most reminiscent of the Antichrist and his companions. Moreover, it was an open show of despicable disloyalty.*[230]

In this year, the populace, whenever they saw a black eunuch, became fond[231] of shouting, "O // *ʿaqīq*!"[232] That made the [2164]
eunuchs angry. Now, on a Friday evening, al-Muʿtaḍid sent a black eunuch with a note to Ibn Ḥamdūn al-Nadīm.[233] When the eunuch reached the head of the Bridge on the East Side,

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225 R: "Jumādā II," which is in error.

226 This should be Ḥazīrān 8 (June 8). The error was caused by the fact that the New Year's Day itself fell on Ḥazīrān 11.

227 RC: "Thursday."

228 RC: "Taksīn." For Ibn Yaksīn, see text above, III, 1838. He was governor of al-Ahwāz in 256 (870).

229 It seems that R had "reportedly" after the following addition.

230 R: *wa-kāna dhālika min aʿẓam fitan al-Islām wa-ashbah shay' bi-al-dajjāl wa-aṣḥābihī maʿa iẓhār al-munkar wa-al-maʿāṣī*. The first five words are also found in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 171, 11. 6f. The statement seems a gross exaggeration. Perhaps Ṭabarī himself toned it down during his lifetime.

231 Text: *ughribat*; R clearly indicates *ughriyat*.

232 Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 180, ed. Pellat, V, 161, refers to an alleged extension of the taunt, which is clear in its sexual innuendo. However, as far as I know, the significance of *ʿaqīq* is still unexplained. Even if *ʿaqīq* could have the same meaning as *ʿāqq* "disobedient son," it is quite uncertain whether this could mean that a eunuch cannot fulfill his father's desire for grandchildren. Perhaps, *ʿaqīq* is to be understood in its ordinary meaning of "ruby" (a dark red) and refers to the physical deformity or scar caused by castration, or it is a slave name like Yāqūt. See Mez, *Renaissance*, 335.

233 ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Dāwūd b. Ḥamdūn belonged to a well-known family (see *EI*², s. v. Ibn Ḥamdūn) of boon-companions and is often mentioned in the literature about this period. See also Rosenthal, *Sarakhsī*, 24, 26, 28. ʿAbdallāh died in 309 (921-2) (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, XI, 144).

someone in the crowd taunted him, "O ʿ*aqīq*!" The eunuch cursed the man and whipped him. A crowd gathered, and knocked the eunuch off his feet, and beat him. The note he had with him was lost. Returning to the Caliph, the eunuch told him how he had been treated, whereupon al-Muʿtaḍid ordered the eunuch Ṭarīf al-Makhladī[234] to ride out and arrest and flog anybody who would take liberties with the eunuchs. On Saturday, Jumādā I 13, 284 (Saturday, June 18, 897), Ṭarīf rode out with a number of horsemen and foot soldiers. He had a black eunuch walk in front of him. Under orders to arrest anyone who would shout at a eunuch, "O ʿ*aqīq*!," he reached Bāb al-Ṭāq, where he reportedly arrested seven persons; one of them was reportedly innocent.[235] They were flogged in the Police Station on the East Side. Ṭarīf then crossed the Tigris and went to al-Karkh, where he did the same thing. He seized eight[236] persons and had them beaten in the Police Station in al-Sharqiyyah.[237] All those people were paraded on camels, and it was announced that this was the punishment for those who took liberties with the Caliph's eunuchs and taunted them, "O ʿ*aqīq*!" They were detained for the day and released at night.

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh planned to have Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān cursed from the pulpits. He ordered the drafting of a document to this effect, to be read in public. ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb warned him that the populace might be disturbed and that he could not be sure that there would not be trouble. Al-Muʿtaḍid, however, paid no attention to what ʿUbaydallāh said.[238]

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[234] No further information about him could be found.

[235] *Barī'an* "innocent" offers a plausible reading. Other readings are *bazzīyan* or *badhī'an* "lewd" (the latter suggested by von Kremer). It seems highly dubious that **bazzīyan* could be equated with *bazzāz* and mean "cloth merchant." At any rate, it is not clear why either "cloth merchant" or "lewd" should be mentioned in the context. The former might indicate that even respectable individuals of good social standing were involved, but the latter should have some specific meaning here to warrant reference to it.

[236] Text: "five"; RC: "eight."

[237] For al-Sharqiyyah, see Lassner, *Topography*, index.

[238] Although ʿUbaydallāh eventually signed the document, it is doubtful whether he had much of a say in drafting it.

Reportedly, the first thing // al-Muʿtaḍid did in this connection was to give orders that the populace be told to stick to their business and not to gather nor cause dissension[239] nor give testimony before the central authorities, unless[240] they were asked to testify as witnesses (regarding some matter). The storytellers, too, were to be prevented from sitting in the roads.[241] Documents were produced to be read on both sides of Madīnat al-Salām in the quarters, neighborhoods, and bazaars. They were read on Wednesday, Jumādā I 24, 284 (Wednesday, June 29, 897). Then, on Friday, Jumādā I 26, 284 (Friday, July 1, 897), the storytellers were prevented from sitting in the two Friday Mosques.[242] Groups studying legal opinions and other people were also prevented from sitting in the two Friday Mosques, and vendors were prevented from sitting in their stalls. In Jumādā II, 284 (July 6-August 3, 897), it was announced in the Friday Mosque that people were forbidden to gather around storytellers and other people, and the storytellers and study groups were prevented from holding sessions (there). On Jumādā II 11, 284 (July 16, 897), which was a Friday,[243] it was announced in the two Friday Mosques[244] that people who gather for discussion or disputation no longer enjoy legal protection, and whoever does so makes it legally permissible for him to be beaten. Drinkers and waterboys in the two Friday Mosques were told not to use the formula "May God have mercy upon Muʿāwiyah!" nor to say anything ⌜good⌝ about him.[245] [2165]

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239 Text: *al-qaḍiyyah*. Read *al-ʿaṣabiyyah* "the unchecked partisan spirit leading to conspiracy against the government and dissension among the contending groups." *Al-ʿaṣabiyyah* appears in all the sources including manuscripts R and C. *Al-qaḍiyyah*—in the sense of "going to court (?)"— is dubious in any case. The following remark about "testimony" perhaps means making demarches to the authorities.

240 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 2, suggests: "and not to testify."

241 The streets served as gathering places for the audiences of storytellers (*quṣṣāṣ*). See also text above, III, 2131. R has "road" in the singular.

242 Text: *jāmiʿayn*; R: *jānibayn* "both sides (of Baghdad)." which has some support in *al-ʿUyūn wa-al-ḥadāʾiq*, ed. Dāwūd, I, 152, l. 3, ed. Saʿīdī, I, 87.

243 That is, July 15.

244 R again has "both sides," while Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, v, 3, has "on both sides and in the two Friday Mosques."

245 We are told that ʿAbdallāh, the son of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, as a small child, heard servants in the mosque of al-Ruṣāfah offering people iced water to drink with the words, "Drink for the love of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān!" See Zayyāt, "*Tashayyuʿ*."

People reported the rumor that the document cursing Muʿāwiyah, which al-Muʿtaḍid had ordered to be drafted, would be read from the pulpit after the Friday prayer. When they had performed the Friday prayer, they hastened to the prayer enclosure to hear the document read. However, it was not read.

Al-Muʿtaḍid had reportedly ordered that the document cursing Muʿāwiyah which had been drafted on orders of al-Ma'mūn be
[2166] taken out of the archive for him, and this was done.[246] // A synopsis of it was used for preparing the copy of the following document drafted for al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh:[247]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Praised be God, exalted, great, kind, wise,[248] powerful, and compassionate, Who stands alone in uniqueness, Who is resplendent[249] in His power, Who creates by His will and wisdom, Who knows the designs[250] of the breast and the secrets of the heart! Nothing seen is concealed from Him.[251] No speck of dust escapes Him in the heavens high above and the earths deep below.[252] "He knows everything,"[253] "has the

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Zayyât quotes as his source Ibn al-Najjār's *Dhayl of the History of Baghdad*. It appears there in the biography of a certain ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Kayyis [which is expected to be included in the forthcoming second volume of the *Dhayl* published in Hyderabad 1398ff. (1978ff.)]. I owe this reference to Glagow, 191, who discusses the possible significance of the story. It would seem that these activities in the mosques are indicative of the skill and financial capability of the pro-Umayyad faction that sponsored them, and if they continued to the time of al-Muʿtaḍid, they may explain his desire to do something about them (see below, n. 333).

[246] For the likelihood of the existence of such a document, see Glagow, 187, and text above, III, 1098; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 90-93, ed. Pellat, IV, 338f. See also Pellat, "Culte de Muʿāwiya," 53-66.

[247] As stated above, n. 238, ʿUbaydallāh presumably did not draft the document himself. In his *History of al-Muʿtaḍid*, ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr states that Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī was connected with the drafting of the document. See Rosenthal, *Sarakhsī*, 53. A complete annotated translation of the document may be found in Glagow, 166-80.

[248] R: "great, noble, kind."

[249] R: *al-qāhir* "overwhelming."

[250] R: *sarā'ir* "secrets," similar, it seems, to the reading *al-asrār* in C.

[251] See Qur. 69:18. The allusions to Qur'ānic phraseology are more extensive than is indicated here in the notes.

[252] See Qur. 34:22.

[253] Qur. 65:12.

number of everything,"[254] and has set a term for everything. He is "all-knowing and all-informed."[255]

Praised be God Who has produced His creatures for the purpose of worshiping Him and has created His servants for the purpose of knowing Him on the basis of His previous knowledge of who will obey Him, and of his past command about who will disobey Him! Thus He had made it clear what they could attempt and what they were to fear. He has laid out for them the ways of salvation and warned them against the paths of perdition. He put proof behind them and excuse in front of them.[256] He chose for them His religion ⌜which He approved for them and⌝ with which He honored them. He has made those who seek their support and strength in Him His loyal and obedient friends and those who turn away from Him and oppose Him His disloyal and sinful enemies, "so that those who perish perish on the basis of clear evidence, and those who live live on the basis of clear evidence. God hears and knows."[257]

Praised be God Who singled out His Messenger Muḥammad from all creatures. He chose him to bring His message and sent him with right guidance and the approved religion to all His servants. He revealed the // clear and distinct [2167] Book to him and announced to him victory and success. He strengthened him with might and firm[258] evidence. He thus guided through him those whom He guided, saved from blindness those who responded to him, and led astray "anyone who turns backward."[259] Eventually God made his position manifest and his victory mighty. He subdued those who opposed him. He fulfilled His promise to him, made him the seal of His messengers, and had him die as the transmitter of His command, the conveyor of His message and the advisor of His community, accepted and guided to

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[254] Qur. 72:28.
[255] Qur. 66:3. R substitutes "all-wise" for "all informed," thus quoting Qur. 66:2.
[256] In keeping with the Qur'ānic usage of *ḥujjah* and *maʿdhirah*, this, I believe, means that Muslims have proof of the divine truth to back them up and must defend it in order to have an excuse in the case of failure.
[257] Qur. 8:42.
[258] R: *al-mubīn* "clear."
[259] Qur. 70:17.

the noblest point of return for those who turn back (to Paradise),[260] and the highest station of His prophets who were sent as messengers, and of His blessed servants. God's best and most perfect, greatest and mightiest, most sincere and purest prayer upon him and upon his good family!

Praised be God Who made the Commander of the Faithful and his rightly guided and directed forebears the heirs of the Seal of the prophets and Lord of the messengers! He has put them in charge of the religion of Islam, charged them with setting straight God's believing servants, and entrusted them with the preservation of the pledges of wisdom and the heritage of prophethood. He has made them vicegerents in the community and helped them with might and protection, inspired support and superiority, until God gives victory to His religion over all others, even though the polytheists disapprove.

The Commander of the Faithful has learned that a number of ordinary people have been beset by doubt in their religious beliefs and have been affected by corruption in their faith. Their religious views[261] have become dominated by a bias which they express verbally without any knowledge and reflection, and with respect to which they follow false leaders without evidence and insight and set innovative religious views against established rules. God says: "Who is in greater error than he who follows his desire[262] without right guidance from God? Indeed, God does not guide aright
[2168] people who do wrong."[263] // In doing so, they have left the community and rushed headlong into rebellion. They prefer discord and break up the Muslim cause. They show open friendship for one[264] whom God cut off from friendship, severed from divine protection, drove out of the religious community, and made it necessary to curse. They declare

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260 R: *al-muttaqīn* "those who fear God."

261 *Ahwā'* "desires" lead away from true belief to sectarian views.

262 See the preceding note.

263 Qur. 28:50.

264 It is not always clear whether the singular or the plural is intended. The reference here is to Muʿāwiyah rather than the Umayyads in general. The ambiguity serves the purpose of suggesting that there is no real distinction between the individual and the group.

reverence for "the accursed tree,"[265] the Umayyads whose right God has diminished, whose position He has weakened, and whose support He has softened. They thereby oppose one[266] from the people of the house of blessing and mercy[267] through whom God has saved them from perdition and showered them with favors. God says: "He singles out for His mercy whomever He wishes. God possesses great excellence."[268]

The Commander of the Faithful takes a very serious view of what he has learned. He considers a failure to express his disapproval as harmful to himself regarding the religion of Islam, as detrimental to the Muslims whose affairs God has entrusted to him, and as a neglect of the duty imposed upon him by God to set straight opponents, inform the ignorant, establish proofs against doubters, and control the obstinate.

The Commander of the Faithful refers you, good people, to the fact that when God sent Muḥammad with His religion and ordered him to come forth with His command, Muḥammad began with his own family and tribe. He called them to his Lord, warned them and gave them glad tidings, advised them and guided them. Those who responded to him, believed what he said, and followed his command were a few persons from his own immediate family. Some of them believed in the message he brought from his Lord, while others supported him, even if they did not follow his religion, because they thought highly of him and had compassion for him. This happened because of God's past knowledge of those of them whom He chose and whom it was His will to invest with His vicegerency. He educated his family, and there were those of them who were believers eager to fight

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[265] Qur. 17:60. See also below, nn. 277 and 283, and text above, III, 706. Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*, XV, 73f., as well as other Qur'ān commentaries such Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, 323f., makes no reference whatever to the Umayyads in connection with this verse. It deserves notice that Ṭabarī rejected all these Qur'ānic interpretations given here. If he had been asked (and he was, after all, famous for his Qur'ānic commentary published many years earlier), he would, as a scholar, have had to contest vigorously most of the interpretations offered here. This would not have endeared him to the government.

[266] See above, n. 264. Here the allusion is to the Prophet and the ʿAbbāsids.

[267] R: *al-ḥikmah* "wisdom."

[268] Qur. 3:74.

vigorously, and those who were unbelievers eagerly giving
[2169] him zealous support.[269] They repelled / / those who thwarted him, and subdued those who were hostile to him[270] and opposed him. They secured for him those who assisted and supported him, and asked those who generously aided him to give allegiance to him. They acted as spies for him among his enemies and intrigued for him in secret as well as in the open.[271] Eventually, the goal was reached and the time of right guidance arrived. Then they accepted the religion of God and obedience to Him, while believing in his Messenger and having faith in him with the most assured insight and the best guidance and desire. As a consequence, God made them the people of the house of mercy and the people of the house of the religion of Islam, whom He has cleansed thoroughly of all filth. He has made them the mine of wisdom, the heirs of prophecy, and the proper place for the caliphate. He made virtue necessarily theirs and made loyalty to them incumbent upon all human beings.

The large majority of the Prophet's tribe rebelled against him. They were hostile to him, considered him a liar, and fought him. They met him with criticism and the accusation of being a liar. They went to him in order to ⌜harm and⌝ frighten him, manifested hostility toward him, and instituted warfare against him. They kept away from those who wished to join him and inflicted punishment upon those who followed him. His most hostile opponent among those people and the first among them in every war and conflict, who, whenever a banner was raised against Islam, was its master, leader, and chief in every locale where there was war—Badr, Uḥud, the Trench, and the Conquest of Mecca—was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and his Umayyad partisans.[272]

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[269] R: *wa-addaba banīhi fa-mu'minuhum mujāhid bi-baṣīratihī wa-kāfir mujāhid bi-nuṣratihī wa-ḥamīyatihī*. See also Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCVIII.

[270] Text: *wa-yanharūna man ʿārahū* "repelled those who injured him" (?). Read as in R: *wa-yaqharūna* (also in BC) *man ʿādāhu*.

[271] Glagow, 170, n. 1, cites as an example the report in Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I, 203 f., that al-ʿAbbās informed the Prophet about the expedition that led to the battle of Uḥud.

[272] That is, the Umayyad Shīʿah. Abū Sufyān died at a very advanced age about the year 32 (652).

They were cursed in the Book of God and then by the Prophet expressly in a number of places and passages, because of God's past knowledge of their position, their hypocrisy, and their unbelieving masterminds.[273] Abū Sufyān fought eagerly, resisted vehemently, and continued acting hostile, // until he was subdued by the sword and God's [2170] cause was triumphant to their displeasure.[274] He professed Islam without caring for it, concealing unbelief that he did not give up. The Messenger of God as well as the Muslims knew him to be such a person and clarified[275] for him the category of "those whose hearts are won,"[276] and thus accepted him and his children in full knowledge (of their worthlessness).

The statement in which God cursed the Umayyads through His Prophet orally and by way of revealed scripture is: "... The tree accursed in the Qur'ān. We shall frighten them, but it only greatly increases their rebelliousness."[277] Nobody denies that the Umayyads are meant here.

Then there is the statement of the Messenger when he saw Abū Sufyān coming upon a donkey,[278] with Muʿāwiyah and his son Yazīd[279] driving it: "May God curse the leader, the rider, and the driver!"

There is also the statement of Abū Sufyān reported by the transmitters: "O Banū ʿAbd Manāf, catch it like a ball, for there is no Paradise or Hell."[280] This is pure unbelief. On

[273] In connection with "masterminds" (*aḥlām*), a footnote in the Leiden edition of the text refers to Qur. 52:32, where *aḥlām* is explained as *ʿuqūl* with reference to the Qurayshite leaders. See the commentaries such as Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVII, 17f., or Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād*, VIII, 54.

[274] See Qur. 9:48.

[275] RC: *bayyana*.

[276] Qur. 9:60. The expression, which the commentators apparently no longer understood fully, was taken to refer to a mixed bag of Muslims and non-Muslims, among them, in the first place, Abū Sufyān, See, for instance, Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, X, 98f.

[277] Qur. 17:60 (see above, n. 265).

[278] R: *rākiban* "riding" (for "upon a donkey").

[279] Arabic syntax strongly suggests that the Yazīd meant here is the son of Muʿāwiyah, although Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah was born long after the Prophet's death. The well-known son of Abū Sufyān, Yazīd al-Khayr, seems totally out of place in this context. He appears often together with his father Abū Sufyān, and this may somehow have produced the story mentioned here. The possibility that the son of Muʿāwiyah was meant here with little regard for history, cannot be completely ruled out. The solution to the problem depends on locating further references to the story.

[280] "It" refers to this world or to rulership. See Glagow, 171.

account of it, God's curse will befall him as it did "the Israelites who were unbelievers through the mouth of David and ʿĪsā b. Maryam. That is because they were sinners and transgressors."[281]

There is also the reported fact that Abū Sufyān, after he had gone blind, stood at the mountain road of Uḥud and said to his guide, "Here we trampled upon Muḥammad and his companions."[282]

There is also the dream seen by the Prophet which worried him so much that he was never seen laughing afterwards. God revealed: "We have made the dream which we have let you see but a temptation for the people."[283] In his dream, he reportedly saw some Umayyads jumping on his pulpit.[284]

Then there is the fact that the Messenger of God banished
[2171] // al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ because he imitated him. By virtue of the Prophet's prayer, God made al-Ḥakam a lasting sign, for when the Prophet saw him making his contortions, he said to him, "Be as you are!," and he remained that way for the rest of his life.[285]

And so it went (with the Umayyads), until Marwān later started the first civil war that happened in Islam and became responsible for all the forbidden blood that was shed during it or spilled afterwards.[286]

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281 Qur. 5:78.

282 Read *dusnā*, as in R, no doubt the correct reading. Abū Sufyān lost one eye at al-Ṭā'if, and the other in the battle of the Yarmūk. See Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 97, *sub anno* 31.

283 This is the beginning of the verse on the "accursed tree," Qur. 17:60. In the commentaries, the dream is reported as being concerned with people on pulpits, but not necessarily the Umayyads. See, for instance, Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād*, V, 54.

284 "Like monkeys," as one report has it. See Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 96; Maqrīzī, *Nizāʿ*, trans. Bosworth, 76.

285 According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, IV, 513f., al-Ḥakam, a cousin of Abū Sufyān and the father of the later Caliph Marwān, distorted his nose and mouth in order to ridicule the Prophet. Elsewhere, it is said that he imitated the manner in which the Prophet swayed in walking. See Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 95ff.; idem, *ʿIbar*, I, 32; Maqrīzī, *Nizāʿ*, trans. Bosworth, 52f.; Glagow, 172, n. 4.

286 The reference is to the civil war with ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

There is also the statement in the *sūrah* "al-Qadr" revealed by God to His Prophet: "The night of destiny is better than a thousand months"—of Umayyad rule.[287]

There is also the report that the Messenger of God called for Muʿāwiyah to take dictation, but Muʿāwiyah refused to do so, because he was eating. The Prophet then said, "May God never sate his stomach!" As a result, Muʿāwiyah was always hungry and said, "By God, I do not stop eating because I have enough, but because I am unable (to eat any longer.)"[288]

There is also the report that the Messenger of God said, "From this mountain pass, a man from my community is coming up who will be resurrected separate from my religious group." It was Muʿāwiyah who was coming up.[289]

There is also the report that the Messenger of God said, "When you see Muʿāwiyah on my pulpit, kill him!"[290]

Then there is the famous ḥadīth traced to the Prophet who said, "Muʿāwiyah is in a casket of fire in the lowest layer of Hell, calling out: 'O Clement One, O Generous One!' *He is given the answer:* 'Now (you believe), but before you sinned and caused corruption.' "[291]

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[287] Qur. 97:3. The ninety years of Umayyad rule corresponded to about a thousand months. This coincidence was reportedly already figured out by the ḥadīth scholar al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl [d. 167 (783-4)]. He transmitted a statement made to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to the effect that the Prophet dreamed of the Umayyads upon his pulpit in a succession of caliphs; it brought about the revelation of *sūrah*s 108 and 97, in order to dispel the great worry the dream caused the Prophet. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXX, 143. For Ṭabarī, all this was worthless speculation. Understandably, later scholars found it fascinating. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, VII, 331f., begins his commentary on Qur. 97:3 with a heated refutation of it. He also quotes the obvious observation that it would not mean anything if Umayyad rule was inferior to the Night of al-Qadr. This was only to be expected, since the Night of al-Qadr is something so incomparably great and wonderful. See also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 51f., ed. Pellat, IV, 74.

[288] For Muʿāwiyah as a secretary of the Prophet, see, for example, Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 318. Glagow, 173, n. 1, refers to Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (see *Concordance*, III, 59b64). The Prophet sent ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, who was playing with his playmates, to call Muʿāwiyah. ʿAbdallāh came back twice to say that Muʿāwiyah was eating (and not willing to come). In his revaluation of the relationship between the Prophet and Abū Sufyān, Kister, "Muḍar," 265, refers briefly to Muʿāwiyah's appointment as secretary.

[289] I have found no parallel to this report so far.

[290] See Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 231.

[291] Qur. 10:91. The addition of *fa-yujābu* in R has no doubt preserved Ṭabarī's original text. See also Rosenthal, *Sarakhsī*, 53.

There is also his going to war against the most outstanding, oldest, and most famous of Muslims, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. With his false claim, Muʿāwiyah contested ʿAlī's rightful claim. He fought ʿAlī's helpers with his own erring scoun-
[2172] drels. He attempted what he and his father never ceased // attempting, namely, to "extinguish the light of God" and deny God's religion, but "God has no other wish but to make His light perfect, even though the polytheists disapprove."[292] Muʿāwiyah tried to seduce foolish men and confuse the ignorant with his trickery and injustice. The Messenger of God had mentioned the story of the two[293] earlier when he said to ʿAmmār, "The unjust party will kill you. You call them to Paradise while they call you to the Fire."[294] Muʿāwiyah preferred this fleeting world and denied the lasting other world. He left the ties of Islam and declared forbidden blood permissible to be shed, until in his rebellion and on behalf of his deviation, the blood of an uncountable number of the best Muslims was shed, those who were defending the religion of God and supporting His right. He fought against God and strove that God be disobeyed and not obeyed, that His laws be invalidated and not upheld, that His religion be opposed and not practiced, and that the word of deviation triumph and the call of falsehood be raised. But "God's word is the highest."[295] His religion is victorious. His wisdom is followed and is effective. His command is powerful, and the trickery of those who work against Him is defeated and voided. Muʿāwiyah eventually had to shoulder the burden of those wars and their consequences and to take the responsibility for the blood spilled then and the blood spilled afterwards. He followed the ways

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292 Qur. 9:32, which has "unbelievers." "Polytheists" is found in 9:33.

293 That is, ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah.

294 ʿAmmār b. Yāsir died, supposedly ninety- three years old, at Ṣiffīn in 37 (957). See Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 176-82. It was much debated whether the two sentences quoted here really belonged together. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, II, 88f. (*Concordance*, I, 203a29-32). The two sentences together as here but in the third person appear in Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 179f. In R, the first sentence uses the second person, and the second sentence the third person. See, further, Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 338, trans. Guillaume, 299 (the second sentence only).

295 Qur. 9:40.

of corruption. The resulting guilt, as well as the guilt of those who practice that corruption, will be upon him to ⌜the Day of Resurrection⌝. He declared forbidden matters permissible and deprived people of their rights. He was deceived by (God's) forbearance and cheated by (His) delaying, but God lies in wait for him.[296]

God made it necessary to curse him for killing, while they could offer no resistance, the best of the men around Muḥammad and the men of the second generation and excellent and religious people, such as ʿAmr b. al-Ḥamiq and Ḥujr b. ʿAdī[297] and their like. His intention was to gain might, royalty, and power. However, might, royalty, and power belong to God. God / / says: "He who kills a believer [2173] intentionally will have Hell as his reward and remain in it eternally. God is angry at him and has cursed him and has prepared a severe punishment for him."[298]

He also deserved God's curse and that of His Messenger by claiming (Abū Sufyān's paternity) for Ziyād b. Sumayyah[299] in defiance of God, for God says: "Call them after their fathers! This is most fair in the eyes of God."[300] The Messenger of God says: "Accursed is he who claims paternity other than that of his father or aligns himself with others than his masters."[301] He also says: "The child belongs to the bed, and

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[296] See Qur. 89:14.

[297] Of these two ʿAlid partisans, Ḥujr was the more important. He appears in all the histories of the period and all reference works. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. Kister, IVA, 211-36, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, IV, 1, 242-71; for ʿAmr, see op. cit., ed. Kister, 236f., ed. ʿAbbās, 242f. ʿAmr was on Ḥujr's staff. He was killed in 50 (670), or 51 (see text above, II, 118ff.). The date of 51 (671) apparently goes back to Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. ʿUmarī, 107, 136, ed. Zakkār, I, 235, 306. However, in his *Ta'rīkh*, 197, Khalīfah places ʿAmr's death in the year 50. See, further, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 1173f.; Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 234 f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 23f. Since decapitating defeated enemies and sending the severed heads to the caliph as proof of their death is mentioned so much here, it may be noted that ʿAmr's head was supposedly the first in Islam to be sent from one place to another (a detail apparently passed over in silence by Ṭabarī).

[298] Qur. 4:93.

[299] Ziyād's father supposedly was a certain ʿUbayd. Sumayyah was the name of his mother. The famous *istilḥāq* of Ziyād b. Muʿāwiyah took place in 44 (664-5), see text above, II, 69f. Ziyād died in 53 (673). On the ʿAbbāsid attitude toward him, see also text above, III, 477ff.

[300] Qur. 33:5.

[301] This is not one of the traditions to be found in the canonical collections.

to the fornicator the stone."[302] Muʿāwiyah openly opposed the law of God and the practice of His Prophet by making the child not belonging to the bed and the fornicator not being harmed by his fornication. By thus making a claim for something forbidden by God and His Messenger, he exposed the Prophet's wife Umm Ḥabībah[303] and others to shame[304] forbidden by God, establishing a relationship ruled out by God and thus opening up a source of defect and alteration for the religion of Islam without equal, which was outlawed by God.[305]

Furthermore, there is Muʿāwiyah's disdainful attitude toward the religion of God, manifested by his calling God's servants to (acknowledge the succession of) his son Yazīd, that arrogant drunken sot, that owner of cocks, cheetahs, and monkeys.[306] With furious threats and frightful intimidation, he forced the best of Muslims to give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd, although he was aware of Yazīd's stupidity and was acquainted with his ugliness and viciousness. He had occasion to observe with his own eyes his drunkenness, immorality, and unbelief. In disobedience to God and His Messenger, Muʿāwiyah had paved the way for Yazīd to take over, and when Yazīd was firmly in control, he sought revenge and retaliation for the polytheists against the Mus-

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[302] One of the most quoted and discussed traditions, the second part of which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. See *Concordance*, I, 425b.

[303] Umm Ḥabībah supposedly died in the year of the *istilḥāq* or before that event. She was a daughter of Abū Sufyān. We are told that she resented the introduction of a stranger, possibly a bastard, into the family and, above all, the intimation that her father was an adulterer, so much so that she refused to receive Ziyād. A natural brother of Ziyād is also said to have been bitter in his resentment. See Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, 526. This picture of the event is approximately the one reflected in al-Muʿtaḍid's document. The true historical situation may have been quite different.

[304] "Shame" (lit. "unveiling of faces") does not apear in RC.

[305] On the ʿAbbāsid attitude, see also text above, III, 477ff.

[306] The cocks were for cock fights, the cheetahs for hunting (see *EI*², s. v. fahd), and the monkeys for amusement (see *EI*², s.v. ḳird). No characterization of this sort is found in B, and R has merely "that accursed, filthy person" *(al-laʿīn al-rijs)*. It is difficult to decide what the original reading of the document may have been. It could have been Ṭabarī, or perhaps someone else involved in the transmission of his work, who did some editorial work here, considering one of the readings more suitable as a defamation of Yazīd than the other.

lims. He forced the men of the Ḥarrah[307] to fight a battle more loathsome than any in the history of Islam // and more evil than any with respect to crimes committed against good men,[308]* crimes consisting of bloodshed and the violation of women and property. He then permitted al-Madīnah to be plundered for three days.* He thereby quenched his raging anger. He thought that he had taken revenge on the friends of God and achieved his intention[309] with respect to the enemies of God. He publicly announced and manifested his unbelief and polytheism in the following verses:[310] [2174]

(1) Would that my elders (who fought and died) at Badr
had witnessed
(At Uḥud) the lack of steadfastness of the Khazraj when
the spears fell.
(2) We have now killed their leading[311] lords
And successfully adjusted the inequality of Badr.[312]
(3) They would have broken into shouts of joy,
And then they would have said, "O Yazīd,
don't ask!"[313]

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307 See *EI*², s. v. Ḥarra; M. J. Kister, "Ḥarra."

308 The text suggests rather "on the part of good men" (?).

309 R: *al-tha'r*, another word for "revenge."

310 According to the reports on Yazīd's scandalous behavior, he quoted on this occasion verses by ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zibaʿrā celebrating the Muslim defeat at Uḥud. For Ibn al-Zibaʿrā, see *EI*², s. v. Ibn al-Zibaʿrā; Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 275f. The first two verses were taken from his poem. See the study of him by Minganti, 354, 340 (n. 2), no. XIII. Among the various authors who cite the poem in this connection are al-Jāḥiẓ, *Nābitah*, in *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ*, ed. Hārūn, II, 14f. (verses 1, 3, 2); Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, ʿ*Iqd*, IV, 390 (1, 3), V, 86 (1), VI, 153 (1); text above, III, 436 (1, 2); al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 331, trans., 328; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 236 (1).

The sequence of the verses in R is 1, 3, 2; B has only verses 1 and 3. Verses 4 and 5 are missing in RB and were added in C in the margin. Thus, they are unlikely to have been part of Ṭabarī's original text and were probably added by someone familiar with and fond of the poem.

311 The readings differ considerably. Ibn al-Zibaʿrā: *al-ḍiʿf* "twice as many"; al-Jāḥiẓ: *al-ghurr*; al-Bīrūnī: *al-qarn*; *Dīwān Ḥassān b. Thābit*, ed. ʿArafat, I, 68: *al-qarm*; text above, III, 436: *al-ḍiʿf*. The text of the Leiden edition (*al-qarm*) seems to be Ṭabarī's original reading in this passage. *Al-qawm* "people" in the Cairo text may be a misprint. R has *al-niṣf* "half," apparently a corruption of *al-ḍiʿf*, a correction by someone of Ṭabarī's text on the basis of the original poem.

312 See Qālī, *Amālī*, I, 140f.

313 That is, everything is all right and needs no further probing.

(4) I shall not be a descendant of Khindif, if I
do not take revenge
On the Banū Aḥmad for what he did.[314]
(5) The Hāshim coveted[315] royalty, although no
News had come and no revelation sent down.[316]

⌜This is straying from the religion of Islam.⌝[317] It is the statement of one who does not care for God, His religion, His Book, and His Messenger. It is the statement of one who does not believe in God and the revelation that has come from God.

Then there is the greatest and grossest turpitude committed by Yazīd: the shedding of the blood of al-Ḥusayn, the son of ʿAlī and the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah. He slew al-Ḥusayn in spite of the Prophet's great esteem for him and his
[2175] position as a man of religion and excellence / / and in spite of the testimony of the Prophet that he and his brother (al-Ḥasan) were the lords of the young men in Paradise.[318] Yazīd was motivated by defiance of God, non-belief in His religion, hostility toward His Messenger, aggression against the family of (the Prophet), and contempt for his dignity. It was as if his killing of al-Ḥusayn and the people of his house was no more than killing Turkish and Daylam unbelievers, so that he did not have to fear revenge from God or watch out for God striking back. But God cut short his life, eliminated him root and branch, deprived him of what he pos-

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[314] The woman named Khindif figured as a remote tribal ancestor in the genealogy of the Quraysh and the Umayyads. See Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, tables 1, 3, 4, and 8, also II, 347a. See also text above, II, 1929; Maqrīzī, *Nizāʿ*, trans. Bosworth, 55, 126. Aḥmad refers to the Prophet, and the Banū Aḥmad are the family of the Prophet, as is the Hāshim tribe of the following verse. This reference to the Hāshimites/ʿAbbāsids was naturally particularly galling for the ʿAbbāsid caliphs.

[315] Text: *la-ʿanat*, understanding *ʿanat* in the sense of *ʿuniyat*, "were concerned with"; Nöldeke and van Vloten thought of *laʿibat* "played with." See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCCLXXXI, DCCXCVIII. *Waliʿat*, in the Cairo text, meaning "coveted," may be just a simplification, if not a freehand correction, but it represents a kind of neutral rendering of the intended meaning and was therefore adopted here; yet, *laʿibat* is perhaps the correct reading.

[316] That is, the descendants of the Prophets were not indicated as the rulers of Islam by either tradition or the divine revelation of the Qur'ān.

[317] This sentence is missing in R and was added by a later hand in C.

[318] See *Concordance*, III, 57b36f.

sessed, and prepared him for the torture and punishment he deserved from God for his sin.

So it went, until the Marwānids changed the Book of God, invalidated His laws, and appropriated God's property and distributed it among themselves.They destroyed His house, declared permissible what God had forbidden[319], and set up mangonels to hurl fire upon it, burning and destroying it without letup. They violated His house, permitting all that God had declared forbidden, killing and harming those who took refuge in it, and frightening away those to whom God had given protection in it. Finally, when the word of punishment came true for them[320]—they truly deserved God's revenge, as they had filled the earth with injustice and hostility and had wronged and oppressed one and all of His servants—God allowed the family of His Prophet and his heirs whom He had destined for His vicegerency to mete out to them what He had allowed their ancestors and forebears, who believed and fought for the faith, to mete out to the early nonbelievers among them. Through them, God shed the blood of those apostates, just as through their forefathers He had shed the blood of the earlier unbelievers and polytheists. God eliminated the root of the wrongdoers. Praised be God, the Lord of the worlds! God gave power to those who had become weak and oppressed and returned // [2176]
to the deserving people their rights, as Almighty God says: "And we want to show favor to those who became weak and oppressed on earth and make them leaders and make them heirs."[321]

Know, O people, that Almighty God has given commands for no other purpose than to be obeyed. He has set up examples to be imitated, pronounced judgements to be accepted, and made it obligatory to hold on to the tradition (*sunnah*) of the Prophet so that it may be followed. Indeed,

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[319] *Istiḥlāl ḥarāmihī* appears here to refer specifically to the desecration of the House. R: *ḥaramihī* "its sacred precinct" may be an incorrect simplification.
For the dramatic events of 64 (683), see text above, *sub anno* 64.

[320] See Qur. 39:19.

[321] Qur. 28:5.

many of those ignorant and wretched[322] people who go astray and then fold up and move on, belong to those whose "rabbis and monks have taken for themselves lords other than God,"[323] although Almighty God has said: "Fight the leaders of unbelief!"[324]

Good people! Get away from what makes God angry at you and turn to what makes Him pleased with you! Be satisfied with what God has chosen for you and adhere to what He has commanded you to do and refrain from what He has forbidden to you! Follow the straight path, the manifest road,[325] and the people of the house of mercy, through whom God guided you in the beginning and saved you from injustice and hostility in the end and through whose dynastic succession He has given you ease, safety, and might and in whose days He has provided for you success in your religious attitudes and in your livelihood! Curse whom God and His Messenger have cursed! Keep away from whom you must keep away, if you want to attain nearness to God!

O God! Curse Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, his son, Muʿāwiyah, Muʿāwiyah's son Yazīd, and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and his children!

O God! Curse the leaders of unbelief, the leaders of error, the enemies of the religion of Islam, those who fight against the Prophet, those who change the Laws, those who alter the Book, and those who shed forbidden blood!

O God! We say to You that we have nothing to do with
[2177] befriending Your enemies // and winking at those who disobey You, as You say: "You will not find people who believe in God and the Last Day showing friendship to those who act against God and His Messenger."[326]

O people! Recognize the truth, and you will recognize those who are truthful. Consider the roads of error, and you will recognize those who travel them. For only their deeds

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322 Read, as in R: *wa-al-shaqā'*. The text of the Leiden edition *wa-al-safā'/h* (?) (see also the Cairo text) seems to assume a dubious connection with the root *sfh* "stupid."
323 Qur. 9:31.
324 Qur. 9:12.
325 CB: "roads."
326 Qur. 58:22.

distinguish men, and only their forefathers[327] connect them to either error or righteousness. Thus let nobody's censure affect your attitude toward God! Let yourselves not be turned away from the religion of God by anybody's blandishments or anybody's trickery, or by loyalty[328] to those whose loyalty will lead you to disloyalty toward God!

O people! It is through us that God has guided you aright. We are the ones appointed to preserve God's concerns among you. We are the heirs of the Messenger of God and the ones who are in charge of the religion of God. Thus stay where we put you, and execute what we command you to do! For as long as you obey the vicegerents of God and leaders toward right guidance along the path of faith and the fear of God, you will be all right.[329] The Commander of the Faithful is the one who seeks God's protection for you, and he asks Him to give you success. He prays to God to lead you toward right guidance and to preserve your religion for you[330], until you meet Him with it, deserving His loyalty and enlisting His mercy.[331]

God suffices for the Commander of the Faithful as your (ruler). In Him he places his trust. He asks God for help in your affairs with which He has entrusted him. ⌜The Commander of the Faithful⌝ has no power and strength except through God.

And peace be upon you!
Written by
Abū al-Qāsim ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān
in the year 284/897.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān reportedly called in the qādī Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb and ordered him to try everything possible to get al-Muʿtaḍid to give up his plan. Yūsuf went to al-Muʿtaḍid and talked to him // about it, saying, "O Commander of the Faithful! I fear that the [2178]

327 R: *āthāruhum* "their accomplishments."
328 R: *wa-jānibū ṭāʿata* "and avoid loyalty."
329 R (also C ?) adds *wa* before the following *amīr*, justifying the translation given.
330 Read, with RC: *dīnikum ʿalaykum*.
331 R: "deserving His mercy through loyalty to Him."

populace will be disturbed and that, when they hear this document, a commotion will take place." Al-Muʿtaḍid replied that if there was a commotion among the populace or if they expressed (opposition by gossip and rumors), he would use force against them. Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb then asked him in effect what he would do with the Ṭālibids who were ready everywhere to rebel and who were favored by many because of their relationship to the Messenger and their inherited authority.[332] For them this document meant praise. It would make people, when they heard it, still more favorably disposed toward them and make them talk about them and become more and more convinced (of the righteousness of their cause) than they are already. Al-Muʿtaḍid remained silent and made no reply. Afterwards, he gave no more orders with respect to the document.[333]

On Friday, Rajab 16, 284 (Friday, August 19, 897), Jaʿfar b. Baghlaghaz[334] went to ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār, who was in Naysābūr, with robes of honor, a standard signifying ʿAmr's rank as governor of al-Rayy, and presents from al-Muʿtaḍid.

In this year, Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf joined Muḥammad b. Zayd al-ʿAlawī in Ṭabaristān. Badr and ʿUbaydallāh stayed *in al-Jabal* waiting to see how Bakr's situation would develop[335] and trying to improve conditions in the province.

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332 See Nöldeke, *Belegwörterbuch*, 7b.

333 The meaning of the intended action by al-Muʿtaḍid has been much discussed, see Glagow, 165-201. It must have been clear to the Caliph that, in effect, anti-Umayyad feeling went hand in hand with pro-ʿAlid sentiments and that the ʿAlid movement was more powerful and dangerous than any pro-Umayyad activities. Those activities, however, may have offended ʿAbbāsid pride so greatly that al-Muʿtaḍid threw caution to the wind and felt that he had to restate the ʿAbbāsid cause without regard to the possible political repercussions. See also above, n. 245.

On attitudes toward the Umayyads in the ruling circles of the times, a different point of view is provided by Bellamy, "Pro-Umayyad propaganda." For a brief analysis of the event, see Sourdel, "Appels," 124f.

334 See text above, III, 1987.

335 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 4, anticipates here the news of Bakr's death in the following year.

In this year, Qurrah,[336] which is in Byzantine territory, was reportedly conquered by Rāghib, the *mawlā* of al-Muwaffaq, and Ibn Kallūb.[337] This was on Friday, Rajab...[338]

During the night of Tuesday, Shaʿbān 12, 284 (Wednesday, September 14, 897)—or, as reported (from another source), during Wednesday night — a specter like a human being with a sword in his hand appeared in al-Muʿtaḍid's Thurayyā palace. One of the eunuchs went after the specter to see what[339] it was. The specter struck him // with a blow of the sword, cutting his belt and [2179] making contact with the eunuch's body. The eunuch turned away from the specter and fled as it entered a sown plot in the garden and hid there. The specter was sought all night and the next morning, but no trace of it was found.

Al-Muʿtaḍid was worried about it. People hazarded many a guess about what it was, even saying that it was one of the jinn. The specter continued to appear later on many occasions. Al-Muʿtaḍid went so far as to put persons in charge of the wall of the palace. He had it ⌜and its top⌝ put in good shape and placed a protective railing[340] on it, so that scaling hooks[341] thrown upon it would not fall upon it (and catch hold). Burglars were brought from prison, and the matter was discussed with them. They were asked whether anyone would be able to enter through a hole or by scaling the wall.[342]

On Saturday, Shaʿbān 22, 284 (Saturday, September 24, 897), Karāmah b. Murr[343] sent people in fetters from al-Kūfah, report-

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336 Greek Koron. See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 45. For the passage, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 13.

337 I have not succeeded in obtaining further information about him.

338 The date is left incomplete. R: "on a Friday in Rajab."

339 Text: *mā*; RB: *man* "who."

340 See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CXXX. The reading *barābikh* is confirmed by R. "Pipes" or "tubing" may be a more exact rendering. It was intended to make it impossible for a hook at the end of a rope to be thrown upon the wall and by securing the rope enable a person to scale the wall.

341 R has the plural *kalālīb*.

342 Masʿūdī's report, in *Murūj*, VIII, 181f., ed. Pellat, V, 161f., is much less precise but dwells on the various disguises of the specter.

343 No further information about this individual seems available. The reading Murr does not appear to be well established here.

edly Qarmaṭians. They confessed that Abū Hāshim b. Ṣadaqah al-Kātib[344] was in correspondence with them and that he was one of their leaders. Abū Hāshim was arrested, put in fetters, and incarcerated in the dungeons.[345]

On Saturday, Ramaḍān 7, 284 (Saturday, October 8, 897), lunatics and exorcists were assembled and brought to al-Muʿtaḍid's Thurayyā palace, because of the specter that was appearing to him. When they were brought in, al-Muʿtaḍid went up to a chamber on the upper floor and observed them. While he was looking at them, an insane woman had an epileptic fit, became disturbed, and uncovered herself. Al-Muʿtaḍid turned away from them in disgust. Reportedly, he had five dirhams given to each of them, following which they were sent back. Before he observed
[2180] them, he had sent / / someone to ask the exorcists whether it was possible for them to find out about the specter that had appeared to him. One of them mentioned that they might cast a spell upon one of the lunatics and, when he fell down, ask the jinnī what the specter was. However, when al-Muʿtaḍid saw the woman have the epileptic fit, he ordered them sent home.[346]

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[344] As a suspected inside agent of the Qarmaṭians, this obscure government official (*kātib*) was naturally deemed very dangerous.

[345] No doubt, the dungeons that had been constructed by al-Muʿtaḍid and were demolished by al-Muktafī when he came to power (see text below, 2208).

[346] Al-Muʿtaḍid, usually described as cruel and brave, appears here as sensitive and fearful of the unknown. This fear may have been based upon very realistic security considerations as well as the danger resulting from rumors circulating widely among the population. Interest in the mystery lasted well into the reign of al-Muqtadir, when the alleged solution came to light. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 172; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, XI, 77; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III 114. In the words of Ibn Taghrībirdī: "It was a eunuch who was attracted to one of the slave girls in the residences. Now it was al-Muʿtaḍid's custom to forbid eunuchs when they reached puberty to enter the harem. Outside the residences of the harem, there was a large garden. The eunuch used a white beard. Sometimes he appeared in the form of a monk, and sometimes in a soldier's dress with a sword in his hand. He used a number of beards of different shapes and colors. When he appeared, the slave girl came out with the other slave girls in order to see him, and he would be alone with her among the trees. Whenever a search was made for him, he entered among the trees, took off beard, hood, and so on, hid them, but left the sword unsheathed in his hand to give the impression that he was one of those searching for the specter. Eventually, after al-Muqtadir became caliph and the eunuch was sent out to Ṭarsūs (Ibn al-Jawzī: Ṭūs?), the slave girl revealed his story."

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 284 (November 30-December 29, 897), news arrived at Baghdad from Iṣbahān that al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf, who was known as Abū Laylā,[347] had attacked and killed the eunuch Shafīʿ,[348] who had charge of him. Al-Ḥārith's brother, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf, had seized Abū Laylā. He then put him in fetters and took him to a fortress belonging to the family of Abū Dulaf in al-Zazz[349] and detained him there. All property, valuable furnishings, and jewels belonging to the family of Abū Dulaf were in the fortress. Their *mawlā* Shafīʿ was in charge of guarding it, as well as the fortress itself, together with a number of ʿUmar's pages and intimates. When ʿUmar sought a guarantee of safe-conduct from the central government and Bakr rebelled against them and fled,[350] the fortress with all it contained remained in the hands of Shafīʿ. Abū Laylā talked to Shafīʿ about releasing him, but he refused, saying that he would do nothing with him or anything he controlled except that which ʿUmar would order him to do.

A slave girl[351] of Abū Laylā reportedly told the following story: A little page was in prison with Abū Laylā to serve him, and another page was there who would go to and from prison to serve Abū Laylā's needs, but he did not spend the night with him as the little page did. Abū Laylā asked the page who went out to serve his needs, to find a way to smuggle a file in. This the page did, by bringing it in with some of Abū Laylā's food. The eunuch Shafīʿ, when he was ready to go to sleep, used to come every night to see Abū Laylā in his apartment. Then Shafīʿ would lock / / the [2181] door ⌜of the apartment⌝ with his own hand and go to sleep, with an unsheathed sword under his bed. Now Abū Laylā asked for a slave girl to be brought to him, and a young slave girl was brought in. It is from this slave girl that Dalfāʾ, the slave girl of Abū Laylā, got this report: Abū Laylā filed through the pin of the fetter, until he was able to get it off his feet whenever he wanted.

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[347] See text above, III, 2122.

[348] Probably not identical with one of the eunuchs of the same name mentioned in the sources, as, for instance, in the text above, III, 1459, 1684.

[349] This reading, suggested in Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCVIII, appears clearly in Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 4. R: "al-Rayy," is clearly a mistake. For al-Zazz, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 929f.

[350] See text above, III, 2154f.

[351] Probably Dalfāʾ who is mentioned later on.

She continued: One evening, ⌜the eunuch⌝ Shafīʿ came to Abū Laylā and sat down to talk to him. Abū Laylā asked him to have a few cups with him, and he did so.The eunuch then got up to relieve himself.[352] She continued: Abū Laylā ordered me to make up his bed. He put clothing in the place where a man would ordinarily lie in the bed, and covered it with sheets. He ordered me to sit at the foot of the bed and said, "When Shafīʿ comes to look after me and lock the door and asks you about me, say, 'He is asleep.' " Abū Laylā left the room and hid amid bedding and furnishings in a recessed alcove at the door of the apartment. Shafīʿ came, looked at the bed, and asked the slave girl about Abū Laylā. She told him that he was already asleep, and he locked the door. When the eunuch and those with him were asleep in the house at the fortress, Abū Laylā went out, took the sword from underneath Shafīʿ's bed, and attacked and killed him.

The pages who were asleep around him jumped up frightened. Abū Laylā extricated himself from them, with the sword in his hand, and said to them, "I am Abū Laylā. I have just killed Shafīʿ. You are safe, but I shall kill anyone of you who advances toward me." They opened the gate of the fortress and went out. He went
[2182] to seat himself / / at the gate of the fortress. Some people in the fortress gathered. He talked to them, and promised to treat them well and placed them under oath. In the morning, he went down from the fortress, sent for the Kurds and the native Kurdish inhabitants.[353] Bringing them together, he gave them gifts. He then went out against the central authorities. His killing of the eunuch reportedly took place on the night of Saturday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 18, 284 (Saturday, December 17, 897).

According to another version, he slaughtered the eunuch with a knife his page had brought in to him, and he then took the sword from underneath the eunuch's bed and confronted the pages with it.

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[352] Lit., "to take care of his needs."

[353] For *zumūm*, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, trans. Rosenthal, I, 135, n. 130. The distinction between "Kurds" and *ahl al-zumūm* may refer, in a way, to soldiers and civilians, but this is not certain. V. Minorsky suggested reading *rumūm* for *zumūm*; see *EI*², s. v. Kurds, Kurdistān (IV, 450b).

In this year, that is, 284 (897), the astrologers threatened the people by predicting that most climes of the earth would be flooded and that only a small section of the clime of Babylonia would be safe. This would result from a heavy rainfall and rising water in rivers, springs, and wells. It was, however, a rainless year. People saw little rain, and the water in rivers, springs, and wells dwindled to such a degree that people had to pray for rain. They prayed for rain in Baghdad several [354] times. *God proved false the story, the trickery, and the deception of the astrologers as well as the trickery of those who believed them.*[355]

On a Thursday, on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 29, 284 (Thursday, January 26, 898), a battle reportedly took place between ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī and Abū Laylā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf two *farsakh*s (twelve km) from Iṣbahān. An arrow reportedly hit Abū Laylā, piercing his throat. [356] He fell from his horse, and his men fled. His head was taken and brought to Iṣbahān.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Dāwūd al-Hāshimī, who was known as Utrujjah.[357] / / [2183]

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[354] R: "many."

[355] The first few words of the addition of R appear also in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 172, 11. 21f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 115, 1. 1. The occurrence was interesting enough to Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī to quote (*Annales*, 191).

[356] According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 183, ed. Pellat, V, 162, he was killed accidentally by his own sword.

[357] See text above, n. 31; for his nickname, see above, n. 71. His grandfather, Dāwūd b. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, played an important role in early ninth-century politics. His father ʿAbdallāh is mentioned in the text above, III, 1684, *sub anno* 252 (866). See also Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XVII, 473.

The *Important* Events of the Year 285

(JANUARY 28, 898 - JANUARY 16, 899)

One of the events was a holdup of the pilgrims in al-Ajfur.[358] They were attacked by Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik al-Ṭā'ī[359] and a group of the Ṭayyi' on Wednesday, al-Muḥarram 18, 285 (Thursday, February 16, 898). The military leader of the caravan, al-Jinnī the Elder,[360] fought Ṣāliḥ, but the Arab tribesmen defeated the caravan, seizing all the property and merchandise in it as well as a number of free women and slaves.[361] The loot they got from the people was reportedly worth two million dīnārs.

On al-Muḥarram 23, 285 (February 21, 898),*a document* announcing the installation of ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār as governor of Transoxania and the removal of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad[362] from this position was read to a group of Khurāsānian pilgrims in the palace of al-Muʿtaḍid.

On Ṣafar 5, 285 (March 3, 898), Waṣīf Kāmah[363] and a number of officers came to Madīnat al-Salām from al-Jabal. They came from Badr, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, and ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān, carrying with them the head of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz

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358 One of the locations on the Mecca Road, between Fayd and al-Khuzaymiyyah. It was situated 216 km from Fayd, coming from al-Kūfah after al-Thaʿlabiyyah, and 64 km before Fayd, according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 925 (al-Thaʿlabiyyah): II, 440 (al-Khuzaymiyyah); III, 96 (Fayd).

359 For his capture and death, see text below, 2191f. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 191ff,. ed, Pellat, V, 165f., adds the detail that he committed suicide with a knife. Ibn al-Muʿtazz (verses 299-318) deals with this episode and gives a remarkably vivid description of the troubles that were caused for the pilgrims by marauding bedouins.

360 See text below, 2241. He is identical with Jinnī al-Ṣafwānī (see below, n. 789). The form of his name cannot be considered certain.

361 R: *wa-al-mamālīk*.

362 That is, the Sāmānid (see above, n. 9).

363 Waṣīf Kāmah al-Daylamī is occasionally mentioned in the sources, as, for instance, Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, VIII, 121, but little is known about him.

b. Abī Dulaf who was known as Abū Laylā. They brought it to al-Muʿtaḍid's Thurayyā palace. Abū Laylā's brother (ʿUmar) asked al-Muʿtaḍid to give it to him, and he did so. He also asked him for permission to bury it, and he granted that permission . On the same day, robes of honor were bestowed upon ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and a number of officers who had arrived in Baghdad.

In this year, the postmaster wrote from al-Kūfah, noting that on the night of Sunday, Rabīʿ I 20, 285 (Sunday, April 16, 898), a yellowish[364] wind // had risen in the region of al-Kūfah. It [2184] continued to blow until the time of the evening prayer. Then it turned black. All the while, the people humbly beseeched God. Immediately thereafter, it rained heavily with frightening thunderbolts and continuous flashes of lightning. Then, after a while, black and white stones with various shades of coloring,[365] and with a compression in the middle similar to stone-pestles used by perfumers,[366] fell in a village called Aḥmadābādh[367] and the region around it. The postmaster sent along one of the stones. It was sent to the government offices for the people to look at.

On Rabīʿ I 21, 285 (April 17, 898), Ibn al-Ikhshād[368] set out from Baghdad as amīr of Ṭarsūs, together with the persons who had come to Baghdad from Ṭarsūs with the request that a governor be appointed for them.[369]

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[364] For the color *aṣfar*, commonly translated as yellow but tending toward light brown, see Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen*, 358ff. The atmospheric events here and a few days later in al-Baṣrah seem related and appear to have been no ordinary dust storms. They may have been triggered by a great volcanic eruption in a remote place.

[365] "Colors" could also refer to kinds and shapes. The word is simplified to *al-awzān* "weights" in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Annales*, 146. This reading also appears in the manuscript tradition of Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VII, 339.

[366] An actual specimen of the perfumers' pestle is needed to understand the word translated as "compression." In Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VII, 339, it is replaced by an equally opaque *ṭabaq*. Most later authors chose to omit it, for instance, Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 2; Ḥamawī, *al-Ta'rīkh al-Manṣūrī*, fol. 55b.

[367] See text above, III, 1518. The places called Aḥmadābādh mentioned by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 156, are not identical with the one referred to here.

[368] His death is mentioned in the text below, 2193. Ikhshād (also text above, II, 1242, etc.) is a variant of Ikhshīd; both forms reflect Ikhshēd. See Meier, "Aussprachefragen," 101f., and, in particular, 105.

[369] As mentioned among the events of the preceding year. See text above, III, 2163. For this and the following paragraph, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 13.

On the same day, Fātik,[370] the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, left Baghdad to inspect the situation concerning the officials in Mosul, Diyār Rabīʿah, and the border regions of Syria and al-Jazīrah, and to make improvements with respect to it. This task was in addition to the duties he was responsible for after being put in charge of postal matters[371] in these districts.

In this year, the news reportedly arrived in Baghdad from al-Baṣrah that after the Friday prayer on Rabīʿ I, 25, 285 (Friday, April 21, 898), a yellowish wind arose there. It then turned color, first greenish[372] and then black. Following this, there was continuous rain, the like of which had never been seen before. Then large hail stones fell—a single one weighed (as much as) one hundred and fifty dirhams.[373] The wind uprooted more than five hundred palm trees from Nahr al-Ḥusayn,[374] and a hundred from
[2185] Nahr Maʿqil.[375] / /

In this year, al-Khalīl b. Raymāl[376] died in Ḥulwān.

On Jumādā II 5,[377] 285 (June 29, 898), word reached the central authorities that Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf had died of some disease in Ṭabaristān and had been buried there. The person who brought the news was reportedly given one thousand dīnārs.

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid appointed Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj to take over the administration in Ādharbayjān and Armenia. He

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370 Fātik was killed together with the wazīr al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan in connection with the affair of Ibn al-Muʿtazz. See Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 5, and the other sources.

371 The head of the postal (intelligence) service was particularly well qualified to investigate official misconduct, which was apparently suspected here.

372 See Fischer, *Farb- und Formbezeichnungen*, 237. What is described here, is a gradual change in color from light to dark.

373 That is, assuming a weight of 2.97 gram for the dirham, about 445.5 gram or one (American) pound, but, of course, no exact figure was intended, and the weight standard assumed here cannot be ascertained.

374 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 3, l. 2, reads Nahr al-Ḥasan.

375 Nahr Maʿqil is often mentioned in the text. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 468.

376 See text above, III, 2018, for his appointment as governor of Ḥulwān in the year 268 (881-2). The vocalization of Raymāl seems somewhat uncertain.

377 R: "Jumādā II 24," which is incorrect.

had seized power (in these regions) earlier and then defied (the central authorities). Robes of honor and gift horses[378] were sent to him.

On Shaʿbān 3, 285 (August 25, 898), word reached Baghdad that the eunuch Rāghib, the *mawlā* of al-Muwaffaq, had undertaken a sea raid (against the Byzantines). God gave him victory over many ships and all the Byzantines aboard. He decapitated three thousand of the Byzantines who had been in the ships, ⌜and burned the ships⌝. He conquered many Byzantine fortresses. The raiders returned safely.[379]

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 285 (December 19, 898-January 16, 899), word arrived in Baghdad that Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh had died and that after a power struggle his son, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā,[380] had taken charge of Āmid and its environs, areas which had been controlled by his father.

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 19, 285 (January 6, 899), al-Muʿtaḍid left Baghdad for Āmid. He was accompanied by his son Abū Muḥammad and the officers and pages. He left the chamberlain, Ṣāliḥ al-Amīn, behind to take his place in Baghdad. He put him in charge of the *maẓālim* courts, the two bridges, and other matters.

In this year, Hārūn b. Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn and the Egyptian officers with him sent Waṣīf Qāṭarmīz[381] to al-Muʿtaḍid to ask that he peacefully cede to them the areas of Egypt and Syria in their possession, and that the Caliph bestow upon Hārūn the executive powers that had been his father's. Waṣīf came to Baghdad, and al-Muʿtaḍid sent him back accompanied

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378 Or, "gifts carried by animals."

379 See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 13.

380 See text below, 2190f. According to *EI*², s. v. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh (IV, 90b), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad disappears from view in 297/300.

381 In the final months of the Ṭūlūnids, at the end of 291 (October-November, 904), Waṣīf Qāṭarmīz attempted to flee from Damyānah at Tinnīs but was eventually captured. See Kindī, *Wulāh*, 245f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 146, l. 15. Slightly different spellings of the name are used there, in addition to the final *n* that appears in RC.

[2186] by ʿAbdallāh // b. al-Fatḥ[382] who was to transmit messages to them orally and impose certain conditions upon them.[383] Waṣīf and Ibn al-Fatḥ left Baghdad on their mission at the end of *Dhū al-Ḥijjah of* this year (mid-January, 899).

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 285 (December 19, 898-January 16, 899), Ibn al-Ikhshād led the people of Ṭarsūs and others on a campaign (against the Byzantines). He got as far as Salandū[384] and conquered it. He returned to Ṭarsūs in the year 286 (899).

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Dāwūd al-Hāshimī.

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[382] In addition to the information in Ṭabarī, the house of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Fatḥ is mentioned by Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 78, *sub anno* 321 (933). He appears to be identical with the person mentioned by Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 44, who brought gifts from Khumārawayh to al-Muʿtaḍid.

[383] As specified in the text below, 2187.

[384] See text above, III, 2130, and below, 2269. Canard, *Sources arabes*, 10, 13, has no comment, but Vasiliev, 122, maintains the old and questionable identification with a locality now called Selindi/Selinti. R: "Samandū." Salandū may, in fact, be a dissimilated form of Samandū which has been identified with Tsamandos on the upper reaches of the Zamanti-su, a tributary of the Sayḥān, see F. Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien*, 90 f. (Vienna, 1977). See also text above, III, 2130.

The Important Events of the Year 286

(JANUARY 17, 899 - JANUARY 6, 900)

One of the events was that Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj dispatched his son who was known as Abū al-Musāfir[385] to Baghdad as a hostage. This was to assure the loyalty and sincerity which he pledged to the central authorities. Abū al-Musāfir reportedly arrived in Baghdad on Tuesday, al-Muḥarram 7, 286 (Tuesday, January 26, 899), with gifts of horses, furnishings, and so on. At the time, al-Muʿtaḍid was absent from Baghdad.

In Rabīʿ II, 286 (April 16-May 14, 899),[386] al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh had reached Āmid and encamped with his soldiers to lay siege to the city. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh had locked the gates of the city of Āmid against him and against his partisans in it. Al-Muʿtaḍid had distributed his armies around the city and laid siege to the inhabitants. This took place late in the second half of Rabīʿ I, 286 (first half of April, 899). Following that, battles broke out between them. Mangonels were set up against the inhabitants of Āmid who in turn set up mangonels on their wall, and they bombarded each other.

On Saturday, Jumādā I 19, 286 (Saturday, June 2, 899). Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. / / ʿĪsā sent word to al-Muʿtaḍid seeking guarantees of safe-conduct for himself, his family, and the inhabitants of Āmid. Al-Muʿtaḍid granted that to him. On the same day, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā with his men and allies left and went to al-Muʿtaḍid. The Caliph bestowed robes of honor upon him and his ranking men. They then departed for a tent which [2187]

[385] Abū al-Musāfir Fatḥ was killed in al-Marāghah in 317 (929). See ʿArīb, 145; *EI*², s. v. Sādjids.

[386] If Rabīʿ II is correct, the first half of this paragraph was presumably taken from some dispatch speaking of earlier events.

had been prepared for them, while al-Muʿtaḍid moved from his camp to the mansions and houses of Ibn ʿĪsā b. Shaykh. Al-Muʿtaḍid reported that in a dispatch to Madīnat al-Salām, dated Sunday, Jumādā I 20, 286 (Sunday, June 3, 899). On Jumādā I 25, 286 (June 8, 899), al-Muʿtaḍid's dispatch reporting his conquest reached Madīnat al-Salām, whereupon it was read from the pulpit in the Friday Mosque.

In this year, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Fatḥ returned from Egypt to al-Muʿtaḍid, who was staying in Āmid, with replies to al-Muʿtaḍid's letters to Hārūn b. Khumārawayh. He informed the Caliph that Hārūn promised to hand over administrative control of Qinnasrīn and the fortified cities[387] and to send four hundred and fifty thousand dīnārs annually to the treasury in Madīnat al-Salām. He was asking that his rule over Egypt and Syria be reconfirmed and that al-Muʿtaḍid send him one of his eunuchs for the purpose. Al-Muʿtaḍid granted his request and dispatched Badr al-Qudāmī[388] and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Fatḥ with the (letter of) appointment and robes of honor. They left Āmid for Egypt on this assignment. Al-Muʿtaḍid's officials took over the administrative control of Qinnasrīn and the fortified cities from Hārūn's men in Jumādā II, 296 (May 15-June 13, 899). Al-Muʿtaḍid stayed on in Āmid for the remainder of Jumādā I and through twenty-three days of Jumādā II. On Saturday, Jumādā II 22, 286 (Thursday, July 5, 899),[389] he traveled from Āmid to al-Raqqah. In his place at Āmid, he left his son ʿAlī with troops that he had attached to him in order to secure the region and establish administrative control
[2188] of Qinnasrīn and the fortified cities / / as well as Diyār Rabīʿah and Diyār Muḍar. The secretary of ʿAlī b. al-Muʿtaḍid at that time was al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Naṣrānī. (Al-Muʿtaḍid)[390] put al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr in charge of affairs concerning the region and of the correspondence with the administrative officials there.

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387 On *ʿawāṣim* and *thughūr*, see *EI²*, s. v. ʿawāṣim.

388 The vocalization is based upon the assumption that al-Qudāmī was named after a Qudāmah. I have not found further information about him.

389 If al-Muʿtaḍid stayed in Āmid for twenty-three days, he probably left on Jumādā II 24, which would be Saturday, July 7.

390 The subject of the verb (which is unlikely to be a passive) could be ʿAlī, but presumably it was al-Muʿtaḍid who made the appointment of the person in charge of supervising the transition from Ṭūlūnid to ʿAbbāsid control.

Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered the destruction of the wall of Āmid, and *a portion of* it was destroyed, *while the rest could not be destroyed and was left intact.*

In this year, gifts from ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār reached Baghdad from Naysābūr. The money he sent amounted to four million dirhams. There were twenty horses with ornamented saddles and bridles inlaid (with silver),[391] one hundred and fifty horses with embroidered saddle cloths, garments,[392] perfume, and falcons. This was on Thursday, Jumādā II 21, 286 (Wednesday, July 4, 899).

In this year, a Qarmaṭian known as Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī[393] appeared in al-Baḥrayn. A group of Arab tribesmen and Qarmaṭians had gathered around him, and he emerged as a rebel in the beginning of the year. In Jumādā II, 286 (June 14-July 13, 899), his men grew in number, and he gained strengh. He killed some villagers in the neighborhood, and then went to a place called al-Qaṭīf,[394] located at a distance of several days' journey from al-Baṣrah. There he killed the inhabitants. He reportedly wanted to march on al-Baṣrah. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Wāthiqī,[395] who was in charge of security in al-Baṣrah and the Tigris districts at the time, informed the Caliph in writing about what he had heard concerning the plans of the Qarmaṭians. The Caliph wrote back, ordering him and Muḥammad b. Hishām[396] who was in charge of administering the charitable foundations, the land tax, and the estates[397] there, to construct a (protective) wall around al-Baṣrah. Expenses for it were estimated at fourteen thousand dīnārs. The expenditures were authorized, and the wall was built.

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391 The list in Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 41, omits this item and the preceding one but has the rest as in Ṭabarī.

392 *Kuswah* or *kiswah* is often used as a collective and also has the approximate meaning of complete wardrobe.

393 One of the important and much discussed leaders of the Qarmaṭian movement, d. 301 (913). See the brief note in *EI²*, s. v. al-Djannābī; also text below, 2291.

394 See *EI²*, s. v. Ḳaṭīf.

395 For his activities as chief of police in Baghdad in 291, see text below, 2245; ʿArīb, 4.

396 No further information about him seems available.

397 That is, the estates belonging to the Caliph.

In Rajab, 286 (July 13-August 11, 899), a group of Arab tribesmen
[2189] of the Banū // Shaybān reached al-Anbār. They raided the villages, killed the people whom the encountered, and drove away the cattle. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr,[398] who was in charge of security there, went out against them, but he was unable to subdue them. He wrote the Caliph concerning them, and the latter sent Nafīs al-Muwalladī,[399] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zaranjī,[400] and al-Muẓaffar b. Ḥājj[401] with about a thousand men to aid him. They reached the location of the Arab tribesmen and attacked them in a place known as al-Manqabah[402] in the administrative district of al-Anbār, but the Arab tribesmen routed them and killed their men. Most of them drowned in the Euphrates, and they were dispersed.The dispatch from Ibn Ḥājj reporting the battle and the rout of the government force by the Arab tribesmen arrived at Baghdad on Monday, Rajab 24, 286 (Sunday, August 5, 899). The Arab tribesmen stayed on to harass the region and to extort protection money from the villages. When al-Muʿtaḍid was informed in writing about their story, he sent al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr al-Ghanawī[403] and Khafīf al-Adhkūtakīnī[404] and a number of (other) officers from al-Raqqah to engage them in combat. At the end of Shaʿbān, 286 (September

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398 R: "Kushmard," which is apparently the correct form, as in the text below, 2238. According to ʿArīb, 119, *sub anno* 312 (924), Ibn Kushmard (spelled Qushmard) was captured by the Qarmaṭians and presumably killed. See also Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarāʾ*, 57. This makes any speculation as to whether he might be a son of the aforementioned Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr (see above, n. 154) superfluous. But see also below, n. 526.

399 See text below, 2274, quoted by ʿArīb, 16; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 375, l. 12. During the struggle with the Qarmaṭians, many military leaders on both sides played important but fleeting roles, and there is understandably little information available for them.

400 See text above, III, 1996, *sub anno* 267 (881). All three Ṭabarī manuscripts have something like al-Zarnījī.

401 Al-Muẓaffar was governor of Ṭarsūs for a while (see text below, 2222) He was posted to the Yemen in 293 (906) (see text below, 2267, 2280; ʿArīb, 13, 19). He supposedly died there in Rajab, 298 (March, 911). See Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 9 (who has Ḥāmid ?); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, *sub anno*. Note that when his brother ʿAjj (ʿUjj) died in 306 (918), a brother of his was appointed to succeed him. See ʿArīb, 76. For ʿAjj, see below, n. 483. The precise form of the name of their father remains somewhat uncertain, as it is pointed in various ways in the manuscripts.

402 The reading appears quite uncertain. I have not succeeded in identifying this locality.

403 Al-Ghanawī d. Rabīʿ II, 305 (September-October 917). See ʿArīb, 68f.

404 I have found no information concerning him other than this text. The Adhkūtakīn with whom he was connected is presumably the one mentioned in the text above, III, 1936.

9, 899), those officers reached Hīt. The Arab tribesmen learned about them and left their location in the countryside of al-Anbār. They moved toward ʿAyn al-Tamr where they set up camp. The officers entered al-Anbār[405] and remained there, while the Arab tribesmen harassed ʿAyn al-Tamr and the region of al-Kūfah as they had the region of al-Anbār. This situation continued through the rest of Shaʿbān[406] and all through Ramaḍān (ending October 9, 899)./ / [2190]

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid sent word to Rāghib, the *mawlā* of Abū Aḥmad (al-Muwaffaq), who was in Ṭarsūs, ordering him to come to him in al-Raqqah. He came while al-Muʿtaḍid was there. When Rāghib arrived, al-Muʿtaḍid left him alone in his camp for a day, then, seizing him the next day, he incarcerated him and seized everything he had with him. Word concerning this reached Madīnat al-Salām on Monday, Shaʿbān 9,[407] 286 (Monday, August 20, 899). Several days later, Rāghib died. Maknūn,[408] the page of Rāghib, was arrested as were Rāghib's men. Rāghib's property in Ṭarsūs was seized on Tuesday, Shaʿbān 23, 286 (Monday, September 3, 899).[409] The person in charge of seizing them[410] was Ibn al-Ikhshād.

On Ramaḍān 20, 286 (September 29, 899), al-Muʿtaḍid sent Mu'nis al-Khāzin[411] against the Arab tribesmen in the region of al-Kūfah and ʿAyn al-Tamr. He attached to him al-Abbās b. ʿAmr, Khafīf al-Adhkūtakīnī, and other officers. Mu'nis and those with him traveled as far as a place called Nīnawā,[412] where he found

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405 R: "traveled to al-Anbār."
406 R: "Rajab and Shaʿbān."
407 R: "seven."
408 See text above, III, 2132.
409 The text has Rajab. This is unlikely because it would mean that the property was confiscated before Rāghib's arrest. Moreover, the indicated day of the week fits only Shaʿbān.
410 R: *akhdhahū* "seizing it," referring to the property.
411 R : "Mu'nis al-Khādim." Such a confusion with the later much more prominent Mu'nis al-Khādim al-Muẓaffar (see below, n. 449) could easily happen. Mu'nis al-Khāzin, also known as Mu'nis al-Faḥl (see below, n. 559), died on Sunday, Ramaḍān 22, 301 (April 21, 914, which, however, was a Thursday). See ʿArīb, 45 (where the manuscript reads al-Khādim).
412 Not the biblical Niniveh but a district in the region of al-Kūfah, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 870.

that the Arab tribesmen had left their location. Some of them had entered the desert of the Mecca Road, and others the Syrian desert. He remained where he was for several days and then went to Madīnat al-Salām.

In Shawwāl, 286 (October 10-November 7, 899), al-Muʿtaḍid and ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān put Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ[413] in charge of the Dīwān of the East,[414] from which Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt[415] was dismissed. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ[416] was put in charge of the Dīwān of the West, from which Ibn al-Furāt was also dismissed.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Hāshimī.

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[413] Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, b. 243 (857-8) (see Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 390), d. 296 (908). He was the uncle of the following ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and a son-in-law of the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān. He served Ṭabarī as an important source of historical information, see text above, III, 2198, and below. See *EI*², s. v. Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, and the work of H. Bowen on his nephew, *The Life and Times of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsà*.

[414] The *Dīwān*(s) of the East and the West were the government departments in charge of the tax income from the provinces to the east and the west of the Iraq. The passage is quoted (via Ibn Khaldūn) by Talbi, *Émirat*, 328, in connection with his attempt to define the jurisdiction of the *Dīwān al-Maghrib*. See also above, n. 21, and below, n. 423.

[415] D. 291 (904). See *EI*², s. v. Ibn al-Furāt.

[416] For ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā [245-334 (859-946)], see *EI*², s. v. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, and above, n. 413.

The Events of the Year 287

(JANUARY 7 - DECEMBER 25, 900)

One of the events was al-Muʿtaḍid's arrest of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. / / ʿĪsā b. Shaykh and some members of his family. He had them put in chains and imprisoned in the house of Ibn Ṭāhir.[417] The reason reported for this was that one of Muḥammad's relatives had gone to ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān and informed him that Muḥammad was about to flee with a number of his men and his family. ʿUbaydallāh wrote al-Muʿtaḍid about this, and the Caliph replied, ordering ʿUbaydallāh to arrest him. ʿUbaydallāh did that on Wednesday, al-Muḥarram 4, 287 (Thursday, January 10, 900). [2191]

In al-Muḥarram, 287 (January 7-February 5, 900), a letter reached the central authorities in Baghdad from Abū al-Agharr. It reported that the Ṭayyi' had gathered against him, enlisting the help of the Arab tribesmen that they were able to, and had struck the pilgrim caravan. They attacked the pilgrims some ten *mīl* (20 km) beyond al-Maʿdin,[418] while they were returning from Mecca to Madīnat al-Salām. The horsemen and foot soldiers of the Arab tribesmen, with their tents, womenfolk, and camels, advanced toward them. The foot soldiers numbered more than three thousand men. A battle broke out between them and lasted all day long.

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[417] The house of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir [d. 253 (867)] served for a while as a prison. See text above, III, 2111. The Caliphs al-Muʿtaḍid and al-Muktafī were buried there.

[418] Among the many "Mines," this one was known as Maʿdin al-Nuqrah or al-Naqīrah. Masʿūdī speaks in this context of some location between Maʿdin al-Qurashī and al-Ḥājir, a place before Maʿdin al-Nuqrah (see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 182). Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 804, also speaks of Maʿdin al-Nuqrah as a Kūfan pilgrim station between Uḍāh and Māwān, or as a station on the Mecca Road which was reached from al-Ḥājir, where the roads to Mecca and to al-Madīnah divide. The commentators on Labīd, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, 237, refer to a location "between al-Nibāj and al-Nuqrah."

That was Thursday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 27, 286 (Thursday, January 3, 900). When night fell, the two sides separated. The following morning, Friday, they again engaged in battle, this time from early morning to midday. God then gave victory to His friends. The Arab tribesmen turned back and fled, and did not reassemble after having dispersed. Abū al-Agharr and all the pilgrims then traveled on safely. He dispatched his letter with Saʿīd b. al-Aṣfar b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā,[419] one of his distinguished cousins; he was the one who had managed the arrest of Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik. On Saturday, al-Muḥarram 27, 287 (Saturday, February 2, 900), Abū al-Agharr
[2192] arrived in Madīnat / / al-Salām, parading before him the heads of Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik, Jaḥnash,[420] and a black page of Ṣāliḥ as well as four captured cousins of Ṣāliḥ. Abū al-Agharr went to al-Muʿtaḍid's palace where a robe of honor and a gold necklace were bestowed upon him. The heads were displayed at the head of the Upper Bridge on the East Side. The captives were put into the dungeons.

On Ṣafar 25, 287 (March 1, 900), al-Muʿtaḍid came to Baghdad from his pleasure resort in Barāz al-Rūz[421] and ordered the construction of a castle in Barāz al-Rūz in a place chosen by him. Implements were taken there, and construction was begun.

In Rabīʿ I, 287 (March 6-April 4, 900), the Qarmaṭian problem in al-Baḥrayn became grave. They raided the region of Hajar,[422] with some of them coming close to the Baṣrah region. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Wāthiqi wrote asking for reinforcements, and, at the end of the month, eight barges carrying three hundred men were sent to him. Al-Muʿtaḍid also ordered the muster of an army to be dispatched to al-Baṣrah.

On Sunday, Rabīʿ II 10, 287 (Monday, April 14, 900), Badr, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, held a meeting in his house and looked

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[419] I have found no further information about him.
[420] The form of the name does not appear to be certain. R and others read Juḥaysh, which is a better known name.
[421] See text above, II, 906, 909.
[422] See *EI*², s. v. al-Ḥasā, the contemporary name of Hajar.

into the affairs of the inner circle and the commoners, the land tax, the estates, and matters of security.

On Monday, Rabīʿ II 11, 287 (Tuesday, April 15, 900), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib died. He had been in charge of the comptroller's office for the tax revenues of the East and the West.[423] ⌜On Wednesday, Rabīʿ II 13, 287 (Thursday, April 17, 900,)⌝ Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ[424] was put in charge of this office. He went there the very same day and held a meeting. // [2193]

In Rabīʿ II 287 (April 5-May 3, 900), al-Muʿtaḍid put ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr al-Ghanawī in charge of al-Yamāmah and al-Baḥrayn. He also put him in charge of the campaign against Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī and the Qarmaṭians with him. The Caliph attached about two thousand men to al-ʿAbbās. Al-ʿAbbās encamped in al-Firk[425] for several days, until he was joined by his men. He then went to al-Baṣrah and from there proceeded to al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāmah.

In this year, the enemy reportedly arrived at the Qalamyah Gate of Ṭarsūs. *This was on Thursday, Rabīʿ I 23, 287 (Friday, March 28, 900).* After the death of Ibn al-Ikhshād, Abū Thābit[426] became amīr of Ṭarsūs. Ibn al-Ikhshād had left Abū Thābit behind to take his place there when he went on a raid and died. Abū Thābit marched in pursuit of the enemy as far as Nahr al-Rayḥān.[427] He was captured, and the people with him suffered severe losses. At the time Ibn Kallūb was on a raid in Darb al-Salāmah.[428] When he returned from it, he gathered the elders of the border towns in order to have them agree upon an amīr to take charge of their affairs. They agreed upon ʿAlī b. al-Aʿrābī[429]

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[423] See above, n. 21, and Talbi, *Émirat*, 328 (above, n. 414).
[424] He was no doubt the official of the wazīr ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān mentioned in Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 12f.
[425] Near Kalwādhā. See *EI*², s. v. Kalwādhā.
[426] I have no further information about him.
[427] I have not succeeded in identifying the location of this river.
[428] See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 86f., who indicates that Darb al-Salāmah is identical with Darb al-Ḥadath. See also Canard, *Sources arabes*, 14, who translates "Pyles Ciliciennes."
[429] I have no further information about him.

and put him in charge after some opposition from Abū Thābit's son. The latter mentioned[430] that his father had appointed him to take his place. He gathered a number of people to fight the local population, until Ibn Kallūb intervened. The son of Abū Thābit then declared himself satisfied. This was in Rabīʿ II 287 (April 5-May 3, 900). At the time, al-Nughayl[431] was on a raid in Byzantine territory; he then returned to Ṭarsūs. It was reported that Abū Thābit and a number of Muslims had been taken from the fortress of Qūniyah[432] to Constantinople.

In Rabīʿ II, 287 (April 5-May 3, 900), Isḥāq b. Ayyūb died. He
[2194] had been / / in charge of security in Diyār Rabīʿah. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Haytham b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtamir[433] was given charge of his official functions.

On Wednesday, Jumādā I 25, 287 (Wednesday, May 28, 900), a dispatch reportedly reached the central authorities in Baghdad stating that Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad had captured ʿAmr al-Ṣaffār and allowed his camp to be looted. The story of ʿAmr and Ismāʿīl was as follows: ʿAmr had asked the Caliph to appoint him governor of Transoxania, and al-Muʿtaḍid had done so. While ʿAmr was staying in Naysābūr, al-Muʿtaḍid sent him robes of honor and the standard indicating his new rank as governor. When ʿAmr left to fight Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, the latter wrote him, "You are already in control of a wide area, whereas I am in a border region and have only Transoxania. Thus, be satisfied with what you have, and let me stay in this border region!" ʿAmr refused to give in. When the Oxus and the difficulty of crossing it were mentioned to him, he said, "If I wanted to dam the Oxus with money bags and cross it, I would do it."

Seeing no hope that ʿAmr would turn back and leave him alone, Ismāʿīl gathered his men and the small landowners and village chiefs and crossed the river to the west bank. ʿAmr then

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430 The active seems preferable here to the usual passive "reportedly." See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 14.

431 See Ibn al-Muʿtazz (verses 355-59) and his contemptuous statement that Nughayl is a misspelling of *bughayl* "little mule."

432 That is, modern Konya. R: *maʿa man ḥaḍara nawbatahū*, for *min Ḥiṣn Qūniyah*.

433 RB: "Muʿammar." I have no further information about him.

came and encamped at Balkh. Ismāʿīl cut off the surrounding region to ʿAmr, so that he was, in effect, under siege. ʿAmr now regretted what he had done, and reportedly[434] sought to prevent the outbreak of fighting, but (now) Ismāʿīl did not want that. After just a little fighting, ʿAmr was routed. Turning back, he fled and came to a swamp along the road. Informed that it was a shortcut, he told the rank and file with him to follow the well-marked road, while he himself went with a few people and entered the swamp. His horse became mired in it and fell down. ʿAmr was now at a loss as to what to do. Those who were with him did not remain but left him. Ismāʿīl's men came and captured him. When // the story of ʿAmr and Ismāʿīl was reported to [2195]
al-Muʿtaḍid, he reportedly praised Ismāʿīl and criticized ʿAmr.[435]

On Jumādā I 29, 287 (June 1, 900), word reached the central authorities in Baghdad that Waṣīf, the eunuch of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, had broken with Ibn Abī al-Sāj and his men and that he had fled from Bardhaʿah to Malaṭyah. He wrote to al-Muʿtaḍid asking him for an appointment as governor of the border regions. Al-Muʿtaḍid wrote to him and ordered him to come to him.[436] (So al-Muʿtaḍid) sent Rashīq al-Ḥuramī[437] to him.

On Rajab 7, 287 (July 8, 900), al-Muʿtaḍid's wife, the daughter of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, died and was buried in the castle of al-Ruṣāfah.

On Rajab 10, 287 (July 11, 900), three persons sent by Waṣīf, the eunuch of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, came to the central authorities in Baghdad. He had sent them to al-Muʿtaḍid in order to ask the Caliph that he (Waṣīf) be made governor of the border regions

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434 Text: *dhukira*; R: *dhakarū*; B: *dhukira Ī*.

435 The passage was quoted by Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, 426f., under Yaʿqūb al-Ṣaffār. Ibn Khallikān, op. cit., VI, 431, also refers briefly to the paragraph in the text below, 2196f.

436 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 11, adds, probably from a recension of Ṭabarī: "but he took his time."

437 R: "al-Khādim." Rashīq al-Aysar al-Ḥuramī is mentioned in ʿArīb, 184, *sub anno* 320 (932). Rashīq al-Ḥuramī can thus be assumed to be identical with Rashīq al-Aysar. See ʿArīb, 56, 181; *Eclipse*, I, 229, *sub anno* 319. According to ʿArīb, 56, he was related by marriage to Naṣr al-Qushūrī, who was presumably his father-in-law.

and that robes of honor be sent to him. Al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly gave orders that the emissaries be made to confess the reason why Waṣīf had separated from his master Ibn Abī al-Sāj and gone to the border regions. Beaten until they confessed, they admittted that the separation was based on an understanding between Waṣīf and his master. That is, when Waṣīf reached the place where he was now, his master would join him, and together they would move against Egypt[438] and subdue it. This became common knowledge, and people talked about it.

On Rajab 11, 287 (July 12, 900), Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās[439] was put in charge of the land tax and the estates of Fārs, which had been under the control of ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār. His letters of appointment were handed over to his brother Aḥmad b. al-
[2196] ʿAbbās.[440] Ḥāmid had been // staying in Wāsiṭ, because he was governor of the city and the Tigris counties. He wrote to ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī, who was in Iṣbahān, asking him to come to Fārs to take charge of security.

In this year, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr al-Ghanawī and the troops attached to him reportedly left al-Baṣrah together with the Baṣran volunteers, who were ready to fight with him, in order to march against Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī and the Qarmaṭians who made common cause with him. When Abū Saʿīd's vanguards met them, al-ʿAbbās left his train behind and moved toward them. He encountered Abū Saʿīd and the men with him in the evening. They engaged in combat, until night interrupted contact between them, and both parties returned to their respective locations. During the night, the Arab tribesmen of the Banū Ḍabbah who were with al-ʿAbbās went to al-Baṣrah; they numbered about three hundred. They were followed by the Baṣran volunteers. Early in the morning, al-ʿAbbās started to engage the Qarmaṭians

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438 Text: Muḍar, but see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCIX, as well as R where the vocalization is clearly Miṣr. See also Canard, *Sources arabes*, 15. "Muḍar" is quite unlikely, but if Egypt is meant, it would seem to have been an unreasonable plan. At any rate, the enterprise constituted a considerable threat to the government in Baghdad; thus, the rumors circulating there had political significance.

439 For Ibn al-ʿAbbās [233-311 (837-923)], see *EI*², s. v. Ḥāmid b. al-ʿAbbās.

440 Aḥmad b. al-ʿAbbās died in Shaʿbān, 304 (January-February, 917). See ʿArīb, 63.

in combat, and the fighting was fierce. The commander of al-ʿAbbās's left wing, Najāḥ,[441] the page of Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh, attacked the right wing of Abū Saʿīd with a number[442] of his men—about a hundred strong. They broke through the right wing, but Najāḥ and all those with him were killed. Al-Jannābī and his men now attacked al-ʿAbbās's men, and the latter were routed. Al-ʿAbbās surrendered, and about seven hundred of his men were captured. Al-Jannābī took possession of what was in al-ʿAbbās's camp. The day after the battle, al-Jannābī had al-ʿAbbās's men who had been captured brought before him, and then had them all killed. Following that, he ordered firewood thrown upon the corpses and had them burned. This battle reportedly took place at the end of Rajab, 287 (July 31, 900). Word concerning it reached Baghdad on Shaʿbān 4, 287 (August 4, 900).

In this year, al-Jannābī reportedly reached Hajar. He entered it and granted guarantees of safe-conduct / / to its inhabitants. This [2197] was after his return from the battle with al-ʿAbbās. He routed the remnant of [443] the men of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr who were on their way to al-Baṣrah. Only a small number of them managed to escape, and without provisions and clothing. A group of about four hundred pack animals carrying food, clothing, and water left al-Baṣrah to meet them. The Banū Asad reportedly went out against them. They seized the pack animals and their loads and killed a number of the men who were with those animals, as well as the men of al-ʿAbbās who had escaped. This was in Ramaḍān, 287 (August 30-September 28, 900). Al-Baṣrah was greatly disturbed by this event, and the inhabitants thought of moving away. But Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wāthiqī, who was in charge of security there, forbade them to leave. They feared that the Qarmaṭians would assault them.

On Ramaḍān 8, 287 (September 6, 900), a mail pouch from al-Ubullah reportedly reached the central authorities with the information that Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī had released al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr and one of his eunuchs and that al-ʿAbbās was arriving on

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441 I have no further information concerning him.
442 R: *mṭwʿh* "volunteers from" (?).
443 R: "people from."

a seagoing vessel. On Ramaḍān 11, 287 (September 9, 900), al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr arrived at Madīnat al-Salām and went to al-Muʿtaḍid's Thurayyā palace. It is reported that he had remained with al-Jannābī for several days after the battle. Then al-Jannābī summoned al-ʿAbbās and asked him whether he would like to be released. When al-ʿAbbās replied, "yes," al-Jannābī said, "Then go and tell the one who sent you ⌜against me⌝ what you have seen!"[444] He gave him animals to ride on and attached some of his men to him. He had them outfitted with the needed provisions and water, and ordered the men whom he sent with al-ʿAbbās to bring him to a place where he would be safe. They traveled with him until they reached one of the places along the coast. There he found a boat to carry him to al-Ubullah. Al-Muʿtaḍid bestowed a robe of honor upon him and gave him leave to return to his residence.

On Thursday, Shawwāl 11, 287 (Thursday, October 9, 900),
[2198] al-Muʿtaḍid left // his tent at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah to go in pursuit of Waṣīf, the eunuch of Ibn Abī al-Sāj. He kept his intention concealed, stating (officially) that he was going toward Diyār Muḍar.

On Friday, Shawwāl 12, 287 (Friday, October 10, 900), news reportedly reached the central authorities that the Qarmaṭians in the Sawād from among the inhabitants of Junbulā'[445] had attacked

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[444] The Qarmaṭian's message and al-Muʿtaḍid's reaction to it are reported in al-Ghanawī's name by Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, I, 98f., see de Goeje, *Carmathes, Appendix*, IX-XI; Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 13-16; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 133f.; *al-ʿUyūn wa-al-ḥadā'iq*, ed. Dāwūd, I, 161-64, ed. Saʿīdī, I, 94f. Since Miskawayh systematically quotes Ṭabarī, it might be suspected that he also derived this most interesting report from a recension of the *History*. This, however, does not seem to be the case. The source for this report from al-Ghanawī (as well as for the other addition in Miskawayh, see above, Foreword, xviii f.) was the qāḍī Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid who was still alive in 356 (967) as indicated in Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, II, 157, ed. Margoliouth, *Table-Talk*, text, 185 (*Oriental Translation Fund*, N. S. 27-28). He cannot be assumed to have had contact with Ṭabarī; moreover, the chain of transmitters leads back to the Tanūkhīs. If Masʿūdī's *Kitāb al-Awsaṭ* were preserved, we would probably know more about the transmission of al-Jannābī's message, since it contained a lengthy treatment of the episode. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 193f., ed. Pellat, V, 166f. A different version is found in Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 110f.

[445] Located between Wāsiṭ and al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 126.

their governor Badr,[446] the page of al-Ṭā'ī, killed a number of Muslims, including women and children, and burned the residences.

On Dhū al-Qa'dah 14, 287 (November 10, 900), al-Mu'taḍid encamped at Kanīsat al-Sawdā'[447] while searching for the eunuch Waṣīf. He remained there, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday (November 12-14), until the men caught up with him. The Caliph wanted to travel in the direction of al-Maṣṣīṣah, but the spies came to him with the information that the eunuch was going to 'Ayn Zarbah. So he ordered the border-region couriers and knowledgeable people brought to him and asked them about the most direct road to 'Ayn Zarbah. In the morning of Thursday, Dhū al-Qa'dah 17, 287 (Thursday, November 13, 900), they crossed the Jayḥān with him. He sent his son 'Alī together with al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī Kūrah in the vanguard. Following 'Alī in order were Ja'far b. Si'r,[448] Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr, Khāqān al-Mufliḥī, ⌜Mu'nis al-Khādim⌝[449] and Mu'nis al-Khāzin. Following them, al-Mu'taḍid came with the chamber pages.[450] Passing by 'Ayn Zarbah, the Caliph had a tent set up for himself there. He left Khafīf al-Samarqandī behind there with his train, while he himself marched behind the officers after the eunuch. After the afternoon prayer, he received the good news that the eunuch had been captured. The eunuch was brought // to al-Mu'taḍid who [2199]
turned him over to Mu'nis al-Khāzin,[451] chief of the military police at the time. He further ordered that guarantees of safe-conduct be

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446 He is first mentioned in the text above, III, 2107, *sub anno* 271 (885), as attached to Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj. He appears once more below, 2202. His master al-Ṭā'ī is the individual mentioned above, n. 79.

447 As described by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 314, the place was named thus because of its church (*kanīsah*) built of black (*sawdā'*) stone, and it was located in the region of al-Maṣṣīṣah.

448 R: Sa'd. I have no further information about him.

449 Mu'nis al-Khādim, called al-Muẓaffar "The Victorious One" after his successes, particularly in Egypt. He died, after a glorious career, in 321 (933) at the age of about ninety. See Dhahabī, *'Ibar*, II, 188. He is, of course, mentioned in all the histories of al-Muqtadir. See *Eclipse*, Index, 95f.

450 On the chamber pages (*ghilmān al-ḥujar* or al-ḥujariyyah), see *EI*², s. v. ghulām (II, 1080a).

451 Text: al-Khādim; read al-Khāzin as in RC. Note that al-Khādim also appears in the somewhat different description of this episode in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 198, ed. Pellat, V, 168. The position indicated here does not, it seems, make it possible for us to determine with certainty which Mu'nis is meant.

granted to the eunuch's men and that it be announced in the camp that those whose saddles contained anything looted from the eunuch's camp and who did not return it to his men would be outside the protection of the law. Therefore, the loot from the camp was returned to many of the eunuch's men. The battle and the capture of the eunuch Waṣīf reportedly took place on Thursday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 17, 287 (Thursday, November 13, 900). Thirty-six days had elapsed from the day al-Muʿtaḍid left his tent at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah to the day the eunuch was apprehended.

After the eunuch was apprehended, al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly went back to ʿAyn Zarbah and stayed there two days. On the morning of the third day, the inhabitants of ʿAyn Zarbah gathered and asked him to leave because of the shortage of food in town. Therefore he left on the third day. He encamped at al-Maṣṣīṣah with all his troops, except for Abū al-Agharr Khalīfah b. al-Mubārak whom he had sent to block the eunuch's way, so that he would not get to Marʿash and the Malaṭyah region, as he had already sent off his family and the families of his men to Marʿash. The eunuch's men who had fled learned about al-Muʿtaḍid's guarantees of safe-conduct and his order to return their belongings to them. They therefore joined the camp of al-Muʿtaḍid and accepted his guarantee of safe-conduct.

Al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly encamped at al-Maṣṣīṣah on Sunday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 20, 287 (Sunday, November 16, 900). He remained there until the following Sunday. He wrote to the dignitaries of Ṭarsūs asking them to join him there. Coming to him[452] were al-Nughayl, one of the chieftains of the two border regions,[453] and a son of his[454] as well as a man called Ibn al-Muhandis[455] and a number of others with them. Al-Muʿtaḍid detained them
[2200] // and others. He released most of them, but those whom he had detained, he took with him to Baghdad.[456] He was angry at them because they had reportedly corresponded with the eunuch Waṣīf.

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452 RB: *ilayhi*, for (the misprint ?) *ilayhim*.

453 R: *wujūh al-thaghrayn* (see also C). Apparently the *ʿawāṣim* and *thughūr* are meant.

454 See Ibn al-Muʿtazz, verse 357.

455 No further information concerning him seems to be available.

456 The Caliph arrived in Baghdad on Ṣafar 7, 288 (January 31, 901). During his festive entry he paraded Waṣīf, al-Nughayl, al-Nughayl's son, and Ibn al-Muhandis through the streets, dressed in the manner usual on these occasions and seated on camels. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 198f., ed. Pellat, V, 129.

Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered the burning of all the seagoing vessels which the Muslims used for raids, together with all their equipment. Damyānah, the page of Yāzmān,[457] reportedly was the one who had advised him to do that because he held a grudge against the inhabitants of Ṭarsūs. Everything was burned. Among the ships, there were about fifty old ones, on which a large amount of money had been spent and the like of which are no longer built. The burning of these ships proved harmful to the Muslims and diminished their military potential, while it strengthened the Byzantines who were now safe from being raided by sea.

Al-Muʿtaḍid put al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Kūrah in charge of the Syrian Border regions in response to a request of their inhabitants who agreed to his appointment.

Al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly left al-Maṣṣīṣah, and during the course of his journey he camped at the following places: Funduq al-Ḥusayn,[458] al-Iskandariyyah,[459] Baghrās, and, finally, Anṭākiyah where he arrived on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 2, 287 (November 28, 900). He stayed in Anṭākiyah until Dhū al-Ḥijjah 10, 287 (December 6, 900), and left early the following day. His itinerary went via Artāḥ, al-Athārib, Aleppo, where he stayed two days, al-Nāʿūrah, Khusāf, with Ṣiffīn on the Jazīrah side and the Treasury of the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib on the other side,[460] Bālis, Dawsar, and Baṭn Dāmān.[461] From there he went to al-Raqqah; he entered the city on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 21, 287 (December 17, 900), and remained there until Dhū al-Ḥijjah 27, 287 (December 23, 900).

On Shawwāl 24, 287 (October 22, 900), word reached the central authorities that Muḥammad b. Zayd al-ʿAlawī had been killed.[462] / / The reason why he was killed reportedly was this: When news [2201] of the capture of ʿAmr b. al-Layth by Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad reached Muḥammad b. Zayd, Ibn Zayd left with a large army for

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457 See above, n. 180.

458 I have no further information on this locality.

459 That is, al-Iskandarūnah, Alexandrette.

460 Ṣiffīn is assumed to be located after Bālis on this itinerary. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 17, and idem, *Ḥamdanides*, map between pp. 240 and 241.

461 See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 538f.

462 Those interested in al-Muʿtaḍid's supposed pro-ʿAlid stance maintained that he was grieved to hear the news. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 209, ed. Pellat, V, 173.

Khurāsān[463] which he had great hopes of conquering. He thought that the administrative authority that had accrued to Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad when ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār was governor of Khurāsān would not expand, and thus nobody would keep him from Khurāsān now that ʿAmr had been captured and no agent of the central authorities was there. When he reached Jurjān and stayed there, Ismāʿīl wrote to him and asked that he return to Ṭabaristān and leave Jurjān to him, but Ibn Zayd refused. As has been mentioned to me, Ismāʿīl therefore urged a man called Muḥammad b. Hārūn,[464] a lieutenant of Rāfiʿ b. Harthamah in the days when Rāfiʿ was in control of Khurāsān, to fight Muḥammad b. Zayd. Muḥammad b. Hārūn accepted, and Ismāʿīl attached many of his men and troops to him, sending him off to fight Ibn Zayd. Muḥammad b. Hārūn marched against Ibn Zayd; the two met at the Gate of Jurjān[465] and fought a fierce battle in which Muḥammad b. Hārūn's force was routed. Later Muḥammad b. Hārūn returned when the ranks of the ʿAlid (Ibn Zayd) had broken up. Now, the ʿAlid's force was routed. They turned back and fled, and many were reportedly killed. Ibn Zayd was wounded several times, his son Zayd[466] was captured, and Muḥammad b. Hārūn took possession of his camp and all it contained. Several days after the battle, Muḥammad b. Zayd died of the blows which he had sustained. He was buried at the Gate of Jurjān. His son Zayd was brought to Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad. Muḥammad b. Hārūn marched
[2202] on Ṭabaristān.//

On Saturday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 12, 287 (Saturday, November 8, 900), Badr, the page of al-Ṭāʾī, made a surprise attack on the Qarmaṭians in the region of Rūdhmastān[467] and elsewhere. He reportedly killed a great many of them but then withdrew, because

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[463] R: "Jurjān," also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 194, ed. Pellat, V, 167. The other later sources read Khurāsān.

[464] According to Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VII, 365, Muḥammad b. Hārūn was captured after his defeat and flight (see text below, 2220f.). He died near the end of 290 (903). Supposedly he had started out as a tailor and then became a highway robber with a gang of low-class people he had gathered around himself in the desert of Sarakhs. Following that he entered the service of Rāfiʿ b. Harthamah.

[465] Here, the capital of the region. See *EI*², s. v. Gurgān.

[466] I have not found any further information about him.

[467] See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCIX. R: *Dwrmst'n*, which is almost correct.

he feared that the Sawād might be ruined, since they were the peasants and laborers there. He searched for their leaders in various locations and killed those whom he came upon. The Caliph had previously reinforced Badr with a number of his soldiers and pages on account of the Qarmaṭians and the events caused by them.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Dāwūd.

The Events of the Year 288

(DECEMBER 26, 900 - DECEMBER 15, 901)

One of the events was that a report reached the central authorities in Baghdad mentioning the outbreak of pestilence[468] in Ādharbayjān. A large number of people died, so that there were not enough shrouds in which to bury the dead. They were buried in garments and felt blankets. Conditions then became so bad that they could no longer find anybody to bury the dead, and they were left lying in the streets. *Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj died during this pestilence.*[469]

In this year, the men of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Layth[470] entered Fārs and ejected the officials of the central authorities. This happened on Ṣafar 17, 288 (February 10, 901).

In this year, Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj, who was called Afshīn,
[2203] died in Ādharbayjān. // His pages and a number of his men gathered and made *his son* Dēwdād b. Muḥammad[471] their amīr, against the opposition of Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj who dissociated himself from them.

On Rabīʿ II, 27, 288 (April 20, 901), a dispatch from the postmaster in al-Ahwāz arrived at Baghdad. He mentioned in it that the men of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Layth had reached Sanbīl[472] on their way toward al-Ahwāz.

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468 *Wabā'* could refer more specifically to the plague, but it is a general term for pestilence or epidemic. See Dols, *Black Death*.

469 Ibn al-Athīr also refers to the death of Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj in this connection.

470 His capture is reported in 297 (910). See text below, 2285; ʿArīb, 32.

471 Dēwdād was named after his grandfather, Abū al-Sāj Dēwdād. The last mention of him occurs *sub anno* 307 (919-20). See *Eclipse*, I, 74.

472 Sanbīl was located on the border of Khūzistān and Fārs. See Le Strange, *Lands*, 244, 269.

On Jumādā I 1, 288 (April 23, 901),[473] ʿAmr b. al-Layth was brought to Baghdad[474] by ʿAbdallāh b. al-Fatḥ, who had been sent by Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, and by Ashnās,[475] a page of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad. It has been mentioned to me that Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad gave ʿAmr the choice of remaining with him as a prisoner or being sent to the court of the Commander of the Faithful, and he chose the latter.

On Jumādā II 2, 288 (May 24, 901), a dispatch from the postmaster of al-Ahwāz reportedly arrived at Baghdad from al-Ahwāz. The postmaster mentioned in it that a dispatch from Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad had reached Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, informing him that the central authorities had appointed him[476] governor of Sijistān and ordered him to go there. Ismāʿīl was coming to Fārs to attack Ṭāhir, and he would then return to Sijistān. Ṭāhir had rebelled[477] on this account. He had written to his cousin, who was staying in Arrajān with his army, and ordered him to come back to Fārs along with those with him.[478]

In this year, al-Muʿtaḍid, having learned that Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad had gained control *of affairs* in Fārs, appointed his *mawlā* Badr governor of that province [479] and ordered him to go there. On Jumādā II 7(9),[480] 288 [May 29 (31), 901], // he bestowed a [2204]
robe of honor upon him and attached a number of officers to him. Badr then proceeded with a large force of soldiers and pages.

On Jumādā II 2, 288 (June 1, 901), ʿAbdallāh b. al-Fatḥ and Ashnās, the page of Ismāʿīl, left Baghdad to go to Ismāʿīl b.

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473 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, 427, in quoting this passage, adds the correct day of the week, Thursday, no doubt from a Ṭabarī manuscript.

474 Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 200f., ed. Pellat, V, 170 (also VIII, 208f.; V, 173), adds that he was dressed in the fashion customary on such occasions.

475 I have no further information about him.

476 That is, Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad. It could hardly mean that Ṭāhir was given that appointment to draw him away from Fārs.

477 RB: *jazīʿa* "had become afraid," which is possibly the more correct text.

478 The text seems to suggest that this was Ṭāhir's cousin (R: "uncle") who was in Arrajān in the Province of Fārs, but no name of another son of ʿAmr except Muḥammad seems to be attested.

479 From here to p. 104, l. 22, C is missing. See Foreward, xix.

480 R: "seven"; B: "nine."

Aḥmad ⌜b. Sāmān⌝ with letters[481] from al-Muʿtaḍid and a corselet, a crown,[482] and a sword of gold, completely encrusted with jewels. He also sent gifts and three million dirhams for distribution among Khurāsānian soldiers to be sent to Sijistān to fight the men of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr there. According to another report, the amount sent to him by al-Muʿtaḍid was ten million dirhams. Part of it was sent by al-Muʿtaḍid from Baghdad. He wrote to the officials of al-Jabal, ordering them to give the rest of it to the emissaries.

In Rajab, 288 (June 21-July 20, 901), Badr, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, drew close to Fārs. The associates of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad who were there withdrew. Badr's men entered Fārs, and his officials collected the land tax there.

On Ramaḍān 2, 288 (August 20, 901), a dispatch from ʿAjj b. Ḥājj,[483] the governor of Mecca, reportedly arrived at Baghdad. ʿAjj mentioned in it that the Banū Yaʿfur[484] had attacked a man who had seized control of Ṣanʿāʾ. He suggested[485] that he was an ʿAlid and that they had routed him.[486] He had then taken refuge in a city, fortifying himself there. When they got to him, they attacked him and routed him again, capturing a son of his;[487] he escaped

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[481] Read *bi-rasāʾil* as in R. The text has *bi-khilaʿ* "with robes of honors," following the text of Ibn al-Athīr.

[482] Corselets and crowns were expensive gifts also sent on occasion to ʿAmr b. al-Layth. See Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhāʾir*, 40, 45. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 201, ed. Pellat, V, 170, describes the gifts as "a corselet of brocade woven with gold and studded with jewels, a gold belt studded with jewels, and other jewels, as well as three hundred thousand dīnārs (!)."

[483] He was amīr of Mecca in 281 (894-5). See Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken*, I, 342. He died in 306 (918). See above, n. 401.

[484] On the Banu Yaʿfur in the Yemen, see Zambaur, 116. For this particular episode, see also Ibn al-Muʿtazz (verses 377-86). The Arabic lexicographers suggest different vocalizations for Yaʿfur. Yuʿfir is the one adopted in *EI²*, *Suppl.*, s. v. al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥakk.

[485] R: *wa-zaʿama*; B: "mentioned."

[486] R: "routed his men."

[487] Presumably, the ʿAlid was the Qarmaṭian ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl [d. 303 (915)]. See Kay, *Yaman*, 207, and below, nn. 751 and 818. It seems, however, that Ṭabarī's statement cannot be fully clarified by means of the ample information we have about the turbulent events that took place in Ṣanʿāʾ in 288-9. In these events, Yaḥyā al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq, the founder of Zaydī rule in the Yemen, also played a prominent role. See van Arendonk, *Opkomst*, 191ff.; *EI²*, *Suppl.*, s. v. al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥakk.

with about fifty persons. The Banū Yaʿfur entered Ṣanʿāʾ and mentioned al-Muʿtaḍid in the Friday sermon there.

In this year, Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj with a few men attacked his nephew // Dēwdād b. Muḥammad, who had the army of his [2205] father Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj with him. Yūsuf routed[488] Dēwdād's army, leaving the latter with only a small number of people. He suggested to him that he stay with him, but Dēwdād refused, *saying that he would go to the Caliph's court. (Yūsuf) started to go along with him for a while and to ask him to stay with him, but he refused*[489] and took the Mosul Road. He reached Baghdad on Thursday, Ramaḍān 23, 288 (Thursday, September 10, 901). The battle between the two had taken place in the region of Ādharbayjān.

In this year, Nizār b. Muḥammad,[490] the agent of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Kūrah, went on the summer campaign, conquering many Byzantine fortresses. He brought into Ṭarsūs some one hundred and sixty non-Muslims, [491] abbots,[492] and deacons as well as many of their crosses and banners. Kūrah sent them on to Baghdad.

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 12, 288 (November 27, 901), letters of the merchants reached Baghdad from al-Raqqah stating that the Byzantines had arrived in many vessels. Some Byzantines had also come on (horse)back to the region of Kaysūm.[493] They had driven off more than fifteen thousand Muslims, men, women, and children. They had left with them, including some protected non-Muslims they had seized.

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[488] R: *fa-hazama*, also Miskawayh, *Tajārib* V, 18.

[489] The addition in R is also found in Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 18.

[490] Apparently, the individual who was removed from the administration of the Ḥaramayn in 310 (923) (Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 31) and died in 317 (929-30) (ʿArīb, 146, where he is called Abū Maʿadd al-Ṭabbī). See below, n. 713.

[491] The contemptous term (*ʿilj*), referring to the native non-Muslim population, is translated "Barbares chrétiens" by Canard, *Sources arabes*, 17.

[492] The context refers to church dignitaries, and R has the expected *al-qamāmisah*, from Greek *hēgoumenos*.

[493] See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, index, s. v. Kaēsoun.

In this year, the men of Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī came close to al-Baṣrah. The inhabitants were so afraid of them that they thought of fleeing and moving away. However, their governor forbade them to do that.

At the end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 288 (December 15, 901),[494] Waṣīf, the eunuch of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, was killed. His corpse was taken and hung on the East Side. According to another report, he was not killed but died (of natural causes), and after he had died, his head was cut off.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was Abū Bakr Hārūn b.
[2206] Muḥammad.[495] / /

[494] In his more detailed report, Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 202f., ed. Pellat, V, 170f., gives the date of Thursday, al-Muḥarram 1, 289 (Wednesday, December 16, 901).

[495] According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IX, 75, ed. Pellat, V, 299, he was Hārūn b. Muḥammad (Muḥammad b. Hārūn ?) b. al-ʿAbbās b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, a great-great-great-grandson of the Caliph al-Manṣūr. If the pedigree is correct, Hārūn b. Muḥammad could not have been a son of the leader of the pilgrimage in 280. The latter's son and successor, moreover, was called Abū Jaʿfar (see Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, III, 356).

The *Important* Events of[496] the Year 289

(DECEMBER 16, 901 - DECEMBER 4, 902)

One of the events was the spread of the Qarmaṭian movement in the Kūfan countryside. Shibl,[497] a page of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭā'ī, was sent against them. He was ordered to search for them, seize all of them that he might come upon, and bring them[498] to the Caliph's court. He came upon a leader of theirs, known as Ibn Abī al-Qaws.[499] He was sent with the others to Baghdad. On al-Muḥarram 22, 289, (January 8, 902), al-Muʿtaḍid summoned him and interrogated him. He then ordered his teeth knocked out. Thereafter, his (limbs) were dislocated by stretching one of his hands with a pulley while a rock was attached to the other hand.[500] He was left in this state from midday to evening.[501] The next day, his hands and feet were cut off, and he was decapitated. His corpse was hung on the East Side. After several days, it was carried to al-Yāsiriyyah,[502] where it was hung together with the Qarmaṭians who had been hung there.

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496 R: *al-aḥdāth al-jalīlah*; B: "matters."

497 I have not succeeded in finding any further information about him.

498 Both manuscripts, R and B, have *wa-ḥamlihī*. *Ḥamlihim* in the Leiden edition may be a misprint. The meaning is the same.

499 The reading *al-Fawāris* adopted in the Leiden edition has very little authority. It is not found in either of the Ṭabarī manuscripts. R has *al-Faws*. In Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 204f., 422, ed. Pellat, V, 171f., it is merely an editorial choice. It does appear in Ibn al-Athīr and in *al-ʿUyūn wa-al-Ḥadā'iq*, ed. Dāwūd, I, 169, ed. Saʿīdī, I, 100. Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 18, has *al-Qaws*, and, above all, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, verse 413, also has *al-Qaws*. It would seem that the reading *al-Fawāris* is merely a substitution of a more common name for an unfamiliar one (which, moreover, could be *Faws* or *Qaws*). Not surprisingly, no further information about the individual seems to be available.

500 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 18; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 126, make the procedure a little clearer. A rock was attached to one hand, and a pulley string to the other.

501 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 18: "three hours."

502 See Lassner, *Topography*, 259, n. 62.

On Rabīʿ I 2, 289 (February 14, 902), those whose houses and shops were at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah were evicted from them. They were told to take what they could salvage[503] and leave. This was because al-Muʿtaḍid thought of building himself a palace *there* to live in. He had the foundation lines traced at the place where the wall was to be built and excavated part of the area. He began with the construction of a pavillion[504] along the Tigris. He had ordered its construction so that he could move into it, remaining there until the construction of the palace and castle was completed.

On Monday[505] night [Rabīʿ II 289 (Monday, April 5, 902)],
[2207] al-Muʿtaḍid died. / / The following morning, Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb, Abū Khāzim ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz,[506] and Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb[507] were brought to the Caliph's palace[508] The funeral prayer was attended by the wazīr al-Qāsim

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[503] Text: *aqfāṣakum*; read *anqāḍakum*, as in R and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 30, l. 14. *Anqāḍ* refers to things that were still usable or saleable after a building was torn down. See, for instance, text above, III, 320, 385; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 325, 327; Dozy, II, 714. *Aqfāṣakum*, as in the Leiden edition, may not even have been intended in B; if it constitutes an acceptable reading, it may mean "your cages" in the sense of containers in which the merchandise (and other belongings) were kept. See text above, III, 193 (*aṣḥāb al-aqfāṣ*), and 279 (*darb al-aqfāṣ*).

[504] For *dakkah* meaning "raised platform," see text below, 2244f. Here, an inhabitable construction is meant.

[505] *Al-ithnayn* is indeed found in R as expected. The night from Sunday to Monday is meant. Al-Muʿtaḍid thus died on Sunday, April 4. See also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 113, ed. Pellat, V, 137. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, *ʿUyūn*, I, 231, l. 31, mentions "the night of (Monday to) Tuesday."

[506] According to Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-quḍāh*, III, 198, Abū Khāzim succeeded Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq b. Abī al-ʿAnbas as qāḍī of al-Kūfah when Ibn Abī al-ʿAnbas died in 275-6 (888-9) [in fact, he died on Tuesday, Rabīʿ II 26, 277 (Monday, August 17, 890), as indicated in Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, VI, 25f.]. Abū Khāzim was then named qāḍī of al-Sharqiyyah in Baghdad and continued at the same time as qāḍī of al-Kūfah until his death in 272 [*sic*, read 292 (905), see the obituary notice in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 52-56; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 236, ed. Pellat, V, 187, gives the exact date, although the day of the month must be corrected from seventh to ninth, that is, Thursday, Jumādā II 9, 292 (Thursday, April 18, 905)]. Instead of Abū Khāzim, one often finds Abū Ḥāzim, but the former seems to be the preferred form of the name.

[507] See above, n. 217. The task of the three judges was the preparation of the death certificate.

[508] Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 24, ll. 1f., supplies here what is no doubt a *homoioteleuton* omission in the manuscript tradition of Ṭabarī: "The washing of al-Muʿtaḍid was supervised by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, and the funeral prayer for him by Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb."

b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān, Abū Khāzim, Abū ʿUmar,[509] the eunuchs,[510] and the inner circle of notables. Al-Muʿtaḍid had stipulated in his last will that he wished to be buried in the house of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.[511] A grave was dug for him there. He was carried from his palace which was known as al-Ḥasanī, during the night and buried in his grave there.

On Rabīʿ II 22, 289 (April 6, 902), al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān sat in the Caliph's Ḥasanī Palace and permitted people to come in to express to him their condolences on the death of al-Muʿtaḍid and to congratulate him on his new ruler, al-Muktafī. He ordered the civilian and military officials to renew the oath of allegiance to al-Muktafī, and they did so.[512]

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509 Both Muḥammad and his father Yūsuf probably attended.

510 Text: *al-ḥaram* "the harem"; read *al-khadam* as in R. The latter reading appears to be preferable. The two words are frequently paired.

511 See above, n. 417. Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, IV, 407, l. 8, specifies " the marble chamber" of the house. See also verse 3 of the elegy of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Dīwān*, IV, 133.

512 As indicated in the Leiden edition, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, *ʿUyūn*, I, 231, ll. 19-30, quotes a medical anecdote in connection with the death of al-Muʿtaḍid on the authority of the *History* of Ṭabarī. There is no real reason to doubt that it belonged to a recension of the work. It may, at some stage, have been omitted by Ṭabarī himself, or the compiler of a recension, as too anecdotal and irrelevant:

"As the story goes, the physicians Dāwūd b. Daylam [d. Saturday, al-Muḥarram 5, 329 (Saturday, October 10, 940), see Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿah, *ʿUyūn*, I, 234] and ʿAbdūs (in whose biography the quotation from Ṭabarī appears; see Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, 302) have said: When al-Muʿtaḍid's illness became grave—it was a sort of dropsy and corrupt temper, from which he was getting away (?)—and he feared for his life, we and all the other physicians were brought into his presence. He said to us, 'Don't you say that when a disease is known, the remedy is known, and when a patient is given that remedy, he gets better?' When we gave an affirmative answer, he continued, 'So, do you know my illness and the remedy for it, or don't you?' We said we knew it, and he said, 'So, why am I not getting better under your treatment?' We thought that he was about to attack us, and our strength ebbed. ʿAbdūs said to him, 'O Commander of the Faithful, we do have the right idea just as stated, but there is a problem. We do not know the quantity of the parts of the illness so as to be able to match them with like parts of the remedy. We are just guessing at it. We try at the start and see what comes closest, and then we look what effect it has upon the illness, if God wills.' Al-Muʿtaḍid let us be, and when we were alone, we held a conference and concluded that we should put him in a *ghābah*, i. e., an oven. We heated it up and placed him into it (see text above, III, 1363). He sweated, and he felt some relief, because the illness withdrew inside his body. Then, however, it went up to his heart. After several days, he died, and we escaped from our dangerous predicament."

The Caliphate of al-Muktafī bi-llāh[513]

When al-Muʿtaḍid died, al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh immediately sent off dispatches with the information to al-Muktafī who was staying in al-Raqqah. Upon receiving the news, al-Muktafī ordered his secretary al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Naṣrānī the very same day to exact the oath of allegiance from all those in his camp and to pay them a bonus. Al-Ḥusayn did that. Al-Muktafī sent men to the regions of Diyār Rabīʿah, Diyār Muḍar, and the west to maintain order and then left al-Raqqah for Baghdad. On Tuesday, Jumādā I // 8, 289 (Tuesday, April 20, 902), al-Muktafī entered his Ḥasanī [2208]
Palace. When he arrived at his residence, he ordered the destruction of the dungeons for criminals which his father had constructed for himself.[514] The very same day, al-Muktafī addressed al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh by his patronymic (Abū al-Ḥusayn, as a sign of intimacy) and bestowed a robe of honor upon him.

The very same day,[515] ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār died. He was buried the next morning near the Ḥasanī Palace. When he was dying and could no longer speak, al-Muʿtaḍid reportedly ordered Ṣāfī al-Ḥuramī[516] through signs and gestures to kill ʿAmr; he did this by putting his hand upon his neck and his eye[517] to indicate that he should slaughter[518] the one-eyed man. But Ṣāfī, knowing

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513 Rubric supplied in the Leiden edition. It is not found in R.

514 See text above, n. 345. Quoting this text, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, 429, has "dug for himself (*iḥtafarahā*)."

515 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 24: "On the second day after his arrival."

516 Ṣāfī al-Ḥuramī d. Shaʿbān, 298 (April-May, 911). See Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 9; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 108. The vocalization Ḥuramī is expressly indicated in Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, I, 159.

517 R: " his eyes," which is a wrong reading.

518 R (and similarly Miskawayh and Ibn al-Athīr): *an idhbaḥ*, for *arāda dhabḥ*. Quoting this text, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, VI, 429f., adds that "ʿAmr was one-eyed," but this fact does not seem to be stated elsewhere.

that al-Muʿtaḍid was near death, was unwilling to kill ʿAmr and did not do it. When al-Muktafī entered Baghdad, he reportedly asked al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh whether ʿAmr was still alive, and was happy when al-Qāsim replied that he was. The Caliph mentioned that he wanted to treat ʿAmr well, since ʿAmr had given him presents and shown much kindness to him when he stayed in al-Raqqah. Al-Muktafī now wanted to recompense him. Al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh reportedly disliked that[519] and clandestinely sent someone to kill ʿAmr.

On Rajab 26, 289 (July 6, 902), word arrived at Baghdad that a number of inhabitants of al-Rayy had entered into correspondence with Muḥammad b. Hārūn. He had been appointed governor of Ṭabaristān by Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, after he had killed Muḥammad b. Zayd al-ʿAlawī, but he had then seceded and chosen the color white.[520] Now, those people asked him to come to al-Rayy, so that they might bring him into the city (to take charge of it). This was because Ukratmush al-Turkī,[521] who was in charge of the city, reportedly behaved badly toward them. Ukratmush fought against Muḥammad b. Hārūn,[522] but Muḥam-
[2209] mad routed and killed him, / / two sons of his, and an officer of the central authorities called Abrūn,[523] a brother of Kayghalagh. Muḥammad b. Hārūn entered al-Rayy and took control of it.

In Rajab, 289 (June 11-July 10, 902), Baghdad was shaken by earthquakes which lasted many days and nights.

In this year, Badr, the page of al-Muʿtaḍid, was killed. This was the reason why he was killed: al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh had thought of transferring the caliphate, after al-Muʿtaḍid's death,

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519 Ibn Khallikān: "his asking about him."

520 For the color white (here to indicate pro-Shīʿah sentiment) as against the ʿAbbāsid black, in connection with Muḥammad b. Hārūn, see also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 194f., ed. Pellat, V, 167. For white used by the Qarmaṭians, see text below, 2264. See also Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, II, 51.

521 That is, Öğretmiş, see Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 82; Massignon, *Passion*², I, 472.

522 Or, "M. fought against U."

523 See text above, III, 1936, where Abrūn was in charge of Qazwīn in 266 (879-80); Massignon, *Passion*², I, 472. For the sons of Kayghalagh, see below, n. 677. For Kayghalagh, see text above, III, 1819, *sub anno* 256 (870).

to someone who was not one of al-Muʿtaḍid's sons. He had discussed the matter with Badr,[524] and Badr had refused, saying, "I am not willing to take the caliphate away from the sons of my master to whom I owe my success." Al-Qāsim realized that he would be unable to oppose Badr, since Badr was the commander of al-Muʿtaḍid's army and controlled his affairs, while enjoying the loyalty of his eunuchs and pages. Thus, when he saw Badr's attitude, he came to fear and hate him.

Now, when death came to al-Muʿtaḍid, Badr was in Fārs.[525] Al-Qāsim took all the official steps necessary for al-Muktafī in al-Raqqah to become caliph. He did so because of the estrangement that existed between Badr and al-Muktafī, when his father al-Muʿtaḍid was alive. From al-Muʿtaḍid's pages he exacted the oath of allegiance to al-Muktafī as caliph and informed al-Muktafī by letter about his action. When al-Muktafī arrived in Baghdad, Badr was still in Fārs, and al-Qāsim worked toward Badr's destruction. He did this reportedly in order to protect himself lest Badr approach al-Muktafī and inform him about al-Qāsim's idea, while al-Muʿtaḍid was alive, of diverting the caliphate from al-Muʿtaḍid's sons / / upon his death. [2210]

Al-Muktafī reportedly sent Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr[526] and a number of officers with messages and dispatches for the officers who were with Badr, ordering them to break away from Badr and come to him. The dispatches were transmitted to the officers in question. Yānis,[527] the eunuch of al-Muwaffaq, was sent against Badr with ten million dirhams to be distributed as bonuses to Badr's men, so that they would give the oath of allegiance to al-Muktafī. Yānis left with the money, but when he reached al-Ahwāz, Badr reportedly sent someone who seized the money from him, whereupon Yānis returned to Madīnat al-Salām. When

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524 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 25, adds, no doubt following a Ṭabarī recension, "after he had sworn him to secrecy."

525 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 25, mentions here for the first time the reason why Badr was in Fārs, as stated in the text above, III, 2203: "because he had been sent out to fight Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Layth who had usurped control over Fārs." This statement may go back to a *homoioteleuton* omission in the text of Ṭabarī, rather than an attempt by Miskawayh to make up for his earlier omission.

526 R: "Kushmard." See above, n. 398.

527 Yānis al-Muwaffaqī, d. 311 (923-4). See ʿArīb, 115f. His mausoleum is mentioned by Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 146, *sub anno* 344 (945-6). See, further, for instance, *Eclipse*, I, 74; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 187; Mottahedeh, *Loyalty*, 87.

al-Muktafī's dispatches reached the officers attached to Badr, a number of them left Badr and departed for Madīnat al-Salām, among them al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr al-Ghanawī, Khāqān al-Mufliḥī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundāj, Khafīf al-Adhkūtakīnī, and a number of others. When they reached Madīnat al-Salām, they went to al-Muktafī who reportedly bestowed robes of honor upon some eighty[528] of them and gave each of their leaders one hundred thousand dirhams. He gave less to others; he bestowed robes of honor upon some officers but did not give them any money.

In Rajab, 289 (June 11-July 10, 902), Badr departed intending to go to Wāsiṭ. When al-Muktafī learned that Badr was going to Wāsiṭ, he sequestered Badr's house and arrested a number of his pages and officers, whom he incarcerated, among them Niḥrīr the Elder,[529] Gharīb al-Jabalī,[530] and Manṣūr,[531] a son of the sister of ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī. Al-Muktafī had the officers[532] brought to him and told them that he would not appoint anyone as their amīr and that whoever needed something should meet with the wazīr,
[2211] as he had already ordered him to take care of their needs. / / He ordered Badr's name erased from shields and banners which bore the inscription "Abū al-Najm, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh."[533]

Badr wrote a letter to al-Muktafī. He entrusted it to Rundāq al-Saʿīdī[534] and dispatched him on swift camels. When the letter reached al-Muktafī, he took it, put someone in charge of that Rundāq, and had al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Kūrah march with an army on Wāsiṭ. Al-Muktafī reportedly sent him ahead and then sent Muḥammad b. Yūsuf down on the evening of Shaʿbān 28, 289 (August 7, 902), with a message for Badr.

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528 Text: "thirty." Read "eighty" as in RC, also Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 26.

529 Perhaps the Niḥrīr mentioned above, III, 1709f., *sub anno* 255 (869). Note, however, that the events are some thirty-five years removed.

530 The form of the name of this otherwise unknown individual is uncertain.

531 I have no further information about him.

532 Apparently, those mentioned earlier who had defected.

533 For this practice, see text above, III, 2115. Badr's *kunyah* Abū al-Najm is not often mentioned. See Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 199, 201. Note that Badr "Full Moon" had a son Hilāl "New Moon" and a patronymic containing a word for "star" (*najm*). This was not uncommon.

534 Text: Zaydān; read Rundāq as in RC as well as Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCXCIX. Nothing further is known about him.

Al-Muktafī had sent a message[535] to Badr when he left the administration of Fārs, offering him the governorship of any region he wanted, be it Iṣbahān or al-Rayy or al-Jibāl. He ordered him to go wherever he desired in these regions with whatever horsemen and foot soldiers he desired, and to stay there with them as governor. Badr refused saying, "It is absolutely necessary for me to go to the court of my master."[536] Al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh found an occasion to speak to al-Muktafī about him and said to him, "O Commander of the Faithful, we have offered to appoint Badr governor wherever he would want to go, but he refuses, wanting only to come to your court." He made al-Muktafī afraid of an attack by Badr upon him and urged the Caliph to meet Badr and fight him.[537]

When it was reported to Badr that his house had been sequestered and that his pages and associates had been incarcerated, he was certain that there was evil afoot. He sent someone to attempt to free his son Hilāl[538] and have him brought down to him. Al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh became aware of the attempt and ordered Hilāl guarded. He summoned Abū Khāzim, // the qāḍī of [2212]
al-Sharqiyyah, and ordered him to go to Badr. He was to meet with him, make him feel secure, and grant him a guarantee of safe-conduct from the Commander of the Faithful. The guarantee would be for himself and his son and would cover his property. Abū Khāzim reportedly told al-Qāsim that he needed to hear this directly from the Commander of the Faithful, so that he could transmit it to Badr on the Caliph's authority. Al-Qāsim told him to go back and wait until he could obtain permission for him to

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535 If the date just indicated is correct, it gives the date of the departure from Baghdad of the qāḍī Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, which is described later in much detail, and the message must be one sent earlier to Badr. Ṭabarī here clearly combines different reports on the sad event which at the time as well as later touched people deeply.

536 The use of the word *mawlā* "master" recalls Badr's status under al-Muʿtaḍid, an implication that would not have escaped the men around the new Caliph.

537 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 26, adds, no doubt from a Ṭabarī recension: "saying that he has openly shown his disloyalty."

538 Hilāl b. Badr was not an uncommon name at the time, but if Ibn al-ʿAdīm is correct in speaking of "Hilāl b. Badr, Abū al-Fatḥ, the page of al-Muʿtaḍid" (*Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. al-Dahhān, I, 96), Badr's son survived and became amīr of Damascus, then governor of Aleppo, in 316 (928) and, following that, governor of Quṭrabbul and Sāmarrā in 317 (929). The sources which would allow checking this information are not available to me.

go and see the Commander of the Faithful on this matter. However, he then summoned Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf and gave him the same order that he had given to Abū Khāzim. Abū ʿUmar accepted right away, and al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh gave him a letter of safe-conduct for Badr from al-Muktafī. Abū ʿUmar left with it for Badr.[539]

When Badr left Wāsiṭ, he was deserted by his men and by most of his pages, such as ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī, his son-in-law Yānis al-Musta'min,[540] Aḥmad b. Simʿān,[541] and Niḥrīr the Younger.[542] They went to al-Muktafī's tent to ask for guarantees of safe-conduct. On Ramaḍān 2, 289 (August 10, 902), al-Muktafī left Baghdad for his tent on the Diyālā River, accompanied by his entire army. He encamped there and bestowed robes of honor upon the group of men I have named, who had come to his tent, as well as a number of officers and troops. He placed a number of others in custody. Following this he had nine of them put in fetters and ordered them taken in fetters to the New Prison.

Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf reportedly met Badr near Wāsiṭ. He handed the letter of safe-conduct to him and informed him, on al-Muktafī's authority, about what al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh had told him. He then went up with Badr (toward Baghdad) in the latter's skiff. He had him travel hugging the east bank (of the Tigris),[543] while those of his pages who had remained with him, together with a number of troops and a large number of
[2213] Kurds and people of al-Jabal, accompanied him along // the bank of the Tigris. There was an understanding between Badr and Abū ʿUmar that Badr would enter Baghdad willingly and obediently. Badr crossed the Tigris and reached al-Nuʿmāniyyah, where he ordered those of his pages and men who had remained

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[539] As a judge, Abū ʿUmar was not likely to become knowingly involved in this sort of illegal politicking. Through his and his father's long association with al-Muʿtaḍid, and his awareness of Badr's position, he may have felt that Badr was in no danger, and he thus had no suspicions as Abū Khāzim did.

[540] The relationship by marriage apparently existed between Yānis and al-Nūsharī, and not between Yānis and Badr. There does not seem to be any further information about this Yānis, and it is not clear whether al-Musta'min is a nickname or descriptive.

[541] Aḥmad b. Simʿān is mentioned in Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 190.

[542] Niḥrīr the Younger died in 318 (930) holding the position of chief of security in Mosul. See ʿArīb, 146.

[543] See text above, III, 1893, where essentially the same localities are named as here.

with him to give up their weapons and abstain from any fighting; he also informed them about the letter of safe-conduct which Abū ʿUmar had brought him. While he was moving along, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundāj[544] arrived in a barge with a number of pages. Having transferred to the skiff, he was asked by Badr what was going on. He calmed Badr and talked kindly to him, and all the while everybody addressed Badr as amīr. It was, however, al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh who had sent Ibn Kundāj, telling him to let him know when he got together with Badr in one place. He now did so, whereupon al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh summoned Lu'lu',[545] one of the Caliph's pages, and told him that he had selected him for a job. When Lu'lu' replied that he was ready and willing, al-Qāsim said to him, "Go and take Badr from Ibn Kundājīq and bring his head to me!" Lu'lu' sailed in a flyer[546] until he caught up with Badr and those with him between Sīb Banī Kūmā and Aḍṭarbad.[547] He transferred from the flyer to the skiff and told Badr to get up. When Badr asked what was going on, Lu'lu' replied that no harm would come to him. He had him transferred to the flyer and traveled along with him until they came to an island at al-Ṣāfiyah. He took him out to the island and disembarked with him. He then called for a sword which he had with him, and unsheathed it. Now Badr was certain that he would be killed. He asked Lu'lu' to give him time to pray two *rakʿah*s. Lu'lu' granted him the delay, and Badr prayed two *rakʿah*s. Then Lu'lu' had him step forward and decapitated him. This // was before noon on Friday, Ramadān 6, 289 (Saturday, [2214]
August 14, 902).[548] Lu'lu' took Badr's head, returned to the flyer, and went back with the head to the encampment of al-Muktafī at the Diyālā River.

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544 R and Miskawayh (*Tajārib*, V, 28): "Kundājīq."

545 He appears to be known only from this report, unless he was identical with the Lu'lu' mentioned in the text below, 2241. Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 28, speaks of him as one of the noble (*nujabā'*) pages. As a newcomer, he had little choice but to accept what was clearly an unsavory and potentially risky assignment.

546 Another type of boat, commonly translated as above.

547 Described in text above, III, 1893, as located between al-Sīb and Dayr al-ʿĀqūl. The vocalization is uncertain and is seemingly not indicated in the sources. The text in B reads: *wa-man-maʿahū fa-laqiyahum bayn*..." and those who were with him. Then he met them..."

548 The poem which follows this account confirms that the killing took place on Friday.

Badr's corpse was left where it was and remained there. Later his family sent someone secretly to get his corpse. They placed it in a casket and concealed it in their house. During the pilgrimage season, they reportedly carried it to Mecca and buried it there, as he had stipulated in his last will. Before he was killed, he had manumitted all his slaves. After his death, the central authorities took over his estates, farms, houses, and all that he owned.

On Ramaḍān 7, 289 (August 15, 902), the killing of Badr was reported to al-Muktafī. He rode back to Madīnat al-Salām accompanied by the troops that were with him. Badr's head had been brought to him and had reached him before he left his place of encampment. He ordered it cleansed and placed[549] in the treasury.[550]

On Monday, Ramaḍān 8, 289 (Monday, August 16, 902), the qāḍī Abū ʿUmar went back to his house saddened and grieved by his role in the affair. People talked about him and said that it was he who had caused Badr's death. They composed poems about Abū ʿUmar such as:

(1) Ask the qāḍī of the City of al-Manṣūr:
On what grounds did you allow the taking of the amīr's head,
(2) After he was given solemn assurances and
Declarations under oath[551] in an official patent?
(3) Where are your oaths—which God attests
Are the oaths of a wicked man—
(4) That your hands would not let go
[2215] His, until he sees the occupant of the throne? / /
(5) You shameless person and greatest liar
In the community, you perjurer!

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[549] R: *fa-jaʿalūhā*" and they placed it."

[550] Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 29, specifies "treasury of heads." For this term, see, for instance, Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, X, 378, l. 19.

[551] *Amān* "safe conduct" appears in authors quoting the verses but may be a simplification. At any rate, Ṭabarī can be assumed to have had *aymān* "oaths."

(6) This is not what judges do and the like of it is just
Not done by those in charge of the bridges.[552]
(7) What did you do on that splendid
Friday in the best of all months!
(8) The one whom you have killed went in Ramaḍān
Fasting after prostration in the dust.[553]
(9) O Banū Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb! The people of
Baghdad have been deceived by you.
(10) May God confound you and may He let me see
You humiliated during the lifetime of this wazīr![554]
(11) Thus prepare for your reply to the Just
Judge after Munkar and Nakīr![555]
(12) All of you be ransom for Abū
Khāzim who is straight in every respect.

On Ramaḍān 9,[556] 289 (August 17, 902), Rundāq al-Saʿīdī, who had earlier been sent as a messenger by Badr to al-Muktafī, together with the nine officers who had been put in fetters, and seven others of Badr's men who had been seized after them, was carried in a ship's hold[557] to al-Baṣrah, where they all were detained in the Baṣrah prison.

Lu'lu', who was charged with Badr's killing, was reportedly a page of Muḥammad b. Hārūn who had killed Muḥammad b.

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552 *Wulāt al-jusūr* is meant to be parallel to "judges" and refers to the high ranking officials in charge of the maintenance of the bridges and the supervision of the bridge traffic. See text above, III, 1727, 2185 (appointment of Ṣāliḥ al-Amīn to the position); text above, III, 2027, and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VII, 345 (speaking of Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir); Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 259, ed. Pellat, V, 197 (in a verse of a poem by Ibn Bassām al-Bassāmī which has *tawallā al-jusūra*, quoted, however, by other authors as *tawallā al-ʿIrāqa*). The plural "bridges" may, in fact, be poetical license for the dual indicating the two main bridges of Baghdad usually referred to in this connection.

553 *Sajdat al-taʿfīr* is an allusion to a ḥadīth, see *Concordance*, IV, 282b60ff. In Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, verse 8 precedes verse 7.

554 "After the humiliation of the wazīr" in Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, may be a simplification. In fact, the poet suggests that the wazīr's life will come to a speedy end, and Abū ʿUmar will be humiliated as speedily.

555 Abū ʿUmar will have to justify his action before God on the Last Day, after having undergone in the grave the painful inquisition by the two angels, Munkar and Nakīr.

556 Text: "seven"; read "nine" as in R, since the event is likely to have taken place after Badr's execution. "This year (289)," omitted in the edition, is found in BR.

557 *Safīnah muṭabba/iqah* or *muṭba/iqah* (see Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 295, 359) seems to refer to a covered boat with a hold suitable for transporting prisoners (as in *muṭbi/aq* "prison" ?).

Zayd in Ṭabaristān and Ukratmush in al-Rayy. He had come to the central authorities in Baghdad to ask for a guarantee of safe-conduct together with a number of Muḥammad b. Hārūn's pages.

On Monday night, Ramaḍān 16, 289 (Tuesday, August 24, 902),
[2216] // ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq[558] was reportedly killed. When he was arrested, his mother reportedly sent a nurse of his with him to the house of Mu'nis.[559] He was separated from the nurse, while she remained there for two or three days and was then sent back to the residence of her mistress, the mother of ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. The latter was told, whenever she asked about him, that he was in the palace of al-Muktafī and in good health. She hoped that he would stay alive; but when al-Muktafī died, she gave up and held a wake for him.

⌜*The Rest of the Important Developments that took Place during the Year 289 (902)*⌝[560]

One of the events was a dispatch which reached the central authorities in Baghdad from Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, the ruler of Khurāsān, on Shaʿbān 20, 289 (June 30, 902). The dispatch contained the information that a battle had taken place in Ṭabaristān between the men of Ismāʿīl b. Ahmad and Ibn Justān al-Daylamī.[561] In the battle, Ismāʿīl's men routed Ibn Justān. The dispatch of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad was read in the two Friday Mosques of Baghdad.

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558 According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 227ff., ed. Pellat, V, 183f., ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was a rather unimportant and immoral young man. His pension, as well as that of his sisters, is mentioned by Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 25; Busse, "Hofbudget," 27.

559 According to Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 227f., ed. Pellat, V, 183, it was the house of Mu'nis al-Faḥl, that is, Mu'nis al-Khāzin. He was named *al-faḥl* in order to distinguish him from all those many eunuchs named Mu'nis, see Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 374, ll. 8f.

560 The rubric is found in neither R nor C. It owes its existence in B to the fact that at this point a new part of the parts into which the *History* was divided had its beginning.

561 See text above, III, 1285f.

In this year, after Badr had been killed, one of his men called Isḥāq al-Farghānī[562] went to the desert region together with a number of his men to oppose the central authorities. A battle took place there between him and Abū al-Agharr in which Abū al-Agharr was routed and a number of his men and officers were killed. Thereafter Mu'nis al-Khāzin was sent with a large army to al-Kūfah to fight Isḥāq al-Farghānī. // [2217]

At the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah, 289 (November 5, 902), a robe of honor was bestowed upon Khāqān al-Mufliḥī, and he was put in charge of security in al-Rayy. Five thousand men were attached to him.

In this year, a man who had gathered an army of Arab tribesmen and others appeared in Syria. He went with his men to Damascus where Ṭughj b. Juff was in charge of security on behalf of Hārūn b. Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. This was at the end of the year 289 (December 4, 902). Many people were reportedly killed in the numerous battles that took place between Ṭughj and him.

A report on the man who appeared in Syria and on the reason for his appearance there

Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh was, as we have mentioned, the *dā'ī of* Qarmaṭ.[563] When al-Mu'taḍid constantly sent armies against the Qarmaṭians in the Kūfan countryside and persevered in their pursuit, causing them severe losses, Zikrawayh saw that the Qarmaṭians would not be able to defend themselves or find help from the inhabitants of the Sawād. He therefore worked hard at inveigling the Asad, Ṭayyi', Tamīm, and other Arab tribes who lived near al-Kūfah. He tried to convert them to his views and suggested to them that if they were to respond to his call, the Qarmaṭians in the Sawād would join them in his cause. However, they did not respond to his efforts. A number of the Kalb were

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562 No further information about him seems to be available.

563 See *EI*², s. v. Ḳarmaṭī. Ṭabarī refers the reader back to III, 2127f. For a revaluation of Ṭabarī's information on the sons of Zikrawayh and their relation to Egyptian Fāṭimid history, see Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs."

protecting[564] the desert road at al-Samāwah, which was located between al-Kūfah and Damascus on the Palmyra Road, and at other places. Their occupation was to move messengers and merchant goods on their camels. Zikrawayh now sent his sons to them. They pledged allegiance to them and mingled among
[2218] them, / / claiming descent from Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar.[565] They mentioned that they were afraid of the central authorities and were seeking refuge with them. The Kalb accepted them on this basis.

The sons of Zikrawayh then made surreptitious propaganda for the views of the Qarmaṭians among them, but none of the Kalbites accepted their views, except a subtribe known as the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ b. Ḍamḍam b. ʿAdī b. Janāb,[566] and especially their *mawlā*s. At the end of the year 289 (December 4, 902), they declared allegiance to a son of Zikrawayh named Abū al-Qāsim Yaḥyā in the region of al-Samāwah. They nicknamed him al-Shaykh, a nickname he had given himself because of something he had attempted to do among them.[567] He asserted to them that he was Abū[568] ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad. ⌜According to another report, he asserted that he was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yaḥyā,[569] and again, that he was Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad⌝ b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—although Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl reportedly had no son called ʿAbdallāh.[570] He asserted to them that his father, who was known as Abū Maḥmūd, was a *dāʿī* of his[571] and that he had one hundred

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564 That is, they extorted money from those using the road, as in the text above, III, 2190, and as explained in III, 1010.

565 The abstruse ʿAlid pedigrees claimed by the Qarmaṭian leaders tend to connect them with the Ismāʿīlī (Sevener) Shīʿah and the Egyptian Fāṭimids. See also Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 34.

566 For the ʿUllayṣ, a subdivision of the ʿAbdallāh b. Kinānah/Kalb, see Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, table 282; II, 567b.

567 I do not know of any explanation of this statement.

568 R: "Ibn."

569 Was this Yaḥyā the son of the fifth imām Zayd, or the grandson of Yaḥyā b. Zayd who was killed in al-Kūfah in 250 (864) and had once attempted a minor, abortive uprising in 235 (849-50)?

570 ʿAbdallāh, however, also figures in the pedigree of the Egyptian Fāṭimids.

571 It is not clear whether "his" refers to Abū al-Qāsim Yaḥyā or ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.

thousand followers in the Sawād and in the East and West.[572] He also asserted that the she-camel he was riding was blessed[573] and that if they followed her wherever she went, they would be victorious. He acted as a soothsayer among them. He also exhibited // a shortened arm he had and mentioned that this [2219] was his sign. A number of the Banū al-Aṣbagh[574] flocked to him. They showed sincere devotion to him, called themselves Fāṭimids, and adopted his religion.

Subuk al-Daylamī,[575] the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh, pursued them in the region of al-Ruṣāfah[576] in Diyār Muḍar west of the Euphrates, but they launched a surprise attack, killing him and burning down the mosque of al-Ruṣāfah. Attacking every village they passed, they eventually reached the administrative territory of Syria which had been ceded peacefully to Hārūn b. Khumārawayh[577] and which Hārūn had entrusted to Ṭughj b. Juff. Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh now laid siege to Syria. He routed every army of Ṭughj he encountered and eventually pinned him down in the city of Damascus. The Egyptians then dispatched Badr the Elder,[578] the page of Ibn Ṭūlūn, against Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh. Badr joined forces with Ṭughj against Yaḥyā, and he attacked them[579] near Damascus. God killed the enemy of God, Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh. He was reportedly killed, because a Berber struck him with a short spear and then a flame thrower sprayed him with fire, burning him. This was in the midst of the battle at its fiercest point. Then, however, the tide turned against the Egyptians, and they fled.

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572 That is, the provinces east and west of the Iraq.

573 "Blessed (*ma'mūrah*)" refers to the ḥadīth of the "prolific filly (*muhrah ma'mūrah*)," see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CXIX; *Concordance*, I, 100a25; and the dictionaries.

574 See Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, table 282; II, 202a, with the genealogy al-Aṣbagh—ʿAmr—Thaʿlabah—al-Ḥārith—Ḥiṣn—Ḍamḍam.

575 Nothing further seems to be known about him. See below, nn. 590 and 644. The vocalization of the name adopted here follows that in the well-known name Sebuktegin. See A. S. Halkin's translation of Baghdādī, *Farq*, 125, n. 5.

576 That is, the Ruṣāfah of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

577 See text above, III, 2185f.

578 That is, Badr al-Ḥammāmī.

579 Or, "they attacked him."

The *mawlās* of the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ ⌜joined the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ ⌝[580] and the Aṣbaghites and others who were with them ⌜and⌝ agreed to install al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh,[581] the brother of the one nicknamed al-Shaykh, as their leader, which they did. Al-Ḥusayn asserted to them that he was Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad and that he was some twenty years old. The one nicknamed al-Shaykh had abetted the *mawlās*
[2220] of the Banū // al-ʿUllayṣ against them, and they had killed a number of them and humiliated them. They now declared allegiance to al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh, who was named Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, after the death of his brother. He exhibited a mole on his face and mentioned that it was his sign. He had been joined recently by the son of his paternal uncle ʿĪsā b. Mihrawayh, who was named ʿAbdallāh.[582] He asserted that he was ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad. Al-Ḥusayn gave ʿAbdallāh the nickname of al-Muddaththir and made a covenant with him. He mentioned that he was the one meant in the *sūrah* in which *al-muddaththir* is mentioned.[583] He nicknamed a servant of his family al-Muṭawwaq[584] and put him in charge of killing captured Muslims. He defeated the Egyptians and the troops of Ḥimṣ and other Syrian cities, and had himself designated from the pulpits as the commander of the faithful. All this took place during *the rest of*[585] 289 and in 290 (902-3).

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580 The bracketed passage is not found in RB and Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 32, and should probably be omitted.

581 His history to his death in 291 is known from the following pages. He was nicknamed "Man of the Mole" after the mole on his face, and is commonly referred to by this designation,.

582 ʿAbdallāh died together with his cousin al-Ḥusayn. See text below, 2245f. There seems to be no additional information about ʿĪsā. Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 118f., speaks of al-Muddaththir as "ʿĪsā, the son of Mihrawayh's sister." See also Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 33.

583 Qur. 74:1.

584 A number of vocalizations and explanations of the nickname are possible, but al-Muṭawwaq may be intended to mean "charged with an onerous and difficult duty." Considering his alleged assignment, this seems quite appropriate. Note, however, that the verb as it appears in the Qur'ān and the ḥadīth always appears in a negative context and that he is described as a young boy in the text below, 2343. It is not certain whether *ghulām* is, in fact, meant here to be a servant.

585 The addition is from RC.

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 9, 280 (December 14, 902), when people were praying in summer clothing in Baghdad, the northwind started to blow at the time of the afternoon prayer. It turned so cold that people had to kindle fires to warm themselves and put on padded clothes and overcoats. It became colder and colder until the water froze.

In this year, a battle took place between Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad in al-Rayy and Muḥammad b. Hārūn who at the time reportedly had about eight thousand men under his command. Muḥammad b. Hārūn was routed, and his men separated from him[586] He was followed // by about a thousand of his men to the Daylam [2221]
country, and when he arrived there, he asked the Daylam for protection. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad entered al-Rayy. After the rout about a thousand of Muḥammad b. Hārūn's men reportedly went to the Caliph's court in Baghdad.

⌜On Jumādā II 4, 289 (May 16, 902), al-Qāsim b. Sīmā[587] was put in charge of the summer campaign in the border towns of al-Jazīrah. Thirty-two thousand dīnārs were allocated to him.⌝[588]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hāshimī.[589]

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586 R completes the lacuna in the text: *wa-tafarraqa ʿanhu*.

587 Al-Qāsim b. Sīmā al-Farghānī died Friday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 22, 305 (Friday, June 5, 918). See ʿArīb, 68. See also *Eclipse*, I, 15; Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 6.

588 For this entry, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 17. It is not found in either R or C, a somewhat unusual agreement between these two manuscripts.

589 Al-Faḍl was the leader of the pilgrimage from 289 through 304. See also Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, IX, 75, ed. Pellat, V, 299f. His son led the pilgrimage in 305, but he participated in it. He died in Ṣafar, 307 (July, 919). See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 197. ʿArīb, 118, 124, erred when he said that he led the pilgrimage in 311 and 312; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 211, l. 12, names al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Hāshimī for the year 312.

Al-Faḍl's full pedigree was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad. ʿUbaydallāh is usually not included but is likely to be correct; he led the pilgrimage in 187 (803) (see text above, III, 701). Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, a much younger brother of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, was born about four years before the death of his father. He was an important figure during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He died, at the age of sixty-five, in Rajab, 186 (July-August, 802) (Ibn al-Athīr mentions the death of ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās, a nephew of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, *sub anno* 186, but this may be an error). Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, XI, 124f., tells us that descendants of al-Faḍl were still living in Baghdad in his time, around the middle of the eleventh century.

The Events of the Year 290

(DECEMBER 5, 902 - NOVEMBER 23, 903)

One of the events that took place this year was that al-Muktafī dispatched an emissary to Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad on al-Muḥarram 2, 290 (December 6, 902). He was accompanied by ʿAbdallāh b. al-Fatḥ, and he carried robes of honor and Ismāʿīl's letter of appointment as governor of al-Rayy as well as gifts.

On al-Muḥarram 25, 290 (December 29, 902), a dispatch from ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā *b. al-Jarrāh* reportedly arrived at Baghdad from al-Raqqah. In it ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā mentioned that the Qarmaṭian Ibn Zikrawayh, known as al-Shaykh, had reached al-Raqqah with many troops. A number of the Caliph's men headed by Subuk,[590] the page of al-Muktafī, went out and attacked him. Subuk was killed, and the Caliph's men were routed.

On Rabīʿ II 6, 290 (March 9, 903), word reached Baghdad that
[2222] Ṭughj b. Juff / / had led an army out of Damascus against the Qarmaṭian. It was commanded by a page of his named Bashīr.[591] The Qarmaṭian attacked them, routed the army, and killed Bashīr.

On Rabīʿ II 16, 280 (March 19, 903), a robe of honor was bestowed upon Abū al-Agharr, and he was sent to fight the Qarmaṭian in the Syrian region. He went to Aleppo with ten thousand men.

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590 It would seem that he is identical with Subuk al-Daylamī, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, mentioned in the preceding year (see above, n. 575). Note that the previous report came from west of the desert, and the one here from east of it.

591 There is no further information about him.

On Rabīʿ II 18, 290 (March 21, 903), a robe of honor was bestowed upon Abū al-ʿAshā'ir Aḥmad b. Naṣr,[592] and he was appointed governor of Ṭarsūs. Muẓaffar b. Ḥājj[593] had been removed from the governorship because of complaints from the inhabitants of the border region against him.

On Jumādā I[594] 15, 290 (April 16, 903), letters from merchants, dated Rabīʿ II 22 (March 25), arrived at Baghdad from Damascus with the information that the Qarmaṭian nicknamed al-Shaykh had routed Ṭughj more than once and killed all but a few of his men. Ṭughj had remained in Damascus with a small group and refused to go out. The populace would gather and go out to fight. They[595] were close to ruin. A number of *them and of the* Baghdādī merchants gathered the very same day to go to *the qāḍī* Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb. They had him read their letters and asked him to go to the wazīr and inform him about the inhabitants of Damascus. He promised them that he would do that.

On Jumādā I 23, 290 (April 24, 903), Abū Khāzim, Yūsuf, and Yūsuf's son Muḥammad were brought to the Caliph's palace simultaneously with the close associate[596] of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. al-Layth. Peace was made with (Ṭāhir) on condition that he remit the (tax) revenues of Fārs (to the central authorities). Al-Muktafī then appointed Ṭāhir to administrate / / Fārs and [2223]
bestowed a robe of honor upon his close associate. Robes of honor were taken to Ṭāhir together with the letter of appointment.

In Jumādā I, 290 (April 2-May 1, 903), an officer who had sought and obtained a guarantee of safe-conduct, Abū Saʿīd al-Khuwārizmī,[597] fled from Madīnat al-Salām and took the Mosul

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592 Abū al-ʿAshā'ir al-ʿUqaylī was killed in 294 (906). See text below, 2271f. For this and the following item on him, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 18.
593 See above, n. 401.
594 R: "Jumādā II."
595 The merchants may be meant rather than the Damascenes in general. The addition in R in the following sentence referring to "them" probably indicates that some of the Damascene merchants had come to Baghdad.
596 The identity of this *ṣāḥib* (approximately translated "close associate") remains to be established.
597 I have no further information about him.

Road. Orders that he be confronted and seized were sent to ʿAbdallāh who was known as Ghulām Nūn,[598] who was in charge of security in Takrīt and adjoining administrative districts to the borders of Sāmarrā; (similar orders were also sent) to Mosul. ʿAbdallāh supposedly confronted Abū Saʿīd, but Abū Saʿīd deceived him, so that the two came together peacefully. Abū Saʿīd then assaulted ʿAbdallāh, killing him. He then went on to Shahrazūr. He joined up with Ibn Abī al-Rabīʿ al-Kurdī and married into his family.[599] The two agreed to rebel against the central authorities. Abū Saʿīd was killed afterwards, and those who had gathered around him dispersed.

On Jumādā II 10, 290 (May 11 903), Abū al-ʿAshā'ir left for his administrative post in Ṭarsūs, and a number of volunteers left with him to undertake raids. He carried with him gifts for the Byzantine ruler from al-Muktafī.

After the afternoon prayer on Jumādā II, 19, 290 (May 20, 903), al-Muktafī left Baghdad for Sāmarrā with the intention of undertaking construction and moving there. He entered Sāmarrā on Thursday, Jumādā II 24, 290 (Wednesday, May 25, 903), and then departed for tents which had been set up for him in al-Jawsaq.[600] He summoned al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh and the men in charge of construction, and they gave him an estimate of its cost. They made it a high estimate and said that it would take a long time to finish construction of what he wanted to build. Al-Qāsim undertook to change al-Muktafī's mind by describing the expenditures
[2224] as too great. The estimated amount of money // deterred al-Muktafī,[601] and he gave up his plan. He called for lunch and after eating went to sleep. When he woke up, he rode to the bank of the river and took a seat in a flyer. Al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh ordered *the people* to go back down to Baghdad. Most people turned

[598] The final letter is *r* or *d* in CR, instead of *n*. Further information would be needed to establish the correct form of the name and the identity of the individual.
[599] Ibn Abī al-Rabīʿ al-Kurdī, about whom I have no further information, probably made Abū Saʿīd his son-in-law, but other relationships are possible.
[600] That is, the famous palace in Sāmarrā.
[601] R: *fa-naqalahū*, instead of *fa-thanāhu* in the edition.

back before reaching Sāmarrā when they were met by those who were on their way back down.

On Rajab[602] 9, 290 (June 8, 903), robes of honor were bestowed upon the two sons of al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh.[603] The older son was put in charge of the estates of the (Caliph's) offspring and wives as well as expenditures, while the younger son was appointed secretary to Abū Aḥmad,[604] the son of al-Muktafī. These offices had belonged to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Naṣrānī, who was removed from them. Al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh had suspected that al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Naṣrānī had been approaching al-Muktafī to intrigue against him, and he was showing open hostility to him in the presence of the Caliph. As a result, al-Qāsim continuously intrigued against al-Ḥusayn and hardened al-Muktafī's heart against him, until he accomplished what he wished would happen to al-Ḥusayn.[605]

On Friday, Shaʿbān 16, 290 (Friday, July 15, 903), two dispatches were read in the two Friday Mosques of Madīnat al-Salām. They announced that Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh, nicknamed al-Shaykh, had been killed by the Egyptians at the gate of Damascus. There had been continuous battles between him and the inhabitants of Damascus, their soldiers, and the Egyptian reinforcements. He had broken their forces, killing many of them in the process

That Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh used to ride a camel saddled for him[606] and wear wide garments, an Arab tribal / / head covering, [2225]
and a veil. From the time he first appeared he never rode on horseback until the day he was killed. He had given orders to his men not to engage anyone in combat, even of they were attacked, until the camel would move by itself. He told them that if they did that, they would never be defeated. He mentioned[607] that if he

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602 Text: "seven"; read "nine" as in RC.

603 The two sons were al-Ḥusayn and Muḥammad. The date of al-Ḥusayn's death is not securely attested; it probably was 322 (934). See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, II, 745, 463ff. Muḥammad died in 321 (933). See Sourdel, II, 476-78.

604 Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. al-Muktafī was involved in conspiracies in 318 (930) (ʿArīb, 152) and 320-1 (932-3) (ʿArīb, 185; Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 77; Ibn Kathir, *Bidāyah*, XI, 172f.). He died in 321 (933). See also below, n. 707.

605 As described in the text below, 2230.

606 R: *yurḥalu lahū*.

607 The active here seems preferable to the passive.

should point his hand in the direction of those fighting him, the people there would be routed. In this way, he deceived the Arab tribesmen.[608]

On the day Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh, nicknamed al-Shaykh, was killed, his men rallied around his brother al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh; al-Ḥusayn searched for his brother among those killed, and having found his corpse, he concealed it. He had himself acknowledged as leader and called himself Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh. Badr's[609] men later realized that al-Shaykh had been killed, and searched for his corpse among those killed but could not find it.

Al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh propagandized as his brother had done. Most of the tribesmen and others from among all the people (in the region) responded to his call. He gained great strength, came out in the open, and marched on Damascus. The inhabitants of Damascus reportedly concluded a truce with him in return for the payment of tax money. Following this he left them. He then moved on the environs of Ḥimṣ and seized control of the city. His name was mentioned from the pulpits during the Friday service. He called himself al-Mahdī.[610] He then moved on the city of Ḥimṣ. Fearing for their lives, its inhabitants declared their loyalty and opened the city gate to him. He entered Ḥimṣ, and then moved from there on Ḥamāh, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, and other cities, killing their inhabitants, including women, *children,* and infants. Then he moved on Baʿlabakk and killed most of its inhabitants, until only a few ⌜reportedly⌝
[2226] were left. From there he moved on // Salamyah,[611] but its inhabitants fought and prevented him from entering. He thereupon made promises to them, granting them a guarantee of safe-conduct. As a result, they opened the city gate to him, and he entered Salamyah. First he began killing the Hāshimites, a number of whom lived there. Then, he killed all the inhabitants.

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[608] Miskawayh, in his quotation (*Tajārib*, V, 33), summarized this paragraph in the words: "He used to claim to be a prophet and soothsayer."

[609] That is, Badr al-Ḥammāmī.

[610] That is, he claimed to be the expected redeemer (*mahdī*). See also the prominent position accorded to this claim in the protocol of the Qarmaṭian leader (see below, 2232).

[611] The reputed home of the Egyptian Fāṭimids and, as we see here, a preferred place of residence for the ʿAbbāsid/Hāshimite aristocracy in Syria.

He slaughtered the animals and afterwards the school children. Following this he departed, reportedly leaving not a living soul there. He then moved on the surrounding villages, killing, taking captives, burning, and making the roads unsafe.

The following story is told on the authority of a physician from Bāb al-Muḥawwal,[612] called Abū al-Ḥasan:

After the Qarmaṭian Man of the Mole and his men had been brought to Baghdad,[613] a woman came to me and said that she had a problem with her shoulder which she wanted me to treat. When I asked her what it was, she replied that it was a wound. I said that I was an eye doctor, but that there was a woman here who treated women and also wounds; she should wait for her to come. She sat down, and I saw that she was sad and crying. I asked her what was the matter with her and what had caused her wound? She replied that hers was a long story. I told her to tell me as she would a friend, now that the people who were in my home[614] had gone.

She said: I had a son who had been away for a long time. He had left sisters of his for me to take care of. I was in tight circumstances and in need, and I longed for him. He had gone to the region of al-Raqqah. I therefore left for Mosul, Balad, and al-Raqqah, all the while searching for him and asking about him, but I was unable to find him.

Having left al-Raqqah in search of him, I came upon the Qarmaṭian camp. I began to walk around, looking for him. While doing that, I saw him. I clung to him and said, "Son!," and he said, "(You are) my mother?" I answered, "Yes," and he said, "How are my sisters doing?" I replied, "They are well." I complained *to him* / / about the tight circumstances we had gotten [2227]
into after he had left. He took me to his residence and sat in front

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[612] For Bāb al-Muḥawwal, see Lassner, *Topography*, 247. I have not succeeded in identifying Abū al-Ḥasan.

The following story, which in contrast to the frequent documents is pure fiction, is nevertheless most illuminating with respect to the Qarmaṭian phenomenon. It is also an extraordinary specimen of the art of storytelling hardly matched elsewhere in Arabic literature with its genius for the genre. Carefully constructed for maximum suspense and effect, it contains subtle descriptions of human character and skillfully intermingles personal experiences with highly tendentious and inflammable political propaganda.

[613] For al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh's humiliating end in Baghdad, see text below, 2245.

[614] That is, the patients in his waiting room.

of me. He started *talking to me*, asking for news about us, and I told him. Then he said, "Don't tell me anymore about that! Tell me what is your religion?" I replied, "Why are you asking me about my religion when you know me and you know what my religion is?" He replied, "All the beliefs we once held are wrong. The (true) religion is the beliefs we are holding now." I thought this exceedingly strange. When he noticed my reaction, he went out and left me. Then he sent me bread and meat and things good for him[615] and told me to cook, but I left it all untouched. He came back later, cooked the food, and cleansed his place.

Someone knocked at the door. He went out, and there was a man there who asked him whether that woman who had come to him knew how to take care of certain matters pertaining to women. My son asked me, and I said that I did. The man then told me to come with him. I went with him, and he brought me into a house where there was a woman about to give birth. I seated myself in front of her and started to talk to her, but she did not respond. The man who brought me to her then said to me, "You don't have to talk to her. Take good care of her business and don't talk to her!" I stayed until she gave birth to a boy, and I took care of him. I started to talk to her kindly and said, "Woman! Don't be bashful with me! You are obligated to me. Let me hear your story and tell me who is the father of this child!" She said, "Are you asking me about his father, so that you can go to him and ask him for a gift?" I replied, "No! I just want to know your story."

She told me, "I am a Hāshimite women." She raised her head,
[2228] and I saw the most beautiful / / face. "Those people came to us and slaughtered my father, my mother, my brothers, and my entire family. Their leader then seized me, and I stayed with him five days. He then took me out and handed me over to his men, saying to them, 'Cleanse her!'[616] They meant to kill me, and I cried. One of his officers present said, 'Give her to me!', to which he responded, 'Take her!' So he took me. But three of his men were standing in his presence. They drew their swords and said, 'We shall not hand her over to you. Hand her over to us, or

[615] Text: "good for me"; read as in RC.
[616] That is, "kill her." See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCCXLIII.

we shall kill you.' They meant to kill me and caused a stir. Their Qarmaṭian leader called and asked them what was the matter, and they told him. He said, 'She shall belong to all four of you.' They took me, and I stayed with the four of them. By God, I do not know which of them is the father of this boy."

(The woman in Baghdad) continued: After the evening prayer, a man came, and she told me to congratulate him. I congratulated him on the newborn child, and he gave me a silver ingot. Another man, and still another came. I congratulated each one, and each gave me a silver ingot. At dawn, a group of people came with a man. A torch was carried before him. He wore silk clothes, and the smell of musk emanated from him. She told me to congratulate him. I rose and went to him and said, "May God gladden your face! Praised be God who has given you this son!" I blessed him, and he gave me an ingot weighing a thousand dirhams.[617] The man spent the night in one room, and I spent the night with the woman in another.

In the morning, I said to her , "Woman! You are obligated to me. For God's sake, set me free!" When she asked me from what she should set me free, I told her about my son, saying, "I came because I wanted him. He told me such // and such things. I [2229] cannot do anything with him.[618] I have *little* daughters, unable to take care of themselves, whom I left behind in the worst possible condition. Therefore set me free, so that I can leave here and rejoin my daughters!" She said to me, "You have to ask the man who was the last to come. Ask him for it, and he will set you free." I stayed all day until evening. When he came back, I approached him, kissed his hand and foot, and said, "My lord, you are obligated to me. God has enriched me through you and your gift. I have poor daughters unable to take care of themselves. If you allow me to go, I shall bring my daughters, and they shall be before you and serve you." He said, "Will you do that?" When I said I would, he called some of his pages and told them to escort me to such and such a place and then leave me and come back. They had me mount a horse and escorted me *to the place.*

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[617] Roughly three thousand grams.
[618] That is, probably, I cannot get any help from him.

She continued: While we were traveling, suddenly here was my son galloping along. We had already traveled ten *farsakh*s (sixty km), or so the people who were with me told me. He came up to me *where we were* and said, "You whore! You plan to go and bring your daughters?" He drew his sword to strike me. The people *who were with me* restrained him, but the edge of his sword touched me and entered my shoulder. The people drew their swords, intending to get at him. He therefore drew away from me.[619] They took me to the place which their master had designated, and then left me and went away. When I arrived here, I made the rounds *of the physicians in Baghdad* in order to find someone to treat my wound. This place was described to me, and so I have come here.

⌜She continued:⌝ When the Commander of the Faithful arrived with the captured Qarmaṭian and his men, I went out to look at
[2230] them. Among them I saw / / my son upon a camel wearing a hood and crying; he was a young man. I said to him, "May God not grant you relief and escape!"

The physician said: When the woman doctor came, I took her to her and commended her to her care. She treated her wound and gave her a salve. After she had left, I asked the woman doctor about her. She said, "I had my hand placed upon the wound and told her to exhale. She did, and the breath came out through the wound underneath my hand. I do not think she will recover." She went off and did not return to us.

On Shawwāl 18, 290 (September 14, 903), al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh had al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr al-Naṣrānī arrested and incarcerated. That was because al-Ḥusayn had constantly intrigued against him and slandered him in the presence of al-Muktafī. Eventually (the Caliph) ordered (al-Qāsim) to arrest him. When al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr was arrested, his secretary who was known as al-Shīrāzī[620] fled. He was sought, the residences of his neighbors were raided, and a certain sum was announced as a reward for finding him, but he was not found. On Shawwāl 22, 290 (September 18, 903), al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAmr was returned to his residence on condition that

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619 R: "them."

620 I have no further information about him.

he leave Baghdad. On the following Friday (September 23, 903), he left, going toward Wāsiṭ into exile. His secretary al-Shīrāzī was found on Dhū al-Qaʿdah[621] 3, 290 (September 28, 903).

On Ramaḍān 2, 290 (July 30, 903), al-Muktafī gave orders that the army be given its allotments and made ready to go to war with the Qarmaṭian in Syria. One hundred thousand dīnārs were allocated to the army all at once. This was because // the [2231]
Egyptians[622] had written to al-Muktafī and complained about their suffering at the hands of Zikrawayh's son known as the Man of the Mole. He was devastating the country and killing the people. They had also suffered earlier at the hands of his brother; the two had killed their men, and only a few were now left.

⌜On Ramaḍān 5, 290 (August 2, 903), al-Muktafī's tents were taken out and set up at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah.⌝ At dawn on Ramaḍān 7,[623] (August 4, 903), al-Muktafī went to his tent at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah accompanied by his officers, pages, and troops. On Ramaḍān 12 (August 9), he left his tent at dawn and took to the Mosul Road. On Ramaḍān 15 (August 12), Abū al-Agharr went to Aleppo. He encamped at Wādī Buṭnān near Aleppo together with all his men. ⌜A number of his men took off⌝. their clothes and went into the river[624] to cool off in the water, because it was a very hot day. While they were thus engaged, the army of the Qarmaṭian known as the Man of the Mole came *upon them*, preceded by[625] the man known as al-Muṭawwaq. He surprised them in this condition and killed a large number of them and looted their camp. Abū al-Agharr fled with a number of his men and entered Aleppo; about a thousand men escaped with him. He had had about ten thousand horsemen and foot soldiers, since a number of officers and men of the Farghānah contingent from the Caliph's court had been attached to him. Only a few of them escaped. The Qarmaṭian's men arrived at

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621 R: "Ramaḍān."

622 "Egyptians" refers to the armed forces in Syria under Egyptian control. Understandably, R reads "Syrians," and Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 35, has "Egyptians and Syrians."

623 C: "six"; R: "nine."

624 Wādī Buṭnān was located east of Aleppo. The river (*wādī*) meant here is the Nahr al-Dhahab. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 389.

625 R: "with their leader," for "preceded by."

the gate of Aleppo where Abū al-Agharr and his remaining men fought him along with local people. After a battle between them, the Qarmaṭians left (Abū al-Agharr), taking with them the horses, weapons, money ⌜and goods⌝ that they had taken from the camp. Al-Muktafī moved on with the troops who were with him
[2232] // and eventually reached al-Raqqah. He encamped there and sent one army after the other against the Qarmaṭian.

On Shawwāl ⌜2, 290 (August 29, 903)⌝, a dispatch from al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh arrived at Madīnat al-Salām. In it, al-Qāsim reported that a dispatch had reached him from Damascus from Badr al-Ḥammāmī, the close associate of Ibn Ṭūlūn, with the information that he had attacked the Qarmaṭian Man of the Mole; he had routed him and put his men to the sword. Those who escaped had fled toward the desert. The dispatch went on to indicate that the Commander of the Faithful had sent al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān ⌜b. Ḥamdūn⌝ and other officers in pursuit of him.

In these days, ⌜another⌝ dispatch reportedly arrived at Baghdad from the amīr of al-Baḥrayn, Ibn Bānū.[626] In it, he mentioned that he had made a surprise attack upon a stronghold of the Qarmaṭians and overcome its occupants.

On Dhū al-Qaʿdah ⌜13, 290 (October 8, 903)⌝, another⌝ dispatch reportedly arrived at Baghdad from ⌜Ibn Bānū in⌝ al-Baḥrayn. In it, he mentioned that he had attacked relatives of Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī as well as the person al-Jannābī had appointed to lead his loyal followers after his death,[627] and he had routed him. That person was installed in al-Qaṭīf. After his men were routed, he was found dead among those killed. Ibn Bānū then had his head cut off. The dispatch went on to indicate that he then conquered and entered al-Qaṭīf.

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[626] Ibn Bānū's position appears to have been that of the government's military representative in a very troubled region. It is possible that Khalaf b. Aḥmad b. Bānū, who is mentioned in 354 (965) (Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 190; *Eclipse*, Index), was related to him, perhaps his son. However, there is no supporting evidence for this assumption.

[627] I have not succeeded in determining the identity of this "crown prince (*walī al-ʿahd*)." The title may, or may not, be germane to the Qarmaṭians.

A letter of the Man of the Mole to one of his officials:[628]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

From the servant of God Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh, the Mahdī, the One Supported by God, the Supporter of the Religion of God, the Executor of the Command of God, the Administrator according to the Judgment of God,[629] the Missionary for the Book of God, the Defender of the Sacred Territory[630] of God, the Chosen One of the Children of the Messenger of God, the Commander // of the Faithful and the Imām of the [2233] Muslims, the Humbler of the Hypocrites, the Lieutenant of God in charge of the Worlds, the Reaper of the Wrongdoers, the Breaker of the Transgressors, the Vanquisher of the Heretics, the Slayer of the Evildoers, the Destroyer of the Wicked, the Lamp of those who can see and the Light of those who wish to see light, the Scatterer of the Opponents, the Administrator of the Tradition (*sunnah*) of Those Sent as Messengers,[631] the Descendant of the Best of Legatees,[632] God bless him and the goodly people of his house and make them prosper mightily!

To Jaʿfar b. Ḥumayd al-Kurdī:[633] Greetings to you! I praise in your behalf God, but Whom there is no other God, and I ask Him to pray for my ancestor Muḥammad, the Messenger of God *and his family*.

Information has reached us about the events caused in your parts by the unbelieving enemies of God, the things they have done in your region, and the wrongdoing, harass-

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628 The complete authenticity of the following two documents is virtually certain. It is confirmed by the fact that they have apparently little direct bearing upon the events of the year but are used to convey the flavor of the way in which the Qarmaṭian organization was run. Both indicate the independence of local commanders, in spite of their expressions of subservience to the leader of the sect. Cf. Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 42-44, for a discussion and translation of the letters.

629 It may be noted that the preceding titles reappear later among the throne names of the Egyptian Fāṭimids. See Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 42f.

630 This seems to be the intended meaning of *ḥarīm Allāh*. Ibn Taghrībirdī has, in fact, *ḥaram Allāh* (*Nujūm*, III, 206f.), but this seems to be a simplification, or rather an error.

631 The addition in the Cairo edition: "...Tradition of (the Lord of)..." appears to have no manuscript authority.

632 That is, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

633 There is no further information about him.

ment,[634] and corruption ⌜on earth⌝ they have manifested. We have found it outrageous and consider it appropriate to dispatch our troops there. Through them, God will take revenge on His wrongdoing enemies who "eagerly cause corruption on earth."[635] We have dispatched our *dāʿī* ʿUṭayr[636] and a number of the Faithful to the city of Ḥimṣ and have reinforced them with troops. We are following behind them. We have suggested to them that they march toward your region and seek out the enemies of God wherever they are. We do hope that God will let us proceed with respect to them in the best fashion we are accustomed to from Him with respect to the likes of them. It is necessary for you to fortify your heart and the hearts of your associates who are with you, and to trust in God and in His support, which He has always and customarily given us with respect to everybody
[2234] who has deviated from obeying Him // and has strayed from the faith.

God willing, let us quickly have reports about news in your region and do not conceal anything from us!

"Glory to you, O God! Their greeting in Paradise is 'Welcome!' and the end of their call is that 'Praise is due to God, the Lord of the Worlds.' "[637] May God bless my ancestor Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, and the people of his house and make them prosper mightily!

A copy of a letter of one of his officials to him:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

To the Servant of God Aḥmad, the Imām, the Mahdī, the One Supported by God—followed by all the titles as in the copy of his letter to his official just quoted by us to "Descendant of the Best Legatees, may God bless him and the goodly people of his house and make them prosper mightily," continuing:

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[634] Text: *ʿabath* "nonsense"; read *ʿayth*, as in R and the Cairo edition.
[635] Qur. 5:33, 64.
[636] See text below, 2287 (ʿArīb, 36). For *dāʿiyatanā*, R clearly reads *rāʿiyanā*.
[637] Qur. 10:10.

From ʿĀmir b. ʿĪsā al-ʿAnqāʾī:[638] Greetings to the Commander of the Faithful ⌜and the mercy and blessings of God upon him!

May God give⌝ the Commander of the Faithful a long life, and may He make his power, aid, help, well-being, nobility, ⌜grace,⌝ and happiness last! May He pour His favors upon him and increase His kindness and generosity to him!

The letter of my lord, the Commander of the Faithful—May God give him a long life!—has arrived. In it, he informs me that some victorious troops together with one of his officers have been dispatched to our region for the holy war against the enemies of God, the Banū al-Fuṣayṣ,[639] and the traitor Ibn Duḥaym, and that they are to seek them out wherever they are and attack them and their associates and their estates. He—May God make his power last!—is ordering me, upon seeing / / this letter, to set out to meet them[640] with [2235]
all the men and tribesmen of mine that I can muster, to aid and support the army, to march with them, and to do all they indicate[641] and command. I have understood his letter.

No sooner had this letter reached me—may God give power to the Commander of the Faithful—than the ⌜victorious⌝ troops arrived. They reached an area within the region controlled by Ibn Duḥaym and turned back with the letter that had reached them from the *dāʿī* Masrūr b. Aḥmad[642] (asking them) to meet him in the city of Afāmiyah.

Then, about the same time as the letter whose contents I have reported in the beginning of the letter reached me, a letter ⌜from Masrūr b. Aḥmad⌝[643] reached me. In it, Masrūr ordered me to gather my available men and tribesmen and set out and come to him. He warned me not to stay away. His letter reached me when it had become clear to us that the

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638 There is no further information on him, and the reading ʿAnqāʾī is conjectural. A locality ʿAnqāʾ existed in Arabia, see Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, 881.

639 See text below, 2239. For their presence in Lādhiqiyyah in 319 (931), see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, I, 97. I have not succeeded in identifying Ibn Duḥaym.

640 Probably, the support troops. The pronoun might, however, refer to the enemy.

641 R: *wa-al-ʿamal (?) bi-kull mā yakūn mim-mā yūm(iʾ)ūna bihī*. See C.

642 There seems to be no further information on him.

643 This is another letter from Masrūr different from the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

deviator Subuk,[644] the slave of Mufliḥ, had come to the city of ʿIrqah[645] with about a thousand men, horsemen and foot soldiers, and was within sight of our region and location. Now, Aḥmad b. al-Walīd,[646] the slave of the Commander of the Faithful—May God give him a long life!—has sent messengers to all his men, and I have sent messengers to all my men. We have gathered them around us and have sent spies to the region of ʿIrqah, in order to obtain reports about that traitor and where he wants to go, so that we can proceed accordingly. ⌜We hope that God in His kindness and might will overpower and subdue him. Had that deviator not come to this region⌝ and were he not close to our location, I would not have postponed setting out with all my men for the city
[2236] of Afāmiyah to join forces with the people[647] // who are staying there, in order to fight the holy war against ⌜those who are in⌝ that region, until God, the Best of Judges, passes judgment between us.[648]

This is to inform my lord, the Commander of the Faithful—May God give him a long life!—why I have stayed away from Masrūr b. Aḥmad, so that he will know my reason. If he—May God make his power last!—later orders me to proceed to Afāmiyah, I shall proceed, God willing, in accordance with his view and obey his command.

⌜May God's favors materialize for the Commander of the Faithful! May He make his power and well-being last! May He let him enjoy His generosity, and may He clothe him in His beneficent care!⌝ Peace be upon the Commander of the Faithful and the mercy and blessings of God! Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds! May God bless ⌜the Prophet⌝ Muḥammad and the pure[649] and chosen people of his house!

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[644] Apparently, Subuk al-Mufliḥī who was governor of al-Baṣrah when he was killed in 311 (923). See ʿArīb, 111; Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 40; see also Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 300. The Mufliḥ in question was killed in 258 (872). See text above, III, 1862. Although the time frame of the letters is uncertain, an identification with the aforementioned Subuk al-Daylamī (see above nn. 575 and 590) may be ruled out.

[645] About twenty-four km east of Ṭarābulus, according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 653. See also Dussaud, *Topographie historique*, 80ff. (ʿArqa).

[646] There is no further information about him.

[647] Text: *al-quwwād* "the officers"; read *al-qawm* "(army) people" as in RC.

[648] See Qur. 10:109, 12:80.

[649] R: "good."

In this year, al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh sent troops against the Man of the Mole, putting Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kātib, who headed the Dīwān of the Army, in charge of the campaign. Al-Qāsim attached all the officers to him and commanded them to obey him loyally. Muḥammad proceeded from al-Raqqah with a substantial army and wrote the officers in advance of him that they were to obey him loyally.

In this year, two emissaries of the Byzantine ruler, one of them a eunuch and the other not, arrived in Baghdad. They came to ask (al-Muktafī) to enter into ransom negotiations for the Muslims whom the Byzantine ruler was holding captive. They brought presents from the Byzantine ruler as well as several Muslim captives he was sending to the Caliph. Their request was granted, and robes of honor were bestowed upon them.[650]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌜b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad.⌝ // [2237]

[650] See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 18. It may be noted that this passage does not occur in either R or C. Although it is found only in B, there is no reason to doubt that it belonged to some recension of the *History*.

The ⌜Important⌝ Events of the Year 291

(NOVEMBER 24, 903 - NOVEMBER 12, 904)

One of the events was the battle between the government forces and the Man of the Mole *and his men*.

The Report on this Battle

Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: As has already been mentioned, al-Muktafī had marched from Madīnat al-Salām to war against the Man of the Mole. He had reached al-Raqqah and deployed his troops between Aleppo and Ḥimṣ. He had put Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ⌜al-Kātib⌝ in charge of the campaign against the Man of the Mole and given him command of his troops and officers. Now, at the beginning of this year, al-Muktafī's wazīr al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh wrote to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and the government officers ordering them to take a stand against the Man of the Mole and his men. They marched ⌜against him⌝ and eventually reached a location that was reportedly twelve *mīl* (twenty-four km) from Ḥamāh.[651] There, ⌜on Tuesday,⌝ al-Muḥarram 6, 291 (Tuesday, November 29, 903), they encountered the Qarmaṭian's men. He had sent them in advance, while he himself remained behind with a number of others; he had with him money that he had accumulated. His train was placed by him in the rear. A battle broke out between the government forces and those of the Qarmaṭian, and the fighting became fierce. The Qarmaṭian's men were routed, and many of them were killed or captured. The rest dispersed in the desert. They were pursued by the govern-

[651] This place is apparently the same as the one later described as the camp of the Qarmaṭians, see below, n. 661.

ment forces during Wednesday night,[652] al-Muḥarram 7, 291 (Wednesday, November 30, 903). When the Qarmaṭian saw how his men had been defeated and routed, he reportedly had / / Abū [2238] al-Faḍl,[653] a brother of his, transport money, ordering him to stay in the desert until he himself would appear at a certain location, and then he should come to him. The Qarmaṭian himself, his cousin al-Muddaththir, his close associate al-Muṭawwaq, and a Byzantine page of his mounted, and, taking a guide, they rode off straight across the desert in the direction of al-Kūfah. When he eventually reached a place known as al-Dāliyah[654] in the administrative district of the Euphrates Road, their provisions and fodder had run out. He sent one of the men who were with him to obtain for him[655] whatever was needed. The man entered al-Dāliyah, which was known as Dāliyat Ibn Ṭawq, to buy what he needed. People did not recognize the dress he was wearing, and, when asked about his business, he fumbled. A report was then made to the man in charge of the regional armory, a man known as Abū Khubzah,[656] the lieutenant of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kushmard,[657] the official of the Commander of the Faithful al-Muktafī in charge of the security of al-Raḥbah and the Euphrates Road. Abū Khubzah rode out with a number of people and asked the man about his story. He informed him that the Man of the Mole was behind a hill there with three persons. Abū Khubzah went and seized them and brought them to his master, Ibn Kushmard, who, with Abū Khubzah, took them to al-Muktafī in al-Raqqah. The troops returned from pursuing the enemy after killing or capturing all the allies and partisans of the Qarmaṭian that they could.

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652 That is, immediately after the Tuesday battle on the night from Tuesday to Wednesday.

653 For Abū al-Faḍl's activities two years later, see text below, 2255f. (ʿArīb, 9). Although no name is mentioned there, the same individual is likely to be meant. R: "Abū al-ʿAbbās."

654 The waterwheel (*dāliyah*) of Mālik b. Ṭawq was located on the western bank of the Euphrates between ʿĀnah and al-Raḥbah (=Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawq). Its claim to historical fame is the event described here. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 538. On Mālik b. Ṭawq and the suspected confusion with his father Ṭawq b. Mālik, see text above, I, 117; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 407, n. 2. For the equation of al-Dāliyah with al-Ṣāliḥiyyah/Dura-Europos, see Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 49, n. 96.

655 R: "for them."

656 No further information about him is available.

657 See above, n. 398.

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān sent the wazīr the following victory dispatch:[658]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

I hope that God willing, the previous dispatches I have sent to the wazīr—May God give him strength!—concerning the accursed Qarmaṭian and his partisans have arrived.

[2239] On / / Tuesday, al-Muḥarram 6, 291 (Tuesday, November 29, 903), I moved from the place known as al-Qarwānah to a place known as al-ʿAlyānah[659] with the entire army of allies. We advanced in battle order, center, right wing, left wing, and so on. I had not gone far when a report reached me indicating that the Qarmaṭian unbeliever had dispatched al-Nuʿmān, the son of the brother of Ismāʿīl b. al-Nuʿmān,[660] one of his *dāʿīs*, with three thousand horsemen and a large number of foot soldiers. He had encamped in a place known as Tmnʿ[661] twelve *mīl* [twenty-four km] from Ḥamāh; all the horsemen and foot soldiers from Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān and the region of the Fuṣayṣ and other regions had joined him. I kept this information concealed from the officers and everybody else and did not reveal it. I asked the guide who was with me about the distance between us and that place. He said that it was six *mīl* (twelve km).

Putting my trust in Almighty God, I ordered the guide to march against (al-Nuʿmān), ⌜and he took everybody along⌝.[662] We marched until I reached the unbelievers. I found them arrayed in battle order, and we[663] saw their vanguards. When they noticed our approach, they moved toward us, and we

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[658] Although Ṭabarī often refers to and also briefly quotes ʿAbbāsid victory dispatches (see, for instance, text above, III, 2141f.), this is the first long and detailed example he gives for a literary genre which gained particular importance in Ottoman times. See *EI*², s. v. fatḥnāme. See also Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn*, 265f. The long report on the suppression of internal unrest (text above, III, 1565ff.) represents a different type of dispatch.

[659] Both the locations and the forms of the names of these places are not known.

[660] For Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. al-Nuʿmān, see below, n. 704. I have no further information on his nephew beyond Ṭabarī's text.

[661] R: "Tamīʿ." The form of the name is uncertain. Map VIII of Dussand, *Topographie historique*, shows, "Temania" north of Ḥamāh at a slightly greater distance, but the two names most probably have nothing to do with each other. See also above, n. 651.

[662] The meaning is not quite certain.

[663] R: "I."

moved toward them. They were divided into ⌜six⌝ squadrons. According to information given me by one of their leaders whom I overpowered, they had put in charge of their left wing Masrūr al-ʿUlaymī,[664] Abū al-Ḥiml,[665] a page of Hārūn al-ʿUllayṣī, Abū al-ʿAdhāb, Rajā', Ṣāfī, and Abū Yaʿlā al-ʿAlawī with one thousand five hundred horsemen. Behind their left wing, and opposite our right wing, they had set up an ambush[666] with four hundred horsemen. In the center, they had placed al-Nuʿmān al-ʿUllayṣī, the one known as Abū / / al-Ḥṭy, and al-Ḥm'ry[667] and a number of (commanders) like them[668] with one thousand four hundred horsemen and three thousand foot soldiers. On their right wing, they had placed Kulayb al-ʿUllayṣī, a man known as al-Sadīd[669] al-ʿUllayṣī, al-Ḥusayn ⌜b.⌝ al-ʿUllayṣī, Abū al-Jarrāḥ al-ʿUllayṣī, Ḥamdūn[670] al-ʿUllayṣī, and a number of (commanders) like them. They had one thousand four hundred horsemen with them, and they had set up an ambush with two hundred horsemen. They advanced steadily toward us, while we were marching toward them in closed formation,[671] putting our trust in Almighty God. I had urged on the allies, the pages, and all the other men with promises. [2240]

When we were in sight of each other, the squadron on their left wing attacked, whipping (their horses), and moved toward al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān,[672] who was on the flank of the right wing. Al-Ḥusayn—May God bless him and give him a good reward!—personally confronted them with all

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664 Text: "al-ʿUllayṣī"; read "al-ʿUlaymī," as in RC. No further information on the Jarmaṭian officers mentioned here is likely to exist.

665 RC: "al-Jamal."

666 "Reserve force" would be somewhat more to the point. See text below, 2263.

667 R: "al-Ḥuṭṭī" and "al-Ḥammūnī." The correct forms of the names cannot be stablished.

668 Text: *bṭlānihim* (?), apparently meant to have the same meaning as *abṭāl* heroes," is highly dubious. R and, if I am not mistaken, C have *nuẓarā'ihim*, as ranslated above.

669 R: "Abū al-Shadīd."

670 Text: "Ḥumayd"; read Ḥamdūn as in R.

671 Lit., "not dispersing."

672 Possibly, "al-Ḥusayn...started moving." Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 38, in summarizing the victory dispatch, states that al-Ḥusayn was the architect of the victory and hat he was praised very highly for this by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān.

the men who were with him.[673] Using their lances, they broke them in the Qarmaṭians' breasts, whereupon (the Qarmaṭians) withdrew from them. When the Qarmatians resumed their attack against them, they took their swords, striking the enemy in their faces. During the first onslaught, six hundred horsemen of the wicked unbelievers fell. Al-Ḥusayn's men seized five hundred horses and four hundred silver necklaces. The Qarmaṭians turned their backs and fled, and al-Ḥusayn pursued them. They counter-attacked incessantly, making onslaught after onslaught. In the course of these engagements, one group of theirs after the other fell, until Almighty God had annihilated them. Less than two hundred of their men escaped.

The squadron on their right wing attacked al-Qāsim b. Sīmā and Yumn al-Khādim[674] and the Banū Shaybān and Banū Tamīm who were with them. They confronted them
[2241] with their lances, until // they broke them in the enemy, and they grappled with each other. A large number of the wicked were killed. At the time of their onslaught, they were attacked by Khalīfah b. al-Mubārak[675] and Lu'lu' whose three hundred horsemen I had deployed flanking Khalīfah and all his men. ⌜They were fighting alongside the Banū Shaybān and the Tamīm.⌝ A great many of the unbelievers were killed, and (the government forces) pursued them. The Banū Shaybān took three hundred horses and a hundred necklaces from them, and Khalīfah's men took a like number.

Al-Nuʿmān and the men with him in the center advanced toward us. Positioned between the center and the right wing, I attacked with those who were with me. Khāqān, Naṣr al-Qushūrī, and Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr and those with him[676] on the right wing also attacked, as did Waṣīf Mūshgīr, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundājīq, the two sons of Kay-

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[673] Text: *li-mawḍiʿihī* "where he stood"; read *bi-man maʿahū*, as in RC.

[674] He may be identical with one of the many Yumns mentioned in the sources for this time, but no certain identity can be established for him.

[675] That is, Abū al-Agharr.

[676] Read, as in RC, *maʿahū*; text: "with them."

ghalagh[677] *and those with them,* al-Mubārak al-Qummī,[678] Rabīʿah b. Muḥammad,[679] Muhājir b. Ṭulayq,[680] al-Muẓaffar b. Ḥājj, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamdān,[681] Jinnī the Elder, Waṣīf al-Buktamirī,[682] Bishr al-Buktamirī,[683] and Muḥammad b. Qarāṭughān.[684] Flanking the right wing were all those who had attacked the men in the center as well as those who had disengaged themselves from the attackers of al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān. They continued killing the unbelievers, horsemen and foot soldiers alike, until they were slain, over a distance of more than five *mīl* (ten km).[685]

When I went a half *mīl* beyond the battle lines, I feared that the unbelievers might be planning a ruse against the foot soldiers and the train. Therefore I halted until they reached me. I gathered them and the men around me, while in front of me was the blessed spear, the spear of the Commander of the Faithful.[686]

I had // attacked right at the beginning, and so had the troops, while all the time ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī secured the train, stationing battle lines behind them with the horsemen and the foot soldiers according to a plan I had drawn up for him. He did not leave his position, until all the troops from every location had returned ⌜to me⌝. I set up my tents at the place [2242]

677 Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh, who was twice governor of Egypt (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 206ff., 242ff.), was more prominent than his brother Ibrāhīm. He was accorded the honor, rare for a military leader, of a separate biographical notice in Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh Dimashq* (see the *Tahdhīb*, published in Damascus in 1911, I, 440f.), quoted in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, V, 63. It is stated there that Ibrāhīm died in the beginning of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 303 (May 7, 916), but there seems to be no indication of how long Aḥmad survived the final loss of authority in Egypt in 323 (935); however, he is mentioned once more in *Eclipse*, I, 332, *sub anno* 324.

678 He was killed in 294 (906). See text below, 2271 (ʿArīb, 15).

679 He may be identical with Abū ʿAdnān Rabīʿah b. Muḥammad. See text below, 2281.

680 R rather implausibly makes him an ancestor of the preceding Rabīʿah.

681 Al-Ḥusayn's brother Abū al-Hayjāʾ ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamdān (see above, n. 87) d. al-Muḥarram, 317 (March, 929). See Canard, *Ḥamdanides*, 341-78.

682 He became the successor of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAmr al-Ghanawī in Diyār Muḍar in 305 (917) but proved inadequate and was replaced by Jinnī al-Ṣafwānī. See ʿArīb, 69; *Eclipse*, I, 56.

683 R: "Yusr."

684 I have no further information about him.

685 See above, n. 93. As stated in the following paragraph, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān became concerned about the danger of his men dispersing over a wide area in order to kill and loot.

686 The caliphal *miṭrad* "spear" served here as a rallying point. *Miṭrad* appears in combination with *ʿalam* in the sense of flag.

where I had halted, until everybody had encamped, and remained there until after the evening prayer, when all the men were safely quartered. I sent out vanguards, and then I dismounted and praised God profusely for the victory He had allowed us to enjoy. Each and every one of the officers and pages of the Commander of the Faithful as well as the non-Arabs[687] and others, achieved their goal of assisting this blessed dynasty and offering it good counsel. God bless them all!

When the people had gone to rest, I and all the officers went out to stay outside the camp until morning. We did this fearing that some ruse might be used (against us). I am asking God for complete favor and a share of gratefulness.[688] I am now—May God give power to our lord the wazīr—on my way to Ḥamāh. Then, with the kind help of Almighty God, I shall march to Salamyah, since the remaining unbelievers as well as the Unbeliever[689] are in Salamyah, where he arrived three days ago.

I think it is necessary for the wazīr to proceed with writing a letter to all the officers and ⌜all⌝ the Arab subtribes of the Banū Shaybān, the Taghlib, and the Banū Tamīm, commending and rewarding them for what happened in this battle. For none of them, young or old, has left any of the goals unattained.[690]

Praised be God for favors granted! It is He whom I am asking for full grace.

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[687] Reference to the *ʿajam* "non-Arabs" here, in contrast to the allied Arab tribesmen, is natural in view of the fact that the officers and pages were at best second-generation Turks, Daylam, Persians, and so were the contingents of fighting men they commanded. They were to be treated and rewarded differently from the Arab bedouins. See below, n. 690.

[688] "Gratefulness (*shukr*)," as understood in Islam, is a two-way street between God and man.

[689] The reference seems to be to the Man of the Mole, who probably was no longer in the area at the time of writing. The victory dispatch was written just before he was captured.

[690] In addition to stressing the merit of its author, the victory dispatch had as its primary purpose to recommend promotions and rewards for the officers and men, whether they were regular or irregular troops. This is most clearly stated in this paragraph, but it was also hinted at earlier in the dispatch.

When I proceeded to collect heads, those of Abū al-Ḥiml, Abū al-ʿAdhāb, and Abū al-Baghl were found.[691] // Al-Nuʿmān reportedly was killed. I am, God willing, about to search for his corpse, take his head, and carry it with the other heads into the presence of the Commander of the Faithful. [2243]

On Monday, al-Muḥarram 26, 291 (Monday, December 19, 903), the Man of the Mole was brought into al-Raqqah, appearing before the people on a Bactrian camel, wearing a silken hood and a brocade cloak. Al-Muddaththir and al-Muṭawwaq were in front of him on two camels. Al-Muktafī then left his troops behind with Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and, accompanied by al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh, he went with the men of his inner circle, the pages, and the eunuchs from al-Raqqah to Baghdad. He took along the Qarmaṭian, al-Muddaththir, al-Muṭawwaq, and a number of those captured in battle. This was on Ṣafar 1, 291 (December 24, 903).

When the Caliph arrived at Baghdad, he ⌜reportedly⌝ considered bringing the Qarmaṭian into Madīnat al-Salām hanging from a stake[692] placed upon the back of an elephant. He ordered the demolition of the arcades of the gates through which the elephant was to pass, because they were too low for the stake. This was the case with Bāb al-Ṭāq, Bāb al-Ruṣāfah, and other gates. But then al-Muktafī reportedly found this plan objectionable. Damyānah, the page of Yāzmān, therefore had a chair made for the Qarmaṭian, which was mounted upon the back of the elephant. It reportedly rose two and a half cubits[693] above the elephant's back. On Monday morning, Rabīʿ I 2,[694] 291 (Monday, January 23, 904), al-Muktafī entered Madīnat al-Salām Baghdad. He was preceded by the captives on camels; they were in fetters and wore silken cloaks and hoods. Al-Muṭawwaq, a lad whose beard had not yet grown, was in the middle. He had a rounded[695]

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691 R: "I found those...."

692 *Daql* "palm trunk."

693 That is about 1.25 m. The specific form of this "chair (*kursī*)" cannot be determined with any precision. See Sadan, *Mobilier*, 123ff.

694 R: "Rabīʿ I, 1."

695 *Makhrūṭ*, here translated "rounded" since it seems to refer to the shape rather than mean "smooth."

piece of wood placed in his mouth, which was tied to the back of his head, as if it were a bridle. This was done because, when he
[2244] was brought into al-Raqqah, / / he vilified the people when they cursed him, and spit upon them. He was dealt with in this fashion lest he vilify anyone (on this occasion). Al-Muktafī then ordered the construction of a raised platform at the Old Oratory on the East Side. It was twenty square cubits wide and ten cubits high.[696] Steps were built to enable him to ascend it.

When al-Muktafī returned to Madīnat al-Salām, he left his troops behind in al-Raqqah with Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān now rounded up the officers, qāḍīs, and police chiefs of the Qarmaṭian in that region. He took them and put them in fetters. He and the officers left behind with him went down to Madīnat al-Salām on the Euphrates Road. On Thursday night, Rabīʿ I 12, [697] 291 (February 2, 904), he reached Bāb al-Anbār,[698] together with a number of officers, among them Khāqān al-Mufliḥī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundājīq, ⌜and others⌝. The officers who were in Baghdad were ordered to go and meet Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and escort him into the city. He entered with some seventy captives in front of him and went to al-Thurayyā where a robe of honor, a gold necklace, and two gold bracelets were bestowed upon him. All ⌜the officers⌝ who arrived with him received robes of honor, necklaces, and bracelets. They were given leave to return to their residences; the captives were ordered to prison.

While the Man of the Mole was in al-Muktafī's prison, he reportedly took a bowl[699] from the table that was brought in to him. Smashing it, he took a piece and cut one of his veins. He lost

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[696] An area ten by ten meters wide is not very large, and the five-meter high platform must have been very crowded. See Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn*, 269, for a similar platform erected in connection with the punishment of the followers of al-ʿAbbās, the son of Ibn Ṭūlūn. For the Old Oratory, see above, n. 27.

[697] R: "in the middle of Rabīʿ I."

[698] See Lassner, *Topography*, map VI, no. 6.

[699] *Sukurrajah* "bowl" refers to a small dish to hold side dishes (see Kindermann, *Über die guten Sitten*, 61). The one here was most likely made of glass, rather than china or wood.

much blood, but he then tied his hand.[700] When the person in charge of serving him noticed // it, he asked him why he had [2245] done it. He replied, "My blood got all stirred up, and I let it out."[701] He was left alone, until he was well again and his strength returned.

On Monday, Rabīʿ I 23, 291 (Monday, February 13, 904), al-Muktafī ordered the officers and pages to be present at the raised platform he had ordered built. Great throngs went out to attend. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wāthiqī, who was at the time the chief of police in Madīnat al-Salām, and Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, the secretary of the army, came to the raised platform and took their seats on it. Brought on camels to the platform were the captives whom al-Muktafī had brought along from al-Raqqah and those whom Muḥammad b. Sulaymān had brought. There were also Qarmaṭians rounded up[702] at al-Kūfah and imprisoned, Baghdādīs who held Qarmaṭian beliefs, ⌜and⌝ some ⌜riffraff from other places who were not Qarmaṭians⌝. They remained on the camels, with two armed guards in charge of each one of them; they reportedly numbered some three hundred and twenty or three hundred and sixty. The Qarmaṭian al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh, known as the Man of the Mole, together with his cousin, known as al-Muddaththir, was brought upon a mule carrying the two in a covered litter. A number of horsemen and foot soldiers were with them. They were brought up to the raised platform and seated on it. Thirty-four of the captives were now brought forward. Their hands and feet were cut off, and they were decapitated one after the other. Each man was seized and spread out face down. His right hand was cut off and tossed from *the raised platform* and circulated below, so that the people could see it. Then his left foot // was cut off, ⌜then his left hand⌝, then his right foot, and [2246] whatever was cut off was tossed down. Then he was seated, his head was stretched and chopped off, and both head and corpse

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[700] That is, he applied a tourniquet to his forearm (*yad*) to stop the flow of blood from the cut vein.

[701] The Man of the Mole apparently attempted suicide, but when he lost courage to go through with it, he did not want to admit it, because he did not want to appear fainthearted and, in particular, he did not want to admit to an action that was highly objectionable from the religious point of view. He described his action medically as a rather clumsy attempt at bloodletting for a sanguine indisposition.

[702] R: *ḥumilū* "carried (from)."

were tossed down. A small number of captives made a clamor pleading and swearing that they were not Qarmaṭians.

When the execution of those thirty-four individuals who reportedly included prominent and important men of the Qarmaṭian was finished, al-Muddaththir was brought forward. His hands and feet were cut off, and he was decapitated. Then the Qarmaṭian was brought forward. He was given two hundred lashes. Then his hands and feet were cut off, and he was cauterized,[703] whereupon he lost consciousness. Firewood was then taken, kindled, and placed upon his sides and belly. He started to open his eyes, but then closed them again. When it was feared that he might die, he was decapitated. His head was raised upon a piece of wood, and those upon the platform and all the people exclaimed, "God is great!"

After the Qarmaṭian was killed, the officers and those present there left to see what would be done with him, while al-Wāthiqī with a number of his men remained until the second evening prayer when the ⌜other⌝ captives who were brought to the raised platform had been decapitated. Then he left. On the following morning, the heads of those killed were carried from the Oratory to the ⌜Bridge. The corpse of the Qarmaṭian was hung at the foot of the ⌝Upper Bridge ⌜in Baghdad⌝. On Wednesday (February 15), the corpses of those killed were thrown into ⌜pits⌝ dug beside the raised platform, which were then filled. After several days, orders
[2247] were given to demolish the raised platform, and this was done. / /

On Rabīʿ II 14, 291 (March 5, 904), al-Qāsim b. Sīmā arrived at Baghdad via the Euphrates Road from the region under his jurisdiction. He was accompanied by one of the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ, one of the Qarmaṭian's men, who had come to him for a guarantee of safe-conduct. His patronymic was Abū Muḥammad,[704] and he was one of the *dāʿī*s of the Qarmaṭian. The reason why he sought a guarantee of safe-conduct was that the central authorities had corresponded with him and promised to treat him well if

[703] Cauterization was the normal procedure after amputation. Here it served the purpose of prolonging the torture, as it was feared that the Man of the Mole might die too quickly.

[704] As indicated in R and ʿArīb, 5, as well as Ibn al-Athīr, he was Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. al-Nuʿmān. See above, n. 660. He was killed in this year.

he, in particular, were to seek a guarantee of safe-conduct. They did that because he was the only Qarmaṭian chieftain left in the Syrian region. He was a *mawlā* of the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ *and was called Ismāʿīl b. al-Nuʿmān.* At the time of the battle, *he had taken refuge with a number of the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ* in some obscure region and thus escaped. He then wished to seek a guarantee of safe-conduct and declare his loyalty, because he was afraid for his life. He and those with him, some sixty men, arrived at Madīnat al-Salām and were granted guarantees of safe-conduct. They were well treated and presents of money were brought to them. He and those with him were sent out to Raḥbat Mālik b. Ṭawq together with al-Qāsim b. Sīmā, and stipends[705] were granted to them. After al-Qāsim b. Sīmā arrived with them in the region under his jurisdiction, they stayed with him for a while. Then they conspired to betray him. Becoming aware of their plan, he lost no time doing away with them by putting them to the sword; some of them, however, he made captives. The remainder of the Banū al-ʿUllayṣ and their *mawlās* were deterred and humbled. After they had stayed for a while in the environs of al-Samāwah, the evil Zikrawayh corresponded with them. He informed them that it had been revealed to him[706] that the man known as al-Shaykh and his brother would be killed, and that his imām, who would be revealed to him, would appear after their death and be victorious. / / [2248]

On Thursday, Jumādā I 9, 291 (Thursday, March 29, 904), al-Muktafī married his son Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad to the daughter of ⌜Abū al-Ḥusayn⌝ al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh. The dowry was one hundred thousand dīnārs.[707]

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[705] More precisely, it seems, allotments of food as monthly rations, rather than money.

[706] That is, he had known in advance that his two sons would die and by the same token he was sure of the future leader who would lead them to victory.

[707] For Muḥammad b. al-Muktafī, see above, n. 604. ʿArīb, 76, speaks of the sumptuous wedding banquet in honor of the marriage of a daughter of (the by then deceased) al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh to Muḥammad b. al-Muktafī in the year 306 (918-9).

At the end of Jumādā ⌜I⌝, 291 (April 19, 904), a letter from the region of Jubbā[708] ⌜reportedly⌝ reached Baghdad. It mentioned that a flash flood in a (dry) river reached Jubbā from the mountain and inundated about thirty *farsakhs* (180 km).[709] A large number of people as well as cattle drowned, and the crops were inundated. Residences[710] and villages were ruined. The bodies of twelve hundred drowned persons were recovered besides those who were not found.

On Sunday, Rajab 1, 291 (Saturday, May 19, 904), al-Muktafī bestowed robes of honor upon Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, the secretary of the army, and a number of distinguished officers, among them Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundājīq, Khalīfah b. al-Mubārak, who was known as Abū al-Agharr, the two sons of Kayghalagh, Bunduqah b. Kumushjūr, and others. He ordered the officers to obey Muḥammad b. Sulaymān loyally. Still wearing the robes of honor, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān left and encamped in his tent at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah. A number of officers who had been mobilized encamped with him. They were to depart for Damascus and Egypt in order to seize the provinces from Hārūn b. Khumārawayh, for the central authorities had come to realize that Hārūn and those with him were weak, having suffered the loss of men killed by the Qarmaṭian. On Rajab 6, 291 (May 24,
[2249] 904), // Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and the men attached to him—about ten thousand—left Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah. He ordered them to make every possible effort to advance quickly.

On Rajab 27, 291 (June 14, 904), a dispatch arrived from Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad who was in Khurāsān, and it was read in the two Friday Mosques of Madīnat al-Salām. In it, Ismāʿīl mentioned that the Turks had marched against the Muslims with a large army and many people. There were seven hundred Turkish tents in the camp, and they were those reserved exclusively for their chief-

[708] For Jubbā in Khūzistān/al-Ahwāz, the home of the great theologian Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʿī, see, for instance, Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 17; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, trans. Minorsky, 130; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, III, 186, who speaks of Jubbā as a village in al-Baṣrah; *EI*², s. v. al-Djubbāʿī.

[709] Whether this is meant as an area of one hundred and eighty square km or merely as the length of the area affected, it seems too large a figure.

[710] R: *al-nawāḥī* "regions."

tains! Ismāʿīl had given one of his officers command of an army and sent him off against them.[711] It had been publicly announced that people should volunteer to join, and many did. The commander of the army had marched with the *Muslims* who were with him against the Turks. The Muslims had come upon them when they did not expect it, and had attacked them in the morning. A large number of them had been killed, and the rest had fled. Permission had been given to loot their camp, and the Muslims had returned to their place safe and with booty.

In Shaʿbān, 291 (June 18-July 16, 904), word arrived in Baghdad that the Byzantine ruler had sent ten crosses[712] with one hundred thousand men against the border towns and that a number of them had moved on al-Ḥadath. They had raided and burned, and they had captured every Muslim they had been able to.

In Ramaḍān, 291 (July 17-August 15, 904), a dispatch from al-Qāsim b. Sīmā reached ⌜the central authorities⌝ from al-Raḥbah. In it, he mentioned that the Arab tribesmen of the Banū ʿUllayṣ and their *mawlās*, who had been with the Qarmaṭian and had then sought and obtained guarantees of safe-conduct from the central authorities and from himself, had broken (their word) and betrayed their trust. They had planned to attack al-Raḥbah on the day of fast-breaking [Shawwāl 1 (August 16)], while people were engaged in the holiday prayer, and to kill whomever they could reach as well as to burn and to loot. "I used a ruse against them and eventually killed and captured one hundred and fifty // of them, not counting those who drowned in the Euphrates. I [2250] am bringing the captives, including a number of their leaders, and the heads of the slain."

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[711] Text: "him"; R: *ilayhim*.

[712] Ibn al-Athīr interprets this to mean that each army unit of ten thousand men had one cross. Vasiliev, II, 163, apparently following Ibn al-Athīr, speaks of ten legions. On another occasion, ʿArīb, 34, ll. 12f., mentions Byzantine banners decorated with crosses of gold and silver.

At the end of Ramaḍān, 291 (August 15, 904), a dispatch ⌜from al-Raqqah⌝ arrived at Baghdad from Abū Maʿadd[713] concerning news reaching him from Ṭarsūs. The dispatch indicated that God had given victory to a man known as Ghulām Zurāfah[714] in a raid then undertaken by him against the Byzantines at a city called Anṭāliyah[715] located on the seashore—they asserted that it equaled Constantinople. Ghulām Zurāfah had conquered it forcibly by the sword. He reportedly killed five thousand men and captured a similar number, while rescuing four thousand (Muslim) captives. He seized[716] sixty Byzantine ships and loaded them with the booty he had made: silver, gold, goods, and slaves. He estimated the share of every participant in that raid, and it came to a thousand dīnārs. The Muslims rejoiced at that. "I have speedily forwarded this dispatch of mine, so that the wazīr will know about the event. Written on Thursday, Ramaḍān 10, 291 (Thursday, July 26, 904)." *The dispatch arrived at Baghdad and was read in the two Friday Mosques.*

In this year, al-Qāsim b. Sīmā reached Baghdad with the captives and the heads of the (slain) Banū ʿUllayṣ. The captives numbered some forty, and the heads some sixty. The heads included that of Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. al-Nuʿmān al-ʿUllayṣī.

*On Wednesday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 6, 291 (Wednesday, September 19, 904), al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh died. On the day after his

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[713] Text: "Maʿdān"; read Maʿadd as in R and ʿArīb, 6. The editor of ʿArīb assumes that the individual was identical with Nizār b. Muḥammad. See above, n. 490.

[714] Zurāfah was presumably the court official who briefly played a significant role during the caliphate of al-Muntaṣir. The page (*ghulām*) of Zurāfah is mentioned by Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 318f., ed. Pellat, II, 45. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 38. With reference to Kindī, *Wulāh*, 245, Canard, *Sources arabes*, 45, n. 3, states that the name of Ghulām Zurāfah was Rashīq al-Wardamī, but he also quotes, on p. 404, from Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 180, that Leon, Ghulām Zurāfah, attacked Thessalonica in 290 (903). The data are hard to reconcile, and further clarification is needed. See also Canard, in Vasiliev, II, 163, n. 2.

[715] Modern Antalya. It is not surprising that the reading Anṭākiyah appears frequently, as in R (and possibly C) and ʿArīb. See also Canard, *Sources arabes*, 18, 56, 167, 259, 270. The indicated location rules out Antioch (Anṭākiyah), but the comparison with Constantinople appears more applicable to Antioch than Antalya, even though the latter was an impressive site.

[716] R (see also C): *wajada* "found."

death, al-Muktafī appointed al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan[717] as wazīr. Al-ʿAbbās reportedly attended several meetings on that day. He became extremely nervous after mounting (his horse to return home), and on the way to his residence from the Caliph's palace he asked four times for a drink of water.*

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbdallāh *b. ʿUbaydallāh* b. al-ʿAbbās ⌜b. Muḥammad⌝. // [2251]

[717] For al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan, see Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 359ff. For his death in connection with the Ibn al-Muʿtazz affair, see text below, 2282.

The ⌜Important⌝ Events of the Year 292

(NOVEMBER 13, 904 - NOVEMBER 1, 905)

Among the events was the dispatch, by Nizār b. Muḥammad, of a man from al-Baṣrah to the central authorities in Baghdad. The man had reportedly intended to rebel against the central authorities and had gone to Wāsiṭ. Nizār sent someone in search of him, and he arrested the man in Wāsiṭ and had him brought to al-Baṣrah. Nizār also seized people there who had reportedly declared allegiance to the man. He now sent all of them by boat to Baghdad, and they stopped at the Port of the Baṣrans.[718] ⌜Nizār sent a number of officers to the Port of the Baṣrans.⌝ The man was mounted upon the Bactrian camel,[719] while a child, a son of his, was in front of him on a camel. Accompanying him were thirty-nine[720] men on camels, all of them wearing silken hoods ⌜and cloaks⌝. Most of them pleaded for help; they cried and swore that they were innocent and knew nothing of the charges brought against them. They were led to al-Muktafī's palace by way of al-Tammārīn, ⌜Bāb⌝ al-Karkh, and al-Khuld.[721] Al-Muktafī ordered them remanded to the prison known as the New Prison and had them incarcerated there.

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[718] This appears to have been the place where boats from al-Baṣrah usually stopped near Baghdad.

[719] The use of the definite article here seems to indicate that a particular Bactrian camel was usually employed for parading suspected heretics and rebels.

[720] R and ʿArīb, 7: "thirty-seven." This also seems to be the reading of B.

[721] Al-Tammārīn apparently was the street on which the date merchants were concentrated. For Bāb al-Karkh, see Lassner, *Topography*, 247, and, for the great palace al-Khuld built by al-Manṣūr on the Tigris, op. cit., 55, 243, map V, no. 5.

In al-Muḥarram, 292, (November 13-December 12, 904), the Byzantine Andronikos[722] raided Marʿash and its environs. The inhabitants of al-Maṣṣīṣah and Ṭarsūs marched out to combat. Abū al-Rijāl b. Abī Bakkār [723] and a number of Muslims were mortally wounded.

In al-Muḥarram, 292, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān reached the borders of Egypt to fight Hārūn b. Khumārawayh *b. Aḥmad.* Al-Muktafī dispatched Damyānah, the page of Yāzmān, from Baghdad / / with orders to go to Egypt by sea, enter the Nile, and [2252] cut off supplies from the troops in Egypt. He went and entered the Nile as far as al-Jisr,[724] where he stayed, making things difficult for the Egyptians.

Muḥammad b. Sulaymān advanced against them with mounted troops. When he was close to al-Fusṭāṭ, he corresponded with the officers there. The first to come out to him was Badr al-Ḥammāmī, who was the supreme chief. That broke their resistance, and a procession of Egyptian officers and others followed to seek guarantees of safe-conduct. When Hārūn and those remaining with him saw that, they advanced against Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, and battles reportedly took place between them. Somewhat later, dissension[725] broke out among Hārūn's men, and they fought one another. When Hārūn went out to quiet them, one of the Maghribīs hurled a javelin[726] at him and killed him. Informed about his death, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and those with him entered al-Fusṭāṭ, took possession of the houses of the Ṭūlūnid family and their associates, and seized all of them; they numbered about ten men. He put them in fetters, incarcerated them, and confiscated their property. He then wrote a victory dispatch (to Baghdad).

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722 He is identical with the Patrikios Andronikos who two years later sought a guarantee of safe-conduct and went to Baghdad. See below, 2276. For the passage, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 19, and, for an analysis of the events involving Andronikos, see Canard, in Vasiliev, II, 181ff.; Rydén (above, n. 164).

723 I have no further information about him.

724 The precise location of "The Bridge (*al-Jisr*)" cannot, it seems, be determined.

725 Group or tribal sentiment (*ʿaṣabiyyah*) was understandably strong in the Egyptian forces which were composed of various ethnic groups, and gave rise to many quarrels and "dissension."

726 For *zānah* "javelin," the better known, Arabic word *sahm* "arrow" is used by ʿArīb, 7; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 111 (quoting Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī). Lane, 1273a, refers to *zānah* as a specifically Daylamite weapon.

The battle took place in Ṣafar, 292 (December 13, 904-January 11, 905). Word was sent to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān ordering him to move all the Ṭūlūnids and the officers associated with them[727] out of Egypt and Syria. Not a single one of them was to be left behind, and they were all to be sent to Baghdad. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān complied (with the order).

On Rabīʿ I 3, 292 (January 13, 905), the wall at the head of the First Bridge on the East Side—it was the wall of a house that had belonged to ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir—fell upon (the
[2253] corpse of) the Qarmaṭian al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh // which hung nearby and crushed[728] it. No trace of it was found afterwards.

In Ramaḍān, 292 (July 7-August 5, 905), a report reached the central authorities in Baghdad indicating that one of the Egyptian officers, an officer named Ibrāhīm and known as al-Khalījī,[729] had left Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and stayed behind at the most distant borders of Egypt with a number of troops and others whom he had won over. Marching on Egypt[730] in opposition to the central authorities, he had been joined by a number of people ⌜bent upon sedition⌝, so that his ranks had swelled. When he reached Egypt (al-Fusṭāṭ), ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī, who was then in charge of security there, had intended to engage him in combat, but he had been unable to do so in view of the large force with al-Khalījī.

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[727] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 322, speaks of twenty descendants of Ibn Ṭūlūn but gives no numbers for the officers.

[728] R: *fa-baṭaḥahū* "flattened."

[729] Ṭabarī also refers to him as Ibn Khalīj; R, like Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 236, ed. Pellat, V, 187, uses Ibn al-Khalījī. It appears to be unclear whether Khalījī, or rather Khalanjī, is the correct form. Egyptian historiography refers to him as Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 147, 153-55. This is probably more correct than Ṭabarī's Ibrāhīm, which may have been influenced by the Ibrāhīm al-Khalījī mentioned earlier, see text above, III, 2027. Al-Khalījī started a local Egyptian resistance movement against the caliphate as represented by its governor ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī, after the de facto independence of Egypt established by the Ṭūlūnids had come to an end. According to Egyptian historiography, he enjoyed considerable popular support. See Kindī, *Wulāh*, 259-63, 267; Ibn Taghrībirdī, loc. cit. At the end, Ibn Taghrībirdī felt compelled to reflect upon the irony—not uncommon in national liberation movements—that the rebellion which was intended to improve the political position of Egypt led to even greater destruction than was caused by the ʿAbbāsid reconquest under Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. Al-Khalījī disappears from view after he was captured and brought to Baghdad, see text below, 2267f.

[730] That is, al-Fusṭāṭ.

As a result, he had drawn away from al-Khalījī, and after evacuating al-Fusṭāṭ, he had retreated to Alexandria. Al-Khalījī had then entered al-Fusṭāṭ.

Now, in this year, al-Muktafī mobilized Fātik, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, to fight al-Khalījī and establish order in the West.[731] The Caliph attached Badr al-Ḥammāmī to Fātik, making him Fātik's adviser in this undertaking. He also attached to him a number of officers and many troops. On Shawwāl 7, 292 (August 12, 905), robes of honor were bestowed upon Fātik and Badr al-Ḥammāmī when they departed for Egypt on their mission. // [2254]
Ordered to leave quickly, they marched off on Shawwāl 12, 292 (August 17, 905).

On Shawwāl 15, 292 (August 20, 905), Rustum b. Bardū[732] entered Ṭarsūs as governor of the city and the Syrian border towns.

In this year, the Muslims and Byzantines undertook ransom negotiations. The first day of the negotiations was Dhū al-Qaʿdah 2, 292 (September 27, 905). The total number of Muslims ransomed was reportedly about twelve hundred. Following this the Byzantines reneged (on the arrangements agreed upon) and departed, and the Muslims went back with their remaining Byzantine captives. The ransom negotiations and armistice had (originally) been arranged by Abū al-ʿAshā'ir and the qāḍī Ibn Mukram.[733] When that raid of Andronikos against the inhabitants of Marʿash took place and he killed Abū al-Rijāl and others, Abū al-ʿAshā'ir was removed, and Rustum was appointed (governor). The ransom negotiations were therefore in his hands. The person in charge of

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[731] Talbi, *Émirat*, 653, has attempted to relate this reference to the "West (*al-Maghrib*)" to the contemporary unrest in Ifrīqiyah, but as seen from Baghdad, Egypt is probably meant here.

[732] Rustum is called al-Farghānī in Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 192. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 406, also 19. His father's name was omitted by ʿArīb, 8. The reason for Rustum's appointment is given in the following paragraph. He is mentioned last in 299 (911). See text below, 2286.

[733] Possibly, ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Mukram, who is mentioned as a qāḍī for the years 311-13. See Kindī, *Wulāh*, 481, 483 (also 531-36, from Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf' al-iṣr*); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 213, l. 18. He appears knowledgeable about Byzantine-Christian matters in a story reported in Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, I, 52 (there we find the correct text, as against the edition of Margoliouth, *Table-Talk*, 30).

the ransom negotiations for the Byzantines was a man called Asṭānah.[734]

In this year, Mubārak al-Qummī was sent to the camp of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān on two hundred swift camels. Written orders to arrest Muḥammad were sent with him to the officers who were with Muḥammad, and he was arrested.

*In this year, the floodwaters in Baghdad were exceedingly high,[735] making Baghdādīs afraid of drowning. The houses on both banks of the Tigris were generally destroyed, and the waters reportedly gushed forth in the shops of the sack merchants[736] in Baghdad.

The Tigris then rose a second time to an even greater height. The reason for this was that al-Muktafī had constructed a building at the place[737] known as al-Ḥasanī, and had reportedly extended its foundation sixty cubits (thirty m) into the Tigris. When the high waters reached the building at the time of the flooding, they did not find an outlet and turned back, thus rising high in Baghdad and its environs. Many people thought that (the flooding) resulted from the rising groundwater.

A stupid and foolish Baghdādī invented a dream. He mentioned[738] that he had seen the Prophet in his sleep. He said that God wanted to bring misfortune upon them. "I asked God about their affair when they had already been taken seven days (...., and I was told, '....),[739] so order them to go out into the countryside and call out to God, and He will lift the misfortune from them.' "

The populace talked about al-Baṣrah having been inundated by this flood. Abū Jaʿfar (al-Ṭabarī) says: I wrote to al-Baṣrah about this flood that affected Baghdad and its environs, from

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[734] Perhaps, Usṭāthah, that is, Eustathios (Usṭāth)?

[735] The flood is mentioned briefly in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 50; Ibn al-Athīr; Ibn Taghrībirdī, III, 157, who says that it occurred in Jumādā I (March 11-April, 9, 905) and that the waters rose twenty-one cubits.

[736] *Dakākīn aṣḥāb al-jawālīq*.

[737] Probably, the Ḥasanī palace is meant, but "place (*mawḍiʿ*)" is used here.

[738] The vocalization as a passive is indicated in the manuscript but seems unlikely.

[739] The text is corrupt. This is particularly regrettable since some interesting animadversion on the role of God in human misfortune appears to have been made here by Ṭabarī.

above[740] the border of ʿUkbarā and further up and down from the lowest part of Baghdad, and we found no trace of it (in the region of al-Baṣrah).*

In this year, a letter from Bassām al-Kurdī[741] reached Baghdad. He was stationed in a fortress of his between Byzantine and Muslim territory and engaged in keeping the truce between the Muslims and Byzantines. He mentioned that the Byzantine king had written to him, ordering him to rebuild the bridges over the Jayḥān and improve the road for him, for he planned to march on Ṭarsūs. The agent in Ṭarsūs sent (the message) on to the central authorities.

In this year, the emissary of the Byzantine king came to Ṭarsūs in connection with ransom negotiations.

In this year, Ṭughj b. Juff and his brother Wāzar,[742] both officers of Ibn Ṭūlūn, came to Baghdad with all the Ṭūlūnid officers.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌈b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad.⌉

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[740] The probable geographical reference is, it seems, not based on the course of the river as "up"stream and downstream, but upon the meaning of above as south and below as north. It thus signifies flooding south of ʿUkbarā to northern Baghdad and south into Baghdad.

[741] I have no further information about him.

[742] On Ṭughj and his brother Badr, see above, nn. 77 and 155. No interpretation of the clearly written w'zr here other than as the name of another brother of Ṭughj is possible. Wāzar seems otherwise unattested as a Persian name. It can, however, easily be explained as meaning "worker" or the like. In spite of the evidence of R, the correct form might be Warāz, which is widely attested. See Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, 255.

The arrival of Ṭughj in Baghdad with his (unnamed) son and brother is dated on Monday, Shaʿbān 16, 292 (Sunday, June 23, 905), in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, I, 91. See also Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ed. Tallqvist, text, 7, trans., 22; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 146.

The Events of the Year 293

(NOVEMBER 2, 905 - OCTOBER 21, 906)

Among the events was a report that arrived at Baghdad on Ṣafar 24, 293 (December 25, 905). It indicated that al-Khalījī, who had seized power in Egypt, had attacked Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh and a number of officers near al-ʿArīsh and routed them ignominiously.[743] A number of officers / / stationed in Madīnat al-Salām, among them Ibrāhīm b. Kayghalagh, were mobilized to go (to Egypt), and they did so.

[2255]

On Rabīʿ I[744] 7, 293 (January 6, 906), one of the officers of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad ⌜b. ʿAmr⌝ b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār, who was known as Abū Qābūs,[745] left the camp of the Sijistānīs[746] and arrived at Madīnat al-Salām seeking a guarantee of safe-conduct. This was because Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad, who was reportedly preoccupied with amusement and hunting, had gone to Sijistān for hunting and recreation. Power in Fārs was then seized by al-Layth b. ʿAlī ⌜b. al-Layth⌝[747] and Subkarā,[748] the *mawlā* of ʿAmr ⌜b. al-Layth⌝, with al-Layth governing in the jurisdiction which was nominally Ṭāhir's. They became estranged from Abū Qābūs, and as a result, Abū Qābūs left them and went to the Caliph's court in Baghdad. ⌜The Caliph received him⌝, bestowed robes of honor upon him and upon a number of the men with him, presented him with gifts, and honored him. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad ⌜b. ʿAmr b. al-Layth⌝

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[743] The battle took place on al-Muḥarram 3, 293 (November 4, 905). See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 153.

[744] R: "Rabīʿ II."

[745] Abū Qābūs al-Khurāsānī is further mentioned in ʿArīb, 53, *sub anno* 302 (914-5). All the Ṭabarī manuscripts have al-Qābūs.

[746] That is, Ṭāhir's forces in Sijistān made up primarily of local troops.

[747] Al-Layth was a cousin of Ṭāhir's father. He died in al-Raqqah in 316 (928). See ʿArīb, 139.

[748] The vocalization of this name is not certain. Subkarā died in 305 (917-8) in Baghdad.

then wrote to the central authorities asking them to return Abū Qābūs to him. He mentioned that he had entrusted him with some administrative duties in Fārs and that Abū Qābūs had collected taxes and had taken the proceeds along with him. Should Abū Qābūs not be returned to him, Ṭāhir asked that an accounting be made of the money from Fārs which Abū Qābūs had taken along with him and which he had been forced to give up.[749] The central authorities did not grant Ṭāhir any of these requests.

In this month [Rabīʿ I, 293 (December 31, 905-January 29, 906)], word arrived in Baghdad that a brother of ⌜al-Ḥusayn b.⌝ Zikrawayh, known as the Man of the Mole, had appeared in al-Dāliyah with some men having come from the Euphrates Road, and some Arab tribesmen and brigands had joined him. He marched / / on Damascus with them taking the desert road. He [2256]
caused trouble in the region and fought its inhabitants. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān ⌜b. Ḥamdūn⌝ was mobilized to go out against him, and he left with a large number of troops. The Qarmaṭian's move on Damascus took place in Jumādā I, 293 (February 28-March 29, 906). Following this, word arrived at Baghdad that he had moved on Ṭabariyyah[750] Its inhabitants refused to let him enter the city, so he fought them and eventually entered the city. He killed most of the men and women there and looted the city, following which he went back to the desert region.

In Rabīʿ II, 293 (January 30-February 27, 906), word arrived at Baghdad that the *dāʿī* in the Yemen had moved on the city of Ṣanʿāʾ. Its inhabitants fought him, but he overcame and killed them; only a few of them escaped. He then seized power in all the other cities of the Yemen.[751]

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[749] Ṭāhir suggests that the money he accuses Abū Qābūs of having embezzled was taken away from Abū Qābūs in Baghdad in exchange for the friendly reception accorded him.
[750] That is, Tiberias.
[751] See above, n. 487, and, with reference to this passage, van Arendonk, *Opkomst*, 182, n. 2.

Resumption of the Report on the Affairs of Ibn Zikrawayh's Brother

The source for the following report is Muḥammad b. Dawūd b. al-Jarrāḥ: After the death of the Man of the Mole, the son of Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh, a man named Abū Ghānim ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd,[752] who was a schoolteacher in a village called al-Zābūqah[753] in the administrative district of al-Fallūjah, was dispatched by Zikrawayh to circulate among the Kalb tribes and propagandize for his religious views among them. In order to disguise ⌜his activities⌝, he called himself Naṣr. Nobody accepted his propaganda except a man from the Banū Ziyād who was called Miqdām
[2257] b. al-Kayyāl.[754] He inveigled on his behalf sections of // the Aṣbaghites who claimed Fāṭimid descent, as well as low-class ʿUllayṣ and vagabonds from all the other Kalb subtribes, and moved on the Syrian region.

The official of the central authorities in charge of Damascus and al-Urdunn (Province) was Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh. At the time, he was stationed in Egypt to fight Ibn Khalīj,[755] who had opposed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān and returned to Egypt (al-Fusṭāt) seizing power there. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd seized the opportunity (of Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh's absence) to move on the cities of Buṣrā and Adhriʿāt, counties of the Ḥawrān, and al-Bathaniyyah. He fought their inhabitants and then offered them guarantees of safe-conduct. When they submitted, he killed their fighting men, took their women and children captive, and confiscated their property. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd then traveled toward Damascus, where Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh had left behind a garrison of Egyptians with Ṣāliḥ b. al-Faḍl.[756] A number of them went out against ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd, but (the Qarmaṭians) overcame them, causing a bloodbath. Following this, they deceived them by extending

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[752] For the events concerning this man, see Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 51.

[753] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 905, distinguishes this Zābūqah from the one at the outskirts of al-Baṣrah. The latter is connected with the Battle of the Camel fought in 36 (656). See text above, I, 3122ff. For al-Fallūjah, see *EI*², s. v. al-Fallūdja.

[754] There does not seem to exist any further information about him. See Halm, loc. cit.

[755] R: "al-Khalījī."

[756] I have found no further information about him other than that which is presented in Ṭabarī and ʿArīb.

guarantees of safe-conduct to them. They killed Ṣāliḥ and scattered his army. However, they had no hope of taking Damascus; for they had reached it earlier only to be repelled by its inhabitants. Therefore they moved on Ṭabariyyah, the capital of al-Urdunn. They were joined by a number of defectors from among the troops of Damascus.[757] Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. Bughāmardī,[758] Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh's official in charge of al-Urdunn, attacked them, but they broke his resistance and offered him a guarantee of safe-conduct. They subsequently betrayed him, and, after killing him, they looted the capital of al-Urdunn, took the women captive, and killed a number of its inhabitants.

The central authorities despatched al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān and several distinguished officers to pursue them. // Al-Ḥusayn [2258] reached Damascus, after the enemies of God had entered Ṭabariyyah. When they learned about al-Ḥusayn, they turned toward al-Samāwah. Al-Ḥusayn went off to pursue them in the desert of al-Samāwah, while they moved from watering place to watering place and made them all unusable. Eventually they took refuge at two watering places known as al-Dimʿānah and al-Ḥālah.[759] Since he had no water, al-Ḥusayn gave up the pursuit and returned[760] to al-Raḥbah.

The Qarmaṭians with that seducer of theirs called Naṣr marched by night on the village of Hīt. In the morning of Shaʿbān 20,[761] 293 (June 16, 906), at sunrise, they arrived there unexpected. Naṣr looted the city's suburbs, killed all the inhabitants he could, burned down the residences, and looted the ships in the Euphrates port[762] of the city. He reportedly killed about two hundred of the local inhabitants, men, women, and children, and seized all the property ⌜and goods⌝ that he could. He reportedly loaded three thousand pack animals that were with him with about two

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757 R: "a number of people who had escaped from Damascus."

758 See above, n. 181.

759 Al-Dimʿānah is described by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 598, as a watering place belonging to the Baḥr of the Zuhayr b. Janāb of the Kalb (see Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk*, table 285, I, 221a, 610a). For al-Ḥālah, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 361, s. v. Khālah. RC: "al-Dimghānah."

760 Since he came from Damascus, it would be more accurate to say that he continued to the Euphrates.

761 R and ʿArīb (11, l. 10), as apparently also B: "seven" (nights remaining, or Shaʿbān 22).

762 R has the expected *furḍatihā*. See also Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, DCCC.

hundred *kurr bi-al-muʿaddal*[763] of wheat and all the flour,[764] perfume, and stuff[765] that he needed. He stayed the rest of the day on which he had entered the city, as well as the following day, and then left for the desert ⌜after the evening prayer⌝. He obtained all that (booty) from the suburbs alone, for the inhabitants of the city itself were protected from him by the city wall. On account of this Qarmaṭian, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundājīq marched to Hīt with a number of officers and a substantial army. After
[2259] several days he was followed by Mu'nis al-Khādim.[766]/ /

The source for the following report is Muḥammad b. Dāwūd: The Qarmaṭians came to Hīt unexpectedly in the morning, but God safeguarded the city's inhabitants by means of the city wall. The central authorities then rushed Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundājīq against the Qarmaṭians. When the Qarmaṭians had stayed there only three nights, ⌜Muḥammad b. Isḥāq drew close⌝. They fled ⌜from him⌝ to the two watering places. When he wanted to pursue them, he found that they had made the watering places between him and themselves unusable. Camels, water skins, and provisions were dispatched to him from the center.[767] Al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān was given written orders to proceed against them from the direction of al-Raḥbah, so that he and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq could attack them jointly.

When the Kalbites noticed that the army was on their trail, they decided to assault and murder the enemy of God called Naṣr. One[768] of them, a man called al-Dhi'b b. al-Qā'im,[769] was responsible for the killing. He then went to (the Caliph's) court and

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[763] On determinations of the weight of *kurr muʿaddal*, see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCCLIII; Lane, 2601b. For *kurr*, see also *Wörterbuch*, letter *K*, 106a. The *kurr* is commonly described as containing sixty donkey loads. If donkeys or mules are meant here, the *kurr muʿaddal* would amount to about fifteen such loads.

[764] *Burr* may be "flour" in contrast to *ḥinṭah* "wheat (grain)." "Linen cloth *(bazz)*" cannot be excluded, however, if "perfume" is correct.

[765] *Saqaṭ* occurs next to "rice" in the text above, III, 1550. It is explained as a kind of merchandise. See Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCXCIII. It may have a meaning similar to that of *ḥuṭām* (see below, n. 771). The proximity to "perfume" recalls *safaṭ* "container for cosmetics." See Lane, 1372b; Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 22, n. 3; Busse, "Hofbudget," 24. However, this word is not likely to be meant here.

[766] Text: "al-Khāzin"; read al-Khādim as in RC.

[767] Probably, *al-ḥaḍrah* refers here to Baghdad.

[768] ʿArīb, 11, ll. 19f., summarizes the rest of the paragraph: "They used his head to approach Muḥammad b. Kundāj."

[769] In Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 374, he is called Abū al-Dhi'b (?).

used what he had done as a means of approaching (the Caliph) and seeking guarantees of safe-conduct for the rest of the Kalb. He was rewarded and credited for what he had undertaken, and his people were no longer pursued. He remained several days, and then fled. The vanguards of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq came upon the head[770] of the man called Naṣr. They cut it off and brought it to Madīnat al-Salām.

The Qarmaṭians thereafter fought among themselves. This eventually led to bloodshed. Miqdām b. al-Kayyāl escaped to the territory of the Ṭayyi' with the things[771] he had seized. A group of them who disliked what the Qarmaṭians were doing went to the Banū Asad, who were staying in the region of ʿAyn al-Tamr, and asked them for protection. They sent a delegation to the central authorities to apologize / / for what they had done and to [2260] ask that (official) approval be given to them so that they could remain under the protection of the Banū Asad. Their request was granted.

The remaining wicked adherents of the religion of the Qarmaṭian reached the two watering places. The central authorities now sent written orders to Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān to resume the attempt to uproot them. Zikrawayh dispatched one of his *dāʿī*s to them, a farmer from the Sawād named al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, who was known as Abū Muḥammad[772] and came from the rural district of Nahr Malḥātā.[773] He was sent to inform them that the action of al-Dhi'b b. al-Qā'im had estranged them from Zikrawayh[774] and that they had become renegades from the (true) religion. The time had arrived, however, for them to come out. Forty thousand men had declared their allegiance to him in al-Kūfah, and four hundred thousand in the Kūfan countryside. Their appointed day was the one mentioned by God in His Book

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770 In the context, the corpse, with the head still attached, must be meant.

771 Like *saqaṭ* (above, n. 765), *ḥuṭām* generally means something like worthless cast-offs, but the meaning of "hay," expressly indicated in Dozy, may apply here.

772 There is no further information about him beyond what is found in Ṭabarī.

773 Text: "Talḥānah"; read "Malḥātā," as found in R and supported by the reading in C. Aramaic *malḥāthā* "salt regions/mines" would be an appropriate name. Tallḥānah seems less likely.

774 Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 47, l. 3, adds, no doubt from a recension of Ṭabarī: "and made his heart heavy against them." Miskawayh's text is incorporated in the text of the Leiden edition.

in connection with Moses, the man spoken to by God,[775] and Moses's enemy Pharaoh, where He says: "Your appointed day is a day of splendor, and it should be that the people will assemble in the early morning."[776] Zikrawayh ordered them to conceal their business and to make it appear that they were setting out for Syria, while, in fact, they were to march on al-Kūfah, where they were to arrive on the morning of the Day of Slaughtering, Thursday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 10, 293 (Thursday, October 2, 906). They would not be prevented from entering al-Kūfah. He would then appear and fulfill his promise to them which his messengers used to convey to them. They should bring al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad with them.

They obeyed his command[777] and reached the gate of al-Kūfah, just as the people returned from their place of prayer with Isḥāq b. ʿImrān,[778] the official representing the central authorities
[2261] there. The number of those / / who reached the gate of al-Kūfah on that day reportedly consisted of approximately eight hundred[779] horsemen headed by al-Dandānī Zikrawayh[780] b. Mihrawayh, who was from al-Ṣaw'ar[781] or, according to another report, from Junbulā'. The horsemen had coats of mail and breastplates and a

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[775] The well-known epithet of Moses, based on Qur. 4:164 and occurring but once in the standard collections of ḥadīth. See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, in Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ*, XVII, 252; *Wörterbuch*, letter *K*, 336a.

[776] Qur. 20:59.

[777] R: *ra'yahū* "his opinion."

[778] Isḥāq b. ʿImrān was removed from his official position in al-Kūfah and its environs at the end of Ramaḍān, 303 (April 7, 916), and he died on Wednesday, Ṣafar 9 (*not* 7), 306 (Wednesday, July 22, 918). See ʿArīb, 58, 76. He was attacked in a satirical poem by Ibn Bassām al-Bassāmī (Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 259f., ed. Pellat, V, 197f.).

[779] R: "two hundred."

[780] Text: "al-Dhablānī"; read "al-Dandānī" as in RC. The same *nisbah* occurs in connection with Zikrawayh in Baghdādī, *Farq*, 267, whose information may, however, go in some manner back to Ṭabarī. See also Halkin's translation, *Moslem Schisms*, 112. For further possible occurrences of Dandān in Qarmaṭian history, see L. Massignon, "Esquisse," 331; Halm, *Kosmologie*, 5, n. 22, 95; al-Baghdādī, *Farq*, 266, trans. Halkin, 108f. The *nisbah* al-Dandānī is listed in Samʿānī, *Ansāb* V, 383, but Samʿānī does not indicate what it refers to. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 611, refers to a village Dandanah in the region of Wāsiṭ, but the short vowel in the second syllable makes any relationship to Dandānī dubious.

[781] According to the text below, al-Ṣaw'ar was located eight km from al-Qādisiyyah. It was celebrated as the location of a slaughtering contest (*muʿāqarah*), in which the father of the poet al-Farazdaq participated. See *Naqā'id*, for instance, 624, 771, 953, 999, 1080 (Leiden 1905-12). The *Naqā'id* were the source of Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 430f.

fine outfit.[782] They were accompanied by a number of foot soldiers on pack animals. They attacked the ordinary prople they came upon, despoiling a number of them and killing about twenty. The people lost no time in going to al-Kūfah. They entered the city and sounded the alarm, whereupon Isḥāq b. ʿImrān rose with his men. About a hundred Qarmaṭian horsemen entered the city of al-Kūfah from the gate known as Bāb Kindah.[783] The people and a number of men from the government forces gathered and pelted them with stones, fought against them, and threw parapets[784] upon them. About twenty Qarmaṭians were killed, and the Qarmaṭians were forced from the city. Isḥāq ⌜b. ʿImrān⌝ and the troops with him went out and advanced in battle lines against the Qarmaṭians. He ordered the inhabitants of al-Kūfah to be on guard, lest the Qarmaṭians find them unprepared and enter the city. On the Day of Slaughtering, the battle between them was fought uninterruptedly until the time of the afternoon prayer. Then the Qarmaṭians were routed and fled toward al-Qādisiyyah.

The inhabitants of al-Kūfah repaired their wall and moat and joined the men of the central authorities in guarding the city night and day. Isḥāq b. ʿImrān wrote to the central authorities asking for reinforcements. A number of the officers of the central authorities were mobilized to go out to them , / / among them: [2262]
Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī b. Wazīr,[785] Waṣīf b. Ṣawārtakīn al-Turkī,[786] al-Faḍl b. Mūsā b. Bughā,[787] the eunuch Bishr al-Afshīnī,[788] Jinnī

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782 For *ālah* "outfit," which includes banners, insignia, etc., see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, trans. Rosenthal, II, 48ff.

783 Presumably, the entrance to the Jabbānat Kindah section of al-Kūfah.

784 The meaning of *str* "parapets" (?) in this context is quite uncertain.

785 Ṭāhir was entrusted with presenting the insignia of office to the Sāmānid Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl after his father's death (see text below, 2279). In 296, he became involved in the affair of Ibn al-Muʿtazz. See ʿArīb, 29.

786 Ibn Ṣawārtakīn was also involved in the affair of Ibn al-Muʿtazz. See ʿArīb, 26; *Eclipse*, I, 7. It is not known whether he was killed on that occurrence, but I know of no later reference to him.

787 For al-Faḍl b. Mūsā, see text above, III, 1930, 1956.

788 Bishr (R: "Yusr") al-Afshīnī is identical with Bishr, the *mawlā* of Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj (whose nickname was Afshīn), although the two have received separate entries in the index of the Leiden edition. The identity is confirmed by the text below, 2268, where the bestowal of a robe of honor upon Bishr al-Afshīnī makes sense only if he was Bishr, the *mawlā* of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, who had a leading role in the event described there. He is also no doubt identical with Bishr the governor of Ṭarsūs in 302 (see text below, 2291, 2293), who appears in Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 15,

al-Ṣafwānī,[789] and Rā'iq al-Khazarī.[790] A number of the chamber pages and others were attached to them. On Tuesday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 15, 293 (Tuesday, October 7, 906), the first of them left. There was no commander-in-chief; each one of them commanded his own men. Al-Qāsim b. Sīmā and other Arab tribesmen from the desert areas in Diyār Muḍar,[791] the Euphrates Road, Daqūqā', Khānījār, and other regions gathered to rise up and march against the Qarmaṭians, since the men of the central authorities were dispersed in the Syrian region and Egypt. Messengers[792] went with this order to the Arab tribesmen, and they came.

Following this, word arrived at Baghdad ⌜this year⌝ that those who had gone to the relief of Isḥāq ⌜b. ʿImrān⌝ had left him and his men behind in al-Kūfah to secure the city and had gone out with their men against Zikrawayh. They went to a place four *mīl* (eight km) from al-Qādisiyyah known as al-Ṣaw'ar in the desert along the line (of al-Kūfah). Zikrawayh met them there, and they moved in battle lines against[793] him on Monday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 21, 293 (Monday, October 13, 906). ⌜According to another report, the battle took place on Sunday, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 20.⌝ The government forces left a distance of about a *mīl* (two km) between themselves and their train, leaving no fighting men behind with the train. The battle between them grew fierce. At the begining of
[2263] the day, it went against / / the Qarmaṭian and his men, and they were almost overcome. However, unbeknownst to the (government forces), Zikrawayh had set up an ambush[794] behind them. At midday, (the forces from) the ambush moved against the train and looted it. When the government forces saw the sword in their rear, they fled most ignominiously. The Qarmaṭian and his men

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as *'fsn* (!) al-Afshīnī. He may also be identical with Bishr al-Khādim who was appointed governor of Damascus and Aleppo by al-Qāhir in 321 (933) and who was killed, it seems, in the same year by the Ikhshīdid Muḥammad b. Ṭughj. See Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, I, 97.

789 Jinnī al-Ṣafwānī was entrusted with the security of Diyār Muḍar in 305 (917), (see above, n. 636). He was captured by the Qarmaṭians in 312 (925) (ʿArib, 124; *Eclipse*, I, 145), and there is no mention of him thereafter. See also above, n. 360.

790 See text below, 2265, but there does not seem to be further information about him. An identity with contemporary namesakes cannot be securely established.

791 RB: "Diyār Rabīʿah."

792 Text: *al-rasā'il* "messages"; RC: *al-rusul* "messengers."

793 R: *fa-ṣādafūhu* "they encountered him."

794 See above, n. 666.

put the government forces to the sword ⌜killing them⌝ as they wished. A number of Khazar and other chamber pages, about one hundred strong, remained steadfast and fought to the death, inflicting great losses upon the Qarmaṭians. The Qarmaṭians rounded up and took possession of the train of the government forces. The only men to escape were those who were saved by the excellence of their mounts or who were gravely wounded and hid among the dead and then walked with difficulty to al-Kūfah after the end of the battle. The swift camels in the train which had been sent by the central authorities along with their men, and which carried weapons and the outfit, were seized; there were about three hundred swift camels as well as five hundred mules, which were also seized. The government forces who were killed in the battle amounted to one thousand five hundred men, not counting pages, camel drivers,[795] and those in the train. The booty made in the battle by the Qarmaṭian and his men added to their strength. He broke into stores of provisions beside (the train?) and took food and barley and had it all carried to his camp on the mules of the government (forces). He then traveled from the location of the battle about five *mīl* (ten km) along the line to a place near the one known as Nahr al-Mathniyyah.[796] This was because the stench of the dead bothered them.

The source of the following report is Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ: / / The Arab tribesmen to whom Zikrawayh had sent [2264] messages reached the gate of al-Kūfah, just as the Muslims had returned from their place of prayer together with Isḥāq b. ʿImrān. They dispersed in two directions and entered the houses of al-Kūfah. Earlier, they had set up a tent for al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad, the *dāʿī* of Zikrawayh, saying, "This[797] is the son of the Messenger of God." They shouted, "Revenge for al-Ḥusayn!" meaning al-Ḥusayn b. Zikrawayh, whose corpse was hung at the gate of the bridge in Madīnat al-Salām. Their battle cry was, "O Aḥmad, O Muḥammad!" meaning the two sons of Zikrawayh who had been killed.[798] They displayed white banners, and they thought they might

[795] Text: "porters"; read *wa-al-jammālīn* as in RB.
[796] The form of the name and the location are unknown.
[797] Referring to Zikrawayh as represented by the tent?
[798] That is, Yaḥyā (Muḥammad) and al-Ḥusayn (Aḥmad), here referred to by the names they claimed for themselves. See text above, III, 2218, 2220.

seduce the Kūfan mob with those words *they used.*[799] Isḥāq b. ʿImrān and *the men of his* who were with him speedily moved against them, repelling them and killing those who stood their ground. Some ⌜members of the family of Abū Ṭālib⌝[800] were there ⌜and fought alongside Isḥāq b. ʿImrān, as did some⌝ ordinary people.

The Qarmaṭians withdrew humbled,[801] and on the same day went to a village called al-ʿUshayrah[802] at the outer reaches of the administrative district of al-Sāliḥīn[803] and Nahr Yūsuf adjacent to the desert. They dispatched to the enemy of God, Zikrawayh ⌜b. Mihrawayh⌝, some people to bring him out of a hole in the ground in which he had been hiding for many years in the village of al-Darriyyah.[804] The inhabitants of the village of al-Ṣaw'ar
[2265] made him spit upon / / their hands,[805] calling him the friend of God, and upon seeing him, they prostrated themselves before him. A number of his *dāʿī*s and intimates were also present. He told them that their greatest benefactor was al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad who had brought them back to the (true) religion after they had left it; if they would obey his command, he would fulfill the promises made to them and have them attain their hopes. He invented myths for them in which he mentioned verses of the Qur'ān, giving them an interpretation different from the one intended in the revelation. All the Arab tribesmen, *mawlā*s, Nabataeans,[806] and others in whose hearts the love of unbelief was firmly planted, acknowledged that Zikrawayh was their foremost chief, their cave, and their refuge. They were certain of

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[799] R: *alladhī aẓharū*, confirmed by C and Miskawayh.

[800] The ʿAlid component was always strong in the Kūfan population, and having at least partial support from them in this situation was particularly important for the government.

[801] The word used here (*khāsiʿīn*) recalls Qur. 2:65, 7:166, where it refers to monkeys.

[802] The vocalization is uncertain and based upon a different Dhāt al-ʿUshayrah which occurs in the history of the Prophet. Halm, "Söhne Zikrawaihs," 52, reads al-ʿAshīrah.

[803] Al-Sāliḥīn or al-Saylaḥīn, listed under al-Saylaḥūn in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 218f., where it is described as being located near al-Qādisiyyah. It is mentioned together with Nahr Yūsuf in the text above, II, 725.

[804] The form and vocalization are uncertain. Perhaps, it is to be identified with Durubbā listed by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, II, 561.

[805] See the note in the Leiden edition and Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CL. Readings such as *yutlifūna* "spoiled him by their behavior" or the like, as in the Cairo edition, seem less likely.

[806] That is, the native sedentary rural population.

victory and the attainment of their hopes. When Zikrawayh traveled with them, he was not accessible to them; they called him lord and did not let him go out to those in their camp. Al-Qāsim, not he, was actually in charge and executed matters according to his[807] views over an area extending to the outer reaches of the administrative region of al-Kūfah which is irrigated by the Euphrates. He let them know that all the people of the Sawād were coming out to join him. He remained there some twenty days, during which time he sent out messengers of his in disguise[808] among the Sawādīs. However, none of them joined him,[809] except those who suffered hard times. They were about five hundred men with their women and children.

⌜The central authorities sent parties of soldiers against him⌝ and issued written orders to all those whom it had dispatched to al-Anbār and Hīt to secure (those cities); for it was feared that those Qarmaṭians who had remained at the two watering places might return there upon departing for al-Kūfah. The central authorities therefore rushed a number of officers against him,[810] among them: Bishr[811] al-Afshīnī, Jinnī al-Ṣafwānī, Niḥrīr al-ʿUmarī,[812] and Rā'iq, the ranking knight[813] of the Commander of the Faithful, as well as the young pages known as the chamber pages. They attacked the enemies of God // near the village of [2266] al-Ṣaw'ar killing their foot soldiers[814] and a number of their horsemen. The Qarmaṭians let their tents fall into their hands. They entered them and busied themselves with them, whereupon the Qarmaṭians turned upon them and routed them.

The source of the following report is someone who ⌜mentioned that he⌝ was present in the office of Muḥammad b. Dāwūd ⌜b. al-Jarrāh⌝, when some Qarmaṭians, among them the brother-

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807 Of Zikrawayh or of al-Qāsim?

808 Text: *mustalḥiqīn* "asking them to join"; read *mustakhfīn* as in R. There seems to be no manuscript authority for the reading of the Leiden edition.

809 Text: "them"; read *bihī* "him" as in R.

810 Text: "against them"; read *ilayhi* "against him" as in RC and Miskawayh.

811 R and Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 50, read again "Yusr."

812 Niḥrīr al-ʿUmarī (al-ʿAmrī ?) disappears from history with his capture by the Qarmaṭian Abū Ṭāhir, the son of Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī, on Friday, al-Muḥarram 22, 312 (Friday, April 30, 924). See *Eclipse*, I, 121; Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 57.

813 This may be the meaning of *fatā* here, rather than "slave."

814 RC: *rijālahum* "their men." This might be the more original text.

in-law [815] of Zikrawayh, were brought in to him. The brother-in-law told him as follows: Zikrawayh was in hiding at my residence, in a cellar of my house protected by an iron door. We had a movable furnace, and whenever a search party came to us, we placed the furnace on the cellar door, and a woman got up to heat it. Zikrawayh remained in this situation for four years. That was in the days of al-Muʿtaḍid. ⌜He used to say, "I shall not go out as long as al-Muʿtaḍid is among the living." ⌝ He was then moved from my residence to a house which had a room built in behind its door. When the door of the house was opened, it would cover the door of the room; thus, a person entering would not notice the door of the room in which Zikrawayh was. This remained the situation until al-Muʿtaḍid died. He then dispatched *dāʿī*s and worked toward coming out to rebel.

When *the report—I mean,* the report of the battle between the Qarmaṭian and the government forces at al-Ṣaw'ar—reached the central authorities in Baghdad, people considered it an important event. The officers mentioned by me were mobilized to go out to al-Kūfah, and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Kundājīq was made commander-in-chief. *He was followed next by ʿAllān b. Muḥammad b. Kushmard[816] with a large army. Waṣīf b. Sawārtakīn[817] had preceded them earlier with a substantial force.* A number of Arab tribesmen from the Banū Shaybān and the Namir, about two thousand men, were attached to (Ibn Kundājīq) and given their allotments.

[2267] On Jumādā I 18, 293 (March 17, 906), / / a group of about ten persons arrived in Baghdad from Mecca. They went to the Caliph's court and asked that troops be sent to their land, because they were afraid that the rebel in the Yemen[818] might invade it, as they thought that he was already nearby.

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[815] The *silf* "brother of the sister of the wife" of Zikrawayh (see text above, III, 2127) may be identical with al-Muntaqim, although al-Muntaqim is described as the brother of Zikrawayh's wife. See below, n. 889.

[816] There is no reason to doubt the parentage of ʿAllān as indicated here. It would seem to make him a brother of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Kushmard (see above, nn. 398 and 657). For the unhappy role ʿAllān played in the following year, see text below, 2270f. One of ʿAllān's pages is mentioned in ʿArīb, 68, l. 3, *sub anno* 305 (917-8).

[817] The spelling with S, instead of Ṣ, occurs also elsewhere in the Ṭabarī manuscripts.

[818] See above, n. 751, and van Arendonk, *Opkomst*, 219, n. 3.

On Friday, Rajab 12, 293 (Friday, May 9, 906), a dispatch which had reached the central authorities was read from the pulpit in Baghdad. It said that the inhabitants of Ṣanʿā' and other cities in the Yemen had gathered against the rebel who had seized power in their country. They fought and routed him, and his troops fled, whereupon he had withdrawn to some place in the Yemen.

On Shawwāl 3, 293 (July 28, 906), the Caliph bestowed a robe of honor upon Muẓaffar b. Ḥājj and formally appointed him governor of the Yemen. Ibn Ḥājj left on Dhū al-Qaʿdah 5, 293 (August 28, 906), and went to his administrative post in the Yemen, staying there until he died.[819]

On ⌜Rajab⌝ 23, 293 (May 20, 906), al-Muktafī's tent was taken out ⌜and set up⌝ at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah in expectation of his departure for Syria on account of Ibn al-Khalīj. But then, on Rajab 24, 293 (May 21, 906), a mail pouch ⌜from Egypt⌝ arrived at Baghdad with a report from Fātik. It indicated that he and the officers had advanced against al-Khalījī and that many battles had taken place between them. In the last battle, most of al-Khalījī's men had been killed, and the rest then fled. They had overcome them and had taken over their camp. Al-Khalījī had fled, and eventually entered al-Fusṭāṭ where he hid in the house of a local man. The allies then entered al-Fusṭāṭ, and when they had established themselves there, Fātik was shown where al-Khalījī was and those of his partisans who were hiding with him. He had them arrested and detained on behalf of (al-Muktafī?). Al-Muktafī wrote to[820] / / Fātik ordering him to bring al-Khalījī and those [2268]
who were seized[821] with him to Madīnāt al-Salām.

Al-Muktafī's tents which had been taken out to Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah were brought back, and he sent word to return his stores which had already passed Takrīt, which was done. Fātik then sent al-Khalījī and a number of the men captured with him from Egypt to Madīnat al-Salām with Bishr,[822] the *mawlā* of

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[819] See above, n. 401. For doubts about the chronology offered here, see van Arendonk, *Opkomst*, 182, n. 2.
[820] R indicates the passive "Fātik received written orders."
[821] R: "and those partisans of his who had been hiding."
[822] See above, n. 788.

Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj. On Thursday, Ramaḍān 15, 293 (Thursday, July 10, 906), al-Khalījī was brought into Madīnat al-Salām by way of Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah. In front of him, there were twenty-one[823] men upon camels, wearing hoods and silken cloaks, among them, reportedly, the two sons of Bīnak,[824] Abū Shikāl,[825] who had come to *the camp of* the central authorities from the camp of ʿAmr b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār to ask for a guarantee of safe-conduct, and the black eunuch Ṣandal al-Muzāḥimī.[826] *Ibn al-Khalījī[827] was carried on a camel, hanging on a stake which had been placed on it. Behind the back of his head, there was an artificial hand (*mithāl kaff*). When the camel moved with him, the hand struck the back of his head.*[828] When al-Khalījī came to al-Muktafī, the Caliph looked him over and ordered that he be detained in the palace, while the others were to be incarcerated in the New Prison. He sent them to Ibn ʿAmrawayh[829] who was in charge of the police in Baghdad. He then bestowed robes of honor upon his wazīr al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan for his skillful handling of matters leading to this victory. He also bestowed a robe of honor upon Bishr al-Afshīnī.[830]

In this year, al-Muktafī married the daughter of Khumārawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn.[831] They were married by Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. Yūsuf.

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[823] Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 236, ed. Pellat, V, 187: "twenty-four."

[824] The form of the name is uncertain. Bīnak seems to be the above-mentioned man who was killed in 264 (877). See text above, III, 1924. There does not seem to be any further record of his sons.

[825] The form of the name is uncertain, and no further information seems to be available about him.

[826] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 100, mentions him *sub anno* 283 (896) as a *mawlā* of Muzāḥim b. Khāqān. Muzāḥim was a brother of Aḥmad b. Khāqān and a governor of Egypt. He died there on Monday, al-Muḥarram 5, 254 (Monday, January 5, 868) (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, II, 338f.); in the text above, III, 1693, his death is dated in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 253 (December 867).

[827] In this passage, R uses Ibn al-Khalījī throughout.

[828] For al-Khalījī's transportation to Baghdad, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 154.

[829] For Muḥammad b. ʿAmrawayh, see ʿArīb, 21, 23, 30; *Eclipse*, I, 4, 7, 14. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 174, he died in Āmid in 298 (910-11).

[830] See above, n. 788.

[831] Apparently, a half-sister of Qaṭr al-Nadā whom al-Muʿtaḍid married instead of his son, the future al-Muktafī, see text above, III, 2134. She seems to have been among the members of the Ṭūlūnid family transferred to Baghdad. There may have been some political motive for the marriage, anticipating developments which, as it turned out, failed to materialize.

On Shawwāl 5, 293 (July 30, 906), the head of the Qarmaṭian named Naṣr, the one who had looted Hīt, was brought to Baghdad on top of a lance.[832]

On Shawwāl 7, 293 (August 1, 906), word arrived at Madīnat al-Salām that the Byzantines had raided Qūrus.[833] Its inhabitants fought them, but the Byzantines routed and killed most of them as well as the chieftains of the Banū Tamīm. They entered the city, burned down its mosque, and drove away the remaining inhabitants. // [2269]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌜al-Hāshimī.⌝

[832] Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 51, adds, no doubt following some Ṭabarī recension: "It was carried around on both sides of Baghdad." For the episode, see Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 374, who indicates the correct day of the week (Wednesday).

[833] That is, Cyrrhus, approximately sixty km northwest of Aleppo. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 19; Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Kyrros; *Der Kleine Pauly*, s. v. Kyrrhos. See the location indicated on the map between pp. 240 and 241 in Canard, *Ḥamdanides*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 199, describes the town as containing impressive ancient ruins.

The ⌜Important⌝ Events of the Year 294

(OCTOBER 22, 906 - OCTOBER 11, 907)

One of the events was the arrival of Ibn Kayghalagh[834] in Ṭarsūs in order to undertake a raid. He arrived on al-Muḥarram⌜1,⌝ 294 (October 22, 906). Rustum went on the raid with him; it was Rustum's second. They went as far as Salandū, where God gave them victory, and then reached Ālis.[835] About five thousand persons fell into their hands. They killed a great number of Byzantines and then returned safely.

On al-Muḥarram 12,[836] 294 (November 2, 906), word reached Madīnat al-Salām that the Qarmaṭian Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh had left the place known as Nahr al-Mathniyyah with the intention of attacking the pilgrims and that he had reached a place four *mīl* (eight km) from Wāqiṣah.[837]

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[834] That is, Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh. Note the slightly different account of this episode in the text below, 2275f.

[835] Apparently, the Halys/Alys river, the present Kızıl Irmak. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 20. In the text above, III, 1237 (also 1351), *al-Lms* is explained as the river of Seleucia (the ancient Kalykadnos in Cilicia and the present Gök-su), located at about a day's distance from Ṭarsūs and the place of ransom negotiations; but see above, n. 174. One manuscript consistently reads *'Ils*, and this caused Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 64, to quote Ṭabarī's identification, s. v. Ālis. Whatever locality may be meant on the first occurrence in the text above, III, 1237, it has been assumed, on the following pages, to represent the Halys. See Vasiliev, I, 146, n. 4, and Marin's translation, 62, n. 316.

[836] ʿArīb, 14, l. 6: "al-Muḥarram 11."

[837] The pilgrim stations on the Mecca Road, also referred to as "the Highway," existed for the purpose of providing fodder and water for the pilgrim caravans. Many of those stations were also protected by fortresses, as described in the text above, III, 486, and in the narrative here. All this was necessary and required great expenditures that were born by the government, but, as can be seen here clearly, the "Road" remained always highly vulnerable.

The names of the desert stations often reflect certain features of the desert terrain. The places were important in the lives of large numbers of Muslims. Thus their names were familiar, and most of them are listed in the geographical literature. However, some minor localities, not situated directly on the Mecca Road but mentioned by Ṭabarī in his report, are not easily identifiable. The section of the Mecca

According to the report of Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, the Qarmaṭians went westward[838] in the desert and eventually reached a watering place called Salmān.[839] The region between them and the Sawād was a waterless desert. The Qarmaṭian stayed where he was with the intention of attacking the pilgrims and waited for the first caravan. It reached Wāqiṣah on al-Muḥarram 6 or 7, 294 (October 27 or 28, 906). The local people warned the pilgrims, informing them that they were four *mīl* from the Qarmaṭians. So they did not stay but moved on and were saved. Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Rabaʿī[840] and Sīmā al-Ibrāhīmī[841] were in this caravan. When the caravan persisted in traveling on, the Qarmaṭian went to Wāqiṣah and asked the people there about it. When they informed him that the caravan had not stayed there, he suspected them of having warned it and therefore killed / / a number of the [2270] fodder-sellers there and burned the fodder, while the inhabitants fortified themselves in their fortress. He stayed there several days and then left for Zubālah.

According to the report of Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, the troops went toward the Springs of al-Ṭaff[842] in pursuit of Zikrawayh, but then departed from there when they learned that he was in Salmān. ʿAllān b. Kushmard went after Zikrawayh with a special detachment of cavalry by way of the Mecca Highway. They encamped at al-Sibāl,[843] and ʿAllān then marched toward Wāqiṣah and encamped there after the first caravan had passed through.

Road dealt with here is located approximately 28°-30° N, 44°-45° E, roughly one-third the distance between al-Kūfah/al-Baṣrah and Mecca. Map B in Thilo, *Ortsnamen*, for instance, shows Qarʿā', Wāqiṣah, Salmān, al-ʿAqabah, Zubālah, Thaʿlabiyyah, and Fayd. On a 1958 map, scale 1:2,000,000, published by the Department of the Interior, U. S. Geological Survey, we find Birkat al-ʿAqabah and Zubālah still listed. According to various entries in Yāqūt's *Muʿjam*, the stations between al-Kūfah and Wāqiṣah were al-Mughīthiyyah, al-Zubaydiyyah, and al-Qarʿā'. Counting up the individual distances indicated, the distance between al-Qādisiyyah and Wāqiṣah was eighty *mīl* (160 km). See the map showing the pilgrim routes of Arabia on p. 22 of W. C. Brice (ed.), *An Historical Atlas of Islam* (Leiden 1981). On the Mecca Road, see also *EI²*, *Suppl.*, s. v. Darb Zubayda, and the unpublished doctoral dissertation by S. ʿA. ʿA. al-Rashīd mentioned in *EI²*, *Suppl.*, s.v. Fayd.

[838] Lit., from an eastern direction.

[839] See above, n. 837, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 121f.

[840] R: "b. ʿAlī." No further information is available for him.

[841] He is hardly identical with Sīmā al-Khazarī mentioned in *Eclipse*, I, 46.

[842] See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 539ff. It seems that the troops originally went north when they should have gone south.

[843] Both the form and the location of this place are uncertain.

On the way, Zikrawayh passed groups of the Banū Asad. He took them and[844] their tents along with him on his move toward the Highway and against the pilgrims returning from Mecca.

On al-Muḥarram 16, 294 (November 6, 906), the pigeon post from al-Kūfah brought the news to Baghdad that on Sunday, al-Muḥarram 11, 294 (Saturday, November 1, 906), Zikrawayh had attacked the caravan of the Khurāsānians at al-ʿAqabah[845] on the Mecca Road, and that they had fought him energetically. He had interrogated them asking whether government men were among them. When they denied it and said that they were (simply) pilgrims, he told them that he did not want them and they should go. When the caravan went on its way, he followed and then attacked it. His men started to prick the camels with lances and rip them with swords, so that they broke lose and the caravan got confused. They fell upon the pilgrims and killed them at will. They killed men and women, took captive the
[2271] women they wanted, and seized for themselves what / / there was in the caravan.

One of the pilgrims who escaped encountered ʿAllān b. Kushmard who asked him what had happened, and he told him what had befallen the Khurāsānian caravan. The pilgrim then said: "There is only a short distance between you and the people.[846] Tonight or tomorrow, the second caravan will arrive. When they see a banner of the central authorities, they will take heart. In God's name, show concern for them!" But ʿAllān immediately turned back and ordered those with him to do likewise, saying, "I will not expose the government forces to being killed."

Zikrawayh then came up, and the second caravan arrived. Using a number of messengers who avoided the Highway, the central authorities had informed the leaders of the second and third caravans, and the officers and civilian officials in them, by letter about what the wicked man was doing to the pilgrims. They ordered them to be on guard against him and to go toward Wāsiṭ and al-Baṣrah instead of following the Highway, or to

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[844] Text: *min* "from"; Mss. *bi-(buyūtihā)*. The correction in the Leiden text seems unnecessary.

[845] See above, n. 837, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 692, l. 6.

[846] R: *baynahū* "between him (the Qarmaṭian)." This suggests that "the people" may be the Qarmaṭians rather than the troops and pilgrims in the caravan.

return to Fayd[847] or al-Madīnah and wait for the troops to join them. The messages had reached them, but they did not listen and did not stay and wait.

The people in the second caravan pressed on. It included al-Mubārak al-Qummī, Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-ʿUqaylī, and Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hamadhānī.[848] The criminals had come to Wāqiṣah, and before leaving, they had made the watering places there unusable, filling the ponds and wells with the corpses of camels and horses whose bellies were split open. Now they came to the ʿAqabah station on Monday, al-Muḥarram 12, 294 (Sunday, November 2, 906). The men in the second caravan fought them. Abū al-ʿAshā'ir[849] was at the head of the caravan with his men, while Mubārak al-Qummī was in the rear with his. The fighting was fierce. Eventually, they routed the criminals, and they were about // to overcome them when the criminals found the rear [2272] unawares and fell upon them from that direction. They thrust their lances into the sides and bellies of the camels which (fell upon the fighters in the caravan and) crushed them. They thus overpowered them and put them to the sword, killing them to the last man, except those whom they made slaves. They then dispatched horsemen several *mīl* beyond al-ʿAqabah where they encountered those who had escaped the slaughter. They granted them guarantees of safe-conduct, but then returned and killed all of them. They took captive the women they liked and seized all the money and goods. Al-Mubārak al-Qummī and his son Muẓaffar[850] were killed, and Abū al-ʿAshā'ir was captured. The corpses were collected and stacked, forming a large hill. Abū al-ʿAshā'ir's hands and feet were then cut off, and he was decapitated. The women they did not want were released. Some of the wounded had fallen among those killed. During the night, they dragged themselves away; some of them died, a few were saved. The Qarmaṭian women always went around among those killed

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[847] A major station on the Mecca Road, Fayd was used by pilgrims to leave provisions and things to be picked up on their return journey. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 927, and *EI²*, *Suppl.*, s. v. Fayd.

[848] I have not succeeded in finding further information about him.

[849] That is, Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-ʿUqaylī.

[850] Al-Muẓaffar b. al-Mubārak al-Qummī appears in connection with the wazīr al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan in Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 188.

with their children who offered them water. Those who talked to them (indicating that they were still alive), they[851] finished off.

Reportedly about twenty-thousand ⌜pilgrims⌝ were in the caravan. All of them were killed, except a small number. These included those who prevailed over the enemy ⌜and were thus saved, although left⌝ without provisions, the wounded who had fallen among those killed and later escaped, and those whom the Qarmaṭians made slaves to serve them. The money and splendid goods seized by the Qarmaṭians in this caravan were reportedly worth two million dīnārs.

One of the craftsmen working in precious metals[852] is the source for the report that letters from the Egyptian workers in precious metals had reached them saying, "You will become rich this year. The family of Ibn Ṭūlūn, the Egyptian officers who had
[2273] been sent / / to Madīnat al-Salām, and people of similar standing have shipped their Egyptian property to Madīnat al-Salām. They have had gold and silver vessels and jewelry melted down into ingots." The ingots were taken to Mecca to be carried with the pilgrims to Madīnat al-Salām. All of it was lost, *and nothing was recovered.*

While the Qarmaṭians were killing and looting this caravan on Monday (Sunday, November 2, 906), the caravan of the Khurāsānians reportedly approached. A number of Qarmaṭians went out against them and attacked them. They suffered the same fate.

When Zikrawayah had finished with the people of the second pilgrim caravan, seizing their possessions and allowing their women to be taken as legal booty, he filled the pools and wells at al-ʿAqabah with the corpses of people and horses and left immediately.

The news of his assault on ⌜the second of⌝ the caravans of the central authorities reached Madīnat al-Salām on Friday evening, al-Muḥarram 16, 294 (Thursday, November 6, 906), and greatly disturbed the central authorities and everybody else. The wazīr al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb mobilized Muḥammad ⌜b. Dāwūd⌝ b. al-Jarrāḥ, the secretary in charge of the Offices[853] of the Land

[851] Referring, it seems, to the Qarmaṭian men, and not to the women and children.
[852] *Ḍarrāb* usually indicates coiner but here it has probably a more general meaning, referring to gold and silver workers for whom the influx of the ingots promised more work. The reporter was no doubt a *ḍarrāb* living in Baghdad.
[853] R has the singular.

Tax and the Estates in the East as well as the Office of the Army, to go to al-Kūfah and stay there, in order to dispatch troops against the Qarmaṭians. Ibn al-Jarrāḥ left Baghdad on al-Muḥarram 19, 294 (November 9, 906), carrying with him much money with which to pay the troops.

Zikrawayh then traveled to Zubālah. He encamped there and deployed vanguards and rearguards, because he was afraid that the government forces stationed in al-Qādisiyyah would make contact with him and also because he was expecting the arrival of the third caravan which included the money and the merchants. He then traveled to al-Thaʿlabiyyah, and then to al-Shuqūq.[854] He stayed between al-Shuqūq and al-Biṭān[855] ⌜at the edge of the sand dunes⌝ in / / a place known as al-Ṭulayḥ,[856] waiting for the third [2274] caravan. It included the officers Nafīs al-Muwalladī and Ṣāliḥ al-Aswad.[857] (Ṣāliḥ) had with him the umbrella that al-Muʿtadid had adorned with precious jewels,[858] and the (caravan) chest. Also included in the caravan were: Ibrāhīm b. Abī al-Ashʿath,[859] who was chief judge of Mecca ⌜and al-Madīnah and who was also responsible for the Mecca Road⌝ and the expenditures for its upkeep, Maymūn b. Ibrāhīm al-Kātib[860] who was in charge of the affairs of the Office of Land Tax Bookkeeping and the Estates, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who was known as Ibn al-Hazallaj,[861] al-Furāt b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt,[862] al-Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl,[863] a relative of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan, who

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[854] According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 309, al-Shuqūq was located after Wāqiṣah on the Mecca Road.

[855] According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, I, 661, (al-)Biṭān was located after al-Shuqūq and before al-Thaʿlabiyyah.

[856] Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 375, l. 11, refers to this place as al-Ṭlyḥ belonging to al-Habīr (below, n. 865). Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VII, 379, and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 60, ll. 4f., omit the name and refer only to al-Habīr. ʿArīb has *al-Khlyj*, apparently an error.

[857] For Nafīs, see above, n. 399. Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 375, l. 12, mentions Nafīs and Aḥmad b. Sīmā in this context. I have no further information about Ṣāliḥ al-Aswad.

[858] Rather than "jewel" in the singular. For further references to the umbrella as symbolizing the presence of royal authority, see text above, III, 1555, and *Introductio etc.*, CCCXVI.

[859] I have no further information about him.

[860] Abū al-Qāsim Maymūn b. Ibrāhīm al-Mādharāʾī is mentioned in Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarāʾ*, 203, 250, as head of the *Dīwān al-zimām*. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 338.

[861] See Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarāʾ*, 184.

[862] I have no record of him. On his father, see above, n. 415.

[863] His relationship to the wazīr cannot be ascertained.

was postmaster of the two holy cities, and ʿAli b. al-ʿAbbās al-Nahīkī.[864]

When the people in this caravan reached Fayd, they learned about the evil Zikrawayh and his men. They stayed in Fayd several days and waited for reinforcements to come to them from the central authorities, as Ibn Kushmard had returned from the Road to al-Qādisiyyah with the troops which the central authorities had dispatched with him as well as in advance of him and afterwards. *When the caravan came into contact with the accursed one in a place called al-Habīr,[865] which was on al-Muḥarram 21, 294 (November 11, 906), he confronted them. They fought him all that day until nightfall, and then he withdrew from them. In the morning, he came once more to engage them in combat, and they fought each other. On the third day, the people of the caravan in al-Habīr who were without water became thirsty and, after fighting, surrendered. He put them to the sword; only a few of them escaped. The Qarmaṭians seized the women and everything in the caravan.*

In this year, the central authorities dispatched two thousand and two hundred horsemen of the Banū Shaybān to fight the Qarmaṭians.

In this year, Zikrawayh went to Fayd where the representative
[2275] of the central authorities was a man called / / Ḥāmid b. Fīrūz.[866] Ḥāmid, together with about a hundred men who were with him in the mosque,[867] sought refuge from Zikrawayh in one of Fayd's two fortresses, and he garrisoned the other fortress. Zikrawayh now began to correspond with the inhabitants of Fayd asking them to surrender their official (Ḥāmid) and the troops among them.[868] The inhabitants of Fayd, however, did not respond to his

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[864] Al-Nahīkī (not al-Nuhaykī) appears to be identical with the official mentioned by Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 87, where he appears as the person in charge of the important land tax district of Bādūrayā.

[865] A similar occurrence at al-Habīr in the year 312 (924) is mentioned by ʿArīb, 118f.; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, IV, 951.

The addition in R fills the lacuna correctly assumed in the Leiden edition. It agrees fully with what is found in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 160.

[866] I have not succeeded in obtaining further information about him.

[867] This appears to imply that the Qarmaṭians made their move when the people were at prayer in the mosque.

[868] Read *fīhim* as in R and other sources.

request, and he fought them without result. ⌜He continued:⌝[869] When he saw that he could not do anything with them, he withdrew to al-Nibāj[870] and then went to Ḥufayr Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī.[871]

On Rabī' I 1, 294 (December 20, 906), al-Muktafī mobilized Waṣīf b. Ṣawārtakīn with a number of officers. They left al-Qādisiyyah by the Khaffān Road.[872] On Saturday, Rabī' I 22, 294 (Saturday, January 10, 907), Waṣīf encountered Zikrawayh. They fought all day long, then night intervened between them. They spent the night on guard against each other. He then returned to attack them. The government troops caused a great slaughter among the Qarmaṭians. They got to the enemy of God, Zikrawayh, and when he turned his back, one of the soldiers struck the back of his head with a sword in such a way that it went through his brain. Zikrawayh, his lieutenant,[873] and a number of his intimates and relatives, among them his son,[874] his secretary, and his wife were taken captive, and the troops took possession of everything in his camp. Zikrawayh lived five more days and then died. His belly was split open, *and emptied of its contents.* He was carried away as he was and *taken to Madīnat al-Salām. He was carried upon a camel. The hood had been placed on his head, and he was dressed in a brocade cloak. In front of him was his wife Mu'minah,[875] wearing a silken dress and wrap. Also paraded before him were the umbrella which he had seized and from which he had removed the jewels, and the captives.* ⌜The captured pilgrims who had remained alive while they were in his hands were returned⌝[876]

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869 Presumably, Ibn al-Jarrāḥ.

870 See text above, I, 1914; Thilo, *Ortsnamen*, 76f., map. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 736f., does not seem to be quite certain about the location of al-Nibāj; he assumes it to be near Fayd halfway between al-Baṣrah and Mecca.

871 R and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 60, l. 10: "Ḥafar." See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 294, who supports this reading. On the famous early Muslim Abū Mūsā al-'Ash'arī, see *EI²*, s. v. al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā.

872 Khaffān was located near al-Kūfah. The road passing by it was occasionally used by the Mecca pilgrims. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 456.

873 It seems that this lieutenant cannot be further identified.

874 It is not clear which of his sons is meant.

875 This appears to be the correct reading, giving the name of Zikrawayh's wife.

876 The concluding words to this account in Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 56, were probably taken from the Ṭabarī manuscript used by him: "The Qarmaṭians were then rounded up, and a number of them asked for guarantees of safe-conduct."

In this year, Ibn Kayghalagh undertook a raid from Ṭarsūs. He made four thousand enemy captives and seized many horses and
[2276] cattle as well as goods. One of the Patrikioi came // to him to seek a guarantee of safe-conduct and became a Muslim. Ibn Kayghalagh left Ṭarsūs for this raid on al-Muḥarram 1, 294 (October 22, 906).[877]

In this year, the Patrikios Andronikos,[878] who was the Byzantine ruler's military commander of those living in the border regions, wrote to the central authorities in Baghdad seeking a guarantee of safe-conduct. It was granted to him. The Byzantine ruler had sent men to him to arrest him. So he gave weapons to about two hundred Muslims being held captive in his fortress[879] and left, sending them out along with some of his sons. They fell at night upon the Patrikios who had been sent to arrest Andronikos and killed a large number of his men and looted their camp. In Jumādā I, 294 (February 17-March 18, 907), Rustum had left with the people of the border regions to rescue Andronikos and had reached Qūniyah soon after the incident.[880] The Patrikioi learned that the Muslims were marching against them and turned back. Andronikos sent his son to Rustum, while Rustum sent his secretary and a number of sailors[881] (to Andronikos). They spent the night in the fortress. In the morning, Andronikos took out his money and goods and left for the Muslim camp with all the Muslim captives who were with him, those (Muslims) who[882] had come to him,[883] and the ⌜Christians⌝[884] who agreed with

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[877] See above, n. 834. This paragraph was used by Ibn ʿAsākir in his biography of Aḥmad b. Kayghalagh (see above, n, 677). It seems quite probable that the Patrikios mentioned here was, in fact, the Andronikos mentioned in the following paragraph which may go back to another, better-informed source.

[878] See above, n. 722. For the passage, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 20f. See also Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 174, which contains information on his son Constantine as well.

[879] Presumably referring to the fortress of Qūniyah (Konya). Canard (see Vasiliev, II, 187) indicates the fortress of Kabala near Konya.

[880] Referring, it seems, to the above-mentioned attack by Andronikos upon the emissary of the Byzantine government.

[881] The reading "sailors" is doubted by Canard but seems to be correct.

[882] The meaning is not quite clear. Perhaps, *minhum wa-man* should be corrected to *mim-man* to yield the sense: "and the Christians who agreed with his decision and had joined him."

[883] Text: *ilayhim* "to them"; RB *ilayhi*. Canard: "ceux qui étaient allés les retrouver."

[884] For "Christians," R has "those."

his decision. The Muslims laid Qūniyah waste, and then returned to Ṭarsūs together with Andronikos, the Muslim captives, and the Christians who were with Andronikos. / / [2277]

In Jumādā II,[885] 294 (February 17-March 18, 906), *a battle* took place between the men of al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān and a number of Zikrawayh's men. The latter had fled from the battle in which Zikrawayh suffered the fate he did, and had taken the Euphrates Road intending to go to Syria. A number of them were killed, and a number of their women and children were taken captive.

In this year, emissaries of the Byzantine king, including the maternal uncle of his son Leon and the eunuch Basilios,[886] accompanied by a number of people, arrived at Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah with a letter from the king to al-Muktafī asking him to start ransom negotiations concerning the Muslims held in his territory and the Byzantines held in Muslim territory. Al-Muktafī was asked to send an emissary to Byzantine territory to gather the Muslim captives held there and to reach an agreement (on the ransom conditions) with him. The eunuch Basilios was to remain in Ṭarsūs in order to assemble Byzantine captives from the border regions and convey them, together with the representative of the central authorities,[887] to the place where the ransom negotiations were to be held. The delegation remained in Bāb al-Shammāsiyyah for several days and was then brought into Baghdad. They carried gifts from the Byzantine ruler and brought along ten Muslim captives. The gifts were accepted, and the request of the Byzantine ruler was granted.

In this year, a man who claimed that he was the Sufyānī[888] was seized in Syria. He and a number of people with him were

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[885] R: "Jumādā I."

[886] The Byzantine Emperor at the time was Leon VI (886-912). Canard, *Sources arabes*, 21, has no comment on the passage and the identity of the royal personage meant here. No identification of the eunuch is possible.

[887] The reference appears to be to the emissary sent to oversee the ransom negotiations, most likely a ranking member of the judiciary.

[888] The expected mahdī, in this case an individual whose claims centered around pro-Umayyad groups. See *EI²*, s. v. Mahdī. R has this entry after the following one.

brought from Syria to the Caliph's court. He was reportedly suffering from delusions.

In this year, the Arab tribesmen on the Mecca Road seized two men, one of whom was known as al-Ḥaddād, and the other as al-Muntaqim.[889] The one known as al-Muntaqim reportedly was
[2278] the brother of Zikrawayh's wife. // Both were handed over to Nizār in al-Kūfah, and he sent them on to the Caliph's *court* in Baghdad. According to the Arab tribesmen, the two had come ⌜to them⌝ to call them to rebel against the central authorities.

⌜In this year, al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān sent a man known as al-Kayyāl[890] together with sixty of his men from the Syrian Road to the central authorities in Baghdad. They belonged to Zikrawayh's men who had come to al-Ḥusayn for guarantees of safe-conduct.⌝

⌜In this year, the Patrikios Andronikos arrived in Baghdad.⌝[891]

In ⌜Ramaḍān, 294 (June 15-July 14, 907),⌝ a battle took place *on the Euphrates Road* between al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān and the Kalb, Namir, Asad, and other Arab tribesmen who had gathered against him. They routed him and pursued him as far as the gate of Aleppo.

In this year, the Arab Ṭayyi' tribesmen besieged Waṣīf b. Ṣawārtakīn in Fayd. Waṣīf had been sent out as military commander for the pilgrimage season. He was besieged three days and then went out against them. He attacked them, killing some of them. Then they fled, and Waṣīf left ⌜Fayd⌝ with the pilgrims who were with him.

Leading the pilgrimage *this year* was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌜al-Hāshimī.⌝

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[889] That is, "The Avenger." See above, n. 815. Nothing seems to be known about the individual named al-Ḥaddād "The Smith."

[890] There is probably no relationship to the aforementioned Miqdām b. al-Kayyāl (above, n. 754).

[891] Canard, *Sources arabes*, 21 and 318 (from Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 174).

The Events of the Year 295

(OCTOBER 12, 907 - SEPTEMBER 29, 908)

Among the events of this year was the departure of ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mismaʿī[892] from the city of Iṣbahān. He left for a village several *farsakhs* away, with about ten thousand Kurds and others reportedly attached to him in an open show of opposition / / to the central authorities. Badr al-Ḥammāmī was ordered [2279]
to move against him, and a number of officers and about five thousand troops were attached to him.

In this year, al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā[893] made a surprise attack upon the Arab Ṭayyi' ⌜tribesmen⌝ who were fighting Waṣīf b. Ṣawārtakīn. He reportedly killed seventy of their men and took a number of their horsemen captive.

On Ṣafar 14, 295 (November 24, 907), Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, the governor of Khurāsān and Transoxania, died. ⌜His son⌝, Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl ⌜b. Aḥmad⌝,[894] took his father's place as governor and took charge of his official functions. Al-Muktafī reportedly held an audience on Rabīʿ II 4, 295 (January 12, 908), during which he personally tied a standard *for him* and handed it over to Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī b. Wazīr. He bestowed a robe of honor upon Ṭāhir and ordered him to take the standard to Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl.

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892 Al-Mismaʿī d. Saturday, Rabīʿ II 21, 305 (Saturday, October 11, 917). He had a reputation as a ḥadīth scholar. See ʿArīb, 69; *Eclipse*, index (where he is listed together with his son, below, n. 897). R consistently: "Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh," his son's name.

893 ʿArīb, 18f., has al-Ḥurr (?) for al-Ḥusayn; R: "al-Ḥasan." No identification with the aforementioned al-Rabaʿī (see above, n. 840) is possible, since it is not known whether al-Rabaʿī survived the disaster in 294.

894 The Sāmānid Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl was killed in 301 (914). See text below, 2289.

In this year, Manṣūr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Manṣūr al-Kātib[895] was sent out against ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mismaʿī. ⌜He wrote to al-Mismaʿī ⌝ in order to frighten him regarding the consequences of opposing (the central authorities) and then marched against him. When he reached him, he had a discussion with him, whereupon al-Mismaʿī again became loyal to the central authorities. Together with Manṣūr b. ʿAbdallāh, al-Mismaʿī left with some of his pages to go to the Caliph's court. He left someone behind in Iṣbahān to carry out his administrative functions. Al-Muktafī became reconciled with him, gave him gifts,[896] and bestowed robes of honor upon him and upon his son.[897]

In this year, al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā attacked al-Kurdī[898] who had seized power in the region of Mosul. He overcame al-Kurdī's men and allowed his camp and property to be looted, but al-Kurdī himself escaped and sought refuge in al-Jibāl. He was never
[2280] caught. //

In this year, al-Muẓaffar b. Ḥājj conquered territory that had been taken over by some rebels in the Yemen. He captured one of their leaders who was known as al-Ḥakīmī.[899]

On Jumādā II 16, 295 (March 23, 908), Khāqān al-Mufliḥī was ordered to march on Ādharbayjān in order to fight Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj. About four thousand troops were attached to him.

On Ramaḍān 17, 295 (June 20, 908), the emissary of Abū Muḍar Ziyādatallāh Ibn al-Aghlab[900] entered Baghdad, accom-

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[895] ʿAbdallāh b. Manṣūr, who was also a government official (*kātib*), may have been his father. See text above, III, 1790, *sub anno* 256 (869-70).

[896] Text: *wa-waṣalahū*; R: *wa-barrahū*.

[897] Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mismaʿī d. 315 (927-8), as amīr of Fārs. See ʿArīb, 133; *Eclipse*, I, 157. ʿArīb, 69, described him as not quite as learned as his father.

[898] The event referred to is the campaign of the Ḥamdānid Abū al-Hayjā' against Kurdish insurgents. See Canard, *Ḥamdanides*, 342f. The government troops mentioned by Ṭabarī apparently played a very minor role in this campaign.

[899] The "rebels" (Khārijites) seem to be the same Qarmaṭians mentioned earlier, but no precise identification of al-Ḥakīmī appears to have been suggested so far.

[900] Ziyādatallāh III, the last of the Aghlabid rulers of Ifrīqiyah, was unable to cope with the Kutāmah Berber revolt fanned by the Fāṭimids and had to flee his country

panied by Fatḥ al-Aʿjamī.[901] He carried gifts to deliver to al-Muktafī.

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah, 295 (August 2-31, 908), the ransom negotiations between the Muslims and the Byzantines were completed.[902] Three thousand men and women were ransomed.

On Dhū al-Qaʿdah 12, 295 (August 13, 908),[903] al-Muktafī bi-llāh died. *After he died, the oath of allegiance was given to Jaʿfar b. al-Muʿtaḍid.* Al-Muktafī's caliphate lasted six years, six months, and nineteen days. On the day he died, he was thirty-two years old, *less one month.[904] According to another report, he was thirty-three years old.* He was born in 264 (September 13, 877-September 2, 878). His patronymic was Abū Muḥammad. His mother was a Turkish slave girl called Jījak.[905] He was of medium size, handsome, of a delicate complexion, with ⌜a full head of⌝ beautiful hair and a luxurious beard.

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in the following year. For the final collapse of the Aghlabid dynasty and Ziyādatallāh's death somewhere in Palestine between 911 and 917, see Talbi, *Émirat*, 668ff.

The embassy sent to al-Muktafī was a futile attempt to obtain support from the government in Baghdad. An incomplete list of the gifts sent on this occasion is found in Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 245f., ed. Pellat, V, 191. Ziyādatallāh had sent lavish gifts earlier to al-Muktafī in 291. They are listed by Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā'ir*, 47. Ibn al-Zubayr's list was derived from two sources, the *Continuation of Ṭabarī* by Abū Muḥammad al-Farghānī and the *History of Wazīrs* by ʿAlī b. al-Fatḥ al-Muṭawwaq (Muṭawwiq) (Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 376). For other sources on this embassy and the possible confusion between the gifts sent in 291 and those sent in 295, see Talbi, *Émirat*, 645f.

[901] No further identification seems possible for this individual.

[902] See text above, III, 2277. For this *fidā' al-tamām*, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 21 and 406 (from Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 192f.).

[903] ʿArīb indicates the date of al-Muktafī's death as Saturday night, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 13 (the night of Friday, August 13, to Saturday, August 14). Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 214, ed. Pellat, V, 176f., expresses astonishment about the discrepancies found regarding the date; he himself indicates Sunday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 13.

[904] If the dates of his birth and death are given here correctly, he was, in fact, not yet thirty-two when he died. Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, XI, 318, says that he was thirty-one years old.

[905] His mother died before he became caliph. Her name may be Turkish *çiçek* "flower" (see also *EI²*, V, 619a, s. v. laḳab), but its form is not certain; *khnjw*, found in later authors depending on Ṭabarī, is an easy corruption of the clearly shown *jyjk* in R. See, however, the curious and no doubt erroneous statement in Eutychius, *Annales*, text, 74, that al-Muktafī's mother *Bkhtjknh* was a daughter of al-Qāsim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Sulaymān.

⌜The Caliphate of al-Muqtadir bi-llāh⌝

He is[906] Jaʿfar b. *Abī al-ʿAbbās* al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh *b. Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh*. When the oath of allegiance was given to him, he received the name of al-Muqtadir bi-llāh. He was then thirteen years, one / / month, and twenty ⌜-one⌝ days old. He was [2281]
born on Friday night, Ramaḍān 22, 282 (Friday, November 14, 895). His patronymic is Abū al-Faḍl. His mother is a slave girl called Shaghab.

⌜On the day the oath of allegiance was given to him, the treasury reportedly contained fifteen million dīnārs.⌝[907]

After the oath of allegiance had been given to al-Muqtadir, al-Muktafī's corpse was washed, and the funeral prayer was said for him. He was buried somewhere in the house of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

On the second day of Minā [Dhū al-Ḥijjah 12, 295 (September 12, 908)], a battle took place between ʿAjj b. Ḥājj and the troops,[908] in which a number of the troops were killed ⌜or wounded⌝. The reason for this was their demand for the expected bonus on the occasion of the oath of allegiance given to al-Muqtadir. The people who were at Minā fled to Bustān Ibn ʿĀmir.[909] At Minā, the

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906 Text: *thumma būyiʿa* (mentioned before in RB); R: *wa-huwa*.

907 The statement is found only in C and ʿArīb, 22, who quotes Ṭabarī. Since the point here is to criticize the financial difficulties into which al-Muqtadir soon managed to embroil himself, it is indeed hard to assume that it was in the text during the early years of al-Muqtadir's reign. Not surprisingly, later historians give different figures such as, for instance, eight million dīnārs and twenty-five million dirhams, a much smaller sum. See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 225, ed. Pellat, V, 181. Cf. also Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhāʾir*, 220f.

908 The troops here are probably not the ordinary military contingent under the command of the governor of Mecca but rather the numerous men who accompanied the pilgrim caravans. See text above, III, 2110, for the disturbance in Mecca *sub anno* 271.

909 R: "Banī ʿĀmir."

troops looted the tent of Abū ʿAdnān Rabīʿah b. Muḥammad,[910] one of the military commanders of the pilgrim caravans.

On the way back, those *pilgrims* who returned ⌜from Mecca⌝ suffered ⌜greatly⌝ from thirst caused by the shortage of water. A number of them reportedly ⌜died from thirst. I have heard someone tell that a man would urinate into his cupped hand and drink the urine⌝.[911]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌜al-Hāshimī⌝.

[910] See above, n. 679.
[911] The last sentence is found only in B.

The Events of the Year 296

(SEPTEMBER 30, 908 - SEPTEMBER 19, 909)

One of the events was the agreement reached by a number of officers, civilian officials, and qāḍīs to depose al-Muqtadir. They debated who should replace him, and they agreed upon ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtazz.[912] They discussed the matter with him, and he gave them his consent on condition / / that there would [2282] be no bloodshed or fighting. They told him that the power would by handed over to him peacefully and all the troops, officers, and civilian officials who were standing behind them were agreeable to the choice. He therefore solemnly accepted. Leaders in this affair were Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ and the qāḍī Abū al-Muthannā Aḥmad b. Yaʿqūb.[913] Muḥammad b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ agreed ⌜with a number of officers⌝ to murder al-Muqtadir ⌜and give the oath of allegiance to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtazz⌝.

Al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan *had earlier agreed with a number of officers to murder al-Muqtadir and give the oath of allegiance to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtazz.*[914] But when he saw that he would get along with al-Muqtadir *as he liked*, he changed his mind concerning the plan. The others immediately pounced upon al-ʿAbbās and killed him. Badr al-Aʿjamī,[915] al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān,[916] and Waṣīf b. Ṣawārtakīn were in charge of the killing. This was on Saturday, Rabīʿ I 19, 296 (Friday, December 16, 908).

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912 The great poet and littérateur and caliph for one day. See *EI²*, s. v. Ibn al-Muʿtazz. The terseness of Ṭabarī's report on this most dramatic event is surprising. We are not even told that Ibn al-Muʿtazz lost his life in the process; this, of course, was generally known. The brevity may not be due to an editorial decision aimed at avoiding offending the victorious party, as much as embarrassment at the naiveté of a great man of letters mixing in politics. See also below, n. 920.

913 Abū al-Muthannā appears to be mentioned only in connection with this event. See Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 101, 256.

914 Text: "shared their view."

915 No further information is available about him.

916 For al-Ḥusayn's role in this affair, see Canard, *Ḥamdanides*, 324ff.

The following morning, on Sunday, al-Muqtadir was deposed by the officers, civilian officials, and qāḍīs of Baghdad. They gave the oath of allegiance to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muʿtazz and named him al-Rāḍī bi-llāh.[917] Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Azraq,[918] the secretary of the army, administered the oath of allegiance to the officers. He put them under oath and had their names called out.[919]

On the same day, a fierce battle lasting from morning to midday was fought between al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān and the palace pages.

On the same day, the troops brought together by ⌜Muḥammad⌝ b. Dāwūd in order to give the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Muʿtazz scattered and left him. The reason for this was that the eunuch called Mu'nis transported some of the palace pages up the Tigris
[2283] in barges. When they were opposite the house in which Ibn // al-Muʿtazz and Muḥammad b. Dāwūd were, they shouted at them, showered them with arrows, and then dispersed. The troops, officers, and civilian officials who were in the house fled, as did Ibn al-Muʿtazz. Some of those who had given the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Muʿtazz joined al-Muqtadir, offering the excuse that it had not been possible for them to come to him (earlier). Others went into hiding and were subsequently seized and killed. The populace looted the house of Ibn Dāwūd and al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan. Ibn al-Muʿtazz was among those seized.[920]

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[917] Other throne names allegedly bestowed upon Ibn al-Muʿtazz are mentioned in other sources.

[918] See Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 165, where it is stated that al-Azraq died in the prison of Mu'nis.

[919] Each officer was called by name when he was put under oath, apparently in order to publicize the extent of Ibn al-Muʿtazz's following.

[920] ʿArīb, 28, quotes Ṭabarī as follows: "Nothing has ever been seen more remarkable than the affair of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and al-Muqtadir, for both the inner circle of notables and the common people (that is, everybody) had agreed to prefer Ibn al-Muʿtazz and accept him and to depose al-Muqtadir because of his youth (still, the latter won out). 'God's command is definitely determined (Qur. 33.38)!" De Goeje, the editor of ʿArīb (preface, VIII), took this as an indication that the available text of Ṭabarī was defective. It is, however, somewhat unusual for Ṭabarī to reflect on contemporary events in this manner. Possibly, ʿArīb's reference to Ṭabarī here is an oversight, or it goes back to another source, and not the *History*. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 165, ll. 5-9, credits Ṭabarī with the remark, made at the time, that the revolt of Ibn al-Muʿtazz was doomed to failure. He did, however, not suggest that this remark occurred in the *History*.

On Saturday, Rabīʿ I 26, 296 (Friday, December 23, 908), snow fell in Baghdad from early morning to the time[921] of the afternoon prayer. There was an accumulation of about four fingers (about nine cm or almost four inches) in the houses[922] and on the roofs. Nothing like it had reportedly ever been seen in Baghdad.

On Monday, Rabīʿ I 28, 296 (Sunday, December 25, 908), the qāḍī *Abū ʿUmar* Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, Muḥammad b. ʿAmrawayh, Abū al-Muthannā, Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ, and al-Azraq, the secretary of the army, and a number of others were handed over to Mu'nis al-Khāzin. He let Abū al-Muthannā stay in the Caliph's palace and transferred the others to his own residence. Some ransomed themselves, while others were killed. Still others had someone intercede for them and were released.

In this year, a battle was fought betwen Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b.ʿAmr b. al-Layth and Subkarā,[923] the page of ʿAmr b. al-Layth. Subkarā took Ṭāhir captive and sent him as well as his brother Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad[924] to the central authorities in Baghdad. // [2284]

In this year, al-Qāsim b. Sīmā was sent in pursuit of Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn together with a number of officers and troops. In pursuing him, he went as far as Qirqīsiyā, al-Raḥbah, and al-Dāliyah. He wrote to al-Ḥusayn's brother, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, asking him to search for his brother. ʿAbdallāh and al-Ḥusayn met in battle at a place called al-Aʿmā[925] between Takrīt and al-Sawdaqāniyyah on the western bank of the Tigris. ʿAbdallāh was routed, and al-Ḥusayn contacted (the central authorities) seeking a guarantee of safe-conduct. This was granted to him. On Jumādā II 22, 296 (March 18, 909), al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān arrived in Baghdad and took up residence at Bāb Ḥarb.[926]

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921 Text: *qadr*; R: *waqt*.
922 Scil., in the courtyards and gardens of the larger houses.
923 The manuscripts here always add the definite article to the name.
924 Both Ṭāhir and Yaʿqūb were brought to Baghdad in the following year. They are mentioned as having received robes of honor in 310 (922-3). See ʿArīb, 8, 29; *Eclipse*, I, 16, 83. See also the pedigree in Zambaur, 201.
925 No further information seems to be available for al-Aʿmā and al-Sawdaqānīyah (form uncertain).
926 See Lassner, *Topography*, 278.

⌜The next morning⌝ he went to the Caliph's palace. A robe of honor was bestowed upon him, and he was appointed governor of Qumm and Qāshān.

On Jumādā II 23, 296 (March 19, 909), a robe of honor was bestowed upon Ibn Dulayl al-Naṣrānī,[927] the secretary and emissary of Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj. ⌜Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj himself was officially appointed governor⌝ of al-Marāghah and Ādharbayjān. Robes of honor were sent to him, and he was ordered to proceed to the region under his jurisdiction.

On Shaʿbān 15, 296 (May 9, 909), a robe of honor was bestowed upon Mu'nis al-Khādim, and he was ordered to go to Ṭarsūs for the summer campaign. Mobilized for this purpose, he left with a considerable force and a number of officers, chamber pages, *and troops.*

Leading the pilgrimage in this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌜al-Hāshimī ⌝.

[927] There is no further information available for him. See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 21f.

The Events of the Year 297

(SEPTEMBER 20, 909 - SEPTEMBER 8, 910)

One of the events was the summer campaign in Byzantine territory undertaken by Mu'nis al-Khādim and a considerable force from / / the border town of Malaṭyah. Mu'nis was accom- [2285]
panied by Abū al-Agharr al-Sulamī. At the end of 296 (September 19, 909), he overpowered the Byzantines and took several non-Muslims captive. The report on this event reached the central authorities in Baghdad on al-Muḥarram 6, 297 (September 25, 909).[928]

In this year, al-Layth b. ʿAlī b. al-Layth ⌜al-Ṣaffār⌝ came with an army to Fārs and seized power there driving out Subkarā. This was after the central authorities had appointed Subkarā governor, subsequent to his sending Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad to them as a captive.[929] Al-Muqtadir ordered Mu'nis al-Khādim to go to Fārs in order to fight al-Layth b. ʿAlī. Mu'nis went there in Ramaḍān, 297 (May 14-June 12, 910).

⌜Also⌝ in this year, in Shawwāl (June 13-July 11, 910), al-Muqtadir sent al-Qāsim b. Sīmā with a large body of troops on the summer campaign in Byzantine territory.[930]

In this year, a battle took place between Mu'nis al-Khādim and al-Layth b. ʿAlī b. al-Layth. Al-Layth was routed and later taken prisoner. A large number of his men were killed. Many others

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[928] See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 22.
[929] See above, n. 924.
[930] See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 22.

applied to Mu'nis for guarantees of safe-conduct. The government forces then entered al-Nūbandajān where al-Layth[931] had seized power.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik
[2286] ⌜b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad⌝. //

[931] R: "the central authorities."

The Events of the Year 298

(SEPTEMBER 9, 910 - AUGUST 28, 911)

One of the events was al-Qāsim b. Sīmā's summer campaign in Byzantine territory.

In this year, al-Muqtadir sent Waṣīf Kāmah al-Daylamī with an army and a number of officers *to Fārs* to fight Subkarā, the page of ʿAmr b. al-Layth.

⌜In this year, a battle took place between Subkarā ⌝ and Waṣīf Kāmah, in which Waṣīf routed Subkarā driving him out of the region under his jurisdiction in Fārs. Waṣīf and his men then entered Fārs. A ⌜large⌝ number of Subkarā's men applied to Waṣīf for guarantees of safe-conduct; Subkarā's commander-in-chief who was known as al-Qattāl[932] was taken captive. Subkarā fled with his money and stores to Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl ⌜b. Aḥmad⌝. Aḥmad seized him and everything he had with him, and then arrested and incarcerated him.

In this year, a battle took place between Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. ⌜Aḥmad and al-Muḥammad b.⌝ ʿAlī b. al-Layth[933] in the region of Bust and al-Rukhkhaj. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl took Muḥammad captive.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

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932 Al-Qattāl is first mentioned *sub anno* 297 (909-10). See *Eclipse*, I, 17f. He was released from prison in 302 (914-5), and he is mentioned once more in the following year. See ʿArīb, 49, 57.

933 Another cousin of the father of Ṭāhir and Yaʿqūb, he was released from prison in 302 (914-5). See ʿArīb, 49.

The Events of the Year 299

(AUGUST 29, 911 - AUGUST 17, 912)

One of the events was the summer campaign undertaken from the region of Ṭarsūs by Rustum b. Bardū who was in charge of the border region ⌜for Bunayy b. Nafīs.[934] He was accompanied by
[2287] Damyānah.⌝ Rustum laid siege // to the fortress of Malīḥ al-Armanī.[935] He then left it and burned the suburbs of Dhū al-Kilāʿ.[936]

In this year, a messenger of Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl ⌜b. Aḥmad⌝ brought a letter from Aḥmad to the central authorities in Baghdad. In it, Aḥmad reported that he had conquered Sijistān and that his men had entered (the province) and driven out al-Ṣaffār's men. Al-Muʿaddal b. Alī b. al-Layth[937] had come to him with those of his men who were with him to seek a guarantee of safe-conduct. At the time, al-Muʿaddal was staying in Zaranj, and he went to Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl who was staying in Bust and al-Rukhkhaj. Ibn Ismāʿīl sent him and his family and those with him to Harāt. The distance between Sijistān and Bust and al-Rukhkhaj was sixty *farsakhs* (360 km). The mail pouch with the report on this event reached the central authorities in Baghdad on Monday, Ṣafar 10, 299 (Monday, October 7, 911).

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[934] Bunayy b. Nafīs first appears in the sources *sub anno* 296 (*Eclipse*, I, 12). He is mentioned as having been a son-in-law of the Stewardness Fāṭimah whose funeral he attended in 298 (Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 9; *Eclipse*, I, 20). He appears again in 311 and 316-7 (ʿArīb, 111, 143; *Eclipse*, I, 105, 183, 192; Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 59) and, for the last time, in 320 (932) (ʿArīb, 172). See also Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarāʾ*, and Canard, *Sources arabes*, 153.

[935] Nothing is heard of Malīḥ al-Armanī after the defeat he suffered in 318 (930) (or the following year, see Canard, *Sources arabes*, 153). See ʿArīb, 36, 146; Canard, *Sources arabes*, 22, 61, and Vasiliev, II, index.

[936] R: "Dhū al-Kulāʿ." See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 67; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 178.

[937] See Zambaur, 200f., who vocalizes al-Muʿaddil. The information found in the *Taʾrīkh-e Sīstān* is essentially the same as that in Ṭabarī (information provided by E. Yarshater).

⌜In this year, al-ʿUṭayr, one of Zikrawayh's men, arrived in Baghdad to seek a guarantee of safe-conduct. He was accompanied by al-Agharr,[938] another of Zikrawayh's officers.⌝

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 4, 299 (July 22, 912), ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt[939] fell out of favor. He was detained, and his ⌜houses⌝ and ⌜the houses of⌝ his people were sequestered. All of his and their possessions which were found were seized, and his houses and those of the sons of his brothers[940] and their families[941] were looted. Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh ⌜b. Yaḥyā⌝ b. Khāqān[942] was appointed wazīr.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik. // [2288]

938 No further information seems to exist for him.
939 His dates are 242-312 (855-924). For his brother, see above, n. 415.
940 ʿAlī's prominent brothers were Aḥmad and Jaʿfar, but this does not mean that the dual *akhawayhi* should be read here. Only a few of the presumably numerous nephews are listed in Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 747.
941 R: "his family."
942 D. 312 (924-5). See *EI*², s. v. Ibn Khāḳān (3).

The Events of the Year 300

(AUGUST 18, 912 - AUGUST 6, 913)

One of the events was the arrival in Baghdad of a messenger from the official in charge of Barqah with a report concerning a rebel who had come out against him.[943] Barqah belongs to the administrative region of Egypt, extending four *farsakh*s west[944] of it and beyond that to the administrative region of the Maghrib. He had overpowered the rebel's army and killed a number of his men. The messenger had with him strings with the ears and noses of those killed, as well as several of the rebel's banners.

In this year, the people of Baghdad suffered from many illnesses and diseases. Dogs and wolves had reportedly contracted rabies[945] and sought out humans, horses, and cattle. When they bit a man, it caused his death.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik ⌜al-Hāshimī.⌝

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[943] "Rebel (*khāriji*)"—a term used also with reference to the Qarmaṭians in the Yemen—refers here to the Northwest African Fāṭimids of ʿUbaydallāh al-Mahdī, whose son led the expedition against Barqah. See also the events reported in the following years and, below, n. 971.

[944] Lit., "behind." According to this statement, the province of Barqah began twenty-four km beyond the borders of Egypt and extended vaguely west.

[945] RC: *kānat*, which is erroneous. The words used for animals probably included a wider range than is indicated in the translation.

The Events of the Year 301

(AUGUST 7, 913 - JULY 26, 914)

One of the events was al-Muqtadir's dismissal of Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh from the wazīrate. Al-Muqtadir incarcerated him as well as his sons ʿAbdallāh and ʿAbd-al-Wāḥid[946] and appointed ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Dāwūd b. al-Jarrāḥ as his wazīr.

In this year, ⌜too,⌝ there was much pestilence in Baghdad, including a type that was called *ḥnyn*, // and another called [2289]
mās(h)irā.[947] The former was benign, but the latter was a lethal plague.

In this year, a man reportedly known as Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥallāj,[948] a prestidigitator, was brought into the house of the

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[946] Muḥammad was dismissed on al-Muḥarram 10 (August 16) (Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, XI, 95, ll. 7f.). His son ʿAbdallāh was wazīr for a little over a year in 312-3 (924-5). He died in 314 (926-7). See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 433ff., and *EI*², s. v. Ibn Khāḳān (4). Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarāʾ*, 284f., 302, 306, has some more details about what happened to ʿAbdallāh and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid when their father was appointed and when he was deposed. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid was reportedly released on Thursday night, Jumādā II 9, 301 (January 10, 914), a Monday (!). ʿAbdallāh, was released on Friday, Shawwāl 1, 301 (Saturday, April 30, 914).

[947] For *ḥnyn*, see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CCV. It is hardly to be corrected to *khunān* "rheum," known in particular as a disease of camels.

For *māsirā* (or, as in R: *māshirā*), see Ṭabarī, *Introductio etc.*, CDLXXIX, where reference is made to Syriac *māshrā* (see Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*², 408a) which translates Greek *erysipelas*.

[948] This passage was translated and discussed by Massignon, *Passion*², I, 504f. In view of the importance which al-Ḥallāj was to assume shortly afterwards, this earliest testimony has particular significance. Massignon seems to be right in his assumption that its author was indeed Ṭabarī and that it is not a later interpolation. See above, Foreword, xvii f.

Al-Ḥallāj was seen by Ṭabarī, and no doubt by most of the religious and political leadership in Baghdad at the time, as a fanatic and troublemaker. When he gained support among men highly placed in the government, his Rasputin-like influence was considered more and more dangerous. The sad fate he suffered was thus hardly due to religious intolerance; it resulted from the struggle of the government to

wazīr ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, accompanied by a companion.[949] I have heard a number of people express the opinion[950] that he claimed divine lordship.[951] He and his companion were hung for three days from the beginning of each day until midday. They were then taken down and remanded to prison.

⌜He[952] remained in prison for a long time. A number of people, among them Naṣr al-Qushūrī, were seduced by him. Eventually, people became unruly and cursed those who were finding fault with him, and his hands and feet were cut off. Following that, he was decapitated and cremated.⌝

In this year, al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān ⌜b. Ḥamdūn⌝ undertook the summer campaign. A dispatch arrived at Baghdad from Ṭarsūs which indicated that he had conquered many fortresses and killed a large number of Byzantines.[953]

In this year, Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad, ⌜the master of Khurāsān and Transoxania,⌝ was killed by the most intimate of his Turkish pages. This page and two other pages with him entered Aḥmad's tent and murdered him. Then they fled and were never caught.

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maintain its position in view of the numerous agitators working against it. For a contemporary, the affair of al-Ḥallāj was but one of many similar problems, and did not loom large in comparison with the Qarmaṭians, the Fāṭimids, even the pro-Umayyads. Once al-Ḥallāj was dead, opinion could, and did, change rapidly.

Massignon was inclined to believe that "Abū Masʿūd," as a patronymic of al-Ḥallāj not usually used for him, was the original reading of *mushaʿwidh*, "prestidigitator, conjurer." He was right, however, to hesitate with this view (see *Passion*², I, 504). "Abū Masʿūd" appears to be an attempt by later generations to soften the harsh but common epithet. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VIII, 57, for instance, appears to indicate this when he says, "as some have said, he was a *mushaʿwidh*, while others have said that he was dealing with supernatural verity (*ṣāḥib ḥaqīqah*)."

[949] See Massignon, *Passion*², I, 513, for a discussion of the reports on al-Hallāj's first encounter with the law. The man with al-Ḥallāj was al-Karnabāʾī. See *Passion*², I, 513, and the mostly speculative references to that individual listed in *Passion*², index, IV, 214b.

[950] R: *man yadhkuru* "mention."

[951] See the interesting speculations on the implications of this supposed claim to divinity in Massignon, *Passion*², I, 342ff.

[952] The passage referring to the year 309 (922) when al-Ḥallāj was executed is found only in C. See above, Foreword, xvii f.

[953] See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 22f.

In this year, discord broke out between Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad[954] and the paternal uncle of his father, Isḥāq b. Aḥmad.[955] The pages, / / civilian officials, and a number of officers [2290] of Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl were with Naṣr as were his father's money, horses, and weapons. After his father was killed, Naṣr fled to Bukhārā, while Isḥāq b. Aḥmad was in Samarqand sick with an attack of podagra. (The latter) called upon the people in Samarqand to give the oath of allegiance to him as their leader. Both Naṣr and Isḥāq sent letters to the central authorities in Baghdad claiming control over the region (previously) under the jurisdiction of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad.[956] Isḥāq reportedly dispatched his letters to ʿImrān al-Marzubānī[957] for delivery to the central authorities, while Naṣr b. Aḥmad ⌜b. Ismāʿīl⌝ similarly dispatched his letters to Ḥammād b. Aḥmad.[958] Both ʿImrān and Ḥammād did what (they were asked to do).

On Shaʿbān 15, 301 (March 16, 914), a battle took place between Naṣr b. ⌜Aḥmad b.⌝ Ismāʿīl and his Bukhārīs and Isḥāq b. Aḥmad, the paternal uncle of his father, and his ⌜Samarqandīs⌝. ⌜Naṣr and his men routed Isḥāq and the Samarqandīs⌝ and the men of those regions that had attached themselves to them. They dispersed and fled leaving Isḥāq. This battle between them took place at the gate of Bukhārā. After the Bukhārīs routed Isḥāq b. Aḥmad and his men, they advanced on the Samarqandīs, and another battle took place between them, in which the Bukhārīs again overpowered the Samarqandīs, routing them and causing a bloodbath among them. The Bukhārīs now forced their way into Samarqand and took Isḥāq b. Aḥmad captive. They appointed a

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[954] Naṣr d. 329 (940-1). See Hamadhānī, *Takmilah, 120;Eclipse*, II, 7.

[955] Isḥāq's capture is reported by Hamadhānī, *Takmilah, sub anno* 302. See Zambaur, 202f.

[956] R: "Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl," which is an error.

[957] Possibly, the Marzubānī who is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr *sub anno* 287 as the representative of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad in the capital. It may be noted that the father of the famous littérateur al-Marzubanı who was born around this time was called ʿImrān (b. Mūsā), but it does not seem possible to connect him with the abovementioned individual. R: "Ibn al-Marzubān," but again, it is not possible to connect him with the individual mentioned by Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 267, ed. Pellat, V, 201.

[958] I have not succeeded in finding additional information about him.

son of ʿAmr b. Naṣr b. Aḥmad[959] to take over his administrative
[2291] duties *in Samarqand.* //

In this year, Ibn al-Baṣrī's[960] Maghribīs entered Barqah, and the official appointed by the central authorities was driven out.

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Zunbūr al-Mādharā'ī[961] was appointed to take charge of the administration and land tax of Egypt.

In this year, Abū Saʿīd al-Jannābī, the (Qarmaṭian) rebel in the region of al-Baḥrayn and Hajar, was killed, reportedly by one of his eunuchs.

In this year, there were many illnesses and diseases in Baghdad causing great mortality among the city's inhabitants. Most of this reportedly took place in al-Ḥarbiyyah[962] and among the people of the suburbs.

In this year, an officer[963] of Ibn al-Baṣrī arrived in Alexandria with Berbers and Maghribīs. In this year, too, a dispatch from

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[959] If this son of ʿAmr (RB: "ʿUmar") was a grandson of the above-mentioned Naṣr b. Aḥmad, he must have been very young at best. If he was a grandson of the elder Naṣr b. Aḥmad, the brother of Ismāʿīl, his relationship to the younger Naṣr b. Aḥmad would have been that of a third cousin.

[960] That is, the Fāṭimid ʿUbaydallāh. According to Fāṭimid sources, the official, Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, fled. The Fāṭimid troops entered Barqah on Rajab 7, 301 (February 6, 914). A relief attempt later in the year, under Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, was frustrated.

[961] D. 345 (957). See Gottschalk, *Die Mādarā'ijjūn*, 79-116. RB: "Akhī Zunbūr."

[962] Northwest of the Round City, See Lassner, *Topography*, 68, 254, n. 26.

[963] That is, Ḥabāsah. According to Fāṭimid sources, Ḥabāsah and his men did not enter Alexandria before 302. See below, no. 972.

Takīn,[964] the governor of the central authorities, arrived in Baghdad from Egypt, asking for reinforcements.

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

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[964] Takīn al-Khāṣṣah Abū Manṣūr Takīn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥarbī al-Khazarī, a *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaḍid, grew up during al-Muʿtaḍid's reign and became an officer (see also above, n.1307). He was first appointed governor of Egypt as the successor of ʿĪsā al-Nūsharī near the end of 297 (August, 910) (ʿArīb, 34; Ibn al-Athīr). His request for reinforcements was an unpleasant surprise for al-Muqtadir and his advisers, since they had not taken the Fāṭimid threat seriously earlier (ʿArīb, 51). Takīn's first term as governor of Egypt came to an end on Thursday, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 14, 303 (Thursday, May 31, 915). He was reappointed in the fall of 307 (919). He remained in office until Sunday, Rabīʿ I 13, 309 (Sunday, July 22, 921), and was reinstated for a few turbulent days later that month. His longest tenure was the last one which began at the turn of the years 311 and 312 (March-April 924), and ended with his death on Saturday, Rabīʿ I 16, 321 (Saturday, March 16, 933). See, for instance, Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 75; Kindī, *Wulāh*, 281; *Eclipse*, I, 258; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* X, 386; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 171-73, 195-97, 200, 210-37; Bacharach, "The career of ...al-Ikhshīd," 589ff.

The Events of the Year 302

(JULY 27, 914 - JULY 16, 915)

One of the events was the dispatch of Ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī[965] with two thousand horsemen to Ṭarsūs for the summer campaign. The wazīr ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā sent him there to support Bishr,[966] the eunuch of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, who was governor of Ṭarsūs on behalf of the central authorities. They were unable to go on the summer campaign but undertook a winter campaign in severe cold and
[2292] snow.[967] / /

In this year, the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrūsh[968] seized power in Ṭabaristān and then moved from Āmul to S(h)ālūs.[969] While he was staying there, Ṣuʿlūk,[970] the master of al-Rayy, sent an army against him. It was, however, unable to hold its own [in S(h)ālūs], and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī returned. ⌜People had never seen

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[965] Abū ʿUmayr ʿAdī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī, the master of Adana, was removed by al-Muʿtaḍid in 288 (901) (Masʿudı, *Muruj*, VIII, 198, ed. Pellat, V, 168) but soon again became the leading personality in the border region. He continued to play this role beyond 334-5 (945-6), when Masʿūdī was finishing his *Murūj* (II, 318, ed. Pellat, II, 44). See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 37f., 42, 69, 78, 407. See also above, n. 178.

[966] See above, n. 788.

[967] See Canard, *Sources arabes*, 23, for this passage and the later one reporting the results of the campaign.

[968] The Zaydī ruler al-Uṭrūsh died in 304 (917). According to Zambaur, table D, n. 4, his Ḥusaynid pedigree was Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar (the brother of the imām Zayd) b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. See Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, trans. Rosenthal, I, 363.

[969] The main entry in Yāqūt is Shālūs, while the geographical coordinates are given under Sālūs (*Muʿjam*, III, 237 and 13). Yāqūt indicates the distance between Āmul (Ṭabarī's native city) and Shālūs as twenty *farsakhs* (120 km).

[970] Miskawayh, *Tajārib*, V, 102 (=*Eclipse*, I, 36), has Akhū Ṣuʿlūk; ʿArīb, 51, ll. 1f., speaks of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī known as Ṣuʿlūk. Here apparently Akhū Ṣuʿlūk Aḥmad b. ʿAlī is meant; he is often referred to as Akhū Ṣuʿlūk. He was killed by Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj in 311 (924). See Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 43, referring to Aḥmad b. Ṣuʿlūk; *Eclipse*, I 117; Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 55f. His brother seems to have been Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ṣuʿlūk (or b. Ṣuʿlūk). See *Eclipse*, I, 39 (where Muḥammad is described as a cousin of the ruler of Khurāsān) and 45.

anything like al-Uṭrūsh's justice, his exemplary way of life, and the way he established truth.⌉[971]

In this year, Ibn al-Baṣrī's man Ḥabāsah[972] entered Alexandria and seized power. He reportedly arrived there by sea in two hundred ships.

In this year, Ḥabāsah, ⌈Ibn al-Baṣrī's man,⌉ arrived at a place called Safṭ,[973] a day's journey from al-Fusṭāṭ. He later fell back and withdrew,[974] encamping between al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria.

In this year, Mu'nis al-Khādim went to Egypt to fight Ḥabāsah. He was well equipped with men, weapons, and money.

On Jumādā I 23, 302 (December 14, 914), al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbdallāh, who was known as Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ, was arrested with his two sons,[975] and all their property was confiscated. He was put in fetters and incarcerated.

On Jumādā I 24, 302 (December 15, 914), a battle took place ⌈in Egypt⌉ between the government forces and Ḥabāsah and his men.

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[971] "Established truth" seems here to reflect a Shīʿite notion. The sentence, found in C and Ibn al-Athīr, may have been intentionally omitted by the scribe of the prototype of RB. If Ṭabarī in fact used it, it was probably an expression of local pride. He would hardly have endorsed a Shīʿite pretender in such glowing terms for any other reason.

[972] His name is Ḥabāsah b. Yūsuf (*al-ʿUyūn wa-al-ḥadāʾiq*, ed. Dāwūd, I, 257; Stern, *Studies*, 111). The Fāṭimid troops entered Alexandria on Ṣafar 2, 302 (August 27, 914), see Stern, *Studies*, 112. Some vacillation is shown in the sources with respect to the vocalization of the name (see, for instance, Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, 208 and n. 4; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 172, n. 4). Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, VIII, 67, and Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ*, 42, state that he was killed by ʿUbaydallāh al-Mahdī soon after his return from Egypt, while Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, III, 184, says that he was killed during the infighting mentioned below. Cf. also Dhahabī, *Duwal*, I, 134. All this seems mere speculation, even if it is very likely. The Fāṭimid sources published by Stern, *Studies*, 112, ll. 9f., and 114, ll. 11 ff., do not fully solve the problem of Ḥabāsah's fate, but they provide another clue by referring to his friction with al-Qāʾim, al-Mahdī's son. ʿArīb, 68, refers *sub anno* 305 to what appears to have been the events of 301 and 302, presumably confusing two different Fāṭimid attacks on Egypt. Cf., further, Eutychius, *Annales*, text, 79f.

[973] Or: "a way station called Safṭ." Cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 97.

[974] The text does not make it clear whether Ḥabāsah turned south after leaving Safṭ, or north toward Alexandria. The latter appears to be more likely.

[975] R: "four of his children." A son called Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad b. Abī ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥusayn appears in Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, I, 29 (=ed. Margoliouth, *Table-Talk*, 18); Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 211. See also Rosenthal, *Humor*, 13, n. 2. Hamadhānī, *Takmilah*, 15, has more details about the incident, but he does not mention the names of the sons.

A number of men on both sides were killed or wounded. One day later, another battle took place with about the same results. Then ⌜in Jumādā II, 302 (December 22, 914-January 19, 915),⌝ a third battle took place. On Jumādā II 15, 302 (January 5, 915), a dispatch
[2293] arrived at Baghdad with the news that a battle had taken place / / between the government forces and the Maghribīs, in which the latter were routed.

In this year, a dispatch from Bishr, the official in charge of Ṭarsūs on behalf of the central authorities, reached ⌜the central authorities in⌝ Baghdad. In it, Bishr mentioned his campaign in Byzantine territory. He mentioned the fortresses he had conquered there, the booty he had made, and the captives he had taken. He had also taken one hundred and fifty Patrikioi captive, and the total number of those captured was about two thousand.

⌜On Rajab 19, 302 (February 7, 915),⌝ a report arrived at Baghdad from Egypt with news that the government forces had met Ḥabāsah and the Maghribīs in battle and that the Maghribīs had suffered defeat. Seven thousand of them were either killed or taken captive; the rest fled in disarray. ⌜The battle had taken place on Thursday, Jumādā II 29, 302 (Thursday, January 19, 915).⌝

In this year, Ḥabāsah and the Maghribīs with him departed from Alexandria to return to the Maghrib. Before that, Ḥabāsah had reportedly discussed guarantees of safe-conduct with the representative of the central authorities in Egypt and letters ⌜had been exchanged between them⌝. Ḥabāsah's departure was reportedly caused by a disagreement that had arisen among his men at the place from which he had come.[976]

In this year, Yānis al-Khādim[977] attacked the Arab tribesmen in the region of Wādī al-Dhi'āb and its environs. He caused a bloodbath, reportedly killing seven thousand of them. He looted their tents and found an uncountable amount of money and

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[976] This seems to mean that dissension broke out among Ḥabāsah's officers at his home base in Ifrīqiyah.

[977] R: "Mu'nis," clearly a mistake. For Wādī al-Dhi'āb, see above, n. 41. Ibn al-Athīr adds that the bedouins belonged to the Banū Shaybān

goods belonging to merchants who had been waylaid and robbed by them.

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 6, 302 (June 22, 915), Bidʿah, the *mawlāh* of *ʿArīb, the *mawlāh* of* al-Ma'mūn, died.[978] / / [2294]

Leading the pilgrimage this year was al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 22,[979] 902 (July 6, 915), the Arab tribesmen went out from al-Ḥājir,[980] three *farsakh*s (eighteen km) from the desert, against the pilgrims returning from Mecca.[981] They waylaid them and seized all their cash *and whatever goods they wanted.* They also drove away all their camels ⌜that they wanted⌝ and reportedly seized[982] two hundred and eighty free women, not counting the male and female slaves seized.

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978 Cf. ʿArīb, 54; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 129; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, X, 99; Stigelbauer, *Sängerinnen*, 18-31, 49-53. Bidʿah was so successful in her profession as an entertainer that she left a large fortune. She retained great artistic ability to the end of her life. See Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 215. ʿArīb, 54, speaks of her living unmarried for sixty years. This may mean that she died sixty years old, or rather, that she lived for sixty years after puberty. Her mentor, the famous songstress ʿArīb (often vocalized ʿUrayb) is said to have lived from 181 (797-8) to 277 (890-1) (see the editor's footnote in Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, I, 270f., ed. Margoliouth, *Table-Talk*, 131ff.), so that there was plenty of time for Bidʿah, her client (*mawlāh*), to have worked with her, regardless of the date of her birth. For another reference to Bidʿah in Tanūkhī, see *Nishwār*, I, 89 (which has the correct text as against ed. Margoliouth, *Table-Talk*. 50). Bidʿah was in contact with Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir on behalf of ʿArīb. See *Aghānī*, XIX, 125f., *Aghānī*³, XXII, 181-83.

It is worth noting that this trivial item in fact concludes a majestic work that deals with events that are among the greatest in world history.

979 The date is given here according to the days of the month, but R indicates the number of nights remaining to the end of the month. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 128, introduces the episode with a reference to the ʿAlid who attacked the pilgrims in conjunction with the Banū Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik al-Ṭā'ī. See also Madelung, "Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen," 48.

980 See text above, II, 288.

981 R: "Mecca Road.;

982 R: *min al-nisā'*, supplying the words missing in the edition.

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXXIX

Biographies of the Prophet's Companions and Their Successors

TRANSLATED BY ELLA LANDAU-TASSERON

Biographies of the Prophet's
Companions and Their Successors
Volume XXXIX
Translated by Ella Landau-Tasseron

The present volume is the collection of excerpts from al-Ṭabarī's biographical work entitled *The Supplement to the Supplemented (Dhayl al-mudhayyal)*.

In the introduction to his *History*, al-Ṭabarī declared his intention to append to it a biographical work for the reader's convenience. Only a collection of excerpts has survived, however. It was first published as part of the Leiden edition of the *History* and is now presented as a volume in the Ṭabarī Translation Project. It brings together biographies of Companions, Successors, and scholars of subsequent generations; many chapters are devoted to women related to the Prophet who played a role in the transmission of knowledge. The biographies vary in length and style, ranging from mere identification of a person to long accounts and anecdotes.

This volume represents a long tradition characteristic of Muslim culture. Muslim scholars developed biographical literature into a rich and complex genre. It was intended to be an auxiliary branch of religious study, aimed at determining the reliability of chains of transmission through which traditions were handed down. More often than not, however, works in this genre contain valuable historical information of the kind often ignored by the authors of mainstream history books. Even though not a complete work, this volume is thus not merely a supplement to al-Ṭabarī's *History* but also a source in its own right, often supplying new and rare insights into events and social conditions.

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AL-ṬABARĪ'S SUPPLEMENT TO HIS *HISTORY*

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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translated and annotated
by

Ella Landau-Tasseron

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

In his monumental work al-Ṭabarī explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators. The thirty-ninth volume is a compendium of biographies of early members of the Muslim community, compiled by al-Ṭabarī; although not strictly a part of his *History*, it complements it.

The *History* has been divided here into thirty-nine volumes, each of which covers about 200 pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as "dirham," and "imām," have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation is aimed chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

AO: *Acta Orientalia*
AOH: *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*
BSOAS: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
EI[1]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edition. Leiden, 1913–42.
EI[2]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition. Leiden, 1960–.
IC: *Islamic Culture*
IOS: Israel Oriental Studies
IQ: *Islamic Quarterly*
JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JASB: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JESHO: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPHS: *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*
JRAS: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSAI: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
JSS: *Journal of Semitic Studies*
MIDEO: *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*
MW: *Muslim World*
WZKM: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Morgenländes*
ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

Translator's Foreword

In the introduction to his *History* al-Ṭabarī declares his intention to append to the work biographical notes on the Prophet's Companions, their Successors, and transmitters of traditions from subsequent generations. This, no doubt, is the work entitled *The Supplement to the Supplemented: Biographies of Companions and Their Sucessors* (*Dhayl al-mudhayyal min ta'rīkh al-ṣaḥābah wa-al-tābiʿīn*), contained in an incomplete form in this volume.[1]

In spite of its title, the book does not belong to the literary genre of "supplement" (*dhayl*, literally, "a tail"), which consists of histories or biographical dictionaries written by later authors as continuations of earlier works. The author of a "supplement" would usually start the book where the earlier author had left off and would tend to follow the style and patterns used by his predecessor. The result, however, was most often an independent work. For al-Ṭabarī's *History* such "supplements" were written by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī, Abū Aḥmad al-Farghānī, and ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Qurṭubī.[2]

I wish to thank those who helped me in my efforts to understand de Goeje's introduction, written in Latin: Prof. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Dr. Milka Levi-Rubin, and Mr. Nils Grede. The difficulties that de Goeje's text presented even after all their assistance do not reflect upon their efforts. Thanks are also due to Prof. Yohannan Friedmann for some valuable comments and to Dr. Estelle Whelan for her kindness and patience throughout the years that it took to complete this work.

1. *Introductio*, p. XIII; Rosenthal, "Introduction," 89–90.

2. *Dhayls* were sometimes called *ṣilah* or *takmilah*, "continuation" or "completion." The works of al-Hamadhānī and al-Qurṭubī were published in combina-

Describing al-Ṭabarī's work, al-Sakhāwī says the following:

> The great *History* includes the sources of the [various] reports, [as well as] the accounts of the world history, but it is limited by the author's purpose, namely, to supply information about history, wars, and conquests. Only rarely does [al-Ṭabarī] deal with disparaging transmitters or declaring them trustworthy (*al-jarḥ wa-al-ta'dīl*), because his work on biographies suffices in this respect (*iktifā'an bi-ta'rīkhihi fī al-rijāl*). Thus the information he gives [in the *History*] about the great religious teachers (*al-a'immah*) is not exhaustive, for his interest lay in conveying clear detailed accounts of wars and conquests, stories of ancient prophets and kings, past nations, and bygone generations. He adduced [all this information], together with its sources and many chains of transmission; he was erudite in all these and other matters.
>
> Al-Ṭabarī wrote a supplement to the above-mentioned *History*; moreover, he supplemented the supplement as well.[3]

The supplements mentioned by al-Sakhāwī have nothing to do with our *Supplement to the Supplemented* (*Dhayl al-mudhayyal*). De Goeje was probably right in concluding, although hesitantly, that al-Sakhāwī is alluding here to what is better known as "the two sections."[4] The original *History* apparently reached the end of the first civil war; the first section covered the Umayyad period, the second the 'Abbāsid period, up to the year 302/914–15.[5]

Al-Sakhāwī, however, also mentions al-Ṭabarī's *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* in this paragraph, referring to it as "his (al-Ṭabarī's) work on biographies of traditionists" (*ta'rīkhihi fī al-rijāl*). He

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tion with al-Ṭabarī's *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* by Dār al-Ma'ārif in Cairo (1977) and Dār al-Fikr in Beirut (1987). See also Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 565; al-Sakhāwī, 302; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 3; al-Kattānī, 98–99. On the genre see Farah.

3. *Wa-lahu 'alā ta'rīkhihi al-madhkūr dhayl, bal dhayyala 'alā al-dhayl ayḍan.* See al-Sakhāwī, 301–2. See also Rosenthal, *History*, 488, for a different translation of the passage.

4. *Introductio*," p. xv.

5. Rosenthal, "Introduction," 133; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 2456–57; Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 565.

considers it to be of another genre than, and independent from, the *History*.

There are thus two unusual aspects of al-Ṭabarī's historical and biographical work. First, he supplemented his own *History*; his supplements did not remain independent but were integrated into the main work. Second, he entitled his biographical work "A Supplement," even though it did not belong to the *dhayl* genre. It should, of course, be noted that in al-Ṭabarī's time this genre had not yet been developed, so that he was not deviating from any convention.[6] However, it is no accident that most of the later biobibliographical sources, al-Sakhāwī included, avoid the genuine title of the book, referring to it simply as *Ta'rīkh al-rijāl* (Biographies of Traditionists).[7] On the other hand, quotations from the work appear either under the original title, sometimes in shortened form, or under al-Ṭabarī's name alone.[8]

The biographical literature, to which *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* properly belongs, is unique to Muslim culture. It has deep roots in pre-Islamic Arab interest in genealogy, but at the same time it is an outgrowth of the characteristic Muslim way of preserving knowledge. Prophetic traditions (*ḥadīths*) and other accounts were discussed and passed on among members of the Muslim community, and in the process much was falsified and invented. Becoming aware of this fact, Muslim scholars developed a source critique, the "science of traditionists" (*'ilm al-rijāl*), to help them evaluate transmitted material. Personal merits of the transmitters, as well as facts about their lives (like death dates and dwelling places), were checked. If, for example, it was found that a

---

6. Cf. a later author, Abū Shāmah of the thirteenth century, who wrote a supplement to his own work; al-Sakhāwī, 305.

7. In the context of the genre of biographies the word *rijāl*, literally, "men," serves as a technical term for "traditionists" or "transmitters." For references to al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh al-rijāl*, see *Introductio*, p. XIII; Rosenthal, "Introduction," 89–90; Gilliot, "Oeuvres," 71; al-Sakhāwī, 301; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XIV, 273; idem, *Ta'rīkh*, XXIV, 283; Ismā'īl al-Baghdādī, II, 26; Ibn Khayr, I, 227; Ibn 'Asākir, XV, 165. See also Goldziher, "Literarische Thätigkeit." Of all the sources only Yāqūt (*Irshād* 2444, 2457) and Ibn Khayr call the work *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*.

8. Citing by the author's name alone was the common practice in the literature. For quotations from the *Dhayl*, see, e.g., Ibn Qudāmah, 237; al-Quhpā'ī, IV, 109; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 559, II, 376; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, I, 12. In al-Dāraquṭnī, V, 2564, the editor gives a list of dozens of references; some of them are not correct, and some are lacking in the extant version of the *Dhayl*.

certain person claimed to have transmitted from someone whom he could not have met, the material he transmitted was to be rejected. In the case of Companions, their Islamic records, or services to the cause of Islam (*sābiqah*), were mentioned, as well as any detail or anecdote connecting them with the Prophet. In the case of subsequent generations, the degree of the person's piety and sometimes his political or sectarian biases would be recorded. Many variations developed in the genre, however, in both the content and the arrangement of the collected biographical details. Often, the biographies contain material totally irrelevant to the purpose of the genre mentioned above, for example, physical descriptions, personal traits (e.g., generosity), and historical events in which the subjects were involved. Such is the case with *Dhayl al-mudhayyal.* On the other hand, there are works that contain only an evaluation of the person's trustworthiness. This subgenre is more properly called "the disparaging and declaring as trustworthy" (*al-jarḥ wa-al-taʿdīl*).

The earliest works in the genre date from the late second/eighth to the beginning of the third/ninth century. They were often arranged in categories of time and place, or tribes, called "layers" (*ṭabaqāt*, meaning also "generations"). Variations of this method were also followed, in part, in *Dhayl al-mudhayyal.*[9]

The present volume is merely a collection of excerpts from *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*, as indicated by the title found on the second part of the Cairo manuscript: *The Second Part of Excerpts (muntakhab) from the Book [Called] The Supplement to the Supplemented: Biographies of Companions and Their Successors, Compiled by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd al-Ṭabarī, Transmitted from Him by Abū ʿAlī Makhlad b. Jaʿfar b. Makhlad b. Sahl b. Ḥumrān al-Bāqarḥī.*[10] It is not possible to infer from this title the identity of the compiler of the excerpts. It may have

9. Among the earliest authors in this genre were Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn (d. 203/818), Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (d. 204/819), his pupil and scribe Muḥammad b. Saʿd (d. 230/845), Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ (d. 240/854), Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875), and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870). See al-Sakhāwī, 315, 336–57; al-Kattānī, 96–105, 108–10. The genre is much more complex than is possible to describe in the present context. See further Hafsi; Gibb, "Islamic Biographical Literature"; Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 134–90; Auchterlonie, 2–3.

10. Loth, 581.

been the transmitter Abū ʿAlī Makhlad b. Jaʿfar, as Loth and Rieu thought, or any other transmitter of subsequent generations, a view preferred by de Goeje and Rosenthal.[11] It is perhaps worthy of note that Makhlad b. Jaʿfar (d. 369/979–80) was accused of buying books, among them al-Ṭabarī's *History*, and transmitting them in a nonnormative way, that is, without having studied them with a teacher and without having acquired an authorization for transmission (*ijāzah*).[12] Such a character was perhaps more likely than others to have taken a free hand with al-Ṭabarī's work, making a rather confused and deficient abridgment from it.

According to Yāqūt,[13] the original *Dhayl* followed a genealogical order (*ʿalā tartīb al-aqrab fa-al-aqrab*), partly reflected in the extant collection of excerpts. Presumably some chronological order was maintained as well, reflected in the text in rudimentary fashion. However, no ordering principle governs the present text as a whole. The semichronological order followed in the beginning is abandoned at some point to make way for various disconnected rubrics. Occasionally the material bears no relation to the rubric under which it occurs, and chapters end and begin without any indication. Some entries are recorded twice, without the use of cross-refereces. When a cross-reference does appear, the reference is to a chapter omitted from the collection.[14]

Dhayl al-mudhayyal also included an introduction lacking in the present collection. Of its content we know only one statement, of an extreme nature: Al-Ṭabarī, who founded his own school of law, declares everyone who contradicts his views to be an infidel. He states that he would not accept the testimony of, or trust traditions transmitted by, people who held Qadarī, Shīʿī, or Khārijī doctrines, nor would he accept (legal) arguments based on reasoning.[15] In spite of this statement, he held Abū Ḥanīfah in great esteem[16] and included in *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* many Shīʿīs

11. Loth, 582; *Introductio*, pp. XIII, XIV; Rosenthal, "Introduction," 89.
12. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, XIII, 176–77; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI, 9.
13. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 2457.
14. Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2478; see also *Introductio*, p. XIV. For a detailed analysis of the structure of the *Dhayl*, see Landau-Tasseron, "Biographical Work."
15. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 2463, but see a different interpretation of the passage in Rosenthal, "Introduction," 90.
16. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 2463; see al-Ṭabarī, III, 2510 (the biography of Abū Ḥanīfah).

and also others of different persuasions. his statement, however, may signify that his pursuit of the "science of traditionists" (*'ilm al-rijāl*) arose from a broader interest than usual. Not only the transmission of the prophetic tradition but also the application of religious law was to profit from his biographical work.

While recording the biographies of eminent members of the Muslim community al-Ṭabarī mentions the great historical events in which they were involved. Wishing to be concise, he refers the reader to another place for further details, saying: "The accounts about him were already recorded in our book entitled *The Supplemented* (*al-Mudhayyal*)."[17] There is a mystery here. It appears that a book by someone as well known as al-Ṭabarī is virtually unknown. De Goeje found only two references to *al-Mudhayyal* in the literature, one in an anonymous work on astrology and chronology, the other in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī's book.[18] The latter refers to *al-Mudhayyal* as a very famous work,[19] but no biobibliography, whether ancient or modern, records a book by al-Ṭabarī under this title. What was this *Mudhayyal*, then, and how did it relate to the *History* and to the present volume, *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*?

Loth defines *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* as an "'Appendix zum Supplement' seines (al-Ṭabarī's) grossen Geschichtswerks." The *Mudhayyal* was, in his opinion, the work announced by al-Ṭabarī in the introduction to the *History*; it was a preparatory work (*Vorarbeit*) in which al-Ṭabarī collected material for the *History*. The *Dhayl* was extracted from a more comprehensive work (*al-Mudhayyal*?).[20] Loth thus conceives of the three titles, *Ta'rīkh*, *al-Mudhayyal*, and *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*, as applying to three different works. He seems to be confusing the *Dhayl*, announced in the introduction to the *History*, with *al-Mudhayyal*. There is no evidence that *al-Mudhayyal* was a *Vorarbeit*. His rendering of the title *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* as "Appendix zum Supplement" is

17. Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2321, 2335, 2476, 2498. For the reference occurring on page 2358, see p. xxii, below.

18. *Introductio*, p. xiv. The anonymous work is *Dustūr al-munajjimīn*; see Blochet, 12.

19. Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 121.

20. Loth, 582.

not accurate either. *Mudhayyal*, the passive form of "to append," "to supplement," means "the supplemented," as mentioned by de Goeje.[21]

From de Goeje's careful phrasing it is difficult to infer whether he conceived of *al-Mudhayyal* as an abridgment of the *History* or as a different title for it, so that the two would in fact be one work. The difficulty lies perhaps in the *History* itself. By this title de Goeje sometimes means the extant text of the *History*, that is, the published version of *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, at other times a much longer version said by some sources to have existed.[22] I hope to clarify this matter in what follows.

If de Goeje meant to say that *al-Mudhayyal* was identical with the *History* as we have it today, he was probably right. There is no real evidence that a longer version actually existed. The description of *al-Mudhayyal* by Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī fits the *History* very well and cannot be applied to any other work by al-Ṭabarī. Unfortunately, the quotation given by al-Iṣfahānī from *al-Mudhayyal* cannot be located in the *History*, but this in itself does not prove the existence of a longer version. De Goeje adduces many other instances of quotations lacking in the Leiden edition. This phenomenon is common and is often encountered, in relation not only to the *History* but to many other texts as well. To give but one example, al-Ṭabarī quotes from Ibn Sa'd passages lacking in the Sachau edition.[23] This does not necessarily mean that the extant text, edited by Sachau, is an abridgment of Ibn Sa'd's "original" *Ṭabaqāt*.

The very title *al-Mudhayyal* proves that this work is identical with the *History*. It will be recalled that al-Ṭabarī planned to, and did, supplement the *History* with biographical notes, which makes the *History* a supplemented work, a work to which something was appended, in other words, a *mudhayyal*.

An additional proof of this identification can be found in analysis of the preposition *min*. One of al-Ṭabarī's own references to *al-Mudhayyal* runs as follows: "His story is already recorded in our book entitled *al-Mudhayyal min mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-*

21. *Introductio*, p. XIII.
22. *Introductio*, especially pp. XIV, XV–XVI. On the longer version, see below.
23. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 2359, 2378, 2387, 2505, 2516, 2517, 2519, 2520.

al-mulūk (The Supplemented Work: The Abridged History of the Prophets and Kings).[24] This title is constructed precisely as is the title of the present volume, *Dhayl al-mudhayyal min ta'rīkh al-ṣaḥābah wa-al-tābi'īn.* The first two words are a nicely put, but too general, title; *min*, literally "namely," specifies the real subject matter of the work (*min mubayyinah*). In other words, *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* is identical with *Ta'rīkh al-ṣaḥābah wa-al-tābi'īn.* In precisely the same way *al-Mudhayyal* is identical with *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk.* The latter, however, is by no means an abridgment of the *History* as we know it but the *History* itself. This is proved by the fact that one of the *History* manuscripts bears the title *The Abridged History of the Prophets and Kings.*[25] This title perhaps reflects al-Ṭabarī's modesty, as Rosenthal suggests. It may, however, also be explained by the following story: Al-Ṭabarī asked his pupils (or scribes): "Do you have enough energy for [writing down] the Qur'ān exegesis?" They asked how long it was, and he said "Thirty thousand pages," whereupon the people retorted: "We shall have died before finishing such a task." So al-Ṭabarī abridged the work in 3,000 pages. Then he asked the people: "Do you have enough energy for [writing down] the world history from Adam to our own time?" They asked how long it was, and his answer was as before, whereupon they responded as before. Al-Ṭabarī then said, "We are in God's hands! People have no ambition any more." He sat down and abridged the *History* in 3,000 pages.[26]

As noted previously, it is not certain that there ever existed a version of the *History* ten times longer than the extant text. This story may be a mere anecdote expressing wonder at al-Ṭabarī's achievement. The fact remains that the *History* as we know it is also called *The Abridged History.* We are thus left with three titles for the same work, the famous *History* edited by de Goeje and others: *The Abridged History of Prophets and Kings, The Supplemented Work* (*al-Mudhayyal*), and *History of the Prophets*

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24. Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2358.
25. Rosenthal, "Introduction," 130–31.
26. *Introductio*, p. LXXXIII (the Arabic text); al-Khaṭib al-Baghdādī, II, 163; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XIV, 274–75; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 2442; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, XIII, 216.

and Kings. It is doubtful that the last refers to an original ten times (or otherwise) longer than the extant text.

In the matter of *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* de Goeje's opinion is entirely clear. He thinks that this title includes both *al-Mudhayyal*, or abridgment (of the *History*), and the biographical notes.[27] In the same vein Rosenthal holds that by the title *al-Mudhayyal*, mentioned by al-Ṭabarī in our volume, *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* was meant and that the two are in fact identical.[28] The problem with this view is that it cannot be harmonized with the technique of citation used by al-Ṭabarī. When he writes, "I already said this in my book entitled *al-Mudhayyal*," he must be referring to a work separate from the one in which he makes the reference, that is, *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*. Had the two titles referred to the same book, al-Ṭabarī ought to have used the terms set for cross-references.[29]

There are, however, other grounds for reconsidering de Goeje's opinion. He bases himself on the descriptions of *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* by al-Dhahabī and Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, who mention al-Ṭabarī's "book on *ta'rīkh* known as *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*," which contained "twenty parts."[30] From these descriptions de Goeje drew his conception of *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* as a large work containing historical material (*ta'rīkh*) near in size and content to the *History* itself. But a "part" (*juz'*) is by no means identical with a "volume." It is unspecified and may be of any size. For example, each *juz'* in the manuscript of excerpts from *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* comprised no more than twelve to eighteen pages.[31] Twenty parts, then, do not necessarily correspond to the length of the *History*. As for the word *ta'rīkh*, it does not always mean "history." "The oldest works called *ta'rīkh* were collections of biographies," as Rosenthal observed in his *History of Muslim Historiography*.[32] It is also worthy of note that Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī acquired *Dhayl al-*

27. *Introductio*, pp. xiv–xv.
28. Rosenthal, "Introduction," 89.
29. For example, *wa-qad dhakartu fīmā maḍā min hādhā al-kitāb* or *wa-qad taqaddama*.
30. *Introductio*, pp. xiv–xv; Ibn Khayr, 227; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, XXIV, 283; idem, *Siyar*, XIV, 273.
31. Loth, 581.
32. See Rosenthal, *History*, 13–14.

mudhayyal through a chain of transmitters, which included Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr.[33] This author, himself a genealogist and biographer, used *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* in his own biographical dictionary, *al-Istīʿāb*.[34] Therefore *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*, as described by al-Dhahabī and Ibn Khary, was not a history combined with biographies but a purely biographical work, a *taʾrīkh fī al-rijāl*. There is no evidence that it was combined with al-Ṭabarī's *History*, in an "abridged" form or otherwise.

The sources used by al-Ṭabarī cannot be properly analyzed, as the present volume does not contain the original text of the *Dhayl*. It may, however, be mentioned that al-Wāqidī's *Ṭabaqāt* was one of the main sources.[35] Al-Ṭabarī quotes both al-Wāqidī and Ibn Saʿd, which means that he knew both al-Wāqidī's original, now lost, and its adaptation by al-Wāqidī's pupil and scribe. Other early historians, genealogists, and biographers cited in the extant *Dhayl* are Abū Maʿshar Najīḥ (d. 170/787),[36] Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774),[37] Abū ʿUbaydah (d. 209/824),[38] al-Madāʾinī (d. 225/840),[39] Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767),[40] Mūsā b. ʿUqbah (d. 141/758),[41] Abū Zurʿah (d. 281/895),[42] and Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819).[43] Countless other informants are mentioned, and research into this matter is a project in itself.

The deficiencies of the present form of the *Dhayl* include a total lack of uniformity and consistency. Some entries are made up of long stories, others of mere names; still others contain traditions transmitted by the persons discussed with hardly any biographical details. The information is often rudimentary, so that one can hardly distinguish among eminent Muslims, insignificant Com-

33. Ibn Khayr, I, 227.
34. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 12.
35. On this work, see F. Segzin, I, 297 (no. 12); al-Sakhāwī, 317; Muṣṭafā, I, 164.
36. Al-Ṭabarī, 2333, 2347, 2433, 2444, 2503, 2535.
37. Ibid., 2317, 2367.
38. Ibid., 2443, 2356, 2459.
39. Ibid., 2324, 2332, 2333, 2337, 2338.
40. Ibid., 2296–97, 2303, 2312.
41. Ibid., 2306, 2324, 2328.
42. Ibid., 2401, 2473.
43. Ibid., 2300, 2306, 2317. Note that the quotations from the early historians may be at second hand, that is, copied by al-Ṭabarī not from the originals but from other sources. On this issue, see Landau-Tasseron, "Reconstruction."

panions, tribal chiefs, caliphs, and names invented for chains of transmission (*isnāds*). This situation is probably owing partly to the fact that the present form is not the original one, partly to the availability or otherwise of biographical details.

By the time Muslim scholars started to inquire about people mentioned in chains of transmission many of these people had been forgotten. Moreover, some of them never really existed, for many traditions and *isnāds* were fabricated, a fact that generated the whole field of inquiry in the first place. Additional confusion was caused by the fact that many people in Muslim society bore similar or identical names. Yet Muslim scholars did their utmost to obtain biographical information, with varying degrees of success. I therefore thought it useful to add references to other biographical works, for both completeness and comparison. The choice of sources for the purpose was difficult, given the enormous wealth of biographical works published to date and augmented daily with new publications. I finally chose Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ (d. 240/854), Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), and Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965), knowing that other choices could be equally valid. My decision was not arbitrary, however. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ wrote precisely in the same genres used by al-Ṭabarī some fifty years later: history arranged according to years (annals) and biographies arranged according to categories (*ṭabaqāt*). Al-Balādhurī, preceding al-Ṭabarī by a generation, wrote a special kind of integrated combination of history and biography. Ibn Ḥibbān, a generation later than al-Ṭabarī, divided the biographical material he collected into three different works: one dealing with famous scholars, another with trustworthy scholars, and a third with dubious transmitters. The first is arranged according to categories (time and place), the last two alphabetically.[44] Additional light may thus be shed on what material was circulating in al-Ṭabarī's lifetime and on the differences and similarities between near-contemporaneous authors in dealing with this material.

The obvious source to compare with *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* is Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt*, but it does not serve the purpose just defined pre-

44. Only the first, *Mashāhīr*, was systematically combed for parallels; the other two works were used occasionally.

cisely because it is a reflection of al-Ṭabarī's main source, al-Wāqidī's *Ṭabaqāt*. I therefore did not comb Ibn Saʿd's work for parallels but traced back to it only al-Ṭabarī's explicit quotations and some of de Goeje's references. There is much more of Ibn Saʿd (and al-Wāqidī) in the *Dhayl* that I did not point out, and the expert reader is invited to check Ibn Saʿd with the help of its excellent indexes.

The task of systematically combing the works of Khalīfah, al-Balādhurī, and Ibn Ḥibbān, as well as tracing parallels in Ibn Saʿd, was carried out by Ṭāriq Abū Rajab. As a true book lover, he sometimes exceeded his brief and, ignoring my strict warnings about lack of space, occasionally came up with additional interesting references. I hereby express my gratitude to him for his invaluable assistance.

In addition to the aforementioned works, other sources were occasionally consulted, when the person discussed seemed important in some way. I have no space to explain all my decisions, and I admit that they were somewhat arbitrary. A person who seems important to me may be utterly insignificant in someone else's opinion. A great many sources I left untouched for lack of space. For further research one may want to obtain information about additional biographical works from Auchterlonie's guide.[45] Some recent works not included in this guide are the following: *al-Ṭabaqāt*, by Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj; *al-Taʾrīkh*, by Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn; *Muʿjam rijāl al-ḥadīth*, by al-Khūʾī; *Mawsūʿat rijāl al-kutub al-tisʿah*, by al-Bandārī and Ḥasan. Prophetic traditions quoted by al-Ṭabarī may be traced in *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf*, by al-Mizzī, and *Mawsūʿat aṭrāf al-ḥadīth*, by Muḥammad Zaghlūl. Last but by no means least, the recent monumental work by Josef van Ess should be mentioned, with its rich information about early sects, scholars, and religious figures of the second and third centuries of the Muslim era.[46]

The references described are meant for experts. As this volume is aimed primarily at the nonexpert, many notes are given to make the text and context comprehensible. Lack of space compelled me to have as little recourse as possible to cross-references. Both

45. Auchterlonie.
46. For all these works, see "Bibliography of Cited Works."

names and concepts were annotated only once each, usually when first occurring in the text. The index should therefore be used when an unexplained item occurs, in order to locate the explanation in a previous (or sometimes later) note.

Another matter omitted for lack of time and space was checking the chains of transmission (*isnād*s), which include hundreds of names. I did, however, try to identify persons mentioned only by their first names or nicknames by collating *isnād*s from both the *History* and the *Dhayl*. The identification, when there is one, is recorded between brackets. The latter device also served for inserting additions into the text, for the sake of comprehensibility.

Surely the present volume leaves much to be desired. Thinking of the improvements I would like to introduce in it, I can only cite al-Ṭabarī's pupils' response to his suggestions: *hādhā mimmā tafnā al-aʿmār qabla tamāmihi*.

I nevertheless hope that this volume will be of some use to nonexperts and experts alike.

Ella Landau-Tasseron

Table 1. Genealogy of Quraysh

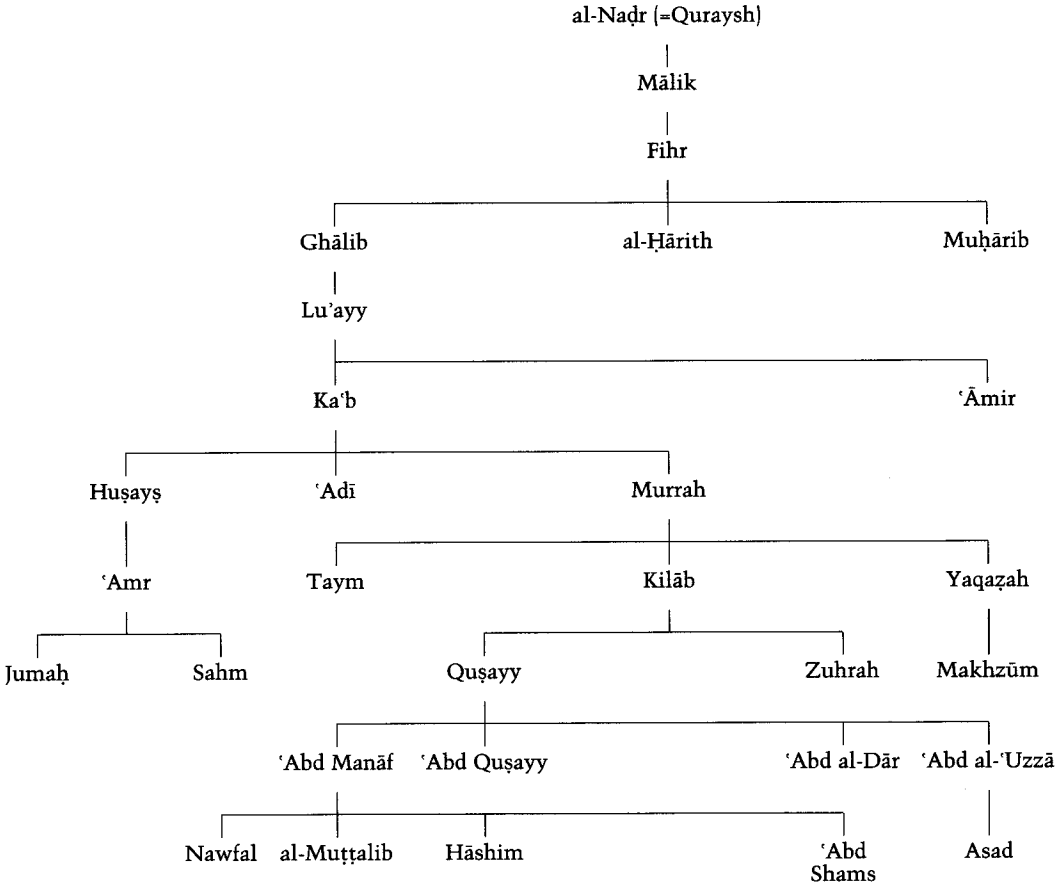

Table 2. Genealogy of the Hāshimites

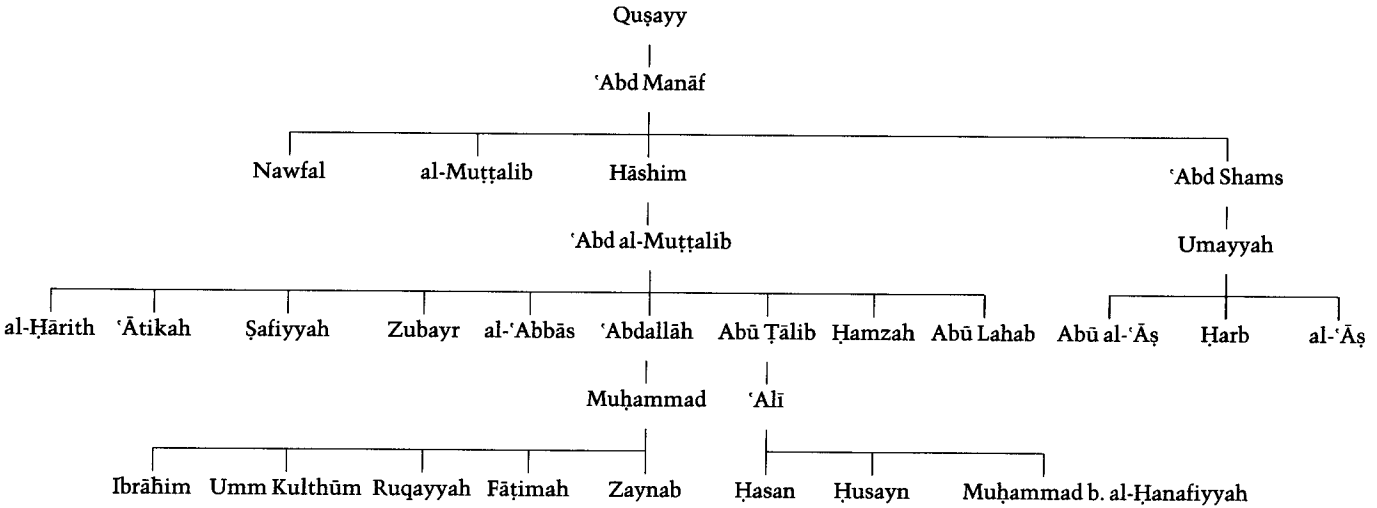

Excerpts from the Book Entitled *The Supplement to the Supplemented: Biographies of Companions and Their Successors*

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate: [2296]

Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd al-Ṭabarī wrote in his book *The Supplement to the Supplemented: Biographies of Companions and Their Successors*:

*[Women Who Died Before the Emigration (*Hijrah*)]*

Among the women who died in Mecca before the Prophet's Emigration [to Medina] was his wife, Khadījah, daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.[1]

Khadījah's *kunyah*[2] was Umm Hind. Hind, after whom she was named, was her son from Abū Hālah b. al-Nabbāsh b. Zurārah, her husband before [she married] the Prophet.[3]

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1. A member of the Qurashī clan Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 117–25. On the Quraysh, the Prophet's tribe, see "Ḳuraysh," *EI*², V, 434–35 (W. M. Watt); Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm"; idem, "Some Reports Concerning Mecca." Khadījah was the Prophet's first wife and the first to believe in him when he was inspired. She also bore most of the Prophet's children. See Guillaume, 82–83, 107–13, 191; Lings, 34–36, 44–45, 96; Kister, "The Sons of Khadīja"; "Khadīdja," *EI*², IV, 898–99 (W. M. Watt); Muir, 24–25; Ibn Hishām, I, 198–203, 253–57; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 396–405; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 847–56; al-Ṣāliḥī, 35–76.

2. The Arabs' polite way of addressing people is by referring to their parenthood, so that one is addressed as "father/mother of so-and-so." This specific kind of by-name is called a *kunyah*, sometimes rendered as *agnomen*.

3. On Abū Hālah and his clan, see Kister, "On Strangers and Allies," 120–26.

She died three years before the Emigration, at the age of sixty-five. This information was transmitted to me by al-Hārith [b. Muḥammad]—[Muḥammad] Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.

Khadījah died in the month of Ramaḍān that year and was buried in al-Ḥajūn.[4]

[Those Who Died in the Year 8]
(May 1, 629–April 19, 630)

Among those who died at the beginning of the year 8 was Zaynab, daughter of the Prophet.[5]

Zaynab was the Prophet's eldest daughter.

The cause of her death was as follows: When she was sent away from Mecca to the Prophet [in Medina] Habbār b. al-Aswad and another man overtook her; as it was reported, one of them pushed her, whereupon she fell on a rock, miscarried her child, and lost a lot of blood. She had this injury and ultimately died of it.

Among those who were killed was Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b 'Abd Manāf.[6]

Ja'far was killed as a *shahīd*[7] in [the battle of] Mu'tah.[8]

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4. A mountain in Mecca where a cemetery was situated; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 215.

5. "Zainab bint Muḥammad," *EI*[1], VII, 1200 (V. Vacca). Cf. Guillaume, 314–16; Lings, 158–59; Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 20–24; Ibn Hishām, II, 308–12; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 269, 357, 397–400; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 56; al-Ḥalabī, II, 205–6, III, 106; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, III, 124–25; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, II, 247; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1348–50. See also p. 13, below.

6. The Prophet's uncle. See "Dja'far b. Abī Ṭālib," *EI*[2], II, 372 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 49–50; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4–5; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 889–91; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 283–84.

7. A Muslim killed in battle against infidels is promised paradise unconditionally; he is a *shahīd*, usually translated as "martyr." Although the translation is literally accurate, the connotations of the two terms are completely different. Martyrdom connotes the death of a powerless, suffering individual at the hands of an oppressor, whereas *shahādah* connotes mainly fearlessness in battle. I have therefore chosen to leave *shahīd* untranslated.

8. A town east of the Dead Sea, where a Muslim raiding force was defeated by a Byzantine force in the year 8/629. See "Mu'ta," *EI*[2], VII, 756–57 (F. Buhl); Guillaume, 531–40; Muir, 392–95; Lings 286–90; Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 53–55; al-Wāqidī, 755–69; Ibn Hishām, IV, 15–30; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1614–18; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, IV, 577.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah [b. al-Faḍl] and Abū Tumaylah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād—his father: My stepfather[9] belonged to the Banū Murrah b. ʿAwf,[10] and took part in that raid; that is, the raid of Mu'tah. He told me [the following]:[11] "By God, it is as if I [can even now] see Jaʿfar as he jumped [2297] down from his roan mare, hamstrung her, and fought the enemy until he was killed."

It was reported that Jaʿfar was the first Muslim who hamstrung [his horse].[12]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī—his father: A Byzantine soldier hit him, that is, Jaʿfar, and cut him in half; one half fell in a vineyard. Thirty or thirty-odd wounds were found on one half of his body.

Jaʿfar had been converted to Islam before the Prophet entered the house of al-Arqam to preach from there.[13] He then emigrated to Abyssinia in the second emigration,[14] with his wife Asmā' bt. ʿUmays, where he stayed until after the Prophet's Emigration to Medina.[15] He returned from Abyssinia to the Prophet while the latter was in Khaybar, in the year 7/628.[16]

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9. *Abī alladhī arḍaʿanī*, meaning the husband of the child's wet nurse. Cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 218; al-Wāqidī, 13, 688.

10. An important north Arabian tribe; see "Murra," *EI²*, VII, 628–30 (E. Landau-Tasseron).

11. Cf. Guillaume, 534; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, IV, 577; al-Ḥalabī, III, 77; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 113–14; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1614.

12. Arab warriors of pre-Islamic times practiced *ʿaqr*, that is, cutting their own horses' hamstrings during battle to prevent the possibility of fleeing the enemy. Muslim scholars debated the permissibility of this act and placed restrictions upon it. The original pre-Islamic social significance of the custom was obfuscated in Islamic times by the argument that the purpose of hamstringing was to prevent a victorious enemy from obtaining Muslim horses from a Muslim defeat. See Ibn Hudhayl, I, 40, 48 (text), II, 207, 225 (translation). Mercier is incorrect in translating *ʿaqr* as having the horse killed.

13. See p. 47, below.

14. While Muḥammad was active in Mecca, some dozens of his followers emigrated to Abyssinia at his suggestion, for reasons that are not entirely clear, probably in A.D. 615–17. The followers gradually returned, though some stayed till 7/628. See Guillaume, 146–53, 167–69; Lings, 81–84; Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, 109–17; Caetani, I, 262–84.

15. That is, in the year 622. See Guillaume, 221–27, 281; Lings, 118–22; "Hidjra," *EI²*, III, 366–67 (W. M. Watt).

16. Khaybar was a Jewish settlement north of Medina, conquered by Muḥammad in Muḥarram 7/May 628. See Guillaume, 510–19; Lings, 263–69; "Khaybar," *EI²*, IV, 1137–43 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1575–84.

Jaʿfar was killed in Jumādā I, 8/September 629, having been one of the Prophet's commanders of the expedition sent against the Byzantines.[17]

Jaʿfar's *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Zayd al-Ḥibb ("the beloved")[18] b. Ḥārithah b. Sharāhīl b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Imriʾ al-Qays b. ʿĀmir b. al Nuʿmān b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Wadd b. ʿAwf b. Kinānah b. ʿAwf b. ʿUdhrah b. Zayd al-Lāt b. Rufaydah b. Thawr b. Kalb b. Wabarah b. Taghlib b. Ḥalwān b. ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāʿah—whose [real name] was ʿAmr—b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Murrah b. Mālik b. Ḥimyar b. Sabaʾ b. Yashjub b. Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān.[19]

It was reported that in pre-Islamic times Zayd's mother, Suʿdā bt. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAbd ʿĀmir b. Aflat b. Silsilah of the Banū Maʿn of Ṭayyiʾ,[20] [once] paid a visit to her family and brought Zayd along
[2298] with her. Horsemen of the Banū al-Qayn b. Jasr[21] raided the tents of the Banū Maʿn, the clan of Zayd's mother, and seized Zayd, who was then already grown up, [a young man] of full stature. They brought him to the market at ʿUkkāẓ[22] and offered him for sale, whereupon Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām b. Khuwaylid b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy purchased him for his paternal aunt, Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid, for 400 dirhams. When the Prophet married Khadījah she gave him Zayd, and he took him.

Zayd's father, Ḥārithah b. Sharāḥīl, said after he had lost him:

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17. That is, Muʾtah.

18. So called because the Prophet loved him. See "Zaid b. Ḥāritha," *EI*[1], VII, 1194 (V. Vacca); Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 27–32; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, 316–22; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 49–50; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 467–73, III (Maḥmūdī), 283–84; Ibn Hishām, I, 264–66.

19. The key names in this long genealogy are Qaḥṭān, the eponym of all the so-called "southern" (Yemeni) Arabs; Quḍāʿah, a large confederation with branches extending as far north as Syria already in pre-Islamic times; and Kalb, one of the most powerful tribes of the Quḍāʿah. See "Kalb b. Wabara," *EI*[2], IV, 492–94 (A. A. Dixon); "Ḳuḍāʿa," *EI*[2], V, 315–18 (M. J. Kister); "Ḳaḥṭān," *EI*[2], IV, 447 (A. Fischer [A. K. Irvine]).

20. A large confederation of southern origin, owning large territories in Najd. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat* 398–404; Caskel, II, 57–61.

21. A powerful tribe of the Quḍāʿah confederation; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat* 453–54.

22. An important market held every year in the vicinity of Mecca. See "ʿUkkāẓ," in Glassé, 407; Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm," 146, 156.

I weep for Zayd not knowing what became of him.
Is he alive, is he to be expected, or has Death come over him?
By God I ask yet do not comprehend.
Was it the plain or the mountain that brought about your end?
I wish that I knew: Will you ever return?
In this world only for your coming back I yearn.
The sun reminds me of him when it dawns,
evoking his memory as the dusk falls.
When the winds blow they stir up memories like dust.
O how long my sorrow and fear for him last!
I shall hasten all my reddish-white camels all over the earth, [2299]
toiling.
Neither I nor the camels will be weary of wandering
All my life long, until I die,
for every man is mortal, even though hopes lie.
To ʿAmr and Qays[23] do I entrust [Zayd's fate]
and to Yazīd and then to Jabal.

He means Jabalah b. Ḥārithah, Zayd's elder brother. By Yazīd he means Zayd's half-brother, Yazīd b. Kaʿb b. Sharāḥīl.

People from [the tribe of] Kalb came to Mecca on pilgrimage and saw Zayd. They recognized one another, and Zayd said: "Convey the following verses to my family, for I know that they have grieved for me." Then he said:

Carry a message from me to my people, for I am far away,
that close to the House[24] and the places of pilgrimage I stay.
So let go of the grief that has deeply saddened you,
and do not hasten all your camels all over the earth.
I live with the best of families, may God be blessed;
from father to son, of Maʿadd[25] they are the noblest.

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23. Brothers of Ḥārithah, Zayd's father; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 563 (s.v. Zayd b. Ḥārithah).

24. That is, the Kaʿbah.

25. Maʿadd, together with his "son" Nizār and his "father," ʿAdnān, are considered the patriarchs, or eponyms, of the tribes believed to be of northern origin. In fact these are generic names for these tribes, and as such they are interchangeable.

The Kalbī people went away and informed Zayd's father. He exclaimed: "My son, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah!" They described Zayd's situation and the people with whom he was staying. Ḥārithah and Kaʿb, sons of Sharāḥīl, then set out to ransom Zayd. They came to Mecca and asked about the Prophet, whereupon they were told that he was in the mosque. They went in to [see] [2300] him and said: "O son of ʿAbdallāh, O son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, O son of Hāshim,[26] O son of the chief of the clan! You are the people of God's sanctuary; you live next to it and you are protected by it.[27] By His house you set captives free and feed the prisoners.[28] We come to see you about a member of our family who is staying with you, so be benevolent and kind toward us in the matter of his ransom, for we will pay you handsomely." The Prophet asked "Who is he?" and they replied "Zayd b. Ḥārithah." The Prophet said "I would like to suggest something else," so they asked "What is it?" He said: "I shall invite him and give him the option. If he opts for [leaving with] you, you can have him without paying a ransom, but if he chooses [to stay with] me, by God, I am not the sort of person who would prefer anyone over the one who had chosen him." The two of them said: "You have been kind and more than fair toward us."

The Prophet then called Zayd and asked him "Do you recognize these people?" Zayd said "Yes." The Prophet asked "Who are they?" and Zayd replied "This is my father, and this [other person] is my paternal uncle," and the Prophet said "And I am the one whom you have known and whose companionship you have experienced, so choose between me and them." Zayd said "I am not the kind of person who would choose anyone in preference to you; to me you are like a father and a paternal uncle." The two men said to him "Woe to you, O Zayd, would you prefer slavery to freedom, your father, your paternal uncle, and to your family?" He said

26. See Table 2, p. xxix.

27. On the exclusive status of the Quraysh, Muḥammad's tribe, in relation to the Kaʿbah, see Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm"; his views are challenged by Crone, *Meccan Trade*. See also Rubin, "Īlāf"; Simon, *Meccan Trade*.

28. This seems a contradiction in terms. The variant *al-jāʾiʿ* "the hungry" for "the prisoners" (*al-asīr*) seems more appropriate; see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2300 note *b*).

"Yes, for I have seen something in this man, and I am not the kind of person who would ever choose anyone in preference to him." The Prophet, having witnessed this, took Zayd out to the Ḥijr[29] and said "O all those who are present, witness that Zayd [hereby] becomes my [adopted] son, with mutual rights of inheritance." When Zayd's father and paternal uncle saw this, they were satisfied and went away.

[Zayd b. Ḥārithah] was thus called Zayd b. Muḥammad until God revealed Islam. I was told all this by al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Ibn Saʿd—Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—his father [Muḥammad al-Kalbī], Jamīl b. Marthad al-Ṭāʾī, and others.

[Hishām] related part of the story on the authority of his [2301]
father—[Bādhām] Abū Ṣāliḥ—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn ʿAbbās. Through the chain of transmission going back to Ibn ʿAbbās, [Hishām] related [the following]: The Prophet gave to [Zayd] in marriage Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh b. Riʾāb al-Asadiyyah, whose mother was Umaymah bt. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[30] Zayd later divorced her, and the Prophet married her. The Munāfiqūn[31] made this a topic of their conversation and reviled the Prophet, saying "Muḥammad prohibits [marriage] with the [former] wives of one's own sons, but he married the [former] wife of his son Zayd." As a result of this God revealed the following verse: "Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men, nay, he is the messenger of God and the seal of the prophets . . . ," etc.[32] God also revealed the verse "Call them by their fathers' names,"[33] so from that day onward [Zayd] was called

29. The sacred place in front of the Kaʿbah where sacrifices were made, oaths taken, etc.; see Rubin, "Kaʿba."

30. That is, a paternal aunt of the Prophet. When Jaḥsh, originally of the bedouin tribe of Asad, decided to settle in Mecca, he became an ally of the leader Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams and married Umaymah, daughter of the rival leader, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, grandfather of the Prophet. See Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 357; Kister, "On Strangers and Allies," 138–39.

31. Usually translated as "the Hypocrites," this term refers to Muḥammad's opponents among the Muslims in Medina. See "Munāfiḳūn," *EI*², VII, 561–62 (A. A. Brockett); Lings, 237–39; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 274–83.

32. Qur'ān, 33:40 On the doctrine of the Seal of the Prophets, see Y. Friedmann, "Finality."

33. Qur'ān 33:5. This may also be translated as "trace their pedigrees back to their [real] fathers," and, indeed, the verse has both meanings at once. The declara-

Zayd b. Ḥārithah, and [other] adopted sons were named after their [real] fathers. Al-Miqdād was called [ibn] ʿAmr after he had been named al- Miqdād b. al-Aswad since al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yāghūth had adopted him.

Zayd was killed in Jumādā I/September that year at the age of fifty-five.

It was reported that his *kunyah* was Abū Salamah.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Usāmah b. Zayd[34]—his father: The Prophet was ten years Zayd's senior. Zayd was a short, flat-nosed man, of a very dark brown skin; his *kunyah* was Abū Usāmah.

Zayd participated in the battles of Badr and Uḥud[35] and was appointed deputy in Medina when the Prophet left for the raid of al-Muraysīʿ.[36] Zayd also took part in the event of the Ditch (al-Khandaq), the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiyyah, and the conquest of Khaybar.[37] He was one of the famous archers among the Prophet's Companions.

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tion was aimed at refuting the charge of incest raised against Muḥammad. See pp. 26, 180–82, below.

34. That is, great-grandson of Zayd.

35. Badr lies southwest of Medina; it was the site of the Muslims' first victory over their major enemy, the Quraysh. The battle took place in the spring of 2/624, two years after the Prophet's Emigration. Uḥud is a mountain near Medina where Muḥammad and his followers were defeated by the Quraysh and their allies in the year 3/625. See Kennedy, 35, 37–38; Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 1–16, 21–29; Guillaume, 289–314, 370–426; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 37–91, 101–48; Caetani, I, 472–96, 541–65; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 15, 20; "Badr," *EI²*, I, 867–88 (W. M. Watt); al-Wāqidī, 12–172, 199–333; Ibn Hishām, II, 257–374, III, 64–178; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 288–308, 311–38; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1284–1359, 1383–1425.

36. In the year 5/626. See al-Wāqidī, 404–13; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 175–90. It was also called the raid of Banū al-Muṣṭaliq; see Ibn Hishām, III, 302–9. Here, however, Abū Dharr, not Zayd, acted as the Prophet's deputy. See also Guillaume, 490–93; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1511–17.

37. Al-Khandaq (the Ditch) is the name given in Muslim tradition to the siege by the Quraysh and their allies of Medina in the year 5/627. It is related that the Muslims dug a ditch to defend the town, and the besiegers eventually dispersed without achieving any result. See "Khandaḳ," *EI²*, IV, 1020 (W. M. Watt); Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 35–39; Guillaume, 456–61; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 190–210; Caetani, I, 611–26; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1463–85. Al-Ḥudaybiyyah is a place near Mecca where Muḥammad concluded a ten-year peace treaty with the Meccans. See "Ḥudaybiya," *EI²*, III, 539 (W. M. Watt); Watt, "Expedition"; Lecker, "Ḥudaybiyya-Treaty"; Hawting, "Ḥudaybiyya"; Guillaume, 499–510; Lings, 247–56; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 241–64; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1528–59.

Thābit b. al-Jidhʿ of the Banū Salimah of the Anṣār, that is, Thābit b. Thaʿlabah b. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥarām b. Kaʿb.[38]

Al-Jidhʿ was [the nickname of] Thaʿlabah b. Kaʿb, who was so called, as was reported, because of his bravery and courage. Another version of the name is Thābit b. Thaʿlabah al-Jadhaʿ.[39] [2302]

Thābit witnessed the ʿAqabah meeting with the seventy Anṣārīs who swore allegiance to the Prophet that night.[40] He [also] participated in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, and the Ditch and the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiyyah, the conquest of Khaybar, the conquest of Mecca, the battle of Ḥunayn, and the [siege of] al-Ṭāʾif,[41] where he was killed and became a *shahīd*.

[The Year 9]
(April 20, 630–April 8, 631)

In the year 9/630, in Shaʿbān/November, Umm Kulthūm, daughter of the Prophet, died.[42]

The Prophet said the ritual prayer over her bier, and it was reported that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās, and Usāmah b. Zayd descended into her grave.[43] She is the one to whom Umm

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38. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 55; Ibn Saʿd, III/2, 110–11; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 247. On the Anṣār see "Anṣār," *EI*², I, 514–15 (W. M. Watt); Hasson, "Contribution."

39. *Jidhʿ* means a palm trunk (conveying the notion of hardiness), whereas *jadhaʿ* means a strong young man.

40. See "ʿAḳaba," *EI*², I, 314 (W. M. Watt); Guillaume, 198–207; Kister, "Papyrus."

41. In the year 8/630 Mecca fell to the Muslims with hardly any resistance. It was then that most of the Quraysh, in particular the noble families, were converted to Islam. Shortly afterward the Thaqīf, the ruling tribe of the nearby town al-Ṭāʾif, organized a bedouin army, which was defeated by Muḥammad at a place called Ḥunayn. Muḥammad then laid siege to al-Ṭāʾif but had to withdraw without achieving any result. Shortly afterward, however, the Thaqīf joined Islam of their own volition. See Kennedy, 42–43; Guillaume, 540–61, 587–92; Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 65–73; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 319–73; Caetani, II, 105–79; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 36; Kister, "Ṭāʾif"; al-Wāqidī, 780–992; Ibn Hishām, IV, 31–129, 182–88; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 353–68; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1618–44, 1654–74.

42. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 57; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 401.

43. Descending into the grave of the deceased was apparently a pre-Islamic custom, at least in Medina. It was sometimes, but not regularly, practiced by the Prophet in person. Historians of Medina mention five such instances. See ʿUmar b. Shabbah, I, 121–24; al-Samhūdī, III, 897–99. The practice continued in early Islam;

ʿAṭiyyah referred when she said: "I washed one of the Prophet's daughters."[44]

According to Anas b. Mālik: When Umm Kulthūm was laid in her grave the Prophet said "Let no one who has become impure by approaching his wife tonight, descend into the grave"; he said: "Is there among you anyone who has not become impure by approaching his wife tonight?" Abū Ṭalḥah[45] said "I, O Messenger of God"; so the Prophet said "Descend," and Abū Ṭalḥah did so.

[The Year 11]
(March 29, 632–March 17, 633)

In the year 11/632, on 3 Ramaḍān/November 22, Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad [the Prophet], passed away, at the age of twenty-nine or so.[46]

Opinions differ as to the time of Fāṭimah's death. According to Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī,[47] she died three months after the
[2303] Prophet, whereas, according to Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith, it was eight months [after the Prophet].

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Maʿmar [b. Rāshid]—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī—ʿUrwah [b. al-Zubayr]—ʿĀʾishah [the Prophet's wife], and also Ibn Jurayj—al-Zuhrī—ʿUrwah: Fāṭimah died six months after the Prophet, and this is the sound [account], according to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]. She died on Monday the 3rd of Ramaḍān 11/November 22, 632.[48]

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see, e.g., Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 380, s.v. Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ; ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Taʾrīkh*, 96, 101. However, it is not included among Muḥammad's funerary practices as recorded by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, I, 139–46.

44. That is, in preparation for her burial. Umm ʿAṭiyyah, an Anṣārī woman, is connected with traditions about washing the dead and otherwise; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 476–77.

45. Zayd b. Sahl, an Anṣārī and a close Companion of the Prophet. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 566–67; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, IX, 134–41; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, II, 27–34.

46. See "Fāṭima," *EI*², II, 841–50 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); al-Amīn, II, 535–639; Ibn Saʿd, III/2, 11–20; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 60–61; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 402–5; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil*, 754–65; al-Suyūṭī, *Thughūr*; ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Taʾrīkh*, 84, 98; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1869.

47. That is, Muḥammad al-Bāqir; see pp. 229–30, below.

48. *Laylat al-thulathāʾ* is Monday because the Arabs count the days by the nights that precede them. According to Cattenoz, however, this date was a Sunday.

According to Jaʿfar [al-Ṣādiq] b. Muḥammad, her *kunyah* was Umm Abīhā.[49]

Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy.[50] Abū al-ʿĀṣ's name was Miqsam. His mother was Hālah bt. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy, and his maternal aunt was Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid, the Prophet's wife. The Prophet gave his daughter Zaynab to him in marriage before [the rise of] Islam, and she bore him ʿAlī and Umāmah. ʿAlī died in childhood, whereas Umāmah lived and was married to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib after the death of Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter.

Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ participated in the battle of Badr on the side of the unbelievers and was taken prisoner by ʿAbdallāh b. Jubayr b. al-Nuʿmān al-Anṣārī.[51] When the Meccans sent [a delegation to negotiate] the ransom of their prisoners, ʿAmr b. al-Rabīʿ, brother of Abū al-ʿĀṣ, came to ransom his brother.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah [b. al-Faḍl]—Muḥammad [Ibn Isḥāq]—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr—his father, ʿAbbād—ʿĀʾishah: When the Meccans sent [a delegation to negotiate] the ransom of their prisoners, Zaynab, the Prophet's daughter, sent valuables as a ransom for Abū al-ʿĀṣ. She sent a necklace that [her mother] Khadījah had given her before conducting her to Abū al-ʿĀṣ for the first time, to consum- [2304]
mate their marriage. When the Prophet saw it his heart softened toward her a great deal, and he said [to his followers] "If you think it appropriate to set the prisoner free on her behalf, and [also] to

49. Meaning "mother of her father," a unique *kunyah* the sense of which is by no means clear. Whenever it is mentioned it is not explained; the same applies to Fāṭimah's granddaughter and to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah's daughter, both called Umm Abīhā; see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, (Maḥmūdī) 271; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 251. This appellation is found in the context of the Nuṣayrī-ʿAlawi religion, where it refers to belief in reincarnation. Fāṭimah is believed to be the reincarnation of Āminah, the Prophet's mother, who is in turn the reincarnation of the Virgin Mary. As proof of this argument Fāṭimah's *kunyah*, Umm Abīhā, is adduced. See al-Ṭabarānī, "Majmūʿ al-aʿyād," 175. I owe this information to my colleague Meir Bar-Asher. Fāṭimah, however, is commonly compared by the Shīʿīs to the Virgin Mary without involving the doctrine of reincarnation or this strange *kunyah*.

50. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 56; al-Wāqidī, 553–55; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 233–34; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1346–49, 1350–52. See also the references in note 5. The clan's name is ʿAbd Shams, of the Quraysh.

51. A prominent Anṣārī who was killed in the battle of Uḥud; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 287.

return to her that which belongs to her, do so." They said "Yes, O Messenger of God!" So they set Abū al-ʿĀṣ free and returned to Zaynab that which belonged to her.

Abū-al-ʿĀṣ remained married to Zaynab, even though he was still a pagan.[52] Shortly before the *fatḥ*, that is, the conquest of Mecca,[53] he went to Syria [carrying] merchandise [for sale], as well as goods that the Quraysh delivered through him. After he finished his trade and was on his way back he came across one of the Prophet's raiding parties; according to another version, it was the Prophet himself who had sent the party [to raid] the caravan Abū al-ʿĀṣ was traveling with on its way back from Syria.[54] [The party] comprised 170 mounted raiders under the command of Zayd b. Ḥārithah. This occurred in Jumādā I, 6/October 627. The party appropriated goods and took some of the caravan's passengers prisoner, but Abū al-ʿĀṣ escaped, and they could not overtake him. The party returned [to Medina] with the booty, and Abū al-ʿĀṣ came at night and entered [the dwelling of] Zaynab, the Prophet's daughter, seeking her protection. She granted him protection for as long as he was occupied with retrieving his property.[55] In the morning the Prophet came out for the morning prayer. He uttered the formula "God is great" (*Allāh akbar*), and the people did the same; according to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah [b. al-Faḍl]—Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq—Yazīd b. Rūmān: Zaynab called out "O people, I have granted protection to Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ." On finishing the prayer the Prophet came before the people and said: "O people, did you hear what I heard?" They replied "Yes," whereupon he said: "By He Who holds Muḥammad's soul in His

52. Literally, the sentence reads "Abū al-ʿĀṣ remained with her, professing paganism [or, in spite of his paganism]," but as the story continues it becomes evident that Zaynab lived in Medina, whereas Abū al-ʿĀṣ lived in Mecca. They were separated until Abū al-ʿĀṣ was converted to Islam; see note 57.

53. The term *fatḥ* usually refers to the conquest of Mecca in the year 8/630. The original meaning may have been different, although still connected with the sanctuary in Mecca; see Hawting, "Ḥudaybiyya."

54. The raid of al-ʿĪṣ; see the references in note 50, above.

55. Literally, "in the matter of demanding his property." Granting protection, *jiwār*, was common in pre-Islamic times. Protection was sometimes granted against all hazards, at other times only against certain stipulated ones. See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 22–23; p. 116, below.

hands, I never knew about any of this until I heard of it [now], just as you did. [Know that] the lowest-ranking Muslim [is authorized] [2305] to grant [someone] protection from other Muslims."[56] The Prophet then retreated and went to see his daughter Zaynab. He said to her "O daughter, treat Abū al-ʿĀṣ well, but do not let him touch you, because you are not lawful to him."[57]

According to Ibn Isḥāq—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr: The Prophet sent [a message] to the raiding party that had looted Abū al-ʿĀṣ's property, saying: "You know this man's standing in relation to us; now you plundered property that belongs to him. If you act in a commendable way, you will return that which belongs to him, and this would be pleasing to us. However, if you refuse to do so [you will be excused], because it is booty imparted to you by God, and you are more entitled to it [than anyone else]." They said "O Messenger of God, of course we will return it to him." They returned Abū al-ʿĀṣ's property to him, to the point that someone would even come with a rope, another with a worn-out leather bag and a waterskin, yet another with a peg, until they returned to him all his property; nothing was missing. Abū al-ʿĀṣ then left for Mecca, where he handed every Qurashī proprietor, that is, those who had delivered goods through him, the property that belonged to them. Then he said "O people of Quraysh, has there remained with me any property belonging to any of you that you did not yet retrieve?" They said "No, may God reward you; indeed we found that you are faithful and noble." He said: "I testify that there is no god but Allāh and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger. I

56. That is, the Muslim community was legally responsible for the safety of anyone granted protection by any individual Muslim, regardless of the circumstances. This saying, here attributed to the Prophet (a *ḥadīth*), may have originated during the Muslim conquests after Muḥammad's death, as a solution to the problem of the treaties with enemies. For example, objections were raised when Khālid b. al-Walīd concluded a peace treaty with leaders of Damascus, because he was not commander-in-chief. Yet the commander-in-chief, Abū ʿUbaydah, ratified the treaty, saying "the lowest ranking Muslim. . . ." See al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 122. Note that Abū ʿUbaydah does not attribute the saying to the Prophet. See the discussion, e.g., in Abū Yūsūf, 61, 63 (where the example of Zaynab is mentioned), 68–69 (where protection granted by a slave is discussed). See also Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, VII, 689–90; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, V, 452; Ben Shemesh, III, 65–66; cf. al-Wāqidī, 793.

57. The Muslims had to divorce their pagan spouses; see note 59.

was prevented from embracing Islam while I was staying with Muḥammad only by the fear that you would think I [did so] merely to embezzle your property. Now that God has returned it to you and I am free from it, I become converted to Islam." Abū al-ʿĀṣ then departed and went to the Prophet.

According to Ibn Isḥāq—Dāʾūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn—ʿIkrimah, the client[58] of [ʿAbdallāh] Ibn ʿAbbās—Ibn ʿAbbās: The Prophet returned Zaynab [to her husband Abū al-ʿĀṣ] by force of their initial marriage, without renewing it, after six years [of separation].[59]

Abū al-ʿĀṣ returned to Mecca after embracing Islam and did not participate in any military [or other] event with the Prophet.[60]
[2306] He later moved to Medina, where he died in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 12/ February 634, during the caliphate of Abū Bakr. He appointed al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām as the executor of his will.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Maʿrūf b. Kharrabūdha: Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabīʿ went on a [business] trip to Syria; remembering his wife Zaynab, the Prophet's daughter, he recited the following verses:

I remembered Zaynab when passing through Iram,[61]
and I said: "Blessed be the man[62] who dwells by the holy place.

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58. A client, in Arabic *mawlā*, is a person linked to another in any of a number of legal ways called *walāʾ*; see "Mawlā," *EI*², VI, 874–82 (P. Crone).

59. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1347. According to others, Abū al-ʿĀṣ had to pay the bride price and marry Zaynab again; e.g., al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* I, 399. See the legal discussion in Abū Yūsuf, 100.

60. The term *mashhad* (pl. *mashāhid*), literally, "a scene," refers to battles, as well as to other events in the life of the Prophet (e.g., the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyyah). Participation with the Prophet in these events imparted great prestige to his followers and constituted their claim to fame, as well as to material benefits after the Prophet's death. A person's record is called *sābiqah*, i.e., "priority, privilege."

61. The text is vocalized *warrakat* in the third person (as also in Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 21), in order to make it conform to the meter. This vocalization seems impossible, however, because Iram is written with an *alif* at the end (*iramā*), which means that it is the object, not the subject of the verb. See al-Amīn, XXXIII, 214, who has *adraktu*, "I arrived at," for *warraktu*; the editor remarks that he does not understand the verse. See also al-Marzubānī, 332 (*jāwaztu* "I passed through"); Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXIX, 44 (*waradtu* "I reached"). Iram is explained here as another name for Damascus.

62. Literally, "May God grant rain unto the man. . . ."

May God reward the virtuous daughter of the reliable one![63]
That which a husband knows he will praise.

'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl—Abū Jahl's name was 'Amr—b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm.[64]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Mūsā b. 'Uqbah—Abū Ḥabībah, the client of al-Zubayr [b. al-'Awwām]—'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr: On the day of the conquest of Mecca 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl ran away to the Yemen, fearing that the Prophet would kill him.[65] His wife Umm Ḥakīm bt. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, who was a clever woman, had already become a follower of the Prophet. She went to the Prophet and said "My cousin[66] 'Ikrimah fled from you to the Yemen, fearing that you would kill him, so grant him protection." The Prophet said "I grant him the protection of God; whoever meets him must not harm him."[67] Umm Ḥakīm set out to look for 'Ikrimah and caught up with him somewhere on the coast of Tihāmah, already embarked on a boat. She started waving to him, saying: "O cousin, I come to you from the man who is the kindest [2307] toward his kin,[68] the most just and the most virtuous of all people. Do not ruin yourself [by fleeing], for I have asked him to grant you protection, and he did." 'Ikrimah said "Did you do that?" and she replied "Yes, I spoke with him, and he granted you protection." So 'Ikrimah went back with her. As he drew near Mecca the Prophet told his Companions "'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl will come to you as a

63. *Al-amīn* "the reliable one" was an epithet of the Prophet.

64. Ibn Sa'd, V, 329, VII/2 126; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 88, 100; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 20, 299; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 59; al-Rāzī, 147–48; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, IV, 577; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XX, 247. The Makhzūm was a leading clan among the Quraysh; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 141.

65. See a similar story told about Ṣafwān b. Umayyah; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1644–46.

66. 'Ikrimah and his wife were paternal first cousins; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 145.

67. Cf. al-Ḥalabī, III, 106–7; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 123–24.

68. *Awṣal al-nās*. Being kind to one's family, i.e., practicing *ṣilat al-raḥim*, was one of the highly appreciated social values in both the pre-Islamic and the Islamic periods. It is distinct from tribal group solidarity, *'aṣabiyyah*, which was condemned by Islam.

believer and an Emigrant;[69] do not curse his father,[70] for to curse the dead [only] harms the living and does not reach the dead." 'Ikrimah then arrived at the Prophet's door with his wife. She, however, preceded him, asked permission to see the Prophet, and went in. 'Umar informed the Prophet that 'Ikrimah had arrived, at which the Prophet rejoiced and jumped to his feet—he did not [even] have his cloak on—out of joy for 'Ikrimah's [arrival]. He said [to the woman] "Bring him in," whereupon 'Ikrimah came in and said "O Muḥammad,[71] this woman here informs me that you have granted me protection." The Prophet said "So you are protected." 'Ikrimah reported: At that point I said "I declare that there is no god but Allāh alone; He has no partner, and you are the servant of God and His messenger." I [also] said "You are the most just, truthful, and faithful of all people." I said this bowing my head because I felt ashamed before him. Then I said "O Messenger of God, forgive me all my enmity toward you and all the campaigns[72] in which I hastened [to participate] so as to support paganism." The Prophet said "O God, forgive 'Ikrimah all his enmity toward me and all the campaigns in which he hastened [to participate] in order to avert [others] from Your path." [Then] I said "O Messenger of God, instruct me with what you know is best, so that I shall know it." The Prophet replied "Declare that you testify that there is no god but Allāh and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger, and exert yourself in the path of God." 'Ikrimah then said[73] "By God, every sum of money I spent on averting [others] from the path of God I shall doubly reciprocate,

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69. The Emigrants, *Muhājirūn*, constituted the elite of the Muslim community, both during the Prophet's lifetime and afterward. In this class were included those who emigrated to Medina with the Prophet and afterward until the conquest of Mecca. In some instances bedouins who remained in their own territory but committed themselves to Islam were also included. The account of 'Ikrimah's conversion is an attempt to include the Quraysh, who were converted after the conquest of Mecca, in the Islamic elite. See also p. 115 and note 541, below.

70. That is, Abū Jahl, who had been a fervent opponent of the Muslims and was killed in the battle of Badr; see "Abū Djahl," *EI*², I, 115 (W. M. Watt).

71. Unbelievers addressed the Prophet by his name, whereas Muslims always said "O Messenger of God," as indeed 'Ikrimah does later in the story.

72. Or, undertakings, deeds; see *Glossarium*, s.v. *markab*.

73. The story reverts to the third person at this point.

[spending it] in the way of God." He later exerted himself in battle and was killed, becoming a *shahīd*, at the battle of Ajnādayn[74] during the caliphate of Abū Bakr.

In the year of his Pilgrimage[75] the Prophet appointed ʿIkrimah tax collector of the tribal confederation of Hawāzin.[76] ʿIkrimah was in Tabālah[77] when the Prophet died.

[Those Who Died in the Year 14]
(February 25, 635–February 13, 636)

Among those who died in the year 14 was Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf.[78] [2308]

Nawfal's *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥārith, after his son al-Ḥārith. It was reported that Nawfal was the eldest convert to Islam among the Banū Hāshim. He was older than his paternal uncles Ḥamzah[79] and al-ʿAbbās, older [too] than his brothers Rabīʿah, Abū Sufyān, and ʿAbd Shams,[80] sons of al-Ḥārith.

Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith was taken prisoner [by the Muslims] at Badr.

According to Ibn Saʿd[81]—ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Nawfalī—his father—his paternal uncle Isḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith—ʿAbdallāh b. al-

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74. A battle between the Muslims and a Byzantine force, usually said to have taken place between al-Ramlah and Bayt Jibrīn in Palestine in the year 13/634. Both the location and the date are, however, disputed; see Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 128–30.

75. Three months before his death, in 10/632, the Prophet performed a pilgrimage to Mecca. This occasion is called "the Farewell Pilgrimage" (*ḥajjat al-wadāʿ*).

76. The Hawāzin was a large tribal confederation, attached to the town of al-Ṭāʾif; see "Hawāzin," *EI*², III, 285–86 (W. M. Watt). As for tax collectors sent by the Prophet, there are various lists; see p. 83, below.

77. A place on the way to the Yemen, about 150 miles south of Mecca; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, I, 816–17.

78. Of the Prophet's clan, the Banū Hāshim. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 104; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 58.

79. An early convert who was killed in the battle of Uḥud; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 353–54.

80. The Prophet changed his name to ʿAbdallāh; see note 234, below. He is counted among the Companions; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣabah*, II, 292.

81. Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 31.

Ḥārith b. Nawfal: When Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith was taken prisoner at Badr the Prophet said to him "Ransom yourself, O Nawfal." The latter replied "I have nothing to pay as ransom, O Messenger of God," whereupon the Prophet said: "Ransom yourself with your lances, which [are stored] at Juddah."[82] Nawfal said "I testify that you are the messenger of God." He then ransomed himself with those lances, which numbered 1,000.

The Prophet established the bond of brotherhood (*mu'ākhāh*) between Nawfal and al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.[83] In pre-Islamic times the two were equal partners,[84] and they loved each other.

Nawfal took part in the conquest of Mecca, the battle of Ḥunayn, and the siege of al-Ṭā'if, on the Prophet's side. He stood firmly by the Prophet at Ḥunayn;[85] he had [also] supplied the Prophet with 3,000 lances for that battle, whereupon the Prophet said to him "O Abū al-Ḥārith, it is as if I look at your lances smashing the idolators' backbones."[86]

Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith died one year and three months after 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's accession to the caliphate.[87] 'Umar said the prayer over his bier and walked with [the mourners] to al-Baqī',[88] where Nawfal was buried.

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82. A town on the Red Sea shore; see "Djudda," *EI*², II, 571–72 (R. Hartmann [Phebe Ann Marr]).

83. After the Emigration to Medina Muḥammad instituted "brotherhood" (*mu'ākhāh*) between pairs of Muslims. Among other things such "brothers" inherited from one another. See Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 248–49. Guillaume, 234–35; Simon, "L'institution"; Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 71; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 270.

84. That is, their partnership included all their property (*shirkat al-mufāwaḍah*), as opposed to partnership in part of the property only (*shirkat al-'inān*).

85. This is worthy of note because at a certain point during this battle most of the Muslims defected, and it took a second offensive to gain victory. See al-Wāqidī, 897–907; p. 25, below.

86. *Ka-annī anẓuru ilā rimāḥika*. . . . This expression denotes foreknowledge of events and is often used as a literary device to anticipate later developments in the story. Here it also points to the prophetic powers of Muḥammad.

87. In the year 13/634.

88. Al-Baqī' was the first Islamic cemetery in Medina, instituted during the Prophet's lifetime. Most of the Companions, the members of the Prophet's family, and many Successors (*tābi'ūn*) were buried there. See "Baḳī' al-Gharḳad," *EI*², I, 957–58 (A. J. Wensinck [A. S. Bazmee Ansari]); 'Umar b. Shabbah, I, 86–133.

Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[89]

He was the Prophet's milk brother because Ḥalīmah[90] nursed him [too] for a few days.

Abū Sufyān had amicable [relations] with the Prophet. [However], when the Prophet was sent [on his divine mission] Abū Sufyān became his enemy and composed satirical poems against him and his Companions. He showed hatred toward the Prophet for twenty years, never remaining behind when the Quraysh set out to fight Muḥammad. When there was talk about the Prophet's going to Mecca in the Year of the Conquest (*fatḥ*), God put the belief in Islam in the heart of Abū Sufyān. He thus met the Prophet before the latter camped at al-Abwāʾ.[91] Abū Sufyān embraced Islam, together with his son Jaʿfar, and set out with the Prophet to participate in the conquest of Mecca and the battle of Ḥunayn. [2309]

Abū Sufyān related [the following]: When we met the enemy in battle at Ḥunayn I jumped off my horse, my sword unsheathed in my hand, while the Prophet was looking at me; God knows that I wished to die for him. Al-ʿAbbās then said "O Messenger of God, this is your [milk] brother and paternal cousin Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith, so regard him with favor." The Prophet said: "I do. May God forgive him all his enmity toward me." The Prophet then turned to me, saying "My brother, upon my life!" and I kissed his foot in the stirrup.

Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith died in Medina four months minus thirteen days after the death of his brother Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith. According to another report, he died in the year 20 (December 21, 640–December 9, 641). ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said the prayer over his bier, and he was buried in the corner of the court of ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib in al-Baqīʿ. He had dug a grave for himself three days before he died.

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89. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 361, 365, 477, 539, III (Dūrī), 296; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 44; Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 34–37; Ibn Qudāmah, 105–8.

90. Ḥalīmah was a bedouin woman who was hired as wet nurse for Muḥammad. See Guillaume, 70; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 274.

91. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 34. Al-Abwāʾ is a place on the road from Mecca to Medina. One of Muḥammad's first military expeditions was to this place; see "Abwāʾ," *EI*², I, 169 (W. M. Watt); al-Wāqidī, 11–12; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 34. The same place served the Quraysh as a campsite on their way to fight the Prophet at Badr (2/624); see al-Wāqidī, 145; Wellhausen, 80.

[Those Who Were Killed in the Year 16]
(February 2, 637–January 22, 638)

Among those who were killed in the year 16 was Saʿd b. ʿUbayd b. al-Nuʿmān b. Qays b. ʿAmr b. Zayd b. Umayyah b. Zayd.[92]

He was called Saʿd the Reciter.[93]

Saʿd's *kunyah* was Abū Zayd.

[2310] According to Anas b. Mālik, Saʿd was one of the six who collected the Qur'ān during the Prophet's lifetime.[94]

Saʿd took part in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, the Ditch, and all the [other] battles, on the Prophet's side. He was killed as a *shahīd* in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah[95] in the year 16/637, aged sixty-four.

That same year Māriyah, the mother of Ibrāhīm son of the Prophet, died.[96] ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said the prayer over her bier. Her grave is in al-Baqīʿ.

Those Who Died or Were Killed in the Year 23
(November 19, 643–November 6, 644)

Among them was ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Riyāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh b. Qurṭ b. Razāḥ b. ʿAdī b. Kaʿb.[97]

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92. An Anṣārī, father of ʿUmayr b. Saʿd, who was one of ʿUmar's governors in al-Kūfah. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 103; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 29.

93. That is, reciter or reader of the Qur'ān. See "Ḳur'ān," *EI²*, V, 426 (A. T. Welch); Ibn al-Jazarī.

94. There is a debate over the meaning of *jamaʿa al-qur'ān*, *jamaʿa* signifying both "to collect" and "to comprise, [to be in possession of] the whole of. . . ." Accordingly the phrase could mean "collected" or "memorized the whole of the Qur'ān." In the prevailing Muslim tradition it is maintained that the Qur'ān was collected by order of the third caliph, ʿUthmān, but there are also traditions that it had already been collected during the Prophet's lifetime. See Jeffery, 5–7; Burton; Wansbrough, chap. 1; Sharon, "Umayyads," 131, n. 37. In addition, there is confusion regarding the identity of Abū Zayd, who collected (or memorized) the Qur'ān. See p. 284, below; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 31.

95. Al-Qādisiyyah, in southwestern Iraq, was the site of a decisive victory by the Muslims over the Persians, probably in the year 16/637. See "Ḳādisiyya," *EI²*, IV, 384–87 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Kennedy, 67; Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 203–10 and passim; Kamāl; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2213–2361.

96. A Coptic concubine of the Prophet. The son she bore him died in infancy. Like ʿĀ'ishah, Muḥammad's most beloved wife, she was charged with and acquitted of adultery. See "Māriya," *EI²*, VI, 575 (F. Buhl); Caetani, II, 237–38; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 106; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 448–53.

97. The second caliph, of the Qurashī clan the Banū ʿAdī. See "ʿOmar ibn al-

'Umar's *kunyah* was Abū Ḥafṣ.

According to Ibn Sa'd[98]—Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd—his father—Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān—Ibn Shihāb [al-Zuhrī]: The possessors of the Scriptures (*ahl al-kitāb*)[99] were the first to give 'Umar the name Fārūq,[100] and the Muslims transmitted it from them; no report has reached us of any mention of this name by the Prophet.[101]

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī][102]—Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd—his father: 'Umar was stabbed on Wednesday, the 26th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 23/November 3, 644, and was buried on Sunday morning, the 1st of Muḥarram, 24/November 7, 644.

[Those Who Died in the Year 32]
(August 12, 652–August 1, 653)

Among them was al-Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf.[103]

He was a brother of 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith, who had fought a duel against 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah[104] at the battle of Badr.

Khaṭṭāb," *EI*[1], III, 982–84 (G. Levi Della Vida); Kennedy, 57–70; Ibn Sa'd, III, 190–274; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 126–27; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 22; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 244–448; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 23; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ta'rīkh*.

98. Ibn Sa'd, III/1, 193.

99. *Ahl al-kitāb*, literally "People of the Book," originally referred to Jews and Christians and later extended to include Zoroastrians. They all have a special legal status within the Muslim state and as such are termed *ahl al-dhimmah*. The latter term (and status) was sometimes applied to members of yet other religions, including non-Arab idolators. See "*Ahl al-kitāb*," *EI*[2], I, 264–66 (G. Vajda); "*Dhimma*," *EI*[2], II, 227–31 (C. Cahen); Fattal; Bat Ye'or; Friedmann, "Temple."

100. For the most recent discussion of 'Umar's surname al-Fārūq, see Bashear, "Title."

101. But see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2728–29, where this same report is preceded by another, in which it is related that it was the Prophet who gave 'Umar this name.

102. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 3726.

103. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 34; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 429; Ibn Sa'd, III/1, 35. The clan's name is the Banū al-Muṭṭalib, related to the Prophet's clan, the Banū Hāshim. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat* 72–74; al-Zubayrī, 92–97.

104. Duels were often fought in the course of battles, not necessarily deciding the final outcome. 'Utbah b. Rabī'ah, of the 'Abd Shams clan, was one of the Qurashī leaders who bitterly opposed the Prophet and, while Muḥammad was still in Mecca, attempted to find a way to end his preaching. He was eventually killed at Badr by the Muslims. See Guillaume, 118, 132–33, 191, 296–98; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 76.

Al-Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith took part in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, and all the [other] battles, on the Prophet's side.

He died in the year 32 at the age of seventy.

Al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf.[105]

He was a brother of ʿUbaydah and al-Ṭufayl, sons of al-Ḥārith.

[2311] He died that same year, a few months after his brother al-Ṭufayl.

Al-Ḥuṣayn had participated in Badr, Uḥud, and all the [other] battles on the Prophet's side.

Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf, the paternal uncle of the Prophet.[106]

His mother was Nutaylah, daughter of Janāb b. Kulayb b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Zayd Manāh b. ʿĀmir—also named al-Ḍaḥyān—b. Saʿd b. al-Khazraj b. Taymallāh b. al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ b. Hinb b. Afṣā b. Duʿmiyy b. Jadīlah b. Asad b. Rabīʿah b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān.[107]

Al-ʿAbbās' *kunyah* was Abū al-Faḍl [after] al-Faḍl, his eldest son.

It was reported that al-ʿAbbās was three years the Prophet's senior: The latter was born in the year of the Elephant,[108] whereas al-ʿAbbās was born three years before that.

Al-ʿAbbās participated in the conquest of Mecca, the battle of Ḥunayn, the siege of al-Ṭāʾif, and the expedition to Tabūk[109] on

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105. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 308; Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 36.

106. That is, the eponym of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty. Al-ʿAbbās was a late convert, and his descendants reshaped his biography in the process of legitimizing their rule. See "ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib," *EI*², I, 8–9 (W. M. Watt); Sharon, *Black Banners*, 35, 93–99 and passim; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 144; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil*, 915–49; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 27–28; Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 1–22; *Akhbār al-dawlah*, passim.

107. The meaningful names in this long chain are al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ, a tribe of the great Rabīʿah confederation, and ʿĀmir al-Ḍaḥyān, who was a powerful chief in his time. See Caskel, II, 22–23; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 300–2; "Rabīʿa and Muḍar," *EI*², VIII, 352–54 (H. Kindermann).

108. The Year of the Elephant was the year in which the Yemenī ruler Abrahah the Abyssinian attacked Mecca but was repelled with God's intervention. The event is recorded in Qur'ān 105 and in Arab histories. Traditionally the event is placed in the year A.D. 570, and so is Muḥammad's birth. Actually Abrahah's campaign took place in the 550s. See Kister, "Campaign"; Conrad, "Abraha."

109. A town on the northern frontier of Arabia. Muḥammad made a great campaign there in the year 9/631 but retreated after ten days because of discontent among his followers. See "Tabūk," *EI*¹, VII, 593–94 (F. Buhl); Guillaume,

the Prophet's side. At the head of his family, he stood firmly by the Prophet in the battle of Ḥunayn, while [other] people retreated, deserting the Prophet.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī][110]—Khālid b. al-Qāsim al-Bayāḍī—Shuʿbah, the client of Ibn ʿAbbās: Al-ʿAbbās' spine was straight, and he used to tell us that when ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[111] died his spine was [even] straighter than his.

Al-ʿAbbās died on Friday, 14 Rajab 32/February 19, 653, during the caliphate of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān,[112] at the age of eighty-eight. He was buried in al-Baqīʿ, in the burial ground of the Hāshim family.

It was reported that when al-ʿAbbās died his body was washed by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, together with ʿAbdallāh, ʿUbaydallāh, and Qutham, sons of al-ʿAbbās.[113]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī,[114] al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib died in the year 34 (July 22, 654–July 10, 655). ʿUthmān [b. ʿAffān] said the ritual prayer over his bier, and he was buried in al-Baqīʿ.

Those Who Died or Were Killed in the Year 33 (August 2, 653–July 21, 654) [2312]

Among them was al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr b. Thaʿlabah b. Mālik b. Rabīʿah b. Thumāmah b. Maṭrūd b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. Zuhayr—according to some, it is Saʿd b. Dahīr—b. Luʾayy b. Thaʿlabah b.

602–14; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 390–416; Caetani, II, 238–53; al-Wāqidī, 989–1025.

110. Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 20.

111. That is, al-ʿAbbās' father and the Prophet's grandfather.

112. The third caliph, who ruled in the years 23–35/644–56.

113. The body of the dead was washed by relatives or close friends. ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās both belonged to the Hāshim clan, and it is feasible that there were close ties between them. However, in view of the political rivalry between the descendants of ʿAlī (supported by the Shīʿah) and those al-ʿAbbās (the ʿAbbāsid dynasty), reports of the close ties between the two eponyms may be biased. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, chap. 4; Madelung, "Hāshimiyyāt"; compare the scene in which ʿAlī, al-ʿAbbās, the latter's two sons al-Faḍl and Qutham, and two others are depicted washing the dead body of the Prophet; Guillaume, 687–88. This story helped the Shīʿah to explain ʿAlī's failure to demand the caliphate that day.

114. Perhaps Muḥammad al-Bāqir is meant here; he provided other information about the family as well. See, e.g., p. 12, above.

Mālik b. al-Sharīd b. Ahwan b. Fās b. Duraym b. al-Qayn b. Ahwad b. Bahrā' b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'ah.[115]

Al-Miqdād's *kunyah* was Abū Ma'bad.

In pre-Islamic times al-Miqdād became an ally[116] of al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yāghūth, of the Zuhrah clan.[117] The latter adopted him, and so he was called al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, but when [God] revealed the Qur'ānic verse "Call them by their fathers' [names],"[118] he was [again] named al-Miqdād b. 'Amr.

According to Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī], al-Miqdād participated in the second emigration to Abyssinia. He [also] took part on the Prophet's side in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, the Ditch, and all the [other] battles. He was one of the famous archers among the Prophet's companions.

According to Ibn Sa'd[119]—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Mūsā b. Ya'qūb—his paternal aunt—her mother, Karīmah, daughter of al-Miqdād: She described her father to them saying: He was tall, brown, big-bellied, with a lot of hair on his head. He used to dye his beard yellow; it was of medium size, neither big nor small. [2313] He was wide-eyed, his eyebrows were knitted, and his nose was hooked.

[According to Karīmah]: Al-Miqdād died in al-Jurf, [a place] three miles away from Medina,[120] in the year 33. People carried

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115. The meaningful tribal name here is Bahrā', of the great Quḍā'ah confederation. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 441; "Bahrā'," *EI²*, I, 938 (C. E. Bosworth). On al-Miqdād, see "Miḳdād b. 'Amr," *EI²*, VII, 32–33 (G. H. A. Juynboll); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 16–17; idem, *Ta'rīkh*, 144; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 46; Ibn Sa'd, III/1, 114–16; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 204–5; Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 363–64.

116. An alliance, *ḥilf*, was a legal act by which an individual was admitted into a clan and accorded the same rights and obligations as the members of the clan. The clan was usually represented by one of its members (in this instance al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yāghūth). See "Ḥilf," *EI²*, III, 388–89 (E. Tyan); Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law*, 51–56. This sense of *ḥilf* should be distinguished from *ḥilf* in the sense of an alliance between two groups, concluded for the purpose of a common military enterprise.

117. An important clan of the Quraysh. See Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, 5–8 and passim; Caskel, II, 2–4. Al-Aswad was the Prophet's maternal cousin, yet he opposed Islam; see Mu'arrij b. 'Amr al-Sadūsī, 61.

118. Ibn Sa'd, III/1, 114; see also p. 9, above.

119. Ibn Sa'd, III/1, 115.

120. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 62. The place was apparently a base whence the Muslim armies set out for raids. See, e.g., al-Wāqidī, 1125; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1796 and passim.

his body on their shoulders to be buried in Medina, and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān said the ritual prayer over his bier. He was seventy years old or so when he died.

According to Ibn Sa'd[121]—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadī—'Amr b. Thābit—his father—Abū Fā'id: Al-Miqdād drank castor oil, then died.

[Those Who Were Killed in the Year 36]
(June 30, 656–June 18, 657)

Among those who were killed in the year 36 was al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy.[122]

Al-Zubayr was converted to Islam at an early stage; it is reported that he was the fourth or fifth convert.

According to Hishām b. 'Urwah [b. al-Zubayr]—his father: Al-Zubayr embraced Islam when he was sixteen years old. He never failed to participate in all the campaigns undertaken by the Prophet. He was fifty-odd years when he was killed.

Al-Zubayr emigrated to Abyssinia twice.

The Prophet established the bond of brotherhood (*mu'ākhāh*) between al-Zubayr and ['Abdallāh] b. Mas'ūd.

It was reported that al-Zubayr was neither tall nor short, light-bearded, dark-toned, and hairy.

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad][123]—'Abdallāh b. Maslamah b. Qa'nab—Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah: The inheritance left by al-Zubayr amounted to 40 million [dirhams].[124]

They [also] reported[125] that on the day of the battle of the Camel,[126] that is, Thursday the 10th of Jumādā II that year/

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121. Ibn Sa'd, III/1, 115.

122. One of Muḥammad's closest Companions, of the Qurashī clan Asad. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 161, 168; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 13; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 25–26; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 733–38; 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Ta'rīkh*, 114–15; Ibn Sa'd, III/1, 70–73.

123. Ibn Sa'd, III/1, 71.

124. Literally, "Al-Zubayr's inheritance was divided according to forty millions" (i.e., that amount was taken as the basis for dividing the inheritance). On al-Zubayr's legendary wealth, see Ibn al-Zubayr, 203.

125. This can refer either to the just-mentioned chain of authorities or to another, unspecified one.

126. In the year 36/656 al-Zubayr, his associate Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh (see be-

December 5, 656, after the battle had taken place, al-Zubayr rode his horse, named Dhū al-Khimār, and left for Medina. He was killed [on the way] in Wādī al-Sibāʿ and was buried there.[127] ʿUrwah [b. al-Zubayr] said: My father was killed in [the immediate aftermath of] the battle of the Camel, aged sixty-four.

[2314] Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murrah.[128]

His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad. His mother was al-Ṣaʿbah bt. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥaḍramī.

Ṭalḥah was killed, in [the immediate aftermath of] the battle of the Camel, by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

Ṭalḥah had a son named Muḥammad and surnamed al-Sajjād (the Worshipper). Ṭalḥah's *kunyah* was [Abū Muḥammad] after [this son]. He was killed with his father, Ṭalḥah, in the battle of the Camel.

Ṭalḥah was an early convert to Islam, [yet] he did not take part in the battle of Badr.

Those Who Died or Were Killed in the Year 37 (June 19, 657–June 8, 658)

Among them was ʿAmmār b. Yāsir[129] b. ʿĀmir b. Mālik b. Kinānah b. Qays b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Wadhīm b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAwf b. Ḥārithah b. ʿĀmir al-Akbar b. Yām b. ʿAns—that is, Zayd—b. Mālik b. Udad b. Zayd b. Yashjub b. ʿArīb b. Zayd b. Kahlān b.

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low), and the Prophet's widow ʿĀʾishah fought against the fourth caliph, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the casus belli being their request that ʿAlī punish the murderers of the third caliph, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. According to the prevailing versions, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr were not killed in battle but repented their move and retreated. They were nevertheless killed by ʿAlī's supporters. See Kennedy, 76; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 51–53; "Djamal," *EI*², II, 414–16 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Caetani, IX, 23–225; ʿArmūsh; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3111–3224.

127. A *wādī* on the way from southern Iraq to the Ḥijāz; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, III, 29.

128. A close Companion of the Prophet, of the Qurashī clan Taym. See "Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaidallāh," *EI*¹, VIII, 640–41 (G. Levi Della Vida); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 160, 165; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 18; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil*, 743–48; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 25; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 437; Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 152–61.

129. "ʿAmmār b. Yāsir," *EI*², I, 448 (H. Reckendorf); Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 176–89; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 173; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 21, 75, 189; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil*, 857–61; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 74; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 156–75, V, 48–52.

Saba' b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān. [The tribe] Banū Mālik b. Udad belong to Madhḥij.[130]

It was reported that Yāsir b. 'Āmir, the father[131] of 'Ammār b. Yāsir, and his two brothers al-Ḥārith and Mālik came from the Yemen to Mecca looking for a brother of theirs. Al-Ḥārith and Mālik returned to the Yemen, whereas Yāsir stayed in Mecca and entered into an alliance (*ḥilf*) with Abū Ḥudhayfah b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm.[132] Abū Ḥudhayfah gave a slave girl named Sumayyah bt. Khabbāṭ in marriage to Yāsir, and she bore him 'Ammār, who was freed by Abū Ḥudhayfah. Yāsir and 'Ammār stayed with Abū Ḥudhayfah until he died. Then God brought Islam [into the world], and Yāsir, Sumayyah, 'Ammār, and his brother 'Abdallāh b. Yāsir adhered to it. Yāsir [also] had a son older than 'Ammār and 'Abdallāh, Ḥurayth by name, who had been killed in pre-Islamic times by [people of the tribe of] Banū al-Dīl.[133] [2315]

After Yāsir's death Sumayyah was given in marriage to al-Azraq, a Byzantine slave of al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah al-Thaqafī.[134] Al-Azraq was one of the Ṭā'ifī slaves who went out to the Prophet during the siege of al-Ṭā'if, and the Prophet set them free; among them was [also] Abū Bakrah.[135]

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130. *Wa-banū mālik bn udad min madhḥij.* The text here is not accurate: the Banū Mālik b. Udad were not part of the Madhḥij but identical with it (the structure of the sentence does not allow interpretation of *min* as *mubayyinah*). Madhḥij was a toponym and also the name of a large, powerful tribal group of Yemenī origin. According to the Arab genealogists, the real name (and pedigree) of this group is Mālik b. Udad. See "Madhḥidj," *EI*², V, 953–54 (G. R. Smith [C. E. Bosworth]); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 397, 405. See also note 406, below.

131. The text has *rabā* instead of *abā*, obviously an error. The Cairo edition, 508, has a hypercorrection (*rabbā*, "raised"), whereas the Dār al-Fikr edition, 504, has *abā*.

132. A leader of the powerful Qurashī clan the Makhzūm, who died before Islam, so that not much is known about him. See al-Zubayrī, 300.

133. There are a few tribes by that name, all belonging to the confederation of Rabī'ah. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 295, 298.

134. A member of the tribe of Thaqīf, the people of the town al-Ṭā'if. He lived in pre-Islamic times, learned the craft of medicine in Persia, and was known as the Arab doctor of his time. See Hawting, "Development."

135. A son of the aforementioned al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah by a slave girl named Sumayyah (not identical with 'Ammār's mother). He was freed by the Prophet and became a well-known Companion. His offspring attained high positions in both learning and administration. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, IV, 23; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 334–35, for the confusion between Sumayyah the slave girl of Abū Ḥudhayfah and mother of 'Ammār and Sumayyah the slave girl of al-Ḥārith b. Kaladah and mother of Abū Bakrah and Salamah. Contrary to our text, Salamah b. al-Azraq was not the half-brother of 'Ammār).

Sumayyah bore al-Azraq [a son], Salamah b. al-Azraq, who was ʿAmmār's half-brother. Salamah's offspring later claimed that al-Azraq had been the son of ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shamir from Ghassān[136] and an ally (*ḥalīf*) of the Banū Umayyah.[137] [Indeed] al-Azraq and his offspring attained a high position in Mecca. They married into the Umayyad family and had children with them.

ʿAmmār's *kunyah* was Abū al-Yaqẓān.

According to all the biographers I have mentioned, ʿAmmār emigrated to Abyssinia in the second emigration.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar: The Prophet established the bond of brotherhood (*muʾākhāh*) between ʿAmmār b. Yāsir and Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar said: Ḥudhayfah did not take part in the battle of Badr, yet he was an early convert.[138]

[The biographers] all agree that ʿAmmār b. Yāsir participated in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, and the Ditch, and all the [other] events, on the Prophet's side.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ—his father—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn ʿUmar, who related the following: I saw ʿAmmār b. Yāsir during the battle of al-Yamāmah[139] [standing] high on a rock, shouting: "O Muslims, are you running away from
[2316] Paradise? I am ʿAmmār b. Yāsir; come over to me."[140] I was look-

136. Ghassān was an Arab kingdom in Syria dependent on Byzantium, on the southern border of which it was situated. Arab genealogists acknowledge the Ghassān as a tribal group, while admitting that its constituents were not the descendants of one and the same eponym. See "Ghassān," *EI*², II, 1020–21 (I. Shahîd); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 460, 472–74.

137. The family that produced the first dynasty in Islam (41–132/661–750) and had held the leading position in Mecca before and during the Prophet's lifetime. See Hawting, *First Dynasty*; Munajjid.

138. There were two Companions by that name. The one meant here was a man of bedouin origin, of the tribe of ʿAbs, whose father had come to Medina in pre-Islamic times and became an ally of the Awsī clan of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 317–18; p. 133, below. The brotherhood was established before the battle of Badr, so Ḥudhayfah's participation in it proves that he was an early convert.

139. In the year 13/633, against the Banū Ḥanīfah and their allies in al-Yamāmah (in the eastern part of the Arabian peninsula), led by their (false) prophet Musaylimah. This was part of the so-called apostasy wars (*riddah*), in Abū Bakr's time. See Shoufani, 83–84; Caetani, II, 723–62.

140. According to an ancient custom, a warrior cries out his own name in the course of battle, evoking his own and his ancestors' past heroic deeds, thus encour-

ing at his ear, which had been cut and was dangling, while he fought vehemently.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿUbaydah—his father—Lu'lu'ah, the client of Umm al-Ḥakam bt. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir: On the day ʿAmmār was killed, Hāshim b. ʿUtbah was carrying the flag;[141] ʿAlī's companions suffered great losses, until the time for the afternoon [prayer] came. When the sun began setting ʿAmmār moved behind Hāshim, advancing past him. ʿAmmār was holding [a vessel with] a mixture of milk and water and was awaiting sunset in order to break his fast. When the sun had set and he had drunk the mixture he said: "I heard the Prophet say 'Your last meal in this world will be a mixture of milk and water.'" He then went forward and fought until he was killed. He was ninety-four years old.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith—his father—ʿUmārah b. Khuzaymah b. Thābit: Khuzaymah b. Thābit [b. al-Fākih al-Anṣārī] was present at the battle of the Camel but never drew his sword. He was [also] present at the battle of Ṣiffīn, where he said: "I shall never stray from the right path, [as I will wait] until ʿAmmār is killed so that I can see who kills him, for I have heard the Prophet say 'The unjust party will kill [ʿAmmār].'" When ʿAmmār was killed Khuzaymah said "The wrong way is now clear to me." Then he went forward and fought until he was killed.

ʿAmmār's killer was Abū Ghādiyah of the Muzaynah tribe.[142] He stabbed him with a lance, and ʿAmmār fell. [ʿAmmār] was fighting [seated] in a litter that day; he was killed at the age of ninety-four. When he fell [as a result of Abū Ghādiyah's blow] [2317]

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aging his fellow tribesmen and intimidating the enemy. ʿAmmār here encourages the people also by reminding them that death in battle will earn them paradise.

141. The reference is to the battle of Ṣiffīn, in the year 37/657, between the fourth caliph, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and his opponent Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, who later founded the Umayyad dynasty. See Kennedy, 78–79; Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 75–112; Petersen, 186–96; Hinds, "Ṣiffīn"; Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 28; Caetani, IX, 429–541; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh* I, 3256–3349 (3317–22 on ʿAmmār). Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 118–19.

142. There were at least two persons by the name Abū Ghādiyah. According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 150–52, following many other scholars, the Abū Ghādiyah who killed ʿAmmār was not the one of the Muzaynah but the one of the tribe of Juhaynah. Both are counted among the Companions. Cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 339–42.

another man bent down over him and pierced his head. The two men started quarreling, each claiming "It was I who killed him," whereupon ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ said "Indeed, these two are contesting [the 'right' to enter] hell."[143] Muʿāwiyah heard this, and when the two men were gone he said to ʿAmr: "I never saw anything like what you did. These people fought with devotion for our cause, and you tell them 'You are contesting [the "right" to enter] hell?'" ʿAmr said: "By God, this is so and, by God, you do know this [too]. I wish I had died twenty years before this."

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar—Ibn Abī ʿAwn: ʿAmmār was killed when he was ninety-one years old; he had been born before the Prophet. [He was killed like this]: Three men approached him, namely, ʿUqbah b. ʿĀmir al-Juhanī, ʿUmar b. al-Ḥārith al-Khawlānī, and Sharīk b. Salamah al-Murādī.[144] They drew near him together while he was saying "By God, [even] if you beat us [so hard] that you make us reach the palm trees of Hajar,[145] we know that we are in the right and you in the wrong." All [three] of them pounced on him and killed him. Some people claim that ʿUqbah b. ʿĀmir killed him, whereas others hold that it was ʿUmar b. al-Ḥārith al-Khawlānī.

Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī] says: According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Abū Mikhnaf: ʿAmmār did not desist from urging on Hāshim b. ʿUtbah, who was carrying the flag, until he [announced a] charge. Then ʿAmmār got up, leading his squadron, and Dhū al-Kalāʿ rose up to him, leading his own squadron.[146] They fought

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143. Or, "These two will be quarreling nowhere but in hell." ʿAmr, who supported Muʿāwiyah, implies that Muʿāwiyah acted wrongfully and was bound to go to hell together with his supporters. See also Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 333, 341.

144. ʿUqbah b. ʿĀmir was a famous Companion credited with the transmission of many prophetic traditions, a poet who mastered the art of writing, and a Qur'ān reader who had a version of the holy book different from the canonical ʿUthmānī text (see note 94, above, but he is not recorded by Jeffery). He supported Muʿawiyah against ʿAlī and was later appointed governor of Egypt. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 489; al-Kindī, 35–36. The two other persons mentioned here are apparently much less well known; see Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, X, 306.

145. Oases situated in the eastern part of the Arabian peninsula, also known as al-Aḥsā' or Ḥasā; see "Ḥasā," *EI*², III, 237–38 (F. S. Vidal).

146. Cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 333. Dhū al-Kalāʿ, of the Yemenī people of Ḥimyar, was a powerful local king in the Yemen in pre-Islamic times. He was converted to Islam as late as the time of the second caliph, ʿUmar, and became one of the most powerful leaders of the Yemenī tribes in Syria. He supported Muʿāwiyah against

and were both killed, and both their squadrons were entirely [2318]
destroyed. Ḥuwayy al-Saksakī[147] and Abū Ghādiyah al-Muzanī [were the ones who] fell on ʿAmmār and killed him. [Later] Abū Ghādiyah was asked "How did you kill him?" He said "When our squadrons moved toward each other, he called out 'Is anyone prepared to fight a duel?'[148] A man of the Sakāsik came forward, they exchanged blows with their swords, and ʿAmmār killed the Saksakī. Then he called [again], 'Is anyone prepared to fight a duel?' A man of the Ḥimyar came forward, they exchanged blows with their swords, and ʿAmmār killed the Ḥimyarī, [but] the latter had weakened him. [Then] ʿAmmār called out [again]: 'Who is prepared to fight a duel?' I came forward, and we exchanged blows. His hand had already weakened, and I stooped and dealt him another blow, whereupon he fell, and I hit him with my sword until he died. People shouted 'You have killed Abū al-Yaqẓān; may God kill you.' I said 'Go away; I do not care who you were.'[149] I swear that I did not recognize him that day." Muḥammad b. al-Muntashir said to Abū Ghādiyah "O Abū al-Ghādiyah, on the day of Judgment your adversary will be *mārandar*," meaning "bulky."[150] Abū Ghādiyah laughed.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī ʿUbaydah b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār—his father—Lu'lu'ah, the client of Umm al-Ḥakam bt. ʿAmmār, who described ʿAmmār to them saying: He was brown-toned, tall, flabby, his eyes dark blue, his shoulders broad. He was not in the habit of dyeing his white hair.

ʿAlī and was killed in the battle of Ṣiffīn. See Hasson, *Recherches*, 167–70; Crone, *Slaves*, 95; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, passim. On Ḥimyar, see note 405, below.

147. Ḥuwayy seems famous mainly for killing ʿAmmār (but he is not mentioned by Naṣr b. Muzāḥim or by al-Ṭabarī in the story of ʿAmmār's death); see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 431–32; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 196. His son was one of the notables of Damascus; see Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XIX, 203. Ḥuwayy's clan, the Sakāsik, was part of the powerful Yemenī tribe of Kindah; see "Kinda," *EI*², V, 118–20 (A. F. L. Beeston). The Kindī branches that settled in Syria after the Muslim conquest were ardent supporters of Muʿāwiyah; see Hasson, *Recherches*, 112–15.

148. See note 104, above.

149. Apparently Abū Ghādiyah is addressing ʿAmmār, who is already dead.

150. Vocalized *māzundar* in Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 187; see also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 173. Although glossed by Arabic *ḍakhm*, "big, bulky," the meaning of this Persian word is by no means clear. De Goeje suggests "terrible, grave"; *Glossarium*, s.v. *mārandar*.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī], it was unanimously agreed [among the scholars] that ʿAmmār was killed [while fighting on
[2319] the side of] ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib at Ṣiffīn, in Ṣafar, 37/July 657. He was ninety-three years old and was buried at Ṣiffīn.

ʿAbdallāh b. Budayl b. Warqāʾ b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Rabīʿah b. Jurayy b. ʿĀmir b. Māzin b. ʿAdiyy b. ʿAmr b. Rabīʿah.[151]

ʿAbdallāh participated in the conquest of Mecca, the battle of Ḥunayn, and the expedition to Tabūk on the Prophet's side. He was killed in the battle of Ṣiffīn, [fighting] on the side of ʿAlī, the Commander of the Faithful.[152]

Khuzaymah b. Thābit b. al-Fākih b. Thaʿlabah b. Sāʿidah b. ʿĀmir b. Ghayyān b. ʿĀmir b. Khaṭmah b. Jusham b. Mālik b. al-Aws.[153]

[He was] the man of the two testimonies.[154]

Khuzaymah's *kunyah* was Abū ʿUmārah. He had two brothers, Waḥwaḥ and ʿAbdallāh.

Khuzaymah carried the banner of [his clan, the] Khaṭmah, on the day of the conquest of Mecca. He participated in the battle of Ṣiffīn on ʿAlī's side and was killed there, in the year 37.

Saʿd b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimmah b. ʿAmr b. ʿAtīk b. ʿAmr b. Mabdhūl—[whose real name was] ʿĀmir—b. Mālik b. al-Najjār.[155]

Saʿd was a Companion of the Prophet. He participated in [the

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151. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 135; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 177; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3289, 3297, 3299; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 141. The clan's name is Banū ʿAdī b. ʿAmr, of the Muḍar; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 239.

152. ʿAbdallāh was commander of the infantry; see Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 102, 111, 205, and passim.

153. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 83; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 77; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 170; Ibn Saʿd, IV/2, 90–92, IV, 33; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 363. Khuzaymah's clan was the Banū Khaṭmah, a part of the Aws (one of two tribes making up the Anṣār).

154. *Dhū al-shahādatayn*, so called because the Prophet highly estimated him and considered his testimony equal to that of two men; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 425–26.

155. The Banū al-Najjār was an important clan of the Khazraj (the other of the two tribes making up the Anṣār).

battle of] Ṣiffīn on the side of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and was killed there. He was the brother of Abū Juhaym b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimmah.[156]

Abū ʿAmrah, that is, Bashīr b. ʿAmr b. Miḥṣan b. ʿAmr b. ʿAtīk b. ʿAmr b. Mabdhūl.[157]

Abū ʿAmrah was the father of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿAmrah, who transmitted [traditions] from ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.

Abū ʿAmrah was killed in [the battle of] Ṣiffīn [while fighting] on ʿAlī's side.

Hāshim b. ʿUtbah b. Abī Waqqāṣ b. Uhayb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhrah.[158] [2320]

Hāshim embraced Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca. He is [the one known as] al-Mirqāl (the swift runner). He was one-eyed, as he had lost an eye at the battle of Yarmūk.[159]

Hāshim was a nephew of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

He fought on ʿAlī's side at Ṣiffīn, where he was in charge of the infantry. He is the one who said:

A one-eyed man [I am], who seeks a place for his kin,[160]
Who experienced life till he was wearied.
His enemies he must beat or else himself be beaten.

He was killed at Ṣiffīn.

Abū Faḍālah al-Anṣārī.[161]

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156. A minor Companion, who was credited with the transmission of certain important traditions; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 36.

157. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 294; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 105; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 187, 357–59; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 3270–71, 3290. He was of the Banū al-Najjār, of the Khazraj (Anṣār).

158. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 34; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 176–77; Ibn Qudāmah, 389–91; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, passim; al-Qummī, III, 156–57; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 3322–24. He belonged to the Qurashī clan the Banū Zuhrah and was known as a brave warrior.

159. One of the major battles of the Muslim conquest of Syria; see Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 133–36, 142; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2090–2121.

160. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2324; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 327, 355; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, III, 314.

161. Although said to have participated in the battle of Badr, he appears to be a rather obscure Companion; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 155 (full name not mentioned).

He was one of the participants in [the battle of] Badr. He was killed at Ṣiffīn, [fighting] on ʿAlī's side.

Sahl b. Ḥunayf b. Wāhib b. al-ʿUkaym b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Majdaʿah b. ʿAmr b. Ḥanash b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf.[162]

His *kunyah* was Abū Saʿd or, according to another version, Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Sahl's ancestor was ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, the one called Baḥzaj (calf of a wild cow).[163]

Sahl participated in [the battles of] Badr and Uḥud. At Uḥud he stood firmly by the Prophet while others retreated from him, and he pledged himself before the Prophet to fight to the death. That
[2321] day he shot arrows defending the Prophet, whereupon the latter said "Give arrows to Sahl, for he is easy [in spending them]."[164]

Sahl also participated in the [event of the] Ditch and all the [other] battles on the Prophet's side. He fought at Ṣiffīn on the side of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—Muḥammad b. Abī Umāmah b. Sahl—his father: Sahl b. Ḥunayf died in al-Kūfah in the year 38 (June 9, 658–May 28, 659); ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib said the ritual prayer over his bier.

Those Who Died or Were Killed in the Year 40 (May 17, 660–May 6, 661)

Among those who were killed that year was the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib—the latter's name was ʿAbd Manāf—b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy.[165]

ʿAlī's *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥasan.

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162. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 80; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 181; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 85; Ibn Saʿd, III/2, 39–41. The clan, ʿAwf b. ʿAmr, belonged to the Aws (Anṣār); see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 336.

163. There is some confusion in the genealogy of Sahl. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 372; idem, *Jamharat*, 630; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 336.

164. Ibn Saʿd, III/2, 40. There is a play on words here, as *sahl* means "easy." See also Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, II, 92; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 185.

165. The Prophet's paternal cousin and son-in-law and the fourth caliph (35–40/656–661. See "ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib," *EI*², I, 381–86; al-Amīn, III/1–3; Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 11–27; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 182–83; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4–5; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 24; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil*, 528–728.

It was reported that ʿAlī was struck on Thursday, 17th Ramaḍān/January 24, 661, and died on Saturday, the 19th of that month/January 26, 661.[166] The information about him is already recorded in our book *al-Mudhayyal.*

Isḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Farwah asked Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad [al-Bāqir] b. ʿAlī "What did ʿAlī look like?" He said "A man of dark-brown complexion and heavy eyes,[167] bald, big-bellied, and rather short."

Those Who Died in the Year 50 (January 29, 670–January 17, 671)

Among them was Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Riyāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh b. Qurṭ b. Razāḥ b. ʿAdī b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy.[168]

His *kunyah* was Abū al-Aʿwar.

Saʿīd's father, Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, had abandoned the religion of his people, the Quraysh.[169] He died while the Quraysh were building the Kaʿbah, five years before the Prophet was [first] inspired,[170] and it is related that the Prophet said "He will be resurrected as a community unto himself."[171]

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166. The dates do not correspond to the weekdays mentioned here. According to Cattenoz' tables, the 17th of Ramaḍān was a Sunday and the 19th a Tuesday. *Laylat al-jumʿah* and *laylat al-aḥad* are rendered as Thursday and Saturday because the Arabs count the days by the nights that precede them.

167. *Thaqīl al-ʿaynayn*, perhaps bulging eyes or drooping eyelids.

168. One of the earliest converts and a close Companion of the Prophet. See "Saʿīd b. Zaid," *EI*[1], VII, 66–67 (A. J. Wensinck); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 26; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 205; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 22; Ibn Qudāmah, 424–26. According to ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Taʾrīkh*, 122, he died in the year 46/666–67. The clan's name is Banū ʿAdī, of the Quraysh.

169. Much has been written about the pre-Islamic Arab monotheists, the *ḥanīfs*; the most recent study is Rubin's "*Ḥanīfiyya.*"

170. The precise date of this event is not known but is usually placed in about A.D. 610. See Conrad, "Abraha," especially 233–35; on the construction history of the Kaʿbah, see Rubin, "Kaʿba."

171. Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 277. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ*, II, 8–10: As the role of Muḥammad's community on Judgment Day is to testify that God's messengers indeed conveyed the messages, the argument here may be that Zayd's testimony will be equivalent to that of the whole community. It is usually the archmonotheist, the patriarch Abraham, who is referred to as *ummah*, interpreted as "leader" or "teacher of what is good"; see Qurʾān 16:120; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ*, XIV, 191–92.

[2322] Sa'īd b. Zayd had been converted to Islam before the Prophet entered the house of al-Arqam to preach from there.[172] He participated with the Prophet in [the battle of] Uḥud, the Ditch, and all the [other] events except [the battle of] Badr.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abd al-Malik b. Zayd, a descendant of Sa'īd b. Zayd—his father: Sa'īd b. Zayd died in al-'Aqīq,[173] and people carried him on their shoulders to Medina, where he was buried. Sa'd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ?][174] and ['Abdallāh] Ibn 'Umar descended into his grave.[175] He was seventy-odd years old when he died in the year 50 or 51/670–71 or 671–72. He had been exceptionally tall, of brown complexion, and hairy.

Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah b. Abī 'Āmir b. Mas'ūd b. Mu'attib b. Mālik b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. 'Awf b. Thaqīf—whose [real] name was Qasiyy—b. Munabbih b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. 'Ikrimah b. Khaṣafah b. Qays b. 'Aylān b. Muḍar b. Nizār.[176]

Al-Mughīrah's *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh, and he was called Mughīrah al-Ra'y (Mughīrah of the sound opinion), for he was very shrewd.

Al-Mughīrah went to the Prophet, embraced Islam, and stayed with him; thus al-Mughīrah took part in the minor pilgrimage (*'umrah*) of al-Ḥudaybiyyah in Dhū al-Qa'dah of the year 6/April 628.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī—his father—'Alī [b. Abī Ṭālib]: When al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah threw his signet ring into the Prophet's grave I said "Let it not be said by people that you descended into the Prophet's grave, and don't you [go around] telling people that your

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172. See p. 47, below.

173. The valley west of Medina; several eminent Qurashīs built castles there. See "'Aḳīḳ," *EI*², I, 336–37 (G. Rentz); 'Umar b. Shabbah, I, 146–52, 165–67; al-Samhūdī, III, 1039–71.

174. Note that a similar account ("died in al-'Aqīq and was carried to Medina") is given about Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ; see Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 26.

175. See note 43, above.

176. First governor of al-Kūfah for Mu'āwiyah. See "al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba," *EI*², VII, 347 (H. Lammens); Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 40; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 53, 131, 183; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 75; al-A'ẓamī, *Kuttāb*, 107–8. His tribe, the Thaqīf of the town al-Ṭā'if, played a leading role in the early Muslim state; see Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 78 and passim.

signet ring is in his grave."[177] So ʿAlī went down, for he had seen where the ring had fallen, picked it up, and gave it to al-Mughīrah.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. Abī Mūsā [2323]
al-Thaqafī—his father: Al-Mughīrah died in al-Kūfah in Shaʿbān, 50/September 670, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah, at the age of seventy. He had been an extremely tall man and one-eyed; it was [also] said that he had woolly, curled, chestnut-colored hair, in which he used to make four partings. He had a big head, contracting lips, broken front teeth, thick arms, and broad shoulders.

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[178]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar [b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar]—Umm Bakr bt. al-Miswar [b. Makhramah]: Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī was poisoned a few times [but] always escaped death until the last poisoning, of which he died because his liver had been destroyed [by it]. When he died the women of the Banū Hāshim wailed a [whole] month for him.[179]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar—Abū Jaʿfar [Muḥammad al-Bāqir?]: The people mourned seven days for al-Ḥasan, suspending [trade in] the markets.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿUbaydah bt. Nābil—ʿĀʾishah bt. Saʿd: The women of the Banū Hāshim put on mourning garments for a [whole] year, [lamenting] al-Ḥasan.

According to [al-Wāqidī]—Dāʾūd b. Sinān—Thaʿlabah b. Abī Mālik: We were in attendance of Ḥasan b. ʿAlī on the day he died, and we buried him in al-Baqīʿ. I saw al-Baqīʿ [so crowded with people that], if I had thrown a needle there, it would inevitably [2324]
have fallen on someone's head.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—Maslamah b.

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177. Ibn Saʿd, II/2, 77–78. Such sayings would have earned al-Mughīrah prestige. As he was a controversial figure, the point of the story is that such prestige was denied him.

178. ʿAlī's eldest son, the second imām of the Shīʿah. See "al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī", *EI*², III, 240–43 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); al-Amīn, IV, 3–109; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 194; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil*, 766–89; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 24–25; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Maḥmūdī), 5–74; ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, 119–20.

179. Cf. Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī, fol. 72a–b. Lamenting the dead (*nawḥ, niyāḥah*) was a pre-Islamic practice, banned in many sayings attributed to the Prophet. Shedding tears for them (*bukāʾ*) was, however, permitted; see "Niyāḥa," *EI*², VIII, 64–65 (T. Fahd); Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 96–108.

Muḥārib: Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī died on the 5th of Rabīʿ I 50/April 2, 670. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad says that, according to another version, he died in the year 51 (January 18, 671–January 7, 672) at the age of forty-six.

Those Who Died or Were Killed in the Year 52 (January 8, 672–December 26, 672)

Among them was Abū Ayyūb.[180]

His name was Khālid b. Zayd b. Kulayb b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAbd b. ʿAwf b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār.[181]

All [the biographers] are unanimous that he was one of the seventy Anṣār who swore allegiance to the Prophet on the night of the ʿAqabah meeting.

The Prophet established the bond of brotherhood (*muʾākhāh*) between Abū Ayyūb and Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr.[182]

Abū Ayyūb participated in [the battles of] Badr, Uḥud, and the Ditch and all the [other] events on the Prophet's side.

Abū Ayyūb died when Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah raided Constantinople during the caliphate of his father, Muʿāwiyah.[183] His grave is at the foot of the fortress in Constantinople, in the Byzantine territory. It was reported that the Greeks frequent his grave, renovate it, and pray there for rain in times of drought.[184]

Those Who Died or Were Killed in the Year 54 (December 16, 673–December 5, 674)

Among them was Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.[185]

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180. "Abū Ayyūb," *EI*², I, 108–9; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ *Taʾrīkh*, 197; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 89; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 49; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 242, III (Dūrī), 53; al-Aʿẓamī, *Kuttāb*, 33–34.

181. The clan's name is Banū al-Najjār, of the Khazraj (Anṣār).

182. An early convert, of the Qurashī clan the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, who was the Prophet's deputy in Medina before the Emigration; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 421–22.

183. In the year 49/669–70. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 86; al-Manbijī, 69 and n. 6. On Yazīd, who reigned after his father Muʿāwiyah, see Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 40–44 and passim; "Yazīd," *EI*¹, VIII, 1162–63 (H. Lammens).

184. Ibn Saʿd, III/2, 50.

185. A nephew of Khadījah, the Prophet's wife, of the Qurashī clan the Banū

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—al-Mundhir b. ʿAbdallāh—Mūsā b. ʿUqbah—Abū Ḥabībah, the client of al-Zubayr [b. al-ʿAwwām]—Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām: I was born thirteen years before the People of the Elephant came [to raid Mecca]; I was [already] a mature man[186] when ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib intended to sacrifice his son ʿAbdallāh, as his vow was due to be fulfilled;[187] this was five years before the Prophet was born.[188]

Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām participated in [the war] of the Fijār together with his father, Ḥizām b. Khuwaylid, who was killed in the second Fijār war.[189] [2325]

Ḥakīm's *kunyah* was Abū Khālid. He had [four] sons: ʿAbdallāh, Khālid, Yaḥyā, and Hishām; their mother was Zaynab bt. al-ʿAwwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.[190] According to another version, the mother of Hishām b. Ḥakīm was Mulaykah bt. Mālik b. Saʿd, of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Fihr.[191] All of Ḥakīm's sons joined the Prophet on the day of the conquest [of Mecca] and were counted among his Companions.

It was reported that Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām reached the age of 120. When Muʿāwiyah made the Pilgrimage [to Mecca] he passed by him. Afterward Muʿāwiyah sent Ḥakīm a pregnant she-camel so that he might drink her milk. That was after Muʿāwiyah had asked him what food he ate, whereupon Ḥakīm replied "As for chewing, there is none of that for me," so Muʿāwiyah sent him that pregnant she-camel. He also sent him a gift, which, however, Ḥakīm refused to accept, saying "After the Prophet died I took nothing

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Asad. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 31; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 211; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 13–14; Ibn Qudāmah, 270–72.

186. Literally, "I had brains"; see also note 108, above, on the Year of the Elephant.

187. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, grandfather of the Prophet, vowed that if he had ten grown-up sons he would sacrifice one of them to God. The lot fell to ʿAbdallāh, father of the Prophet, who was then ransomed with a hundred camels. See Ibn Hishām, I, 160–64; Guillaume, 66–68; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1073–78.

188. See p. 24, above.

189. A series of pre-Islamic battles between the Quraysh with their allies and several other tribal groups, see E. Landau-Tasseron, "Sinful Wars."

190. That is, they were nephews of the famous Companion al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām.

191. A Qurashī clan. Fihr is in fact considered as the real eponym of the tribe, Quraysh being a byname. See Caskel, II, 4; al-Zubayrī, 443–46; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 12, 176–78.

[from the government]. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar invited me to take my lawful share, but I refused to do so."[192]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Abī al-Zinād—his father: Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām was asked "What does wealth consist of, O Abū Khālid?" He replied "Having few dependents."

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām came to Medina, where he settled and built a house (*dār*).[193] He died in Medina in the year 54, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah, at the age of 120.

Makhramah b. Nawfal b. Uhayb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb.[194]

His mother was Ruqayqah bt. Abī Ṣayfiyy b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf.

Makhramah had [eight] sons: the eldest, Ṣafwān, after whom he was called [Abū Ṣafwān]; al-Miswar; al-Ṣalt al-Akbar, (the mother of Ṣafwān and the other two was ʿĀtikah bt. ʿAwf b. ʿAbd ʿAwf b. ʿAbd b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhrah, the sister of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. She was an Emigrant, and her mother was al-Shifāʾ bt. ʿAwf b. ʿAbd
[2326] b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhrah, who was also an Emigrant); al-Ṣalt al-Aṣghar; Ṣafwān al-Aṣghar; al-ʿAṭṭāf al-Akbar; al-ʿAṭṭāf al-Aṣghar; and Muḥammad.

Makhramah b. Nawfal embraced Islam on the conquest of Mecca. He was an expert on the genealogy and traditions of the Quraysh and had knowledge about the stones utilized as demarcations of the sanctuary [in Mecca] (*anṣāb al-ḥaram*). ʿUmar [b. al-Khaṭṭāb] used to send him, together with Saʿīd b. Yarbūʿ Abū Hūd, Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, and Azhar b. ʿAbd ʿAwf, to renew these demarcations of the sanctuary, because these [people] had knowledge of them.[195]

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192. Ḥakīm is referring to the pension awarded the Muslim veterans among others. On the system of the pensions instituted by ʿUmar (*dīwān*), see Puin; "ʿAṭā'," *EI*², I, 729–30 (Cl. Cahen); "Dīwān," ibid. II, 323–24 (A. A. Dūrī).

193. *Dār* may refer to a plot containing a courtyard and one or more buildings.

194. Of the Qurashī clan the Banū Zuhrah. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 58; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 211; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 15; Ibn Qudāmah, 291–92.

195. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 29–30 (the biography of the Qurashī Companion Azhar b. ʿAbd ʿAwf), II, 51–52 (the biography of the Qurashī Companion Saʿīd b. Yarbūʿ). The sacred territory in Mecca was demarcated with the help of stones,

Makhramah b. Nawfal lost his eyesight [some time] during the caliphate of ʿUthmān.

Makhramah b. Nawfal participated in the battle of Ḥunayn with the Prophet, who gave him fifty camels from the spoils. However, according to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī], ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar denied that Makhramah was given any of that [booty] and said that he never heard any of his family mention this.[196]

Makhramah died in Medina in the year 54/673–74, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah; he was 115 years old when he died.

Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Abī Qays b. ʿAbd Wadd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy.[197]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Maslamah al-Ashhalī—his father: Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā al-ʿĀmirī lived 120 years, sixty of them in the Jāhiliyyah and sixty in Islam.[198] When Marwān b. al-Ḥakam became governor of Medina for the first time Ḥuwayṭib came to see him, together with other senior leading [members of [2327]
the community], that is, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and Makhramah b. Nawfal. They all had a talk; then [the people] went home. After that Ḥuwayṭib came to see Marwān one day and talked with him. Marwān asked "How old are you?" Ḥuwayṭib told him, whereupon Marwān said "O old man, you were a late convert to Islam; even youngsters preceded you."[199] Ḥuwayṭib said: "God is the One whose help is sought. I had intended to be converted more than once, [and] every time your father forbade me and hindered me from doing so, saying: 'Will you debase your honor and leave

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believed to have been first put there by Abraham under the guidance of the angel Jibrīl; see al-Azraqī, I, 358–60.

196. The informant ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar was a descendant of Makhramah; see al-Wāqidī, 1, and index.

197. Ibn Saʿd, V, 335–36; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 211; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 27; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 60; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 362; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 468–69; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, V, 273–75. The ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy are a Qurashī clan. See Caskel, II, 3–4; al-Zubayrī, 412; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 12, 166–68.

198. Jāhiliyyah is the name given in the Muslim tradition to the pre-Islamic period. The name signifies both "ignorance" (of God) and "the state of being unbridled or unrestrained." See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 201–8. It can usually be translated simply as "pre-Islamic times," unless the text seems to make a point of the contradistinction Jāhiliyyah vs. Islam.

199. On the importance of precedence (*sābiqah*) see note 60, above.

the religion of your forefathers for a newly created religion, becoming a follower [of someone else]?'" Marwān, by God, held his tongue and regretted what he had said to him. Then Ḥuwayṭib said "Did not 'Uthmān [b. 'Affān] inform you of what he had endured from your father upon his conversion?" Marwān became [even] more upset, and Ḥuwayṭib said:

> Among the leading members of the Quraysh who remained faithful to the tribe's religion until the conquest of Mecca, no one was more averse than I to what he adhered to; but destiny [compelled me]. I participated in the battle of Badr on the side of the idolators, and I saw wonders;[200] I saw angels kill and take prisoners between heaven and earth, and I said [to myself] "This is a [divinely] protected man." I did not mention what I saw [to anyone]. Then we all retreated to Mecca; we stayed there, and the people of the Quraysh embraced Islam one after the other. When the event of al-Ḥudaybiyyah occurred I was there, and I witnessed the peace treaty; [moreover], I acted as a go-between until it was achieved. All this [time] I wanted to be converted to Islam, but God refused [to let anything happen] except what He willed. When we wrote the peace treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyyah I was one of the witnesses, and I said [to myself]: "The Quraysh will only be vexed by Muḥammad. I am pleased to have pushed him [away from Mecca] with the palms of my hands." When the Prophet came to Mecca for the minor pilgrimage of the consummation[201] I and Suhayl b. 'Amr[202] were among those who stayed in Mecca, in order to oust the Prophet in due time, that is, [after] three [days]. When the three [days] had elapsed I came with Suhayl b. 'Amr, and we said "Your stipu-
> [2328] lated time has elapsed, so get out of our territory." The

200. Literally, "examples" [from which a lesson should be learned], or "warnings."

201. *'Umrat al-qaḍiyyah*; in the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyyah the Quraysh agreed that the Prophet should enter Mecca for three days during the following year (i.e., 7/ May 11, 628–April 30, 629), in order to perform a minor pilgrimage. See Ibn Hishām, IV, 12–14; Guillaume, 530–31; Lings, 280–85.

202. An eminent Qurashī leader of the 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy clan, a late convert but a faithful Muslim. See al-Zubayrī, 417–19; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 93–94.

Prophet called out "O Bilāl, let no Muslim of those who had come with us remain in Mecca after the sun has set."[203]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar b. Maḥmūd—his father, and Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Mūsā b. ʿUqbah—al-Mundhir b. Jahm—Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā: When the Prophet entered Mecca in the year of the conquest (*fatḥ*) I was seized by a great fear. I left my house and scattered my children to safe places; then I reached the garden of ʿAwf and stayed there. Suddenly I saw Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī; he was a friend of mine, and friendship is always helpful. When I saw him I ran away, [but] he called "Abū Muḥammad!" I said "At your service." He asked "What is the matter with you?" I said "Fear." He said "You do not have to fear; [I grant] you protection in the name of God."[204] I walked back to him and greeted him, and he said "Go home." I said: "Is there a way home for me? By God, I do not think that I shall reach it alive before I am found and killed, or else my house will be broken into and I will be killed there. Besides, my children are [scattered] in various places." Abū Dharr said "Assemble your children in one place, and I shall bring you home." He brought me [home], then started calling at my door "Ḥuwayṭib has been granted protection, so he is not to be harassed." Abū Dharr then went to the Prophet and told him [all about it], whereupon the Prophet said "Didn't we grant everyone protection except those whom I ordered killed?" Then I was calmed, and I brought back my children. Abū Dharr came back to me and said: "O Abū Muḥammad, how much longer? Until when? [Others] preceded you to all the battlefields, and you missed a lot of advantages, [yet] there is still much good [to be had];[205] go to the Prophet and embrace Islam so that you will be safe.[206] [Know that] the Prophet

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203. The point of the story seems to be that the Prophet is a man who keeps his word. First, he complies with the demand to leave the town. Second, only those Muslims who had come with him for the *ʿumrah* are to leave. This is in agreement with the Ḥudaybiyyah treaty that forbade new Meccan converts to emigrate to Medina, except by permission of their patrons.

204. Literally, "you are protected by God's protection." See note 56, above.

205. See note 60, above.

206. *Aslim taslam.* In this particular context safety is not relevant because Ḥuwayṭib has already been granted protection. This, however, was a slogan often

is the most kind, forbearing, and generous of all people. His honor
[2329] is your honor, and his power is your power." I said "I shall go with you to him." So I went with him to the Prophet in al-Baṭḥāʿ.[207] Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were with him. I stood near him and asked Abū Dharr "What does one say to him by way of greeting?" He answered: ["One says]: 'Peace be with you, O Messenger of God, and God's mercy.'"[208] This I said, whereupon he replied "And peace be with you, O Ḥuwayṭib." I said "I testify that there is no god but Allāh and that you are God's messenger." The Prophet said "Praise be to God, Who led you to the right path." The Prophet was glad about my conversion. He asked for a loan from me, and I lent him 40,000 dirhams. Then I participated in [the battle of] Ḥunayn and [the siege of] al-Ṭāʾif with him, and he gave me 100 camels from the spoils of Ḥunayn.

According to Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]: Ḥuwayṭib later went to Medina and settled there. He had a house at al-Balāṭ, by the Qurʾān copyists' [quarter].[209]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Zinād—his father: Ḥuwayṭib sold his house in Mecca to Muʿāwiyah for 40,000 dinars. [People] said to him "O Abū Muḥammad, 40,000 dinars?!" He said "What are 40,000 dinars to a man who has five children?"[210] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Zinād said "By God, at that time he was among the recipients of the monthly [rations] of food."[211]

Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā died in Medina in the year 54/673–74, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah, at the age of 120.

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used by the Prophet when inviting tribal or foreign leaders to join Islam. See, e.g., Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmūʿat al-wathāʾiq*, 32, 35, 77, 81.

207. That is, Mecca; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, I, 662.

208. The pre-Islamic formal greetings were deliberately changed in Islam; see, e.g., al-Wāqidī, 964.

209. *ʿInda aṣḥāb al-maṣāḥif*. Al-Samʿānī, V, 308–9, equates the appellation Maṣāḥifī with *kāna yaktub al-maṣāḥif* ("he was a Qurʾān copyist") and with *ṣāḥib al-maṣāḥif*. I thank Dr. Estelle Whelan for this reference. Al-Balāṭ was the area around the Prophet's mosque in Medina, so called because it was paved with stones. See ʿUmar b. Shabbah, I, 16–17 (al-Balāṭ), 252–53 (Ḥuwayṭib's house); al-Samhūdī, II, 734–47 (Ḥuwayṭib's house in 743–44, 746).

210. Al-Zubayrī, 426.

211. *Qūt*. See Ibn al-Farrāʾ, 239; Abū ʿUbayd, 107.

Al-Arqam b. Abī al-Arqam b. Asad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm.[212]

Abū al-Arqam's name was ʿAbd Manāf, and al-Arqam's *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Hind b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān b. al-Arqam b. Abī al-Arqam al-Makhzūmī—his father—Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān b. ʿUthmān b. al-Arqam: [2330]
My grandfather ʿUthmān b. al-Arqam used to say "I am the son of the seventh [member] of the Muslim community, for my father was the seventh [person] to embrace Islam."

Al-Arqam's house was on the Ṣafā;[213] this was the house where the Prophet stayed in the beginning of Islam, calling upon the people to [believe in] Islam, and many people were converted to Islam there.[214]

Al-Arqam b. Abī al-Arqam participated in [the battles of] Badr, Uḥud, and the Ditch and all [the other] events on the Prophet's side.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Hind—his father: [When] al-Arqam b. Abī al-Arqam was dying he willed it that Saʿd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ] say the ritual prayer over his bier. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was [then] the governor of Medina for Muʿāwiyah, whereas Saʿd was staying at his castle in al-ʿAqīq. Al-Arqam died, and Saʿd demanded that [the funeral] be suspended [until his arrival]. Marwān said "Should [the burial] of a Companion of the Prophet be suspended on account of someone's absence?" Marwān thus wanted to say the ritual prayer, but ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Arqam, backed by the Banū Makhzūm, refused Marwān this, and a quarrel broke out between them.[215] Then Saʿd

212. An early convert of the Qurashī clan Makhzūm, whose leaders opposed the Prophet. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 57; Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 172–74; Ibn Qudāmah, 388–89; al-Aʿẓamī, *Kuttāb*, 44–45.

213. A hill in Mecca, opposite the Kaʿbah, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, III, 397. Certain rituals are performed between this hill and the Marwah during the pilgrimage.

214. Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 173. Our text, as well as Cairo, 519, and Dār al-Fikr, 515, have *wa-fī*, "in," instead of *wa-hiya al-dār*, "this was the house," evidently an error.

215. Performing the burial ritual was in fact the governor's task, as was the conducting of the Friday prayer. Political opposition was expressed by refusal to join the prayer under the governor's leadership, and perhaps the present incident had a similar political significance.

arrived and said the prayer over al-Arqam's bier. This was in Medina in the year 55 (December 6, 674–November 24, 675).

Al-Arqam died at the age of eighty-odd years.

Abū Maḥdhūrah.[216]

His name was Aws b. Miʿyar b. Lawdhān b. Rabīʿah b. ʿUwayj b. Saʿd b. Jumaḥ.

Abū Maḥdhūrah had a full brother by the name of Unays, who was killed as an infidel at Badr.

According to Ibn Saʿd[217]—someone who traced the pedigree of
[2331] Abū Maḥdhūrah: His name was Samurah b. ʿUmayr b. Lawdhān b. Wahb b. Saʿd b. Jumaḥ, and he had a full brother by the name of Aws.

Abū Mahdḥūrah fathered ʿAbd al-Malik and Ḥudayr.

He died in Mecca in the year 59 (October 23, 678–October 12, 679). He never emigrated but remained living in Mecca until his death.

Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[218]

Al-Ḥusayn was born at the beginning of Shaʿbān, 4/January 626; his *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Al-Ḥusayn fathered [several children].

(1) ʿAlī al-Akbar, who was killed with his father at al-Ṭaff.[219] His mother was Āminah bt. Abī Murrah b. ʿUrwah b. Masʿūd b. Muʿattib of the Thaqīf, and her mother was the daughter of Abū

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216. A member of the Qurashī clan the Banū Jumaḥ; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 159–63. Genealogists tend to confuse him with his brother. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 176; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 56–57; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 24; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 977; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 527, IVa, 183; Ibn Qudāmah, 461.

217. Ibn Saʿd, V, 332–33.

218. ʿAlī's second son and the third imām of the Shīʿah. See "Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī," *EI*², III, 607–15 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); al-Amīn, IV, 110–404; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Maḥmūdī), 142–210 and passim; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 221, 224, 226; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5, 230; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 25; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 766–88; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 227–390.

219. The reference is to the massacre at Karbalā' near al-Kūfah, al-Ṭaff being the designation of the district; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, III, 539. This is where al-Ḥusayn and many members of his family were killed by the Umayyad governor while trying to reach their supporters in al-Kūfah. See "Karbalā'," *EI*², IV, 637–39 (E. Honigmann); Kennedy, 89–90; see also the references in the preceding note and below.

Sufyān b. Ḥarb.[220] According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī], Ḥassān b. Thābit[221] composed [the following verses] about Āminah:

Around us the sun of daytime does wander.
Who has ever seen a sun wandering in the evening?
Among the Quraysh the best protector[222] is her mother's father.
And her uncles, they are the Thaqīf, if you inquire.

According to Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī], these verses are attributed to ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿah[223] and belong to his poetry. He recites the following:

Around us an evening sun does wander.
Who has ever seen a sun wandering in the evening?
Among the Quraysh the best protector is her mother's father,
and, if you trace her pedigree, her uncles are the Thaqīf.

(2) ʿAlī al-Aṣghar, to whom are traced all of al-Ḥusayn's descendants, whereas ʿAlī al-Akbar had no progeny. The mother of ʿAlī al-Aṣghar was a concubine. According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī], her name was Sulāfah, [but] Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī] says that, according to others, her name was Jaydā.

[ʿAlī al-Aṣghar] was a virtuous man and a leader.

(3) Jaʿfar, who had no progeny. [2332

(4) Fāṭimah, whose mother was Umm Isḥāq bt. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh.

[Umm Isḥāq] had been married to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. When he was about to die he enjoined [his brother] al-Ḥusayn to marry her, which he did, and she bore him Fāṭimah.

(5) ʿAbdallāh, who was killed together with his father.

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220. Abū Sufyān was one of the most important leaders of the Quraysh at the time of the Prophet and the father of Muʿāwiyah, founder of the Umayyad dynasty; see "Abū Sufyān," *EI*², I, 151 (W. M. Watt).

221. A Medinan pre-Islamic poet who embraced Islam and became the poet of the Prophet, serving the Islamic cause with his verses, see p. 72, below.

222. *Awfā qurayshin bi-dhimmatin*, i.e., among the Quraysh he is the most loyal where the granting of protection is concerned. Such a praise indicates not only his personal character but his high social status as well because effective protection could be granted only by influential people.

223. A famous love poet of the Umayyad period. See "Omar b. Abī Rabīʿa," *EI*¹, III, 979 (I. Kratschkowsky); al-Ṣafadī, XXII, 492–501; Jabbūr.

(6) Sukaynah, whose mother was al-Rabāb bt. Imri' al-Qays b. 'Adī b. Aws b. Jābir b. Ka'b b. 'Ulaym b. Hubal b. Kinānah b. Bakr b. 'Awf b. 'Udhrah b. Zaydallāt b. Rufaydah b. Thawr b. Kalb. Al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī composed [the following verses] about al-Rabāb and Sukaynah:

I swear that I love the house
where Sukaynah and al-Rabāb abide.
I love them both and shall my money spend.
My admonisher will have no words to chide.
Even if scolded I shall not comply,
never in my life, until in the earth I lie.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]—Ḥammād b. Salamah—Abū al-Muhazzam: We were at a funeral, and Abū Hurayrah was with us. When we returned al-Ḥusayn found difficulty in ascending the road. Abū Hurayrah started to shake the dust off al-Ḥusayn's feet with his garment. Al-Ḥusayn said "You, Abū Hurayrah, do that!" Abū Hurayrah replied "Let me be, for if people had known what I know about you they would have carried you on their shoulders."

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]—anonymous—Khālid b. Khidāsh: When the people of Fakhkh[224] were killed Ḥammad [b. Salamah] would not participate in teaching sessions[225] for about a month, and I saw that he was sad. Later he resumed teaching, [but
[2333] he was] in a poor state and for two or three months often shed tears; I heard him say "We love the descendants of 'Alī as much as we love Islam."[226]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Abū Ma'shar [Najīḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān]: Al-Ḥusayn was killed on the 10th of Muḥarram, [61/October 10, 680]. Al-Wāqidī says that this is the correct [version].

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224. That is, the Shī'ī rebels led by al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, in the year 169/785–86. See "Fakhkh," *EI*², II, 744–45 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); van Arendonck, 62–65; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 551–68. An edition of *Akhbār fakhkh* by the fourth-century author Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Rāzī is currently in preparation by Māhir Jarrār.

225. *Labitha . . . lā yajlis*, literally, "would not sit," apparently in an assembly; see "Madjlis," *EI*², V, 1031–33 (ed.). Because Ḥammād was a traditionist, it is logical that the reference here is to his teaching sessions.

226. Love of the 'Alid family is a major precept of the Shī'ī creed.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAṭāʾ b. Muslim—ʿĀṣim b. Abī al-Najūd—Zirr b. Ḥubaysh: The first head ever to have been put up on a spar was that of al-Ḥusayn.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—Ḥanash b. al-Ḥārith—an old man from [the tribe of] al-Nakhaʿ: Al-Ḥajjāj [b. Yūsuf][227] said: "Let those who did heroic deeds stand up." Some people stood up and told [their stories]. Then Sinān b. Anas got up and said: "I am the one who killed al-Ḥusayn."[228] Al-Ḥajjāj said "A brave act [it was indeed]!" Sinān then returned to his home and lost his speech and his mind. He used to eat and excrete on the spot.

[Those Who Died in the Year 64]
(August 30, 683–August 17, 684)

Among those who died in the year 64 was al-Miswar b. Makhramah b. Nawfal b. Uhayb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb.[229]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and his mother was ʿĀtikah bt. ʿAwf b. ʿAbd ʿAwf b. ʿAbd b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb, sister of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. She was counted among the Emigrants who gave the oath of allegiance to the Prophet.

Al-Miswar b. Makhramah was eight years old when the Prophet died.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar [b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar b. Makhramah]—Umm Bakr, daughter of al-Miswar b. Makhramah, and Abū ʿAwn: Al-Miswar was hit by a ballista stone that was fired at the Kaʿbah. [The stone] broke up,

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227. The powerful governor of al-Kūfah, nominated by ʿAbd al-Malik (reigned 65–86/685–705). See Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 58–71; "al-Ḥadjdjādj," *EI*², III, 39–43 (A. Dietrich).

228. Sinān b. Anas was a member of the Nakhaʿ tribe. For his role at Karbalāʾ, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 362, 366–67; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Maḥmūdī), 202–5. It is noteworthy that the most fervent supporter of al-Ḥusayn's father, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, was Mālik al-Ashtar, of the same tribe of southern origin (Nakhaʿ) but a different clan. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 415; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, index s.v. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 291–92, 294. For the role of al-Nakhaʿ in Kūfan politics, see Djaït, "Yamanites," 159–61, 166.

229. A member of the Qurashī clan the Banū Zuhrah. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 43; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 15; al-Zubayrī 264; ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, 125; Ibn Qudāmah, 292–93. See also his father's biography, p. 42, above.

and a chip hit al-Miswar's cheek while he was standing praying. This made him ill for a few days; then he died. [His death occurred] on the day when the news of Yazīd's death was announced in Mecca.[230] Ibn al-Zubayr had not [yet] declared himself caliph at that time [but demanded] that the ruler be elected by a council (*shūrā*).[231]

According to Muḥammad [Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. [2334] Ja'far—Abū 'Awn and Umm Bakr, daughter of al-Miswar: Al-Miswar died on the day Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah's death was announced [in Mecca], on the 1st of Rabī' II, [64/November 27, 683]. He was then sixty-two years old.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] says: Al-Miswar was born two years after the Emigration and died on the 1st of Rabī' II, 64/November 27, 683. I was informed that Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn held that al-Miswar b. Makhramah died in the year 73 (May 23, 692–May 12, 693), but this view is mistaken.[232]

Those Who Died in the Year 65 (August 18, 684–August 7, 685)

Among them was Sulaymān b. Ṣurad b. al-Jawn b. Abī al-Jawn—whose name was 'Abd al-'Uzzā—b. Munqidh b. Rabī'ah b. Aṣram b. Ḍabīs b. Ḥarām b. Ḥubshiyyah b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Rabī'ah b. Ḥārithah b. 'Amr Muzayqiyā b. 'Āmir Mā' al-Samā' b. Ḥārithah al-Ghiṭrīf b. Imri' al-Qays b. Tha'labah b. Māzin b. al-Azd.[233]

Sulaymān's *kunyah* was Abū Muṭarrif.

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230. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 426: here al-Miswar dies fighting. The occasion is the second *fitnah* ("civil war"), which lasted from 61–73/680–92. The events described here took place in the year 64/683. See Rotter; and also the biography of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr below.

231. The call for the appointment of caliphs by a council (rather than by inheritance or force) was often voiced in early Islam by those opposing the government, see Crone, "Meaning of the 'Abbāsid Call."

232. The mistake arises from the confusion between the two sieges on Mecca, in 64/683 and 73/692, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 420 (s.v. Miswar b. Makhramah). On Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, a traditionist and biographer (d. 233/847), see F. Sezgin, I, 106–7; Sayf.

233. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 81; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 258; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 107, 137. The clan's name is Ḥarām b. Ḥubshiyyah of the Khuzā'ah confederation, traced here to the southern tribe Azd and elsewhere (e.g., Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat* 237–38; see also Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 439, 456–60) to the northern confederation of Muḍar. See "Khuzā'a," *EI*², V, 76–80 (M. J. Kister).

Sulaymān was converted and became a Companion of the Prophet. His name had been Yasār, but the Prophet named him Sulaymān upon his conversion.[234]

[Sulaymān b. Ṣurad was a man of] noble demeanor and respected among his people. He was among the Muslims who settled in al-Kūfah.[235] He participated in [the battle of] Ṣiffīn on ʿAlī's side and was [later] one of those who wrote to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, asking him to come to al-Kūfah. When al-Ḥusayn did come, [however], Sulaymān failed to fight on his side.[236]

After al-Ḥusayn was killed regret came over Sulaymān, al-Musayyab b. Najabah al-Fazārī, and all those who had deserted al-Ḥusayn and failed to fight on his side. They said "There is no atonement for what we did unless we sacrifice ourselves while seeking to avenge al-Ḥusayn's blood." They [therefore] encamped at al-Nukhaylah[237] on the 1st of Rabīʿ II, 65/November 15, 684; appointed Sulaymān b. Ṣurad their leader; and set out for Syria [2335]
seeking to avenge the blood of al-Ḥusayn. They numbered 4,000 men[238] and were called "the Repenters" (*al-tawwābūn*); we have already recorded their story in our book entitled *al-Mudhayyal*.[239]

Sulaymān b. Ṣurad was killed in this episode by Yazīd b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr,[240] who shot an arrow at him and killed him; his head was carried off to [the caliph], Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, by Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhilī,[241] together with the head of al-Musayyab b. Najabah.

Sulaymān was ninety-three years old when he died.

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234. The Prophet often changed people's names if they contained references to an idol or were otherwise not pleasing. Yasār was a common name of slaves. See Kister, "Call Yourselves."

235. On the foundation of al-Kūfah during the period of the conquests, the most recent work is Djaït, *Al-Kūfa*.

236. That is, at Karbalāʾ. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Maḥmūdī), 149–53 (on the role of Sulaymān).

237. A place near al-Kūfah, where ʿAlī was encamped before setting out for the battle of Ṣiffīn. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3256, 3259; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, IV, 771.

238. A formulaic number; see Conrad, "Abraha."

239. See Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 51; idem, "The *Tawwābūn*"; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 204–13; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 497–513, 538–76.

240. Son of the Umayyad general al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr. See Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 48–49; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 210; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 128.

241. The first Muslim to be born in Ḥimṣ; he was a commander in the Umayyad army. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3305, II, 559, 564, 568; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 267–68; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar* IV, 230–32; al-Suyūṭī, *Wasāʾil*, 100; al-Ṣafadī, VIII, 330.

Those Who Died or Were Killed in the Year 68 (July 18, 687–July 5, 688)

Among them was ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy.[242]

His mother was Umm al-Faḍl Lubābah al-Kubrah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn, of the Banū Hilāl b. ʿĀmir.[243]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]: ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās fathered [several children].

(1) ʿAlī, the leader among [ʿAbdallāh's] offspring. He was born in the year 40/660–61 or, according to another version, in the year of [the battle of] the Camel, that is, 36/656–57. He was the handsomest and comeliest of the Quraysh on earth and the most [devoted to] prayer among them, so that he was named al-Sajjād (the one who prostrates himself habitually).[244] The caliphate was in the hands of his descendants.

(2) Al-ʿAbbās, ʿAbdallāh's eldest, after whom he was called [Abū al-ʿAbbās], (3) Muḥammad, (4) ʿUbaydallāh, (5) al-Faḍl, (6) Lubābah.

Their mother was Zarʿah bt. Mishraḥ b. Maʿdī-Karib b. Walīʿah; Mishraḥ was one of the four kings.[245]

Al-ʿAbbās, ʿUbaydallāh, al-Faḍl, and Muḥammad, sons of ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, had no offspring. As for Lubābah bt. ʿAbdallāh, she was married to ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib[246] and bore him [children], who [in their turn] had offspring.

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242. Cousin and Companion of the Prophet, considered as the greatest authority on Qur'ān interpretation. He was the ancestor of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty. See "ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās," *EI*², I, 40–41 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Jeffery, 193–94; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 82–84; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 28; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil*, 844–47; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 27–55; *Akhbār al-dawlah*, passim; Abū al-Naṣr.

243. That is, ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah, an important tribal confederation of northern origin. Some of its branches were closely related to the Quraysh in pre-Islamic times. See "ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa," *EI*², I, 441–42 (W. Caskel); Kister, "Mecca and Tamim," 132–34, 136–39, 157; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 272–92.

244. The Shīʿah reserve this honorary epithet for the fourth imām, ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, see al-Amīn, V, 409.

245. Traditions mention four kings of the tribe of Kindah who came to the Prophet and embraced Islam but apostatized after his death and were killed. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 428; al-Kalāʿī, 229; al-Ḥillī, 78–79; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 2004; Lecker, "Kinda."

246. An eminent member of the Ṭālibī family and the ancestor of the further progeny of that family. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 68; Ibn Qudāmah, 118; al-Zubayrī, 82.

(7) Asmā' bt. 'Abdallāh. She was married to 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās, to whom she bore Ḥasan and Ḥusayn;[247] her mother was a concubine. [2336]

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: The scholars in our midst agree that Ibn 'Abbās was born shortly before the Banū Hāshim came out of the ravine where they had been besieged.[248] This was three years before the Emigration. Ibn 'Abbās was thirteen years old when the Prophet died. This is proved by what he says in a tradition transmitted by Mālik [b. Anas]—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh [b. al-'Abbās]—'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās: I was riding a donkey during the Farewell Pilgrimage together with al-Faḍl, and I passed by the Prophet while he was praying. I was already nearing puberty at that time.

According to Dā'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ḍabbī—['Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh] Ibn Abī al-Zinād—his father and 'Abdallāh b. al-Faḍl b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith—the reliable source—Ḥassān b. Thābit: We, that is, the Anṣār, demanded [something] from 'Umar [b. al-Khaṭṭāb] or 'Uthmān [b. 'Affān]—Ibn Abī al-Zinād has doubts [about who it was]—so we brought along 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās together with several of the Prophet's Companions. Ibn 'Abbās spoke, and they spoke, and they mentioned the Anṣār and their merits (*manāqib*), but the ruler excused himself [and refused the request];[249] it was a major request we made. [The ruler] went on addressing them until they stood up and condoned [his position], except Ibn 'Abbās, who said "Nay, by God, the Anṣār cannot be forsaken [after] the help and shelter they gave [to the Prophet]." He mentioned their excellence and said "Here is the poet of the Prophet, who defended him [with his poetry]." 'Abdallāh did not cease from addressing [the ruler] with impressive speech, refuting

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247. *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 118. I could find hardly any detail on this 'Abdallāh, except that he transmitted traditions. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 267; Ibn Qudāmah, 161; al-Zubayrī, 29.

248. As part of their struggle against the Prophet, the Quraysh are said to have proclaimed a boycott of the Prophet's relatives, i.e., the clans of the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib. See Ibn Hishām, I, 375–80, II, 14–21; Guillaume, 159–61, 172–75.

249. The enumeration of the merits (*manāqib*) of a group or an individual was a common practice among the Muslims, inherited from pre-Islamic times; see Goldziher *Muslim Studies*, I, 45–46. There was emphasis on the merits of the Anṣār in particular, precisely because in practice they were gradually deprived of political power; see Hasson, "Contribution."

all his arguments, until he had no alternative but to comply with our demand. So we departed, our demand carried out with the help of [ʿAbdallāh's] words. I then passed by the mosque, by the people who had been together with [Ibn ʿAbbās] but had not achieved what he had; I said so that they would hear "Indeed, he was the most worthy of you to achieve this." They said "No doubt." I said, referring to ʿAbdallāh "By God, this is the vestige of prophethood and the legacy of Aḥmad,[250] and he was the most worthy of it
[2337] among you."[251] And I said, referring to ʿAbdallāh:[252]

When he speaks he leaves no words for others;
his are not disjointed but carefully chosen words.
Adequate he is, fulfilling the hearts' desires,
leaving the guileful speechless, both in earnest and in jest.
The highest [merit] you attained easily;
the highest peak you gained, being neither base nor lowly.

According to Khālid b. al-Qāsim al-Bayāḍī—Shuʿbah, [the client of Ibn ʿAbbās]—Ibn ʿAbbās: I was born three years before the Emigration, while we were in the ravine [boycotted], and I was thirteen years old when the Prophet died.

Ibn ʿAbbās died in the year 68 at the age of seventy-one.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. ʿUqbah and Muḥammad b. Rifāʿah b. Thaʿlabah b. Abī Mālik—Shʿubah, the client of Ibn ʿAbbās: ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās died in al-Ṭāʾif in the year 68 at the age of seventy-two.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā—Abū Salamah al-Ḥaḍramī: I saw the grave of Ibn ʿAbbās, and [Muḥammad] Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah was tending it;[253] he ordered that the top of the grave be made flat.[254]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—Ḥafṣ b. Maymūn [b. Mihrān]—his father: ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās died in al-Ṭāʾif.

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250. That is, the Prophet, see Qur'ān, 61:6.
251. The story alludes to the 'Abbasids' right to the caliphate.
252. Ḥassān b. Thābit, I, 331–32.
253. See note 113, above.
254. On the interdiction to elevate graves and to build over them, see Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, I, 146. A construction was, however, built over Ibn 'Abbās' grave at a much later date; see al-'Ujaymī, 66–67.

A white bird came and entered the bier.[255] When he was laid in the grave we heard a voice reciting "O confident soul, go back to your Lord pleased and pleasing."[256]

According to anonymous source(s)—'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]: 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās died at the age of seventy-four. [2338]

Those Who Died or Were Killed in the Year 74 (May 13, 693–May 1, 694)

Among them was Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī.[257]

His name was Sa'd b. Mālik b. Sinān b. Tha'labah b. 'Ubayd b. al-Abjar—whose name was Khudrah—b. 'Awf b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.[258]

Some [scholars] claim that Khudrah was the mother of al-Abjar.

Qatādah b. al-Nu'mān al-Ẓafarī of the People of Badr[259] was Abū Sa'īd's half-brother by his mother.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. 'Uthmān—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān—Ibn Muḥayrīz [al-Jumaḥī] and Abū Ṣirmah—Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī: I joined the Prophet on the raid of Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. According to Ibn 'Umar: He was then fifteen years old. He also participated in the [siege of the] Ditch and the events (*mashāhid*) that occurred afterward.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Sa'īd b. Abī Zayd—Rubayḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Sa'īd—his father—Abū Sa'īd: I was presented before the Prophet on the day of the battle of Uḥud; I was thirteen years old. My father took me by the hand and said "O Messenger of God, he is large-boned, even if short." The Prophet examined me closely from head to foot and said "Send him back"; so he sent him back.[260]

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255. The text has *bayna al-na'sh wa-al-sarīr*, both words signifying "bier." Cf. in al-'Ujaymī, 65 (where the bird enters inside the shrouds); Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 75; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, III, 358; al-Ṣafadī, XVII, 234.

256. Qur'ān, 89:27.

257. An eminent Anṣārī. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 30; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 268; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 96.

258. The clan's name is Banū Khudrah, of the Khazraj (Anṣār); see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 472.

259. That is, those who had participated in the battle of Badr. See note 60, above.

260. The account revolves around a point of law, i.e., the age of legal majority in Islam. See "Bāligh," *EI*², I, 993 (ed.); Conrad, "Abraha," n. 94.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUqbah—Iyās b. Salamah b. al-Akwaʿ: Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī died in the year 74.

Those Who Died in the Year 78 (March 30, 697–March 19, 698)

[2339] Among them was Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām b. Thaʿlabah b. Ḥarām b. Kaʿb b. Ghanm b. Kaʿb b. Salimah b. Saʿd b. ʿAlī b. Asad b. Sāridah b. Tazīd b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj.[261]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

[Jābir] was present at [the meeting in] al-ʿAqabah among the seventy Anṣār who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance there. He was one of the youngest among them. [Later] he wanted to take part in the battle of Badr, but his father ordered him to stay behind to keep watch on his sisters, who numbered nine. His father also left him behind when he went out for [the battle of] Uḥud. [Jābir] participated in the subsequent events.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar—his father: I asked Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh how many raids the Prophet had launched, and he said: "The Prophet had personally launched twenty-seven raids, and I participated in sixteen of them with him. I could not go with a raid until my father was killed at Uḥud, [because] he always left me behind to keep watch on my sisters, who numbered nine. The first raid in which I took part at [the Prophet's] side was Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad,[262] [then the rest] to the last of his raids."

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Khārijah b. al-Ḥārith: Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh died in the year 78 at the age of ninety-four after having lost his sight. I saw a striped cloth on his bier.

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261. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 248; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 261; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 102; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 30. The name of Jābir's clan is Banū Salimah of the Khazraj (Anṣār); see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 358.

262. On the day after the defeat at Uḥud, in Shawwāl 3/625. See al-Wāqidī, 334–40; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 149–51. Cf. Ibn Hishām, III, 108, 110–11; Guillaume, 390–91.

Abān b. ʿUthmān,[263] who was the governor of Medina, said the ritual prayer over his bier.

Those Who Died or Were Killed in the Year 80 (March 9, 699–February 25, 700)

Among them was ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[264]

His *kunyah* was Abū Jaʿfar, and his mother was Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar died in Medina in the Year of the Juḥāf (sweeping), that is, the torrent that occurred in the interior of Mecca and swept away pilgrims and camels together with their loads.[265] Abān b. ʿUthmān, who ruled as governor of Medina on behalf of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, said the ritual prayer over his bier. He was ninety years old when he died.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]: ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar died in the year 84 (January 24, 703–January 13, 704) or 85 (January 14, 704–January 1, 705).[266] [2340]

ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Makhzūm.[267]

His *kunyah* was Abū Saʿīd.

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263. Son of the third caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, of the Umayyad family. He served as governor of Medina for ʿAbd al-Malik (65–86/685–705) but was dismissed after seven years. He is considered an important authority on prophetic tradition and the Prophet's campaigns. See "Abān b. ʿUthmān," *EI*², I, 2–3 (K. V. Zetterstéen); Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 24–25.

264. Of the Prophet's clan, Hāshim; see the genealogical table. See also "ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar," *EI*², I, 44 (K. V. Zetterstéen); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 27; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 279; Ibn Qudāmah, 116–18. See his father's biography, pp. 4–5, above.

265. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 1040.

266. The text is garbled here (*sanat arbaʿ aw khams wa-thamānīn sanah*). Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 289. Note that from this point onward no chronological order is maintained in the *Dhayl*.

267. Of the Qurashī clan Banū Makhzūm. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 79; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 276; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 20; Ibn Qudāmah, 388. On his political role in Umayyad times, see also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVa, 213–15, 221–22, V, 351–52.

ʿAmr was twelve years old when the Prophet died. According to Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth died in al-Kūfah in the year 85/704, during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān.

ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[268]

He was one of those who were taken prisoner in the battle of Badr, and, as he had no money, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib ransomed him.

According to Ibn Saʿd[269]—ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Nawfalī—his father—his paternal uncle Isḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith: Al-ʿAbbās ransomed himself and his nephew ʿAqīl for eighty ounces of gold or, according to another version, for a thousand dinars.

According to Ibn Saʿd[270]—ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā—Abān b. ʿUthmān—Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAmmār al-Duhnī—Abū ʿAbdallāh Jaʿfar [al-Ṣādiq] b. Muḥammad: On the day of [the battle of] Badr the Prophet said "Go and have a look who of my family, the Banū Hāshim, is here."[271] ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib went and saw al-ʿAbbās [b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib], Nawfal [b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib], and ʿAqīl. ʿAlī withdrew, and ʿAqīl called out to him "O son of Umm ʿAlī, by God you have seen us." So ʿAlī went to the Prophet and told him that he saw al-ʿAbbās, Nawfal, and ʿAqīl. The Prophet drew near until he stood very close to ʿAqīl and said "O Abū Yazīd, Abū Jahl has been killed." ʿAqīl said: "In that case, no one will contest you [for authority] in Tihāmah.[272] If your [words] take effect on the people, [fine]; if not, dominate them [by force]."

According to Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī], there is a report saying that ʿAqīl returned to Mecca and stayed there. Later, at the beginning
[2341] of the year 8/629, he went to the Prophet as an Emigrant and took part in the expedition of Mu'tah. He then returned and became ill,

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268. The Prophet's paternal cousin, brother of ʿAlī. See "ʿAḳīl b. Abī Ṭālib," *EI*², I, 337 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 27; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 301, 365, III (Dūrī), 296; Ibn Qudāmah, 112.

269. Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 29.

270. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 29; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, I, 218–19.

271. That is, among the prisoners.

272. The strip of land along the west and south coasts of Arabia, see "Tihāma," *EI*¹, VIII, 763–65 (A. Grohmann).

so he is not mentioned [among the participants] in the conquest of Mecca, [the siege] of al-Ṭā'if, and [the battle of] Ḥunayn.

It was reported that ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib died after having lost his sight, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah.

Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf.[273]

He is the one about whom the Prophet said, on the day of the conquest of Mecca: "I say, every [open case of] blood revenge and every privilege of the Jāhiliyyah are hereby rendered null and void.[274] The first case of blood revenge that I thus declare annulled is that of Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith." The Prophet said: "The first case of blood revenge that I declare annulled is that of Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith," even though Rabīʿah was alive only because there was a vendetta Rabīʿah was entitled to seek in pre-Islamic times.[275] [The story is as follows]: A small child of Rabīʿah was given to a wet nurse from the Banū Layth b. Bakr,[276] who were in a state of war with the Hudhayl.[277] This son of Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith, who was a small child, crept out in front of the tents, and the Hudhayl threw a rock at him, which hit him and crushed his head. The advent of Islam occurred before Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith could avenge his son's blood, and the Prophet declared annulled [the obligation] to seek vengeance for that blood and did not let Rabīʿah approach his son's assassin.[278] This is what is meant by the Prophet's annulling the revenge for his blood: It means that he invalidated Rabīʿah's right to seek vengeance for it because it was one of the pre-Islamic vendetta cases, rendered void by Islam.[279]

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273. A cousin of the Prophet. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 57; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 127; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5–6; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 70; Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 32–33; Ibn Qudāmah, 103.

274. Literally, "are under these two feet of mine."

275. Seeking blood revenge was both an obligation and a right, ending only with the seeker's death.

276. A clan of the northern tribe of Kinānah whose territories lay in the vicinity of Mecca. See "Kināna," *EI*², V, 116 (W. M. Watt); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 180.

277. A northern tribe, in the vicinity of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if. See "Hudhayl," *EI*², III, 540–41 (G. Rentz); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 196–98.

278. Or "did not enable Rabīʿah to take action against his son's assassin." See also Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 70.

279. Islam modified the pre-Islamic law of vengeance; see Coulson, 18.

As for the slain son of Rabīʿah, there is disagreement over his name. According to Ibn ʿUmar it was Ādam b. Rabīʿah, whereas others say that it was Tammām b. Rabīʿah and yet others hold that it was Iyās b. Rabīʿah.

All [the scholars] agree that Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith was [several] years older than his paternal uncle al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

[2342] It was reported that Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith did not take part in [the battle of] Badr with the idolators [because] he was away [on a trip to] Syria. Later, during the period of the Ditch, he went to the Prophet as an Emigrant. He participated in [the battle of] Ḥunayn on the Prophet's side and was among those of the Prophet's family and Companions who persevered [with the fighting].[280]

Rabīʿah died after his brothers Nawfal and Abū Sufyān, during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf.[281]

His name was previously ʿAbd Shams, and when he was converted the Prophet called him ʿAbdallāh.[282]

[ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith] left Mecca before the conquest (*fatḥ*) and went to the Prophet as an Emigrant. He accompanied the Prophet on one of his raids and died in Ṣafrāʾ.[283] The Prophet buried him in his gown, that is, the Prophet's gown, and said about him: "He is happy; [the ultimate] happiness overtook him."[284]

Jaʿfar b. Abī Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[285]

He was one of those Companions who persevered [with the fighting] on the Prophet's side at the battle of Ḥunayn.

Jaʿfar and his father remained with the Prophet until the latter's death.

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280. See p. 25, above.
281. Brother of Rabīʿah of the preceding biography, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 292.
282. See note 234, above.
283. A place near Badr, see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, IV, 465.
284. *Saʿādah*, "happiness," refers to the attaining of Paradise. See also note 7, above.
285. He belonged to the Prophet's clan, Hāshim, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 296–97.

Ja'far died in the middle of the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah, may God damn him.[286]

Al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[287]

Al-Ḥārith was [already] mature in the Prophet's lifetime.

He became a Companion on the conversion of his father.[288] His son 'Abdallāh was born during the Prophet's lifetime; the baby was brought to the Prophet, who performed on him the ritual of rubbing the palate with chewed dates (*taḥnīk*) and blessed him.[289]

According to Ibn Sa'd[290]—'Alī b. 'Īsā—his father: Al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal moved to al-Baṣrah during the governorship of 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz,[291] built a house (*dār*) on a piece of land, and settled there. He died in al-Baṣrah at the end of the caliphate of 'Uthmān.

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[292]

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet; he [2343]
was [already] mature in the Prophet's lifetime.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Sa'd—'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Nawfalī: 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Rabī'ah stayed in Medina until the time of [the caliphate of] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He then moved to Syria, where he built a house (*dār*) and settled. He died in Damascus during the caliphate of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah.

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286. The text as a rule uses terms of blessing after the names of the Prophet and the Companions, which I omit in the translation. Here the custom is reversed. On the traditional Muslim attitude toward the Umayyads, see Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 11–20.

287. Of the Prophet's clan. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 63; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 440, III (Dūrī), 297; Ibn Qudāmah, 100–1.

288. See p. 19, above.

289. See Gil'adi. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1935.

290. Ibn Sa'd, IV/1, 39.

291. Maternal cousin of the third caliph, 'Uthmān, and governor of al-Baṣrah on his behalf; see "'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir," *EI*², I, 43 (H. A. R. Gibb).

292. A member of the Prophet's clan. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 246; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 7; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 24–25, 295–96; Ibn Qudāmah, 103–4.

ʿUtbah b. Abī Lahab—whose name was ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā—b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf.[293]

According to Ibn Saʿd[294]—ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nawfalī—Ḥamzah b. ʿUtbah b. Ibrāhīm al-Lihbī—Ibrāhīm b. ʿĀmir b. Abī Sufyān b. Muʿattib and other Hāshimī shaykhs of ours—Ibn ʿAbbās—his father al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib: When the Prophet arrived in Mecca on its conquest he said to me "O ʿAbbās, where are your nephews ʿUtbah and Muʿattib? I do not see them." I said "O Messenger of God, they withdrew to the side, together with other idolators of the Quraysh." The Prophet said "Go and bring them to me." So I rode to ʿUranah,[295] [where they were staying,] and went to them and said "The Prophet invites you." They hastened to ride with me and came to the Prophet. He called on them to embrace Islam, and they did, giving him the oath of allegiance. Then the Prophet stood up, took their hands, and, walking between them, led them to the *multazam*, that is, the area between the door of the Kaʿbah and the Black Stone.[296] He prayed for a while, then left, his face reflecting joy. I said to him "O Messenger of God, may God make you joyful; I see joy reflected in your face." The Prophet said "Yes, I had asked a gift from God, these two cousins of mine, and he gave them to me."

According to Ḥamzah b. ʿUtbah: Shortly after this the two [ʿUtbah and Muʿattib] went with the Prophet to Ḥunayn and took
[2344] part in the battle. That day they were among those of the Prophet's family and Companions who persevered with [the fighting] on the Prophet's side.[297] Muʿattib lost an eye in that battle.

None of the men of the Hāshim clan remained to live in Mecca after its conquest except ʿUtbah and Muʿattib, sons of Abū Lahab.

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293. Abū Lahab b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, an uncle of the Prophet, was one of his fiercest enemies. See Rubin, "Abū Lahab." On ʿUtbah, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 131, 401; Ibn Qudāmah, 143.

294. Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 41–42.

295. A valley near ʿArafāt, to the east of Mecca; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, III, 657.

296. According to the Muslim tradition, a prayer uttered in this particular place is bound to be answered. There is, however, a view placing the *multazam* at the rear of the Kaʿbah, see al-Azraqī, I, 246–49.

297. See p. 25, above.

Usāmah, son of Zayd b. Ḥārithah, the Prophet's beloved.[298]

His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad. His mother was Umm Ayman, whose name was Barakah, the nurse and client of the Prophet.

Usāmah was born in Mecca. He grew to manhood without experiencing anything but Islam, never adhering to any other religion. He emigrated to Medina together with his father, Zayd, who was, as some people say, the first man to have been converted to Islam.[299] Usāmah never left the Prophet's side.

According to Ibn Sa'd—al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—Ḥanash [b. al-Ḥārith]—his father: The Prophet appointed Usāmah at the age of eighteen.[300]

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: The number of Usāmah's descendants, both men and women, never exceeded twenty in any given generation.

Usāmah was twenty years old when the Prophet died. He then settled in Wādī al-Qurā[301] and later in Medina. He died in al-Jurf at the end of the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah.

Abū Rāfi', client of the Prophet.[302]

His name was Aslam.

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298. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 30; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 65, 216; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6–7; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 834–37; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 470–76.

299. The identity of the first Muslim became a point of debate among the Muslims. According to Sunnī Islam, the first to have believed in the Prophet was Abū Bakr, a merit that, among others, made him worthy of the caliphate. According to the Shī'ah, however, the first Muslim was 'Alī. A neutral view places this merit with Zayd b. Ḥārithah, whose descendants had nothing to do with the contention for power.

300. Ibn Sa'd, IV/1, 46. Shortly before his death the Prophet prepared an expedition against the Byzantines, appointing the young Usāmah as commander, to avenge the death of his father, Zayd, killed in Mu'tah. The Prophet died, and Abū Bakr dispatched the army in spite of loud protests from Muslims objecting to Usāmah because of his young age. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1796–97, 1845–48.

301. The fertile valley to the north of Medina; see "Wādī al-Ḳurā," *EI*[1], VIII, 1077–78 (A. Grohmann).

302. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 53; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 186; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 477–78, III (Dūrī), 21. Al-Ṣadr, 30, says that he was 'Alī's appointee over the treasury of al-Kūfah and the first Shī'ī to compile a collection of traditions and legal issues.

Abū Rāfiʿ had been a slave of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and was given as a present to the Prophet. When the latter received the good news of al-ʿAbbās' conversion to Islam he set Abū Rāfiʿ free.

Abū Rāfiʿ emigrated to Medina after [the battle of] Badr and stayed with the Prophet. He participated in [the battles of] Uḥud and the Ditch, and all the [other] events. The Prophet gave his client Salmā to him in marriage, and she participated with him in [the conquest of] Khaybar.

Salmā bore Abū Rāfiʿ [a son], ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Rāfiʿ, who acted as scribe for ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Salmān al-Fārisī.[303]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

The Ditch was the first military action in which Salmān took part.

[2345] According to Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān—Hishām b. Ḥassān—al-Ḥasan: Salmān's pension (ʿaṭāʾ) was 5,000 [dirhams a year], and he was appointed over 30,000 men. He used to collect firewood clad in a cloak, half of which he used for covering himself, whereas the other half he spread.

Each time his pension was due he did not take it and lived off his own handwoven palm leaves.[304]

According to Ibn ʿUmar: Salmān al-Fārisī died during the caliphate of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.

Al-Aswad b. Nawfal b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.[305]

He was an early convert to Islam in Mecca and emigrated to Abyssinia in the second emigration. According to Mūsā b. ʿUqbah,

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303. A famous Companion, see "Salmān al-Fārisī," *EI*[1], IV, 116–17 (G. Levi Della Vida); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 76; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 173; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 7. He is credited with having suggested to the Prophet the digging of the Ditch for defense against the besieging Quraysh in the year 5/627.

304. *Yaʾkulu min safīf yadihi*, literally, "he ate from the plait of palm leaves of his hand." The parallel text adduced by de Goeje from Ibn al-Athīr's *Usd al-ghābah* has *wa-akala min kasb yadihi kāna yasuffu al-khūṣ*, "he ate from the earnings of his hand; he wove palm leaves." See also Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 62.

305. A member of the Qurashī clan Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā. He was a nephew of Khadījah, the Prophet's wife, and an early convert. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 202; Ibn Qudāmah, 274.

it was Nawfal b. Khuwaylid [not his son al-Aswad] who embraced Islam and emigrated to Abyssinia.[306]

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswad b. Nawfal b. Khuwaylid.[307]

His *kunyah* was Abū al-Aswad. He is the one known as "the orphan of ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr."[308]

Abū al-Rūm b. ʿUmayr b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy.[309]

His mother was Byzantine. He was a half-brother of Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī], Abū al-Rūm was an early convert in Mecca and emigrated to Abyssinia in the second emigration. He also took part in [the battle of] Uḥud.

Jahm b. Qays b. Shuraḥbīl b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy.[310]

Jahm was an early convert to Islam and emigrated to Abyssinia in the second emigration. This is unanimously accepted [among the scholars]. His wife, Ḥuraymalah bt. ʿAbd al-Aswad b. Khuzay- [2346]
mah b. Uqaysh b. ʿĀmir b. Bayāḍah al-Khuzāʿiyyah, and the two sons she had borne him, ʿAmr and Khuzaymah, sons of Jahm, were with him. Ḥuraymalah died in Abyssinia.

Al-Walīd b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm.[311]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī] on the authority of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh[312]—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī—ʿUrwah [b. al-Zu-

306. Notwithstanding, Nawfal is also said to have been a fierce opponent of Islam in its early period; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 46.

307. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 421, see also al-Aʿẓamī, *Maghāzī*, 61–62.

308. ʿUrwah was his guardian according to the will of his father, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

309. A member of the Qurashī clan Banū ʿAbd al-Dār (this Hāshim is not identical with the Prophet's ancestor). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 125–27; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 203; Ibn Qudāmah, 245.

310. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 203; Ibn Qudāmah, 247. The clan is the same as in the preceding biography.

311. Brother of the famous Companion and general Khālid b. al-Walīd, of the Qurashī clan Makhzūm. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣabah*, III, 639–40; Ibn Qudāmah, 349–50.

312. The reference is perhaps to Ibn Abī Sabrah; see, e.g., al-Wāqidī, 1097.

bayr] and on the authority of Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far—his father: Salamah b. Hishām,[313] 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'ah,[314] and al-Walīd b. al-Walīd left [Mecca], emigrating to [Medina to join] the Prophet. People from the Quraysh went after them to bring them back but failed to overtake them. When the three reached the edge of the basalt area of Medina (*ḥarrah*) al-Walīd's finger was cut and bled, whereupon he said:[315]

What are you but a bleeding finger?
It is in the path of God that you suffer.

[Later] he had a heart failure and died in Medina. Umm Salamah bt. Abī Umayyah[316] mourned him and said:

For al-Walīd b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah, O my eye, let your tears flow.
The like of al-Walīd b. al-Walīd Abū al-Walīd protect the clan [against its foe].

The Prophet said "Do not say this, Umm Salamah, but say 'Death has come justly, this is what you turned away from.'"[317]

Ibn Umm Maktūm.[318]

Opinions differ as to his name. The Medinan scholars say that it was 'Abdallāh, whereas the Iraqis and Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī] hold that it was 'Amr b. Qays b. Zā'idah b. al-Aṣamm b. [2347] Rawāḥah b. Ḥajar b. 'Abd b. Ma'īṣ b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. He was called by the name of his mother, Umm Maktūm, whose [full] name was 'Ātikah bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ankathah b. 'Āmir b. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓah.

Ibn Umm Maktūm was an early convert to Islam in Mecca. He

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313. Cousin of al-Walīd and brother of Abū Jahl. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 68–69; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, X, 94–96.

314. Cousin of al-Walīd, apparently of the Meccans who were converted after the Muslim conquest of their city. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 47.

315. Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, X, 95. In al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 202 (*jihād*, 9) the verse is attributed to the Prophet, who was wounded in a battle. I thank Prof. Yohanan Friedmann for this reference.

316. That is, the Prophet's wife. She belonged to the same clan as al-Walīd.

317. Qur'ān, 50:18. The Prophet's objection is raised by the pre-Islamic (*jāhilī*) style of the lament.

318. Of the Qurashī clan 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 171. He was an early convert, and the Prophet often appointed him as deputy in Medina when he left on raids. See, e.g., al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 310–11 and passim; Ibn Qudāmah, 488–89.

was blind. He came to Medina as an Emigrant, [but] opinions differ as to the time of his arrival. According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī], he arrived shortly after [the battle of] Badr and lived in the house of the Qur'ān reciters, which was the house of Makhramah b. Nawfal.[319]

[Ibn Umm Maktūm] used to act as muezzin for the Prophet in Medina, together with Bilāl. Whenever the Prophet went out on a raid he appointed him to lead the public prayer in Medina.

Ibn Umm Maktūm carried the Muslim banner in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah. He later returned to Medina, where he died.

Abū Dharr Jundab b. Junādah b. Sufyān b. ʿUbayd b. Ḥarām b. Ghifār b. Mulayl b. Ḍamrah b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāh b. Kinānah b. Khuzaymah b. Mudrikah b. Alyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār.[320]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Mūsā b. ʿUbaydah—Nuʿaym b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mujmir—his father: Abū Dharr's name was Jundab b. Junādah; this was [also] the opinion of Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī], Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī], and other historians. Ibn ʿUmar says that, according to Najīḥ Abū Maʿshar, Abū Dharr's name was Burayr b. Jundab.

According to [Ibn ʿUmar al-Wāqidī]—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Mūsā b. ʿUqbah—ʿAṭā' b. Abī Marwān—his father: Abū Dharr said "I was the fifth [person] to embrace Islam."

According to Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī]: Abū Dharr returned to his [2348]
clan's territory after his conversion, where he stayed until after the battles of Badr, Uḥud, and the Ditch. He then joined the Prophet in Medina.[321] According to Ibn Saʿd[322]—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr Abū Maʿmar al-Minqarī—ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Saʿīd—al-Ḥusayn al-Muʿallim—Abū Buraydah: When Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī arrived [in al-Kūfah] he met Abū Dharr and started seeking his company. Al-Ashʿarī was a short, slender man, whereas Abū Dharr was black and hairy. Al-Ashʿarī started clinging to him, and Abū Dharr would say "Go away and leave me alone," and al-

319. Cf. ʿUmar b. Shabbah, I, 241, 253.

320. "Abū Dharr," *EI*², I, 114–15 (J. Robson); Cameron, *Abū Dharr*; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 30–31; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 31–32; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 52–56; Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 161–75. He was an early convert of the Ghifār clan, which belonged to the northern tribe of Kinānah; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 176.

321. Cf. Landau-Tasseron, "F. McG. Donner," 501 (about Muhājirūn who returned to their clans).

322. Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 169.

Ash'arī would say "Welcome, O brother," whereupon Abū Dharr would push him and say "I am no brother of yours; I was your brother before you were appointed governor." Later Abū Dharr met Abū Hurayrah, who sought his company and said to him "Welcome my brother," whereupon Abū Dharr replied "Go away and leave me alone; did you not act as governor on behalf of those [rulers]?" Abū Hurayrah said "Yes." Abū Dharr asked "Did you trespass by building luxurious buildings or [unlawfully] acquiring estates or flocks?" Abū Hurayrah said "No," whereupon Abū Dharr said "You are my brother."[323]

According to Ibn Sa'd[324]—al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—Ṣāliḥ b. Rustam—Abū 'Āmir—Ḥumayd b. Hilāl—al-Aḥnaf b. Qays: Abū Dharr, as I saw him, was a tall, dark-brown-toned man with white hair and a white beard.

According to Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī], Abū Dharr died during the caliphate of 'Uthmān in al-Rabadhah.[325]

Buraydah b. al-Ḥuṣayb b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-A'raj b. Sa'd b. Rizāḥ b. 'Adī b. Sahm b. Māzin b. al-Ḥārith b. Salāmān b. Aslam b. Afṣā b. Ḥārithah b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir, that is, Mā' al-Samā'.[326]

His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh.

Buraydah was converted to Islam when the Prophet passed by him during his Emigration [to Medina].

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Hāshim b. 'Āṣim al-
[2349] Aslamī—his father: While emigrating from Mecca to Medina the Prophet arrived at al-Ghamīm.[327] Buraydah b. al-Ḥuṣayb went to him [there], and the Prophet called on him to join Islam. Buraydah

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323. Abu Dharr, considered one of the first ascetics in Islam, expresses here the negative attitude toward government as such, because of the corruption often involved in it. See Goitein, "Attitudes"; Kister, "Social Concepts"; 'Athāmina, "'Ulamā'." As for Abū Hurayrah, he was accused of corruption by the caliph 'Umar, the present account notwithstanding; see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 82.

324. Ibn Sa'd, IV/1, 169.

325. Al-Rababhah is an Islamic town about 200 kilometers southeast of Medina; see al-Rāshid, *Al-Rabadha*. Abū Dharr, who lived in Syria, was exiled to this place because the governor, Mu'āwiyah, had had complaints against him. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2858–62, 2895–97.

326. A part of the decendants of this 'Āmir, including Buraydah's clan, the Aslam, formed the large tribal confederation called Khuzā'ah, the genealogy of which is confused. On Buraydah see Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 100–1; al-A'ẓamī, *Kuttāb*, 47; Ibn Sa'd, VII/1, 3–4, VII/2, 99–100; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ *Ta'rīkh*, 246.

327. A place near Medina, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 817–18.

was converted with those who were with him, numbering about eighty families. The Prophet said the evening prayer, and they prayed standing behind him.

According to [Ibn 'Umar]—Hāshim b. 'Āṣim al-Aslamī—al-Mundhir b. Jahm: That night, the Prophet taught Buraydah a part of *sūrat Maryam*. After [the battles of] Badr and Uḥud Buraydah went to the Prophet in Medina and learned the rest of it. He became a resident of Medina, stayed with the Prophet, and participated in the raids from that point onward.[328]

After the Prophet's death Buraydah remained in Medina until [the area of] al-Baṣrah was conquered and a garrison was established there.[329] He moved to al-Baṣrah, took possession of a piece of land, [and built a house (*dār*) there]. He then left for Khurāsān, to participate in raids there. He died in Merv during the rule of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah, and his offspring stayed there.

Diḥyah b. Khalīfah b. Farwah b. Faḍālah b. Zayd b. Imri' al-Qays b. al-Khazj, that is, Zayd Manāh—b. 'Āmir b. Bakr b. 'Āmir al-Akbar (senior) b. 'Awf b. Bakr b. 'Awf b. 'Udhrah b. Zayd al-Lāt b. Rufaydah b. Thawr b. Kalb b. Wabarah b. Taghlib b. Ḥalwān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'ah.[330]

Diḥyah was an early convert [but] did not take part in [the battle of] Badr. It was said that he resembled [the angel] Jibrīl.

Diḥyah participated on the Prophet's side in the events that followed [the battle of] Badr. He lived until the time of the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah.

Aws b. Qayẓī b. 'Amr b. Zayd b. Jusham b. Ḥārithah and his two sons, Kabāthah and 'Abdallāh, sons of Aws.[331] [2350]

They took part in [the battle of] Uḥud.[332]

'Arābah b. Aws b. Qayẓī came with them on the day of Uḥud,

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328. Buraydah was appointed to several tasks by the Prophet; see, e.g., al-Wāqidī, 404–5, 410.

329. "Baṣra," *EI*², I, 1085–86 (Ch. Pellat); al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2377. See also Donner, "Tribal Settlement"; al-'Alī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-ijtimā'iyyah*.

330. A member of the 'Udhrah, a part of the great tribe Kalb. On Diḥyah, see recently S. Bashear, "Mission"; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 94; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 377, 531.

331. Of the Ḥārithah clan, of the Aws (Anṣār), see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 87.

332. They were, however, among those who ran away. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 326.

but he was considered too young [to fight] and was sent back.[333] ʿArābah is the one about whom al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār[334] says:

If you carry my saddle and bring me to ʿArābah,
then choke with your aorta's blood.[335]

ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf b. Wāhib b. ʿUkaym b. Thaʿlabah b. al-Ḥārith b. Majdaʿah b. ʿAmr b. Ḥanash b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf.[336]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

ʿUthmān was sent by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to supervise the survey of the land of Iraq [for the assessment of taxes].[337] [Later] he acted as governor of al-Baṣrah for ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib], when the oath of allegiance was taken on the latter's behalf.[338]

[ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf] died in al-Baṣrah during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah.

Ḥassān b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir b. Ḥarām b. ʿAmr b. Zayd Manāh b. ʿAdī b. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, the Prophet's poet.[339]

His *kunyah* was Abū al-Walīd.

Ḥassān was an early convert [but] did not participate in any battle with the Prophet, [owing to] his cowardice.

He died during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah at the age of 120; sixty years of his life he had lived during the Jāhiliyyah and sixty during Islam.

Nawfal b. Muʿāwiyah b. Ṣakhr b. Yaʿmur b. Nufāthah b. ʿAdī b. al-Dīl b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāh b. Kinānah.[340]

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333. See note 260, above.

334. A pre-Islamic poet of the northern Dhubyān tribe. On him see al-Hādī, *al-Shammākh b. ḍirār*, on the tribe, 52–74.

335. The poet apparently addresses his (she)-camel, meaning to say that if he reaches ʿArābah he need make no further journey. The verse is part of a poem, see p. 74, below.

336. Of the clan Banū ʿAwf b. ʿAmr, from the Aws (Anṣār). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 336; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 49; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 163.

337. See Dennett, 23; Morony, 37, 101–6; see also 484–85.

338. On the advent of new caliphs, it was the duty of the governors to secure the oath of allegiance from the subjects in the provinces. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3087, and 3115–21 for ʿUthmān's role during ʿAlī's time.

339. See "Ḥassān b. Thābit," *EI*², III, 271–73 (W. Arafat); Ḥassān, I, 3–7 (introduction by W. Arafat); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 32. The clan's name is Banū al-Najjār, from the Khazraj tribe (Ansār), see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 346.

340. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 62; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 34. The clan's name is in fact Banū al-Duʾil, from the Kinānah tribe; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 184–85.

His family was the leading one among the Banū al-Dīl, and his father, Muʿāwiyah, was the chief of the Banū al-Dīl in the battle of al-Fijār.[341] Taʾabbaṭa Sharran[342] said about him:

No, by [the life of] her father, we did not alight at ʿĀmir's [2351]
or by ʿĀmir's or by Nawfal the Nufāthī.[343]

[Nawfal's] son, Salmā b. Nawfal, was the most generous among the Arabs. The Jaʿfarī poet said about him:

We select chiefs who are not leaders at all;
nay, the praiseworthy chief is Salmā b. Nawfal.[344]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Jūthah b. ʿUbayd al-Dīlī: Nawfal b. Muʿāwiyah al-Dīlī lived sixty years during the Jāhiliyyah and sixty years during Islam. He participated with the idolators of the Quraysh in [the battles of] Badr, Uḥud, and the Ditch, where he was harmful [to the Muslims], acquiring fame thereby. He later embraced Islam and took part in the conquest of Mecca, [the battle of] Ḥunayn, and [the siege of] al-Ṭāʾif on the Prophet's side.

Nawfal settled in Medina with the Banū al-Dīl. He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

Nawfal died in Medina during the caliphate of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, may God curse them both.[345]

ʿArābah b. Aws b. Qayẓī b. ʿAmr b. Zayd b. Jusham b. Ḥārithah b. al-Ḥārith.[346]

His father, Aws b. Qayẓī, and his brothers ʿAbdallāh and Kabāthah, sons of Aws, took part in [the battle of] Uḥud, whereas he was considered too young (*ṣaghīr*) and was sent back.[347] He was allowed [to participate] in the Ditch (Khandaq).

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341. On these pre-Islamic battles, see Landau-Tasseron, "Sinful wars."

342. A pre-Islamic poet; see F. Sezgin, II, 137–39.

343. Cf. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, XVIII, 214 (Ibn Qawfal instead of Nawfal; that is, the verse does not allude to Nawfal). The two ʿĀmirs mentioned are ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl and ʿĀmir b. Mālik, both of them tribal chiefs in the confederation ʿAmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah.

344. Cf. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, XII, 76; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 70; al-Mubarrad, 75 (where the name is Salm, not Salmā). There is no clue to the identity of the poet in any of these sources.

345. See note 286, above.

346. See p. 71, above; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 473.

347. See note 260, above.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿUmar b. ʿUqbah—ʿĀṣim
[2352] b. ʿUmar b. Qatādah: At the time of Uḥud ʿArābah b. Aws was fourteen years and five months old, and the Prophet sent him back and refused to allow him [to participate in the battle].

According to Muḥammad, ʿArābah was the one eulogized by al-Shammākh b. Ḍirār. The latter came [once] to Medina, and ʿArābah loaded his camel with dates:

I found ʿArābah al-Awsī unequaled
in his involvement in charity.
His right hand always receives
the hoisted flag of nobility.[348]

ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[349]

ʿUbaydallāh fathered Muḥammad, after whom he was called [Abū Muḥammad], al-ʿAbbās, and al-ʿĀliyah, who was married to ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās. She bore him Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, among whose descendants the ʿAbbāsid caliphate was inherited.

[ʿUbaydallāh also fathered] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Qutham, who were killed by Busr b. Abī Arṭāh al-ʿĀmirī in the Yemen.[350]

ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās was one year younger than ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās. He heard and transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet and lived to the time of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah.

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib appointed ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās governor of the Yemen. He also appointed him to lead the pilgrimage, and he did, in the year 39/660. That year the people agreed that Shaybah b. ʿUthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥah [should conduct the pilgrimage], and so he did.[351]

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348. These verses, as well as the one on p. 72, above, are part of a poem, for which see al-Shammākh, 96–97. See also Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 341; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 277; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, VIII, 102; al-Mubarrad, 75, 396. Here the phrase "right hand" is explained as "powerfully."

349. Cousin of the Prophet. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 24, 55–65; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 173, 182, 214.

350. This occurred in the year 40/660, during the attempt of Muʿāwiyah's general Busr to seize the Ḥijāz and the Yemen from ʿAlī's men. ʿUbaydallāh was governor of the Yemen for ʿAlī; see al-Ṭabarī *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3451–52.

351. These are in fact conflicting versions as to who conducted the pilgrimage in the year 39/660. According to one of them, it was ʿUbydallāh b. ʿAbbās. According to the other, Muʿāwiyah, contending with ʿAlī for power, sent a representative of his own to perform this task. The latter, however, was not accepted, so a compromise was reached, under which a neutral person (Shaybah b. ʿUthmān) con-

ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās was a brave and generous leader. He used to slaughter a camel every day [and distribute the meat]. He was in charge of the vanguard [of the army] dispatched by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī against Muʿāwiyah.[352]

ʿUbaydallāh's full brother, Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās.[353]

Qutham participated in raids in Khurāsān when Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān governed it.[354] Saʿīd wanted to give him a thousand shares of the spoils, but Qutham said: "No. First allocate the fifth (*khums*) [which is due to the public treasury],[355] then give the people their lawful shares, and afterward you can give me what you want."

Qutham was a pious, virtuous man; he died in Samarkand.

Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī] said: According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]: Qutham b. ʿAbbās was a governor of Mecca on behalf of [2353]
ʿAlī and conducted the pilgrimage.

It was said that he resembled the Prophet.[356]

Maʿbad b. al-ʿAbbās and Kathīr b. al-ʿAbbās.[357]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī, the mother of Kathīr and Tammām was a Byzantine concubine whose name was Musliyah.

Kathīr died in Yanbuʿ[358] from an ulcer in the throat.

Tammām b. al-ʿAbbās.[359]

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ducted the pilgrimage. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 2448. On Shaybah b. ʿUthmān, see Ibn Saʿd, V, 331; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 329–30. Cf. also note 371, below.

352. For conflicting accounts of ʿUbaydallāh's role in the relations between al-Ḥasan and Muʿāwiyah, see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 1–2; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Maḥmūdī), 33–34, 37–38.

353. He worked in the service of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. See "Ḳutham b. al-ʿAbbās," *EI*², V, 551 (C. E. Bosworth); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 65–66.

354. Saʿīd was governor of Khurāsān. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 177–80; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, IX, 334–36; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 240; Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mughtālīn*, 165–68.

355. A fifth (*khums*) of all booty is said to belong to God, to be used for special purposes. See Ben Shemesh, I, 23–24, II, 51–53, III, 51–55.

356. See the list of those who resembled the Prophet in Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 46–47; and also Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 60, 69, 70, 73.

357. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 22, 66 (on Maʿbad), 60 (on Kathīr, who was a scholar).

358. An oasis near Medina; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, IV, 1038–39.

359. He worked in the service of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 185; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 60; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3107.

He was one of the most violent men of his time. He was the youngest of his father's sons.

ʿAbdallāh b. Zamʿah b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.[360]

His mother was Qarībah al-Kubrā (senior) bt. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm; her mother was ʿĀtikah bt. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[361]

ʿĀmir b. Kurayz b. Rabīʿah b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy.[362]

His mother was al-Bayḍāʾ, that is, Umm Ḥakīm bt. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

ʿĀmir b. Kurayz was converted to Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca and lived to the [time of the] caliphate of ʿUthmān b. Affān. He went to al-Baṣrah to his son ʿAbdallāh b. ʿĀmir while the latter was governor there on behalf of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.

Abū Hāshim b. ʿUtbah b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf.[363]

He was converted to Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca. [Later] he left for Syria, where he settled until his death.

Qays b. Makhramah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf.[364]

Al-Ṣalt b. Makhramah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy.[365]

He was converted to Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca.

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360. Of the Qurashī clan Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 63; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ *Taʾrīkh*, 230; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 14; Ibn Qudāmah, 277.

361. Aunt of the Prophet, famous for a dream in which she foresaw the battle of Badr. See Ibn Hishām, II, 258–59; Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 337–38, see also 33, 50; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣabah*, IV, 357–58.

362. A member of the powerful Qurashī clan the Banū ʿAbd Shams and notorious for his stupidity. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 82; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 256.

363. A member of the Qurashī clan the Banū ʿAbd Shams. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 172; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 12; Ibn Qudāmah, 217–18.

364. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 63; Ibn Qudāmah, 235; al-Zubayrī, 92. He belonged to the Qurashī clan the Banū al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 72–74. The next five biographies are of people of the same clan.

365. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 233.

Juhaym b. al-Ṣalt b. Makhramah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf.[366]

ʿAbdallāh b. Qays b. Makhramah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf.[367]
He was converted to Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca.

Rukānah b. ʿAbd Yazīd b. Hāshim b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy.[368] [2354]
He was converted to Islam on the day of the conquest [of Mecca]. He then went to Medina, where he settled until his death, at the beginning of the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah.

His full brother ʿUjayr b. ʿAbd Yazīd b. Hāshim b. al-Muṭṭalib.[369]

Abū Nabiqah.[370]
His name was ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlqamah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf.

Al-Aswad b. Abī al-Bakhtarī—the latter's name was al-ʿĀṣ—b. Hāshim b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.[371]
Al-Aswad was converted to Islam on the day of the conquest [of Mecca], whereas his father Abū al-Bakhtarī was killed in the battle of Badr as an idolator.

Habbār b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.[372]

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366. He served the Prophet as a scribe. See al-Aʿẓamī, *Kuttāb*, 51–52; Ibn Qudāmah, 237.

367. He lived in Medina and fulfilled certain functions there for al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 114; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 294; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 374.

368. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 61; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 9; Ibn Qudāmah, 234; al-Zubayrī, 95–96.

369. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 466; Ibn Qudāmah, 235.

370. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 196; Ibn Qudāmah, 237–38.

371. A member of the Qurashī clan Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā. According to al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, he was accepted as neutral leader during the war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 42.

372. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 357–58; Ibn Qudāmah, 219. See also p. 000, above (biography of Zaynab).

It was reported that Habbār used to relate [the following story]: When the Prophet came out and preached [the belief in] Allāh I was among those who showed hatred toward him, opposed him, and harmed him.

[When] the Prophet sent someone to Mecca to fetch his daughter Zaynab some people from the Quraysh obstructed her way, and Habbār was among them. He poked her and wounded her back with a lance, and she lost the baby she was carrying; she was then brought back to the dwellings of the Banū ʿAbd Manāf. Habbār b. al-Aswad had committed a grave sin against Islam, and the Prophet allowed his blood to be shed with impunity. Whenever he sent a party on a raid he gave orders concerning Habbār, saying "If you seize him put him between two logs of firewood and burn him." He would then say: "Only the Lord of Fire is entitled to torture with fire.[373] If you seize him cut off his hands and feet, then kill him."

Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭabarī] said: According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar
[2355] [al-Wāqidī]—Wāqid b. Abī Thābit—Yazīd b. Rūmān—al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām: The Prophet never sent a raiding party without telling them "If you seize Habbār, cut off his hands and feet, then [execute him by] hitting his neck."[374] By God, I used to look for him and ask about him, and God knows that, had I seized him before he went to the Prophet, I would have killed him. Then he came to the Prophet while I was sitting with him and started making excuses to the Prophet, saying: "O Muḥammad, curse those who curse you and harm those who harm you. I hastened to curse and harm you [while] I was forsaken [by God], but God has helped me and led me to Islam." I looked at the Prophet, who bowed his head out of shame for Habbār's excuses. The Prophet said "I forgive you, for [conversion to] Islam nullifies whatever was [committed] before it."[375] Habbār was hated more than any-

373. Arabic *nār* signifies both "fire" and "hell," so the sentence means that only God, Who controls [heaven and] hell, may exact punishment by fire. As a rule, the Muslims refrained from executions by fire. Cf. al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 107.

374. Cf. al-Wāqidī, 857.

375. *Al-islām yajubbu mā kāna qablahu*, a *ḥadīth* reflecting the tolerance of Islam toward former enemies who repented. Even the false prophet Ṭulayḥah, who embraced Islam after his defeat in the apostasy wars, was forgiven and considered a good Muslim and eventually a *shahīd*. On him, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 234. See the *ḥadīth* in Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 199.

one; the Prophet heard about his forbearance in the face of harassment and said [to him] "O Habbār, curse those who curse you."

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Hishām b. ʿUmārah—Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim—his father—his grandfather: I was sitting with the Prophet in his mosque, among [others of] his Companions, on his return from Jiʿrānah[376] when Habbār b. al-Aswad appeared at the Prophet's door. The people saw him and said "O Messenger of God, here is Habbār b. al-Aswad." The Prophet said "I saw him." Someone wanted to go up to him, but the Prophet motioned him to sit down. Habbār then [approached until he] stood very close to the Prophet and said: "O Messenger of God, peace be with you. I testify that there is no God but Allāh, and I testify that you are the messenger of God. I had roamed the country, fleeing from you; I had wanted to join the non-Arabs, but then I remembered you and your kindness, your [2356] virtue, your compassion, and your forbearance to those who act impetuously toward you. O Messenger of God, we have been idolators, but God has led us to the right path through you and saved us from damnation. Forgive my impetuous ways and whatever you heard about me, for I admit my wickedness and confess my sin." The Prophet said: "I forgive you, for Allāh treated you benevolently by showing you the way to Islam. [Conversion to] Islam nullifies whatever was [committed] before it."

Hind b. Abī Hālah—whose name was al-Nabbāsh—b. Zurārah b. Waqdān b. Ḥabīb b. Salāmah b. Ghuwayy b. Jirwah b. Usayyid b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm.[377]

Abū Hālah and his two brothers, ʿAwf and Unays, came to Mecca and entered into an alliance (*ḥilf*) with the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb. The [brothers] remained to live with them in Mecca, and Abū Hālah married Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid. She bore him two sons, Hind and Hālah. Hālah died, whereas Hind

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376. A place 10 miles from Mecca where the Prophet assembled the spoils from the battle of Ḥunayn for distribution in the year 8/630. See al-Wāqidī, 939–49; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 373–81; Ibn Hishām, IV, 130–43; Guillaume, 592–97.

377. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 43, 199. He was of the Tamīmī clan Usayyid, which had a special status in Mecca in pre-Islamic times. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 210; Kister, "On Strangers and Allies," 120–26. On the large, powerful confederation of Tamīm (of northern origin), see Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm"; "Tamīm," *EI*[1], IV, 643–46 (Levi Della Vida); Caskel, II, 7–10.

lived to see [the advent of] Islam and was converted. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib] transmitted [traditions] from him; he used to say "I was told by my maternal uncle Hind b. Abī Hālah."[378]

According to [Abū ʿUbaydah] Maʿmar b. Muthannā: Hind was passing through al-Baṣrah, and died there. The market was canceled that day, and there was no loading and unloading of ships. They said "The brother of Fāṭimah, the brother of Fāṭimah, may God bless her!"[379]

Al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm.[380]

[He was a] full brother of Umm Salamah bt. Abī Umayyah, the Prophet's wife.

The name of Abū Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah was Suhayl. He is [the one known as] Zād al-Rakb (provider for the passengers). Whenever he set out on a journey, he took it upon himself [to pay] the expenses of his companions and fellow travelers on that journey. He was therefore called Zād al-Rakb.[381]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b.
[2357] Abī Sabrah—al-Muhājir b. Mismār: The Prophet was angry with al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayyah, so the latter said to Umm Salamah "Speak to the Prophet for me, for today is your day with him." So she let him enter her house, and when the Prophet came in he was taken by surprise as al-Muhājir approached him from behind and seized him by the waist. The Prophet laughed, and Umm Salamah said [to the Prophet] "Regard him with favor, may God regard you with favor." So the Prophet regarded him with favor and appointed him over Ṣanʿāʾ. Al-Muhājir left [for Ṣanʿāʾ], and when [on his way

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378. Being the son of Khadījah from her first marriage, Hind was half-brother of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet and mother of al-Ḥasan. See the genealogical table 2, p. xxix.

379. *Ṣalawāt allāh ʿalayhā*, a formula used specifically after mention of the Prophet's name. As a rule, other formulas are used after mention of members of the Prophet's family, such as "peace be upon him/her" or "may God be pleased with him/her." See Robson; Ibn al-ʿArabī.

380. A member of the Qurashī clan Makhzūm and one of the Prophet's tax collectors. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 62, 84; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 529; al-Rāzī, 145–46; Ibn Qudāmah, 372–73.

381. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 137; Ibn Qudāmah, 370.

there] he arrived in Mecca he learned of the rise of al-ʿAnsī in Ṣanʿāʾ.[382] He returned to Medina, where he stayed until the Prophet's death. Abū Bakr then appointed him over Ṣanʿāʾ, and he left to take his post. [Ibn ʿUmar al-Wāqidī] said to Ibn Abī Sabrah "But, according to the version I have, the Prophet sent al-Muhājir as governor, and he was in Ṣanʿāʾ when the Prophet died." Ibn Abī Sabrah replied "That [which I told you] is what I was informed by Muhājir b. Mismār."

Ṣafwān b. Umayyah b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfah b. Jumaḥ b. ʿAmr b. Huṣayṣ.[383]

His *kunyah* was Abū Wahb.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Hudhalī—Abū Ḥuṣayn: The Prophet asked Ṣafwān b. Umayyah for a loan of 50,000 [dirhams?] while he was in Mecca, and he lent it to him.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Ṣafwān always remained a good Muslim, [but] we have no information of his taking part in any raid with the Prophet or after the latter's death. He remained to live in Mecca until his death at the beginning of Muʿāwiyah's caliphate.

ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥubayb b. Jadhīmah b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy.[384]

ʿAbdallāh was an early convert and one of the Prophet's scribes. He later apostatized and was [again] converted to Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca. The information about him is already [2358]
[recorded] in our book entitled *The Supplemented: The Abridged History of the Messengers and Kings.*

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382. Al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī posed as a prophet in the Yemen some time before Muḥammad's death. The Prophet succeeded in having him killed. See "Aswad al-ʿAnsī," *EI*², I, 728 (W. M. Watt); al-Kalāʿī, 213–15; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 124–25.

383. A member of the Qurashī clan Jumaḥ; see Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 56; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 304–5, 362–63; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 24; Ibn Qudāmah, 452–54.

384. A statesman and general of the Qurashī clan the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. See "ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd," *EI*², I, 51–52 (C. H. Becker); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 90; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 358; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 64, 13–35, 157; al-Aʿẓamī, *Kuttāb*, 83–89.

Al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis b. ʿIqāl b. Muḥammad b. Sufyān b. Mujāshiʿ b. Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāh b. Tamīm.[385]

He was a member of the Tamīmī delegation that came to the Prophet, and the latter gave him 100 camels from the booty of Ḥunayn. Al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās composed verses about this.[386]

Ṣaʿṣaʿah b. Nājiyah b. ʿIqāl b. Muḥammad b. Sufyān b. Mujāshiʿ.[387]

Ṣaʿṣaʿah went to the Prophet and embraced Islam. Among his posterity were the poet al-Farazdaq b. Ghālib b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah[388] and the preacher ʿIqāl b. Shabbah b. ʿIqāl b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah.[389]

Al-Zibriqān b. Badr b. Imriʾ al-Qays b. Khalaf b. Bahdalah b. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Zayd Manāh b. Tamīm.[390]

Al-Zibriqān's real name was al-Ḥuṣayn. He was a poet and [so] handsome [that] he was called "the moon of Najd." He was a member of the Tamīmī delegation that went to the Prophet and was appointed by the latter to collect the legal alms (*ṣadaqah*) from his people, the Banū Saʿd b. Zayd Manāh b. Tamīm. He was in this post when the Prophet died. [Then] the Arabs apostatized and refused to pay the legal alms, but al-Zibriqān firmly adhered to Islam, collected the alms from his people, and handed them over to Abū Bakr.[391]

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385. "Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis," *EI*², I, 343 (M. J. Kister). He was a tribal chief of the Tamīmī clan Mujāshiʿ; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 230–31.

386. Although the text so implies, there was no connection between the participation of al-Aqraʿ in the delegation and his receiving the gift; see Landau-Tasseron, "Processes." On the Prophet's gifts to tribal leaders after the battle of Ḥunayn and the Sulamī al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās' protest against receiving only four camels, see al-Wāqidī, 946–47.

387. Of the Mujāshiʿ; see Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 69–70. He was famous for his objection to the pre-Islamic custom of burying alive female babies; see, e.g., Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, XIX, 2–3.

388. A famous poet who flourished in the Umayyad period; see "al-Farazdaḳ," *EI*², II, 788–89 (R. Blachère).

389. A companion of the Umayyad caliphs Hishām and al-Walīd II. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, VI, 228; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XVII, 91–93; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1730, 1755–56, 1820.

390. A tribal chief of the Tamīmī clan the Bahdalah. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 219, 466; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 530; Landau-Tasseron, "Processes," 254.

391. See Kister, "*Illā biḥaqqihi*"; Bashear, "*Zakāt*"; Shoufani, *Al-Riddah*.

Mālik b. Nuwayrah b. Jamrah b. ʿUbayd b. Thaʿlabah b. Yarbūʿ b. Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāh b. Tamīm.[392]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿUtbah b. Jabīrah—Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. Muʿādh: The Prophet returned to Medina from the pilgrimage in the year 10/632. When he saw the new moon of Muḥarram of the year 11/632 he sent tax collectors to several Arab [tribes].[393] He appointed Mālik b. Nuwayrah, who had already embraced Islam, to collect the legal alms from the Banū Yarbūʿ. [2359]

Mālik was a poet, and his nickname was al-Jafūl.[394]

Labīd b. Rabīʿah b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar b. Kilāb, the poet.[395]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Mūsā b. Shaybah b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik b. Khārijah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb: The delegation of the Banū Kilāb went to the Prophet in the year 9/630–31. They were thirteen people, including Labīd b. Rabīʿah, and were lodged at the house of Ramlah bt. al-Ḥadath.[396] They came to the Prophet, greeted him with the Islamic greeting,[397] and embraced Islam, whereupon they returned to their tribe's territory.

According to Ibn Saʿd[398]—Naṣr b. Bāb—Dāʾūd b. Abī Hind—[ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl] al-Shaʿbī: ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wrote to al-

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392. A member of the Tamīmī clan the Yarbūʿ. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 224–28; "Mālik b. Nuwayra," *EI*², VI, 267–69 (E. Landau-Tasseron).

393. Cf. al-Wāqidī, 973, where the tax collectors are said to have been sent on the emergence of the new moon in the year 9/630. Al-Wāqidī's sources here are different, and Mālik b. Nuwayrah is not included in this list. These two lists, both quoted on the authority of al-Wāqidī, can also be found in Ibn Saʿd, II/1, 115; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 23–24; al-Kalāʿī, 43, and others. For yet other lists, see Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 63; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 529–30; al-Yaʿqūbī, II, 122; Ibn Hishām, IV, 246; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1750; Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 125–28; and also Shoufani, *Al-Riddah*, 96.

394. That is, "the one who frightens [the camels away]," referring to the story that he scattered the *ṣadaqah* camels (and gave them back to those who had paid them). *Jafūl*, however, also means "hairy."

395. A member of the Jaʿfar b. Kilāb from the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣʿah tribe. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 284–87; "Labīd b. Rabīʿa," *EI*², V, 583–84 (C. Brockelmann).

396. This is al-Wāqidī's version; other scholars call her Ramlah bt. al-Ḥārith. Her house is mentioned in the *Sīrah* and elsewhere as a lodging. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 305; al-Wāqidī, 192, 975, 988; Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 327; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 122.

397. See p. 000, above.

398. The parallel text in Ibn Saʿd could not be traced.

Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah, his governor in al-Kūfah: "Invite the poets who live in your jurisdiction, and ask them to recite the poetry they composed both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times; then write to me about it." So al-Mughīrah invited them. He said to Labīd "Recite to me the poetry you composed both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times." Labīd replied "Allāh gave me *sūrat al-Baqarah* and *sūrat Āl ʿImrān*[399] instead of that." Al-Mughīrah then said to al-Aghlab al-ʿIjlī[400] "Recite to me," and he said:

Is it *rajaz* or a poem[401] that you need?
What you ask can easily be achieved.

Al-Mughīrah wrote about this to ʿUmar, and he wrote back:
[2360] "Cut al-Aghlab's pension by 500 [dirhams], and add them to Labīd's." Al-Aghlab traveled to ʿUmar, [came before him], and said "Would you cut my pension for obeying you?" ʿUmar then wrote to al-Mughīrah "Return to al-Aghlab the 500 you have cut, [but] leave intact the increase in Labīd b. Rabīʿah's pension."

Ḥubshī b. Junādah b. Naṣr b. Usāmah b. al-Ḥārith b. Muʿayṭ b. ʿAmr b. Jandal b. Murrah b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah b. Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr b. Hawāzin.[402]

The Banū Murrah b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah are the Banū Salūl; Salūl was a woman, the mother of the Banū Murrah, that is, Salūl bt. Dhuhl b. Shaybān b. Thaʿlabah; and they are known by her [name].

Ḥubshī b. Junādah was a Companion of the Prophet. He fought on the side of ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib] in the battles he led.

Abū Umāmah al-Bāhilī.[403]

His name was Ṣudayy b. ʿAjlān, from the Banū Sahm b. ʿAmr b. Thaʿlabah b. Ghanm b. Qutaybah b. Maʿn b. Mālik b. Aʿṣur—whose name was Munabbih—b. Saʿd b. Qays b. ʿAylān.

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399. Chapters 2 and 3 of the Qur'ān.

400. A poet born before Islam; he died in 22/642. See "al-Aghlab," *EI*², I, 247 (C. Pellat).

401. *Rajaz* is a certain kind of meter, in which the verses are less rigidly structured than in a regular poem; see "Radjaz," *EI*², VIII, 375–78 (M. Ullmann).

402. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 271–72; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 55–56.

403. The male ancestor of the tribe was Mālik b. Aʿṣur, but it was known as Bāhilah, after Mālik's wife. Their pedigree is confused. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 245–47; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 293; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 46, 302.

Zayd al-Khayl b. Muhalhil b. Zayd b. Munhib b. 'Abd Ruḍā b. al-Mukhtalis b. Thuwab b. Kinānah b. Mālik b. Nābil b. Aswadān—whose name was Nabhān—b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth b. Ṭayyi' b. Udad b. Zayd b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān.[404]

The mother of Ṭayyi' was Dallah bt. Manjishān b. Killah b. Radmān b. Ḥimyar,[405] whose mother gave birth to her on a hill by the name of Madhḥij, so Dallah was called Madhḥij after that hill [2361] and all her descendants are called Banū Madhḥij.[406]

Ṭayyi' had been named Julhumah, and he was called Ṭayyi', according to a certain opinion, only because he was the first to have plastered the [walls of the] watering places (*ṭawā al-manāhil*), and some say that it was because he was the first to have plastered the walls of a well.

Zayd al-Khayl died in a place called Fardah,[407] while returning after [visiting] the Prophet.

According to Hishām [Ibn al-Kalbī]—his father: The clan of Zayd al-Khayl was called the Banū al-Mukhtalis. Zayd had several children:[408]

(1) Miknaf b. Zayd, after whom Zayd was called [Abū Miknaf]. He embraced Islam and ranked among the Prophet's Companions. He took part in the wars of apostasy (*riddah*) [on the Muslim side] under the command of Khālid b. al-Walīd and showed courage.

(2) Ḥurayth b. Zayd; he was a horseman. He ranked among the Prophet's Companions and took part in the wars of apostasy under the command of Khālid b. al-Walīd. He [also] was a poet.

(3) 'Urwah b. Zayd. He took part in the battles of Qādisiyyah,

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404. The clan's name is Banū al-Mukhtalis, the larger group being the Nabhān; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 403–4. Zayd was a poet and tribal chief in pre-Islamic times; see Landau-Tasseron, "Ṭayyi'," 57.

405. An ancient Arab people from southern Arabia, incorporated by Arab genealogists into the tribal scheme as a son of Saba' (ancient Sheba). See "Ḥimyar," *EI*[1], II, 310–12 (J. H. Mordtmann); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 432; Caskel, II, 66–73.

406. Theoretically all Arab tribes had male eponyms. When it was obvious that a tribe's name had been otherwise coined, a story was adduced by the genealogists to explain it.

407. A mountain or, according to another version, a watering place in the territory of Ṭayyi', see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 871.

408. On Zayd's children and their role in the apostasy wars, see Landau-Tasseron, "Ṭayyi'," 57–59.

Quss al-Nāṭif, and Mihrān[409] and showed courage. He composed verses about it.

Zayd al-Khayl was a poet.

ʿAdī b. Ḥātim al-Jawād (the generous) b. ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. al-Ḥashraj b. Imriʾ al-Qays b. ʿAdī b. Akhzam b. Rabīʿah b. Jarwal b. Thuʿal b. ʿAmr b. al-Ghawth b. Ṭayyiʾ.[410]

His *kunyah* was Abū Ṭarīf.

ʿAdī b. Ḥātim took part in the battles of Qādisiyyah,[411] Mihrān, Quss al-Nāṭif, and Nukhaylah. He was the standard bearer. He fought in the battle of the Camel on the side of the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, where he lost an eye and his son was killed. He [also] took part in the battles of Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān on ʿAlī's side.[412]

ʿAdī died during the rule of al-Mukhtār[413] in al-Kūfah, at the age of 120.

[2362] ʿAmr b. al-Musabbiḥ b. Kaʿb b. Ṭarīf b. ʿAṣar b. Ghanm b. Ḥārithah b. Thuwab b. Maʿn b. ʿAtūd b. ʿUnayn b. Salāmān b. Thuʿal b. ʿAmr b. al-Ghawth b. Ṭayyiʾ.[414]

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409. Quss al-Nāṭif is another name for the battle of the Bridge in Iraq in the year 13/634 or 14/635. See Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 191–92; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 251–52; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 2174–83. Mihrān is another name for the battle of Nukhaylah in Iraq, which took place before al-Qādisiyyah, but cf. the biography of ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, below, where the two names seem to refer to two disparate events; Nukhaylah is also known as al-Buwayb. See al-Balādhurī, ibid., 253–55; Donner, ibid., 198.

410. A tribal leader who embraced Islam and was appointed tax collector by the Prophet. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 75; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 68–69; al-Ḍabbī, 23–25. The clan's name was Banū Thuʿal. See also Landau-Tasseron, "Ṭayyiʾ," 53–56, 59–60.

411. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 2221, where he is said to have been the commander of the Ṭayyiʾ.

412. A town in Iraq, the site of ʿAlī's victory over the Khawārij who rebelled against him in the year 37/658; see Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 84–86.

413. Leader of a successful pro-ʿAlid revolt. He ruled al-Kūfah in 66–67/685–87; see "al-Mukhtār," *EI*², VII, 521–24 (G. R. Hawting).

414. A member of the Banū Thuʿal, he is considered to be one of the *muʿammarūn*, those who lived more than 120 years. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 16, and also "Muʿammar," *EI*², VII, 258 (G. H. A. Juynboll).

He was the best archer among the Arabs, and [the poet] Imru' al-Qays[415] said about him:

How many archers of the Banū Thu'al
draw their hands out of the hiding place?

Wabarah b. al-Jaḥdar al-Ma'nī of the Banū Daghsh said:[416]

The raven pushed—I wished that it did not—
causing me and Salmā and Umm al-Ḥawshab to part.[417]
I wished that the core of that raven's heart
by 'Amr's perfectly made arrows was shot.

'Amr b. al-Musabbiḥ lived 150 years. He lived to the Prophet's time, went to see him, and embraced Islam.

Al-Ash'ath b. Qays, that is, al-Ashajj (scarface), b. Ma'dī-Karib b. Mu'āwiyah b. Jabalah b. 'Adī b. Rabī'ah b. Mu'āwiyah al-Akramīn b. al-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiyah b. al-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiyah b. Thawr b. Muratti' b. Kindah.[418]

[Al-Ash'ath] was a Kindī; Kindah's [real] name was Thawr b. 'Ufayr b. 'Adī b. al-Ḥārith b. Murrah b. Udad b. Zayd b. Yashjub b. 'Arīb b. Kahlān b. Saba' b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān.

Al-Ash'ath's [real] name was Ma'dī-Karib, but his hair was always disheveled, so he was nicknamed al-Ash'ath (the disheveled). His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

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415. See "Imru' al-Ḳays b. Ḥudjr," *EI*², III, 1177–78 (S. Boustany); Tuetey. The verses are in al-Sandūbī, *Sharḥ dīwān Imri' al-Qays*, 86, and Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 239, from which apparently al-Ṭabarī quoted it; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 16 (*wa-qāla Ibn al-Kalbī thumma al-Ṭabarī . . .*)

416. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, I, 743 s.v. *l.gh.b* (both variants omitting the obscure part about Umm al-Ḥawshab). In Ibn al-Kalbī, 236, the poet is called Wabarah b. Salāmah and the family the Banū Da's of the Ṭā'ī clan Ma'n. Note Jaḥdam/Qaḥdham in Ibn al-Kalbī (apparently corresponding to our text's Jaḥdar).

417. The raven is the symbol of separation from the beloved in ancient Arabic poetry. Salmā is obviously the beloved's name. I could not find out what Umm al-Ḥawshab refers to.

418. Of the Banū Jabalah of Kindah; see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 139. Al-Ash'ath was an important leader both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times. He served 'Uthmān as a governor and 'Alī as a general and played a crucial role in Kūfan politics. See "al-Ash'ath b. Ḳays," *EI*², I, 696–97 (H. Reckendorf); Crone, *Slaves*, 110–11; Lecker, "Kinda"; idem, "Judaism Among Kinda"; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 129, 149, 175–77; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 78.

[2363] Al-Ashʿath went to see the Prophet with seventy [other] riders from Kindah. He later took part in the wars of apostasy (*riddah*), was taken prisoner, and was sent to Abū Bakr.[419] He repented and remained to live in Medina until ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, during his caliphate, urged the people to participate in the military expeditions to Iraq.[420] Al-Ashʿath joined [a regiment] under [the command of] Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and took part in the battles of Qādisiyyah, Madā'in, Jalūlā', and Nihāwand.[421] He chose for himself a piece of land in al-Kūfah when the Muslims founded the garrison, built a house (*dār*) among [the other members of] the Kindah, and lived there until his death.

Al-Ashʿath was present at the Arbitration (*taḥkīm al-ḥakamayn*).[422] ʿAlī wanted to appoint ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās as arbiter to confront ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ,[423] but al- Ashʿath b. Qays refused [to accept this], saying: "This case should not be judged by two Muḍarīs! One of the arbitrators must be a Yemenī."[424] So ʿAlī appointed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, and al-Ashʿath was one of the witnesses to the document [of arbitration].

Al-Ashʿath's brother Sayf b. Qays.[425]

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419. On the apostasy of the Kindah after the Prophet's death and al-Ashʿath's leading role, see Ibn Ḥubaysh, 131–41; al-Kalāʿī, 222–42; Lecker, "Kinda"; Lecker, "Judaism."

420. The former apostates were not allowed to take part in the conquests until a shortage of manpower was felt, during Umar's caliphate; see Landau-Tasseron, "F. McG. Donner," 506–8. In addition, the Muslims were reluctant to raid Iraq, where they had suffered setbacks in the beginning; see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Beirut), 252–53.

421. Al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon) in Iraq, Jalūlā' and Nihāwand in Persia were Sasānian cities and sites of battles during the Muslim conquests. See Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 209–10; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2431–44, 2457–74, 2596–2637; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 262–65, 302–7.

422. The battle of Ṣiffīn between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah (37/657) ended with an agreement to arbitration; see Hinds, "Ṣiffīn Agreement."

423. ʿAmr, Muʿāwiyah's appointee, was known as an exceptionally shrewd person (*dāhiyah*).

424. The Muḍar (the "northern" tribes) and the Yemen (the "southern" tribes) were in fact the two rival factions that dominated the political life of the Umayyad period. It should be noted that in the tribal context the designations "southerners" and "northerners" are not geographical but genealogical terms. The names Qays and Kalb are also used to denote these factions. See Crone, *Slaves*; Landau-Tasseron, "Waning of the Umayyads."

425. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 141; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 104.

He went with al-Ashʿath b. Qays to see the Prophet. The latter told him to act as the [clan's] muezzin, and so he did until his death.

Their brother Ibrāhīm b. Qays.[426]
He went to see the Prophet together with al-Ashʿath and embraced Islam.

Al-Ḥārith b. Saʿīd b. Qays b. al-Ḥārith b. Shaybān b. al-ʿĀtik b. Muʿāwiyah al-Akramīn.[427]
He went to see the Prophet.

Amānāh b. Qays b. al-Ḥārith b. Shaybān b. al-ʿĀtik b. Muʿāwiyah al-Akramīn.[428]
He went to see the Prophet and embraced Islam. He lived a long life, and the poet ʿŪḍah b. Badā said about him:[429]

I wish to live long, O Umm Khālid,
just as Amānāh b. Qays b. Shaybān did. [2364]
He lived so long "he is not a mortal" people would say;
many an old man and youth he saw pass away.
After a [long] period of time
a great calamity befell him like Naṣr b. Duhmān.[430]
As if among the living not an hour did he linger,
[now] he is placed in the grave's custody, shrouded in linen.

Amānāh's son Yazīd b. Amānāh joined [his father] in his visit [to the Prophet]. He embraced Islam and later apostatized and was killed as an apostate in the battle of Nujayr.[431] This was reported by Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī].[432]

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426. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 15.
427. The clan's name is Shaybān; it was of the Kindah tribe; see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 159; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, 279.
428. Uncle of the aforementioned al-Ḥārith.
429. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 160; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 62–63. The poet belonged to the Nakhaʿ.
430. A folkloric figure connected with several stories and proverbs. According to one of them, he lived a very long time and, after having aged, was again rejuvenated. See al-Zamakhsharī, I, 254–55.
431. Al-Nujayr was a fortress of the Kindah in Ḥaḍramawt where the Kindī apostates were besieged and defeated by the Muslims. See note 419, above.
432. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 160.

Ma'dān b. al-Aswad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Wallādah b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiyah b. al-Ḥārith al-Akbar (senior).[433]

Ma'dān was nicknamed al-Jafshīsh.[434]

He came to see the Prophet together with al-Ash'ath b. Qays. He is the one who said to the Prophet "O Messenger of God, are you not one of us?" The Prophet remained silent. [This was repeated] twice, and the third time the Prophet said: "We do not trace our pedigree through the female line, and we shall not disown our male ancestors. We are the descendants of al-Naḍr b. Kinānah."[435] Al-Ash'ath said [to Ma'dān] "May God break your teeth; why did you not keep quiet?"

According to the tradition of Kindah, al-Jafshīsh was the one who said:

We obeyed the Messenger of God, for he spoke the truth,
but, [I] wonder, what is the kingship of Abū Bakr to us?
Will he, when he dies, beqeath it to a young camel?
this by God is a backbreaking [upheaval].[436]

[2365] This was reported by Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī],[437] but Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī] held that these two verses were composed by Ḥārithah b. Surāqah b. Ma'dī Karib al-Kindī, who

433. The clan is Banū al-Ḥārith al-Wallādah of the Kindah. 'Abdallāh's original name was Shayṭān, "devil," changed by the Prophet, see p. 53, above; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 172.

434. Opinions differ as to the identity of al-Jafshīsh. I could not, however, find an explanation of the nickname. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 240–41. My search in the direction of south Arabian yielded no results either. See also Lecker, "Kinda."

435. Several tribal groups attempted to establish their kinship with the Quraysh, the ruling tribe, either through the Prophet himself or otherwise. See E. Landau-Tasseron, "Asad," 13; idem, "Murra."

436. These verses are variously attributed to several poets. They reflect the reluctance of many Arab tribes to submit to the hegemony of Medina after the Prophet's death, in the so-called apostasy period. See p. 82, above. For these verses, see al-Ḥuṭay'ah, 329–30; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1875–76; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 96; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 15, 133; al-Kalā'ī, 37, 227; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 286–87 (s.v. "Ḥaḍramawt"); Ibn A'tham, I, 49; see also Kister, "*Illā bi-ḥaqqihi*'," 35. The second verse mockingly refers to the *kunyah* "Abū Bakr," literally, "father of the young camel"; c.f. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1890. See also Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 185, where a Kindī woman by the name of Umm Ma'dān is listed among those who rejoiced in the Prophet's death, together with Malkah, daughter of Amānāh.

437. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 173. The composer of the verses, however, is here Abū Hunayy Masrūq b. Ma'dī Karib.

withheld the legal alms from [the tax collector] Ziyād b. Labīd and joined those who apostatized.[438]

Qays b. al-Makshūḥ—whose [real] name was Hubayrah—b. ʿAbd Yāghūth b. al-Ghuzayyil b. Salamah b. Bidā b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAwbathān b. Zāhir b. Murād.[439]

Qays's father, Hubayrah, was nicknamed al-Makshūḥ because he had a complaint in his flank resulting from a fire (*kushiḥa bi-al-nār*); that is, he had a burn on his flank (*kashḥ*). He had been a leader of the Murād, and [so was] his son Qays.

[Qays] was the [best] horseman of the Madhḥij tribe. It was reported that he was the one who had pierced the head of [al-Aswad] al-ʿAnsī. The [tribal confederation of] Muḍar used to call him Qays Ghudar (treacherous), to which he would reply "I am not treacherous, but I inflict death on Muḍar."[440]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Zuhayr—Muḥammad b. ʿUmārah b. Khuzaymah b. Thābit: When ʿAmr b. Maʿdī Karib heard about the Prophet he said to Qays b. al-Makshūḥ al-Murādī: "O Qays, you are the leader of your tribe at present. We have heard that a man of the Quraysh, by the name of Muḥammad, has arisen in the Ḥijāz, claiming to be a prophet. Let us go to him and learn the truth about him. If he is a prophet, as he claims, the matter will be clear to us when we meet him; [in that case] we should follow him. If he is not [a prophet], we will learn the truth about him. If someone else from your tribe precedes us to him, [that man] will assume leadership and rule us, and we will be his subordinates."[441] Qays refused [the suggestion]

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438. See Ibn Ḥubaysh, 133; al-Kalāʿī, 226–28.

439. There are two people by that name, see Ibn al-Kalbī *Nasab maʿadd*, 335, 351. The one discussed here, famous for his part in killing the false Yemeni prophet al-Aswad, belonged to the Banū Zāhir of the tribe of Murād. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasad maʿadd*, 335; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 84, 102; Ibn Saʿd, V, 383. For the Murād, a part of Madhhij that dwelt in the Yemen east of Najrān, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 406–7; "Murād," *EI*², VII, 591–92 (G. Levi Della Vida).

440. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasad maʿadd*, 335. This exchange reflects the enmity between the "northern" and "southern" confederations. See note 424. Qays's reply rhymes in Arabic.

441. This statement presupposes a ruling status for the Prophet. Rise to leadership of a clan could depend on a person's connections with rulers of states outside the clan (such as al-Ḥīrah and Ghassān in pre-Islamic times, the Prophet and the caliphs in Islamic times).

and said that the idea was foolish. ʿAmr b. Maʿdī Karib rode to Medina leading ten of his fellow tribesmen, embraced Islam, and returned to his [tribe's] territory.[442]

[2366] Ṣafwān b. ʿAssāl, of the Banū al-Rabaḍ b. Zāhir b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAwbathān b. Zāhir b. Murād.[443]

As a pension recipient he counted as one of the Jamal.[444]

He embraced Islam and was a Companion of the Prophet.

ʿAmr b. al-Ḥamiq b. al-Kāhin b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAmr b. al-Qayn b. Razāḥ b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr.[445]

He gave the oath of allegiance to the Prophet during the Farewell Pilgrimage and ranked among the Companions after that.

ʿAmr was among those who took part in the assault on ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.[446] He later participated with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in the battles led by him. He was killed in the Jazīrah by Ibn Umm al-Ḥakam.[447]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿĪsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—[ʿĀmir b. Sharāhīl] al-Shaʿbī: The first head to have been carried [to the ruler] in Islamic times was the head of ʿAmr b. al-Ḥamiq.[448]

Kurz b. ʿAlqamah b. Hilāl b. Juraybah b. ʿAbd-Nuhm b. Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyyah b. Salūl b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. Ḥārithah b. ʿAmr Muzay-

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442. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1732–34, for a similar version. The chain of authorities is different.

443. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 80; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 74–75, 134; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 335.

444. A clan of the Murād; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 476–77. The tribal leaders received the pensions (*ʿaṭāʾ*) on behalf of their people and were responsible for distributing them individually. Sometimes people were listed with clans other than their own for the purpose of receiving pensions.

445. Of the Khuzāʿah confederation. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 94; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 107, 136; idem, *Taʾrīkh*, 176, 197; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVa, 236–37; Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 292, 490; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, passim.

446. The reference is to the murder of the third caliph, ʿUthmān, in the year 35/656, see Kennedy, 69–75.

447. He was killed in retaliation for the murder of ʿUthmān. Ibn Umm al-Ḥakam, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān al-Thaqafī, was Muʿāwiyah's governor of Mosul; see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 127–28.

448. Cf. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 292; al-Suyūṭī, *Wasāʾil*, 81; Ibn Qutaybah, *Awāʾil*, 41.

qiyā' b. 'Āmir Mā' al-Samā' b. Ḥārithah al-Ghiṭrīf b. Imri' al-Qays b. Tha'labah b. Māzin b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba' b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān.[449]

Kurz embraced Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca. He lived a long life. [Once] one of the signs marking the [boundaries of] the sacred territory in Mecca (*a'lām al-ḥaram*) could not be found. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam wrote to Mu'āwiyah about it, and he wrote [back] "If Kurz b. 'Alqamah is still alive, ask him to lead you to it." [Marwān] did this, so Kurz is the one who set the boundaries of the sacred territory in Mu'āwiyah's time; they are in the same position even now.[450]

Al-Ḥaysumān b. Iyās b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḍubay'ah b. 'Amr b. Māzin b. 'Adī b. 'Amr.[451] [2367]

He had a leading position within his clan. He embraced Islam and was a good Muslim (*ḥasuna islāmuhu*).[452]

Mikhnaf b. Sulaym b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Awf b. Tha'labah b. 'Āmir b. Dhuhl b. Māzin b. Dhubyān b. Tha'labah b. al-Dūl b. Sa'd Manāh b. Ghāmid b. 'Abdallāh b. Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b b. 'Abdallāh b. Mālik b. Naṣr b. al-Azd.[453]

Mikhnaf embraced Islam and ranked among the Companions. His family was the leading one among the Azd in al-Kūfah. He had three brothers: 'Abd Shams, who was killed in the battle of

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449. The clan's name is Banū 'Abd Nuhm, it was of the Khuzā'ah confederation. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 236; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 444. Kurz was the one who went after the Prophet when the latter emigrated but miraculously lost track of him; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 291.

450. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 236, and see p. 42, above. Marwān was Mu'āwiyah's governor in Mecca.

451. The clan was the Banū 'Adī of the Khuzā'ah confederation; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 239. Al-Ḥaysumān is known as the one who brought the Quraysh the bad news of their defeat at Badr; see also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 294; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 366, quoting, among others, al-Ṭabarī (*Ta'rīkh*, I, 1338); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 454.

452. This phrase usually denotes people whose sincerity was doubtful, e.g., people who had apostatized then embraced Islam again.

453. The clan was the Banū Tha'labah b. 'Āmir of the Azd, one of the most important southern tribal confederations in Umayyad times. Mikhnaf was one of the main leaders. He served 'Alī as governor of Iṣfahān and as a general in the battle of Ṣiffīn. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 482; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 377; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 113; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 104–5, and passim; also "Azd," *EI*², I, 811–13 (G. Strenziok).

Nukhaylah; al-Ṣaqʿab, who was killed in the battle of the Camel; and ʿAbdallāh, who was [also] killed in the battle of the Camel.[454]

Among the descendants of Mikhnaf b. Sulaym was Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Mikhnaf b. Sulaym.[455] Accounts of people's battles (*ayyām al-nās*) are transmitted from him.

Fayrūz b. al-Daylamī.[456]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh. He belonged to the descendants (*abnāʾ*) of the Persians who had been sent by Khusraw to the Yemen, conquered it, and drove out the Abyssinians.[457]

According to ʿAbd al-Munʿim: They later traced their pedigree to the Banū Ḍabbah,[458] saying "We had been taken prisoner in pre-Islamic times."[459] ʿAbd al-Munʿim was mistaken in what he said, for [the story] was like this: Ḍabbah b. Udd had three sons. One of them assaulted another descendant of Ḍabbah and killed him. His father wanted to kill him [in retaliation], so he ran away and set-
[2368] tled in the Daylam mountains,[460] where he fathered several children. His descendants claim even today that they have in their possession his saddle and utensils.

Fayrūz is the one who killed al-ʿAnsī, that is, al-Aswad b. Kaʿb al-Kadhdhāb (the liar), who claimed to be a prophet in the Yemen. The Prophet said "He was killed by the virtuous man Fayrūz b. al-Daylamī."

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454. Cf. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 172.

455. "Abū Mikhnaf," *EI*², I, 140 (H. A. R. Gibb); Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 43–44; Muṣṭafā, I, 178–79; U. Sezgin, *Abū Mihnaf*.

456. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 7; idem, *Taʾrīkh*, 84; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 210; Ibn Saʿd, V, 389.

457. The reference is to the Persian intervention in the Yemen under Khusraw Anūshirwān (531–79), see "Abnāʾ," *EI*², I, 102 (K. V. Zettersteén); al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 901–66.

458. Ḍabbah b. Udd, of the northern Muḍar confederation. See "Ḍabba," *EI*², II, 71–72 (W. Caskel); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 203. Genealogists mention that "the [Persian people] Daylam are said to be descendants of Bāsil b. Ḍabbah," without further explanation. See Ibn Ḥazm, loc. cit.; al-Wazīr, 135.

459. Change (or forgery) of genealogy was common, often accomplished by manipulating the history of a female ancestor, e.g., claiming that she had remarried and brought along her son from the previous marriage, so that he (and his descendants) were erroneously traced to the stepfather; here the argument is that a male ancestor from the Ḍabbah had been captured and remained among the Abnāʾ so that his descendants were thought to belong to that group.

460. In the highlands of Gīlān; see "Daylam," *EI*², 189–90 (Minorsky).

Fayrūz went to see the Prophet and transmitted [traditions] from him. Some people transmitted [traditions] from Fayrūz, saying "I was told by al-Daylamī al-Ḥimyarī," whereas others say "On the authority of al-Daylamī," which is the same thing; it is Fayrūz al-Daylamī. He was called al-Ḥimyarī only because he lived among the Ḥimyar and was their ally.

Fayrūz died during the caliphate of ʿUthmān.

The Names of Those Companions Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted Traditions and Knowledge[461]

The names of those who lived after the Prophet from the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf.[462]

Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the paternal uncle of the Prophet, and his sons al-Faḍl, ʿAbdallāh, and ʿUbaydallāh. All of them lived during the time of the Prophet and transmitted [traditions] from him, and knowledge was transmitted from them.

The oldest among al-ʿAbbās' children whom I have mentioned was al-Faḍl, after whom al-ʿAbbās was called [Abū al-Faḍl].[463] He was the first of them to die. He died before his father, in Syria, in the plague of ʿAmwās.[464]

ʿAbdallāh [b. al-ʿAbbās] was the one who broadened the people's knowledge. He was given a long life and lived until the days of the war between Ibn al-Zubayr and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān.[465] I have already mentioned his death date and other details about him.

ʿUbaydallāh was the youngest of al-ʿAbbās' three sons; ʿAbdallāh was a year older than he. ʿUbaydallāh died before ʿAbdallāh,

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461. In fact, the next chapters (up to p. 119) deal with members, allies, and clients of Qurashī clans: the Banū Hāshim, al-Muṭṭalib, Nawfal, Asad, ʿAbd al-Dār, Zuhrah, Taym b. Murrah, Makhzūm, ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, Jumaḥ and ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy.

462. That is, the Prophet's clan.

463. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 28; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 23–26; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 87–88; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4.

464. ʿAmwās, ancient Emmaus in Palestine, was the site of a Muslim military camp during the conquests. Many fell victim there to the plague of the year 18/639. See "ʿAmwās," *EI*², I, 460–61 (Sourdel-Thomine); Conrad, "Plague," chap. 5.

465. That is, the second civil war, see pp. 51–52, above.

during the time of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, whereas ʿAbdallāh's death occurred two years later.

The mother of al-Faḍl, ʿAbdallāh, ʿUbaydallāh, and Qutham was
[2369] the same [woman], that is, Umm al-Faḍl Lubābah al-Kubrā (senior) bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn, of the Banū Hilāl b. ʿĀmir.

In addition to these, others among al-ʿAbbās' children transmitted knowledge and traditions, such as Kathīr, Tammām, and Maʿbad. None of them, however, is known really to have heard [traditions directly] from the Prophet, except those whom I mentioned.

ʿAlī and ʿAqīl, sons of Abū Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, sons of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; and ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib. All of them outlived the Prophet and transmitted knowledge and traditions. I have already mentioned their death dates and the periods of their lives.

Al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf.

Among his offspring was ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, who was accepted [as leader] by the people of al-Baṣrah during the time of [the strife between] the Zubayrī and the Marwanī factions.[466] His nickname was Babbah.

[Al-Ḥārith] lived during the Prophet's time and transmitted [traditions] from him.

Some traditions transmitted by al-Ḥārith from the Prophet:

According to ʿAlī b. Sahl al-Ramlī—Muʾammil b. Ismāʿīl—Sufyān—ʿĀṣim b. ʿUbaydallāh—ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal—his father: Whenever the Prophet heard the muezzin call "I testify that there is no God but Allāh; I testify that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh" he would say "[It is] as he says." When the muezzin called "Come to prayer" the Prophet would say "There is neither might nor power

466. The reference is to the second civil war (*fitnah*). In the confusion after the death of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah (64/683) people in the provinces ousted their official governors and chose others in their place. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 132, 188 (read *bi-babbah* instead of *baynahu*), 190, 273; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 70; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 115.

but in God." And when the muezzin reached the [line] "Come and be saved" the Prophet would say "There is neither might nor power but in God."[467]

According to Hilāl b. al-ʿAlāʾ al-Raqqī—Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar Abū ʿUmar al-Ḥawḍī—Hammām—Layth—ʿAlqamah b. Marthad—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith—his father: The Prophet taught us how to say the prayer over the dead: "O God, forgive our living and our dead; make peace between us and bring our hearts together. O God, this is your servant so-and-so son of so-and-so; we know nothing but good [about him], [but] You know him better. Forgive us, and forgive him." I was the youngest among the people [present], and I asked: "What if I do not know good things [about him]?" The Prophet replied: "Say only what you know." [2370]

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf.

According to the biographers, he was [already] a mature man in the Prophet's lifetime. He transmitted from him a few traditions, among them the following. According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ]—[Muḥammad] Ibn Fuḍayl—Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith—ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib: I was with the Prophet when al-ʿAbbās came in to see him. Al-ʿAbbās was angry, and the Prophet asked him "What is it that made you angry?" Al-ʿAbbās said: "O Messenger of God, what is it between us and the Quraysh? When they meet one another they do so with cheerful countenance, and when they meet us it is otherwise." The Prophet flew into a rage until his face reddened and the vein between his eyes was filled with blood; whenever he became angry [this vein] would be filled with blood. When he relaxed he said "[I swear] by He who holds Muḥammad's soul in His hand, belief does not enter a man's heart until he loves you for the sake of God and His messenger." Then he said "O people, whoever harasses al-ʿAbbās, it is as if he harassed me; indeed, one's paternal uncle is like one's father."[468]

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467. See "Adhān," *EI*², I, 187–88 (T. W. Juynboll).

468. *ʿAmm al-rajul ṣinw abīhi. Ṣinw* means "growing from one root, a brother," but the sentence conveys more than the undeniable fact that "one's uncle is the brother of one's father." The idea that one's paternal uncle is like a father to one

Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

His *kunyah* was Abū Arwā.

[2371] Rabīʿah is the one about whom the Prophet said, on the day Mecca was conquered "I say, every [open case of] blood revenge and every privilege from pre-Islamic times are hereby rendered null and void, and the first case of blood revenge that I thus declare annulled is that of Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith."[469] The reason for this was that a son of Rabīʿah was killed in pre-Islamic times, and the [right and obligation] to avenge his blood was canceled by Islam. The Prophet did not enable Rabīʿah to pursue the vendetta against the assassin of his son.

Rabīʿah outlived the Prophet until ʿUmar's caliphate and transmitted [traditions] from him. It was reported that he was two years older than his paternal uncle al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

A tradition traced back to him: According to Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd—Jarīr [b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd]—ʿAṭāʾ [b. al-Sāʾib]—ʿAbdallāh b. Rabīʿah—his father—a man of the Quraysh: I saw the Prophet in pre-Islamic times standing at [the place of assembly at] ʿArafāt with the idolators; then I saw him in Islamic times standing at the same place,[470] so I knew that it was God who made him stand like this.[471]

*The Clients (*Mawālī*) of the Banū Hāshim*

Those who outlived the Prophet, transmitted [traditions] from him, and from whom knowledge was transmitted.

Salmān al-Fārisī.

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

According to al-Ḥārith b. Muḥammad—Ibn Saʿd[472]—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāh b. Zurārah al-Jarmī—Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān—Hishām b.

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figures in other prophetic traditions as well and served the propaganda of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty against the Shīʿah; see Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 100, 102, 107. The point that the people should love al-ʿAbbās also reflects the specific struggle against the Shīʿah, for whom the love of ʿAlī and his family was a central feature of the creed.

469. See p. 61, above.

470. Or "in the same way."

471. See "ʿArafa," *EI*², I, 604–5 (A. J. Wensinck, and H. A. R. Gibb).

472. Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 62.

Ḥassān—al-Ḥasan: Salmān's pension was 5,000 [dirhams], and he was appointed over 30,000 people. He used to gather firewood clad in a cloak, half of which he used for covering himself; the other half he spread. Each time his pension was due he did not take it but lived off his own handwoven palm leaves.

According to Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā al-Suddī—Sharīk—Abū Rabīʿah al-Iyādī—Ibn Buraydah—his father: The Prophet said "God has ordered me to love four [people]." The Prophet was asked: "Who are they? Tell us their names." He said "ʿAlī is one of them"—he said that three times—" and Abū Dharr and al-Miqdād [b. al-Aswad] and Salmān. God has ordered me to love them and told me that He loves them." [2372]

Salmān died in al-Madāʾin during ʿUthmān's caliphate.

Abū Rāfiʿ, the Prophet's client.

His name was Aslam.

Abū Rāfiʿ had been a slave of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who gave him [as a present] to the Prophet. The latter freed him and gave him his client Salmā in marriage. She bore Abū Rāfiʿ his son ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Rāfiʿ.

Usāmah b. Zayd al-Ḥibb (the beloved) b. Ḥārithah.

His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

His mother was Umm Ayman, the Prophet's client and nurse.

It was reported that Usāmah was twenty years old when the Prophet died. After the Prophet's death he settled in Wādī al-Qurā but returned later to Medina and died in al-Jurf at the end of Muʿāwiyah's caliphate.

Thawbān, the Prophet's client.[473]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Thawbān was one of those whom the Prophet favored by granting them freedom. He remained with the Prophet until the latter's

473. Thawbān b. Yuḥdad, of Yemenī origin. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 211; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 7; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 85; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, V, 346–49.

death, whereupon he moved to Syria and settled in Ḥimṣ. He had a house (*dār*) there [that he gave away as] charity (*ṣadaqah*).[474]

It was reported that Thawbān belonged to the clan called Ḥakam b. Sa'd al-'Ashīrah.[475]

Ḍumayrah b. Abī Ḍumayrah.[476]

He transmitted from the Prophet the following [tradition]. According to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā—['Abdallāh] Ibn Wahb—Ibn Abī Dhi'b [al-'Āmirī]—Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḍumayrah—his father—his grandfather Ḍumayrah: The Prophet passed by Umm Ḍumayrah, who was weeping. He asked her: "Why are you weeping? Are you hungry or cold?[477] She answered "O Messenger of God, I was separated from my son." The Prophet said "A child
[2373] should not be separated from its mother." The Prophet then sent to the man who owned Ḍumayrah, asking him to come [and see him], and bought Ḍumayrah from him for a young camel.

Zayd Abū Yasār, the Prophet's client.[478]

He transmitted from the Prophet the following [tradition]. According to Mūsā b. Ismā'īl—Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar al-Shannī—his father 'Umar b. Murrah—Bilāl b. Yasār b. Zayd, the Prophet's client—his father—his grandfather: The Prophet said: "Whoever says 'I ask forgiveness of God, beside Whom there is no god, the Ever-Living, the Self-Existing. To Him I come back' he will be forgiven even if he runs away from an army while it is on the move."

The Allies (Ḥulafā') of the Banū Hāshim

Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī.[479]

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474. *Ṣadaqah* means charity, legal alms, and also property the fruits of which are given away by the owner for charity or other good purposes. For the latter sense, the term *waqf* is more common.

475. A southern clan; see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 300–2; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 407–9.

476. Counted among the Companions, with no details. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 214.

477. Literally, "naked."

478. Zayd b. Būlā, a black slave freed by the Prophet, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 561.

479. Kannāz b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Yarbū'. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8, 47; Ibn

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. Mahdī]—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd—Busr b. ʿUbaydallāh—Abū Idrīs—Wāthilah b. al-Aṣqaʿ—Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī—the Prophet: Do not sit on graves, and do not pray toward them.[480]

His son Marthad b. Abī Marthad.[481]

He was killed in the battle of al-Rajīʿ.[482]

According to Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār—Ismāʿīl b. Abān—Yaḥyā b. Yaʿlā al-Aslamī, who was trustworthy—ʿAlī b. Mūsā—al-Qāsim [Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shāmī]—Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī, who was one of the participants in [the battle of] Badr—the Prophet: If you want your prayer to be accepted, let the best among you act as imām and lead the prayer, for they are your deputation [which mediates] between you and your Lord.

His grandson Unays b. Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī.[483] [2374]

His *kunyah* was Abū Yazīd.

The age difference between him and his father was twenty-one years.

Unays participated on the Prophet's side in the conquest of Mecca and the battle of Ḥunayn. He was the Prophet's spy in the battle of Awṭās.[484]

Abū Marthad was an ally (*ḥalīf*) of Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[485]

According to Zakariyāʾ b. Yaḥyā b. Abān al-Miṣrī—Abū Ṣāliḥ, al-Layth's scribe—al-Layth b. Saʿd—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd—Khālid b. Abī

Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 39. The Ghanī belonged to the northern Qays confederation. See Caskel, II, 21–22; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 247–48; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 463–70.

480. This tradition must be part of the religious debate over the veneration of the dead. See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 209–38.

481. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8.

482. An event in which six deputies of the Prophet, sent to teach Islam to some bedouin clans on their request, were murdered (3/625). See Ibn Ḥishām, III, 178–85; al-Wāqidī, 354–63; Guillaume, 426–29.

483. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 37–38.

484. Part of the events of Ḥunayn in the year 8/630. See Ibn Hishām, IV, 97; al-Wāqidī, 915.

485. So was his son Marthad. See Mu'arrij, 28–29; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 247; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 270.

ʿImrān—al-Ḥakam b. Masʿūd al-Najrānī—Unays b. Abī Marthad—the Prophet: "There will be a deaf and dumb internal struggle (*fitnah*), a deaf, dumb, and blind one.[486] Those who will lie down during this war will be better than those who will sit, those who will sit better than those who will stand, those who will stand better than those who will walk, those who will walk better than those who will run. Whoever comes [demanding the people's allegiance], let [those who are present] stretch their necks [in support]."[487] So I was told by Zakariyāʾ b. Yaḥyā, who said: Unays b. Abī Marthad al-Anṣārī. But [in fact] it is Unays b. Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī, of the clan of Ghanī b. Yaʿṣur b. Saʿd b. Qays b. ʿAylān b. Muḍar.

Those of the Banū al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy Who Transmitted [Traditions] from the Prophet

Among them was Rukānah b. ʿAbd Yazīd b. Hāshim b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy.

He was among those who embraced Islam upon the conquest [of Mecca]. He outlived the Prophet and died at the beginning of Muʿāwiyah's caliphate.

Qays b. Makhramah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy.

[2375] Jubayr b. Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf.[488]

His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad or Abū ʿAlī. He embraced Islam before the conquest [of Mecca] and settled in Medina, where he died during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah.

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486. That is, endless, or leading to the wrong course; see Lane s.v. *bkm*.

487. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3153, where a similar saying is voiced by Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī. "Stretching the neck" is a metaphor for lending support; cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 581. This and many other traditions in the same vein reflect the great fear and aversion Islam felt toward disunity and hence toward opposition to the government. In certain circles it was held that even the worst ruler was better than none at all. See Kister, "Social Concepts"; "Fitna," *EI*², II, 930–31 (L. Gardet); Lewis, *Islam in History*, chap. 6.

488. Of the Banū Nawfal, brother clan of Hāshim and al-Muṭalib; see al-Zubayrī, 197–205; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 32; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 9; Ibn Qudāmah, 239–40.

Jubayr's father, Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī, was one of the notables of the Quraysh. He had granted the Prophet protection from the idolators, and when the battle of Badr occurred and people from the Quraysh were taken prisoner the Prophet said "If Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī had been alive I would have freed those foul-smelling [idolators][489] on his behalf."[490] [The Prophet said this] because [Muṭʿim] had done him a favor.[491]

Ḥassān b. Thābit said about [Muṭʿim b. ʿAdī]:[492]

If glory had had the power to grant a man immortality,
Muṭʿim's glory would have saved him [from obscurity].
You protected the Prophet from them, and they as your slaves [obeyed]
as long as the *talbiyah* was uttered and *iḥrām* observed.[493]

Jubayr transmitted many traditions from the Prophet.

ʿUqbah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy.[494]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Bashshār—ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [b. ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Thaqafī]—Ayyūb—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Mulaykah—ʿUqbah b. al-Ḥārith: Al-Nuʿaymān, or Ibn al-Nuʿaymān, was brought [to the Prophet] after he had been drinking [alcohol]. The Prophet ordered the people present in the house to beat him, and I was among them. We beat him with shoes and palm branches.

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489. Idolators are referred to as dirt and foul-smelling creatures; see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XIII, 426–27.

490. Al-Zubayrī, 200; Ibn Qudāmah, 240; Ibn Hishām, II, 20. The usual practice, both in pre-Islamic and in the Prophet's times, was to free prisoners against a ransom, unless the captor granted them their freedom as a special favor to themselves or to someone who interceded on their behalf.

491. That is, by granting him protection on his return from al-Ṭaʾif. According to another version, Muṭʿim was the one who instigated the anulling of the Qurashī boycott of the Banū Hāshim; see Ibn Hishām, II, 15–16.

492. Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, I, 198–99; Ibn Hishām, II, 19–20.

493. Meaning "always." The *talbiyah* was the formula expressing devotion to the gods in pre-Islamic times. *Iḥrām* was the state of consecration observed by those who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. Both rituals are also performed in Islam with the necessary modifications. See "Iḥram," *EI*², III, 1052–53 (A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier); "Talbiya," *EI*¹, IV, 640 (A. J. Wensinck); Kister, "*Labbayka.*"

494. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 64; Khalifah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 9; al-Zubayrī, 204–5.

[2376] *The Allies of the Banū Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy*

ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān b. Jābir b. Uhayb b. Nusayb b. Zayd b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf b. Māzin b. Manṣūr b. ʿIkrimah b. Khaṣafah b. Qays b. ʿAylān b. Muḍar.[495]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh or Abū Ghazwān.

ʿUtbah was an early convert and was among those who emigrated to Abyssinia in the second emigration. He was the one who selected the site of al-Baṣrah, founded the garrison there, and built its [first] mosque.[496]

ʿUtbah transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet, among them the following. According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār—Ṣafwān b. ʿĪsā al-Zuhrī—ʿAmr b. ʿĪsā Abū Naʿāmah al-ʿAdawī—Khālid b. ʿUmayr and Shuways Abū al-Raqqād—ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān: I saw myself [in a situation where I was] one of seven [people] standing by the Prophet; we had no food but acacia leaves, until the flesh inside our mouths became ulcerated. Once I stumbled on a mantle and split it in two to share it with Saʿd.[497]

Among their allies was Yaʿlā b. Umayyah b. Ubayy b. ʿUbaydah b. Hammām b. al-Ḥārith b. Bakr b. Zayd b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓalah b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāh b. Tamīm.[498]

His mother was Munyah bt. Jābir b. Uhayb b. Nusayb b. Zayd b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf b. Māzin b. Manṣūr, the paternal aunt of ʿUtbah b. Ghazwān.

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495. The clan is the Banū Māzin b. Manṣūr, of the northern Qays confederation; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 260; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 66; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 95–98; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 201; Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 69, VII/1, 1–3.

496. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 2377–88; see also Donner, "Tribal Settlement in Basra."

497. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 2380. A tradition much more important than this one is ascribed to ʿUtbah by al-Ṭabarānī, i.e., the *man kadhdhaba* tradition, in which the Prophet says "Whoever tells lies about me, let him seek for himself a place in hell"; see Ibn Ḥajar. *Iṣābah*, II, 455. On this tradition, see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 96–133.

498. The clan is the Banū al-ʿAdawiyyah of the great northern tribe of Tamīm. It is called after a female ancestor and includes the descendants of Zayd b. Mālik (Yaʿlāʾs ancestor) and those of two of his brothers; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 228–29. On Yaʿlā, who served as governor and judge under the first three caliphs, then joined ʿAlī, see Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 91, 158; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 45; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 58.

'Utbah and Ya'lā b. Umayyah were among the allies of al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy. Ya'lā b. Umayyah, his father, [2377] Umayyah b. Ubayy, his brother Salamah b. Umayyah, and his sister Nafīsah bt. Munyah were converted to Islam. Ya'lā participated on the Prophet's side in [the battle of] Ḥunayn, [the siege of] al-Ṭā'if, and [the expedition to] Tabūk. He and his brother Salamah transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

The Names of the Companions Who Outlived the Prophet and from Whom Knowledge Was Transmitted, of the Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb

Among them was al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy.

His mother was Ṣafiyyah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, the paternal aunt of the Prophet.

His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh.

It was reported that al-Zubayr was the fourth or fifth convert. He emigrated to Abyssinia twice and did not fail to participate in all the Prophet's military activities.

The Prophet established the bond of brotherhood (*mu'ākhāh*) between al-Zubayr and 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd.

Al-Zubayr was killed in Wādī al-Sibā' on Thursday, 10 Jumādā II 36/December 5, 656, while returning to Medina from the battle of the Camel, and was buried there. He was then sixty-four years old.

Al-Zubayr transmitted many traditions from the Prophet.

His son 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.[499]

His mother was Asmā' bt. Abī Bakr.

'Abdallāh was born in Shawwāl 2/March–April 624. It was reported that his mother, Asmā', emigrated to the Prophet while

499. The first child born among the Emigrants in Medina, a Companion of the Prophet, and a close associate of his maternal aunt the Prophet's wife 'Ā'ishah, on whose side he fought against 'Alī. He established a rival caliphate in Mecca in 64–73/683–92 and was eventually killed by the Syrian army dispatched by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (these events were part of the second civil war, or *fitnah*). See "'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr," *EI*², I, 54–55 (H. A. R. Gibb); Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 46–49; Rotter; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 188–204; al-Kharbūṭalī.

pregnant with him. His *kunyah*s were Abū Bakr and Abū Khubayb.

Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.

His mother was Umm Ḥakīm bt. Zuhayr b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.

[2378] According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Ibn Saʿd[500]—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—al-Mundhir b. ʿAbdallāh—Mūsā b. ʿUqbah—Abū Ḥabībah, the client of al-Zubayr—Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām: I was born thirteen years before the People of the Elephant arrived. I was [already] a mature man when ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib intended to sacrifice his son ʿAbdallāh, as his vow was due to be fulfilled. This was five years before the Prophet was born.

Ḥakīm's *kunyah* was Abū Khālid. He died in Medina at the age of 120, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah.

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

Ḥakīm counts among the converts of the conquest [of Mecca], and so do his sons Khālid and Hishām. The two of them embraced Islam together with him on the day of the conquest of Mecca. Two brothers of theirs, ʿAbdallāh and Yaḥyā, sons of Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, were also converted to Islam on that day.

The Names of Those Who Transmitted [Traditions] from the Prophet, of the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb

Among them was Shaybah the Ḥājib (doorkeeper) b. ʿUthmān, that is, al-Awqaṣ (the short-necked) b. Abī Ṭalḥah—whose [real] name was ʿAbdallāh—b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy.[501]

He embraced Islam at Ḥunayn, while the Prophet was fighting the Hawāzin.[502] He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

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500. The parallel text in Ibn Saʿd could not be traced.

501. Of the ʿAbd al-Dār, traditionally the doorkeepers of the Kaʿbah. Shaybah and ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥah received the keys of the Kaʿbah from the Prophet in confirmation of their position. See al-Zubayrī, 252–53; Ibn Qudāmah, 250 (read *dafaʿa* for *rafaʿa*); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 14; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 56.

502. Several Qurashīs participated in the battle of Ḥunayn (after the conquest of Mecca) without having embraced Islam first.

'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥah b. Abī Ṭalḥah b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb.[503]

He emigrated to the Prophet during the armistice of Ḥudaybiyyah, in Ṣafar 8/June 629.

Abū al-Sanābil b. Ba'kak b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Sabbāq b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb.[504] [2379]

He counts as one of the converts of the conquest [of Mecca].

The Names of Those Who Transmitted [Traditions] from the Prophet, of the Banū Zuhrah b. Kilāb, Brother of Quṣayy b. Kilāb.

Among them was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb.[505]

Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ—whose name was Mālik—b. Uhayb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb b. Murrah.[506]

Sa'd's *kunyah* was Abū Isḥāq.

Al-Miswar b. Makhramah b. Nawfal b. Uhayb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb.

His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

He was the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf's sister.

Al-Miswar was eight years old when the Prophet died. He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet, among them the following.

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503. Al-Zubayrī, 252–53; Ibn Qudāmah, 249–50; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 190; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 14; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 51; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 361, III (Dūrī), 16.

504. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 43; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 14–15; Ibn Qudāmah, 252–53.

505. A wealthy and respected Qurashī, one of Muḥammad's closest Companions. He played a crucial part in the election of the third caliph, 'Uthmān. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 15; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 26; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 728–32; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 203–4.

506. An early convert who was a close and trusted Companion of the Prophet. Later he served as the chief commander of the conquering Muslim army in Iraq and the governor of al-Kūfah. He took a neutral stand in the strife between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah and died some time in the years 50–58/670–78. See "Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ," *EI*[1], IV, 29–30 (K. V. Zetterstéen); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 15; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 26; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 748–54; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 16–21 and passim; Ibn Qudāmah, 287–88.

According to Ma'mar [b. Rāshid] al-Baḥrānī—Abū 'Āmir—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. al-Miswar b. Makhramah—Umm Bakr bt. al-Miswar—al-Miswar: I was standing behind the Prophet while he was performing ablutions, when a Jew passed by. The Jew said "Lift his garment off his back." I approached to lift the Prophet's garment, and the Prophet sprinkled my face with water.

Nāfi' b. 'Utbah b. Abī Waqqāṣ b. Uhayb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb.[507]

Nāfi' counts as one of the converts of the conquest, for he embraced Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca. He was the brother of Hāshim b. 'Utbah al-Mirqāl (the swift runner).

Nafi' b. 'Utbah transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet, [among them the following]. According to Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-'Asqalānī—Rawwād b. al-Jarrāḥ—al-Mas'ūdī—'Abd al-Malik
[2380] b. 'Umayr—Jābir b. Samurah—Nafi' b. 'Utbah—the Prophet: You will fight the [inhabitants of the] Arabian peninsula, and God will conquer them; you will fight the Byzantines, and God will conquer them; you will fight the Persians, and God will conquer them; you will fight the Deceiver,[508] and God will conquer him.[509]

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Azhar b. 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb.[510]

He participated in [the battle of] Ḥunayn on the Prophet's side.

'Abd al-Raḥmān transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet, [among them the following]. According to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā al-Ṣadafī—['Abdallāh] Ibn Wahb—Usāmah b. Zayd al-Laythī—Ibn Shihāb [al-Zuhrī]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Azhar: It is as if I can see the Prophet even now looking for Khālid b. al-Walīd's camel among the [rest of the] camels on the day of Ḥunayn. While he was at that a man was brought before him who had been drinking [alcohol]. The Prophet told the people "Beat him." Some of them

507. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 15, 126; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 129.

508. Al-Dajjāl, a figure parallel to the Antichrist, is the embodiment of evil in Islamic eschatology. War against him is one of the Portents of the Hour; see "al-Dadjdjāl," *EI*², II, 76–77 (A. Abel).

509. Cf. Ibn Qudāmah, 290–91; Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Sulamī, 276–77.

510. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 16; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 52; Ibn Qudāmah, 302–3.

beat him with their shoes, other with sticks, still others with rods, that is, green palm branches. The Prophet then took some earth and threw it in the man's face.[511]

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Arqam b. ʿAbd Yāghūth b. Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb.[512]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet, among them the following. According to Tamīm b. al-Muntaṣir al-Wāsiṭī—Yazīd, that is, Ibn Hārūn—Muḥammad, that is, Ibn Isḥāq—Hishām b. ʿUrwah—his father—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Arqam b. ʿAbd Yāghūth—the Prophet: If any of you feels something in his stomach when [2381] the time for prayer has come, let him go first to the lavatory.

Ṣafwān [b. Makhramah b. Nawfal] al-Zuhrī.[513]

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—al-Ḥakam b. Bashīr—Bashīr b. Salmān—al-Qāsim b. Ṣafwān al-Zuhrī—his father—the Prophet: Delay the noon prayer until the cooler time of the day, for the heat pertains to hellfire.[514]

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAdī b. Ḥamrāʾ al-Zuhrī.[515]

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Yūsuf al-Jubayrī—Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarrānī—Ḥajjāj b. Abī Manīʿ—ʿUbaydallāh b. Abī Ziyād—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī—Abū Salamah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Abū ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Ḥamrāʾ al-Zuhrī: Standing at al-Ḥazawwarah[516] in the market of Mecca, the Prophet said "By God, you are the best place on earth"; or [in another version]: "[By God, you are] the place that I love the most on God's earth. If I had not been forced out of you, I would not have left you."

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511. Cf. p. 103, above.

512. He served ʿUmar and ʿUthmān as treasurer; see Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 130, 157; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 16; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 58–59; Ibn Qudāmah, 294.

513. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 190.

514. Cf. Abū Zurʿah, 607–8, where the tradition is attributed to another person.

515. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 63; Ibn Qudāmah, 304.

516. The old marketplace in Mecca, later incorporated in the area of the Holy Mosque (i.e., the Kaʿbah); see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, II, 262; al-Azraqī, 301, 497.

Those Who Transmitted [Traditions] from the Prophet, of the Allies of the Banū Zuhrah

[2382] ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd b. Ghāfil b. Ḥabīb b. Shamkh b. Fār b. Makhzūm b. Ṣāhilah b. Kāhil b. al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm b. Saʿd b. Hudhayl b. Mudrikah b. al-Yās b. Muḍar.[517]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Masʿūd b. Ghāfil, ʿAbdallāh's father, had entered an alliance with ʿAbd b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhrah[518] in pre-Islamic times.

Al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr b. Thaʿlabah b. Mālik b. Rabīʿah.

He is called al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad.

In pre-Islamic times [al-Miqdād] concluded an alliance with al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yāghūth b. Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb. Al-Aswad adopted him, and he was called al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad until God revealed the [following verse] in disapproval of His Prophet: "Call them by their fathers' names; this is more just in the eyes of God." Consequently he was called al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr.

Khabbāb b. al-Aratt b. Jandalah b. Saʿd b. Khuzaymah b. Kaʿb, of the Banū Saʿd b. Zayd Manāh b. Tamīm.[519]

Khabbāb had been taken prisoner and sold in Mecca. [A woman named] Umm Anmār bt. Sibāʿ of the Khuzāʿah tribe, allies of ʿAwf b. ʿAbd ʿAwf b. ʿAbd b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhrah, bought Khabbāb and set him free. According to another version, Khabbāb's mother and the mother of Sibāʿ were the same. At any rate, Khabbāb b. al-Aratt joined the family of Sibāʿ[520] and as a consequence claimed to have entered an alliance with the Banū Zuhrah.

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517. The tribe's name is Hudhayl; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 197. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd was a close Companion of the Prophet of humble bedouin origin. He held important positions in the caliphates of ʿUmar and ʿUthmān and was known as one of the greatest experts on the Qur'ān and religious law. See "Ibn Masʿūd," *EI*², III, 873–75 (J.-C. Vadet); Jeffery, 20–24; Schacht, *Origins*, 231–33; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 16; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 837–44; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 29; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 204–5, V, 36–38.

518. An important family from the Qurashī Zuhrah clan; see al-Zubayrī, 265.

519. Of the Tamīmī clan Saʿd b. Zayd Manāh; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 215. On Khabbāb, see Kister, "On Strangers and Allies," 126–27; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 17; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 76; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 175–80.

520. That is, either as a family member or as a client; freedmen became allies, or clients, of their former masters. See Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law*, 36–38.

Khabbāb transmitted many traditions from the Prophet.

Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasanah.[521]

Ḥasanah was his mother, of the ʿAdūl clan.[522] His father was ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muṭāʿ b. ʿAmr b. Kindah, an ally of the Banū Zuhrah.

The Names of Those Who Transmitted [Traditions] from the Prophet, of the Banū Taym b. Murrah[523] [2383]

Among them was Abū Bakr ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Quḥāfah—whose name was ʿUthmān—b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿ b b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murrah.[524]

[Those Who Transmitted Traditions], of the Banū Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓah b. Murrah b. Kaʿb

Khālid b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm.[525]

His *kunyah* was Abū Sulaymān.

Khālid's mother was ʿAṣmāʾ, that is, Lubābah al-Ṣughrā (junior), bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn b. Bujayr b. al-Huzam b. Ruwaybah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Hilāl b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah. She was the sister of Umm al-Faḍl bt. al-Ḥārith, also called Lubābah, the mother of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's sons. Khālid b. al-Walīd was thus a maternal cousin of ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās and a nephew of Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith, the Prophet's wife.

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521. He was one of the Prophet's scribes and a commander during the conquests. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 41; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 214; al-Aʿẓamī, *Kuttāb*, 72.

522. She was a client of a member of the Jumaḥ; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 162; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 272. I could not trace the clan ʿAdūl.

523. A Qurashī clan; see Ibn Ḥazm *Jamharat*, 135–40.

524. That is, the first caliph, who was the Prophet's closest Companion and father-in-law. See "Abū Bakr," *EI*², I, 109–11 (W. M. Watt); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 64–90; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 16–17; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil*, 65–106.

525. An important general in Muḥammad's time and later, during the apostasy wars and the beginning of the conquests. He was dismissed by the second caliph, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He was nicknamed "the sword of God." "Khālid b. al-Walīd," *EI*², IV, 928–29 (P. Crone); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 19–20; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil*, 813–17; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 56; Ibn Qudāmah, 345–49; al-Aʿẓamī, *Kuttāb*, 60–62; Akram.

Khālid transmitted traditions from the Prophet.

ʿAyyāsh b. Abī Rabīʿah b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm.[526]

He was half-brother of Abū Jahl b. Hishām, their mother being Asmāʾ bt. Mukharribah b. Jandal b. Ubayr b. Nahshal b. Dārim b. Ghanm.[527]

ʿAyyāsh was among the emigrants to Abyssinia together with his wife Asmāʾ bt. Salamah b. Mukharribah;[528] she bore him his son ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAyyāsh in Abyssinia. ʿAyyāsh later returned to Mecca [where he stayed] until the Prophet died, whereupon he
[2384] moved to Syria and participated in the holy wars.[529] He then returned to Mecca, where he lived until his death.

ʿAyyāsh transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet; among the traditions transmitted from him is [the following]. According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar al-Bukhārī—ʿAbd al-Razzāq [b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī]—Maʿmar [b. Rāshid]—Ayyūb [b. Abī Tamīmah][530]—Nāfiʿ [client of ʿAbdallāh Ibn ʿUmar]—ʿAyyāsh b. Abī Rabīʿah—the Prophet: A wind will come before the Hour[531] and will take the souls of all the believers.

ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm.[532]

His mother was ʿĀtikah bt. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf.[533] He was the brother of Umm Salamah, the Prophet's wife.

ʿAbdallāh participated on the Prophet's side in the conquest of Mecca, [the battle] of Ḥunayn, and [the siege of] al-Ṭāʾif. He was hit and killed by an arrow during the siege of al-Ṭāʾif. This is what

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526. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 64; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 208–10; Ibn Qudāmah, 375–76.

527. The clan is the Nahshal, from the Tamīm tribe; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 230; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 232.

528. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 229.

529. That is, the conquests.

530. See Motzki, 3.

531. That is, the Day of Judgment.

532. Maternal cousin of the Prophet and an opponent of Islam until the year 8/630. See Ibn Qudāmah, 373–74; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 145–46.

533. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 357–58.

the biographers say, and there is no disagreement among them over this point.

ʿUmar b. Abī Salamah b. ʿAbd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm.[534]

It was reported that the Prophet fostered him from the time he was nine years old.

ʿUmar participated in [the battle of] the Camel on the side of ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib], who later appointed him governor of Fārs. He died in Medina during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. He transmitted traditions from the Prophet.

ʿUmar's brother Salamah b. Abī Salamah outlived the Prophet [and died during] the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, but no transmission from the Prophet is recorded from him. He was older than his brother ʿUmar b. Abī Salamah. Umm Salamah, the Prophet's wife, was the mother of both of them. Their father, Abū Salamah, died during the Prophet's lifetime. His name was ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Asad.

ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm.

His *kunyah* was Abū Saʿīd.

It was reported that ʿAmr was twelve years old when the Prophet died. He settled in al-Kūfah, where he died in the year 85 (January 14, 704–January 2, 705). [2385]

ʿAmr transmitted traditions from the Prophet, among them the following. According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ]—Ibn Numayr and Wakīʿ [b. al-Jarrāḥ]—Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid—al-Aṣbagh, client of ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth—ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth: I used to pray together with the Prophet. At the dawn prayer he used to recite [the following verse]: "I swear not by [the stars] that lag, that run, and that fade away."[535] It is as if I can [even now] hear his voice.

534. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 50; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 184, 294, 303; Ibn Qudāmah, 383.

535. Qurʾān 81:15–16, trans. Bell, II, 639.

According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ]—Wakīʿ [b. al-Jarrāḥ]: He recited [the following]: "When the sun shall be veiled."[536]

According to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bayān al-Qannād—Muḥammad b. Yazīd—Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid—Aṣbagh, client of ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth—ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth: I prayed with the Prophet the dawn prayer; it is as if I can [even now] hear his voice, reciting "I swear not by [the stars] that lag, that run, and that fade away." My mother then took me to him, and he prayed for my sucess in gaining a livelihood.

ʿAmr's brother Saʿīd b. Ḥurayth.[537]

He was older than ʿAmr.

It was reported that Saʿīd participated on the Prophet's side in the conquest of Mecca, at the age of fifteen. He settled in al-Kūfah, together with his brother ʿAmr, after the Prophet's death.

Saʿīd transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet, among them the following. According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Bashshār—ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Majīd—Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Muhājir—ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr—ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth—his brother Saʿīd b. Ḥurayth—the Prophet: He who sells a house and does not buy another one instead is not likely to see blessing in that money.

[2386] ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīʿah—whose name was ʿAmr—b. Makhzūm.[538]

He was a full brother of ʿAyyāsh b. Abī Rabīʿah and the father of the poet ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīʿah.

ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Rabīʿah embraced Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca. His name had been Baḥīr, and the Prophet renamed him ʿAbdallāh when he was converted.[539]

ʿAbdallāh transmitted from the Prophet [the following]. According to Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār—Zakariyāʾ b. ʿAdī—Ḥātim—Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Makhzūmī—his father—his grandfather, the last reported that the Prophet borrowed from him [a sum of

536. Qurʾān 81:1, trans. Bell, II, 638.

537. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 20, 126; Ibn Qudāmah, 388.

538. He served the Prophet, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān as governor in the Yemen; see Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 128; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 21; Ibn Qudāmah, 377–78.

539. See note 234, above.

money] between 13,000 and 19,000 [dirhams?]. When the Prophet returned from [the battle of] Ḥunayn he called him and said: "Take your money, may God bless your family and your property. The reward for lending money is only full back payment and praise."[540]

'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl—whose name was 'Amr—b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm.

He embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca.

According to Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Ḥakīm al-Awdī—Shurayḥ b. Salamah—Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf—his father—Abū Isḥāq [al-Sabī'ī]—'Āmir b. Sa'd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ]: When 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl came to the Prophet the latter said to him "Welcome, O rider and passenger," or "Emigrant."[541] ['Ikrimah] related: I said "What shall I say, O Messenger of God?" He replied "Say 'I testify that there is no God but Allāh and that you are God's messenger.'" I said this, then I continued "What shall I say, O Messenger of God?" He replied "Say, 'O Messenger of God, I ask you to bear witness that I am an Emigrant.'" I said that, whereupon the Prophet said "I will grant you today anything you ask [provided that it is something] I would have granted anyone else." I said: "I shall not ask you for money, as I am one of the richest among the Quraysh, but I ask you to forgive me for having fought against you and for having spent money in order to divert [others] from the [2387]
path of God. If I live long [enough], I shall double that amount [and spend it on the opposite purpose]."

Al-Sā'ib b. Abī al-Sā'ib, father of 'Abdallāh b. al-Sā'ib.[542]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī], he was the Prophet's partner in pre-Islamic times; so it is according to al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—[Muḥammad b. 'Umar]. According to Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Kalbī, however, the Prophet's partner in pre-

540. Apparently this is a tradition against usury, strictly forbidden in Islam.

541. The narrator is not sure of the correct wording and gives two alternatives. The significance of the difference is that, according to the prevailing view, the status of Emigrant was not granted to people who were converted after the conquest of Mecca (*lā hijrah ba'da al-fatḥ*). The second version contradicts this view.

542. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 20; Ibn Qudāmah, 386. 'Abdallāh was also a Companion, known for being the Meccan expert reader; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 314; al-Ṣafadī, XVII, 187–88; Ibn Sa'd, V, 329; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 419–20.

Islamic times was ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sāʾib b. Abī al-Sāʾib. At any rate, the one discussed in this biography is al-Sāʾib.

According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ]—Muṣʿab b. al-Miqdām—Isrāʾīl—Ibrāhīm b. Muhājir—Mujāhid—al-Sāʾib: ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and Zuhayr b. Umayyah brought me [to the Prophet]. They asked permission to go in to see him and [upon receiving it, went in and] praised me before him. The Prophet said "I know him better [than you do]; were you not my partner in pre-Islamic times?" I said: "Yes, may my father and my mother be ransom for you.[543] You were a very good partner; you never quarreled or competed [unfairly]." [Hearing this,] the Prophet said to me: "O Sāʾib, contemplate the virtues you had in the Jāhiliyyah, and adhere to them in Islam. Act hospitably toward your guest, be benevolent toward orphans, and respect those to whom you granted protection (*jār*)."[544]

Al-Sāʾib b. Abī al-Sāʾib and his son ʿAbdallāh embraced Islam on the day of the conquest of Mecca. ʿAbdallāh's *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. As for Qays b. al-Sāʾib, he was a paternal cousin of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Sāʾib. [His full name] was Qays b. al-Sāʾib b. ʿUwaymir b. ʿĀʾidh b. ʿImrān b. Makhzūm. According to al-
[2388] Wāqidī, he was Mujāhid's patron. Al-Wāqidī reported [the following] on the authority of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿImrān—Mūsā b. Abī Kathīr—Mujāhid: The following verse was revealed in connection with my patron Qays b. al-Sāʾib: "Those who can afford it may ransom [the duty to fast] by feeding a poor man. . . ."[545] So he broke the fast and fed one poor man against each day.

The Allies of the Banū Makhzūm Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted [Traditions] from Him

ʿAmmār b. Yāsir b. ʿĀmir b. Mālik b. Kinānah b. Madhḥij.

It was reported that Yāsir and his two brothers al-Ḥārith and Mālik came to Mecca from the Yemen, searching for a brother of theirs. Al-Ḥārith and Mālik returned [later] to the Yemen,

543. A formula often used when addressing the Prophet, indicating the speaker's reverence toward him.

544. *Jār* means at once a neighbor, a person who is given protection, and the one who grants protection. See also note 55, above.

545. Qurʾān 2:184.

whereas Yāsir remained in Mecca and entered an alliance with Abū Ḥudhayfah b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm. Abū Ḥudhayfah's name was Muhashshim, or Muhāshim, and he was one of Those Who Mocked the Prophet (*mustahziʾūn*).[546] Abū Ḥudhayfah gave Yāsir in marriage a slave girl of his named Sumayyah bt. Khabbāṭ; she bore him ʿAmmār, who was freed by Abū Ḥudhayfah. Yāsir, Sumayyah, and ʿAmmār were converted upon the rise of Islam. ʿAmmār participated on the Prophet's side in all the events (*mashāhid*). He outlived the Prophet and transmitted [traditions] from him. He was killed in [the battle of] Ṣiffīn, [fighting] on ʿAlī's side.

Those of the Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb[547] b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted [Traditions] from Him

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Riyāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh b. Qurṭ b. Razāḥ b. ʿAdī b. Kaʿb.
His *kunyah* was Abū Ḥafṣ.

ʿUmar's son ʿAbdallāh.[548]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

[ʿUmar's] brother Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl.[549]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. [2389]
Zayd was older than his brother ʿUmar and an earlier convert. He was the standard-bearer in the battle of Yamāmah. It was reported that he did not cease to advance, carrying [the flag], and to fight with his sword until he was killed.

Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Riyāḥ b. ʿAbdallāh b. Qurṭ b. Razāḥ b. ʿAdī b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy.
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Aʿwar.

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546. See Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 158–60; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 273–75.
547. A Qurashī clan; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 150–59.
548. He was admired for his piety, honesty, and erudition in prophetic traditions and customs. See "ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar," *EI²*, I, 53–54 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Schacht, *Origins*, 25; Ibn Qudāmah, 406–8.
549. Ibn Qudāmah, 419–20; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 30; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 108, 112; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 22.

Saʿīd was an early convert. He had embraced Islam before the Prophet entered the house of al-Arqam to preach from there. Saʿīd did not take part in [the battle of] Badr, but he did participate in Uḥud and [all] the Prophet's battles that took place afterward.

[Those of the Banū Jumaḥ Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted Traditions from Him]

Ṣafwān b. Umayyah b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfah b. Jumaḥ.

He outlived the Prophet and transmitted [traditions] from him. He belonged to the converts of the conquest [of Mecca].

According to Yūsuf b. Ḥammād al-Maʿnī—ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jumaḥī—Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās: Ṣafwān b. Umayyah came to see us while we were having a feast. When the food was served he said "Eat the meat with your front teeth, for I heard the Prophet say 'Eat meat with your front teeth, for it is more appetizing, more wholesome and more enjoyable [in this way].'"

Abū Maḥdhūrah the muezzin.

His name was Aws b. Miʿyar b. Lawdhān b. Rabīʿah b. Saʿd b. Jumaḥ. There is another version of his name and genealogy: Samurah b. ʿUmayr b. Lawdhān b. Wahb b. Saʿd b. Jumaḥ. He had a full brother named Aws.

He outlived the Prophet for some time and transmitted [traditions] from him.

[2390] According to Mūsā b. Sahl al-Ramlī—Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥayrīz—his father ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—his father—his grandfather, ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥayrīz: I saw Abū Maḥdhūrah, the Prophet's Companion, and he had a lot of hair [on his head]. I said "O Uncle, why don't you cut your hair?" He said "I wouldn't cut hair the Prophet had stroked and blessed."

[The Companions] of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib [Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted Traditions from Him]

Ibn Umm Maktūm, the Prophet's muezzin.

There are different opinions as regards his name. The Medinan

genealogists hold that it was ʿAbdallāh, whereas, according to the Iraqi genealogists, it was ʿAmr. All are agreed, however, about his genealogy: He was the son of Qays b. Zāʾidah b. al-Aṣamm b. Rawāḥah b. Ḥajar b. Maʿīṣ b. ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy. Another version has Zāʾidah b. al-Aṣamm b. Harim b. Rawāḥah.

Ibn Umm Maktūm outlived the Prophet and transmitted [traditions] from him.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. al-Ḍurays—Abū Sinān—ʿAmr b. Murrah—Abū al-Bakhtarī—Ibn Umm Maktūm—the Prophet: Had you known what I know, you would have laughed little and wept a lot.

ʿĀmir b. Masʿūd.[550]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmārah al-Asadī—ʿUbaydallāh b. Mūsā—Isrāʾīl—Abū Isḥāq—an old man of the Quraysh by the name of ʿĀmir b. Masʿūd—the Prophet: Fasting in winter is like spoils easily acquired, for the nights are long and the days are short.[551]

[Those of the Kinānah Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted Traditions from Him][552]

Nawfal b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAmr b. Ṣakhr b. Yaʿmur b. Nufāthah b. ʿAdī b. al-Dīl. [2391]

He outlived the Prophet and transmitted [traditions] from him.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam—Ibn

550. I was not able to trace an ʿĀmirī by this name (as al-Ṭabarī's rubric necessitates). There is, however, a rather well-known Jumaḥī named ʿĀmir b. Masʿūd who was elected governor by the Kūfans at the beginning of the second civil war. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVa, 87, 100–1, V, 190. The description here ("an old man of the Quraysh") is not appropriate for such a figure. However, Ibn Ḥajar *Iṣābah*, II, 260, *Tahdhīb*, V, 70, ascribes to this Jumaḥī the same tradition recorded in the *Dhayl*. See also Ibn Qudāmah, 456. It is worthwhile noting that this tradition is not recorded in Zaghlūl's *Mawsūʿat aṭrāf al-ḥadīth*.

551. There is a play on words here: "spoils easily acquired" is in Arabic *ghanīmah bāridah*, and the latter word's common meaning is "cold."

552. No heading is given in the text. The biographies following Nawfal's are of people of the Layth and Ghifār clans. Both these and al-Dīl, Nawfal's clan, belonged to the Kinānah tribe.

Abī Fudayk—Ibn Abī Dhi'b [al-'Āmirī]—Ibn Shihāb [al-Zuhrī]—Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām—Nawfal b. Mu'āwiyah al-Dīlī—the Prophet: Whoever misses a prayer, it is as if he were deprived of his family and property.

Sulaymān b. Ukaymah al-Laythī.[553]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Sakūnī—al-Walīd b. Salamah al-Filasṭīnī—Ya'qūb b. 'Abdallāh b. Sulaymān b. Ukaymah al-Laythī—his father—his grandfather: We said to the Prophet "We hear traditions, and we cannot repeat them [exactly] as we heard them." The Prophet replied "There is no harm done as long as you do not make forbidden things lawful or lawful things forbidden and as long as you convey the correct meaning [of the tradition]."[554]

Faḍālah al-Laythī.[555]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to al-Ḥasan b. Qaza'ah al-Bāhilī—Maslamah b. 'Alqamah—Dā'ūd b. Abī Hind—Abū Ḥarb—'Abdallāh b. Faḍālah—his father: I went to the Prophet and embraced Islam; he informed me about the prayer times, and I said "O Messenger of God, these are hours at short intervals, and I am a working man, so give me a general guideline." The Prophet said "Do your best not to neglect the two *'aṣrs*." I asked "What are the two *'aṣrs*, O Messenger of God?" He replied "The prayer before dawn and the one before sunset."[556]

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553. Called Sulaym in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 73. The tradition is recorded here with the same *isnād*.

554. The issue raised here is the permissibility of transmitting paraphrased traditions, a practice apparently common in the early days of Islam; in later times transmission verbatim was required. See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 186–87 (*riwāyah bi-al-ma'nā* vs. *riwāyah bi-al-lafẓ*).

555. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 208. Biographers are confused about this obscure figure.

556. *'Aṣrayn* and *'aṣrān*, both dual forms of *'aṣr*, literally meaning "the two afternoon prayers," but the Arabic allows the combination of two different things under a dual appellation, for example, al-'Umarāni, which means not "the two men named 'Umar" but "Abū Bakr and 'Umar." For the time of the prayers, see Rubin, "Morning and Evening Prayers"; "Mīḳāt," *EI*², VII, 26–27 (A. J. Wensinck).

According to Isḥāq b. Shāhīn al-Wāsiṭī—Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh— [2392]
Dāʾūd—Abū Ḥarb—ʿAbdallāh b. Faḍālah al-Laythī—his father: The Prophet taught me, among other things, [the following]: "Observe the five prayers." I said: "I have work to do at such hours, so give me a general guideline that will suffice if I observe it." The Prophet said "Observe the two *ʿaṣr*s." This meant nothing in our dialect, so I asked "What are the two *ʿaṣr*s?" He said "The prayer before dawn and the one before sunset."

Shaddād b. Usāmah b. ʿAmr, that is, al-Hādi, b. ʿAbdallāh b. Jābir b. Bishr b. ʿUtwārah b. ʿĀmir b. Layth.[557]

His wife was Salmā bt. ʿUmays, sister of Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays al-Khathʿamiyyah.

Shaddād transmitted from the Prophet [the following]. According to Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Yaʿqūb al-Ḍabbī—ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād b. al-Hādi—his father: The Prophet came out to us in one of the—I think he said: two evening prayers (*ṣalātay al-ʿashiyy*)—carrying one of his daughter's children, al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn. He moved forward and placed him at his right foot. The Prophet bowed for a long time during his prayer. I raised my head from among the people, and there was the Prophet bowing, the child riding his back. I resumed bowing, and when the Prophet [was finished and] was about to leave people asked him "O Messenger of God, at this [2393]
prayer you performed the bowing in a way you [never] did before; was it a [divine] order or inspiration?" He said "Nothing of this kind; only this [grand]child of mine rode my back, and I hated to rush him before he was satisfied."

Khufāf b. Īmāʾ b. Raḥḍah b. Khurbah b. Khalāf b. Ḥārithah b. Ghifār.[558]

Khufāf transmitted from the Prophet [the following]. According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Bashshār—ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Majīd—Muḥammad b. ʿAmr—Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥarmalah—al-Ḥārith b. Khufāf b. Īmāʾ b. Raḥḍah—Khufāf b. Īmāʾ: The Prophet prostrated himself, then raised his head and said: "May

557. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8, 30, 127; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 141–42.
558. A bedouin who threw in his lot with the Prophet as early as the year 2/624. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1311; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 33.

God forgive the Ghifār and be in peace with the Aslam. O God, curse Ri'l, Dhakwān, and 'Uṣayyah."[559] Khufāf said: This is why the unbelievers were cursed.

Rāfi' b. 'Amr, al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr's brother.[560]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Walīd al-Jurjānī—Muslim b. Ibrāhīm—Sulaymān b. al-Mughīrah—Ḥumayd b. Hilāl—'Abdallāh b. al-Ṣāmit—Abū Dharr: the Prophet said "My community after me," or he said:[561] "There will be in my community people who will read the Qur'ān, but it will not pass through their throats. They will fall out of the religion as [swiftly] as an arrow bolts when shot and will not return [to believe]. They will be the worst of mankind and of [the whole] Creation." Sulaymān said "I am very much inclined to think that he said 'The trait [by which they will be known] will be their [internal] disagreement.'"[562]
[2394] 'Abdallāh b. al-Ṣāmit related: I met Rāfi' b. 'Amr al-Ghifārī, al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr's brother, and I said to him "I [transmit a tradition I] heard from Abū Dharr, where he said such-and-so," and I mentioned to him this report. He said: "Why does this surprise you? I heard it from the Prophet."

Naṣr b. 'Abīdah al-Naṣrī.[563]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umārah al-Asadī—'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā—Isrā'īl—Abū Isḥāq—'Abdah b. Ḥazn al-Naṣrī: Camel herders and shepherds held a disputation for rank in the Prophet's

559. The clan names Ghifār and Aslam originate in the roots *gh-f-r* and *s-l-m*, denoting forgiveness and peace respectively. Ri'l, Dhakwān, and 'Uṣayyah are clans of the Sulaym tribe. On the last three see Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*, passim. They were involved in the massacre of the Prophet's Companions at Bi'r Ma'ūnah in the year 4/626; see Kister, "Expedition of Bi'r Ma'ūna."

560. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 32; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 68. He was of the Ghifār clan; his brother al-Ḥakam was governor of Khurāsān in the time of Mu'āwiyah. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 79.

561. That is, another version.

562. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1682; Ibn Hishām, IV, 139. This is a political tradition aimed against disunity, hence against disobedience to the rulers. See note 487, above.

563. There is a confusion regarding his name and identity; see below, where he is called 'Abdah b. Ḥazn; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 434.

presence.[564] The camel herders said: "What are you, shepherds, do you [ever] surpass anyone for any [merit] or gain anything [worthwhile]?[565] These are merely wretched sheep you graze, then bring back in the evening." [Thus] the camel herders silenced the shepherds, whereupon the Prophet said: "Dā'ūd was sent [as a prophet], and he had been a shepherd; Mūsā was sent [as a prophet], and he had been a shepherd. And I was sent [as a prophet], and I had grazed the sheep of my family at Ajyād."[566] So the shepherds won the contest from the camel herders.

[Those of the Tamīm Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted Traditions from Him][567]

Al-Farazdaq's paternal uncle.

He transmitted from the Prophet [the following]. According to Yazīd b. Hārūn—Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—al-Ḥasan—Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Mu'āwiyah, the poet al-Farazdaq's paternal uncle. This is what Yazīd said.[568] [Anyway, Ṣa'ṣa'ah] came to the Prophet, and [the latter] read to him the following verse: "Whoever has done a particle's weight of good shall see it, and whoever has done a particle's weight of evil shall see it."[569] Whereupon [Ṣa'ṣa'ah] said "This suffices me; I shall not hear another [verse]."[570]

Sulaym b. Jābir al-Hujaymī, Abū Jurayy.[571] [2395]

564. Competitions for superiority (*mufākharah*) were common in pre-Islamic times. They consisted of an argument held by the competitors in public or in the presence of an arbiter; see Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 57–63.

565. *Hal tajubbūna shay'an aw tuṣībūnahu.* The Cairo and Dār al-Fikr editions (both, incidentally, on p. 567!) have *taḥubbūna*, "you like," which does not make sense here, whereas the variant adduced by de Goeje is *takhubbūna*. The meaning "surpass" for *tajubbūna* is to be found in Kazimirski, s.v. *j-b-b*.

566. A place in Mecca; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 138.

567. No heading is given in the text, but the next three biographies are of Tamīmīs.

568. Ibn Sa'd, VII/1, 25. Note that al-Farazdaq's pedigree is al-Farazdaq b. Ghālib b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, so that his paternal uncle should be son of Ṣa'ṣa'ah, not son of Mu'āwiyah. There is a confusion between Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Mu'āwiyah, uncle of the famous Tamīmī leader al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, and Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Nājiyah, al-Farazdaq's grandfather; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣabah*, II, 185–86.

569. Qur'ān 99:7–8; Bell, II, 672.

570. This expresses admiration; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 186.

571. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 73; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 42, 179.

According to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣawwāf—Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb al-Sadūsī—'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Wāṣil—Abū Ghifār—Abū Tamīmah—Abū Jurayy: I came across someone surrounded by people who obeyed him. They were content with whatever he told them. I said to myself "This is a man!" [I asked] who he was, and I was told that he was God's Messenger. I said "May peace be upon you O Messenger of God, may peace be upon you." The Prophet said "'May peace be upon you' is a greeting for the dead; you should say 'Peace be upon you.'"[572] So I said "Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God; are you [indeed] God's Messenger?" He said: "Yes, I am the Messenger of God, Who will hear your prayer if any harm comes to you or a drought befalls you. And, if you enter a land or [another version:] a desert and your riding beast is lost and you pray to Him, He will guide it back to you." I said "Let my father and mother be ransom for you, O Messenger of God; [please] instruct me." The Prophet said "Do not curse anyone." I never cursed after this any free man or slave or sheep or camel. [The Prophet also] said: "Do not skimp on good deeds; if you speak to your brother, do so with a cheerful face, for this is a good deed. Raise your garment (*izār*)[573] halfway up your leg, or else [leave it] down your ankles. Beware of letting loose your garment, for this is vanity, and God does not like vanity. And, if someone admonishes you for something he knows about you, do not [retaliate by] admonishing him for something you know about him, for the evil outcome of such an act will affect you."

Ḥarmalah al-'Anbarī.[574]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

[2396] According to Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī—Qurrah b. Khālid—Dirghāmah b. 'Ulaybah b. Ḥarmalah al-'Anbarī—his father—his [grand]father: I went to the Prophet together with [other] delegates from the clan. [While we were there] he led

572. The difference is in the order of the words, which cannot be translated very well into English. The greeting for the dead is *'alayka al-salām*, whereas the usual greeting is *al-salām 'alayka*. Cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, II, 26; Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī, fol. 34a–b.

573. That is, that which covers the lower part of the body.

574. Ḥarmalah b. 'Abdallāh b. Anas, a rather insignificant Companion of the Tamīmī clan Banū al-'Anbar; see Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 42. On the 'Anbarīs, see Landau-Tasseron, "Processes."

the morning prayer for us. I looked at the faces of the people and hardly knew them, that is, because of the darkness.[575]

Those of the Banū Ḍabbah b. Udd b. Ṭābikhah b. al-Yās b. Muḍar [Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted Traditions from Him]

Salmān b. ʿĀmir al-Ḍabbī.[576]

He transmitted traditions from the Prophet, among them the following. According to Bishr b. Diḥyah al-Baṣrī—Ḥammād b. Zayd—ʿĀṣim—Ḥafṣah bt. Sīrīn—al-Rabāb, a woman of the Banū Ḍabbah—Salmān b. ʿĀmir—the Prophet: Have dates for breakfast, and if no dates are available, have water, for water is pure.

ʿAbdallāh b. Sarjis al-Muzanī.[577]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahḍamī—Nūḥ b. Qays—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿImrān—ʿĀṣim al-Aḥwal—ʿAbdallāh b. Sarjis al-Muzanī—the Prophet: Following the right course, being temperate, and aiming at what is right form one of twenty-four parts of prophecy.[578]

Maysarah al-Fajr, who was, as was reported, Budayl b. Maysarah's father.[579]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Bashshār—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Manṣūr b. Saʿd—Budayl—ʿAbdallāh b. Shaqīq—Maysarah al-Fajr: [2397]
I said "O Messenger of God, when was it ordained that you should

575. *Ghalas* means the darkness at the end of the night. This tradition is about the correct time for the morning prayer.

576. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 39, 177.

577. As he is included in the chapter on Ḍabbah, he is probably not of the well-known Muzaynah tribe but of the ʿAmr b. Udd, a brother tribe of Ḍabbah, known as Muzaynah after their female ancestor. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 201. ʿAbdallāh was an ally of the Qurashī clan Makhzūm. His being the Prophet's Companion is disputed; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 315–16.

578. That is, such behavior is characteristic of prophets and therefore commendable. Other commendable traits or modes of behavior are characterized in the same way. See Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan*, *Kitab al-Ādāb*, no. 3; Mālik, al-*Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Kitāb al-shaʿar*, no. 17.

579. Said to belong to the ʿĀmirī tribe the Banū ʿUqayl but apparently known only in connection with this tradition. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 470; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 59; Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 41.

be a prophet?" He replied "At the time when Ādam was in the process of being created."[580]

Those of the Banū Jaʿdah b. Kaʿb b. Rabīʿah b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah[581] *[Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted Traditions from Him]*

The poet Nābighah of the Jaʿdah.[582]

His name was Qays b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUdas b. Rabīʿah b. Jaʿdah. He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to ʿUmar b. Ismāʿīl al-Hamdānī—Yaʿlā b. al-Ashdaq al-ʿUqaylī—al-Nābighah: I recited poetry to the Prophet, saying:

Our glory reached the skies, our forefathers' too,
yet it is a higher rank we aspire to.
There is no good in deliberateness (*ḥilm*) without
bursts of anger (*bawādir*) to keep its purity intact.
There is no good in impetuousity (*jahl*) without
a firm man (*ḥalīm*), who accomplishes when starting an act.[583]

The Prophet said: "You [spoke] well, Abū Laylā"—he said that three times—"may your teeth not be broken. What is the rank [you aspire to], O Abū Laylā?" I said "Paradise." He said "Paradise, if God so wills."

The poet Ḥumayd b. Thawr al-Hilālī.[584]

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580. Literally, "when Ādam was between spirit and body."

581. A clan of the great northern confederation ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 289.

582. "Al-Nābighah al-Djaʿdī," *EI*², VII, 842–43 (A. Arazī); al-Sandūbī, 371–84; Abū Zayd al-Qurashī, II, 773.

583. The verses are part of a long poem; see Abū Zayd al-Qurashī, II, 774–86 (66, 72, 73). On the concept of *ḥilm*, i.e., moral integrity, deliberation, mildness, as opposed to *jahl*, i.e., impetuousity, hastiness, passion, see Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 201–8.

584. Of the ʿĀmirī tribe the Banū Hilāl; he flourished in the first/seventh century. See "Ḥumayd b. Thawr," *EI*², III, 573 (J. W. Fück); Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, IV, 97–98.

Those of the Banū Numayr[585] *b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah [Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted Traditions from Him]*

Abū Zuhayr al-Numayrī.[586]

He transmitted traditions from the Prophet, among them the following. According to Muḥammad b. ʿAwf al-Ṭāʾī—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Ḍamḍam—Shurayḥ—Abū Zuhayr al-Numayrī—the Prophet: Do not fight locusts, for they are counted among the greatest armies of God.[587]

Yazīd b. ʿĀmir al-Suwāʾī.[588]

He had fought on the idolators' side in the battle of Ḥunayn and was later converted to Islam. He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet. [2398]

According to Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Adamī—Maʿn, that is, b. ʿĪsā al-Qazzāz—Saʿīd b. al-Sāʾib al-Ṭāʾifī—his father—Yazīd b. ʿĀmir: When the Muslims retreated in the battle of Ḥunayn, the Prophet stretched out his hand to the ground and picked up a handful of soil. He advanced with it toward the idolators who were pursuing the Muslims, threw it in their faces, and said "Go back, may your faces be deformed." We withdrew, every one of us noticing the others' taking motes out of their eyes.

Ḥubshī b. Junādah b. Naṣr b. Usāmah b. al-Ḥārith b. Muʿayṭ b. ʿAmr b. Jandal b. Murrah b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah.

He was a Companion of the Prophet and transmitted traditions from him.

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585. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 279–80; Caskel, II, 15.

586. Confused with one Abū Zuhayr al-Anmārī; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 77–78 (including the locust tradition).

587. Cf. Qur'ān 7:133. The black spots on their wings are inscriptions identifying God as the Lord of the world, Creator and Commander of the locust army; see al-Kashshī, 54. There is a debate among scholars whether or not the killing of locusts is permissible. See Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī, fol. 90a–b; Kister, "Locust's Wing." On the permissibility of killing lizards, snakes, and ants, see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1752–60 (*kitāb al-salām*, 37–39).

588. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 54, 285; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 659. On the ʿĀmirī clan Suwāʾah, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 273.

According to Ismā'īl b. Mūsā al-Suddī—Sharīk—Abū Isḥāq—Ḥubshī b. Junādah al-Salūlī—the Prophet: 'Alī [b. Abī Ṭālib] belongs to my family, and I belong to his family. No one should pay my debt but me or 'Alī.[589]

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Ḥakkām [b. Salm]—'Anbasah [b. Sa'īd]—Abū Isḥāq—Ḥubshī b. Junādah: I heard the Prophet say: "Alī belongs to my family, and I belong to his family. No one should transmit my messages except myself or 'Alī." He said it on the Farewell Pilgrimage.[590]

Abū Maryam Mālik b. Rabī'ah al-Salūlī, father of Burayd b. Abī Maryam.[591]

He transmitted traditions from the Prophet.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr [b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd]—'Aṭā' [b. al-Sā'ib]—Burayd b. Abī Maryam—his father: The Prophet stood among us on a certain occasion and told us about the events that will occur until Doomsday.

[2399] Al-Hirmās b. Ziyād al-Bāhilī.[592]

He transmitted traditions from the Prophet, among them the following. According to al-'Abbās b. Abī Ṭālib—'Abdallāh b. 'Imrān al-Iṣbahānī—Yaḥyā b. Ḍurays al-Rāzī—'Ikrimah b. 'Ammār—Hirmās: I was riding behind my father,[593] and I saw the Prophet riding a camel and uttering the formula *labbayka.* He was per-

589. One of the merits of the first caliph, Abū Bakr, which made him qualified to rule (in the eyes of Sunnī Islam), was his participation with the Prophet in the Emigration. The Shī'ī propaganda counterbalanced this argument with the claim that 'Alī remained in Mecca and joined the Prophet in Medina later for one of two purposes (or both): to cover up, at peril of his own life, for the Prophet until he was safely far from Mecca or to pay the Prophet's debts. In addition, the very expression "'Alī belongs to my family and I to his," was used in Shī'ī propaganda to legitimize the Shī'ī claim to rule.

590. This is a tradition legitimizing the Shī'ī claim to power by making 'Alī the sole authorized transmitter of messages from the Prophet. The messages mentioned here refer to the Prophet's divine mission. Note that in his speech at the Farewell Pilgrimage the Prophet asked the audience several times *"hal ballaghtu?"* that is, "have I effectively transmitted the divine message?"

591. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 55, 183; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 71.

592. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ *Ṭabaqāt*, 47, 289; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 413.

593. That is, on the same riding beast.

forming the Ḥajj and the lesser pilgrimage (*'umrah*) together [on that occasion].[594]

[Those of the Banū Taghlib[595] Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted Traditions from Him]

Ḥarb b. 'Ubaydallāh's maternal grandfather.[596]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr [b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd]—'Aṭā' [b. al-Sā'ib]—Ḥarb b. 'Ubaydallāh—his maternal grandfather, who was a man of the Banū Taghlib:[597] We embraced Islam and went to the Prophet. I said [to him] "My people have embraced Islam, so teach us." He said "Go and teach them about the prayer and the giving of legal alms." He then informed me about the legal alms due on camels, cattle, sheep, gold, and silver.[598] I turned [to go] away, having memorized everything he taught me, except the legal alms. I went back to him and said "I have memorized everything, except the legal alms." So he taught me again, but when I turned [to go] away I forgot them [again]. So I went back to him and said: "I have memorized everything but the legal alms. Shall I [simply] tax them the tenth [of their property]?" the Prophet said "No, the tenth is obligatory only on Jews and Christians, not on Muslims."[599]

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594. There was a debate about the permissibility of performing the Ḥajj and the lesser pilgrimage (*'umrah*) together, see Rubin, "Great Pilgrimage." On the formula *labbayka*, see p. 103, above.

595. A large confederation of northern origin. They dwelt in southern Iraq before Islam and professed Christianity, continuing to adhere to it after the Muslim conquests. See Caskel, II, 27; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 303–7, 469.

596. The origin of such an entry would be a chain of transmission (*isnād*) running "Ḥarb b 'Ubaydallāh heard his maternal grandfather . . ." This grandfather is ignored in most of my sources; Ḥarb himself was a Kūfan of the tribe of Thaqīf. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, IV, 172; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 198.

597. Abū 'Ubayd, 212.

598. See Ben Shemesh, I, 94–103, III, 45–50, 54–57, for detailed sums of legal alms, as well as debates on various types of property.

599. See the discussion on the permissibility of levying the tenth (*'ushr*) in Abū 'Ubayd, 211–18; Ben Shemesh, I, 103–9, II, 78–83, III, 30. The Banū Taghlib who remained Christians refused to pay the *jizyah* (poll tax taken from non-Muslims) because it involved humiliation, whereas they were proud Arabs. A compromise was reached according to which they paid a tenth of their property. See Abū 'Ubayd, 217; Ben Shemesh, I, 54–58; cf. van Arendonck, 143, 325–26 (appendix VI).

The Names of Those Who Believed in the Prophet and Followed Him during His Lifetime, Then Outlived Him and Transmitted [Traditions] from Him, of Yemenī Tribes

Among them [were people] of the offspring of Aws b. Ḥārithah b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥārithah b. Imriʾ al-Qays b. Thaʿlabah b. Māzin b. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b.
[2400] Kahlān b. Sabaʾ b. Yashjub b. Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān.[600] Qaḥṭān is the ancestor of all the Yemenī lineages.

The genealogists disagree about the pedigree of Qaḥṭān [himself].[601] Some trace him back to Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm, saying that his [name] was Qaḥṭān b. al-Hamaysaʿ b. Tayman b. Nabt b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm. Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī] held this genealogy [as true]. He quoted his father as saying that he had been contemporaneous with [older] scholars and genealogists who traced Qaḥṭān's pedigree in this way. Other [genealogists] argue that the [name] was Qaḥṭān b. Fāligh b. ʿĀbir b. Shālakh—there is a version with *kh* and one with *ḫ*—b. Arfakhshad b. Nūḥ, may God bless him and all the other prophets.[602]

The mother of [the clans] al-Aws and al-Khazraj, sons of Ḥārithah, was al-ʿAnqāʾ, that is, Qaylah bt. Kāhil b. ʿUdhrah b. Saʿd, that is, Saʿd b. Hudhaym. [This Saʿd] was traced back to Hudhaym because the latter, who had been an Abyssinian slave, raised him, so Hudhaym's name became predominant in Saʿd's genealogy. In fact, Saʿd's [genealogy] was Saʿd b. Zayd b. Layth b. Sūd b. Aslum b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāʿah.

Saʿd b. Muʿādh was the Aws' leader until his death on the Prophet's return from the attack on the Banū Qurayẓah.[603] I have already recorded his biography.[604]

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600. By Aws b. Ḥārithah the Medinan tribe is meant; it belonged to the great southern confederation of the Azd.

601. See, e.g., Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 7–8. About the permissibility of such debates, see Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 95–96.

602. *Ṣallā Allāh ʿalayhi*; see note 379, above.

603. The last Jewish tribe in Medina, besieged by the Prophet in the year 5/627. The men were executed, the women and children taken into slavery. See Kister, "Massacre."

604. Not found in this fragment (*Muntakhab min dhayl al-mudhayyal*). See on him *EI*[1], IV, 30 (K. V. Zettersteén); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 77; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil*, 818–26.

Khuzaymah b. Thābit b. al-Fākih b. Tha'labah b. Sā'idah b. 'Āmir b. Ghayyān b. 'Āmir b. Khaṭmah.

He transmitted traditions from the Prophet.

According to al-'Abbās b. Abī Ṭālib—Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ja'far al-Anṣārī—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Imrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh—Khuzaymah b. Muḥammad b. 'Umārah b. Khuzaymah b. Thābit—his father—his grandfather—Khuzaymah b. Thābit—the Prophet: Beware of the prayer of the wronged, for it is carried by the clouds, because God says "By My Might and Glory, I shall help you, even if it will take [2401] time."[605]

Khuzaymah b. Thābit's brother.

He transmitted traditions from the Prophet, among them the following. According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam—Abū Zur'ah [al-Dimashqī]—Yūnus [b. Yazīd al-Aylī]—Ibn Shihāb [al-Zuhrī]—'Umārah b. Khuzaymah b. Thābit. [Now], Khuzaymah b. Thābit was the man whose testimony was considered by the Prophet as equivalent to that of two people. 'Umārah quotes his paternal uncle [that is, Khuzaymah's brother], who was a Companion of the Prophet [as saying]: Khuzaymah b. Thābit saw himself in a dream, prostrating himself above the Prophet's forehead. Khuzaymah went to the Prophet and told him [about it], whereupon the Prophet lay down and said "Make your dream true." So Khuzaymah prostrated himself above the Prophet's forehead.

'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rāhib.[606]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Sulamī—al-Ḥasan b. Sawwār, Abū al-'Alā'—'Ikrimah b. 'Ammār—Ḍamḍam b. Jaws—'Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓalah b. al-Rāhib: I saw the Prophet performing

605. "God says" means "there is a verse in the Qur'ān," but this particular sentence is not in the Qur'ān. According to De Goeje, this may be a paraphrase of Qur'an 22:41.

606. An eminent Anṣārī killed in Medina by the caliph's army in the battle of al-Ḥarrah, one of the events of the second civil war (in the year 64/683). See "'Abd Allāh b. Ḥanẓala," *EI*², I, 45; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 227–30; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 236–37.

the circumambulation of the House[607] riding a she camel, without striking or urging her, without calling "Go on! go on!"

ʿUwaymir b. Ashqar, of the Banū Ḥārithah b. al-Ḥārith.[608]
He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd al-Bayrūtī—his father—al-Awzāʿī[609]—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī—ʿAbbād b. Tamīm—ʿUwaymir b. Ashqar al-Anṣārī al-Māzinī, [who related] that [once] he had slaughtered his sacrificial animal before the Prophet
[2402] prayed.[610] He then went to the Prophet and told him [about it], whereupon the Prophet ordered him to go back [and go on with] the offering.

According to Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Ṣadafī—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn Wahb—ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith and Mālik b. Anas—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī—ʿAbbād b. Tamīm—ʿUwaymir b. Ashqar al-Anṣārī [who related] that [once] he had slaughtered a sacrificial animal on the Day of the Sacrifices before sunrise. He mentioned this to the Prophet, who ordered him to go back and sacrifice another animal.[611]

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Sinān al-Qazzāz—Mūsā [b. Ismāʿīl Abū Salamah]—Ḥammād [b. Salamah]—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd—ʿAbbād b. Tamīm—ʿUwaymir b. Ashqar, who had slaughtered before the Prophet prayed, and the Prophet ordered him to do it again.

Mujammiʿ b. Jāriyah, of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf.[612]
He transmitted traditions from the Prophet.

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607. That is, the Ka'bah.
608. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 105.
609. An early, famous Syrian jurist; see his biography p. 255, below.
610. That is, during the festival of ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā, on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 10.
611. This tradition is the exact opposite of the previous one, reflecting the jurists' debate on this point. The difference between the two depends on the reading of one letter. *Yaʿūda li-ḍaḥiyyatihi* in the first tradition means "to go back to his sacrifice," whereas *yaʿūda bi-ḍaḥiyyah ukhrā* in the second tradition means "to come back with another sacrifice." De Goeje's explanation that *li-ḍaḥiyyatihi* means *bi-ukhrā* ("with another one") is unwarranted.
612. Considered one of the Munāfiqūn ("the Hypocrites"), i.e., those Muslims who opposed the Prophet on certain occasions. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 366; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 276.

According to al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafah—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAyyāsh al-Ḥimṣī—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUbaydallāh—Yaʿqūb b. Mujammiʿ b. Jāriyah—his father: The Prophet walked in the funeral of a man of the Banū ʿAmr b. Awf. Upon arriving at the cemetery he said: "Peace be upon [you], grave dwellers"—he said that three times—"[upon] those among you who were believers and Muslims. You have arrived ahead of us, and we shall follow you. May God forgive us and you."

Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān, Abū ʿAbdallāh.[613]

He originated in the [tribe of] ʿAbs b. Baghīḍ and [later] became an ally of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal.[614] He transmitted many traditions from the Prophet.

Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd b. Kulayb b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAbd b. ʿAwf b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, that is, Taymallāh b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAmr b. al-Khazraj.[615] [2403]

Abū Ayyūb was present at the ʿAqabah meeting with the seventy Anṣārīs. He took part on the Prophet's side in [the battles] of Badr, Uḥud, and the Ditch and all the [other] events. He transmitted many traditions from the Prophet.

Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās b. Imriʾ al-Qays b. Mālik al-Agharr b. Thaʿlabah b. Kaʿb b. al-Khazraj b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.[616]

He transmitted traditions from the Prophet.

According to Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Ṣadafī—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn Wahb—Dāʾūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makkī—ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā al-Māzinī—Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās—his father—his grandfather, who reported that he entered the Prophet's [house to see him], and the Prophet said "O Lord, re-

613. An eminent Companion who served as a general during the conquests. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 29, 120–25, 131–32, 135; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 48–49; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 74–75.

614. A clan of the Aws (Anṣār).

615. The following biographies are of people of the Khazraj, the brother of the Aws.

616. The spokesman of the Anṣār and their commander in the battle of Yamāmah in the apostasy wars; see Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 94; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 34.

move the sorrow from Qays b. Shammās."[617] The Prophet then took some earth from Buṭḥān,[618] put it in a vessel containing some water, and poured it on him.

Abū al-Yasar Kaʿb b. ʿAmr.[619]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Ḥumayd b. Masʿadah al-Sāmī—Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Isḥāq—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiyah—Ḥanẓalah b. Qays—Abū al-Yasar al-Badrī[620]—the Prophet: Whoever wishes that God would shade him in His shadow—and he motioned with his hand—let him sell to the poor on credit, or discount [some money] for him.

ʿUbayd b. Rifāʿah al-Zuraqī.[621]

According to Ḥawtharah b. Muḥammad al-Minqarī and Saʿīd b.
[2404] al-Rabīʿ al-Rāzī—Sufyān—ʿAmr—ʿUrwah b. ʿĀmir—ʿUbayd b. Rifāʿah al-Zuraqī: Asmāʾ said: "O Messenger of God, the Banū Jaʿfar are hit by the evil eye. Shall we seek a [counter]charm for them?" He said "Yes; had anything come before predestination, it would have been the evil eye."[622]

Khallād b. Rifāʿah b. Rāfiʿ.[623]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd al-Zuhrī—his paternal uncle—Sharīk—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAwn—ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā—Khallād b. Rifāʿah b.

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617. Note that it is not Thābit but his father who is blessed. This may be because the blessing is uttered in rhymed, rhythmic prose. The addition of "Thābit" would have spoiled the rhythm, whereas the omission of Shammās would have spoiled the rhyme.

618. One of the three wadis of Medina. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, I, 662; al-Samhūdī, 1071–72.

619. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 102; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 39.

620. That is, one who participated in the battle of Badr.

621. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ *Ṭabaqāt*, 253; Ibn Saʿd, V, 204.

622. Practices connected with magic or sorcery had pagan origins and were therefore objectionable, but often they could not be abolished; hence the debates on them that arose among Muslims and the ascription to the Prophet of their condemnation or otherwise. See Fahd, chap. 4; cf. Guillaume, 240 n.

623. Brother of the former; see Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 100.

Rāfiʿ, who was counted among the participants in [the battle of] Badr: A man came to the Prophet, who was sitting, and prayed close to him. When he had finished he approached the Prophet and greeted him. The Prophet said "Pray again, because [it is as if] you did not pray." He prayed as before, and when he had finished, approached the Prophet and greeted [him]. The Prophet said to him "Pray again, because [it is as if] you did not pray." The man said "O Prophet of God, teach me." The Prophet said: "When you turn towards the Kaʿbah utter the formula 'God is the greatest,' then recite whatever God wishes you to recite;[624] when you lower your head put your hands on your knees and stretch your back. You have to make room for lowering your head. When you raise your body straighten your spine so that your bones return to [their right places in their] joints. Make room for your prostration, and when you raise your body sit on your left thigh. Do the same in every lowering of the head and every prostration until you finish [your prayer]."

Ziyād b. Labīd b. Thaʿlabah b. Sinān, one of the Banū Bayāḍah b. ʿĀmir b. Zurayq.[625]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—his father—al-Aʿmash—Salām b. Abī al-Jaʿd—Ziyād b. Labīd: The Prophet mentioned something and said: "That [will be] at the time when knowledge will have died out." We said "O Messenger of God, how will knowledge die out [2405] while we read the Qur'ān and teach it to our children, who [in their turn] will teach it to their children until Doomsday?"[626] He said: "May your mother be bereaved of you, O Ziyād.[627] I thought that you were one of the most learned men in Medina. Do not

624. That is, of verses of the Qur'ān.

625. An eminent Anṣārī; he was appointed by the Prophet as tax collector in Ḥaḍramawt. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 62, 84; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 100–1; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 245, 529.

626. The issue raised here is that of religious authority and whether or not a Muslim needs an interpreter and mediator between himself and God (such as the [Umayyad] caliph, the *ʿulamāʾ*, the Shīʿī Imam). See Crone and Hinds; Landau-Tasseron, "Cyclical Reform."

627. This is not a curse but a term of reprimand.

these Jews and Christians read their Bible and their Gospel, [yet] know nothing of what is in them?"

Abū Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī's father.[628]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Bazīʿ—Bishr b. al-Mufaḍḍal—Hishām al-Dastawāʾī—Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr—Abū Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī—his father, who heard the Prophet pray over the dead, saying: O God, forgive our living and our dead, our present and our absent [members], our male and our female [members], our young and our old.

According to Ibn al-Muthannā—al-Walīd b. Muslim—al-Awzāʿī—Yaḥyā—Abū Ibrāhīm, [who was] a man of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal—his father, who heard the Prophet pray in a funeral, saying: "O God, forgive the first and the last among us, and our living and our dead, our male and our female, our young and our old, our present and our absent. O God, do not deprive us of the reward [of this act], and do not lead us astray after this."

Yaḥyā recorded on the authority of Abū Salamah—the Prophet, a similar tradition, to which he added: Whomever You resurrect, let him be a Muslim, and whomever You take unto You, do so while he is a believer.

ʿUmayr al-Anṣārī.[629]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Ibn Wakīʿ—his father—Saʿīd b. Saʿīd al-Taghlibī or al-Thaʿlabī—al-Ṭabarī was not sure about it[630]—Saʿīd b. ʿUmayr al-Anṣārī, who ranked among those who took part in Badr—the
[2406] Prophet: Whoever of my community prays for me sincerely and from [the depth of] his soul, God will reward him by blessing him ten times,[631] by raising him ten degrees, by writing ten good deeds to his credit, and erasing ten evils from his record.

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628. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 124.

629. ʿUmayr b. ʿUqbah b. Niyār; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 34; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 62.

630. Evidently this is a remark by a scribe or the student who took down the material from al-Ṭabarī by dictation, as was the custom among the Muslim scholars.

631. Literally, "God will pray for him ten times, as a reward for it." For *ṣallā* in the sense of "bless," see note 379, above.

The Names of Some of Those Belonging to Other Yemenī Tribes Who Believed in the Prophet and Followed Him during His Lifetime, Outlived Him, and Transmitted Traditions from Him

Those of the Khuzāʿah, who are the offspring of Kaʿb, Mulayḥ and ʿAdī, sons of Rabīʿah b. Ḥārithah b. ʿAmr Muzayqiyā' b. ʿĀmir Mā' al-Samā' b. Ḥārithah al-Ghiṭrīf b. Imri' al-Qays b. Thaʿlabah b. Māzin. [The Khuzāʿah belong to the tribe of] Azd b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba' b. Yashjub b. Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān.

Al-Ḥuṣayn b. ʿUbayd b. Khalaf b. ʿAbd Nuhm b. Juraybah b. Jahmah b. Ghāḍirah b. Ḥubshiyyah b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, the father of ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn.[632]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Hārūn b. al-Mughīrah—ʿAmr, that is, Ibn Abī Qays—Manṣūr—Ribʿī—ʿImrān b. al-Ḥuṣayn—his father, [who related] that he had come to the Prophet before embracing Islam and said: "O Muḥammad, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was better for his people than you. He used to feed them liver and meat of camel humps, whereas you harm them."[633] Then he said "Teach me," whereupon the Prophet replied "Say 'O [2407]
God, guard me against the evil of my [own] soul, and make me resolve upon the right course.'" Al-Ḥuṣayn came to the Prophet [again] after he had embraced Islam and asked "What shall I say?" The Prophet said "Say 'O God, forgive [the sins I committed] secretly and openly, by mistake and intentionally, knowingly and ignorantly.'"

Sulaymān b. Ṣurad b. al-Jawn b. Abī al-Jawn—that is, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā—b. Munqidh.

Sulaymān's *kunyah* was Abū Muṭarrif. His name had been Yasār before he embraced Islam, but the Prophet gave him the name Sulaymān on the occasion of his conversion.[634]

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632. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, III, 88; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 337–38. According to the latter source, his conversion to Islam is not certain.

633. Literally, "you hurt their throats."

634. See note 234, above.

He participated in the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn on the side of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. According to another version, he did not take part in the Camel, but there is no disagreement [among historians] over his participation in Ṣiffīn. He was killed by Yazīd b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr at ʿAyn al-Wardah, near Qarqīsiyā', as the Repenters' leader and commander.

Sulaymān transmitted traditions from the Prophet.

According to Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahḍamī—his father—Shuʿbah—ʿAbd al-Akram, who was someone from al-Kūfah—his father—Sulaymān b. Ṣurad: The Prophet came to us and we spent several nights unable to get, or [another version] it was impossible to get, food.

Ḥubaysh b. Khālid al-Ashʿar b. Khulayf.[635]

He transmitted from the Prophet the following. According to Abū Hishām Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. Thābit b. Yasār al-Kaʿbī al-Rabaʿī—his paternal uncle Ayyūb b. al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb—Ḥizām b. Hishām—his father Hishām b. Ḥubaysh—his grandfather Ḥubaysh b. Khālid, a Companion of the Prophet: When the Prophet left Mecca emigrating to Medina he was accompanied by Abū Bakr, the latter's client ʿĀmir
[2408] b. Fuhayrah, and their guide, ʿAbdallāh b. al-Urayqiṭ of the Banū al-Layth. [On their way] they passed by the two tents of Umm Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿiyyah. She was a strong woman, free yet dignified in her discourse with men;[636] she used to sit erect[637] in the court in front of the tent and [order] drink and food to be served. They sought to buy from her meat and dates but did not obtain any

635. Brother of Umm Maʿbad, the protagonist of the following story. He was himself a Companion and was one of the few killed during the conquest of Mecca; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 310.

636. *Barzah*, from the root *b-r-z* meaning to appear, protrude, be seen. The term implies that also in pre-Islamic times the norm for women was to keep distance from men (for Umm Maʿbad is not yet converted), but there was a possibility of closer, yet not dishonorable, contacts. See de Goeje's *Glossarium* under b-r-z; see Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, XIV, 159 on the conduct of Sukaynah, daughter of al-Ḥusayn. I thank my colleague, Prof. Albert Arazi for this reference.

637. *Taḥtabī. Iḥtibā'* is a peculiar manner of sitting, with the legs and back confined together in a garment, considered characteristic of the Arab and Muslim nobility; see al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān* (ed. Bijāwī), III, 272, no. 6403. I owe this reference to Prof. M. J. Kister.

of this for [at that time] the people were poor (*murmilīn*); Abū Hishām [replaces this word with] *mushtīn*, that is, suffering from want during the winter, but according to al-Ṭabarī it should be *musnitīn*, that is, going through a period of drought. [Anyway], the Prophet then saw an ewe in the corner of the tent and asked "What is this ewe, O Umm Maʿbad?" She replied "This is an ewe that was too exhausted to [join] the sheep." He asked "Does she have any milk?" to which she replied "She is too exhausted for this." He asked "Will you permit me to milk her?" She said "Yes, [I swear] by my father and mother, if you think that she has milk, do milk her." The Prophet had her brought before him, passed his hand over her udder, mentioned the name of God, and prayed for Umm Maʿbad that her ewe [be blessed]. The ewe parted her legs widely, let the milk flow abundantly, then stood ruminating. The Prophet asked for a vessel [big enough] to sustain the [whole] family and milked into it in a stream until it was covered with froth. He then gave Umm Maʿbad to drink until her thirst was quenched, and he gave his companions to drink until their thirst was quenched, and he was the last to drink, so they [all] quenched their thirst. The Prophet then milked [the ewe] into the vessel again until he filled it.[638] He left it with Umm Maʿbad, accepted the oath of allegiance from her, and left [with his companions].

Shortly afterward her husband, Abū Maʿbad, arrived, driving a few lean goats, so emaciated that they were staggering, even in the morning;[639] there was hardly any marrow in their bones. When Abū Maʿbad saw the milk he was surprised and asked: "Where did you get this, O Umm Maʿbad, the sheep pasturing far away [or else] not pregnant? There is no milking ewe in the tent, [is there]?" She replied "No, by God, but a blessed man passed by us, whose story is such-and-so." Abū Maʿbad said "Describe him to me, O Umm Maʿbad." She said "I saw a radiant man with a luminous [2409]
face and harmonious build unspoiled by thinness and not tainted by small-headedness." Such is the version of Abū Hishām, but it

638. Cf. the version about ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd milking an ewe for the Prophet and Abū Bakr on their way to Medina in Kister, "Land Property," 275. For a list of miracles performed by the Prophet, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmiʿ al-sīrah*, 7–14.

639. *Tasāwakna huzlan ḍuḥan*; See note a to p. 2408.

should be "unspoiled by fleshiness and not tainted by [excessive] leanness."[640] "He is comely and fine-looking, with large black eyes and thick eyelashes." Abū Hishām's version is "long [eyelashes]." "His voice is [like] neighing (ṣahl)"; the shaykh[641] says: This is a mistake, it should be *ṣaḥal* with *ḥ* [that is, a rough voice]. "His neck is long, his beard thick, his brows fine, arched, and joined. When silent he has an air of dignity, and when he speaks he is stately and lustrous. He is the most handsome and majestic person [when you observe him] from a distance and the nicest and kindest when close to [you]. His speech is sweet and clear, like strung beads shed from their string; [he speaks] neither too little nor too much. He is of middle stature, neither loathsome for tallness nor offensive to the eye for shortness. He seemed like a branch that [stands out] between two others, being the most beautiful to look at and the most harmoniously proportioned among the three.[642] He had companions surrounding him who, when he spoke, listened silently to what he said (*naṣatū li-qawlihi*)." Al-Ṭabarī remarks: It should be *anṣatū li-qawlihi*.[643] "When he commanded they hastened to fulfill his command; they rushed and served him promptly, without his being stern or reproachful [to them] (*mufannid*)." Abū Hishām says that this is a mistake; it [should be] "or aggressive" (*mu'tadin*).[644] Abū Ma'bad said: "By God, this is the man of the Quraysh we were told about in Mecca. I intended to become a companion of his, and indeed I shall if I find a way to do so." Then a loud voice was heard in Bakkah;[645] people heard it but did not know to whom it belonged. It recited the following:[646]

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640. The version from Abū Hishām (as given by de Goeje) is *lam ya'ibhu nuḥluhu wa-lam tuzri bi-hi ṣuqlah*. The corrected version is *lam ta'ibhu thujlah wa-lam tuzri bi-hi ṣuqlah*. Cairo and Dār al-Fikr (both, incidentally, 578) have *nuḥlah* or *niḥlah* instead of *nuḥluhu*.

641. That is, al-Ṭabarī; see p. 143, below.

642. That is, the Prophet, Abū Bakr, and the latter's client.

643. That is, in the fourth form, rather than in the first. The dictionaries, however, have both forms in the same sense.

644. The number of scribal errors in this passage points to its extremely rich and difficult language.

645. Bakkah is another name for Mecca; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 706.

646. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1241.

May God the Lord of the people grant the best reward [2410]
to the two companions who drank at midday at the two tents of Umm Ma'bad.
They stopped there, bringing true guidance, and she followed.
Happiness is the lot of one who becomes a companion of Muḥammad.
O come, clan of Quṣayy,[647] [see] how God removed from your midst
leadership and priceless noble deeds.
Let the Banū Ka'b rejoice in their woman's undertaking,
as she stayed there for the believers, waiting.
Ask your sister about her jar and ewe;
if you ask, the ewe [itself] will confirm it to you.
A barren ewe was brought and for him her milk was flowing,
the pure substance of the ewe's udder, foaming.

Al-Ṭabarī remarks that this is how Abū Hishām recited it, but it should in fact be as follows: "And the ewe's udder flowed for him with the pure substance, foaming."

He left her with Umm Ma'bad as a pledge, for someone [else] to milk
who would lead her time and again to the watering place and back.

When Ḥassān b. Thābit, the Prophet's poet, heard this he composed verses in reply to the voice, saying:[648]

People whose Prophet has left them will fail;
holy are those to whom he travels by morning or night.
He left the people, and their minds lost the trail,
whereas he settled among others, bringing new light.
Through him their Lord guided them after they had gone astray.
He directed them rightly; whoever seeks the Truth shall find
Are they alike, people who erred and foolishly acted blind,
and others who follow the rightly guided one in the right way?

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647. Quṣayy was the eponym of the Quraysh.
648. Ḥassān, I, 464–65. The reply is composed in the same rhyme and meter as the verses spoken by the voice.

From Him unto the people of Yathrib came down
the chariots of Truth, bringing the auspicious one,
A Prophet who sees what men around him do not
and reads the book of God in every worshiping spot
(*masjid*).

Al-Ṭabarī says: Our version is "in every assembly" (*mashhad*).

[2411] If he sometimes utters an obscure saying,
it is confirmed on the same day or the next morning.
Let Abū Bakr rejoice in his fate, which is felicity;
he will prosper by following one made prosperous by the Almighty.
Let the Banū Kaʿb rejoice in their woman's undertaking
as she stayed there for the believers, waiting.

[Abū Maʿbad] then joined the Prophet and embraced Islam.

According to Ibrāhīm al-Qāriʾ (the Qurʾān reader) Abū Isḥāq al-Kūfī—Bishr b. Ḥasan Abū Aḥmad al-Sukkarī—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Wahb al-Madhḥijī—al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ al-Nakhaʿī—Abū Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿī: On the night of his Emigration from Mecca to Medina the Prophet left together with Abū Bakr, the latter's client ʿĀmir b. Fuhayrah, and their guide ʿAbdallāh b. Urayqiṭ al-Laythī. They passed by the two tents of Umm Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿiyyah. She was a strong woman, free yet dignified in her discourse with men; she used to sit erect in the court in front of the tent and [order] drink and food to be served. They sought to buy from her meat and dates but did not obtain any of this from her, for [at that time] the people were poor (*murmilūn*), as they were going through a period of drought (*musnitūn*). Umm Maʿbad said [to the visitors] "If we had had anything, offering you food would not have been difficult." The Prophet [then] saw an ewe in the corner of her tent and asked "What is this ewe, O Umm Maʿbad?" She replied "An ewe that was too exhausted [to join] the sheep." He asked "Does she have any milk?" She said "She is too exhausted for this." He asked "Will you permit me to milk her?" She said "Yes, [I swear] by my father and mother, if you think that she has milk, do milk her." The Prophet had the ewe brought before him, passed his hand over her udder, and mentioned the name of God. The ewe parted her legs widely, let the milk flow abundantly, then stood

ruminating. The Prophet asked for a vessel [big enough] to sustain the [whole] family and milked into it in a stream until it was [2412] covered with froth. He then gave Umm Ma'bad to drink until her thirst was quenched; then [the rest] were given to drink until they quenched their thirst. The Prophet said "The one who serves drink to the people is the last to drink." They all drank again[649] until they quenched their thirst. Then they[650] milked into the vessel a second time, repeating the first [procedure], whereupon the Prophet left the vessel with Umm Ma'bad [and went away]. Shortly afterward her husband, Abū Ma'bad, came, leading a few ill-fed, lean goats, so exhausted that they tottered as they walked, so thin that there remained no marrow in their bones. When he saw the milk he wondered and asked "Where did you get this, the sheep herding far away and no milking beast being around the tent?" She said "Nay, by God, but a blessed man passed by us, whose story was such-and-so." He said "By God, I think he is the man of the Quraysh we were told about; describe him to me, O Umm Ma'bad." She said: "I saw a radiant man with a luminous face and harmonious build, unspoiled by fleshiness or by small-headedness. He is comely and fine looking, with large black eyes and thick eyelashes. His voice is [like] neighing" (*ṣahl*); al-Ṭabarī says that it should be "rough" (*ṣaḥal*). "[He has] a fair complexion and black eyes, and his brows are fine, arched, and joined. His neck is long and his beard thick." Al-Ṭabarī says: "The [correct word] is *kathāthah.*"[651] "When silent he has an air of dignity, and when he speaks he is stately and lustrous. His speech is like strung beads shed from their string, sweet and clear; [he speaks] neither too [2413] little nor too much. He is the finest-looking and handsomest man [when you observe him] from a distance and the nicest and kindest when close to [you]. He is of middle stature; you would not find him loathsome for tallness or offensive to the eye for shortness. He was like a branch that [stands out] between two others, being the most beautiful to look at and the most harmoniously proportioned among the three. He had companions surrounding him

649. Literally, "they all had a second drink after the first one"; the Arabic has a special term for each turn.

650. The verb is in the plural but should refer to the Prophet.

651. The word replaced by al-Ṭabarī is *kathāfah,* a more common word for "thick." The point of replacing it is not clear to me.

who, when he spoke, listened to what he said and, when he commanded, hastened to fulfill his command; they rushed and served him promptly without his being stern or reproachful [to them]." Abū Maʿbad said: "By God, this is the man of Quraysh we were told about. Had I met him I would have sought to become one of his Companions. Indeed, I shall do this if I find a way." Then a loud voice was heard in Mecca; the people heard it and did not know who it was that spoke between heaven and earth. [The voice] said [the following]:

May God the Lord of the people grant the best reward
to the two companions who alighted at the two tents of Umm Maʿbad.
They stopped there as the harbingers of piety; then on they rode.
Happiness is the lot of one who becomes a Companion of Muḥammad.
O come, clan of Quṣayy, [see] how God removed from your midst
leadership and priceless noble deeds.
Ask your sister about her jar and ewe;
if you ask, the ewe [itself] will confirm it to you.
A barren ewe was brought, and for him her milk was flowing,
the pure [substance] of the ewe's udder, foaming.
He left it with her as pledge that someone [else] would milk abundantly, going to the watering place and back.

In the morning the people missed their Prophet. They followed the way to the two tents of Umm Maʿbad until they caught up with him.[652]

Ḥassān [b. Thābit] answered that voice, saying:

People whose Prophet has left them will fail;
holy are those to whom he travels by morning or night.[653]
[2414] He left the people, and their minds lost the trail,

652. It is not clear who are "the people" mentioned here, because the Prophet and Abū Bakr are usually said to have been the last Muslims to emigrate (except for ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib).

653. Or "Holy are those who travel to him by morning or by night."

whereas he settled among others, bringing new light.
Are they alike, people who erred and foolishly acted blind
and others, who follow him who is guided to what is right,
A Prophet who sees what men around him do not
and reads the book of God in every meeting spot?
If an obscure expression he happens to say,
it is confirmed the same morning or the next day.
Let Abū Bakr rejoice in his fate, which is felicity;
he will prosper by following one made prosperous by the Almighty.
Let the Banū Ka'b rejoice in their woman's undertaking
as she stayed there for the believers, waiting.

Hunaydah b. Khālid al-Khuzā'ī.[654]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umārah al-Asadī—'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā—Isrā'īl—Abū Isḥāq—Hunaydah b. Khālid al-Khuzā'ī: The Prophet was fighting when a man came to him and said "O Messenger of God, give me a sword to fight with." The Prophet asked "Perhaps you want to be in the rear rank of the fighters?" and the man replied "No." The Prophet gave him a sword, which he took, reciting the [following] verses:

I am a man who gave an oath to his friend
[there] at the palm trees' feet
That I shall never betray and turn to the rear rank
but shall with the sword of God and the Apostle hit.

He continued to fight until [the enemy] turned to him and killed him.

Numayr al-Khuzā'ī.[655]

According to Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-'Asqalānī and Muḥammad b. 'Awf al-Ṭā'ī, of Ḥimṣ—al-Firyābī—'Iṣām b. Qudāmah—Mālik b. Numayr al-Khuzā'ī—his father: The latter saw the

654. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 612.
655. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 108.

[2415] Prophet sitting during the prayer, putting his arm on his right thigh, raising his slightly bent forefinger, and praying.[656]

Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥārith.[657]

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Bashshār—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. Mahdī]—Sufyān [al-Thawrī]—Ḥabīb—someone—Nāfiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Ḥārith—the Prophet: A spacious home, a good neighbor, and a comfortable means of transport are among the things that make a Muslim happy.

ʿAmr b. Sha's.[658]

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah [b. al-Faḍl]—[Muḥammad] Ibn Isḥāq—Abān b. Ṣāliḥ—ʿĪsā b. al-Faḍl b. Maʿqil b. Sinān al-Ashjaʿī—Abū Burdah b. Niyār b. Mikraz al-Aslamī[659]—his maternal uncle ʿAmr b. Sha's—the Prophet: Whoever harms ʿAlī harms me.

Al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Abī Ḥadrad.[660]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, known as Ibn Ṣudrān, and Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Jubayr al-Wāsiṭī—Ṣafwān b. ʿĪsā—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd—his father—al-Qaʿqāʿ b. Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī: The Prophet used to say: Subject yourselves to a hard life, wear coarse clothes, and walk barefoot.

Muʿādh b. Anas al-Juhanī.[661]

According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlā']—Saʿīd b. al-Walīd—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn Mubārak—Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb—ʿAbdallāh b.
[2416] Sulaymān—Ismāʿīl b. Yaḥyā al-Maʿāfirī—Sahl b. Muʿādh b. Anas

656. *Wa-huwa yadʿū*, i.e., appeals to God, as distinct from *yuṣallī*, i.e., performs the ritual prayer. See also Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 42–43.

657. His being a Companion was disputed, but he nevertheless was a respected Muslim and served ʿUmar as governor of Mecca. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 62; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 127; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 109.

658. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 62.

659. That is, the Aslam of Khuzāʿah; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 240.

660. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 110–11.

661. He does not belong in this chapter on Khuzāʿīs, being of the Juhaynah and an ally of the Anṣār. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 95; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 121.

al-Juhanī—his father—the Prophet: Whoever protects a believer from a Hypocrite's (*munāfiq*) evil tongue, God will send an angel to him who will protect his flesh from hell's fire on the Day of Judgment; and whoever imputes [evil] to a believer wishing to disgrace him, God will detain him on the bridge of hell until he rejects what he said.

The Names of the Ash'arīs Who Transmitted [Traditions] from the Prophet

These are the Banū al-Ash'ar, whose [real] name was Nabt b. Udad b. Zayd b. Yashjub b. 'Arīb b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba' b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān.[662]

Abū Mūsā, 'Abdallāh and his brother Abū Burdah.[663]

Abū Mālik al-Ash'arī.[664]

According to Yūnus b. 'Abd al-A'lā—['Abdallāh] Ibn Wahb—Mu'āwiyah b. Ṣāliḥ—Ḥātim b. Kurayb—Mālik b. Abī Maryam—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanm al-Ash'arī—Abū Mālik al-Ash'arī—the Prophet: Indeed, people of my community will drink wine, calling it by other names,[665] and will have musical instruments played before them. God will make the earth swallow them up and will turn them into monkeys and pigs.[666]

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662. A Yemenī tribe; see Caskel, II, 66; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 397–98; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 339–42.

663. An eminent Companion who served as a commander during the conquests and a governor of al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah for 'Umar. See "al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā," *EI*², I, 695–96 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Jeffery, 209–11; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 65; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 132–33. On Abū Burdah, see Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 68, 133; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 167–68; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 18.

664. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 68. He is known as a sort of religious guide to his clan. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXIX, 141–45.

665. There is a debate among Muslim scholars about what exactly wine is and whether only grape wine is forbidden or any other alcohol as well; see "Khamr," *EI*², IV, 994–97 (A. J. Wensinck).

666. Cf. Qur'ān 5:65.

The Names of [the People of] Ḥaḍramawt[667] *Who Transmitted [Traditions] from the Prophet*

Wā'il b. Ḥujr al-Ḥaḍramī.[668]

[2417] 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ā'ish al-Ḥaḍramī.[669]

According to al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd—his father—Ibn Jābir and al-Awzā'ī—Khālid b. al-Lajlāj—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ā'ish al-Ḥaḍramī: One morning the Prophet was leading us in prayer, when someone said to him "I never saw your face as radiant as this morning." The Prophet replied:

> The thing with me is, that my Lord appeared before me in the most wonderful way, and said: "O Muḥammad, [do you know] what the celestial council disputes about?" I said: "You know better, my Lord." He put His hand between my shoulders; I felt its coolness in my chest, and I knew what there was in heaven and on earth. He recited the following verse: "Thus do We show Abraham the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and [it is] so that he may be one of the convinced."[670] He asked [again]: "What does the celestial council dispute about, O Muḥammad?" I said: "About the atonements,[671] my Lord." He asked:

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667. Ḥaḍramawt, the well-known region in the southern part of the Arabian peninsula, was the dwelling of the royal tribe of Kindah; see "Ḥaḍramawt," *EI*², III, 51–53 (A. F. L. Beeston). Arab genealogists treat the Ḥaḍramawt as a tribal group (cf. Genesis 10:26), and, indeed, Ḥaḍramīs do behave as one (see, e.g., Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, passim). However, the precise place of the Ḥaḍramawt in the genealogical scheme and their relation to other groups, especially the Kindah, are by no means clear. See, e.g., al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 9–10; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 460; Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 20; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 72.

668. A king in Ḥaḍramawt (although not mentioned in al-Ḥimyarī) who embraced Islam and was warmly and generously treated by the Prophet. He later associated with Mu'āwiyah and his governor Ziyād b. Abīhi. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 77; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 460; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, II, 572–73; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 132–37 (on his role in the Ḥujr b. 'Adī affair).

669. Apparently known only in connection with the tradition recorded here; his being a Companion is disputed. See Ibn Sa'd, VII/2, 150; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 405–6.

670. Qur'ān 6:75, trans. Bell, I, 122; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi'*, VII, 247.

671. *Kaffārāt*, sing. *Kaffārah*, a technical term meaning "an expiatory or propitiatory act that grants remission for faults of some gravity"; see "Kaffāra," *EI*², IV, 406–7 (J. Chelhod).

"And what are they?" I said: "Arriving at the Friday prayers by foot, sitting in the mosques after the prayers, and performing the ritual ablution [even] in times of danger." And He said: "Whoever acts in this way will live in virtue and die in virtue and will be [cleansed] from his sins, as [he was] on the day his mother gave birth to him. Feeding [the poor], greeting [one's fellow-Muslim], and praying at night when [other] people are sleeping are among the virtues by which one is raised; ask, and you will be given." The Prophet said: "O God, I ask You that [You lead me to] the good things and keep me away from the forbidden ones; [lead me] to love the poor, and forgive me; if I am tempted to do evil to people, then take me unto You before I fall in the temptation." Learn all this for, by Him Who holds my soul in His hand, they are true.

Of the Kindah

Gharafah b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī.[672]

According to Ibn Mahdī—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn al-Mubārak—Ḥarmalah b. ʿImrān—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Azdī—Gharafah [2418]
b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī: I was present at the Farewell Pilgrimage with the Prophet; when the sacrifice camels were brought he said "Call Abū al-Ḥasan for me." [ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib] was summoned and the Prophet said "Seize the lower part of the javelin." [ʿAlī did this]; the Prophet seized its upper part, and they stabbed the animals with it. When the Prophet had finished he rode his mule and mounted ʿAlī behind him.

ʿAbdallāh b. Nufayl.[673]

According to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Walīd—ʿUmar b. Saʿīd al-Dimashqī—Abū Bakr al-Nahshalī—ʿAbdallāh b. Salām—Abū Salamah Sulaymān b. Abī Sulaym—ʿAbdallāh b. Nufayl al-

672. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 96; Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 145. According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 185, he was one of the notables of Egypt and corresponded with the second caliph, ʿUmar (al-Ṭabarī does not mention him in the *Annals*).

673. His being a Companion is disputed, and the entry on him in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 376 (quoting also our text) records no biographical details.

Kindī—the Prophet: God has already passed judgment in three matters, so do not violate any of them. Let none of you act wrongfully, for God says "O People, by acting wrongfully you only wrong yourselves";[674] and let none of you deceive [another], for God says "But evil plotting encompasses only those who practice it";[675] and let no one of you break his word, for God says "Whoever breaks faith, to his own hurt he breaks it."[676]

Those Who Transmitted [Traditions] from the Prophet, of the Rest of the Azd

Munīb al-Azdī.[677]

According to Mūsā b. Sahl—Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashqī—ʿUtbah b. Ḥammād—Munīb b. Mudrik al-Azdī—his father—his grandfather [Munīb al-Azdī]: [Once], in pre-Islamic times, I heard the Prophet say to the people "Say 'There is no God but Allāh,' so that you prosper." At noon a girl came with a bowl of water, and the Prophet washed his face, then said "My girl, rejoice and do not be sad; do not fear that your father will be
[2419] overpowered or humiliated." I asked who it was and was told "Zaynab, his daughter." She was a young girl then.

I was also told this story by ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Ghazzī—Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ramlī—Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Ayyūb al-Dimashqī—Abū Khulayd ʿUtbah b. Ḥammād al-Ḥakamī—Munīb b. Mudrik al-Azdī—his father—his grandfather [Munīb al-Azdī]: [Once], in pre-Islamic times, I heard the Prophet say to the people "Say 'There is no God but Allāh,' so that you prosper." Some people spat in his face, others threw soil at him, yet others cursed him. At noon a girl came with a bowl of water, and he wahsed his face, then said "My girl, rejoice . . ." The rest of the story is identical with Mūsā b. Sahl's version.

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674. Qur'ān 10:24.
675. Qur'ān 35:41, trans. Bell, II, 432.
676. Qur'ān 48:10, trans. Bell, II, 520.
677. Abū Ayyūb al-Azdī al-Ghāmidī, who lived in Syria. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 465; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXV, 275. His house was still known centuries after his death, see Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, XVII, 250.

Of the Hamdān

[Hamdān] is Asalah b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Asalah b. Rabīʿah b. al-Khiyār b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba'.[678]

ʿAbd Khayr b. Yazīd al-Khaywānī.[679]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿUmārah; he was contemporaneous with the Prophet.

He reported that a letter from the Prophet had reached [his clan] and that he remembered it.

ʿAbd Khayr was counted among the companions of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, on whose side he participated in [the battle of] Ṣiffīn.[680]

According to Muḥammad b. Khālid—Mushir b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Salʿ—his father: I said to ʿAbd Khayr: "O Abū ʿUmārah, you are an old man! How many years have you lived?" He replied "One hundred and twenty years." I asked "Do you remember anything about the Barbarians?"[681] He said: "I remember that my mother cooked [something in a] pot for us, and I said 'Give us [something] to eat,' but she replied '[Wait] until your father comes.' My father [2420] then came and said 'A letter from the Prophet arrived prohibiting carrion meat.' I remember that [the pot] contained carrion meat and [my father] urged us to shun it."

Suwayd b. Hubayrah, an inhabitant of al-Baṣrah.[682]

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Isḥāq al-Nāqid al-Wasiṭī and al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṣudā'ī—Rawḥ—Abū Naʿāmah al-ʿAdawī [ʿAmr b. ʿĪsā]—Muslim b. Budayl—Iyās b. Zuhayr—Suwayd b. Hubayrah: I heard the Prophet say: The best property a man can have is a prolific filly (*muhrah ma'mūrah*) or a fruitful palm or-

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678. A large, powerful Yemenī tribal confederation. Read Awsalah for Asalah. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 392; "Hamdān," *EI*², III, 122–23 (J. Schleifer [W. M. Watt]); Abū Yāsīn. Note that apparently only the first biography under this rubric is of a Hamdānī.

679. A Kūfan Successor. See al-Dūlābī, II, 37; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 3152; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 130–31; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 96, and *Tahdhīb*, VI, 113–14.

680. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 136, 342, 353.

681. *Amr al-juhhāl*, "the matter of the Barbarians," that is, pre-Islamic times (the Jāhiliyyah).

682. A Successor; there are various versions of his tribal affiliation. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 100–1; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 193.

chard (*sikkah ma'būrah*). Al-Ṣudā'ī's version ends here, whereas al-Nāqid added to his own version: *sikkah* means palm trees, and *muhrah ma'mūrah* means [a filly] foaling many times.

Abū al-Minhāl's father.[683]

According to Zurayq b. al-Sikht—Shabābah b. Sawwār—Salm b. Abī Bilāl—'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Bashīr—Abū al-Minhāl—his father—the Prophet: Sleeping [in the time] between the setting and the rising of the stars is most harmful.

'Umayr b. Wahb, the Prophet's maternal uncle.[684]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Hilālī Abū Mas'ūd al-Mukattib—Sa'īd b. Sallām—Hishām b. al-Ghāz—Muḥammad b. Abān—'Umayr b. Wahb, the Prophet's maternal uncle: [Once] the Prophet saw 'Umayr approaching, so he spread his garment for
[2421] him and said "Sit down." ['Umayr] asked "Should I sit on your garment, O Messenger of God?" the Prophet said "Sit down, for one's maternal uncle is [like a] father to one."[685] When he sat down the Prophet said "Shall I teach you the words God teaches those whose happiness He wants, [words] that He does not let them forget until they die?" 'Umayr replied "Certainly, O Messenger of God." The Prophet then said "Say 'O God, I am weak, so strengthen me, with Your consent; take me by the forelock [and lead me] toward what is good; with Your mercy, let me attain Your mercy that I wish for; let Islam be my ultimate goal; make me [find] love with people and a covenant with you.'"[686]

'Abdallāh b. Hilāl.[687]

According to Bishr b. Ādam—Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb—Bishr b. 'Im-

683. His identity is unclear; see Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 156. Ibn Sa'd mentions two persons by that name with no details. The tradition recorded here is not mentioned in Zaghlūl's *Mawsū'at aṭrāf al-ḥadīth*.

684. That is, brother of the Prophet's mother, Āminah bt. Wahb of the Qurashī clan Zuhrah, not to be confused with 'Umayr b. Wahb of the Qurashī clan Jumaḥ; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 37. Almost nothing is known about him; he is not mentioned even once in the *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām and is ignored by Ibn Sa'd.

685. Cf. p. 97, above.

686. Cf. Qur'ān 2:80, 9:7.

687. His identity is unclear. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 339, 378; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II/2, 193.

rān—his patron ʿAbdallāh b. Hilāl: My father brought me to the Prophet, who put his hand on my head and blessed me. He seemed to me an old, hairy man, who fasted during daytime and prayed during the night. I remember the coolness of the Prophet's hand on the crown of my head.

Muʿādh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khubayb's paternal uncle.[688]

According to Muḥammad b. Maʿmar—Abū ʿĀmir—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sulaymān, an old man from Medina—Muʿādh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Khubayb—his father—his paternal uncle: The Prophet emerged before us, traces of water on his head, while we were sitting in company. We said "O Messenger of God, we see that you are cheerful," whereupon he said "Indeed." The people then started talking about wealth, and the Prophet said "There is nothing wrong in wealth when a person is God fearing, but health is better than wealth for the God fearing, and cheerfulness is a blessing."

Abū Fāṭimah.[689] [2422]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAwf—Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—his father—Ḍamḍam—Shurayḥ b. ʿUbayd—Kathīr b. Murrah—Abū Fāṭimah, who said to the Prophet "O Messenger of God, tell me about an act that will put me on the right path [if I perform it]."[690] The Prophet said "You should perform the emigration (*hijrah*), for there is nothing like it." I asked [again] "O Messenger of God, tell me about an act that will put me on the right path [if I perform it]." He said "You should fast, for there is nothing like fasting." I said [again] "Tell me, O Messenger of God, about an act that will put me on the right path [if I perform it]." He said "You should perform the prostration before God, for whenever you perform a prostration God raises you by one degree and takes a sin off you."

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688. His identity is unclear. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 429; Ibn Abī Ḥatim, IV/1, 426–27.

689. An Egyptian of the Azd. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 115; al-Dūlābī, I, 47; Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 198.

690. Cf. Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Īmān*, 16, where a similar story is attributed to the Companion Muʿādh b. Jabal.

Wahb b. Ḥudhayfah.[691]

According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ]—ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd—Khālid—ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā—his paternal uncle Wāsiʿ b. Ḥabbān—Wahb b. Ḥudhayfah—the Prophet: A man has a right to his seat; if he gets up to fulfill some need or other, then comes back, he has a right to his seat.

Al-Ḥārith b. Mālik.[692]

According to Sahl b. Mūsā al-Rāzī—al-Ḥajjāj b. Muhājir—Ayyūb b. Khūṭ—Layth—Zayd b. Rufayʿ—al-Ḥārith b. Mālik, who said, while with the Prophet "I am truly a believer," whereupon the Prophet said "Be careful with what you say, for every statement has its proper sense."[693] Al-Ḥārith said: "O Messenger of God, I have ordered my soul to turn away from this world, and it [obeyed] calmly; I have abstained from drinking[694] during the daytime and have spent the nights awake. It is as if I look at the
[2423] throne of the Lord and at paradise's dwellers paying visits to one another and at hell's dwellers howling to one another." The Prophet said "You have turned away [from this world], so adhere [to your way]; you have turned away [from this world], so adhere [to your way]."[695] The Prophet then added "Whoever likes to become happy by looking at a servant [of God] whose heart was lit with faith by God, let him look at al-Ḥārith b. Mālik." Al-Ḥārith then asked [the Prophet] "Pray to God that I may die as a *shahīd*!" The Prophet prayed for him, and he fell as a *shahīd*.

Abū al-Ḥamrāʾ.[696]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

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691. Of the Kinānī clan Ghifār or the Muzaynah, a rather insignificant Companion. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 641; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 33.

692. An Anṣārī killed during the Prophet's lifetime; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 289–90.

693. There is a dispute among Muslim scholars as to whether it is permissible to declare oneself a believer or to say "I am a believer if God so wills" or a similar expression. This is connected to the commendable quality of modesty as well as to such theological problems as the true sense of belief, the difference between belief (*īmān*) and Islam, and free will vs. predestination. See, e.g., Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Īmān*, 21–25; idem., *Muṣannaf*, XI, 42–43.

694. Or, "made myself lean," i.e., fasted.

695. Cf. Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Īmān*, 43.

696. Apparently not the Prophet's client mentioned in some sources (al-Dūlābī,

According to ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Wāṣil and Sufyān b. Wakīʿ—Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq—Abū Dāʾūd—Abū al-Ḥamrāʾ: I lived in Medina for seven months during the Prophet's lifetime; each day at dawn I saw the Prophet come to the door of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah and call "To the prayer, to the prayer; indeed, ʿAllāh simply wishes to take away the foulness from you and to purify you thoroughly.'"[697]

Al-Haddār.[698]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAwf—his father—Shuqayr, al-ʿAbbās' client: [Shuqayr] heard al-Haddār, the Prophet's Companion, say to al-ʿAbbās, after having seen him eating white bread and other things immoderately "I never saw the Prophet satisfy his hunger with wheat bread until God took him."

Ziyād b. Muṭarrif.[699]

According to Zakariyāʾ b. Yaḥyā b. Abān al-Miṣrī—Aḥmad b. Ishkāb—Yaḥyā b. Yaʿlā al-Muḥāribī—ʿAmmār b. Zurayq al-Ḍabbī—Abū Isḥāq al-Hamdānī—Ziyād b. Muṭarrif—the Prophet: Whoever wishes to live like me and to die like me and to enter the [2424]
garden some of whose branches God promised to give me, [from trees] He had planted in that garden of eternity, [whoever wishes to attain this], let him befriend ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and his descendants after him, for they will never lead him out through the door of the right path, and never lead him in through the door of error.

I, 25; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, III, 435–36) or he would not have "lived in Medina for seven months" but would rather have lived there permanently. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 46, mentions another person by that *kunyah*, of whom he knows only that he participated in Badr and Uḥud.

697. Qurʾān 33:33, trans. Bell, II, 414. This is a version of what is called The Tradition of the Covering (*ḥadīth al-kisāʾ*), which aims at identifying the *ahl al-bayt*, i.e., the family of the Prophet. The proper identification of the term is directly connected with the political issue of authority, as the Shīʿīs applied it to ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, and their descendants only, whereas the ʿAbbāsids included themselves in it. See Sharon, "Notes"; idem, "Development"; idem, "The Umayyads"; "Ahl al-bayt," *EI*², I, 257–58 (I. Goldziher, C. van Arendonck, and A. S. Tritton). For other versions of the tradition, see Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, VI, 292; Arazi and Elʿad, 241, 254 no. 39; see also Zaghlūl, III, 555.

698. A Kinānī who lived in Ḥimṣ; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 600.

699. Apparently known only in connection with the tradition quoted here; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 559.

Junādah b. Mālik.[700]

According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ] and Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. al-Hayyāj al-Hamdānī—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—ʿUbaydah b. al-Aswad—al-Qāsim b. al-Walīd—Muṣʿab b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azdī—ʿAbdallāh b. Junādah—Junādah b. Mālik—the Prophet: There are three features of the people of the Jāhiliyyah never to be given up by the people of Islam—praying to the stars for rain,[701] finding fault with one another's genealogy,[702] and wailing for the dead.[703]

Abū Udhaynah.[704]

According to ʿUbayd b. Ādam b. Abī Iyās—his father—al-Layth b. Saʿd—Mūsā b. ʿUlayy b. Rabāḥ—his father—Abū Udhaynah—the Prophet: The best of your women are those who are prolific, affectionate, obedient, and generous, provided they are God fearing. The worst of your women are those who dress up and are conceited. These are the Hypocrites (*munāfiqāt*); such a one's reaching paradise is [a phenomenon] as rare as a white-footed raven.

Ibn Nuḍaylah.[705]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam—Ay-
[2425] yūb b. Suwayd—al-Awzāʿī—Abū ʿUbayd[706]—al-Qāsim b. Mukhaymirah—Ibn Nuḍaylah: A famine befell the people during the Prophet's lifetime, and they appealed to him "O Messenger of

700. Of the tribe of Azd; see al-Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 232–34; Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 194. He is confused with one Junādah b. Abī Umayyah, and, to add to the confusion, there are two by the latter name, one of them quite well known. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 247, 245–46; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 159, 216; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 116, 305, 309.

701. Prayer for rain (*istisqāʾ*) was practiced both in pre-Islamic and in Islamic times, naturally with differences arising from paganism vs. monotheism. See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 41; "Istisqāʾ," *EI*², IV,269–70 (T. Fahd).

702. Genealogy, *nasab* (here *nisbah*), was pivotal in the social life of the Arabs both before and after Islam. Boasting of their own genealogy and degrading that of the others were customary among both tribes and individuals and were strongly repudiated by Islam. See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, chap. 2.

703. The traditional pre-Islamic way of wailing for the dead, *niyāḥah* or *nawḥ*, was strictly forbidden by Islam; see note 179, above.

704. Apparently known only in connection with the tradition recorded here; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 4–5. Al-Dūlābī mentions only his name.

705. Apparently known only in connection with the tradition recorded here; see Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 331.

706. He was Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik's doorkeeper; see de Goeje, 2424 n. h.

God, announce fixed prices for us." He retorted: "Let not God call me to account for a custom (*sunnah*) I introduced to you without His ordering me to do it. Nay, ask God for His favor."[707]

Abū al-Muʿallā's father.[708]

According to al-Faḍl b. Sahl al-Aʿraj—Muʿallā b. Manṣūr—ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAmr—ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr—Abū al-Muʿallā—his father: The Prophet stood at the pulpit and said "My foot is placed at one of paradise's gates."[709]

Murrah.[710]

According to al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafah—ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Muḥammad b. Juḥādah—Muḥammad b. ʿAjlān—Murrah's daughter—her father—the Prophet: One who acts as guardian of an orphan, whether on his own or someone else's behalf, will be with me in paradise [as close to me as that], if he fears God; and he indicated [it] with his forefinger and middle finger.

ʿUbaydallāh b. Miḥṣan.[711]

According to Ṣāliḥ b. Mismār—Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—Marwān—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Shumaylah al-Anṣārī—Salamah b. ʿUbaydallāh b. Miḥṣan—his father—the Prophet: Whoever of you gets up in the morning safe in his family and property, sound in his body, having food for the day, it is as if he owned this world.

ʿĀṣim b. Ḥadrah.[712]

According to ʿImrān b. Bakkār al-Kalāʿī—Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ—Saʿīd

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707. *Sunnah* is a term indicating all the customs and practices of the Prophet considered to be the paradigm of a good Muslim's behavior. Here the idea is expressed that not only the Qur'ān, but also the *sunnah*, has a divine origin. See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 24–38 and passim.

708. An Anṣārī, known in connection with the tradition recorded here; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 182–83.

709. *Turʿah min turaʿ al-jannah. Turʿah* means both the pulpit's flight of steps and a gate or door. The word is here used in both meanings simultaneously, the idea being that this very flight of steps leads to paradise.

710. I could not trace this individual.

711. An Anṣārī, apparently known only in connection with the tradition recorded here; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 439–40; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 65.

712. Or Ḥadrad, an Anṣārī known in connection with the tradition recorded here; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 245.

[2426] b. Bashīr—Qatādah [b. Diʿāmah]—al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī]: We entered ʿĀṣim b. Ḥadrah's [home], and he said to us "The Prophet never ate at a table, never carried a cushion with him, and never had a doorkeeper."

Abū Maryam al-Filasṭīnī.[713]

According to Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar—Abū Mushir [ʿAbd al-Aʿlā b. Mushir]—Ṣadaqah b. Khālid—Yazīd b. Abī Maryam—al-Qāsim b. Mukhaymirah—a man of the people of Filasṭīn whose *kunyah* was Abū Maryam. This man came to see Muʿāwiyah, and the latter asked him to recite a tradition (*ḥadīth*) he had heard from the Prophet. Abū Maryam said: I heard the Prophet say: "Whoever is appointed by God to take care of any of the Muslims' affairs and shuts his eyes to their need and want and poverty, God will shut His eyes to [this ruler's] need and want and poverty on the Day of Judgment.

Rāshid b. Ḥubaysh.[714]

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Bashshār—Muḥammad b. Bakr—Saʿīd [b. Abī ʿArūbah]—Qatādah [b. Diʿāmah]—Muslim b. Yasār—Abū al-Ashʿath al-Ṣanʿānī—Rāshid b. Ḥubaysh: The Prophet visited ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit,[715] who was ill, and said "Do you know the identity of the martyrs (*shuhadāʾ*) of my community?" The people remained silent; ʿUbādah b. al-Ṣāmit said "Assist me [to sit up]," which they did, and he answered: "Those who bear patiently and seek God's reward." The Prophet then said: "In that case, the martyrs of my community are few. [I say that] to be killed in the path of God counts as martyrdom (*shahādah*), and so do death in a plague, drowning, death by a belly
[2427] disease, and the death of a woman in labor; [such a woman's] child pulls his mother to paradise by the umbilical cord." Abū al-ʿAw-

713. Of the Azd tribe, al-Dūlābī, I, 53–54; Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 150. There is, however, a confusion between several persons of that *kunyah*. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 179; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 313; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, V, 295–96.

714. It is disputed whether he was a Companion or a Successor; he is known in connection with the tradition recorded here; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 494.

715. An eminent Anṣārī and the first judge in Filasṭīn. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 268–69; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 87–88; al-Ṣafadī, XVI, 618–19.

wwām added: "And the keepers of the temple at Jerusalem (*bayt al-maqdis*) [are martyrs] and also [those who die by] fire or ulceration in the lungs."

Aws b. Shuraḥbīl.[716]

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbūyah—Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm—ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith—ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim—al-Zabīdī—ʿAyyāsh b. Muʾnis—Abū Nimrān al-Raḥabī—Aws b. Shuraḥbīl, one of the Banū al-Mujammiʿ—the Prophet: He who goes [along] with an unjust [ruler] and supports him, knowing that he is unjust, has forsaken Islam [by this act].[717]

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khanbash.[718]

According to ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar—Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Ḍubaʿī—Abū al-Tayyāḥ: Someone asked ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khanbash, who was [then] a very old man "O Ibn Khanbash, what used the Prophet to do when the devils plotted against him?" He said: "The devils came down upon the Prophet from the mountains and the valleys, intending [to harm] him. Among them was a devil with a burning piece of wood with which he intended to burn the Prophet. The Prophet was scared when he saw them, [but] Jibrīl came to him and said 'O Muḥammad, repeat after me "I seek refuge in the words of God, which neither the pious nor the sinner can transgress; [I seek refuge] from the evil that He created and made out of nothing and caused to be and from the evil that de- [2428]
scends from the sky and that which ascends it, from the evil that is sown in the earth and that which grows out of it, from the evil of the temptations of night and day, and from the evil of anyone knocking at the door,[719] except one [who brings] good, O Merciful.'"[720] Then the devils' fire was extinguished and they were defeated by God."

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716. Or Shuraḥbīl b. Aws, a Companion, resident of Ḥimṣ, known in connection with the tradition recorded here; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 85.
717. This is an antiquietist tradition; but cf. p. 102, above.
718. A Tamīmī, resident of al-Baṣrah; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 396–97.
719. Or, "the evil of every diviner" (practicing divination by pebbles).
720. Cf. Qurʾān 7:200, 23:97, 41:36, 113, 114; and see note 620, above.

Ibn Juʿdubah.[721]

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd—Saʿīd b. Manṣūr—Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Ḥāzim—Abū Ḥāzim [Salamah b. Dīnār]—Muḥammad b. Kaʿb—Ibn Juʿdubah—the Prophet: God is pleased with three things and hates three things for you to do: He is pleased that you worship Him without attributing any partner to Him and that you all hold fast to the covenant of God without being at variance with one another and that you obey those whom God has appointed to rule you.[722] He hates you to engage in gossip, to ask too many questions, and to waste money.[723]

Abū Muʿattib b. ʿAmr.[724]

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah [b. al-Faḍl]—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār—ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Marwān al-Aslamī—his father—Abū Muʿattib b. ʿAmr: When the Prophet looked down on Khaybar he said to his Companions, among whom I was [too][725] "Stop!" Then he said: "O God, Lord of the heavens and whatever lies under their shadows, Lord of the earth and whatever it sustains, Lord of the devils and whomever they lead astray, Lord of the winds and whatever they
[2429] scatter! We ask You [to give us] the good of this town and its people and whatever is in it, and we seek refuge in You from its evil and the evil of its people and of whatever is in it; advance, in the name of God." He used to say this for every town he entered.

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721. Yazīd b. ʿIyāḍ, a Baṣran Successor, of the Kinānī clan the Banū Layth. See Ibn Saʿd, V, 305; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 308–9.

722. Unity of the community and obedience to rulers are closely connected. See p. 102 and note 487, above.

723. Or, "property."

724. A Companion, of the Aslam tribe; he is known to have fought in the Muslim army during the apostasy wars. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 181; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 112, 137; al-Dūlābī, I, 55.

725. See al-Wāqidī, 658, where another report about Khaybar is traced back to him (he is called Muʿattib al-Aslamī there).

The Biographies of the Women Who Embraced Islam during the Prophet's Lifetime: Those of Them Who Passed away before the Emigration

Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.

Her *kunyah* was Umm Hind, after one of her daughters named Hind, whom she bore to ʿAtīq b. ʿĀbid b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm, and [also] after a son of hers called Hind, whom she bore to Abū Hālah b. al-Nabbāsh b. Zurārah b. Waqdān b. Ḥabīb b. Salāmah b. Ghuwayy b. Jirwah b. Usayyid b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—al-Mundhir b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥizāmī—Mūsā b. ʿUqbah—Abū Ḥabībah, al-Zubayr's client—Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām: Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid died in Ramaḍān of the year 10 after [the beginning of] the prophethood,[726] at the age of sixty-five. We carried her from her house to be buried at al-Ḥajūn, and the Prophet descended into her grave.[727] The prayer over the bier was then not yet included in the procedure of funerals. Someone asked [Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām] "When was this [introduced], O Abū Khālid?" [Ḥakīm] replied "Three years or so before the Emigration, shortly after the Banū Hāshim came out of the ravine [where they had been besieged].[728]

Khadījah was the Prophet's first wife, and she bore all his children except Ibrāhīm, son of Māriyah. Her *kunyah* was Umm Hind, after her son from her [former] husband Abū Hālah al-Tamīmī.

Those of Them Who Died during the Prophet's Lifetime after the Emigration [2430]

Of the Prophet's daughters: Ruqayyah, Khadījah's daughter.[729]

Ruqayyah had been married to ʿUtbah b. Abī Lahab b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib before Muḥammad was inspired. When the Prophet was

726. The Muslim era starts with the Emigration, and the Muslims have no concept parallel to that of B.C.. For the years preceding the Emigration various expressions are used. Here the beginning of the prophethood serves as a starting point, although the Muslims differed on the exact date of this event. See al-Sakhāwī's *I'lām*, in Rosenthal, *History*, 380.

727. Cf. p. 11, above.

728. That is, after the boycott was removed from them. See p. 55, above.

729. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 24; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, II, 365.

sent [on his divine mission] and God revealed the verse "The hands of Abū Lahab have perished,"[730] 'Utbah's father said to him "Divorce Muḥammad's daughter, or else all ties between us will be [irreversibly] severed." So 'Utbah divorced Ruqayyah without having consummated the marriage. She embraced Islam when her mother Khadījah did and swore allegiance to the Prophet, together with the other women.[731] 'Uthmān b. 'Affān married her, and she emigrated twice to Abyssinia with him. On the first emigration she miscarried the child she had from 'Uthmān, but later she bore him a son whom he named 'Abdallāh. When the Prophet emigrated [to Medina] she followed suit, after her husband 'Uthmān.

Ruqayyah fell ill when the Prophet was preparing to set out for [the battle of] Badr, so he left 'Uthmān behind [to watch over her].[732] She died in Ramaḍān, seventeen months after the Prophet's Emigration/March 624, while the Prophet was at Badr. Zayd b. Ḥārithah came from Badr with the good news [of the victory], and when he entered Medina the [people] were leveling the earth over her [grave].[733]

Zaynab, the Prophet's daughter.

Her mother was Khadījah. She was the eldest of the Prophet's daughters.

Zaynab's maternal cousin, Abū al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī', had married her before the Prophet was sent [on his divine mission]. Abū al-'Āṣ's mother was Hālah bt. Khuwaylid b. Asad, Zaynab's maternal aunt. Zaynab bore Abū al-'Āṣ [his children] 'Alī and Umāmah; 'Alī died in infancy, whereas Umāmah remained [to live]. 'Alī b.
[2431] Abī Ṭālib, the Commander of the Faithful, married her after the death of [his wife] Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Yaḥyā b. 'Abd-

730. Qur'ān 111:4; trans. Bell, II, 684.

731. *Ḥīna bāya'ahu al-nisā'*. This is not to be confused with the so-called *bay'at al-nisā'*, the name given to the first pledge of the Anṣār in the first 'Aqabah meeting; see Ibn Hishām, II, 75; Guillaume, 198–99.

732. This account has a political significance, as 'Uthmān's opponents accused him of cowardice and considered him therefore unqualified to rule. 'Uthmān's supporters justified his absence from the battle of Badr by the permission, or even order, of the Prophet that he should stay behind and watch over the sick Ruqayyah. As for Uḥud, it is claimed that God forgave him. See, e.g., al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 326.

733. Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 24.

allāh b. Abī Qatādah—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm: Zaynab, the Prophet's daughter, died at the beginning of the year 8/the middle of the year 629.

According to al-Ṭabarī: It was reported that the reason for her death was [as follows]. When she left Mecca, intending to reach Medina and join her father, Habbār b. al-Aswad caught up with her. She was [sitting on a camel] in a litter, and he pushed her, whereupon she fell on a rock and, being pregnant, miscarried her child and lost [a lot of] blood. She had this injury and ultimately died of it.

Umm Kulthūm, daughter of the Prophet.

Her mother was Khadījah.

She had been married to 'Utaybah b. Abī Lahab before the Prophet was sent [on his divine mission]. He divorced her for the same reason that his brother 'Utbah divorced her sister Ruqayyah, [even] before the consummation of their marriage,[734] as I mentioned [before].

Umm Kulthūm emigrated to Medina with the [rest of the] Prophet's children. Following the death of Ruqayyah, daughter of the Prophet, he gave Umm Kulthūm in marriage to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, in Rabī' I 3/September 624. She remained married to him until her death; she bore him no children.

Umm Kulthūm died in Sha'bān 9/November–December 630. Women of the Anṣār, among them Umm 'Aṭiyyah, washed her body, and Abū Ṭalḥah descended into her grave.[735]

The Prophet's Wives Who Died during His Lifetime[736]

Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Manāf b. Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, named Umm al-Masākīn.[737]

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734. It is not clear whether or not the text argues that 'Utaybah also divorced Umm Kulthūm before the consummation of their marriage. The argument dulls the edge of the fact that the daughters of the Prophet were already divorced when 'Uthmān married them.

735. See p. 11, above.

736. On the wives of the Prophet, see Morsy, and a critique of the book in Gilliot, "Bulletin d'islamologie", 487–89; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1766–82; Ibn Hishām, IV, 293–98; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 243–69; Abū Zur'ah, 489–95; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al-sīrah*, 31–38; al-Ṣāliḥī, *Azwāj al-nabiyy*.

737. "Zainab," *EI*[1], IV, 1200 (V. Vacca); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 429; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 26; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 258.

[2432] It was reported that she was thus named in pre-Islamic times.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī: Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah al-Hilāliyyah was called Umm al-Masākīn. She had been married to al-Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf, and he divorced her.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh, that is, Ibn Jaʿfar—ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī ʿAwn: [Then] ʿUbaydah b. al-Ḥārith married her, and he was killed in [the battle] of Badr as a *shahīd*, leaving her a widow.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Kathīr b. Zayd—al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanṭab, and also Muḥammad b. Qudāmah—his father: The Prophet asked Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah al-Hilāliyyah, Umm al-Masākīn, in marriage, and she entrusted her affairs to him. He let it be known that he gave her twelve and a half ounces [of gold] as bridal gift.[738] The marriage took place in Ramaḍān, thirty-one months after the Emigration/February 625. She stayed with him eight months, then died at the end of Rabīʿ II, thirty-nine months after [the Emigration]/October 626.[739] The Prophet said the prayers over her bier and buried her at al-Baqīʿ.

Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī] related: I asked ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar who it was that descended into her grave,[740] and he said "three of her brothers." I asked "How old was she when she died?" He said "Thirty years or so."

Rayḥānah bt. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Khunāfah b. Samʿūn b. Zayd, of the Banū al-Naḍīr.[741]

Rayḥānah had been married to a man of the Banū Qurayẓah named al-Ḥakam; therefore some genealogists traced her pedigree to the Qurayẓah.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar—Yazīd b. al-Hād—Thaʿlabah b. Abī Mālik: Rayḥānah bt.

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738. *Aṣdaqahā*. See "Mahr," *EI*², VI, 78–80 (O. Spies).

739. Although it may seem otherwise, the time here is calculated not from the actual Emigration, which occurred in the third month of the year (Rabīʿ I), but from the first month (Muḥarram) of the year of the Emigration.

740. See p. 11, above.

741. A Jewess captured by the Muslims with the Banū Qurayẓah. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 453–54; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1498.

Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Khunāfah, of the Banū al-Naḍīr, was married to one of the [Banū Qurayẓah] named al-Ḥakam. When the Banū Qurayẓah were taken captive the Prophet took her, set her free, and married her. She was still married to him when she died.[742] [2433]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Rayḥānah remained married to the Prophet until her death on the Prophet's return from the Farewell Pilgrimage; he buried her in al-Baqīʿ. He had married her in Muḥarram 6/May–June 627.

Mulaykah bt. Kaʿb al-Laythī.[743]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Jundaʿī—his father—ʿAṭā' b. Yazīd al-Jundaʿī: The Prophet married Mulaykah bt. Kaʿb al-Laythī in Ramaḍān 8/January 630 and consummated the marriage. She was still married to him when she died.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī: The same [as the preceding account].

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Our masters deny this, saying that the Prophet never married a woman of the Kinānah.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Abū Maʿshar [Najīḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān]: The Prophet married Mulaykah bt. Kaʿb, who was famous for her outstanding beauty. ʿĀ'ishah went in to her and said "Are you not ashamed to marry the man who killed your father?" Mulaykah said that she sought refuge in God from the Prophet.[744] [On hearing of this] the Prophet divorced her. [People of] her clan came to the Prophet and said "She is small and has no mind of her own; she was beguiled [into saying what she did], so please take her back." But the Prophet refused. They then asked his permission to give her in marriage to a relative of hers, of the Banū ʿUdhrah; The Prophet consented, and the ʿUdhrī married her.

Mulaykah's father was killed in the conquest of Mecca, at Khandamah,[745] by Khālid b. al-Walīd.

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742. According to other versions (see the previous note), she refused to marry him and preferred to be his concubine.

743. Of the Kinānī clan al-Layth b. Bakr; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 180; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 458–59.

744. Cf. pp. 186–89, below.

745. Cf. Ibn Hishām, IV, 49–50.

Sanā bt. al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥārithah b. Hilāl b. Ḥarām b. Sammāl b. ʿAwf al-Sulamiyyah.[746]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—someone from
[2434] the family of ʿAbdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī:[747] The Prophet married Sanā bt. al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamiyyah, but she died before he reached her.

Khawlah bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrah b. Qabīṣah b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥurqah b. Thaʿlabah b. Bakr b. Ḥubayb b. ʿAmr b. Ghanm b. Taghlib.[748]

Her mother was the daughter of Khalīfah b. Farwah b. Faḍālah b. Zayd b. Imriʾ al-Qays b. al-Khazraj al-Kalbī and the sister of Diḥyah b. Khalīfah.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—al-Sharqī b. Quṭāmī: The Prophet married Khawlah bt. al-Hudhayl, but she died on her way, before reaching him. She had been raised by her maternal aunt, Khirniq bt. Khalīfah, Diḥyah b. Khalīfah's sister.[749]

The [Death] Dates[750] of the Prophet's Daughters, Paternal Aunts, and Wives Who Died after Him

Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter.

Her mother was Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid. She was born at the time when the Quraysh were building the House,[751] five years before the beginning of the Prophet's mission.

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746. Called Sanāʾ bt. Asmāʾ in other sources; of the Sulamī clan the Banū Sammāl. See Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*, 84; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 463.

747. A nephew of Sanāʾ. He was a famous warrior and governor of Khurāsān; see Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*, 82.

748. Her father, al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrah, of the Taghlibī clan Thaʿlabah b. Bakr, was a distinguished leader in Mesopotamia in pre-Islamic times. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 93; idem., *Jamharat*, 574; Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 249–50; *Naqāʾiḍ*, 473, 703; Caskel, II, 286. One of his daughters, Rayḥānah, was taken captive by the Muslims during the conquests; see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 2073. On Khawlah, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 460.

749. Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 114–15.

750. *Dhikr taʾrīkh man māta* . . . etc. *Taʾrīkh* means "date" as well as "history" and "biography," but the chapter deals mainly with deaths and dates. Cf. the next chapter, where it is clear that "dates" are meant in the rubric.

751. That is, the Kaʿbah; see Rubin, "The Kaʿba," 98–104.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Yaḥyā b. Shibl—Abū Jaʿfar [Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn]: Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went to see ʿAlī and Fāṭimah [and heard her] say [to ʿAlī] "I am older than you." Al-ʿAbbās said: "You, Fāṭimah, were born at the time when the Quraysh were building the Kaʿbah; the Prophet was then thirty-five years old. As for you, ʿAlī, you were born a few years before that."

According to al-Ṭabarī: ʿAlī married Fāṭimah in Rajab, five months after the Prophet's arrival at Medina/January–February [2435]
623, and consummated the marriage on his return from [the battle of] Badr. She was then eighteen years old. This is so according to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī—his father.

Opinions differ concerning the time of her death, although everyone agrees that it occurred after the Prophet's death. According to some, she died six months after the Prophet.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Maʿmar [b. Rāshid]—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī—ʿUrwah [b. al-Zubayr]—ʿĀʾishah, [the Prophet's wife], and [al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Jurayj [ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz]—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī—ʿUrwah [b. al-Zubayr]: Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet, died six months after him. According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī], this is correct. She died on Tuesday night, 3 Ramaḍān 11/November 23, 632, at the age of twenty-nine or so.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Jurayj [ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz]—ʿAmr b. Dīnār—Abū Jaʿfar [Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn]: Fāṭimah died three months after the Prophet.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī—his father—ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn ʿAbbās: Fāṭimah was the first [dead person] for whom a bier was made. Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays made it for her, after she had seen one made in Abyssinia.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm—ʿAmrah bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib said the ritual prayer over the bier of Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter; he, ʿAlī, and al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās descended into the grave.[752]

752. See p. 11, above.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī—his father—ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, who asked Ibn ʿAbbās about the time Fāṭimah's burial took place. Al-ʿAbbās said: "We buried her at night, after a third of it or so had elapsed." [ʿAlī
[2436] b. al-Ḥusayn] asked who had said the prayer over her bier, and al-ʿAbbās replied: "ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib".

Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī] said "I asked ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Muwālī 'Some people say that Fāṭimah's grave is at the mosque where the funerary services are held, in al-Baqī.'" ʿAbd al-Raḥmān said: "[No], by God, this is the mosque of Ruqayyah"—meaning the woman who had built it—"but Fāṭimah was buried in al-Baqīʿ, in ʿAqīl's place, at the corner next to the dwelling of the Jaḥsh family[753] and opposite the private passageway from the Banū Nubayh's [house], [if you look from the direction] of the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār's [house]. Her grave lies seven *dhirāʿ*s off the road."[754]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar—ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan:[755] I [once] found al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān[756] standing in al-Baqīʿ, waiting for me at midday in oppressive heat. I said "O Abū Hāshim, what makes you stand [here]?" He replied: "I was waiting for you; it has come to my knowledge that Fāṭimah was buried in this house, in ʿAqīl's place, at the corner next to the dwelling of the Jaḥsh family. I would like you to buy it for me for whatever price, to be buried there." ʿAbdallāh said "By God, I shall do that." We tried [to persuade] the ʿAqīl family, but they refused the request of ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan.[757]

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar, no one doubts that Fāṭimah's grave is in that place.

According to al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Warkānī—Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd—Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād—ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith: Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter, passed away eight months after

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753. A family of bedouin (Asadī) origin, allies of the Quraysh, who joined Muḥammad early in his career; see Kister, "On Strangers and Allies", 137–39.

754. A *Dhirāʿ* equals 29½ inches.

755. Perhaps the great-grandson of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is meant; see Ibn Qudāmah, 129. See, on him, p. 245, below.

756. One of the rich, generous notables of the Qurashī clan the Makhzūm during Umayyad times; see Ibn Qudāmah, 361–63.

757. There is a shift in the narration here. The story starts with ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan as the narrator, but from "We tried . . ." until the end the narrator is al-Mughīrah.

him. She became emaciated and complained to Asmā' about the thinness of her body. She asked her "Could you cover me with something?" Asmā' said "I saw the Abyssinians prepare a bed- [2437]
stead for the [dead] women, then fasten the bier to the bedposts." So [Fāṭimah] ordered them to do that [when she died].

According to al-Ḥārith—al-Madā'inī—Abū Zakariyyā' al-'Ajlānī: A bier was made for Fāṭimah before she died. She looked at it and said "You have shielded me; may God shield you."

Ṣafiyyah, daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[758]

Her mother was Hālah bt. Wuhayb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb. She was a sister of Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib from both parents.

Ṣafiyyah was married to al-Ḥārith b. Ḥarb b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams in pre-Islamic times and bore him [a child named] Ṣafiyy. She was later married to al-'Awwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad, to whom she bore al-Zubayr and 'Abd al-Ka'bah.

Ṣafiyyah embraced Islam and gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance. She emigrated to Medina, [where] she died during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Her grave is in al-Baqī', in the courtyard in front of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah's dwelling.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]: Ṣafiyyah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib [once] killed a man in a duel.

The Death Dates of the Prophet's Wives Who Died after Him

Sawdah bt. Zam'ah b. Qays b. 'Abd Wadd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.[759]

Her mother was al-Shamūs bt. Qays b. 'Amr b. Zayd b. Labīd b. Khidāsh b. 'Āmir b. Ghanm b. 'Adī b. al-Najjār, of the Anṣār. She was married to al-Sakrān b. 'Amr, and they both emigrated to Abyssinia in the second emigration.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Makhramah b. Bukayr—his father: Al-Sakrān b. 'Amr returned with his wife Sawdah bt.

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758. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 120; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 331; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 313; al-Zubayrī, 17.

759. Of the Qurashī clan 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. See Khalīfhah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 335; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 407–9; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 254.

Zamʿah from Abyssinia to Mecca, where he died, leaving her a widow. When it was lawful for her [to marry again][760] the Prophet sent her a message, asking her to marry him. She said "O Mes-
[2438] senger of God, I entrust my affairs to you." The Prophet said "Ask a man of your clan to give you in marriage." She asked Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Wadd, and he gave her [to the Prophet] in marriage. She was the first woman the Prophet married after Khadījah's [death].[761]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim—his father: The Prophet married Sawdah in Ramaḍān, in the tenth year after the [beginning of] his prophethood. This was after Khadījah's death and before his marriage to ʿĀʾishah. He consummated the marriage in Mecca, then emigrated to Medina.

Sawdah bt. Zamʿah died in Medina in Shawwāl 54/September–October 674, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī], this is the correct version.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—his father—Abū Ṣāliḥ [Bādhām]—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn ʿAbbās: Sawdah bt. Zamʿah was married to al-Sakrān b. ʿAmr, brother of Suhayl b. ʿAmr. [Once] she dreamed that the Prophet walked until he trod on her neck. She told her husband about it and he said "By your father's life, if your dream is true, then I shall die, and Muḥammad will marry you." She said "[God] forbid!" According to Hishām, [she said] this by way of banishing the [idea]. Another night she dreamed that a moon fell down from the sky on her while she was lying down. She told her husband, and he said "By your father's life, it shall not be long before I die and you will be given in marriage to [the Prophet]." Since that day al-Sakrān suffered from some complaint; it was not long before he died and the Prophet married Sawdah.

According to al-Ḥārith—Dāʾūd b. al-Muḥabbar—ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahrām—Shahr [b. Ḥawshab?]—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn ʿAbbās: The Prophet asked to be given in marriage a woman of his tribe by

760. According to the Muslim law, a widow or divorced woman should wait for a certain period before remarrying (in order to see whether she is pregnant by her former husband); see "ʿIdda," *EI*², III, 1010–13 (Y. Linant de Bellefonds).

761. The Prophet never married another woman during Khadījah's lifetime.

the name of Sawdah. She had [already] five or six small children from her [former] husband, who was dead by then. The Prophet asked her "What is it that prevents you from [marrying] me?" She [2439] replied "O Prophet of God, nothing prevents me from [marrying] you but that you are the most beloved person to me and I respect you [too much to let] these little children squeal around your head all the time." The Prophet asked "Is there anything else that prevents you from [marrying] me?" She replied "No, by God." The Prophet said to her "The best women ever to have ridden the backs of camels[762] are the virtuous women of the Quraysh, who are the most affectionate toward small children and the most excellent in doing good to their husbands when they [the women] are wealthy.[763]

ʿĀʾishah, daughter of Abū Bakr.[764]

Her mother was Umm Rūmān bt. ʿUmayr b. ʿĀmir, of the Banū Duhmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kinānah.[765]

The Prophet married ʿĀʾishah in Shawwāl in the tenth year after the [beginning of his] prophethood, three years before the Emigration. He consummated the marriage in Shawwāl, eight months after the Emigration. On the day he consummated the marriage with her she was nine years old.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Rayṭah—ʿAmrah [bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿd]:[766] ʿĀʾishah was asked when the Prophet consummated his marriage with her, and she said:

> The Prophet left us and his daughters behind when he emigrated to Medina. Having arrived at Medina, he sent

762. That is, Arab women.

763. *Aḥnāhu ʿalā waladin fī ṣigharihi wa-arʿāhu ʿalā baʿlin fī dhāt yadin.* The root *ḥ-n-w* specifically denotes widows who remain unmarried in order to devote themselves to their children. Cf. al-Wāqidī, 867, where the text says "and the most generous with their property towards their husbands." The context of the tradition in al-Wāqidī is, however, different. See also p. 197, below.

764. The Prophet's most beloved wife and the only one involved in politics after his death. See "ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr," *EI*², I, 307–8; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 409–22; Ibn Qudāmah, 73–74; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 255–56.

765. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 188.

766. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 269–70.

Zayd b. Ḥārithah and his client Abū Rāfiʿ for us. He gave them two camels and 500 dirhams he had taken from Abū Bakr to buy [other] beasts they needed. Abū Bakr sent with them ʿAbdallāh b. Urayqiṭ al-Dīlī, with two or three camels. He wrote to [his son] ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr to take his wife Umm Rūmān, together with me and my sister Asmāʾ, al-Zubayr's wife, [and leave for Medina]. They all left [Medina] together, and when they arrived at Qudayd[767] Zayd b. Ḥārithah bought three camels with those 500 dirhams. All of them then entered Mecca, where
[2440] they met Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh on his way to leave town, together with Abū Bakr's family.[768] So we all left: Zayd b. Ḥārithah, Abū Rāfiʿ, Fāṭimah, Umm Kulthūm, and Sawdah bt. Zamʿah. Zayd mounted Umm Ayman and [his son] Usāmah b. Zayd on a riding beast; ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr took Umm Rūmān and his two sisters, and Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh came [too]. We all went together,[769] and when we reached Bayḍ in Tamannī[770] my camel broke loose. I was sitting in the litter together with my mother, and she started exclaiming "Alas, my daughter, alas [you] bride"; then they caught up with our camel, after it had safely descended the Lift.[771] We then arrived at Medina, and I stayed with Abū Bakr's children, and [Abū Bakr] went to the Prophet.[772] The latter was then busy building the mosque and our homes around it,[773] where he [later] housed his wives. We stayed in Abū Bakr's house for a few days; then Abū Bakr asked [the Prophet] "O Messenger of

767. A place near Mecca, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, IV, 42. Note that the story temporarily reverts from the first to the third person.

768. Ṭalḥah and Abū Bakr belonged to the same Qurashī clan, the Banū Taym.

769. The text (and Cairo, 601, and Dār al-Fikr, 604) has "the two of them went together" (*wa-iṣṭaḥabā*), which makes no sense here. The difference between the two words is one character, *n* (*wa-iṣṭaḥabnā*), which can easily be overlooked in a manuscript.

770. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, I, 795, 874.

771. A wadi between Mecca and Medina; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, I, 360–61.

772. De Goeje interprets *nazala ilā* here not as "went" but as "stayed" or "lived with," the agent of the verb being, according to him, Usāmah b. Zayd; see 2440 n. c.

773. See al-Samhūdī, II, 322–40.

God, what prevents you from consummating the marriage with your wife?" The Prophet said "The bridal gift (*ṣadāq*)." Abū Bakr gave him the bridal gift, twelve and a half ounces [of gold], and the Prophet sent for us.[774] He consummated our marriage in my house, the one where I live now and where he passed away.[775]

The Prophet made a door in the mosque for his own use, opposite the door of ʿĀʾishah.

[ʿĀʾishah said]: The Prophet consummated his marriage with Sawdah in one of these houses that are next to mine; he used to stay with her.

ʿĀʾishah died in Ramaḍān 58/June–July 678.

Those who hold this view. According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm: Abū Hurayrah said the prayer [2441] over ʿĀʾishah's bier in Ramaḍān 58/June-July 678. She died after the night prayer.[776]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: ʿĀʾishah died on Tuesday night, the 17th of Ramaḍān 58/July 13, 678, and was buried the same night after the night prayer. She was then sixty-six years old.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Abī Sabrah—Mūsā b. Maysarah—Sālim Sabalān: ʿĀʾishah died the night of the 17th of Ramaḍān, after the night prayer. She had ordered that she should be buried the same night. The Anṣār gathered and attended [the funeral], and no other night was ever seen that was more crowded than that one. [Even] the people of the villages outside Medina (*al-ʿawālī*) came. She was buried in al-Baqīʿ.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Jurayj [ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz]—Nāfiʿ [client of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar]: I was pres-

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774. It is not clear whether Abū Bakr pays this sum as dowry or gives the Prophet the money to pay the bridal gift because the Prophet was short of cash. See also p. 189, below.

775. See al-Samhūdī, II, 458–60, 540–42.

776. *Ītār* or *witr*, a prayer consisting of an odd number of prayer units (*rakʿahs*) performed at night; see "Witr," *EI*[1], IV, 1139–40 (A. J. Wensinck).

ent [at ʿĀʾishah's funeral when] Abū Hurayrah said the prayer over her bier; [ʿAbdallāh] b. ʿUmar was in the crowd and did not condemn it.[777] Marwān had gone on a lesser pilgrimage (*ʿumrah*) that year and appointed Abū Hurayrah vice-governor.

Ḥafṣah, daughter of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.[778]

Her mother was Zaynab bt. Maẓʿūn, sister of ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn.[779]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Usāmah b. Zayd b. Aslam—his father—his grandfather—ʿUmar: Ḥafṣah was born while the Quraysh were building the Kaʿbah, five years before the Prophet was sent on his divine mission.

According to [Ibn ʿUmar al-Wāqidī]—Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Ḥusayn b. Abī Ḥusayn: The Prophet married Ḥafṣah in Shaʿbān, thirty months after [the Emigration]/February–March 625, before the battle of Uḥud.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Ḥafṣah died in Shaʿbān 45/October–November 665 during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah. She was then sixty years old.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Maʿmar [b. Rāshid]—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī—Sālim [b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb]—his father: Ḥafṣah died, and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who was then the governor of Medina, said the prayer over her bier.

[2442] According to [Ibn ʿUmar al-Wāqidī]—ʿAlī b. Muslim—[Saʿīd b. Abī Saʿīd] al-Maqbarī—his father: I saw Marwān carrying her bier, holding it between the two posts, from the Ḥazm family's to al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah's house; Abū Hurayrah carried her from al-Mughīrah's house to her grave.

According to [Ibn ʿUmar al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ—his father: [The people who] descended into Ḥafṣah's grave[780] were

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777. It is not clear what was condemnable here; perhaps that it was not the governor, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who held the funeral service, as stated in the next sentence. See also below.

778. "Ḥafṣa," *EI*², III, 63–65; Jeffery, 212–13; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 422–28; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 334; Ibn Qudāmah, 75–76; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 257.

779. A member of the Qurashī clan the Jumaḥ and an early convert, known for his asceticism; see Ibn Qudāmah, 444–45.

780. See p. 11, above.

ʿAbdallāh and ʿĀṣim, sons of ʿUmar, and Sālim, ʿAbdallāh, and Ḥamzah, sons of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar.

Umm Salamah, whose [real] name was Hind bt. Abī Umayyah, whose [real] name was Suhayl Zād al-Rakb[781] b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm.[782]

Her mother was ʿĀtikah bt. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿah b. Mālik b. Jadhīmah b. ʿAlqamah Jidhl al-Ṭiʿān b. Firās b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kinānah.[783]

Umm Salamah was married to Abū Salamah, whose [real] name was ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Asad b. Hilāl.[784] Both of them participated in the two emigrations to Abyssinia, where Umm Salamah bore Zaynab bt. Abī Salamah. She later [also] bore her husband Salamah, ʿUmar, and Durrah, sons of Abī Salamah.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī][785]—ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān—ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUbayd—Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yarbūʿ—ʿUmar b. Abī Salamah: My father participated in the battle of Uḥud, and Abū Usāmah al-Jushamī shot him in the arm with an arrow. He stayed a month treating his injury, which eventually healed. The Prophet then sent my father to Qaṭan,[786] in Muḥarram, thirty five months [after the Emigration]/June 625. He was away for twenty-nine days, then returned to Medina, on the [2443]
eighth of Ṣafar 4/July 21, 625; by then his wound had reopened. He died from it on the eighth of Jumādā II 4/November 15, 625. My mother observed the legal period of waiting before remarrying (*ʿiddah*) and became lawful [for marriage] on the 20th of Shawwāl 4/March 25, 626. The Prophet married her at the end of Shawwāl 4/March 626.[787] She died in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 59/September–October 679.

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781. See p. 78, above.

782. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 334; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 429–32; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 260–61. See also Jeffery, 235.

783. ʿAlqamah and other members of the Firās family were famous warriors; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 188.

784. The Prophet's milk brother and an early convert. He died of an injury he received in one of the early Muslim raids; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 335.

785. Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 60–61.

786. A place in the territory of the bedouin tribe Banū Asad; see Landau-Tasseron, "Asad," 8–11.

787. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1460.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Kathīr b. Zayd—al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥanṭab: The Widow of the Arabs went in to the Lord of the Muslims as a bride early in the evening and got up at the end of the night to mill.

He meant Umm Salamah.[788]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Maʿmar [b. Rāshid]—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī—Hind bt. al-Ḥārith al-Firāsiyyah: The Prophet said "ʿĀʾishah has a part in me occupied by no one else." When he married Umm Salamah the Prophet was asked "O Messenger of God, what about that part?" The Prophet remained silent, and it was known that Umm Salamah occupied [a place in] his [heart].[789]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Umm Salamah died in Shawwāl 59/July–August 679.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Nāfiʿ—his father: Abū Hurayrah said the prayer over Umm Salamah's bier in al-Baqīʿ. The governor [of Medina] was al-Walīd b. ʿUtbah b. Abī Sufyān,[790] [but] he had gone on business to al-Ghābah[791] and appointed Abū Hurayrah to lead the prayers, so the latter [also] prayed over Umm Salamah's bier. [The narrator] said: He went away only because she had requested that the governor would not say the prayer over her bier, and he did not want to be present while someone else performed the service, so he left on purpose, appointing Abū Hurayrah [to replace him].

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Ibn Saʿd, in another place[792]—al-Wāqidī: Umm Salamah died at the beginning of the year 59/678, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah. Her brother's son ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Umayyah said the prayer over her bier.

According to al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Suhayl—Abū ʿUbay-
[2444] dah Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā: The Prophet married Umm Sala-
mah, that is, Hind bt. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b.

788. Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 64.

789. Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 66.

790. Cousin of the caliph Muʿāwiyah. He served in administrative posts, as did his father before him. See Ibn Qudāmah, 207–8; al-Zubayrī, 132–33.

791. A well-watered area north of Medina. Residents of the town had cultivated plots of lands there. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, III, 767; al-Samhūdī, 1275–76.

792. Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 67. The version here is different from al-Ṭabarī's.

'Umar b. Makhzūm, in Medina in the year 2 of the [Muslim] era/ 624, before the battle of Badr.

According to Abū Ma'shar [Najīḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān]: Zaynab was the first of the Prophet's wives to die, and Umm Salamah was the last.

Umm Ḥabībah, whose [real] name was Ramlah bt. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb.[793]

Her mother was Ṣafiyyah bt. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān's paternal aunt.

'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb, Ḥarb b. Umayyah's ally (*ḥalīf*),[794] had married Umm Ḥabībah. She bore him Ḥabībah, after whom she was named. Ḥabībah was [later] married to Dā'ūd b. 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī.[795]

'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh emigrated to Abyssinia in the second emigration, taking Umm Ḥabībah with him. He apostatized and converted to Christianity, then died in Abyssinia, whereas Umm Ḥabībah remained faithful to her religion, Islam, and to her [status] as an Emigrant.

Umm Ḥabībah had taken her daughter Ḥabībah bt. 'Ubaydallah when emigrating to Abyssinia, then brought her back with her to Mecca.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far—'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Akhnasī: Umm Ḥabībah bt. Abī Sufyān had given birth to Ḥabībah, her daughter from 'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh, in Mecca, before she emigrated to Abyssinia.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd—his father: Umm Ḥabībah had left Mecca while pregnant and bore her daughter in Abyssinia.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Zuhayr—Ismā'īl b. 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ—Umm Ḥabībah: I dreamed that 'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh, my husband, was in the worst and most deformed shape. I was frightened and said [to myself]

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793. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 41; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 200, 438–39, 440; Ibn Qudāmah, 80–82; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 259.

794. See note 116, above.

795. Son of 'Urwah b. Mas'ūd, an outstanding leader of the Thaqīf, who was assassinated because of his conversion to Islam; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 478, II, 477–78.

"By God, he has changed." And, lo and behold, when he got up in the morning he said: "O Umm Ḥabībah, I have contemplated the
[2445] [matter] of religion, and I see no religion better than Christianity. I had professed it [before], then embraced Muḥammad's religion, and now I am going back to Christianity." I said "By God, you have not been blessed," and I told him about my dream about him, but he paid no attention to it and went on drinking wine until he died.[796] Afterward I dreamed that someone came to me and said "O Mother of the Faithful."[797] I was frightened and interpreted it [as a sign] that the Prophet would marry me. And, indeed, the moment my legal waiting period (*ʿiddah*) elapsed, before I knew [anything], a messenger from the negus[798] was at my door, asking permission to come in. It was a slave girl of his, called Abrahah, whose task was to look after his clothes and balm. She came in and said "The king sends a message to you: 'The Prophet wrote to me, asking to give you to him in marriage.'"[799] I said "May God send glad tidings to you." She went on "The king says to you 'Appoint someone to give you in marriage.'" Umm Ḥabībah sent for Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ[800] and appointed him [for the task]. She gave Abrahah two silver bracelets and two anklets she had worn on her feet and silver rings she had had on her toes, out of joy at the tidings the girl had brought her. In the evening the negus requested [the presence of] Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib and the other Muslims who were there, so they came before him. The negus delivered a speech, saying:[801] "God be praised, the King, the Holy, the Perfect, the Faithful to His promises, the Watcher, the Almighty, the Forceful. I testify that there is no God but Allāh and Muḥammad is His servant and messenger and the [prophet] whose [coming]

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796. Drinking wine is here used to indicate the difference between Muslims and Christians. It is also related to the dream, in which Umm Ḥabibah saw her husband deformed. Cf. Qur'ān 5:59–61.

797. A designation of the wives of the Prophet.

798. That is, the Abyssinian ruler.

799. As the Muslims who emigrated to Abyssinia were supposed to be under the negus' protection, the story makes the Prophet address him in the matter of the marriage. See also below, and al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1570–71.

800. A relative of hers, one of the very few early Umayyad converts. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 406–7; Ibn Qudāmah, 187–90.

801. Cf. Qur'ān 59:23.

was prophesied by Jesus, son of Mary.[802] Now, the Messenger of God wrote to me, asking that I give him Umm Ḥabībah bt. Abī Sufyān in marriage. I comply with the Prophet's wish and give 400 dinars for her bridal gift (*ṣadāq*)." He then poured the dinars in front of the people. Khālid b. Saʿīd then spoke and said: "God be praised; I praise Him and ask His help and assistance and testify [2446] that there is no God but Allāh and Muḥammad is His servant and messenger. 'He it is who hath sent His messenger with the guidance and the religion of truth in order that He may set it above all (other) religion, though averse are the polytheists.'[803] Now I comply with the Prophet's wish and give him Umm Ḥabībah bt. Abī Sufyān in marriage; may God bless His messenger." The negus gave Khālid b. Saʿīd the dinars, and he took them. The people then wanted to go away, but the negus said "Sit down, for the prophets' custom (*sunnah*) when marrying is to serve food on the occasion of the marriage." So he ordered that food be brought, and they ate and then dispersed.

Umm Ḥabībah narrated: When the money reached me I sent to Abrahah, who had brought me the news, and said to her: "On that day I gave you what I did because I had no money with me. Here are fifty gold coins (*mithqāls*); take them and benefit from them." She took out a box containing everything I had given her and gave it back to me, saying: "The king asked me not to take anything from you, being [his servant] who looks after his clothes and balm. I have followed the religion of the Prophet and submitted to God. The king has ordered his wives to send to you all the perfumes they have." The next day Abrahah brought me a great quantity of aloes, saffron, ambergris, and civet perfume. I [later] took all this with me to the Prophet, and he used to see me wearing and having it and never disaproved.[804] Then Abrahah said "The favor I ask from you is that you greet the Prophet with peace on my behalf and tell him that I have followed his religion." She was very gentle with me; she was the one who prepared me [for the journey], and whenever she came in she said "Do not forget the favor I asked

802. The negus in fact embraces Islam by uttering these words. On the negus legend in Islamic tradition, see Raven; Wansbrough, 38–41.

803. Qur'ān 9:33, 61:9; trans. Bell, I, 177.

804. The permissibility of perfume, as well as other luxuries, was much debated among Muslim scholars.

from you." When we came to the Prophet I told him about the
[2447] betrothal [ceremony] and about Abrahah and her conduct with me, and he smiled. I greeted him on her behalf, and he said "Peace be with her, too, and God's mercy."

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Isḥāq b. Muḥammad—Ja'far b. Muḥammad—his father: The Prophet sent 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Ḍamrī[805] to the negus, asking him to give him in marriage Umm Ḥabībah bt. Abī Sufyān, who had been married to 'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh. The negus gave her to him in marriage and contributed a bridal gift of 400 dinars from his own [pocket], on behalf of the Prophet.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ—'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah, and also [Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Ḥazm: The man who gave Umm Ḥabībah in marriage and from whom the negus asked her was Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ; this occurred in the year 7/628–29. She was thirty-odd years old when she was brought to Medina.

Umm Ḥabībah died in the year 44/April 4, 664–March 24, 665, during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah.

Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb, sister of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jaḥsh.[806]

Her mother was Umaymah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[807]

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Umar b. 'Uthmān al-Jaḥshī—his father: Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, who was a beautiful woman, was among those who emigrated [to Medina] with the Prophet. When the Prophet arrived at Medina he asked that she be given to [his adopted son] Zayd b. Ḥārithah in marriage, but she said "O Messenger of God, I cannot give my consent, for I am the widow of the Quraysh."[808] The Prophet replied "But I give my consent that you should [marry him]." So Zayd b. Ḥārithah married her.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir al-Aslamī—Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān: The Prophet came to

805. A famous warrior and Companion, of the Kinānah tribe; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 524.

806. Of the Jaḥsh family, see p. 168, above; "Zainab bint Jaḥsh," *EI*[1], IV, 1199 (V. Vacca); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 122; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 433–37; Ansari.

807. That is, the Prophet's paternal aunt.

808. Perhaps she considers herself unworthy, having been married before, or Zayd, a former slave, is unworthy of her. See note 853, below.

Zayd b. Ḥārithah's house looking for him. Zayd was [at that time] called only Zayd b. Muḥammad, and the Prophet sometimes [2448] would miss him [after] a time and would say "Where is Zayd?" [Once] he went to Zayd's house but did not find him [there]. Zaynab rose toward him and said "Come here, O Messenger of God," but he turned away, muttering something unintelligible, except the words "Praised be God the Great, praised be God, who turns the hearts." When Zayd came home his wife told him that the Prophet had come to his house. Zayd asked "Didn't you ask him to come in?" She said "I proposed it to him but he declined." Zayd asked "Did you hear him say anything?" She said: "When he turned away I heard him say something I did not understand, and I heard him say 'Praised be God the Great, praised be God who turns the hearts.'" Zayd left [his house] and went to the Prophet. He said: "O Messenger of God, I heard that you came to my house. Why didn't you come in? O Messenger of God, may my father and mother be your ransom! Perhaps [the problem is] that you like Zaynab? In that case, I shall divorce her." The Prophet said "Keep your wife." [But] Zayd could not touch her [after that]. He would come to the Prophet and tell him [about it], and the latter would say "Keep your wife," and Zayd would say "O Messenger of God, I shall divorce her," and the Prophet would say "Keep your wife." Zayd divorced her [all the same] and abstained from her, and she became lawful [for remarriage]. [One day], while talking to ʿĀ'ishah, the Prophet fainted. On regaining consciousness he smiled and said "Who will go to Zaynab to bring her the glad tidings that God from above gave her to me in marriage?" The Prophet [then] recited "(Recall) when thou wert saying to him upon whom Allah bestowed favor and upon whom thou didst bestow favor."[809] ʿĀ'ishah narrated: I was upset by both near and remote troubles, having heard of Zaynab's beauty. What was more, the greatest and noblest of all things happened to her, as God from heaven gave her in marriage. I said [to myself] "She is going to boast of it to us." Salmā, the Prophet's servant, then went quickly and told [Zaynab] about it. [Zaynab] gave her silver orna- [2449] ments for this [service].[810]

809. Qur'ān 33:37; trans. Bell, II, 415.
810. Or; "ornaments she had worn" (*ʿalayhā*).

According to ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Jaḥshī—his father: The Prophet married Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh on the first of Dhū al-Qaʿdah 5/April 24, 627.

According to ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān al-Jaḥshī—his father: Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh did not leave behind [when she died even] a dīnār or a dirham, for she used to give [to the needy] everything she could and to give hospitality to the poor. She left [only] her house, which was [later] sold to al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik,[811] when he pulled the mosque down, for 50,000 dirhams.

According to ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān al-Jaḥshī—Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad—his father: ʿUkāshah b. Miḥṣan's mother was asked how old Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh was when she died, to which she replied "She was thirty-odd years old when we emigrated to Medina, and she died in the year 20/December 21,640–December 9, 641.

According to ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān—his father: Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh died at the age of fifty-three.

According to al-Ḥārith: I was present in the circle [of people around] ʿAlī b. ʿĀṣim, who was relating traditions (*ḥadīth*s).[812] He related on the authority of Dāʾūd b. Abī Hind—ʿĀmir [b. Shuraḥbīl al-Shaʿbī]: Zaynab used to say to the Prophet "I have the greatest claim on you from among your wives, for I am the best of them in respect of the way I was married [to you], the noblest lady,[813] and the closest [to you] in terms of kinship." She would say "I was given to you in marriage by the Merciful from above His throne, and [the angel] Jibrīl was the go-between in this matter; I am the daughter of your paternal aunt, and you have no kin among your wives but me."

Juwayriyyah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār b. Ḥabīb b. ʿĀʾidh b. Mālik b. Jadhīmah al-Muṣṭaliq, of the Khuzāʿah.[814]

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811. The sixth Umayyad caliph, reigned 86–96/705–15.

812. A famous scholar of Tradition from Wāsiṭ (d. 200/815–16), often accused of making mistakes and even telling lies; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 302–5.

813. *Akramuhunna sitran*; see Kazimirski, s.v. *str.*

814. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 42, 212; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, III, 66; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 341, 441–42; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1516–17, 1772; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 263.

Juwayriyyah had been married to Musāfiʿ b. Ṣafwān Dhū al-Shufr b. Abī Sarḥ b. Mālik b. Jadhīmah, who was killed in the battle of al-Muraysīʿ. [2450]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Qusayṭ—his father—Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Thawbān—ʿĀʾishah: The Prophet took prisoner some women of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. He set aside the legal fifth [of the booty] (*khums*) and divided [the rest] among the people, giving the cavalrymen two shares and the footsoldiers one share [each]. Juwayriyyah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār fell in the lot of Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās al-Anṣārī. She had been married to a cousin of hers named Ṣafwān b. Mālik b. Jadhīmah Dhū al-Shufr, who was killed, leaving her a widow. Thābit made a contract with her to free her against the sum of nine ounces [of gold]. She was a sweet woman; everyone who just saw her fell for her. Now, the Prophet was staying with me when Juwayriyyah came in, asking his help in that contract of freedom. By God, the moment I saw her I resented her entering upon the Prophet, knowing that he would see in her the same as I did. She said: "O Messenger of God, I am Juwayriyyah, daughter of al-Ḥārith, chief of his clan. You know what I have been going through; I fell in the lot of Thābit b. Qays, and he made a contract to free me against the sum of nine ounces [of gold]. Help me to free myself." The Prophet said "How about a better arrangement?" She asked "What is it?" He said "I will pay your contract on your behalf, then marry you." She said "Yes, O Messenger of God, I accept this." The news spread among the people, and they said "Shall the Prophet's brothers-in-law be enslaved?" So they set free the prisoners they held of the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. A hundred men, women, and children were freed on the occasion of the Prophet's marriage to Juwayriyyah, and I know no [2451] woman who was more helpful to her people than she. All this took place on the Prophet's return from the battle of Muraysīʿ.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī al-Abyaḍ, Juwayriyyah's client—his father: The Prophet took [some of the] Banū al-Muṣṭaliq prisoner. Juwayriyyah was among them, and her father came [to Medina] and ransomed her. He gave her to the Prophet in marriage at a later stage.

According to [Ibn ʿUmar al-Wāqidī]—Isḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Ṭalḥah—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī—Mālik b. Aws—ʿUmar: The Prophet

obligated Juwayriyyah to veil herself and allotted to her the same [sums and goods] as to his [other] wives.[815]

According to [Ibn ʿUmar al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—Zayd b. Abī ʿAttāb—Muḥammad b. ʿAmr—ʿAṭāʾ—Zaynab bt. Abī Salamah—Juwayriyyah bt. al-Ḥārith: Juwayriyyah's name had been Barrah, and the Prophet changed it to Juwayriyyah, for he resented that people would say "He came out of Barrah's place."[816]

According to [Ibn ʿUmar al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī al-Abyaḍ—his father: Juwayriyyah bt. al-Ḥārith, the Prophet's wife, died in Rabīʿ I 56/January–February 676, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, then governor of Medina, said the prayer over her bier.

According to [Ibn ʿUmar al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. Yazīd—his grandmother, who was a client of Juwayriyyah bt. al-Ḥārith—Juwayriyyah: I was twenty years old when the Prophet married me.

[According to Juwayriyah's client]: Juwayriyyah died in the year 50/December 21, 670–December 17, 671, at the age of sixty-five; Marwān b. al-Ḥakam said the ritual prayer over her bier.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Ḥizām b. Hishām—his
[2452] father—Juwayriyyah: Three days before the Prophet arrived I dreamed that the moon came from Yathrib and fell in my bosom. I hated to tell anybody about it; then the Prophet arrived. When we were taken prisoner I feared the dream, and when he freed and married me, and, by God, I did not speak with him about my people, but the Muslims freed them [of their own volition]; before I knew anything, a girl of my relatives came to inform me about it. Then I praised God.

Ṣafiyyah bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab b. Saʿyah b. ʿĀmir b. ʿUbayd b. Kaʿb b. Abī al-Khazraj b. Abī Ḥabīb b. al-Naḍīr b. al-Naḥḥām b.

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815. The veil, *ḥijāb*, was obligatory only on the Prophet's wives. See Qur'ān 33:53; al-Wāḥidī, 241–43; ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, *Taʾrīkh*, 87; "Ḥidjāb," *EI*², III, 359–61 (J. Chelhod). The point of discussion here is whether Juwayriyyah was the Prophet's wife or concubine.

816. See note 234, above. According to Lane's lexicon, Barrah as a proper name means "obedience."

Tanḥūm, of the Children of Israel, one of the tribe of Hārūn b. ʿImrān.[817]

Her mother was Barrah bt. Samaw'al, sister of Rifāʿah b. Samaw'al, of the Banū Qurayẓah, brother tribe of al-Naḍīr.

Ṣafiyyah had been married to Sallām b. Mishkam al-Quraẓī, who divorced her, whereupon she was married to Kinānah b. al-Rabīʿ b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq al-Naḍarī. The latter was killed in the battle of Khaybar, leaving her a widow.

Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Kathīr b. Zayd—al-Walīd b. Rabāḥ—Abū Hurayrah: While the Prophet was lying with Ṣafiyyah Abū Ayyūb stayed the night at his door. When he saw the Prophet in the morning he said "God is the Greatest." He had a sword with him; he said to the Prophet "O Messenger of God, this young woman had just been married, and you killed her father, her brother and her husband, so I did not trust her [not to harm] you." The Prophet laughed and said "Good."

According to Muḥammad b. Mūsā—ʿUmarah b. al-Muhājir—Āminah bt. Abī Qays al-Ghifāriyyah: I was one of the women who [2453]
led Ṣafiyyah as a bride to the Prophet. I heard her say: I was not even seventeen, or I was just seventeen, the night I entered the Prophet's [room].

Ṣafiyyah died in the year 52/January 8, 672–December 26, 672, during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah, and was buried in al-Baqīʿ.

Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn al-Hilālī.[818]

Her mother was Hind bt. ʿAwf b. Zuhayr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥamāṭah b. Jurash.

In pre-Islamic times Maymūnah had been married to Masʿūd b. ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr al-Thaqafī. He divorced her, and she was married to Abū Ruhm b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Abī Qays, of the Banū Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Lu'ayy. He died, leaving her a widow, and the Prophet married her. It was al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who gave her in marriage, [because] he was her guardian, as she was the full

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817. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 49; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 343; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 442–44; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 264–65.

818. Of the Hilāl, a clan of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 49; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 338; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 444–47; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 266–67.

sister of his concubine (*umm walad*) [Lubābah al-Kubrā] bt. al-Ḥārith al-Hilāliyyah, the mother of his son al-Faḍl.

The Prophet married Maymūnah in Sarif, [a place] ten miles from Mecca.[819] She was the last woman he married, in the year 7/628, during the lesser pilgrimage of the Consummation (*'umrat al-qaḍiyyah*).

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—['Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz] Ibn Jurayj—Abū al-Zubayr—'Ikrimah: Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith gave herself to the Prophet.

According to [Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—his father: 'Amrah [bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān], when told that Maymūnah gave herself to the Prophet, [denied it, saying]: The Prophet married her for 500 dirhams paid as bridal gift;[820] al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was in charge of giving her in marriage to the Prophet.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Maymūnah died in the year 61/October 1, 680–September 19, 681, during the caliphate of
[2454] Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah. She was the last of the Prophet's wives to die, and her age was then eighty or eighty-one. She had been [a] strong [woman].

Al-Kilābiyyah,[821] about whose name opinions differ.

Some [scholars] say that she was Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān al-Kilābī. Others, that she was 'Āliyah bt. Ẓabyān b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. 'Abd b. Abī Bakr b. Kilāb, and yet another opinion is that she was Sanā bt. Sufyān b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. 'Abd b. Abī Bakr b. Kilāb. [Furthermore], some hold that there was only one woman of the Kilāb [married to the Prophet], about whose name opinions differ, whereas others believe that all of the [aforementioned] were [wives of the Prophet], each having her own story.

Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī—'Urwah [b. al-Zubayr]—'Ā'ishah: The Prophet married a Kilābī woman, and when she entered his [room] and he ap-

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819. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, III, 77.

820. *Mahr*, identical with *ṣadāq* according to Spies. See note 738, above, and note 830 below.

821. That is, of the Kilāb, a clan of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 282–84; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1686; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 454–55; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 56.

proached her she said "I seek God's protection against you,"[822] whereupon the Prophet said "You have asked the protection of a mighty one; go [back] to your family."

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar—ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī ʿAwn—Ibn Mannāḥ: She uttered the formula "I seek God's protection" (*aʿūdhu bi-Allāh*) against the Prophet, for she had been dumbfounded and had lost her mind. [Later], whenever she asked permission to enter and see the Prophet's wives, she would say "I am the miserable one" and "I have been cheated."

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī: It was Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān, who uttered the formula [2455] "I seek God's protection" against the Prophet, and he divorced her. [Afterward], she used to collect camel dung and say "I am the miserable one."

The Prophet had married [the Kilābiyyah] in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 8/February–March 630. She died in the year 60/October 13, 679–September 30, 680.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Sulaymān—ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb—his father—his grandfather: The Prophet had already consummated his marriage with her, but when he gave his wives the option [to leave him][823] she opted for her clan, so he divorced her. [Afterward], she used to collect camel dung and say "I am the miserable one."

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar—Mūsā b. Saʿīd and Ibn Abī ʿAwn: The Prophet divorced her only because she had leprosy.[824]

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar, Ibn Abī Sabrah, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad—[Yazīd] Ibn al-Hād—Thaʿlabah b. Abī Mālik—Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī: The Prophet married a woman of the Banū ʿĀmir who would peep at the people in the mosque[825] whenever he went out. The Prophet's wives informed him about it, and he said "You lie about her," but they said "We will show her to you while she is peeping." He said "Agreed." They showed her to him while she was peeping, and he divorced her. Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī] said: I told this story to ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿīd b. Abī Hind, and he

822. See p. 165, above.
823. Cf. Qurʾān, 33:28–29.
824. Cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 268.
825. See p. 172, above.

told me on the authority of his father: She uttered the formula "I seek God's protection against you," so he returned her [to her family].

The Prophet married no other woman of the Banū ʿĀmir; also he never married anyone of the Kindah, except the Jawniyyah.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibrāhīm b. Wathīmah—Abū Wajzah [Yazīd b. ʿUbayd]: The Prophet married her in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 8/February–March 630, on returning from al-Jiʿrānah.

According to Abū Muṣʿab Ismāʿīl b. Muṣʿab—an old man from her clan: She died in the year 60/679–80.

[2456] According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—al-ʿArzamī—Nāfiʿ [client of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar]—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn ʿUmar: Among the Prophet's wives was one Sanā bt. Sufyān b. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb b. Abī Bakr b. Kilāb.[826]

[Hishām b. Muḥammad citing ʿAbdallāh] Ibn ʿUmar: The Prophet sent Abū Usayd [Mālik b. Rabīʿah] al-Sāʿidī[827] to ask a woman of the Banū ʿĀmir in marriage on his behalf. Her name was ʿAmrah bt. Yazīd b. ʿUbayd b. Ruwās b. Kilāb. The Prophet married her; then it came to his knowledge that she had leprosy, so he divorced her.

Hishām [b. Muḥammad]—a man of the Banū Abī Bakr b. Kilāb: The Prophet married al-ʿĀliyah bt. Ẓabyān b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Kaʿb b. ʿAbd b. Abī Bakr b. Kilāb. She stayed with him for a while; then he divorced her.

Asmāʾ bt. al-Nuʿmān b. Abī al-Jawn al-Aswad b. al-Ḥārith b. Sharāḥīl b. al-Jawn b. Ākil al-Murār al-Kindī.[828]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtbah—ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abī ʿAwn al-Dawsī: Al-Nuʿmān b. Abī al-Jawn al-Kindī used to dwell with his clan in Najd, near al-Sharabbah.[829] When he came to the Prophet to declare his conversion to Islam he said to him: "O Messnger of God, shall I give you in marriage the most beautiful among the Arab widows? She had

826. See al-Ṣāliḥī, 246, 250, 254, 255.

827. An Anṣārī of the Khazrajī clan Banū Sāʿidah, who was the standard bearer of his clan on the day of the conquest of Mecca; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 344.

828. Of the noble Kindah tribe, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 456–58.

829. A region in Najd (central part of the Arabian Peninsula); see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, III, 272.

been married to a relative of hers, but he died, and she lost her way. Her heart inclines to you, and she wants [to marry] you." The Prophet [agreed to] marry her [and pay] twelve and a half ounces [of gold]. Al-Nuʿmān said "O Messenger of God, do not show contempt for her by [being stingy] with the bridal gift." The Prophet said "I never gave more than that as bridal gift for any of my wives, [2457]
and I never give any of my daughters more than that as dowry."[830] Al-Nuʿmān said: "It is you who set the example; O Messenger of God, send for your wife! I shall go with your messenger and send your wife [to you] with him." The Prophet sent Abū Usayd al-Sāʿidī [with al-Nuʿmān]. When they came to her she was sitting in her tent and gave him permission[831] to come in. Abū Usayd then said "The Prophet's wives should not be seen by men." Abū Usayd [later] related "This was after the verse of the Veil (*ḥijāb*) was revealed."[832] She sent to Abū Usayd a message, saying "Show me the right thing to do." He said "[Put] a veil between yourself and the men you talk with, except those who are your close relatives."[833] She did that. Abū Usayd related: I stayed there for three days, then left carrying a woman in a litter on a camel. I brought her to Medina and lodged her with the Banū Sāʿidah. The women of the clan, glad about her [coming], went in to greet her. They came out talking about her beauty, and the news of her arrival spread in Medina. I went to the Prophet, who was staying with the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, and told him [about it]. [Meanwhile], a woman came in to see her, having heard [from the other women] about her beauty, of which they knew. She was one of the most beautiful of all women. [That] woman said to her "You are of royal blood,[834] and, if you want to gain favor with the Prophet, utter the formula 'I seek God's protection from you'; in this way you will gain his favor, and he will like you."[835]

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830. The term used in both cases is *ṣadāq*. Obviously there is no distinction here between bridal gift paid by the groom and the dowry given to the bride by her family. See pp. 164, 186, and notes 738, 820, above.

831. The text shifts to the singular because the following issue, that of the Prophet's women talking to strangers, obviously does not concern al-Nuʿmān, the woman's father.

832. Qur'an 33:53; see note 813, above.

833. That is, those unattainable to you in marriage.

834. The Āl al-Jawn were the kings of Kindah.

835. See p. 165, above.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar—[ʿAbd al-Wāḥid] Ibn Abī ʿAwn:
[2458] The Prophet married the Kindī woman in Rabīʿ I 7/July–August 628.

According to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Zinād—Hishām b. ʿUrwah—his father [ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr], who told him that [the caliph] al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik wrote to him, asking whether or not the Prophet had married al-Ashʿath b. Qays's sister. He was asked this question and replied: "The Prophet never married her or any other Kindī woman, except the one of the Banū al-Jawn. She was his wife, but when she arrived at Medina and was brought before him [for the first time] he looked at her and divorced her without consummating the marriage."

According to Maʿmar [b. Rāshid]—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī: The Prophet never married a Kindī woman, except the one of the Banū al-Jawn, but he divorced her before consummating the marriage.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Ibn al-Ghusayyil—Ḥamzah b. Abī Usayd al-Sāʿidī—his father, who was one of the participants in [the battle of] Badr: The Prophet married Asmāʾ bt. al-Nuʿmān al-Jawniyyah and sent me [to fetch her]. When I brought her Ḥafṣah [the Prophet's wife] said to ʿĀʾishah [the Prophet's wife] or vice versa "Put the dye on her, and I shall comb her hair." So they did; then one of them said to her "The Prophet likes a woman brought before him to say 'I seek God's protection from you.'" So, when she entered his [room] and he locked the door, let down the curtain, and reached out to her, she said "I seek God's protection from you." He held his sleeve to his face, covering himself with it, and said "You indeed have sought protection." He said this three times. Abū Usayd related: The Prophet then came out and said to me "O Abū Usayd, give her two white garments, that is, of cotton, and take her to her clan." [Afterward] she used to say "Call me the wretched one."

According to Hishām—Zuhayr b. Muʿāwiyah al-Juʿfī: She died of sorrow.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Sulaymān b. al-Ḥārith—ʿAbbās b. Sahl—Abū Usayd al-Sāʿidī: When I arrived at the camp with her the [people] shouted to one another and said [to her]:
[2459] "You are not blessed! What came over you?" She said "I was beguiled; they told me such-and-so," and [she told them] what was said to her. The members of her clan said "You have made us

notorious among the Arabs." She called Abū Usayd and said "What happened happened; what shall I do now?" He answered: "Stay in your home and keep yourself veiled, except in the presence of your close relatives. No one should want [to marry] you after the Prophet, for you are one of the Mothers of the Faithful." She stayed [like that], no one wishing [to marry] her and no one seeing her except her close relatives, until she died at her family's place in Najd, during the caliphate of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Zuhayr b. Muʿāwiyah al-Juʿfī: She died of sorrow.

According to al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Suhayl—Abū ʿUbaydah Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā: The Prophet married a Yemenī woman by the name of Asmāʾ bt. al-Nuʿmān b. al-Jawn b. Sharāhīl b. al-Nuʿmān, of the Kindah. When he went to see her and invited her [to approach] him she said "[No], you approach me!" She refused to approach him, so he divorced her.

According to others: She was the most beautiful of all women, and the Prophet's wives were afraid that she would gain precedence with him over them, so they told her "We think that, when he approaches you, you should say 'I seek God's protection from you.'" So when he approached her she said "I seek the Merciful's protection from you, if you are God fearing." He said "You sought protection in a [good] Protector; anyone who seeks God's protection should be granted it, and God indeed protects you from me." So he divorced her and ordered al-Sāqiṭ b. ʿAmr al-Anṣārī to equip her; then he sent her to her clan. She used to call herself "the wretched one."

Biographies of the Women Whose Death Dates Are Known, of the Emigrants, Anṣār, and Others Who Were the Prophet's Contemporaries, Believed in Him, and Followed Him

Umm Ayman, the Prophet's client and nurse.[836] [2460]

Her name was Barakah.

836. A black slave girl who took care of the Prophet as a child. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 331; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 471–72, 476.

It was reported that the Prophet bequeathed to Umm Ayman five camels and a herd of sheep. He had freed her when he married Khadījah, whereupon she was married to ʿUbayd b. Zayd, of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, and bore him Ayman, who was [later] killed as a *shahīd* in the battle of Ḥunayn.

Zayd b. Ḥārithah had belonged to Khadījah, and she gave him to the Prophet. The latter freed him and gave him Umm Ayman in marriage. This was after the [beginning of] the prophethood. Umm Ayman bore Zayd Usāmah b. Zayd.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Dīnār—an old man of the Banū Saʿd b. Bakr:[837] The Prophet used to call Umm Ayman "mother" and when looking at her he would say "She is the remainder of my family."

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Umm Ayman died at the beginning of the caliphate of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Ibn Abī al-Furāt, Usāmah b. Zayd's client, quarreled with al-Ḥasan b. Usāmah b. Zayd. Ibn Abī al-Furāt said during his discourse "O Ibn Barakah," meaning Umm Ayman. Al-Ḥasan said [to the people present] "Be my witness." He brought the case to Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm,[838] then judge of Medina, or ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, governor of Medina, and told him the story. Abū Bakr asked Ibn Abī al-Furāt "What did you mean when you said to him 'O Ibn Barakah?'" He replied "I called her by her name." [Abū Bakr] said: "Nay, indeed you wanted to belittle her by this, while her standing in Islam is what it is. The Prophet used to call her 'mother' and 'Umm Ayman.' May God not forgive me if I forgive you"; so he flogged him seventy times.

Arwā bt. Kurayz b. Rabīʿah b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams.[839]

She embraced Islam, emigrated to Medina, and died during the caliphate of ʿUthmān.

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837. The clan of the Prophet's milk mother, of the Hawāzin confederation; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 265.

838. A descendant of the eminent Anṣārī ʿAmr b. Ḥazm; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 532. His son Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was also judge in Medina; see Wakīʿ, I, 135–48, 175–78. The family is associated with transmission of historical traditions and legal material; see F. Sezgin, I, 284.

839. Of the Qurashī clan the Banū ʿAbd Shams. She was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān's mother; see Ibn Qudāmah, 227.

Asmā' bt. Abī Bakr.[840] [2461]

Her mother was Qutaylah bt. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd As'ad b. Jābir b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. She was a full sister of 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr.

Asmā' embraced Islam in Mecca at an early stage and gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance. She was married to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and bore him 'Abdallāh, 'Urwah, 'Āṣim, al-Muhājir, Khadījah al-Kubrā, Umm al-Ḥasan, and 'Ā'ishah, children of al-Zubayr.

According to al-Ḥārith—Dā'ūd b. al-Muḥabbar—Ḥammād b. Salamah—Hishām b. 'Urwah [b. al-Zubayr]—Asmā' bt. Abī Bakr, who related that during the governorate of Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ [in Medina], while the internal war (*fitnah*) was on,[841] she took a dagger and put it under her pillow. She was asked what she intended to do with it, and replied "If a brigand breaks into my [place] I will rip up his belly." [The narrator] added that she was blind.

Asmā' died a few days after her son 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, on Tuesday, 17 Jumādā I 73/October 6, 692.[842]

Māriyah, the Prophet's concubine and the mother of his son, Ibrāhīm.

Al-Muqawqas,[843] lord of Alexandria, gave her with her sister Sīrīn and other things as present to the Prophet.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'ah—'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'ah:[844] In the year 7/May 11, 628–April 30, 629, al-Muqawqas, lord of Alexandria, sent to the Prophet Māriyah, her sister Sīrīn, a thousand gold coins, twenty fine robes, his mule Duldul, and his donkey 'Ufayr, or Ya'fur. With them was Māriyah's brother, a very old

840. An early convert, daughter of the Prophet's closest Companion. See Ibn Qudāmah, 316; "Asmā' bint Abī Bakr," *EI*², I, 713–14 (H. A. R. Gibb).

841. That is, the first so-called civil war, in the aftermath of 'Uthmān's murder (36/656). Sa'īd (b. al-'Āṣ b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah) was a member of the Umayyad family who served 'Uthmān and Mu'āwiyah as governor of al-Kūfah and Medina, respectively. He died during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah. "Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ," *EI*², VIII, 853 (C. E. Bosworth); al-Zubayrī, 176–78; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 47–48.

842. October 6 was a Sunday, according to Cattenoz' tables.

843. The Arabic name given to the patriarch of Alexandria; see "al-Muqawqas," *EI*², III, 511–13 (K. Öhrenberg).

844. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1591; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 448–51.

[2462] eunuch called Mābūr. Al-Muqawqas sent all this [to the Prophet] with Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta'ah. The latter suggested to Māriyah that she embrace Islam and made her wish to do so; thus she and her sister were converted, whereas the eunuch adhered to his religion until he was [also] converted later in Medina, while the Prophet was [still] alive.

The Prophet admired Umm Ibrāhīm, who was fair-skinned and beautiful. He lodged her in al-'Āliyah, at the property nowadays called the *mashrabah* of Umm Ibrāhīm. He used to visit her there and ordered her to veil herself, [but] he had intercourse with her by virtue of her being his property.[845] When she became pregnant [and her time was due] she gave birth there, the midwife being Salmā, the Prophet's client. Abū Rāfi', Salmā's husband, brought the Prophet the news of Ibrāhīm's [birth], and the Prophet gave him a slave as a present. This occurred in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 8/March–April 630.

The Anṣār argued among themselves about who would [mind] Ibrāhīm, because they wanted Māriyah to have her hands free for the Prophet, knowing how he loved her.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Māriyah was from Ḥafn, from the Anṣinā district.[846]

According to Usāmah b. Zayd al-Laythī—al-Mundhir b. 'Ubayd—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit—his mother Sīrīn, Māriyah's sister, whom the Prophet had given to Ḥassān b. Thābit, and she bore him 'Abd al-Raḥmān. She said: "I saw the Prophet when Ibrāhīm died. I was crying loudly and my sister [too], and he never forbade us to cry loudly.[847] Al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās washed Ibrāhīm's body while the Prophet and al-'Abbās were seated. I then saw the Prophet at the grave's edge, al-'Abbās [stand-
[2463] ing] beside him. Al-Faḍl and Usāmah b. Zayd [b. Ḥārithah] descended into the grave.[848] The sun was eclipsed that day, and people said "The sun is eclipsed because of Ibrāhīm's death," but the

845. That is, Māriyah was ordered to veil herself as did the Prophet's wives, but he did not marry her. Cf. p. 184, above.

846. In Upper Egypt, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, I, 381.

847. The issue alluded to here is mourning customs, debated in the Muslim community. See p. 156 and note 179, above.

848. See p. 11, above.

Prophet said "The sun will not be eclipsed for anyone's death or life."

The Prophet saw an opening in the grave and ordered that it be stopped up. He was asked about it and said: "It does neither harm nor good, but the living are pleased [when it is done]. When a man does something, God prefers that he do it properly."

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—his father: Abū Bakr supported Māriyah until his death; then 'Umar during his caliphate did the same until she died.[849]

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Māriyah, mother of Ibrāhīm, son of the Prophet, died in Muḥarram 16/February 637. 'Umar was seen assembling people to attend her [funeral]; then he said the prayer over her bier. Her grave is in al-Baqī'.

Names of the Hāshimī Women Believers Who Outlived the Prophet, Transmitted Traditions from Him, and Had [Their] Knowledge Transmitted from Them

Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet.

She outlived [her father], and traditions were transmitted from her, among them the following. According to 'Imrān b. Mūsā—'Abd al-Wārith—Layth—'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan—his mother Fāṭimah—his grandmother Fāṭimah al-Kubrā (senior): The Prophet used to enter the mosque and utter the formula "May God bless the Prophet,"[850] then say "God, forgive me my sins and open the doors of Your benevolence for me."

According to Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd al-Muḥāribī—al-Muṭṭalib b. Ziyād—Layth—'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan—Fāṭimah al-Ṣughrā (junior)—Fāṭimah al-Kubrā (senior): The Prophet used to enter the [2464]
mosque and say "In the name of God, O God, bless Muḥammad and his family, forgive my sins, and open the doors of Your mercy for me." Going out he used to say "In the name of God, forgive my sins, and open the doors of Your benevolence for me."

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849. The Prophet's wives were entitled to regular pensions, but not Māriyah, who was not married to him.

850. *Idhā dakhala al-masjid ṣallā 'alā al-nabiyy.* See note 379, above.

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm and al-Faḍl b. al-Ṣabbāḥ—Ismā'īl b. 'Ulayyah—Layth—'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan—his mother, Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn—her grandmother Fāṭimah daughter of the Prophet: The Prophet used to enter the mosque and utter the formula "May God bless Muḥammad and give him peace," then say "O God, forgive my sins and open the doors of Your mercy for me." On going out he used to utter the formula "May God bless Muḥammad and give him peace," then say "O God, forgive my sins, and open the doors of Your benevolence for me."

According to al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān—Asad [b. Mūsā]—Qays b. al-Rabī'—'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan—Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn—Fāṭimah al-Kubrā (senior): The Prophet used to enter the mosque and say "O God, bless Muḥammad, and give him peace; O God, forgive my sins, and open the doors of Your mercy for me." On going out of the mosque he used to say "O God, bless Muḥammad, and give him peace; O God, forgive my sins, and open the doors of Your benevolence for me."

Umm Hāni' bt. Abī Ṭālib b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf.[851]

Her name was Fākhitah, but, according to Hishām b. al-Kalbī, it was Hind. Her mother was Fāṭimah bt. Asad b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf.

It was reported that before he was inspired the Prophet had asked Abū Ṭālib to give her to him in marriage, and the same was
[2465] done by Hubayrah b. Abī Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm.[852] Abū Ṭālib gave her to Hubayrah, and the Prophet said "O Uncle, you gave her in marriage to Hubayrah and left me out," to which Abū Ṭālib replied "O Nephew, we became related to them [by marriage] because [of the principle that] the noble is another noble's equal."[853]

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851. Sister of 'Alī and cousin of the Prophet. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 330; Ibn Qudāmah, 138; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 459.

852. A poet and warrior who never embraced Islam but ran away when Mecca was conquered and died in Najrān as an infidel. See Ibn Qudāmah, 397; Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 419.

853. The principle of marrying someone of the same social status, wealth, and the like (*kafā'ah*) was maintained in pre-Islamic times and continued afterward as

Umm Hāni' later embraced Islam, a fact that separated her from Hubayrah.[854] The Prophet asked her to marry him, but she said "By God, I used to love you in the Jāhiliyyah, so I certainly do so in Islam, but I have young children, and I hate to [see them] bothering you." The Prophet said: "The best women ever to have ridden camels are the women of the Quraysh. They are the most affectionate toward their small children and the most excellent in doing good to their husbands when they [the women] are wealthy."[855]

Umm Hāni' outlived the Prophet and transmitted traditions from him, among them the following. According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-'Alā']—'Ubaydallāh—Isrā'īl—al-Suddī [Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān]—Abū Ṣāliḥ [Bādhām]—Umm Hāni': The Prophet asked me to marry him, but I excused myself, and he accepted my excuse. God later revealed the verse "We have made allowable for thee thy wives to whom thou hast given their hires . . . those who have emigrated with thee,"[856] so I became unlawful to him because I did not emigrate with him. I was one of those who were converted to Islam against their will (*ṭulaqā'*).[857]

Ḍubā'ah bt. al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[858]

The Prophet gave this [woman], Ḍubā'ah bt. al-Zubayr, to al-Miqdād b. 'Amr in marriage, and she bore him 'Abdallāh and Karīmah. 'Abdallāh was killed in the battle of the Camel [fighting on the side of] 'Ā'ishah. 'Alī [b. Abī Ṭālib] passed by his body and said "What an evil sister's son this is!"[859]

Ḍubā'ah transmitted traditions from the Prophet.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Ṣamad b.

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well. See "Kafā'ah," *EI*², IV, 404 (Y. Linant de Bellefonds); Shukri, 34–42.

854. See p. 15, above.

855. Cf. p. 171, above.

856. See Qur'ān 33:49; trans. Bell, II, 416.

857. *Ṭulaqā'* is a designation of the Meccans who were converted after the conquest of the town, having opposed the Prophet until then; see Kister, "On Strangers and Allies," 153. Umm Hāni's statement is inconsistent with the former story, in which the Prophet asked for her in marriage after she had embraced Islam and left her pagan husband.

858. Paternal cousin of the Prophet. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 331; Ibn Qudāmah, 141.

859. Ḍubā'ah was not in fact 'Alī's sister but a cousin.

ʿAbd al-Wārith—Hammām b. Yaḥyā—Qatādah [b. Diʿāmah]—Isḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith—his grandmother Umm al-Ḥakam—her sister Ḍubāʿah bt. al-Zubayr, who related that she had brought the Prophet [a piece of] meat and he nibbled at it, then prayed without performing ablution.

[2466] Umm al-Ḥakam bt. al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[860]

She was married to Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and bore him Muḥammad, ʿAbbās, ʿAbd Shams, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Umayyah, and Arwā al-Kubrā (senior).

Umm al-Ḥakam transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Bashshār—Muʿādh b. Hishām—his father—Qatādah—Isḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh b. Nawfal—Umm al-Ḥakam bt. al-Zubayr, who reported that she had handed the Prophet a [piece] of shoulder meat; he ate some of it, then prayed.

Umm Ḥakīm bt. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[861]

She is the one called al-Bayḍāʾ (the white one). She did not live to see Islam.

Umm Ḥakīm was ʿĀmir b. Kurayz's mother and ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān's maternal grandmother.

Kurayz b. Rabīʿah had married Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍāʾ, who bore him ʿĀmir, Arwā, Ṭalḥah, and Umm Ṭalḥah. ʿAffān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf married Arwā bt. Kurayz, who bore him ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. She later married ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ and bore him al-Walīd, Khālid, and Umm Kulthūm, children of ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ.[862]

Ṣafiyyah bt. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

Her mother was Hālah bt. Wuhayb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb.

Ṣafiyyah was a half-sister of Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, on

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860. Sometimes called Umm Ḥakīm. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 331; Ibn Qudāmah, 141; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 442–43.

861. Twin sister of ʿAbdallāh, the Prophet's father. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 88, III (Dūrī), 311; Ibn Qudāmah, 173.

862. A member of the Umayyad family and an enemy of the Prophet. He was one of the two Qurashī captives who were executed by Muḥammad after the battle of Badr; see Ibn Qudāmah, 210.

their mother's side. In pre-Islamic times she had been married to al-Ḥārith b. Ḥarb b. Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams and bore him Ṣufayy. She was later married to al-ʿAwwām b. Khuwaylid b. Asad and bore him al-Zubayr, al-Sāʾib, and ʿAbd al-Kaʿbah.

Ṣafiyyah embraced Islam and gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance. She emigrated to Medina and lived after the Prophet's death, to the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

Umāmah bt. Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[863] [2467]

Her mother was Salmā bt. ʿUmays b. Maʿd b. Taym b. Mālik b. Quḥāfah b. Khathʿam, Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays' sister. [Umāmah] is the name by which Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī] refers to her, whereas others say that it was ʿUmārah bt. Ḥamzah. According to Hishām, ʿUmārah was a man, a son of Ḥamzah, after whom he was called.

Umāmah outlived the Prophet and transmitted [traditions] from him.

Clients [of the Banū Hāshim]

Umm Ayman, the Prophet's client.

According to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṣudāʾī—Shabābah—Abū Mālik al-Nakhaʿī—ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥusayn—al-Aswad b. Qays—Fulayḥ al-ʿAnazī—Umm Ayman: [One] night the Prophet got up and urinated in the corner of the house into an earthenware vessel. During the night I got up, and, being thirsty, I drank what was in that vessel, not noticing [anything]. When the Prophet got up in the morning he said "O Umm Ayman, take that earthenware vessel and pour away its content." I said "By God, I drank what was in it." The Prophet laughed until his molar teeth showed, then said "After this you will never have a bellyache."

Salmā, the Prophet's client.[864]

She outlived the Prophet and transmitted traditions from him.

According to ʿAlī b. Shuʿayb al-Simsār—Maʿn b. ʿĪsā—Fāʾid, the client of ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī Rāfiʿ—ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAlī b.

863. Ibn Qudāmah, 148; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 235–36.
864. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 332; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 485.

Abī Rāfiʿ—his grandmother Salmā: The Prophet used to apply henna to wounds and the like.

[2468] Maymūnah bt. Saʿd, the Prophet's client.[865]
She transmitted [traditions] from him.
According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ]—ʿUbaydallāh—Isrāʾīl—Zayd b. Jubayr—Abū Zayd al-Ḍabbī—Maymūnah bt. Saʿd: The Prophet was asked about a child born of adultery and replied "A pair of shoes I wear while exerting myself in the path of God is preferable to me than the freeing of a child born of adultery."

Umaymah, the Prophet's client.[866]
She transmitted [traditions] from him.
According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ]—Yūnus b. Bukayr—Yazīd b. Sinān Abū Farwah al-Ruhāwī—Abū Yaḥyā al-Kalāʿī—Jubayr b. Nufayr: I came to see Umaymah, the Prophet's client, and asked her "Tell me something you heard from the Prophet." She said: "One day I was pouring [water] on his hands for his ablution, when a man came in and said 'O Messenger of God, I want to go back to my family, so instruct me with something I shall remember.' The Prophet said: 'Never attribute a partner to God, even if your [limbs] be torn and you be burned in fire. Never disobey your parents; even if they tell you to give up your family and [everything pertaining to] this world, do it. Never deliberately neglect to perform the prayer, for whoever deliberately neglects to perform one, forfeits the protection of God and His messenger. Never drink wine, for it is the mother of all sins. Do not expand beyond the boundaries of [your] land, lest you come on the Day of Judgment with the equivalent of seven [tracts] of land tied to your neck. Never run away on a battle day, for whoever runs away on a battle day arouses the wrath of God, and hell would be his shelter; what a wretched end this is![867] Spend on your family from your wealth, but do not lift your rod off them. Make them fear God.'"

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865. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 331; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 485.
866. Ignored in most of the sources I have used. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 243, records the same tradition as here, referring it to several sources.
867. Cf. Qur'ān 8:16.

Arab Women [Married into the Quraysh][868] *Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted [Traditions] from Him, Having Given Him the Oath of Allegiance and Embraced Islam during His Lifetime* [2469]

Umm al-Faḍl, that is, Lubābah al-Kubrā (senior) bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn b. Bujayr b. al-Huzam b. Ruwaybah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Hilāl b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah b. Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Manṣūr b. ʿIkrimah b. Khaṣafah b. Qays b. ʿAylān b. Muḍar.[869]

Her mother was Hind, that is Khawlah bt. ʿAwf b. Zuhayr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥamāṭah b. Jurash, who belonged to Ḥimyar.

It was reported that Umm al-Faḍl was the first woman to embrace Islam in Mecca after Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid. The Prophet used to visit her and take siestas in her house.

Umm al-Faḍl's sisters were Maymūnah, the Prophet's wife, her full sister, Lubābah al-Ṣughrā (junior), that is, al-ʿAṣmā' bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn, her half-sister, from her father; Huzaylah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn, also a half-sister, from her father; and ʿAzzah, her [half]-sister from her father.

Her brothers and sisters from her mother were Maḥmiyah b. Jaz' al-Zubaydī, ʿAwn, Asmā', and Salmā, children of ʿUmays b. Maʿd b. al-Ḥārith, of the Khathʿam.[870]

Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib married Umm al-Faḍl bt. al-Ḥārith, and she bore him al-Faḍl, ʿAbdallāh, ʿUbaydallāh, Maʿbad, Qutham, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and Umm Ḥabīb.

ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Hilālī said:[871]

Never has a Bactrian she-camel borne a stallion
the like of the six coming from Umm al-Faḍl's womb.
What a noble woman she is, and he [what a noble] man!

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868. *Wa-min gharā'ib nisā' al-ʿarab. Gharībah*, literally, "stranger," is a woman who enters the clan by exogamic marriage. That the Quraysh are meant here is clear from the following biographical details.

869. A member of the ʿĀmirī clan the Banū Hilāl. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 447, III (Dūrī), 1–2; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 338 (who seems to confuse her with her sister); Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 107, 455.

870. A tribe believed by some to be of northern, by others of southern, descent. See "Khathʿam," *EI*², IV, 1105–6 (G. Levi Della Vida); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 356–61; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 390–92.

871. Ibn Saʿd, IV/1, 2, VIII, 203. I found a few persons with the name of ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd, but none seemed to me to fit the present context. The only "al-Hilālī" was a rather obscure governor of Armenia; see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, II, 468.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Umm al-Faḍl bt. al-Ḥārith emigrated to Medina after al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's conversion to Islam.

[2470] Lubābah al-Ṣughrā (junior), that is, al-ʿAṣmāʾ bt. al-Ḥārith.[872]
Her mother was Fākhitah bt. ʿĀmir b. Muʿattib b. Mālik al-Thaqafī.
Lubābah had been married to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm in Mecca and bore him Khālid b. al-Walīd. She embraced Islam after the Emigration and gave the Prophet the oath of allegiace.

Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays b. Maʿd.[873]
Her mother was Hind, that is, Khawlah bt. ʿAwf b. Zuhayr b. Jurash.
According to al-Ḥārith—Khālid b. Khidāsh—Ḥammād b. Zayd—Ayyūb—Muḥammad: Asmāʾ bore Jaʿfar [b. Abī Ṭālib] [his son] Muḥammad, and she bore Abū Bakr [his son] Muḥammad.[874]
Asmāʾ's full sister was Salmā bt. ʿUmays, an early convert to Islam. She was married to Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib[875] and bore him his daughter ʿUmārah. Ḥamzah was killed in the battle of Uḥud and Salmā bt. ʿUmays became a widow. Shaddād b. [Usāmah b. ʿAmr, that is,] al-Hād al-Laythī then married her, and she bore him ʿAbdallāh b. Shaddād, a half-brother of Ḥamzah's daughter [ʿUmārah], from her mother. He is [also] a maternal cousin of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib's children and of Khālid b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah.[876]
Asmāʾ bt. ʿUmays outlived the Prophet for a while and transmitted traditions from him.

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872. Sister of the aforementioned Lubābah al-Kubrā. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 447–48; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 398–99.
873. Of the Khathʿam tribe. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 342; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 447–48.
874. According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 231, she was also married to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.
875. An uncle of the Prophet, an early convert, and a close Companion. See *EI*², III, 152–53 (G. M. Meredith-Owens); Ibn Qudāmah, 144–47.
876. Salmā was half-sister of Lubābah al-Kubrā, wife of al-ʿAbbās, and of Lubābah al-Ṣughrā, mother of Khālid b. al-Walīd; see p. 201, above. On Shaddād, see al-Ṣafadī, XVI, 124; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 405–7.

ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd's mother, that is, Umm ʿAbd bt. ʿAbd Wadd b. Sawāʾ b. Quraym b. Ṣāhilah b. Kāhil b. al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm b. Saʿd b. Hudhayl b. Mudrikah b. al-Yās b. Muḍar.[877]

Her mother was Hind bt. ʿAbd b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb.

Umm ʿAbd embraced Islam and gave the Prophet the oath of allegiace. She transmitted from him the following [tradition]. According to Muḥammad b. Muʿāwiyah al-Anmāṭī—ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAwwām—Abān—Ibrāhīm—ʿAlqamah [b. Qays al-Nakhaʿī]—ʿAbdallāh [b. Masʿūd]—his mother, who related that she [once] spent the night with them and the Prophet got up [in the night] and prayed. She said "I saw him standing long in [that night] prayer (*witr*) before prostrating himself." [2471]

Zaynab bt. Abī Muʿāwiyah al-Thaqafiyyah, ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd's wife.[878]

Zaynab embraced Islam and gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance. She transmitted traditions from him, among them the following. According to al-Rabīʿ b. Sulaymān—Asad b. Mūsā—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn Lahīʿah—Bukayr—Busr b. Saʿīd—Zaynab, ʿAbdallāh's wife—the Prophet: Whoever comes to the mosque from among you should not wear perfume.

Umm Sinān al-Aslamiyyah.[879]

She transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī][880]—ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Yaḥyā—Thubaytah bt. Ḥanẓalah al-Aslamiyyah—her mother, Umm Sinān al-Aslamiyyah: I came to the Prophet when he intended to set out for Khaybar and said "O Messenger of God, I shall set out with you in this enterprise of yours, to see about drinking water and to take care of the sick and wounded if there are any, and, if there are not, I shall assist the men." The Prophet said: "Go, with God's blessing. There are [also] friends of yours, both from your clan and others, who approached me [about this], and I have permitted it. You can go with your clan if you like or

877. Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 212. The tribe's name is Hudhayl.
878. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 337.
879. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 462–63. Almost no biographical details are given.
880. Al-Wāqidī, 685, 686–87; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 284.

with us." She said[881] "With you." He said "So go with my wife Umm Salamah." She related: So I was with Umm Salamah.[882]

[2472] The daughter of Abū al-Ḥakam, al-Ghifāriyyah.[883]

She transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Muḥammad b. Bashshār and Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā—Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAwn—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq—Sulaymān b. Suḥaym—his mother, daughter of Abū al-Ḥakam, al-Ghifāriyyah—the Prophet: One may come at a cubit's distance from paradise,[884] then say such a word as will remove him from it to a distance farther than [that between here and] Ṣanʿā'.

Umm Sharīk.[885]

She transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to ʿAmr b. Baydaq—Sufyān—ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jubayr b. Shaybah—Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab—Umm Sharīk: The Prophet had ordered her to kill lizards.[886]

According to Yūnus [b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā]—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn Wahb—[ʿAbd al-Malik] Ibn Jurayj—ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jubayr b. Shaybah—Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab—Umm Sharīk, a woman of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Lu'ayy who related that she had asked the Prophet's opinion about the killing of lizards, and he had ordered her to kill them.

According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlā']—ʿUbaydallāh b. Mūsā—[ʿAbd al-Malik] Ibn Jurayj—ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jubayr b. Shaybah—Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab—Umm Sharīk, who related that the Prophet had ordered to kill lizards, saying: "They used to blow on [the Patriarch] Ibrāhīm."

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881. There is a shift here from the first to the third person.

882. The legal issue raised here is the permissibility of the participation of women in war; see, e.g., al-Fazārī, 299–300.

883. Āminah bt. al-Ḥakam or Abī al-Ḥakam, mentioned as a source of traditions for her son Sulaymān b. Suḥaym; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 169. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 224 promises to supply details on her in another place but fails to do so.

884. *Qubbat dhirāʿ*. De Goeje's manuscript had *q-b-h*, which he edited as *qubbat* but prefers to read as *qaby*. See 2472 n. b; GLOSSARIUM, s.v. *q-b-w*. Cairo, 624, and Dār al-Fikr, 629, also have *qubbat*.

885. A member of the Qurashī clan ʿĀmir b. Lu'ayy. She was one of the women who offered themselves to the Prophet in marriage. See Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 269, cf. 284; Ibn Qudāmah, 489–90; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 335; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 422.

886. On the issue of killing and eating lizards, see note 587, above; Cook, "Dietary Law," 220–31; Kister, "Locust's Wing," 349.

Umm Marthad.[887]

She transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd al-Jawharī—Muḥammad b. Wahb b. Abī Karīmah al-Ḥarrānī—Muḥammad b. Maslamah—Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-ʿAlā'—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Ṣaʿṣaʿah—his father—Umm Khārijah bt. Saʿd b. al-Rabīʿ—Umm Marthad, who was one of those who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance: We [once] went out with the Prophet, and he said "The first to meet you [on the way] will be one of the dwellers in paradise." ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib] met us. [2473]

Umm al-Dardā'.[888]

She transmitted traditions from the Prophet, among them the following. According to Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥakam—Abū Zurʿah [al-Dimashqī]—Abū Ḥaywah [Shurayḥ b. Yazīd]—Abū Ṣakhr—ʿĪsā, father of Mūsā, a client of Jaʿfar b. Khārijah al-Asadī—Umm al-Dardā': The Prophet met her one day and asked her "Where do you come from, O Umm al-Dardā'?" She replied "From the public bath." He said "By He Who holds my soul in His hand, a woman who takes off her clothes anywhere but in her home disgraces herself before God."[889]

According to al-Rabīʿ [b. Sulaymān]—Asad b. Mūsā—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn Lahīʿah—Zabbān b. Fā'id—Sahl b. Muʿādh—his father—Umm al-Dardā': I came out of the public bath and met the Prophet, who asked me "Where do you come from, O Umm al-Dardā'?" I replied "From the public bath," whereupon he said "By He Who holds my soul in His hand, a woman who takes off her clothes anywhere but in the house of her mother or grandmother[890] utterly disgraces herself before the Merciful."

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887. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 496; hardly any details are given Cf. 446 (under Umm Khārijah).

888. Khayrah bt. Abī Ḥadrad, known as a pious and wise woman, a source of traditions for several Successors. See Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 141, where she is depicted as actively engaged in seeking knowledge. There is, however, a confusion between two women of the same name. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 295; Abū Zurʿah, 378; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, VIII, 103.

889. Literally, "tears the veil separating God and herself."

890. Literally, "in the house of one of her mothers."

[2474] Umm al-Mundhir bt. Qays b. ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAdī b. ʿĀmir b. Ghanm b. ʿAdī b. Ghanm b. al-Najjār.[891]

She was a full sister of Salīṭ b. Qays, who had participated in the battle of Badr and was later killed as a *shahīd* in the battle of the Bridge, commanded by Abū ʿUbayd.[892]

Umm al-Mundhir gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance. She transmitted from him the following [tradition]. According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ]—Zayd b. Ḥubāb al-ʿUklī—Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān al-Madanī—Ayyūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī—Yaʿqūb b. Abī Yaʿqūb—Umm al-Mundhir al-Anṣāriyyah, who was one of the Prophet's maternal aunts: The Prophet came [to visit] me together with ʿAlī, who was recovering from an illness. There were dates in the house, hung up [somewhere], and the Prophet ate from them while standing, and so did ʿAlī. The Prophet said "This is not good for you," so he stopped [eating]. I cooked some beets and barley for the Prophet and served them to him, and he said "O ʿAlī, eat from this; it is better for you."

The Death Dates of Successors and People of the Following Generations, of [Our] Deceased Forefathers Who Had Been Scholars and Transmitters of Traditions

Successors Who Died in the Year 32 (August 12, 652–August 1, 653)

Kaʿb al-Aḥbār b. Mātiʿ.[893]

His *kunyah* was Abū Isḥāq. He belonged to the Ḥimyar, to the family of Dhū Ruʿayn.[894]

Kaʿb al-Aḥbār lived in Ḥims, where he died in the year 32/652–53, during the caliphate of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.

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891. Her name was Salmā; she was an Anṣārī of the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār (Khazraj). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 335; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 332.

892. A battle during the conquest of Iraq, near al-Ḥīrah, in 13/634, where the Muslims suffered a sound defeat; see Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 174–75.

893. A famous Jewish convert to Islam, the oldest authority on Judeo-Islamic traditions. See "Kaʿb al-Aḥbār," *EI*², IV, 316–17 (M. Schmitz); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 308; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 190; al-Dībaʿ, 59–60; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXI, 180–88; Ben Ze'ev.

894. A large Ḥimyarī tribe with a royal tradition. See Caskel, II, 67, 237; al-Ḥimyarī, 169, 180; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 433; Ibn Saʿīd, 93.

According to al-ʿAlāʾī—[Yaḥyā] Ibn Maʿīn: [His pedigree was] Kaʿb b. Mātiʿ b. Dhī Hajan al-Ḥimyarī. [2475]

According to al-ʿAbbās—Yaḥyā: Kaʿb al-Aḥbār died during the caliphate of ʿUthmān in the year 34/July 22, 654–July 10, 655, a year before ʿUthmān's murder.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn al-Muthannā—Aḥmad b. Mūsā—Dāʾūd—a paternal cousin of Kaʿb: Kaʿb learned the Sūrah of the Cow from one of the Prophet's Companions. When they reached the words "Then if ye slip after that the evidences have come to you, know that Allāh is sublime, wise,"[895] Kaʿb said "I do not know of such a thing in any of God's books, that He should prohibit sinning and at the same time promise to forgive it." The man refused to take back his words, and Kaʿb refused to learn [the verse]. One of the Prophet's Companions then passed by them, and [Kaʿb's teacher] asked him "Do you know [by heart] the Sūrah of the Cow?" The man answered in the affirmative. [Kaʿb and his teacher] began to recite "Then if ye slip after that the evidences have come to you," and the man continued "know that Allāh is sublime, wise." He said "Yes, this is how it should be."

Uways b. al-Khulayṣ al-Qaranī.[896]

So it was mentioned by Ḍamrah b. Rabīʿah—ʿUthmān b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Khurāsānī—his father [who said]: I was telling [Uways'] story when I heard a man of my clan, that is, Uways' clan, [asking] "O Abū ʿUthmān, do you know the name of Uways' father?" I said "No." He said "Uways b. al-Khulayṣ." However, according to Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān—Yazīd b. ʿAṭāʾ—ʿAlqamah b. Marthad, [2476] [the name was] Uways b. Unays al-Qaranī.

Opinions differ as regards the time of his death. Some say that he was killed [fighting] on ʿAlī's side at Ṣiffīn.

According to Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr—al-Ḥimmānī—Sharīk—Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā: On

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895. Qurʾān 2:205; trans. Bell I, 29.

896. A famous Successor, known as one of the first ascetics and a close companion of ʿAlī; he never met the Prophet, but the latter had foreknowledge of him. See Abū Nuʿaym, II, 162; al-Kashshī, 91–93; al-Quhpāʾī, I, 241–43, II, 249; al-Amīn, XIII, 106–31; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 146; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 161; *Uways al-Qaranī*. His father's name is usually said to be ʿĀmir or ʿAmr, notwithstanding the versions here. His clan, the Qaran, belonged to the southern tribe Murād; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 407.

the Day of Ṣiffīn ʿAlī's herald called out "Look for Uways al-Qaranī among the dead." They looked and found him. [This is the report] or some other version of the same meaning.

Those Who Died in the Year 81 (February 26, 700–February 14, 701)

Suwayd b. Ghafalah.[897]

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akbar b. Abī Ṭālib.[898]

His mother was the Ḥanafiyyah,[899] Khawlah bt. Jaʿfar b. Qays b. Maslamah b. Thaʿlabah b. Yarbūʿ b. Thaʿlabah b. al-Dūl b. Ḥanīfah b. Lujaym b. Ṣaʿb b. ʿAlī b. Bakr b. Wāʾil. It was reported that she had been one of the prisoners [taken by the Muslims] in the battle of Yamāmah and was given to ʿAlī.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī][900]—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Zinād—Hishām b. ʿUrwah [b. al-Zubayr]—Fāṭimah bt. al-Mundhir—Asmāʾ bt. Abī Bakr: I saw Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah's mother, who was a black woman from Sind. She was not descended from the Banū Ḥanīfah but was a slave among them. Khālid b. al-Walīd's treaty with the Banū Ḥanīfah applied only to the slaves, not to tribesmen of pure descent.[901]

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah's *kunyah* was Abū al-Qāsim. He was virtuous, religious, God fearing, and erudite.

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897. A Kūfan jurist and a *ḥāfiẓ* (expert on tradition), a companion of ʿAlī, of the southern tribe Juʿfī. See al-Amīn, XXXV, 419–20; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 147; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 315; al-Quhpāʾī, III, 176; al-Sayrawān, 99–100.

898. Son of ʿAlī by a wife other than Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet. While he stayed in the Ḥijāz a revolt was led on his behalf in al-Kūfah by al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd, in the years 685–87. "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya," *EI*², VII, 402–3 (F. Buhl); Sharon, *Black Banners*, 104–9, 112–19 and passim; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 103; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 53–54, (Maḥmūdī) 276–96.

899. That is, of the Banū Ḥanīfah tribe, dwellers in al-Yamāmah, in the central eastern part of the Arabian Peninsula.

900. Ibn Saʿd, V, 66.

901. There is nothing to support this claim in the version of the treaty recorded by al-Ṭabarī himself, where the Muslims received as booty "half the prisoners" (obviously releasing the other half), regardless of their origin; see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1954. Needless to say, the woman's pedigree as recorded here does not support this claim either.

We have related the account of [what happened with] him and Ibn al-Zubayr during the time of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd in our book entitled *The Supplemented* (*al-Mudhayyal*).[902]

Those Who Died in the Year 83 (February 4, 702–January 23, 703) [2477]

Abū al-Bakhtarī al-Ṭāʾī, a client of the Banū Nabhān of Ṭayyiʾ.[903]

There are different versions of his name. According to Ibn al-Madyanī it was Saʿīd b. Abī ʿImrān, whereas Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn holds that it was Saʿīd b. Jubayr and that Jubayr's *kunyah* was Abū ʿImrān. Still others say that [the name] was Saʿīd b. ʿImrān.

Abū al-Bakhtarī was a Shīʿī.

ʿAbdallāh b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[904]

ʿAbdallāh was born during the Prophet's lifetime, and it was said that he resembled him.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]: ʿAbdallāh b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith died in the year 84/January 24, 703–January 13, 704.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad and Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar—Abū al-Ghayth: When Marwān b. al-Ḥakam became governor of Medina on behalf of Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān for the first time, in the year 42/April 26, 662–April 14, 663, he appointed ʿAbdallāh b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib a judge in Medina. I heard Abū Hurayrah say "This is the first judge I saw in Islam."[905]

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Saʿd[906]—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Our authorities are unanimous that ʿAbdallāh b.

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902. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 693–95.

903. One of the active participants in the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath (see note 990, below). He was killed in the battle of Maskan, fought between the governor al-Ḥajjāj and the rebels; see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 1088–1100. See also al-Dūlābī, I, 125–26; Ibn Saʿd, VI, 204–5.

904. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 114; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 297–99; Ibn Qudāmah, 102; al-ʿAskarī, 243.

905. Al-Suyūṭī, *Wasāʾil*, 117.

906. Ibn Saʿd, V, 13.

Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith was the first judge in Medina, on behalf of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. His family, however, deny this; they deny that either he or anyone of the Banū Hāshim [ever] held the office of judge in Medina.[907] They [also] say that he died during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah, but we hold that he outlived Muʿāwiyah
[2478] for a while and died in the year 84/703, during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān.

Saʿīd b. Wahb al-Hamdānī, of the Banū Yaḥmid b. Mūhib b. Ṣādiq b. Yanāʿ b. Dūmān; these are the Yanāʿūn of Hamdān.[908]

Saʿīd obtained knowledge from Muʿādh b. Jabal[909] in the Yemen before emigrating [to Medina] during the Prophet's lifetime. He was one of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's close companions, whence his nickname the Tick (*al-qurād*). He lived in al-Kūfah.

No one doubts Saʿīd's truthfulness and faithfulness in the traditions he reported and transmitted.

He died in the year 86/January 2, 705–December 22, 705, during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik. Al-Ṭabarī remarks: His name was mentioned with those who died in the year 76/April 21, 695–April 9, 696 and repeated here, because of the disagreement over his death date.

ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[910]

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907. In view of the enmity between the Hāshimī and the Umayyad clans, it is conceivable that the descendants of ʿAbdallāh denied that he held office on behalf of the Umayyads.

908. Appointed over the Hamdān on behalf of ʿAlī. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 105; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 166; idem, *Thiqāt*, IV, 291; al-Amīn, XXXV, 122–23; Ibn Saʿd, VI, 118. I could not find his clan in any of the genealogical and historical sources (including the Yemenī ones); except for Ibn Saʿd, and al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, V, 566, all the sources trace him to Khaywān, a known tribe of the Hamdān (read Khaywān for Khayrān, as erroneously recorded in several sources). See also pp. 151, above, 237, below.

909. A much-admired member of the Khazraj (Anṣār) and a close Companion of the Prophet, who sent him as his representative to the Yemen. Vast knowledge of religious law is imputed to him; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 427.

910. The fourth Shīʿī Imām, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, who survived the massacre of Karbalāʾ and fathered the next generations of the imāms. He was nevertheless on good terms with the Umayyad al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. See Jafrī, 242–47; al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 75, 201–2; Ibn Qudāmah, 131–33; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 238–39; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 104; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Maḥmūdī), 146–47, 273 and passim; Ibn Saʿd, V, 156–64.

His mother was Ghazālah, who was a concubine (*umm walad*). After Ḥusayn's [death] Zubayd, his client, took Ghazālah, and she bore him ʿAbdallāh b. Zubayd, half-brother of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.

This ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn is the progenitor of the descendants in [the line of] al-Ḥusayn [b. ʿAlī]. This is ʿAlī al-Aṣghar (junior) b. Ḥusayn. [His brother] ʿAlī al-Akbar (senior) b. al-Ḥusayn was killed with his father at the canal[911] of Karbalāʾ, having had no offspring.

ʿAlī al-Aṣghar b. al-Ḥusayn participated with his father in the event of Karbalāʾ. He was then twenty-three years old. [As] he was ill, he was sleeping on a mat, and when al-Ḥusayn was killed Shamir b. Dhī al-Jawshan[912] said "Kill this one [too]." One of his companions then said to him "God be praised, should we kill a young man who is ill and did not take part in the fighting?" ʿUmar [2479]
b. Saʿd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ][913] then came and said: "Do not harm these women or this sick man."

ʿAlī related: When I was brought before [ʿUbaydallāh] Ibn Ziyād he asked "What is your name?" I said "ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn." He said "Has God not killed ʿAlī?" I said "I had an elder brother called ʿAlī, who was killed by [your] people." Ibn Ziyād said "Nay, it was God who killed him." I said "God [does not kill but] takes the souls when [people] die."[914] Ibn Ziyād ordered that ʿAlī be killed, whereupon Zaynab bt. ʿAlī cried "O Ibn Ziyād, you had enough of our blood. I beseech you in the name of God, if you kill him, kill me together with him." So Ibn Ziyād left him alone.

ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn's *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥusayn.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—Saʿīd b. Khālid—[Saʿīd b. Abī Saʿīd] al-Maqbarī: Al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd

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911. Or, "stream."

912. He was notorious for his role in killing al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī at Karbalāʾ, yet he was considered a Successor, and traditions were transmitted from him. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, X, 331–34; al-Ṣafadī, XVI, 180. He is also included in the list of "the noble tribal leaders who were infected by leprosy"; see Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 301.

913. A general under ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, governor of al-Kūfah. ʿUmar was in charge of the force that carried out the massacre of Karbalāʾ and was later killed by al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd in retaliation. See Ibn Saʿd, V, 125; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XI, 60–68; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 349–50; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 308–12.

914. Qurʾān 39:42. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 372–73; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Maḥmūdī), 207.

sent ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn 100,000 [dirhams]. He hated to accept it but was afraid to send it back, so he kept it. When al-Mukhtār was killed ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn wrote to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān [the following]: "Al-Mukhtār had sent me 100,000 which I did not want to return or take, so it is with me. Send someone to collect it." ʿAbd al-Malik wrote back to him "O cousin, take it, for I have made it lawful to you."

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—Yazīd b. ʿIyāḍ: [Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī had killed someone unintentionally, so he left his family, went out, and pitched a tent, saying "No roof of a house should provide shade for me." ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn passed by and said: "O Ibn Shihāb, your despairing is worse than your sin. Fear God, ask His forgiveness, send the blood money to the deceased's family, and go back to your family." [Later], al-Zuhrī
[2480] used to say "Among all the people ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn did me the greatest favor."

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—ʿAlī b. Mujāhid—Hishām b. ʿUrwah [b. al-Zubayr]: ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn used to go to Mecca and back on his riding beast, without [ever] beating it.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Saʿd[915]—Mālik b. Ismāʿīl—Sahl b. Shuʿayb al-Nihmī, who was living among the [Nihm], acting as their leader in prayer—his father—al-Minhāl, that is, Ibn ʿAmr: I came to ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn and asked him: "How are you? May God keep you in good state." Whereupon he said:

> I never thought that a city notable like you would ignore our condition. Since you do not realize it or know, I shall tell you. We became among our people like the Children of Israel among the people of Pharaoh, as the latter used to kill the sons of the former and let their women live. It has become so that favor is curried with our enemy by cursing or swearing at our leader and master on the pulpits.[916] The Quraysh have come to think that they are superior to the [rest of the] Arabs because Muḥammad descends from

915. Ibn Saʿd, V, 162–63.

916. During Umayyad times the governors used to curse the ʿAlids at the Friday sermon, a practice temporarily stopped by the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

them; it is only because of him that they impute merit to themselves, and the [rest of the] Arabs have come to acknowledge it. The Arabs have come to think that they are superior to the non-Arabs because Muḥammad belongs to them; it is only because of him that they impute merit to themselves, and the non-Arabs have come to acknowledge it. If the Arabs are right that they are superior to the non-Arabs and if the Quraysh are right that they are superior to the [rest of the] Arabs because Muḥammad descends from them, then we, the members of [the Prophet's] family (*ahl al-bayt*), are superior to the [rest of the] Quraysh, because Muḥammad descends from us. [But] they have usurped our right and deny us all rights. This is how we are, if you do not know. [2481]

Al-Minhāl related: I thought that he wanted those present in the house to hear [this].

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī][917]—Ibn Abī Sabrah—Sālim, Abū Jaʿfar's client: Hishām b. Ismāʿīl[918] used to taunt ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn and his family, making speeches to this effect on the pulpit and insulting ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib]. When al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik ascended the throne he removed Hishām from office and ordered that he be stationed in a public place [to be abused by those previously abused by him]. Hishām [later] related: "Nay, by God, no one worried me more than ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn. I thought that he was an important man,[919] one to whom people listen." So [Hishām b. Ismāʿīl] was exposed [to the people] in a public place. [But] ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn gathered his offspring and friends and forbade them to abuse Hishām. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn passed by [him] in the morning on his way to some business and did not chastise him. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl called out to him saying "God knows best where to place His missions."[920]

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917. Ibn Saʿd, V, 163. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 1184.
918. ʿAbd al-Malik's governor of Medina in 83–86/702–705; see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 1085, 1127, 1182.
919. *Rajul ṣāliḥ*. See GLOSSARIUM, s.v. *ṣlḥ*.
920. Cf. Qurʾān 2:12.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar[921]—ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Farwah: ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn died in Medina and was buried in al-Baqīʿ in the year 94/October 7, 712–September 25, 713. This year is called "the Year of the Jurists" because of the great number of jurists who died then.

According to Ibn Saʿd[922]—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūnus—Sufyān—Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad: ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn died at the age of fifty-eight. This proves that ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn was with his father[923] at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four and was not a small boy whose
[2482] pubic hair had not yet grown, as [some] say. It is because he was ill that day that he did not fight. How could he have been [a boy] whose pubic hair had not yet grown, when he had already fathered Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, and had met Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh and transmitted [traditions] from him? [It should be noted that] Jābir died in the year 78/March 30, 697–March 19, 698.

According to Isḥāq b. Abī Isrāʾīl—Jarīr—Shaybah b. Naʿāmah: ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn was considered miserly. When he died the fact came to light that he had secretly supported 100 families in Medina.

Among [those who died in the year 83/702–703 was], according to ʿAmr b. ʿAlī, Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī.

His name was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mall b. ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Wahb b. Rabīʿah b. Saʿd b. Jadhīmah b. Kaʿb b. Rifāʿah b. Mālik b. Nahd b. Zayd b. Layth b. Sūd b. Aslum b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāʿah.[924]

According to al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad—al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd al-Salām b. Shaddād: I saw Abū ʿUthmān, [in his capacity as] a member of the police guard, come and take mushrooms from a mushroom seller.[925]

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921. Ibn Saʿd, V, 163–64.
922. Ibid., 164.
923. That is, at Karbalāʾ.
924. His clan's name is Nahd b. Zayd, of the Quḍāʿah confederation; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 446–47. He lived in pre-Islamic times and embraced Islam only in ʿUmar's time. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 205; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 159; idem, *Thiqāt*, V, 75.
925. *Yaʾkhudhu min ṣāḥib al-kamaʾah al-kamaʾah.* Cf. Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 70: *Yaʾkhudhu min ṣāḥib al-kumāh*, which is probably erroneous, *kumāh* signifying "brave people." I am not sure about the meaning of this in either version.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Saʿd[926]—Abū Ghassān Mālik b. Ismāʿīl al-Nahdī: Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī lived in al-Kūfah, where he had a place among the Banū Nahd. When al-Ḥusayn was killed he moved to al-Baṣrah, saying "I shall not live in a town where the son of the Prophet's daughter was killed."

Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Kalāʿī.[927]

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Saʿd:[928] [The scholars] are unanimous that Khālid b. Maʿdān died in the year 103/July 1, 721–June 20, 722, during the caliphate of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

According to ʿAbd al-Quddūs b. al-Ḥajjāj—Ṣafwān b. ʿAmr— [2483]
Khālid b. Maʿdān: I was contemporaneous with seventy of the Prophet's Companions.

According to al-Ḥārith—al-Ḥajjāj—Abū Jaʿfar al-Ḥuddānī—Muḥammad b. Dāʾūd—ʿĪsā b. Yūnus: Khālid b. Maʿdān was in charge of the *shurṭah* of [the caliph] Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah.[929]

Khālid was not suspected [of fraud] concerning the religious traditions he transmitted and related.

It was reported that he died while fasting. He had lived in Syria, where he [also] died.

Those Who Died in the Year 105 (June 10, 723–May 28, 724)

ʿIkrimah, the client of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[930]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Saʿd[931]—ʿĀmir b. Saʿīd Abū

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926. Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 70.

927. A famous Syrian jurist of Ḥimyarī (southern) origin. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 540; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 310; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 183; Abū Zurʿah, 243, 350–51; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, VII, 394–97. Donner, "Problem," 7–9; ʿAṭwān, 97–98; al-Sayrawān, 83–84.

928. Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 162.

929. Donner, however, doubts that Khālid ever occupied this post; "The *Shurṭa*," 253. The *shurṭah*, usually translated as "police," was a special elite unit some of whose tasks resembled those of modern police forces. See Donner, "The Shurṭa"; Lecker, "*Shurṭat al-khamīs*," 276–80.

930. One of the main transmitters from ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās, highly appreciated by some but accused of lies by others. See "ʿIkrima," *EI*², II, 1081–82 (J. Schacht); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 134; al-Sayrawān 128–29.

931. Ibn Saʿd, V, 212.

Ja'far—Hishām b. Yūsuf, the judge of Ṣan'ā'—Muḥammad b. Rāshid: 'Ikrimah was still a slave when Ibn 'Abbās died. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah[932] bought him from 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās for 4,000 dinars. On hearing of this 'Ikrimah went to 'Alī and asked "Did you sell me for 4,000 dinars?" He replied affirmatively, whereupon 'Ikrimah said "Indeed, you did not profit [by this, for] you have sold your father's knowledge for 4,000 dinars." 'Alī went to Khālid and asked him to cancel the transaction, and Khālid agreed, whereupon 'Alī set 'Ikrimah free.

No one who knew 'Ikrimah denied his erudition in religious law, the Qur'ān and its interpretation, as well as his numerous transmissions of traditions.

According to al-Ṣarrār b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl—Ismā'īl—Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd—his father: Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab used to say to his
[2484] client Burd "O Burd, do not lie about me, as did 'Ikrimah about Ibn 'Abbās."[933] [To other people he used to say] "Any tradition Burd transmits to you from me, and you do not recognize it nor does anyone else transmit it but he, is a lie."

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr [b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd]—Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād: I went into 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās' place, and there was 'Ikrimah, tied to the door of the privy. I asked "What is the matter with this one?" He said "He lied about my father."

According to Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn—someone—Ḥammād b. Zayd: I heard Ayyūb [al-Sakhtiyānī] say, when asked about 'Ikrimah "Had I not considered him reliable (*thiqah*) I would not have written down traditions transmitted by him."[934] Others think that a tradition transmitted by 'Ikrimah should not be adduced as proof in legal matters. However, they make the following observation: "We object not to the traditions transmitted by 'Ikrimah but to his

932. Grandson of the caliph Mu'āwiyah and brother of Mu'āwiyah II. When the latter died Khālid was considered too young to rule, and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam headed the clan and ascended the throne; see "Khālid b. Yazīd," *EI*², IV, 929–30 (M. Ullmann).

933. That is, by falsely ascribing traditions to him.

934. The permissibility of writing down the Prophetic Tradition was debated among Muslim scholars. See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 181–88; Sprenger; and cf. p. 256, below.

creed." They said that he adhered to the Ṣufriyyah, a Khārijī sect.[935] It was reported that he imputed this conviction to Ibn ʿAbbās, and this was his lie about him.

According to Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī: ʿIkrimah adhered to the beliefs of the Khawārij. The governor of Medina sought him out, so he hid at Dāʾūd b. al-Ḥusayn's place, where he died.[936]

According to Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn: Mālik b. Anas did not quote ʿIkrimah only because the latter adhered to the beliefs of the Ṣufriyyah.

There is disagreement over ʿIkrimah's time of death. Some say that it occurred in the year 105. According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī][937]—ʿIkrimah's daughter: ʿIkrimah died in the year 105 at the age of eighty.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī][938]—Khālid b. al-Qāsim al-Bayāḍī: ʿIkrimah and the poet Kuthayyir ʿAzzah[939] died on the same day in the year 105. I saw both their funeral services held at the same place, that is, the funeral place, in the afternoon. People said "The best expert on religious law and the best poet died today." [2485]

People other than Khālid b. al-Qāsim said: People wondered at the fact that ʿIkrimah and Kuthayyir met in death, whereas [in life] their views were [so] different.[940] ʿIkrimah was thought to believe in the Khārijī creed and to consider the delaying of judgment[941] as

935. A Khārijī sect that differed from the rest of the Khawārij in that they rejected execution of the women and children of sinners; see al-Baghdādī, *Farq*, 54.

936. Ibn Saʿd, V, 216.

937. Ibid.

938. Ibid.

939. A Ḥijāzī bedouin classical poet, whose poetry was mainly dedicated to his love for ʿAzzah, on one hand, and to his Shīʿī convictions, on the other; see "Kuthayyir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān," *EI*², V, 551–53 (I. ʿAbbās).

940. The only point of this sentence is the play on words contained in it. The Arabic word for "met" also means "agreed," so that "met" and "were different" are in fact antonyms (*ijtimāʿ* and *ikhtilāf*).

941. *Naẓrah*. The reference is to the theological discussion of sin. The Khawārij saw it as their duty to fight and kill sinners, whereas others held that judgment should be postponed to Judgment Day. The latter are better known as Murjiʾah. See Madelung, "The Early Murjiʾa"; Givon, "The Murjiʾa"; ʿAthāminah, "The Early Murjiʾa"; Cook, *Early Dogma*, 23–47; Lambton, 21–27, 32–35.

unbelief, whereas Kuthayyir was a Shī'ī, who believed in the return [of the *imām* in hiding].[942]

According to Yaḥyā b. 'Uthmān b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sahmī—[Yūnus] Ibn Bukayr—['Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad] al-Durāwardī: 'Ikrimah and the poet Kuthayyir 'Azzah died in Medina on the same day. Their biers were carried only by blacks.

According to Abū Nu'aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn: 'Ikrimah died in the year 107/May 19, 725–May 7, 726.

According to Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn: 'Ikrimah died in the year 115/February 21, 733–February 9, 734.

'Ikrimah used to travel much around the countries [of Islam].[943] He went to al-Baṣrah, where the people learned [traditions] from him, and to al-Kūfah, where many people studied with him. He went to the Yemen, where many wrote down [the traditions] he dictated, and to the Maghrib, where some heard [traditions] from him. He [also] went to the eastern [centers], where he dictated [traditions].

According to Yaḥyā b. 'Uthmān b. Ṣāliḥ—Nu'aym b. Ḥammād—'Abd al-Mu'min b. Khālid al-Ḥanafī: 'Ikrimah came to us in Khurāsān, and I asked him "Why did you come to our country?" He replied "I came to take from the dinars and dirhams of your governors." But, according to Abū Tumaylah—'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Rawwād: I said to 'Ikrimah "You have left the two holy cities [Mecca and Medina] to come to Khurāsān?" He said "To earn a living for my daughters." 'Ikrimah, however, died in [Medina], the city of the Prophet.

According to Ibrāhīm b. Khālid—Umayyah b. Shibl—Ma'mar—Ayyūb: 'Ikrimah came to us, and people gathered around him until he was forced to climb to the roof of a house.[944]

[2486] 'Āmir b. Sharāḥīl b. 'Abd al-Sha'bī.[945]

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942. *Raj'ah.* On this creed, see Sachedina, 151, 166–73. I thank my colleague, Dr. Meir Bar-Asher, for this reference.

943. Traveling around the centers of scholarship (*al-riḥlah fi ṭalab al-'ilm*) was very common among medieval Muslim scholars; see Eickelman and Piscatori. The purpose was usually to study with famous teachers, but here the emphasis is on 'Ikrimah's teaching, not learning.

944. Ibn Sa'd, V, 213.

945. A famous Kūfan jurist and traditionist. See Schacht, *Origins*, 230–31 and

According to Ibn Sa'd:[946] He belonged to the Ḥimyar but was registered as one of the Hamdān.[947]

According to [Ibn Sa'd]—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Murrah al-Sha'bānī—old men of the Sha'bān, among them Muḥammad b. Abī Umayyah, who was a knowledgeable man: [Once a lot of] rain fell in the Yemen, and the stream hollowed out a vault, which had a stone door. People broke the lock and went in to find a great spacious [room] with a golden bed placed in it; there lay a man on it. [The narrator] said: We measured him, and he was twelve *shibr*s.[948] He was wearing a silk gown embroidered with gold; a golden staff was at his side and a red ruby on his head. There he was, a white-headed and white-bearded man, wearing two plaits. At his side lay a tablet inscribed in Ḥimyaritic: "In your name, O God, Lord of Ḥimyar. I am Ḥassān b. 'Amr, the king; indeed, there is no king but God. I had lived in hope and died in due course, during the Time of the Fearful Plague.[949] Twelve thousand kings had died then, and I was the last of them. I had come to the mountain of Dhū Sha'bayn to seek protection from death, but it betrayed me."[950] At the man's side a sword was placed, inscribed in Ḥimyaritic "I am a gravedigger; by me is blood revenge taken."

According to 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Murrah al-Sha'bānī: This was Ḥassān b. 'Amr b. Qays b. Mu'āwiyah b. Jusham b. 'Abd Shams b. Wā'il b. Ghawth b. Qaṭan b. 'Arīb b. Zuhayr b. Ayman b. al-Hamaysa' b. Ḥimyar, that is, Ḥassān Dhū al-Sha'bayn.[951] Dhū al-Sha'bayn is a mountain in the Yemen where Ḥassān and his

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passim; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 157; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 163; al-Sayrawān, 105–6; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XI, 249–64.

946. Ibn Sa'd, VI, 171–78.

947. See note 444, above.

948. A measure of length, about 8 inches.

949. Vocalized *ayyām wakhzahīd*, which I suggest should be read as *ayyāma wakhzi haydin* "the time of the fearful plague." *Wakhz* means plague, and the root *h-y-d* denotes great fear. Ibn Durayd, 524, explains that "hayd was a plague which occurred in ancient times," in which case the rendering will be "the plague of Hayd." See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 537 n. 4, cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, III, 442, s.v. *h-y-d*. The variants adduced by de Goeje, in Ṭabart, *Ta'rīkh*, 2486 n. c, suggest that the expression was not very well understood. Note especially Ibn Sa'd's *wa-mā wakhzahīd* "what is *wakhzahīd* anyway?" apparently an addition by a transmitter or a scribe.

950. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 536–37.

951. Cf. al-Ḥimyarī, 165, where the genealogy varies.

offspring dwelled and where Ḥassān was buried. He and his off-
[2487] spring were called after this mountain, and those [of them] who lived in al-Kūfah were called Shaʿbiyyūn, among them ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī. Those [of them] who lived in Syria were called Shaʿbāniyyūn, whereas those who remained in the Yemen were called Āl Dhī Shaʿbayn. [Still others] lived in Egypt and the Maghrib, and they were called al-Ashʿūb. These are all the offspring of Ḥassān b. ʿAmr Dhū al-Shaʿbayn.[952]

The clan of ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl b. ʿAbd al-Shaʿbī was the Banū ʿAlī b. Ḥassān b. ʿAmr. They had joined the Aḥmūr of the Hamdān in the Yemen and were registered as part of them.[953] The Aḥmūr[954] included the Khārif, al-Ṣāʿidiyyūn, Āl Dhī Bāriq, al-Sabīʿ, Āl Dhī Juddān, Āl Dhī Raḍwān, Āl Dhī Laʿwah, Āl Dhī Marrān, and the bedouin of the Hamdān, that is, ʿUdhar, Yām, Nihm, Shākir, and Arḥab.

Many tribal groups of the Ḥimyar joined the Hamdān, among them the offspring of Dhī Ḥawāl, who had been the commander of Tubbaʿ's military vanguard.[955] To this clan belongs Yaʿfur b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, the present lord of Ṣanʿāʾ's provinces.[956]

Al-Shaʿbī's *kunyah* was Abū ʿAmr; he was a thin, lean person. He was skilled in Muslim law and knowledgeable [in general], a transmitter of poetry, traditions, and accounts of battles.

Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān.[957]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

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952. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 433.

953. "Joined," *dakhalū fī*, is a term reflecting the fluctuating structure of the Arab tribal system. Often a group left its own tribe and joined another. Only when such groups retained their original genealogy and identity could this term be used. See also note 444, above.

954. De Goeje has doubts about the vocalization of the name. According to Hamdānī, *Iklīl* II (ed. Muḥammad al-Akwaʿ), 247 (as quoted by al-Akwaʿ, "Al-afʿūl," 322) the name is Akhmūr, and the confederation ceased to exist at some point. This confederation is not recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī or by Ibn Ḥazm and other later genealogists, although they mention some of the constituent groups.

955. Tubbaʿ was the name of the Himyaritic kings.

956. "Present" applies not to al-Ṭabarī's time but to that of Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845); see Ibn Saʿd, VI, 172. The reference is to Yaʿfur b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, founder of the local Yemeni Yaʿfurid dynasty in the time of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (218–27/833–42); see Kay, 141, 185, 223–26.

957. An early Qurʾān reader and authority on exegesis. See al-Sayrawān, 104; Ibn al-Jazarī, 341; al-Rāzī, 318–59, 562, and passim; al-Amīn, XXXVI, 325.

Ṭāwūs was skilled in Muslim law and knowledgeable [in general], pious, God fearing, and meritorious.

According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ]—Yaḥyā [b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān]—Zuhayr—Layth—Ṭāwūs: Seventy *shaykhs* from the Prophet's Companions were still alive in my lifetime.[958] [2488]

According to Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn—al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān: My father said "Why doesn't Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ[959] do like Ṭāwūs?" [I] asked "And what did Ṭāwūs do?" He said "He used to sit, and, if someone brought him something, he would accept it; if not, he would keep silent." Yaḥyā said "I say Ṭāwūs was appointed over the tithe, and so was Khālid al-Ḥadhdhāʾ."

According to ʿAlī b. al-Madyanī—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd—Sufyān b. Saʿīd: Ṭāwūs was a Shīʿī.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Sayf b. Sulaymān: Ṭāwūs died in Mecca one day before the Tarwiyah.[960] Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, then caliph, performed the pilgrimage that year, that is, 106/May 29, 724–May 18, 725, so he said the prayer over Ṭāwūs' bier. He was seventy-odd years old when he died.

According to al-Ḥārith—Surayj b. Yūnus—Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān: It came to my knowledge that Ṭāwūs had said to Mujāhid[961] "If your shortness had been applied to my tallness and my tallness to your shortness, we would have made two middle-sized men."

According to Zayd b. Ḥubāb—Ibrāhīm b. Nāfiʿ: Ṭāwūs died in the year 106/May 29, 724–May 18, 725.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Ṭāwūs was a client of Baḥīr b. Raysān al-Ḥimyarī and lived in al-Janad.[962]

Al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan.[963]

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958. Cf. p. 215, above.

959. Khālid b. Mihrān, a Baṣran traditionist of the early second century, who was also appointed to collect the tithe; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 105.

960. That is, the Day of Providing Water, the eighth of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, when the pilgrims in Mecca prepare for the journey to Minā.

961. A famous traditionist, jurist, and Qur'ān interpreter of the first century. See a very detailed biography in Mujāhid, 39–53.

962. A town and a large province in the Yemen. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, II, 127–29. Kay, 354.

963. One of the earliest theologians and a highly esteemed traditionist. See "Ḥasan al-Baṣrī," *EI*², III, 247–49 (H. Ritter); Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 114–29; al-Sayrawān, 74.

The name of Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Ḥasan's father] was Yasār. It is related that he was taken prisoner [by the Muslims] at Maysān,[964] brought to Medina, and bought by al-Rubayyiʿ bt. al-Naḍir, Anas b. Mālik's paternal aunt.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]: The father of al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was one of the prisoners of Maysān.
[2489] His mother was a servant of Umm Salamah, the Prophet's wife.

According to al-Aṣmaʿī—Ḥammād b. Salamah—ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Judʿān, who knew al-Ḥasan better than anyone: Al-Ḥasan was born a slave.

According to Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn: Al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan's mother was called Khayrah.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—Salamah b. ʿUthmān—[ʿAbdallāh] Ibn ʿAwn—al-Ḥasan: I was fourteen years old when [the caliph] ʿUthmān was killed.

Al-Ḥasan was knowledgeable, skilled in Islamic law, virtuous, and an expert on the readings of the Qurʾān (*qāriʾ*). No one doubts his truthfulness in the matter of [the traditions] he related and transmitted, but he transmitted many traditions in which the chain of authority (*isnād*) did not reach up to the Prophet.[965] He [also] transmitted many [traditions] from unknown people, as well as from written records (*ṣuḥuf*) that came to his hands. These records reached him either directly [from the compilers] or through transmitters.[966]

According to Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Ḥarbī—Nuʿaym—Sufyān—Musāwir al-Warrāq: I asked al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī "From whom do you transmit these traditions?" He said "From a written record (*kitāb*) that I have; I have heard it from someone."[967]

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964. Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 114. Maysān is a town in southern Iraq taken by the Muslims during the conquests; see Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 213–14.

965. *Marāsīl*, sing. *mursal*. Such a tradition was considered inferior to one with a full chain of transmission.

966. *Akhadhahā minhum wa-ʿanhum*, literally, "that he received from them and on their authority." As a rule, the earlier Muslim scholars preferred direct personal contact between master and pupil and were suspicious of those who cited written records; see Schoeler.

967. That is, he wrote it down from dictation, a procedure that made the use of written records acceptable. The *kitāb* of this period is not "a book" in the modern sense of the word but any written record.

According to ʿAmr b. ʿAlī—ʿAffān—Wuhayb—Ayyūb: Al-Ḥasan did not learn traditions [directly] from Abū Hurayrah.

According to ʿAmr b. ʿAlī—Abū Qutaybah—Shuʿbah: I asked Yūnus "Did al-Ḥasan hear [traditions] from Abū Hurayrah?" He said "No, not one word."

According to Ibn Saʿd[968]—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān, concerning the traditions of Samurah [b. Jundab] which al-Ḥasan transmitted: They were taken from written records.

Some people impute to al-Ḥasan Qadarī convictions,[969] whereas others deny this.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr [b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd]—Mughīrah [b. Miqsam]: The most knowledgeable in matters of blood money, judiciary, and battles was [ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl] [2490] al-Shaʿbī. The best expert on prayer, legal alms, and lawful and unlawful practices was Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī.[970] The best expert in matters of rites was ʿAṭāʾ b. Abī Rabāḥ. The most knowledgeable in the field of Qurʾān interpretation was Saʿīd b. Jubayr.[971] The best expert in matters of trade and money was Ibn Sīrīn. But al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was the master of them all.

According to Ibn Saʿd[972]—Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl—Ḥammād b. Zayd—ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd: We learned from al-Ḥasan only in times of anger.[973]

According to ʿAlī b. Sahl—al-Walīd [b. Muslim]—Khulayd: Someone asked al-Ḥasan about a certain issue. Al-Ḥasan discussed it, and the man said "O Abū Saʿīd, the scholars disagree with you." Al-Ḥasan said: "May your mother be bereft of you! [Where] did you see a scholar? By God, the scholars of all the cities are gone. The last of them to have died were Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh in Medina and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar, or ʿAmr, in Mecca. Al-Ṭabarī re-

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968. Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 115.

969. Belief in the freedom of the human will as opposed to belief in predestination. See "Ḳadariyya," *EI*², V, 370. (J. van Ess); Lambton, 33–36; Obermann; Alavi; Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*; Watt, *Free Will*; note 981, below.

970. A famous Kūfan Successor. See Schacht, *Origins*, 233–37 and passim; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, II, 233–40; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 163; al-Sayrawān, 49.

971. A famous Kūfan Successor. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*; X, 358–76; al-Sayrawān, 95.

972. Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 124.

973. The meaning of this is not clear to me. The parallel in Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 124, is identical; the dictionaries, and GLOSSARIUM provide no clue.

marks: The doubt is mine. In my notes I have Ibn ʿUmar. [The last scholar to have died] in al-Baṣrah was Anas b. Mālik, in al-Kūfah ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Awfā, and in Damascus Abū Umāmah [al-Bāhilī, Ṣudayy b. ʿAjlān]."

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—Abū Isḥāq—al-Ḥasan: I went to see al-Ḥajjāj, and he said: "O Ḥasan, what makes you so impertinent to me? In addition [to everything else] you sit in our mosque to give legal opinions!" I said "The covenant by which God pledged mankind." Al-Ḥajjāj then said "And what do you think about Abū Turāb?" meaning ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. I said "What can I say, except what God says?" He retorted "And what does God say?" I answered: "'We appointed the *qiblah*, which thou hast been observing, only that We might know those who would follow the messenger from those who would turn on their heels, though it was a big thing except to those whom Allāh guided'[974] and ʿAlī was one of those directed by God to the right
[2491] way." Al-Ḥajjāj raged and bent down, striking the ground. I went out, and no one stood in my way. Then I went into hiding until he died.

Al-Ḥasan was in hiding nine years.

According to al-Ḥārith—Dāʾūd b. al-Muḥabbar—al-Rabīʿ b. Ṣubayḥ—al-Ḥasan: The [interdiction] of slander does not apply in cases of transgressors openly declaring their transgression or people following devious doctrines[975] or unjust rulers.

According to al-Ḥārith—al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl al-ʿAbdī—[Sufyān] Ibn ʿUyaynah—Abū Mūsā: When al-Ḥasan left al-Ḥajjāj he said: "I come from a little squinting man, a short [person] wagging the few hairs he has and pointing at me with short fingers that rarely knew [the touch of] reins [of the horses led to] holy war. By God, even though they ride non-Arabian horses[976] and climb the pulpits, the dishonor of sin is pendant from their necks. God refuses to do anything but disgrace those who disobey Him; He will not cease

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974. Qur'ān 2:138; trans. Bell, I, 20.

975. *Ahl al-ahwāʾ wa-l-bidaʿ* "the people of passions/[evil] inclinations and innovations" is the name commonly used by Orthodox Islam to depict the sects.

976. *Barādhīn*, sing. *birdhawn*. According to Lane, these are horses of mean breed. Notwithstanding, they appear to have been a status symbol. Among other things, they are counted among the luxuries ʿUmar refused to use; see Ibn al-Jawzī, *Taʾrīkh*, 110.

to teach them lessons [by afflicting] their persons and to use them as examples for the believers. O God, kill him as he killed Your *sunnah*."[977]

According to al-Ḥārith—Khālid b. Khidāsh—ʿUmarah b. Zādhān al-Ṣaydalānī: I saw al-Ḥasan wearing an ʿAdanī garment, streaky and marked with crosses, with an Egyptian shirt from Shaṭāh and sandals like those used by people belonging to the *futuwwah* orders.[978]

According to al-Ḥārith—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad—ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim: Some sweetmeat was brought to al-Ḥasan, and he said to his son Saʿīd "Come, my son, eat from it." Saʿīd said "I am afraid of the consequences," whereupon al-Ḥasan replied "O my son, [this is] the best wheat [mixed] with bees' honey and pure butter; no bad consequence can ever result from this," or [perhaps] he said "no evil can ever result from this."

According to Yūnus—Mūsā—Sahl b. Ḥuṣayn b. Muslim al-Bāhilī: I sent [a message] to ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan, saying: "Send me the writings of your father." He sent me [a reply] saying: "When al-Ḥasan had fallen ill he told me 'Collect [my writings] for me.' I did this, not knowing what he would do with them, and brought them to him. He then told the maid to kindle the oven and ordered [the writings] to be burned, except one notebook." [ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan] sent me that [notebook].[979] I later met him, and he told me personally the same [story] the messenger had conveyed to me on his behalf. [2492]

According to ʿAlī b. Sahl—Ḍamrah b. Rabīʿah—Ibn Shawdhab: Al-Ḥasan died in the year 110/April 16, 728-April 4, 729, whereas Ibn Sīrīn died a hundred days later.

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977. On the "killing" of the *Sunna*, i.e., the customs and practices of the Prophet, see Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 31–37.

978. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 126. *Ḥadhw al-fityān* could also mean "sandals like those used by young people." For the orders, widespread in medieval Muslim urban communities, see "*Futuwwah*," *EI*², II, 961–65 (C. Cahen).

979. "Notebook" is my rendering of *ṣaḥīfah*, whereas "writings" is my translation of *kutub* (sing. *kitāb*), normally rendered as "books"; see note 965, above. This passage, like many others describing the burning or effacing of early writings, is pertinent to the discussion about the existence of early writings; see Landau-Tasseron, "Reconstruction" and the bibliography there; and on *ṣaḥīfah*, Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 22–24; Aḥmad, 256–69, 318–26; "Ṣaḥīfa," *EI*², VIII, 834–35 (A. Ghēdira).

According to Abū al-Sā'ib—Ibn Idrīs—Shu'bah: Al-Ḥasan died in the year 110; there were a hundred days between his and Ibn Sīrīn's death, and al-Ḥasan died first.

According to Ibn Sa'd[980]—Mu'ādh b. Mu'ādh: Al-Ḥasan was ten years older than Muḥammad b. Sīrīn.

According to 'Alī b. Muslim al-Ṭūsī—Sa'īd b. 'Āmir: Al-Ḥasan was born in the year 21/December 10, 641–November 29, 642, and died in the year 110. A Syrian by the name of al-Naḍr b. 'Amr, who was in charge of the prayers, said the prayer over his bier. He reached the age of eighty-nine years.

According to [Sufyān] Ibn Wakī'—his father—Ḥammād b. Zayd—Ayyūb: I quarreled with al-Ḥasan about predestination (*al-qadar*) to the point that I threatened to [denounce] him to the authorities.

According to Abū 'Uthmān al-Muqaddamī—al-Farawī: I heard Mālik say: "We hold Ibn Sīrīn in higher esteem than al-Ḥasan." I asked: "O Abū 'Abdallāh, for what reason?" He said: "Al-Ḥasan was led astray by the doctrine of [free will held by the] Qadariyyah."[981]

[2493] According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—al-Ḥakam b. Bashīr—Zakariyyā' b. Sallām: Someone came to al-Ḥasan and told him that he had divorced his wife [by uttering the formula "you are divorced"] three times. Al-Ḥasan said "You have disobeyed your Lord and alienated your wife." The man said "God had decreed this for me." Al-Ḥasan, who was eloquent, said "God had not decreed (*qaḍā*)," that is, "God had not ordered [this]," whereupon he recited the following verse: "Your Lord had ordered (*qaḍā*) that you worship no one but Him."[982]

According to Ismā'īl b. Mas'ūd al-Jaḥdarī—al-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān—Qurrah b. Khālid—Abū Rabāḥ b. 'Abīdah: As far as I

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980. Ibn Sa'd, VII/1, 129.

981. The term Qadariyyah, derived from *qadar* "predestination," was applied by the holders of the determinist view to their opponents, i.e., the supporters of the doctrine of free will, among whom al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was counted. Nondeterminists applied the term to determinists. Eventually the term came to refer to the doctrine of free will. It is commonly assumed that the doctrine favored by the authorities of the time, the Umayyads, was that of the *Murji'ah*, hence the threat to denounce al-Ḥasan to the authorities. See Cook, *Early Dogma*, 107–52; note 969, above.

982. Qur'ān 17:24. The verb *qaḍā* means both "to decree" and "to order."

am concerned, the most worrying thing about al-Ḥasan is his view about predestination, by which he brings discord among the people.

Muḥammad b. Sīrīn.[983]

His *kunyah* was Abū Bakr, and he was a client of Anas b. Mālik. It was reported that he was deaf.

According to Ibn Sa'd[984]—Khālid b. Khidāsh—Ḥammād b. Zayd—Anas b. Sīrīn: Muḥammad b. Sīrīn was born two years before the end of 'Uthmān's caliphate, whereas I was born one year later.

According to Bakkār b. Muḥammad: Muḥammad b. Sīrīn fathered thirty children, all of them from the same woman, but none survived except 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad.

Wahb b. Munabbih b. Kāmil b. Sayj.[985]

He was a descendant of [one of] the Persians who had been dispatched by Khusraw to the Yemen to fight the Abyssinians who ruled there (*al-abnā'*). [These Persians] ousted the Abyssinians and governed the Yemen and its provinces.

Wahb's *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh. He was one of those who read the books of the prophets and knew the history of the ancients.

Wahb lived in Ṣan'ā', as did also his brothers.[986] [2494]

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī] and 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Idrīs:[987] Wahb died in Ṣan'ā' in the year 110/April 16,

983. "Ibn Sīrīn," *EI*², III, 947–48 (T. Fahd); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 354; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 210; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 143.

984. Ibn Sa'd, VII/1, 140.

985. Of Persian-Yemeni origin, one of the earliest storytellers and historians whose writings have come down to us, author of a biography of the Prophet preceding that of Ibn Isḥāq. He is said to have met many Companions and to have been closely associated with 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās for many years. See Khoury, *Wahb*, I, 189–316; Krenkow, "The Two Oldest Books," 230–34; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 122–35 and passim; al-Rāzī, 367–68, 372–411, 609; al-Ja'dī, 57; Nuwayhiḍ, II, 721.

986. Wahb had several brothers, the most famous being Hammām b. Munabbih. Also known to the Yemeni biographer al-Rāzī are Ma'qil the jurist and Ghaylān; see al-Rāzī, 370–71, 415–17, 421, 585, 601, 607; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 134; p. 322, below.

987. A descendant of Wahb and transmitter of his material; see Khoury, *Wahb*, I, 184–88, 291–92 and passim.

728–April 4, 729, at the beginning of the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. According to others he died in the year 114/March 3, 732–February 20, 733.

Those Who Died in the Year 111 (April 5, 729–March 25, 730)

ʿAṭiyyah b. Saʿd b. Junādah al-ʿAwfī, of the Jadīlah of Qays.[988]

His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥasan.

According to Ibn Saʿd[989]—Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAṭiyyah: Saʿd b. Junādah came to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in al-Kūfah and said [to him] "O Commander of the Faithful, a son was born to me; [please] give him a name." ʿAlī said "This is God's gift," so the boy was called ʿAṭiyyah (that is, "a gift").

His mother was Greek.

ʿAṭiyyah participated in the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath[990] then fled to Fārs. Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī[991] [the following instructions]: "Send for ʿAṭiyyah; if he curses ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, [fine];[992] if not, flog him 400 times and shave his head and beard." Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim sent for ʿAṭiyyah and read al-Ḥajjāj's letter to him. ʿAṭiyyah refused to do [as requested], so Muḥammad had him flogged 400 times and had his head and beard shaven.

When Qutaybah b. Muslim[993] became governor of Khurāsān ʿAṭiyyah went to him and stayed in Khurāsān until ʿUmar b.

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988. Mentioned as a Shīʿī transmitter, al-Quhpāʾī, IV, 141, and a Qurʾān interpreter; Nuwayhiḍ, I, 347; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 366. Jadīlah was the name of several tribal groups, one of them belonging to the northern confederation of Qays ʿAylān; see Caskel, II, 252, and p. 276, below.

989. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 212–13.

990. A grandson of the Kindī chief al-Ashʿath b. Qays. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath was one of the tribal nobles (*ashrāf*), governor of Sīstān, and an army general. He led a revolt against the Umayyads during the years 700–3. See Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 67–70; Crone, *Slaves*, 110–11, no. 21; "Ibn al-Ashʿath," *EI*², III, 715–19 (L. Veccia-Vaglieri); Sayed.

991. One of al-Ḥajjāj's relatives, appointed by him as a military commander and governor of Sind. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 1200, 1257, 1271, 1275; Crone, *Slaves*, 135 no. 25.

992. See p. 212, above. Here the curse is used as a test of loyalty to the Umayyads.

993. A Syrian of northern descent, appointed governor of Rayy and later of Khurāsān, by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. He was killed in an attempt to rebel against the

Hubayrah[994] was appointed governor of Iraq. ʿAṭiyyah then wrote to ʿUmar, asking permission to return, and was granted it. ʿAṭiyyah went to al-Kūfah, where he remained until his death in the year 111.

ʿAṭiyyah transmitted many traditions; he was reliable, if God so wills.

Those Who Died in the Year 112 (March 26, 730–March 14, 731)

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Saʿīd al-Khudrī.[995]

Abū Saʿīd's name was Saʿd b. Mālik b. Sinān.

There is disagreement over ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's *kunyah*. According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī], it was Abū Muḥammad. [2495]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Saʿīd died in Medina in the year 112, at the age of seventy-seven. He had transmitted [traditions] from his father.

Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[996]

His mother was Umm ʿAbdallāh bt. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz—Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm b. ʿAbbād b. Ḥunayf: I saw Abū Jaʿfar leaning on a folded Persian mantle in the mosque.[997] Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī] said: The noble and virtuous among us, who frequent the mosque, still practice this. They lean on folded Persian mantles other than the mantles and cloaks they wear.

According to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūnus—Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah—Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad: I heard Muḥammad b. ʿAlī mention to

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Umayyad caliph Sulaymān. See Crone, *Slaves*, 136–38 no. 33; "Ḳutayba b. Muslim," *EI*², V, 541–42 (C. E. Bosworth).

994. Of the northern tribe of Fazārah, a branch of the confederation of Ghaṭafān. See "Fazāra," *EI*², II, 873 (W. M. Watt); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 255–59. He was an army general and governor of Iraq and Khurāsān under the Marwānids; see Crone, *Slaves*, 107.

995. Son of the eminent Anṣārī Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 357; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 253; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 117.

996. That is, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the fifth imām according to the Imāmī and Ismāʿīlī Shīʿah. See "Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bāqir," *EI*², VII, 397–400 (E. Kohlberg); Jafrī, 248–55; Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 202–3; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 103.

997. On the importance of the mantle, *ṭaylasān*, see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Aḥādīth al-ḥisān*.

Fāṭimah, daughter of Ḥusayn, some [property] of the Prophet's bequest,[998] saying "This one yields for me fifty-eight [. . .]"[999]

According to Ibn ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: According to our version, he died in the year 117/January 31, 735–January 19, 736, at the age of seventy-three.

According to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Abū Nuʿaym [al-Faḍl b. Dukayn]: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Abū Jaʿfar died in the year 114/March 3, 732–February 20, 733.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾīnī: Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn died in the year 117 at the age of sixty-three.

[2496] According to Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn: Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn died in the year 118/January 20, 736–January 7, 737.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥaḍramī—Suwayd b. Saʿīd—Mufaḍḍal b. ʿAbdallāh—Abān b. Taghlib—Abū Jaʿfar [Muḥammad b. ʿAlī]: Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh came to me at school and told me "Uncover your belly." I uncovered my belly, and he kissed it, saying "The Prophet told me to convey his greetings to you."

Al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtaybah.[1000]

Opinions about his *kunyah* differ. Some say it is Abū Muḥammad. However, according to Ibn Saʿd[1001]—al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—Abū Isrāʾīl: Al-Ḥakam b. ʿUtaybah's *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

There is also disagreement over [the tribe] to which he was affiliated [as client]. According to Ibn Saʿd he was a client of the Kindah. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī] said: Al-Ḥakam b.

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998. *Ṣadaqat al-nabī.* The status of the property left behind by the Prophet was disputed. Whereas his family demanded that it should be considered as inheritance, the rulers insisted that prophets do not leave inheritance and that their property should become *waqf* or *ṣadaqah* to be used for charitable purposes. The discussion had political implications for authority after the Prophet's death; see Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 102.

999. *Hādhihi tuwaffī lī thamāniyan* (sic) *wa-khamsīn wa-māta lahā.* The text (also Dār al-Fikr, 648, Cairo, 641) is obviously garbled, as are the variants in Ibn Saʿd, V, 238, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 312. In the latter this confusion led to a further misunderstanding. Perhaps the text should read *wa-mā talāhā* "and what follows," in the sense of "and more." Such a copyist's error is possible if the *alif* was at some point written above, rather than after, the *lām* (as in the word *hādhā*).

1000. Not to be confused with the judge al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyaynah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 372; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 162.

1001. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 231.

'Utaybah was a Kindī, but some say he was an Asadī, that is, a client of that tribe.

Al-Ḥakam b. 'Utaybah was erudite [especially in] religious law and transmitted many traditions.

According to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣāliḥ—Nūḥ b. Darrāj—Ibn Abī Laylā: I was visiting al-Ḥakam when Dā'ūd al-Awdī came to him and said "People allege that you denigrate Abū Bakr and 'Umar." He retorted "I do not, but I contend that 'Alī is better than they are."[1002]

According to Abū al-Sā'ib—['Abd al-Mun'im] Ibn Idrīs—Shu'bah [b. al-Ḥajjāj]: Al-Ḥakam b. 'Utaybah died in the year 115/February 21, 733–February 9, 734.

According to Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl—Abū Nu'aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn: Al-Ḥakam b. 'Utaybah died in the year 115.

Sa'īd b. Yasār Abū al-Ḥubāb.[1003]

He was a client of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. He lived in Medina and died there in the year 117/January 31, 735–January 19, 736.

Muḥammad b. Ka'b b. Ḥayyān b. Salīm b. Asad al-Quraẓī.[1004]

He was an ally of the Aws. His *kunyah* was Abū Ḥamzah. [2497]

Opinions differ as to the time of his death. According to Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl—Abū Nu'aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn: He died in the year 108/May 8, 726–April 27, 727.

[Muḥammad b. Ka'b] was knowledgeable, virtuous, and acceptable. He transmitted many [traditions].

Qatādah b. Di'āmah al-Sadūsī.[1005]

1002. The evaluation of the first two caliphs, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, versus the fourth caliph, the Prophet's cousin 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, played a crucial role in the debate between Sunnīs and Shī'īs around the legitimacy of rulers in Islam. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ṣarīḥ al-sunnah*, 23–24; al-Lālikā'ī, VII, 1363–72; al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, 74–75; al-Khallāl, *al-Sunnah*, 371–410.

1003. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 363; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 118.

1004. A convert of a Medinan Jewish tribe annihilated by the Prophet, the Banū Qurayẓah. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 363; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 264; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 107; F. Sezgin, I, 32.

1005. A Baṣran of the Sadūs, a branch of the Shaybān tribe; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 317–18. He was considered an expert on religious law and the Qur'ān. See "Ḳatāda b. Di'āma," *EI*², IV, 748 (C. Pellat); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 363; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 213; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 154; al-Sayrawān, 266; Ibn al-Jazarī, II, 25.

His *kunyah* was Abū al-Khaṭṭāb. He was blind.

Qatādah was a *ḥāfiẓ*[1006] and a clever person.

According to Ibn Maʿīn: Qatādah died in the year 117/January 31, 735–February 19, 736.

ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[1007]

His mother was Zurʿah bt. Mishraḥ b. Maʿdi-Karib b. Walīʿah b. Shuraḥbīl b. Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥujr al-Qird b. al-Ḥārith al-Wallādah b. ʿAmr b. Muʿāwiyah b. al-Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiyah b. Thawr b. Muratti' b. Thawr, that is, Kindah.[1008]

His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

It was reported that he was born the night ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the Commander of the Faithful, was killed, in Ramaḍān 40/February 661. He therefore was given both the name and the *kunyah* of [ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib], that is, Abū al-Ḥasan. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān said to him: "By God, I shall not tolerate it that you would use both the name and the *kunyah* [of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib]." So he changed his *kunyah* and made it Abū Muḥammad.[1009]

This ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh was the youngest of his father's sons. It was reported that he was the most comely and handsome man in the Quraysh. He was [also] the one most dedicated to prayer among them and was nicknamed al-Sajjād (the habitual prostrator or the worshiper) because of his piety.

Opinions differ as to the time of his death. According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās died in the year 118/January 20, 736–January 7, 737.

1006. A technical term denoting a high degree of knowledge in the prophetic tradition. Definitions of the term vary; see al-Sayrawān, 37–38.

1007. Head of the ʿAbbāsid movement in his time and ancestor of the ʿAbbasid caliphs. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 86–87, 159–61; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 239; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 107; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 70–71; Ibn Qudāmah, 160; *Akhbār al-dawlah*, 134–48.

1008. The text (as well as Ibn Saʿd, V, 229) has *wa-huwa kindī*, but the reading must be *wa-huwa kindah*, because Thawr, the tribe's eponym, was nicknamed Kindah; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 425.

1009. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 1592. And see note 113, above. The matter of genealogy and family relations within the Quraysh was of crucial importance in Umayyad propaganda, which is reflected in the stance taken by ʿAbd al-Malik; see Sharon, "The Umayyads."

Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān.[1010]

His *kunyah* was Abū Ismāʿīl.

Ḥammād was a client of Ibrāhīm b. Abī Mūsā al-Ashʿarī. He was one of the people sent by Muʿāwiyah to Abū Mūsā at Dūmat al-Jandal.[1011] [2498]

Ḥammād was an expert on religious law.

According to Abū al-Sāʾib—[ʿAbd al-Munʿim] Ibn Idrīs—Shuʿbah [b. al-Ḥajjāj]: Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān died in the year 120/December 29, 737–December 17, 738.

Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[1012]

Zayd's mother was a concubine (*umm walad*).

I have told the story of Zayd's death in my book entitled *the Supplemented* (*al-Mudhayyal*).

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Muḥammad b. Saʿd[1013]—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar: Zayd b. ʿAlī came to Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik[1014] and brought forward the matter of his many debts, as well as [other] needs. Hishām did not fulfill any of his needs. [Moreover], he was sulky with him and spoke harsh words to him. ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar related: Sālim, Hishām's client and chamberlain, told me that Zayd b. ʿAlī came out of Hishām's presence twisting his moustache with his hand, and saying "No one ever loved [this] life without having to be humiliated [for it]." He then departed, heading for al-Kūfah, where he rose in rebellion. Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaqafī[1015] was at that time governor of Iraq on behalf of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

1010. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 365; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 162; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 178.

1011. The reference is to the arbitration following the battle of Ṣiffīn between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah, in the year 36/657.

1012. The fifth imām according to the Zaydī Shīʿah and the eponym of the sect. See van Arendonck, 28–33 and passim; Jafri, 247–48, 251–54; Ṭabāṭabāʾi, 76–77; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 1668–88, 1698–1715; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 104–5; al-Amīn, XXXIII, 37–132; Ḥasan.

1013. Ibn Saʿd, V, 239.

1014. The tenth Umayyad caliph (105–25/724–43); see Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 81.

1015. Governor of Iraq under the Marwānids. He was a relative (not "a parent," as stated by Zetterstéen) of the famous general and statesman al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. See "Yūsuf b. ʿOmar," *EI*[1], IV, 1177–78 (K. V. Zetterstéen); al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 442–44.

Yūsuf sent troops to fight Zayd b. ʿAlī, and those who had rebelled in support of Zayd deserted him during the fighting. Zayd was killed and crucified.

Sālim reported: I later told Hishām about Zayd's statement the day he had come out of his presence, and Hishām said: "May your mother be bereft of you! Why didn't you tell me this before? A mere 500,000 dirhams would have satisfied him, and this would have been easier for us than what became of him."[1016]

[2499] According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: When the ʿAbbāsids came to power ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās[1017] resolved upon [doing something about] Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. He gave the order, and Hishām was dug out of his grave. ʿAbdallāh had him crucified and said "This is [done] in retaliation for what he did to Zayd b. ʿAlī."[1018]

Zayd was killed on Monday, 2 Ṣafar 120/January 29, 738 or 122/740, at the age of forty-two, as was reported. He had lived in Medina and was killed in al-Kūfah.

Salamah b. Kuhayl al-Ḥaḍramī.[1019]

Salamah was an inhabitant of al-Kūfah, where he died on the last day of the year 121/December 6, 739. Some say that he died in the year 122, when ʿAlī b. Zayd was killed.[1020]

Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh al-Aṣghar b. Shihāb b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb b. Murrah.[1021]

1016. The report has an obvious anti-Zaydī bias. Zayd, who was out to fight the oppressors (i.e., the Umayyads) and retrieve the rights of the family of the Prophet, is here portrayed as a wordly, venal figure.

1017. Uncle of the first and second ʿAbbāsid caliphs and commander of the ʿAbbasid army. He rose in rebellion against his nephew al-Manṣūr, claiming the caliphate for himself, but was defeated; see Sharon, *Revolt*, 235–38, 280, 287–88.

1018. On the ʿAbbāsids as patrons of the ʿAlids, see Sharon, *Revolt*, 135–37 and passim; note 113, above.

1019. Of the southern group, the Ḥaḍramawt. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 163; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 77.

1020. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 221.

1021. Known as Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (died 124/742), an early Medinan scholar and transmitter of prophetic tradition and historical reports, mainly about the Prophet. See Horovitz, 1928, 33–50; Duri, "al-Zuhrī"; idem, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 95–121; Abdur Rahman; al-Ḍārī; Lecker, "Biographical Notes"; Muṣṭafā, I, 157–58.

His mother was ʿĀʾishah bt. ʿAbdallāh al-Akbar b. Shihāb, and his *kunyah* was Abū Bakr.

Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhrī was an expert on the campaigns (*maghāzī*) of the Prophet and the history of the Quraysh and the Anṣār. He was a transmitter (*rāwiyah*) of traditions from the Prophet and his Companions.[1022]

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[1023]

His mother was al-ʿĀliyah bt. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

The offspring of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī are the following: ʿAbdallāh al-Aṣghar, that is, Abū al-ʿAbbās, the [first] ʿAbbāsid caliph;[1024] Dāʾūd b. Muḥammad; ʿUbaydallāh; and Rayṭah, who died without having been married.[1025] Their mother was Rayṭah bt. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Madān b. al-Dayyān, of the [2500]
Banū al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb.[1026]

[Muḥammad b. ʿAlī's children from other women are] (1) ʿAbdallāh al-Akbar, that is, Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, who ascended the caliphate after his brother Abū al-ʿAbbās[1027] and whose mother was a concubine; (2) Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, that is, al-Imām, whom the members of the ʿAbbāsid movement used to frequent and whose instructions they used to follow,[1028] his mother was a concubine; (3) Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad and (4) al-ʿĀliyah bt. Muḥammad, whose mother was Umm al-Ḥakam bt. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; (5) Mūsā b.

1022. Or, "A transmitter of accounts of the life of the Prophet and his Companions."

1023. The initiator of the ʿAbbāsid movement and founder of the dynasty. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 123–28, 134 and passim; Ibn Qudāmah, 160–61; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 71–72, 80–87; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 207; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 372; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 312.

1024. Named al-Saffāḥ, reigned between 132–36/749–54. See "Abū al-ʿAbbās," *EI*², I, 103 (S. M. Moscati); Kennedy, 128.

1025. See GLOSSARIUM, s.v. *b-r-z*.

1026. A large confederation of Yemeni tribes, prominent in the ʿAbbāsid revolution in al-Kūfah; see Sharon, *Black Banners*, 142–43.

1027. Considered the real founder of the ʿAbbāsid state, reigned 36–58/754–75; see "Al-Manṣūr," *EI*², VI, 427–28 (H. Kennedy).

1028. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 86, 174, and passim; idem, *Revolt*, 52, 140, 225, and passim.

Muḥammad, whose mother was a concubine; (6) al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, whose mother was a concubine; (7) Ismāʿīl; (8) Yaʿqūb, that is, Abū al-Asbāṭ; and (9) Lubābah bt. Muḥammad, who was married to Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī and died without children. All these were born to various mothers.

According to al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. [ʿAbdallāha b.] al-ʿAbbās died in al-Sharāt[1029] in Syria in the year 125/November 4, 742–October 24, 743, during the caliphate of al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān,[1030] at the age of sixty.

Abū Hāshim ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah had chosen Muḥammad b. ʿAlī as his heir and handed his books over to him, so that Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was Abū Hāshim's heir (*waṣiyy*). Abū Hāshim said to him: "This matter [of the caliphate] will remain among your descendants only." Consequently, the Shīʿah who used to frequent Abū Hāshim and attend his presence transferred [their allegiance] to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī.[1031]

Thābit al-Bunānī b. Aslam.[1032]

His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad, and he belonged to the Saʿd b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib. According to Hishām [Ibn al-Kalbī]—his father: Bunānah was the clan's ancestress.[1033]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]: Thābit al-Bunānī died in the year 127/October 13, 744–October 2, 745. He had lived in al-Baṣrah, where he [also] died. He was reliable (*thiqah*) and transmitted many traditions.

1029. The mountainous area south of the Dead Sea, where the ʿAbbāsid family settled toward the end of the eighth century. From their dwelling place in the village of Ḥumaymah they conducted the ʿAbbāsid movement; see Sharon, *Black Banners*, 120.

1030. The eleventh Umayyad caliph, 125–26/743–44; see Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 90–94.

1031. Abū Hāshim was the leader of the Hāshimiyyah movement after the death of his father Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah. This account served as the basis of the ʿAbbāsid claim to rule, see Sharon, *Black Banners*, 82–98, 121–40. The books mentioned here apparently symbolize the knowledge that, according to the Shīʿah, ʿAlī inherited from the Prophet and that now lawfully passes into the hands of the ʿAbbāsids. Alternatively the word could be read *kitāb* (assuming a pendant *alif* above the *tāʾ*), referring to Abū Hāshim's testament.

1032. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 214; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 45. He was considered an expert on tradition (*ḥāfiẓ*); see al-Sayrawān, 69.

1033. Saʿd b. Luʾayy was a clan attributed, though hesitantly, to the Quraysh. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 172–73; Ibn Qudāmah, 492.

ʿAbdallāh b. Dīnār.[1034]

He was a client of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He died in the year 127. [2501]
He had lived in Medina, where he [also] died. He transmitted many traditions and was reliable (*thiqah*).

Wahb b. Kaysān.[1035]

His *kunyah* was Abū Nuʿaym. He was a client of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. He died in the year 127.

Bukayr b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ashajj.[1036]

He was a client of al-Miswar b. Makhramah al-Zuhrī.[1037] His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh. He died in the year 127 in Medina.

Mālik b. Dīnār.[1038]

His *kunyah* was Abū Yaḥyā. He was a client of a woman of the Banū Sāmah b. Luʾayy.[1039]

According to Ibn ʿĀʾishah: Mālik b. Dīnār's origins were in Kābul.[1040] He was a pious man, an expert on the prophetic tradition (*ḥāfiẓ*), and a Qurʾān reader. He used to make Qurʾān copies [for a living].

Jābir b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī.[1041]

He had Shīʿī inclinations. He lived in al-Kūfah, where he died in the year 128/October 3, 745–September 21, 746.[1042]

1034. Considered a *ḥāfiẓ* (an expert on the prophetic tradition). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 263; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 129; al-Sayrawān, 116.

1035. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 398; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 260; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 130.

1036. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 369, 403; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 263; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 299.

1037. Perhaps he was rather a client of the family, not of al-Miswar himself, who died in 64/683.

1038. "Mālik b. Dīnār," *EI*², VI, 266–67 (C. Pellat); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 418; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 216; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 147; Ibn al-Jazarī, II, 36.

1039. A clan said to be of Qurashī origin; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 172–74.

1040. The region in eastern Afghanistan. Mālik's father came from there as a prisoner; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 13.

1041. The tribe Juʿfiyy belonged to the southern confederation Saʿd al-ʿAshīrah; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 409. Jābir was a traditionist accused by Shīʿīs and Sunnīs alike of telling lies. See Ibn Ḥazm, 410; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 398; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 163; al-Quhpāʾī, II, 7–11; al-Kashshī, 169–74.

1042. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 240.

According to Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān al-Tanūkhī—Ibrāhīm b. Mahdī al-Maṣṣīṣī—Ismāʿīl b. ʿUlayyah—Shuʿbah: Jābir and Muḥammad b. Isḥāq were most reliable (*ṣadūq*).[1043]

According to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Bishr al-Naysābūrī—Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah: Jābir al-Juʿfī believed in the Return [of the hidden Imam] (*rajʿah*).

According to Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn: Jābir al-Juʿfī died in the year 132/August 20, 749–August 8, 750.

According to al-ʿAbbās al-Dūrī—Abū Yaḥyā al-Ḥimmānī ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bashmīr[1044]—Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān b. Thābit: I never saw a greater liar than Jābir al-Juʿfī.

According to al-ʿAbbās—Yaḥyā b. Yaʿlā al-Muḥāribī—Zāʾidah: Jābir al-Juʿfī was a liar who believed in the Return.

[2502] ʿĀṣim b. Abī al-Najūd al-Asadī, that is, ʿĀṣim b. Bahdalah.[1045]

He was a client of the Banū Jadhīmah b. Mālik b. Naṣr b. Quʿayn b. Asad.[1046]

According to Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—Abū al-Aḥwaṣ: his *kunyah* was Abū Bakr.[1047]

ʿĀṣim was the Qurʾān teacher of al-Kūfah after Yaḥyā b. Waththāb.

He was a reliable [transmitter] (*thiqah*), but he erred a lot.[1048]

He lived in al-Kūfah where he died in the year 128/October 3, 745–September 21, 746.

Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī.[1049]

1043. Ibn Isḥāq's reliability was a matter of dispute. See Landau-Tasseron, "Sayf," 8, and p. 252, below.

1044. The Dār al-Fikr edition, 653, has "Bashīr"; see also de Goeje, p. 2501 n. *d*.

1045. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 398; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 159; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 261.

1046. A tribe of northern origin. See ʿAlī; Landau-Tasseron, "Asad."

1047. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 224.

1048. That is, he did not intend to lie, which is enough to classify him as a reliable transmitter (*thiqah*).

1049. A famous Kūfan jurist of the southern tribe al-Sabīʿ, a branch of the Hamdān confederation. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 395; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 162; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 178; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 602; F. Sezgin, I, 283.

His name was ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Dhī Yaḥmad b. al-Sabīʿ b. Sabuʿ b. Ṣaʿb b. Muʿāwiyah b. Kathīr b. Mālik b. Jusham b. Ḥāshid b. Jusham b. Khaywān b. Nawf b. Hamdān.[1050]

According to al-Aswad b. ʿĀmir—Sharīk: Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī was born during the caliphate of ʿUthmān. Sharīk may have said: Three years before its end. Abū Isḥāq transmitted many traditions and was most reliable (*ṣadūq*). He was [also] a Qur'ān reader.

According to Abū Nuʿaym: Abū Isḥāq reached the age of ninety-eight or ninety-nine and died in the year 128.

Abū Isḥāq al-Shaybānī.[1051]

His name was Sulaymān b. Abī Sulaymān, a client of the Banū Shaybān.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]:[1052] He lived in al-Kūfah, where he died in the year 129/September 22, 746–September 10, 747.

Maṭar b. Ṭahmān al-Warrāq.[1053]

He was from Khurāsān, a client of ʿIlbā' al-Sulamī.[1054]

Some hold that he was a weak [transmitter]. His *kunyah* was Abū Rajā'.

According to Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān: Maṭar b. Ṭahmān died in the year 125/November 4, 742–October 24, 743.

Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr al-Ṭā'ī.[1055] [2503]

His *kunyah* was Abū Naṣr.

1050. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 219, has Khayrān, but the correct form is Khaywān, as indicated by an anonymous hand on the manuscript (see de Goeje, 2502 n. *b*) and recorded in many other sources; see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 514; the manuscripts of Ibn Ḥazm (erroneously corrected by the editor; see 392, n. 7); al-Samʿānī, II, 433. See also p. 151 and note 908, above.

1051. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 445; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 165; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 178. Shaybān was a name of several branches of the large northern confederation of Bakr b. Wā'il (Rabīʿah), see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 317, 321.

1052. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 241.

1053. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 411; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 215; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 153.

1054. Much effort was spent in tracing this individual but to no avail.

1055. A Baṣran traditionist of the southern tribe Ṭayyi', who settled in al-Yamāmah. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 215; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 304.

According to ʿAlī b. al-Madyanī—Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd [al-Qaṭṭān]—Shuʿbah [b. al-Ḥajjāj]: The traditions [transmitted by] Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr are better than those [transmitted by Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī.

According to ʿAbd al-Razzāq—Maʿmar [b. Rāshid]: Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr was requested to swear allegiance to the Umayyad caliph [of the time], but he refused, whereupon he was whipped and treated like Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab.

Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr made extensive use of *tadlīs*.[1056]

It was reported that Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr died in the year 129/September 22, 746–September 10, 747. He had lived in al-Yamāmah, where he [also] died.

Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Hudayr b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥārithah b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murrah.[1057]

His mother was a concubine, and his *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir fathered ʿUmar, ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Munkadir, ʿAbdallāh, Yūsuf, Ibrāhīm, and Dāʾūd, whose mother was a concubine.

Some trace Muḥammad's genealogy as follows: Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Hudayr b. Muḥriz b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā.

It was reported that Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir died in Medina, where he had lived, in the year 130/September 11, 747–August 30, 748 or 131/August 31, 748–August 19, 749.

Abū al-Ḥuwayrith.[1058]

His name was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwiyah. [Sufyān] Ibn ʿUyaynah transmitted [traditions] from him.

According to Yaḥyā: He was a Medinan and a reliable transmitter (*thiqah*).

According to Muḥammad b. Bakkār—Abū Maʿshar [Najīḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān]—Abū al-Ḥuwayrith ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿāwi-

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1056. A term referring to various kinds of tampering with the chains of transmission (*isnād*) of traditions, e.g., hiding the name of one's source, citing someone without having directly heard him, or changing the name of a source in the chain; see al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, 103–12.

1057. Of the Qurashī clan the Banū Taym, known for both piety and generosity. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 418; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 268; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 107; ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, 161–62.

1058. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 422; al-Dūlābī, I, 160–61.

yah: God spoke to Moses within the measure that was endurable to him. Had God spoken all His words, Moses would not have endured it. Moses stayed forty nights; no one saw him but was struck dead by the light of the Lord of the Universe.[1059]

Abū al-Ḥuwayrith lived in Medina, where he died in the year 130.

Yazīd b. Rūmān.[1060] [2504]

He was a client of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām's family.

Yazīd was knowledgeable on the campaigns (*maghāzī*) of the Prophet and a reliable transmitter (*thiqah*). He was an inhabitant of Medina, where he died in the year 130.

Shuʿayb b. al-Ḥabḥāb.[1061]

He was an inhabitant of al-Baṣrah, where he died in the year 130. His *kunyah* was Abū Ṣāliḥ. He was one of the clients of the Banū Rāfid, a clan of the Maʿāwil who belonged to the Azd [confederation].[1062]

Manṣūr b. Zādhān.[1063]

He lived in al-Mubārak, [a place] situated nine *farsakhs*[1064] away from Wāsiṭ.

Manṣūr used to read fast and could not slow down, [even when] he wanted to do so.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Manṣūr b. Zādhān died in the year 129/September 22, 746–September 10, 747, [but] according to Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn it was in the year 127/October 13, 744–October 2, 745.

1059. In Muslim tradition Moses is said to have been the only prophet to whom God spoke directly, because of which he was nicknamed *kalīm allāh* "the one spoken to by God." See "Mūsā," *EI*², VII, 638–40 (D. B. MacDonald).

1060. A traditionist and Qur'ān reader. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 418; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 260; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 216; Ibn al-Jazarī, II, 381.

1061. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 418; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 156.

1062. Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 18, has Zāfir instead of Rāfid. See al-Samʿānī, V, 335, for the Maʿāwil.

1063. A client of a Thaqafī, known for his piety and asceticism, reportedly mourned not only by Muslims but also by Jews, Christians, and Magians. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 217; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 279; Abū Nuʿaym, III, 57–62.

1064. That is, about twenty-seven miles.

Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir al-Sulamī.[1065]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAttāb. He was a meritorious person, godly, religious, reliable, and trustworthy.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr [b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd]: [Once], Manṣūr fasted sixty [days] and prayed the nights, until he fell ill.[1066]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr: Manṣūr used to wear shabby clothes and skins. You could perceive the water running down inside his chest when he was drinking during illness.

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr: Manṣūr was seen [by someone] in a dream after he had died. He was asked "O Abū ʿAttāb, how are you?" He answered "I almost met God, for [I had] acted as a prophet."[1067]

According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr: [ʿUmar] Ibn Hubayrah[1068] wanted to appoint Manṣūr as judge, but he refused. Ibn Hubayrah put him under arrest for two months, then released him and presented him with a gift, which Manṣūr accepted.[1069]

[2505] Manṣūr performed the pilgrimage together with his son, he and al-Qāsim.

According to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṣudāʾī—Khalaf b. Tamīm—Zāʾidah: Manṣūr b. al-Muʿtamir fasted a whole year, praying the nights and fasting the days. He used to weep in the nights, and his mother would ask him "My son, did you murder anybody?" and he would reply "I know better than anyone what I have myself done." In the morning he would make up his eyes with kohl, anoint his head, and shine his lips with oil and go out to meet people.

Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, governor of al-Kūfah, wanted to appoint him as

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1065. A Kūfan jurist, ascetic, and Qurʾān reader of the northern tribe Sulaym. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 429; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 164; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 263; Ibn al-Jazarī, II, 314–15. For the tribe, see Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*.

1066. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 235.

1067. Or, "I almost met God with prophetic acts [to my credit]." The question of meeting God or seeing Him in the hereafter was debated by Muslim theologians; see, e.g., al-Lālikāʾī, III, 454–523.

1068. A general and governor under the Marwānids; see Crone, *Slaves*, 107.

1069. Pious men are often reported to have refused official nominations because of the iniquity associated with government. See note 323, above. According to another version, however, Manṣūr accepted the appointment but was soon dismissed; see Wakīʿ, III, 145–48.

judge, but Manṣūr refused. Yūsuf sent for him [someone] with shackles, and he bound him [and brought him to Yūsuf]. Someone said to Yūsuf "Even if you scatter this old man's limbs he will not accept an office." Two litigants came, sat down, and spoke, but Manṣūr never replied. At that Yūsuf exempted Manṣūr and freed him.

Manṣūr was an inhabitant of al-Kūfah, where he died in the year 132/August 20, 749–August 8, 750. He was a Shī'ī.

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm.[1070]

His mother was Fāṭimah bt. 'Umārah b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, and his *kunyah* was Abū 'Abd al-Malik. He was a judge in Medina.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Sa'd[1071]—Ma'n b. 'Īsā—Sa'īd b. Muslim: I saw Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm act as judge in the mosque.

According to [Ibn Sa'd]—Muṭarrif b. 'Abdallāh al-Yasārī—Mālik b. Anas: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm held the office of judge in Medina. Sometimes he would issue a verdict that contradicted [Muḥammadan] tradition (*ḥadīth*) and would go home. His brother 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, who was a virtuous man,[1072] would say to him "O Brother, you decreed today such-and-so in the [issue of] such-and-so." Muḥammad would say "Yes, brother." 'Abdallāh would say: "Where is tradition then, Brother? Is tradition too sparse to pass judgment according to it?"[1073] Muḥammad would retort "Yes, but what about practice?" meaning the practice as commonly agreed upon in Medina. According to their opinion, the commonly accepted practice was more valid than tradition.[1074] [2506]

1070. Of an aristocratic Anṣārī family, the Banū Ḥazm, a branch of the Banū al-Najjār. He succeeded his father as governor or judge, or both, of Medina and was killed in the battle of al-Ḥarrah between the Medinans and the Syrian army in the year 64/683. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 348; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 384, 429; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 237; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 207; Wakī', I, 175–78.

1071. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Qism al-mutammim*, 282.

1072. A traditionist, jurist, and historian. See F. Sezgin, I, 284; Horovitz, 1928, 22–31.

1073. *'Azza al-ḥadīth an yuqḍā bihi*? Alternatively, "Is Tradition too exalted to pass judgment according to it?"

1074. See also Wakī', I, 176. This tradition supports Schacht's view that in the early period it was not prophetic tradition but rather agreed practice (the "living

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm died in the year 132, at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid regime, at the age of seventy-two.

Ṣafwān b. Sulaym.[1075]

He was a client of Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf al-Zuhrī,[1076] and his *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh. Originally he belonged to the ʿIbād,[1077] [but] he lived in Medina, where he died in the year 132. He was a reliable [transmitter of traditions] (*thiqah*), if God so wills.

ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ.[1078]

His *kunyah* was Abū Yasār, and he was a client of the Thaqīf tribe. He lived in Mecca, where he [also] died. There is disagreement over the time of his death. According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī], he died in Mecca in the year 132, whereas, according to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yūnus—Sufyān, Ibn Abī Najīḥ died before the plague; the plague was in the year 131/August 31, 748–August 19, 749.[1079]

According to ʿAlī b. al-Madyanī–Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd: Ibn Abī Najīḥ was a Muʿtazilī.[1080] Yaḥyā reported that Ayyūb said: "What a man they corrupted!"

Ibn Abī Najīḥ was the *muftī* in Mecca after ʿAmr b. Dīnār.[1081]

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sunna") that served as the basis for religious law. See Schacht, "A Revaluation"; idem, *Origins*. See also Wakīʿ, 143–44; ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, 161.

1075. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 429; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 261. He was a Qurʾān reader according to Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 216 (not recorded by Ibn al-Jazarī) and considered a *ḥāfiẓ* by al-Suyūṭī; see al-Sayrawān, 103.

1076. Son of a famous Companion of the Prophet, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 378–81; Ibn Saʿd, V, 114–15; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 113.

1077. The ʿIbād (whose name means "worshipers of God") were the Christian Arabs of the kingdom of al-Ḥīrah, which flourished between A.D. the third and seventh centuries in southern Iraq. The Arab genealogists, however, fitted this group into the genealogical scheme; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 422.

1078. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 421; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 282; Ibn Qutaybah, 206 (who adds that he was a Qadarī).

1079. Ibn Saʿd, V, 355.

1080. The Muʿtazilah was a theological movement founded in al-Baṣrah in the second/eighth century; see "Muʿtazila," *EI*², VII, 783–93 (D. Gimaret).

1081. That is, the jurist in charge of giving opinions in legal issues addressed to him; see "Fatwa," *EI*², II, 866 (E. Tyan).

Rabīʿah b. Abī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, nicknamed Rabīʿah of Personal Opinion (Rabīʿat al-raʿy).[1082]

The name of his father, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, was Farrūkh.

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿUthmān. He was a client of the family of al-Hudayr of the Banū Taym b. Murrah.

Rabīʿah lived in Medina, where he died in the year 136/July 7, 753–June 26, 754, at the end of Abū al-ʿAbbās' reign.[1083]

ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[1084]

His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad. He was a pious man, dignified, eloquent, and articulate, a man of distinction. The Umayyad caliphs honored him and acknowledged his eminence. When the ʿAbbāsids came to power he went to see Abū al-ʿAbbās [2507]
[al-Saffāḥ] in al-Anbār.[1085]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Ḥafs b. ʿUmar: ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan came to Abū al-ʿAbbās in al-Anbār. Abū al-ʿAbbās honored him, presented him [with gifts], and treated him as his companion. [The caliph] behaved toward ʿAbdallāh as he never did toward anyone else. He used to spend nights in pleasant conversation with him. Once the caliph spent [the night] in conversation with ʿAbdallāh until the middle of the night. Abū al-ʿAbbās then ordered a basket full of pearls to be brought before him, opened it, and said "O Abū Muḥammad, these, by God, are the pearls that had been the property of the Umayyads and came to my possession." Abū al-ʿAbbās shared the pearls with ʿAbdallāh, giving him half of them. The other half he sent to his wife Umm Salamah with the message "I commit these to you as a trust."

1082. The nickname refers to his use of reasoning as a source of religious law; see p. 000, below. Rabīʿah was a Medinan *ḥāfiẓ* and jurist, one of the teachers of Mālik b. Anas, founder of the Mālikī school of law. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 441; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 268; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 131–32; Ibn Qutaybah, 217; al-Sayrawān, 89; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 223–24.

1083. That is, the first ʿAbbāsid caliph, al-Saffāḥ (132–36/749–54).

1084. An eminent member of the ʿAlid family in Medina, father of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah and his brother Ibrāhīm, who led a Shīʿī revolt against the caliph al-Manṣūr in Medina and al-Kūfah in the years 144–45/761–62. See van Arendonck, 46–50; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 448; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 258; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 205; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* III (Maḥmūdī), 81–91, III (Dūrī), 90, 150, 165–66, 234–35.

1085. A city in Iraq on the Euphrates, about 60 km. west of Baghdad; see "al-Anbār," *EI*², I, 484–85 (M. Streck [A. A. Duri]).

Then they talked again for an hour [until] Abū al-ʿAbbās dozed off and then his head bobbed, whereupon ʿAbdallāh recited the following verses:[1086]

Did you not see the big-bellied one
building palaces for the benefit of Nutaylah's sons?[1087]
He hopes like Noah to be given a long life,
but every night God's decree may strike.

Abū al-ʿAbbās woke up and grasped ʿAbdallāh's meaning, whereupon he said "O Abū Muḥammad, you recite such verses in my [palace], having seen that I treated you [so well] and that I never withheld anything from you?" ʿAbdallāh said: "O Commander of the Faithful, this was a lapse by which I meant no harm. These were just verses that occurred to me, so I recited them. If the Commander of the Faithful sees it appropriate to tolerate my deed, let him do so." Abū al-ʿAbbās said "I do [forgive you]."

[2508] ʿAbdallāh returned to Medina. When Abū Jaʿfar [al-Manṣūr] came to power he insisted on seeking out ʿAbdallāh's two sons, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Now Abū al-ʿAbbās [al-Saffāḥ] had asked ʿAbdallāh about his two sons, and he had replied "They are in the desert; [God] made them so that they like being in solitude."[1088] Abū Jaʿfar sought them out in the desert and was upset by their absence. He therefore wrote to his governor of Medina, Riyāḥ b. ʿUthmān, ordering him to detain their father, ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan, and his brothers. So they were arrested and brought to al-Hāshimiyyah,[1089] where they were kept in prison. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan died in prison at the age of seventy-two in the year 145/April 1, 762–March 20, 763.

According to al-Qāsim b. Dīnār al-Qurashī—Isḥāq b. Manṣūr—Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh—Sulaymān b. Qarm: I asked ʿAbdallāh b. al-

1086. Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 153.

1087. That is, the ʿAbbāsids. Nutaylah was the mother of al-ʿAbbās, the eponymous ancestor of the dynasty. See p. 24, above; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 301.

1088. This description of the two Shīʿī leaders is deliberately reminiscent of the descriptions of the Prophet before he was endowed with the prophecy, for which see Kister, "*al-Taḥannuth*."

1089. The name of several places in Iraq that served the ʿAbbāsids as capital before the building of Baghdad; see "al-Hāshimiyyah," *EI*², III, 265–66 (J. Lassner).

Ḥasan "Are there infidels among those who pray facing toward Mecca?" He replied "Yes, the Rāfiḍah."[1090]

Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib b. Bishr b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Imri' al-Qays b. 'Āmir b. al-Nu'mān b. 'Āmir b. 'Abd Wadd b. 'Awf b. Kinānah b. 'Udhrah b. Zayd al-Lāt b. Rufaydah b. Thawr b. Kalb.[1091]

Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib's *kunyah* was Abū al-Naḍr. His grandfather Bishr b. 'Amr and his sons al-Sā'ib, 'Ubayd, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān [sons of Bishr] participated in the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn on the side of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Al-Sā'ib b. Bishr was killed [fighting] on the side of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr.[1092] He is the one about whom Ibn Warqā' al-Nakha'ī recited the following verses:[1093]

Who will inform 'Ubayd in my name
that I struck his brother with a sharp Indian sword?
If you wish some knowledge of him to obtain, [2509]
he lies by the two monasteries, no pillow beneath his head.
Purposely did I strike his head with a sharp one,
making Sufyān and Muḥammad bereaved.

Sufyān and Muḥammad were sons of al-Sā'ib.

1090. Among Sunnī Muslims it is commonly agreed that anyone praying toward the *qiblah* and formally professing Islam cannot be considered an infidel, be his opinions and conduct as they may; see Lewis, chap. 16. Not all the sects share this attitude. The Rāfiḍah is a term reflecting schisms within the Shī'ah; it refers either to the early Shī'ah, the Twelver Shī'ah, or to various other Shī'ī sects. See "al-Rāfiḍa," *EI*², VIII, 386–89, (E. Kohlberg).

1091. One of the earliest Kūfan historians, genealogists, and Qur'ān interpreters, known as "al-Kalbī" (of the southern Kalb confederation); he was a Shī'ī. See Conrad, "al-Kalbī"; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 51, 146; F. Sezgin, I, 34; Muṣṭafā, 190; al-Sayrawān, 276.

1092. Brother of the rival caliph 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and governor of al-Kūfah on his behalf in the years 64–71/683–91.

1093. Ibn Sa'd, VI, 249–50; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 731. The author of the verses is either 'Abdallāh b. Warqā' b. 'Āzib, or Warqā' himself, a Kūfan who served as commander in the Umayyad *shurṭah* (quasi police force); see al-Ṭabarī, II, 644, 645–46, 648.

Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib participated in the battle of [Dayr] al-Jamājim, [fighting] on the side of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath.[1094]

Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib was knowledgeable about Qur'ān exegesis, genealogy, and Arabian tales. He died in al-Kūfah, where he had lived, in the year 146/March 21, 763–March 9, 764, during the caliphate of Abū Ja'far [al-Manṣūr]. All this was reported by Ibn Sa'd on the authority of Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib, who had informed him of all this.[1095]

Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A'mash.[1096]

He was a client of the Banū Kāhil, of [the tribe of] Asad. His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

Al-A'mash lived among the Banū 'Awf of the Banū Sa'd and used to pray at the mosque of the Banū Ḥarām of the Banū Sa'd.[1097]

Mihrān, father of al-A'mash, originated in Ṭabaristān. Al-A'mash [himself] lived in al-Kūfah, where he died in the year 148/February 27, 765–February 15, 766 at the age of eighty-two. He had been born on the day of 'Āshurā' in Muḥarram 60/October 681, the day when al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was killed.[1098]

Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[1099]

His mother was Umm Farwah bt. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.

Ja'far b. Muḥammad's children were the following: Ismā'īl al-A'raj;[1100] 'Abdallāh and Umm Farwah, whose mother was Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn al-Athram b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib;

1094. On the battle of Dayr al-Jamājim between al-Ḥajjāj and the rebel Ibn al-Ash'ath, see "Dayr al-Djamādjim," *EI*², II, 196–97 (Ṣāliḥ A. el-'Alī); al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 1070–77.

1095. Ibn Sa'd, VI, 249–50.

1096. A Kūfan traditionist, a *ḥāfiẓ* and Qur'ān reader. See "al-A'mash," *EI*², I, 431 (C. Brockelmann [C. Pellat]); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 452; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 164; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 179; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 315–16; al-Sayrawān, 99.

1097. That is, Sa'd b. Zayd Manāh, an important lineage of the confederation of Tamīm; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 215.

1098. That is, the massacre of Karbalā'.

1099. The sixth imām according to the Ismā'īlī and Twelver Shī'ah. See "Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ," *EI*², II, 374–75 (M. G. S. Hodgson); Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 203–5; Jafri, 259–60 and passim.

1100. The seventh and last imām according to the Ismā'īlī Shī'ah and the eponymous founder of the sect. See Daftary, 97–99; al-Amīn, XII, 299–304.

Mūsā b. Jaʿfar,[1101] who was imprisoned by Hārūn al-Rashīd[1102] in Baghdad with al-Sindī[1103] and died in prison; Isḥāq; Muḥammad; Fāṭimah, who was married to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās[1104] and died while being married to him (the mother of [Isḥāq, Muḥammad, and Fāṭimah] was a concubine); Yaḥyā b. Jaʿfar, al-ʿAbbās, Asmāʾ, and Fāṭimah al-Ṣughrā (junior), who were born to various mothers. [2510]

Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī] related: I heard Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad say to his young slave Muʿattib "Go to Mālik b. Anas and ask him about such-and-so; then come back and tell me [what he said]."

According to Muḥammad: Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr seized this Muʿattib and had him flogged a thousand lashes, until he died.

Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad transmitted many traditions (*ḥadīth*); he was a reliable [transmitter] (*thiqah*). This was, reportedly, Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn's opinion.

It was reported that [Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd] al-Qaṭṭān[1105] was asked "Whom do you prefer, Mujālid b. Saʿīd or Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad?" Al-Qaṭṭān replied "I prefer Mujālid to Jaʿfar."

Jaʿfar lived in Medina, where he [also] died in the year 148/February 27, 765–February 15, 766, during the caliphate of Abū Jaʿfar [al-Manṣūr], according to al-Wāqidī and al-Madāʾinī.

Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad's *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad said: I heard Yaḥyā say "Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad is a reliable transmitter."

1101. Mūsā al-Kāẓim, the seventh imām according to the Twelver Shīʿah; see "Mūsā al-Kāẓim," *EI*², VII, 645–48 (E. Kohlberg).

1102. One of the most famous ʿAbbāsid caliphs. He ruled between 170–93/786–809, and his reign is considered the golden era of the caliphate; see Kennedy, 141–48.

1103. Al-Sindī b. Shāhak, a client of the caliph al-Manṣūr, who served the ʿAbbāsids in several offices. Among other things he was in charge of the guard and prison in Baghdad. See al-Samʿānī, III, 320; al-Ṣafadī, XV, 487–88; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, X, 210.

1104. That is, the nephew of the first and second ʿAbbāsid caliphs. This marriage between the daughter of the sixth Shīʿī imām and a member of the ʿAbbāsid family points to an attempt at reconciling the Shīʿīs with the new regime.

1105. A highly regarded Baṣran traditionist and expert on *rijāl*, i.e., the biographies and evaluation of transmitters of tradition. He died in 198/812; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 190–93.

Those Who Died in the Year 150 (February 6, 767–January 25, 768)

Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān b. Thābit.[1106]

He was a client of Taym Allāh b. Thaʿlabah of the Bakr b. Wāʾil.

According to Abū Hishām al-Rifāʿī—his paternal uncle Kathīr b. Muḥammad: I heard a man of the Banū Qafal, of the noblest of the Banū Taym Allāh, say to Abū Ḥanīfah "What are you but a client of mine?" whereupon [Abū Ḥanīfah] retorted "I bring you more honor than you do me."

According to al-Walīd b. Shujāʿ—ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Shaqīq: ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak used to say "If these two agree on something, I adhere to that opinion," meaning [Sufyān b. Saʿīd] al-Thawrī and Abū Ḥanīfah.

According to Sulaymān b. Abī Shaykh: Abū Saʿīd al-Rānī[1107] firmly opposed the Kūfan [jurists] and supported the Medinan [school].[1108] One of the Kūfans composed satirical verses against him, calling him Shirshīr and saying "[There is] a small dog in hell
[2511] whose name is Shirshīr."[1109] [The Kūfan] composed [the following verses]:[1110]

1106. A theologian and the eponymous founder of one of the law schools, the Ḥanafiyyah. See "Abū Ḥanīfa," *EI*², I, 123–24 (J. Schacht); Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Intiqāʾ*, 122–75; al-Suyūṭī, *Tabyīḍ al-ṣaḥīfah*; al-Sayrawān, 82; Abū Zahrah; al-Dhahabī, *Manāqib al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfah*.

1107. Or al-Rādhānī, al-Walīd b. Kathīr, a traditonist who transmitted from Rabīʿah al-Raʾy among others. See al-Samʿānī, III, 21, 31; Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, II, 10; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 130; al-Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, 208, 210; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXI, 71–73. He is recorded, usually very briefly, in many other biographical sources. He would have been of no special interest, had my assistant, Ṭāriq Abū Rajab, not unearthed the following unique information: The man was "a poet, a learned man, and practiced *kalām* (i.e. theological discussions) in the time of al-Ṭabarī. He had some original views"; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Nuzhat*, 178 (note that the text is garbled but the meaning clear). This is the only biographical source to mention one of the verses recorded here by al-Ṭabarī.

1108. On the schools of law and their rivalry, see Schacht, *Origins*.

1109. This nickname is problematic. It is the name of a small bird; see Ibn Khallikān, III, 92. The verb *sharshara* means "to bite," and according to the lexicographer al-Layth, explaining a certain verse, *shirshīr* means a dog. The lexicographer al-Azharī, however, argues that al-Layth was mistaken: *shirshīr* is the name of a certain desert shrub. I fail to see how a shrub can be confused with a dog. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, IV, 403.

1110. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, V, 303; al-Jāḥiẓ, I, 148–49 (read al-Rānī for al-Raʾy; the editor could not identify Abū Saʿīd).

These are issues no Shirshīr can master
or his friends, when asked [their opinion].
Only Ḥanafīs, dwellers in al-Kūfah,
do we know to grasp this religion.
Do not ask a Medinan, turning him thereby into an infidel,[1111]
about anything but the cords of the lute [of a musician].

A variant is *wa-al-muthannā aw al-zīr.*[1112]

According to Sulaymān—Abū Sa'īd: I wrote to Medina [informing the people there] "You have been mocked with this and that, so respond to it." So one of the Medinans responded:

I wonder at this erring one, though by fate he is led,
for everything that is ordained is ordained.
He says that in Medina there is nothing
but musical instruments and singing.
You lie, by God, for there you can find
the graves of the Prophet and the best of mankind.

According to Sulaymān—'Amr b. Sulaymān al-'Aṭṭār: I was in al-Kūfah, where I associated with Abū Ḥanīfah, when Zufar[1113] got married. Abū Ḥanīfah was present [at the wedding], and Zufar asked him to speak. Abū Ḥanīfah then delivered a speech, saying "Here is Zufar b. al-Hudhayl, one of the Muslims' [religious] leaders and a prominent figure, a man of noble descent, dignity, and knowledge." Some of Zufar's clan said "We are pleased that it was Abū Ḥanīfah who spoke and no other," as Abū Ḥanīfah mentioned Zufar's qualities and praised him. But other people of Zufar's clan resented this and said to Zufar "Your relatives and the clan's chiefs are present, and you ask Abū Ḥanīfah to deliver a speech!"[1114] Zufar said "Had my father been present I would have

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1111. *Fa-tukfirahu* (with *fā' al-sababiyyah*) is a better reading than the present *wa-tukfiruhu*; see 2511 n. *a*. The idea is that one can cause someone else to become an infidel by asking him questions (on religious matters) to which he does not know the answer.

1112. Instead of "*wa-al-mathnāh wa-al-zīr*," names of different strings of the instrument.

1113. A jurist and a friend of Abū Ḥanīfah. See al-Ṣafadī, XIV, 200–1; Ibn Sa'd, VI, 270; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 348.

1114. Zufar belonged to the 'Anbar clan of the tribe of Tamīm, whereas Abū Ḥanīfah was a client of Taymallāh of the Bakr confederation, traditional enemies of the Tamīm; see Jād al-Mawlā et al., 170–228.

preferred Abū Ḥanīfah to him." Zufar b. al-Hudhayl belonged to the Banū al-ʿAnbar, [a clan] of the Tamīm.

According to Ibrāhīm b. Bashshār al-Ramādī—[Sufyān] Ibn ʿUyaynah: I never saw anyone more insolent toward God than Abū Ḥanīfah. A man from Khurāsān came to him with a hundred thousand issues and said to him "I want to ask you about all this," whereupon Abū Ḥanīfah said "Ask!" Sufyān [Ibn ʿUyaynah] said:
[2512] Have you seen a greater insolence toward God?

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh—his father—ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid—his paternal uncle al-Ḥakam b. Wāqid: I saw Abū Ḥanīfah [sit] to give legal opinions from early in the day until midday. When the crowds around him decreased I approached him and said "O Abū Ḥanīfah, had Abū Bakr and ʿUmar been with us in this session and had they been presented with the same arduous issues, they would have avoided some of the answers, and they would have stopped [at some point]." Abū Ḥanīfah looked at me and said "Are you seized with fever?"

According to Aḥmad b. Khālid al-Khallāl—al-Shāfiʿī[1115]: Mālik [b. Anas] was once asked [to give his opinion about] al-Battī[1116] and said "He was of a middling sort." He was [also] asked about [ʿAbdallāh] Ibn Shubrumah[1117] and said "He was of a middling sort." "What about Abū Ḥanīfah?" he was asked. Mālik said "Had he approached these [stone] columns of yours [in the mosque] and argued with you on the basis of analogy (*qiyās*), he would have made them [turn into] wood."[1118]

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Yasār.[1119]

1115. Founder of one of the schools of law (*madhāhib*) and systematizer of the method of deriving the religious law from its sources. He died in 204/819. See Schacht, *Origins*, passim; Halm; Landau-Tasseron, "Cyclical Reform," 101, n. 96.

1116. Apparently the reference is to the Baṣran jurist ʿUthmān b. Muslim al-Battī; see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 148; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XIX, 492–94.

1117. A famous Kūfan judge, who died in 144/761. See Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 87–88; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 347; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 265; al-Ṣafadī, XVII, 207; Wakīʿ, passim, especially vol. III, where there is hardly a page on which his name is not mentioned.

1118. The use of analogy in establishing religious laws was a point of debate between Abū Ḥanīfah (who supported it) and al-Shāfiʿī (who had reservations about it). Here al-Shāfiʿī (quoting Mālik) admires Abū Ḥanīfah's method, at least as far as it is persuasive; see Landau-Tasseron, "Cyclical Reform," 101, 106.

1119. Known as Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767), a famous early historian and biographer of the Prophet. The biography he wrote (*sīrah*) was widely known and cited, and

He was a client of ʿAbdallāh b. Qays b. Makhramah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy. His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: He was a client of Qays b. Makhramah. His grandfather Yasār was a captive, among others, from ʿAyn al-Tamr.[1120] These were the first captives to arrive at Medina from Iraq.

Ibn Isḥāq transmitted [traditions] from his father Isḥāq b. Yasār and from his paternal uncles Mūsā and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, sons of Yasār. He was an expert on the campaigns of the Prophet (*maghāzī*), [as well as] on the battles of the Arabs, their history, and genealogies. He was a transmitter of Arab poetry (*rāwiyah*), [as well as] many traditions. His erudition was immense; he was a seeker of knowledge and a first-rate scholar. In all [these fields] he was reliable.[1121]

According to Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān al-Tanūkhī—Ibrāhīm b. Mahdī al-Maṣṣīṣī—Ismāʿīl b. ʿUlayyah—Shuʿbah: Muḥammad b. Isḥāq [2513]
and Jābir [b. Yazīd] al-Juʿfī are reliable.

According to Ibn Saʿd[1122]—a son of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq: My father died in Baghdad in the year 150/February 6, 767–January 25, 768 and was buried in the cemetery of al-Khayzurān.

Misʿar b. Kidām b. Zuhayr al-Hilālī, a genuine member of the Banū Hilāl.[1123]

His *kunyah* was Abū Salamah.

According to Abū al-Sāʾib—Abū Nuʿaym—Misʿar: I came to see Abū Jaʿfar [al-Manṣūr] and said [to him] "O Commander of the Faithful, I am your maternal uncle." He said "Which one of them

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together with the work of al-Wāqidī constituted the foundation of all subsequent research on Muḥammad's life. See "Ibn Isḥāk," *EI*[1], III, 389–90 (C. Brockelmann); *EI*[2], III, 810–11 (J. M. B. Jones); Suhayl Zakkār, introduction to Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*; Conrad, "Ibn Isḥāq"; Muṣṭafā, I, 160–62; Duri, 33–37; al-Samūk; Ḥamīdullah, "Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq."

1120. One of the first places in Iraq to be raided by the Muslims in the year 12/63. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 2062–69. Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 180.

1121. Al-Ṭabarī himself drew heavily on Ibn Isḥāq. Nevertheless, the latter's reliability was not beyond dispute. See Kister, "Massacre," 74–80; Landau-Tasseron, "Sayf," 8.

1122. Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 67 (without mention of the source).

1123. That is, not a client. The Banū Hilāl were a branch of the northern great confederation of ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah. On Misʿar, see Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 455; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 168; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 267.

are you?" I said "I am a member of the Banū Hilāl." Abū Jaʿfar said "I have no ancestress I like better than the one who was a member of your clan."[1124] I said "O Commander of the Faithful, do you know what the poet said about us and you?" He asked "What did he say?" whereupon I recited:

With the Quraysh we share both piety and kinship;
this is a specific partnership[1125]
Through the offspring of the women of the Banū Hilāl,
as well as the women of the Banū Abān.[1126]

I then said "O Commander of the Faithful, my family has sent me to buy something with some money, then refused to accept it." Abū Jaʿfar said: "What a bad treatment you received from your family! Take these ten thousands and dole it out."

Opinions differ as to the time of Misʿar's death. According to Ibn Saʿd[1127]—Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Asadī: Misʿar died in al-Kūfah in the year 152/January 14, 769–January 3, 770, during the caliphate of Abū Jaʿfar [al-Manṣūr]. [But], according to Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl—Abū Nuʿaym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, Misʿar b. Kidām died in the year 156/December 2, 772–November 20, 773.

Ḥamzah b. Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt.[1128]

He was a client of the Banū Taymallāh.[1129]

Ḥamzah was one of the Qur'ān readers, who excelled in learning the Qur'ān by heart. He transmitted few traditions and was reliable (*thiqah*).

[2514] Ḥamzah was an inhabitant of al-Kūfah. He died in the year 156.

1124. The reference is to Umm al-Faḍl, wife of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and mother of ʿAbdllāh b. al-ʿAbbās, great-grandfather of al-Manṣūr; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 18. Al-Manṣūr's own mother was a concubine.

1125. *Shirk* (read *shirkat*) *al-ʿinān*, a partnership in a particular thing to the exclusion of the rest of the partners' property.

1126. The reference is to the offspring of Āminah bt. Abān of the Banū Kulayb b. Rabīʿah b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah, who was married to Umayyah b. ʿAbd Shams; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 280. The verse was composed by the poet al-Nābighah al-Jaʿdī. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, XIII, 292–93 (s.v. *ʿnn*); Nallino, 119.

1127. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 253.

1128. Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 266; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 261–63; al-Ṣadr, 15, 20, 21; F. Sezgin, I, 9 (erroneously attributed to the tribe of Tamīm instead of the Taymallāh).

1129. Taymallāh b. Thaʿlabah of the Rabīʿah confederation; see al-Samʿānī, I, 499.

According to Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Ṭūsī—Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥammād—an authority whom he named—Ḥamzah al-Zayyāt: I saw the Prophet in a dream. I presented to him twenty traditions [for inspection], and he recognized two of them.[1130]

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr.[1131]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAmr, and he was called al-Awzāʿī. He was a Saybānī by virtue of his living among [that clan].[1132] According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—his father: Al-Awzāʿī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAmr, belonged to the Awzāʿ, [a group including] Mālik and Marthad, sons of Zayd b. Shadad b. Zurʿah. Shadad was the husband of Bilqīs, friend of King Solomon.[1133]

Al-Awzāʿī lived in Beirut, a coastal city in Syria. He was one of the *muftīs* and transmitters of tradition of that locality in his time and one of the excellent [people there].

Al-Awzāʿī died in Beirut in the year 157/November 21, 773–November 10, 774, toward the end of the caliphate of Abū Jaʿfar [al-Manṣūr], at the age of seventy. This information is given by Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī].

Shuʿbah b. al-Ḥajjāj b. Ward.[1134]

He was from the Azd, a freed slave and client of the Ashāqir.[1135] His *kunyah* was Abū Bisṭām. He was ten years older than [Sufyān] al-Thawrī.

1130. Ḥamzah here refers to the procedure of the authorization and authentication of transmitted traditions, initiated in order to prevent fabrications; see F. Sezgin, I, 59. As for the role of dreams, see Kinberg, especially 230–31 (on Ḥamzah).

1131. A jurist, the main representative of the ancient Syrian school of religious law. See "Al-Awzāʿī," *EI*², I, 772–73 (J. Schacht); F. Sezgin, I, 516–17; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 315–16; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 285–86; Abū Zurʿah, 261–67 and passim.

1132. The Saybān b. al-Ghawth was a Yemeni clan. According to Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 435, 437, al-Awzāʿī originated with this clan and was called Awzāʿī only because he lived among the Awzāʿ, another Yemeni clan. According to Ibn Ḥibbān, however, al-Awzāʿ was the name of a village near Damascus.

1133. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, II, 546–47. Bilqīs is the Arabic name for the Queen of Sheba, see "Bilḳīs," *EI*², I, 1219–20 (E. Ullendorff).

1134. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 459; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 222; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 280; al-Samʿānī, IV, 153–54; al-Sayrawān, 101.

1135. Of the group called Ghassān; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 381, 474.

According to Aḥmad b. al-Walīd—al-Rabīʿ b. Yaḥyā: I heard Sufyān al-Thawrī say: There has remained on earth no one like Shuʿbah and Ḥammād b. Salamah.[1136]

Al-Ṭabarī said: I was told by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Ṣāghānī—Abū Qaṭan: Shuʿbah said to me: There is nothing that makes me more afraid of entering hell than tradition.[1137]

Shuʿbah was an inhabitant of al-Baṣrah, where he died in the beginning of the year 160/October 19, 776–October 8, 777, at the age of seventy-five.

[2515] Baḥr b. Kanīz al-Saqqā' al-Bāhilī.[1138]

His *kunyah* was Abū al-Faḍl. He lived in al-Baṣrah, where he died in the year 160, during the caliphate of al-Mahdī.[1139] His transmission [of traditions] was not trustworthy.

Al-Aswad b. Shaybān.[1140]

An inhabitant of al-Baṣrah, a meritorious man and a reliable [transmitter] (*thiqah*).

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī], al-Aswad died in the year 160 in al-Baṣrah.

Zā'idah b. Qudāmah al-Thaqafī.[1141]

1136. A famous Baṣran traditionist and jurist, client of the Tamīm. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 11–14; Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 549, II, 993.

1137. Cf. Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 38. This may be interpreted in two ways. First, pious Muslim scholars sometimes express the fear of failing in the task of faithfully transmitting the Prophet's traditions. Second, certain Muslim scholars of the second century held that writing down prophetic traditions was unlawful. See Sprenger; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 181–88. For a critique of these two scholars, see F. Sezgin, II, 53–81.

1138. The name may be Kunayz. He was a Baṣran, a client of the Bāhilah, not trusted because of his bad memory and arbitrary additions to the traditions. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn*, I, 192–94; Ibn ʿAdī, II, 482–87.

1139. The third ʿAbbāsid caliph, 158–69/775–85; see Kennedy, 137–39.

1140. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 221, see also 224; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VIII, 129–30.

1141. He died in the year 161/777–78. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 468; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 169; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 269. He cannot be identical with Zā'idah b. Qudāmah al-Thaqafī, who was associated with al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd, not only because the latter was a Shīʿī whereas "our" Zā'idah opposed the Shīʿah, but also because of the time gap between the two. See, e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 605, 926.

He was a genuine member of the Thaqīf.[1142] His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ṣalt.

Zā'idah opposed 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[1143]

Those Who Died in the Year 161 (October 9, 777–September 27, 778)

Sufyān b. Sa'īd b. Masrūq b. Ḥabīb b. Rāfi' b. 'Abdallāh b. Mawhibah b. Ubayy b. 'Abdallāh b. Munqidh b. Naṣr b. al-Ḥārith b. Tha'labah b. 'Āmir b. Milkān b. Thawr b. 'Abd Manāh b. Udd b. Ṭābikhah b. al-Yās b. Muḍar.[1144]

His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh.

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Sufyān was born in the year 97/September 5, 715–August 24, 716. He was learned, knowledgeable, pious, God fearing, ascetic, a transmitter of many traditions, reliable, and trustworthy in what he transmitted from the Prophet and from others who transmitted [traditions] on religious matters.[1145]

According to Muḥammad b. Khalaf—Ya'qūb b. Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī—Shu'bah b. al-Ḥajjāj—Sufyān b. Sa'īd al-Thawrī—'Alī b. al-Aqmar—Abū Juḥayfah—the Prophet: As for me, I do not eat while leaning back.

According to Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Ḍirārī—Abū Nu'aym [al- [2516]
Faḍl b. Dukayn]—Sufyān: There is no deed more frightening than this. When I was ill I never thought of anything else, and I wished that I was completely saved from it. He meant [the transmission of] traditions.[1146]

According to 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh—his father—Abū 'Īsā al-Zāhid—Ma'dān: Sufyān al-Thawrī was my colleague.

1142. That is, not a client.

1143. That is, he opposed the Shī'ah, not 'Alī personally, for 'Alī died a hundred years before him. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, VI, 283, where he is said to be "one of the consensus" (*ṣāḥib sunnah wa-jamā'ah*), i.e., "orthodox."

1144. Commonly known as Sufyān al-Thawrī, a very famous traditionist, *ḥāfiẓ*, and jurist; see *EI*[1], IV, 500–2 (M. Plessner); F. Sezgin, I, 518–19; Schacht, *Origins*, 242; al-Sayrawān, 96–97; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 468; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 168; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 268; 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, 177; al-Kashshī, 336–40. The tribe, Thawr, was a rather obscure one, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 201.

1145. Or, "others who left their mark on the religion." This translation is possible as far as the language is concerned but it does not seem right to me.

1146. Cf. p. 256, above.

When we left al-Kūfah he said to me "O Maʿdān, I did not leave behind me anyone I trust, nor am I heading for anyone I trust." He meant trust in religious matters.

According to Zayd b. Ḥubāb: ʿAmmār b. Ruzayq al-Ḍabbī, Sulaymān b. Qarm al-Ḍabbī, Jaʿfar b. Ziyād al-Aḥmar, and Sufyān al-Thawrī were all students of tradition. They all showed a leaning toward the Shīʿah. As for Sufyān, he left for al-Baṣrah, where he met [ʿAbdallāh] Ibn ʿAwn and Ayyūb [al-Sakhtiyānī].[1147] He then abandoned his Shīʿī views.

Sufyān died in al-Baṣrah in the year 161/October 9, 777–September 27, 778, during the caliphate of al-Mahdī.

Al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, also called Ḥayy.[1148]

Ḥasan's *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh. He was a pious, virtuous man, skilled in religious law and inclined to love the family of the Prophet (*ahl bayt rasūl Allāh*). He adhered to the principle that one ought to protest against evil by all the means available to one.[1149] He transmitted many traditions and was reliable (*thiqah*).

It was reported that al-Ḥasan gave his daughter in marriage to ʿĪsā b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.[1150] [The caliph] al-Mahdī gave an

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1147. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 348, V, 303.

1148. There is some confusion about this Ḥayy, a name sometimes considered to belong to al-Ḥasan's grandfather, rather than being another name for his father. In addition, Ḥayy had a twin brother; note the confusion in Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 396. Al-Ḥasan belonged to the southern tribe Bakīl of the Hamdān confederation and was an ascetic and an important Zaydī leader. The Zaydī schism of al-Ṣāliḥiyyah (also called Batriyyah; see note 1256, below) is attributed to him. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 396; al-Shahrastānī, 120–21; van Arendonck, 83–86; Ṣubḥī, 98–100; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 523; al-Quhpāʾī, II, 116; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 470; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 168; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 268. In spite of his political importance, al-Ṭabarī never mentions him in the *Annals*.

1149. The precept *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf wa-al-nahy ʿan al-munkar* "enjoining what is good and prohibiting (or, protesting against) what is evil," is based on several Qurʾānic verses (3:104, 3:110, 3:114, 7:157, 9:67, 9:71, 9:112, 22:41, 31:17). It was variously interpreted and applied by diverse sects, movements, and persons, among them indeed the Zaydīs. See "Amr be-Maʿrūf," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, I, 92–95 (W. Madelung); Crone and Hinds, 62; al-Khallāl; Ṣubḥī, 147; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, V, 464–66; al-Ghazālī, VII, 1186–1275.

1150. Son of the eponymous founder of the Zaydī Shīʿah. He participated in the revolt of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah against al-Manṣūr and continued to be considered a menace by the next caliph, al-Mahdī. See van Arendonck, 61, 83; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 258, 448, 503.

order to seek out [and arrest] both ʿĪsā and al-Ḥasan. He exerted his efforts in pursuing them.

According to Ibn Saʿd[1151]—al-Faḍl b. Dukayn: I saw al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ attending the Friday prayer with everyone else; then he went into hiding [the next] Sunday, [remaining thus] until his death. Al-Mahdī could not capture him or ʿĪsā b. Zayd. Al-Ḥasan hid together with ʿĪsā b. Zayd in the same place for seven years. The latter died six months before al-Ḥasan.

Ḥasan b. Ḥayy was an inhabitant of al-Kūfah, where he died in the year 167/August 5, 783–July 23, 784 at the age of sixty-two or [sixty]-three. [2517]

According to Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn: Al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy was born in the year 100/August 3, 718–July 23, 719.

According to al-ʿAbbās—Yaḥyā: Al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ is Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣāliḥ b. Muslim b. Ḥayyān. People call [him] Ibn Ḥayy, but it is Ibn Ḥayyān.

Jaʿfar b. Ziyād al-Aḥmar.[1152]

He was the client of Muzāḥim b. Zufar of the Taym al-Ribāb.[1153]

He was an inhabitant of al-Kūfah, where he died in the year 167. He was a Shīʿī and transmitted many traditions.

ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Mālik b. Mālik b. al-Khashkhāsh b. Ḥubāb b. al-Ḥārith b. Khalaf b. Mujfir b. Kaʿb b. al-ʿAnbar b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm.[1154]

He was a jurist and counts among the educated and clever people of al-Baṣrah. He was appointed judge of al-Baṣrah after Sawwār b. ʿAbdallāh.[1155]

1151. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 261.

1152. A companion of the sixth Shīʿī imām, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. See al-Ṭūsī, 161; Ibn ʿAdī, II, 564–66.

1153. One of the tribal chiefs (*ashrāf*) in al-Kūfah, of the Taym b. ʿAbd Manāh, one of the constituents of the northern confederation al-Ribāb. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 199; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 100–1.

1154. The tribe's name is the Banū al-ʿAnbar. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 457, 462, 470, 472–73; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 251; Wakīʿ, II, 88–123.

1155. The reference here is not to the famous judge whose biography is recorded in Wakīʿ, II, 57–88, and many other sources but to his grandfather who bore the same name and was also a judge. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 238; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 236–37.

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]: ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan was born in the year 100 or 106/May 29, 724–May 18, 725 and was appointed judge in the year 157/November 21, 773–November 10, 774.

According to Ibn Saʿd[1156]—Aḥmad b. Makhlad, who heard ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAnbarī recite on the pulpit [in the mosque] of al-Baṣrah:

Where are the kings, [who were] heedless of their fate
until the cup of death was given them to taste?
Our riches for inheritors we accumulate;
our houses we build for time to lay waste.

[2518] According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]: ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAnbarī died in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 168/May–June 784.

According to Fuḍayl b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb—Muʿādh b. Muʿādh: I came to visit ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan, the judge of al-Baṣrah, and said "I see that you are well today, God be praised." He replied:

In the evening [I look] healthy, but do not be deceived.
Dawn will bring death, [and I shall be deceased].

At dawn I heard the cry [announcing his death].

Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Ḥasan b. ʿAli b. Abī Ṭālib.[1157]

Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd's *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

He fathered [many children]: Muḥammad; al-Qāsim; Umm Kulthūm bt. al-Ḥasan, who was married to the caliph Abū al-ʿAbbas [al-Saffāḥ] and bore him two children, both of whom died young; ʿAli; Zayd; Ibrāhīm; ʿĪsā; Ismāʿīl; Isḥāq al-Aʿwar (the one-eyed); and ʿAbdallāh.

Ḥasan b. Zayd was a pious man. Abū Jaʿfar [al-Manṣūr] appointed him governor of Medina, a position he held for five years. Al-Manṣūr then found fault with [al-Ḥasan] and became angry

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1156. Not in Sachau's edition or *al-Qism al-mutammim*; cf. the short biography of this ʿUbaydallāh, in Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 42.

1157. He collaborated with the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr against the other members of the Ḥāshimī family, in particular his cousins, the rebels Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah and Ibrāhīm, sons of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 144–45, and also 149, where he appears to be double-crossing the caliph; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 466; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 272; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 269.

with him. He dismissed him [from office], confiscated all his property, and sold it, then imprisoned him. Muḥammad al-Mahdī [b. al-Manṣūr], who was his father's heir apparent, wrote secretly to ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAlī:[1158] "Beware! beware!"

Al-Ḥasan remained in prison until Abū Jaʿfar's death. Al-Mahdī then freed al-Ḥasan, brought him to his [court], and returned to him all the property he had lost.[1159] Al-Ḥasan remained with al-Mahdī until the latter set out for the pilgrimage, in the year 168/July 785.

Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd came along with him. Water was scarce on the way, and al-Mahdī feared thirst for his companions, so he returned and did not perform the pilgrimage that year. Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, however, continued [the journey] in the direction of Mecca but fell ill for a few days, then died in al-Ḥājir[1160] and was buried there. This occurred in the year 168/785.

Mālik b. Anas b. Mālik b. Abī ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ghaymān b. Khuthayl b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, that is, Dhū Aṣbaḥ of the Ḥimyar.[1161] [2519]

As a pension recipient, he counted as one of the Taym b. Murrah of the Quraysh;[1162] [his name was attached to that of] ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymī.[1163]

Mālik's *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh. He was the *muftī* and traditionist (*muḥaddith*) of his town in his time.[1164]

According to al-ʿAbbas b. al-Walīd—Ibrāhīm b. Ḥammād al-Zuhrī al-Madīnī—Mālik: [The caliph] al-Mahdī said to me "O Abū ʿAbdallāh, prepare a book [of law], and I shall make the community adhere to it." Mālik replied: "O Commander of the Faith-

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1158. Al-Manṣūr's paternal uncle, as well as his governor in Mecca and al-Ṭaʾif; see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 359, 377.

1159. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, III, 377, 454.

1160. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, II, 182.

1161. On the clan the Dhū Aṣbaḥ, offspring of al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Zayd of the Ḥimyar; see al-Ḥimyarī, 164–65. On Mālik, for whom the Mālikī school of law was named, see "Mālik b. Anas," *EI*², VI, 262–65 (J. Schacht); Schacht, *Origins*, passim; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 223; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Intiqāʾ*, 9–63.

1162. See p. 92, above.

1163. The only Qurashī bearing this name and recorded by Ibn Qudāmah, 330, died in the year 73/692. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah*, III, 308–9; al-Ṣafadī, XVIII, 184.

1164. That is, in Medina, or, country, i.e., the Ḥijāz.

ful, as for that quarter, I can accomplish that"; he was pointing toward the Maghrib. "As for Syria, you know who lives among them"; he meant al-Awzāʿī. "And, as for the people of Iraq, they are the people of Iraq."[1165]

As for Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī], he related this story about Mālik in a way different from the version of al-ʿAbbas–Ibrāhīm b. Ḥammād. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar's account runs as follows. According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Ibn Saʿd[1166]—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Mālik b. Anas: When Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr performed the pilgrimage he summoned me. I went in to see him and conversed with him. He was asking me questions, and I replied. Then he said: "I have decided to take the books you have written"—meaning the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*—"and have several copies made of them. I shall then send a copy to every Islamic city and order the people to act according to what is written in this book, not to turn from it to any other, and to abandon everything else of this science [of religious law], which is innovation. For I have come to realize that the authentic knowledge [of religious law] is that possessed and transmitted by the people of Medina." I said: "O Commander of the Faithful, do not do this, for [various] views and traditions (*aḥādīth*) have already reached the public, and people have transmitted material in various ways. Every community adheres to those of the different opinions and
[2520] lessons that have reached it first; it follows these and holds them. It is difficult to make people renounce their beliefs, so leave them as they are, and let the people of every city choose for themselves." Al-Manṣūr said "Upon my soul, had you agreed with me in this, I would have ordered it."

According to Ibn Saʿd—Ibn Abī Uways: Mālik b. Anas was ill for a few days [before he died]. I asked people of our family about what he said on the brink of death, and they replied that he uttered the words "There is no god but Allāh and Muḥammad is His Mes-

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1165. That is, nothing can be done about them. This anecdote reflects the actual [but later] distribution of certain schools of law over the Islamic provinces. The Mālikī school became prevalent in the Maghrib.

1166. Ibn Saʿd, *al-Qism al-mutammim*, 440–41; cf. the short biography of Mālik in Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 140. The next two references to Ibn Saʿd in al-Ṭabarī's text are in *al-Qism al-mutammim*, 443, 444.

senger," then recited "The affair belongs to Allāh before and after."[1167] He died in the morning of Rabīʿ I 14, 179/June 7, 795, during the caliphate of Hārūn [al-Rashīd]. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, son of Zaynab bt. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, said the prayer over his bier. [This ʿAbdallāh] was known by his mother's name, that is, ʿAbdallāh b. Zaynab, and was governor of Medina at the time.[1168] ʿAbdallāh said the prayer over Mālik at the funeral place; then Mālik was buried in al-Baqīʿ.[1169]

Mālik was eighty-five years old when he died.

Ibn Saʿd said: I mentioned this to Muṣʿab b. ʿAbdallāh al-Zubayrī, and he said: "I know better than anyone else about Mālik's death. He died in Ṣafar 179/April–May 795.

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak.[1170]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He was a pursuer and transmitter of knowledge, and his erudition in the fields of religious law, philology, history, and poetry was great.[1171] Moreover, he was an ascetic and a generous person.

Ibn al-Mubārak was born in the year 118/January 20, 736–January 7, 737, and lived in Khurāsān. He died in Hīt[1172] on his way back from a raid against the Byzantines in the year 181/March 5, 797–February 21, 798, at the age of sixty-three.

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh—ʿAlī b. al- [2521]
Ḥasan—Ibn al-Mubārak: We transmit what the Jews and the

1167. Qur'ān 30:3; trans. Bell, II, 393.

1168. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 739, he was governor of Mecca. See also Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 31.

1169. See al-Samhūdī, III, 920, on Mālik's tomb.

1170. A famous jurist and traditionist of Persian origin, a client of the northern Tamīmī tribe the Banū Ḥanẓalah. He was a *ḥāfiẓ* and an ascetic, known for his enthusiasm in the matter of *jihād*. See F. Sezgin, I, 95; Bonner, 19–28; al-Sayrawān, 119, 243; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 323; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 309; Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 552, II, 936.

1171. I have translated *adab* as philology, following Lane's lexicon, even though Ibn al-Mubārak is not usually considered a philologist. The other possibility, "belles lettres," seemed to me less feasible. It should also be noted that Sezgin omits to mention his poetry, but see Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 552, II, 936.

1172. A town in Iraq on the right bank of the Euphrates; see *EI*², III, 510 (M. Streck).

Christians say, but we cannot transmit what the Jahmiyyah say.[1173]

According to ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Shabbawayh—ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan: We asked ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak "What do you know of our Lord?" He said: "He is above seven heavens, on the throne, separated from His creation by a partition. We do not believe, like the Jahmiyyah, that He is found here"; [he said this] pointing with his hand to the ground.[1174]

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan.[1175]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh, and he was a client of the Shaybān.

Muḥammad's origin was in the Jazīrah.[1176] His father, who had been enlisted in the Syrian army, came to Wāsiṭ,[1177] where Muḥammad was born in the year 132/August 20, 749–August 8, 750. He grew up in al-Kūfah and became a student of tradition, attending lectures [on the subject]. He later participated in Abū Ḥanīfah's assembly and studied from him. The latter's school [of law] became the predominant one as far as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan was concerned, and he was known as a Ḥanafī.

Muḥammad settled in Baghdad, where people studied [traditions] from him. He later moved to al-Raqqah[1178] when the caliph, Hārūn al-Rashīd, was staying there.[1179] Hārūn appointed him

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1173. Muslim scholars debated the permissibility of transmitting from Jews as well as Christians; see Kister, "*Ḥadithū*'." On the Jahmiyyah, an early and somewhat obscure sect, see "Djahmiyya," *EI*², II, 388 (W. M. Watt).

1174. The theological issue here is apparently that of anthropomorphism, vehemently rejected by the Jahmiyyah in all its forms. Their argument here would be that God is found everywhere, not seated on a throne in Heaven. See, e.g., al-Ashʿarī, *Ibānah*, 59–64; al-Lālikāʾī, I, 30–31.

1175. Known as al-Shaybānī, author of several law books, among them *al-Siyar al-kabīr*, dealing with the law of war and translated by Majid Khadduri as *The Islamic Law of Nations* (Baltimore, 1966). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 494; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 328; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 219. Although a judge, his biography is not recorded by Wakīʿ.

1176. That is, Mesopotamia.

1177. A city in the center of Iraq built by the Umayyad governor al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, to accomodate the Syrian troops stationed in Iraq. "Wāsiṭ," *EI*¹, IV, 1128–32 (M. Streck).

1178. Ancient Kallinikos, a city in the Jazīrah on the left bank of the Euphrates; see "al-Raḳḳa," *EI*², VIII, 410–14 (M. Meinecke).

1179. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 1180.

judge of al-Raqqah but later dismissed him, so he returned to Baghdad. When Hārūn left for al-Rayy the first time[1180] he ordered Muḥammad to accompany him, which he did. Muḥammad then died in al-Rayy in the year 189/December 8, 804–November 26, 805.

Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Qāḍī (the Judge).[1181]

He learned tradition and studied the [method of] analogy (*ra'y*).[1182] He held the office of judge in west Baghdad while his father was still alive and acted as the leader of prayer on Fridays in the city of Abū Ja'far[1183] by order of Hārūn [al-Rashīd]. He remained judge there until his death in Rajab 193/April–May 808.

Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah b. Abī 'Imrān.[1184]

His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad; he was a client of the Banū 'Abdallāh b. Ruwaybah, [a clan of] the Banū Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah.

Sufyān's father, 'Uyaynah, was a functionary of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī.[1185] When Khālid was dismissed from [his office as [2522]
governor of] Iraq and replaced by Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī, the latter pursued Khālid's functionaries, so they fled from him. 'Uyaynah b. Abī 'Imrān went away and settled in Mecca.

According to Ibn Sa'd[1186]—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah told me that he was born in the year 107/May

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1180. See al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, III, 704–5.

1181. An Arab of the tribe of Bajīlah, commonly known as Yūsuf b. Abī Yūsuf, his father being the famous jurist and judge Abū Yūsuf, who served the caliph al-Mahdī and his son Hārūn al-Rashīd. See "Abū Yūsuf," *EI*², I, 164–65 (J. Schacht); Wakī', III, 254–64. For Yūsuf himself, see Wakī', III, 256, 282.

1182. *Ra'y*, literally, "[personal] opinion," is a term referring to the use of human reasoning as a source of religious law. The opponents of this method advocated the use of tradition instead; see "Aṣḥāb al-ra'y," *EI*², I, 692 (J. Schacht)

1183. That is, in Baghdad; cf. Wakī', III, 282. The office of judge in Baghdad was divided between two officials from the days of the fourth 'Abbāsid caliph, al-Hādī; see Wakī', III, 254.

1184. A famous Kūfan jurist, Qur'ān interpreter, and *ḥāfiẓ*. See F. Sezgin, I, 96; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 351, 505; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 284; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 235–36; al-Quhpā'ī, III, 133–34; al-Sayrawān, 97, 234. Wakī', in his *Akhbār al-quḍāh*, records many legal decisions transmitted by him.

1185. Governor of Iraq under the Umayyad caliph Hishām. See *EI*², IV, 925–27 (G. Hawting); Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 81–88; Leder, 141–95 (including a literary analysis of the reports).

1186. Ibn Sa'd, V, 364, but note the difference in the text.

19, 725–May 7, 726. He had pursued knowledge at an early [age] and become a *ḥāfiẓ*. He lived a long life, until his peers died and he outlived them.

Sufyān related: I went to the Yemen in the years 150/February 6, 767–January 25, 768, and 152/January 14, 769–January 3, 770, while Maʿmar [b. Rāshid] was still alive. [Sufyān] al-Thawrī preceded me [there] by a year.

According to Ibn Saʿd[1187]—al-Ḥasan b. ʿImrān b. ʿUyaynah, Sufyān's nephew: I was with my uncle on the last pilgrimage he made [to Mecca], in the year 197/(August) 813. When he was at Jamʿ,[1188] having prayed, he lay on his mat and said to me: "I have arrived at this place for seventy years, and each time I said 'O Lord, do not make this the last time that I visit this place.' I feel embarrassed before God about asking Him this so many times." Sufyān returned [from his pilgrimage] and died the next year, on Saturday, the 1st of Rajab 198/February 25, 814. He was buried at al-Ḥajūn. He was ninety-one years old [when he died].

Uways al-Qaranī.

He was of the Murād, that is, Yuḥābir b. Mālik, who belonged to the Madhḥij. His [genealogy] is as follows: Uways b. ʿĀmir b. Jazʾ b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. ʿUṣwān b. Qaran b. Radmān b. Nājiyah b. Murād; that is, Yuḥābir b. Mālik.

[2523] Uways was a pious, virtuous man. It was reported that he was killed in [the battle of] Ṣiffīn.

According to [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ] Abū Kurayb—Abū Bakr—Hishām—al-Ḥasan—the Prophet: [Many people, in numbers] as many as [the whole of] Rabīʿah and Muḍar, will enter paradise thanks to the intercession of one man of my community. According to Hishām—Ḥawshab—[al-Ḥasan]:[1189] That is Uways al-Qaranī.

Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir al-Raqāshī.[1190]

1187. Ibn Saʿd, V, 365.

1188. Another name for Muzdalifah, where certain rituals of the Pilgrimage are held; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, II, 118.

1189. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 116 s.v. Uways.

1190. A minor tribal chief in al-Baṣrah, of the Raqāshiyyūn, a branch of the

His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad. In battle his *kunyah* was Abū Sāsān.

According to al-Ḥārith—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]—ʿAlī b. Mālik al-Jushamī: Al-Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir was mentioned in the presence of al-Aḥnaf [b. Qays], and people said "He had become a chieftain before his beard was fully grown." Al-Aḥnaf retorted "Leadership [is befitting] the blackness [of the hair] before one becomes white haired."

Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir was carrying the banner of [the confederation of] Rabīʿah in the battle of Ṣiffīn.[1191]

I think that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib was referring to al-Ḥuḍayn when he recited the following verse:

Who is he who holds the black banner, with its fluttering
shadow?
When called "Advance, Ḥuḍayn," he [bravely] does so.[1192]

According to Muḥammad b. Maʿmar—Rawḥ—ʿAlī b. Suwayd b. Manjūf: We came to Ḥuḍayn b. al-Mundhir, Abū Sāsān, and he said "Welcome to a visitor who is not boring."

Saʿd b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimmah b. ʿAmr b. ʿAtīk b. ʿAmr b. Mabdhūl, that is, ʿĀmir b. Mālik, b. al-Najjār.[1193]

Saʿd b. al-Ḥārith was killed in [the battle of] Ṣiffin, [fighting] on the side of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[1194]

Al-Ḥārith al-Aʿwar (the one-eyed) b. ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb b. Asad b. Yakhlud b. Ḥūth, that is, ʿAbdallāh b. Sabuʿ b. Ṣaʿb b. Muʿāwiyah [2524]

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northern Banū Shaybān. He was one of ʿAlī's commanders in the battle of Ṣiffīn and served as governor of Iṣṭakhr. He died in the year 99/717–18. See Crone, *Slaves*, 113; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 317; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 205 and passim; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 340–41; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 200, 204; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 157; idem, *Thiqāt*, IV, 191; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVa, 22, 93.

1191. See Hinds, "Banners and Battle-Cries."

1192. A part of a poem; see Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 289–90.

1193. An Anṣārī Companion of the Prophet and a supporter of ʿAlī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 23; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, II, 372; Ibn Saʿd, V, 59, gives only his genealogy.

1194. Not recorded by Naṣr b. Muzāḥim or al-Quhpāʾī.

b. Kathīr b. Mālik b. Jusham b. Ḥāshid b. Jusham b. Khaywān b. Nawf b. Hamdān.[1195]

Ḥūth is the brother of Sabīʿ, Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī's clan.

Al-Ḥārith was one of ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib]'s prominent companions. He worshipped God by [studying] the religious law, the science of the division of inheritances,[1196] and arithmetic.

According to Zakariyāʾ b. Yaḥyā—Aḥmad b. Yūnus—Zāʾidah—al-Aʿmash [Sulaymān b. Mihrān]—Ibrāhīm—al-Ḥārith: I learned reading in one year and the Revelation in three years.[1197]

[Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Yaḥyā b. Wāḍiḥ—Ismāʿīl—Makhlad—Abū Isḥāq: Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib] wrote to al-Ḥārith [the following] "Indeed, you used to hear from ʿAlī things I did not hear." So [al-Ḥārith] sent to him a camel load [of written material].

Abū al-Sāʾib—Ibn Fuḍayl—Mujālid [b. Saʿīd]—[ʿĀmir b. Shuraḥbīl] al-Shaʿbī: I learned from al-Ḥārith al-Aʿwar the science of inheritances and arithmetic. He was the best of all people at arithmetic.

Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn claimed that al-Ḥārith died in the year 65/August 18, 684–August 7, 685. All the historians agree that al-Ḥārith's death occurred during the time when ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī acted as governor of al-Kūfah on behalf of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd said the prayer over al-Ḥārith's bier in his time [as governor of] al-Kūfah.[1198]

Al-Ḥārith was an inhabitant of al-Kūfah, where he [also] died. He had belonged to the Shīʿah of the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

[2525] ʿAmr b. Salimah b. ʿAbdallāh b. Salimah b. ʿAmīrah b. Muqātil b. al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb b. ʿAlwā b. ʿAlyān b. Arḥab b. Duʿām, of the [tribe of] Hamdān.[1199]

1195. The clan's name is Ḥūth. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 126–28; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 149–50 (only his genealogy); al-Khashshī, 81–83; al-Amīn, XVIII, 293–320; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 121.

1196. *ʿIlm al-farāʾiḍ*. See Lane, s.v. *f.r.ḍ.*

1197. *Taʿallamtu al-qurʾāna fī sanatin wa-l-waḥya fī thalāthi sinīna. Waḥya* ("inspiration") must refer to the Qurʾān, so the word *qurʾān* must be used here in its original meaning, i.e., "reading."

1198. On ʿAbdallāh, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 190, 207–9, 273–74.

1199. The clan's name is Arḥab. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 396, 476; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 165.

ʿAmr was a tribal noble (*sharīf*).[1200] Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī sent him, together with Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath b. Qays, [as go-between] in the matter of the agreement between himself and Muʿāwiyah [b. Abī Sufyān].[1201] Muʿāwiyah admired ʿAmr's appearance and eloquence and asked him "Are you a Muḍarī?" ʿAmr replied "No," then recited [the following verses]:

I belong to people whose glory lies in God's apostle,
    [superior to] all people, both nomad and settled.
Our fathers are men of excellence, raised to glory
    by the noble origins of their ancestry.
Our mothers, what women! noble [and fine];
    nobility is inherited in their line.
They gathered camphor, musk, and ambergris,[1202]
    but you, son of Hind, are a gatherer of the gum of trees.

[ʿAmr then said]: "I am a man of Hamdān, of the tribe of Arḥab."

Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī.[1203]

His name was ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥabīb.

According to Ibn Saʿd[1204]—Ḥajjāj b. Muḥammad—Shuʿbah [b. al-Ḥajjāj]: Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān did not hear [traditions] from ʿUthmān [b. ʿAffān], but he did hear from ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib].

Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was a companion of ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib] and a resident of al-Kūfah.[1205] He died there during the time when Bishr b. Marwān was governor of Iraq.[1206]

1200. Tribal nobles (*ashrāf*) played a pivotal role in the politics of the Umayyad period. They first formed a link between the government and the tribesmen, then lost this position. Although many of them continued to serve the rulers, others tended to initiate or join rebellions. However, they never formed a definite party, and each acted in his own interest; see Crone, *Slaves*.

1201. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 1–4; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Maḥmūdī), 40–43, 51–52.

1202. The reference is to Yemeni perfume production.

1203. Of the tribe of Sulaym. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 271; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 153; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 164. Considered a *ḥāfiẓ* and a Qurʾān reader by al-Suyūṭī; al-Sayrawān, 116; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 413–14. He was a supporter of ʿAlī according to al-Ṣadr, 24.

1204. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 119.

1205. According to a report in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3319, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān participated in the battle of Ṣiffīn, but cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 288, where the phrasing suggests that he was not present there.

1206. In the years 71–73 or 74/691–93 or 694; see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 816, 834, 852.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīr [b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd]—ʿAṭāʾ [b. al-Sāʾib]: Someone asked Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: "I beseech you in the name of God, [tell me] when it was that you [began] to hate ʿAlī? Was it not when he doled out allowances in al-Kūfah and omitted to give you any or your family?" Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān replied "If you beseech me in the name of God [to tell you], the answer is yes."

[2526] Kumayl b. Ziyād b. Nahīk b. Haytham b. Saʿd b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. Ṣuhbān b. Saʿd b. Mālik b. al-Nakhaʿ, of the Madhḥij.[1207]

Kumayl participated in [the battle of] Ṣiffīn on the side of ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib]. He was a tribal chief (*sharīf*), and his people obeyed him.[1208]

When al-Ḥajjāj [b. Yūsuf] came to al-Kūfah he ordered that Kumayl be brought before him and had him executed.

According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ]—Abū Bakr—al-Aʿmash [Sulaymān b. Mihrān]: Al-Ḥajjāj said to al-ʿUryān [b. al-Haytham b. al-Aswad]:[1209] "O ʿUryān, what became of Kumayl? Did he not participate in the revolt against us in [the battle of] al-Jamājim?"[1210] ʿUryān replied; [al-Aʿmash] mentioned the exchange, then [continued the story]: Al-Ḥajjāj waited until [one day] Kumayl came to collect his pension (*ʿaṭāʾ*). Al-Ḥajjāj seized him and said to him "You are the one who treated [the caliph] ʿUthmān in such-and-such a manner," and he said [other] things [as well].[1211] Kumayl retorted: "Do not put so much blame on me, and do not pour a mountain of sand on me.[1212] It was only that the

1207. One of the tribal nobles of al-Kūfah (*ashrāf*), of the Nakhaʿ. Kumayl was involved in the uprising against ʿUthmān and even went to Medina to kill him himself, but his plan failed, and he had only an exchange of blows with the caliph. After the murder of ʿUthmān he joined ʿAlī's camp. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 2908, 2917, 2921, 3034–35; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 148.

1208. This is especially noted because obedience to tribal leaders was not a matter of course, nor did these leaders have any institutionalized coercive power. It is perhaps worthy of note that he is not mentioned by Naṣr b. Muzāḥim in *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*.

1209. Of the same tribe as Kumayl, al-Nakhaʿ. He was chief of the *shurṭah* in the time of Yazīd II. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 672–73, 1407, 1655; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XVII, 31–32; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 297.

1210. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 1076–77.

1211. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3036, II, 1097.

1212. Cf. Qurʾān 73:14.

man had slapped me, then asked me to be patient, and I forgave him, so which one of us was the evil one?" Al-Ḥajjāj gave the order, and Kumayl was put to death.

Kumayl had participated in [the battle of] al-Qādisiyyah.

ʿUmar al-Akbar (Senior) b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[1213]

His mother was al-Ṣahbāʾ, that is, Umm Ḥabīb bt. Bujayr b. al-ʿAbd b. ʿAlqamah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿUtbah b. Saʿd b. Zuhayr b. Jusham b. Bakr b. Ḥubayb b. ʿAmr b. Ghanm b. ʿUthmān b. Taghlib b. Wāʾil. She was a war captive, taken by Khālid b. al-Walīd during his raid on the Banū Taghlib at ʿAyn al-Tamr.

ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[1214]

His mother was Laylā bt. Masʿūd b. Khālid b. Mālik b. Ribʿī b. Sulmā b. Jandal b. Nahshal b. Dārim.[1215] [2527]

ʿUbaydallāh was killed at al-Madhār in the battle between the followers of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and the followers of al-Mukhtār. He was in Musʿab's camp.[1216]

Abū Naḍrah.[1217]

His name was al-Mundhir b. Mālik b. Qiṭʿah.

He was of the ʿAwaqah, a clan of the ʿAbd al-Qays.[1218]

According to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad [al-Madāʾinī]: Abū Naḍrah participated in the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath. He belonged to the Shīʿah of ʿAlī.

1213. A son of ʿAlī by a Taghlibī woman, apparently more involved in family disputes over inheritance than in politics. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Maḥmūdī), 230–32, 268; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3472; Ibn Qudāmah, 137; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 260; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 230.

1214. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 225; Ibn Qudāmah, 137.

1215. An important branch of the Tamīm; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 229–33.

1216. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 721; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 260, 271.

1217. A Baṣran Successor. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharah*, 590; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 352; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 209; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 155.

1218. Called ʿAwq by Ibn al-Kalbī; see *Jamharah*, 590. The ʿAbd al-Qays was a large tribe of the northern confederation of Rabīʿah; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 295–96.

Nawf al-Bikālī, that is, Nawf b. Faḍālah, the son of Ka'b's wife.[1219]

Nawfal b. Musāḥiq b. 'Abdallāh b. Makhramah b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Abī Qays b. 'Abd Wadd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.[1220]

Al-Ashtar.[1221]

His name was Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Yaghūth b. Maslamah b. Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārith b. Jadhīmah b. Sa'd b. Mālik b. al-Nakha', of the Madhḥij.

According to Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb b. al-Shahīd—Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh—'Alqamah:[1222] I said to al-Ashtar "You had opposed the murder of 'Uthmān, so what made you go out [to fight on 'Alī's side] in al-Baṣrah?"[1223] Al-Ashtar replied: "These people[1224] had given 'Alī the oath of allegiance, then broke it. It was ['Abdallāh] b. al-Zubayr who incited 'Ā'ishah to participate in the revolt (*khurūj*).[1225] I had prayed to God that I should meet him, and indeed we met in combat. As my arm is strong, I was not satisfied until I raised myself in my saddle and hit him so that he fell." ['Alqamah] said: I asked "Is he the one who exclaimed 'Kill me

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1219. That is, Ka'b al-Aḥbār. Nawf was of the tribe of Ḥimyar and lived in Egypt and Damascus. He was a storyteller (*qāṣṣ*, see p. 276, n. 1251, below) and a traditionist and acted as prayer leader (imām) in Damascus. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 308; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 196; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 436–37; al-Sam'ānī, I, 382; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXVI, 220–23; Ibn Sa'd, VII/2, 160.

1220. One of the notables of the Qurashī clan 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy, associated with the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. See al-Zubayrī, 427; Ibn Qudāmah, 483; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 64.

1221. One of the most fervent supporters of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; he died on his way to Egypt to assume the post of governor on behalf of 'Alī. See "al-Ashtar," *EI*², I, 704 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 174, 177, 184, 186; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 148; al-Kashshī, 61–63; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, passim; al-Kindī, 25–28.

1222. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 3200.

1223. The reference is to the battle of the Camel. Al-Ashtar is said to have come to Medina with 'Uthmān's opponents but to have kept himself uninvolved in the murder of the caliph. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2954, 2999, but see also 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, 113.

1224. That is, Ṭalḥah b. 'Ubaydallāh and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām; see 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, 114.

1225. *Khurūj* is here used in both its senses simultaneously (to go out and to rebel), referring to the revolt against 'Alī, and to the fact that the rebels left Medina in order to rally support in al-Baṣra. On the role played by 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 3109, 3126, 3200. The report clearly reflects an 'Alid argument, refuting as it does the allegation that 'Alī's supporters were 'Uthmān's murderers.

together with Mālik?'" Al-Ashtar replied: "No, I left him, and I do not remember anything [of the sort]. That one was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAttāb b. Asīd.[1226] We met, we exchanged two blows, and we both fell, whereupon he started calling 'Kill me together with Mālik,' but they did not know who Mālik was; had they known, they would have killed me." Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh then said: This is [as vivid] as though you witnessed it yourself;[1227] it was told to me by al-Mughīrah—Ibrāhīm—ʿAlqamah, [who said]: I said to al-Ashtar [etc.]. [2528]

Shabath b. Ribʿī b. Ḥuṣayn b. ʿUthaym b. Rabīʿah b. Zayd b. Riyāḥ b. Yarbūʿ b. Ḥanẓalah, of the tribe of Tamīm.[1228]

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Quddūs.

According to Ibn Saʿd[1229]—al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth—al-Aʿmash [Sulaymān b. Mihrān]: I was present at Shabath's funeral. The slaves, the slave girls, the noblemen, the she camels (*nūq*)—[al-Aʿmash] mentioned other sorts as well—all were divided into separate respective groups. I saw them wailing for him and beating their faces with grief.[1230]

According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Aʿlā—al-Muʿtamir—his father—Anas—Shabath: I am the first who led the Ḥarūriyyah.[1231] Someone said: "This is nothing to be proud of."

Al-Musayyab b. Najabah b. Rabīʿah b. Riyāḥ b. ʿAwf b. Hilāl b. Shamkh b. Fazārah.[1232]

1226. A member of the Umayyad family, who was killed in the battle of the Camel. See Ibn Qudāmah, 199; al-Zubayrī, 193. Note the circumstances of his death: He receives a blow aimed at ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 72.

1227. *Hādhā ka-annaka shāhiduhu.* The version in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3200, does not make much sense.

1228. The clan's name is Banū Riyāḥ b. Yarbūʿ. Shabath was a chieftain of his clan in his time. He showed extreme fickleness in his political behavior, having joined and deserted almost every possible camp and persuasion. See Crone, *Slaves*, 118; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 153.

1229. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 150.

1230. These are in fact practices prohibited by Islam. See p. 156, above.

1231. That is, the first Khawārij. When the fourth caliph, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, decided to comply with Muʿāwiyah's request for arbitration, many of his supporters opposed his decision and deserted his camp. They encamped at Ḥarūrāʾ, hence the name Ḥarūriyyah, and this group later became the Khārijī sect. See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 3341, 3362–63; al-ʿIrāqī, 10.

1232. Of the northern tribe Fazārah. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 174; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (de Goeje), 247, 352.

He took part in [the battle of] Qādisiyyah and fought on the side of ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib] in his battles.

Al-Musayyib was killed in the battle of ʿAyn al-Wardah with the Repenters (*tawwābūn*). These [people] had repented having forsaken al-Ḥusayn [b. ʿAlī].[1233] Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr[1234] sent the [detached] head of al-Musayyib b. Najabah to [the governor], ʿUbaydallah b. Ziyād,[1235] at the hand of Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhili. ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād sent it to [the caliph], Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, and he set it up [in public] in Damascus.

[2529] Ḥujr b. ʿAdī b. Jabalah b. ʿAdī b. Rabīʿah b. Muʿawiyah al-Akramīn b. al-Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiyah b. al-Ḥārith b. Muʿāwiyah b. Thawr b. Muratti‘ b. Kindiyy (sic).[1236]

He is [called] Ḥujr al-Khayr (the good one). His father was ʿAdī al-Adbar (the sore backed), [thus nicknamed] because he had been stabbed after having turned his back [to the enemy].

Ḥujr b. ʿAdī lived both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times. Some scholars mention that he came to the Prophet together with his brother Hāni' b. ʿAdī.[1237] He was the one who conquered Marj ʿAdhrā'.[1238]

Ḥujr's pension was 2,500 [dirhams per year].[1239] He was a companion of ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib] and fought on his side in [the battles of] the Camel and Ṣiffīn.[1240]

1233. See pp. 50–51, above.

1234. A general of the Sufyānids. See "al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr," *EI*², III, 620–21 (H. Lammens and V. Cremonesi); Crone, *Slaves*, 97.

1235. One of the important governors of Iraq for the Sufyānids, son of the previous governor and adopted brother of Muʿāwiyah, Ziyād b. Abīhi (= b. Abī Sufyān); see Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 41, 50, 53, 55.

1236. The tribe's name is Kindah, not as written here. Ḥujr was a Kindī leader in al-Kūfah, charged as an instigator of opposition to the Umayyads. He was executed by Muʿawiyah in the year 51/671. See "Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī," *EI*², III, 545 (H. Lammens); Hasson, 133–39; Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 41; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 112–155; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVa, 211–36; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 144; al-Kashshī, 94; al-Quhpā'ī, II, 85–86; al-Ḍabbī, 20; al-Amīn, XX, 141–227; Ibn Saʿd, VI, 151–54.

1237. This makes him a Companion (*ṣaḥābī*). Certain historians, however, deny him the title; see Lammens, "Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī."

1238. A village 15 miles away from Damascus, conquered by Khālid b. al-Walīd; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2103. Ḥujr is not mentioned here among the conquerors, and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, III, 625, treats this information cautiously. Marj ʿAdhrā' was the place where Ḥujr was imprisoned, executed, and buried. See Yāqūt, III, 625; al-Ṭabarī, II, 137. The translation in Blankenship, 103, is erroneous.

1239. This was the highest pension, called *sharaf al-ʿaṭā'*.

1240. See, e.g., Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 103–4, 117, and passim.

Ṣaʿṣaʿah b. Ṣūḥān.[1241]
He died in al-Kūfah during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah.

ʿAbd Khayr b. Yazīd al-Khaywānī, of the Hamdān.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿUmārah. He participated on ʿAlī's side in [the battle of] Ṣiffin, where he excelled.

Al-Aṣbagh b. Nubātah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr b. Fātik b. ʿĀmir b. Mujāshiʿ b. Dārim.[1242]
He was the commander of the *shurṭah* for ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib].
Al-Aṣbagh belonged to the party (*shīʿah*) of ʿAlī.

Ḥajjār b. Abjar b. Jābir b. Bujayr b. ʿĀʾidh b. Shurayṭ b. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. Rabīʿah b. ʿIjl.[1243]
He was a tribal noble (*sharīf*).

Muslim b. Nudhayr al-Saʿdī, of the Saʿd b. Zayd Manāh b. Tamīm.[1244]
He too belonged to the Shīʿah.

Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Jadalī.[1245]
His name was ʿAbadah b. ʿAbd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Yaʿmur b. Ḥabīb b. ʿĀʾidh b. Mālik b. Wāʾilah b. ʿAmr b. Nāj b. Yashkur b. [2530]
ʿAdwān—whose [real] name was al-Ḥārith—b. ʿAmr b. Qays b. ʿAylān b. Muḍar.
ʿAdwān (the aggressor) was thus nicknamed because he had acted most aggressively against his brother Fahm b. ʿAmr and killed him.

1241. Of the ʿAbd al-Qays; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 297. He was an important companion of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 144; al-Kashshī, 64–65; al-Quhpāʾī, III, 212–14; al-Ḍabbī, 29; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, passim.

1242. A member of the Mujāshiʿ family, a part of the Tamīmī clan Dārim. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 184; al-Quhpāʾī, I, 232–33; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 231.

1243. The tribe is ʿIjl b. Lujaym of the Bakr b. Wāʾil, and the family of Bujayr was a leading one. Ḥajjār was a tribal leader in al-Kūfah; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 314. He was associated with the Umayyads, but during the second civil war he joined the Zubayrid party; see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVa, 144, 22, V, 174, 225, 232, 296.

1244. Ibn Saʿd, VI, 159; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 398.

1245. A member of the Jadīlah of Qays. His name is variously given as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿUbayd, and ʿAbadah. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 259; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 143; Ibn Saʿd, VI, 159; al-Kashshī, 85–87; al-Quhpāʾī, IV, 114–15.

The mother of ʿAdwān and Fahm was Jadīlah bt. Murr b. Ṭābikhah, a sister of Tamīm b. Murr,[1246] and the [members of these tribes] were called after her.

Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Jadalī belonged to ʿAlī's party. He was the commander of the 800 [troops] sent by al-Mukhtār [to the Ḥijāz] to protect Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah from [ʿAbdallāh] Ibn al-Zubayr when the latter wanted to kill him.[1247]

Abū al-Mutawakkil al-Nājī.[1248]

His name was ʿAlī b. Du'ād.

Abū al-Ṣiddīq al-Nājī.[1249]

His name was Bakr b. ʿAmr. He was a reliable [transmitter] (*thiqah*).

Dharr b. ʿAbdallāh b. Zurārah b. Muʿāwiyah b. ʿAmīrah b. Munabbih b. Ghālib b. Waqsh b. Qāsim b. Murhibah, of the Hamdān.[1250]

Dharr was an eminent storyteller (*qāṣṣ*)[1251] and a Murji'. He was one of the Qur'an readers (*qurrā'*) who participated in the revolt of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath against al-Ḥajjāj.[1252]

1246. That is, the eponym of the tribal confederation of Tamīm.

1247. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 112–14; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 693–95. Abū ʿAbdallāh also acted as imām for al-Mukhtār; see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 267.

1248. Of the Banū Sāmah b. Lu'ayy, an obscure group claiming descent from the Quraysh; part of them were called after the ancestress Nājiyah. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 173; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 352; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 206; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 148; al-Dūlābī, II, 105.

1249. A Baṣran *ḥāfiẓ* of the same tribe as the previous one. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 352; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 206; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 150; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 426. According to Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 164, he was not a trustworthy transmitter.

1250. A traditionist of the Murhibah, a branch of the southern Hamdān. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 396; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 189.

1251. On the storytellers and their role in spreading traditions see "Ḳiṣṣa," *EI²*, V, 185–87 (C. Pellat); Pedersen; Bosworth, *Medieval*, I, 27; Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 11–12; Ṭahā al-Najm; al-Zubur; al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-khawāṣṣ*; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Quṣṣāṣ*; Muṣṭafā, II, 145–47.

1252. Dharr is not included in the list of the Qurrā' who supported Ibn al-Ashʿath given in Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 286. It is not certain that in the context of Ibn al-Ashʿath's revolt *qurrā'* meant Qur'ān readers. See Shaban, 50–54, 67–68, and passim; Sayed; Juynboll, "The Qurrā'."

According to Ibn Sa'd[1253]—al-Faḍl b. Dukayn—Abū Isrā'īl—al-Ḥakam: I heard Dharr say during [the battle of] al-Jamājim "Is it anything but the coolness of iron in the hand of an unbeliever [who is going to be] burned [in hell]?"

Ṭalḥah b. 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf b. As'ad, of the Banū Mulayḥ b. 'Amr b. Rabī'ah, of the Khuzā'ah.[1254] [2531]

His father, 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf, was killed in the battle of the Camel, [fighting] on the side of 'Ā'ishah and Ṭalḥah.

This Ṭalḥah was the one called Ṭalḥah of the Ṭalḥahs. He was the most generous Arab of his time.

Ṭalḥah's mother was Ṣafiyyah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ṭalḥah b. Abī Ṭalḥah b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. His father's mother was Ḥumaynah bt. Abī Ṭalḥah b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā.[1255] He was called Ṭalḥah of the Ṭalḥahs because both Ṭalḥah and Abū Ṭalḥah were [among] his ancestors.

Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣah.[1256]

His *kunyah* was Abū Yūnus.

He was an ultra-Shī'ī. When the Banū Hāshim came to power[1257] Dā'ūd b. 'Alī[1258] led the pilgrimage that year, that is, the year 132/749. Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣah performed the pilgrimage that same year. He entered Mecca uttering the *talbiyah* formula thus "Here I am at your service, O God, here I am, O Annihilator

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1253. Ibn Sa'd, VI, 205.

1254. A Baṣran tribal noble of a leading family. He was governor of Sijistān under the Umayyads, and his father, 'Abdallāh, had run the *dīwān* of al-Baṣrah for the caliphs 'Umar and 'Uthmān. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 245; Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 156, 306, 356, 377; Ibn Qudāmah, 117, 222.

1255. Both the mother and grandmother of Ṭalḥah were Qurashīs of the 'Abd al-Dār clan.

1256. He was a Kūfan client of the Banū 'Ijl, said to be a Murji' and a Zaydī of the Batriyyah/Ṣāliḥiyyah, for which see note 1148, above. See Ibn Sa'd, VI, 234; al-Kashshī, 202–4 (read "al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy" instead of "al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā"), 249; al-Quhpā'ī, III, 89–92; al-Amīn, XXXIII, 377–85; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn*, I, 343.

1257. That is, the 'Abbasids, in the year 132/749.

1258. Son of 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and the most respected uncle of the first 'Abbasid caliphs, al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr. He died in the year 133/750–51. See Lassner, 141, 144, 146; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 444–45; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III (Dūrī), 87–89; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, VIII, 149–52; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, V, 409–16.

of the Banū Umayyah." Now Sālim was a loud-spoken person. Dā'ūd b. 'Alī heard him and asked "Who is this?" Someone replied "Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣah." Dā'ūd was then informed about Sālim and his convictions.[1259]

According to Ibn Sa'd[1260]—'Alī b. 'Abdallāh—Sufyān—Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣah: Whenever ['Āmir b. Shuraḥbīl] al-Sha'bī saw me he would recite the following:

O God's police, fall down and away
like a grain of barley.[1261]

Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, who founded the science of prosody, al-Farāhīdī.[1262]

He was of the 'Atīk.[1263]

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥabīb b. al-Shahīd—Quraysh b. Anas—al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, the founder of the science of grammar: When a book is copied three times it becomes [as if it were written] in Persian. Abū Ya'qūb commented: He meant that faults proliferate in it. [2532]

Qurashī [Women], [Younger] Contemporaries of Companions of the Prophet, from Whom Knowledge Was Transmitted

Fāṭimah bt. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[1264]

She transmitted traditions from her father, among them [the following]. According to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn—al-Faḍl b.

1259. Al-Ṣafadī, XIII, 478–79.

1260. Ibn Sa'd, VI, 234, see also al-Amīn, XXXIII, 383.

1261. Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 367, adds that this was said in mockery. Al-Amīn, XXXIII, 383, explains that the reference is to the forces of al-Mukhtār (supposedly supported by Sālim); cf. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 260.

1262. A Baṣran philologist of the Farāhīd, a branch of the Azd. He was the first Arab scholar to write a dictionary and set rules for prosody. See "al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad," *EI*², IV, 962–64 (R. Sellheim); al-Sam'ānī, IV, 357; Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 93–96, II, 1030.

1263. A branch of the southern confederation of Azd. According to Ibn Ḥazm, however, al-Khalīl's clan, the Farāhīd, belonged to a different branch within the Azd; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 367–71, 380.

1264. Her mother was a concubine, and it was reported that she knew no tradition from her father. According to a certain anecdote, she threw ashes in the face of a man who glorified her father. See Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 341–42; al-Amīn, XLII, 254–55.

Dukayn—Ibn Abī Nu'm; that is, al-Ḥakam b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Nu'm—Fāṭimah bt. 'Alī—her father—the Prophet: Whoever sets free a Muslim or a believer [slave], God will protect from hellfire every limb of his, in exchange for every limb of that [slave].

Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[1265]

Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

She transmitted traditions from her father and others, among them the following. According to Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd al-Muḥāribī—Ṣāliḥ b. Mūsā al-Ṭalḥī—'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan—his mother Fāṭimah bt. al-Ḥusayn—her father—'Alī: The Prophet used to say, on entering the mosque: "O God, open the gates of Your mercy for me." Walking out he would say: "O God, open the gates of Your livelihood for me."

Umm Kulthūm bt. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām.[1266]

She transmitted the following. According to al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd—his father—al-Awzā'ī—Umm Kulthūm bt. Asmā' bt. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq[1267]—'Ā'ishah, the Prophet's wife: The Prophet was at home when 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib came [one day] and entered. When [2533]
he saw the Prophet praying he stood by his side, praying [too]. A scorpion emerged and reached the Prophet, then left him and approached 'Alī. When 'Alī saw it he hit it with his shoe. The Prophet did not find fault with 'Alī for killing it.

Umm Ḥumayd bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.[1268]

She transmitted the following. According to Sa'īd b. Yaḥyā al-Umawī—his father—['Abd al-Malik] Ibn Jurayj—'Abd al-Malik b.

1265. Daughter of Fāṭimah (Muḥammad's daughter) and wife of the second caliph, 'Umar. See Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 339–41; al-Zubayrī, 349; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 37, 38, 152; Ibn Qudāmah, 134–35.

1266. I could not trace her, not even in the works of the descendants of the family, al-Zubayrī's *Nasab quraysh* and al-Zubayr b. Bakkār's *Muwaffaqiyyāt*.

1267. That is, daughter of al-Zubayr, whose wife was Asmā'.

1268. Her identity is in fact unknown. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 492; al-Bandārī and Ḥasan, IV, 478. The identity of 'Abd al-Malik, son of Umm Ḥumayd, is not clear either; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 160. There was, however, a Companion bearing this name, wife of the Anṣārī Companion Abū Ḥumayd; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 445.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—his mother Umm Ḥumayd bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: I asked ʿĀʾishah about the middle prayer (*al-ṣalāh al-wusṭā*), and she said: During the Prophet's lifetime we used to read it in the first mode of reading, thus: "Keep the prayers, the middle prayer and the afternoon prayer, and stand [praying] in obedience to God."[1269]

According to ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad—Ḥajjāj [b. Muḥammad]—[ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz] Ibn Jurayj—ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān—his mother, Umm Ḥumayd bt. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who asked ʿĀʾishah about the middle prayer mentioned by God [in the Qurʾān], and she replied: During the Prophet's lifetime we used to read it according to the first mode of reading, thus: "Keep the prayers, the middle prayer and the afternoon prayer, and stand [praying] in obedience to God."

Āminah.[1270]

She transmitted the following: According to al-Rabīʿ—Asad—Ḥammād b. Salamah—ʿAlī b. Zayd—Āminah, who asked ʿĀʾishah about the following verse: "Whether you reveal what is within you or conceal it, Allāh will reckon with you for it [and will forgive whom He willeth] and punish whom He willeth."[1271] ʿĀʾishah replied: "No one asked me about this verse since I had asked the Prophet, who said: 'O ʿĀʾishah, this is how God reckons with His servants, by striking them with fever, or misfortunes, or
[2534] pestilence. Even a piece of merchandise one puts in one's hand, loses, worries about, then finds under one's arm, [even that is an

1269. Qurʾān 2:238. The canonical reading omits the words "and the afternoon prayer." According to ʿĀʾishah's reading as recorded here, the "middle prayer" cannot be identical with the afternoon prayer. However, in the *Jamiʿ*, II, 555, al-Ṭabarī ascribes to ʿĀʾishah a reading that makes these two prayers identical. See the whole discussion in al-Ṭabarī, *Jamiʿ*, II, 553–68; and the various readings in Jeffery, 30, 122, 196, 214, 232, 235, 237.

1270. Perhaps Āminah bt. ʿAbdallāh; see note 1271, below.

1271. Qurʾān 2:285; trans. Bell, I, 41. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ*, III, 149, ʿAlī b. Zayd transmitted this tradition from his mother, whose name is not mentioned. In ʿAlī's biography, Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 283, one Āminah bt. ʿAbdallāh is mentioned as one of ʿAlī's sources. I could not trace this Āminah. ʿAlī b. Zayd was a Baṣran, Qurashī transmitter who died in the year 127/744–45 (there are other versions). According to al-Zubayrī, 293, his mother was a concubine. See also Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn*, II, 103–4.

act of God]. So that the believer eventually emerges out of his sins like red gold dust emerging from the blacksmith's bellows.'"

The Following Are Names and Kunyahs *Mentioned in the* History[1272]

Abū Bakr.

Opinions differ as to his name. Most of the scholars hold that it was ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Quḥāfah. Others say that it was ʿAtīq. As for Abū Quḥāfah, there is no disagreement over his name. It was ʿUthmān b. ʿĀmir b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murrah.

Abū ʿUbaydah.[1273]

His name was ʿĀmir b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Jarrāḥ.

Abū al-Arqam.[1274]

His name was ʿAbd Manāf b. Asad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Makhzūmī.

Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī.

He was an ally of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib,[1275] and his name was Kannāz b. al-Ḥuṣayn or Kināz b. al-Ḥuṣayn.

1272. It is not clear whether or not the title applies only to this chapter or to the subsequent ones as well. In any case, in what follows al-Ṭabarī records *kunyahs*, nicknames, and names of people, regardless of whether or not they were already mentioned in the *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*. Moreover, he sometimes mentions the same person twice in one chapter, e.g., Tamīm al-Dārī (pp. 298, 302). Despite the chapter heading, some of these people are not mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh*, e.g., Abū al-Arqam (*Dhayl*, 2534); others figure there only once, e.g., ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd 2539 = al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2894. Many, however, such as ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib or al-Zubayr, occupy many pages in various places of the *Ta'rīkh*. I saw no point in overloading the footnotes with references. The reader is invited to use de Goeje's index or the indexes to the other volumes of the translation. On the other hand, I supply some details wherever al-Ṭabarī mentions none at all. Where no details are adduced, it means either that the person's biography was recorded before or that I could not trace the person.

1273. A close Companion of the Prophet and one of the army commanders during the conquests. He died in the plague of ʿAmwās in Palestine in the year 18/639. See "Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ," *EI*², 158–59 (H. A. R. Gibb); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 223–24; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 27; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 27–28, 300.

1274. Of the Qurashī clan Makhzūm, father of al-Arqam who gave the Prophet shelter in the beginning of his career. According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 5, he was not a Companion, having apparently died before Islam. See also Ibn Qudāmah, 306, 388.

1275. That is, the Prophet's grandfather.

Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī.
His name was 'Abdallāh b. Qays, and he was an ally of Abū Uḥayḥah Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ.

Abū Maḥdhūrah, the muezzin.
His name was Aws b. Mi'yar or Samurah b. 'Umayr. [Yaḥyā] Ibn Ma'īn said: It is Samurah b. Ma'īn.[1276]

Abū al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī'.
[He was] the Prophet's son-in-law, [as] he was married to his daughter Zaynab. His name was Miqsam.

[2535] Abū Dharr.
Opinions differ as to his name. All experts on genealogy hold that it was Jundab b. Junādah, but, according to Abū Ma'shar Najīḥ, it was Burayr b. Jundab.

Abū Umāmah, Ṣudayy b. 'Ajlān al-Bāhilī.

Abū Bakrah, Nufay' b. Masrūḥ.[1277]
According to another view, his name was Masrūḥ.

Abū Laylā, Bilāl b. Bulayl b. Uḥayḥah b. al-Julāḥ.[1278]

1276. Probably Mi'yar, not Ma'īn, as in Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah* (see al-Ṭabarī, *Dhayl*, 2534 n. *f*). The two names are very similar graphically. Cairo, 669, and Dār al-Fikr, 679, also have Ma'īn.

1277. A slave from Ṭā'if, freed by the Prophet upon converting to Islam. He was half-brother of the governor of Iraq, Ziyād b. Abīhi (= b. Abī Sufyān). He lived in al-Baṣrah and died in the year 54/674. His children, having attained high positions under their uncle Ziyād, claimed descent from a respected, genuine Thaqafī. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 54; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 367, 489–506, IVa, 163–65, 183–84, 194–95; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 66–67; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 125–26.

1278. There are many versions of his name: Bilāl, Bulayl, Yasār, Dā'ūd, etc.; see p. 310, below. It is noteworthy that most, if not all, of these names are typical of slaves or foreign clients, and the uncertainty about Abū Laylā's name may arise from the debate between his grandson Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā and his enemies over his own Arab descent; see Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 216, and 320, below. However, it is generally accepted that Abū Laylā was an Anṣārī (Awsī) Companion who settled in al-Kūfah, supported 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and participated in Ṣiffīn (though not recorded by Naṣr b. Muzāḥim). He died in the year 83/702–3 during the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 85, 135, 150; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 335; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 82, 164; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 169–70; al-Dūlābī, I, 51; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXIV, 238–39.

Abū Burdah b. Niyār.[1279]
He originated in the Quḍāʿah confederation, but he became an ally of the Banū Ḥārithah of the Aws.

Abū al-Dardā', ʿUwaymir b. Zayd, of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.[1280]

Abū ʿAmrah, Bashīr b. ʿAmr b. Miḥṣan.
He was the father of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿAmrah.

Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Khālid b. Zayd b. Kulayb.

Abū Qatādah.[1281]
Opinions differ as to his name. According to Ibn Isḥāq, it was al-Ḥārith b. Ribʿī, whereas others maintain that it was ʿAmr b. Ribʿī. According to al-Wāqidī, it was al-Nuʿmān b. Ribʿī.

Abū al-Yasar, Kaʿb b. ʿAmr.

Abū Hurayrah.[1282]
According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī], his name was ʿUmayr b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Dhī al-Sharā, but al-Wāqidī says that it was ʿAbd Shams and that he was renamed ʿAbdallāh [upon embracing] Islam.[1283] Yet others hold that his name was ʿAbd Nuhm or Sukayn or ʿAbd Ghanm.

1279. An Anṣārī Companion and a supporter of ʿAlī (not mentioned by Naṣr b. Muzāḥim) who died in Medina in the year 45/665–66. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 190; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 118; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 49; Ibn Ḥajar, *Isābah*, IV, 18–19.

1280. A Companion of the Prophet, who lived in Syria and died in the year 32/652–53. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 95; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 84; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 271; al-Shayyāl, 14–31.

1281. An Anṣārī of the Banū Salimah (Khazraj), an eminent Companion of the Prophet, and a horseman, who died in the year 54/674. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 64, 70, 185, 211; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 102; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 33–34.

1282. A close Companion of the Prophet of humble origins of the tribe of Daws, a branch of the southern Azd; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 379. He was one of the most prolific traditionists, thousands of traditions being connected with his name (not all genuine, of course). See "Abū Hurayra," *EI*², I, 129 (J. Robson); Juynboll, *Authenticity*, chap. 7; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 114; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 35; Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb.

1283. See note 234, above.

Abū Usayd al-Sāʿidī, Mālik b. Rabīʿah.[1284]

Abū Ḥadrad al-Aslamī, Salāmah b. ʿUmayr b. Abī Salāmah.[1285] Others say: ʿAbd b. ʿUmayr.

[2536] Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Saʿd b. Mālik b. Sinān.

Abū Barzah al-Aslamī.[1286]
According to Hishām [b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī]: This is Naḍlah b. ʿAbdallāh. Others say Naḍlah b. ʿUbayd b. al-Ḥārith, whereas, according to al-Wāqidī, it is ʿAbdallāh b. Naḍlah.

Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, Thābit b. Zayd b. Qays.[1287]
He belonged to the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. He was one of the six who collected the Qur'ān.[1288]

Abū Wadāʿah al-Ḥārith b. Ḍubayrah b. Suʿayd, father of al-Muṭṭalib b. Abī Wadāʿah al-Sahmī.[1289]

1284. An Anṣārī Companion of the Prophet, of the Banū Sāʿidah (Khazraj), who died in the year 40/660–61. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 142, 242; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 97; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 44.

1285. He, his two sons, and his daughter Umm al-Dardā' were Companions of the Prophet, of the northern Aslam, a branch of Muḍar. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 241–42. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 110.

1286. A Companion, of the Aslam tribe, who lived in al-Baṣrah and died after the year 64/683–84 in a raid to Khurāsān. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 109, 187, 322; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 68; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif* 146.

1287. There are several Companions bearing this *kunyah*, many of them Anṣārīs. Oddly, the "one who collected (or, knew by heart) the Qur'ān" is not better known than the rest. See note 1288, below.

1288. See p. 22, above. Note that the *kunyah* of Saʿd al-Qāri' is also Abū Zayd. Apparently there is a confusion among several people. According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 78, the "Abū Zayd who collected the Qur'ān" was called Qays b. al-Sakan, but he adduces other versions too, including "Saʿd b. ʿUbayd"; see also Ibn Ḥajar, III, 250; and p. 294, below, on the famous collector of the Qur'ān, Zayd b. Thābit.

1289. A rich Meccan merchant, of the Qurashī clan the Banū Sahm, a contemporary of the Prophet who embraced Islam after the Conquest of Mecca and transmitted a few traditions. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 425; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1343, 1369; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 164.

Abū Līnah, ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Karib, of the Banū Muʿāwiyah al-Akramīn.[1290]

Abū Sabrah, Yazīd b. Mālik b. ʿAbdallāh b. Juʿfī.[1291]
He was the grandfather of Khaythamah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān,[1292] the companion of [Sulaynān b. Mihrān] al-Aʿmash.

Abū al-Ḥamrāʾ, Hilāl b. al-Ḥārith.

Abū Juḥayfah, Wahb al-Suwāʾī.[1293]

Abū Jumʿah, Ḥabīb b. Sibāʿ.[1294]

Abū al-Aʿwar al-Sulamī, ʿAmr b. Sufyān.[1295]

Abū ʿAyyāsh al-Zuraqī, Zayd b. al-Ṣāmit.[1296]

1290. Mentioned as a Companion. According to Ibn Ḥajar his son ʿIyāḍ was a companion of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and apparently more famous than his father. Al-Ṭabarī, however, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 903, 908, mentions ʿIyāḍ as a commander in al-Ḥajjāj's army; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 362.

1291. Of the southern tribe Juʿfiyy. He came to the Prophet and received from him license to claim possession of the wadi of Juʿfiyy. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 409–10; Ibn Saʿd, VI, 32; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 399, s.v. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Sabrah.

1292. A Kūfan jurist of the second century. See Ibn Saʿd, VI, 200–1; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 166; al-Ṣafadī, XIII, 443; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 154.

1293. A Companion of the Prophet, of the Suwāʾah, a branch of the northern ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 273. He died in the year 74/693–94. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 57, 132; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 80.

1294. A Companion of the Prophet. There is disagreement both over his name and his genealogy. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 33; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 124, 307; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 94.

1295. A member of the tribe of Sulaym, a contemporary of the Prophet, but it is doubtful whether he was a Companion. The family was allied to the Umayyads in pre-Islamic times. Abū al-Aʿwar later excelled as governor and army commander in the service of ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. See Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*, 118, 136–40, and passim; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 263–64; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 175, 178; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 51, 308.

1296. An Anṣārī (Khazrajī) Companion of the Prophet, one of the famous horsemen. There is, however, disagreement over his name. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 100; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 38; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 142–43.

Abū Masʿūd al-Anṣārī, ʿUqbah b. ʿAmr.[1297]

[2537] Abū Lubābah, Rifāʿah b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir.[1298]

Abū Ḥumayd al-Sāʿidī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿd.[1299]

Abū Umāmah al-Anṣārī, Asʿad b. Zurārah.[1300]

Abū Dujānah, Simāk b. Kharashah.[1301]

Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān, Mālik b. al-Tayyihān.[1302]

The Women Contemporary with the Prophet Who Gave Him the Oath of Allegiance and Are Known by Their Kunyahs

Umm Salamah bt. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah.

Her name was Hind bt. Suhayl b. al-Mughīrah; she was [one of the] Prophet's wives.

Umm Hāniʾ bt. Abī Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

1297. An Anṣārī (Khazrajī) Companion of the Prophet who took part in the ʿAqabah meeting. He was governor of al-Kūfah for ʿAlī and died during his, or Muʿāwiyah's, caliphate. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 186; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 96; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 75; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 245; al-Quhpāʾī, IV, 144.

1298. An eminent Anṣārī Companion of the Prophet, of the Awsī clan the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, said to have been one of the twelve leaders appointed by Muḥammad at the ʿAqabah meeting (*nuqabāʾ*, see note 1375, below), and the standard bearer of his clan in the conquest of Mecca. Nevertheless, there is disagreement over his name (Rifāʿah, Bashīr, Marwān). He died after the murder of ʿUthmān. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 84; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 37; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 168.

1299. An Anṣārī (Khazrajī) Companion of the Prophet and a Qurʾān reader who died in Medina at the end of Muʿāwiyah's caliphate. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 41; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 216.

1300. One of the twelve leaders appointed by Muḥammad at the ʿAqabah meeting. He died before the Prophet arrived at Medina or shortly afterward. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 12–13; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 90–91; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 243, 252; al-Aʿẓamī, *Kuttāb al-nabī*, 32–33.

1301. An eminent Anṣārī (Khazrajī) Companion of the Prophet, known for his courage and horsemanship, who was killed in the battle of al-Yamāmah. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 85; Ibn Saʿd, III/2, 101.

1302. An ally of the Khazrajī clan the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal and a highly regarded Anṣārī Companion who died in the year 20 or 21/642. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 122; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 78; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 32.

According to the transmitters of traditions and reports, her name was Fākhitah, but it was reported that, according to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, it was Hind.

Umm Ḥabībah bt. Abī Sufyān.
Her name was Ramlah.

Umm Sharīk.
Her name was Ghaziyyah bt. Jābir b. Ḥakīm.

Umm Ayman.
Her name was Barakah, and she was a client of the Prophet.

Umm al-Faḍl, Lubābah al-Kubrā bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn.
She was married to al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

Umm Maʿbad.
Her name was ʿĀtikah bt. Khālid b. Khulayf, of the Khuzāʿah. She is the one of whom it was reported that the Prophet passed by her [place] and she gave him hospitality and described him to her husband.

Umm al-Dardāʾ al-Kubrā, Khayrah bt. Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslamī. [2538]

Umm Bishr b. al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr, Khulaydah bt. Qays b. Thābit.[1303]

Umm al-Ḥakam bt. al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

Umm Kulthūm bt. ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ.[1304]

The Kunyahs *of People Who Outlived the Prophet and Were Known by Their Names, Not by Their* Kunyahs

The Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

1303. Wife of the Anṣārī al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr, one of the twelve leaders (*nuqabāʾ*) appointed by Muḥammad at the ʿAqabah meeting; see n. 1375 below. She herself belonged to the Ashjaʿ, a northern tribe whose territory lay near Medina. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 249–50; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 246.

1304. An early convert of the Umayyad family. She was married to Zayd b. Ḥārithah and later to al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 491; Ibn Qudāmah, 212–13.

His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥasan after his son al-Ḥasan.

Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallah.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad after his son Muḥammad.

Al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh after his son ʿAbdallāh.

Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.
His *kunyah* was Abū Isḥāq after his son Isḥāq.

Saʿd b. Zayd.
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Aʿwar.[1305]

ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās.
His *kunyah* was Abū al-ʿAbbās after his son al-ʿAbbās.

ʿUbaydallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, the latter's brother.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad after his son Muḥammad.

Al-Faḍl b. Al-ʿAbbās.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad after his son Muḥammad.

Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī [b. Abī Ṭālib].
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh after his son ʿAbdallāh. The latter was killed together with his father, al-Ḥusayn.[1306]

ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib.
His *kunyah* was [Abū Jaʿfar] after his son Jaʿfar al-Akbar (senior).

Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.
His *kunyah* was Abū Arwā after his daughter Arwā.

ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālib.
His *kunyah* was Abū Yazīd after his son Yazīd.

1305. The reference is to the famous Companion Saʿīd b. Zayd. Read Saʿīd for Saʿd; Cairo, 672, and Dār al-Fikr, 682, also have Saʿd. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 9; al-Dūlābī, I, 11–12.

1306. In Karbalāʾ, in the year 61/680. See p. 50, above.

Zayd al-Ḥibb b. Ḥārithah. [2539]
His *kunyah* was Abū Usāmah after his son Usāmah.

Usāmah al-Ḥibb b. Zayd b. Ḥārithah.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad after his son Muḥammad.

ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, Abū al-Yaqẓān.

ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān after his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, of the Bahrāʾ.
His *kunyah* was Abū Maʿbad.

Khabbāb b. al-Aratt b. Jandalah b. Saʿd b. Zayd Manāh b. Tamīm.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh after his son ʿAbdallāh.

Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿah of the Lakhm.[1307]
He was an ally of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. According to al-Wāqidī, his *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad, whereas Yaḥyā holds that it was Abū Yaḥyā.

Al-Arqam b. Abī al-Arqam, of the Makhzūm.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh. Abū al-Arqam's name was ʿAbd Manāf.

Ubayy b. Kaʿb.[1308]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Mundhir.

1307. A tribe of southern origin, from which the royal clan of al-Ḥīrah was also descended; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 422–23. Ḥāṭib was an ally of a certain family in Mecca, where he lived, and was an early convert. He died in the year 30/650–51. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 70; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 42; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 323; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 300.

1308. An Anṣārī Companion and secretary of the Prophet, credited with knowledge of the ancient scriptures and said to have participated in the collection of the Qur'ān; he died in Medina in the year 32/652–53. See Watt, *Bell's Introduction*, 37, 45, 49, 55; Jeffery, 114–16; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 31; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 143; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 88–89; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 31; al-Sayrawān, 49; al-Aʿẓamī, *Kuttāb al nabī*, 42–44.

ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Rabbihi.[1309]
He was the one who was shown in a dream [how] the call to prayer [should be performed].
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad after his son Muḥammad.

Rifāʿah b. Rafiʿ b. Mālik.[1310]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muʿādh after his son Muʿādh.

Saʿd b. ʿUbādah b. Dulaym.[1311]
His *kunyah* was Abū Thābit.

Buraydah b. al-Ḥuṣayb b. ʿAbdallāh.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh after his son ʿAbdallāh. According to al-ʿAbbās—Yaḥyā: Buraydah al-Aslamī's [*kunyah*] was Abū Sahl.

Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, the muezzin.[1312]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Thābit b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Abū Zayd.[1313]

1309. An Anṣārī Companion of the Prophet, who died in Medina in the year 32/652–53. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 143; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 96; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 40; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 244, 273. These sources call him ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd b. Thaʿlabah b. ʿAbd Rabbihi.

1310. An Anṣārī Companion of the Prophet, of the Banū Zurayq (Khazraj), whose father was one of the twelve leaders (*nuqabāʾ*) appointed at the ʿAqabah meeting; see note 1375, below. He died in Medina during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 43; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 100, 250; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 245.

1311. One of the closest Anṣārī Companions of the Prophet, leader of the Khazraj and one of the twelve leaders (*nuqabāʾ*) appointed at the ʿAqabah meeting. After the Prophet's death the Anṣār attempted, but failed, to elect him leader of the community. He died in Syria during the caliphate of Abū Bakr or ʿUmar. See "Saʿd b. ʿUbāda," *EI*[1], IV, 30–31 (K. V. Zetterstéen); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 97 (note the difference in the *kunyah*), 303; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 28–29; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 250, 252, 254, 580–82; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, IX, 235–46.

1312. An Abyssinan slave bought and freed by Abū Bakr to save him from the tortures his master inflicted upon him for being a Muslim. He served as the Prophet's muezzin and crier and died in Syria in the year 20 or 21/642. See "Bilāl b. Rabāḥ," *EI*[2], I, 1215 (W. ʿArafat); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 184–93; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 85; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 19, 298.

1313. There were two Anṣārīs bearing this name, apparently confused by Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 354; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 193–94. Here the reference apparently is to Thābit b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Khalīfah of the ʿAbd al-Ashhal, Abū Zayd, who died in the year 45/665–66; see Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 68.

ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf. [2540]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Ḥassān b. Thābit.
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Walīd.

Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥarām.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Kaʿb b. Mālik, the poet.[1314]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Jubayr b. Muṭʿim.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh after his son ʿAbdallāh.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr.[1315]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh after his son ʿAbdallāh.

Khālid b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah.
His *kunyah* was Abū Sulaymān after his son Sulaymān.

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ.[1316]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh after his son ʿAbdallāh.

Wāthilah b. al-Asqaʿ.[1317]

1314. An eminent Anṣārī (Khazrajī) Companion of the Prophet, a poet, and one of the twelve leaders (*nuqabāʾ*) appointed by Muḥammad at the ʿAqaba meeting. He died in the year 50/670 (there are other versions). See "Kaʿb b. Mālik," *EI*², IV, 315–16 (W. M. Watt); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 102–3; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 38; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 248.

1315. Son of the first caliph and brother of the Prophet's wife ʿĀʾishah, with whom he participated in the battle of the Camel; he died in the year 58/677–78. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 18, 189; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Māshāhīr*, 34–35.

1316. A Meccan Companion of the Prophet, of the Qurashī clan the Banū Sahm. Although he was not an early convert, the Prophet entrusted him with important tasks, and he later played a major role in the conquests in Syria and Egypt. He was governor of Egypt until his dismissal by the third caliph, ʿUthmān, then received the post again from Muʿāwiyah as a reward for his support. He died in Egypt in the year 42 or 43/663–64. See "ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ," *EI*², I, 451 (A. J. Wensinck); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 25–26; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 93; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 168–74; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, passim; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XIX, 232–54; al-Waqā.

1317. A poor Companion of the Prophet, of the Kinānī clan the Banū Layth, who died in the year 83/702. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 292; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 31; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 86; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 272, IVa, 61.

His *kunyah* was Abū Qirṣāfah, but some hold that it was Abū al-Asqa', whereas Abū Qirṣāfah was [the *kunyah* of] Jandarah b. Khayshanah.[1318]

Ma'qil b. Yasār.[1319]
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh. The canal Nahr Ma'qil in al-Baṣrah is called after him.[1320]

Qurrah b. Iyās, Abū Mu'āwiyah.[1321]

Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'aṭṭal.[1322]
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Amr.

Al-'Irbāḍ b. Sāriyah, Abū Najīḥ.[1323]

Al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah.
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh.

'Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn.[1324]

1318. Of the Kinānī clan the Banū Layth. He belonged to the Ahl al-Ṣuffah, that is, the group of poor Companions. He lived in al-Baṣrah and died in Syria in the year 83/702–3. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 292; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 174–75; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 86; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 272. See also Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 189; al-Dūlābī, I, 49; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, V, 149–50.

1319. A Companion of the Prophet, of the Muzaynah tribe. He lived in al-Baṣrah, where he was associated with the governor of Iraq Ziyād b. Abīhi and died during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 202; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 246; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 37; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 66; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 129.

1320. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, IV, 845; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 129; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (Riḍwān), 352.

1321. A Companion of the Prophet, of the tribe of Muzaynah, who was killed in al-Baṣrah in a battle against the Khawārij in the year 64/683–84. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 37, 176; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 72.

1322. A Companion of the Prophet, of the tribe of Sulaym. He was accused of a liaison with the Prophet's wife 'Ā'ishah, but Qur'ānic verses exonerated 'Ā'ishah (the *ḥadīth al-ifk*). He lived in al-Baṣrah and was killed in a raid in the Jazīrah in the year 19/640. See Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*, 91–92; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 216; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 51; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 59; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 342, 452.

1323. A Companion of the Prophet, of the Sulaym, said to have been appointed by Muḥammad as tax collector of his clan. He later lived in Syria and died in the year 75/694–95 or before. See Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*, 94–98, 156; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 52; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 87.

1324. A Companion of the Prophet, of the Khuzā'ah. He lived in al-Baṣrah and officiated as governor there and died in the year 52/672. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 49, 106, 128, 217; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 106; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 66.

His *kunyah* was Abū Nujayd.

Sulaymān b. Ṣurad.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muṭarrif. His name had been Yasār, and the Prophet renamed him Sulaymān when he embraced Islam.[1325]

Salamah b. al-Akwa'.[1326]
His *kunyah* was Abū Iyās after his son Iyās. According to Yaḥyā, it was Abū Muslim.

'Abdallāh b. Abī Awfā.[1327]
His *kunyah* was Abū Mu'āwiyah.

'Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrad.[1328]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

'Uqbah b. 'Āmir al-Juhanī.[1329] [2541]
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Amr, according to al-Wāqidī. According to al-'Abbās—Yaḥyā: His *kunyah* was Abū Ḥammād, but in another place he said Abū Asad.

Zayd b. Khālid al-Juhanī.[1330]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ṭalḥah.

1325. See n. 234, above.

1326. Or, Salamah b. 'Amr b. al-Akwa', a Companion of the Prophet, of the Aslam, known as a brave warrior and a very swift runner(!). He lived in Medina where he died in the year 74/693–94. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 66–67; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 268; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 111; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 42.

1327. A Companion of the Prophet, of the Aslam. He lived in al-Kūfah, where he died in the year 86/705. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 110; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 83; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 248.

1328. A Companion of the Prophet, of the Aslam. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 48, 265; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 110–11; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 49.

1329. A famous Companion of the Prophet, of the Juhaynah tribe, known as a Qur'ān reader. He is said to have had his own version of the Qur'ān; cf. Watt, *Bell's Introduction*, 45; and p. 22, above. 'Uqbah was governor of Egypt for Mu'āwiyah and died in the year 58/677–78. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 181, 214; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 221, 292; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 94; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 489; al-Sayrawān, 128; al-Kindī, 35–36.

1330. An early Companion, apparently of some importance, as he was one of the standard bearers of his tribe in the conquest of Mecca. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 565; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 36.

Ma'bad b. Khālid, Abū Raw'ah al-Juhanī.[1331]

Al-Barā' b. 'Āzib.[1332]
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Umārah.

Usayd b. Ẓuhayr.[1333]
His *kunyah* was Abū Thābit.

Thābit b. Wadī'ah.[1334]
His *kunyah* was Abū Sa'd.

Khuzaymah b. Thābit.
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Umārah.

Zayd b. Thābit.[1335]
His *kunyah* was Abū Sa'īd after his son Sa'īd.

'Amr b. Ḥazm.[1336]

1331. An early Companion said, like the previous one, to have been one of the standard bearers of the Juhaynah in the conquest of Mecca. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 439; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 211. Note that other persons bear the same name.

1332. An Anṣārī (Awsī) Companion of the Prophet and conqueror of al-Rayy. He supported 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in the first civil war. He lived in al-Kūfah and died during the governorship of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr (64–72/683–91). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 142–43; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 132, 205; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 76; al-Quhpā'ī, I, 251–52; al-Kashshī, 45–46. But see Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 448, where he is included in a group cooperating with Mu'āwiyah.

1333. Counted among the Anṣārī Companions. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 49, knows of only one tradition transmitted by him.

1334. Or, Thābit b. Yazīd, counted among the Anṣārī Companions. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 80; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 196, 197.

1335. An eminent Anṣārī Companion (Khazrajī), one of the Prophet's scribes, expert on the Qur'ān and religious law. According to a certain tradition, he was the first to collect the Qur'ān already in Abū Bakr's lifetime. He lived in Medina; various versions of the year of his death are given, in the period 42-55/662–74. See Watt, *Bell's Introduction*, 40–56, and passim; "Ḳur'ān," *EI²*, V, 404–6 (A. T. Welch); Jeffery, 223–25; F. Sezgin, I, 401–2; al-A'ẓamī, *Kuttāb al-nabī*, 65–67; al-Sayrawān, 92–93; Wakī', I, 107–10; 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, 156, 157; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 296; Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 47–48.

1336. An eminent Anṣārī Companion reputed to have been in possession of a document in which the Prophet wrote the details of the legal alms, blood money, and other precepts. He was appointed by the Prophet to administer Najrān and died during 'Umar's caliphate or after the year 50/670. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 532; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 45; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 529; Muṣṭafā, I, 155.

His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḍaḥḥāk.

Shaddād b. Aws b. Thābit.[1337]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ya'lā after his son Ya'lā.

Mu'ādh b. al-Ḥārith, of the Banū al-Najjār of the Anṣār.[1338]
He was called "the Reader." His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥārith.

Anas b. Mālik.[1339]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ḥamzah.

Zayd b. Arqam.[1340]
His *kunyah* was Abū Sa'd, according to al-Wāqidī, whereas others hold that it was Abū Unaysah.

Al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr.[1341]

1337. An Anṣārī (Khazrajī) Companion, nephew of the Prophet's poet Ḥassān b. Thābit. He lived in Filasṭīn; versions of his death date vary between 41/661–62 and 64/683–84(!). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 140; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 216; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 88; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 85.

1338. There were at least three Anṣārīs bearing this name. Confusion prevails mainly between Mu'ādh b. al-Ḥārith, whose mother was named 'Afrā', and Mu'ādh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Arqam, the only one of the three called "the reader" (but his *kunyah* is Abū Ḥalīmah, not as recorded by al-Ṭabarī). See the Cairo edition, index s.vv. Mu'ādh b. al-Ḥārith, Mu'ādh, b. 'Afrā', Mu'ādh b. al-Ḥārith al-Qāri' (de Goeje's index mentions only one Mu'ādh b. al-Ḥārith); al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2182; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, 427–28; Ibn al-Jazarī, II, 301–2; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXVIII, 117.

1339. Of the Anṣār (Khazraj); his mother gave him to the Prophet as a servant, and he became a close Companion and one of the most prolific traditionists (naturally, not all the traditions ascribed to him are authentic). He was also one of Muḥammad's scribes (not recorded by al-A'ẓamī). He lived in al-Baṣrah, where he acted as prayer leader (imām) for 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr during the latter's rule. Anas died in the year 93/711–12 (there are other versions). See "Anas b. Mālik," *EI²*, I, 482 (A. J. Wensinck and J. Robson); Jeffery, 214; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 64, 73, 254–55, 262, 309; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 91; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 65.

1340. A Companion of the Prophet, of the Anṣār (Khazraj), who participated in the battle of Ṣiffīn on 'Alī's side and died later in al-Kūfah in the year 66/685–86. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 560; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 94; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 80. But see Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 448, where he appears to be cooperating with Mu'āwiyah; cf. the biography of al-Barā' b. 'Āzib, above.

1341. A famous Anṣārī (Khazrajī) Companion of the Prophet, who was governor for Mu'āwiyah in al-Kūfah, later in Ḥimṣ, and a judge in Damascus. In the second civil war he supported 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr; Marwān b. al-Ḥakam fought him and killed him, in the year 64/683–84 or 65/684–85. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 247; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 94; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 87; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 127–28, 132, 147; Wakī', III, 201; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXVI, 160–64.

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh after his son ʿAbdallāh.

Saʿd b. ʿUbādah, Abū Thābit, according to Yaḥyā.

Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbādah.[1342]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Malik.

Sahl b. Saʿd al-Sāʿidī.[1343]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-ʿAbbās after his son al-ʿAbbās.

[2542] ʿAbdallāh b. Salām.[1344]
His *kunyah* was Abū Yūsuf. His name had been al-Ḥuṣayn, but the Prophet renamed him ʿAbdallāh when he embraced Islam.[1345]

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām.
His *kunyah* was Abū Bakr after his son Bakr. According to another version, his *kunyah* was Abū Khubayb.

Al-Miswar b. Makhramah.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān after his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

ʿUmar b. Abī Salamah b. ʿAbd al-Asad.
His *kunyah* was Abū Ḥafṣ.

ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth.
His *kunyah* was Abū Saʿīd.

Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿah.

1342. Son of the Khazrajī leader Saʿd b. ʿUbādah, a Companion of the Prophet, and supporter of ʿAlī, who appointed him chief of the *shurṭah* (quasi-police) and governor of Egypt. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 101; al-Kashshī, 102–3; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 249; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, passim; al-Kindī, 23–25.

1343. A Companion of the Prophet, of the Anṣār (Khazraj), and the last Companion to die in Medina, in the year 88/707 or 91/709–10. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 98; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 48.

1344. A Jewish convert and Companion of the Prophet credited with deep knowledge of the ancient scriptures and Islamic religious law. He died in the year 43/663–64. See "ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām," *EI²*, I, 52 (J. Horovitz); F. Sezgin, I, 304; Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 42, II, 937; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 36; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 266.

1345. See note 234, above.

His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Muḥammad b. Ḥāṭib.[1346]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ibrāhīm.

Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān.[1347]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Al-Walīd b. ʿUqbah b. Abī Muʿayṭ.[1348]
His *kunyah* was Abū Wahb.

Makhramah b. Nawfal.
[His *kunyah* was] Abū Ṣafwān after his son Ṣafwān.

Qabīṣah b. al-Mukhāriq.[1349]
His *kunyah* was Abū Bishr.

Jābir b. Samurah b. Junādah.[1350]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

ʿAdī b. Ḥātim al-Jawād (the generous), al-Ṭāʾī.
His *kunyah* was Abū Ṭarīf.

1346. A Companion of the Prophet, of the Qurashī clan the Banū Jumaḥ, who was a supporter of ʿAlī and died in the year 74/693–94 in al-Kūfah or in Mecca. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 25, 278; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 81; Ibn Qudāmah, 324, 449; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 10.

1347. The founder of the Umayyad dynasty. See "Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān," *EI*[2], VII, 263–68 (M. Hinds), *EI*[1], VI, 617–21 (H. Lammens); Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 21–45; Hasson, *Recherches*; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 10, 139, 297–98; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 85–86; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVa, 11–138; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXIV, 399–405, XXV, 5–93; al-Munajjid, 167–74.

1348. A Companion of the Prophet, a late convert, of the aristocratic Umayyad family. He was governor of al-Kūfah for ʿUthmān but was dismissed and flogged for drinking wine. See Ibn Qudāmah, 210–11; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11, 126, and passim; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 78; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 29–35.

1349. A Companion of the Prophet, of the northern Hilāl, apparently of a noble family, as his son Qaṭan counted as a tribal noble and became governor of Sijistān (according to Crone, *Slaves*, 136, of al-Baṣrah). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 222; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 56, 184; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 70.

1350. A Companion of the Prophet, originally of the northern, ʿĀmirī clan Suwāʾah and an ally of the Qurashī clan Zuhrah. He lived in al-Kūfah and died in the year 74/693–94. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 212; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 56–57, 131–32; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 81.

Al-Ashʿath b. Qays.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad after his son Muḥammad.

Tamīm al-Dārī, that is, Tamīm b. Aws b. Khārijah.[1351]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ruqayyah.

ʿAmr b. Maʿdī-karib.[1352]
His *kunyah* was Abū Thawr.

Hāni' b. Yazīd, the father of Shurayḥ b. Hāni'.[1353]
His *kunyah* was Abū Shurayḥ.

It was reported that in pre-Islamic times his *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥakam (father of the arbitrator), because he used to act as arbitrator among his people. When he embraced Islam the Prophet gave him the *kunyah* Abū Shurayḥ.[1354]

[2543] Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī.[1355]

According to al-Wāqidī, His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh, but we hold that it was Abū ʿAmr. A verse attributed to him runs as follows:

I am Jarīr; my *kunyah* is Abū ʿAmr.

1351. A Christian convert to Islam, and a famous Companion, of the southern Banū al-Dār (a branch of the Lakhm); see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 422. He was an ascetic and a storyteller (*qāṣṣ*; see note 1251, above) and so much identified with the *qaṣaṣ* that he was considered by some to have introduced it to Islam. He lived in Filasṭīn, where the Prophet (allegedly?) granted him lands. See "Tamīm al-Dārī," *EI*[1], VIII, 646–48 (G. Levi Della Vida); Gil, 129–30; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 335; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 70, 305; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 89; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, V, 307–23; al-Ghayṭī; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb*, 77–78, 87, 107; Sharāb.

1352. A famous warrior, poet, and tribal chief among the Yemeni tribe Zubayd. He embraced Islam in the year 9/630, apostatized, returned to Islam, and died in the battle of al-Qādisiyyah (there are other versions of his death date). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 411; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 74; al-Rāzī, 37, 583; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, XIV, 24–40; Ibn Nubātah, 306–12.

1353. A Companion of the Prophet, of the Yemeni tribe al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 417. His son Shurayḥ was a jurist and a supporter of ʿAlī, who entrusted him with certain offices. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 82; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 597. For Shurayḥ, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 166; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 107–9; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, X, 303–4.

1354. Cf. note 234, above. The previous *kunyah* was perhaps improper because al-Ḥakam is an epithet of God; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 597.

1355. An early convert, a tribal noble (*sharīf*), unifier and leader of the Bajīlah, who died in the year 51/671. See Crone, *Slaves*, 114–15; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 116–17, 138, 318; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 76; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 891–93.

I hit with my sword while Sa'd is in the citadel.[1356]

Fayrūz al-Daylamī.
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh after his son 'Abdallāh.
Some transmitters refer to him as al-Daylamī al-Ḥimyarī. This is so because he lived [in the Yemen] among the Ḥimyar. [Actually] he was one of the descendants of the Persians (*abnā'*) who had been sent by the Persian ruler Khusraw to the Yemen to fight the Abyssinians there.

Safīnah, Umm Salamah's client.[1357]
According to al-'Abbās—Yaḥyā: His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

Uhbān b. Ṣayfī.[1358]
According to [al-'Abbās] (?): His *kunyah* was Abū Muslim.

Al-Miqdām b. Ma'dī-Karib.[1359]
His *kunyah* was Abū Karīmah.

Ya'lā b. Murrah.[1360]
According to Yaḥyā, his *kunyah* was Abū al-Marāzim, but al-Wāqidī holds that Abū al-Marāzim was the *kunyah* of Ya'lā b. Umayyah.

Labīd b. Rabī'ah, the poet.
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Aqīl.

1356. The reference is to Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, and the occasion was the battle of al-Qādisiyyah; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2357, 2361.

1357. Or the Prophet's client; he was of Persian, or bedouin, origin. There are twenty-one versions of his name. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 22, 190; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 71; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 480; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 58.

1358. A Companion of the Prophet, of the northern tribe Ghifār, resident of al-Baṣrah. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 33, 175; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 72.

1359. Counted among the Companions, although some doubted that he had ever seen the Prophet. He was a Kindī, lived in Ḥimṣ, and died in the year 87/706 or, according to Ibn Sa'd, VII/2, during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik. According to Abū Zur'ah, 237, 240, he was associated with al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 72, 304; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 91; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 455; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXV, 222–24.

1360. A Companion of the Prophet, of the Thaqīf, resident of al-Baṣrah. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 53, 131; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 78.

Qaraẓah b. Ka'b.[1361]
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Amr.

Ḥuwayṭib b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Abī Qays.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

Mālik b. al-Ḥuwayrith al-Laythī.[1362]
His *kunyah* was Abū Sulaymān.

Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān.
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh.

Those of the Prophet's Companions Who Were Known by [the Names of] Their Patrons or Brothers or by Their [Own] Nicknames or by Their Grandfathers, Instead of Their Actual Fathers

[2544] Sālim b. Ma'qil, called Sālim the client of Abū Ḥudhayfah.[1363] He was known as Abū Ḥudhayfah's client but was [actually] a slave of an Awsī woman called Thubaytah bt. Ya'ār, who was married to Abū Ḥudhayfah b. 'Utbah. She set Sālim free, renouncing all claim to his services.[1364] Sālim then attached himself to Abū Ḥudhayfah by clientage, and the latter adopted him.

Al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad.

1361. An Anṣārī Companion of the Prophet who lived in al-Kūfah and commanded the force that conquered al-Rayy (but cf. p. 294, above; al-Barā' b. 'Āzib). He was later appointed governor of the town by 'Alī and died during the caliphate of 'Alī or Mu'āwiyah. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 2650, 3173; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 94–95; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 82.

1362. A Companion of the Prophet of the northern, Kinānī clan the Banū Layth; he lived in al-Baṣrah and died in the year 74/693–94. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 30; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 70.

1363. An early convert and a famous Qur'ān reader reputed for his courage in the battle of al-Yamāmah against Musaylimah, where he was killed. See Jeffery, 234; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 77; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 12; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 45–6; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 264; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 301. His patron, Abū Ḥudhayfah, was a Qurashī of the Umayyad clan.

1364. That is, as opposed to freeing a slave on condition that he stays in the household, which involved rights and obligations for both the freedman and his patron. See Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law*, 67–68; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 118–19.

He was the son of ʿAmr b. Bahrāʾ b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍāʿah but became an ally of al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yaghūth al-Zuhrī in pre-Islamic times. Al-Aswad adopted him, so he was called al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad. When the Qurʾānic verse "Call them by their fathers' names" was revealed al-Miqdād was again called by the name of his real father, ʿAmr.

Dhū al-Shimālayn (the one with two left hands), sometimes also called Dhū al-Yadayn (the one with two hands), because he was, it was reported, ambidexterous; he could work with both his hands.

His name was ʿUmayr b. ʿAbd ʿAmr b. Naḍlah b. ʿAmr b. Ghubshān, of the Khuzāʿah.[1365] He was killed in the battle of Badr as a *shahīd* with the other Muslims who were killed there.

As for the second one, his name was al-Khirbāq.[1366] He outlived the Prophet for a while and transmitted a few traditions from him.

Suhayl b. Bayḍāʾ.[1367]

He is known by the name of his mother, al-Bayḍāʾ, whose name was Daʿd bt. Jaḥdam b. ʿAmr. Suhayl was the son of Wahb b. Rabīʿah b. Hilāl, of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Fihr.

His brother was Ṣafwān b. Bayḍāʾ.[1368]

Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān.

He was known by the name of his great-grandfather's grandfather. He was [actually] the son of Ḥusayl b. Jābir b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAmr b. Jirwah b. al-Ḥārith b. Quṭayʿah b. ʿAbs b. Baghīḍ. Jirwah b. al-Ḥārith is the Yamān who fathered Ḥudhayfah. He was thus

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1365. He was an ally of the Banū Zuhrah of the Quraysh. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 295; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 140–41.

1366. His identity is uncertain, except that he was of the Sulaym, and the identification between him and Dhū al-Yadayn is uncertain as well; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 422–23; cf. Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 140–41. Note that at the beginning of the entry al-Ṭabarī takes Dhū al-Shimālayn and Dhū al-Yadayn to be one and the same person.

1367. A Qurashī Companion who died in the year 9/630 (before the Prophet); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 91–92.

1368. A rather obscure Companion, counted by some scholars among those killed at Badr, according to others he died in the year 30/650–51 or 38/658–59. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 191–92 s.v. Ṣafwān b. Wahb; Ibn Saʿd, III/1, 303; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 18; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 225.

[2545] called because he had murdered someone of his own tribe, so he fled to Medina and became an ally of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal. His family was then called al-Yamān (the southerners), because they were allied to a Yemenī clan.[1369]

Yaʿlā b. Siyābah.
Siyābah was his mother, and his father was Murrah, so he was [actually] Yaʿlā b. Murrah.

Yaʿlā b. Munyah.
Munyah was his mother, and his father was Umayyah, so he was [actually] Yaʿlā b. Umayyah.

Nābighah of the Banū Jaʿdah, the poet.
He was known by his nickname [Nābighah] (the copious),[1370] but his [real] name was Qays b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUdas b. Rabīʿah b. Jaʿdah.

Al-Ashʿath b. Qays b. Maʿdī-Karib.
Al-Ashʿath (the shaggy-haired one) was a nickname by which he was known. His real name was Maʿdī-Karib, but he received that nickname because he was always shaggy-haired, or so it was reported.

Tamīm al-Dārī.
He was known by the name of al-Dār b. Hāniʾ, [a clan] of the Lakhm. He was the son of Aws b. Khārijah al-Dārī.

Al-Hulb b. Yazīd al-Ṭāʾī.[1371]
He was known by his nickname [al-Hulb] (the hairy one),[1372] but his [real] name was Salāmah, father of Qabīṣah b. Hulb.[1373] He was thus nicknamed because he was bald, and when he came to

1369. The ʿAbd al-Ashhal, a part of the Aws, originated in the southern (Yemenī) confederation of al-Azd.
1370. The nickname is a reference to his creative poetic talent.
1371. There are various versions of his name. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 69; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 607.
1372. *Hulb* is in fact a noun meaning "hair" or "bristle," the adjective is *halib*, and indeed some scholars vocalize the name that way; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, 609.
1373. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 350–51; Ibn Saʿd, VI, 206.

the Prophet and embraced Islam, as it was reported, the Prophet stroked his head with his hand, and [Salāmah]'s head grew hair, so he was called Hulb after his bristles.

The Names of the Successors Who Were Known by Their Kunyahs

Abū Umāmah b. Sahl b. Ḥunayf.[1374]

His name was As'ad.

It was reported that the Prophet called him thus and gave him his *kunyah*. This was because his mother was Ḥabībah, daughter of Abī Umāmah As'ad b. Zurārah b. 'Udas, the leader who was responsible (*naqīb*) for the Banū al-Najjār.[1375] When she gave birth [2546]
to Abū Umāmah he was given the name and *kunyah* of her father.

Abū Sa'īd al-Maqbarī.[1376]

This is the father of Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd al-Maqbarī.[1377] His [real] name was Kaysān, and he was a client of Banū Jundu' of the clan Layth b. Bakr.

Abū Ja'far al-Qāri' (the reader).[1378]

His name was Yazīd b. al-Qa'qā', a client of ['Abdallāh] Ibn 'Ayyāsh.[1379]

1374. An Anṣārī Companion, son and grandson of Companions, who died in the year 100/718–19. See Ibn Sa'd, V, 59–60; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 231; cf. *Iṣābah*, IV, 9.

1375. When the Medinans, at the 'Aqabah meeting, agreed to shelter the Prophet and the Muslims in Medina, the Prophet appointed twelve leaders, *nuqabā'*, to take charge of the Medinans' affairs. See Ibn Hishām, II, 86–89; Guillaume, 204. On As'ad b. Zurārah, said to have been one of the earliest converts to Islam in Medina, see Muir, 117, n. 119; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 34–35.

1376. He lived in Medina and died in the year 100/718–19. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 248; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 117; idem, *Thiqāt*, V, 340; al-Sam'ānī, V, 361–62.

1377. A transmitter who settled on the frontier (and participated in the *jihād* there); he died in the year 117/735 (there are other versions). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 34–35; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, X, 6–8.

1378. One of the most famous Qur'ān readers and an ascetic, who died in the year 130/747–48 or 132/749–50. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 429; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 262; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 124; Ibn al-Jazarī, II, 382–84; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 230.

1379. A Qurashī Companion, of the Banū Makhzūm, who lived in Medina; see Ibn Sa'd, V, 18.

Abū Maymūnah, a client of Umm Salamah, the Prophet's wife.[1380]

He was the reader of the people of Medina in his time. It was with him that Nāfiʿ b. Abī Nuʿaym[1381] studied.

Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān, that is, al-Zayyāt (the oil seller), a client of the Ghaṭafān or, according to another version, of a woman of the Qays named Juwayriyyah.[1382]

He is also known as Abū Suhayl, and his name was Dhakwān.

Abū Ṣāliḥ Bādhām, a client of Umm Hāniʾ, daughter of Abū Ṭālib.[1383]

Al-Kalbī and Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid transmitted from him.

Abū Ṣāliḥ Sumayʿ.[1384]

He transmitted from [ʿAbdallāh] b. ʿAbbās.

Abū Ṣāliḥ, a client of [the caliph] al-Saffāḥ.[1385]

His name was ʿUbayd. Busr b. Saʿīd[1386] transmitted from him.

1380. Ibn Saʿd, V, 219.

1381. Of Persian origin, a client of the Kinānī clan the Banū Layth. He was one of the leading Qurʾān readers in Medina, where he died in the year 169 or 170/786–87; see Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 230. Ibn al-Jazarī, II, 330–34, does not mention Abū Maymūnah, among Nāfiʿ's teachers or otherwise.

1382. Also called al-Zayyāt, which signifies the same; see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 513. He lived in Medina, frequented al-Kūfah, and died in the year 101/719–20. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 332; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 248; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 122–23; Ibn Saʿd, V, 222. Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 210, says he died during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (136–58/754–75), but this is unlikely if he were a companion of Abū Hurayrah (the Prophet's Companion), as stated by Abū Zurʿah, 479.

1383. He could not read the Qurʾān well but engaged in exegesis, a fact that aroused anger in some scholars. Al-Shaʿbī reprimanded him, and al-Kalbī claimed that he was a liar (yet transmitted from him). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 364–65; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 210; also Abū Zurʿah, 478.

1384. A Kūfan, also called al-Zayyāt (the oil seller) but, oddly, he tends to be confused, not with Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān/al-Zayyāt (see above), but with Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥanafī (see below). See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXIII, 417; Ibn Saʿd, V, 222; Abū Zurʿah, 479.

1385. Ibn Saʿd, V, 223. According to Abū Zurʿah, 479, his name was Numayr.

1386. The only one I found bearing this name is a Medinan transmitter, a client of the Ḥaḍramī family, who died in the year 100/718–19. He was thus perhaps too old to have transmitted from a client of al-Saffāḥ. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 383; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 197; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 255.

Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥanafī.[1387]

His name was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Qays, brother of Ṭulayq b. Qays al-Ḥanafī.[1388] According to Yaḥyā his name was Māhān.

Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Ghifārī.[1389]

Abū Ṣāliḥ Maysarah.[1390]

Abū Ṣāliḥ from whom the people of Filasṭīn transmitted [traditions].[1391] [2547]

[His name was] Rudayḥ.

Abū Ṣāliḥ, the one from whom Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr[1392] transmitted.

His name was Qaylūh.[1393]

Abū Ṣāliḥ.[1394]

1387. Ibn Saʿd VI, 158; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 210; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XVII, 360–63. He figures in yet other sources, but only Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 458, has the information that he was a Kūfan and a Shīʿī, executed by the governor al-Ḥajjāj. According to Dodge, in Ibn al-Nadīm, II, 1091, he was a genealogist; Dodge refers to Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 205, but there is no way of identifying the genealogist Abū Ṣāliḥ mentioned there. Abū Zayd's *Ṭabaqāt al-nassābīn* records no genealogist named Abū Ṣāliḥ.

1388. A Kūfan traditionist; see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XIII, 462–65.

1389. His name was Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and apparently he was a client. See Ibn Saʿd, V, 223; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, X, 538.

1390. A Kūfan, client of the Kindah, who was with ʿAlī in the battle of Nahrawān, against the Khawārij. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXIX, 197–98; Ibn Saʿd, V, 223.

1391. Rudayḥ b. ʿAṭiyyah of the Quraysh, said to be the muezzin of [the mosque in] Jerusalem (*muʾadhdhin bayt al-maqdis*). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 234–35; Abū Zurʿah, 448; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 292; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I/2, 518. His *kunyah* was also Abū al-Walīd; cf. al-Wāsiṭī, 14, 36, and passim.

1392. A client of the Ṭayyiʾ who lived in al-Baṣrah and later in al-Yamāmah and died in the year 129/746–47; see Ibn Saʿd, V, 404.

1393. Al-Dūlābī, II, 10 has Qaylūbah. Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 165, and Abū Zurʿah, 479: Qaylūyah.

1394. A Baṣran and a Shīʿī, who studied Qurʾān exegesis from ʿAbdallāh Ibn ʿAbbās; he died after the turn of the first century. See Abū Zurʿah, 479; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 458; al-Ṣadr, 23.

Khālid al-Ḥadhdhā' and al-Taymī transmitted from him.[1395] [His name was] Mīzān.

Abū Ṣāliḥ, a client of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.[1396]
His name was Burkān.[1397]

Abū Wā'il.[1398]
His name was Shaqīq b. Salamah al-Asadī.

Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī.[1399]
His name was Sa'd b. Iyās.

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī.
His name was 'Abdallāh b. Ḥabīb.

Abū Fākhitah Sa'īd b. 'Ilāqah.[1400]

Abū al-Sha'thā' al-Muḥāribī.[1401]
His name was Sulaym b. al-Aswad.

Abū 'Abdallāh al-Jadalī.

1395. For Khālid, see p. 221, above. By al-Taymī Sulaymān al-Taymī is meant; see Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 458. Several traditionists bore this name, the most famous being Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān, father of al-Mu'tamir. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 170, 176, 181, 187; al-Sam'ānī, I, 498–501.

1396. Ibn Sa'd, V, 222.

1397. According to Abū Zur'ah, 478: Turkān. For the version al-Ḥārith, see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXIII, 420–22.

1398. He was born in the Prophet's lifetime but embraced Islam after the Prophet's death and died in the year 83/702–3. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 155; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 159; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, II, 167–68; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 198.

1399. Of the northern Shaybān, a branch of the Bakr b. Wā'il. He lived in the time of the Prophet but embraced Islam after the Prophet's death and died in the year 101/719–20 (there are other versions). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 156; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 160; Ibn Sa'd VI, 70. He should not be confused with the philologist bearing the same *kunyah*.

1400. Or Sa'īd b. Juhmān. He was a client of Umm Hāni', sister of 'Alī, and a supporter of 'Alī who died during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik or his son al-Walīd. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 63; al-Quhpā'ī, I, 302–4 (s.v. Thuwayr).

1401. A Kūfan jurist of the northern Qaysī tribe Muḥārib; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 259–60. He was a supporter of 'Alī and died during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik (there are other versions). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 145; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 179.

His name was ʿAbdah b. ʿAbd b. ʿAbdallāh.

Abū Burdah b. Abī Mūsā.[1402]
His name was ʿĀmir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Qays.

Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī.
His name was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mall.

Abū al-Aswad al-Dīlī.[1403]
His name was Ẓālim b. ʿAmr.

Abū al-ʿĀliyah al-Riyāḥī.[1404]
His name was Rufayʿ.

Abū Umayyah, a client of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.[1405]
His name was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān; he was the grandfather of Mubārak b. Faḍālah b. Abī Umayyah.[1406]

Abū Rajāʾ al-ʿUṭāridī.[1407]

1402. Son of the Companion Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, called after his uncle ʿĀmir, cf. p. 147, above. He was a judge in al-Kūfah under al-Ḥajjāj and died in the year 103/721–22 (there are other versions). See Ibn Saʿd, VI, 187; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 21–22; Wakīʿ, II, 408–11.

1403. Read al-Duʾilī, of the northern clan al-Duʾil, a branch of the Kinānah; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 184–85. He was a supporter of ʿAlī and held certain offices in his time, dying at al-Baṣrah in the year 69/688. He is considered to be the first Arab philologist, but, according to Fück, this claim is unwarranted. It is also claimed that he was the first to vocalize the Qurʾānic text. See "Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿalī," *EI*², I, 106–7 (J. W. Fück); al-Ṣadr, 20, 122–28; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 184; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 152; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 197.

1404. Rufayʿ b. Mihrān. He was a client of a Riyāḥī woman (a family of the Tamīmī clan the Yarbūʿ) in al-Baṣrah, who died in the year 93/711–12. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 153 no. 697; cf. p. 308, below; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, VIII, 326–32; Ibn ʿAdī, III, 1022–31.

1405. A slave freed by ʿUmar who lived in Iraq. It seems that his main importance lies in the story of his release from slavery; see Ibn Saʿd, VII/1, 85–86.

1406. A Baṣran traditionist, a client of ʿUmar's family who died in the year 165/781–82 (there are other versions). See Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 35; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 27–29; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 249; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VII, 281–85.

1407. Of the Tamīmī clan, the ʿUṭārid; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 218. He was born in the Prophet's lifetime but embraced Islam only after the Prophet's death. He died in al-Baṣrah in the year 105/723–24 (there are other versions). According to Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 189, he died at the age of 128. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 344; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 196; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 142.

His name was 'Imrān b. Taym; according to another version, 'Imrān b. Milḥān.

[2548] Abū al-Mutawakkil al-Nājī.
His name was 'Alī b. Du'ād.

Abū al-Ṣiddīq al-Nājī.
His name was Bakr b. 'Amr.

Abū al-Zinbā'.[1408]
His name was Ṣadaqah b. Ṣāliḥ.

[Abū Ayyūb al-'Atakī].[1409]
According to al-'Alā'ī—Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn: Abū Ayyūb al-'Atakī's name was Yaḥyā b. al-Mundhir.

Abū al-'Āliyah al-Barrā'.[1410]
His name was Ziyād b. Fayrūz.

Abū 'Imrān al-Jawnī.[1411]
His name was 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Azdī.

Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī.[1412]
His name was 'Abdallāh b. Thuwab.

1408. Al-Dūlābī, I, 184; Ibn Sa'd, VI, 218, VII/1, 165, only mentions his name among the Kūfan Successors.

1409. The 'Atīk was a tribe of the southern confederation of the Azd; see al-Sam'ānī, IV, 153. Abū Ayyūb was a Baṣran who died after the year 80/699–700. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 19; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV/2, 190; al-Dūlābī, I, 102; cf. Ibn Sa'd, VII/1, 164. There are several versions of his name and tribal affiliation, among them Yaḥyā b. Mālik. See also p. 310, below.

1410. A client of a Riyāḥī woman (of the Yarbū' of the Tamīm) who died in the year 90/708–9. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 153, biography no. 698; cf. Abū al-'Āliyah mentioned on p. 307, above.

1411. A Baṣran traditionist who was either a Kindī, an Azdī, or a Kinānī and supported 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr in the second civil war, dying in the year 128/745–46 (there are other versions). See Khalifah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 403; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 215; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 154–55; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 346.

1412. Khawlān was a branch of the southern Saba' or of the Quḍā'ah; see al-Sam'ānī, II, 419. Abū Muslim was a Syrian ascetic and Qur'ān reader who, during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah, embraced Islam and died. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 307; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 181; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 194; Abū Zur'ah, 226, 227 (= 690); Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XII, 55–67; Abū Nu'aym, II, 122–31.

Abū al-Zāhiriyyah al-Ḥaḍramī.[1413]
His name was Ḥudayr b. Kurayb. According to another version, he was a Ḥimyarī.

Abū Ja'far al-Madā'inī.[1414]
His name was 'Abdallāh b. al-Miswar b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib.

Abū Ḥāzim, who transmitted [traditions] to Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid.[1415]
[His name was] Nabtal.

Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwiyah.

Abū Ḥāzim al-Ashja'ī, Salmān.[1416]

Abū al-Sha'thā', Jābir b. Zayd.[1417]

Abū al-Sha'thā', who transmitted [traditions] to Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl.[1418]

1413. Another version of his name is Ja'far b. Kurayb. He was a Syrian Successor whose death date is variously given in the years 100/718–19, 127/744–45, before 86/705, and so on. Such variations between versions are unusual. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 311; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 10; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, VI, 245–46; Abū Zur'ah, 214; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 184, 284.

1414. A Qurashī of the Hāshimī clan and a descendant of the Prophet's uncle Abū Ṭālib, known as a weak transmitter if not an outright forger. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 325; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 78; Ibn 'Adī, IV, 1483–84.

1415. According to al-Dūlābī, I, 141, he was a client of Ibn 'Abbās. However, the authors of the great biographical works (Ibn Ḥajar, al-Mizzī, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn 'Adī, among others) do not mention him.

1416. Or Sulaymān, sometimes confused with Salamah b. Dīnār; see al-Dūlābī, I, 141. He was a client of an Ashja'ī woman (from a branch of the northern Qays 'Aylān) and died during the caliphate of 'Umar II. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 174; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 123; Ibn Sa'd, VI, 205.

1417. An Azdī, resident of al-Baṣrah, a *ḥāfiẓ*, and an expert on the Qur'ān and religious law who died in the year 93/711–12 (not 73 as recorded in some sources, for he died the same week as Anas b. Mālk). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 210; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 144; al-Sayrawān, 70.

1418. According to al-Dūlābī, II, 5, he was a client of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar, a Qurashī Medinan notable, officiating as judge in al-Baṣrah for Hārūn al-Rashīd; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 424 (s.v. 'Umar b. 'Uthmān). Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl's name was Ḥumayd b. Ṭarkhān; he was a client of Ṭalḥah al-Ṭalḥāt (= Ṭalḥah b. 'Abdallāh). He died in the year 142/759–60; see Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 211.

[He was] the client of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.
[His name was] Fayrūz.

[2549] Abū Jamrah, the companion of Ibn ʿAbbās.[1419]
[His name was] ʿImrān b. ʿAṭāʾ.

Abū Jaʿfar al-Bajalī, who transmitted [traditions] to Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān.[1420]
[His name was] Mūsā b. al-Musayyib.

Abū Balj, Yaḥyā b. Sulaym, or Yaḥyā b. Abī Sulaym. According to another version, Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Aswad.[1421]

Abū al-ʿUdhāfir, Dāʾūd b. Dīnār.[1422]

[Abū Laylā].[1423]
It was reported on the authority of Ibn al-Muthannā: The name of Abū Laylā, father of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā, was Dāʾūd.

Abū Ayyūb, who transmitted [traditions] to Qatādah.
[His name was] Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb.[1424]

1419. Abū Ḥamrah, Naṣr b. ʿImrān, in Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 206. He was a Baṣran of the northern tribe Ḍubayʿah, a branch of the Rabīʿah; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 292–93; he died in the year 124/741–42. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 372; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 151.

1420. A Kūfan of the northern Thaqīf tribe. See al-Dūlābī, I, 134; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VII, 456; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 332. Al Muʿtamir died in the year 187/803.

1421. Of the northern tribe Fazārah. He fought on ʿAlī's side in the battle of Nahrawān and later lived in Wāsiṭ. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 325; al-Dūlābī, I, 130; Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 60; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXIII, 162.

1422. In all probability the reference is to Dāʾūd b. Abī Hind, although this person's *kunyah* is usually given as Abū Bakr or Abū Muḥammad. Abū Hind's name was Dīnār b. ʿUdhāfir, the latter being quite a rare name. See p. 328, below.

1423. See p. 282, above. It is not clear whether there are two different Abū Laylās or only one whose name is not certain.

1424. Al-Ṭabarī probably made a mistake here. According to all the sources I examined, the Abū Ayyūb from whom Qatādah (b. Diʿāmah) transmitted was Yaḥyā b. Mālik. There seems, however, to be a confusion between Abū Ayyūb al-Marāghī Yaḥyā b. Mālik, associated with Qatādah (al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXIII, 60–61; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 529; al-Dūlābī, I, 103), and Abū Ayyūb al-ʿAtakī, also called Yaḥyā b. Mālik by Ibn Maʿīn (al-Dūlābī, I, 103). The latter is called Yaḥyā b. al-Mundhir by al-Ṭabarī, see p. 308, above. Al-Samʿānī, V, 245, records Abū Ayyūb, Yaḥyā b. Mālik, under al-Marāghī but no Abū Ayyūb under al-ʿAtakī.

Abū Khabṭah, who transmitted [traditions] to Mālik b. Mighwal.[1425]
[His name was] Ḥakīm al-Ḥadhdhā'.

Abū Sufyān, the companion of Jābir [b. 'Abdallāh].[1426]
[His name was] Ṭalḥah b. Nāfi'.

Abū Sufyān, who transmitted [traditions] to Abū Mu'āwiyah and Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth.[1427]
[His name was] Ṭarīf al-Sa'dī.

Abū Ḥayyān al-Ashja'ī.[1428]
His name was Mundhir.

Abū Ḥudhayfah, Salamah b. Ṣuhayb.[1429]
'Alī b. al-Aqmar transmitted [traditions] from him.[1430]

Abū Bisṭām, who transmitted [traditions] to al-Fazārī.[1431]

1425. The manuscript has Ḥanṭah; see 2549, n. *e*. There seems to be no person with the *kunyah* Abū Khabṭah. The closest I could reach was one of Mālik's informants named al-Ḥakam (not Ḥakīm) b. 'Utaybah b. al-Nahhās b. Ḥanṭab. The last is a rather unusual name and could easily be garbled. Al-Ḥakam b. 'Utaybah, however, was a famous judge, not known as a traditionist, and, in addition, his *kunyah* is usually given as Abū Muḥammad and not Abū Ḥanṭab (but many people had more than one *kunyah*). He died in the year 115/733–34; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 374. For Mālik b. Mighwal, a Kūfan traditionist who died in the year 158/774–75, see Ibn Ḥajar, ibid., X, 20–21; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 267.

1426. A client of the Quraysh, of the second half of the first/seventh century, resident of Wāsiṭ. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 155; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 175; Ibn 'Adī, IV, 1432; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 24 (read Nāfi' for Nafa').

1427. Abū Sufyān Ṭarīf b. Shihāb of the Tamīm, a Baṣran traditionist; see Ibn 'Adī, IV, 1436–38; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XIII, 377–80. Abū Mu'āwiyah mentioned here is Muḥammad b. Khāzim, a Kūfan client of the Tamīmī group, the Banū Sa'd, who died in the year 195/810–11. He was a *ḥāfiẓ* but held Murji'ī views; see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXV, 123–33.

1428. A companion of 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd; see al-Dūlābī, I, 161.

1429. A Kūfan of the southern tribe Arḥab, a branch of Hamdān, who lived in the second half of the first/seventh century. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 176; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 291–95.

1430. A Kūfan Hamdānī traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 250–51; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 313; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XX, 323–25.

1431. Al-Dūlābī, I, 127; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 296. Al-Fazārī was the *ḥāfiẓ* Marwān b. Mu'āwiyah, a descendant of the leading family of the Fazārah. He lived in al-Kūfah, Mecca, and Damascus and died in the year 194/809–10 (there are other versions). See al-Sam'ānī, IV, 380; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXIV, 224–26.

[His name was] Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tamīmī.

Abū Maryam, ʿAbd al-Ghaffār b. al-Qāsim.[1432]

Abū al-Muʿallā al-ʿAṭṭār.[1433]
His name was Yaḥyā b. Maymūn.

[2550] Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, Sulmā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Sulmā.[1434]

Abū Bakkār, al-Ḥakam b. Farrūkh al-Ghazzāl.[1435]

Abū al-Tayyāḥ, Yazīd b. Ḥumayd.[1436]

Abū Hilāl al-Rāsibī, Muḥammad b. Sulaym.[1437]

Abū al-Muʿallā, Zayd b. Murrah.[1438]

Abū Ḥamzah al-Sukkarī, Muḥammad b. Maymūn.[1439]

Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣāʾigh, Ibrāhīm b. Maymūn.[1440]

1432. A Kūfan, of Anṣārī origin. According to Ibn ʿAdī, V, 1964–65, he was an ultra-Shīʿī and used to invent traditions; Shīʿī sources mention him as a trustworthy transmitter and author of a book. There is, however, a confusion between him and his brother ʿAbd al-Muʾmin; see al-Quhpāʾī, IV, 99, 109.

1433. A Kūfan of the northern Ḍabbah tribe who died after the year 130/747–48. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 429; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 217; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV/2, 188.

1434. A Baṣran who specialized in Qurʾān interpretation and history (*ayyām* "the history of battle days"). He was a companion of al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī? d. 110/728–29). See Ibn ʿAdī, III, 1167–72; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 408.

1435. A Baṣran traditionist who transmitted from ʿIkrimah (died 107/72–26). See al-Dūlābī, I, 124; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I/2, 126; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 130–31.

1436. A Baṣran jurist of the northern Sulaym tribe who died in the year 130/747–48. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 418; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 216; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 155; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 206.

1437. A Baṣran traditionist, a client of the (pseudo-)Qurashī clan the Banū Sāmah or the Banū Ḥayyah. He died in the year 165/781–82. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 223; al-Samʿānī, III, 25; Ibn ʿAdī, VI, 2218–21; Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 36.

1438. Also called Zayd b. Abī Laylā; see al-Dūlābī, I, 124.

1439. A *ḥāfiẓ*, a resident of Marw, who died in the year 167 or 168/784–85. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 324; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 311; al-Sayrawān, 169.

1440. Originally from Iṣfahān, he later settled in Khurāsān. He was associated with Abū Muslim, but when the latter openly spread ʿAbbasid propaganda Abū Isḥāq expressed objections and was therefore executed, in the year 131/748–49. See Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 103; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, II, 223–24; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 309.

Abū Sinān al-Rāzī, Sa'īd b. Sinān.[1441]

Abū Salām al-Ḥanafī, 'Abd al-Malik b. Salām al-Madā'inī.[1442]

Abū al-Azhar al-Shāmī, Farwah b. al-Mughīrah.[1443]

Abū Ḥamzah, who transmitted [traditions] to al-A'mash.[1444] [His name was] Sa'd b. 'Ubādah.

Abū Kathīr al-Zubaydī, 'Abdallāh b. Mālik.[1445]

Abū Hilāl al-Ṭā'ī, Yaḥyā b. Ḥayyān.[1446]

Abū Khālid al-Wālibī, Hurmuz.[1447]

Abū Mu'āwiyah al-Bajalī, 'Ammār al-Duhnī.[1448]

Abū al-Mu'tamir, Yazīd b. Ṭahmān.[1449]

1441. Abū Sinān al-Aṣghar, of the northern Shaybān, a jurist of the second century, originally a Kūfan, who settled in al-Rayy. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 260; Ibn Sa'd, VII/2, 109; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, X, 492–95.

1442. According to al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XVIII, 415–16, and al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 153: 'Abd al-Malik b. Muslim b. Salām, a Kūfan transmitter of the generation of Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/777–78). Some say he was a Shī'ī.

1443. A Syrian, counted among the Companions. According to Abū Zur'ah, 695, his name was al-Mughīrah b. Farwah. He died before the year 113/731–32. See also Abū Zur'ah, 327; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 6.

1444. A Kūfan of the northern Sulaym tribe who was a Khārijī but renounced the creed later in life. He died during the second quarter of the eighth century. See Ibn Sa'd, VI, 208; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, X, 290–91.

1445. A Kūfan Successor of the southern tribe Zubayd of whose name there are several versions. He died during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik. See al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 377 (Abū Kabīr); al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, X, 219–20.

1446. A transmitter of the first half of the eighth century who originated in Khurāsān and lived in al-Madā'in. See al-Dūlābī, II, 154; Ibn 'Adī, VII, 2704; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 285–86; cf. 309, where he is called Yazīd b. Ḥayyān (read Ḥayyān for Ḥibbān).

1447. A slave, or client, of the Banū Asad in al-Kūfah, who died in the year 100/718–19. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 158; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 176; Ibn Sa'd, VI, 88.

1448. There are several versions of the name. He was a Kūfan, some say, a Shī'ī, who died in the year 133/750–51. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 163; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXIV, 303; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 382.

1449. A Baṣran traditionist of the first half of the eighth century who belonged to the Raqāsh, a group from the northern Qays 'Aylān. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXII, 166–67; al-Sam'ānī, III, 81.

Abū al-Hayyāj, who transmitted [traditions] to ʿĀmir b. Sharāḥīl al-Shaʿbī and Saʿīd b. Jubayr.[1450]
[His name was] ʿAmr b. Mālik al-Azdī.

[2551] Abū Maryam al-Asadī, who transmitted [traditions] to Ashʿath b. Abī al-Shaʿthāʾ.[1451]
His name was ʿAbdallāh b. Ziyād.

Abū Idrīs, who transmitted [traditions] from al-Musayyib b. Najabah.[1452]
His name was Sawād.

Abū al-Haytham, the reed seller.[1453]
His name was ʿAmmār.

The Kunyahs *of the Successors Who Were Known by Their Names, Rather than by Their* Kunyahs

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām.[1454]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

1450. He is not recorded in the lists of informants of al-Shaʿbī and Ibn Jubayr. He belonged to the northern Asad, not to the southern Azd as recorded here (the southern Azd are sometimes called Asd, so that an Azdī may be called Asdī, but not the reverse) and was among those entrusted by Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (or ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb) with the planning of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, IV, 324; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 471–72 (his name is given as Ḥayyāh b. al-Ḥuṣayn); al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* (de Goeje), 276; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 194; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 141; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 2369, 2488, 2491.

1451. Abū Maryam was a Kūfan traditionist and a companion of ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd; see Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 58. Al-Ashʿath was the son of Sulaym b. al-Aswad, mentioned above, a Kūfan traditionist who died in the year 125/741–42. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VI, 62; al-Ṣafadī, IX, 275.

1452. A Kūfan of the southern Hamdān confederation of the second half of the seventh century; he was a Shīʿī. His name was Sawwār or Musāwir (b. Muṣʿab?). See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXIII, 21; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, IV, 338; idem, *Majrūḥīn*, I, 356; al-Quhpāʾī, III, 175.

1453. *Ṣāḥib al-qaṣab*, which can also mean "the sugarcane seller." A Kūfan transmitter. See al-Dūlābī, II, 156; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VII, 660. It is recorded that Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (d. 96/714) transmitted from him.

1454. A Medinan, one of the notables of the Quraysh, of the Makhzūm clan. He was born in the Prophet's lifetime and died in the year 43/663–64. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 66; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 109; idem, *Thiqāt*, III, 253.

Muḥammad b. Rabīʿah b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[1455]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ḥamzah after his son Ḥamzah.

ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad, and his nickname was Babbah.

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.[1456]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Malik.

Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh.[1457]
His *kunyah* was Abū Sulaymān after his son Sulaymān.

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtbah b. Masʿūd.[1458]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath b. Qays.[1459]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Qāsim.

1455. A Qurashī of the Hāshimī clan, a jurist. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 231; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, (Dūrī), 295.

1456. The fourth Umayyad caliph, founder of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyads, reigned 64–65/684–85. See "Marwān b. al-Ḥakam," *EI*², VI, 621–23 (C. E. Bosworth); Strayer, *Dictionary*, s.v. "Marwān (I) ibn al-Ḥakam" (L. Conrad); Hammarneh; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 125–60; al-Munajjid, 158–59.

1457. Another version of his *kunyah* is Abū al-Qāsim; he thus bears both the name and *kunyah* of the Prophet. He was the son of the close Companion of the Prophet Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh and known for his piety. He was killed in the battle of the Camel on ʿĀʾishah's side. See Ibn Qudāmah, 322–24; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 233; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 45; Ibn Saʿd, V, 37–39.

1458. Of the Hudhayl, nephew of the Companion ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd. He acted as the leader of prayer (imām) and a judge in al-Kūfah and died in the year 73/692–93 or 74/693–94. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 266, 271; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 141–42; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 166; Wakīʿ, II, 402–4.

1459. A son of the Kindī prince al-Ashʿath b. Qays and father of the rebel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad. He was a leader of the Kindah and governor of Ṭabaristān for ʿUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, then of Mosul for ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. He fell in battle against al-Mukhtār in the year 67/686–87. See Crone, *Slaves*, 110; "al-Ashʿath b. Ḳays," *EI*², VII, 400–1 (G. R. Hawting). al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 241, 251–54, 259–60; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 146; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 166. He must not be confused with the early ʿAbbāsid general, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath b. ʿUqbah al-Khuzāʿī.

ʿUmārah b. Khuzaymah b. Thābit.[1460]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

Muḥammad b. Ubayy b. Kaʿb.[1461]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muʿādh.

Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, Abū Muḥammad.[1462]

Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah.[1463]
His *kunyah* was Abū Saʿīd.

Zurārah b. Awfā al-Ḥarashī.[1464]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ḥājib.

[2552] Yazīd b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr.[1465]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-ʿAlāʾ.

Jāriyah b. Qudāmah al-Saʿdī, of the [Banū] Saʿd of Tamīm.[1466]

1460. Another version of his *kunyah* is Abū ʿAbdallāh. He was a son of the Anṣārī (Awsī) Companion Khuzaymah b. Thābit, and died in Medina in the year 105/723–24. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 344; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 248; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 115.

1461. A Medinan, son of the Anṣārī Companion Ubayy b. Kaʿb. He was born in the Prophet's lifetime and died in the battle of al-Ḥarrah in the year 63/683. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, III, 471–72; Ibn Saʿd, V, 55; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 237–38.

1462. A famous, most highly regarded Medinan jurist, *ḥāfiẓ*, historian, and genealogist of the Qurashī clan the Makhzūm. He was put in prison for refusing to give allegiance to al-Walīd and Sulaymān, sons of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, and died in the year 94/712–13. See F. Sezgin, I, 276; Ibn Saʿd, V, 88–106; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 244; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 105; al-Sayrawān, 96; ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, 160–61, 170; Abū Zayd, *Ṭabaqāt al-nassābīn*, 26.

1463. Of the southern confederation the Azd. A general and governor of Khurāsān under al-Ḥajjāj, founder of the Muhallabī family and the Azdī power in Khurāsān, father of the rebel Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. He died in the year 83/703. See Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 66, 73; "al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra," *EI*², VII, 357 (P. Crone); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 201; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 175.

1464. Of the clan Banū al-Ḥarīsh, a branch of the northern ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah. He was a prayer leader (imām) and judge in al-Baṣrah, who died in the year 73/692–93 (there are other versions). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 303, 306; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 197; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 153–54; idem, *Thiqāt*, IV, 266; Wakīʿ, I, 292–97.

1465. A Baṣran of the Banū al-Ḥarīsh (see note 1464, above). He died in the year 108/726–27 or 111/729–30. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 352; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 208; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 532.

1466. A Companion, tribal leader, and supporter of ʿAlī, which did not hinder him from visiting Muʿāwiyah at his court. He lived in al-Baṣrah. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 44; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 71; al-Ḍabbī, 35, 41–42; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, 24–25, 205.

His *kunyah* was Abū Ayyūb.

Al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.
Abū al-Ḥasan's name was Yasār. [Al-Ḥasan's] *kunyah* was Abū Sa'īd.

Jābir b. Zayd, Abū al-Sha'thā' al-Azdī.

'Uqbah b. 'Abd al-Ghāfir.[1467]
His *kunyah* was Abū Nahār al-Azdī.

Qatādah b. Di'āmah al-Sadūsī.
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Khaṭṭāb.

Thābit al-Bunānī.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad and his [full] name Thābit b. Aslam.

Ka'b b. Māti', that is, Ka'b al-Aḥbār.
His *kunyah* was Abū Isḥāq, and he belonged to Ḥimyar.

'Aṭā' b. Yasār, the client of Maymūnah, the Prophet's wife.[1468]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

Qabīṣah b. Dhu'ayb.[1469]
His *kunyah* was Abū Isḥāq or, according to another version, Abū Sa'īd.

1467. A Baṣran of the Azd confederation who participated in the revolt of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ash'ath and was killed in battle. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 281, 286; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 205; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 149; idem, *Thiqāt*, V, 224.

1468. A jurist, traditionist, storyteller (*qāṣṣ*), and judge who lived in Medina and Syria. (It is not certain that he was a judge: The sources sometimes confuse *qāḍī*, with *qāṣṣ*, the two words being graphically similar, and he was not recorded by Wakī'.) He died in Alexandria in the year 103/721–22 (there are other versions). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 354; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 247; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 114; 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, 174; al-Sayrawān, 128; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XVII, 80–83.

1469. Of the Khuzā'ah; a jurist and traditionist, responsible for the postal (and spying) services (*barīd*), as well as the seal (*khātam*), under the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. He died in the year 86/705 (there are other versions). See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 236; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 293, 302; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 309; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 106–7; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 356; Abū Zur'ah, 405, 408; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXI, 63–64.

ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr.[1470]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

His full brother, al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr.[1471]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿUthmān.

Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr.[1472]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim.[1473]
His *kunyah* was Abū Saʿīd.

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān.[1474]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Walīd.

1470. Son of the Companion al-Zubayr and brother of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. He was one of the most highly regarded traditionists and jurists. Traditions concerning the Prophet's life were transmitted in his name, and some scholars credit him with a book on the campaigns (*maghāzī*) of the Prophet. He lived in Medina and died in the year 93/711–12 (there are other versions). See Horovitz, I, 542–52; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 76–95; Landau-Tasseron, "Reconstruction"; al-Aʿẓamī, *Maghāzī*; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 105.

1471. Counted among the noble and courageous Qurashīs. He was associated with Muʿāwiyah (and his governor Ziyād) but later supported his brother ʿAbdallāh and was killed during the first Syrian siege of Mecca (64/683). See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 132, 224, 402–3, 528; Ibn Qudāmah, 266–67; al-Zubayrī, 244–45.

1472. Brother of the previous two, one of the noblemen and horsemen of the Quraysh. He governed Iraq on behalf of his brother ʿAbdallāh and was killed by the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in the year 72/691. See "Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr," *EI*², VII, 649–50 (C. Pellat); Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 111; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 251–65, 278–90, 294–97, 331–51; Ibn Qudāmah, 268–69 and passim.

1473. Son of the Qurashī nobleman and Companion Jubayr b. Muṭʿim, of the Nawfal clan. He transmitted traditions, was an expert on Qurashī history, and associated with the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. He died during the caliphate of ʿUmar II (99–101/717–20). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 241; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 118; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVa, 105; Ibn Qudāmah, 239.

1474. One of the most important Umayyad rulers; he unified the Islamic community after a long crisis, centralized the government while emphasizing its "Arabness," and built the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, an early, magnificent articulation of the Islamic faith. He died in the year 86/705. See "ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān," *EI*², I, 76–77 (H. A. R. Gibb); Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 58–66; Strayer, *Dictionary*, s.v. "ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān" (L. Conrad); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, passim; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XV, 219–34; al-Munajjid, 112–16; al-Rayyis.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān.[1475]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Aṣbagh.

Iyās b. Salamah b. al-Akwaʿ.[1476]
His *kunyah* was Abū Salamah.

Rifāʿah b. Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj.
His *kunyah* was Abū Khadīj.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Saʿīd al-Khudrī.
According to al-Wāqidī, his *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad, whereas, according to ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmārah, it was Abū Ḥafṣ.

Ḥamzah b. Abī Usayd al-Sāʿidī.[1477] [2553]
His *kunyah* was Abū Mālik.

Al-Mundhir b. Abī Usayd al-Sāʿidī.[1478]
His *kunyah* was Abū Saʿīd.

Saʿīd b. Yasār, Abū al-Ḥubāb, the client of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī.

Salmān al-Agharr, Abū ʿAbdallāh.[1479]

1475. Brother of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik and father of the caliph ʿUmar II. He served his father and ʿAbd al-Malik as governor of Egypt, where he died in the year 82 or 83/702–3. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 240–41; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 193; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 183–84; al-Kindī, 44–51.

1476. A Medinan Successor, son of the Aslamī Companion Salamah b. al-Akwaʿ; he died in the year 119/737. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 249; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 116; idem, *Thiqāt*, IV, 35.

1477. A Medinan Successor, of the Khazraj. He died during the caliphate of al-Walīd I (86–96/705–15; there are other versions). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 254; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 125; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 311–13.

1478. Brother of the just-mentioned Ḥamzah. He is sometimes considered a Companion, having been born in the Prophet's lifetime. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 253; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 419–20; Ibn Saʿd, V, 201.

1479. A storyteller (*qāṣṣ*) who lived in Medina in the second half of the seventh century. His origin was in Iṣfahān, and he was a client of the northern tribe Juhaynah. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 265; Ibn Saʿd, V, 210; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, IV, 333.

'Ikrimah, the client of Ibn 'Abbās.
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh.

Shu'bah, the client of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās.[1480]
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh.

Miqsam, the client of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.[1481]
He is considered the client of Ibn 'Abbās because he was close to him. His *kunyah* was Abū al-Qāsim.

Nabhān, the client of Umm Salamah.[1482]
His *kunyah* was Abū Yaḥyā.

Nā'im b. Ujayl, the client of Umm Salamah.[1483]
His *kunyah* was Abū Qudāmah.

Suwayd b. Ghafalah, Abū Umayyah.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā.[1484]
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Īsā.

Zirr b. Ḥubaysh.[1485]

1480. Shu'bah b. Dīnār; he lived in Medina and died around the year 100/718–19 (there are other versions). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 280; Ibn Sa'd, V, 217; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 497–500.

1481. He died in the year 101/719–20. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 332; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 281.

1482. A Medinan of the second half of the seventh century. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 486; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 246.

1483. An early Egyptian transmitter and, according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 360, also a jurist (although *faqīh* may mean "intelligent"), who died in the year 80/699–700. See Ibn Sa'd, V, 219; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 485.

1484. A *ḥāfiẓ*, a descendant of the Aws (Anṣār), of some standing in al-Kūfah (but see Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 216, where rivals of his son refute the genealogy, and see p. 282, above). He died in the year 83/702–3, participating in the revolt of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 150; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 164; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVa, 232; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 335; al-Sayrawān, 110.

1485. A member of the northern tribe Asad, who lived in pre-Islamic times and embraced Islam only after the Prophet's death; he became a supporter of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. In addition to transmitting traditions, he was an expert on the Arabic language. He died during the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath, in the year 82/701–2. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 577; al-Kashshī, I, 241, III, 25; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 140; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 161; idem, *Thiqāt*, IV, 269.

His *kunyah* was Abū Maryam.

Shurayḥ, the judge, that is, Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays.[1486]
His *kunyah* was Abū Umayyah.

Al-Rabīʿ b. Khuthaym, Abū Yazīd.[1487]

Ṣilah b. Zufar al-ʿAbdī, Abū al-ʿAlā'.[1488]

Shabath b. Ribʿī.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Quddūs.

ʿAbd Khayr b. Yazīd al-Khaywānī. [2554]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿUmārah.

ʿAṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ.[1489]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

Rajā' b. Ḥaywah.[1490]
His *kunyah* was Abū Naṣr.

1486. A *ḥāfiẓ* and judge, counted as one of the Ḥimyar. It was reported that he was appointed judge of al-Kūfah by ʿUmar and held the post for seventy-five years (!) He died in 80/699–700. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 191–92; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 145; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 160; Wakīʿ, II, 189–398; al-Sayrawān, 101.

1487. A Kūfan jurist and ascetic of the rather obscure, northern tribe Thawr, who died in the year 63/682–83. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 201; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 141; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 160; Abū Nuʿaym, II, 105–19.

1488. A Kūfan, of the northern tribe ʿAbs, who died around the year 70/689–90. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 143; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 169.

1489. A client of a Qurashī clan. He was black, crippled, blind, and a highly regarded *ḥāfiẓ* and jurist. He lived in Mecca, where he died in the year 115/733–34 or 116/734–35. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 361; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 280; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 133; al-Jaʿdī, 58–59; al-Sayrawān, 127–28.

1490. A Kindī or a client of the Kindah. He was a Syrian, a highly-regarded jurist, very influential at the Umayyad court. He died in the year 112/730–31. See Bosworth, "Rajā' ibn Ḥaywa." Gil, 121 (I thank Amikam El'ad for these two references). Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 72; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 310; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 189; Abū Zurʿah, 335, 336, 337, 370, 623, 711; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh*, VI, 230–40.

Maymūn b. Mihrān.[1491]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ayyūb.

Mishraḥ b. ʿĀhān, Abū Muṣʿab.[1492]

Wahb b. Munabbih.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

His brother, Hammām b. Munabbih.[1493]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿUtbah.

Maʿqil b. Munabbih, their brother.[1494]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿUqayl.

ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad after his son Muḥammad.

Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah.[1495]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

1491. A client of the northern tribe Naṣr b. Muʿāwiyah of the Hawāzin; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 269 (there are other versions of the tribe). He was a *ḥāfiẓ*, a leading jurist in the Jazīrah (Mesopotamia), and collector of the Kharāj tax for ʿUmar II. He died in the year 117/735 (there are other versions). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 319; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 190; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 198; al-Sayrawān, 178; ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, 174.

1492. The spelling in most of the sources is Hāʿān. He was an early Egyptian transmitter and a source of information for ʿAbdallāh b. Lahīʿah and al-Layth b. Saʿd, among others. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 293; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 452; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXVIII, 7–8; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 141; Ibn ʿAdī, VI, 2460.

1493. A famous Yemenī traditionist. He had reportedly a written collection of traditions (*ṣaḥīfah*). His death date is variously given as 101/719–20, 102/720–21, 132/749–50, etc. (unusually large disparities among the versions). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ *Ṭabaqāt*, 287; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 198–99; Ibn Saʿd, V, 396; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXX, 298–300; al-Jaʿdī, 57. See also note 986, above.

1494. The least known of the Banū Munabbih, usually mentioned only as "brother of Wahb and Hammām." See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 287; Ibn Saʿd, V, 396; al-Jaʿdī, 57. See also note 986, above.

1495. In spite of his ancestry, he was not a Shīʿī, and perhaps this is why Sunnī sources state that he was superior to his brother Abū Hāshim (leader of the Hāshimiyyah movement). He is said to have been the first to discuss Murjiʾī views and to put them in writing. He lived in Medina and died in the year 99 or 100/718–19. See F. Sezgin, I, 594–95; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, IV, 122; Ibn Saʿd, V, 241; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, IV, 130; al-Shahrastānī, 106.

Nāfiʿ, the client of [ʿAbdallāh] Ibn ʿUmar.[1496]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim.[1497]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Qāsim.

Nawf al-Bikālī, Nawf b. Faḍālah.
His *kunyah* was Abū Yazīd or Abū al-Rashīd.

Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūbah.[1498]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Naḍr, and the name of Abū ʿArūbah was Mihrān.

Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm, Ibn ʿUlayyah.[1499]
His *kunyah* was Abū Bishr.

Al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān al-Taymī.[1500]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

1496. A famous jurist and *ḥāfiẓ* of Persian origin who lived in Medina and died in the year 119/737 (there are other versions). See "Nāfiʿ," *EI*², VII, 127–28 (G. H. A. Juynboll); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 191; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 256; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 129; al-Sayrawān, 179.

1497. A member of the northern tribe Hilāl who is variously said to have lived in Khurāsān, al-Kūfah, and other places. He was an expert on the Qurʾān and a teacher and died in the year 105/723–24 (there are other versions). See F. Sezgin, I, 29–30; Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 75, II, 977; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 311; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 308; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 201–2. Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 337; al-Sayrawān, 239; Nuwayhiḍ, I, 237.

1498. A client of the northern Banū Yashkur, a branch of Bakr b. Wāʾil; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 308. He was a Baṣran jurist and a Qadarī and died in the year 156/772–73 (there are other versions). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 457; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 220; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 149; al-Sayrawān, 96; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 222.

1499. A Baghdādī, client of the northern tribe Banū Asad. He was appointed over the court of grievances (*maẓālim*) in Baghdād, and died in the year 194/809–10. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 503; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 224, 328; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 255; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 221.

1500. Son of the Baṣran traditionist and historian and client of the Sulaym (or Murrah) Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān (or Ṭahmān; but this version is due perhaps to a confusion between him and another Abū al-Muʿtamir, Yazīd b. Ṭahmān, see p. 313, above). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 493; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 224–25; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 253; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 209; al-Sayrawān, 175; Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 45.

Muʿādh b. Muʿādh.[1501]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Muthannā.

Hawdhah b. Khalīfah.[1502]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ashhab.

ʿAbbād b. Ṣuhayb al-Kulaybī.[1503]
His *kunyah* was Abū Bakr.

[2555] Musaddad b. Musarhad.[1504]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥasan.

ʿAmr b. Murrah, Abū ʿAbdallāh.[1505]

ʿAmr b. Dīnār, Abū Muḥammad al-Athram, the client of Bādhām, or Bādhān, Khusraw's governor of the Yemen.[1506]

Sulaymān b. Arqam, Abū Muʿādh.[1507]

1501. A Baṣran jurist, *ḥāfiẓ*, and judge of the Tamīmī clan the Banū al-ʿAnbar. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 480, 495, 501, 503; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 226; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 253; Wakīʿ, II, 137–43.

1502. A descendant of Abū Bakrah who lived in al-Baṣrah and Baghdād and died in the year 215/830–31 or 210/825–26. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 226; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 257.

1503. A Baṣran of the Tamīmī clan Kulayb b. Yarbū; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 225. He held Qadarī views. He died around the year 212/827–28. See al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 10; Ibn ʿAdī, IV, 1652–53.

1504. A Baṣran *ḥāfiẓ*, of the Asad tribe, who died in the year 228/842–43. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 229; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 229; Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 57; al-Sayrawān, 172.

1505. A Kūfan jurist of the southern tribe Murād who died in the year 118/736; see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 333.

1506. There are several persons by the name ʿAmr b. Dīnār. The one meant here was a jurist and *muftī* in Mecca who died in the year 126/743–44. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 281; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 137; al-Rāzī, 582; Ibn Saʿd, V, 353–54; al-Jaʿdī, 59–60; Bādhām or Bādhān, who had been governor of the Yemen for Khusraw and later for the Prophet, was killed during the latter's lifetime; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 170.

1507. A Baṣran of Anṣārī origin, apparently of the first half of the eighth century; see Ibn ʿAdī, III, 1100–5. Al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 409, records an odd piece of information: "He was a client of the Qurayẓah and al-Naḍīr"; both were Jewish Medinan tribes, the former exterminated, the latter exiled from Medina by the Prophet more than a century before Sulaymān's time. Perhaps the reference is to former ties of his family with the Jews in Medina.

Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād.[1508]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī.
According to Yaḥyā [b. Maʿīn], his name was ʿAmr, and his father [was] Abū ʿAmr.

Al-Maʿrūr b. Suwayd, Abū Umayyah.[1509]

Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, Abū ʿAbdallāh.[1510]

Sayyār b. Abī Sayyār, who transmitted [traditions] from Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim.[1511]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ḥamzah.

ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Akhnas.[1512]
His *kunyah* was Abū Mālik.

Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit.[1513]
His *kunyah* was Abū Yaḥyā.

Yazīd b. Kaysān, Abū Munīr.[1514]

1508. A client of the Hāshimī ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ḥārith who lived in al-Kūfah and died in the year 136/753–54. According to al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 129–33, he was a Shīʿī. See also idem, *Mīzān*, III, 310–11; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 441; Ibn Saʿd, VI, 237; al-Sayrawān, 189.

1509. A Kūfan Successor, of the northern Asad tribe. He is said to have been associated with ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 287; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 152; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 175; Ibn Saʿd, VI, 80–81.

1510. A famous Successor and a member of the Bajīlah tribe who lived in al-Kūfah and died in the year 94/712–13 (there are other versions). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 321; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 151–52; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 164.

1511. A Kūfan transmitter. He is often confused with another person by the same name whose *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥakam. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VI, 421; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 315–17.

1512. A client of the Azd (there are other versions), a Kūfan of the mid-eighth century. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VII, 147; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, II/2, 307.

1513. A client of the Banū Asad in al-Kūfah who died in the year 119/737. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 364; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 159; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 174.

1514. Read Munayn for Munīr. An alternative *kunyah*: Abū Ismāʿīl. His tribal affiliation is given as Yashkurī or Aslamī, and he was a Kūfan. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VII, 628; cf. 627: there is probably a confusion between two persons here. See also Ibn ʿAdī, VII, 2736–37; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXII, 230–32.

Jabalah b. Suḥaym, Abū Suwayrah.[1515]

Ismāʿīl b. Abī Khālid, Abū ʿAbdallāh.[1516]

Yazīd al-Faqīr, Abū ʿUthmān.[1517]

Al-Walīd b. Muslim.[1518]
Khālid al-Ḥadhdhā' transmitted [traditions] from him. [His *kunyah* was] Abū Bishr.

[2556] Dā'ūd b. Abī Hind, Abū Bakr.[1519]

Jaʿfar b. Maymūn, Abū al-ʿAwwām.[1520]

ʿĀṣim al-Jaḥdarī, Abū al-Mujashshir.[1521]

Iyās b. Muʿāwiyah, Abū Wāthilah.[1522]

1515. A client of the Shaybān, a branch of the Bakr b. Wā'il. He lived in Iraq and died during the caliphate of Hishām. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 386; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 161; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 170.

1516. An important traditionist, a client of the Bajīlah, who died in al-Kūfah in the year 145/762–63. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 450; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 167; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 178; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 211; al-Ṣafadī, IX, 115.

1517. Yazīd b. Ṣuhayb al-Kūfī. An early transmitter of the first half of the eighth century. See Ibn Saʿd, VI, 213; al-Dūlābī, II, 28; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 535.

1518. A Baṣran Successor of the Tamīmī clan the Banū al-ʿAnbar, of the first half of the eighth century. He must not be confused with the much more famous person of the same name, whose *kunyah* was Abū al-ʿAbbās (see Muṣṭafā, I, 129). See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VII, 554; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 276.

1519. A client of the northern Qushayr; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 289. He was of Khurāsānī origin, a *ḥāfiẓ*, Qur'ān reader and commentator, and a *muftī*. He lived in Sarakhs and al-Baṣrah and died in the year 138/755–56 (there are other versions). See Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 20; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 177; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 445; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 218; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 238; Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 75, II, 979; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 211; al-Sayrawān, 86, 229; Nuwayhiḍ, I, 181–82.

1520. Or, Abū ʿAlī. A Baṣran Tamīmī transmitter of the first half of the eighth century. See Ibn ʿAdī, II, 562; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, II, 93; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VI, 135.

1521. ʿĀṣim b. al-ʿAjjāj or b. Abī al-Ṣabāḥ (there are other versions of the name); a Baṣran Qur'ān reader who died in the year 129/746–47. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 411; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 214; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 152; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 4; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 349.

1522. Of the northern Muzaynah tribe; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 203. He was judge of al-Baṣrah for ʿUmar II and died after the year 120/738. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 330–31; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 212; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 241; Wakīʿ, I, 312–74.

Abū al-Qamūṣ, Zayd b. ʿAlī.[1523]

ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb.[1524]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ibrāhīm.

ʿAṭāʾ b. al-Sāʾib.[1525]
His *kunyah* was Abū Zayd.

Hārūn b. ʿAntarah, Abū ʿAmr.[1526]

Misʿar [b. Kidām], Abū Salamah.

Al-Aswad b. Qays, Abū Qays.[1527]

Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, Abū ʿUmar.[1528]

ʿImrān b. ʿUyaynah, Abū Muḥammad.[1529]

Al-Naḍr b. Abī Maryam, Abū Labīd.[1530]

1523. There are various versions of his tribal affiliation (ʿAbd al-Qays, Jarm, or Kindah). He was a Successor and must not be confused with the fifth Shīʿī imām. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, IV, 249; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, X, 100–1.

1524. A descendant of the Qurashī Companion and statesman ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, who died in the year 118/736 in al-Ṭāʾif. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 363; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 286; al-Zubayrī, 411.

1525. His *kunyah* is variously given as Abū Zayd, Abū Yazīd, and Abū al-Sāʾib. Some call him a Kūfan, whereas according to others he originated in Medina and lived in Marw. He was a client of the northern tribe Thaqīf, a *ḥāfiẓ*, and a Qurʾān reader and died in the year 136/753–54. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VII, 251–52; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VI, 110–14; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 513; al-Sayrawān, 128; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 164; Nuwayhiḍ, I, 346.

1526. Or Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān or Abū Wakīʿ. He was a Kūfan traditionist, accused of lying and inventing traditions. See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhib*, XXX, 100–2; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 247.

1527. A Kūfan transmitter of the first half of the eighth century. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, IV, 32; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 298.

1528. Of the Nakhaʿ tribe. A *ḥāfiẓ* and judge in al-Kūfah and Baghdad who died in the year 194/809–10 (there are other versions). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 501; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 170; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 272; al-Sayrawān, 80; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 222–23; Wakīʿ, III, 184–88.

1529. A Kūfan of the middle or late eighth century, brother of the famous traditionist Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah, of the northern Hilāl tribe. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VII, 240; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 120–21; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 278 (read ʿUyaynah for ʿAyyah).

1530. Read Līnah for Labīd. He apparently lived in the first half of the eighth century; see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, IV/1, 476.

[He was] a Kūfan, and the name of his father, Abū Maryam, was Ṭahmān.

ʿUbayd b. Nuḍaylah, Abū Muʿāwiyah.[1531]

Dāʾūd b. Abī Hind.
His *kunyah* was Abū Bakr, and the name of his father, Abū Hind, was Dīnār.

ʿĀṣim b. Sulaymān al-Aḥwal.[1532]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and he was a client of the Banū Tamīm.

Al-Nahhās b. Qahm.[1533]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Khaṭṭāb.

[2557] Ḥaywah b. Shurayḥ.[1534]
His *kunyah* was Abū Yazīd al-Tujībī.

Thawr b. Yazīd.[1535]
His *kunyah* was Abū Khālid.

1531. Or b. Naḍlah. He was a Kūfan Qur'ān reader of the Khuzāʿah who died in the year 74/693–94. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 171; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 271; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 150; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 498.

1532. A client of the Tamīm, a *ḥāfiẓ*, who was overseer of measures and scales (*muḥtasib*) in al-Kūfah for the caliph al-Manṣūr, then a judge in al-Madā'in. He died in the year 141 or 142/759–60. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 218, 325; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 57; Wakīʿ, III, 132; al-Sayrawān, 105; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 222.

1533. A Baṣran transmitter and storyteller (*qāṣṣ*), of the mid-eighth century. See Ibn ʿAdī, VII, 2522–23; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 243.

1534. An Egyptian *ḥāfiẓ*, of the Kindī group Tujīb (called after the ancestress), see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 429–30. He died in the year 158/774–75 (there are other versions). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 296; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 298; al-Sayrawān, 82. His *kunyah* is given in all these sources as Abū Zurʿah.

1535. A Ḥimyarī (Kalāʿī) who lived in Ḥimṣ. He was considered trustworthy by some, but others accused him of being a Qadarī, and there is a report that he was driven out of Ḥimṣ. He died in Jerusalem in the year 153/770. See Abū Zurʿah, 359–60, 398, 712–13; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 315; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 220–21. He must not be confused with Thawr b. Zayd; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1329, n. *d*.

Al-Layth b. Sa'd.[1536]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥārith.

Rishdīn b. Sa'd.[1537]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥajjāj.

'Īsā b. Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī.[1538]
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Amr.

Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Firyābī.[1539]
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh.

Ādam b. Abī Iyās.[1540]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥasan.

'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Rawwād.[1541]
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.

Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

1536. A client of the rather insignificant northern tribe Fahm; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 243. He was one of the leading jurists in Egypt and died in the year 175/791–92. See Khoury, "al-Layth b. Sa'd"; idem, *'Abd Allah Ibn Lahī'a*, 173–77; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 296; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 303; al-Sayrawān, 145; Shiḥāṭah.

1537. An Egyptian transmitter, of the Quḍa'ah confederation, also known as Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Miṣrī, who died in the year 188/804. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 386; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 297; al-Dūlābī, I, 144; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 338–39.

1538. A Kūfan, grandson of the famous jurist Abū Isḥāq of the southern Sabī' (a branch of the Hamdān); he died in the year 191/806–7. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 317–18; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 295.

1539. A client of the Ḍabbah who originated in Firyāb, a village near Balkh and moved to Caesarea in Palestine, where he died in the year 212/827–28. He was associated with Sufyān al-Thawrī. See al-Sam'ānī, IV, 376; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 151; Abū Zur'ah, 26, 280; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXIII, 371–74.

1540. A client of the Tamīm who originated in Khurāsān then settled in Baghdād, later in Palestine, and died in the year 220/835. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VIII, 134; Ibn Sa'd, VII/2, 186.

1541. A client of the Azd (or of the Azdī chief al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah), who lived in Mecca and died in the year 206/821–22. He is said to have been a Murji' and a forger of Prophetic traditions. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 284; Ibn Sa'd, V, 367; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 145–47; idem, *Siyar*, IX, 434–36.

Al-Fuḍayl b. ʿIyāḍ.[1542]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAlī.

ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar b. Makhramah.[1543]
His *kunyah* was Abū Jaʿfar.

Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[1544]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Hilāl b. Khabbāb.[1545]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-ʿAlāʾ.

Al-Ḥasan b. Qutaybah, Abū ʿAlī.[1546]

[2558] ʿAbbād b. ʿAbbād al-Muhallabī.[1547]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muʿāwiyah.

1542. Of the Tamīmī clan Yarbūʿ, an ascetic and *ḥāfiẓ*. He originated in Samarqand and lived in al-Kūfah and later in Mecca, where he died in the year 187/803. His tomb became a place of pilgrimage. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 493; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 284; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 235; Ibn Saʿd, V, 366; Abū Nuʿaym, VIII, 84–140; al-Sayrawān, 139–40.

1543. A descendant of the Qurashī Companion al-Miswar. He was a jurist, *muftī*, and expert on the campaigns of Muḥammad (*maghāzī*). Al-Wāqidī obtained information from him; see al-Wāqidī, 1. He lived in Medina, participated in the revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah in the year 145/762, and died in the year 170/786–87. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 275; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 28; idem, *Siyar*, VII, 328–30.

1544. Son of the fifth Shīʿī imām (according to the Zaydiyyah), who lived in Medina and apparently later in al-Kūfah. He participated in the revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah but, it seems, was reconciled with the ʿAbbasids, judging by the fact that his daughter was married to the caliph al-Mahdī (d. 169/785). See van Arendonck, 61 n. 4; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, III, 258; al-Amīn, XXVI, 81–91; al-Ṣafadī, XII, 367.

1545. A client of Zayd b. Ṣūḥān, who was a Companion of the Prophet from the ʿAbd al-Qays tribe. Hilāl was a Kūfan or Baṣran but settled in al-Madāʾin, where he died in the year 144/761–62. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 325; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III, 259–60; Ibn ʿAdī, VII, 2580–81.

1546. A transmitter from al-Madāʾin, of the second half of the eighth century. See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, I/2, 33–34; Ibn ʿAdī, II, 739.

1547. A grandson of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah, the Azdī leader. He originated in al-Baṣrah, settled in Baghdād, and died in the year 177/793–94 (there are other versions). See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 254; idem, *Thiqāt*, VII, 161; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 84; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 294–96. According to Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 71, he practiced medicine.

Faraj b. Faḍālah.[1548]
His *kunyah* was Abū Faḍālah.

Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Kathīr al-Madanī.[1549]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ibrāhīm.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the companion of Abū Ḥanīfah.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿd.[1550]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥasan.

Surayj b. al-Nuʿmān, the pearl trader.[1551]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥusayn.

Bishr b. al-Ḥārith al-ʿĀbid (the ascetic).[1552]
His *kunyah* was Abū Naṣr.

Al-Haytham b. Khārijah.[1553]
His *kunyah* was Abū Aḥmad.

Yaḥyā b. Yūsuf al-Zimmī.[1554]

1548. A Ḥimṣī traditionist, who was appointed head of the treasury (*bayt al-māl*) during al-Mahdī's caliphate and died in the year 176/792–93. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 474; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 316; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXIII, 155–64; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XX, 263–64. See also Elʿad, n. 152.

1549. A *ḥāfiẓ* and Qurʿān reader of Anṣārī descent who died in the year 108/726–27. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 327; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 224; al-Sayrawān, 65.

1550. A client of the Banū Hāshim or of the caliph Abū al-ʿAbbās' wife, Umm Salamah. He was a *ḥāfiẓ* and died in Baghdād in the year 230/844–45. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 329; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 229; al-Sayrawān, 131.

1551. A Khurāsānī who lived in Baghdād and died in the year 217/832–33. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VIII, 306–7; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 270; idem, *Siyar*, X, 219–20.

1552. A famous Baghdādī ascetic, also known as Bishr al-Ḥāfī (the barefooted), who died in the year 227/841–42. See Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 83; al-Qummī, II, 152–55; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, X, 469–77; Abū Nuʿaym, VIII, 336–60.

1553. He originated in Khurāsān, then lived in Baghdād and in Syria, and died in the year 227/841–42. See Ibn Saʿd, VII, 83; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, XIV, 58–59.

1554. He originated in Zimm, a village in Khurāsān, and lived in Baghdād, where he died in the year 225/839–40 (there are other versions). See Ibn Saʿd, VII/2, 87 (read al-Zimmī for al-Raqqī); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, XIV, 166–67; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXII, 60–62.

His *kunyah* was Abū Zakariyā'.

Khalaf b. Hishām.[1555]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-A'mash.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid.
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh.

Mujālid b. Sa'īd.[1556]
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Uthmān.

Layth b. Abī Sulaym.[1557]
His *kunyah* was Abū Bakr.

[2559] *The* Kunyahs *of People of Subsequent Generations Who Were Known by Their Names, Rather than by Their* Kunyahs

'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.[1558]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ḥafṣ.

1555. A transmitter and one of the ten most famous Qur'ān readers. He lived in Baghdād and died in the year 229/843–44, reportedly while in hiding from the Jahmī sect. See Ibn Sa'd, VII/2, 87; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 272–74; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 231; al-Sayrawān, 228 (read Hishām for Hāshim).

1556. A transmitter of traditions, historical reports, and genealogies who died in the year 143 or 144/761–62. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 447; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 166; Ibn Sa'd, VI, 243; Abū Zayd, 31.

1557. A client of [the family of] Mu'āwiyah's brother 'Anbasah who lived in al-Kūfah and died in the year 143/760–61. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 447; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 166–67; Ibn Sa'd, VI, 243; Ibn 'Adī, VI, 2105–8.

1558. The eighth Umayyad caliph (99–101/717–20), reputed for his piety and just reforms, the only Umayyad recognized as *rāshid*, i.e., a just ruler following in the footsteps of the four first caliphs. See Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 76–81. "'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz," *EI*[1], VI, 977–79 (K. V. Zetterstéen); Gibb, "Fiscal Rescript"; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 283; al-Ājurrī; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Sīrat*; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XIX, 98–128.

Ḥamzah b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.[1559]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿUmārah after his son ʿUmārah.

ʿĀmir b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.[1560]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Ḥārith.

Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Quraẓī.
His *kunyah* was Abū Ḥamzah.

Yaʿqūb b. Abī Salamah, the client of the family of al-Munkadir, of the [Qurashī clan] Taym b. Murrah.[1561]
His *kunyah* was Abū Yūsuf. He is the [one called] al-Mājishūn, and his brother and offspring were thus called after him. The name of his father, Abū Salamah, was Dīnār.

Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Shihāb.[1562]
His *kunyah* was Abū Bakr.

His brother ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim.[1563]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

1559. Renowned for his generosity but also for his weakness and stupidity. His father, the rival caliph ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, appointed him governor of al-Baṣrah but dismissed him after a short while. See al-Zubayrī, 240; Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 381; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 256–58 and passim; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 119.

1560. Another son of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, known for his piety, generosity, and knowledge of tradition and religious law, who lived in Medina and died in the year 121/739. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 110; Ibn Qudāmah, 260; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 368; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 258.

1561. A famous jurist who lived in Baghdād and died in the year 164/780–81; the caliph al-Mahdī himself said the ritual prayer over his bier. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 268; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 130; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 203.

1562. That is, al-Zuhrī.

1563. He lived in Medina and died before the year 124/741–42. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 261; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 59–60; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XVI, 129–30.

Ismā'īl b. 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ.[1564]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

'Abdallāh b. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām.[1565]
His *kunyah* was Abū Bakr.

Yaḥyā b. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr.[1566]
His *kunyah* was Abū 'Urwah.

Hishām b. 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr.[1567]
His *kunyah* was Abū al-Mundhir.

'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib.[1568]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

'Abāyah b. Rifā'ah b. Rāfi' b. Khadīj.[1569]
His *kunyah* was Abū Rifā'ah.

1564. Of the Umayyad family, son of 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq, who rebelled against and was killed by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 783–89. Ismā'īl participated in that event, then lived in Medina, shunning politics, and died at the beginning of the 'Abbāsid caliphate. See Ibn Qudāmah, 196–97; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, IV, 373–74.

1565. A grandson of the close Companion of the Prophet al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. 'Abdallāh lived in Medina and died toward the end of the Umayyad caliphate. He was reputed for feeding the poor during years of drought. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 267; Ibn Qudāmah, 264–65; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XV, 294–95.

1566. Brother of the aforementioned 'Abdallāh and one of the most distinguished among 'Urwah's sons. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 267; Ibn Qudāmah, 265; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, VII, 593; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXI, 466–71.

1567. Brother of the aforementioned Yaḥyā and 'Abdallāh, a jurist and *ḥāfiẓ*, one of the leading religious figures in Medina. He moved to Baghdad, where he died in the year 146/763–64; the caliph al-Manṣūr himself said the ritual prayer over his bier. See F. Sezgin, I, 88–89; Ibn al-Nadīm, II, 1005; Ibn Qudāmah, 265; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 365, 451; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 267; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 130–31; al-Sayrawān, 182.

1568. A member of the Hāshimī family, he lived in Medina and died after the year 140/757–58, or before 145/762. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 258; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 68; Ibn 'Adī, IV, 1466–68.

1569. A grandson of the Anṣārī Companion, Rāfi', who lived in Medina. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 258; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 281; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XIV, 268–69.

Bukayr b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ashajj, the client of al-Miswar b. Makhramah.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

His brother Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Ashajj.[1570]
His *kunyah* was Abū Yūsuf.

Wahb b. Kaysān. [2560]
His *kunyah* was Abū Nuʿaym; he was the client of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

Zayd b. Aslam.[1571]
His *kunyah* was Abū Usāmah.

His brother Khālid b. Aslam.[1572]
His *kunyah* was Abū Thawr.

Dāʾūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn, the client of ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.[1573]
His *kunyah* was Abū Sulaymān.

Rabīʿah b. Abī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.
The name of his father, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, was Farrūkh. The *kunyah* of Rabīʿah was Abū ʿUthmān.

Ṣafwān b. Sulaym.
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

1570. A client of the Qurashī clan Makhzūm (or of the Ashjaʿ), who lived in Medina and Egypt and died in a maritime raid in the year 122/740. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, VIII, 174, says he was a jurist. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 298; idem, *Thiqāt*, VII, 641; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 342.

1571. A client of [the family of] ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, a Qurʾān reader, and interpreter, said to have used his personal judgment (*raʾy*) in his interpretations. He died in the year 136/753–54. He must not be confused with the Companion of the Prophet of the same name. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 130; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 361; Ibn al-Jazarī, I, 296; al-Sayrawān, 232.

1572. Also a client of [the family of] ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who lived in Medina and transmitted to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741–42), among others. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, IV, 198; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 28–29.

1573. A jurist who lived in Medina and died in the year 135/752–53. He was suspected of holding Khārijī or Qadarī views. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 437; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 259; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 215; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 317; idem, *Siyar*, VI, 106.

Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān.[1574]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥarmalah.[1575]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh; he was a client of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy.

Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī.[1576]
His *kunyah* was Abū Yazīd.

Mūsā b. ʿUqbah.[1577]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

Asīd b. Abī Asīd, the client of Abū Qatādah al-Anṣārī.[1578]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ibrāhīm.

Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. Zāʾidah al-Laythī, a genuine member of the Layth.[1579]
His *kunyah* was Abū Wāqid.

1574. A client of the northern Banū ʿAmir (there are other versions) and an important Medinan jurist. He served as instructor to Umayyad princes and died after the year 140/757–58. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 216; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 263; Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 477; al-Sayrawān, 103.

1575. A client of the Qurashī family of Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā who lived in Medina and died after the year 130/747–48. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, V, 365; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXV, 47–48.

1576. Many people bore this name, but only one Anṣārī. His *kunyah* was, however, Abū Saʿīd (none of these people bore the *kunyah* Abū Yazīd; see al-Bandārī and Ḥasan, IV, 208–9). He was a *muftī* and judge in Medina for the Umayyads, then in al-Hāshimiyyah for the second ʿAbbasid caliph, al-Manṣūr. He died in the year 144/761–62. See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, XIV, 101–7; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, V, 468–81.

1577. A client of the Zubayr family, a *ḥāfiẓ*, and one of the earliest historians. He lived in Medina and died in the year 141/758–59 (there are other versions). See F. Sezgin, I, 286–87; Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 32–33 (and n. *j*); Krenkow, "Note"; Muṣṭafā, I, 158–59; al-Sayrawāh, 177; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 267; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 131.

1578. According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 300, his *kunyah* was Abū Ayyūb, and he died during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (136–58/754–75). There is a confusion between him and another man of the same name, nicknamed al-Barrād; see also Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 253.

1579. That is, not a client or a confederate. He was a Medinan, also known as Abū Wāqid al-Laythī, who took part in the *jihād* in Syria (against the Byzantines) and died after the year 145/762–63. See al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 459; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar*, XI, 38.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmalah al-Aslamī.[1580]
His *kunyah* was Abū Ḥarmalah.

Isḥāq b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Farwah.[1581]
His *kunyah* was Abū Sulaymān. It was reported that the name of this Abū Farwah was Aswad b. ʿAmr.

His brother ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Farwah.[1582]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

ʿAmr b. Abī ʿAmr, the client of al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdallāh [b. al-Muṭṭalib] b. Ḥanṭab al-Makhzūmī.[1583]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿUthmān, and the name of his father, Abū ʿAmr, was Maysarah.

Al-Muhājir b. Yazīd, a client of the family of Abū Dhi'b al-ʿĀmirī.[1584] [2561]
His *kunyah* was Abū ʿAbdallāh.

Bukayr b. Mismār.[1585]
His *kunyah* was Abū Muḥammad.

ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd b. Qanṭash al-Hudhalī.[1586]

1580. A Medinan scholar of the northern tribe Aslam who died in the year 145/762–63. See Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 218; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 270.

1581. A client of [the family of] ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān or al-Zubayr who lived in Medina and died in the year 144/761–62. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 448; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 266; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Majrūḥīn*, I, 131–32.

1582. A client of [the family of] ʿUthmān who died in the year 156/772–73. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 457; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 272; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 212.

1583. A Medinan transmitter who died during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (136-58/754–75). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ṭabaqāt*, 266; Ibn ʿAdī, V, 1768–69; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 723. Ḥanṭab was one of the leading noble Qurashī families in Medina; see Ibn Qudāmah, 390.

1584. I could not trace this person. The family of Abū Dhi'b was Qurashī, of the clan ʿĀmir b. Lu'ayy; see Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 213.

1585. A client of (the family of) Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, a Medinan transmitter who died in the year 153/770. He is confused with a person of the same name. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 455; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 270; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 210; idem, *Thiqāt*, VI, 105; idem, *Majrūḥīn*, I, 108, 194; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, I, 163.

1586. A Medinan accused of unbelief (*zandaqah*); see al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, II, 88. Ibn ʿAdī, IV, 1550 has Qanṭas.

His *kunyah* was Abū Yazīd. He transmitted [traditions] from Anas b. Mālik and [Sa'īd] b. al-Musayyab.

End of the excerpts from the book The Supplement to the Supplemented, *Praise be to God, Lord of the Heavens and the Earth, may He bless His Messenger, our master Muḥammad, and his family*

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359	'Abd al-Raṃan b. Abī	'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī
359	'Awf	'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf
360	'Abdallāh b. Aḥamad	'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad
360	'Alī 195,	'Alī * 195,
362	Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raṃan	Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān
362	Abū Burdah, rother	Abū Burdah, brother
363	Abū Mab'ad	Abū Ma'bad
364	Abū Maryam al-Filasṭīnī	Abū Maryam al-Filasṭīnī *
364	Abū Ma'attib	Abū Mu'attib
364	Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānmi	Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī
364	Abū Na'aym	Abū Nu'aym
364	Abū al-Sāl'ib	Abū al-Sā'ib
364	Abū Ṣāli	Abū Ṣāliḥ
364	Abū Ṣāliḥ, Sumay'	Abū Ṣāliḥ, Sumay'
364	Abū al-Sha'thā	Abū al-Sha'thā'
365	Abū 'Abaydah	Abū 'Ubaydah
365	Abū 'Uthman	Abū 'Uthmān
365	Abū Yaḥyaā	Abū Yaḥyā
365	'Abī	'Adī
366	*a'lān*	*a'lām*
367	'Alī b. Zayd b. Ju'ān	'Alī b. Zayd b. Jud'ān
367	'Alqamah b. Qays al-Nakhaī	'Alqamah b. Qays al-Nakha'ī
367	'Ammār b. Zurayq	'Ammār b. Ruzayq
367	'Amr b. Alī	'Amr b. 'Alī
368	'Anbash	'Anbasah
368	'Aqil	'Aqīl
369	'Atīkah	'Ātikah
370	Aws b. Miy'ar	Aws b. Mi'yar
370	Baḥr b. Kanīz al-Sqaā'	Baḥr b. Kanīz al-Saqqā'
370	al-Bāqarḥī, Abī 'Alī, Makhlad b. Ja'far xviii	al-Bāqarḥī, Abū 'Alī, Makhlad b. Ja'far xviii, xix
371	Bilāl b. Rabāḥh	Bilāl b. Rabāḥ
371	blood revente	blood revenge
372	clients, clients	client, clients
372	Jaḍam. See	Jaḥdam. *See*
373	al-Muabbar	al-Muḥabbar
373	duel 33	duel **23 n. 104,** 33
375	ḥadīth al-kisā'	*ḥadīth al-kisā'*
375	50k	50
375	Hammād 97	Hammām 97
376	Ḥarithah b. al-Ḥārirh	Ḥārithah b. al-Ḥārith
376	Ḥarithah	Ḥārithah
378	al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāh	al-Ḥurr b. al-Ṣayyāḥ
378	al-Ḥuṣayn b. 'Abdallāh	al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh
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The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XL

Index

PREPARED BY ALEX V. POPOVKIN
UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF EVERETT K. ROWSON

Index
Volume XL
Prepared by Alex V. Popovkin
under the supervision of Everett K. Rowson

Completed in 1999 by a distinguished group of Arabists and historians of Islam, the annotated translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* is arguably the most celebrated chronicle produced in the Islamic lands on the history of the world and the early centuries of Islam. This fortieth volume, the *Index*, compiled by Alex V. Popovkin under the supervision of Everett K. Rowson, serves as an essential reference tool. It offers scholars and general readers convenient access to the wealth of information provided by this massive work.

The *Index* comprises not only all names of persons and places mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, with abundant cross-referencing, but also a very broad range of subject entries, on everything from "pomegranates" to forms of "punishment." The volume includes a separate index of Qur'ānic citations and allusions, as well as a list of errata and corrigenda to the entire translation.

Alex V. Popovkin is a professional indexer and **Everett K. Rowson** is Associate Professor of Middle Eastern Studies at New York University.

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Index

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(*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*)

Volume XL

INDEX

Comprising an Index of Proper Names and Subjects and an Index of Qur'ānic Citations and Allusions

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Alex V. Popovkin
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Foreword

With the publication of this index volume, the annotated English translation of al-Ṭabarī's *History* (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) in forty volumes is completed. The project began in 1979 and the last volume of the translation itself (Volume V, tr. by C. E. Bosworth) appeared in 1999.

The history of the project, the principles followed in the translation and annotation, the choice of the Leiden edition as the basis for the translation, the composition of the Board of Editors, the division of the *History* into manageable and to some degree self-contained volumes, the selection of translators-annotators, the funding of the project by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), and other pertinent points, were all explained in the General Editor's Preface to Volume I, which also included a General Introduction on al-Ṭabarī and his *History* by the eminent translator of the volume, Franz Rosenthal. As for subsequent changes in the Editorial Board, Jacob Lassner was replaced by Everett Rowson in 1989, and the translations were thereafter reviewed and carefully scrutinized by him and C. E. Bosworth. Two members of the Editorial Board, Ihsan Abbas and Franz Rosenthal, regrettably passed away in 2003.

Although there is an index of proper names at the end of each volume, furnished by its translator, it was decided from the outset that a cumulative and wide-ranging index encompassing all the volumes would be a prerequisite to render the work fully serviceable to both academic researchers and interested general readers. The envisaged index would include such diverse topics as ethnic groups in the early Islamic world, specific questions of theology and law, aspects of economic and cultural life, music, architecture, and literature, battle tactics and weaponry, tribal groupings, taxation, religious heresies, Biblical history, Persian ancient history and legends, mints and coin issues. Moreover, the reader needed the assistance of a detailed and well-organized subject index covering

both the text and relevant information from the annotations, the latter embodying the results of the translators' own research and original scholarship. The usefulness of such an index cannot be sufficiently emphasized.

The initial work on this Index began immediately after the completion of the translation project itself, but the search for a competent indexer proved a lengthy one. Fortunately, Alex Popovkin, a professional indexer with a good grounding in Arabic, agreed to take on the project under the able supervision of Professor Everett Rowson, and this collaboration was carried out in an exemplary manner.

A particularly vexing problem with indexing a work like al-Ṭabarī's *History* is the complex formation of Arabic personal names, which can have up to five or six components, only some of which are regularly cited and then not always the same ones for a given individual. For instance, the name of the historian and *ḥadīth* scholar Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī al-Kinānī al-Miṣrī, includes a title, a teknonym (*kunya*), a given name, name of the father, the family name, attribution to a locality, attribution to a tribe, and attribution to a country. To know by which element the bearer of a name is most commonly known requires considerable knowledge of Arabic literature. For example, al-Jāḥiẓ, the famous *adab* scholar, is known by his nickname ("one with protruding eyes"), the historian Ibn Qutaybah by the name of his father, the Prophet's companion Abū Hurayra by his teknonym, the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib by his given name and his father's teknonym, the polymath al-Bīrūnī by attribution to the locale of his birth, the philosopher and physician Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā by a combination of his teknonym and the name of his grandfather, the mystic al-Ḥallāj by a profession ("wool-carder"), the self-styled and rebellious prophet al-Muqannaʿ by a sobriquet ("the veiled one"), the brave brigand-poet Taʾabbaṭa Sharran by a characterization ("the one who carries wickedness under his arm"). Considerable sophistication and effort have been required to achieve consistency in the selection of standard names, and cross-references have been supplied generously. For the details of this and other technicalities the reader is urged to consult the Guide to the Index.

Inevitably, the volumes have not been free from some typographical errors in spite of the translators' careful proofreading. Reviews of the volumes in learned journals occasionally proposed a better reading or a more accurate rendering. The process of indexing itself brought out a few minor discrepancies among the various volumes.

The publication of the General Index also provided an opportunity to include the corrigenda for the entire series. To this purpose the scholars who had collaborated with the project were asked to provide a list of the errata that they had noticed in their published volumes. To these were added a few spotted in the course of the indexing and they were sent to the translators for checking and approval. In the case of two volumes, the list of errata was exceptionally long. This was partly due to the fact that the checking of their manuscripts had not been done as carefully as had been expected. It is hoped that in a second printing the corrections will be inserted in the texts themselves.

It is my pleasant duty to express my profound gratitude to all the scholars who have participated in this scholarly enterprise. I am most grateful to the National Endowment for the Humanities for its unfailing support; without its financial assistance the Project could not have been accomplished. The Project owes a great deal to Professor Everett Rowson whose incomparable editorial skills, his dedication to sound scholarship, and his exacting supervision of the indexing process have been a great asset. I cannot thank him enough for the tremendous amount of time he has spent on the Project. I would also like to express my deep appreciation to George Farr, the former Director of the Division of Preservation and Access at the NEH and Dr. Helen Agüera, Senior Program Officer in the same Division, for their unstinting encouragement and support of the Project, and would also like to thank the NEH officers who were involved in the earlier stages of the Project: Susan Mango, Dr. Martha Chomiak and Dr. Margot Backas. And finally I would like to thank Dina Amin of the Center for Iranian Studies, Columbia University, who has so ably attended to all the administrative and financial aspects of this Project.

Ehsan Yarshater, General Editor
December 22, 2005

Preface

Perhaps the magnitude and richness of a work like al-Ṭabarī's *History* can be fully appreciated only when one attempts to index it. Thousands of personal names (all too many of them beginning with Muḥammad), thousands of place names (some of them otherwise unknown, and what are the vowels?), and most of all thousands of subjects alluded to, briefly elucidated, or dwelt on at length present the indexer with a formidable task. Questions about al-Ṭabarī's general approach to writing history, his preconceptions, his biases, his sources and their nature, and his reliability, feed an ever growing scholarly literature; but the task of the indexer is simply to provide optimal access to the information afforded by his text. With a work of this complexity, however, even that is not so simple.

To this task Alex Popovkin has brought impressive skills, both as an indexer and as an Arabist. Taking as his starting point a collocation of the indices to individual volumes of the translation—quite varied in their approaches but mostly restricted to proper names—he has proceeded to enrich them with an extraordinary range of subject entries, keyed in large part to the translators' explanatory footnotes but also embracing many other topics, from "pomegranates" to various forms of "punishment." Comprehensiveness in subject indexing for such a large work is of course an unattainable goal, but it has been both his and my hope that the results will offer scholars access to that crucial bit of information on a given subject that they otherwise would never have found in this sprawling text. It is in this regard that I have found both Mr. Popovkin's imaginativeness and his meticulousness most impressive.

We have both learned a great deal as well about the complexities of the Arabic personal name. Literally thousands of email messages between us have been dedicated to such questions as whether Muḥammad b. Aḥmad in volume X is the same person as Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad in volume Y, and whether this person is al-Sulamī or al-Salmī.

We certainly have not solved all the problems, but I believe we have managed to devise a cross-referencing system that will alert readers to both the possibilities and the ambiguities when trying to track down a given individual. At the same time, we have identified, and worked out strategies for dealing with differences in individual translators' styles in coping with nomenclature, as well as pinpointing some errors, many of them due to the specific problems of individual manuscripts, that became apparent only by comparing different sections of the work. Except for minor vocalization problems, such errors are noted in the Errata et Emendanda section of this volume.

Publication of this index volume represents the completion of a project of extraordinary scope, and an instance of extraordinary scholarly collaboration. Over the course of twenty-five years more than thirty scholars of Islamic history have contributed to producing a fully annotated English translation of the single most important primary source in their field. It is regrettable that Professors Moshe Perlmann, W. Montgomery Watt, Ihsan Abbas, Martin Hinds, and Franz Rosenthal are no longer with us to enjoy its completion, and I am particularly saddened that that enjoyment is denied the late Estelle Whelan, who so expertly shepherded my own volume and many others through the editing process. But my greatest thanks, and those of all the participants, are reserved for Professor Ehsan Yarshater, who initially conceived the project and has overseen it from beginning to end. His unflagging dedication (and at times doggedness) have assured both the project's completion and its quality—and he has been a joy to work with. It is only his many other major contributions to the field that prevent this from being unambiguously his most outstanding one.

Everett K. Rowson

List of Volumes and Scholars

The list of the scholars who participated in the translation and annotation of the Volumes

I	General Introduction/From the Creation to the Flood	Franz Rosenthal
II	Prophets and Patriarchs	William M. Brinner
III	The Children of Israel	William M. Brinner
IV	The Ancient Kingdoms	Moshe Perlmann
V	The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen	C. E. Bosworth
VI	Muḥammad at Mecca	W. Montgomery Watt and M. V. McDonald
VII	The Foundation of the Community	M. V. McDonald, annotated by W. Montgomery Watt
VIII	The Victory of Islam	Michael Fishbein
IX	The Last Years of the Prophet	Ismail K. Poonawala
X	The Conquest of Arabia	Fred M. Donner
XI	The Challenge to the Empires	Khalid Yahya Blankinship
XII	The Battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine	Yohanan Friedmann
XIII	The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt	Gautier H. A. Juynboll
XIV	The Conquest of Iran	G. Rex Smith
XV	The Crisis of the Early Caliphate	R. Stephen Humphreys
XVI	The Community Divided	Adrian Brockett
XVII	The First Civil War	G. R. Hawting
XVIII	Between Civil Wars: The Caliphate of Mu'āwiyah	Michael G. Morony

XIX	The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah	Ian K. A. Howard
XX	The Collapse of Sufyānid Authority and the Coming of the Marwānids	G. R. Hawting
XXI	The Victory of the Marwānids	Michael Fishbein
XXII	The Marwānid Restauration	Everett K. Rowson
XXIII	The Zenith of the Marwānid House	Martin Hinds
XXIV	The Empire in Transition	David Stephan Powers
XXV	The End of Expansion	Khalid Yahya Blankinship
XXVI	The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate	Carole Hillenbrand
XXVII	The 'Abbāsid Revolution	John Alden Williams
XXVIII	'Abbāsid Authority Affirmed	Jane Dammen McAuliffe
XXIX	Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī	Hugh Kennedy
XXX	The 'Abbāsid Caliphate in Equilibrium	C. E. Bosworth
XXXI	The War between Brothers	Michael Fishbein
XXXII	The Reunification of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate	C. E. Bosworth
XXXIII	Storm and Stress along the Northern Frontiers of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate	C. E. Bosworth
XXXIV	Incipient Decline	Joel L. Kraemer
XXXV	The Crisis of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate	George Saliba
XXXVI	The Revolt of the Zanj	David Waines
XXXVII	The 'Abbāsid Recovery	Philip M. Fields
XXXVIII	The Return of the Caliphate to Baghdad	Franz Rosenthal
XXXIX	Biographies of the Prophet's Companions and Their Successors	Ella Landau-Tasseron

Guide to the Index

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1. General

The cumulative index to *The History of al-Ṭabarī* includes both proper names and subjects. For the former, and to a very limited extent the latter, it is based on the existing indices to the individual volumes. However, numerous revisions and adjustments have been required, mostly in order to achieve consistency across volumes, so that this cumulative index should be considered as superseding the individual ones. Translators' footnotes are not indexed directly, but much of their content is made accessible through relevant subject entries keyed to al-Ṭabarī's

text. The intent has been to make this an index specifically to al-Ṭabarī's *History*, so that names mentioned only in the footnotes, for example, do not appear.

A list of Qur'ānic quotations and allusions (based on individual translators' footnotes) is provided in a separate section.

2. Transliteration and orthography

Tā' marbūṭah preceded by alif has been standardized as -āh for common nouns, -āt for proper names, e.g., *mu'ākhāh* (brotherhood bond) but Banū 'Abd Manāt.

Pairs of letters that might be mistaken for digraphs are separated by a ' sign, e.g., Abū Mus'hir, Ad'ham, Fak'hah.

Dual and sound masculine plural forms are cited in the nominative, e.g., al-Ḥaramān, al-Khallālūn (vinegar-sellers' quarter, in al-Baṣrah), excluding the traditional exceptions, e.g., al-Baḥrayn.

Compound personal names with Allāh as their second element are spelled as one word, e.g., 'Abdallāh, 'Ā'idhallāh, Hibatallāh, etc.

Dā'ūd has been standardized as Dāwūd.

Khuwārizm/Khwārizm has been standardized as Khwārazm.

3. Alphabetization

The alphabetization is word-by-word, with occasional adjustments mentioned below. When otherwise identical, common nouns and toponyms appear before personal names.

Non-sorting elements:

al-
Abū (Abī)
Banū (Banī)
Bint (bt.)

Ibn (b.) (except when followed by a common noun, e.g., *ibn al-sabīl*)
Umm (except when followed by a common noun, e.g., *umm walad*, Umm Abīha, Umm al-Banīn)

When several non-sorting elements follow each other they appear alphabetically.

Letters without diacritics precede those with diacritics.

The few unvocalized (or partially vocalized) readings are sorted as is, e.g., B.n.j.r (?, ethnic group) appears after Bl- and before Bo-.

Dhī preceded by non-sorting elements is sorted with Dhū, so that their common identity is not broken, e.g., Ibn Dhī al-Burdayn al-Hilālī is sorted among entries beginning with Dhū.

4. Personal names

4.1. Order of elements

The normal ordering of name elements is as follows: *ism* + (b. *ism*) + (*nisbah*) (*kunyah*) (*laqab*), where the elements in parenthesis are optional, e.g., ʿAmr (*mawlā* of Abū Bakr); ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Ribʿī al-Ṭāʾī, Abū Ghānim.

4.2. Exceptions

However, when a person is traditionally best known by his *kunyah*, *nisbah*, or *laqab* (or when al-Ṭabarī does not provide an *ism*), the ordering changes accordingly, e.g., Abū Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿī; al-Farazdaq (Hammām b. Ghālib b. Ṣaʿṣaʿah); Māʾ al-Samāʾ (Māriyah bt. ʿAwf b. Jusham). In such cases the necessary cross-references are provided.

4.3. Ambiguous cases

On occasion it is uncertain whether persons mentioned by al-Ṭabarī with different name forms represent one individual or two, either due to variation in the components of the name cited or because of possible textual corruption. In such cases, the index records both variants separately, but adds a *see also* cross-reference to each entry to indicate their possible identity.

5. Toponyms

For the most part entries for toponyms are provided with identifying glosses, e.g., al-Kallā' (port and market, in al-Baṣrah). When further identification was not feasible the gloss is reduced to a generic "toponym", e.g., al-Abāriq (toponym).

6. Glosses

6.1. General principles

Glosses are used as follows:

- to distinguish otherwise identical entries by means of information provided by context or by the translators, e.g., Abū 'Umar (*kātib* of Sīmā al-Sharābī); Abū 'Umar *(qāḍī)*;
- to supply an alternative name, or part thereof, as indicated by translators' notes, e.g., Abū Hishām al-Rifā'ī (Muḥammad b. Yazīd);
- to supply the translators' rendering of the Arabic (when the Arabic form is chosen as the main entry), or the Arabic original of the translated term, e.g., Nahr Abī al-Asad (Abū al-Asad Canal); ornithomancy (*'iyāfah*);
- to provide an explanation, e.g., al-Ḥiṣnān (i.e., al-Mawṣil and Nīnawā);
- to help in identifying the entry on the page, e.g., Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd (uncle of 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd).

6.2. List of Arabic terms

The following Arabic terms because of variation in their rendering by the translators are left untranslated in glosses:

'ayyār vagabond
dihqān landlord, village head
ghulām page, servant boy
iṣbahbadh provincial military governor
jāriyah slave girl
kātib secretary
khādim eunuch, servant
khaṣī eunuch
mawlā (f. *mawlāh*) client, freedman
naqīb tribal chief

qāḍī judge
rāwī transmitter
umm walad concubine who has borne her master a child

7. Subject entries

7.1. Scope

Selection of entries has been discretionary and based in part on individual translators' choices, with index entries pointing to places where translators' notes supply additional information or al-Ṭabarī's text offers some substantial discussion and together with abundant cross-references maximize accessibility of al-Ṭabarī's discussion of a given topic. Comprehensiveness should not be assumed. Technical terms are a particular focus. Most common terms are indexed to their first occurrence only, or where they are discussed in translators' notes.

7.2. English versus Arabic

When a term has a single obvious English equivalent, the latter is selected as the main entry (with cross-references from the Arabic). In the more frequent cases of divergent translations it is the Arabic form that appears as the main entry, with the translations relegated to the glosses and appearing as cross-references, e.g., ʿĀm al-Ramādah (Year of the Drought, Year of the Destruction).

8. Errors

Most errors encountered in standardizing the index across volumes pertain to the spelling and vocalization of proper names, and the line between error and simple variant is often a fuzzy one. Both glosses and cross-references have been utilized to accommodate individual translators' choices while ensuring that references to a single person or place are not fragmented. The index aspires to be as accurate as possible, staying true to al-Ṭabarī's text, and minor differences in vocalization between the index and the text are to be expected.

For a list of errors consult the Errata and Emendanda section.

9. Uncertainty about proper vocalization or identity

A question mark after a name or page reference indicates uncertainty about proper vocalization or identity, e.g., Ak.r.m (?, ethnic group) XXXIV:141; Banū Thaʿlabah (of Ghaṭafān) XXXIV:26?; Abān (b. Ṣāliḥ?) XXXIX:203.

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Errata et Emendanda

volume:page:line	for	read
I:295:14	al-Zabīr	al-Zubayr
I:295 n804	al-Zabīr	al-Zubayr
II:1 n6	Replace the text with: Al-Ḥasan b. Hāni' is the celebrated poet Abū Nuwās (d. circa 200/815); see *EI*², s.v.	
II:7:12	Darafsh Kābiyān	Dirafsh-e Kābyān
II:29 n99	16	26
II:29 n100	16	26
II:31:6-7	Salāām Abū al-Mundhir al-Naḥawī	Sallām Abū al-Mundhir al-Naḥwī
II:32:15	Huzāl	Hazzāl
II:32:16	Marthid	Marthad
II:32:17-18	Jalhamah	Julhumah
II:32:18	Huzāl	Hazzāl
II:34:4, 9, 21, 25	Marthid	Marthad
II:36:22, 26	Marthid	Marthad
II:37:24	Marthid	Marthad
II:42:1-2	Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān	Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh

II:49:10	there was a king over him,	(Nimrod) was an independent king,
II:50:18-19	and as a messenger to His worshippers	and as a messenger to His servants
II:52:25-26	he was attacked by illness. They fled from him	he was attacked by the illness from which they used to flee
II:52:31	Add note after "speak?": 143a. Ibid., 37:91f.	
II:59:12	Add note after "Hell.": 169a. Ibid., 37:97	
II:64:2:29	al-Musayyib	al-Musayyab
II:83:12	ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd	ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd
II:99:34-35	Ibn Luhayʿah	Ibn Lahīʿah
II:100:24-25	ʿĪsa b. Abī Najīḥ	ʿĪsā—Ibn Abī Najīḥ
II:102:18	ʿAmr	ʿUmar
II:148:4	al-Rāzayyān	al-Rāzī
II:152:16-17	ʿĪsa b. Abī Najīḥ	ʿĪsā—Ibn Abī Najīḥ
II:133:9	ʿAbadah	ʿAbdah
II:137:16	Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-ʿAbqarī	ʿAmr b. Muḥammad al-ʿAnqazī
II:159:9	Ḥaṣīn	Ḥuṣayn
II:180:13	Ibn Sinān	Abū Sinān[480a]
II:180	Add note: 480a. Reading Abū Sinān for the text's Ibn Sinān.	

III:9 n64	Replace the text with: Muḥammad b. Saʿd al-ʿAwfī, d. 276/889.	
III:21:4	she was born in al-Rayy	he was born in al-Rayy
III:28:25	al-Aṭāf	al-ʿAṭāf
III:26:9-10	that is a blemish in it.	that is a diminution in it.
III:29:8-9	*nāsnās*	Nasnās
III:36:24	at siesta time	at midday

III:37:31	al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd related to me—al-Qāsim	al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd related to me—Yazīd b. Hārūn—al-Aṣbagh b. Zayd al-Juhanī—al-Qāsim
III:44:3	the overflow of the troughs.	the remnants of the troughs.
III:44:9-10	Abū Ḥuṣayn	Abū Ḥaṣīn
III:44 n225	Replace the text with: ʿAnbasah b. Saʿīd b. al-Ḍurays; see al-Ṭabarī, I, 226 n393.	
III:44 n226	Delete the note.	
III:90 n506	Delete the note.	
III:102:12-13	his oppression of them consisted of his having surpassed them in luxurious garments.	his oppression of them consisted of his having demanded an additional handspan of cloth.
IV:1 n1 ll. 4-6	For the title . . . , 43.	See Christensen, *Kayanides*, 43. The Arabic orthography of these names is retained throughout the translation.
IV:2 n4	Replace the text with: Siyāwakhsh, Siyāwush: see *EI*², s. v. Siyāwush; Christensen, *Kayanides*, 79, 111f.	
IV:21:1-2	Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm	Muḥammad b. Sahl b. ʿAskar—Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Karīm
IV:36 title	The Story of Isaiah's Friend; the Kings of the Children of Israel and Sennacherib	Account of the King of the Children of Israel about Whom the Story of Isaiah Is Told, and of Sennacherib
IV:41:16-17	Salamān	Salamah

IV:51:32	b. al-Ḥasan—Ḥajjāj	b. al-Ḥasan—al-Ḥusayn—Ḥajjāj
IV:73:10	Nastur	Nasṭur
IV:73:12	the men of Luhrāsb	all the descendents of Luhrāsb
IV:73:15	Zarīn's son Isfandiyār lamented his father	Bishtāsb's son Isfandiyār lamented Zarīn
IV:75:17	Jawhumuz	Jawhurmuz
IV:77:15-18	Bishtāsb lived in Dihistān . . . al-Rayy.	Bishtāsb lived in Dihistān of Jurjān. Also among the seven were Qārin al-Falhawī, who dwelled at Māh Nihāwand; Sūrīn al-Falhawī, who dwelled in Sijistān; and Isfandiyār al-Falhawī, who dwelled at al-Rayy.
IV:79:21	Sakkūn	Sakūn
IV:92:34	Salam	Salm
IV:103:11	b. David.	b. David; Joseph was Mary's paternal cousin.
IV:103:24	Muʿāwiyah	Abū Muʿāwiyah
IV:121:16	Simeon	Simon
IV:123:13	Simeon	Simon
IV:129:10	Ṣabaḥ b. Ṣabaḥ	Ṣubḥ b. Ṣubayḥ[327a]
IV:129	Add note: 327a. Reading Ṣubḥ b. Ṣubayḥ for the text's Ṣubḥ b. Ṣubḥ.	
IV:138:11	ʿAmr b. Tharb	ʿAmr, the son of a slavegirl,[349a]
IV:138	Add note: 349a. Reading *turnā* for the text's *tharbā*.	
IV:143:18	like a mother would her young ones	like a maid milking a she-camel
IV:153:21	Namīr	Namir

IV:156:9	Ibn Jumayd	Ibn Ḥumayd
IV:157:4	Ibn Jumayd	Ibn Ḥumayd
IV:165:3	al-ʿAnqarī	al-ʿAnqazī
V:3:2	Kaywajī (?)	Kayūjī
V:3:7	Dārā	Dārā, son of Dārā
V:3:8-9	and had killed two of the latter's chief commanders.	and who had been killed by two of his commanders.
V:4 n10	"Fire (and) Anāhīd," . . . two deities.	either "Fire of Anāhīd" or perhaps "Fire (and) Anāhīd," a dvandva name from the names of two deities.
V:5 n12	*kunyah* or patronymic	*kunyah* or teknonym
V:9:7-8	lavishing largesse on him and giving him numerous charges.	leaving him a free hand in the running of affairs.
V:11:14	desert	plain
V:11:15-16	When we allow you . . . desert	If we allow you . . . plain
V:11 n41	Ardashīr's words	Ardawān's words
V:16:1	he had his son Shābūr crowned	he placed his own crown upon the head of his son Shābūr
V:16 n62	See Nöldeke, trans. 19 n. 4;	This is *contra* Nöldeke, trans. 19 n. 4. See also
V:24 n85	the only one	together with the anonymous *Nihāyat al-arab fī akhbār al-Furs wa-al-ʿArab* (see E.G. Browne, in *JRAS* (1899-1900), the only one
V:25:20	Sābūr al-Junūd	in Arabic, Sābūr al-Junūd

V:26:33	place	palace
V:27:15	he gathered together	there gathered together
V:30:4	Anatolia	the Roman empire
V:30 n93 ll. 14-16	The alternative name . . . planted there.	Cf. for this process Gowāshir in Kirmān for Wahi-Artakhshtra.
V:32 n100	mentioned here	mentioned in the sixth century
V:37:16	Dīmā	Rīmā
V:37 n117	The local *nabaṭī* name of Dīmā (in the Cairo text, the equally incomprehensible Rīmā) remains obscure.	The name Rīmā appears thus in the Cairo text.
V:38 n119	province (Fārs, for instance, having within it five *kūrah*s in Sāsānid and early Islamic times), the equivalent	province. (Fārs, for instance, seems to have had six *kūrah*s in late Sāsānid times and five in the early Islamic period; see T. Daryaee, *The Fall of the Sasanian Empire and the End of Late Antiquity. Continuity and Change in the Province of Persis*, Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1999, 57-63). This was the equivalent
V:40:4	bodily constitution	bodily constitution, manners
V:40:9	Ardashīr's astrologers had told him	the astrologers had told Ardashīr
V:40:13	perfectly formed	cultured

V:40 n122	actually brought	may have brought
V:47 n137	mainstream, Catholic, Nicene Christians?	mainstream Christians?
V:49 n143	would accordingly . . . explanation.	seems nevertheless to have a basis in fact.
V:55 n156	Shābūr I's	Shābūr's
V:56:1-2	those members of the Bakr b. Wā'il who were	some members of the Bakr b. Wā'il he settled
V:56 n156 l.1	should should	should
V:58 n162	thought Nöldeke though	though Nöldeke thought
V:59 n167	Euphrates	Tigris
V:63 n173	may	many
V:72 n191	synod of the Nestorian Church	synod of the Church
V:73:23	wheeled round behind him	turned its back to him
V:91:2	before	between
V:95:9	merry-making.	merry-making and hunting.
V:96:18-19	[re]building, and it was erected in a forward position on [the frontier of]	removal to a forward position in
V:99:7-8	deserts and wastes	plains and deserts
V:103 n261	Theodosius II	Theodosius I
V:111:8	seven	twenty-seven
V:111 n286	where there	where they
V:115:18, 19	Muzdbuwadh (?)	Mardbūdh
V:118 n303	Delete the note.	
V:119 n306	more permanent	more permanent (and later)
V:121 n308	ill-omen	ill-omened
V:122 n312 ll. 16-21	Certainly, in the third century . . . they appear in the recorded history as	Certainly, they appear in the third century as

V:128:10-11	his major-domo . . . , who was one of his cavalrymen	his host . . . , who was one of the cavalrymen (*al-asāwirah*)
V:130:12	Add note after "wagons.": 334a. *Marākib*, which could also mean "on steads."	
V:135:1-2	A certain person . . . has	Certain persons . . . have
V:136:8	had sexual relations with	married
V:136 n348	marriage	marriage one of
V:142 n364	All this is pure fantasy.	This is perhaps fantasy, although Toufic Fahd has adduced a reference in Ibn Waḥshiyyah's *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyyah* to a king of Yemen who came to Iraq ("Un incursion yéménite en Babylonie citée dans L'Agriculture nabatéenne," in *L'Agriculture nabatéenne*, III, Damascus, 1998, 329), which could be a reference to an encounter with Qubādh.

V:148:14-17	that religious faith he commanded them to observe and urged them to adopt were not to exist, the truly good way of behavior, the one which is pleasing to God, would lie in the common sharing or property.	what he commanded them to observe and urged them to adopt were not in the religion, that would itself be a good way of behavior, since the common sharing of property would bring reciprocal satisfaction.
V:149:2	Kharrakān	Khurrakān
V:153:2	buildings	a building
V:152:13	powerful	high-ranking
V:153:17-19	He also knew . . . and infantry.	He also knew that, with a force of five thousand warriors, cavalry and infantry, he could defend the frontier region of Armenia.
V:154:1	excellent	superiority in
V:155 n395	Persia empire.	Persian empire.
V:155 n395	to choose a Catholicos of their own.	to choose a bishop for Seleucia (a metropolitan of the East was established by the Monophysites at Takrit in ca. 629, and this position came to be called *maphrian*).
V:157:17	in in resources	in resources
V:159 n399 ll. 15-17	The mention of Alexandria . . . below)	The Alexandria mentioned here is the town of that name in Syria, also captured by Shābūr I.

V:165:16	fighting other	fighting each other
V:176 n449	in southwestern	in the southwestern
V:205 n511	commandeered by the Byzantine authorities	apparently commandeered, according to the *Martyrium* of Arethas, by the Abyssinian king from Byzantine, Persian and Ethiopian vessels,
V:208 n518	"Events in South Arabia	"Events in Arabia
V:214 n534	"Events in South Arabia	"Events in Arabia
V:230 n563	"Events in South Arabia	"Events in Arabia
V:231 n567	features	features that
V:231 n568	other elements	other elements that
V:232:5	Bazīn	Razīn
V:235:28	patronymic	teknonym
V:239 n591	Kānjār	Kāmkār
V:252:14	king Byzantines	king of the Byzantines
V:254:12	Upper Nahrawān,	Upper Nahrawān, that of Middle Nahrawān,
V:258:2	planted	planted with wheat and barley, one dirham; with vines, eight dirhams;
V:259 n624 l. 20	Persian could controled	Persians could control

V:260 n626	This term is wholly obscure.	Balʿamī's translation and expansion of al-Ṭabarī, ed. Muḥammad Rawshan, Tehran, 1336/1987-88, 1176, has *hamdāstānī*, which accords with al-Ṭabarī's explanation here.
V:263:3, 6, 11	cords	bow strings
V:265:10-11	and itself becomes obliterated	and obliterate it
V:269:1	Yūsuf b. Muʿīn	Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn
V:273:35	I do not known	I do not know
V:282:22	robe	robes
V:291 n685	*ispabadh*	*ispahbedh* (sic)
V:293:19	afer	after
V:298 n701	Turkish	Turkish empire
V:301 n704	but we have no precise historical mention of this invasion.	and Jawānshīr mentions Caucasian attacks on Azerbaijan at this time; see Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice (682-602), Part I*, 35-36.
V:306:23-24	It is part of our religion to choose	We are of a religion that chooses
V:313:5-6	over them. The army included in its numbers	over them who included in their numbers
V:313:10	Mūshīl	Mūsīl
V:313:14-15	Several violent clashes	A violent battle
V:313:19	Sabūr, son of Afriyān, Abādh	Sābūr, son of Andyān, Ashtād,

V:313 n733	Reading thus . . . Mamikonian family.	Nöldeke, trans. 285 n. 3, identified him as Mushel, the Armenian ruler of Mash in eastern Anatolia, from the famous Mamikonian family, but the name Mūsīl is found in the *Shāh-nāmah.*
V:313 n735	*Shāh-nāmah*	*Shāh-nāmah*, ed. Moscow, ix. 117 (here the fourteen companions of Khusraw are given as: 1. Gustahm (Vitahm); 2. Gurd-Shāpūr; 3. Adiyān; 4. Bendūī; 5. Gurdūī (=Bahrām Chūbīn's brother); 6. Ādur Gushasp; 7. Shīrdhīl (cf. the name of the ancestor of the Ziyārid dynasty of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān); 8. Zangūī or Zandūī; 9. Nakhwārag (text, Tukhwārak); 10. Farrukhzād; 11. Khusraw-i Sarfāz (translating Khusraw Shmūm); 12. Ashtād; 13. Khurshīd; and 14. Ōrmazd)
V:318:9	buried, with a vegetable garden	buried in a garden and a vegetable patch

V:318:11	dug it out with his own hand	dug for the cross with his own hands and took it out
V:319 n749 l. 9	the name	been the name of
V:320:9	on a lofty throne	in a place of honour
V:320:11	throne	seat
V:322:8	Nīniwā	Nīnawā
V:322 n755	Razastēs)	Razastēs) of the Greek sources
V:323:1	ninety thousand	seventy thousand
V:323:3	such a number of troops	seventy thousand troops
V:323:21	three army commanders who	commanders of [various] armies which
V:336:13	Persian	Persians
V:326 n765	*kunyah* or patronymic	*kunyah* or teknonym
V:340 n803	This passage in parentheses	This phrase
V:365:14	summonse	summons
V:365:16	Surayd	Suwayd
V:365 n881	Surayd	Suwayd
V:366:29	unti	until
V:374:15	takng	taking
V:376 n926	implied . . . adducing the name	adduced the name Sumios in an early Christian Greek source, which might involve an hereditary honour or rank, and considered it to be unconnected with the name
V:383:10-11	back to live with those men by whom they already had	to live with men by whom they could have
V:383:23	sought refuge with you	provided refuge for you

V:384:10	He held conversation	He exchanged greetings and compliments
V:385:20	seated	lying
V:385:25	sitting	reclining
V:385 n956	cloth.	cloth, which appears in the *Shāh-nāmah*, ix. 259 v. 84, as *dastār*.
V:386:23	of royal stock	of the people of this country
V:387:9-10	short reigned	short lived
V:388:24-26	when we had . . . had attained . . . we turned	when we have . . . have attained . . . we can turn
V:388:28	against him.	for that goal.
V:389:7	Furumīshā	Farmīshā
V:389:14	presents	presents and the letters
V:389 n959	As correctly conjectured by . . . "supreme lord."	According to . . . "supreme lord," which is supported by the fact that the *Nihāyat al-arab* gives the name F.r.mīsā twice, once as a king of India contemporary with Anūsharwān.
V:390:1	Furumīshā's	Farmīshā's
V:391:13	kingly power	the country
V:391 n962	down to us.	down to us. The fourth section of Khusraw's response is apparently absent here, but is clearly distinguished in Balʿamī, 1175.
V:393:4	kingdom	land

V:394:16	"plunder of the winds"	"wind-blown treasure"
V:394 n967	lost at sea.	lost at sea. For the exact circumstances here, see, most importantly, the *Anonymus Guidi*, 25-26.
V:398 n975	Replace the text with: *Pace* the suggested emendation *kharazah* in *Addenda et emendanda*, p. DXCVI, al-Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar al-siyar*, also has *ḥirzah*.	
V:402:2	for	in
V:402:18	the king's	his
V:404 n996	Heraclius	Maurice
V:405:3	*[Jushnas Dih]*	*[Jushnas [Ban]Dih]*
V:406:13	night."	night." Farrukh Hurmuz did that and mounted his horse that night to go to her.
V:407 n1006	Fīrūz.	Fīrūz. Farrukhzādh is mentioned as the son of Khusraw II in the Persian *Fārs nāmah* of Ibn al-Balkhī, ed. G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, GMS, N.S. I, London, 1921, 26, 111.
V:408 n1010	No coins of his seem to be extant	Coins of his are extant; see F. Grenet, in *St Ir*, XXIV (1995), 291-94.
V:410 n1014	434,	434, noted
V:415:18	forty-six years	forty-six hundred years

VI:1:17	Qubayṣah b. Dhuʿayb	Qabīṣah b. Dhuʾayb
VI:12:12	Umānah	Umāmah
VI:39:24	al-Muʿammalī	al-Muʾammalī
VI:63:26	to attend his business	to relieve himself
VI:63 n86	Delete the note.	
VI:66:29	Ẓibyān	Ẓabyān
VI:73:19	she was grieved	she uncovered her head
VI:80:28-29	Sharīk b. ʿAbdallāh	Sharīk—ʿAbdallāh
VI:104:29	What is this son of a slave's mother saying?	What is Ibn Umm ʿAbd [i.e. ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd] saying?
VI:111:31	they indeed strove hard to beguile you	they almost succeeded in beguiling you
VI:127:3	al-Ṣunājī	al-Ṣunābihī
VI:132:6-7	You would indeed have had a *qiblah*, had you kept to it patiently.	You had a *qiblah* had you had the patience to persist in observing it.
VI:132 n210	Delete the note.	
VI:157:20	"From the Messenger of God's emigration,	"From the Messenger of God's emigration." ʿUmar said, "Rather we shall date from the Messenger of God's emigration,
VII:27:26	al-Zubayr—ʿAdī	al-Zubayr b. ʿAdī
VII:28:8-9	He used to celebrate the night of 17 Ramaḍān	He used to spend the night of 17 Ramaḍān awake in devotions
VII:50:1	ʿImāmah	ʿUthāmah
VII:66:18	Asʿad	Saʿd
VII:77:10	bench	portico

VII:82:23-24	Your own kin have severed the bonds of kinship.	May your kin cut you off!
VII:84 n143	55:45	54:45
VII:91:33	al-Naqīʿ	al-Baqīʿ
VII:91:33	Add note after al-Baqīʿ: 153a. Reading al-Baqīʿ for the text's al-Naqīʿ.	
VII:99:13	al-Aswad	b. al-Aswad
VII:110 n168	3:22	3:122
VII:118:23-24	his grandfather, al-Zubayr	his grandfather—al-Zubayr
VII:165:11	Murr	Marr
IX:1 n3	Delete the note.	
IX:1 n4	Ibid.,	Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*,
IX:2:10	occupied Mecca	taken up quarters in Mecca
IX:12 n83	*Tahdhīb*, X, 2-3	*Tahdhīb*, XI, 2-3
IX:21:18	Nakhlat	Nakhlah
IX:47:4	[May 19—October 14, 631]	[March—October, 630]
IX:84:10	Dhū	Dhī
IX:107:24	ʿAbdallāh	ʿUbayd
IX:107 n734	Replace the text with: A client of the Banū Zurayq, who died in 105/723-24. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 63-64.	
IX:120:13	Salamah	Salimah
IX:126:1	Sharīq	Shaqīq
IX:157:10	Mujammaʿ	Mujammiʿ
IX:164 n1138	Delete the note.	
IX:208:12-13	and explained to him its rites.	; he (i.e. Abū Bakr) explained to them (i.e. the pilgrims) its rites.
IX:208:18-19	he received the revelation	was made a prophet

X:153:25	Ṣuhār	Ṣuḥār
XI:110:3	al-Qaryatayn	al-Qaryatān
XI:144:9 [bis]	Nadbah	Nudbah
XI:198:7-8	of the [same] side of the river as the Muslims	of the Euphrates with the Muslims at al-Milṭāṭ
XII:5:1	like on body	like one body
XII:15:10	moore deeply	more deeply
XII:27:4, 7	Āzādbih	Āzādhbih
XII:44:15	is it, them, that remains	is it, then, that remains
XII:48:6, 9	lamb	calf
XII:60:25	Ṭayzanābād	Ṭīzanābādh
XII:60 n233	Ṭayzanābād	Ṭīzanābādh
XII:124:31	Abu Mikhrāq	Ibn Mikhrāq
XII:137:10	vineyad	vineyard
XII:163:11-12	Shuwaysh Abū al-Ruqqād	Shuways Abū al-Ruqād
XII:185:9, 10	Mikhā'īl	Mīkhā'īl
XII:190:34-35	Where are going	Where are you going
XIII:23:14	They said:	They all said—Muḥammad, al-Muhallab, Ṭalḥah, ʿAmr, Abū ʿUmar, and Saʿīd:
XIII:66:15-16	al-Ruqqād	al-Ruqād
XIII:95:22	Yaḥyā	Abū Yaḥyā
XIII:163:3	Alexandria	Miṣr and Alexandria
XIII:165:34	Qāsim	Ibn Abī Qāsim[556a]
XIII:165	Add note: 556a. That is, al-Qāsim (son of the father of al-Qāsim).	

XIII:173:29	dressed in Egyptian colors standing by	brought on various Egyptian dishes
XIII:195:30	al-ʿAbbās.	al-ʿAbbās (may God be pleased with him).
XIV:13:11	the sons of ʿAmr	the sons of ʿUmar
XIV:13 n66	These are perhaps the sons of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ.	Both the Leiden and Cairo editions read "sons of ʿAmr," but these are in fact the sons of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.
XIV:31:16	al-ʿAnsī	al-ʿAbsī
XIV:49 n241	Replace the text with: Qur'ān, XXVIII:5.	
XIV:120:10	al-Shafā	al-Shifā
XV:4:20	two-bladed dagger	double-hilted dagger
XV:39:2	four *rakʿahs*)	four (*rakʿahs*)
XV:48:4	Muqsim	Miqsam
XV:60:22	Tīzanābādh	Ṭīzanābādh
XV:62:18	Yūnis	Yūnus
XV:99:32	al-Buqayʿ	al-Baqīʿ
XV:127:8	Saʿīd	Saʿd
XV:144:25	Jābir	Jabr
XV:159:20	Insert after al-Tujībī,[284]: ʿUrwah b. Shuyaym al-Laythī, Abū ʿAmr b. Budayl b. Warqāʾ al-Khuzāʿī, Sawād b. Rūmān al-Aṣbaḥī, Zurʿah b. Yushkar al-Yāfiʿī,	
XV:171:19-20	with Salāmah b. Rawḥ al-Judhāmī and his two sons Muḥammad and ʿAbdallāh,	with his two sons Muḥammad and ʿAbdallāh and with Salāmah b. Rawḥ al-Judhāmī,
XV:172 n311	Replace the text with: One of the stations of the Egyptian pilgrimage route.	

XV:218:27	Nā'ilah and her daughters	Nā'ilah and his daughters
XV:220:6	Shīyam	Shuyaym
XV:253:31	Add the following text after "in the grave.": Hishām b. Muḥammad said that he was called by the *kunyah* Abū ʿAmr.	
XVI:22:20	Yanbūʿ	Yanbuʿ
XVI:32:26	Salimah	Salamah
XVI:96:23	Saʿr	Siʿr
XVI:141:4	al-Nadr	al-Naḍr
XVII:159:1	al-Raḥmān	al-ʿAzīz
XVII:169:26	al-Aʿwal	al-Aʿwar
XVIII:3 n7	This "Thursday shurṭah" was an elite force or bodyguard	Shurṭat al-khamīs means the same thing, *khamīs* being a south Arabian word for "army." The unit described here was an elite force or bodyguard
XVIII:3:18-19	al-Majāzī al-Khuzāʿī[11]	al-Majāzī[11] al-Khuzāʿī
XVIII:5:6-8	(According to) Ziyād b. ʿAbdallāh—ʿAwānah gave an account similar to that of al-Masrūqī—ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He added to it:	According to Ziyād b. ʿAbdallāh—ʿAwānah (who mentioned an account similar to that of al-Masrūqī, from ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al- Raḥmān, but added to it):
XVIII:5:20-21	a leader of error	a leader of error (*imām ḍalālah*)
XVIII:8:28	If I knew	I do not know

XVIII:9:10	*Al-Ḥasan's Surrender of al-Kūfah to Muʿāwiyah*	In this year occurred the truce between Muʿāwiyah and Qays b. Saʿd, after Qays refused to render allegiance to Muʿāwiyah.
		Account of the Truce between Muʿāwiyah and Qays b. Saʿd
XVIII:12:17	your own misfortunes	your own evil conduct
XVIII:12:21f.	we will have protected you from your enemy	we will have dealt with your enemy for you
XVIII:13:1-2	you will have been protected from us	you will have been spared dealing with us
XVIII:15:4	if necessary.	at that time.
XVIII:15:4-6	The people assembled for that, while their leaders were eagerly anticipating Abū Bakrah.	The people assembled for that with their anxious eyes looking forward to the arrival of Abū Bakrah.
XVIII:16:21	Your brother has wealth	Your brother owes wealth
XVIII:16:22-23	He doesn't have anything	He doesn't owe anything
XVIII:17:23-24	You will certainly not prefer anything over the satisfaction of God	You shall not prefer anything over what is pleasing to God
XVIII:19:12-13	You may violate that guarantee of protection, (since) you weren't asked for it	This is a guarantee of protection for which you will not be held responsible if you violate it
XVIII:22:4	about ten men	between ten and twenty men

XVIII:22:6-7	O Brothers of the Muslims	O Brother Muslims
XVIII:22:11-12	when it was time for the dawn worship	when (the *muezzin*) gave the second announcement for dawn worship
XVIII:22:15	folk	(fighting) men
XVIII:22:25-30	Nights and days and years and months will not continue indefinitely for a son of Adam until he tastes death and will part from the virtuous brothers and leave the world over which only weaklings weep, a world which is always harmful for whoever has concern and worry	Nights and days, years and months soon make (every) son of Adam taste death and part from the Righteous Brethren, leaving the present world, over which only weaklings weep, and which always harms whoever fixes his concern and worry on it
XVIII:23:6	let us turn	we will turn
XVIII:23:8	we would have	we shall have
XVIII:23:16	My friend	My two friends
XVIII:23:18-19	with numerous squadrons. You will call upon God and in Him you will prevail	among numerous squadrons that summon unto God and that prevail for His sake
XVIII:23:20	My mule has left	When my mule leaves
XVIII:23:22-23	But I am leaving soon, even if my supporters are few so I would not shame you two, with whom he goes	But even if my supporters are few, I am leaving soon, together with those who go; I will not shame the two of you
XVIII:25:5	I am satisfied with everyone	I am satisfied with you and with everyone

XVIII:25:12	For they are not all virtuous enough for that command	You are not all suitable for leadership
XVIII:25:23	a group	the group
XVIII:25:35	folk	(fighting) men
XVIII:26:19	refused at	held out in
XVIII:28 n117	This probably means attempting to resist him	That is, who stretched out his hand toward the caliphate
XVIII:30:16-17	If you are not going to deceive me, I need these letters	If you haven't deceived me, these letters are my business
XVIII:33:12-13	Hishām—Jaʿfar b. Hudhayfah al-Ṭāʾī—al-Muhill b. Khalīfah	Hishām—Abū Mikhnaf—Jaʿfar b. Ḥudhayfah al-Ṭāʾī—al-Muḥill b. Khalīfah
XVIII:31:11	You will not be concealed	Do not conceal yourself
XVIII:34:2	sought to defend themselves with	rushed for
XVIII:35:17-18	Stay as you are	Stay where you are
XVIII:35:19	Enter, rightly guided	Enter, you're quite right to do so
XVIII:36:11	while he rode his horse	when he had just mounted his horse
XVIII:36:30	Salamah	Salimah
XVIII:37:17	Arab district	Arab clan
XVIII:37:20	desiring proof and excuses	intending refutation and self-justification
XVIII:38:19	People of the House[160] by his folk.	people of family among his folk.
XVIII:38 n160	Delete the note.	
XVIII:39:23	no Arab alive	no Arab tribe
XVIII:39:25	some of them are among the living	some of them are somewhere among the tribe

XVIII:39:26	If I should find that out, truly I would win favor	If that has been related to me correctly, I will win favor
XVIII:41:14	Will you remain out of ignorance in the house of those who err,	You stayed in the abode of sinners out of ignorance,
XVIII:41:15-16	For the enemies assaulted the folk and they set you up for slaughter by a mistaken opinion	Assault the hostile people who, by an erroneous doctrine, have set you up to be slaughtered
XVIII:41:21	powerful, short-legged	strong of flank
XVIII:41:23	for I am given first the cup of fate to drink	that he might make me drink the cup of fate first
XVIII:41:24-25	It is hard for me that you are afraid and driven out. When I draw out [my sword] unsheathed among the violators	It is hard for me that you are afraid and driven out, While I have not yet drawn my sword against the violators (*muḥillīn*)
XVIII:42:1-2	When every glorious [person] scatters their group, when you would say he had turned away and fled, he would come back	And while men, each of them glorious, have not yet scattered their group, men such that when you say [of one of them] he has turned and retreated, he advanced
XVIII:43:4-5	You should only send against them one of the notables of the city whom you see around you, whom you find	Any notable (*sharīf*) of the city you see around you that you send against them you will find

XVIII:43:31-33	As for you, I have heard that you censure ʿUthmān to one of the people, and I have also heard that you openly proclaim something of ʿAlī's superiority. But you do not mention	Take care lest I hear that you censure ʿUthmān to one of the people, and take care lest I hear that you openly proclaim something of ʿAlī's superiority. But you have not mentioned
XVIII:44:16-17	Yes indeed, by God! I favor orators [who are] firm leaders	Yes, by God! I am indeed the orator, the firm, the leader
XVIII:44:19-20	where the lances clashed splitting the shafts lengthwise and making the heads fall off	where the lances clashed, so that cranial sutures are split lengthwise and the top of the head is cut off
XVIII:44:27	Abū al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ	al-Naḍr b. Ṣāliḥ
XVIII:45:1	We shall summon them and excuse them	We will summon them and do that which will excuse us
XVIII:45:13-14	Don't give up on them. They are forbidden to stay for more than an hour in any territory where you summon them	Anywhere you catch up with them, don't allow them to remain there longer than it takes you to invite them [to submit]
XVIII:45:23-24	Let none of his companions do differently	Let none of his companions delay
XVIII:45:28	Ḥabīb	Jundab
XVIII:46:23-24	and will reject you for your disgraceful act.	and will throw back at you [our agreement] and fairly so.
XVIII:47:16	they weren't looking at me	they continued to look at me

XVIII:47:20-21	don't tangle with me or else God will absolve me of guilt concerning you	you shall not reach me until I render myself excused before God in regard to you
XVIII:47:31	I watched my sword	I sheathed my sword
XVIII:48:2-4	Al-Mustawrid would not be my choice for Caliph because of what I have seen of his hypocrisy and baseness in drawing his sword against the Muslims	In my opinion, al-Mustawrid, because of what I have seen of his humility and modesty, is not one who is likely to rebel against the Muslims with his sword
XVIII:52:2	Draw us aside	Let us stand aside
XVIII:52:3-4	He then had us draw aside	So we stood aside
XVIII:52:15	trained horses	caparisoned horses
XVIII:52:26	If we don't leave the battle, we won't be routed	As long as we have not left the battle, we have not been routed
XVIII:52:29	we do not turn back	we have not turned back
XVIII:52:29-31	lest it be said, "Abū Ḥumrān b. Bujayr al-Hamdānī was routed." I would only care if it is said,	I won't mind if people say, "Abū Ḥumrān b. Bujayr al-Hamdānī was routed," but they will say,
XVIII:52:34	When they return against you	If they turn back from you
XVIII:53:19-20	How do you think they are doing?	How did you see them doing?
XVIII:53:20	We think the Ḥarūriyyah are	We saw the Ḥarūriyyah
XVIII:53:21	Do you think my men	Did you see my men
XVIII:54:1-2	This cavalry is covered with dust	That is the dust of the [approaching] cavalry

XVIII:56:4-5	and was killed. I only know that he killed one person whom he had seized by the neck. ʿUmayr fell upon the man's chest	and he killed—I only know that he killed one person who, I learned, had seized him by the neck, so ʿUmayr fell upon the man's chest
XVIII:56:25-26	I don't think they will camp where you are until tonight or early tomorrow morning	I think they will camp by you tonight or come against you tomorrow morning
XVIII:57:23-24	Then it disappeared after a while. I fear that they are abandoning	Now, for some time, I have not seen their shape. I fear they may have abandoned
XVIII:58:11-13	if they come to you, let the others know, and fight them. Don't abandon your position under any circumstances until	if they come to you and begin fighting some other [contingent], never abandon your position until
XVIII:58:33-34	God spare us their inconvenience! We are going	If God spares us their inconvenience, we are going
XVIII:58:34-35	It is for the Kūfans to defend	The Kūfans have men to defend
XVIII:59:2	brother	tribesman
XVIII:60:19	He also camped there at sunrise	He attacked them at sunrise
XVIII:60:24	being mingled together	being evenly matched
XVIII:60:32	Indeed the youth, every youth, who	Indeed the complete hero is the man who
XVIII:60:35-36	She knew that I, when the injury alighted, would frighten, on the day of the battle, a bold hero	She has learned that when trouble comes, I am the most terrifying man on the day of strife, bold, courageous

XVIII:61:21	Ḥabīb	Jundab
XVIII:61:25	noble	best
XVIII:62:21-22	thereby distracting us from our cutting of the bridge.	and so they were too preoccupied to stop us cutting the bridge.
XVIII:63:29	Ḥabīb	Jundab
XVIII:64:20	discouraged	eluded
XVIII:65:2	Qubbayn	Qubbīn
XVIII:65 n241	Qubbayn	Qubbīn
XVIII:65:4	After a while	Right away
XVIII:66:8	Abū Ashāʾ	Abī Ashāʾah
XVIII:66:19	noble	best
XVIII:66:24-25	To the rescue! Rescue lies in searching.	Hurry! Hurry in pursuit!
XVIII:66:32	So far they have been ahead of you	Now they are in front of you. You've caught up with them! How close to them you are!
XVIII:67:3	Why are you coming?	What happened to you?
XVIII:67:3-5	We don't know. We were certainly surprised. The folk were with us among our army while we were separated from each other.	Before we knew it the enemy was with us in our camp and we were scattered.
XVIII:67:8	I certainly saw him killed	We think he must have been killed
XVIII:68:15	this dog of whose soul God has despaired	this dog whom God has made to despair of his soul
XVIII:70:4	charage	charge

XVIII:70:7-11	Indeed, a leader of worship (*imām*) must either deliver the sermon, finding no escape from it, or he stupidly pours [it] out from his head heedless of what goes forth from him.	No one undertakes to deliver the sermon except an *imām*, who has no choice, or a fool who prattles with no regard to what comes out of his mouth.
XVIII:71:2-3	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Walīd	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (b. Khālid) b. al-Walīd
XVIII:74:20	more noble than they	the most noble of them
XVIII:77:24-25	between the backs of the Qays	among the Qays
XVIII:78:12	free	truncated
XVIII:78:15	His virtues	His graciousness
XVIII:78:16	the utmost	more of
XVIII:79:7-8	abandonment of	allowing
XVIII:79:10	seducers	offenders
XVIII:79:16-17	You are not wise, while you follow the foolish and what you regard as shielding them continues	You are not wise; you have followed the foolish, and, as you see, you have continued to shield them,
XVIII:80:26	Perhaps someone	Many a person
XVIII:80:27	someone	many a person
XVIII:81:12	whence	whither
XVIII:83:21-22	they both went in front of him with two spears, competing (with each other).	they quarreled in his presence with two spears.
XVIII:84:1	Who will tell Ziyād about me?	Who will tell Ziyād from me?
XVIII:84:9	helping	helped (by God)
XVIII:84:10	oppress	stray
XVIII:84:23	not inexperienced among the young	not inexperienced with events

XVIII:85:10	was with Ziyād	was married to Ziyād
XVIII:88:1-2	Mālik b. ʿUbaydallāh	Mālik b. ʿAbdallāh[298a]
XVIII:88	Add note: 298a. Reading ʿAbdallāh for the text's ʿUbaydallāh.	
XVIII:91:13	march past him	paid him a visit
XVIII:95:7	Salimah	Salamah
XVIII:96:7	Muḥammad b. Mūsā	Muḥammad b. Abī Mūsā
XVIII:99:28-29	who had collected the Qurʾān	who knew the (entire) Qurʾān by heart
XVIII:100:28-29	God did not bring Qarīb close	Qarīb, may God not bring him close!
XVIII:101:6-7	for the [entire] year	for this year
XVIII:101:33	was concerned about	was about to [move]
XVIII:102:25-26	Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj was dismissed from Egypt and Ifrīqiyyah.	Muʿāwiyah b. Ḥudayj was dismissed from Egypt and Maslamah b. Mukhallad was appointed over Egypt and Ifrīqiyyah.
XVIII:102:29	is (city of)	its (city of)
XVIII:103:1-2	When God, Almighty and Great, summoned them	So he prayed to God, Almighty and Great, against them, and
XVIII:103:3	as the beasts of prey carried off their cubs.	even the lions did so, carrying off their cubs.
XVIII:103:4-6	ʿUqbah b. Nāfiʿ announced, "Indeed when we settled they departed, blaming us, and went out fleeing from their dens"	ʿUqbah b. Nāfiʿ proclaimed, "We are going to settle; depart ye from our bands," so they went out fleeing from their dens.
XVIII:103:7	I was told by al-Mufaḍḍil b. Faḍālah—	I was told by (Mūsā b. ʿAlī's father)— al-Mufaḍḍal b. Faḍālah—
XVIII:104:22-23	How often you check it,	How tightly you secure them [i.e. the coins],

XVIII:105:2	To the rescue!	So hurry!
XVIII:106:15	the Jāhiliyyah	a time of ignorance
XVIII:106:18-20	And if it was during [the time of] faith [something] like this would be hateful to you. We have our rightful possession,	And if it had happened under a religion other than that [i.e. ignorance], you would have given us our due,
XVIII:107:1	You were hurled at something	You desired something
XVIII:107:7	and more forbidding than they towards neighbors	and the one of them who best protects the neighbor
XVIII:108:17	b. Naṣr b. ʿIlāṭ b. Khālid al-Sulamī.	b. Naṣr b. Khālid al-Bahzī, one of the Banū Sulaym, and al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāṭ b. Khālid al-Sulamī.
XVIII:112:7-9	I had not tasted food before that. When I said I came for their (wedding feast), I got some food.	I had not eaten yet, so I said, "I'll go to them and get some food."
XVIII:112:10	someone leading a horse	the leading part of a horse
XVIII:115:6	Ziyād summons me	Ziyād summoned me
XVIII:115:9	if he wants their stipend,	if he wants to bestow a stipend on them,
XVIII:117:25-26	All at once I was with Ibn Qitrah	Behold, I saw Ibn Qitrah
XVIII:117:28	split the space between	went between
XVIII:118:7	Who would inform Ziyād about me?	Who will tell Ziyād from me?
XVIII:118:13	So, if you like, you were related	If you wish, you may be related[417a]

XVIII:118	Add note: 417a Cairo has "I may be related" instead of "you may be related," which makes better sense in the context, since al-Farazdak has just described his flight and the Christians, Jews, Fuqaym, and the monkeys may be taken as symbols of cowardice.	
XVIII:118:15	And you and I were related to the Jews	And he belonged to my family, and I was related to the Jews[417b]
XVIII:118:15	Add note: 417b Cairo puts this after the following verse, where it makes better sense.	
XVIII:118:16	And, if you like, you were related	And, if you wish, you may be related
XVIII:118:17	and you would be related to me	and he belonged to my family
XVIII:118:17-18	and I would be related to the monkeys	and I belonged to the monkey family
XVIII:118:23	while a flood of agony	while the flood of rippled sand
XVIII:120:10-12	You are consoled by steadfastness and your good fortune. You don't see an outstanding refuge other than the former nights,	Console yourself with patience. No, by your fortune, you will not see the summit of the refuge until the last of the passing nights,
XVIII:121:2	gave him	would make for him
XVIII:123:24-25	blaming ʿAlī for what had happened and for killing ʿUthmān.	criticizing ʿAlī, attacking him, and blaming [him] for the death of ʿUthmān.
XVIII:124:8	He united our speech	He united us
XVIII:124:11-12	He would also call for ʿUthmān's murderers [to be punished].	He also prayed against ʿUthmān's murderers.
XVIII:124:15	burn for	are passionate about

XVIII:124 n427	Add: Without vowels the word in the text could be read as either *thuluthay* (two-thirds) or *thalāthī* (thirty)	
XVIII:124:24	they increased	they said a lot of
XVIII:124:35-36	He will come to a governor after me, and will regard him like me	There will come a governor after me, and [Ḥujr] will suppose him to be like me
XVIII:125:3-4	I do not want to start the people of this city killing the best among themselves	I do not want to start something with the people of this city by killing the best of them
XVIII:126:15-16	I shall have accomplished nothing	I am nothing
XVIII:127:12-13	I will not be addressed by you or consider speaking to you.	I will neither pardon you nor ask for your pardon.
XVIII:128:9	while you console with the other?	while you heal with the other?
XVIII:129:19	[679]	[690]
XVIII:129:19-20	I was accompanied by an Aḥmarī.	I suddenly noticed an Aḥmarī walking beside me.
XVIII:129:30-31	that it was a righteous matter	that he was a righteous man
XVIII:130:11	God is between	God is [the judge] between
XVIII:130:12	God, Almighty and Great, is between	God, Almighty and Great, is [the judge] between
XVIII:130:15	Ḥudhām	Judhām
XVIII:130:18	saying extemporaneously	saying in *rajaz* verse
XVIII:130:31-33	They are all bastards except you. By God, I certainly think that you have killed yourself	Ride! Woe is you, by God, I think that you have killed yourself

XVIII:131 n438	Cairo reads: "You considered."	Cairo reads: "You considered, O Ibn Barṣā' al-Ḥitār, fighting him [to be the same as] your fighting Zayd."
XVIII:131 n439	Lit: "circle of the rump."	Lit: "son of a woman with a leprous anus."
XVIII:131:6	I blame the sons of baseness, except for you, openly	O baseness, son of baseness! What has brought you unarmored
XVIII:131:9	when there is dismay	when there is war
XVIII:131:9	the day you both met	the day they both met
XVIII:131:12	the best offspring of sires	the best offspring of sires?
XVIII:131:19	Qahdān	Fahdān
XVIII:131:21	on behalf of your brother for a while, so fight	and fight for a while on behalf of your brother
XVIII:132:28-29	it was only when, and certainly not until, we learned	before anyone could say "no," someone came and told us
XVIII:132:30	Banū Jabalah, that the people	Banū Jabalah. So the people
XVIII:133:24-25	You are no bastard.	Woe is you!
XVIII:134:2	Banū Dhul	Banū Dhuhl
XVIII:134:37	"Indeed, he will not do it, so release him."	"Indeed, he will not do it." So he released him.
XVIII:135:31-32	at the place of worship	struck against al-Muslī
XVIII:135:31-32	blows at the place of worship	blow of al-Muslī
XVIII:136:15-16	A many-colored dog harms its own family	Barāqish harms his own family

XVIII:136 n446	Such a dog by barking at others, gives its masters away, so they perish and the dog with them.	Barāqish was the name of a dog that gave its masters away by barking at others. So they perished and the dog with them.
XVIII:137:4, 14, 15, 17	Rifāʿat	Rifāʿah
XVIII:137:20	ʿAmr	Rifāʿah
XVIII:137:24-25	and if you fight him would harm you	and if you kill him, it will be harmful for you
XVIII:137:35	Isḥāq	Abū Isḥāq
XVIII:138:11-12	I will never be released from him unless he kills me.	He will kill me before I can ever escape.
XVIII:138:26-27	Ziyād asked, "What will make you recognize him?"	Ziyād exclaimed, "How much you know about him!"
XVIII:140:11-12, 15	the mountains	the two mountains (See note 474)
XVIII:140:31	There four	These four
XVIII:140:34	that matters would only be set right by the family of Abū Ṭālib	that rule (i.e. the caliphate) was fitting only among the family of Abū Ṭālib
XVIII:141:10	stubborn	unbroken
XVIII:141:27	allegience	allegiance
XVIII:142:33	(the witnesses included) Labīd . . .	(the witnesses included) ʿAmr b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Zubaydī, Labīd . . .
XVIII:142:37	Miḥṣan b. Thaʿlabah from among the allies of Quraysh	Muḥaffiz b. Thaʿlabah from ʿĀʾidhat Quraysh
XVIII:144:18	the Gharīyūn	al-Ghariyyān[459a]
XVIII:144	Add note: 459a. These were two structures like monk's cells or silos on the outskirts of al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 790-95.	

XVIII:144:12	al-Naṣr	al-Naḍr
XVIII:145:15	one	anyone
XVIII:146:10-11	I only saw this after he had removed himself from your testimony.	I think he has taken himself out of your testimony.
XVIII:146:15	against him	against them
XVIII:146:16, 17	I thought	I think
XVIII:147:1	allegience	allegiance
XVIII:147:26	while he blames me	so why do you blame me?
XVIII:148:8-9	the Caliph." That was to their advantage with the Commander of the Faithful.	the Caliph. Let this be to their credit with the Commander of the Faithful.
XVIII:148:9	asked about them	asked for them
XVIII:148:13	You have asked me about your cousins	You have asked me for your two cousins
XVIII:148:23-24	he would corrupt my city for me. Tomorrow we must send	he would corrupt my city for me and force me tomorrow to send
XVIII:148:34	Fiyyād	Fayyāḍ
XVIII:148:36	they brought the prisoners	they came to [the prisoners]
XVIII:148:37	Add note after al-Aʿwar: 463a. Hudbah b. Fayyāḍ was called al-Aʿwar, which means "the one-eyed man." Al-Khathʿamī evidently took this as an omen for half of them being killed and half saved.	
XVIII:149:25	Abū Sharīfah	Abū Sharīf
XVIII:150:4	Fiyāḍ	Fayyāḍ
XVIII:150:7	your companions.	your master (i.e. ʿAlī)
XVIII:150:24-25	Shall I renounce the faith of ʿAlī who used to worship God along with it?	Do you renounce the faith by which ʿAlī used to worship God?
XVIII:152:10	Warqāʾ Sumayyah	Warqāʾ b. Sumayy

XVIII:152:6-9	The Commander of the Faithful is prevented from allowing you to intercede with him about your cousin except [out of] sympathy for you and your friends, lest they resume another war for you.	Only concern for you and your companions prevents the Commander of the Faithful from accepting your intercession for your cousin, lest they cause another war for you.
XVIII:153:13	and was in good spirits	and was reconciled
XVIII:154:5	Zā'idah	Abī Zā'idah
XVIII:155:13	Add note after "If he should perish": 472a. Cairo, Ibn al-Athīr and *Aghānī* have "If you perish."	
XVIII:156:9	Dhūl	Dhuhl
XVIII:156:27-28	your spearheads and your tongue? 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah!	[the man who is] your spear and your spokesman, 'Abdallāh b. Khalīfah?
XVIII:156:36	I brought you my cousin whom you killed.	Should I bring you my cousin so that you can kill him?
XVIII:157 n474	Jabal Ṭā'ī	Jabal Ṭayyi'
XVIII:157:16	youth	youthful passion
XVIII:157:8-9	When 'Adī was informed . . .	When 'Adī was brought and informed . . .
XVIII:157:17	childhood	youth
XVIII:157:19	hardship	desires of youthful passion
XVIII:157:20	in it	for it
XVIII:157:22	while they do not find a source except the spring of death	they did not find an exit from the pond of death

XVIII:157:23-24	Their fates summoned them and he whose day approached of the people, so know that it would not be postponed.	Their fate summoned them, and when a man's day comes, it cannot be postponed.
XVIII:157:26	the day when I face[476] one whose burning is memorable.	whatever day I face[476] the memorable burning heat (i.e. of battle).
XVIII:158:2	unless	until
XVIII:158:5	And Ḥujr receive in them	There Ḥujr received
XVIII:158:9	who will bleed the throats of the horses	who will help [me] against cavalry whose necks are bloodied
XVIII:158:10	and of the aggressive king	and the aggressive king
XVIII:158:20-21	so receive the good news!	so rejoice!
XVIII:158:22	Kindifī	Khindifī
XVIII:158:23	to be told good news	to rejoice
XVIII:158:25	you met	you were caused to meet
XVIII:159:16	was active	is active
XVIII:161:21f	have	had
XVIII:163:12	about me?	from me?
XVIII:163:14	nourish	appoint
XVIII:164:1	Nīzak	Nayzak
XVIII:167:34	improvement	postponement
XVIII:168:26-27	O Miskīn, God makes your eye weep, however its tears flowed in error, so they descended.	O Miskīn, may God give you something [real] to cry about, for your tears have been flowing and descending by mistake.
XVIII:169:1	I say to him	I say about him
XVIII:168:29	place	time

XVIII:169:20-21	and the front feathers of her wing continued to be ascribed to her,	and her wings continued to carry her,
XVIII:170:12-13	after he had been buried.	while he was being buried.
XVIII:170:22-23	offering a prayer." They responded, "Amen."	offering a prayer, so say "Amen."
XVIII:171:8	brought his wealth as *zakāt*.[501]	brought the *zakāt*[501] of his wealth.
XVIII:171:9-10	Another man came and beheaded him,	Another man came and [Samurah] beheaded him,
XVIII:172:13, 15	step	ladder
XVIII:173:36f.	By God, if we were not sons of a single uncle, God would not have united us with him out of support for the wronged Caliph.[504] There was truth for us in the congruence of our speech so that we would pay attention to that and in which we obtained good.	By God, if we were not descendants of a single ancestor, because of God's having united us in support for the wronged Caliph,[504] and our being on the same side, it would have been incumbent on us to be mindful of that, but that which [God] brought us was better.[504a]
XVIII:174:4	Add note after "was better.": 504a. That is, the kinship between Saʿīd and Marwān, which was God's work, took precedence over the political alignment between Saʿīd and Muʿāwiyah.	
XVIII:174:10-11	When Marwān (started to) carry out the deed	When Marwān sent the workmen

XVIII:174:23-24	Add note after "I did not demolish your house, yet I am not ensured against you.": 504b. Cairo reads: "I would neither destroy your house nor seek to make you beholden to me."	
XVIII:176:2-3	and was not astonished at him,	and what pleased him,
XVIII:176:10	has been skillful	has become skillful
XVIII:176:28	Seize the sword	Withhold the sword
XVIII:176:30-31	It preserves [you] from lowering your own reputation.	Guard your honor from being besmirched.
XVIII:176:32	and don't announce something	and don't give an order
XVIII:176:35	let those who are with you be more numerous	be the bravest of your own forces
XVIII:177:15	Continue to rebuke me, my critic,	Spare me your rebuke, O critic,
XVIII:177:22	We were given poison to drink a while before today,	We were given instantaneous poison to drink before today,
XVIII:178 n512	Add to the end of the note: Cairo reads: "and half of Baykand."	
XVIII:181:2	ʿAlī	ʿAbdallāh
XVIII:181:36-37	and he put ʿUbaydallāh Aslam b. Zurʿah in charge of Khurāsān	and ʿUbaydallāh (in turn) put Aslam b. Zurʿah in charge of Khurāsān
XVIII:181:8	carried out	been excessive in
XVIII:182:8	Thābit—Iṣhāq	Thābit—someone—Iṣḥāq
XVIII:184:29-30	Indeed people have devised for them two qualities	Two traits harm people

XVIII:185:6-8	Go slowly in this matter, for it would be more appropriate in order to accomplish what you want.	If you go slowly, what you want will probably come to pass.
XVIII:185:10	There is an alternative.	Isn't there an alternative?
XVIII:186:13, 27	I would be	I will be
XVIII:186:24	. You lead them	whom you lead
XVIII:187:3-4	It has been possible for the people to do this	The people have agreed to this
XVIII:187:33-34	the utmost point which he was not able to attain nor seek to surpass?	an extent which is not to be contested or overstepped?
XVIII:188 n524	Add at the beginning of the note: "I want the Ghūṭah" could also mean "I would not want the Ghūṭah"	
XVIII:188:14	He censured me to you,	He was angry with you because of me,
XVIII:189:7-8	and they fought each other all day until nightfall, then they disengaged without further fighting.	and they stood facing each other all day until nightfall, then they disengaged without fighting.
XVIII:189:16-17	If it was not for the Banū Ḥarb, your blood would be sprinkled inside broken and one-eyed vermin.	If it was not for the Banū Ḥarb, your blood would have been made to sprinkle the bellies of vermin, [those of you being] broken and one-eyed.

XVIII:193:12-16	Among us there are those whose term has been decided, those who still wait and those [who are] righteous victors by their superiority. Whoever among us still waits will be one of our predecessors, the ones deciding their term, performing good deeds first.	Some of us have died; some of us yet await [death]. The former are the righteous who have won victory by their merit; those of us who still await [death] are affiliated with our forbears, who have died and gone before [us] in well-doing.
XVIII:194:4-5	—that is the frontier of al-Rayy.	(by "frontier" he meant al-Rayy).
XVIII:196:15	Speak harshly!	Well!
XVIII:196:32-33	some wager	a horse race
XVIII:197:10	his wager	his horse race
XVIII:198:2-3	You would not be rewarded for your kindness if you were punished because of me.	Due to your kindness you don't deserve to be punished because of me.
XVIII:198:17	fight them	kill them
XVIII:198:22-23	account which Khallād b. Yazīd al-Bāhilī recited to me.	account. Khallād b. Yazīd al-Bāhilī recited it to me.
XVIII:198:21	So why don't you make me	Of what will you make me
XVIII:200:21	Muslim	Maslamah
XVIII:201:16	If I should converse,	If I spoke,
XVIII:202:10	we would feed it	so we could feed them
XVIII:202:19	So testify	I testify
XVIII:202:25	penetration	letter
XVIII:204:19	O ʿAdas!	ʿAdas
XVIII:205:6, 25	penetration	letter
XVIII:205:10	So testify	I testify

XVIII:205:28-29	imitated him as a means of ridiculing	used him as a front in order to ridicule
XVIII:206:1	You [and] Ziyād	You are certainly an increase (*ziyādah*)
XVIII:206:8	So testify	I testify
XVIII:208:2	Sawriyah	Sūriyah
XVIII:209:28	thousands	thousand
XVIII:212:14	He had discharges.	He had discharges [from his lungs].
XVIII:212:23	This is said to be from the collection of a reliable person.	It is also said: "as the collector who is reliable" (instead of "as the runner who is fatigued").
XVIII:212:27-28	clothed me with a shirt. One day I held it up while he pared his nails. I then took	clothed me with a shirt, so I kept it. One day he pared his nails, so I took
XVIII:213:12	Then he went blind, but afterwards recovered his sight	He lost consciousness, then regained it
XVIII:214:4-6	We are wrapping him in them and putting him in his grave, and leaving him	We are going to wrap him in them and put him in his grave and leave him
XVIII:214:14	The Caliph has certainly felt pain.	The Caliph has become bedridden and in pain.
XVIII:214:16	as if it raised dust from its severed foundations.	as if it had been cut from its foundations.
XVIII:215:11	a girl, Rabb al-Masāriq	(a girl named) Amat Rabb al-Masāriq
XVIII:216:12	One of his mawālī	A *mawlā*
XVIII:218:38	Bakr	Bakrah
XVIII:219:1	Bakr	Bakrah

XVIII:219:22-23	If you were in charge of anything regarding the people, I would entrust you with this,	If you are in charge of any public business, treat him well,
XVIII:219:30	before you, and you are ahead of him.	before you to have you be ahead of him.
XVIII:221:4	Add note after "His pots still exist": 583a. "His pots" is a reference to hospitality.	
XVIII:221:7-8	I shall never felicitate her in your presence.	I shall never mention her to you again.
XVIII:221:19-20	Add note after "The announcer only summoned me just now": 583b. The call to worship made at that hour was only meant for him.	
XVIII:222:3-4	Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿadah[584] b. Ḥakamah al-Fazārī	Sulaymān—Abdallāh b. Mubārak— Jarīr b. Ḥāzim—Muḥammad b. al-Zubayr—ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿadah b. Ḥakamah al- Fazārī
XVIII:222 n584	Delete the note.	
XVIII:222:13-14	he caused losses to this world and it caused losses for him.	he obtained [something of] this world and it obtained [something of] him.
XVIII:223:2-4	You revile ʿAlī who is Zayd's grandfather, while Zayd, the son of al-Farūq,[586] heads the notables. Haven't you considered that he endures that?	You revile ʿAlī who is Zayd's grandfather, while [Zayd is] the son of al-Farūq,[586] publicly. Did you think he would endure that?
XVIII:223:21	Aymān	Ayman
XVIII:223:22	biceps	arms
XVIII:223:24	When the men beget their children,[588]	When men's children beget,[588]
XVIII:223:33	flirting with women	composing amatory verses about women

XVIII:224:1-2	someone ignoble. Praise is the bait of the shameless, but be proud	someone ignoble, and beware of panegyric poetry, for it is the bait of shamelessness. But be proud
XVIII:224:4	Abū al-Ḥasan b. Ḥammād	al-Ḥasan b. Ḥammād
XVIII:224:21-27	granted to mankind. If someone is reminded . . . he should carry it out.	granted to mankind." And if he was reminded, he remembered; if he was granted [something], he was thankful; if he was tested, he was steadfast; if he was angry, he suppressed it; if he had power [over someone], he forgave; if he did wrong, he asked forgiveness; and if he made a promise, he carried it out.
XVIII:224:28	ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh	ʿAlī—ʿAbdallāh
XVIII:224:28	Hishām b. Saʿīd	Hishām b. Saʿd
XVIII:225:24-25	Sulaymān b. ʿUyaynah	Sulaymān—ʿAbdallāh—Sufyān b. ʿUyaynah
XVIII:226:1-3	If al-Mughīrah were put in al-Madīnah, he would not exit from any of its doors[591] unless he did so by treachery.[592]	If al-Mughīrah were put in a city from all of whose gates there was exit only with difficulty, he would get out.[591]
XVIII:226	Delete note 591; renumber note 592 to 591.	
XIX:26:30	Māriyyah	Māriyah
XIX:27:10	Māriyyah	Māriyah

XIX:100:19	Badn	Badr
XIX:103:4-5	Shaffayyah	Shufayyah
XIX:103 n356	Shaffayyah	Shufayyah
XIX:108:14	Sudda'	Ṣudā'
XIX:184:10	'Ubaydah	'Abīdah
XIX:184 n593	'Ubaydah	'Abīdah
XX:46:27	al-Qaflānī	al-Qāflānī
XX:127:20-21	al-Sirrī	al-Sarī
XX:134:15	al-Sirrī	al-Sarī
XX:183:16	Sīḥān	Sayḥān
XX:220:25	al-Ḍabbābī	al-Ḍibābī
XX:222:34	al-Ribāb	al-Rabāb
XXI:24:10, 21	al-Ḍabābī	al-Ḍibābī
XXI:24:23	keft	left
XXI:30:11	fought with 'Abd al-Raḥmān	quarreled about 'Abd al-Raḥmān (trying to take credit for killing him)
XXI:46:14	Here I am standing, and you did not come out to me.	Here I am standing, why did you not come out to me?
XXI:54:13	that	what
XXI:57:26	skilled	killed
XXI:87:7	induce al-Mukhtār's companions to abandon him	and to abandon al-Mukhtār's companions
XXI:123 n437	to Azāriqah	the Azāriqah
XXI:129:2	Sabī'	al-Sabī'
XXI:129 n462	Sabī'	al-Sabī'
XXI:152:1	'Awn	Abī 'Awn
XXI:176:25	sent	send
XXI:184:7, 18, 20	al-Nābi'	al-Nābī
XXI:192:19	hinding	hiding

XXI:210:6	Mukammil	Mukammal
XXI:211:11	God curse your father!	God curse you!
XXI:214:17	Ṭalḥah al-Ṭalḥāt	Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalaḥāt
XXII:38:35	Sinjar	Sinjār
XXII:163:9	al-Ṣabāḥ	al-Ṣabbāḥ
XXII:172:12	al-Sulayk	al-Sulayl
XXIII:84: 7	I see the influence of Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlqamah.	I see a spot here for Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlqamah.
XXIII:84 n321	Replace the text with: Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlqamah b. Ṣafwān, governor of Mecca; see Khalīfah, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. ʿUmarī, 293.	
XXIV:9:20	Habbanaqat	Habbanaqah
XXIV:32:10	stipends	allocations in kind
XXIV:50:24	stipends	allocations in kind
XXIV:43:10	slave soldiers	slaves of the camp
XXIV:43:19	the good influence they had on	their approval of
XXIV:57:21-22	They surrendered, submitting to Yazīd's rule	They surrendered, at Yazīd's discretion (i.e., unconditionally)
XXIV:76:9	when they ignored his summons	After exhorting them at great length
XXIV:79:17	household	family
XXIV:81:1, 3	have I no kinsmen?	have I no fellow tribesmen?
XXIV:81:2	sinners, disquiters, and thieves are	the impudent and infamous sinner is
XXIV:82:21	fathers	forefathers
XXIV:83:17	a partisan of the Arabs	a (tribal) partisan

XXIV:83:18-20	I come to you out of solicitude. Today, I am a partisan of the Arabs and, by God, one man from my tribe is dearer to me than a hundred men who are not.	I came to you with solicitude (for all), but now I am a partisan (of my tribe), a changed man; by God, one man from my tribe is dearer to me than a hundred men who are not.
XXIV:84:16-18	By God, I am a partisan of the Arabs who travels during Ramaḍān in order to promote the cause of the Arabs.	By God, I am a partisan (of my tribe), a changed man.
XXIV:84:28-29	punishment	retaliation
XXIV:85:5	kinsmen	fellow tribesman
XXIV:86:26	Nuhayk	Nahīk
XXIV:93:20	household	family
XXIV:96:24	to cut off the arm of the thief	to cut off (the hand of the thief)
XXIV:101:29	Marthid	Marthad
XXIV:102:3, 4, 5, 9	Marthid	Marthad
XXIV:122:24	whose sacred precincts are inviolable	whose people and property are inviolable
XXIV:122:25	ʿUmrān	ʿImrān
XXIV:131:12	pillage	set foot in
XXIV:131:33	This man's household has obedience and heroic deeds.	This man comes from a family known for its obedience and heroic deeds.

XXIV:132:24-28	They say to you, "We accept you," and they claim not to want to exercise their authority except in accordance with your orders and instructions. But, in fact, they seek to drive you away from them so that they might engage in treachery.	They don't tell you, "We accept your conditions," with the intention of only exercising their authority in accordance with your orders and instructions; rather, they (say it) with the intention of appeasing you until they can engage in treachery.
XXIV:155:12	those who had accumulated pious deeds and were steadfast	those who lay up rewards for themselves by being steadfast
XXIV:155:20-22	You are responsible for the horses, so make their backs sore, for animals with sore backs will charge them more furiously than you will.	Go for the (enemy's) horses and cut their hamstrings, for when they are hamstrung they will inflict more damage on them than you will.
XXIV:160:16	God's martyrs	the men of high rank who have been slain
XXIV:172:10	Therefore, al-Ḥarashī ordered the soldiers to pack up and leave.	He ordered the soldiers to set out (anyway).
XXIV:173:2-3	The land has no one to defend it. Yet when your army failed to join you, you gave the order to pack up and leave.	The land is hostile, with no friendly forces, and your army has not joined you, yet you give the order to set out!
XXIV:186:28-29	asked for permission to take vengeance on	lodged a complaint against
XXIV:194:10	Māwiyah	Māwiyyah

XXIV:196:4	Yūnis	Yūnus
XXV:12:21	ʿUbād	ʿIbād
XXV:15:3	al-Subūḥ	al-Ṣabūḥ
XXV:76:7	Who is this heady wine pouring?	Who is the one straining forward (at the front of the army)?
XXV:104:14-15	offering	receiving
XXV:107:6	Qarrān	Qurrān
XXV:136:17	green hoods	horsetail standards
XXV:145:22	their spoils	their herds
XXV:146:5	(their faces) dyed red	dressed in red
XXV:146:15	round tents	horsetail standards
XXV:146:21	tents	horsetail standards
XXV:146:37f.	he took victory as his spoil	he took advantage of the victory
XXV:151:2	round tents	horsetail standards
XXV:182:4	I arranged for a physician for Hishām	I prepared some aromatics for Hishām
XXV:182:5	that physician	those aromatics
XXV:188:11	al-Riqāshī	al-Raqāshī
XXVI:9:21-22	I do not have any patience with this	This is intolerable
XXVI:10:22	Add note after "his mother": 46a. Fāṭimah, Zayd's paternal aunt, was ʿAbdallāh's mother.	
XXVI:10:25	she was the best woman of our kinsfolk	she was the best stranger (*dakhīlah*) who has entered among our kinsfolk
XXVI:11:27-28	I have no patience with this	we are not prepared to endure this

XXVI:12:18-22	God does not make it a prerequisite that He should be pleased with someone in order to elevate him nor does He make His displeasure a reason for bringing him low	God has not elevated anyone to such a degree as to be too lofty to be satisfied with him (i.e., with an oath in His name), nor has he lowered anyone to such a degree that this (i.e., an oath) would not be accepted from him
XXVI:12:23-24	you will not obtain it	you do not deserve (to obtain the caliphate)
XXVI:13:10-11	this is certainly not what is expected of you	do not act in this way
XXVI:14:3-6	Even if one of our tribes like Madhḥij or Hamdān or Tamīm or Bakr joined them, there would still be enough men for you to deal with them	Even if (only) one of our tribes, such as Madhḥij, Hamdān, Tamīm or Bakr, rose up against them, (this tribe) would suffice for you to deal with them
XXVI:16:27-28	whenever he lived in any other town and summoned his followers they responded	Whenever he lives in any town other than his own, and summons its inhabitants to his cause, they respond
XXVI:18:1	and impatient when you meet them	but unsteady when they face a foe
XXVI:18:22-24	until, thanks to the fragmented state of the community, they have brought them to a situation in which they have incited them to rebel	until they have brought them to a situation of communal discord in which they have incited them to rebel

XXVI:19:17-18	So I am leaving the leaders of the Kūfans to you. Threaten them	So summon the tribal leaders of al-Kūfah and threaten them
XXVI:19:23-24	and those who are in league with Satan and who have been enslaved by him	but all these try to subject Satan (to their aims) while he (actually) subjects them (to his)
XXVI:20:4-14	Indeed . . . religion.	Indeed, the Commander of the Faithful is absolved from blame as regards Zayd, and he has fulfilled his obligations towards him. Zayd has no way to claim that he has been denied a right which belongs to him, either of his personal share or of a stipend or of an allowance to which he is entitled as kin of the Prophet, except—as the Commander of the Faithful fears—what would incite the rabble to undertake something that would probably make them more wretched and misguided, and be more bitter for them, while strengthening the Commander of the Faithful and making it easier for him to protect and preserve true religion.

XXVI:20:22-26	Know . . . houses.	Know that, if they doggedly disobey, there is a means by which you can prove to them that you are worthy of God's help; this is by meeting their demands in full, giving their children the stipends to which they are entitled, and forbidding your army to attack their women and their homes.
XXVI:20:28	injustice	rebellion
XXVI:21:4-5	May God . . . Do not	I beseech you, O Zayd, in God's name, join your family and do not accept
XXVI:22:17	sons-in-law	brothers-in-law
XXVI:27:7	Qurran	Qurrān
XXVI:27:14	Bedouin	Arab
XXVI:33:3-4	did you not know that even the lord of a citadel[169] is not proof against all perils?"[170]	do you not know that the one under siege cannot escape certain facts?"[170]
XXVI:33 n169	Delete the note.	
XXVI:33:17	letter	document
XXVI:37:19-20	seeking . . . family	seeking to avenge the blood of this family (of yours)
XXVI:37:20	disputed	usurped
XXVI:21-22	My strongest argument against you is	The most I will say in response to what you have mentioned is
XXVI:39:15-16	al-Tinʿī,[207] who was later called al-Ḥaḍramī	al-Tinʿī[207] al-Ḥaḍramī

XXVI:40:14-15	al-Hamdānī,[217] who was later called al-Khaywānī	al-Hamdānī,[217] al-Khaywānī
XXVI:42:5-6	What made you break your promise?	How treacherous you are!
XXVI:45:13-14	Who is supposed to be the head of the cavalry around here?	What an incompetent head of the cavalry you are!
XXVI:50:17	was a stutterer	spoke with an accent
XXVI:51:26	Yes, but	Yes indeed, and
XXVI:61:17-18	of what Naṣr has suffered at my hand and you know how [badly] I have behaved towards him.	that Naṣr has been kind to me, whereas I behaved (badly) towards him, as you know.
XXVI:61:27	difficult times he has been through	his favors
XXVI:61:28	family	people
XXVI:62:25-26	accepted his intercessions in respect of what he needed	acted as his intercessor when he needed something
XXVI:63:1	ʿUkabah	ʿUkābah
XXVI:63:15-16	had left [al-Kūfah]	had risen in rebellion
XXVI:64:16-17	If he is to you as treason and faithlessness are to the character of an honorable man, And	If he is one of you (of honorable descent), then treason and faithlessness are not the qualities of an honorable man, But
XXVI:76:7	God will not forgive me for my errors if I forgive Ghaylān his.	May God not forgive my error if I forgive Ghaylān his!
XXVI:74:9	*dīwān* guards	assistants to the secretaries
XXVI:82:10	Qaḥdam	Qaḥdham
XXVI:89:21-22	for Islam or not	a Muslim or not

XXVI:95:3-4	has ruined my friends, my women, and my family	erased [the names of] my friends, my women, and my family [from the *dīwān*]
XXVI:96:28-30	made much of . . . curtailed.	inscribed your friends in the *dīwān* and gave them lavish allowances even though they do not undergo the hardships that the Muslims suffer every year when they are mobilized for campaigns.
XXVI:97:26–98:2	that it is not . . . and that	that he possesses no power for better or worse over what God in His kindness has given him. Rather, God is the owner of that over him, and
XXVI:105:25-27	will appoint as his successor someone from among his sons and subjects, giving precedence to whom he wishes and holding	has more power (than anyone else) to make decisions regarding his sons and his subjects. He gives precedence to whom he wishes and holds
XXVI:107:15	commanding by it	commanding it
XXVI:109:16-18	by which He repulses those who rebel against Him, safeguarding those things that are sacred to Him and protecting	by which He prevents (people) from committing sins, curbs them so that they do not perform acts which He forbids, and protects

XXVI:115:16	No one makes requests outside its remit.	From Him alone can it be petitioned.
XXVI:117:1	al-Mismāʿī	al-Mismaʿī
XXVI:120:9, 11	free-born	free
XXVI:123:1-2	What a surprising remark from someone who	I am astonished at this man who
XXVI:123:4-5	By God . . . in fetters.	"By God . . . in fetters."
XXVI:124:4-5	striking down	obtaining as booty
XXVI:128:6	Suḥayb	Ṣuhayb
XXVI:128:22-23	When I went in . . . himself	When I came back to Yūsuf, he greeted me: "Well, how did you find the libertine?" meaning by that al-Walīd
XXVI:128:24-25	hear you saying such a thing	hear about this (slur) from you
XXVI:128:25	I would divorce	May I divorce
XXVI:128:26-27	rather than allow my ear to hear such things as long as you live	if my ear has ever heard it—so long as you are alive
XXVI:128:27	Then al-Walīd laughed.	Yūsuf laughed.
XXVI:132 n653	Delete the note.	
XXVI:134:12	and the ʿAbs,[669]	with the ʿAbs,[669] (on your side)
XXVI:140:5	state	dynasty
XXVI:142:13-14	Mind the carpet . . . I do have	Do sit down on the carpet, may God make you prosper." Yazīd replied: "But I have
XXVI:146:4	ʿUthrah	ʿUdhrah
XXVI:146 n747	ʿUthrah	ʿUdhrah

XXVI:146:13-15	Honor them as the bulwarks of a tradition (*sunnah*),[753] for it was they who protected their honor against every unbeliever.	How honorable are these tribes, who firmly supported the tradition (*sunnah*),[753] It was they who protected its sacred precepts against every unbeliever.
XXVI:158:15	al-Muʿāfirī	al-Maʿāfirī
XXVI:159:20-21	seeing that I have an exclusive status with my people	and grant me an exclusive status with you from among my people
XXVI:160:7	that he will come out on your authority.	I shall surrender myself to you unconditionally.
XXVI:164 n857	Delete the note.	
XXVI:164:5-6	Abū Maʿshar—Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant(s)—Isḥāq b. Īsā	Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā— Abū Maʿshar
XXVI:164:11-12	Abū Maʿshar—Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant(s)—Isḥāq b. Īsā	Aḥmad b. Thābit—his informant—Isḥāq b. ʿĪsā— Abū Maʿshar
XXVI:167:13-14	O Ibn al-Sabbāʾ	O son of the wine merchant
XXVI:171 n889	Replace the text with: The initiator of the ʿAbbāsid revolution.	
XXVI:172:23	Dinnah	Ḍinnah
XXVI:172:23	Dinnī	Ḍinnī
XXVI:172:23	ʿUthrah	ʿUdhrah
XXVI:173:22	His messenger.	His messenger.'
XXVI:173:25	(himself) goes astray.'"	(himself) goes astray."
XXVI:176 n916	Delete the note.	

XXVI:176:19-20	He[916] spoke to Abān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Numayrī about Khālid and said:	Abān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Numayrī spoke about the matter of Khālid, then Yūsuf said:
XXVI:184:7	long continued to lament and mourn for al-Walīd	installed the mourners and the lamenting women (to weep for) al-Walīd
XXVI:184:18	who were in the *junds* wrote to the effect that they would not give the oath of obedience to Yazīd	pledged themselves in writing to avoid giving the oath of allegiance to Yazīd
XXVI:187:15-16	O Abū Saʿīd, I swear to you by God that the *amīr* (of Ḥims) is sending his *jund* forward to fight (us) at this very moment.	I beseech you by God, Abū Saʿīd, do not let our commander send the army to battle under these conditions.
XXVI:188:22-24	and thus he restrained them, for his heart misgave him at what Sulaymān and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had done. Hostilities	and the troops held back. Sulaymān and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz were upset with what he had done, and hostilities
XXVI:188:25-27	The Dhakwāniyyah were stopped from attacking the Banū ʿĀmir on being assured that the latter would	But they did hold back from the Ḥimṣīs, on the condition that they
XXVI:190:4	Zinbāʾ	Zinbāʿ
XXVI:194 n986	Delete the note.	
XXVI:194:8	river	canal

XXVI:194:18	those of you who pay the poll-tax (burdens) which will drive you from your lands and decimate your progeny	your *jizyah*-payers burdens which will drive them from their lands and decimate their progeny
XXVI:197:20-21	there is no one there like Manṣūr in	he is inadequate, because of
XXVI:203:29	Rashīd	Rāshid
XXVI:204:1	Rashīd	Rāshid
XXVI:206:13-14	by the action they would be taking	by remaining as they were
XXVI:209:20	over	from
XXVI:210:7	a poet	he
XXVI:210:10	against	on behalf of
XXVI:210:11-13	My hand is surety for you against the Bakr of Iraq, against their leader and the son of the most distinguished one among them.	I (give) you my hand as a pledge for the Bakr of Iraq, Their leaders, and the descendants of al-Waṣṣāf[1038a].
XXVI:210	Add note: 1038a. Al-Waṣṣāf is the nickname of al-Ḥārith b. Mālik, one of the leaders of the Banū ʿIjl in pre Islamic times; the ʿIjl were part of the Bakr. See Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Durayd, *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq*, Göttingen 1854, pp. 207-208.	
XXVI:213:28	only from	between

XXVI:213:32	Add note after Abū Ghassān: 1057a. Abū Ghassān was a Baṣran leader who was in his prime in the latter part of the seventh century. His name was Mālik b. Misma', from the tribe of Qays b. Tha'labah (Rabī'ah). It is reported that when one of the governors of Baṣrah refused to pay the people their stipends, Abū Ghassān ordered him to clear out of town. The present verse was composed, among others, about this incident. When 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, the ruler at the time and the father of that governor, heard about this, he dismissed his son from office. See *Naqā'iḍ Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, Leiden 1908-1912, 2, p. 1090.	
XXVI:215 n1066	Delete the note.	
XXVI:215:3-4	For that reason there came forward someone	This was undertaken by someone
XXVI:215:5-10	Those who (now) seek . . . willed.	Those who are accountable for the caliph's[1065] blood (literally "those who should be sought after because of the caliph's blood") are the holders of authority from amongst the Umayyads, for his blood shall not go unavenged. If the discord is stilled through them and things are put right, then that is a decision desired by God against which there is no appeal.

XXVI:216:14-15	bloodwit and had asked	bloodwit, and
XXVI:217:4	Then	ʿAmr said: "When
XXVI:217:4-11	ʿAmr	Marwān [three times]
XXVI:217:11	away.	away."
XXVI:223:29	disowned	aborted
XXVI:225 n118	Substitute the text of the note with: Reading with the Cairo edition, but the text is certainly defective.	
XXVI:225:13-15	at [Asad b. ʿAbd] . . . Khurāsān	with God because He preferred Muḍar over Rabīʿah (when choosing His Prophet). He was in Khurāsān (?)
XXVI:227:5-7	ruined my friends and has ostracized me and my dependents	erased [the names of] my friends, my women, and my family [from the *dīwān*]
XXVI:227:23	al-Naḥawī	al-Naḥwī
XXVI:228:24, 33	al-Naḥawī	al-Naḥwī
XXVI:250:17	along	leading
XXVI:251:28-30	who were . . . behind them.	having been busy fighting, were taken by surprise by the (enemy's) cavalry and swords, and their shouting "God is the greatest" (*takbīr*) as they penetrated their lines from behind.
XXVI:254:22	When we meet the people I will retreat with them	When we meet in battle, I shall make (my own people) retreat
XXVI:254:27	assembled	engaged in battle
XXVI:256:5	Nakhʿ	Nakhaʿ
XXVI:260:13	with	among
XXVI:263:15	attack	stay in

XXVI:264:4	ʿAṭiyah	ʿAṭiyyah
XXVI:265:22	fair treatment	appointment as governors
XXVI:265:25-26	deals with . . . asked him	complies with my demand to act according to the book of God and to appoint good, meritorious people, as I have asked him
XXVII:1:4-5	ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm reported the following from Abū Hashīm Mukhallad b. Muḥammad,	According to Aḥmad—ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm—Abū Hāshim Mukhallad b. Muḥammad,
XXVII:23:32	al-Ḍubbaʿī	al-Ḍubaʿī
XXVII:31:9	Salamah	Salimah
XXVII:80:7	ʿIyād	ʿIyāḍ
XXVII:91:10	Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	Rabīʿah b. Abī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān
XXVII:129:24	Shurayḥ	Surayj
XXVII:129:28	al-Kaṭṭāb	al-Khaṭṭāb
XXVII:129:30	al-Hamadhanī	al-Hamdānī
XXVII:136:19	ʿAṣamm	ʿUṣm
XXVII:136:23	Shihāb	Ibn Shihāb
XXVII:137:7	Shihāb	Ibn Shihāb
XXVII:142:1	Salamah	Salimah
XXVII:148:8	Muʿwīyah	Muʿāwiyah
XXVII:170:25	al-Khuthʿamī	al-Khathʿamī
XXVII:171:34	Baʿalbakk	Baʿlabakk
XXVII:175:18	al-Juhnī	al-Juhanī
XXVII:187:7	Man b. Zāʾidah	Maʿn b. Zāʾidah
XXVII:187:9	Fazzārah	Fazārah
XXVII:192:28	Fazzār	Fazārah
XXVII:202:35	Najāh	Najāḥ

XXVII:208:17	Add after "governed Mosul": Yazīd b. Asīd governed Armenia.	
XXVIII:126:2	asked Abū Jaʿfar. "She was still wed to	asked Abū Jaʿfar—she was still wed to
XXVIII:126:3	b. al-Ḥasan even though you swore	b. al-Ḥasan—"when you swore
XXVIII:182:23	Saybah	Shaybah
XXVIII:279:1	Amah	Amat
XXIX:13:9	al-Sariyy	al-Sarī
XXIX:120 n382	p. 000	p. 255
XXIX:134:21	Shabbah	Shaybah
XXIX:134 n450	Delete the note.	
XXIX:201:14-15	Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydallāh	Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUbaydallāh
XXX:20:11	headdress	cloak
XXX:42:34-35	Then after that, be comfortable to the female role which is incumbent upon you."	Thereafter you are welcome to the deference and respect owed a person of your rank where it is due to you."
XXX:65:14	Mūsā	Muḥammad
XXX:69:13	cried out.	cried out. He came to Mūsā and showed him his hand.
XXX:172:7	Nasāʾ	Nasā
XXX:176:6	Nasāʾ	Nasā
XXX:178:2	Nasāʾ	Nasā
XXX:262:10	Shurāḥīl	Sharāḥīl
XXX:295:19-20	Ṭabaristān	Ṭarāristān

XXXI:212:17	Shanīf	Shunayf
XXXII:3:10-11	213 (833)	218 (833) [bis]
XXXII:39, 41, 43, 45 (in running headers)	201	200
XXXII:44:32	Delete marginal page number 1001.	
XXXII:45:9	Add marginal page number 1001.	
XXXII:49:22	Delete marginal page number 1004.	
XXXII:50:5	Add marginal page number 1004.	
XXXII:51 n163	same	name
XXXII:66:13	Minjab	Minjāb
XXXII:67:28	Rādhānayn	Rādhānān
XXXII:71 n228	Wednesday	Monday
XXXII:75:6	Ṣiyādah	Ṣayyādah
XXXII:75 n243	Replace the text with: For this place see M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen*, Leiden, 1900-01, II, 289.	
XXXII:101:21-22	take care not to do it again!"	take care not to come back!"
XXXII:110:20	Nasr	Naṣr
XXXII:110:26	his	His
XXXII:132:17	Abū Sa'd	Abū Sa'dah
XXXII:135:8	three	two
XXXII:135:10	one million	two million
XXXII:135 n407	755ff.	785ff.
XXXII:153:22	Then when he had straightened it	Then when he came up to him
XXXII:155:12	3.25	32.5
XXXII:207 n643	XLII, 2/3	XLIII, 3
XXXII:210:33	read it out	gave it to him to read
XXXII:242:22-23	may he give all his possessions away for pious purposes, if he has	may I give all my possessions away for pious purposes, if I have
XXXII:255:13	Jasham	Jusham

XXXIII:194:5	ʿAlī	Abī
XXXIV:96:23	al-Ṣāmighān	al-Ṣāmaghān
XXXIV:197:3	Ḥamīd	Ḥumayd
XXXV:2:13	243	248
XXXV:5:13	Qūṣarah.[18]	Qawṣarah[18] in the streets of Sāmarrā.
XXXV:6:3	over the Sawād.[20]	over the entire Sawād by himself.[20]
XXXV:9:6	Malaṭiyah	Malaṭyah
XXXV:10:30	Muḥammarah	Muḥammirah
XXXV:16:1	Ṭālib	Ṭāhir
XXXV:21:14	granted	granted by al-Mustaʿīn
XXXV:27:23	Ḥamad	Ḥamd
XXXV:39:22	al-Sharābānī	al-Shāriyānī
XXXV:42:11	Ḥamad	Ḥamd
XXXV:42:24	Rādān	Rādhān
XXXV:44:1	Rashīd	Rāshid
XXXV:46:8	Rashīd	Rāshid
XXXV:47:5	al-Muṭallibīn	Malaṭyah troops
XXXV:58:31	Ṭabaristān	Ṭarāristān
XXXV:59:4	Ṭabaristān	Ṭarāristān
XXXV:61:5	Nawākī[119] arrow	nāwakī[119] arrow
XXXV:76:17	Malaṭiyah	Malaṭyah
XXXV:77:29	Malaṭiyah	Malaṭyah
XXXV:81:1	Malaṭiyah	Malaṭyah
XXXV:83:27	al-Ḥusayn	al-Ḥasan
XXXV:109:6	mace	maize
XXXV:122:7, 12, 17	Sharīḥ	Shurayḥ
XXXV:148:4	Tell	Tall
XXXV:150:28	Malaṭiyah	Malaṭyah
XXXV:153:8	Tell	Tall
XXXV:160:13	He and ʿAlī's followers	We and ʿAlī's followers

XXXVI:56:16	ʿUmrān	ʿImrān
XXXVI:67:14	Nahr Abū Qurrah	Nahr Abī Qurrah
XXXVI:132:11	al-Ṭafāwah	al-Ṭufāwah
XXXVI:142:13	Wah	Wāḥ
XXXVI:142 n404	*bah/nah*	*bāh/nāh*
XXXVI:170:21	al-Mubaraqaʿ	al-Mubarqaʿ
XXXVI:179:10	Jārūrah Banī Marwān	Jārūrat Banī Marwān
XXXVI:182:27	al-Ṭalāqānī	al-Ṭālaqānī
XXXVII:1:3-4	invested him	and Abū Aḥmad (al-Muwaffaq) invested him
XXXVII:1:12	his clients	his wealth
XXXVII:6:20	the customs	al-Jār
XXXVII:8:25	al-Bīlam	al-Baylam
XXXVII:8 n25	Replace the text after "178." with: For al-Baylam, see Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, Leipzig, 1896-1936, IV, 343.	
XXXVII:9:4	Azarmard	Azārmard
XXXVII:13:12	barges (*shadhdh*)	barges (*shadhā*)
XXXVII:78:28	al-Yashkarī	al-Yashkurī
XXXVII:34:4	Jabīb	Ḥabīb
XXXVII:39:21-22	on a Saturday, in the middle of Rajab, 267 (February 5—March 6, 881)	on Saturday, the fifteenth of Rajab, 267 (February 19, 881, a Sunday)
XXXVII:42:11-12	on a Saturday, in the middle of Rajab, 267 (February 5—March 6, 881)	on Saturday, the fifteenth of Rajab, 267 (February 19, 881, a Sunday)
XXXVII:43:4	Nawukiyyah	nāwakiyyah
XXXVII:46:39	Yaghlaʿuz	Baghlāghaz

XXXVII:47:5-6	on a Sunday, in the middle of Shaʿbān, 267 (March 7—April 4, 881)	on Sunday, the fifteenth of Shaʿbān, 267 (March 21, 881, a Tuesday)
XXXVII:47:17-18	Yaʿlā b. Juhistār	ʿAlī b. Jahshiyār
XXXVII:59:38	Nawukiyyah	nāwakiyyah
XXXVII:60:9	Nawukiyyah	nāwakiyyah
XXXVII:60:25	Nāwukiyyah	nāwakiyyah
XXXVII:63:24-25	took place after the skirmish which occurred on Sunday	took place, after the skirmish which occurred on Wednesday
XXXVII:66:38	Juwway	Juwayy
XXXVII:70:32	Shibāb	Shihāb
XXXVII:78:11-12	Ibn Mālik the Zanjid	the son of the king of the Zanj
XXXVII:79:13	Ibn Ṣaqlabiyyah	Ibn al-Ṣaqlabiyyah
XXXVII:81:4-5	implored the authorities for protection	lodged a complaint with the authorities
XXXVII:82:20	Qarṭās	Qirṭās
XXXVII:87:30	Qarṭās	Qirṭās
XXXVII:87:31-32	on Monday, the twenty-fifth of Jumādā II, 269 (January 9, 883)	on Monday, the twenty-fifth of Jumādā I, 269 (December 10, 882)
XXXVII:88:31-33	to hunt. On Jumādā II . . ., Saʿīd b. Makhlad left Abū Aḥmad, and went to Sāmarrā	to hunt, where he was joined by Saʿīd b. Makhlad, who had left Abū Aḥmad. Saʿīd then went to Sāmarrā
XXXVII:88:34	Jayghawayh	Jābghawayh
XXXVII:102:34	Nāwukiyyah	nāwakiyyah
XXXVII:106:37	Juwway	Juwayy
XXXVII:12:9	seized all	seized most of
XXXVII:123:23-24	(Tuesday night, May 12, 883)	(June 12, 883)

XXXVII:137:7	Qarṭās	Qirṭās
XXXVII:139:32	August 6, 870	September 7, 869
XXXVII:143:21	The meter is also tawīl.	It is also lengthy.
XXXVII:144:25	a spear	the (Prophet's) spear
XXXVII:146:14	O Muslims, I lament over its devastation!	Its devastation made the Muslims cry.
XXXVII:149:12-13	a heretic established his rule over the road to Khurāsān	a Khārijite rebelled in the area of the Khurāsān Road
XXXVII:155:7	Ṣiddīq	Ṣadīq
XXXVII:156:2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11	Ṣiddīq	Ṣadīq
XXXVII:157:3	al-ʿAbdī	Fāris al-ʿAbdī
XXXVII:157:10	anchor	stern
XXXVII:157:24-25	thus putting an end to al-Ṭāʾī's career.	His property was put under seal.
XXXVII:157:29	domains belonging to the notables	private estates of the caliphal family
XXXVII:164 n164	Delete the note.	
XXXVII:164:8	al-Naṣrāniyyah	al-Naṣriyyūn
XXXVII:168:16	Wednesday, the nineteenth of Ṣafar, 278 (June 2, 891)	Wednesday, the twenty-first of Ṣafar, 278 (June 4, 891, a Friday)
XXXVII:169:13	Abū Aḥmad	Aḥmad
XXXVII:169:23-24	a revolutionary group	the uprising of a group
XXXVII:171:4	who drove oxen	who transported things on his oxen
XXXVII:171:14-15	—they thought he took it for the Imām.	, claiming that he was taking it for the Imām
XXXVII:173:8-9	, that he	. But they (the authorities)

XXXVII:176:7-8	On the twenty-eighth of al-Muḥarram, 279 (Sunday, April 30, 892)	On the twenty-second of al-Muḥarram, 279 (April 24, 892)
XXXVII:177:4-5	On the twenty fourth of Jumādā I, 279 (Tuesday, August 22, 892)	On the twenty-second of Jumādā I, 279 (August 24, 892)
XXXVII:177:4-5	On the twenty-fourth of Jumādā I, 279 (Tuesday, August 22, 892)	On the twenty-second of Jumādā I, 279 (August 20, 892)
XXXVII:178:1	On Monday, the nineteenth of Rajab (October 14, 892)	On the eve of Monday, the nineteenth of Rajab (October 15, 892, a Sunday)
XXXVIII:2:13	Tuesday	Monday
XXXVIII:21:29	in the camp of al-Muʿtaḍid	in the camp of al-Muʿtaḍid and pleaded for his protection. Isḥāq took him to the tent of al-Muʿtaḍid
XXXVIII:29:6	Ḥamdān.	Ḥamdān and he bestowed robes of honor on a number of his principal men.
XXXIX:6:18	ʿUkkāẓ	ʿUkāẓ
XXXIX:6 n22	ʿUkkāẓ	ʿUkāẓ
XXXIX:16:15	Kharrabūdha	Kharrabūdh
XXXIX:104:13	al-Raqqād	al-Ruqād
XXXIX:135:21	Salām	Sālim
XXXIX:169:14	Ṣafiyy	Ṣafī
XXXIX:193:25	al-Muqawqas	al-Muqawqis
XXXIX:194:1	Al-Muqawqas	Al-Muqawqis
XXXIX:199:2	Ṣufayy	Ṣafī

XXXIX:210:8	Yaḥmid	Yaḥmad
XXXIX:220:12	al-Ṣāʿidiyyūn	al-Ṣāʾidiyyūn
XXXIX:221:3-4	Yaḥyā [b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭan]	Yaḥyā
XXXIX:268:3	Sabīʿ	al-Sabīʿ
XXXIX:285:1-2	al-Akramīn	al-Akramūn